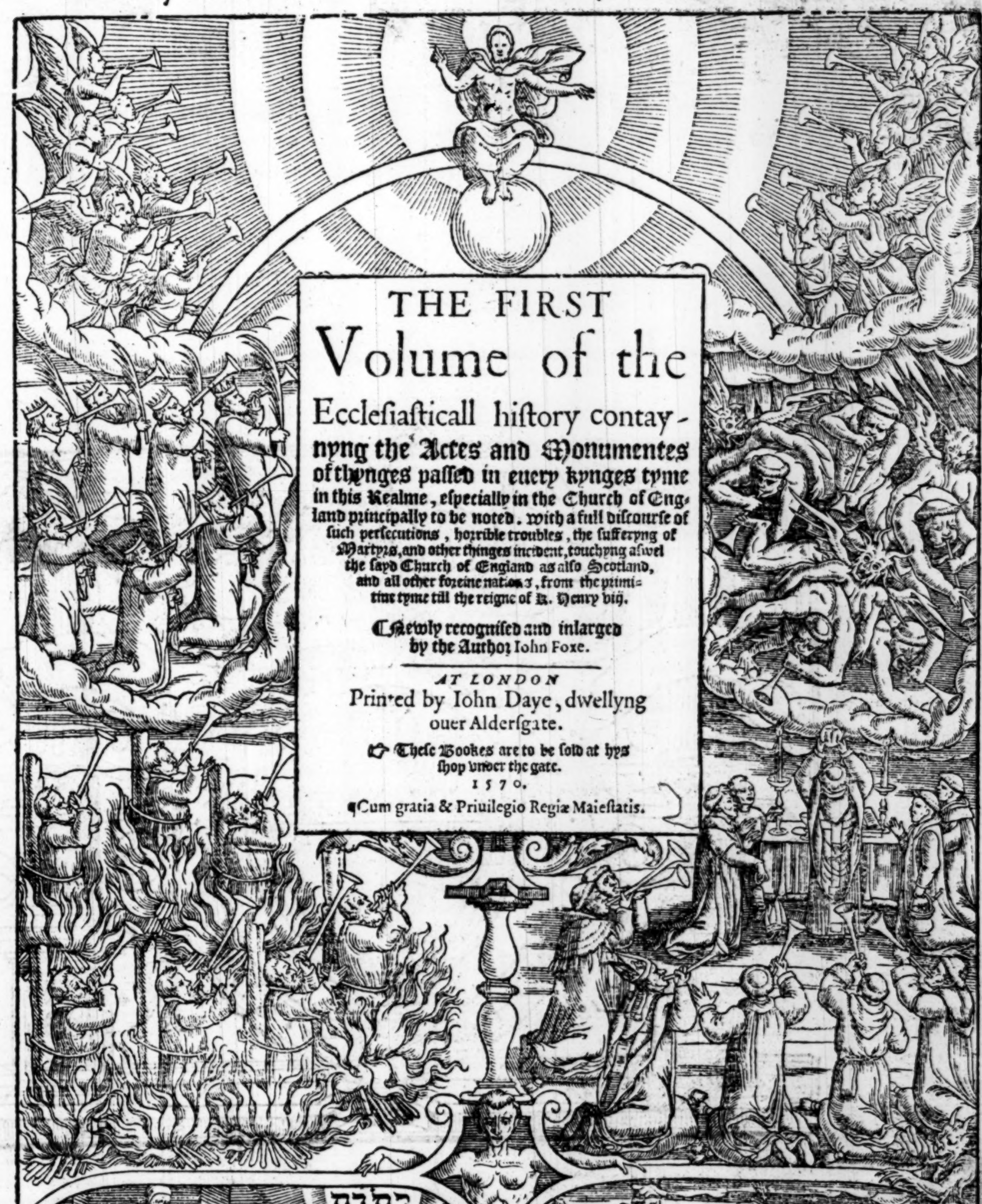
Come ye bleſſed. &c. Go ye curſed. &c. *Math. 25.*



THE FIRST Volume of the

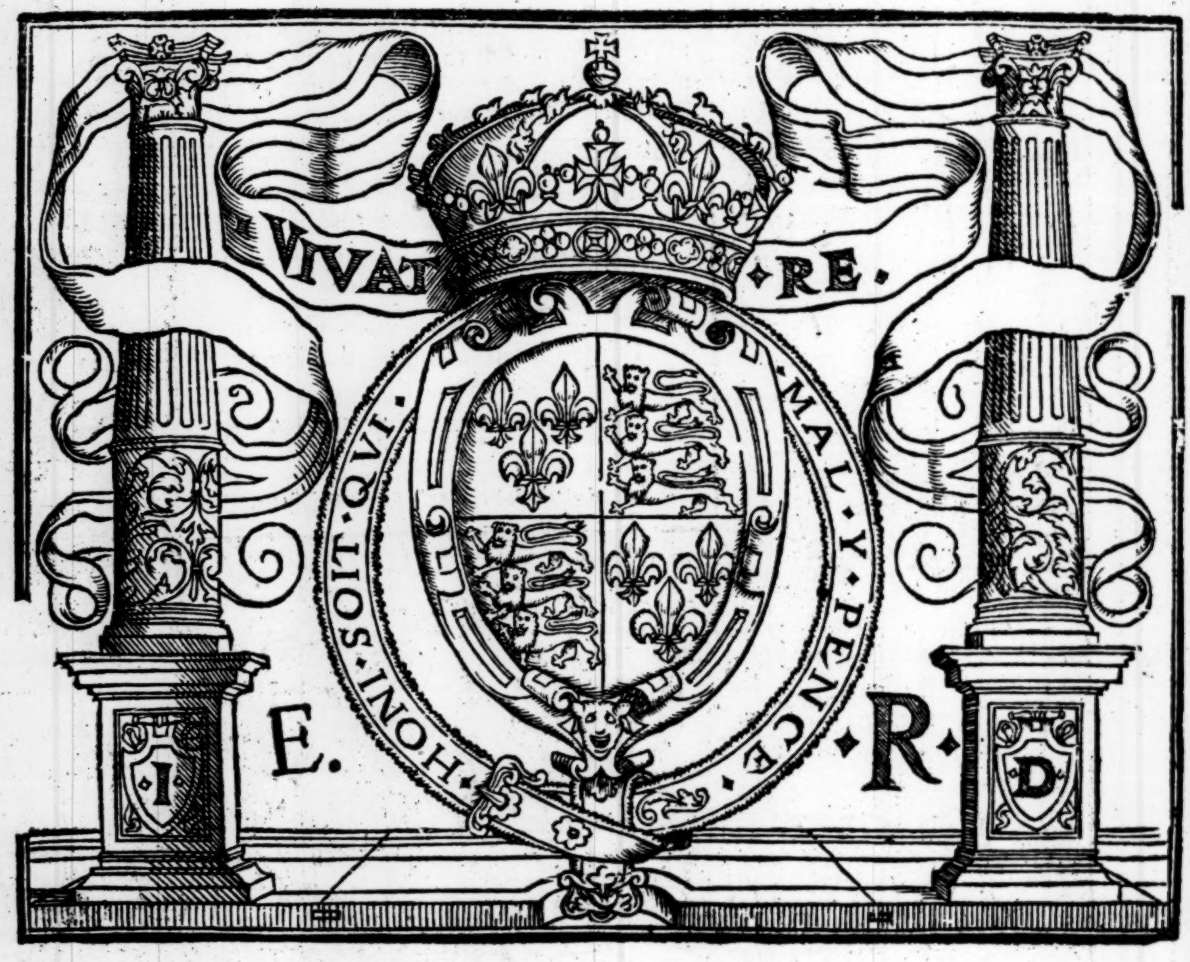
Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory contay-
nyng the Actes and Monumentes
of thynges paſſed in euery kynges tyme
in this Realme, eſpecially in the Church of Eng-
land principally to be noted. with a full diſcourſe of
ſuch perſecutions, horrible troubles, the ſufferyng of
Martyrs, and other thinges incident, touchyng aſwel
the ſayd Church of England as alſo Scotland,
and all other foreine nations, from the primi-
tiue tyme till the reigne of K. Henry viij.

Newly recognised and inlarged
by the Author Iohn Foxe.

AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwellyng
ouer Alderſgate.

☞ Theſe Bookes are to be ſold at hys
ſhop vnder the gate.
1570.
¶Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.

The Image of the perſecuted Church. *The Image of the perſecutyng Church.*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HONI·SOIT·QVI·MAL·Y·PENCE·
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D

TO THE TRVE AND FAITHFVLL CONgregation of Chriſtes vniuerſall Church, with all and ſingular the members thereof, whereſoeuer congregated, or diſperſed through the Realme of England, A Proteſtation or petition of the author, wiſhyng to the ſame aboundance of all peace and tranquilitie, with the ſpedy commyng of Chriſt the ſpouſe, to make an ende of all mortall miſerie.

SAlomon the peaceable Prince of Iſraell, as we read in the thyrd of Kynges, after he had finiſhed the buildyng of the Lordes Temple (which he had vij. yeares in hand) made his petition to the Lord for all that ſhould pray in the ſayd Temple, or turne theyr face toward it, And his requeſt was graunted, the Lord aunſweryng him, as we read in the ſayd booke. cap. 6. *I haue heard* (ſaith he) *thy prayer and haue ſanctified this place. &c.* Albeit the infinite Maieſty of God is not to be compaſſed in any materiall walles, yet it ſo pleaſed hys goodnes to reſpect this prayer of the kyng, that not onely he promiſed to heare them which there prayed, but alſo repleniſhed the ſame with hys owne glory. For ſo we read agayne in the booke aforeſayd: *Et non poterant miniſtrare propter nebulam, quia repleuit gloria Domini, domum Domini. 3. Reg. 7.*

Vpon lyke truſt in Gods gracious goodnes. If I ſinneful wretch, not comparyng with the building of that Temple but followyng the zeale of the builder might either be ſo bold to aſke, or ſo happy to ſpeed, after my vij. yeares trauaile about this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, moſt humbly would craue of almighty God to beſtow hys bleſsing vpon the ſame, that as the prayers of them, which prayed in the outward Temple were heard: ſo all true diſpoſed mindes which ſhall reſort to the readyng of this preſent hiſtory contaynyng the Actes of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monumentes of his Church, may by example of theyr lyfe, fayth, and doctrine, receiue ſome ſuch ſpirituall fruit to their ſoules through the operation of his grace, that it may be to the aduauncement of his glory, and profite of his Church, through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. *Amen.*

But as it hapned in that Temple of Salomon, that all which came thether, came not to pray but many to prate, ſome to gaze and ſee newes, other to talke and walke, ſome to buye and ſell, ſome to carpe and find fault, and finally ſome alſo at the laſt to deſtroy and plucke downe, as they did in deede. For what is in this world ſo ſtrong but it will be impugned? what ſo perfect, but it will be abuſed? ſo true, that will not be contraryed? or ſo circumſpectly done, wherein wranglyng *Theon* will not ſet in his toothe? Euen ſo neither do I looke for any other in this preſent hiſtory: but that amongeſt many well diſpoſed readers ſome waſpes neſt or other will be ſtyrred vp to buſze about myne eares. Such a daungerous thyng it is now a dayes to write or do any good, but either by flatteryng a man muſt offende the godly, or by true ſpeakyng procure hatred with the wicked. Of ſuch ſtingyng waſpes & buſzyng drones I had ſufficient triall in my former edition before, who if they had found in my booke any iuſt cauſe to carpe, or vpon any true zeale of truth had proceded agaynſt the vntruthes of my ſtory, and had brought iuſt profes for the ſame, I could haue right well abyde it. For God forbid, but that faultes whereſoeuer they be, ſhould be detected and accuſed. And therfore accuſers in a common wealth after my minde do ſerue to no ſmall ſtead.

But thē ſuch accuſers muſt beware they play not the dogge, of whom Cicero in his Oration ſpeaketh, which beyng ſet in *Capitolio* to fray away theeues by night, left the theeues and fell to barke at true men walkyng in the day. Where true faultes be there to bay and barke is not amiſſe. But to carpe where no cauſe is, to ſpye in others ſtrawes, and to leape ouer their owne blockes: to ſwallow camels, and to ſtrayne gnattes: to oppreſſe truth with lyes, and to ſet vp lyes for truth. to: blaſpheme the deare Martyres of Chriſt, and to canonize for Saintes, whom Scripture would ſcarce allow for good ſubiectes, that is intollerable. Such barkyng curres, if they were well ſerued, would be made a whyle to ſtoope. But with theſe braulyng ſpirites I entend not at this tyme much to wraſtle.

Wherefore to leaue them a while, till further leaſure ſerue me to attend vppon them, thus much I thought in the meane ſeaſon by way of Proteſtation or petition, to write vnto you both in generall and particular the true members and faythfull congregation of Chriſtes Church, whereſoeuer either congregated together, or diſperſed through the whole Realme of England: that for ſomuch as all the ſeekyng of theſe aduerſaries is to do what they can, by diſcredityng of this hiſtory with ſlaunders and ſiniſter ſurmiſes, how to withdraw the readers frō it: This therfore ſhalbe in few wordes to premoniſh and deſire of all & ſingular of you (all well mynded louers & partakers of Chriſtes Goſpell) not to ſuffer your ſelues to be deceaued with the bigge bragges, and hyperbolicall ſpeaches of thoſe ſlaundryng tounges, what ſoeuer they haue or ſhall hereafter exclame agaynſt the ſame. But indifferently ſtaying your iudgement till truth be tryed, you will firſt peruſe, and then refuſe: meaſuryng the vntruthes of this hiſtory, not by the ſcoryng vp of their hundredes and thouſands of lyes which they giue out, but wiſely weyng the purpoſe of their doynges, accordyng as you finde, and ſo to iudge of the matter.

To read my bookes I allure neither one nor other. Euery man as hee ſeeth cauſe ſo lyke as he lyſte.

If any ſhall thinke hys labour to much in readyng this hiſtory, his choyce is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruite therof ſhall recompence the readers trauayle, then would I wiſh no man ſo light eared, to be caryed away for any ſiniſter clamour of aduerſaries, who many tymes depraue good doynges, not for the faultes they finde: but therefore finde faultes becauſe they would depraue. As for me and my hiſtory, as my will was to profite all and diſpleaſe none: ſo if ſkill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpoſe bene ſimple, and certes the cauſe no leſſe vrgent alſo, which moued me to take this enterpriſe in hand.

For firſt to ſee the ſimple flocke of Chriſt, eſpecially the vnlearned ſort, ſo miſerably abuſed, and all for ignoraunce of hiſtory, not knowing the courſe of times, and true deſcent of the Church, it pitied me, that part of diligence ſo long to haue bene vnſupplyed in this my countrey Church of England. Agayne conſidering the multitude of Chronicles and ſtorywriters, both in England, and out of England, of whom the moſt part haue bene either Monkes or clientes to the ſea of Rome, it greued me to behold how partially they handled their ſtories. Whoſe painefull trauaile albeit I cannot but commend, in committing diuers thinges to writing, not vnfruitfull to be knowen, nor vnpleaſaũt to be read: yet it lamented me to ſee in their Monumentes the principall pointes, which chiefly concerned the ſtate of Chriſtes Church, and were moſt neceſſary of all Chriſten people to be knowen, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention therof were inſerted, yet were all thinges drawen to the honour ſpecially of the Church of Rome, or els to the fauour of their owne ſect of Religion. Wherby the vulgare ſort, hearing and reading in their writings no other Church mentioned or magnified but onely that Church which here floriſhed in this world in riches and iollitye, were drawne alſo to the ſame perſuaſion, to thinke no other Church to haue ſtand in all the earth, but onely the Church of Rome.

The partiall dealyng of ſtory writers.

In the number of this ſort of writers, beſides our Mõkes of Englãd (for euery Monaſtery almoſt had his Chronicler) I might alſo recite both Italian, & other coũtrey authors, as *Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antoninus, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lillius, Pollid. Virgilius*, with many more, who taking vpõ them to entermeddle with matters of the Church, although in part they expres ſome truth in matters concerning the Biſhops and ſea of Rome: yet in ſuppreſſing an other part, they play with vs, as Ananias and Saphira did with their money, or as Apelles did in Pliny who painting the one halfe of Venus cõming out of the Sea, left the other halfe vnperfect. So theſe writers while they ſhew vs one halfe of the Biſhop of Rome, the other halfe of him they leaue vnperfect, and vtterly vntold. For as they paint him out on the one part gliſtering in wealth & glory, in ſhewing what ſucceſsiõ they Popes had frõ the chaire of S. Peter, when they firſt begã, and how long they ſate, what Churches and what famous buildings they erected, how farre their poſſeſſions reached, what lawes they made, what counſels they called, what honor they receaued of Kinges & Emperours, what Princes and countreys they brought vnder their authoritie, with other like ſtratagemes, of great põpe and royaltie: ſo on the other ſide what vices theſe Popes brought with them to their ſeat, what abominations they practized what ſuperſtitiõ they maintayned, what Idolatrie they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended cõtrary to the expreſſe word of God, to what hereſies they fell, into what diuiſiõ of ſectes they cut the vnitie of Chriſtian Religiõ, how ſome practized by Symonie, ſome by Necromancy, and ſorcery, ſome by poyſoning, ſome endenting with the deuill to come by their Papacy, what hypocriſie was in their liues, what corruption in their doctrine, what warres they rayſed, what bloudſhed they cauſed, what trachery they trauerſed againſt their Lordes and Emperours, impriſoning ſome, betraying ſome to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other vnder their feete, alſo in behedding ſome, as they did with *Fredericus* and *Conradinus*, the heyres and offspring of the houſe of *Fredericus Barbaroſſa*. an. 1269: furthermore how mightely almighty God hath ſtand againſt them, how their warres neuer proſpered againſt the Turke, how the iudgements of the godly learned from time to time haue euer repugned agaynſt their errours &c. of theſe and a thouſand other moe, not one word hath bene touched, but all kept as vnder *Benedicite* in Auricular confeſſion.

This partiall dealing and corrupt handling of hiſtories, when I conſidered, I thought with my ſelfe nothing more lacking in the Church, then a full and a complet hiſtory which being faithfully collected out of all our Monaſticall writers and written Monumentes, ſhould containe neither euery vayne written fable, for that would be to much, nor yet leaue out any thing neceſſary, for that would be to litle: but with a moderate diſcretion taking the beſt of euery one ſhould both eaſe the labour of the reader from turning ouer ſuch a number of writers: and alſo ſhould open the plaine truth of times lying long hid in obſcure darknes of antiquitie. Wherby all ſtudious readers, beholding as in a glaſſe the ſtate, courſe, and alteration of Religion, decay of doctrine, and the controuerſies of the Chnrch, might diſcerne the better betwene antiquitie and noueltie. For if the thinges which be firſt (after the rule of Tertullian) are to be preferred before thoſe that be latter, thẽ is the reading of hiſtories much neceſſary in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after. And therefore not without cauſe *Hiſtoria, in old authours is called, the witneſſe of tymes, the light of veritie, the lyfe of memory, teacher of lyfe, and ſhewer of antiquitie. &c.* Without the knowledge wherof mans life is blind, and ſoone may fall into any kinde of errour, as by manifeſt experience we haue to ſee, in theſe deſolate latter times of the Church, when as the Biſhops of Rome vnder collour of antiquitie haue turned truth into hereſie and brought ſuch new found deuiſes of ſtraunge doctrine and Religiõ as in the former age of the Church were neuer heard of before, and all through ignoraunce of times, and for lacke of true hiſtory.

Primũ quoq; vtriſsimum eſt Tertul.

For to ſay the truth, if tymes had bene well ſearched, or if they which wrote hiſtories had without partiallitie gone vpright betwen God,and Baal,halting on neither ſide,it might well haue bene found the moſt part of all this Catholicke corruption intruded into the Church by the Biſhops of Rome, as Tranſubſtantiation, leuation, and adoration of the Sacrament, auricular confeſſion, forced vowes of Prieſtes not to marry, veneration of Images, priuate and ſatiſfactory Maſſes, the order of Gregories Maſſe now vſed,the vſurped authoritie and *Summa poteſtas* of the ſea of Rome,with all the rout of their ceremonies & wiedes of ſuperſtitiō ouergrowing now the Church,al theſe (I ſay) to be new nothings lately coyned in the minte of Rome, without any ſtampe of antiquitie, as by readyng of this preſent hiſtory ſhall ſufficiently,I truſt,appeare. Which hiſtory therfore I haue here taken in hand, that as other ſtorywriters heretofore haue employed their trauaile to magnifie the Church of Rome: ſo in this hiſtory might appeare to all Chriſten readers the Image of both Churches, aſwell of the one,as of the other: eſpecially of the poore oppreſſed and perſecuted Church of Chriſt. Which perſecuted Church though it hath bene of long ſeaſon trodden vnder foote by enemies, neglected in the world, nor regarded in hiſtories, & almoſt ſcarce viſible or knowne to worldly eyes, yet hath it bene the true Church onely of God, wherein he hath mightely wrought hetherto in preſeruing the ſame in all extreme diſtreſſes,continually ſtirring vp from time to time faithfull Miniſters, by whom alwayes hath bene kept ſome ſparkes of his true doctrine and Religion.

Image of both Churches.

Now for ſomuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone,but is accōpanied with ſome other Church or Chappell of the deuill to deface and maligne the ſame, neceſſary it is therefore, the difference betwene them to be ſene, and the deſcent of the right Church to be deſcribed from the Apoſtles time. Which hetherto in moſt part of hiſtories hath bene lacking,partly for feare,that men durſt not: partly for ignoraunce that men could not diſcerne rightly betwene the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be ſo viſible and glorious in the eyes of the world, ſo ſhinyng in outward beauty,to beare ſuch a porte, to cary ſuch a trayne and multitude, and to ſtand in ſuch hye authoritie,ſuppoſed the ſame to be onely the right Catholicke mother. The other becauſe it was not ſo viſibly knowne in the worlde,they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Chriſte. Wherein they were farre deceaued. For although the right Church of God be not ſo inuiſible in the world, that none can ſee it: yet neither is it ſo viſible agayne that euery worldly eye may perceaue it. For like as is the nature of truth: ſo is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none ſeeth it,but ſuch onely as be the members and partakers therof. And therfore they which require that Gods holy Church ſhould be euident and viſible to the whole world ſeeme to define the great Synagoge of the world, rather then the true ſpirituall Church of God.

The deſcent of Chriſtes Church from the Apoſtles time deſcribed.

How the true church of Chriſt is viſible, and not viſible.

In Chriſtes time who would haue thought,but the congregation and councels of the Phariſies had bene the right Church: and yet had Chriſt an other Church in earth beſides that, which albeit, it was not ſo manifeſt in the ſight of the world. yet was it the onely true Church in the ſight of God. Of this Church ment Chriſt ſpeaking of the Temple, which he would rayſe agayne the third day. And yet after that the Lord was riſen, he ſhewed not him ſelfe to the world, but onely to his elect which were but few. The ſame Church after that encreaſed and multiplyed mightely among the Iewes, yet had not the Iewes eyes to ſee Gods Church, but did perſecute it,till at length all their whole nation was deſtroyed.

After the Iewes then came the heathen Emperours of Rome,who hauing the whole power of the world in their handes, did what the world could do, to extinguiſh the name and Church of Chriſt. Whoſe violence cōtinued the ſpace of iij. hundreth yeares. All which while the true Church of Chriſt was not greatly in ſight of the world,but rather was abhorred euery where. And yet notwithſtandyng the ſame ſmall ſelly flocke ſo deſpiſed in the world,the Lord highly regarded and mightely preſerued. For although many then of the Chriſtians did ſuffer death: yet was their death neither loſſe to them, nor detriment to the Church: but the more they ſuffered, the more of their bloud encreaſed.

In the tyme of theſe Emperours, God raiſed vp then in this Realme of Britaine diuers worthy teachers and witneſſes,as *Elnanus*, *Meduinus*, *Meltiuianus*, *Amphibolus*, *Albanus*, *Aaron*, *Iulius* and other moe. In whoſe time the doctrine of faith without mens traditions was ſincerely preached. After their death and Martyrdome,it pleaſed the Lord to prouide a generall quietnes to his Church, wherby the number of his flocke began more to encreaſe.

In this age then followed here in the ſaid land of Britaine *Faſtidius*, *Niuianus*, *Patricius*, *Bacchiarius*, *Dubricius*, *Congellus*, *Kentigernus*, *Helmotus*, *Dauid*, *Daniel*, *Sampſon*, *Elnodugus*, *Aſaphus*, *Gildas*, *Henlanus*, *Elbodus*, *Dinothus*, *Samuel*, *Niuius* & a great ſort moe,which gouerned the Church of Britaine by Chriſten doctrine a long ſeaſon, albeit the ciuill gouernours for the time were then diſſolute and careles, as Gildas very ſharply doth lay to their charge,and ſo at length were ſubdued by the Saxons.

The antiquitie of the Church here in Englād with the deſcēt of the ſame.

All this while about the ſpace of foure hundreth yeares,Religion remained in Britaine vncorrupt, and the word of Chriſt truly preached,till about the comming of Auſten and of his companions from Rome,many of the ſayd Britaine preachers were ſlaine by the Saxons. After that began Chriſten faith to enter and ſpring among the Saxons, after a certaine Romiſh ſort, yet notwithſtanding ſomewhat more tollerably,then were the times,which after followed,through the diligent induſtry of ſome godly teachers,which then liued amongeſt them: as *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, *Coleman* Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Beda*, *Iohn of Beuerlay*, *Alcuinus*, *Neotus*, *Hucharius*, *Serlo*, *Achardus*, *Ealredus*, *Alexander Neckam*, *Nigellus*, *Fenallus*, *Aelfricus*, *Sygeferthus* and ſuch other: who though they erred in ſome few thinges,yet neither ſo groſſely,nor ſo greatly to be complained of in reſpect of the abuſes that folowed. For as yet, all this while, *Tranſubſtantiation not yet receaued for a publicke doctrine.*

the errour of Tranſubſtantiation and leuation, with auricular confeſſion was not crept in for a publicke doctrine in Chriſtes Church, as by their own Saxon Sermon, made by *Aelfricus* and ſet out in the ſecond Volume of this preſent hiſtory may appeare pag. 1304. During the which meane time although the Biſhops of Rome were had here in ſome reuerence with the Clergy: yet had they nothing as yet to do in ſetting lawes touching matters of the Church of England: but that onely appertained to the kinges and gouernours of the land as is in this ſtory to be ſene. pag. 922.

The Church when yt began to fall from God.

Aeneas Siluius ſayth that Mathilda made the Pope heyre of thoſe landes, which is called the patrimonie of S. Peter. Ex Auen. lib. 6.

Monkery when it beganne to reigne in England.

And thus the Church of Rome albeit it began then to decline a pace from God, yet during all this while it remained hetherto in ſome reaſonable order, till at length after that the ſaid Biſhops began to ſhout vp in the world, through the liberalitie of good Princes, and eſpecially by Mathilda a noble Duches of Italy. Who at her death made the Pope heyre of all her landes, and endued his ſea with great reuenewes. Then riches begot ambition. Ambition deſtroyed Religion, ſo that all came to ruine. Out of this corruption ſprang forth here in England (as did in other places more) an other Romiſh kinde of Monkery, worſſe then the other before, beyng much more drowned in ſuperſtition and ceremonies, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 980. Of this ſwarme was *Egbertus*, *Aigelbert*, *Egwine*, *Boniface*, *Wilfrede*, *Agathon*, *Iames*, *Romaine*, *Cedda*, *Dunſtane*, *Oſwolde*, *Aethelwold*, *Aethelwine* Duke of *Eaſtangles*, *Lancfrancke*. *Anſelme* and ſuch other.

And yet in this time alſo through Gods prouidence, the Church lacked not ſome of better knowledge & iudgemēt, to weygh with the darknes of thoſe dayes. For although king Edgar, with Edward his baſe ſonne being ſeduced by Dunſtane, Oſwolde and other Monkiſh Clerkes, was then a great author and fautor of much ſuperſtition, erecting as many Monaſteries, as were Sondayes in the yeare: yet notwithſtanding this continued not long, For eftſoones after the death of Edgar came king Ethelrede and queene Elfthred his mother, with Alferus Duke of Merceland, and other peeres and nobles of the Realme, who diſplaced the Monkes againe, and reſtored the maryed Prieſtes to their old poſſeſſions and liuynges. Moreouer after that followed alſo the Danes which ouerthrew thoſe Monkiſh foundacions, as faſt as king Edgar had ſet them vp before.

And thus hetherto ſtode the condition of the true Church of Chriſt albeit not without ſome repugnance and difficultie, yet in ſome meane ſtate of the truth and veritie, till time of Pope Hildebrand, called Gregory vij: which was nere about the yeare. 1080. And of Pope Innocentius iij. in the yeare. 1215. By whom altogether was turned vpſide downe, all order broken, diſcipline diſſolued, true doctrine defaced, Chriſten fayth extinguiſhed. In ſtede wherof was ſet vp preachyng of mens decrees, dreames, and idle traditions. And wheras before truth was free to be diſputed amongeſt learned men, now liberty was turned into law, Argumēt into authoritie. Whatſoeuer the Byſhop of Rome denounced, that ſtode for an oracle, of all men to be receiued without oppoſition or contradiction: what ſoeuer was contrary, *ipſo facto* it was hereſy, to be puniſhed with fagot and flammyng fire. Then began the ſincere faith of this Engliſh Church, which held out ſo long, to quayle. Then was the clere ſunne ſhine of Gods word ouerſhadowed with miſtes and darknes, appearyng like ſackcloth to the people, which neither could vnderſtand that they read, nor yet permitted to read that they could vnderſtand. In theſe miſerable dayes, as the true viſible Church began now to ſhrinke and kepe in for feare: ſo vpſtart a new ſort of players to furniſh the ſtage, as ſchole doctours, canoniſtes, and foure orders of Friers. Beſides other Monaſticall ſectes and fraternities of infinite varietie. Which euer ſince haue kept ſuch a ſtirre in the Church, that none for them almoſt durſt route, neither Cæſar, king, nor ſubiect. What they defined ſtode. What they approued, was Catholike: What they condemned, was hereſie: Whom ſoeuer they accuſed, none almoſt could ſaue. And thus haue theſe hetherto continued or raigned rather in the Church, the ſpace now of foure hundreth yeares and odde. Duryng which ſpace, the true Church of Chriſt, although it durſt not openly appeare in the face of the world, oppreſſed by tyranny: yet neither was it ſo inuiſible or vnknowen, but by the prouidence of the Lord, ſome remnaunt alwayes remayned, from tyme to tyme, which not onely ſhewed ſecret good affection to ſincere doctrine, but alſo ſtode in open defence of truth agaynſt the diſordered Church of Rome.

The true church when it began firſt to decay.

The true church continueth in middeſt of their enemies.

In which Cataloge, firſt to pretermit *Berthramus* and *Berengarius*, which were before Pope Innocent the iij. a learned multitude of ſufficient witneſſes here might be produced, whoſe names neither are obſcure nor doctrine vnknowne: as *Ioachim* Abbote of Calabria, *Almericus* a learned Biſhop, who was iudged an hereticke for holdyng agaynſt Images, in the tyme of the ſayd Innocentius. Beſides the Martyres of Alſatia, of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the ſayd Innocentius in one day, as writeth *Hermanus Mutius*. Adde likewiſe to theſe *Waldenſes* or *Albigenſes*, which to a great number ſegregated them ſelues from the Church of Rome. To this number alſo belonged *Reymundus* Earle of Tholoſe, *Marſilius Patauius*. * *Guilielmus de S. Amore*, *Simon Tornacenſis*, *Arnoldus de noua villa*, *Ioannes Semeca*, beſides diuers preachers in Sueuia ſtandyng agaynſt the Pope. anno 1240. *Ex Cranz. Laurentius Anglicus* a maſter of Paris. an. 1260. *Petrus Ioannis* a Minorite, who was burned after his death. anno. 1290. *Robertus Gallus* a Dominicke Frier, anno 1291. *Robert Groſthead* Biſhop of Lincolne which was called Malleus Romanorum, an, 1250. *Lord Peter de Cugneriis*, anno 1329. To theſe we may adde moreouer *Guliermus Ockam*, *Bongratius Bergomenſis*, *Luitpoldus*, , *Andræas Laudenſis*. *Vlricus Hangenor* Treaſurer to the Emperour, *Ioannes de Ganduno*. anno 1330. mētioned in the Extrauagantes, *Andræas de Caſtro*, *Buridianus*, *Eudo* Duke of Burgundy, who counſelled the French kyng, not to receaue the new found conſtitutions and extrauagantes of the Pope into his Realme, *Dantes Alligerius*, an Italian, who wrote agaynſt the Pope, Monkes and Friers, and againſt the dona-

Ex trauagant cap. Non ſine multa.

Ex Nichoalo Emerico. lib. Inquiſitionum.

Ex Ioan. Auentino. lib. 7.

Extrauant. cap. Licet infra doctrinam.

tion of *Conſtantine*,an.1330.*Taulerus* a Germaine preacher,* *Conradus Hager* impriſoned for preachyng againſt the Maſſe, an. 1339. The author of the booke called *Pœnitentiarius Aſini*, compiled about the yeare.1343.*Michael Ceſenas* a gray Frier,*Petrus de Corbaria*,with *Ioannes de Poliaco*, mentioned in the Extrauagantes and condemned by the Pope. *Ioannes de Caſtilione*, with *Franciſcus de Arcatara*, who were burned about the yeare of our Lord 1322.* *Ioannes Rochtaylada*, otherwiſe called *Haybalus*, with an other Frier Martyred about the yeare,1346. *Franciſcus Petracha*, who called Rome the whore of Babilon,&c an.1350.* *Georgius Ariminẽſis*, an.1350.*Ioannes de Rupe Sciſſa*,empriſoned for certaine propheſies againſt the Pope, an.1340. *Gerhardus Ridder*, who alſo wrote agaynſt Monkes and Friers a booke called *Lachryma Eccleſiæ*.an.1350.*Godfridus de Fõtanis,Gulielmus de Landuno,Ioannes Monachus Cardini.Armachanus,Nicholaus Orem* preacher,an.1364.* *Militzius* a Bohemiã,which then preached that Antichriſt was come,and was excommunicate for the ſame,an. 1366.*Iacobus Miſnenſis*, * *Mathias Pariſienſis* a Bohemian borne,and a writer againſt the Pope, an. 1370. *Ioannes Mountziger*,Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Vlme,anno 1384.*Nilus* Archb.of Theſſalonica,*Henricus de Iota,Henricus de Haſſia.&c.*

Ex Bullis quibuſdam Othonis Epiſ. Herbipolenſis.

Extrauagant Ioan. 22.

Ex Ioan. Freſiardo Volum. 1. cap. 211.

Ex Tritemio.

Ex Bulla Gregorij cap. 11.

Ex Illirico.

I do but recite the principall writers & preachers in thoſe dayes.How many thouſands there were, which neuer bowed their knees to Baal,that is knowẽ to God alone. Of whõ we finde in the writings of one * *Bruſhius*,that xxxvi. Citizens of Maguntia were burned, anno 1390. Who following the doctrine of the Waldenſes,affirmed the Pope to be the great Antichriſt. Alſo *Maſſæus* recordeth of one hundred and fourty,which in the prouince of Narbon were put to the fyer, for not receauing the decretalles of Rome: beſides them that ſuffred at Paris to the number of xxiiii. at one time, anno 1210, and the next yeare after were iiii.hundred brent vnder the name of Heretiques.Beſides alſo a certaine good Heremite an Engliſhman, of whom mention is made in *Iohn Bacon.Diſt.2. Queſt.1.* who was cõmitted for diſputing in Paules Church,againſt certaine Sacramẽtes of the Church of Rome, an.1306.

Ex Bruſhio.

Ex Chriſtiano Maſſeo.

Ex Ioan. Bacon Diſt.2.Queſt.1

To diſcẽd now ſomewhat lower in drawing out the deſcent of the Church. What a multitude here commeth of faithful witneſſes in the time of *Ioh.Wickleffe*,as *Ocliffe,Wickleffe*.an.1376.*W.Thorpe,White, Puruey,Patſhall,Payne,Gower,Chauſer,Gaſcoyne,William Swynderby,Walter Brute,Roger Dexter,William Santry* about the yeare.1400.*Iohn Badby*, an. 1410. *Nicholas Tayler, Rich. Wagſtaffe,Mich.Scriuener, W.Smith, Iohn Henry, W.Parchmenar, Roger Goldſmith*, with an Ancreſſe called *Mathilde* in the Citie of Leiceſter, Lord *Cobham*,Syr *Roger Acton* Knight,*Iohn Beuerlay* preacher,*Iohn Hus, Hierome* of *Prage* Scholemaſter, with a number of faithfull Bohemians and Thaborites not to be told with whom I might alſo adioyne *Laurentius Valla*,and *Ioannes Picus* the learned Earle of Mirandula. But what do I ſtand vpon recitall of names,which almoſt are infinite.

Wherfore if any be ſo farre beguiled in his opinion to thinke the doctrine of the Church of Rome (as it now ſtãdeth) to be of ſuch antiquitie,and that the ſame was neuer impugned before the tyme of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* now of late,let hym read theſe hiſtoryes: or if he thinke the ſayd hiſtory not to be of ſufficient credite to alter his perſuaſion,let him peruſe the Actes and Statutes of Parlamentes paſſed in this Realme of auncient tyme and therein conſider and conferre the courſe of times,where he may finde and read.*An.5.Regis Richardi.2.* in the yeare of our Lord.1380.of a great number (which there be called *euill perſons*)*goyng about from towne to towne in Freeſe gownes preachyng vnto the people. &c.* which preachers although the wordes of the Statute do terme there to be diſſembling perſons,preachyng diuers Sermons containyng hereſies and notorious errours,to the emblemiſhmẽt of Chriſten faith, and of holy Church.&c.as the wordes do there pretend: yet notwithſtandyng euery true Chriſten reader may conceiue of thoſe preachers to teach no other doctrine,then now they heare theyr owne preachers in Pulpits preach,agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome,and the corrupt hereſies of his Church.

Statut. in An. 5 Rich.2.An. Domini.1390.

Furthermore he ſhall finde likewiſe in *Statut.an.2.Henr. 4. cap. 15.* in the yeare of our Lord. 1402. an other like company of good preachers and faithfull defenders of true doctrine agaynſt blind hereſie and errour.Whom albeit the wordes of the ſtatute there,through corruptiõ of that time,do falſely terme,to be *falſe and peruerſe preachers,vnder diſſembled holynes,teachyng in thoſe dayes openly and priuely new doctrines and hereticall opinions contrary to the faith and determination of holy Church. &c.* yet notwithſtandyng whoſoeuer readeth hiſtoryes and conferreth the order and deſcent of times,ſhall vnderſtand theſe to be no falſe teachers,but faithfull witneſſes of the truth, not teachyng any new doctrines contrary to the determinatiõ of holy Church: but rather ſhall finde that Church to be vnholy,which they preached agaynſt,teachyng rather it ſelfe hereticall opinions contrary both to antiquitie,and verity of Chriſtes true Catholicke Church.

Ex Statut. in An.2.Henr.4. cap.15.An.Domini.1402.

Of the like number alſo,or greater,of like true faithful fauourers and followers of Gods holy word, we finde in the yeare of our Lord. 1422. ſpecified in a letter ſent from *Henry Chikeſley* Archbiſhop of Canterbury,to Pope Martine v.in the fift yeare of his Popedome, where mention is made *of ſo many here in England infected*(as he ſayd)*with the hereſies of Wickleffe and Hus, that without force of an armey they could not be ſuppreſſed.&c.* Wherupon the Pope ſent two Cardinals to the Archb. to cauſe a tenth to be gathered of all ſpirituall and Religious men, and the money to be layd in the chamber Apoſtolicke, and if that were not ſufficient,the reſidue to be made vp of challices, candleſtickes, and other implementes of the Church. &c.

Ex Literis Archiepiſcopi Cant. ad Martinum. 5. Anno Domini. 1422.

What ſhal nede then any more witnes to proue this matter,whẽ you ſee ſo many yeares ago,whole armies and multitudes, thus ſtandyng agaynſt the Pope? who though they be termed here for heretickes and ſchiſmatickes: yet in that,which they called hereſy,ſerued they the liuyng Lord, within the Arke of his true ſpirituall, and viſible Church.

And where is then the friuolous bragge of the Papiſtes , which make ſo much of theyr paynted ſheath, and would nedes beare vs downe, that this gouernement of the Church of Rome which now is hath bene of ſuch an old ſtandyng, tyme out of minde, euen from the primitiue antiquitie, and that neuer was any other Church demonſtrable here in earth for men to follow, beſides the ſayd onely Catholicke motherchurch of Rome? when as we haue ſufficiently proued before by the continual deſcent of the Church till this preſent time, that the ſayd Church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no newbegun matter, but euen the old continued Church , by the prouidence and promiſe of Chriſt ſtill ſtandyng , which albeit it hath bene of late yeares repreſſed by the tyranny of Romain Byſhops, more then before: yet notwithſtandyng it was neuer ſo oppreſſed but God hath euer maintayned in it the truth of his Goſpell, agaynſt hereſies and errours of the Church of Rome, as in this hiſtory more at full is to be ſene.

Bloudy markes of Chriſtes Paſſion ſeene on mẽs garmentes in Germany . an. 1501.

Let vs now procede farther as we began , deducyng this deſcent of the Church vnto the. 1501. yeare . In which yeare the Lord began to ſhew in the partes of Germany wonderfull tokens , and bloudy markes of his Paſſion, as the bloudy croſſe , hys nayles, ſpeare, and crowne of thornes , which fell from heauen vpon the garmentes and cappes of men, and rockes of women , as you may further read in this booke. *pag. 969.* By the which tokẽs almighty God (no doubt) preſignified , what greuous afflictions and bloudy perſecutions ſhould then begin to enſue vpon his Church for his Goſpels ſake, accordyng as in this hiſtory is deſcribed . Wherein is to be ſene what Chriſten bloud hath bene ſpilt, what perſecutions rayſed, what tyranny exerciſed, what tormentes deuiſed, what trechery vſed againſt the poore flocke and Church of Chriſt, in ſuch ſort as ſince Chriſtes time greater hath not bene ſene.

Seuẽty yeares of captiuitie well nere expired.

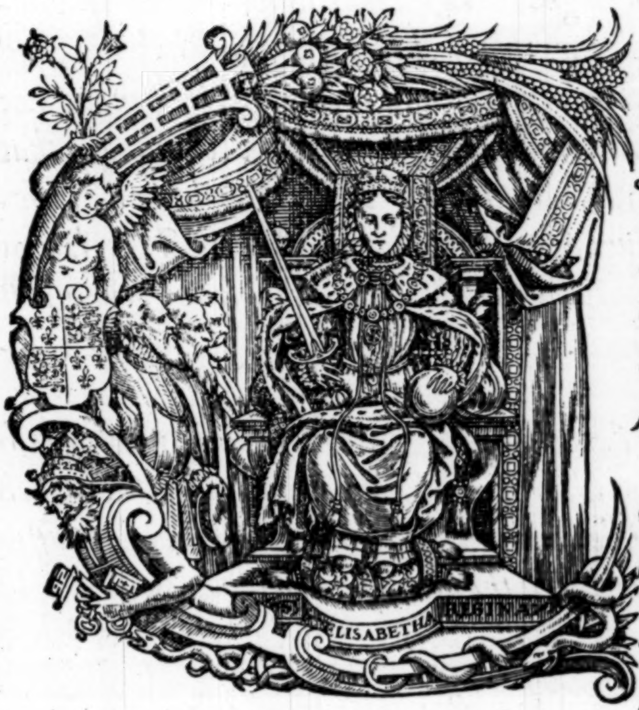
And now by reuolution of yeares we are come from that tyme of. 1501 . to the yeare now preſent. 1570. In which the full ſeuenty yeares of the Babilonicall captiuitie draweth now well to an end, if we count from the firſt appearyng of theſe bloudy markes aboue mentioned. Or if we recken from the beginnyng of *Luther*, and his perſecution, then lacketh yet xvj. yeares . Now what the Lord will do with this wicked world, or what reſt he will geue to his Church after theſe long ſorrowes , he is our father in heauen, his will be done in earth , as ſemeth beſt to his diuine maieſty.

Exhortation to the Church of England.

In the meane time let vs for our partes with all pacient obedience wayte vpon his gracious leyſure, and glorifie hys holy name, and edifie one an other with all humilitie . And if there can not be an end of our diſputyng, and contendyng one agaynſt an other : yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And for ſo much as it is the good will of our God , that Sathan thus ſhould be let looſe among vs for a ſhort tyme: yet let vs ſtriue in the meane while what we can, to amend the malice of the tyme with mutuall humanitie. They that be in errour, let them not diſdayne to learne . They which haue greater tallentes of knowledge committed, inſtruct in ſimplicitie them that be ſimple . No man lyueth in that common wealth where nothyng is amiſſe . But yet becauſe God hath ſo placed vs Engliſhmen here in one commõ wealth, alſo in one Church as in one ſhippe together: let vs not mangle or diuide the ſhippe , which beyng deuided periſheth: but euery man ſerue in hys order with diligence, wherin he is called . They that ſit at the helme , kepe well the poynt of the nedle , to know how the ſhippe goeth, and whether it ſhould . What ſoeuer wether betydeth , the nedle well touched with the ſtone of Gods word will neuer fayle . Such as labour at the oares , ſtart for no tempeſt, but do what they can to kepe from the rockes. Likewiſe they which be in inferiour rowmes, take hede they moue no ſedition, nor diſturbance agaynſt the rowers and mariners. No ſtorme ſo daungerours to a ſhippe on the Sea, as is diſcord and diſorder in a weale publicke. What countreyes and natiõs, what kyngdomes and empiers, what Cities, townes, and houſes diſcord hath diſſolued , in ſtoryes is manifeſt : I neede not ſpende tyme in rehearſing examples.

The Lord of peace, who hath power both of land and Sea, reach forth hys mercyfull hand to helpe them vp that ſincke, to kepe them vp that ſtand, to ſtill theſe windes and ſourgyng Seas of diſcord and contention amongeſt vs: that we profeſſing one Chriſt, may in one vnitie of doctrine gather our ſelues into one Arke of the true Church together : where we continuyng ſtedfaſt in fayth may at the laſt luckely be conducted to the ioyfull porte of our deſired landyng place by hys heauenly grace . To whom both in heauen and in earth be all power and glory , with hys father and the holy ſprite for euer. *Amen.*

TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS, MOST EXcellent and noble Princeſſe Quene Elizabeth, our Dreade Lady, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of Chriſtes Fayth and Goſpel, and principall gouernour both of the Realme and alſo ouer the ſayd Church of England and Ireland, vnder Chriſt the ſupreme head of the ſame &c. *Iohn Foxe* her humble ſubiect wyſheth dayly increaſe of Gods holy ſpirite and Grace, with long reigne, perfect health, and ioyful peace, to gouerne hys flocke committed to her charge, to the example of all good Princes, the comfort of hys Church, and glory of hys bleſſed name.



CHRIST the Prince of all Princes who hath placed you in your throne of Maieſty, vnder him to gouerne the Church and Realme of England, geue your royall highnes lõg to ſit, and many yeares to raigne ouer vs, in all floriſhyng felicitie, to his gracious pleaſure, and long laſting ioy of all your ſubiectes. Amen.

When I firſt preſented theſe Acts and Monumentes vnto your maieſty (moſt deare ſoueraigne, Queene Elizabeth, our peaceable Salome) which your maieſties rare clemency receaued in ſuch gentle part: I well hoped, that theſe my trauailes in this kinde of writyng had bene well at an ende: wherby I might haue returned my ſtudies agayne to other purpoſes, after myne owne deſire, more fit then to write hiſtories, eſpecially in the Engliſh tounge. But certaine euill diſpoſed perſons, of intemperant tounges, aduerſaries to good procedynges would not ſuffer me ſo to reſt, fumyng and freatyng, and raiſing vp ſuche miſerable exclamations at the firſt appearyng of the booke, as was wonderfull to heare. A man would haue thought Chriſt to haue bene new borne agayne, and that Herode with all the Citie of Ieruſalem had bene in an vprore. Such bluſtryng and ſtyrring was then againſt that poore booke through all quarters of England, euen to the gates of Louaine: ſo that no Engliſh Papiſt almoſt in all the Realme thought him ſelfe a perfect Catholicke, vnleſſe he had caſt out ſome word or other, to geue that booke a blow.

Whereupon conſidering with my ſelfe what ſhould moue them thus to rage, firſt I began with more circumſpect diligence to ouerlooke agayne that I had done. In ſearchyng wherof I founde the fault both what it was, and where it lay: which was in dede, not ſo much in the booke it ſelfe (to ſay the truth) as in an other certeine priuy myſtery and working of ſome: of whom Ioannes Auentinus ſhall tell vs, in his owne wordes, and ſhew vs who they be: Quibus, inquit, audiendi quæ fecerint, pudor eſt: nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubeſcunt. Illic vbi opus nihil verentur: hic vbi nihil opus eſt, ibi verentur. &c. Who beyng aſhamed belike to hear their worthy ſtratagemes like to come to light, ſought by what meanes they might, the ſtopping of the ſame. And becauſe they could not woorke it per brachium ſeculare, by publicke authoritie (the Lord of heauen long preſerue your noble maieſty) they renued againe an old wonted practiſe of theirs: doyng in like ſort herein as they did ſome times with the holy Bible in the dayes of your renowmed father of famous memory king Henry viij. who when they neither by manifeſt reaſon could gainſtand the matter contained in the booke, nor yet abide the comming out therof, then ſought they by a ſubtile deuiſed traine to depraue the tranſlation, notes, and prologues therof, bearing the king in hand, and all the people, that there was in it a thouſand lyes, and I cā not tell how many mo: Not that there were ſuch lyes in it in very dede, but becauſe the comming of that booke ſhould not bewray their lying falſhode, therefore they thought beſt, to begin firſt to make exceptions them ſelues agaynſt it: playing in their ſtage, like as Phormio did in the old Comedy: who beyng in all the fault him ſelfe, began firſt to quarell with Demipho, when Demipho rather had good right to lay Phormio by the heeles.

With like facing bragges theſe Catholicke Phormiones thinke now to daſh out all good bookes, and amōgeſt other alſo theſe Monumēts of Martyrs. Which godly Martyrs as they could not abide being aliue: ſo neither can they now ſuffer their memories to lyue after their death, leſt the actes of thē being knowen, might bring perhaps their wicked actes and cruell murthers to deteſtation: And therfore ſpurne they ſo vehemently againſt this booke of hiſtories, with all kinde of contumelies, and vprors, rayling and wondering vpon it: much like as I haue heard of a company of theeues, who in robbing a certeine true man by the high wayes ſide, when they had found a peece of gold or two about him, more then he would be acknowen of, they cried out of the falſhode of the world, marueiling and cōplaining what litle truth was to be found in men.

Euen ſo theſe men deale alſo with me: for whē they them ſelues altogether delight in vntruthes, and haue repleniſhed the whole Church of Chriſt with fayned fables, lying miracles, falſe viſions, miſerable errours contained in their miſſals, and Portuſes, Breuiares, and Summaries, and almoſt no true tale in all their Saintes liues and Feſtiuals, as nowe alſo no great truthes in our Louanian Bookes. &c. Yet notwythſtanding as thoughe they were a people of muche truth, and that the world did not perceiue them, they pretende a face and zeale of great veritie: And as though there were no hiſtories els in all the world corrupted, but onely this ſtory of Actes and Monumētes, with tragicall voyces they exclaime and wonder vpon it, ſparing no coſt of hyperbolicall phraſes, to make it appeare as ful of lyes as lines. &c. much after the like ſort of impudēcie, as ſophiſters vſe ſomtymes in their ſophiſmes to do (and ſome times is vſed alſo in Rhethoricke) that when an Argument commeth againſt thē which they can not well reſolue in dede, they haue a rule to ſhift of the matter with ſtout words and tragicall admiration, wherby to daſh the opponent out of countenaunce, bearing the hearers in hand, the ſame to be the weakeſt and ſlendreſt argument that euer was heard, not worthy to be aunſwered, but vtterly to be hiſſed out of the ſcholes.

With like ſophiſtication theſe alſo fare with me: who when they neither can abide to heare their owne doinges declared, nor yet deny the ſame, which they

heare,

beare, to be true, onely for iij. or foure eſchapes in the booke committed (and yet ſome of thẽ in the ſayd booke amended) they neither readyng the whole, nor rightly vnderſtandyng that they read, inueigh and maligne ſo peruerſly the ſetting out therof, as though neither any word in all that ſtory were true, nor any other ſtory falſe in all the word beſides. And yet in accuſing theſe my accuſers I do not ſo excuſe my ſelf, nor defẽd my boke, as though nothing in it were to be ſponged or amẽded. Therfore haue I takẽ theſe pains, & reiterated my labors in trauailyng out the ſtory againe: doyng herein as Penelope did with her webbe, vntwiſtyng that ſhe had done before: or as builders do ſometimes, which build and take downe again, either to trãſpoſe the faſhion, or to make the foũdation larger. So I in recogniſing this hiſtory haue employed a litle more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I tooke in hand: partly alſo to aſſay, whether by any paines taking I might pacifie the ſtomackes, or ſatiſfie the iudgments of theſe importune quarrellers: which neuertheles I feare I ſhall not do, when I haue done all I can. For well I know that all the heades of this hyſſing hydra will neuer be cut of, though I were as ſtrõg as Hercules. And if Apelles the ſkilful Painter, when he had beſtowed all his cunning vpon a peece of work, which no good artificer wold or could greatly reproue, yet was not without ſome controlling Sutor, which toke vpõ him vltra crepidam, much more may I looke for the like in theſe controlling dayes.

Ne ſutor vltra crepidam.

Neuertheles cõmitting the ſucceſſe therof vnto the Lord, I haue aduentured agayne vppon this ſtorye of the Church, and haue ſpent not onely my paynes, but alſo almoſt my health therin, to bring it to this. Which now being finiſhed, like as before I did: ſo agayn I exhibite and preſent the ſame vnto your Princely Maieſty: bleſſing my Lord my God withall my harte: firſt for this liberty of peace and time, which through your peaceable gouernement he hath lent vnto vs for the gathering both of this & other like bokes, tractatiõs & monuments requiſite to the behouſe of his church, which hetherto by iniquitie of time, could not be contriued in any kings raigne ſince the conqueſt, before theſe Alcyon dayes of yours.

Secõdly, as we are all boũd with publike voyces to magnifie our God for this happy preſeruation of your royall eſtate: ſo priuately for myne owne part, I alſo acknowledge my ſelfe bound to my God and to my Sauiour, who ſo graciouſly in ſuch weake health, hath lent me tyme, both to finiſh this worke, and alſo to offer the ſecond dedication therof to your Maieſtye: deſiring the ſame to accept in worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthynes of the thyng geuen, yet as a teſtificatiõ of the bounden ſeruice and good will of one, which by this he here preſenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to giue.

And though the ſtory being writtẽ in the popular toung, ſerueth not ſo greatly for your owne peculiar reading, nor for ſuch as be learned: yet I ſhall deſire both you and them, to conſider in it the neceſſitie of the ignorant flocke of Chriſt committed to your gouernement in this Realme of Englãd. Who, as they haue bene long ledde in ignorãce, and wrapt in blindnes for lacke ſpecially of Gods word, & partly alſo for wãting the light of hiſtory, pitie I thought but that ſuch ſhould be helped, their ignorance relieued, and ſimplicitie inſtructed. I conſidered they *were the flocke of Chriſt, and your ſubiectes, belōging to your accōpt and charge, bought with the ſame price, and hauing as deare ſoules to the Lord as other. And though they be but ſimple and vnlearned, yet not vnapt to be taught if they were applyed: Furthermore what inconuenience groweth of ignoraunce, where knowledge lacketh, both I conſidered, and experience dayly teacheth.*

And therfore hearyng of the vertuous inclination of your Maieſty, what a prouident care, and zeale full of ſolicitude you haue, mindyng (ſpeedely I truſt) to furniſh all quarters and countreyes of this your Realme with the voyce of Chriſtes Goſpell, and faithfull preachyng of his word, I thought alſo not vnprofitable to adioyne vnto thus your godly procedings, and to the office of the miniſtery, the knowledge alſo of Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, which in my mind ought not to be ſeparate from the ſame: that like as by the one the people may learne the rules and preceptes of doctrine: ſo by the other they may haue examples of Gods mighty working in his church, to the confirmation of their faith, and the edification of Chriſtiā life. For as we ſee what light and profite commeth to the Church by hiſtories in old tymes ſetforth of the Iudges, Kinges, Machabeis, and the Actes of the Apoſtles after Chriſtes tyme: ſo likewiſe may it redound to no ſmall vſe in the Church, to know the Actes of Chriſtes Martyrs now ſince the time of the Apoſtles.

Profite to be taken by examples of chriſtian martyres.

Gods workes to be obſerued in hiſtories.

What frute commeth by reading of hiſtories.

Beſides other manifolde examples and experimentes of Gods greate mercies and iudgements in preſeruing his Church, in ouerthrowyng tyrants, in confoundyng pride, in alteryng ſtates and kingdomes, in conſeruyng Religion agaynſt errours and diſſentions, in relieuyng the godly, in bridelyng the wicked, in loſing and tying vp againe of Sathan the diſturber of cōmon weales, in puniſhyng tranſgreſsions as well agaynſt the firſt table as the ſecond: wherin is to be ſene Idolatry puniſhed, blaſphemy plagued, contempt of Gods holy name and Religiō reuēged, murder with murder rewarded, Adulterers and wedlocke breakers deſtroyed, periuries, extortions, couetous oppreſsions, and fraudelent counſels come to naught, with other excellent workes of the Lord: the obſeruyng and notyng whereof in hiſtoryes, miniſter to the readers thereof wholeſome admonitions of lyfe, with experience and wiſedome, bothe to knowe God in his woorkes, and to worke the thyng that is godly: eſpecially to ſeke vnto the ſonne of God for their ſaluation, and in his faythe onely to finde that they ſeeke for, and in no other meanes. The continuance and conſtancie of which faith, the Lord of his grace and goodnes graunt to your noble maieſtie, and to his whole beloued church, and all the members of the ſame, to euerlaſting life. Amen.

¶To the true Chriſtian reader, what vtilitie is to be taken by readyng of theſe Hiſtoryes.

Seyng the world is repleniſhed with ſuch an infinite multitude of bookes of all kynd of matters, I may ſeme (perhaps) to take a matter in hand ſuperfluous and nedeles, at this preſent to ſet out ſuch Volumes, eſpecially of hiſtories, conſideryng now a dayes the world ſo greatly peſtred not onely with ſuperfluous plenty therof, but of all other treatiſes, ſo that bookes now ſeme rather to lacke Readers, then Readers to lacke bokes: In which multitude of bokes I doubt not, but many do both perceiue, & inwardly bewayle this inſatiable boldnes of many now a dayes, both in wrytyng and pryntyng, which to ſay the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man els beſide: and would therfore no man ſhould thinke that vnaduiſedly or with raſhnes I haue attempted this enterpriſe, as one beyng not onely doubtfull, but alſo both baſhfull and fearefull within my ſelfe for ſettyng the ſame abroad. And why? firſt I perceiued how learned this age of ours is in readyng of bookes, neither could I tell what the ſecrete iudgements of readers wold cõceaue, to ſee ſo weake a thing, to ſet vpon ſuch a weyghty enterpriſe, not ſufficiently furniſhed with ſuch ornamentes able to ſatiſfie the perfection of ſo great a ſtory, or ſufficient to ſerue the vtility of the ſtudious, and the delight of the learned. Which abilitie the more I perceiued to be wantyng in me, the leſſe I durſt be bold to become a writer.

Multitude of Bookes lamented.

But agayne on the other ſide, when I wayed with my ſelfe what memorable Actes and famous doynges this latter age of the Church hath miniſtred vnto vs by the patient ſufferynges of the worthy Martyrs: I thought it not to be neglected, that ſo precious Monumentes of ſo many matters, meete to be recorded & regiſtred in bokes, ſhould lye buried by my default vnder darknes of obliuion. Me thought ſomewhat was to be ſaid of them for their wel deſeruing, and ſomething againe of our partes for benefites by them receaued. But aboue all other things nothyng did ſo much ſtyrre me foreward hereunto, as the diligent conſideration and ſpeciall regarde of the common vtilitie, which euery man plentyfully may receiue by the readyng of theſe Monumentes or Martyrologe: which hiſtory as I taken in hand chiefly for the vſe of the Engliſh Church: ſo haue I framed it in that toung which the ſimple people could beſt vnderſtand.

Now if men commonly delite ſo much in other Chronicles which entreate onely vppon matters of policy, and reioyce to behold therin the variable euentes of worldly affaires, the ſtratagemes of valiant captaines, the terror of foughten fields, the ſacking of Cities, the hurly burlies of Realmes and people. And if men thinke it ſuch a gay thyng in a common wealth to commit to hiſtory ſuch old antiquities of things prophane, and beſtow all their ornamentes of wyt and eloquence in garniſhyng the ſame: how much more then is it meete for Chriſtians to conſerue in remembraunce the liues, Actes and doings, not of bloudy warriours, but of mylde and conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, which ſerue not ſo much to delight the eare, as to garniſh the lyfe, to frame it with examples of great profite, and to encourage men to all kinde of Chriſtian godlynes? As firſt by readyng therof we may learne a liuely teſtimony of Gods mighty workyng in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of Atheiſtes, and all the whole neſt of Epicures. For like as one ſayd of Harpalus in tymes paſt, that his doynges gaue a liuely teſtimony agaynſt God, becauſe he beyng ſo wicked a man ſo long eſcaped vnpuniſhed: ſo contrariwiſe in theſe men we haue a much more aſſured and plaine witnes of God, bothe in whoſe liues and deathes appeared ſuche manifeſt declarations of Gods diuine working, whiles in ſuche ſharpnes of tormentes we beholde in them ſtrengthe, ſo conſtant aboue mans reache, ſuch redines to anſwere, ſuch patience in impriſonment, ſuch godlines in forgeuing, cherefulnes ſo couragious in ſuffering, beſides the manifold ſenſe and feling of the holy ghoſt, which they in their liues ſo plentifully taſted in their afflictions, as in reading of their letters euidently we may vnderſtand. Ouer and beſides this, the mild deathes of the Saints do not a little auaile to the ſtabliſhing of a good conſcience, to learne the contempt of the world, & to come to the feare of God. Moreouer, they confirme faith, encreaſe godlynes, abate pride in proſperitie, and in aduerſitie do open an hope of heauenly comfort. For what man reading the miſerie of theſe godly perſons, may not therein as in a glaſſe behold his owne caſe, whether he be godly or godles. For if God geue aduerſitie vnto good men, what may either the better ſort promiſe them ſelues, or the euill not feare? And where as by reading of prophane ſtories: we are made perhaps more ſkilfull in warlike affaires: ſo by reading of this we are made better in our liuings, and beſides are better prepared vnto like conflictes, if by Gods permiſſion they ſhall happen hereafter more wiſer by their doctrine, and more ſtedfaſt by their example.

Compariſon betweene worldly ſouldioures, and the ſouldiours of Chriſt.

To be ſhort, they declare to the world what true chriſtian fortitude is, & what is ẏ right way to conquere, which ſtandeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the reſurrection to come, & is now I truſt at hãd. In conſideration wherof, me thinks I haue good cauſe to wiſh, that like as other ſubiectes, euen ſo alſo Kings and Princes, which commonly delite in heroicall ſtories, would diligently peruſe ſuche monumentes of Martyrs, and lay them alwayes in ſight, not alonely to read, but to follow, and would paint them vpon their walles, cuppes, ringes, & gates. For doutles ſuch as theſe, are more worthy of honour then an hundreth Alexanders, Hectors, Scipions and warrelike Iulies. And though the world iudgeth prepoſterouſly of thinges, yet with God the true iudge, certes ſuche are to be reputed in deede, not that kill one an other with a weapon, but they which beyng rather killed in Gods cauſe, do retaine an inuincible cõſtancie agaynſt the threates of tyrants and violence of tormentours. Such as theſe are in deede the true Conquerers of the world, by whom we learne true mãhode, ſo many as fight vnder Chriſt, and not vnder the world. With this valiantnes did that moſt milde Lambe and inuincible Lyon of the tribe of Iuda firſt of all go before vs, of whoſe vnſpeakeable fortitude we heare this propheticall admiration: *Who is this* (ſayth he) *which walketh ſo in the multitude of his ſtrength?* Forſoth the high ſonne of the hygh God, once conquered of the world, and yet conqueryng the world after the ſame maner as he was conquered.

Eſay.63.

The lyke daunce dyd all his other Martyrs follow, to whom the auncient antiquitie of the Church did attribute ſo great honour, as neuer King or Emperour could purchaſe in this world withall theyr images, pillers, hie ſpires, triumphes, tẽples, & all theyr ſolemne feaſtes. In probation wherof we ſee with what admiratiõ, and almoſt ſuperſtition, not onely the memory, but alſo the reliques of thoſe good Martyrs were receiued and kept amongeſt the auncient Chriſtiãs. We haue alſo for witnes the learned Hymnes and ſonges of Prudentius and Nazienzene, wherwith Pindarus dyd neuer ſo much ſet out his triumphes of Olympia and Nemea. I nede not here reherſe the learned Orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chryſoſtome, Ambroſe, & Hierome, who neuer ſhewed their eloquence more, then when they fell into the cõmendatiõs of the godly Martyrs?

Wherby it is manifeſt, what eſtimation in times paſt was attributed to Martyrs: with what gratulation, reioyce, myrth, and common ioye the afflictions of thoſe godly dying in Chriſtes quarell, were ſome tyme receiued and ſolemniſed, and that not without good reaſonable cauſe. For the Church dyd well conſider how much ſhe was beholdyng to theyr benefites, by whoſe deathes ſhe vnderſtode her treaſures to encreaſe. Now then if Martyrs are to be cõpared with Martyrs, I ſee no cauſe why the Martyrs of our time deſerue any leſſe commẽdation, then the other in the primitiue Church, which aſſuredly are inferior vnto them in no point of praiſe: whether we vew the number of them that ſuffered, or greatnes of their torments, or their conſtancy in dying, or alſo conſider the frute that they brought to the amendmẽt of poſteritie, and encreaſe of the Goſpell. They did water the truthe with their bloud, that was newly ſpringing vp: ſo theſe by their deathes reſtored it againe, being ſore decayed and fallen downe. They ſtanding in the foreward of the battell, did receiue the firſt encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught vs by that meanes to ouercome ſuch tyranny: Theſe with like courage againe like olde beaten ſouldiours did win the field in the rereward of the battaile. They like famous huſbandmen of the world did ſowe the fieldes of the church, that firſt lay vnmanured & waſt: theſe with fatnes of their bloud dyd cauſe it to battel and fructifie. Would to God the fruite might be ſpedely gathered into the barne, which onely remayneth behynd to come.

A compariſon betweene the Martyrs of the primitiue church, and of the later church.

Now, if we aſcribe ſuch reputation to godly preachers (and worthely) which diligẽtly preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, when they liue notwithſtandyng by the benefite of tyme, without all feare of perſecution: how much more reaſonable cauſe haue we to prayſe and extoll ſuch men as ſtoutly ſpend their liues for the defenſe of the ſame? All theſe premiſſes duely of our partes conſidered and marked, ſeyng we haue found ſo famous Martyrs in this our age, let vs not fayle then in publiſhing and ſetting forth their doinges, leſt in that point we ſeme more vnkind to them, then the writers of the primatiue Church were vnto theirs. And though we repute not their aſhes, chaynes, and ſwerdes in the ſtede of reliques: yet let vs yelde thus much vnto theyr cõmemoration, to glorify the Lord in his Saintes, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like conſtancy, or theyr lyues at the leaſt with like innocency. They offered theyr bodies willyng to the rough hãdlyng of the tormentors. And is it ſo great a matter thẽ for our part, to mortify our fleſh, with all the members therof? They neglected not onely the riches and glory of the world for the loue of Chriſt, but alſo their lyues: and ſhall we then kepe ſo great a ſtyrre one agaynſt an other, for the tranſitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient ſuffryng, when they had moſt wrong done vnto them, and when their very harts bloude guſhed out of theyr bodies: and yet will not we forgeue our poore brother, be the iniury neuer ſo ſmal, but are ready for euery trifling offenſe to ſeke his deſtruction, and cut his throte. They wiſhing well to all men, did of their owne accorde forgeue their perſecutors: and therfore ought we, which are now the poſteritie and children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former ſteppes, but beyng admoniſhed by their examples, if we cannot expreſſe their charitie toward all men, yet at leaſt to imitate the ſame to our power and ſtrength. Let vs geue no cauſe of offenſe to any. And if any be geuen to vs, let vs ouercome it with patience, forgeuing and not reuenging the ſame. And let vs not onely keepe our handes from ſhedyng of bloud, but our tounges alſo from hurting the fame of others. Beſides, let vs not ſhrinke, if caſe ſo require, martyrdome or loſſe of lyfe, accordyng to their example, to yelde vp the ſame in the defenſe of the Lordes flocke. Which thyng if men would do, much leſſe contention and buſines would be in the world then now is. And thus much touchyng the vtility and fruite to be taken of this hiſtory.

To all the profeſſed frendes and folowers of the Popes procedynges.

Foure Queſtions propounded.

Four demaundes or queſtions put forth to the Papiſtes.

TO you all and ſingular, which profeſſe the doctrine and Religion of the Pope your holy father, and of your mother Churche of Rome, pretendyng the name of Catholickes, commonly termed Papiſtes, where ſoeuer abidyng in the Realme of England, theſe foure Queſtions or Problemes here vnder folowyng I would moue, deſiryng you all either to muſe vppon them or to aunſwere them at your layſure.

¶ The firſt Queſtion.

The 1. Queſtion.

Eſay. 11. 65.

FIrſt, for ſomuch as Mount Syon (which God calleth by the Prophet Ieſai, the hill of his holynes) beareth in Scripture an vndoubted type of the ſpirituall Church of Chriſt: and forſomuch as the ſayd Ieſai. cap. 11. & 65 propheſying of the ſayd Mount Syon, ſayth in theſe wordes: Non nocebunt neq; affligent in omni monte ſancto meo, dicit Dominus &c. 1. *They ſhall not kill nor hurt in all my holy hill, ſayth the Lord. &c*: And agayne in the ſame Chapters thus we read: Habitabit Lupus cum agno, & Pardus cum hædo accubabit: Vitulus, & Leo, & ouis vnâ commorabuntur, & puellus paruulus ducet eos &c. That is: *The Wolfe ſhall dwell with the Lambe, and the Leopard with the Kid: The Calfe, the Lyon, and the Sheepe ſhall feede together, and a young child ſhall rule them. The Cow alſo and the Beare ſhall abyde together, with their young ones, and the Lyon ſhall eate chaffe and foder lyke the Oxe. &c.*

Vpon theſe premiſſes now foloweth my Queſtion, how the Church of Rome can be aunſwerable to this hill of Syon: ſeyng in the ſayd Church of Rome is, & hath bene now ſo many yeares ſuch killyng and ſlaying, ſuch crueltie & tyranny ſhewed, ſuch burnyng and ſpoylyng of Chriſten bloud, ſuch malice and miſchief wrought, as in readyng theſe hiſtories may to all the world appeare.

Obiection.
Refutation.

To this if they aunſwere, and expounde theſe wordes of the Prophet, as perteinyng to the Church triumphant: thereunto I replye agayne: that by the wordes in the ſame place and in the ſame ſentence expreſſed, that ſenſe can not ſtand, for as muche as the Prophet in the very ſame place, where he Propheſieth of this peaceable dwellyng in Gods holye Mountaine without hurtyng or killyng, meaneth playnly of the earth, and ſheweth alſo the cauſe of that godly peace. *Becauſe* (ſayth he) *the earth is repleniſhed with knowledge and ſcience of the Lord. &c. ibid.* And furthermore, the Prophet ſpeakyng of the ſame day when this ſhalbe, addeth, ſaying: *In that day the roote of Ieſſe ſhall ſtand for a ſigne to the people, for the genteles to be conuerted, and to ſeeke vnto hym. &c.* Which day in no wiſe can be applyed to the Church in heauen triumphant, but onely here militant in earth.

Publike execution of lawes, not forbidden in ſcripture.

The conditions and properties of the true church of chriſt.
Rom. 15.
Galath. 6.

Touchyng which place of Ieſai further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Mount of Syon (which comprehendeth both the ſtates, as well Eccleſiaſticall as temporall) is not reſtrayned the publicke penalty of good lawes nedefull to be executed vpon publicke malefactours, but here is reſtrayned the fiercenes, reuenge, cruelty, and violence of mens affections. To which affectiõs men beyng commonly ſubiect by nature, through grace and workyng of the Goſpel, are altered, reformed, and chaunged to an other diſpoſition: from ſtoutnes to ſoftenes: from violence to ſufferaunce: from fiercenes to forbearyng: from pride to humilitie: from crueltie to compaſſion: from wylynes to ſimplicitie: from ſolemne ſingularitie, to humanitie and mekenes. Which vertues, if they had bene in the Church of Rome (accordyng to the rule of S. Paule, which willeth men that be ſtronger, to beare with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the ſpirite of mekenes &c. Rom. 15. Gal. 6.) I ſhould not haue needed now at this tyme, to write ſuch a long hiſtory as this of the ſufferyng of ſo many Martyrs.

¶ The ſecond Queſtion.

The 2. queſtion.

The deadly hatred of the Papiſtes againſt the proteſtants, grounded vpon no iuſt cauſe nor deſeruing.

My ſecond Queſtion is this: to demaunde of you Catholicke profeſſoures of the Popes ſecte, which ſo deadly maligne and perſecute the Proteſtantes profeſſing the Goſpell of Chriſt, what iuſt or reaſonable cauſe haue you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye beare vnto them, that neither you your ſelues can abide to lyue with them, nor yet will ſuffer them to lyue amongeſt you? If they were Iewes, Turkes, or Infidels, or in their doctrine were any Idolatrous impietie, or deteſtable iniquitie in their liues: if they went about any deadly deſtruction, or priuy conſpiracies to oppreſſe your liues, or by fraudulent dealyng to circumuent you, then had you ſome cauſe to complayne, & alſo to reuenge. Now ſeyng in their doctrine ye haue neither blaſphemie, idolatrie, ſuperſtition, nor miſbeleſe to obiect vnto them: ſeyng they are Baptiſed in the ſame beleefe, and beleue the ſame Articles of the Crede, as ye do: hauyng the ſame God, the ſame Chriſt and Sauioure, the ſame Baptiſme, and are ready to conferre with you in all kinde of Chriſtian doctrine, neither do refuſe to be tryed by any place of the Scripture, how then riſeth this mortall malice of you agaynſt them? If you thinke them to be heretikes, then bryng forth, if ye can, any one ſentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the minde of holy Scripture, expounded by the cenſure of moſt ancient Doctors? Or what is there in all the ſcripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confeſſe the ſame? See and trye the order of their lyues and doinges, what great fault finde you? They ſerue God, they walke vnder his feare, they obey his law, as men may do: and though they be tranſgreſſoures toward him, as other men are, yet toward you what haue they done, what haue they committed or deſerued why you ſhould be ſo bitter agaynſt them.

Malyce and crueltie of papiſtes, againſt the coũtrey of Merindol & Cabriers.

What offended the poore inhabitantes of Merindoll and Cabriers when the Biſhop of Aix, the Cardinall of Turon, and other Byſhops of Frãuce wraſtyng from Fraunces the French kyng a Commiſſion, ſent Minerius with his Captaine Iohn de Gay to deſtroy their countrey. an. 1530. who driuyng the poore people there into a barne full of ſtraw, ſet the barne on fire, and burned vp men, wemen, and children: And likewiſe in a Church exerciſed the like crueltie vpon them, where were murdered the ſame tyme to the number of a thouſand young and old, wemen, children, and young infantes, beſides, vij. whole townes, with the moſt part of the dwellers therein, beyng murdered and burnt in the ſayd countrey of Prouence.

Malice of Papiſts agaynſt the citizens of Tholouſe in France.

Alſo before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouſe and Auinion whẽ Pope Gregory the ix. ſet Lewes the French kyng to warre againſt them & againſt Raymundus their Earle, without cauſe, where alſo the ſaid king dyed at the ſiege.

Malyce and crueltie of Papiſtes againſt the Proteſtants in the towne of Vaſſie.

Or to ſpeake of later yeares, what hurt or harme did the poore Proteſtantes in the towne of Vaſſy, who peaceably beyng at a Sermon, were miſerably ſlayne and cut, men, wemen, and children by the Duke of Guyſe & his armed ſouldiours? beſides other infinite examples almoſt not to be numbered of like crueltie, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, Fraunce, and now of late in Flaunders, and in other countreyes mo.

Clemencie and mercie ſhewed to Papiſtes in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth.

But to let other countreyes paſſe, let vs turne now to the peaceable gouernement in this Realme of England, vnder this our ſo mylde & gracious Queene now preſently reignyng. Vnder whom you ſee how gently you are ſuffered, what mercy is ſhewed vnto you, how quietly ye liue. What lacke you, that you would haue, hauyng almoſt the beſt rowmes and offices in all the Realme, not onely without any loſſe of life, but alſo without any feare of death. And though a few of your Archclerkes be in cuſtody: yet in that cuſtody ſo ſhreudely are they hurt, that many a good Proteſtant in the Realme would be glad with al their hartes to chaunge rowmes and dyet with them, if they might. And albeit ſome other for their pleaſure haue ſlypt ouer the Seas, if their courage to ſee countreyes abroad did ſo allure them, who could let them? yet this is certein, no dread there was of death that draue them. For what Papiſt haue you ſene in all this land to loſe either life or lymme for Papiſtrye duryng all theſe xij. yeares hetherto ſince this Queenes reigne? And yet all this notwithſtandyng, hauyng no cauſe to complayne, ſo many cauſes to giue God thankes, ye are not yet content, ye freat and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleaſed with peace, nor ſatiſfied with ſafetie, but hope for a day, and fayne would haue a chaunge. And to preuent your deſired day, ye haue conſpired, and riſe vp in open rebellion agaynſt your Prince, whom the Lord hath ſet vp to be your gouernour.

The trayterous murdering of the Lord James regent of Scotland, Martyr.

And as ye haue ſince that, now of late diſturbed the quyet and peaceable ſtate of Scotland, in murderyng moſt trayterouſly the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in ſparyng the Queenes life there when he had her in his hands, hath now therfore loſt his owne) ſo with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would diſturbe the golden quyet & tranquillitie of this Realme of England, if ye might haue your willes. which the mercyfull grace of almighty God, for Chriſt hys ſonnes ſake our Lord, forefende and vtterly diſapoynt. Amen.

The chefe cauſe of all theſe late perſecutions in the church, is only the priuate quarell of the biſhop of Rome.

Wherfore theſe premiſſes conſidered, my queſtion is to aſke of you and know, what iuſt or reaſonable cauſe ye haue of theſe your vnreaſonable doynges, of this your ſo mortall and deadly hatred, fury, and malice you beare agaynſt theſe your euenchriſtened, of theſe your tumultes, coniurations, gapyng and hopyng, rebellions, mutterynges, and murders wherwith you trouble & diſquyet the whole world. Of all which miſchiefes, if the true cauſe were wel knowen, the truth would be found doubtles to be none other but onely the priuate cauſe of the Biſhop of Rome, that he is not receaued, and the dignitie of hys Church exalted.

The plantation of the Popes ſupremacie proued not to be of God.

Touchyng which cauſe how vnreaſonable and vniuſt it is, more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord willyng) in reply, accordyng as I ſhall ſee their aunſwere, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe them, or any of them to aunſwere this Queſtion. In the meane tyme this for a brief note ſhall ſuffice: that it ſtandeth not with the Scripture, but contrary to the Scripture, that the Byſhop of Rome ſhould ſo reuenge hys owne priuate cauſe. If his title and plantation be good and of God, why doth not he referre it vnto God? And no doubt, but if it be ſo, God wil maintaine it, though the whole world ſaid no. If it be otherwiſe, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the world ſayd yea. Yea the greateſt Argument to proue this plantation of the Popes ſupremacie not to be of God, is, that the Pope fighting in his owne priuate cauſe, by outward and worldly force ſeketh hys owne glory. Chriſt our Sauiour beyng here refuſed him ſelfe, yet neither reuenged his cauſe, nor ſought his owne glory, but onely the glory and will of his father, thus ſpeakyng of him ſelfe: Si ego glorifico meipſum, gloria mea nihil eſt, pater meus eſt qui glorificat me. &c. Ioan. 8. That is, *If I glorifie my ſelf, my glory is nothyng: my father is he that glorifieth me, &c* Euen ſo I ſay with ſcripture, that if the Popes procedyngs were plãted of God, he wold not ſo wraſtle for his glory, as he doth. But for ſomuch as he ſeketh by ſuch crueltie & bloudſhed to exalte him ſelf, we may well argue his procedynges not to be of God, and that he ſhall be brought low. &c. Luc. 18.

Iohn. 8.

Luke. 18.

¶ *The thyrd Queſtion.*

The 3. queſtion. Apocal. 13. The two beaſtes in the booke of Reuelation deſcribed.

My thyrd Queſtion I take of the xiij. chapter of the booke of Reuelation. which booke as it conteineth a Propheticall hiſtory of the Church: ſo likewiſe it requireth by hiſtories to be opened. In this Chapter mention is made firſt of a certeine beaſt commyng out the Sea, hauyng vij. heades & x. hornes, with x. diademes of blaſphemy. Unto the which beaſt the dragon, the deuil, gaue hys ſtrength, and great power to fight agaynſt the Saintes, and to ouercome them, and to make xlij. monethes: of the which beaſt, one of his heades was woũded at length to death &c.

The ſecond beaſt wyth the hornes like a lambe.

After this immediatly in the ſame Chapter mention foloweth of an other beaſt, riſyng out of the land, hauyng two hornes like a lambe, and ſpake like the Dragon, and did all the power of the former beaſt before hys face, and cauſed all dwellers of the earth to worſhyp the beaſt: whoſe head was wounded, and lyued. who alſo had power to gyue ſpirite & lyfe to the ſayd former beaſt, to make the Image of the beaſt to ſpeake, & to cauſe all men from the higheſt to the loweſt, to take the marke of the beaſt in their handes and foreheades, and who ſoeuer worſhypped not the Image of the beaſt ſhould be kylled. &c.

Upon this deſcription of theſe ij. beaſtes ryſeth my Queſtion, wherein I deſire all Papiſtes, from the hygheſt to the loweſt, either to aunſwere or to conſider with them ſelues, what the ſpirite of the propheſie meaneth by the ſayd two beaſtes. Neither is the myſtery of this propheſy ſo obſcure, but beyng hiſtoricall, by hiſtories it may be explaned and eaſely expounded. Writyng therefore to the Papiſtes, as men expert in hiſtories, my Queſtion is this: that ſeeyng the propheſy of theſe ij. beaſtes muſt nedes prefigure ſome people or dominion in the world, of ſome high eſtate and power: they will now declare vnto vs, what people or domination this ſhould be. which if they will do playnly and truly, accordyng to the markes and properties of the ſayd ij. beaſtes here ſet forth, they muſt nedes be driuen of force ineuitable to graunt and confeſſe, the ſame onely to agree to the Citie and Empire of Rome, and to no other: which by theſe reaſons folowyng of neceſſitie muſt nedes be concluded.

The myſterie of the firſt beaſt riſing out of the ſea applied.

Firſt, the beaſt which came out of the Sea, hauyng the ſtrength, the ſeate, and power of the great Dragon (the deuill, called the Prince of this world) committed to hym, who alſo had power giuen ouer all tribes, nations, languages, people, and countreys in the earth, muſt nedes be an Empyre or Monarchie of great force, paſſing all other Monarchies in the world beſides: and thys muſt nedes argue the Empire of Rome, and none other.

The Image of the beaſt reſembled to the monarchie of Rome Apocal. 13.

Secondly, in that the beaſt had vij. heads, & x. hornes, with x. diademes ful of blaſphemie vpon them: thoſe vij. heades beyng expounded in the ſayd boke, cap. 17. for vij. hilles, notoriouſly importeth the citie of Rome, wherin were vij. hilles conteined. The lyke alſo may be thought of the x. hornes beyng there expounded for x. kynges (ſignifiyng belyke the x. Prouincies or Kyngdomes of the world ſubdued to the Romaine Empire) with the x. crownes of blaſphemie vppon their heades: all which conueniently agree to the Citie of Rome.

Of theſe. xlij. monethes, and the expoſition thereof, read page. 139

Thyrdly, where the ſayd beaſt had power to make xlij. monethes and to fight agaynſt the Saintes, and to ouercome them &c. therby moſt manifeſtly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the heathen perſecutyng Emperours, which had power giuen the ſpace of ſo many monethes, (that is, frõ Tiberius to Licynius, 294. yeares) to perſecute Chriſtes church, as in the Table of the primitiue Church hereafter folowyng is diſcourſed more at large.

The wounded head of the beaſt in the reuelation what it meaneth

Fourthly, where the Prophet ſpeaketh of the one of the heades of the beaſt to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured agayne, by that ye haue to vnderſtand the decay and ſubuerſion of the Citie of Rome, and of Italie, which beyng one of the heades of the Romane Monarchie, was ſubdued by the Gottes, Vandals, and Lombardes, and the Citie of Rome thriſe ſackt and taken betwene the reigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the tyme of Iuſtinian Emperor of Conſtantinople, & ſo remayned this head of Rome woũded a long tyme vnder the dominiõ of yͤ Lombardes, till at length this wounde was cured agayne, as the ſequele of this propheſy declareth. For ſo it foloweth in the foreſayd Chapter of the Reuelation: *And after this I ſaw* (ſayth he) *an other beaſt ryſing out of the land, hauyng two hornes like the lambe, and ſpake lyke the Dragon. Who practiſed all the power of the firſt beaſt before hys face, and cauſed all the inhabitantes of the earth to worſhyp the firſt beaſt, whoſe head was wounded and cured agayne &c. And to him it was giuen to giue lyfe to the image of the beaſt, and to make it ſpeake: and alſo to make all them that will not worſhyp the image of the beaſt, to be ſlayne, and cauſed all from the moſt to the leaſt, both rich and poore, free men and bond men, to take the marke of the beaſt in their right hand and in their foreheades, ſo that none ſhould buy and ſell vnles he had the beaſtes marke about him. &c.*

The ſecond beaſt riſing out of the land, pretending the hornes of a Lambe, what it meaneth. Apocal, 13.

The myſterie of the 13. chapter, of the Reuelations expounded.

The deſcription of this ſecond beaſt beyng well vewed, it can not be auoyded, but nedes muſt be applyed to the Byſhop of Rome and to none other: as by hiſtory and order of tymes is euident to be proued. For who els repreſenteth the hornes of the lambe of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, but onely he? who ſpeaketh with the voyce of the Dragon ſo proudly, as he? The voyce of the Dragon ſpake once to Chriſt: *That all the glory of the world was his to giue to whom he would, and that he would giue it. &c.* And doth not this falſe horned lambe ſpeakyng in the ſame voice of the Dragõ, ſay by the mouth of Pope Gregory vij. that *all the kingdomes of the earth were his, and that he had power in earth to looſe, and take away Empyres, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and what els ſoeuer mortall men may haue, and to giue them where he would? &c.* Ex Platina in Vit. Gregor. 7.

Ex platina in Vita Gregorij 7.

The Image of the olde monarchie reuiued by the Biſhop of Rome.

Furthermore, at what tyme the declinyng ſtate of Rome began to decay, & Italy was brought vnder ſubiection of the Lombardes, then the Pope ſtyrred vp Pipinus & Carolus Magnus to take his part agaynſt the Lombardes, & to reſtore agayne, the old glory of that Monarchie to his former ſtate. And therfore who cured the wounded head of this beaſt agayne but onely he? who gaue lyfe and ſpeach to the image of the beaſt but he? who after that by helpe of the French

kynges,

kyngs, had ſubdued thoſe Lombardes with other aliens, & had gotten the poſſeſſion of Rome into his owne hands, he ſo repared and aduaunſed the ſame and name of Rome, that ſince that tyme all perſons from the hyeſt to the loweſt, both rich and poore haue bene glad to ſend and ſeeke to Rome, yea Kynges, Emperours, Queenes, and Dukes haue bene glad to kyſſe that Biſhops feete, and to lead his horſe by the bridle. So that the maieſty of Rome in the old heathen Emperours dayes was neuer more terrible, nor glorious, nor neuer had more power to perſecute and ouercome Gods Saintes, then theſe lambelyke Byſhops of Rome haue had, and haue exerciſed theſe 500. yeares in Chriſtendome. And therfore who els in all the world hath ſo much power to do the workes of the firſt beaſt, before his face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poore, free and bonde to receaue the ſeale, and to become loyall to the Citie and ſea of Rome: ſo that who ſoeuer hath not the marke wherby to be knowen to hold of the Church of Rome, ſhall haue no place, to buy and ſell nor to occupy in all Chriſtendome..

Power to do the workes of the beaſt before his ſight. *Apocal. 13.*

Now if any Papiſt whatſoeuer, in aunſweryng to this my Queſtion can apply this propheticall myſtery of theſe ij. beaſtes, otherwiſe thē thus, I would hartely deſire him, to take ſo much paynes to ſatiſfie this doubt at his good pleaſure and layſure. In the meane ſeaſon let this ſtand for a Corolarium, that the Byſhop of Rome by this deſcription muſt be that ſecond beaſt, propheſied to come in the later tyme of the Church, vnder a falſe pretenſed lambe, to reſtore agayne the old perſecutions of Rome, and to diſturbe the whole Church of Chriſt, as this day to truly is come to paſſe.

¶*The fourth Queſtion.*

As touchyng my fourth Queſtion, although I could vrge you with an other like prophetical place of Scripture, no leſſe euident agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome, taken out of the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Paul, to the Theſſalonians, where mention is made of the ſonne of perdition, ſittyng in the Temple of God as God, and aduaunſing him ſelfe aboue all that is called God &c. which place ye can by no reaſonable euaſion auoyde: yet notwithſtandyng to let this paſſe, I turne my Queſtion to aſke this of you, whether the Religion of Chriſt be mere ſpiritual, or els corporal. If ye affirme it to be corporall, as was the old Religion of the Iewes conſiſtyng in outward rites, ſacrifices, and ceremonies of the law: then ſhew if ye can, what any one outward action or obſeruation is requyred in Chriſtian religion by the Scripture, as neceſſary in a Chriſten man, for remiſſion of ſinnes & ſaluation, ſaue onely the two Sacramentall ceremonies of outward Baptiſme, and of the Lordes Supper? Howbeit neither theſe alſo as they are corporall, that is to ſay neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other conferreth remiſſion of ſinnes, nor ſaluation, but onely are viſible ſhewes of inuiſible and ſpirituall benefites. And furthermore if our God, whom we ſerue, be ſpirituall, how can his Religion and ſeruice be corporall as we are taught by the mouth of our Sauiour, ſaying: *God is a ſpirite and therfore they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip in ſpirite and Veritie. &c Ioan. 4.*

The 4. Queſtion. *2. Theſ. 2.*

Religion of Chriſt ſpiritual, and not corporal.

Now if ye graunt (as ye muſt nedes) this our Chriſtian Religion to be ſpirituall, and not a corporal Religion, then ſhew, if ye can, any one point of all theſe things which ye ſtayne for ſomuch with vs, to be ſpiritual, but altogether corporall, and externe matters and ceremonial obſeruations, nothyng conducyng to any ſpiritual purpoſe, as your outward ſucceſſion of Byſhops, garmentes, veſtures, geſtures, coulours, choyſe of meates, difference of dayes, tymes and places, hearyng, ſeyng, ſaying, touchyng, taſtyng, numberyng of beades, gildyng and worſhippyng Images, buildyng monaſteries, riſyng at mydnight, ſilence in cloyſters, abſteinyng from fleſh and white meate, faſtyng in Lent, keepyng Imberdayes, hearyng Maſſe and diuine ſeruice, ſeyng and adoryng the body in forme of bread, receauyng holy water, and holy bread, crepyng the croſſe, caryng Palmes, takyng aſhes, bearyng candels, pilgremage goyng, ſenſyng, kneelyng, knockyng, altares, ſuperaltares, candleſtickes, pardons: In orders croſſyng, annoyntyng, ſhauyng, forſweryng Mariage: In baptiſme, croſſyng, ſaltyng, ſpattelyng, exorciſyng, waſhyng of handes: At Eaſter eareconfeſſion, penaunce doyng, ſatiſfaction: And in receauyng with beardes newſhauen, to imagine a body, where they ſee no body: and though he were their preſent to be ſene, yet the outward ſeyng and touchyng of hym, of it ſelfe, without faith, conduceth no more, then it dyd to the Iewes. At Rogation dayes, to cary banners, to folow the croſſe, to walke about the fieldes. After Pentecoſt, to go about with Corpus Chriſti play. At halowmas to watch in the Church, to ſay dirige and commendations, and to ryng for all ſoules, to pay tythes truly, to giue to the hye altare. And if a man will be a Prieſt, to ſay Maſſe and Mattens, to ſerue the Sainte of the day, and to lyft well ouer his head &c. In ſickenes to be aneled, to take his rightes, after hys death to haue funerals, and obites ſayd for hym, and to be rong for at his funerall, moneth mynd, and yearemynde. &c. Adde moreouer to theſe the outward ſacrifice of the Maſſe, with opus operatum ſine bono motu vtentis. &c.

The Pope turneth the ſpirituall religion of Chriſt to a corporall religion.

The whole ſumme of the Popes catholike religion ſet forth in partes.

All which thynges aboue recited, as they conteine the whole ſummary and effect of all the Popes Catholicke Religion: ſo are they all be corporall exerciſes, conſiſtyng in the externe operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholicke Chriſtian, then may it be ſayd, that men may be made perfect Chriſtians, by fleſh and bloud, without any inward workyng of fayth, or of the holyghoſt. For what is in all theſe, but that fleſh and bloud, of his ſtrength is able to accompliſh, though no inward ſtrength or motion of the holy ghoſt did worke.

A man may be a Catholique by the Popes religion without any working of the holy ghoſt.

But now the order of our Religion, and way of ſaluation conſiſteth not in ſuch corporall or outward thynges as theſe, but in other more higher and more ſpirituall giftes, which farre exceede the capacitie of fleſh and bloud: of the which giftes the chiefeſt and onely meane cauſe that ſaueth man, and remitteth ſinnes, is his fayth in Chriſt. Which fayth I thus define, for a man to beleue by the bloudſhedyng of Ieſus the ſonne of God, his ſinnes to be forgiuen, Gods wrath to be pacified, and him ſelfe to be iuſtified perfectly from all accuſations that can be layd vnto him, &c. And though the Papiſtes make a light matter of this, to beleue in Chriſt, and when they heare vs ſay, that fayth onely iuſtifieth, they obiect to vs agayne and make it a ſmall matter to be ſaued, if faith onely iuſtifie vs. Yet notwithſtandyng, this fayth, if it be wel examined, is ſuch a thyng, that fleſh and bloud is not able to atteine therto, vnles Gods holy ſpirit from aboue do draw him.

The nature of true chriſtian religion deſcribed. Saluation of man ſtandeth only in fayth of Chriſt.

Fayth in Chriſt, no light matter to fleſh & bloud.

Moreouer beſides this fayth, many other thynges are incident alſo to the doctrine of our ſaluation. Albeit as no cauſes therof, but either as Sacramentes and ſeales of fayth, or as declarations therof, or els as fruites and effectes folowyng the ſame. So Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord be as teſtimonies and profes, that by our fayth onely in Chriſt we are iuſtified, that as our bodyes are waſhed by water, and our lyfe nouriſhed by bread and wyne: ſo by the bloud of Chriſt, our ſinnes be purged, and the hunger of our ſoules releued by the death of hys body.

Many thinges incident to ſaluation beſides fayth: but not as cauſes therof.

Upon the ſame fayth riſeth alſo outward profeſſion by mouth, as a declaration therof. Other thinges alſo as fruites and effects do folow after faith, as peace of conſcience, ioy in the holy ghoſt, inuocation, pacience, charitie, mercy, iudgement, and ſanctification. For God for our faith in Chriſt his ſonne, therfore gyueth into our hartes his holy ſpirite of comfort, of peace, and ſanctification, wherby mans hart is moued to a godly diſpoſition to feare God, to ſeke him, to call vpon him, to truſt vnto him, to ſticke to him in all aduerſities and perſecutions, to loue him: and for his ſake alſo to loue our brethren, to haue mercy and compaſſion vpon them, to viſite them if they be in priſon, to breake bread to them if they be hungry: and if they be burdened, to eaſe them: to cloth them, if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houſeles. Mat. 25. with ſuch other ſpirituall exerciſes of pietie and ſanctification as theſe. Which therfore I call ſpirituall, becauſe they procede of the holy ſpirit and law of God which is ſpirituall.

Workes of ſanctification, how they come and folow fayth. *Eſay. 58. Math. 25.*

And thus haue ye a Catholicke Chriſtian defined: firſt after the rules of Rome, and alſo after the rule of the Goſpell. Now conferre theſe Antitheta together, & ſee whether of theſe, is the truer Chriſtiā, the ceremoniall man after the Church of Rome or the ſpirituall man with his faith and other ſpirituall fruites of pietie folowyng after the ſame. And if ye ſay that ye mixte them both together, ſpirituall thinges with your corporall ceremonies, to that I aunſwere againe, that as touchyng the end of remiſſion of ſinnes, and ſaluation, they ought in no caſe to be ioyned together, becauſe the meane cauſe of all our ſaluation and remiſſion, is onely ſpirituall, and conſiſteth in faith, and in no other.

And therfore vpon the ſame cauſe I come to my Queſtion agayne, as I began, to aſke whether the Religiō of Chriſt be a mere ſpirituall Religion: and whether in the Religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thyng but onely mere corporall thynges required, to make a Catholicke man. And thus I leaue you to your aunſwere.

THE NAMES OF THE AVTHORS ALLEGED IN *this Booke, beſides many and ſondry other Authors whoſe names are vnknowen, and alſo beſides diuers Recordes of Parlament, and alſo other matters found out in Regiſters of ſondry Byſhops of this Realme.*

A

AVguſtinus.
Ambroſius.
Athanaſius.
Anacletus.
Anicetus.
Anſelmus.
Antoninus.
Auentinus.
Annonius de geſt. fran.
Antonius Equilinus.
Adonis Martyrologium
Abbas Vrſpergenſis.
Abdias.
Alfridus.
Albertus.
Arnoldus de noua villa.
Andreas a Lacuna.
Aueſburienſis.
Anſegiſus Abbas.
Alexander Hales.
Adamus Myrimouth.
Alcuinus.
Armachanus in defenſorio curatorum.
Aurelius Victor.
Acta Romanorum pōti.

B

BAſilius Magnus.
Beda.
Baldus.
Burnardus Clarauallenſis.
Bernardus de Breydēbach.
Baptiſta Egnatius.
Bergomenſis.
Bertholomeus Georgienitz.
Bartholomeus Peregrinus.
Bonauentura.
Benno.
Bracton.
Bertramus.
Bartholdus.

C

CYprianus.
Cyrillus.
Chryſoſtomus.
Clemens.
Clemens Alexandrinus.
Caſsiodorus.
Caſsianus.
Carion.
Carolus Molinæus.
Conradus Hager.
Cornelius.
Crantzius.
Cuſpinianus.
Calendarium Bruti.
Catharinus.
Cuſanus.
Cardanus.
Caxton.
Capgraue.
Clodouicus.
Carolus Bouillus.
Conradus Peutingerus.
Cæſarius Monachus.
Cicero.
Clitoueus.
Cochleus.
Criſpinus.
Chronicon Albanenſe.
Chronicon Saxonicum.
Chronichon monachi Douernenſis.
Chronicon Richardi. 2
Chronicon Herſfeldēſe.
Chron. manu ſcripta varia.
Cōſilia generalia varia.

D

DAmaſus.
Damaſcenus.
Druthmarus.
Dantes Italicus.
Dionyſius.
Dorotheus.
Dulcinus.
Durandus.

E

EVſebius.
Eutropius.
Eulogium hiſtoricum.
Euariſtus.
Æneas Syluius.
Egeſippus.
Edmerus.
Eleutherius.
Ægidius Biterig.
Eccius.

F

FVlgentius.
Fabianus.
Faſciculus temporum.
Franciſcus Petrarcha.
Froyſard.

G

GRegorius Magnus.
Gregorius Naziāzenus.
Gelaſius.
Gratianus.
Gerſon.
Guliel. de Sancto Amore.
Gregorius Turonnēſis.
Georgius Wicelus.
Gloſa.
Gulielmus Neubergenſis.
Gaulfridus Monumetenſis.
Gallus Benouenſis.
Geruaſius.
Guliel. de monte Landuno.
Gualterus Hemingford, aliâs Giſburnenſis.
Guliel. Malmeſburienſis de geſt. Pontif.
Guliel. Malmeſburienſis de regibus.
Godfridus Viterbiēſis.
Godfridus de Fōtanis.
Gildas.
Gormatius.
Geraldus Ridder.
Geraldus Cambrenſis.
Geffrey Chaucer.
Gabriel Biel.
Georgius Lilius.

H

HIlarius.
Hieronimus.
Hugo de S. Victore.
Hieronimus Marius.
Haymo.
Heliodorus.
Helchiades.
Hiſtoria Iornalenſis.
Henricus Huntington Archidiaconus.
Henricus Penia.
Henricus Herfordēſis.
Hermanus Mutius.
Henricus Mutius.
Helmoldus.
Hiſtoria monachi Cant. de miraculis B. Thomæ.
Hildegardis.
Henricus de Haſsia.
Hiſtoria Quadripartita ſeu Quadrilogus.
Hiſtoria D. Scales.
Huttenus.
Honorius.
Halles Chronicle.
Hieronimus Wellerus.
Hardinges Chronicle.

I

IVſtinus Martyr.
Ignatius.
Irenæus.
Iacobus Miſnenſis.
Iacobus Philippus.
Iacobus Seleſtudienſis,
Iacobus de Voragine.
Iacobus Cartuſienſis.
Iacobus Hipperius.
Ingulphus Croulandenſis.
Ino Carnotenſis.
Ioannes Sleidanus.
Ioannes Oſtendorpius.
Io. de temporibus.
Io. de monte regali.
Ioan. Frāciſcus Mirādula.
Ioannes Picus Mirandula.
Ioan. Pizebram.
Ioannes Ramus.
Ioannes Hus.
Io. de rupe Sciſſa.
Ioannes Criſpus.
Ioannes Faber.
Iornandus.
Ioannes Stella.
Iſidorus.
Iſuardus.
Iſiodorus Rutherus.
Iuſtinianus.
Ioannes Maior.
Ioannes Scotus.
Illyricus.
Ioan. Dulcius.

L

LAziardus.
Laonicus Chalcondula.
Limprandus.
Ludouicus Pius.
Lindanus.
Lāfranci opus Scintillarū.
Lapiſcaſtellius.
Lābertus Scafnaburgenſis.
Ludouicus Rabus.
Laurentius Valla.
Ludouicus Viues.

M

MAtheus Weſtmonaſterienſis.
Mathæus Pariſienſis.
Manlius.
Marſilius Patauinus.
Marſilius Ficinus.
Martinus Pœnitentiarius.
Marianus Scotus.
Marinus Bartletus.
Marcellus.
Melchior Soiterus.
Meltiades.
Methodius.
Mytilineus Archiep.
Magiſter Hiſtoriarum.
Michael Ceſenas.
Martinus Lutherus.

N

NIcephorus.
Nauclerus.
Nicolaus Clemangis.
Nicolaus Triuet.
Nicolaus Euboicus.
Nouiomagus.
Nicolaus Amotten.
Nicolaus Lyranus.
Nicolaus Orem.
Nicolaus Ciſnerus.
Nicolaus Emericus.

O

OEcumenius.
Origenes.
Onomaſticon.
Onus Eccleſiæ.
Orthuinus Gratius.
Oroſius.
Oſbernus.
Oecolampadius.
Occham.
Otto Phriſingenſis.

P

POlycarpus.
Platina.
Proſper.
Petrus Bleſenſis.
Petrus Lombardus.
Petrus Comeſter.
Petrus de Natalibus.
Petrus Præmonſtratenſis.
Petrus Cluniacenſis.
Petrus de Corboria.
Petrus de Monte,
Paulus Æmilius.
Paulus Iouius.
Paulus Diaconus.
Paulus Catalanus.
Paulus Eberus.
Philippus Pulcher.
Philippus Comineus.
Philippus Melancthon.
Pomponius Lætus.
Prudentius.
Pragmatica Sanctio.
Phileas.
Petrus de Vineis.
Pandulphus Colonutius.
Paralipomenon.
Polydorus Virgilius.
Peucerus.
Pighius.
Pantaleon.

R

RAbanus.
Ruffinus.
Ranulphi Ceſtrenſis, Polychronicon.
Rudborne,
Redus.
Reginus.
Robertus Lycius.
Rogerus Houeden.
Robertus Crikladenſis.
Rutgerus Fuldenſis.
Rodulphus Niger.
Reuelationes S. Brigittæ.
Robertus Groſthed.
Repington.
Reinerus.
Rogerus Wallus.
Robertus Gallus.
Randenulcus.
Rodolphus Gualterus,
Regiſtra Varia.

S

SOcrates.
Sozomenus.
Sabellicus.
Sebaſt. Munſterus.
Simeō Metaphraſtes.
Simon Tornacenſis.
Stephanus Cātuariēſis.
Scala Mundi.
Sigebertus.
Sibilla Erithræa.
Suidas.
Suetonius.
Staniſlaus Rutherus.
Stephanus Aufreferius.
Sulpitius.

T

TErtulianus.
Theophilactus.
Theodoretus.
Thomas de Aquino.
Thomas Facellus.
Taulerus.
Theodorus.
Theodoricus Niemus.
Thomas Watryng.
Tritemius.
Thomas Gaſconius.
Thomas Gray.
Thomas Morus.

V

VOlateranus.
Voluſianus.
Veſelus Groningenſis.
Vincentius.
Vopiſcus.
Vnio diſſ.

W

WOlphangus Drechſterus,
Waldenus.
Wodfard.

Z

ZOnaras.

¶ *FINIS.*

¶ The names of the Martyrs in this booke conteined,

namely ſuch as haue ſuffred moſt terrible Martyrdome for the fayth and hope they had in the redeption of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, frõ the firſt beheadyng of Iohn Baptiſt to this preſent, as well vnder the Iewes as Emperours, and lately vnder the Turke, and laſt of all vnder the Pope: Albeit not in ſo ample maner as that the names of all and euery Martyr here were to be required: For ſuch was the tyranny in the time of the x. firſt perſecutions, ſpecially in the laſt perſecution vnder Diocleſian, that xxx. thouſand were Martyred in one day, whoſe names are not expreſſed, and likewiſe many thouſandes in ſondry places were Martyred, whoſe names neither are in this Table comprehended nor in any other to be numbred. Howbeit to ſatiſfie ſome part of the readers expectation, in comprehendyng ſuch as ſtoryes and Regiſters would giue vs, I haue collected this Table in forme of the Alphabete as foloweth.

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300. 400. 500. 1000.
ccc. cccc. D. M. &c.

¶In Martylogium Ioannis Foxi.

Laurentius Humfredus.

TRiſtes Iliadas docti miramur Homeri:
Quas ſcite ſtuduit texere τυφλὸσ ἀνὴρ.
Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,
Hæc madidis ſpectant mæſta theatra genis.
Multa dolenda quidem, ſed vatum ſomnia multa,
Fictis intexunt vera, probata nothis.
Sunt quos delectant vanæ commenta Legendæ
Quam ſtabulum Augiæ rite vocare queas.
Dum vitam & mortem Sanctorum narrat, vt errat?
Vt pingit, fingit, Plumbeus ille liber?
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, noua, vera Legenda:
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris hiſtoria.
Authorem commendat opus, ſic rurſus adornat
Author opus: ſimul hæc vtraq́; felle carent.
Authorem ſpecta: pius eſt, & terſus, & amplus,
Iudicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.
Si rem conſyderas, caſus, cædeſq́; bonorum
Tractat, & immeritæ ſtigmata ſæua crucis.
Illudant alij, carpant, at zoilus olim
Dum perijt, quid ſit rodere, iam docuit.
Hic diſcas Lector, quam ſit furioſa tyrannis
Romanæ caulæ cornigeriq́; gregis:
Vt lupus innocuos ſemper graſſetur in agnos:
Vt fremat, atq́; auidis faucibus oſſa voret:
Nonne ſatis fuerat Chriſti pia membra cremare?
Et viuos flammis perdere, nonne ſatis?
Nonne ſatis damnaſſe ſenes, pueroſq́;, viroſq́;,
Fæmellas, omni ex ordine, nonne ſatis?
Cur iuuat, heu, Manes ſcriptis lacerare iacentes,
Et Diuos Foxi dicere ſtercoreos?
Ah miſer, ah Chriſti teneros compungis ocellos,
Pupillam tangis, quiſquis es, ergo ſape.
Hæc eſt progenies cuius ſtola lota cruore
Agni, per Chriſtum candida tota nitet.
Apoc. 6. *Illa ſub altari querulatur, Chriſte quouſq́;?*
Chriſte veni propere, Chriſte quouſq́; feres?
Extra tela tua eſt, & prædicat illa Tonantem:
Mors pretioſa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabioſe Sathan? quid ſpicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniaſq́; pios?
Fruſtra carnifices, carcer, tormenta, faceſq́;.
In Cælo regnant membra caputq́; ſimul.
Corpora ſanctorum mundus conſumpſit, in altum
Migrarunt animæ, nomina Foxus habet.
Nomina Foxus habet totum celebranda per orbem,
Nomina iam nullo contumulanda die.
Nam cum Martyribus Foxus, cum numine viuent
Nomina, cumq́; ſuo ſtirps generoſa deo.
Ad Chriſtū precatio. *Monſtra, Chriſte, tuis portum, compeſcito fluctus*
Iactatæ naui ſit ſua, Chriſte, quies.
Sanguine Fraterno poſthac ne terra madeſcat:
Ne pergat Foxus ſcribere Martyria.
Perdita decurtes ſceleratæ tempora vitæ
Tandem mortiferus tranſeat iſte calix.
Sit finis, veniatq́; tuum, pater optime, regnum:
Sit tibi, ſit Chriſto, Spirituiq́; decus. Amen.

¶In Sanct. Martyrum hiſtoriam

Abrah. Hartwelus.

ELoquio, venerande, tuo non Μάρτυρες *ipſi*
Sed nos: non Cælum, Foxe, ſed orbis eget.
Illorum creuiſſe malis lęthoq́; putatum eſt
quos nunc ipſe vides degenerare greges.
Illorum, crede, hiſtoria velut ignibus antè
calfiet quod nunc friget Euangelium.
Certabitq́; ætas veniens milleſima, quorum
fortia facta leget, fortia facta ſequi.
Et calamo ſeruata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,
funera tot, lachrimas, damna, pericla, neces,
Nulla dies tollet, non qui malus intulit hoſtis:
non quamuis omni cum Phlegetonte velit.
Non, renuente deo, quondam qui ſæuijt hoſtis,
non, renuente deo, bis violentus erit.
Bis fremat: innocuo rapietur cum grege Paſtor.
grex cadet & paſtor, ſpeſq́; futura gregis.
Nullus reſtabit laceris in ouilibus agnus,
nulla, deus, recta ſimplicitate pecus.
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus: alma
ſimplicitas fuco, perfidiæq́; fides:
Iniuſto, falſo, ſcelerato, ſanguineoq́;
virtutum ſacer Euangelidumq́; chorus.
Quid facient diſce ex factis: ventura probantur
præteritis.
Ni tua de cælo veniat Clementia, cuius
tolluntur digito parua, ſuperba cadunt.
Et venias æterne, potens, inuicte, triumphans:
ſic, vt in Aegipto vel Babylone, veni.
Non tanti Babylone Draco Beluſq́; fuere,
cultuſq́; inſani, & fœda ſuperſtitio:
Et licet Aegypti crudelia facta legentur,
Aegyptus non tam ſæua minaxq́; fuit.
Vtraq́;, nec ſatis eſt, monſtrum concreuit in vnum
& ſi qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus præco, ſtyliue magiſter?
doctæ quid poterunt veriparæq́; ſcholæ?
Quid mitis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus ſanguifluuſq́; liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui viuos vndiq́; teſtes,
factores viuos, & modo geſta canit?
Scilicet vt monſtret ſanctorum Eccleſia qualis,
collecti quales ex Acheronte lupi.
Vt doceat, firmet, ſoletur corda piorum:
dedoceat, vincat, excrucietue malos.
Vt tibi parta, deus, ſtet ſemper gloria, nati
vt poſsit tecum gloria ſtare tui:
Sanguinis vt ſacri, non occultanda trophæa
vtraq́; poſteritas, ſancta, maligna, ſciat.
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quæſita labore,
tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noctibus exantlata tot, & ſudata diebus,
tot placitura bonis, obruitura malos,
Chriſti, non hominum, laudes ſparſura per orbem
factaq́; (credo) ætas qualia rara feret:
Hæc, oro, tibi Summipotens nobiſq́; ſecundet,
numinis in laudem perpetuumq́; decus.
Inuideat Sathanas, & zoilus ilia rumpat.
obtrectet mendax cum grege Roma ſuo.

¶In idem Argumentum. *Rob. R.*

EN iterum in magnos noua commentaria vates:
Auctius & plus eſt, q̃ fuit antè decus.
Sanctorum hiſtorias, & noſtri perfida ſecli
Tempora lector habes, terrificumq́; ſcelus.
Dignum certè opus eſt, quamuis ſit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat, poſteritaſq́; probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) maius: numeroſa ſophorum eſt
Littera, ſed ſimilis pondere & arte ſtylus.

Crede mihi hiſtoriam hanc quondam lectura vetuſtas,
Suſpiciet genium(Foxe diſerte)tuum.
Non tamen inſani ſinit hæc dementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doctos fert partitur ve viros.
Hiſtrio, ſcurra,dicax,paraſitus,hypocrita,mimus,
Vappa magè arrident,leno,Papiſta placent.
Neſcis adulari,nec verum(Foxe)ſilere:
Scriptaq; miraris non placuiſſe tua?

Eiuſdem.

QViſq; bonus te(Foxe)colit,tua ſcripta celebrat,
Dant decus hoc ſtudij tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornat,doctorum concio laudat,
Vnde ergo in libros inuidia iſta tuos?
Vnde Papizantis ſubita hec conuerſio ſectæ:
Nunc audire pudet,quod facere haud puduit.
Vnde tot Harpyæ,nempe Hardyngiq; Copiq;?
Vnde hæc Louanij garrula turba ſcholæ?
Cauſa patet: furiæ Muſas,nec ſacra Papiſmus,
Nec Chriſti athletas raſa farina probat.
Nec te adeo oderunt puto,ſed verumq; fidemq;.
Heu bene nulla poteſt lingua maligna loqui.

¶ *Ad Io: Daium typographum:*

Friuola quum multi deliramenta, meramq;
Sultitiam magno vendiderint pretio,
Ne dubita optato referes vel ſingula lucro
(Daie)licet magno ſtent Monumenta tibi.

¶ In Acta Martyrum Carmen T.Drant.

ERgone ſic Papæ potuit vox improba iuſſu
Papa. *Tam dirum mandare nefas? tot corpora tantis*
Contumulaſſe rogis , cineres ſine honore ſepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum ? quæue hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit gens vlla,pios ſine lege necari,
Totq; ſimul mactare viros meritricis ob iram?
Papa refer,quæ te rapuit rabieſq; furorq;
Corpora tam diris ſanctorum addicere flammis.
Funera tot miſcere hominum,tot plectere ciues,
Vaſtare & toto diuiſos orbe Britannos?
Dic quid noſtrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuere,quibus tot maxima paſsis
Vix pars vlla manet terræ qui panditur orbis ?
An tua quòd nobis taxata eſt frauſq; doluſq;,
Et Πολυπραγμοσύνη *, & amor ſceleratus habendi?*
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem ſonat : ergo
Rite putabamus Papam ca~~cademone natum~~?
An quòd cum Chriſto nos conſpirare dolebas?
Quòd te cum Chriſto non conſpirare videmus?
Quòd te Romanam crebris cum cornibus hydram
Prodimus,vt ſceleris magni,vitijq; miniſtrum?
Hinc illud quòd ſe verſat diriſq; miniſq;,
Hinc illud quòd & hos facibus fumantibus vſsit.
Sis miſer & nulli cuiquam miſerabilis . Huius
Bonerus. *Tu cladis tantæ pars magna Bonere fuiſti:*
Mactator pecudum Chriſti,diſperſor ouilis,
Triſte malum ſtabulis,& nil niſi peſsima clades.
Vos quoq; vos omnes Ihouæ tetigiſſe Prophetas,
Et calcaſſe pios,numen ſpreuiſſe benignum
Quèis ioculare fuit,crudeles ponite mentes.
Iam ſatis eſt(proh)plus ſatis eſt,reſipiſcite ſero,
Sera nimis non vlla dies,nunc diſcite tandem,
Diſcite vel tandem moniti non temnere Chriſtum.
Oſcula libetis gnato,ne ſæuiat vltor,
Et male vos ſperſos deturbet tramite vitæ.
At vos qui læti quiduis ſuperaſtis acerbum, Ad Martyres.
Cælicolæ,quibus æternum licet eſſe beatis,
Dulce decuſq; Dei,Chriſtum quia morte decora
Ornaſtis,clari ſuperi,cætuſq; triumphans:
Non caro,non mundus,non vos turcæ,Papa,demon,
Non Phœbe pernox vexabit,ſol vé diurnus.
Et vos ô cuncti,ſcanſo qui culmine cæli,
Vaditis ad patrem,terrena mole relicta:
Quid carcer,colaphi,compes,tormenta,cachinni,
Vultus quid nocuere truces? quid tela? quid ignes?
Scilicet vt fuluum ſpectatur in ignibus aurum:
Sic vos mactarunt ſpectata holocaumata Chricto.
Interitus veſter Domini precioſus ocellis.
Horum(Foxe)pijs,dum tu ſic nomina ſcriptis,
Et mortem,& mores longum diffundis in æuum,
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus,& merito multum memorabilis ipſo.
Ergo tu doctis pergis palleſcere chartis
Nocturna verſando manu,verſando diurna.
Athlas clarorum gnauus,gnaruſq; laborum
Es ſtudijs,dum magna cohors ſua commada captans
(Auſpice non Chriſto)mundi venatur honores.
Vel tu Romano, vel tu ſermone Britanno
Scribito,præteriti vel produc temporis acta,
Patre Deo monſtrante viam, data fata ſecutus:
Omne feres punctum, ſic miſces vtile dulci.
Magne Deus,cæliq; ſator,mundiq; Monarcha, Ad Deum de inundatibus bellorum procellis.
Quem nos terrarum tempeſtatumq; potentem
Credimus,& ſolum ſcimus venerabile numen,
Aſpicis inſano vexari cuncta tumultu,
Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volui?
Parce gregi paruo,pacem te poſcimus omnes.
Sis bonus(ô)felixq; tuis,vel parcito Chriſto,
Cuius membra nimis iam mundus lædit & odit.
Per tibi dilectam ſponſam,promiſſaq; pacta,
Per paſſum Chriſtum,per dulcia pignora paſsi,
Per te,te petimus,dentes confringe malorum.

¶ *Ad Ennianum Carmen alluſio.*

SI fas cædendo cæleſtia ſcandere cuiq; eſt.
Papicolis Cæli maxima porta patet.

I. F.

FINIS.

Correction of certaine faultes, defectes, and ouerſightes in both volumes of this hiſtory eſcaped, and thus to be amended.

Fol.	col.	lin.	
25			in the title put out, and
50	1	14	reade xxxiiij.
56	2	12	for *Pertinax*, read *Nerua*.
59	1	65	read *Antoninus*.
78	2	6	read 40.
161	2	29	for *Ror*, read *Roſ*.
171	2	45	for ẏ ſame, read that ſome.
179	2	16	for monethes, read *Syredus*, after *Fegeldus*.
184	1	16	for *ſoluendi*. read *conſulendi*.
221	2	62	after *Siricius*, put *Aluredus*.
ibid.	2	65	for *Egelnodus*. read *Ethelnothus*.
222	1	42	for Exceſter, read Oxford
229	2	51	read, ſit on the right hand
224	1		for Douer, read Dorobernia.i.Cant.
233	2	36	read, in the meane time
278	1	77	for *Scachanal*. read *Saccauilla*.
292	1	10	for 260. read 263.
297	2	18	for vnſkilfully, read ſkilfully
265	1	4	Gerſon ſayth, at Northampton.
324	2	42	for 1292. read 1192.
301	2	33	read, I doubt not.
313.	1	27	read, on the right hand,
353	1	6	for conteyning, read contemning.
363	3	43	read: in the citie
383	2	29	read: by his Epiſtles.
385	2	21	read, *in ligabilia non ligantur.*
406	1	69	for the doctrine, read conſonant to the doctrine.
424	2	40	for William, read Adam.
ibid.	2	44	for his brother Robert, read frier Robert.
ibid.	2	47	read, by ſixe biſhops.
488	1	79	read, Innocentius the 3.
494	1	53	for againſt, read againe
457	1	16	for repealed, read repeated.
529	1	44	for ſonne, read ſõnes ſonne.
667	1		in the margent, for *profeſſu*, read *proceſſu*
747	1	29	put out, and
777	2	11	read, *Herbipolis*
ibid.	2	23	put out, wherby
821	1	17	put out, moſt ſhamefull
852	2	2	read, by whõ he was repulſed in ſo many battels.
879	1	40	for 1408, read 1450.
871	1	39	read, Bernardinus
ibid.	2	1	put out: and ſo the next yere after, this warlike pope died.
829	1	45	read, *Thermopylæ.*
917			for Tylſeley, read Tylſeworth.
927	2	17	reade John Browne.
901	1	42	read *Thyatira*.
937	1	2	read, ſo is it
994	1	36	read, holy ghoſt
955	2		read, Frances Funge his brother
970	2	60	for you ſhalt loſe, read you ſhall loſe
1071	1	37	read, to dwell in
1075	1	2	for ẏ valley of Angroigne, read the coũtrey of Prouince
1080	2	44	read: to dwell
1092	2	28	for at, read or
1025	1	72	for 1557. read 1547.
1117	1	12	for Kinlitgow, read Lithquow
1134	2	3	read, they burned hym
1117	2	70	read, one William Burton
1131	2		in the title, read Clergimẽ,
1158	1	32	for *quoniam*, read *quinam*
1114	2	14	read, exclude
1170	1	39	read James Baynham
1195	2	57	read xviij. thouſand viij. hundreth
1178	1	4	put out, that
ibid.	1	6	for being, read is
ibid.	1	7	for bynding, read bindeth
ibid.	1	11	for his, read their
1206	2	52	read blindnes
1216	2	71	read. 1535.
1259	2	39	read, that it is
1283			in the title put out, to
ibid.	1	23	read: the bread into his body
1266	2	61	read: tame the rebellion
1300	1	5	for *qui*. read *quia*.
1329	2	5	for *Quintio*. read *Quintino*
1334	2	60	read, importunitis
1335	2	35	read *ſciant*
1339	1	59	read, *Murtlac*
ibid.	2	8	read, *integritas*
1117	1	39	read, hereticke
1180	2	55	read Benet, *aliâs*, Duſgate
1294	2	43	for an, read and
1391	1	39	for men, read me
1439	1	47	for επιεικια, read επιεικεια
1382	1	40	read Image
1331	1	41	for *viri*, read *vri*
1379	2	28	for S. Katherins, read S. Margets.
1338	2	36	for *viſi*. read *viſi*
1304	2	43	read: A ſermon.
1477	1	51	for intermitte, read intermixt
1408	1	6	for Dod, read Tod
1450	1	5	read: had ſayd enough therof.
1488	2	60	read: reteine
1486	1		read *epitaphicum* in ẏ mergẽt.
1549	2	51	read, and thus the Duke was condemned.
1501	2	55	after Borne, read: alſo to the Archd. of Londõ. &c.
1676	2	44	read, Geometricall
1743	1	18	for which, read with
1749	1	1	put out: for I haue nothing at all to ſay
1867	2	18	read William Hoke
1886	1	43	read remembrance of
ibid.	1	49	read: was ſent
1970	2	3	for Aurelienſis, read Aquilienſis.
2009	2	50	read: to an other Lady
2042	1	49	for eyes, read his
2039	2	58	for ſcorne, read ſtorme
2196			referre the ſtory of Rich. Luſh to the yeare. 1556.
2242	1	30	for *quæ*. read *qui*
2262	2	7	read: Lord Winſor
2281	2	2	for wherfore, read therfore
2198	1	16	read, vj. in the forenoone, and iiij. in the after none.
2279	2	34	read: if he would
2305	1	60	for true, read tree
2285	1	3	for Pernſel, read Peruſel
2117	1	62	for Julius Palmer, read Julius Palmer.
903	1		Betwene Corinthus and Meſena, put in Cenchrea. Act.18.

Certeine Cautions of the Author to the Reader, of thynges to be conſidered in readyng this ſtory.

AMongeſt other eſcapes and ouerſightes in the Edition of this ſtory cõmitted, wherof partly we haue admoniſhed thee before, partly alſo we leaue to thyne owne gentle caſtigation, gentle reader: certaine other ſpecialities yet remayne, wherof we thought to gyue thee warnyng as foloweth.

☞ Firſt, when mention is made pag. 54. of Peters beyng at Rome and ſufferyng at Rome, folowyng certeyne Authors: yet for ſomuch as other writers there be, and reaſons to proue that he was not at Rome, I deſire thee therfore that this my affirmation may not preiudice other mens iudgementes, if any ſee or can ſay further in that matter.

☞ Touchyng the ſtory of the Turkes, where as I in folowyng our Chriſtian Authors writyng of the Turkes, haue noted in the pag. 886. Solymannus to be the 12. Turke, after Ottomannus as they do all record: I haue found ſince by the computation of the Turkes ſet forth in the Table of theyr owne deſcent, the ſayd Solymannus to be but the. 11. Emperour of the Turkes: and this Solymannus hys ſonne which now reigneth, to be but the twelfe. Which I thought here to ſignifie vnto thee, becauſe of theyr owne Turkiſh prophecie noted in the pag. 913. leſt in conſtruyng of that Prophecy beyng in the ſame place expounded, thou be deceiued.

☞ Item. 1427. where M. George Blag is named to be one of the priuie chamber: here is to be noted alſo that although he were not admitted as one of the priuie chamber yet hys ordinary reſort thether and to the kynges preſence there, was ſuch, as, although he were not one of them, yet was he ſo commonly taken.

☞ Item, pag. 1545. in the ſtory of the Duke of Somerſet, where it is ſayd that at the returne of the Earle of Warwicke out of Norfolke there was a conſultation amongeſt the Lordes aſſemblyng them ſelues together in the houſe of M. Yorke &c. agaynſt the Duke of Somerſet: here is to be noted that the commyng of the Lordes to the ſayd houſe of M. Yorke was not immediatly vpō the Duke of Northumberlandes returne, but firſt he went to Warwicke and from thence after a ſpace came to the houſe aforeſayd.

Itē, here alſo is to be noted touchyng yͤ ſayd Duke of Somerſet, that albeit at hys death relation is made of a ſodeine fallyng of the people, as was at the takyng of Chriſt, this is not to be expounded as though I compared in any part the Duke of Somerſet with Chriſt.

And though I do ſome thyng more attribute to the cōmendation of the ſayd Duke of Somerſet, which dyed ſo conſtātly in hys Religion, yet I deſire thee gentle reader, ſo to take it, not that I dyd euer meane to derogate or empayre the martiall prayſe or factes of other men, which alſo are to be commended in ſuch thynges where they wel deſerued.

Item, touchyng the ſame Duke of Somerſet, where the ſtory ſayth, pag. 1360. he was attaynted, read indited.

☞ Item, pag. 1579. where mention is made of one Nicolas Vnderwode to be the betrayer of the Duke of Suffolke: ioyne with the ſayd Vnderwode alſo Nicolas Laurence, aliâs Nicholas Ithel keper of Aſteley Parke, who takyng vppon hym and promiſing to keepe the Duke, for ij. or three dayes vntill he might fynde ſome meanes to eſcape, conueyed hym into an hallow tree, & after moſt traiterouſly bewrayed hym.

This N. Vnderwood dwelleth now at Coton by Nunne Eaton, and Laurence in Nūne Eaton, in Warwickſhyre.

☞ Item, fol. 1580. in the ſtory of Syr Tho. Wiat there is alſo to be corrected, that where the ſtory ſaith that he was taken by Syr Clement Parſon, which was not ſo, nor he no ſuch Knight, amend it thus, that he firſt came to Clarentius beyng ſent vnto hym, and afterward yelded hym to Syr Morrys Bartley.

☞ Itē, pag. 405. for ſomuch as there be certeine lines paſt in Latin which in many wordes haue neede of correction, I deſire ſuch as be learned, with their pennes to amend the faultes therin eſcaped.

Briefly & in general, beſides theſe caſtigations aboue noted, if thou finde any other cōmitted in the printing hereof, gently I deſire thee, gentle Reader, to beſtowe a litle paines with thine owne hand to amend them.

¶ The Martyrdome of one *Snel*, burned about Richmond in Q. Maries time, omitted in the hiſtory.

At Bedaſle a market towne in Yorkſhyre, were two men in the later dayes of Queene Mary, the one named Iohn Snell, and the other Rich. Snell. who beyng ſuſpected for Religion, were ſent vnto Richmond, where D. Dakyns had commiſſion from the Byſhop of Cheſter to haue the examination of them. This D. Dakyns many tymes conferred with them, ſome tymes threatnyng fire and fagot if they would not recant, and ſome tymes flatteryng them with fayre fables if they would returne into the holy Catholicke Church. But they ſtode conſtantly to the ſure rocke Ieſus Chriſt, in whom they put their whole truſt and confidence: whiles at laſt being ſo ſore impriſoned that their toes rotted of, and the one of them could not goe without crutches, they brought them to the church by compulſion, where the one of them heard their abominable Maſſe, hauing a certeine ſumme of money geuen him by the beneuolence of the people, and ſo departed thence; but the firſt newes that was heard of him within iij. or iiij. dayes was that he had drowned him ſelf in a riuer running by Richmnd called *Swaile*. Immediatly after D. Dakins geuing ſentence that the other ſhould be burnt, came home to his houſe and neuer ioyed after, but died. The Commiſſary of Richmond named Hillings, preached at his burning, exhorting him to returne to the church: but his labor was in vaine, the cōſtant Martyr ſtanding ſtrongly to the faith which he profeſſed. Then being brought to the ſtake, wherunto he was tied by a girdle of iron, there was giuen vnto him gunpouder and a little ſtraw was layd vnder his feete, and ſet rounde about with ſmall woode and tarre barrels, the fire was put in the ſtrawe, which by and by flaming about his head, he cryed thriſe together: Chriſt helpe me: In ſo much that one Robert Atkinſſon being preſent: ſaid, hold faſt there, and we wil all pray for thee. Thus this bleſſed Martyr ended his life.

The Martyrdome of one Snel by Richmond.

Gods puniſhment vpon the Doctor that condemned Snel.

✤ *A ſtory of one Laremouth, omitted in the body of the Hiſtory.*

Albeit I am loth to inſert any thing in this booke which may ſeme incredible or ſtraunge to ordinary working, for quarelling aduerſaries, which do nothing but ſpie what they may cauil: yet forſomuch as beſides other reporters the perſon is yet aliue, called Thorne a godly miniſter, which heard it of the mouth of the partie himſelf, I thought therfore firſt for the incredible ſtrangenes therof, neither to place this ſtory in the body of theſe Acts and Monuments, and yet in ſome outcorner of the boke not vtterly to paſſe it vntouched, for the reader to conſider it, and to credit it as he ſeeth cauſe. The ſtory is this.

There was one Laremouth, otherwiſe called Williamſon, Chaplayn to Lady Anne of Cleue: a Scottiſhman, to whō being in priſon in Q. Maryes daies, it was ſayd, as he thought, thus ſoundyng in hys eares: ariſe and go thy wayes. Whereunto when he gaue no great hede at the firſt, the ſecond tyme it was ſayd to him agayne in the ſame wordes. Vpon this as he fell to his prayers, it was ſayd the thyrd tyme likewiſe to hym, ariſe and go thy way, which was about halfe an houre after. So he ariſyng vpon the ſame, immediatly a peece of the priſon walle fell downe, and as the officers came in at the outward gate of the Caſtle or priſon, he leapyng ouer the dich eſcaped: and in the way metyng a certeine beggar, chaunged his coate with him, and commyng to the Sea ſhore, where he founde a veſſell ready to go ouer, was taken in, and eſcaped the ſearch, which was ſtraitly layd for hym in all the countrey ouer.

The maruelous deliueraunce of one Laremouth.

In turning ouer the next leafe folowing which is Page 2. col. 1. & in the later end of the ſame colūme, thou ſhalt find, gentle Reader, the argument of Pighius and Hoſius, wherin thus they argue: That forſomuch as Chriſt muſt nedes haue a catholique church euer cōtinuing here in earth, which all men may ſee, and wherunto all men ought to reſort: and ſeing no other church hath endured continually from the Apoſtles, viſible here in earth, but only the church of Rome: they conclude therfore the church only of Rome to be the right catholike Church of Chriſt. &c.

In anſwering wherunto, this is to be ſaid: that forſomuch as the *medius terminus* of this argument, both in the *Maior* and *Minor*, cōſiſteth only in the word [viſible and knowne:] if they meane by this word [viſible] in the Maior, that chriſtes church muſt be ſene here to all the world, that al men may reſort to it, it is falſe: Likewiſe if they meane by the ſame word [viſible] in the Minor, that no other church hath ben ſene and knowne to any, but only the church of Rome, they are likewiſe deceiued. For the true church of Chriſt neither is ſo viſible, that all the world can ſee it, but only they which haue ſpirituall eyes, and be members therof: nor yet ſo inuiſible againe, but ſuch as be Gods elect, and members therof, do ſee it & haue ſeene it, though the worldly eyes of the moſt multitude can not ſo do. &c. Wherof read more in the proteſtation aboue prefixed to the church of England.

ACTES

and Monumentes of the church, containing the ful Hiſtory of thinges done and practiſed in the ſame, from the time of the firſt Chriſtened King Lucius, King of this Realme of England, which is from the yeare of our Lord 180. vnto the tyme now preſent.

If the actes & monuments of the church, which haue bene ſo horrible and perilous, from the beginning almoſt of the Goſpel, but eſpecially from thys latter age of Chriſtes Church, according to the true forewarening of thapoſtles, had not wanted writers and Hiſtoricians, more thē writers might haue lacked matter copious to woorke vpon: ſo many notable thinges woorthy of knowledge, which haue happened in this church of England, ſince the raigne of Lucius (but namely ſince Sathan broke looſe) had not ſo eſcaped and paſſed without memory. Wherof ſome yet notwithſtanding (prayſe be to yͤ Lord therfore) haue ben reſerued and remaine, but yet the moſt thinges loſt in ſilence, and ſome againe miſſhadowed & corrupted, eyther through obtrectation, or flattery of writers, who not obſeruing Legem hiſtoriæ in Tully required, ſemed eyther not bold inough to tel truth, or not afraide enough to beare with vntruth and time. For as ther neuer happened greater perturbations, tumults and diſſentions, among al the Monarchies that haue bene, ſince the firſt conſtitution of publicke regiment, then hath bene ſeene in our church men, betwixt Popes, one Pope with an other, Popes and Emperours, for geuing and taking the imperial crowne, and likewiſe betwixt Popes and other nations: ſo writers cōmonly in taking partes eyther with one or other, as they inclined their affection, ſo framed their ſtile. Adde alſo hetherto, the barbarouſnes of thoſe daies, and partly negligence in the learned ſort, which were no ſmall cauſes, why we lacke now ſo many thinges, much nedeful for theſe times to be knowen. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as yet remayne to be collected, eſpeciallye of the more ſincere and leſſe ſuſpected ſort of writers, I haue here purpoſed (by the fauourable grace of Chriſt our Lord) in this hiſtory to digeſt & compile, not ſo much to delite the eares of my country, as to the intent to profit the Church of Chriſt, ſo that in theſe reformed daies, we ſeing the prodigious deformities & calamities of theſe times now preſent, and comparing the ſame with the times that were before, may therfore poure out more abūdant thankes to the Lord for this his ſo ſweete and mercyful reformation.

For the better accompliſhing wherof, ſo to proſecute the matter, as may beſt ſerue to the profit of the reader, I haue thought good firſt, beginning from the time of the primitiue Church, and ſo continuing (by the Lordes grace) to theſe latter yeares and daies, to comprehende or runne ouer the whole ſtate and courſe of the Church in general, in ſuch order and ſort, that diuiding and digeſting the whole tractation of this hiſtorye, in to fiue ſundry diuerſities of times: Firſt wyl entreat of the ſuffering time or martyrdome of the Church, which continued from the Apoſtles age about. 300. yeares. Secondly, of the flouriſhing time of the Church, which laſted other. 300. yeares. Thirdly, of the declining or backeſlyding time of the Churche, which comprehendeth other 300. yeares, vntil the looſing out of Sathan, which was about the thouſand yeare after Chriſt.

2. The flouriſhinge time of yͤ church

3. The declininge time of the church.

During which ſpace of time, the Churche, although in condicion of life, in ambition and pride, it was nowe muche altered from the ſimple puritye of the primitiue tyme, yet in a certaine outwarde profeſſion of doctrine and religion was ſomething tollerable, and had ſome face of a Church: notwithſtanding ſome corruption of doctrine, with ſuperſtition and hypocriſy was then alſo crept in. And yet in compariſon of that as followed after, it myght ſeeme (as I ſayde) ſomething ſufferable. Fourthly followeth the time of Antichriſt, or the deſolation of the Churche, whoſe full ſwinge conteineth the ſpace of. 400. yeares. In which time both doctrine, and ſincerity of life was vtterly almoſt extinguiſhed, namely in the cheife heds & rulers of this weſt church, through the meanes of the Romane Biſhops, eſpecially Gregory the. vij. called Hildebrand, Innocentius the. iij. and the Friars which wͭ him crept in. &c. And this time I count from Pope Boniface the third, til the time of Wickliffe and John Huſſe, during. 400. yeares. Fiftly and laſtly after this time of Antechriſt, raigning in the Church of God by violence and tiranny, foloweth the reformation and purging of the Churche of God, wherein Antichriſt beginneth to be reueled, and to appeare in his coulours, and his antichriſtian doctrine to be detected, & the number of his church decreaſeth, and the number of the true Church increaſeth. The durance of which time hath cōtinued from. 260. yeares hetherto, and how long it ſhal continue more, the Lord & gouernour of all times onely knoweth. For in theſe fiue diuerſities and alteracions of times, I ſuppoſe the whole courſe and ſtate of the Church may well be compriſed. The which Church, becauſe it is vniuerſall, and ſparſedlye through all countries dilated & therfore (my ſtory ſtanding vpon ſuch a general argumēt) am bound to no one certaine nation, more then an other: yet notwithſtanding, keeping mine argument aforeſaid, I haue purpoſed principally to tary vpon ſuche hiſtoricall actes and recordes, as moſt appertaine to this my country of England and Scotland.

4. The tyme of Antichriſt in the church

5. The reformation of the church.

The church of Rome

And forſomuch as the church of Rome, in al theſe ages aboue ſpecified, hath chalenged to it ſelf the ſupreme title, iuriſdiction, and ringleading of the whole vniuerſal church on earth, by whoſe direction al other churches haue ben gouerned, in ſpeaking therfore and writing of the Church of Chriſt, I can not but partlye muſt intermedle alſo with the actes and proceedinges of the ſame church, for ſomuch as the doinges and orderinges of all other churches from time to time, as well here in England, as in other nacions, haue this long ſeaſon, chiefly depended vpon the ſame. Wherfore, as it is much nedefull and requiſite to haue the doinges and orderinges of the ſaid Church to be made knowen and manifeſt to all chriſten congregations: ſo haue I framed this hiſtorye, according to the ſame purpoſe. Firſt in a generall deſcription briefly to declare as in a ſūmary table, the miſguiding of that church, compar[illegible] withall the primatiue ſtate of the forenamed churc[illegible] of Rome, with theſe latter times of the ſame. Which done, then after in a more ſpecial tractation, to proſecute more at large all the particulars therof, ſo farforth as ſhall ſeme not vnprofitable for the publike inſtruction of al other chriſten churches, to behold and cōſider the maner and dealing of this one. In the which one churche of Rome foure thinges, as moſt ſpecial pointes, ſeeme to me chiefly to be conſidered. To wit, Title, Iuriſdiction, Life, & Doctrine, wherin I haue here to declare, firſt concerning the title or primacy of that church, how it firſt began, & vpon what occaſion. Secondly, concerning the iuriſdiction and authority therof, what it was, and how farre it did extend. Thirdly, touching the miſorder of life and conuerſation, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the forme of doctrine, how ſuperſticious and idolatrous it was. Of the which foure the firſt was preiudiciall to all Biſhops, the ſecond deregatory to Kinges and Emperours. The third deteſtable to al men. The fourth iniurious againſt Chriſt.

Four thinges to be cōſidered in the church of Rome.
1. Title.
2. Iuriſdiction.
3. Life.
4. Doctrine

The title of pope.

For firſt, the title and ſtile of that church was ſuch, that it ouerwent all other churches, being called the holy vniuerſal mother church, which coulde not erre, and the Biſhop thereof holye father the Pope, Biſhop vniuerſal, prince of Prieſts, ſupreme head of the vniuerſall church, and Vicar of Chriſt here in earth, which muſt not be iudged, hauing all knowledge of ſcripture contained within the cheſt of his breſt.

The iuriſdiction of the Pope.

Secondly the iuriſdiction of that biſhop was ſuch, yͭ chalenging to him ſelfe both the ſwordes, that is, both the keyes of the Spiritualty, and the ſcepter of the Layty: not onelye he ſubdued al Biſhops vnder him, but alſo extēded him ſelf aboue Kings & Emperours, cauſing ſome of them to lye vnder his feete, ſome to holde hys ſturrup, Kinges to leade his horſe by the bridle, ſome to kyſſe hys feete, placing and diſplacing Emperours, Kinges, Dukes and Earles, whom and when he liſt, taking vpon him to tranſlate the Empire at his pleaſure. Firſt from Grece to Fraunce, ftom Fraunce to Germany, preferring and depoſing whom he pleaſed, confirming them which wer elected. Alſo being Emperour him ſelfe ſede vacante, pretending authoritye or power, to inueſt Biſhops, to geue benefices, to ſpoyle churches, to geue authority to binde and loſe, to cal general councels, to iudge ouer the ſame, to ſet vp religions, to canoniſe Saintes, to take appeales, to binde conſciences, to make lawes, to diſpence with the law and word of god, to deliuer from Purgatory, to commaund angels. &c.

The properties of life in the Romiſhe clergy.

Thirdly, what was the life and conuerſation of the court of Rome, here after in the proces of this hiſtory followeth to be ſene and obſerued.

The doctrine of the pope.

Fourthly, ſuch was his doctrine in like maner, tedious to Students, pernicious to mens conſciences, iniurious to Chriſt Ieſus, and contrary to it ſelfe. In lawes more diuers, in volume more large, in diligence and ſtudy more applied, in vauntage & preferment more gainfull, then euer was the ſtudye and learning of the holye ſcripture of God.

All which foure pointes wel conſidered and aduiſed in this preſent hiſtory ſet forth, I truſt it maye miniſter to the indifferent Chriſtian Reader, ſufficient inſtructiō to iudge, what is of this ſea and Churche of Rome to be eſteemed.

But here by the way is to be noted, that all theſe deformities aboue touched of vaine title, of pretenſed iuriſdiction, of heretical doctrine, of ſchiſmatical life, came not into the church of Rome all at one time, nor ſprang with the beginning of the ſame Church, but with long woorking, and continuaunce of time by litle and litle crept vp, through occaſion, and came not to their ful perfection, til the time partly of Pope Silueſter, partlye of Pope Gregorye the.vij.an.1170. partlye of Innocentius the third, and finallye of Pope Boniface the eight an.1300. Of the which foure Popes, the firſte brought in the title, Anno.670. which was neuer in ſuche ample wiſe as then was, neuer before publickely exacted & receiued in that church and ſea of Rome. The ſeconde brought in the iuriſdiction. The third with his rable of Monkes and Friars, with Thomas Aquine, Petrus Lombardus, Iohannes Scotus, and with ſuch biſhops as ſucceded in the ſame ſea after him, corrupted and obſcured the ſinceritie of Chriſtes doctrine and maners alſo. And laſtlye, Pope Bonifacius the eight, and Pope Clement the fift, ouer and beſides the iuriſdiction, ſufficiently aduaunced before by Pope Hildebrand, added more ouer the temporal ſwoord to be caried before thē. And that no Emperour (were he neuer ſo well elected) ſhoulde be ſufficient and lawfull, withoute the Popes admiſſion, an.1300. whereby the Popes power was brought now to his ful pride and perfection. And thus came vp the corruption of the Romiſh church in continuaunce of yeares by degrees, and not al together, nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe expreſſed.

Pope Si
ueſter.

Pope G
gory.7.c
led Hil
brand.

Pope I
nocent
the thi

Pope B
nifacius
the.8

Wherfore, who ſo euer ſhall haue here after to doo with any aduerſaries, about the antiquity or authority of the church of Rome, let him here conſider when and how the title, iuriſdiction, & corruption of doctrine firſt began in the Popes ſea. And ſo ſhall he ſee, that thys Church of Rome, as it is now gouerned with this maner of title, iuriſdiction, and inſtitution of doctrine, neuer deſcended from the primatiue age of the Apoſtles, or from their ſucceſſion, niſi tantum equiuoce, et non vniuoce: Like as Sancta Maria picta, non eſt ſancta Maria, et homo pictus eſt non homo, as the ſcholes do ſay, that is: as the picture of the holy virgine, is not the holy virgine, and as a man painted in the wall, is not a mā: ſo it is to be ſayd of yͤ church of Rome, that although it haue the name of the Church Apoſtolicall, & doth bring forth a long genealogy of outward ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, as the Phariſeis did in Chriſtes tyme bryng their deſcent from Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I ſayd) but onely equiuoce, that is, in name onelye, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the Apoſtolical church in dede, for as much as the definition of the Apoſtolical church, neither agreeth now with this preſent church of Rome, nor yet the maner, forme, and inſtitution of the ſaid Romiſh church, as it now ſtandeth with this title, iuriſdiction, and doctrine, had euer anye ſucceſſion or offpring from the primitiue Church of the Apoſtles. But as Chriſt ſaid by the Phariſeis, that they were the children not of Abraham, but of the Deuil: in ſemblable wiſe may be anſwered, that this Churche of Rome now preſent, with this title, iuriſdiction, and doctrine now vſed, cannot be fathered vpon the Apoſtles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of on other authour, whom here I wyl not name.

And here now commeth in the argument of Pighius, Hoſius, and Ecchius, to be anſwered vnto, who arguing for the antiquity and authority of the church of Rome, reaſon on this maner.

Da That for ſo much as an ordinarye and a knowen Church viſible muſt here be knowen continuallye on earth, during frō the time of the Apoſtles, to the which church al other churches muſt haue recours

ri And ſeing there is no other church viſible, orderlye knowen to haue indured from the Apoſtles time, but onely the Church of Rome:

i. They conclude therfore that the church of Rome, is that church wherunto al other churches muſt haue their recourſe. &c.

To the whiche paralogiſme I anſwere thus: that this word *Durans* eccleſia, the duryng church in the Minor, hath fallaciam equiuoci. For althoughe the name of the church and outwarde ſucceſſion of byſhops haue e minor examined.

had ther durance from tyme of the Apoſtles, yet the definition and matter which maketh a true Apoſtolicall churche in dede and vniuoce, neyther is nowe in the churche of Rome, nor yet the forme and inſtitution of the church nowe vſed in Rome was euer from the Apoſtles, which Apoſtles were neuer authors or fathers of this title, iuriſdiction, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies euer to the ſame.

he Ma exami ed.

Again to the Maior which ſtandeth vpon ij. partes; I aunſwere, firſt although the neceſſitie of the churche duryng from the Apoſtles, may & muſt be graũted, yet the ſame neceſſitie was not boũd to any certaine place, or perſon, but only to faith, ſo that wherſoeuer, that is, in whatſoeuer congregation true faith was, ther was the churche of Chriſt; And becauſe the trewe fayth of Chriſt muſt nedes euer remaine in earth, therfore the churche alſo muſte nedes remaine in earth. And God forbyd that the ſaid trewe faith of Chriſt ſhould onelye remaine in one Citie in the world, and not in other as well. And therfore to the ſecond part of the Maior is to be ſaid, that as this trew and ſincer faith of Chriſt is not ſo geuen, to remaine firely in one place or Citie alone: ſo neyther is ther any one church in the world ſo ordained and appointed of God, that all other churches ſhould haue their recourſe vnto it, for determination of their cauſes and cõtrouerſies incident, &c. And thus much to the argument of Pighius and Hoſius &c.

diſtincti n.

hechurch Rome ſtincted to ε doo e conſide tion of mes.

e church Rome wit was menoed the old octors.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the auncient doctours, and holy fathers in the commendatiõ of the church of Rome, here commeth in alſo to be noted, that whoſoeuer wyll vnderſtand rightly their authorities and aunſwere to the ſame, muſt firſte learne to make a difference and diſtinction of the ſaid church of Rome, from that it was, to that it is, for as muche as the churche of Rome is not the ſame churche now, which it was thẽ, but only equiuoce: otherwiſe as touching the very property & definitiõ of a church, is an other church, & nothing agreyng to that was then, ſaue onely in outward name & place, therfore by this diſtinctiõ made, I anſwere the place of Irenæus, Cyprianus, & other famous doctours, cõmending the church of Rome as catholique and Apoſtolicall, and ſaye that theſe doctors ſpeakynge of the churche of Rome whiche then was, ſaid not vntrew, calling it catholique and Apoſtolical, for that the ſame church toke their ordinary ſucceſſiõ of byſhops, ioyned with the ordinary doctrine and inſtitution frõ the Apoſtles: but ſpeakyng of the church of Rome, which now is, we ſay the ſaid places of the doctors, are not trewe, neyther do appertaine to the ſame. al which Doctors nether knew the church of Rome that nowe is, neyther if they had, woulde euer haue iudged any thyng therin worthie ſuch commendation. Ouer & beſydes, oure aduerſaries yet more obiect againſte vs, who heauing and ſhouing for the antiquitie of the Romiſh church for lacke of other ſufficiẽt reaſon to proue, are dryuen to fall in ſkannyng the tymes and yeares. what, ſay they, wher was this church of yours, before theſe .l. yeares? To whom briefly to aunſwere, firſte we demaund what they mean by this, whiche they call our church? Yf they meane the ordinaunce and inſtitution of doctrine and ſacraments, now receaued, and differing from the church of Rome, we affirme and ſaye, that this church was, when this churche of theirs was not yet hatched out of the ſhell, nor dyd yet euer ſee any light: that is, in the tyme of the Apoſtles, in the primitiue age, in the tyme of Gregory the firſt, and the olde Romaine church, when as yet no vniuerſall Pope was receyued publikely, but repelled in Rome, nor this fulnes of plenarie power yet knowen, nor this doctrine, & abuſe of Sacraments yet hard of. In witnes wherof we haue the old actes and hiſtories of auncient tyme to geue teſtimonie with vs, wherin ſufficient matter we haue for vs, to declare the ſame forme, vſage, and inſtitution of this our churche reformed now, not to be the begynninge of any newe church of our owne, but to be the renewing of the olde auncient church of Chriſt: nor to be any ſweruing frõ the church of Rome, but rather a reduſyng to the church of Rome. whereas contrary the churche of Rome whiche nowe is, is nothyng but a ſweruyng from the church of Rome, as partly is declared, and more ſhal appeare (Chriſt willyng) hereafter.

he prin all obiec n of the piſts, a nſt the teſtãts.

nſwere he ob ion

the church of Rome reuolted from the church of Rome.

An other obiection of the papiſts.

And where the ſayd our aduerſaries do moreouer charge vs with the faith of our fathers and godfathers, wherin we were baptiſed, accuſing and condemnynge vs, for that we are nowe reuolted from them and their fayth, wherin we were firſte Chriſtened: To this we aunſwere, that we being firſt baptiſed by our fathers & godfathers, in water, in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, & of the holy Goſt, the ſame fayth wherin we were chriſtened then, we do retaine, and becauſe our godfathers were themſelues alſo in the ſame fayth, therfore they can not ſay that we haue forſakẽ the faith of our Godfathers, &c. As for other pointes of fayth and doctrine conſidered, beſides the principall ſubſtance of our baptiſme, if they held any thyng which receaded frõ the fayth and rule of Chriſt, therin we now remoue our ſelues from them, becauſe we woulde not with thẽ remoue frõ the rule of Chriſtes doctrine. Neyther doth the ſacramẽte of our baptiſme bynde vs in al pointes to the faith of thẽ that baptiſed vs, but of him, in whoſe name we were baptiſed. For as if a man were chriſtened of an heretique, the baptiſme of him notwithſtãding were good, although the baptiſer were nought: ſo if our godfathers or fathers, which chriſtened vs, were taught any thing, not conſonant to chriſtian doctrine in al points, nether is our baptiſme worſſe for that, nor yet we bound to folowe them in all things, wherin they themſelues did not folow the true church of Chriſt.

Anſwer to obiection.

No man bound to folow the opinions of his Godfathers in all points vnleſſe they be cõſonãt in al thĩgs

Wherfore as it is falſe, that we haue renounced the faith of our godfathers wherin we were firſt baptiſed, ſo is it falſe, that we are remoued from the churche of Rome. But rather ſay, and (by the leaue of Chriſt) will proue that the churche of Rome hath vtterlye departed from the churche of Rome, according to my diſtinction afore touched. Whiche thing the more euidently to declare, I wil here compare the church of Rome, with the church of Rome: And in a general deſcription ſet forth (by Gods grace) the differẽce of both the churches, that is, of both the tymes of the church of Rome: to thentent it may be ſeen, whether we or the church of Rome haue more Apoſtatate from the church of Rome.

the church of Rome diſtincted from the church of Rome.

And here firſte I diuide the churche of Rome in a double conſideration of time, firſt of thoſe firſt. 600. yeares whiche were immediatlye after Chriſt: and ſecondly of the other. 600. yeares, whiche now haue been in theſe our latter dayes. And ſo in comparynge theſe two together, will ſearche out what diſcrepance is betwen them both. Of the which two ages and ſtates of the Romaine church, the firſt I cal the primitiue church of Rome The other I cal ẏ latter church of Rome, coũtyng this latter church from the thouſand yeares after Chriſt expired, from whiche time Satan hath been let louſe according to the prophesy of the .xx. chapter of S. Johns Reuelation. And thus haue ye the churche of Rome parted into two churches, in double reſpect and conſideration of two ſondry ſtates and times. Now in ſetting & matchinge the one ſtate with the other, let vs ſee whether the church of Rome hath ſwarued from the church of Rome more then we, or no.

two tymes of the churche of rome conſidered and examined

The firſt poynt.

And to begin firſt with the order and qualities of life: I aſke here of this Romaine clergie, where was this church of theirs which nowe is, in the old auncient time of ẏ primitiue church of Rome, with this pompe & pride, wͭ this riches & ſuperfluitie, with this gloria mundi

The enormities of life in the latter church of Rome deſcribed.

and name of Cardinals, with this praunſing diſſolutenes and hooryng of the Curtiſans, with this extortion, bribyng, bying and ſelling of ſpirituall dignities, theſe Annates, reformations, procurations, exactions & other practiſes for monye, this auarice inſatiable, ambition intollerable, fleſhly filthines moſt deteſtable, barbarouſnes and negligence in preaching, promeſbrekyng faithles, poyſoning and ſupplanting one an other, with ſuch ſchiſmes and diuiſions, whiche neuer were more ſeene then in the elections & court of Rome theſe 700. yeres, with ſuch extreme crueltie, malice and tyranny in burning and perſecuting their poore brethren to death.

Policies & practiſes of the court of Rome to get money.

It were to longe, and a thing infinite, to ſtand particularly vpon theſe aboue reherſed. As if a man ſhould proſecute at large al the ſchiſmes that haue bene in the church of Rome ſynce the time of Damaſus the firſte, which are counted to the number of.18. what a volume would it require? Or if here ſhould be recorded al that this Sea hath burned and put to death ſynce louſynge out of Satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their ſleightes to get money, ſhould be deſcribed, as proces of matter would require it, who were able to recite them al? Of which all notwithſtandyng, the moſt principal groundes are reconed at leaſt to.xiij.

Firſt for annates, or vacanties of Archbiſhopriks, Byſhoprikes, Abbaties, Priories conuentual, and other benefices electiue.

Secondly, for the holding and reteinyng of all other ſpiritual lyuyngs whatſoeuer, beſides this whiche now he paieth for, or which he may hold hereafter.

Thirdly, new annates for all the ſame are required againe, toties quoties, any one of all his ſpirituall lyuyngs be, or are feyned to be not orderlye come by, wherby it hath chaunſed diuers times. iij. or. iiij. annats to be payed for one benefice.

Fourthly, for geuing out preuentions of benefices before they fall, and manye times ſome one preuention to be geuen to diuers and ſundry perſons, by the office for money ſake.

Fiftly, for reſignations vpō fauour, which in many caſes the Pope chalengeth to be reſerued to him ſelfe.

Sixtly, for commendams.

Seuenthly, for compounding with ſuch as be abſēt from their charge, & geue attendance about the court.

Eightly, for infinite diſpenſations, as to diſpence wt age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as if the number be full, if the houſe be of ſuch or ſuche an order. Item diſpenſation for irregularity, for whoredome and aduoutry, for times of mariage, for marying in degrees forbidden, or in affinity canonical, for Goſſips to mary, for the which it hath bene ſene in Fraunce a thouſande crownes to be payd to Rome at one time, for diſpenſing with this canonical affinity of Goſſyps, as we cal it, the ſame being yet not true, but fained. Item diſpenſiug for eating meates in times prohibite.

Ninthly, for innumerable priuilegies, exemptions, graces for not viſiting, or viſiting by a Proctor, for confirmations of priuileges, for tranſactions made vpon ſpecial fauour of the Pope, for permutations of benefices with diſpenſation annexed, or making of penſions, with ſuche like.

Tenthly, for mandates grāuted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, wherof euery Ordinary, if he haue the collatiō or preſentation of.x. maye receaue one mandate, if he haue fifty, he may receaue.ij. mandates, and for euerye mandate commeth to the Pope about.xx. ducates. And yet notwithſtanding ſo many are ſold, as wyl come byers to pay for them.

Eleuenthly, for the Popes penitentiary, for abſolution of caſes reſerued to the Pope, for breaking & chaūging of vowes, for tranſlation from one monaſterye to an other, alſo from one order to an other, for licence to enter into certaine Monaſteries, to carye about altars, with manye other thinges of like deuiſe, pertaining to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

Twelfly, for geuing and graunting of innumerable pardons and Indulgences, to be red not onelye in publicke temples, but alſo to be bought in priuate houſes, and of priuate perſons, in diuers and ſundry reſpectes.

Thirtenthly, for making Notaries, and Prothonotaries, and other offices of the court of Rome.

Fourtenthly, for graunting out Buls & cōmiſſions of new foundations, or for chaunging of the old, for reducing regular Monaſteries, to a ſecular ſtate, or for reſtoring againe into the old, & for other infinite reſcripts and wryts, about matters depending in controuerſye, and otherwiſe might and ought by the Ordinarye to be decided.

Fiftenthly, for geuing the palle to Archbiſhops newly elected, by reaſon of al which deuiſes (beſides the firſte of the Annates) it hath bene reconed and accounted out of the kinges recordes in Fraunce, in the time of Ludouike the.ix. (as teſtifieth Molineus) to the number of.cc. thouſand crownes, onely out of Fraunce payd & tranſported vnto Rome. Which ſumme ſince that time hath bene doubled and tripled, beſides Annates and Palles, which all together are thought to make the totall ſūme, yearelye going out of Fraunce to the Popes coffers of late yeares.x. Myriades, or Millions, euerye Myriade mouting to.x. thouſand crownes. Now what hath riſen beſides in other realmes & nations, let other mē coniect.

Summa totalis.

Wherefore if the Goſpell ſende vs to the fruites to know the tree, I pray you what is to be ſaid or thought of the Church of Rome, with theſe fruites of life? Or if we wil ſeeke the Church in length & number of yeares, wher was then thys Church of Rome with theſe qualities then, what time as the Church of Rome was a perſecuted church, & not a perſecuting church? And when the Biſhops therof did not make Martyrs, as theeſe doo now, but were made Martyrs them ſelues, to the number of.xxv. in order one after an other? Or whan the Biſhops therof were elected & exalted, not by factions conſpiring, not by power or partes taking, not by mony, or friends making, as they be now, but by the free voices of the people and of the Clergye, with the conſent of the Emperour ioyned wyth all, and not by a few conſpired Cardinals, cloſed vp in a corner, as they be now. &c.

And yet if ther were no other difference in yͤ matter, but onely corruption of life, al that we would tollerate, or els impute to the cōmon fragilitye of man, and charge them no further therein, then we might charge our ſelues. Now ouer & beſide this deformitye of lyfe, wherin they are cleane gone from the former ſteppes of the true Church of Rome, we haue more ouer to obiect againſt them, & to charge them in greater pointes, more nerely touching the ſubſtantial ground of the Church, as in their iuriſdiction preſumptuouſly vſurped, in their title falſely grounded, and in their doctrine hereticallye corrupted. In all which three pointes, this latter pretenced church of Rome, hath vtterly ſequeſtred it ſelf from the image & nature of the auncient and true Church of Rome, & haue erected to them ſelues, a new Churche of their owne making, as firſt vſurping a iuriſdiction neuer knowen before to their auncient predeceſſors. For although the Church of Rome in the old primitiue time had his due authority & place due vnto that ſea, among other patriarchal churches, ouer & vpon ſuch Churches as were within his precinct, & bordering nere vnto it, as appeareth by the actes of Nicene councel: yet the vniuerſal fulnes & plenitude of power in both the regimentes, ſpiritual & temporall, in depoſing and diſpenſing matters of the Church, not to him belonging, in taking appeales, in geuing elections, inueſting in benefices, in exempting

Nice cap.6.

empting him ſelfe from obedience and ſubiection of his ordinary power ⁊ Magiſtrate, with his coactiue power newly erected in the church of Rome, was neuer receaued nor vſed in the old Romane church; from which thei diſagree in all their doinges. For although Victor then Biſhop of Rome, an. 200. went about to excōmunicate the Eaſt Churches, for the obſeruation of Eaſter day: yet neither did he procede therin, neither was permitted by Ireneus ſo to do. And although Boniface the firſt likewyſe, wryting to the biſhops of Carthage, required of them to ſende vp their appellations vnto the Church of Rome, alledging more ouer the decree of Nicenes councell for his authority: The Biſhops ⁊ Clergy of Carthage aſſemblyng together in a generall councel (called the firt councell of Carthage) to the number of 217. Biſhops, after they had peruſed the decrees in the autentike copies of the foreſaid Nicene councell, ⁊ foūd no ſuch matter, by the ſaide Bonifacius alledged, made therfore a publike decree, that none out of that country ſhould make any appeale ouer the ſea. ⁊c. And what meruel if appeales were forbidden thē to be made to Rome, when as both here in England the kinges of this lande would not permit any to appeale from them to Rome, before king Henry the ſecond, becauſe of the murther of Thomas Becket, beyng thereunto compelled by Pope Alexander the third? And alſo in Fraunce the like prohibitions wer expreſſely made by Ludouicus Pius, an. 1268. whych dyd forbyd by a publicke inſtrument, called Pragmatica ſanctio, all exactions of the Popes court within his Realme. Alſo by king Philip named La belle an. 1296. The like was done, which not onely reſtrayned al ſending or going vp of his ſubiectes to Rome, but alſo that no money, armour, nor ſubſidy, ſhould be trāſported out of his Realme. The lyke alſo after him dyd king Charles the fift, ſurnamed the wyſe, ⁊ hys ſonne likewyſe after him Charles the ſixte, who alſo puniſhed as traitours, certaine ſedicious perſons for appealing to Rome. The like reſiſtaunce more ouer was in the ſayde country of Fraunce, agaynſt the Popes reſeruations, preuentions, ⁊ other lyke practiſes of hys vſurped iuriſdiction in the dayes of pope Martin the fift, an. 1418. Item, when king Henry the firt in England, and kyng Charles the ſeuenth in Fraunce, dyd both accord with the pope, in inueſting ⁊ in collation of benefices, yet notwythſtandyng the hygh court of parliament in Frāūce dyd not admit the ſame, but ſtyl maintayned the old liberty ⁊ cuſtoms of the French church. In ſo much that the Duke of Bethfort came wyth the kynges letters patent to haue the popes procurations ⁊ reſeruations admitted, yet the court of parliament would not agree to the ſame, but the kinges procurator general was fayne to go betwixt them, as is to be ſeene in their Regeſters, An. 1425. The. 5. day of Marche. In the dayes of the which kyng Charles the. vij. was ſet forth in Fraunce, Pragmatica ſanctio, as they cal it, againſt the Annates, reſeruations, expectatiues, ⁊ ſuch other proceedinges of the popes pretenced iuriſdiction, an. 1438. Wherefore what maruel if this iuriſdiction of the popes court in excōmunicatyng, in takyng appeales, ⁊ geuyng of benefices, was not vſed in the old church of Rome, whē as in theſe latter dayes it hath bene ſo much reſiſted?

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And what ſhould I ſpeake of the forme ⁊ maner of elections, now vſed in the churche of Rome, cleane conuerted from the maner of the old church of their predeceſſours? For firſt in thoſe auncient dayes, when as yet the Church remayned in the Apoſtles onely, and a fewe other Diſciples, the Apoſtles then with prayer ⁊ impoſition of handes, elected Biſhops ⁊ Miniſters, as by the Apoſtles Iames was made Biſhop of Hieruſalē, Paule in Creta elected Titus, ⁊ Timothe, in Epheſus. Alſo Peter ordained Linus ⁊ Clement in Rome. ⁊c. After which tyme of the Apoſtles, when the Churche began more to multiply, the election of Biſhops and Miniſters ſtoode by the Clergye and the people, wyth the conſent of the chiefe Magiſtrate of the ſame place, ⁊ ſo continued during all the tyme of the primitiue Church, tyl the tyme, ⁊ after the time of Conſtantine the fourth Emperour, which Emperour (as writeth Platina ⁊ Sabellic. ennead. 8. lib. 6.) publiſhed a lawe concerning the election of the Romane Biſhop, that he ſhould be taken for true biſhop, whom the Clergy and people of Rome dyd chuſe ⁊ elect, without any tarying for any authority of the Emperour of Conſtantinople, or the Deputy of Italy: ſo as the cuſtom and faſhion had euer beene before that day, an. 685. And here the Biſhops began firſt to writhe out theyr elections ⁊ theyr neckes a litle from the Emperours ſubiection, if it be ſo as the ſayd Platina ⁊ Sabellicus after hym reporteth. But many coniectures there be, not vnprobable, rather to thinke this conſtitution of Conſtantine to be foreged and vntrue. Firſt, for that it is taken out of yͤ popes Bibliothecarie, a ſuſpected place ⁊ collected by the keeper and maiſter of the popes Library, a ſuſpected author, who whatſoeuer fayned writings or Apocripha he could finde in the Popes cheſtes of recordes, makyng any thyng on his mayſters ſide: that he compiled together, ⁊ therof both Platina, Sabellicus, ⁊ Gratianus take moſt part of their reportes, ⁊ therefore may the more be ſuſpected, ⁊c.

Platina. Sabel. Enead 8. lib. 6

Conſtantine the. 4. Emperour of Conſtantinople.

The popes bibliothecarie ſuſpected.

The cōſtitution of Conſtantine the. 4. Emperour of Conſtātinople examined.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus ſaye that Conſtantine moued wyth the holynes of Pope Benedict the ſecond, made that conſtitucion, how ſemeth that to ſtand wyth truth, when both the Emperour was ſo farre of from him being at Conſtātinople, and alſo for that the ſayd pope raygned but. x. monethes? which was but a ſmall tyme to make hys holynes knowen to the Emperour ſo farre of. And gyue he were ſo holye, yet that holynes might rather be an occaſion for the Emperour to confyrme and mayntaine the old receaued maner of hys inſtitution, then to alter it.

The third coniecture is this, for that the ſayd conſtitution was not obſerued, but ſhortly after by yͤ ſaid Benedicte was broken in the election of Pope Conon. And yet notwithſtandyng albeit the conſtitution were trew, yet the election there by was not taken awaye frō the people, and limited to the clergye onely, and much leſſe might be taken awaye from the clergie, and be limited only to the Cardinals, without the cōſent of ther prince and ruler, accordynge to their owne rubrice in their decrees, where the rubrice ſaith: De ordinatione epiſcopi: Nullus inuitis detur epiſcopus, cleri, plebis, & ordinis conſenſus & deſiderium requiratur. &c. that is let no biſhop be geuen to any people againſt their wils: but let the conſent and deſyre both of the clergie and of the people, and of the order, be alſo required. ⁊c. And in the ſame diſt. alſo, cap. Sacrorum, we read the ſame libertie and intereſt to be graunted by Carolus Magnus, and Ludouicus his ſonne, not to a few Cardinals only, but to the order as well of the clergie, as of the people, to chuſe not only the biſhop of Rome, but any other byſhop within their owne dioces whatſoeuer, and to the Monkes lykewiſe, to chuſe their owne Abbot, ſettinge a ſyde all reſpect of perſons and gyftes, only for the worthines of lyfe, and gifte of wiſdom, ſo as might be moſt profitable for doctrine, and example vnto the flocke, ⁊c. And this cōtinued til yͤ time of the foreſaid Carolus magnus, and Ludouicus his ſonne, an. 810. of the whyche two, Carolus the father receaued expreſſye of Pope Adrian the firſt, ful iuriſdiction and power to electe and ordeine the byſhop of Rome, lyke as Pope Leo the ninth did alſo to Ottho the firſt Germain Emperour, an. 961 The other, that is, Ludouicus, ſonne to the foreſayd Charles, is ſaid to renounce again, and ſurrendre frō hymſelfe and his ſucceſſors, vnto Pope Paſchalis and the Romaines, the right ⁊ intereſt of chuſinge the Ro-

Rubrica de ordinatione epiſcopi. ex Celeſtino papa diſ. 63. cap. Cleri.

Diſt. 63. cap. Sacrorum.

Liberty graunted to the clergye and to the people to chuſe their biſhop.

Carolus Magnus Ludouicus pius.

The decree, Ego Ludouicus diſt. 63. ſuſpected.

Gratianus and Volateranus what groũd they haue of their recordes.

Diſt 63. cap Ego Ludouicus.

Election of the biſhop of Rome ſtandeth vpon the conſent of the clergy and the people of Rome.

The decre Ego Ludouicus proued falſ.

Diſt. 23. cap. In Nomine Domini.

maine byſhop, and moreouer to gyue and graunt to the ſaide Paſchalis the full poſſeſſion of the citie of Rome, and the whole territorie to the ſame belonging. An. 821. as appeareth by the decree. Ego Ludouicus diſt. 63. But admitte that feyned decree to be vnfeynedly trew (as it may welbe ſuſpected for many cauſes, as proceadynge out of the ſame fountaine, with the conſtitution of Cõſtantine afore mentioned, that is, from the maſter of the Popes library, of whõ both Gratianus, and Volaterã, by their owne confeſſion take their grounde) yet the ſame decree doth not ſo geue away the fredome of that election, that he limiteth it onely to the Cardinals, but alſo requireth the whole conſent of the Romaines, neyther doth he ſimplely and abſolutly geue the ſame, but with condition, ſo that, omnes Romani vno conſilio, & vna concordia ſine aliqua promiſsione ad pontificatus ordinem elegerent: that is, whom as all the Romaines with one counſail, and with one accorde, without any promiſe of their voices graunted before, ſhall chuſe to be Byſhop of Rome. And moreouer in the ſame decree is required, that at the cõſecration of the ſame biſhop, meſſengers ſhould be directed incontinent to the Frenche Kyng concernyng the ſame. Furthermore, neither yet dyd the ſame decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope Stephen the fourth, ⁊ Pope Paſchalis the firſte in Ludouicus tyme were impapaced through diſcord without the election of the Emperour, yet they were fayne by meſſage to ſend theyr purgation to him of theyr election. And after that, in the time of Eugenius the. ij. whiche ſucceded next to Paſchalis, Lotharius, ſonne of Ludouicus, and Emperour with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed lawes and magiſtrates ouer the Citye. Wherby may appeare the donation of Ludouike, in geuynge awaye the Citie of Rome to the Pope, to be fayned. And after Eugenius, Pope Gregory the. iiij. who followinge within a yeare after Eugenius, durſt not take his election without the conſent and confirmation of the ſayde Emperour Ludouicus. And ſo in lyke maner his ſucceſſours Pope Sergius the. ij. Pope Leo, the iiij. Pope Nicolas ẏ firſt, and ſo orderly in a long tracte of tyme, from the forſaid Nicolas the firſt, to Pope Nicolas the ſecõd. an. 1061. (which Nicolas in his decree beginning, In nomine domini diſt. 23.) ordained alſo the ſame in the election of the byſhops of Rome, cõmonlye the conſent of the Emperour and the people with the clergy of Rome, was not lackyng. After which Nicolas came Alexander the ſecond, and wicked Hildebrand, which Alexander beyng firſt elected without the Emperours will and conſent, afterward repentyng the ſame, opẽly in his preachyng to the people declared that he would no longer ſit in the Apoſtolique ſea, vnles he were by the Emperour confirmed. Wherfore he was greatly rebuked, ⁊ caſt into priſon by Hildebrand, and ſo depoſed. Then Hildebrãd and his folowers ſo ordred the matter of this election, that firſt the Emperour, then the lay people, after that the clergie alſo beganne to be excluded. And ſo the election by litle and litle was reduced into the handes of a fewe Cardinals, contrarie to al auncient order, where euer ſince it hath remained.

The iudiciary power of the pope examined.

Gregor. Turonenſ. in Francorum hiſt. lib. 10. ca. 18

And like as in elections, ſo alſo in power iudiciarie, in deciſinge and determinyng of cauſes of faith, and of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the ſtate of the church of Rome, now being, hath no conformitie with the old Romaine church heretofore. For then byſhops debated all cauſes of faith onely by the ſcriptures, and other queſtions of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline they determined by the Canõs, not of the Pope, but of the church, ſuch as were decred by the auncient Councels, as writeth Greg. Turonenſis in francorum hiſtoria. Wher as now both the rule of ſcripture, ⁊ ſanctions of the olde councels ſet a ſide, all thinges for the moſte part are deciſed by certaine new decretall or rather extradecretal and extrauagant conſtitutions, in the Popes canon law compiled, and in his Conſiſtories practiſed.

And wher as the old ordinance and diſpoſitõ, as wel of the common law, as of the ſacred Councels, and inſtitution of auncient fathers haue geuen to Biſhops ⁊ and others prelats, alſo to patrons and donors of eccleſiaſticall benefices euery one within his owne precincte and dominion, alſo to cathedral churches and other: to haue their free elections and to proſecute the ſame in ful effect: ordryng ⁊ diſpoſing promotions, collations, prouiſiõs ⁊ diſpoſitions of prelacies, dignities, and al other eccleſiaſtical benefices whatſoeuer, after theyr own arbitrement, as appeareth by ẏ firſt generall Councel of Fraunce. 16. q. 7. cap. Omnes Baſilicæ. by the firſt general councel of Nice, cap. 6. Alſo by the general councel of Antioche. cap. 9. and is to be ſeen in the Popes decrees. 9. q. 3. cap. Per ſingulas. And alſo beſide theſe auncient decrees, the ſame confirmed againe in more later yeares by Ludouicus the. ix. French Kyng in his conſtitution called pragmatica ſanctio, made and prouided by full parlament againſte the Popes exactions, An. 1228. in theſe wordes as folow. Item exactiones & onera grauiſsima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam eccleſiæ regni noſtri impoſitas vel impoſita (quibus regnũ miſerabiliter depauperatum exiſtit) ſiue etiam imponendas vel imponenda leuari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: niſi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & vrgentiſsima cauſa, vel ineuitabili neceſsitate, ac etiam de expreſſo, & ſpontaneo iuſſu noſtro, & ipſius eccleſiæ regni noſtri. &c. that is, Item all exactions and importable burdens of money, which the court of Rome hath layde vpon the churche of our kyngdome (wherby the ſaid oure kyngdome hath been miſerablely hetherto empoueryſhed) or hereafter ſhall impoſe or lay vpon vs, we vtterly diſcharge and forbid to be leauied or collected hereafter for any maner of cauſe, vnles there come ſome reaſonable, godly, ⁊ moſt vrgent, and ineuitable neceſſitie, and that alſo not to be doen without the expreſſe ⁊ voluntary commaundement of vs, and of the churche of the ſame our forſaid kyngdom. ⁊c. Now contrary ⁊ againſt to theſe ſo manifeſt and expreſſe decrements of general councels, and conſtitutions ſynodal, this latter church of Rome of late preſumption, degeneratynge from al the ſteps of their elders, haue taken vpon them a ſingular iuriſdiction by themſelues, and for their own aduauntage, to intermedle in diſpoſing and tranſpoſing churches, colleages, monaſteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, goods and lãdes to the ſame belongyng, by reaſon and example whereof haue come in theſe improperations, firſt fruites, ⁊ reſeruations of benefices to the miſerable diſpoyling of pariſhes, and horrible decay of Chriſten faith, which thinges emonge the olde Romaine elders were neuer knowen. For ſo much then did it lacke, that dew neceſſities were pluckt from the church, that Emperours, Kyngs, and Princes pluckynge from their owne rather, dyd cumulate the churche with ſuperfluities.

Again, when ſuche goods were geuen to the church by thoſe auncetors, they were neyther ſo geuen, nor yet taken, to ſerue the priuate vſe of certaine churchemen takyng no paynes therin, but rather to ſerue the publique ſubuention of the nedy, as is conteined in the canonicall inſtitutions by the Emperour Ludouicus Pius ſet forth. an. 830. The wordes be theſe: Res eccleſiæ vota ſunt fidelium precia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum, that is: The goods of the churche be the vowes and bequeſtes of the faithful, prices to raunſom ſuche as be in captiuitie or priſon, and patrimonies to ſuccour them with hoſpitalitie, that be nedy.

Wherunto agreeth alſo the teſtimonie of Proſper, whoſe wordes be theſe: Viros ſanctos res eccleſiæ non vendicaſſe vt proprias, ſed vt commendatas pauperibus diuiſiſſe: that is, good men toke the goodes of yͤ church not as their owne, but diſtributed them as geuen ⁊ bequeathed to the poore. And ſaith moreouer: Quod habet eccleſia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune, that is: What ſoeuer the church hath, it hath it common, with all ſuche as haue nothing, ⁊c.

Adde to theſe the worthie teſtimonie of ſaint Aug. ad bonif. Si autem priuatim, quæ nobis ſufficiant poſſidemus, non ſunt illa noſtra, ſed pauperum: quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis vſurpatione damnabili vendicamus, &c.

Bowſons and pluralities of benefices.

Lykewiſe bowſons and pluralities of benefices wer thinges then as much vnknowen, as now they are pernitious to the church, takynge away al free election of miniſtres from the flocke of Chriſt.

Thre pointes wherin the Popes churche erreth in his iuriſdiction

Al which inconueniences as they firſt came ⁊ crept in chiefly by the pretenſed autoritie ⁊ iuriſdictiō abuſed in this latter church of Rome, ſo it can not be denied, but the ſayd latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it ſelf much more, then either the limites of Gods word do geue, or ſtandeth with the example of the olde Romaine church, in theſe thre things eſpeciall. Wherof as mention is touched before, ſo briefly to recapitulate the ſame.

1.

Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdictiō falſly reſtrayned and impropriat to the churche of Rome, which oght to be generally equall to all churches chriſtian.

The fyrſt is in thys, that what ſo euer the Scripture geueth and referreth, either to the whole Churche vniuerſally, or to euery particular church ſeuerally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to it ſelf abſolutely and onely, both doing iniurye to other churches, and alſo abuſing the ſcriptures of God. For albeit the Scripture doth geue authoritie to binde and looſe, it limitteth it neyther to perſon nor place, that is, neither to yͤ Citie of Rome onely, more then to other Cities, nor to the ſea of Peter, more then to other Apoſtles, but geueth it clerely to the church, wherof Peter did beare the figure, ſo that where ſoeuer the true church of Chriſt is, there is annexed power to bynde and looſe, geuen and taken merely as from Chriſt, and not mediatlye by the Pope or Byſhop of Peters ſea.

2.

Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction abuſed ⁊ extended in yͤ church of rome further then yͤ word limitteth.

The ſecond poynt wherin thys preſent Churche of Rome abuſeth hys iuriſdiction contrarye to ſcripture ⁊ ſteps of the old Romane Church is this, for that it extendeth hys authority farther and more amply, then either the warrant of the word, or example of time wyl geue. For although the Church of Rome hath (as other particular Churches haue) authority to binde and abſolue, yet it hath no ſuch authoritye to abſolue ſubiectes from their othe, ſubiection, and loyalty to their rulers ⁊ Magiſtrates, to diſpenſe wyth periury, to denounce remiſſion, wher no earneſt repentaunce is ſene before, to number remiſſion by dayes ⁊ yeares, to diſpenſe with things expreſſely in the woorde forbydden, or to reſtrayne that whych the woord maketh free, to deuide religion into religions, to bynde and burthen conſciences wyth conſtitutions of mē, to excōmunicate for worldly matters, as for breakyng of parkes, for not rynging bels at the Biſhops cōmyng, for not bringing litter for their horſe, for not paying theyr fees and rentes, for wythholdyng the church goods, for holdyng on theyr princes ſide in princely caſes, for not going at the popes commaundement, for not agreing to the popes election in an other princes realme, wyth other ſuch thinges mo and more vayne then theſe. ⁊c. Agayne, although the ſcripture geueth leaue and authority to the Biſhop and Churche of Rome to miniſter Sacramentes, yet it geueth no authority to make Sacramentes, much leſſe to worſhip Sacramentes. And though theyr authority ſerueth to baptiſe men, yet it extendeth not to chriſten bels: neyther haue they authority by any woord of God to adde to the word of God, or take from the ſame, to ſet vp vnwrittē verities vnder payn of damnation, to make other articles of beliefe, to inſtitute ſtraunge worſhyp, otherwiſe then he hath preſcribed, whych hath tolde vs howe hee would be worſhipped. ⁊c.

3. The iuriſdiction of pope abuſed ⁊ vſurped in temporal matters where he hath nothing to do

The third abuſe of the popes iuriſdiction ſtandeth in this, that as in ſpiritual iuriſdiction they haue vehemently exceeded the boundes of ſcripture, ſo they haue impudently intermedled thēmſelues in temporal iuriſdiction, wherin they haue nothyng to do. In ſo muche that they haue trāſlated the Empire, they haue depoſed Emperours, Kyngs, Princes and rulers and Senatours of Rome, and ſet vp other, or the ſame againe at their pleaſure, they haue proclamed warres, and haue warred themſelues. And where as Emperours in auncient tyme haue dignified them in titles, haue inlarged them with donations, and haue receaued their confirmation by the Emperours, they like ingratful clientes to ſuch benefactors, haue afterward ſtampte vpon their neckes, haue made them to holde there ſturrup, ſome to hold the bridle of their horſe, haue cauſed them to ſeeke their confirmation at their hand, yea haue been Emperours themſelues: ſede vacante, & in diſcordia electionis, and alſo haue ben Senators of the citie. Moreouer haue extorted into their owne handes the plenarie fulnes of power and iuriſdiction of both the ſwordes, eſpecially ſince the tyme of Pope Hildebrand: which Hildebrand depoſyng Henricus the. iiij. Emperour, made him geue attendance at his Citie gate. And after hym Pope Bonifacius the eyght ſhewed himſelfe vnto the people on the firſt day lyke a biſhop, with his keys before hym, and the next day in his robbes Imperiall, hauyng a naked ſword borne before hym, lyke an Emperour. an. 1298. And forſomuch as this inordinat iuriſdiction hath not onely been vſed of them, but alſo to this day is mainteined in Rome, let vs therfore nowe cōpare the vſage hereof, to the old maner in times paſt, meanynge the primitiue ⁊ firſt age of the church of the Romains. Wherein the olde biſhops of Rome in thoſe dayes, as they were then ſubiecte to their Emperours, ſo were other biſhopes in like maner of other nations ſubiecte euery one to his kyng and Prince, acknowledgyng them for their lordes, and were ordered by theyr autoritie and obeyed their lawes, and that not onely in cauſes ciuile, but alſo in regimēt eccleſiaſtical as appeareth diſt. 10, cap. 1 et. 2. diſt, 97. cap. De illicita. Alſo 24. q. 3. So was Gregorius ſurnamed Magnus, ſubiecte to Mauritius, ⁊ to Phocas although a wicked Emperor.

Popes ſubmitted in yͤ old time to Emperors

So alſo both Pope and people of Rome toke their laws of the Emperours of Conſtantinople, and were ſubmitted to them, not onely in the tyme of Honorius an hundreth yeares after Conſtantine the great, but alſo in the tyme of Martinianus. an. 451. and ſo further vnto the time of Iuſtinian, and of Carolus Magnus, and alſo after the dayes of them. In all whiche continuance of time, it is manifeſt that the Emperiall lawe of Martiane did rule and bynde in Rome, both in the dayes of Iuſtinian an. 150. yeares after, til the tyme of the Empire being tranſlated from Grece vnto France. Whereby it maye apeare falſe, that the Citie of Rome was geuen by Conſtantine the firſt, vnto the biſhope of Rome to gouerne, for that Pope Bonifacius. 1. writing to the Emperour Honorius, calleth in the ſame place Rome the Emperours citie. diſt. 97. cap. 1. And Lotharius, alſo Emperour appointed magiſtrats and lawes in Rome, as is aboue mentioned. Moreouer for further probation hereof, that both the byſhop of Rome and all other eccleſiaſticall perſons were in former time, and ought to be ſubiect to their Emperours and lawfull magiſtrates, in cauſes as well ſpirituall as ciuile, by many euidences may appeare, taken out both of Gods lawe, and mans law. And firſt by gods law we haue example of godly Kynge Dauid, who numbred all the prieſtes and Leuites, and diſpoſed them into. xxiiij. or

Ex cap. 1. de iuramētis calumniæ.

Diſt. 97. ca.

Platin. in vita Euge.

Euidences prouing eccleſiaſticall perſons to

haue bene ſubiecte to there magiſtrates, in cauſes both eccleſiaſtical and tēporal.
Euidences out of the ſcripture.
Dauid. 1. Para. ca. xxv. xxvi.
Ezechias. 4. Reg. 18.
The order of Abias was the eight order among the prieſtes. 1. par. 24.
Salomon.
Iudas Machabeus.
1. Mac. 10.
1. Mac. 14.
Ioſaphat. 2. Par. 19.

ders or courſes, apointyng them continuallye to ſerue in the miniſtery euery one in his proper order ⁊ turne, as came about: which inſtitution of the clergy, alſo good kyng Ezechias afterward renued, of whom it is writē: he did that was right in the ſight of the Lord, according to all thinges, as his father Dauid had done before, he toke away the hye groues, and brake downe images ⁊c. 4. Reg. 8. The ſaid Ezechias alſo reduced yͤ prieſtes and Leuites into their orders, preſcribed by Dauid before, to ſerue euery one in his office, of miniſtration. 2. Paral. 30. 31. And this order from Dauid ſtill continued til the tyme of Zachary at the comming of Chriſt our Lord, beyng of Abias, that were the eyght order of the prieſtes apointed to ſerue in the tabernacle. *Luc.* 1. To paſſe ouer other lighter charges trāſlated from the prieſtes to the Kyngs authoritie, as concernyng the orderyng of oblations in the temple, reſtauryng and reparations of the Lordes houſe, Kyng Salomon diſplaced Abiathar the hygh prieſte, by his kynglye power, ⁊ placed Sadoch in his ſtede. 3. Reg. cap. 2. Alſo dedicating the temple of the Lorde with all the people, bleſſed the whole congregation of Iſrael 3. Reg. 8. Iudas Machabeus alſo elected prieſts, ſuch as being without ſpot had a zele to the lawe of the Lord, to purge the temple, which the Idolatrous Gentils had before prophaned. 1. Machab. 4. Alſo Kyng Alexander writyng to Ionathas, appointed him for chiefe prieſte in his countrey. 1. Mac. 10. Demetrius ordeined Simon, and Alchinus in the like office of prieſthode. Ioſaphat likewiſe as in the whole land dyd ſet iudges, ſo alſo in Hieruſalem he apointed Leuites and prieſtes, and heads of families to haue the hearynge of cauſes, and to miniſter iudgement ouer the people. 2. paral. 19. By theſe and many other is to be ſeen, that kynges and princes in the olde tyme as wel, whan prieſtes were borne prieſts, as whā they were made by election, had the dealyng alſo in eccleſiaſticall matters, as in callyng the people to Gods ſeruice, in cutting down groues, in deſtroyeng images, in gathering tithes into the Lords houſe, in dedicating the temple, in bleſſing the people, in caſtyng down the braſen Serpent within the temple, in correcting and depoſing prieſtes, in conſtitutyng the order and offices of prieſtes, in commaundyng ſuch things as parteined to the ſeruice and worſhip of God, and in punyſhynge the contrary. ⁊c. And in the new Teſtament what meaneth the example of Chriſt hymſelfe both geuyng ⁊ teaching tribute to be geuen to Ceſar, to Ceſar I ſay, and not to yͤ hye prieſt? What meaneth his words to Pilate not denyeng power to be geuen to him from aboue?

Iohn. 19

And againe declaryng the Kyngs of nations to haue dominion ouer them, and wyllyng his diſciples not ſo to doe, geuyng vs to vnderſtande the difference betwen the regiment of his ſpiritual kyngdome, and of the kingdome of thys world, willyng al worldly ſtates to be ſubiect vnder the ſuperiour rulers ⁊ magiſtrates, in whoſe regiment is dominion ⁊ ſubiection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth alſo the doctrine of ſaint Paule, where it is writen: let euery ſoul be ſubiect to the hyer powers, vnder whoſe obedience neyther Pope, Cardinall, Patriarch, Biſhop, prieſt, Frier nor Monke is excepted, nor exempted, as Theophilactus expoundyng the ſame place declareth, and ſayth: vniuerſos erudit, ſiue ſacerdos ſit ille, ſiue monachus, ſiue apoſtolus, vt ſe principibus ſubdant: that is, he teacheth all ſortes, wether he be prieſt, or monke, or els Apoſtle, that they ſhoulde ſubmit themſelues vnder their princes. ⁊c. And S. Auſten writyng ad Bonifacium, ſaith in much like ſort: Quicunq; autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande ſupplicium, that is: whoſoeuer refuſeth to obey the lawes of the Emperour, which make for the veritie of God, incurreth the daūger of great puniſhment. ⁊c.

Rom. 13.
Theophilactus.
Aug ad Bonifaciū.

Alſo in an other place, writing contra Creſconium hath theſe wordes: In hoc enim reges ſicut eis diuinitus præcipitur, deo ſeruiunt, in quantum reges, ſi in ſuo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolum quæ pertinent ad humanam ſocietatem, verumetiam quæ ad diuinā religionem, that is, Kyngs accordyng as it is inioyned them of God, do ſerue God in that they are Kyngs, if they in theyr kyngdome commaunde thoſe thynges that be good, and forbyde things that be euyll, ſuch as appertaine not onely to humaine ſocietie, but alſo to gods religion, ⁊c. And yet to come more nere to the Popes owne Doctors, Thomas Aquine not much diſcrepant from the iniunction of the Apoſtle aboue alledged, thus deſcribeth the office of a Kyng: Hoc, inquit, officium rex ſe ſuſcepiſſe cognoſcat, vt ſit in regno, ſicut in corpore anima, & ſicut deus in mundo &c. Let a Kyng (ſaith he) vnderſtande, that he hath taken this office vpon hym, to be as the ſoule within the body, and as God in the world. In like agrement with the holye Apoſtle S. Paul, ioyneth alſo S. Peter: be you ſubiect (ſaith he) to euery humain creature, whether it be to the Kyng, as moſt preeminent, or to other ſet ouer you, ⁊c. Wher the cōmon gloſe addeth therto, to obey the ſame, whether they be good, or euyll. Theſe places rightly pondered, let any man now iudge whether the Pope hath don open wronge to the Emperour, in ſurpriſing aboue the iuriſdiction of his lawfull prince and magiſtrat, notwithſtandynge what ſoeuer his owne Canon law ſaith to the contrary.

Aug. Co
tra. Creſco
nium. Li
3. cap. 5.
Thoma
regim. p
cip. Lib. 1.
Cap. 14.
1. Pet. 2.

And as it is ſufficientlye hetherto proued by gods law, that all eccleſiaſtical perſons owe their dew ſubiection to their lawful princes, in matters as wel temporal, as ſpiritual: ſo no leſſe euidences may alſo be inferred out of mans law, and examples of the oldeſt fathers, to proue the ſame. And firſt to beginne with the exāple of Gregory the great, who in his Epiſtle to Mauritius writeth thus: Dominus meus fuiſti, quando adhuc dominus omniū non eras: Ecce per me ſeruum vltimum ſuū, & veſtrum reſpondebit Chriſtus, &c. that is: You were then my Lord, when you were not the Lord of the whole Empire: beholde Chriſt himſelfe ſhall make you anſwere by me, whiche am his moſt ſimpleſt ſeruaunt and yours. ⁊c. And before hym Eleutherius his predeceſſor byſhop of Rome, writinge to Lucius, Kynge of this Realme, calleth hym by the name of Chriſts Vicar: But what nedeth muche confirmation of this matter, when the Popes decrees and canons be ful of records hereof, teſtifieng how the auncięt churche of Rome not onely receaued, but alſo required of the Emperours, lawes and conſtitutions to be made, touchyng not onelye ſuche cauſes, but alſo ſuche perſons as were eccleſiaſtical. And her to omitte by the way the chap. Principes ſeculi. alſo cap. Adminiſtratores. 23. q. 5. with diuers other beſide, I will recite out of the epiſtle of Boniface the firſt to yͤ Emperour Honorius, ſo much as ſerueth for our purpoſe, writen. diſt. 92. cap. Eccleſiæ. cap. Victor. Wher it is mētioned that the ſaid Bonifacius byſhop of Rome ſent an humble ſupplication to the forenamed Emperour, deſyrynge hym, by hys autoritie to prouide ſome remedy againſt the ambitious contentions of the clergy, for the byſhoprike of Rome. Which Emperour Honorius incontinēt at his requeſt, directed and ſtabliſhed a law, that none ſhoulde be made byſhop of Rome through ambition, chargyng all eccleſiaſticall miniſters to ſurceaſe from ambition, apointyng moreouer, that if two were elected together, neyther of them both ſhould be taken, but the election to procede further to an other to be choſen by a ful cōſent of voices, as is expreſſed. Diſt. 79. cap. Si duo.

Gregor. ad
Maurit.
Auguſt. li
3. epiſt. a
23. q. 5. ca
principes,
cap Adm
niſtrator
Diſt. 97 ca
eccleſie
Victor.
Diſt. 79
Si duo.

To this I adioyne alſo the law and conſtitution of Iuſtinian the Emperour, ratified ⁊ renued afterward in the councell of Paris, in tyme of Kyng Ludouicus

Pius. Where all byſhops and prieſtes be oppreſlye forbydden not to excõmunicate any man, before his cauſe was knowen and proued to be ſuche, as for the whiche the auncient canons of the church would him to be excommunicate. And if any ſhould otherwiſe procede contrary to the ſame, then the excommunicate perſon to be abſolued by the autoritie of an heygher degree, & the excommunicator to be ſequeſtred from the cõmunion, ſo long as ſhuld ſeme cõuenient to him that had the execution therof as is expreſſed. 24.q.3. De illicita. The ſame Iuſtinian moreouer in his lawes and conſtitutions, how manye thinges dyd he diſpoſe and ordeine in church matters, as to haue a determinat nũber of churchmen or clerkes in churches. conſt. 3. Alſo concernynge monaſteries and monkes. conſt. 5. how biſhops and priſtes ſhould be ordeined. conſt. 6. concernynge remouynge of eccleſiaſticall perſons from one church to an other. Alſo concernyng the conſtitution of the churches in Aphrike. And that the holy miſteries ſhould not be don in priuat houſes, ſo that whoſoeuer ſhould attempt the contrary, ſhould be depriued. Conſt. 57. Moreouer concerning clerkes leauyng their churches, conſt. 58. Alſo concernyng the order & maner of funerals, conſt. 59. And that byſhops ſhould not kepe from their flocke, conſt. 67. The ſame Iuſtinian graunted to the clergy of Conſtantinople the priuilege of the ſecular court, in caſes only ciuile, and ſuche as touched not the diſturbance of the biſhop, otherwiſe in all criminall cauſes he lefte them to the iudgement of the ſecular court, conſt. 83. He geueth alſo lawes and decrees for breach of matrimonie. conſt. 117. and in diuers other places. And in his conſtitution. 123. after the doctrine of S. Paule, he commaundeth all biſhops and prieſtes to ſounde out their ſeruice, and to celebrate the miſteries, not after a ſecret maner, but with a loud voice, ſo as they myght not onely be heard, but alſo be vnderſtãd of the faythful people, what was ſaid & don. Wherby it is to be gathered, that diuine prayers & ſeruice then, was in the vulgar tounge.

Aug. Co... Creſco... nium. Lib. 3. cap. 5.

...q 3. cap. ...illicita.

Thomas ... regim. princip. Lib. 1. Cap. 11.

...Nouel. 5 ...Iuſtinian.

...ine ſer... ...e vſed ...the vul... ...tounge.

Gregor. Mauri. Auguſt... ...epiſt...

And as thys Iuſtinian, and other Emperours in thoſe dayes had the iuriſdiction and gouernement ouer ſpirituall matters and perſons, the lyke examples alſo may be brought of other Kynges, in other landes, who had no leſſe authoritie in theyr Realmes, then Emperours had in their Empyre. As in Fraunce, Clodoueus the fyrſt chriſtened King at Orliance cauſed a councell of. 33. Byſhops, where. 33. Canons were inſtituted concerning the gouernement of the church, within. 200. yeares after Chriſt. Ex primo Tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus beſide hys other lawes and edictes politicall, called. v. Synodes, one at Mentze, the ſecond at Rome, the thyrd at Remes, the fourth at Labilone, the fyft at Arelate, where ſundry rytes and ordinaunces were geuen to the clergye, about. 810. yeares after Chriſt. The ſame Carolus alſo decreed that onely the Canonicall bookes of Scripture ſhould be red in the Church, and none other. Which before alſo was decreed, anno. 417 in the thyrd generall Counſell of Cartage. Item he exhorteth and chargeth Byſhops and prieſtes to preach ye worde, with a godly iniunction: Epiſcopi vero vt ſiue per ſe, ſiue per vicarios pabulum verbi diuini ſedulo populis annuncient Quia vt ait beatus Gregorius: Iram contra ſe occulti iudicis excitat Sacerdos ſi ſine prædicationis ſonitu incedit Et vt ipſi clerum ſibi cõmiſſum in ſobrietate et caſtitate nutriant. Superſtitiones quas quibuſdam in locis in exequiis mortuorvm nonnulli faciunt, eradicent, that is: That Biſhops eyther by them ſelues, or their deputies ſhall ſhew forth the foode of Gods word to the people with all diligence. For as Gregorye ſayth, the prieſt procureth agaynſt hym the wrath of the ſecret iudge, which goeth without the ſound of preachyng. And alſo that they bryng vp theyr clergye to them committed in ſobernes and chaſtitie. The ſuperſtition which in certayne places are vſed of ſome, about the Funeralls of the dead, let them exterminate & plucke vp by rootes. &c. Moreouer inſtructing and informyng the ſayd Byſhops and prieſtes in ye office of preaching, willeth them, not to ſuffer any to fayne or preach to the people anye new doctrine of theyr own inuention, and not agreing to the word of God, but that they them ſelues both will preach ſuch things as lead to eternall life, and alſo that they ſet vp other to do the ſame, and ioyneth withall a godly exhortation. Ideo, dilectiſsimi, toto corde præparemus nos in ſcientia veritatis, et mox: vt diuina donante gratia verbum dei currat et creſcat, et multiplicetnr, in profectum eccleſiæ dei ſanctæ, et ſalutem animarum noſtrarum, et laudem et gloriam nominis domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto. Amen. Furthermore, the ſayd Carolus in his cõſtitutions diuideth the goods geuen to the Church ſo, that in the more wealthye places two parts ſhould go to the vſe of the poore, the third to the ſtipend of the Clergy. Otherwiſe in poorer places an equall diuiſion to bee made betwene the pouertye and the Clergy, vnles the gift had ſome ſpecial exception. Ex Anſegiſo, lib. 1. cap. 80. And in the ſame booke a litle after, cap. 83. the author declareth by the ſaide Carolus to be decreed, that no eccleſiaſtical perſon or perſons from thence foorth ſhould preſume to take of anye perſon, any ſuch gift or donation, wherby the children or kinſfolkes of the ſayd Donor ſhoulde bee defeited of theyr inheritaunce duly to them belonging. Ludouicus Pius king of Fraũce, & after Emperour, was ſonne to the foreſaid Charles, who being ioyned together wt the ſaid Charles his father in the Empire, ordained alſo wt hys father ſundry actes and obſeruances touchyng the gouernment of the Church, as in the author before alledged may appeare. As firſt, that no entry ſhoulde be made into the Church by Symony: Agayne, that Byſhops ſhould be ordayned by the free election of the Clergy and of the people, wythout al reſpect of perſon or reward, onely for the merite of lyfe, and gift of heauenly wyſdome. Alſo the ſayde Kynges and Emperours forbad that any free man or Citizen ſhould enter the profeſſion of Monkery, wythout licence aſked of the kyng before, and added a double cauſe wherefore. Fyrſt, for that many not for mere deuotion, but for idlenes and auoyding the kynges wars, do geue them ſelues to religion: agayne, for that many be craftely circumuented and deluded by ſubtile couetous perſons, ſeekyng to get from them that whych they haue. lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Item that no yong chyldren or boyes ſhould be ſhauen or entre anye profeſſion, wythout the wyl of their Parentes. And no young maydens ſhoulde take the veale or profeſſion of a Nunne, before ſhe came to ſufficient diſcretion of yeares, to diſcerne & chuſe what they wyl follow. That none ſhould be interred or buried thenceforth wythin the Churche, whych alſo was decreed by Theodoſius and Valentinianus. 40. yeare before thẽ. Item the ſayd Carolus. 22. yeares before thys Emperour, enacted that murderers and ſuch as were gilty of death by the law, ſhould haue no ſanctuary by flying into the Church. &c. which alſo was decreed by Iuſtinian 300. yeares before thys Carolus. Ex Nouel. Iuſt. Moreouer the foreſayd Ludouicus Pius, wyth hys ſonne Clotharius (or as ſome call hym, Lotharius) ioyned wyth hym, among other eccleſiaſticall ſanctions, ordayned a godly law, for laymen to communicate the ſacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord in theſe wordes: Vt ſi non frequentius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: niſi forte grauioribus quibuſdam criminibus impediantur. That laymen do communicate at leaſt thriſe, if not ofter, except they be let percaſe by ſome more haynous & greuous offences, Anſeg. lib. 2. cap. 43. Item they enacted that

...odoueus

...oncilium ...ureliense. ...arolus ...agnus.

...3.q.5. ...principes, cap Admi... ...niſtratores.

...anonicall ...cripture. ...ly to bee ...de in ...urches.

Diſt. 97 ... eccleſiæ ... Victor.

...nc. Car... ...3 ca. 47

...ſhops & ...ieſtes ...rged to ...ch ye ...igence.

Diſt. 77 ... Si duo.

Superſtitiõ in funerals forbidden.

Ex Anſegiſo Abbate. Lib. 1. ca 76

Ludouicus Pius.

Ex Anſeg. Lib. 1. cap. 20.

Lib. 1. C. de ſacro. eccle.

Iuſtini. in Nouell.

Ludouicus & Clotharius.

Ludouicus II.

Ex Inon. Carnotēſis. Lib.11.decretorum.

The Pope pleadeth hys cauſe at yͤ barre before the Emperor.

2.queſt.7. cap.Hos ſi incontinēter.

Ludouicus IX.

Pragmatica ſanctio. S. Ludouici.

Areſtū Senatus pariſiens.ex Molinæo.

Philippus Pulcher.

Carolus Sapiens.

Carolus VI.

ted that no goods of the church ſhould be alienated vnder the payne leoninæ conſtitutionis, vnto thys Lotharius Frēch king and Emperour, Pope Leo the fourth writeth that Romana lex, that is, the Romane law (meaning the law of the French Emperours) as it hath hetherto ſtode in force: Ita et nunc ſuum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat, that is: ſo now it maye continue ſtyll in hys vigor and ſtrength. *I*no Carnotenſis. lib. 11. decretorum, about the yere of the Lord. 848. After this Lotharius ſucceded hys ſonne Ludouicus the ſecond in the kingdome and Empire of Fraunce, before whom the foreſaid Pope Leo was brought into iudgement, & pleaded hys cauſe of treaſon, and ther was before the Emperour quyt and releaſed. Which declareth that Popes and Biſhops all thys whyle were in ſubiection vnder theyr Kynges and Emperours. Moreouer deſcending yet to lower tymes, an. 1228. Ludouicus. 9 called holy Ludouike, made a lawe againſt the peſtiferous ſymony in the Church, alſo for the maintenannce of the liberty of the Churche of Fraunce, eſtabliſhed a law or decree, againſt the new inuentions, reſeruatiōs, preuentions, and exactions of the court of Rome, called Pragmatica ſanctio, S. Ludouici, yͤ which Sanction was alſo practiſed long after in the kingdome of Fraunce agaynſt the Popes collectors and vndercollectors, as appeareth by the Areſtum of the Counſaile of Paris. an. 1463. ex Molinæo in cōmentariis. Furthermore Kyng Philippe le belle. 1303. ſet forth a law, called Philippina, wherin was forbyd any exaction of new tythes, & fyrſt fruites, and other vncuſtomed collections, to be put vpō yͤ church of Fraūce. Carolus the. v. named Sapiens, an. 1369, by a law cōmaūded, yͭ no Biſhops nor prelates, or their officiales within his Kingdome of Fraūce, ſhould execute any cenſure of ſuſpenſe, or excōmunicatiō, at yͤ Popes commaundement, ouer or vpon the Cityes, or townes, corporations, or commons of his Realme. ex regiſt. antiquarū conſt. chart. 62. Item Carolus Vi. an. 1388. agaynſt the Cardinals and other officials, and collectors of the Pope, reuokyng agayne the power which he had geuen to them before, prouided by a law, that the fruits and rentes of benefices, with other penſions, and Byſhops goods that departed, ſhould no more be exported by the Cardinals & the Popes collectors vnto Rome, but ſhoulde be broughte to the Kyng, and ſo reſtored to them to whom they ryghtly dyd appertayne.

The like alſo may be inferred and proued by the ſtories and examples of our Kynges here in England, as Kyng Offa, King Egbertus, Edgarus, Aluredus, Athelwoldus, Canutus, Edouardus, W. Conqueror, Wilhel. Rufus, Henricus yͤ fyrſt, Henricus the ſecond, tyll the tyme of Kyng John and after. Whoſe dealyng as well in eccleſiaſticall caſes, as in temporall, is a ſufficient demonſtration to proue what iniurye the Popes, in theſe latter dayes, haue done vnto yͤ Emperours their lawfull gouernours and magiſtrates: in vſurping ſuch fulnes of power and iuriſdiction on them, to whom properly they owe ſubiection, contrarye to the ſteps and example of the old Romane Byſhops their aunciters, and therfore haue incurred the daūger of a premunire, worthy to be depriued. Although it is not to be denyed, but that eccleſiaſticall miniſters and ſeruitures haue theyr power alſo committed vnto them, after theyr ſort, of the Lord: yet it becommeth euery man to know hys owne place and ſtandyng, and there to keepe hym, wherin hys owne precincte doth pale hym, and not raſhlye to breake out into other mens walkes. As it is not lawfull for a ciuile magiſtrate to intermedle with a Byſhoppes or a preachers function: ſo vnſemely and vnorderly it is agayne, that Boniface the. viij. ſhoulde haue borne before hym the temporall maſe, and the naked ſword of yͤ Emperour, or that any Pope ſhould beare a triple crowne, or take vpon hym lyke a Lord and Kyng. Wherfore let euery man conſidre the compaſſe and limitation of hys charge, and excede no farther. The office and charge of a Byſhop or ſeruiture eccleſiaſticall, was in the old law to offer ſacrifyce, to burne incenſe, to pray for yͤ people, to expound the law, to miniſter in the tabernacle, with which office it was not lawſull for any prince or mā els to intermedle, as we read how Ozias was puniſhed for offering incenſe, and an other for touchyng the Arke: ſo nowe the offyce of Chriſtian miniſters is to preach the word, to miniſter ſacramentes, to pray, to binde & looſe, where cauſe vrgently requyreth, to iudge in ſpirituall caſes, to publyſhe and denounce free reconciliation, and remiſſion in the name of Chriſt, to erecte and comforte troubled conſciences with the rych grace of the Goſpell, to teache the people the true difference betwixt the lawe and the Goſpell, wherof the one belongeth to ſuch as bee not in Chriſt, & come not to hym: the other pertaineth to the true beleuers in the ſonne of God, to admoniſh alſo the Magiſtrates erring or traſgreſſing in their office. &c.

The · of the · ſiaſtic · miniſt

And as theſe properly belong to the function of the eccleſiaſticall ſort: ſo hath the ciuile gouernour or magiſtrate agayne his proper charge and office to him aſſigned, which is to ſee the adminiſtratiō of iuſtice & iudgement, to defend with power the ryght of the weake that ſuffer wronge, to defend frō oppreſſion the poore oppreſſed, to miniſter with equalitie, that which is ryght and equall to euery man: to prouyde lawes good and godly, to ſee the execution of the ſame as cauſe moueth: eſpecially to ſee yͤ law of God mainteined, to promote Chriſts glory and Goſpell, in ſetting vp and ſendyng out good preachers, in mainteining the ſame, in electing Biſhops that be faythfull, in remouyng or els correcting the ſame being faultie or negligent, in congregatyng the clergye when nede is of any counſel, to heare theyr learning in cauſes propounded, and according to the truth learned, to dyrect hys iudgement, in diſpoſing ſuch rytes and ordinaunces for the church, as make to edification, not to the deſtruction thereof, in conſeruyng the diſciplyne of the church, and ſetting all thynges in a congrue order. Briefly, the office of the ciuile ruler and magiſtrate extendeth to miniſter iuſtice & iudgement in all courtes as well temporall, as eccleſiaſticall: to haue correction ouer all tranſgreſſours, whether they bee laymen or perſons eccleſiaſticall. And fynally all ſuch thynges as belong to the mouyng of the ſword, what ſoeuer, that is to ſaye, all outward punyſhment, is referred to the iuriſdiction of yͤ ſeculare magiſtrate, vnder whoſe ſubiection the ordinaunce of God hath ſubiected all orders and ſtates of men.

The · of ciui · lers & · giſtra

Here we haue the witneſſe alſo of Hormiſda Biſhop of Rome, which being well weyed, maketh the matter playne, that princes haue to deale in ſpiritual cauſes alſo, not onely in temporall: where the ſaid Hormiſda writeth to Epiphanius, Patriarche of Conſtantine, in thys ſort: Clara cœleſtis miſericordiæ demonſtratio procedit, quando reges ſeculi cauſas de fide, cum gubernatione politiæ coniungunt. &c. ex Act. v. vniuerſ. concil. Conſtantin ſecundi. an. 528. And thus muche, and to muche peraduenture concernyng the matter of iuriſdiction, in which poynt thys newe church of Rome hath ſwarued from the auncient church of Rome, which hath bene, as is ſufficientlye proued.

The · poynt · in · of · altere · the c · of

Th · and · the · of

THe thyrd point wherin the church of Rome hath broken and is departed from the church of Rome, is the forme of ſtile and title annexed to the Byſhop of that See. As where he is called Pope, moſt holy father, vicar generall, and vicar of Chriſt, ſucceſſour of Peter, vniuerſall Byſhop, prynce of prieſtes, head of the church vniuerſal, Summus orbis pontifex, Stupor mūdi, head biſhop of the world, the admiration of the worlde, neyther God nor man, but a thyng betwene both, &c. for all theſe termes be geuen hym in popyſhe bookes. Albeit yͤ name

Pope, being a Greeke name, deriued of πάππας, which ſoundeth as much as Father, in the Syracuſane ſpech, may peraduenture ſeme more tolerable, as which hath ben vſed in the olde time emong biſhops, for ſo Auſten was called of the councel of Aphrike, Hierome, of Boniface and other. Alſo Cyprian biſhop of Carthage, was called papa. 24. q. 1. cap. loquitur et diſt. 50. cap. De eo tamen. Item Clodouæus or (as Rhenanus calleth hym) Ludouicus, firſt Chriſtian Kyng of France, calleth on a ſympler biſhop, papam. Hierome alſo in his epiſtle to Chromatius calleth Valerianus, by the name of Pope: and likewiſe writynge to Euſtachium, & Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius beatum Papam. In the Apologies of Athanaſius, we reade oft tymes ẏ he was called papa, & Archiepiſcopus. Ruffinus alſo lib. 2. cap. 26. calleth him, Pontificem maximũ: Alſo Aurelius preſident in the. vj. councel of Carthage was called of the ſaid councel, papa, ex. cap. 4. vi. concil. Carthag.

…q. 1. cap. …oquitur.

…iſt. 50 cap …e eo tamẽ

…pa a cõ… …name …the olde …to all …hops of …her …wledge …ertue. …erony. …d Chroma…ium epiſt. …dẽ ad Eu…ſtachium & …abiolam.

And before this Eleutherius byſhop of Rome, writing to kyng Lucius the firſt chriſten Kyng in this land, calleth him in his epiſtle, the vicar of Chriſt, &c. But that any of theſe termes were ſo peculiarly applyed to the byſhop of Rome, that other biſhops were excluded frõ the ſame, or that any one byſhop aboue the reſt had the name of Oecumenical, or vniuerſal, or head, to the derogation of other biſhops, or with ſuch glory as is now annexed to the ſame: that is not to be founde neyther in hiſtories of the old tyme, nor in any example of the primitiue church, nor in the teſtimonies of auncient approued doctors. Firſt before the councell of Nice, it is euident by Pope Pius the ſecond, that there was no reſpect had to the church of Rome, but euery church then was ruled by his own gouernance, til the yeare of our Lord. 340. Then folowed the councel of Nice, wherin it was decréed, that through out the whole vniuerſitie of Chriſts church, which was now far ſpred ouer al the worlde, certaine prouincies or precinctes to the number of foure were appointed, euery one to haue his head church, and chiefe biſhop, called then Metropolitaine, or Patriarche, to haue the ouer ſight of ſuch churches as dyd lye about hym. In the number of whiche Patriarches or Metropolitains, the biſhop of Rome had the firſt place. 2. The biſhop of Alexandria was the ſecond. 3. The biſhop of Antioche the third. 4. The byſhop of Hieruſalem was the fourth Patriarke. Afterward in the number of theſe Patriarches, came in alſo the byſhop of Conſtantinople in the roume of the byſhop of Antioche. So theſe foure or fyue Metropolitanes or Patriarches had their peculiar circuits and precinctes to them peculiarly appointed, in ſuch ſorte, as one of them ſhuld not deale within an others precinct, & alſo that ther ſhuld be emong them equalitie of honor, wherupon we reade ſo oft in the decrées of the old coũcels, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῶν θρόνων, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς, that is, equal degrée of thrones, and of honour amonge prieſts and miniſters. Again ſpeaking of the ſaid Patriarches or primates, we reade in the. ij. and. iij. chap. of the councell of Conſtant. ἐπισκόπους τοῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, that is. That byſhops ſhould not inuade the dioces of other biſhops, without their borders, nor confound together churches, &c.

…epiſt. Pii …di. 301.

…he foure, …atriar…ches ap…pated by …counſell …Nice.

Ex concil. Nicen.

Ex conci. Conſtanti…op. ca. 36.

…concil. …nitãtin. …ap. 36.

…concil. …nſt. cap. …3.

Moreouer the old Doctors for the moſt and beſt part, do accord in one ſentence, that al biſhops placed wherſoeuer, in the church of God, be eiuſdem meriti & honoris, et ſucceſſores Apoſtolorum, that is to be of one merite, of lyke honour, and all to be ſucceſſors together of the Apoſtles. Alſo, he that is the autour of the boke called Dioniſius Areopagita, calleth all the biſhops, ὁμοταγεῖα καὶ ἰσότιμα, that is, of equal order, and of lyke honor, &c. All this while the biſhop of Rome was a Patriarch, and a Metropolitane or biſhop called of the firſt ſea, but no Oecumenical biſhop, nor head of the vniuerſall church, nor any ſuch matter: In ſo much that he, with al other biſhops, was debarred from that, by a plain decrée of the councel of Carthage, can. 39. in theſe wordes: ὥστε τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιουτό ποτε τίποτε, that is. That the byſhop of the firſt ſeate ſhal not be called the prince of prieſts, or the hyghe prieſt, or any ſuch thing. an.

Ex concil. Carthag. can. 39.

And leaſt any here ſhould take occaſion of caueling, to heare hym called, byſhop of the firſt ſea, here is to be expounded, what is ment by the biſhop of the firſt ſée, & wherfore he was ſo called, not for any dignity of the perſon, either of him which ſucedeth, or of him whom he is ſaid to ſuccede, but onely of the place wherin he ſitteth. This is plainlye proued by the councell of Calchedon, cap. 28. Wherin is manifeſtlye declared the cauſe why the ſea of Rome, emong all other patriarchall ſeas, is numbred for the firſt ſea by the auncient fathers. For why, ſaith the councel, καὶ γὰρ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. that is, for ẏ our foreſathers did worthelye attribute the chiefe degrée of honour to the ſea of olde Rome, becauſe the principall reigne or Emperye was in that Citie, &c. The ſame alſo is confirmed by Euſebius Cæſarienſis, declaryng, quòd excellentia Romani Imperij extulit papatum Rom. Pontificis ſupra alias eccleſias. That the excellencie of the Romaine Empery did aduaunce the popedome of the Romaine biſhop aboue other churches, &c. Ex Gab. Biel. Moreouer, ſaith the ſaid Cæſarienſis: Nicena ſynodus hoc contulit priuilegiũ Roma. pontifici, vt ſicut Romanorũ rex Auguſtus præ cæteris appellatur: ita Rom. pontifex præ cæteris epiſcopis papa vocaretur. That is. The councell, ſaythe he, of Nice gaue this priuilege to the Biſhop of Rome, that like as the Kyng of the Romaines is named Emperour aboue all other Kynges, ſo the Byſhop of the ſame citie of Rome ſhould be called Pope aboue other biſhops, &c. By theſe places hetherto alledged (and ſuch other, many more thẽ be here alledged) it apeareth that though theſe titles of ſuperioritie had ben attributed to the byſhop of Rome, yet it remaineth certaine, that the ſaid biſhop receiued that preferment Iure non diuino, ſed humano, by mans law, not by the law of God. And ſo is the diſtinction of the Popes proued falſe, where is ſaid: Romanã eccleſiã non a concilio aliquo, ſed a diuina voce primatum accepiſſe, that the church of Rome, toke not his primacie by any councel, but onely by the voice of God. And this is to be ſaid although it were true, theſe titles and termes were ſo geuen to the byſhop of Rome in the olde time, yet how and by whom they were geuen, ye ſee. Now to try this matter, as ioyning an iſſue with our aduerſaries, whether theſe forſaid titles of ſouerauntie, were applied in the olde time of the primitiue church, to the biſhop of Rome, as to be called the vicar general of Chriſt, the head of the whole churche, & vniuerſall biſhop, remaineth to by proued. Wherunto this in my minde is to be anſwered, that albeit the byſhops of Rome, of ſome perauenture were ſo called by the names of heygher preeminence of that citie, of ſome goinge about to pleaſe them, or to craue ſome helpe at their hands, yet that calling 1. fyrſt was vſed then but of a few, 2. neither yet was geuen to many. 3. thyrdly was rather geuen, then ſought for, of the moſt. 4. fourthly, was not ſo geuen that it maketh or can make any generall neceſſitie of law, why euery one is ſo bound to call them, as the biſhop of Rome nowe ſéketh to be taken & called, and that by neceſſitie of ſaluation, as the decrée of Pope Boniface. 8. wytneſſeth the ſame, where is ſaid, quòd ſit de neceſſitate ſalutis, vt credatur primatus eccleſiæ Rom. & ei ſubeſſe. That it ſtandeth vpon neceſſity of ſaluation, to beleue the primacie of the church of Rome, and to be ſubiect to the ſame, &c.

Ex concil. Calchedon. cap. 28.

Ex Gabri. Biel, lect. 23

As touchyng therfore theſe titles and termes of pre-

eminence aforeſaide, orderlye to ſet forth and to declare what hiſtories of times doo ſay in that matter, by
the grace of Chriſt. Firſt we will ſee what be the titles,
1. the biſhop of Rome doth take and chalenge to hym ſelf,
2. and what is the meanyng of them. 2. When they firſt
cam in, whether in yͤ primitiue time or not, & by whom.
3. 3. How they were firſt geuen to the Romaine biſhops,
that is, wether of neceſſarye duetie, or of voluntarye
deuotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few, and whether in reſpect of Peter, or in reſpect of the citie, or els of the worthines of the biſhoppe
which ther ſat. 4. And if the foreſaid names were then
4. geuen of certaine biſhops, vnto the biſhops of Rome:
whether were all the ſaid names geuen, or but certaine,
5. and what they were. 5. Or whether were they then receaued of all biſhops of Rome, to whome they were geuen,
6. or els refuſed of ſome. 6. And finallye whether
they ought to haue ben refuſed beynge geuen, or not.
Touching the diſcourſe of which matters, although it appertaineth to the profeſſion, rather of Diuines, then Hiſtoricians, and would require a long and large debating: yet for ſo much as both in theſe, & diuers other weyghtie controuerſies of Diuinitie, the knowledge of times and hiſtories, muſte nedes helpe diuines diſputyng about the ſame, ſo muche as the grace of Chriſt ſhall aſſiſt me therin, I wil ioyne to the ſeekyng out of truth, ſuch helpe as I may.

What names and titles be attributed to the Biſhop of Rome.

Ex.6. decret Lib.1. de elect. & electi poteſtate. tit.6. in ca.17. in proemio. gloſa.

The forme of yͤ Popes regalitie to hys titles apperteyning.

And firſt to beginne with the names and titles, now claimed & attributed to yͤ ſea & byſhop of Rome, & what they be, is ſufficiently declared aboue, that is: the chiefe prieſt of the world, the prince of the church, byſhop Apoſtolical, the vniuerſall head of the church, the head and byſhop of the vniuerſal church, the ſucceſſour of Peter, moſte holye Pope, the Vicar of God on earth, neither God nor man, but a mixte thinge betwen both: the Patriarch or Metropolitane of the churche of Rome, the biſhop of the firſt ſea &c. Vnto the which titles & ſtile is ãnexed a triple crown, a triple croſſe, two croſſed keies, a naked ſword, ſeuenfold ſeales, in token of the ſeuenfold giftes of yͤ holy Goſt, he being caried pickbacke on mẽs ſhoulders, after the maner of Heathen kinges, hauing all the Empire, and the Emperour vnder his dominion: and that it is not conuenient for anye terrene prince to reigne there, where he ſitteth, hauing the plenarye fulnes of power, as well of temporall things as ſpiritual thinges in his handes, that al thinges are his, and that all ſuche Princes as haue geuen him anye thinge, haue geuen him but his own, hauing power at his will and pleaſure to preache indulgenties and the croſſe agaynſt chriſten princes what ſoeuer: And that the Emperour, & certain other princes, oughte to make to him confeſſion of ſubiection at their coronation: hauing authority to depoſe, and that he de facto, hath depoſed Emperours & the king of Fraunce: Alſo to abſolue the ſubiectes from their allegiance to their princes: whom kings haue ſerued for footmen to lead his horſe & the Emperour to hold his ſturrup: that he may & doth geue power to biſhops vpon the bodies of mẽ, and hath graunted them to haue priſons, without whoſe authority no generall councel hath any force. And to whome appellations in all manner of cauſes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equall with the decres of Nicene counſel, and are to be obſerued and taken in no leſſe force, then if they had bene confirmed with the heauenly voyce of Saint Peter himſelfe ex fra. Barth. et alijs. Item that the ſaid biſhop of Rome hath the heauenly diſpoſition of thinges, and therfore may alter and change the nature of things, by appling the ſubſtance of one thing to an other. cap. Quando de tranſl. Epiſ. tit. 7. Item that he can of nothinge make ſomethinge, and cauſe the ſentence, which before was none, to ſtande in effect, and may diſpenſe aboue the law, and of iniuſtice make iuſtice, in correcting and changing lawes, for he hath the fulnes of power. And again. diſt. 40. cap. Si. Papa. If the pope do lead with him innumerable ſoules by flockes into hel, yet no man muſt preſume to rebuke his faults in this world. Item that it ſtandeth vpon neceſcity of ſaluatiõ to beleue the primacy of the ſea of Rome, and to be ſubiect to the ſame. &c.

Regalia Sancti Petri.

Ex frat. Barth. & aliis

Ca. quãdo. De tranſl. epiſc. tit.7.

Diſt.
Si P

Theſe things thus declared, nowe let vs ſee whether theſe names and titles, with the forme and manner of this authority & regality aboue reherſed, were euer attributed of any in the primitiue time to the biſhoppe of Rome. For al theſe, he doth chalenge and claime vnto him by old poſſeſſiõ from the time of Saint Peter. And here a queſtion is to be aſked of our aduerſaries the papiſts, whether they will auouch all theſe foreſaid titles, together with the whole forme & tenour of regality, to yͤ ſame belõging as is afore touched, or not: if thei wil, let them come forth wͭ their allegations, which they neuer haue done yet, nor euer ſhalbe able: if they wil not, or cã not auouch thẽ al together in maner as is ſpecified, thẽ why doth the biſhop claim them altogether ſo ſtoutly, vſurpe them ſo falſely, & obtrude them vpõ vs ſo ſtraitly. Moreouer if the ſayd our aduerſaryes, beyng conuicted by plain euidence of hiſtory, and examples of time, wil yeld vnto vs (as they muſt nedes) in part, and not in the whole, let vs come thẽ to the particulars, and ſee what part of this regalitye they wil defend & deriue, from the auncient cuſtome of the primitiue church (that is from the firſt fiue thouſande yeares, I meane after Chriſte.)

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Firſt in the counſel of Nice, which was the year of our Lord. 340. & in yͤ. vi. Canon of the ſaid councel, we find it ſo decreed: that in euery prouince or precinct ſome one church, and biſhop of the ſame, was apointed and ſet vp to haue the inſpection and regimente of other churches about him. Secundum morem antiquum, that is, after yͤ auncient cuſtome, as the wordes of the councel do purporte, ſo that yͤ biſhop of Alexandria ſhould haue power of Libia, and Pentapolis in Egipt, for as muche as the biſhop of the city of Rome, hath the like or ſame maner. And in like ſort alſo in Antioch, and in other countries, let euery church haue his dew honor, and conſequently that the biſhop of Ieruſalẽ haue alſo his dew honour to him reſerued, ſo that ſuch order be kept, that the Metropolitane cities be not defrauded of their dignity which to them is due and proper &c. In this counſel and in the ſame Canõ. vi. and. vii. wher the biſhops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, ar ioyned together in one like manner of dignity, firſt there appereth no difference of honour to be ment therein. Secondly for ſomuche as in the ſaid two cannons after mention made of them, immediatly foloweth, that no byſhops ſhuld be made without conſent of their metropolitanes, yea and that the city alſo of Hieruſalẽ ſhould be vnder his Metropolitan, & that the Metropolitane ſhould haue the full power to confirme euery biſhop made in his prouince: Therfore it may be well ſuſpected that the third epiſtle decretall of Pope Anacletus, and of Pope Stephanus, with other mo, are forged, wherin theſe biſhops, and eſpecially the biſhoppe of Rome is exempted and diſceuered from the name of a Metropolitan or an Archbiſhop, to the name of a patriarch or primate: as apereth in the decrees. diſ. 22. cap. Sacro ſancta. Wherfore as we muſt nedes graũt the biſhop of Rome to be called a Metropolitane or an Archbiſhop by the counſell of Nice: ſo we wil not greatly ſticke in this alſo, to haue him nũbred wͭ patriarches or primates. Which title ſeme in the old time to be common to mo cities then to Rome, both by the epiſtle of Anacletus, of pope Stephanus, of Pope Iulius, & Leo. &c

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After this followed a generall councell in Afrike, called the vi. counſel of Carthage, an. 420. wher were congregated. 217. biſhops, among whome was alſo, Auguſtinus, Proſper, Oroſius, with diuers other famous perſons,

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ſons. This councel cōtinued the ſpace of .v. yeres, wherin was great contention about the ſupremacy, and iuriſdiction of Rome. The biſhop whereof then was Zoſimus. This Zoſimus the Romayne biſhop had receaued the ſame tyme into the communion of the churche without any examination, one that came to complaine to him out of Aphrike, named Apiarius, a prieſt whom Aurelius the metropolitane, and the councell of Aphrik had worthely excommunicated for his deteſtable conditions before. Upon this Zoſimus after that he had ſo receued, and ſhewed ſuch fauour to Apiarius, for that he did appele and complain to him, ſendeth to the councell his meſſengers, to witte Fauſtinus biſhop of Potentine and two prieſtes of the church of Rome named Philippus and Aſelus, with theſe foure requeſtes: firſt that Apiarius whom he had abſolued might be receaued of them againe, and that it myght be lawfull for biſhops or prieſtes to appeale from the ſentence of their Metropolites, & alſo of the councel, to the ſea of Rome.

Secōdly, that biſhops ſhould not ſail ouer importunely ad comitatum. Thirdly, that if any prieſt or deacon were wrongfully excommunicat by the biſhops of their own prouince, it ſhould be lawful for thē to remoue the hearing & iudging of their cauſe, to their neighbour biſhops. Fourthly, yͭ Urbanus ther biſhop, either ſhould be excommunicated, or els ſente vp to Rome, vnles he would correct thoſe things that were to be corrected. &c. For the approbation wherof, the ſayd Zoſimus alledged for him the words (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene councel. The councel of Carthage hearing this, & remembring no ſuch thing in the councel of Nice to be decreed, and yet not ſuſpectinge that yͤ biſhop of Rome to dare wrongly to falſefy the wordes of that councell: writeth again to Zoſimus, declaringe that they neuer red to their remembrance, in their common latten exemplare of Nicene coūſel any ſuch canon, yet notwithſtāding for quiet nes ſake, they would obſerue the ſame til time they might procure the originall copies of that councell to be ſent to them from Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to pope Boniface, which then ſucceded Zoſimus

[illegible] Popes [illegible] Rome [illegible]en with maner- falleſy- [illegible] the de[illegible]es of Ni[illegible]e coun[illegible]

Ex con[illegible] Nice. [illegible] 6. Diſt. 6[illegible] Mor. [illegible] quum.

And thirdelye alſo to Celeſtinus, whiche ſhortelye after ſucceded Boniface. In the meane tyme this foreſaid councel ſent their legates, Marcellus, and Innocentius to Atticus Patriarche of Conſtantinople, and to Cyrillus Patriarch of Alexandria, for the autētique copies in Greke of Nicene councell, which beyng ſent vnto them, and they findynge in the true originals no ſuch canon, as the biſhop of Rome had falſly forged, they wrote a ſharpe and an handſome letter to Celeſtinus B. of Rome, callynge him in the ſaid letter by the way: Domine frater: declaryng to hym, how they had peruſed al the copies of the councel of Nice, and coulde fynd no ſuch canon, as he and his predeceſſors had falſely alledged, & ther withal reciting the .vj. canon aforementioned, declared how the decrées of Nicene councel had committed all and ſingular perſons eccleſiaſticall, as well byſhops, as other, vnto the charge of their Metropolitanes. Moreouer expoundyng the ſame decrée, the ſhewed the reaſons therof.

[illegible] biſhop [illegible] Rome [illegible]lled Do- [illegible]us fra- [illegible] that is, [illegible]her Bi- [illegible]ops of [illegible]e pro- [illegible] falſefi- [illegible] Ni- [illegible] coun[illegible]

Ex con[illegible] Nic. [illegible]

1. For that (ſayd they) the fathers of that councel dyd 1.
wel foreſée, to be moſt iuſt & conuenient, yͭ al controuer-
ſies there be ended (in iiſdem locis) wher they beginne.
2. For that it is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but that
the grace of God wilbe as preſt and ready in one pro-
uince as in an other, to inſtructe his miniſters both pru-
dentlye to vnderſtande iudgement, and conſtantly to
maintaine the ſame.
3. For that ther is no nede to ſéeke further to any out-
landyſhe helpe, becauſe eſpecially that the partie who- 2.
ſoeuer is not contented with the determination of his 3.
iudges or commiſſioners, may lawfully appeale eyther
to a prouinciall, or to a generall councell.
4. That waye to bee better, then to runne to any one 4.
foren Iudge, it muſt nedes be graūted, becauſe it is not
lyke, that our God will inſpyre hys iuſtice and truth of
examining, vnto one biſhop, and denie it to a multitude
congregated in a whole councell.
5. Neyther can it be, that any ſuch outlandyſhe iudge- 5.
ment in hearing and determining cauſes, cā ſtand per-
fecte and vpryght, for that the neceſſary perſons of wit-
neſſes, either for infirmitie of ſexe, of age, of infyrmitie,
or ſome other impeachment, are not able to bee preſent,
by whō the truth of yͤ ſentence ſhould be directed. Wher-
fore as by theſe & other reſons they thought it not cōue-
nient frō them to bring their matters ouer vnto Rome:
ſo neither was it to be found, ſayd they, by any councell
of the old fathers decreed, that anye Legates ſhoulde be
ſent from Rome to them, for deciding of their matters.
And therfore exhorted they the ſaid biſhop of Rome, that
he woulde not induce, fumoſum typum, (or rather as I
maye call it) typhos ſeculi, in eccleſia chriſti, quæ lucem
ſimplicitatis et humilitatis præfert iis qui deum diligunt,
that is, that he woulde not induce the ſwelling pryde of
the world into the church of Chriſt, which church ſhew-
eth and geueth the lyght of ſimplicitie and of humilitie
to ſuch as loue to ſee God, &c. In theſe foreſayd letters
moreouer is ſignified, how the forenamed malefactor A-
piarius, whom the Biſhop of Rome before had abſolued
and receaued to the communion of the church, was af-
terward found culpable, and therfore the councell pro-
ceded agaynſt hym, brought hym to open confeſſion of
hys faultes, and ſo enioyned hym due penaunce for hys
demerites, notwithſtanding the abſolution and incon-
ſiderate clering of yͤ Byſhop of Rome before preceding.

Diſt. [illegible] Sacroſ[illegible]

The [illegible] ſhop of Rom[illegible] led [illegible] politan[illegible] Archb[illegible] Patri[illegible] Prim[illegible] The [illegible] counſ[illegible] Carth[illegible]

Euery country to appeale firſt to his own Metropolitane, ſecondly to a prouinciall or generall counſell.

Fumoſum typhos ſeculi.

Sūmarye notes gathered out of the counſel of carthage agaiſt the Pope.

In ſumme out of thys councell of Carthage theſe are
to be noted. Fyrſt, how glad the Biſhops of Rome were 1.
to receaue ſuch as came to them for ſuccour.
2. What pryde they tooke by the occaſion therof, thin- 2.
king & ſekyng therby to haue al vnder theyr ſubiection.
3. To the entent to allure other to ſeeke to them, how 3.
redy they wer to releaſe & quit thys Apiarius as giltles,
which after was tryed culpable by his own confeſſion.
4. How contrary to the actes and doings of the romiſh 4.
biſhop, this councel cōdemned him, whō the ſaid biſhop
of Rome before had abſolued, little reſpecting the proce-
dings of the Romyſhe church. 5. How the Byſhops of 5.
olde time haue bene falſefiers of auncient councels and
writings: wherby it may be ſuſpected, that they whiche
ſhamed not to falſefye and corrupt the councel of Nice,
much leſſe would they ſticke to abuſe and falſefie the de-
cretall Epiſtles and wrytings of particular Byſhops &
Doctors, for theyr owne aduauntage, as no doubt they
haue done many one. 6. In thys foreſayd councell, 6.
wherat, Auſten hym ſelf was preſent, and where Aure-
lius preſident of the ſame, was called Papa, the Biſhop
of Rome was called expreſſely in theyr letters, but by-
ſhop of the citie of Rome, and Dominus frater, that is,
brother byſhop. Seuenthly, the dominion of thys Ro- 7.
mane Patriarche, in yͤ ſayd councell of Carthage, was
cut ſo ſhort, that neyther it was permitted to them of A-
phrike to appeale ouer the ſea to him, nor for him to ſend
ouer hys Legates to them, for endyng theyr controuer-
ſies. Wherby it may ſufficiently appeare, that yͤ Biſhop
of Rome in thoſe dayes, was not fully admitted to be yͤ
chiefe of all other biſhops, nor the head of the vniuerſall
church of Chriſt in earth, &c. 8. We heare in this coun- 8.
ſell fyue cauſes or reaſons geuen, why it is not neceſſa-
ry nor yet conuenient for all foren cauſes to be brought
to one vniuerſall head or Iudge, as is before recited. 9.
9. Laſtly, by the ſaid coūcel of Carthage we heare a ver-
tuous exhortation to be geuen to the byſhop of Rome, yͭ
he would not induce into the meke & humble Church of
Chriſt, the fuming and ſwelling pryde of the worlde, as

Diſt.99.cap primæ ſedis epiſ.

iſ befoꝛe declared,⁊c.In thys oꝛ in ſome other councell of Carthage,it was moꝛeouer pꝛouided by expꝛeſſe law, and alſo ſpecified in the Popes decrees that no biſhop of the fyꝛſt ſea,ſhould be called the pꝛince of pꝛieſtes,oꝛ the chiefe pꝛieſt,oꝛ any ſuch lyke thing,but onely the biſhop of the fyꝛſt ſeate,as followeth moꝛe in the ſayde decrœ, Vniuerſalis autem,nec etiam Rom. pontifex appelletur, that is.Be it enacted,that nō biſhop, no not the byſhop of Rome be called vniuerſall byſhop,⁊c.And thus much concerning thys foꝛeſayd councell of Carthage.

The higheſt title belonginge to a biſhop is to be called the biſhop of the firſt ſeate

The biſhop of Rome forbidden to be called vniuerſal B.

Sinodus Mileuitana.

No biſhop to appeale ouer the ſea.

Biſhop of the firſt ſeate what it meaneth.

Not long befoꝛe thys councell, was celebꝛate in Aphꝛicke an other counſell,called Synodus Mileuitana, about the yeare of our Loꝛde.442. at the which councell alſo S.Auſten was pꝛeſent,where it was decreed vnder payne of excommunication,that no miniſter oꝛ byſhop ſhould appeale ouer the ſea,to ẏ byſhop of Rome, wherby it may appeare that ẏ byſhop of Rome all this ſpace was not vniuerſally called by the terme of Oecumenicall oꝛ vniuerſall byſhop, but the byſhop of the firſt ſea: ſo that if there were any pꝛeferment therin, it was in ẏ reuerence of the place, and not in the authoꝛitie of the perſon.And yet it was not ſo in the place, that the place impoꝛteth the citie of Rome onely,but the firſt ſeat then was called euery Metropolitane church, as by ẏ woꝛds of Nicene councell, and other conſtitutions moe, is to be ſene where the foure Patriarches were called πρῶτοι, oꝛ πρωτεύοντες,oꝛ πρωτεύοντες, as namely by the woꝛdes of ẏ councell of Carthage maye appeare, whiche bee theſe:

Concil. Cart. cano.23.

εἰ μὴ μετὰ ψηφίσματος τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας τοῦ ἰδίου ἑκάστης χώρας ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος καθεξαίρετον λάβῃ. That is,excepte he haue ſome ſpeciall licence oꝛ exception,by the conſent of the firſt ſeate of the pꝛoper byſhop in euery countrey,that is, of hym that is the Pꝛimate in the ſayd countrey,⁊c.Alſo the woꝛdes of the can,39.of the councell of Carthage, befoꝛe touched be theſe, ὥστε τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν ποτε. That is, that the biſhop of ẏ firſt ſeat, be not called pꝛince of pꝛieſtes, oꝛ head pꝛieſt,oꝛ els any ſuch lyke.Agayne Anicetus the tenth biſhop of Rome and pope Stephen and pope Felix making a difference betwene pꝛimate and metropolitane wꝛiteth thus:let no Archbiſhoppes be called Pꝛimates,but only ſuch as haue the firſt ſeate.⁊c. Thus it is made plaine,how the byſhop of the firſt ſeate, oꝛ firſt biſhop,oꝛ pꝛimate is none other,but he which then was called patriarch,and belonged not only to the church of Rome,but to all ſuch cities and places where as befoꝛe among the gentils were primiflamines etc. diſt.80. cap. vrbes et loca. et in illis.Where by the way is to be noted the repugnance oꝛ contrariety of ſuch as craftelye, but falſelye,haue counterfeted the popes decretall epiſtles, which beſides other great and manye coniectures alſo hereby may be gathered.Foꝛ wher Clement,Anacletus epiſt.2.Anicetus and other,ioyning together the office of Patriarches and pꝛimates do deuide the ſame from the oꝛder of Metropolitanes oꝛ Archebiſhops, alledging therin the conſtitution of the apoſtels ⁊ their ſucceſſoꝛs, that is to be founde falſe by the canons of the Apoſtles, by the counſell of Nice,and by the councell of Antioch, with other moe. Foꝛ in the Canons of the Apoſtels, where in euery Canon almoſt mention is made of biſhops, pꝛieſts,⁊ deacons, no woꝛd is ther touched,nether of any oꝛder aboue the Biſhop, oꝛ lower then the Deacon,ſaue onelye in the.33. canon, ſetting an oꝛder among biſhops,the cannon willeth the biſhops of euery nation to know their firſt oꝛ chief biſhop,and him to be taken foꝛ the head of them:he ſayth not the head of the church oꝛ head of the woꝛld,but ẏ head of thoſe biſhops And wher: not in Rome only,but plainely and expꝛeſly in euery nation, foꝛ ſo the woꝛds purpoꝛte τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον.i. the Byſhops of euery nation ought to know the firſt oꝛ chiefe among thē ⁊c.Moꝛeouer the coūcel of Antioch reciting the foꝛeſaid canon woꝛd foꝛ woꝛd expoundeth ẏ matter plainly,in ſtede of τὸν πρῶτον, wꝛiting, τὸν ἐν μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον.Which is as much to ſay, as Metropolitane:and in the end of the ſayd Canon, calleth hym τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον,Id eſt,Metropolitanū,6.q.3. per ſingulas.Whereby it is to be concluded that to be falſe that Clement,and Anacletus,and Anicetus be repoꝛted(but falſely)to put a differēce betwene pꝛimates oꝛ Patriarches, and Metropolitanes, oꝛ Archbyſhops. Where as by ſufficient authoꝛitie it is to be pꝛoued,ẏ in the old church,both Pꝛimates, firſt Biſhops, Biſhops of the firſt ſeat,Patriarches, Metropolitanes,Biſhops of the mother citie,and Archbiſhops were all one. Firſt that Pꝛimates and Metropolitanes were both one, is befoꝛe declared by the Canons of the Apoſtles, and by the councell of Antioche afoꝛeſayd.Agayne that Patriarches and Archbyſhops were all one, it is euident ex Nouella Iuſtiniani.cap.23.where the ſayde conſtitution reciting the.4. Patriarches (aboue mentioned) calleth them by the name of Archbyſhops. And a litle after calleth the Patriarche of Conſtantinople,Archbyſhop,by theſe woozdes: Οἵτινες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ πατριάρχην εἰσίν,id eſt. Which bee vnder the Archbiſhop and Patriarche of Conſtantinople.And after ſpeaking moꝛe playnly in the matter,ſetteth an other oꝛder,diuerſe from that of Clement, of Anacletus,and Anicetus, in placyng theſe foꝛeſayd perſons,fyꝛſt beginning with biſhops,then ouer them ſetteth the Metropolitane,and ouer him agayne,the Archbiſhop,and there ſtayeth,makyng no further mention of any other aboue hym:whoſe woozdes bee theſe: εἴπερ ἐπίσκοπος εἴη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τὸν τούτου μητροπολίτην ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ὑφ᾽ ὃν τελεῖ.That is:If a biſhop be accuſed, the Metropolitane to haue the examination of thoſe thinges that are bꝛought agaynſt hym,if the Metropolitane be accuſed,then the Archbiſhop to haue hearing therof,vnder whom he dwelleth,and pertayneth.⁊c.

Ex epiſt.decr. Anicet,Step. Felicis

Diſt.80.cap. Vrbes et loca. ibid.ca.in illis

The papiſtes in their decrees contrary to them ſelues.

Cano.Apo.34

Canō.apo.33.

The fyrſte byſhop or heade biſhop expounded, howe it is to be taken.

Antioc con:i.ca 6,q.3.p ſingula prouinc

Diſt.99 cap. An cletus.

Nouella Iuſtini cap.23

Ex N Iuſtini

And in the ſame conſtitution moꝛeouer, εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικοῦ ἢ ἄλλου οἱουδήποτε προσέλευσις κατὰ ἐπισκόπου γένηται, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρινέτω, καὶ εἴ τις τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἀντείποι, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα. ⁊c.If any ſute oꝛ ſupplication be bꝛought agaynſt a biſhop by a miniſter,fyꝛſt the Metropolitane to haue the deciſing of the matter,and if any default ſhalbe founde in the iudgement therof,then the hearing and ending of the caſe to be bꝛought befoꝛe the Archbiſhop.⁊c.

Ar ſhop Metro tane be bo one.

In this conſtitution of Juſtinian,although the Metropolitane be placed aboue the biſhop, and Archbiſhop aboue the Metropolitane: yet notwithſtanding by thys is ſufficiently confuted the foꝛeged conſtitution of Clement,Anacletus,Anicetus,Stephanus,and Felix:who in their epiſtles decretal,do ioyne together in one foꝛme and oꝛder,both Archbiſhop and Metropolitane, and aboue them both doth place the Patriarch, and aboue the Patriarch,the Apoſtolical ſea,to wit ẏ biſhop of Rome, as may appeare in readyng the fyꝛſt epiſtle of Clement In illis autem ciuitatibus.&c.the ſeconde epiſtle of Anacletus,Art.4.prouinciæ.diſt.99. cap. prouinciæ multo. and the epiſtle of Anicetus,art.23.diſt.99.cap. Nulli Archiepiſcopi.Alſo the epiſtle of Pope Stephen the fyꝛſte, Art.5.(wher note by the way,that Gracianus referreth thys place of the Epiſtle to Pope Lucius.) Item the epiſtle of Pope Felix the ſecond, Art.12.in whiche all the foꝛeſayd epiſtles, thys oꝛder and difference of degrees is taken,that the fyꝛſt and pꝛincipall place is geuen to Pꝛimates oꝛ Patriarches,the ſecond to Metropolitans oꝛ Archbyſhops,the third to Biſhops,and finally aboue al theſe is extolled the Apoſtolicall ſea of the Biſhop of Rome,contrary to al that which befoꝛe hath bene alledged out

An gainſt forge piſtles cretall. *Cle piſt. Ana epiſt art.4 Ani piſt. Diſt. Nul chiep Step art.5*

Repugnāce betwen the cōſtitutiōs of Iuſtiniā: and the epiſtles decretall,

ged out of Iuſtinian,the councel of Nice and of Antioche.&c. Wherby it may appeare that eyther Iuſtinian in preferring Archbyſhops aboue Metropolitanes, dyd not reade theſe epiſtles decretal,if they were vnfayned, or if they were forged,they which forged the ſayd epiſtles in their names,dyd not wel aduiſe what Iuſtinian had written in thys matter before.

Biſhop Metropolitan. Biſh. of the firſt ſea, Primate patriarch. Archbiſhop Chief biſh. termes vſed in the primitiue time of the church.

Thus then theſe titles aboue recited,as Biſhop, Metropolitane,Biſhop of the fyrſt ſeate, Primate Patriarche,Archbiſhop,that is to meane,chiefbiſhop,or headbiſhop to other Biſhops of hys prouince, we denye not but were then in the old tyme applyed,and myght be applyed,to the Biſhop of Rome,like as the ſame alſo wer applied to other Patriarches in other chiefe Cities and prouinces.

High prieſt or high prieſthode.

Diſt.38. cap. omnes Summus ſacerdos. Summum ſacerdotiū

As touching the name likewiſe of the high Prieſt,or high prieſthood,neither do I deny but it hath bene foūd in olde monumentes and recordes of auncient tymes, but in ſuch wyſe and ſorte, as it hath bene common to Biſhops indifferently,and not ſingularly attributed to any one biſhop or ſea. Wherof teſtimonye we haue out of the.vij.general councel,diſt.38.cap.Omnes, wher the Biſhops office is called Summum ſacerdotium,the high prieſthood,in theſe wordes:Snbſtātia ſummi ſacerdotii noſtri ſunt eloquia diuinitus tradita.i. vera diuinarū ſcripturarum diſciplina. et cet. That is, the ſubſtaunce (ſaye they)of our high prieſthood is the worde or diſcipline of holy ſcriptures geuen vs from aboue.&c.

Ex cōcilio Agathenſi 12.q.3.cap Pontifices

3.q.1.cap. Deus ergo.

Ex Anaclet.epi.2 3.q.7.cap. Accuſatio

Biſhops called the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles.

Diſt.61.c. miſerum Di.59.c.1.

Ex Vrba.1 Di.59.cap Si officia.

And likewyſe the councel of Agatha,maketh relatiō De pontificibus in ſummo ſacerdotio conſtitutis,of Byſhops ſet in the hygh prieſthoode, meanyng not of anye one,but indefinitely and indifferently of whomſoeuer, 12,q.3.cap.Pontifices. Alſo Fabianus Biſhop of Rome, an.240.writing in generall to hys brethren, and to all Biſhops and Miniſters eccleſiaſticall, doth attribute to them the ſame title of Summum ſacerdotium, in theſe wordes:deus ergo fratres qui præordinauit vos, et omnes qui ſummo ſacerdotio funguntur.et cet. God which hath preordayned you brethren,and al them which beare the office of hygh prieſthoode.3.q.1.cap.deus ergo. With like phraſe of ſpeeche Anacletus alſo in hys ſeconde epiſtle, ſpeaking of biſhops in generall, calleth them Summos ſacerdotes:vnde,inquit,liquet quòd ſummi ſacerdotes. i. Epiſcopi a deo ſunt iudicandi.et cet. The high Prieſtes, that is,Biſhoppes,ſayth he. And moreouer in the ſame place calleth them Apoſtles, and Succeſſours of the Apoſtles.&c. So doth Innocentius the firſt,an.405. as appeareth,diſt.61.cap.Miſerum. Itē Zoſimus biſhop of the ſayd citye of Rome,an.420.as witneſſeth diſt.59. cap.1.who ſpeaketh de Sūmo ſacerdotio, that is, of the hygh prieſthood,not onely of the church of Rome,but of all other churches. Urbanus the fyrſt was biſhoppe of Rome,an.226.who in hys writinges alledged by Gratian,referreth the name and place Summi pontificis, of the high biſhop, not onelye to the ſeate of Rome,but vniformely to euery byſhop, as appeareth in the wordes of the diſt.59.cap.Si officia.et cet.

Summus orbis pontifex.

And thus much as touching the name or title of hye Prieſt,or ſupreme Biſhop. Which title as I do not deny to haue bene vſed in maner and forme aforeſayde:ſo do I deny that thys title and ſtile of Summus orbis pontifex,as it is nowe vſed in Rome,to haue bene vſed, or vſuallye receaued, during all the primitiue time of the church,that is.v.hundred yeares after Chriſt, after the maner and ſorte,I meane,of that authority and glorye which in theſe dayes now is vſed & is geuē to the ſame, vntill the time of Phocas,the wicked Emperour,which was after the yeare of the Lord.608. The which title as it is to glorious for any one Byſhop in the Church of Chriſt to vſe: ſo is it not to be founde in any of the approued and moſt auncient writers of the Church,namely theſe,as Cyprianus, Baſilius, Fulgentius, Chryſoſtomus,Hieronymus,Ambroſe,Auguſtinus, Tertullianus,but rather written agaynſt of the ſame,eſpecially of the laſt. And therfore not wythout cauſe it is written and teſtified of Eraſmus, who ſpeaking of the ſayde name,of Summus orbis pontifex, denyeth playnlye the ſame to be heard of amōg the old wryters,whoſe wordes be theſe:Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum,quantum ex veterum omniū ſcriptis licet colligere.&c.lib.epiſt:3.epiſt.1.art.73.&c.as whoſoeuer readeth the ſame autors ſhal fynde to be true.

Ex Eraſm.ep. li.3.ep.1 art 73

Vniuerſalis pōtifex. Caput vniuerſalis eccleſiæ. Chriſti in terris vicarius Princeps ſacerdotum. &c. Papa.

The lyke is to be affirmed alſo of other preſumptuous titles of lyke ambition,as the head of the vniuerſal church,the Vicar of Chriſt in earth, Prince of Prieſts, wyth ſuch lyke,whych al be new found termes,ſtraūge to the eares of the old primitiue wryters and councels, and not receyued openly and commonly before the time of Boniface the thyrd,and Phocas aforeſayd.

Now remayneth the name of the Pope,which of his nature,and by hys firſt origine,being a word of the Syracuſane ſpeche called παππας,& ſignifieng as much as Pater,Father,was then vſed and frequented of them in the olde tyme, not ſo as proper onelye to the Biſhop of Rome,but common and indifferent to all other biſhops or perſonages,whoſoeuer were of worthy excellence,as is partly before declared. But now contrarily,the generallitye of thys name is ſo reſtrayned and abuſed, that not onely it is appropriate to ẏ biſhop of Rome,but alſo diſtincteth and diſceuereth the authoritye and preeminence of that Biſhop alone from all other Biſhops, for whych cauſe it is now worthely come into contempt & execration. No leſſe is to be reiected alſo the name of vniuerſalis,or œcumenicus pontifex, Summus orbis epiſcopus, Caput vniuerſalis eccleſiæ, Chriſti in terris vicarius, Princeps ſacerdotum.&c. All whych termes and vocables,tending to the derogation of other biſhops and patriarches,as they were neuer receaued nor allowed in Rome(if we beleue Gregory)during the tyme of the primitiue church,ſo now are worthely of vs refuſed.

How they began firſt at Conſtantinople, to take the name of vniuerſal biſhop.

Ex quinta ſynodo vniuerſali Actione prima.cap.poſt cōſulatum. Ibid.cap.domino noſtro.

Ex Pelagi.2 Diſt.99.cap. Nullus.

Although it can not be denyed,but certayne were in the primitiue tyme,which beganne priuately to pretend ẏ proude & wicked title of vniuerſal biſhop, as Menna, and eſpeciall ẏ Ioannes Patriarche of Conſtantinople, who calling a coūcel at Conſtantinople, went about to ſtablyſhe and ratifie and to dignifie hys throne by the conſent of the councell, and the Emperour of Conſtantinople,and ſo obtayned the ſame, as appeareth in the.v.generall counſell of Conſtantinople the ſeconde: wher both Menna is named Oicumenicus Patriarcharū and alſo Ioannes in ẏ ſaid counſel is titled Oicumenicus Patriarcha: ex concil.general.5.cap.domino. Cōcerning ẏ which title, although it was thē vſed in Conſtantinople through ẏ ſufferaunce of ẏ Emperours, being then willing to haue theyr imperial citie aduaunced:yet notwithſtāding thys foreſayd title,all thys whyle was not in ẏ citie of Rome. And in Conſtātinople it ſtode not thē in force:Iure aliquo diuino,but only by mans law. And thyrdly,it was then but onely, verbalis titulus: hauing no true domination vpon all other churches, or any reall ſubiectiō belonging to the ſame. For aſmuch as neyther the byſhop of Rome,nor any of the Weſt churches were ſubiecte, or dyd acknowledge ſeruice vnto them, but rather dyd repugne the ſame:namely Pelagius the 2.and Gregorius the.1. both byſhops the ſame tyme of Rome,which Pelagius wryting to all byſhoppes, hath plainely in theſe words:that no Patriarche ſhould take the name of vniuerſalitie at any time,becauſe that if any one be called vniuerſall,the name of Patriarch is derogated from all other. But let thys be farre, ſayeth he, from all faythful men,to will to take that thing to him, wherby the honour of hys brethrē is diminiſhed. Wherfore the ſayd Pelagius chargeth all ſuch byſhops, that none of them in theyr letters will name any Patriarche to be vniuerſall, leaſt he take from hym ſelfe the honour due to hym, while they geue that which is not due to an other. What can be more euident then theſe woordes of Pelagius, who was biſhop of Rome next before Gregorye. an 583. In lyke maner, or more playnlye, and more earneſtly wryteth alſo Gregorye of thys matter in hys regiſter, prouyng and diſputing, that no man oughte to bee called vniuerſall Byſhop. Moreouer with ſharpe wordes and rebukes deteſteth the ſame title, callyng it new, fooliſhe, proude, peruerſe, wycked, prophane, and ſuch, as to conſent vnto it, is as much, as to denye the fayth. He addeth further and ſayth, that whoſoeuer goeth aboute to extolle hym ſelf aboue other byſhops, in ſo doing, followeth the facte of Sathan, to whom it was not ſufficient to be counted equal or lyke vnto other Angells. In hys epiſtles how oft doth he repete and declare the ſame to repugne directlye agaynſt the Goſpell, and auncient decrees of councells: affyrming that none of hys predeceſſours dyd euer vſurpe to hym ſelf that ſtyle or title, and concludeth that whoſoeuer ſo doth, declareth him ſelfe to be a forerunner of Antichriſt, ⁊c. With thys iudgemēt of Gregory wel agreeth alſo the wordes of S. Auſten, Lib.3.cap 3. De Baptiſmo where he reciting the wordes of Ciprian thus ſayeth: Neq; enim quiſquam noſtrum ſe epiſcopum epiſcoporū conſtituit, aut tyrannico more ad obſequendi neceſſitatem collegas ſuos adigit &c. That is, for none of vs doth euer ſet him ſelfe to be biſhop of biſhops, or after a tyrannical maner doth ſubdue ⁊ bring vnder his fellowes vnto the neceſſitie of hys obedience, ⁊c. By theſe wordes of Cyprian ⁊ Auſten, it is manifeſt, that in their tyme was no ſupremacie, or vniuerſall title among byſhops receaued, nor that any greater reſpect was had to the biſhop of Rome (as Pius the.2. ſayth, epiſt.301) before the councell of Nice. And after in that councell yͤ ſaid biſhop of Rome had no further authoritie to hym limitted, then onely ouer his prouince, and places ſuburbane, bordering about the citye of Rome. Againſt whoſe primacie diuerſe cities alſo did reſiſt long after that, as the church of Rauenna, Mediolanenſis, and Aquilegienſis. Alſo all the Greke churches long reſiſted the ſame, ſo dyd the churches of Aſia, Rutenicæ, Moſcouiticæ, Valachicæ, and other moe.

Gregorye againſt the vniuerſalitie of the biſhop of Conſtantinople.

Auguſt. li.3. c.3 de baptiſmo contra Donat.

To be biſhop of biſhops forbidden, by Cyprian, and Auſten.

Ex pio ſecūdo Epiſt.301.

The Popes primacy reſiſted

Ex Illyrico contra primat.

But to returne agayne to Gregory, who confirmyng the ſentence of Pelagius hys predeceſſour aboue mentioned, had no ſmall conflictes about thys title matter, both with the Patriarche, and with the Emperour of Conſtantinople, as witneſſeth Antoninus, ⁊ other, ⁊c. The hiſtorye is thus: After that Ihon being made of a Monke, Patriarche of Conſtantinople by his flatterye and hipocriſie, had obtayned of Mauritius yͤ Emperour to be extolled aboue other biſhops with the name of vniuerſall Patriarche, and that he would write to Gregory biſhop thē of Rome for his conſent concerning yͤ ſame: Gregorye abyding ſtill in his conſtancie, did ſet him ſelf ſtoutly againſt that Antichriſtian title, and would geue no place. At the ſame tyme the Lombardes had inuaded the country of Italye, and the citie of Rome, the Emperour keeping then at Conſtantinople, ⁊ ſetting in Italye an ouerſear called Exarchus, to rule in Rauenna: Gregory perceauing the Emperour Mauritius to bee diſpleaſed with him about yͤ matter afore touched, writeth to Conſtantina the Emperice, arguing and declaring in his letters, that preſumption and pryde of hym to be vniuerſall Patriarche, was both agaynſt the rule of the Goſpell, and decrees of the Canons, namely the vi. canon of Nicene councell, and the noueltie of that newfond title to declare nothing els, but that the tyme of Antichriſt was nere. Upon this, Mauritius the Emperour taking diſpleaſure with him, calleth home hys ſouldiours againe from Italye, and incited the Lombardes againſt the Romanes: who with their King Agilulphus, therupon contrarye to theyr leage made before, ſet vpon the citie of Rome, and beſeiged it a whole yeare together, Gregorye yet notwithſtanding ſtill remayning in hys former conſtancie. After theſe afflictions thus ouerpaſt, Eulogius Patriarche of Alexandria writeth to the ſayd Gregory, in his letters naming him vniuerſall Pope, vnto whom Gregorye refuſing the ſame, anſwereth agayne as followeth.

Ex Antonino tit.12. cap.3.

¶The letter of Gregory to the Patriarche of Alexandria.

Behold in the preface of your Epiſtle directed to me, ye haue vſed a word of a proude name, calling me vniuerſall Pope: which I praye your holynes you will ceaſe hereafter to do, for that is derogated frō you, what ſoeuer is attributed to an other more then right and reaſon requireth. As for me I ſeke not myne aduauncement in wordes, but in maners: neither do I account that any honour, wherein the honour of my brethren, I ſee to bee hindered: For my honour, I take to be the honour of the vniuerſall church: my honour is the whole and perfecte vigor of my brethren. Then am I honoured, when to no man is denyed the true honour, which to him belongeth. For if your holines call me vniuerſall Pope, in ſo doing you denye your ſelf to be that, which ye affirme me to be vniuerſall. But that God forbyd, let theſe wordes therefore go, which do nothing but puffe vp vanitie, ⁊ wound charitie, ⁊c.

The anſw of Grego to Eulogi patriarch Alexandri

diſt 99, c Ecce.

Gregory fuſeth the name of vniuerſal pope.

It were to long here to inferre all ſuch letters and Epiſtles of his, concerning thys matter, writtē to the Emperour Mauritius, and Conſtantina the Emperice, but that ſhal more largely appeare hereafter (Chriſt willing) in the bodye of the hiſtorie, when we come to the yeare ⁊ tyme of Gregory, which was about.v. hundred yeare after Chriſt. In the meane ſeaſon this is ſufficient to declare, how the church of Rome wyth the fourme ⁊ maner of their title of vniuerſal ſupremacy nowe vſed and mayntayned, hath vtterlye ſwarued from the auncient ſteps of the primitiue church of Rome.

Now let vs ſee what the aduerſarye ſide hath to obiect agayne for the title of their vniuerſalitye, or rather ſingularity. And firſt here commeth in a blynde cauillation of a certaine Sophiſt, who gloſing vpon the words of Pelagius aboue recited, laboureth to coulour yͤ plain text with a ſubtile meaning, as though that ſenſe of the Canon were thys, not to denye there the ſtate of ſupremacy: ſed negari ibi aliquem poſſe eſſe vniuerſalem Epiſcopum, ſub eo ſenſu duntaxat, quod eſſet cuiuſq; eccleſiæ proprius rector, ita quod nullus alius eſſet epiſcopus. et c. That is: but to deny there, that any maye be vniuerſall byſhop, after thys ſenſe and meaning onelye, ſo that he ſhould be the proper Paſtor of euery Church alone, and that there ſhould be no other byſhop byſide himſelfe. ⁊c. Thus goeth thys Sophiſter about to daſh out this text, but he can not ſo diſcharge the matter. For neither dyd Iohn the Patriarche then ſeeke any ſuch thyng, to be biſhop and proper Paſtor of euery church alone, nor if he had, the councel of Chalcedon, and the Emperour Iuſtinian, would neuer haue agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, that thys Gloſer denyeth Pelagius here to forbyd the primacy or ſupremacy of that Patriarch, whych in dede is the onely entent of Pelagius in that Canon, witneſſyng as well other Hiſtoriographers, as namely Antonin. tit.12.cap.3 par.13. and alſo the gloſe ordinary vpon the ſame Canon. ⁊c.

A ſophi call ca tion vp the wor of Pela and Gr rye anſw red.

Pelagij.2. Epiſt.1.

Out of the ſame fountayne ſpryngeth the lyke or very ſame reaſon of late renued by a certayne newe ſtart Engliſh Clarke, in theſe our dayes, who aunſweryng to the places of Gregory, touchyng the ſayd matter, laboureth to auoyde the clere autoritye of hym, by a lyke blynde cauillation, ſaying that Iohn byſhop of Conſtātinople, by thys tytle of vniuerſal Biſhop, vnderſtoode hym ſelfe onely to be a Byſhop, and none els. And that

Ano of a late writ ted.

epiſt. 36.

Gregory in reſiſting hym, had none other meaning but the ſame. And to proue thys to be the very meanyng of Gregory, he reciteth the wordes of Gregory written to the ſayd John Archbiſhop of Conſtinople as foloweth: Qui enim indignum te eſſe fatebaris, vt epiſcopus dici debuiſſes, ad hoc quandoq; perductus es, vt deſpectis fratribus epiſcopus appetas ſolus vocari. That is to ſaye: For thou (John biſhop of Conſtantinople) whych ſometyme didſt graunt thy ſelfe vnwoorthye the name of a Byſhop, art now come to thys, that thou doeſt ſeeke to bee called a biſhop alone. &c. Upon thys woorde Epiſcopus ſolus, thys Gloſer would grounde a ſurmyſe, that Gregorye dyd finde faulte wyth the Archbyſhoppe, not becauſe for any primacy ſought for aboue other Biſhops, but onely, for that he coueted to be byſhop and Paſtor alone in euery church, in ſuch ſort as there ſhould be no other byſhop nor Paſtor els but him ſelfe onely. But as is ſayd, that was neuer the Archbiſhops ſeking, nor the matter of Gregories reprehenſion. For the ſayde Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, went not about to be biſhop alone (whych was to much abſurde, & alſo impoſſible) but to be vniuerſall alone: nor to take awaye the office from other, but the honour from other: not to depoſe them, but to deſpyſe them. And therfore ſaith Gregory, vt deſpectis fratribus, not depoſitis fratribus, ſo that this woord ſolus here noteth a deſpiſing of other, not a depoſing of other, and importeth a ſingularity in condicion aboue other, and not the office or ſubſtaunce of miniſtration without other, that is, to be vniuerſall among many, & not to be one alone wythout any, nor to diminiſh the number of them, but onelye to increaſe the honour to hym ſelfe. For the more euident probatiō wherof (although the thyng of it ſelfe is ſo euident, that it nedeth no proofe) what can bee more playne, then the wordes them ſelues of Pelagius & Gregory? wherwith they charge hym for running before hys brethren, for chalenging ſuperiority aboue thē, for diminiſhing their honour, by taking more honour then to hym was due, for folowyng the Angel of pride in exaltyng hym ſelfe, in admitting that to hym, whych the byſhops of Rome and theyr predeceſſours had refuſed, being offred to thē before. &c. Al whych declare that he ſought not to thruſt out al other byſhops out of their churches, and to be byſhop hym ſelfe alone. For that was neuer offered to the byſhops of Rome by the coūcel of Chalcedon, that they ſhould be byſhops alone, and none other. Neyther dyd Lucifer ſeeke to haue no mo aungels in all heauen, but hymſelfe, but he to be aboue all other alone.

A place of Gregory examined.

Lykewyſe the woorde præcurrere, that is to runne before other in the Epiſtle of Pelagius, declareth that John ſought not to be byſhop alone, but byſhop vniuerſall. We ſaye not that a man runneth before an other, when hee runneth alone, and no man followeth hym, that is not properly præcurrere, but ſolus currere. Moreouer in ſeeking to be ſuperior to other biſhops, he ſeketh not to take awai other biſhops, but to take other biſhops inferiour to him. For wher no inferior is, ther can be no ſuperior, foraſmuch theſe together are correlatiues, and inferre neceſſary reſpect mutuallye. And if it were true as thys Gloſer ſayth, that he had ſought to be biſhop alone, how woulde that councell eyther haue graunted that vnto hym, or haue offered it to the biſhop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be poſſible for him alone to ſerue al churches, wythout any felow byſhop to helpe hym? And wher thys foreſayd clarcke ſtandeth ſo much vpon the wordes of S. Gregory: Solus epiſcopus, Gregory therfore ſhal expound Gregory, and one Solus ſhal declare an other. Wherfore if thys diuine (whatſo euer he be Doctor or Bacheler) eyther knoweth not, or woulde learne, what (onelye Byſhop) meaneth in thys place: an other place of the ſayd Gregory maye inſtruct hym, wher Gregory writing to Eulogius, Patriarche of Alexandria, geueth thys reaſon, why he refuſed the ſame title offred to hym (whych then was offered to the ſayd John Patriarche of Conſtantinople) ſaying: Quia videlicet ſi vnus patriarcha vniuerſalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur, ſed abſit hoc. &c. That is to ſay: For if one alone would be called Patriarch vniuerſal, then ſhould the name of Patriarches be derogated from al other. &c. Wherby two thinges are to be noted: Firſt what thyng it was whych the Patriarche of Conſtantinople dyd ſeeke, for Gregory here findeth no other fault, but wyth the ſame whyche was geuen to John, whych was to be called Patriarche vniuerſall. The ſecond thyng to be noted, is the cauſe why Gregory did rebuke thys title, both geuen to John, and offred to hym, becauſe (ſayth he) if one take vpō hym the name of vniuerſal Patriarch, then is the name Patriarch taken frō the reſt. As who would ſay: if I ſhould take vpō me to be named vniuerſal Patriarch, thē ſhould ther be no other Patriarch, but I ſhould be biſhop Patriarche alone. And here commeth in your Solus epiſcopus. &c.

Pelagij. 2. epiſt. 1.

epiſt. 36.

Furthermore, the ſame Gregorye ſpeaking of the ſayd Solus, in an other place by, ſemeth to declare there what he meaneth by thys Solus here, in theſe wordes as follow: vt et nulli ſubeſſe, et ſolus omnibus præeſſe videretur. That is to ſay: ſo that he wold be ſubiect to none, and would be chiefetayne to all other alone. &c. And ſo by thys place, may the other place be expounded, vt ſolus epiſcopus ſit is, qui ſolus inter epiſcopos præeſſe appetat. &c. That is, that he ſeeketh to be as biſhop alone, who alone ſeeketh to be extolled aboue other Byſhops. But to bee ſhorte in a matter that needeth not manye wordes: he that thus cauelleth vpon thys place Solus Epiſcopus in Gregorye, muſt be deſired here not to take Solus alone, but ioyne with all the woord going before, which is, deſpectis fratribus, by the whiche might ſeeme ſufficiently declared, what Gregory ment by Solus epiſcopus, meaning that to deſpiſe other byſhops, and to diminiſh their honour, to ſet vp hys owne, and to be ſubiect to none, but to preferre hym ſelfe inequallye before all other, is as muche as to be counted Byſhop alone. And thus much touchyng thys obiection.

Ex epiſt. Gre. 38. Lib. 4.

An other obiection of our aduerſaries is this: although (ſay they) no Biſhop of Rome was euer called, or would be called by the name of vniuerſall biſhop: yet it followeth not therefore, that they bee not, or ought not to bee heades of the vniuerſall church. Their reaſon is this:

An other obiectiō reſolued.

As Saint Peter had the charge of the whole church (by the teſtimonie of Gregory) committed vnto hym, although he were not called vniuerſall Apoſtle:

So no more abſurde it is, for the Pope to be called the head of the whole church, & to haue the charge therof, although he be not called vniuerſall biſhop, &c.

A double vntruth in one papiſh argument.

Wherin is a double vntruth to be noted. Fyrſt in that they pretende Peter to be the head, & to haue the charge of ỹ whole church: if we take here (charge or head) for dominion or maiſterſhip vpō or aboue ỹ church, in al caſes indiciary, both ſpiritual & temporal: for the words of the ſcripture be plaine. Non dominātes in clerum. 1. pet. Vos autem non ſic. Luk. 22. That is. Not as maiſters ouer the clergie. &c. but you not ſo, &c. Agayne that the church is greater, or rather the head of Peter it is clere: 1. Cor. 3. All thinges are yours, whether it be Paule, or Appollo, or Cephas: either the world, death, or life, you be Chriſts, Chriſt is Gods, &c. In which woordes the dignitie of the church no doubt is preferred aboue the Apoſtles, and aboue Cephas alſo. Moreouer as the dignitie of the wyfe is aboue the ſeruaunt, ſo muſte needes the honour and worthynes of the church (being the ſpouſe of Chriſt) ſurmount the ſtate of Peter or other Apoſtles, which be but ſeruaunts to Chriſt and to the church, yea and though they were princes of the church, yet after the mynde of Baldus: Magis attēditur perſona intellectualis, quàm or-

Peter howe he had charge, and not charge of the church.

The firſt vntruth in this argument.

The dignity of the church aboue the Apoſtles.

Vide Baldum conſi. 169. lib. 3. Secundum nonam impreſſionem. Et ſecund. vete. conſi. 359. li. 1.

Proues & reaſons that there was no inequallitie of preeminence among the Apoſtles.

Office of teaching geueth no dominion, farther then in his booke.

Peter in no point excelleth the reſt of the Apoſtles.

Dextra ſocietatis.

Auguſt. in prefat. Pſal. 108.

ganica. Otherwyſe if by this word (charge) be ment onely the office and diligence of teaching: to that I aunſwere: The ſame lord that ſaid to Peter, feede my ſhepe, ſayd alſo to the other, goe and preach thys Goſpell to all nations. And he that ſayd to Peter: what ſoeuer thou looſeſt, ſayd alſo to the other: what ſoeuer ye remitte in the earth. Moreouer if ẏ matter go by preaching, Paule the Apoſtle laboured more therin, then euer dyd Peter, by his own confeſſion: Plus laboraui, alſo ſuffered more for the ſame, Plus ſuſtinui, neyther was his doctrine leſſe ſound. Yea and in one poynt he went before Peter, and was teacher and ſcholemaiſter vnto Peter, wheras Peter was by him iuſtlye corrected. Gala. 2. Furthermore, teaching is not alwayes, nor in all thinges a poynt of maiſterſhip, but ſometime a poynt of ſeruice: As if a French man ſhould be put to an Engliſhe man to teach him French, although he excelleth him in that kinde of facultie, yet it followeth not therfore, that he hath fulnes of power vpō him, to appoynt his diet, to rule his houſeholde, to preſcribe hys lawes, to ſtinte his landes, and ſuch other. Wherefore ſeing in trauaile of teaching, in paynes of preaching, in giftes of toungs, in largenes of commiſſion, in operation of myracles, in grace of vocation, in receauing the holy ghoſt, in vehemencie of tormentes and death for Chriſtes name, the other Apoſtles wer nothing inferiour to Peter: Why Peter thē ſhould clayme any ſpeciall prerogatiue aboue the reaſt, I vnderſtand no cauſe. As in dede he neuer claymed any, but the patrones of the Apoſtolical ſea do claime it for him, which he neuer claimed him ſelf, neither if he were here, woulde now leſſe abhorre it with ſoule and conſcience, then we do now: and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of perſon, or any vantage to our ſelues, but onely the vehemencie of truth, and zeale to Chriſt and to his congregation. Moreouer if theſe mē would nedes haue Peter to bee the curate and ouerſear of the whole vniuerſall church (which was to muche for one man to take charge vpon) and to be prince of all other Apoſtles, then woulde I fayne learne of them, what meaneth (Dextra ſocietatis) the right hande of ſocietie, betwene Peter, Paul, and Barnabye, mentioned. Gal. 2. What taking of handes is there betwene ſubiectes and theyr prince in waye of fellowſhip? Or where fellowſhip is, what maiſterſhip is there? Or again, what ſtate of Maiſterſhip is it like, that Chriſt would geue to Peter, who being in deede maiſter of all, toke ſuch litle maiſterſhip vpon him ſelf, that he waſhed Peters feete, to geue Peter enſample to take no maiſterſhip vpon him, but rather to humble him ſelfe, and that not onely in inwarde affection, but alſo in outward facte. Although I am not ignoraunt that Peter in places of the Goſpell hath hys commendation, neyther do I denye Peter to be worthy of the ſame. But yet theſe wordes of commendation geueth hym no ſtate of ſuperioritie, or iuriſdiction vpon all other, to haue al vnder hys ſubiection. As if a ſcholemaiſter ſhould haue more ſpeciall fauour to ſome one of his ſcholers for his ryper towardnes: yet this geueth hym no fulnes of authoritie, or power coactiue vpon the reſt, vnleſſe by ſpeciall admiſſion he bee deputed thereunto. Wherof nothing can be gathered of Peter, for if it bee true that S. Auſten ſayth: that ſuch things as were ſpoken to Peter, haue no lightſome vnderſtanding, excepte they be referred to the church, wherof Peter dyd beare a figure: then hath the perſon of Peter nothing to clayme by theſe wordes, but al redoundeth to the church, which being ment by Peter, hath power, by this reaſon, both ouer the perſon of Peter, and all other perſons in the Lorde.

Anſwere to an inuincible argument prouing by Chryſoſt. the whole church to be cōmitted to S. Peter.

But here ſtumbleth in an argument of our aduerſarie againe, which he in the margent of his booke calleth an inuincible argument drawen out of the boyles of S. John Chriſoſtome. Lib. 2. De Sacerd. Wherby he ſuppoſeth to haue geuen a great blowe to the Proteſtantes, and to haue gotten an Hectors victory vpon a certayn engliſhe priſoner taken in plaine field, and of all ſuch as take his part. The text onely of Chriſoſtome he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an inuincible argument in the margent. But becauſe he eyther wiſt not, or lyſte not to ſhew his cunning therin, I wil forme ẏ in argument for him, which he would haue done, but dyd not: and ſo will forme it (the Lorde willing) that he him ſelfe muſt of neceſſitie be driuen vnto, if the matter euer come to the triall of arte, & not to the tryfling of woordes. Fyrſt, he taketh his text out of Chryſoſtome, as foloweth: for what cauſe, I pray you, did Chriſt ſhed his bloud? Truly to redeme thoſe ſhepe, whoſe charge he cōmitted to Peter, & to Peters ſucceſſors. Upon this place of Chryſoſtome, thys clarcke taketh his medium, Chriſtes ſuffering. His concluſion is, that al which Chriſt dyed for, wer committed to Peter. Wherefore the forme of the argument muſte needes ſtand thus in the. 3. figure.

Chriſoſ Lib.2.d ſacerd.

A popi parilou ralogiſm

Chriſt ſuffered for all men.
Chriſt ſuffered for them whom he cōmitted to Peter.
Ergo, All that Chriſt died for, were cōmitted to Peter.

If thys be the forme of hys inſoluble argument, as it ſemeth to be, by the order of hys reaſonyng, and alſo muſt nedes be, takyng that medium, and making that concluſion as he doth, (for ells in the firſt fygure, and fyrſt mode, the text of Chryſoſt. wil not ſerue hym) then muſt the forme and violence of thys inexpugnable argument be denyed, for that it breaketh the rules of Logike, making hys concluſion vniuerſall, which in that fygure muſt nedes be particular, eyther affirmatyue, or negatiue. And ſo this argument inuincible falleth into one of theſe two ſtraytes, that eyther concluding thus, the forme will not ſerue hym: or concluding in an other figure, the wordes of Chryſoſtome will not anſwere to his purpoſe, to proue that all the world was committed to Peter. Which propoſition as it is ſtraunge in ſcripture: ſo neyther is it the propoſition of Chryſoſt. And though it wer, yet both without inconueniēce myght be graunted of vs, and being graunted, ſerueth hys purpoſe nothing, ſo long as the propoſition is not exceptiue, excluding other Apoſtles. For the wordes of Chriſoſt. do not ſo ſound, that the whole worlde was committed to Peter onely and to none other. Likewiſe then as it may be well affyrmed of vs, that the world was committed to Peter, ſo can it not be denied of them, that the world was alſo committed to John, James, Barthelmewe, Paule, Barnabe, and other all and ſingular Apoſtles. For he that ſayd to Peter, feede my ſheepe, ſayd alſo to all and ſingulare hys Apoſtles: Goe into all the worlde and preach, &c. Mat. vlt. Moreouer for aſmuch as thys man collecteth out of Chryſoſt. that the whole worlde was committed to Peter, how ſhall we then ioyne this meaning of Chryſoſtome with Saint Paule, which ſayeth that the Goſpell was committed to Peter ouer the circumciſion, as was to Paul ouer the vncircumciſion? And here an anſwer to thys doughtye argument, both to the forme and matter therof, albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be ſayde more of Peters ſucceſſors in the text of Chriſoſtome. By the which ſucceſſors, is not ment the Biſhop of Rome onelye (as the Papiſts would beare vs in hand) but all ſuche true and faithful Paſtors, whom the lords calling ſendeth, and ſetteth ouer hys flocke, wherſoeuer, or whatſoeuer they be. For as Peter beareth a repreſentation of the Church, by the teſtimony of Auſt. in Ioā. tract. 124. Præfat. in pſal. 108: ſo the ſucceſſors of Peter, be al faythful Paſtors and ouerſeers of Chriſtes Churche, to whom Chriſte our Lorde hath committed the charge of hys flocke. Wherfore they are not a litle deceaued, whyche looking vpon the rocke onely of the perſon, and not the

The w was c ted as to oth poſtl to Pet

A plac Chriſ exami by S.P

The ſ ſoun Pete.

rocke

Hilarius. Lib.6.

rocke of confeſſion(contrary to the rule of Hilarye De Trini.lib.6)do tye the Apoſtleſhip oꝛ rocke of Peter to one onelye Byſhop,and the ſucceſſion of Peter,to one onely ſea of Rome:wher as thys beyng a ſpirituall office,and not carnal,hath no ſuch carnall raſe oꝛ diſcent after any woꝛldly oꝛ locall vnderſtanding : but hath a moꝛe miſtical meanyng,after a ſpirituall ſenſe of ſucceſſion,ſuch as Hierome ſpeaketh of,epiſt. ad Euagriū. Omnes,inquit,Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores ſunt.&c. That is:All,ſayth he(ſpeaking of Byſhops) be ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles.⁊c.

Hierony. epiſt.ad Euagriū.

Chriſoſt. Lib.2.de ſacerd.

Of lyke foꝛce and faſhion , and out of the ſame figure,the ſame autour patcheth moꝛeouer an other argument,pꝛouing that the Biſhop of Rome was tituled the head of Chꝛiſtes church,in the pꝛimitiue time of the olde aunciters,befoꝛe the age of Gregoꝛye . Hys argument pꝛoceadeth thus,in the third figure.

An argument of the papiſtes.

> Saynt Peter was called by the auncient fathers, head of Chꝛiſtes church.
>
> Saynt Peter was biſhop of Rome:
>
> Ergo the Biſhop of Rome was called heade of the church,in the old auncient time.

Anſwere to the argument.

This argument expoſitoꝛye , being clouted vp in the third figure,and concluding ſingularlye,hath rather a ſhew of an argument,then maketh any neceſſary concluſion,ſtanding vpon no moode in the ſayde figure , if yͤ autoꝛ therof were put to hys trial. Albeit to leaue the foꝛme,and to come to the matter of the argumēt:Firſt how wil he wel diſpatch him ſelfe of the Maior,⁊ pꝛoue vs that ſaint Peter,although he wer at Rome,⁊ taught at Rome,and ſuffered at Rome:yet that he was biſhop and pꝛoper Oꝛdinary of that Citye and ſpeciall Sea of Rome? As touching the allegation of Abdias,Oꝛoſius, Ado,Tertullian,Cipꝛian,Hierome,Optatus,and Auſten,bꝛought foꝛth foꝛ his moſt aduauntage, to pꝛoue hys Maior : thus I aunſwer , concerning Oꝛoſius, Tertullian,Cypꝛian,Hierome,and Auſten , that wher they ſpeake of S. Peters chayꝛe,oꝛ planting the fayth at Rome,ſtraightway thys mā argueth therupon,that Peter was biſhop of Rome.But that doth not clarckly follow . Foꝛ the office of the Apoſtles was to plant the fayth in all places,and in euery region , yet were they not biſhops in euery region.And as foꝛ the chayꝛe,as it is no difference eſſentiall that maketh a byſhop (foꝛ ſo much as a Doctoꝛ may haue a chayꝛe,and yet be no biſhop)ſo can not he conclude by the chaire of Peter,that S.Peter was biſhop of Rome . Foꝛ all this pꝛoueth no farther,but that Peter was at Rome,and there taught the fayth of Chꝛiſt,as Paule dyd alſo , and peraduenture in a chayꝛe likewyſe : yet we ſaye not that Paule was therfoꝛe biſhop of Rome.But that he was ther as an Apoſtle of Chꝛiſt,whether he taught there ſtanding on hys feete,oꝛ ſitting in a chayꝛe.In the ſcripture commonlye the chayꝛe ſignifieth doctrine oꝛ iudgement, as ſitting alſo declareth ſuch as teache oꝛ iudge , whether they ſyt in the chayꝛe of Moſes,oꝛ in the chayꝛe of peſtilence.Planting likewiſe is a woꝛd Apoſtolical, ⁊ ſignifieth not onely the office of a biſhop. Wherfoꝛe it is no good conſequent,he ſat,he taught,he planted at Rome, his chayꝛe and ſeate was at Rome:Ergo he was byſhop of Rome.And thus much touching Oꝛoſius, Tertullian,Cypꝛian,Auſten.

Oroſius. Tertul.lib de præſcript. aduerſ.hære. Cipri.lib. epiſt.3. Hier.in catal.& epiſt.42.

As foꝛ Abdias,Ado,Optatus , and ſuche other , although we ſhould haue much wꝛong offred, and neuer ſhould make an end,if we ſhoulde be pꝛeſt with the autoꝛity of euery one that could oꝛ did moue pen,in al the whole firſt age of the church,to be our iudges in euery eccleſiaſticall matter : and muche moꝛe wꝛong ſhoulde haue,if the autoꝛs eyther coꝛrupted , oꝛ counterfayted, ſhould be layd vnto vs,ſpeaking not in the ſame ſenſe, oꝛ in the ſame toung,oꝛ in the ſame tyme wherin they wꝛote : yet to helpe and to ſalue the autoꝛities of theſe autoꝛs ſo much as we may,I anſwer to their allegations,with this diſtinction of a biſhop , which is to be taken either generally oꝛ ſpecially.After the firſt,a biſhop is he to whom ſo euer the publicke cure and charge of ſoules is committed,without anye limitation of place. And ſo the name of biſhop is coincident wͭ the office of Apoſtle,oꝛ any publicke Paſtoꝛ,Doctoꝛ , oꝛ Curatoꝛ of the vniuerſal flocke of Chꝛiſt.And thus may Paul,Peter,oꝛ any other of the Apoſtles be called biſhops.So alſo is Chꝛiſt hym ſelfe by expꝛeſſe wooꝛd called ἐπισκόπος and ποίμην, that is,biſhop,and Paſtoꝛ.1.Peter.2. And thus may Peter wel be named a Biſhop of theſe foꝛeſaid autoꝛs after this maner of taking.But this publik and general charge vniuerſally ouer the whole , wythout limitation,ceaſed after Chꝛiſte , and the Apoſtles. Foꝛ then were Byſhops by places and pꝛouinces appoynted,to haue ſpeciall ouerſight of ſome particular flocke oꝛ pꝛouince,and ſo to be reſident and attendant onely vpon the ſame.

A double taking of the word, Byſhop.

Chriſt him ſelf a Byſhop.

The other diuerſity of this name biſhop,is to be taken after a moꝛe ſpecial ſoꝛte,which is , when any perſon oꝛderly called ,is aſſigned namely and ſpecially to ſome one certayne place,city,oꝛ pꝛouince,wherunto he is onely bound to employ his office and charge, and no wher els,accoꝛding to the old Canons of the Apoſtles, and of the councell of Nice . And this biſhop differyng from the other,is called, epiſcopus intitulatus , hauyng his name of his city oꝛ dioces . And thus we denye that Peter the Apoſtle was euer biſhop elected , inſtalled, oꝛ intituled to the city of Rome,neither doth Optatus,Abdias,Ado , oꝛ Hierome affirme the ſame . And if Ado ſaye that Peter was biſhop of Rome.25.yeares, vntill the laſt yeare of Nero , that is eaſelye refuted , both by the ſcriptures and hiſtoꝛies : foꝛ ſo we vnderſtande by the declaration of S.Paule,Gal.1.2.that.14,yeres after hys conuerſion,S.Paule had Peter by the hand at Hieruſalem.

Canon. Apoſt. 13.14.34. Con. Nice. cap.15. Con. Antioch. cap.3.13.

Peters being at Rome.

Moꝛeouer,the ſayd Paule in the foꝛeſayde Epiſtle witneſſeth, that the charge Apoſtolical was committed vnto Peter ouer the circumciſed,and ſo was he intituled.Alſo S.Paule wꝛiting to the Romanes, in his manyfold ſalutations to them in Rome , maketh no mencion ther of S.Peter,which doubtles ſhoulde not haue bene vnremembꝛed,if he had bene thē in Rome.Againe S.Peter dating his epiſtle from Babilon, was not thē belike at Rome.

Farthermoꝛe,hiſtoꝛies do recoꝛde that Peter was at Pontus.v.yeares,and at Antioche.7. yeares. Howe could he then be.25.yeares at Rome? Finallye, where our aduerſary alledging out of Ado, ſayth that ſ.Peter was there.25 yeares,vntil the laſt yeare of Nero:howe can that ſtand,when S.Paule ſuffering vnder Nero, was put to death the ſame day twelue moneth , that is a whole yeare after Peter.⁊c.But eſpecially how agreeth thys with ſcripture,that Chꝛiſt ſhould make Peter an Apoſtle vniuerſal to walke in al the woꝛld : ite per vniuerſum orbem . Item, Eritis mihi teſtes vſque ad fines terræ,&c.And our papiſtes woulde needes make hym a ſittyng byſhop,and intitule hym to Rome.How accoꝛd theſe:Apoſtolus and Epiſcopus : ire and ſedere : Omnes gentes,and Roma together?

And thus haue I reſolued the fyꝛſt vntruth of that popiſh demonſtration aboue rehearſed,Page.17.wherin they thyncke to pꝛoue, that as Peter , althoughe hee was not called vniuerſall Apoſtle , yet was the head of the whole church:ſo the Pope might and hath had after him the charge of the whole church , although he was not called vniuerſall byſhop in the olde tyme,⁊c.

Now followeth the ſecond vntruth to be touched in the ſame argument, which is,that becauſe Peter was the head of the church:ſo therfoꝛe the Pope muſt alſo be the head of the church,and was,albeit he was not called

The ſecond vntruth of the argument aboue mentioned.

vniuerſall biſhop a long time. But this we do deny, yea the matter denieth it ſelfe, by their own poſition, for being graunted by them, that the title of vniuerſal biſhop was not receaued at Rome, but refuſed to the tyme of Gregory: then muſt it neceſſarily be graunted, that the biſhops of Rome before S. Gregory, had not the charge of the whole church, neither coulde be admitted by that reaſon to be heades of the church. For ſomuch as there can be no head, but which is vniuerſall to the whole body. Neither can any haue charge of the whole, but he muſt needes be vniuerſall to all and ſingular partes of that, wherof he hath the charge. As in ſciences, who ſoeuer hath knowledge and cunning in all the ſeuen liberal ſciences, and al the partes therof perteining to liberal knowledge, is ſayd to be an vniuerſal learned man: ſo in office, to whom ſoeuer the publique charge of all churches doth appertayne, how is he not to be called biſhop vniuerſall? Now if before S. Gregoryes tyme, the name of vniuerſall byſhop, was repealed in Rome: how then can the name be refuſed, and the definition of the name be admitted? Or ells let our aduerſaries tell vs how they define an vniuerſall biſhop, ſeing this word biſhop is properly the name of office, wherto is annexed charge. Wherfore if a Biſhop be he, which hath charge of all the ſoules in his dioces cōmited to him, and muſt render a count for thē all: then whoſe charge extendeth to all and ſingulare churches, and muſt render a count for euery chriſten ſoule with in the whole world: to him can not be denied the name of an vniuerſall biſhop, hauing the office of an vniuerſall biſhop. Or if he be not an vniuerſall biſhop, he can not then haue the charge of the whole, that is, of all & ſingulare churches of Chriſt. For ſuch is the rule of true definition. Cui conuenit definitio, eidem conuenit definitum, et cōtra. Cui adimitur definitio, eidem et definitum adimitur. Although thys word vniuerſall, in the Greeke writers, ſignifieth that, which we in our vulgar engliſhe tonge call catholique: yet I ſuppoſe our aduerſaryes here will not take vniuerſall in that ſenſe. For after that meaning, as we doe not denye that the biſhops of Rome may be vniuerſall biſhops: ſo neyther can they deny but other byſhops alſo may bee as vniuerſal, that is, as catholique as they. But ſuch as more diſtinctly and ſcholelike diſcuſſe this matter, define vniuerſall or catholique by thrée things: to witte, by time, place, and perſon. So that what ſoeuer extendeth it ſelfe to all times, all places, and to all perſons, that is properly vniuerſal or catholique. And contrarywiſe, what thyng is to bee called vniuerſall or catholique, reacheth to all thoſe thrée aforeſaid, comprehending all places, times, and perſons, and extendeth it ſelf of hys own nature to the ſame, or ells it is not to be called properly vniuerſall or catholike. And thus thrée things there be, which moſte commonly we call catholike or vniuerſall: that is, the church which is called the catholike church: fayth, which is called the catholike fayth: A man, whom alſo we call a man catholike, becauſe theſe thrée of theyr owne nature and diſpoſition (no contrarye obſtacle letting) extend them ſelues ſo to all, that no time, place, nor perſon is excluded. Which thrée conditions if they altogether concurre in þ charge of the biſhop of Rome, then is it an vniuerſall charge, and he an vniuerſall biſhop: If not, then is his charge neither vniuerſall, nor he the head of the church, nor yet vniuerſall biſhop. For how theſe thrée can be ſeperated, I can not ſée, except the aduerſary part do proue it more euidently, then yet they haue done.

What is an vniuerſall byſhop.

Regula definitionis.

Cui conuenit definitio & definitum.

Vniuerſall defined by three things time place, & perſō.

Three thinges commonly called catholique or vniuerſall.

To haue vniuerſall charg to be head of the vniuerſalchirch and to be vniuerſall biſhop are al coincidēt together.

And thus much to the obiection of our aduerſaryes, arguing thus: that as S. Peter being not called vniuerſall Apoſtle, yet was the head of the vniuerſall church: So the Pope although he was not firſt called vniuerſal Byſhop, had and myght haue the charge of the whole church, and was the vniuerſall head of the ſame. The which obiectiō conteining (as is ſaid) a double vntruth, our aduerſaryes yet notwithſtanding doe buſye them ſelues greatly to fortifye, by ſundrye teſtimonyes and allegations patched out of olde and auncient doctors, but ſpeciallye out of Theodoritus, Irenæus, Ambroſe, and Auſten: prouing by them, that the ſea of Rome hauing the præeminence and principallitie, hath béene honoured aboue all other churches. Wherupon the ſayd aduerſarye before minded, groundeth this conſequent.

Irene *3. cap.* *Amb.* *doct.* *lib.2.* *Aug.* 162. Argum of the piſtes. Auſw

Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auſten, and Theodoritus affirme that the church of Rome is þ chief of all other churches.

Ergo, the byſhop and head of that church is chief and head ouer al other biſhops, & heade of al other churches.

But this conſequent is to be denyed, for that the excellencie of the church or place doth not alwayes argue the excellencie of the miniſter or biſhop, nor yet neceſſarilye doth cauſe the ſame. For in matters of the church which are ſpirituall, all præeminence ſtandeth vpon ſpiritual and inward giftes, (ſpiritualia enim ſpiritualibus comparantur) as fayth, pietie, learning & godlye knowledge, zeale and feruencie in þ holy ghoſt, vnitie of doctrine, &c. which giftes manye tymes maye excell in a church, where the miniſter or byſhop is inferiour to byſhops or miniſters of other churches. As þ moſt famous ſchole in a Realme hath not alwaye the moſte famous ſcholemaiſter, neyther doth make him therby moſte excellent in learning aboue all other. So if our aduerſaries do meane by this præeminence of þ church of Rome, ſuch inward gifts of doctrine, fayth, vnitie and peace of religion: then ſay I, the excellencie hereof doth not infer or argue the excellencie of the biſhop. And thus concerning the principallitie of the church of Rome, commended at that tyme of the doctors, it may be true, & ſo well expounded one way. And thus doe I graunt the antecedent of this argument, and denye the conſequent. But here will our aduerſaryes peraduenture replye agayne and ſaye, that the principallitie of the church of Rome, which is commended by the doctors, is not ment here ſo much by inward giftes and induments belonging to a chriſtian church, as by outward authoritie and domination ouer other churches, wherto is to be anſwered. Fyrſt, what neceſſitie is there, or where dyd our papiſts learne, to bring into the ſpirituall church of Chriſt, this outward forme of ciuile regiment and policie? that as the Romane Emperours in tyme paſte gouerned ouer all the world, ſo the Romane byſhop muſt haue hys monarchie vpon the vniuerſall clergye, to make all other churches to ſtoupe vnder his ſubiection. And where thē be the words of our Sauiour: Vos autē non ſic: If they hold theyr affirmatiue, quod ſic? Where thē is Chriſtes negatiue, non ſic, if they ſaye, there muſt needes be diſtinction of degrees in the church, and in this diſtinction of degrées, ſuperioritie muſt neceſſarily be graunted for the outward diſcipline of the church, for directing matters, for quieting of ſchiſmes, for ſetting orders, for cōmenſing of conuocations and councells, as néede ſhall require, &c? Againſt this ſuperioritie we ſtand not, and therfore we yeld to our ſuperiour powers, kings, & princes our due obedience, & to our lawful gouernours vnder God of both regimentes, eccleſiaſticall and temporall. Alſo in the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, we take not awaye the diſtinction of ordinary degrees, ſuch as by the ſcripture be appoynted, or by the primitiue church allowed. As Patriarches, or Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Miniſters, and Deacons, for of theſe foure we eſpeciallye read as chiefe. In which foure degrees as we graunt diuerſitye of office, ſo we admitte in þ ſame alſo, diuerſitie of dignitie: neyther denying that which is due to eche degree, neyther yet mainteyning the ambition of any ſingular perſon. For as we geue to the miniſter place aboue the Deacon, to the Byſhop aboue the miniſter, to the Archbiſhop aboue the Byſhop: ſo we ſe no cauſe of inequallitie, why

Preemi of a chu eſteme ter a do ble con ration.

Obiecti Outwa preemi belong to outw kingdo not to church Chriſt. The auſwe to the o iection.

Nonſi ſayth *Quodſi* ſayth pope.

Obiecti

Auſw

Superi in the c che. Diſtin of de in the church

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tie, why one miniſter ſhoulde be aboue an other miniſter: One biſhop in his degree aboue an other byſhop to deale in hys dioces: or one Archbiſhop aboue an other Archbiſhop. And this is to kepe an order duely and truely in the church, according to the true nature & definition of order by the authoritie of Auguſt. li. De ciuit. dei. Where he thus defineth that which we call order: Ordo, eſt parium diſpariumq; rerum ſua cuique loca tribuens diſpoſitio. Order (ſaith he) is a diſcretion or diſpoſition geuen to all thinges, according as they are matches, or not matches, proporcionally to euery one his own right and proper place.

der kept the chur .and hat true der is.

ug de ci dei. li. 19. ca. 13.

der defi ned.

This definition of Saint Auſten ſtanding, with the thinges before premiſed, now here ioyneth the queſtion betwene vs and the Papiſtes, whether the Metropolitane church of Rome, with the Archbiſhop of the ſame, ought to be preferred before other metropolitane churches, and Archbiſhops through vniuerſal chriſtendome, or not? To the aunſwer whereof, if the voyce of Order might here be heard, it would ſay: geue to thinges that be matches and like, like honour: to thinges vnlyke, vnlike honour. &c. Wherefore, ſeing the ſea of Rome is a patriarchal ſea, appointed by the primitiue church, and the biſhop therof an Archbiſhop, limited within his own bordering churches, which the councell of Nice calleth ſuburbicas eccleſias, as other Archbiſhops be: hee ought therfore orderly to haue the honour of an Archbiſhop (ordering him ſelfe therafter) and ſuch outwarde preheminence as to other Archbiſhops is due. More if he doo require, he breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into preſumption, and doth wrong vnto his felowes, & they alſo do wrong vnto themſelues, whoſoeuer they be, feeding hys humour of ambition, geueth more vnto hym then the foreſayde rule of Order doth require. For ſo much as they yeld to him more thē is his right, ſo much they take from them ſelues, which is due to them. And the ſame is the cauſe, why both Gregory and Pelagius hys predeceſſor reprehendeth them, whiche gaue to the Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, that, which now the byſhop of Rome claymeth to him ſelfe, charging thē with the breache of Order in theſe wordes: Ne dum priuatum aliquod daretur vni, honore debito ſacerdotes priuarentur vniuerſi, that is: leaſt that whyle any ſingular thing is geuen to one perſon, all other prieſtes be depriued of their due honour. And for the like cauſe Pelagius exhorteth that no prieſt doo geue to anye one Archbiſhop, the name of vniuerſal biſhop, ne ſibi debitum ſubtrahat cū alteri honorem offert indebitum. That is: leaſt (ſaith he) in ſo doing, he take from himſelfe hys due honor, while he yeldeth that, which is not due to an other. And alſo in the ſame epiſtle: Quia ſi ſummus patriarcha vniuerſalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. For (ſayth he) if he be called the chiefe vniuerſal patriarche, thē is the name of Patriarches derogated frō other. &c. Wherfore as is ſayde, ſeing the biſhop of Rome is an Archbiſhop, as other be: Order geueth, that he ſhoulde haue the dignity, which to Archbiſhops is due, whatſoeuer is added more, is derogation to the reſt. And thus much concerning diſtinction of degrees, and order in geuing to euery degree his place and honour.

Ex Regiſ. tro Grego. li. 4. ep. 32

Ex epiſt. 2 Pelagij. 2. Diſt. 99. ¶ Nullus

The ſecōde aunſweare to the ob iection, before moued

The ſecond reaſon or anſwer to the obiection before moued, pag. 20. is this: that being graunted to the Papiſtes, that the Doctors aforeſayd, ſpeaking of the principallity of the church of Rome, do meane not onelye of the inward vertues of that church, but alſo of the outward autority and iuriſdiction of the ſame, aboue other churches: yet the cauſe wherefore they did attribute ſo much to the church, is to be expended, which was thys, as before was alledged out of the councel of Calcedon, cap. 28 διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, that is: for yͤ rule and impery which that city of Rome had then aboue other cities, which cauſe being outward and carnal, was neither then cauſe ſufficient, and now ceaſing, importeth not to vs the like effect, according as they ſay: Sublata cauſa, tollitur effectus. So that by the reaſon thereof, the foreſayd principallity of the Churche of Rome, dyd not hold then, iure diuino, ſed humano. And as it holdeth by mans lawe, ſo by mans lawe may be repealed agayne.

Ex concil. Calce. c. 28

Wherfore, be it admitted, that both the Pope ſitteth and ſucceedeth in the chayre of Peter, and alſo that he is the biſhop of the greateſt city in the world: yet it followeth not therby, that he ſhoulde haue rule & lordſhip ouer al other biſhops and churches of the worlde. For firſt touching the ſucceſſion of Peter, many things are to be conſidered.

Certayn demaundes for the papiſtes to aunſwere vnto.

Fyrſt, whether Peter ſat, and hadde hys chayre in Rome, or not?

Secondly, whether he ſat there as Apoſtle, or as byſhop?

Thirdly, whether the ſitting in the outwarde ſeat of Peter maketh ſucceſſour of Peter?

Fourthly, whether he ſitteth in the chayre and ſeate of Peter, which ſitteth not in the doctrine of Peter?

Fiftly, whether the ſucceſſion of Peter maketh rather an Apoſtle, then a Biſhop, and ſo ſhoulde we call the Pope, yͤ Apoſtle of Rome, & not the biſhop of Rome?

Sixtly, whether eccleſiaſtical functions ought to bee eſteemed by ordinary ſucceſſion of place, or by Gods ſecrete callyng or ſending?

Seuenthly and laſtly, whether it ſtand by ſcripture, any one ſucceſſiō at al to be pointed in Chriſtes church, or why more from Peter, then from other Apoſtles?

Al which interrogatories, being wel diſcuſſed (which would aſke a long proces) it ſhoulde well appeare what litle hold the Pope hath to take this ſtate vpon hym, aboue al other churches, as he doth. In the meane tyme, thys one argument by the way maye ſuffice, in ſteede of many, for our aduerſaries to anſwer to, at their conuenient layſure. Which argument thus I forme and frame in Cameſtres.

An argument prouing the popes of this latter church of Rome not to be ſucceſſors of Peter.

Ca All the true ſucceſſors of Peter ſit in the chayre of the doctrine of Peter & other apoſtles vniformely.

meſ No popes of thys latter church of Rome, ſyt in the chaire of S. Peters and other Apoſtles doctrine vniformely.

tres. Ergo no popes of this latter church of Rome, be the true ſucceſſors of Peter.

And when they haue wel peruſed the Minor of thys argument, and haue well conferred together the doctrine taught them of S. Peter, with the doctrine taught now by the popes, of iuſtification of a Chriſten man, of the office of the lawe, of the ſtrengthe and largenes of ſynne, of mens merites, of free wyl, of workes of ſupererogation, of ſetting vp images, of ſeuen ſacramentes, of auricular confeſſion, of ſatiſfactiō, of ſacrifice of the Maſſe, of communicating vnder one kind, of eleuating and adoring the ſacramental elementes, of latine ſeruice, of inuocation, of prohibition of meates, and mariage, of vowing chaſtity, of ſectes and rules of diuers religions, of indulgences and pardons: alſo wyth theyr doctrine taught nowe of Magiſtrates, of the fulnes of power, and regality of the ſea of Rome, with manye other like to theſe. &c. then wyll I be glad to heare what they wyl ſay to the premiſſes.

Secondly, if they woulde proue by the allegation of the Doctors Ireneus, Ambroſe, Auſten, Theodoritus aforeſayde, the biſhop of Rome to be the chiefe of all Byſhops therfore, becauſe the city whereof he is biſhop, is chiefe and principal aboue al other churches, that conſequent is to be denyed. For it followeth not (taking as I ſayd, the principallity of that Church, to ſtand διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, that is, vpon the principall dominion of that Cyty) no more then thys conſequent followeth.

London is the chiefe city in all England.

Ergo the biſhop of London is the chiefeſt of all Byſhops in the realme.

Which argument were derogatorye to the Byſhop both of Canturbury,and of Yorke.

Yea to graunt yet more to our aduerſaryes (which is all they can require) the minde of the foreſayd doctors Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auſten, & Theodoritus,in geuing principallitie vnto Rome, to haue reſpect vnto the vertue of ſucceſſiō from Peter,and not vnto the greatnes of the citie:yet notwithſtanding for all this theyr argument holdeth not, if it be rightly conſidered:to ſaye.

A falſe conſequent of the papiſtes.

The Apoſtolicall Sea of Rome,hauing ſucceſſion frō Peter,with the biſhops therof,was chiefe then of all other churches,in the primitiue tyme of theſe doctors.

Ergo,the Apoſtolicall Sea of Rome, with the biſhops therof,hauing ſucceſſion from Peter,ought now to bee chiefe of all other churches,in theſe our dayes.

Aunſwer to the conſequent.

This conſequent might wel follow, if the times were like,or if ſucceſſion which gaue then the cauſe of principallitie,were the ſame now which was then. But nowe the tyme and ſucceſſion is not correſpondēt, for thē ſucceſſion in the time of theſe doctors, was as well in doctrine Apoſtolicall,as in place Apoſtolicall. Now the ſucceſſion of doctrine Apoſtolicall hath longe ceaſed in the ſea Apoſtolicall:and nothing remaineth but only place, which is the leaſt matter of true ſpirituall and Apoſtolicall ſucceſſion. And thus much to ẏ authoritie and teſtimonie of theſe forenamed doctors.

Succeſſion Apoſtolical double wiſe to be conſidered.

Beſides theſe obiections heretofore recited out of Irenæus,Ambroſe,Auſten,and Theodoritus,our aduerſaries yet obiecte and heape vp againſt vs,moreouer,examples of the primitiue time of the church,teſtimonies of generall councels,and opinions of auncient writers, taken out of the booke of Councells,and Epiſtles decretall,wherby their intent is to proue,the foreſaid termes (of the head of the church, ruler of the church , chiefe of all other prieſts)to be applied not onely to Peter,but alſo to the Byſhop of Rome,wͭ in the compaſſe of the primitiue tyme. And here commeth in the teſtimonie cited of Vincentius Lirinenſis ſecundo Commoni. Of the Epiſtle of Paſchaſinus and his fellowes, wrytyng to Leo from the Councell of Chalcedon. The teſtimonie alſo of Iuſtinian the Emperour in hys Codex: where Ioannes then Pope was called caput omniū eccleſiarū. Epiſt. inter claras. cap. De ſumma trin. & fide cath. The teſtimonie alſo of Athanaſius with hys fellow Byſhops of Egipt, of Thebaida, and Libia, in theyr epiſtles to Pope Marcus,Liberius,and Felix. Likewyſe the teſtimony of Hierome, In præf. in. 4. euange. Item,epiſt. 42. tom. 1. Item,epiſt. 41. tom. 2. Of S. Ambroſe. 1. Timo. 3. Of S. Auſten to Boniface. Ad Bonif. contra duas epiſt. Pelagian. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Item,Lib. 2. De baptiſ. cap. 1. Of Theodoritus in hys Epiſtle to Pope Leo. Epiſt. cōmentar. in Pauli epiſt. præfixa. Of Chryſoſtome, Epiſt. ad Innocentium, Tom. 5. et cc. By which teſtimonies our aduerſaries wold proue S. Peter,& after him the biſhop of Rome to be called and taken for head of the church, chiefe byſhop,prince and ruler of the whole clergye. To all which obiections fully and exactlye to anſwere in order,woulde requyre a whole volume by it ſelfe. In the meane tyme,leauing the reaſt to them vnto whō it doth more properly appertayne,brieflye with this one ſhorte diſtinction I anſwere theſe & all ſuch other like places, where S. Peter with hys ſucceſſours are called:head of the church,chiefe of byſhops, prince of the Apoſtles,&c: In which places,this worde, head, chiefe,and prince of the Apoſtles,may bee taken two manner of wayes: to note eyther dominion,or ells commendation For ſo we read ſometyme Caput,and princeps to be wordes not of authoritie,but of excellencie,wherby is declared ẏ chiefeſt and worthieſt parte among many partes, and not poſſeſſour and gouernour of the whole. Lyke as in the perſon of man,the head is the principall part of ẏ whole bodye, being endued with reaſon and furniſhed with moſte excellent ſenſes,by the which the whole bodye of man is directed:ſo therof is deriued by a metaphor,that to what man or thing nature or condition hath geuen the greateſt excellency,in any ſocietie, of gifts and propertyes aboue other partes or members of the ſame ſocietie,he is called of the ſaid parties,Caput,or Princeps, head or prince. And yet the ſame head or prince ſo called, hath not alwayes dominion or iuriſdiction of the reaſt. So we call in our vulgare ſpeech the head or chiefe men of the pariſhe,who for theyr ryches,wiſedome,or place, are moſt ſpecially noted:After like phraſe of ſpeech we call the head man of the inqueſt, him that hath the fyrſt place. And yet neyther they nor theſe haue any dominion or iuriſdiction vpō the reſidue. In a ſchole the chiefeſt ſcholer in learning, is not therefore the maiſter or gouernour of hys fellowes. Neyther hath M. Cicero any title therby to claime ſubiection and ſeruice of al other Orators,becauſe he is named Princeps eloquentiæ,and goeth before them in that kynde of prayſe . The ſame Cicero. Lib. 1. offic. calleth Cratippum principem huius ætatis Philoſophorum:as Homerus alſo may bee called Poetarū Princeps:And yet neyther philoſophers to Cratippus,nor Poets to Homere owe anye thing ells, but onely fame and prayſe.

Aunſwere by a diſtinction.

Caput and princeps, haue a doble vnderſtandynge.

And what if S. Peter the bleſſed Apoſtle be called and counted of the olde auncient Doctors, as head & prince of the Apoſtles, which is as much as Coryphæus Apoſtolorum,for his excellent fayth, for hys diuine confeſſion and ſingulare affection to the Lorde Ieſus:yet what intereſt or charge eyther hath he to chalenge ouer the Apoſtles , or the Pope after hym ouer all other Byſhops and the whole church of Chriſt,although the pope haue the lyke excellencie of Chriſtes fayth, which Peter had, as would God he had: As concerning theſe allegations therfore out of the Doctors, two things are to be obſerued:fyrſt that neither theſe names & titles though they be geuen to Peter,do geue hym any ſtate or dominion aboue other Apoſtles:nor yet the ſucceſſion of hym doth further any whit thys celſitude and regalitie of ẏ Pope to aduaunce hym aboue hys fellow Archbyſhops, as he now doth.

And if our aduerſaryes would needes prouoke vs to the numbering of teſtimonyes , and deuiding the houſe (ſpeaking of the wryters and councells of the primitiue age) for theſe aforeſayd teſtimonyes alledged on theyr ſide,I could on the contrary part recyte out of the witneſſe of Doctors,out of the examples of councells, and practiſes of Emperours,no leſſe then. 60. voyces much more repugnaunt agaynſt theyr aſſertion, then there is for the Pope. The tractation wherof for thys preſent I do refre eyther to them, that haue more leyſure at thys time to diſcourſe them,or els omitte it to an other time, if the good pleaſure of the Lorde ſhall be , to graunt me further leyſure in an other booke to intreate thereof at large,in ſuch order as (if the Lorde ſo graunt) ſhall appeare ſufficient matter,to proue both by Doctors,generall councels,examples & hyſtories of tyme, that the biſhops of Rome,during ẏ firſt. 500 .yeares after Chriſt, although for the greatnes of the Empyre , were ſomewhat more magnified then the other,and therfore were ſought of many, and were flattered of ſome , and they them ſelues diuerſe dyd ſet forth them ſelues more then they ſhould:yet by the cōmon conſent of churches, wer ſtopped of theyr purpoſe,ſo that by the conſenſion of the moſt part,within the compaſſe of that age ẏ biſhops of Rome had not this regal ſtate of title,iuriſdiction, & fulnes of power,which now they vſurpe,but wer taken as Archbiſhops,of equal honor,of equal merite with other Archbiſhops and rulers of the church. And if any preferment was geuen vnto them ſomthing aboue the reſt: yet neyther was it ſo geuen of all, nor of the moſt parte: ſecondly neither was it ſo geuen of them for any ſuche neceſſitie of Gods word, aut iure aliquo diuino, as which did ſo bind them therunto, nor yet ſo much for the reſpect of Peter, & his ſucceſſion: as for certaine other cauſes, and reſpectes, as may be gathered to the number of. 13.

1. Of whiche the firſte is the greatnes of the citie and monarchie of Rome.

2. The ſecond is the authority of the Emperour Cõſtantine the great, firſt of the Emperours conuerted to the faith, and rulyng in the ſame citie, by whom the vniuerſal liberty of the church was firſt promoted, & the cauſes of the biſhops being then at variaunce, wer committed partlye to the biſhop of Rome, partly to other biſhops nereby to be deciſed, as appeareth Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

3. The thirde was the councell of Nice, whiche confirmed the preeminence of that churche to haue the ouerſight of the churches borderyng about it.

4. The fourth cauſe of aduaunſing the church of Rome was the vnquiet ſtate of the Greke churche much troubled in thoſe dayes with ſectes, factions, and diſſentions. wherof we may read, Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.

5. The fifte, whan ſynodes were called by other Metropolitans, then if it chaunſed the biſhops of Rome to be abſent, and their ſentence being abſent to be required, by the occaſion therof they began at length to take their ſentence for a canon or rule eccleſiaſticall, and therby to refuſe other ſynodes, wher their decree or ſentence was not required.

6. An other cauſe was, that when any cõmon matter was in hand in other places, whatſoeuer was done, cõmonlye the maner was to write to the Romane biſhop for his approbation in the ſame, for publique vnitie and conſent to be had in Chriſts church: as appeareth lib. 10. epiſt. 78. Ambroſij ad Theophilum.

7. Item, for that the teſtimonie ſomtimes of the Romane biſhop was wont in thoſe daies alſo to be deſired, for admitting teachers and biſhops in other churches, wherof we haue example in Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37.

8. Moreouer this was a great ſetting vp of that church, when as their ſentence not only was required, but alſo receaued diuers times of other biſhops. And when byſhops of other prouinces were at any diſſention among themſelues, they of their owne accord, appealed to the biſhop of Rome, deſiringe him to cite vp both parties, & to haue the hearinge & deciſinge of the cauſe, as did Macarius and Heſychius ſend to Iulius then biſhoppe of Rome, &c.

9. Item in that certain of the Arrianes, returning frõ their Arrianiſme, offered vp & exhibited vnto yͤ biſhops of Rome their libels of repentaunce, and were of them receyued again, as Urſatius and Ualens did to Iulius. Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 24.

10. The tenth cauſe was alſo, for that Gratianus the Emperour made a law, that all men ſhould reteine that religion, which Damaſus biſhop of Rome, and Peter B. of Alexandria dyd hold. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 4.

11. And alſo, if it happened the biſhop of Rome to diſalow the orderynge of any miniſter or miniſters, the Pope perceyuinge how diligent and ready they were to ſeeke their fauour, and to ſend vp their meſſengers to Rome, for their purgation, toke therby no litle matter of exaltation. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.

12. Beſides theſe aforeſaid, the biſhops of Rome had alſo an other artificiall practiſe, that in ſendinge out their letters abroad, as they did to many, in al their Epiſtles (if the Epiſtles be theirs, and not foreged) euer they wer harpynge of the greatnes of their name, and of their Apoſtolike ſee, and of the primacie of S. Peter, their predeceſſour and prince of al the Apoſtles &c. And this they vſed in euery letter, when ſo euer they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretal, namely in the letters of Miltiades, Marcellus, and Marcus &c.

13. Again if any of the Eaſt church directed any writing to them, wherin any ſignification was contayned of neuer ſo litle reuerence geuen vnto them (as learned mẽ commonly vſe for modeſties ſake) that was taken by & by and conſtrued for plain ſubiection, & dewe obedience, as declareth yͤ letter of Damaſus, written to yͤ byſhops of yͤ Eaſt church, beginning thus: Quod debita reuerẽtia &c. in Engliſhe thus: but that your charitie yeldeth dew reuerence to the Apoſtolicall ſee, you in ſo doynge (dere children) do muche for your ſelues &c. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9, wher as the byſhoppes of the Eaſt churche notwithſtandynge had ſhewed litle or no reuerence in their epiſtle to Pope Damaſus before.

Thus haue ye the firſt and originall groundes, by the meanes wherof the Archbiſhops of the Romiſhe ſee haue achieued to this their great kyngdome & celſitude ouer Chriſts church, firſt beginning the miſtery of their iniquitie, by that which was modeſtly and voluntarely geuen them. Afterwarde by vſe and cuſtome claymyng it ambitiouſly vnto them, of duetie & ſeruice, and laſtly holdyng faſt (as we ſee) that which once they haue gotten into their poſſeſſion, ſo that now in no caſe they can abyde the birdes to cal home their fethers again, which they ſo long haue vſurped.

And thus much concerning the life, iuriſdiction, and title of the Roman biſhops: In all whiche (as is declared) they and not we, haue fallen from the churche of Rome. To theſe I might alſo ioyne the maner of gouernment, wherin the ſaid Romiſhe biſhoppes haue no leſſe altered both from the rule of ſcripture, and frõ the ſteppes of the true church of Rome, which gouernment as it hath ben, and ought to be onely ſpirituall: ſo hath the biſhop of Rome vſed it of late yeares no otherwiſe, thẽ hath an earthly kyng or prince gouerned his realme and dominions, with riches, glory, power, terrour, outward ſtrength, force, priſon, death, execution, lawes, policies, promoting his frendes to dignities, reuengynge his affections, puniſhyng and correcting faultes againſt his perſon, more then other offences againſt God committed, vſing and abuſing in all theſe things, the worde of God for his pretext and cloke to worke his wordly purpoſe with al: wheras in dede the word of God miniſtreth no ſuch power to ſpiritual perſons, but ſuch as is ſpirituall: accordyng to the ſaying of the Apoſtle: firma militiæ noſtræ non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia &c. The armour and artillary, ſaith ſainct Paule, of oure warfaire is not carnal, but ſpiritual: ſuch as ſerue not againſt fleſhe and bloud, nor againſt the weake perſon of man: but againſt Satan, againſte the gates of hell. And the profounditics of wicked power. &c.

This latter church of rome diffeting from the first church of Rome, in forme of Gouernment.

Which armour as it is all ſpirituall, ſo ought they, which haue the dealyng therof, to be likewiſe ſpiritual, well furniſhed with all ſuche gyftes and graces of the holy ghoſt, meete for the gouernance of his ſpirituall church: as with wiſdom & knowledge in the ſcripture, to inſtruct the ignorant: with inward intelligence and foreſight of the crafty cogitations & operations of Satan, with power of the ſpirite to reſiſte the ſame: with practiſe and experience of tentations, to comfort ſuch as be afflicted and oppreſſed of Satan: with heauenly diſcretion to diſcerne ſpirites, & truth from vntrueth: with iudgement, knowledge of tonges and learnyng to conuict error: with zele of Gods glorye, with feruency of prayer, with pacience in perſecution: with a minde contented with all caſes and ſtates incident, with teares and compaſſion on other mens greues: with ſtoutnes and courage againſt the proud and mightie: with humilitie toward the poore and miſerable: with the counſail of the Lord Ieſus by his word & ſpirit to directe him

How the church of chriſt ought to be gouerned.

in all thinges to be don, with ſtrength againſte ſinne: with hatred of this world: with gyft of faith: power of the keys in ſpiritual cauſes, as to miniſter the word, the ſacraments and excommunication when the word biddeth, that the ſpirit may be ſaued, and to recōcile again, as caſe requireth, &c. Theſe and ſuche like are the matters wherin conſiſteth the ſinewes and ſtrength of the church, and the true gouernaunce of the ſame. But cōtrary theſe aforeſaid both the biſhop and clergie of this latter church of Rome, proceeded in their adminiſtration and gouernance, as who vnder the name and pretence of Chriſt and his word, haue exerciſed of lōg time nothinge els but a wordly dominion, ſeekynge in dede their owne glory, not the glory of Chiſt: ryches of the world, not the lucre of ſoules: not feeding the flock, but fillyng the purſe: reuengynge his owne wrongs, but neglecting Gods glory: ſtriuyng againſt man onely, & kyllyng him, but not kyllyng the vice, nor cōfuting the error of man: ſtrong againſt fleſh and blood, but weake againſt the deuil: ſtout againſt the ſimple, but meke againſtee the mightie: brieflye, doing almoſt all thinges prepoſterouſly, more like to a ſecular prince, thē a ſpiritual paſtour of Chriſts flocke, with his outwarde forcement, and feare of puniſhment, with his priſonyng, famiſhyng, hanging, rackyng, drownyng, headyng, ſlaying, murderyng, and burnyng, and warryng alſo: on the other ſide with his riches & treaſures, with his garde and gardiuiaunce, with his ſtrength of men, with his court and Cardinals: with his pompe and pride about him, with his triple crowne, with his naked ſworde: with his ordinarie ſucceſſion: with his lawes, and executions: his promotions and prefermentes: his biddings and commaundynges: threatninges and reuengynges, &c.

Prepoſterus gouernmēt of the church by the Pope.

A cōpariſō betwene the kingdome of this world & the kingdome of the Pope.

In fine, to cōpare therfore yͤ image of a wordly kingdome, with this kyngdom of the Pope, ther is no differēce, ſaue onely yͭ this kyngdome of the Pope vnder hipocriſie maketh a face of the ſpiritual ſword, whiche is the worde of God: but in very dede doth all things with the temporall ſworde, that is with outward forcement & coaction: differing nothing from ciuile and ſecular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be wel cōſidered. For as in an earthly kyngdome firſt ther is a prince or ſome chiefe magiſtrat appointed, hauinge dominion ouer his nobles and commons, containing all his ſubiectes vnder his ſtatutes & lawes, with the which lawes notwithſtandinge he diſpenſeth at his pleaſure: vnder whome all other inferior magiſtrates haue their order and place to them appointed to rule ouer the ſubiectes, and yet to be ſubiect vnder him: So if the ſtate & forme of the Pope be well aduiſed, we ſhall ſee it altereth nothing from the ſame, but onely in names of the perſons. In ciuile gouernment, all ſubiection is referred to one head ruler, whoſe autoritie ſurmounteth all the reſt, and kepeth them vnder obedience: In like maner the gouernment of the popiſhe churche is committed to one man, who as chiefe ſteward, ouerſeer and ruler of Chriſts houſehold in his abſence, hath ſupreme power ouer all churches, to moderate and direct all the affairs therof. But here ſtandeth the difference, in ciuil policie he is called a kyng or prince: here he is called a Pope.

Secular Nobilitie compared with eccleſiaſtical nobilitie.

Ciuile Magiſtrates cōpared with eccleſiaſticall.

The kynge hath next vnto him, his Dukes and Earles: The Popes nobility ſtādeth in his Cardinals and Legates, who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pompe and pride will not onely geue cheke to them, but alſo mate to kynges themſelues, if they mighte be ſuffered, as did Theodorus, Lancfrancus, Anſelmus, Thomas Becket, and ſo would Thomas Woulſey had don, had not the kyng geuen him a necke to his mate by tyme. In ciuile policie nexte to Dukes and Earles foloweth the order of Lords, Barons, Knights Eſquiers, Gentilmen, with Mayers, Sheriffes, Conſtables, Bayliffes, wardens &c. The like caſe is to be ſeen alſo, although vnder other names, in the Popes policie, of primats, byſhops, Suffraganes, Prouoſts, Deanes, Canons, Vicars, Archdeacons, Prieſts, Deacons, ſubdeacōs, Acolites, Exorciſtes, Lectors, dorekepers, ſingſters, with other clerkes. And as in the other vnder wardens cometh the order of ſcauyngers: ſo neither doth the Popes monarchie lack his kaynilrakers, to whom may welbe compared the rablement of Abots, Prouincials, Priores, Monkes, Friars, with their couents and Noniries.

Moreouer from Juſtices, Judges, Lawyers, Sergeants, attorneis, which be neceſſary offices in the cōmō welth, what differeth the Popes inquiſitors, Canoniſtes, Doctors and bacchelers of the Popes law, Commiſſaries, Officials, proctors, promotors, with ſuche other, which ſerue no leſſe in ſpiritual court, and in the conſiſtory, then the other aforeſaid do in the temporall court, or in the yeld hal. Now who ſo liſt to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other: alſo the power and ſtrength of the one regiment, with the power of the other: and ſo the riches of the one, with the riches of the other, I ſuppoſe hee ſhall ſee no great oddes betwen them both, taking the Popes kingdome as it hath ſtand in his ful ruffe, and yet doth, wher churches are not reformed. As for ſubtletie and politike practiſe, there is no man that doubteth, that is indifferent, nor that ſeeth not, that hath his eyes, but that the Popes hierarchie in holding vp their ſtate, far excelleth all the Empires and kyngdoms of worldlye Princes, of whom all other maye take example to learne.

Thus in comparyng the Popes regiment with ciuile gouernaunce as they doo little or nothing diſagre aſunder: So in comparynge againe the ſame with the order of ſcriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old auncient church of Rome, we ſhall ſee no reſemblance betwen them. As we read in the Apoſtles time, al the armour of Chriſts miniſters was ſpiritual & full of godly power, againſt the ſpirituall ennemies of our ſaluation, gouernyng the church then with peace, pacience, humilitie, true knowledge of God, the ſword of the ſpirit, the ſhilde of faith, the breſt plat of rightuouſnes, hartie charitie, ſincere faith, and good conſcience: ſo after the Apoſtles in the tyme of Ambroſe, by his own teſtimonie is to be vnderſtand, yͭ the armour of church men was then, preces, & lachrymæ, prayers and teares: wher now the armour of the Pops prieſthod is nothing els but ignis & ferrum .i. fire and ſword, wherwith they kepe all things vnder their ſubiection. And here cōmeth in the enorme & horrible abuſe of excōmunication, ſuſpenſion, & interdiction in caſes friuolous, or wordly, & for ſuch, as for which the ciuil magiſtrat wil not cōmit any citiſen to the ſtockes, the Pops cenſure wyll not ſticke to cōmitte a Chriſtian to the deuel: not to ſpeake of their other vſurped dealynges & doings in matters, that belong to the ciuile ſword, and be to them impertinent. As in puniſhing whordom & adultery, in adminiſtration and probates of teſtaments, in bearyng ciuile office, as Pops to be Senators of Rome, and Emperor alſo ſede vacante. Cardinals to be capitaines in warre, and rulers of regions: biſhops to be preſidents or Chācelors: prieſts to be ſtuards in greate mens houſes, or maſters of mints, or clerks of the market, or gardiners to Gentlemen. &c. All which here I ouerpaſſe referryng them to the deeper conſideration of ſuch as haue more leaſure to marke the order of their doings, and ſo to iudge of the ſame with indifferencie, accordinges to the rule of trueth, touched with Gods word, & publique examples of the auncient church of Chriſt in the primitiue time.

Thus

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes Church examined and detected.

This hauing diſcourſed ſufficiently ſomuch as concerneth the maner of lyfe, title, iuriſdiction, and gouernement of the Popes ſea (in all which pointes is to be ſene how this later Church of Rome hath receded from the true auncient Church of Rome) now remaineth, according to my premiſe, and order prefixed, conſequently to procede to the fourth and laſt poynt, which is of doctrine: wherin conſiſteth the chiefeſt matter that maketh with vs and agaynſt them, in ſuch ſort as (their doctrine ſtanding as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for Catholickes beyng altered ſo far frō them: nor we otherwiſe then heretickes if we ſhould now ioyne with theſe. For the more triall wherof, let vs examine the doctrine and rites of the ſayd Church of Rome now vſed, and compare ẏ ſame with the teachyng of the auncient Catholickes, to the entent that ſuch ſimple ſoules as haue bene hetherto, and yet be ſeduced by the falſe viſour & image of that pretenſed & baſtardly Church, in ſeyng what lyeth within it, may be warned by tyme, either to eſchue the perill, if they liſte to be inſtructed: or if not, to blame none but them ſelues for theyr owne wilfull deſtruction. And albeit I could here charge this newfāgled Church of ẏ pope ẘ vij. or viij. haynous crimes, as blaſphemy, Idolatrie, hereſie, ſuperſtition, abſurditie, vanitie, crueltie, and contrarietie (as which neither agréeth with the old learnyng of their forelders, nor yet with thē ſelues in ſondry pointes) yet after a more temperate ſort to paſſe this matter with them, theſe ij. thinges I will and dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the Pope now taught in the Church of Rome, is neither any conſolation of conſcience, nor ſaluation of mans ſoule. For ſeyng there is no life nor ſoule health but onely in Chriſt, nor any promiſe of ſaluation or comfort made, but onely that which is annexed to our fayth onely in ẏ ſonne of God, what aſſuraunce then can there be of perfect peace, life, or ſaluatiō, where that which onely maketh all, is leaſt made of, and other thynges which maketh leaſt, are moſt eſtemed? For to ſay ẏ ſimple truth, what els is the whole courſe and body of ẏ Popes law now ſet forth, but a doctrine of lawes, a heape of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merites, a fundation of new Religions: all which conferre not one iote to the iuſtification of our ſoules before the terrible iudgement of God?

The falſe image of the Popes Church.

No cōfort nor ſaluation in the Popes doctrine now taught.

The ſcope and ſumme of ẏ Popes doctrine whether it tendeth.

And therfore (as it may be truely ſayd) this doctrine of the Pope to be voyde of all true comfort and ſaluation: ſo likewiſe it ſemeth that theſe which addict them ſelues ſo deuoutly to the Popes learnyng, were neuer earneſtly afflicted in conſcience, neuer humbled in ſpirite nor broken in hart, neuer entred into any ſerious féelyng of Gods iudgement, nor euer felt the ſtrength of the law and of death. For if they had, they ſhould ſone haue ſene their own weakenes, and bene driuen to Chriſt: then ſhould they haue ſene what a horrible thyng it is to appeare before God the father, or once to thinke of him (as Luther ſayth) without Chriſt. And on the cōtrary ſide, then ſhould they know what a glory, what a kyngdome, what libertie and life it were to be in Chriſt Jeſus by faith, holding their inheritaunce, not with the bondſonne of Agar, but with ẏ frée ſonne of Sara: by promiſe and not by the law: by grace, and not by workes: by gift, and not by deſeruing, that God onely might be prayſed and not man.

Papiſtes neuer rightly afflicted in conſcience depely.

And thus were the old Romanes firſt taught by S. Paul writyng to the Romanes. The ſame did Cornelius the Romane, and firſt that was Baptiſed of all the gentiles, learne of S. Peter when he receaued the holy Ghoſt, not by ẏ dedes of the law, but onely by hearyng the fayth of Jeſus preached. And in the ſame doctrine the ſayd Church of the Romanes many yeares continued, ſo long as they were in afflictiō. And in the ſame doctrine, the Byſhop of Rome, with his Romanes now alſo ſhould ſtill remaine, if they were ſuch aunciēt Catholickes as they pretend, and would folow the old mother Church of Rome, & hold the firſt liquor wherewith they were firſt ſeaſoned. But the ſwéete verdor and ſent of that liquor and pleaſaūt muſt is now cleane put out through other vnſauery infuſions of the popes thruſtyng in, ſo that almoſt no taſt nor péece remaineth of all that primitiue doctrine which S. Paul and other Apoſtles firſt planted amōgeſt the Gentiles. And what maruell if the Romanes now in ſo long tract of tyme haue loſt their firſt ſappe, ſeyng the Church of ẏ Galathians then in the very tyme of S. Paule their ſcholemaſter, he beyng amongeſt them, had not ſo ſone turned his backe a litle, but they were all turned almoſt from the doctrine of fayth, and had much a do to be recouered agayne.

The right fayth of the olde Romanes.

Cornelius, a Romane firſt baptiſed of all the gentiles.

The church of Rome hath loſt the liquor wherewith it was firſt ſeaſoned.

The Galatheans almoſt gon from fayth in S. Pauls time.

Of this defection & fallyng from fayth, S. Paul expreſly foretelleth vs in hys letters both to ẏ Theſſaloniās, & alſo to Timothe, where he ſheweth: that a defection ſhall come, and that certeine ſhall depart from ẏ fayth, attendyng to ſpirites of errour &c. 1. Timot. 4. And to know what errours theſe ſhall be, the circumſtaunce playnely ledeth vs to vnderſtand in the ſame place, where the ſayd Apoſtle, ſpeakyng of marked cōſciences, forbyddyng men to mary, and to eate meates ordeined of God to be taken with thankes geuyng, for mans ſuſtenaunce, moſt euidently as with his finger, poynteth out vnto vs the Church of Rome, which not in theſe poyntes onely, but alſo in all other conditions, almoſt is vtterly reuolted from the pure originall ſinceritie of that doctrine which S. Paule planted in the Church of the Romanes, and of all other Gentiles.

1. Timot. 4.

The ſumme of S. Paules doctrine deliuered to the Gentiles.

A briefe ſumme of S. Pauls doctrine deliuered to the Gentiles.

1. First, the doctrine of S. Paule aſcribeth all our iuſtification fréely & merely to fayth onely in Chriſt as to the onely meanes and cauſe immediate, wherby the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion bee applyed vnto vs, without any other reſpect of worke or workes of the law, what ſoeuer: and in this doctrine the Church of the Romanes was firſt planted.

Saluation by mercy onely and not by merites.

2. Secondly, the ſame doctrine of S. Paule cuttyng of and excludyng all glory of mās deſeruyng, ſtayeth onely vpon Gods promiſe and vppon grace, not mans merites: vpon mercy, not mans labouryng or runnyng: vpon election and callyng, not mans willyng &c.

All fleſh concluded vnder ſinne.

3. Thirdly, the ſame doctrine caſtyng downe the ſtrength of man & his integra naturalia (as the ſcholes do terme them) concludeth all fleſh vnder ſinne, and maketh the ſame deſtitute of the glory of God.

Difference betwene the law and the Goſpell.

4. Item, it maketh manifeſt difference betwene the law and the Goſpel, declaryng the vſe and end of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken: the one to condemne, the other to iuſtifie: the one to haue an end and a tyme, the other to be perpetuall &c.

Iuſticia Dei. Iuſticia propria.

5. Item, the ſame doctrine of S. Paule, as it ſheweth a difference betwene the law and the Goſpel: ſo it maketh no leſſe difference betwene Iuſticia Dei, and Iuſticia propria, that is, the righteouſnes of God and the righteouſnes of mā, abhorryng ẏ one, that is, his own righteouſnes commyng by the law & workes: and embracyng the other, which God imputeth fréely and graciouſly to vs for Chriſt his ſonnes ſake, in whom we beleue.

The righteouſnes of God, and the righteouſnes of man how they differ in ſcripture.

6. Item, it wypeth away all mens traditions, and cōſtitutions of men what ſoeuer, eſpecially from byndyng of conſcience, callyng them beggarly elementes of this world.

A true chriſtian knoweth nothing but Chriſt crucified.

7. Likewiſe it reiecteth and wypeth away all curious ſubtilities, & ſuperfluous ſpeculations, & knoweth nothyng els but Chriſt onely crucified, which is onely the obiect wherunto our fayth loketh.

All men condemned by one: All men ſaued by one.

8. Furthermore, as the ſame doctrine of S. Paul defineth all men to be tranſgreſſors by diſobedience of one Adam, though they neuer touched the Aple, commyng of his ſtocke by nature: ſo doth it proue all men to be

iuſtified by the obedience of one, though they dyd not his obedience, beyng likewiſe borne of him by ſpirituall regeneration and fayth.

Originall ſinne originall iuſtice.

9. And therfore as all men commyng of Adam be cõdemned originally, before they grow vp to commit any ſinne againſt ẏ law, ſo al men be ſaued originally being regenerated by faith in Chriſt, before they begyn to do any good worke of charitie, or any other good dede.

Rom. 5.

10. Item, the doctrine of S. Paul perpendyng ẏ hygh glory of a Chriſtẽ mans ſtate in Chriſt Ieſus by fayth: Firſt ſetteth him in a perfect peace with almighty God Rom. 5. Secondly exempteth him from all condemnation. Rom. 8. Thirdly it matcheth him with Aungels, it equalleth him with Saintes and felowcitizẽs of heauen, it numbereth him with the houſhold of God, and coinheriteth him with Ieſus Chriſt him ſelfe. Epheſ. 2. Fourthly, it adopteth him frõ the ſtate of a ſeruaunt, to the ſtate of the ſonne of God, crying: *Abba father.* Gal. 4. Fiftly, it openeth to him a bold acceſſe and intraunce to ẏ high Maieſtie & throne of grace. Epheſ. 2. Heb. 4. Sixtly, it ſubiecteth all thinges vnder him, as miniſters, yea the Apoſtles them ſelues in their hyeſt office, death, life, things preſent, thinges to come, with the whole world beſides, and aſſigneth him no ſpirituall head, but onely Chriſt, ſaying: *And you are Chriſtes and Chriſt is Gods.* 1. Cor. 3. Seuenthly, it aduaunſeth and ſetteth him in a ſpirituall libertie or fredome, aboue all terrours of ſpirite, riſing either of Gods law or mans law, aboue all dreadfull feares of ſinne, damnation, malediction, reiection, death, hell, or Purgatory: aboue all ſeruile bondage of ceremonies, mẽs preceptes, traditions, ſuperſtitious vſes, yokes, cuſtomes, or what els ſoeuer oppreſſeth and intangleth the ſpirituall fredome of a conſcience which Chriſt hath ſet at libertie: And requireth moreouer that we walke and ſtand ſtout in that libertie with the fre ſonne of Sara, wherto we are bought, and not ſuffer our ſelues any more to be clogged with any ſuch yoke of ſeruile bondage: that is to meane, although we ſhould be cõtent to ſubiect our bodyes to all ſeruice & to all mẽ, yet that we yeld not our ſpiritual conſciences and ſoules as ſlaues and ſeruauntes to be ſubiect to the feare or bondage of any terrene thyng in this world, for as much as we are in that part made Lordes and Princes ouer all thyngs what ſoeuer can harme, or bynd, or terrifie vs. Gal. 4. Colloſſ. 2.

Epheſ. 2.

Itaq; iam non es ſeruus ſed filius. Gal. 4.

Galat. 4.

Hebr. 4.

1. Cor. 3.

The glorious ſtate of Chriſtian libertie, & ſpirituall fredome in Chriſt Ieſu.

Galat. 4.

Coloſ. 2.

Dayes and times indifferent.

11. Item, the right vayne of S. Paules doctrine putteth no difference nor obſeruation in dayes and tymes. Gal. 4. Col. 2.

Meates indifferent with thãkes giuing.

12. Item, it leaueth all meates to be indifferent, with thankes giuyng, to ſerue the neceſſitie of the body, and not the body to ſerue them. Col. 2. 1. Timot. 4.

Mariage lawful for all men.

13. Item, it permitteth Mariage without reſtraynt or exception, lawfull and alſo expediẽt for all men, hauyng nede therof. 1. Cor. 7.

One ſacrifice for ſinne, and no more.

14. Item, it admitteth no ſacrifice for ſinne but the ſacrifice of Chriſt alone, and that done once for all with bloud. For without bloud there is no remiſſion of ſinne: which onely is applyed to vs by fayth, and by nothyng els. Heb. 9.

Hebr. 9.

The vſe of the holy communion in auncient tyme of the primitiue Church.

15. Item, as touchyng the holy Communion, by the letters of S. Paul to the Corinthians, cap. 11. we vnderſtãd, that the vſe then amongeſt them was, to haue the participation of the bread, called the Lordes body, and of the cuppe, called the Lordes bloud, adminiſtred not at an altar, but at a playne borde or table, the congregation there metyng together after the tyme of their ſupper, where not the miniſter alone did receaue and the other loked on, but the whole congregation together did communicate with reuerence and thankes giuyng, not liftyng ouer the Prieſtes head, nor worſhippyng, nor kneling, nor knockyng their breſtes, but either ſittyng at the ſupper, or ſtandyng after the ſupper. Accordyng to which forme the Muſcouites yet to this day folowyng ẏ old rite of their coũtrey (although beyng drowned otherwiſe in much ſuperſtition) vſe to receaue it after they be riſen from their dyner ſtãdyng. Experience wherof was ſene here at London the firſt day of Octob. an. 1569.

No moe Sacraments mentioned in S. Paule, but the Lordes Supper & Baptiſme.

16. Item, the ſayd Apoſtle (as the other Apoſtles do) maketh mention of Baptiſme, or waſhyng of regeneration, although he him ſelfe Baptiſed but few. 1. Cor. 1. of the other Sacramentes he maketh no mention.

17. Item, by the ſame doctrine of S. Paule no toung is to be vſed in the congregation which is not knowen and doth not edifie. 1. Cor. 14.

The authoritie & office of the Ciuill Magiſtrates.

18. Item, the rule of S. Paules doctrine ſubiecteth euery creature vnder the obedience of Kynges and Princes, and ordinary Magiſtrates ordeined of God to haue the ſword and authoritie of publicke regiment to order and diſpoſe in all thynges not cõtrary to God, what ſoeuer perteyneth to the mainteynaunce of the good, or to the correction of the euill: from whoſe iuriſdiction there is no exemption of vocations or perſons, whether they be eccleſiaſticall or politicall. And therfore to this office apperteineth to preſerue peace, to ſet thynges in lawfull order, to conſerue Chriſtian diſcipline in the Church of Chriſt, to remoue offences, to bridle the diſobedient, to prouide and procure wholeſome and faithfull teachers ouer the people, to mainteine learnyng and ſet vp ſcholes, to haue ouerſight not onely of the people, but alſo all eccleſiaſticall miniſters to ſe euery one to do his duetie, and to remoue or puniſhe ſuch as be negligent: alſo to call Councels and Synodes, and to prouide the Church goodes to be faythfully diſpenſed by the handes of true dealers, to the ſuſtentation of the Church, of true teachers, and to the publicke neceſſitie of the poore &c.

The office and authoritie of Biſhops how far it doth extende.

19. Furthermore, by S. Paules doctrine, the miniſters & ſuperintendentes of Chriſtes Church haue their authoritie and armour lykewiſe to them limited, which armour is onely ſpirituall, and not carnall, whereby they fight not agaynſt fleſh and bloud, but agaynſt the power of darkenes, errour, and ſinne, agaynſt the ſpirituall ſeduction and craftines in heauenly thynges, agaynſt the workes & procedinges of Sathan the prince of this world, in comfortyng weake conſciẽces agaynſt terrours of the deuill and deſperation, and finally againſt euery cogitation lifted vp agaynſt Chriſt, to ſubdue euery celſitude to the ſubiection & power of Chriſt Ieſu the ſonne of God.

An other brief recapitulation of S. Paules doctrine reduced in to v. principall braunches.

An other brief recapitulation of Saint Paules doctrine reduced to 5. poyntes.

Ioan 3.

20. Briefly and in a compendious ſumme to reduce the whole doctrine of S. Paule, in theſe fiue pointes chiefly it conſiſteth. 1. Firſt, in ſettyng forth the grace, great loue and good will, & fre promiſes of God the father in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne to mankind, which ſo loued the world, that he hath giuen his owne ſonne for the redemptiõ therof. Ioan. 3. which gaue his ſonne to dye for vs beyng his enemyes. Rom. 5. which hath quickened vs beyng dead in ſinne. Epheſ. 2. which ſo mercifully hath reconciled the world to him ſelfe by his ſonne, and alſo by his ſeruaunt deſireth vs to be reconciled vnto him. 2. Cor. 5. who hath giuẽ his own ſonne to be ſinne for vs. 2. Cor. 5. to be accurſed for vs. Gal. 3. which by firme promiſe hath aſſured vs of our inheritaunce. Rom. 4. which not by the workes of rightuouſnes that we haue done, but of his owne mercy hath ſaued vs by the waſhyng of regeneration. Tit. 3. &c.

The great mercy of God in Chriſt.

Rom. 5.

Epheſ. 2.

2. Cor. 5.

Rom. 4.

Tit. 3.

2. The ſecond poynt conſiſteth in preachyng and expreſſyng the glorious and triumphãt Maieſty of Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God, & the excellencie of his glory, who being once dead in ẏ infirmitie of fleſh, roſe again with power, aſcended vp with Maieſtie, hath led away captiuitie captiue. Epheſ. 4. ſitteth & reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heauenly thinges aboue all principates and poteſtates, powers & dominations, and aboue euery name that is named, not onely in this world,

The glory & Maieſtie of Chriſt Ieſus ſet forth in S. Paule.

Epheſ. 4.

Phil.2.
Coloſ 1.
Ioan.5.
Ioan.13.
Ioan.17.
Mat.vlt.
2.Cor.1.

world, but alſo in ẏ world to come. Epheſ.1. In whoſe name euery knee hath to bend both in heauen and in earth, and vnder the earth, and euery toung to confeſſe our Lord Chriſt Ieſus to bee the glory of God the father. Phil.2. In whom and by whom all thinges are made both in heauen and in earth, thinges viſible, and inuiſible, whether they be thrones, or dominations, or principates, or poteſtates, al are by him, & for him created, & he is before all, & all thinges conſiſte in him: who is the head of his body ẏ Church, the begynnyng & firſt borne frō the dead, in whom dwelleth al fulnes. Col.1. To whom the father hath giuen all iudgement, & iudgeth no mā him ſelfe any more. Ioan.5. To whom the father hath giuen all thinges to his handes. Ioan.13. To whom the father hath giuen power of all fleſhe. Ioan.17. To whom all power is giuen in heauen and in earth. Mat.vlt. In whom be all the promiſes of God Eſt et Amen. 2.Cor.1.

The thyrd braunch.

The vertue and effect of Chriſtes death, and what exceedyng benefites procede therof.

Epheſ.1.
Eſay.53.
Coloſ.1.
Rom.5.
2.Timot.1.
Hebr.2.
Rom.5.
Gal.3.
Epheſ.2.
1.Ioan.2.
2.Cor.5.
1.Cor.1.
Epheſ.3.
Coloſ.2.
Rom.4.
Coloſ.2.

3. Thyrdly, hee declareth the vertue of hys Croſſe and Paſſion, and what exceedyng benefites procede to vs by the ſame. By whoſe bloud we haue redemption and remiſſion of our ſinnes. Epheſ.1. By whoſe ſtrypes we are made whole. Eſay.53. By whoſe Croſſe all thynges are pacified both in heauen and in earth. Col.1. By whoſe death we are reconciled. Rom.5. Who hath deſtroyed death, and brought life to light. 2.Timot.1. Who by death hath deſtroyed hym, which had the power of death, that is, the deuil, and hath deliuered them which lyued vnder feare of death all their lyfe in bondage. Hebr.2. By whoſe obedience we are made iuſt: by whoſe rightuouſnes we are iuſtified to lyfe. Rom.5. By whoſe curſe we are bleſſed, and deliuered from the malediciō of the law. Gal.3. By whoſe bloud we that once were farre of, are made neere vnto God. Epheſ.2. Who in one body hath reconciled both Iewes and Gentiles vnto God. Epheſ.2. Who by his fleſh hath takē away the diuiſion & ſeparation betwen God and vs, aboliſhing the law which was ſet againſt vs in preceptes & decrees. Epheſ.2. Who is our peace, our aduocate, & propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole world. 1.Ioan.2. Who was made accurſed for vs, and ſinne for vs, that we might be the righteouſnes of God in hym. 2.Corinth.5. Who is made of God for vs, our wiſedome, and righteouſnes, and ſanctification, and redemption. 1.Cor.1. By whom we haue boldnes, and entraunce with all confidēce through faith in him. Epheſ.3. Who forgiueth al our ſinnes, and hath torne a peeces the obligation or hand writyng, which was agaynſt vs in the law of commaundementes, and hath crucified it vpō the Croſſe, and vtterly hath diſpatched and aboliſhed the ſame, and hath ſpoyled principates and poteſtates, as in an open ſhew of conqueſt, triumphyng ouer them openly in him ſelfe. Col.2. Who iuſtifieth the wicked by fayth. Rom.4. In whom we are made full and complete. Col.2. &c.

The 4. braunch.

Fayth onely ẏ meane cauſe of ſaluation & nothyng els.

Phil.2.

The righ tuouſnes of the law.

4. The fourth braunch is, to teach and informe vs to whom theſe benefites of Chriſtes Paſſion and victory do apperteine, and by what meanes ẏ ſame is applyed and redoundeth vnto vs: which meanes is onely one, that is, onely fayth in Chriſt Ieſu, and no other thyng. Which fayth it pleaſeth almyghty God to accept for righteouſnes. And this righteouſnes it is, which onely ſtandeth before God and none other, as we are playnly taught by the Scriptures, and eſpecially by the doctrine of S. Paul. Which righteouſnes thus riſing of fayth in Chriſt, S. Paul calleth ẏ righteouſnes of God, where he writyng of hym ſelfe, vtterly refuſeth the other righteouſnes which is of the law, that hee might be found in hym, not hauyng his owne righteouſnes, which is of the law, but the rightuouſnes of Chriſt, which is of fayth. Phil.3. Againe, the ſayd Apoſtle writyng of the Iewes, which ſought for righteouſnes and found it not: and alſo of the Gentiles which ſought not for it, and yet found it, ſheweth the reaſon why: becauſe (ſayth he) the one ſought it as by workes and the law, and came not to it, who nat knowyng the righteouſnes of God, and ſeeking to ſet vp their owne righteouſnes, did not ſubmit them ſelues to the righteouſnes which is of God: The other, which were the Gentiles, and ſought not for it, obteyned righteouſnes, that righteouſnes which is of fayth. &c. Rom. 9. Alſo in an other place S. Paul in ẏ ſame Epiſtle writyng of this righteouſnes which commeth of faith, calleth it the righteouſnes of God, in theſe wordes: *Whom God* (ſayth he) *hath ſet vp for a propiciation by fayth in his bloud, whereby to make manifeſt the righteouſnes, which is of him ſelfe in toleratyng our ſinnes. &c.* Rom.3. By ẏ which righteouſnes it is euident, that S. Paul meaneth the righteouſnes of fayth, which almighty God now reueleth and maketh manifeſt by preachyng the Goſpell. Wilt thou ſee yet more playnly this rightuouſnes of God how it is takē in S. Paule, for the righteouſnes of fayth, and therfore is called the righteouſnes of God, becauſe it is imputed onely of God to faith, and not deſerued of man? In the ſame Epiſtle to the Romanes and in the 3. chapter aforeſayd, his wordes be manifeſt: *The righteouſnes of God* (ſayth he) *is by fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, in all, and vppon all that do beleue. &c.*

The rightuouſnes of the Goſpell.

Rom. 9.

The place of S. Paule. Rom.3. expounded.

Rom. 3.

The rightuouſnes of faith, why it is called Gods rightuouſnes.

Rom. 3.

Wherfore who ſoeuer ſtudyeth to be accepted with God & to be foūd rightuous in his ſight, let him learne diligently by the doctrine of S. Paule to make a difference and a ſeparation, as farre as from heauen and earth, betwene theſe two, that is, betwen the righteouſnes of workes, and righteouſnes of fayth: and in any wiſe beware he bryng no other meanes for hys iuſtification, or remiſſion of his ſinnes, but onely fayth apprehendyng the body or perſon of Chriſt Ieſus crucified. For as there is no way into the houſe but by the doore, ſo is there no cōmyng to God but by Chriſt alone, which is by fayth. And as the mortall body, ẇout bodely ſuſtenaunce of bread & drinke can not but periſh: ſo ẏ ſpirituall ſoule of man hath no other refreſhyng, but onely by fayth in the body & bloud of Chriſt, whereby to bee ſaued. With this fayth the Idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Ieſus Chriſt, & receaued therby righteouſnes. Cornelius the firſt Baptiſed Romane ſo ſoone as hee heard Peter preach Chriſt, receaued ſtraight way the holy Ghoſt. Peter him ſelfe confeſſed, and for his confeſſion had the keyes of heauen. Mat.16. Zacheus receaued the perſon of Chriſt into hys houſe, and withall receaued ſaluation both to hym and hys whole houſhold. Luc. 19. What a ſinner was Mary, which had no leſſe in her thē vij. deuils, and yet becauſe ſhe ſet her hart and affection vppon that perſon, many ſinnes were forgiuē her. Luc.7. The right hād theefe, how farre was he from all workes of the law, and yet by fayth entred he iuſtified into Paradiſe the ſame day with Chriſt. Luc.23. In lyke maner, although ẏ poore Publicane came to the Church with leſſe holynes after the law, yet went he home to his houſe more iuſtified thē the Phariſey, with all his workes, and all by reaſon of fayth. Luc.18. The Parable of the prodigall ſonne which was loſt, yet reuiued agayne: Alſo of the loſt groat, & of ẏ loſt ſhepe which went aſtray & was found agayne, what do theſe declare but that which is loſt by the law, to be recouered by fayth and grace? And how oft do we read in the Goſpels: *Thy fayth haue ſaued the &c. Ieſus ſeyng their belief &c. He that beleueth in me I will rayſe him vp in the laſt day &c. Beleue alſo in me &c. He that beleueth in me hath euerlaſtyng lyfe &c. Without me ye can do nothyng &c. He that is in me &c. He that loueth me &c. He that heareth me &c. He that abydeth in me &c. He that receaueth me &c. Onles ye eate my fleſhe, and drinke my bloud &c. That they may receaue remiſſion of ſinnes by their fayth in me &c.* Act. 26. *To him all the Prophetes giue witnes, to haue remiſſion of ſinnes, whoſoeuer beleueth in his name &c.* Act.10. *He that beleueth, and is Baptiſed.* Mat.vlt. *He that beleueth in me ſhall do the workes that I do, and greater then theſe &c.*

A leſſon out of S. Paules doctrine, of all Chriſtians to be obſerued.

Rom:9.
Act. 10.

Saluation cōmeth onely by fayth.

Mat. 16.
Luc. 19.
Luc. 7.
Luc. 23.
Luc. 18.

That which is loſt by the law, is recouered by fayth.

Luc.18.
Mat.9.
Ioan.14.
Ioan.14.
Ioan.15.
Ioan.6.
Act. 26.
Act.10.
Mat.vlt.
Ioan. 14.

And lykewiſe in the wrytynges of S. Paule, how often do we heare the name of Chriſt almoſt in euery

The writings of S. Paul, full of ẏ name of Chriſt Ieſus.

thyrd or fourth lyne, where he ſtill repeteth: In Chriſto Ieſu, per Chriſtum Ieſum, Per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum &c. Qui credūt in ipſo &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo &c. Credentes in illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen eius, in nomine Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti &c. *Beleue* (ſayth S. Paul to the Jaylor) *in the Lord Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued and thy whole houſe. &c. Act. 16.*

Beliefe onely in Chriſt ſaueth.

Act. 16.

Thus then thou ſeeſt, as the Paſſiō of Chriſt is onely the efficient or perſonall cauſe immediate, of our ſaluation: ſo is fayth onely the inſtrumentall or meane cauſe that maketh the merites of Chriſt to vs auaylable. For as the Paſſion of Chriſt ſerueth to none but ſuch as do beleue: ſo neither doth fayth as it is onely a bare qualitie or action in mans mynde, it ſelfe iuſtifie, vnles it be directed to yͤ body of Chriſt crucified, as to his obiect, of whō it receaueth all his vertue. And therfore theſe ij. muſt alwayes ioyntly concurre together, fayth, and Chriſt Jeſus crucified. As for example, whē the people of Iſraell were bydde of Moſes to looke vp to the braſen Serpent, neither could the Serpent haue helped them, except they had looked vp, nor yet theyr lookyng vpward haue profited them, vnles they had directed their eyes vpon the ſayd Serpent, as the onely obiect ſet vp to the ſame purpoſe for them to behold. So our fayth in lyke caſe directed to the body of Jeſus our Sauiour is onely the meanes whereby Chriſtes merites are applyed vnto vs, and we now iuſtified before God, accordyng to the doctrine of S. Paule, who in expreſſe wordes, defynyng to vs what this fayth is, and how it iuſtifieth, ſayth: *If thou ſhalt confeſſe with thy mouth the Lord Ieſus, and beleue with thy hart, that God rayſed hym from death, thou ſhalt be ſaued &c.* Rom. 10. Or els what action or qualitie ſo euer is in man, either hope, charitie, or any other kynd of fayth and beleuyng, be it neuer ſo true, except it apprehēd this obiect (which is) the body of Chriſt, the ſonne of God, it ſerueth not to iuſtification. And that is the cauſe why we adde this particle, *Onely*, to fayth, and ſay: that fayth, *Onely*, in Chriſt iuſtifieth vs, to exclude all other actions, qualities, giftes, or workes in man, from the cauſe of iuſtifiyng, for ſo much as there is no other knowledge nor gift gyuen of God to man, be it neuer ſo excellent, that can ſtand before the iudgement of God to iuſtification, or wherunto any promiſe of ſaluation is annexed, but onely this fayth, lookyng vp to the braſen Serpent, that is, to the body of Chriſt Jeſus for vs crucified.

The perſonall cauſe of ſaluation.

The inſtrumētall cauſe.

How faith iuſtifieth.

Chriſt the onely obiect of faith which iuſtifieth.

Exāple of the braſen Serpent.

What faith is by S. Paul.

Rom. 10.

Faith onely.

As for example, when the Turke ſayth, that he beleueth in one liuyng God that made heauen and earth, his belief therein is true, yet it iuſtifieth hym not, becauſe it lacketh the right obiect, which is Chriſt. So when the Iew ſayth that hee beleueth in one God maker of heauen and earth, and beleueth alſo the ſame God to be omnipotent, mercyfull, iuſt, and true of promiſe, ⁊ hath elected yͤ ſede of Abrahā: true it is that he beleueth, ⁊ yet all this ſerueth hym not, becauſe Chriſt the ſonne of God is not ioyned withall. And though yͤ ſayd Iew ſhould be neuer ſo deuout in his prayers, or charitable in hys almoſe, or preciſe in keepyng the law, and beleued neuer ſo ſtedfaſtly that he is elect to be ſaued: yet is he neuer the nerer to ſaluation for all this, ſo long as hys fayth is not grounded vppon that head cornerſtone, which is the perſon ⁊ body of Chriſt Jeſus the true Sauiour. After lyke ſort, it may alſo be ſayd of the Papiſt, when he ſayth that he is Baptiſed, and beleueth in the father, the ſonne, ⁊ the holy ghoſt, three perſons and one God, and alſo confeſſeth Jeſus Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, which dyed for our ſinnes, and roſe agayne for our rightuouſnes ⁊c. hys belief therin is true, and in deede would ſaue hym, if he dyd ſtay his ſaluation in this fayth, and vpon Chriſtes hys Sauiour, *Onely*, accordyng to the promiſe and grace of God, and go no farther. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admitte Chriſt onely to be hys perfect Sauiour without the helpe of other patrons, heades, aduocates, and mediatours, nor yet permitteth hys fayth in Chriſt, *Onely*, to be the meanes of his iuſtification, but ſetteth vp other bymeanes, as hope, charitie, ſacrifice of the Maſſe, confeſſion, penaunce, ſatiſfaction, merites, and pardons, ſuppoſing thereby to worke hys iuſtification before God, contrary to the word of promiſe, to the Goſpell of grace, and to the doctrine of S. Paule, wherof we ſhall ſee more (the Lord willyng hereafter.

Diuers ſortes of beleuyng.

The Turkes faith.

The Iewes fayth.

Euery truth may be beleued but the beleuyng of euery truth ſaueth not.

The Papiſtes faith.

Onely.

Hope, and charitie bee no partes of our iuſtification, nor cauſes to make yͤ merites of Chriſt ours.

And thus much of the true cauſes of our iuſtification after the doctrine of S. Paule. Concernyng which cauſes this diſtinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touchyng the originall cauſes of our ſaluation, which be diuers and ſondry, ſome are external, and without vs: ſome are internall, and within vs. Of the externall cauſes which are without vs, the firſt and principall is the mercy and grace of God. Of this foloweth predeſtination and election. Then commeth vocation. The laſt and next cauſe to vs is the death and bloudſhed of Chriſt whereby we are redemed, and all theſe be externall cauſes, becauſe they are without vs. Of internall cauſes that bee in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no moe in Scripture appoynted, that is, our faith in Chriſt, which is the gift of God in vs. Beſide this there is no gift of God gyuen to man, vertue, worke, merite, nor any thyng els, that is any part or cauſe of ſaluation, but onely this gyft of fayth, to beleue in Chriſt Jeſu. And this is the cauſe why we hold, that fayth onely iuſtifieth, meanyng, that amongeſt all the workes, deedes, actions, labours, and operations, what ſoeuer man doth or can do, there is nothyng in man that worketh ſaluation, but onely hys fayth giuē to him of God to beleue in Chriſt his ſonne, folowing therin the true trade of S. Paules teaching: who in preciſe wordes ſo aſcribeth iuſtificatiō to fayth, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and workes of the law: And therfore in the ſame Epiſtle to the Romanes S. Paule reaſonyng of the glory of iuſtifiyng, aſketh the queſtion how this glory is excluded: whether by the law of workes? and concludeth, no: aſcribyng onely the glory therof to the law of fayth. And cōſequently vpon yͤ ſame he inferreth: Colligimus enim iuſtificari hominem per fidem ſine operibus. &c. *We hold that a man is iuſtified by fayth, without the deedes of the law.*

The cauſes of our ſaluation diſtincted.

Grace and mercy.
Election.
Vocation.
Chriſtes Paſſion.

Chriſtian faith.

The meanyng and cauſe why fayth onely iuſtifieth.

All workes of man excluded frō the glory of iuſtifiyng.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our iuſtification, which S. Paule vtterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalfe? Of ſuch lyke excluſiues and negatiues the whole courſe of S. Paules doctrine is full, where he ſtill concludeth: Sine operibus, abſq; operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum eſt, non ex operibus ne quis glorietur. Epheſ. 2. Non ex operibus iuſtitiæ quæ fecimus nos, ſed ſecundum ſuam miſericordiam &c. Tit. 3. Non ſecundum opera noſtra, ſed ſecundum propoſitum ſuum & gratiā &c. 2. Timot. 1. i. *It is the gift of God, not of workes, that no man ſhould glory &c. Not of the workes of righteouſnes which we haue done, but of his owne mercy &c. Not after our workes, but after his owne purpoſe, and grace which is giuen to vs &c.* Agayne Gal. 2. Non iuſtificatur homo ex operibus &c. i. *A man is not iuſtified by workes &c.* Item. Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui iuſtificat impium, fides imputatur ad iuſticiam &c. Rom. 4. *To hym that worketh not, but beleueth in him which iuſtifieth the wicked, his fayth is imputed to righteouſnes &c.* By theſe excluſiues, and negatiues in S. Paules doctrine what doth he els meane, but vtterly to ſeclude all kynd of mans merites, and workes of the law from the office and dignitie of iuſtifiyng? And although he expreſſeth not the word, *Onely*, yet vppon hys excluſiues and negatiues, this exceptiue muſt nedes be inferred. For in all Logike the conſequent is neceſſary and formall: One man is ſuffered to come into the houſe: and no perſon els is ſuffered, but one: Ergo, one mā onely is ſuffered to enter into the houſe.

Epheſ. 2.

Tit. 3.

2. Timot. 1.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 4.

The excluſiues and negatiues of S. Paul to be marked.

And thus much concernyng fayth in Chriſt, proued to be the onely meane, or inſtrumentall, or conditionall cauſe of our ſaluation, and no other beſides the ſame alone, by the doctrine of S. Paule taught to the auncient Romanes.

he fift
unche.

he true
and end
good
orkes.

5. The fift braunch, which I note in S. Paules doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus eſtabliſhed vs in certeinty of our ſaluation through fayth in Chriſt, then after that, hee exhorteth vs vehemently and with all inſtance to good workes, ſhewyng the true vſe and end of good workes: which is, firſt to ſhew our obediēce and dewtifull ſeruice (as we may) vnto God, who hath done ſo great thinges for vs. Secondly, to releue our neighbours with our charitie and kyndnes, as God hath bene kynd to vs hys enemyes. Thirdly, to ſtyrre vp other by our example, to prayſe God, to embrace the ſame Religiō, and to do the lyke. For requiſite it is, that as God hath bene ſo mercyfull to vs and gratious in eternall giftes, we ſhould be mercyfull lykewiſe to other in tēporall cōmodities. And ſeyng it hath pleaſed him of his fatherly goodnes (of our partes ſo litle deſerued) to call vs to ſo high a vocatiō, to giue ỹ bloud of his ſonne for vs, to forgeue vs all our ſinnes, to deliuer vs from this preſent wicked world, to make vs Citizens of heauen, yea his children, more then ſeruauntes: litle then can we do, and well may we thinke thoſe benefites ill beſtowed, if we forgiue not our neyghbour, and ſhew ſome thyng agayne worth that holy callyng wherewith he hath called vs, in mortifiyng our worldly luſtes here, and ſtudying after heauenly thinges: and finally if we beyng prouoked with ſuch loue and kyndnes, render not agayne ſome loue for loue, ſome kyndnes for kyndnes, ſeekyng how to walke in the ſteppes which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, ſeruyng him (ſo much as we may) in holynes and righteouſnes all the dayes of our lyfe. And though our obedience ſhall alwayes be imperfect, do ỹ beſt we can: yet reaſon would that ſome obedience we ſhould ſhew as louyng children to ſuch a louyng father.

Good
workes iu-
ſtifie not,
ut folow ỹ
uſtified.

And this is the cauſe why S. Paule is ſo vehement and vrgent to call vpon good workes, not that workes ſhould iuſtifie, but that we beyng iuſtified ſo mercyfully and tenderly through his grace, ſhould not abuſe his grace in vayne, but endeuour our ſelues, to our vttermoſt, to tender our ſeruice agayne to hym, in ſuch conuerſatiō of lyfe as may moſt make to his glory, and profite of our neighbour. And though the wordes of our Sauiour ſeme in ſome places to attribute to our obedience and charitie here in earth, great rewardes in heauen: that is of his own free grace and goodnes ſo to impute ſmall matters for great deſertes, and not for vs to clayme any meede thereby or thanke at his hand, as by any worthynes of our doyngs, no more then the ſeruaunt when he commeth from the plough and ſeruyng the cattell in the field, ſerueth firſt his maſter at home, and wayteth vppon hys table: the maſter is not bound (ſayth Chriſt) to thanke his ſeruaunt therfore, and byd hym ſit downe. *So you* (ſayth hee) *when ye haue done that is commaunded you, ſay ye are vnprofitable ſeruauntes: ye haue done but what your bound duety was to do. Luc. 17.*

Agayne, here alſo is to be vnderſtand, that where ſuch rewardes be aſcribed vnto mens deedes, it is not for the worthynes of the dede it ſelfe, but for the fayth of the doer, which fayth maketh the worke to be good in Gods ſight: for els if an infidell ſhould do the ſame worke, that the Chriſtian doth, it were nothyng, but mere ſinne before God. In that therfore the Chriſtian mans worke is accepted, be it neuer ſo ſmal (as to giue a cup of cold water) the ſame is onely for his fayth ſake that doth it, & not for the worke which is done. Whereby agayne we may learne how fayth onely doth iuſtifie a man, and that three maner of wayes.

aith iu-
ſtifieth iij.
maner of
wayes.

Firſt it iuſtifieth the perſon in makyng hym accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begyn to do any good worke.

Secondly, it iuſtifieth a man from ſinne, in procuryng remiſſion and forgiuenes of the ſame.

Thirdly, it iuſtifieth ỹ good dedes & workes of man, not onely in bringing forth good fruites, but alſo in makyng the ſame workes to be good and acceptable in the ſight of God, which otherwiſe were impure and execrable in his ſight.

The office of fayth, and the office of the law compared together.

The office therfore of fayth and workes is diuers, and muſt not be cōfoūded. Faith firſt goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and iuſtifieth hym in the ſight of God, both in coueryng hys ill deedes, and in makyng his good deedes acceptable to God, clymmyng vp to heauen, & there wraſtlyng with God and his iudgement for rightuouſnes, for ſaluation, & for euerlaſtyng lyfe. Workes and charitie, folow fayth, and are exerciſed here vpon the earth, and glorieth onely before mā, but not before God, in ſhewyng forth obedience both to God and to mā. Further then this our good workes do not reach nor haue any thyng to do in ỹ iudgemēt of God touchyng ſaluation. I ſpeake of our good workes (as S. Paule ſpeaketh Rom. 7.) as they be ours and imperfect. For els if our workes could be perfect, accordyng to the perfection of the law, and as Chriſt wrought them in the perfection of hys fleſh, that is, if we could performe them, and tranſgreſſe neuer a iote, ſo myght we lyue in them, as it is ſayd: Qui fecerit ea viuet in eis. But now, ſeyng the imbecillitie of our fleſh can not atteyne therto, it foloweth therof that all glory of iuſtifiyng is taken from workes, and transferred onely to fayth.

The workes of man be imperfect & therfore haue nothyng to do in iuſtification.

Gal. 1.

Defection of fayth in the Church of Rome.

A vew of the popes Catholicke Church.

The Church of Rome degenerated agayn almoſt to the Paganes.

And thus much concernyng the principall contentes of S. Paules doctrine. Wherin the Church of the auncient Romanes firſt was grounded and planted, and ſo continued in the ſame, or at leaſt dyd not much alter, duryng the primitiue ſtate of the Church. Lykewiſe the ſame forme of doctrine the later Romanes alſo that folowed ſhould haue mainteyned, and not haue fallen away for any mans preachyng, but holden hym accurſed, yea if he were any Apoſtle or an Aungell from heauen, teachyng any other doctrine beſides that inſtitution which they had receaued Gal. 1. For ſo were they warned before by the Apoſtle S. Paul, to do. And yet notwithſtandyng all this forewarnyng and diligent inſtruction of this bleſſed Apoſtle of the Gentles, what a defection of fayth is fallen among the Gentles, eſpecially among the Romanes, whereof the ſayd Apoſtle alſo foretold them ſo long before, foreprophecyng: *That the day of the Lord ſhall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of ſinne be reueled, the proude aduerſary of God &c.* 2. Theſſal. 2. meanyng (no doubt) by this defectiō, a partyng and a fallyng from that faith which the holy ghoſt had then planted by hys miniſtery, amōg the Gentles. As we ſee it now come to paſſe in the church of Rome. Which Church is ſo gone from the fayth that S. Paul taught, that if he were now a lyue, and ſaw theſe Decrees and Decretals of the Byſhop of Rome, theſe heapes of ceremonies & traditions, theſe Maſſe bookes, theſe portuſes theſe feſtiuals and legendes, theſe proceſſionals, hymnes and ſequences, theſe beades and graduals, and maner of their inuocation, their canons, cenſures, and latter Councels, ſuch ſwarmes of ſuperſtitious Monkes and Friers, ſuch ſectes of ſo many diuers religions, the Teſtament of S. Fraunces, the rule of S. Benedict, of S. Brigit, of S. Anthony &c, the intricate ſubtletes and labyrinthes of the ſcholemen, the infinite caſes and diſtinctions of the Canoniſtes, the Sermons in Churches, the aſſertions in ſcholes, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the Clergy, the cruelty of perſecutyng Prelates with their officials & promotors; he would ſay this were not a defectiō, but rather a playne deſtructiō and a ruine of fayth: neither that this were any true Church of Chriſt, but a new found religion, or paganiſme rather, brought in vnder the ſhadow of Chriſtianitie, wherin remayneth almoſt nothyng els but yͤ name onely of Chriſt, & yͤ outward forme of hys religion, yͤ true vayne, and effect wherof is vtterly decayed, as to them which lyſt to examine all the partes of this new Romiſh religion, may ſone appeare.

For ſaue onely that they pretend the ſolemne forme and wordes of the Crede, and are Baptiſed, confeſſing the name of the father, the ſonne, and holy Ghoſt: As touchyng all other poyntes, and true ſinceritie of the Chriſtian fayth which they outwardly profeſſe, they are vtterly degenerated from that, which S. Paul and the word of God firſt haue taught them.

The Popes church onely in wordes Catholycke, in deede thenyſhe.

Firſt, they confeſſe the father in word, but hys will in hys word expreſſed they renounce, hys grace they acknowledge not, hys benefites and promiſes gyuen vnto vs in hys ſonne they receaue not, the rigor of hys law they feele not, the terrour of hys iudgemẽt earneſtly they feare not, hys commaundementes they obſcure by the traditions & commaundements of their owne.

Likewiſe the name of Chriſt his ſonne in word they cõfeſſe, but hys office in deede they deface and diminiſh: hys glory they ſeeke not, but vnder hys name they do ſeeke their owne: the power of hys bloud and Paſſion they know not or els diſſemble it, whom neither they admitte to be the head of hys Church alone, nor Sauiour alone, nor onely to be our patron and aduocate: but match with hym our Lady, and other patrons, ſo that euery Pariſh almoſt in Chriſtendome hath his peculiar patrone beſides Chriſt to hold by.

The Religion of the Popes Church proceedeth cõtrary to the working of the holy ghoſt.

In lyke maner they confeſſe the name of the holy Ghoſt. But God hym ſelfe knoweth how farre they are from the comfort, knowledge, and taſt of the holy Ghoſt, as wel may appeare by their Councels, by their expoundyng of Scripture, by theyr ſuperſtitious ceremonies, by theyr outward worſhyppyng and Idolatrous inuocation to ſtockes and ſtones and dead creatures, by their ſcrupulous obſeruatiõ of dayes, tymes, places, nũbers and geſtures: And no leſſe alſo by theyr doctrine, which defraudeth the poore hartes of ſimple Chriſtians, of theyr due conſolation, ioy, and libertie in the holy ghoſt, and keepeth them ſtill in a ſeruile bondage, and a doubtfull incerteinly of theyr ſaluation, contrary to the workyng of the holy ſpirite of God.

The church of Rome pretendeth a fayre face of religiõ, but is voyde of yͤ effect therof.

And thus the Church of Rome pretẽdyng onely the name of Chriſt and of hys Religion, is ſo farre altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that vnder the name of Chriſt, it perſecuteth both Chriſt and hys Religion: workyng more harme to yͤ Church of Chriſt, then euer dyd the open tyrãnes and perſecutyng Emperours amõg the heathẽ: Not much vnlyke herein to the old Synagoge of the Scribes and Phariſeis, who vnder the name of God, crucified the ſonne of God, and vnder pretenſe of the law, fought agaynſt the Goſpell, and vnder the title of Abrahams children, perſecuted the children of Abraham. And as they braggyng ſo hyghly of the *Temple of the Lord*, the *Temple of the Lord*, dyd in dede deſtroy the true *Temple of the Lord*: right ſo theſe pretenſed Catholickes in theſe dayes, after they haue rayſed vp a Catholicke church of their own, and haue armed the ſame with lawes, and haue gathered vnto them a power of Prieſtes, Prelates, Abbats, Priors, of religious men, of Cardinalls, & alſo of ſecular Princes to take their part, now vnder yͤ name of the Catholicke Church, they perſecute the true Catholicke Church, and coloryng theyr procedynges ſtill with In nomine Domini, moſt cruelly they put them to death, which dye pro nomine Domini, condemnyng them for heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, and rebels, not which deny any part of the Creede, which they them ſelues profeſſe, nor ſuch whom they can conuince by any Scripture, but onely ſuch which will not ioyne with theyr errours and hereſies contrary to the honour of God, and truth of hys word.

The old Phariſeis, and the later Church of Romaines compared together.

The Popes Church vnder the name of the Catholicke Church, perſecuteth the true Catholicke Church of Chriſt.

And leſt any ſhould thinke this that we here proteſt agaynſt yͤ corrupt errours & manifold deformities of this later Church of Rome, to procede of any rancor or affectiõ, rather then grounded of neceſſary cauſes, & demonſtrations euident, my purpoſe is (by the Lordes leaue) to take herein ſome litle payne, that as I haue collected a litle before, the ſumme and contentes of S. Paules doctrine, wherewith the old Church of Rome was firſt ſeaſoned and acquaynted, ſo now as in a lyke ſummary table, to diſcrey the particular braunches and contentes of the Popes doctrine now ſet forth, to the entent that all true Chriſtian readers comparyng the one with the other may diſcerne what great alteration there is betwene the Church of Rome that now is, and the Church of Rome that then was, planted by the Apoſtles in the primitiue tyme. And to the end to open to the ſimple reader ſome way wherby he may the better iudge in ſuch matters of doctrine, & not bee deceaued in diſcernyng truth frõ errour, firſt we will propounde certeyne principles or generall poſitions, as infallible rules or truthes of Scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men beyng tryed and examined as with the touchſtone, may the more eaſely be iudged whether they be true or contrary, and whether they make agaynſt the Scripture, or no.

¶*Certeine Principles or generall verities grounded vpon the truth of Gods word.*

Certein generall princip and r gather the S tures.

¶The firſt Principle.

1. As ſinne and death came originally by the diſobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: ſo righuouſnes and lyfe come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of hym, by fayth and Baptiſme. Rom. 5.

¶The 2. Principle.

2. The promiſe of God was freely giuẽ to our firſt parentes without their deſeruyng, that the ſede of a womã ſhould breake the Serpentes head. Gen. 3. — *Gen. 3.*

¶The 3. Principle.

3. Promiſe was gyuen freely to Abraham before he deſerued any thyng, that in hys ſede all nations ſhould be bleſſed. Gen. 12. — *Gen. 12.*

¶The 4. Principle.

4. To the word of God neither muſt we adde, nor take from it. Deut. 4. — *Deut. 4*

¶The 5. Principle.

5. He that doth the workes of the law, ſhall lyue therin. Leuit. 18. Gal. 3. — *Leuit. 18. Gal. 3.*

¶The 6. Principle.

6. Accurſed is he, which abideth not in euery thing that is written in the booke of the law. Deut. 27. Gal. 3. — *Deut. 27. Gal. 3.*

¶The 7. Principle.

7. God onely is to be worſhipped. Deut. 6. Luc. 4. — *Deut. 6. Luc. 4.*

¶The 8. Principle.

8. All our rightuouſnes is lyke a defiled cloth of a woman. Eſay. 64. — *Eſay. 64*

¶The 9. Principle.

9. In all my holy hill, they ſhall not kill, nor ſlay, ſayth the Lord. Eſay. 11. 65. — *Eſay. 11.*

¶The 10. Principle.

10. God loueth mercy and obedience, more then ſacrifice. Oſee. 6. 1. Reg. 15. — *Oſee. 6. 1. Reg. 15*

¶The 11. Principle.

11. The law worketh anger, condemneth, and openeth ſinne. Rom. 3. — *Rom. 3.*

¶The 12. Principle.

12. The end of the law is Chriſt, to righuouſnes to euery one that beleueth. Rom. 10. — *Rom. 10*

¶The 13. Principle.

13. Who ſoeuer beleueth and is Baptiſed, ſhal be ſaued. Mat. vlt. — *Mat. vlt.*

¶The 14. Principle.

14. A man is iuſtified by fayth without workes frely by grace, not of our ſelues. Gal. 2. Epheſ. 2. — *Gal. 2. Epheſ. 2.*

¶The 15. Principle.

15. There is no remiſſion of ſinnes without bloud. Heb. 9. — *Heb. 9.*

¶The 16. Principle.

16. What ſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne. Rom. 14. without fayth it is unpoſſible to pleaſe God. Heb. 11. — *Rom. 14. Heb. 11.*

¶The 17. Principle.

17. One Mediatour betwene God and man Chriſt Ieſus — *1. Tim*

ſus. 1. Timot. 2. and he is the propitiation for our ſinnes. 1. Iohn 2.

¶The 18. Principle.

18. Who ſoeuer ſeeketh in the law to be iuſtified, is fallen from grace.

¶The 19. Principle.

19. In Chriſt be all the promiſes of God, Eſt et Amen. 2. Cor. 1.

¶The 20. Principle.

20. Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to ſuperiour powers, gyuyng to Cæſar that which is Ceſars, & to God that which is Gods. Rom. 13.

These principles and infallible rules of the Scripture, as no man can deny, ſo if they be graunted, the doctrine then of the Popes Church muſt nedes be foūd not to be Catholicke, but rather full of errours and heresies, as in the ſequele folowyng remaineth more expreſſely and particularly by the grace of Chriſt, to be conuinced.

¶Here foloweth a Summary collection of the errours, hereſies, and abſurdities conteined in the Popes doctrine, contrary to the rules of Gods word, and the firſt inſtitution of the Church of Rome.

¶*Of faythe and iuſtification.*

First, as touchyng the onely meanes and inſtrumētall cauſe, of our iuſtification, whereby the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion be applied to vs and made ours, ye heard before, how S. Paule onely aſcribeth ÿ ſame to fayth: as appeareth by all hys letters, eſpecially to the Romanes. Where he excludyng all kynd of workes, aſcribeth all our ſaluation, iuſtification, rightuouſnes, reconciliation, and peace with God, onely to fayth in Chriſt. Contrary to which doctrine the Pope and hys Church hath ſet vp diuers and ſondry other meanes of their owne deuiſing, wherby the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion (they ſay) are applyed to vs and made ours, to the puttyng away of ſinnes, and for our iuſtification, as hope, charitie, ſacrifice of the Maſſe, auricular confeſſion, ſatiſfaction, merites of Saintes, and holy orders, the popes pardons &c. So that Chriſtes ſacrifice, ſtripes, and ſufferyng, by this teachyng doth not heale vs, nor is beneficiall to vs, though we beleue neuer ſo well, vnles we adde alſo theſe workes, and merites aboue recited. Which if it be true, then is it falſe that Eſay the Prophet doth promiſe: chap. 53. *In hys ſtrypes all we are made hole &c.* This errour and hereſie of the Church of Rome, though it ſeeme at firſt ſight to the natural reaſon of man to be but of ſmal importaunce, yet if it be earneſtly conſidered, it is in very deede the moſt pernicious hereſie that euer almoſt crept into the Church: vppon the which, as the onely fundacion, all, or the moſt part of all the errours, abſurdities, and inconueniences of the popes Church are grounded. For this beyng once admitted, that a man is not iuſtified by hys fayth in Chriſt alone, but that other meanes muſt be ſought by our owne workyng and merites to apply the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion vnto vs, then is there neither any certeinety left of our ſaluation, nor end in ſettyng vp new meanes & merites of our owne deuiſing, for remiſſion of ſinnes. Neither hath there bene any hereſie that either hath rebelled more preſumptuouſly agaynſt ÿ high Maieſtie of God ÿ father, nor more perniciouſly hath iniured the ſoules of ÿ ſimple, then this doctrine.

First of all it ſubuerteth the will and Teſtament of God. For where almyghty God of mercy hath gyuen vs hys ſonne to dye for vs, and with hym hath gyuen out hys full promiſe, that who ſoeuer beleue vppon him ſhould be ſaued by their fayth, and aſſigneth none other condition either of law or any workes, but onely of fayth, to be the meanes betwene his ſonne & vs: theſe men take vpon them to alter this Teſtamēt that God hath ſet, and adioyne other conditions, which the Lord in hys word neuer appoynted nor knew. To whom the wordes of Hierome may be well applyed, vpon the Epiſtle to the Galat. ſpeakyng of ſuch. Qui de Euangelio Chriſti faciunt hominis Euangelium, vel quod peius eſt, Diaboli, &c. *That is, which make of the Goſpell of Chriſt, the Goſpell of men, or rather the Goſpell of the deuill, &c.*

Hierony. in Epiſt. ad Gal. cap. 1.

The 2. inconuenience.

What hurt commeth to the Church, by takyng away the Article of Iuſtification.

Secondly, where as the ſimple Chriſtian readyng in the Goſpell, of the great grace and ſweet promiſes of God giuen to mākynd in Chriſt hys ſonne, might therby take much comfort of ſoule, and be at reſt and peace with the Lord his God: commeth in the peſtiferous doctrine of theſe heretickes, wherewith they obſcure this free grace of God, choke the ſweet comfortes of man in the holy ghoſt, and oppreſſe Chriſten libertie, and bryng our ſpirituall freedome agayne into bondage.

The 3. inconuenience.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they ſhew them ſelues manifeſt enemies to Gods grace: ſo are they no leſſe iniurious to Chriſten men, whom they leaue in a doubtfull diſtruſt of Gods fauour and their ſaluation, contrary to the word and will of God, and right inſtitution of ÿ Apoſtolicke doctrine. And wheras our new ſcholemen of late, to mainteine ÿ ſaid wicked poynt of doctrine, do obiect vnto vs that we rather leaue mens conſciences vncerteine, for ſo much as, if lyfe (ſay they) were not a due reward, it were vncerteine. And now for ſomuch as due debt is certaine, and mercy or fauour is vncerteine, therefore (ſay they) we leauyng mens conſciences to the mercy of God, do leaue them in a doubtfull incerteine of their ſaluation. To this I aunſwere, that due debt, if it be proued by the law duely deſerued, it muſt be certeine. But if the law ſhall proue it vnperfect or vnſufficiently due, then is it not certeine, neither can there be any thyng duely claymed. Now as touchyng mercy, ſo long as it remayneth ſecret in the Princes wil, and not knowē to hys ſubiectes, ſo long it is vncertaine. But when this mercy ſhalbe openly publiſhed by proclamation, ratified by promiſe, confirmed by will and Teſtament, eſtabled in bloud, and ſealed with Sacramentes, then this mercy remayneth no more doubtfull, but ought firmely to be beleued of euery true faithful ſubiect. And therfore S. Paule, to eſtabliſh our hartes in this aſſuraūce, and to aunſwere to this doubt, in hys Epiſtle to ÿ Romanes doth teach vs, ſaying: *And therfore of fayth, that after grace the promiſe might be firme and ſure to the whole ſede of Abraham &c.* Rom. 4. meanyng hereby, that workes haue nothyng to do in this caſe of Iuſtifying, & noteth the reaſon why. For then our ſaluation ſhould ſtand in a doubtful waueryng, becauſe in workyng we are neuer certein whether our deſertes be perfect and ſufficient in Gods iudgemēt, or no. And therfore (ſayth S. Paule) to the entent our ſaluation ſhould be out of all doubt, and certeine, it ſtandeth not of workes in deſeruyng, but of fayth in apprehendyng, and of Gods free grace in promiſing.

Obiection of the Papiſtes aunſwered.

The Papiſtes do teach ÿ mercy of God to be vncerteine.

Mercy of God made certaine by his owne promiſes.

Saluatiō ſtandeth ſure & certaine by Gods promiſe.

The place of S. Paule. Rom. 4. expounded.

The 4. inconuenience.

Fourthly, as in this their ſiniſter doctrine they breake this principle of Chriſtian Religion, which ſayth that a man is iuſtified by fayth without workes: ſo agayne it breaketh an other principle aboue rehearſed. For this rule beyng graunted that nothyng is to bee added to Gods word, nor taken from it: then haue theſe men done wickedly in addyng (as they do) to Gods word. For where the word of God limiteth to our iuſtification no condition but fayth: *Beleue* (ſaith he) *in the Lord Ieſus and thou ſhalt be ſaued, and thy whole houſe. &c. Act. 16.* theſe Iuſticiaries do adde therto diuers & ſondry other cōditions beſides, and ſuch as the word alſo preciſely excludeth, as hope, charitie, ÿ ſacrifice of their Maſſe, the worke of the Prieſt ex opere operato, auricular confeſſion, ſatiſfaction, meritorious deedes, &c. And thus much concernyng the doctrine of fayth and iuſtification. Wherby it may appeare to what horrible blyndnes and blaſphemy, the Church of Rome is now fallen: where this kynd of doctrine is not onely ſuffered, but alſo publikely profeſſed, which ſpeakyng agaynſt fayth, thus blaſphemouſly dare ſay: Fides illa

The 4. principle aboue recited broken.

x Lindano Epitome ctrina Euangelica.

qua quis firmiter credit, & certo ſtatuit propter Chriſtum ſibi remiſſa eſſe peccata, ſeſeq; poſſeſſurũ vitam æternam, non fides eſt, ſed temeritas: non ſpiritus ſancti perſuaſio, ſed humanæ audaciæ præſumptio. That is: *that fayth, wherewith a man firmely beleueth and certeinely aſſureth hym ſelfe, that for Chriſtes ſake his ſinnes be forgiuen hym, and that he ſhall poſſeſſe eternall lyfe, is not fayth, but raſhnes: not the perſuaſion of the holy ghoſt, but preſumption of a mans boldnes.*

¶ *Of workes, and the law.*

firſt errour of the papiſtes touching good workes.

AS touchyng the doctrine of good workes and the law, what the teachyng of S. Paul was to yͤ Romanes, ye heard before. Who although he excluded good workes frõ the office of Iuſtifiyng, yet he excluded them not from the practiſe and conuerſation of Chriſten lyfe, but moſt earneſtly called vpon all faythfull beleuers in Chriſt, to walke worthy theyr vocation, to lay downe theyr old conuerſation, to gyue theyr members ſeruauntes of rightuouſnes, to offer their bodyes vp to God a lyuely ſacrifice &c. The lyke example of whoſe teaching, if the Churches now reformed do not folow, let theyr Sermons, theyr preachynges, wrytynges, exhortynges, and lyues alſo beare record. Who although they can not ſay with Chriſt: *which of you can blame me of ſinne*: yet they may ſay to yͤ aduerſaries, who ſoeuer of you is without fault, caſt the firſt ſtone of reproch agaynſt vs. Wherfore Hoſius, Pighius, with theyr felowes, do them open wrong, and ſclaunderouſly belye them in comparyng thẽ in this behalfe to Ætius, Eunomius, and other heretickes called Anomæi, who takyng the good ſentences of S. Paul, did abuſe yͤ ſame to filthy licence of the fleſh, & corruption of wicked life. &c.

Hoſius in 2. tom. confeſſionis Cap. 1.

But to let theſe ſlaunders paſſe, now what the errours be of the Church of Rome touchyng this part of doctrine, remayneth to be declared. Whoſe errour firſt ſtãdeth in this, that they miſunderſtãdyng the definitiõ of good workes, do cal good workes, not ſuch as properly are cõmaunded by the law of God: but ſuch as are agreable to the popes law: As buyldyng of Abbayes, and Churches, giuyng to yͤ high altar, foũdyng of trentals, findyng of chaunteris, gyldyng of Images, hearyng of Maſſes, going on pilgrimage, fighting for yͤ holy croſſe, keeping of vowes, entring to orders, faſting of vigiles, creepyng to the croſſe, praying to Saintes, &c. All which are not onely reputed for good workes, but ſo preferred alſo before all other workes, that to theſe is gyuen pardon from the Pope, double and triplefold more, then to any other good worke of charitie commaunded in the law of almighty God.

The ſecond errour of the papiſtes in the doctrine of good workes.

An other errour alſo may be noted in the Papiſtes, touchyng the efficient or formall cauſe of good workes. For albeit they all confeſſe in their bookes, that Gratia Dei gratis data, is the chief principal cauſe therof, and worketh in vs Iuſtitiam primam (as they call it) yet the good workes after regeneration, they referre to other ſubordinate cauſes vnder God, as to free will, or to habitum virtutis, or ad integra naturalia, and nothyng at all to fayth, when as fayth onely next vnder God, is the roote and fountaine of all well doyng: as in the fruites of a good tree, albeit the planter or the huſbãdman be the principall agent therof, and ſome cauſe alſo may be in the good ground, yet the next and immediate cauſe is the roote that maketh the tree fruteful. In lyke maner the grace of God, in a ſoft and repentaunt mollified hart planteth the gift of fayth. Fayth as a good roote cã not lye dead or vnoccupyed, but ſpryngeth forth and maketh both yͤ tree fruitful, and alſo yͤ fruites therof to be good, which otherwiſe had no acceptation nor goodnes in them were it not for the goodnes of the roote from whence they ſpryng. So Paule, although he had certeine workes in hym, ſuch as they were, before his conuerſiõ, yet had he no good workes before yͤ grace of Chriſt had rooted hys fayth in hym. So Mary Magdalen the ſinner, and Zacheus the Publicane. So all nations of the Gentles began to bryng forth fruite, and eſpecially good fruite, when they began to be ingrafted in Chriſt and to receaue the roote of his fayth, whoſe fruites before that were all damnable and vnſauery. As touchyng the cauſe therfore of good workes, there is no other in man but fayth, whoſe office as it is to iuſtifie vs in heauẽ: ſo the nature of it is here in earth to worke by loue, as the roote worketh by the ſappe. For as a man ſeeth and feeleth by fayth, the loue and grace of God toward hym in Chriſt his ſonne: ſo begynneth he to loue agayne both God and man, and to do for his neighbour as God hath done to hym. And hereof properly ſpryngeth the runnyng fountayne of all good workes, and deedes of charitie.

Faith the roote and cauſe of good workes.

Workes are not to be called good but by reaſon of fayth.

The c... of fayt... iuſtific...

The e... of fayt... to bri... forth g... workes

Fides... dilect... nem... rās. G...

Thyrdly, as they erre in the cauſe of good workes, ſo do they erre much more in the end of the law, and of good workes: for where S. Paule teacheth the law to bee giuen to this vſe and end, to conuict our tranſgreſſions, to proue vs ſinners, to ſhew and condemne our infirmitie, and ſo driue vs to Chriſt: they take and apply no other end to the law but to make vs perfect, to keepe vs from wrath, & to make vs iuſt before God. And lykewiſe, where S. Paule proueth all our good workes to bee vnperfect, and vtterly ſecludeth them from the end of Iuſtifiyng: they contrariwiſe do teach, as though the end of good workes were to merite remiſſion of ſinnes, to ſatiſfie vnto God, to deſerue grace, to redeme ſoules from Purgatory, and that by them the perſon of yͤ regenerate man doth pleaſe God & is made iuſt before God. For ſo they teach moſt wickedly & horribly, ſaying: That Chriſt ſuffered for originall ſinne, or ſinnes goyng before Baptiſme, but yͤ actuall ſinnes, which follow after Baptiſme, muſt bee done away by mens merites. And ſo they aſſigne to Chriſt the begynnyng of ſaluation, or obteynyng of the firſt grace (as they call it) but the perfection or cõſummation of grace they geue to workes and our owne ſtrength. Neither can they in any caſe abide, that we be iuſtified freely by the mercy of God through fayth onely, apprehending the merites of Chriſt. Howbeit neither doo all papiſtes in this theyr errour agree in one. For ſome make diſtinction and ſay: that we are iuſtified by Chriſt principaliter. i. principally: & minus principaliter. i. *leſſe principally*, by the dignitie of our own deedes, contrary to the 8. principle before mentioned: page 34. Other hold that we are made righteous before God, not by yͤ workes that go before fayth: but by our vertues that follow after. Some agayn do thus expound yͤ ſaying of S. Paul: *we are iuſtified by fayth*: that is (ſay they) by fayth preparing vs, or ſetting vs in a good way to be iuſtified. Other expounds it by the figure Sinecdoche, that is, by faith conioyned together with other vertues. Other thus: *by fayth*, that is, being formed with charitie, &c. Thus all theſe do derogate from the benefite of Chriſt, & attribute vnto workes a great or the greateſt part of our iuſtification, directly agaynſt the true veyne of S. Pauls doctrine and firſt inſtitution of the auncient church of Rome, and againſt all the principles of holy ſcripture.

The 3. rour of papiſt... touch... the ca... the la... and g... workes

The e... of the l... and go... workes... perue...

Tho. mas. Hoſius tom. cap. 1.

The... ners... ons of... Cat... Papi... how... iuſtifi...

The... doctr... gayn... princ... of Sc... ture.

Furthermore, as touching the ſayd doctrine of the law and workes, they erre in miſunderſtanding the nature of the law and workes. For where S. Paul diſputeth that the law is ſpirituall, & requireth of vs perfect obediẽce of yͤ whole power of mã, which we being carnall are neuer able to accompliſh: they affirme otherwiſe, that the law doth require but onely outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented: And this obedience, they ſay, man is not onely able to performe, but alſo to doo more and greater thinges then the law requireth. Wherof riſeth the workes of ſupererogation, contrary to the 6. and 8. principles aboue ſpecified pag. 34. Alſo there be, ſay they, among other certayne workes of the law, which pertayne not to all men, but are conſilia, *counſailes*, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merite by, and theſe they call opera perfec-

The... rour... Pap... touch... impo... tion... in ſ... yng... fecti... the la...

Agay... princ... of S... ture.

Workes of ſupererogation.

Mens traditions preferred before the workes of Gods law.

Againſt the principle of Scripture.

tionis, or opera indebita: addyng alſo to theſe new deuiſes to ſerue God after their owne traditions beſides the word of God, as Monaſticall vowes, willfull pouerty, difference of meates and garmentes, pilgrimage to reliques & Saintes, worſhyppyng of the dead, ſuperſtitious ceremonies, roſaries &c. with ſuch lyke, and theſe they call workes of perfectiō, which they preferre before the other commaunded in the law of God. In ſo much that in compariſon of theſe, the other neceſſary ductyes and functions commaunded and commended by the word of God (as to beare office in the common wealth, to lyue in the godly ſtate of matrimony, to ſuſteyne the office of a ſeruaunt in a houſe) is contemned, and accounted as prophane in compariſon of theſe, contrary to the 10. principle aboue mentioned, pag. 34.

¶ *Of Synne.*

Erroneous doctrine of the latter Church of Rome concernyng ſinne.

OF Synne likewiſe they teach not rightly, nor after ẏ Inſtitution of the Apoſtles, & the auncient church of Rome, whyle they conſider not the depenes and largenes of ſinne, ſuppoſing ſinne to be nothyng els but inward actions wͭ conſent of will, or outward ſuch as are agaynſt will: where as the ſtrength of ſinne extendeth not onely to theſe, but alſo comprehendeth, the blyndnes and ignoraunce of the mynde, lacke of knowledge and true feare of God, the vntowardnes of mans mynde to Godward, the priuy rebellion of the hart agaynſt the law of God, the vnbelieuyng wil of mā to God and hys word. The ſenſe of fleſh S. Paule alſo calleth an enemy agaynſt God, and feeleth in hym ſelfe, that is, in his fleſh nothing dwelling but ſinne. Rom.

Originall ſinne what it is.

Fomes peccati.

Concupiſcentia.

Originall ſinne extenuated.

As touchyng alſo originall ſinne, wherein we are borne, which is the deſtruction of originall iuſtice, & of Gods image in vs (remaynyng in vs and bryngyng forth in vs wicked cogitatiōs, affections, & motions of naughtynes, agaynſt the law of God, & neuer ceaſeth, ſo long as man lyueth) this originall ſinne ẏ popes doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the ſame & holdeth that this inward cōcupiſcēce & vicious affections not braſtyng out in vs with conſent of will, are no mortall nor damnable ſinne, but onely fomes peccati: And ſay moreouer, that this concupiſcentia in vs, is no deprauation of the hygher, but onely of the lower partes of man, beyng as a thyng ἀδιάφορον, indifferēt, and no leſſe naturall in vs then is the appetite to eate and drinke, and that the ſame is left to remaine in the Saintes after Baptiſme, to be to them occaſion of more merityng &c.

¶ *Of Penaunce, or Repentaunce.*

Falſe doctrine of the latter Church of Rome, touchyng penaunce.

Contritiō.

Confeſſiō.

Satiſfaction.

OF Penaūce, this later Laterane church of Rome, of late hath made a Sacrament (contrary to the 4. principle before. pag. 34.) which penaūce ſay they, ſtādeth of 3. partes. Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satiſfaction canonicall. Cōtritiō (as they teach) may be had by ſtrength of free will, without the law, and the holy ghoſt per actus elicitos: through mans owne action and endeuour. Which contrition firſt muſt be ſufficiēt, and ſo it meriteth remiſſion of ſinne. In cōfeſſion, they require a full rehearſall of all a mans ſinnes, whereby the Prieſt knowyng the crimes, may miniſter ſatiſfaction accordyngly. And this rehearſing of ſinnes, ex opere operato deſerueth remiſſion of ſinnes, contrary to the 14. principle before, pag. 34. Satiſfactions they call opera in debita, enioyned by the ghoſtly father. And this ſatiſfaction (ſay they) taketh away, and chaūgeth eternall puniſhmēt, into temporall paynes, which paynes alſo it doth mitigate. And agayne, theſe ſatiſfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence &c.

True doctrine of repentaunce by the Scripture.

Partes of repētaūce.

1. Cōtritiō.

2. Fayth.

3. New obedience.

This vnſauery and hetheniſh doctrine of penaunce far differreth frō the true teachyng of holy Scripture. By the which teachyng repentaunce properly contayneth theſe 3. partes: contrition, fayth, and new lyfe. Contrition is called in Scripture the ſorrow of hart, ryſing vpon the conſideration of ſinne committed, and of the anger of God prouoked: which ſorrow driueth a man to Chriſt for ſuccour: whereupon ryſeth faith. Fayth bryngeth afterward amendement or newnes of lyfe, which we call new obedience, workyng fruites worthy of repentaunce.

¶ Difference betwene the law and the Goſpell.

The blynd ignoraunce of the popes Church in not diſtinctyng the law from the Goſpell.

A Babyloniſcall confuſion in the Popes doctrine.

What difference the Papiſtes put betwene Moſes and Chriſt.

Papiſtes make the Goſpell a new law.

Papiſtes deuide the law, to the law of nature, the law of Moſes, and the law of Chriſt.

The Popes Church blynd in the office of Chriſt.

AS there is nothyng more neceſſary and confortable for troubled conſciēces, then to be well inſtructed in the difference betwene ẏ law and the Goſpel, ſo is the Church of Rome much to blame in this behalfe, becauſe it confoūdeth together thoſe ij. beyng in nature ſo diuers and contrary one from the other: as threatnynges & promiſes, thynges temporall with thynges eternall: ſorrowfull thyngs with glad tydynges, death with lyfe, bondage with freedome &c. teachyng the people, that what ſoeuer the law ſayth the Goſpell confirmeth, and what ſoeuer the Goſpell ſayth, the ſame is agreable to the law, and ſo make they no difference betwen Moſes and Chriſt, ſaue onely that Moſes (they ſay) was the gyuer of the old law, Chriſt is gyuer of the new and a more perfect law. And thus imagine they the Goſpell to be nothyng els but a new law gyuen by Chriſt, and bynd to the promiſes therof the condition of our doynges and deſeruynges, no otherwiſe, then to the old law. And ſo deuide they the whole law after this diſtinction, into 3. partes, to wytte, the law of Nature, the law of Moſes, and the law of Chriſt. And as for the Goſpell (they ſay) it is reueled for no other cauſe, but to ſhew to the world more perfect preceptes and counſayles, then were in the old law: to the fulfillyng whereof they attribute iuſtification, and ſo leaue the poore conſciences of men in perpetuall doubt, and induce other manifold errours: bryngyng the people into a falſe opiniō of Chriſt, as though he were not a remedy againſt the law, but came as an other Moſes, to gyue a new law to the world.

The tyme of ẏ law, and tyme of the Goſpell diſtincted.

Malediction of the law ceaſeth in Chriſt. The vſe of the law remaineth.

Chriſt and the law can not reigne together.

Epheſ 4.

The power of the law is for a tyme the power of Chriſt is eternall.

Rom. 8.

Coloſ. 2.

The malediction of the law geueth place to Chriſt.

Furthermore as they make no difference betwene the nature of the law and nature of the Goſpell, confoūdyng Moſes and Chriſt together: ſo neither do they diſtinct or diſcerne the tyme of the law, and tyme of the Goſpell a ſonder. For where S. Paul, bryngeth in the law to bee a ſcholemaſter and lymiteth hym hys tyme vnto Chriſt: and ſayth *that Chriſt is the end of the Law*, that is, that where the law ceaſeth, there Chriſt begynneth, and where Chriſt begynneth, there ẏ law endeth, they cōtrary make the law to haue no end nor ceaſing, but gyue to it immortal lyfe and kyngdome equal with Chriſt, ſo that Chriſt and the law together do reigne ouer the ſoule and conſciēce of man. Which is vntrue. For either Chriſt muſt gyue place, and the law ſtand: Or els the law (the condemnation and malediction of ẏ law I meane) muſt end, and Chriſt reigne. For both theſe, Chriſt and the law, grace and malediction, can not reigne and gouerne together. But Chriſt ẏ ſonne of God which once dyed, can dye no more, but muſt reigne for euer. Wherfore the law with hys ſtrength, ſtynge, and curſe, muſt nedes ceaſe and haue an end. And this is it that S. Paul ſpeakyng of the triumph of Chriſt, ſayth: that hee *aſcendyng vp led away captiuitie captiue*, and hath ſet mā at liberty: not at liberty to liue as fleſh lyſteth, neither hath freed hym from the vſe and exerciſe of the law: but from the dominion and power of the law, ſo *that there is now no condemnation to them that be in Chriſt Ieſu, which walke not after the fleſh. &c.* Rom. 8. And in an other place S. Paul ſpeakyng of the ſame power and dominiō of the law, ſayth, that Chriſt hath taken the obligation written agaynſt vs in Decrees, and hath nayled it vpon the Croſſe, triumphyng ouer all. &c. ſo that as the kyngdome of Chriſt firſt began vpon the Croſſe, euen ſo vpō the ſame Croſſe, and at the ſame tyme the kyngdome of the law expired, and the malediction of the law was ſo crucified vpon the Croſſe, that it ſhall neuer ryſe agayne, to haue any

The curſe of the law is crucified, and ſhall neuer ryſe agayne.

Rom.7.

Rom.6.

To bee vnder the law, and vnder grace expounded.

What is to bee vnder grace.

Pſal.31.

Act.10.

One remedy for remiſſion of ſinnes and no more.

Auricular confeſſion no remedy for remiſſion of ſins.

Remiſſion of ſinnes ſtandeth vpon a general cauſe, and not particular.

The law crucified by Chriſt, what it meaneth.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

The cauſe of remiſſion euer one and perpetuall.

power agaynſt them that be in Chriſt Ieſu. For likeas if a woman bee diſcharged from her firſt huſband beyng dead, & hath maryed an other man, the firſt huſband hath no more power ouer her: euen ſo we now beyng eſpouſed vnto Chriſt our ſecōd huſband, are diſcharged vtterly from our firſt huſbād the law: and (as S. Paul, in an other place ſayth) *are no more vnder the law*, that is, vnder the dominion and malediction of the law, *but vnder grace*, that is, vnder perpetuall remiſſion of all ſinnes, cōmitted not onely before our Baptiſme, but as well alſo after Baptiſme, and during all our lyfe long. For therin properly conſiſteth ÿ grace of God, in not imputyng ſinne vnto vs, ſo often as the repentyng ſinner ryſing vp by fayth flyeth vnto Chriſt, and apprehendeth Gods mercy and remiſſion promiſed in hym, accordyng to the teſtimonie both of the Pſalme: *Bleſſed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not ſinne &c*: and alſo of all the Prophetes, *which* (as S. Peter ſaith) *giue recorde to him, that through his name all that beleue in him ſhall receaue remiſſion of their ſinnes. &c.* Act.10. Which being ſo, as it cā not be denyed, then what nedeth theſe priuate & extraordinary remiſſions to bee brought into the Church by eare confeſſion, by meritorious deedes, and by the Popes pardons? for if there be no condemnation but by the law: and if this law it ſelfe be captiued, crucified, aboliſhed, and departed, which was the firſt huſband, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Chriſt Ieſu, or by whō ſhould it come? If there be no condēnation, but a free and general deliuerance for al men, once gottē by the victory of Chriſt, from the penalty of the law: what needeth thē any particular remiſſiō of ſinnes, at ſondry tymes to be ſought at the Prieſtes handes or the Popes pardons? He that hath a generall pardō, nedeth no particular? If remedy for ſinne be generall and perpetuall once gotten for euer to all them that be in Chriſt Ieſu, what nedeth any other remedy by auricular cōfeſſion? If it be not generall and perpetuall, how then is it true that S. Paule ſayth: the law is crucified and condemnation aboliſhed? or how ſtandeth redemption perpetuall and generall, if remiſſion bee not generall? For what is redemption els, but remiſſiō of ſinnes, or ſinnes bought out? or what is els to kill the law, but to diſcharge vs from condemnation for euer? He that deliuereth hys frend for a tyme out of hys enemyes hand, doth hym a pleaſure: but hee that kylleth the enemy once out of the way, gyueth perpetuall ſafety. So if remiſſion of ſinnes by Chriſt were for ſome ſinnes and not for all, the law then muſt needes lyue ſtill. But now the kyllyng and crucifiyng of the law importeth full remiſſion to bee abſolute, and our ſafetie to be perpetuall. But here percaſe will be obiected of ſome: how ſtādeth remiſſion of ſinnes certeine and perpetuall, ſeyng new offences beyng dayly committed, do dayly requyre new remiſſion? Hereto I aunſwere: albeit ſinnes do dayly grow, whereby we haue nede dayly to deſire God to *forgeue vs our treſpaſſes &c*. yet notwithſtandyng the cauſe of our remiſſion ſtandeth euer one and perpetual, neither is ÿ ſame to be repeted any more, nor any other cauſe to be ſought beſides that alone. This cauſe is ÿ ſacrificed body of Chriſt once vpon ÿ Croſſe for all ſinnes that either haue or ſhalbe committed. Beſide this cauſe there is no other, neither confeſſion, nor mēs pardons that remitteth ſinnes.

The promiſe of Remiſſion euer perpetual.

Remiſſion of ſinnes freely promiſed without limitation of tyme or nūber.

Furthermore, as the cauſe is one and euer perpetuall which worketh remiſſion of ſinnes vnto vs: ſo is the promiſe of God euer one, once made, and ſtandeth perpetuall that offereth ÿ ſame to the fayth of ÿ repentyng ſinner. And becauſe the ſayd promiſe of God is alwayes ſure and can not fayle, which offereth remiſſion to all them that beleue in Chriſt, beyng limited neither to tyme nor number, therfore we may boldly cōclude, that what time ſoeuer a repentyng ſinner beleueth, and by fayth applyeth to hym the ſacrifice of Chriſt, hath by Gods owne promyſe remiſſion of hys ſinnes, whether they were done before, or after Baptiſme.

The meanes wherby remiſſion is promiſed is onely faith.

The wordes of promiſe free and abſolute.

Act.10.

Rom.6.

Mans infirmity impayreth not the grace of Chriſt, but augmenteth it.

2.Cor.12.

Rom.5.

And moreouer, for ſomuch as the ſayd promiſe of God offereth remiſſion to the repentaunt ſinner, by no other meanes nor condition, but onely one, that is, by fayth in Chriſt: therefore excludyng all other meanes and conditions of mans workyng, we ſay, that what repentyng ſinner ſoeuer beleueth in Chriſt, hath already in hym ſelfe (& nedeth not ſeeke to any Prieſt) perpetuall aſſuraunce of remiſſion, not for this tyme or that tyme onely, but for euer and a day. For the promiſe ſayth not, he that beleueth in Chriſt ſhalbe pardoned this tyme, ſo he ſinne no more: neither doth it ſay, that the law is ſtayd, or the ſentence repryued, but ſayth playnly, that the law with her condemnation and ſentence her ſelfe is condemned and hanged vp, and ſhall neuer ryſe agayne to them that be in Chriſt Ieſu: and promiſeth indeterminatly, without limitation, remiſſion of ſinnes, *to all that beleue in his name*. Act.10: and lykewiſe in an other place the Scripture ſpeakyng abſolutely, ſayth: *Synne ſhall not preuayle ouer you*: and addeth the reaſon why, ſaying: *Becauſe ye are not vnder the law, but vnder grace*. Rom.6: Adding this leſſō withall, (as it foloweth in the ſame place) not that ſinners ſhould ſinne more therefore, becauſe they are vnder grace, but onely that weake infirmitie myght bee releued, broken conſciēces comforted, & repentyng ſinners holpen frō deſperatiō, to ÿ prayſe of Gods glory. For as God forgyueth not ſinners becauſe they ſhould ſinne: ſo neither doth infirmitie of fallyng diminiſh the grace of Chriſt, but rather doth illuſtrate the ſame, as it is written: *My ſtrength is made perfect in infirmitie*. 2.Cor.12. and agayne: *Where ſinne aboundeth, there aboundeth alſo grace*. Rom.5.&c.

Foure thynges cōcurre in remiſſion of ſinnes.

In remiſſion of ſinnes therfore theſe foure thynges muſt concurre together the cauſe that worketh (which is the ſacrifice of Chriſtes body) 2. the promiſe that offereth, 3. fayth that apprehēdeth. 4. ÿ repentyng ſinner that receaueth. And although ſinnes dayly do grow, which dayly prouoke vs to craue remiſſion: yet as touchyng the cauſe that worketh remiſſion of our dayly ſinnes, and the meanes which apprehendeth and applyeth the ſayd cauſe vnto vs, they remaine alwayes one and perpetuall: beſides which no other cauſe nor meanes is to be ſought of man. So that to them that be repentyng ſinners and be in Chriſt Ieſu, there is no law to condemne them, though they haue deſerued cōdemnation: but they are vnder a perpetual kyngdome, and a heauen full of grace and remiſſion, to couer their ſinnes, and not to impute theyr iniquities, through the promiſe of God in Chriſt Ieſu our Lord.

The Popes errours touchyng Remiſſion of ſinnes detected.

What incōuenience ryſeth for lacke of diſtinctiō betwene the law and ÿ Goſpell.

And therfore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, firſt which ſeeke any other cauſe of remiſſion, thē onely ÿ bloud of our Sauiour. Secondly, which aſſigne any other meanes to apply the bloudſhedyng of Chriſt vnto vs, beſides onely fayth. Thyrdly and eſpecially, which ſo limite and reſtrayne the eternall priuilege of Chriſtes Paſſion, as though it ſerued but onely for ſinnes done without and before fayth: and that the reſt after Baptiſme committed muſt be done away by confeſſiō, pardons, & ſatiſfactory deedes. And all this riſeth, becauſe the true nature of the law, and of the Goſpell is not knowen, nor the difference rightly conſidered betwene the tymes of the one, and of the other. Neither agayne do they make any diſtinction betwene the malediction of the law, and vſe of the law. And therefore when ſo euer they heare vs ſpeake of the law (meaning the malediction of the law) to be aboliſhed, therupon they maliciouſly ſclaūder vs, as though we ſpeake agaynſt the good exerciſes of the law, and gyue libertie of fleſh to carnall men to lyue as they lyſt. Whereof more ſhalbe ſayd (by the Lordes grace) as place & tyme ſhall hereafter require.

¶ *Of free will.*

Concernyng freewill, as it may peraduenture in ſome caſe be admitted that men without the grace

may

Erroneous doctrine of the Papiſtes concernyng free will.

Meritum de cōgruo.

Meritum de condigno.

may do ſome outward functions of the law, and kéepe ſome outward obſeruaunces or traditions: ſo as touchyng thynges ſpirituall and perteynyng to ſaluation, the ſtrength of man, beyng not regenerate by grace, is ſo infirme and impotēt, that he can performe nothyng, neither in doyng well nor willyng well. Who after he be regenerate by grace may worke and do well, but yet in ſuch ſort, that ſtill remaineth notwithſtādyng a great imperfection of fleſh, and a perpetuall repugnance betwene the fleſh and ſpirite. And thus was the originall Church of the auncient Romanes firſt inſtructed. Frō whom ſée now how farre this later Church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth & affirmeth, that men without grace may performe the obedience of the law, and prepare thē ſelues to receaue grace by workyng, ſo that thoſe workes may be meritorious, and of congrue obteyne grace. Which grace once obteyned, then men may (ſay they) perfectly performe the ful obediēce of the law, and acompliſh thoſe ſpirituall actions and workes which God requireth, and ſo thoſe workes, of condigne, deſerue euerlaſtyng life. As for the infirmitie which ſtill remaineth in nature, that they nothyng regard nor once ſpeake of.

¶ Of Inuocation, and Adoration.

False doctrine concernyng inuocation.

Mediator of interceſſion.

Mediator of ſaluatiō.

Chriſt a continuall Mediator, by the doctrine of S. Paule. *Rom.* 8.

Chriſt onely beyng our Mediator of ſaluatiō, what nedeth any other Mediation of Saintes?

Saluation falſely attributed to the bleſſed virgine.

OVer and beſides theſe vncatholicke and almoſt vnchriſtian abſurdities and defections from the Apoſtolicall fayth aboue ſpecified, let vs conſider the maner of their Inuocation, not to God alone, as they ſhould, but to dead men, ſaying: that Saintes are to be called vpon tāquam mediatores interceſsionis: as Mediatours of interceſſion: Chriſtum vero tanquam mediatorem Salutis, and Chriſt as the Mediator of Saluation: And affirme moreouer, that Chriſt was a Mediator onely in tyme of hys Paſſion. Which is repugnaunt to the wordes of S. Paul wrytyng to the old Romanes.cap. 8. where he ſpeakyng of the interceſſion of Chriſt: *Which is* (ſayth he) *on the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſsion for vs. &c*. And if Chriſt be a Mediator of ſaluation, what nedeth thē any other interceſſion of the Saintes for other ſutes? for ſaluation beyng once had, what can we require more? or what lacketh he more to be obtayned of the Saints, which is ſure to be ſaued onely by Chriſt? And yet in their Catholicke deuotions why do they teach vs thus to pray to the bleſſed virgine: Salua omnes qui te glorificant.i. *Saue all them, that glorifie thee. &c*. if ſaluation onely belong to Chriſt? vnles they ſtudy of purpoſe to ſeme contrary to them ſelues.

Idolatrous adoration of Reliques, & Sacramentes.

Prophanaciō of the Lordes Supper.

False merityng by Maſſes.

Hetherto alſo perteineth the worſhyppyng of reliques, and the falſe adoration of Sacramentes, that is, the outward ſignes for the thynges ſignified, contrary to the 7. principle before. page. 34. Adde to this alſo the prophanation of the Lordes Supper, contrary to the vſe for which it was ordeined, in reſeruing it after ỹ Communion miniſtred, in ſettyng to ſale for money, and falſely perſuadyng both them ſelues and other, that the Prieſt doth merite both to hym ſelfe that ſayth, and to hym that heareth, Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis. &c. that is, *Onely by the mere doyng of the worke, though the partie that vſeth the ſame, hath no good motion in hym. &c.*

¶ Of Sacramentes, Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper.

False doctrine touchyng Sacramentes.

AS touchyng Sacramētes, their doctrine lykewiſe is corrupt and erroneous.

1. Firſt, they erre falſely in the number. For where the inſtitution of Chriſt ordeyneth but two, they (contrary to the fourth principle aboue prefixed) haue added to the preſcription of the Lordes word, fiue other Sacramentes.

2. Secōdly, in the cauſe final they erre. For where the word hath ordayned thoſe Sacramentes to excite our fayth, and to gyue vs admonitions of ſpirituall things: they contrarywiſe do teach that ỹ Sacraments do not onely ſtyrre vp fayth, but alſo that they auayle and are effectuall without fayth, Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis &c. as is to be found in Thom. Aquine, Scotus, Catharinus, and other moe.

The number, Cauſe finall, The operatiō, The application of Sacramentes.

3. Thirdly, in the operation and effect of the Sacramentes they fayle: where they contrary to the mynd of the Scriptures, do ſay, that they gyue grace, & not onely do ſignifie, but alſo conteine and exhibite that which they ſignifie, to wytte, grace and ſaluation.

5. Fourthly, they erre alſo in Application, applying their Sacramentes both to the quicke and the dead, to them alſo that be abſent, to remiſſion of ſinnes, and releaſing of payne. &c.

Errours and abuſes in Baptiſme.

Baptiſing of belles.

In the Sacrament of Baptiſme they are to be reproued, not onely for addyng to the ſimple wordes of Chriſtes inſtitution diuers other newfound rites and phantaſies of men: but alſo where the vſe of the old Church of Rome was onely to Baptiſe mē, they Baptiſe alſo belles, and apply the wordes of Baptiſme to water, fire, candels, ſtockes, and ſtones. &c.

False doctrine of the Popes church concernyng ỹ Lordes Supper.

Idolatry committed to the Sacrament.

The Sacrament turned to an Idole.

Chaungyng, Worſhippyng, Offeryng, Eatyng, Burning ỹ body of Chriſt in the Sacramēt, of the altar.

But eſpecially in the Supper of the Lord their doctrine moſt filthely ſwarueth from the right mynde of ỹ Scripture, all order, reaſon, and faſhiō, moſt worthy to be exployded out of all Chriſten Churches. Touchyng the which Sacrament, their firſt errour is theyr idolatrous abuſe by worſhyppyng, adoryng, ſenſing, knockyng and knéelyng vnto it, in reſeruyng alſo and cariyng the ſame about in pompe and proceſſion in townes & fieldes. Secondly alſo in the ſubſtaunce therof their teachyng is monſtruous, leauing there no ſubſtaūce of bread & wyne to remaine, but onely the reall body & bloud of Chriſt, puttyng no difference betwene callyng, and makyng. Becauſe Chriſt called bread, hys body, therfore, ſay they, he made it hys body, and ſo of a wholeſome Sacrament, make a perilous Idole, and that which the old Church of Rōme dyd euer take to be a myſtery, they turne into a blynd myſte of mere accidences to bleare the peoples eyes, makyng them beleue they ſée that they ſée not: and not to ſée that which they ſée: and to worſhyp a thyng made, for their maker, a creature for the creator: and that was threſhed out of a whetten ſheffe they ſet vp in the Church, and worſhyp for a Sauiour: and when they haue worſhypped hym, then they offer hym to his father: and when they haue offered hym, then they eate hym vp, or els cloſe him faſt in a pyxe. Where if he corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burne hym to pouder and aſhes. And notwithſtandyng they know well by the Scriptures, that the body of Chriſt can neuer corrupt and putrifie, yet for all this corruption, will they nedes make it the body of Chriſt, & burne all them which beleue not that which is agaynſt true Chriſtian beliefe.

¶ Of Matrimonie.

Abſurdities & errours of the Popes church touching Matrimonie.

1. *Cor.* 7.

1. *Timot.* 3.

1. *Timot.* 4.

Leuit. 18.

WHat order & rule S. Paule hath ſet for mariage, in hys Epiſtle to the Corinthians it is manifeſt. Where as he preferreth ſingle lyfe in ſuch as haue the gyft of continence, before the maryed ſtate: ſo agayn in ſuch as haue not the gyft, he preferreth the coupled lyfe before ỹ other: willing euery ſuch one to haue his wife *becauſe of fornication*. Furthermore, how the ſayd Apoſtle aloweth a Byſhop to bee the huſband of one wife, (ſo hee excede not to the maner of the Iewes, which were permitted to haue many) and how vehemently he reproueth them that reſtrayne Mariage, hys letters to Timothe, do recorde. Moreouer, what degrées be permitted by the law of God to mary, in the booke of Leuit. is to be ſene, chap. 18. Alſo how children ought not to mary without conſent of their parentes, by manifeſt examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Single lyfe be it neuer ſo impure preferred before Matrimony.

The iij. part of Chriſtendome ſtopt by the Popes law to mary.

Contrary to theſe ordinaunces of the Scripture, ỹ new Catholickes of the Popes Church, firſt do repute and call Mariage a ſtate of imperfection, and preferre ſingle life, be it neuer ſo impure, before the ſame, pretēdyng that where the one repleniſhed the earth, the other filleth heauē. Further, as good as the thyrd part of Chriſtendome, (if it be not more) both men and wemē

The Popes doctrine againſt Prieſtes mariage, and their children.

kepe through coacted vowes, from Mariage, hauyng no reſpect whether they haue the gift or no. Miniſters and Prieſtes, ſuch as are found to haue wiues, not onely they remoue out of place, but alſo pronounce ſentence of death vppon them, and accounte their children for baſtardes and illegitimate. Agayne, as good as the iij. part of the yeare they exempt and ſuſpēde from libertie of maryıng. Degrees of copulation forbydden they extende farther then euer did the law of God, euē to the fift or ſixt degree. Which degree notwithſtādyng they releaſe agayne when they lyſt for money. Ouer and beſides all this they haue added a newfound prohibition of ſpirituall kyndred, that is, that ſuch as haue bene goſſyps, or Godfathers and Godmothers together in Chriſtenyng an other mans child, muſt not by their law mary together. Briefly and finally in this their doctrine & caſes of Matrimony they gayne & rake to them ſelues much money from the people, they augment horrible ſodomitry, they nouriſh wicked adultery and much fornication. They fill the world with offenſions, and baſtardes, and gyue great occaſiō of murderyng infantes.

The thyrd part of the yeare exēpted from mariage.

Mariage with in the fift, or ſixt degree, by the popes law.

Goſſyppes inhibited to mary by the popes law.

What inconueniēces come by reſtraynyng of mariage.

¶ Of Magiſtrates and Ciuill gouernement.

26

The corrupt doctrine of the popes Church concernyng ciuill rulers and Magiſtrates.

YE heard before what rules & leſſons S. Paul gaue to the old Romaynes concernyng Magiſtrates, to whoſe authoritie he would all humane creatures to be ſubiected, and how they are the Miniſters of God, hauyng the ſword gyuen vnto thē, wherewith they ought to repreſſe falſe doctrine and idolatrie, and mainteyne that which is true and right. Rom. 13. Now let vs ſuruey a litle the Popes procedynges, and marke how far he tranſgreſſeth in this, as he doth in all other poyntes almoſt from true Chriſtianitie.

Rom. 13.

1. Firſt, the Pope with all his Clergie exempt them ſelues from all obedience ciuill.
2. They arrogate to thē ſelues authoritie to ordeyne and conſtitute, without all leaue or knowledge of the ordinary Magiſtrate.
3. Yea, they take vpon them, to depoſe, and ſet vp rulers and Magiſtrates, whom they lyſt.

¶ Of Purgatory.

The phantaſies and Antiques of the popes Church concernyng Purgatory.

THe paradoxes or rather the phantaſies of the latter Church of Rome concernyng Purgatory, is monſtruous, neither old nor Apoſtolicall.

1. Firſt, (ſay they) there is a Purgatory, where ſoules do burne in fire after this lyfe.
2. The payne of Purgatory differeth nothyng from the paynes of hell, but onely that it hath an end, the paynes of hell hath none.
3. The paineful ſuffering of this fire freateth & ſcoureth away the ſinnes before committed in the body.
4. The tune of theſe paynes indureth in ſome longer, in ſome leſſer, accordyng as theyr ſinnes deſerue.
5. After which tyme of theyr paynes beyng expired, then the mercy of God doth tranſlate them to heauenly bleſſe, which the body of Chriſt hath bought for thē.
6. The paynes of Purgatory be ſo great, that if all the beggars of the world were ſene on the one ſide, and but one ſoule of Purgatory on the other ſide, ẏ whole world would pitie more that one, then all the other.
7. The whole tyme of puniſhment in this Purgatory muſt continue ſo long, till the fire haue cleane freated and ſcoured away the ruſty ſpottes of euery ſinnefull ſoule there burnyng, vnles there come ſome releaſe.
8. Helpes and releaſes that may ſhorten the tyme of their purgation, be the Popes pardons & indulgences, ſacrifice of the altar, diriges and trentals, prayer, faſtyng, meritorious deedes out of the treaſure houſe of the Church, almoſe, and charitable deedes of the liuyng in ſatiſfiyng Gods Juſtice for them. &c.
9. Lacke of belief of Purgatory, bryngeth to hell.

Ex Thom. Moro. & alijs.

Many other falſe errours & great deformities, hereſies, abſurdities, vanities & follies, beſides their blaſphemous raylynges and contumelies, may be noted in the ſayd latter Church of Rome, wherein they haue made manifeſt defection from the old fayth of Rome, as in depriuyng the Church of one kinde of the Sacrament, in takyng from the people the knowledge and readyng of Gods word, in prayıng and ſpeakyng to the people and adminiſtryng Sacramentes in a toung vnknowen, in miſtakyng the authoritie of the keyes, in their vnwritten verities, in makyng the authoritie of Scripture inſufficient, in vntrue iudgement of the Church and their wrong notes of the ſame, in the ſupremacie of the ſea of Rome, in their wrong opinion of Antichriſt. &c.

Manifeſt defection of the Popes Church fro ẏ old fayth of Rome.

But becauſe theſe with all other partes of doctrine are more copiouſly and at large comprehēded in other bookes both in Latin and Engliſh ſet forth in theſe our dayes, J ſhall not nede further herein to trauayle, eſpecially ſeing the contrariety betwen the popes Church and the Church of Chriſt, betwene the doctrine of the one and doctrine of the other is ſo euident, that he is blynd that ſeeth it not, and hath no handes almoſt, that feeleth it not.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, which may ſuffice for all) where as the doctrine of Chriſt is altogether ſpirituall, conſiſtyng wholy in ſpirite and veritie, and requireth no outward thyng to make a true Chriſten man, but onely Baptiſme (which is the outward profeſſiō of fayth) & receauyng of the Lordes Supper: let vs now examine the whole Religion of this later Church of Rome, and we ſhall finde it wholy from toppe to toe, to conſiſte in nothing els but altogether in outward and ceremonial exerciſes: as outward confeſſion, abſolution at the Prieſtes hand, outward ſacrifice of the Maſſe, buying of pardons, purchaſſing of obites, externe worſhyppyng of Jmages and reliques, pilgrimage to this place or that: buildyng of Churches, foūdyng of Monaſteries, outward workes of the law, outward geſtures, garmētes, colours, choiſe of meats, difference of tymes and places, peculiar rites and obſeruauncies, ſet prayers and number of prayers preſcribed, faſtyng of vigiles, keepyng of holy dayes, commyng to Church, hearyng of ſeruice, externe ſucceſſion of Byſhops and of Peters ſea, externe forme and notes of the Church &c. ſo that by this Religiō to make a true Chriſtian & a good Catholicke, there is no workyng of ẏ holy ghoſt almoſt required: As by example to make this matter more demōſtrable, let vs here define a Chriſtē mā after ẏ popes making, wherby we may ſee ẏ better what is to be iudged of ẏ ſcope of his doctrine.

Contrariety betwene the Religion of Chriſt & of the pope briefly noted.

Chriſtes doctrine is wholy ſpirituall.

No outward thing required in Chriſtes doctrine to make a Chriſten man but onely Baptiſme, and the Lordes Supper.

All doctrine of the Pope ſtandeth onely in outward thynges.

¶ A Chriſten man after the Popes making defined.

After the Popes Catholicke Religion, a true Chriſten man is thus defined: firſt to bee baptiſed in the Latine tounge (where the Godfathers profeſſe they can not tell what): then confirmed by the Byſhop: the mother of the child to bee purified. After hee bee growen in yeares, then to come to the Church, to keepe hys faſtyng dayes, to faſt the Lent, to come vnder benedicite, that is, to be confeſſed to the Prieſt, to do hys penaunce, at Eaſter to take his rightes, to heare Maſſe and diuine ſeruice, to ſet vp candels before images, to creepe the Croſſe, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on proceſſion, to cary hys palmes & candle, and to take aſhes, to faſt the Jmber dayes, Rogatiō dayes & vigiles, to kepe the holy dayes, to pay his tythes and offeryngės dayes, to go on pilgrimage, to buy pardons, to worſhyp his maker ouer the Prieſtes head, to receaue ẏ Pope for hys ſupreme head & to obey his lawes, to receaue S. Nicholas Clerkes, to haue his beades, & to gyue to the high altar, to take orders, if he will be Prieſt, to ſay hys Mattens, to ſing his Maſſe, to lyft vp fayre, to keepe hys vowe, and not to mary. when he is ſicke to be aneeld and take the rights of holy Church, to be buried in ẏ Churchyeard, to be rong for, to be ſong for, to be buryed in a Friers coule, to finde a ſoule Prieſt &c.

A Chriſtē mā defined after the popes doctrine.

Corporall exerciſe ſerueth to ſmall profite.

1. Timot. 4.

All which poyntes beyng obſerned, who can deny but this man is a deuout and a perfect Chriſtian Catholicke, and ſure to bee ſaued, as a true faythfull child of the holy mother Church.

Now looke vppon this definition, and tell me (good reader) what fayth or ſpirite, or what workyng of the holy ghoſt in all this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Jeſus giue the true light of his Goſpell to ſhyne in our hearts. Amen.

σὺμ τῷ χριςῷ.

The

The firſt booke, conteining the.300. yeares next after Chriſt.

These thinges before premiſed, hauing thus hetherto prepared the way vnto our ſtory, let vs now (by the grace and ſpede of Chriſt our Lord) enter into yͤ matter: yͭ as we haue heretofore ſet forth in a generall deſcription the whole ſtate as well of yͤ primatiue, as of yͤ latter times of this church of Rome: ſo now conſequently to diſcourſe in particular ſort the Actes and doinges of euery age, by it ſelfe, in ſuch order, as is afore prefixed.

1. Firſt to declare of the ſuffering time of the church, which conteyneth.300. yeares after Chriſt.

2. Secondly, the floriſhing and growing tyme of the ſame: conteyning other.300. yeares.

3. Thirdly, the declining tyme of the church, and of true religion, other.300. yeares.

4. Fourthly, of the time of Antichriſt, reigning and raging in the church, ſince the looſing out of Sathan.

5. Laſtly, of the reforming time of Chriſtes church in theſe latter.300. yeares.

In the tractation of all which things our chiefe purpoſe and endeuour ſhalbe (ſo neare as the Lord wil geue vs grace) not ſo much to intermedle with outwarde affayres of princes, or matters ciuile, (except ſometime for example of lyfe) as ſpecially minding (by the helpe of the Lord) to proſecute ſuch things, which to yͤ eccleſiaſticall ſtate of the church are apperteyning: as firſt to entreate of the ſtabliſhing of chriſtian faith, then of the perſecutions of tyrauntes, the conſtancie and pacience of Gods Saintes, the firſt conuerſion of chriſten Realmes, to the fayth of Chriſt, namely of this Realme of England and Scotland: firſt beginning with King Lucius, & ſo forward following the order of our Engliſh Kings here in this land, to declare the maintenaunce of true doctrine, the falſe practiſe of prelates, the creping in of ſuperſtitiõ, and hipocriſie, the manifolde aſſaultes, warres and tumultes of the princes of this world, againſt the people of God. Wherin may appeare the wonderful operation of Chriſtes mightie hand, euer working in his church, and neuer ceaſing to defend the ſame agaynſt his enemyes, according to the veritie of hys own worde, promiſing to be with his church while the worlde ſhall ſtande, ſo as by the proces of this ſtorie maye wel be proued, and be teſtified in the ſequell therof.

Two thinges in thys hiſtorye chiefely to be noted.

In yͤ tractation of all which things.ij. ſpecial pointes I chiefly commend to the reader, as moſt requiſite and neceſſarye for euery chriſten man to obſerue and note for his own experience and profite, as firſt the diſpoſitiõ and nature of thys world: ſecondly the nature and condition of the kingdome of Chriſt: the vanitie of the one, and ſtabliſhment of the other: The vnproſperous & vnquiet ſtate of the one, ruled by mans violence and wiſedome: And the happy ſucces of the other euer ruled by Gods bleſſing & prouidence. The wrath & reuẽging hãd of God in the one, and his mercye vpon the other. The world I call all ſuch as be without or againſt Chriſt, eyther by ignoraunce not knowing him, or by heathnyſhe lyfe not following him, or by violence reſiſting him. On yͤ other ſide, the kingdome of Chriſt in this world I take to be all them which belonge to the fayth of Chriſt, and here take his part in thys world agaynſt the world. The number of whom although it be muche ſmaller then the other, and alwayes lightlye is hated and moleſted of the world, yet it is the number, which the Lorde peculiarlye doth bleſſe and proſper, and euer will. And thys number of Chriſts ſubiectes is it, which we call the viſible church here in earth. Which viſible church hauing in it ſelfe a difference of.ij. ſortes of people, ſo is it to be deuided in.ij. parts, of which the one ſtãdeth of ſuch as be of outward profeſſiõ onely, the other which by election inwardly are ioyned to Chriſt: the firſt in word and lippes ſeemeth to honour Chriſt, and are in the viſible church onely, but not in the church inuiſible, and partaketh the outwarde ſacramentes of Chriſt, but not the inwarde bleſſing of Chriſt: The other are both in the viſible and alſo in yͤ inuiſible church of Chriſt, which not in woordes onely and outward profeſſion, but alſo in hart do truely ſerue and honour Chriſt, partaking not onely the ſacraments, but alſo the heauenly bleſſings and grace of Chriſt.

Timot.4.

The world.

The kyngdome of Chriſt in this world.

The viſible church.

The church of Chriſt deuided in two ſortes of people.

And many tymes it happeneth, that as betwene the world, and the kingdome of Chriſt there is a continuall repugnaunce: ſo betwene theſe two partes of thys viſible church aforeſayd, oft times groweth great variance and mortall perſecution, inſomuch that ſomtime yͤ true church of Chriſt hath no greater enemyes, than of theyr own profeſſion and company, as happened not onely in the tyme of Chriſt, and hys Apoſtles, but alſo from time to tyme almoſt continually. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 1. But eſpecially in theſe latter dayes of the church vnder the perſecution of Antichriſt and hys retinue, as by the readyng of this volume more manifeſtly hereafter may appeare.

Euſ. Lib. 8. cap. 1.

At the firſt preaching of Chriſt, and comming of the Goſpell: who ſhould rather haue knowen and receaued hym, then the Phariſeis & Scribes of that people, which had hys lawe? And yet who perſecuted and reiected him more, then they them ſelues? What followed? They in refuſing Chriſt to be theyr king, and choſing rather to be ſubiect vnto Ceſar, were by the ſayd their own Ceſar at length deſtroyed: when as Chriſtes ſubiectes the ſame tyme eſcaped the daunger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a daungerous thyng it is to refuſe the Goſpell of God, when it is ſo gently offered.

Gods puniſhment for refuſyng the Goſpell.

The like example of Gods wrathfull punyſhment is to be noted no leſſe in yͤ Romaines alſo themſelues. For when Tiberius Ceſar hauyng receaued by letters from Pontius Pilate, of the doings of Chriſt, of his miracles, reſurrection, and aſcenſion into heauẽ, and how he was receued as God of many, was himſelf alſo moued with beliefe of the ſame, & dyd conferre therof with the whole Senate of Rome, to haue Chriſt adoured as God: but they not agreeing therunto, refuſed hym, becauſe yͭ contrary to yͤ law of yͤ Romaines, he was conſecrated, (ſaid they) for God, before the Senate of Rome had ſo decreed and approued hym, &c. Tertul. Apol. cap 5. Thus yͤ vaine Senate following rather the lawe of man, then of God, and which wer contented with the Emperour to reigne ouer them, were not contented with the meeke Kyng of glory the ſonne of God to be theyr Kyng. And therfore after much lyke ſort to the Iewes, wer ſcourged and intrapped for theyr vniuſt refuſing, by yͤ ſame way which they themſelues dyd preferre. For as they preferred the Emperour, and reiected Chriſt: ſo the iuſte permiſſion of God, did ſtyrre vp theyr own Emperours agaynſt them in ſuch ſorte, that both the Senatours themſelues were almoſt all deuoured, and the whole citye moſt horriblye afflicted the ſpace almoſt of.300. yeares together. For fyrſt the ſame Tiberius, which for a great parte of hys reigne, was a moderate and a tollerable prince, afterward was to them a ſharpe and heauy tyrant, who neyther fauoured his owne mother, nor ſpared hys own neuewes, nor the princes of the citie, ſuch as were his own counſellours, of whom to the number of.xx. he lefte not paſſe two or three aliue, and ſo cruell was he to the citie, that as yͤ ſtorye recorteth: Nullus a pœna hominum ceſſa-

Tiberius Ceſar moueth the Senate to haue Chriſt receiued.

Chriſt refuſed of the Senate of Rome.

The vaine cauſe why the Senate of Rome refuſed Chriſt.

Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.

Euſeb. Lib. 2. cap. 2.

The Senate & citie of Rome plaged for refuſyng of Chriſt.

Ex Suet.in vita Tiberij.

Chriſt ſuffereth & riſeth again.

An.34.

bat dies,ne religioſus quidem ac ſacer. Suet. reporteth him to be ſo ſterne of nature and tyrannicall, that in ẏ time of hys reigne,very many were accuſed and condemned with theyr wiues and children. Maydes alſo firſt defloured,then put to death. In one daye he recordeth.xx.perſons to be drawen to the place of execution. By whom alſo,through the iuſte puniſhment of God,Pilate vnder whom Chriſt was crucified, was apprehended, and accuſed at Rome, depoſed, then banyſhed to the towne of Lyonce,and at length dyd ſlay himſelf. Neither did Herode and Cayphas long ſcape, of whom more followeth hereafter.Agrippa alſo by him was caſt in priſon,albeit afterward he was reſtored. In the reigne of thys Tiberius the Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God,in the.xxxiij.yeare of his age, which was the.xvij.of this Emperour,by the malice of the Iewes, ſuffered hys bleſſed paſſion for the conquering of ſinne, death, ⁊ Sathan the prince of thys world,and roſe agayn the thyrd day.After whoſe ſacrat paſſion and reſurrection, thys foreſayd Tiberius Nero (otherwyſe called) Biberius Mero,lyued.vj.yeares,duryng whiche tyme no perſecution was yet ſtyrring in Rome againſt the Chriſtians,through the commaundement of the Emperour.

Saint Paule conuerted.

An.35.

An.39.

Cæſar Caligula.

Caligula commaunded hys image to be ſet vp in the temple of Ieruſalẽ.

The abhominatiõ of deſolatiõ ſtãding in the holy place.

Herode miſerably dyed in banyſhment.

Cyphas depoſed.

An.43.

Ex Gotfrido Viterbienſi. part.15.

In the reigne alſo of this Emperour, ⁊ yeare which was the next after the paſſion of our Sauiour, or ſomewhat more,S.Paul was cõuerted to the fayth.After the death ⁊ raign of this Emperour]: when he had reigned 23.yeres, ſucceded C.Ceſar Caligula,Claudius Nero, ⁊ Domitius Nero:which.3. wer likewiſe ſuch ſcourges to the Senate and people of Rome,that the firſt not onely tooke other mens wiues violẽtly from them, but alſo defloured three of hys own ſiſters,and afterward banyſhed them.So wicked he was ẏ he commaunded himſelf to be worſhipped as God, ⁊ temples to be erected in hys name,and vſed to ſit in the temple among the Gods,requyring hys images to be ſet vp in all temples,and alſo in the temple of Hieruſalem,which cauſed great diſturbaunce among the Iewes.And then began the abhomination of deſolation to be ſet vp in the holy place, ſpokẽ of in the Goſpell. Hys cruell condition, or els diſpleaſure was ſuche towarde the Romaines, that he wyſhed that all the people of Rome had but one necke,that he at his pleaſure might deſtroy ſuch a multitude. By ẏ ſayd Caligula,Herode the murtherer of Iohn Baptiſt, and condemner of Chriſt,was condemned to perpetuall baniſhment,where he died miſerably.Cayphas alſo which wickedly ſat vpon Chriſt,was the ſame tyme remoued from the hygh prieſtes roume,and Ionathan ſet in hys place. The raging fiercenes of thys Caligula incenſed agaynſt the Romaines,had not thus ceaſed, had not he bene cut of by the handes of a Tribune, ⁊ other gentlemen,which ſlewe him,in the.iiij.yeare of hys reigne.After whoſe death was founde in his cloſet.ij.litle libels, one called a ſword,the other the dagger.In the which libells were conteyned the names of thoſe Senatours,⁊ noble mẽ of Rome,whõ he had purpoſed to put to death. Beſides this ſword and dagger,there was found alſo a coffer, wherein diuerſe kindes of poyſon were kepte in glaſſes and veſſells,for the purpoſe to deſtroy a wonderful number of people. Which poyſons afterward being throwen into the ſea,deſtroyed a great number of fiſhe. Gotfr. Viterb.

Claudius Nero.

An.56.

Domitius Nero.

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Peter a
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Chriſt.

69.

But that which this Caligula had onely conceaued, the ſame dyd the other two, which came after, bryng to paſſe,Claudius Nero, who reigned.xiiij.yeares with no litle crueltie.But eſpecially ẏ thyrd of theſe Neros, called Domitius Nero.Which ſucceding after Claudius, reigned.xiiij.yeares,with ſuch furye and tyrannye,that he ſlewe ẏ moſt part of the Senate,he deſtroyed ẏ whole order of knighthoode in Rome. So prodigious a monſter of nature was he,more like a beaſt,yea rather a deuill then a man,that he ſemed to be borne to the deſtructiõ of man. Such was his monſtrous vncleannes, that he abſtained not from hys owne mother, his naturall ſiſter,nor from any degree of kyndred. Such was hys wretched crueltie,that he cauſed to be put to death, hys mother,his brother in law,his ſiſter,his wife great with childe,alſo hys inſtructor Seneca, and Lucane,with diuerſe moe of hys own kindred ⁊ conſanguinitie. Moreouer he cõmaunded Rome to be ſet on fyre in.xij.places, ⁊ ſo continued it.vj.dayes,and.vij.nyghtes in burning, while that he to ſee the example how Troy burned,ſang the verſes of Homer.And to auoyd the infamie thereof, he layd the fault vpon the Chriſtian men,⁊ cauſed them to be perſecuted. And ſo continued this miſerable Emperour in his reigne.xiiij.yeares, tyll at laſt the Senate proclaming him as a publike enemy of mankinde, condemned hym to be drawen through the citie, and to bee whipped to death.For ẏ feare wherof he flying ẏ handes of his enemies,in the night fledde to a maner of hys ſeruants in ẏ country,wher he was forced to ſlay him ſelf, complaining that he had then neither frend nor enemy left,that would do ſo much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter alſo and Paule were put to death,for the teſtimonye and fayth of Chriſt.an.69.

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This ye ſee,which is worthy to be marked,howe the iuſte ſcourge and heauye indignation of God frõ tyme to time euer followeth there,and how al things there go to ruine, neyther doth any thing well proſper, where Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God is contemned, ⁊ not receaued,as by theſe examples may appeare, both of Romaines,which not onely wer thus conſumed ⁊ plagued by their owne Emperours, but alſo by ciuile warres, whereof three wer fought in two yeares at Rome, after ẏ death of Nero,⁊ other caſualtie, (as in Sueton. is teſtified,ſo ẏ in the daies of Tiberius aforeſayd.50000.Romaines were hurte ⁊ ſlaine at one time by fal of a theatre). And alſo moſte eſpeciallye by the deſtruction of the Iewes,which about this ſame time,an.73.and.xl.yeres after the paſſion of Chriſt,and the thyrd yeare after the ſuffring of S.Peter and Paule, were deſtroyed by Titus and Veſpaſian his father,(who ſucceded after Nero in the Empyre) to the number of.xj.hundred thouſand, beſides them which Veſpaſian ſlew in ſubduing ẏ countrey of Galile,ouer ⁊ beſide them alſo which were ſolde and ſent into Egypt and other prouinces, to vile ſlauerye,to the number of.17.thouſand.2000.were brought with Titus in his triumph,of which, part he gaue to be deuoured of the wilde beaſtes,part otherwyſe moſt cruelly were ſlaine.By whoſe caſe all nations and realmes may take example, what it is to reiect the viſitation of Gods veritye being ſent, and muche more to perſecute them which be ſent of God for theyr ſaluation.

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Cõſtãt

And as this wrathful vengeaunce of God thus hath ben ſhewed vpõ thys rebellious people both of ẏ Iewes, ⁊ of ẏ Romanes,for their contempt of Chriſt, whõ God ſo puniſhed by their own Emperours:ſo neither ẏ Emperours themſelues,for perſecuting Chriſt in his members,eſcaped without their iuſt rewarde. For emong ſo many Emperours,which put ſo many Chriſten Martyrs to death, during ẏ ſpace of theſe firſt.300.yeares, few or none of them ſcaped eyther not ſlayne hymſelfe, or by ſome miſerable end or other worthely reuenged, Firſt of the poyſoning of Tiberius, ⁊ of the ſlaughter of the other three Neros after hym,ſufficiently is declared before.After Nero Domitius, Galba, within.vij.monthes was ſlayne by Otho.And ſo did Otho afterward ſlay himſelf,being ouercom by Vitellus.And was not Vitellus ſhortly after drawen through the Citye of Rome, and after he was tormented, was throwen into Tiber? Titus a good Emperour is thought to be poyſoned of Domitian his brother.The ſaid Domitian after he had ben a perſecutor of the Chriſtians,was ſlayne in his chamber, not without the conſent of his wife. Like wiſe Commodus was murdred of Narciſſus. The like end was of Pertinax and Julianus. Moreouer after that Seuerus was ſlayne here in England and lyeth at Yorke. Did not his ſon Baſſianus ſlay hys brother Geta, and he after ſlayne of Martialis? Marcinus with his ſonne Diadumenus, were both ſlayne of their own ſoldiours. After whome Heliogabalus that monſtrous belypanch, was of hys owne people ſlayne, and drawen throughe the Citye, and caſt in Tiber. Alexander Seuerus, that worthy and learned Emperour, which ſayd he would not feede his ſeruaunts doyng nothyng, with the bowels of the common wealth, although in life and vertues, was much vnlike other Emperors, yet proued the like end, being ſlayne at Mentze with his godly Mother Mãmea by Maximinus, whome the Emperour before of a muletour had aduaunſed to greate dygnityes. The which Maximinus alſo after thre yeares was ſlayn himſelfe of his ſoldiers. What ſhould I ſpeake of Maximus, and Balbinus, in like ſorte both ſlayne in Rome? Of Gordian ſlayne by Philippe: of Philippe, the fyrſte chriſtened Emperour, ſlayne or rather Martired for the ſame cauſe: of wicked Decius, of Decius drowned & his ſonne ſlayne, the ſame time in battaile? Of Gallus and Volucianus hys ſonne, Emperours after Decius, both ſlayne by conſpiracie: of Amilianus, who roſe agaynſte them both in war, and within three monthes after was ſlayne himſelfe: Next to Amilianus ſucceded Valerianus, and Galienus hys ſonne, of whome Valerianus (who was a perſecutor of the chriſtians) was taken priſoner of the Perſians, and there made a ridyng foole of Sapores their king, whoe vſed hym for a ſtoole to leape vp vppon hys horſe, whyle his ſonne Galienns ſleepyng at Rome, either would not or could not once profer to reuenge his fathers ignomie. For after the takynge of Valerian, ſo many emperours roſe vp, as were prouinces in the Romane monarche: At length Galienus alſo was killed by Aureolus, which warred againſt him. It wer to long here to ſpeake of Aurelianus an other perſecutor, ſlaine of his ſecretary: Of Tacitus, & Florinus hys brother, of whom the firſt reigned ſixe monthes, and was ſlayne at Pontus, the other reigned two monthes, & was murdred at Tarſis. Of Probus, who although a good ciuil Emperor, yet was he deſtroied by his ſoldiers: After whom Carus the next Emperour was ſlayne by lyghtning. Next to Carus folowed the impious and wicked perſecutor Diocleſian, with hys felowes Maximian, Celarius, Maximinus, Maxentius, & Licinius, vnder whom all at one time (during the lyfe of Dioclecian) the greateſt & moſt greuous perſecution was moued againſt the Chriſtians .x. yeares together. Of which Diocletian and Maximinian depoſed themſelues from yͤ Empire. Galerius yͤ chiefeſt miniſter of yͤ perſecutiõ, after his terrible perſecutions, fel into a wonderful ſicknes, hauing ſuch a ſore ryſen in the neather parte of hys bely, which conſumed hys priuye members, and ſo dyd ſwarme with wormes, that beinge not curable, neither by ſurgery nor phiſike, he confeſſed, that it happened for hys cruelty towarde the Chriſtians, and ſo called in his proclamations againſt them. Notwithſtanding he not able to ſuſteine (as ſome ſay) the ſtench of hys ſore, ſlewe himſelf. Maximinus in his warre being tormented with paine in his guttes, there died. Maxentius was vanquiſhed by Conſtantine and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewyſe being ouercome by the ſayde Conſtantine the great, was depoſed from hys Empyre, and afterwarde ſlaine of his ſouldiours. But on the other ſide, after the time of Conſtantine, when as the fayth of Chriſt was receaued into the imperiall ſeate, we reade of no Emperour after the like ſorte deſtroyed or moleſted, excepte it were Julianus, or Baſilius which expelled one Zeno, & was afterward expelled himſelfe: or Valende; beſides theſe we read of no Emperour to come to ruine, as the other before mentioned. Ex lib. Hiſt. tripart.

And thus haue ye in a briefe ſumme collected oute of the Chronicles, the vnquiet & miſerable ſtate of the Emperours of Rome, vntil the time of Chriſtiã Conſtãtine, wͭ the examples no leſſe terrible than manifeſt, of Gods ſeuere iuſtice vpõ them, for theyr contẽptuous refuſing & perſecuting the fayth and name of Chriſt theyr Lord.

Moreouer in much like ſort and condicion, if leiſure of time or haſt of matter woulde ſuffer me a little to digres vnto more lower times, & to come more nere home: the like examples I could alſo inferre of this our countrey of England, cõcerning the terrible plagues of god againſt the churliſh and vnthankfull refuſinge or abuſing the benefit of his truth. Firſt we read how that god ſtirred vp Gildas to preach to the old Brittaines, and to exhorte them vnto repentance, and amendement of life, & afore to warn thẽ of plagues to come, if they repented not. What auayled it? Gildas was laughed to ſcorne & takẽ for a falſe prophet, and a malicious preacher. The Britaines with luſty courages, whoriſh faces, & vnrepẽtant hartes, went forth to ſin, & to offend the Lord their God. What folowed? God ſent in their enemies on euery ſide, and deſtroied them, & gaue the land to other nations. Not many yeres paſt, god ſeying idolatry, ſuperſticion, hipocriſy, and wicked liuing vſed in this realm, rayſed vp that godlye learned man John Wickliefe, to preach vnto our fathers repentance, & to exhort them to amende their liues, to forſake their papiſtry & idolatrie, their hipocriſy, ſuperſticion, and to walk in the feare of God, his exhortations were not regarded. He with his ſermons was deſpiſed. His bokes and he himſelfe after his death were brente, what followed? they ſlew their right king, and ſet vp three wrong kinges on a row, vnder whome all the noble bloud was ſlaine vp, and halfe the commons therto, what in Fraunce, and with theire own ſword in fighting among thẽſelues for the crown, and the cities and townes decayed, and the lãd brought halfe to a wildernes, in reſpect of that it was before. O extreme plagues of Gods vengaunce. Since yͤ time euen of late yeares, god once againe hauing pity of this realme of Englãd raiſed vp his prophets namely William Tindall, Thomas Bilney, John Frithe, Doctour Barnes, Jerome Garret, Antony Parſon, with diuers other, which both with their writinges, & ſermons earneſtly labored to call vs vnto repentance, that by thys meanes the fierce wrath of god might be turned away from vs. But how were they entreated? how wer theire paynefnl labors regarded? they themſelues were condẽned and brent as heretikes, and theire bookes condemned and brent as hereticall. The tyme ſhall come ſaith Chriſt, yͭ whoſoeuer killeth you, wil thinke that he doth God hie good ſeruice. Whether any thing ſince yͤ time hath ſo chaunced this realm worthy yͤ name of a plage, let yͤ godly wiſe iudge. If god hath deferred his puniſhment, or forgeuen vs theſe our wicked dedes, as I truſt he hath, let vs not therfore be proud and hie minded, but moſt humbly thank him for his tender mercies, and be ware of yͤ like vngodly ẽterpriſes hereafter. Nether is it here any nede to ſpeke of theſe our lower & latter times, which haue ben in K. Henry, & K. Edvvards daies: ſeing yͤ memorie thereof is yet freſhe, and can not bee forgotten. But let this paſſe, of this I am ſure, that God yet once againe is come on viſitatiõ to this church of England, yea and that more louingly and beneficially then euer he did afore. For in this his viſitation he hath addreſſed many abuſes, & clenſed his churche of much vngodlines & ſuperſticion, & made it a glorious church, if it be compared to the olde forme & ſtate. And nowe how grateful receiuers we be, with what hart, ſtudy and reuerence we embrace that which he hath geuen, that I refer either to them, that ſee our fruits, or to the ſequel, which peraduenture will declare. But this by the waye of digreſſiõ. Now to regreſſe again to the ſtate of yͤ firſt former times, it remaineth, that as I haue ſet forth the

Britaās Gildas.

Wicklife & hys bookes condēned & brent for an heretike after his death.

Iohn.16.

Gods benefites toward England.

A caueat for England.

iuſtice of God vpon theſe Romaine perſecutors: ſo now we declare their perſecutiõs raſed vp againſt the people and ſeruantes of Chriſte, within the ſpace of three hundred yeares after Chriſt. Which perſecutions in number cõmonly are counted to be.x. beſide the perſecutions firſt moued by the Jewes in Jeruſalẽ and other places againſt the Apoſtles. In the which firſt Saint Stephen the deacon was put to death, with diuers other mo, in yͤ ſame rage of time either ſlaine, or caſt into priſon. At the doing wherof, Saule the ſame time playd the doughtye Phariſie, being not yet conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt, wherof the hiſtorye is playne in the Actes of the Apoſtle ſet forth at large by S. Luke.

Sainct Stephen the firſt ringleader of all Chriſtes martyrs.

After the martyrdome of thys bleſſed Stephen, ſuffered next James yͤ holy Apoſtle of Chriſt, and brother of John. Of which James, mention is made in the Actes of the Apoſtles, the.xij.chap. Where is declared, how that not longe after the ſtoning of Stephen, King Herode ſtretched forth his hand, to take and afflicte certayne of the congregatiõ: among whom James was one, whom he ſlewe with the ſword, &c. Of this James Euſebius alſo inferreth mention, alledging Clement, thus writyng a memorable ſtory of him. Hypolyp 7. This James (ſayth Clement) when he was brought to the tribunall ſeat, he that brought hym (and was the cauſe of hys trouble,) ſeing him to be condemned, & that he ſhoulde ſuffer death: as he went to the execution, he being moued therwith in hart and conſcience, confeſſed hymſelfe alſo of his owne accord to be a Chriſtian. And ſo were they both led forth together, where in yͤ way he deſired of James to forgeue him that he had done. After that James had a litle pauſed with him vpon the matter, turnyng to hym: Peace (ſayth he) be to thee brother, and kyſſed hym: And both were beheaded together. an. Do 36.

Saint James the apoſtle, brother of John martyred.

Act.12.

Hiſt. eccleſ. lib.2.cap. 9. Ex Clemente Septima Hypolypoſeon.

A notable conuerſiõ of a wicked accuſer, & after a Martyr.

Dorotheus in his boke named Synopſis teſtifieth, that Nicanor one of the.vij. Deacõs, with.2000.other which beleued in Chriſt, ſuffred alſo the ſame day, whẽ as Stephen did ſuffer.

Nicanor one of the ſeuen deacõs with.2000. other martired.

The ſaid Dorotheus witneſſeth alſo of Simon, an other of the Deacons, Byſhop afterward of Boſtram in Arabie, there to be burned. Parmenias alſo an other of the Deacons ſuffered.

Ex Dorotheo in Synopſ.

Simon a deacõ martyred.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, & Perſians: Alſo to the Germans, Hiraconis, Bactris, and Magis. He ſuffred in Calamina a citie of Judia, being ſlayne with a Darte.

S. Thomas the apoſtle ſuffred.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the countrey of Aphrike. And in Brettania he was likewiſe crucifyed.

Simon Zelotes crucified.

Judas brother of James, called alſo Thaddeus, and Lebeus, preached to the Edeſſens, and to all Meſopotamia. He was ſlayn vnder Augarus King of yͤ Edeſſens in Beryto.

Thaddeus the apoſtle ſlayne.

Simon called Chananeus, which was brother to Jude aboue mentioned, & to James the younger, which all were the ſonnes of Marye Cleopha, and of Alpheus, was Biſhop of Jeruſalem after James, and was crucified in a citie of Egypt in the time of Traianus Emperour, as Dorotheus recordeth. But Abdias writeth that he with hys brother Jude, were both ſlayne by a tumult of the people in Suanyr a citie of Perſidis.

Simon Cananeus crucified.

Marke the Euangeliſt, and firſt Biſhop of Alexandria, preached the Goſpell in Egypt, and there drawen with ropes vnto the fyer, was burned, and afterwarde buried in a place called there Bucolus, vnder the reigne of Traianus Emperour.

Marke the Euãgeliſt burned.

Bartholomeus is ſayd alſo to preache to yͤ Judians, and to haue conuerted the Goſpell of S. Mathewe into theyr tounge. Where he continued a great ſpace doing many myracles. At laſte in Albania a citie of greater Armenia, after diuerſe perſecutions, he was beaten down with ſtaues, then crucified, and after being excoriat, he was at length beheaded. Ioan. De Monte Regali.

Bartholomewe the apoſtle crucified and beheaded.

Ex Ioã. de Mõte Regali.

Of Andrewe the Apoſtle and brother of Peter thus writeth Jerome, in his booke De. catalogo ſcriptorum Eccleſ. Andrewe the brother of Peter (in the time and reygne of Veſpacianus, as oure aunciters haue reported) did preache in the.80.yeare of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Saxons, and in a Citie which is called Auguſtia, where the Ethiopians doo nowe inhabite. He was buried in Patris, a Citye of Achaia, beinge crucified of Egeas the gouernour of the Edeſſians: hitherto writeth Jerome, although in the number of yeares he ſeemeth a litle to miſſe, for Veſpacianus reached not to the yeare.80.after Chriſte. But Barnarde in hys ſecond Sermon, and S. Ciprian in his booke De duplici Martirio, do make mention of the confeſſion and martyrdom of this bleſſed Apoſtle, wherof partlye out of theſe, partlye out of other credible writers wee haue collected after thys maner, that when as Andrewe being conuerſaunt in a Citye of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent preaching had brought manye to the faith of Chriſt: Egeas the gouerner knowing this, reſorted thether to the entent he might conſtrain as many as did beleue Chriſt to be God, by the whole conſent of the Senate, to doo ſacrifice vnto the Idoles, and ſo geue deuine honour vnto thẽ. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to reſiſte the wicked counſell, and the doynges of Egeas, went vnto hym ſaying in this effect vnto hym: that it behoued hym which was a Judge of men, firſt to know his Judge which dwelleth in heauen, and then to worſhippe him being knowen, And ſo in worſhipping the true God, to reuoke his minde from falſe gods and blynde Idoles. Theſe wordes ſpake Andrewe to the Conſull.

But he greatlye therewith diſconted, demaunded of him, whether he was the ſame Andrewe that dyd ouerthrowe the Temple of the Goddes, and perſwaded men of that ſuperſtious ſecte, whiche the Romaynes of late hadde commaunded to bee abolyſhed, and reiected. Andrewe dyd playnly affyrme that the Princes of the Romans dyd not vnderſtand the truthe, and that the ſonne of God comming from heauen into the world, for mans ſake hath taught and declared how theſe Idoles, whõ they ſo honored as gods, were not onely not gods, but alſo moſt cruell Diuels, moſt enemies to mankind, teachinge the people nothinge els, but that wherewith god is offended, and being offended turneth awaye and regardeth them not, and ſo by the wicked ſeruice of the Deuil do fal hedlong into al wickednes, and after theyr departing nothyng remaineth vnto them, but their euil deedes.

But the Proconſull eſteeming theſe thynges to be as vayne, eſpecialy ſeing the Jewes (as he ſaid) had crucyfied Chriſt before, therfore charged, and commaũded Andrewe not to teache and preache ſuche thynges anye more, or if he dyd, that he ſhould be faſtened to the croſſe with al ſpeede.

Andrewe abiding in his former minde verye conſtaunt, aunſwered thus concernynge the puniſhment which he threatned: he would not haue preached the honour and glory of the Croſſe, if he had feared the death of the croſſe. Wherupon ſentence of cõdemnation was pronounced, that Andrewe teachyng, and enterpriſynge a newe ſect, and takinge awaye the relygyon of theyr gods, ought to be crucified. Andrewe commyng to the place and ſeing a far of the croſſe prepared, did chaunge neither countenaunce ne color, as the imbecility of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood ſhrinke, neither dyd he faile in his ſpeche, hys body fainted not, neither was hys mind moleſted, his vnderſtanding did not fayle him, as it is the maner of men to do, but out of the aboundance of his hart hys mouth did ſpeake: And feruent charity dyd appeare in his words, as kindled ſparcles.

cles. He ſaid O croſſe moſt welcome ⁊ long loked for: wͭ a willyng mind, ioyfully and deſirouſly I come to thee, being ẏ ſcholer of him which did hang on thee: Becauſe I haue bene alwaies thy louer and haue coueted to embrace thee. So beinge crucified hee yeloed vp the ghoſte ⁊ fel on ſlepe, the day before the callendes of December.

Mathew otherwiſe named Leui, firſt of a publicane made an Apoſtle, wrote his Goſpell to the Jewes in the Hebrewe tonge, as ſayth Hierome. Lib. De viris illuſt. After that he had conuerted to the faith Ethiope and al Egipt, Hircanus their king ſent one to runne him thorowe with a ſpeare, as writeth, the forenamed. Ioan. de monte Regali.

The ſame autor likewiſe teſtifieth of Mathias, that after he had preached to the Jewes, at length he was ſtoned and beheaded.

Philippus the holy Apoſtle, after he had much laboured amonge the barbarous nations, in preaching the worde of ſaluation to them. At length he ſuffered as the other Apoſtles did, in Hierapolis a citie of Phrygia, being there crucified and ſtoned to death, where alſo hee was buried, and his daughters alſo with him. Iſido.

¶ Of Iames the brother of the Lord, thus we read in the ſtorye of Clement and of Egeſippus.

After that Feſtus had ſente the Apoſtle Paule vnto Rome after his appellation made at Ceſaria, and that the Jewes by the means thereof had loſt their hope of performing their malitious vow againſt him conceiued, they fell vpon James the brother of our Lorde, who was biſhoppe at Jeruſalem, againſte whom they being bent with like malice, brought him foorth before them and required him to denye before all the people the fayth of Chriſte. But he otherwiſe then they all loked for, frely and with a greater conſtancy before all the multitude confeſſed Jeſus to be the ſonne of God, our ſauior, and our lord. Wherupō they not being able to abide the teſtimony of this man any longer, becauſe he was thought to be the iuſteſt among al, for the highnes of diuine wiſedome, and godlines whiche in lyuing he declared, they killed him, finding ẏ more oportunity to accompliſh their miſchief, becauſe ẏ kingdome ẏ ſame time was vacant. For Feſtus being dead in Jewrye, the adminiſtration of that prouince was deſtitute of a ruler, and a debity. But after what maner James was killed the words of Clement do declare, which writeth that he was caſt down from the pinacle of the temple, and beinge ſmitten with the inſtrument of a fuller was ſlayne, but Egeſippus whiche liued in the time next after the Apoſtles, deſcribeth this cauſe diligently in his fift cōmentary after this maner as foloweth.

James the brother of our Lorde tooke in hande to gouerne the church after the apoſtles (being counted of al men frō ẏ time of our lord to be a iuſte ⁊ perfect man.) Many and diuers other Jameſes there wer beſide him, but this was borne holly from his mothers wombe, he dronke no wine, nor any ſtronge drinke, neither did he eate any liuing creature, the raſor neuer came vpon his head, he was not anointed with oyle, neither did he vſe bathe, to him onely was it lawful to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed wͭ wollē cloth, but wͭ ſilke, and he onely entred into the temple, fallinge vpon his knees, aſking remiſſion for the people, ſo that his knees by oft kneeling, loſt the ſence of feeling, being benūmed and hardned like ẏ knees of a Camel. He was (for worſhipping God and deſiring forgeuenes for ẏ people) called iuſt, ⁊ for ẏ excellencie of his iuſtice named Oblias, which (if you do interprete it) is the ſauegard, and iuſtice of the people as ẏ prophets declare of him: therfore whē as many of ẏ heretikes which wer among ẏ people aſked hym what manner of doore Jeſus ſhould be, he anſwered that he was the ſauiour. Wherof ſome do beleue him to be Jeſus Chriſt, but the aforſayde heretikes neither beleue ẏ reſurrection, neither ẏ any ſhal come, which ſhall render vnto euerye man accordinge to his workes, *Apoc. 22.* but as many as beleue, they beleued for James cauſe. Whē as many therfore of the princes did beleue, there was a tumult made of ẏ ſcribes, Jewes, and Phariſes, ſaying: it is daūgerous leaſt that all the people do looke for thys Jeſus, as for Chriſt, therefore they gathered themſelues together and ſayd vnto James: We beſech thee reſtrain the people, for they beleue in Jeſus, as though he were Chriſt. We pray thee perſwade them al which come vnto the feaſt of the paſſeouer of Jeſus, for we are all obedient vnto thee, and all the people do teſtifie of thee that thou art iuſt, nether that thou doſt accept the perſon of any mā, therfore perſwade the people that they be not deceiued in Jeſus, and all the people, and we will obey thee, therfore ſtand vpon the piller of the temple that thou mayeſt be ſeene from aboue, and that thy woordes maye be perceaued of all the people, for to this paſſeouer all the tribes doe come with all the countrey. And thus the forenamed Scribes, and Phariſeis did ſet James vpon the battelmentes of the church, and they cryed vnto hym and ſayd, thou iuſte man whom all we ought to obey, becauſe thys people is led after Jeſus, which is crucified, tell what is the doore of Jeſus crucified: and he anſwered with a great voyce, what doe you aſke me of Jeſus the ſonne of man, ſeing that he ſitteth on the ryght hand of God in heauen, and ſhall come in the cloudes of the ſky? But when many wer perſwaded of thys, they glorified God vpon the witnes of James, and ſayd: Oſanna in the higheſt to the ſonne of Dauid. Then the Scribes, and the Phariſeis ſaid among themſelues, we haue done euil ẏ we haue cauſed ſuch a teſtimonye of Jeſus. But let vs goe vp and let vs take him, that they being compelled with feare, maye denye that fayth. And they cryed out ſaying: O, O, this iuſte man alſo is ſeduced, and they fulfilled that Scripture which is ſpoken of in Eſaye. Let vs take away the iuſte man, *Cap. 53.* becauſe he is not profitable for vs: Wherefore let them eate the fruites of theyr workes. Therfore they went vp to throwe downe the iuſte man, and ſayd among themſelues: let vs ſtone thys iuſte man James, and they toke hym to ſmyte him with ſtones, for he was not yet dead when he was caſte downe, but he turning fell down vpon hys knees, ſaying: O Lorde God, Father, I beſeche thee forgeue them, for they know not what they do. *Luk. 23.* But when they had ſmitten hym with ſtones, one of the prieſts of the children of Rechas, the ſonne of Charobim, ſpake to them the teſtimonye which is in Jeremye the Prophet: leaue of, what doe ye? The iuſte man prayeth for you. And one of thoſe which were preſent, tooke a Fullers inſtrument, wherwith they did vſe to beate and purge clothe, and ſmote the iuſte man on hys head, and ſo he finiſhed his Martyrdome, and they buried hym in the ſame place, and his piller abideth yet by the temple. He was a true teſtimony to the Jewes and to the Gentils. And ſhortly after Veſpaſianus the Emperour deſtroying the land of Jewrie, brought them into captiuitie. Theſe thinges being thus writtē at large of Egeſippus, do well agree to thoſe which Clemente did write of hym. This James was ſo notable a man, that for hys iuſtice he was had in honour of all men, inſomuch that the wiſe mē of the Jewes ſhortly after his Martirdome did impute the cauſe of the beſieging of Jeruſalem and other calamities which happened vnto them, to no other cauſe, but vnto ẏ violence and iniurie done to this man. Alſo Joſephus hath not left this out of his hiſtory, where he ſpeaketh of hym after this manner: Theſe thinges ſo chaunced vnto the Jewes for a vengeaunce, becauſe of that iuſte man James which was the brother of Jeſu, whom they called Chriſt, for the Jewes killed hym although he was a ryghteous man. The ſame Joſephus declareth his death in ẏ ſame booke and chapter ſaying:

Ceſar hearing of the death of Feſtus, ſent Albinus the Lieuetenant into Jewrie, but Ananus the younger, being Biſhop, ⁊ of the ſecte of the Saduces, truſting that he had obtayned a cõuenient time, ſeeing that Feſtus was dead, and Albinus entred on his iourney, he called a councell, and calling many vnto hym, among whom was James by name the brother of Jeſu which is called Chriſt, he ſtoned thẽ, accuſing thẽ as breakers of ẏ law.

Martyrs.

Wherby it appeareth ẏ many other beſides James alſo the ſame time were Martyred and put to death among the Jewes, for the fayth of Chriſt.

A deſcription of the. x. fyrſt perſecutions in the primitiue church.

The fyrſt.x. perſecutions in the primatiue church.

These thinges being thus declared for the Martyrdome of the Apoſtles, and ẏ perſecution of the Jewes: Now let vs (by the grace of Chriſt our Lorde) comprehend with lyke breuetie, the perſecutions rayſed vp by the Romaines, againſt the chriſtians in the primitiue age of the church, duryng the ſpace of.300. yeares, till the comming of godly Conſtantine, which perſecutions are rekened, by the moſt part of writers (as is before mentioned) to the number of ten.

The ſundry tormentes of holy Martyrs in the primitiue church.

Aug. de ciuit. Li.22. cap. 6.

The number of holy Martyrs in the primitiue church.

I. The fyrſt perſecution.

An.67.

Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. Lib.2. co.24.25.26.

Wherin, maruellous it is, to ſee and read the numbers incredible of Chriſtian innocentes that haue beene ſlayne and tormented, ſome one way, ſome an other. As Rabanus ſayeth, and ſayth truelye. Alij ferro perempti. Alij flammis exuſti. Alij flagris verberati. Alij vectibus perforati. Alij cruciati patibulo. Alij demerſi pelagi periculo. Alij viui decoriati. Alij vinculis mancipati. Alij linguis priuati. Alij lapidibus obruti. Alij frigore afflicti. Alij fame cruciati. Alij truncatis manibus, aliiſue cæſis mẽbris ſpectaculũ contumeliæ, nudi propter nomẽ domini portãtes, &c. That is. Some ſlayne with ſworde. Some burnt with fyre. Some with whippes ſcourged. Some ſtabbed in with forkes of yron. Some faſtened to the croſſe, or gybbet. Some drowned in ẏ ſea. Some their ſkinnes pluckt of aliue. Some their tounges cut of. Some ſtoned to death. Some killed with colde. Some ſtarued with hunger. Some their hands cut of, or otherwyſe diſmembred haue bene ſo left naked to ẏ open ſhame of the world, ⁊c. Wherof Auſten alſo in hys booke, De ciuit.22.cap.6. thus ſayth: Ligabantur, includebantur, cedebantur, torquebãtur, vrebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabãtur, non pugnantes pro ſalute, ſed ſalutẽ contẽnentes pro ſeruatore. Whoſe kindes of puniſhmentes, although they were diuerſe, yet the maner of conſtancie in all theſe Martyrs was one. And yet notwithſtanding the ſharpenes of theſe ſo many and ſundry tormentes, and alſo of the like cruelnes of the tormentours: yet ſuch was the number of theſe conſtant Sainctes that ſuffered, or rather ſuch was the power of the Lord in his Sainctes, that as Hierome in his epiſtle to Cramatius and Heliodorus ſaith: Nullus eſſet dies qui non vltra quinque millium numerum Martyrum reperiri poſſet aſcriptus excepto die Kalendarũ Ianuarij. That is. There is no day in the whole yere, vnto which the number of fiue thouſand Martyrs can not be aſcribed, except onely the firſt day of Januarye. The firſt of theſe.x. perſecutions, was ſtyrred vp by Nero Domitius before mentioned, aboute the yeare of our Lorde.67. The tyrannous rage of which Emperour was ſo fierce agaynſt the Chriſtians, (as Euſebius recordeth,) Vſq; adeo vt videres repletas humanis corporibus ciuitates, iacentes mortuos ſimul cum paruulis ſenes: feminarumq; abſq; vlla ſexus reuerentia nudata in publico, reiectaq; ſtarent cadauera. That is: Inſomuch that a man myght then ſee cityes laye full of mens bodyes, the olde there laying together with the younge, and the dead bodyes of women caſte oute naked without all reuerence of that ſexe in the open ſtreetes, ⁊c. Lykewiſe Oroſius writing of the ſayd Nero, ſayeth, that he was the fyrſt, which in Rome dyd rayſe vp perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, and not onely in Rome, but alſo through all the prouinces therof, thinking to abolyſh and to deſtroy the whole name of Chriſtians in all places, ⁊c. Wherunto accordeth moreouer the teſtimony of Hierome vppon Daniell, ſaying: that many there were of ẏ Chriſtians in thoſe dayes, which ſeing the filthye abhominations, and intollerable crueltye of Nero, thought that hee ſhould be Antichriſt, ⁊c.

Oroſiu
Lib.7

Nero thoug
be An
chriſt.

S. Pete
Apoſtle
cified a
Rome.

In this perſecution, among many other Saintes the bleſſed Apoſtle Peter was condemned to death, ⁊ crucified at Rome, concerning whoſe lyfe ⁊ hiſtorye, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed in the text of the Goſpell, and in the Actes, by Saint Luke, Chapt.4.5.12. J neede not here to make any great repeticion thereof. As touchyng the cauſe and maner of his death, diuers there be, which make relation, as Hierome, Egeſippus, Euſebius, Abdias, and other: although they do not all preciſely agree in the tyme. The wordes of Hierome be theſe: Simon Peter the ſonne of John, of the prouince of Galile, and of the towne of Bethſaida, the brother of Andrewe, ⁊c. After he had bene Biſhop of the church of Antioche, and had preached to the diſperſiõ of them that beleued of the circumciſion in Pontus, Galacia, Cappadocia, Aſia, ⁊ Bithinia, in the ſecond yeare of Claudius ẏ Emperour, (which was aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 44.) came to Rome, to withſtande Simon Magus, and there kept the prieſtly chayre, the ſpace of.xxv.yeares, vntill the laſt yeare of the foreſayd Nero, which was the.xiiij. yeare of his reigne, of whom he was crucified, his head being downe, and hys feete vpward, himſelf ſo requyryng, becauſe he was (he ſayd) vnworthy to be crucified after the ſame forme and manner, as the Lorde was, ⁊c. Egeſippus proſecuting thys matter ſomething more at large, and Abdias alſo, (if any autoritie is to bee geuen to his booke, who following not onely the ſenſe, but alſo the very forme of wordes of Egeſippus in thys hiſtorye, ſeemeth to bee extracted out of hym, and of other authors) ſayth: that Simon Magus being then a great mã with Nero, and as preſident and keper of his life, was requyred vpon a tyme to be preſent at the rayſing vp of a certayne noble younge man in Rome, of Neros kyndred, lately departed. Where as Peter alſo was deſired to come to the reuiuing of the ſayd perſonage. But when Magus in the preſence of Peter coulde not doe it. Then Peter calling vppon the name of the Lorde Jeſus, dyd rayſe hym vp, and reſtored him to hys mother, Wherby the eſtimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decaye, ⁊ to be deteſted in Rome. Not long after the ſayd Magus threatned the Romaines, ẏ he would leaue their citie ⁊ in their ſight flye away from them into heauen. So the day being appointed Magus taking his winges in the Mounte Capitolinus, beganne to flye in the ayre. But Peter by the power of the Lord Jeſus brought him downe with his winges headlong to the ground, by the which fall his legges and ioyntes were broken, and hee thereupon died. Then Nero ſorrowing for the death of him, ſought matter agaynſt Peter to put him to death. Which when the people perceaued, they entreated Peter with much a do, that he woulde flee the citie. Peter through their importunitie at length perſwaded, prepared himſelf to auoyde. But comming to the gate he ſaw the Lorde Chriſt come to meete him, to whom he worſhipping, ſayd: Lord whether dooſt thou goe? To whom he aunſwered and ſayd, J come agayne to be crucified. By this Peter perceauing his ſuffering to be vnderſtãded, returned backe into the citie agayne. And ſo was he crucified, in maner as is before declared. And thys out of Egeſippus.

Hiero
De vi
illuſtr

Egeſipp
Lib.3.
excidio
Hieroſ
cap.2.

Abdia
Lib.1.
vita P

Euſeb
lib.3.
eccle

Euſebius moreouer writing of the death not onely of Peter, but alſo of his wife, affyrmeth, that Peter ſeing

ers wife
t to death
Christe.

e words
Peter to
wyfe,
ing to
th.

ing his wife going to her Martirdome(belike as he was yet hanging vpon the croſſe)was greatly ioyous & glad thereof. Who crying vnto her with a loude voyce,and calling her by her name,bad her remember ỳ Lorde Ieſus.Such was then(ſayeth Euſebius) the bleſſed bonde of mariage among the Saintes of God.And thus much of Peter.

l the A
ſtle.

Hiero
no lib.
viris il

l brou-
vp vn-
Gama-

l a perſe
tor.

l cõuer

Paule the Apoſtle, which before was called Saule, after his greate trauaile and vnſpeakeable labours in promoting the goſpel of Chriſt,ſuffered alſo in this firſt perſecution vnder Nero,and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hierome in his boke De viris illuſtr.Paule, otherwiſe called Saule, one of the Apoſtles, yet out of the number of.xij.was of the tribe of Beniamin,and of a towne of Iewrye,called Giſcalis: which towne being taken of ỳ Romaines,he with his parentes fled to Tharſus a towne of Cilicia. Afterward was ſent vp by his parentes to Hieruſalem, and there broughte vp in the knowledge of the lawe, at the feete of Gamaliell, and was at the death of Stephen a doer. And whẽ he had receaued letters from the high prieſt to perſecute ỳ chriſtians,by ỳ way going to Damaſcus,was ſtroken downe of the Lordes glorye,and of a perſecutour, was made a profeſſor,an Apoſtle,a Martyr, a witnes of the Goſpell, and a veſſell of election.

lus tur-
to Pau

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Among his other manifold labours and trauailes in ſpreading the doctrine of Chriſt,he wan Sergius Paulus the proconſull of Cyprus,to the fayth of Chriſt, whereupon he tooke his name turned frõ Saulus to Paulus. After he had paſſed through diuerſe places & countries in hys laborious peregrinations,he toke to him Barnabas,and went vp to Hieruſalem,to Peter,Iames, and Iohn, where he was ordeyned and ſent out with Barnabas to preach vnto the Gentiles.

And becauſe it is in the Actes of the Apoſtles ſufficiently comprehended,concerning the admirable conuerſion,and conuerſation of this moſt worthy Apoſtle,that which remaineth of the reaſt of his hiſtorye, I will here adde,that the ſayd Apoſtle Paule,the.25.yeare after the paſſion of the Lorde,in the ſeconde yeare of Nero,what time Feſtus ruled in Iewrye,was ſent vp in bondes to Rome: where he remayning in hys free hoſtery two yeares together,diſputed dayly againſte the Iewes prouing Chriſt to be come. And here is to be noted,that after his firſt anſwere or purgation there made at Rome, the Emperour Nero,not yet fully cõfirmed in his Empire, & yet not bruſting out into thoſe miſchiefes, which hiſtories report of him,he was at that time by Nero diſcharged,and diſmiſſed to preach the Goſpell in the weſt partes and aboute the coaſtes of Italye,as he hymſelfe writing vnto Timothe,afterward in his ſecond apprehenſion,in his ſecond Epiſtle witneſſeth,ſaying: In my firſt purgation,no man ſtoode with me, but did all forſake me,the Lorde laye it not to their charge. But the Lorde ſtoode with me,and did comfort me, that ỳ preaching of his word might procede by me,and that all the Gentiles myght heare and be taught,and I was deliuered out of the Lyons mouth,&c. In which place by the Lyon he playnely meaneth Nero. And afterward lykewiſe ſayth: I was deliuered from the mouth of the Lyon,&c.And again: the Lord hath deliuered me out frõ al euill workes,& hath ſaued me vnto his heauenly kingdome,&c.ſpeaking this, becauſe he perceaued then, the time of hys Martyrdome to be nere at hand. For in the ſame epiſtle before he ſayeth: I am nowe offred vp,and the time of my diſſolution draweth on.

Thus then,this worthye preacher and meſſenger of the Lord, in the.14.yeare of Nero,and the ſame day,in which Peter was crucified,was beheaded at Rome, for the teſtimonye of Chriſt,and was buryed in the way of Oſtia. The yeare after the paſſion of the Lorde.37. He wrote.ix.Epiſtles to ſeuen churches, to the Romaines one: to the Corinthians two: to the Galathians one: to the Epheſians one:to the Philippians one:to the Colloſſians one: to ỳ Theſſalonians two: Moreouer he wrote to his Diſciples,to Timothie two:to Titus one:to Philemon one.

The epiſtles of S.Paul to ſeuen churches.

The Epiſtle which beareth the title to the Hebrues, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the ſtyle and phraſe:but either iudged to be written of Timothie, as Tertullian ſuppoſeth,or of Sainct Luke, as other do thinke:or ells of Clement, afterward Biſhop of Rome: who,as they ſaye,was adioyned with Paule, and compyling together hys ſayings and ſentences, dyd phraſe them in his ſtyle,and maner. Or ells,as ſome do iudge, becauſe Saint Paule wrote vnto the Hebrewes,for the odiouſnes of his name amonge that people, therefore he diſſimuled,and ſuppreſſed his name in the firſt entre of his ſalutation, contrarye to his accuſtomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrewes he being an Hebrew: ſo he wrote in Hebrewe,that is,in his owne tonge more eloquently.And that is thought to be the cauſe, why it differeth from his other epiſtles,and is after a more eloquent maner tranſlated into the Greeke, than his other epiſtles be. Some alſo read the epiſtle written to Laodicia,but that is exploſed of all men. Hæc Hieronym.

The epiſtle to the Hebrues.

The epiſtle of Laodicia.

As touchyng the tyme and order of the death and Martyrdome of Saint Paule, as Euſebius, Hierome, Maximus,and other authors do but brieflye paſſe ouer: So Abdias(if his boke be of any ſubſtanciall autoritie) ſpeaking more largely of the ſame,doth ſaye: that after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruine of Simon Magus,Paule yet remayning in free cuſtodye,was demiſſed and deliuered at that tyme from Martyrdome, by Gods permiſſion,that all the Gentiles myghte be repleniſhed with preaching of the Goſpell by him.

Abdias de vitis lib.2.

And the ſame Abdias proceding in his ſtorye declareth moreouer,ỳ as Paule was thus occupied at Rome, he was accuſed to the Emperour,not onely for teaching newe doctrine,but alſo for ſtyrring vp ſedition agaynſte the Empyre. For this he being called before Nero, and demaunded to ſhewe ỳ order and maner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was, to teach all men peace and charitie, how to loue one an other, how to preuent one an other in honour,rych men not to be puft in pride,nor to put their truſt in their treaſures, but in the liuing God.Meane men to be contented with foode and raiment,and with their preſent ſtate. Poore men to reioyce in their pouertie with hope. Fathers to bring vp their children in the feare of God.Children to obey their parentes.Huſbandes to loue their wiues. Wiues to be ſubiecte vnto their huſbandes. Citizens and ſubiectes to geue their tribute vnto Ceſar and to be ſubiecte to theyr Magiſtrates. Maiſters to be curteous,not curryſhe to their ſeruauntes.Seruauntes to deale faythfullye with their maiſters. And this to be the ſomme of hys teaching,which his doctrine he receaued not of men nor by men,but by Ieſus Chriſt,and the father of glory,which ſpake to hym from heauen, the Lorde Ieſus ſaying to hym,that he ſhoulde goe and preach in hys name, and that he woulde be with him,and woulde be the ſpirite of lyfe to all that beleued in him, and that what ſoeuer he dyd or ſayd,he woulde iuſtifye it,&c. After that Paule had thus declared vnto the Emperour, ſhortlye after ſentence of death was pronounced agaynſte hym, that he ſhoulde be headed. Unto whoſe execution then Nero ſent two of his Eſquiers Ferega, and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They comming to Paule, inſtructing then the people, deſired him to pray for them that they might beleue. Who told them that ſhortly after they ſhould beleue,and be baptiſed at his Sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done the ſouldiours came, and led him out of ỳ citie to the place of execution,where he after hys prayers made,gaue his necke to the ſword.

Paule declareth his doctriue to the Emperour.

The ſumme of paules doctrine

Paule condemned.

Paul ſuffreth.

A legende miracle.

Abdias reporteth, that as his heade was ſtricken of, in ſtede of blood iſſued out white milke, and that at laying downe his head, he ſigned him ſelfe with the ſigne of a croſſe in his forehead: but this being founde in no other hiſtory, Abdias ſemeth either to adde of his owne, or els to borow out of the Legende, as he doth manye other thinges beſide, wherof more ſhalbe ſaid (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Although the ſame miracle of milke flowing out of his necke, is referred alſo vnto Ambroſe, who in his ſermon. 68. (if it be not counterfaited) ſemeth to affirme the ſame. Of the time and yeare when theſe bleſſed Apoſtles did ſuffer, hiſtories do not all agree. They that follow the common opiniõ, and the Popes decrees ſay, that both Peter and Paule ſuffred both in one day and in one yeare, which opinion ſemeth to be taken out of Dyoniſius, biſhop of Corinth. Hierome in his booke De viris illuſtr. affirmeth that they ſuffered both in one day, but he expreſſeth not the yeare. So doth Iſidorus & Euſebius. Symeõ Metaphraſtes bringeth in the opinion of ſome, which thinke that Paule ſuffered not wyth Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius in his Periſtephano, noteth that they both were put to death vpon the ſame day, but not in the ſame yeare, and ſaith that Paule folowed Peter a yeare after.

Hiſtories do vary about the time of their Martirdome.

Abdias aboue mencioned, recordeth that Paule ſuffered. 2. yeres after Peter. Moreouer, if it be true which Abdias ſaith, that after the crucifieng of Peter, Paule remained in his free cuſtodye at Rome, mencioned in in the Actes of the Apoſtles, which was as Hierom witneſſeth, the. 3. or. 4. yeare of Nero: then muſt it be. x. yere betwixt the martyrdome of Peter and of Paule, for as much as it is by al writers confeſſed, that Paule ſuffered the. 14. yeare, which was the laſt yeare of Nero. And ſo Abdias ſeemeth neither to agree with other autours, nor with him ſelf. And thus much of the firſt perſecutiõ.

The ſecond perſecution.

An. 96.

THe ſecond perſecution was moued againſt the chriſtians, by the Emperour Domitian brother of Titus. Of whom Euſebius and Oroſius ſo writeth, that he firſt beginning mildly and modeſtly, afterwarde did ſo far outrage in pride intollerable, that he commaunded him ſelfe to be called and worſhipped as God, and that images of gold and ſiluer in his honour ſhould be ſet vp in Capitolio. The chiefeſt nobles of the Senators, either vpon enuye, or for their goodes, he cauſed to be put to death, ſome openly, and ſome he ſent into baniſhment, ther cauſing them to be ſlaine priuely.

Ex Oroſio lib. 7.

The tiranny & intemperance of Domitian.

And as his tyranny was vnmeaſurable, ſo the intemperancy of his life was no leſſe. He put to death all the nephewes of Iuda, called the Lordes brother, and cauſed to be ſought out, & to be ſlaine al that could be found of the ſtock of Dauid (as Veſpaſian alſo did before him) for feare leaſt he were yet to come of the houſe of Dauid, which ſhould enioy the kingdome. In the time of this perſecutour, Symeon biſhop of Hieruſalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Iuſtus afterward ſucceded in that biſhopricke.

Simeon biſhop of Hieruſalem crucified.

John the Euangeliſt.

In this perſecution Iohn the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt was exiled by the ſaide Domitianus into Pathmos. Of whom diuers and ſundry memorable actes be reported in ſundrye chronicles. As fyrſt how he was put in a veſſell of boyling oyle, by ỹ proconſull of Epheſus. The legend and Perionius ſay, it was done at Rome. Iſidorus alſo writing of him & comprehending many things in fewe wordes, declareth that he turned certayn pieces of woode into golde, and ſtones by the ſeaſide into margarites, to ſatiſfie the deſire of two, whom he had before perſwaded to renounce theyr riches: And afterwarde they repenting that for worldly treaſure, they had loſte heauen, for their ſakes againe chaunged the ſame into their former ſubſtance. Alſo, how he raiſed vp a widow and a certaine yong man from death to life. Howe he dronke poyſon, and it hurt him not, rayſing alſo to life two which had dronke the ſame before. Theſe and ſuche other miracles, although they may be true, & are found in Iſidorus and other writers mo, yet becauſe they are no articles of our Chriſtian beliefe, I let them paſſe, & onely content my ſelfe with that which I read in Euſebius, declaring of him in this wiſe: That in the. 14. yere after Nero, in the ſecond perſecution in the daies of Domitian, Iohn was baniſhed into Pathmos, for the teſtimony of the word, an. Do 97. And after the death of the foreſaid Domitian being ſlaine, and his actes repealed by the Senate, Iohn was againe releaſed vnder Pertinax the Emperour, and came to Epheſus, an. do. 100. wher he continued vntil the time of Traianus, and ther gouerned the churches in Aſia, where alſo he wrote hys Goſpel, and ſo liued til the yeare after the paſſion of our Lord. 68. which was the yeare of his age. 99.

Iſidorus de patribus noui teſtamenti.

Euſeb.
3. cap.
hiſtor.

97

Iohn ba
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Iohn re
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baniſh

Moreouer in the foreſayd eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſebius, we reade that Iohn the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt, whom the Lorde did loue, was in Aſia, where he being returned out of Pathmos, after the death of Domitian, gouerned the churches and congregations. Ireneus in his ſecond booke, thus writeth: And of him all the elders do witneſſe, which were with Iohn the Diſciple of the Lorde in Aſia, that he ſpake and wrote theſe thinges, &c. for there he continued with them vnto the time of Traianus, &c. Alſo the ſayd Irenæus Lib. 3. Hypotheſ. in lyke wordes declareth, ſaying: The church of the Epheſians being firſt founded by Paule, afterward being confyrmed of Iohn, (who continued in the ſame citie vnto the time of Traianus the Emperour) is a true witneſſe of this Apoſtolicall tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreouer noteth both the tyme of this holy Apoſtle, and alſo addeth to the ſame a certayne hiſtorye of hym, not vnworthy to be remẽbred of ſuch which delite in things honeſt and profitable. Of the which hiſtorie Sozomenus alſo in his commentaries maketh mention. The wordes of the autor ſetting forth this hiſtorye, be theſe: Heare a fable, and not a fable, but a true report which is tolde vs of Iohn the Apoſtle, deliuered and cõmended to our remembraunce. After the death of the tyrant, whẽ Iohn was returned to Epheſus from the ile of Pathmos: he was deſired, to reſort to the places bordering nere vnto him, partly to conſtitute Biſhops, partlye to diſpoſe the cauſes and matters of the church, partly to ordayn and ſet ſuche of the Clergye in office, whom the holy ghoſt ſhoulde elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certaine citie not farre of, the name of which alſo many do yet remember, and had among other things comforted the brethren, he loking more earneſtly vpon him, which was the chiefe Biſhop among them, beheld a young mã mighty in body, and of a beautifull countenaunce, and of a feruent mynde. I commende this man (ſayth he) to thee with great diligence, in the witneſſe here of Chriſt and of the church.

Euſeb.
cap. 23.

Iren. L

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When the Byſhop had receaued of him this charge, and had promiſed his faythfull diligence therin, againe the ſecond time, Iohn ſpake vnto him and deſired hym in like manner and conteſtation, as before. Thys done Iohn returneth agayne to Epheſus. The Biſhop receauing the young man, commended and cõmitted to hys charge, brought him home, kept him, and noriſhed him, and at length alſo did illuminate, (that is) he baptiſed him. And in ſhort tyme through his diligence, brought him into ſuch order and towardnes, that he committed vnto him the ouerſyght of a certayne cure in the Lords behalfe. The young man thus hauing more his libertie, it chaunſed that certayne of hys companions and familiars being idle, diſſolute, and accuſtomed of olde tyme to wickednes, did ioyne in companye with him. Who firſt brought him to ſumptuous and ryotous bankets. Then entiſed him forth with them in the night to robbe

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and ſteale. After that was allured by them vnto greater miſchiefe and wickedneſſe. Wherin by cuſtome of time by little and little, he being more practiſed, and being of a good witte, and a ſtoute courage, lyke vnto a wilde or an vnbroken horſe, leauing the right way and running at large without bridle, was caried headlong to the profunditie of all miſorder and outrage. And thus being paſte all hope of grace, vtterly forgetting and reiecting the wholeſome doctrine of ſaluation, which he had learned before, beganne to ſet his mind vpon no ſmall matters. And forasmuch as he was entred ſo far in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceded in yͤ ſame. And ſo aſſociating vnto him the companye of his companions, and fellowe theues, tooke vpon him to be as head and captayne among them, in committing all kynde of murther and felonye.

In the meane time it chaunced, yͤ of neceſſitie Iohn was ſent for to thoſe quarters agayne, and came. The cauſes being deciſed, and his buſines ended, for yͤ which he came, by the way meting with the Biſhop afore ſpecified, requyreth of him the pledge, which in the witneſſe of Chriſt, and of the congregation then preſent, he left in his handes to keepe. The Biſhop ſomething amaſed at the wordes of Iohn, ſuppoſing he had ment of ſome money committed to his cuſtodye, which he had not receaued, and yet durſt not miſtruſt Iohn, nor contrary hys wordes, could not tell what to anſwer. Then Iohn perceauing his doubting, and vttering hys minde more playnely: The young man (ſayth he) and the ſoule of our brother committed to your cuſtodie, I do requyre. Then the Biſhop with a loude voyce, ſorrowing and weppyng, ſayd, he is dead: to whom Iohn ſayd, how? And by what death? The other ſayd, he is dead to God: for he is become an euill man, & pernicious, to be briefe, a theefe: and now he doth frequent this mountayne with a company of villanes and theues, like vnto himſelfe agaynſt the church. But the Apoſtle renting his garmentes, and with great lamentation, ſayd, I haue left a good keper of my brothers ſoule. Get me a horſe, and let me haue a guyde with me, which being done, his horſe and man procured, haſted from the church as much as he coulde, and cōming to the ſame place, was taken of the theues yͤ watched. But he neyther flying, neyther refuſing, ſaid: I came for this ſame cauſe hether, lead me (ſayeth he) to your captaine. So he being brought, the captaine all armed, fiercely beganne to looke vpon him. And eftſones cōming to the knowledge of him, was ſtroken with confuſion and ſhame, and beganne to flye. But the old mā followed him, as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying: My ſonne, why doeſt thou flie from thy father? an armed man, from one naked, a yong man, frō an old man. Haue pity on me my ſonne, and feare not, for ther is yet hope of ſaluation. I wil make an anſwer for thee vnto Chriſt. I will dye for thee, if neede be, as Chriſt hath died for vs. I will geue my life for thee, beleue me Chriſt hath ſent me. He hearing theſe thinges, firſt as in a maſe ſtood ſtill, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he caſt downe his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea and wept bitterlye: and comming to the old man, embraced him, & ſpake vnto hym with weeping (as wel as he could) being euen then baptiſed afreſh with teares, onely his right hand being hid and couered. Then the Apoſtle, after that he had promiſed and firmly acerteined him that he ſhould obtaine remiſſion of our ſauiour, and alſo praied falling downe vpon his knees, and kiſſed his murdering right hande, which for ſhame he durſt not ſhew before: as now purged through repentaunce, brought him to the congregation, and when he had praied for him with continuall praier and dayly faſtinges, and had comforted and confirmed his minde with many ſentences, went not from him (as the autour reporteth) before he hadde reſtored him to the congregation againe, and made him a great example and triall of regeneration, and a token of the viſible reſurrection.

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Moreouer, the foreſaid Ireneus in lib.3.cap.3. and Euſebius lib,3.cap.28. and lib.4.cap.14. proſecuting the hiſtory of Iohn, declare in theſe wordes, ſaying, that there were certaine which heard Policarpus ſay, that Iohn the diſciple of our Lord, going into Epheſus to be waſhed, ſeing Cerinthus within, he leaped out of the bathe vnbathed, becauſe he feared the bathe ſhoulde haue fallen, ſeing that Cerinthus, an ennemy to the truth, was within. Such feare had the Apoſtles (ſaith Ireneus) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

An example of the godly to flee the cōpany of the wicked.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the ſtory of Iohn the bleſſed Euangeliſt, commeth in matter and occaſion, not geuen by him, but taken of other, of a great doubt & difficultye, ſuche as hath occupied all the Catholicke, ſubtile, illuminate, and ſeraphical Doctors of the Popes catholicke church, theſe.500.yeares. The difficulty is this: that forſomuch as auricular confeſſiō hath bene, and is yet receaued in the Popes catholicke church for an holy and neceſſary ſacrament, extending vniuerſallye to all and ſingular creatures Chriſtian. Here then riſeth a queſtion, who was our Ladies confeſſour, or ghoſtly father? But that is decreed and confeſſed with ful conſent of al the Catholiques to be ſaint Iohn. Whoſoeuer denieth or doubteth of this, is ſtraite waies ipſo facto an hereticke. This then ſo determined, emergeth an other queſtion or doubt, that ſeing our Ladye was without all originall ſinne, and alſo actuall or mortall: what nede then had ſhe of any Confeſſour? or what ſhould ſhe confeſſe vnto him? For if ſhe had confeſſed any ſinne, when ſhe had none: then had ſhe made her ſelfe a lyar, and ſo had ſinned in dede. Here therfore gentle Reader, in this perplexitye, theſe our illuminate Doctours ſtand neede of thine ayde, to helpe at a pinch. Magnus Albertus the great diuine, denieth not, but that ſhe in deede, although moſt pure, yet was confeſſed to her goſtly father, to keepe the obſeruaunces of the lawe, appointed for ſuch as had that neede, which ſhe had not. And therfore (ſaith he) neceſſary it was that ſhe ſhoulde confeſſe with mouth. But then here is to be aſked, what did ſhe ſay in her confeſſion, when ſhe had nothing to confeſſe? To this Albertus anſwereth againe, and telleth vs plainly what ſhe ſayde in her confeſſion, whych was this: that ſhe had receaued that great grace, not ex condigno, that is, not of any dignity of her own, but yet notwithſtanding of congruitye. And this was it (ſaith Albert) that ſhe ſayd in her confeſſion. Albert.cap.74, ſuper Euang. Miſſus eſt. &c.

A catholique queſtion.
Solution.

An other catholique queſtion.

Solution.
Albert. ſuper euangelium Miſſus eſt.
An other queſtion with the ſolution.

Albert ibidē, cap.74.

Moreouer, to helpe this caſe out of al doubt, cōmeth in famous Thomas of Watring, and thus looſeth the knot, much after like effect, ſaying: that as Chriſte, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithſtanding receaued he circumciſion, to geue to other example of humility and obediēce: In like maner would our Lady ſhew her ſelfe obedient to the obſeruaunce of the law, albeit there was no cauſe, why ſhe had anye neede therof. And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) this doubtful queſtion moued, and ſoluted, to the entent I woulde reueale to thee ſome part of the deepe diuinitye of our catholique Maiſters, that haue ruled and gouerned the church in theſe their late popiſh daies.

S. Thomas parte.3.queſt.37.art.5.

The third perſecution.

The thirde perſecution was vnder the Emperour Traianus, which if ye looke vpon his politicke and ciuil gouernaunce, might ſeme in compariſon of other, a right worthy and commendable Prince. Much familiar with inferiours, and ſo behauing himſelfe towarde his ſubiectes, as he him ſelfe would haue the Prince (he ſaid) to him, if he were a ſubiect. Alſo he was noted to be a great

The third perſecution of the church.

An. 100

a great obſeruer of iuſtice,in ſo much that when he ordained any Pretour,geuing to him the ſword,he would bid him vſe the ſword againſt his ennemies in iuſt cauſes,and if he himſelfe did otherwiſe then iuſtice, to vſe thē his power againſt him alſo.But for al theſe vertues toward Chriſtian religion he was impious and cruell, who cauſed the third perſecution of the Church. In the which perſecution Plinie the ſecond, a mā learned and famous,ſeing ẏ lamētable ſlaughter of Chriſtians, and moued therewith to pitye, wrate to Traianus, of the pitiful perſecution:certifieng him,that ther were many thouſandes of them daylye put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Romane lawes worthy perſecution,ſauing that they vſed to gather together in the morning before day,and ſyng himnes to a certayne God,whom they worſhipped,called Chriſt. In all other theyr ordinãces they were godly & honeſt. Wherby the perſecution by cōmaundement of the Emperour,was greatly ſtayde and diminiſhed.

Plinius ſecūd. wrate to Traian to ſtop the perſecution.

In this perſecution beſide many other, ſuffered the bleſſed and heauenly ſoldiour and Martyr of Chriſt Ignatius,who vnto this day is had in famous reuerence among very manye. This Ignatius was appointed to the biſhopricke of Antioche next after Peter in ſucceſſion. Some do ſay,that he being ſent frō Syria to Rome, becauſe he profeſſed Chriſt,was geuē to the wild beaſts to be deuoured. It is alſo ſayd of him,that when he paſſed through Aſia,being vnder the moſt ſtraight cuſtody of his garders,he ſtrengthned & confirmed the pariſhes through al the Cities as he went,both with his exhortacions and preaching of the word of God: and admoniſhed them, eſpecially and before al other thinges, to beware and ſhoonne thoſe hereſies riſen vp and ſproong newly among them, and that they ſhoulde cleaue and ſticke faſt to the tradition of the Apoſtles, which he for their better ſafegarde,being about to denounce, or put in writing,thought it a thing very neceſſary to trauell in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, wher Policarpus was,he wrote one Epiſtle to the Congregation of Epheſus, wherin he made mention of Oneſimus their Paſtour,and an other he wrote vnto the congregation of Magneſia,being at Meandre,wherin alſo he forgetteth not Dama their biſhop. Alſo an other he wrote to the congregation of Trallis: the Gouernour of which City at that time he noteth to be one Polibius. Vnto which congregation he made an exhortacion, leaſt they refuſing Martyrdome, ſhoulde leeſe the hope that they deſired.

Ignatius Martir

An. 111.

Ex Euſe.li.3. Cap.35.36 Ex Hiero. In catalogo Scrip eccleſiaſt.

Oneſimus paſtor at Epheſus.

But it ſhalbe very requiſite that I alledge ſomwhat therof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therfore as the words lye in this ſort: From Siria (ſaith he) euin till I came to Rome,had I a battail with beaſtes, as wel by ſea,as land,both day and night,being boūde in ẏ middeſt of ten cruell Libards (that is,the company or band of the ſoldiours) which, the more benefites that they receaued at my handes,became ſo much the wurſe vnto me. But I being exerciſed and now wel aquainted with their iniuries,am taught euery day more & more: but hereby am I not yet iuſtified. And would to God I were once come to the beaſtes, which are prepared for me. Which alſo I wiſh with gaping mouthes were ready to come vpon me,whom alſo I wil prouoke that thei without delay may deuour me, & forbeare me nothing at all, as thoſe whom before they haue not touched or hurt for feare. And if they wil not,vnles they be prouoked,I wil then inforce thē againſt my ſelf. Pardon me I praye you. How muche beneficial it is to me,I know. Now begin I to be a ſcholer. I force or eſteme no viſible things,nor yet inuiſible thinges,ſo that I maye get or obtayn Chriſt Ieſu. Let the fire,the galowes, the deuouring of wilde beaſts,the breaking of bones,the pulling a ſunder of my members, the brooſing or preſſing of my whole bodie, and the torments of the deuil or hell it ſelfe come vpon me,ſo that I may win Chriſt Ieſus.

The wordes of Ignatius.
The ſtraighte handling of Ignatius.

The notable cōſtancy, and burning zeale to Chriſt in this bleſſed martyr to be marcked.

And theſe thinges verely wrote he from the foreſaide Citye, vnto the congregations which we haue recited. And when he was euen nowe iudged to be throwne to the beaſtes,he ſpake,for the burning deſire that hee had to ſuffer, what time he hearde the Lyons roaring: I am the wheate or graine (ſaith he) of Chriſte, I ſhall be grownd with the teeth of wylde beaſtes,that I maye be found pure bread. He ſuffred in the.xj.yeare of Traian the Emperour. Hæc Euſebius,et Hieronym.

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Beſides this holy and bleſſed Martyr Ignatius,ther were manye thouſandes alſo put to death in the ſame perſecution,as appeareth by the letter of Plinius ſecundus aboue recited,written vnto the Emperour.

Hierome in his booke intituled De viris illuſtrib. maketh mention of one Publius biſhop of Athens, who for the faith of Chriſt,the ſame time during this perſecutiō was put to death and martyred.

Ex Hie
li.de v
illuſtrib,
Publius
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After whom ſucceded next in that roume Quadratus biſhop of Athens,who congregated again the flocke and congregation which in that time for feare of perſecution was ſcattered,which Quadratus and Ariſtides two worthy and learned men, wrote and exhibited vp certaine bookes to Adrian the Emperour (which ſucceded next after Traianus) in defence of chriſtian religiō. By the meanes whereof the Emperour was moued to write to Minutius Fundanus Proconſull of Aſia, that no man ſhould perſecute the Chriſtians.

Quadrat
Ariſtides
written
defence
Chriſtia
religion,

119.

Vnder the raigne of this Adrian, ſuffered alſo Alexander biſhop of Rome. Alſo a certaine old ſtorye intituled Scala Mundi,ſayth that with hym likewiſe ſuffered Hermes,one of the chiefe rulers of the Citye, whom he had conuerted to the faith. Alſo Euentius a prieſt, and Theodolus a Deacon,with diuers other, which at the ſame time with Alexander were put to death. Moreouer in the forenamed autor, mention is made of Sabina, and Serophia a virgine,which in the ſame time of thys third perſecution were crowned wᵗ the like martyrdom.

Ex lib
titulat S
la Mun
Hermes,
Euentiu
Theodol
Sabina,
Serophia
Martyrs,

120.

In the rage of this third perſecution,vnder the raigne of Antonius Pius, ſuffered alſo good Iuſtinus, a man in learning and Philoſophy excellent, and a great defender of Chriſtian religion. Who firſt exhibited vnto the Emperour and to the Senate, a booke or Apologie in defence of the Chriſtians,and afterward himſelfe alſo died a Martyr. Of whom in the hiſtory of Euſebius lib.4.cap.16.it is thus recorded:That about what time, or a litle before ẏ Polycarpus with other diuers ſaintes ſuffred Martyrdome in Pargamopolis,a citye of Aſia, this Iuſtinus (as is aforeſaide) preſented a booke in defence of our doctrine to the Emperour,to wit vnto Antonius,and to the Senat. After which he was alſo crowned with like martyrdome vnto thoſe, whom he in hys booke had defended, throughe the malicious meanes, and crafty circumuention of Creſcens.

Ex Eu
bio.lib
cap.16.

59

This Creſcens was a Philoſopher conforming hys life and maners to the Cynicall ſect, whom for becauſe this Iuſtinus had reproued in opē audience,& had borne away the victory of the truth which he defended,he therfore as much as in him lay,did worke and procure vnto him this crowne of martyrdome. And this did alſo Iuſtine him ſelfe a Philoſopher,no leſſe famous by his profeſſion,foreſee and declare in his foreſaid Apology, telling almoſt al thoſe thinges before hand which ſhoulde happen vnto him,by theſe wordes ſaying: And I looke after this good turne,that I be ſlain going by the way, either of ſome of thoſe whom I haue named, & to haue my braines beaten out with a bat, or els of Creſcens, whom I cannot call a Philoſopher, but rather a vaine boaſter. For it is not conuenient to call him a Philoſopher,which openly profeſſeth things to him vnknowē, and whereof he hath no ſkil,ſaying and reporting of vs,

Creſcen
Philoſo-
pher p
rer of
death o
ſtinus,

that the Chriſtians be vngodly and irreligious: And all to pleaſe and flatter them, which are ſeduced by errour,

For whether he obiecteth agaynſt vs the doctrine of the chriſtians, which he hath not red, yet is he very malicious, and worſe then the vnlearned idiots, who for the moſt part vſe not to diſpute or iudge of thinges they know not, and to beare witnes of the ſame. Or put caſe that he had red them, yet vnderſtandeth not he the maieſtie of yͤ matters therin conteined, or if peraduenture he vnderſtādeth them, and doth it for this purpoſe, that he woulde not be counted as one of them: then is he ſo much the more wicked and malicious, and yͤ bondſlaue of vyle and beaſtlye, both fame & feare. For this I teſtifye of hym, geuing you trulye to vnderſtande that for a truth, which I declare vnto you, how that I haue apposed him, & haue put vnto him many queſtions, whereby I know and perceaue, that he vnderſtādeth nothing. But if ſo be yͭ this our diſputatiō wͭ him, hath not come vnto your eares, I am ready to communicate vnto you again thoſe queſtions which I demaūded of him, which thinges ſhall not bee vnfit for your princely honour to heare. But if ye know & vnderſtand both what thinges I haue examined him of, as alſo what anſwere he hath made, it ſhal be aparant vnto you, that he is altogether ignoraunt of our doctrine & learning, or ells if he knoweth the ſame, he dare not vtter it for feare of his auditors, which thing, as I ſayd before, is a profe that he is no Philoſopher, but a ſlaue to vaine glorye, which maketh none accompt of that, which his own Maiſter Socrates had in ſo great eſtimacion. And thus muche of Iuſtine, out of Iuſtine himſelfe.

Now to verifie that, which Iuſtine here of him ſelfe doth prophecye, that Creſcens woulde and did procure his death, Tacianus (a man brought vp of a childe in the inſtitutions of the Gentiles, and obtayned in the ſame not a little fame, and which alſo left behynde hym manye good monumentes and Commentaries) writeth in his booke agaynſt the Gentiles in this ſort: And Iuſtine ſayth he, that moſte excellent learned man, full well ſpake and vttered his minde, that the afore recited men were lyke vnto theues or lyars by yͤ high way ſide. And in the ſayd booke ſpeaking afterwarde of certaine philoſophers, the ſayd Tacianus inferreth thus: Creſcens therefore (ſayth hee) when he came firſte into that great City, paſſed all other in the vicious loue of children, and was very much geuen to couetouſnes, & wher he taught that mē ought not to regard death, he himſelf ſo feared death, that he did all his indeuoure to oppreſſe Iuſtine with death, as wyth the moſt greateſt euill that was, and al becauſe that Iuſtine ſpeaking truth, reproued the Philoſophers to be men onely for the belly & deceauers, & this was the cauſe of Iuſtines Martirdome. Ierome in his Eccleſiaſticall cataloge thus writeth: Iuſtine when in the City of Rome he had his diſputatiōs, & had reproued Creſcens the Cinike, for a great blaſphemer of the Chriſtians, for a bellygod and a man fearing death, and alſo a follower of luſt & lecherye: at the laſt by his indeuoure and conſpiracy was accuſed to be a Chriſtian, and for Chriſt ſhed his blood in the yeare of our Lord 154. vnder Antonius Pius, as the chronicles do witnes, Abb. Vrſperg. & Euſebius in hys Chronicle in the .xiiii. yeare of the Emperour Antoninus.

The fourth perſecution.

THe fourth perſecution of the Church of God, was vnder Marcus Antonius, of whome the hiſtories gaue this cōmendation, that he was a mā of great foreſight and counſel to gouern a common wealth, alſo not vnlerned, by whom were made certayn lawes commendable, which yet remain in the Pandectes. Notwithſtanding he declared himſelfe a fierce and a cruell perſecutor of the Chriſtian poople. In whoſe tyme a greate number of them which truely profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt cruell tormentes and puniſhmentes, both in Aſia & in Fraunce. In the number of whom was Policarpus, the worthy biſhop of Smyrna mentioned before in the hiſtory of Iuſtinus. Who in the great rage of this perſecution in Aſia, amonge manye other moſte conſtant ſaintes was alſo martired. Of whoſe ende and Martirdome I thought it here not vnexpedient to cōmit to hiſtory, ſo much as Euſebius declareth to be taken out of a certaine letter or epiſtle, written by them of his owne churche, to the brethren of Pontus, the tenor of which Epiſtle here followeth:

Policarpus the bleſſed martyr byſhoppe of Smyrna.

58

Ex Euſeb. hiſt eccle. lib. 4. ca. 15. Hieron. in Catalogo.

The congregation which is at Smirna, to the congregatiō which is at Philomiliū, & to al the congregations through out Pontus, mercy to you, peace, & the loue of God our father, and of our Lord Ieſu Chriſte be multiplied. Amen. We haue writtē vnto you brethren of thoſe mē which haue ſuffred martirdom, & of bleſſed Policarpus, which hath ended and appeaſed this perſecution as it were by the ſhedding of his owne bloude. And in the ſame epiſtle, before they enter into farder matter of Policarpus, they diſcourſe of other Martyrs, deſcribing what pacience they abode and ſhewed in ſuffring theyr torments: which was ſo great and admirable (ſayth the epiſtle) that the lookers on were amaſed, ſeing and beholding how they were ſo ſcourged and whipped, that the inward vaines and artaries appeared, yea euen ſo much that the very intrailes of their bodies, their bowels and members were ſene, and after that were ſet vpō ſharpe ſhels, taken out of the ſea, edged and ſharpe, and certaine nailes and thornes for the Martyrs to go vpon which were ſharpened & poynted, called Obeliſci. Thus ſuffered they all kynd of punyſhment and torment that might bee deuiſed, and laſtlye were throwne vnto the wilde beaſtes to be deuoured. But eſpecially in the foreſayd epiſtle, mention is made of one Germanicus, howe he moſte worthely perſeuered and ouercame by yͤ grace of God, that feare of death which is ingraffed in the cōmon nature of all men, whoſe notable pacience and ſufferaunce was ſo great and notable, that the whole multitude being amaſed, and wondryng at thys beloued Martyr of God, for thys his ſo bolde conſtancie, and alſo for the ſingular ſtrength and vertue proceding of the whole multitude of the Chriſtians: beganne ſodenlye to crye with a loude voyce, ſaying: deſtroy the wicked mē: Let Polycarpus be ſought for. And whyleſt a great vprour and tumult, began thus to be rayſed vpon thoſe cryes: A certain Phrygian named Quintus, lately come oute of Phrygia, who ſeing and abhorryng the wilde beaſtes, and yͤ fierce rage of them, of an ouer light mind betrayed his owne ſafetye. For ſo the ſame letter of him doth report, that he, not reuerentlye, but more malepartly then requiſite was, together with others ruſhed into the iudgement place, and ſo being taken, was made a manifeſt example to all the beholders, that no man ought raſhly, and vnreuerentlye with ſuche boldnes, to thruſt in him ſelfe, and entermeddle in matters, wherwith he hath not to do.

Twelue Martyrs in Aſia.

61

The cruell and beaſtly handlig of the Chriſtiā Martyrs.

The ſingular patience and conſtancye of the Chriſtians.

λ

Germanicus a moſte conſtant Martyr.

Quintus a Phrigian to hardy & bold.

But now we wil ſurceaſe to ſpeake more of them, and returne to Policarpus, of whom the foreſaid letter conſequently declareth as followeth: Howe that in the beginning, when he heard of theſe things, was nothing at all afraide nor diſquieted in minde, but purpoſed to haue taried ſtill in the City, til being perſwaded by the intreaty of them that wer about him (which deſired him inſtantly that he would conuey him ſelfe away) hid him ſelfe in a grange or village not farre of from the Citie, and ther abiding with a fewe more in his company, dyd nothing els (night nor day) but abode in ſupplication, wherin he made his humble peticion for the obtayning of peace vnto all the Congregations throughoute the world. For that was his accuſtomed manner ſo to doo. And as he was thus making his praiers three daies be-

Policarpus flyeth perſecutiō.

Policarpus prayeth for the church.

fore he was apprehended, in a viſion by night he ſawe the bed ſet on fire vnder his head,and ſodainly to be cõſumed. And when he awaked,he told by and by,and expounded vnto them that were preſent his viſion, & tolde thẽ before,what thing ſhould come to paſſe,that is,how that in the fire he ſhould leeſe his life for Chriſtes cauſe. It is further mencioned,that when they were harde at hand,which ſo narrowly ſought for him,that he was inforced,for the affection and loue of his brethren,to flecte into an other village,to whiche place notwithſtanding within a little while after the purſuers came, and when they had taken a coople of children that dwelt there aboutes,they ſo beat one of them with whippes, that by the bewraying or confeſſion of him,they were brought to the Inne,wher Policarpus was. And they ſaye that the purſuers making no great haſt to enter, found him in the vpper moſte place of the houſe, from whence he might haue eſcaped into other houſes,if he woulde, but this he would not doo, ſaying:the will of God be done. Furthermore,when he knewe that they were come, as the ſayd hiſtory ſheweth:he came downe,and ſpake vnto them with a very chereful and pleaſant cõutenance, ſo that it was a wonder to ſee thoſe which a while agon knew not the man,now beholding & vewing his comly age,and his graue and conſtant countenaunce, lamented that they had ſo much imployed their labour, that ſo aged a man ſhould be apprehended. To conclude, he cõmaunded that ſtraight way without any delaye the table ſhould be layde for them, and perſwaded them that they woulde eate and dine well, and required of them boldlye, that he might haue an houres reſpite to make his prayers. Which thing after it was graunted, he aroſe and went to praye, ſo being repleniſhed with the grace of God,that they which wer preſent,and hearing the prayers that he made,were aſtonied at it,and nowe many of them were ſory that ſo honeſt and godly an aged man ſhould be put to death.

Policarp' hath a viſion of hys burning.

Policarpus purſued and taken

Policarpus mighte eſcape, & would not.

Policarpus falleth to prayer.

After this,the foreſaide epiſtle or letter, proſecuting the hiſtory addeth more as followeth:After he had made an end of his prayers and had called to his remẽbrance all thoſe thinges which euer happened vnto him and to the vniuerſal catholyke church throughout all the world (whither they were ſmall or great,glorious or els inglorious)and that the hower was now come in which they ought to ſet forward,they ſet him vpõ an Aſſe & brought him to the City vpon a ſolemne feaſt day. And ther met him Irenarchus Herodes,& his father Nicetes, which cauſing him to come vp into the chariot where they ſat, perſwaded him & ſaid: what hurt I pray thee ſhal come therof to thee,if thou ſay(by the way of ſalutation) My Lorde Ceſar, and to doe ſacrifice,and thus to ſaue thy ſelfe? But he at the beginnyng made them none aunſwere. Till that when they inforced him to ſpeake, he ſayde: I will not doe as ye counſell me I ſhoulde. When that they ſawe he coulde not be perſwaded, they gaue him verye rough language, & of purpoſe moleſted him,that in going downe the chariot frõ them,he might hurt or breake his legges. But he forcing very lyght of the matter,as though he had felt no hurt, went merelye and diligently forwarde,making haſt vnto the place appoynted. And when there was ſuch vprore in the place of execution,that he could not be heard,but of a very few, there came a voyce from heauen to Policarpus, as hee was going into the Stage or appoynted place of iudgement,ſaying:be of good cheare Polycarpus, and playe the man. No man there was,which ſaw him that ſpake, but very many of vs heard his voyce. And when he was brought in,there was a great noyſe made by thẽ whiche vnderſtoode that Policarpus was apprehended. The Proconſull aſked him when that he was come,whether his name was Policarpus or not,and when he ſaid,yea it was,he gaue him counſell to denie his name,and ſaid vnto him, be good vnto thy ſelfe,and fauour thine olde age,and many other ſuch like wordes which they accuſtome to ſpeake. Sweare ſayeth he, by the Emperours good fortune,looke vpon this matter, ſay thou with vs. Deſtroye theſe naughtie men. Then Policarpus beholding with conſtant countenaunce the whole multitude which was in the place appoynted,and geuing a greate ſyghe,looked vp to heauen,ſaying:Thou,thou it is that will deſtroye theſe wicked naughtie men. And the proconſull thus being earneſtly in hande with hym, ſayd, take thine othe, and I will diſcharge thee,defye Chriſt. Policarpus aunſwered:foureſcore and ſixe yeares haue I beene his ſeruaunt, yet in all this tyme hath he not ſo much as once hurt me:how then maye I ſpeake euill of my king and ſouereigne Lorde,which hath thus preſerued me? Then the proconſull agayne inforced him and ſayd:Sweare thou I aduiſe thee by Ceſars proſperitie. Policarpus replyeth: if thou requyre of me this fonde worde of vayne boaſting,feyning not to know (as thou ſayeſt)who I am,I do thee to witte, that I am a chriſtian:And if thou deſire to knowe the doctrine of Chriſtianitie,appoynte a day,and thou ſhalt heare. Perſwade the people to this ſayd the proconcull:Truely ſayth Policarpus,I haue thought it my parte, thus to ſaye vnto you,for ſo much as we are commaunded to geue vnto the gouernours and powers ordayned of God, the honour meete & dew to them,and not hurtful vnto vs:but as for thoſe I do iudge thẽ vnworthye,to purge my ſelf vnto them. Hereupõ yͤ proconſul ſtode vp,I haue,ſayth he,wilde beaſtes,to whom I will throw thee,vnles thou take a better way:Wherunto Policarpus aunſwered let them come:we haue determined with our ſelues that we will not by repentaunce turne vs from the better way,to the worſe,but rather conuenient it is,that a mã turne frõ the thinges that be euill,to that which is good and iuſte. Agayne ſayth the proconſull, I will tame thee with fire,if that thou ſet not by the wilde beaſts,nor yet repent. Then ſaid Policarpus,you threten me with fire which ſhall burne for the ſpace of an hower, and ſhalbe within a little while after put out and extinguiſhed, but thou knoweſt not yͤ fire of the iudgemẽt that is to come and of euerlaſting puniſhmẽt,which is reſerued for the wicked and vngodlye. But why make you all theſe delayes,giue me what death ſoeuer ye liſt. Theſe and many other ſuch like things beyng by him ſpoken, he was ſo repleniſhed with ioy and boldnes,and his countenãce appeared ſo full of grace and fauour,that not onely hee was not troubled with thoſe things which the Proconſul ſpake vnto him,but contrarily the Proconſull himſelf began to be amaſed & ſent for the crier,which in the middle of the ſtage was cõmaunded to cry.3.times,Policarpus hath confeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, which wordes of the crier,were no ſoner ſpoken, but that al the whole multitude both of the Gentils and Iewes inhabiting at Smirna,with a vehement rage and loude voyce cried.This is that Doctor or teacher of Aſia, the father of the Chriſtians,and the deſtroyer of our Gods,which hath inſtructed a great number that our Gods are not to be worſhipped,and after this they cried vnto Phillip the gouernour of Aſia, and required him that he would let looſe the lion to Policarpus.To whome he made aunſwere that he might not ſo do,becauſe he had al redy his pray.Then they cryed againe altogether with one voice that he wold burne Policarpus a liue. For it was requiſite that the viſion which he ſaw as concerning his pyllow or bolſter,ſhould be fulfilled : which when hee had ſene burnt,as he was in prayer,he turned him ſelfe vnto the faithful ſort which were with him, ſaying by the way of prophecy,it wil ſo come,that I ſhal be burned a lyue. And the Proconſull had no ſooner ſpoken, but it was out of hand perfourmed. For why, the multitude by and by brought out of their ſhops,workehouſes,and

Policarpus refuſeth to do ſacrifice.

Policarpus conforted by a voyce from heauen.

baynes, wood and other drye matter for that purpoſe, & eſpecially the Iewes were moſt ſeruiceable for that matter, after their accuſtomed maner. And thus the pile being layd, and that now he had put of his garments and vndone his gyrdel, and was about to pull of his ſhooes, whiche thing hee hadde not done before, for that all the faithful ſort among them ſelues ſtriued (as it were) who ſhould firſt touche his bodye at their farewell, becauſe for the good conuerſation of hys lyfe, yea and that whẽ he was but a yong man, he was had in great eſtimation of al men. Therefore ſtraightwaye thoſe inſtrumentes which are requiſite to ſuch a bonfire, were brought vnto him, and when they woulde haue nayled him to the ſtake with yron hoopes, he ſaide: let me alone as I am, of he that hath geuen me ſtrength to ſuffer and abyde the fire, ſhall alſo geue power, that withoute thys your prouiſion of nayles, I ſhall abide, and ſtyrre not in the mydſt of this fire or pyle of wood. Which thing whẽ thei heard, they did not nayle him, but bound him. Therfore when his handes were bound behinde him, euen as the chiefeſt Ramme taken out of a great flocke, hee was ſacrificed an acceptable burnt offring vnto the omnipotẽt God, ſaying: O father of thy welbeloued & bleſſed ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, by whõ we haue attained the knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of euerye creature, and of euery kinde of iuſt men which liue before thee, I geue thee thankes that thou haſt vouchſafed to graunt me this day and houre that I may haue my part amongeſt the number of Martyrs in the cuppe of Chriſt vnto the reſurrection of eternal life both of bodye and ſoule, in the incorruption of the holy ſpirite, among whom I ſhalbe this day receaued into thy ſight for a fat and an acceptable ſacrifice: and as thou haſt prepared, and reuealed the ſame before this time, ſo haſt thou accompliſhed the ſame, which canſt not lye, O thou moſt true God. Wherefore I in like caſe for al thinges praiſe thee, bleſſe thee, and glorifie thee by our euerlaſting Byſhop Ieſus Chriſte thy deare and welbeloued ſonne, by whom to thee O father, with him alſo and the holy goſt be glory now and for euermore. Amen.

And as ſoone as he had made an end of this woord, Amen, and finiſhed his praier, the tormentors beganne to kindle the fire, & as the flame flaſhed out vehemently: we to whom it was geuen to diſcerne the ſame, ſawe a maruelous matter, which were alſo to this purpoſe preſerued, that we might ſhewe the ſame to other. For the fire, being made in the ſimilitude of a roufe or vaute of a houſe, & after the maner of a ſhipmans ſayle, when it is filled with wynde, compaſſed aboute the bodye of the Martyr, as with a certayne walle, and was in the middle of the ſame, not as fleſhe that burned, but as golde and ſiluer when it is tryed in the fire. And ſurely we ſmelt a ſauour ſo ſweete, as if Myrre or ſome other precious Balme had geuen a ſent. At the laſte when thoſe wicked ones ſaw, that his body coulde not be conſumed by the fyre, they commaunded one of the tormentours to come vnto him, & thruſt him through with his ſword. Which thing being done, ſo great a quantitie of bloude ranne out of his bodye, that the fire was quenched therwith, and the whole multitude marueled that there was ſo much and ſo great diuerſitie betwene the infidels & the electe, of whom thys Policarpus was one, being a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, and a prophetical inſtructour of our times, & Byſhop of the catholique church of Smyrna, for what word ſo euer he ſpake, both it was and ſhal be accompliſhed. But the ſubtill, enuious, and contentious aduerſarye of the ſtocke of iuſte men, when he ſaw the worthines and maieſtie of this mans Martyrdome, and that his conuerſation euen from the beginning of hys lyfe, was not able to be reproued, and that he was adourned nowe with the crowne of Martyrdome, and had gotte or obtayned that incomparable benefite, gaue this in great charge, that we ſhould not take and deuide his bodye, for there were many which had a deſyre to do the ſame, that they might be partakers of ſome parte of his holy fleſhe. Therefore many there were which whiſpered Niceta the father of Herode, & his brother Dalces in the eare, that they ſhoulde admonyſh the Proconſull, that in no caſe he ſhould deliuer his body, leaſt (ſayth he) they leaue Chriſt and beginne to worſhip him. And thys ſpake they, becauſe the Iewes hadde geuen them ſecret warning, and prouoked them therunto: who alſo watched vs that we ſhould not take him out of the fyre, not being ignoraunt howe that we ment, at no time to forſake Chriſt, which gaue his lyfe for the ſaluation of the whole world, (as many I meane as are elected to ſaluatiõ by him) neyther yet that we could worſhip any other. For why? him we worſhip as the ſonne of God, but the Martyrs do we loue as the Diſciples and followers of their Lord (and that worthely) for theyr abundaunt loue towardes theyr king and maiſter, of whom we alſo deſyre and wyſhe to bee the companions, and to be made his Diſciples. When therfore the Centurion ſaw and perceaued the labour and endeuour of the Iewes, the corps beyng laid abroad, they burnt the ſame, as is their maner to doo.

The Iewes enemies alwayes to the Chriſtians.

Marke that he ſayth we loue them, and worſhip them not.

Theſe thinges chaunced to Policarpus that holye man, and alſo to the .xij. that came from Philadelphia, ſuffring martyrdome at Smyrna, whiche Policarpus onely is ſpecially aboue all the reſt had in memorye, to be ſpoken of in all places amongeſt the Gentiles. And this was the ende of that worthy martyr and diſciple of the Apoſtles, Policarpus. Whoſe hiſtorye the bretheren of the congregation at Smirna, haue written in thys their Epiſtle aboue recited. Ex Euſeb.

Twelue Martyrs put to death at Smyrna.

Ireneus in his .3. booke againſt hereſies, the .3. chap. and Euſebius in hys .4. booke, and .14. chapter of hys Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorye reporteth this woorthye ſaying of Polycarpus: This Policarpus (ſayth he) meeting at a certayne time Martion the hereticke, who ſayde vnto him, doeſt thou not knowe me? made aunſwer: I knowe that thou art the firſt begotten of Sathan. So great feare of the euil that might enſue thereof, had the diſciples of the Apoſtles, that they woulde not ſo muche as ſpeake to them whom they knew to be the deprauers of the verity, euen as Paule ſayth: The hereticke, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, ſhoonne, and auoyde: knowing that he which is ſuch a one, is peruers or froward, and damneth him ſelfe. Thys moſt holy Confeſſour and Martyr of Chriſte Policarpus ſuffered death in the fourth perſecution after Nero, when Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus raigned, anno Domini. 167. as Vrſperg. affirmeth, an. 170. as Euſebius witneſſeth in his Chronicles the .7. before the Calendes of February.

Ex Irenæo. lib. 4. cap. 14.

Of Germanicus mencion is made aboue in the ſtori of Polycarpus, of whom writeth Euſebius lib, 4. cap. 15. noting hym to be a yong man, and moſt conſtantlye to perſeuer in the profeſſion of Chriſtes doctrine, whom when the Proconſul went about to perſwade, to remember his age, and to fauour himſelfe, being in the floure of his age, he would not be allured: but conſtantlye and boldly, and of his own accord incited and prouoked the wilde beaſt to come vpon him, and to deuour him, to be delyuered more ſpedely out of this wretched life. Hæc Euſeb. An. 170.

Germanicus. Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15. Hiſtor. eccleſi.

Thus haue ye heard out of the Epiſtle of the brethrẽ of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Policarpus, by the which it may appeare that he was a very aged man who had ſerued Chriſt .lxxxvi. yeres ſince the firſt knowledge of him, and ſerued alſo in the miniſtery about the ſpace of .xvij. yeares. This Policarpus was the ſcholler and hearer of Iohn the Euangeliſt, and was placed by the ſayd Iohn in Smyrna. Of him alſo Ignatius ma

The old age of Polycarpus.

Polycarpus the ſcholer of Iohn.

keth mencion in hys Epiſtles whiche hee wrote in hys iourney to Rome, going toward his martyrdome, and commended to him the gouernmēt of his church at Antioche, wherby it appeareth that Polycarpus then was in the miniſtery. Likewiſe Ireneus writeth of the ſayd Polycarpus after this maner. He alwaies taught (ſaid he) thoſe thinges which he learned of the Apoſtles, leauing them to the church, and are onely true. Whereunto alſo al the churches that be in Aſia, and al they which ſucceeded after Polycarpus to this daye, beareth wytnes. And the ſame Ireneus wytneſſeth alſo that the ſaid Policarpus wrote an Epiſtle to the Philippians, which whether it be the ſame that is nowe extant & red in the name of Policarpꝰ, it is doubted of ſome: notwͭſtādıng in yͤ ſaid epiſtle diuers things are foūd very wholſome & Apoſtlelike: as wher he teacheth of Chriſt, of iudgemēt, and of the reſurrection. Alſo he writeth of faith verye worthely, thus declaring that by grace we are ſaued, & not by workes, but in the wyl of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

The Epiſtle of Policarpus to the Philippians

Iuſtification by fayth.

In Euſebius we reade in like maner a parte of a piſtle, written by Ireneus to Florinus, wherein is declared how that the ſayde Ireneus being yet young, was with Polycarpus in Aſia: at what time he ſaw and wel remembred what Polycarpus did, and the place where he ſat teaching, his whole order of lyfe and proportion of his body, with the Sermons and wordes whych he ſayd to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembred how that the ſaid Policarpus often times reported vnto him thoſe things which he learned and heard them ſpeake of the Lorde, hys doinges, power, and doctrine, who heard the word of life wͭ their own eares, al which wer moſt conſonāt & agreable to yͤ holy ſcripture. Thus wͭ much more hath Ireneus, concerning Polycarpus.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Ireneus conuerſant with Polycarpus.

Policarpus conuerſaunt with the Apoſtles.

Ierome alſo, writing of the ſame Policarpus, hath how he was of great eſtimation through out al Aſia, for that he was ſcholer to the Apoſtles, and to them which did ſee and were conuerſant with Chriſt himſelf, wherby it is to be coniectured his autoritye to be muche, not onely with them of his own church, but with all other churches about him.

The autoritye of Policarpus in the churches of Aſia.

Ouer and beſides, it is witneſſed by the ſayd Ireneus, that Policarpus came to Rome in the time of Anicetus biſhop of Rome about the yeare of our Lord.157.in the raigne of Antoninus Pius, whoſe cauſe of his comming thither appeareth to be about yͤ cōtrouerſy of Eaſterday: wherin the Aſians and the Romanes ſomthing diſagreed among thē ſelues. And therfore the ſaid Policarpus in the behalfe of the brethren and church of Aſia, tooke his long iourney thether, to come and confer with Anicetus. Wherof writeth alſo Nicephorus lib. 4. declaring that Policarpus and Anicetus ſomthing varied in opinions and iudgemēt about that matter. And that notwithſtanding yet both friendly communicated either with the other, in ſo muche that Anicetus in hys church, gaue place to Polycarpus to miniſter the Communion and Sacrament of the Lordes Supper for honour ſake, which may be a notable teſtimonye nowe to vs, that the doctrine concerning the free vſe and liberty of ceremonies, was at that time retayned in the church without any offence of ſtomacke, or breache of Chriſtian peace in the Church.

Policarpus cam to Rome.

Policarpus conferreth wyth Anicetus.

The eaſt churche and Romayne churche, differ about eaſter dai

Ex Nicepho. lib. 4. cap. 39.

Difference of ceremonies cauſed no breache of charitye in the primatiue church.

This Polycarpus (as is aboue mēcioned) ſuffred his martyrdome euen in his own church at Smyrna, wher he had labored ſo many yeares in planting of the Goſpel of Chriſt, which was aboute the yeare of our Lorde 170. as Euſebius reconeth in his Chronicle, & in the. 7. yeare of Antoninus Verus his raigne: wherby it appeareth yͤ Socrates in hiſtoria tripartita was much deceued, ſaying yͤ Policarpus ſuffered in yͤ time of Gordianus.

Socrates deceiued in hys tripert. hiſt.

¶To comprehend the names and number of all the Martyrs that ſuffred in all theſe. x. perſecutions (which are innumerable) as it is vnpoſſible, ſo is it hard in ſuch variety and diuerſity of matter, to keepe ſuche a perfect order and courſe of yeares and times, that either ſome be not left out, or that euerye one be reduced into hys right place, eſpecially ſeing the autors them ſelues, whō in this preſent worke we follow, doo diuerſlye diſagree, both in the times, in the names, and alſo in the kinde of Martyrdome of them that ſuffred. As for example, wher the common reading and opinion of the Churche, and the Epiſtles decretal do take Anacletus to ſuccede after Clement next before Euariſtus: Contrarye Euſebius, lib.3.et lib.5.cap.6 making no mencion of Cletus, but of Anacletus, ſayth that Euariſtus ſucceeded next to Clement. Likewiſe Ruffinus and Epiphanius, ſpeakyng nothing of Anacletus, make mencion of Linus & Cletus, next before Clement, but ſaye nothing of Anacletus, wherby it maye appeare that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus Enead.7. lib.2. ſpeaketh of Linus and of Cletus, and ſayth that they were ordayned helpers vnder Peter, while he laboured in his Apoſtleſhip abrode, and ſo ſayth alſo Marianus Scotus. Contrary Irenæus lib.3.contra Hæreſ. ſpeaketh of Anacletus, making no mencion of Cletus. Wherby it may appeare by the way, what credit is to be geuen to the decretal epiſtles, whom al the latter hiſtories of the Popes church do follow in this behalfe. &c. Moreouer, wher Antoninus, Vincentius, Jacobus in Supplemēto, Symoneta, Aloyſius, with other, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Anacletus, Euariſtus, Alexander, Biſhoppes of Rome, that they died Martyrs. Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory writing of thē, maketh therof no mēciō.

And firſt as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth yͤ firſt biſhop of Rome after Peter) they ſay that he was ſent out in baniſhment, of Traianus, beyonde Ponticus, with.2000. Chriſtians, wher he opened to them a welſpring, which in the wildernes wer condemned to the mynes. Afterward being accuſed to the Emperour, he was throwne into the ſea with a milſtone faſtened about his necke, and that not long after hys body was caſt vp and buried (as Platina ſayth) at the place where the well was made. Some ſaye it was founde firſte in the dayes of Pope Nicolas the firſte, faſcicul. tempor. But foraſmuch as I finde of hys martyrdome no firme relation in the auncient autors, but onelye in ſuche newe writers of later times, which are wont to paynt out the liues and hiſtories of good men, with fayned additions of forged miracles, therfore I count the ſame of leſſe credite, as I doo alſo certayne decretall Epiſtles, vntruly (as may ſeeme) aſcribed and intituled to his name. Euſebius in his third booke, writing of Clemens geueth no more of him, but thus: that after he had gouerned the church of Rome. ix. yeres, the ſayd Clement left the ſucceſſion therof to Euariſtus.

Of which Euariſtus next biſhop of Rome, thus we finde in Irenæus lib 3.cap.3. Peter and Paule (ſayth he) committed the charge of that Chnrche to Linus. After whom came Anacletus, then ſucceeded Clemens, next to Clemens followed Euariſtus, after whom came Alexander, and then Sixtus the ſixt biſhop of Rome after the Apoſtles. After Sixtus ſat Teleſphorus, then Higynus, then Pius, then Anicetus. And when Soter tooke the place after him, then the twelfe biſhop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clement followed (as is ſayd) Euariſtus in the ſecond or thirde yeare of Traianus, as ſayth Euſebius, or as Nicephorus ſaythe, the fourth yeare of the ſaid Emperour. But howſoeuer the count of the yeares ſtand, litle or nothing remaineth of the actes and monumentes either of this, or of other byſhops of Rome in thoſe dayes. Wherby it may appeare that no great accompt was then made of Romane byſhops in thoſe daies, whoſe actes and dedes wer then either ſo lightly reputed, or ſo ſlenderlye committed to hiſtory.

e decre- epiſtles.

ſtory. Notwithſtanding certayne decretall Epiſtles are remayning, or rather thruſt to vs in their names, contayning in them little ſubſtance of any doctrine, but al together ſtuffed with lawes, iniunctions, and ſtately decrees, little to the purpoſe, and leſſe ſauering of the nature of that time then preſent. Amongſt whom alſo are numbred two epiſtles of this Euariſtus. And when he had geuen theſe orders, and had made ſixe Prieſts, two Deacons, and fiue Biſhops, for ſundry places (ſaith the ſtory) he ſuffred martyrdome, but what kinde of death, for what cauſe he ſuffered, what conſtancye he ſhewed, what was the order or cōuerſatiō of his life, is nothing touched, and ſeemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new hiſtories do ſay: becauſe the old aūcient writers leaue no remembraunce thereof, which otherwiſe would not haue paſſed ſuch thinges ouer in ſilence, if they had bene true. Againe, neither doo the autors fully agree in the time of hys martyrdome, which Nauclerus witneſſeth to be in the laſt yeare of Traianus: but Platina thinketh rather ẏ he ſuffred vnder Hadrianus, faſcicul. temporū. referreth it to the third yere of Hadrian. Volateranus, to the beginning of the raygne of Hadrian. Contrary, Euſebius comming more neare to the ſimple truth (as ſemeth) doth affirme that Euariſtus ſucceded Clement in the third of Traianus, and ſo geuing to him.ix.yeares, it ſhould followe thereby that Euariſtus deceaſed the.xii.yeare of Traianus.

ucl, ge- .4. latina. olateran thropo. 22. ſebius 3.ca.24

lexander biſhop of ome and artyr.

After whom ſucceded next Alexander, in the gouernance of that church, of whoſe time and death the lyke diſcrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus ſayth he was the fourth biſhoppe from Peter, but that could not be. Some ſaye he was the ſyxt, and ſome the ſeuenth, but likewiſe were deceaued. For the moſt part al do graunt Sixtus to be the ſixt. Damaſus affirmeth that he was in the raigne of Traiane. And howe can that be, when the ſaid Damſus affirmed before that Euariſtus his predeceſſor ſuffered in the laſt yeare of Traiane, and then the biſhopricke ſtoode at leaſt a moneth voyde, except he meane that the ſayd Alexander ſucceeded Euariſtus in the laſt yeare of Traianus? But then how can that ſtand with Bede and Marianus Scotus, which ſaye, that he ſuffered vnder Traianus, or wyth Otto Friſingēſis, which ſaith that he ſuffred the fourth yeare of Hadriane, when he had bene biſhop.x.yeares, by the general conſent of moſt writers?

tors diſ-

They which write of the deedes and doinges of this bleſſed biſhop, as Bergomenſis, Antoninus, Equilinus and ſuch as folow them, declare that he had cōuerted a great part of the ſenators to the faith of Chriſt, amōgſt whom was Hermes a great man in Rome, whoſe ſōne being dead, Alexander raiſed again to life, and likewiſe reſtored ſight to his mayde being blinde. Hadriane the Emperour then abſent hearing this, ſent woord to Aurelianus gouernour of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus, otherwiſe called Theodorus, as Platina ſaith, his two Deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to warde with Quirinus the Tribune: whiche being done as their ſtorye recordeth, Alexāder incloſed in a diuers priſon from Hermes, notwithſtanding by the guiding of an angel through three doores with three lockes a peece, was brought with candel light to the lodging of Hermes. And ſo returning to the priſon againe, cured the daughter of Quirinus hys keeper, named Balbina: by reaſon wherof the ſaid Quirinus with his whole houſhold wer al baptiſed, and ſuffred alſo for the faith of Chriſt.

exāder, entius, eodul', rmes wyth hys uſholde. rinus wyth hys uſhold; artyrs.

Thus thē ſaith the ſtory, about the ſecond yere of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler tooke Alexāder the Biſhop, with Hermes, his wife, children, & his whole houſholde, to the number of a M.CC.L. and threw them in priſon. And not long after the ſaide Alexander with Euentius his Deacon, and Hermes and the reſt were burned in a furnace. Theodulus an other Deacon of Alexander, ſeing and rebuking the cruelty of the tyraunt, ſuffred alſo the ſame martyrdome.

Ex Platina in vita Alexan.

Quirinus alſo the ſame time (as ſaith Antoninus) hauing firſt his toung cut out, thē his hands and feete, afterward was beheaded, and caſt to the dogs. Equilinus ſayth that he was beheaded and caſt into Tyber in the raygne of the Emperour Claudius, but that cannot be. Albeit Platina maketh relacion but onelye of Alexander with his two Deacons aforeſaid. Declaring more ouer that in the time of this biſhop, Saphyra of Antioche, and Sabina a Romaine ſuffred martyrdome.

Saphyra. Sabina. Martyrs.

66. 65

Ex Florilego.

Florilegus, the autor of Flores hiſtoriarum, affirmeth that Alexander biſhop of Rome was beheaded.7.myles out of Rome, wher he lyeth buried, an.105. but ẏ agreeth not wͭ the Chronicles aboue recited. Euſebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the.3.yere of Hadrian he ended his life and office, after he had bene biſhop.x.yeares.

Diuers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon Legendes, and lyues of Saintes: which as I deny not but may be true: ſo becauſe I cannot auouch them by any graue teſtimony of auncient writers, therfore I dare not affirme them, but do referre them to the autors and Patrons therof, wher they are found. Notwithſtanding what ſoeuer is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous Biſhop.

The ordinaūces of Euariſtus.

Diſt.93.cap. Diaconi.

And as I ſay of his myracles, the like iudgemēt alſo I haue of ẏ ordinances both of him & of Euariſtus his predeceſſor teſtified in ẏ Popes decrees, by Gracianus: as.93.Diſt.cap.Diaconi, wher is ſayd that Euariſtus diuided diuers titles in the city of Rome to the Prieſtes, alſo ordeined in euery city.vii.Deacōs to aſſociate and aſſiſt the Biſhop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witnes of truth. Notwithſtanding if probable coniectures might ſtand againſt the autoritye of Gracianus and his decres, here might be doubted whether this abſolute ordinacion of Prieſtes was firſt forbidden by Euariſtus, and whether the intitulation of Prieſtes was fyrſt by him brought in or not: wherin an inſtance may be geuen to the contrary, that this intitulation ſemeth to take hys fyrſte beginning at the councell of Chalcedon, and of Pope Vrbane in the councell of Placent. In the which councell of Chalcedon the wordes of the Canon (making no mēcion of Euariſtus at al) do expreſſely forbid, that any eccleſiaſtical perſon eyther prieſt or Deacon ſhould be ordeined abſolutelye, otherwiſe the impoſicion of handes without ſome proper title of the party ordained, to ſtande voyde and fruſtrate. &c. And likewiſe Vrbanus in the councel of Placentia, doth decree the ſame, alledging no name of Euariſtus, but the ſtatutes of former Councels.

Ex diſt.70. cap. Nemine.

Ibidem cap. Sanctorum.

Moreouer in the time of Euariſtus the church thē being vnder terrible perſecutiōs, was deuided in no peculiar pariſhes or cures, whereby any title might riſe, but was ſcatered rather in corners and deſertes, where they could beſt hide themſelues. And as the churche of Rome in thoſe dayes was not deuided into ſeueral pariſhes or cures (as I ſuppoſe) ſo nether was then any ſuche open or ſolemne preaching in churches, that the aſſiſtence or teſtimony of.vii.deacons eyther coulde auayle among the multitude of the heathen, or els needed amongſt the chriſtian ſecret congregations. Again this conſtitution of vii.deacons ſemeth rather to ſpring out of the councell of Neoceſaria longe after Euariſtus, where it was appointed that in euery city, were it neuer ſo ſmal, ther ſhould be.vii.Deacons after the rule. And this rule the ſayd councell taketh out of the booke of the Actes of the Apoſtles, making no word mention of Euariſtus at al Diſt.93. but theſe (as is ſayd) be but onely coniectures, not denieng that which is comonly receiued, but onely ſhewing what mai be doubted in their epiſtles decretal.

Ex diſt.93. cap.Diaconi.

The inſtitutiōs of Alexander. Holye water firſt inuented. *De conſecrat. diſt.3.*

More vnlike it ſemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, whereof we reade De conſec.diſt. 3.that he ſhould be the firſt founder and finder of holye water mixt wͭ ſalt,to purge and ſanctify them vpō whō it is ſprinkeled.The wordes of the diſt.be theſe. Aquam ſale conſperſam in populis benedicimus vt ea cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur et purificentur, quod omnibus ſacerdotibus faciendum eſſe mandamus,&c.that is:We bleſſe water mixt with ſalt among the people,that al men beyng ſprinkled therwith may be ſanctified and purified . And this we commaund all prieſts to do.⁊c.

The mixing of water with the wyne in the chalice. *Qui pridie* put in the Mas canon.

The opinion is alſo,but howe true I haue not to affirme,that by him firſt was ordained,water to be mixt with wine in the chalice . Item that by him was broght in the peece of the Maſſe Canon, beginning : Qui pridie &c.And thus much of theſe foreſaide biſhops of Rome, martyred in the dayes of Trayan,and Hadrian.

Flauia the daughter of a conſull,baniſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt. *Ex Euſeb.lib.3.cap.9.*

Beſides theſe biſhops and Martyrs innumerable other there were,which ſuffred for the like teſtimonye of the Lord Ieſus,both before them and after thē,in number of whom was Flauia the daughter of Flauius Clemens,one of the Romane Conſuls,which Flauia with manye other was baniſhed out of Rome into the Iſle Pōtia, for the teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus,by the Emperour Domitianus. Euſeb.lib.3.

The emperour maketh inquiry for all that wer of Dauids ſtocke.

Dauids ſtocke feared of the Emperours.

Two nephwes of Iude the Lordes brother preſerued.

The kingdome of Chriſt not of thys World.

This Domitianus feared the comming of Chriſte, as Herode did: and therefore commaunded them to bee killed which wer of the ſtocke of Dauid in Iewry.Ther were remaining aliue at that time certain of the Lords kindred,which wer the nephewes of Iude,that was called the Lordes brother after fleſh.Theſe when the Lieutenant of Iewrye had brought vp to Domitian to be ſlayne:the Emperour demaūded of them , whether they were of the ſtock of Dauid: which when they had graūted,he aſked agayne , what poſſeſſions , and what ſubſtaunce they had.They anſwered,that they both had no more betwene them in al,but.xxxix.acres of grounde, ⁊ how they gat their liuing,and ſuſtained their families with the hard labours of their hand:ſhewing forth their handes vnto the Emperour,being hard ⁊ roughworne with labours,to witnes that to be true which they had ſpoken.Then the Emperour inquiring of them concerning the kingdome of Chriſt,what maner of kingdom it was,how and when it ſhould appeare:they anſwered that his kingdome was no worldlye nor terrene thyng, but an heauenly and angelicall kingdome , and that it ſhoulde appeare in the conſummation and ende of the world,what time he cōming in glory,ſhoulde iudge the quicke and the dead,and render to euery one according to his deſeruings . Domitian the Emperour hearyng this(as the ſaying is did not condemne them,but deſpiſing them as vile perſons,let them go , and alſo ſtayde the perſecution thē moued againſt the Chriſtiās . They being thus diſcharged and diſmiſſed,afterward had the gouernment of churches , being taken for Martyrs , ⁊ as of the Lordes ſtocke,and ſo continued in good peace til the time of Traianus. Hæc Egeſip.et Euſeb.lib.3.ca.20

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The cauſes whi the Emperours and Senate of Rome dyd ſo rage agaynſte the chriſtians.

The kingdome of chriſt feared of the Romans

Lex antiqua Romana cōtra Chriſtianos.

Ex Euſeb.lib.2.cap,21.

By this ſtorye here recited may appeare, what were the cauſes why the Emperours of yͤ Romaine Monarchie did ſo perſecute the Chriſtians: whiche cauſes were chiefly theſe:feare, and hatred:1.feare,for that the Emperours and Senate of blind ignoraunce,not knowing the maner of Chriſtes kingdome , feared and miſdoubted leaſt the ſame would ſubuert their Emperie . Lyke as the Pope thinketh nowe that this Goſpell will ouerthrowe his kingdome of maieſtie. And therefore ſought they all meanes poſſible,how by death and all kindes of tormentes vtterly to extinguiſh the name and memorie of the chriſtians.And therupon ſemeth to ſpring the olde law of the Romaine Senate:Non debere dimitti Chriſtianos qui ſemel ad tribunal veniſſent, niſi propo ſitum mutent.Id eſt.That yͤ chriſtians ſhould not be let goe,which were once brought to the iudgement ſeate , excepte they chaunged their purpoſe,⁊c.Euſeb.Lib.5.cap.21.

2. Hatred,partly for that this world of his own naturall condition hath euer hated and maliced,the people of God,from the firſt beginnyng of the worlde . Partly againe for that the chriſtians being of a contrary nature and religion,ſeruing onely the true liuing God,diſpiſed their falſe gods,ſpake againſt their idolatrous worſhippings, and many times ſtopped the power of Sathan, working in their Idoles.And therefore Sathan yͤ prince of this world,ſtirred vp the Romaine princes,and blind idolaters to beare the more hatred ⁊ ſpyte againſt them.

Vpon theſe cauſes and ſuch lyke, roſe vp theſe malicious ſlaunders,falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lyes,⁊ ſlaunderous accuſations,of the heathen idolaters againſt the chriſtian ſeruauntes of God , which incited the princes of this world yͤ more to perſecute them:for what crimes ſo euer malice could inuent, or raſh ſuſpicion could miniſter,that was imputed to yͤ chriſtians , that they were a people inceſtuous,that in yͤ night,in their concourſes, putting out their candles,they ranne together in all filthie maner,that they killed their own children,that they vſed to eate mans fleſhe : that they were ſeditious and rebellious:that they woulde not ſweare by the fortune ⁊ proſperitie of Ceſar:that they would not adour yͤ image of Ceſar in the market place: that they were pernitious to the Emperie of Rome. Briefly what ſoeuer miſhappened to the citie or prouinces of Rome , eyther famyne, peſtilence,earthquake,warres,wonders, vnſeaſonablenes of wether,or what other euils ſo euer happened , it was imputed to the chriſtians , as Iuſtinus recordeth. Ouer and beſide all theſe a great occaſion that ſtyrred vp the Emperours agaynſt the chriſtians came by one Publius Tarquinius the chiefe prelate of the idolatrous ſacrifices , and Mamertinus the chiefe gouernour of the citie,in the time of Traianus,who partly with money, partly with ſiniſter and peſtilent counſaile, partly with infamous accuſatiōs(as witneſſeth Nauclerus) incenſed the minde of yͤ Emperour ſo much againſt gods people.

Alſo among theſe other cauſes aboue ſayd, crepte in ſome peece of couetouſnes with all(as in al other things it doth) in that the wicked promoters and accuſers for lucre ſake,to haue the poſſeſſions of yͤ chriſtians, were yͤ more ready to accuſe thē,to haue yͤ ſpoyle of their goods.

Thus haſte thou(Chriſtian Reader) firſt the cauſes declared of theſe perſecutions.2.The cruell law of their condemnation.3.Now heare more what was the forme of inquiſition:which was(as is witneſſed in the ſeconde Apologie of Iuſtinus) to thys effecte : that they ſhoulde ſweare to declare the truth , whether they were in very deede chriſtians or not:And if they confeſſed,then by the lawe,the ſentence of death procedeth.Iuſt Apol.2.

Neither yet were theſe tyrauntes ⁊ organes of Sathan thus contented with death onely,to bereaſe the life from the body.The kindes of death were diuerſe,and no leſſe horrible then diuerſe.What ſo euer the cruelnes of mans inuention coulde deuyſe ,for the puniſhment of mans body,was practiſed againſt yͤ chriſtians(as partly I haue mentioned before, and more appeareth by the epiſtle ſent from the brethren of Fraunce , hereafter following.)Craftye traynes , out cryes of enemies,impriſonments,ſtripes and ſcourgings,drawings,tearings, ſtonynges,plates of yron layde to them burning hoate, depe doungeons,rackes,ſtrangling in priſons,the teeth of wilde beaſtes,grydyrons,gybbets and gallowes,toſſing vpon yͤ hornes of bulles:Moreouer when they were thus kylled,their bodies layd in heapes , and dogs there lefte to keepe them, that no man myghte come to bury them:neyther would any prayer obtayne them to be interred and buryed. Ex epiſtola fratrum Viennenſium ac lugdunenſium,&c.

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And yet notwithſtanding for al theſe continual per-

ſecutions

Nice- ro. lib. p.22.

ſecutions, and horrible puniſhmentes, the church of the Chriſtians dayly increaſed, depely rooted in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of men Apoſtolicall, and watered plenteouſly with the bloud of Sainctes, as ſayeth Nicephorus. Lib. 3.

Iuſtino artyre Dialogo Try- pho. he church reſeth bi ſecutiō.

Wherof let vs heare the worthy teſtimonie of Iuſtinus Martyr in his dialogue with Tripheus: And that none (ſaith he) can terrifie or remoue vs, which beleue in Jeſus, by this it dayly appeareth: for whē we are ſlaine, crucified, caſt to wilde beaſtes, into the fyer, or geuen to other tormentes, yet we go not from our confeſſion: but contrary the more crueltie and ſlaughter is wrought agaynſt vs, the moe they be that come to pietie and fayth by the name of Jeſus: no otherwiſe then if a man cutte the vine tree, the better the braunches growe. For the vine trée planted by God and Chriſt our Sauiour, is his people. Hæc Iuſt.

After the Emperour Domician, ſucceded Nerua, and reigned one yeare and foure monthes, vnder whō ſuffered Eutiches, Victorinus, and Marco. In the perſecution of Traianus aboue ſpecified, (which Traianus next folowed after Nerua:) beſides the other afore mentioned, alſo ſuffered Phocas Biſhop of Pontus, whom Traianus, becauſe he would not do ſacrifice to Neptunus, cauſed to be caſt into an hoate Lymekilne: and afterward to be put into a ſkalding bathe, where the conſtant godly Martyr, in the teſtimonie of Chriſt, ended his life, or rather entred into lyfe. Anton. Equil. faſcic. temporum.

hocas by- ſhop of Pō us martyr.

ulpitius. eruilia- us, phroſi- heodora. artyrs. abina, artyr. Supple hron. eraphia. ereus, chilleus. artyrs. agaris, artyr.

In the ſame perſecution ſuffered alſo Sulpitius and Seruilianus two Romaines. Whoſe wiues are ſayd to be Euphroſina and Theodora, whom Sabina did conuerte to the fayth of Chriſt, and afterwarde were alſo Martyred. Of which Sabina Iacobus Philippus author of the booke called, Supplementum, reporteth that in the Mount of Auentine in Rome, ſhe was beheaded, of Clepidus the gouernour in the dayes of Hadrian. Vnder whom alſo ſuffered Seraphia a virgin of Antioche, as Hermannus witneſſeth.

The forenamed authors Anton. and Equilius make mention moreouer of Nereus, & Achilleus, who in this perſecution of Traiane had yͤ crowne of Martyrdome, being put to death at Rome. Euſebius in his fourth booke cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who aboute the ſame time ſuffered Martyrdome in Aſia, Seruilius Paulus being then proconſull in that prouince.

To theſe alſo I may worthely ioyne yͤ two virgines racked and tormented by Plinius Secundus proconſull in Bythinia. Of whom I read in his owne epiſtle written to Traianus the Emperour, the copye of which letter, although it be partlye touched before, yet for the more euidence of this, and other things perteyning to the time of this perſecution, I thought to ſet it foorth more at large, as is by his owne writing expreſſed, in forme, as followeth.

¶ The Epiſtle of Plinie to Traianus.

he epiſtle Plinie to raianus.

IT is my propertie and maner my ſoueraigne, to make relatiō of al thoſe things vnto you wherin I doubt. For who can better, eyther correcte my ſlackenes or inſtruct myne ignoraunce than you? I was neuer yet preſent my ſelfe, at the examination and execution of theſe Chriſtians. And therfore what puniſhment is to be adminiſtred, and how farre, or how to proceede in ſuch inquiſitions, I am playne ignorant, not able to reſolue in the matter, whether any difference is to be had in age and perſon, whether the young & tender ought to be with lyke crueltie intreated as the elder and ſtronger, whether repentance may haue any pardon, or whether it may profite him or not, to denie which hath bene a Chriſtian, whether the name onely of Chriſtians without other offences, or whether the offences ioyned with the name of a Chriſtiā ought to be puniſhed. In the meane ſeaſon as touching ſuch Chriſtians as haue beene preſented to me, I haue kept this order, I haue inquired the ſecond & third time of them, whether they wer chriſtians, manacing them with feare of puniſhment and ſuche as dyd perſeuer, I commaunded to execution. For thus I thought that what ſoeuer their profeſſiō was, yet their ſtubburnes & obſtinacie ought to be punyſhed. Whether they were alſo of the ſame madnes, whom becauſe they were citizens of Rome, I thought to ſend them backe againe to the citie. Afterward in further proſſes and handling of this matter, as the ſecte dyd further ſpread, ſo the more caſes dyd therof inſue. There was a libell offered to me bearing no name, wherin was contayned the names of many which denyed them ſelues to be Chriſtians, cōtented to do ſacrifyce with incenſe, and wine to the gods and to your image (which image I for that purpoſe cauſed to be brought) & to blaſpheme Chriſt: wherunto none ſuch as were true Chriſtians in dede could be compelled, and thoſe I did diſcharge and let goe. Other ſome confeſſed that they had bene Chriſtians, but afterward denyed the ſame, &c. Affyrming vnto me the whole ſumme of that ſecte or errour, to conſiſte in this, that they were wont at certayn times appointed to cōuent together before day, and to ſynge certayne himmes to one Chriſt their God, and to confederate among them ſelues to abſtayne from all thefte, murther, and adulterye, to kepe their fayth and to defraude no man: which done, then to depart for that time, and afterwarde to reſorte agayne to take meate in companyes together both men and women one with an other, and yet without any acte of euills. In the truth wherof, to be further certefied, whether it were ſo or not, I cauſed two maidens to be layde on the racke, and with tormentes to be examined of the ſame. But findyng no other thing in them but onely leand and immoderate ſuperſtition, I thought to ſurceaſe of further inquirie, tyll time that I might be further aduertiſed in the matter frō you, for ſo the matter ſemed vnto me worthye and nedeful of aduiſement, eſpecially for the great number of thoſe that wer in daunger of your ſtatute. For very many ther were of all ages and ſtates, both men and women which then were, and more is like hereafter to incurre the ſame perylI of condemnation. For that infection hath crepte not onely in cities, but villages alſo & boroughes about, which ſemeth that it may be ſtayed and reformed. For as much as we ſee in many places that the temples of oure gods which were wonte to be deſolate, beginne now agayne to be frequented, and that they bring ſacrifices frō euery part to be ſold, which before very fewe were found willing to bye them. Whereby it may eaſely be coniectured, what multitudes of men may be amended, if ſpace and time be geuen them, wherin they may be reclaimed.

The vſe of Chriſtians in the primatiue church.

The teſtimony of the Heathēn of the Chriſtiās

Two maydens racked for Chriſt.

The Epiſtle of Traianus to Plinie.

The auſwer of Traiane to Plinies letter.

THe acte and ſtatute, my Secundus, concernyng the cauſes of the Chriſtians which ye ought to followe, ye haue rightly executed. For no ſuche generall law can be enacted, wherin all ſpeciall caſes particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be ſought for, but if they be brought and conuicted, then let them ſuffer execution: So notwithſtanding that who ſoeuer ſhall denie himſelfe to be a Chriſtian, and that he do it vnfaynedly in open audience, and doe ſacrifice to our gods, how ſoeuer he hath bene ſuſpected before, let hym be releaſed vpon promiſe of amendment. Such libels as haue no names, ſuffiſe not to any iuſte crime or accuſation, for that ſhoulde geue both an euill preſident, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.

Tertulliā writing vpō this letter of Traianus aboue prefixed, thus ſayth: O ſentence of a confuſed neceſſity: He would not haue them to be ſought for as men innocent, and yet cauſeth them to be puniſhed as perſons gilty. And thus the rage of that perſecution ceaſed for a time, although notwithſtanding many naughty diſpoſed men and cruel officers there were, which vpon falſe pretence to accompliſh their wicked mindes, ceaſed not to afflict the Chriſtians in diuers prouinces. And eſpecially if any occaſion were geuen neuer ſo little for the enemies to take holde, or if any commotion were raiſed in the prouinces abrod, by and by the fault was laid vpon the chriſtians. As in Hieruſalem, after that the Emperour Traianus had ſent down his commaūdement, that whoſoeuer could be found of the ſtocke of Dauid, he ſhoulde be enquired out and put to death: vpon thys

The ſtocke of Dauid feared & inquired for of the Romayne Emperours.

Ex Egeſippo.

Simeõ ſonne of Mary Cleophas

A iuſt puniſhement of God vpon the malitious accuſers of the chriſtians.

The age of Simeon.

The death and martyrdome of Simeon.

Egeſippus writing ſayth, that certayn ſectaries there wer of the Iewiſhe nation, that accuſed Simeon the biſhop then of Ieruſalem and ſonne of Cleophas to come of the ſtocke of Dauid, and that he was a Chriſtian. Of the which his accuſers, it happened alſo (ſayeth the ſayd Egeſippus) that certayne of them likewiſe were apprehended and taken to bee of the ſtocke of Dauid, and ſo right iuſtlye were put to execution them ſelues, which ſought the deſtruction of other. As concerning Simeon the bleſſed Byſhop, the foreſayd Egeſippus thus writeth: That Simeon the Lordes nephew, when he was accuſed to Attalus the proconſull, by the malicious ſecte of the Iewes, to be of the lyne of Dauid, & to be a Chriſtian, was ſcourged, during the ſpace of many daies together, being of the age of an hundreth & twentie yeres. In which his martirdome he indured ſo conſtant, yͤ both the Conſull, and all the multitude did meruaile, to ſee hym of that age ſo conſtantlye to ſuffer: and ſo at laſte being crucified, finiſhed his courſe in yͤ Lord, for whom he ſuffered, as partly before alſo is recorded. And thus much of the reigne of Traianus, and of the perſecution in his time.

Next after this Traianus ſucceded Hadrian yͤ Emperour, vnder whom ſuffered Alexander the Byſhop of Rome, with his two Deacons: Euentius and Theodorus: Alſo Hermes, and Quirinus with their families, as latelye before was declared.

Zenon with 10000. Martyrs ſlayn for Chriſt

Ex Henr. de Erfordia, et aliis.

Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, Carcerius with x thouſand Martyrs.

It is ſignified moreouer in hiſtories, that in the time of this Hadrian, Zenon a noble man of Rome with ten thouſand, two hundreth and three, wer ſlayne for Chriſt. Henr. de Erfordia, and Bergomenſis. Lib. 8. make mention of ten thouſand, in the dayes of thys Hadrian, to be crucified, in the Mount Ararath, crowned with crownes of thorne, and thruſt into the ſides with ſharpe Dartes, after the example of the Lordes paſſion. Whoſe captaines, (as Antoninus, and Vincentius in ſpec. hiſtor. declareth) were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius, &c. Whether this ſtorie be the ſame with the other aboue of Zenon, or not, it is doubted: As touching the myracles done, and the ſpeaking of the Angell, I referre the certaintie therof to Vincentius and ſuch other lyke autors, where they are to be founde.

Euſtachiꝰ wyth his wife and chyldren martyred for Chriſte.

There was one Euſtachius, a captaine, whom Traianus in tyme paſte had ſent out to warre agaynſte the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace valiauntlye ſubdued hys enemies, and nowe was returning home with victorye: Hadrian for ioye meting him in his iourney, to bring him home with triumphe, by the way firſt would do ſacrifice to Apollo, for the victorye gotten, willing alſo Euſtachius to do the ſame with him. But whẽ Euſtachius could by no meanes therto be inforced, being brought to Rome, there with hys wyfe and children ſuffered Martyrdome, vnder the foreſayd Hadrian. It were a long proceſſe here to recite all the myracles contayned and redde in this ſtorye of this Euſtachius concerning his conuerſion, and death. Howe the crucifixe appeared to him betwene the hornes of an Harte. Of the ſauing of his wife frõ the ſhipmen. Of one of his ſonnes ſaued from the Lyon, the other ſaued from the Wolfe. Of their miraculous preſeruation frõ the wild beaſtes, from the torments of fyre, mention in Bergomenſis, and Vincentius and other. All which as I finde them in no auncient recordes, ſo I leaue them to their authors and compilers of the legendes.

Fauſtinus and Iobita.

Calocerius Martyrs.

We read alſo of Fauſtinus and Iobita, citizens of the Citie of Brixia, which ſuffered Martyrdome with like grieuous tormentes. At yͤ ſight wherof, one Calocerius ſeing ther ſo great pacience, in ſo great tormentes, cryed out with theſe wordes: Vere Magnus Deus Chriſtianorum: That is, Verely great is the God of the Chriſtians. Which wordes being herd, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their Martyrdome. Ex Ant. Equilin.

The hiſtorye of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly woman, who committed her ſonne Eleutherius, to Anicetus Byſhop of Rome, to be brought vp in the doctrine of Chriſtian fayth, who afterward being Byſhop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foreſaid mother Anthia. Onamaſt.

Iuſtus alſo and Paſtor two brethren, with like martyrdome ended their liues in a Citye of Spayne called Complutum, vnder the ſaid Hadrian the Emperour.

Likewiſe Symphoriſſa the wife of Getulus the martyr, with her ſeuen children, is ſaid about the ſame time to ſuffer: who firſt was much, and oft beatẽ and ſcourged, afterward was hanged vp by yͤ heare of her heade. At laſt hauing an hudge ſtone faſtened vnto her, was throwne headlong into the riuer, & after that her ſeuen children in like maner, with ſundry & diuers kindes of puniſhment diuerſlye were martyred by the tyrauntes.

The ſtory of M. Hermãnus and Antoninus & other reporte of Sophia with her three children alſo, alſo of Serapia and Sabina to ſuffer vnder the ſaide Emperour, about the yeare of our Lord. 130.

While Hadrian the Emperour was at Athens, he purpoſed to viſit the country of Eleuſina, and ſo did: where hee ſacrificing to the Gentiles Gods, after the maner of the Grecians, had geuen free leaue and libertye, whoſoeuer would, to perſecute the Chriſtiãs. Wherupon Quadratus a man of no leſſe zeale excellent, as of famous learning, being then biſhop of Athens, & diſciple of yͤ Apoſtles, or at leaſt ſucceding incõtinent yͤ age of the Apoſtles; & following after Publius (who a litle before was martyred for yͤ teſtimony of Chriſt) did offer vp and exhibite vnto Hadrian the Emperour, a learned and excellent Apologie in the defence of the Chriſtian religion. Wherin he declared the Chriſtiãs without al iuſt cauſe or deſerte, to be ſo cruelly entreated & perſecuted. &c. The like alſo did Ariſtides an other no leſſe excellent Philoſopher in Athens, who for his ſingular learning & eloquence being notified to the Emperour, and comming to his preſence, ther made before hym an eloquent Oration: Moreouer did exhibite vnto the ſayd Emperour a memorable Apologie for the Chriſtians, ſo ful of learning & eloquence, that as Hierome ſayth, it was a ſpectacle and admiration to men in hys tyme, that loued to ſee wyt and learning. Ouer and beſides theſe, there was alſo an other named Serenus Granius a man of great nobility, who likewiſe did write very pithy and graue letters to Adrian the Emperour, ſhewing and declaring therin, to be conſonãt with no right nor reaſon, for the bloude of innocentes ſo to be geuen to the rage and fury of the people, and ſo to be condemned for no fault, onelye for the name and ſect that they followed.

Thus the goodnes of God being moued with the prayers and conſtant labour of theſe ſo excellent men, ſo turned the hart of the Emperour, that he being better informed concerning the order and profeſſion of the Chriſtians, became more fauourable vnto them. And immediatly vpon yͤ ſame directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mẽcioned) proconſul of Aſia, willing hym, from henceforth, to exerciſe no more ſuch extremitie againſt the Chriſtians, as to condemne any of them hauyng no other cryme obiected agaynſt them but onely their name. The copye of which his letter, becauſe that Iuſtine in his Apologie doth alledge it, I thought therefore to expreſſe the ſame, in hys own wordes as followeth.

¶*The letter of Hadrian the Emperour to* Minutius Fundanus.

I Haue receaued an Epiſtle written vnto me from Serennius Granianus, our right worthy & welbeloued,

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whoſe office you do now execute. Therefore I thinke it not good to leaue thys matter without farther aduiſement and circumſpection to paſſe, leaſt our ſubiectes bee moleſted, & malicious ſycophantes boldened & ſupported in their euill. wherfore if the ſubiectes of our prouinces, do bring forth any accuſatiō before the iudge againſt the Chriſtians, and cā proue the thing they obiect againſt them, let them do the ſame, and no more, & otherwiſe for the name onely, not to impeach them, nor to crye out againſt them. For ſo, more conuenient it is, that if any mā wil be an accuſer, then you to take the accuſation quietly, and iudge vpon the ſame. Therfore if any ſhall accuſe the Chriſtians, and complaine of them as malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then geue you iudgement according to the qualitie of the crime. But notwithſtanding who ſo euer vpon ſpyte and maliciouſnes ſhall commenſe or cauille againſt them, ſee you correct and punyſh that man, for his vnordinate and malicious dealing.

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Thus by the mercyful prouidence of God, ſome more quiet and reſt was geuen to the church, although Hermannus thinketh theſe Alcyone daies did not very long continue, but ẏ the Emperour chaunging his edict, began to renue againe perſecution againſt Gods people, albeit this ſoūdeth not to be ſo, by the wordes of Melito in his Apologie to Antoninus hereafter inſuing. In the meane time this is certaine, that in the daies of this Hadrian, the Iewes rebelled againe and ſpoyled the country of Paleſtina. Againſt whom the Emperour ſent Iulius Seuerus, who ouerthrew in Iewrye. 50 caſtels, & burnt and deſtroyed. 980. villages and townes, & ſlewe of the Iewes. 50. thouſand, ſo that with famine, ſicknes ſword and fire, Iuda was almoſt deſolate. But at lēgth Hadriā the Emperor, which otherwiſe was named Aelius, repayred & enlarged the city again of Hieruſalem, which was called after hys name Aeliopolis, or Aelia Capitolina, the inhabitance wherof he graunted only to the Gentiles, & to the Chriſtians, forbidding the Iewes vtterly not to enter into the City.

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After the death of Hadrian, who died by bleeding at the noſe, ſucceded Antoninus Pius, about the yeare of our Lord. 140. and raygned. 23. yeares. Who for hys clemency and modeſt behauiour, had the name of Pius, and is for the ſame in hiſtories commended. Hys ſaying was, ẏ he had liefer ſaue one Citizen, thē deſtroy a thouſand of his aduerſaries. At the beginning of his raigne, ſuch was the ſtate of the church, as Hadriā his predeceſſour had left it, as in which although there was no edict ſet forth to perſecute the Chriſtians: yet the tumultuous rage of ẏ Heathen multitude for the cauſes aboue ſpecified, did not ceaſe to diſquiet & afflict the quiet people of God, imputing & aſcribing to the Chriſtiās, whatſoeuer miſfortune hapned, contrary to their deſires. Moreouer inuenting againſt them all falſe crimes and contumelies wherin to accuſe them. By reaſon whereof diuers ther were in ſundrye places much moleſted, and ſome put to death: albeit, as it is to be ſuppoſed, not by ẏ conſent of the Emperour, who of nature was ſo mylde and gentle, that eyther he rayſed vp no perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, or ells he ſone ſtayde the ſame being moued. As well may appeare by his letter ſent down to the countryes of Aſia, the tenor wherof here inſueth.

The Epiſtle of Antoninus Pius to the commons of Aſia.

letter
Antoni-
Pius to
Cōmōs
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Emperour & Ceſar, Aurelius, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleuen times, conſul thryſe, vnto the commons of Aſia greting. I am very certayn, that the gods haue a care of this, that they which be ſuch, ſhal be knowen, and not lye hyd. For they do punyſhe them, that will not worſhip them, more then you: which ſo vexe and trouble them, confyrming thereby the opinion which they haue conceaued, and doe conceaue of you, that is, to be wicked men. For thys is theyr ioye and deſyre, that whan they are accuſed, rather they couet to dye for their God, than to lyue. whereby they are the victorers, and do ouercome you, geuing rather their lyues, then to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it ſhall not be inconuenient to aduertyſe you of the earthquakes, which haue, and do happen amonge vs, that when at the ſighte of them you tremble and are afrayde, then conferre your caſe with them. For they vpon a ſure confidence of theyr God, are bold and fearles, much more then you: who in all time of this your ignoraunce, both do worſhip other Gods, and neglect the religion of immortalitie, and ſuch Chriſtians as worſhip him, them you do dryue out, and perſecute them vnto death. Of theſe & ſuch lyke matters, many preſidentes of our prouinces, dyd write to our father of famous memorie heretofore. To whom he directed his anſwere agayn, willing them in no caſe to moleſt the Chriſtians, except they were found in ſome treſpaſſe preiudiciall againſt the Empyre of Rome. And to me alſo many there be, which write, ſignifying their minde in lyke maner. To whom I haue anſwered agayne, to the ſame effecte and maner, as my father did. wherfore if any hereafter ſhall offer any vexation or trouble, to ſuche, hauing no other cauſe, but onely for that they are ſuche, let hym that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged free, yea although he be found to be ſuch, (that is a Chriſtian) and let the accuſer ſuſteyne the puniſhment, &c.

A notable argumēt of the Emperor to proue the good conſcience of the Chriſtians, and the falſe conſcience of the Heathen.

He meaneth Hadriā, which adopted thys Antoninus of hys ſonne in law, to be hys ſonne & heyre.

O noble edict.

This godly edict of the Emperour was proclaimed at Epheſus, in the publique aſſembly of al Aſia, wherof Melito alſo biſhop of Sardis, who floriſhed in the ſame time, maketh mention in his Apologie written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhal appeare. By this meanes then the tempeſt of perſecution in thoſe daies began to be appeaſed, through the merciful prouidence of God, which would not haue his church vtterlye to be ouerthrowen, though hardly yet to grow.

M. Antoninus Verus Emper.

After the deceaſe of this quiet and milde Prince Aurelius Antonius Pius (who among al other Emperors of ẏ time made ẏ moſt quiet end) followed his ſonne M. Antoninus Verus, wᵗ Lucius his brother, about ẏ yeare of our Lord. 162. a man of nature more ſterne & ſeuere. And although in ſtudy of philoſophye, and in ciuill gouernment no leſſe commendable: yet toward the Chriſtians ſharpe and fierce, by whō was moued the fourth perſecution after Nero, as is aboue expreſſed. In which perſecution beſide Polycarpus and other mencioned before, we reade alſo in Euſebius of diuers other, who at the ſame time lykewyſe dyd ſuffer at Smyrna. In which number was Metrodorus a Miniſter: who was geuen to the fire, and ſo conſumed. An other was worthy Pionius, which after much boldnes of ſpeche, with his apologies exhibited, and his ſermons made to the people in the defence of Chriſtian faith, and after much relieuing and comforting of ſuche as were in priſons, and otherwiſe diſcomforted, at laſt was put to cruell torments and afflictions, then geuē likewiſe to the fire, ſo finiſhed hys bleſſed martyrdome.

Ex Euſebio lib. 4. cap. 17.
Metrodorus.
Pionius.
Carpus.
Papylus.
Agathonica.
Martyrs.

After theſe alſo ſuffred Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonica, a woman, who after their moſt conſtaunt and worthy confeſſions were put to death at Pergamopolis in Aſia, witneſſing Euſebius lib. 4. cap. 7.

Felicitas wyth her. 7. children.
Ianuarius.
Felix.
Philip.
Siluanus.
Alexander.
Vitalis.
Martialis.
Martyrs.

And as theſe ſuffred in Aſia, ſo in Rome ſuffered Felicitas with her. vii. children, who vnder thys M. Antoninus Verus, ſuſtained alſo the crueltye of thys perſecution. The names of whoſe chyldren Bergomenſis and other hiſtories doo thus recite: Ianuarius: Felix, Philippe, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her fyrſt and eldeſt ſonne Ianuarius after he was whypped and ſcourged with roddes, was preſſe to death with leaden weyghtes. Felix and Philippe had their braynes beaten out with maules. Siluanus was caſte downe headlong, and had his necke broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis were beheaded. Laſt of all Felicitas the mother (otherwyſe then the accuſtomed manner was for ſuch as had borne children) was ſlayne with the ſworde. Ex Supplem.

Among theſe aboue recited is alſo to be numbered

Praxedis Potentiana Chriſtian virgines.

Praxedis a bleſſed virgine, the doughter of a citizen of Rome, who in the time of Anicetus there Biſhop, was ſo brought vp in yͤ doctrine of Chriſt, and ſo affected to his religion, that ſhe with her ſiſter Potentiana, beſtowed all her patrimony vpon yͤ releuing of poore Chriſtians, geuing all her time to faſting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the Martyrs. And after ſhe had made free all her famelie with her ſeruauntes, after the death of her ſiſter, ſhe alſo departed and was buryed in peace.

Ptolomeus Lucius, Martyrs.

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap.17.

Under the ſame Antoninus alſo ſuffred Ptolomeus, & Lucius for the confeſſion of Chriſt, in a city of Egypt called Alexandria, whoſe hiſtory becauſe it is deſcribed in the Apologie of Iuſtinus Martyr, I thought therfore ſo to ſetforth the ſame, as it is alledged in Euſebius, declaring the manner and occaſion therof. lib.4.cap.17. in wordes and effect as followeth. &c.

There was (ſayth hee) a certaine woman maried vnto a huſbande, who was geuen muche to laſciuiouſnes, whereunto ſhee her ſelfe in tymes paſt was alſo addict. But ſhe afterward being inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, became chaſte her ſelfe, and alſo perſwaded her huſband to liue chaſtly: often times telling hym that it was written in the precepts of the Chriſtiãs, that they ſhould be puniſhed eternally, which liued not chaſtly and iuſtly in this life. But he ſtyll continuing in hys filthynes, therby cauſed his wife to eſtrange her ſelf frõ his company. For why? the woman thought it not conuenient to continue in her huſbandes company, whych contemning the law of nature, ſought otherwiſe to ſatiſfy his filthy appetite. Therefore ſhe was purpoſed to be deuorced from him. But her neighbours & kinſfolkes prouoked her, by promiſing his amendement, to keepe company againe with him, and ſo ſhe did. But he after this, tooke his iourney into Alexandria, and whẽ it was ſhewed her, that ther he lyued more licenciouſly, then at any time before, for that ſhe would not be counted partaker of his inceſtious life by coupling her ſelfe anye lenger with him, ſhe gaue him a letter of diuorce, and ſo departed from him. Then her huſband, who ought rather to haue reioiced to haue ſo honeſt and chaſt a wife, which not onelye would not cõmit any diſhoneſt thing her ſelfe, but alſo could not abide any leude or miſordered behauiour in her huſband, and that by this her ſeparation ſhe went about to reclayme hym from his inceſt and wickednes to better amendmente of life: He in recompence to his wife againe, accuſed her to be a Chriſtian, which at that time was no leſſe then death. Whereupon ſhe being in great perill and daunger deliuered vp vnto the Emperoure (as Iuſtinus in his apologye writing to the Emperour himſelfe declareth) a ſupplicatiõ, deſiring and crauing of his maieſtie, firſt to graunt her ſo much licence as to ſet her famelye in order, and that done afterward to come againe and make aunſwere to all that might or ſhould be layd agaynſt her: wherunto the Emperour condeſcended. Then her huſbande ſeyng that he could haue no vantage againſt her deuiſed wyth hymſelfe, how he might bring Ptolomeus (whych was her inſtructour in the fayth of Chriſte) into trouble and accuſation: vſinge the meanes of a certayne Centurion who was his very frend, whõ he perſwaded to examine Ptolomeus whether he were a Chriſtian or not. Ptolomeus (as one that loued the truth, & not thincking good to hide his profeſſion) cõfeſſed no leſſe to the examinour, openlye declaring that he had (as truth was) taughte and profeſſed the verity of chriſtiã doctrine. For who ſo denieth himſelfe to be that he is, either condemneth in denying that thinge that he is, or maketh himſelfe vnworthy of that, the confeſſion wherof he fleyth: which thyng is neuer founde in a true & ſincere Chriſtian. Thus thẽ he being brought before Urbicius the iudge & by him cõdẽned to ſuffer: One Lucius, being alſo a chriſtiã, ſtanding by, and ſeyng the wrong iudgemente, and haſtye ſentence of the Iudge, ſayd to Urbitius: what reaſon, I pray you or equity is this, yͭ this man, who neither is an adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor fealon, neyther hath committed any ſuch crime, where in he maye be charged, thus is condemned onely for his name and confeſſion of a Chriſtian. This condemnatiõ and theſe manner of Iudgements (O Vrbici) are neyther ſeemely for the vertuous Emperour, nor to the Philoſopher hys ſonne, nor yet for the ſtate of the Senate of Rome.

Which words being herd, Vrbitius making no farther examinatiõ of the matter, ſaid vnto Lucius: me thinketh thou art alſo a Chriſtian. And when Lucius had geuen him to vnderſtande that he was alſo a Chriſtian, the Iudge without further delaye commaunded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he anſwered: I thanke you with all my hart, that you releaſe me from moſt wicked gouernours, and ſende me vnto my good and moſt louing father, being alſo the king of all Gods. And in lyke maner the third man alſo, comming vnto him, and vſing the like liberty of ſpeeche, had alſo the like ſentence of death and condemnation, & crowned alſo with the ſame crowne of martyrdome. And thus much out of the Apologie of Iuſtinus, by the which ſtory it may appeare not to be true, that Gratianus attributeth vnto Higynus biſhop of Rome, the deciſing of cauſes matrimonial, ſeing that in Iuſtinus time (who was in the ſame age of Higynus) the diuorcement of thys woman in thys hiſtory aboue touched, was not deciſed by anye eccleſiaſticall lawe, or brought before any byſhop, but was brought before a Heathen prince, and determined by the law ciuill.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the Martyrologe of Iſuardus, of one Concordius a miniſter in the citye of Spolete, who in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus, becauſe he would not ſacrifice vnto Iupiter, but did ſpit in the face of the Idole, after diuers and ſondry puniſhments ſuſtained, at laſt with the ſworde was beheaded. Vincentius in his.x.boke.cap.108. reciteth a long ſtorye of his actes and life, wherof ſome part perhappes may ſeme tollerable. But thys verely appeareth to be falſe & fabulous, concerning the water flowing beſydes his ſepulcher in the forenamed city of Spolet, vnto the which water was geuẽ (ſayth Vincẽtius) by the vertue of him, for whoſe name he ſuffered, to reſtore ſight to the blynd, to heale the ſicke, and to caſt out deuils, &c. Which kind of vertue to open the eyes of the blind, and to expell Deuels, nether doth God geue to anye creature of water, neither is it like that Concordius the bleſſed Martyr did or would require any ſuch thing at the handes of God.

Iſuardus, and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erfordia, with other autors moe, make relatiõ of diuers other Martyrs that by ſondrye kindes of tormentes were put to death, vnder the forſaid Antoninus Verus: the names of whom be Simmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodus, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cauſe of whoſe martirdome was the reprehending of Idolatrie, and becauſe at the Emperours commaundement, they would not ſacrifice to Idols. Many ſortes of puniſhments and of miracles are told of them, but at lengthe the ende of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may the more be ſuſpected, the hyſtories of theſe writers not to be certayne or true, aſwel touching theſe, as alſo other martyrs, as may appere in Vincentius, in Petrus de Natalibus, and other authors of like ſort. In which auctors they which liſt to reade more of their miracles, there may fynde them.

A litle before, pag.66. mencion was made of Simphoriſſa, otherwiſe named Simphoroſa, wyfe of Getulus, with her.vij.ſõnes. This Getulus or Getulius was a miniſter or a teacher (as witneſſeth Martyrol. Adonis) in the city of Tybur, which Getulius with Cerealis, Amantius

mantius, and Primitiuus, by the commaundement of Adrian were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moreouer of the.vij ſonnes of this Simphoroſa, I finde to be Creſcens, Iulianus, Nemeſius, Primitiuus, Iuſtin⁹, Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commaundement of Hadrian, being faſtned to.vij.ſtakes, and ſo racked wyth a pulley, and at laſt were thruſt throughe, Creſcens in the necke, Iulianus in the breſt, Nemeſius in the hart, Primitiuus about the nauell, Iuſtinus cut in euerye ioynt of his body, Statteus run through with ſpeares, Eugenius cut a ſunder from the breſt to the lower partes, and then caſt into a deepe pyt, hauing the name by the idolatrous Prieſtes, intituled Ad ſeptem Biothanatos. After the martyrdome of whom alſo Symphoroſa ẏ mother did likewiſe ſuffer, as is before declared.

he ſeuen nes of ymphora

eſcens, lianus. meſius, mitiu⁹ inus, eus, nius, yrs.

Under the ſayd Antoninus Verus, and in the ſame perſecution, which raged not in Rome and in Aſia onely, but in other countries alſo, ſuffered the glorious & moſt conſtant Martyrs of Lyons and Vienna, two cities in Fraunce, geuing to Chriſte a glorious teſtimonye, and to all Chriſtian men a ſpectacle, or example of ſingular conſtancy and fortitude in Chriſte our Sauiour. The hiſtory of whom, because it is written and ſet forth by their own churches, wher they did ſuffer, mencioned in Euſeb.lib.5.cap.2. I thought here to expres the ſame in the forme and effect of their own woordes, as ther is to be ſene. The title of which their Epiſtle written to the brethren of Aſia & Phrygia thus beginneth.

e perſecution in ons and ce.

Euſeb. .5. ca.2

¶The ſeruantes of Chriſt inhabiting the Cities of Vienna and Lyons, to the brethren in Aſia & Phrigia, hauing the ſame fayth and hope of redemption wyth vs: peace, and grace, and glorye, from God the father, and from Ieſus Chriſt our Lord.

er of brethre Frauuce the brethren of Aſia

THe greatnes of thys our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles againſte vs, and the tormentes which the bleſſed martyrs ſuffered, neither can we in wordes, nor yet in writing exactlye, as they deſerue, ſet forth. For the aduerſary with al his force gaue his indeuour to the working of ſuch preparatiues, as he himſelf liſted, againſt his tyranous comming, and in euery place practiſed he and inſtructed his Miniſters, how in moſt ſpitefull maner to ſet them agaynſt the ſeruauntes of God: ſo that not onely in our houſes, ſhoppes, & markets we wer reſtrayned, but alſo were vniuerſally cõmaũded, ẏ none (ſo hardye) ſhould be ſene in any place. But God hath alwaies mercye in ſtore, and tooke out of their hands ſuch as wer weake amonſt them, and other ſome dyd he ſet vp as firme & immoueable pyllers, whych by ſufferance were able to abide al violent force, and valiantly to withſtande the enemy, induring al their opprobrious puniſhment they could deuiſe. To conclude, they fought this battell for that intent to come vnto Chriſt, eſteming theyr great troubles but as light: therby ſhewing that al that may be ſuffered in this preſent life, is not able to counteruaile the great glory which ſhalbe ſhewed vpon vs after this life. And firſt they pacientlye ſuffred what ſoeuer the multitude of franticke people running vppon heade did vnto them, as raylinges, ſcourginges, drawinges and halings, flinging of ſtones, impriſonnings, and what other thing ſo euer the rage of the multitude are wont to vſe and practiſe agaynſte their profeſſed enemies. Then afterward they being led into the market place, and there iudged of the Captayne & reſt of the Potentates of the Citye, after their confeſſion made openly before the multitude, were commaunded agayne to priſon, vntyl the returne of the chiefe Gouernour. After this they being brought before him, and he vſing al extremity that poſſibly he might againſt them: One Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, repleniſhed with feruent zeale, both towardes God and his brethrẽ (whoſe conuerſation, althoughe he were a young man, was counted as perfect, as was the life of Zachary the Prieſt, for he walked diligently in all the commaundements and iuſtifications of the Lord, & in all obedience towardes his brethren blameles) he hauing within hym the feruent zeale of loue, and ſpirite of God, coulde not ſuffer that wicked iudgement which was geuen vpon ẏ Chriſtians, but being vehemently diſpleaſed, deſired ẏ the iudge would heare the excuſe which he was minded to make in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, in whom ſaith he is no impietie found. But the people cryed agayne to thoſe that were aſſiſtentes with the chiefe Iuſtice, that it might not be ſo (for in deede he was a noble mã born) neither did the Iuſtice graunt him his lawful requeſt: but onely aſked him whether he himſelfe were a Chriſtian or not. And he immediatly with a loude and bolde voyce, anſwered and ſayd: I am a Chriſtian. And thus was hee receiued into the fellowſhip of the Martyrs, & called the aduocate of the Chriſtiãs. And he hauing the ſpirite of God more plentifully in tyme, then had Zacharye, the aboundance thereof he declared, in that he gaue his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true diſciple of Chriſt following the Lambe whereſoeuer he goeth.

The ſtoutnes of a godlye yong man.

By thys mans example the reſt of the Martyrs wer the more animated to martyrdome, and made more ioyous with al courage of mynde to accompliſh the ſame. Some other there were vnready and not ſo well prepared, & as yet weake, not wel able to beare the vehemency of ſo great conflict: of whom.x. ther were in number, that faynted, miniſtring to vs muche heauines and lamẽtacion. Who by their example cauſed the reſt which were not yet apprehended, to be leſſe willing therunto. Then were we al, for the variablenes of confeſſion not a litle aſtonied: not that we feared the puniſhment intended agaynſt vs, but rather as hauing reſpecte to the end, and fearing leaſt any ſhould fall. Euery day there were apprehended ſuch as were worthye to fulfyll the number of them which were fallen. In ſo much that of two churches, ſuche as were chiefeſt, and whiche were the principal gouernours of our churches were apprehended. With theſe alſo certayne of the Ethnickes, being our men ſeruantes, were apprehended (for ſo the gouernour commaunded, that all of vs in generall without any reſpect, ſhould be taken) which ſeruantes being ouercome by Sathan, and fearing the torments which they ſaw the ſaintes to ſuffer, being alſo compelled ther vnto by the meanes of the ſoldiours, fayned againſt vs that we kept the feaſtings of Thieſtes, and inceſt of Oedipus, & many ſuch other crimes, which are neither to be remẽbred, nor named of vs, neither yet to be thought that euer any man would commit the like.

The fayntyng of certayne weake Chriſtians.

Falſe ſlaunders of the Chriſtians.

These thinges being nowe bruted abroade, euerye man began to ſhew cruelty againſt vs, in ſo much that thoſe which before for familiarities ſake wer more gẽtile toward vs, now vehemently diſdained vs, and waxed mad againſt vs. And thus was nowe fulfilled that, which was ſpoken of Chriſt, ſaying: the time ſhal come that who ſoeuer kylleth you, ſhall thincke that he doth God great good ſeruice. Then ſuffered the Martyrs of God ſuch bitter perſecution as is paſſing to be told: Satan ſtill ſhooting at this marke, to make them to vtter ſome blaſphemye by all meanes poſſible. Marueilous therfore was the rage both of the people and prince, ſpecially againſt one Sanctus, which was Deacon of the Congregacion of Vienna, and againſt Maturus, being but a litle before baptiſed, but yet a worthi ſoldiour of Chriſt, and alſo againſt Attalus, being borne in Pergama, which was the foundacion and piller of that cõgregacion, & alſo againſt Blandina, by whom Chriſte ſheweth, that thoſe thinges which the worlde eſteemed

The rage of the Heathen agaynſt the chriſtians.

vile and abiect, to be glorious in Gods ſight, for the very loue which in hart ⁊ deede they beare toward hym, ⁊ not in outward face onelye. For when all wee were afraid, and ſpecially her miſtres in fleſhe, who alſo was her ſelfe one of the number of the foreſayde Martyrs, leaſt happely for the weakenes of body ſhe woulde not ſtand ſtrongly to her confeſſion, the foreſaid Blandine was ſo repleniſhed with ſtrēgth and boldnes, that they which had the tormenting of her by courſe from morning to night, for verye wearynes gaue ouer and fell downe, and were them ſelues ouercome, cōfeſſing that they could do no more againſt her, and marueiled that yet ſhe liued, hauing her body ſo torne and rent. And teſtified that any one of thoſe tormentes alone wythoute any moe, had bene inough to haue plukt the lyfe from her body. But that bleſſed woman, fighting this worthy battel, became ſtronger and ſtronger, and as often as ſhe ſpake theſe wordes (I am a Christian, neither haue vve committed any euyll) it was to her a marueylous comfort and bolding to abide the tormentes.

The cruel handling and great pacience of Blādina.

Sanctus a Martyr.

Sanctus alſo an other of the Martyrs, who in yͤ middeſt of his tormentes, induryng more paynes, then the nature of a man might away with, alſo at what tyme the wicked ſuppoſed, to haue herd him vtter ſome blaſphemous wordes, for yͤ greatnes ⁊ intolerablenes of his tormentes and paines, that he was in, abode notwithſtandyng in ſuch conſtancie of minde, that neither he tolde them his name, nor what countrymā he was, nor in what Citie brought vp, neither whether he was a fre man or a ſeruaunt, but vnto euery queſtion that was aſked him, he aunſwered in the Latine tounge, I am a Chriſtiā. And this was all that he confeſſed both of his name, Citie, kinred, and all other things in the place of execution, neither yet could the Gentiles, get any more of him: wherupon both the Gouernour ⁊ tormentours, were the more vehemētly bent againſt him. And when they had nothing els to vexe him withall, they clapped plates of Braſſe redhoat, to the moſt tendereſt partes of his body: wherwith his body in dede beyng ſcorched, yet he neuer ſhronke for the matter, but was bolde and conſtant in his confeſſion, beyng ſtrengthened ⁊ moyſtened with the fountaine of liuely water, flowing out of Chriſtes ſyde. Truly his body was a ſufficient wytnes, what tormentes he ſuffered, for it was all drawne together and moſt pitifully wounded and ſcorched: ſo yͭ it had therewith loſt the proper ſhape of a man, in whō Chriſt ſuffering obtayned inſpeakable glorye, for that he ouercame his aduerſarie, and to the inſtruction of other declared, that nothyng is terrible, or ought to be feared, where the loue of God is, nor nothing greuous, wherein the glory of Chriſt is manifeſted.

The notable cōſtancy of Sanctus.

The cruell torments of Sanctus.

A miraculous woorking of God.

And when thoſe wicked men, began after a certain tyme agayne, to torment the martyr, and hoped wel to bryng it to paſſe, that either they ſhould ouercome him in cauſing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his body was ſo ſore and ſwollen, that he might not ſuffer a man to touche him with his hand, or els that if he dyed vnder theyr handes, yet that therby they ſhould ſtrike ſuch feare into the hartes of the reſt, to cauſe them to deny Chriſt. But they were not onely diſapoynted herein, but alſo contrary to therpectation of men, his body was in the latter puniſhment and tormentes ſoupled and reſtored, and tooke the firſt ſhape and vſe of the mēbers of the ſame, ſo that the ſame his ſecond torment was by the grace of Chriſt (in ſteede of puniſhement) a ſafe medecine.

Byblides an holy Martyr.

Alſo, Sathan nowe thinkyng to haue ſetteled hym ſelfe in the harte of one Byblides, beyng one of them whiche had denied Chriſt, and thinking to haue cauſed her, being a weake and feable woman in faith, to haue damned her ſoule, in blaſphemyng the name of God, brought her to the place of executiō: inforcyng to wreſt ſome wicked thing out of the mouth of the Chriſtians. But ſhe in the middle of her tormentes, returnyng to her ſelf, and waked as it were out of her dead ſleepe, by that temporall payne, called to her remembraunce the paines of hel fire, ⁊ againſt al men expectations reuiled the tormētours ſaying: How ſhould we Chriſtiās eate yong infantes (as ye reported of vs) for whom it is not lawful to eate the bloud of any beaſt? Vpō that ſo ſone as ſhe had confeſſed her ſelfe to be a Chriſtian, ſhe was martyred with the reſt. Thus when Chriſt had ended thoſe tyrannicall tormentes, by the patience and ſufferaunce of our Saintes, the deuill yet inuented other engines ⁊ inſtruments. For when the Chriſtians were caſt into priſon, they were ſhut vp in darke and ougly doungeons, and were drawne by the feete, in a racke or engine made for that purpoſe, euen vnto the fifte hole. And many other ſuch puniſhmentes ſuffred they, whiche the furious miniſters ſtirred vp wyth deuiliſhe furie, are wont to put men vnto: ſo that very many of them, wer ſtragled and killed in the priſons, whom the Lord in this maner would haue to enioye euerlaſtyng lyfe, and ſet forth hys glory. And ſurely theſe good men were ſo pitifully tormented, that and if they had had al the helpe, and medecines in the worlde, it was thought impoſſible for them to liue and to be reſtored. And thus they remaynyng in priſon, deſtitute of al humane help, were ſo ſtrengthned of the Lord, and both in body and mynde confirmed, that they comforted and ſtirred vp the mindes of the reſt. The yonger ſorte of them, which were later apprehended, and put in priſon, whoſe bodyes had not yet felte the laſh of the whip, wer not able to indure the ſharpnes of theyr impriſonment, but died in the ſame.

The bleſſed Photinus, who was Deacon to the byſhop of Lyons, aboue. 90. yeares olde, ⁊ a verye feable or weake mā, and could ſcarſly draw breath for the imbecillity of his body: yet was he of a liuely courage and ſpirit. For the great deſire he had of Martyrdom, when he was brought vnto the iudgemēt ſeate: although his body was feable and weake, both becauſe of his olde age, and alſo through ſickenes, yet was his ſoule or life preſerued to this purpoſe, that by yͤ ſame, Chriſt might triumphe and be glorified. He, being by the ſoldiours brought to the place of iudgement, many Citizens and men of great ability folowing him, and the whole multitude crying vpon him diuerſly, as though he had bene Chriſt him ſelfe, gaue a good teſtimony. For being demaunded of the chiefe ruler, what was the Chriſtian mās God, he anſwered: If thou be worthy to know, yͧ ſhalt know. He being with theſe wordes ſomwhat nere touched, cauſed him to be verye ſore beaten. For thoſe that ſtoode next him, did him all the ſpyte and diſpleaſure that they could both with hand and foote, hauing no regarde at all to his olde age or white heares. And they which were further of, what ſo euer came next to hand, they threw at him, and euery man thought that he did very wickedly refrayne, that withheld his hand frō not doing the like. For by this meanes thei thought that they did reuenge the quarel of their Gods. Photinus, now euē as it wer gaſping after life, was thrown into priſon, and within two daies after died.

And here is the mighty prouidence of God, and the inſpeakable mercy of Jeſus Chriſt declared, which prouidence being aſſured amongeſt a fraternity, is neuer deſtitute of the ayd of Jeſus Chriſte. For thoſe whiche in their firſt perſecution denied Chriſt, they alſo were put in priſon, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time help them that had denied Chriſt: but they which confeſſed him, were impriſoned as Chriſtians, neither was there any other crime obiected againſt thē: but the other ſorte taken like homicides and wicked doers, were layde

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hand on,and had double more puniſhment then the others had. Theſe men were refreſhed with the ioye of Martyrdome,the hope of Gods promiſes, the loue toward Chriſt, and the ſpirite of God: The other, their conſcience accuſed them, and that very ſore,in ſo much that by theyr gate, their countenaunces bewraied vnto the reſt their giltye cōſciences. For the Chriſtians went foorth,hauing cherefull countenances, verye muche adourned with glory and grace,in ſo much that the very bondes wherwith they wer tyed,ſet them out as men in ſemelye apparel: and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therwith all ſauored as of the redolent ſmell of Chriſt, ſo that it mighte be ſuppoſed them to be annoynted wyth ſome ſweete balme:wheras the other were doutful and ſad,abiect,ilfauored,fylled with all ſhame,and furthermore reuiled of the Gentiles them ſelues,as wretches degenerate,hauing the crime of homicide, and deſtitute of the moſte precious,glorious, and liuelye calling of the Chriſtian name.And trulye by theſe ſightes the reſt were confirmed,and being apprehended, confeſſed Chriſt without any ſtackering,not hauing ſo muche as the thought of any ſuch diueliſh mynde of deniall. And in the ſame Epiſtle of the foreſaide brethren of Fraunce, writing to the brethren of Aſia, it followeth in thys maner: After theſe thinges done,the martyrdom of theſe holy ſaintes were deuided diuerſlye into diuers kindes and formes, as they offering to God the Father a garlande decked with diuers and ſundry kindes of coulors and floures. For it ſo behoued the worthy Champions of God, after they had ſuffered diuers kindes of tormentes, and ſo winning a triumphant victorye to obtayne great rewarde of immortality.

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Maturus &
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yred.

Then Maturus,Blandina,and Attalus together were brought to the common ſcaffolde, there in the face of the people to be caſte and deuoured of the beaſtes. And Maturus with Sanctus being brought the ſecond tyme to the ſcaffolde, ſuffered agayne all kyndes of tormentes, as though hetherto they had ſuffered nothing at all, yea rather as though the aduerſary being oftentimes put to the worſte,they as ſtriuing for ẏ crowne,ſuffered again more ſcourgings,the tearing of wild beaſtes, and what thing els ſo euer the frantyke people,on euery ſide cryed for and willed.And aboue all the reaſt they broughte an yron chayre,in the which their bodyes being ſet,were ſo fryed ⁊ ſcorched as on a gyrdiron fryed vpon ẏ coales, filled with the ſauour of the frying al the people ẏ ſtode by. And yet for all that the tormentors ceaſed not, but wared more fierce and mad agaynſt them, labouring to ouercome the patience of the Sainctes. Notwithſtāding all this they coulde not get out of Sanctus mouth any other thing but the confeſſion which at the beginning he declared.And thus theſe holy men, after they had longe continued alyue in thys their moſt horrible conflicte, at the length were ſlayne, being made all that whole day a ſpectacle vnto the world in place and ſtede of the games and ſightes,which were wont to be exhibited to the people.And thus much concerning Maturus and Sanctus.

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again

Now concerning Blandina,who being faſtened vpon a ſtake,was caſt to the rauening beaſts to be deuoured, which thing was not done without the determinate wil of God:to this end that while ſhe ſemed to hang vpon a croſſe (as it were) by the feruentnes of her prayer, ſhe muche comforted the reſt of the Sainctes,as beholdyng in her Chriſt, with their bodilye eyes,which in ẏ agonie ſuffered for them all: and that all which beleue in him,⁊ ſuffer for the glorye of Chriſt, mighte be aſſured to liue with him for euer . And when they ſawe that no beaſt would come nere her thus hanging,they toke her down from the tree,and caſte her agayne into priſon till an other time,that ſhe hauing the victorye of many battels, might triumphe ouer that ougly ſerpent the deuill, and that ſhe being a weake and ſely womā, and not regarded,armed with Chriſt ẏ inuincible conquerour,might incourage her brethren,and by the induring of this battaile might wynne a crowne of incorruptible glorye.

Now to Attalus,who being alſo required and cald for of the people to puniſhment,alreadye prepared (for his conſcience ſake)commeth forth to the fight. For he being worthelye exerciſed in the Chriſtian profeſſion, was allwayes a wytnes and a mayntayner of our doctrine.Therefore when the preſſe of people were about the ſcaffold,and the table caryed before hym, wherein was written in the Romane toung, This is Attalus the Chriſtian:Then the people was in a maruellous rage againſt him,but the Gouernour vnderſtanding that he was a Romane,commaunded him agayne to priſon, with the reſt of his priſon fellowes: wherof he wrote to the Emperour, and wayted for an aunſwer what hys pleaſure herein was. The priſoners were not idle in the meane ſeaſon,nor vnprofitable to their brethrē, but by theyr pacience the vnſpeakeable mercy of Chriſt ſhined out. For thoſe which were dead before, were nowe reuiued by them that lyued,and they which were Martyrs,profited them which were none,and the church did much reioyce,as receiuing them agayne alyue, whom before ſhe had loſt as dead. For manye of them whych before had denied,now by their deniall was reſtored ⁊ ſtirred vp,⁊ learned to be confeſſors. And now being reuiued and ſtrengthened, and taſting the ſweetenes of hym which deſireth not the death of a ſinner,but is merciful to the penitent,came of their owne accorde to the iudgement ſeate agayne,that they might be examined of the Iudge.And for that the Emperour had wrytten backe agayne to him,that al the Confeſſours ſhould be puniſhed,and the other let go,and that the Seſſions or Siſes were now begonne,which for the multitude that had repayre thether out of euery quarter, was maruelous great:he cauſed al the holy Martyrs to be brought thether,that the multitude might beholde thē, and once agayne examined them, and as manye of them as he thought had the Romane freedome,he beheaded,the reſidue he gaue to the beaſtes to be deuoured.And truelye Chriſt was much glorified by thoſe which a litle before had denied him,which agayne contrarye to the expectaciō of the Infidels,confeſſed him euen to the death. For they wer examined apart from the reſt,bicauſe of their deliuery,which being founde Confeſſors, were ioyned to the company of the Martyrs,and had with thē their part.But there were then abroade,which had no fayth at all,neither yet ſo much as the feeling of the wedding garment,nor any cogitacion at al,of the feare of God, but blaſphemed his wayes,by the leud conuerſacion of their life:euen ſuch as were the children of damnation. All the reſidue ioyned them ſelues to the congregacion: which when they wer examined,one Alexander a Phrigian borne,and a Phiſicion, which had dwelt long in Fraunce,and knowen almoſt of euerye man, for the loue he had to God, and boldnes of ſpeaking (neyther was he voyde of the apoſtolicall loue,) thys Alexander ſtanding ſomewhat neare to the barre, by ſignes and beckes perſwaded ſuche as were examined to confeſſe Chriſte: ſo that by hys countenaunce ſometime reioyſing,and ſome other while ſorowing, he was diſcryed of the ſtanders by. The people not taking in good part to ſee thoſe which now recanted, by and by agayne to ſticke to their firſt confeſſion: they cryed out agaynſte Alexander,as one that was the cauſe of al this matter. And when he was inforced by the Iudge, and demaunded what religion he was of,he anſwered: I am a Chriſtian. He had no ſooner ſpoken the woorde, but he was iudged to the beaſtes,of them to be deuoured,

Attalus commaūded agayn to pryſon.

The deniers returning againe to theyr confeſſion.

Alexander the Phrygian martyred.

The next day following,Attalus, of whom I made mention a little before,and Alexander, were broughte

foorth

forth together(for the Gouernour grauntyng Attalus vnto the people,was baited again of the beaſtes.)Whẽ theſe men were brought to the ſcaffold,and had taken a taſte of al the inſtrumentes that ther were prepared for their execution,and had ſuffred the greateſt agony they coulde put them to,were alſo at the length ſlayne: Of whom Alexãder neuer gaue ſo much as a ſigh, nor held his peace,but from the bottome of hys hart praiſed and prayed to the Lord.But Attalus when he was ſet in the yron chaire,and began to frie,and the frieng ſauour of hys burning body began to ſmell, he ſpake to the multitude in the Romane language:Behold(ſayth he) thys is to eate mans fleſh which you doo,for we neither eate men,nor yet commit any other wickednes. And beyng demaunded what was the name of their God: our God (ſayth he)hath no ſuch name as men haue. Then ſayde they,nowe let vs ſee whether your God can helpe you, and take you out of our handes or not.

The woorthye pacience & constancy of Attalus.

Blandina & Pōticus agayne brought forth.

After this,being the laſt day of the ſpectacle, Blandine againe,and one Ponticus a childe of.xv.yeare old, was brought foorth:and this was euery day, to the entent they ſeyng the puniſhmẽt of their fellowes, might be compelled therby to ſweare by their Idoles. But becauſe they conſtantly abode in their purpoſe,and defied their Idoles,the whole multitude was in a rage with them,neyther ſparing the age of the childe, nor fauoring the ſexe of the woman,but put them to all the puniſhment and paine they could deuiſe, and often times inforced them to ſweare,and yet were not able to compell them therunto. For Ponticus ſo being animated of hys ſiſter,as the Heathnicks ſtanding by dyd ſee, after he had ſuffered all tormentes and paynes, gaue vp the ghoſt. This bleſſed Blandina therefore being the laſt that ſuffered,after ſhe had lyke a worthy mother geuen exhortacions vnto her childrẽ,and had ſent them before as conquerours to their heauenly king,and had called to her remembraunce al their battels and conflictes: ſo much reioyced of her childrens death, ⁊ ſo haſtened hyr owne,as though ſhe had bene bydden to a bridall,⁊ not in caſe to be throwne to the wilde beaſtes. After thys her pitiful whipping,her deliuerye to the beaſtes, ⁊ her tormentes vpon the gridyron,at the length ſhe was put in a net,and throwne to the wilde Bull, and when ſhe had bene ſufficientlye gored and wounded wyth the hornes of the ſame beaſt,and felte nothing of all that chaunced to her,for the great hope and conſolacion ſhe had in Chriſt and heauenlye thinges, was thus ſlayne, in ſo much that the very Heathen men them ſelues confeſſed that ther was neuer woman put to death of them yͭ ſuffred ſo much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus aſſwaged againſte the Chriſtians. For the cruel barbarous people,like wyld beaſts when they be moued,knewe not when the time was to make an ende,but inuented new and ſundry torments euery day agaynſt our bodies. Neither yet did it contẽt them whẽ they had put the Chriſtians to death, for that they wanted the ſence of men:for which cauſe both the Magiſtrate and people were vexed at the verye hartes, that the ſcripture might be fulfylled,which ſaith,he that is wicked,let him be wicked ſtyll,and he that is iuſt, let him be more iuſt. For thoſe which in their pryſons they ſtrangled,they threw after to the dogs, ſetting keepers both daye and night to watche them, that they ſhoulde not be buryed,and bringing forth the remnant of their bones ⁊ bodies,ſome halfe burnt,ſome left of the wilde beaſtes,⁊ ſome all to be mangled, alſo bringing forth ẏ heades of other which were cut of, and in like manner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to ſee them remayne vnburied.

Ponticus martyred.

Blandina martyred.

Apoca.22.

The Gentiles grind and gnaſht at the Chriſtians with theyr teeth,ſeeking which way they might amplify their puniſhment. Some other flouted and mocked them,extolling their Idoles, attributing vnto them the cauſe of thys cruelty and vengeaunce ſhewed to vs. Such which were of the meeker ſorte,and ſeemed to be moued with ſome pity,did hyt vs in the teeth, ſaying:where is your God,that you ſo much boaſt of? and what healpeth thys your religion, for which you geue your liues? Theſe were the ſundry paſſions and affects of the Gentiles, but the Chriſtians in the meane whyle were in great heauines,that they might not burye the the bodies ⁊ reliques of the holy martyrs. Neither could the darke night ſerue them to that purpoſe,nor any intreaty,nor waging them with money, which were appointed for watchmen:but they ſo narowly looked vnto the matter,as though they ſhould haue gotten great benefit and profit therby.

Thus were the bodies of the Martyrs made a wondering ſtocke,and lay ſixe daies in the open ſtreetes, at the length they burned them,and threwe their aſhes into the riuer of Rodes,ſo that ther might appere no remnaunt of them vpon the earth. And thys did they as though they had ben able to haue pulled God out of his ſeate, and to haue let the regeneration of the ſayntes, and taken from them the hope of the reſurrection, wherof they being perſwaded(ſayd they)bring in thys newe and ſtraunge religiõ,and ſet thus light by death and puniſhment. Hæc ex epiſtola Viennenſium.&c.

Amongeſt other that ſuffered vnder Antoninus,mẽcion was made alſo of Iuſtinus, who as it is ſayde before,exhibited two Apologies, concerning the defence of Chriſtian doctrine, the one to the Senate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the Emperour,cõcerning whoſe ſuffering,and the cauſes thereof is partlye before declared. This Iuſtine was borne in Neapoli, in the country of Paleſtine,whoſe father was Priſcus Bachius,as he himſelfe doth teſtifye. By whom in hys youth he was ſet to ſchole to learne,wher in proceſſe of tyme he became a famous and worthy Philoſopher, of whoſe excellency many learned and notable men do recorde. For firſt,he being altogether inflamed and rauiſhed with deſire of knowledge,woulde in no wiſe be ſatiſfied in his minde,before he had gotten inſtructors ſingularly ſene in al kinde of Philoſophye, whereupon he writeth of him ſelfe in the beginning of his Dialogue Cum Triphone,thus declaring, that in the beginning he being deſirous of that ſect and ſocietye, applyed hym ſelfe to be the ſcholer to a certayne Stoicke, and remaining with him a time,when he nothing profited in deuine knowledge(wherof the Stoicke had no ſkyll, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be neceſſarye) he forſooke him,and went to an other of the ſect of the Peripatetike,a ſharpe wytted man, as he thought: wyth whom after he had bene a while,he demaunded of hym a ſtipend for his teaching, for the better confirmacion of their familiarity. Whereupon Iuſtine accomptyng him as no Philoſopher left hym,and departed. And yet not ſatiſfied in minde, but deſirous to heare of further learning in Philoſophy,adioyned him ſelfe to one that profeſſed the Pythagorian ſect,a man of great fame, ⁊ one who made no ſmall acompt of him ſelfe. Whom after he had followed a time, hys maiſter demaunded of him whether he had any ſight in Muſicke,Aſtronomye, and Geometry,without the ſight of which ſciences hee ſayd he coulde not be apte to receiue the knowledge of vertue and felicity,vnles before he had vſed to applye hys minde from ſenſible matters,to the contemplation of thinges intelligible. And ſpeaking much in the commendacions of theſe ſciences,how profitable and neceſſary they wer:but after yͭ Iuſtine had declared himſelf not to be ſene therin, the Philoſopher gaue him ouer, which greued Iuſtine not alitle,and ſo muche the more becauſe he thought his maſter to haue ſome knowledge in thoſe ſciences. After this Iuſtine conſidering wyth

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him ſelf what time was requiſit to the learning of theſe ſciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought it beſt to reſorte to the ſecte of ẏ Platoniſts for the great fame that ran of them: wherfore he choſe vnto him a ſinguler learned man of that ſecte, which latelie was come to thoſe parties, & ſo remainyng with him ſemed to profite not a litle in contemplation of ſupernal things, and inuiſible formes, inſomuch that he thought ſhortly to aſpire to ſuch ſharpnes of wit & wiſdome, that out of hād he might atchiue to the comprehēſion and contemplation of God, which is the end of Platos philoſophie. And in this maner he beſtowed his youth: But afterwarde he growing to a riper & more perfite age, howe and by what meanes the ſaide Iuſtine came to the knowledge and profeſſion of chriſtianitye, it foloweth likewiſe in his ſayde firſt Apologie: where he affirmeth of him ſelfe (as witneſſeth Euſebius in his. 4. booke) that when he did behold the chriſtians in their tormēts and ſuffrings to be ſo conſtāt in their profeſſion, was therwith maruelouſly moued: after this maner reaſoning wͭ himſelf, that it was impoſſible for that kinde of people to be ſubiect to any vice or carnalitie, which vices of their owne nature are not able to ſuſtayne any ſharpe aduerſitye, much leſſe the bitternes of death. The ſighte wherof helped him not a litle (being of his own nature inclined to the ſearching of true knowledge and vertue) to begyn therby to loue and imbrace Chriſtian religion, for ſo he doth witnes of him ſelfe in the end of the firſt Apology: ſignifieng ther, how it was his ſeeking and indeuour, to attayne to chriſtianity: Underſtanding how the chriſtians by malice of wicked perſons were compelled to ſuffer wrong and tormēts, and to be euyl ſpoken of. By ſight wherof, as he ſaith himſelfe, he became a chriſtian through this occaſiō: for being thus aflicted in his mind as is aforſaid, it cam in his head for his more quietnes, to go a ſide to ſome deſert and ſolitarye place voyde of concourſe of people, vnto a village or graunge neare to the ſea ſyde: whether as he approched, thinking there to be al alone, ther meeteth wͭ him an old auncient father of a comely viſage & gentle behauiour, who folowing him a litle of, began to reaſō with him: wher after long diſputation, when the old man had declared vnto hym that ther was no knowledge of truth amongſt the Philoſophers, which neither knew god, neither were ayded by the holi ghoſt: & further had reaſoned with him of the immortality of ſoule, of the reward of the godly, & puniſhment of the wicked: then Iuſtine being confirmed with his reaſons and arguments, yelded to him of his owne accord, and demaunded of him by what meanes he might attayne to that true knowledge of god, wherof he had ſpoken. Who than counſayled hym to reade and ſearche the prophets, adioyninge therwith prayer: but what maſter, quoth Iuſtine, ſhould I vſe for the inſtruction therof? and who ſhalbe able to helpe vs if theſe Philoſophers (as you ſay) lacke the truth, and are voide of the ſame? To whō thold father anſwering, ther haue bene (ſayd he) many yeres before theſe Philoſophers, other more aūcient thē al theſe, which being accōpted for Philoſophers were iuſt & beloued of God: who ſpake by the ſpiris of God, foreſeing & prophecieng theſe thinges which we ſee nowe come to paſſe, and therfore they are called prophets. Theſe onely haue knowen the truth & reueled it to men, neither fearing nor paſſing for any: who were ſeduced with no opinions of mans inuentiō, but onely ſpake & taught thoſe things which they them ſelues both herd and ſaw, being inſpired with the holy ſprite of god: whoſe wrytings & workes yet to this day remain. Out of which, the reder may receiue great profit and knowledge of thinges, as concerninge the firſte creatiō of the world and end of the ſame, with all other things neceſſary to be knowē of euery true philoſopher which will geue credit vnto them. Neither in their teaching they do vſe any demōſtration, as being more certayn of them ſelues, then ẏ they nede any ſuch demonſtratiō to be made. Foraſmuch as the accōpliſhing & the end of things both paſt, & now preſent, conſtrayneth vs of neceſſity to beleue the words and doctrine which thei taught: which mē not onli therfore ar to be beleued, but alſo for their miracles & wōders don are worthy of credite, for ẏ they both preached of God the maker & creator of al things: And alſo dyd propheſie before of Chriſt his ſonne to be ſēt of him. The which the falſe prophets being ſeduced with falſe & wicked ſprites, neither haue done, nor do: but onely taketh vpon them to worke certayne prodigious wonders for men to gaſe at, ſettyng oute therby to the worlde falſe and vncleane ſpirites: But then, afore all thinges make thy prayer, that the gate of light maye bee opened vnto thee, for otherwiſe theſe things cānot be attained vnto of euery man, but onelye of ſuch, to whom God and his Chriſt geueth vnderſtādyng. Theſe things with much more (which now leaſure ſerueth not to proſecute) after the foreſaide old father had declared vnto him, he departed: exhortig him well to folowe the thinges which hee had ſpoken. And after that, Iuſtine as he him ſelfe witneſſeth, ſaw hym no more. Immediatly after this, Iuſtine being al inflamed as with fire kindled in his breſt, began to conceaue a loue and zeale toward the prophets, & al ſuch as were fauored of Chriſt. And thus he reuoluing in hys mynde more and more theſe woords, found onely this philoſophye among all other profeſſions, both ſure and profitable, and ſo became he a philoſopher, and in time, by theſe meanes afterward was he made a chriſtian and baptiſed. But wher he receyued this holy ſacrament of baptiſme, it is not red of: nor yet by what occaſion hee left his country and came to Rome. Thys onely we rede in Jerome, that he was in Rome, and there vſed certayne exerciſes which he called diatribas, diſputing there with Creſcens a cynicall Philoſopher, as is before touched. But this is certayne how ẏ Iuſtine after he had receyued the profeſſion of Chriſtian religion, became an earneſt defender of the ſame, traueling and diſputinge againſt all thaduerſaries therof, fearing neither peril of lyfe nor daunger of death wherby he might maintaine the doctrin of Chriſt, againſt ẏ malicious blaſphemers, and alſo to augment the number of chriſtian beleuers. As maye appere by his vehement diſputatiōs againſte the Heathen Philoſophers. Alſo moreouer aſwell appereth in that long diſputation, which he had with one Tripho at Epheſus: as alſo in his confutations of heretikes. Furthermore his conflicts and Apologies whiche with great courage and ſecuritye hee had agaynſt the perſecutors of the chriſtians, both the Emperours and the magiſtrates, yea & the whole Senate of Rome doo teſtifie the ſame. Of the which Apologyes the firſte hee wrote to the Senate of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the Emperor as is before mentioned, wher, in the firſte writing with great libertye to the Senate hee declared, that of neceſſitye he was compelled to wryte and vtter his mynde & conſcience to them. For that in perſecuting of the chriſtians, they dyd neglect their duty, and highly offended god, & therfore nede they had to be admoniſhed. And further writing to Vrbicius lieftenant of the Citye, ſayde, that hee put men to death and tormēts for no offence cōmitted, but for the confeſſion onely of the name of Chriſt: which procedings & iudgemēts neither became ẏ Emperor nor his ſonne, nor the Senate: defending moreouer in the ſayd Apology & purging the chriſtians of ſuch crimes as falſely wer laid & obiected agaynſt them by the Ethnikes. And likewiſe in his ſecond Apologye writing to Antoninus the Emperor and his ſucceſſors, with like grauity & free libertie, declareth vnto thē how they had the name, cōmonly being reputed and taken as vertuous philoſophers, main-

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Iuſtinus baptyſed.

Diatribæ.

Iuſtinus an earneſt defender of Chriſt.

Two Apologies of Iuſtinus

The ſumme of hys Apologies.

tayners of Iuſtice,louers of learning,but whether thei were ſo,their actes declared.As for him,neither for flattery nor fauour at their handes, he was cōſtrained thus to write vnto them,but onely to ſue vnto them and deſire a ſerious and righteous kinde of dealynge in their iudgements and ſentences . For it becōmeth princes to folowe vprightnes and pietye in their iudgementes,not tiranye and violence:and alſo in playne woordes chargeth as wel the Emperour as the Senate with manifeſt wrong. For that they did not graunt the chriſtiās, that which is not denied to al other malefactors,iudging thē to death not cōuicted,but only for ẏ hatred of the name: Other men which be appeached(ſayd he)in iudgement, are not condemned,before they are cōuicted. But on vs you take our name onely for the crime , whē as in dede you ought to ſee iuſtice done vpon our accuſers. And againe(ſaith he)if a Chriſtian being accuſed , onelye deny that name,him you releaſe,being not able to charge him with any other offēce. But if he ſtand to his name, only for his cōfeſſion you caſt him , wher in dede it wer your dutye rather to examine their maner of life what thyng they confeſſe or deny , and according to their demerits ſe iuſtice done. And in the ſame further he ſaith, you examine not the cauſes , but incenced with raſhe affections as with the ſpurre of furye, ye ſlay and murder them not conuicted,without anie reſpect of Iuſtice. And further he addeth. Som peraduenture will ſay certayne of them haue ben apprehended and taken in euyll doyngs:as though (ſayth he)you vſed to enquire vppon them beinge brought afore you,and not commonlye to condemne them before due examinatiō of their offence for the cauſe aboue mentioned. Wher alſo in the end of the ſaid Apologie after this maner he reprehendeth thē: You do degenerat(quoth he)from the goodnes of your Predeceſſors , whoſe example ye followe not : for your father Adrian of famous memorie,cauſed to be proclaimed that chriſtians accuſed before the iudge,ſhould not be condemned,vnleſſe they wer found gilty of ſo notorious a crime . I finde that all his vehement and graue Apologye ſtandeth vpon moſte ſtrong and firme probations:denieng that the chriſtians ought by cōſcience at the wyll and commaundemēt of the Emperor and Senate to do ſacrifice to the Idols. For the which they being condemned , affirme that they ſuffer open wrong: approuing moreouer,that the true and onelie religion, is the religion of the chriſtians:whoſe both doctrine and cōuerſation hath no fault. Iuſtinus although with theſe and ſuch like perſuations dyd not ſo preuayle with the Emperor,to cauſe him to loue his religion and become a Chriſtian(for that is not wrytten) yet thus muche he obtayned , that Antoninus wryting to his Officers in Aſia in the behalfe of the Chriſtians , required and commaunded them, that thoſe Chriſtians which onely were found giltye of anye treſpaſſe , ſhould ſuffer, and ſuch as were not conuicted,ſhoulde not therefore onely for the name be puniſhed, becauſe they wer called chriſtians. By theſe it is apparent with what zeal and faith this Iuſtinus did ſtriue againſt ẏ perſecutors,whiche(as he ſaide)could kil onely, but could not hurt.

The Lord take away this ſpur of furie , condēning innocents before they be conuicted.

This Iuſtinus by the meanes & malice of Creſcence the Philoſopher as is before declared,ſuffred martyrdome vnder Marcus Antoninꝰ Verus a litle after ẏ Policarpe was martyred in Aſia,as witneſſeth Euſebiꝰ lib.4. Here is to be gathered howe Epiphanius was deceyued in the tyme of his death , ſaying that he ſuffered vnder Ruſticus the Preſident,and Adrian the Emperour, beyng of xxx.yeares of age , which in deede agreeth not neither with Euſebius , nor Ierome,nor Swide, nor other moe, which manifeſtly declare & teſtifie how he exhibited his Apologie vnto Antoninus Pius , whiche came after Adrian. Thus haſte thou good reader the life of this learned and bleſſed martyr although partly touched before, yet nowe more fully & amply diſcourſed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable vertues, of whoſe finall ende thus writeth Photius ſaying , that he ſuffring for Chriſt dyed cherefully and with honor.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 16. A place of Epiphanius found fauty.

Thus haue ye herd the whole diſcourſe of Iuſtinus, and of the bleſſed ſaints of Fraunce, Vetius, Zacharias, Sanctus,Maturus,Attalus, Blandina , Alexander , Alcibiades, with other , recorded and ſet foorth by the writing of certayne chriſtian brethren of the ſame churche and place of France. In the which forſayde writing of theirs moreouer appereth the great meekenes & modeſt cōſtancy of the ſaid Martyrs deſcribed in theſe woordes: ſuch folowers were they of Chriſt,who when he was in the forme of God,thought it no robrie, to be equal with God,beinge in the ſame glorye with hym, that they not once nor twiſe,but oft times ſuffring Martyrdom , and taken agayne from the beaſts,and bearyng woundes, tearynges and ſkars in their bodyes,yet neither would count themſelues Martyrs, neither woulde ſuffer vs ſo to call them:but yf any of vs either by woorde or letter, would call them Martyrs,they dyd vehemently rebuke them: ſaying that ẏ name of Martyrdom was to be geuen to Chriſt,the faithfull and true Martyre , the firſte borne of the dead,and the captayne of lyfe , teſtifiyng moreouer that Martyrdome belongeth to ſuch , who by their martyrdome were already paſſed out of thys lyfe, and whome as Chriſt by their worthye confeſſion hath receiued vnto himſelfe,and hath ſealed vp their martyrdom by their end finiſhed:As for them , which were not yet conſummated,they (ſayd they)wer not worthye the names of martyrs, but onely were humble and woorthy confeſſors , deſiring alſo their brethren with teares, to praye without ceaſing for their confirmation . Thus they performing in deede that which belonged to trewe martyrs, in reſiſtyng the heathen with much libertye, and great pacience, without all feare of man, being repleniſhed with the feare of God, refuſed to be named of their brethren for martyrs.And after in ẏ ſayd writinge it foloweth more:They humbled themſelues vnder the mightye hand of god,by which they were greatly exalted. Then thei rendred to al men a reaſon of their faith, they accuſed no man,they looſed all, they bounde none. And for them which ſo euil did entreat thē, they praied, folowing ẏ example of Stephē ẏ perfect martyr, which ſaid: O Lord impute not this for ſinne to thē.And after againe: Neither did they proudly diſdain againſt them, which fell: but of ſuch as they had,they imparted to thē that lacked,bearyng toward them a motherly affectiō, ſhedding their plentyfull teares for them to God the father, and prayed for their lyfe and ſaluation , and as God gaue it them , they alſo dyd communicate to their neighbors. And thus they as conquerers of al things departed to God. They loued peace, and leauing the ſame to vs,they went to God,neither leauing any moleſtation to their mother , nor ſedition or trouble to their brethren,but ioy,peace,concord,and loue to al.

Out of the ſame wryting moreouer concerning theſe martyrs of Fraunce afore mentioned,is reported alſo an other hiſtory , not vnworthy to be noted , taken oute of the ſame booke of Euſebius.cap.3.which hiſtori is this.

Ther was among theſe conſtāt and bleſſed martirs, one Alſibiades,as is aboue ſpecified:which Alcibiades euer vſed a very ſtraight diet, receuing for his foode and ſuſtinaunce nothinge els , but onely bread and water: when this Alcibiades now being caſt in priſon, went about to accuſtome the ſame ſtreightnes of diet , after his vſual maner before,it was reueled by God to Attalus afore mencioned,one of the ſayd company,being alſo the ſame time impriſoned,after his firſt conflict vpon the ſcaffold,that Alcibiades did not well,in that he refuſed to vſe and take the creatures of God:and alſo thereby miniſtred to other a pernicious occaſion of offenſiue example. Whereupon Alcibiades being aduertiſed, and reformed,began to take althinges boldly and with gyuing of thanks,wherby maye appeare to all ſcrupulous conſciences,not onely an wholſome inſtruction of the holy ghoſt,but alſo here is to be noted, how in thoſe daies they wer not deſtitute of ẏ grace of God,but had the holy ſpirite of God to be their inſtructor.Hec Euſeb.

The forſaid martyrs of Fraũce alſo,the ſame time, commended Ireneus newely then made miniſter, with their letters vnto Eleutherius Biſhop of Rome: as witneſſeth Euſeb.in the r.chap.of the ſame booke, which Ireneus firſt was the hearer of Policarpus,them made miniſter(as is ſayd) vnder theſe martirs. And after their death, made Biſhop afterward of Lions in Fraunce ⁊ ſucceded after Photinus. Beſides thys Iuſtinus , there were alſo the ſame tyme in Aſia, Claudius Apolinaris,or Apolinarius Biſhop of Hierapolis:And alſo Melito Biſhop of Sardis an eloquẽt and learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who ſucceding after the tyme of thapoſtls,in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus,exhibited vnto him,learned and eloquent Apologies,in defẽce of Chriſtes religion,lyke as Quadratus,and Ariſtides aboue mẽtioned, did vnto the Emperour Hadrian, wherby thei moued him ſomwhat to ſtaie the rage of his perſecution.In lyke maner dyd this Apolinaris and Melito (ſtyrred vp by God) aduenture to defend in wrytyng the cauſe of the chriſtiãs vnto thys Antoninus. Of thys Melito, Euſebius in his.4.booke making mention,excerpeth certain places of his Apologie,in theſe woordes as foloweth. Now ſaith he,which was neuer ſene before,ẏ godlye ſuffereth perſecutiõ by occaſion of certayne proclamations and edicts proclaymed throughoute Aſia. for vylanous Sicophantes, robbers and ſpoylers of other mens goods grounding themſelues vpon thoſe proclamations,and taking occaſion of them, robbeth opẽly night ⁊ day, and ſpoyleth thoſe which doo no harme: And it foloweth after:which if it be done by your commaundement,be it ſo wel done. For a good Prince wil neuer cõmaund but good things.And ſo we wil be contented to ſuſtayne the honour of this death. This onely we moſt humbly beſeche of your maieſty, that calling before you and examining the authors of thys tumult and contention, than your grace would iuſtlye iudge whether we are worthy of cruel death,or quiet life.And than yf it be not your pleaſure, and that it proceedeth not by your occaſion(whych in deede againſt your barbarous ennemyes were to badde) the more a greate deale we are petitioners to your hyghnes,that hereafter you wil voutchſafe to heare vs thus ſo vexed and oppreſſed with theſe kind of vilanous robryes. And verely our Philoſophie and doctrine dyd firſt amongſt the barbarous take place,which doctrine firſt in ẏ daies of Auguſtus you predeceſſor,when it did raigne ⁊ floriſh,therby your Empire became moſt famous ⁊ fortunate:and from that tyme more ⁊ more the ſtate of the Romayne Empyre increaſed in honour, whereof you moſte happelye was made Succeſſour,and ſo ſhal your ſonne to. Honour therefore this Philoſophye, whiche with your Empire ſprang vp and came in with Auguſtus, which your progenitors aboue all other honored ⁊ moſte eſtemed. And verely this is no ſmal argumẽt of a good beginning:That ſince our doctryne flouriſhed in the Empyre, no myſfortune or loſſe happened from Auguſtus tyme:but contrary alwaies victorye, good and honorable yeares, as euer any man would wiſhe. Onelye among al,and of al Nero and Domitian being kyndled by diuers noughty and ſpiteful perſons, cauillingly obiected againſt our doctrine, of whõ this Sicophantical ſlaũdring of vs by naughty cuſtom firſt came ⁊ ſprang vp.But your godly fathers eſpieng ẏ ignorãce of theſe, often times by their writings corrected their temerous attemptes in that behalfe.Among whõ your graunfather Adrian with many other is red of,to haue written to Fundayne the Proconſul and Lieuetenant of Aſia. And your father,your owne father I ſaye,with whom you ruled in all thinges,wrote to the Cities vnder hys ſignet,as ẏ Laerſens, Theſſalonicẽſis, Athenienſes ⁊ Grecians,raſhly to innouate or alter nothing.Of your highnes therfore,who in this caſe is of that ſect as your Predeceſſors were,yea and of a more benigne and philoſophicall minde,we are in good hope to obtayne our petition and requeſt.

Thus muche out of the Apologie of Melito, who writig to Oneſimus,geueth to vs this benefit to know the true Cataloge,and the names of all the autenticke bookes of the olde teſtament, receaued in the auncient time of the primitiue church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the ſayde Melito in hys letter to Oneſimus declareth, howe that hee returning into the partes where theſe thinges were done ⁊ preached, there he diligentlye inquired out the bookes approued,of the old teſtamẽt,the names wherof in order he ſubſcribeth and ſendeth vnto him,as followeth: The fiue bookes of Moſes,Geneſis,Exodus,Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi.Ieſus Naue,The Iudges:Ruth : Foure bookes of kings: Two bookes of Paralipomenon:The Pſalmes,Prouerbes of Salomon:The booke of wyſdome : The preacher : The ſong of ſonges:Iob.The Prophets,Eſai,Hieromie,twelue prophetes in one booke,Daniel, Ezechiel, Eſdras . And thus much of thys matter,which I thought here to recorde,for ẏ it is not vnprofitable for theſe latter tymes to vnderſtand,what in the firſt times was receaued, ⁊ admitted as autenticke,and what otherwiſe.

The bookes of the olde Teſtament autentik and receaued.

Ex Euſebio ibidem.

But from this litle digreſſion to returne to our matter omitted,that is to the Apologies of Apolinarius and Melito: in the ſtorye ſo it foloweth,that whether it was by the occaſion of theſe twoo Apologies, or whether it was throughe the wryting of Athenagoras a Philoſopher,and a Legate of the Chriſtians,it is vncertayne: but this is certayne,that the perſecution the ſame time was ſtaied.Some do thinke,which moſt probably ſeme to touch the truth,that the cauſe of ſtaying thys perſecution,did ryſe vpon a wõderful miracle of God,ſhewed in the Emperours campe by the Chriſtiãs,the ſtorye wherof is thys: At what time the.ii. brethren Marcus Antonius,⁊ Marcus Aurelius Cõmodus Emperours, ioyning together,warred agaynſt the Quades, Vandales,Sarmates,and Germaynes,in the expedition agaynſt them, their army by reaſon of the imminent aſſault of their enemies, was cooped and ſhut in within the ſtraightes and hoate dry places,wher their ſoldiors beſides other difficulties of battayle, being deſtitute of water.v.dayes,were lyke to haue periſhed, whyche dread not a litle diſcomfited them, and did abate theyr courage.Where in this their ſo great diſtreſſe and ieopardy,ſodaynly withdrew from the armye a legion of the Chriſtian ſoldiours for their ſuccour: who fallyng proſtrate vpon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by obtained of god double reliefe: by meanes of whõ God gaue certayne pleaſant ſhewers from the elemẽt,wherby as their ſoldiours quenched their thirſt: ſo were a great number of their enemies diſcomfited and put to flight by cõtinual lightninges which ſhooted out of the ayre.Thys myracle ſo pleaſed and won the Emperour, that euer after he wared gentler ⁊ gentler to the Chriſtians,and directed hys letters to diuers of hys rulers, as Tertulian in hys Apologie wytneſſeth, commaunding them therein to geue thanks to the Chriſtians, no les for his victory,then for the preſeruation of hym and al his men.The copy of which letter hereafter enſueth.

A myraculous rayne obtained by the chriſtiãs

¶ *Marcus Aurelius Antonius Emperour, to the Senate and people of Rome.*

I Geue you hereby to vnderſtand, what I intẽd to do, as alſo what ſucceſſe I haue had in my wars in Germany

many, and with how much difficultye I haue vitled my campe, beinge compaſſed aboute with lxxiiii. fierce Dragons, whome my Scootes diſcryed to bee within nyne miles of vs. & Pompeianus our lieftenant hath vewed as hee ſignified vnto vs by his letters : wherefore I thought no leſſe but to be ouer ronne and all my bands of ſo great a multitude, as wel my vaward, mayne ward as reare ward, with all my Soldyers of Ephrata In whoſe hoſte there were nombred of fightinge men nyne hundreth ſeuentye and fiue thouſand. But when I ſawe my ſelfe not able to encounter with the enemy, I craued ayde of our countrye gods, at whoſe hands I findinge no comfort, and being driuen of the enemie vnto an exigent, I cauſed to be ſent for thoſe mē which we cal chriſtians who being muſtred were found a good indiffrent nomber, with whom I was in farder rage, then I had good cauſe, as afterwardes I hadde experience by their marueilous power, who forthwith did their indeuour, but without either weapon, munytion armur, or trumpets, as men abhorring ſuch preparation and furniture, but onelie ſatiſfied in truſt of their God, whom they carye about with them in their conſciences. It is therfore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they woorſhip god in their harts. For they falling proſtrate vpon the ground, prayed not onely for me, but for the hoſt alſo which was with me, beſeching their god for help in that our extremitye of vittels and freſhewater. For we had ben now fiue dayes without water, & were in our enemies land, euē in the midſt of Germany, who thus falling vpon their faces, & made their prayers to a god vnknowen of me; and there fell amongeſt vs from heauen a moſt pleaſant and colde ſhower, but amongeſt our enemies a great ſtorme of hail mixt with lightening, ſo that imediatly we perceiued the inuincible aide of the moſt mighty god to be with vs. Therfore we geue thoſe men leaue to profeſſe chriſtianity, leaſt perhappe by their prayer, we be puniſhed with the like, and therby make my ſelfe the autour of ſuche hurte as ſhall bee receaued by the Chriſtian profeſſion. And if any ſhall apprehende one that is a chriſtian, onely for that cauſe: I will that he being aprehended without puniſhment, maie haue leaue to confeſſe the ſame, ſo that there be none other cauſe obiected againſt him, more then that he is a Chriſtian: But let his accuſer be burned aliue. Neither will I that hee confeſſing and beinge founde a chriſtian, ſhalbe enforced to alter the ſame his opinion by the gouernor of anye of our prouinces, but left to his own choiſe. And this decree of mine I wyll to be ratified in the Senate houſe, and commaund the ſame publikelie to bee proclaimed & read in the courte of Traianus , and that farder frome thence it maye be ſent into all our prouinces by the dilygence of Veratius gouernor of our citye Polione. And furder wee geue leaue to all men to vſe and write out thys our decree, taking the ſame oute of our copye publiquelye in the common hall ſet forth.

Antoninus Verus, M.Aurelius Cōmodus Emperours.

Thus the tempeſtious rage of perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians began for a time to aſſwage, partly by the occaſion hereof, partly alſo vpon other cauſes incident, compelling the enemies to ſurceaſe their perſecution, as great plages and peſtilence lying vpon the coūtrie of Italy: likewiſe great warres, as wel in the Eaſt partes, as alſo in Italye and Fraunce, terrible earthquakes, great floods, noyſome ſwarmes of Flies and vermine deuouring their corne fieldes. &c. And thus much of thinges done vnder Antoninus Verus, whych Antoninus in the beginning of his raigne ioyned with him in the gouernmēt of the Empire, his brother Marcus Aurelius Cōmodus, who alſo was with hym at the miraculous victory gotten by the Chriſtians, as Euſebius cap.5.lib.5.recordeth. Contrary Platina in vita Soteris, and the booke intituled Flores Hiſtoriarum, referre the ſame to the time of Antoninus Verus, and hys ſone Lucius Antoninus Cōmodus, & not of M.Aurel. Cōmodus his brother. But how ſo euer the truth of yeres and time doo ſtande, certayne it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Cōmodus, ſucceded Lucius Antoninus Cōmodꝰ the ſone of Verus, who raigned.13.yeares. In the time of this Cōmodus, althoughe he was an incōmodious Prince to the Senatours of Rome, yet notwithſtanding there was ſome quietnes vniuerſally through the whole church of Chriſt, from perſecution, by what occaſion it is not certayne. Some thinke (of whom is Xiphilinus) that it came throughe Marcia the Emperours Concubine, whyche fauoured the Chriſtians: but how ſoeuer it came, ſayth Euſebius, the fury of the raging enemies was then ſomwhat mitigated, and peace was geuen, by the grace of Chriſte, vnto the Churche, throughe the whole worlde. At what tyme the wholeſome doctrine of the Goſpel allured and reduced the hartes of all ſortes of people, vnto the true religion of God, in ſo much that manye both riche and noble perſonages of Rome, wyth their whole famelies and houſeholdes to their ſaluation, adioyned them to the Church of Chriſt.

The diſcrepāce betwene Euſebius & Platina.

175.

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Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man, and a Senatour of Rome, mencioned in Euſebius lib.5.cap.21. who being malicioully accuſed vnto the Senate by one, whom Jerome writeth to be the ſeruaunt of the ſayd Apollonius, and nameth him Seuerus: but whoſe ſeruant ſo euer he was, the wretched man came ſoone inough before the iudge, being condignly rewarded, for that his malicious diligēce. For by a law which the Emperour made, that no man vpon payne of death ſhould falſly accuſe the Chriſtians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith, by the ſentence of Perennius the Judge, which being an heathen man, he pronounced againſt him. But the beloued martyr of God, when the Judge with much a do had obtayned of him to render an accompt before the honorable Senate of his fayth, vnder whoſe defence and warrant of lyfe he did the ſame, deliuered vnto them an eloquent Apologie of the Chriſtian beliefe. But the former warrant notwithſtanding, he by the decree of the Senate, was beheaded, and ſo ended his life: for that ther was an aūcient law among them decreed, that none that profeſſed Chriſt, and therfore araigned, ſhould be releaſed wythout recantacion, or altering his opinion.

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This Cōmodus is ſaid in ſtories to be ſo ſure & ſtedie handed in caſting the dart, that in the open Theatre before the people, he woulde encounter with the wylde beaſtes, and be ſure to hit them in the place where he apointed. Among diuers other his vicious & wilde partes he was ſo farre ſurpreſſed in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules, and manye times woulde ſhew him ſelfe to the people in the ſkyn of a Lyon, to be counted therby the king of men, like as the Lyon is of the beaſtes.

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of the E
perour.

Upon a certayne time being his birth day, this Cōmodus, calling the people of Rome together, in a great royalty, hauing his Lions ſkyn vpon him, made ſacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, cauſing it to be cried thorough the citie that Hercules was the patrone and defender of the City. Ther were the ſame tyme at Rome, Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men, and inſtructers of the people, who folowing the ſteps of the Apoſtles, went about from place to place where the Goſpel was not yet preached, conuerting the Gentiles to the fayth of Chriſt. Theſe hearing the madnes of the Emperour and of the people, beganne to reproue their idolatrous blindnes, teaching in villages & townes all that heard them, to beleue vpon the true and onely God, and to come away from ſuche worſhipping of diuels, & to geue honor to God alone, which onely is to be worſhipped, willing them to repent, & to be baptiſed, leaſt they periſhed wͭ Cōmodꝰ. With this their preaching they conuerted one Julius a Senator and other to the religion of Chriſt. The Emperour hearing therof, cauſed them to be apprehended of Vitellus his captayne, and to be compelled to ſacrifice vnto Hercules, which when they ſtoutly refuſed, after diuers greuous tormentes, and great miracles by them done, at laſt they were preſſed wyth leaden waightes to death. Vincentius,

Vincen
Euſebiu
Peregri
Potētia
Martyrs.

Iulius a
nator co
uerted to
Chriſt
Ex Vin
*lib.*10.
119.*He*
de Erſo

centius lib.10.cap.119.et chron.Henr.de Erfordia.

eregrinus nt to raunce & artyred Rome. x Plati- in vita ixti.

This Peregrinus aboue mentioned had ben ſent before by Xiſtus Byſhoppe of Rome , into the partyes of Fraunce,to ſupply ther the roume of a byſhop and teacher,by reaſon that for the continuall and horrible perſecutions there,aboue touched,thoſe places wer left deſolate and deſtitute of Miniſters and inſtructors, where after he had occupied himſelfe with much fruit emonge the flocke of Chriſt,and had ſtabliſhed the congregation there,returnynge home againe to Rome, there finiſhed at laſt (as it is ſayd) his Martyrdom.

liuswith ys family aptiſed & fter martyred.

Nowe remaineth likewyſe to ſpeake of Julius,which Julius being,as is afore deſcribed,a Senator of Rome and nowe won by the preaching of theſe bleſſed men,to the faith of Chriſt, dyd eftſones inuite thẽ and broughte them home to his houſe, where being by them more fully inſtructed in Chriſtian religiõ:beleued in the Goſpel. And ſending for one Ruffinus a prieſt,was with all hys familye by him Baptized,whoe(not as the cõmon ſorte was wont to do)kept cloſe & ſecret hys fayth:but incenced with a marueilous and ſincere zeale opẽly profeſſed the ſame:altogether wyſhing and praying to be geuen to him by God,not onely to beleue in Chriſt,but alſo to haſard his life for him.Which thing the Emperour hearyng , how that Julius had forſaken hys olde religion, and became a Chriſtian,forthwith ſent for him to come before him,vnto whom he ſpake on thys wiſe: O July, what madnes hath poſſeſſed thee,that thus thou doſt fal frõ the old and comõ religion of thy forefathers,who acknowledged and worſhiped Jupiter and Hercules their gods, and nowe doeſt embrace a new and fond kind of religion of the Chriſtiãs?At which time Julius hauinge good occaſion to ſhew and open his faith,gaue ſtraight waye accompt therof to him, and affirmed that Hercules & Jupiter wer falſe gods:and how the woorſhippers of them ſhoulde peryſhe with eternall damnation & puniſhments. Which the Emperour hearing,how that he condemned and diſpiſed his gods , being then inflamed with great wrath,as he was by nature very colericke, cõmitted him forthwith to Vitellus,the maiſter of hys ſoldiours,a very cruel & fierce mã,to ſe Julius either to ſacrifice to mighty Hercules, or refuſing yͤ ſame to ſlay him.Vitellus (as he was cõmaunded) exhorted Julius to obey the Emperours cõmaundemẽt,& to worſhip his gods. Aledging how that yͤ whole empire of Rome was not onely conſtituted, but alſo preſerued and maintayned by them. Which Julius denied vtterly to do,admoniſhing ſharply in like manner Vitellus, to acknowledge the true God,and obey hys commaundements, leaſt he with his maiſter ſhould die ſome greuous death. Wherat Vitellus being moued, cauſed Julius with congels to be beaten vnto death.

iſtus Byoppe of ome.

These thinges thus being briefly recited touchyng ſuch holy Martyrs,as hetherto haue ſuffered , nowe reremayneth that we returne agayne to the order of the Romayne biſhops,ſuch as followed next after Alexander,at whom we left,pag.63.whoſe ſucceeder next was Xiſtus or Sixtus,the firſt biſhop coũted after Peter, and gouerned that miniſterye the ſpace of.x.yeares, as Damaſus and other do write. Vrſpergenſis maketh menciõ but of.ix.yeares.Platina recordeth that he dyed a martyr,and was buried at Vaticane . But Euſebius ſpeaking of hys deceaſe,maketh no word mencion of anye martyrdome. In the tomes of the Councels.2.certaine epiſtles be attributed to him,wherof Euſebius,Damaſus,Hierome,and other old autors,as they make no relation,ſo ſeeme they to haue no intelligence nor knowledge of any ſuch matter. In theſe counterfet epiſtles,& in Platina apeareth,yͤ Xiſtus was the firſt autor of theſe ordinances:Firſt that the holy miſteries and holye veſſels ſhould not be touched,but onely of perſons holye & conſecrated,eſpecially of no woman. Item,that the corporas clothe ſhoulde be made of no other clothe , but of fine lynnen. Item,that biſhops ſuche as were called vp to the Apoſtolicke ſea,returning home agayne,ſhoulde not be receaued at their returne,vnles they brought wͭ them letters from the biſhop of Rome,ſaluting the people. Item,at the celebration he ordained to be ſong this verſe:Sanctus,Sanctus,Sanctus,Dominus deus Sabaoth. Wher moreouer is to be noted , that the ſayde Platina in the life of this Xiſtus,doth teſtifie , that Peter miniſtred the celebration of the Communion onelye wyth the Lordes prayer. Theſe triſling ordinances of Xiſtus, who is ſo rude that ſeeth not,or may eaſelye coniecture to be falſely fathered of Xiſtus,or of any father of that time, firſt by the vniforme rudenes and ſtile of al thoſe decretal letters,nothing ſauering of that age , but rather of the latter dunſticall times that folowed . Alſo by the matter and argument in thoſe letters contayned, nothing agreeing with the ſtate of thoſe troubleſome daies. Neither againe is it to be ſuppoſed,that any ſuch recourſe of biſhops was then to the Apoſtolicall ſea of Rome,that it was not lawful to returne without theyr letters:when as the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians was then ſo hoate,in the daies of Hadrian , that the byſhops of Rome them ſelues were more glad to flee outs of the citie,then other biſhops were to come to them vnto Rome. And if Xiſtus added yͤ Sanctus vnto the Maſſe canon,what peece thẽ of the canon went before it, whẽ they which put to the other patches, came after Xiſtus? And if they came after Xiſtus that added the reſt , why did they ſet their peeces,before his,ſeing they that begã the firſt peece of the canon,came after him?

The triſling ordinances of Xiſtus.

S Peter celebrated the Lordes ſupper onelye Wyth the lords prayer. Platina in vita Sixti.

The ordinaunces of Xiſtus ſuſpected.

The ſame likewiſe is to be iudged of the epiſtle and ordinaunces of Teleſphorus , who ſucceded next vnto Xiſtus,and being biſhop of that cõgregation the terme of a.xi.yeares,in the firſt yeare of the raigne of Antoninus Pius,died Martyr,about the yeare of our Lord.138. His epiſtle like vnto the reſt,contayning in it no great matter of doctrine,hath theſe ordinances: Firſt he commaundeth all that were of the Clergye to faſt and abſtayne from fleſh eating.vij.wekes before Eaſter. That three Maſſes ſhould be ſayd vpon the Natiuitie daye of the Lord. That no lay man ſhould accuſe eyther biſhop or prieſt. He ordayned moreouer Gloria in excelſis to be added to the Maſſe.&c.but theſe thinges falſly to be fained vpõ him may eaſely be cõiectured . For as touching the.vij.weekes faſt , neither doth it agree wyth the olde Romane terme commonly receaued,calling it Quadrageſima,that is,the.xl.daies faſt : neither with the example of our ſauiour,who faſted not.vij.weekes, but onely.xl.daies. Moreouer,as concerning this.xl.daies faſt, we reade of the ſame in the epiſtles of Ignatius, which was long before Teleſphorus:wherby it may appeare that this Teleſphorus was not the firſt inuentor therof. And if it be true,that is lately come out in the name of Abdias(but vntruly,as by manye coniectures maye be proued)there is red,that in the dayes of S. Mathew this lent faſt of.xl.daies was obſerued long before Teleſphorus,by theſe wordes that followe : In the dayes, ſayde he,eyther of Lent, or in the time of other lawfull faſtings,he that abſtaineth not as wel from the eating meate,as alſo from the mixture of bodies,doth incurre in ſo doing not onely pollutiõ, but alſo committeth offence,which muſt be waſhed alwaye with the teares of repentaunce. Agayne,Apollonius affirmeth,that Montanus the hereticke , was the firſt deuiſer and brynger in of theſe lawes of faſting into yͤ church,whych before was vſed to be free. Euſeb.lib.5.cap.18.but eſpeciallye by Socrates,writer of the eccleſiaſticall ſtorye,who lyued after the dayes of Theodoſius,maye bee argued , that this.vij.weekes faſt is falſely imputed to Teleſphorus. For Socrates in his firſt booke,ſpeaking of hys tyme, hath theſe wordes:Romani namq; tres ante paſcha ſepti-

Teleſphorus biſhop of Rom and Martyr.

The ordinãces of Teleſphorus

Lent faſt & the original therof examined.

Montanus firſt brought in the lawes of faſtīg Ex Euſeb. lib 5.cap.18.

Ex Socrat.Eccleſ.Hiſt.lib.5 cap.22.

Ex Sozomeno lib.7.cap.19.

The ordināces of Teleſphorus falſely to hym aſcribed.

Higynus byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

Ex Volaterano Anthrop. lib.22.

Creame. One godfather & godmother in baptiſme. Dedication of Churches.

manas præter Sabbatum et Dominicam continuas ieiunant,that is:the Romaynes(ſayth he)do faſt.3.weekes continual before Eaſter,beſide the Sabbot and the ſunday.And moreouer,ſpeaking of the diuers and ſundry faſtinges of Lent in ſundry and diuers churches,he addeth theſe wordes : And becauſe that no man can bryng forth anye commaundement written of this matter, it is therfore apparent,that the Apoſtles left thys kinde of faſt free to euery mans wil and iudgement,leaſt any ſhould be conſtrayned by feare and neceſſitye to do that, whych is good.&c.Wt thys of Socrates,agree alſo the wordes of Sozomenus,liuing muche about the ſame time, in hys ſeuenth booke,where he thus writeth: The whole faſt of Lent(ſayth he)ſome comprehende in ſixe weekes, as do the Illyrians,and the weſt churches,with all Libia, Egipt,and Paleſtina:ſome in.vij.wekes,as at Conſtātinople,and the parties bordering to Phoenicia: other ſome in.iij.wekes next before the day of Eaſter: ⁊ ſome agayne in.ij.weekes.⁊c.By the which it may be collected,that Teleſphorus neuer ordayned any ſuche faſt of 7.wekes:which otherwiſe neither would haue ben neglected in Rome,⁊ in the weſt churches : neyther agayne would haue ben vnremēbred of theſe aunciēt eccleſiaſtical writers,if any ſuch thing had bene.The like is to be thought alſo of the reſt,not onelye of his conſtitutions: but alſo of the other aunciēt biſhops ⁊ martyrs, which folowed after hym,as of Higynus.an.142.who ſucceding him,⁊ dying alſo a martyr,as Volateranus lib.22. declareth,is ſaid or rather fained to bring in the cream, one godfather and godmother in baptiſme,to ordayne the dedication of churches:when as in his time ſo farre it was of,that any ſolemne churches were ſtanding in Rome,that vnneth the Chriſtians could ſafely conuent in their own houſes.Likewiſe the diſtincting the orders of Metropolitanes,Byſhops,and other degrees, ſauer nothing leſſe then of that tyme.

Pius byſhop of Rome.

The daungers of lettyng the holye miſteries fal from the Lordes table.

The reuelation of Hermes.

The decretall epiſtle of Pius.

After Higynus folowed Pius , who as Platina reporteth,was ſo preciſely deuout aboute the holye miſteries of the Lordes table,that if any one croome thereof did fall downe to the groūd,he ordayned that the prieſt ſhould do penance.xl.daies.If any fel vpon the Superaltare,he ſhould do penance.iij.dayes:if vpon the linen corporas cloth,iiij.dayes:if vpon any other lynen cloth, ix.dayes.And if any drop of the blood(ſayth he) ſhoulde chaunce be ſpilled, where ſo euer it fell, it ſhoulde bee licked vp, if it were poſſible, if not, the place ſhould be waſhed or pared,and ſo being waſhed or pared, ſhould bee burned,and layde in the veſtrye. All whiche toyes maye ſeeme to a wyſe man, more vayne and triflyng, then to ſauour of thoſe pure and ſtrayghte tymes of thoſe holye martyrs. This Pius(as is reported)was muche conuerſant with Hermes called otherwyſe Paſtor. Damaſus ſaith hee was his brother, but howe is that like,that Hermes being the diſciple of Paul,or one of the lx.diſciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes and of his reuelations the forſayde Pius in his Epiſtle decretall(if it be not forged) maketh mention,declaryng that vnto hym appeared the Angell of God in the habite of a ſhepherd, cōmaunding him,that Eaſter daye ſhould be celebrated of all men vpon no other day,but vpon a ſonday:wherupō,ſaith the Epiſtle, Pius the byſhop,by his authoritye Apoſtolicall,decreed and commaunded the ſame to be obſerued of all men.

Anicetus byſhop of Rome, and Martyr Soter byſhop Eleutherius byſhop

England cōuerted to the fayth of Chriſt

Ex Ni lib.2.ca Ex Gi de Vi Aur.A broſ.

Whe thys la of Brita receued goſpell b fore Ky Lucius daye

Then ſucceded Anicetus,Soter, ⁊ Eleutherius,about ẏ yere of our lord.180.This Eleutherius, at ẏ requeſt of Lucius kyng of Britaynes, ſent to him Damianus ⁊ Fugatius,by whome the kinge was conuerted to Chriſtes fayth,and baptized about the yeare of our Lorde 179. Nauclerus lib.Chron.Gen.6.ſaith,it was an.156.Henr. de Erfordia,ſayth it was.169.in the xix. yeare of Verus the Emperour, ſome ſaie it was in the vi.yere of Commodus,which ſhould be about the yere of our lord.185. Timotheus in his ſtorye thinketh that Eleutherius came himſelfe:but that is not like.And as there is a variance among the wryters for the count of yeres:So doth ther riſe a queſtiō among ſome,whether Eleutherius was the firſt that brought the faith from Rome into this lande or not.Nicephorus lib.2.cap.4.ſaith that Simon Zelotes came into Britayne. Some other alledge out of Gildas de victoria Aurel.Ambroſi,that Ioſeph of Arimathie after the diſperſion of the Iewes , was ſent of Philippe ẏ Apoſtle,from Fraunce to Britayne,about the yeare of our Lorde .63.and here remayned in this land all his tyme,and ſo wyth hys fellowes layde the firſte foundation of Chriſtian faith amonge the Britayne people. Wherupon other preachers and teachers commyng afterwarde confirmed the ſame,⁊ increaſed it more . And therfore doth Petrus Cluniacenſis call the Scotyſhe men ⁊ ſo doth count them, as more auncient chriſtians. For the confirmation hereof might be alledged the teſtimonie of Origen,of Tertulian,and the wordes alſo of the letter of Eleutherius,which import no leſſe,but ẏ the fayth of Chriſt was here in England among the Brittayne people,before Eleutherius tyme , and before the kynge was cōuerted,but hereof more ſhal be ſpoken hereafter (Chriſt willyng) when after the traction of theſe x.perſecutiōs, we ſhal enter the matter of our Engliſh ſtories.

Serapi ſhop of tioch

Egeſipp eccleſiaſ cal writ

Miltiade eccleſiaſ cal write

Heracli eccleſiaſ cal writ

Theop lus eccle ſtic. wri

Dioniſi Corinth eccleſiaſ cal wryt

The yo of chaſti not to be layde vp the infir brethren

Ex Euſ lib.4.ca

The boo of Dioni us Areop De Hiera chia ſuſp ted.

Celebra of the S day

About this tyme of Commodus afore mentioned among diuers other learned men and famous teachers, whō God ſtirred vp at that tyme (as he doth at al other tymes rayſe vp ſome)in his church, to confoūd the perſecutors by learning and wrytyng, as the Martyrs to confirme the truth with their bloud,was Serapion Byſhop of Antioch.Egeſippus a writer of the Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory from Chriſts paſſion to his tyme,as witneſſeth Hierom ⁊ Euſeb.lib.4.cap.8.et.22.which bookes of his be not now remayning.And thoſe ẏ be remayning(which be 5.de excidio Hieroſol.) be not mentioned neither of Hierom,nor of Euſebius.Miltiades which alſo wrote hys Apology in defence of Chriſtian religion,as did Melito Quadratus,and Ariſtides before mentioned. About the ſame time alſo wrote Heraclitus , who firſte beganne to write anotations and enarrations vpon the new teſtament,and Epiſtles of thapoſtls.Alſo Theophilus byſhop of Cæſaria,Dioniſius,biſhop of Corinthe a man famouſly learned,which wrote diuers Epiſtles to diuers churches,and emong other writeth exhorting Pinitus a certayn biſhop,Ne graue ſeruandæ caſtitatis onus neceſſario fratribus imponat,ſed multorū ſeſe imbecilitati attēperet,ẏ is, that he wold lay no yoke of chaſtity,of any neceſſity vppon his brethren:but that he would conſider the infirmitye of other,and beare with it.Euſeb.lib . 4 . cap . 23. Moreouer the ſayd Dioniſius in his Epiſtles wrytynge of Dioniſius Areopagites,declareth of hym , how that hee was fyrſt conuerted to the Chriſtian faith by S. Paul, according as in the Actes is recorded , and afterwarde was made the firſt biſhop of Athens , but maketh there no word mencion of his booke de Hierarchia. Whereby it may eaſelye appeare what is to be iudged of ẏ booke. Furthermore , by the Epiſtles of the ſayde Dionyſius Corint.this we haue to vnderſtand,to be the vſe at that time in churches to reade the letters and Epiſtles, ſuch as were ſent by learned biſhops and teachers vnto the Congregations,as maye appeare by theſe woordes of Dionyſius,who writing to the church of the Romains, and to Soter ſayth:This day we celebrate the holye dominical day.In which we haue red your epiſtle, whych alwaies we wil reade for our exhortacion,like as we do reade alſo the Epiſtle of Clement ſent to vs before.⁊c. Euſeb.ibid.where alſo mencion is made of keeping the Sunday holy.Wherof we finde no mencion els made in auncient autors,before this time,except onely in Iuſtinus Martyr, who in his deſcription declareth twoo times moſt eſpecially vſed,for Chriſten men to congregate together: firſt whẽ any cõuert was to be baptiſed. The ſecond was vpon the ſonday, which was wont for two cauſes then to be halowed. Firſt, becauſe (ſaith he) vpon that day God firſt made the world: ſecondlye, becauſe that Chriſt vpon that daye firſt ſhewed hym ſelfe after hys reſurrection to his diſciples. &c.

lemens A exādrinus.

Ouer and beſide theſe aboue named, about the daies of Cõmodus, wrote alſo Clemens Alexandrinus, a mã of notable and ſingular learning, whoſe bookes, although for a great part be loſt, yet certayne of them yet remayne, wherin is declared among other thinges, the order and number of the bookes & Goſpels of the newe Teſtament. &c.

The ſame time moreouer lyued Pantenus, whyche was the firſt in Alexandria that profeſſed in open ſchole to reade, of whom is thought firſt to proceede the order and maner among the Chriſtians to reade and profeſſe in vniuerſities. This Pantenus for his excellencye of learning was ſent by Demetrius biſhop of Alexandria to preache to the Indeans, wher he found the Goſpel of S. Mathew written in Hebrewe, left ther by S. Bartelmewe, which booke afterward he brought with hym from thence, to the library of Alexandria.

The goſpel of ſaint Mathew in hebrew.

During al the raygne of Cõmodus, God graunted reſt and trãquilitie, although not withoute ſome bloodſhed of certayn holy Martyrs, as is aboue declared, vnto hys church. In the which time of trãquillitie the chriſtians hauing now ſome layſure from the forraine enemie, beganne to haue a litle contention amonge themſelues, about the ceremonie of Eaſter: which contentiõ albeit of long time before had bene ſtyrring in ẏ church as is before mencioned of Polycarpus, and Anicetus: yet the variance & difference of that ceremonie brought no breach of Chriſtian concord and ſocietie among thẽ: Neither as yet did the matter exceede ſo farre, but that the band of loue, and communion of brotherly life continued, althoughe they differed in the ceremonie of the day. For they of the weſt church, pretending the tradition of Paule and Peter, but in dede being the traditiõ of Hermes and of Pius, kept one day, which was vpon the Sunday after the. xiiij. day of the firſt moneth. The church of Aſia folowing the ordinance of John the apoſtle, obſerued an other, as more ſhalbe declared (the lord wylling) when we come to the time of Victor Biſhop of Rome. In the meane tyme as cõcerning the fourth perſecution let this hitherto ſuffice.

ifferēce a out the ce mony of aſter.

¶ The fift perſecution.

euerus em erour.

195.

After the death of Cõmodus raigned Partinax, but few monethes, after whom ſucceded Seuerus. Vnder whom was rayſed the fift perſecution againſt the Chriſtian ſaintes: who raigning the terme of. 18. yeres, the firſt. x. yeares of the ſame, was very fauourable and curteous to the Chriſtians. Afterward through ſiniſter ſuggeſtions and malicious accuſations of the malignant, was ſo incenſed and infeſted againſte them, that by hys proclamations and iniunctions hee commaũded no Chriſtians anye more to be made. Thus the rage of the Emperour being inflamed againſt thẽ, great perſecution was ſtyrred vp on euerye ſyde, whereby an infinite number of Martyrs were ſlayne, as Euſebius in hys ſixt booke recordeth, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 205. The crimes and falſe accuſations obiected agaynſt the Chriſtians, are partlye touched before, pag. 64. as ſedition and rebellion agaynſte the Emperour, ſacrilege, murthering of infantes, inceſtuous pollution, eating raw fleſh, libidinous commixture, wherof certayne in deede, called thẽ Gnoſtici, were infamed. Item it was obiected againſt them, for worſhipping the head of an Aſſe, which wherof it ſhoulde riſe, I finde no certayne cauſe, except it were perhaps by the Jewes. Alſo they were charged for worſhipping the ſunne, for that perauenture before the ſunne ryſe they conuented together, ſinging their morning hymnes vnto the lord, or els becauſe they prayed toward the Eaſt: but eſpecially for that they would not with them worſhip their Idolatrous Gods, and were counted as ennemies to all men. &c.

The fyfte erſecution x Euſeb b.6.ca.2

205.

The falſ ac uſations a aynſte the hriſtians.

The Captaines and Preſidentes of thys perſecution vnder the Emperour were Hilarianus, Vigellius, Claudius, Hermianus ruler of Capadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Veſpronius, alſo Demetrius mencioned of Ciprian And Aquila iudge of Alexandria, of whom Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 5. maketh relation.

The captaynes & miniſters of thys perſecutiõ Ex Tertul. ad Scapulam.

The places where the force of this perſecution moſt raged, were Africa, Alexãdria, Capadocia, & Carthage.

The number of them that ſuffered in this perſecution, by the report of the eccleſiaſtical ſtory was innumerable. Of whom the firſt was Leonides, the father of Origen, who was beheaded: with whom alſo Origene his ſonne, being of the age then of. xvij. yeares, ſhoulde haue bene (ſuch a feruent deſire he had to bee martyred for Chriſt) had not hys mother priuely in the night ſeaſon conueyed away hys clothes and hys ſhyrt. Whereupon more for ſhame to be ſene, then for feare to dye, he was conſtrayned to remayne at home. And when he coulde doo nothing els, yet hee writeth to hys father a letter wyth theeſe woordes: Caue tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud, quam martyrii conſtanter faciendi propoſitum cogites, that is: Take heede to your ſelfe, that you turne not your thought and purpoſe for our ſakes. &c. Such a feruencie had this Origene being yet yong, to the doctrine of Chriſtes faith, by the operation of Gods heauẽly prouidence, and partly alſo by the diligent education of his father, who brought him vp from his youth moſt ſtudiouſlye in all good literature, but eſpeciallye in the reading and exerciſe of holye ſcripture, wherein he had ſuch inward and miſtical ſpeculaciõ, that many times he would moue queſtions to his father, of the meaning of this place, or that place of the ſcripture. In ſo muche that his father diuers times would vncouer his breſt being a ſleepe, and kyſſe it: geuing thankes to God which had made him ſo happy a father of ſuch a happy childe. After the death of hys father, and al his goods confiſcated to the Emperour, he with his poore mother, and. vj. brethren, being brought to extreme pouertie, did ſuſtain both him ſelfe and them by teaching a ſchoole: Tyll at length being wearye of that profeſſion, he transferred his ſtudy onely to the knowledge and ſeeking of diuine ſcriptures, and ſuche other learning conducible to the ſame. So much he profited both in the hebrue and other tounges, that he conferred the hebrew text with the trãſlation of the. lxx. And moreouer did conferre and finde out the other tranſlations which we cal the cõmon tranſlations of Aquila, of Symmachus, & Theodotion. Alſo he adioyned to theſe aforeſayde other. 4. tranſlations, wherof more is in the ſtory of Euſebius expreſſed. Thei that wryte of the life of Origene, teſtifie of him, that he was of wyt quicke & ſharpe, much pacient of labour, a great traueler in the tongs, of a ſpare diet, of a ſtraight lyfe, a great faſter, hys teaching and hys liuing were both one: his going was much barefoote. A ſtraight obſeruer of that ſaying of the Lorde, bidding to haue but one coate. &c. He is ſayd to haue written ſo much as. 7. Notaries, and ſo manye maydes euerye daye coulde penne. The number of his bookes by the accompt of Hierome, came to. 7000. volumes, the copies wherof he vſed to ſel for. 3. d. or a litle more, for the ſuſtentacion of his liuing. But of him more ſhal be touched here after. So zealous he was in the cauſe of Chriſt, and of Chriſtes Martyrs, that he nothing fearing his own perill woulde aſſiſt and exhort them going to their death, and kyſſe them, in ſo much that he was oft in ieopardie to be ſtoned of the multitude. And ſometimes by the pro

Leonides father of Origen martyr.

Origene kept from martyrdome by hys mother.

Origen commended.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 3.

Ex Euſeb. Antonino. Symoneta. &c.

uiſion of Chriſten mē had his houſe garded about with ſoldiours, for the ſafety of them, which daylye reſorted to heare his readings, & many times he was compelled to ſhift places and houſes, for ſuche as layde for hym in al places. But ſuche was the prouidence of God to preſerue him in the middeſt of all this tempeſt of Seuerus. Among other which reſorted vnto him, and wer his hearers, Plutarchus was one, and dyed a martyr, & with him Serenus his brother, who was burned. The thyrd after theſe was Heraclides. The fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fift was an other Serenus alſo beheaded. Rhais: and Potamiena, who was tormēted with pitch poured vpon her, and martyred with her mother Marcella, who died alſo in the fire. This Potamiena was of a freſh and flouriſhing beautye, who becauſe ſhe could not be remoued from her profeſſiō, was committed to Baſilides one of the captaines there in the armie, to ſee the execution done. Baſilides receuing her at the Judges hande, and leading her to the place, ſhewed to her ſome compaſſiō in repreſſing the rebukes and raylinges of the wicked aduerſaries: for the which Potamiena the virgin, to requite againe his kyndnes, bad him be of good comfort, ſaying that ſhe would pray the Lord to ſhew mercye vpon him. And ſo went ſhe to her martyrdome, which ſhe both ſtrongly and quietlye did ſuſtayne.

Plutarchus ſcoler of Origene, & Serenus hys brother martyred.

Heraclides.
Heron.
Rhais.
Potamiena.
Marcella,
Scholers of Origen and martyrs.

Not long after it happened that Baſilides was required to geue an othe in a matter concerning hys fellow ſoldiours: which thing he denied to doo, playnly affirming that he was a Chriſtian. For their othe then, was wont to be by the Idoles and the Emperour. At firſt he was thought diſſimulingly to ieſt: but after whē he was heard conſtantly and in earneſt to confirme the ſame, he was had before the iudge, and ſo by him committed to warde. The Chriſtians marueiling thereat, as they came to him into the priſon, inquired of him the cauſe of that his ſodain conuerſion. To whom he anſwered againe and ſayd, that Potamiena the virgin. 3. daies after her martyrdome, had appeared to him ſaying: that ſhe had prayed, and obtayned mercye for hym of the Lord, and ſo put a crowne vpon his head: adding moreouer that it ſhould not be long, but he ſhould be receaued. Which thinges thus done, the next day following, he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 5. Albeit the ſayde Euſebius geueth this ſtory of no credite, but onely of hereſay, as he there expreſſeth.

Baſilides of a perſecutour made a martyr.

Ex Euſeb. lib 6. cap. 5.

As diuers and many there were that ſuffered in the dayes of this Seuerus: ſo ſome were agayn whych thorow the protection of God his prouidence, being put to great tormentes, yet eſcaped with life. Of whom was one Alexander, who for his conſtant confeſſion and tormentes ſuffered, was made biſhop afterward of Hieruſalem, together with Narciſſus, who being then an old man of an hundred and three ſcore yeares and three, as ſayth Euſebius, was vnwieldy for his age to gouerne that function alone.

Alexander confeſſor and Byſhop of Hieruſalem.

The notable age of Narciſſus byſhop of Hieruſalem.

Of this Narciſſus is reported in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, that certayne myracles by hym were wrought very notable, if they be true. Firſt of water turned by hym into oyle at the ſolemne vigil of Eaſter, what time the congregation wanted oyle for their lampes. An other miracle is alſo told of him, which is this: Ther wer three wicked and euil diſpoſed perſons, who ſeyng the ſoundnes and graue conſtancie of his vertuous lyfe, & fearing their owne puniſhment, as a conſcience that is giltie, is alwaies feareful, thought to preuent his accuſations, in accuſing him firſt, and laying an haynous crime to his charge. And to make their accuſation more probable before the people, they bounde their accuſation with a great othe: One wiſhing to be deſtroyed wyth fire, if he ſayd not true. The other to be conſumed with a greuous ſicknes. The third to loſe both his eyes if they did lie. Narciſſus, although hauing his conſciēce cleare, yet not able being but one man to wſtand their accuſation bound with ſuch othes, gaue place, & remoued him ſelf from the multitude, into a ſolitarie deſert by hym ſelfe, where hee continued the ſpace of manye yeares. In the meane time, to them which ſo wyllingly and wickedly forſware them ſelues, this happened: the firſt, by caſualty of one little ſmall ſparkle of fire was brent with his goodes and all his familye. The ſecond, was takē with a great ſyckness from the top to the toe, and deuoured with the ſame, The third hearing and ſeing the puniſhment of the other, confeſſed his fault, but through great repentaunce poured out ſuch teares, that he loſt both his eyes. And thus was their falſe periurye puniſhed. Narciſſus after long abſēce, returning home again, was by this meanes both cleared of the fact, and receaued into his biſhopricke agayne. To whom, as is ſayd, for impotencie of his age Alexander was ioyned with him in execution of the function. Euſeb. Hiſt. eccleſ. lib. 6. cap. 10. Of this Alexander is recorded in the ſayde eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie, that after his agonies and conſtancie of his confeſſion ſhewed in the perſecution of Seuerus, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in the nighte ſeaſon to make his iourney vp to Hieruſalem and Paleſtina (for that place remayned free from this perſecution) to ſee there the congregacion, and to praye. Thus he taking his iourney, and drawing neare to the city, a viſion with plaine wordes was geuen to certayn chiefe heades of Hieruſalem, to go out of the gate of the citye, ther to receaue their biſhop apoynted to them of God. And ſo was Alexander met and receaued, and ioyned partner with aged Narciſſus, as is before expreſſed, in the citie of Hieruſalem: wher he continued biſhoppe aboue. 40. yeares, vntil the perſecution of Decius, & ther erected a famous Librarie, wher Euſebius had his chiefeſt helpe in writing his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He wrote alſo diuers Epiſtles to diuers Churches, and licenſed Origen openly to teach in his church. At length beyng verye aged, was brought from Hieruſalem to Ceſaria before the Judge vnder Decius, wher after his conſtāt confeſſion the ſecond time, he was committed to priſon, and there dyed.

A myracle of water turned into oyle.

Ex Euſeb. lib 6. cap. 9.

A terrib
example
periury
niſhed.

Narciſ
and Alex
der ioyn
together
one biſh
rycke.

Alexand
ordayned
byſhop of
Hieruſal
by gods
racle.
Ex Eu
lib. 6.

The con
cy & dea
of Alexa
der biſho

Beſides theſe that ſuffered in this perſecution of Seuerus, recited of Euſebius: Vincentius alſo, lib 11. cap. 6. ex Martyrol. ſpeaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarpus before had ſent into Fraunce: which Andoclus becauſe he ſpred there the doctrine of Chriſt, was apprehended of Seuerus, and fyrſt beaten with ſtaues and battes, after was beheaded.

Andoc
martyr.

To theſe aboue named may alſo be added Aſclepiades, who although was not put to death in this perſecution of Seuerus, yet conſtantlye he did abide the triall of his confeſſion, and ſuffered much for the ſame, as Alexander did, before mencioned. Wherfore afterwarde he was ordained biſhop of Antioche, wher he continued the ſpace of. vij. yeares, of whom Alexander writeth to the churche of Antioche, out of priſon, muche reioyſing and geuing thankes to God, to heare that he was their Byſhoppe.

Aſclepia
byſhop o
Antioch
feſſor.

About the ſame time during the raygne of Seuerus, dyed Irenæus. Henr. de Erfordia, Ado, and other Martyr writers, doo holde, that he was martyred wyth a great multitude of other moe, for the confeſſion and doctrine of Chriſt, about the fourth or fift yere of Seuerus. This Ireneus as he was a great writer, ſo was hee greatlye commended of Tertullian for hys learning, whom he calleth omnium doctrinarum curioſiſſimum exploratorē: a great ſearcher of all kinde of learning. He was fyrſt ſcholar and hearer of Polycarpus, from thence eyther was ſent or came to Fraunce, and there by Photinus, and the reſt of the martyrs was inſtituted into the mi-

Ireneus
ſhop of
ons, &
tyr.

niſterie cõmended by their letter vnto Eleutherius, as is before premoniſhed. At length after the martyrdome of Photinus he was apointed biſhop of Lyons, where he continued about the ſpace of .23. yeares. In the tyme of this Ireneus, the ſtate of the church was much troubled, not onely for the outward perſecution of the forein enemie, but alſo for diuers ſectes and errours then ſtyrring, againſt which he diligẽtly labored, & wrote much, althoughe but fewe of his bookes be now remaining. The nature of this man well agreeing with his name, was ſuch, that he euer loued peace, & ſought to ſet agrement when any controuerſie roſe in the Churche. And therfore, when the queſtion of keeping the Eaſter daye was renued in the church, betwene Victor Byſhoppe of Rome, and the churches of Aſia, and when Victor wold excommunicate them as ſchiſmatickes, for diſagreing from him therin: Ireneus with the other brethrẽ, of the French church, ſory to ſee ſuch a cõtencion among brethrẽ for ſuch a trifle, cõuented them ſelues together in a cõmon councel, and directing their letter with their common conſent ſubſcribed, ſent vnto Victor, intreatyng hym to ſtay hys purpoſe, and not to procede in excommunicating hys brethren for that matter. Althoughe they them ſelues agreed with hym in obſeruing the ſonday Eaſter as he dyd: yet with great reaſons and argumentes exhorted hym not to deale ſo rygorouſlye wyth hys other brethren, folowyng the auncient cuſtome of their countrye maner in that behalfe. And beſide thys he wrote diuers other letters abroade concerning the ſame contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Tertulian eccleſiaſtical writer.

Not long after Ireneus followed alſo Tertullian about the tyme of this Seuerus, and Antoninus Caracalla his ſonne, a man both in Greeke and latine well expert, hauing great gifts in diſputing, and in writing eloquent, as hys bookes declare, and as the commendacion of al learned men do teſtifie no leſſe. To whõ Vincentius Lirinenſis geueth ſuche prayſe, that he calleth him the floure of al latine writers, and of the eloquence of hys ſtyle ſo he writeth, that with the force of his reaſons, he ſayth, whom he coulde not perſwade, them he compelled to conſent vnto hym. How many woordes, ſo many ſentences, and how many ſentences, ſo many victories he had. &c.

The Apologie of Tertullian defēding the Chriſtians.

Such men of doing and wryting God rayſeth vp from tyme to tyme, as pyllers and ſtayes for his poore Churche, as he did this Tertulian in theſe daungerous dayes of perſecution. For when the Chriſtians were vexed with wronges, and falſelye accuſed of the Gentiles, Tertullian taking their cauſe in hand, defendeth them agaynſt the perſecutors, and againſt their ſlaunderous accuſations: Firſt, that they neuer minded any ſtyrre or rebelliõ, either againſt the Empyre or Emperours of Rome: for ſomuch as the vſe of Chriſtiãs was to pray for the ſtate of their Emperours & gouernours. And wher as they were falſelye accuſed to be enemies to all mankinde: how could that be (ſayth Tertullian to Scapula) ſeing the proper office of the Chriſtians is by their profeſſion to praye for all men, to loue their enemies, neuer requiting euil for euil: when as al other do loue but onely their friendes, and ſcarcely them? As touching the horrible ſlaunder of murdering infants, how can that be true in the Chriſtians (ſayth he) whoſe order is to abſtayne from al bloud, and ſtrangled, in ſomuch that it is not lawfull for them to touche the bloode of any beaſt at their tables when they fede? From filthy copulation no ſorte more free then they: which are & euer haue bene the greateſt obſeruers of chaſtitie, of whom ſuch as may, lyue in perpetual virginitie all their lyfe, ſuch as cannot, contract matrimonie, for auoyding all whoredome and fornication. Neither can it be proued of the Chriſtians to woorſhip the ſunne with falſe ſurmiſe. Tertullian declareth to ryſe hereof, for that the maner of the Chriſtians was to pray toward the Eaſt. Much leſſe was ther any of them ſo mad to worſhip an Aſſes head, whereof the occaſion being taken onelye of the Iewes, the ſlaunder therof therfore he proueth to be falſely & wrongfully laid to the charge of the Chriſtiãs.

Tertullianus ad Scapulam.

The occaſion hereof belike came of the Iewes worſhipping the head of an aſſe in the ſtory of Samſon.

And lykewiſe againſt all other lyes and ſlaunders, obiected of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians, the ſayd Tertullian purgeth the Chriſtiãs, declaring them falſly to be belyed, and wrongfully perſecuted, not for any deſart of theirs, but onely for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithſtanding by the ſame perſecutions, he proueth in the ſame Apologie, the religion of the Chriſtians nothing to bee impayred, but rather encreaſed. The more (ſayth he) we are mowne downe of you, the mo ryſe vp. The bloud of Chriſtians is ſeede. For what man ſayth he, in beholding the paynful tormentes, and the perfect pacience of them, wil not ſearch and enquire what is in the cauſe? And whan he hath foũd it out, who wyl not agree vnto it? And when he agreeth to it, who wyl not deſire to ſuffer for it? Thus (ſayth he) this ſecte wil neuer dye, which the more it is cut downe, the more it groweth. For euery man ſeing and wondring at the ſufferance of the ſaintes, is moued the more thereby to ſearche the cauſe, in ſearching, he findeth it, and in fynding, he foloweth it. Tertul. in eadem Apolog.

Tertull. in Apologetico.

Thus Tertullian, in this daungerous time of perſecution, being ſtyrred vp of God, defended the innocencie of the Chriſtians, againſt the blaſphemie of the aduerſaries, and moreouer for the inſtructiõ of the church compiled many fruitful workes, whereof ſome are extant, ſome are not to be founde. Notwithſtanding the great learning and famous vertues of this worthy mã, certayne errours and blemiſhes are noted in his doctrine, as wer before both of Origene and Ireneus, and lykewyſe of them, were they neuer ſo excellent, that folowed them. Which errours all here in order to note & comprehende, were to long a matter for this ſtorye to proſecute. This by the way ſhall be ſufficient to admoniſh the Reader, neuer to looke for any ſuche perfection of any man in this world, howe ſingular ſo euer he bee (Chriſt onely excepted) but ſome blemiſhe or other ioyneth himſelfe withal, wherof more perchaunce ſhall be ſayd, when we come to Ciprian.

The errours & imperfections in learned men noted.

Victor byſhop of Rome.

And now to returne agayne to the order of biſhops of Rome intermitted: after Eleutherius afore mencioned, next in the biſhopricke of Rome ſucceeded Victor, who as Platina ſayth, dyed quietly in the dayes of Seuerus. But Damaſus, Supplementum, lib. 8. and ſuche as folow the common Chronicles, affirme that he dyed a martyr, after he had ſit .x. or as ſome ſay .xii. yeres. This Victor was a great ſtyrrer (as partly before is ſignified) in yͤ cõtrouerſy & contẽtion of Eaſterday. For yͤ which he would haue proceeded in excõmunicatiõ againſt the churches of Aſia, had not Ireneus then biſhop of Lyõs, with the counſail of other hys brethren ther aſſembled, repreſſed hys intended violence. As touching that controuerſie of Eaſter in thoſe daies of the primitiue churche, the original therof was this, as Euſebius, Socrates, Platina, and other recorde. Firſt certayn it is, that the Apoſtles onelye being intentiue and attendant to the doctrine of ſaluation, gaue no heede nor regarde to the obſeruations of dayes and times, neyther bounde the churche to anye ceremonies and rites, except thoſe thinges neceſſary mẽcioned in the actes of the Apoſtles, as ſtrangled and bloude, whych was ordayned then of the holye ghoſt, not wythout a moſt vrgent and neceſſary cauſe, touched partlye in the hiſtorye before. For when the murdering and bloud of Infantes was commonly obiected by the Heathen perſecutors againſt the Chriſtians, they had no other argument to helpe them ſelues, nor to refell the aduerſarie, but onely their owne

Victor reported of ſome to dye a Martyr.

The cauſe dyſcuſſed why the holy ghoſt forbad bloud and ſtrangled in the primitiue churche.

law,

Ex Euſeb.lib 5.ca.26.
The doctrine of chriſtian liberty in outward vſages.

law,by the whych they were commaunded to abſtayne not onely from al mens blood,but alſo from the bloude of al common beaſtes.And therfore that lawe ſeemeth by the holy ghoſt to be geuen,and alſo to the ſame ende continued in the church,ſo long as the cauſe,that is the perſecutions of the Heathen Gentiles continued. Beſides theſe we reade of no other ceremonies or rites, whiche the Apoſtles greatlye regarded, but left ſuche thinges free to the liberty of Chriſtians,euerye man to vſe therin his own diſcretion;for the vſing or not vſing therof. Wherupon,as concerning al the ceremonial obſeruations of dayes,tymes;places,meates,drinkes, veſtures,and ſuch other,of all theſe thynges neither was the diuerſity among men greatlye noted,nor anye vniformitie greatly required. In ſo much that Ireneꝰ writing to Victor of the tradition of daies and of faſtings, and of the diuerſitie of theſe thinges then vſed amonge the primitiue fathers,ſayth: Nihilo tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter ſe retinuerunt,et retinemus etiamnū,et ieiunii diſſonantia,fidei concordiam commendat.&c. that is: Notwithſtanding al thys varietie,al they kept peace among them ſelues,and yet we keepe it ſtyll, and thys difference of faſting among vs, commendeth more the concorde of faith. And ſo long did the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie remayne whole and ſounde in the churche tyl the tyme of Victor,which was about the year of our Lord.200.Although the diuerſitie of theſe vſages began ſomething before alſo in the dayes of Pius and Anicetus,about the peare of our Lord.163.to be miſliked:yet reſtraynt hereof was not ſo muche vrged before, as in the time of Victor. And yet neither did the violence of Victor take ſuch place,but that the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie was defended and mayntained by meanes of Ireneus and other,and ſo continued in the church tyll after the councel of Nice. And thus muche concerning the doctrine of chriſtian libertye of the difference of rites and ceremonies.

Ex Euſeb.lib. 4.cap.26.

Polycarpus and Anicetus diſagreyng in controuerſye,yet agreed in charitye.

Vniformitye in ceremonies not to be required as a thyng neceſſary.

Now to returne to Victor agayne,to ſhew what diuerſity ther was in obſeruing the day of Eaſter, & how it cam, thus is the ſtory: Firſt,in yͤ time of Pius & Anicetus,an.163.the queſtion of Eaſter day began firſt to be moued,at what time Pius by the reuelation of Hermes,decreed the obſeruation of that daye to be chaunged from the wonted maner of the.14.day of the mone in the firſt moneth,vnto the next Sunday after. After hym came Anicetus,Soter, and Eleutherius byſhops of Rome,which alſo determined the ſame.Againſt theſe ſtoode Melito biſhoppe of Sardis,Polycarpus, and as ſome thinke,Egeſippus,with other learned mē of Aſia. Which Polycarpus being ſent by the brethren of Aſia, came to Rome,as is aforeſayd,to confer with Anicetus in that matter:wherin when they could not agree after long debating,yet notwithſtandyng they did both communicate together with reuerence,& departed in peace. And ſo the celebration of Eaſter daye remayned adiaphoron, as a thing indifferent in the Churche, tyll the tyme of Victor. Who folowing after Anicetus and his felowes,and chieflye ſtyrring in this matter, endeuoured by all meanes and might, to drawe, or rather ſubdue the Churches of Aſia vnto hys opinion, thinkyng moreouer to excommunicate al thoſe biſhops and churches of Aſia,as heretickes and ſchiſmatickes,which diſagreed from the Romane order,had not Ireneus other wyſe reſtrayned him from that doing,as is aforeſayde, which was about the yeare of our Lord.191. in yͤ raign of Cōmodus.Thus thē began the vniformity of keping that holy day to be firſt required,as a thing neceſſarye, and all they accounted as heretickes and ſchiſmatiks, which diſſented from the biſhop and traditiō of Rome.

With Victor ſtoode Theophilus biſhop of Ceſarea, Narciſſus of Hieruſalem,Ireneus of Lyons, Palmas of Pontus,Banchyllus of Corinthe, the biſhop of Oſroena,and other mo.All which condeſcended to haue the celebration of Eaſter vpon the Sundaye, becauſe they would differ from the Iewes in al thinges,as nere as they might,and partly becauſe the reſurrectiō of the Lord fel on the ſame day.

Polycra biſhop of Epheſu,

Byſhops those da maryed,

On the contrary ſide,diuers biſhops were in Aſia, of whō the principal was Polycrates biſhop of Epheſus, who being aſſembled with a great multitude of biſhops and brethren of thoſe parties, by the common aſſent of the reſt,wrote agayne to Victor, and to the Churche of Rome,declaring,that they had euer frō the begynning obſerued that day,according to the rule of ſcripture vnchaunged,neyther adding nor altering any thing from the ſame.Alledging moreouer for them the examples of the Apoſtles & holy fathers their predeceſſours, as Philip the Apoſtle,with hys three daughters at Hierapolis. Alſo John the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt at Epheſus, Polycarpe at Smyrna,Thraſeas at Eumenia biſhop and Martyr.Likewiſe of Sagaris at Laodicea biſhop and martyr.Holy Papyrius,and Melito at Sardis. Beſide theſe biſhops alſo of his own kindred,& his own aunciters,to the number of.vij.which al were biſhops before him,and he the eyght now after them.All whych obſerued(ſayth he)the ſolemnitie of the ſame daye, after the ſame wyſe and ſorte as we doo now.

Victor commu caryng churche Aſia.

Ireneus Victor,

Diuers cōmend the cō of fayth.

Victor being not a lytle moued herewith, by letters agayne denounceth agaynſt them(more bold vpon autoritie,then wyſe in his commiſſion) violent excommunication.Albeit by the wyſe handlyng of Ireneus, and other learned men,that matter was ſtayde, and Victor otherwiſe perſwaded. What the perſwaſions of Ireneus were,partlye maye appeare in Euſeb.lib.5.cap.26.the ſumme wherof tendeth to thys effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no ſtraunge matter in the church of Chriſt,when as this varietie is not onelye in the day of Eaſter,but alſo in the maner of faſtyng, & in diuers other vſages among the Chriſtians. For ſom faſt one dai,ſome two daies,ſome other faſt mo.Other ther be,which counting.xl.houres,both day and night, take that for a ful dayes faſt.And this ſo diuers faſhion of faſting in the church of Chriſte, began not onelye in thys our tyme,but was before among our fore elders. And yet notwithſtanding they with all this diuerſitye, were in vnitie among themſelues,and ſo be we,neither doth this difference of ceremonies anye thing hynder, but rather commendeth the concord of faythe. And bringeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Teleſphorus, Pius,Anicetus,Sother,Eleutherius,and ſuch other, who neither obſerued the ſame vſage themſelues, neyther preſcribed it to others, and yet notwithſtandyng kept Chriſtian charitie with ſuche as came to communicate wyth them, not obſeruing the ſame forme of thinges whych they obſerued,as wel appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus,whyche althoughe they agreed not in one vniforme cuſtome of rites,yet refuſed not to communicate together,the one geuyng reuerence vnto the other.Thus the controuerſy being takē vp betwene Ireneus and Victor, remayned free to the time of Nicene councell.Hæc ex Iren.Euſebius.And thus much cōcerning the cōtrouerſy of that matter, and concerning the doynges of Victor.

Zeph biſho Rome.

The and ces of phy ſuſpec to be terfet

After Victor ſucceded in the ſea of Rome Zephirinus,in the dayes of the foreſayde Seuerus, about the yeare of our Lord.203.To this Zephirinus be aſcribed two epiſtles,in the firſt tome of the Councels.But as I haue ſayd before of the decretall Epiſtles of other Romane biſhops:ſo I ſay and verelye ſuppoſe of this, that neither the continuance of the ſtyle,nor the matter therin contayned,nor the condition of the time, doth otherwiſe giue to think & iudge of theſe letters, but that they be verely baſtard letters,not written by theſe fathers, nor in theſe times,but craftely and wickedly pact in by ſome, whych to ſet vp the primacie of Rome, hath moſt peſtilently abuſed the autoritie of theſe holy and auncient fathers, to deceaue the ſimple church. For who is ſo rude, but that in conſidering onely the ſtate of thoſe terrible tymes, maye eaſelye vnderſtande, except affection blinde them, beſide a number of other probable coniectures to leade hym, that the poore perſecuted biſhops in that time, would haue ben glad to haue any ſafe couert to put their heades in: ſo farre was it of, that they had any liſt or layſure, then to ſeeke for any primacie or Patriarchſhip, or to driue all other Churches to appeal to ẏ ſea of Rome, or to exempt all prieſtes from the accuſation of any lay man: as in the firſt epiſtle of Zephyrinus is to be ſene, written to the biſhops of Sicilia. And likewiſe the ſecond epiſtle of hys to the Biſhops of the prouince of Egipt, contayning no maner of doctrine, nor conſolatiõ neceſſary for that time, but onely certayn ritual decrees to no purpoſe, argueth no leſſe, but ẏ ſayd Epiſtles neither ſauer of that man, nor taſte of ẏ tyme.

he fyrſt e
tle of Ze
irinus
the by-
ops of Si
lia.

Of like credite alſo ſeemeth the conſtitution of the Patens of glaſſe, which Damaſus ſayth that the ſame Zephyrinus ordayned to be caried before the prieſt, at the celebration of the Maſſe. Agayne Platina writeth that he ordayned the miniſtration of the ſacrament to be no more vſed in veſſels of wood, or of glas, or of any other mettal, except onelye ſiluer, golde, and tynne. &c. But how theſe two teſtimonies of Damaſus and Platina ioyne together, let the reder iudge: eſpecially ſeyng ẏ ſame decree is referred to Urbanus, ẏ cam after him. Again, what needed this decree of goldẽ Chalices to be ſtabliſhed afterward in the coũcel of Tibur & Rhemes, if it had ben enacted before Zephyrin⁹? How long thys Zephyrinus ſat, our writers do varie. Euſebius ſayth, he died in the raigne of Caracalla: and ſat. xvij. yeares, Platina writeth that he died vnder Seuerus, & ſat. viij. yeares, & ſo ſayth alſo Nauclerus. Damaſus affirmeth that he ſat. xvj. yeares and two monethes.

Patins of
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Mattheus autor of the ſtory intituled Flores hiſtoriarum, with other later Chronicles, maketh mencion of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Reuocatus her brother, alſo of Saturninus, and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, which in the perſecution of this Seuerus gaue ouer their liues to martyrdom for Chriſt, being thrown to wylde beaſts, & deuoured of the ſame, in Carthage & in Africke, ſaue that Saturninus brought againe from the beaſtes, was beheaded, and Secundulus dyed in priſon, about ẏ yere of our Lord. 202. as writeth Florileg⁹.

x Flori-
go.
erpetua.
elicitas.
euocat⁹
aturnin⁹
atyrus.
ecũdul⁹.
artyrs.

This Seuerus the perſecutor raygned, as the moſt part of writers accorde the terme of. xviij. yeares, who aboute the latter tyme of hys raygne, came wyth hys armie hether into Britaine, where after manye conflictes hadde wyth the Britaines, in the borders of the North, he caſt vp a ditche with a mighty walle made of earth and turues, and ſtrong ſtakes, to the length of. cxxxij. myles from the one ſyde of the ſea to the other, beginning at Tyne, & reached to the Scottiſhe ſea, which done he remoued to Yorke, and ther by the breaking in of the Northern men and the Scots, was beſeeged and ſlayne, about the yere of our Lord. 214. leauing behinde two ſonnes, Baſſianus and Geta. Which Baſſianus, ſurnamed Caracalla, after he had ſlayne hys brother Geta, here in Britaine gouerned the Empire alone the ſpace of. vj. yeres. After whoſe death, he being ſlayn alſo of his ſeruauntes (as he had ſlayne hys brother before) ſucceded Macrinus with hys ſonne Diadumenus to be Emperour, who after they had raygned one yeare, wer both ſlayne of their own people.

Seuerus
arreth in
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ene Eng
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214.

ſſianus
perour.
acrinus
th hys
Diadu-
nus Em
our.

219.

After them followed Uarius Heliogabalus in the Empyre, rather to be called a monſter, then a man, ſo prodigious was hys lyfe in all glotonie, filthines, and ribaudry. Such was hys pompe, that in hys lampes he vſed balme, and filled his fyſhpondes wyth roſewater.

e mon
us lyfe
Heliog
es empe
s.

To let paſſe his ſumptuous veſtures which he wold not weare but onelye of golde, and moſt coſtlye ſilkes: hys ſhoes glyſtering with precious ſtones finely engraued: He was neuer. ij. dayes ſerued with one kinde of meat, he neuer wore one garment twyſe, and likewiſe for hys fleſhly wickednes: ſome daies his companye was ſerued at meale with the braynes of Oſtriges, & a ſtraũge fowle called Phenocapterie, an other day wᵗ the tonges of Popingeis, and other ſweete ſinging birdes. Being nie to the ſea, he neuer vſed fiſhe: in places farre diſtant from the ſea, al his houſe was ſerued with moſt delicate fiſhes. At one ſupper he was ſerued with. 7000. fiſhes, and. 5000. fowles. At his remouing in his progres, often there followed hym. 600. chariotes, laden onelye with baudes, common harlots, and ribaudes. He ſacrificed with yong children, and preferred to the beſt aduauncements in the common weale, moſt lighteſt perſonages, as baudes, minſtrels, carters, and ſuche like. In one word, he was an enemie to al honeſty and good order. And when he was foretold by his Sorcerers and Aſtronomers, that he ſhould dye a violent death, he prouided ropes of ſilke to hang himſelfe, ſwordes of golde to kill himſelfe, & ſtrõg poyſon in iacinctes & emeraudes to poiſõ himſelf, if nedes he muſt therto be forced. Moreouer he made an high tower, hauing the flour of boordes couered with gold plate, bordered with precious ſtones, from the which tower he would throw himſelfe downe, if he ſhould be purſued of his enemies. But notwithſtanding all his prouiſion, he was ſlayne of the ſoldiours, drawn through the Citie, & caſt into Tiber, after he had raigned. 2. yeres and. 8. monethes, as witneſſeth Eutropius, other ſay. 4. yeares.

A prodigious belygod.

Heliogabalus ſlayne of hys ſoldiours.

Ex Eutropio.

This Heliogabalus hauing no iſſue, adopted to hys ſonne and heire Aurelius Alexander Seuerus, the ſõne of Mammea, who entring his raygne the yeare of our Lord. 224. continued. xiij. yeares, well commended for vertuous, wyſe, gentle, liberal, and to no man hurtful. And as he was not vnlearned himſelfe, through the diligent education of Mammea his mother, ſo he was a great fauourer of men, wyſe and learned. Neyther did he any thing in the cõmon weale, without the aſſiſtence of learned and ſage Counſaylours. It is reported of hym, to beare ſuche ſtomacke agaynſt corrupt Iudges, that when he chaunced to meete with anye of them, by the commocion of hys mynde, he would caſt vp choler, being ſo moued with them, that he could not ſpeak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From hys court hee diſmiſſed all ſuperfluous and vnneedefull ſeruauntes, ſaying that he was no good pupill, whych fedde idle ſeruauntes with the bowels of his common weale.

Alexander Seuerus Emperour.

224.

Agaynſt corrupt Iudges.

The ſaying of Alexander to be noted and followed.

Idle ſeruauntes eat vp the bowels of the common weale.

Amõg his other good vertues, it appeareth alſo that he was friendlye and fauourable vnto the Chriſtians, as by this act may be gathered: For when the Chriſtiãs had occupied a certayne publicke place in ſome good vſe, belyke for the aſſembling and conuenting together of the congregation, the company of the Cookes or tiplers made chalenge of that place to belong vnto them. The matter being broughte before the Emperour, he iudged it more honeſt, the place to ſerue to the worſhyp of God, howſoeuer it were, then to the dyrty ſloobering of Cookes and Skullyans.

By this it may be vnderſtand, that in Rome no chriſtian churches were erected vnto this time, when as yet (notwithſtanding this fauour of the Emperour) no publicke houſe could quietly be obtayned for the Chriſtiãs. So that by the reaſon hereof may appeare the decretall epiſtle and ordinance of Pope Higinus concerning the dedication of churches aboue mencioned, pag. 78. to be falſefied. And likewyſe the ordinaunce of Pius his ſucceſſor, concerning the Altare, or Superaltare, to be alſo falſe. For what Superaltare was it lyke they had, in the

A note worthy to bee marked.

And as worthy to be marked what extreme contention [illegible] for places [illegible] for their worship tyme of Higynus & Pius,when as at thys tyme which was long after,no publike place almoſt could be graũted them for the Chriſtians to aſſemble together?

Platina in vita Pontiani.

Of this Alexander,Platina writeth,that as he was a great hater of al boaſters and flatterers,ſo he was of ſuch prudence,that no deceite coulde eſcape him:& bringeth in a ſtory of one Turinus,who had gotten craftely many great bribes and giftes,in making the people beleue that he was of great authoritie with the Emperour,and that he could helpe them to haue what ſo euer they ſued for.Whereof the Emperour being certified,cauſed him in the open market to be faſtned to a ſtake,and there kylled wyth ſmoke,where the Cryer ſtoode thus crying to the people: Smoke hee ſolde,and wyth ſmoke he is puniſhed.

Puniſhed with ſmoke, that ſold ſmoke.

Mammea the mother of the Emperour.

Mammea the mother of this Alexander aboue mentioned(whom Hierome calleth a deuout and religious woman)hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origene,being then at Alexandria,ſent for hym to Antioche,deſirous to heare and ſe him.Unto whom the foreſayd Origen according to her requeſt,reſorted,and after that he had there remayned a ſpace with the Emperour,and his mother,returned againe to Alexandria.

Ex Nauclero.

And thus continued this good Emperour his raygne the ſpace of.xiij.yeares,at length at a commocion in Germany,with hys mother Mammea he was ſlayne. After whō ſucceeded Maximinus,cōtrary to the minde of the Senate,onelye appoynted by the ſoldiours to bee Emperour.During all thys time,betwene Seuerus & this Maximinus the Church of Chriſt,althoughe it had not perfect peace,yet it had ſome meane tranquillity frō perſecution.Albeit ſome Martyrs ther wer at this time that ſuffered,wherof Nauclerus geueth this reaſon: for although(ſaith he)Alexander,being perſwaded through the entreating of his mother Mammea,did fauour the Chriſtians:yet notwithſtanding,ther was no publike edict or proclamation prouided for their ſafegarde.By reaſon wherof diuers ther were which ſuffred martyrdome vnder Almachius,and other iudges. In the number of whom after ſome ſtories,was Calixtus biſhop of Rome,who ſucceeded next vnto Zephyrinus aboue mēcioned.And after him Urbanus alſo,which both beyng biſhops of Rome,did both ſuffer,by the opinion of ſome writers,vnder Alexander Seuerus.

Calixtus byſhop of Rome, and Martyr.

The decretal epiſtles of Calixtus examined.

This Calixtus in hys.ij.decretall epiſtles,written to Benedictus,and to the biſhops of Fraūce,geueth theſe ordinances,that no actions or accuſations agaynſt the Prelates or teachers of the church ſhoulde be receaued,that no ſecret conſpiracies ſhould be made agaynſt byſhops.Item,no man to communicate with perſons excommunicate.Alſo no biſhop to excommunicate or to deale in an others dioces.And here he expoūdeth the dioces or the pariſh of anye Biſhop or Miniſter to be his wyfe.The wife(ſayth the Apoſtle)is bounde to the law,ſo long as the huſband lyueth: when he is deade,ſhe is free from the lawe: So(ſayth Calixtus)the wife of a biſhop(which is his church)ſo long as he lyueth,is bound onlye to him,neither ought to be iudged or diſpoſed by any other man,without his wyl and iudgement: after his death ſhe is free from the law,to mary to whom ſhe wyll,ſo it be in the Lord,that is,regulariter, regularely. In the end of the ſaid his epiſtle decretall,he confuteth the errour of them,which hold,that they whych are fallen,are not to be receaued agayne.Which hereſie after the time of Calixtus or Caliſtus,came in fyrſt by Nouatus,in the dayes of Cornelius.Moreouer in the ſayd his firſt epiſtle decretal is contayned the faſt of the four tymes,commonly called the Imber faſt,whereof alſo Marianus Scotus maketh mention.But Damaſus ſpeaking of the ſame faſt ſayth,he ordayned the faſt but of three times,which was for the encreaſe of corne,wyne and oyle.

The place of S. Paul vnfytly expounded.

Imber faſt firſt ordayned.

By theſe hetherto premiſed,it is not hard for a quick Reader to ſmel out the crafty iuglyng of that perſon or perſons,whoſoeuer they were,that falſelye haue aſcribed theſe decretal inſtitutions to thoſe holy fathers.For firſt,what layſure had the Chriſtians to lay in their accuſations againſt their biſhops,when we neuer reade nor finde in any ſtory,anye kinde of variance in thoſe dayes among them,but all loue,mutuall compaſſion,& harty communion among the ſayntes.And as we rede of no variance among the people in thoſe dayes,nor of any fault or backſliding among the Biſhops,who for the moſt part then dyed all conſtant Martyrs:ſo neither do we reade of any tribunal ſeate,or conſiſtorie vſed or frequented then about any ſuch matters.Agayne,if a man examine wel the daungers of thoſe buſy daies,he ſhall ſee the poore flocke of the Chriſtians,ſo occupied and pitiouſly oppreſſed by the cruell accuſations of the Heathen Infidels,that thoughe the cauſe did,yet the tyme would not ſerue them to commenſe anye lawe agaynſt their biſhops. Secondly,as touching their conſpiracie agaynſt biſhops,what conſpiracie either would they then practiſe agaynſt them,whyche alwayes gaue their lyues for their defence?Or howe coulde they then conſpire in any companies together,when neuer a true Chriſtian man durſt once put out his heade out of hys doores,neyther was ther in the church anye Chriſtian man,in thoſe perilous daies,except he were a true man in deede,ſuch as was farre from all falſe conſpiracies? And when as all the world almoſt in all places conſpired agaynſt them:what tyme,what cauſe,or what hart trow ye,could they haue to conſpire agaynſte their inſtructors?Thirdly,concerning the confutacion of that hereſy,how ſtandeth the confutacion with the tyme of Caliſtus,when Nouatus the autor of that hereſye was after hym in the tyme of Cornelius?Fourthly,if by the law of Calixtus,euery dioces be the proper wyfe of euery biſhop or Miniſter,then how manye biſhops wyues and parſons wiues hath the adulterous Pope of Rome defloured in theſe latter daies of the churche,whych ſo proudly and impudently hath intermedled & taken hys pleaſure and his own profit,in euery dioces and paryſh almoſt through al Chriſtendome,without al leaue and lyſence of the good man,who hath beene in the meane tyme,and yet is compelled ſtyll,wherſoeuer the Popes holynes cōmeth,vigilante ſternere naſo,and to geue hym leaue vnaſked,to do what he lyſt.Wherfore if this Canō decretal be trulye his,why is it not obſerued,ſo as it doth ſtand without exception? If it be not,why is it thē falſely forged vpon him,and the church of Chriſt deceaued?And certes lamentable it is,that this falſefieng of ſuch trifling traditions vnder the falſe pretence of antiquitie,eyther was begone in the church,to deceaue the people:or that it hath remayned ſo long vndetected.For as I thinke,the church of Chriſt wyl neuer be perfectlye reformed,before theſe decretall conſtitutions and Epiſtles,which haue ſo long put on the viſard of antiquitie,ſhalbe fully detected,and appeare in their owne colour,wherin they were firſt paynted.

Agai
decre
piſtle
cōſti

And yet neyther do I ſay this,or thinke contrary,but that it maye be,that byſhops of Rome and of the ſame name haue ben ẏ tru autors of theſe traditiōs: but here cōmeth in the errour(as I credibly ſuppoſe) that when other later biſhops of the like name,haue diuiſed theſe ceremonial inuentions,the vulgare opinion of mē hath trāſferred them,to the firſt primitiue fathers,although being of an other time,yet bearing ẏ ſame name,wyth ẏ tru inuētors therof.But of Calixtus inough: who as Damaſus ſayth in the dayes of this Alexander Seuerus,dyed a Martyr.Uincentius affirmeth that he was tyed to a great ſtone,and ſo oute of a wyndowe was throwne into a ditche.Euſebius ſpeaking of hys death,maketh no mencion of hys martyrdome,and ſayth he

Cali
a Mar

Ex N
in ſp
Hiſt.
Et
nini
cap.

ſat.v.yeares. Platina ſayth.vi.yeares, Sabellicus geueth hym.vii.yeare, and ſo doth Damaſus.

rbanus bi
oppe of
ome.

227.

After Caliſtus folowed Vrbanus, about the yeare of our Lord.227. who in his epiſtle decretal (comming out of the ſame forge) which he wrote in common to all byſhops, making no mention of the heavy perſecutions of the church, nor miniſtring anye exhortacion of comfort or conſtancie to the brethren, onely geueth many ſtraite precepts, for not tranſporting or alienating the goods of the church, and to pay truly their offeringes, whych they vow: alſo to haue al common among the Clergie. Moreouer, about the end of his epiſtle he inſtituteth the confirmation of Children after baptiſme (which the papiſtes be wont to take into the number of their.vii. Sacramentes) affirmyng and denouncynge more then ſcripture wyll beare, that the impoſition of the byſhops hand bringeth the holy ghoſt, and that thereby they are made full Chriſtians. &c. But of theſe decretall epiſtles inough is ſayd before, more maye bee conſidered of the diſcrite Reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late ſtory writers do hold as is aforeſayd, that he dyed a Martyr, in the dayes of Alexander Seuerus, after he had gouerned that ſeate.iiii.yeares, as Damaſus and Platina doo wytnes: as Marianus ſayth.viii.yeares.

onfirma-
on of chil
ren inſti-
ued.

rbanus,
artyr.

The ſame Damaſus and Platina do teſtifie of him, that he by his preaching and holynes of life conuerted diuers Ethnickes to the fayth. Among whom was Tiburtius, and Valerianus the huſbãd of Cecilia, which both being noble men of Rome, remayned conſtant in the fayth vnto the ende and martyrdome.

urbitius
alerian'
artyrs.

ecilia,
artyr.
*Ex marty
ologie A-
onis.*

Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the Martyrologe by Ado, that Cecilie the Virgine after ſhe brought Valerian her huſband eſpouſed, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and fayth of Chriſt, and with her exhortacions had made them conſtant vnto martyrdome: after the ſuffering of them ſhe was alſo apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the Idoles to do ſacrifice: which thing when ſhe abhorred to do, ſhe ſhould be preſẽted before the iudge to haue the condemnation of death. In the meane time the Sergeants and officers which were about her, beholding her comelye beuty, and the prudent behauiour in her conuerſation, began with many perſuaſions of wordes to ſollicite her mynde, to fauour her ſelfe, and that ſo excellent beutye, and not to caſt her ſelfe away. &c. But ſhe agayne ſo replyed to them with reaſons and godly exhortatiõs, that by the grace of almighty God their harts began to kindle, and at length to yeld to that religion, whych before they did perſecute. Which thing ſhe perceiuing, deſired of the iudge Almachius a little reſpite. Whych being graunted, ſhe ſendeth for Vrbanus the biſhop home to her houſe, to ſtabliſh and grounde them in the fayth of Chriſt. And ſo were they, with diuers other at the ſame tyme baptiſed, both men and wemen, to the number (as the ſtory ſaith) of.400.perſons, among whom was one Gordianus a noble mã. This done, this bleſſed martyr was brought before the iudge, wher ſhe was condẽned: then after was brought to ẏ houſe of ẏ Iudge, wher ſhe was incloſed in a whote bathe, but ſhe remaynyng ther a whole daie and night without any hurt, as in a colde place, was broughte out agayne, and commaundement geuen that in the bath ſhe ſhould be beheaded: The executour is ſayde to haue.iiii.ſtrokes at her necke, as yet her heade beynge not cut of, ſhe (as the ſtorye geueth) liued.iii.dayes after. And ſo dyed thys holy virgyn martyre, whoſe bodye in the night ſeaſon Vrbanus the Byſhop tooke and buryed amonge the other byſhops. And the compiler of thys martyrologe addeth that this was done in the tyme of Marcus Aurelius, and Comodus. But that cannot be, for ſo much as Vrbanus by al hiſtoryes, was longe after thoſe Emperours, & lyued in the dayes of thys Alexander as is aboue declared. Antoninus, Bergomẽſis, Equilinus with ſuch other wryters, ſet forth this hiſtorye with manye ſtraunge miracles, wrought by the ſaid Cecilia, in conuerting her huſband Valerianus and his brother, in ſhewynge them the Angell which was the keeper of her virginity, and of the Angell puttyng on crownes vpon theyr heades. But as touchinge theſe miracles, as I doo not diſpute whether they be true or fabulous: ſo bycauſe they haue no groũd vpon any auncient or graue authors, but taken out of certayne newe ledgends, I do therefore refer them thether from whence they came.

The martir
dome of Ce
cilia.

Agapitus,
a bleſſed martyr.
*Ex Bergomẽſe
lib.8.*

Vnder the ſame Alexander, diuers other there bee whom Bergomenſis mentioneth to haue ſuffered martyrdome, as one Agapitus, of the age of.xv.yeres, who being apprehended and condemned at Præneſte in Italy, becauſe he would not ſacrifice to Idoles, was aſſayled with ſundry torments: firſt with whippes ſcourged, then hanged vp by the feete, after hauing hoate water poured vpon him, at laſt caſt to the wilde beaſtes. With all which torments when he could not be hurt, finallye with ſword was beheaded. The executor of theſe puniſhments (as by Henricus Erford may be gathered) was one Antiochus, who in the executing of the foreſaid tormentes, ſodenly fel downe from his iudiciall ſeate, crying out, that al his inward bowels burned within him, and ſo [illegible] vp the breath. Henr. de Erfordia. lib.6.cap.29

A notable example of Gods iuſt plage vpon a perſecutour.
Ex Henr.Erferdienſ.lib.6

Calepodius,
Martyr.

Alſo with the ſame Agapitus is numbred Calepodius a Miniſter of Rome, whoſe bodye firſte was drawne through the Citie of Rome, and after caſt into Tiber. Bergo. ibidem.

Pãmachius,
with hys wyfe
and children
Martyrs.
Xlii. Martyrs.

Then followeth Pammachius a Senator of Rome, with his wyfe and chyldren, and other both men and wemen, to the number of.xlii.

Simplicius,
Martyr.

Item an other noble Senator of Rome named Simplicius, all which together in one daye had their heades ſmytte of, and their heades after hanged vp in diuers gates of the Citye, for a terrour of other, that none ſhould profeſſe the name of Chriſt.

Quiritius,
Iulia, his mother martirs.

Beſide theſe ſuffered alſo Quiritius a noble man of Rome, who with his mother Iulia, and a great number mo, were put likewyſe to death.

Tiberius,
Valerianus,
brethren and
Martyrs.

Alſo Tiberius and Valerianus, Citiſens of Rome and brethren, ſuffred (as Bergom. ſayth) the ſame time, who firſt being bruſed and broken wyth battes, after were beheaded.

Martina
a virgin and
martyr.

Alſo Vincentius, Bergomenſis, & Erfordienſis make mention of Martina a Chriſtian Virgin, which after diuers bitter puniſhments, being conſtant in her faith, ſuffered in lyke maner by the ſword.

Albeit as touching the time of theſe fore named martyrs, as I finde them not in elder writers: ſo do I ſuppoſe them to ſuffer vnder Maximinus, or Decius, rather then vnder Alexander.

¶ *The ſixt perſecution.*

Maximinus emperour and perſecutor.
The ſixt perſecution.

An. 237.

AFter the death of Alexander ẏ Emperour, who with his mother Mãmea (as is ſaid) was murdred in Germany, folowed Maximinus, choſen by the wil of the ſoldiers, rather then by the authoritye of the ſenate, about the yeare of our Lord.237: who for the hatred he had to the houſe of Alexander as Euſeb. recordeth, rayſed vp ẏ ſyxt perſecutiõ againſt the chriſtians: eſpecially againſt the teachers and leaders of the church, thinking therby the ſooner to vanquiſhe the reſte, if the captaynes and guydes of them were remoued out of the waye. Wherby I ſuppoſe rather the martyrdom of Vrbanus the biſhop, and of the reſt aboue ſpecified, to haue happened vnder the tyrannie of this Maximinus, then vnder Alexander. In the tyme of this perſecution Origene wrote his booke De Martyrio: which booke if it were extant it would geue vs ſome knowledge, I doubt not, of ſuch as in this perſecution did ſuffer, which nowe lye in ſi-

*Origenes De
Martyrio.*

lence vnknowē. And no doubt but a great number they were, and mo ſhould haue bene, had not the prouident mercy of God ſhortened hys dayes, and bridled hys tyranny: for he raygned but .iij. yeres. After whom ſucceeded Gordianus, an. 240. a man no leſſe ſtudious for the vtilitie of the cōmon wealth, as milde & gentle to ẏ chriſtiās. This Gordian after he had gouerned with muche peace & tranquilitie the Monarchy of Rome the ſpace of vj. yeares, he was ſlayn of Philip Emperour after him.

Gordianus Emperour.

An. 240

In the dayes of theſe Emperors aboue recited, was Pontianus biſhop of Rome, who ſucceeded next after Urbanus aboue rehearſed, about the yeare of our Lord 236. in the .xij. yere of Alexander, as Euſebius lib. 6. cap. 28 noteth: declaring him to ſyt .vj. yeares. Contrarye Damaſus and Platina write, that he was biſhop .ix. yeres and a halfe. And that in the time of Alexander, he wyth Philippus his prieſt was baniſhed into Sardina, and there died. But it ſemeth more credible that he was baniſhed rather vnder Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the raigns of Gordianus. In his Epiſtles decretal (which ſeme likewyſe to be fained) he appeareth very deuout, after the common example of other Byſhops to vphold the dignitie of Prieſtes, and of Clergie men, ſaying: that God hath them ſo familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offeringes and oblacions of other, and forgeueth their ſinnes, and reconcileth thē vnto him. Alſo, that they do make the body of the Lorde with their own mouth, and geue it to other. &c. Whiche doctrine how it ſtandeth with the teſtament of god, and glory of Chriſt, let the reader vſe his own iudgement.

Pontianus byſhop of Rome.

Diuerſitye betwene Damaſus & Euſebius Pontianus baniſhed.

Thys doctryne ſeemeth derogatory to chriſt & blaſphemous

Other notable fathers alſo in the ſame time wer rayſed vp in the Churche, as Philetus biſhop of Antioche, which ſucceeded after Aſclepiades afore mencioned, an. 220. & after him Zebenus biſhop of ẏ ſame place. an. 231

To theſe alſo may be added Ammonius the Scholemaiſter of Origen, as Suidas ſuppoſeth, alſo the kynſman of Porphyry the great enemy of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding this Ammonius endued with better grace, as he left diuers bookes in defence of Chriſtes religion: ſo he did conſtantlye perſeuer (as Euſebius reporteth) in the doctrine of Chriſt, whych he had in the beginning receaued, who was about the daies of Alexander.

Ammonius a Chriſtiā writer

Julius Aphricanꝰ alſo about the tyme of Gordianus aforeſayde, is numbred among the olde and auncient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth, to be the ſcholer of Origen, and a great writer of hiſtories of that time.

Julius Aphricanus wryter.

Unto theſe Doctors and Confeſſors may be adioyned the ſtorye of Natalius, mencioned in the fifte booke of Euſebius. This Natalius had ſuffered perſecution before like a conſtant Confeſſor, who being ſeduced and perſuaded by Aſclepiodotus & Theodorus (which were the Diſciples of Theodocus) to take vpon him to be byſhop of their ſect, promiſing to geue him euerye moneth an hundreth and fifty peces of ſiluer, and ſo he ioyning himſelfe to them, was admoniſhed by viſion and reuelation from the Lord. For ſuch was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Chriſt Jeſu, that he woulde not hys Martyr, which had ſuffered ſo muche for his name before, now to periſh out of his church. For the whyche cauſe (ſayth Euſebius) God by certayne viſions dyd admoniſh him. But he not taking great heede therunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partlye wyth honour, was at length al the night long ſcourged of the angels: In ſo much that he being made thereby verye ſore, and early on the morow putting on ſackecloth, with muche weeping and lamentacion went to Zephyrinus the biſhop aboue mencioned, where hee falling downe before him, and al the Chriſtian Congregation, ſhewed them the ſtripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Chriſt, that he might be receiued into their communion agayne, from which he had ſequeſtred himſelf before. And ſo was admitted according as he deſired.

Natalius, Confeſſor. *Ex Euſeb. lib 5. cap. 28.*

The Lord wyl not looſe them whiche haue done or ſuffered anye thyng for hym.

After the deceaſe of Pōtianus biſhop of Rome afore mēcioned, ſucceded next in that place Anterius, of whō Iſuardus writeth, that Pontianus departing awaye, did ſubſtitute him in hys roume. But Euſebius writeth that he ſucceded immediatlye after him. Damaſus ſayth, that becauſe he cauſed the actes and deathes of the Martyrs to be written, therefore hee was put to martyrdome himſelf, by Maximus the Judge. Concerning the time of this biſhop, our writers do greatly iar. Euſebius and Marianus Scotus affirme that he was biſhop but one moneth. Sabellicus ſayth that not to be ſo. Damaſus aſſigneth to him .xij. yeares & one moneth. Uolateranus, Bergomenſis, and Henricus Erforde, geue to hym three yeares and one moneth. Nauclerus writeth that he ſat one yeare and one moneth. Al which are ſo far diſcrepant one frō an other, that which of thē moſt agreeth wͭ truth, it lyeth in doubt. Next to this biſhop was Fabianꝰ, of whō more is to be ſaid hereafter.

Ante biſhop Rome Marty

Auto agree.

Of Hippolitus, alſo both Euſebius and Hieronimus maketh mencion, that he was a biſhop, but where, they make no relation. And ſo likewyſe doth Theodoretus wytnes hym to be a biſhop, and alſo a Martyr, but naming no place. Gelaſius contra Eutichen ſayth, he dyed a martyr, and that he was biſhop of an heade Citye in Arabie. Nicephorus writeth, that he was byſhop of Oſtia, a port towne nere to Rome. Certayne it is, he was a great writer, and left many woorkes in the Churche, which Euſebius and Hierome do recite: by the ſupputatiō of Euſebius, he was about ẏ yeare of our lord. 230

Hyppo tus byſ and ma

Prudentius in his Periſtephanon, making mencion of great heapes of Martyrs buried by .lx. together, ſpeaketh alſo of Hyppolitus, and ſayth that he was drawen with wilde horſes throughe fieldes, dales, and buſhes, & deſcribeth therof a pitiful ſtory.

Prude periſteph

After the Emperour Gordianus, the empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his ſonne gouerned about the ſpace of .vj. yeares, an. 246. This Philippus wyth hys ſonne and all hys familye was Chriſtned and conuerted by Fabianus, and Origene, who by letters exhorted hym and Seuera his wyfe to be baptiſed, beyng the firſt of al the Emperours that brought in Chriſtianitie into the Emperial ſeate. Howe ſoeuer Pomponius Letus reporteth of him to be a diſſembling prince, thys is certayne, that for his chriſtianitie, he with hys ſonne was ſlayne of Decius one of his captaynes. Sabellicus and Bergomenſis lib. 8. ſheweth this hatred of Decius agaynſt Philippus to be cōceaued, for that the Emperour Philip both the father and the ſonne had cōmitted their treaſures vnto Fabianus thē biſhop of Rome.

Philipp Emperou

246.

Philipp the fyrſt Chriſtia Emperou

¶ *The ſeuenth perſecution.*

Thus Philippus being ſlayne, after him Decius inuaded the crowne, about the yere of our Lord. 250. by whom was moued a terrible perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which Oroſius noteth to be the ſeuenth perſecution. The firſt occaſion of this hatred & perſecution of this tyraunt conceiued againſt the Chriſtians, was chiefly, as is before touched, becauſe of ẏ treaſures of ẏ Emperour which wer cōmitted to Fabian the biſhop.

Decius E perour.

250.

The ſeu perſecuti

The ca and occa of thys p ſecution.

This Fabian firſt being a maryed man, as Platina writeth, was made byſhop of Rome after Anterius aboue mencioned, by the myraculous apoyntment of God, which Euſebius doth thus deſcribe in hys ſyxte booke: When the brethren (ſayth he) were together in the Congregation, aboute the election of their Byſhop, and had purpoſed among themſelues vpon the nomination of ſome noble and woorthy perſonage of Rome, it chaunced that Fabianus among other was there preſent, who of late before was newly come out of the coūtry to inhabite in the city. This Fabian, as is ſayde, being and thinking nothing leſſe then of any ſuch matter, ſodēly commeth a Doue fleing from aboue, and ſitteth vpon his head, not muche vnlike after the maner of the

Fabianus byſhop Rome.

The my culous e tion of F bianus.

holy ghoſt in the ſimilitude of a Doue ſitting vpon our Sauiour. Wherupon all the congregacion beyng moued, with one minde and one voyce, dyd chooſe hym for their Biſhop. In the which function he remayned the ſpace of .xiij. yeares, as Euſebius wryteth. Damaſus, Marianus, and Sabellicus ſaye .xiiij. yeares vnto the time of Decius. Who, whither for that Philippus had committed to him his treaſures, or whither for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the begining of his raigne cauſed him to be put to death. Sendyng out moreouer his proclamation into al quarters that al which profeſſed the name of Chriſt, ſhould be ſlayne.

To this Fabian be aſcribed certayn ordinances, as of conſecrating new oyle once euerye yeare, & burning the old, of accuſations againſt biſhops, of appealing to the ſea Apoſtolicke, of not maryeng within the fift degree of conſanguinitie, of cōmunicating thriſe a yeare, of offering euery Sunday, with ſuch other thinges mo in his .iij. epiſtles decretall. The which epiſtles, as by diuers other euidēces may be ſuppoſed to be vntruly named vpon hym, geuing no ſignification of anye matter agreing to that tyme: ſo doo I finde the moſt part of the third epiſtle woord for woord ſtanding in the epiſtle of Sixtus the third, which folowed almoſt .200. yeares after him, beſide the vnſemely doctrine alſo in the ende of the ſayd epiſtles contayned, where hee contrarye to the tenour of the Goſpell, referreth and applieth remiſſion of ſynnes (onely due to the blood of Chriſt) vnto the offeringes of bread and wyne by men and women euery Sunday in the Churche.

To this Fabianus wrote Origene De orthodoxia ſuæ fidei, that is, of the rightnes of his fayth. Whereby it is to be vnderſtand, that he continued to the tyme of Decius, ſome ſaye alſo to the tyme of Gallus. Of thys Origene partlye mention is touched before, declaryng how bold and feruent he was in the dayes of Seuerus, in aſſiſting, comforting, exhorting and kiſſing the martyrs that were impriſoned and ſuffered for the name of Chriſt, with ſuch daunger of his own lyfe, that had not bene the ſingular protection of God, he had bene ſtoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Suche great concourſe of men and women was daylye to hys houſe to bee catechiſed and inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by him, that ſoldiours were hyred of purpoſe to defende the place where hee taught them. Agayne, ſuche ſearche ſome tymes was ſet for him, ẏ vnneth any ſhifting of place or country could couer him. In theſe laborious trauailes, and affaires of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding he continued about the ſpace of .lij. yeres, vnto the time of Decius, or Gallus. Diuers and great perſecutions he ſuſtayned, but eſpecially vnder Decius, as teſtifieth Euſebius in his ſixt booke: declaring, that for the doctrine of Chriſt, he ſuſtained bandes, and tormentes in hys body, rackinges with barres of yron, doungeons, beſides terrible threates of death & burning. All this he ſuffered in the perſecution of Decius, as Euſebius recordeth of hym, and maketh no relation of anye furder matter. But Suidas, and Nicephorus folowing the ſame, ſaith further concerning him, ẏ the ſaid Origen, after diuers and ſundry other tormentes, which he manfully & conſtantlye ſuffred for Chriſt, at length was brought to an altar where a foule filthy Ethiope was appointed to be, & there this option or choiſe was offered vnto him, whether he would ſacrifice to the idole, or to haue hys bodye polluted with that foule and ougle Ethiope. Then Origene (ſayth hee) who with a philoſophicall mynde, euer kept his chaſtitie vndefiled, moſt abhorring ẏ fylthy vilany to be done to his body, cōdeſcended to their requeſt. Wherupon ẏ iudge putting incenſe in his hand, cauſed him to ſet it to ẏ fire vpon ẏ altar. For the which impietie, he afterward was excōmunicated of ẏ church. (Epiphanius writeth ẏ he being vrged to ſacrifice to Idoles, & taking the bowes in his hand, wherwith the Heathen were wont to honour their gods, called vpon ẏ Chriſtians to cary thē in ẏ honour of Chriſt. The which facte ẏ church of Alexandria myſliking remoued him frō their cōmunion.) Wherupon Origen driuē away wᵗ ſhame and ſorow out of Alexādria, went into Jewry, wher being in Hieruſalem among the congregacion, and there requeſted of the prieſtes and Miniſters (he being alſo a prieſt) to make ſome exhortacion in the churche, refuſed a great while ſo to do. At length by importunate peticiō being conſtrayned therunto, roſe vp, and turning the booke, as though he would haue expounded ſome place of the ſcripture, onelye red the verſe of the .49. Pſalme: but God ſayd to the ſynner, why doeſt thou preache my iuſtifications, and why doeſt thou take my teſtament in thy mouth. &c. Which verſe being redde, hee ſhutte the booke, and ſat downe weeping and waylyng, the whole congregatiō alſo weeping and lamenting with him. Suid. Niceph. More what became of Origene, it is not found in hiſtory, but onelye that Suidas addeth, he dyed and was buried at Tyrus. Euſebius affirmeth, that he departed vnder the Emperour Gallus, aboute the yeare of our Lord .255. and the .70. yeare of his age, in great miſery (as appeareth) and pouertie.

Origene excōmunicated.

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The repētance of Origene.

In this Origene diuers blemiſhes of doctrine be noted, whereupon Hierome ſome tymes doth inueighe agaynſt hym. Albeit in ſome places agayne hee doth extoll and commend hym for hys excellent learning, as in his Apologie againſt Ruff. and in his epiſtle to Pammachius & Ocean. where he praiſeth Origen, although not for the perfection of hys fayth and doctrine, nor for an Apoſtle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wyt, and for a Philoſopher. And yet in his prologe vpon the homilies of Origen vpon Ezechiel, he calleth him an other maſter of the Churches, after the Apoſtles. And in an other preface vpon his queſtions vpon Geneſis, hee wiſheth to hym ſelfe the knowledge of the Scriptures, which Origen had, alſo with the enuy of hys name. Athanaſius moreouer calleth him ſingular, and laborious, and vſeth alſo his teſtimonies againſt the Arrians Socrates lib. 6. cap. 13.

Blemiſhes noted in Origene.

Origen cōmended for his learning.

Ex Socrat. lib 6. cap. 13.

After Origene, the congrue order of hiſtorye requyreth next to ſpeake of Heraclas his Vſher, a man ſingularly commended for his knowledge, not onely in Philoſophy, but alſo in al ſuch faculties as to a Chriſtiā diuine doth appertayne. Thys great towardnes of wyt and learning when Origene perceaued in him, he appointed hym in eſpecial aboue all other, to be his Vſher or vnderteacher, to helpe him in his ſchoole or vniuerſitye of Alexandria, in the raigne of Antoninus Caracalla, ſonne of Seuerus. And after in the .x. yeare of Alexander, Origen departing vnto Ceſarea, he ſucceded in his roume to gouerne the ſchoole in Alexandria. Further alſo, in the time of Gordianus, after the deceaſe of Demetrius, biſhop of Alexandria, this Heraclas ſucceded to be biſhop of the ſayd Citye. Euſebius lib. 6. cap. 29. In the which function he miniſtred the terme of ſixtene yeares. Euſebius lib. 6. cap. 35. Of this Heraclas wryteth alſo Origen hymſelfe, that he although being Prieſt, yet ceaſed not to reade ouer and peruſe the bookes of the Gentiles, to the intent hee might the better oute of their own bookes confute their errour. &c.

Heraclas byſhop of Alexandria.

After Heraclas ſucceded Dionyſius Alexandrinus, in the byſhopricke of Alexandria, lyke as hee ſucceded him in the ſchole before. Whyche Dionyſius alſo writeth of the ſame Heraclas vnto Philemon a Prieſt of Rome, thus ſaying: Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla Papa noſtro accepi. &c. that is: Thys Canon and type I receaued of bleſſed Heraclas our Pope. &c. Although thys Heraclas was no Martyr whyche dyed 3. yeres before Decius, about the yere of our lord. 250.

Heraclas called Pope, yet no biſhop of Rome.

After whom ſucceded next in the ſame ſeate of Alexandria,Dionyſius Alexandrinus,who alſo ſuffered much vnder the tyranny of Decius,as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed(Chriſt willing)whē we come to the time of Valeriā.

Ex Nicepho. lib.5.cap, 29.

Nicephorus in his fift booke,and other which write of this perſecution vnder Decius, declare the horriblenes therof to be ſo great,and innumerable Martyrs to ſuffer in the ſame,that he ſayth it is as eaſy to number the ſandes of the ſea,as to recite the particular names of them,whom this perſecutiō did deuour. In the which perſecution the chiefeſt doers and tormētors vnder the Emperour appeare in the hiſtorye of Vincentius to bee theſe:Optimus the vnder Conſul,Secundianus,Verianus,& Marcellianus.&c.Although therefore it be hard here to inferre al and ſingular perſons in order that died in this perſecution: yet ſuche as remaine moſt notable in ſtories, I wyll briefly touche, by the grace of hym for whoſe cauſe they ſuffered.

Perſecutours

Alexander biſhop of Hieruſalem martir

In the former tractation of the fift perſecution,pag. 80.mencion was made before of Alexander the worthy biſhop of Hieruſalem,and of his troubles ſuffered vnder Seuerus,and how afterward by the miracle of god he was appointed biſhop of Hieruſalem,wher he continued a very aged man,aboue the terme of.xl.yeres gouernour of that church,tyl the time of the firſt yeare of Decius.At what time he being brought from Hieruſalem to Ceſarea in to the iudgement place, after a conſtant and euident confeſſion of his fayth made before the iudge,was committed vnto pryſon, and there finiſhed his life,as teſtifieth Dioniſius Alexandrinus in the ſixt booke of Euſebius. After whom ſucceded in that ſeate Mezabanes the.xxxvj.byſhop of that Citye, after Iames the Apoſtle.

Ex Euſeb.lib. 6.cap.41.

Aſclepiades biſhop of Antioche martyr.

Mention was made alſo before of Aſclepiades byſhop of Antioche,who ſucceeded after Serapion,and in the perſecution of Seuerus did likewiſe perſeuer a conſtant confeſſor,and as Vincentius teſtifieth in hys.xj. booke,ſuffered martyrdome at laſt vnder this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wiſe agree with the truth of time, foraſmuche as by probable writers,as Zonaras, Nicephorus,and other, the ſayde Aſclepiades after Serapion,entred the biſhops ſeate of Antioche,an.214.and ſat.vij.yeares before the tyme of Gordianus. After whom ſucceded Philetus, an.221. gouerning yͤ funċtion.xij.yeares. And after him Zebinus followed.an.232.and ſo after him Babylas,which Babylas if he died in this perſecution of Decius, then coulde not Aſclepiades alſo ſuffer in the ſame time,who dyed ſo long before him,as is declared.

Ex ſpecu. Vincēt.lib.11.c.52

A place of Vincentius reproued.

Babylas Byſhop of Antioch Martyr.

Of this Babylas biſhop of Antioche,Euſebius and Zonaras recorde, that vnder Decius he died in priſon, as did Alexander biſhop of Hieruſalem aboue reherſed.

Ex Chriſoſt. lib.contra Gētiles.

The ſtory of Babylas.

We reade in a certayne treatiſe of Chriſoſtome,intituled Contra Gentiles,a notable and a long hiſtorye of one Babylas a martyr,who about theſe times was put to death for reſiſting a certain Emperour,not ſuffering him to enter into the temple of the Chriſtians, after a cruel murder committed,the ſtorye of which murder is this:There was a certayne Emperour,who vpon concluſion of peace made with a certayne nation, had receiued for oſtage or ſuretye of peace, the Sonne of the king being of yong and tender age,with condicions vpon the ſame,that nether he ſhould moleſt them,nor that they ſhould euer be vexed of him.Vpon this the kynges ſonne was deliuered not without great care and feare of the father,vnto the Emperour,whom the cruell and barbarous Emperour,contrary to leage and promiſe, cauſed in ſhort time,without al iuſt cauſe or quarell to be ſlayne. This fact ſo cruel and horrible being committed,the tyrant with al haſt would enter into the temple of the Chriſtians:Wher Babylas being byſhop or Miniſter withſtood and ſtayde him that he ſhould not into that place approch.The Emperour therwith not a litle incenſed, in great rage and furye commaunded hym forthwith to be layd in pryſon with as manye yrons as hee coulde beare, and from thence ſhortlye after to bee brought forth to death and execution. Babylas goyng conſtantly and boldly to his martyrdome, deſired after his death to be buried with his yrons and bands,and ſo he was.The ſtory proceedeth moreouer and ſayth, that in continuance of time in the raygne of Conſtantinus, Gallus then made the ouerſear of the Eaſt partes,cauſed his body to be trāſlated into the ſuburbes or a place vnder the city of Antioche called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo,fameus with diueliſhe oracles and anſwers,geuen by that Idole,or by the diuell rather in that place.In the which place or temple after the bryngging of the body of Babylas, the Idole ceaſed to geue any more oracles or anſwers,ſaying that for the bodye of Babylas he could geue no mo anſwers, but complaining that that place was wont to be conſecrated vnto him,but now it was full of dead mens bodies.And thus the oracles there ceaſed for that time,tyll the comming of Iulianus:who inquyring out the cauſe why the oracles ceaſed,cauſed the bones of the holy martyr to be remoued agayne from thence,by the Chriſtians, whom he then called Galileans. They cōming in a great multitude both men,maydes,and children, to the tombe of Babylas,tranſported his bones according to the commaundement of the Emperour,ſinging by the waye as they went the verſe of the pſalme,in woordes as foloweth:Confounded be al that worſhip images,and al that glory in Idoles.&c.which comming to the Emperours eares,ſet him in great rage and fire againſt the Chriſtians,ſtirring vp perſecution againſt them.Albeit Zonaras declareth the cauſe ſomthing otherwiſe,ſaying that ſo ſoone as the body of him and other martyrs were remoued away,incontinent the temple of the idole wyth the image in the night,was conſumed with fire. For the which cauſe(ſayth Zonaras)Iulian ſtyrred vp with anger,perſecuted the chriſtiās,as ſhalbe ſhewed (Chriſt willing)in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the ſame Babylas biſhop then of Antioche, or an other of the ſame name, it appeareth not by Chriſoſtome: which neither maketh mencion of yͤ Emperours name, nor of the place wher this Babylas was biſhop. Againe the ſtopping out of the Emperour out of the church importeth as much as that Emperour to haue bene a chriſtian. For otherwiſe if he had come in as an Heathen & as a perſecutour,it was not then the maner of Chriſtian biſhops violently to withſtande the Emperours, or to ſtop them out.Ouer and beſide the teſtimony of Euſebius and Zonaras doo witneſſe contrary in hys ſyxt booke, that this Babylas which was then biſhop of Antioche after Zebinus,was not put to death by the tormentors,but dyed in priſon. Wherfore it is not vnpoſſible,but this Babylas, & this Emperour which Chriſoſtome ſpeaketh of,may be an other Babylas,thē that which ſuffered vnder Decius. Nicephorus in his.v boke maketh mēcion of an other Babylas beſide this, yͭ ſuffered vnder Decius, which was byſhop of Nicemedia.

In the forenamed City of Antioch,Vincentius lib. 11.ſpeaketh of.40.virgins Martyrs,whiche ſuffered in this perſecution of Decius.

In the country of Phrygia,& in the towne of Lampſar, the ſame Vincentius alſo ſpeaketh of one Peter, which there was apprehended,and ſuffered bitter tormentes for Chriſtes name,vnder Optimus the proconſul.And in Troada likewiſe of other Martyrs that ther ſuffered,whoſe names were Andrew, Paule, Nicomachus,and Dioniſia a virgin,lib.11.cap.46.

Alſo in Babylonia(ſayth he)diuers Chriſtian Confeſſours were found of Decius,which were led awaye in to Spayne, ther to be executed. lib. eodem, cap. 43.

artyrs Babilō erman⁹, heophilus, Ceſarius, italis, olychronius, Neſtor, martyrs.

In the country of Cappadocea at the citye of Ceſarea in like maner of the ſayde autor is teſtified of Germanus, Theophilus, Ceſarius, & Vitalis to ſuffer martyrdome for Chriſt, eodem. cap. 52. And in the ſame booke mencion alſo is made of Polychronius biſhop of Babilon, cap. 89. And in Pamphilia of Neſtor there biſhop, that dyed Martyr. cap. 52.

Olympiades. axim⁹. oble mē. Anatolia irgine udax, martyrs.

At Perſide in the towne of Cardala, Olympiades & Maximus. In Cyrus alſo Anatolia virgine, and Audax gaue their lyues likewiſe to death, for the teſtimony of Chriſtes name.

x Euſeb b. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42. The Epiſtle of Dioniſius b. of Alexādria to Fabius.

Euſebius moreouer in his ſirt booke, reciteth out of the Epiſtles of Dioniſius Alexandrinus, diuers that ſuffered diuerſly at Alexandria, the which places of Dionyſius, as they be cited in Euſebius, I thought here good, for the auncientnes of the autor, to inſerte and notifie, in his own woordes, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius biſhop of Antioche, as foloweth.

A cōmotiō of the people of Alexandria agaiſt the Chriſtians.

This perſecution (ſayth he) began not with the proclamation ſet forth by the Emperour, but beganne an whole yeare before: by the occaſion & meanes of a wicked perſon, a ſouthſayer, and a folower of wicked arts: Whoe comming to our citye here ſtirred vp the multitude of the Hethen againſt vs, & incited them to maintayne their own old ſuperſticion and gentilitie of their countrye, wherby they being ſet a gog, and obtayning ful power to proſecute their wicked purpoſe, ſo thought and no leſſe declared, all their piety and religion to conſiſte onely in the Idolatrous worſhip of diuyls, and in our deſtruction. And firſte flyeng vpon a certaine prieſt of ours, named Metra, apprehended hym and broughte hym foorth, to make him ſpeake after their wicked blaſphemye. Which whan he would not do, they layd vpon hym with ſtaues and clubbes, and with ſharpe reedes pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the ſuburbes, there they ſtoned him to death. Then they tooke a faithful woman called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their Idoles, to compell her to worſhip with them. Which whan ſhe refuſed to do, & abhorred their Idoles, they bound her feete, and drewe her through the whole ſtreete of the citie, vpon the harde ſtones, and ſo daſhing her againſt milſtones, and ſcourgyng her with whipps brought her to the ſame place of the ſuburbes, as they did the other before, wher ſhe likewiſe ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude rūning together, they bruſt into houſes of the religious and godly Chriſtians, ſpoyling, ſacking, and carying away al that they could finde of any price. The reſt of thinges, ſuch as wer of leſſe value and of wood, they brought into ẏ open market, & ſet them on fire. In the meane time the brethren voyded a ſide, and withdrew themſelues, taking paciently, and no les ioyfully the ſpoyling of their goods, then did they of whom S. Paule doth teſtifie. Neither do I know any of them al (one onely excepted) apprehended of them, whiche reuolting from his profeſſion, denied the Lord, yet to this preſent day.

Metra, martyr.

Quinta a faythfull vvomā & martyr.

Pacience and ioy in affliction. The conſtancie of the Martyrs of Alexandria.

Among the reſt that were taken, there was a certayne virgine well ſtricken in yeres, named Apollonia, whom they brought forth, and daſhing out al her teeth out of her iawes, made a great fire before ẏ city, threatning to caſt her into the ſame, vnleſſe ſhee woulde blaſpheme with them and deny Chriſt. Wherat ſhe ſtaying a lytle with her ſelfe, as one that woulde take a pauſe, ſodenlye leaped into the myddeſt of the fyre, and there was burned.

Apolline a bleſſed virgine & martyr.

There was one alſo Serapion, whom they tooke in his owne houſe, and after they had aſſayled hym wyth ſundry kindes of tormentes, and had broken almoſt all the ioyntes of his bodye, they caſt him downe from an vpper loft, and ſo did he complete his martirdom. Thus was no way, neither priuie nor publicke, no corner nor ally left for vs, neither by day nor by night to eſcape, al the people making an outcrye againſte vs, that vnleſſe we vttered wordes of blaſphemy, we ſhould be drawen to the fire & burned. And this outragious tumult endured a certayne ſpace, but at length, as the Lord would, the miſerable wretches fell at diſcenſion and ciuill ſedicion among them ſelues, which turned the cruelty they exerciſed againſt vs, vpon their own heads. And ſo had we a litle breathing time for a ſeaſon, whyle the fury of the heathen people by this occaſion aſſwaged.

Serapion martyr.

The iuſt puniſhment of God turning the cruelty of aduerſaries vpon them ſelues.

Shortly then after this, word was brought vnto vs of the ſtate of the Empire, which before was ſomething fauorable to vs, to be altered and chaunged againſt vs, putting vs in great feare. And conſeqnentlye vpon the ſame followed the edict of the Emperour ſo terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lorde, the elect if it had bene poſſible, might haue bene thereby offended, and ſubuerted. Upon that edict ſuch feare cam ouer vs al, that many there were, eſpeciallye of the rycher ſorte, of whom ſome for feare came running, ſome were led by the occaſion of tyme, ſome were drawen by their neighbours being cited by name, to thoſe vnpure and idolatrous ſacrifices. Other ſome came trembling and ſhaking, as men not which ſhoulde do ſacrifice, but which ſhoulde bee ſacrificed them ſelues, the multitude laughing them ſcorne. Some agayne came boldlye to the aultars, declaring them ſelues neuer to haue bene of that profeſſion, of whom it is ſayd that hardlye they ſhalbe ſaued. Of ẏ reſidue ſome folowed one part, ſome an other, ſomme ranne awaye, ſome were taken. Of whom certaine continued to bandes and torments conſtant. Other againe after long impriſonment, before they ſhoulde come before the Iudge, renounced theyr fayth. Some alſo after they ſuffered tormentes, yet after reuolted. But other being ſtronge as bleſſed, & valiant pillers of the Lord, fortefied with conſtancye agreing and conuenient to their fayth, were made faithfull martyrs of the kingdome of God.

Of whom the firſt was Iulianus, a man dyſeaſed with the gout, and not able to go, being caryed of twoo men, of whom the one quickly denyed, the other Cronion ſurnamed Eunus, with the foreſayde Iulianus the old man, confeſſing the Lord with a perfect fayth, were layde vpon Camels, and there ſcourged, at length caſt into the fire, with great conſtancy were ſo conſumed.

Iulianus martyr.

As theſe aforeſaid were going to their martirdome, there was a certayn ſoldiour, who in their defence toke part againſt them that railed vpon them. For the which cauſe the people crying out agaynſte hym, he alſo was apprehended, and being conſtant in his profeſſion, was forthwith beheaded.

A certayne ſoldiour martyr.

Likewyſe one Macar, a man borne in Lybia, being admoniſhed and exhorted of the Iudge to denye hys faythe, and not agreeing to his perſwaſions, was burned alyue.

Macar a bleſſed martyr.

After theſe ſuffered Epimachus, and one Alexander, who being long deteyned in priſon and in bandes, after innumerable paynes and tormentes with raſers and ſcourges, were alſo caſt into the burning fire with foure other women wyth them, which all there ended their martyrdome.

Epimachus, Alexander, vvith. 4. vvemen martyrs.

Alſo Ammonarion an holy virgine, whom the cruel iudge had long and bitterlye tormented, for that ſhe promiſing the Iudge before, that for no puniſhment ſhe would yeld to his requeſt, and conſtantly perfourming the ſame, ſuffered likewyſe martyrdome, with. ij. other women, of whom there was an aged Matrone, named Mercuria, the other was called Dionyſia, being a mother of manye fayre children, whom yet notwithſtanding ſhe loued not aboue the Lorde. Theſe after they could be ouercome by no tormentes of the cruell iudge,

Ammonariō virgin martir

Mercuria, Dionyſia, martyrs.

but he rather aſhamed and confounded to be ouercome of ſely women,at length they beyng paſt feelyng of all tormentes,were ſlayne with the ſworde,firſt Ammonarion like a valiant captaine ſuffering before them.

Heron,Ater,
Iſidorus,
Dioſcorus,
Martyrs.

Heron,Ater,& Iſidorus Egyptians,& wt them Dioſcorus alſo a childe of.xv.yeares,were crowned with the ſame crowne of martyrdome.And firſt the iudge began with the childe,thinking him more eaſye to be wonne, with wordes to entiſe him,then with tormentes to conſtrayne him,but he perſiſted immouable, geuing neyther place to perſuaſions nor puniſhments.The reſt after he had greuouſly tormēted,beyng conſtant in theyr profeſſion,he committed to the fire. At Dioſcorus the Iudge greatly marueiling for his wyſe anſwers, and graue conſtancy diſmiſſed him,ſparing(as he ſayd)hys age to a longer reſpite:which Dioſcorus is yet alſo wt vs at this preſent,waiting for a longer trial.

Nemeſion,
Martyr.

Theeues in the old time amōgeſt the Romanes burned.

Nemeſion being alſo an Egyptian,firſte was accuſed for a companion of theeues,but being purged therof before the Centurion,was then accuſed of Chriſtianitye,and for that cauſe being in bandes,was brought to the Preſident,who moſt vnrighteouſlye tormentyng and ſcourging him double to all other theeues and felons,at length among the theues burned him to death, making him a bleſſed martyr.

Ammon,
Zenon,
Ptolomeus,
Ingenuus,
Theophilus,
martyr confeſſours.

A notable example of chriſtian courage in confeſſyng Chriſt.

Ther wer ſtādıng before the tribunal ſeat certain of the warriours or Knights,whoſe names wer Ammon, Zenon,Ptolomeus,Ingenuus, and with them a certayne aged man called Theophilus,who ſtandyng by, at what time a certaine Chriſten man was before the iudge examined,and there ſeing him for feare ready to incline and fall away,did burſt almoſt for ſorow within them ſelues,making ſignes to hym with their hands and al ieſtures of their body,to be conſtant. This being noted of al the ſtanders by,they were ready to lay hold vpon them,but they preuenting the matter,preaſed vp of their own accorde before to the bench of the Iudge, profeſſing them ſelues to be Chriſtiās. In ſo much that both the Preſident with the benchers by were al aſtoyned,the Chriſtians which were iudged,more enboldned to ſuffer,and the Iudges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place,glad and reioycing for the teſtimony that they had geuen of their faith. Manye other beſides were in other cities and townes rent and torne a ſunder by the Heathen, among whom one I wyll ſpeake of for example.

Iſchyrion,
Martyr.

Iſchyrion one that was in ſeruice with a certayne noble man,was commaunded of his maiſter to make ſacrifice,who for not obeying was therefore rebuked: After perſiſting in ye ſame,was grieuouſly threatned with ſharpe and manaſſing wordes.At laſt his maiſter,whē he could not preuayle agaynſt hym, taking a ſtake or pyke in hys handes, ranne hym through into the body, and ſlewe hym.

Cheremon,
Martyr.

Cheremon a byſhop had a wyfe.

Euſeb.lib.6.
ca.40.41.42

What ſhould I ſpeake of ye multitude of them,which wandering in deſertes, and mountaines, were conſumed with hunger,thyrſt,colde,ſicknes,theeues,or wilde beaſts,of whoſe bleſſed victorie they which be a liue,are yet witneſſes. In the number of whō one I will ſpeake of,among diuers other,named Cheremon biſhop of the citie called Nilus,an aged man,he with hys wife flying to the mountaine of Arabia, neuer returned agayne, nor euer coulde be ſeene after. And though they were ſought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were founde. Many other there were which flying to theſe mountaines of Arabia,were takē of the Barbarous Saracens: of whom ſome with much money coulde ſcarſe be raunſomed, ſome were neuer herd of yet to thys preſent day. Thus much out of the epiſtle of Dionyſius alledged in Euſeb lib.6.ca.41.42.&c.

The epiſtle of Dionyſius Alexand. to Germa.

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Moreouer ye foreſaid Dionyſius in an other place writing to Germanus of his owne daungers and of other, ſuſtayned in thys perſecution,and before thys perſecution of Decius,thus inferreth as followeth: I,ſayth he, behold before the ſight of God,I lye not: and he knoweth, I lye not: how that I hauing no regard of myne owne lyfe,and not without the motion of God,dyd flye and auoyde the daunger of this perſecution. Yea & alſo before that thys perſecution of Decius did rage agaynſt vs:Sabinus the ſame houre ſent a farmer to ſeke me,at what time I remaynyng at home, wayted.iij.dayes for his comming.But he ſearching narrowly for me by all waies,fieldes,floudes,and corners,where he thought I might beſt haue hid my ſelfe, or to haue paſſed by, was ſtroken with ſuch a blindnes,yt he could not finde myne houſe,thinking with himſelfe nothing leſſe,then that I would abyde at home in ſuch ſo daungerous perſecution. Thus theſe.iij.dayes being paſt, vpon ye fourth day, the Lord God ſo willing and commaunding me to flie, and alſo maruelouſlye opening to me the waye, I with my *children & many other brethrē went out together. And thys not to come of my ſelf, but to be the worke of Gods prouidence,the ſequell of thoſe thinges declared, wherein afterward I was not vnprofitable peraduenture to ſome.&c.

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Againe in an other place ſhortlye after the foreſayd Dionyſius proceding in the narration of himſelfe, thus inferreth: Then I comming to Hieruſalem with them which were with me, was brought by ſouldiours vnto Tapoſixis: where as Timotheus (by the prouidence of God)neither was preſent,nor yet taken. Who then returning home found his houſe deſert, and officers watching about the ſame, and vs within taken.&c. And againe ſhortly after it followeth: And to ſee,ſayth he,the admirable diſpoſing of God hys workes.As Timotheus was thus flying with much haſt and great feare,a certaine man, as happened, a dweller nere by mette hym by the waye, and aſked,whether he went ſo haſtely: to whom Timotheus aunſwering,declared all the matter ſimply as it was.Which done, the mā procedeth on his iourney,whether he was purpoſed to go, which was to a mariage,the manner of which mariages then was to ſit vp al the night long feaſting and drinking.Thus as he was come,ſitting with them at ye feaſt, he telleth hys companions what was done,and what he heard by the way. Thys was no ſoner tolde,but all they forthwith vpon a head, as ſtroken with a ſodayne furye ruſhing out together,made towarde vs as faſte as they coulde, with ſuch crying and noyſe,as might ſeeme very terrible. At the firſt hearing wherof, the ſouldiers that had vs in keeping, being afrayde,ranne awaye,by reaſon wherof we were left alone,& founde as we were lying vpon fourmes and benches.I then,(the Lord knoweth) thinking with my ſelf that they had bene theeues,which came to ſpoyle and robbe,being in my couche, laye ſtill in my ſhyrt onely as I was,the reaſt of my garmentes lying by mee,I offered to them.They then willed me in all haſte to ryſe and get away. Wherby I then perceauing the cauſe of their comming, cryed vnto them deſiring yt they would ſuffer vs ſo to do:And if they woulde do ani benefit for me,for ſo much as I could not eſcape the handes of them which woulde purſue me and carye me away,I prayd them that they would preuent them, and cut of my head before. And as I was crying thus vnto them, caſting my ſelfe groucling vpon the pauement,as my companions can teſtifie,who were partakers of all theſe thinges,they bruſt forth violentlye,taking me by the handes and feete and caryed me out of the doores, and led me away. Therfollowed me Gaius, Fauſtus, Petrus, Paulus, (who were witneſſes of all the ſame)which brought me alſo out of the citie, and ſo ſetting me vpon a bare aſſe,conueyed me awaye. Thus muche writeth Dionyſius of hym ſelfe, the example of whoſe epiſtle is cited in the eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſebius.Lib.6.

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Dioniſ
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b.6.cap. lib.7. p.11. x Nicep b.5.c.27

bius Lib.6.cap.40.alſo Lib.7.cap.11.

hriſtophorus Martyr.

The fable of great S hriſtopher

Nicephorus in hys fift booke,cap.27.maketh mention of one named Chriſtophorus,which alſo ſuffered in this perſecution of Decius. Of which Chriſtophorus whether the fable ryſeth of that mightie Giante ſet vp in churches,wading through the ſeas, with Chriſt on hys ſhoulder, ⁊ a tree in hys hand,for a walking ſtaffe.⁊c.it is vncertain. Georg. VVicelius alledgeth out of Ruggerus Fuldenſ.and mentioneth of one Chriſtophorus,borne of ẏ nation of the Cananites, which ſuffred vnder Decius,being,as he ſaith,of.xij.cubites hye.But the reſt of the hiſtorie paynted in churches,the ſaid VVicelius derideth as fables of Centaurus,or other poeticall fictions.

Meniatus Agatha, Martyrs.

Ex Bergomenſ.lib.8 Ex Martyrologio Adonis.

Bergomenſis in his eyght boke maketh relation of diuers martyred vnder Decius, as Meniatus which ſuffered at Florence,of Agatha an holy virgin, of Sicile,who is ſayd to ſuffer diuerſe and bitter tormentes vnder Quintinianus the Proconſull, with priſonment, with beatinges, with famine, with racking,roled alſo vpon ſharpe ſhelles ⁊ hot coales,hauing moreouer her breſtes cut frō her body,as Bergomenſis, and the Martyrologe of Ado recorde. In the which authors as I denye not, but part of the ſtorye may be true,ſo agayne cōcerning the miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a ſilken veſture,with an hundreth yong mē after him, and of the marble table with the inſcription, Mentem ſanctam, &c,I doubt.

Martirs wādring in moūtaines.

Hard it is to recite all that ſuffered in thys perſecution,whē as whole multitudes went into wildernes and mountaines, wandring without ſuccour or comfort, ſome ſtarued with hunger and cold,ſome with ſickenes conſumed,ſome deuoured of beaſtes,ſome with barbarous theeues taken and caryed away.Vincentius in his eleuenth boke ſpeaking of Aſclepiades,writeth alſo of.xl Virgins,and Martyrs,which by ſondrye kindes of tormentes were put to death aboute the ſame tyme, in the perſecution of thys tyraunt.

orty vyrgines martyrs.

Tryphon, Martyr.

Likewyſe in the ſayd Vincentius mention is made of Tryphon,a man of greate holynes and conſtant in hys ſuffering,who being brought to ẏ citie of Nice, before the preſident Aquilius, for hys conſtant confeſſion of Chriſtes name was afflicted with diuerſe and grieuous tormentes,and at length with the ſword put to death.

Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Dioniſius Ioannes, Serapion, Conſtantinus.7. Martyrs.

At what time Decius had erected a temple in the midſt of the citie of Epheſus, compelling all that were in the citie there to ſacrifice to the idoles, ſeuen Chriſtians were found,whoſe names were Maximianus,Malchus, Martinianus,Dionyſius,Ioannes, Serapion, ⁊ Conſtantinus,who refuſing the idolatrous worſhip,were accuſed for the ſame vnto ẏ Emperour,to be Chriſtiās. Which whan they conſtantlye profeſſed,and did not denie,notwithſtanding becauſe they were ſouldiers, retayning to the Emperours ſeruice,reſpyte was geuen them, for a certayne ſpace to deliberate with them ſelues, till the returne agayne of the Emperour, which then was going to warre.In the meane ſpace,the Emperour being departed,they taking counſaile together, went and hid themſelues in ſecret caues of the Mount Cælius. The Emperour returning agayne, after great inquiſition made for them, hearing where they were, cauſed the mouth of ẏ place where they were, to be cloſed vp with heapes of ſtones,that they not able to get out,ſhould be famiſhed within. And thus were thoſe good men Martyred. The ſtorye (if it be true) goeth further,that they betwene feare and ſorow fell a ſlepe,in which ſlepe they continued the ſpace of certayne ages after, till the time of Theodoſius the Emperour, before they dyd awake, as reporteth Vincent.Nicephor.Lib.5.cap.27.and partly alſo Henr. Erfordienſ. But of their awaking,that I referre to them that liſt beleue it.Certayn it is that at the laſt day they ſhall awake in deede without any fable.

The fable of the awaking of theſe.7 martyrs.

x Vincēt icepho. rfordiēſ.

A ſouldiour martyr.

Ex Hierony. in vita Pauli Eremite.

A notable example of a chaſte ſouldiour biting of hys toung, & ſpittyng it in the face of an harlot.

Hieronymus in the lyfe of Paulus the Eremite, reciteth a ſtory of a certayne ſouldiour, whom the Pretor could not otherwiſe with tormentes remoue from hys Chriſtianity,he deuiſed an other way,which was thys: he commaunded the ſouldiour to be layd vpon a ſoft bed in a pleaſant garden among the flouriſhing Lillies and redde Roſes, which done, all other beyng remoued away, and himſelfe there left alone, a beautifull harlot came to him,who embracing him,and with al other intiſementes of an harlot,laboured to prouoke hym to her naughtynes.But the godlye ſouldiour fearing God more,then obeying fleſh,byt of his tong with hys own teeth,and ſpit it in the face of the harlot,as ſhe was kiſſing him,and ſo got he the victory,by the cōſtant grace of the Lord aſſiſting him.

A like example of chaſtitie betwene.2 Chriſtians.

Ex Ambr. lib 2.de virgini.

An other like example of ſingular chaſtity is wryttē of the virgine Theodora,and an other ſouldiour, by Ambroſe,lib.2.De virginibus.At Antioche,this Theodora refuſing to do ſacrifice to the Idols, was condemned by the Iudge to the ſtues, which notwithſtanding by the ſingular prouidence of God was wel deliuered. For as there was a great company of wanton yong men ready at the doore to preaſe into the houſe where ſhe was, one of the brethren,named Didimus(as Ado ſaith) moued with faith and motion of God, putting on a ſouldiours habite,made himſelf one of the firſt that came in, who rouding her in ẏ eare,told her ẏ cauſe ⁊ purpoſe of his cōming,being a Chriſtiā as ſhe was:his coūſel was ẏ ſhe ſhould put on the ſouldiours habite, ⁊ ſo ſlip away. And he putting on her garmēts would ther remaine to abyde their force. And ſo did, whereby the virgin eſcaped vnknowen.Didimus left vnto the rage and wondering of the people being a man in ſteede of a woman, was preſented to the Preſident,vnto whom without delay he vttered al the whole matter as it was done, profeſſing him ſo as he was,to be a Chriſtian,and thereupon was condemned to ſuffer. Theodora vnderſtāding therof,and thinking to excuſe him,by accuſing her ſelf, offered her ſelfe as the party gilty,vnto the iudge, clayming and requiring the condemnacion to lyght vpon her,the other as innocent to be diſcharged.But the cruel iudge(crueller then Dionyſius, which ſpared Damō and Pithias)neyther conſidering the vertue of the perſons,nor the innocency of the cauſe,vniuſtly and inhumanely proceeded in execution againſt them both,who firſt hauing their heads cut of,after wer caſt in the fire Ambroſ.Ado.Although what time,or in what perſecution theſe did ſuffer,in the autors of thys narration it doth not appeare.

Theodora, Didimus, Martyrs.

Agathon, Martyr.

Agathon a man of armes in the city of Alexandria, for rebuking certayne lewde perſons,ſcornfullye deriding the dead bodies of the Chriſtians,was cried out of and rayled on of the people.Afterwarde accuſed to the Iudge,was condemned to loſe his head. Erfordienſis.

Paulus, Andreas, martyrs.

The ſaid Erfordienſis alſo maketh mencion of Paulus,and Andreas,whom the Procōſul of Troada gaue to the people being ſcourged,and after drawne oute of the city, they were troden to death with the feete of the people.Henric.de Erford.

Iuſtinus, Nicoſtratus, Portius, martyrs.

Among other that ſuffered vnder this wicked Decius,Bergomenſis alſo maketh mencion of one Iuſtinus a prieſt of Rome,and of an other Nicoſtratus a decon. To theſe Vincentius alſo addeth Portius a Prieſt of Rome,whom he reporteth to be the conuerter of Philip the Emperour afore mencioned.

Abdon, Sennas, martyrs.

Of Abdon and Sennas we reade alſo in the foreſaid Bergomenſis and Vincentius,two noble men, who becauſe thei had buried the Chriſtians,whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba,and ther put them to death,were therfore accuſed to Decius, and brought to Rome,wher they being commaunded to ſacrifice to dead Idoles,would not obey,and for the ſame were geuen to the wylde beaſtes to be deuoured: but when the wilde beaſts more gentle then the mẽ, would not touch them, they wer at length with the ſword beheaded. Bergom. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 4. Albeit to me it ſemeth not vnpoſſible nor vnlike, this Abdon and Sennas to bee the ſame, whom in other ſtories we finde, and before haue mencioned to be Ammon, and Zenon, pag. 90.

Secundianus, Verianus, Marcellianus martyrs.

One Secundianus was accuſed to Ualerian a captayne of Decius, to be a chriſtian, which profeſſion whẽ he ſtoutly and conſtantly did mayntaine, was cõmaunded to priſon. By the way as the ſoldiours wer leading him to the gaile, Uerianus and Marcellianus ſeing the matter, cryed to the ſoldiers, aſking them whether they drew the innocent. At the which word, when they alſo confeſſed themſelues to be Chriſtians, they were lykewiſe apprehended, and brought to a Citye named Centumcellas: wher being willed to ſacrifice, they did ſpyt vpon the Idols, and ſo after ſentence and iudgement geuen, firſt they were beat with waſters or trunſhons, after that were hanged and tormẽted vpon the gibbet, hauing fire ſet to their ſides. Uincentius addeth moreouer that the tormentors ſome of them fallen ſodainly dead, other ſom being taken wᵗ wicked ſpirites, the martirs with ſword at length wer beheaded. Vincent. Lib. 11.

Ex Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 51.

To proſecute in length of hiſtorye, the liues and ſufferings of al thẽ, which in this terrible perſecution, wer Martyred, it were to long, and almoſt infinite: brieflye therfore to rehearſe the names of ſuch as we find alledged out of a certayne briefe treatyſe of Bede intituled De Temporibus, cited by Henricus De Erfor. it ſhall be at this time ſufficient. Under Decius ſuffered Hyppolytus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abnudus, Victoria a Uirgin, being noble perſonages of Antioche. Bellias Biſhop of the citie of Apollonia. Leacus, Tyrſus, & Gallinetus, Nazanzo, Triphon in the citie of Egypt called Tanais, Phileas Byſhop, Philocomus with many other in Perſide. Philocronius Byſhop of Babylõ, Theſiphon biſhop of Pamphilia. Neſtor biſhop. In Corduba Parmenius prieſt with diuerſe moe. In the prouince called Colonia Circenſis, Marianus and Iacobus, In Africa Neměſianus, Felix, Rogatianus prieſt. Feliciſſimus. At Rome Iouinus, Baſileus, alſo Ruffina, and Secunda Uirgines. Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemeſius, Sempronianus, and Olympius. In Spaine Teragone, at Verona Zeno Byſhop. At Cæſarea, Marinus, and Archemius. In ỹ towne of Miliane Priuatus Biſhop, Theodorus ſurnamed Gregorius Biſhop of Pontus. Hæc Beda.

Ex libro Bedæ, de Temporibus, citante Henrico de Erfordia.

A briefe Cataloge of Diuers vvhyche ſuffred vnder Decius ex Beda.

Vincentius in his eleuenth boke, maketh alſo mentiõ, citing ex Hugone, of certaine children ſuffering Martyrdome vnder the ſame perſecution, in a citie of Tuſcia called Aretium: whoſe names I finde not, except thei be Pergentius & Laurẽtius mẽcioned in Equilinus. lib. 5. ca. 80

Childrẽ martyrs.

Ex Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52.

Now that I haue recorded of thẽ ſufficientlye, which vnder thys tempeſt of Decius, conſtantlye gaue their liues to Martyrdome for the teſtimonie of Chriſt: it remaineth, that a fewe wordes alſo be ſpoken of ſuch that for feare or frailtie in this perſecutiõ did ſhrinke back, & ſlide from the truth of their confeſſion. In the nũber of whõ firſt cõmeth in ỹ remembraunce of Serapion an aged olde mã. Of whõ writeth Dionyſius Alexandrinus, vnto Fabius, declaring: that this Serapion was an olde man, which liued amongſt them a ſincere & vpright life of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion ofte and many times deſired to be receaued agayne, but no man lyſtened to hym, :for he had ſacrifyced before. After thys not longe after he fell into ſickenes where hee remained. iij. dayes dombe, & benummed of all his ſences. The fourth day folowing, beginning a litle to recouer, he called to him his ſiſters ſonne, and ſayd: how longe, how long (my ſonne) do ye holde me here? Make haſte I pray you, that I were abſolued. Call hether ſome of the miniſters to me, and ſo ſaying no more, held hys peace, as dombe and ſpeachles. The boy ranne, it was then nyghte, vnto the miniſter. who at the ſame time being ſicke, could not come with the meſſenger, but ſayd: forſo much (ſayd he) as I haue willed heretofore, that ſuch as laye a dying, if they couet to be receaued and reconciled, and eſpecially if they requyred it earneſtly, ſhould be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence. Therefore he gaue to the boye a litle of the * Euchariſt, willing hym to crimble it into the cup, and ſo to droppe it into the mouth of the olde man. With thys the boye returned, bringing with him the holy Euchariſt. As he was now nere at hand, before he had entred in, Serapion the old man, ſpeaking agayne, commeſt thou, ſayd he, my ſonne? The prieſt, quod the meſſinger, is ſicke and can not come, but doe, as he willeth you, and let me goe. And the boye immitted the Euchariſt, and dropt it in ſoftlye into the mouth of the olde man. Who after he had taſted a litle, immediatlye gaue vp the ghoſt, &c. Hæc Dionyſ. ex Euſ.

Such as reuoked and fel in this perſecution.

Serapion.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 44.

*Note he the ſacra- ment to b called the Euchariſt, and not t body of Chriſt.

The holy Euchariſt in time of great nee and diſtr committe to a boy.

The repen taunce a reconcilia tion of Se rapion.

The good nes of Go ſhewed t Serapion.

Ex Henr. de Erford

In the citie of Troade, as the Proconſull was grieuouſlye tormenting one Nicomachus, he cryed out, that he was no Chriſtian, and ſo was let downe agayn. And when after he had ſacrificed, he was takẽ eftſones with a wicked ſpirite, and ſo throwen down vpon ỹ ground; where he byting of his tonge with his tæth, ſo departed. Henr. de Erfordia.

A terrible example of denying, ſhewed v on Nico machus.

Dionyſius in his epiſtles alſo writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terrour of thys perſecution declareth, how that many worthye and notable Chriſtians, for feare and horror of the great tyrannye therof, dyd ſhewe themſelues feable and weake men. Of whom ſome for dread, ſome of theyr owne accorde, other after great tormentes ſuffered, yet after reuolted frõ the conſtancie of their profeſſion. Alſo S Cyprian in hys treatyſe De lapſis, reciteth with great ſorowe, and teſtifieth, how that a great number at the fyrſt threatning of the aduerſarye, neyther being cõpelled nor throwen downe with any violence of the enemye, but of their voluntarye weakenes fell down themſelues. Neither (ſayth he) tarying while the iudge ſhoulde put incenſe in theyr handes, but before any ſtroke ſtroken in the field, turned their backes, and played the cowardes, not onelye comming to their ſacrifices, but preuenting the ſame, and pretending to come without compulſion, bringing moreouer their infantes and children eyther put into their handes, or taking them with them of their owne accord, and exhorting moreouer other to do the like after their example.

Dionyſ ad Fabiũ

Cyprian Serm. de lapſis.

The weak neſſe of Chriſtian denying their fa

Of thys weakenes and falling the ſayd author ſheweth. ij. cauſes, eyther loue of theyr goods and patrimonie, or feare of tormentes. And addeth moreouer examples of the punyſhmentes of them which ſo reuoked: affyrming that many of them were taken & vexed with wicked ſpirites. And of one man among other which after hys voluntarye deniall, ſodainlye was ſtroken dombe. Agayne, an other after his abiuratiõ as he ſhould communicate with other, in ſtead of bread receaued aſhes in his hand. Item of a certayne maiden, who being taken and vexed with a ſpirite, dyd teare her owne tonge with her tæth, and tormented with payne in her bellye and inward partes ſo deceaſed.

Example of God punishme after de

The ſac ment ca bread of Cyprian De lapſis

Among other of thys ſorte, S. Cyprian. lib. 2. cap. 8. maketh alſo mencion of one Euariſtus a Byſhop in Africa, who leauing hys charge, and making a ſhypwracke of hys fayth, went wandering about in other countryes, forſaking hys owne flocke. In lyke maner he maketh alſo mencion of Nicoſtratus a Deacon, who forſaking hys Deaconſhyp, and taking the goodes of the Church with hym, fledde awaye into other countries, &c. Albeit Bergomenſis geueth ỹ thys Nicoſtratus the Deacon afterward dyed a Martyr. Thus then although ſome did relent, yet a verye greate number, ſayth he, there was, whom neyther feare coulde remoue, nor payne coulde ouerthrowe to cauſe them to betraye theyr confeſſion, but that they ſtoode lyke glorious martyrs vnto the ende. Ciprian.

Cyprianus lib. de mortalitate.

A notable voyce of God to a prieſt of Carthage.

The ſame Cyprianus alſo in an other booke De mortalitate, reciteth a notable ſtory of one of his owne colleges and felowprieſt: who being oppreſſed with weakenes, & greatly afrayd with death drawing at hande, deſired leaue to depart, & to be diſcharged. As he was thus entreating, & almoſt now dying, ther appeared by hym a yong man, of an honorable and of reuerend maieſtie, of a tall ſtature, and comelye behauiour, ſo bright and cleare to behold, that ſcarce mās carnal eyes was able to beare the beholding of hym, but that he was able ſo to do, which was now readye to depart this world. To whom this yong man ſpeaking with a certaine indignacion of mynde and voyce, thus ſayd: Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? To ſuffer ye dare not, to go out ye wil not, what would ye me to do vnto you?

The occaſion and ryſyng vp of Nouatus hereſy.

Cornelij epiſt. ad Fabium, ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

The meaning of Cyprian opened, writig of one Byſhop onely to gouerne in a catholick church falſly wraſted of the Papyſts for the papacy. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43*

Upon the occaſion of theſe and ſuche other, whyche were a great number, that fel, and did renounce, as is aforeſayd, in this perſecution of Decius, roſe vp fyrſt ẏ quarel & hereſy of Nouatus, who in theſe dayes made a great diſturbance in the church, holding this opinion that they, which once renoūced the faith, and for feare of tormentes had offered incenſe to the idoles, although they repented therfore, yet coulde not afterward be recōciled, nor admitted to the church of Chriſt. This Nouatus being firſt prieſt vnder Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by ſtyrring vp diſcord and factions, began to diſturbe the byſhopricke of Cyprian, to apoynt there a Deacon called Feliciſſimus, againſt the biſhops mynde or knowledge, alſo to allure and ſeperate certayn of the brethren from the biſhop, al which Ciprian, lib. 2. epiſt. 8. doth wel declare. After this the ſaid Nouatus going to Rome, kept there the like ſtyrre with Cornelius (as the ſame Cornelius in Euſebius. lib. 6. cap. 43. doth teſtifye) ſetting him ſelfe vp as biſhop of Rome againſt Cornelius, which was the lawful biſhop of Rome before. The which to bring to paſſe, he vſed this practiſe: firſt he had allured to hym to bee hys adherentes three or foure of good men and holy confeſſours, which had ſuffered before great tormentes for their confeſſion, whoſe names were Maximus, Urbanus, Sydonius, and Celerinus. After this he entiſed three ſimple biſhops about the coaſtes of Italye to repayre to Rome, vnder pretence to make an end of certayne controuerſies then in hande. This done, he cauſed the ſame, whether by making thē dronke, or by other crafty counſaile, to lay their handes vpon him, and to make him biſhop, and ſo dyd. Wherefore the one of thoſe three biſhops hardlye was receiued to the communion, by the great interceſſion of his people: the other. ij. by diſcipline of the church, were diſplaced frō their biſhopricks, and other poſſeſſed with their roumes. Thus then were there two biſhops together in one church of Rome, Nouatus and Cornelius, whiche was vnſemelye, and contrarye to the diſcipline of the church. And hereupō riſeth the true cauſe and meaning of S. Ciprian, wryting in hys epiſtles ſo muche of one biſhop, and of the vnity to be kept in eccleſiaſticall regiment, as appeareth, lib. 4, epiſt. 2. De ſimplicit. prælat. itē. lib, 3. epiſt. 11. &c. And in like ſorte writeth alſo Cornelius himſelf of one byſhop, ſaying: Itaq; vindex ille euangelij ignorauit vnū eſſe debere epiſcopum in catholica eccleſia, c&. That is, he knew not ẏ there ought to be one byſhop in a catholike church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way I truſt, I haue touched brieſelye to detecte or refute the cauiling wraſtling of ẏ papiſtes, which falſelye applye theſe places of Cyprian & Cornelius to maintayne the Popes ſupreme maiſterſhip alone ouer the whole vniuerſall church of Chriſt in all places. When their meaning is otherwiſe, how ẏ euery one catholick church or dioceſſe ought to haue one Biſhop ouer it, not that the whole worlde ought to be ſubiecte to the domination of hym onely that is Byſhop of Rome. Now to the ſtory agayne. Nouatus being thus Byſhop toke not a little vpon him, going about by all meanes to defeate Cornelius, and to allure the people frō hym. In ſo much that (as in the foreſayd boke of Euſebius appeareth) whē Nouatus came to the diſtributing of the offeringes, and ſhoulde geue euery man hys part, he compelled the ſimple perſons euery man to ſweare, before they ſhould receaue of the benediction, and of the collectes or oblations, holdyng both theyr hands in his, and holding them ſo longe, ſpeaking theſe wordes vnto them: (Sweare to me by the bodye and bloude of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, that thou wilte not leaue me and goe to Cornelius,) till that they ſwearing vnto hym, in ſteede of Amen, to be ſayd at the receauing of the * bread, ſhoulde aunſwere, I will not returne to Cornelius, &c. Thys ſtorye being written in Euſebius, alſo contayned in Nicephorus, although not in the ſame order of wordes, yet in effecte drawen out of hym, doth declare in plaine wordes in both the authors (who ſo will marke the ſame) that the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, is termed with ẏ plaine name of bread, after the conſecration.

*Note here the ſacramēt of the body to be called bread. *Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43. Niceph. lib. 6 cap. 3.*

Maximus, Vrbanus, Sidonius, Celerinus. Confeſſours. *Ex Cipr. lib. 3 epiſt. 3.*

Moſes, Martyr.

A Synode at Rome.

An. 255.

It followeth more in the ſtory, that Maximus, Vrbanus, Sidonius, & Celerinus before mencioned, perceiuing at lēgth ẏ crafty diſſimulation & arrogācie of Nouatus, left hym, and with great repentaunce returned againe to the church, and were reconciled to Cornelius, as they themſelues wrytyng to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewiſe wrytyng to them an epiſtle gratulatorie doth declare. Lib. 3. epiſt. 3. and Cornelius alſo in hys epiſtle to Fabius witneſſeth ẏ ſame. In this epiſtle ẏ ſaid Cornelius moreouer writeth of one Moſes a worthye Martyr, which once being a folower alſo of Nouatus, after perceauing hys wickedneſſe forſoke hym, and dyd excommunicate hym. Of hym Cyprian alſo maketh mention, and calleth hym a bleſſed confeſſour. Lib. 2. epi 4. Damaſus in hys pontificall ſayeth, that he was apprehended with Maximus and Nicoſtratus aboue mencioned, and was put with them in priſon, where he ended hys lyfe. And thus much of Nouatus, againſt whom, as Euſebius teſtifieth, a Synode was holden at Rome of. lx. ſondrye Byſhops in the tyme of Cornelius, and vnder the reigne of Decius. an. 255. wherby it may be ſuppoſed that ẏ heate of the perſecution at that time was ſomewhat calmed.

Cornelius biſhop of Rome, and Martyr.

Biſhops were choſen thē not without the voyce of the people.

A cenſure of the decretall epiſtles of Cornelius.

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth hym Flauianus) next ſucceded into the Byſhoprike of Rome Cornelius whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthye Byſhop, and for hys greate vertue and maydenlye continencye muche commendable, choſen to that rome, not ſo much of hys owne conſent, as of the full agrement both of the clergie men, and alſo of the people. Hierome addeth alſo that he was a man of greate eloquence, wherby it may appeare thoſe. ij. epiſtles decretall, which go in his name not to be hys, both for the rudenes of the barbarous and groſe ſtile, and alſo for the matter therein conteined, nothyng taſting of that tyme, nor of that age nor doinges then of the church. Wherof in the fyrſt he writeth to all miniſters and brethren of the church, concernyng the lifting vp of the bodyes and bones of Peter and Paule, De cathecumbis, and tranſpoſed to Vaticanum, at the inſtance of a certayne deuoute woman named Lucina, hauing no greate argument or cauſe to write therof vnto the churches, but onely that he in that letter doth deſire them to praye vnto the Lorde, that through ẏ interceſſiō of thoſe Apoſtolicall ſainctes, theyr ſinnes might be forgeuē them. &c. In the ſecond epiſtle writing to Ruffus a biſhop of ẏ eaſt church, he decreeth & ordaineth ẏ no othe ought to be requyred or exacted of any hed or chief biſhop, for any cauſe, or by any power. Alſo ẏ no cauſe of prieſts or miniſters ought to be handled in any ſtraūge or foren court, wythout his precinct, except onely in the court of Rome by appellation,wherby who ſeeth not the traine of our latter biſhops goyng about craftely to aduaunce the dignitye of the court of Rome,vnder and by the pretenced title of Cornelius, and of ſuch auncient biſhops. If Cornelius dyd wryte any epiſtles to any in deede in thoſe ſo turbulent times of perſecution,no doubt but ſome ſignification thereof he would haue touched in the ſayde his letters, either in miniſtring conſolation to hys brethren,or in requiring conſolatiō and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt,but he would haue geuen ſome touch alſo of the matter of Nouatus,with whom he had ſo much to doo, as in deede he did:for ſo we finde it recorded both in Euſebius,and in Hierome that he wrote vnto Fabius biſhop of Antioche,of the decreementes of the councell of Rome,and an other letter of the maner of the councel: the third alſo of the cauſe of Nouatus, and agayne of the repentaunce of ſuch as fell,wherof ther is no word touched at al in theſe foreſaid epiſtles decretall.

The conſtancie of Cornelius in hys tryal.

Ciprian. lib.1. epiſt.1.

What trouble this Cornelius had wͭ Nouatus,it is ſufficiently before ſignified. In this perſecution of Decius he demeaned him ſelfe very conſtantlye and faithfully,which ſuſtained great conflictes with the aduerſaries,as S.Cyprian geueth witnes, lib.1.epiſt.1. Hierom teſtifieth that he remayned Biſhoppe after the death of Decius,to the time of Gallus,and ſo appeareth alſo by S.Cyprian,which hath theſe words: et tyrannū armis et bello poſtmodum victum,prior ſacerdotio ſuo vicit. But Damaſus and Sabellicus, hys follower, affirme that he was both exiled and alſo Martyred vnder the tyrānous reigne of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this ſtorye, taken out (as it ſeemeth) of Damaſus, and ſayeth: that Cornelius by the commaundement of Decius, was baniſhed to a towne called Centumcellas, bordering in Hetruria, from whence he ſent letters to Cyprian Byſhop of Carthage,and Cyprian agayne to him. Thys comming to the eares of Decius the Emperour, he ſendeth for Cornelius,aſking hym: how he durſte bee ſo bolde to ſhewe ſuch ſtubburnes, that he neyther caring for the Gods,nor fearing the diſpleaſure of his princes, durſte,agaynſt the common wealth, geue and receaue letters from other. To whom Cornelius aunſwering agayne, thus purged himſelfe, declaring to the Emperour,that letters in deede he had written and receaued agayne concerning the prayſes & honouring of Chriſt, and of ſaluation of ſoules, but nothyng as touching any matter of the common wealth. And it followeth in the ſtory: Then Decius moued with anger cōmaunded hym to be beaten with plumbattes (which is ſayth Sabellicus, a kinde of ſcourging) and ſo to be brought to the temple of Mars: eyther there to doe ſacrifice, or to ſuffer the extremitie. But he rather willing to dye,then to committe ſuch iniquitie, prepared himſelfe to Martyrdome, being ſure that he ſhoulde die. And ſo commending the charge of the church vnto Stephanus hys Archdeacon,was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended hys lyfe in faythfull Martyrdome. Euſebius in one place ſaith,that he ſat.ij.yeares,in an other place ſaith, that he ſat.iij.yeres,and ſo doth Marianus Scotus, following alſo the diuerſitie of the ſaid Euſebius.Damaſus geueth hym onely two yeares.

Cornelius accuſed for writing letters to Cyprian.

Plumbatis cædi.

Cornelius martyred.

In this foreſayd perſecution of Decius,it ſeemeth by ſome writers alſo that Cyprian was baniſhed, but I ſuppoſe rather hys baniſhment to bee referred to the reigne of Gallus next Emperour after Decius, wherof more ſhall be ſayd, (Chriſt willing) in his place hereafter. In the meane tyme the ſayd Cyprian in hys ſecond booke, epiſt.5.&.6.maketh mention of.ij. that ſuffered eyther in the tyme of this Decius, or much aboute the ſame tyme. Of whom one was Aurelius a worthye and valiaunt young mā, who was twyſe in tormentes for hys confeſſion,which he neuer denied,but manfully and boldlye withſtode the aduerſarye,till he was banyſhed,and alſo after. And therefore was commended of Cyprian to certayne brethren, to haue hym for theyr lectorer, as in the forenamed epiſtle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who the daye before he ſuffered, declaring to the Proconſull, in the midſt of hys tormentes,and ſaying: Videbis cras agonē: that is,to morowe you ſhall ſee the running for a wager. &c. was brought forth according as he foreſpake,to Martyrdome, and there with no leſſe conſtancie then pacience dyd ſuffer.

Aurelius, martyr.

Mappa cus, Martyr.

And thus much of yͤ tyrannie of thys wicked Decius agaynſt God hys ſaintes, now to touch alſo the power of God hys vengeaunce and puniſhment agaynſt him, like as we ſee commonlye a tempeſt that is vehement, not long to continue: ſo it happened with this tyrannicall tormentour, who reigning but.ij. yeares as ſayth Euſebius,or.iij.at moſte, as writeth Oroſius,among the midle of the Barbarians,with whom he dyd warre, was there ſlayne wͭ his ſonne,like as he had ſlayne Philippus and hys ſonne his predeceſſours before, ſo was he with hys ſonne ſlaine by the ryghteous iudgement of God himſelf. Euſeb.Lib.7.cap.1.Platin.Pomponius affyrmeth that he warring agaynſt the Gotthians, and being by them ouercome,leaſt he ſhoulde fall into theyr handes, ranne into a whurlepyt, where he was drowned, and his body neuer found after.

The de and deſt tion of De cius,

Oroſi 7.cap.

The iuſ uenge of god aga perſecu

Neither dyd the iuſte hand of God plage the Emperour onely,but alſo reuenged as well the heathen Gentiles and perſecutours of hys worde, through out all prouinces and dominions of the Romaine Monarchie, amongſt whom the Lord immediatly after the death of Decius, ſent ſuch a plage and peſtilence, laſting for the ſpace of.x.yeares together, that horrible it is to heare, and almoſt incredible to beleue. Of thys plage or peſtilence,teſtifieth Dionyſius to Hierax a biſhop in Egypt. Euſeb.Lib.7.cap.21.22. Where he declareth the mortalitie of thys plage to bee ſo greate in Alexandria, where he was Byſhop,that there was no houſe in the whole citie free. And although the greatnes of the plage touched alſo the Chriſtians ſomewhat, yet it ſcourged the heathen Idolaters much more: beſide that yͤ order of their behauiour in the one, and in yͤ other was much diuers. For,as the foreſayd Dionyſius doth recorde,the Chriſtians through brotherlie loue and pietie, dyd not refuſe one to viſite and comforte an other, and to miniſter to hym, what neede requyred. Notwithſtanding it was to them great daunger: for diuerſe there were, who in cloſing vp theyr eyes,in waſhing theyr bodyes, and interring them in the grounde, were nexte themſelues which followed them to theyr graues. Yet al this ſtayed not them from doing their duetie,and ſhewing mercye one to an other. Where as the Gentiles contrarilye, being extremelye viſited by the hande of God, felte the plage,but conſidered not the ſtriker, neyther yet conſidered they theyr neighbour, but euery man ſhifting for himſelf,neither cared for one nor for an other: but ſuch as were infected,ſome they would caſte out of the dores halfe dead,to be deuoured of dogges and wilde beaſtes, ſome they let dye within their houſes, without all ſuccour, ſome they ſuffered to lye vnburyed, for that no man durſte come nere them. And yet notwithſtanding for all their voyding and ſhifting,the peſtilence followed them,whether ſo euer they went,and miſerably conſumed them. In ſo much, that Dionyſius Byſhop the ſame tyme of Alexandria,thus reporteth of hys own citie: that ſuche a greate mortalitie was then amonge them,that the ſayd citie of Alexandria had not in number of all together, both olde and yeunge, as it was wonte to containe before of olde men onely, from the age of.xl.to.lxx. ſuch as were founde in tyme paſte, by common almoſte in that citie. Pomponius Lætus, and

The iuſ niſhmēt God vpon the Heat multitude for perſe ting hys people.

The bro therly lo and pietie mong the Chriſtians ſhewed in tyme of plage.

A terrible peſtilence raigning through the Roma Monarchy.

other latyn writers alſo making mencion of the ſayde peſtilitie,declare how the beginning thereof firſt came (as they thinke)out of Ethiope,and from the hot countries,and ſo inuading & waſting firſt the ſouth partes, from thence ſpred into the Eaſt,and ſo further rūnyng and increaſing into al other quarters of the world,eſpecially wherſoeuer the edictes of the Emperour went againſt the Chriſtians,it followed after, and conſumed the moſt part of the inhabitance,wherby manye places became deſolate and voyde of all concourſe,and ſo continued the terme of.x.yeares together.

Mappa
cus,
Martyr.

This peſtiferous mortality(by the occaſion wherof Cyprian tooke the ground to write his booke De mortalitate)began,as is ſayd,immediatly after the death of Decius the perſecutor,in the beginning of the raygne of Vibius Gallus,and Voluſianus his ſonne: who ſucceded throughe treaſon,next vnto Decius, aboute the yeare of our Lord.255.& continued their raigne but.ij. yeres. Thys Gallus although the firſt beginning of his raigne was ſomthing quiet, yet ſhortly after folowing ẏ ſteps of Decius,by whō rather he ſhould haue taken example,ſet forth edictes in like maner for the perſecution of Chriſtians,albeit in this edict we finde no nūber of Martyrs to haue ſuffered,but onely all this perſecution to reſt onely in the exilement of Biſhoppes or guides of the flocke. Of other ſufferinges or executions we do not reade: for the terrible peſtilence followyng immediatlye, kept the barbarous Heathen otherwyſe occupied. Vnto this time of Gallus, rather then to the time of Decius,I referre the baniſhment of Cyprian, who was thē biſhop of Carthage. Of the which baniſhment he hymſelfe teſtifieth in diuers of his epiſtles, declaring the cauſe therof to riſe vpon a commotion or ſedition among the people,out of the which he withdrew himſelfe,leaſt the ſedition ſhould grow greater. Notwōſtanding the ſayd Cypriā,though being abſent,yet had no leſſe care of his flocke and of the whole church, then if he had bene preſent wyth them. And therefore neuer ceaſed in his epiſtles continually to exhort, and call vpon them to be conſtant in their profeſſion, and pacient in their afflictions. Amongeſt diuers other, whom he doth comforte in hys baniſhment, although he was in that caſe to be comforted himſelfe, writing to certaine that were condemned to mynyng for metalls, whoſe names were Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius,with other Byſhops,prieſtes and deacons,declareth vnto them, howe it is no ſhame, but a glorye, not to be feared, but to be reioyced at,to ſuffer baniſhment, or other paynes for Chriſt. And confyrming them in the ſame,or rather cōmending them,ſignifieth, how worthely they do ſhewe themſelues,to be as valiaunt captaines of vertue, prouoking both by the confeſſions of theyr mouth, and by the ſuffering of theyr body,the hartes of the brethren to Chriſtian Martyrdome, whoſe example was and is a greate confirmation to many, both maides and children,to followe the lyke. As for puniſhment and ſuffering it is(ſayth he)a thing not execrable to a Chriſtian. For a Chriſtian mans breſt,whoſe hope doth wholy cōſiſt in the * tree,dreadeth neyther bat nor club: woūdes and ſkars of the body be ornamentes to a chriſten mā, ſuch as bring no ſhame nor diſhoneſty to the party, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines wher the mettals be digged, there be no beds for Chriſten mens bodies to take their reſt, yet they haue their reſt in Chriſt. And though their wearye bones lye vpon the cold ground,yet it is no pain to lye with Chriſt. Their feete haue bene fettered wyth bandes and chaynes:but happely is the bonde of man, whom the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: happelye doth he lye tyed in the ſtockes,whoſe feete therby are made ſwifter to runne to heauen. Neither can anye man tye a Chriſtian ſo faſt,but he runneth ſo muche the faſter for hys garland of lyfe. They haue no garmentes to ſaue thē from cold,but he that putteth on Chriſt,is ſufficientlye coated. Doth bread lacke to their hungry bodies? But man lyueth not onely by bread,but by euery word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (ſaith he)ſhall be turned to honor,your mourning to ioy,your payne to pleaſure and felicitye infinite. And if this doo greue you,that ye cannot now employ your ſacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner: yet your ſacrifice dayly ceaſeth not,which is a contrite and humble hart,and which offer vp dayly their bodies a lyuely and a glorious ſacrifice vnto the Lord,which is the ſacrifice that pleaſeth God. And though their trauayle be great,yet is the reward greater,which is moſt certayn to follow. For God beholding and looking downe vpon them that confeſſe his name,in their willing minde approueth them,in their ſtriuing helpeth them, in their victory crowning them,rewarding that in vs,which he hath perfourmed, and crowning that which he hath in vs perfected. With theſe & ſuchlike comfortable wordes he doth animate hys brethren,admoniſhing them, that they are now in a ioyfull iourney,haſting a pace to the manſions of the martyrs,ther to enioy after this darknes a ſtable light,and brightnes greater then all theyr paſſions,according to the Apoſtles ſaying: The ſufferinges of thys preſent tyme be nothing lyke comparable to the brightnes of the glorye that ſhall be reuealed in vs.&c.

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Oroſius
7.cap.

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The iuſt
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A terrible
peſtilence
raigning
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Cyprian
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.lib.3
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The Chriſtian mans ſacrifice.

And after like wordes of ſwete comfort and conſolation writing to Seagrius,and Rogatianus, whyche were in priſon and bondes for the teſtimonye of truth, doth incourage them to continue ſtedfaſt and pacient in the way,wherein they haue begun to runne,for that they haue the Lorde with them their helper and defender,who promiſed to be with vs to the worldes end:and therefore wylleth them to ſet before their eyes in theyr death immortality,in their payne euerlaſting glory, of the which it is writtē: Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his ſaintes. Item,althoughe before men they ſuffered tormentes,yet their hope is ful of immortalitie: and being vexed in ſmall thinges, they ſhall be wel requited in great matters. For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fyre. And writeth moreouer admoniſhing thē, ẏ it is ſo appointed from the beginning of the world,that righteouſnes here ſhould ſuffer & wring in ſecular conflictes,for ſo iuſt Abell was ſlayne in the beginning of the world,and after him al iuſt and good men,the Prophetes alſo & the Apoſtles ſent of the Lord himſelfe,vnto whom al,the Lord firſt gaue an example in himſelfe,teaching that there is no commyng to hys kingdome,but by that way,which he entred hym ſelfe, ſaying by theſe wordes: he that loueth hys lyfe in thys worlde,ſhall loſe it,&c. And agayne,feare ye not them, that ſlaye the bodye, but haue no power to ſlaye the ſoule. And S. Paule likewyſe admoniſhing all them, who ſo euer couite to bee partakers of the promiſes of the Lord,to followe the Lord, ſayth: if we ſuffer together with him,we ſhall reigne together,&c.

Cypria.lib. 4.
epiſt.1.
Seagrius,
Rogatianus.
Martyrs.

Sapien.3.

Furthermore as the ſame Cyprian doth encourage here the holy Martyrs,which were in captiuitie, to perſiſte: ſo lykewiſe writing to the Prieſtes and Deacons, which were free, exhorteth them to be ſeruiceable and obſequious with all care and loue to cheriſhe & embraſe them that were in bondes. Cypria.Lib.3.epiſt.6. whereby may appeare the feruent zeale and care of thys good Byſhop toward the Churche of Chriſt, although being nowe in exile, in the tyme of thys Emperour Gallus.

Cyprian.lib.3.
epiſt.6.

In the ſame tyme, and vnder the ſayd Gallus reigning with hys ſonne Voluſianus, was alſo Lucius Byſhop of Rome ſent to baniſhment, who nexte ſucceded after Cornelius in that Byſhoprike,aboute the yeare of our Lorde.256. Albeit in this baniſhment he dyd not

Lucius byſhop of Rome baniſhed.

An.256.

long continue,but returne againe home to his church, as by the epiſtle of S.Cyprian,lib.3.epiſt.1.may apeare. As to al other biſhops of Rome in thoſe primitiue daies certayne decretal epiſtles with ſeuerall ordinaunces be aſcribed,bearing their names and titles, as hath bene afore declared:ſo alſo hath Lucius one epiſtle fathered vpon him,in the which epiſtle, he writyng to yͤ brethren of Fraunce and of Spayne, appointeth ſuche an order and forme of the Church,as ſeemeth not to agree with the time then preſent: For ſo he decreeth in that epiſtle, that a Biſhoppe in all places,whether ſoeuer he goeth, ſhould haue.ij.Prieſtes,with.iij.Deacons wayting vpon him,to be wytneſſes of all hys wayes and doinges. Which ordinaunce although I deny not,but it may be and is conuenient:yet I ſee not how that tyme of Lucius could ſerue then;for a biſhop to cary ſuche a pompe of Prieſtes & Deacons about him, or to ſtudye for any ſuch matter:forſomuch as biſhops commonly in thoſe dayes wer ſeldom free to go abroad,went they neuer ſo ſecrete,but eyther wer in houſes cloſe and ſecrete,or in priſon,or els in baniſhmēt.Moreouer in the ſayd epiſtle how pompouſly he writeth of the church of Rome:This holy and apoſtolical church of Rome(ſayth hee) the mother of al churches of Chriſt,which by the grace of god omnipotent, hath neuer bene proued to ſwarue out of the pathe of Apoſtolical tradition,neither hath euer fallen,or bene depraued with hereticall innouations: but euen as in the firſt beginning it receaued the rule of the Apoſtolicall faith by his firſt inſtructers,the princes of the Apoſtles,ſo it continueth euer immaculate and vndefiled vnto the ende.

The epiſtle decretal of Lucius byſhop.

The ordināces of Lucius.

The cauſe why biſhops haue their chaplyns.

The pompous ſtyle of the church of Rom

Diſtinc.81. Miniſtri

Miniſters reſtreined from their own wyues.

Euſebius and Damaſus varye in tyme.

Lucius Byſhop of Rome, martyr.

Vnto this Lucius alſo is referred in the decrees of Gracian, this conſtitution,that no Miniſter what ſoeuer,after hys ordination,ſhould at anye tyme reentre to the chamber of hys owne wyfe,in payne of looſyng his miniſtery in the church.&c. Euſebius in his ſeuenth booke,making mencion of the death of Lucius, & not of his martyrdome,ſaith that he ſat but.viij.monethes. But Damaſus in his Martyrologe holdeth that he ſat iij.yeares,and was beheaded the ſecond yeare of Valerian,and Galienus Emperours.And ſo doth alſo Marianus,Scotus,and Nauclerus,with other that folow Damaſus, affirme the ſame.

Stephanus biſhop of Rome. Martyr.

The cenſure of the decretal Epiſtles and ordinances of Stephanus.

No byſhoppe ought to be accuſed, after hee be expulſed,before he be reſtored agayne.

After him came Stephanus next Biſhop of Rome, folowing Lucius:whom Damaſus,Platina, and Sabellicus affirme to haue ſit.vij.yeares,v.monethes,and to dye a Martyr. Contrarye Euſebius, and Volateranus holding with him,geue him but.ij.yeares: whyche part commeth moſte neare to the truth, I leaue to the Readers iudgement. Of his.ij.epiſtles decretall, and of his ordinaunces out of the ſame collected, I neede not much to tary,for.ij.reſpectes:either for that concerning theſe decretal epiſtles ſuſpiciouſly intituled to yͤ names of the fathers of the primitiue church,ſufficientlye hath bene ſaid before:or els becauſe both yͤ phraſe barbarous & incongrue,and alſo the matter it ſelfe therein contained is ſuche,that although no teſtimony came agaynſt it,yet it eaſely refelleth it ſelfe.As where in the ſeconde epiſtle he decreeth:that no biſhop beyng expulſed out of his ſeate,or depriued of his goods,ought to bee accuſed of any,or is boūd to anſwer for himſelfe,before yͤ by the law regularly he be reſtored agayne fully to his former ſtate,and that the Primates and the Synode render to him agayne all ſuch poſſeſſions and fruites, as wer taken from him before his accuſation,as is agreing both to the lawes canon,and alſo ſecular. Firſt here I wold deſire the Reader a litle to ſtay,and this to cōſider with him ſelfe,who be theſe here ment, which eyther vſed or might deſpoyle theſe biſhops of their goods,and expulſe them from their ſeates,for ſuche wrongfull cauſes,but onelye Kynges and Emperours, whyche at thys tyme were not yet Chriſtened,nor vſed any ſuch procedings againſt theſe Biſhops,in ſuch ſort as eyther Primates or Synodes could reſtore them agayne to their places and poſſeſſions.Againe,what priuate goods or poſſeſſions had biſhops then to be taken from them,when as churches yet neither wer indued with patrimonies nor poſſeſſiōs.And if any treaſures were committed to the Churche,it partained not properlye to the Biſhop, but went in generall to the ſubuention of the poore in the Church,as in the epiſtle of Cornelius to Fabius maye appeare,alledged in Euſebius,lib.6.cap. 43. where he ſpeaking of his church,and declaring how there ought to be but one biſhop in the ſame, inferreth mention of xlvj.Prieſtes,vij.Deacons,with.7.Subdeacons,xlij.Acoluthes,of widowes and poore affliced perſons to the number of a.1500.and aboue,founde and nouriſhed in the ſame church,by the mercyful benignity and prouidence of God,Euſebius,lib.6.cap.43. It foloweth more in the ende of the ſaid Canon,which thing is forbidden both by the lawes eccleſiaſticall, and alſo ſeculare.&c. Now what lawes ſecular were in yͤ time of Stephan, for biſhops not to be charged wͭ any accuſation, before they were reſtored agayne to their ſtate, let any reader marking well the ſtate of the Heathen lawes that then were,iudge:and in iudging,I doubt not but thys matter alone,though there were no other, wyll be inoughe to diſcrye the vntruth hereof.

The n… ber of… poore… at Ro… the c… good…

Moreouer,by diuers other probable notes and argumentes in the ſayd ſecond epiſtle of Stephanus, it may be eaſely eſpyed,thys epiſtle to bee fayned and myſautored:eſpecially by the fyft Canon of the ſayde epiſtle, where hee ſo ſolemlye entreateth of the difference betwene Primates,Metropolitanes,and Archbyſhoppes, which diſtinction of degrees and titles, ſauering more of ambition,then of perſecution, geueth me verelye to ſuppoſe this epiſtle not to be written by thys Stephen, but by ſome other man,either of that name, or of ſome other tyme,when the church began to be ſatled in more proſperitie,and orders therin to be taken, for euery mā to know his degree and limites of his autoritye, according as is ſpecified by the ſixt and ſeuēth Canon of Nicene councel,decreing of the ſame matter.

Prima… Metro… tanes,… biſho…

The like eſtimation maye bee conceiued alſo of the ſeuenth canon of the ſayd epiſtle:where he wylleth and appointeth al cauſes iudiciarie to be deciſed and determined within the precinct of the own proper prouince,& not to paſſe ouer the boundes thereof, vnleſſe(ſayth he) the appeale bee made to the Apoſtolicall ſea of Rome: which ſauoreth in my noſe,rather of a ſmacke of popery,then of the veyne of Chriſtianitye,eſpeciall in theſe times,during this terrible perſecution among the byſhops of Chriſt. And thus much of the ſecond decretall epiſtle of Stephanus: althoughe of the firſt Epiſtle alſo written to Hilarius,ſomething may be ſayde,as where he ſpeaketh in the ſayd epiſtle of holye veſtmentes, and holy veſſels,and other ornaments of the aulter,ſeruing to diuine worſhip,and therefore not to bee touched nor handled of ani man,ſauing of prieſts alone.Cōcerning al which implementes,my opinion is this, that I think yͤ church of Rome not to haue bene in ſo good ſtate thē, that eyther Stephanus or Sixtus before him beyng occupied aboute other more earneſt matters, and ſcarſe able to hide their own heades,had anye minde or cogitation to ſtudy vpon ſuch vnneceſſarye inuentions,ſeruing in publicke churches. Neither do I ſee howe the Heathen in thoſe dayes would haue ſuffered theſe ornamentes to be vnconſumed,which woulde not ſuffer the biſhops them ſelues to lyue amongeſt them. Notwythſtanding Iſidorus and Polydorus iudgeth the contrarye. Betwene thys Stephen,and Cyprian Byſhop of Carthage was a great contention, about rebaptiſyng of heretickes,whereof more hereafter (Chriſt wyllyng) ſhall be ſayde.

Law… appea… Rom…

Veſt… and h… veſſel… uyng… the au…

Beſide

hops ba hed in time of llus.

Beſide theſe Biſhops aboue ſpecified, diuers other there were alſo ſent into baniſhment vnder the forenamed Emperours Galius and Voluſianus, as appeareth by Dionyſius writing to Hermãmõ, on this wyſe: that Gallus not ſeing the euyl of Decius, nor foreſeing the occaſion of hys ſeduction and ruine, ſtumbled alſo himſelfe at the ſame ſtone, lying open before hys eyes. For at the firſt beginning when his Empire went proſperouſlye forwarde, and al thinges went luckelye with him, afterward he draue out holy men which prayd for his peace and ſafegarde, and ſo with them reiected alſo the prayers which they made for hym. &c. Euſebius. lib. 7. cap. 1. Otherwiſe of any bloodſhed, or any martyrs that in the tyme of this Emperour were put to death, we do not reade.

llus and luſianus perours yne. ilianus peror. 3. nethes. lerianus Galienus s ſonne perours ſecution ſed for a ne.

After the raygne of which Emperour Gallus and of his ſonne Voluſianus, being expired, who raygned but .ij. yeares: Emelianus which ſlewe them both by ciuill ſedition, ſucceeded in their place, who raygned but iij. monethes, and was alſo ſlayne. Next to whom Valerianus, and hys ſonne Galienus were aduaunced to the Empyre.

About the chaunging of theſe Emperours, the perſecution which firſt beganne at Decius, and afterward ſlaked in the tyme of Gallus, was nowe extinguiſhed for a tyme, partlye for the great plage raygning in all places, partlye by the chaunge of the Emperours, although it was not verye long. For Valerianus in the firſt entraunce of the Empire for the ſpace of iij. or iiij. yeares, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted to the Senate. Neyther was there anye of all the Emperours before hym, no not of them which openly profeſſed Chriſte, that ſhewed hymſelfe ſo louing and familiar towarde the Chriſtians as he dyd: in ſomuch that (as Dionyſius writing to Herman doth teſtifye) all his whole court was repleniſhed with holy ſayntes and ſeruauntes of Chriſt, and godly perſons, ſo that his houſe myght ſeeme to bee made a church of God. But by the malice of Sathan, throughe wycked counſayle theſe quiet dayes endured not verye long. For in proceſſe of tyme thys Valerianus beyng charmed or incenſed by a certayne Egyptian, a chiefe ruler of the Heathen Synagog of the Egiptiãs, a maiſter of the Charmers or inchaunters, who in dede was troubled, for that he could not doo his magicall feates for the Chriſtians, was ſo farre infatuated and bewitched, that throughe the deteſtable prouocations of that deuiliſh Egyptian, he was wholy turned vnto abhominable Idoles, and to execrable impietie, in ſacrifiſyng young infants, and quartering their bodies, and deuiding the intrals of children newe borne: and ſo proceeding in his fury, moued the eyght perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, whom the wycked Egyptian coulde not abyde, as beyng the hynderers and deſtroyers of hys magical enchauntings, about the yeare of the lord. 259

he good gynning Valerian

Diony citãte ſeb. lib. cap. 10. Nicep. .6.c. 10

Wycked unſeyle hat euyll doth.

¶ The eight perſecution.

he 8. perſecution. 259.

IN the which perſecution the chiefe adminiſters and executours were Emilianus Preſident of Egypt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus Proconſuls in Aphrica. Bergomenſis alſo maketh mẽcion of Paternus Vicegerent of Rome, & of Perennius. Vincentius ſpeaketh alſo of Nicetius, and Claudius Preſidents. &c.

he chiefe ecutours thys perſecution

he ſpecial uſes of ys perſection

pria. lib epiſt. 4.

What was the chiefe original cauſe of this perſecution, partly is ſignified before, wher mẽcion was made of the wicked Egyptian. But as this was the outward and political cauſe: ſo S. Cyprian ſheweth other cauſes more ſpecial, and eccleſiaſticall, in his fourth booke, Epiſtle. 4. whoſe wordes be theſe: But we (ſayth he) muſt vnderſtand and confeſſe, that this turbulent oppreſſion and calamitie, which hath waſted for the moſt part all our whole companye, and doth daylye conſume, ryſeth chieflye of our owne wyckednes and ſynnes: whyle we walke not in the way of the Lord, nor obſerue hys preceptes left vnto vs for our inſtitution. The Lord obſerued the wyll of his father in all pointes: but we obſerue not the wyl of the Lord, hauing all our mynde and ſtudy ſet vpon lucre and poſſeſſions, geuen to pride, full of emulation and diſcention, voide of ſimplicity and faithful dealyng, renouncing this world in word onely, but nothing in deede, euery man pleaſing himſelf, & diſpleaſing all other. And therfore are we thus ſcourged, and worthely. For what ſtripes and ſcourges do we not deſerue, when the confeſſours themſelues (ſuche as haue byd the triall of their confeſſion) and ſuche as ought to be an example to the reſt of well doing, do kepe no diſcipline? And therfore becauſe ſome ſuch there be, proudly puft vp with this ſwelling and vnmanerly bragging of their confeſſion, theſe tormentes come: ſuche as doo not eaſely ſend vs to the crowne, except by the mercy of God, ſome being taken away by quicknes of death, doo preuent the tediouſnes of puniſhment. Theſe thinges do we ſuffer for our ſynnes and deſertes, as by the lords cenſure we haue bene forewarned, ſaying: If they ſhall forſake my law, and wil not walke in my iudgements: If they ſhal prophane my iuſtifications, and wyll not obſerue my preceptes, I wyl viſit their iniquities wyth the rod, and their tranſgreſſions with ſcourges. Theſe rods & ſcourges (ſaith he) we feele, which neyther pleaſe God in our good deedes, nor repent in our euill deedes. Wherfore the ſayde Cyprian, adding thys exhortacion with all: exhorteth them to praye and intreate from the bottome of their hart & whole minde, the mercy of God which promiſeth, ſaying: but yet my mercy I will not ſcatter frõ them. &c. Let vs aſke, & we ſhall obtaine, and though (ſaith Cypriã) it be with tariance, yet forſomuch as we haue grieuouſly offẽded, let vs cõtinue knocking, for to him that knocketh, it ſhalbe opened, if our praiers ſighinges, and weepinges knocke ſtil at the doore with continuaunce, and if our prayers be ioyned together with brotherly agreement. &c.

The ſynnes of the Chriſtians cauſe of perſecution

Moreouer, what vices were then principallye raygning among the Chriſtians, he further ſpecifieth in the ſayd epiſtle: which chiefly were diuiſion and diſſenſion among the brethren. For whẽ it was ſpoken to them in a viſion, by theſe woords: Petite & impetrabilis, that is: Pray, and ye ſhall obtayne, afterward it was required of the congregacion ther preſent, to direct their praiers, for certayne perſons aſſygned to them by name: but they could not agree and condeſcende al together of the names and perſons of them whych they ſhoulde praye for, but were diſſonant in their conſent and petition: which thing (ſayth Cyprian) did greatly diſpleaſe hym, that ſpake vnto them: Pray, and ye ſhall obtayne, for that there was no vniforme equality of voice and hart, nor no ſimple and ioynt concord among the brethren, wherof it is wrytten in the Pſalme. 67. God which maketh to dwel in the houſe together men of one accord. &c And ſo by the occaſiõ hereof he writeth vnto thẽ the foreſaid Epiſtle, & moueth thẽ to praier & mutual agremẽt. For (ſaith he) if it be promiſed in the Goſpel, to be grãted what ſo euer any two cõſenting together ſhal aſke, what then ſhall the whole church do agreing together? or what if thys vnanimitie wer among yͤ whole fraternitie? Which vnanimitye (ſayth Cyprian) if it had bene then among the brethren, non veniſſent fratribus hæc mala, ſi in vnum fraternitas fuiſſet animata, that is: theſe euils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had ioyned together in brotherly vnanimity. &c.

Diſcord and diuiſion amonge the brethren.

Pſal. 67.

After the cauſes thus declared of this or other perſecutions, the ſayd S. Cyprian moreouer in the forenamed epiſtle (worthy to be red of all men) deſcribeth likewiſe a certayne viſion, wherin was ſhewed vnto them by the Lord, before the perſecution came, what ſhould

A viſion foreſhewing perſecution to come

Cyprian. lib. 4 epiſt. 4.

happen. The viſion was this: There was a certayne aged father ſitting, at whoſe right hand ſat a yong man verye ſad and penſiue, as one with an indignacion ſorowfull, holding hys hande vpon his breſt, his countenaunce heauy and vncherefull. On the left hand ſat an other perſon, hauing in his hand a net, which he threatned to lay to catch the people ẏ ſtoode about. And as he was marueiling that ſaw the ſight therof, it was ſayde vnto him: The young man whom thou ſeeſt ſyt on the right hand, is ſad and ſory, that his preceptes be not obſerued. But he on the left hand daunceth and is merye for that occaſion is geuen him to haue power of the aged father geuen hym to afflict men. And this viſion was ſene long before this tempeſt of perſecution happened. Wherin is declared the ſame that before is ſaid, the ſynnes of the people to bee the cauſe why Satan in this perſecution and all other, hath had and hath ſtyll ſuch power with his net of deſtruction, to rage againſt the blood of Chriſten men, and al becauſe (ſayth Cyprian) we forſlacke our praying, or be not ſo vigilant therin as we ſhould: wherfore the Lorde becauſe hee loueth vs, correcteth vs, correcteth vs, to amende vs, amendeth vs to ſaue vs. ⁊c. Cypria.

Our ſyns geue Satan power againſt vs,

Furthermore, the ſame Cyprian, and in the ſame epiſtle, writing of his owne reuelacion or meſſage ſent to him, thus ſaith: And to his leaſt ſeruant both ſynfull and vnworthy (meaning by him ſelfe) God of his tender goodnes hath vouchedſafe to direct this word. Tel hym ſaith he, that he be quiet and of good comfort, for peace wil come. Albeit a litle ſtay there is for a while, for that ſome remayne yet to be proued and tryed. ⁊c. And ſheweth alſo in the ſame place of an other reuelation of his, wherein he was admoniſhed to be ſpare in his feedyng, and ſober in hys drinke, leaſt his mynde geuen to heauenly meditacion might be caryed awaye wyth worldlye allurementes, or oppreſſed with to muche ſurfyt of meates and drinkes, ſhould be leſſe apt or able to prayer and ſpirituall exerciſe.

An other reuelation ſhewed to S. Cyprian.

Spare diet & ſober drinke conuenient in chriſten biſhops.

Finally in the latter ende of the foreſayde Epiſtle, mencion alſo followeth of other reuelacions or ſhewinges, wherein the Lord (ſaith Cyprian) doth voutchſafe in many of his ſeruauntes to forſhew to come the reſtauring of his Churche, the ſtable quiet of our health ⁊ ſafegard, after rayn faire weather, after darknes light, after ſtormy tempeſt, peaceable calme, the fatherly help of his loue, the wont and old glory of his diuine maieſty wherby both the blaſphemye of the perſecutors ſhall be repreſſed, and the repentaunce of ſuch as haue fallen be reformed, and the ſtrong and ſtable confidence of them that ſtand, ſhal reioyce and glory. Thus muche hath S. Cyprian, wryting of theſe thynges to the Cleargye. Lib. 4. epiſt. 4.

The peace of the church to come, forſhewed by the lord.

As touching now the crimes and accuſations in this perſecution layd to the charge of the Chriſtians, thys was the principal, firſt becauſe they refuſed to do worſhip to their idoles and to the Emperours: then for that they profeſſed the name of Chriſt. Beſides, all the calamities and euyls that happened in the world, as wars, famine, ⁊ peſtilence, were onely imputed to the Chriſtians. Agaynſt all which quareling accuſations Cyprian doth eloquenly defende the Chriſtians in his booke Cōtra Demetrianum: Like as Tertullian had done before writing Contra Scapulam, pag. 81. And firſt touching the obiection for not woorſhipping Idoles, he cleareth the Chriſtians both in his booke Contra Demetr. and alſo De vanitate idol prouing thoſe idols to be no true gods, but images of certaine dead kings, which neither could ſaue them ſelues from death, nor ſuch as worſhip them. The true God to be but one, and that by the teſtimony of Soſthenes, Plato, and Triſmegiſtus, the which God the Chriſtians do truly woorſhip. And as concerning that ẏ Chriſtians were thought to be cauſes of publicke calamities, becauſe they woorſhipped not the Gentiles idoles, he purgeth the Chriſtians therof, prouing that if there be any defect in increaſe of thinges, it is not to be aſcribed to them, but rather to the decreaſe of nature, languiſhing now towardes her age and latter ende. Agayne, for that it hath bene ſo foreſaid and prophecied, that toward the end of the world ſhould come warres, famine, and peſtilence. Moreouer, if there be any cauſe therof more proper then other, it is moſt like to bee imputed to their vaine idolatrye, and to the contempt of the true God. Alſo, that ſuche euils bee increaſed by the wickednes of the people, ſo that to ſpeake in hys owne wordes famem maiorem faciat rapacitas, quam ſiccitas, i. famine cōmeth more by auarice of men, thē by drought of the ayre, but eſpecially the cauſe thereof to procede of the cruell ſhedding of the innocent blood of the Chriſtians. ⁊c.

Crimes & cauſes fallely layd to the chriſtiās

The Apologye of Cyprian for the Chriſtians.

Cypria. contra Demetrium.

Cypria. de idolorū vanitate.

Thus with many other mo probations doth Cyprian defend the Chriſtians, againſt the barbarous exclamations of the heathen Gentiles. Of whiche Cyprian forſomuch as he ſuffred in the time of this perſecution, I mynde (Chriſt wylling) to recapitulate here in ample diſcourſe, the ful ſumme firſt of his lyfe and bryngyng vp, then of his death and martyrdome, as the woorthynes of that man deſerueth to be remembred. Of thys Cyprian therfore, otherwiſe named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Iacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Ieronymus, and other, that he being an Aphrican, and borne in Carthage, firſt was an Idolater and Gentill, all together geuen to the ſtudye and practiſe of the Magicall artes, of whoſe parentage ⁊ education in letters from his youth, no mencion is made, but that he was a worthy Rethorician in Aphrica. Of whoſe conuerſion and baptiſme he himſelfe in his firſt booke and ſecond epiſtle, writeth a floriſhing and eloquent hiſtorye. Which his conuerſion vnto the Chriſtian fayth, as Ieronymus affirmeth in hys Commentary vpon Ionas, was through the grace of God, and the meanes of Cecilius a Prieſt, whoſe name after he bare, and through the occaſion of hearing the hiſtory of the prophet Ionas. The ſame Hierome moreouer teſtifieth how he immediately vpon his conuerſion, diſtributed among the poore al his ſubſtance, and after that being ordayned a prieſt, was not long after conſtituted biſhop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he ſucceded Agrippinus of whō he oftē maketh mētion which alſo was ẏ fyrſt author of rebaptization, or ſome other biſhop of Carthage, remayneth vncertayne. But this is moſt true, he himſelf ſhined in that his office and dignity with ſuch godlye giftes, and vertues, that Nazianzenus writeth that hee had the gouernment of the whole Eaſt church, and church of Spayne, and was called the biſhop of the Chriſtian men.

And to the further ſetting forth to the prayſe of God, of his godly vertues wherewith he was indued, appearing as wel in his own workes, to thē ẏ lyſt peruſe the ſame, as alſo deſcribed by other worthy writers, he was curteous and gentle, louing and full of pacience, and ther withall ſharpe and ſeuere in his office, accordyng as the cauſe required, as appeareth in hys firſt booke ⁊ third epiſtle. Furthermore, he was moſt louing ⁊ kinde towardes his brethren, and tooke muche payne in helping and releiuing the martyrs, as it appeareth by hys letters to the Elders and Deacons of his byſhopricke, that with al ſtudy and indeuour they ſhould gently entertaine and ſhewe pleaſure vnto the Martyrs in hys abſence, as partly is touched before, pag. 95.

The thirde Epiſtle of his firſt booke doth declare of what ſtomacke and godlye courage hee was, in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neyther was he voyde of prudence and circumſpection, but was adorned with marueilous modeſtye, whereby he attempted

nothing

he mode ye of Cy- ian in cō rrig with s fellowe ethren.

nothing vpon his own head and iudgement, but wyth the conſent of his fellow biſhoppes and other inferiour miniſters, and that chiefly (among others) doth the. 10. epiſtle of his third booke wytnes. He was of a marueylous liberal diſpoſition towards the poore brethren of other countries, for ſo often as he had cauſe of abſence, he committed the care of thoſe poore men to his fellowe officers, and wrote vnto them, that of their own proper goods they would helpe the baniſhed brethren, to that which was neceſſary for them, as witneſſeth the. xxiiii. epiſtle of his third booke. He reciteth (amōg other giftes wherwith he was indued) as touching the viſions and heauenly admonicions of the perſecutions that ſhoulde follow, and of other matters touching the gouernment of the church in his firſt boke and third epiſtle, & fourth booke and fourth epiſtle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the forme or maner of a certayne viſion, which we haue before ſufficiently expreſſed.

iſions cō rning the oubles & eace of the hurch, reci d and ex- oūded by ypriā, be re pag. 97

Cyprian meeke and pacient.

He had moreouer great ſkil in the foreknowledge of thinges that ſhould chaunce, as maye bee gathered by the ſyxt epiſtle of his fourth booke. Alſo Auguſtine doth attribute vnto him many worthy vertues, which writeth much in ſetting forth his giftes of humilitye, in hys ſecond booke of baptiſme, the fourth chapter, agaynſte the Donatiſtes, and in his ſeuenth booke and. xi. chapter, of his long ſufferance and pacience. Alſo of his curteſy and meekenes, by which vertues he concealed nothing that he vnderſtood, but vttered the ſame meekely and paciently. Alſo, that he kept the eccleſiaſticall peace and concord with thoſe that were of an other opinion, then he was of: laſtly, that he neither circumuēted nor did preiudice to any mā, but followed that thing which ſeemed good in his iudgement, is manifeſt in S. Auguſtine his fift booke, De baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas. Neither is this to be paſſed with ſcilence, that Hierom writeth that he was very diligent in reading, eſpecially the workes of Tertulian. For he ſayth that he ſawe a certaine old man whoſe name was Paulus, which tolde him he ſaw the Notary of bleſſed Cyprian, being then an old man, when he himſelfe was but a ſpringal in the City of Rome, and told him that it was Cypriās wont neuer to let one day paſſe without ſome reading of Tertulian, and that he was accuſtomed often times to ſaye vnto him: geue me my maſter, meaning thereby Tertulyan.

Cyprian a great reder of Tertuliā

Now a few wordes touching his exile and martyrdome. Of his epiſtles which hee wrote backe to his congregacion, leading his life in exile, mencion is made aboue, wherin he ſheweth the vertue beſeeming a faythful paſtor, in that he tooke no leſſe care, as well of hys own church, as of other biſhops being abſent, then he did being preſent. Wherin alſo he himſelfe doth ſignify that voluntary he abſented himſelfe, leaſt he ſhould doo more hurt then good to the congregacion, by reaſon of his preſence, as is likewiſe declared before. Thus from the deſolate places of his baniſhment, wherein hee was oftentimes ſought for, he writeth vnto his brethren: as in hys third booke and tenth epiſtle is manifeſt, whiche thing ſemeth to be done in the raygne of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned agayne out of exile, in the raygne of thys Valerianus, he was alſo after that the ſecond time baniſhed of Paternus the Proconſull of Aphrica, into the citye of Thurbin, as the oration of Auguſtine touching Cyprian ſheweth, or els as Pontius the Deacon ſayth, into a city named Furabilitana, or Curabilitana. But when Paternus the Proconſull was dead, Galyenus Maximus ſucceeded in the roume and office of Paternus: who finding Cyprian in a garden, cauſed him to be apprehended by his Sergeantes, and to bee brought before the Idoles, to offer ſacrifice: which when he wold not do, then ẏ Proconſul breaking forth in theſe wordes ſayd: Long haſt thou lyued in a ſacrilegious mynde, and haſt gathered together men of wicked conſpiracy, and haſt ſhewed thy ſelfe an enemy to the Gods of the Romaines, and to their holye lawes: neither coulde the ſacrete Emperours Valerianus and Galienus reuoke thee to the ſect of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyrant condemning him to haue hys head cut of, he paciently and willinglye ſubmitted hys necke to the ſtroke of the ſwoord (as Hieronimus affirmeth.) And ſo this bleſſed Martyr ended this preſēt life in the Lord, Xiſtus thē being biſhop of Rome, as Euſebius noteth, in the yeare of our Lord. 259. Sabellicus ſaith that he was martyred in the raygne of Gallus & Voluſianus, Lucius being biſhop of Rome, but that ſemeth not like.

The ſecond baniſhmēt of Cyprian

The apprehenſion of Cyprian.

The martyrdō of Cyprian.

The bookes of Cyprian.

Now remaineth to ſpeake ſomthing likewiſe of hys workes and bookes left behinde him, although al perauenture do not remaine that he wrote: wherof ſome are myſſing, ſome againe which go in the lyuerye of hys name and title, are not his: but ſuch as be certainly his by the ſtile and ſence may ſoone be diſcerned. Suche is the eloquēce of his phraſe, and grauity of his ſentence, vigor of wit, power in perſwaſion, ſo muche differing from many other, as he can lightlye be imitated but of few. Of the which his bookes with vs extant, as the floriſhing eloquence is worthely commended, proceedyng out of the ſchole of Rhetoricians, ſo is the autority therof no leſſe in reputation, not onelye among vs of thys age of the church, but alſo among the auncient fathers. Wherof S. Auſten ſpeaking of his cōmendacion ſaith: Ego, inquit, literas Cypriani non vt canonicas habeo, ſed eas ex canonicis conſidero: & quod in eis diuinarum ſcripturarum autoritati cōgruit cum laude eius accipio: quod autem non congruit, cum pace eius reſpuo. &c. By which wordes it maye appeare that Auſten, althoughe he dyd not repute the bookes and writinges of Cyprian to be equiualent with the holye ſcripture, yet notwithſtanding next after the ſcriptures he had the ſame in great admiration.

The iudgemēt of Auſten vpō the bookes of Cyprian. *Auſt. contra Creſconium. lib. 2. cap. 32.*

Vincentius, and Laziardus Celeſtinus, reciting the names of diuers bookes, bearing the title of Cyprian (mo perchaunce thē be truly his) do collect out of them a certaine extract of his moſt pithy ſētences, al which here to repeate were to tedious. To geue a taſte of certayne of the ſpeciall, I thought it not impertinent. As wher he ſpeaking of the treaſures of a rich mā, exhorteth ſaying:

Sentēces of Cyprian collected *Ex Vincēt. lib 12. cap. 63.*

Ne dormiat in theſauris tuis, quod pauperi prodeſſe poteſt

Let it not ſleepe in thy treaſures, ẏ may profit ẏ poore.

Duo nunquam veteraſcunt in homine, cor ſemper nouas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo. i.

Two thinges neuer ware old in man, the hart euer in imagining new cogitations, the tong euer in vttering the vaine conceptions of the hart.

Quod aliquando de neceſſitate, amittēdum eſt, ſponte pro diuina remuneratione diſtribuendum eſt. i.

That which a man muſt needes forgo of neceſſitye, wyſdome it is a man to diſtribute ſo, that God may euerlaſtingly reward him.

Diſciplina eſt morum præſentium ordinata correctio, & malorum præteritorum regularis obſeruatio. i.

Diſcipline is an ordinate amendment of maners preſent, and a regular obſeruation of euyls paſt.

Integritas ibi nulla eſſe poteſt, vbi qui improbos damnēt, deſunt: & ſoli qui damnentur, occurrunt.

There can bee no integritye, where as they whiche ſhould condemne the wicked are euer wanting: and they onely which are to be condēned, are euer preſēt.

Auari ad hoc tantum poſſident, quæ habent, vt ne alteri poſſidere liceat.

A couetous man onely poſſeſſeth his goods for thys, becauſe an other man ſhould not poſſeſſe them.

Sericum & purpuram indutæ, Chriſtum induere nō poſſūt

Wemen that aduaunce them ſelues in putting on ſilkes and purple, cannot lightly put on Chriſt.

Feminæ crines ſuos inficiūt malo præſagio: Capillos enim ſibi flammeos auſpicari non metuunt.

They which coulour their lockes with red & yelow, beginne by tyme to pronoſticate, of what coulour their heades ſhalbe in hell.

Qui ſe pingunt in hoc ſeculo, aliter quam creauit deus, metuant ne cum reſurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam ſuam non recognoſcat.

They which loue to paynt them ſelues in this world otherwiſe thē God hath created them: let them fear, leaſt when the day commeth of reſurrection, the creator wyl not know them.

Qui pauperi eleemoſinā dat, deo ſuauitatis odorē ſacrificat

He that geueth an almes to the poore, ſacrificeth to God an odour of ſweete ſmell.

Contemnenda eſt omnis iniuria præſentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

All iniury of euils preſent is to be neglected, for the good hope of good thinges to come.

Nihil prodeſt verbis proferre virtutem, & factis deſtruere.

To ſet out vertue in wordes, and to deſtroy the ſame in factes, is nothing woorth.

Quo plures domi ſint tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum, ſed erogandum eſt, quia multorum iam delicta redimenda ſunt, multorum purgandæ conſcientiæ.

The mo children and greater houſhold thou haſt at home, the more cauſe thou haſt not to hoorde vp, but to diſperſe abroad, for that manye ſynnes are to be redeemed, many conſciences are to be purged.

The place of ſcripture expoūded: Eleemoſyna ab omni peccato et morte liberat. Tob 4. *Ex Cypri. lib. 4. epiſt. 2.*

¶ Moreouer, leaſt the Papiſts here ſhould take an occaſion by this text, groūded vpon the text of Tobi, cap. 4. Almoſe (ſayth he) deliuereth from al ſynne and death: to build vp the workes of ſatiſfaction, the ſayd Cyprian lib. 4. epiſt. 2. more playnlye expoundeth both hym ſelfe, & that place of ſcripture, writing in theſe woordes: Quia ſcriptum eſt, Eleemoſyna ab omni peccato, & a morte liberat. Tob. 4. non vtique ab ea morte, quam ſemel Chriſti ſanguis extinxit, et a qua nos ſalutaris baptiſmi & redemptoris noſtri gratia liberauit, ſed ab illa quæ per delicta poſtmodum ſerpit. &c. That is: Almoſe doth deliuer from al ſynne, and from death, Tob. 4. not from that (ſaith Cyprian) which the blood of Chriſt hath once extincted, and from which the wholſome grace of our baptiſme, and of our redeemer hath deliuered vs, but from that death which afterward creepeth in by ſynne. &c. Cypria. lib. 4. epiſt. 2. by whiche woordes it is apparent, that Cyprian meaneth, this deliueraunce which commeth by almoſe geuing from death and ſynne, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death euerlaſting, from which onely the blood of Chriſt doth ſaue vs: but for temporal or tranſitory puniſhment which is wont to bee inflicted in thys body for ſinne. For ſo it is nothing repugnant, but that temporal vertues may haue her temporall rewardes in this life, and likewiſe ſinnes committed may haue temporall puniſhmentes, both in vs and in our families, our eternal ſaluatiō ſtanding euermore firme in Chriſt yet notwithſtanding.

The foreſayd Vincentius moreouer ſpeaking of an other booke of Cyprian (although the ſayd booke be not numbred in the Cataloge of his workes) maketh mencion of .xij. abuſes, or abſurdities in the life of man, which in order be theſe:

Twelue abuſes in the lyfe of man, noted out of Cyprian.

1. Sapiens ſine operibus. A wiſe man wout good workes.
2. Senex ſine religione. An old man wythout religion.
3. Adoleſcens ſine obedientia. A yong mā wout obediēce.
4. Diues ſine eleemoſyna. A ritch man without almoſe.
5. Fœmina ſine pudicitia. A woman ſhameleſſe.
6. Dominus ſine virtute. A guide without vertue.
7. Chriſtianus contentioſus. A Chriſtian man contētious
8. Pauper ſuperbus. A poore man proud.
9. Rex iniquus. A king vnrighteous.
10. Epiſcopus negligens. A biſhop negligent.
11. Plebs ſine diſciplina. People without diſcipline.
12. Populus ſine lege. Subiectes without law.

The le ning of prian is ned wy his bles ſhes.

The fa of papi to make much of uery thi

As I haue hitherto ſet forth the commendacion of Cyprian this bleſſed Martyr: ſo muſt we now take hede againe, that we do not here incurre the old and cōmon daunger, which the Papiſtes are commonlye accuſtomed to runne into, whoſe fault is alwaies almoſt to be immoderate and exceſſiue in their procedings, making to much almoſt of euerye thing. So in ſpeaking of the holye ſacramentes, they make more of them then doth the nature of Sacraments require, not vſing them, but abuſing thē, not referring or applying thē, but adoring them, not taking thē in their kinde for thinges godly as thei are, but taking them for God himſelf, turning religion into ſuperſtition, & the creature to the creator, the things ſignifieng, to the things them ſelues ſignified. &c. To the church likewiſe, & ceremonies of the churche, to general councels, to the bleſſed virgin Mary mother of Chriſt, to ẏ biſhop of Rome, & to al other in like caſe, not contented to attribute that which is ſufficient, they exceede moreouer the bondes of iudgement and veritye, iudging ſo of the church, & general councels, as though they could neuer, nor did euer erre in any iot. That the bleſſed mother of Chriſt amongeſt al women was bleſſed, and a virgin ful of grace, the ſcripture & truth doth geue: but to ſay that ſhe was borne without all original ſynne, or to make of her an aduocate, or mother of mercy, there they runne further then truth wil beare. The ceremonies were firſt ordayned to ſerue but onelye for order ſake, vnto ẏ which they haue attributed ſo muche at length, that they haue ſet in them a great part of our religion, yea and alſo ſaluation. And what thing is ther els almoſt, wherin the Papiſtes haue not exceeded?

Howe fa the auto of the do tors oug to exte

The ble ſhes and rors of d tors no Origen.

Polycarpus.

Ignatius

Ireneus.

Wherfore to auoyde this common errour of the papiſtes, wee muſt beware in commending the Doctors & writers of the church, & ſo commende them, that truth and conſideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denyed, but that holye Cyprian and other bleſſed Martyrs were holy men, yet notwithſtanding they were men, that is, ſuche as might haue, & had their falles & faultes, men I ſay, and not Angels, nor Gods, ſaued by God, not ſauiours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were alſo men of excellent learning, and worthy Doctors, yet with their learning they had their errours alſo annexed. And thoughe their bookes be (as they ought to be) of great autoritie, yet ought they not to be equal with the ſcriptures. And albeit they ſayd wel in moſt things: yet it is not therefore inoughe, that what they ſayde, it muſt ſtande for a truth. That preeminence of autoritye onelye belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and doctors, be they neuer ſo famous, ther is none that is voyd of his reprehenſion. In Origene (although in his time the admiration of his learning was ſingular) yet how manye thinges be there, which the churche nowe holdeth not? but examining him by ſcriptures, where he ſayd well, they admit him, where otherwyſe, they leaue him. In Polycarpus the church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebratyng the Eaſter day after the Iewes. Neither can holye and bleſſed Ignatius be defended in al his ſayings: as wher he maketh the faſting vpon the Sunday or the Saboth day as great an offence, as to kyl Chriſt him ſelf, Ignat. epiſt. ad Philip. contrary to this ſaying of S. Paule: Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke. Alſo where the ſayde Ignatius ſpeaketh De virginitate, and of other thinges mo. Ireneus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He ſemeth alſo to defende free wyll in man, in thoſe thinges alſo that be ſpiritual. He ſayth that Chriſte ſuffered after he was .l. yeares olde,

abuſing

Tertullianus.

abuſing this place of the Goſpel: Quinquaginta annos nondum habes. &c. Tertullianus (whom Saynt Cyprian neuer layde oute of hys handes almoſt) is noted to be a Chiliaſte: alſo to haue bene of Montanus ſect. The ſame did hold alſo with Iuſtine, Cyprian, and other, that the Angels fell firſt for the concupiſcence of wemen, lib. de habitu mulier. He defendeth free wyll of man after the corruption of nature, inclinyng alſo to the errour of them, which defend the poſſibilitye of keeping God his law. Concerning mariage, Vnum matrimonium (inquit) nouimus, ſicut vnum deum. i. We know (ſayth he) one mariage, as we know one God, condemning the ſecond mariage. lib. de Monogam. Diuers other thinges of like abſurditie in hym be noted. Iuſtinus alſo ſemeth to haue inclined vnto the errour of the Chiliaſtes, of the fal of certain angles by wemẽ, of free wyl of man, of poſſibility of keeping the law and ſuche other. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great ſcholer of Tertullian, vtterly exempt from the blot of them, who cõtrary to the doctrine of the church, did hold with rebaptiſing of ſuch, as was before baptiſed of heretiks. Wherof ſpeaketh S. Auſten, miſliking the ſame errour of Cyprian, in theſe woordes contayned in his ſeconde booke, Contra Creſconium: Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego conſequi non valeo, eius multis literis mea ſcripta non cõparo, eius ingenium diligo, eius ore delector, eius charitatẽ miror, eius martyrium veneror Non accipio quod de baptiſandis hæreticis & ſchiſmaticis ſenſit. &c. Vppon the which matter ther was a great contẽtion betwene the ſayd Cyprian and Stephen biſhop of Rome, as partlye afore is noted. Of Auſten himſelf likewiſe, of Ambroſe, Hierom, Chriſoſtome, ẏ ſame may be ſaid, that none of thẽ all ſo clearly paſſed away, but their peculiar faults and errours went with them, whereof it were to long, and out of our purpoſe at this preſent to entreate. And thus much concerning the ſtorye of Cyprian the holye learned Martyr of Chriſt.

ustinus.

Cyprianꝰ.

Contentiō betwene Cyprian & Stephanus biſhop of Rome.

Cyprians diuers of that name.

Albeit here is to be noted by the waye, touching the life and ſtorye of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he, whom the narration of Nazianzen ſpeaketh of, (as is aboue mencioned) who from arte Magicke was conuerted to be a Chriſtian, which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioche, and afterward biſhop of the ſame city, and was martyred vnder Diocletian. Wher as this Cyprian was biſhop of Carthage, and dyed vnder Valerianus, as is ſayd. &c. By the Decrees of Gracian Diſt. x. Quoniam, it appeareth moreouer that there was alſo a third Cyprian, in the tyme of Iulianus the Emperour Apoſtata, long after both theſe aforenamed. For ſo geueth the title prefixed before the ſayd Diſtinct. Cyprianus Iuliano Imperatori: the Diſtinctiō beginning. Quoniam idem mediator dei et hominum homo Chriſtus Ieſus, ſic actibus propriis, et dignitatibus diſtinctis officia poteſtatis vtriuſq; diſcernit. &c. Vpon the which diſtinction the Gloſe commeth in with theſe wordes, ſaying: that the popedome, and the ſeate imperial, haue both one beginning of one, that is, Chriſt: who was both Biſhop, and king of kinges. And that the ſaide dignities be diſtincted, albeit the Pope notwithſtanding hath both the ſwordes in his hand, and may exerciſe them both ſome
» time. And therfore although they be diſtincted, yet in ex-
» erciſe the one ſtandeth lineallye vnder the other, ſo that
» the imperial dignity is ſubiect vnder the papal dignity,
» as the inferiour is ſubiect vnder the ſuperiour: ẏ as there
» is one ruler ouer ẏ whole, which is God: ſo in the church
» is one Monarche, that is, the Pope, to whom the Lorde
» hath committed the power and lawful right both of the
» heauenly and terrene dominion. Hæc Gloſa.

Diſt. 10. Quoniam.

Gloſa ibid

A blinde gloſe chalẽging both the ſwords to the Popes hand.

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, becauſe this diſtinction is fathered vpon Cyprian, which is falſe, for this Cyprian was not in the tyme of Iulian, not by. 200. yeares, and ſo lykewiſe by the other Cyprian, which dyed Martyr vnder Diocleſian. Of any Cyprian beſides theſe twoo, we reade not. Neyther is it credible, that if there were anye ſuche Cyprian, he woulde euer haue written of anye ſuche matter, of the difference and mutual neede of Chriſtian Emperours and Chriſtian Popes. When as that Emperour being an Apoſtata, neither regarded Chriſt, nor cared for any Pope.

A diſtinction of Gratian diſproued.

About this time, & vnder the ſame Emperour Valerianus ſuffered alſo Xiſtus, or Sixtus, the ſeconde of that name, biſhop Rome: who being accuſed of his aduerſaries, to be a Chriſtian, was brought ẇ his. vj. Deacons to the place of execution, where he ẇ Nemeſius & other his Deacons were beheaded and ſuffered martyrdome. Laurence in the ſame tyme beyng alſo Deacon folowed after, complayning to Xiſtus, as one being greued, ẏ he might not alſo ſuffer with him, but to be ſecluded as the ſonne from the father. To whom the byſhop anſwering agayne, declared that wythin. iij. dayes hee ſhould folow after. In the meane time, he willed him to go home, & to diſtribute his treaſures, if he had ani vnto the poore. The iudge belike hearing mẽtion to be made of treaſures to be geuen to the poore, & thinking ẏ Laurence had great ſtore of treaſure in his cuſtody, cõmaũded him to bring the ſame vnto him, according as in ẏ diſcourſe of his ſtory here vnder writtẽ, more fully may appeare. Which hiſtory, becauſe it is ſet foorth more at large in Prudentius, Ambroſe, and other writers, & cõtaineth mo things in it worthy to be noted of ẏ Reader, we haue therfore with the more diligence here inſerted the more ample deſcription of the ſame, to the further admiration of his patience, and God his glorye ſhewed in hym.

Xixtus the ſecond biſhop of Rome martyr.

Sixe Deacons with Xiſtus Martyrs.

Nowe then as order requireth, let vs enter the ſtorye of that moſt conſtant and couragious Martyr of Chriſt Saint Laurence, whoſe woordes and woorkes deſerue to be as freſh and greene in Chriſtian hartes, as is the floriſhing Laurel tree. This thirſty Hart longing after the water of lyfe, deſirous to paſſe vnto it, throughe the ſtraygh̄t doore of bitter death, when on a tyme he ſaw his vigilant Shepheard, and gracious biſhop Xiſtus, led as an harmles lambe, of harmfull tyrants to his cruel and painful death, cried out with opẽ mouth & hart inuincible, ſaying: O deare father, whyther goeſt thou, without the company of thy dear ſõne? Whither haſteneſt thou, O reuerende Prieſt, wythout thy Deacon? Neuer waſt thou wont to offer Sacrifice without thy Miniſter. What crime is ther in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Haſt thou proued me vnnatural? Now try ſwete father, whether thou haſt choſen a faithful Miniſter, or not. Denieſt thou vnto him the fellowſhip of thy bloud, to whom thou haſt committed the diſtribution of the Lords bloud? See that thy iudgement be not miſliked, whyleſt thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abaſing of the Scholar, is the diſgraſyng of the Maiſter. What? haue we not learned that worthy Maiſters, haue obtayned moſt worthy fame, by the worthy actes of their Diſciples and Scholars? Finally Abraham ſacrificed his onely begotten Iſaac. Stoned Stephen prepared the way to preaching Peter: euen ſo father, declare thy manyfold vertues by me thy ſonne. Offer thou him that profereth him ſelfe. Graunt that the body of thy Scholar may be ſacrificed, whoſe mynd with good letters thou haſt beautified. Theſe wordes with teares S. Laurence vttered, not becauſe his Mayſter ſhould ſuffer, but for that he might not bee ſuffered to taſte of deathes cup, which he thirſted after.

The ſtorye and martyrdome of Laurence.

Ex Ambroſ. lib. 1. offic. cap 41.

Ex prudentio lib. Periſteph.

The wordes of Laurence to Xiſtus.

Then Xiſtus to his ſonne ſhaped this anſwer: I forſake thee not, O my ſonne, I geue thee to wyt, that a ſharper conflict remayneth for thee. A feeble and weake old man am I, and therfore runne the raſe of a lighter and eaſier death. But luſty and young art thou, & more

The anſwer of Xiſtus to Laurence.

luſtelye, yea more gloriouſlye ſhalt thou triumph ouer this Tyrant. Thy tyme approcheth, ceaſe to weepe and lament, three daies after thou ſhalt follow me. Decent is it, that this ſpace of time come betwene the prieſt and the Leuite. It may not beſeeme thee, O ſweete Pupill, to triumph vnder thy maiſter, leaſt it be ſaid he wanted an healper. Why craueſt thou to be partaker with me in my paſſion? I bequeathe vnto thee the whole enheritaunce. Why requireſt thou to enioy my preſence? Let weake Scholers go before, and the ſtrōger come after: that thoſe without maiſter may get the victory, whyche haue no neede by Maiſter to be gouerned. So Helias left behinde hym his beloued Heliſeus. I yelde vp into thy handes the ſucceſſion of my vertues. Suche was their contention, not vnmeete for ſo godlye a Prieſt, ſo zealous a Miniſter, ſtriuing wᵗ them ſelues, who ſhould firſt ſuffer for the name of Chriſt Ieſu.

In tragicall hiſtories wee haue it mencioned, that through ioy & admiration, people clapped their handes, when Pylades named himſelfe Oreſtes: Oreſtes, as truth it was, affirmed him ſelfe to be Oreſtes. Pylades wiſhing to dye for Oreſtes, Oreſtes not ſuffering Pylades to looſe his life for his ſake: But neyther of them might eſcape death, for both theſe louers were guilty of bloud, the one committing the fact, the other cōſenting. But this our Laurence the Martyr moſt conſtant, was by no meanes enforced to make this proferre, ſauyng onely by his ardent zeale, and feruent ſpirite, who thirſting after the cup of martyrdome, had it ſhortlye after filled to the hard brymme.

Some ſaye that this tyrant was Decius the Emperor, but that cannot bee, except Galienus or ſome other judge now was called by the name of Decius

Now let vs draw neare to the fire of martyred Laurence, that our cold hartes mai be warmed therby. The mercyleſſe Tyraunt, vnderſtanding thys vertuous Leuite, not onelye to bee a Miniſter of the Sacramentes, but a diſtributer alſo of the church ritches (whereof mention is made before in the woordes of Xiſtus) promyſed to him ſelfe a double praye, by the apprehenſion of one ſily ſoule. Firſt with the rake of auarice to ſcrape to him ſelfe the treaſure of poore Chriſtians, then with the firy forke of tyranny ſo to toſſe and turmoyl them, that they ſhould wax weary of their Chriſtian profeſſion: Wyth furious face, and cruel coūtenaunce, the greedy woolfe demaunded where this Deacon Laurence had beſtowed the ſubſtaūce of the church. Who crauing three daies reſpite, promiſed to declare where the treaſure myght be had. In the meane time he cauſed a good number of poore Chriſtians to be congregated. So when the daye of his anſwer was come, the perſecutor ſtraightly charged him to ſtand to his promiſe. Then valiant Laurēce ſtretching out his armes ouer the poore, ſaid: Theſe are the precious treaſure of the churche. Theſe are the treaſure in dede, in whom the fayth of Chriſt raygneth, in whom Ieſus Chriſt hath his māſion place. What more pretious Iuels can Chriſt haue, then thoſe in whom he hath promiſed to dwel? For ſo is it written: I was hungry, and ye gaue me to eate: I was thirſty, and ye gaue me to drinke: I was harberles, and ye lodged me. And againe: Looke what ye haue done to the leaſt of theſe, the ſame haue ye done to me. What greater ritches can Chriſt our Maiſter poſſes, then the poore people, in whom he loueth to be ſene? Oh, what toung is able to expreſſe the fury and madnes of the tyrants hart? Now he ſtamped, he ſtared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wit. His eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a bore fomed, his teeth like an helhound grinded. Now not a reaſonable mā, but a roaring Lyon he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cried) of wood make no ſpare. Hath this villaine deluded the Emperour? away wyth hym, away with him. Whip him with ſcourges, iercke hym with rods, buffet him with fiſtes, brain him with clubs: ieſteth the traitour with the Emperour? Pinch hym wᵗ firy tonges, gird him with burning plates, bryng out the ſtrongeſt chaynes, and the fireforkes, and the grated bed of yron. On the fire with it, binde the rebel hand and foote, and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: roſt him, broyle him, toſſe him, turne him: On paine of our highe diſpleaſure doo euerye man his office, O ye Tormentours.

Laurence deni-eth the churche goods to the Emperour.

The true treaſure of Chriſtes church.

Laurē mented the fye gradyr

The woord was no ſooner ſpoken, but al was done. After many cruel handlings, this meke lambe was laid I wil not ſay on his firy bed of yron, but on his ſoft bed of doune. So mightely God wrought with his Martyr Laurence, ſo miraculouſly God tempered hys element the fire, not a bed of conſuming paine, but a pallet of nouriſhing reſt was it vnto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the Emperour might ſeme to be tormented: the one broiling in the fleſh, the other burning in the hart. Whē this triumphant Martyr had bene preſſed downe wyth firepikes for a great ſpace, in the mightye ſpirit of God he ſpake to the vanquiſhed Tyrant:

This ſyde is now roſted inough, turne vp O tyrant great,
Aßay, whether roſted or raw, thou thinkeſt the better meate.

The ſ ler pac of Lau in his p nes.

O rare and vnaccuſtomed pacience. O faith inuinſible, that not only not burneſt, but by meanes vnſpeakable doeſt recreate, refreſh, ſtabliſh, and ſtrengthē thoſe that are burned, afflicted, & troubled. And why ſo mightely comforteſt thou the perſecuted? Becauſe through thee they beleue in Gods promiſes infallible. By thee this glorious Martyr ouercommeth his torments, vanquiſheth this Tyrant, confoundeth hys enemies, confirmeth the Chriſtians, ſleepeth in peace, raygneth in glory. The God of might and mercy graunt vs grace, by the lyfe of Laurence to learne in Chriſt to lyue, and by his death to learne for Chriſt to dye. Amen.

The m dome end of ſed Lau

Such is the wiſdome and prouidence of God, that the blood of his deare ſaintes (like good ſeede) neuer falleth in vayn to the groūd, but it bringeth ſome increaſe: ſo it pleaſed the Lorde to woorke at the martyrdome of thys holy Laurence, that by the conſtant confeſſion of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a certain ſoldiour of Rome, being therewith compuncted, and conuerted to the ſame faith, deſired foorthwith to be baptiſed of him: for the which he being called for of the iudge, was ſcourged, and afterward beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

A Rom ſoldiou uerted b Laurēc martyr

Vnder the ſame Valerianus ſuffred alſo Dionyſius biſhop of Alexandria much affliction and baniſhment, with certayne other brethren. Of the which he writeth himſelfe, and is alledged in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorye of Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 11. the wordes whereof tend to this effect: Dionyſius with three of his Deacons, to wit, Maximus, Fauſtus, and Cheremon, alſo wyth a certayne brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then Preſident, who ther declared vnto them in circumſtance of wordes how he had ſignified vnto them the clemēcy of his lords and Emperours: who had graunted them pardon of life, ſo that they would returne to them, and woorſhyp the Gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Emperie, aſking them what anſwer they woulde geue hym therunto: truſting, as he ſayd, that they would not ſhew them ſelues ingrateful to the clemencye of them which ſo gently did exhort them. To this Dionyſius anſwering, ſaid: All men worſhip not all Gods, but diuers mē diuers Gods, ſo as euery one hath in him ſelfe a mynde or phantaſy to worſhip. But we worſhip not many nor diuers Gods, but onely that one God, who is the creator of all thinges, and hath committed to our lords Valerianus and Galienus the gouernment of their Empery, making to him our prayers inceſſantlye, for their proſperous health and continuaunce. Then the Preſident ſayd: And what hurt is it, but that you may both woorſhip your God, what God ſoeuer he be, and theſe our gods alſo? For you are commaunded to woorſhyp ſuch gods, as al men know to be Gods. Dionyſius anſwered; we worſhip none other, but as we haue ſayde.

Dionyſ biſhop Alexand with hy lowes b ſhed.

Maxim Fauſtus, Cherem a certay Romam baniſhe

The ex matiō of oniſius b fore the ſident.

The c confeſſi of Dio us and h Deacons

Emilianus the Preſident ſaid: I ſee you are ingrateful men, and conſider not the benignity of the Emperors, wherfore you ſhal no longer remaine in this citye, but ſhall be ſent out to the partes of Libya, vnto a towne called Cephro. For that place by the commaundement of the Emperours I haue choſen for you. Neither ſhall it be lawfull for you, to conuent your aſſembles, or to reſorte, as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you ſhall be found out of the place, wherunto you are appointed, to your peril be it. And thinke not contrarye, but ye ſhall be watched well inough. Depart therefore to the place as is cõmaunded you. And it followeth more in the ſayd Dionyſius ſpeaking of himſelfe: And as for me (ſayth he) although I was ſycke, yet he vrged me ſo ſtraightly to depart, that he woulde not geue me one daies reſpite. And how (ſayth he, writing to Germanus) could I congregate, or not congregate any aſſembles? And after a few lines it followeth: And yet neither am I all together abſent from the corporall ſocietye of the Lordes flocke, but I haue collected them together, which were in the city being abſent, as thoughe I had bene preſent, abſent in body, yet preſent in ſpirite. And in the ſame Cephro a greate congregation remayned with me, as well of thoſe brethren which followed me out of the citie, as alſo of them which were remayning there out of Egypt. And there the Lorde opened to me the dore of hys word, although at the fyrſt entraunce I was perſecuted and ſtoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their idoles and were conuerted vnto the Lorde. And ſo by vs the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which miniſterie after that we had accompliſhed there, the Lorde remoued vs to an other place. For Aemilianus tranſlated vs frõ thence to more ſharpe and ſtraighter places of Libya, commaunding vs to meete all together at a citie Mareota, thinking there to ſeparate vs ſeuerally into ſundry villages, or thinking rather to take and preuent vs by the waye. After we were come thither, it was aſſigned to me (ſaith Dionyſius) to go to Colluthion: which place I neuer heard of before: which was yͤ more griefe to me, yet ſome ſolace it was to me, that the brethren tolde me, it was nere to a citie named Parætonium. For as my being at Cephron gotte me the acquaintance of many brethren of Egypt, ſo my hope was that the vicinitie of that place where I ſhould be, to the citie, myght procure the familiaritie and concourſe of certayne louing brethren, which woulde reſorte and aſſemble with vs, and ſo it came to paſſe. &c.

Dionyſius baniſhed to Cephro.

nfidels cõ erted by Dionyſius his ba. ſhment. x Diony contra Germanũ. uſ.lib.7. p.11.

Moreouer the ſayd Dionyſius in hys epiſtle ad Domitium et Didymum, making mention of them which were afflicted in thys perſecution of Valerian recordeth in theſe wordes, ſaying: it were ſuperfluous (ſayth he) here to recite the names particularly of al our brethren ſlayne in this perſecution, which both were many, and to me vnknowen. But this is certaine, that there were men, wemen, yong men, maidens, old wyues, ſoldiors, ſimple innocentes, and of all ſortes and ages of men. Of whom ſome with ſcourginges and fire, ſome wyth ſworde, obtained victory and got the crowne. Some cõtinued a great time, and yet haue bene reſerued. In the which number am I, reſerued hitherto to ſome other opportune time knowen vnto the Lorde, which ſayth: In the time accepted, I haue heard thee, and in the daye of ſaluation I haue helped thee. &c. Nowe as concernyng my ſelfe in what ſtate I am, if thou deſire to know, firſt how I and Caius, and Fauſtus, Petrus and Paulus, being apprehended by the Centurion, wer taken away by certayne of the towne of Mareotte, I haue declared to you before. Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone ar left here included in a waſte place of Libya, diſtant the ſpace of .iij. dayes iourney from Paretonium. &c. And in proceſſe farther he addeth: In the city (ſayth he) wer certayne priuely which vſed to viſit the brethren, of prieſts, Maximus, Dioſcorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they which were more notable in the world, Fauſtinus and Aquila, do wander abroade in Egipt. Of the Deacons, beſides them whom ſicknes hath conſumed, Fauſtus, Euſebius, and Cheremon are yet alyue. Euſebius hath God rayſed and ſtyrred vp to miniſter to the confeſſours lying in bandes, and to bury the bodyes of the bleſſed martyrs, not without great perill. Neither doth the Preſident ceaſe yet to this day, cruellye murdering ſuch as be brought before hym, ſome tearing with tormentes, ſome impriſoning and keeping in cuſtody, commaunding that none ſhoulde come to them, inquyring alſo who reſorted vnto them. Yet notwithſtanding god with cherefulnes and dayly reſorte of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. Hæc Dionyſius.

x Diony ſo ad Domitium & Didimum Euſ.ibidẽ.

Martyrs of all ſortes & ages.

Commẽdacion of Euſebius the Deacon.

Concerning theſe Deacons aboue recited, here is to be noted, that Euſebius afterwarde was made Byſhop of Laodicia in Syria. Maximus the Prieſt aforeſayd, had the miniſtration of the churche of Alexandria after Dionyſius. Fauſtus long after cõtinued in great age, vnto the latter perſecution, where he being a verye old man at length was beheaded, and died Martyr.

Euſebius the Deacon made biſhop of Laodicea.

Maximus byſhop of Alexandria

Fauſtus long preſerued, at laſt a Martyr.

As touching Dionyſius himſelfe, thus the ſtories reporte, that he ſuruiuing all theſe troubles and perſecutions, by the prouidence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, vnto the .xij. yeare of the raygne of Galienus, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 268 and ſo departed in peace in great age, after that he had gouerned the Churche of Alexandria the ſpace of .xvij. yeares, and before that, had taught the ſchole of the ſaid city of Alexandria, the terme of .xvj. yeares. After whom ſucceeded Maximus, as is aboue ſpecified. And thus much touching the full ſtorye of Dionyſius Alexandrinus, and of other alſo Martyrs and confeſſours of Alexandria.

The ende and death of Dionyſius.

In Ceſarea Paleſtine, ſuffered alſo the ſame tyme, Priſcus, Malchus, and Alexander, the which thre dwelling in the country, and good men, ſeing the valiaunt courage of the Chriſtians, ſo boldly to venter, and conſtantly to ſtand, and pacientlye to ſuffer in this perſecution, as men being greued with them ſelues, began to repent and to accuſe their ſo great ſluggiſhnes, and cowardly negligence, to ſee other ſo zealous and valiant, and them ſelues ſo cold and fayntharted, in laboryng for the crowne of Chriſtian Martyrdome: firſt conſulting and agreing within them ſelues, came to Ceſarea and there ſtepping to the Iudge, declared them ſelues what they were, and obtayned the ende they came for, being geuen to the wylde beaſtes. After which like maner alſo and in the ſame Citye of Ceſarea, a certayne woman, whoſe name Euſebius expreſſeth not, who had bene before of the ſect of Marcion, was brought before the Preſident, and likewiſe obtayned the ſame martyrdome. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Priſcus, Malchus, Alexander, A woman, Martyrs.

Neither was the Citye of Carthage all thys whyle free from the ſtroke of this perſecution, if credit ſhould be geuen to the ſpeculatiue glaſſe of Vincẽtius, who citing out of Hugo, recordeth of .300. martyrs: of which 300. martyrs the hiſtory ſayth thus, that the Preſident ſetting before them coales and incenſe to doo ſacrifice, by a lime kylne, which was ther neare at hand, offered vnto them this condition, eyther to ſette incenſe to the coales, for ſacrifice to Iupiter, or els to go into the furnace of lime: wherupon thei altogether with a general motion ſodenly ruſhed into the kilne, and ther with the duſty ſmoke of the lyme were ſmothered. Vincen. Erfor.

Thre hundreth martyrs in Carthage. *Ex ſpecul. Vincẽt. lib. 11. c. 85*

In Aphrica alſo in the citie Tuburba, the ſaid Vincentius out of the Martyrologe inferreth mention of thre conſtant virgins, Maxima, Donatilla, and Secũda, who in the perſecution of this Valerian and Galienus, firſt had geuen for their drinke vineger and gaul,

Maxima, Donatilla, Secunda, virgins martirs then with ſcourges were tried, after that vpon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lyme: then were ſcorched vpon the fiery gridyron, at laſt were caſt to the wylde beaſtes, who being not touched of them, finallye with the ſword were beheaded. Vincent, Erford.

Pontius, Martyr.

In Symela a citie in Italie, vnder the Alpes, one Pontius being there apprehended, by the commaundement of Claudius the Preſidēt, was hanged firſt vpon the racke, then was caſt to the wilde beaſts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire. And finallye neyther touched therewith (if the ſtorye of Vincentius be true) was headed by the riuers ſide, and his bodye throwne into the flood, wher immediatly the ſame houre, the foreſayd Claudius, with his aſſiſtent Anabius, were taken with the wicked ſpirites, by whom they were ſo miſerablye vexed, that they bytte of theyr toungues, and dyed.

Ex Vincēt. lib 12. cap. 77.
Ex Bergomē, lib. 8.
Erford. lib. 6. cap. 27.

Zenon, Martyr.

Zenon alſo biſhop of Verona, is ſayd alſo in the ſame perſecution to ſuſtayne martyrdome.

Bergomenſis reproued.

Moreouer, in the ſame citie of Alexandria aforeſaid, Bergomenſis in his. 8. booke, writing of the ſtory of Valerianus Emperour, maketh mēcion of Philippus, biſhop of the ſayd ſea of Alexandria, who (as he ſaith) was vnder the ſaid Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approued ſtory, nor ſtandeth with yͤ truth of tyme that any ſuch Philip then was biſhop of Alexandria, or anye other, except onelye Dionyſius. After whom next ſucceeded Maximus, who remayned. xviij. yeares, and after him Theonas. &c. So that by the auncient recordes of old writers it appeareth not that Philippus or any other of that name was biſhop of Alexandria, during this time ſignified by Bergomenſis.

Although in ſome other later writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, & Bergomenſis, I finde a certayne hiſtory of one Philippus Preſident of Alexandria about the ſame time of Valerian and Galienus, directed by the Emperour and Senate of Rome, to gouern thoſe quarters, wher he was at length conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, & after made prieſt or biſhop, as they ſaye, of Alexandria, but that not to be ſo, the teſtimony of auncient writers doth refell. The hiſtory of this Philippus wytneſſed in our latter chronicles is this: Philippus beyng promoted to the Preſidentſhip of Alexādria, came down with his wife Claudia, and hys. ij. ſonnes, Auitus, and Sergius, and wyth hys daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long hiſtory full of ſtraunge and prodigious miracles is writtē of Antoninus and other, wherof many thinges I wyll cut of, and briefly touche the effect of the ſtory, leauing to the iudgement of the reader the credit of myne autors, as he ſhal ſee cauſe.

Ex Antonino part. 1. cap. 6.

The ſtorye of Philippus and Eugenia.

Eugenia, Prothus, Hiacynthus, conuerted.

This Eugenia daughter of Philippus, being of ſingular beuty, & diligently brought vp by her parents in the ſtudy of ſcience & learning, was by occaſion of hearing the Chriſtians, reduced and brought to Chriſtianitye, with two other Eunuches her ſcholfellowes called Prothus and Hiacynthus: with whom ſhe taking counſail, vpon the occaſion, whether to auoyde the daunger of perſecution, or refuſing to marry with a Pagane, vnknowing to her parentes and friendes dyd flee awaye, and becauſe the more boldlye ſhe myght reſort to heare the readinges of Helenus then an aged biſhop, and of others, chaunged her ſelfe into a mans apparel, and named her ſelfe Eugenius, vnder the which name ſhe was at length admitted vnto a certayne Monaſtery, or a ſocietie of Chriſtians in the Suburbes of Alexandria (although I hardly beleue that any monaſtery of Chriſtians was then in the Suburbes of Alexandria permytted) wher alſo at laſt for her excellency of learning and vertue, ſhe was made head of the place. Here by the wai I omit the myracles of the foreſayd Helenus (biſhop as the ſtory ſayth of Hierapolis) howe he caried burnyng coales in hys lap, and how he aduentred him ſelfe to go in the burning fire, to refell wicked Zereas a Pagane, remaynyng in the ſame vnburned. Here alſo I omyt the careful ſearch of her parentes for her, and of the anſwer of the Pythonyſſe againe vnto them, that ſhe was taken vp to the heauen among the Goddeſſes. I omyt moreouer the myracles done by the ſayde Eugenia, in healing the diſeaſes and ſickneſſes of ſuche as came to her. &c. The ſtory proceedeth thus: Among other whyche were by this Eugenius cured and reſtored, there was a certaine Matrone of Alexandria named Melancia, who after ſhee had vſed the helpe and acquaintaunce wyth Eugenius, ſuppoſing her to be a man, fell into inordinate loue, ſeeking by all meanes how to accompliſh the luſt of her cōcupiſcence. In ſo much that in her dayly viſiting of her, at length ſhe began ſecretely to breake her minde, and to entiſe her to her leudnes. Eugenius contrary exhorted her to vertue and honeſtye, ſhewing her the miſeries of this life, & the perill of that folly. Melancia ſeing yͭ by no meanes ſhe would be allured, nor by force drawen to her deſire, & fearing moreouer, yͭ ſhe in detecting of her, wold bring her to ſhame, begineth firſt to make an outcrye of Eugenius, declaring howe that ſhe went about corruptly to deflour her, and ſo preſented her accuſation before Philippus the Preſident, as well againſt Eugenius, as alſo againſt the reſt of that company. This matter being hearde, and the woman well knowen, the crime beganne to ſeeme ſuſpicious, and ſo much the more, becauſe it was obiected againſte the Chriſtians. By reaſon whereof Eugenius with her felow Chriſtians was now not onelye in great hatred, but alſo in daunger of preſent death and deſtruction. Then Eugenius purging her ſelfe and her honeſty, although with ſufficient probation, yet notwithſtanding perceauing that it could take no place, what ſoeuer ſhe ſayde, and ſeing no time nowe to diſſemble anye lenger, for the daunger as well of her own ſelfe, as ſpecially of her brethren, which troubled her more: deſired of the Iudge place and time to make manifeſt to him the truth, and ſo ſhewed her ſelfe what ſhe was, and howe ſhe was his daughter, the other to be Prothus and Iacinthus the two Eunuches, her ſcholfellowes, vttering moreouer to him and to her brethren the cauſe of her departing from them. At the narration whereof Philippus her father, and her twoo brethren cominyng to the knowledge of her, conceaued no litle ioye in receauing their Eugenia agayne, whom they thought had bene loſt. No leſſe gladnes was among the people, to ſee the euidence of the matter ſo plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falſenes of the other. Whereat the malignant accuſer was with double ſhame confounded, fyrſt for her diſhoneſty falſly cloked, ſecōdly for the vntruth of her accuſation openly detected. Bergomēſis addeth moreouer, yͭ the ſaid accuſer was ſtricken preſētly wͭ lightning. Thus Eugenia trying her honeſty to her parents and friendes, not onely was receaued of them again, but alſo by grace of the Lord working with her, in ſpace of time did wyn them to Chriſt. Wherby Philippus the father of her by nature, nowe by grace was begotten of his owne daughter to a more perfect lyfe, and whom once he thought to haue bene loſt, not onely he found again, but alſo with her found his own ſoule, and his own life, which before he had loſt in dede. This Philippus (ſaith the ſtory) was made afterward biſhop of Alexandria, and ther ſuffered martyrdome. Concerning whoſe martyrdome I denye not but it maye bee true: but that he was biſhop of Alexādria that cā not be admitted, as is before ſufficiently proued out of Euſebius and other auncient Hiſtoricians.

Eugenia leauīg her parentes, changeth her ſelfe into a mās apparel.

Helenus biſhop of Hierapolis

Eugeni
cuſed of
Melanc

Eugenia
knowen
her pare

Falſe acc
ſation co
uicted.

Philipp
by hys d
ghter co
uerted v
Chriſt.

Philipp
Martyr.

Likewiſe it is ſayd, that Eugenia after the martyrdome of her father, returning to Rome with Prothus and Iacinthus, by occaſion of cōuerting Baſilla (who ſhould haue bene maried to a Pagan huſband, & was

then

…la, …genia, …rtyrs.

then beheaded) to the Chriſtian faith, was aſſayled with ſundry kindes of death, firſt being tyed to a great ſtone and caſt into Tyber, where ſhee was caryed vp from drowning, then put in the hoate bathes, which were extincted, and ſhe preſerued: afterward by famiſhment in priſon, where they ſay ſhe was fed at the hand of our ſauiour, all which legendary miracles I leaue to the reader to iudge of them, as ſhall ſeeme good vnto hym. At laſt the ſtory ſayth, ſhe was with the ſwoord beheaded. Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

…rrectiõs …he ſtory …oue tou…ed. …lenus biſ…ppe of …rſus.

And becauſe in this preſent hiſtorye mencion was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellowes noteth to be the biſhop of Hierapolis, here is to be vnderſtãded and obſerued by the way, that as Philippus in the foreſayd hiſtory is falſly ſaid to be biſhop of Alexandria: ſo lykewyſe vntrue it is that Helenus was biſhop of Hierapolis. For by Euſebius it appeareth lib. 7. cap. 5. alledging the words of Dionyſius, that he was biſhop of Tarſus in Cilicia, and had there ouerſight of that Churche from the tyme of our Lorde. 254. to the yeare. 274.

…62.

…ctor. …ictorin⁹ …audian⁹ …oſſa, …artyrs.

The ſixt yeare of Valerianus and Galienus, wee reade in the ſtory of Herfordienſis, cited out of Iſuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in pryſon the ſpace of three yeares with Claudianus and Boſſa hys wyfe, is ſayde to haue ſuſtayned great tormentes and martyrdome, for the teſtimonye and name of Chriſt. Ex Iſuardo.

…uctuoſ⁹ …ſhop of …rracona …Spayne …ith his 2. …acons …ugurius …ulogius, …artyrs.

Aurelius Prudentius in his booke intituled Periſtephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuoſus biſhoppe of Tarracona in Spayne, who with his. ij. Deacons Augurius, and Eulogius, ſuffered alſo martyrdome, being burned after ſixe dayes impriſonment, vnder the foreſayd Emperours in this perſecution. The cauſe of their puniſhment was for the profeſſion of Chriſtes name. Their Iudge and condemner was Emilianus: Their impriſonment endured ſixe daies. The kynde of death miniſtred vnto them was fire, wherin they being altogether caſt, with their armes bound behinde them, their bandes (as Prudentius writeth) were diſolued, their handes vntouched with the fire, and their bodies remaynyng whole. The charge of this Iudge vnto the biſhop was this, that he would worſhip the Gods, whõ the Emperour Galienus worſhipped. To whom Fructuoſus the biſhop anſwering: nay (ſayd he) I woorſhyp no dombe Gods of ſtockes and blockes, whom Galienus doth worſhip: but I worſhip the Lorde and Maiſter of Galienus, the father and creator of al times, and his onely ſonne ſent downe to vs, of whoſe flock I am here the Paſtor and ſhepheard. At this word Emilianus anſwering agayn: Nay (ſaith he) ſay not thou art, but ſay thou waſt. And forthwith cõmaũded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is ſaid) their bands and manicles being looſed by the fire, they lifted vp their hands to heauen, prayſing the liuing God, to the great admiracion of them that ſtood by, praying alſo that the element which ſemed to flee from them, might woorke his ful force vpon them, and ſpedely diſpatche them, which was after their requeſt obtayned. In the meane ſpace, as they were in the fire, there was a certayne ſoldiour in the houſe of Emilianus, who did ſee the heauens aboue to open, and theſe foreſayde Martyrs to enter in the ſame: which ſoldiour likewiſe ſhewed the ſight the ſame tyme vnto the daughter of Emilianus the Preſident, who beholding the ſame ſight wyth the ſoldiour, was a preſent wytnes of the bleſſednes of them, whom her cruel father had condemned.

…x Prudẽ. …eriſteph.

…uctuoſus …his Dea…ons ſtrẽg…hened in …e fyre.

The fauor …f God to…arde hys …artyrs o…enly decla…ed.

As this godlye biſhoppe was preparing to his death (ſayth Prudentius) the brethren approchyng to hym, brought him drinke, deſiring him with much weeping, to receaue and drinke with them: but that he refuſed to do, requiring them moreouer to refrayne theyr teares. With like readynes the brethren alſo were diligent about him to plucke of his ſhooes and hoſe, as hee was addreſſing himſelfe to the fire. But neyther woulde he ſuffer any ſeruantes helpe in that, wherein hee was no leſſe wylling as able to helpe himſelfe. And thus thys bleſſed and fruitful byſhop Fructuoſus, wyth his two Deacons Augurius and Eulogius, beyng brought to the fire, witneſſed the conſtant confeſſion of the name of Chriſt, with the ſhedding of their blood. Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.

The modeſtye of Fructuoſus.

And thus farre continued wicked Valerian in hys tyranny agaynſt the Sayntes of Chriſt. But as all the tyrantes before, and oppreſſours of the Chriſtians had their deſerued rewarde at the iuſt hand of God, whych rendreth to euery man according to his workes: ſo this cruel Valerian, after he had raygned with hys Sonne Galienus the terme of ſyxe or ſeuen yeares, and aboute two yeares had afflicted the Churche of Chriſt, felt the iuſt ſtroke of his hand, whoſe indignation before he had prouoked, whereof we haue to wytnes Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus: For makyng hys expedition agaynſt the Perſians, whether by the fraude and treaſon of ſome about hym, or whether by hys owne raſhnes, it is doutfull: But this is certayne, that he fell into the handes of his enemies, being aboute the age of. lxx. yeares, where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captiuity. In ſo much that Sapores the king of the Perſians vſed him (and wel worthye) not for his riding foole, but for his riding blocke. For whẽſoeuer the king ſhould light vpon his horſe, openlye in the ſyght of the people, Valerian Emperour quondam, was broughte forth in ſteede of a blocke, for the kyng to treade vpon his backe, in going to his horſebacke. And ſo continued this blockiſhe butcherlye Emperour with ſhame and ſporte inough vnto his finall end, as wytneſſeth Lætus, and Aurelius Victor.

The notable plage of God agaynſt Valeriã the perſecutor.

Gods iuſt puniſhment to be noted.

Albeit Euſebius in a certayne Sermon to the Congregation, declareth a more cruel handling of hym, affirming that he was ſlayne, writing in theſe woordes: Sed et tu Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum ſæuitiem erga ſubditos dei exercuiſti, iuſtum Dei iudiciũ declaraſti, dum captiuus ac vinctus vna cum ipſa purpura ac reliquo imperatorio ornatu abductus, ac tandem a Sapore Perſarum rege excoriari iuſſus ſaleq; conditus perpetuũ infelicitatis tuæ trophæum erexiſti. &c. That is: and thou Valerian foraſmuch as thou haſt exerciſed yͤ ſame crudelity in murdering the ſubiectes of God, therefore haſt proued vnto vs the rightuous iudgement of God, in that thy ſelfe haſt bene bound in chaynes, and caried awaye for a captiue ſlaue, wyth thy gorgious purple, and thy imperiall attire, and at length alſo being commaunded of Sapores king of the Perſians to be ſlaine, and poudred with ſalt, haſt ſet vp vnto all men a perpetuall monument of thine own wretchednes. &c. Euſeb.

Ex Euſebio in Sermone ad Conuentum Sanctorum.

Valeriã the perſecuting Emperour, excoriated of the Perſians.

The like ſeuerity of God his terrible iudgement is alſo to be noted in Claudius, his Preſident, and miniſter of his perſecutions. Of which Claudius, Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was poſſeſſed and vexed of the deuyll, in ſuch ſorte, that he byting of his own toung in many ſmall peeces, ſo ended his life. Erford.

The puniſhmẽt of God vpon Cladius preſident to the Emperour.

Neither did Galienus the ſonne of Valerian, after the captiuitie of his father, vtterly eſcape the righteous hand of God. For beſyde the miſerable captiuity of hys father, whõ he could not reſcue, ſuch portentes ſtraũge and out of the courſe of nature, ſuche earthquakes dyd happen, alſo ſuch tumultes, commotions, and rebelliõs did follow, that Trebellio doth recken vp to the number of. xxx. together, which in ſundrye places all at one tyme tooke vpon them to be tyrantes and Emperours ouer the Monarchie of Rome, by the meanes wherof he was not able to ſuccour his father, though he would. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Galienus being (as is thought) terrifi-

Galienus plaged for his perſecution.

Peace graunted to the Church.

terrified by the exãple of his father, did remoue, at leaſt did moderat ẏ perſecution ſtirred vp by ẏ edictes of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperial proclamation, the tenor wherof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be ſene in Euſeb.lib.7.cap.13.

> Emperour and Ceſar, Publius Licinius Galienus, Pius Fortunatus, Auguſtus, vnto Dionyſius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian and to al other the like biſhops. The bountiful benignitie of my gift, I haue wylled and cõmaunded to be proclaymed throughe the whole worlde, to the entent that ſuche which are deteyned in baniſhment for diſcipline ſake, may ſafelye returne home agayne, from whence they came. And for the ſame cauſe I haue here ſent to you the example of my reſcript, for you to peruſe and to inioy, ſo that no man ſo hardy to vexe or moleſt you. And this which you may now lawfully enioy, hath ben long ſince by me graunted. And therfore for your more warrant in the ſame, I haue committed the examplar hereof to the cuſtody of Aurelianus Cyrenius my chief Stuarde, where you maye fet the coppye to ſee at your pleaſure.

An other graũt of Galienus vnto the Chriſten byſhops

An. 263.

This mandate aboue prefixed did Galienus ſend to Dionyſius Alexandrinus, and to other Biſhops as is premiſed. An other reſcript alſo the ſaid Emperour ſent to other Chriſtian biſhops, permitting to them full liberty to receaue agayne their wont places, where they wer wont to aſſociate together, called of thẽ Coimiteria

Marinus, Martyr. *Ex Euſeb, lib 7.cap.15.*

By this it maye appeare that ſome peace was then graunted vnder this Galienus, to the church of Chriſt: albeit not ſo, but that ſome there were whyche ſuffered. Among whom was one Marinus mentioned in Euſebius.lib.7. This Marinus beyng a warriour and a noble man in Ceſarea, ſtoode for the dignitye of a certain order, which by all order of courſe was next to fal vpon him by right, had not the enuious ambitiõ of hym that ſhould follow next him, ſupplanted him both of office, and lyfe. For he accuſed him to be a Chriſtian, and therfore ſayd that he was not to be admitted vnto their offices, which was againſt their religion. Wherepon Achaius then being Iudge, examined him of his fayth, who finding him to bee a Chriſtian in deede, and conſtantly to ſtande to his profeſſion, gaue him. iij. houres to deliberate and aduiſe with hym ſelfe. There was at the ſame tyme in Ceſarea a Byſhop named Theotechnus, otherwyſe called Theodiſtus, who perceiuing him to ſtand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in him ſelfe, tooke him by the hande, and brought him into the houſe or church of the Chriſtians, laying before hym a ſword (which he had vnder his cloke for the ſame purpoſe) and a booke of the new Teſtament, and ſo wylled him to take his free choyſe, which of them both he wold preferre. The ſoldiour immediatly without delaye ran to the booke of the Goſpel, taking that before the ſword. And thus he being animated by the byſhop, preſented himſelfe boldly before the Iudge, by whoſe ſentence he was beheaded, and died a Martyr. Euſeb ibid.

Theotechnus biſhop of Ceſarea.

Marinus animated by the byſhop to dye.

Aſyrius a ryche Senatour and Confeſſour.

Whoſe body, he being dead, one Aſyrius a noble Senatour of Rome, and a man very wealthye among the chiefe of that order (who the ſame tyme was there preſent at his martyrdome) tooke vp and bare vpon hys own ſhoulders, wrapping it in a rytch and ſumptuous weede, and ſo honourablye committed it to the buryal. Euſebius.lib.7,cap.16.

The worke of Satan diſapoynted by the praier of Aſyrius.

Of which Aſyrius the ſayd autor writeth moreouer this ſtory, how that in the foreſayd city of Ceſarea, the Gentyles vſed there of an auncient cuſtome to offer vp a certayne ſacrifice by a fountayne ſyde, the which ſacrifice by the working of the deuil, was wont ſodaynly to vaniſh out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the inhabiters by. Aſyrius ſeyng this, and piteyng the myſerable errour of the ſimple people, lyfting vp hys eyes to heauẽ, made his praier to almightye God in the name of Chriſt, that the people might not be ſeduced of the deuil no lenger. By the vertue of whoſe prayer the ſacrifice was ſene to ſwymme in the water of the fountayne, and ſo the ſtraunge wonder of that ſight was taken away, and no ſuch matter coulde be there wrought any more. Euſeb.lib 7.cap.17.

A my
noted
ſeb.li
cap.1

And becauſe mention is made here of Ceſarea, ther foloweth in the next chapter of ẏ ſame autor, a ſtraũge miracle, if it be true, which he there reporteth, how that out of the ſame citye was the woman, which in the goſpel came to our ſauiour, and was healed of her bloodye iſſue. Her houſe being in this Citye of Ceſarea, before the doore thereof was ſet vp a certayne pyller of ſtone, and vpon the pyller, an image was made of braſſe, of a woman meekelye kneeling on her knees, & holding vp her hands, as one that had ſome ſute. Agaynſt ẏ which there was an other image alſo of a man proportioned, of the ſame mettall, cunninglye engrauen, in a ſhorte ſeemely veſture, and ſtretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foote of which pyller grewe vp a certayne herbe of a ſtraunge kynde, but of a more ſtraunge operation, which growing vp to the hemme of his veſture, and once touching the ſame, is ſayde to haue ſuche vertue, that it was able to cure al maner of diſeaſes. This picture of the man (they ſay) repreſented the image of Chriſt. The hiſtory is written in Euſebius, as is ſayde, the credite wherof I referre to the Reader, whether he wil think it true or falſe. If he thinke it falſe, yet I haue ſhewed hym myne autor: if he thinke it true, then muſt he thinke wyth all, that thys miraculous operation of ẏ herbe to procede neither by the vertue of the picture, nor by ẏ praier of the other, being both dombe pictures, & engrauẽ no doubt at ẏ tyme by the hand of Infidels: but to be wrought by ſome ſecrete permiſſiõ of God his wyſdome, eyther to reduce the Infidels at that tyme to the beliefe of the ſtory, or to admoniſhe the Chriſtians, to conſider with them ſelues what ſtrength and health was to be looked for onely of Chriſt, and no other aduocate, ſeyng the dombe picture engrauen in braſſe, gaue his efficacie to a poore herbe to cure ſo manye diſeaſes. This picture ſaith Euſebius, remained alſo to his time which was vnder Conſtantinus the great.

A myſ
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Chriſt
ture to
diſeaſ

No
to be
bed to
tures.

Dionyſ
biſhop
Rome.

As touching the lyne and order of the Romayne byſhops hetherto intermitted, after the martyrdome of Xiſtus, aboue ſpecified, the gouernment of that churche was committed next, to one Dionyſius, about the yeare of our Lord.266. who continued in the ſame the ſpace of.ix.yeares as Euſebius ſaith, as Damaſus recordeth but onely ſyxe yeares and.ij.monethes. Of his decretal epiſtles, becauſe ſufficient hath bene ſaid before concerning that matter, I omyt to ſpeake. After whom ſucceeded Felix, in the firſt yeare of Probus the Emperour, about the yeare of our Lorde.280. who gouerned that church.v.yeares, and died as Platina ſaith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, and both Martyrs, as the hiſtories of ſome do recorde.

Felix
ſhoppe
Rome
Martyr.
Eutych
ous biſ
of Rom
martyr.
Gaius
ſhoppe
Rome
Martyr.

About the tyme of theſe biſhops, lyued Theodorus biſhop of Neoceſarea, who is otherwiſe called Gregorius Magnus, whom alſo Nicephorus for his myracles, calleth θαυματουργὸν.

Thus Galienus the foreſayd Emperour raygned, as is declared, with his father Valerian.vij. yeares, after whoſe captiuitie hee ruled the Monarchie alone about.ix.yeares, with ſome peace and quietnes graunted to the Churche.

Claudius
Emperour

272.

The dayes of this Galienus being expired, folowed Claudius a quiet Emperour, as moſt ſtories do record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that hee was a mouer of perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, and maketh mencion of.162. Martyrs, which in his tyme did ſuffer: but becauſe no ſuch record remayneth to be found in Euſebius, who would not haue omitted ſome memorial therof, if of if it had bene true,therfore I referre the ſame to the free iudgement of the Reader to fynde ſuche credite as it may. This Claudius raygned but two yeares, after whom came Quintilianus his brother next Emperour and a quiet Prince, who cõtinued but onely.xvij.daies, and had to his ſucceſſor Aurelianus, vnder whom Oroſius in his ſeuenth booke doth number the nynth perſecution againſt the Chriſtians.

Quintilianus Emperour.

¶ *The .ix. perſecution.*

The.ix.perſecution.
Aurelianus Emperour.

HEtherto from the captiuity of Valerian the church of Chriſt was in ſome quietnes,til ÿ death of Quintilianus,as hath bene declared: After whõ Aurelianus the next ſucceſſor poſſeſſed the crowne, who in the fyrſt beginning of his raygne (after the common maner of al princes)ſhewed him ſelfe a Prince moderate and diſcrete,much worthie of commendation, if his good begynning had continued in a conſtant courſe agreing to the ſame. Of nature he was ſeuere and rigorous in correcting diſſolute maners,in ſomuch that it was ſayd of him by a vulgar prouerbe,that he was a good Phiſition,ſauing that he gaue to bytter medicines. Thys Emperour being ſycke,neuer ſent for Phiſicion, but cured hym ſelfe with abſtinence. And as hys beginning was not vnfruitful to the common wealth: ſo neyther was he any great diſturber of the Chriſtians,whom he did not onely tolerate in their religion,but alſo in their councel,being the ſame time aſſembled at Antioch,ſeemed not to be againſt them. Notwithſtanding in continuaunce of tyme,throughe ſiniſter motion and inſtigation of certayne about him(as cõmonly ſuch are neuer abſent in al places from the eares of Princes) his nature ſomwhat inclinable to ſeueritie, was altered to a plaine tyranny,which tyranny firſt he ſhewed beginning with the murder of his own ſiſters ſonne,as wytneſſeth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to moue,or at leaſt to purpoſe perſecution agaynſte the Chriſtians. Albeit that wicked purpoſe of the Emperour,the mercyful working of God his hand dyd ſone ouerthrowe. For as the edict or proclamation ſhoulde haue bene denounced for the perſecuting of the Chriſtians,and the Emperour now readye to ſubſcribe the edict wyth hys hand,the mightye ſtroke of the hande of the Lorde ſodenlye from aboue did ſtoppe his purpoſe, binding as a man might ſaye, the Emperours handes behinde hym:declaring(as Euſebius ſayth)to all men, how there is no power to worke anye violence againſt ÿ ſeruaunts of God, vnles his permiſſion do ſuffer thẽ, and geue them leaue. Euſeb,lib.7.cap.30. Eutropius and Vopiſcus affirme, that as the ſayde Aurelianus was purpoſing to rayſe perſecution agaynſte vs,he was ſodenly terrified with lightning,and ſo ſtopped from hys wicked tyrannie. Not long after about the fift or ſyxt yeare of his raygne, he was ſlayne betwene Byzance and Hieraclea.an.278. Thus Aurelianus rather intended then moued perſecution. Neither is ther anye more then this found concerning this perſecution in auncient hiſtories and recordes of the church. Wherfore I maruayle the more, that Vincentius collecting out of the Martyrologes,hath comprehended ſuch a great Cataloge of ſo many Martyrs,which in Fraunce and in Italye(ſayth he)ſuffered death and tormentes vnder this Emperour Aurelianus. Whereunto Oroſius alſo ſeemeth to agree,in numbring this to be the nynth perſecution vnder the ſayd Aurelian.

A prouerbe.
A good phiſicion, but he geueth to bytter medicines.
Abſtinence the beſt phiſicke.
The councel of Antioche.
The good beginnyng of Aurelian.
The emperor altered by wicked counſayle.
A notable example of Gods hand ſtopping perſecutiõ.
Ex Euſeb. lib.7.c.30
No power againſt the people of god,except God geue leaue.
The death of Aurelianus.
278.
Ex Eutropio.

Next after Aurelianus the ſucceſſion of the impery fell to Publius Annius Tacitus,who raygned but.vj. monethes. Hym ſucceded his brother Florianus, who raygned but.lx.daies. And after him followed Marcus Aurelius,ſurnamed Probus. Of whom more hereafter (God wylling)ſhal appeare.

Tacitus emperour.
Florianus Emperour.

In the meane time,within the compaſſe of theſe Emperours falleth in a ſtorye recorded of Euſebius, and not vnworthy here to be noted,whereby to vnderſtand the faythful diligence of good Miniſters, what good it may doo in a common wealth.

Mention is made before,pag.103.of Euſebius the Deacon of Dionyſius,whom God ſtyrred vp to vyſet and comfort the ſaintes that were in priſon and bands, and to bury the bodies of the bleſſed Martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own lyfe, and after was made biſhop(as is ſaid)of Laodicea. But before he cam to Laodicea to be biſhop ther,it chaunced the ſaide Euſebius remayning as yet at Alexandria, the Citie to be beſieged of the Romanes,Pyruchius being there captayne. In the which ſiege halfe of the citie did hold with the Romanes,the other halfe withſtoode them. In that part which went with the Romane captayne was Euſebius,being alſo in great fauour with the captaine for his worthy fidelity and ſeruice ſhewed. With the other halfe that reſiſted the Romanes,was Anatholius, Gouernour or moderator then of the ſchole of Alexandria, who alſo was biſhop after the ſayd Euſebius, of Laodicea. This Anatholius perceauing the citizens to be in miſerable diſtreſſe of famine and deſtruction by reaſon of penurie and lacke of ſuſtinance,ſendeth to Euſebius being then with the Romains,and certifieth him of the lamentable penury & peryll of the city,inſtructing him moreouer,what to do in the matter. Euſebius vnderſtanding the caſe,repayreth to the captayne,deſiring of him ſo much fauour,that ſo many as woulde flee out of the citie frõ their enemies,might be licenſed to eſcape, and freely to paſſe,which was to him eftſones graunted. As Euſebius was thus laboring with the captain, on the other ſide Anatholius for his part laboured with the Citizens,mouing them to aſſemble together, & perſuading them to geue them ſelues ouer in yelding to the force and might of the Romanes. But when the Cityzens could not abide the hearing therof:yet(ſayde Anatholius)this I truſt you wyl be contented,if I ſhal cõſail you,in this miſerable lacke of thinges to auoid out of your Citie all ſuch ſuperfluities and vnneceſſary impedimentes vnto you,as old women, yong children,aged men,with ſuch other as be feable and impotent, & not to ſuffer them here to periſh with famine,whoſe preſence can do no ſtede to you if they dye,and leſſe if they lyue,for ſpending the victuals,which otherwyſe might ſerue them that be more able to defend the Citie. The Senate hearing this ſentence,and vnderſtãding moreouer the graunt of the Captaine,promiſing them theyr ſafety,were well conſenting therunto. Then Anatholius,hauing a ſpecial care to them that belonged to the Church of Chriſt,calleth them together,with the reſt of the multitude,and ſo perſuading thẽ,what they ſhould do,and what hath bene obtained for them,cauſed them to voyde the Citie,and not onely them,but alſo a great number of other moe, who perſuaded by hym, vnder that pretence, chaunging them ſelues in womens apparell,or fayning ſome impotency,ſo eſcaped out of the Citie. At whoſe comming out Euſebius on the other ſide was ready to receaue them,and refreſhed their hũgry and pined bodies,whereby not onelye they,but the whole City of Alexandria was preſerued from deſtruction. Euſebius lib.7.cap.32.

Euſebius Deacon of Alexandria.
Anatholius rector of the vniuerſity of Alexandria.
The piety of Anatholius and Euſebius to their countrye.

By this litle hiſtorye of Euſebius and Anatholius, deſcribed in the ſeuenth booke of Euſebius.cap.32.and briefly here ſet forth to thee(gentle Reader)thou mayeſt partly vnderſtande the practiſe of the Prelates what it was in thoſe dayes in the church: which was then onely employed in ſauing of lyfe, and ſuccoring the common weales wherin they lyued,as by theſe two godlye perſons Euſebius and Anatholius may well appeare. Unto the which practiſe if we compare ÿ practiſe of our latter Prelates of the Churche of Rome, I ſuppoſe no litle diuerſitie wyll appeare.

The Prelats of Rome ar clean cõtrary to their good prelates.

Marcus Aurelius Probus, Emperour.

Peace in the Church.

The ſaying of Marcus Aurelius.

Soldiors broughte vp in idlenes, wyll byde no labour.

Marcus Aurelius ſlayne.

The next Emperour to Florianus (as is ſaide) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wyſe and vertuous, and no leſſe valiant in marciall affaires, as fortunate in the ſucceſſe of the ſame. During his time we reade of no perſecution greatly ſtyrring in the church, but much quietnes, as wel in matters of religiō, as alſo in the common wealth. In ſo much that after his great and many victories, ſuch peace inſued, that his ſaying was, there neded no more ſoldiours, ſeing ther were no mo enemies to the common wealth to fight agaynſt. It was his ſaying alſo, that his ſoldiours nede not to ſpēd corne and vituale, except they laboured to ſerue the cōmon wealth. And for the ſame cauſe he cauſed his Soldiours to be ſet a worke about certayne mountaynes in Syrmia, and in Meſia to be planted with vynes, and not ſo muche as in wynter ſuffered them to be at reſt, therfore by thē at length he was ſlaine, after he had raigned yͤ ſpace of.vj.yeares, & .4. monthes. an. 284. Eutrop.

An. 284

Carus with his two ſonnes Carinus, and Numerianus Emperour.

Carus Emperor ſlayne wyth lyghtnyng.

Carus with his.ij.ſonnes Carinus, and Numerianus, ſucceded next after Probus, in the Empire, the raigne of which Emperours, continued in all, but.iij. yeres. Of the which three firſt Carus, warring againſt the Perſians, was ſlayne with lightning. Of Numerianus his ſonne, being with his father in his warres againſt the Perſians, we finde muche commendacion in Eutropius, Vopiſcus, and other writers: which teſtifye of him to be a valiaunt warriour, an eloquent Orator, as appeared by his declamations & writinges ſent to the Senate. Thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This Numerianus ſorowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great ſorenes of his eyes, by reaſon wherof he keeping cloſe, was ſlayne not long after, of his father in lawe named Aper, who trayterouſly aſpiring to the Empyre, diſſimuled his death with a falſe excuſe to the people aſking for him, ſaying for the paine of his eyes he kept in from the wynde and weather, till at length by the ſtynche of his body being caried about, his death was vttered.

Correction of a certaine place of Eutropius ex editione Frobeniana.

Cyrillus reſiſteth the Emperour.

Cyrillus byſhop of Antioche Martyr.

Ex Chronico Vrſpergen.

In the life of this Emperour Carus aforeſaid, written by Eutropius in the latter edition ſet forth by Frobenius, I finde (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appeare) that Numerianus the ſonne of thys Carus, was he that ſlewe Babylas the holye Martyr, whoſe hiſtorye before we haue comprehended. pag. 88. But that ſeemeth not to be like, both by the narration of Chryſoſtome: & alſo for yͤ Vrſpergēſis declaring the ſame hiſtory, and in the ſame wordes, as it is in Eutropius, ſayth that it was Cyrillus, whom Numerianus killed, the ſtory wherof is this: What time Carus the Emperour in his iourney going toward the Perſians, remayned at Antioche, Numerianus his ſonne woulde enter into the church of the Chriſtians, to vewe and behold their miſteries. But Cyrillus ther biſhop woulde in no wyſe ſuffer him to enter into the church, ſaying, that it was not lawfull for him to ſee the miſteries of God, who was polluted with ſacrifices of Idoles. Numerianus full of indignation at the hearyng of theſe wordes, not ſuffering that repulſe at the handes of Cyrillus, in his fury did ſlay the godly Martyr. And therefore iuſtlye (as it ſeemed) was he him ſelfe ſlayne afterwarde by the handes of Aper.

Carinus Emperour ſlayne Adultery puniſhed.

Thus Carus, with his ſonne Numerianus beyng ſlayne in the Eaſt parties, as is declared, Carinus the other ſonne raygned alone in Italie: wher he ouercame Sabinus ſtriuing for the Empire, and raygned there with muche wyckednes, tyll the returning home of the army agayne from the Perſians, who then ſet vp Diocleſian to be Emperour, by whom the forſayd Carinus for the wyckednes of his life, being forſaken of his hoſt, was ouercome, and at length ſlayne with the hande of the Tribune, whoſe wyfe before he had defloured. Thus Carus with his two ſonnes, Numerianus and Carinus ended their lyues, whoſe raygne continued not aboue.iij.yeares.

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Euſeb.
8, cap.

All this meane ſpace we reade of no great perſecution ſtyrring in the church of Chriſt, but was in meane quiet ſtate and tranquilitie, vnto the.xix. yeare of the raygne of Diocletian. So that in counting the time frō the latter ende of Valerian, vnto this forſayde yeare of Diocleſian, the peace of the Churche which God gaue to hys people, ſeemeth to continue aboue. xliiij. yeares. During the which time of peace and tranquilitye, the church of the Lord did mightely increaſe and flouriſhe, ſo that the mo bodies it loſt by perſecution, the more honour and reuerence it wanne daylye among the Gentiles in al quarters, both Greekes and barbarous: in ſomuch that (as Euſebius in his eight booke deſcribeth) amongeſt the Emperours themſelues diuers ther were which not onely bare ſingular good wyll and fauour to them of our profeſſion, but alſo did commit vnto them offices and regimentes ouer countries and nacions: ſo well were they affected to our doctrine, that they priuileged the ſame with libertie and indemnitie. What needeth to ſpeake of them, which not onelye lyuing vnder the Emperours in libertye, but alſo were familiar in the court with the Princes thē ſelues, intertained wyth great honour and ſpecial fauour, beyende the other ſeruitures of the court, as was Dorotheus with his wyfe, children, and whole family, highly accepted and aduaūced in the palace of the Emperour: Alſo Gorgonius in like maner with diuers other mo, who for their doctrine and learning which they profeſſed, were with their princes in great eſtimation. In like reuerence alſo were the biſhops of Cities and Dioceſſes, with the Preſidentes and Rulers where they lyued: who not onelye ſuffered them to lyue in peace, but alſo had them in great price and regarde, ſo long as they kept them ſelues vpright, and continued in God his fauour. Who is able to number at that tyme the mightye and innumerable multitudes and congregations aſſembling together in euery Citie, and the notable concourſes of ſuch as dayly flocked to the common Oratories to pray. For the whych cauſe they being not able to be contayned in their olde houſes, had large and great churches newe builded frō the foundacion, for them to frequent together. In ſuche increaſment (ſayth Euſebius) by proceſſe of time did the church of Chriſt grow and ſhout vp, dayly more & more profiting and ſpreading throughe all quarters, whych neither enuy of men could infring, nor any diuel could inchaunt, neyther the crafty policie of mans wyt could ſupplant, ſo long as the protection of God his heauenly arme went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of Chriſten life.

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But as cōmonly the nature of al men being of it ſelf vnruly & vntoward alwayes ſeeketh and deſireth proſperitie, and yet can neuer wel vſe proſperity, alwayes would haue peace, and yet hauing peace, alwaies abuſeth the ſame: ſo here lykewiſe it happened with theſe men, which through this ſo great libertye and proſperitie of lyfe, beganne to degenerate and languiſhe vnto idlenes and delicacie, and one to woorke ſpite and contumelye agaynſte an other, ſtriuing and contending amongſt themſelues for euery occaſion, with rayling woordes after moſt diſpitefull maner: byſhops againſt byſhops, and people againſt people, mouing hatred and ſedition one againſt an other, beſide alſo curſed hipocriſye and ſimulation with all extreamitie increaſeing more and more: by reaſon wherof the iudgement of God after his wonted maner, whyleſt yet the congregation began to multiplye, began by a litle and litle to viſet our mē with perſecution, falling firſt vpon our brethren which wer abroade in warfare, but whē yͤ toucht the other nothing, or very litle, neither did they ſeeke to appeaſe Gods wrath, and cal for his mercy, but

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wyckedlye thynkyng with oure ſelues, that God neyther regarded nor woulde viſit our tranſgreſſions, we heaped our iniquities daylye more and more one vpon an other, and they which ſeemed to be our paſtors refuſyng the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one agaynſt another. And thus whyleſt they were geuen onely to the ſtudy and heaping vp of contencions, threatninges, emulations, mutual hatred, & diſcorde, euery man ſeeking his own ambition, and perſecuting one another after the maner of tiranny: Thē, then I ſay, the Lord according to the voyce of Ieremie tooke away the beuty of the daughter of Sion, and the glory of Iſrael fel downe from heauen, neyther dyd he remember the footeſtoole of his feete in the daye of hys wrath. And the Lord ouerturned all the comely ornamentes of Iſrael, and deſtroyed all her gorgeous buyldings, and according to the ſaying of the Pſalme, hath ſubuerted and extinguiſhed the Teſtament of hys ſeruaunt, and hath prophaned his ſanctuary in deſtruction of his churches, and in laying waſte the buyldings therof, and hath put feare in al the munitions thereof, and all paſſingers ſpoyling the multitude of the people, furder was made an obloquie to all the dwellers aboute. For he hath exalted the ſtrength of his enemies, & hath turned away the helpe of his ſword from her, and hath not ayded hyr in the battayle, but hath ceaſed from the purging of her and her ſeate. He hath ſtrooken downe to the ground, and hath diminiſhed her dayes, and ouer al this hath poured vpon her confuſion. All theſe things were fulfylled vpon vs, when we ſaw the temples raſed from the top to the ground, and the ſacred ſcriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the Paſtours of the church to hyde themſelues, ſome here, ſome there, ſome other taken priſoners with great ſhame wer mocked of their enemies, whē alſo according to the ſaying of the prophet in an other place: Contempt is poured out vpon the Princes, and hath cauſed them go out of the way, and not to keepe the ſtrayt path.

¶The .x. perſecution:

By reaſon and occaſion whereof (the wrath of God being kindled againſt his churche) inſued the tenth and laſt perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, ſo horrible and greuous, that it maketh the penne almoſt to tremble to wryte vpon it: ſo tedious, that neuer was any perſecution before or ſynce comparable to it for the tyme it continued, laſting the ſpace of .x. yeres together. This perſecution although it paſſed throughe the handes of diuers tyrantes and workers mo then one or two: yet principally it beareth the name of Diocleſiā, who was Emperour, as is aboue noted, next after Carus & Numerianus. This Diocletian euer hauing an ambitious mynde, aſpired greatlye to bee Emperour. To whom Druas his Concubine ſaid, that firſt hee ſhoulde kyll a wylde Bore before he ſhould be Emperour. He taking effect at theſe wordes, vſed much wyth hand to kil wilde Bores: but ſeing no ſucceſſe to come thereof, vſed thys prouerbe: Ego Apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur, that is, I kyl the Bores, but other do eate the fleſh. At length thys ſayd Diocleſian being nominate to be Emperour, and ſeyng Aper (who had killed Numerianus the Emperour) ſtanding therby, ſware to the ſoldiours that Numerianus was wrongfullye kylled, and forthwith running vpon Aper with his ſworde, ſlewe him. Vopiſc. After this he being ſtabliſhed in the Empyre, & ſeing on euery ſyde diuers and ſundry commotions riſing vp againſt him, which he was not wel able himſelf to ſuſtayne, in the firſt beginning of his raygne he chuſeth for his Colleage Maximianus ſurnamed Herculius, father to Maxentius. Which two Emperours, becauſe of diuers warres that roſe in manye prouinces, choſe to them two other noble men, Galerius, and Conſtātius, whom they called Ceſars. Of whom Galerius was ſent into the Eaſt partes agaynſte the Perſians. Conſtantius was ſent ouer to Britannie to thys oure country of England, to recouer the tribute. Where he tooke to wyfe Helena the daughter of king Coil, which was a mayden excelling in beuty, and no leſſe famouſly brought vp in the ſtudye of learning, of whom was borne Conſtantinus the great.

Galerius, Conſtantius, Ceſars vnder Diocleſian and Maximinian. Helena daughter of Coil, maried to Conſtātius.

Al this while hitherto no perſecution was yet ſtyrred of theſe .4. princes agaynſt the church of Chriſt, but quietly and moderatly they gouerned the commō wealth: wherfore accordingly God proſpered their doinges and affayres, and gaue them great victories, Diocleſian in Egipt, Maximinian in Aphrick and in Fraunce, Galerius in Perſia, Conſtantius in England & in Fraunce alſo. By reaſon of which victories Diocleſian and Maximinian puft vp in pride, ordayned a ſolemne triumphe at Rome, after which triumph Diocleſian gaue commaundement that he would be worſhipped as God, ſeying that he was brother to the Sunne and Moone, and adourning his ſhooes with gold and precious ſtones cōmaunded the people to kyſſe hys feete.

Pryde in Diocletian.

And not long after by the iudgement of God, for certayne enormities vſed in the church, aboue touched, beganne the great and greuous perſecution of the Chriſtians, moued by the ragious crueltye of Diocleſian, which was about the .xix. yeare of hys raygne, who in the moneth of March, when the feaſt of Eaſter was nye at hand, commaunded al the Churches of the Chriſtiās to be ſpoyled and caſt to the earth, and the bookes of holy ſcripture to be burned.

Cruelty followeth pryde

An. 308.

Perſecution agaynſt the chriſtians.

Thus moſt violent edictes and proclamations were ſet forth, for the ouerthrowing as is ſayde, of the Chriſtians temples throughoute all the Romane Empyre. Neither did there want in the officers any cruel execution of the ſame proclamations. For their temples wer defaced euen when they celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the firſt edict geuen out by Diocleſian, the next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the bookes of the holy ſcripture, which thing was done in the open market place as before. Then next vnto that were edictes geuen foorth for the diſplacing of ſuch as were Magiſtrates, and that with great ignominie, and all other whatſoeuer bare any office. Impriſoning ſuche as were of the common ſort, if they would not abiure Chriſtianitie, & ſubſcribe to the Heathen religion. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonoras alſo in his ſecond tome. And theſe were the beginning of the Chriſtians euils.

Chriſtian temples deſtroyed.

Bookes of the ſcripture burned.

Chriſtian Magiſtrates diſplaced.

Chriſtian ſubiectes impriſoned.

It was not long after, but that new edictes were ſet forth, nothing for their cruelty inferiour to the firſt: for the caſting of the elders and byſhops into priſon, and then conſtraynyng them with ſundry kindes of puniſhmentes to offer vnto their idoles. By reaſon wherof inſued a great perſecution amongeſt the gouernoures of the Church, amongeſt whom many ſtoode manfullye, paſſing through many exceeding bytter tormentes, neither were ouercome therwith, being tormented and examined diuers of them diuerſly: ſome ſcourged, al their bodies ouer with whips and ſcourges: ſome with racks raſynges of the fleſh intollerable were cruciated: ſome one way, ſome an other way put to death. Some again violently were drawen to the vnpure ſacrifice, and as though they had ſacrificed, when in deede they did not, were let go. Other ſome neyther comming at al to their aulters, nor touching anye peece of their ſacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that ſtood by, that they had ſacrificed, and ſo ſuffering that falſe infamatiō of their enemies, quietly went away. Other as dead men were caried and caſt away, being but halfe dead. Some they caſt downe vpon the pauiment, and trayling them a great ſpace by the legs, made the people beleue that thei had

Biſhops and Elders cōſtrained with tormentes to ſacrifice.

had ſacrificed. Furthermore, other there were whyche ſtoutly withſtood them, denying with a loud voyce that they had done no ſuch ſacrifice. Of whom ſome ſayde, they were Chriſtians, and gloryed in the profeſſion of that name: ſome cryed ſaying, that neyther they had, nor would euer be partakers of that idolatry. And thoſe being bouffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the ſoldiours, were made to holde their peace, and ſo thruſt out with violence. And if the ſayntes dyd ſeeme neuer ſo litle, to do what the enemies would haue them, they were made much of. Albeit all this purpoſe of the aduerſary, did nothing preuayle, agaynſt the holye and conſtant ſeruauntes of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding, of the weake ſorte innumerable there were, which for feare & infirmitye fel and gaue ouer, euen at the firſt brunt.

The noble courage and conſtancie of a chriſtian Martyr.

At the firſt comming downe of theſe edictes into Nicomedia, there chaunced a deede to be done, much worthy of note and memory, of a Chriſtian, being a noble man borne, which moued by the zeale of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was ſet vp, by & by ranne and tooke downe the ſame, and openly tare and rent it in peeces, not fearing the preſence of the twoo Emperours, then being in the Citie. For which act he was put to a moſt bitter death, which death hee wyth great fayth and conſtancye endured euen to the laſt gaſpe. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.3.&.5.

Perſecutiō firſt beginnyng in the Emperours campe.

After this the furious rage of the malignant Emperours, being let looſe againſt the ſayntes of Chriſt proceeded more and more, making hauocke of Gods people, throughout al quarters of the world. Firſt Diocleſian, which had purpoſed with hymſelfe to ſubuert the whole Chriſtian religion, executed his tyrannye in the Eaſt, and Maximianus in the weſt. But wyly Diocleſian began very ſubtilly: for he put the matter firſt in practiſe in his owne campe, among whō the Marſhal of the field, as Euſeb.lib.8.cap.4. affirmeth: put the Chriſtiā ſoldiours to this choyſe, whether they woulde obey the Emperours commaundement in that maner of ſacrifice he commaunded, and ſo both to keepe their offices, and leade their bandes, or els to laye awaye from them their armour and weapons. Whereunto the Chriſten men couragiouſly anſwered, that they were not onelye ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but alſo to ſuffer death if it ſhould with tyrannye be enforced vnto them, rather then they would obey the wycked decrees and commaundementes of the Emperour.

Notable religion and fayth in ſoldiours.

There might a man haue ſene verye manye whych were deſirous to liue a ſimple and poore life: and which regarded no eſtimation and honour in compariſon of true pietie and godlynes. And this was no more but a ſubtyl and wily flatterie in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they wuld wyllingly abiure their profeſſiō or not: as alſo this was an other, that in the beginning of the perſecution, there were but a few tormented with puniſhment, but afterwarde by litle & litle he began more manifeſtlye to braſt out into perſecution: It can hardlye be expreſſed with woordes what number of Martyrs, and what bloud was ſhedde throughe all cities and regions for the name of Chriſt. Euſeb. in his. 8. booke, and. 7. chap. ſayth that he hymſelfe knew, the worthy Martyrs that wer in Paleſtina. But in Tire of Phenicia he declareth in the ſame place a marueylous martyrdome made, wher certayne Chriſtians being geuen to moſt cruell wylde beaſtes, were preſerued without hurt of them, to the great admiracion of the beholders, and thoſe Lions, Beares, and Lybardes (kept hungry for that purpoſe) had no deſyre to deuour them: which notwithſtanding moſt vehemently raged agaynſte thoſe by whom they were brought into the ſtage, and ſtoode as they thought without daunger of thē, ſuche were firſt deuoured. But the Chriſtiā martyrs, becauſe they coulde not be hurt of the beaſtes, being ſlayne with the ſword, were afterward throwne into the ſea. At that time were martyred Tyrannion byſhop of Tyre, Zenobius, B. of Sidon: But Syluanus the biſhop of Gazenſis with. 39. other were ſlaine in the mettal mynes of Phenicia. Pamphilius the Elder of Ceſarea, being the glorye of that congregation, died a moſt worthy martyr, whoſe both life and moſt cōmendable martyrdom, Euſebius often tymes declareth in his. 8. booke, and. 13. chap. in ſo much yͭ he hath writen yͤ ſame in a boke by it ſelf. In Syria al yͤ chief teachers of the congregation were fyrſt committed to priſon, as a moſt heauy and cruel ſpectacle to behold, as alſo the byſhops, Elders, and Deacons, which al were eſtemed as menquellers and perpetratours of moſt wicked factes. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.6. After that we reade of an other, whoſe name was Tirannion, which was made meate for the fiſhes of the ſea, and of Zenobius, which was a verye good Phiſition, which alſo was ſlayne with bricke bats in the ſame place. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.13.

Martyrs of Tyre in Phoenicia.

Pamp… by ſho… Ceſar… Marty…

Marty… Syria.

Tiran… Marty… Zeno… a phi… marty…

Furthermore he maketh mencion in the ſame place of others which were not tormented to death, but euery day terrified & feared wͭout ceaſing: Of ſome others that were brought to the ſacrifices, and commaunded to do ſacrifice, which woulde rather thruſt their ryght hand into the fire, then touche the prophane or wycked ſacrifice. Alſo of ſome others that before they were apprehended, would caſt downe them ſelues from ſteepe places, leaſt that being taken they ſhould commit anye thing againſt their profeſſion. Alſo of two virgins very fayre and proper, with their mother alſo which had ſtudiouſly brought them vp, euen from their infancy in all godlynes, being long ſought for, and at the laſt found, and ſtraightly kept by their keepers, whileſt they made their excuſe to do yͭ which nature required, threw them ſelues downe headlong into a ryuer. Alſo of other twoo yong maydens being ſiſters, and of a worſhipful ſtock, and indued with many goodly vertues, wer caſt of the perſecutours into the ſea. And theſe thinges were done at Antioche as Euſebius in his. 8. booke, and. 13. chap. affirmeth. But Syluanus the biſhop of Emiſſa that notable martyr together with certayn others wer thrown to the wylde beaſtes. Euſeb.lib.8 cap.13.

Two… gines… theyr… ther… tyrs.

Two… mayde… ſters… tyrs.

Syluan… byſhop… Emiſſa… tyr.

Diuers and ſundry tormentes were the Chriſtians in Meſopotamia moleſted with, where they were hanged vp by the feete, and their heads downwardes, and with the ſmoke of a ſmal fire ſtrangled. And alſo in Capadocia, wher the Martyrs had their legs broken. Euſeb.lib.cap.12.

Marty… Meſop… mia. Marty… Capad…

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the Martyrs of Tarſus in Cilicia as Tharatus, Probus, and Andronicus: But yet the Martyrs in the regions of Pōtus ſuffered farre more paſſing and ſharper tormentes, wherof I wyl hereafter make mention Euſebius ibidē. Yet outragious was the beginning of the perſecution which yͤ Emperor made in Nicomedia in Bithinia, as afore is ſayd, where he refrayned not from the ſlaughter and death of the children of Emperours, neither yet from ſlaughter of the moſt chiefeſt princes of his court, whom a litle before he made as much of, as if they had bene his own childrē. Such an other was Peter, which amongeſt diuers and ſundry tormentes, among whom he being naked was lyfted vp, his whole bodye beyng beaten with whips and torne, that a man might ſee the bare bones, and after they had mingled viniger & ſalte together, they poured it vpon the moſt tender partes of his bodie, and laſtly roſted at a ſoft fire, as a man wold roſt fleſh to eate, as a victorious martyr ended hys lyfe. Dorotheus and Gorgonius being in great autoritye & office vnder the Emperour, after diuers torments wer ſtrangled with an halter, which both being of the priuy chamber to him, when they ſawe and beheld the greuous puniſhment of Peter their houſhold companion: wher-

Marty… Tarſu… Thara… Prob… Andro… cus ma…

Marty… Pontu…

Marty… Nicom… Perſecu… in Ni… dia exc… ding… moſt… & con… marty…

Doro… Gorgo… Marty…

wherfore(ſayd they O Emperour)do you puniſh in Peter that opinion which is in al vs? Why is that accoũted in him an offence,that al we confeſſe,we are of that fayth,religion and iudgement that he is of. Therefore he commaunded them to be brought forth, and almoſt with like paynes to be tormented as Peter was,and afterwardes hanged. Euſeb.Rufini lib.8.cap.6. After whõ Anthimus the biſhop of Nicomedia,after he had made a notable and worthye confeſſion, and bringing wyth him a great and goodly company of Martyrs, was beheaded. Theſe men being thus diſpatched, the Emperour vaynly thought that he might cauſe the reſt to do what euer him liſted. To this ende came Lucianus the Elder of the congregation of Antioche,and was martyred after he had made his Apologie before the Emperour. Euſebius.lib.8.cap.13.

chimus ſhop of icomedia yth a eat multude of artirs headed

cianus e elder of ntioche artyrs.

Hermanus alſo that monſter,cauſed Serena the wyfe of Diocleſian the Emperour,to be martyred for the Chriſtian religion: ſo muche dyd the rage of perſecution vtterly forget all natural affectes. Other Martyrs of Nicomedia doth Nicephorus in his.7.booke and 14.chap.recite,as Eulampius & Ewlampia, Agapen, Irenea,Chionia,and Anaſtacia,vnder Illyricus chiefe officer,were bound hand and foote to a poſt and brent. Vincentius.lib.12.cap.66. And alſo Euſeb. lib.8.cap.6. mencioneth ſuch an other like matter ful of horror and griefe. Ther aſſembled together in their temple manye Chriſtian men to celebrate the memory of the natiuity of Chriſt,of euery age and ſorte ſome: Ther Maximianus thinking to haue bene geuen a very fyt occaſſon to execute his tyranny vpon the poore Chriſtians,ſent thither ſuch as ſhould burne the temple,the doores beyng ſhut and cloſed round about. Thither came they wyth fire,but firſt they commaunded the Cryar with a loude voyce to cry,that who ſo euer would haue lyfe, ſhoulde come out of the temple,and doo ſacrifice vpon the next alter they came vnto of Jupiter,and vnles they would do this,they ſhould al be brent with the temple. Then one ſtepping vp in the temple,anſwered in the name of all the reſt with great courage and boldnes of mynde, that they were all Chriſtians, and beleued that Chriſt was their onely God and king,and that they would do ſacrifice to him,wyth his father & holye Ghoſt, and that they were now al ready to offer vnto him. Wyth theſe wordes the fire was kyndled and compaſſed about the temple,and there were brent of men,wemen and children vicies mille,that is.20000. There were alſo in Arabia very many Martyrs ſlayne with axes, as Euſebi. lib.8.cap.12. There was in Phrigia a Citye,vnto which the Emperour ſent his edictes,that they ſhould doo ſacrifice to the Gods,and worſhip Idoles,all which Citizens,the Maior himſelfe,the Queſtor, and chiefe Captayne confeſſed that they were all Chriſtians. The Citie vpon this was beſieged and ſet on fire,& all the people. Euſeb.lib 8.cap.11. In Melitina,a regiõ of Armenia, the Biſhops and Elders were caſt in priſon. Euſebius eodem cap.6. In Arabrace a region neare adioyning to Armenia Euſtratius was martyred as Nicephorus declareth.lib.7.cap.14. This Euſtratius was that country man borne,and very ſkilful in the Greeke toung, executing by the Emperours cõmaundement, the ſhirifes office at Licia in the Eaſt,which alſo did execution ther vpon the Chriſtians,and was a Scribe of great eſtimation called Ordinis Ducalis. This man beholding the marueilous conſtancie of the Martyrs, thirſted with the deſire of martyrdome,for that he had priuelye learned the Chriſtian religion. Therefore he not abydyng for other accuſers,detected himſelfe,and worthelye profeſſed that he was a Chriſtian, openlye execrating the madnes and vanitie of the wycked Ethnickes. He therfore being caryed away,was tyed vp, being firſt moſt bitterly beatẽ. After that he was partched wt fire,beyng put vnto his bowels,and thẽ baſted with ſalt and vineger,and laſtly ſo ſcotched & bemangled with the ſhards of ſharpe and cutting ſhels,that his whole body ſemed to be al one continual wound,how be it by Gods great goodnes afterward he was reſtored to the firſt integritie. After this he was caryed awaye to Sebaſtia, where with his companiõ Oreſt he was burned. At that tyme alſo ſuffered Eugenius,Auxentius,Mardarius. Nicep. lib.7.cap.14. And in no leſſe wyſe raged this perſecution throughout al Egipt: wher Euſebius in his.8. booke, & 13.chap.maketh mẽtion of Peleus and Nilus martirs and biſhops in Egipt. But at Alexandria eſpeciallye were declared moſt notable conflictes of Chriſtian and true conſtant martyrs that ſuffered,which Phileas the biſhop of Thunitane deſcribeth as after(God willing) ſhalbe declared. In this perſecution of Alexandria, the principal that then ſuffered was Peter, the byſhop of Alexandria,with the Elders of the ſame,moſt woorthy Martyrs,as Fauſtus, Didius, and Ammonius, alſo Phileas,Heſichius,Pachiminus,& Theodorus,which al were biſhops of the Congregations within Egipt, and beſides them many other both famous and ſingular men. The whole legion of Chriſtian ſoldiors which lay at Thebes in Egipt,vnder the Chriſtian Captaine Mauritius,when they would not obey the Emperours commaundemẽt and decree touching the worſhipping of Images,were tythed to death once,and then again. And at laſt through the exhortation of Mauritius, died altogether lyke conſtant Martyrs Vincentius in ſpeculo.lib.13.cap.2. Likewiſe at Antino diuers Chriſtian ſouldiours,notwithſtanding they wer ſeriouſly diſſwaded, ſuffered death together,and amongeſt whõ were Aſcla. Philemon,and Apollonius, ibidem cap.50. and alſo in the other partes of Aphrica and Mauritania was great perſecution,as Euſeb.lib.8.cap.6. Alſo in Sammium, of which place Chronicon maketh mention, and Scilia, where were.79. Martyrs ſlayne, for the profeſſion of Chriſt,as writeth Henricus de Erfordia.

rena wife Diocleti Emp. artyr.

ulapius ulampia. gape. ene. hionia. naſtatia artyrs

wentye ouſande artyrs urnt toge er in one urch

artyrs of rabia.

artyrs in certayn ci of Phry ia brent yth the hole city.

artyrs of elitina in rmenia.

uſtratius f a perſecu r made a artyr. x Nice oro lib.7 p.14.

Oreſtes Martyr.
Eugenius
Auxentius.
Mardarius.
Peleus.
Nilus.
biſhops and martyrs in Egipt

Petr⁹ biſhop of Alexandria
Fauſtus
Didius.
Ammonius.
Phileas.
Heſichius.
Pachunius.
Theodorus biſh & martyr.

The Chriſtian ſouldiours and Martirs of Thebes

The Chriſtian ſouldiors and biſhops in Antino.
Aſcla
Philemon
Apollonius
Martyrs.
79. Martyrs.

Now let vs come vnto Europe, Nicephorus in hys 7.booke,and.14.chap.ſayth,that at Nicopolus in Thracia the Martyrs were in moſte miſerable and pitifull wyſe handled, where Lyſia had the execution thereof. In Chalcedone ſuffered Euphemia,vnder Priſcus the Proconſul. Vincentius lib. 12.cap.77.

The perſecutiõ in Europe.
Euphemia.

Henricus de Erfordia ſayth that at Rome, Iohannes and Criſpus, being Prieſtes, had the execution of the Martyrs. And at Boemia Agricola and Vitalis, Vincẽtius lib.12.cap.49. And at Aquileia the Emperour commaunded euery man to kyll the Chriſtians. Vincentius lib.eodem.cap.58. and amongeſt thoſe martyrs he maketh mention of Felices,and Fortunatus. Reginus alſo writeth,that in other places of Italy the perſecution became great,as at Florentia, Pergamus, Neaples, Campania, Beneuentus,at Venuſa in Apulia, and in Thuſſia,and Henricus de Erfordia ſaith alſo at Verona. In Fraunce doubtles Rictionarus apointed to that office,played the cruel helhound,of whoſe great crueltye agaynſt the Chriſtians,many hiſtories are full. At Mediolanus ſuffered Victor. And at Maſſilia, Maximianus ſet forth hys decree,that eyther they ſhould all do ſacrifice to the Gods of ye Gentils,or els be al ſlaine with diuers kindes of torments. Therfore many martyrs ther dyed for the glory of Chriſt. Antonius & Vincẽtius lib. 12.cap.2. In Belnacus ſuffered Lucian.

Perſecution in Fraunce.

Victor. Martyr.

Lucianus martyrs.

Vincentius and Reginus wryte of many places in Hiſpayne,where was great perſecution,as at Emerita,where ſuffered Eulalia,of whõ more followeth here after,and Adula,where alſo ſuffered Vincentius, Sabina,and Chriſtina. At Toletum ſuffered Lencadia the virgin,at Ceſarea Auguſta,wher were put to death.18. beſide a great number of other martyrs, which ſuffred vnder Decianus the Gouernour, which afflicted wyth

The perſecutiõ in Spayne.
Eulalia, Adula, Vincẽtius, Sabina, Chriſtina, Lencadia, Martyrs.
18. Martyrs in Spayne

Rictionarus a notable tyrant. The bloud of the chriſtians made ryuers.

perſecution al the coaſt of Spayne, as ſayth Vincentius lib.13.cap.123.124.128.130.134. The foreſayd Rictionarus made ſuch perſecution at Treuers neare the ryuer of Moſella, that the blood of Chriſten men that wer ſlayne ranne lyke ſmall brookes, and coulored great & meane riuers. Neither yet did this ſuffice him, but frō thence ſent certayne horſmen with his letters, commaunding them to ryde into euerye place, and charge all ſuche as had taken and apprehended anye Chriſtians, that they ſhould immediatelye put them to death. Vincentius.lib.13.cap.136.

Agrippina. Auguſta. Martyrs.

Alſo Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mencion of great perſecution to be at Colonia wher Agrippina and Auguſta were martyred, as alſo in the Prouince of Rhetia.

The perſecutiō in Britanny or England.

Beda alſo ſayth that this perſecution reached euen vnto the Britanes in his booke De ratione temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Noſegaye of tyme, do declare that all the Chriſtians in Britany wer vtterly deſtroyed. Furthermore, that ẏ kindes of death and puniſhment were ſo great and horrible, that no mans toung is able to expreſſe. In the beginning, whē the Emperour by his ſubtilty and wylynes, rather dalied, then ſhewed his rigour, hee threatned them wyth bandes and impriſonment: but within a whyle, when he began to work the matter in good earneſt, he deuiſed innumerable ſortes of tormentes and puniſhments, as whippinges and ſcourginges, rackings, horrible ſcrapinges, ſword, fire, and ſhip botes, wherein a great nūber being put, were ſoonke and drowned in the bottom of the ſea. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.6.&.7. Alſo hanging them vpon croſſes, binding them to ẏ bodies of dead trees with their heades downward, hanging them by the myddels vpon gallowſes, til they dyed for hunger, throwing thē alyue to ſuch kinde of wylde beaſtes as woulde deuour them as Lyons, beares, Lybards, and wylde Buls. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.8. Pricking and thruſting them in wyth bodkins and talantes of beaſtes, tyll they were almoſt dead, lyfting them vp a high with their heades downeward, euen as in Thebaide they did vnto the women being naked and vnclothed, one of their feete tyed and lyfted a high, and ſo hanging downe with their bodies, which thing to ſee was very pityfull, with other diuiſed ſortes of puniſhmentes moſt tragicall, or rather tyrannicall, and pitiful to deſcribe: as firſt, the binding of thē to trees, and to the boughes thereof. The pulling & tearing a ſunder of their members and ioyntes, being tied to the boughes and armes of trees. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.9. The mangling of them with axes, the choking them wᵗ ſmoke by ſmal and ſoft fires, the diſmembring of their handes, eares and feete, with other ioyntes, as the holy Martyrs of Alexandria ſuffred, the ſcortching and broiling of them with coales, not vnto death, but euery day reneued, with which kinde of tormentes the Martirs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus, other horryble puniſhmentes and fearfull to be heard, did the Martirs of Chriſt ſuffer, of which ſome had their fingers endes vnder the nayles thruſt in with ſharpe bodkins: ſome al to be ſprinkled with boiling leade, hauing their moſt neceſſary members cut from them: ſome other ſuffring moſt filthy, intollerable, and indurable tormentes and payne, in their bowels and priuy members. Euſebius eodem.cap.12.

Diocletianus dyd but dallye in the beginnyng of the perſecution. Sundry ſortes of tormentes deuiſed againſt the chriſtians.

The women of Thebaide Martyrs.

The perſecution in Antioche

The perſecutiō in Pontus.

Perſecution in Alexandria.

The contentes of the epiſtle of Phileas ſent to his congregation.

To conclude, how great was the outrage of the perſecution which was in Alexandria, and with how many and ſundry kindes of new deuiſed puniſhments the Martyrs were afflicted: Phileas, the biſhop of the Thumitans, a mā ſingularly wel learned, hath deſcribed in his Epiſtle to the Thumitans, the copy wherof Euſebius hath in his.8.booke, and.x.chap. out of the which we meane here briefly to recite ſomwhat. Becauſe (ſayth he) euery man might torment the holy Martyrs as they

> liſted themſelues: ſome bet them with cougils, ſome wᵗ rods, ſome with whyps, ſome with thonges, and ſome with cordes, and this example of beating was in ſondry wyſe executed, and with much cruelty. For ſome of thē hauing their handes bound behinde their backes, were lifted vp vpon tymber logs, and with certayne inſtrumentes their members & ioyntes were ſtretched foorth, wheron their whole bodies hanging were ſubiect to the wyl of the tormentors, who were commaunded to afflict them with al maner of tormentes, and not on their ſydes onely (lyke as homicides were) but vpon their bellies, thighes, and legs, they ſcorched them with the talentes and clawes of wylde beaſtes. Some other were ſene to hang by one hand vpon the engine, wherby they might feele the more greuous pullyng out of the reſt of their ioyntes & members. Some other wer in ſuch ſort bound vnto pyllers wᵗ their faces turned to the wal, hauing no ſtay vnder their feete, and were violētly waide downe with the payſe of their bodyes, that by reaſon of their ſtraight binding, they being drawne out, myghte be more greuouſly tormented. And this ſuffred they not onely during the tyme of their examination, & whyle the Sheriffe had to do with them, but alſo the whole dai long. And whyleſt the Iudge went thus from one to an other, he by his autoritie appoynted certaine officers to attend vpon thoſe he left, and not to be let downe vntil either through the intollerablenes of the payne, or by the extremitie of cold, they being neare ẏ point of death, ſhould be let downe: and ſo were they haled vpon the ground. And further they were commaunded that they ſhould ſhew not ſo much as one ſparke of mercy or compaſſion vpon vs, but ſo extreamelye and furiouſlye dyd deale with vs, as though our ſoules and bodies ſhoulde haue dyed together. And therefore yet an other torment our aduerſaries deuiſed to augmēt our former plages. After that they had moſt lamentably beaten them, they deuiſed moreouer a new kinde of racke, wherin they lying vpright, were ſtretched by both the feete aboue the fourth ſtop or hole, with ſharpe ſhels or ſhares ſtrowed vnder them, after a ſtraunge kinde of ingine to vs here vnknowen. Other ſome wer caſt downe vpon the pauement, wher they were oppreſſed ſo thicke & ſo greuouſly with torments, that it is not almoſt to be thought what afflictions they ſuffered.
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> Thus they lieng in paynes and tormentes, ſome died therwith, not a litle ſhaming and confounding their enemies by their ſingular pacience. Some halfe dead & halfe a lyue, were thruſt into priſon, where ſhortly after by paynes & woundes of their bodies they ended their bitter lyfe. Some agayne beyng cured of their woūds by their induraunce in priſon, were more confirmed: who being put to the choyſe whether they woulde come to their curſed ſacrifice, and inioy their wicked liberty, or els ſuſtayne the ſentence of death, did wyllingly and without delay abide the extremitie, remembring wyth them ſelues what is written in the ſcriptures: He that ſacrificeth (ſayth he) to ſtraunge Gods, ſhal be exterminate. &c. Itē, thou ſhalt not haue any ſtrāge gods beſide me &c. Thus myche wrote Phileas to the Congregatiō where he was byſhop, before hee receaued the ſentence of death, being yet in bandes, and in the ſame exhorteth hys brethren conſtantly to perſiſt after hys death, in the truth of Chriſt profeſſed. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.10.

Straung
kyndo
tormen

Ex Sa
lico.lib
cap.8.

An holy
martyr o
Nicom
torme

Sabellicus in his ſeuenth Ennead and.8.booke, ſaith that that Chriſtened man which tore and pulled downe the wycked edict of the Emperour in Nicomedia, being ſtript and beaten that the bones appeared, & after waſhed in ſalt and viniger, was then ſlayne with this cruel kinde of torment. But Platina writeth that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die ſo conſtantly

But as all their tormentes were for their horriblenes, marueilous and notable, and therwithal ſo ſtudiouſly uſebius a eholder & witnes of heſe ſuffe- nges.

ouſly deuiſed, and no les greuous & ſharpe: ſo notwithſtanding therwith, were theſe Martyrs neither diſmaied nor ouercome, but rather therby cōfirmed & ſtrengthned, ſo merely and ioyfully ſuſtayned they what ſoeuer was put vnto them. Euſebius ſaith that he hymſelfe beheld and ſaw the huge and great perſecution that was done in Thebaide, in ſomuch that the very ſwoordes of the hangmen and perſecutours being blunt wyth the great and often ſlaughter, they them ſelues for wearynes ſat downe to reſt them, and other were fayne to take their places. And yet all thys notwithſtandyng the murthered Chriſtians ſhewed their marueilous readynes, wyllingnes, and diuine fortitude, whiche they were indued with, with ſtout courage, ioy, and ſmiling receauing the ſentence of death pronoūced vpon them, and ſoong euen vnto the laſt gaſpe hymnes & Pſalmes to God. So did alſo the Martyrs of Alexandria, as witneſſeth Phileas aboue mencioned. The holye Martyrs ſayth he, keeping Chriſt in their mindes, being led with the loue of better rewardes, ſuſtayned not onely at one tyme, what ſoeuer labour and deuiſed puniſhmentes they had to lay vpō them: but now alſo the ſecond tyme haue done the ſame, and haue borne all the manaces of the cruel ſoldiours, not onely in woordes, wherewyth they threatned them, but alſo what ſoeuer in deede and worke they coulde deuiſe to their deſtruction, and that with moſt manly ſtomackes, excluding all feare, wyth the perfectiō of their inſpeakeable loue towards Chriſt, whoſe great ſtrength and fortitude cannot by wordes be expreſſed. And Sulpitius ſayth in the ſeconde booke of hys ſacred hiſtory, that then the Chriſtiās with more gredy deſyre preaſed and ſought for martyrdome, then now they deſyre biſhoprickes.

he ſwor- es blunt, the hāg- en wery- d wyth aughter.

The marue lous conſtā cie of the Martyrs of OD in perſecutiō, nd at the yme of eath.

Martyrdōe more deſy- ed in the olde tyme, thē biſhop ickes be ow.

Although ſome there were alſo, as I haue ſayd, that wyth feare and threateninges, and by their owne infirmitie, were ouercome and went backe. Euſebius.lib.8. cap.3 amongeſt whom Socrates nameth Miletius.lib.1. cap.6. and Athanaſius in his ſeconde Apologie nameth the biſhop of Licus a City in litle Egipt, whom Peter the biſhoppe of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this perſecution he ſacrificed to the Gentyles Gods. Of ẏ fal of Marcellinus ẏ biſhop of Rome, I wil ſpeak afterwardes. For he beyng perſwaded by others, and ſpecially of the Emperoure Diocleſian himſelfe, did ſacrifice, wherupon he was excommunicated, but afterwardes he repenting the ſame, was agayne receaued into the Congregation, and made Martyr, as Platina and the compilor of the booke of the generall councels, affirme. The number of the Martyrs increaſed daylye, ſometymes ten, ſomtimes twenty were ſlayne at once, ſome whyles.30. and often times.60. and other whyles 100. in one day, men, women, and children, by diuers kindes of death. Euſeb. lib.8. cap.9. alſo Damaſus, Beda, Oroſius, Honorius & others do witneſſe, that ther wer ſlayne in thys perſecutiō by the name of Martyrs, within the ſpace of.30. dayes. xvij. thouſand perſons, beſyde an other great number and multitude that were condemned to the mettall mynes and quaryes wyth lyke crueltye.

Chriſtians hat denied in this perſecution.

Meletius re olteth frō he faith & s excōmu- nicated.

Marcelli- nus the biſhop re- olteth, & commeth a gain to the fayth, & is martyred.

A hundred Martyrs in one day.

Seuentene thouſand Martyrs in one month

At Alexandria, with Peter the biſhoppe, of whom I haue made mencion before, were ſlayne with axes.300 and aboue, as Sabellicus declareth. Gereon was beheded at Colonia Agrippina, with.300. of his felowes, as ſayth Henricus de Erfordia. Mauritius the captayne of Chriſtian religion with his fellowes.6666. Victor in the citie of Troy now called Xanthus with his felowes 360. were ſlayne, as ſayth Otto Phriſingenſis. lib.2. cap. 45. Reginus reciteth the names of many other martirs to the number of.120.

Thre hun- red ſlayne one time Alexādria Gereon, artyr. Mauriti⁹, ith 6666. artyrs. ictor, yth. 360. artyrs yne.

And forasmuch as mencion here hath bene made of Mauritius and Victor, the particular deſcription of the ſame hiſtory I thought here to inſerte, taken out of Ado and other ſtory wryters, as inſueth.

The hiſtorye of Mauritius captain of the Theban ſoldiours.

Mauritius came out of Syria into Fraunce and Italie, beyng captayne of the band of the Theban Soldiours, to the number of.6660. being ſent for of Maximinus, to go againſt the rebellious Bāgandes, but rather as it ſhould ſeme by the treaſō of the tyrant, which thought he might better in theſe quarters vſe his tyrannie vpon the Chriſtians, then in the Eaſt part. Theſe Thebans with Mauritius the captayne, after that they had entred into Rome, who were ther of Marcellus the bleſſed biſhop, confirmed in the fayth, promiſing by oth that they would rather be ſlayne of their enemies, then forſake that faith which they had receaued, who folowed the Emperours hoſt thorowe the Alpes euen into Fraunce. At that time the Ceſarians were incamped not farre from the towne called Ottodor, where Maximianus offred ſacrifice to his diuels, and called all the Soldiours both of the Eaſt and weſt to the ſame, ſtraitly charging them by the aulters of his Gods, that they would fight againſt thoſe rebels the Bangandes, and perſecute the Chriſtian enemies of the Emperors gods: which his commaundement was ſhewed to the Thebans hoſt, which were alſo incamped about the Ryuer of Rode, and in a place that was named Agawne, but to Ottodor they would in no wyſe come, for that euery man did certainlye appoynt and perſwade with them ſelues rather in that place to dye, then eyther to ſacrifice to the Gods, or beare armour againſte the Chriſtians. Which thing in deede very ſtoutly and valiantlye they affirmed, vpon their othe before taken to Maximianus when he ſent for them. Wherwith the tyrant being wrathful and al moued, commaunded euery tenth man of that whole band, to be put to the ſword, wherto ſtriuinglye and with great reioyſing they committed their neckes. To which notable thing and great force of fayth Mauritius hymſelfe was a great incourager, who by and by with a moſt graue oration exhorted and animated his ſoldiours both to fortitude and conſtancie. Which beyng agayne called of the Emperour, anſwered in this wiſe ſaying: We are O Emperor your Soldiours, but yet alſo to ſpeake freely, the ſeruauntes of God. We owe to thee ſeruice of warre, to him innocencie: of thee we receaue for our trauel, wages: of hym the beginning of lyfe. But in this we maye in no wyſe obey thee O Emperour, to denye God, our autor and Lord, and not onely ours, but your Lord likewiſe, wyl ye, nyl ye. If we be not ſo extreamely enforced that we offend him, doubtles as we haue hetherto before, we wil yet obey you, but otherwiſe we wil rather obey him thē you. We offer here our handes againſt anye other enemies: but to defile our handes with the bloode of innocentes, that we may not do. Theſe right hands of ours hath ſkil to fight againſt the wicked and true enemies, but to ſpoyle and murder the godly and Cityzens, they haue no ſkil at al. We haue in remembraunce how we tooke armour in hand for the defence of the Citezens, and not againſt them. We fought alwayes for iuſtice ſake, pietie, and for the health of innocents. Theſe haue bene alwaies the rewardes of our perryls and trauell. We haue fought in the quarell of fayth, whiche in no wyſe we can keepe to you, if we do not ſhewe the ſame to our God. We firſt ſware vpon the Sacramentes of our God, then afterward to the kyng: and do you think the ſecond wil preuaile vs, if we breake the firſt? By vs you would plage the Chriſtians, to doo which feate we are onely commaunded by you. We are here readye to confeſſe God the autor of all thinges, and beleue in hys ſonne Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. We ſee before our eyes our fellowes and partakers of our labours & trauels, to be put to the ſwoorde, and we being ſprinckled with their bloud, of which our moſt bleſſed companions and brethren their end and death we haue not bewailed nor

Euerye tenth man in the legion ſlayne.

The Oration of the ſoldiours to the Emperor mourned,but rather haue bene glad,and haue reioyced therat,for that they haue bene counted worthy to ſuffer for the Lord their God. The extreme neceſſitye of death cannot moue vs againſt your maieſty,neyther yet any deſperation O Emperour,which is wont in ventrous affaires to do much, ſhal arme vs againſt you. Behold here we caſt down our weapons,and reſiſt not,for that we had rather to be killed,then kil,& giltles to dye,then gilty to liue. What ſoeuer more ye wil cõmaund,appoynt and inioyne vs,we are here readye to ſuffer,yea both fire,ſword, & what ſoeuer other torments. We cõfeſſe our ſelues to be Chriſtians , we cannot perſecute Chriſtians, nor wil do ſacrifice to your diueliſh idoles.

Mauritius and hys companye martyred.

With which their anſwer the king being al together incenſed and moued,commaunded the ſecond time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like caſe murdered. That cruelty alſo being accompliſhed,at length when the Chriſtian Soldiours woulde in no wyſe condeſcend vnto his minde,he ſet vpõ them with his whole hoſt,both footemen and alſo horſmen,and charged thẽ to kyl them all. Who with all force ſet vpon them, they making no reſiſtaunce , but throwing downe their armour,yelded their lyues to the perſecutours,and offred to them their naked bodies.

The conſtant boldnes of Victor in refuſyng to eate wyth the cruel perſecutors , for the which hee was alſo ſlayne.

Victor. Martyr.

Victor at the ſame time was not of that bande , nor yet than any ſoldiour,but one being an olde ſoldiour,& diſmiſſed for his age. The which tyme he comming ſodainly vpon them as they were banketing and making merye with the ſpoyles of the holye Martyrs, and was bydden to ſyt downe with them : firſt aſking the cauſe of ẏ their ſo great reioycing,& vnderſtanding the truth therof,deteſted the geſſe,and refuſed to eate with them. And then being demaunded of them whether happylye he were a Chriſtian or no,openly confeſſed and denyed not,but that he was a Chriſtian,and euer woulde bee. And thereupon they ruſhing vpon him, killed hym,and made him partner of the lyke martyrdome and honor.

The number of the Chriſtians encreaſed for al this perſecutiõ

Beda in hys hyſtorye writeth that this perſecution being vnder Diocleſian,endured vnto the ſeuenth yere of Conſtantinus,and Euſeb.lib.8.cap.6.ſayth that it laſted vntil the tenth yeare of Conſtantinus. It was not yet one yeare from the daye in whiche Diocleſian and Maximian ioyning them ſelues together , began their perſecution,when that they ſaw the number of the chriſtians rather to encreaſe then to deminiſh,notwithſtanding all the cruelty that euer they could ſhew,and now was out of all hope for the vtter rooting out of them, which thing was the cauſe of their fyrſt enterpriſe, and had now euen their fyll of blood,and lothed,as it were, the ſhedding therof,they ceaſed at the laſt of their owne accorde to put any mo Chriſtians to death : But yet of a great multitude they did thruſt out their right eyes, & maymed their left legs at the hamme with a ſearyng yron,condemning them to the mynes of Mettals , not ſomuch for the vſe of their labour , as for the deſire of afflicting them. And this was the clemencie and releaſe of the cruelty of thoſe Princes,which ſayd that it was not mete that the cities ſhould be defiled with the blood of Citezens,and to make the Emperours hyghnes to be deſtained wyth the name of cruelty,but to ſhew hys princely beneficence and liberalitie to al men . Euſebius lib.8.cap.10.

Diocleſian and Maximinian wer tyred with perſecution , & gaue vp theyr kyngdome.

An. 309.

When Diocleſianus and Maximinianus had raigned together Emperours.xx.yeares and one(Nicephorus ſaith.xxij.yeares)in perſecutiõ,Diocleſian was put from his Imperial dignitie at Nicomedia,and liued at Salona,Maximinianus at Mediolanum , and led both of them a priuate life in the.309.yere after Chriſt. This ſtraunge and marueylous alteration gaue occaſion, and ſo came to paſſe,that within ſhort ſpace after there were in the Romaine common wealth manye Emperours at one tyme.

The n of the rantes Diocle Maxim Emper depoſe Gale. minus, Conſta Emper Maxim Seuer Conſta Ceſars. Maxe Emper Licini Ceſar.

In the beginning of this perſecution you heard how Diocleſian being made Emperour,tooke to him Maximinian. Alſo how theſe two gouerning as Emperours together,choſe other twoo Ceſars vnder them , to wyt, Galerius Maximinus , and Conſtantius the father of Conſtantine the great . Thus thẽ Diocleſian raigning with Maximinian,in the.xix.yeare of his raigne began his furious perſecution againſt the Chriſtians , whoſe raygne after the ſame cõtinued not long. For ſo it pleaſed God to put ſuch a ſnafle in the tyrants mouth , that within two yeares after he cauſed both him and Maximinian(for what cauſe he knoweth)to geue ouer the imperial function,and ſo to remayne not as Emperours any more,but as priuate perſons . So that they beyng now diſplaced & diſpoſſeſſed,the imperial dominion remayned with Conſtantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two deuided the whole Monarchie betwene thẽ: ſo that Maximinus ſhould gouern the Eaſt countries, and Conſtantius the weſt partes. But Conſtantius as a modeſt prince,onely contented with the imperiall title,refuſed Italye and Aphricke , contenting him ſelfe onely with Fraunce,Spayne,and Britaine. Wherfore Galerius Maximinus choſe to him his two ſõnes Maximinus and Seuerus. Likewiſe Conſtantius tooke Cõſtantinus his ſonne Ceſar vnder him . In the meane time,while Maximinus with his twoo Ceſars were in Aſia,the Romane ſoldiours ſet vp for their Emperour Maxentius,the ſonne of Maximian,who had before depoſed himſelfe. Againſt whom Maximinus the Emperour of the Eaſt ſent his ſonne Seuerus , which Seuerus was ſlayne in the ſame viage of Maxentius. In whoſe place thẽ Maximinus tooke Licinius. And theſe were the Emperours and Ceſars,which ſucceding after Diocleſian and Maximinian , proſecuted the reſt of that perſecution , which Diocleſian and Maximinian before begonne during neare the ſpace of.7.or.8.yeres, which was to the yeare of our Lord.318. Saue onelye that Conſtantius with his ſonne Conſtantinus , was no great doer therein, but rather a mayntayner and a ſupporter of the Chriſtians . Which Conſtantius ſurnamed Chlorus for his palenes , was the ſonne of Eutropius,a man of great nobilitie of the Romayne nacion,as Letus affirmeth. He came of the lyne of Eneas & Claudia the daughter of Claudius Auguſtus. This mã had not the deſire of great and mighty dominion , and therfore parted he the Empyre with Galerius, & would rule but in Fraunce,Britaine, & Spaine, refuſing the other kingdomes for the troubleſome and difficult gouernment of the ſame. Otherwyſe he was a Prince, as Eutropius maketh deſcription of him, verye excellent, ciuil,meeke,gentle,liberal,and deſirous to do good vnto thoſe that had any priuate autoritie vnder him . And as Cyrus once ſayd,that he gat treaſure inough,when he made his frendes riche : euen ſo it is ſayde that Conſtantius would often times ſay,that it were better that his ſubiectes had treaſure,then he to haue it in his treaſure houſe. Alſo he was by nature ſufficed with a lytle, in ſo muche that he vſed to eate and drincke in earthen veſſels(which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicillian a great commendation)and if at any time cauſe required to garniſh his table , he would ſend for plate & other furniture to his frendes . To theſe vertues he added yet a more worthy ornamẽt,that is,deuotion,loue, and affection towardes the worde of God,as Euſeb.Lib. 8. cap. 13. affirmeth, after which vertues enſued great peace and tranquilitie in all his prouinces : By whiche worde he beyng guided neither leuied any warres contrarie to pietie and Chriſtian Religion,neither aided he anye other that did the ſame : neyther deſtroyed he the Churches,but commaunded that the Chriſtians ſhould be preſerued and defended , and kept them ſafe from all cõtumelious iniuries. And when that in the other iuriſdictions

The cõ menda of Con tius,

O hap Conſta

Conſta gracio the C ans.

dictions of the Empire, the congregations were moleſted with perſecutiõ, as Sozomenus declareth lib.1.cap.6.he onely gaue licence vnto the Chriſtiãs to liue after their accuſtomed maner. This wonderfull acte of his ſo lowing beſides others doth ſhewe, that he was a ſincere worſhipper of the Chriſtian Religion.

nſtãtius ourgeth o were e Chriſti in hys rt and o were

Thoſe which bare the chief offices among the Ethnickes, draue out of the Emperours court al the godly Chriſtians: wherupon this inſued, that the Emperours them ſelues at the laſt were deſtitute of helpe: when ſuche were driuen awaye, whiche dwellyng in their courtes, and lyuing a godly lyfe, poured out their prayers vnto God for the proſperous eſtate and health, both of the Empire & Emperour. Conſtantius therfore, minding at a certayne tyme to trye what ſincere and good Chriſtians he had yet in his courte, called together all his officers and ſeruaunts in the ſame, faynyng himſelf to chuſe out, ſuch as would do ſacrifice to deuils, & that thoſe onely ſhould dwell there and keepe their offices, & that thoſe whiche would refuſe to do the ſame, ſhould be thruſt out and baniſhed the courte. At this appointmẽt, all the courtiars deuided thẽſelues into companies: The Emperour marked, whiche were the moſt conſtanteſt & godlieſt frõ the reſt: And when ſome ſayd ỹ they would willingly do ſacrifice: other ſome openly and boldly denied to do the ſame: Then the Emperour ſharply rebuked thoſe whiche were ſo ready to do ſacrifice, and iudged them as falſe traitors vnto God, accoumpting thẽ vnworthy to be in his court, which were ſuch traitours to God, & forthwith commaũded that they onely ſhould be baniſhed the ſame. But greatly he commended them, whiche refuſed to do ſacrifice and confeſſed God, affirming that they onely were worthy to be about a prince, forthwith cõmaunding thẽ that thenceforth they ſhould be the truſty counſellors and defendours both of his perſon and kyngdome, ſayeng thus much more, that they onely were worthy to bee in office, whõ he might make accompt of, as his aſſured frendes, and that he ment to haue them in more eſtimation, then the ſubſtance he had in his treaſurie. Euſebius maketh mention hereof in his fyrſt booke of the lyfe of Conſtantius, and alſo Sozomenus in his fyrſt booke and.vi. chap.

Euſeb. vita Cõ n.lib.1. Sozo- no.lib.1 .6.

ſe Chriſtians dyſcerned frõ e.

aximinus enemye the Chri ans.

With this Conſtantius was ioyned (as hath bene aforeſayd) Galerius Maximinus, a man as Eutropius affirmeth, very ciuil, and a paſſing good ſoldiour, furthermore a fauourer of wyſe and learned mẽ, of a quiet diſpoſition, not rigorous, but in his dronkennes, wherof he would ſoone after repent him, as Victor writeth, whether he meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus hys Sonne, it is vncertayne. But Euſebius farre otherwiſe deſcribeth the conditions of him in his eyght booke and fyrſt chapter. For he ſayth that hee was of a tyrannicall diſpoſition: The fearfulleſt man that might be, and curious in all magicall ſuperſtition, in ſo much that without the diuinations & anſwers of deuils he durſt do nothyng at all: and therfore he gaue great offices & dignities to inchaunters. Furthermore that he was an exactor, and extorcioner of his Citizens, Liberal to thoſe that were flatterers giuen to ſurfeting and riote, a great drinker of wyne, and in hys furious dronkennes moſt like a mad man, a Ribaud, an adulterer, whiche came to no Citie but hee rauiſhed virgins & defiled mẽs wiues. To conclude he was ſo great an idolater, that he built vp Tẽples in euery Citie, and repayred thoſe that were fallen in great decay: & he choſe out the moſt worthieſt of his political Magiſtrates to be the Idols Prieſts, & deuiſed that they ſhould execute ỹ their office with great auctoritie & dignitie, & alſo with warlike pompe. But to Chriſtian piety and religion he was moſt inſenſiue, & in the Eaſt Churches exerciſed cruell perſecution, and vſed as executioners of the ſame. Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus, beſides others.

he wyc. dues of ximinus ſcribed.

A terrible plage ſent by God to Maximinus.

Notwithſtanding he was at length reuoked from that his crueltie by the iuſt iudgement and puniſhmẽt of God. For he was ſodenly vexed with a fatall diſeaſe moſt filthy and deſperate, which diſeaſe to deſcribe was very ſtraunge, taking the firſt beginning in hys fleſhe outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward partes of his body. For in the priuye members of his body there happened vnto him a ſodayn putrifaction, and after in the bottom of the ſame a botchie corrupt byle, wyth a Fiſtula, conſuming and eating vp his intrals, out of the which came ſwarming foorth an innumerable multitude of liſe, with ſuche a peſtiferous ſtynche, that no man could abide him, and ſomuch more, for that al the groſenes of his body by aboundãce of meate before he fell ſicke, was turned all into fatte: which fat now putrified and ſtincking was ſo vgſome and horrible, that none that came to him coulde abyde the ſight therof. By reaſon wherof the Phiſitiõs which had him in cure, ſome of them not able to abyde the intollerable ſtinche, were cõmaunded to be ſlayn. Others ſome becauſe they could not heale him, being ſo ſwollẽ and paſt hope of cure, were alſo cruelly put to death. At length being put in remembraũce that his diſeaſe was ſent of God, he began to forethinck the wickednes that he had done againſt the ſayntes of God, and ſo cõming agayne to hym ſelfe, firſt confeſſeth vnto God al hys offences, then calling them vnto him which were aboute him, forthwith commaunded all men to ceaſe from the perſecutions of the Chriſtians. Requiryng moreouer that they ſhould ſet vp his Imperiall proclamatiõs, for the reſtoring and reedifieng of their Temples: and that they would obtayne this of the Chriſtians, in their aſſẽbles (whiche without all feare and doubt they might be bolde to make) that they would deuoutly praye to theyr God for the Emperour. Then forthwith was the perſecution ſtayed, and the Imperial proclamations in euery Citie were ſet vp, contaynyng the retraction or countermaund of thoſe thinges whiche agaynſt the Chriſtians were before decreed, the copie wherof inſueth.

Maximinus killeth his phiſitions.

Maximinus countermaund in the behalfe of the Chriſtians.

> Amongeſt other thinges whiche for the benefite and commoditie of the common weale we eſtabliſhed: we cõmaunded to reforme all thinges accordyng to the auncient lawes and publike diſcipline of the Romanes, and alſo to vſe this pollicie, that the Chriſtians whiche had forſaken the Religion of theyr forefathers ſhoulde bee brought agayne to the right way. For ſuch fantaſticall ſingularitie was amongeſt thẽ, that thoſe things which theyr elders had receaued and allowed, they reiected and diſalowed, deuiſing euery man ſuche lawes as they thought good and obſerued the ſame, aſſemblyng in diuers places great multitude of people.
>
> Therfore when our foreſayd decree was proclaimed, many there were that felt the penaltie therof, and many beyng troubled therfore ſuffered ſũdry kindes of death. And bycauſe we ſee yet that there be many whiche perſeuere in the ſame, which neither giue due worſhip vnto the Celeſtial gods, neither receaue the God of the Chriſtians: we hauing reſpect to our accuſtomed benignitie wherwith we are wonte to ſhewe fauour vnto al men, thinke good in this cauſe alſo to extende our clemencie, ỹ the Chriſtians may be agayn tollerated, and appoynt them places where agayne they maye meete together, ſo that they do nothyng contrarie to publike order & diſcipline. By an other Epiſtle we meane to preſcribe vnto the iudges, what ſhalbe conuenient for them to doo. Wherfore accordyng as this our bountifull clemencie deſerueth, let them make interceſſion to God for our health, cõmõ weale, and for themſelues, that in al places the ſtate of the cõmõ weale may be preſerued, and that they them ſelues, may be able ſafely to liue within their bondes. Euſeb Lib 8, cap. vltimo.

But one of his inferior officers whoſe name was alſo Maximinus was not well pleaſed when this countermaund was publiſhed throughout all Aſia, and the prouinces where he had to doo. Yet he beyng qualified by this example, that it was not conuenient for him to repugne the pleaſure of thoſe prouinces which had ỷ chief auctoritie as Conſtantius and Maximinus, ſet forth of himſelfe no edicte touching the ſame: but commaunded his officers in the preſence of others, that they ſhoulde ſomewhat ſtay from the perſecution of the Chriſtians: of which commaundement of the inferior Maximinus, eche of them gaue intelligence vnto their fellowes by their letters. But Sabinus which then amongeſt them all, had the chiefeſt office and dignitie: to the ſubſtitutes of euery countrey wrote by his letters the Emperoures pleaſure in this wyſe.

Sabinus in the fauour of the Chriſtians publiſhed the decree.

> The Maieſty of our moſt gratious and ſoueraign Lordes the Emperours, hath latelye decreed with ſpecial diligence and deuotion, to induce all men to a vniforme lyfe, ſo that they which ſemed to diſcent from the Romayne cuſtome by a ſtraunge manner of lyuing, ſhould exhibite to the immortal gods, their due and proper worſhyp, but the wilfull and obſtinate mynde of dyuers ſo muche, and ſo continually reſiſted the ſame, that by no lawfull meanes they mighte bee reuoked from their purpoſe, neither made afrayde by any terror or puniſhment. Bicauſe therfore it ſo came to paſſe, that by this meanes many put themſelues in perill and ieoperdy: The maieſtie of our ſoueraigne Lordes the Emperours according to their noble pietie, cōſidering that it was farre from the meaning of their princely maieſties that ſuch things ſhould be, wherby ſo manye men & muche people ſhould be deſtroyed: gaue me in charge that with diligēce I ſhould wryte vnto you, ỷ if any of the Chriſtians frō henceforth fortune to be taken in the exerciſe of their religion, ỷ in no wyſe you moleſte the ſame, neither for ỷ cauſe you do iudge any man worthy of puniſhment: for that in al this time it hath euidently appeared that by no meanes they might be allured frō ſuch wilfulnes. It is therefore requiſite that your wiſdome wryte vnto the queſtors, Capitaines, and Conſtables of euery city and village, that they maye knowe it not to be lawful for them, or any of them, to do contrarye to the preſcripte of this commaundement, neyther that they preſume to attempt the ſame. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Perſecution ceaſeth for a tyme

The gouernours therfore of euery prouince, ſuppoſing this to bee the determinate pleaſure (and not fayned) of the Emperour, do firſt aduertiſe therof, the ruſtical and Pagan multitude: After that they releaſed and ſet at liberty all ſuche priſoners as were condemned to the mettal mynes, and to perpetuall impriſonment for their faith, thinking therby (wher in dede they were deceaued) that the doing therof would well pleaſe the Emperour. This therfore ſeemed to them as vnlooked for, & as light to trauelers in a dark night. They gather thē ſelues together in euery Citye, they call their Synodes and councels, and much maruel at the ſodain chaunge and alteration. The Infidels them ſelues extoll the onely and true God of the Chriſtians. The Chriſtians receaue agayne al their former liberty, and ſuch as fell away before in the time of perſecution, repent thē ſelues, and after penaunce done, they returne agayne to the cōgregation. Now the Chriſtians reioyce in euery City, prayſing God with hymnes and Pſalmes. Euſebius ibidem. This was a marueylous ſodaine alteration of the church, frō a moſt vnhappi ſtate into a better: but ſcarſe ſuffred Maximinus the tirant ỷ ſame. vj. monethes vnuiolated to continue. For what ſoeuer ſeemed to make for the ſubuerſiō of the ſame peace (yet ſcarſly hatched) that did he onely meditate. And firſt of al he tooke from the Chriſtians all libertie and leaue for them to aſſemble and congregate in church yardes vnder a certayne coulour. After that he ſent certayne Miſcreantes vnto the Athenians, to ſollicite them againſt the Chriſtians, and did prouoke them to aſke of him as a recompence and great reward, that he would not ſuffer anye Chriſtian to inhabite in their country: and amongeſt them was one Theotechnus, the moſt wyckedeſt miſcreant, an inchaunter, and a moſt infeſt enemie againſt the Chriſtians. He firſt made the way whereby the Chriſtians were put out of credite, and accuſed to the Emperour, to which fraude alſo he erected a certayne Idole of Iupiter, to be worſhipped of the inchaunters and Coniurers, & mingleth the ſame worſhip with ceremonies, ful of deceiuable wytchcraft. Laſtly, he cauſed the ſame idole to geue this ſound out of his mouth. That is: Iupiter commaundeth the Chriſtians to be baniſhed out of the Citie and ſuburbes of the ſame, as enemies vnto him. And the ſame ſentence doth the reſt of the gouernours of the prouinces publiſh againſt the Chriſtians, & thus at lēgth perſecution began to kindle againſt them. Maximinus apointed and inſtituted high prieſtes & byſhops in euery citie to offer ſacrifice vnto Idoles, and inueigleth all thoſe that were in great offices vnder him, that they ſhould not onely ceaſe to pleaſure them, and to do for them, but alſo that they ſhould with new deuiſed accuſations againſt them, at their pleaſure, put as many to death, as by any meanes they might. They alſo dyd counterfet certayne practiſes of Pilate againſt our ſauiour Chriſt full of blaſphemie, and ſent the ſame into al ỷ Empire of Maximinus by their letters, commaunding that the ſame ſhould be publiſhed & ſet vp in euery citie and ſuburbes of the ſame, and that they ſhould be deliuered to the ſchole mayſters, to cauſe their ſcholers to learne by rote the ſame.

The Infidels acknowledge the God of the chriſtians.

One alteration vpon an other.

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The vy practiſ the He againſt Chriſte hys reli

After that one named Præfectus caſtrorum, whom the Romaynes doo call Capitayne, allured certayne light women, partlye by feare, and partlye by puniſhment, dwelling at Damaſcus in Phenitia, and taken out of the court wherein they were accuſed, that they ſhould openly ſay in writing that they were once Chriſtians, and that they knewe what wicked and laſciuious actes the Chriſtians were wont to execute amōgeſt them ſelues vpon the ſondayes, and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to ỷ ſclaunder of the Chriſtians. The Capitaine ſheweth vnto the Emperour their wordes, as though it had bene ſo in dede, and the Emperour by and by commaunded the ſame to be publiſhed throughout euery citie. Furthermore, they did hang vp in the myddeſt of euerye Citye (which was neuer done before) the Emperours edictes againſt the Chriſtians, grauen in tables of braſſe. And ỷ children in the ſcholes with great noyſe and clapping of handes did euery day reſound the cōtumelious blaſphemies of Pylate vnto Ieſus, and what other thing ſo euer were deuiſed of the magiſtrates, after moſt deſpightful maner. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. And this is ỷ coppy of the edict, which Maximinus cauſed to be faſtened to pyllers fraught with all arrogant and inſolent hate agaynſt God and Chriſt.

A de accuſati againſt Chriſtia by a h

Maxim counte maund ue in b

The co of the counter-maunde made againſt the Chriſtia

> The weake and imbeſyl rebellion of mans mynde (all obſcuritie and blindnes of Ignoraunce ſet aparte, which hetherto hath wrapped the myndes of impious & miſerable mē, in the pernitious darknes of ignorance) is now at the length able to diſcerne, that the ſame is gouerned, as alſo corroborated by the prouidence of the immortal Gods the louers of vertue: which thing, howe acceptable it is to vs, how pleaſant and gratefull, and how much proofe the ſame hath declared of your well diſpoſed wylling myndes, is incredible to be told: Although this was not vnknowen before with what diligence and deuotion ye ſerued the immortall Gods, whoſe wonderful and conſtant faith is not knowen by bare and naked wordes, but by your worthy and notable deedes. Wherfore worthely is your city called the

habitacion and ſeate of the immortal Gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the ſame flooriſheth, and proſpereth by the preſence of the celeſtial Gods. For behold, your Citie not regarding your priuate buſineſſes, nor eſteeming that which ſhoulde haue bene for the ſpecial commoditie therof, when it perceaued that curſed vanitie to begyn agayne to creepe, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brandes therof began to kyndle and make a great flame: by and by without delaye ye hauing recourſe vnto our pietie, as vnto the Metrapolitan of al diuine worſhip and religion, craued remedy and helpe, which wholſome mynde for your pities ſake, it is moſt manifeſt that the Gods haue indued you wyth. Therfore he, euen that moſt mighty Jupiter I ſay, which preſerueth your moſt famous citie: to that intent he might deliuer and make free your countrye Gods, your wyues and children, your houſholde Gods and houſes, from al deteſtable corruptiõ, hath inſpired you wyth this wholſome and wylling mynde, ſhewing and declaring how worthye, notable, and healthfull a thing it is to worſhip and do ſacrifice to the immortall Gods. For who is ſo voyde of reaſon and vnderſtanding, that knoweth not that this thing happeneth vnto vs by yͤ careful ſtudy of the goodnes of our Gods, that the ground denieth not to geue her tymely increaſe, nor maketh fruſtrate the huſband mans hope, nor that wicked warre dare ſhewe her face vpon the earth, nor that the corruption of the ayre is nowe cauſe of peſtilence, neyther that ſea, ſwelleth with immoderate windes, neither that ſodayn ſtormes are cauſe of hurtful tempeſts. To conclude, that the ground which is as the Nours ⁊ mother of all thinges, is not ſwallowed vp of her deepe chappes and gapinges, by terrible earthquake, neyther that the hyls made leuell with the earth, are not wyth gaping clyftes deuoured, all which euyls and greater then theſe, before this tyme to haue happened euery mã knoweth. And all theſe miſchiefes came vpon vs for the pernitious errours ſake of the extreame follye of thoſe wycked men the Chriſtians, when fylthines it ſelfe (as I may call it) ſo occupied their mindes, and ouer ranne the world. Let them behold the feeldes nowe all about full of corne, and ouerflowen as it were with eares of corne. Let them vew the pleaſaunt medowes clothed wᵗ flowers, and moyſtned with ſhowers from heauen, and alſo the pleaſaunt and temperat weather. Therefore let all men reioyce, that by your pietie, ſacrifices, and worſhipping, the maieſty of the moſt ſtearne God of battell Mars is appeaſed, and that therefore we enioy pleaſant and firme peace. And how many ſo euer haue left that blynde errour and ſtraying of the Chriſtians vnfainedly, and be of a better mynde, let them ſpecially reioyce, as mẽ deliuered out of a ſodayn great tempeſt, and frõ a greuous diſeaſe, and haue afterward obtayned a delectable and pleaſant lyfe. For doubtles, if they had remayned in that execrable vanitie, far of had they bene chaſed from your Citie and Suburbes of the ſame (according to your deſire) that your Citie by that meanes according to your commendable diligence, clenſed frõ all impuritie and impietie, maye offer ſacrifices according to the meaning of the ſame, with due reuerence of the immortal Gods. And that you may perceiue in how good part we take your ſupplication (ye vnaſked and deſired) we are moſt wylling and ready to further your honeſt endeuours, and graunt vnto you for your deuotion, what ſoeuer ye aſke of our magnificence. And that thys thing may be accompliſhed, foorthwith aſke, and haue. And this thing with all ſpeede indeuour ye to obtayne, that ſhalbe a perpetual teſtimony of pietye exhibited of your Citie to the immortal Gods, and ſhalbe a preſident to your children and poſterity, and that you ſhal obtaine of vs for this your wylling deſire of reformation, conding ⁊ worthy rewards. Euſeb.lib.9, cap.7.

Wicked Blaſphemy.

he works f the lyyng God lſly imputed to dead ockes and doles.

orrible laſphemy.

he lyke rgument f weather nd corne, nd plenty, ade the nfaythfull ewes, and ſo make ow our ithles papiſtes.

Thus came it to paſſe that at the length perſecution was as great as euer it was, and the Magiſtrates of euery prouince were very diſdaynful agaynſt the Chriſtians, which condemned ſome to death, and ſome to exile. Among whom they condemned.3. Chriſtians at Emiſa in Phenicia, with whom Siluanus the biſhop a very old man, being.40.yeares in the eccleſiaſtical fũction, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, Lucianus the Elder of Antioch, brought thether, after he had exhibited to the Emperour his apology concerning the doctrine of the Chriſtians, was caſt in priſon, and after put to death. In Amaſea a Citie of Capadocia, Bringes the Lieftenant of Maximinus, had at that time the executing of that perſecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a moſt worthy biſhop was beheaded, with whom manye other Egiptian biſhops alſo dyed. Euſeb.lib.9.cap.7.Niceph.lib.7.cap.44. Quirinus the biſhop of Seeſcanius hauing a hannyll tied about his necke, was throwne hedlong from the bridge, into the flood, and ther a long whyle fleeted aboue the water, and when he opened his mouth to ſpeake to the lookers on that they ſhoulde not be diſmayde with that his puniſhment, was with much a do drowned. Chron.Euſeb. At Rome died Marcellus the biſhop, as ſayth Platina, alſo Timotheus the Elder, with many other biſhops and prieſtes were martyred. To conclude, many in ſundry places euery wher were martyred, whoſe names the booke intituled Faſciculus temporum declareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Caſtorius with his wyfe, Caſtulus, Ceſarius, Mẽnas, Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable Martyrs, Eraſmus, Bonifacius, ⁊ thirty thouſand Martyrs more, Juliana, Coſmas, Damianus, Baſilinus with.7.others, Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodoſia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemõ, Hireneus, Januarius, Feſtus, Deſiderius, Gregorius Spoletanus. Agapes, Chionia, Hirenea, Theodora ⁊.270. other Martyrs, Florianus, Primus and Felicianus, Vitus and Modeſtus, Creſcentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius. Catharina, Margareta, Lucia the Virgin, ⁊ Antheas the kyng with.37000. Martyrs, Simplicius, Fauſtinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Juſtus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other mo to an infinite number ſuffered martyrdome in this perſecution, whoſe names God hath writtẽ in the boke of life. Alſo Felix, Victor with his parentes, Lucia the wydow, Geminianus with.79.others, Sabinus, Anaſtaſia, Chriſogonus, Felix, ⁊ Audactus, Adrianus, Nathalia, Eugenia, Agnes alſo when ſhe was but.13. yere olde was martyred. Euſebius in his.8.booke and.15.chap. rehearſeth theſe kyndes of torments and puniſhmentes, that is to ſay: Fyre, wylde beaſtes, the ſworde, crucifienges, the bottom of the ſea, the cutting of, and burning of, of members, the thruſting out of eyes, the diſmembring of the whole body, hunger, impriſonmẽt, and what ſoeuer other crueltie the Magiſtrates coulde deuiſe. Al which notwithſtanding the godly ones rather then that they would do ſacrifice as they were byd, mãfully endured. Neyther were the women anye thing at all behinde them. For they being entiſed to the fylthye vſe of their bodies, rather ſuffered baniſhment, or wyllyngly kylled them ſelues. Neither yet coulde the Chriſtians liue ſafely in the wildernes, but were fetched euẽ from thence to death and torments, inſomuch that this was a more greuous perſecutiõ vnder Maximinus the tyrant, then was the fyrſt cruel perſecutiõ, vnder Maximianus the Prince. Euſeb.lib.9.cap.6. &.10.

Perſecution renueth a freſh.

Syluanus byſhop. Lucianus elder. Petrus byſhop Quirinus byſhop. Marcellus byſhop. Tymotheus elder, Martyrs.

The perſecution of Maximinus the yõger.

Ex faſciculo temporum.

30000 martyrs.

Coſmas, Damianus, Dorothea wyth other Martyrs.

270. Martyrs.

37000. martyrs

Geminianus wyth.79.Martyrs

Seueral kyndes of tormentes.

And foraſmuch as ye haue heard the cruel Edict of Maximinus proclaymed agaynſt the Chriſtians, grauẽ in braſſe, which he thought perpetually ſhoulde endure to the aboliſhing of Chriſt and hys religiõ: Now marke agayne the great handy worke of God, which immediatly fel vpon the ſame, checkyng the proud preſumptiõ

The Worke of God againſt the foreſayd edict.

of the

The proud and blaſphemous proclamation of themperour proued falſe & contrary.

Ex Euſeb. lib 9. cap. 8.

A terrible hunger among the heathen perſecuters deſcribed.

of the Tyrant prouing al to be falſe and contrary, that in the braſen proclamation was contayned. For where the foreſayd edict boaſted ſo much of the proſperitie and plenty of all thinges in the time of thys perſecution of the Chriſtians, ſodenly befel ſuch vnſeaſonable drouth with famine and peſtilence among the people, beſides alſo the warres with the Armeniãs, that al was found vntrue that he had bragged ſo much of before. By reaſon of which famine & peſtilẽce the people wer greatlye conſumed, inſomuch that one meaſure of wheate was ſold for two thouſand and fiue hundred péeces of mony of Athens coyne, by reaſon whereof innumerable dyed in the Cities, but many more in the Country and villages, ſo that moſt part of the huſbandmen and countrymen dyed vp with the famine and peſtilence. Diuers there were which bringing out their beſt treaſure, was glad to geue it for any kinde of ſuſtinance, were it neuer ſo lytle. Other ſelling away their poſſeſſions, fel by reaſon therof to extreme pouerty and beggarye. Certayne eatyng graſſe, and feeding on other vnholſome herbes, were fayne to relieue them ſelues wyth ſuche foode as did hurt and poyſon their bodies. Alſo a number of women in the Cities, being brought to extreame miſery and penury, were conſtrayned to depart the Citie, and fall to begging through the country. Some other very weake and faynt (as images without breath) wandring vp and downe, and not able to ſtand for feablenes, fell downe in the myddle of the ſtreetes, and holding vp their handes moſt pitiful, cried for ſome ſcraps or fragmentes of bread to be geuen them, and being at the laſt gaſpe, redy to geue vp the ghoſt, and not able to vtter any other woordes, yet cryed out that they were hungry. Of the richer ſorte diuers there were, who being weary with the number of beggers and aſkers, after they had beſtowed largely vpon them, became hard harted, fearing leaſt they ſhould fal into the ſame miſerie them ſelues, as they which begged. By reaſon wherof the market place, ſtreetes, lanes, and alleyes lay full of dead and naked bodies, being caſt out and vnburied, to the pitiful and greuous beholding of them that ſawe them. Wherfore many were eaten of dogges, for which cauſe they that liued fel to the killing of dogs, leaſt they running mad, ſhould fal vpon them, and kyll them.

Peſtilẽce amõg the perſecutors

In like maner the peſtilence ſcattering through all houſes and ages of mẽ, did no leſſe conſume them, eſpecially thoſe which for plentie of vitayle eſcaped famine. Wherfore the rich Princes, Preſidents and other innumerable of the Magiſtrats, being yͤ more apt to receiue the infection, by reaſon of their plenty, were quickly diſpatched, and turned vp their heles. Thus the miſerable multitude being conſumed with famine and with peſtilence, all places was ful of mourning, neither was ther any thing els ſene, but wayling and weeping in euery corner. So that death, what for famine and peſtilence in ſhort time brake vp and conſumed whole houſholds, two or thrée dead bodies being borne out together frõ one houſe to one funeral.

The charity of the chriſtiãs to the enemies. Let your lyght ſo ſhyne amõg mẽ, that they may ſee your good workes,

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These were the rewardes of the vayne bragges of Maximinus and hys Edictes, which he did publiſh in all townes and Cities agaynſt vs, when it was euident to all men, how diligent & charitable the Chriſtians were to them al in this their miſerable extremitie. For they onely in al this tyme of diſtres, ſhewing compaſſion vpon them, traueled euery day, ſome in curing the ſycke, and ſome in burying the dead, which otherwyſe of their owne ſorte were forſaken. Other ſome of the Chriſtiãs calling and gathering the multitude together, whyche were in ieopardy of famine, diſtributed bread to them, wherby they miniſtred occaſion to all men to glorifye the God of the Chriſtians, and to confeſſe them to be yͤ true worſhippers of God, as appeared by their workes. By the meanes and reaſon hereof, the great God and defender of the Chriſtians, who before had ſhewed hys anger and indignation agaynſt al men, for their wrõgfull afflicting of vs, opened againe vnto vs the comfortable light of his prouidence, ſo that by meanes thereof peace fell vnto vs, as light to them that ſytte in darkenes, to the great admiration of al men, which eaſely perceiue God himſelfe to be a perpetual director of our doinges, who many tymes chaſteneth his people with calamities for a tyme to exerciſe them, but after ſufficient correction, agayne ſheweth himſelfe mercyfull and fauorable to them that with truſt cal vpon him.

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By the narration of theſe thinges heretofore premiſed, taken out of the ſtory of Euſebius, like as it is manifeſt to ſee, ſo is it wonderful to marke and note, howe thoſe counſayles and rages of the Gentiles, atchiued againſt Chriſt & his Chriſtians, when they ſeemed moſt ſure againſt them, were moſt againſt them ſelues. And wherby they thought moſt to confound the Church and religion of Chriſt, the ſame turned moſt to their owne confuſion, and to the profyt and prayſe of the Chriſtians, (God of his maruey lous wyſdome ſo ordering and diſpoſing the end of things). For wher the braſen edict of the Emperour promiſed temperate weather, God ſent drought, where it promyſed plentye, God immediatlye ſent vpon them famine and penurie: where it promiſed health, God ſtroke them euen vpon the ſame, with grieuous peſtilence, and with other mo calamities, in ſuche ſort, that the moſt reliefe they had, was chieflye by the Chriſtians, to the great prayſe both of them, and to the honour of our God.

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the fayth

Chriſt

Thus moſt playnly and euidently was then verified the true promiſe of Chriſt to his Churche, affirmyng and aſſuring vs, that the gates of hel ſhall not preuayle agaynſt his church buylded vpon his fayth: as ſufficiẽtly may appeare by theſe ten perſecutions aboue ſpecified and deſcribed. Wherin as no man can denye, but that Satan and this malignant world haue aſſaied the vttermoſt of their power and might to ouerthrowe the Church of Jeſus: ſo muſt all men needes graunt, that reade theſe ſtories, that when Satan and the gates of hel haue done their worſt, yet haue they not preuayled agaynſt this mount of Sion, nor neuer ſhall. For els what was here to be thought, where ſo manye Emperours and tyrantes together, Diocleſian, Maximiniã, Galerius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Maxentius, Licinius with their captaynes and officers, were let looſe, like ſo many Lyons, vpon a ſcattered and vnarmed flocke of ſheepe, which neither would, nor did reſiſt, but the vtter ſubuerſion of all Chriſtianitie, and eſpecially alſo whẽ lawes alſo were ſet vp in braſſe againſt the Chriſtians, as a thing perpetuallye to ſtande: what was here to bee looked for, but a final deſolation of the name & religion of Chriſtians? But what folowed, partly ye haue herd, partly more is to be marked, as in the ſtory foloweth.

I ſhewed before how Maxẽtius the ſonne of Maximinian, was ſet vp at Rome by the Pretorian Soldiours to be Emperour. Wherunto the Senate, although they were not conſentyng, yet for feare they were not reſiſtyng. Maximinian his father, who had before depryued hymſelfe with Diocletian, hearyng of thys, tooke harte agayne to hym, to reſume his dignitie, and ſo laboured to perſuade Diocletian alſo to do the ſame: but when he could not moue hym therunto, he repayreth to Rome, thinkyng to wraſt the Empyre out of hys ſonnes hand but when the ſouldiour would not ſuffer that, of a crafty purpoſe he flyeth to Conſtantinus in France, vnder pretenſe to complayne of Maxentius hys ſonne, but in very dede to kyl Conſtantinus. Notwithſtanding that conſpiracie being detected by Fauſta the daughter of Maximinianus, whom Conſtantinus had maryed, ſo was Conſtantinus through the grace of God preſerued, and Maximinian retyred backe. In the whych hys

ſlyght

e death end of ximiniã e wyc- dnes of xentius ſcribed.

ſlight by the waye he was apprehended, and ſo put to death. And this is the ende of Maximinian.

Now let vs returne to Maxentius agayne, who all this whyle raigned at Rome, with tyrannye and wyckednes intollerable, much like to an other Nero or Domitianus. For he ſlew the moſt part of his noble men, & tooke from them their goods. And ſometime in his rage he woulde deſtroye great multitudes of the people of Rome by his ſoldiours, as Euſebius declareth. lib. 8. cap 14. Alſo he left no miſcheuous nor laſciuious act vnattempted, but was the vtter enemy of al womanly chaſtity, which vſed to ſend the honeſt wiues whom he had adulterated with ſhame and diſhoneſty vnto their huſbandes (being worthy Senatours) after that he had rauiſhed them. He abſtayned from no adulterous act, but was inflamed with the inquenchable luſt of deflouring of women. Letus declareth that he being at a tyme far in loue with a noble and chaſte gentlewomã of Rome, ſent vnto her ſuch courtiers of his, as wer mete for that purpoſe, whom alſo he had in greater eſtimation then any others, and with ſuch was wont to conſult about matters for the common weale. Theſe firſt fel vpon her huſband and murdered him within his own houſe: then when they could by no meanes nether with feare of the tyrant, nor with threatning of death pul her awaye frõ him: At length ſhe being a Chriſtian deſired leaue of thẽ to go into her chamber, and after her prayers ſhe wold accompliſh that which they requeſted. And whẽ ſhe had gotten into her chamber, vnder this pretence, ſhe kylled her ſelfe. But the courtiers when they ſaw that the womã taried ſo long, they being diſpleaſed therwith, brake open the doores, and found her ther lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the Emperour, who was ſo far paſt ſhame, that in ſteede of repentaunce, he was the more ſet on fire in attempting the like.

ſhameful of incõ ency.

Chriſtian atron ſlai h her ſelf auoyde e luſt of axentius

He was alſo much addict to the arte Magicall, which to execute, he was more fyt then the imperiall dignitie. Alſo ſometyme he would ryppe women when they wer in labour, and would ſearch the place where the infant lay, being borne a litle before. Often he would inuocate diuels in a ſecrete maner, and by the anſwers of them he ſought to breake the warres, which he knewe Conſtantius and Licinus prepared againſt him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his miſcheuous and wicked attemptes, which in his vngracious mynde he had conceaued, according to his purpoſe, in the beginning of his raygne he fayned him ſelfe to be a fauourer of the Chriſtians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friendes, he commaunded that they ſhould ceaſe from perſecuting of the Chriſtians, and he himſelfe in the meane ſeaſon abſtained frõ no contumelious vexation of them, tyl that he began at laſt to ſhewe hym ſelfe an open perſecutor of them: at which time as Zonaras writeth he moſt cruelly raged againſt al the Chriſtians ther aboutes, vexing thẽ wᵗ al maner of iniuries. Which thing he in no leſſe wiſe did, then Maximinus, as Euſebius in his. 8. booke and. 15. chap. ſeemeth to affirme. And Platina declareth in the life of Marcellus the biſhop, that he baniſhed a certaine noble woman of Rome, becauſe ſhe gaue her goods to the church.

monſter the like- hoode of emperor

lyuely pa tne of an ypocrite.

he Ro aynes ſẽd Conſtan ne for ſuc our.

Thus by the greuous tyrannye and vnſpeakeable wyckednes of this Maxentius, the Citezens and Senatours of Rome, being much greued and oppreſſed, ſent their complayntes with letters vnto Conſtantinus, wᵗ much ſute and moſt hartye peticions, deſiring him to helpe and releaſe their country and citie of Rome: who hearing and vnderſtanding their miſerable and pitiful ſtate, and greued therewith not a litle, fyrſt ſendeth by letters to Maxentius, deſiring and exhorting him to refraine his corrupt doinges, and great cruelty. But whẽ no letters nor exhortations would preuayle, at length piteing the woful caſe of the Romaines, gathered together his power and armye in Britaine and Fraunce, wherwith to repreſſe the violent rage of that tyraunt. Thus Conſtantinus ſufficiently appoynted wᵗ ſtrength of men, but eſpecially with ſtrength of God, entred hys iourney comming toward Italy, which was about the laſte yeare of the perſecution, an. 318. Maxentius vnderſtanding of the comming of Conſtantine, and truſting more to his diueliſh arte of Magick, thẽ to the good wyl of his ſubiectes, which he lytle deſerued, durſt not ſhewe himſelfe out of the Citie, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with priuye gariſons layd in wayte for him by the way, in ſandry ſtraights as he ſhould come. With whom Conſtantine had diuers ſkyrmiſhes, and by the power of the Lorde did euer vanquiſhe them and put them to flight. Not withſtanding Conſtãtinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dreade in his minde (approching now nere vnto Rome) for the magical charmes and ſorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquiſhed before Seuerus ſent by Galerius againſt him, as hath bene declared, which made alſo Conſtantinus the more afrayd. Wherfore beyng in great doubt and perplexitie in him ſelfe, and reuoluing many thinges in hys mynde, what helpe he might haue againſt the operations of his charming, which vſed to cut womẽ great wᵗ childe, to take his diuelyſh charmes by the entrals of the infãtes, with ſuch other like feates of deuiliſhnes which he practiſed: Theſe things (I ſaye) Conſtantinus doubting and reuoluing in hys minde, in his iourney drawing toward the Citie, and caſtyng vp his eyes many times to heauen,, in the South part, about the going down of the ſunne, ſaw a great brightnes in heauen, appearing in the ſimilitude of a Croſſe, with certayne ſtarres of equal bignes, geuing this inſcription like lattin letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is: In thys ouercome. Euſeb. De vita Conſtant. lib. 1. Niceph. lib. 7. cap 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Vrſpurgenſ. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. This miraculous viſion to be true, for the more credit, Euſebius Pamphilus in his firſt booke De vita Conſtantin. doth witnes more ouer, that he had heard the ſaid Conſtantinus him ſelfe often times report, & alſo to ſweare this to be true and certayne, which he did ſee with hys own eyes in heauen, and alſo his ſoldiours about hym. At the ſight wherof, when he was greatly aſtonied, and conſulting with his men vpon the meaning therof, behold in the night ſeaſon in his ſleepe Chriſt appeared to him with the ſigne of the ſame croſſe, which he had ſene before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to cary it in hys warres before him, and ſo ſhoulde he haue the victorie.

An. 318

Maxentius feared for hys magick & ſorcery.

A myracle of a croſſe apearing to Conſtantine in heauen.

In hoc vince.

Thys viſion reported & teſtified by Conſtantine hymſelf to be true.

¶ Wherin is to be noted (good Reader) that this ſigne of the Croſſe, and theſe letters added withal: In hoc vince, was geuen to him of God, not to induce anye ſuperſtitious worſhip or opinion of the croſſe, as though the croſſe it ſelf, had any ſuch power or ſtrength in it, to obtayne victorie: but onelye to beare the meanyng of an other thyng, that is, to be an admonition to him, to ſeeke and aſpire to the knowledge and fayth of hym, which was crucified vpõ the croſſe, for the ſaluation of hym, and of al the world, and ſo to ſet forth the glory of his name, as afterward it came to paſſe. Thys by the way, now to the matter.

An admonition concernyng the material croſſe not to be worſhypped, but to be a meanes to bryng Conſtãtin to the fayth of hym whych was crucified.

The next day following after this nightes viſion, Conſtantinus cauſed a croſſe after the ſame figuracion to be made of golde and precious ſtone, and to be borne before him in ſteede of his ſtandard: and ſo wyth much hope of victory & great confidence, as one armed from heauen, ſpeedeth himſelfe toward his enemye. Againſt whom Maxentius being conſtrayned perforce to iſſue out of the Citie, ſendeth al his power to ioyne with

Conſtantinus with hys army approcheth toward Rome.

Pſal. 7.
Maxẽtius takẽ in hys owne trap.
Maxentius beaten in the field.
Maxẽtius drouned by his own bridge.
Pharao a figure of Maxentius the laſt perſecutor in Rome.
Pharao & Maxentius cõpared.

him in the field beyond the riuer of Tybur, wher Maxentius craftely breaking downe the bridge called Pons Miluius, cauſed an other deceitfull bridge to be made of boates and whiries, being ioyned together, and couered ouer with boordes & planckes in maner of a bridge, thincking therwith to take Conſtantine as in a trappe. But here it came to paſſe, whyche in the. 7. Pſalme is written: He digged a pyt, and fell therein himſelfe. Let his working returne vpon his owne head, and his vnrighteouſnes vpon his owne pate, whych here in this Maxentius was rightly berefied. For after the two hoſtes did meete, he being not able to ſuſtayne the force of Conſtantine fighting vnder the croſſe of Chriſt againſt him, was put to ſuch a flight, and driuen to ſuch an exigent, that in retiring backe, for haſte thinking to gette the citie, vpon the ſame bridge which he did lay for Cõſtãtine, was ouerturned by the fal of his horſe into the bottome of the flood, and there with the weyght of hys armour, he with a great part of hys beaten men were drowned. Repreſẽting vnto vs the like example of Pharao and his hoſt drowned in the read ſea. Who not vnaptly ſemeth to beare a prophetical prefiguratiõ of this Maxentius. For as the children of Iſrael were in long thraldome and perſecution in Egipt vnder tyrauntes there, tyll the drowning of this Pharao, their laſt perſecutor: ſo was this Maxentius & Maximinus & Licinius yͤ laſt perſecutors in yͤ Romain Monarchie of the Chriſtiãs, whom this Cõſtãtinus fightyng vnder yͤ croſſe of Chriſt, did vãquiſh & ſet the Chriſtians at libertie, who before had bene perſecuted now. 300. yeares in Rome, as hath bene hetherto in this hiſtorie declared.

Exod. 15.
The fygure of the old Teſtament verified in the new.

Wherfore as the Iſraelites with their Moſes at the drowning of their Pharao, ſoong gloriouſlye vnto the Lord, who miraculouſly had caſt downe the horſe and horſeman into the ſea: So no leſſe reioyſing and exceeding gladnes was here, to ſee the glorious hande of the Lord Chriſt fighting with his people, and vanquiſhyng hys enemies and perſecutors.

The glorious and victorious hand of Chriſt.
Perſecution in the Weſt ceaſeth for a M. yeares tyl the tyme of Wyckleffe.

In hiſtories we reade of manye victories and great conqueſtes gotten: yet we neuer read, nor euer ſhall of any victorie ſo wholſome, ſo cõmodious, ſo oportune to mankinde, as this was, which made an end of ſo much bloodſhed, and obtayned ſo much libertie & life to the poſteritie of ſo many generatiõs. For albeit that ſome perſecution was yet ſtirring in the eaſt countries by Maximinus, and Licinius, as ſhalbe declared: Yet in Rome and in al the weſt partes, no martyr dyed after this heauenly victorye gotten. And alſo in the Eaſt partes the ſaid Cõſtãtinus, wͭ the ſayd croſſe borne before him, cõſequently vpon the ſame ſo vanquiſhed the tyrauntes, and ſo eſtabliſhed the peace of the Churche, that for the ſpace of a iuſt. M. yeares after that, we reade of no ſet perſecutiõ againſt the Chriſtiãs, vnto the time of Iohn Wyckleffe, when the biſhops of Rome began with fire to perſecute the true members of Chriſt, as in further proceſſe of this hiſtory (Chriſt graunting) ſhal appeare. So happy, ſo glorious (as I ſayd) was this victory of Cõſtantine, ſurnamed the great. For the ioy and gladnes wherof, the Citizens, who had ſent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the city of Rome, where he with the croſſe was moſte honorablye receaued, and celebrated the ſpace of. vij. dayes together, hauing moreouer in yͤ market place his image ſet vp, holding in his right hand the ſigne of the croſſe, with thys inſcription: Hoc ſalutari ſigno, veraci fortitudinis iudicio, ciuitatem noſtram iugo tyranni ereptam liberaui. That is, with this wholſome ſigne, the true tokẽ of fortitude, I haue reſcued and deliuered our citie from the yoke of the tyrant. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

By this heauenly victory of Conſtantinus, and by the death of Maxentius no litle tranquility came to the church of Chriſt. Although not withſtãding in the Eaſt churches, the ſtorme of this tenth perſecution was not yet all together quieted, but that ſome tayle thereof in thoſe partes remained for the ſpace of. ij. or iij. yeare But of this we minde to ſpeake (Chriſt willing) hereafter. In the meane ſeaſon, to returne againe to the weſt partes here in Europe, where Conſtantinus then had moſt to do, great tranquility followed, and long continued in the Church without anye open ſlaughter, for a thouſand yeares together (to the tyme of Iohn Wicleff and Waldenſes, as is before touched) by the meanes of the godly beginning of good Conſtantinus, who wyth his fellow Licinius, being nowe ſtabliſhed in their dominion, eftſones ſet forth their generall proclamation or edict, not conſtrayning therin any man to anye religion, but geuing liberty to all men, both for the Chriſtians to perſiſt in their profeſſion without any daunger, and for other men freely to adioyne with them, who ſoeuer pleaſed. Which thing was verye well taken, and highlye allowed of the Romaynes, and all wyſe men. The copy of the edict or conſtitution here inſueth.

Note t these t ſand y and th read th chap. of Apoc. nas wa bound for a th ſand y &c.

The co of the i periall ſtitution Conſta nus and cinius.

¶ *The copy of the Imperial conſtitution of Conſtantinus and Licinius, for the eſtabliſhing of the free woorſhipping of God, after the Chriſtian religion.*

Not long agone we weying with our ſelues, that the libertie and freedome of religion oughte not in anye caſe to be prohibited, but that fre leaue ought to be geuen to euery man to doo therin according to his will and mynde, we haue geuen commaundement to al mẽ to qualifie matters of religiõ as they thẽ ſelues thought good, and that alſo the Chriſtians ſhould keepe the opinions and fayth of their religion. But becauſe that many and ſundrye opinions by the ſame our firſt liſence ſpring and increaſe through ſuch liberty graunted, we thought good manifeſtly to adde thereunto, and make playne ſuch thinges, wherby perchaunce ſome of them in time to come, may from ſuch their obſeruance be let or hindered. When therfore by proſperous ſucceſſe, I Cõſtantinus Auguſtus, & I Licinius Auguſtus came to Mediolanum, and there ſat in councell vppon ſuche thinges as ſerued for the vtilitie and profyt of the common weale, theſe thinges amongeſt others, we thought would be beneficial to all men: yea and before all other thinges we purpoſed to eſtabliſh thoſe thinges, wherin the true reuerence and woorſhip of God is comprehended, that is, to geue vnto the Chriſtians free choyſe to follow what religion they thinke good, and wherby the ſame ſinceritie and celeſtiall grace which is in euerye place receaued, maye alſo be embraced and accepted of all our louing ſubiectes. According therefore vnto thys our pleaſure vpon good aduiſement and ſounde iudgement, we haue decreed, that no man ſo hardy, be denied to chuſe and follow the Chriſtian obſeruance or religion: But that this liberty be geuen to euery mã, that he may apply his mind to what religion he thinketh mete himſelfe, wherby God may performe vpon vs al his accuſtomed care and goodnes. To the intent therfore you might know that this is our pleaſure, we thought it neceſſary this to write vnto you, wherby all ſuch errours and opinions being remoued, which in our former letters (beyng ſent vnto you in the behalfe of the Chriſtians) are contained, and which ſeme verye vndiſcrete & contrary to our clemency, may be made fruſtrate and adnichilate. Now therfore firmly and frely we wil and commaund, that euerye man haue free libertie to obſerue the Chriſtian religion, & that without anye griefe or moleſtation he may be ſuffered to do the ſame. Theſe thinges haue we thought good to ſignifie vnto you by as playn wordes as we may, that we haue geuen to the Chriſtians free and abſolute power to keepe and vſe their religion. And for as much as this libertye is abſolutely geuen of vs vnto them, to vſe and exerciſe theyr former obſeruance, if anye be ſo diſpoſed, it is manifeſt that the ſame helpeth much to eſtabliſh the publicke trãquillitie of our tyme, that euerye man haue licence and libertie to vſe and chuſe what kinde of worſhipping he liſt himſelfe. And this is done of vs onely for that intẽt, that we would haue no man to be enforced to one religion more then an other. And this thing alſo amongeſt others we haue prouided for the Chriſtians, that they may haue agayn the poſſeſſion of ſuch places, in which heretofore they haue bene accuſtomed to make theyr aſſembles, ſo that if any haue bought or purchaſed the ſame eyther of vs, or of any other: the ſame places without either money or other recompence, foorthwith and without delay we wyll to bee reſtored agayne vnto the ſayde Chriſtians. And if anye man haue obtayned the ſame by gift from vs, and ſhal require any recompence to be made to them in that behalfe: Then let the Chriſtians repaire vnto the Preſident (being the iudge apointed for that place) that conſideration maye bee had of thoſe men by our benignitie: al which thinges we wyll and commaunde, that you ſee to be geuen and reſtored freely, and with diligence vnto the ſocietie of the Chriſtians, all delay ſet apart. And becauſe the Chriſtians them ſelues are vnderſtood to haue had not onely thoſe places wherin they wer accuſtomed to reſort together, but certayne other peculiar places alſo, not being priuate to any one man, but belōging to the right of their congregation and ſocietie: you ſhall ſee alſo all thoſe to be reſtored vnto the Chriſtians, that is to ſay, to euerye felowſhip and companye of them, according to the decree, wherof we haue made menciō, all delay ſet apart. Prouided that the order we haue taken in the meane tyme be obſerued, that if anye (taking no recompence) ſhal, reſtore the ſame landes and poſſeſſions, they ſhall not miſtruſt but be ſure to be ſaued harmles by vs. In all theſe thinges it ſhalbe your part to employ your diligence in the behalfe of the foreſayde companye of the Chriſtians, whereby this our commaundement maye ſpedely be accompliſhed, and alſo in this caſe by our clemency the common and publicke peace may be preſerued. For vndoubtedlye by this meanes, as before we haue ſayde, the good wyl and fauour of God towardes vs, wherof in many caſes we haue had good experiẽce, ſhall alwaies continue with vs. And to the intent that this our conſtitution may be notified to al men, it ſhall be requiſite that the copye of theſe our letters be ſet vp in all places, that men may reade and know the ſame, leaſt any ſhould be ignorant therof.

By theſe hiſtories I doubt not (good Reader) but thou doeſt right wel conſider and behold with thy ſelfe the marueilous working of God his mighty power: to ſee ſo many emperours at one time conſpired and confederate together agaynſt the Lord and his Chriſt anoynted, whoſe names before we haue recited, as Diocleſian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Licinius, who hauing the ſubiection of the whole world vnder their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might & deuiſes, to extirpate the name of Chriſt, and of all Chriſtians. Wherein if the power of man could haue preuayled, what could they not do? or what could they do more then they did? If policie or deuiſes could haue ſerued, what policie was there lacking? If tormentes or paynes of death coulde haue helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be inuẽted, which was not attempted? If lawes, edictes, proclamacions, written not onely in tables, but ingrauē in bras, coulde haue ſtande, all this was practiſed againſt the weake Chriſtians. And yet notwithſtãding, to ſee howe no counſail can ſtand againſt the Lord, note here howe all theſe be gone, and yet Chriſt and his Churche doth ſtand. Fyrſt, of the taking away of Maximiã, you haue heard, alſo of the death of Seuerus, of the drownyng moreouer of Maxentius, inough hath bene ſayd. What a terrible plage was vpon Galerius, conſuming hys priuye members with Lyſe, hath bene alſo deſcribed. How Diocleſian the quondam being at Salona, hearing of the proceedinges of Conſtantinus, and this his edict, either for ſorow died, or as ſome ſaye did poyſon himſelfe. Onely Maximinus now in the Eaſt partes remained alyue, who bare a deadlye hatred agaynſt the Chriſtians, and no leſſe expreſſed the ſame with mortal perſecution, to whom Conſtãtine and Licinius cauſed this conſtitution of theirs to be deliuered: at the ſyght wherof, although he was ſomewhat apaled, and defeated of his purpoſe: yet for as much as he ſaw him ſelfe to weake to reſiſt the autoritie of Conſtãtinus and Licinius the ſuperiour princes. He diſſembled his counterfet piety, as though he himſelfe had tẽdered the quiet of the Chriſtians: directed downe a certayne decree in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, wherin he pretendeth to write to Sabinus afore mencioned, firſt repeating vnto hym the former decree of Diocleſian and Maximinian in few wordes, with the commaundement therin contained touching the perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians. After that he reciteth the decree which he himſelfe made againſt them, when he came fyrſt to the imperial dignitie in the Eaſt part ioyned with Conſtantius. Then the Countermaunde of an other decree of his agayne, for the reſcuing of the Chriſtiãs, with ſuch fayned and pretenſed cauſes, as is in the ſame to be ſene. After that declareth how he comming to Nicemedia, at the ſute and ſupplication of the Citizens (which he alſo fayned, as may appeare before) he applying to their ſute, reuoked that his former Edict, and graunted them that no Chriſtian ſhould dwell within their City or territories. Upon which Sabinus alſo had geuen forth his letters, rehearſing withal the generall recountermaunde ſent forth by hym, for the perſecution againe of the Chriſtians. Laſt of al now he ſendeth downe agayne an other Surrecoūtermaund, with the cauſes therin contained, touching the ſafetye of the Chriſtians, and tranquilitie of them: Commaunding Sabinus to publiſh the ſame. Which edict of his is at large ſet forth of Euſebius. lib. 9. cap. 9. But this Surrecountermaund he then diſſimuled, as he had done in the other before. How be it ſhortly after, he making warres, and fighting a battaile with Licinius, wherin he loſt the victory, comming home againe, tooke great indignation againſt the Prieſts and Prophetes of his Gods, whom before that time he had great regard vnto, and honored: vpon whoſe anſwers he truſting and depending vpon their enchauntments, began hys warre againſt Licinius. But after that he perceaued hym ſelfe to be deceaued by them, as by wicked enchaunters and deceauers, and ſuch as had betraied his ſafety and perſon, he kylled and put thẽ to death. And he ſhortly after, oppreſſed with a certayne diſeaſe, glorified the God of the Chriſtians, and made a moſt abſolute law for the ſafety and preſeruation of them, with fraunchiſe and liberty: the copy wherof inſueth.

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Diocleſiã dieth for ſorow

The effect of the decree whyche Maximinus made agaynſte hys wyll or ſur recountermaūd for feare of C. and L. in the behalfe of the chriſtians.

The ſurrecountermaunde of Maximi. diſſembled.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

The vnfayned repentaunce & finall decree of Maximinus for the Chriſtians.

Imperator Ceſar, Caius, Ualerius, Maximus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus. It is neceſſary that we alwayes carefully prouide and ſee vnto the benefyt and commoditie of ſuch as be our ſubiectes, and to exhibit ſuch thinges vnto them, whereby they maye beſt obtayne the ſame. But we ſuppoſe that there are none of you ſo ignorant, but knowe and vnderſtande what thinges make beſt for the profyt and commoditie of the common weale, and beſt pleaſe euerye mans diſpoſition. But it is mete & conueniẽt that euery mã haue recourſe to that which they haue ſene done before their eyes, and that all ſortes of men conſider the ſame, and beare it in their mindes. When therefore, and that before this time it came to our knowledge: vpon that occaſion, Diocleſianus, and Maximinianus, our progenitours of famous memorie, commaunded the aſſembles and meetinges of the Chriſtians to be cut of, ther were many of them ſpoyled & robbed of our Officials: which thing we alſo perceaue is now put in practiſe agaynſt our ſubiectes, that they in like caſe maye bee ſpoyled of their goods and ſubſtance, which thing chieflye to preuent, is our onely indeuour. By our letters ſent to the gouernours of euery prouince the yeare paſt, we ordained, that if any man were diſpoſed to leane vnto the Chriſtian religion, that he might without any iniurye done vnto him, accompliſh his deſire, neither to be of any man either let or moleſted: and that he might wythout any feare or ſuſpicion, doo what ſoeuer he therein thought good. But now alſo we vnderſtand that there be certayne iudges which haue neglected our commaũdement, and haue put our ſubiectes in doubt, whyther that hath bene our pleſure or not, which thing they did, that ſuch men might be the better aduiſed, how they entred into ſuch religion: wherin they followed their own fantaſy. To the entent therfore that after this, all ſuſpicion, doubt, and feare may be taken awaye: we haue thought good to publiſh this our edict, whereby it maye be made manifeſt to euery man, that it ſhall be lawfull for al ſuch as wyll follow that religion, by the benefyt of this our graunt and letters patentes, to vſe what religion they lyke beſt. And alſo hereby we graunt vnto them, licence to build them Oratories or Temples. And furthermore, that this our graunt may more amply extend vnto them, we vouchſafe to appoynt and ordaine, that what ſoeuer landes and ſubſtaunce before, belonging and appertayning to the Chriſtians, and by the commaundement of our predeceſſors were tranſpoſed to our reuenew and eſchecour, or els be in the poſſeſſion of any Citie, by meanes of the franchiſes of the ſame, or els otherwyſe ſold or geuen to any man: all and euery parcel therof we commaunde ſhall be reſtored vnto the proper vſe of the Chriſtians agayne, whereby they may al haue in this matter more experience, of our godly deuotion and prouidence. Euſeb.lib.9.cap.10.

A large graunt of Maximinus to the chriſtiãs.

An. 319.

God maketh hys enemies to confeſſe hym.

The end and death of Maximinus.

Maximinus thus being conquered of Licinius, and alſo plaged with an incurable diſeaſe in the guts, ſent by the hand of God, was compelled by tormentes and aduerſitie to confeſſe the true God, whom before he regarded not, and this Edicte to wryte in the fauoure of thoſe Chriſtiãs, whom before he did perſecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they neuer ſo ſterne and ſtout, at length to ſtoupe, and mauger their hartes, to confeſſe hym, as thys Maximinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemencie of hys diſeaſe ended his life. Wherby, no mo tyrauntes nowe were left alyue, to trouble the church, but onely Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of his perſecutions ſtyrred vp in the eaſt partes, againſt the ſayntes of God, nowe remayneth in order of ſtory to proſecute.

The perſecutiõ of the church vnder Licinius.

An enemie to learning.

This Licinius being a Dane borne, and made firſt Ceſar by Galerius, as is aboue ſpecified, was afterward ioyned with Conſtantinus in gouernment of the Empyre, and in ſetting forth the Edictes, which before we haue deſcribed: although it ſemeth al this to be done of hym with a diſſemblyng mynde. For ſo is he in al hiſtories deſcribed, to be a man paſſing all other in the deſire of vnſatiable riches, geuen to lecherye, haſtie, ſtubburne, and furious. To learning he was ſuche an enemy, that he named the ſame a poyſon and a common peſtilence, and eſpeciallye the knowledge of the lawes. He thought no vice woorſe became a prince, then learning, becauſe he himſelf was vnlearned. Eutropius, Letus, Ignatius, Euſeb.lib.8 cap.13.

There was betwene hym and Conſtantinus in the beginning great familiaritie: and ſuch agrement, that Conſtantinus gaue vnto him his ſyſter Conſtantia in Matrimony, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither wold any man haue thought him to haue bene of anye other religion then Conſtantinus was of, he ſeemed in all thinges ſo well to agree with him. Wherupon he made a decree with Conſtantinus in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, as we haue ſhewed. Euſeb.lib.9.cap.9. And ſuche was Licinius in the beginning. But after arming him ſelfe with tyranny, beganne to conſpire againſt the perſon of Conſtantinus, of whom he had receaued ſo great benefites, neyther fauourable to the law of nature, nor mindfull of his othes, his bloud, nor promiſes. But whẽ he conſidered that in his conſpiracies he nothing preuayled, for that he ſaw Conſtantinus was preſerued & ſafely defẽded of God: And partly being puffed vp with ỹ victorye againſt Maximinus, he began vehemently to hate him, & not onelye to reiect the Chriſtiã religion, but alſo deadly to hate the ſame. He ſayd he would become an enemy vnto the Chriſtians, for that in their aſſemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Cõſtantinus. Therfore, fyrſt by litle and litle and that ſecretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Chriſtiãs, and baniſhed them his court, which neuer were by any meanes preiudicial to his kingdome. Then he cõmaunded that al thoſe ſhould be depriued which wer knights of the honorable order, vnles they would do ſacrifice to deuils. Euſeb.lib 10.cap.8. The ſame perſecution afterwards ſtretched he frõ his court, into al his prouinces, which wͭ moſt wycked and deuiſed lawes he ſet foorth. Fyrſt, that for no cauſe the byſhops ſhould in any matter communicate together: neither that any mã ſhould come at the churches next vnto them, or to cal any aſſẽblies, and conſult for the neceſſary matters and vtilitie of the church.

Licin Apoſta

The fo taine of poſtaſie

Knigh of the o depriued for not ing ſacri fyce.

After that the men and women together ſhould not come in companies to pray, nor that the women ſhould come in thoſe places where they vſed to preache & reade the woord of God, neither that they ſhould be after that inſtructed any more of the biſhops, but ſhould chuſe out ſuch women amongeſt them as ſhoulde inſtruct them. The third moſt cruel & wyckedeſt of all was, that none ſhould helpe and ſuccour thoſe that were caſt in priſon, nor ſhould beſtowe anye almes or charitie vpon them, though they ſhould dye for hunger: & they which ſhewed any compaſſion vpon thoſe that were condemned to death, ſhould be as greatly puniſhed, as they to whom they ſhewed the ſame ſhould be: and they alſo that were in priſon, ſhewing any reliefe to them, and taken wyth the maner, ſhould be partakers of their affliction. Euſebius libro primo de vita Conſtantini. Theſe wer the moſt horrible conſtitutions of Licinius, which went beyond and paſſed the boundes of nature.

A ſtra charge gaynſt releuin the im ned C ans,

After this he vſed violence againſt the Biſhops, but yet not openly, for feare of Conſtantinus, but priuelye and by conſpiracie: by which meanes he ſlew thoſe that were the worthieſt men amongeſt the Doctors and Prelates. And about Amaſea and other Cities of Pontus, he raſed the churches euen to the ground. Other ſome he ſhut vp, that no man ſhoulde come after their accuſtomed maner to pray and worſhip God: and therefore as we ſayd before, hys conſcience accuſing him, al thys he did, for that he ſuſpected they prayed for Conſtantinus, and not at al for hym. And from this place in the Eaſt parties vnto the Libiãs, which bordered vpon the Egiptians, the Chriſtians durſt not aſſemble and come together for the diſpleaſure of Licinius, which he had conceaued againſt them. Zozom.lib.1.cap.2.

Secret ſecutiõ feare o ſtanti

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were vnder him, thinking by this meanes to pleaſe him, ſlewe & made out of the way many biſhops, and without anye cauſe put them to death, as though they had bene homicides and haynous offenders: and ſuche rigorouſnes vſed they towardes ſome of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and ſmal peeces in maner of a Boucher, and after that threw them into the ſea to feede the

fiſhes

The violēt wrongs of Licinius.

The Chriſtians flee into the wildernesſe

More perſecution reneweth.

Theodorꝰ another Theodorus biſhop of Tyrus, a man of Perga. Nicholaus biſhop of Mirorus. Gregorius biſhop of Armenia. Paulus Byſhop of Neoceſarea. With xl. other Martyrs. xl. good men and their wiues Martyrs. Amones with xl. wiues of the xl. men Martyrs.

The wicked purpoſe of Licinius had not bene preuented by God and aine by Cōſtātinus.

Licinius ouercome in battaile of Conſtantinus.

ſhes.Euſeb.lib.10.cap.8. What ſhal we ſpeake of the exiles and confiſcations of good and vertuous men? For he tooke by violence euery mans ſubſtance, and cared not by what meanes he came by ẏ ſame: But threatned them with death, vnleſſe they would forgo the ſame. He baniſhed thoſe which had committed none euill at all. He commaunded that both gentlemen and men of honour, ſhould be made out of the way, neyther yet herewith content, but gaue their daughters that were vnmaryed, to varlets and wycked ones to be defloured. And Licinius himſelfe (although that by reaſon of hys yeares, his body was ſpent) yet ſhamefullye did he viciate many women, mens wyues and maydes. Euſeb.lib.1.de vita Conſtantini. Which cruel outrage of him cauſed many godlye men of their owne accorde to forſake their houſes: ⁊ was agayne ſeene that the woods, fields, deſert places, and mountaynes, were fayne to be the habitacions ⁊ reſting places of the poore ⁊ miſerable chriſtians. Euſeb.lib.10.cap.14. Of thoſe worthy men and famous Martyrs, which in this perſecution founde the way to heauen, Nicephorus lib.7.cap.14. firſt ſpeaketh of Theodorus who fyrſt being hanged vpon a croſſe, had nawles thruſt into his arme pyts, and after that hys heade ſtricken of. Alſo of an other Theodorus being the biſhop of Tyre, the third was a man of Perga. Baſilius alſo the biſhop of Amaſenus, Nicholaus, the biſhop of Mirorus, Gregorius, of Armenia ẏ great: After that Paule of Neoceſaria, which by the impious commaundement of Licinius had both his handes cut of wyth a ſearing yron. Beſides theſe wer in the citie of Sebaſtia, forty worthy men, and Chriſtian ſoldiours in the vehement cold tyme of wynter, ſouſed ⁊ drowned in a horſe pond, when Locias as yet, of whom we ſpake before, ⁊ Agricolaus executing the Shrieues office vnder Licinius in the Eaſt partes, were alyue: and were in great eſtimation, for inuenting of new and ſtraunge tormēts againſt the Chriſtians. The wyues of thoſe 40.good men, wer caried to Heraclea a citie in Thracia, ⁊ there, with a certayne Deacon whoſe name was Amones, were (after innumerable tormentes by them moſt conſtantly indured) ſlayne with the ſwoord. Theſe thinges writeth Nicephorus. Alſo Zozomenus in his.ix. booke and.2.chap. maketh mention of the ſame Martyrs. And Baſilius in a certayne Oration ſeemeth to intreate of their hiſtory, ſauing that in the circumſtances he ſomewhat varieth And ſurely Licinius was determined, for that the fyrſt face of this perſecution fell out according to his deſire, to haue ouer ranne all the Chriſtians: to which thing neither counſel, nor good wyl, nor yet oportunitie, perchaunce wanted: vnleſſe God had brought Conſtantinus into thoſe parties, in which he gouerned: where, in ẏ warres which he himſelfe began (knowing right wel that Conſtantinus had intelligence of his cōſpiracy and treaſon) ioyning battayle with hym, was moſt cowardly ouercome.

Diuers battayles betwene them were fought, the fyrſt fought in Hungary, wher Licinius was ouerthrowen: Than he fled into Macedonia, and repayring his army, was againe diſcomfited. Finally, being vanquiſhed, both by ſea and land: he laſtly, at Nicomedia, yelded him ſelfe to Conſtantine: and was commaunded to lyue a priuate lyfe in Theſſalia, wher at length he was ſlayne by the ſoldiours.

The end & death of the tirantes which wer autors of thys x. perſecution

Thus haue ye heard, the ende and concluſion of al the ſeuen tyrantes, which wer the autors and workers of this tenth ⁊ laſt perſecution, againſt ẏ true people of God. The chief captain, ⁊ incenter of which perſecutiō was firſt Diocleſiā, who dyed at Salona, as ſome ſay, by his owne poyſon.an.319. The next was Maximinian, who as is ſayd, was hanged of Conſtātine at Maſſilia, about the yeare of our Lord.310. Then died Galerius, plaged with an horrible diſeaſe ſent of God. Seuerus was ſlayne by Maximian, father of Maxentius about Rauenna.an.309. Shortly after Maxentius the wycked tyrant was ouercome and vanquiſhed of Conſtantine.an.318. Maximinus the ſyxt tyrant taried not long after, who being ouercome by Licinius, died, about the yeare of our Lord.320. Laſtly, howe this Licinius was ouercome by Conſtantine and ſlayn.an.324 is before declared. Onelye Conſtantius, the father of Conſtātine being a good and a godly Emperour, died in the thirde yeare of the perſecution.an.310. and was buried at Yorke. After whom ſucceded after his godlye father, Conſtātinus, as a ſecond Moſes ſent and ſet vp of God to deliuer his people out of this ſo miſerable captiuity, into liberty moſt ioyful.

A brief ſtory of the moſt notable Martyrs, that ſuffered in thys .x. perſecution.

Now remayneth after the ende of theſe perſecutors thus deſcribed, to gather vp the names and ſtories of certayne particular Martyrs, which nowe are to be ſet forth worthy of ſpecial memory: for their ſingular conſtancie and fortitude, ſhewed in their ſufferinges and cruel tormentes. The names of all which that ſuffered in this foreſayd.x.perſecutiō, being in number infinite, in vertue moſt excellent, it is impoſſible here to comprehende: but the moſt notable, and in moſt approued autors expreſſed, we thought here to inſerte, for the more edification of other Chriſtians, which maye and ought to looke vpon their examples, fyrſt beginning with Albanus, the fyrſt Martyr that euer in Englande ſuffered death for the name of Chriſt.

Albanus. martyr.

Fruit of hoſpitalitie to be noted.

Albanus fyrſt cōuerted, & by what occaſion.

Albanus offereth hymſelf to death for an other.

The wordes of the Iudge of Albane.

At what time Diocleſian and Maximinian the Pagan Emperours had directed out their letters wyth all ſeueritie, for the perſecuting of the Chriſtians: Alban being then an infidel, receiued into his houſe a certaine Clerke, fleing from the perſecutors handes, whom whē Alban beheld, continually both day and night to perſeuer in watching ⁊ in prayer: ſodenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and vertuous life: whereuppon by little and litle he being inſtructed by his wholſome exhortacions, and leauing the blyndenes of his idolatrye, became at length a perfect Chriſtian. And when the forenamed Clerke had lodged with him a certayne tyme, it was enformed the wicked Prince, that this good man and Confeſſour of Chriſt (not yet condemned to death) was harbored in Albans houſe, or very neare vnto him. Whereupon immediately he gaue in charge to the Soldiours, to make more diligent inquiſicion of the matter. Who as ſoone as they came to the houſe of Alban the Martyr, he by ⁊ by putting on the apparell wherwyth his geſt and maiſter was apparelled (that is, a garment at that tyme vſed, named Caracalla) offered himſelfe in the ſtede of the other to the ſoldiours: who binding him, brought him forthwith to the Iudge. It fortuned that at that inſtant when bleſſed Alban was brought vnto the Iudge, they found him at the aulters offering ſacrifice vnto deuils, who as ſoone as he ſaw Alban, was ſtraight wayes in a great rage, for that he would preſume of hys own voluntary wyll, to offer himſelfe to peryll, and geue hymſelfe a priſoner to the ſoldiours, for ſafegard of his geſt whom he harbored: and cōmaunded him to be brought before the Images of the deuils whom he worſhipped, ſaying: For that thou haddeſt rather hide and conuey away a rebell, then to deliuer him to the officers, ⁊ that (as a contemner of our Gods) he ſhoulde not ſuffer the puniſhment and merite of his blaſphemy: looke what puniſhment he ſhould haue had, thou for him ſhalt ſuffer the ſame: if I perceiue thee any whit to reuolt from our maner of worſhipping. But bleſſed Alban, who of his own accord had bewrayed to the perſecutors that he was a Chriſtian, feared not at all the manaſſes of the Prince, but being armed with ſpiritual armour, openly pronounced that he woulde not obey his commaundement. Then ſayd the Iudge: of what ſtocke or kinred

The conſtancie and zeale of Alban.

The confeſſion of Alban.

The ſuffering & Martyrdome of Alban.

art thou come? Alban anſwered, what is that to you, of what ſtocke ſoeuer I am come of, if you deſyre to heare the veritie of my religion, I do ye to wytte that I am a Chriſtian, and apply my ſelf altogether to that calling. Then ſayd the Iudge, I would know thy name, and ſe thou tel me the ſame without delay. Then ſayde he, my parentes named me Alban, and I worſhip and honour the true & liuing God, which hath created al the world. Then ſayd the Iudge fraught with furye, if thou wylt enioye the felicitie of this preſent life, do ſacrifice (& that out of hand) to theſe mighty Gods. Alban replieth: theſe ſacrifices which ye offer vnto deuils, can neither helpe them that offer the ſame, neyther yet can they accompliſh the deſires and prayers of their ſuppliantes: But rather ſhal they, what ſo euer they bee, yͭ offer ſacrifice to theſe Idoles, receaue for their meede euerlaſtyng paynes of hell fyre. The Iudge, when he hearde theſe wordes, was paſſing angrie, and cōmaunded yͤ tormentors to whyp this holy Confeſſour of God, indeuoring to ouercome the conſtancie of his hart wᵗ ſtripes, which had preuayled nothing with wordes. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet ſuffered he the ſame paciently, nay rather ioyfully, for the lords ſake. Thē when the iudge ſawe that he woulde not with torments be ouercomen, nor be reduced from the worſhip of Chriſtian religion, he commaunded him to be beheaded.

Superfluous miracles in this ſtory writtē by Bede omitted.

The reſt that foloweth of this ſtory in the narration of Bede, as of drying vp the riuer, as Albane went to the place of his execution: then of making a welſpring in the top of the hill, and of the falling oute of the eyes of him that did behead him (with ſuch other prodigious miracles mēcioned in his ſtory) becauſe they ſeme more legendlike, then truthlike: agayne, becauſe I ſee no great profit, nor neceſſity in the relation therof, I leaue them to the free iudgement of the Reader, to thinke of them, as cauſe ſhall moue him.

The legend of S. Alban diſproued.

The like eſtimation I haue of the long ſtory, wherin is written at large a fabulous diſcourſe of al the doinges and miracles of S. Albane, taken out of the library of S. Albans, compiled (as ther is ſayd) by a certayne Pagan, who (as hee ſayth) afterwarde went to Rome, there to be baptiſed. But becauſe in the beginning or prologe of the booke, the ſayd wryter maketh mencion of the ruinous walles of the towne of Verolamium, cōtayning the ſtory of Albanus, and of his bitter puniſhmentes: which walles were then falling down for age, at the writing of the ſayd booke, as he ſayth: Therby it ſemeth this ſtory to be wrytten a great whyle after the martyrdome of Alban: eyther by a Britaine, or by an Engliſh man. If he were a Britaine, howe then did the latin tranſlatour take it out of the Engliſhe tong, as in yͤ prologe he himſelf doth teſtify. If he were an engliſhman, how then did he go vp to Rome for baptiſme, being a Pagan, when he might haue bene baptiſed amōg the Chriſtian Britaines more nere at home.

S. Alban the fyrſt Martyr in thys Realme of England.

The ſto
of the
tes com
ted with
lyes.

But among all other euidences and declarations ſufficient to diſproue this legendary ſtory of S. Alban, nothing maketh more againſt it, then the very ſtorye it ſelfe: as where he bringeth in the heade of the holy martyr to ſpeake vnto thē people after it was ſmitten of frō the body. Alſo where he bringeth in the Angels goyng vp, and comming downe in a piller of fire, and ſinging all the night long. Item in the ryuer which he ſayth S. Alban made dry, ſuch as were drowned in the ſame before in the bottome, were found aliue. With other ſuch like monkiſh miracles & groſſe fables, wherewith theſe Abbey Moonkes were woont in tyme paſt to deceaue the church of God, and to begyle the whole worlde for their own aduauntage. Notwithſtanding this I wryte not to any derogation of the bleſſed and faythful martyr of God, who was the fyrſt that I did euer fynde in this realme, to ſuffer martyrdome for the teſtimonye of Chriſt. And worthy no doubt of condigne cōmendatiō, eſpecially of vs here in this land: whoſe Chriſtian fayth in the Lord, and charitie toward his neighbour: I pray God all we may follow. As alſo I wyſh moreouer that the ſtories both of hym, and of all other Chriſtian martyrs myght haue bene deliuered to vs ſimplye as they were, without the admixture of all theſe Abbeylike additions of Moonkiſh myracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of ſuch ſaintes to the moſt, by whoſe offeringes they were accuſtomed to receaue moſt aduauntage.

Amph
balus.
Martyr.
Flori
ſlorim
The Ma
dome of
Amphi

As touchyng the name of the clearke mentioned in this ſtory whom Alban receiued into hys houſe, I find in the engliſh ſtories to be Amphibalus, although the latine authors name hym not, who the ſame tyme flying into Walles was alſo fette from thence agayne to the ſame towne of Verolamiū, otherwiſe called Verlancaſter, where he was martyred, hauing his belly opened, & made to runne about a ſtake, whyle all his bowels wer drawn out, thē thruſt in with ſwords and daggers, & at laſt was ſtoned to death, as the foreſaid legēd declareth

Aaron
Iulius,
martyrs

Moreouer the ſame tyme with Alban, ſuffered alſo ij. citizens of the foreſayde citie of Verlancaſter, whoſe names were Aaron and Iulius: beſyde other, wherof a greate number the ſame tyme no doubte, did ſuffer, althoughe our chronicles of their names doo make no rehersall.

Perſec
in this
realme
Britain

The tyme of the martyrdome of this bleſſed Alban and the other, ſemeth to be about the ſecond or iij. yeare of this tenth perſecution, vnder the tyranny of Diocleſian, & Maximinianus Herculius, bearyng thē the rule in England, about the yeare of our Lord 301. before the commyng of Conſtantius to his gouernment. Where, by the way is to be noted, that this realme of Britayne beyng ſo chriſtened before, yet neuer was touched with any of the other .ix. perſecutions, before this tenthe perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximinian. In whyche perſecution our ſtories and Polichronicon do recorde, that all Chriſtianitie almoſt in the whole Ilelande was deſtroyed, the churches ſubuerted, all bookes of yͤ ſcripture burned, many of the faithful both men and womē were ſlayne. Among whom the firſt and chiefe ringleader (as hath bene ſayd) was Albanus. And thus muche touchyng the martyrs of Britayne. Now frō England to returne again vnto other countryes, where this perſecutiō did more vehemently raigne: we wil adde hereunto (the Lorde willing) the ſtories of other, although not of all yͭ ſuffred in this perſecution (whiche were impoſſible) but of certayne moſt principall, whoſe ſingular conſtancie in their ſtrong tormentes are chiefly renowmed in later hiſtories: beginning firſt wᵗ Romanus, the notable and admirable ſouldiour and true ſeruaunt of Chriſt, whoſe hiſtory ſet forth in Prudentius doth thus procede: ſo lamentably by him deſcribed, that it wyll be hard for any man almoſt wyth dry chekes to heare it.

The la
table
of Ro
nus Ma

The e
tation
Roma
to the
ſtians.

Pitiles Galerius with hys graunde Capitayne Aſclepiades violently inuaded the citye of Antioch, entendyng by force of Armes to dryue all Chriſtians to renounce vtterly their pure religion. The chriſtiās as god would, wer at yͭ tyme cōgregated together, to whō Romanus haſtely ranne, declaryng that the Wolues wer at hand, which would deuoure the chriſtian flocke, but feare not (ſayde he) neyther let thys imminent perill diſturbe you, my brethren: brought was it to paſſe, by the greate grace of God workyng in Romanus, that olde men and matrones, fathers and mothers, yong men & maydens were all of one wyll and mynde, moſte redye to ſhed theyr bloud in defence of their Chriſtian profeſſion. Worde was brought to the captayne that yͤ band of armed ſouldiours was not able to wreſt the ſtaffe of fayth, out of the hande of the vnarmed congregation: & all by reaſon, that one Romanus ſo mightelye dyd en-

courage

he chriſti n boldnes : Roma- us.

he noble atience of omanus n hys ſuffe yng.

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courage them,that they ſticke not to offer theyr naked throtes,wyſhing gloriouſly to dye for the name of their Chriſt.Seeke out that rebell (quod the capitayne) and bryng hym to me,that he maye aunſwer for the whole ſecte.Apprehended he is,and bounde as a ſhepe appointed to the ſlaughter houſe,is preſented to the Emperor: who wyth wrathfull countenaunce beholdyng hym, ſayde:What? Art thou the author of thys ſedicion? art thou the cauſe why ſo many ſhall looſe theyr lyues? By the gods I ſweare,thou ſhalt ſmart for it, and fyrſte in the fleſh ſhalte thou ſuffer the paynes, whereunto thou haſt encouraged the hartes of thy fellowes. Romanus aunſwered:Thy ſentence O Emperour,I ioyfully embrace:I refuſe not to be ſacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell meanes as thou mayeſt inuente: and whereas thy ſouldiours were repelled from the chriſtian congregation,that ſo happened,bicauſe it lay not in Idolaters and worſhippers of Deuils to enter into the holy houſe of God,and to pollute the place of true prayer.Then Aſclepiades wholy enflamed wyth thys ſtoute aunſwer,commaunded hym to bee truſſed vp,and hys bowels drawne out.The executioners themſelues more pitifull in hart then the captayne,ſayde: not ſo ſyr,thys man is of noble parentage:vnlawfull is it to put a noble man to ſo vnnoble a death:ſcourge hym then wyth whyppes(quod the capitayne)with knaps of lead at the endes.In ſtede of teares,ſighes and grones,Romanus ſong pſalmes all the tyme of hys whippyng, requiryng them not to fauour him for Nobilities ſake,not ẏ bloud of my progenitours(ſayd he)but chriſtian profeſſiō maketh me noble. Then with great power of ſpirite he inueyed againſt the capitayne,laughyng to ſcorne ẏ falſe gods of the heathen,wyth the idolatrous worſhippyng of them,affirmyng the God of the Chriſtians to be the true God that created heauen and earthe,before whoſe iudiciall ſeat all nations ſhal appeare,but the wholſom wordes of the Martyr were as oyle to the fyre of the capitaynes fury.The more the Martyr ſpake, the madder was hee,in ſo much that he commaunded the Martyrs ſydes to be launced wyth knyues, vntyl the bones appeare whyte againe.Sory am I,O Capitayn(quod the Martyr)not for that my fleſh ſhal be thus cutte and mangled,but for thy cauſe am I ſorowfull,who being corrupted wyth dampnable errours, ſeduceſt others. The ſecond tyme he preached at large, the liuyng God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hys welbeloued ſonne, eternall lyfe thorow fayth in hys bloud,expreſſing therwith the abhomination of Idolatry,wyth a vehement exhortation to worſhippe and adore the lyuyng God. At theſe wordes Aſclepiades commaunded the tormentours to ſtryke Romanus on the mouthe, that hys teethe beyng ſtryken out,hys pronunciation at leaſt wyſe might bee impeyred:The commaundement is obeyed, hys face is buffeted,his eye lyddes are torne with theyr nayles,his checkes are ſcorched with knyues, the ſkin of his beard is plucked by little and little from the fleſh,finallye hys ſeemely face is wholy defaced.The meke Martyr ſaid: I thancke thee,O Capitaine,that thou haſt opened vnto me many mouthes,wherby I may preache my Lord and ſauiour Chriſt. Loke how many woundes I haue, ſo many mouthes I haue,laudyng and prayſing God. The Capitayne aſtoniſhed wyth this ſyngular conſtācie,commaunded them to ceaſe from the tortures. He threatneth cruell fyre, he reuileth the noble Martyr, he blaſphemeth God,ſaying:Thy crucified Chriſte,is but an yeſterdayes God,the gods of ẏ Gentiles are of moſt antiquitie.

Here agayne Romanus takyng good occaſiō,made a long Oration of the eternitie of Chriſt,of his humain nature,of the death and ſatiſfaction of Chriſt for al mākynde.Which done,he ſayde:geue me a childe (O Captayne) but ſeuen yeres of age, which age is free from malice and other vices,wherwyth riper age is cōmonly infected,and thou ſhalt heare what he will ſay:his requeſt was graunted.A prety boye was called out of the multitude,and ſet before hym. Tell me my babe(quod the Martyr)whether thou thinke it reaſon that we worſhip one Chriſt,and in Chriſt one father, or els that we worſhip infinite gods? Unto whō the babe anſwered: That certainly,whatſoeuer it bee, that men affirme to be God,muſt needes be one:which with one,is one and the ſame: inaſmuch as this one is Chriſt, of neceſſitie Chriſt muſt be ẏ true god,for,that there be many gods, we children cannot beleue.The Capitayn hereat cleau amaſed,ſayd:thou yong villayne and traytour, where and of whom learnedſt thou this leſſō? Of my mother, (quod the childe)with whoſe milke I ſucked in this leſſon,that I muſt beleue in Chriſt.The mother was called,and ſhe gladly appeared,the Capitaine commaunded the child to be horſed vp,and ſcourged. The pitifull beholders of this pitiles acte, coulde not temper themſelues from teares: the ioyfull and glad mother alone, ſtoode by wyth dry chekes:yea, ſhe rebuked her ſweete babe for crauing a draught of colde water,ſhe charged him to thirſt after the cup,that ẏ infantes of Bethleem once dranke of, forgetting their mothers mylke and pappes,ſhe wylled hym to remember little Iſaac, who beholding the ſword wherwyth,and the altar wheron, he ſhould bee ſacrificed, willinglye profered hys tender necke to ẏ dent of hys fathers ſword.Whileſt this counſell was in geuing,the boucherlye tortoure pluckte the ſkynne from the crowne of hys head,heare and al.The mother cryed,ſuffer,my childe, anone thou ſhalte paſſe to hym that wyll adorne thy naked head,with a crown of eternall glorye.The mother counſeleth, the childe is councelled:the mother encourageth,the babe is encouraged:he receyueth the ſtrypes and the ſores wyth ſmylyng countenance.The capitayne perceyuing the child inuincible, and himſelf vanquiſhed,cōmitteth the ſelye ſoule,the bleſſed babe,the child vncheriſhed,to the ſtynkyng priſon,commaunding ẏ tormentes of Romanus to be renued and encreaſed,as chief author of this euil.

Thus was Romanus brought forth agayne to new ſtrypes and puniſhmentes, to bee renued and receyued vpon his old ſores,in ſo much the bare bones appeared, the fleſh all torne away:wherein no pitye was ſhewed, but the ragyng tyrant puffing out of his blaſphemous mouth,lyke a mad man theſe wordes, cryed out to the tormentors,ſaying:

Where is quod the Captaine, where is your myght?
What? are ye not able one body to ſpill?
Scant may it,ſo weake is it,ſtand vpright:
And yet in ſpyte of vs ſhall it lyue ſtyll?
The Grype wyth talaunt,the dog wyth his tooth,
Could ſoone,ye daſtardes,this corps rent and teare,
He ſcorneth our gods in all that he dooth:
Cut,pricke,and pounce hym,no longer forbeare.

Yea,no longer could the tyraunt forbeare, but needes he muſt draw nearer to the ſentence of death:is it painfull to thee(ſayde he)to tarye ſo long alyue? a flamynge fyre doubte thou not,ſhall bee prepared for thee,by and by,wherin thou and that boye,thy fellowe of rebellion ſhalte be conſumed into aſhes.Romanus and the babe are led to the place of execution.As they layd handes on Romanus,he looked backe ſaying:I appeale from this thy tyranny,O iudge vniuſt,to the righteous throne of Chriſt that vpright iudge:not becauſe I feare thy cruel tormentes and merciles handlings,but that thy iudgementes may be knowne to be cruel and bloudy. Nowe when they wer come to the place,ẏ tormētour required ẏ child of ẏ mother, for ſhe had takē it vp in her armes: And ſhe onely kyſſyng it, deliuered the babe. Farewel ſhe ſaid my ſwete child,and as the hangmā applied his ſword to the babes necke,ſhe ſang on this maner.

The confeſſion of a chylde agaynſt idolatry

A chylde martyred for the teſtimonye of Chriſt.

An example of vertuous education.

A godlye mother of a godly chylde.

The cruel wordes of the tyrant.

The Chriſtian chyld beheaded for confeſſyng of Chriſt.

Nature ouercome of religion.

All laude and prayſe wyth hart and voyce,
O Lord we yelde to thee:
To whom the death of all thy ſainctes,
We know moſt deare to bee.

The fire quenched with raine that ſhould burne Romanus.

Romanus ſpeaketh after hys tonge was pluckt out.

Romanus after long torments ſtrangled in priſon.

The innocents head beyng cut of, the mother wrapped it vp in her garmēt, and layd it to her breſt. On the other ſyde a mighty fire was made, whereinto Romanus was caſt: who ſayd, that he ſhould not burne: wherwyth a great ſtorme aroſe (if it be true) and quenched ẏ fyre. The Capitayne gaue in commaundement ẏ hys tounge ſhould be cut out, out was it plucked by ẏ harde rootes and cut of: Neuertheles he ſpake, ſaying: he that ſpeaketh Chriſt ſhal neuer want a tonge, thynke not ẏ the voyce that vttereth Chriſt, hath nede of the tonge to be the miniſter. The Capitain, at this halfe oute of his wit, bare in hande that the hangman deceiued the ſight of the people by ſome ſuttle ſleight and crafty conueyance. Not ſo (quod the hangman) if ye ſuſpect my dede, open his mouth and diligently ſearche the rootes of his tounge. The Capitayne at length beyng confounded wyth the fortitude and courage of the Martyr, ſtraightly commaundeth hym to be brought backe into the priſon, and there to be ſtrangled. Where hys ſorowful life and paynes beyng ended, he now enioyeth quiet reſt in the Lord, wyth perpetual hope of hys miſerable body to bee reſtored agayne wyth hys ſoule into a better lyfe: where no tyrant ſhal haue any power: Prudētius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

The ſtory of Gordius a Centurion Martyr.

Gordius of hys accord vttereth himſelf to be a Chriſtian.

Gordius broght to examinatiō.

The confeſſion of Gordius.

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Gordius was a Citezin of Ceſaria, a worthy ſouldiar, and Captaine of an hundreth men. He in the tyme of extreme perſecution refuſing any longer to execute his charge, did chuſe of his owne accorde willing exile, and lyued in the deſerte many yeares a religiouſe and ſolitari lyfe. But vpon a certaine day when a ſolemne feaſte of Mars was celebrated, in the Citie of Ceſarea, and much people were aſſembled in the Theatre to behold the games: he left the deſert, & got hym vp into the chief place of the Theatre, and with a loude voyce vttered this ſaying of the Apoſtle: Beholde I am founde of them whiche ſaught me not, & to thoſe which aſked not for me, haue I openly appeared. By whiche wordes hee let it bee vnderſtood, that of hys owne accorde he came vnto thoſe games. At this noyſe, the multitude litle regardyng the ſightes, looked aboute to ſee who it was, that made ſuch exclamatiō. As ſoone as it was knowne to be Gordius, and that the cryar had commaunded ſilence, he was brought vnto the ſhrief, whiche at that inſtant was preſēt, and ordeined the game. When he was aſked the queſtion who he was, from whence, and for what occaſiō, he came thether, he telleth the truth of euery thing as it was. I am come, ſayth he, to publiſh, that I ſet nothing by your decrees againſt the Chriſtian religion: but that I profeſſe Jeſu Chriſt, to be my hope & ſaftie. And when I vnderſtood with what crueltie ye handle other men: I tooke this as a fyt tyme to accompliſh my deſire. The ſhrief with theſe wordes was greatly moued, and reuengeth all his diſpleaſure vpon poore Gordius: cōmaunding the executionours to be brought out, with ſcourges, while gybbet, and what ſo euer torments els might be deuiſed. Wherunto Gordius aunſwered, ſaying, that it ſhould be to hym an hinderance, and damage if he could not ſuffer and indure diuers torments and puniſhments for Chriſt his cauſe. The ſhrief being more offended with this his boldnes, commaūded him to feele as many kynde of torments as there were, with all whiche Gordius notwithſtandyng, could not be maſtered or ouercome: but lifting vp hys eyes vnto heauen ſingeth this ſaying out of the Pſalmes. The Lord is my helper, I will not feare the thyng that man can do to me: & alſo this ſaying, I will feare none euill, bycauſe thou Lord art with me.

After this, he agaynſt him ſelfe prouoketh the extremitie of the tormentours, and blameth them if they fauour hym any thyng at all. When the ſhirife ſaw, that hereby he could wynne but little, he goeth about by gētlenes and intiſing wordes, to turne the ſtoute and valiant mynde of Gordius. He promiſeth to hym great & large offers if he wyl deny Chriſt: as to make hym a capitayne of as many men as any other is, to geue hym riches, treaſure, and what other thyng ſo euer he deſyreth. But in vayne as the prouerbe is, pypeth the minſtrel to him that hath no eares to heare, for he deridyng the foliſh madnes of the magiſtrate ſayth, that it lyeth not in hym to place any in auctoritie, which be worthye to haue a place in heauen. The magiſtrate wyth theſe wordes throughly angred & vexed, prepareth himſelf to hys condemnation. Whome after that he had condemned, he cauſed to be had out of the Citie to be brent.

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of Gord
to hys
frendes.
A ſubtle
kind of
ſwaders.
None co
to denie
Chriſt w
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The Ma
tyrdome
Gordius.
Ex B
in Se
Gordi
militem
Cæſari

There runneth oute of the Citie greate multitudes by heapes to ſee hym put to execution, ſome take hym in their armes, and louingly kiſſe hym, perſuading him to take a better way and ſaue hymſelfe, and that with weepyng teares. To whome Gordius aunſwered, wepe not I praye you for me, but rather for the enemies of God whiche alwayes make warre agaynſte the Chriſtians: weepe I ſay for them whiche prepare for vs a fyre, purchaſing hel fyre for them ſelues in the day of vengeāce: And ceaſe of further, I pray you, to moleſt and diſquiet my ſetled mynde. Truely (ſayth he) I am readye for the name of Jeſus Chriſt, to ſuffer and indure a thouſande deathes if nede were. Some other come vnto him which perſuaded hym to deny Chriſte with his mouth, and to kepe his cōſcience to hymſelf. My tonge (ſaith he) which by the goodnes of God I haue, can not bee broughte to deny the autor and geuer of the ſame: for wyth the hart we beleue vnto righteouſnes, and with the tounge we confeſſe vnto ſaluation. Many mo ſuch lyke wordes he ſpake: but ſpecially vtteryng to them ſuch matter, wherby he might perſwade the beholders to death, and to the deſyre of Martyrdome. After al which, with a mery and glad countenance, neuer chaunging ſo much as his colour, he willingly gaue hymſelfe to be brent. Baſilius in Sermone in Gordium militem Cæſarienſem.

Menas Martyr.

Ex Si
one M
phr.

The co
ſion of Me
nas.

Not much vnlyke to the ſtory of Gordius, is the ſtorye alſo of Menas an Egiptian, who beyng likewyſe a ſouldiour by hys profeſſion, in this perſecution of Diocleſian forſooke all, and wente into the deſerte, where a long tyme he gaue hymſelfe to abſtinence, watching, & meditation of the ſcriptures. At lengthe returnyng agayn to ẏ city Cotys, there in the opē theatre, as ẏ people were occupied vpon their ſpectacles or paſtymes, he wyth a loud voyce openly proclaimed himſelfe to bee a Chriſtian, and vpon the ſame was brought to Pyrrhus the Preſident: of whō, he being demaunded of his faith, made this aunſwer, ſaying: Conueniēt it is ẏ I ſhould (ſayth he) confeſſe God, in whom is lyght and no darkenes, forſomuch as Paule doth ſo teach: ẏ with harte we beleue to righteouſnes, with mouth confeſſion is geuen to ſaluation. After this the innocent Martyr was moſte painfully pinched & cruciate with ſundry puniſhmētes. In al which, notwithſtandyng he declared a conſtante hart, and fayth inuincible, hauyng theſe wordes in hys mouth, beyng in the midſt of hys tormentes: There is nothyng in my mynde that can be compared to ẏ kingdome of heauen. Neyther is all the world, if it were weied in balaunce, able to be cōferred with the price of one ſoule. And ſayde, who is able to ſeparate vs from the loue of Jeſus Chriſte oure Lorde? ſhall affliction, or anguiſhe? And moreouer (ſayde he) I haue thus learned of my Lord and my kyng, not to feare them which kill the bodye, and haue no power to kill the ſoule: but to feare hym rather, who hath power to deſtroy both the body & ſoule in hel fyre. To make the ſtory ſhort, after manifold torments borne of hym and ſuffred, when the laſte ſentence

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tence of death was vpon hym pronounced, which was to bee beheaded. Menas beyng then had to the place of execution ſayde: I geue thee thankes, my Lorde God, which haſt ſo accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and haſte not geuen me to be deuoured of my fierce enemies, but haſt made me to remaine conſtant in thy pure faithe vnto this my latter ende. And ſo this bleſſed ſouldiour fightyng valiantly vnder the banner of Chriſt, loſt his head, and wanne his ſoule. Symeō Metaphraſt. tom. 5. In the which autor there followeth a long narratiō of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixitie I do omitte.

Baſilius in a certayne Sermon of. 40. Martyrs, reherſeth this ſtory not vnworthy to bee noted. There came (ſayth he) into a certayne place (which place he maketh no mentiō of) the Emperors Marſhal or officer, wͭ the edict which the Emperour had ſet out againſt yͤ chriſtiās: that whoſoeuer confeſſed Chriſt, ſhould after many tormentes ſuffer death. And firſt they did priuely ſuborne certayne whiche ſhoulde detecte and accuſe the chriſtians whom they had found out, or had layd wayt for: vpō this the ſword, yͤ gibbet, the wheele, ⁊ the whips were brought forth: At the terrible ſight wherof yͤ harts of all the beholders did ſhake and tremble. Some for feare dyd flee, ſome did ſtand in doubt what to do. Certayne were ſo terrified at the beholding of theſe engins and tormenting inſtrumentes yͭ they denied their faith. Some other beganne the game, and for a tyme dyd abyde the conflicte and agony of Martirdome: but vanquiſhed at length, by the intollerable payne of theyr tormentes, made ſhipwracke of their conſciences, and loſt the glory of their confeſſion. Among other, xl there wer at that tyme yong gentlemen, al ſouldiours, which after the Marſhall had ſhewed the Emperours edict, and required of al men the obedience of the ſame, freely and boldly of their owne accorde profeſſed themſelues to be chriſtians, and declared to hym theyr names. The Marſhal ſomewhat amaſed at this their boldnes of ſpeache, ſtandeth in doubt what was beſt to doe. Yet forthwyth he goeth about to wynne them with faire wordes, aduertiſing them to conſider their youth, neither that they ſhould change a cruell and vntimely death, for a ſwete and pleaſant life: After that, he promiſeth them mony, ⁊ honourable offices in the Emperoures name. But they little eſtemyng all theſe things, breake forth into a long and bold Oration, affirmyng that they neyther deſyre lyfe, dignitie, nor mony, but onely the celeſtiall kyngdō of Chriſte, ſaying further, that they are readye for the loue and faith they haue in God, to indure the affliction of the wheele, the croſſe, and the fire. The rude Marſhal beyng herewith offended, deuiſeth a newe kynde of puniſhment. He ſpyed out in the myddle of the citie a certayn great pond, which lay ful, vpon the cold northern wynde: for it was in the wynter tyme: wherein he cauſed them to be put all that nyght, but they beyng merye and comforting one an other, receaued this theyr apointed puniſhment, and ſaid, as they were putting of their clothes: we put of (ſaid they) nowe not our clothes: but we put of the olde man, corrupt with the deceyt of concupiſcence. We geue thee thankes (O Lord) that wyth this our apparel we may alſo put of by thy grace, yͤ ſinfull man: for by meanes of the Serpente we once put him on, and by the meanes of Ieſus Chriſt we now put hym of. When they had thus ſayd: they were broughte naked into the place where they felte moſte vehemente cold: in ſo much, that all the partes of their bodies were ſtarke and ſtyffe therewith. Aſſoone as it was day, they yet hauyng breath, wer brought vnto the fyre, wherin they were conſumed and their aſhes throwne into the flud. By chaunce there was one of the companye more liuelye, and not ſo neare deade as the reſte, of whome the executioners takyng pitie, ſayd vnto his mother ſtāding by, that they would ſaue hys life. But ſhe with her owne handes takyng her ſonne, brought hym to yͤ pyle of wood where the reſidue of his fellowes (crooked for cold) did lye redye to be brent: admoniſhyng hym to accompliſh the bleſſed iourney he had taken in hand wyth his companions. Baſil.

A good mother caring more for the ſoul then for the body of her ſonne, *Ex Baſil. in Serm de. 40 Martyribus.*

A lyke hiſtory of 40. Martyrs whiche were maryed men: we reade of in Niceph. and Sozomenus lib. 9. cap. 2. which were kylled likewyſe in a lake or ponde at Sebaſtia, a towne of Armenia, vnder Licinius, yf the ſtory be not the ſame with this. Niceph. Sozom.

An other ſtorye of 40. Martyred in a cold ponde at Sebaſtia.

In this fellowſhip and companye of Martyrs can not be lefte out and forgotten the ſtorye of Cyrus: This Cyrus was a phiſition borne in Alexandria, whiche flying into Egipt in the perſecution of Diocleſianus, and Maximinus led a ſolitary lyfe in Arabia, there profeſſyng hymſelfe a Monke: being much ſpoken of both for hys learnyng and miracles: vnto whoſe companye after a certayne tyme did Ioannes, borne in the City Edeſſa beyond the ryuer Euphrates ioyne himſelfe, leauyng the ſouldiars lyfe whiche before that tyme he had exerciſed. But whileſt as yet the ſame perſecutiō raged in a Citye in Egipt called Canope, there were caſt into priſon for the confeſſion of their fayth, a certayne godly Chriſtian woman called Athanaſia ⁊ her three daughters Theoctiſte, Theodota, and Eudoxia: wyth whome Cyrus was well acquainted. All whoſe infirmities he much fearing, accōpanied with his brother Iohn, came and viſited them for their better confirmation: at which tyme Syrianus was chief capitayne and lieuetenaunt of Egipt, of whoſe wickednes and crueltie, eſpecially againſt women and maydens: Athanaſius maketh mention in hys Apologies, and in hys Epiſtle to thoſe yͭ lead a ſolitary lyfe. Thys Cyrus therefore and Ioannes beyng accuſed and apprehended of the heathen men, as by whoſe perſwaſions, the Maydens and daughters of Athanaſia contumeliouſly deſpiſed the gods, and yͤ Emperours religion, and coulde by no meanes be broughte to do ſacrifice, were after the publication of theyr conſtant confeſſion put to deathe by the ſworde. Athanaſia alſo and her three daughters beyng condempned to death. Thys hiſtory wryteth Symeon Metaphraſtes.

Cyrus, Ioannes, Athanaſia, wyth her thre daughters, Theoctiſte, Theodota, Eudoxia, Martyrs.

The louyng care of one chriſtian toward an other.

Cyrus to do others good loſt hys lyfe.

Sebaſtian beyng borne in the part of Fraūce called Gallia Narbonenſis, was a chriſtian, and was Lieuetenant general of the Vawward of Diocletian the emperour, who alſo encoraged many Martyrs of Chriſte by his exhortatiōs, vnto conſtancy, and kept them in yͤ fayth. He beyng therfore accuſed to the Emperor, was cōmaūded to be apprehended, ⁊ yͭ he ſhculd be brought into the open field: where, of his owne ſouldiors he was ſhot through yͤ body wͭ innumerable arrowes, ⁊ after yͭ his body was throwne into a iaques or ſynke. Ambroſius maketh mentiō of this Sebaſtian the Martyr in his commentary vpon the 118. pſalme, and Simeon Metaphraſtes amōgeſt other Martyrs that ſuffred with Sebaſtian, numbreth alſo theſe followyng: Nicoſtratus with Zoe his wyfe, Tranquillinus wyth Martia hys wife: Traglinus, Claudius, Caſtor, Tiburtius, Caſtullus, Marcus, and Marcellinus wyth other moe.

The ſtory of Sebaſtian martyr. A worthy exāple of a captain to be followed.

Marcus. Marcellinus. Nicoſtrat' with Zoe hys wyfe. Traquillinus wyth Martia his wife Traglinus. Claudius. Caſtor. Tiburtius. Caſtullus. Martyrs

Baſilius in an other Sermon alſo maketh mention of one Barlaam beyng a noble and famous martyr, whiche abode all the tormentes of the executioners euen to the poynte of death: whiche thyng when the tormentours ſaw, they brought hym and layd hym vppon the aulter, where they did vſe to offer ſacrifices to theyr Idoles, and put fire and frankenſence to his right hand wherin he had yet ſome ſtrengthe, thinkyng that yͤ ſame his right hand, by the heate and force of the fyre, would haue ſcattred the burning incence vpon the aulter, ⁊ ſo haue ſacrificed. But of that theyr hope, the peſtiferous tormentours were diſapointed: for the flame eat round about his hand, and the ſame indured euen as thoughe

Barlaam.

What deſire the heathen had by ſome meane, to allure the chriſtians to offer ſacrifice.

it had bene couered with hote embers, when Barlaam recited out of the pſalmes this ſayeng: Bleſſed is yͤ lord my God which teacheth my handes to fyght.

Agricola, with his ſeruāt Vitalis, martyrs.
Ex Ambro. in Serm. ad Virgines.

Vitalis firſt martyred.

To this narration of Baſilius touching the martyrdome of Barlaam, we wyl adnexe conſequentlye an other ſtory of Ambroſe within: He making a certayn exhortacion to certayne virgins, in the ſame oration commendeth the martyrdomes of Agricola & Vitalis, who ſuffered alſo in the ſame perſecution vnder Diocleſian and Maximinian (as they ſo affirme) at Bononie. Thys Vitalis was ſeruaunt to Agricola, who both together betwene them ſelues had made a compact to geue their liues with other Martyrs for the name of Chriſt. Wher upon Vitalis being ſent before of hys maiſter, to offer himſelfe to martyrdome, fel fyrſt into the handes of perſecutours, who laboured aboute hym by all maner of meanes to cauſe him to deny Chriſt. Which when he would in no caſe do, but ſtoutly perſiſted in the confeſſion of hys fayth: they began to exerciſe hym wyth all kindes of tormentes: So vnmercifullye, that there was no whole ſkinne left in al his bodye. So Vitalis in the middeſt of yͤ agonie, & painful torments, after he had in a ſhort prayer commended himſelf to God, gaue vp hys lyfe. After him the tormentors ſet vpon Agricola hys maiſter, whoſe vertuous maners & gentle condicions, becauſe they were ſingularly wel liked and knowen to the enemies, his ſuffering therfore, was yͤ longer deferred. But Agricola not abiding the long delaye and driuyng of, and prouoking more ouer the aduerſaries to quicker ſpeede, at length was faſtned vnto the croſſe, & ſo finiſhed his martyrdome, which he ſo long deſyred. Ambroſ. in Exhortatione ad Virgines.

Agricola, deſirous of martyrdome.
Agricola dyed Martyr vpon the croſſe.

The cruel martirdome of Vincentius.
Ex Auguſt. in Sermon.

No leſſe worthy of commemoration is the lamentable Martyrdome of Vincentius, whoſe hiſtorye here foloweth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Leuite moſt godly and vertuous, who at this time ſuffred martirdome at Valence, vnder Dacianus the Preſident, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymne. Bergomenſis in his ſupplement reciteth theſe woordes concerning hys martyrdome, out of a certayne ſermon of Saint Auguſtine: Our hart conceaued not a vayne and fruitles ſight (as it wer in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but a great ſight and marueilous, certaynly, and therewith ſingular pleaſure receaued it, when the paynful paſſion of Victorious Vincentius was read vnto vs. Is ther any ſo heauy harted, that he wyll not be moued in the contemplation of this immouable Martyr, ſo manly, or rather ſo godlye fighting agaynſt the craft and ſubtiltie of that ſerpent, agaynſt the tyranny of Dacianus, againſt the horrours of death, and by the mighty ſpirite of his God conquering al? But let vs in fewe woordes rehearſe the degrees of hys tormentes, though the paines therof in manye woordes cannot be expreſſed. Firſt Dacianus cauſed the martyr to be layd vpon the torture, and al the ioyntes of hys bodye to be diſtended and racked oute, vntyll they crackt agayne. This being done in moſt extreme and cruel maner, all the members of his paynful and pitiful body were greuouſly endented with deadly woundes. Thirdlye (that his dolours and griefes might be augmented) they myſerably vexed his fleſh with yron combes ſharplye fyled. And to the end the tormentours might vomit out al their vengeaunce on the meeke & mylde martyrs fleſh, the tormentors them ſelues alſo were vilye ſcourged at the Preſidents commaundement. And leaſt hys paſſion thorough wāt of paines might ſeme imperfect, or els to eaſy, they layd his body being al out of ioynt, on a grate of yron, which bodye when they had opened wyth yron hokes, they ſeared it with fyry plates: with hot burning ſalt ſprinckling the ſame. Laſt of al into a vile doungeon was this mighty martyr drawen, the floure wherof firſt was thicke ſpred with the ſharpeſt ſhels that might be gotten, his feete then being faſt locked in the ſtockes, there was he left alone without al worldly comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the holy ſpirit of God (whoſe office is to comfort the godlye afflicted) fulfilled his hart with ioye and gladnes. Haſt thou prepared a terrible racke (O cruel tyrant, O deuouring Lyon) for the Martyrs bed: the Lord ſhall make that bed ſoft and ſwete vnto him. Rackeſt thou his bones and ioyntes al a ſunder? His bones, his ioyntes, his heares are al numbred. Tormenteſt thou his fleſh with mortal woundes? the Lord ſhall poure aboundantly into all hys ſores of his oyle of gladnes. Thy ſcraping combes, thy ſharpe fleſhhookes, thyne hot ſearing yrons, thy parched ſalt, thy ſtincking priſon, thy cutting ſhels, thy pynchyng ſtockes, ſhall turne to this pacient martyr, to the beſt. Altogether ſhall worke contrarye to thine expectation, great plenty of ioy ſhall he reape into the barne of hys ſoule, out of this mighty harueſt of paines that yͧ haſte brought him into. Yea, thou ſhalt proue him Vincētius in deede: that is, a vanquiſher, a triumpher, a conquerer ſubduing thy madnes, by his mekenes, thy tiranny, by his patience, thy manifolde meanes of tortures, by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifullye enriched.

The … fort … Lord … his …

The tormentes exercited vpon Vincentius.

In this cataloge or company of ſuch holy Martyrs, as ſuffered in thys foreſayd .x. perſecution, many moe and almoſt innumerable there be expreſſed in authors, beſide them whom we haue hetherto comprehended, as Philoromus a mā of noble byrth, and great poſſeſſions in Alexandria, who being perſwaded by hys frendes to fauour hymſelfe, to reſpecte hys wife, to conſider hys children, and familie: dyd not onely reiecte the counſells of them, but alſo neglected the threats & tormentes of the iudge, to keepe the confeſſion of Chriſt inuiolate vnto the death, & loſing of hys head. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 9. Niceph. Lib. 7. cap. 9. of whom Euſebius beareth witnes, that he was there preſent himſelfe.

Philo… mus, martyr.
The c… ſion & … tirdome … Philom… mus.

Of lyke eſtate and dignitie was alſo Procopius in Paleſtina, who after hys conuerſion brake hys images of ſiluer and golde, and diſtributed the ſame to yͤ poore, and after all kinde of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his fleſhe, of goring, & ſtabbing in, of fiering, at length had hys head alſo ſmitten of, as witneſſeth Nicepho. lib. 7. cap. 15.

Procop… martyr.
The tor… tes and … ſtancie … Procop… to death

To this may be adioyned alſo Georgius, a younge man of Capadocia, who ſtoutlye inueihing againſt the impious idolatry of the Emperours, was apprehended, and caſt in priſon, then torne with hoked yrons, burnt with hoate lyme, ſtretched with cordes, after that hys handes and feete, with other members of hys bodye being cut of, at laſte with a ſworde had his head cutte of. Nicepho. ibid.

Georg… martyr.
The … puniſh… tes of … gius.

With theſe aforenamed adde alſo Sergius, and Bacchius, Panthaleon a phiſicion in Nicomedia, mencioned in Supplem. Lib. 8. Theodorus of the Citie Amaſia in Helleſp. mencioned of Vincentius. Lib. 3. Fauſtus a Martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Niceph. Lib. 8. cap. 5. Gereon with .CCC.xviij. fellow Martyrs which ſuffered about Colour. Petr. de nat. Lib. 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes the preſident of Athens, who being conuerted by the conſtancie of one Menas, and Eugraphus in their tormentes, ſuffered alſo for the lyke faith. Item, Samonas, Gurias, and Abibus, mencioned in Symeon Metaphraſte. Hieron alſo with certaine his confeſſors, vnder Maximinus mencioned in Metaphraſtes. Iudes, and Domuas, who ſuffered with the. 20000. Martyrs aboue mencioned, at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphraſtes. Euelaſius, and Maximinus the Emperours officers, whom Fauſta the virgine in her tormentes conuerted. Alſo Thyrſus, Lucius, Callinicus, Apollonius, Philemon, Aſilas, Leonides, with Arrianus preſident of Thebaide. Cyprianus, lykewiſe a Citizen of Antioche, who after he had continued

Sergi… Bacch… Pantha- leon, Theod… Fauſtu… Gereo… with … fellowe… Hermo- genes, Menas … of Athe… Eugrap… Samon… Gurias, Abibu… Hieron, with h… fellowe… Iudes, Dom…

a long

daſius.Maximi-
, Thyrſus.Luci-
Callinicus, Apol
ius. Philemon,
las,Leonides,Ar
us the preſidēt.
prianus,biſh.of
tioche. Iuſtina.
ycerius,Felix
ſt.Fortunatus &
hilleus deacons,
rpophorus, Abū
s his deacon.Clau
s,Syrinus Anto-
s,Cucuſatus, Fe-
biſh. Adauctus,
Ianuarius, Fortu-
tus,Septimus,
artirs.

a long tyme a filthye Magician, or ſorcerer, at length was conuerted, and made a Deacon, then a prieſt, and at laſte the Byſhop of Antioche. Vincent. lib.12. cap 120. of whō partly we touched ſomwhat before. Pag.101. this Cyprian with Iuſtine a virgine ſuffered amōg the Martyrs. Item, Glycerius at Nicomedia, Felix a miniſter, Fortunatus, Achilleus, Deacons in yͤ citie of Valent. Arthemius of Rome Cyriacus, Deacon to Marcellus the Byſhop. Carpophorus prieſt at Thuſcia, with Abund' his deacon. Itē Claudius, Syrinus, Antonius, which ſuffered with Marcellinus the Byſhop. Sabell. Enead. 7. Lib. 8. Cucuſatus, in yͤ citie Barcinona. Felix Biſhop of Apulia, with Adauct' and Ianuarius hys prieſtes, Fortunatus and Septimus, hys readers, who ſuffered in the Citye Venuſina, vnder Diocleſian. Bergom. Lib. 8.

e lamen
le ſtorye
Caſſian'
rtyr.
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phanon.

Yet were to long a trauayle or trouble to recite all yͤ ſingular names of them particularly, whome thys perſecution of Diocleſian dyd conſume. The number of whom beyng almoſt infinite is not to be collected or expreſſed: One ſtory yet remayneth not to be forgotten of Caſſianus, whoſe pitifull ſtory being deſcribed of Prudentius we haue here inſerted, rendryng metre for metre as followeth.

1 THrough Forum, as in Italy,
I paſſed once to Roome:
Into a Churche by chaunce came I,
And ſtoode for by a toome.
2 VVhich church ſometyme a place had bene,
VVhere cauſes great in lavve:
VVere ſcand and tryde, and iudgement geuen,
To keepe brute men in avve.
3 This place Sylla Cornelius,
Fyrſt builte: he rayſde the frame:
And called the ſame Forum, and thus,
that Citye tooke the name.
4 In prayer feruent as I ſtoode,
caſtyng myne eye aſyde:
A picture in full pitious moode,
(Imbrude) by chaunce I ſpyde.
5 A thouſand vvounded markes, full bad,
All mangled, rente, and torne:
The ſkynne, appearde as though it had,
Bene iagde and prickte vvyth thorne.
6 A ſcull of pictured boyes dyd bande,
About that lothſome ſyght:
That vvith theyr ſharpned gads in hande,
Hys members thus had dyght.
7 Theſe gads vvere but their pens vvherevvyth,
Theyr tables vvrytten vvere:
And ſuche as ſcholers often ſyth,
Vnto the ſcholes doo beare.
8 VVhome thou ſeeſt here thus picturde ſytte,
And firmely dooſt behold:
No fable is, I do thee vvytte,
Vnaſkt a Prelate told
9 That vvalkt thereby: but dothe declare
The hiſtorye of one,
VVhich vvritten, vvould good recorde beare,
VVhat fayth vvas long agone.
10 A ſkilfull ſcholemaiſter this vvas,
That here ſometyme dyd teache:
The biſhop once of Brixia as,
And Chriſt ful playne dyd preache.
11 He knevv vvell hovv to comprehende,
Long talke in fevve lynes:
And it at lengthe hovv to amende,
By order and by tymes.
12 Hys ſharpe preceptes, and ſtearne lookes,
Hys beardles boyes dyd feare:
VVhen hate in harte (yet for theyr bookes)
Full deadly they dyd beare.
13 The chylde that learnes, I doo ye vveete,
Tearmes, aye, hys tutor crule:
No diſcipline in youth ſeemes ſvvete,
Count thys a common rule.
14 Behold the ragyng tyme novv here,
Oppreſſyng ſore the fayth:
Doth perſecute gods children deare,
And all that Chriſt bevvrayth.
15 Thys truſtie teacher of the ſvvarme,
Profeſt the lyuyng God:
The chiefe good thyng, they compte theyr harme,
Perhappes he ſhakes hys rodde.
16 VVhat rebell, aſkte the Preſident,
Is he, I heare ſo loude?
Vnto our youth an inſtrument,
They ſay, and ſovv they bovvde.
17 Go bryng the caytif forth he byddes,
And make no long delaye:
Let hym be ſet the boyes amyddes.
They do as he doth ſaye.
18 Let hym be geuen vnto them all,
And let them haue theyr vvyll:
To doe to hym vvhat ſpyte they ſhall,
So that they vvyll hym kyll.
19 Euen as they liſte let them hym fraye,
And hym deride ſo long:
Tyll vvearines prouokes their playe,
No lenger to prolong.
20 Let them (I ſay) then vncomtrold,
both prycke and ſcotch hys ſkyn:
To bathe theyr handes let them be bold,
In the vvhote bloud of hym.
21 The ſcholers hereat make great game,
It pleaſeth them full vvell:
That they may kill and quenche the flame,
They thought to them a hell.
22 They binde his handes behynde hys backe,
And naked they him ſtrippe:
In bodkyn vviſe at him they nacke,
They laugh to ſee him ſkippe.
23 The priuye hate that eche one hath,
In harte it novv appeares:
They poure it foorth in galley vvrath,
they vvreake them of theyr teares.
24 Some caſt great ſtones, ſome other breke,
theyr tables on hys face:
Lo here thy Latine and thy Greeke.
(Oh barren boyes of grace.)
25 The bloud runnes dovvne hys cheekes, and doth
Imbrue the boxen leames:
VVhere notes by them vvere made (though loth)
and vvell proponed theames.
26 Some vvhet, ſome ſharpe, theyr penſels poyntes,
that ſerude to vvryte vvyth all:
Some other gage hys fleſh and ioyntes,
as vvith a poynted nall.
27 Sometymes they pricke, ſometyme they rent,
thys vvorthy Martirs fleſhe:
And thus by turnes they do torment,
thys confeſſour a freſhe.
28 Novv, all vvyth one conſent on hym,
theyr bloudy handes they laye:
To ſee the bloud from lymme to lymme,
Droppe dovvne, they make a play.
29 More paynfull vvas the prickyng pange,
Of children, ofte and thicke:
Then of the bygger boyes that ſtange,
and neare the harte dyd ſtycke.

30 For by the feeble ſtrokes of th'one,
Death vvas denied hys vvyll:
Of ſmart that made hym vvoe begone,
he had the better ſkill.
31 The deeper ſtrookes the great ones gaue,
and nearer toucht the quicke:
The vvelcomer he thought the ſame,
VVhome longyng death made ſicke.
32 God make you ſtrong he ſayth, I pray,
God geue you myght at vvyll:
And vvhat you vvant in yeares I ſay,
Let cruelty fulfyll.
33 But vvhileſt the hangman breatheth ſtyll,
and me vvyth you do matche:
That vveakly vvorke, yet vvant no vvyll,
My lyfe for to diſpatche.
34 My griefes vvaxe great, vvhat groneſt thou novv?
Sayd ſome of them agayne?
In ſchoole, aduiſed vvell art thou?
VVhome there thou putſt to payne?
35 Behold, vve pay and novv make good,
as many thouſand ſtrypes:
As vvhen vvith vvepyng eyes vve ſtoode,
In daunger of thy grypes.
36 Art thou novv angry at thy bande,
that alvvayes cryed vvryte, vvryte:
And neuer vvouldſt that our ryght hand,
Should reſt in quiet plyte?
37 VVe had forgot our playeng tymes,
thou churle deniedſt vs of:
VVe novv but pricke and poynte our lynes,
and thus they grinne and ſcof.
38 Correcte good ſyr, our vevved verſe,
If ought amiſſe there bee:
Novv vſe thy povver, and them rehearſe,
that haue not marked thee.
39 Chriſt pitieng this groning man,
VVyth torments torne and tyerd:
Commaundes hys harte to breake euen than,
and lyfe, that vvas but hyerd:
40 He yeldes agayne to hym that gaue,
and thus he makes exchaunge:
Immortall, for mortall to haue,
that in ſuche payne dyd raunge.
41 This is ſayth he, that thys picture,
Thou ſo beholdſt, oh Geſt:
Of Caſſianus Martyr pure,
Doth preach. I do proteſt.
42 If thou Prudence ought haue in ſtore,
In pietie to deale:
In hope of iuſt revvard therefore,
Novv ſhevv thy louyng zeale.
43 I could not but conſent, I vveepe,
Hys toombe I doe imbrace:
Home I returne, and after ſleepe,
Thys pitifull preface
44 I vvryte as a memoriall,
For euer to indure:
Of Caſſianus ſchoolemaiſter,
all others to allure.
45 To conſtancye vnder the croſſe,
of theyr profeſſion:
Accomptyng gayne vvhat euer loſſe,
for Chriſt they take vpon.

No leſſe admirable and wonderfull was the conſtancie alſo of women and maidens, who in the ſame perſecution gaue their bodies to ẏ tormentes, and their liues for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, with no leſſe boldneſſe of ſpirite, then dyd the men themſelues aboue ſpecified, to whom how much more inferiour they were in bodely ſtrength, ſo much more worthy of prayſe they be, for their conſtant ſtanding. Of whom ſome examples here we minde (Chriſt willing) to inferre, ſuch as in our ſtories and Chronicles ſeme moſt notable, fyrſt beginning with Eulalia, whoſe ſtorie we haue taken out of the foreſayd Prudentius as followeth.

In the Weſt parte of Spaine called Portingall, is a Citie great & populus, named Emerita, wherein dwelt & was brought vp, a virgine borne of noble parentage, whoſe name was Eulalia: which Emerita although for the apte cituation therof, was both riche and famous, yet more adourned and famous was the renowne therof, by the Martyrdome, bloud, and ſepulture of this bleſſed virgine Eulalia. Twelue yeares of age was ſhe and not much aboue, when ſhe refuſed great and honourable offers in mariage, as one not ſkilfull of, nor yet delighting in cowrtlye daliance, neither yet taking pleaſure in purple and gorgeous aparell, or els in precious balmes, or coſtly ornaments and iuells: But, forſaking and diſpiſing all theſe and ſuche like pompious allurementes, then ſhewd ſhe her ſelfe moſt buſie in preparing her iournie to her hoped inheritaunce, and heauenly patronage. Which Eulalia as ſhe was modeſt and diſcret in behauour, ſage and ſober in condicions, ſo was ſhe alſo wittie and ſharpe in aunſwering her enemyes. But when the furious rage of perſecution inforced her to ioyne her ſelfe amongſt Gods children, in the houſholde of faythe, and when the Chriſtians were commaunded to offer incenſe & ſacrifice to deuills or dead gods: Then began the bleſſed ſpirite of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt and readie witte, thought forth with (as a couragious captayne) to geue a charge vppon thys ſo great, and diſordred a battaile: and ſo ſhe, ſelie woman, pouring out ẏ bowells of her innocent hart before God, more prouoketh thereby the force and rage of her enemies againſt her. But the godly care of her parentes, fearing leaſt the willing minde of the Damſell, ſo readie to die for Chriſtes cauſe, myght make her giltie of her own death, hyd her and kept her cloſe at their houſe in the countrey, being a great way out of the citie. She yet miſliking that quiet lyfe, as alſo deteſting, to make ſuche delaye: ſoftlye ſtealeth out of the doores (no man knowing therof) in the night: and in great haſte leauing the common way, openeth the hedge gappes, and with werye feete (God knoweth) paſſeth through the thornie and brierie places, accompanied yet with the angelicall garde: and although darke and dreadfull were ẏ ſilent nyght, yet had ſhe with her the Lorde & guider of light. And as the children of Iſraell comming out of Egypt, had by the mightie power of God, a cloudye piller for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night: ſo had this godlye virgine, traueling in this darke night, when ſhe flying and forſaking the place where all filthie idolatrie abounded, and haſtened her heauenly iournie, was not oppreſſed with the dredfull darknes of ẏ night. But yet ſhe before the daye appeared in this her ſpeedie iournie, with her ſelfe conſidered & muſed of a thouſand matters and more. In ẏ morning betime with an haute courage ſhe goeth vnto ẏ tribunal or iudgement ſeate, and in the middeſt of them all with a loud voyce, crying out ſayd: I praye you what a ſhame is it for you thus raſhlye and without aduiſement to deſtroy & kill mens ſoules, and to throwe their bodyes aliue agaynſt the rockes, and cauſe them to denie the omnipotent God. Would you know (O you vnfortunate) who I am? behold, I am one of the Chriſtians: an enemye to your deueliſh ſacrifices, I ſpurne your idoles vnder my feete: I confeſſe God omnipotent with my harte and mouth. Iſis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximianus himſelf, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the worke of mens handes, the other but a caſte away, bicauſe he worſhippeth ẏ ſame worke. Therfore friuolous are they both, and both not worthye to bee ſet by.

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by. Maximianus is a Lorde of ſubſtaunce, and yet he himſelfe falleth down before a ſtone, and boweth the honour of hys dignitie vnto thoſe that are much inferiour to hys vaſſells. Why then doth he oppreſſe ſo tyrannically, more worthy ſtomackes and courages then hymſelfe? He muſt needes be a good guide, and an vpright iudge, which feedeth vpō innocent bloud: and breathing in the bodyes of Godly men, doth rent and teare their bowells, and that more is, hath his delight in deſtroying and ſubuerting the fayth.

Go to therfore thou hangman, burne, cut, and mangle thou theſe earthly members. It is an eaſy matter to breake a britle ſubſtance, but the inwarde mynde ſhalt not thou hurt for any thing thou canſt do. The Pretor then or iudge with theſe wordes of hyrs, ſet in a greate rage ſaith: hangman take her & pull her out by ye heare of her head, and torment her to the vttermoſt. Let her feele the power of our countrey gods, and let her knowe what the imperiall gouernment of a prince is. But yet, O thou ſturdy gerle, fayne would I haue thee (yf it wer poſſible) before thou die, to reuoke thys thy wyckednes. Behold what pleaſures thou maieſt enioye by the honorable houſe thou cameſt of. Thy fallen houſe & progenie followeth thee to death wyth lamentable teares: and ye heauie nobility of thy kinred, maketh doleful lamētatiō for thee. What meaneſt thou? wilt yu kyl thy ſelf ſo yong a flower & ſo neare theſe honourable mariages & great dowries ye thou mayeſt enioye? Doth not the gliſtering & goldē pompe of thy bryde bed moue thee? Doth not ye reuerend pietie of thine auncitors pricke thee? whom is it not, but that this thy raſhenes and weaknes ſorroweth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death. Either ſhalte yu be beheaded wyth this ſword, or els with theſe wylde beaſtes ſhalt thou be puld in pieces, or els thou beyng caſt into theſe firy flames ſhalt be (although lamentably bewayled of thy frendes & kinſfolkes) conſumed to aſhes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to eſcape al this? If thou wylt but take and put with thy fingers a little ſalte and incenſe into ye cenſers, thou ſhalte bee deliuered from all theſe puniſhmentes. To this Eulalia made no aunſwer, but beyng in a great fury ſhe ſpitteth in the tirātes face, ſhe throweth downe the idoles, and ſpurneth abrode with her fete the heape of inſence prepared to the cenſours. Thē, without further delay, the hangmen with both their ſtrēgths take her, and puld one ioynte from an other, and with ye talentes of wylde beaſtes, ſcotched her ſydes to the hard bones: ſhe all this while ſinging & prayſing God in thys wyſe. Behold O Lord I wyll not forget thee: What a pleaſure is it for them O Chriſt that remember thy triumphant victories, to attayn vnto theſe high dignities, and ſtill calleth vpon that holye name, all ſtayned & embrued with her owne bloud. This ſang ſhe wyth a bold ſtomacke, neither lamentinglye, nor yet wepinglye, but beyng glad and mery, abandoning from her mynd, all heauines & griefe, whē, as out of a warme fountain her mangled members with freſhe bloud bathed her whyte and fayre ſkinne. Then procede they to the laſt & fynall torment, which was, not onely the goryng & woundyng of her mangled body with the yron grate, and hurdel, & terrible harrowing of her fleſh: but burned, on euery ſide with flaming torches her tormented breſtes and ſydes. Her heare hangyng aboute her ſhoulders in two partes deuided (wherwyth her ſhamefaſte chaſtitie and Virginitie was couered) reached down to ye ground: but when the crackyng flame fleeth about her face, kyndled by her heare, and reacheth the crowne of her head: then ſhe deſpyſing ſwift death, openeth her mouth and ſwaloweth ye flame, and ſo reſted ſhe in peace.

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The ſaid Prudentius, and Ado, alſo Equilinus adde more ouer, writyng of a white doue iſſuing oute of her mouth at her departyng, and of the fire quenched about her body, alſo of her body, couered miraculouſlye wyth ſnow, with other thyngs more, wherof let euery reader vſe his owne iudgement.

Agnes. Martyr.

As ye haue heard now the chriſtian lyfe and conſtāt death of Eulalia, much worthy of prayſe and commendatiō: So no leſſe honour is worthely to be geuē to bleſſed Agnes, that conſtant damſel and martyr of god, who as ſhe was in Rome of honorable parentes begotten, ſo lyeth ſhe there as honorably intombed and buryed. Which Agnes for her vnſpotted and vndefiled virginitie, deſerueth no greater prayſe and commendation, then for her wylling death and martyrdome ſhe deſerueth. Some writers make of her a long diſcourſe, more in my iudgement then neceſſary, reciting diuers and ſundry ſtraunge myracles by her done in the proceſſe of her hiſtory, which partly for tediouſnes, partly for the doutfulnes of the autour (whom ſome father vpon Ambroſe) & partly for the ſtraungenes & incredibilitie therof, I omit: being ſatiſfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of her, as foloweth: She was (ſayth he) young & not maryable, whē firſt ſhe being dedicated to Chriſt, boldly reſiſted the wicked Edictes of the Emperor: leaſt that through idolatry ſhe might haue denyed and forſaken the holy fayth. But yet fyrſt proued by diuers and ſundry pollices to induce her to the ſame (as now wyth the flattering and enticing wordes of the Iudge, nowe with the threatnings of the ſtorming executioner) ſhe ſtode notwithſtanding, ſtedfaſt in all couragious ſtrength: & wyllingly offred her body to hard & painfull torments, not refuſing, as ſhe ſayd, to ſuffer what ſoeuer it ſhould be, yea though it were death it ſelfe. Then ſaid the cruel tyrant: if to ſuffer payne and torment be ſo eaſy a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accompteſt thy lyfe nothing worth: yet the ſhame of thy dedicated or vowed virginitye, is a thing more regarded I know, & eſteemed of thee. Wherfore this is determined, that vnles thou wylt make obeyſaunce to the aulter of Minerua, and aſke forgeuenes of her for thy arrogācy, thou ſhalt be ſent or abandoned to the common ſtewes or brothel houſe. Agnes the virgyn, with more ſpirite & vehemency inuaieth againſt both Minerua and hir virginitie. The youth in ſculs flocke and runne together, & craue that they may haue Agnes their ludibrious pray. Then ſayth Agnes, Chriſt is not ſo forgetfull of thoſe that be his, that he wyl ſuffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chaſtity, neither wil he leaue them ſo deſtitute of helpe. He is alwaies at hand and ready to fight for ſuch as are ſhamefaſt and chaſte virgins, neither ſuffreth he his giftes of holy integritye or chaſtity to be polluted. Thou ſhalt ſaith ſhe, willinglye bathe thy ſword in my bloud if thou wilt, but thou ſhalt not defile my body with filthy luſt, for any thing thou canſt doo. She had no ſooner ſpoken theſe woordes, but he cōmaunded that ſhe ſhoulde be ſet naked at the corner of ſome ſtreete, (which place at that tyme, ſuche as were ſtrumpets commonly vſed) the greater part of the multitude both ſorrowing and ſhaming to ſee ſo ſhameles a ſight, went their waies, ſome turning their heads, ſome hiding their faces. But one amongeſt the reſt, with vncircumciſed eyes beholding the damſel, & that in muche opprobrious wiſe: behold, a flame of fire like vnto a flaſh of lightning, falleth vpon him, ſtriketh his eyes oute of his head, and for dead falling to the ground, ſprauleth in the chanel durt: whoſe companions taking hym vp, and carying him away, bewayled him as a dead man. But the virgyn for thys her miraculous deliuerye from the daunger and ſhame of that place, ſingeth prayſes vnto God and Chriſt.

Strange and vnneceſſarie miracles omitted.

Ex prudentio. lib. De coronis

Agnes conſtant in the confeſſiō of her fayth.

Agnes threatned to the brodlehouſe.

Agnes bolde vpon the helps of Chriſt.

The incontinent eyes of a yong mā beholding Agnes ſtroken out.

There be (ſayth Prudentius) that report, howe that ſhe being deſired to pray vnto Chriſt for the party, that a lytle before wyth fire from heauen for his incontinen eye was ſtricken, was reſtored by her prayer, both vnto

hys

The yong man reſtored againe to his helth by the prayer of Agnes.

Agnes deſirous of Martyrdome

The prayer of Agnes.

Agnes beheaded.

his perfect helth and ſight. But bleſſed Agnes after that ſhe had climed this her firſt grieſe and ſtep vnto the heauenly pallace, foorthwith began to clime an other: for fury ingendring now, the mortall wrath of her bloodye enemy, wringing his handes cryeth out and ſaith, I am vndone: O thou executioner draw out thy ſwoorde, and do thine office that the Emperour hath appointed thee. And when Agnes ſaw a ſturdy and cruel fellowe (to behold) ſtand behynde her, or approching nere vnto her wᵗ a naked ſword in his hand: I am now gladder ſaith ſhe, and reioyce, that ſuch a one as thou, being a ſtout, fierce ſtrong, and ſturdy ſoldiour art come, then one more feabler, weake, and faynt ſhoulde come, or els anye other young man ſwetely enbalmed, and wearing gay apparel that might deſtroy me with funeral ſhame. This, euē this is he I now confes, that I do loue. I will make haſt to meete him, and wil no lenger protract my lōging deſire: I wil willingly receaue into my pappes the lēgth of thy ſword, and into my breſt wyl draw the force therof, euen vnto the hyltes: That thus I being maryed vnto Chriſt my ſpouſe, maye ſurmount and eſcape al the darkenes of this world, that reacheth euen vnto yͤ ſkies. O eternall gouernour, vouchſafe to open the gates of heauen once ſhut vp againſt all the inhabitantes of the earth, and receaue (oh Chriſt) my ſoule that ſeketh thee: Thus ſpeaking and kneeling vpon her knées, ſhe praieth vnto Chriſt aboue in heauen, that her neck might be the redier for the ſword, now hanging ouer the ſame. The executioner then wᵗ hys bloody hand, finiſheth her hope, and at one ſtroke cutteth of her head, and by ſuche ſhort and ſwyft death doth he preuent her of the paine therof.

The hiſtory of Katherine martir.

All thynges be not true & probable, that be wrytten of ſainctes lyues

Petrus de Natalibus, lib. 10

Katherine reſiſteth the emperour openly to hys face.

Katherine committed to priſō and comforted by an aungel.

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I haue oftētymes before complained that yͤ ſtories of Sainctes haue bene pondered and ſawſed wyth dyuers vntrue additions and fabulous inuentions of men, who eyther of a ſuperſtitious deuotion, or of a ſubtill practiſe, haue ſo mingle mangled their ſtories & liues, yͭ almoſt nothyng remaineth in them ſimple & vncorrupte, as in the vſual portues wont to be red for daily ſeruice, is manifeſt and euident to be ſene, wher in, few legends there be, able to abyde the touche of hiſtory, if they were truely tryed. This I wryte vpon the occaſion ſpeciallye of good Katherine, whom now I haue in hande. In whō although I nothing doubt, but in her lyfe was great holines, in her knowledge excellencie, in her death conſtancie: yet that all things be true that be ſtoried of her, neyther dare I affirme, neither am I bounde ſo to thinke: So many ſtraunge fictions of her be fayned diuerſlye of diuers writers, whereof ſome ſeme incredible, ſome alſo impudent. As where Petrus de Natalibus, writyng of her conuerſion declareth, howe that Katherine ſleepyng before a certayne picture or table of the crucifixe, Chriſte with his mother Mary appeared vnto her: And whē Mary had offred her to Chriſt to be his wife, he firſt refuſed her for her blacknes. The next tyme, ſhe beyng baptiſed, Mary appearing agayne, offred her to mary wᵗ Chriſt, who then beyng liked, was eſpouſed to him and maried, hauing a golden ring the ſame tyme put on her finger in her ſlepe, &c. Bergomenſis writeth thus, that becauſe ſhe in the ſight of the people openlye reſiſted the Emperour Maxentius to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therfore ſhe was commaunded and committed vppon yͤ ſame to priſon, whiche ſemeth hetherto not muche to digres frō truth. It foloweth moreouer, that yͤ ſame night an aungell came to her, comfortyng and exhortyng her to be ſtrong and conſtant vnto the Martyrdome: for that ſhe was a mayde accepted in the ſight of God, and that the Lord woulde bee with her, for whoſe honour ſhe dyd fight, and that he woulde geue a mouth and wiſedome, which her enemies ſhould not withſtand: with manye other things mo, which I here omitte. As this alſo I omit concerning the 50. Philoſophers, whom ſhe in diſputation conuicted, and conuerted vnto our religion, and dyed martyrs for the ſame. Item of the conuertyng of Porphyrius kynſman to Maxentius, and Fauſtina the Emperours wyfe, At lēgth (ſaith the ſtory) after ſhe proued yͤ racke, & the iiij. ſharpe cuttyng wheeles, hauyng at laſt her head cut of with the ſworde, ſo ſhe finiſhed her Martyrdome. About the yeare of our Lord (as Antonius affirmeth) 310. Symeon Metaphraſtes writing of her, diſcourſeth the ſame more at large, to whom they may reſort, which couet more therin to be ſatiſfied.

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Among the workes of Baſil a certain Oration is extant concerning Iulitta the martyr, who came to her martyrdome (as he wytneſſeth) by this occaſion. A certayne auaricious and greedy perſon, of great autority, and as it may appeare, the Emperour his deputy, or other like officer (who abuſed the decrees and lawes of yͤ Emperour againſt the Chriſtians, to his own lucre and gayne) violently tooke from this Iulitta all her goods, landes, cattell and ſeruauntes, contrary to all equitie and right. She made her pitifull complaint to the Iudges, a day is appointed when the cauſe ſhould be heard. The ſpoyled woman, and the ſpoyling extorcioner ſtand forth together: the woman lamentablye declareth her caſe, the man frouningly beholdeth her face. When ſhe had proued that of good right the goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealed with her: the wicked and bloudthirſty wretch, preferring vile worldlye ſubſtaunce, before the precious ſubſtance of a Chriſtē body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that ſhe was as an outlaw, in not ſeruing the Emperours Gods, ſynce her Chriſtian fayth had bene fyrſt abiured. His allegacion was allowed as good and reaſonable. Whereupon inſence and fyre were prepared for her to woorſhyp the Gods, which vnles ſhe would do, neither the Emperors protection, nor lawes, nor iudgement, nor life, ſhould ſhe enioy in that common weale. When this handmayd of the Lord heard theſe wordes, ſhe ſayd: farewel lyfe, welcome death: farewel riches, welcome pouerty. Al that I haue, if it were a thouſand times more, would I rather looſe, then to ſpeake one wicked and blaſphemous word againſt God my creator. I yelde thee thankes moſt harty, O my god, for this gift of grace, that I can cōtemne and deſpiſe this frayle and tranſitory world, eſteemyng Chriſtian profeſſion aboue all treaſures. Hence foorth, when any queſtion was demaūded, her anſwer was: I am the ſeruaunt of Ieſus Chriſt. Her kynred and acquaintance flocking vnto her, aduertiſed her to chaūge her mynde. But that vehemently ſhe refuſed, with deteſtation of their idolatry. Forthwith the Iudge, with the ſharpe ſwoorde of ſentence not onelye cutteth of all her goods and poſſeſſions, but iudgeth her alſo to the fire moſt cruelly. The ioyful Martyr embraceth the ſentēce as a thing moſt ſwete and delectable. She addreſſeth her ſelfe to yͤ flames, in countenance, ieſture, and wordes, declaring the ioye of her hart, coupled with ſingular conſtancie. To the women beholding her, ſententiouſlye ſhe ſpake: Stycke not, O ſiſters, to labour and trauell after true pietie and godlynes. Ceaſe to accuſe the fragilitye of feminine nature. What? are not we created of the ſame matter, that men are? Yea, after Gods image and ſimilitude are we made, as lyuely as they. Not fleſhe onelye God vſed in the creation of yͤ womā, in ſigne and token of her infirmity and weakenes, but bone of bones is ſhe, in token that ſhe muſt be ſtrong in the true and liuing God, al falſe Gods forſaken. Conſtant in fayth, al infidelitie renounced: patient in aduerſitie, all worldlye eaſe refuſed. Waxe wearye (my deare ſyſters) of your lyues led in darknes, and be in loue with my Chriſt, my God, my redemer, my comforter, which is the true light of the world. Perſwade your ſelues, or rather the ſpirit of the liuing God perſwade you, that ther is a world to come, wherin the worſhyppers of idoles and deuils ſhall be tormented perpetuallye, the ſeruauntes of the hyghe

God ſhall be crowned eternally. With theſe wordes ſhe embraced the fire, and ſweetely ſlept in the Lord.

arbara, austa, E-latius, Maximi-us, Iulia-, Any-, Iuſtina ecla, artyrs.

There haue bene moreouer beſide theſe aboue recited, diuers godly women and faithful martyrs, as Barbara a noble woman in Thuſcia, who after miſerable priſonment, ſharpe cordes, and burnyng flames put to her ſides, was at laſt beheaded. Alſo Fauſta the virgin, which ſuffered vnder Maximinus, by whom Euclaſius a ruler of the Emperours palace, and Maximinus the Preſident were both conuerted, and alſo ſuffered martyrdome, as wytneſſeth Metaphraſtes. Item, Iuliana a virgin of ſingular beutye in Nicomedia, who after diuers agonies ſuffered likewiſe vnder Maximinus. Itē, Anyſia a mayde of Theſſalonica, who vnder the ſaide Maximinus ſuffered. Metaphr. ibid. Iuſtina which ſuffered with Cyprianus biſhop of Antioch: not to omit alſo Tecla, although moſt writers do accorde that ſhe ſuffered vnder Nero. Platina in vita Caii, maketh alſo mencion of Lucia and Agatha. All which holye maydes and virgins glorified the Lorde Chriſt with their conſtant martyrdome in this tenth and laſt perſecution of Diocleſian.

arcelli-us, Mar-llus, Eu-bius, iltiades ſhops of ome and artyrs.

During the tyme of which perſecution theſe biſhops of Rome ſucceded one after an other, Caius who ſucceeded next after Xiſtus, mencioned Pag. 101. Marcellinus, Marcellus, Euſebius, and thē Miltiades: al which, dyed Martyrs in the tempeſt of this perſecution. Fyrſt Marcellinus after the Martyrdome of Caius was ordayned biſhop: he being brought by Diocleſian to the Idoles, firſt yelded to their idolatrye, and was ſeene to ſacrifice. Wherfore, being excommunicate by the Chriſtians, fel in ſuch repentaunce, that he returned again to Diocleſian, wher he ſtanding to his former confeſſion, and publickly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recouered the crowne of Martyrdome: ſuffering wyth Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus. Marcellus likewiſe was vrged of Maxentius to renounce his biſhopricke & religion, & to ſacrifice with thē to Idoles. Which when he conſtantly refuſed, was beaten with waſters, and ſo expelled the City. Then he entring into yͤ houſe of Lucina a wydow, aſſembled there the congregation: which when it came to the eares of Maxentius the tyraunt, he turned the houſe of Lucina into a ſtable, & made Marcellus the keeper of the beaſtes: and ſo with the ſtynche therof, and miſerable handling, was put to death. Euſebius ſat biſhop of Rome, as Euſebius in Chron. ſaith vij. monethes: Marianus Scotus ſaith. vij. monethes. Damaſus affirmeth. vj. yeres. Sabellicus alledgeth certayne autors that ſaye, that he was ſlayne by Maximinus: but correcteth that himſelfe, affirming that Maximinus died before him. Miltiades by the teſtimonye of Platina, and other that follow hym, ſat. iij. yeares, and vij. monethes, and ſuffred vnder Maximinus. But that ſeemeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note, affirming that the ſame cannot ſtand by the ſupputacion of tyme: Forſomuch as the ſayd Galerius Maximinus raygned but. ij. yeares, and died before Meltiades. Alſo Euſebius manifeſtlye expreſſeth the example of a letter of Conſtantine, written to this Miltiades biſhop of Rome, playnely cōuicting that to be falſe, which Platina affirmeth.

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An obiectiō of the papiſts anſwered vnto.

In the booke collected of generall councels among the decretal epiſtles, there is a long tractation about the iudgement and condemnation of Marcellinus: whereof the Maiſters and patrons of poperye in theſe our daies, take great hold to proue and defend the ſuperioritie, or rather ſupremacy of the Pope to be aboue all generall councels: and that he ought not to be ſubiect to the condēnation of any perſon or perſons, for that ther is wrytten: Nemo vnquam iudicauit pontificem, nec Præſul ſacerdotem ſuum, quoniam prima ſedes non iudicabitur a quoquā. &c. Although this ſentence of Helchiades ſeemeth apparātly to be patched in, rather by ſome Heldibrandus, thē by Helchiades: both for that it hangeth with litle order of ſence vpon yͤ which goeth before: again, becauſe that prima ſedes here mencioned, was not yet ordayned, nor attributed to the ſea of Rome before the counſel of Nice, where the order and placing of biſhops was firſt eſtabliſhed. But to let this ſentence paſſe, yet notwithſtanding the circumſtaunce and proceding of this iudgement, if it be rightly weyed, maketh very litle to the purpoſe of theſe men. Neither is it true that the biſhops of this councell of Sinueſſe, did not condemne Marcellinus: for the woordes of the councell be playne. Subſcripſerunt igitur in eius damnationem et damnauerunt eum extra ciuitatem. That is: They ſubſcribed therfore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the citie. Moreouer by the ſayd councel wer brought in the. 42. wytneſſes againſt Marcellinus. In the ſayd councell the verdict of the ſame witneſſes was demaūded, and alſo receaued. Farthermore, Quirinus there, one of the biſhops openly proteſted, that he would not depart the councell, before the malice of the biſhops were reuealed: what doth all this declare, but that the biſhop of Rome was called there, and did appere before the iudgement ſeate of the councel, and there ſtoode ſubiect to their ſentence and autoritie, by the which he was expelled out of the city? As for the wordes of the councel wherupon our Papiſtes ſtand ſo much, Non enim noſtro, ſed tuo ipſius iudicio condemnaberis. &c. Item: Tuo ore iudica cauſam tuam. &c. Theſe woordes importe not here the autority of the Romane biſhop to be aboue the councell, neyther do they declare what the councel could not do: but what they woulde and wiſhed rather to be done, that is, rather that he ſhoulde acknowledge & confeſſe his crime before God and them, with a volontarye yelding of his hart, then that the confeſſion of ſuche an hainous fact ſhould be extorted from him, through their condemnation: for that they ſaw to be expedient for hys ſoules health. Otherwiſe, their condemnation ſhoulde ſerue him to ſmall purpoſe. And ſo it came to paſſe. For he being vrged of them to condemne himſelf, ſo did: proſtrating him ſelfe, and weeping before them. Wherupō immediatly they proceded to the ſentence againſt him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the citie. Now whether by this may be gathered, that the biſhop of Rome ought not to bee cited, accuſed, and condemned by any perſon or perſons, let the indifferent reader iudge ſimply.

The byſhop of Rome cyted vp and appeareth before the coūcell.

The byſhop of Rome condemned by the coūceil.

The decretal epiſtles and conſtitutions of theſe byſhops of Rome examined.

As touching the decretal epiſtles, which be intituled vnder the name of theſe foreſayde biſhops: who ſo well aduiſeth them, and with iudgement wyll examine the ſtile, the tyme, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the conſtitutions in them contayned (litle ſeruing to anye purpoſe, & nothing ſeruing for thoſe ſo troublous dayes then preſent) maye eaſelye diſcerne them: either in no part to be theirs, or much of the ſame to be clouted and patched by the doings of other, which lyued in other tymes: eſpecially ſeing all the conſtitucions in them for the moſt part tende to the ſettyng vp & to exalt the ſea of Rome aboue all other biſhops & churches, and to reduce all cauſes and appeales to the ſayde ſea of Rome. So the epiſtle of Caius, beginning with the commendation of the autority of his ſea, endeth after the ſame tenor: wylling and commaunding all difficult queſtions in al prouincies what ſoeuer emergyng, to be referred to the ſea Apoſtolical. Moreouer, the greateſt part of the ſayd epiſtle from this place, Quicunque illi ſunt ita obcæcati. &c. to the end of this periode: Quoniam ſicut ait B. Apoſtolus, Magnum eſt pietatis. &c. is cōtayned in the epiſtle of Leo, vnto Leo the Emperor: and ſo rightly agreeth in all poyntes with the ſtyle of Leo, that euident it is the ſame to be borowed not of Leo, out of the epiſtle of Caius, but to be patched into the epiſtle

The chiefe ſcope of the cōſtitutions decretall, to magnify the church of Rome.

The epiſtle of Caius.

A great part of the epiſtle of Caius, takē out of the epiſtle of Leo to Leo the Emperour.

of Caius taken out of Leo.

The epyſtle of Marcellinus.

Likewiſe the epiſtle of Marcellinus, to get more autoritie with the Reader, is admixed with a great part of Sainte Paules epiſtle to the Epheſians, woorde for word. And how is it like that Marcellinus, which dyed in the .xx. yeare of Diocleſian, could wryte of Conſubſtātialitie of the diuine perſons, whē, that controuerſy and terme of Conſubſtantialitie, was not hearde of in the church before Nicene counſel, which was .xxiij. yeares after him? But eſpeciallye the .ij. epiſtles of Marcellus bewray themſelues, ſo that for the confuting therof, needeth no other probation, more then onely the reading of the ſame. Such a glorious ſtile of ambition therin doth apeare, as it is eaſy to be vnderſtood, not to proceede either from ſuch an hūble martyr, or to ſauour any thing of the miſery of ſuch a tyme. His wordes of his firſt epiſtle written to the brethren of Antioche, and alledged in the Popes decrees by Gracianus, are theſe:

The epiſtles decretall of Marcellus.

24.q.1. Rogamus vos fratres.

In what chapter or leafe in al the Byble doth the Lord commaund the ſea of Peter to bee tranſlated from Antioche to Rome.

> We deſire you brethren, that ye doo not teache nor conceaue anye other thing, but as ye haue receaued of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter, and of other Apoſtles, and fathers. For of him ye were firſt of all inſtructed: wherfore ye muſt not forſake your owne father, and followe others. For he is the head of the whole church, to whom the Lord ſayd: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I wyll builde my churche. &c. whoſe ſeate was firſt wyth you in Antioche: which afterward by the cōmaundemēt of yͤ Lord, was trāſlated frō thence to Rome, of yͤ which church of Rome I am this daye placed (by the grace of God) to be the gouernour. From the which Church of Rome, neither ought you to ſeperate your ſelues, ſeing to the ſame church all maner cauſes eccleſiaſtical, being of any importance (Gods grace ſo diſpoſing) are commaunded to be referred: by the ſame to be ordered regularly, from whence they tooke their firſt begynning. &c. And followeth conſequently vpon the ſame. And if your church of Antioch, which was once the firſt, wyll nowe yelde her ſelfe vnto the ſea of Rome, there is no other church els, which wyll not ſubiect it ſelfe to our dominion: to whom all other biſhops, who ſo euer liſteth, and as they muſt nedes do (accordingly to the decrees of the Apoſtles, and of their ſucceſſors) ought to flee vnto, as to their head, and muſt appeale to the ſame: ther to haue their redreſſe, and their protection, frō whence they toke their firſt inſtruction and conſecration. &c.

The church of Rome ſueth to the church of Antioche to yeld vnto her.

Whether this be like matter to procede from the ſpirite of Marcellus that bleſſed martyr, in thoſe ſo dreadful dayes, I ſaye no more, but onelye deſire thee (gentle Reader) to iudge thy ſelfe.

The ſeconde epiſtle of Marcellus wrytten to Maxentius.

In his ſecond Epiſtle moreouer, the ſayde Marcellus, writing to Maxentius the bloody tyrant, firſt reprehendeth him for his crueltye, ſharplye admoniſhing hym how and what to do: to ſeeke and learne the true religiō of God, to mayntayne his church, to honor and reuerēce the Prieſtes of God, and ſpecially exhorteth him to charitie, and that he would ceaſe from perſecution. &c. All this is poſſible, and like to be true: but now marke (good Reader) what blanched ſtuffe here folowed with all: as where he alledging the ſtatutes and ſāctions of his predeceſſors, declareth and diſcuſſeth that no biſhop nor miniſter ought to be perſecuted, or depriued of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to haue their poſſeſſions and places agayne reſtored (by the law) before they wer bound (by the law) to anſwer to their accuſations layde in agaynſte them. And ſo after that, in conueniente tyme, to bee called to a Councell. The whiche counſell notwithſtanding, without the autoritie of the holye ſea, can not procede regularly (albeit it remayne in hys power to aſſemble certayne biſhops together). Neyther can he regularly cōdemne any biſhop, appealing to this his Apoſtolical ſea, before the ſentence diffinite doo procede from the foreſayd ſea. &c. And it foloweth after: and therfore (ſayth he) let no biſhop of what crime ſo euer he be attached, come to his accuſatiō or be heard, but in his own ordinary ſynode at hys cōuenient time: the regular & Apoſtolical autoritie beyng ioyned withal. Moreouer in the ſaid Epiſtle writing to Maxētius, he decreeth that no lay men, or any ſuſpected biſhop, ought to accuſe prelates of the church: ſo that if they be eyther laye men, or men of euil conuerſation, or proued manifeſt enemies, or incenſed with any hatred, their accuſations agaynſt any biſhop ought not to ſtand. Wyth other ſuche matters moe, concerning the diſpoſition of iudiciall court. Which matter yf Pope Gregorye the .vij. had wrytten to Henry the thirde, Emperor: or yf Pope Alexander yͤ third had written to the Emperour Fridericus the firſt: it might haue ſtand with ſome reaſon and oportunity of tyme. But now for Marcellus to wryte theſe decrees in ſuch a perſecution of the church, to Maxentius the Heathen, and moſt cruel Emperour: howe vnlike it is to bee true, and how it ſerued then to purpoſe, the reader may ſoone diſcerne. And yet theſe be the epiſtles and conſtitutions decretall, whereby (vnder the pretēſed title of theſe fathers) all churches of late time, and all eccleſiaſticall cauſes haue bene, and yet are in this realme of Englād to this day, gouerned, directed, and diſpoſed.

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The lyke diſcuſſion and examination, I might alſo make of the other epiſtles that follow of Euſebius, and Meltiades: which all tend to the ſame ſcope, that no prelate or biſhop oughte to come to his annſwere (or ad litem conteſtatam, as the woordes of their writing doo terme it) before they be orderly and fully reſtored again to their poſſeſſions. Who moreouer in the ſayde their epiſtles ſtyl harpe vpon this key of the ſcripture: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam. Declaring moreouer that this priuiledge of iudging al mē, and to be iudged of no man, but onelye to bee left to the iudgement of the Lord: was geuen to this forſayd holy ſea of Rome, from tyme of the Apoſtles, and chiefly left with Peter the holy key keeper: ſo that althoughe the election of al the Apoſtles was equal, yet this was chiefly graunted to S. Peter, to haue preheminence aboue the reſt. Concluding in the end hereby: Quod ſemper maiores cauſæ, ſicut ſunt Epiſcoporum & potiorum curæ negociorum, ad vnam beati principis Apoſtolorum Petri ſedē confluerent. That is: that alwayes all greater cauſes, as be the matters of biſhops, and ſuche other cares of waighty importance, ſhould be brought to the ſea of S. Peter the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles. &c. Theſe be the wordes of Meltiades and Euſebius, wherby it may be partly ſmelled of him that hath any noſe, what was the meaning of them which forged theſe writings and letters, vpon theſe auncient holy martyrs.

The ep
ſtles de
tal of E
bius
Meltia

*Ex L
Decr
Melti*

Thys I cannot but maruel at, in the third epiſtle of Euſebius the biſhop of Rome: that where as Marcellinus his late predeceſſor before, in his own tyme and remembraunce, did fall ſo horribly, and was condemned for the ſame, iuſtly to be expulſed the Citie by the councel of .300. biſhops: yet not withſtanding, the foreſayde Euſebius in his third epiſtle, alledging the place of Tu es Petrus, bringeth in for a proofe of the ſame and ſaith: Quia in ſede Apoſtolica extra maculam ſemper eſt catholica ſeruata religio. &c. That is, for in the Apoſtolicall ſea alwayes the catholicke religiō hath ben preſerued without any ſpot or blemiſhe.

A place
the third
ſtle dec
of Euſe
found
true.

But how ſoeuer the forgers of theſe decretall epiſtles haue forgotten them ſelues, moſt certayn it is that theſe holy biſhops, vpon whom they were and are aſcribed: lyued perfect good men, and dyed bleſſed Martyrs. Of whom this Meltiades was the laſt among al the biſhops of Rome here in the weſt church of Europa, that euer was in daunger of perſecution to be martyred, yet to this preſent day.

Melti
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ſecution

And thus haue ye heard the ſtories & names of ſuche bleſſed he end of is perſe- tion in al West urches.

bleſſed ſayntes, which ſuffered in the time of perſecutiō from the .xix. yeare of Diocleſian, to the .vij. & laſt yeare of Maxentius, with the deathes alſo and plages deſcribed vpon thoſe tormentors and cruel tyrauntes, which were yͤ captaynes & woorkers of the ſame perſecution. And here cōmeth in (bleſſed be Chriſt) yͤ end of theſe perſecutiōs here in theſe weſt churches of Europa, ſo far as yͤ dominiō of bleſſed Conſtātinus dyd chiefly extend.

he perſe- tiō vnder inius.

ermyl⁹ raconi ſ s. artyrs.

heodor⁹ ptayne, artyr

illes. artyr.

Yet notwithſtanding in Aſia all perſecution as yet ceaſed not for the ſpace of .4. yeares, as aboue is mencioned, by the meanes of wycked Licinius. Vnder whom diuers ther wer holy and conſtant martyrs, that ſuffred greuous tormentes: as Hermylus a Deacon, and Stratonicus a keeper of the priſon, which both, after their puniſhments ſuſtained, were ſtrangled in the flood Iſter. Metaſth. Alſo Theodorus the Capitayne, who being ſent for of Licinius, becauſe he woulde not come, and becauſe he brake his gods in peeces, and gaue them to the poore, therfore was faſtned to the croſſe: and after being pearſed with ſharpe prickes or bodkins, in the ſecret partes of his body, was at laſt beheaded. Adde to theſe alſo Milles, who firſt being a ſoldiour, afterward was made biſhop of a certayne citie in Perſia: wher he ſeing hymſelfe could do no good to conuert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, curſed the citie and departed. Which City ſhortly after by Sapores king of Perſia was deſtroyed.

he kinge Perſia ere com- only cal- by the me of pores.

rſecution Perſia.

cindy- us. egaſius. nem- diſtus. bide- orus. meon, chbi. eſiphō hop artyrs.

.Martirs Perſia.

he ſtorye Simeon chbiſhop Seleucia. x Sozo- eno.lib. cap.8. .10.

In the ſame country of Perſia, about this time, ſuffered vnder Sapores the king (as recordeth Simeon Metaſthenes) diuers valiant and conſtant Martyrs, as Acindymus, Pegaſius, Anempodiſtus, Epidephorus, alſo Symeō archbiſhop of Seleucia, with Cteſiphon an other biſhop in Perſia, with other miniſters and religious men of that region, to the number of .128. Of thys Symeon and Cteſiphon thus writeth Zozomenus lib. 2 that the idolatrous Magicians in Perſia taking counſail together againſt the Chriſtians, accuſed Symeon & Cteſiphon, to Sapores the king, for that they wer grateful and accepted vnto the Romane Emperour, and bewrayed to him, ſuche thinges as were done in the lande of Perſia. Wherupō Sapores being moued, tooke great diſpleaſure againſt the Chriſtiās, oppreſſing them wyth taxes and tributes vnto their vtter impoueriſhing: kylling alſo their prieſts with the ſword. After that calleth for Simeon the Archbiſhop, who there before the kyng declared himſelfe a worthye and a valiant captayne of Chriſts church. For whē Sapores had cōmaunded him to be led to ſuffer tormentes, he neyther ſhronke for any feare, nor ſhewed any great humble ſute or ſubmiſſion for any pardō: wherat the king partly marueiling, partly offended, aſked why he did not kneele downe, as he was wont before to do? Symeon to this anſwered, for that ſayeth he, before thys tyme I was not brought vnto you in bondes to betraye the true God, as I am now, and ſo long I refuſed not to accōpliſhe that which the order and cuſtome of the realme of me required: but now it is not lawful for me ſo to do, for now I come to ſtand in defence of our religiō & true doctrine. Whē Symeon thus had anſwered, yͤ kyng perſiſting in hys purpoſe, offreth vnto him yͤ choyſe, either to worſhip wͭ him after his maner (promiſing to him many great giftes, if he would ſo do) or if he would not, threatneth to hym, & to all the other Chriſtians within his land, deſtruction. But Simeō neyther allured with his promiſes, nor terrified with his threatninges, continued conſtant in hys doctrine profeſſed, ſo that neyther he could be induced to idolatrous worſhip, nor yet to betray the truth of his religiō. For the which cauſe he was cōmitted into bands, and there commaunded to be kept to the kynges pleaſure farther knowen.

he wor- answer Simeon o the ng.

e con- ncie of con.

The fall of Vſthazares.

The fruite of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline and chaſtiſment.

The repentance of Vſthazares.

It befell in the way as he was going to the pryſon, there was ſitting at the kinges gate a certayn Eunuch, an old Tutor or Scholemaiſter of the kings, named Vſthazares, who had bene once a Chriſtian, and afterward falling from his profeſſion, fell with the Heathen multitude to their idolatrie. This Vſthazares ſytting at the doore of the kynges palace, and ſeing Symeon paſſyng by led to the pryſon, roſe vp and reuerenced the Biſhop. Symeon againe wyth ſharpe wordes (as the time wold ſuffer) rebuked him, & in great anger cryed out agaynſt him: which being once a Chriſtian, would ſo cowardlye reuolt from his profeſſion, and returne agayne to the heathniſh idolatrie. At the hearing of theſe woordes the Eunuche forthwith braſting out in teares, laying away his courtly apparell, which was ſumptuous and coſtly, and putting vpon hym a blacke and mournyng wede, ſitteth before the court gates weeping and bewailing, thus ſaying with himſelfe: wo is me, with what hope, wyth what face, ſhal I loke hereafter for my god, which haue denied my God: when as thys Symeon my familiar acquayntaunce, thus paſſing by me, ſo muche diſdayneth me, that he refuſeth wyth one gentle woord to ſalute me.

The anſwer of Vſthazares to the kyng.

Vſthazares the kings tutor condemned to be beheaded.

The meſſage of Vſthazares to the kyng.

The cauſe openly cryed, why vſthazares was beheaded.

These things being brought to the eares of the king (as ſuche talecaryers neuer lacke in Princes courtes) procured agaynſt him no litle indignation. Wherupon Sapores the kyng ſendyng for hym, firſt wyth gentle words and courtly promiſes began to ſpeake him fair, aſking him what cauſe he had ſo to mourne, and whyther ther was any thyng in his houſe, which was denied him, or which he had not at his owne wyll and aſkyng. Wherunto Vſthazares anſwering agayne, ſayd: That there was nothing in that earthly houſe, which was to him lacking, or wherunto hys deſire ſtoode. Yea would God (ſayd he) O king, any other griefe or calamitie in al the world, what ſoeuer it were, had hapned vnto me, rather thē this, for the which I do moſt iuſtly mourne and ſorrow. For this ſoroweth me, that I am this dai aliue, who ſhould rather haue dyed long ſince, and that I ſee thys ſune, whych agaynſt my hart and minde, for your pleaſure, diſſemblingly I appeared to woorſhippe. For which cauſe doublewyſe I am worthy of death. Fyrſt, for that I haue denyed Chriſt. Secondly, becauſe I dyd diſſemble with you. And incontinent vpon theſe words, ſwearing by hym that made both heauen and earth, affirmed moſt certaynly, that although he had played the foole before, he would neuer be ſo madde agayne, as in ſteede of the creator and maker of all thinges, to woorſhip the creatures, which he had made and created. Sapores the kyng being aſtoyned at the ſo ſodayne alteration of this man, and doubting with hymſelfe, whether to be angry wyth thoſe Inchaunters, or with him: whether to intreate hym with gentlenes, or with rigour, at length in this moode commaunded the ſayd Vſthazares hys old auncient ſeruaunt, and fyrſt Tutor and bringer vp of his youth, to be had awaye, & to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, he deſired of the executioners, a litle to ſtaye, whyle he myght ſende a meſſage vnto the kyng, whych was this (ſent in by certayne of the kyngs moſt truſty Eunuches) deſiring him that for al the old and faythfull ſeruice he had done to his father, and to hym, he would now requite him with this one office agayne, to cauſe to be cryed openlye by a publicke Cryer in theſe wordes following: that Vſthazares was beheaded, not for any traytchery or crime cōmitted agaynſt the kyng or the Realme, but onelye for that he was a Chriſtian, and woulde not at the kynges pleaſure deny hys God. And ſo according to hys requeſt it was performed and graunted. For this cauſe did Vſthazares ſo much deſyre the cauſe of his death to be publiſhed: becauſe that as his ſhrinking backe from Chriſt, was a great occaſion to many Chriſtians to do the like: ſo now the ſame hearing that Vſthazares dyed for no other cauſe, but onely for the religion of Chriſt, ſhoulde

The ende and martyrdome of Vſthazares.

The martyrdōe of Symeon Archb.

The exhortation of Symeon the Arch. to the martyrs at their death, when he alſo hymſelfe ſhould ſuffer.

learne lykewyſe by his example,to be feruent and conſtant in that which they profeſſe. And thus thys bleſſed Eunuch did conſūmate hys martyrdō. Of ẏ which hys Martyrdom,Symon hearing being in priſon, was very ioyfull,and gaue God thankes. Who in the next day folowing,being brought forth before the kyng, and conſtantly refuſyng to condiſcende to the kynges requeſt,to worſhip viſible creatures, was lykewyſe by the commaundement of the kyng beheaded,with a great number mo,whych the ſame day alſo did ſuffer,to the number,as is ſayd,of an hundred and more.All which were put to death before Symeon,he ſtandyng by,and exhorting them,with comfortable wordes:admoniſhyng thē to ſtand firme and ſtedfaſt in the Lord. Preaching and teaching them concerning death,reſurrection, and true
„ pietie,and proued by ẏ ſcriptures that to be true whiche
„ he had ſayd.Declaring moreouer that to be true life in
„ dede,ſo to dye:and that to be death in dede,to deny or
„ to betray God for feare of puniſhment. And added further,
„ that there was no man alyue,but nedes muſt once
„ dye. For ſo much as to al men is appointed neceſſarely,
„ here to haue an ende. But thoſe thinges whiche after
„ this life folowe,hereafter to be eternall: which neyther
„ ſhal come to al men after one ſorte.But as the conditiō
„ and trade of lyfe in diuers men doth differ,and is not in
„ all men lyke:ſo the tyme ſhall come, when all men in a
„ moment ſhal render and receaue according to their doinges
„ in this preſent life immortall rewardes: ſuche as
„ haue here done wel,of lyfe and glory,ſuch as haue done
„ contrary,of perpetual puniſhment. As touching therefore
„ our wel doing here,there is no doubt, but of all other
„ our holye actions and vertuous dedes, there is no
„ hyer or greater dede,then if a man here loſe his lyfe for
„ his Lord God.With theſe woordes of comfortable exhortacion,
„ the holy martyrs being prepared, wyllinglye
„ yelded their lyues to death.After whom at laſt folowed
„ Symeon,wyth two other Prieſtes or Miniſters of hys
church,Abedecalaas,and Ananias,which alſo with him were partakers of the ſame martyrdome.

Abedecalaas Ananias, Martyrs.

The ſtory of Puſices martyr.

At the ſuffering of theſe aboue mentioned, it happened that Puſices one of the kinges officers,and ouerſeer of hys Artificers,was there preſent: who ſeing Ananias being an aged old father, ſomewhat to ſhake and tremble at the ſight of them that ſuffred: O father (ſaid he) a lytle moment ſhut thyne eyes, and be ſtrong, and ſhortly thou ſhalt ſe the ſight of God. Upon theſe wordes thus ſpoken,Puſices immediatly was apprehēded, and brought to the king.Who ther confeſſing himſelfe conſtantly to be a Chriſtian,and for that he was very bold and hardy before the king, in ẏ cauſe of Chriſtes faith, was extremely and moſt cruelly handled in the executiō of his martyrdome. For in the vpper part of his necke they made a hole to thruſt in their hand, and pluckt out his toung out of hys mouth,and ſo was he put to death. At which tyme alſo the daughter of Puſices a godly virgin,by the malicious accuſation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The free ſpeach and boldnes of Puſices

The cruel martyrdom of Puſices.

The daughter of Puſices Martyr.

A cruell edicte of Sapores agaiſt the chriſtians.

Innumerable martyrs in Perſia.

The next yeare following,vpon the ſame day, when the Chriſtians did celebrate the remembraunce of the Lordes paſſion,which we call good Friday before Eaſter(as wytneſſeth the ſayd Zozomenus.) Sapores the kyng directed out a cruel and a ſharpe edict throughout all his land,condemning to death all them, who ſo euer confeſſed them ſelues to be Chriſtians.By reaſon wherof an innumerable multitude of Chriſtians, throughe the wycked procuring of the malignant Magicians,ſuffered the ſame tyme by the ſword,both in Citye and in towne:ſome being ſought for,ſome offring themſelues wyllingly,leaſt they ſhould ſeeme by their ſilence to denye Chriſt. Thus al the Chriſtians that could be found, without pity were ſlayne,and diuers alſo of the kynges own court and houſhold.Among whom was alſo Azades an Eunuche,and whom the kyng did entirelye loue and fauour. Which Azades after that the king vnderſtoode to be put to death,being greatly moued wyth the ſorow therof,commaunded after that,no Chriſtians to be ſlayne,but them onelye which were the Doctors and teachers of Chriſtian religion.

In the ſame time it happened that the Quene fell in to a certayne diſeaſe:vpon the occaſion wherof the cruel Iewes with the wicked Magicians,falſely and maliciouſly accuſed Trabula,the ſiſter of Symeō the martyr, a godlye virgine, wyth an other ſiſter alſo of hers:that they had wrought priuye charmes to hurt the Quene, for the reuenging of the death of Symeon. This accuſation being receaued and beleued: innocent Trabula with the other were condemned, and with a ſawe cut a ſunder by the myddle.Whoſe quarters were then hāged vpon ſtakes:the Quene going betwene them,thincking therby to be deliuered of her ſicknes. This Trabula was a mayde of a right comely beuty,and very amiable,to whō one of the Magiciās caſt great loue,muche deſiring and laboring by giftes and rewardes ſent into the priſon to wyn her to his pleaſure: promiſing that if ſhe would apply to his requeſt,ſhe ſhoulde be deliuered and ſet at liberty.But ſhe vtterly refuſing to cōſent vnto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt,did chuſe rather to dye,then to betray eyther the religiō of her minde or the virginity of her body. Zozo.

Now for ſomuch as the king had commaunded that no Chriſtians ſhould be put to death, but onely ſuch as were the teachers and leaders of the flocke: the Magicians and Archmagicians, left no diligence vntryed, to ſet forward the matter. Wherby great affliction and perſecution was among the biſhops and teachers of the church,which in all places,went to ſlaughter,eſpecially in the countrey of Diabenor: for that part of Perſia aboue all other was moſt Chriſtian. Where Acepſimas the Byſhop,with a great number of his flocke & clergie were apprehended and taken, vpon the apprehenſion of whom the Magicians to ſatiſfie the kinges commaundement, dimiſſed all the reaſt,onely depriuing them of their liuinges and goods. Onely Acepſimas the Biſhop they retayned, with whom one Iacobus a Miniſter or prieſt of his church,was alſo ioyned:not of any compulſion,but onelye as himſelfe ſo deſired and obtayned of thoſe Magis,that he might follow him, and be coupled in the ſame bondes to ſerue the aged biſhop and to releiue(ſo much as he might)his calamities,and heale his woundes. For he had bene ſore ſcourged before of the Magiās,after they had apprehēded him,& brought him to woorſhip the ſunne:which thing becauſe hee woulde not do,they caſt him into priſon againe,wher this Iacobus was wayting vpon him.At the ſame tyme likewiſe Aithalas a Prieſt,or Miniſter,alſo Azadanes and Abdieſus Deacons were impriſoned,and miſerablye ſcourged for the teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus. After this the Archimagus ſpying his tyme,complayneth to the kyng of them,hauing autoritie and commiſſion geuen hym (vnles they would worſhip the ſunne)to puniſh them as he pleaſed. Thys cōmaundement receaued of the kyng, the Maiſter magus doth declare to them in priſon. But they anſwered agayne playnely,that they would neuer be eyther betrayers of Chriſte, or woorſhippers of the Sunne.Whereupon without mercye they were put to bytter tormentes.Wher Acepſimas ſtrongly perſiſting in the confeſſion of Chriſt,endured to death. The other being no leſſe rent and wounded with ſcourges,yet continued marueilouſly alyue.And becauſe they woulde in no caſe turne from their conſtant ſentence, wer turned agayne into priſon. Of whom Aithalas in the tyme of his whypping was ſo drawne and rackt wyth pullyng, that both hys armes being looſed out of the ioyntes,hāged downe from his bodye:which hee ſo caryed aboute wythout vſe of anye hande to fede himſelfe, but as hee

was

ſ Sozo.
.2.cap.
ex Nic.
.8.c.37.

was fed of other. Miſerable and almoſt innumerable were the ſlaughters vnder the raigne of this Sapores, of Biſhops,Miniſters,Deacons, religious men, holye virgins,and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, ſuche as dyd then cleaue to the doctrine of Chriſt,and ſuffered for the ſame. The names of the biſhops beſides the other multitude taken away in that perſecution,is recited in Sozom lib.2.and in Nicephor.lib.8.cap.37.in thys order folowing.

rbaſimes
ulus,Gad
abes,Sabi
s,Mareas
ocius, Io
es, Hor-
iſdas, Pa-
s,Iacob',
omas,Ma
es, Agas,
ochres,Ab
s,Abieſ',
annes,A-
ami', Ag
las, Sabo
s,Iſaac,
uſas,Bi-
r,Maure-
da wych
o.other
artirs.

Barbaſymes,Paulus,Gaddiabes,Sabinus, Mareas,Mocius,Iohannes,Hormiſdas,Papas,Iacobus,Romas,Maares,Agas,Bochres,Abdas, Abieſus,Ioannes,Abramius,Agdelas,Sabores, Iſaac,Dauſas. Bicor alſo, with Maureanda hys fellowbyſhop,and the reſt of his churches vnder him,to the number of.CC.and.L. perſons, which were the ſame tyme apprehended of the Perſians.⁊c. Briefly to comprehēd the whole multitude of them that ſuffered in that perſecution,the maner of their apprehenſion, the cruelnes of their tormentes,howe and where they ſuffered, and in what places, it is not poſſible for anye hiſtorye to diſcharge. Neyther are the Perſians themſelues(as Sozomenus recordeth) able to recite them. In ſumme,the multitude and number of them whom they are able to recite by name,commeth to the ſumme of.xvi.thouſand men and women.

he nūber
the mar-
s that ſuf
red in Per
,were 16
ouſand.

onſtan-
us the
mperour
riteth to
e King of
erſia in
e behalfe
the afflic
d Chriſti-
s.

The rumour and noyſe of this ſo miſerable afflictiõ of the Chriſtians in the kyngdome of Perſia, cõmyng to the eares of Conſtantinus the Emperour,put him in great heauynes,ſtudieng and reuoluing with himſelfe, how to helpe the matter,whych in dede was very harde for him to do. It ſo befell the ſame tyme, that certayne Emballadours were then at Rome from Sapores king of Perſia,to whom Conſtantinus did eaſelye graunt, ⁊ conſent,ſatiſfieng all their requeſtes and demaundes, thinking thereby to obtayne the more friendſhip at the kinges handes,that at his requeſt he woulde be good to the Chriſtians,to whom he writeth his Epiſtle in theyr behalfe,and ſendeth the ſame by his meſſengers, beginning thus:

be copie
effecte of
e epiſtle
Conſtan
ne to Sa.
ores.

> Diuinam fidem ſeruans veritatis lucem ſortior. Veritatis luce ductus diuinam fidem cognoſco. Per ea igitur quibus illa res agendas,confirmat ſanctiſsimam religionē cognitam reddo,& hunc me cultum doctorem cognitionis ſancti dei habere confiteor.&c.Euſeb.de vita Conſtāt. lib.4. The contentes wherof briefly do tend to this effect. Declaring vnto him how he ſhoulde ſtand much beholden to him,if at hys requeſt he would ſhew ſome quiet ⁊ reſt to the Chriſtians. In whoſe religion there was nothing which he could iuſtly blame. For ſo muche as in their ſacrifices they vſe to kyl nothing, nor to ſhedde no bloud,but onely to offer vp vnbloudy ſacrifices, and to make their prayers vnto God,who deliteth not in blood ſhedding,but onely in the ſoule that loueth vertue, and foloweth ſuch doctrine and knowledge, which is agreing to true piety. And therfore ſuch mē as do leade hym and learne him ſo to beleue and to worſhip God, are more to be commended. Moreouer he aſſureth him, to finde God more mercyful to him,if he woulde embrace the godly pietie and truth of the Chriſtians. And for example thereof,bringeth in the ſtories of Galienus, and Ualerianus,who ſo long as they were fauorers of the Chriſtians,did proſper and flooriſhe. But as ſoone as they moued any perſecution agaynſt them, it happened to them,as it did to all other Emperours before them, that all went backward with them,as eſpecially might appeare by Ualerianus, who after he had raged ſo cruelly agaynſt the Chriſtians,was eftſoones ouercome of the Perſians,(the reuenging hand of God falling vpon him)wher he led euer after a miſerable life, in wretched captiuitie. Farther alſo, for the more euidence of the ſame,inferreth the examples of thoſe Emperours and tyrantes in hys tyme,whom he vanquiſhed and ſubdued onely by hys fayth in Chriſt,for the which fayth,god was hys helper,and gaue him the victory in manye battayles,and triumphe ouer great tyrantes,whereby alſo he hath enlarged the dominion of the Romane monarchie from the weſt Ocean,to the vttermoſt partes well neare of all the Eaſt. To the doing and working wherof,he neyther called to him the helpe of any charmer or diuination of any Soothſayer,nor vſed the killing of any ſacrifice:but onelye the following of the croſſe, and prayer made to almighty God,without any other bloudy ſacrifice,was the armour wherwith he ouercam.⁊c. And in the ende of the epiſtle addeth theſe words: What ioy(ſayth he)what gladnes woulde it bee to my hart, to heare the ſtate alſo of the Perſians to floriſh,as I wiſh it to do,by embracing this ſort of men,the Chriſtians I meane:ſo that both you with them, and they wyth you in long proſperity may enioy much felicity together,as your hartes woulde deſire:and in ſo doing,no doubt ye ſhall. For ſo ſhal you haue God,which is the autor and creator of all this vniuerſall world to be mercifull and gracious to you. Theſe men therfore I commende vnto you vpon your kyngly honour. And vpon your clemency and piety,wherwith you are induced,I commit them vnto you,deſiring you to embrace and receaue them according to your humanitie and benignity agreing and conuenient to your eſtate: who in ſo doyng ſhall nowe both procure to your ſelfe grace through your fayth, ⁊ alſo ſhall declare to me a great pleaſure and benefyte worthy of much thankes.⁊c.

f this Ga
enus and
alerianus
ad the
g.105.

The generall care of godly Conſtantinus for all Chriſtians in al places.

This Epiſtle wrote Conſtantinus to king Sapores, Such care had this godly prince for them that beleued in Chriſt,not onely in his own monarchye, but alſo in all places of the world. Neither is it to be doubted, but this interceſſion of the Emperour did ſomething mitigate the heate of the Perſians perſecution. Althoughe therof we reade no certayne thynge in our hiſtories.

Other forren perſecutions in Perſia.

Of other troubles ⁊ perſecution we reade of, which happened afterward in the ſayd country of Perſia, vnder Iſdigerdes the king, but theſe followed long after about the tyme of the Emperor Theodoſius. At which tyme ſuffred Andas their biſhop,and Hormiſda a great noble mans ſonne,and of great reputacion among the Perſians:whom when the king vnderſtood to be a chriſtian,and to deny to turne from his religiõ, condemned him to keepe his Elephantes naked. In proces of tyme, the king looking out,and ſeing hym al ſwarted ⁊ tãned in the ſunne,commaunded him to haue a ſhiert put on, and to be brought before him. Whom then the king aſked,if he would denye Chriſt. Hormiſda hearing thys, tare of hys ſhiert from his bodye,and caſt it from hym, ſaying: If ye think that I wyll deny my fayth to Chriſt for a ſhiert,haue here your gyfte agayn.⁊c. And ſo was vpon that expelled the country. Theodor.lib.5.

Andas.B. Martyr.

The ſtorye of Hormiſda. martyr

Ex Theodor. Lib.5.cap.9.

The faythfull conſtance of Hormiſda

Hormiſda baniſhed the countrey of Perſia.

Suenes. Martyr.

And other there was the ſame time,named Suenes, which had vnder him an hundreth ſeruaunts. The king taking diſpleaſure with him,for that he would not alter frõ hys religion ⁊ godly truth,aſked who was the worſt of all hys ſeruauntes. And hym the kyng made ruler of all the reaſt,and coupling hym with hys maiſters wife, brought alſo Suenes vnder hys ſubiection, thinkyng therby to ſubdue alſo the fayth of Suenes, but he was builded vpon a ſure foundation.

The conſtancie of Suenes.

The ſtorye of Beniamin deacon & Martyr.

Of Beniamin the Deacon thus writeth the ſayd Theodoret in hys fift booke, that after.ij.yeares of hys impriſonment,at the requeſt of the Romaine Legate he was deliuered,who afterward becauſe contrary to the kinges commaundement he preached and taughte the Goſpel of Chriſt,was moſt miſerably excarnificate, hauing.xx.ſharpe prickes of reedes thruſt vnder his nailes, but when he dyd but laughe at that, then in his priuye

Beniamin tormented
The martyrdō of Beniamin.

yarde had a ſharpe reede thruſte in with horrible paine. After that a certayn long ſtalke ragged and thorny being thruſt into his body by the neather part, was forced into him, with the horriblenes of the payne wherof, the valiant and inuincible ſoldiour of the Lorde, gaue ouer his lyfe. Theodor.ibid. And thus much concerning the Martyrs and perſecutions among the Perſians, although theſe perſecutions belong not to his tyme, which came (as is ſayd) long after the dayes of Conſtantinus, about the yeare of our Lord.425.

The Martyrs vnder Iulianus Apoſtata.
Aemylianus
Domitius
Martyrs.
The ſtorye of Theodorus martyr

Likewiſe vnder Iulianus the wicked Apoſtata, certayne there were which conſtantly ſuffered martirdom by the Heathen idolatours, as Emylianus, who was burned in Thracia, and Domitius, which was ſlayne in his caue. Theodorus alſo for ſinging of a Pſalme at the remouing of the body of Babylas (wherof mencion is made before pag.88.) being apprehended, was ſo examined with exquiſite tormentes, and ſo cruelly excruciate from morning almoſt to noone, that hardely he ſcaped wͭ lyfe. Who being aſked afterward of his friends, how he could abyde ſo ſharpe tormentes, ſaid that at the firſt beginning he felt ſome payne, but afterward there ſtood by hym a yong man, who as he was ſweating, wiped of his ſweate, and refreſhed him with colde water oft tymes: wherewith he was ſo delited, that when he was let downe from the engine, it greued him, more then before. Ruff.lib.1.cap.36. Theodor.lib.3.cap.11. Sozom.lib.5.cap.10.

A miracle to be noted.

Artemius martyr.

Artemius alſo the captayn of ẏ Egiptian ſoldiours the ſame tyme, loſt his head for his religion in deede, although other cauſes were pretẽded againſt him. Theod. Niceph.lib.10.cap.11.

Euſebius,
Neſtabus,
bretherne.
Neſtor,
Martyrs.
Eupſychius, wyth other mē of Ceſarea
Martyr.

Adde to theſe moreouer Euſebius and Neſtabus. 2. brethren, with Neſtor alſo, which for their Chriſtianitie were dragged through the ſtreetes, and murdred of the idolatrous people of Gaza. Sozom.lib.5.cap.9.

Among them of Ceſarea, wherof ſome were ſlayne, ſome were baniſhed of Iulianus, for pulling downe the temple of Fortune, Eupſychius a noble mā of that coūtry, dyed alſo with them a martyr. Sozo.lib.eod.cap.11.

Miſerable crueltie agaynſt the Chriſtian virgins of Arethuſa.

The people mad to be pluct from their olde cuſtomes, thoughe it be neuer ſo wycked.

But eſpecially the cruelty of the Arethuſians, a people of Syria, exceeded agaynſt thoſe Chriſtian virgins, whom they ſet oute naked before the multitude to bee ſcorned, after that being ſhauē, they couered them with ſwyl and draffe, wont to be geuen to their hogs, and ſo cauſed their bowels and fleſh to be deuoured of the hungry ſwyne. This rage and fury of the wycked Arethuſians, Sozomenꝰ ſuppoſeth to come of this, becauſe that Conſtantinus before had broken them from their countrye maner, of ſetting forth and expoſing their virgins, filthely to whomſoeuer luſted, and deſtroyed the temple of Venus in Heliopolis: reſtrayning the people there frō their filthynes and vile whordom. Sozom.lib.5.cap.10.

Of the lamentable ſtory or rather Tragedy of Marcus Arethuſius their biſhop, thus writeth the ſayde Sozomenus, and alſo Theodoretus in hys thyrd booke, in theſe wordes as follow.

The ſtorye of Marcus Arethuſius.

The true conſcience of Marcus Arethuſius.

This Tragedy (ſayth he) of Marcus Arethuſius, doth require the eloquence and worthynes of Aeſchilus and Sophocles, which may, as ẏ matter deſerueth, ſet forth and beutify hys great afflictions. This man, at the commaundement of Conſtantinus, pulled downe a certaine temple dedicated to Idoles, and in the ſtede therof built vp a church wher the Chriſtiās might congregate. The Arthuſians remembring the litle good wyll that Iulianus bare vnto him, accuſed him as a traytour and enemye to hym. At the firſt, according as the ſcripture teacheth, he prepared himſelfe to flee. But when he perceaued that there were certayne of his kynſmen or friends apprehended in his ſteede, returning agayne of his own accord he offered him ſelfe to thoſe that thirſted for hys bloude: whom when they had gotten, as men neyther pitieng hys old age and worne yeares, nor abaſhed at his vertuous conuerſation beyng a man ſo adourned both with doctrine and maners: firſt ſtript him naked, & pitifully beat hym: then wythin a whyle after, they caſt him into a foule filthy ſyncke, and from thence beyng brought, they cauſed boyes to thruſt him in with ſharpned ſtyckes, made for the nonce, to prouoke his payn the more. Laſtly, they put him into a baſket, and being annoynted with hony and brothe, they hoong hym abroad in the heate of the ſonne, as meate for waſpes and flies to feede vpon. And all this extremitie they ſhewed vnto him, for that they would enforce him to do one of theſe thinges (that is) eyther to builde vp agayne the temple, which he had deſtroyed, or els to geue ſo much mony as ſhould pay for the building of the ſame. But he, euen as he purpoſed with himſelfe to ſuffer and abyde their greuous tormentes: ſo refuſed he to do that they demaunded of hym. At the length they taking him to be but a poore man, and not able to paye ſuche a ſumme of money, promyſed to forgeue him the one halfe, ſo that he wold be cōtented to pay the other halfe. But he hāging in the baſket, woūded pitifully with the ſharpned ſticks of boyes and children, & all to be bitten with waſpes and flyes, did not onely conceale his payne and griefe, but alſo derided thoſe wicked ones, and called them, baſe, low and terrene people, and he himſelfe to be exalted and ſet on high. At length they demaunding of him but a ſmall ſūme of money, he anſwered thus: it is as great wickednes to confer one halfepenye in caſe of impietye, as if a mā ſhould beſtow ẏ whole. Thus they being not able to preuayle agaynſt him, let him downe. And ſo leauinge him, went their way, ſo that euerye man might learne at his mouth the example of true piety and faythfulnes

Gre
ly

Coue
nes the
cauſe
elty.

A no
ſaying

Although the tractation of theſe foreſayd ſtories and perſecutions of Perſia, aboue premiſed, do ſtraye ſomewhat out of the order and courſe of time and place, as which came neither in the tyme of Conſtantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchie of Rome: yet becauſe in this preſent hiſtory we are in hand with the holye martyrs & ſayntes of Chriſt, for as much as theſe alſo gaue ſuch a faithfull teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus with their blood: I thought therfore not to paſſe them ouer without ſome teſtimonie in this our cataloge of holye martyrs. And here an end of theſe perſecutiōs of the primitiue church.

Hiero
in Ab
cap.1.

The w
ked in
world
moſt
riſhe
preuay

Perſec
come b
chaun

¶ It may peraduenture here be marueyled of ſome, reading the hiſtorye of theſe ſo terrible perſecutions aboue ſpecified, why wold God the almighty director of all thinges, ſuffer his own people & faythful ſeruaunts, beleuing in his own and onely begotten ſonne Ieſus, ſo cruelly to be handled, ſo wrongfullye to be vexed, ſo extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the ſpace of ſo many yeares together, as in theſe foreſayde perſecutions may appeare. To the which admiration I haue nothing to anſwer, but to ſay with the wordes of Hierome: Non debemus ſuper hac rerum iniquitate, perturbari: videntes. &c. We ought not to be moued wyth this iniquitie of thinges, to ſee the wicked to preuaile agaynſt the godly: for ſo much as in the beginning of the world we ſee Abel the iuſt to be killed of wicked Cain. And afterward Iacob being thruſt out, Eſau to raygne in his fathers houſe. In like caſe the Egiptians wyth brycke and tyle, afflicted the ſonnes of Iſrael. Yea & the Lord himſelfe, was he not crucified of the Iewes, Barabas the theefe being let go? Tyme woulde not ſuffice me, to recite and recken vp how the godly in this world go to wracke, the wicked floriſhing & preuayling. Hiero. Briefly, howſoeuer the cauſe hereof proceedeth, whether for our ſynnes here in this life, or howe els ſo euer, yet this is to vs, & may be to al mē a ſufficient ſtay: that wee are ſure theſe afflictions and perſecutions of God hys people in thys world, not to come by any chaunce, or blynde fortune, but by the prouident appointment &

fore

forewarning of God. For ſo in the old law by the affliction of the children of Iſrael, he hath prefigured theſe perſecutions of his Chriſtians. So by the woordes of Chriſtes own mouth in the goſpel, he did forewarne his church of theſe troubles to come. Againe, neither did he ſuffer theſe ſo great afflictions to fall vpon his ſeruants, before that he had premoniſhed them ſufficiently by ſpecial reuelation in the Apocalyps of John his ſeruaunt. In the which Apocalips, he declared to his Churche before, not onely what troubles were comming at hande toward them, where, and by whom, they ſhoulde come, but alſo in playne number (if the words of the prophecie be wel vnderſtode) aſſigneth the true time, how long the ſayd perſecutions ſhould continue, and whē they ſhould ceaſe. For as ther is no doubt, but by the beaſt wyth. 7. heades, bearing the hoore of Babilon, dronken with the blood of Sayntes, is ſignified the Citie of Rome: So in my iudgement, the power of making. 42. monethes (in the. 13. of the Apocalips) is to be expounded, taking euery moneth for a Sabbot of yeres: that is, reckening for. vii. yeares a moneth: ſo that forty and two ſuch Sabbots of yeares being gathered together, make vppe the yeares iuſt betwene the yeare of Chriſtes death, to the laſt yeare of the perſecution of Maxentius, when Conſtantinus fighting vnder the banner of Chriſt ouercame him, and made an ende of al perſecution, within the monarchie of Rome. The number of which yeres by plaine computacion, come to. 294. to the which. 294. yeares, if we adde the other. 6. yeares vnder the perſecution of Licinius in Aſia: thē it filleth vp ful the number of. 300 yeares. And ſo long continued the perſecution of Chriſtes people, vnder the Heathen tyrantes and Emperors of the Monarchie of Rome, according to the number of xlij. monethes which the beaſt had power to make, ſpecified in the. xiij. of the Apocalips. Neither is it without ſome propheticall ſignification (as I take it) where as we read in the booke of Geneſis, how the ſtocke of Iſrael, was: 400. yeares in the land of Egypt. During the ſpace of which. 400. yeares, after the death of Joſeph (who beareth a plaine figure of Chriſt) they were hardly intreated and cruelly afflicted of the Egyptians, aboute the ſpace of. 300. yeres, reckening from after ẏ death of Joſeph, to their deliuerāce out of the bondage of Egipt

rſecution gods ople pre ured and rewar- d of God he church rewarned christ by ecial reue tion in e Apoc.

he beaſt the Apo. pounded

mōthes the Apo. p 13. ex- pounded.

he beaſte d power make. 42 onethes.

he perſe- ing time the pri- itiue urch vn- r the aſt laſted. o yeares he Iſrae- es beyng oo. yeares Egypt flicted. he perſe- ted Iſrae- es bea- yng a fy- re of the rſecuted urch of hriſt.

Thus much by the way I thought to inſinuate, leaſt any ſhould muſe, or take any offence in him ſelfe, to ſee or reade of the church and people of God, ſo long and ſo many yeares to be vnder ſo miſerable and extreme afflictions. Wherin neither chaunce nor fortune, nor diſpoſition of man, hath had any place: but onely the forecōſail and determination of the Lorde hath ſo gouerned ⁊ diſpoſed the ſame. Who not onely did ſuffer them to fal, ⁊ foreſee thoſe perſecutions before they fel: but alſo appointed the times and yeares how long they ſhoulde laſt, and when to haue an ende. As hath bene reuealed ⁊ declared by the. 42. monethes in the. 13. ⁊. 11. cha. of S. Johns Apocalyps. Which monethes contayning. 294. yeares, if they be rightly gathered, make the full tyme betwene the firſt yeare of the perſecution of Chriſt vnder the Jewes and Herode, tyl the laſt yeare of perſecution vnder Licinius, which was from the natiuitye of Chriſt, an. 324. from the firſt perſecution of Chriſt, an. 294. After the which yeare, according to the preordinate counſayle of God, when his ſeuerity had bene ſufficiently declared vpon his own houſe, it pleaſed him to ſhew mercy agayne, and to binde vp Satan the old Serpent, according to the. xx. chap. of the reuelation, for the ſpace of a thouſande yeares, that is, from thys tyme of Licinius, to the tyme of John Wickleffe, ⁊ John Huſſe. During all which tyme, albeit certaine conflicts and tumultes haue bene among Chriſtian Biſhops thēſelues in the church, yet no vniuerſall murdering perſecution was ſtyrring, before the preaching of John Wyckleffe, of Huſſe, and ſuche other, as in the further proceſſe of this his hiſtory (Chriſt willing and ayding vs) ſhal more appeare hereafter.

rom the rſt perſe- tion of e primi- ue church the laſt rſecution 4. yeares, niuerſall rſecution aſeth for a oo, yeres the urch.

Apo. 20. rom the me of Li- inius, to ickleffe oo. yeres. athā boūd for a oo. yeres.

The tyme of Sathans binding, opened.

Thus hauing at large diſcourſed theſe horrible perſecutions paſt, and heauye afflictions of Chriſtian martyrs, now by the grace of God, comming out of this red ſea of bloody perſecution, leauing Pharao and his hoſt behinde: let vs ſing gloriouſly to ẏ worthy name of our God, who through the blood of the lambe, after long ⁊ tedious afflictiōs at length, hath viſited his people with comfort, hath tyde vp Satan ſhort, hath ſent his meeke Moſes (gentle Conſtantine I meane) by whom it hath ſo pleaſed the Lorde, to woorke deliuerance to his captiue people, to ſet his ſeruants at liberty, to turne theyr mourning into ioy, to magnify the church of his ſonne, to deſtroy the idoles of all the world, to graunt life and liberty (and woulde God alſo not ſo muche riches) vnto them which before wer the abiectes of all the world: ⁊ al by the meanes of godlye Conſtātinus, the meeke ⁊ moſt Chriſtian Emperour, of whoſe diuine victories agaynſt ſo many tyrantes and Emperours, perſecutors of Chriſtes people, ⁊ laſtly agaynſt Licinius, an. 324. of whoſe other noble actes and proweſes, of whoſe bleſſed vertues and his happy birth and progeny, part we haue comprehended before, part now remayneth (Chriſt wylling) to be declared.

Doxologia.

This Conſtantine was the Sonne of Conſtantinus the Emperour, a good and vertuous childe, of a good ⁊ vertuous father, borne in Britaine, as ſaith Eutropius of a woman, being his fathers wife, who was named Helena, doughter in dede of king Coilus, although Ambroſius in his funeral oratiō of ẏ death of Theodoſius, ſaith was an Inholders daughter. He was a moſt boūteful ⁊ gracious prince, hauing a deſire to nouriſh learning ⁊ good artes, ⁊ did often times vſe to reade, write, ⁊ ſtudy himſelfe. He had marueilous good ſucces ⁊ proſperous achiuing of al things he tooke in hād, which thē was (and truly) ſuppoſed to procede of this, for that he was ſo great a fauourer of the chriſtian fayth. Whych fayth when hee had once embraced, hee did euer after moſte deuoutlye and religiouſly reuerence: and commaunded by eſpeciall commiſſion and proclamations, that euery man ſhoulde profeſſe the ſame religion thoroughout al the Romane Monarchie. The worſhipping of Idoles, wherunto once he was addict, by the allurement of Fauſta his wife: in ſo muche that he did ſacrifice vnto them: after the diſcomfit of Maxentius in battaile, he vtterly abiured. But baptiſme he deferred euen vnto his old age, becauſe hee had determined a iourney into Perſia, and thought in Jordan to haue bene baptiſed. Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtantini.

The good qualities of Conſtātinus.

The cauſe of al hys proſperous ſucceſſe.

Conſtantine ſometyme by meanes of hys wyfe was an Idolater.

As touching his natural diſpoſition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good Philoſopher, and in diſputacion ſharpe and ingenious. He was accuſtomed to ſaye, that an Emperour ought to refuſe no labour, for the vtilitye of the common weale: yea and that to aduenture the mārgling of his body for the remedy therof, but if other wayes it may be holpen, to cheriſh the ſame. This, Aurelius Victor, Pomponius Letus, and Ignatius wryte of him. And Aelius Lampridius ſayth, writing vpon the life of Heliogabalus, that Conſtantinus was wont to ſay, that an Empire was geuen by the determinat purpoſe of God, and that he to whom it was geuen, ſhoulde ſo employ his diligence, as he might be thought worthy of the ſame at the handes of the geuer. Which ſame ſaying alſo Auguſtine noteth in his thirde booke agaynſte Creſconius, epiſt. 49. and. 50.

The common ſayeng of Conſtantinus.

He fyrſt entred into the Empire, by the mercyfulnes of God, minding after long waues of doleful perſecution to reſtore vnto his church quiet and tranquility an. 311. as Euſebius accompteth in his Chronicle. Hys

The raigne of Conſtantinus.

raygne continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, 30. yeares, Letus ſayth, 32. yeares, lacking. 2. monethes. Great peace and tranquilitie enioyed the Churche vnder the raygne of thys good Emperour, whyche tooke great payne and trauel for the preſeruation therof. Fyrſt, yea and that before he had ſubdued Licinius, he ſet foorth many edictes for the reſtitutiō of yͤ goods of the church, for the reuoking of the Chriſtiās out of exile, for taking away the diſſention of the Doctors out of the Churche, for the ſetting of them free from publicke charges, and ſuche like: euen as the coppies of his Conſtitutions here vnder declare, which Euſebius in his. x. booke and fyft chapter, repeateth in this wyſe.

The effect of ſome of hys conſtitutions.

¶ The copy of an Epiſtle of Conſtantinus, ſent to his ſubiectes, inhabiting in the Eaſt.

VIctor Conſtantinus Maximus, Auguſtus, to our louing ſubiects inhabiting throughout yͤ Eaſt partes, ſendeth greeting. The thing it ſelfe, which in the ſure & moſt firme law of nature is contayned, doth geue vnto all men (euen as God hath ordayned the ſame) ſufficient perſeuerance and vnderſtanding, both of ſuch things as man ought to foreſee, as alſo what thinges preſently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therin to be doubted, of ſuch as haue their mindes directed to the ſcope or marke of perfect vnderſtanding: ſo that the perfect comprehending of ſounde reaſon, and the perſeueraūce therof, be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherfore let no wiſe man be troubled, althoughe he ſee diuers men of diuers diſpoſitions. For wyſdome which ſpryngeth of vertue, can not abide, or acquaynt her ſelfe with fond idiots, vnles that (on the other ſyde) the malice of peruers lythernes, prolong her dayes, and cauſe the ſame Ideocie to ſuruiue. Wherfore aſſuredlye the crowne and prize of vertue lyeth open vnto all men, & the moſt mighty God ordereth the iudgement of the ſame. I vndoubted, as manifeſtly as poſſible is, wyl indeuour my ſelfe to teſtifye and confes vnto you all, the hope which is in me. I thinke verelye, that the Emperours which before thys tyme haue latelye bene, euen for their tyrannye had the Empyre taken from them: and my father onelye exerciſing and vſing all meekenes and lenitie in hys affaires, calling vpon God the father, with great deuotion and humilitie, hath bene exalted to the ſame. And al the reſt, as men wanting their wyts, and incompariſon as ſauage beaſtes, rather did geue them ſelues to like cruelty, then vnto any lenitie and gentlenes, towardes theyr ſubiectes: in which tiranny euery one for his time being nooſeled, vtterly ſubuerted the true and vnfallible doctrine. And ſo great malice was there kindled in theyr breſtes, that when al thinges were in peaceable trāquilitie, they made and rayſed, moſt cruell and bloudye inteſtine or ciuil warres. It is credible informed vs, that in thoſe dayes, Apollo gaue anſwers: but not by anye mans mouth, but out of a certaine caue and darke place (ſayīg) that he was much diſquieted by thoſe that were the iuſt men and liuers vpon the earth, ſo that he coulde or woulde not for them declare a truth of ſuche thinges as others demaunded: and hereby it came to paſſe that ſuch falſe diuinations were geuen from the golden tables in Apollos temple. And this thing did hys prophetical prieſt complayne of, whē he tooke vp againe the heare of his heade, that other had contemptuouſlye caſt downe: & that the neglecting of his diuination was the cauſe of ſo many euils amongeſt men. But let vs ſe what was the ende hereof: we now boldly and without all feare inuocate and woorſhip the omnipotent God: when I was a childe, I heard, that he which then was chiefe Emperour of Rome, vnhappy, yea moſt vnhappy man being ſeduced, and brought into errour, by his ſoldiours: curiouſly inquired who were thoſe iuſt men vpō the earth that Apollo ment. And one of his prieſts which was neare about him, made anſwer that they were the Chriſtians. This anſwer hereupon, vnto him beyng as dilectable, as hoony vnto the mouth, drew the ſword (geuen vnto him to be a reuenger vpon euil doers and malefactours) agaynſt the profeſſors of the irreprehenſible ſanctimonye and religion. And ſtraight waye he gaue forth a Commiſſion (to bloody homicides as I may wel cal them) and gaue commaundement to al the Iudges, that they ſhould endeuour them ſelues with al the cunning they had to the deuiſing of more greuouſer & ſharper puniſhmentes agaynſt the poore Chriſtians. Then, then I ſay, a man might haue ſene, how greatly the honeſt profeſſors of that religion were moleſted with continual crueltye, and daylye ſuffered no ſmal iniuries and contumelies: and that alſo they ſuffered and ſuſtayned the ſame with ſuch temperauncie, as thoughe they had had no iniuries done vnto them at al. Which temperancie and pacience of theirs, was the cauſe why the furious Citizens were the more madder and ragyng agaynſt them. What fyres, what tortures, what kynde of tormentes were there, but that they wythout reſpect eyther of age or ſexe were inforced to feele.

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the knowledge of God.

Litherneſ the nurſe of ignoraunce, and ignoraunce the enemy to wiſedome.

Tirannie depriueth Emperours,

Bloudy tyrants make ciuile warres.

Apollo gaue anſwere out of a caue in the ground, that he was diſquieted by the Chriſtians.

The ſw geuē fo be a reue vpon ma factou

A grea mendat to the C ſtians.

Then did the earth without doubt, her ſelfe bewail her children & yͤ round world which containeth al things being ſprinckled & imbrued with their bloud made doleſull lamentatiō for thē, yea & the day it ſelfe prouoked for to mourne, was made amaſed for them. But what is thys to purpoſe. Nowe the verye barbarous nations reioyce for their ſakes which receaued and harbored them, whē they were afraid & fled from vs: keping them as it were in moſt louing and amiable captiuitie. And they ſaued not onelye their lyues but alſo were a defence for theyr religion. And now alſo the Romaine nation remembreth and hath before their eyes thys blame and ſpotte, which the Chriſtians that were of that tyme, worthelye gaue vnto them, when they by them were baniſhed (as vnfitte members, in their common wealth) amongſt the barbarous people. What needeth to make further reherſall of the mourning lamentation, which the heathē people thē ſelues through all the worlde, made for the pitiful murther and ſlaughter of them. After this it came to paſſe that they which were autors of all theſe miſchiefes dyed alſo, and were committed for their reward to the moſte filthye and horrible dungeon of hell. They being ſo intangled with inteſtine and Ciuile warres, left aliue neither name nor kinſmen of their owne: which thyng vndoubtedly had not chaunced vnleſſe the wicked diuination of Apollos oracles had deceiued and bewitched them. To thée therfore now I pray, oh moſt mightie God, that thou wilt vouchſafe to be mercifull, and pardon all the Eaſt partes and inhabitauntes of the ſame, being oppreſſed with preſent calamitie: and that by me thy ſeruaunt thou wilt of thy goodnes helpe and releue yͤ ſame. And theſe thinges raſhely craue I not at thy handes: Oh Lorde, moſt mightie and holieſt God of all. For I being perſwaded by thy onely oracles, haue both begonne and alſo finiſhed wholeſome and profitable thinges: and further, by the bearing and ſhewing of thy enſigne, haue ouercome a myghtie and ſtrong hoſte, and when any neceſſitie of the common weale (to my charge committed) requireth therunto, (following thoſe ſignes and tokens of thy vertue) I boldly goe forth and fyght againſt mine enemyes: and for thys cauſe haue I ſacrificed my ſoule vnto thée, purified and clenſed both with thy loue & feare. Ye truely, thy name do I ſincerely loue, and thy power do I reuerence, which by many tokens & wonders, haſt ſhewed and confyrmed thereby, my beliefe and fayth. Therefore will I doe my endeuour, and bend my ſelfe therunto, that I maye reedifie thy moſte holy houſe, which thoſe wicked & vngodlye Emperours haue with ſo greate ruine layd waſte. Thy people do I deſire, to

The ea bewayle the mar deathes.

The au of all mi chiefe p niſhed.

Apollo ing on the cau of ſo m martyrs deathes.

Conſt praye.

Cōſtā faith co fyrmed the mir of the c

bryng and eſtablyſhe, in firme peace and tranquilitie, and that for the publique vtillitie of all the inhabitaunts of the earth. Thoſe which yet erre and are oute of the waye, enioye the benefite of peace & quietnes, with, and amongeſt, the number of the faythfull ſorte: for I truſt, the reſtitution of like ſocietie and participation, may be a meanes to bryng them alſo that erre, into the perfecte way of veritie. Let no man therfore be grieuous one vnto an other: but what euery man thinketh beſte, that let hym doe. For ſuch as are wyſe ought throughlye to be perſwaded, that they onely meane to liue holilie and as they ſhould do, whom the ſpirite of God moueth, to take their delight & recreation in reading hys holy will. And if others wilfullye will goe out of the waye, cleauing to the Sinagoges of falſe doctrine, they may at their own perell: as for vs, we haue the moſt worthy houſe or congregacion of Gods veritie, which he according to hys own goodnes and nature hath geuen vs. And this alſo we wiſhe vnto them, that with like participation and common conſent, they may feele with vs the ſame delectacion of mynde. For this our religion is neyther newe nor newly inuented, but is as old, as we beleue the creation of the world to be: and which God hath commaunded to be celebrated with ſuch worſhip as both ſeemed & pleaſed him. But all lyuing men are lyars, and are dyſceaued with diuers and ſundry illuſions. Thou O God for Chriſt thy ſonnes ſake, ſuffer not this wickednes agayne to take roote: thou haſt ſet vp a cleare burning light, that thereby, as manye as thou haſt choſen maye come vnto thee. Theſe thy miracles approue the ſame. It is thy power that keepeth vs in innocency and fidelitie. The Sunne and the Moone runne theyr appoynted courſe: neyther yet in ranging wyſe wander the ſtars to what place of the world they liſt them ſelues. The daies yeares, monethes, & tymes, keepe their apointed turnes. The earth abideth firme & vnremoueable at thy woord, and the wynde at the tyme (by thee directed) ſtormeth & bloweth. The ſtreaming watery flouds, ebbe in time according as they flowe. The raging ſea abideth within her bounded lymits. And for that the Ocian ſea ſtretcheth out her ſelfe in equal length and breadth with the whole earthe: this muſt needes be wrought wyth ſome marueilous workemanſhip of thine own hand: whyche thing vnles it were at thy wyl made and diſpoſed, without al doubt, ſo great a difference & particion betwene, would or this time haue brought vtter ruine & deſtruction, bothe to the lyfe of man, as all that belongeth to man beſide. Which for that they haue ſuch great & huge conflictes amongeſt them ſelues, as alſo the inuiſible ſpirites haue: we geue thee thākes, O Lord moſt mighty God of all Gods, that al mankinde hath not bene deſtroyed therby. Surely, euen as greatly as thy benignitie and gētlenes, is manifeſted by diuers and ſundry benefites beſtowed vpon vs: ſo muche alſo is the ſame ſet forth and declared in the diſcipline of thy eternall word, to thoſe that be heauenly wyſe, and applye them ſelues to the attaynment of ſincere and true vertue. But if any ſuch therbe, that litle regarde or haue but ſmall reſpect vnto the conſideration therof: let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the ſame. For that phiſick wherby health is obtayned is manifeſtly offered vnto all mē: now therfore let no mā go about to ſubuert that, which experiēce it ſelf doth ſhew (of neceſſity) to be pure & good. Let vs therfore altogether vſe the participation of thys benefit beſtowed vpon vs, that is to ſaye, the benefyt of peace and tranquilitie, ſetting a part all controuerſie. And let no man hurt or be preiudicial to his fellowe for that thing, wherin he thinketh himſelf to haue done wel. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experiēce of, he thinketh he may profit his neighbour, let him doo the ſame, if not, let him geue ouer, and remit it tyl an other time. For there is a great diuerſitie betwyxt the wylling and voluntary embracing of religion, and that when a man is therunto inforced and coacted. Of theſe thinges haue I made a more larger diſcourſe, then in dede, the ſcope of mediocritie requireth: ſpecially bicauſe I would not haue my fayth (touching the veritye) to be hyd. For that I heare there be ſome, whiche complaine the old accuſtomed haunting of their temples, and that the power of ſuch darknes is cut of and taken awaye: which thing ſurely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebellion of flagicious errour, were ſo fired in many mens hartes, wherby they thirſt after the vtter ſubuertion of the cōmon weale and Empyre.

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Conſtantinus neyther for feare diſſembleth hys fayth, neyther through policy defaceth gods glory

Such was the goodnes of this Emperour Conſtantinus, or rather ſuch was the prouidence of almightye God toward his church, in ſtyrring him vp: that all his care and ſtudy of minde was ſet vpon nothing els, but onely how to benefit and enlarge the cōmodities of the ſame. Neither was it to him inough to deliuer ỷ church and people of God, from outwarde vexation of forayne tyrantes and perſecutors. No les beneficial was his godly care alſo in quieting the inward diſcentions and diſturbance within the church among the Chriſtian Byſhops themſelues, according as we reade of Moſes the deliuerer of the Iſraelites, in agreing the brethren together, when he ſaw them at variance. Exod.2. No leſſe alſo did his vigilant ſtudy extend in erecting, reſtoring, & enriching the churches of God in al cities, and in prouiding for the Miniſters of the ſame. And therfore writing to Anilinus his chiefe captayne, declareth his wyll to him and mynde in letters, concerning the goods whych did before appertayne to the churches of the Chriſtiās: that he ſhould procure vigilantlye for the ſame: that all ſuch goods, houſes, and gardens, belonging before to the right of Churches, ſhoulde agayne be reſtored in all ſpedy wyſe: and that he ther in mighte be certified wyth ſpeede. &c.

Coſtantinus compared to Moſes in delyuering the people, & agreeing them together.

The letter of Conſtantinus to Anilinus hys captayne.

Moreouer, writing to the ſayd Anilinus in an other letter, ſignifieth vnto him in this effect: that for ſo muche as the contempt of God his reuerent religiō, is and hath bene euer the greateſt decay to the name and people of Rome, as contrary the mayntaining and reuerencing the ſame, hath euer brought proſperitie to all common weales: Therfore he in conſideracion therof, hath taken that order, and geueth to him in charge, that throughe that prouince, where he hath to do, which was in Africk where Cecilianus was biſhop, he ſhoulde there ſee and prouide, that al ſuch Miniſters and Clerkes, whoſe vocation was to ſerue in the church, ſhoulde bee freed and exempted from all publicke duties and burdens: wherby they being ſo priuileged, and al impedimentes remoued, which ſhould hinder their diuine miniſtratiō: therby the common vtilitie of the people might the better floriſh. &c.

An other letter of Conſtantine to Anilinus.

The contempt of Gods religion, the cheefeſt decay of common weales.

Furthermore, the ſayd Conſtantinus in an other letter writing to Meltiades, biſhop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them, how Cecilianus biſhop of Carthage, hath ben accuſed vnto him by diuers of his colleags and fellowe biſhops. Wherfore hys wyl is, that ỷ ſayd Cecilianus, with.x. biſhops his accuſers, with.x. other his defendantes ſhould repayre vp to hym at Rome, wher in the preſent aſſiſtance of the foreſayde Militiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and of other their fellow colleags, the cauſe of Cecilianus mighte be hard, and rightly examined, ſo that al ſchiſme and diuiſion might be cut of from among them: wherin the feruent deſire of Conſtantinus to peace and vnitie, maye well appeare.

An other letter of Conſtātinus to Meltiades byſhop of Rome.

The feruent deſyre of Conſtantinus to peaſe & vnitie.

Vpon the like cauſe and argument alſo, he writeth to Chreſtus biſhop of Syracuſa, ſo deſirous to nouriſhe peace and concord in the church, that he offereth to him with his vnder miniſters and three ſeruauntes, his free cariage, to come vp to him vnto the councel of other bi-

The letter of Conſtant. to Chreſtus B. of Syracuſa.

ſhops, for the agreſing for certayne matters belonging to the churche.

He writeth alſo an other letter to the forenamed Cecilianus biſhop of Carthage.

The edict of Conſtātinus to the rulers of the prouince of Paleſtina.

To the prouinces likewiſe of Paleſtina and thoſe partes about, he directeth his edict in the behalfe of the Chriſtians: for the releaſyng of ſuch as were in captiuitie: and for the reſtoring agayne of them, which had ſuſtayned any loſſe in the former perſecution before: and for the refreſhing of ſuch as heretofore had bene oppreſſed with any ignominie, or moleſtation, for their confeſſion ſake: declaring in the ſaid edict, how that his whole body, life and ſoule, and whatſoeuer is in him, he oweth to God, and to the ſeruice of him. &c.

The letter of Conſtantine to Euſebius.

The Councell of Nice.

The effect of the letter of Conſtantine to Alexander and Arius.

Ex Euſeb. De vita Conſtant Lib. 2.

Moreouer an other letter he wryteth to Euſebius, for the edifieng of new Chriſtian churches, & reſtoryng of them which had bene waſted before by foreyne enemies. And after he had collected the Synode of Nice, for the ſtudy of peace and vnitie of the church, he wryteth vpon the ſame to Alexander and Arius. In which hys letters he moſt lamentablye complaineth, vttering the great griefe of his hart, to ſee and heare of their contention and diuiſion: whereby the peace and common harmonie of the church was broken, the ſynode prouoked & reſiſted, the holy people of the Lord diuided into partes and tumultes, contrary to the office of good and circūſpect men, whoſe duty were rather to nouriſhe concorde and to ſeeke tranquillitie. And thoughe in ſome ſmall poyntes and light trifles they did diſagree from other: yet as the example of Philoſophers might teache them, who although in ſome part of a ſentence or peece of a queſtion, ſome might diſſent from other: yet in the vnitie of their profeſſion, they did al ioyne as fellowes together. In like caſe wer it their dutye in ſuch fruitles queſtions (or rather peeces of queſtions) to keepe thē in the cōceptions of their mindes, in ſilence vnto themſelues, & not to bring them foorth into publicke ſynodes, then to breake therefore, from the communion of the reuerent councel. Declaring moreouer in the ſayd epiſtle, the firſt origine and occaſion of this their contentious diſſention to ryſe vpon vayne and trifling termes, vile cauſes, and light queſtions, & peeces rather of queſtions: about ſuch matters as neither are to be moued, nor to be anſwered vnto being moued, more curious to be ſearched, and perilous to be expreſſed, then neceſſary to be inquired, magiſq; puerilibus ineptiis, quam ſacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ conuenientia, as he there doth terme them. Wherefore by all maner meanes he doth labour them, doth deſire and entreate them, doth perſwade thē, not onely with reaſons, but alſo with teares and ſighing ſobbes, that they woulde reſtore agayne peace vnto the church, and quietnes to the reſt of his life (which otherwiſe would not be ſwete vnto him) and that they would returne againe to the communion of the reuerend counſel. Who in ſo doing ſhould open his way and purpoſed iourney into the Eaſt partes, which otherwyſe hearing of their diſcord and diſcention, would be ſory to ſe with his eyes, that which greueth him now to heare with his eares: with muche more in the ſame epiſtle contayned, but this is the effect of the whole. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 2. Thus much I thought ſummarely to comprehend, whereby the diuine diſpoſition and ſingular gentle nature of this meke & religious Conſtantine myght more notoriouſlye appeare to all Princes: for thē to learne by his example, what zeale & care they ought to beare towarde the church of Chriſt, and howe gentlye to gouerne, and how to be beneficial to the ſame.

Conſtātine ſet forth a ſpectacle to all pīces to followe.

Many other edictes and epiſtles written to other places and parties, be expreſſed at large in the ſecond booke of Euſebius De vita Conſtantini: wherein the zealous care and princely beneficence of this noble Emperour toward the church of Chriſt may appeare. Wherof in a briefe recapitulation ſuch ſpecialties we haue collected as here followeth, & is to be ſene in Sozo. lib. 1. cap. 8. 9

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First he cōmaunded al thē to be ſet free, who ſoeuer for ẏ confeſſiō of Chriſt, had bene condemned to baniſhmēt, or to ẏ mines of metal, or to any publike or priuate labour to thē inflicted. Such as wer put to any infamye or opē ſhame amōg ẏ multitude, he willed thē to be diſcharged from all ſuch blemiſh of ignominie. Soldiours which before were depriued eyther of their place, or put out of their wages: were put to their liberty, eyther to ſerue agayne in their place, or quietlye to lyue at home. Whatſoeuer honour, place, or dignitie had ben taken away frō any mā, ſhould be reſtored to them agayn. The goods and poſſeſſions of them that had ſuffered death for Chriſt, how ſoeuer they were alienated, ſhoulde returne to their heires, or next of kyn: or for lacke of them ſhould be geuen to the church. He commaunded moreouer that onely Chriſtians ſhould beare office. The other he charged and reſtrayned, that neither they ſhoulde ſacrifice, nor exerciſe any more diuinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor ſet vp any images, nor to kepe any feaſtes of the Heathen idolaters. He corrected moreouer and aboliſhed al ſuch vnlawful maners and vnhoneſt vſages in Cities, as might be hurtful any wayes to the church, as the cuſtome that the Egyptiās had in the flowing of Nilus, at what time the people vſed to runne together like brute beaſtes, both men and women, and with all kinde of filthynes and Sodomitrie to pollute their cities, in celebrating the increaſe of that ryuer. This abhomination Conſtantine extinguiſhed, cauſing that wicked order called Androgyni, to be kylled. By reaſon wherof the riuer afterward (through the benefit of God) yelded more increaſe in his flowing, to the greater fertilitie of the ground, then it did before.

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Among the Romanes was an old law, that ſuche as were baren hauing no fruit of children, ſhould be mulcted of halfe their goods. Alſo, that ſuch as being aboue the yeares of. xxv. vnmaried, ſhoulde not be numbred in the ſame priuileges with them that were maried, neyther ſhould be heyres to them, to whom notwythſtanding they were next in kinde. Theſe lawes becauſe they ſeemed vnreaſonable, to puniſhe the defect of nature, or gift of virginitie, by mans law, he abrogated and tooke awaye. An other order was among the Romanes, that they which made their wyls being ſycke, had certayne preſcribed and conceiued wordes appoynted to them to vſe, which vnleſſe they followed, their wils ſtode in none effect. This law alſo Conſtantine repealed, permitting to euery mā in making his teſtamēt to vſe what words, or what wytneſſes he would. Likewiſe among the Romaynes he reſtrayned and tooke awaye the cruell and bloody ſpectacles & ſightes, where men were wont with ſwordes one to kyl an other. Of the barbarous and filthy faſhion of the Arethuſians in Phoenicia, I haue mētioned before, Pag. 138. where they vſed to expoſe & ſet forth their virgins to open fornicatiō, before thei ſhould be maryed, which cuſtome alſo Conſtantine remoued away. Wher no churches were, there he commaunded new to be made: where any were decayed, he commaunded them to be repayred: where any were to litle, he cauſed them to be enlarged, geuing to the ſame great gifts and reuenewes: not onely of ſuch tributes and taxes cōming to him from certayn ſundry Cities, which he trāſferred vnto the Churches, but alſo out of his own treaſures. When any Byſhops required any councell to be had, he ſatiſfied their peticions: And what in their Councels and Synodes they eſtabliſhed, being godly and honeſt, he was ready to confirme the ſame.

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The armour of his Soldiours, which were newlye come from gentilitie, he garniſhed with the armes of the croſſe, wherby they might learne the ſooner to forget their old ſuperſtitious idolatrie. Moreouer like a woorthy Emperour he preſcribed a certayne forme of praier in ſtede of a Catechiſme for euerye man to haue, and to learne how to praye and to inuocate God. The which forme of prayer is recited in the fourth booke of Euſebius De vita Conſtantini, in wordes as foloweth.

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Conſtan
for hys
diours.

Te ſolum nouimus Deum, te regem cognoſcimus, te adiutorē inuocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum conſtituimus, tibi præſentium bonorū gratiam acceptam ferimus, et per te futura quoque ſperamus, tibi ſupplices ſumus omnes: Imperatorē noſtrum Conſtantinum, ac pientiſsimos eius filios, in longiſsima vita incolumes nobis ac victores cuſtodire ſupplices oramus, per Chriſtum dominum noſtrum. Amen. In engliſh

e ſouldi
prayer.

We knowledge thee onelye to be our God, we confeſſe thee onely to be our king, we inuocate and cal vpō thee our onely helper, by thee we obtayne our victories, by thee we vanquiſhe and ſubdue our enemies, to thee we attribute what ſoeuer preſent commodities we enioy, and by thee we hope for good thinges to come, vnto thee we direct al our ſute and peticions: moſt humbly beſeching thee to conſerue Conſtantine our Emperour, and his noble children in long lyfe to continue, and to geue them victory ouer al their enemies, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

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In his owne palace, he ſet vp an houſe peculiar for prayer and doctryne, vſynge alſo to praye and ſynge wyth hys people. Alſo in his warres he wente not without his tabernacle apointed for the ſame. The ſondaye he commaunded to be kept holy of all men, and free frō al iudiciarie cauſes, from markets, martes, fayres, and all other manual labours, onely huſbandry excepted: eſpecially charging that no images or monumentes of idolatry ſhould be ſet vp.

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uileges
ūted to
clergy.

Men of the Clergie and of the miniſtery in al places he indued with ſpeciall priuilegies and immunites, ſo that if any were brought before the ciuil Magiſtrate, & liſted to appeale to the ſentence of his biſhop, it ſhoulde be lawful for him ſo to do: and that the ſentence of the biſhop ſhould ſtand in as great force as if the magiſtrate or the Emperour himſelfe had pronoūced it.

But here is to be obſerued and noted by the way, that the Clerkes and Miniſters then newlye creepyng out of perſecution, were in thoſe dayes, neither in number ſo great, nor in order of lyfe, of lyke diſpoſition to theſe in our dayes now liuing.

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maynte-
ſcholes.

No leſſe care and prouiſion the ſayde Conſtantinus alſo had to the mayntenance of ſcholes pertaynyng to the church, and to the nouriſhing of good artes and liberall ſciences, eſpecially of Diuinitie: not onelye wyth ſtipendes and ſubſidies furniſhing them, but alſo wyth large priuilegies and exemptions defending the ſame, as by the wordes of hys own law is to be ſeene and red as followeth: Medicos, gramaticos, et alios profeſſores literarū & doctores legū, cum vxoribus et liberis. &c.

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oles.

In engliſh, Phiſiciōs, Gramarians, & al other profeſſors of liberal artes, and Doctors of the law, with their wiues and children, and al other their poſſeſſions, whych they haue in cities: we commaund to be freed from all ciuil charges and functions, neither to receaue foren ſtraungers in prouincies, nor to be burdened with anye
” publike adminiſtration, nor to be cited vp to ciuil iudgemēt,
” nor to be drawen out, or oppreſſed with any iniury. And
” if any man ſhal vexe them, he ſhal incurre ſuch puniſh-
” ment, as the Iudge at his diſcretion ſhall awarde hym.
” Their ſtipendes moreouer and ſalaries, we commaund
” truly to be payde them, wherby they may more freelye
” inſtruct other in artes and ſciences. &c.

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Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.

Ouer and beſyde this, ſo farre did his godlye zeale and princely care and prouiſion extende to the church of Chriſt, that he commaunded and prouided bookes and volumes of the ſcripture, diligentlye and playnlye to be written and copied out, to remayne in publike churches to the vſe of poſteritie. Whereuppon writing to Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia in a ſpecial letter (recorded in the fourth booke of Euſebius De vita Conſtant) he wylleth him with al diligēce to procure, 50. volumes
of partchment well bounde and compacted: wherein he ”
ſhould cauſe to be written out of the ſcripture in a faire ”
legible hand, ſuch thinges as he thought neceſſarye and ”
profitable for the inſtruction of the church. And alloweth ”
hym for that buſines two publike Miniſters. Alſo wri- ”
teth concerning the ſame, to the general of hys armye, ”
to ſupporte and further him with ſuche neceſſaries, as ”
therunto ſhould appertayne. &c. ”

A wiſhe of the autor admonitory to princes.

In vewing, peruſing, and wryting thys ſtory, and in conſidering the Chriſtian zeale of thys Emperour, I wyſh that eyther thys our printing and plenty of bokes had bene in his dayes: or that thys ſo heroycall hart toward Chriſtes religion, as was in this ſo excellent Monarche, might ſomthing appeare in inferiour Princes raygning in theſe our printing dayes. &c.

The liberalitye of Conſtantine towardes the poore & nedy.

The liberal hand of thys Emperour, borne to do all men good, was no leſſe alſo open and ready toward the needy pouertie of ſuch, whych either by loſſe of parents, or other occaſions were not able to helpe them ſelues: to whom he commaunded and prouided dewe ſubuention both of corne and rayment to be miniſtred oute of hys owne cofers, to the neceſſarye reliefe of the poore men, women, children, orphanes, and wydowes, Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 4.

Conſtantine remitteth the fourth parte of his rentes and reuenewes.

Finally, among al ẏ other monuments of his ſingular clemencie and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted: that through all the Empire of Rome and prouinces belonging to the ſame, not onelye he deminiſhed ſuch taxes, reuenues, & impoſtes, as publickly were cōming to hym, but alſo clearly remitted & releaſed to the contributers, the fourth part of the ſame.

Donation of Conſtantine.

This preſent place woulde requyre ſomethyng to be ſayd of the Donation of Conſtantine: wherevpon as vpon their chiefeſt anchor holde, the biſhops of Rome doo groūd their ſupreme dominion & right, ouer al the politicall gouernment of the weſt partes, and the ſpiritual gouernment of all the other ſeas and partes of the world. Which donatiō to be falſely fayned and forged, and not to procede from Conſtantine, many arguments myght here be inferred, if layſure from other matters woulde ſuffer mee.

Reaſons & argumentes prouing the donation of Conſtātine to be falſefied,

1. Firſt, for that no auncient hiſtorye, nor yet Doctor maketh any mencion thereof.
2. Nauclerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the hiſtory of Iſidorus: but in the old copies of Iſidorus no ſuch thing is to be found.
3. Gracianus the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, not vpon any auncient autority, but onely vnder the title of Palea. 3.
4. Gelaſius is ſayd to geue ſome teſtimony thereof, in Diſt. 15. Sancta Romana, but that clauſe of the ſayde diſtinction touching ẏ matter, in the old auncient bookes is not extant. 4.
5. Otho Phryſingenſis, who was about the tyme of Gracian, after he hath declared the opinion of the fauourers of the papacie: affirming this donation to bee geuen of Conſtantine, to Siluester the Pope: inducethi cōſequently, the opinion of them that fauour the Empire, affirming the contrary. 5.
6. How doth this agree, that Conſtantine did yeld vp to Silueſter all the politicall dominion ouer the weſt, when as the ſayd Conſtantine at his death, diuiding the Empire to his three ſonnes, gaue the weſt part of the Empire to one, the Eaſt part to the ſecond, the myddle part to the thyrd? 6.
7. How is it like that Theodoſius after them, being a iuſt and a religious prince, would or coulde haue occupied the Citie of Rome, if it had not bene hys ryght, but had 7.

had belonged to the Pope, and ſo did many other Emperours after hym?

8. 8. The phraſe of this decree being conferred wyth the phraſe and ſtyle of Conſtantine, in his other edictes and letters aboue ſpecified doth nothing agree.

9. 9. Seing the Papiſtes themſelues confeſſe that the decree of this donation was wrytten in Greeke, how agreeth that with truth: when as both it was written not to the Grecians, but to the Romanes, and alſo Cōſtantine himſelfe for lacke of the Greeke toung was fayne to vſe the latine toung in the councel of Nice?

10. 10 The contentes of this donation (whoſoeuer was the forger therof) doth bewrai it ſelf. For if it be true which there is confeſſed, that he was baptiſed at Rome of Silueſter, and the fourth day after his baptiſme this patrimonie was geuen (which was before his battail againſt Maximinus, an. 317. as Nicephorus recordeth) how thē doth this accord with that which followeth in the donation, for him to haue iuriſdiction geuen ouer the other foure principal ſeas of Antioche, Alexandria, Conſtantinople, and Hieruſalem: when as the citie of Conſtantinople was not yet begun, before the death of Maximinꝰ, and was not finiſhed, before the. xxviij. yere of the raign of Conſtantine, an. 339. or if it be true, as Hierom counteth, it was finiſhed the. xxij. yeare of hys raigne, which was the yeare of our Lord, 334. long after this donation by their own accompt.

11. 11 Furthermore, where in the ſayd conſtitution is ſaid that Conſtantine was baptiſed at Rome of Silueſter, & therby was purged of leproſy: the fable therof agreeth not with the truth of hiſtory: for ſo much as Euſebius, lib 4. De vita Conſtantini, Hieronymus in Chron. Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39. Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus lib. 2. cap. 34. doo all together conſent that he was baptiſed not at Rome, but at Nicomedia: & that moreouer, as by their teſtimony doth appeare, not of ſylueſter but of Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia, not before hys battayle agaynſt Maximinus, but in the. xxxj. yeare of hys raygne, a litle before his death.

12. 12 Agayn, where as Conſtantine in this donation appoynted hym to haue the principalitie ouer the other. 4 Patriarchal ſeas: that maketh Conſtantine contrary to himſelfe. Who in the councel of Nice afterward agreed with other biſhops, that all the foure patriarchall ſeas ſhould haue equal iuriſdiction, euery one ouer his owne territory and precinct.

13. 13 In ſumme, briefly to conclude: who ſo deſireth more aboūdantly to be ſatiſfied touching this matter, let him reade the bookes of Marſilius Patauinus, intituled: defenſor pacis, an. 1324. of Laurentius Valla, an. 1440. of Antoninus archbiſhop of Florence, who in his hiſtory, playnly denieth the tenor of this donation to be founde in the old bookes of the decrees. Of Cuſanus Cardinalis. lib. 3. cap. 2. writing to the Coūcel of Baſil an. 1460 Of Eneas Syluius in Dialogo, of Hier. Paulus Cattalanus, an. 1496. of Raphael Volateranus, an. 1500. of Lutherus, an. 1537. &c. al which by many and euidēt probations, diſpute and proue this donation taken out of a booke De geſtis Silueſtri, & tranſlated (as they faine) by one Bartholomeus Picernus out of Greeke into latine: not to proceede frō Conſtantinus, but to be a thing vntruely pretenſed, or rather a fable imagined, or els to be the deede of Pipinus or Charles, or ſome ſuch other, if it were euer the deede of any.

And thus haſt thou (beloued Reader) briefly collected the narration of the noble actes and heauenlye vertues of this moſt famous Emperour Conſtātine the great: a ſingular ſpectacle for all chriſtian Princes to beholde & immitate, and worthy of perpetual memory in al cōgregations of Chriſtian ſaynctes. Whoſe feruent zeale and piety in general, to al congregations, and to all the ſeruantes of Chriſt was notable: but eſpecially the affection and reuerence of his hart toward them was admirable, which had ſuffred any thing for the confeſſion of Chriſt, in the perſecutions before: them had he principally in price and veneration, in ſo much that he embraced & kiſſed their woūds and ſtripes, & their eyes, being put out. And if anye ſuch Biſhops or anye other miniſters brought to him any complaintes one againſt an other, (as many times they did) he would take their bils of cōplaynt, and burne them before their faces: ſo ſtudious & zealeful was his minde to haue them agree, whoſe diſcord was to him more griefe, then it was to themſelues. All the vertuous actes and memorable doinges of thys diuine and renowmed Emperour to comprehend or cōmit to hiſtorye: it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherfore contented with theſe aboue premiſed, bicauſe nothing of him can be ſayd inough, I ceaſe to diſcourſe of him any farther.

One thing yet remayneth not to be omitted (wherin as by the way of a note) I thought to admoniſh the learned reader, ſuch as loue to be conuerſant in reading of auncient autors: that in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Euſebius, where in the latter end of the booke, is added a certaine Oration, Ad conuentum Sanctorum, vnder the name of Euſebius Pamphilus, here is to be vnderſtād, that the ſayd Oration is wronglye intituled vpon the name of Euſebius, which in very truth is the oration of Conſtantinus himſelfe. For the probation whereof, beſyde the ſtyle and matter therein contained, and tractation heroycall (liuelye declaring the religious vayne of Conſtantine) I alledge the very teſtimony of Euſebius himſelfe in his fourth booke De vita Conſtant. where he in expreſſe wordes not onely declareth that Conſtantine wrote ſuch an oration intituled Ad Conuentum Sanctorum, but alſo promiſeth in the end of his booke, to annex the ſame: declaring moreouer what difficultie the interpreters hadde, to tranſlate the ſame from the Romane ſpeeche, to their Grecian toung. Euſebius de vita Conſtantini. lib. 4. pag. 211.

And here an ende of theſe lamentable & dolefull perſecutions of the primitiue Churche, during the ſpace of ẏ. 300. yeares from the paſſion of our ſauiour Chriſt, til the cōming of this Conſtantinus, by whom, as by the elect inſtrument of God, it hath ſo pleaſed his almighty maieſtye, by his determinate purpoſe, to geue reſt after long trouble to his church, according to that S. Cyprian declareth before pag. 98. to be reuealed of God vnto his church: that after darknes and ſtormy tempeſt ſhould come peaceable calme, and ſtable quietnes to his church, meaning this tyme of Conſtantine now preſēt. At which tyme it ſo pleaſed the almighty, that the murdering malice of Satan ſhould at length be reſtrayned, and he him ſelfe to bee tyed vp for a thouſande yeares, through his great mercy in Chriſt, to whom therfore be thankes and prayſe now and for euer. Amen.

The ende of the fyrſt booke.

The ſecond booke contayning the next. 300. yeres following, with ſuch thinges ſpecially touched, as haue bene done in England, from the tyme of Kyng Lucius, to Gregorius, and ſo after to the tyme of Kyng Egebert.

BY theſe perſecutions hetherto in the booke before precedent, thou maieſt vnderſtande (Chriſtian Reader) how the fury of Satã & rage of men, haue done what they coulde to extinguiſh the name & religion of Chriſt. For what thing did lack, that eyther death coulde doo, or tormentes could worke, or the gates of hell coulde deuiſe: all was to the vttermoſt attempted. And yet all the furye & malice of Satan, al the wyſdome of the world, & ſtrẽgth of men, doing, deuiſing, practiſing what they coulde: notwithſtanding the religion of Chriſt (as thou ſeeſt, hath had the vpper hand. Which thing I wyſh thee greatlye gentle Reader, wyſely to note, and diligently to ponder, in conſidering theſe former hiſtories. And becauſe thou canſt not conſider them, nor profit by them, vnleſſe thou do firſt reade & peruſe them: let me craue therefore thus much at thyne handes, to turne and reade ouer the ſayd hiſtories of thoſe perſecutiõs aboue deſcribed: eſpecially aboue al yͤ other hiſtories of this preſent volume: for thy ſpecial edificatiõ, which I truſt ſhal redoũd to thee yͤ reader therof. Now becauſe yͤ tyeng vp of Satã geueth to the church ſome reſt, & to me ſome leyſure to addres my ſelf, to yͤ hãdling of other ſtories: I mind therfore (Chriſt wylling) in this preſent booke, leauing a while the tractacion of theſe generall affayres, partaining to the vniuerſal church: to proſecute ſuch domeſtical hiſtories, as more neare concerne this our country of England and Scotland, done here at home: beginning firſt with kyng Lucius, wyth whom the fayth firſt began here in thys realme, as the ſentence of the ſome writers doth holde. And forſomuch here may ryſe, yea & doth ryſe, a great controuerſie in theſe our popiſh dayes, concernyng the firſt origine and plãting of the faith in this our realme: it ſhall not be greatlye out of our purpoſe, ſomewhat to ſtay and ſay of this queſtion, whether the church of England firſt receiued the fayth from Rome or not. The whiche, althoughe I graunt ſo to be, yet being ſo graũted, it litle auayleth the purpoſe of them which would ſo haue it: forgyng this, that England had fyrſt receaued yͤ chriſtiã fayth and religion frõ Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius biſhop of Rome. Clxxx. yeares after Chriſt: and alſo in the tyme of Auſten, whom Gregorye ſent hether. DC. yeares after Chriſt. Yet their purpoſe foloweth not therby, that we muſt therfore fetch our religion from thence ſtill, as from the chiefe welhead and fountayne of all godlines. And yet as they are not able to proue the ſecond, ſo neyther haue I any cauſe to graunt the fyrſt: that is, yͤ our Chriſtian fayth was firſt deriued frõ Rome, which I may proue by. vj. or vij. good coniecturall reaſons. Wherof, the firſt I take of the teſtimony of Gildas, our countrymã, who in his hiſtorie affirmeth playne, that Britanie receaued the Goſpell in the tyme of Tiberius yͤ Emperour, vnder whom Chriſt ſuffered. Lib. De victoria, Aurelij Ambroſij. And ſayth moreouer, yͤ Ioſeph of Arimathie after the diſperſion of yͤ Iewes, was ſent of Philip yͤ Apoſtle frõ Fraunce to Britaine, about the yeare of our Lorde. 63. and here remained in thys land all hys tyme: and ſo with hys fellowes, layd the fyrſt foundation of Chriſtian fayth among the Britaine people. Wherupon other preachers and teachers comming afterward confirmed the ſame, & encreaſed it.

2 The ſecond reaſon is out of Tertullian, who liuyng neare about, or rather ſomwhat before the tyme of thys Eleutherius, in hys booke Contra Iudæos, manifeſtlye importeth the ſame: where the ſaid Tertulliã teſtifieng howe the Goſpell was diſperſed abroade by the ſounde of the Apoſtles, and there reckening vppe the Medes, Perſians, Parthians, and dwellers in Meſopotamia, Iewry, Cappadocia, Pontus, Aſia, Phrygia, Egipt, Pamphilia, with manye mo, at length commeth to the coaſtes of the Moorians, and al the borders of Spaine: with diuers nacions of Fraunce, and ther amongeſt all other reciteth alſo the partes of Britayne, whiche the Romanes could neuer attayne to, & importeth the ſame now to be ſubiect to Chriſt, as alſo reckeneth vp the places of Sarmatia, of the Danes, the Germanes, the Scithians, with many other prouinces and Iles to him vnknowen: in al which places ſayth he, reigneth the name of Chriſt, which now beginneth to be common. Thys hath Tertullian. Note here, howe among other diuers beleuing nations, he mencioneth alſo the wildeſt places of Britayne to be of the ſame number. And theſe in hys tyme were chriſtened, who was in yͤ ſame Eleutherius tyme, as is aboue ſayd. Then, was not Pope Eleutherius, the firſt whych ſent the Chriſtian fayth into thys realme, but the Goſpell was here receiued before hys tyme, eyther by Ioſeph of Arimathia, as ſome Chronicles recorde, or by ſome of the Apoſtles or of their ſcholers, which had bene here preaching Chriſt, before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

2. *Ex Tertul. cõtra Iudæos.*

3 My thyrd probation I deduct out of Origen, Home. 4. in Ezechielem, whoſe woordes be theſe: Britanniam in Chriſtianam conſentire religionem. Wherby it appereth that the fayth of Chriſt was ſparſed here in Englãd before the dayes of Eleutherius.

3. *Ex Origene hom. 4. in Ezechi.*

4 For my fourth probation I take the teſtimonye of Bede, where he affirmeth that in hys tyme, and almoſt a thouſand yeare after Chriſt, here in Britaine: Eaſter was kept after the maner of the Eaſt church, in the full moone: what day in the weeke ſo euer it fell on, and not on the ſonday, as we do now. Wherby it is to be collected, that the firſt preachers in this lande, haue come out from the Eaſt part of the world, where it was ſo vſed, rather then from Rome.

4. Ex Beda.

5 Fiftly I maye alledge the woordes of Nicephorus, lib. 2. cap. 40. where he ſaith, yͤ Simõ Zelotes did ſpread yͤ Goſpel of Chriſt to the weſt Oceane, and brought the ſame vnto the Iles of Britayne.

5. *Ex Nicephoro. lib. 2. cap. 40.*

6 Sixtly may be added here alſo the wordes of Petrus Cluniacenſis, who wryting to Bernard, affirmeth that yͤ Scots in hys tyme did celebrate their Eaſter, not after the Romane manner, but after the Greekes. &c. And as the ſayde Britaines were not vnder the Romane order in the time of this Abbot of Cluniake: ſo neyther were they nor would be, vnder yͤ Romane Legate, in the time of Gregory: nor would admit any primacie of the Byſhop of Rome, to be aboue them.

6. *Ex Pet. Cluniacenſi ad Bernardum.*

7 For the ſeuenth argument, moreouer I may make my probation by the playne wordes of Eleutherius, by whoſe epiſtle written to king Lucius, we maye vnderſtand, yͤ Lucius had receaued the fayth of Chriſt in his land, before yͤ king ſent to Eleutherius for the Romain lawes: for ſo the expreſſe wordes of the letter doe manifeſtly purporte, as hereafter followeth to be ſeene. By al which cõiectures, it may ſtãd probably to be thought, that the Britaines were taught firſte by the Grecians of the Eaſt church, rather then by the Romanes.

7. *Ex epiſt. Eleutherũ ad Lucium.*

Peraduenture Eleutherius might helpe ſomethyng, eyther to conuert the kyng, or els to encreaſe the fayth then newly ſprong among the people: but that he preciſely was the firſt, that cannot be proued. But graunt he were, as in dede the moſt part of our Engliſh ſtories cõfeſſe, neyther wyll I greatly ſtycke wyth them therein: yet what haue they got thereby, when they haue caſt al their gayne? In few wordes to conclude this matter, if ſo be that the Chriſtian fayth and religion was fyrſt deriued from Rome to this our nacion by Eleutherius, then let them but graunt to vs the ſame fayth and religion, which then was taught at Rome: and frõ thence deriued hether by the ſayd Eleutherius, and we wyl deſire no more. For thẽ, neither was any vniuerſal Pope aboue al churches and councels, which came not in before Pope Boniface time, which was 400. yeres after: neither any name or vſe of the Maſſe, the partes wherof how and by whom they were cõpiled, here after in this booke following appeareth to be ſene. Neyther any ſacrifice propiciatory for the ſcouring of Purgatory was then offered vpon halowed altars, but onelye the communion frequented at Chriſtian tables: where oblations and giftes were offered, as well of the people, as of the Prieſtes to God: becauſe they ſhoulde appeare neyther empty nor vnkinde before the Lord, as we may vnderſtãd by the tyme of Cyprian. Neyther was then any tranſubſtãtiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thouſand yeare after. Neyther were then any images of ſayntes departed, ſet vp in Churches, yea a great number of the Sayntes worſhipped in this our tyme, were not as yet borne, nor the churches wherein they were worſhipped, were yet ſet vppe: but came in long after, eſpeciallye in the tyme of Irene and Conſtans the Emperour. Likewiſe neyther reliques nor peregrinations were then in vſe. Prieſtes mariage was then as lawful, and no leſſe receiued as nowe: neyther was it condemned before the dayes of Hyldebrand, almoſt a thouſand yeare after that. Their ſeruice was then in the vulgar toung, as wytneſſeth Ierome. The ſacrament miniſtred in both kindes, as wel to lay men, as to prieſtes, the wytnes wherof is Cyprian. Yea, and that temporal mẽ which would not then communicate at Eaſter, Whytſontide, & Chriſtenmas: were not cõuted for Catholickes, the Popes own diſtinction can teſtify. In funerals, prieſtes then flocked not together, ſellyng trentals and diriges for ſweeping of Purgatory: but onelye a funerall concion was vſed, with pſalmes of praiſes, and ſonges of their worthy deedes: and alleluya ſounding on hyghe, which did ſhake the gilded ceelinges of the temple, as wytneſſeth Nazianzene, Ambroſe, and Ierome. &c.

De conſecrat. Diſt. 2.

In the ſupper of the Lorde, and at baptiſme, no ſuche ceremonies vſed, as now of late haue ben intruded, wer in ſo much ẏ as in thys ſtorye is ſhewed hereafter, both Auſten and Paulinus baptiſed then in riuers not in halowed fountes, as witneſſeth Fabianus. The portuis of Sarum, of Yorke, of Bangor, with mattens and euenſong of the day: agayne neither the orders and religions of Monkes and Fryers, were not yet dreamed of, to the ſpace almoſt of a thouſand yeares after, &c. So that, as I ſayd, if the papiſtes would nedes deriue the faith and religion of thys Realme, from Rome: then let them ſet vs and leaue vs there, where they had vs: that is, let thẽ ſuffer vs to ſtand content with that fayth and religion, which then was taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ nothing frõ the ſame) and we will deſire no better. And if they will not, then let the wyſe reader iudge where the faulte is, in vs or them: which neyther themſelues will perſiſte in the antiquitie of the romyſhe religion, which they ſo much bragge of, neither will they permit vs ſo to do.

Fabianus ca. 119. & 120.

And thus much by the way, to ſatiſfie the foreſayd obiection: wherby we may haue now a more readie paſſage into the order & courſe of the hiſtorye. Being therefore graunted vnto them, which they ſo earneſtly ſticke vpon, that the Chriſtian fayth & religion of this Realme was brought to vs from Rome, firſt by Eleutherius, then afterward by Auſten: thus writeth the Chronicles of that matter.

Elutherius biſh. of Rome

About the tyme and yeare of the Lord. Clxxx. Kyng Lucius ſone of Coilus, which builded Coilcheſter, king of the Britaines, who then were the inhabiters and poſſeſſours of this land (which now the engliſhe men call England) hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Chriſtians at that tyme in diuers places (as Monumetenſis writeth) directed his letters to Eleutherius Biſhop of Rome, to receaue of him the Chriſtian fayth. Although aboute the computation of the yeare and tyme: great difference there is in authors, whẽ this ſhould be. Nauclerus ſayth it was, an. 156. but that cannot be, for ſo much as Eleutherius was not yet Biſhop by ẏ ſpace of. xx. yeares after that. Henricꝰ de Erfordia ſayth, it was an. 169. in the. xix. yeare of Verus Emperour, but that agreeth not with approued hiſtoryes: which all conſent, that Verus reigned not. xix. yeares, and if he had, yet that yeare commeth not to the yeare of our Lord. 169. but to the yeare. 181. Some other ſay, that Eleutherius was made Byſhop, in the. vj. yere of Cõmodus, which was the yeare of our Lord. 186. but that ſemeth to goe to farre, but let the authors agrée as they can. Let vs returne to Eleutherius ẏ good Biſhop, who hearing ẏ requeſt of this king, and glad to ſee the godly towardnes of hys well diſpoſed minde: ſendeth hym certayne teachers and preachers, called Fugatius, or by ſome Faganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus: which conuerted firſt the king and people of Britaine, and baptiſed them with the baptiſme & ſacrament of Chriſtes fayth. The temples of idolatrie and all other monumentes of gentilitie they ſubuerted, conuerting the people from their diuers and many Gods to ſerue one liuing God. Thus true religion with ſincere fayth increaſing, ſuperſtition decayed, with al other rites of idolatry. Ther were then in Britanye. 28. head prieſtes, which they called Flamines, & iij. Archprieſts amõg thẽ, which were called Archiflamines: hauing ẏ ouerſight of their mãners, & as iudges ouer the reſt. Theſe 28. Flamines thei turned to. 28. biſhops. And ẏ iij. Archiflamines, to three Archbiſhops, hauing thẽ their ſeates in iij. principal cities of ẏ realm: ẏ is, in Londõ, in Yorke, and in Glamorgantia, videlicet, in Vrbe legionũ, by Wales. Thus ẏ cõtries of ẏ whole realm, being deuided euery one vnder his own biſhop, & al things ſetled in a good order: ẏ foreſaid king Lucius ſent agayne to the ſayd Eleutherius, for the Romans lawes: therby likewiſe to be gouerned as in religiõ now they were framed accordingly. Vnto whõ Eleutherius agayn writeth, after the tenor of theſe wordes enſuing.

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¶ *The Epiſtle of Elutherius B. of Rome, ſent to king Lucius.*

Anno. 169. a paſſione Chriſti ſcripſit dominus Elutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ, ad correctionem regis & procerum regni Britanniæ, & ſo forth as foloweth in Engliſh. Ye require of vs the Romane lawes and the Emperors, to be ſente ouer to you: whiche you maye practiſe and put in vre within your Realme. The Romaine lawes, and the Emperours, we may euer reproue, but the law of God we may not. Ye haue receaued a late through Gods mercy in the Realme of Britaine, ẏ lawe and fayth of Chriſt: ye haue with you within ẏ realme both the parties of the Scriptures. Out of thẽ by gods grace, with the councell of your Realm, take ye a law, and by that lawe (through Gods ſufferaunce) rule your kingdome of Brytaine. For you be gods vicare in your kingdome, according to the ſaying of the Pſalme. Deus iudicium tuum regi da, &c. That is. O God geue thy iudgement to the king, and thy righteouſnes to ẏ kings ſonne, &c. He ſayd not the iudgement and righteouſnes of the Emperour, but thy iudgement and iuſtice: that is to ſay, of God. The kinges ſonnes be the Chriſtian people and folke of the Realme, which be vnder your gouernement, and liue and continue in peace within your

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kingdome,as the Goſpell ſayth:like as the henne gathereth her chickinges vnder her winges, ſo doth the king his people. The people and folke of the Realme of Brytaine be yours,whom if they be deuided ye ought to gather in concord and peace: to call them to the fayth and law of Chriſt,and to the holy church, to cheriſh & maintaine them,to rule and gouerne them,and to defend thē alwayes from ſuch as woulde do them wronge, from malicious men and enemyes. A king hath his name of ruling,and not of hauing a Realme. You ſhal be a king while ye rule well,but if you do otherwyſe,the name of a king ſhal not remayne wyth you,and you ſhall loſe it, which God forbid. The almightie God graunt you ſo to rule the Realme of Britaine, that you may reigne with hym for euer,whoſe vicar ye be in the Realme.

After thys maner,as you haue hard,was the chriſtian faith eyther firſt brought in,or els confirmed in thys realme of Britaine, by the ſendyng of Elutherius, not with any croſſe or proceſſion,but onely at yͤ ſimple preachyng of Fagane & Damian,through whoſe miniſtery this realm & ileland of Britain was eftſones reduced to the faith & law of the Lord,according as was prophecied by Eſay,as well of that,as other ilandes mo, where he ſayth,cap.xlii.he ſhall not faint,nor geue ouer tyll he hath ſet iudgement in earth,and ilelandes ſhal waite for hys lawe &c. The faythe thus receyued of the Britaynes continued amōg them and floriſhed the ſpace of.CCxvi. yeres,tyll the commyng of the Saxones:who then were Paganes:whereof more followeth hereafter to be ſayd, the Lord Chriſt aſſiſting therevnto. In the meane tyme ſomethyng to ſpeake of this ſpace before, whiche was betwixt the tyme of Lucius,and the firſte commyng in of the Saxones:firſt is to be vnderſtanded,that all thys whyle as yet the emperours of Rome had not receyued the fayth,what tyme the kinges of Britayne, & the ſubiectes therof,were conuerted now,as is ſayd, to Chriſt: for the which cauſe much trouble and perturbatiō,was ſought againſt them,not onelye here in Britayne, but through all partes of Chriſtendome by the heathen infidels. In ſo much that in the perſecution onely of Diocleſian and Maximinian raigning bothe together wythin one month.xvii M.martyrs are numbred to haue ſuffered for the name of Chriſte,as hath bene hetherto in the booke before ſufficiently diſcourſed.

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Thus therfore although the foreſaid Lucius,the Britayne kyng,throughe the mercifull prouidence of God, was then Chriſtened and the goſpell receaued generallye almoſte in all the lande: yet the ſtate thereof as wel of the religion,as of the common wealth,coulde not be quiet,for that the Emperours and nobles of Rome were yet infidels,and enemies to the ſame:but eſpecially the caſe ſo happenyng,that Lucius the Chriſten kyng dyed wythout iſſue:for thereby ſuch trouble and variāce fell among the Britaynes (as it happeneth in all other realmes,namely in this our realme of England whenſoeuer ſucceſſion lacketh)that not onely they brought vpō them the idolatrous Romaines,and at lengthe the Saxons:but alſo inwrapped themſelues in ſuch miſerye and deſolation,which yet to this day amongſt them remayneth. Such a thyng it is(where a prince or a kyng is in a kyngdom)there to lacke ſucceſſion, as eſpecially in thys caſe may appeare. For after the death of Lucius, when the Barons & nobles of the land could not accord within themſelues vppon ſucceſſion of the crowne: ſtepte in the Romaines,and gotte the crowne into their own hands, wherupon followed great miſery & ruine to the realme: for ſometymes the idolotrous Romaines,ſomtymes the Britaynes raigned and ruled, as violence and victorye would ſerue,one kyng murderyng an other,tyl at lēgth the Saxons came and depriued them both,as in proceſſe hereafter followeth to be ſene.

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In the meane ſeaſon touchyng the ſtory of king Lucius,here is to be reproued yͤ fable of ſome wryters falſly faynyng of hym,that he ſhould after hys Baptiſme receaued,put of al his kingly honour,and forſake the land and be made a preacher:who after long trauayl in preachyng and teachyng,in Fraunce,in Germanye,in Auguſta,and in Sueuia, at length was made Doctor and rector of yͤ church of Cureah:where (as thys fable ſaith) he ſuffred martyrdome. But this fantaſye of whomſoeuer it firſt did ſpring,diſagreeth from al our engliſh ſtories: Who wyth a full conſent do for the moſt part concord in this,that the ſaid Lucius,after hee had founded many churches,and geuen great ryches and liberties to the ſame:deceaſed with great tranquillitie in hys owne land,and was buried at Gloceſter,the.xiiii. yeare after hys baptiſme, as the booke of Flores hiſtoriarum, doth counte,whiche was the yeare of our Lorde (as he ſaith) CC.i.and reckeneth his conuerſion to bee, An.187. In ſome I fynde his deceaſe to be the fourthe, and in ſome the tenth yere after hys baptiſme,and hold that he raigned in all the ſpace of.lxxvii.yeares,and thus much concerning kyng Lucius.

The deceaſe of kyng Lucius.

Ex Flori. lego.

Now to procede in order of the ſtory, briefly to touch the ſtate of the foreſaid land of Britannye,betwene the tyme of kyng Lucius,and the entryng of the Saxones, who were the kyngs therof:& in what order they ſucceded,or rather inuaded one after an other, this cataloge here vnder written wyll ſpecify.

Ex Beda Polychr. monumetenſi.

Kynges of Britaine frō the time of Lucius tyll the cōming of the Saxones.

Lucius,	a Britayne,	
Seuerus,	a Romayne,	
Baſsianus,	a Romayn by the father	
Cerauſius,	a Britayne.	
Alectus,	a Romayne.	
Aſclepiodotus,	a Britayne.	
Coilus,	a Britayne.	
Conſtantius,	a Romayne.	
Conſtantinus,	a Britayn by the mother ſide and borne in Britayne.	
Octauius,	a Gewiſſian.	
Maximinianus,	a Romayne borne,but hys mother a Britayne.	*An. D.290.*
Gratianus,	a Romayne.	ſecūd.fab.Bed.
Conſtantinus,	a Britayne by yͤ mother	*An.433.fab.*
Conſtans,	a Romaine by the father	*An.443.*
Vortigerus,	a Gewiſſian or Brit.	*An.448.*
Vortimerus,	a Brit.	*An.464.*
Vortigermis,	agayne.	

By this table maye appeare a lamentable face of a common wealth ſo miſerably rent and diuided into two ſortes of people:differing not ſo much in countrye, as in religion. For when the Romanes raygned:ſo were they gouerned by infidels. Whē the Britaines ruled, ſo they were gouerned by Chriſtians. Thus what quietneſſe was or coulde be in the church, in ſo vnquiet and doubtful daies,it may eaſely be conſidered.

Albeit,notwithſtanding all theſe foreſayd heathen rulers of the Romaines,which here gouerned, yet(God be prayſed) we read of no perſecution, during all theſe.x. perſecutions aboue mentioned, that touched the Chriſtian Brytaines, before the laſte perſecution onelye of Diocleſian, and Maximianus Herculius, whiche here then exerciſed muche crueltye. Thys perſecution, as it was the laſt among the Romane Chriſtians,ſo it was the firſt of many and diuers that followed after in thys church and realme of England:wherof we wyl here after intreate(Chriſt wylling)as order of the matter ſhall leade vs. In the meane tyme thys rage of Diocleſian as it was vniuerſally through al the churches in the world fierce and vehement:ſo in this realme of Britayne alſo it was ſo ſore,yͤ as al our Engliſh chronicles do teſtifie, & record, al chriſtianitie almoſt in yͤ whole land was deſtroyed:churches were ſubuerted,all bookes of the ſcripture burned,many of the faythful both men and womē

The Britaynes neuer touched with any perſecutiō before the tyme of Diocleſian.

were ſlayne. Among whom the fyrſt and chiefe was Albanus, then Iulius, Aaron, & Amphibalus. Of whō ſufficiently hath bene ſayde before. What were the other, or how many they were that ſuffered beſide, ſtories make no rehearſal. And thus much therof.

Conſtantin the great borne & bred in Britayn

The cauſe how thys realme of Britaine was fyrſt weakened

Britayn ſpoiled of ſoldiours.

Vrſula with. xi. thouſād virgins

Gwetelinus Archbyſhop of London

Ex Chronico, Momumetēſis

Conſtantin⁹. Conſtans, Aureli⁹, Ambroſius. Vtepēdragō.

The Saxons ſent for to Britayne.

King Conſtās ſlayne by Vorrigerne.

Hengiſt & Horſus captaynes of the Saxons.

Now as concerning the gouernment of theſe aboue named kinges of Brytaine, although I haue litle or nothing to note, which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this eccleſiaſticall hiſtorye: yet this is not to be paſſe ouer: firſt how in the order of theſe kinges cōmeth Conſtantinus the great and worthye Emperour, not onely a Brytaine borne by hys mother Helina being Kyng Coilus doughter, but alſo by the helpe of the Brytaines armie (vnder the power of God) which the ſayd Cōſtantine tooke with him out of Brytaine to Rome: obtained with great victorye, peace and tranquilitie to the whole vniuerſall church of Chriſt: hauing. iij. legions with him out of this Realm, of choſen and able ſouldiers. Wherby the ſtrength of the land was not a litle empayred and indaungered, as afterward in this ſtorye followeth. After him likewiſe Maximian following his ſteppes, tooke with him alſo (as ſtoryes recorde) all the power and ſtrength which was left: & what ſoeuer he could make, of able and fyghting men, to ſubdue Fraunce: beſides the Gariſons which he had out with hym before, ſending for moe to ŷ number of. C. M. ſouldiours at once, to be ſent to hym out of Brytayne into Fraunce. At which tyme alſo Conanus hys partener being then in Fraunce, ſent ouer for virgines from Brytaine to the number of. xi. M. who wyth Vrſula the prince Dionets daughter beyng ſhipped ouer, many periſhed in the ſea: ſome were taken of the infidels, marchyng vpon ŷ borders, with whom becauſe they would not be polluted, al were deſtroyed, beyng miſerablye diſperſed (ſome one way, ſome an other) ſo that none eſcaped. Thus poore Britanye beyng left naked and deſtitute on euery ſyde, as a maymed body wythout might or ſtrength: was left open to his enemies, not able to ſuccour it ſelfe, without helpe of forren frendes. To whom they were then conſtrayned to flye, eſpecially to the Romaines to whom ŷ Britaynes ſent this worde or meſſage: Aetio ter conſuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellūt nos Barbari ad mare. Repellit nos mare ad barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut iugulamur, aut ſubmergimur. But ŷ Romaines then began to forſake them, wherby they were in neare daunger to be oppreſſed by Gwanus and Melga, had not Gwetelinus the Archbiſhop of Londō made ouer to leſſe Britayne, and obtayning their helpe, had brought Conſtantinus the kyngs brother, to reſcue hys countrey againſt the infidels. This Conſtantinus was brother to Aldroenus kyng of litle Britayne, and father to Conſtans, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Vter, who raigned after kings in Britayne. Thus by the meanes of the good Archbiſhop and Conſtantinus, the ſtate of the religion and realme of Britayne was in ſome meane quiet and ſafety, during the tyme of the ſayd Conſtantyne and of the good Archbiſhop. But as the realme of Britayne almoſte from the beginnyng was neuer wythout ciuil warre, at length came wycked Vortigerne, who cruelly cauſyng Conſtans his prince to be murdred, ambitiouſly inuaded the crown: who then fearing the other two bretherne of Conſtans, whiche were Aurelius and Vter, beyng then in litle Britayne: did ſend ouer for the ayde of the Saxones beyng then infidels, and not onelye that: but alſo maryed wyth an infidell, the daughter of Hengiſt called Rowen. Wherupon the ſayd Vortigerne not long after, by the ſaid Hengiſt and the Saxons was wyth like traitery diſpoſſeſſed of his kyngdom, and the people of Britayne driuen out of their countrey, after that the Saxones had ſlayne of their chief nobles & Barons at one meetyng: ioynyng together ſubtiltie wyth crueltie, to the number of CC. lxxi. ſome ſtories ſay cccc. lx. This wycked acte of the Saxons, was done at Almſbury, or at a place called Stonehenge, by the monument of which ſtones there hangyng, it ſeemeth that the noble Britaynes there were buried. The fabulous ſtory of the Welchmen, of bringyng theſe ſtones from Irelande by Merlyn I paſſe ouer. Some ſtories record that they wer ſlayne beyng bid to a banket, other do ſaye that it was done at a talke or aſſemble, where the Saxones came wt priuy knyues contrary to the promiſe made, wyth the which knyues they geuyng a priuy watchword, in their Saxons ſpeach (neme your ſexes) ſlewe the Britaynes vnarmed: and thus farre concernyng the hiſtorye of the Britaynes. As thys great plague could not come to the Britaynes wythout gods permiſſion, ſo Gildas ſheweth in his chronicle, the cauſe therof, writing thus: Quòd Britones propter auaritiam, & rapinam principum propter iniquitatem & iniuſtitiam iudicum, propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum: propter luxuriā & malos mores populi, patriam perdidiſſe. &c.

¶ *The entryng and reignyng of the Saxons.*

This was the comming in firſt of the Angles or Saxones into this realme, beyng yet vnchriſtened & infidels: which was aboute the yeare of our Lorde as W. Malmſbury teſtifiteh. CCCC. lxix. the captains of whō were Hengiſtus and Horſus. Althoughe the ſayd Hengiſt and Saxones at their firſt commmyng for all their ſubtile workyng and cruel attempt had no quiet ſetling in Britayne, but were driuen out diuers tymes by the valiantnes of Aurelius Ambroſius, and hys brother Vter aboue mentioned, who raygned after that among ŷ Britaynes: yet notwithſtandyng they were not ſo driuē out, but that they returned agayne, and at lengthe poſſeſſed all, dryuyng the Britaynes ſuche as remayned into Cambria, which we call now Wales. Hengiſtus, as ſome chronicles record, reigned. 43. yeres, and dyed in Kent. Galfridus in ſuo Britannico ſayth: that he was taken in warre by Aurelius Ambroſius, and beheaded at Conyngeſburgh, after he had raigned xxxix. yeare. After ŷ death of Hengiſt, his ſonne Oſca, raigned xxiiii. yeres leauyng his ſonne Octa, to whoſe raign with his ſonne Ymenricus, hiſtories do attribute liij. yeares, who alſo were ſlayne at length by Vterpendragon, Polichroni. lib. 5. cap. 4.

The Saxons after they were ſetled in the poſſeſſion of England, diſtributed the realme among themſelues, fyrſt in. vii. partes: euery part to haue his kyng, that is, the fyrſt to be the kyng of Kent. The ſecond to be kynge of Suſſex and Southerye, holdyng his palace at Ciceſter. The thyrd king was of Weſtſexe. The. iiii. kyng of Eſſex. The v. kyng, was ŷ Eaſtangles, that is of Northfolke, and Southfolke. The vi. kyng of Marche, and in his kyngdome were conteyned the Counteſſes of Lincolne, Leyceſter, Huntyngdon, Northampton, Oxford, Darby, Warwyke. &c. The. vij. kyng had all the countries beyond Humber, and was called kyng of Northumberland.

Of theſe vii. kyngdomes, although they continued not long, but at length ioyned all in one, commyng al in to the poſſeſſion and ſubiection of the Weſtſaxones: yet for the ſpace they continued (which was with continual trouble and warres among themſelues) this is the raſe and order of them, as in this table particularly followeth to be ſene.

A table deſcribyng the. vii. kyngdomes of the Saxons, raygnyng here in Englande.

IN the tyme of Vortiger aboue mentioned, began the raygne of the Saxōs in this land, the which coming out of. 3. ſortes of the Germain people (to wit) the Saxons, the Iutes & Angles, repleniſhed this land, of thē called now Anglia. Of whō firſt Hēgiſtus raigned in Kēt: which cōtry of Kent he had obteined by Rowē his daughter of king Vortiger, which was about the yeare of our Lord as ſome do count, 476. or as I finde it in the computation of our Engliſh tables, 456. in ſome. 463. After Hengiſt, came in Ocha, wyth Eoſa, or Yſſe his kinſman: who afterward ſucceded the ſayd Hengiſt in Kent. Not long after came in an other company of ẏ Saxons, with Elle their capitain, which planted themſelues in Southſexe. And after them againe an other garriſon of the Saxons with Cerdice their captayne, which did occupy the Weſt part of the land, called by them Weſtſaxon. And ſo likewiſe the other multitude of the Saxons after them, which as yet beyng unchriſtened and infidels, deuided the whole land among themſelues into. vij. kyngdomes, as in this table followeth.

456. *Kent.*

The kings of Kent, with the yeares how long they raygned.

The kyng of Kent.

Hengiſtus. ſlayn.	31.	
Eoſa, or Yſſe.	24.	
Ocha, or Oſtha.		
Ermenricus, or Emericus.	26.	
Ethelbertus, ẏ firſte of ẏ Saxon kings that receiued the faith by Aug. an. reg. 35.	56.	This Ethelbert firſt of all the Saxōs receyued the fayth, and ſubdued al the other ſyxe kynges, excepte onelye the kyng of Northumberland.
Edbaldus.	24.	
Ercombertus.	24.	Ercombert commaunded Lent fyrſte to be faſted in hys dominion.
Egebertus, or Edbricth. ſlayne.	9.	Egebert kylled two Sonnes of his uncle.
Lotharius. ſlayn.	12	
Eadrichus.	6.	Unto the time of Eadrick all the biſhops of Canturbury wer Italians.
Nidredus, VVilhardus.	7.	Some chronicles do place theſe two Nidredus and willehardus after Edricke, and geue to them. vii. yeares, ſome againe do omit them.
VVithredus.	33.	
Egfertus, or Edbert.	23.	
Ethelbert.	11.	
Alricus.	34.	Betwene the raygne of Alricke and Cuthred, ſome ſtories inſert the raign of Eadbert, whych raigned. 2. yeares.
Eadbertus, ſurnamed Pren.	2.	
Cuthredus.	18.	
Baldredus. expulſed	21.	

In the raygne of thys Baldred the kingdome of Kent was tranſlated to Egbertus, otherwyſe called Egbrict, king of the weſt Saxons, who ſubduing the foreſaid Baldred. an. 832. gaue the ſayd kingdome to Athelſtan his yonger ſōne. After whoſe deceaſe it came to Ethelwolfe the elder ſonne of Egbrict, and ſo was united to the weſtſaxons, who thē began to be the Monarch of the whole land. Thys kyngdome began neare about the yeare of our Lorde. 456. and continued. 342. yeares, and had. xv. kynges.

478. *South ſaxe.* now called Suſſex.

The kinges of Southſaxe, with the yeares of their raygne.

The kyng of Suſſex.

Elle, or Alle.	31	
Ciſſa		Of this Ciſſa came Ciceſter, whyche he builded, and wher he raygned.
Nancanleus, or Nācanleodus.		This Nathanleod ſeemeth by ſome old ſtories to bee a Britaine, and the chiefe Marſhall of kyng Uter, whom Porth the Saxon ſlew.
Porth.		This Porth a Saxon, came in at the Hauen whiche nowe is called of hym Porthmouth.
Ethelvuelfus.		Becauſe I finde but little mēcion of theſe. ij. I thincke it rather lyke to be the ſame Ethelwold or Ethelwaldus which after followeth.
Redvvallus.		
Condebertus.		Of Condebertus & Ethelred I find no mēcion, but in one table onely, ſupposing therfore that ẏ true names of theſe wer Ercōbertus & Egebertus, which wer kings of Kēt ẏ ſame time, & peraduenture might thē rule in Suſſex
Ethelredus, or Ethereus.		
Adelvvold or Ethelvvaldus ſlayne.		This Adelwold was the fyrſt kyng of Suſſolke chriſtned, and as Fabian ſayth the fourth king of the Southſaxons: as other ſay the. vii. ſo uncertain be the hiſtories of this kingdome.
Adelbrich, or Berethunus ſlayn.	5.	
Aldhumus.	15.	

Thys kingdome endured ſhorteſt ſeaſon of all other, and ſooneſt paſſed into other kyngdomes, in the dayes as ſome wryte of Iue kyng of weſtſaxe, and ſo endured not aboue an hundred and twelue yeares under ſeuen or at moſt. xi. kyngs, begynning fyrſte in the yeare of the Lorde. 478. and aboute the. 30. yeare of the fyrſt comming of the Saxons.

522. *Weſt-ſaxe.*

The principal kingdome of the Weſtſaxons, and of their raygnes.

The kyng of Weſtſax.

Cerdicus or Credicus.	17.	This kingdome contained Somerſetſhiere, Berkſhiere, Dorſetſhiere, Deuonſhiere, Cornewale, &c.
Kenricus.	26	
Chelingus. 30, 33. lib cycl.		
Celricus or Ceolfricus.	5	
Celvvlfus or Ceolulfus.	14.	
Kynigilſus & Quicelinus.	32.	This Kynigilſus was fyrſte kyng chriſtned in that prouince, conuerted by Birinus, after made Moonke.
Kenevvalkins.	31.	
Sexburga.	1.	
Eſcvvynus, Aſcvvinus, or Elkvvin'.	2	
Centvvinus died at Rome.	7	
Cedvvalla.	3.	Cedwalla went to Rome, and there was chriſtened and dyed.
Ina or Iue.	35.	Ina alſo went to Rome, and was made Moonke.
Edelardus, or Athelardus.	14.	
Cuthredus, or Cuthbert.	16.	
Sigebertus, or Sigherus ſlayne.	1.	Sigebert for hys pride and crueltye was depoſed of his people. And as he had kylled before one of hys faythfull counſel geuing him wholeſome counſayl: ſo after was he ſlayne of the ſame counſelers Swynard, as he hid hymſelfe in a wood.
Kynulfus, or Kinenulfus ſlayne.	31.	
Brithricus.	13	
Egbert', or Egbrichtus, otherwiſe Athelbertus, or Athelbrich. &c.	37	This Egbert was fyrſte expelled by Brithricus. who after returnig again and raigning, was much derided and ſcorned with mocking rimes for a coward of Bernulfus king of Mercia. At lēgth the ſaid Egbert ſubdued him fyrſt, then al the reſt, to his kingdom: cauſing the whole land to be called no more Britaine, but Anglia. Cōcerning the other kings after him in that lordſhip hereafter followeth.

This Egbart ſubdued al the other. vii. kingdomes, and fyrſte began the Monarchie of al the Saxons, which after by Alured was perfected, as hereafter foloweth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This kingdome of weſtſaxons beganne the yeare of grace. 522. and as it ſubdued all the other, ſo it dyd the longeſt continue, tyl about the comming of Wylliam Cōquerour. which is about the tyme of. 554. yeares.

547.

Northumberlād

¶The kinges of Northumberland
with the yeares of their raygne.

Ida. 12	This Ida of hys wyfe had. 6. children, Adda, Elricus, Oſmerus, Theodledus, of Concubins other. 6.

After Ida the kingdome of Northumberland was diuided into 2. prouinces, Deyra and Bernicia.

Alle or Elſe, Deirorum. 30	This Alle was the ſonne of Iffe, and raygned in Deira. 30. yeares.
Adda, Bernicorũ. 7	

Some chronicles do ſet vnder Adda: to raigne in Bernicia theſe kings. Glappa, or Claſpa, Theonulfus, or Huſſa, or Theoſwalnus, Frithulfus. Theodoricus.

Alricus or Alfricus Deiror. 5.	This Alfricus was the ſonne of Ida and raygned. v. yeares.
Ethelfridus Bernicorum.	This Ethelfridus was he that ſlewe the Monkes of Bangor, to the number of. 2200, which came to prai for the good ſucces of the Britaynes, and by his wyfe Accan, the daughter of Elle, had. 7. ſonnes: Eaufridus, Oſwaldus, Oſwius, Oſlacus, Oſmundus, Oſa, Offa. Flor. Hiſtor.
Edvvinus. Northũberland, ſlayne. 17	This Edwinus was the firſt of the Northumberland kings, which was conuerted and chriſtned by Paulinus byſhop of London.
Oſricus Deirorum, ſlayne. Eaufridus Bernicia ſlayne.	Theſe two are put out of the raſe of kings, becauſe they reuolted from the Chriſtian fayth, and were both ſlayne miſerablye by Cedwalla a Britayne, which then raygned in Northumberland, and in Mercia.
Oſvvaldus, North. ſlayne. 9	This Oſwaldus, called S. Oſwald, foughte with Cedwalla, and Penda wyth a ſmall army, and by ſtrength of prayer vanquiſhed them in the field. He ſent for Aedanus into Scotlande to preach in his country, & as he preached in Scottiſh, the king expounded in engliſhe. He was a great geuer of almes to the poore. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter.
Oſyvius, Northumberland. 28	This Oſwius fighting agaynſt Peda, vowed to make hys daughter Elfred a Nunne, geuyng wyth her. xii. lordſhips, to build. xii. Monaſters. vi. in Bernicia. vi. in Deira.
Oſvvinꝰ raigned together wᵗ Oſwius in Deira. ſlayne. 7	¶The ſame Oſwius in the begining of his raygne tooke one Oſwinus the ſonne of Edwyne to be his partener ouer the countrye of Deyra. Afterward cauſing him to be kylled, tooke to hym an other called Edelwald, the ſonne of Oſwalde. Of thys Oſwynus more followeth hereafter to be declared.
Egfridus, Northũberland, ſlayn. 15	Thys Egfrid maryed Etheldrida, who beyng. xii. yeares maryed to hym, coulde after, by no meanes be allured to lie with him, but obtaynyng of hym lycence, was made a Nunne, and then Abbes of Elye. She made but one meale a daye, and neuer ware lynen. At laſt the ſame Egfred fighting againſt the Scots, was ſlayne in the field by a trayne of the Scots, fayning themſelues to flee.
Alfridus, Northumberland. 20	Of this Alfride Bede in hys hiſtory teſtifieth that he was exactly and perfectly ſene in the holy ſcriptures, and recouered much that hys predeceſſours had loſt before. Bed. lib 4. cap. 24 Some ſay he raigned not. 18. yeres.
Oſredus, Northumberland, ſlayn. 11	Oſred began hys raygn beyng but. 8. yeres old, and raygned the ſpace of. xi. yeares.
Kenredus North. 2	
Oriſcus, North. 20	Some affirme that Oriſcus raygned but. xi. yeares.
Celulfus, Northum made a monke. 9	This Celulf after he had raygned. 8. yeres was made a Moonke. To hym Beda wrote hys ſtory.
Egbertus, or Eadbertus, Northumber monke. 21	
Oſulfus, Northum. ſlayne. 1	
Mollo or Ethelvvold North. 11 In ſome chronicles vi. yeares.	Mollo by the ſubtil trayne of Altredus was made away, which Altredus alſo himſelfe after hee had raygned. x. yeares, was expulſed by his own people.
Altredus, Northũ. expulſed. 10	In ſome Chronicles thys Altredus raygned but. viii. yeares.
Ethelbertus or Edelredus, Northum. expulſed. 5	
Alſvvoldus, North ſlayne. 11	
Oſredus.	
Ethelbertus, or Adelvvaldus, North. ſlayne. 16.	

The kings of Northũberland.

¶After this Ethelbert, the kingdome of Northumberland ſed the ſpace of. xxv. yeares, tyl Egbertus king of the ſaxons ſubdued alſo them, as he dyd the other Saxon hys dominion. After the which Egbert kyng of the ſaxons ſucceded in Northumberland hys ſonne.

Ethelvvolfus. Ethelbaldus. Ethelbertus. Ethelredus.	Kynges of Weſtſaxons, rayg in Northumberland.

¶In the tyme of this Ethelredus there were. ii. vnder in Northumberland, Ella, & Oſbright, whom the D ouercame and raygned in their place, whoſe names theſe.

Exbertus. Richſi. Egebert. Gurthed. Guthrid.	Danes,

¶After the raygne of theſe foreſayde Danes, the kingdom Northumberlande came into the handes of the w ſaxones, in the tyme of Athelſtane and hys brother Ed dus. It beganne firſte, anno. 547. and ſo endured. 4 yeares. It contayned Yorkeſhiere, Notinghamſhire, D byſhiere, the biſhoprick of Dyrham, Copelande and ot

(561) Mercia.

¶The Kinges of Mercia, or Mercelan
with the yeares of their raigne.

Crida, or Creodda 35.	
VVibba. 20	
Ceorlus. 10.	
Penda ſlayne. 30	Penda ſlewe in battail Edwyne Oſwald kinges of Northumb. Sigebert, Edrik, and Anna, king the Eaſtanglis. Alſo he droue out walkins king of the weſtſaxons.
Peda, or VVeda, ſlaine by his wife	Under Peda and Wlferus Ch faith was receued in thoſe partes being conuerted by Finianus biſ The ſame Peda raygned in a part of cia, with his brother Wlferus, whych both the ſonnes of Penda..
VVlferus. 29	This Wlferus by his wife Ermeburg 3. daughters, Milburg, Mildrith, and gith, holy virgins.
Adelredus, or Ethelred, made Monke 30. or. 19	This Adelredus or Ethelredus was of Bardney, whoſe ſyſters were Kyne Kyneſwith, holy virgins.
Kēredus made alſo mōke at Rome. 5	
Ceolredus or Kelredus. 8	In the tyme of this Ceolred was G otherwyſe called saynt Guthlake, the Eremite of Crouland.
Ethelbaldꝰ ſlain. 41	Under Ethelbaldus dyed Beda. thelbald gaue that all churches ſho be free from all exactions and publi charges.
Bernredus. 1	This Bernred for hys pride and toward his people, was by them depoſed the ſame yeare by the iuſt iudgement of burned. Hiſtor. Carienſ.
Offa. 39	Offa cauſing or cōſenting to the d of good Ethelbert king of the Ea gles, peaceably comming to marry daughter, for repentaunce cauſed Peter pence firſt to be geuen to R and there did hys penance.
Egfredus. 1	
Kenulphus, ſlayne, 20. or. 16	
Kenelmus murthered 6. monethes.	This Kenelme being of. vii. ye age, was wyckedly ſlayne after he raygned. vi. monethes.
Ceolvvolfus expulſed. 1. or. 3	

The Kings of Mercia.

Bernulphu

Bernulphus ſlayn.	3	This Ludecane after the ſeconde yere of hys raygne was ſlayne of Egbert, kyng of the weſtſaxons, by whom the reſt of the Saxons were alſo ſubdued.
Ludecanus ſlaine.	2	
¶ Some Chronicles here inſerte Milefredus.		
VVilafius or vvythlacus beheaded.	12	

☞ This withlacus in the beginning of hys raigne was vanquiſhed by Egfrid kyng of weſtſex, to whom hee became tributary with his ſucceſſors here folowing.

Berthulfus.	12	☞ Some wryters ſaye that theeſe kynges were ſubdued by the Danes
Burhredus.	20	
Celulfus.	1	
Elfredus.	1	

¶ After this Elfride the kingdome of the Mercians was tranſlated vnto the weſtſaxōs, in the latter tyme of king Alfred, or in the beginning of Edwardus Senior, & ſo was adioyned to the weſtſaxons, beginnyng an. 561. It endured the ſpace of. 250. yeares, tyl about the latter end of Aluredus, by whom it was ioyned to the kingdome of weſtſaxons. This kingdome ſtretched out to Hūtingtonſhere, Hertfordſhere, Gloceſterſhere, woceter, warwicke, Lichfield. Couentrye, Cheſter, Darbyſhiere, Staffordſhiere, Shroſbury, Oxforde, Buckyngham, Dorceſter, Lincolne, Leceſter. &c.

(561) *Eaſt-ſaxſos*

¶ The kings of the Eaſtſaxons, with the yeares of their raygne.

The king of the Eaſt axons.

Erchvvinus.	35	
Sledda.	17	
Sebertus or Sigebertus.	14	This Sebertus nephewe to Ethelbert king of Kent, among theſe kings was firſt chriſtned bi Mellitus, which made the church of Paules.
Sexredus, & Sevvardus	brethren, ſlayne. 7.	Sexred, & Seward and Sigebert: expelled Mellitus the biſhop, becauſe he would not miniſter to them the ſacramentall breade, they being not baptiſed.
Sigebertus paruꝰ.	23	This Sigebertus paruus with hys brother Sebertus were ſlayne of Kynegilſus & Swithelinus hys brother, by the iuſt iudgement of God, for they reuolted agayne from their faith, & expelled Mellitus. b. of Londō.
Segebertus bonus, or Sibertus. ſlayn.		This Segebertus bonus or Sibertus, much reſorting to Oſwy kyng of Northumberland, by hys perſuaſion was broughte to chriſtian baptiſme, baptiſed of Finianus byſhop, to whom alſo was ſent Cedde wyth other miniſters to preach and to baptiſe in his coūtry. At laſt he was ſlayn of his mē about hym: vſyng to much to ſpare hys enemies, & to forgeue their iniuries that repented. Flor.
Svvythelinus.	14	
Sigherius ſonne of Segebertus paruus		This Sigherius and Sebbi fyrſt fell to idolatry, then through the meanes of Wolferus kyng of Mercia, were reduced, & at laſt Sebby became a Moonke.
Sebbi ſonne of Sevvardus, whyche was made a mōk		
Sighardus & Suefridus,	Brethren. 8.	
Offa.	5	Offa after hee had raygned a whyle, became a Moonke at Rome.
Selredus or Colredus, ſlayne.	38	
Svvithredus.		

¶ This Swithredꝰ was ſubdued vnto Egbert kyng of weſtſaxons. Albeit London remayned vnder the Mercians to the tyme that they alſo were ſubdued to the weſtſaxons. Thys kyngdome began an. 561. and ſo continued tyll the tyme of Egbertus. Some ſtories ſay it continued to the tyme of Edward ſonne of Aluredus, about the commyng of the Danes, and contayned vnder it the Lordſhip of Mydleſex & Londō. The Metropolitane ſea of thys prouince of Eſſex was Londō, where the famous church of S. Paul was builded by Ethelbert kyng of Kent & Sigebert kyng of Eſſex, whom Ethelbert had lately before turned to Chriſtes faith: whereof the fyrſt biſhop was Mellitus, the ſecōd biſhop was Ceddꝰ, the third came in by Symonie, whoſe name was Wine. Malmeſb. de vitis pont. After him was Erkēwaldus, of whō writeth Bede, that he being diſeaſed in hys legges that he could neyther go nor ryde, yet would be caried about in a litter to preach in hys Dioces. &c.

¶ Although W. Malmeſb. writing of the biſhops of Londō in his boke De vitis ponti. ſaith that Mauritius firſt the kings Chauncelor, then byſhop there, dyd fyrſt begyn thys ſo large and famous building of the church of S. Paule in London: which work after him Richardus his ſucceſſor did proſecute, beſtowing al the rentes of hys biſhopricke vpon the ſame, & yet was ſcarſely ſene: yet herein may be anſwered peraduenture, that the church builded before by kyng Ethelbert, and kyng Sigebert, might be ouerthrown by the Danes, and afterward was reedified by theſe biſhops aboue mencioned.

(561) *Eaſt-anglis*

¶ The Kings of the Eaſtanglis, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kings of the Eaſt-anglis.

Vffa or Vlfa.	30	Of thys Uffa the people of Northfolke were then called Uffkyns.
Titilus or Titila.	13	
Redvvaldus.	12	Redwaldus fyrſte was conuerted in Kent: afterward throughe the wycked perſwaſion of hys wyfe and other, ioyned idolatry with Chriſtianity.
Erpvvaldus or Corpvvaldus ſlayne.	38	Notwithſtanding hys Sonne Erpwaldus throughe the meanes of Edwyn kyng of Northumberlande, was brought to the perfect fayth of Chriſt, and therin faythfully did continue.
Sigebertus, or Sibrect firſt a monk ſlayne.	3	This Sigebert made him ſelfe a mōke and afterward brought out to fyght agaynſt Penda, with a whyte ſtycke in hys hand, was ſlayne in the field.
Egnicus, or Egricus, ſlayne.	3	
Anna ſlayne.	3	The Daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelberga, and Saint Etheloreda.
Adelhere, or Adelredus, ſlayne.	2	
Adelvvoldus, or Ethelbaldus.	9	
Aldulphus	25	
Elkvvoldus	12	
Beorna	26	
Ethelredus ſlayne.	52	¶ Thys Ethelredus for hys holynes & godly vertues is counted for a ſaynt, he innocently comming to Offa kyng of Mercia to mary with Althrid hys daughter, by the ſiniſter ſuſpicion of Offa, and wicked counſayl of Kineſwina hys wyfe, was cruellye put to death in the houſe of Offa. For the whych cauſe Offa afterward repenting went to Rome, where he made hymſelfe a monke.
Ethelbritus ſlayne.	5	

¶ After thys ſynful murder of Ethelbert, the kingdome of Eaſtanglis during the tyme of certayne yeares, was in great trouble and deſolation, vnder diuers kinges and tyrantes, ſometyme the kyng of weſtſex, ſometimes of Kent, or of Mercia, hauing dominiō ouer them, til the comming of Saynt Edmund, whych was the laſt king there ruling vnder the weſtſaxons.

S. Edmunde, martyred.	16

¶ After the death of Saynt Edmund, being ſlaine of the Infidel Danes, the kyngdome remayned wyth the Danes. 50. yeares, tyl at length Edward kyng of the Weſtſaxons expulſed the Danes, and ioyned it to his kingdome. It began about the yeare of our Lord. 561. & continued neare about 377. yeares. Fabian numbreth but. xij. kynges, but in other I fynde mo.

The Metropolitane ſea of this prouince of Eaſtanglis, was fyrſt at a towne called Dunmoke, where the firſt Biſhop was Felix, a Burgundian. After this, vnto the time of Egbert kyng of Weſtſaxe, this prouince was euer ruled by two biſhops, wherof the one had hys ſea at Dunmoke, which towne after the name of Felix the biſhop, was called Felixſtow, or Felſtow: The other at Hemaham, wher. xij. ſat, one after an other. From thence it was tranſlated to Thetford, wher ſat. iij. biſhops. At laſt by biſhop Herbert it was remoued to Norwych, where he erected a monaſterye of Moonkes.

And thus ſtandeth the order & raſe of the Saxon kyngs, raigning together with the Britanes in this Realme. Now foloweth the deſcription of the Britaine kynges, raygning wyth the Saxons in lyke maner.

Although the miſerable Britaines thus were bereued of their land, by the cruel ſubtillitye of the Saxons, yet were they not ſo driuen out or expulſed, but that a certain kingdome remained among thē, in ſome part of ẏ land, namely about Cornwall, & the partes of Cābria, which is deuided in.ij. partes, Southwales called Demetia, & Northwales called Venedocia. The ſaide Britaines moreouer through ẏ valiant actes of their kings, ſomtimes raigned alſo in other countries, diſplaſing the Saxōs, & recouering again their own: ſomtimes more, ſomtimes leſſe, til the time of Carecius (when as ẏ Britains being depoſed by Godmundus, whoſe helpe they thēſelues ſent for out of Irelād, againſt Carecius theyr wicked king) vtterly loſt their land and kingdome: being thence driuen vtterly into Wales & Cornwale, the yeare of our Lord.570. What the order of theſe kinges was, what were there actes, their names, & tymes whē they raigned: in this brief table vnder written is expreſſed. Wherin firſt is to be premoniſhed that Conſtātinus ſecundus had three childrē, to wit, Conſtans, which was made a Moonke in Wincheſter, and after made a king: the ſecond was Aurelius Ambroſius: the third was Vterpendragon. This being premiſed, we wyll now enter the deſcriptiō of our table, begining with Vortigernus.

A table declaring the kynges of Britayne, which raygned together with the Saxsons, after their comming into thys land.

Kyngs of Britayne whiche here raigned in the tyme of the Saxōs

- Vortigernus.
- Vortimerius.
- Vortigernus agayne.
- Aurelius Ambroſius.
- Vterpendragon.
- Arthurus.
- Conſtantinus.3.
- Aurelius.
- Conanus.
- Vortiperius.
- Malgo.
- Carecius.

Here is to be vnderſtand that theſe Britayne kings aboue mentioned, dyd not ſo raigne here in this land, frō the tyme of Vortigerne, that they had the full poſſeſſion and gouernement ouer all the whole realme: but onelye ouer parcels or partes, ſuche as by force of armes, they could eyther holde or wynne from the Saxons: whyche comming in daily and growyng vppon them, dyd ſo repleniſh the land with multitudes of them, that the Britaines at lengthe neither were able to holde that whiche they had, nor to recouer that which they loſt: Leauing example to all ages and countries, what it is, fyrſt to let in forren nations into their dominion, but eſpeciallye what it is for princes to ioyne in mariage wyth infidels: as this Vortiger dyd with Hengiſtus daughter, whiche was the mother of all this miſchief: geuyng to the Saxones not onely ſtrengthe, but alſo occaſion and courage to attempt that which they dyd. Neyther was thys vnconſidered before of the Britayne Lordes and nobilitye: who worthely beyng therwyth offended, iuſtly depoſed their kyng, and inthroned Vortimerus hys ſonne in his roome. By the which Vortimer beyng a puiſant prince, the Saxons were thē repulſed & driuen againe into Germany, wher they ſtayed a while til ẏ death of Vortimer whom Rowen Hengiſtus daughter cauſed trayterouſly to be poyſoned. Then Vortiger beyng agayne reſtored to his kyngdome, throughe the entreatie of Rowen hys wyfe, ſent into Germanye agayne for Engiſt, who eftſones makyng his returne, came in with a nauy of 300. ſhippes well apointed. The Nobles of Britanie hearing this, prepared themſelues on the contrary ſyde in al forceable wiſe to put them of. But Engiſt through Rowen hys daughter ſo labored the king: excuſing himſelf, & ſaying ẏ he brought not ẏ multitude, to worke any violence either againſt him or againſt his countrey, but only thinking that Vortimer had yet bene alyue, whom he mynded to impugne for ẏ kyngs ſake, & to take his part. And now for ſo much as he heareth of the death of Vortimer his enemye, he therfore committe both himſelfe and his people to his diſpoſition, to appoynte how fewe or how many of them he would to remayne within his land: the reſt ſhould returne. And if it ſo pleaſed the kyng, to appoint day and place, where they might meete and talke together of the matter, both he and his would ſtande to ſuch order as the kyng with his counſail ſhould appoint. With theſe fayre wordes the kyng and his nobles (well contented) did aſſigne to them both day and place, which was in the town of Ambry: wher he ment to talk wt thē, addyng this cōdition with al, that eche part ſhould come without any maner of weapon. Engiſt ſhewyng himſelf wel agreed thereto, gaue priuy intelligence to hys ſyde, that eche man ſhould cary with him ſecretly in his hoſe a long knife, with their watch word alſo geuen vnto thē when they ſhould draw their knyues: wherwith euerye Saxon ſhould (and ſo dyd) kyl the Britayne, with whom he talked, as is aboue declared. The Britayne Lordes beyng ſlayne, the Saxons tooke Vortigerne the kyng, and bound him: for whoſe rāſom they required to be deliuered to thē the Citie of Lōdon, Yorke, Lincolne, Wincheſter, with other the moſt ſtrōgeſt holdes within the land: whiche beyng to them graunted, they begynne to make ſpoyle and hauocke of the Britayne nation, deſtroying the citizens, pluckyng downe churches, kyllyng vp the prieſtes, burning bookes of the holye ſcripture, leauyng nothing vndone that tiranny could worke, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord.462. The kyng ſeing this miſerable ſlaughter of the people fled into Wales.

Example what it is to let in ſtrāge nations

Mariage with infidels what deſtruction it worketh.

The ſecond returne of Engiſt into Britaine.

This whyle Aurelius Ambroſius, & Vterpendragon brethern to kyng Conſtans aboue mētioned, whō Vortigern wickedly cauſed to be kylled, wer in litle Britayn. To whom the Britaynes ſent words, deſyring their aide in helpyng their countrey. Aurelius vnderſtandyng the wofull ſtate of the realme, ſpeedeth him ouer to ſatiſfye their deſire, & to reſcue (what in hym was) their neceſſitie. Who at his firſt commyng eftſones being crowned for their kyng, ſeketh out wycked Vortigerne, the cauſe of all this trouble & murderer of king Conſtans his brother. And finding him in Wales in a ſtrong tower, wherin he had inmured himſelf, ſetteth hym and his caſtell on fire. That done he moued his power againſt the Saxones, with whom, and with Elle captayne of the South ſaxones (who then was newly come ouer) he had diuers conflictes.

Our Engliſh olde Chronicles make record that Horſus the brother of Engiſt was ſlayne before in the tyme of Vortimer. The ſame alſo do record, that thys Engiſt was taken priſoner in the field, fighting againſt Aurelius Ambroſius: who then conſulting with his Nobles & Barons, what was to bee done with hym: the byſhop of Glouceſter, called Eldadus, ſtanding vp, gaue this counſail, ſaying: that if al mē would deliuer him, yet he with his owne handes would cut him in pieces, alleaging the example of Samuel againſt Agag king of ẏ Ameleches, taken by king Saul in the field: whom the ſaid Samuell cauſed to be cut in pieces. Euē ſo (ſaith he) do you to this Agag here: that as he hath made many a womā widow, and without children: ſo his mother ſhal bee made thys day of him likewyſe. And ſo was Engiſt taken out of ẏ citie by Eldol conſul or Mayor of Glouceſter, and there was beheaded: if truth or credite is to be geuen to theſe our old Britayn ſtories: wherof I haue nothing certain

ly to

x henric. unting- onenſi. alfrido. Ex Chro- ico quodã ariēſi.

ly to pronounce, but that I may ſuſpect the truth thereof, which was about the yere of our Lord. 490. Henr. Huntyng. Galfr. cum aliis.

he vncer- aintie of ur old Bri yn ſtories x hiſtori Cariana

A certayne auncient written hiſtory I haue in Latin, compiled in the .xiiii. yeare of kyng Richarde the ſecond, and by him cauſed to be written as the title declareth: which becauſe it beareth no name of the author: I call it by the name of him of whõ I borowed this boke, with many other likewiſe without name, Hiſtoria Cariana. This hiſtory recordeth that Hẽgiſtus died in Kent the .xxxii. yeare of his raigne: which if it bee true, then is it falſe that he was taken at Cunynburgh, and ſlaine in the North. This Aurelius Ambroſius before mentioned, is thought of Polidorus Vergilius cityng the autoritie of Bede, to deſcend of the ſtock of the Romains: which as it is not vnpoſſible to be true: ſo this is certain by the full accord of all our olde written ſtories, yͤ both the ſaid Aurelius, and his brother Vterpendragon beyng the ſonnes of Conſtantinus, brother to Andoenus kyng of litle Britayne, were nurſed and brought vp in England, in their tender age, and inſtructed by Guitelinus Archbiſhop of London, and after the murder of Conſtans their elder brother, were conueyed frõ hence to litle Britayne: wherby it is manifeſt that they were borne in this land, & though their father wer a Romain as Polydorus pretendeth, yet like it is that they were Britaynes borne, and had a Britaine to their mother.

urelius, mbroſi s Brit. ing.

ter pẽdra on Brit. ing.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the ſtory ſayth) was poyſoned by the craftye meanes of Paſcentius, Vortigernus ſonne (ſuborning one, vnder the weede of a Moonke to play the Phiſician, and ſo to poyſon hym) nexte ſucceded his brother Vter, ſurnamed Pendragõ, about the yere of our Lord. 497., who fighting againſt Octa and Coſa, tooke them and brought them to London ther to be kept. But they breaking out of priſon returned into Germanie for more ayde. In this meane tyme dayly recourſe was of Saxons, with great companies comming out of Saxonie: with whom the Britaynes had diuers and ſundrye conflictes, ſome tymes winning, ſometimes looſing. Not long after Octa and Coſa, reneuing their power in Germanie, in al moſt ſpedie haſte did returne again, & ioyne wͭ the other Saxons againſt the Brytaines. Here beganne the ſtate of miſerable Brytaine daily more and more to decay, while the idolatrous Saxons preuayled in number and ſtrength againſt the Chriſtian Britaines: oppreſſing the people, throwing down Churches and Monaſtries, murdering the prelates, ſparing neyther age nor perſon, but waſting Chriſtianitie almoſt through the whole Realme. To theſe miſeries it fell moreouer that Vter their kyng was ſicke and could not come out. Notwithſtanding beyng greued with the lamentable deſtruction of hys people, cauſed his bed to be brought into the campe, where God gaue him the victorie: Octa and Coſa there being ſlaine. After thys victorie in ſhorte ſpace Vter dyed of poyſon (as is ſaid) put into a fountaine of water, wherof the king was woont to drinke, about the yeare of our Lorde. 516. Flor. hiſt.

emember he wordes f Gildas 3 hiſt. aria,

he chriſti n Britayns erſecuted y the hea- en Saxõs

ng Ar- ur.

The tale of kyng Arthur

About which tyme and yeare, came in Stuph and Wigarus two nephewes of Certhice king of Weſt ſaxons, with their companyes ſo violentlye vpon the Brytaines, that they of the weſt parte of the Realme, were not able to reſiſte them. Then the mercifull prouidence of almightie God, rayſed vp for them King Arthur the ſonne of Vter: who was then crowned after hym and victoriouſlye reigned. To thys Arthure the olde Brytaine hiſtoryes do aſcribe .xij. great victories againſt the heathen Saxons: whoſe notorious & famous conqueſts, mencioned in the Britaine ſtoryes, I leaue them as I finde them: referring them to the credit of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithſtanding as I do not thinke contrary, but God by the foreſaid Arthure, gaue to the Brytaines ſome ſtaye and quietnes during hys life, and certaine of his ſucceſſors: ſo touching certaine of great victories & conqueſtes, not only ouer this land, but alſo ouer all Europe, I iudge them more fabulous, then that any credit ſhoulde be geuen vnto them, more worthye to be ioyned with the Iliades of Homere, then to haue place in any eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. After Arthur next king of the Britains, was Cõſtantinus the .3. After hym Aurelius Conanus. Thẽ Vortiporius, after whom folowed Malgo, noted in ſtoryes to be a Sodomite. And after him yͤ laſt king of the Britains, was Carecius, all geuen to Ciuil war, execrable to God & man. Who being chaſed out by the Britains thẽſelues, yͤ land fell to yͤ poſſeſſiõ of the Saxons: about yͤ yere of our Lord. 568. by whom all the clergie and the Chriſtian miniſters of the Brytaines, were then vtterly driuen out: Inſomuch that Theonus Archbiſhop of London, and Thadeoſeus Archbiſhop of Yorke, ſeing their churches all waſted, and pariſhes diſparſed, with their cariages and monumentes: left their ſeas in Britanie, & fled into Cambria, which we now call Wales. Touching which matter, and touching alſo the cauſe of this deſolatiõ and ruine of the Britains kingdõ, the firſt fountain & origine therof partly before is declared, wher was ſhewed in yͤ time of Conſtantinus Magnus & Maximinianus pag. 148. how theſe noble princes wͭ other moe, achiuing their vẽtrous aſſayres in other coũtryes, toke wͭ thẽ great multitudes and armies out of Britain: through the occaſiõ wherof, yͤ land was greatly empayred & depriued of his moſt chief and principall nobles, being caried away to ſerue in foren warres. Which was no ſmall cauſe, why the Realme of Britaine (being ſo waſted) was the leſſe able to helpe it ſelf agaynſt their enemies. Although this was not the chief occaſion, but other cauſes there were greater, wherfore God by his iuſt iudgement, ſuffered this plage and ouerthrowe to fall vpon that people, as here out of an olde author, and partly out of Gildas, as I haue found it, ſo I thought to annexe it in hys owne wordes, firſt in latin, then afterward engliſhing yͤ ſame, for the more credite of that which ſhall be alleaged, in tenor as followeth.

Conſtãtinus 3.
Aurelius Cona.
Vortiporius,
Malgo,
Carecius
kyngs of Brit.

The Archbiſhop of Londõ and the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke flee into Wales.

Ex hiſtoria quadã cariẽſi.

The cauſes of the deſtructiõ of the Britains declared.

Nobiliores totius regni prædictos duces ſequuti fuerũt, et ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium optinere cœpiſſent, extulerunt ſe vltra quod dignitas expectebat. Et ob affluenciam diuitiarum ſuperbi cœperunt tali & tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita eſt. Et, vt Gildas hiſtoricus teſtatur, non ſolum hoc vitium ſed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere ſolent, et præcipue quod totius boni euertit ſtatum, odium veritatis, amor mendacii, ſuſceptio mali pro bono, ueneratio nequiciæ pro benignitate, exceptatio Sathanæ pro angelo lucis: vngebantur reges, non propter dominium, ſed qui cæteris crudeliores eſſent. Si quis vero eorum mitior, et veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quaſi Britanniæ ſubuerſorem omnia odia, telaq; torquebãtur. Omnia quæ deo placebant & diſplicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non ſolum hoc ſeculares viri, ſed & ipſe grex domini, eiuſq; paſtores ſine diſcretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum eſt degeneres tales patriam illam amittere quã prædicto modo maculabant.

In engliſh thus

In Engliſh thus: The nobles of this realme folowing the princes & captaynes aboue named: by the reaſon therof the vulgar and raſkal ſorte remayned behind at home. Who when they had gotten the roomes & places of yͤ nobles, they auãced themſelues aboue that their dignitie required. And through their aboundaunce of riches, they ſuppriſed with pride, began to fall into ſuche and ſo great fornication, as was neuer heard of euen among the Gentiles. And as Gildas the Hiſtoriographer witneſſeth, not into this vice onely, but alſo into all maner of wickednes, wherto mans nature is inclined: and eſpeciallye into that which is the ouerthrowe of all good eſtates, the hatred of the truth, loue of lies, imbracing of euill in ſtead of goodnes, regarding of miſchiefe in ſtead of vertue, receauing of the deuil in ſtead of an Angell of light. They annoynted kings not ſuch as could wel rule a common wealth, but thoſe which exceded all other in crueltie. And if any might be perceaued to be ſomwhat more humble or meeke, or to be more enclined to fauor the truth then the reſidue, him did euery one hate and backbyte as the ouerthrower & deſtroyer of Britaine. All things, whether they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God, they regarded alike. And not ſeculer men onely did thus, but alſo the congregation of the Lord and their Biſhops, & teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marueled, that ſuch people ſo degenerating and going out of kinde ſhould loſe that countrye, which they had after this maner defiled.

And thus much hitherto concerning the hiſtorye of the Britaines, till, by the grace of Chriſt, the order of time ſhal bring vs hereafter to the treatiſe of Cedwalla & Calwalladrus. Now remayneth, in returning againe to the matter of the Saxons, to diſcourſe particularly, that which before in yͤ table aboue we haue ſummarely comprehended.

In this order & raſe of yͤ Saxon kings, aboue ſpecified whiche had thus thruſt out yͤ Britons, and now deuided their land in. vij. kingdōs: as ther were many noughty & wicked kings (whoſe pernicious exāples, being al ſet on warre and bloodſhed, are greatlye to be deteſted and eſchued of all true godly Princes) ſo ſome there were agayne (although but few) very ſincere and good. But none almoſt from the firſt to the laſt, which was not either ſlayne in warre, or murdered in peace, or els conſtrayned to make himſelfe a Moonke. Suche was the rage thē and tyranny of that tyme. Whether we ſhould impute it to the corruptiō of mans nature, or to the iuſt iudgement of Gods hand, ſo diſpoſing the matter, that as they had violentlye and falſelye diſpoſſeſſed the Britons of their right: ſo they moſt miſerably were not onely vexed of the Danes, and cōquered at laſt by the Normans: but alſo more cruelly deuoured them ſelues, one warring ſtil againſt an other, til they were neither able to helpe them ſelues, nor yet to reſiſt others. Of them which are noted for good among theſe Saxon kynges, the firſt and principal is Ethelbertus, or Ethelbrict the firſt kyng of Kent aboue ſpecified: who by the meanes of Auſten and partly through his wyfe, named Berda, firſte receiued and preferred the Chriſtian faythe, in all this lande of the Engliſh Saxons, whereof more foloweth hereafter to be ſayd (the Lord ſo permitting) as place and oportunitie ſhall require. The next place I geue to Oſwaldus of Northumberland, who not onely did his endeuour in furthering the fayth of Chriſt amongſt hys people: but alſo being kyng, diſdayned not himſelfe to ſtand vp and interpreate to his nobles & ſubiectes the preaching of Aidanus, preaching Chriſt to thē in his Scottiſh language. In the ſame commendacion alſo, like as in the ſame lyne, cōmeth hys vncle Edwin, king of Northumberland, a good Prince, and the fyrſt receauer of Chriſtes fayth in that lande, by the meanes of his wyfe, and Paulinus biſhop. Adde to theſe alſo Sigebert, firſt chriſtened kyng of the Eaſtanglis, and Sebert, firſt chriſtned king of Eſſex: of whom the one was a great furtherer of religion, and ſetter vp of ſchooles: the other which is Sebert or Sexbricth, was neuewe to Ethelbert of Kent, vnder whom he ruled in Eſſex. By the which Ethelbert, in the tyme of the ſayd Sebert the church of Paules was builded at London, and Chriſtiā fayth much enlarged. &c. Of the ſame name there was alſo an other Ethelbert king of the Eaſtanglis, a good Prince: who by the aduiſe of his counſail perſwaded to mariage (though agaynſt hys wyl) went peaceablye to kyng Offa for deſpouſage of Althride hys daughter, wher yͤ good king meaning innocētly through yͤ ſiniſter & deuiliſh cōūſayl of kyng Offa his wyfe, was ſecretely beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa throughe repentaunce thereof, made the firſte Peter pence to be geuen to S. Peters church in Rome.

This Berda beyng a Chriſtian was maried vnto Ethelbert vpon the condition that ſhe ſhould be ſuffred to inioye her religion.

Ethelbertus kyng of Kent.

Oſwaldus king of Northumberland.

Edwinus king of Northumberland.

Sigebertus of Eaſtanglis.

Sebert or Sexbrickt of Eſſex

The firſt building of the church of Paules in London.

Ethelbert king of the Eaſtangles.

Peter how they came be pa Rome.

In the Cataloge of theſe good kings is alſo to be nūbred Kenelmus, king of the Mercians, and Edmundus king of the Eaſtanglis: of the which twoo the firſt was falſely and abhominably circumuented and beheaded, by the meanes of hys cruel ſiſter & hys tutor, as he was in hys hunting at Corfcaſtle. The other which is called king Edmunde the martyr, was ſlayne at Bury, or as ſome wryte at the Caſtel of Haleſdon by the Danes: vpon what occaſion, hiſtories do vary. The autor of Flores hiſtoriarum ſayth, it was by reaſon of one Lothebrocus a Dane: who being of the kynges blood, and being with his Hawke on the ſea ſyde in a litle boate, was dryuen by force of weather into the coaſt of Norfolke, wher he being preſented to kyng Edmund, was retayned in hys court with great fauour: tyll at length one Bericke the the kynges Fawkner, enuying and deſpiting him, for his great dexteritie in that facultie, priuely did murder him in a wood. This being at laſt ſpied (as murder lightly wil come out) Bericke was ſet in Lothbrockes bote alone without al tackling, to be cōmitted vnto the ſea: and as it chaunced ſo was driuen into Denmarke, who there being ſeene in Lothebrockes bote, was ſtraitly examined of the partie. He then to excuſe him ſelfe, falſely ſaid he was ſlaine by the commaundement of the kyng. Vpon the occaſion wherof Inguar and Hubba ſonnes to the ſaid Lothebroke gathering an army of Danes, inuaded firſte Northumberland: after that bruſting into Northfolke on euery ſide, ſent this meſſage to king Edmund after this tenor: Signifieng that king Inguar the victorious Prince (dread both by ſea and land) as he had ſubiect diuers other landes vnder him, ſo arriuing now to the coaſtes of Norfolke, where he intendeth to wynter: chargeth & commaundeth him to deuide wyth him his old treaſures and his fathers riches, and ſo to rule vnder him: which if he woulde not doo, but woulde contemne his power ſo ſtrongly furniſhed with ſuch an army, he ſhould be iudged as vnworthy both of kingdom and life. &c. The king hearing this meſſage, aſtoined not a litle therat, calling his counſaile about him, conſulted with them, eſpecially with one of his biſhops, being thē his Secretary, what was beſt to be done: who fearyng the kinges life, exhorted him by wordes and diuers examples to agrée to the meſſage. At this a while the king holding his peace, at length therto made anſwer againe in theſe wordes ſaying: Go (ſayth he) tel your Lord, and let him know that Edmundus the chriſtened king, for the loue of this temporal lyfe, wil not ſubiect himſelf to a Pagane Duke, vnles before he become a Chriſtiā, &c. The meſſenger taking hys anſwere was not ſo ſone out of the gates, as Inguar meeting him and bidding hym to be ſhort in declaring hys anſwere, cauſed all yͤ kings garriſon to be ſet round about. Some ſay that the king flying to Tetford, there pitch a fielde with the Danes, but the Danes preuayling, the good king from thence dyd flye to yͤ caſtle of Haleſdon aboue mentioned: where he being purſued of the Danes was there taken, and at length being bound to a ſtake, there of yͤ rayling Danes was ſhot to death. And thus much for the good kinges.

Kene king of Mercia

S.Edm kyng of Eaſtang

The meſ ſage of In nar to ki Edmun

The ma dō of ky Edmūd Norf

Now as concerning thoſe kinges which made them ſelues Monkes (which in number be. vij. or. 8.) although example be rare and ſtraunge, and much commended of the Chroniclers of that time: yet I can not raſhly aſſent to their commendation, albeit the caſe therof is no matter of our hiſtorie. Fyrſt in altering their eſtate frō kinges to Monkes, if they did it to finde more eaſe, and leſſe trouble therby: I ſée not how that excuſe ſtandeth with the office of a good man, to chaunge hys publique vocation, for reſpecte of priuate commoditie. If feare of

A queſti whethe kynges whiche made th ſelues Monkes did wel ſo doyn or not. Aunſwe

ieoperdie

ieopardie and daunger did driue them therunto: what prayſe and commendation they deſerue, in ſo doing let the Monkiſhe hiſtories iudge what they liſte: me ſemeth ſo much prayſe as they deſerue in prouiding their own ſafetie, ſo much they deſerue againe to be diſcōmended in forſaking the common wealth. If they did it (as moſt like it is) for holines ſake, thinking in that kinde of life to ſerue & pleaſe God better: or to merite more toward their ſaluation then in the eſtate of a king, therin they were farre deceaued: not knowing that the ſaluation which commeth of God is to be meaſured and eſtemed, not by mans merites, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of any vocation more of one then an other: but onely by the free grace of the Goſpell, which frelye iuſtifieth al them, that faythfully beleue in Chriſt Ieſu. But here will be ſayd againe peraduenture, in the ſolitarie life of Monkerye, be fewer occaſions of euills, then in kinges courtes, wherefore that life ſerueth more to holines, and more is to be preferred then the other. To this I anſwere, to auoyde the occaſions of euill is good, where ſtrength lacketh to reſiſte. But otherwyſe, where duetie and charge bindeth to tarye, there to auoyde the occaſions of euill: where rather they are to be reſiſted: rather declareth a weakenes of the man, then deſerueth any prayſe: As it is truely ſayd of Tullie: Out of Aſia, ſaith he, to liue a good life, is no godamercy: but in Aſia where ſo great occaſions of euill abound, there to liue a good man, that is prayſe worthye. With the like reaſon I may inferre, if a man be called to be a king, there not to chaunge the vocation, for voyding of occaſions, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, and to kepe hys vocation, declareth a good and a perfect mā. But of theſe bymatters hetherto ſufficient.

These thinges now thus premiſed, concerning the order and reigne of kinges, as is aboue prefixed: conſequently it remaineth to enter yͤ tractatiō of ſuch things, as in the time and reigne of the foreſayd kinges happened in the church: firſt putting the reder againe in mind of yͤ former perſecutions wͭin the Realm, partly before touched in the time of the Britain kings, which ſpecially were. iij. or. iiij. before yͤ cōming of Auſten into Englād.

1. The firſt was vnder Diocleſian, and that not onely in England, but generally throughout al yͤ Romain Monarchie, as is aboue ſpecified. In this perſecutiō, Albanus, Iulius, Aarō, wͭ a greate nūber moe of other good Chriſtiā Brytayns, were Martyred for Chriſtes name.

2. The ſecond perſecution or deſtruction of Chriſtian faith, was by the inuading of Gnauius & Melga: whereof, the firſt was captaine of the Hunnes, the other of the Pictes. Theſe two tyrants, after the cruell ſlaughter of Urſula & other. 11000. noble Uirgines, made their rode into Britayne, hearing the ſame to bee deſtitute of the ſtrength of men. At what tyme they made a miſerable murder of Chriſtes ſainctes, ſpoiling and waſting churches, without all mercy eyther of women or childrē, ſparyng none.

3. The third perſecution came by Hengiſt, and the Saxones: who likewiſe deſtroyed & waſted the chriſten cōgregatiōs wͭin the land, lyke raging Wolues fleyng vpon yͤ ſhepe, & ſpilling the blood of Chriſtiās, tyl Aurelius Ambroſius came, & reſtored agayn the churches deſtroyed.

4. The fourth deſtruction of Chriſten faith and religiō, was by Gurmundus a Pagane kyng of the Africanes: who ioyning in league with yͤ Saxones, wrought much greuance to the chriſtians of the land. In ſo muche that Theonus biſhop of London, and Thadioceus biſhop of Yorke, with yͤ reſt of the people ſo many as were left: hauyng no place, wherin to remayne with ſafetye, did flee ſome to Cornwall, & ſome to the mountaynes of Wales about the yeare of our Lorde. D. l. & this perſecution remained to yͤ time of Ethelbert kyng of Kēt. an. D. lxxxix.

In the raigne of this Ethelbert, which was then the fifte kyng of Kent, the fayth of Chriſt was firſt receyued of the Saxones or Engliſhmen: by the meanes of Gregory biſhop of Rome, in maner and order as here foloweth, out of old hiſtories collected and recorded.

First then to ioyne the order of our hiſtory together: The chriſten faith firſt receiued of kyng Lucius, endured in Britayne tyll this tyme, nere vppon the ſeaſon of CCCC. yeres and odde: when by Gurmundus Africanus (as is ſayd) fyghting with the Saxones agaynſte the Britaynes, it was nere extinct in all the land, during the ſpace about. xliiii. yeares. So that the firſte ſpringing of chriſtes goſpel in this lād, was an. 180. The cōming of yͤ Saxons was. an. 449. or an. 469. The cōmyng of Auſten was. an. 596. Frō the firſt entring in of yͤ Saxones to their complet conqueſt, and the driuyng out of yͤ Britaynes (which was about the latter tyme of Cadwalader) were. 240. yeares. In ſomme from Chriſt to Lucius were. 180. yeares. The continuaunce of the Goſpell from Lucius to the entring of the Saxones was. 302. yeares. The decaye of the ſame to the entring of Auſten was. 143. yeares, whiche beyng added together make from Lucius to Auſten. 445. from Chriſt to Auſten they make. 598. yeares. In this yere then. 598. Auſten being ſent from Gregory came into Englande: the occaſion wherupon Gregory ſent him hither was this.

Kyng Lucius died CCCC. xxviii before the commyng of Auſten.

The computation of tymes concerning the continuāce and decay of chriſtes goſpel betwene the Britaynes and Saxones.

An. 598

In the dayes of Pelagius biſhop of Rome, Gregorye chanſyng to ſee certain children in the market place of Rome (brought thether to be ſold out of England) beyng faire & beautiful of viſage, demaunded out of what countrey they were: and vnderſtanding they were heathniſh, out of England, lamented the caſe of that land beyng ſo beautiful and Angelical, ſo to be ſubiecte vnder the prince of darknes. And aſking moreouer out of what prouince they were, it was aunſwered, oute of Deira a part of Northſaxons: wherof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call Deyrham taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of Deira, theſe people (ſaith he) are to be deliuered de dei ira, whiche is, from Gods wrathe. Moreouer vnderſtandyng the kinges name of that prouince to be Alle (a boue mentioned) alluding likewyſe to his name: there (ſaith he) ought Alleluia to be ſong to the liuing God. wherupon being moued and deſirous to go and helpe the conuertion of that countrey, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romaines for that tyme to accompliſh his deſire. But afterward being biſhop him ſelf next after Pelagius, he ſente thither the foreſayde Auſtē with other preachers nere about to the number of xl. But by the waye, how it happened I cannot ſaye: As Auſten with his company wer paſſing in their iourney, ſuch a ſodaine feare entred in their hartes (that as Antonius ſaith) they returned all. Other write that Auſten was ſente backe to Gregorye agayn, to releaſe them of that viage ſo daūgerous and vncertain, amongſt ſuch a barbarous people: whoſe language neyther they knew, nor whoſe rudenes they were able to reſiſt. Then Gregory with pithye perſwaſions confirming and comforting him, ſent him again with letters, both to the biſhop of Arelalenſis, willing hym to helpe and ayde the ſayde Auſten and his company in all, whatſoeuer his neede required. Alſo other letters he directed by the foreſaid Auſten vnty his fellowes, exhortyng them to goe forwarde boldly in the Lordes worke, as by the tenor of the ſayd epiſtle here following may appeare.

Beda Polychronicon. lib 5. cap. 8 6. Maleſburienſis de regib. Henr. Huntington. lib. 3 Fabianus, part. 5. ca. 119 liber bibliothecæ tornacenſis.

Deyrham in Northumberland.

Epiſcopus Arelalenſis.

Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, ſeruis domini noſtri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab iis quæ cœpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, &c in engliſhe. Gregorye the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to the ſeruaunts of our Lord. Forſmuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, thē after they be begonne, to thinke to reuolte backe from the ſame againe: therfore now you may not, nor can not (deare childrē) but with all feruent ſtudy & labour, muſt nedes go forward in that good buſines, which through the helpe of God you haue wel begonne. Neither let the labour of your iourney, nor the ſlaunderous tonges of men apalle you, but that with all inſtance and feruencye ye pro-

Ex Henr. Huntingtonenſi, lib. 3

The epiſtle of Gregory to them which wēt to preach in England.

ye proceede & accompliſhe the thing which the Lord hath ordayned you to take in hand: knowing that your great trauaile ſhalbe recōpenſed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therfore as we ſend here Auſten to you againe, whom alſo we haue ordayned to be your gouernour: ſo do you hūbly obey him in all things, knowing that it ſhall be profitable ſo, for your ſoules, whatſoeuer at hys admonition ye ſhal do. Almightie God with his grace defend you, and graunt me to ſee in the eternal countrey the fruite of your labour: that although I can not labour as I would with you, yet I may be founde partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the ſame fellowſhip with you together. The Lord God kepe you ſafe, moſt deare & welbeloued children. Dated the. x. before the Calendes of Auguſt, in the reigne of our ſoueraigne Lord Mauritius moſt vertuous Emperour, the. xiiij. of hys Empiere.

The Biſhop of Rome calleth the Emperour hys Lord.

Auſten & hys company commeth to England.

Thus they emboldened & comforted through yͤ good wordes of Gregorye, ſped forthe their iourney till they came at length to the Iſle of Thenet: lying vppon the eaſt ſide of Kent. Here to the which landing place, was then the Manorye or palace of the king, not farre from Sandwyche (eaſtward from Caunterburye) which the inhabitaunce of yͤ Ile, then called Richbourgh: wherof ſome part of the ruinous walles is yet to be ſene. The king thē reigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as aboue appeareth, the fyſt king of that prouince: who at that time had maryed to wife a French woman being chriſtened, named Berda: whom he had receaued of her parentes vpon thys condition, that he ſhoulde permitte her with her Biſhop committed vnto her, called Lebardus, to enioye the fredome of her fayth & religion: by the meanes wherof, he was the more flexible, & ſoner induced to embrace the preaching and doctrine of Chriſt. Thus Auſten being arriued, ſent forth certayne meſſingers and interpreters to the king, ſignifying that ſuch one was come frome Rome, bringing with him glad tidinges to hym and al his people, of life and ſaluatiō eternally to reigne in heauen, with the onely true and liuing God, for euer: if he would ſo willinglye harken to the ſame, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it vnto hym.

Ethelbert king of Kent.

What goodnes commeth to haue a good & a godly wyfe.

The king, who had heard of thys religion before by meanes of his wife, within a fewe daies after commeth to the place where Auſten was to ſpeake with hym: but that ſhould be without the houſe, after the maner of his lawe. Auſten agaynſt his comming, as ſtories affyrme, erected vp a banner of the crucifixe (ſuch was then the groſſenes of that tyme) and preached to hym the worde of God. The king aunſwering againe ſayth in effecte, as followeth: The wordes be very fayre that you preach and promiſe. Neuertheles, becauſe it is to me vncowth and new, I can not ſoone ſtart away from my country lawe wherwith I haue bene ſo long inured, and aſſent to you. Albeit yet notwithſtāding for that ye are come, as ye ſay, ſo farre for my ſake: ye ſhall not be moleſted by me, but ſhal be right wel entreated, hauing al things to you miniſtred neceſſarye for your ſupportation. Beſides this, neyther do we debarre you, but to haue free leaue to preach to our people and ſubiectes, to conuert whom ye may to the fayth of your religion.

The kyngs anſwer to Auſten

The kyng ſtayth vpon old cuſtome.

When they had receaued this comfort of the King, they went with proceſſion to the citie of Dorobernia, or Caunterbury, ſinging Alleluya with the Letanie, which then by Gregorye had bene vſed at Rome in the time of the great plage, reigning then at Rome, mencioned in olde hiſtoryes: The wordes of the Letanie were theſe: Deprecamur te domine in omni miſericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate iſta, et de domo ſancta tua: quoniā peccauimus. Alleluya. That is. We beſech thee O Lord in al thy mercies, that thy furie and anger may ceaſe from this citie, and from thy holy houſe, for we haue ſinned. Alleluya. Thus they entring in the citie of Dorobernia, the head citie of al that dominion at that time, where the king had geuē them a manſion for their abode: there they continued preaching & baptiſing ſuch as they had conuerted in the eaſt ſide of the citie, in the olde Church of S. Martine (where yͤ Queene was wont to reſorte) vnto the time that the king was conuerted himſelf to Chriſt. At length when the king had wel conſidered the honeſt conuerſation of their life, and moued with the miracles wrought through Gods hand by thē, he heard them more gladly: & laſtlye by their wholſome exhortations, and example of godly life, he was by them conuerted and chriſtened in the yeare aboue ſpecified. D. lxxxxvj. and the. xxxvj. yeare of his reigne. After the king was thus cōuerted, innumerable other daily came in, and were adioyned to the church of Chriſt: whom the king did ſpecially embrace, but compelling none: for ſo he had learned that the fayth & ſeruice of Chriſt ought to be voluntarie, & not coacte. Then he gaue to Auſten a place for his Biſhops ſee at Chriſtes Church in Dorobernia, and builded the Abbey of S. Peter and Paule, in the eaſtſide of the ſayd citie, where after Auſten, and all the kinges of Kent were buryed, and that place is nowe called S. Auſteine.

The Letany of Auſten.

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In thys while Auſten ſayled into Fraunce to the biſhop Arelatenſis, called Ethereus: by hym to be conſecrated Archbiſhop, by the cōmaundement of Gregorye, and ſo was. Alſo the ſayd Auſten ſent to Rome, Laurentius one of his company, to declare to Gregorye howe they had ſped, and what they had done in England: ſending withall, to haue the counſail and aduiſe of Gregorye, cōcerning. ix. or. x. queſtions, wherof ſome are partlye touched before.

Au
made A
biſhop,

The tenour of his queſtions or interrogations, with the aunſweres of Gregorye to the ſame: here followe in engliſhe briefely tranſlated.

¶ The queſtions of Auſten Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent to Gregory, wyth the aunſweres agayne of Gregorye to the ſame.

¶ The firſt interrogation.

My firſt queſtion (reuerend father) is concerning Biſhops, howe they ought to behaue them ſelues toward their Clarkes. Or of ſuch oblations as the faithful offer vpon the altar: what portions or diuidentes ought to be made therof.

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interrog
tion.
The an
ſwer.

The anſvver.

How a biſhop ought to behaue himſelfe in the Congregation, the holy ſcripture teſtifieth: which I doubt not but you know rightwel, eſpecially in yͤ epiſtles of S. Paule to Timothe: wherein he laboreth to informe the ſaid Timothe, howe to behaue hys conuerſation in the houſe of the lord. The maner is of the ſea Apoſtolike, to warne and charge al ſuch as be ordayned biſhops: of all their ſtipende or that which is geuen, to make. iiij. partitions. One to the biſhop for hoſpitalitie, and receauyng commers in. An other to the Clergye. The third to the poore. The fourth to the repayring of Churches. But becauſe your brotherhood inſtructed with rules of Monaſticall diſcipline, cannot lyue ſeperated from your Clarkes about you: therfore in yͤ Engliſh church (which now throughe the prouidence of God is brought to the fayth of Chriſt) you muſt obſerue this inſtitution, concerning your conuerſation: which was in the firſt fathers in the beginning of the primitiue churche, among whom there was not one which counted anye thyng to be hys own proper, of al that he did poſſeſſe: but all was common among them.

Diſtrib
of Ch
goods.

¶ The ſecond interrogation.

I deſire to know and to be inſtructed, whether clarks that cannot contayne, may marry. And if they do marry, whether then they ought to returne to the ſecular ſtate agayne or no?

2. interr

The anſvver.

If there be any Clarkes out of holye orders, whych cannot contayne, let them haue their wiues, and take

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their ſtipendes or wages wythout. For we reade it ſo written of the foreſayd fathers, that they deuided to euerye perſon, according as their worke was. Therfore as concerning the ſtipend of ſuch, it muſt be prouided and thought vpon. And they muſt alſo be holden vnder eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, to lyue a godly conuerſation: to employe themſelues in ſinging Pſalmes, and to refrayne their toung, hart and body (by the grace of God) from al thinges vnſemely and vnlawful. As for the vulgare and common ſorte, which liue after the common condicion of men: to deſcribe what particions to make, what hoſpitalitie to keepe, or what workes of mercye to exhibite to ſuch: I haue nothing to ſay, but to geue (as our mayſter teacheth) in al our deedes of mercy, of that which aboundeth. Of that (ſaith he) which aboundeth or is ouerplus, geue almes, & behold al things be cleane vnto you.

interrog.

¶ *The third interrogation.*

Seyng there is but one fayth, how happeneth thẽ, the ceremonies and cuſtomes of Churches to bee ſo diuers. As in the church of Rome there is one cuſtome and maner of Maſſe: and the French church hath an other?

he aun-
wer.

The anſvver.

The cuſtome of the church of Rome, what it is you know: wherin ye remember that you haue ben brought vp from your youth. But rather it pleaſeth me better, that whether it be in the Churche of Rome, or in anye French church: where ye finde anye thing that ſeemeth better to the ſeruice and pleaſyng of God, ẏ ye chuſe the ſame: and ſo to inferre & bring into the Engliſhe church (which is yet new in the fayth) the beſt & pikedſt thyngs choſen out of many churches. For thinges are not to be beloued for the place ſake, but the place is to be beloued for the thinges that be good. Wherfore ſuch thinges as be good, godly, and religious: thoſe chuſe out out of all churches, and induce to your people, that they may take roote in the mindes of Engliſhmen.

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ory.

interro-
tion.

¶ *The fourth interrogation.*

I pray you, what puniſhment iudge you for hym, that ſhal ſteale or pilfer any thing out of the church?

e aun-
wer.

The anſvver.

This your brotherhood maye ſoone diſcerne, by the perſon of a theefe, how it ought to be corrected. For ſome there be, which hauing ſufficient to lyue vpon, yet doo ſteale. Other there bee which ſteale of mere neceſſitye: Wherfore conſidering the quality and difference of the crime, neceſſarie it is that ſome bee corrected by loſſe of goods: ſome by ſtripes: ſome other more ſharplye, and ſome more eaſelye: yea and when ſharper correction is to be executed, yet that muſt be done with charitie, and with no furye. For in puniſhing offenders, this is the cauſe and end wherfore they are puniſhed: becauſe they ſhould be ſaued, and not periſh in hel fire. And ſo ought diſcipline to procede in correcting the faithfull, as doo good fathers in puniſhing their children, whom both they chaſten for their euil, and yet being chaſtened, they looke to haue them their heires, and thinke to leaue thẽ al they haue, notwithſtanding they correct them ſometymes in anger. Therfore this charitie muſt be kept in minde. And in the correctiõ ther is a meaſure to be had, ſo that the minde neuer doo any thing without the rule of reaſon. Ye adde moreouer with what recompence or meaſure thoſe thinges ought to be requyred agayne, which be ſtollen out of churches. But God forbyd that the church ſhoulde euer requyre agayne with increaſe, that which is loſt in outwarde thinges, and ſo ſeeke her gayne by endamaging other.

terrog.

¶ *The fiſt interrogation.*

Item, whether two brethren may marry two ſiſters, being farof from any part of kindred?

e aun-
er.

The anſvver.

This in no part of ſcripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

6. interrogatiõ.

¶ *The ſixt interrogation.*

Item, to what degree of kyndred may the matrimony of the faythful extend with their kindred, or whether is it lawful to marry with the ſtepmother, and wyth their kynſfolkes?

The anſwer.
In what degre
of kyndred a
mã may marry

The anſvver.

A certaine terrene law amongeſt the olde Romanes doth permit, that either brother or ſiſter, or the ſonne & daughter of .ij. brethren maye marry together. But by experience wee learne, that the iſſue of ſuche mariage doth neuer thriue, nor come forward. Alſo the holy lawe of God forbiddeth to reueale the turpitude of thy blood or kyndred.

Wherfore neceſſary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faythfull may lawfully marry. For in the ſeconde as being vnlawfull, they muſt needes refrayne. To be coopled with the ſtepmother, is vtterly abhominable, for is it wrytten in the lawe: Thou ſhalt not reueale the turpitude of thy father. For ſo much then as it is ſo written in the lawe, and they ſhall be two in one fleſh: the ſonne then that preſumeth to reueale the turpitude of his ſtepmother, which is one fleſhe with hys father, what doth he then but reueale the turpitude of hys owne father. Likewiſe it was forbidden and vnlawful to marry with your kindſwoman, which by by her firſt mariage was made one fleſh with thy brother. For the which cauſe Iohn the Baptiſt alſo loſt his head, & was crowned a martyr. Who though he died not for the confeſſion of Chriſt: yet for ſomuch as Chriſt ſayth: I am the truth, therfore in that Iohn Baptiſt was ſlayne for the truth, it may be ſayd his bloud was ſhed for Chriſt.

By this rule the
mariage of K.
Henry with Q.
Katherine
dowager, was
vnlawful.

7. interrogatiõ.

¶ *The ſeuenth interrogation.*

Item, whether ſuch as be ſo coupled together in filthy and vnlawful matrimony, ought to be ſeperated and denied the partaking of the holy Communion.

The aunſwer,

The anſvver.

Becauſe there be many of the nacion of Engliſh men which being yet in their infidelitie, were ſo ioyned and coopled in ſuch execrable mariage: the ſame comming now to faith, are to be admoniſhed hereafter to abſtain from the like, and that they know the ſame to bee a greuous ſynne. That they dread the dreadful iudgement of God, leſte for their carnall delectation, they incurre the tormentes of eternal puniſhment. And yet notwithſtanding they are not to be ſecluded therfore, from the participation of Chriſtes body and bloude, leaſt we ſhoulde ſeeme to reuenge thoſe thinges in them, which they before their baptiſme, through ignoraũce did commit. For in this time the holye Church doth correct ſome faultes more feruently, ſome faults ſhe ſuffreth againe through manſuetude and meekenes, ſome wittingly and willingly ſhe doth doth winke at, and diſſẽble: that many times the euil which ſhe doth deteſt, through bearing and diſſembling ſhe may ſtoppe and brydle. All they therfore which are come to the fayth, muſt be admoniſhed that they commit no ſuch offence. Which thing if they doo, they are to be depriued of the Communion of the Lords body and blood. For like as in them that fall through ignoraunce, their default in this caſe is to be tollerate: ſo in them againe it is ſtrongly to be inſued, which knowing they do nought, yet feare not to commit.

A diſcrete ſaying of Gregory to be noted.

8. interrogatiõ.

¶ *The eight interrogatorie.*

Item, in this I deſyre to be ſatiſfied, after what manner I ſhould deale or do wyth the Biſhops of Fraunce, and of Britaynes.

The anſwer.

The anſvver.

As touching the biſhops in Fraunce, I geue you no autority or power ouer them. For the biſhop of Arolas, or Orliance hath by the old time of our predeceſſors receiued the Palle, whome now we ought not to depriue of his autoritie. Therfore when your brotherhood ſhall go vnto the prouince of Fraunce, what ſoeuer he ſhall haue there to do with the biſhop of Orliance: ſo do, that he looſe nothing of that which he hath found and obtai-

25.q.2.cap.in Galliarum.

ned of the auncient ordinaunce of oure foreelders. But as concerning the biſhop of Britaine, we commit them al to your brotherhood, that ỹ ignorant may be taught, the infirme by perſuaſion may be confirmed, the wylful by autoritie may be corrected.

¶ The ninth interrogation.

9. interrogatiõ

Whether a woman being great with childe, ought to be baptiſed, or after ſhe hath childed, after how lõg time ſhe ought to enter into the church. Or els that which ſhe hath brought foorth, leaſt it ſhoulde bee preuented wyth deathe, after how manye dayes it ought to receaue baptiſme. Or after how long tyme after her childebirth is it lawfull for her huſbande to reſorte to hyr. Or els if ſhe bee in her monethly courſe, after the diſeaze of women, whether then ſhe may enter in the Churche, and receaue the ſacrament of the holye communion. Or els her huſband after the lying with hys wyfe, before he be waſhed with water, whether is it lawfull for hym to enter the church, and to draw nere vnto the miſtery of the holy cõmunion? All which thyngs muſt be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Engliſh men?

The anſvver.

The anſwer.

The childing or bearing woman, why maye ſhe not be baptiſed: ſeing that the fruitfulnes of the fleſhe is no fault before the eyes of almightye God? For our fyrſt parentes in Paradiſe, after they had tranſgreſſed: loſt their immortalitie by the iuſt iudgement of God which they had taken before. Then, becauſe almightye God would not mankinde vtterlye to periſh becauſe of hys fall (although he loſt now his immortalitie for his treſpas) yet of his benigne pietie, left notwithſtanding to him the fruite and generation of iſſue. Wherfore the iſſue and generation of mans nature, which is conſerued by the gift of almighty God, how can it be debarred frõ the grace of holy Baptiſme?

The churching of women.

As concerning the churching of women after they haue trauailed: where ye demaunde after howe many dayes they ought to go to the church, this you haue learned in the olde law, that for a man child. 30. daies, after a woman childe. 66. daies be appointed her to kepe in: Albeit this you muſt take to be vnderſtand in a miſtery. For if ſhe ſhould the houre after her trauayle enter into the Church to geue thankes, ſhe committed therin no ſynne. For why the luſt and pleaſure of the fleſh, and not the trauayle and payne of the fleſh is ſynne. In the coniunction of the fleſh is pleaſure, but in the trauayle and bringing forth of the childe is payne and groning. As vnto the mother of al it is ſayd: In ſorrowe thou ſhalt trauayle. Therfore if we forbid the woman after her labor to enter ỹ church, thẽ what do we els but count ỹ ſame the puniſhment geuen vnto her, for ſynne? Therfore for the woman after her labour to bee baptiſed: either that which ſhe hath trauailed foorth (if preſent neceſſitye of death doth ſo require) yea in the ſelfe ſame houre, either ſhe that hath brought foorth, either that which is borne in the ſame houre when it is borne, to be baptiſed wee do not forbid.

He ſpeaketh here after the cuſtom of that tyme.

Mothers that nurſe not their owne children reprehended.

Moreouer, for the man to companye with his wyfe, that he muſt not: before the childe that is borne be wayned. But now there is a leude and naughty cuſtome ryſen in the condicion of maried folkes, that mothers doo contemne to nourſe their own children, which they haue borne, but ſet them to other womẽ out to nourſe: which ſeemeth onely to come of the cauſe of incontinency. For whyle they wyl not contayne themſelues, therfore they put from them their children to nourſe. &c.

As concerning the woman in her menſtruous courſe whether ſhe ought to enter the church? To this I anſwer: ſhe ought not to be forbid. For the ſuperfluitye of nature in her ought not to bee imputed for anye fault, neyther is it iuſt that ſhe ſhoulde bee depriued of her acceſſe to the church, for that which ſhe ſuffereth agaynſt her wyll. And if the woman did wel, preſuming in touching the Lordes coate in the tyme of her bloudye iſſue: why then may not that be graunted vnto al women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one perſon done in her infirmitie? Therfore to receaue the miſtery of the holy Communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if ſhee dare not ſo far preſume in her great infirmitie, ſhe is to be prayſed: but if ſhe do receiue, ſhe is not to be iudged. For it is a point of a good mynde in ſome maner to acknowledge hys ſynnes there, wher is no ſynne: becauſe many times that is done wõut fault, which commeth of faulte. As when we be hungrye, we eate without fault, notwithſtanding it commeth by the fault of our fyrſt father to vs that we are hungry. &c.

Where ye aſke, if a man after the company with his wife may reſorte to the church or to the holy communion, before he be purged with water: The lawe geuen to the olde people, commaunded that a man after the companye with his wife, both ſhoulde be purified with water, and alſo ſhould tarye the Sunnes ſet before he came to the congregation. Which ſeemeth to be vnderſtand ſpiritually: for then, moſt true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, whan hys minde through delectation is ioyned to vnlawfull concupiſcence in hys hart and cogitation. At what time, before the ſayde fyre of concupiſcence ſhall be remoued, let ỹ perſon thinke himſelfe vnworthie the entraunce to ỹ congregatiõ through the viciouſnes of his filthie will. But of this matter ſondry nations haue euery one their ſundry cuſtomes: ſome one way and ſome an other. The auncient maner of the Romaines from our forefathers hath bene, that in ſuch caſe, firſt they purge themſelues with water, then for a litle they abſtaine reuerently, & ſo reſort to ỹ church, &c.

And after many other wordes debated of this matter, thus he inferreth: but if any perſon not for voluptuouſnes of the fleſhe, but for procreation of children, do companye with his wife, that man concerning either the cõming to the church, or the receauing of the myſterye of the Lordes body & bloud, is to be left to his own iudgement: for he ought not to be forbid of vs, to come, which when he lyeth in the fire, will not burne, &c.

There is an other queſtion alſo to theſe adioyned, with his anſwere likewyſe to the ſame, concerning pollutions in the night, but I thought theſe at thys preſent to our engliſhe eares, ſufficient.

To returne now to the ſtorye againe, Gregorye after he had ſent theſe reſolutions to the queſtions of Auſten, ſendeth moreouer to the Church of England moe coadiutors, and helpers: as Mellitus, Iuſtus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus, with bookes and ſuch other implements as he thought neceſſarie for ỹ engliſh church. He ſendeth moreouer to ỹ foreſayd Auſten a palle, with letters wherin he ſetteth an order betwene the two Metropolitane ſeates, the one to be at London, the other to be at Yorke. Notwithſtanding, he graunteth to the ſaid Auſten during his life to be the onely chiefe Archbiſhop of all the land: And after hys time, then to returne to the two foreſayd ſeates of London and Yorke, as is in the ſame letter conteined, the tenour wherof here followeth in his own wordes as enſueth.

¶ The copie of the epiſtle of Gregory, ſent to Auguſtinus into England.

Reuerendiſſimo et ſanctiſ. fratri Auguſtino coepiſcopo, Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei. Cum certũ ſit, pro omnipotente deo laborantibꝰ ineffabilia æterni regis præmia reſeruari: nobis tamen, eis neceſſe eſt bonorum beneficia tribuere, vt in ſpiritualis operis ſtudio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius inſudare. and ſo forth as it is in the former edition.

p.16, c.2

¶ The ſame in engliſhe.

p.17, c.1

To the reuerend and vertuous brother Auguſtine, hys felow biſhop, Gregorius the ſeruãt of the ſeruaunts of God. Although it be moſt certaine, that vnſpeakeable rewardes, of the heauenly king, be layd vp for al ſuch, as labour in the workes of almightie God, yet it ſhall be requiſite for vs, to rewarde the ſame alſo wͭ our benefites, to thend, they may be more encouraged, to go forward in the ſtudye of their ſpiritual worke. And forasmuch, now as the new church of Engliſh mē, is brought to the grace of almightie God, through hys mighty helpe, and your trauaile: therfore we haue graunted to you the vſe of the palle, onely to be vſed at the ſolemnitie of your Maſſe: ſo that it ſhal be lawful for you, to ordayne .12. Byſhops, ſuch as ſhall be ſubiecte to your prouince or dition. So that hereafter alwaies the biſhop of the Citie of London, ſhall be ordayned and conſecrate by his own proper Sinode and ſo to receaue the palle of honour, from the holy and Apoſtolike ſeate, wherin I, here (by the permiſſion of God) doe ſerue. And as touching the citie of Yorke, we will ſend alſo a biſhop thither, whom you ſhall thinke meete to ordayne. So that, if that citie with other places bordering therby, ſhall receaue the worde of God, he ſhall haue power likewiſe to ordayne .xij. Byſhops, & ſhall haue the honour of a Metropolitane: to whom alſo, if God ſpare me life, I entende, by the fauour of God, to ſend a palle: thys prouided, that notwithſtanding he ſhal be ſubiect to your brotherly appoyntment. But after your deceaſe, the ſame Metropolitane, ſo to be ouer the Byſhops whom he ordereth, that he be no wyſe ſubiect to the Metropolitane of Lōdō after you. And here after betwixt theſe two Metropolitanes, of London, & Yorke, let there be had ſuch diſtinction of honour, that he ſhall haue the prioritie, which ſhall in tyme fyrſt be ordayned: with cōmon coūſell, and affection of hart, let them both goe together, diſpoſing, with one accorde ſuche thinges as be to be done, for the zeale of Chriſt. Let them forethinke and deliberate together prudently, and what they deliberate wiſelye, let thē accompliſh concordly, not gerring, nor ſwaruing, one from the other. But as for your part, you ſhall be indued with autoritie, not onely ouer thoſe biſhops, that you conſtitute, and ouer the other, conſtituted by the byſhop of Yorke. but alſo you to haue all other prieſtes of whole Britaine, ſubiect to our lord Ieſus Chriſt: to the end that through your preaching & holines of life, they may learne both to beleue rightly, and to liue purelye, and ſo in directing their life, both by the rule of true fayth and vertuous maners, they may attaine, whē God ſhall call them, the fruition & kingdome of heauen. God preſerue you in health reuerend brother: the .x. before the Kalend of Iulye, in the reigne of our ſoueraigne Lorde Mauritius, moſt vertuous Emperour.

gory th the perour Lorde.

Beſides this, the ſayd Gregory ſendeth alſo an other letter to Melitus, concerning his iudgement what is to be done with the idolatrous temples and Phanes of the Engliſh men newly conuerted: which Phanes he thinketh not beſt to plucke downe, but to conuert the vſe therof, and to let them ſtand. And lykewiſe of their ſacrifices and killing of Oxen, how the ſame ought to be ordered, and how to be altered: diſputing by the occaſions therof, of the ſacrifices of the old Egiptians, permitted of God vnto the Iſraelites, the ende and vſe thereof being altered. &c.

ter of gory to litus

He ſendeth alſo an other letter to the foreſayde Auſten, wherin he warneth him not to be proude nor pufte vp, for the myracles wrought of God by hym, in conuerting the people of England: but rather to feare & tremble, leaſt ſo muche as he were puft vp by the outwarde worke of myracles, ſo much he ſhoulde fall inwardlye through the vayne glory of hys hart: and therfore wiſely exhorteth him to repreſſe the ſwelling glorye of hart, with the remembraunce of hys ſinnes rather agaynſte God, wherby he rather hath cauſe to lament, then to reioyce for the other. Not al the elect of God (ſayth he) worketh myracles, and yet haue they their names writē in ẏ booke of lyfe. And therfore he ſhould not count ſo much of thoſe myracles done, but reioyce rather with the diſciples of Chriſt: and labour to haue his name written in the booke of life, where all the electe of God bee contained, neither is there any ende of that reioyſing. And what ſoeuer miracles it hath pleaſed God by hym to haue been done, he ſhould remember they wer not done for him, but for their conuerſion, whoſe ſaluation God ſought therby. &c.

ter of gory to ten.

Item, he directed an other epiſtle to king Ethelbert as is expreſſed at large in the Chronicle of Henry Huntington. lib. 3. in the which epiſtle firſt he prayſeth God, then commendeth the goodnes of the king, by whom it pleaſed God ſo to worke ſuch goodnes to the people. Secondly, exhorteth him to perſiſt and continue in the godly profeſſion of Chriſtes faith, and to be feruent and zealous in the ſame: in conuerting the multitude, in deſtroying the temples and workes of idolatrye, in ruling and gouerning the people in al holynes and godlye conuerſation, after the godly example of the Emperor Conſtantinus the great. Laſtlye, comforting him with the promiſes of life and reward to come, with the Lord that raigneth and liueth for euer: premoniſhing him beſides, of the terrours and diſtreſſes that ſhal happen (thoughe not in his daies) yet before ẏ terrible day of Gods iudgement: wherfore he willeth him alwaies to be ſollicitous for his ſoule, and ſuſpectfull of the houre of his death, & watchful of the iudgement, that he may be alwaies prepared for the ſame, when that iudgement ſhal come. In the end he deſireth him to accept ſuch preſents as giftes which he thought good to ſend vnto him from Rome. &c.

A letter of Gregory to kyng Ethelbert.

An. 600

Auſten thus receiuing his palle from Gregory, as is aboue ſaid, and now of a Moonke being made an Archbiſhop, after he had baptiſed a great part of Kent: he after made two Archbiſhops or Metrapolitanes, by ẏ cōmaundement of Gregory, as witneſſeth Polychronicō, the one at London, the other at Yorke.

Polychron. lib 5. cap. 9.

Fabia. part. 5 cap. 119.

Mellitus, of whom mention is made before, was ſet ſpeciallye to the Eaſtſaxons in the prouince of Eſſex, whereafter he was made biſhop of Londō, vnder Sigebert king of Eſſex: which Sigebert together wyth hys vncle Ethelbert, firſt built the church and Minſter of S. Paule in London, and appointed it to Mellitus for the biſhops ſee. Auſten aſſociate with this Mellitus and Iuſtus, through the helpe of Ethelbert aſſembled and gathered together the biſhops and Doctors of Britaine in a place, which taking the name of the ſayd Auſten, was called Auſtens Oke. In this aſſemble he charged the ſaid biſhops, that they ſhould preach with him the word of God to the Engliſh men: and alſo that they ſhould among themſelues reforme certaine rites and vſages in their church, ſpecially for keeping of their Eaſtertyde: baptiſing after the maner of Rome, and ſuch other like. To theſe the Scots and Britons woulde not agree, refuſing to leaue the cuſtom, which they ſo long time had continued, without the aſſent of them all, which vſed the ſame. Here the ſtories both of Bede, Ceſtrenſis in Polychron. Huntingtonienſis, Iornalēſis, Fabianus, & other mo write of a certain miracle wrought vpō a blind Engliſh man: whom when the Britons coulde not helpe, Auſten kneeling downe and praying, reſtored the blinde mā to his ſight before them all: for a confirmation (as theſe autors ſay) of his opinion in keeping the Eaſter. But concerning the credite of this miracle, that I leaue, to the autors of whom I had it. Then Auſten gathered an other Synode, to the which came ſeuen Biſhops of Britons, with the wiſeſt men of that famous Abbey of Bāgor. But firſt they tooke counſel of a certaine wyſe and holy man amongeſt them, what to do: and whether they ſhould be obedient to Auſten or not? And he ſayde: if he be the ſeruaunt of God, agree vnto him. But howe ſhall we know that, ſayde they? To whom he aunſwered againe: If he be meeke and humble of hart, by that know that he is the ſeruaunt of God. To this they ſaid again: and how ſhal we know him to be humble and meeke of hart? By this (quoth he) ſeing you are the greater number, if he at your comming into the Synode riſe vp, and courteouſly receaue you, perceaue him to be an humble and a meeke man. But if he ſhall contemne and deſpiſe you (being as ye are) the greater part, deſpiſe you hym againe. Thus the Britaine biſhops entring into the coūcell, Auſten after the Romiſh manner keeping his chair

Archbiſhops of London and of Yorke, made by Auſten.

Mellitus biſh. of London.

The Britaynes and Scots vſed not the rites of Rome.

An. 602

Abbey of Bangor.

Ex libro Iornalēſi, Fabiā & alijs.

Ethelfride king of Northumberland.

Brocmayl conſul of Cheſter.

The monaſtery of Bangor.

Galfridus Monumetenſis. Polichron. lib. 5. cap. 10. Liber bibliothecæ Iornalenſis. Gu. Malmeſberienſis. lib. 1. de Reg. Fabiã. part. 5 cap. 109. 120.

A pitiful ſlaughter of vnarmed Monkes of Bangor.

Whether Auſtē or the Britains in this caſe were more to blame.

would not remoue. Wherat they being not a litle offended, after ſome heate of woordes, in diſdaine and great diſpleaſure departed thence. To whō then Auſten ſpake, & ſaid ŷ if they would not take peace with their brethrē, they ſhoulde receiue warre with their enemies: And if they diſdayned to preache with them the way of lyfe to the Engliſh nation, they ſhoulde ſuffer by their handes the reuenge of death. Which not long after ſo came to paſſe by the meanes of Ethelfride king of Northumberland: who being yet a Pagan, and ſtyrred with fearce fury agaynſt the Britaines, came with a great army againſt the citie of Cheſter: where Brocmayl the Conſul of that City, a friend and helper of the Britaynes ſyde, was redy with his force to receaue him. There was at the ſame tyme at Bangor in Wales, an exceding great monaſtery, wherin was ſuche a number of Moonkes, as Galfridus with other autors doo teſtify, that if the whole cōpany were deuided into vij. partes, in euery of the vij. parts were contayned not ſo few as 300. monks: which al did liue with the ſweate of their browes, and labour of their own handes, hauing one for their ruler named Dinoe. Out of this Monaſtery came the Moonkes to Cheſter, to praye for the good ſucceſſe of Brocmayl, fighting for them againſt the Saxons. Three daies they continued in faſting and prayer. When Ethelfride the foreſayde king, ſeing them ſo intent to their praiers: demaunded the cauſe of their comming thether in ſuche a company. When he perceaued it was to praye for theyr Conſul, then (ſaith he) althoughe they beare no weapon, yet they fight agaynſt vs, and with their prayers & preachinges they perſecute vs. Wherupon, after that Brocmayl being ouercome did flee away, the king commaūded his men to turne their weapons againſt the ſely vnarmed monkes: of whom he ſlewe the ſame time, or rather martyred, 1100. onelye fiftye perſonnes of that number did flee and eſcape awaye with Brocmayle: the reſt were al ſlayne. The autors that write of this lamētable murder, declare and ſay, how the foreſpeaking of Auſten, was here verefied vpon the Britaines: which becauſe they would not ioyne peace with their friends, he ſayd ſhould be deſtroyed of their enemies. Of both theſe parties, the reader may iudge what he pleaſeth: I cannot ſee but both together were to bee blamed. And as I cannot but accuſe the one, ſo I cannot defende the other. Firſt Auſten in this matter can in no wyſe be excuſed, who being a Monke before, and therfore a ſcholer & profeſſor of humilitie: ſhewed ſo litle humilitie in this aſſēble, to vij. biſhops, & an Archbiſhop, cōming at his cōmaundemēt to ŷ councel: that he thought ſcorne once to ſtyrre at their comming in. Muche leſſe woulde hys phariſaical ſolemnitie haue girded him ſelfe, & waſhed his bretherns feete, after their trauayle, as Chriſt our great maiſter did to his Diſciples: ſeing hys Lordſhyp was ſo hie, or rather ſo heauy, or rather ſo proude, that coulde not finde in his harte to geue them a little mouing of hys bodye, to declare a brotherlye and humble hart. Againe the Britaines were as muche, or more to blame, who ſo much neglected their ſpiritual duty, in reuenging their temporal iniurie: that they denied to ioyn vnto their helping labour, to turne the Idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and ſaluation. In which reſpect al priuate caſes ought to geue place, and to be forgotten. For the which cauſe, although lamentable to vs, yet no great maruaile in them, if the ſtroke of Gods puniſhment did light vpon them: according to the woordes of Auſten, as is before declared. But eſpeciallye the cruell king, in this fact, was moſt of all to blame, ſo furiouſlye to flee vpō them, which had neither weapō to reſiſt him, nor yet any wil to harme him. And ſo like wiſe the ſame or like, happened to himſelfe afterward. For ſo was he alſo ſlayne in ŷ fielde by chriſtiã Edwine, who ſucceded hym, as he had ſlainŷ chriſtiãs before, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 610. But to returne to Auſten agayne, who by reporte of autors was departed before this cruelty was done: after he had baptiſed and chriſtened x. thouſande Saxons or Angles in the Weſt ryuer, that is called Swale, beſide Yorke on a Chriſtēmas day: perceauing his ende to draw nere, he ordayned a Succeſſor named Laurentius to rule after him the Archbiſhops ſee of Dorobernia. Where note by the way Chriſten reader, that where as Auſten baptiſed then in ryuers: it followeth, there was then no vſe of fontes. Againe, if it be true that Fabian ſaith, he baptiſed x. thouſand in one day: the rite then of baptiſing at Rome was not ſo ceremonial, neither had ſo many trinkets at that time, as it hathe had ſince, or els it coulde not be, that he could baptiſe ſo many in one day.

In the meane ſeaſon, about this time departed Gregorye Byſhop of Rome: of whome it is ſayd, that of the number of all the firſt Biſhops before him in the primitiue tyme, he was the baſeſt: of all them that came after hym, he was the beſt. About which tyme alſo died in Wales, Dauyd Archbiſhop fyrſt of Kayrleion, who thē tranſlated the ſee from thence to Meneuia, and therfore is called Dauid of Wales. Not long after this alſo deceaſed the foreſayd Auſten in Englande after he had ſat there. xv. or. xvj. yeares: by ŷ which counte we may note it, not to be true that H. Huntington and other do witneſſe, that Auſten was dead before that battell of Ethelfride agaynſt the Monkes of Bangor. For if it be true that Polychronicon teſtifieth of this murder, to be done about the yeare of our Lord. 609. and the comming of Auſten firſt into the Realme, to be. an. 596. then Auſten enduring. xvj. yeares coulde not be dead at this battell. Moreouer Galfridus Monumetenſis declareth, concerning the ſame battell, that Ethelbert the king of Kent, being (as is ſaid) conuerted by Auſten to Chriſtes fayth: after he ſawe the Brytaines to diſdaine and denie their ſubiection vnto Auſten, neyther would aſſiſte hym with preaching to the engliſhe nation: therefore ſtyrred vp he the foreſaid Ethelfride to warre againſt the Britaines. But that ſemeth rather ſuſpicious then true, that he being a Chriſten king, eyther could ſo much preuaile, with a Pagan idolater, or ells would attempt ſo farre to cōmitte ſuch a cruell deede. But of vncertayne thinges I haue nothing certainlye to ſay, leſſe to iudge.

About this preſente tyme aboue prefixed, which is 610. I read in the ſtorye of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis the writer of Polichronicon, of Iohn the Patriarch of Alexandria: who for hys rare example of hoſpitalitie and bountifulnes to the poore: I thought no leſſe worthye to haue place amongſt good men, then I ſee the ſame now to be followed of fewe. This Iohn (being before belike a harde and ſparing man) as he was at his prayer vpon a tyme (it is ſayd) there appeared to him a comely virgine hauing on her head a garlande of Oliue leaues: which named her ſelfe mercy, ſaying to him and promiſing that if he would take her to wife, he ſhould proſper well. This, whether it were true or not, or ells inuented for a moralitie, I would wiſhe this floriſhing damſell ſo to be maryed to moe then to this Iohn, that ſhe ſhoulde not liue ſo long a virgin now as ſhe doth, becauſe no mā will mary her. But to returne to this Patriarche, who after that day (as the ſtorye recordeth) was ſo mercifull and ſo beneficiall, eſpecially to the poore and nedye, that he counted them as his maiſters, and himſelfe, as a ſeruaunt and ſteward vnto them. This Patriarche was wont commonly twiſe a wéeke to ſit at his doore all the day longe, to take vp matters, and to ſet vnitie, where was any variaunce. One daye it happened, as he was ſitting all the day before his gate and ſaw no mā come, lamented ŷ all that day he had done no good: To whom his deacon ſtanding by, aunſwered againe, that he had more cauſe to reioyce, ſeing he brought the citie in that order and in ſuch peace, that there needed no reconſilement amongſt them. An other tyme as the ſayd John the Patriarch was at the ſeruice and reading the Goſpell in the Church, ÿ people (as their vſed maner is) went out of the church to talke & iangle: he perceauing that, went out likewiſe, and ſat amongſt them: wherat they marueling to ſee him do ſo, My children ſayd he, where ÿ flock is, ther ought ÿ ſhepeheard to be: wherfore either come you in, that I may alſo come in with you, or ells if you tarye out, I will likewiſe tary out together with you, &c.

he actes Gregory e firſt.

As touching the actes and deedes of Gregorye aboue mentioned, how he withſtoode the ambitious pryde of John, Patriarche of Conſtantinople, which woulde be the vniuerſall prieſt, and onely chiefe biſhop of all other: declaring him to be no leſſe then the forerunner of Antichriſt, that woulde take that name vpon him: how and with what reaſons he aunſwered agayne the letters of the Emperour Mauritius in that behalfe, ſufficient relation is made therof in the firſt entre, and the. 3. page of this booke. This Gregorye among many other thinges induced into the church (the ſpecialties wherof hereafter ſhall follow Chriſt willing more at large) firſt beganne and brought in, this title among the Romaine biſhops, to be called Seruus ſeruorum Dei: putting them in remembraunce therby both of their humblenes, and alſo of their dutie in the church of Chriſt. Moreouer as concerning his acte for the ſole life of prieſtes firſt begonne, and then broken agayne. Alſo concerning the order of Gregories Maſſebooke to be receaued in all churches: hereof who ſo liſteth to reade more, ſhall finde the ſame in other places hereafter, namely when we come to the tyme of Pope Hadrian the firſt.

herupon he Romaine byſhops vſe theyr ſtile, Seruus ſeruorum Dei.

abianus biſhop of Rome.

oniſacius biſhop f Rome.

After the death of Gregorie aboue mentioned, fyrſt came Sabinianus who as he was a malicious detractor of Gregorye and of his workes: ſo he continued not long, ſcarſe the ſpace of two yeare. After whom ſucceded next Bonifacius the third: which albeit he reigned but one yeare, yet in that one yeare he did more hurte, then Gregorye with ſo great labours, and in ſo many yeares could doe good before: for that which Gregorye kept out, he brought in, obtayning of Phocas the wicked Emperour for him and his ſucceſſours after hym, ÿ the ſea of Rome aboue all other churches ſhould haue the preeminence: and that the Byſhop of Rome ſhould be the vniuerſall head, through all churches of Chriſt in Chriſtendom: alleaging for him thys friuolous reaſon, that S. Peter had & left to hys ſucceſſours at Rome the keyes of binding and looſing, &c. And thus began fyrſt Rome to take an head aboue all other churches, by the meanes of Boniface ÿ third: who as he lacked no boldnes nor ambitiō to ſeeke it, ſo neither lacked he an Emperour fyt and meete to geue ſuch a gifte. This Emperours name was Phocas, a man of ſuch wickednes and ambition, moſt lyke to his owne Biſhop Boniface, that to aſpire to ÿ Empyre, he murthered his own maiſter and Emperour Mauritius, and his children. Thus Phocas cōming vp to be Emperour, after this deteſtable vilanye done: thinking to ſtabliſhe hys Empyre with frendſhip and fauour of his people, and eſpecially with the Biſhop of Rome: quickly condiſcended to all his petitions, and ſo graunted hym (as is ſayd) to be that he would: the vniuerſall and head Biſhop ouer all chriſten churches. But as bloud commonly requireth bloud agayne, ſo it came to paſſe on the ſayd Phocas. For as he had cruelly ſlaine his Lorde and Emperour Mauritius before, ſo he in like maner (of Heraclius the Emperour ſucceding hym) had his handes and feete cutte of, and ſo was caſte into the ſea. And thus wicked Phocas which gaue the firſt ſupremacie to Rome loſte his own. But Rome would not ſo ſoone loſe hys ſupremacie once geuen, as the geuer loſte his life: for euer ſince, frō that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the ſame ſtill, and yet doth to this preſent day, by all force and policie poſſible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whom, by the wordes of Gregorye, we may wel call the runner before Antichriſt. For as Gregory brought in to their ſtile, Seruus ſeruorū Dei, ſo this Boniface brought into their heades, firſt Volumus ac mādamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus: that is. We will and commaund, we inioyne and charge you, &c.

How Rome began firſt to ake an ead aboue ther churches.

Phocas reator & murderer f hys Emperour.

loud reuēged wyth loud.

Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus brought in by Boniface the thyrd.

Mention was made a litle before of Ethelbert King of Kent, and alſo of Ethelfride king of Northſaxons or Northumbria. This Ethelbert who hauing vnder hys ſubiection all the other Saxon kings, vnto Humber: after he had firſt receaued himſelf, and cauſed to be receaued of other, the Chriſtian faythe, by the preaching of Auſten confyrmed afterward in the ſame faythe, among other coſtlye deedes, with the helpe of Sigebert king of Eſſex hys nephew, then reigning vnder him, began the foundation of Paules Church within the Citie of London, and ordained it for the Biſhops ſee of London. For the Archbiſhops ſee which before time had bene at London, was by Auſten and this Ethelbert at the prayer of the Citizens of Dorobernia tranſlated to the ſayd citie. Mameſberienſis. lib. de pontific. Wherfore ſuch authors as ſay that Paules was builded by Sigebert, ſay not amyſſe: which Sigebert was the king of Eſſex, in which prouince ſtandeth the citie of London. This Ethelbert alſo founded the Church of S. Andrewe in the citie of Dorubres in Kent, now called Rocheſter, of one Rot, diſtant from Dorobernia. 24. myles. Of thys citie, Juſtus was Byſhop ordayned before by Auſten. Moreouer the forenamed Ethelbert ſtyrred vp a dweller or Citizin of London to make a chappell or church of S. Peter in the weſt end of London, thē called Thorney, now ÿ towne of Weſtminſter: which church or chappell was after by Edward the confeſſour enlarged or new builded: laſtly of Henry the thyrd it was newlye againe rædified and made as it is now a large Monaſtery, &c. After theſe Chriſtian and worthye actes this Ethelbert whē he had reigned the courſe of. lvj. yeares, chaunged this mortall life about the yeare of our Lord. 616. whō ſome ſtories ſaye to be ſlayne in a fight betwene hym and Edelfride king of the Northſaxons.

Fabian. cap. 120.

E helbert and Sigebert builders of Paules church.

The Archbiſhops ſee tranſlated from London to Dorobernia

Mameſberienſis. lib. de pontifi.

H. Huntyngton. lib. 3.

This Edward was the thyrd of that name before the conqueſt.

The monaſtery of Weſtminſter.

An. 616

In the meane tyme the foreſayd Ethelfride kyng of Northūberland, after the cruel murther of the Monkes of Bangor, eſcaped not long vnpayed his hire: for after he had raygned. 24. yeares, he was ſlaine in the field of Edwyne, who ſucceded in Northumberlāde after him.

Bloud reuēged with bloud.

This Edwyne being the ſonne not of Ethelfride (as Galfridus Monumetenſis ſaith, but rather of Alla (as Giraldus Cambrenſis ſemeth to witnes more truly) was firſt a Panim or idolater: afterward by Paulinus was chriſtened, and the firſt chriſtened king in Northumberland. The occaſion of which his calling or conuerſion, as is in ſundry ſtories contayned, was this.

Edwine fyrſt Chriſtened king in Northumberland. Giraldus Cambrenſis.

Edwine being yet a Pagane, maried the daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, called Edelburge a Chriſten woman, otherwiſe called Tace. But before this mariage, Edwyne being yet yong, Ethelfride ÿ king, conceiuing enuy againſt him: perſecuted him ſo ſore, ÿ he was forced to flee to Redwaldus, K. of Eaſtāgles, as in ÿ table of ÿ kings is aboue expreſſed. The which Redwald⁹, what for feare, what with bribes being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length priuely had intēded to haue betrayed Edwyne. But as Gods wyl was, Edwyne hauing warning therof by a ſecret friend of hys, was moued to flee & to ſaue himſelf, being promiſed alſo of his frende to be ſafelye conueyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom Edwine ſayde: whether ſhall I flee, whiche haue ſo long fleene the handes of myne enemies through all prouinces of the realme. And if I muſt nedes be ſlayne, I had rather that he ſhould doo it, then an other vnwor-

The order and maner of the conuerſion of Edwine, to the faith of Chriſt.

The trouble of Edwyne.

thy perſon. Thus he remayning by himſelf alone & ſolitarie, ſitting in a great ſtudy, there apeared vnto him ſo daynely, a certain ſtraunger, to him vnknowen & ſayd: I knowe well the cauſe of thy thought and heauynes. What wouldeſt thou geue hym that ſhould deliuer thée out of this feare, and ſhould reconcile king Redwald to thee agayne? I would geue him (ſayd Edwyne) all that euer I could make. And he ſayd agayne: And what if he make thee a myghtier king, then was anye of thy Progenitours? He anſwered againe as before. Moreouer, (ſayth he) and what if he ſhew thee a better kinde & way of life, then euer was ſhewed to anye of thine aunceters before thee: wilt thou obey him and do after his counſel? Yea (ſayd Edwyn) promiſing moſt firmly, with all hys hart ſo to do. Thē he laying hys hand vpō his head, whē (ſayd he) this token happeneth vnto thee: then remember this tyme of thy tribulation, & the promiſe which thou haſt made, and the woorde which now I ſay vnto thee. And with that he vaniſhed out of his ſight ſodainly. After this ſo done, as Edwyne was ſittyng alone by hymſelfe penſiue and ſad: his forſayd friende, which moued him before to flee, commeth to him, biddyng him be of good chere, for the hart (ſayde hee) of king Redwaldus, which had before intended thy deſtruction, was now altered through the counſell of the Queene, and is fullye bent to keepe his promiſe with you, what ſoeuer ſhall fall therupon. To make the ſtorye ſhort, Redwallus the kyng (although Fabian following Henry Huntington, ſayth it was Edwine) with al conuenient ſpeede aſſembled an hoſt: wherwith he ſodaynly comming vpon Ethelfride, gaue battaile vnto him aboute the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfride king of Northumberlande, alſo with Reyner Redwallus Sonne was ſlayne in the fielde. By reaſon wherof Edwyne (his enemies now being deſtroyed) was quietlye placed in the poſſeſſion of Northumberland. All this while yet Edwyne remayned in his old Paganiſme: albeit hys Quene, being (as is aboue declared) kyng Ethelberts daughter, a chriſten woman, with Paulinus the Biſhop, ceaſed not to ſtyrre and perſwade the kyng to Chriſtian faith. But he taking counſel with his nobles and counſellers vpon the matter, was hard to be wonne. Then the Lord, who diſpoſeth all thinges after his purpoſe, to bring all good thynges to paſſe, ſent an other trouble vpon hym, by meanes therof to cal him. For by afflictiō God vſeth cōmonly to call them whom he wyl ſaue, or by whom he wil worke ſaluation vnto other. So his diuine wyſdom thinketh good to make them fyrſt to know them ſelues, before they come to know him, or to teach him to other. So it was with Paule, who was ſtrickē downe, before he was lyfted vp, with Conſtantinus, Edwinus, & manye mo. How long was Ioſeph in priſon before he bare rule? How hardely eſcaped this our Quene now being, (Quene Elizabeth) by whō yet notwithſtādīng it hath pleaſed God to reſtore this his Goſpel now preached amongeſt vs? In what conflictes and agonies inwardlye in hys ſpirite was M. Luther, before he came to preach the iuſtification of Chriſt openly? And ſo be al they moſt commonly, which come to any lyuely feeling or ſenſible working of Chriſt the Lord.

The maruelous callyng of Edwine.

Edwine miraculouſly delyuered.

W. Malmeſberienſis. lib. de Reg.

This quene was Edelburga, daughter to kyng Ethelbert the chriſtened kyng of Kent.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.

Another daunger of Edwine

An. 627

Polychr. lib. 5 cap. 12.
Henr. Huntyng. lib. 3

But to returne to Edwyne againe. The occaſion of his trouble was this: Quicelinus with Kynegiſlus hys brother, kinges of Weſtſaxons (as aboue is mencioned in the table of the Saxon kinges) conſpiring the death of Edwyne now king of Northumberland: vpon enuye and malice ſent vpō an Eaſter day a ſwordman named Emner, priuely to ſlay the ſayd Edwyne. This ſwordman or cutthrote came to a Citie beſide the water of Darwent in Darbyſhiere, there to wayte his time, and laſtly found the king ſmally accompanied, and entēded to haue run the king through with a ſword inuenemed. But one Lilla the kinges truſty ſeruaunt, diſgarniſhed of a ſhield or other weapon, to defend his maiſter: ſtart betwene the king and the ſword, and was ſtricken thorough the body and dyed, and the kyng was wounded with the ſame ſtroke. And after he wounded alſo yͤ third which was a knight, and ſo was taken, and confeſſed by whom he was ſent to woorke that treaſon. The other knight that was ſecondly wounded dyed, and the kyng lay after long ſycke, or he were healed.

After this, about whytſontide the king being ſcantly whole of hys wounde, aſſembled his hoſt, intending to make againſt yͤ king of Weſtſaxō: promiſing to Chriſt to be Chriſtened, if he would geue him the victorye ouer his enemies. And in token thereof cauſed his daughter, borne of Edelburge, the ſame Eaſter day when he was wounded, named Eufled to be baptiſed: with.xij. other of his family, of Paulinus. Thus Edwine proceeded to the battaile againſt Quiceline and Kinegiſlus, with his ſonne Kenwalcus and other enemies: who in the ſame battayle being al vanquiſhed and put to flight, Edwine (through the power of Chriſt) returneth home victorer. But for al this victory, and other thinges geuen to hym of God, as he was in wealth of the world, forgat his promiſe made, and had litle minde thereof, ſaue onelye that he by the preaching of Paulinus forſooke his maumentry. And for his excuſe ſayd that he might not clearelye renye hys olde lawe, which his forefathers had kept ſo long, and ſodenly to be Chriſtned without autoritie and good aduiſe of his counſail.

About the ſame ſeaſon Pope Boniface. 5. ſent alſo to the ſaid Edwine letters exhortatorie, with ſundrye preſentes from Rome to him, and to Edelburg the Quene. But nether would that preuayle. Then Paulinus ſeing the kyng ſo harde to bee conuerted, poured out hys praiers vnto God for his conuerſion: who the ſame time had reuealed to him by the holy ghoſt, the oracle aboue mencioned, which was ſhewed to the king, whē he was with Redwallus king of the Eaſtangles. Whereupon Paulinus cōming afterward to the king, on a certaine day, and laying his hand vpō the kings head, aſked him if he knew that token. The king hearing this, and remēbring wel the token, was ready to fal down at his feete. But Paulinus not ſuffering that, did lift him vp again, ſaying vnto him: behold, O king, you haue vanquiſhed your enemies, you haue obtayned your kingdome, now performe the third, which you haue promiſed, that is to receiue the fayth of Chriſt, and to bee obedient to hym. Wherupon the king conferring with his counſell, and his nobles, was baptiſed of the ſaid Paulinus at York, with many of his other ſubiectes with hym: In ſo much that Coyfi the chiefe of the prelates of his old maumentry armed himſelfe with his other idolatrous biſhops, and beſtrode good horſes, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ryde but onelye on a Mare: and ſo deſtroyed all the altars of their manmentrie, & their temple of Idoles, which was at Godmundham, not far from Yorke, & this was the.xi. yeare of his raygne.

From that time forth, during the lyfe of Edwyne, which was the terme of.vi. yeares, Paulinus chriſtned continually in the riuers of Gweny, and Swala, in both prouinces of Deira, and in Brenicia, vſing the ſayd ryuers for hys fountes, and preached in the ſhiere of Lynceſey, wher he builded alſo a church of ſtone at Lincoln.

In this time was ſo great peace in the kingdome of Edwyne after his conuerſion, that a womā laden with golde might haue gone from the one ſyde of the ſea to the other, and no man moleſt her. Moreouer by the hye way ſydes through al his kingdome, he cauſed by euery wel or ſpring to be chayned a dyſhe or bole of braſſe to take vp water, for the refreſhing of ſuch as went by the way. Which boles of braſſe there remained ſafe, ſo that no man touched them, during all the life of the ſaid Edwyne. Such was then the tender care and ſtudy of chriſten Pꝛinces,foꝛ the refreſhing of their ſubiectes. But that was then the bꝛaſen woꝛld,which nowe is growen to yꝛon and leade,called ætas ferrea oꝛ rather plumbea.

nno.
634.

chbiſh.
Cāterb.
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one
deyned
other.

This Edwine,who firſt bꝛought in the fayth in the Noꝛth parts,continuing after his baptiſme.vj.yeares, at length was ſlayne in battayle by Cedwalla, kyng of ẏ Bꝛitains,⁊ by wicked Penda,king of the Mercians, with his ſon alſo Offricus,in the fielde called Hatfield.

This Paulinus was the firſt Archbiſhop of Yoꝛke, and as he was of Iuſtus Archbiſhop of Canterburye, oꝛdayned Archbiſhop of the ſea of Yoꝛke: ſo he agayne after the deceaſe of Iuſtus, oꝛdayned Honoꝛius to be Archbiſhop of Canturbury.

Flor.
ſt.

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwyne, ſeyng vnmerciful Cedwalla oꝛ Cedwallō with his Bꝛitains, and wicked Penda with the idolatrous Mercians, to ſpoyle the land in ſuch ſoꝛte,as they made no ſpare neyther of of age,noꝛ ſexe,noꝛ religion: was compelled to flee with Edelburg the Quene,and Euflede her daughter,by water vnto Kente: where the ſayde Archbiſhop Paulinus remayned biſhop of Rocheſter ẏ ſpace of.xix. yeares.And ſo the church of Noꝛthumberland lacked a biſhop foꝛ the ſpace of.xxx.yeares after. Notwythſtanding he left there one Iames hys Deacon,a good man, who continued there baptiſing and pꝛeachyng in the Noꝛth partes,tyll that peace being recouered, and the number of the faythfull increaſyng,the church came agayne to his ſtay.Hunting.lib.3.

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n.

deacon
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ptiſe.

By the meanes of thys Edwine, Erpwaldus kyng of the Eaſtangles,ſonne to Redwaldus aboue mencioned,was reduced to Chꝛiſtes fayth.

pwaldus
herwyſe
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s,kyng
Eaſtan.
es con-
erted to
e faith of
riſt.

After the deceaſe of Edwine and hys ſonne Offrike, both ſlaine in battaile,reigned Oſricus and Eaufridus, thone in Deyꝛa,the other in Bernicia. Oſricus was the ſonne of Elfricus, whiche was bꝛother to Ethelfride. Eaufridus was the eldeſt ſonne of Ethelfride(foꝛ Ethelfride had iij.ſonnes,to wyt: Eaufridus,Oſwaldus,and Oſricus.)These ij.kynges of Deyꝛa and Bernicia,Oſricus,and Eaufride,being firſt chꝛiſtened in Scotlād:after being kyngs,returned to their old idolatrie:and ſo in the yeares folowing were ſlayne,one after the other, by the foꝛeſayd Cedwalla,and wicked Penda, as is in the Table aboue expꝛeſſed.

Oſwalde
yng of
orthum-
rland.

nno.
636.

After whom ſucceded in Noꝛthumberland, the ſecōd ſonne of Ethelfride, named Oſwaldus hauyng rule on both ẏ Pꝛouinces as wel Deyꝛa,as of Bernicia.Wherof when the foꝛeſayde Cedwalla (oꝛ Cadwallo) the Bꝛitaine king had vnderſtanding:who befoꝛe had made hauoke of the Saxons ⁊ thought to haue rooted thē vtterly out of England:he ſent K.Pēda ẘ a mighty hoſte of the Bꝛitaines,thincking to ſlea alſo Oſwalde,as he had befoꝛe ſlayne his bꝛother Eaufride, ⁊ kyng Edwine befoꝛe thē.But Oſwald whē he was warned of ẏ great ſtrēgth of this Cadwall, ⁊ Penda made his pꝛayers to God,⁊ beſought him mekely of helpe to ẘſtand hys enemie,foꝛ ẏ ſaluation of his people.Thus after Oſwald had pꝛayed foꝛ ẏ ſauing of his people, ẏ two hoſtes met in a field named Deniſburne, ſome ſaye, Heuenfield,where was faught a ſtrōg battail.But finally ẏ army and power of Pēda ⁊ Cedwal,which wer far exceding ẏ nōber of Oſwaldus hoſt, was chaſed ⁊ moſt part ſlayne by Oſwaldus,after he had reigned ouer the Bꝛitaines xxij.yeares leauyng after hym a ſonne, whom Gaufridus calleth Cadwaladꝛus,the laſt kyng of the Bꝛitaines.

Caufridus
Ialmeſ-
rienſis,
Polychro,
Hiſtoria
rnalēſis.
Fabian,

trength
f prayer
uercom-
eth ar-
ies.

enda bea-
n in the
eld.

Of this Oſwalde,much pꝛayſe ⁊ cōmēdacion is wꝛitē in autoꝛs,foꝛ his feruēt zeale in chꝛiſtes Religion,⁊ mercifull pitie towarde the pooꝛe, with other great vertues mo. As touchyng the miracles of S. Oſwalde, what it pleaſed the people of that tyme to repoꝛte of him, I haue not here to affirme: This I find in ſtoꝛies certeine,that he beyng well ⁊ vertuouſly diſpoſed to the ſettyng foꝛth of Chꝛiſtes faithe and doctrine, ſente into Scotlande foꝛ a certeine Biſhop,there called Aidanus,whiche was a famous pꝛeacher. The kynge what tyme he was in Scotland baniſhed,had learned the Scottiſh tongue perfectly: wherfoꝛe as this Aidanus pꝛeached in his Scottiſh tongue to the Saxons, the kyng himſelf interpꝛeting that which he had ſaid,diſdayned not to pꝛeach ⁊ expoūd the ſame to his nobles ⁊ ſubiects in the Engliſh tongue.

he com-
endation
f kyng
Oſwald.

Kyng Oſwald diſdayned not to expound & and preach the Goſpel to hys people.

Moꝛeouer toward the pooꝛe and nedy,his pitie ⁊ tendernes was ſuche, beyng notwithſtanding of ſo heygh ⁊ pꝛincely callyng:that vpon a tyme(beyng thē Eſterday) he ſettyng with the ſayd Aidanus at meat, and ſerued after the maner of kynges in Siluer: there commeth to hym one of the ſeruitures bꝛyngyng hym woꝛde,ẏ there was a greate multitude of pooꝛe people ſittyng in the ſtreete,which deſired ſome almes of ẏ kyng. He hearing this, commaundeth not onely the meat pꝛepared foꝛ his owne Table to be caried vnto them, but alſo takyng a Siluer platter which ſtode befoꝛe him, bꝛake it in peeces and ſent it emong thē:And ſo releued his pooꝛe ſubiectes not onely with ẏ meat of his Table, but with his diſhes alſo. Aidanus the Biſhop ſeyng this,⁊ maruelyng therat,taketh hym by the hand,wiſhing and pꝛaying in this wiſe:This hand,ſayth he,I pꝛaye God may continue ⁊ neuer putrefie. What the ſtoꝛies ſay moꝛe concernyng this hand of Oſwald,I entend not to medle farther thē ſimple,true, and dew pꝛobabilitie,will beare me out.

The goodnes and charitie of Oſwald toward the poore.

Hiſtoria tornalenſis. Polychronicon. lib.5. cap.12.

In thoſe dayes, ⁊ partly by the meanes of the ſaid Oſwald, Kinigilſus kyng of the Weaſtſaxons was conuerted to Chꝛiſtes fayth: eſpecially thꝛough the godly labour of Birinus,which was ſente by Pope Honoꝛius to pꝛeach in England,and was then made Byſhop of Doꝛcheſter. To whom Quicelinus bꝛother of the foꝛeſayd Kinigilſus,after he had alſo receaued Baptiſme of the ſaid Berinus:gaue to hym the ſayd Citie to make there his ſea. And as Guydo witneſſeth,the ſaid Quicelinus gaue after to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, ſeuen miles compaſſe of land,to buylde there the Biſhops ſea: the whiche was accompliſhed and finiſhed by Kenwalcus his ſonne.

Rinegilſus king of the Weſtſaxōs conuerted to chriſtes fayth.

Polychronicō lib.5.cap.13.

Fabiā.part.5

Landes geuen to Wincheſter.

Of this Berinus,Maineſbery,Polychꝛonicon, with diuers other wꝛiters do repoꝛte,a thyng ſtraunge ⁊ miraculous:which if it be a fable,as no doubt it is,I cānot but maruell that ſo manye autoꝛs ſo conſtantly agree in repoꝛtyng ⁊ affirming the ſame. The matter is this: This Berinus beyng ſente as is ſayde, by Honoꝛius to pꝛeache in Englande, pꝛomiſeth hym to trauayle to the vttermoſte boꝛders thereof: and there to pꝛeache the Goſpell where the name of Chꝛiſt, was neuer hard. Thus he ſettyng foꝛward in hys ioꝛney paſſeth thꝛough Fraūce,and ſo to the ſea ſide, where he found a paſſage ready,and the wynd ſerued ſo fayꝛe, that he was called vpon in ſuch haſt that he had no leyſure to remēbꝛer him ſelfe to take all things with hym,whiche he had to cary. At length as he was on the ſea ſailing,and almoſt in the midle courſe of his paſſage,remembꝛed him ſelf of a certeine relique left behynd hym foꝛ haſt:whiche Honoꝛius had geuē hym at his cōmyng out. Malmeſberienſis calleth it Corporalia.Hiſtoria Iornalenſis,calleth it Pallulam ſuper quam Corpus Chriſti conſecraret, whiche we call a Coꝛpoꝛas, oꝛ ſuche a lyke thyng, and what elles incloſed within it I can not tell. Here Birinus in greate ſorow could not tell what to do,if he ſhould haue ſpoken to the heathen mariners,to turne their courſe bake again, they would haue mocked him,and it had bene in vayne. Wherfoꝛe as the ſtoꝛies wꝛite, he boldly ſteppeth into ẏ ſea,⁊ walkyng on foote backe agayne,taketh with hym that whiche was left behynd,⁊ ſo returneth to hys company agayne,hauyng not one thꝛiede of hys garmentes wete.Of this miracle,oꝛ whether I ſhould cal it a fable rather,let ẏ reader iudge therof, as he thinketh: becauſe it is not wꝛiten in the Scripture,we are not bound to beleue it.But if it were true,it is then to be thought to be wꝛought of God not foꝛ any holynes in the man,oꝛ in ẏ

Malmeſberienſis lib.de pōtific. Angl. Ceſtrenſis.lib.5.Hiſtor.tornalenſis. Huntyngton. lib.3.

Birinus walkyng on the ſea with lye and al.

Oſwaldus godfather and ſon in law to Kynegilſus,and al in one day.

Corporas,but a ſpeciall gift for the cōuerſion of the heathē,for whoſe ſaluation God ſuffereth oft many wōders to bee done: Thus Berinus beyng receyued in the ſhyp agayne with a great admiration of the Mariners,being therwith conuerted and Baptiſed: was dryuē at laſt by the wether,to ÿ coaſt of ÿ Weaſtſaxōs, wher Kinigilſus and his brother Quiccelinus aboue mētioned,did raigne. Which ii.kings,ÿ ſame tyme by ÿ preaching of Birinus wer conuerted,and made Chriſten mē,with ÿ people of ÿ countrey beyng before rude,and barbarous. It happened the ſame tyme when the foreſayd kynges ſhould be Chriſtened, ÿ Oſwaldus mentioned a litle before,king of Northumberlande,was then preſente, and the ſame day maried Kingilſus daughter, ⁊ alſo was Godfather to the kyng. godfather to ÿ kinge

Kyng Oſwald ſlayne in the field.

An. 643

Penda kyng of Mercians ſlain Oſwy king of Northumberland.

Thus Oſwald after he had reigned ix.yeares in ſuch holynes and perfectnes of lyfe as is aboue ſpecified,was ſlain at lēgth in ÿ field called Marfield,by wicked Pēda, kyng of the Mercians. Which Penda,at length after al his tyrāny,was ouercome and ſlayne by Oſwy brother to Oſwald,next kyng after Oſwald of Northūberland, notwithſtādyng he had thriſe the people that Oſwy had. This Penda being a Panym had iij.ſonnes Wolferus, Weda,⁊ Egfridus. To this ſecond ſonne Weda,Oſwy had before time maryed his daughter by cōſent of Pēda hys father. The which Weda by helpe of Oſwy was made kyng of Southmercia: the whiche Lordſhip is ſeuered from Northmercia by the ryuer of Trent. The ſame Weda moreouer,at what tyme he maryed the daughter of Oſwy,promiſed to hym, that he ſhould become a Chriſten man: whiche thyng he performed after the death of Penda hys father,but afterward within iij. yeares of his reigne,he was by reaſon of his wife ſlaine. And after him the kingdome fell to Wolferus the other brother, who beyng wedded to Ermenilda daughter of Ercombert kyng of Kent,was ſhortly after Chriſtened: ſo that he is accompted the firſt chriſtened kyng of Mercia. This Wolferus conquered Kenwalcus, king of Kent,and gat the Ile of Wyght,which after he gaue to Sigbert king of Theaſtangles, vpon conditiō he would be Chriſtened. And thus the Eaſtangles,whiche before had expulſed Mellitus there Byſhop,as is declared recouered agayne the Chriſtian fayth vnder Sigbert there king,who by the meanes of the foreſaid Wolferus was reduced,and Baptiſed by Finanus the Byſhop.

The conuerting of the Mertians to the fayth of Chriſt.

Wolferus fyrſt chriſtened king of Mercia.

The Eaſtangles reduced to the chriſtian fayth.

Oſwy & Oſwyne,fellow kyngs in Northumberland.

Note the worthy liberality in the kyng, & no leſſe in the biſhop.

H. Huntyng. de hiſtoria anglorum.lib.9.

Example of true almoſe.

A perfe exāple humili in a Pri

But to returne againe to Oſwy,frō whom we haue a litle digreſſed,of whom we ſhewed before how he ſucceded after Oſwald, in the Prouince of Bernicia: to whō alſo was ioyned Oſwinus hys coſin,ouer the Prouince of Deyra,and there with his felow Oſwy reigned the ſpace of vij yeares. This Oſwine was gentle,and liberall to his people,⁊ no leſſe deuoute toward God: who vpon a tyme had geuen to Aidanus the Byſhop, aboue mencioned,a princely horſe,with the trappers ⁊ all that perteined therto: becauſe he ſhould not ſo much trauayle on foote,but ſome time eaſe him ſelfe withall. Thus Aidanus the Scottiſh Byſhop as he was rydyng vpon his kyngly horſe,by the way meteth him a certein poore mā aſkyng and crauyng his charitie. Aidanus hauyng nothyng els to geue him: lighteth downe,⁊ geueth to hym his horſe trapped and garniſhed as he was. The kyng vnderſtandyng this,and not contented therwith: as hee was entring to dinner with the ſayde Aidanus: what ment you father biſhop (ſaid he) to geue away my horſe I gaue you vnto the begger? Had not I other horſes in my ſtable,ÿ might haue ſerued him welinough: but you muſt geue away that which of purpoſe was pickte out for you among the chiefeſt? To whom the biſhop made aunſwer againe ſaying, or rather rebuking the kyng: what be theſe wordes (O king,ſayd he) that you ſpeake? Why ſet you more price by an horſe, which is but the fole of an horſe,then you doo by him which is the ſonne of Mary,yea which is the Sonne of God? He ſayde but this,when the king forthwithal vngyrding his ſwoorde from about hym (as he was then newlye come in from hunting) falleth downe at the feete of the biſhop: deſiring him to forgeue him that,⁊ he would neuer after ſpeake word to him,for any treaſure he ſhould afterward geue away of hys. The biſhop ſeing the king ſo mekely affected,he then taking him vp,and chearing him againe wt wordes,began ſhortly after to wepe and to be very heauy,his Miniſter aſking the cauſe therof, Aidanus aunſwered in his Scottiſh language,ſaying to him: I wepe (ſayth he) for ÿ this king cānot lyue long. This people is not worthy to haue ſuch a Prince as he is,to raygne among them. And ſo as Aidanus ſayde, it came to paſſe. For not long after Oſwy the king of Bernicia diſdayning at him,when Oſwine either being not able, or not willling to ioyne with him in battayle: cauſed him traiterouſly to be ſlayne. And ſo Oſwy with hys ſonne Egfride raygned in Northumberland alone.

Oſwine trayter ly mur red

Anno 651.

Benedic or Bene the bry ger vp of Bede.

In the tyme, and alſo in the houſe, of thys Oſwye king of Northumberland, was a certaine man named Benedict,who was ÿ bringer vp of Bede frō his youth, and toke him to his inſtitution, when he was but ſeuen yeare olde,and ſo taught him during his life. This Benedict, or Benet, deſcending of a noble ſtocke and riche kinne,and in good fauour with Oſwye: forſoke ſeruice, houſe,and al his kindred, to ſerue Chriſt, and went to Rome (where he had bene in his life time fiue times) and brought frō thence bookes,into monaſteries,with other thinges which he thought then to ſerue for deuotion. This Benedict ſurnamed biſhop was ÿ firſt ÿ broughte in ÿ arte ⁊ vſe of glaſing into this land. For before that, glaſſe windowes were not knowen,either in churches, or in houſes.

The vſe glaſig brought to this realme.

Botulp Aidan Finian Colmā Cutbe tus,Jar mannu Cedda, VVilfri dus.

In the reigne of the foreſayd Oſwye and Egfride his ſonne,was Botulphus Abbot: which builded in the eaſt part of Lincolne an Abbey. Alſo Aidanus, Finianus, and Colmannus, with three Scotyſhe biſhops of Northumberland ⁊ holy men,helde with the Britaines, againſt the Romiſh order,for the keping of Eaſter day. Moreouer Cutbertus,Jarumannus,Cedda,and Wilfridus,liued ÿ ſame time,who as I iudge to be biſhops of an holy conuerſation, ſo I thought it ſufficient here onely to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made ſainctes in the Popes calender: ſeing they are not written in the Goſpell nor in my crede, but in certayne olde chronicles of that age: ſo they are no matter of my fayth. Notwithſtanding as touching their conuerſation, this I read, and alſo do credit: that the clergye both of Britanie and England at that time plied nothing that was worldly: but gaue them to preaching and teaching of the worde of our Sauiour, and followed the life that they preached, by geuing of good enſample. And ouer that,as our hiſtories accorde, they wer ſo voyde of couetouſnes,that they receaued no poſſeſſions or territories,as was forced vpon them.

O quant mutati Beda,lib 4.cap.5 Huntyn Polych. Iornalen ſis,Fab

664.

Controu ſie about Eaſter day.

About this ſeaſon or not much before, vnder ÿ reign of Oſwye and Oſwyne,kinges of Northumberland: another Synode or counſell was holden agaynſt the Brytaines,⁊ the Scotyſh biſhops,for the right obſeruing of Eaſter,at Sternehalt. At what tyme Agilbertus biſhop of the Weſtſaxons came to Northumberland, to inſtitute Wilfride Abbot of Rypō: where this queſtion for Eaſter day began to be moued. For Colmannus then byſhop of Northumberland followed not the cuſtome of Rome,nor of the Saxons: but followed ÿ Britaines, and the Scotyſhe biſhops, his predeceſſors in the ſame ſee,before. Thus on the one ſide was Colmannus the Archbiſhop of Yorke and Hilda ÿ Abbes of Sternhalt: which alleaged for them the doinges and examples, of their predeceſſours,both godly and reuerend biſhops: as Aidanus, Finianus, Archbiſhops of that ſee of Yorke before them, and diuerſe mo. Who had vſed allwayes to celebrate the Eaſter, from the .xiiij. day of the moone, til the .xxviij. of the ſame. And ſpeciallye for that, S. John the Euaungeliſt at Epheſus, kept & obſerued that daye, &c. On the other ſide was Agilbert biſhop of Weſtſaxons, James the Deacõ of Paulinus, aboue mencioned: Wilfride Abbat of Rypon, and king Alfride, Oſwyes ſonne, with his Queene, holding on the ſame ſide. The full contentes of which diſputation here followeth, according as in the ſtory of Beda at large is deſcribed, wᵗ their reaſons & arguments, on both ſides as inſueth, &c.

Beda
2. cap.
25.

The queſtion of Eaſter, and of ſhauing, and other eccleſiaſticall matters being moued, it was determined that in the Abbey which is called Streneſhalch, of the which Hilda a deuoute woman was Abbes: a conuocation ſhoulde be had and this queſtion there determined. To the which place came both the kings, the father and the ſonne. Biſhop Colman with his clergie of Scotland, Aigelbert with Agathon and Wilfride prieſtes, James and Roman were on their ſides. Hylda ẏ Abbes with her companye was on the Scotyſhe part. And the reuerent biſhop Cedda was appointed Prolocutor for both parties in that Parliament. King Oſwye began firſt with an oration declaring that it was neceſſarye for ſuch as ſerued one God, to liue in one vniforme order, and that ſuch as loked for one kingdome in heauen ſhoulde not differ in celebration of the heauenlye ſacramentes, but ſhoulde rather ſeeke for the true tradition and followe the ſame. This ſayd, he commaunded hys Biſhop Colman to declare what the rite and cuſtome was in this behalfe that he vſed, and from whence it had the originall. Then Colman obeying his princes commaũdement, ſaid: the Eaſter which I obſerue I receaued of my aunceſtors that ſent me hither a biſhop. The which, al our forefathers being mẽ of god, did celebrate in like maner: and leaſt it ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed of any man, it is manifeſtlye apparant, to be the verye ſame, which the holye Euangeliſt S. John (a Diſciple eſpeciallye beloued of the Lorde) did cuſtomablye vſe, in all churches and cõgregations, where he had authoritie. When Colman had ſpoken many thinges to this effecte, the king commaunded Aigelbert to declare his opinion in this behalfe, and to ſhewe the order that he then vſed, from whence it came and by what authoritie he obſerued the ſame. Aigelbert requeſted the king, that hys ſcholer Wilfride, a prieſt, myght ſpeake for him: in as much as they both, with the reaſt of his clergie, were of one opinion herein: and ẏ the ſaid Wilfride coulde vtter hys minde better and more playnlye in the engliſh tonge, then he himſelf could. Then Wilfride at the kinges commaundement, began on this ſorte, and ſaid: The Eaſter which we kepe, we haue ſene at Rome, where as the holy Apoſtles, Peter and Paule, dyd liue and teach, did ſuffer, and were buryed. The ſame alſo is vſed in Italie, and in Fraunce: the which countryes we haue traueled for learning, and haue noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Aſia alſo and in Africke, in Egypt and in Græce, and finallie in all the world, the ſame maner of Eaſter is obſerued, ẏ we vſe: ſaue onely by theſe here preſẽt wᵗ their accõplices, ẏ Pictes & the Brytaines: with ẏ which two (and yet not altogether agreing) they condeſcend and ſtriue foliſhlye in this order agaynſt the vniuerſall worlde. To whom Colman replyed, ſaying: I maruell, you will call this order folyſhe, that ſo greate an Apoſtle, as was worthy to lie in the Lordes lappe, did vſe: whom all the worlde doth well knowe to haue liued moſt wiſely. And Wilfride aunſwered, God forbid that I ſhould reproue S. John of folye, who kept the rites of Moyſes lawe according to the letter (the Church being yet Jewiſhe in many poyntes) and the Apoſtles not as yet able to abdicate all the obſeruations of the lawe before ordayned: As for example, they coulde not reiecte Images inuented of the deuill, the which all men that beleue in Chriſt ought of neceſſitie to forſake, and deteſte: leaſt they ſhould be an offence to thoſe Jewes ẏ were amongſt the Gentiles. For this cauſe dyd S. Paule circumciſe Tymothe: for thys cauſe dyd he ſacrifice in the temple, and did ſhaue hys head with Aquila and Priſcilla at Corynthe: all which thinges were done to none other purpoſe, then to eſchue the offence of the Jewes. Hereupon alſo ſayd James to Paule, thou ſeeſt brother how many thouſand Jewes doe beleue, and all theſe be zelous notwithſtanding, of the law. Yet ſeing the Goſpell is ſo manifeſtlye preached in the worlde, it is not lawfull for the faythfull to be circumciſed, neyther to offer ſacrifice of carnall thynges to God. Therfore John accordyng to the cuſtome of the law, the .xiiij. daye of the firſte moneth at euening, did begyn the celebration of the feaſt of Eaſter: nothyng reſpecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabboth, or in any other feriall day. But Peter when he preached at Rome, remẽbryng that the Lord did ariſe frõ death on the firſt daye after the Sabboth gyuing therby an hope to the world of ẏ reſurrectiõ: thought good to inſtitute Eaſter on that day, and not after the vſe and preceptes of the lawe (that was) the .xiiij. day of the firſt moneth. Euen ſo John lookyng for the Moone at night if it dyd ariſe, and the next day after were Sonday, which was then called the Sabboth, then did he celebrate the Eaſter of the Lord in the euenyng, like as we vſe to do euẽ at this day. But if Sonday were not the next day after the .xiiij. day, but fell on the .xvi. day, or .xvij. or on any other daye vnto the .xxi: he taried allwayes for it, and did begyn the holy ſolemnitie of Eaſter, on the euenyng next before the Sabboth. And ſo came it to pas that Eaſter was allwayes kept on the Sõday, and was not celebrated but from the .xv. day vntill the .xxi. Neither doth this traditiõ of ẏ Apoſtle breake the law, but fulfilleth the ſame. In ẏ which it is to be noted, that Eaſter was inſtituted from the .xiiij. day of the firſte moneth at euenyng: vnto the .xxi. daye of the ſame moneth at euening, the which maner all S. Johns ſucceſſors in Aſia, after his death did folow, & the catholicke Church throughout the whole worlde. And that this is the true Eaſter, and onely of all Chriſtians to be obſerued, it was not newly decreed: but confirmed by the coũcell of Nice, as appeareth by the Eccleſiaſticall hyſtorie. Wherupon it is manifeſt that you (Colman) do neyther folow the example of S. John as ye thinke, nor of S. Peter whoſe traditiõ ye do willingly reſiſt, nor of ẏ Church nor yet of the Goſpell, in the celebration of Eaſter. For S. John, obſeruing Eaſter according to the precepts of the lawe, kept it not on the firſt day after the Sabboth. But you preciſely kepe it, onely on the firſt day after the Sabboth. Peter did celebrate Eaſter from the .xv. day of the Moone to the .xxi. day: But you kepe Eaſter from the .xiiij. vnto the .xx. day, ſo that you begin Eaſter oftẽtimes the .xiij. day at nighte: of the whiche maner neyther the law nor the Goſpell maketh any mencion. But the Lord in the .xiiij. daye eyther did eate the olde Paſſeouer at night, or els did celebrate the ſacramentes of the newe Teſtament in the remembraunce of hys death and paſſion. You do alſo vtterlye reiecte from the celebration of Eaſter the .xxj. day, the which the lawe hath chiefly willed to be obſerued. And therefore as I ſayd in the keping of Eaſter, you neither agree with S. John, nor with Peter, nor with the lawe, nor yet with the Goſpell. Then Colman agayne anſwered to theſe thinges, ſaying: Did then Anatholius a godly man and one much commended in the foreſayd eccleſiaſticall hiſtorye, agaynſt the lawe and the Goſpell? who writte that the Eaſter was to be kept from the .xiiij. daye vnto the .xx: or ſhal we thinke that Columba our reuerent father and hys ſucceſſours being mẽ of God who obſerued the Eaſter after thys maner, dyd agaynſt the holy Scripture? where

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Why Paule circumciſed Timothy.

Example of Peter alleaged, but no proofe brought therof

Peter & John did not agree in the celebrating of Eaſter.

In the councell of Nice no ſuch matter appeareth.

Colman agayn aunſwereth.

Wilfride replieth.

The autoritie of mẽ is not to be ſticked vnto, for their doing of miracles

The example of them that folow not for lacke of teaching excuſeth not thẽ which beyng taught wyl not folow

Yea ſyr. Suffragia eccleſiæ nõ numeranda ſũt ſed ponderanda Aug.

as ſome of them were men of ſuch godlynes and vertue as was declared by their wonderfull miracles, ⁊ I hereby (nothyng doubtyng of their holynes) do endeuour to folow their life, order, ⁊ diſcipline. Then ſayd Wilfride, it is certaine that Anatholius was both a godly ⁊ a learned man, and worthy of great cõmẽdacion: but what haue you to do with hym, ſeyng you obſerue not his order. For he folowyng the true rule in keping his Eaſter, obſerueth the circle of xix. yeares. The which either you know not, or if you do, you contemne the common order obſerued in the vniuerſal Churche of Chriſt. And moreouer the ſayd Anatholius doth ſo counte the xiiij. day in yͤ obſeruatiõ of Eaſter, as he confeſſeth yͤ ſame to be yͤ xv. day at night, after the maner of yͤ Egyptiãs, ⁊ lykewiſe noteth the xx. day to be in the feaſt of Eaſter yͤ xxi. in the euening: the which diſtinctiõ yͭ you know not, as by this may appeare for yͭ you kepe yͤ Eaſter on yͤ xiiij. day before yͤ ful Moone. Or otherwiſe I can anſwer you, touching your father Colũba ⁊ his ſucceſſors, whoſe order you ſay you followe, moued thereto by their miracles, on this wyſe: that yͤ Lord wil anſwer to many that ſhal ſay in yͤ day of iudgement, that in his name they haue prophecied and caſt out deuils, ⁊ haue done many myracles. ⁊c. that he neuer knew them. But God forbid that I ſhould ſay ſo of your fathers, becauſe it is muche better to beleue wel of thoſe we know not, then ill. Whereupon I deny not, but they were the ſeruauntes of God and holy men, the which loued the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude ſimplicitie. And I thinke that the order which they vſed in the Eaſter, did not much hurt them, ſo long as they had none amongeſt them, that could ſhew them the righte obſeruation of the ſame, for them to follow. For I thinke if the truth had bene declared vnto them, they woulde as well haue receiued it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your fellowes if you refuſe the order of the Apoſtolicall ſee, or rather of the vniuerſall churche, which is confirmed by the holye ſcripture, without al dout you do ſin. And though your forefathers were holy mẽ, ⋆ what is their fewnes being but a corner of an Ilelãd, to be preferred before yͤ vniuerſal church of chriſt diſperſed throughout yͤ whole world? And if Colũba your father (⁊ ours alſo being of Chriſt) were mightye in myracles, is he therfore to be preferred before yͤ prince of yͤ holy Apoſtles? to whõ the Lord ſaid: yͧ art Peter, ⁊ vpon this rocke wyl I build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle againſt it, and I wil geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen.

The king concludeth.

Wilfrid hauing thus ended his argument, the kyng ſayd to Colman: Is it true that the Lorde ſpake theſe thinges to S. Peter? And Colman anſwered yea. Then ſayd the king: Can you declare any thing that the Lord gaue to Columba? Colman anſwered no. Then quoth the king, do both of you agree and conſent in thys matter without any cõtrouerſy, and that theſe words were principallye ſpoken to Peter, and that the Lorde gaue hym the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen? And they both anſwered yea. Then concluded the king on thys wyſe: For as muche as S. Peter is the doore keeper of heauen, I wil not gaynſaye him: but in that I am able, I wil obey his orders in euery point, leaſt when I come to the gates of heauen, he ſhut them againſt me

Mobile mutatur ſemper cum principe vulgus.

Upon this ſimple and rude reaſon of the kyng, the multitude eftſones conſented: and with them alſo Cedda was contented to geue ouer. Onely Colmannus the Scot, being then Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, in diſpleaſure left the realme, and departed into Scotlande, carying with him the bones of Aidanus. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25. And thus muche concerning this matter of Eaſter.

Egfride or Edfride of Northumberland.

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After the deceaſe of Oſwy, Egfride his ſonne was king after him in Northumberland. xv. yeares. By this Egfride Cutbert was promoted to the byſhopricke of of the Ile of Farne. And Wilfrid which before had ben Archbiſhop of York, was diſplaced through the meanes of Theodore archbiſhop of Canterburye: and Cedda poſſeſſed that ſee. Wilfride when he was put out, went to Rome, and complayned of him to Agathon yͤ byſhop, and was well allowed in ſome thinges. But the kyng and Theodorus had there ſuche Proctors and friendes, that he returned without ſpeeding of his cauſe. Wherfore he returned vnto yͤ Southſaxons, ⁊ builded an Abbey in Sileſey, and preached vnto the Southſaxons. xv. yeres. The king of the Southſaxons at yͭ tyme was Ethelwold: to whom we declared a litle before, yͭ Wolferus king of the Mercians, gaue the Ile of wight, vppon condicion, that he would be chriſtened, and ſo was baptiſed by Birinus: the ſaid Wolfer being his Godfather and ſonne in law, both in one day. Wherfore Wolferus now being licenſed by Ethelwold the king, preached vnto his nobles and people of Southſexe, ⁊ conuerted them to Chriſt. In the time of whoſe baptiſing the rayn which before they lacked. iij. yeares together, was geuen them plentifully: whereby their great famine ſlaked, and the country was made fruitful, which before was dryed vp with barrennes: In ſo much yͭ as in ſome ſtories is ſaid, the people penured with famine woulde go. xl. together vpon the rockes by the ſea ſyde, and taking handes together, would throw them ſelues down to the ſea. Moreouer, wher thei lacked before the arte of fiſhing, the fore ſaid Wilfride taught them how with nets to fiſh.

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And thus by proces haue we diſcourſed from tyme to tyme how ⁊ by what meanes yͤ idolatrous people were induced to yͤ true faith of Chriſt: of whom theſe Southſaxons with the Ile of wyght was the laſt.

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After Egfride, who was ſlayne in the ſtraightes of Scotland, next ſucceded Alfride his brother, and baſtard ſonne to Oſwy, and raygned. xviij. or. xix. yeares in Northumberland. This Alfride reſtored agayne the foreſaid Wilfride to the ſea of Yorke, whom his brother had before expelled, and put in Cedda. Notwithſtanding, the ſame king within. v. yeares after, expulſed the ſaid Wilfride againe: and ſo went he to Rome. But at length by Oſryke hys ſucceſſor was placed agayne the Archbyſhop of Yorke: and Cedda was ordayned by Theodorus, biſhop of Mercia. The which prouince of Mercia, the ſayd Theodorus Archbiſhop of Canturbury by the authoritie of the Synode holden at Hatfielde, did after diuide into. v. biſhoprickes: that is, one to Cheſter, the ſecond to Worceter, the third to Lichfielde, the fourth to Cederna in Lindeſey, the fift to Dorcheſter, which was after tranſlated to Lincolne.

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Neare aboute this tyme, in the yeare of our Lorde D.C.lxvj. the deteſtable ſecte of Mahumet, began to take ſtrength and place: Although Polychronicon differing a litle in yeares, accounteth the beginning of thys ſecte ſomewhat before. But the moſte diligent ſearchers of them which write now, referreth it to thys yeare, which well agreeth with the number of the beaſt, ſigned in the Apocalips. χξς. That is. 666. Of this Machumet came the kingdome of Agarenes (whom he after named Saracenes) to whom he gaue ſondry lawes, patched of many ſectes and religions together, he taught them to pray euer to the South: And as we kepe the Sondaye, ſo they kepe the Fryday: which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to haue as many wyues as they were able to maintaine: to haue as many concubines as they liſte: to abſteine from vſe of wyne, except vpon certaine ſolemne dayes in the yeares: to haue and worſhip onely one God omnipotent: ſaying, that Moſes ⁊ the Prophetes were great men, but Chriſt was greater, and greateſt of all the Prophetes: as being borne of the virgine Mary by the power of God, without mans ſeede: and at laſte was taken vp to heauen, but was not ſlaine: but an other in hys lykenes for hym, with many other wicked blaſphemies in hys lawe contayned. At length this kingdome of the Saracenes began to be conquered of the Turkes, and ſo in proces of tyme wholye ſabdued to them.

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biſhop
Cant.

But now to returne agayne to the tyme of our engliſh Saxons. In this meane ſeaſō Theodorus was ſent from Italye into England by Vitellianus the Pope, to be Archbyſhop of Caunterburye: and with him diuers other Monkes of Italye, to ſet vp here in England latin ſeruice, Maſſes, ceremonies, Letanies, with ſuch other Romiſhe ware, ⁊c. This Theodorus being made Archbiſhop and Metropolitane of Cant. began to playe the rex, placing and diſplacing the Biſhops at hys pleaſure. As for Cedda, and Wilfride Archbiſhops of Yorke, he thruſt them both out vnder the pretence, that they were not lawfullye conſecrated, notwithſtanding they were ſufficiently autoriſed by their kinges, and there placed againſt their willes. Wherfore Wilfride (as is before touched) went vp to Rome, but could haue no redreſſe of hys cauſe. Yet to ſhewe what modeſtie thys Wilfride vſed agaynſt his enemie, being ſo violentlye moleſted as he was, becauſe the wordes of his complaint are expreſſed in W. Malmeſbery: I thought here to expreſſe the ſame, both for the commendation of the partie, and alſo for the good enſample of other, in caſe any ſuch be, whō good examples will moue to wel doing. This Wilfride therefore hauing ſuch iniurie and violence offered vnto him by the handes of Theodore: although he had iuſte cauſe to doe hys vttermoſt, yet in proſecuting hys complaint, how he tempered himſelfe: what wordes of modeſtie he vſed, rather to defende hys innocencie, then to impugn his aduerſary: by this his ſuggeſtiō offred vp to the biſhop of Rome, may apeare: whoſe words in effect were theſe: Quid autem acciderit, vt Theodorus ſanctiſſ. Archiepiſcopus (me ſuperſtite in ſede) quam, licet indignus diſpenſabam: abſq; conſenſu cuiuſlibet epiſcopi ex ſua autoritate (mea humilitate non acquieſcenti) ordinauit tres epiſcopos: omittere magis quam vrgere, pro eiuſdem viri reuerentia, condecet. Quem quidem, pro eo ꝙ ab hac apoſtolicæ ſedis ſummitate directus eſt, accuſare non audeo, &c. In engliſhe. How it chaunceth that Theodorus, the moſt holy and reuerend Archbiſhop (myſelf being aliue in the ſee) which I, though vnworthye, did rule and diſpoſe: hath of his own authoritie without the conſent of any biſhop, neyther hauing my ſimple voyce agreing to the ſame, ordayned .iij. biſhops: I had rather paſſe ouer in ſilence, then to ſtyrre any farther therin, becauſe of the reuerence of that man, and no leſſe thought I it my duetie ſo to doo. The which man for that he hath bene directed by the authoritie of this ſee Apoſtolicall, I will not, nor dare not here accuſe, ⁊c. Thus the cauſe of the ſayd Wilfride, albeit it was ſufficientlye knowen in the courte of Rome, to bee well allowed for, iuſte and innocent, yet it was not then redreſſed. In ſuch eſtimation was this Theodorus then among yͤ Romaines. Vpon this controuerſie of theſe two biſhops I may wel here inferre the words of W. Malmeſbury, not vnworthy, (in my minde) to be noted: which be theſe in his latin ſtorye. Vbi, videri et doleri poteſt, humana miſeria, quod videlicet quātūlibet quis ſanctitate polleat, non ad plenū, peruicaces mores exuat, &c. That is, In yͤ which Theodore, ſayth he, the weake and miſerable infirmitie of man, may be ſeene and alſo lamented: conſidering, that although a man be neuer ſo holy, yet in the ſame man is ſomethinges, wherby it may be perceaued, that he hath not vtterly put of all hys ſtubburne conditions, ⁊c.

liel.
ameſbe-
nſis lib.
e geſtis
tifi.
glorū.

de. lib.
cap. 22.

liel.
ameſb.
.de ge-
potiſi.
nglorum
.1.
olychr.
.5. cap.
19.

680.

de. lib.
cap. 5

In the time of this Theodorus, and by the meanes of hym, a prouincial ſynode was holden at Thedforde, mencioned in the ſtory of Bede: the principall contents wherof were theſe. 1. Fyrſt, that Eaſter day ſhould be vniformely kept and obſerued through the whole realme, vpon one certaine daye, videlicet prima. 14. luna menſis primi. 2. Secōdly that no biſhop ſhould entermedle within the dioces of an other. 3. Thirdlye, that Monaſteries conſecrated vnto God, ſhould be exempt and free from the iuriſdiction of biſhops. 4. Fourthly, that the Monkes ſhould not ſtray from one place (that is) from one Monaſtery to another, wtout the licence of his Abbat: alſo to keepe the ſame obediēce which they promiſed at their firſt entring. 5. Fiftly, that no Clergyman ſhoulde forſake his owne biſhop, and to be receiued in anye other place, without letters commendatorye of his owne byſhop. 6. Sixtly, that foreine byſhops and Clergy men cōming into the realme, ſhould be content onely wyth the benefit of ſuch hoſpitalitie, as ſhuld be offred thē: neither ſhould entermedle any further within the precincte of any biſhop, without his ſpecial permiſſion. 7. Seuenthly, that Synodes prouinciall ſhoulde be kepte wythin the realme: at leaſt once a yeare. 8. Eightlye, that no biſhop ſhoulde preferre himſelfe before an other, but muſt obſerue the time and order of his conſecration. 9. Ninthly, that the number of biſhops ſhoulde bee augmented, as the number of the people increaſeth. 10. Tenthly, that no mariage ſhould be admitted, but that which was lawful. No inceſt to be ſuffered: neyther anye man to put away his wife for any cauſe, except onelye for fornicacion, after the rule of the Goſpell. And theſe be the principall chapters of that Synode. ⁊c.

In the next yeare followyng was the firt generall councel kept at Conſtāce, wher at, this Theodore was alſo preſent, vnder Pope Agatho: where mariage was permitted to Greke prieſtes, and forbidden to the latin. In this councel the latten Maſſe was firſt openly ſayd by Iohn Portuenſis the Popes Legate, before the Patriarch and Princes at Conſtantinople, in the temple of ſaint Sophye.

An. 705

Oſredus,
Kenredus,
Oſricus
kyngs of Northumberland.

After the decraſe of Alfride king of Northumberland (from whome we laſt digreſſed) ſucceded his ſonne Oſredus, raygning .xi. yeares. After whom raigned Kēredus .2. yeares And next Oſricus after him .xi. yeares.

The kingdom of Britayn ceaſeth.

Iua, or Iue, K. of Weſtſaxons.

In the time and raygne of theſe .iiij. kinges of Northumberland, king Iua reygned in Weſtſaxe: who ſucceding after Cadwalader (the laſt king of the Britās) began hys raygne about the yeare of the Lorde 689. ⁊ raygned with great valiantnes ouer the Weſtſaxons, the terme of .xxxvij. yeares. Concerning whoſe acts and warres mayntayned agaynſt the Kentiſh Saxons, and other kinges: becauſe I haue not to entermedle withal, I referre the reader to other Chroniclers.

Polychron. lib 5. cap. 21.

S. Cuthlake a popiſh ſainct.

About the firt yeare of the raigne of this Iua, or Iue, Polychronicon and other make mencion of one Cuthlacus, whom they call S. Cuthlake a confeſſor, who about the .24 of his age, renouncing the pompe of the worlde, profeſſed himſelf a Monke in the Abbey of Repindon, and the third yeare after went to Crowland, wher he led the lyfe of an Anker. In the which Ile and place of hys burying was builded a fayre Abbey, called afterward, for the great reſorte and gentle entertainment of ſtraungers, Crowland the courteous. But why thys Cuthlake ſhoulde bee ſancted for hys doinges, I ſee no great cauſe, as neyther do I thinke the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as wher the vulgar people are made to beleue, that he incloſed the deuil in a boilyng pot, and cauſed wycked ſpirites to erect vp houſes, with ſuch other fables and lying myracles. ⁊c. Among the which lying myracles alſo maye bee reckened that which the ſtories mention in the .xi. yeare of the raygne of Iua, to be done of one Brithwalde or Drithelmus: who being dead a long ſeaſō, was reſtored to life again, and told many wonders of ſtraunge things that he had ſene, cauſing thereby great almes and deedes of charitie to be done of the people. And ſo the diſpoſing of hys goods geuen in three partes, went to the Abbey of Mailroos, where he continued the reſt of hys lyfe.

Crowland the curtes.

Lying miracles

What ſtraunge ſightes this Brithwald, or Drithelm, dyd ſee after hys death, read the ix booke of *Henr. Huntyngton.*

Moreouer, about the .xvj. yeare of the ſaide Iua, E-

theldred

King Ethelred made Abbot of Bardney

theldred king of Mercia, after he had there raygned. 30. yeares, was made Monke: and after Abbot of Bardne

Aldelmus,

Gu. Malmeſberienſis. lib. 5. de pontifi.

Lying miracles

Mameſbery commended for his ſtile.

Lying miracles reproued.

Adelme biſh.

Svvythune, B. of Wint.

And about the xviij. yeare of the raygne of Iue, died the worthy and learned biſhop Aldelmus, firſt Abbot of Malmeſbery, afterward biſhop of Schyrborn: of whom William Malmeſberienſis writeth plenteouſly, wyth great commendation: and that not vnworthely as I ſuppoſe: eſpecially for the notable prayſe of learning & vertue in hym aboue the reſt of that time (next after Bede) as the great number of bookes and epiſtles and poemes by him ſet forth, will declare. Although concerning the miracles which the ſayde autor aſcribeth vnto him, as firſte in cauſing an infant of. ix. dayes olde to ſpeake at Rome, to cleare Pope Sergius, which was then ſuſpected ẏ father of ẏ ſaid child. Alſo in hanging his caſule vp on the ſunne beames. Item, in making whole the altar ſtone of marble, brought frõ Rome. Item, in drawing alẽgth one of the tymber peeces, which went to the building of the temple in Mameſberye. Item, in ſauing the Mariners at Douer. &c. As concerning theſe and ſuch other miracles, which W. Mameſberye to him attributeth, I cannot conſent to him therein, but thinke rather the ſame to be Monkiſhe deuiſes, forged vpon their Patrons, to mayntayne the dignity of their houſes. And as the autor was deceaued (no doubte) in beleuing ſuch fables himſelfe: ſo may he likewyſe deceaue vs, throughe the dexteritie of his ſtile, and fine handlyng of the matter, but that father experience hath taught the worlde now adaies more wyſdom, in not beleuing ſuch practiſes. This Aldelmus was biſhop of Schirborne, whyche ſee after was vnited to the ſee of Winton. In whych church of Wincheſter the like miracles alſo are to bee red of biſhop Adelwold, and S. Swithune, whome they haue canonized likewiſe for a ſainct.

Bede, lib. 5. cap. 23. Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi de regibus Northumb.

S. Iohn of Beuerlay.

An. 717

An other lying fable of S. Egwyne.

Ranulphus in Polychr. lib. 5 cap. 23.

Moreouer neare about the. xxv. yeare of Iue, by the report of Bede, S. Iohn of Beuerley, which was then biſhop of Yorke died, and was buried at the portche of the Minſter of Deyrwood or Beuerley. In the whych portch it is recorded in ſome chronicles, that as the ſaid Iohn vpon a time was praying, being in the porche of S. Michael in Yorke: the holy ghoſt in the ſimilitude of a Doue ſat before him vpon the altar, in brightnes ſhyning aboue the ſunne. This brightnes being ſeene of other, firſt commeth one of his Deacõs running vnto the porche: who beholding the biſhop there ſtandyng in hys prayers, and al the place repleniſhed with the holy goſt: was ſtroken with the light thereof, hauing all hys face burnt, as it were with hote burning fire. Notwithſtanding the biſhop by and by cured the face of his Deacon againe, charging him as the ſtory ſaith, not to publiſhe what he had ſene during his life time. &c. which tale ſeemeth as true, as that we read about the ſame time done of S. Egwyne, in Polychron. Abbot of Euſham, and B. of Worceſter (then called Wyces:) who vpõ a tyme whẽ he had fettered both his fete in irons faſt locked, for certain ſynnes done in his youth, & had caſt the key therof in ẏ ſea: afterward a fyſh brought him the key again into the ſhyp, as he was ſayling homeward frõ Rome.

Beda. lib. 5. de geſtis Angl. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 17.

A generall rule ſeruing for the obſeruation of Eaſter day.

This r of Ea ſemeth be tak out of booke Numer And th going of Ra the 15. of the f moneth next d ter hol there, ſter, &c.

But to leaue theſe monkiſh phantaſies, and returne into the right courſe agayne of the ſtory. In the time of this foreſaid Iue, began firſt the ryght obſeruing of the Eaſter dai to be kept of the Pictes, and of the Britains. In the obſeruation of which day (as is largely ſet foorth in Bede, and Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 17. & 22.) thre things are neceſſary to be obſerued: the ful Moone of the fyrſt moneth, that is, of the moneth of March: Secondly, the dominical letter: Thirdlye, the equinoctiall daye, which equinoctial was wont to be counted in the Eaſt church, and eſpecially among the Egiptians, to be about the. 17 day of Marche. So that the full Moone either vpon the equinoctiall day, or after the equinoctial day being obſerued: the next dominical day following that full moone, is to be taken for Eaſter day. Wherein is diligẽtly to be noted 2. thīgs. Firſt, ẏ fulnes of ẏ moone, muſt be perfectly ful, ſo ẏ it be ẏ beginning of ẏ 3. weeke of the moone, which is ẏ. 14 or. 15. day of ẏ Moone. Secõdly, is to be noted, that the ſayd perfect fulnes of the moone begynning the third weeke, muſt happen eyther in ẏ very euening of the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day. For els if it happen either on the equinoctial day before the euening, or before the equinoctial day: then it belongeth to the laſt moneth of the laſt yeare, and not to the firſt moneth of the firſt yeare, and ſo ſerueth not to be obſerued.

Why prieſtes crowne were ſha

Bede de geſt. lib.

This rite and vſage in keeping Eaſter daye being receiued in the latine church, began nowe to take place among the Pictes and Britaines through the buſye trauayle of Theodorus, Cuthlacus, but namely of Edbert the holy Monke, as they terme him: and of Colfrid Abbot of Sirwin in Northumberlãd, which wrote to Narcanus, or Naitonus the king of Pictes, concerning the ſame: And alſo among other thinges writeth of the ſhauen crownes of Prieſtes, ſaying: that it was as neceſſarye for the vow of a Mõke, or degree of a Prieſt, to haue a ſhauen crowne for reſtraint of their luſtes: as for anye chriſten man, to bleſſe him againſte ſpirites when they come vpon hym. Bede, lib. 5. The copy of which letter, as it is in Bede: I haue here annexed, not for any great reaſon therin contained, but onely to delite the reader with ſome paſtime, in ſeing the fond ignoraunce of that monkiſh age: the copy of the letter thus procedeth.

¶ *Of the ſhauing of prieſtes, out of the fifte booke* of Beda the. xxi. chapter.

The co of a M kiſh le of Co to king ton fo ſhauyng prieſtes crowne.

How p ueth he that the A poſtles, & Ioſeph were ſha uen. Much ſay nothyng proued.

Diuerſi of rites h teth not the ch

See how theſe ſha lings w fatherl ſhauing pon Pe which i neither found in ſe ipſum, nor is approue ſtory, bu onely in paynted clothes.

Why prieſtes & Monks ſhauen i the crow

CONcernyng the ſhauing of prieſtes (whereof you write alſo vnto me) I exhort you that it bee decentlye obſerued according to ẏ Chriſtian faythe. We are not ignoraunt that the Apoſtles were not all ſhauen after one manner, neither doth the catholike church at this day agree in one vniforme maner of ſhauing, as they do in fayth, hope, and charitie. Let vs conſider the former time of the Patriarches, and we ſhall finde that Iob (an example of pacience) euen in the verye poynt of hys afflictions, dyd ſhaue hys head: and he proueth alſo, that in the time of his proſperitie, he vſed to let his heare growe. And Ioſeph an excellent doctor and executour of chaſtitie, humilitie, pietie, and other vertues: when he was deliuered out of priſon and ſeruitude, was ſhauen: wherby it appeareth that whileſt he abode in priſon he was vnſhauen. Behold both theſe being men of God did vſe an order in the habit of their bodye one contrarye to the other, whoſe conſciences notwithſtãding within dyd well agree in the like grace of vertues. But to ſpeake truely and freely, the difference of ſhauing hurteth not ſuch as haue a pure faith in the Lord, and a ſincere charitie towardes their neighbour: eſpecially for that there was neuer any controuerſie amongſt the catholike fathers about ẏ diuerſitie therof, as there hath been of the difference of the celebration of Eaſter, & of faith. But of all theſe ſhauinges that we finde, eyther in the church or elſ where: there is none in myne opinion ſo much to be followed and imbraced, as that which he vſed on hys head, to whom the Lord ſayd: thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my church and the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it, & I will geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And contrarywyſe there is no ſhauing ſo much to be abhorred and deteſted as that which he vſed to whom ẏ ſame S. Peter ſayd, thy mony be with thee to thy deſtruction, becauſe thou thinkeſt to poſſeſſe the gift of God by thy money, therfore thy parte nor lot is not in thys worde. Neyther ought we to be ſhauen on the crowne onely becauſe S. Peter was ſo ſhauen, but becauſe Peter was ſo ſhauen in the remembraunce of the Lordes paſſion: therfore we that deſire by the ſame paſſion to be ſaued, muſte weare ẏ ſigne of the ſame paſſion with him vpõ the toppe of our head which

The ſhauing of the crown: what it repreſenteth.

How doth the ſigne of the cros defẽd churches from euil ſprites when it cã not kepe them from euil prieſt.?

If ſhauyng of the crowne doth teach men patience in ſuffryng, how commeth it that we ſee none more waſpiſh & ireful then theſe ſhorn generatiõs, of mõkiſh vipers.

Simon Magus ſhauen as he ſaitth.

The difference betwene the ſhauing of Peter & of Symon Magus.

In outward habite chriſtiãs ought not reſemble wicked doers.

The Scotiſh monks and the Engliſh mõks differed in their ſhauing.

f Peter ſhal let in he elect of God into eauen, Chriſt the rueth in le ſteede

is yͤ higheſt parte of our body. For as euery church that is made a church by the death of the Sauiour, doth vſe to beare the ſigne of the holy croſſe in the front: that it may the better by the defence of that banner, be kept frõ the inuaſions of euill ſprites: and by the often admonition therof, is taught to crucifie the fleſh, with the concupiſcence of the ſame: In like maner it behoueth ſuch as haue the vowes of Monkes and degrees of the clergy, to binde themſelues with a ſtraiter bitte of continence for the Lordes ſake. And as yͤ Lord bare a crowne of thorne on hys head in his paſſion, wherby he toke and caried away from vs the thornes and prickes of our ſinnes: ſo muſt euery one of vs by ſhauing our heades, pacientlye beare and willingly ſuffer, the mockes ⁊ ſkornes of the world for his ſake: That we may receaue the crowne of eternall life, which God hath promiſed to all that loue him, and ſhal by ſhauing their corporall crownes beare the aduerſitie, ⁊ contemne the proſperitie of this world. But the ſhauing which Simõ Magus vſed, what faithful mau doth not deteſt together with his magical arte? The which at the firſt apparance hath a ſhew of a ſhauẽ crown, but if you marke his neck you ſhall finde it curtalled in ſuch wiſe as you will ſaye it is rather meete to be vſed of the Symoniſtes then of the Chriſtians. And ſuch (of foliſhe men) be thought worthye of the glorye of the eternall crowne: wheras in deede for their ill liuing they are worthye not onely to be depriued of the ſame, but alſo of eternall ſaluation. I ſpeake not thys agaynſt them that vſe this kinde of ſhauing, and liue catholikely in fayth and good workes, but I ſurely beleue there be diuerſe of them be very holy and godly men. Amongſt the which is Adamnan the Abbot and worthye prieſt of the Columbians: who when he came embaſſador from his countrey vnto king Alfride deſired greatly to ſee our monaſtery: where he declared a wonderfull wiſedome, humilitie and religion, both in his maners and wordes: Amongſt other talke I aſked him why he, that did beleue to come to yͤ crowne of life that ſhould neuer haue end, did vſe contrarye to hys beliefe a definite image of a crowne on his head. And if you ſeeke (quoth I) the felowſhip of S. Peter, why doe you vſe the faſhion of hys crowne whom S. Peter dyd accurſe, and not of hys rather with whom you deſire to liue eternallye. Adamnan anſwered, ſaying: you know right well (brother) though I vſe Symons maner of ſhauing after the cuſtome of my countrey: yet do I deteſte and with all my hart abhorre his infidelitie. I deſire notwithſtanding to imitate the footeſteps of the holy Apoſtle as farre forth as my power will extend. Then ſayd I: I beleue it is ſo. But then is it apparant you immitate thoſe thinges which yͤ apoſtle Peter did (from the bottom of your hart) if you vſe yͤ ſame vpõ your face that you know he dyd. For I ſuppoſe your wiſdome vnderſtãdeth yͤ it is right decẽt, to differ in yͤ trimming your face or ſhauing from hys whõ in your hart you abhor. And cõtrariwiſe as you deſire to immitate yͤ doings of him whõ you deſire to haue a mediator betwene god ⁊ you: ſo is it mete you imitate yͤ maner of his aparel and ſhauyng. Thus much ſaid I, to Adamnus who ſemed thẽ wel to like of our churches; in ſo much that he returnyng into Scotland, reformed many of his churches there after our celebration: albeit he could not do ſo amongſt the Monkes wͭ whom he had ſpeciall authoritie. He endeuored alſo to haue reformed their maner of ſhauing if he had bene able. And now (O King) I exhorte your maieſtie to labour together with your people (ouer whom the king of kings and Lorde of lordes hath made you gouernour) to immitate likewiſe in all theſe poyntes the catholike ⁊ apoſtolical churches. So ſhall it come to paſſe that in yͤ end of this your temporall kingdome the moſt bleſſed prince of the Apoſtles ſhal open you the gates of the heauenly kingdome together with the other electe of God. The grace of the eternall king preſerue you moſte dearlye beloued ſonne in Chriſt long time to reigne ouer vs to the great tranquilitie of vs all. When thys letter was redde before king Nayton with other of hys learned men, and was diligentlye tranſlated into hys proper langage: he ſemed to reioyce very much at the exhortation therof. Inſomuch as riſing vp from amonge hys noble men, he kneled on the ground, and gaue God thankes that he had deſerued to receaue ſo worthy a preſent out of England: and cauſed it forthwith by publique proclamatiõ to be written out, learned, and obſerued throughout all the prouinces of the Pyctes: defacing yͤ errours that had bene vſed there by the ſpace of. vij. C. and. iiij. yeares. For all the miniſters of the altar and all Monkes were ſhauen on the crowne. And all the people reioyſed for the new diſcipline of the moſte bleſſed prince of the Apoſtles S. Peter which they had receaued.

¶ By thys Monkiſhe letter aboue prefixed, voyde of all Scripture, of all probatiõ and truth of hiſtorye, thou mayeſt note, gentle reader: how this vaine tradition of ſhauen crownes, hath come vp, ⁊ vpõ how light and trifling occaſion: which in very dede was none other, but the dreaming phantaſies of Monkes of that time, falſelye grounding vpon the example of Peter: whom by no olde monument of any auncient recorde they can euer proue, eyther Peter or Symon Magus to haue beene ſhauen. Moreouer in the ſayd letter alſo is to be noted, how the Scottiſh clergy at that ſeaſõ, did wear no ſuch prickly crownes, as our engliſh churchmen then dyd.

A note to admoniſh the reader.

But to cut of this matter of ſhauing, more worthye to be laught at, then to be ſtoried, let vs now agayne returne, where as we left at king Iue, of whom W. Mameſbery, and Fabian in his chronicle doo recorde, that when the foreſaid Iue had ruled the Weſtſaxons by the terme of. 37. yeres, by the importunate perſwaſion, and ſubtile policie of his wyfe Ethelburga, was allured to go to Rome, and there to be made a Monke. Whych Ethelburga, after ſhee had a long time laboured hym to leaue the world, and could not bring about her purpoſe: vpon a ſeaſon when the king and ſhe had reſted them in a fayre palace richly behanged, and were vpon the morrow thence departed: ſhe by her commaundement cauſed the ſayde palace to bee repleniſhed with all kinde of filth and doung, And hogs and vile beaſtes therin to be layd, as wel in the chambers, as other houſes of office. And in their own chamber where they did lye, ther was a Sow layd with her yong pygs. And when ſhe knew yͤ this palace was thus deformed, being a certẽ ſpace out of the towne, ſhe beſought the king to viſit the ſayd palace. And when ſhe had brought him therunto, ſhe ſayde to him: I pray you, my Lord, behold nowe this houſe: where are now the rich tappets, and clothes of golde ⁊ ſilke, and other rich apparel, that we left here this other day? And where be the delicacies ⁊ pleaſant ſeruitours, and coſtly diſhes, that you and I latelye were ſerued with? Be not al theſe paſſed and gone? My Lord, (ſaith ſhe) in like maner ſhal we vaniſh away as ſodaynly, as ye ſee theſe worldly things been paſſed. And our bodies which now be delicately kept, ſhal fal ⁊ turn into yͤ filth of yͤ earth. Wherfore haue in mynd my wordes that before tyme to you I haue often ſhewed and told, and buſy you to purchaſe that palace that euer ſhal endure in ioy without tranſmutation.

Fabia. ca. 141
Guiel. Mameſb. de Reg.

An. 724

Ethelburge the queene perſwadeth her huſband to be a Monke.

The crafty hed of a woman.

By meane of theſe wordes and other, the Quene turned ſo the kinges minde, that ſhortlye after he reſigned the gouernaunce of hys kingdome vnto Ethelardus his neuew: and for the loue of Chriſt tooke vpon him the habite of a poore man. And ſetting a part al the pompe and pride of this wycked world, aſſociated himſelfe in the felowſhip of poore men, and trauailed to Rome wͭ great deuotion, when he had bene king of Weſtſaxons, as before is ſayd. 37. yeares. After whoſe departing, the foreſayd Ethelburga his wife, wẽt vnto Barking. 7. miles

Kyng Iue reſigning hys kingdom, wẽt to Rome & became a monke.

Ethelburga the queene made Nunne of Barkyng.

from London,where in the Nunrye of Barking befoꝛe of Erkenwald foũded,ſhe continued and ended the reſt of her life,whẽ ſhe had been Abbes of the place a certain time. The ſayd Mameſberye in his ſtoꝛy alſo teſtifieth, that this Jue was the firſt king that graunted a pennye of euery firehouſe thꝛough his dominion to be paid vnto the court of Rome:which afterward was called Romeſcot,oꝛ Peter pence,and long after was payd in manye places of England.

Peter pence fyrſt graunted and payd to Rome.

The lawes made by kyng Iue to hys people.

This Jua,like as foꝛ his time,he was woꝛthye and valiaunt in hys actes: ſo was hee the fyꝛſt of the Saxon kinges(that I reade of)which ſet foꝛth any lawes to his country:the rehearſal of which lawes,to the number of lxxx.and odde,were not vnpꝛofitable here to be inſerted together with other lawes of the Weſtſaxon kinges after him,befoꝛe the time of Wylliam Conquerer: in caſe it were not foꝛ the lengthe and pꝛolixitie of this pꝛeſent volume.And thus much concerning the raigne of kyng Jue,king of Weſtſaxons by the way. Now to repayꝛe agayne to the courſe of Noꝛthumberland kynges ſomething intermitted.

Celulfus kyng of Northumberland.

Next vnto the foꝛeſayd Oſricus,followed Celulfus, whome he had adopted,bꝛother to Kenred aboue ſpecified. This Celulfus,as he was himſelfe learned, ſo were in his time diuers learned men then flooꝛiſhing in England,among whom was Beda:who vnto the ſame king Celulfus,offered his ſtoꝛy,intituled Anglorum hiſtoria, not onely to be ratified by his autoꝛitie,but alſo to be amended,as Mameſburienſis wꝛiteth,by his knowledge and learning.

Bede.

An. 729

The lyfe of Bede briefly deſcribed.

And foꝛ as much as I haue here entered into the mẽtion of Bede,a man of woꝛthy and veneꝛable memoꝛie, becauſe of the certefieng the truth of that man: and foꝛ that I ſee all wꝛiters(as touching his life)do not agree, ſome ſaying ẏ he was no Engliſh man boꝛn: I thought ſo much to repoꝛt of him,as I finde by his own woꝛdes teſtified of himſelfe in the latter end of his eccleſiaſticall hiſtoꝛie of England,offered to the ſaide Celulfus aboue mentioned,the woꝛdes of whom be theſe:

Thus much,by the helpe of God,I Bede the ſeruant of Chꝛiſt,and Pꝛieſt of the Monaſtery of Peter ⁊ Paul at Wire: haue compiled and digeſted, concerning the Bꝛitaine hiſtoꝛie.And ſo the ſame Bede pꝛoceding further in his narratiõ,declareth that he being boꝛne in the territoꝛie of the ſaid Monaſtery,being of the age of. vij. yeares,was committed of his parentes and friendes,to the tuition and education of Benedict (of whom aboue relation is made)and of Celfride Abbats of the foꝛeſayd Monaſtery. In the which place oꝛ Monaſterye he continuing,from that time foꝛth,all his life long, gaue hymſelfe and all hys whole ſtudy to the meditating of holye ſcripture. What ſoeuer time oꝛ laiſure he had from his dayly ſeruice in the churche, that he ſpent either in learning,oꝛ in teaching,oꝛ in wꝛiting ſomething. About.xix yeares of his age,he was made Deacon: the.xxx. yeare of his age he was made Pꝛieſt. From ẏ which tyme,to ẏ age of. lix. yeres he occupied him ſelf in interpꝛeting ẏ woꝛkes of the auncient fathers,foꝛ his own vſe, and the neceſſitie of others:and in wꝛiting of treatiſes, whych came in al to the number of,37.volumes,which he degeſted into.78.bookes.

This Benedict maiſter to Bede,was fyrſt that brought in the vſe of glas wyndows into England. Alſo the ſaid Benet brought from Rome, with him Iohn the Archchãtor who fyrſt taught in England to ſing in the quire after the maner of Rome

The number of the workes & bookes writen by Bede.

Some ſay that he went to Rome,eyther there to defend his bookes to be conſonant to catholike doctrine:either els if they ſhould be found fauty,to amend and coꝛrect the ſame,as he ſhould therto be commaunded. Albeit the repoꝛter of this his life dare not certeinly affirm that euer he was at Rome:but that he was inuited and called thether to come:both it is manifeſt in ſtoꝛies,and alſo this epiſtle of Pope Sergius,doth ſufficiẽtly pꝛoue, declaring moꝛeouer in what pꝛice and eſtimation Bede was accepted,as well in the court of Rome, as in other places beſydes.The epiſtle of Sergius ſent to Celfride, thus pꝛocedeth, in tenoꝛ ⁊ foꝛme as followeth in laitn.

¶ The Epiſtle of pope Sergius ſent to Celfride Abbat of Wire Abbey,requiring Bede to be ſent vp to him to Rome,for the fame of hys worthy learning

An epiſtle of Pope Sergius.

SErgius Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei Celfrido religioſo Abbati. Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clemẽtiam Dei noſtri, atq; inenarrabilem prouidentiam poſſumus effari, & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immenſis eius circa nos beneficijs perſoluere: qui in tenebris & in vmbra mortis poſitos ad lumen ſcientiæ perducit? Et infra: Benedictionis gratiam,quam nobis per præſentem portatorem tua deuota miſit religio, libẽti & hilari animo ſicuti ab ea directa eſt nos ſuſcepiſſe cognoſce.Oportunis igitur ac dignis amplectẽdæ tuæ ſollicitudinis petitionibus arctiſsima deuotione ſatisfacientes:hortamur deo dilectam religioſitatis tuæ bonitatem,vt quia exortis quibuſdam eccleſiaſticarum cauſarum capitulis, non ſine examinatione longius inoteſcendis,opus nobis ſunt ad conferendum a rt literaturæ, ſicut decet deo deuotum auxiliatorem ſanctæ matris vniuerſalis eccleſiæ obedientẽ deuotionem huic noſtræ exhortationi non deſiſtas accommodare : ſed abſq; vlla immoratione religioſum dei famulum Bedam,venerabilem monaſterij tui preſbyterum,ad limina Apoſtolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorũ ac protectorum,ad noſtræ mediocritatis conſpectũ non moreris dirigere. Quem,ſatisfaciente domino ſanctis tuis præcibus,non diffidas proſpere ad te redire(peracta præmiſſorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei deſiderata ſolennitate) Erit enim vt confidimus etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid eccleſiæ generali claruerit per eius præſtantiam impartitum.&c.

The famous learnyng of Bede.

So notable ⁊ famons was ẏ learning of this foꝛeſayd Bede,ẏ the church of Rome(as by this letter appeareth) both ſtode in nede of his helpe,⁊ alſo requireth the ſame, about the diſcuſſing of certeyne cauſes ⁊ controuerſies apperteinyng to learnyng. Moꝛeouer the whole Latine Church at that time,gaue him ẏ maiſterie in iudgemẽt ⁊ knowledge of ẏ holy Scripture. In all his explanations his chiefeſt ſcope and purpoſe dyd euer dꝛyue,to inſtruct and infoꝛme hys reader ſimplely and without all curiouſnes of ſtile,in the ſincere loue of God,and of his neighbour. As touchyng the holynes ⁊ integritie of hys lyfe,it is not to be doubted: foꝛ how could it be, that he ſhould attend to any vicious idlenes,oꝛ had any laiſure to the ſame,who in reading and digeſtyng ſo many volumes,conſumed all hys whole cogitations in wꝛiting vpon ẏ Scriptures:foꝛ ſo he teſtifieth of hym ſelf in the iij.booke vpon Samuell, ſaying in theſe woꝛdes. If my treatiſes and expoſitions,ſayth he, bꝛyng with them no other vtilitie to the readers therof: yet to my ſelfe they conduce not a litle in this, that while all my ſtudy and cogitation was ſet vpon thẽ, in the meane while of the ſlyppery inticementes ⁊ vayne cogitations of this woꝛld I had little minde. Thus in this trauailes of ſtudye he continued till the age of lxij.yeares. At length dꝛawyng to his later end,being ſicke vij.weekes together,beſides other occupeynges of his mynde, ⁊ other ſtudyes which he did not intermit: he tranſlated alſo the Goſpell of S. John into Engliſh.At length with great comfoꝛt of ſpirite departed this lyfe,pꝛonouncyng many comfoꝛtable ſayinges to them that ſtoode about hym,vpon the Aſcẽſion day,the ſame yeare when Nothelinus was inſtituted Archbyſhop of Canterbury.And thus much concernyng the ſtoꝛy of Bede.

Bede commended for integrity of lyfe.

735.

S. Iohns Goſpel tranſlated into Engliſh by Bede.

Celulfus a kyng made a Monke.

This Celulfus kyng of Noꝛthumberland afoꝛe mentioned, after he had reygned viij. yeares,was made a Monke in the Abbey of Farne, otherwiſe called Lindeſfar,oꝛ holy Ilãd:wher by his means,licẽce was geuẽ to ẏ Monks of ẏ houſe to dꝛinke wyne oꝛ ale, which befoꝛe by the inſtitutiõ of Aidanus aboue mẽtioned,dꝛonke nothing but mylke ⁊ water. After whõ ſucceded Egbert his coſyn,bꝛother to Egbert (the ſame time being By-

ſhop

gbert K.
f Northũ
erland.

ſhop of Yorke) which brought agayne thether the palle that his predeceſſors had forgone, ſince the tyme that Paulinus had left the ſee, and fled to Rocheſter, as is before declared. The ſayd Egbert alſo elected a noble library in Yorke, whoſe example I would other byſhops now would follow.

747.

About the beginning of the raygne of this Egbert, was Cutbert Archbiſhop of Canterbury: who collected a great Synode of biſhops and prelates, in the yeare of our Lord. 747. in the moneth of September, nere to the place called Cloneſho. In the which Synode aſſembled, theſe decrees were enacted.

x Ma-
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e geſtis
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Anglorũ.
Cutbert
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bury.

1. Firſt, that biſhops ſhould be more diligent in ſeing to their office, and in admoniſhing the people of theyr faultes.

2. That they ſhould lyue in a peaceable mynde together, notwithſtanding they were in place diſceauered a ſunder.

3. That euery biſhop once a yere ſhould go about all the pariſhes of his Dioces.

4. That yͤ ſayd biſhops euery one in his dioces ſhould monish their Abbots and Monkes to lyue regularlye: ⁊ that Prelates ſhoulde not oppreſſe their inferiours, but loue them.

5. That they ſhoulde teache the monaſteries whych the ſecular men had inuaded, and coulde not then be taken from them, to lyue regularly.

6. That none ſhould be admitted to orders, before his lyfe ſhould be examined.

7. That in monaſteries the reading of holy ſcripture ſhould be more frequented.

8. That Prieſtes ſhoulde bee no diſpoſers of ſecular buſynes.

9. That they ſhould take no money for baptiſing infantes.

10. That they ſhould both learne and teach the Lords prayer and Creede in the Engliſh toung.

11. That all ſhould ioyne together in their miniſterye after one vniforme rite and maner.

12. That in a modeſt voyce they ſhoulde ſyng in the churche.

13. That al holy and feſtiual dayes ſhould be celebrate at one tyme together.

14. That the Sabbot day be reuerently obſerued and kept,

15. That yͤ. 7. houres canonical euery day be obſerued.

he roga-
ion dayes
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hen that
uperſtitiõ
n them as
hey had
afterward,

16. That the rogation dayes both the greater and leſſer ſhould not be omitted.

17. That the feaſt of S. Gregorye, and S. Auſten our Patron, ſhould be obſerued.

18. That the faſt of the. 4. tymes ſhoulde bee kept and obſerued.

19. That Monkes and Nunnes ſhould go regularlye apparelled.

20. That Biſhops ſhould ſee, theſe decrees not to bee neglected.

21. That the churchmen ſhould not geue them ſelues to dronkennes.

22. That the Communion ſhoulde not be neglected of the churchmen.

23. Item, that the ſame alſo ſhould be obſerued of the laye men, as tyme required.

24. That laye men fyrſt ſhoulde be well tryed, before they entred in Monkery.

25. That almes be not neglected.

26. That Biſhops ſhould ſee theſe decrees to be notified to their people.

27. They diſputed of the profit of Almes.

28. They diſputed of the profit of ſinging Pſalmes.

29. That the Congregation ſhoulde be conſtitute, after the habilitie of their goods.

30. That Monkes ſhould not dwel amongeſt lay mē.

31. That publike prayer ſhould bee made for kynges and Princes.

Boniface an engliſh mā Archbiſhop of Mētz.

Theſe decrees and ordinances beyng thus amonge the biſhops concluded: Cutbert the Archbiſhop, ſendeth the copy therof to Boniface, which Boniface otherwyſe named Winfride, an Engliſh man borne, was then the Archbiſhop of Mentze, and after made a martyr, as the popiſh ſtories terme hym.

Ethelwold k. of Merceland.

This Boniface being, as is ſaid, Archbiſhop of Mentz in the tyme of this foreſayd Synode, wrote a letter to Ethelbald king of Merceland: which Ethelbald was allſo preſent in the ſame Synode, of whom Bede making mencion in his hiſtorye calleth him proude Ethelbald, and the greateſt of the Saxon kings in hys tyme. Fyrſt this Ethelbald after the departing of king Ceolulphe into hys Monkerie, inuaded and ſpoyled yͤ countrey of Northumberland. Moreouer he exerciſed mortall ⁊ horrible warre a longe ſpace with Cudred, otherwyſe of ſome named Cutbert, king of Weſtſaxons. Furthermore he with other Saxon kings, ſo impugned the Brytaines, that from yͤ tyme they neuer durſte prouoke the Saxons any more. At length the ſayd Cudred refuſing the intollerable exactions of proude Ethelbald, doth incountre with him in battayle: Where notwithſtanding the greate power that Ethelbald had to hym adioyned, of the Mercians, of the Eaſtſaxones, of the Eaſtangles, and of Cantuarites: yet the ſayd Cudred through Gods power, and the meanes of a certayne valiaunt warriour called Edelhim a conſul, ouerthrewe the pryde of Ethelbald, after a ſore and terrible conflict. Which Ethelbald notwithſtanding repayring his power agayne the next yeare after, renued battaile with the foreſayd Cudred. In the which battaile Ethelbald after he had reigned. xli. yeares in Mercia, was ſlayne by one Beornered, who after reigned in that dition, but a ſmall tyme. For Offa nephew to the ſayd Ethelbald expulſed the ſayd Beornered, and ſucceded king in that prouince of Mercia, where he reigned. xxxix. yeares: of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Ieſu ſpeding therein our purpoſe) to be declared, as place and tyme ſhall requyre. In the meane ſeaſon not to forget the letter mētioned: before of Boniface Archbiſhop of Mentze, ſent vnto this Ethelbald: I thought yͤ ſame not vnworthys here to be inſerted (at the leaſt the effecte therof,) not ſo much for the authors ſake, as for the ſame good matter peraduenture maye bee pycked thereout, for other princes to beholde and conſider.

Edelhim a
ſtrong and va-
liant warriour.

Pride ouer
throwne.

¶ *The copie and tenour of the letter of Boniface Archbiſhop* of Mentze and Martyr of God (an engliſhe man) ſent to Ethelbald king of Mercia, freelye and yet charitably admoniſhing him of his aduouterous life, and oppreſſion of churches.

A letter of Boniface otherwyſe called Winfride ſent to kyng Ethelbald.

REgi et filio chariſſimo, et in Chriſti amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius archiepiſcop⁹ legatus Germanicus Romanæ eccleſiæ perpetuā in Chriſto charitatis ſalutem. Cōſiſtemus coram Deo, qui nouit an vere atq; ex animo dicam; Quando proſperitatē veſtram, et fidem, et bona opera audiuimus, lætamur. Quando autem aliquid aduerſum vel in euentu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum de vobis cognoſcimus, triſtamur. Audiuimus enim quod eleemoſynis intentus: furta et rapinas prohibes, et pacē diligis, et defenſor viduarum et pauperum es, et inde gracias deo agimus. Quòd verò legitimum matrimonium Spernis, ſi pro caſtitate faceres, eſſet laudabile. Sed quia in luxu et adulterio et cum ſāctimonialibus volutaris, eſt vituperabile, et damnabile. Nam et famā gloriæ veſtræ, coram deo et hominibus cōfundit, et inter indololatras cōſtituit, quia tēplū Dei violaſti. Quapropter fili Chariſſime pænitere, et memorare oportet, quā turpe ſit vt tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei, dominaris, ad iniuriam eius ſis libidinis ſeruus. Audiuimus præterea quòd optimates pene omnes, gentis Merciorum tuo exemplo legitimas vxores deſerant, et adulteras et ſãctimoniales conſtuprent. Quod quàm ſit peregrinum ab honeſtate, doceat vos alienæ gentis inſtitutio. Nam in antiqua ſaxonia, vbi nulla eſt chriſti cognitio: ſi virgo in materna domo, vel maritata ſub cõiuge fuerit adultera, manu propria ſtrangulatam cremant, et ſupra foſſa ſepultæ corruptorem ſuſpendunt: aut cingulotenus (veſtibus abſciſſis) flagellant eam caſtæ matronæ, et cultellis pungunt. Et de villa in villam miſſæ occurrunt nouæ flagellatrices: donec interimant. Inſuper et vinuli, quod eſt fœdiſſimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem: vt mulier viro mortuo, ſe in rogo cremantis pariter arſura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles deum ignorantes, tantum zelum caſtitatis habent: quid tibi conuenit fili Chariſſime, qui Chriſtianus et rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: Parce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationẽ. Attende et illud, quid ſi gens Anglorum (ſicut in Frãcia, et Italia, et ab ipſis Paganis nobis improperatur) ſpretis legitimis matrimonijs per adulteria deficit: naſciturаq; ſit ex ea cõmixtione gens ignaua et Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam peſſundet: ſicut Burgundionibus, et prouincialibus, et Hiſpanîs contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infeſtarũt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum eſt nobis, quòd multa priuilegia eccleſiarũ et monaſteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo prouoces. Sed recogita quæſo quam terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, eiuſdem culpæ conſcios, quã in te arguimus. Nam Celredum prædeceſſorẽ tuum ſtupratorem Sanctimonialium, et eccleſiaſticorum priuilegiorum fractorem, ſplendide cum ſuis comitibus epulantem ſpiritus malignus arripuit: et ſine confeſſione et viatico, cum diabolo ſermocinanti, et legem Dei deteſtãti animam extorſit. Oſredum quoq; regem Deiorum et Bernicorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrenatum regem egit: vt regnum et iuuenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoq; princeps Frãcorum monaſteriorum multorum euerſor, et eccleſiaſticarum pecuniarum in vſus proprios cõmutator longa tortione, et verenda morte conſumptus eſt. Et mox infra: Qua propter fili Chariſſime, paternis et obnixis precibus deprecamur, vt non deſpicias conſilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celſitudinẽ tuam appellare ſatagunt. Nihil enim bono regi ſalubrius, quàm, ſi talia commiſſa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur. Quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit diſciplinam, diligit ſapientiam. Ideo, fili Chariſſime, oſtendentes conſilium iuſtũ, conteſtamur et obſecramus per viuentẽ Deum et per filium eius Ieſum Chriſtum, et per ſpiritum ſanctum: vt recorderis quàm fugitiua ſit vita præſens, et quã breuis et momentanea delectatio ſpurcæ carnis: et quam ignominioſum ſit, vt breuis vitæ homò mala exempla inperpetuũ poſteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam componere, et præteritos errores iuuentutis corrigere: vt hic coram hominibus laudem habeas, et in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celſitudinem tuam, et in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

Nihil factum quod non factũ prius.

In thys epiſtle here is to be ſeene and noted firſt the corruption and greate diſorder of life which alwayes from tyme to tyme hath been founde in theſe religious houſes of Nunnes: whoſe profeſſed vowe of coacted chaſtitie, hath yet neuer been good to the church, nor profitable to the common wealth, & leaſt of al to themſelues. Of ſuch young and wanton widowes S. Paule in hys tyme complayneth. 1. Timt. 5. which would take vppon them the wilful profeſſion of ſingle life, which they wer not able to performe, but falling into damnable luxurie deſerued worthely to be reprehended. How much better had it been for theſe laſciuious Nunnes, not to haue refuſed the ſafe yoke of Chriſtian matrimonie: then to intangle themſelues in thys their ſuperſtitious vowe of perpetuall maidenhode, which neither was requyred of them, nor they were able to kepe.

The corrupt lyfe of Nunnes noted.

Secondlye, no leſſe are they alſo to be reprehended, which maintayned theſe ſuperſtitious orders of vnprofitable Nunnes, and of other religions: In the number of whom was thys foreſayd Boniface otherwiſe called Winfride, who although in thys epiſtle doth iuſtlye reprehend the vicious enormities both of ſeculare, and of religious perſons: yet he himſelfe is not without ẏ ſame or rather greater reprehenſion, for that he gaue the occaſion therof in maintaynyng ſuch ſuperſtitious orders of ſuch laſciuious Nunnes and other religions, and reſtreyning the ſame from lawfull mariage. For ſo we finde of him in ſtories that he was a great ſetter vp and vpholder of ſuch blinde ſuperſtition, and of all poperye. Who being admitted by Pope Gregorye the ſecond, Archbiſhop of Magunce, and indued with full authoritie legantine ouer the Germaines, brought diuerſe countryes there, vnder the Popes obedience: held many great councels, ordained biſhoppes, builded monaſteries, canoniſed ſainctes, cõmaunded reliques to be worſhypped, permitted religious fathers to carye aboute Nunnes with them a preaching. Amongeſt all other hee founded the great Monaſtery of Fulda in Germany of Engliſh monkes: into the which no women might enter, but onely Lieba, and Tecla, ij. Engliſhe Nunnes. Item, by the authoritie of ẏ ſayd Archbiſhop Boniface, which hee receiued from Pope Zacharie, Childericus king of Fraunce, was depoſed from the ryght of hys crowne: and Pipinus betraier of his maiſter was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that deteſtable doctrine which nowe ſtandeth regiſtred in the Popes decrees. Diſt xl. cap. Si Papa. which in a certayne epiſtle of his, is this. That in caſe the Pope were of moſt filthy liuing, & forgetful or negligent of himſelfe, and of the whole chriſtianitie, in ſuch ſorte, that he led innumerable ſoules with him to hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in ſo doing. For he hath (ſaith he) power to iudge all men, and ought of no man to be iudged agayne. &c.

The popiſh actes & doynges of Boniface Archbiſhop of Magunce.

The Monaſtery of Fulda in Germany builded by Boniface.

Childericus the Frẽch k depoſed Pipinus truded.

Diſt. xl. cap. Si Papa.

In the time of this Archbiſhop, Pope Gregorye the ſecond, alſo Gregory the third, and Pope Zachary, and before theſe alſo Pope Conſtantine the firſt: wrought great maiſtres againſt the Greke Emperours, Philippicus, and Leo, and others, for the maintaynyng of images to be ſet vp in churches. Of whom Philippicus loſt both his Empire and alſo his eyes. Leo for the ſame cauſe lykewyſe was excommunicate of Gregorye the third. This Gregorye the third (ſo farre as I can coniecture) was he that firſt wrote the. 4. bookes of Dialoges in Greeke, falſly bearing the name of Gregorye the firſt: which bookes afterwarde Zacharye his ſucceſſor tranſlated out of Greeke into laten. Item the ſame Gregory the third, firſt brought into the Maſſe canon, the clauſe for reliques beginning, Quorum ſolemnitates hodie in conſpectu. &c. Item brought into the ſayde Canon the memoriall, the offering, & ſacrifice for the dead: Like as Zacharie brought in the Prieſtes veſture and ornamentes: and as the foreſayd Conſtãtinus alſo was the fyrſt that gaue hys feete to be kyſſed of the Emperours. But turne agayne into the courſe of our Engliſh ſtorye.

Images in churches ſubuerted by Empe rours, ma tayned by Popes. Philippicus for dinga gainſt i ges, loſt Empire & his eyes. The au of the boke called the dia loges of Gregory. Memori of reliques offering ſacrifice for the de brought to the m canon. The Pop feete fyr kiſſed of emperou

In the tyme of this Egbert king of Northumberlãd, Sigeberte or Sigbert reigned in Weſtſaxonie: a man of ſo cruell tyranny to hys ſubiectes (turnyng the lawes and cuſtomes of hys forefathers after his owne wil and pleaſure) that when he was ſomewhat ſharpely aduertiſed by one of hys nobles, an Earle called Combranus, to chaunge his maners, and to behaue him more prudẽtly toward his people: he therfore maliciouſly cauſed him to be put to cruel death. Wherupon, the ſaid king Sigebert cõtinuyng in hys cruel conditions, by his ſubiectes cõſpiryng agaynſt him, was put from his kingly dignitie: and brought into ſuch deſolation, that wandryng alone

Sigebert king of Weſtſa

Sigebert ſlayne.

Cruel tiranny wyth lyke cruel tie reuēged

in a woode without comfort, was there ſlayne euen by the ſwynheard of the ſayd Earle, whom before he had ſo wrōgfully murdered, as partely is aboue touched: wherby is to be ſeene, the cruel tyranny of princes neuer to proſper wel, without yͤ iuſte reuenge both of God & mā.

Kenulphus kyng of the Weſt-ſaxons

748

Thus Sigebert beyng ſlayne, in his place ſucceded Kenulphus, in yͤ yere of our Lord. D.cc.xlviij. who wͭ the agremēt of yͤ Weſtſaxōs was one of yͤ chief doers agaiſt Sigebert his maſter. This Kenulphus kept ſtrongly his lordſhip agaynſt Offa, and agaynſt the power of all his enemies: til at lēgth, after yͭ he reigned, as Fabiā ſayth, 31. yeres, he reſorting to a paramour which he kepte at Merton, was there beſet and likewiſe ſlayne by yͤ traine & meanes of a certaine kynſman of the foreſayde Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton, in reuengemēt of kyng Sigebertes death.

Murder reuenged with murder.

Offa kyng of Mercia.

Moreouer in the raigne of the foreſayd Egbert kyng of Northumberland, and in the viij. yeare of Kenulphus kyng of Weaſtſaxons: Offa after he had ſlayne the tyraunt Beornredus which before had ſlayne Ethelwald kyng of Mercia, and vncle to this foreſaid Offa: raigned kyng of that prouince.

An vntruth noted in the ſtory of Fabianus.

Of this Offa are told many notable dedes, which becauſe thei cōcern rather political affayres, & do not greatly appertayne to yͤ purpoſe of this Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, I omit here to recite. As hys warres & victories againſt Egbert & yͤ Northūbres, as alſo againſt Ethelbred king of Eaſt Angles. Item agaynſt Egbert king of Kent, otherwiſe called Wren, whome Fabian ſaythe he toke priſoner, and led him bound with him to Mercia. Malmeſbery witneſſeth otherwiſe, this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Chriſt willyng hereafter ſhall appeare. After theſe victories Offa had ſuch diſpleaſure vnto the Citizens of Canterburye, that he remoued the Archbiſhops ſee, and landes of Lambrith Archbiſhop of Canterbury (by the agreement of pope Adrian) vnto Lichfield. He alſo chaſed the Britaines or Welchmen into Wales, and made a famous dike betwene Wales and the vtter bondes of Mercia or middle Englande, whych was called Offditche. And builded there a church which long time after was called Offekyrke. This Offa alſo married one of his daughters to Brightricus that was king of Weſtſaxons. And for that in his tyme was variaūce betwene him and the Frenche men, in ſo much that yͤ paſſage of Marchaūtes was forbyddē: therfore he ſent Alcuinus a learned man, vnto Charles the great, then king of Fraunce, to common the meanes of peace: which Charles had after yͭ the ſayd Alcuinus in great fauour and eſtimation, and afterward made him abbot of Turonia in Fraunce.

The primacie of Canterbury remoued to Lichfield. Lanbright archbiſhop of Cant.

This Alcuinus is commended for his lerning next to Aldelmus & Bede aboue all engliſh ſaxones.

Ethelbert kyng of Eaſtangles wrongfully murdred by Offa.

About the latter time of the raigne of Offa, kyng of Mercia: Ethelbert beyng then king of Eaſtangles (a learned and a right godly Prince) came to the court of Offa: prouoked by the councel of his Nobles, to ſue for the mariage of his daughter: well accompanied lyke a Prince, with his men about him. Wherupō, the queene conceauing a falſe ſuſpicion, and fearing that whych was neuer minded: that Ethelbert with his companye, vnder the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to worke ſome violence againſt her huſband, and the kingdome of Mercia, ſo ſheperſuaded wͭ king Offa: and certaine of her counſel that night, that the next day following, Offa cauſed him to be trayned into his palace alone from his companye, by one called Guymbertus: who tooke him and bound him, and there ſtroke of hys head, which forthwith he then preſented to the king and queene. And thus the innocent king Ethelbert was wrōgfully murthered, about the yere of our Lord. 793. but not without a iuſt reuenge at Gods hande. For as the ſtory recordeth, the foreſayde queene worker of this vilanie, lyued not thrée monethes after: and in her death was ſo tormented, that ſhe was fayne to byte and rent her tong in peeces with her own teeth. Offa vnderſtanding at length the innocencie of this king, and the haynous cruelty of his fact: gaue the tenth part of his goods to holy church: and to the church of Herforde, in remēbrance of this Ethelbert, he beſtowed great lands. Moreouer, builded the Abbey of S. Albons, with certaine other Monaſteries beſides. And ſo afterward he went vp to Rome for his penance, where he gaue to the church of S. Peter a peny through euery houſe in hys dominion, which was called commonly Romſhot, or Peter pence, payed to the church of S. Peter: and there at lēgth was trāſformed frō a king to a Monk, about the yere of our lord. 794. wͭ Kēredus king of Northūberlād aboue mētioned, although ſome ſtories deny that he was monke.

The vayne ſuſpicion & wicked councel of a woman.

Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi & Mameſberienſi.

Cruel murder reuenged.

Offa and kynreds of kynges made monkes at Rome.

Egfretus kyng of Mertia.

After Offa king of Mercia, when hee had raygned xxxix. yeares, ſucceded his ſonne Egfretus, who raigned but. 4. monethes: of whom thus writeth the forſayd Alcuinus: Non arbitror quod nobiliſsimus iuuenis Egfretus propter peccata ſua mortuus ſit: Sed quia pater ſuus pro cōfirmatione regni eius multū ſanguinem effudit. &c. That is: this noble yong man dyed not ſo muche for offēces of his own, as for that his father had ſpilled much bloud, to confirme him in his kingdome.

Alcuinus Oſberto patritio.

The fathers fault puniſhed in the child. Egbert kyng of Kent taken priſoner.

Next to which Egfretus, ſucceded Kenulphus in the ſayd kingdome of Mercia, which Kenulphus keeping & retayning the hatred of Offa his predeceſſor agaynſt the Cantuarites, made warre agaynſt them: where he toke Egbert their king, otherwiſe called Wren, whom he bound and led priſoner to Mercia. Notwithſtādyng, ſhortly after being mollified with princely clemency in the towne of Winchcombe, where he had builded the ſame time a church: vpon the day when he ſhoulde dedicate the ſame, in the preſence of. xiij. biſhops: and of Cutbert, whom he had placed in the ſame kingdom of Canterbury before: and. x. Dukes, and manye other great eſtates: King Kenulphus brought the ſayd Egbert kyng of Kent out of priſon into the church, where he enlarged him of impriſonment, and reſtored him to his place agayne. At the ſight wherof not onely Cuthbert the foreſayd king reioyced, but alſo al the eſtates and people being there preſent, made ſuch an exclamation of ioy and gladnes, that the church (and not onelye the church, but alſo the ſtreetes) range with al. At which tyme ſuch boūtefulnes of giftes and iewels was then beſtowed, that frō the higheſt eſtate to the loweſt, none departed wͭout ſōthing geuen, according as to euery degre was thought meete. Although Fabian referreth this ſtorye to king Offa, yet cauſes there be, why I aſſēt rather to Mameſbery and to Polichronicon, which attributeth the ſame to Kenulphus the ſecond king of Mercia, after Offa.

A princely example of Clemencye in a noble kyng.

The church of Winchcombe builded by king Kenulphus. Egbert king of Kent, releaſed out of priſon.

A place of Fabian doubted.

A litle before in ſpeaking of certayne Biſhoppes of Rome, mention was made of pope Conſtantine the firſt: Pope Gregory the ſecōd: Pope Gregory the third: and of pope Zacharie, which depoſed Childeryke, and ſet vp Pipinus the Frēch king. &c. Next after this Zachary, in order followed pope Stephan the ſeconde: to whom the foreſayd Pipinus, to gratifie agayne the ſee of Rome, for this their benefit ſhewed to him: gaue and contributed to the ſayde ſee of Rome, the exarchat or princedome of Rauēna: the kingdome of the Lūbards: and many other great poſſeſſions of Italye: with all the cities therto adioyning vnto the borders of Venice. And this donatiō of Pipine, no doubt if the truth were rightly tryed, ſhould be found to be the ſame, which hitherto falſely hath been thought to be the donation of Conſtātine. For els how could it be, that the exarchat of Rauenna could belong al thys whyle to the Emperours of Conſtātinople, if Conſtantine before, had geuen it & all Italy from the Empyre, to the ſee of Rome.

Pope Steuen the ſecond.

The donation of Pipinus. falſly taken to be the donatiō of Conſtātine.

To this Pipinus, as witneſſeth Polychr. was ſent fyrſt into France, yͤ inuentiō of yͤ Organes out of Grecia, by Cōſtantine emperour of Conſtant. Anno. dom. 757.

Ex Polychr. lib. 5. cap. 25.

Next to this Stephan the ij. ſucceded Paul the firſt,

Pope Paule the firſt.
Images againe maintained by the Pope againſt the Emperour.

who folowyng hys predeceſſors, thundred out great excommunications agaynſt Conſtantinus Themperour of Conſtantinople, for abrogating and plucking down images ſet vp in Temples. Notwithſtandyng this Conſtantine neglectyng the Popes vayne curſes perſeuered in hys bleſſed purpoſe, in deſtroyng idolatrie til ẏ end of his lyfe. Thẽ came to be Pope, Conſtãtinus the ij, a laye man, and brother to Deſiderius the kyng of Lombardy: for the whiche cauſe he was ſhortly depoſed, ⁊ thruſt in a monaſtery, hauing hys eyes put out.

A lay mã Pope who was depoſed, & had his eyes put out.
Pope Steuen the thyrd.
The councel of Conſtãtinople the 7. condemned of the Pope, for condemnyng images.
This Pope alſo ordeined Gloria in excelſis to be ſong in the maſſe, at S. Peters altar by the Cardinals.

In whoſe ſtede ſucceded Steuen the iij. who ordeyned that after that, no lay man ſhould be Pope: cõdemnyng moreouer the Councell of Conſtantinople the vij. for hereticall: becauſe in that Councell the worſhipping of images was reproued and condemned. Contrary to the which Councell, this Pope not onely maintayned the filthy idolatrie of images in Chriſten Temples: but alſo aduaunſed their veneration, commaundyng them moſt Ethnically to be incẽſed. ⁊c. At this tyme Carolus Magnus called Charles the great a litle before mentioned, began to reygne, by whõ this Pope cauſed Deſiderius the Lombard kyng, to be depriued.

Pope Hadrian the fyrſt.
Images agayn maintained by the Pope to be mens Kalẽders

Then in this raſe of Popes, after this Steuẽ the iij. commeth Hadrianus the firſt, who lykewiſe folowyng the ſteppes of hys forefathers the Popes, added and attributed to the veneration of Images more then al thother had done before: wrytyng a booke for the adoration and the vtilitie procedyng of them, commaũdyng them to be taken for lay mens Calenders, holdyng moreouer a Synode at Rome againſt, Fœlix, ⁊ al other that ſpake agaynſt the ſetting vp of ſuch ſtockes and images. And as Paul the firſt, before hym made much of the body of Petronilla S. Peters daughter: ſo thys Hadriã clothed the body of S. Peter al in Siluer, and couered the altar of S. Paul with a Palle of Gold. This Pope Hadrian was he, whõ we declared in the former part of this treatiſe, to ratifie and cõfirme by reuelation, the order of S. Gregories Maſſe, aboue the order of S. Ambroſe Maſſe: for vnto this tyme whiche was about the yeare of our Lord 780. the Liturgie of S. Ambroſe was more vſed in the Italian Churches. The ſtory wherof, becauſe it is regiſtred in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Iacobus de Voragine, I thought here to inſerte the ſame, to this eſpecial purpoſe, for the reader to vnderſtande, the time when this vſual Maſſe of the Papiſtes began fyrſt to be vniuerſal and vniforme, and generally in churches to be receaued. Thus it followeth in the ſtory by the foreſayde anthors ſetforth. Iacobus de Voragine, in the life of pope Gregory the firſt telleth a tale concerning this matter.

The body of S. Peter clothed in ſiluer.
The order of the Romiſhe Maſſebooke whẽ it came in
Ex Durando Nauclero. Iacob. de Voragine, in vita Greg.

In times paſt (ſayth he) when the ſeruice, which Ambroſe made, was more frequented and vſed in churches, then was the ſeruice which Gregory had apoynted: the biſhop of Rome then called Adrian, gathered a Councel together: in the which it was ordayned, that Gregories ſeruice ſhould be obſerued and kept vniuerſally: whych determination of the Coũcel, Charles ẏ Emperour did diligẽtly put in executiõ while he rã about by diuers prouinces, ⁊ enforced al the clergy, partly ẘ threatnings, ⁊ partly ẘ puniſhmẽts, to receiue ẏ order. And as touchĩg the bookes of Ambroſe ſeruice, he brent them to aſhes in all places, and threw into priſon manye prieſtes that would not conſent and agree to the matter. Bleſſed Eugenius the biſhop comming vnto the Councell, founde that it was diſſolued three dayes before his commyng. Notwithſtanding through his wyſdome, he ſo perſuaded the Lord Pope, that he called agayne al the prelats that had been preſent at the Councell, and wer now departed by the ſpace of three daies. Therfore when the Councel was gathered againe together, in this all the fathers did conſent ⁊ agree, that both the Maſſe bookes of Ambroſe and Gregory ſhould be layd vpon the altar of bleſſed Peter the Apoſtle, and the church doores diligently ſhut, and moſt warely ſealed vp with the ſignets of many and diuers biſhops. Againe, that they ſhoulde all the whole night geue them ſelues to prayer, that the Lord might reueale, declare, open and ſhewe vnto them by ſome euident ſigne or token, which of theſe two ſeruices he would haue vſed in the temples. Thus they doing in all pointes, as they had determined, in the morning opened the church doores, and found both the Miſſals or Maſſe bookes open vpon the altar: or rather, as ſome ſay, they founde Gregories Maſſe booke vtterlye plucked a ſunder, one peece from an other, and ſcattered ouer al the Churche. As touching Ambroſe booke, they onely found it open vpõ the altar in the very ſame place where they had before layd it. This miracle Pope Adrian like a wyſe expounder of dreames ſayth, that as the leaues were torne and blowen abroade all the Church ouer: ſo ſhould Gregories booke be vſed throughout the world. Wherupon they thought themſelues ſufficiently inſtructed ⁊ taught of God, that the ſeruice which Gregory had made, ought to be ſet abrode and vſed through out al the world: and ẏ Ambroſe his ſeruice ſhould onely be obſerued and kept in his own church of Mediolanum, where he ſometime was biſhop.

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maſſe,

Thus haſt thou heard (brother Reader) the full and whole narration of this miſtical miracle, ẘ the Popes expoſition vpon the ſame: which ſeemeth to bee as true, as that which Daniel ſpeaketh of, howe the Idole Bell did eate vp al the meate ẏ was ſet before him al ẏ night Daniel. 14. Concerning the which myracle, I neede not admoniſh thee to ſmell out the blinde practiſes of theſe night crowes, to blinde the world with foreged inuencions, in ſteede of true ſtories. Albeit to graunt the myracle to be moſt true and vnfallible, yet as touching the expoſition therof, an other man beſide the Pope, percaſe might interprete this great miracle otherwiſe, as thus: That God was angry with Gregories booke, and therfore rent it in peeces, and ſcattered it abroad: and the other as good, lay ſound vntouched, and at the leaſt ſo to be preferred. Notwythſtanding what ſo euer is to bee thought of this miracle with the expoſition therof, thus the matter fel out, that Gregories ſeruice had onely the place, and yet hath to this day in ẏ greateſt part of Europe, the ſeruice of Ambroſe being excluded. And thus much touching the great act of Pope Adrian, for the ſetting vp of the Maſſe. By the relacion whereof, yet thys knowledge may come to the Reader, at leaſt to vnderſtand, how that commonly in Chriſten nacions abrode, as yet no vniforme order of any Miſſall or maſſe booke was receaued, as hath been hetherto diſcourſed.

Gregorie
maiſter
keth pla
in Europ

Now from the Popes to returne agayne to the Emperours from whence we digreſſed, like as Pipinus the father of Charles (as hathe beene before ſufficientlye told) had geuen to the ſee Papall all the princedome of Rauenna with other donations ⁊ reuenewes, ⁊ landes in Italy: ſo this Carolus folowyng his fathers, deuotiõ did cõfirme the ſame, addyng moreouer therunto the Citie and dominion of Venice, Hiſtria, the Dukedom Foroiulienſe, the Dukedome Spoletanum, and Beneuentanum, and other poſſeſſions moe, to the patrimonie of S. Peter, making him ẏ prince of Rome ⁊ of Italy. The Pope again to recompenſe his ſo gentle kyndnes, made hym to be intituled moſt chriſten kyng, ⁊ made him Patriciũ Romanũ, Moreouer ordeined him onely to be takẽ for Emperor of Rome. For theſe ⁊ other cauſes mo, Carolus bare no litle affection to ẏ ſayd Hadrian aboue all other Popes: as may wel appeare by this letter of Carolus Magnus ſent to kyng Offa, what tyme the ſayd Offa (as is aboue prefixed) ſent to hym Alcuinus for entreaty of peace: wherunto the foreſaid Carolus aunſwereth agayne to the meſſage of Offa in a letter, the contentes wherof be theſe.

Carolus
Magnus
neficial
the ſee of
Rome.

Rex chri
aniſſimu
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¶ The tenor of a Letter ſent by Carolus Magnus to king Offa, aunſweryng to his requeſt concernyng the entreatye of peace betwene them.

CArolus Rex Francorum & Longobardorum, Patricius Romanorum viro venerando, & fratri chariſsimo Offę Regi Merciorum Salut. Primo gratias agimus omnipotēti Deo, de catholicæ fidei ſinceritate, quam in veſtris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & ſalute animarū ſuarum, beatorum Apoſtolorum lumina deſiderant adire, cum pace ſine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed ſi aliqui religioni non ſeruientes, ſed lucra ſectantes inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis ſtatuta ſoluant telonia. Negociatores quoq; volumus vt ex mandato noſtro patrocinium habeant in regno noſtro legitime. Et ſi in aliquo loco, iniuſta affligantur oppreſsione, reclament ſe ad nos, vel noſtros iudices, & plenam iuſticiā iubemus fieri. Cognoſcat quoq; dilectio veſtra quod aliquā benignitatem de Dalmaticis noſtris vel pallijs ad ſingulas ſedes Epiſcopales regni veſtri vel Ethelredi direximus in eleemoſinā Domini Apoſtolici Adriani deprecātes & pro eo intercedi iubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatā illius animam in requie eſſe, ſed vt fidem & dilectionē oſtēdamus in amicum nobis chariſsimum. Sed & de theſauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Ieſus gratuita pietate conceſsit aliquid per metropolitanas ciuitates: Direximus veſtræ quoq; dilectioni vnum baltheum, & vnum gladium & duo pallia ſerica. &c.

letter of harles the reat ſente kyng Offa.

The cauſe why this Carolus writeth ſo fauorably of Adriane partly is touched before, partly alſo was, for that Carolomane his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha with her ij. children came to Hadrian, to haue them confirmed in there fathers kyngdome: wherunto the Pope to ſhew a pleaſure to Carolus would not agree: but gaue the mother with her two children, and Deſiderius the Lōbard king with his whole kyngdom, his wife and children, into the handes of the ſayd Carolus: who ledde them with him captiue into Fraūce, and there kept them in ſeruitude duryng their lyfe.

w the pe hea- h the cry poore dowes d or- anes.

Thus Carolus Magnus beyng proclamed Emperour of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian, and of Pope Leo the. iij. whiche ſucceded nexte after hym: was the Empire tranſlated frō the Grecians about the yeare of our Lorde 801. vnto the French men: where it continued about 102. yeares till the comming of Conradus and his neuew Otho, which wer Germanis: and ſo hath it continued after them emong the Almanes vnto this preſent time. This Charles builded ſo many monaſteries as there be letters in yͤ row of A. B. C: he was beneficiall chiefly to Churchmē alſo merciful to yͤ poore, in his Actes valiant and triumphant, ſkild in all lāguages, he held a Councell at Franckford, where was condēned the Coūcell of Nice and Irene, for ſettyng vp and worſhyppyng of images. &c.

e Em e tran- ed frō ecce to nce.

Concernyng whiche councell of Nice, and thynges there concluded & enacted (becauſe no man ſhall thinke, the deteſtyng of Images to be any new thyng nowe begon) thus I find it recorded in an auncient writen hiſtorie, of Roger Houedē, called Continuationes Bedæ. His wordes in Latin be theſe: Anno. D.cc.xc.ii. Carolus Rex Francorum miſit ſinodalē librum ad Britanniā, ſibi a Cōſtantinopoli directum, In 4. lib. Heu, proh dolor, multa inconuenientia, et veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maxime ꝙ pene omnium orientaliū Doctorum non minus q̄ 300. vel eo amplius Epiſcoporum vnanimi aſſertione confirmatū ſit, imagines adorari debere: Quod omnino eccleſia Dei execratur. Contra quod ſcripſit Albinus epiſtolam ex autoritate diuinarum ſcripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamq; cum eodem libro ex perſona Epiſcoporum ac principum noſtrorum, Regi Francorum attulit. Hæc ille. That is. In yͤ yeare of our Lord. Dcc.xc.ij. Charles the Frēch kyng ſent a booke conteyning the actes of a certein Synode, vnto Britaine, directed vnto hym from Conſtantinople. In the which booke (lamentable to be hold) many thyngs inconuenient, & cleane contrary to the true faith are there to be found: eſpecially for that by the common conſēt of almoſt all yͤ learned Biſhops of yͤ Eaſt Church not ſo few as 300. it was there agreed yͤ images ſhould be worſhipped. Which thyng the Church of God hath alwayes abhorred. Againſt which booke Albinus wrote an Epiſtle ſubſtantially groūded out of the autoritie of holy Scripture. Which Epiſtle with the booke, the ſayd Albinus in the name and perſon of our Biſhopes, and princes, did preſent to the French kyng.

ger en a- oſt, as rary to true h.

This Albinus was Alcuinus aboue mētioned.

The biſhops and princes of Englād againſt images.

And thus much by the way of Romiſh matters: now to returne agayne to the Northumberlād kyngs, where we left at Egbert. Which Egbert, as is before declared, ſucceded after Ceolulphꝰ after he was made Mōke. And lykewiſe the ſayd Egbert alſo folowyng the deuotion of his vncle Ceolulphus, and Kenredus before him: was likewiſe ſhorn Mōke, after he had reigned xx. yeres in Northumberland, leauing his ſonne, Oſulphus after hym to ſucceede: about which time & in yͤ ſame yere whē Ceolulphꝰ deceaſſed in his monaſtery, which was yͤ yere of our Lord 764. diuers Cities were brent with ſodein fire as the Citie of Wenta. yͤ Citie of London, the Citie of Yorke, Donaceſter wyth diuers other townes beſides. Roger Houeden. Lib. Contin. poſt Bedam, who in the firſt yeare of his reigne, which was yͤ yere of our Lord. 757. being innocently ſlayne, next to him folowed Mollo, otherwiſe called Adelwald, who lykewiſe beyng ſlayne of Alcredus after he had reigned xi. yeares departed. After, Alcredus when he had raigned. x. yeares was expulſed out of hys kyngdome by his people. Thē was Ethelbert otherwiſe named Edelred the ſonne of yͤ foreſayd Mollo receaued kyng of Northumberland. Which Ethelbert, or Adelred in lyke ſorte after he had reygned v. yeares, was expulſed. After whom ſucceded Alfwold who lykewiſe whē he had reigned xi. yeares was vniuſtly ſlayne. So likewiſe after hym his nephew, & the ſonne of Alcredus named Oſredus reigned one yere and was ſlayne. Then the foreſayd Ethelbert the ſonne of Mollo after xij. yeares baniſhment, reigned agayne in Northūberland the ſpace of iiij. yeares, and was ſlayne: yͤ cauſe wherof (as I find in an old writtē ſtory) was yͤ forſaking his old wife he maried a new. Cōcernyng the reſtoring of whome, Alcuinus writeth in this maner: Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia ſolus. Nuper Edelredus filius Edelwaldi de carcere proceſsit in ſolium, et de miſeria, in maieſtatem, cuius regni nouitate detenti ſumus ne veniremus ad ad vos. &c. And afterwarde the ſame Alcuinus agayne ſpeakyng of hys death writeth to kyng Offa, in theſe wordes: Sciat venerāda dilectio veſtra ꝙ Do. Carolus amabiliter et fideliter ſæpe mecum locutus eſt de vobis, et in eo habetis fideliſsimum Amicū. Ideo et veſtræ dilectioni digna dirigit numera, et per Epiſcopales ſedes regni veſtri, ſimiliter et Edelredo Regi, et ad ſuas Epiſcoporum ſedes direxit dona. Sed heu Proh dolor, donis datis, et Epiſtolis in manꝰ miſſorum ſuperuenit triſtis legatio per miſſos qui de Scotia per nos reuerſi ſunt, De infidelitate gētis, et nece Regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tātum iratus eſt contra gentem illam, vt ait, perfidam, et peruerſam, et homicidam dominorum ſuorum, peiorem eam paganis eſtimās, vt niſi ego interceſſor eſſem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abſtrahere potuiſſet, et mali machinari, iam feciſſet. &c.

Kyng Egbert made a monke

An. 757

Oſulphus,
Mollo,
otherwiſe called Adelwold.
Alcredus or
Aluredus.
Ethelbert otherwiſe named.
Adelred, or
Eardulphe.
Alfvvold.
Ofredus,
Adelred
again, kings of Northūberlād.

An. 794

Alcuinus,

¶ The kingdome of Northumberland ceaſeth.

Thus, as you haue heard, after the reigne of king Egbert, before mencioned, ſuch trouble and perturbation was in the dominion of Northumberland: with ſlaying, expulſing, and depoſing their kinges one after an other, that after the murdering of this Edelred aboue ſpecified, none durſte take the gouernment vppon hym, ſeing the great daunger therupon inſuing. In ſo much that the foreſayde kingdome dyd lye voyde and waſte the ſpace of. xxxiij. yeares together, after yͤ term

Northumberland kingdom ceaſeth.

of which yeares this kingdõ of Northumberland, with the kingdomes alſo of the other Saxons beſides, came al together into ẏ hãdes of Egbert king of ẏ Weſtſaxõs and his progenie: which Monarchie began in the yeare of our Lorde. 827. and in the. 28. yeare of the reigne of the ſayd Egbert: wherof more ſhall be ſayd (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Of this troubleſome and ragious tyme of Northumberland people, ſpeaketh alſo the ſayd learned mã Alcuinus otherwyſe called Albinus, in the ſame countrey borne: writing out of Fraunce into England, and complayning of the ſame in diuers his letters, as fyrſt to Offa, where he thus wryteth. Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Charoli regis ad vos venire, et in patriã reuerti: Sed melius mihi viſum eſt propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, neſciens quid feciſſem inter eos, vbi nullus ſecurus eſſe, vel in ſalubri conſilio proficere poteſt. Eccleſia ſancta a Paganis vaſtata, altaria periurijs fædata, monaſteria adulterijs violata, terra ſanguine dominorum & principum fædata, &c. Moreouer the ſayd Alcuinus wryting to the foreſayd Edelred a litle aboue mentioned, after the ſame tenour reporteth: Ecce eccleſia ſancti Cuthberti ſacerdotũ dei ſanguine aſperſa (omnibus ſpoliata ornamentis) locus, cũctis in Britãnia venerabilior, Paganis gentibus datur ad deprędandum. Et vbi primum poſt deceſſum S. Cuthberti ab Eboraco, chriſtiana religio in noſtra gente ſumpſit exordiũ: ibi miſeriæ et calamitatis cępit initium, &c Item writing to Oſbert a noble piere of the Mercians, complayning on the ſame maner ſaith: Regnum noſtrum Northumbrorum penè perijt, propter inteſtinas diſſentiones, & fallaces cõiurationes, &c.

Alcuinus other wiſe called Albinus.

The troubles of the kingdõ of Northumberland deſcribed by Alcuinus.

Item in an other place the ſayd Alcuinus writing to Adalard Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, cõplayneth moreouer: Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus inſulæ noſtræ, quæ prope trecentis & quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata eſt noſtris. Legitur in libro Gildæ ſapientiſſimi Britonum, quòd ijdem Britones propter auaritiam & rapinam principum: propter iniquitatem & iniuſtitiam iudicum: propter deſidiam prædicationis epiſcoporum: propter luxuriam & malos mores populi: patriam perdidere. Caueamus hæc eadem vitia noſtris temporibus inoleſcere, quatenus benedictio diuina nobis patriam conſeruet in proſperitate bona, quam nobis miſericordiſſima pietate perdonare dignatus eſt, &c.

Ouer and beſides, the ſame autor Alcuinus, wryting to the foreſayd Edelred king of Northumberland, maketh record of a ſtraunge ſight which he himſelfe did ſee the ſame tyme in ẏ citie of Yorke, to rayne bloud: wherof, hys wordes which he wrote concerning the ſame, to the ſayd king Edelred be theſe. Quid ſignificat pluuia ſanguinis, quam quadrageſimali tempore in Eboraca ciuitate, quæ caput eſt totius regni in eccleſia beati Petri principis apoſtolorum: vidimus de borealibus partibus domus, (ſereno aere) de ſummitate minanter cadere? Nonne poteſt putari, a borealibus partibus venire ſanguinẽ ſuper terram? That is: what ſignifieth the raine of bloude, which in the tyme of Lent, in the citie of Yorke, the chief citie of that dominion, and in the churche of S. Peter, the chiefe of the Apoſtles, we our ſelues did ſee to fall from the churche toppe (the element being cleare) out of the North partes of the temple, &c. Thys wondrous ſight teſtified by Mameſberienſis, is thought of Fabian to happen in the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Brigthricus (as with the time doth well agree) which was the yeare of our Lorde. 780. and is thought of ſome expoſiters to betoken the comming of the Danes into this lande: which entred ſhortlye after, aboute. vij. yeares in the. ix. yeare of the raigne of Brigthricus, king of the Weſtſaxones. Which Brigthricus in defence therof, ſente forth his ſteward of hys houſholde with a ſmall companye which ſhortlye was ſlayne: but by the ſtrength of the ſayd Brigthricus and the other Saxon kinges they were compelled to voyde the land for that tyme, which was an. 790. To thys Brigthricus king Offa, as is a foreſayd, gaue hys daughter Ethelburga to wife, by whom he at length was impoyſoned beſides certain other of his nobles: vpon whom, ẏ ſaid Queene, before him had practiſed the ſame wickednes. Who thẽ after that, fled ouer to Charles the great into Fraunce: where ſhe being offered for her beautie to marry eyther to hym, or to hys ſonne, becauſe ſhe chuſed rather hys ſon, marryed neyther the one nor yet the other: but was thruſt in a monaſterye, where ſhe then playing the harlot with a monke: was expulſed from thence, and ended her life in penurie and miſerye.

Ex hiſtoria Mameſberiẽſi.

How it rayned bloud in York.

An. 780

Brigthricus K. of Weſtſaxons.

Edelb daugh to Offa ſoned herhu

Wicked reueng

In the meane tyme while this Edelburga was thus working her feates in England: Irene Empreſſe of the Grækes, was as buſie alſo for her parte at Conſtantinople. Who firſt through the meanes of Pope Adrian, toke vp the bodye of Conſtantine Emperour of Conſtantinople, her owne huſbandes father. And when ſhe had burned ẏ ſame, ſhe cauſed ẏ aſhes to be caſt into the ſea, becauſe he diſnulled images. Afterward, raigning with her ſonne Conſtantine the. 6: ſonne to Leo the. 4. (whom alſo we declared before to be excommunicate for taking away images) being at diſſenſion with hym: cauſed hym to be taken, and layd in priſon. Who afterwarde through power of friends being reſtored to hys Empyre agayn, at laſte ſhe cauſed the ſame her owne ſonne to be caſte in priſon: and his eyes to be put out ſo cruellye, that within ſhort ſpace after he dyed. After this the ſayd Irene Empreſſe, with ẏ counſail of Theraſius biſhop of Conſtãtinople: held a councel at Nicea where it was decreed, that images ſhoulde agayne be reſtored to the church: which councel, after was repealed by an other councel holdẽ at Francford by Charles the great. At length ſhe was depoſed by Nicephorus (who raigned after) & was expulſed the Empyre: who after the example of Edelburga aboue mencioned (condignly puniſhed for her wickednes) ended likewyſe her lyfe in muche penurie and miſerie.

Irene.

78

Image ſtored gain by rene a ſtanti

The ſe counce Nica.

The wi kednes Irene dingly warde

About the time when the foreſayd Brigthricus was impoiſoned by Edelburga hys wife, dyed alſo king Offa: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 795. or as ſome ſay, 802. After which Offa (as is aforeſayd) ſucceded Egfert: thẽ Kenulphus: after whõ ſucceded Kenelmus his ſon, who in his yonger age was wickedly murthered by his ſiſter Quindreda: & Aſkebertus, about the yeare of our Lord. 819. And in the churche of Wynchcombe was counted for an holy Martyr. After hym ſuccеded hys vncle Ceolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the firſt yeare of hys reigne expulſed, and raigned in hys place. Who likewyſe the thyrd yeare of his raigne was ouercome and expulſed by Egbert King of ẏ Weſtſaxons, & afterward ſlaine by the Eaſtangles. And the kingdome of Mercia alſo ceaſed, and came into the hands of the Weſtſaxons.

Kenel king of Mercia innoce ſlayne.

Celul or Ce ph, B phus of Me The k dome Mercia ſeth.

Hetherto I haue brought, as thou ſeeſt (good reader) the confuſed & turbulent raignes of theſe. vij. Saxon kinges: who after the expulſion of the Britaines, ruled & raigned a ſonder, in ſundrye quarters of thys land together, vnto this preſent tyme of Egbert king of the Weſtſaxons. By whom it ſo pleaſed God, to beginne to reduce and vnite, al theſe ſcattered kingdoms, into one monarchicall forme of dominiõ. Wherfore as in ẏ foreſaid Egbert beginneth a newe alteration of the cõmonwealth here in this land among the Saxons: ſo my purpoſe is (the Lord willing) with the ſame Egbert to enter a new beginning of my thyrd booke: after a briefe recapitulation firſt made of ſuche thinges, as in this ſecond booke before, are to be collected & noted: eſpecially touching ẏ monaſteries builded: ẏ kings which haue entred the life & profeſſion monaſtike: alſo queenes & queenes daughters, which the ſame time profeſſed ſolitarye life in monaſteries, which they or their aũcitors had erected.

¶ *The concluſion of the ſtorye precedent concerning the .vij* kingdomes of thes Saxon kings aboue mencioned.

And thus haſt thou (gentle reader) concerning the vij. kingdomes of theſe Saxons, ruling altogether in England: the courſe and order of their doinges brieflye deſcribed and diſcourſed vnto thee, in ſuch order, as the matter being ſo intricate, in ſuch confuſion & diuerſitie of thinges incident together, would permitte: following eſpecially in thys ſtory hitherto, the line of the Northumberland kings, as the other ſtoryes muſt followe the line of Weſtſaxon kinges. The which ſeuen kingdomes of theſe ſaid Saxons, after they had vntruely expulſed and chaſed out the Britaines from their land, lyke as they neuer were in quietnes among them ſelues, reigning thus together, till the tyme of thys Egbert: ſo alſo after the reigne of Egbert, the whole Realme being induced into one regiment, no leſſe were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continuallye from time to time, till the laſte conqueſt of William the Normand. Thus it pleaſeth God (euer lightly) to reuēge with bloud, bloudy violence, and the vniuſte dealings of men, with iuſt and like retribution. But of thys let the Chriſtiā reader conſider, as Gods grace ſhall worke in hym. In the meane tyme we, as much as in vs dyd lye, ſatiſfying the parte of an hiſtorician, haue thus hitherto ſet forth and declared concerning theſe .vij. foreſayd kingdomes: firſt the names and lineall deſcent of the kinges ſeuerallye by themſelues, as by the table precedent may apeare, then what were the doinges and actes of the ſame. How firſt being Paganes they were conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth: what thinges in their tyme happened in ẏ church: how many of them, of kinges were made monkes: how deuout they were then to holy church and to the church men, and eſpeciallye to the church of Rome. But the church men then were much otherwyſe in lyfe, then afterward they declared thēſelues to be. Through which deuotion of the ſaid kinges firſt came in the Peterpence or Romſchots in this realme: as by Iue firſt in hys dominion, then by Offa in hys Lordſhip, and afterward by Adelwulph brought in and ratified through ẏ whole realme: where alſo is to be noted, that by the foreſayd kings and Queenes of the ſayd Saxons, the moſt parte of the greateſt Abbayes and Nunneries in thys realme were firſt begonne and builded, as partly the names of ſome here followe to be ſeene.

Firſt the Church or Minſter of S. Paule in London was founded by Ethelbert King of Kent, and Sigebert King of Eſſex, about the yeare of our Lord. 604.

The firſt croſſe and altare within thys realme was firſt ſet vp in the North partes in Heuenfield, vpon the occaſion of Oſwald king of Northumberland, fighting againſt Cadwalla, where he in the ſame place ſet vp the ſigne of the croſſe, kneling and praying there for victory. Polychr. lib. 5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The Church of Wincheſter was firſt begon & foūded by Kingilſus king of Mercians, hauing. 9. myles about it: after finiſhed by hys ſonne Kēwalcus, where Wine, of engliſhe men was firſt Byſhop. An. 636. Guliel. Malmeſb. Lib. De geſtis pont. Ang.

The church of Lincolne firſt founded by Paulinus Byſhop. An. 629.

The Church of Weſtminſter began firſt by a certaine Citizen of London, through ẏ inſtigatiō of Ethelbert King of Kent, which before was an ile of thornes. Bed. An. 614.

The common ſcholes firſt erected at Cambrige by Sigebert King of Eaſtangles. An. 636.

The Abbey of Knouiſburgh builded by Furceus the Eremite. An. 637.

The Monaſterie of Malmeſbery, by one Meldulſus, a Scotte, about the yeare of our Lord. 640. Afterward inlarged by Agilbert Biſhop of Wint.

The Monaſterye in Gloceſter firſt builded by Offricus King of Mercia, as Ceſtrenſis ſayth. But as W. Malmeſb. writeth, by Alferus, and Ethelred brethren to Kineburga Abbeſſe of the ſame houſe. An. 679.

Abbey of Gloceter.

The Monaſterye of Mailroſe by the floud of Twide by Aidanus a Scottyſhe Byſhop.

Mailroſe.

The Nunnerye of Heorenton, by Heui, who was the fyrſte Nunne in Northumberlande. Bede. lib. 4. cap. 1.

Heorenton.

The Monaſtery of Heteſey by Oſwy king of Northumberland, who alſo with his daughter Elfred, gaue poſſeſſions for .xij. Monaſteries in the partes of Northūberland. An. 656.

Heteſey.

The monaſtery of S. Martin in Douer builded by Whitred kyng of Kent.

The monaſtery of S. Martin at Douer.

The Abbey of Leſtingey by Ceadda (whom we call S. Cedd) through the graunt of Oſwald ſonne to S. Oſwald, kyng of Northumb. An. 651.

Leſtingey.

The monaſtery of Whytbye called otherwiſe Strēhalt by Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwine kyng of Northumb. An. 657.

Whitbie. This Hilda was firſt conuerted to the fayth by Paulinus a godly and lerned womā, out of her monaſterye came .5. biſhops Boſa, Eatha, Oſtford, Ioannes, Wilfride.

Itē an other monaſtery called Hacanos, not far frō the ſame place builded by ẏ ſayd Hilda, the ſame yeare.

Hacanos.

The Abbey of Abbington builded by Ciſſa kyng of Southſex. An. 666.

Abington.

Itē an Abbey in the Eaſt ſide of Lincolne called Ioanno. by S. Botulphe: Polychr. lib. 5. ca 16. An. 654.

Ioanno at Lincolne.

The monaſtery in Ely foūded by Etheldred or Edeldrida, daughter of Anna kyng of Eaſtangles, & the wife of Elfrid kyng of Northum. An. 674.

Ely Abbey.

The monaſtery of Chertſey in Southrey founded by Erkenwald Byſhop of London. An. 674. throwne done by the Danes, after reedefied by kyng Edgar.

Chertſey.

Itē the Nonery of Berkyng edefied by the ſayd Erkenwaldus Biſhop of London, about the ſame tyme.

Berkyng.

The Abbey of Peterbrugh called otherwyſe Modehamſtede foūded by kyng Ethelwald by kyng of ẏ Mercians. An. 675.

Peterbrough.

Bardney Abbey by Etheldredus kyng of ẏ Mercians. Anno. 700.

Bardney.

Glaſtonbery by Iua kyng of ẏ Weaſtſaxons, and after repayred and enriched by kyng Edgar. An. 701.

Glaſtonbery.

Rameſey in the tyme of kyng Edgar by one Ailwinus a noble man. An. 973. Kyng Edgar builded in hys tyme .xl. monaſteries who reigned. An. 901.

Rameſey.

The Nonnery of Winburne builded by Cuthburga ſiſter to Ingilſus kyng Iua his brother. An. 717.

Winburne.

The monaſtery of Sealeſey by the Iſle of Wyght by Wilfridus Biſhop of Yorke. An. 678.

Sealeſey.

The monaſtery of Wincombe by Kenulſus kyng of ẏ Mercians. An. 737.

Wincombe.

S. Albōs builded by Offa kyng of ẏ Merciās. An. 755.

S. Albones.

The Abbey of Euſhā by Egwinus Biſhop. An. 691.

Euſham.

Ripon in the North by wilfridus Biſhop. An. 709.

Ripon.

The Abbey of Echelinghey, by king Aluredus. An. 891.

Echelinghey.

The Nonnery of Shaſteſbury by the ſame Aluredus, the ſame yeare.

S. Chaſtelbury.

This ye ſee what monaſteries in what tyme began to be founded by the Saxons kynges newly conuerted to ẏ chriſten faith, wtin the ſpace of 200. yeares: who, as they ſemed then to haue a certein zeale and deuotion to Godward, accordyng to ths leadyng and teachyng that then was: ſo it ſemeth agayne to me, ij. thynges to be wiſhed in theſe foreſaide kynges. Firſt that they which begā to erecte theſe monaſteries, and Celles, of Monks and Nōnes, to lyue ſoly and ſinglely by them ſelues out of the holy ſtate of matrimonie: had forſene what daunger & what abſurde enormities might and alſo did thereof enſue, both publikly to the Churche of Chriſt, and priuatly to there owne ſoules. Secōdly, that vnto this their zeale and deuotion had ben ioyned lyke knowledge and doctrine in Chriſtes Goſpell, eſpecially in the article of

Two things to be wiſhed in them, that firſt builded monkiſh monaſteries.

our

The article of free iuſtificatiō not knowen.

our free iuſtificatiō by the faith of Jeſu Chriſt. Becauſe of the lacke wherof as well the builders and founders therof, as they that wer profeſſed in the ſame, ſeme both to haue runne the wrong way, and to haue bene deceaued. For albeit in them there was a deuotion & zeale of mind yͤ thought wel in this their doing, which I wil not here reprehend: yet the end and cauſe of there deedes and buildynges can not be excuſed beyng contrary to the rule of chriſtes Goſpel, for ſomuch as they dyd theſe thyngs ſekyng therby merites with God, and for remedy of their ſoules, and remiſſion of their ſinnes: as may appeare teſtified in their own recordes, wherof one here I thought to ſet forth for probation of the ſame. Reade this Charte (if it pleaſe the gentle reader) of kyng Ethelbald his donation, and charter geuen to Churches, and religious perſōs: which Ethelbald was the builder (as is ſayd) of Peterbrugh, the wordes of his record and inſtrument be theſe.

¶ *The donations and priuileges graunted and giuen by* kyng Ethelbald to Religious men of the Church.

Ex chronicis Gnliel. Malmeſb. lib. 1.

PLærumq; contingere ſolet pro incerta temporum viciſsitudine, vt ea quæ multarum fidelium perſonarum teſtimonio conſilioq; roborata fuerint: fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, et machinamenta ſimulationis, ſiue vlla conſideratione rationis, periculoſe diſsipentur, niſi autoritate literarum (teſtamento Chyrographorum) æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum pro amore cæleſtis patriæ, et remedio animę meæ, ſtudendum eſſe præuidi: vt eam per bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per miſericordiam clementiæ ſuæ, abſq; vllo antecedente merito ſceptra regiminis largitus eſt: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Huius rei gratia hanc donationem, me viuente, cōcedo, vt omnia monaſteria et eccleſiæ regni mei, a publicis vectigalibus, et operibus, et oneribus abſoluantur: niſi inſtructionibus arcium, vel pontium quæ nulli vnq̃ proſunt. Præterea habeant famuli dei propriā libertatem in fructibus ſiluarum et agrorum, et in captura piſcium, ne munuſcula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, niſi voluntaria. Sed liberi Deo ſeruiant. &c.

By the contentes hereof may well be vnderſtand (as wher he ſayth pro amore cæleſtis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, et abſolutione delictorū. &c.) howe great was the ignoraunce and blyndnes of theſe men: who lacking no zeale, onelye lacked knowledge to rule it with all: ſeking their ſaluation not by Chriſt onely, but by their owne deſeruinges & meritorious dedes. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehenſion of them, but rather to put vs in mynde and memorye, how much we at this preſent are bound to God for the true ſinceritie of his truth: hidden ſo long before to our foreaunceitors, and opened now to vs by the good wyll of our God, in his ſonne Chriſt Jeſu. This onely lamenting by the way, to ſee them to haue ſuch woorkes, and to lacke our faythe: and vs to haue the right faythe, and to lacke their workes. And this blinde ignorance of that age, thus aboue prenoted: was the cauſe not onely why theſe kings builded ſo many Monaſteries vpon zealous ſuperſtition, but alſo why ſo many of them, forſakyng their orderly vocation of princly regiment, gaue themſelues ouer to monaſticall profeſſion, or rather wylfull ſuperſtitiō. Concerning the names & number of which kinges that were profeſſed Monkes, is ſufficientlye in this ſtory before declared: the names of whom we ſhewed to be ſeuen or eight, within the ſpace of theſe, 2. hundreth yeares. Such was then the ſuperſticious deuotiō of kynges and princes in that age: and no leſſe alſo to be noted in queenes and kinges daughters, with other noble women, of the ſame age and time. The names of whom, it were to long here to recite. As Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwine king of Northumberland, abbeſſe of the houſe of Ely. Erchengoda with her ſyſter Ermenilda daughters of Ercombertus kyng of Kent: which Erchengoda was profeſſed in ſaynt Brigets order in Fraunce. Item Edelberga wife and queene to king Edwine of Northumberlande, and daughter of king Anna, which was alſo in the ſame houſe of Saint Briget made a nunne. Item Etheldreda, whō we terme S. Eldred, wife to king Ekfrid of Northumberlande: who being maried to. ij. huſbandes, could not be obtained to geue her cōſent to either of thē during yͤ ſpace of xij. yeares, but woulde needes lyue a virgine, and was profeſſed Nunne at Helynges. Werburga was the daughter of Ulferus king of Mercians, and made nūne at Ely. Kinreda ſiſter of kyng Ulferus and Kinswida her ſiſter, were both nūnes profeſſed. Sexburga daughter of king Anna king of Mercians, and wife of Ercombert king of Kent, was Abbeſſe at Ely. Elfrida daughter of Oſwy king of Northumberland, was Abbeſſe of Whitney. Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida all three daughters of Merwaldus king of weſt Mercians, entred the profeſſion and vow of Nunniſh virginitie. Kineburga, wife of Alfrid king of Northumberland, and ſiſter to Ofricus king of Merciās, and daughter of kyng Penda: was profeſſed Abbeſſe of the monaſtery in Gloceſter. Elfleda daughter of Oſwy king, and wife of Peda, ſonne of king Penda, likewyſe incloſed her ſelfe in the ſame profeſſion, and vowe of Romiſhe chaſtitie. &c. Likewiſe Alfritha wife to kyng Edgar. And Editha daughter to yͤ ſaid Edgar, with Wolfrith her mother. &c. All which holy Nūnes with diuers mo, the Romiſhe catholickes haue canoniſed for ſaintes, & put the moſt part of them in their Calender, and onely becauſe of the vowe of chaſtitie ſolemnlye profeſſed. Concernyng the which chaſtitie, whether they kept or no, litle I haue to ſay againſt them, & leſſe to ſweare for thē. But whether they ſo kept it or not, if this gift of chaſtitie which they profeſſed wer geuē thē of god, ſmal prayſe worthy was it in thē to kepe it: If it were not geuē them, I wyl not ſay here of them ſo much, as hath bene ſayde of ſome other, which ſufficiently haue paynted out to the worlde, the demeanour of theſe holy votareis. But this wyll I ſay, that although they kept it neuer ſo perfectlye, yet it is not that which maketh ſayntes before God, but onely the bloud of Chriſt Jeſus, and a true faythe in hym.

A briefe cata of queenes and kings daughters, which leauyng their eſtate wer made nonnes.

Hilda.

Erchengoda,

Likewiſe remaineth, that as we haue declared the deuotion of theſe noble women, which profeſſing monaſticke life, haue caſt of all worldly dignitie and delites: ſo we ſhoulde alſo intreate of ſuche noble men, who among the Saxon kinges in lyke zeale of deuotion, haue geuē ouer them ſelues from the world (as thei thought) to the contemplatiue life of moonkiſhe profeſſion. The names of whō, as in the Catalogue of the Saxon kings before is deſcribed, be theſe: to the number of. ix.

¶ A table of ſuch Saxon kinges, as were after made Moonkes.

1. Kynigilſus kyng of Weſtſaxons.
2. Iue kyng of Weſtſaxons.
3. Ceolulſus kyng of Northumberland.
4. Eadbertus kyng of Northumberland.
5. Ethelredus king of Mercia.
6. Kenredus king of Mercia.
7. Offa king of Eaſtſaxons.
8. Sebbi king of Eaſtſaxons.
9. Sigebertus king of Eaſtangles.

Of which kinges and of their doinges, what is to be iudged, looke gentle Reader before. Pag. 154. & 155.

By theſe hiſtories it is apparant: what mutations, what perturbations, and what alteration of ſtate hath bene in this realme of Britaine, firſt from Britayne kinges, to Romaines, then to Britaines agayne, afterwarde to the Saxons. Firſt to. vij. all together raygning,

ning, then to one. &c. And this alteration not onelye happened in the ciuil gouernment, but alſo followed in the ſtate eccleſiaſtical. For as in the Britaines time the Metrapolitan ſee was in London: ſo in the Saxons tyme after the comming of Auſten, it was remoued to Canterbury, the Catalogue and order of which Metropolitans, from the time of Auſten to Egbertus, is thus, as is in the hiſtory of Malmeſberienſis deſcribed.

¶ The names and order of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, from Auſten, to the tyme of kyng Ethelbert.

1.	Auguſtinus.	16.	
2.	Laurentius.	5.	
3.	Mellitus.	5.	
4.	Iuſtus.	3.	
5.	Honorius.	25.	
6.	Deus dedit.	10.	
7.	Theodorus.	22.	

¶ Hetherto from Auſten all the Archbiſhops of Canterbury were Italians and foreners.

8.	Berctualdus English.	37	In his tyme the Monaſterye of S. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by witredus and hys brother kynges of Kent.
9.	Tacuinus.	3	
10.	Nothelin⁹.	5	
11.	Cuthbert⁹.	17	This Cutbert after hys death forbad al funeral exequies or lamentacion for hym to be made. W. Malm. De vitis. lib. 1.
12.	Breguinus.	3	By this Lanbrightus peraduenture it was that Lambehith toke his nomination.
13.	Lanbrihtus or Lambertus.	27	In his tyme kyng Offa tranſlated the metropolitan ſea from Cant. to Lichfield by the graunt of Pope Adrian, being ouercome with apoſtolical arguments, as ſayth Flore. hiſt.
14	Ethelardus.	13	that is, with money.
15.	Vlfredus.	28	This Ethelardus by his epiſtles to Pope Leo, obtayned the Metrapolitan ſee agayne to Cant.
16.	Fegeldus. onethes.	3	
17	Celnochus.	41	

During the courſe of theſe. 17. Archbiſhops of Cant. in Rome paſſed in the meane time 34. Popes, of whom partly heretofore we haue declared.

And thus much touching the time of the ſeuen kingdomes of the Saxons, rulyng together in Englande, from the raygne of Hengiſt, vnto Egbert, firſt kyng and monarch of the whole lande, after the expulſion of the Britaynes.

NOw remayneth (by the grace of Chriſt) in the next booke followyng, to proſecute the order of ſuch kynges as principally raignyng alone, had this realme in their poſſeſſion: from the tyme of Egbert kyng of Weſtſaxones to the commyng of William Conquerour the Normayne, comprehendyng therein the reſte of the nexte. 300. yeares, wyth the actes and ſtate of religion, as in that ſpace was in the churche: wherein may appeare the declinyng tyme of the church, and of true religion, preparing the way to Antichriſt, which not long after followed. For here is to bee noted, that duryng yet this meane tyme, Sathan (as is ſayd) was bound vp from hys ragyng and furious violence, countyng from the tyme of Conſtantinus, to the nexte looſyng out of Sathan, which was foretold by the reuelation of S. Iohn aboue mentioned, to be a thouſande yeares. Wherof by the order of the hiſtorye (Chriſte grauntyng) more ſhall bee ſayde hereafter.

¶ The ende of the ſecond booke.

The thirde booke conteynyng the next.300 yeares, frō the raigne of K.Egbertus to the time of W.Conquerour.

NOw remaineth likewiſe, as before I dyd in deſcribyng the diſcent and diuerſitie of the ſeuē kings altogether reignyng & rulyng in this lande: ſo to proſecute in lyke order the lineall ſucceſſion of thē, which after Egbert kyng of Weaſtſaxons, gouerned and ruled ſoly vntil yͤ conqueſt of William the Normand: firſt expreſſing their names, and afterward importyng ſuch actes as in their tyme happened in the Churche worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touchyng the actes and doyngs of theſe kyngs, becauſe they are ſufficiently and at large deſcribed and taken out of Latine writers into the Engliſhe toung by ſondry autors, and namely in the ſtory or Chronicle of Fabian. I ſhall not ſpend much trauaile therupon, but rather referre yͤ reader, to hym or to ſome other: wheres the troubleſom tumultes betwene the Engliſhmē & the Danes at yͤ time may be ſene, who ſo liſteth to read thē. Onely yͤ Table of their names & reign, in actes done vnder their reigne, I haue cōpendiouſly abbriged, vſing ſuch breuitie, as the matter would ſuffer.

¶ A table of the Saxone kinges ruled alone from K. Egbert to William Conquerour.

Egbertus.	an.35.	
Athelwulfus, or Athulfus,	an.20	This Athelwulphus had by hys wife Oſburga, foure ſonnes.
Ethelbaldus.	5.	Sonnes of Athelwulfus.
Ethelbertus.	6.	
Etheldredus.	5.	
Aluredus, or Alfredus.	an.28	Aluredus had ij. ſonnes Edwarde and Egelwarde of the which one enioyed the realme.
Edward named the elder ſonne of Alu.	239	Edward beſides theſe 3. had 2. other ſonnes Edred, and Edwin, which dyed before they came to reygne. he had alſo foure daughters.
Adelſtanus.	16	Sonnes of Edward. Matild. Alfrid, a Nonne. Edrioena, a Nonne. Edburga.
Edmundus.	6.	
Edredus.	9.	
Edwinus.	4.	Sonnes of Edmund.
Edgarus.	16.	
Edwardus.	4	Sonnes of Edgar.
Etheldredus.	36.	This Etheldred hauyng ij. wiues, one an Engliſhe woman, called Ethelgina, and of her had this Edmūd, Edwin. Ethelſtane, with a daughter named Edgina: thother a Normand called Emana, and of her had Alfridus, & Edward called the confeſſor.
Emund Irenſide, ſonne of Etheldred.	2.	
Canutus a Dane.	19.	
Haraldus, Harefoote, ſonne of Canutus.	4.	
Hardeknoutus, ſonne of Canutus.	2.	
Edwardus, the confeſſor, an Eng. ſonne of Ethedred.	24	
Haraldus, ſonne of Earle Godwyne.	1.	
VVilliam conqueror a Normand.		

¶ King Egbert.

Egbert king of the Weſtſaxōs, afterWard Monarke & kyng of the whole realme,

IN the raigne of Brigthricus a litle aboue forementioned, about the yere of grace 795. ther was in hys dominion a noble perſonage, of ſome called Egbert, of ſom Ethelbert, of ſome Athelbright, who being feared of the ſame Brithricus, becauſe he was of a kingly blood, and nere vnto the crowne, was by the force and conſpiracye of the forenamed Brithricus chaſed & purſued out of the land of Britaine, into Fraunce, wher he endured tyll the death of the ſayd Brigthricus. After the hearing wherof Egbert ſped hym eftſones out of Fraunce, vnto his countrey of weſtſaxe, wher he in ſuch wiſe behaued himſelfe, that he obteined the regiment and gouernance of the aboueſaid kingdome.

Bernulphus kyng of Mercia, aboue mentioned with other kyngs, had this Egbert in ſuch deriſion, that they made of hym diuers ſcoffyng geſtes, and ſcorning rimes all which he ſuſtened for a tyme. But when he was more eſtabliſhed in hys kyngdome, and had proued the minds of hys ſubiects, and eſpecially God workyng withall: he afterward aſſembled his knightes, and gaue to the ſayde Bernulphus a battaile in a place called Elinden, in the prouince of Hamton. And notwithſtanding in that fight was great oddes of nomber, as. 6. or. 8. agaynſt one, yet Egbert (through the might of the lord which geueth victory as pleaſeth him) had the better, and wan the fielde. which done, he ſeaſed that Lordſhip into his hande. And that alſo done, he made warre vpon the Kentiſhe Saxons, and at length in likewyſe of them obtayned the victory. And as it is in Polychronicon teſtified, he alſo ſubdued Northumberlande, and cauſed the kinges of theſe thre kingdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries, or ioyned them to his kingdome, Ex flor. hiſt. Thys Egbert alſo wan from the Britons or welchmen the town of Cheſter, which they had kept poſſeſſion of, tyl that day. After theſe and other victories, he peaceably enioyeng the lād called a counſel of hys Lordes at Wyncheſter, where by their aduiſes was crowned kyng and chiefe Lorde ouer this land, which before that day was called Britain: but then he ſent out into al coaſtes of the land hys commaundements and cōmiſſions charging ſtrayghtly that from that day forward the Saxons ſhould be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

About the. xxx. yeare of the raygne of Egbert the heatheniſh people of the Danes, which a lyttle before had made horrible deſtruction in Northumberland, and eſpeciallye in the Ile of Lindeſarne, where they ſpoiled the churches, and murthered the miniſters, wyth men, women and chyldren, after a cruel maner, entred nowe the ſecond time wyth a great hoſt into this land, and ſpoiled the Ile of Shepy in Kent, or nere to kent: wher Egbert hearing therof, aſſembled his people & met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict ſped not ſo wel, as he was wont in tymes before, but with hys knightes was compelled to forſake the field. Notwithſtanding in the nexte battayl the ſaid Egbert wyth a ſmal power ouerthrewe a great multitude of them, and ſo droue them back. The yeare next folowing, the ſayde Danes preſumyng vpon their victory before, made their returne agayne into the land weſtward, where ioynyng with the Britans, by the helpe and power of them, they aſſayled the landes of Egbert, and did much harme in many places of hys dominion, and els wher, ſo that after thys day, they were continually abidyng in one place of the realme of England or other, til the time of Hadeknutus, laſt king of the Danes blood, ſo that many of them were maried to Engliſh women, and many that now be, or in tymes paſt wer called Engliſh men, are deſcended of them. And albeit that thei were many and ſundry times driuen out of the land, and chaſed from one country to an other, yet that notwithſtandyng, they euer gathered new ſtrengthes & power, that they abode ſtyl wythin the land.

And thus (as by the ſtories appeareth) thys troubleſome land of Britainie, now called England, hath beene hetherto by fyue ſundry outward nacions plaged. Fyrſt by the Romanes, then by the Scots and Pictes, 3. by the Saxons. 4. by the Danes, of whoſe outragious crueltye and hoſtilitie, our Engliſh hiſtories doo moſte exclayme and complayn: fiftly by the Normanes, whiche I praye God be the laſt.

Then it followeth in the ſtorye, that the tyme of thys perſecution of the foreſayd Paganes and Danes continuyng, kyng Egbert when he had ruled the weſtſaxōs, and ouer the more parte of Englande, by the terme of xxxvij. yeares, dyed, and was buryed at Wyncheſter, leauyng to his ſonne Ethelwolfe hys kyngdome, whyche fyrſt was biſhop of Wincheſter (as Houeden recordeth) and after vpon neceſſity made kyng, leauing withal and pronouncing thys ſaying to hys ſonne: Felicem fore, ſi regnum, quod multa rex erat, induſtria, ille conſueta genti illi non interrumperet ignauia.

¶ Kyng Athelwolfus.

AThelwulfus, the ſonne of Egbert, in hys former age had entred into the order of Subdeacon, & as ſome other ſay was made Biſhop of Wincheſter. But after-

837. ward beyng the onely ſonne of Egbert was made king through the diſpenſation (as Fabian ſayth) of Pope Paſcalis, but ẏ can not be: for Paſchalis thē was not Biſhop: wherby by ẏ cōputation of time, it ſhould rather ſeme to be Gregory the iiij. This Athelwulph (as beyng himſelf once nuſelled in that order) was alwaies good & deuout to holy church and religious orders. In ſomuch that he gaue to thē the tythe of all his goods & lands in Weaſtſaxonie, with libertie and fredome from all ſeruage and ciuil charges. Wherof, his charte or inſtrument beareth teſtimony, after this tenour proceding: much like to ẏ donatiō of Ethelbaldꝰ king of ẏ Merciās, aboue mētioned.

¶ *The priuilegies and donations geuen by king* Ethelwulfus, to the clergie.

844. REgnante Domino noſtro imperpetuū. Dum in noſtris temporibus per bellorum incēdia, et direptiones opum noſtrarum, nec non et vaſtantium crudeliſsimas depredationes hoſtium, barbararum, paganarumq́, gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum vſq; ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculoſa. Quamobrē, ego Ethelwulfus Rex occidentalium Saxonum cum conſilio Epiſcoporum et principum meorum, conſiliū ſalubre, et vniforme remedium affirmaui: vt aliquam portionem terrarū hæreditariam, Deo & ſanctæ Mariæ, & omnibus ſanctis iure perpetuo poſsidēdā cōcedā, ſcilicet partē terræ meæ, vt ſit tuta et immunis ab omnibus ſecularibus ſeruiciis, nec non regalibus tributis maioribus et minoribus ſiue taxationibus, quod nos dicimꝰ witereden: ſitq́; libera, omniū rerū, pro remiſsione animarū et peccatorū noſtrorū, ad Deo ſoli deſeruiēdū ſine expeditione, et pontis cōſtructione, et arcis munitione: vt eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces ſine ceſſatione fundāt, quo eorum ſeruitutem in aliqua parte leuigamus. &c.

Hereby may it appeare, how & when the churches of England, began firſt to be indued wyth temporalities & landes: alſo with priuilegies and exemptions enlarged. Moreouer (& that which specially is to be conſidered & lamented) what pernicious doctrine was this, wherewith they were led: thus to ſet remiſſion of theyr ſinnes, & remedy of their ſoules, in this donation & ſuch other dedes of their deuotion, contrary to the information of Gods worde, and no ſmall derogation to the croſſe of Chriſt.

Theſe thinges thus done within the realme, then the ſayd Ethelulfus the kyng, takyng hys iorney to Rome with Alured his yongeſt ſonne, committed hym to the bringyng vp of pope Leo the iiij. where he alſo reedified the Engliſh ſchole at Rome: which beyng foūd by kyng Offa, or rather by Iue kyng of Mercians (as is in the flouers of hiſt. is affirmed) was lately in ẏ tyme of kyng Egbert hys father, conſumed with fier. Farther and beſides, this kyng gaue and graunted there vnto Rome, of euery fire houſe a peny to bee payed through his whole land, as kyng Iue in his dominion had done before. Alſo he gaue and grāuted yearely to be payed to Rome 300. marks, ẏ is to the mainteinyng of the light of ſ. Peter. c. markes: to ẏ light of ſ. Paul. c. marks: to ẏ vſe of ẏ pope alſo an other hūdreth. This don, returnig home through Fraunce, maried ther Iudith the daughter of Carolus Caluus, the Frēch king: whō he reſtored afterward, contrary to the lawes of Weſtſaxōs, to the title and throne of a quene. For before, it was decreed emōg ẏ Weſtſaxons (by the occaſiō of wicked Ethelburga, who poyſoned Brigthricus her owne huſbande) that after that, no kings wife ther ſhould haue ẏ name or place of a quene.

867. And for ſomuch as I haue here entred into the mention of Iudith, daughter of Carolus Caluus: the occaſion therof putteth me in memory, here to inſerte by the way, a matter done: although not in thys Realme, yet not impertinent to thys eccleſiaſticall hiſtorye. And firſt to deduce the narration hereof, from the firſt originall. The father of thys Carolus Caluus, whoſe name was Ludouicus, firſt of that name, called Pius king of Fraunce, had two wiues: wherof by the fyrſt, he had iij. ſonnes, Lothary, Pepyn, and Lewes. Which three ſonnes vnnaturallye and vnkindlye conſpyring againſt theyr father, and hys ſecond wife, with her ſonne, their youngeſt brother, perſecuted hym ſo: that through a certayne councel of Lordes ſpirituall and temporall: they depoſed the ſame their naturall and ryght godlye father, diſpoſſeſſing and diſcharging him of all rule and dominion. Moreouer cauſed hym to renounce hys temporall habite, incloſing hym in the Monaſterye of S. Marke, for a Monke or rather a priſoner. All which done, they deuided hys Empyre and kingdome amonge themſelues. Thus was Ludouicus Pius, of impious ſonnes left deſolate. But the power of God, which worketh whan all earthly power ceaſeth, of hys diuine mercye ſo ayded and recouered hym out of all thys tribulation to hys imperiall dignitie agayne: that it was to all his enemyes confuſion, and to all good men a miracle. But thys by the waye. By hys ſecond wyfe whoſe name was Iudith, he had thys Charles the Balld here mentioned. Which Iudith was thought and ſo accuſed to the Pope, to be within ſuch degrée of alliaunce: that by the Popes lawe, ſhee might not continue hys wife without the Popes diſpenſation. It ſo fell out in the meane tyme, that thys Ludouicus the Emperour, had promoted a young man named Frederike to be biſhop of Utrike: and to hym had geuen ſadde and good exhortation, that he remembryng and following the conſtancie of hys predeceſſors, woulde maintaine right & truth without all exception of any perſon, and puniſhe miſdoers with excommunication, as well the riche as the pore, with ſuch like words of godly coūſaile. Frederike hearing the king thus to ſay, ſitting at dinner with him, as the maner was being newly inueſted, in theſe words aunſwered to the Emperour agayne. I thanke your maieſtie ſayth he, which with your ſo wholeſome exhortation putteth me in minde of my profeſſion. But I beſeche you of your benigne fauour and pacience, that I may freely diſcloſe, that which hath long encōbred and pearced my conſcience. To whome leaue being geuen, thus he began: I pray you (Lorde Emperour) to ſhewe me herein your minde (poynting to the fiſhe before him) whether is it more according to attame this fiſhe here preſent, beginning fyrſt at ẏ head or at the tayle. What a tale is thys, quod the Emperour, of the taile, and of the head: At the head quod he. Then Frederike taking therof hys occaſion, procéedeth: Euen ſo let it be (Lorde Emperour) ſayth he, as you haue ſayd. Let Chriſtian fayth and charitie fyrſt beginne with your ſelf, as with the head, admoniſhing you to ceaſe from your fact, and errour: ẏ your ſubiectes by your example, be not boldened to followe your miſdoing. Wherfore firſt forſake you, your vnlawfull wedlocke which you haue made with Iudith your neare kinſwoman. Theſe wordes of the new Byſhop, although they moued Ludouicus the Emperour not a litle: yet he, with a gentle modeſtie, and modeſt ſilence was contented, ſuffering the Byſhop to go home in peace. But the word being vttered in ſuch an audience coulde not ſo be concealed, but ſpred and braſte out in much talke in the whole court: and eſpecially among the biſhops, cōſulting earneſtly with themſelues about the matter. Through whoſe counſaile and labour ſo at length it fell, that the Emperour was conſtrayned to leaue the companye of hys wife, till he had purchaſed a licence of the Biſhop of Rome, to reteine her agayne: who then forgaue the ſayd Biſhop all that was paſte. But the woman, hyred two Knightes ẏ ſlew hym in his veſtmentes, when he had ended hys Maſſe. Ranulfus, and Guliel. Libro de pontificib. geue forth thys ſtorye in hys greate commendation to dye a Martyr. Wherof, I haue not to iudge, nor here to pronoūce: but

Note here the holy and holſeme countails and doyngs of the ſpirituall Lordes.

Ludouicus. Pius, Emperor & kyng of Frāce.

Friderike biſh. of Vtrike.

Biſhop Friderike openly admoniſheth the Emperour at the table.

Note, there wer ii. Iudiths one the mother of Carolus caluus, the other his daughter, whom K. Ethelwulf dyd marry.

Friderike biſhop of Vtrike iudged of ſome a Martyr.

The martyrdõ of biſhop Friderike. Example of the woman more redy to reuenge then the man.

that rather I thinke him to be commended in his dying, then the woman for her killing.

And forasmuch as mentiõ hath ben made of Ludouicus Pius, here is to be noted, that in Fraunce thẽ was vſed of prieſtes & churchmen, precious & ſhewing veſture, and golden, & rich ſtaring gyrdles, with ringes & other ornamentes of golde. wherfore, the ſayd Lewes purchaſed of the B. of Rome, a correction for all ſuch as vſed ſuch diſordinate apparell, cauſing thẽ to weare browne and ſad colours, according to their ſadnes. Fab.

Of this Lewes the papiſts do fayne, that becauſe he cõuerted certain of their church goods & patrimony to the wages of his ſouldiours, his body (they ſaye) was caried out of hys tomb by deuils, and was no more ſene.

Swithinus biſh. of Wincheſter.

And thus a little hauing diſgreſſed out of our courſe, now let vs returne out of France into England again: king Ethelwulfus, who cõming now frõ Rome by the countrey of France, was returned agayn into hys own dominion, where he continued not long after.

This Ethelwulfus had ſpecially about him 2. biſhops, whoſe counſell he was moſt ruled by: Swythinus Byſhop of Wincheſter and Adelſtanus Byſhop of Shireborne. Of the which two, the one was more ſkilfull in temporall and ciuill affayres touching yͤ kings warres, and filling of his coffers, & other furniture for the king: The other (which was Swythinus) was of a contrarye ſorte, wholye diſpoſed and inclined to ſpirituall meditation, and to miniſter ſpirituall counſell to the king: who had been ſcholemaiſter to the king before. Wherin appeared one good cõdition of this kings nature, among his other vertues, not onely in folowing yͤ precepts & aduertiſemẽts of his old ſcholemaiſter, But alſo in that he like a kind & thankful pupille did ſo reuerẽce his bringer vp, & olde ſcholemaiſter (as he called him) that he ceaſed not, tyll he made him biſhop of Wincheſter, by the conſecratiõ of Celnoch thẽ Archbiſhop of Cant. But as cõcerning yͤ miracles which ar read in yͤ church of Wincheſter, of this Swithinus, thẽ I leaue to be redde together wͭ the Iliades of Homere, or tales of Robenhode.

Example of a kynd ſcholer to his ſchole maiſter.

Monkiſh miracles fayned of Swithinus.

Pope Leo, iii.
Stephan. 4.
Paſchalis. 1.
Eugenius. 2.
Valentinus. 1
Gregory. 4.

This Gregory yͤ. iiij. here in this preſẽt chapter aboue mẽtioned: was yͤ thyrd pope which ſucceded after Paſchalis yͤ firſt, being but. 4. yeres betwixt thẽ. which Paſchalis ſucceded Stephẽ yͤ. 4. who folowed after Leo yͤ 3. next Pope vnto Hadriã aboue in our hiſtory mentioned wher as we entreated of Charles yͤ great. Frõ the time of that Hadriã yͤ firſt, vnto Pope Hadriã the. 3: the Emperors had ſome ſtroke in yͤ electiõ (at leaſt in the confirmatiõ) of the Romain Pope. Notwithſtãding, diuers of theſe foreſaid Popes in the meane time: began to worke their practiſes to bring yͤ purpoſe about. But yet, al their deuiſes could take no full effect, before the ſayd Hadrian the. iij. as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared. So that the Emperours all thys while bare ſome rule in chuſing the Popes, & in aſſembling generall councels. Wherfore by the cõmaundement of Ludouicus themperour, in the tyme of thys Gregorye the. iiij. a generall ſynode was cõmenſed at Aquiſgrane, where it was decreed by the ſayd Gregory, and his aſſiſtance: fyrſt that euery church ſhoulde haue ſufficient of hys own proper landes and reuenewes, to fynde the prieſtes therof: that none ſhould nede to lacke, or go about a begging. Item that none of the clergie of what order or degree ſo euer he be, ſhould vſe any veſture of any precious or ſcharlet colour. Neither ſhoulde weare ringes on their fingers, vnleſſe it be whẽ prelates be at maſſe, or geue their conſecrations. Item that prelates ſhould not kepe to great portes or families, nor kepe great horſe, vſe dyce, or harlots. And yͤ monkes ſhould not exceede meaſure in glottonie or riot. Itẽ that none of the clergy being either annointed or ſhauẽ: ſhould vſe either gold or ſiluer in their ſhoes, ſlippers, or gyrdles, like to Heliogabalus. By this it may be cõiectured, what põpe and pride in thoſe daies was crept into the clergy. Moreouer, by yͤ ſaid pope Gregory the. 4. at yͤ cõmaundemẽt of Ludouicus emperor, the feaſt of al ſainctes was firſt brought into the church.

A general ſynode at Aquiſgraue.

Euery churche to haue ſufficient to fynd his owne prieſtes.

Pretious garments of ſcarlet or other rich colour forbidden men of the claergy.

Great families not lawful for men of the clergy.

Rings & gold in their ſhoes forbidden.

The feaſte of al ſaints firſt ordayned.

After thys Pope, came Sergius the. ij. which fyrſt brought in the altering of the popes names, becauſe he was named before, os porci, yͭ is ſwynes ſknowt: which alſo ordayned the Agnus thriſe to be ſonge at the maſſe, and the hoſte to be deuided into three partes.

After hym, was pope Leo the. iiij. to whom this king Ethelwulfus (as in this preſent chap. is aboue ſignified) dyd committe the tuition of his ſonne Alured. By thys pope Leo, it came in, and was firſt enacted in a councel of hys, that no biſhop ſhoulde be condemned vnder. 72. witneſſes, according as ye ſee in the witneſſes, at the condemnation of Steuen Gardiner, orderly practiſed.

Item contrarye to the lawe of Gregorye the. iiij. hys predeceſſor: thys pope ordayned the croſſe (all ſet wͭ gold and precious ſtone) to be caryed before hym, like a pope.

And here next now followeth and commeth in, the whore of Babilon (rightly in her true colours by yͤ permiſſion of God and manifeſtly without all tergiuerſation) to appeare to the whole worlde: and that not onely after the ſpirituall ſenſe, but after the very letter, and the right forme of an whore in dede. For after this Leo aboue mentioned, the cardinalls proceding to their ordinarie election (after a ſolemne maſſe of the holy ghoſt, to the perpetual ſhame of them and of that ſea) in ſtede of a man pope, elected an whore in deede: to miniſter ſacramentes, to ſaye maſſes, to geue orders, to conſtitute deacons, prieſtes, and biſhoppes, to promote prelates, to make abbates, to conſecrate churches and altares, to haue the raigne and rule of Emperoures and kings: And ſo ſhe dyd in dede, called by name Ioan the. viij. Thys womans proper name was Gilberta (a douche woman of Magunce) who went with an engliſh monke out of the abbey of Fulda in a mans apparell, vnto Athens. And after through her dexteritie of witte & learning, was promoted to the popedome: where ſhe ſat two yeres & . 6. monthes. At laſt opẽly in the face of a general proceſſiõ, fel in labour & trauail of child, & ſo died. By reaſõ wherof yͤ cardinals yet to this day do auoid to come nere by yͤ ſtreete, where this ſhame was takẽ. By Benedictus yͤ. iij. who ſucceded next in the whoryſhe ſea, was fyrſt ordayned (as moſt wryters recorde) the dirige to be ſayd for the dead. Albeit before hym, Gregorye the. iiij. had done in that matter, worthely for his part alredy

After him ſat Pope Nicolas the fyrſt, who enlarged the Popes decrees with many conſtitutions, equalling the authoritie of them, with the writinges of the Apoſtles. He ordayned that no ſecular prince, nor the Emperour himſelfe, ſhoulde be preſent at their Councels, vnleſſe in matters concerning the fayth: to the end that ſuch as they iudged to be hereticks, they ſhould execute and murther. Alſo, that no lay men ſhoulde ſit in iudgement vpon the clergy men, or reaſon vppon the Popes power. Item that no Chriſtian magiſtrate ſhould haue any power vpon any prelate, alledging that a Prelat is called God. Item that al church ſeruice ſhould be in latin: yet notwithſtanding, diſpenſing with the Sclauonians, and Polonians, to retayne ſtyll their vulgar language. Sequences in the maſſe were by hym firſt alowed. By this Pope, Prieſtes began to be reſtrayned and debarred from maryeng: wherof Hulderické byſhop of Auſtebrugh (a learned, and an holye man) ſending a letter vnto the Pope: grauely and learnedly refuteth and reclaymeth againſt his vndeſcrite procedings, touching that matter. The copy of which letter, as I thought it vnworthy to be ſuppreſſed, ſo I iudged it here worthy & meete for the better inſtruction of the reader, to be inſerted. The wordes whereof here followe out of latin into Engliſh tranſlated.

¶ *A learned epiſtle of Hulderike B. of Auſbrough. ſẽt to pope* Nicholas the fyrſt, prouing by probations ſubſtancial, that Prieſtes ought not to be reſtrayned from maryage.

NIcolao domino et patri, peruigili ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ prouiſori, Hulderícus ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem vt filius, timorem vt ſeruus. Cum tua (O pater et domine) decreta ſuper clericorum continentiam. &c.

Huldericke biſhop onely by name, vnto the reuerent faher Nicholas yͤ vigilant prouiſor of the holye church of Rome: with due commendation ſendeth loue as a ſonne, and feare as a ſeruaunt. Vnderſtanding reuerēt father your decrees which you ſent to me concerning the ſingle life of the Clergy, to be farre diſcrepant from all diſcretion, I was troubled partly with feare, partly with heauines. With feare, (for that, as it is ſayde) the ſentence of the paſtor, whether it be iuſte or vniuſt, is to be feared.

For I was afraid for the weake hearers of the ſcripture (which ſcarſely obey the iuſt ſentence of their Paſtor) much more deſpiſing this vniuſt decreement, thorow the onerous and importable tranſgreſſion of their Paſtor, ſhould ſhew them ſelues diſobedient. With heauines I was troubled, and with compaſſion: for that I doubted howe the members of the bodye ſhoulde do (their head being ſo greatly out of frame). For what can be more greuous or more to be lamented, touching the ſtate of the church: then for you, being the biſhop of the principal ſeate, to whom appertaineth the regiment of the whole church: to ſwarue neuer ſo litle, out of the right way. Certes in this you haue not a litle erred, in that you haue gone about to conſtrayne your Clergye to ſinglenes of life, through your imperious tyrannye: whom rather ye ought to ſtyrre vp to the continency of mariage. For is not this to bee counted a violence and tiranny to the iudgement of all wyſe men: when a man is cōpelled by your decrees to do that which is againſt yͤ inſtitution of the Goſpel, & the proceeding of the holy ghoſt. Seing then ther be ſo many holy examples, both of the olde & new Teſtamēt, teaching vs (as you know) due information: I deſire your pacience not to thynck it greuous, for me to bryng a fewe here out of manye.

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Firſt in the old law, the Lord permitteth marriage vnto the Prieſtes, which afterward in the new law, we do not reade to be reſtrayned: but in the Goſpel thus he ſayth: There be ſome Eunuches which haue gelded thē ſelues for the kingdome of heauen, but all men doo not take this word: he that cā take it, let him take it. Wherfore the Apoſtle ſayth: concerning virgins, I haue no commaundement of the Lord, but onelye I geue counſel. Which counſel alſo all men doo not take, as in the commaundement of the lord before, but many there be, falſe diſſemblers and flatterers, going about to pleaſe men and not God, whom we ſee vnder a falſe pretence of continencie, to fall into horrible wickednes: Some to lye with their fathers wiues, ſome to bee Sodomites, and not to abhorre to playe the beaſtes with brute beaſtes. And therefore leaſte thorowe the infection of this wicked peſtilence, the ſtate of the church ſhoulde to much go to ruine: therfore he ſayde: becauſe of fornication, let euery mā haue his own wife. Touching which ſaying, our falſe hipocrites falſly doo lie, and faine: as though onelye it pertayned to the laitie, and not to thē. And yet they them ſelues ſeming to bee ſet in the moſt holy order, are not afrayd to abuſe other mens wyues: and as we ſee with (weeping eyes) al they doo outrage in the foreſaid wickednes.

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These men haue not rightly vnderſtanded the ſcripture: whoſe breſtes whyle they ſucke ſo hard (in ſtede of milke) they ſucke out bloud. For the ſaying of yͤ apoſtle: let euery man haue his own wyfe: doth except none in very dede, but him onely which hath the gifte of continency, prefixing with him ſelfe to keepe and to continue his virgine in the Lord. Wherfore (O reuerent father) it ſhalbe your part to cauſe & oueſee, that who ſoeuer, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vowe of continencie, and afterward would forſake: either ſhoulde be compelled to keepe his vow, or els by lawful authoritie ſhould be depoſed from his order.

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And to bring this to paſſe, ye ſhal not onely haue me, but alſo all other of my order, to be helpers vnto you. But that you may vnderſtand, that ſuch which knowe not what a vow doth mean: are not to be violētly cōpelled thereunto: heare what the apoſtle ſayth vnto Timothie. A biſhop (ſaith he) muſt be irreprehenſible, the huſbād of one wyfe. Which ſentence, leaſt ye ſhould turne & apply onely to the church, marke what he inferreth after: he that knoweth not (ſayth he) to rule his own houſhold and family, how ſhould he rule the church of God? And likewyſe the Deacons (ſayth he) let them be the huſbandes of one wyfe, which haue knowledge to gouerne their owne houſe and children. And this wife, howe ſhe is wont to be bleſt of the prieſt, you vnderſtande ſufficiently: I ſuppoſe, by the decrées of holy Siluester yͤ pope.

To theſe and ſuch other holye ſentences of the ſcripture, agreeth alſo he that is the writer of the rule of the cleargye, writing after this maner. A clarke muſt be chaſte and continent, or els let him bee coupled in the bandes of matrimony, hauing one wyfe. Wherby it is to be gathered, that the biſhop and deacō, are noted infamous and reprehenſible, if they be deuided in mo women thē one: otherwiſe, if they do forſake one, vnder the pretence of religion: both they together, as wel the byſhop as the deacon be here condemned by the Canonicall ſentence, which ſaith: let no biſhop or prieſt forſake his own wyfe, vnder the coulour & pretence of religion. If he do forſake her, let him be excommunicate. And if he ſo continue, let him be diſgraded. Saint Auſten alſo, a man of diſcrete holynes, ſayth in theſe wordes: There is no offence ſo great or greuous, but it is to auoyde a greater euyl.

This decree is contrary to the biſhops & prelates in queene Maries tyme.

Furthermore, we reade in the ſeconde booke of the Tripartite hiſtory: That when the Councel of Nice, going about to eſtabliſh the ſame decrée, would enact that biſhops, prieſtes, and deacons, after their conſecration, eyther ſhould abſtayne vtterly from their own wyues, or els ſhould be depoſed. Thē Paphnutius (one of thoſe holy martyrs, whō themperour Maximus had put out the right eye, & hockt their left legs) riſing vp amongeſt them, withſtoode their purpoſed decrement: confeſſing marriage to be honorable, and calling the bed of matrimonye to be chaſtitie: and ſo perſwaded the Councell from making that law, declaring thereby what occaſiō might come to them ſelues and their wyues of fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being vnmaried himſelfe) declare vnto them. And the whole Councell commending his ſentence, gaue place thereto, and left the matter freely without compulſion, to the wyl of euery man, to do therein as he thought.

Notwithſtandyng there bee ſome, whyche take ſaynt Gregory for their defence in this matter: whoſe temeritie I laugh at, and ignorāce I lament: for they know not, being ignorantly deceiued, how dangerouſly the decree of this hereſye was (being made of Saynt Gregory) who afterward, wel reuoked the ſame, wyth condigne fruite of repentaunce.

For vpon a certayne daye as he ſent vnto his fiſhe ponde to haue fiſh, and did ſee more then ſixe thouſande infantes heades brought vnto him, which were taken out of the ſame pond or mote: did greatly repent in him ſelfe the decree made before, touching the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, which he confeſſed to be the cauſe of that ſo lamentable a murther. And ſo purging the ſame, with cōdigne fruit of repentaunce: aultered againe the thinges which he had decreed before, commending that counſell of the apoſtle, which ſayth: it is better to marrye, then to burne. Adding moreouer of him ſelfe thereunto, and ſaying: it is better to marry, thē to giue occaſiō of deth.

More thē 6000 heads of infāts found in the Popes mote through the wycked decree of the ſingle lyfe of prieſts.

Peraduenture if theſe men had red with me thys, which ſo happened: I thinke they would not be ſo raſhe

Let prieſts note wel the ſaying of Gregory.

in their doing and iudgyng, fearing at leaſt the lords cōmaundement: do not iudge, that ye be not iudged. And ſ. Paul ſayth: who art thou that iudgeſt another mans ſeruant? Either he ſtandeth or falleth to hys owne maiſter: but he ſhal ſtand, for the Lord is mighty, & able to make him ſtande. Therfore let your holines ceaſe to compel & enforce thoſe, whom onely ye ought to admoniſh: leaſt through your own priuate cōmaundement (whych God forbid) you be found contrary: as wel to the olde Teſtament, as to the new. For as ſ. Auſten ſayth to Donatus: this is onely that we do feare in your iuſtice, leſt (not for the conſideration of chriſtian lenity, but for the greuouſnes & greatnes of trāſgreſſiōs cōmitted) you be thought to vſe violence in executing puniſhment of that, whych onely we do deſire you (by Chriſt) not to do. For trāſgreſſions are ſo to be puniſhed, that the lyfe of the tranſgreſſors may repēt. Alſo a nother ſaying of Auſten we wold you to remember, which is this: Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia ſoluēdi charitate: et nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter That is: let nothing bee done through the greedines of hurtyng, but allthinges through the charitye of profiting. Neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing vngently. Item of the ſame Auſten it is writtē: In the fear and name of Chriſt I exhorte you, which of you ſo euer haue not the goods of this world, be not greedy to haue them: Such as haue them, preſume not to much vpō thē. For I ſay, to haue them is no damnation, but if ye preſume vpon them, that is damnacion: if for the hauing of them ye ſhall ſeeme great in your own ſight, or if ye doo forget the common condition of man, through the excellency of any thyng you haue. Vſe therfore herein due diſcretion, tempered with moderation, the which cup of diſcretion is drawen out of that fountayne of the Apoſtolike preaching whych ſayth: art thou loſe from thy wyfe? Do not ſeeke for thy wyfe. Art thou bound to thy wyfe? Seeke not to be looſed from her. Wher alſo it followeth: ſuche as haue wiues, let them be as though they had thē not: & they that vſe the world, let thē be as not vſing it.

Note well the ſaying of Auſtē

What it is to marrye in the Lord.

Item concerning the wydow he ſayth: Let her marry to whom ſhe wyll, onely in the Lord. To marry in the Lord, is nothing els but to attempt nothing in contracting of matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid. Ieremy alſo ſayth: truſt not in the words of lies, ſaying: the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. The which ſaying of Ieremy, Ierome expoūding ſaith thus: this may agree alſo, and be applied vnto ſuch virgyns, which brag and vaunt theyr virginity with an impudent face, pretending chaſtity, when they haue another thyng in theyr conſcience, and knowe not howe the Apoſtle defineth the virgine, that ſhe ſhould be holye in body, and alſo in ſpirite. For what auayleth the chaſtitye of the bodye, if the mynde inwardlye bee defloured? Or if it haue not the other vertues, whych the propheticall ſermon doth deſcribe? The whych vertues, for as muche as we ſee partlye to bee in you, and becauſe we are not ignoraunt, that thys diſcretion (althoughe neglected in thys parte, yet in the other actions of your lyfe to bee kept honeſtly of you:) doo not diſpayre, but you wyll alſo ſoone amende the little lacke which is behynd And therfore with as much grauity as we can, we ceaſe not to call vpō you, to correct and amend this your negligence. For although according to our common callyng, a biſhop is greater then a prieſt, yet Auſten beyng leſſe then Ierome (notwythſtanding the good correction proceeding from the leſſer to the greater) was not to bee refuſed or diſdayned, eſpecially when he which is corrected, is found to ſtriue agaynſt the truth, to pleaſe men.

What is a virgine by the definition of the Apoſtle.

For as S. Auſten ſayth, wryting to Boniface: the diſputations of all men, be they neuer ſo catholike or approues perſons: ought not to be had in ſteede of the canonicall Scriptures. So that we may diſproue or refuſe (ſauing the honor and reuerence whych is due vnto them) any thyng that is in their wrytings: if any thyng there be found, cōtrary to truth: and what can be found more contrary to the truth then thys? when as the truth him ſelfe ſpeaking of continency, not of one onely, but of all men together, (the number onely excepted of thē which haue profeſſed continēcy) ſayth: He that can take, let him take: the which ſaying, theſe men moued, I cannot tel by what occaſion, do turne and ſay: he that cannot take, let hym be accurſed. And what can be more folyſh amongſt men, then when any biſhop or archdeacon, runne them ſelues headlong into al kinde of luſt, to adultery and inceſt, and alſo Sodometry: yet ſhame not to ſaye, that the chaſte marriage of prieſtes do ſtincke before them. And as voyde of all compaſſion or true righteouſnes doo not deſyre or admoniſh their clarkes, as theyr felow ſeruāts to abſtayne, but cōmaund them and enforce them as ſeruaunts, violently to abſtayne? Unto the whych imperious cōmaundement of theirs or councell (whether you wyll, call it) they adde alſo thys folyſh and fylthy ſuggeſtiō, ſaying: that it is more honeſt, priuely to haue to do with many women, then apertly in the ſyght and conſciences of many men, to be bound to one wife. The which truly they would not ſay, if they were eyther of hym, or in hym, whych ſayth: wo to you Phariſeis, whych do all things before mē. And by the pſalmiſt: becauſe thei pleſe men, they are confounded: for the Lord hath deſpiſed thē. Theſe bee the men, who rather ought to perſwade vs, that we ſhould ſhame to ſinne priuely in the ſight of him to whom all thynges be open, then to ſeeme in the ſyght of men for to bee cleane. Theſe men therefore, although through their ſynfull wyckednes, deſerue no councel of godlynes to be geuen them: yet we not forgetting our humanity, ceaſe not to geue them counſel by the authority of Gods word, which ſeeketh al mens ſaluation, deſiring them by the bowels of charitye, and ſaying wyth the wordes of ſcripture: Caſt out thou hipocrite firſt the beame out of thine owne eye, and then thou ſhalt ſee to caſt out the mote of the eye of thy brother.

Moreouer, thys alſo we deſyre them to attende what the Lord ſaith of the aduouterous woman: which of you that is wythout ſin, let him caſt ẏ fyrſt ſtone againſt her. As though he would ſay: if Moſes byd you, I alſo byd you. But yet I requyre you ẏ bee the cōpetent miniſters & executors of ẏ law: Take hede what ye adde therunto, take hede alſo I pray you, what you are your ſelues: for if (as the ſcripture ſayth) thou ſhalt wel cōſider thy ſelfe, thou wylt neuer defame or detract an other.

Moreouer, it is ſignified vnto vs alſo, that ſome ther be of them, which (whē they ought like good ſhepheards to gyue their lyues for the Lordes flocke) yet are puffed vp with ſuch pride: that without al reaſon they preſume to rent and teare the Lords flocke wyth whyppyngs & beatynges, whoſe vnreaſonable doyngs Saint Gregory bewayling, thus ſayth: Quid fiat de ouibus, quando paſtores lupi fiunt? That is: what ſhal become of the ſhepe, whē the paſtors thēſelues be wolues? But who is ouercome, but he which exerciſeth the cruelty? Or who ſhall iudge the perſecutor, but he which gaue paciently hys backe to ſtripes. And this is the fruit which cōmeth to the church by ſuch perſecutors, alſo which commeth to the clergy by ſuch diſpiteful hādlyng of their Biſhops, or rather Infidels. For why may ẏe not cal thē infidels, of whom S. Paule thus ſpeaketh and writeth to Timothie: that in the latter dayes there ſhal certain depart from the faith, geue hede to ſpirits of error & doctrine of deuils, of them that ſpeake falſe through hipocriſy, & hauing their conſciences marked wyth an hot yron, forbidding to marry, & commaunding to abſtayne from meates. &c. And thys is if it be wel marked, the whole handful of the darnel and cockel growing amongſt the corne: thys is the couent of al madnes: that whyles they of the Cleargy be compelled to relinquiſh the company of theyr own lawfull wyues: they become afterward fornicators and adulterers wyth other women, & wycked miniſters of other ſinfull ſylthynes. Theſe bee they which bring in to the churche of God thys hereſy (as blynd guides leading the blynd) that it might be fulfylled which the Pſalme ſpeaketh of: as foreſeing the errors of ſuch men, and accurſyng them after thys maner: let their eyes be blynded that they ſee not, and bow downe alwayes their backe. For as much thē (O apoſtolical ſyr) as no mā which knoweth you is ignoraunce, that if you, thorow the light of your diſcretiō had vnderſtanded and ſeene, what poyſoned peſtilence might haue come into the church through the ſētence of this your decree: they would neuer haue cōſented to the ſuggeſtions of certayne wycked perſons. wherefore we councel you by the fidelitye of our due ſubiection, that wyth al diligence you wold put awaye ſo great ſlaunder frō the church of God: & through your diſcrete diſcipline, you wil remoue this phariſaical doctrine from the flock of God: ſo that this onely ſunamite of the Lords (vſyng no more adulterous huſbāds) do ſeperat the holy people & the kingly prieſthod frō her ſpouſe which is chriſt, thorow an vnrecouerable diuorcement: ſeyng that no mā wᵗout chaſtity (not only in the virgins ſtate, but alſo in the ſtate of matrimony) ſhal ſe our lord: who with the father and the holy ghoſt liueth and raigneth for euer. Amen.

☞ By this epiſtle of B. Hulderick aboue prefixed, the matter is playne (gentle reader) to conceiue what was thē the ſentence of learned men, cōcerning the mariage of miniſters: wherof becauſe ſufficient hath ben ſayd before, we wil therfore (with the Lords help) proſecute that whych foloweth.

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After this pope Nicolas ſucceded Hadrianus.ij. Ioannes.ix. Marcinus.ij. After theſe came Hadrian the iij. and Stephen the v. By this Hadriã it was firſt decreed, that no Emperour after that tyme ſhuld intermedle or haue any thing to doo, in the election of the pope. And thus began Themperours firſt to decay, and papacie to ſwell and ryſe aloft. And thus much concernyng Romiſh matters for this tyme.

Then to returne where we left, touchyng the ſtory of kyng Ethelwolf. About the latter end of his reygne, the Danes, which before had inuadedthe realme, in the tyme of kyng Egbert, as is aboue declared: nowe made there reentre agayne, with 33. ſhyppes arriuyng about Hamſhire: through the barbarous tyrãnie of whõ much bloudſhed and murther happened here emong Engliſh men, in Dorcetſhyre, about Pourtchmouth in Kent, in Caſtãgle, in Lindeſey, at Rocheſter, about London, and in Weaſtſere, where Ethelwolfe the kyng was ouercome: beſides diuers other vnder kyngs and dukes, whõ the Danes daily approching, in great multitudes in diuers victories had put to flyghte. At length, kyng Ethelwolfe, with hys ſonne Ethelbaldus, warryng agaynſte them in Southrey at Oclea, draue them to the ſea: where they houeryng a ſpace, after a while braſt in agayn with horrible rage & crueltie, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe declared ſo much as to our purpoſe ſhall ſerue: profeſſyng in this hiſtorie to write not of matters externe and politike, but onely pertaining to the church. The cauſe of this great affliction ſent of God vnto this realme thus I found expreſſed and collected in a certeine olde writen ſtory, which hath no name: the wordes of whiche writer, for the ſame cauſe as he thought to recite thẽ, writing as he ſaith (ad Cautelam futurorũ) I thought alſo for ẏ ſame here not to be omitted, albeit in al partes of his commendation I do not fully with hym accorde. The wordes of the writer be theſe.

vete- exẽplo oria iane. C.1.

e cauſe gods ath, erby realme England ſcour- by the nes.

In Anglorum quidem eccleſia primitiua, religio clariſſime reſplendit: ita vt Reges et reginę, principes ac duces, cõſules, et Barones, &c. In engliſh thus:

In ẏ primitiue church ſaith he of ẏ Engliſhmẽ, religion did moſt clerely ſhyne, in ſo much ẏ kinges, quenes, princes and dukes, conſuls, and barons, and rulers of „ churches incenſed with deſire of the kingdome of heauẽ: „ laboryng and ſtriuing emong themſelues, to enter into „ monkerye, into voluntarie exile and ſolitarye life: for„ſoke al, & folowed the Lorde. Where in proceſſe of time, „ all vertue ſo much decayd emong them, that in fraude & „ trechery none ſemed like vnto them: Neither was to thẽ „ any thyng odious or hateful but pietie & iuſtice: Neither „ any thing in price and honor, but ciuill warre, and ſhe„dyng of innocent bloud. Wherfore almighty God ſent „ vpon them pagane & cruel natiõs like ſwarmes of bees, „ which neither ſpared wemẽ, nor childrẽ as Danes: Nor„wagians, Gothes, Sueuians, Vandals, and Freſians. „ Who from the begynnyng of the reigne of kyng Ethel„wolfe till the comming of the Normandes, by the ſpace „ nere of CC.xxx. yeares, deſtroyed this ſinnefull land, frõ „ the one ſide of ẏ ſea, to ẏ other: from mã alſo to beaſt, for „ why they inuadyng Englãd oftymes of euery ſide, wẽt „ not about to ſubdue & poſſeſſe it, but onely to ſpoyle & to „ deſtroy it. And if it had chanced thẽ at any tyme to be o„uercome of Engliſhemen, it auayled nothyng, when „ as other nauies ſtill with greater power, in other places „ were ready vpõ a ſodẽ & vnwars to approche vpõ thẽ. &c. „ hiſtoria Cariana.

other ſe ren- ed, why gland as ſcour- d of the anes.

Thus farre haue ye the wordes of mine autor, declaring the cauſe, which prouoked Gods anger: wherunto may be adioyned the wickednes, not onely of thẽ but of their forefathers alſo before thẽ: who falſly breaking ẏ faith & promiſe made wͭ ẏ Britains, did cruelly murther their nobles: wickedly oppreſſed their cõmons: impiouſly perſecuted the innocent chriſtiãs: iniuriouſly poſſeſſed their land & habitation: chaſing the inhabitaunce out of huoſe & countrey: beſides ẏ violent murther of ẏ monks of Bangor, & diuers foule ſlaughters againſt the poore Britaines, which ſent for thẽ to be their helpers. Wherfore, Gods iuſt recompens falling vpon them, from that time neuer ſuffered thẽ to be quiet from forein enemies, till the commyng of Williã the Normãd conqueror. &c.

Moreouer concernyng the outward occaſions geuẽ of the Engliſhmens partes, mouing the Danes firſt to inuade the realme, I finde in certaine ſtoryes two, moſt eſpecially aſſigned. Thone iniuſtly geuẽ and iuſtly takẽ. Thother not geuẽ iuſtly, & vniuſtly taken. Of the which two, the firſt was geuen in Northumberlãd, by meanes of Oſbryght reigning vnder kyng of Weaſtſarons, in the North partes. This Oſbright, vpon a time, iorneyng by the way, turned into ẏ houſe of one of his nobles called Bruer. Who hauyng at home a wife of great bewtie (he beyng abſent abroad) the kyng after his dynner, (allured with the excellencie of her beutie) tooke her to a ſecret chãber, where he forceableiy contrary to her will did rauiſhe her. Wherupon ſhe beyng greatly diſmayd, and vexed in her mynde, made her mone to her huſband returnyng, of this violence and iniury receaued. Bruer conſultyng with his frendes, firſt went to the kyng, reſignyng to hys hands all ſuch ſeruice & poſſeſſiõs, which he did hold of him. That done tooke ſhipping and ſayled into Denmarke, where he had great frends: and had his bryngíng vp before. There makyng his mone to Codrinus the kyng, deſired his ayd in reuẽgyng of the great vilany of Oſbright againſt him and his wife. Codrinus hearyng this, and glad to haue ſome iuſt quarel to enter that land: leuied an army with all ſpede: and preparyng all things neceſſary for the ſame, ſendeth forth Inguar, and Hubba two brethren, his chief captaynes, with an innumerable multitude of Danes into England. Who firſt ariuyng at Holderneſſe there brent vp the cõutrey, and kylled without mercy both men, women and childrẽ, whom they could lay handes vpon. Then marching toward Yorke, entred there battaile, with the foreſayd Oſbright, where he with the moſt part of his army was ſlayn. And ſo the Danes entred the poſſeſſion of ẏ city of York. Some other ſay (& is by the moſt part of ſtory writers recorded) that the chief cauſe of the comming of Inguar and Hubba with the Danes, was to reuenge king Edmũd reignyng vnder the Weaſtſarõs ouer the Eaſt angles in Northfolke & Southfolke: for the murderyng of a certayn Dane beyng father to Inguar and Hubba, which was falſely imputed to kyng Edmund. The ſtory is thus told.

The firſt entryng of the Danes.

Ex hiſtoria Iornatenſi.

Example, what miſchiefe commeth by adultery.

Codrinus king of Denmarke.

Inguar & Hubba captaines of the Danes.

An other cauſe of the cõmyng of the Danes.

A certaine noble mã of ẏ Danes, of the kings ſtocke, called Lothebrocus, father to Inguar & Hubba, entring vpon a time with his Hauke into a certaine ſchaffe or cockbote alone: by chaũce through tẽpeſt was driuen wͭ his Hauke to the coaſte of Northfolke named Rodham, where he beyng found and deteined was preſented vnto the king. The kyng vnderſtãding his parentage, & ſeing his caſe: enterteined hym in his court accordingly. And euery day more and more perceauyng his actiuities, and great dexteritie in huntyng and haukyng, bare ſpeciall fauour vnto hym. In ſo much that the kynges faukner, or maſter of game, bearyng priuey enuie agaynſt hym, ſecretly as they were hunting together in a woode, dyd murder him, and threw him in a buſh. Thus Lothbroke being murdered, within two or three dayes began to be miſſed in the kynges houſe: of whõ no tydinges could be hard, but onely by a dogge or ſpaniell of his, which continuyng in ẏ wood with the corps of his maſter, at ſondry times came and fawned vpon the king: ſo long that at length they folowyng the trayſe of the hounde, were brought to the place where Lothebroke lay. Wherupon inquiſition made, at lenght by certain circumſtaunces of wordes and other euidẽces, it was knowen how and by whom he was murthered, that was, by the kings hũ-

Lothbroke father to Inguar and Hubba.

What miſerable enuy worketh.

Murther wyl out.

teſman named Berike. Who therupon beyng cōuicted, was ſet into the ſame bote of Lothebroke alone, & without any takelyng: to dryue by ſeas, either to be ſaued by the wether or to be drowned in the deepe. And as it chaūced Lothebroke frō Dēnemarke to be dryuen to Northfolke, ſo it happened that from Northfolke he was caſt into Dēnemarke. Where the bote of Lothebroke being well knowen, handes were layd vpon hym, and inquiſition made of the partie. In fine, in hys tormētes, to ſaue him ſelfe, he vttered an vntreuth of kyng Edmund, ſaying: that the kyng had put hym to death in the countrey of Northfolke. Wherupon grudge firſt was conceiued, then an armey appoynted, & a great multitude ſent into England, to reuenge that facte: where firſt they ariuing in Northumberland, deſtroyed (as is ſayd) thoſe parties firſt. Frō thence ſayling into Northfolke they exerciſed the lyke tyrannie there, vpon the inhabitaunce therof: eſpecially vpon the innocent prince, and bleſſed martyr of God, kyng Edmund. Concernyng the farther declaration wherof, hereafter ſhall folow (Chriſt our Lord, ſo permittyng) more to be ſpoken, as place and obſeruatiō of tyme and yeares, ſhall requyre.

Kyng Ethelulf deceaſeth.

In the meane ſeaſon, kyng Ethelulphe in this chapiter here preſently touched, when he had chaſed the foreſayd Danes (as is aboue rehearſed) from place to place: cauſing thē to take ẏ ſea, he in ẏ meane while departeth himſelf both frō lād & life: leauing behynde him 4. ſons, which reygned euerye one in his order after the deceaſe of their father. The names of whō, where Ethelbaldus, Ethelbrightus, Ethelredus, and Aluredus.

¶ *King Ethelbalde.*

An. 857

King Ethelbald.
King Ethelbrigh.

Kyng Ethelbald the eldeſt ſonne of Ethelulf, ſucceding his father in the prouince of Weſtſaxe: and Ethelbright in the prouince of Kent: reigned both together the terme of. v. yeares, one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald the firſt left thys infamie behinde hym in ſtories, for marying and lying with his ſteapmother, wife to his owne father named Judith. After theſe. ij. ſucceded Ethelred the thyrd ſonne, who in hys time was ſo encombred with the Danes, bruſting in on euery ſide: eſpecially about Yorke (which citie they then ſpoyled and brent vp) that he in one yeare ſtoode in nyne battailes agaynſt them, with ẏ helpe of Alured hys brother. In the beginning of this kinges reigne, the Danes landed in eaſt Englād, or Norfolke and Suffolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were cōpelled to forſake that countrey, and ſo toke againe ſhipping, and ſayled northward, & landed in Northumberland: where they were met of the kinges then there reigning, called Oſbright and Ella, which gaue to them a ſtronge fyght. But that notwithſtanding, the Danes, with helpe of ſuch as inhabited the countrey: wan the citie of Yorke, and held it a certaine ſeaſon as is aboue foretouched.

An. 867

K. Etheldred.

Yorke burned by the Danes.

In the reigne of thys Ethelred, the Northumberlanders rebelling agaynſt the king, thought to recouer agayne the former ſtate of theyr kingdome out of the Weſtſaxons hand: by reaſon of which diſcorde (as happeneth in all landes where diſſention is) the ſtrength of the engliſh nation was therby not a litle weakened, and the Danes the more therby preuayled.

What diſcord doth in a common wealth.

About the latter tyme of ẏ reigne of this Ethelored, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 870: certaine of the foreſayd Danes being thus poſſeſſed of the north countrey: after their cruell perſecution and murther done there, (as partly is touched before) tooke ſhipping from thence entending to ſayle toward the Eaſtangles: Who by the waye, vpon the ſea mette with a flote of Danes, wherof the captaines or leaders were named Inguar, and Hubba. Who ioyning altogether in one counſaile, made all one courſe, and laſtly landed in eaſtengland or Northfolke, and in proceſſe of tyme came to Thetforde. Therof hearing Edmund, then vnder king of that prouince: aſſembled an hoſte, that gaue to them battaile. But Edmund and hys companye was forced to forſake the field, and the king with a fewe perſons fled vnto the caſtle of Framingham, whom the Danes purſued. But he in ſhort while after, yelded hym ſelf to the perſecution of the Danes: aunſwering in thys maner to the meſſinger, that told him in ẏ name of Inguar prince of ẏ Danes: which moſt victoriouſly (ſaith he) was come with innumerable legions, ſubduing both by ſea and land many nations vnto him: and ſo now arriued in thoſe parties, requyreth him likewyſe to ſubmit himſelf, yelding to hym his hid treaſures, & ſuch other goods of his auncetors, and ſo to reigne vnder him. Which thing if he would not do, he ſhoulde (ſayd he) be iudged vnworthy both of life and reigne. Edmunde hearing this proude meſſage of the Pagane, conſulted with certaine of his frendes: And amongſt other, with one of his biſhops, being then his ſecretarye, who ſeing the preſent daunger of the king, gaue him councell to yelde to the conditions. Vpon this the king pauſing a litle with him ſelfe, at length rendred this anſwere: Bidding the meſſinger go tell his lord in theſe wordes: That Edmund a chriſtiā king for the loue of temporall life, wil not ſubmitte himſelf to a Pagane duke, vnles he before, would be a chriſtian. Incontinent vpon the ſame, the wicked and craftie Dane approching in moſt haſtie ſpede vpon the king, encountred with him in battaile (as ſome ſaye) at Thetford: where the king being put to the worſe, and pitieng the terrible ſlaughter of his men: thinking with himſelfe rather to ſubmitte his own perſon to daunger, then his people ſhould be ſlaine, did flye (as Fabiā ſaith) to the caſtle of Framingham: or (as my autor writeth) to Haleſdon, now called S. Edmundes bury. where this bleſſed man being on euery ſide compaſſed of hys cruell enemies, yelded himſelf to their perſecution. And for that he would not renie or denie Chriſt & hys lawes, they therfore moſt cruellye bound hym vnto a tree, and cauſed hym to be ſhotte to death: and laſtly cauſed hys head to be ſmitten frō the bodye, and caſt into the thicke of the buſhes. Which head and bodye at the ſame tyme was by hys frendes taken vp, and ſolemnly buryed at the ſayd Haleſdon, otherwiſe now named S. Edmunds burye. Whoſe brother named Edwoldus, notwithſtanding of ryght, the kingdome fell nexte vnto him: ſetting a parte the liking and pleaſure of the worlde, became an hermit at the abbey of Cerum in the countrey of Dorſet.

After the martyrdome of this bleſſed Edmund, whē the cruell Danes had ſufficientlye robbed and ſpoyled that countrey: they toke agayne their ſhippes, & landed in Southrey, and continued their iourney till they came to the towne of Reding: and there wan the towne with the caſtle. Where (as Cambrenſis ſayth) within three dayes of their thither comming, the foreſayd Inguar and Hubba captaines of ẏ Danes, as they went in purchaſing of their prayes or booties: were ſlayne at a place called Englefelde. Which princes of the Danes thus ſlaine, the reaſt of thē kept whole together, in ſuch wiſe that the Weſtſaxons might take of them none aduauntage. But yet within fewe dayes after, ẏ Danes were holden ſo ſhorte, that they were forced to iſſue out of the caſtle, and to defend them in playne battaile. In the which, by ẏ induſtrye of king Ethelored & of Alured his brother, the Danes were diſcomfited, and many of them ſlaine: which diſcomfort made them flye agayne into the caſtle, and there kept them for a certayne tyme. The king thē committing the charge of them to Ethelwolde duke of Baroke or Barkſhyre, ſo departed. But when the Danes knewe of the kinges departure, they brake ſodenlye out of their holde, and toke the duke vnprouided, and ſlewe him, and much of hys people. And ſo adioyning them ſelues with other that were ſcattered in the coũtrey, enbattelled them in ſuch wiſe, that of thẽ was gathered a ſtrong hoſt.

Oſrike K. of Dẽmark landeth in England.

As the tydinges hereof was brought to kyng Ethelred, (which put hym in great heuynes) worde alſo was brought the ſame time of the landing of Oſrike, kyng of Denmarke: who with aſſiſtence of the other Danes had gathered a great hoſte and were enbattelled vpon Aſhdown. To this battaile kyng Ethelred with his brother Alured forced by great nede, ſpedde them ſelues to withſtand the Danes. At which tyme, the kyng a litle ſtayng behind beyng yet at his ſeruice, Alured which was comn before, had entred already into the whole fight with the Danes: who ſtrake together wͭ huge violence. The king beyng required to make ſpede (he beyng then at ſeruice, and meditations) ſuch was his deuocion: that he would not ſtyre out one foote, before the ſeruice was fully complet. In this meane whyle, the Danes ſo fearſely inuaded Alured and his men, that they wan the hill: and the chriſten men were in the valley, and in great daunger to loſe the whole fielde. Neuertheles through the grace of God, and their godly manhode, the king comming from his ſeruice, with his freſh ſouldiers recouered the hill of the infidels: and ſo diſcomfited the Danes that day, that in fleyng away not onely they loſt the victorie, but moſt part alſo of them their lyues. In ſo much that their duke or kyng Oſrike or Oſege, and fiue of their dukes, with much of their people were ſlayne, and the reſt chaſed vnto Redyng towne.

Ex Guliel. Mameſberienſi. Ex hiſtoria Iornaleſi. Ex Fabiano & alijs.

Inuocatiõ & prayer, profitable in tyme of battayle.

The Danes ouerthrown at Aſhdone.

After thys, the Danes yet reaſſembled their people, and gathered a new hoſt, ſo that within xv. dayes, they mete at Baſingſtoke, and there gaue battaile vnto the kyng, and had the better. Then the kyng agayne gathered his mẽ, which at that field wer diſparkled, and with freſh ſouldiers to them accompanied, mete the Danes wͭin ii. monethes after at the towne of Merton, where he gaue to them a ſharpe battaile: ſo that muche people were ſlayne as well of the Chriſten, as of the Danes, but in the end, the Danes had the honour of the field, and kyng Ethelred there was wounded, and therfore fayne to ſaue hym ſelfe.

An other battayle fought wyth the Danes.

An other battaile fought wyth the Danes at Merton.

After theſe two fields thus woon by the Danes, they obtayned great circuite of ground, and deſtroyed man and childe, that would not yeld to them. And churches and temples they turned to the vſe of ſtables, and other vyle occupation.

Thus the king beſet with enemyes on euery ſyde, ſeing the land ſo miſerablye oppreſſed of the Danes: hys knightes and ſouldiours conſumed: hys owne land of Weſtſaxons in ſuch deſolation: he being alſo wounded himſelfe: But eſpecially for that, he ſending his cõmiſſions into Northũberland, into Mercia, & Eaſtanglia, could haue of them but ſmall or litle comfort (becauſe they through wicked rebelliõ, wer more willing to take ẏ part of the Danes, thẽ of their king) was ſore perplexed therwithall, as the other kings were both before him and after him, at that tyme. So that, as Malmeſbery witneſſeth, magis optarent honeſtum exitium, quam tam acerbum imperium. that is, They rather wiſhed honeſtly to die, then with ſuch trouble & ſorow to reigne. And thus this king not long after deceaſed, whẽ he had reigned, as Fabian sayth. viij. yeares, as Malmeſbury wryteth, but. v. yeres. During which time of his reigne, notwithſtanding hys ſo greate troubles and vexations in martiall affayres, (as is in ſome ſtories mentioned) he founded the houſe or college of Chanons at Exeter, & was buryed at ẏ abbey of Winborne or Woborne. After whoſe deceaſe, for lacke of iſſue of hys body, the rule of the land fell vnto hys brother Alured.

That diſcord & rebelliõ doth a realm.

The death of Ethelred.

The Abbey of Exeter founded.

¶ King Alurede otherwyſe called Alfrede.

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AMong the Saxon kinges hitherto in thys hiſtorye afore mentioned: I finde fewe or none to be preferred (or almoſt to be compared) to this Alured, or Alfrede for the great and ſingulare qualities in this king worthy of high renowne and commendation. Whether we behold in him the valiaunt actes, and manifold trauailes which he continuallye from time to time ſuſtayned againſt his enemyes in warres during almoſt all the tyme of hys reigne, for the publike preſeruation of his people: Or whether we conſider in him, his godly and excellent vertues, ioyned with a publike and tender care, and zelous ſtudie, for the common peace & tranquilitie of the weale publike: appearing as wel in his prudent lawes by him both carefully ſet forth, & with the like care executed, as alſo by his owne priuate exerciſes touching ẏ vertuous inſtitution of hys lyfe. Or whether we reſpect ẏ in hym, which wͭ equall prayſe matcheth wͭ both ẏ other before: That is, hys notable knowledge of good letters, with a feruent loue & princely deſire to ſet forth ẏ ſame through all his realme (before his time being both rude & barbarous) Al which his heroyical properties, ioyned together in one prince, as it is a thing moſt rare, & ſeldome ſeene in Princes now adaies: ſo I thought the ſame the more to be noted and exemplefide in this good king. Thereby eyther to moue other rulers and Princes in theſe our dayes, to hys imitation: or els to ſhew them what hath bene in times paſt, in their aunceters, which ought to be, and yet is not found in thẽ. Wherefore of theſe three partes to diſcourſe (either part in order) firſt we wyl enter to entreate of hys actes and paynfull trauayles ſuſtayned in defence of the realme publicke: agaynſt the raging tirãny of the Danes, as they be deſcribed in the lattyne hiſtories of Rog. Houeden, and Huntington: whom Fabian alſo ſemeth in this part ſomwhat to folow. Kyng Alfred therfore, firſt of all ẏ Engliſh kyngs, taking his crowne and vnction at Rome of pope Leo (as Malmeſberienſis and Polycronicon do record) in the beginning of his raygne, perceauing his lords and people much waſted and decayed, by the reaſon of the great warres of Ethelred, had agaynſt the Danes: yet as wel as he could, gathered a ſtrength of men vnto hym, and in the ſecond moneth that he was made king, he met wͭ the Danes beſide Wylton, where he gaue to them battayle. But being farre ouermatched, through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worſſe: although not without a great ſlaughter of the Pagans armye. Which armye then of the Danes, after that victory by compaction made with king Alfrede, to departe out of hys dominion of Weſtſaxe: remoued from Reading to Londõ, where thei abode al that winter. Where Halden their kyng, taking truſe with Burhered, kyng of Mercians, the next yeare following voyded thoſe partes, and drew to Lyndeſey: in robbing and ſpoyling the townes and villages as they went, and holdyng the common people vnder their ſeruage. From thence after to Repingdon: where they ioyning with the three other kinges of the Danes (called Surdrim, Oſketel, and Hamond) grew therby in mighty force and ſtrength. Who then diuiding their armye in two partes, the one halfe remayned with Halden in the country of Northumberland: the reſidue were with the other three kynges, wintering and ſogourning al the next yere at Grántbrige, which was the fourth yere of king Alfred. In the which yeare king Alfred his mẽ had a conflict on the ſea, with ſixe of the Danes ſhyps, of which one they tooke, the other fled away. In this yere went Rollo the Dane into Normandy, where he was Duke. xxx. yeare, and afterwarde was baptiſed in the fayth of Chriſt, and named Robert. The foreſayde armye of the three Dane kinges aboue mentioned, from Grantebrydge, returned againe to Weſtſaxonie, and entred the Caſtle of Warrham: where king Alfrede with a ſufficiẽt power of men, was ready to aſſault them. But the Danes ſeing his ſtrẽgth durſt not attempt with him, but ſought delayes, whyle

Alurede kyng of England.

Ex Rog. Houedeno. H. Huntingt. Polychronic. Fabiano.

Burhered beyng expulſed his kyngdome went to Rome and there dyed in the Englyſh houſe.

Rollo a Dane fyrſt Duke of Normandy.

more ayde myght come. In the meane ſeaſon they were conſtrayned to entreate for truce: leauyng alſo ſufficiēt pledges in the kynges hand, promiſing moreouer vpon their othe, to voyd the cuntrey of the Weſtſaxons. The king vpon this ſuerty let them go. But they falſly breakyng their leage, priuely in the night brake out, taking their iourney toward Exceter. In which iourney they loſt ſixe ſcore of their ſmall ſhips, by a tempeſt at Sandwych (as Henrye Huntington in his ſtorye recordeth.) Then king Alfrede followed after the horſemen of the Danes, but could not ouertake them, before they came to Exceter: where he tooke of them pleadges and fayre promiſes of peace, and ſo returned. Notwithſtanding, the number of the Paganes did daylye more and more increaſe: in ſomuch (as one of my authors ſayth) that if in one day. 30. thouſand of them were ſlayne, ſhortlye after they encreaſed double as many againe. After this truce taken with kyng Alfrede, the Danes then voyded to the land of Mercia, whereof part of that kingdome they kept themſelues, part they committed to one Ceolulfus: vpon condicion that he ſhould be vaſſall to them, and at their commaundement, wyth hys people at all tymes.

An. 879

The next yeare inſuing, which was the ſeuenth yere of the raygne of Alfred, the Danes, who now hauing all the rule of the Northpart of Englande, from the ryuer of Tames, with Mercia, London, and Eſſex: diſdayned that Alfred ſhould beare any dominion on the other ſide of Tames ſouthward. Whereupon the foreſayde three kinges with all the force and ſtrength they could make, marched toward Chippēham in Weſtſexe, wyth ſuch a multitude, that the king wyth hys people was not able to reſiſt them. In ſomuch that the people which inhabited there, ſome fled ouer the ſea, ſome remayned wyth the kyng, diuers ſubmitted them ſelues to the Danes. Thus king Alfred being ouerſet with multitude of enemies, and forſaken of his people, hauing neither lande to hold, nor hope to recouer that which he had loſt: withdrew himſelfe with a few of hys nobles about him, into a certayne wood countrey in Somerſetſhire, called Etheling: where he had right ſcant to lyue with, but ſuche as he and his people might purchaſe by hunting and fiſhing. This Edeling or Etheling or Ethelingſey, ſtandeth in a great mareſſe or More, ſo that there is no acceſſe vnto it, without ſhip or bote: and hath in it a great wood called Selewod, and in the midle a litle plaine about, of two acres of ground. In which Iſle is veneſō, and other wyld beaſts, with foule, and fiſhes, great plenty. In this wood, king Alured at his firſt cōming, eſpied a certaine deſerte cotage of a poore Swynard, keeping ſwyne in the wood, named Dunwolfus: of whom the king then vnknowen was entertayned & cheriſhed with ſuch poore fare as hee and hys wyfe coulde make him. For the which, king Alfrede afterwarde, ſet the poore Swinhard to learning, & made him B. of Wyncheſter.

K. Alfrede flyeth into a deſert woode.

Etheling which is to ſay the ile of nobles.

A Swineheard made biſhop of Wincheſter.

In the meane ſeaſon, whyle king Alfred accompanied with a few, was thus in the deſerte wood, wayting the euent of theſe miſeries: certaine ſtories recorde of a poore beggar, which there came and aſked hys almes of the kyng. And the night folowing he appeared to the king in his ſleepe: ſaying hys name was Cutbert, promiſing (as ſent from God, vnto him for his good charitie) great victories agaynſt the Danes. But to let theſe dreaming fables paſſe, although they bee teſtified by dyuers authors, both VVilelmus lib. de Reg. Polychronicō Rog. Heueden, Iornalenſis, and other mo. Notwithſtanding the king in proces of tyme, was ſtrengthened and comforted more and more, through the prouidence of God: reſpecting the miſerable ruine of the Engliſhe mē. Firſt the brother of king Haldene the Dane before mentioned, comming in with. xxiij. ſhips, landed about Deuonſhiere: where by chaunce being reſiſted by a buſhment of king Alfredes mē (who for their ſafegard there lay in garyſon) were ſlayne to the number of. 1200. mē, and their Enſigne called the Rauē was taken. Houedenus in his booke of Continuations writeth, that in the ſame conflict both Inguar and Hubba were ſlayne among the other Danes. After this, king Alfrede being better cheared, ſhewed hym ſelfe more at large: ſo that dayly reſorted to hym, men of Wyltſhiere, Somerſetſhiere, and Hamſhiere, tyll that hee was ſtronglye accompenied.

Henr. Hunttingt. lib. 5. de hiſtoria Angl.

Inguar Hubba ſlayne.

Then the king put himſelfe in a bolde and daungerous venture (as writeth VVilelmus lib. de Reg. Polychro. and Fabian which followeth them both) for he apparellyng hym in the habite of a Minſtrel (as he was very ſkylful in all Saxon poemes) with his inſtrument of Muſike, entred in the tentes of the Danes, lying then at Eddendune: & in ſhewing there hys interlude & ſonges: eſpied all their ſlouth and idlenes, and heard muche of their counſell. And after returning to his company, declared vnto them the whole maner of the Danes. Shortly vpon the ſame, the king ſodainly in the night fell vpō the foreſayd Danes, and diſtreſſed and ſlewe of them a great multitude, and chaſed them from that coaſt. Inſomuch that through his ſtrong and valiant aſſaultes vpon his enemies out of his tower of Edeling newlye fortified: he ſo encombered them, that he clearelye voyded the country of them, betwene that and Selwoods. His ſubiectes eftſones, hearing of theſe his valiant victories, and manfull deedes, drew to hym daylye out of all coaſtes. Who through the helpe of God, and their aſſiſtēce, held the Danes ſo ſhort, that he wan from them Wincheſter, and diuers other good townes. Briefly, at lēgth he forced them to ſeeke for peace: the which was concluded vpon certayne couenauntes. Whereof one and the principall was, that the forenamed Gutrum their kyng ſhould be chriſtened. The other was, that ſuch as would not be chriſtened, ſhould depart and voyde the country.

A bold uenture attemp kyng Al. frede, tryng selfe in the te of the Danes. *Ex F* 480.

Gutru prince of the Da was ch ſtened.

Upon theſe couenauntes, firſt the ſayd Gutrum the Danyſhe prince comming to Wincheſter, there was chriſtened with. xx. of hys greateſt dukes or nobles. To the which Gutrum king Alured being his godfather at hys baptiſme, named hym Athelſtane. Who after a certayne ſeaſon that he had feaſted the ſayd Danes: he according to hys promiſe before made, gaue vnto their king the countrey of Eaſtanglia, conteynyng Norfolke and Suffolke, and part of Cambridſhyre. Moreouer (as ſayth Polychronic.) he graunted to ẏ Danes that were chriſtened, the countrey of Northumberland. So the reſidue that woulde not be chriſtened, departed the land, and ſayled into Fraunce: where, what vexation and harme they wrought, the chronicles of Fraunce doe partly comprehend.

King Gu trū na Athelſt

King Athelſtane thus hauing the poſſeſſion of theſe countryes, had al Eaſtangles vnder hys obedience. And albeit that he held the ſaid prouince as in fee of the king, and promiſed to dwell there as his liege man: yet that notwithſtanding, he continued more like a tyraunt, by the terme of. xj. yeare: and died in the. xij. yeare. During the which ſpace, king Alfred hauing ſome more reſt and peace, repared certaine townes and ſtrong holdes afore by the Danes empared. Alſo builded diuerſe houſes of religion, as the houſe of Nunnes at Shafteſburie. Another religious houſe at Ethelynge he founded. Item an other in Wincheſter, named the new monaſterye. Item he endewed richly ẏ church of S. Cutbert in Dyrhame. He ſent alſo to India, to paye and performe hys vowes to S. Thomas of Inde, which he made during the tyme of hys diſtreſſe agaynſt the Danes.

Norfol & Suff geuen k. Gu

The N of Sha bury b ded. The ſtery of Ethel The minſte Winch builde Roch beſieg of the Danes

About the. xv. yeare of ẏ reigne of Alfred, the Danes returning from Fraunce to England, landed in Kent, and ſo came to Rocheſter, and beſieged that citie: and there laye ſo long, that they builded a tower of tymber agaynſt the gates of the citie. But by ſtrength of the citizens,that tower was deſtroyed,and the citie defended till king Alfrede came and reſcued them. Wherby the Danes were ſo diſtreſſed,and ſo neare trapped: that for feare,they left their horſes behinde them, & fled to theyr ſhippes by nyght. But the king, when he was therof ware:ſent after them and toke.xvi.of their ſhippes,and ſlew many of the ſayd Danes. This done, the king returned to London,and repared the ſame honourably(as ſayth Houedenus) and made it habitable, which before was ſore decayed and febled by the Danes.

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The thyrd yeare after this,which was the.xix.yeare of the reigne of king Alfred: the foreſaid Athelſtane the Daniſhe king in Norfolke (which by Alfred was chriſtened before)deceaſed. Not long after this, about the xxi.yeare of this kings reigne,the Danes agayn landed in.iiij.places of this land: which was,in Eaſtenglād:in the Northe: and in the Weſte,in.ij.places. Before the landing of theſe Danes, it chaunced king Alfred, hearing of the death of king Athelſtane, and of other complaintes of the Danes,was then in Eaſtengland,when theſe tidinges came to him.

he Danes riuen frō orfolke.

When king Alfrede was hereof aſcertayned: for ſo much as ſome of the Danes were landed in that coaſt, thinking with themſelues the further they went in thoſe parties,the leſſe reſiſtence to haue,and the more ſpeede, as they were wont to haue before: Alfrede therfore ſending meſſingers in all haſte to Etheldred duke of Mercia,to aſſemble to him an hoſte,to withſtand the Danes which landed in the Weſt: made forth toward hys enemyes there where he was in Eaſtanglia,whom he purſued ſo ſharpely,that he droue them out from thoſe parties. They then landed in Kent,whether the king with hys people ſped hym, & in like maner draue the Danes from thence,without any great fight,ſo farre as in our autors we can ſee. After this, agayne the Danes tooke ſhipping,and ſayled into Northwales, and there robbed and ſpoyled the Britones,and from thence returned by the ſea into Eaſtanglia, with an hundreth ſhippes, and there reſted them, for ſo much the king then was gone Weſtward.

he Danes eturne a-yne to orfolke.

he Danes riuen out Cheſter.

The fourth hoſte of the Danes,the ſame yeare came to Cheſter,which at length they won: but then,the countreys adioyning preſſed ſo ſore vpon them, and beſieged them ſo long,kepyng thē ſelues within the citie, that at laſt the Danes weyried with the long ſiege, were cōpelled to eate their own horſes for hunger. But by appointment,at laſt they gaue ouer the towne, and went about by Northwales to Northumberland, which was about the xxij. yeare of kyng Alfrede: Which Alfrede in the meane while with his hoſt, ſped him thytherward. Thē the Danes,leauyng their ſtrong holdes and caſtles garniſhed with men and vitaile: toke agayne ſhippyng,and ſet their courſe in ſuch wiſe that they landed in Suſſex, and ſo came to the porte of Lewes: & from thēce toward London,and builded a towre or caſtell nere vnto the riuer of Ley.xx.mile frō London. But the Londiners hearyng therof,manned out a certayne nōber of men of armes,who with thaſſiſtence of them of that countrey,put the Danes from that towre:and after bette it downe to the ground. Soone after the kyng came downe thither, And to preuēt the daungers that might enſue,commaūded the riuer of Luye to be diuided in iij.ſtremes:ſo that where a ſhippe might ſayle in tymes before, then a lytle boate might ſcantly row. From thence the Danes, leauing their ſhippes & wiues:were forced to flye that countrey,and toke their way againe toward Wales,& came to Quadruge nere to the riuer of Seuerne. Where vpō ẏ borders therof,they builded then a caſtell,their reſting them ſelues for a tyme: whom the kyng Eftſones with his armey purſued. In the meane tyme, the Londiners at Luye takyng the Danes ſhyppes: ſome of them they brought to London,ẏ reſt they fyred. Duryng all theſe three yeres, frō the firſt cōming of the Danes to Luye, England was afflicted with iij. maner of ſorowes: with the Danes:with peſtilence of men,& moreine of beaſtes. The whiche troubles notwithſtādyng,yet the kyng māfully reſiſted the malice of his enemies,and thāked God alway,what trouble ſo euer fill to hym, or vnto hys realme:and ſuſtened it with great pacience and humilitie. Theſe iij. yeares ouerpaſt,ẏ next yeare folowyng,which was the xxvij.of ẏ reigne of Alfrede: the Danes diuided their hoſte:of whō part went to Northumberland,ſome to Norfolke,parte ſayled ouer to Fraunce, ſome other came to Weaſtſexe. Where they had diuers conflictes with the Engliſhmen, both by land and eſpecially vpon the ſea:of whom ſome were ſlayne:many by ſhypwrack periſhed:diuers were taken and hanged,and xxx.of their ſhyppes were taken.

he Danes riuen frō ewes.

he ryuer f Luy de-ded in ree.

Three plagues in England.

An. 897

The Danes ſhyppes taken.

An. 899

Not long after this,kyng Alfred, when he had reigned xxix.yeares,and vi.monethes:chaūged this mortall life. And thus much(& more perauenture,then wil ſeeme to this our eccleſiaſticall ſtory apperteynyng) touchyng the paynfull labours and trauayles of this good kyng: whiche he no leſſe valeantly achyued, then paciently ſuſteined:for the neceſſary defēce of his realme & ſubiectes.

The vertues & godly lyfe of king Alfrede deſcribed.

The inclinatiō of nature corrected in kyng Alfrede.

Now if there be any prynce, who liſteth to ſee and folow the vertuous and godly diſpoſitiō of this kyng:both touchyng the inſtitution of his own life,and alſo concernyng hys carefull gouernement of the common weale: thus the hiſtories of him do recorde. That what tyme he beyng yong,perceaued hymſelfe ſomewhat diſpoſed to the vice of the fleſh,and therby letted from many vertuous purpoſes:did not as many yong princes,and kinges ſons in the worlde be now wont to do:ẏ is to reſolue thē ſelues into all kynd of carnall licence, and diſſolute ſenſualitie,runnyng and folowing without bridle,whether ſoeuer their licence geuen doth leade thē (as therfore not without cauſe the common prouerbe reporteth of them) that kyngs ſonnes learne nothyng well els,but onely to ryde. Meanyng therby, that princes and kynges ſonnes hauyng about them flaterers, which bolſter thē in their faultes:onely their horſes geue to them no more,then to any other:but if they ſit not faſt,they wil caſt them. But this yong kyng ſeyng in hym ſelfe the inclination of hys fleſhly nature,myndyng not to geue to hym ſelf ſo much as he might take, but rather by reſiſtence to auoyde the tentation therof:beſought God, that he would ſend to him ſome continuall ſickenes,in quenching of that vice: wherby he might be more profitable to the publike buſines of the cōmō wealth,and more apt to ſerue God in his calling. Ceſtrēſ.Lib.5.cap.1.Fab.cap.17.

The godly petition of kyng Alfrede.

Modvvenna

Then at Gods ordinaunce,he had the euill called Ficus,till he came to the age of xx.yeares,wherof at length he was cured(as is ſaid in ſome ſtories)by the virgin called Modwen,an Iriſhwoman. After this ſicknes beyng taken away,to him fell an other: which continued with hym from the xx.yeares, of hys age,to xlv(accordyng to his owne petition and requeſt made vnto God)wherby, he was the more reclamed and attempered from other more great inconueniēces,& leſſe diſpoſed to that,which he dyd moſt abhorre.

King Alured how he deuided his goodes in.ii. partes.

Moreouer to beholde the bountifull goodnes ioyned with lyke prudence in this mā:in the orderyng and diſpoſing his riches and rents,it is not vnworthy to be recited. How he deuided his goods in ij.equal parts:thone apperteinyng to vſes ſecular, thother to vſes ſpirituall or eccleſiaſticall. Of the whiche ij.principall partes,the firſt he deuided into iij.porcions:the firſt to the behoue of his houſe and familie,the ſecōd vpon his workemen and builders of his newe workes, whereof he had great delight & cunnyng: the thyrd vpon ſtraungers. Likewyſe the other ſecond half, vpon ſpiritual vſes,he did thus diuide in iiii.porciōs:One to the releuyng of the poore:an

Polychron.lib 5.cap.I. Guliel.lib.de regibus.

other

The liberall hart of king Alfred.

other to monaſteries: The iij.portion to the ſchooles of Oxford, for the mainteynyng of good letters: The iiij.he ſent to forein churches, without the realme. This alſo is left in ſtories writen to his commendation, for his great tolerance and ſufferance: that when he had builded the new monaſtery at Wyncheſter, & afterward his ſonne Edward had purchaſed of the byſhop and the chapter a ſufficient peece of ground for certayn offices to be adioyned vnto the ſame, & had geuē for euery foote of groūd, mancam auri pleni ponderis (whiche was as I thinke a marke of gold) or more: yet Alfred therwithall was not greatly diſcontented to ſee his cofers ſo waſted.

How wel and godly this king ſpent hys tyme.

Ouer & beſides, how ſparing & frugal he was of time (as of a thyng in this earth moſt precious) & how far frō all vayne paſtymes & idlenes he was: this doth well declare, which in the ſtory of William de Reg. & other writers is told of him. That he ſo deuided the daye & nyght in iij. partes, if he were not let by warres, or other great buſines: that viij houres he ſpent in ſtudy and learning: and other viij. houres he ſpent in prayer & almes deedes: & other. 8. houres he ſpent in hys natural reſt, ſuſtenāce of hys body, and the nedes of the realme. The which order he kept dewly by ẏ burnyng of warē tapers kept in hys cloſet by certayn perſons for ẏ ſamē purpoſe. Guliel.

The godly lawes of kyng Alfrede.

A notable exāple of theuery and felony baniſhed thys realme.

How ſtudious he was & careful of the cōmon wealth and mayntenaūce of publike trāquilitie: his lawes moſt godly ſet forth and diuiſed by him may declare. Wherin eſpecially by him was prouided, for the extirping and aboliſhing al thefte and theues out of the realme. Wherby, the realme through his vigilant care, was brought into ſuch tranquilitie or rather perfection, that in euery croſſe or turning way, he made be ſet vp a goldē brouch at leaſt of ſiluer gilded, through his dominiōs: and none ſo hardy neither by day nor night to take it downe: for ẏ more credit wherof, ẏ wordes of ẏ Latin ſtory be theſe: Armillas aureas iuberet ſuſpendi, quę viantium auiditatem iritarent, dum non eſſent, qui eas abriperēt. &c. Guliel Lib. de Regibus Angl. And no great meruell therin, yf the realme in thoſe days was brought in ſuch an order, & ẏ iuſtice thē was ſo wel miniſtred, whē ẏ kyng him ſelf was ſo vigilant in ouerſeyng the doynges of his iudges & officers. Wherof thus alſo wee read in the ſayd autor teſtified: Iudiciorum a ſuis hominibus factorum, inquiſitor, perperam actorum aſperrimus corrector. i. he was, (ſayth myne autor ſpeakyng of the kyng) a vigilant inquiſitor of the doynges of his iudges, & a ſtrict puniſher of their miſdoyngs. Iornalenſis alſo writyng vpō the ſame, thus ſayth: facta miniſtrorum ſuorum, et potiſsime iudicum diligenter inueſtigauit, adeo vt quos ex auaritia aut imperitia errare cognoſceret, ab officio remouebat, that is, he dyd diligently ſearch out the doynges of his officers, and eſpecially of his iudges: ſo that if he knew any of them to erre either through couetouſnes, or vnſkylfulnes: them he remoued from their office.

Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſ.

Kyng Alfrede commended for learnyng.

When learning firſt began to be ſet vp in England.

Cheſter a place of learnyng.

And thus much concernyng the valiant actes, & noble vertues of this worthy prince: wherunto although there were no other ornamēts adioining beſides: yet ſufficiēt wer they alone to ſet forth a prince worthy of excellēt cōmēdatiō. Now beſides theſe other qualities & gifts of Gods grace in hym, aboue mentioned: remaineth an other part of hys no litle prayſe & cōmendation, whiche is his learnyng and knowledge of good letters: wherof he not onely was excellently expert hym ſelfe, but alſo a worthy mainteyner of the ſame through all his dominions: where before, no vſe of Grammer or other ſciences was practiſed in this realme, eſpecially about the Weſt parts of the land: there through ẏ induſtrie of this kyng, ſcholes began to be erected, & ſtudies to floriſh. Although emong the Britaines in the towne of Cheſter in Southwales long before that, in kyng Arthurs tyme, as Galfridus writeth: both Grammer, and Philoſophy with other toungs was then taught. After that ſome writers record, that in the time of Egbert king of Kent, this Ileland began to floriſhe with Philoſophie. About which tyme ſome alſo thinke: that the vniuerſitie of Grauntecheſter, nere to that whiche now is called Cambrige, began to be founded, by Bede: followyng this coniecture therin, for that Alcuinus (before mentioned) which after went to Rome, and from thence to Fraunce, in the time of Charles the great, where he firſt began the vniuerſitie of Paris: was firſt tradid vp in the exerciſe of ſtudyes, at the ſame ſchole of Grauntecheſter. Beda Lib. iii. cap. 18, writyng alſo of Sigebert king of Eaſtangles, declareth how the ſayd Sigebert returning out of Fraūce into England (accordyng to the examples whiche he did there ſee) ordered & diſpoſed ſcholes of learning, through the meanes of Felix then biſhop: and placed in them maſters & teachers, after the vſe and maner of the Cantuarites. And yet before theſe tymes, moreouer is thought to be ij. ſcholes or vniuerſities within the realme: thone Greke, at the towne of Greglade, whiche after was called Kyrkelade: The other for Latine, whiche place was then called Latinelade: afterwarde Letthelade nere to Oxforde.

But how ſo euer it chaunced that the knowledge and ſtudie of good letters being once planted in this realme afterward went to decay: yet king Alfred deſerueth no litle prayſe, for reſtoring or rather increaſing the ſame. After whoſe time they haue euer ſince continued, albeit not continually through euery age in like perfectiō. But this we may ſee, what it is to haue a prince learned him ſelfe, who feling and taſting the price & value of ſcience and knowledge: is therby not only the more apte to rule, but alſo to enſtructe and frame his ſubiectes, frō a rude barbaritie, to a more ciuile congruencie of life, and to a better vnderſtanding of thinges: as we ſee in thys famous prince to happen. Concerning whoſe firſt education and bringing vp, although it was ſomewhat late before he entred any letter: yet ſuch was the apte towardnes and docilitie of hys nature, that being a child, he had the Saxon poemes (ſuch as were vſed then in hys own tonge) by hart & memorye. Who afterward with yeares and tyme grew vp in ſuch perfection of learning and knowledge, in ſo much that, as myne author ſayth, nullus anglorū fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel in interpretando elegantior. The which thing in him the more was to be marueled, for that he was. xij. yeares of age before he knew any letter. Thē his mother, careful and tender ouer him, hauing by chaunce a boke in her hand, which he would fayne haue: promiſed to geue hym the ſame, ſo that he would learne it. Wherupon he for gredines of the booke, eftſones learned the letters, hauing to his ſcholemaiſter Pleimundus, after biſhop of Canterburye. And ſo dayly grewe more and more in knowledge, that at length, as myne author ſayth, plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium ciuium vſibus conuertens. That is. A great part of the latine library he tranſlated into engliſhe, conuerting to the vſes of his citizens, a noble pray of foren ware and marchaūdyſe, &c. Of which bookes by him & through him tranſlated, was Oroſius: Paſtorale Gregorij. The hiſtorye of Bede: Boëcius de conſolatione philoſophiæ. Alſo a booke of his own making & in hys own tonge, which in the engliſhe ſpeech he caled a handbooke, in Greeke called it Enchiridion, in latine a manuell. Beſides the hiſtorye of Bede tranſlated into the Saxons tounge, he alſo himſelfe compiled a ſtoryē in the ſame ſpeech, called the ſtorye of Alfride, &c. which both bookes in the Saxons tounge I haue ſeene, though the language I doe not vnderſtand. And as he was learned himſelf excellently well, ſo likewiſe dyd he inflame al his countrey men to ẏ loue of liberall letters, as the wordes of the ſtorie reporteth, illos præmijs, hos iniurijs hortando, neminem illiteratum ad quālibet curiæ dignitatem aſpirare permittens. That is. He exhorted and ſtyrred his people to the ſtudie of learning, ſome with giftes, ſome by iniuries, ſuffering no man to aſpyre to any dignitie in the court, except he were learned. Moreouer an other ſtorye thus ſayth, ſpeaking of his nobles: Optimates quoq; ſuos ad literaturam addiſcendam in tantum prouocauit, vt ipſi filios ſuos, vel ſaltem ſi filios non haberent, ſeruos ſuos literis commendarent. That is. Alſo his nobles ſo much he did allure to ẏ embraſing of good letters, that they ſet all their ſonnes to ſchole: or if they had no ſonnes, yet their ſeruauntes they cauſed to be learned. Wherby the common prouerbe may be founde not ſo common, as true. Such as is the prince, ſuch be the ſubiectes, &c. He began moreouer to tranſlate the Pſalter into engliſhe, and had almoſt finiſhed the ſame had not death preuented hym. Guliel. de Regib. Angl. In the prologe of the booke intituled Paſtorale Greg. thus he writeth: declaring the cauſe why he was ſo earneſt & diligent in tranſlating good bookes frō latine into engliſhe, ſhewing ẏ cauſe therof, why he ſo did, as foloweth: Quód eccleſiæ in quibus innumeræ priſcæ bibliothecæ cōtinebantur, cum libris a Danis incenſæ ſint: quódq; in tota inſula ſtudium literarum ita abolitū eſſet vt quiſq; minus timeret capitis periculum, quam ſtudiorum exercita adire. Quapropter ſe in hoc Anglis ſuis conſulere, &c. That is. The cauſe was, for that innumerable auncient libraries which were kept in churches, were conſumed with fire by the Danes: And that men had rather ſuffer perill of their life, then to followe the exerciſe of ſtudies: And therfore he thought therby to prouide before for the people of the Engliſhe nation, &c.

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It is tolde of hym both in Polychron. Malmeſb, Iornalenſis, and other ſtories mo, wherof I haue no names: that he ſeing his countrey (namely weſtward) to be ſo deſolate of ſcholes & learning, partly to profite himſelfe, partly to furniſhe hys countrey & ſubiectes with better knowledge, firſt ſent for Grimboldus a learned monke out of Fraunce to come into England. Alſo ſent for an other learned man out frō the partes of Wales, whoſe name was Aſſerion, whom he made biſhop of Shireborne. Item out of Mercia, he ſent for Werefrithus, biſhop of Wicetor: to whom he put the dialoges of Gregorye to be tranſlated. But chieflye he vſed the counſel of Neotus, who then was counted for an holy man, and abbot of a certaine monaſtery in Cornwalle. By the aduertiſement of which Neotus, he ſent for theſe learned men aboue recited: and alſo ordayned certaine ſcholes of diuerſe artes, firſt at Oxford, and alſo frauncheſed the ſame with many great liberties. Guliel. Iornalenſ. Fabia. cap. 171. Wherof perhappes the ſchole, now called the New colledge (firſt thē begon of this Neotus) might take hys name: which (afterward peraduenture) the biſhops of Wincheſter after a larger maner dyd reedifie, and inlarge with greater poſſeſſions.

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Moreouer, among other learned men which were about king Alfrede: hiſtories make mention of Iohānes Scotus (a godly diuine, and a learned Philoſopher) but not that Scotus, which now we cal Duns. For ẏ Iohānes Scotus came after this, many yeres. This Iohannes is deſcribed to be of a ſharp wyt, of great eloquēce, and well expert in the Greeke toung: pleaſant and mery of nature and cōdicions, as appeareth by diuers his doinges and anſwers. Fyrſt he comming to Fraunce out of his own country of Scotlande, by reaſon of the great tumultes of warre, was there worthelye intertayned: and for hys learning had in great eſtimatiō of Carolus Caluus the French king, whom he commonlye and familiarly vſed euer to haue about him, both at table, and in chamber. Vpon a tyme the king ſitting at meate, and ſeing ſomething (belike) in this Iohn Scot, which ſeemed not very courtly: caſt forth a mery word, aſking of him, what differēce ther was betwixt a Scot, and a Sot? Whereunto the Scot ſitting ouer againſt the king, ſomwhat lower, replyed agayne ſodaynly, rather then aduiſedly (yet merely) ſaying: Menſa tantum, that is, the table onely: importing therby hymſelfe to be the Scot, and ſo calling the king a Sot by craft. Which word how other princes would haue taken to ſtomake, I know not: but this Charles, for the great reuerēce he bare to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his nobles, and ſo let it paſſe.

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An other tyme, the ſame king being at dinner, was ſerued with a certayne diſh of fiſh: where in, were twoo great fiſhes, and a little one. After the king had taken therof his repaſt, ſetteth downe to Iohannes Scotus the foreſayd fiſh, to diſtribute vnto thē other .2. Clarkes ſitting there wͭ him: which were two tall & mighty perſōs, he himſelf being but a litle mā. Iohānes taketh the fiſh, of ẏ which the two great he taketh and carueth to hymſelfe: the litle fiſh he reacheth to the other two. The king perceauing this his diuiſion thus made, reprehended the ſame. Then Iohannes, whoſe manner was euer to finde out ſome honeſt matter to delite the king, aunſwered to him againe, prouing his diuiſion to ſtand iuſt and equall. For here (ſayth he) be two great, and a litle, poynting to the two great fiſhes and himſelfe: And likewiſe here agayne is a litle one and two great, pointyng to the litle fiſh, and two great perſons. I pray you (ſaith he) what oddes is ther, or what diſtribution can be more equall? Whereat the king with his nobles, being much delighted, laughed merely.

Ioānes Scotus tranſlated Hierarchiam Dionyſii frō greeke to Latine.

At the requeſt of this Charles ſurnamed Bawld, the Frenche king, this Scotus tranſlated the booke of Dionyſius, intituled De Hierarchia, from Greeke into Latine, word for word, quo fit (as my author ſayth) vt vix intelligatur latina litera, quum nobilitate magis Græca, quam poſitione conſtruitur latina.

The ſame Iohannes Scotus moreouer compiled a booke of hys owne, geuing it a Greke title, περὶ φυσικῶν διαιρεσίων, that is, De naturæ diuiſione. In which booke (as ſayth my foreſayd author) is contayned the reſolution of manye profitable queſtions (but ſo) that hee is thought to follow the Greeke church, rather then the latine, and for the ſame was counted of ſome to be an heretícke: becauſe in that booke ſom thinges therbe, which in all poyntes accorde not wyth the Romiſhe religion. Wherfore the Pope, writing to the ſayd king Charles of this Scotus, complayneth, as in hys own woordes here followeth:

The booke of Ioānes Scotus called περὶ φυσικῶν.

Ioannes Scotus addicted more to the Greke church thē the latine.

Relatum eſt Apoſtolatui noſtro, quod opus Dionyſii Areopagitæ quod de diuinis nominibus, et de cæleſtibus ordinibus Græco deſcripſit eloquio, quidam vir Ioannes (genere Scotus) nuper tranſtulit in latinū. Quod, iuxta morem eccleſiæ, nobis mitti, & noſtro iudicio debuit approbari: præſertim quum idem Ioannes (licet multæ ſcientiæ eſſe prædicetur) olim non ſane ſapere in quibuſdam frequēti rumore dicatur. &c. That is: Relation hath bene made vnto our Apoſtleſhip, that a certayne man called Ioannes a Scottiſh man, hath tranſlated the booke of Dionyſius the Areopagite: of the names of God, and of the heauēly orders, from Greeke into Latin. Which boke, according to the cuſtome of the Churche, ought firſt to haue bene ſent to vs, and to haue bene approued by our iudgement: namely ſeing the ſayde Iohn (albeit he bee ſayde to bee a man of greate learning and ſcience) in time paſt hath bene noted by cōmon rumor, to haue ben a man, not of vpryght or ſounde doctrine, in certayne poyntes. &c. For this cauſe the ſayd Scotus, being conſtrayned to remoue from Fraunce, came into Englād, allured (as ſome teſtify) by the letters of Alured or Alfrede, of whom he was with great fauour entertained, and conuerſant a great ſpace about the kyng: tyll at lēgth (whether before or after the death of the king it is vncertayne) he went to Malmeſberye, where he taught

Ioan. Scotus accuſed of the pope for an heretike.

Ioan. Scotus ſlayne of hys owne ſcholers

certaine

certayne ſcholers a fewe yeares, by the which ſcholars at laſte moſte impiouſlye he was murthered and ſlayne with their penkniues, and ſo died, as ſtoryes ſay, a martyr, buried at the ſayd monaſterie of Malmeſbury with thys epitaphie.

Ioan. Scotus a Martyr.

Clauditur in tumulo ſanctus ſophiſta Ioannes
Qui ditatus erat iam viuens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Chriſti conſcendere regnum
Qui meruit, regnans ſecli per ſecula cuncta.

This Ethelwitha builded firſt the houſe of Nunnes at Wincheſter.

King Alfred hauing theſe helpes of learned men about him, and no leſſe learned alſo himſelf, paſt ouer his tyme, not onely to great vtilitie & profit of his ſubiectes, but alſo to a rare & profitable example of other chriſten kinges and princes, for them to followe. This foreſaid Alfrede had by his wife called Ethelwitha, two ſonnes: Edward and Ethelward, and .iij. daughters: Elfleda, Ethelgora, and Ethelguida: Quas omnes liberalib⁹ fecit artibus erudiri. That is. Whom he ſet all to their bookes and ſtudie of liberall artes: as my ſtorye teſtifieth. Fyrſt Edward his eldeſt ſonne ſucceded hym in ỹ kingdome. The ſecond ſonne Ethelward dyed before hys father. Ethelgora his middle daughter was made a nũne. The other .ij. were maryed, the one in Marceland, the other to the earle of Flanders. Thus king Alfrede the valiaunt, vertuous & learned prince, after he had thus chriſtianlye gouerned the realme the terme of .xxix. yeares and .vj. monethes, departed this life .v. Kal. Nouemb. and lyeth buried at Wincheſter. An. Domini. 901. Of whom this I finde moreouer greatlye noted and cõmended in hiſtory, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example therof, touching this Alfrede: that where ſoeuer he was, or whether ſoeuer he went, he bare alwayes about hym, in hys boſome or pocket, a litle booke contayning the Pſalmes of Dauid, and certaine other oraſons of his own collecting. Wherupon he was continually reading or praying when ſoeuer he was otherwyſe vacant, hauing leyſure therũto. Finally what were the vertues of this famous king, this litle table here vnder written, which is left in auncient writing, in the remembraunce of hys worthy and memorable life: doth ſufficientlye, in fewe lynes contayne.

The childrẽ of king Alfrede.

All his daughters learned.

The deceaſe of king Alfrede.

An. 901.

¶ *In Regem Alfredum, et virtutũ illius claram memoriam.*

FAmoſus, Bellicoſus: Victorioſus: Viduarum, pupillorũ, & orphanorum pauperũq; prouiſor ſtudioſus, Poetarũ Saxonicorum peritiſſimus: Suæ genti Chariſſimus: Affabilis omnibus: Liberaliſſimus: Prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, Iuſtitia præditus: in infirmitate, qua continue laborabat pacientiſſimus: In exequendis iudicijs indagator diſcretiſſimus: In ſeruicio Dei vigilantiſſimus & deuotiſſimus: Angloſaxonum Rex: Alfredus, pijſſimi Ethelulfi filius. xxix. annis ſexq; menſibus regni ſui peractis morte obijt. Indict. 4. Quinto Kalend. Nouemb. feria quarta: & VVintoniæ in nouo monaſterio ſepultus immortalitatis ſtolam, & reſurrectionis gloriam cum iuſtis expectat, &c.

Moreouer in the hiſtory of Henricus Huntingtonenſis theſe verſes I finde written in the commendation of the ſame Alfrede: made (as I ſuppoſe and as by his wordes appeareth) by the ſayd author, wherof I thought not to defraude the reader: the wordes wherof here followe.

¶ *Epitaphium Regis Alfredi.*

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Alfrede dedit, probitaſq; laborem.
Perpetuumq; labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia ſemper erant, Spes ſemper mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad craſtina bella pauebas:
Si modo victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore iugi, cui ſica cruore,
Tincta iugi, quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt.
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in aduerſis nil reſpirare liceret,
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finiſſe dolores.
Iam poſt tranſactos vitæ regniq; labores,
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumq; perhenne.

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In the ſtorye of this Alfred, a litle aboue, mention was made of Pleimundus ſcholemaiſter to the ſaid Alfred, and alſo biſhop of Caunterbury, ſucceding Etheredus, there biſhop before him. Which Pleimundus gouerned that ſee, ỹ number of .xxxiiij. yeares. After Pleimundus ſucceded Athelmus, and ſat .xij. yeares. After hym came Vlfelmus .xiij. yeares. Then followed Odo a Dane borne, in the ſayd ſea of Caunterbury, and gouerned the ſame .xx. yeares, being in great fauour with king Athelſtane, king Edmund, and Edwine, as in proceſſe hereafter (Chriſt willing) as place and order doth requyre, ſhall more at large be expreſſed.

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ix. ye
Rome

As touchyng the courſe and procedynges of the Romiſh biſhops there: where I laſt entered mẽtion of them (pag. 185) I ended with pope Stephan the fift. After his tyme was much broyle, in the election of the biſhops of of Rome: one contendyng againſt an other: in ſo much that within the ſpace of ix. yeares, were ix. biſhops. Of the which, firſt was Formoſus, who ſucceded next vnto the forenamed Stephen v. beyng made pope againſt the minde of certaine in Rome: that would rather, Sergius then deacon of the churche of Rome, to haue bene pope. Notwythſtandyng, Mars and money preuayled on Formoſus parte. This Formoſus, of whome partlye alſo is mentioned in other places, of this eccleſiaſticall hiſtorye, beyng before biſhop of Portuake: had in tyme paſt (I know not vpon what cauſes) offended pope Iohn the viij. of that name. By reaſon wherof for feare of the pope, he voided away and left, his biſhoprike. And becauſe he beyng ſent for agayn by the pope, would not returne: therfore was excommunicated. At length commyng into France, to make there his ſatiſfaction vnto the pope, was degraded frõ a byſhop into a ſecular mãs habite, ſwearyng to the pope ỹ he would no more reenter into the citie of Rome, nor clayme hys biſhoprike agayne: ſubſcribyng moreouer with his owne hand to cõtinue from that time in the ſtate of a ſecular perſõ. But then, pope Martin (the next pope after Iohn) releaſed the ſayd Formoſus of his othe, & reſtored hym agayne vnto his biſhoprike. Wherby Formoſus entred not onely into Rome agayne, but alſo obtayned ſhortly after the papacie. Thus he beyng placed in the popedome, aroſe a great doubt or controuerſie emong the diuines, of his cõſecration, whether it was lawful or not: ſome holdyng agaynſt him, that for ſomuch as he was ſolẽly depoſed, degraded, vnprieſted, & alſo ſworne not to reiterate the ſtate eccleſiaſticall: therfore he ought to be takẽ no other wiſe, then for a ſecular man. Other alledged again, that what ſo euer Formoſus was, yet for the dignitie of that order, and for the credite of them, whome he ordered: all his conſecrations oughte to ſtande in force, eſpecially, ſeyng the ſayd Formoſus was afterwarde receyued and abſolued by pope Martine, from that hys periurie & degradation. &c. In the meane tyme (as witneſſeth Sigebertus) this Formoſus ſendeth for kyng Arnulphus for ayde agaynſt his aduerſaries: Who then marchyng toward Rome, was there reſiſted by the Romanes frõ entring. But in ỹ ſiege (ſayth the autor) the Romanes within ſo playde the Lions, that a poore hare (or ſuch a lyke thyng) cõmyng toward the citie: the hoſte of Arnulphus folowed after with ſuch a mayne crye, that the valiant Romanes vpon the walles for very feare, (where there was no hurt) caſt thẽ ſelues deſperatly ouer the walles: ſo that Arnulphus with litle labour ſcaled the walles, & gatte the citie. Thus Arnulphus obteyning the citie of Rome, reſkueth pope Formoſus, and beheadeth his aduerſaries, whom the pope, to gratifie with lyke recompẽce againe, bleſſeth and crowneth hym for Emperour.

Form
ſus fy
Pope

Ex Ch
nico S
berti.

Thus Formoſus ſitting faſt about the ſpace of 4. or 5. yeares, folowed his predeceſſors: after whoſe tyme (as I ſayd) within the ſpace of ix. yeares were ix. biſhops as foloweth. But in the meane tyme concernyng the ſtory of this Formoſus declared by Sigebert, and many other chroniclers: this thyng would I gladly aſke, and more gladly learne of ſome indifferent or egall catholique, which not of obſtinacie, but of ſimple errour being a papiſt would aunſwere his conſcience. Whether doth he thinke the holy order of prieſthoode, which he taketh for one of the 7. ſacramẽts, to be character indelebilis or not? yf it be not indelebilis, that is, yf it be ſuch a thyng, as may be put of: why then doth the popes doctrine ſo call ⁊ ſo hold the contrary, pretending it to be indelebile, vnremouable? yf it be in dede, ſo as they teache ⁊ affirme, indelebilis character, why then dyd Pope John, or could pope John, adnichilat ⁊ euacuat one of hys ſeuen popeholy Sacramentes: making of a prieſt a non prieſt, or a layman: vncharacteryng his owne order, which is (as he ſayth) a character, whyche in no wyſe maye be blotted out, or remoued? Agayne howe ſo euer pope John is to be iudged in this matter, to do eyther well or not wel. This would I know, yf he did wel in ſo diſprieſting and diſcharactering Formoſus, for ſuch priuate offẽces? If yea, how thẽ ſtãdeth his doing with his own doctrine, which teacheth the contrary? If he dyd not wel, how thẽ ſtandeth his doctrine wͭ his doings to be true, which teacheth that the pope with his ſinode of Cardinals can not erre? Moreouer if this pope John did not erre in hys diſorderyng Formoſus: how then did Martinus his ſucceſſor not erre, in repealing yͤ ſaid doing of his predeceſſor? Or how did not pope Formoſus erre him ſelf, who beyng vnprieſted by pope John: afterwarde without reiteratyng the character or order of prieſthode, tooke vpon him to be pope, and made actes and lawes in the church? Againe, if Formoſus nowe pope did not erre, how then did pope Stephen his ſucceſſor afterward not erre: who did annichilate the conſecration, and all the actes of the ſayd Formoſus, as erroneus? Or agayne if we ſay that this Stephen with his ſinode of cardinals did ryght: thẽ how coulde it be, that pope Theodore, and pope John the tenth, whiche came after the forſaid Stephẽ, did not plainlye erre. Who approuing yͤ cõſecratiõ of Formoſus: dyd cõdemne, ⁊ burne the actes ſinodale, of Stephen and his cardinals, whiche before had condẽned Formoſus: according as in ſtory here cõſequẽtly may appeare.

haracter
ndelebilis.

hether
e Pope
ith his
rdinals
y erre.

After Formoſus had gouerned the ſee of Rome fiue yeares, ſucceded firſt Bonifacius the vi. who continued but 25. dayes, then came Stephen the vi. which ſo enuied the name of his predeceſſor Formoſus: that he abrogated ⁊ diſſolued his decrees. And taking vp his body, after it was buryed, cut two fingars of his ryght hande, and commaunded them to be caſt into Tiber, and then buried the body in a priuate or laymans ſepulchre.

onifaci⁹.
Pope.
ephen.6
ope.
chroni.
artini
nitenti-
rij.
gebert.
policb.
alijs.

This Stephen after he had ſet in the chaire of peſtilẽce one yeare: ſucceded in the ſame chaire, pope Rhomanus, and ſat iij. monethes: repealing the actes decreed by Stephẽ his predeceſſor, againſt Formoſus. Next to whõ came Theodorus.2. who likewiſe takyng part with Formoſus agaynſt the foreſayd Stephen, reigned but 20. dayes. Then ſat pope John the 10. who did fight and repugne agaynſt the Romanes, And to confirme yͤ cauſe of Formoſus more ſurely, did hold a ſinode at Rauẽna of 74. biſhops, with the Frẽch king Endo and his archbiſhops being preſent at the ſame. At the which councel, were ratified all the decrees and doyngs of Formoſus: and the contrary actes of the ſinode of Stephen the firt, were burned. This pope lyued not pope fully ij. yeares: after whom ſucceded Benedictus the 4. whiche kept the chaire iij. yeares. After whom Leo 5. was next pope, who within xl. dayes of his papacye, was with ſtrong hand taken and caſt in priſon by one Chriſtofer his own houſhold chaplaine, whom he had long nuriſhed before in his houſe. Whiche thyng (ſayth Platina) could not be done without great conſpiracie and great ſlaughter of men. Whiche Chriſtofer beyng pope about the ſpace of ſeuen monethes, was likewiſe himſelf hoyſted from his papal throne by Sergius, lyke as he had done to his maſter before. And thus wͭin yͤ ſpace of ix. yeares, had ben ix. popes one after an other. Then Sergius after he had thruſt down pope Chriſtofer, and ſhorne him monke into a monaſtery, occupyed the rowm vij. yeares. This Sergius a rude man, and vnlearned, very proud and cruell: had before bene put backe from the popedome, by Formoſus aboue mẽtioned. By reaſon wherof, to revenge Formoſus agayne now being in hys papacie, cauſed yͤ body of Formoſus, where it was buried to be takẽ vp: and afterward ſet in yͤ papall ſee (as in his pontificalibus) firſt diſgraded him, thẽ cõmaũded his head to be ſmit of, with yͤ other iij. fingars yͭ wer left (as Sigebert⁹ writeth) which done, he made his body to be thrown into Tiber, depoſĩg likewiſe al ſuch, as by yͤ ſaid Formoſus, before had been conſecrated, ⁊ inueſted. This body of Formoſus thus thrown into Tiber, was afterward (as our ſtorye writers ſay) found ⁊ takẽ vp by certain fiſhers, ⁊ ſo brought into ſ. Peters tẽple. At the preſence wherof (as they ſay) certayne images there ſtandyng by, bowed dowen them ſelues, and reuerenced the ſame, with lye ⁊ all. But ſuch deceauable miracles of ſtockes and images in monkyſh and frierly temples, be to vs no newes, eſpecially here in England: where we haue bene ſo inured with the lyke, and ſo many, that ſuch wylye practiſes can not be to vs inuiſible: though this crownſhorne generation, thynke them ſelues to daunce in a net. But the truth is, while they thinke to deceaue the ſimple, theſe wylye begely moſt of all deceaue them ſelues, as they will finde except they repent. By this pope Sergius, firſte it came vp to beare about cãdles on Cãdelmas day: for the purifieng of the bleſſed virgin. As though the ſacred conception of Jeſus the ſonne of God, were to be purified as a thyng vnpure: and that with candel lyght.

pe The-
orus.2.
pe Iohn.
10.
e origi-
l counsel
meth an
ct.

Pope
nedict⁹.4
pe Leo 5
prisoned
vnpoped
his own
aplayne.

Pope Chriſtoferus.1.

Pope Sergi⁹.3.

Pope Formoſ⁹ after his death beheaded of Pope Sergius.

A falſe fayned miracle vpon the body of Formoſus.

Popyſhe miracles not to be credite.

Bearing of candles on Cãdlemas day howe it came vp.

After Sergius, entred pope Anaſtaſius, in whoſe time yͤ body of Formoſus forenamed, is thought to be foũd of fiſhermẽ in yͤ riuer of Tiber, ⁊ ſo brought, as is ſaid, into yͤ temple to be ſaluted of the images, whiche thyng may quickly be tainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought yͭ the body of Formoſus ſo long dead before, ⁊ now lyeng vij. yeares, in the ryuer: could remayne whole all that while, that fiſhers might take it vp, and diſcerne it to be the ſame? After Anaſtaſius had ſat two yeares, folowed pope Lando, the father (as ſome ſtories thinke) of Pope Jhon, whiche folowed after. Thys Lando reygned vi. monethes. After hym ſucceded his ſonne ⁊ baſtard, pope John the xi. whyche John is ſayde to be the paramoure of Theodora a famous harlot of Rome, and ſet vp of yͤ ſame harlot either agaynſt Lando, or after Lando hys father to ſuccede in his rowme. There is a ſtory writer called Linthprãdus, who writing de Imperatoribus Lib. 2.cap.13. maketh there mention of this Theodora, ⁊ pope John. xi. and ſayth moreouer that this Theodora had a daughter named Marozia: whiche Marozia had by pope Sergius aboue mentioned a ſonne, whiche afterward was pope John the.xij. The ſame Marozia afterward it chaunced to mary wͭ Guido Marques of Tuſcia: through the meanes of which Guido ⁊ his frends at Rome, ſhe brought to paſſe yͭ this pope John yͤ xi. was ſmothered with a pillow laid to hys mouth, after he had reigned xiij. yeares. And ſo the foreſaid John the xij. her ſonne, to ſuccede next after him. But becauſe the clergie and people of Rome dyd not agree to his electiõ, therfore was pope Leo yͤ vi. in his place ſet vp. Thus pope John the ſonne of Sergius and Marozia beyng deiected, then reigned pope Leo vij. monethes. After him pope Stephẽ ij. yeares. Who beyng poyſoned, thẽ was pope John the xij. aboue rehearſed, the ſõne of Sergius and Marozia,

Pope Anaſtaſius.3.

Pope Lando.1.

Pope Iohn.11.

Harlots at this tyme ruled all at Rome.

Pope Ioan.12.
Pope Leo.6.
Pope Stephã 6
Pope Iohn. 12.
reſtored.

ſet vp agayne in the papacye, where he reigned nere the ſpace of v. yeares. Of the wickednes of this ſtrumpet Marozia, how ſhe maryed ij. brethrē, one after the death of the other: And how ſhe gouerned all Rome, and the whole church at that tyme, I let it paſſe. Although the latine verſes wherwith ẏ ſayd Liuthprandus doth inuey agaynſt ſuch women as marye two brethren, were neither vnworthye here to be recited, and perhappes might be further applyed then to that Marozia of Rome, but for ſhortnes I let them alſo paſſe.

Liuthprãdus Ticineſis. li.3.

Pope Stephan. 7.
Pope Leo. 7.
Pope Stephan. 7.
Pope Martin. 3
Pope Agapetus. 2
Ordo Cluniacenſis beginneth.

After Ioan. xij. followed Pope Stephan. iij. yeares. Pope Leo. iij. yeares and. 4. monethes. Pope Stephen the eyght. iij. yeares and. 4. monethes. Pope Martine iij. yeares and. vj. monethes. After him Pope Agapetus viij. yeares and. vj. monethes. About whoſe tyme or a litle before began fyrſt the order of monkes called Ordo Cluniacenſis, &c.

But now to leaue of theſe monſtruous matters of Rome, and to returne agayne to our countrey of England, where we laſt left before.

¶ *King Edward the elder.*

King Edward the elder.

The Edwardes before the conqueſt.

After ẏ reigne of ẏ famous king Alfred, Hys ſonne Edward ſucceded, ſurnamed ẏ elder. Where firſt is to be noted, ẏ before the conqueſt of the Normandes, there were in England. iij. Edwardes, firſt this Edward the elder. 2. Edward the martyr. 3. Edward the confeſſor. Wherof hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhal followe in order, as place ſhall geue to be declared. This Edward began his reigne, the yeare of our Lord. 901. and gouerned the land right valiantly and noblie. xxiiij. yeares. In knowledge of good letters and learning, he was not to be compared to hys father. Otherwyſe, in princely renowne, in ciuile gouernment, and ſuch lyke martial prowesse, he was nothing inferiour, but rather excelled him. Through whoſe valiaunt actes firſt the princedome of Walles, and kingdome of Scotland, with Conſtantine king therof were to hym ſubdued. He adioyned moreouer to his dominiō ẏ countrey of Eaſtanglia, that is, of Norfolke, Suffolke and Eſſex. All Mercelande, alſo he recouered & Northūberland out of ẏ handes of the Danes. In al his warres he neuer lightly went without victorie. The ſubiectes of his prouinces and dominions were ſo inured, and hardened in continuall practiſe and feates of warre: that when they heard of any enemies cōming (neuer tarying for any bidding from the king, or from his dukes) ſtraight waies they encountred with them: both in number, & in knowledge of the order of warre excelling alwayes their aduerſaries. Guliel. de Regi. Ita hoſtes militibus cōtemptui, Regi riſui erant. To meane, So was the comming and aſſaulting of their enemies to the people and common ſouldiours but a trifle, to the king but a ridicle. Among other aduerſaryes which were buſie rather then wiſe, in aſſayling this king: was one called Clyto Ethelwoldus a young man, king Edwardes vncles ſonne. Who fyrſt occupying the towne of Wimborne (taking thence a nonne with him, whom thē he had maryed) fled by night to Northūberland, to adioyne himſelf vnto the Danes, who was made chiefe king and captaine ouer them. Then chaſed from thence, he fled ouer into Fraūce, but ſhortly returning againe into England, landed in Eaſtengland, where the ſayd Clyto with a cōpany of Danes of that countrey gathered vnto him, deſtroyed and pylled much of the countrey about Crekinford and Crikeland. And ſo paſſing ouer Thamys after he had ſpoyled the lande there to Bradenſtocke: returned agayne to Norfolke and Suff. where he meting with a buſhment of Kentiſh men, which dragged & taried after the maine hoſte of Edward, contrarye to hys commaundement, incloſed them in, and ſlewe the moſt part of them. Sone after the two hoſtes meting together, betwene the two ditches of S. Edmundes land, after a long fight Clyto with many of the Danes were ſlaine, and the remnant were conſtrained to ſeeke for peace, which vpon certain conditions, and vnder a tribute was to them graunted.

A compariſon betwene Alfrede, and hys ſonne Edward

Vſe & lōg exercite of things maketh perfectnes.

Clyto Ethelwold rebelleth againſt king Edward.

An 904

In proceſſe, aboute the. xij. yeare of his reigne, the Danes repenting them of their couenantes, & minding to breake the ſame: aſſembled an hoſte and met with the king in Staffordſhire at a place called Totenhall, and ſone after at Wodnefield: at which two places the king ſlew. ij. kinges. ij. erles, and many thouſand of Danes, that occupyed the countrey of Northumberland.

91

Thus the importune rage of the Danes being aſſwaged, king Edward hauing now ſome leyſure geuen frō warres to other ſtudies: gaue his minde to ẏ building, or repayring of cities, townes, and caſtles, that by the Danes were raſed, ſhatred, and broken. As firſt of Cheſter, which citie he double inlarged to that it was before: cōpaſſing the caſtle within the walles of the ſame, which before ſtoode without. That done, the king builded a ſtrong caſtle at Herforde in the edge of Wales. Alſo for the ſtrengthning of the countrey, he made a caſtle at the mouth of the water of Auene, and an other caſtle at Bockingham, & the thyrd faſt therby vpon the riuer of Owſe. Moreouer he builded or reedified the townes of Towſetour, and Wigmore, and deſtroyed the caſtle that ẏ Danes had made at Demelſford. Likewiſe, vpon the riuer of Trent agaynſt the olde towne of Nottingham, he builded a new towne on the ſouthſide, and made a bridge ouer the riuer, betwene the ſaid two townes. Alſo by the riuer of Merce, he builded a citie or towne, in the north end of Mercia, & named it Thilwall, and after repayred the citie of Māncheſter, that ſore was defaced with warre of the Danes.

Cheſter
pared
enlarged.
The caſt
of Herf
builded.

Caſtles b
ded vpō
riuer of
Auene,
of Owſe.

The
towne
Tow
and W
more b
ded.

The new
towne
Notting
builded
Thilwa
Manche
repared.

In this renuyng and building of townes and caſtels for the more fortefeing of his realme: his ſiſter Elfleda, daughter of kyng Alfrede, & maried to the duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no ſmall helper. Of thys Elfleda it is firmely of writers affirmed, that ſhe beyng as is ſaid maried to Ethelrede duke of Mercia, after ſhe had once aſſayed the paynes of wemen in trauelyng wͭ her childe: ſo much ſhe abhorred euer after the embraſing of her huſband, that it ſemed to her (ſhe ſayd) not ſemely for a noble woman to vſe ſuch fleſhly lyking wherof ſo great ſorow & trauaile ſhould enſue. And yet notwithſtandyng the ſame Elfleda, for all her delicate tendernes in eſchuyng the naturall paſſion, which neceſſitie geueth to wemen: ſo hardy ſhe was in warlike daūgers, which nature geueth not to wemē, ẏ fighting agaynſt ẏ Danes, ſo venturous ſhe was of ſtomack, ẏ foure of her next knightes, whiche were gardeins of her body, were ſlayne faſt by her. This Elfleda emong her other noble actes, wherin ſhe deſerued praiſe, was a great helper and ſtyrer vp of her brother Edward: who builded and newly repayred many caſtels & townes, as Tomworth, beſide Lychfield, Staforde, Warwike, Shrowesbury, Watriſbury, Eldiſbury, beſides Cheſter in the foreſt nowe deſtroyed. Alſo in the North ende of Mercia, vpon the riuer of Merce, a caſtel called Rimcorn. alſo a bridge ouer ſeuern named Brimmiſbury bridge.

Elfleda.

Citie
towne
caſtles
ded by
Elfleda.

As touchyng the lawes & ſtatutes of this Edward, as alſo of his father Alfred made before him, I omitte here to record them for length of matter & waſt of time: yet notwithſtādyng, this admonitiō by the way I thinke good to note: that in theſe daies of theſe auncient kings reigning in England, the autoritie then both of conferryng byſhoprikes, and ſpirituall promotions, and alſo of preſcribyng lawes as well to the churche men, as to the laytie, and of orderyng and intermedling in matters mere ſpirituall, was then in the handes of kings, ruling in the land, and not onely in the hand of the pope, as appeareth by theſe lawes of Alfred.

The l
of king
fred &
Edwa

Si quis fornicetur cum vxore aliena, &c.
Si quis in quadrageſima ſanctum velum in publico vel in lecto.&c.
Vt Chriſtiani Deũ diligãt et paganiſmo renũciẽt. &c.
Si quis Chriſtianitatem mutet.&c.
Si quis ordinatus ſacris furetur. &c.
Si præsbyter ad rectum terminũ ſanctũ Chriſma. &c.
Si duo fratres, vel cognati cũ vna aliqua fornicẽtur.&c.

ote howe ings of ngland in imes paſte ad autori- ie in ſpiri- al cauſes.

By theſe and other ſuch like conſtitutiõs of kyng Alfred, it may appeare: how the gouernaunce and direciõ of yͤ church in thoſe dayes, depended not vpon monſieur le pope of Rome: but vpon the kyngs which here in their tyme (vnder the Lord) did gouerne the land. To this alſo the example of kyng Edwards tyme geueth teſtimony: which Edward wͭ Pleimũdus (aboue mẽtioned) archb. of Cãterbury, and with other biſhops in a ſinode aſſembled: aſſigned & elected vij. biſhops, in vij. metropolitane churches of the realme. Whiche were, 1. Fridelſtane. 2. Adelſtane. 3. Werſtane. 4. Adelelme. 5. Edulfus. 6. Dernegus. 7. Kenulphus. In whiche election the kynges autoritie ſemed then alone to be ſufficient. &c.

925.

he chil- ẽ of king dward the der.

ince E- helward ecellent in arning.

This Edward (as in the begynnyng was ſayd) reigned xxiiij. yeares. Who had iij. wiues, Egwinne, Elfled, & Ethelwide. Of Egwinne he had his eldeſt ſonne Adelſtane, Who next ſucceded in yͤ kyngdome, and a daughter maried after to the duke of Northũberland. Of Elflede, he receaued ij. ſonnes, and vi. daughters, to wytte Ethelward and Edwyne. Ethelward was excellently well ſeene in all knowledge of learning: much reſẽblyng both in countinãce, and conditions his grandfather Alfrede, and dyed ſoone after his father. Of his vi. daughters, two of them. 1. Elflede, and Ethelhilda, were made nonnes. The other iiij. were maried. Egdina to Charles the French kyng, in his fathers tyme. Ethilda, by kyng Ethelſtane was maried to Hugo, the ſonne of duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina, were both ſent to Henricus prince of Almains. Of whiche two ſiſters the ſecond, the ſayd Henricus, maried to his ſonne Otho, who was the firſt Emperor of yͤ Almains. The other ſiſter which was Edgitha, the foreſaid Hẽricus, maried to a certain duke about the borders of the Alpes, in Italy. Of hys thirde wife Ethelwide, he receiued ij. ſonnes, Edmund, and Edred: which both reigned after Adelſtane. And ij. daughters, Egburga whõ he made a Nonne, and Eadguina who was maried to Ludouicus, prince of Aquitania in Fraunce. Theſe ſonnes and daughters kyng Edwarde thus brought vp. His daughters he ſet to ſpinning, and to the nedle, Guliel. de Reg. His ſonnes he ſet to yͤ ſtudye of learnyng, vt quaſi Philoſophi ad gubernandam remp. non iam rudes procederent: that is, to the ende, that they beyng as firſt made Philoſophers, ſhould be the more expert therby to gouerne the common wealth.

uliel. de egib.

he bring- g vp of ng Ed- ardes ildren.

¶ King Ethelſtane, or Adelſtane.

Ethel. ne, or A. lſtane.

EThelſtane or Adelſtane, after the death of Edwarde his father to whõ he was baſe ſonne: begã his reygne in England, and was crowned at Kingſtone. He was a prince of worthy memory, valiant & wiſe in al his actes, nothyng inferiour to his father Edward. In lyke worthy renowne of ciuile gouernance, ioyned with much proſperous ſucceſſe, in reducyng this realme vnder the ſubiection of one monarchie. For he both expelled yͤ Danes, ſubdued the Scottes, and quieted the Welſhmẽ, as wel in Northwales, as alſo in Cornwale. The firſt enemye againſt this Ethelſtane was one Elfredus: who, with a faction of ſeditious perſons conſpiring agaynſt the ſaid Ethelſtane at Wincheſter, continẽtly after the death of his father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithſtandyng the kyng eſcapyng that daunger: through yͤ help of God, was at yͤ time deliuered. Elfrede vpon the ſame being accuſed, fled to Rome: there before yͤ pope to purge him ſelfe by his othe. Who beyng brought to the church of ſ. Peter, and there ſwearyng (or rather forſwearyng) him ſelfe to be cleare, whiche in dede was giltie therof: ſodenly vpon his othe fell downe, and ſo brought to the Engliſh houſe in Rome within iij. dayes after departed. The pope ſendyng worde to kyng Ethelſtane, whether he would haue the ſayd Elfred buryed emong chriſtiãs or not: at length, through the perſuaſions of his frendes and kindſfolkes, it was concluded that he ſhould be buried in chriſten buriall. This ſtory although I find in no other writers mentioned, but onely in the chronicles of William. Lib. de Regi. yet for ſomuch as it beareth the witnes and wordes of the kyng hym ſelfe, as teſtified in an olde dede of gift, geuen to the monaſtery of Malmeſbery: I thought the ſame the more to be of credite. The wordes of the kyng procede in this tenore as foloweth.

Duke Elfrede ſodenly ſtroke by the hand of God for periurye.

Guliel. lib. de Regib. in vita Ethelſtani.

¶ The copy of an old writyng of king Ethelſtane teſtifieyng of the miraculous death of duke Elfrede ſodenly ſtroken by the hand of God for periury.

The copie of an old chart of K. Ethelſtane.

SCiant ſapientes regionis noſtræ, non has præfatas terras me iniuſte rapuiſſe, rapinamq; deo dediſſe. Sed ſic eas accepi, quemadmodum indicauerunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum. Inſuper et Apoſtolicus papa Romanæ eccleſiæ Ioannes (Elfredo defuncto) qui noſtræ felicitati et vitę ęmulus extitit, nequitię inimicorum noſtrorũ conſentiens: quãdo me voluerũt (patre defuncto) cœcare in vrbe wintonia, ſi non me Deus ſua pietate eripuiſſet. Sed denudatis eorum machinamẽtis, remiſſus eſt ad Romanam eccleſiam, vt ibi ſe, corã Apoſtlico Ioanne iureiurãdo defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altari ſancti Petri. Sed facto iuramẽto, cecidit coram altari: et manibus famulorum ſuorum portatus eſt ad ſcholam Anglorum, et ibi tertia nocte vitam finiuit. Et tũc Apoſtolicus ad nos remiſit, et quid de eo ageretur a nobis conſuluit, an cum cæteris Chriſtianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, et nobis renunciatis: optimates regionis noſtræ cum propinquorum illius turma et flagitabãt omni humilitate, vt corpus illius per noſtram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Chriſtianorum. Noſq; flagitationi illorum conſentientes Romã remiſimus: et papa conſentiente, poſitus eſt ad cęteros Chriſtianos, quamuis indignus. Et ſic iudicata eſt mihi tota poſſeſsio eius in magnis et in modicis. Sed et hæc apicibus literarum pręnotauimus, nequando aboleatur, vnde mihi præfata poſſeſsio, quam Deo et ſancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec iuſtius noui, q̃ Deo et ſancto Petro hanc poſſeſsionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conſpectu omnium cadere fecerũt, et mihi proſperitatem regni largiti ſunt. &c.

An. 927

In the ſecond yeare of the reigne of kyng Adelſtane, for an vnitie, and a peace to be had betwen the kyng and the Danes of Northumberland: he maryed to Sythericus their king his ſiſter, wherof mention is made before. But ſhortly after, within one yere this Sithericus dyed. After whoſe death king Ethelſtane ſeazed that prouince into his own hand, putting out yͤ ſonne of yͤ foreſaid Sithericus called Alanus: who with his brother Godfride fled thone into Ireland, thother to Conſtantine kyng of the Scottes. And when he had thus accorded with yͤ Danes of Northumberland, he ſhortly made ſubiecte vnto him Conſtantine kyng of Scottes. But the ſayd Conſtãtine meked himſelf ſo lowly to the kyng, that he reſtored hym to hys former dignitie, ſaying, that it was more honour to make a kyng then to be a kyng.

Northũberlãde ſubdued to K. Ethelſtane. The Scots ſubdued to the K. of England.

It is more honour to make a king, then to be a king.

Not long after, the ſaid Conſtantine kyng of Scots did breake couenaunt wͭ kyng Ethelſtane. Wherfore he aſſembled his knyghtes, and made towarde Scotland. Where, he ſubduing his enemies, and bringing them agayne vnto due ſubiection, returned into England with victory. Here by the way in ſome ſtory writers (who forgettyng the office of hiſtoricians, ſeme to play yͤ Poetes) is writẽ and recorded for a meruell, that the ſayd Ethelſtane, returnyng out of Scotland into England, came

A fabulous miracle falſely reported of K. Athelſtane.

to Yorke, and ſo into the church of S. John of Beuerly, to redeme his knife, which before he had left there for a pledge, at his going forth. In the which place he praying to God and to S. John of Beuerley, that he myght leaue there ſome remembraunce, wherby they that cam after might know, that the Scots by right ſhuld be ſubdued to the Engliſh men: ſmote wyth ſwoord (they ſay) vpon a great hard ſtone ſtanding neare about the caſtel of Dunbar, that with the ſtroke thereof the ſtone was cut a large elne deepe (with a lye no leſſe depe alſo, then was yͤ ſtroke in the ſtone). But of this poetical or fabulous ſtory, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Jornalenſis, and other mo conſtantly accord in the ſame: yet in Guliel. and Henricus, no mention is made at all. But peraduenture he that was the inuentor fyrſt of thys tale of the ſtone, was diſpoſed to lie for the whetſtone: Wherfore in my mynde he is worthy to haue it.

Briſtanus biſhop.

An. 933.

A ridiculous miracle forged vpon Birſtanus biſhop of Wincheſter.

Of like truth and credite ſemeth alſo to be this that followeth about the ſame yeare & time, vnder the raign of king Ethelſtane, being the .vij. yeare of his raygne, of one Briſtanus biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſucceeded Frithſtanus in the ſame ſea, and gouerned that biſhopricke .iiij. yeares. This Briſtanus being a deuout biſhop in praier and contemplation: vſed much among his ſolitary walkes, to frequent late the churchyard, praying for the ſoules there, and all Chriſtē ſoules departed. Vpon a time, the ſayd Briſtanus after hys wonted maner proceeding in hys deuotions, when hee had done, came to requieſcant in pace. Wherunto, ſodainly a great multitude of ſoules anſwering together with one voice, ſaid Amen. Of this miracle, albeit I haue not much to ſay (haſting to other matters) yet this queſtiō would I aſke of ſome indifferent papiſt, which were not wilful, but of ignoraunce deceiued: if this multitude, which here aunſwered Amen, were the ſoules of thē buried in yͤ churchyard or not: If ye, thē how wer thei in purgatory, what time they were heard in that place aunſwering Amen? Except we ſhould thinke that Purgatorye was then in that churchyard at Wincheſter, where the ſoules were herd then ſo many anſwering and praying Amen. And yet this ſtory is teſtified by the accord of writers of that time, Guliel. Polychron. Houedenus, Iornalenſis, & other mo. Much like miracles and prophecies alſo we rede of Elphegus, which ſucceded him: but becauſe we haſte to other thynges, let theſe fables paſſe.

A myracle of ſoules anſwering, Amen.

Ye heard a litle before, howe king Ethelſtane after the death of Sithericus king of Northumberland, ceazed that land or prouince into hys owne hand, & put out hys ſonne Alanus: who after flyeng into Scotland, maryed the daughter of Conſtantine kyng of Scots. By whoſe ſtyryng and exhortation, he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and other, and entered the mouth of Humber with a ſtrong nauy of .615. ſhips.

A ſore battayle fought at Brimford.

Wherof king Ethelſtane with hys brother Edmūd hauing knowledge: prepared hys armye, and at length with him and hys people at a place called Brimābruch or Brimford: (where he fighting wyth them from morning to euen, after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, as the lyke hath not bene ſene lightlye in Englande) had at length the victorye. In which battayle were ſlayne fyue ſmal & vnder kynges, with Conſtantine kyng of Scots: and .xij. Dukes, with the more part of al the ſtraungers which at that time they gathered to them. Here alſo our writers put in an other miracle in this battayle: howe king Ethelſtanes ſword miraculouſli fel into his ſheath through the prayer of Odo, then Archbiſhop of Cant.

An other vnlike miracle of K. Atheiſtanes ſworde.

Odo Archbiſhop of Cant.

Concerning this battayle, I finde in a certaine written Chronicle theſe verſes: which becauſe they ſhoulde not be loſt, I thought not vnworthy here of rehearſall.

Tranſierat quinos, & tres, et quatuor annos,
Iure regens ciues, ſubigens virtute tyrannos:
Cum redit illa Lues Europæ noxia labes.
Iam cubat in terris fera barbaries Aquilonis,
Et iacet in campis pelago pirata relicto,
Illicitas toruaſq; minas Analanus anhelans,
Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat aſſenſum Borealis terræ ſerenum.
Et iam grande tument, iam terrent aera verbis,
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota ſuperbis.
Nam quia rex noſter fidens alacriſq; iuuenta,
Emeritus pridem detriuerat ocia lenta,
Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis,
Vrgentes miſeros iniectis ignibus agros.
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Aegra ſeges votum deluſerat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium, concurſus quadrupedantum.
Exciuit tandem famæ querimonia regem,
Ne ſe cauterio tali pateretur inuri.
Quod ſua barbaricæ ceſsiſſent arma ſecuri,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia ſigna cohortes,
Explicat inuentum vexilla ferocia centum,
Iuncta virum virtus, decies bis milia quina,
Ad ſtadium belli comitantur præuia ſigna.
Hicq; ciet ſtrepitus armatorum legiones.
Terruit inſignis venientum fama latrones.
Vt poſita proprias præda repetant regiones.
At vulgus reliquum miſeranda ſtrage peremptum,
Infecit bibulas tetris nidoribus auras.
Fugit Analaſus de tot modo millibus vnus. &c.

Anal

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tribute.

After this victory thus obtayned of the Danes and Scots: King Ethelſtan alſo ſubdued (or at leaſt quieted) the North britains. Whom he conuenting together at Herford (or there about) forced thē to graunt vnto hym, as a yearely tribute .xx. pounde of gold: three hundreth pound of ſiluer: and of heades of nete .xxv. hundreth: wͭ haukes and dogs, to a certayne number. This done, he went to Exceter, and there likewyſe ſubduing the ſouth Britaines, about Exceter and Cornwalle: repayred the walles of Exceter with ſufficient ſtrēgth, & ſo returned.

The So
Britains
ſubdued.

Among theſe victorious and noble actes of this king: One blot there is of hym written and noted, wherin he is as much worthy to be reprehended, as in the other before to be commended (that is) the innocent death & murther of his brother Edwine. The occaſion thereof was this. King Edward aforenamed their father, in yͤ tyme of hys youth, cōming by a certayne village or grange, where he had bene nourſed and brought vp of a chylde: thought of curteſy to go ſee how his nurſe did. Where he entreing into the houſe, eſpied a certayne yong damſell bewtyfull and right ſeemelye attyred, Egwina by name. This Egwina before being a poore mans daughter, had a viſion by night, that of her body ſprang ſuche a bright light of the moone, that the bryghtnes thereof gaue light to the realme of England. By reaſō wherof, ſhe was taken into the foreſayde houſe, and daynetelye brought vp in ſtede of their own daughter: for hope of ſome commoditie to enſue therby, as afterward it cam to paſſe. For king Edward (as it is declared) comming into the houſe, and rauiſhed with the beuty of the mayden: begat of her the ſame night this Ethelſtane. Wherfore the ſayd Ethelſtane beyng thus baſely borne of Egwina, the firſt wyfe to Edwarde (as is ſayde) before he was marryed to her: and fearyng his next brother Egwyne whych was rightly borne (eſpeciallye being ſtyrred thereunto through the ſiniſter ſugeſtion of his butler) did caſt ſuch diſpleaſure to the foreſayd Egwin hys brother, that beyng yet but yong, that (notwithſtāding his innocent ſubmiſſion and purgation made againſt hys accuſers) he cauſed hym to bee ſet in an olde rotten boate in the broade ſea (onelye with one Eſquier wyth hym) without anye tackling or other prouiſion to the ſame. Where the yong & tender prince being diſmaid

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with the rage of wyndes and of the floudes, and nowe weary of his lyfe, caſt himſelfe ouer borde into the ſea, and ſo was drowned. Notwithſtanding the eſquyre ſhifting for hym ſelfe as he could, and recouering the body of his mayſter, brought it to Sandwych, where it was buryed. Which done, the king afterward commyng to the remembraunce of him ſelfe, was ſtroken with great repentaunce the ſpace of.vij. yeares together. And at length was reuenged of hym that was the accuſer of hys brother. This accuſer (as is ſayde) was the Kinges cupbearer, who (as god the righteous iudge of althings would haue it) vpon a certayne ſolemne feaſt bearyng the cuppe vnto the kyng, chaunced in the middle of the floure to ſtumble with one foote, helping ⁊ recouerying himſelfe with the other, ſaying in theſe woordes: Thus one brother (as ye ſee) helpeth an other. Theſe wordes being thus ſpoken in the hearing of the kyng, ſo moued hys mynde, that forthwith he commaunded the falſe accuſer of hys brother to be had out to execution. Whoſe iuſt recompence I woulde wyſh to be a warning to all mē, what it is to ſow diſcord betwixt brother ⁊ brother.

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Kyng Ethelſtane (beſides his vij. yeares lamentation for this acte) buylded the ij. monaſteries of Midletone, ⁊ of Michelneſſe, for his brothers ſake (or as the ſtoryes ſay) for his ſoule. Whereby it may appeare, what was the cauſe moſt ſpeciall in thoſe dayes, of building monaſteries: to wytte, for releaſing the ſinnes both of them departed, ⁊ them alyue, whiche cauſe how it ſtandeth with the grace and veritie of Chriſtes goſpell, and of his paſſion: let the chriſten reader trye and examine with hym ſelfe. This cruell facte of the kyng toward Edwine, cauſed him afterward, to be more tender ⁊ carefull toward his other brethren ⁊ ſiſters left in his handes vnmaryed. Whiche ſiſters, as is partly in the chapiter before declared, he richely beſtowed, in great mariages: As one to ẏ kyng of Northūberland Sithericus: an other he gaue to Lewes kyng of Aquitania: the third to Hēricus duke of Almaine for his ſonne Otho: who was the firſt Emperour of ẏ Germanes. Wherby it is to be vnderſtād, that the Empire at this tyme begane firſt to be trāſlated frō Fraunce (where it remayned about C. yeares and half) vnto Germanie where it hath euer ſince continued.

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The iiij. of his ſiſters, beyng a virgine of ſingulare beuty Hugo the French kyng required to be geuē vnto hym: ſendyng to kyng Ethelſtane precious and ſumptuous preſentes, ſuch as were not before ſene in England. Among ẏ which preſentes ⁊ gifts, beſides ẏ rare odores of ſondry ſauours and fine ſpices: and beſides the precious and coſtly gemmes, namely of Smaragdes of moſt redolent grene, beſides alſo many ⁊ great courſers and palfreis richly trapet, eſpecially of one iewel: as writers make mention: which was, a certayne veſſell finely and ſubtily made of the precious ſtone Onichinus ſo radiātly wrought, that in it appeared ẏ lyuely corne growing, and mens images walkyng. ⁊c. Ouer and beſides was ſent alſo the ſwoord of Conſtantine the greate, with the name of the poſſeſſor writen in golden letters, wherein the hafte of the ſame all beaten in golde, was one of the yron nayles, wherewith our ſauiour on the croſſe was nayled. Of the veritie wherof I am not diſpoſed at thys preſent much to ſay what I ſuſpecte, but that this in the eccleſiaſtical ſtory of Euſebius, is euident. The ij. of the foreſayd nailes of Chriſt, were ſpent on the bridle of Cōſtantine: the third he caſt into the ſea in a ragyng tempeſt. Wherfore, if Chriſt were nailed with iiij. nailes perhaps this naile might be one. If he wer nailed but with iij, I ſee not how this ſtory can ſtand with other ſtoryes, neither how this fourth naile cā ſtand wͭ truth. Emong the reſt moreouer, was the ſpeare (as is reported) wherwith the ſide of our ſauiour was opened: which alſo the ſayd Conſtantine was wont to cary in the field agaynſt his enemies: with a portion likewiſe of the holy croſſe incloſed in Criſtall: Alſo a part of the crowne of thorne in lyke maner incloſed. ⁊c. Of the which reliques, part was geuen to Wincheſter. part to ẏ church of Malmſburye, where kyng Ethelſtane was buried. As this kyng was indued ⁊ enlarged, by ẏ gift of God (ẏ ſetter vp ⁊ diſpoſer of all kings) wͭ great victories of worldly renowne: hauing vnder his ſubiection both the Scottes, ⁊ Britons, ⁊ the whole monarchie of the land: So he diuiſed diuers good ⁊ holeſome lawes for the gouernment of the ſame, as well concerning the ſtate of the orders eccleſiaſticall, as alſo of ẏ ſecular or laye people. Wherby it is to be vnderſtand, that the vſurped power of the biſhop of Rome, did not thē extend it ſelfe ſo largely, nor ſo proudly to derogate frō the autoritie of kynges and princes: but that euery one in his own dominiō, had (vnder God, ⁊ not vnder the pope) the doyng of all matters within the ſame his dominiō contained: whether they were cauſes temporall, or ſpirituall. As by the decrees and conſtitutions of this kyng (and alſo of other as well before him, as after hym) may euidently be teſtified: as where he emong other lawes, thus ordeyneth touchyng the byſhop, in wordes as folow.

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Kings of England gouernors as well in cauſes eccleſiaſtical as temporal.

Epiſcopo iure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promouere dei videlicet: ac ſeculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum inſtruere, quid ei ſit agendum iure, et quid hominibus ſecularibus iudicare debeant.

Extractū ex legib. regis Adelſtani.

Debet etiam ſedulo pacem et cōcordiam operari cum ſeculi iudicibus: qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, nequis alii perperam agat, in iureiurando, vel in ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circūuentionem iniuſtæ menſuræ, vel iniuſti ponderis. Sed conuenit vt per conſiliū & teſtimonium eius, omne legis rectum, & burgi menſura, et omne pondus ſit ſecundum *ditionem eius, inſtitutum valde rectum: nequis proximum ſuum ſeducat, pro quo decidat in peccatum.

*alias dictionem.

Et ſemper debet Chriſtianis prouidere contra omnia, quæ prædicta ſunt, & ideo debet ſe de pluribus intromittere: vt ſciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad dei manum cuſtodire ſuſcepit, ne diabolus eum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod ſuperſeminet. Numquā enim erit populo bene cōſultum, nec digne Deo cōuerſabitur, vbi lucrum impium & magis falſum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum eſt eneruare, et quod iuſtū eſt eleuare, nec pati vt propter falſum, et pecuniæ quæſtum homines ſe foriſfaciant erga verè ſapientem Deum, cui diſplicet omnis iniuſticia.

Chriſtianis autē omnibus neceſſarium eſt, vt rectū diligant, & iniqua condemnēt et ſaltem ſacris ordinibus euecti iuſtum ſemper erigant, & praua deponant.

Hinc debent epiſcopi cum iudicibus, iudicia dictitare et intereſſe, ne permittant (ſi poſſint) vt illinc aliqua prauitatum gramina pullulent. Et ſacerdotibus pertinet in ſua dioceſi, vt ad rectum ſedulo quencumq; iuuent, nec patiantur (ſi poſſint) vt Chriſtianus aliquis alij noceat, nō potens impotēti, non ſummus infirmo, nō prælatus *ſubditis non *Dominus* hominibus ſuis, ſeruis, aut liberis. Et ſecundum *ditionem, et per menſuram ſuam, conuenit per rectum, vt neceſſaria *ſerui operentur ſuper omnem ſcyram cui *præeſt.

*alias minoribus.

*alias ſcriſtes dictionem.

*alias ſerui teſtamentales.

*vel, cui inſunt.

Et rectum eſt vt non ſit aliqua menſurabilis virga longior quam alia. ſed per *epiſcopi menſuram omnes inſtitutæ ſint, et exequatæ per ſuam *dioceſin. Et omne pondus conſtet ſecundum dictionem eius, et ſi aliquid controuerſiarum interſit, diſcernat epiſcopus.

*alias ſcriſtes menſuram.

*in ſua ſcryſte ſcyra.

Vniuſcuiuſq; *Domini* propriū eſt neceſſe, vt ſeruis condeſcendat, et compatiatur, ſicut indulgētius poterit: Quia domino Deo viuenti ſunt æque chari ſeruus, et liber. Et oēs vno et eodē precio redemit, et oēs ſumus Deo neceſſario ſerui: *Et* ſic iudicabit nos, ſicut āte iudicauimus eos, in quos poteſtate iudicij in terris habebimꝰ. Et ideo opus eſt vt eis parcamus, qui nobis parere debent, & tunc manutenebimur in *Dei* omnipotentis proprio iudicio. Amen.

A law how that maiſters ought to cōdiſcend and beare ſomtyme with their ſeruants.

The lawe of king Ethelſtane concerning tythes.

The ſayd Ethelſtane beſides, preſcribed other conſtitutions alſo, as touching tythes geuing: where he ſayth and proclaymeth. Ego Ethelſtanus rex, conſilio Vlfelmi Archiepiſcopi mei & aliorum epiſcoporum mādo præpoſitis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine domini & ſanctorum omnium, vt inprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas deo, tam in viuente capitali, quàm in mortuis frugibus terræ: & epiſcopi mei ſimiliter faciāt de ſuo proprio, & Aldermanni mei & præpoſiti mei, &c. That is. I Ethelſtane king, charge and commaund all my officers through my whole realme, to geue tythes vnto God of my proper good, as well in liuing cattell, as in the corne and fruites of the ground, and that my biſhops likewiſe of their proper goods, and myne Aldermen, and my officers and headmen ſhall do the ſame. Item this I wil: that my biſhops ⁊ other headmen do declare the ſame, to ſuch as be vnder their ſubiection, and that to be accompliſhed at the terme of S. Iohn the Baptiſt. Let vs remember what Iacob ſayd vnto the Lorde: Of all thinges that thou geueſt to me, I will offer tythes vnto the Lord, ⁊c. Alſo what the Lord ſayth in the Goſpell of S. Mathew. To him that hath, it ſhall be geuen: and he ſhall abound. We muſt alſo conſider how terriblye it is written in bookes, that if we will not offer our tenthes, from vs nyne partes ſhal be takē away, ⁊ onely the tēth part ſhalbe left vs, ⁊c. And in the ſame place, after that he hath aſſigned the churchrightes to be payd in yͤ place, wherto they belong: it followeth thus. Facite etiam vt mihi mea propria cupiatis, quæ mihi poteritis recte acquirere. Nolo vt aliquid mihi iniuſte conquiratis. Sed omnia veſtra cōcedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea ſimiliter exoptetis. Cauete ſimul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira dei, et tranſgreſſione mea.

Tythes.

The kyng would vſurpe no mās goods wrongfully.

Among his other lawes ⁊ ordinaunces, to the number of .xxxv. diuerſe thinges be comprehended pertayning as well to the ſpirituall, as alſo to the temporall iuriſdiction.

The law of K. Ethelſtane concerning felōs ſtealing aboue xii pence.

Out of the lawes of thys king, fyrſt ſprange vp the attachment of theues, ſuch as ſtole aboue .xij. pence and were aboue .xij. yeares olde, ſhould not be ſpared.

And thus much briefly touched, concerning the hiſtorye of king Ethelſtane, and thinges in hys tyme done: who reigned about the ſpace of .xvj. yeares. And becauſe he dyed without iſſue, therfore after him ſucceded hys brother Edmunde, the yeare of our Lorde. 940. who reigned .vj. yeares.

Epitap. in Ethelſt.
Sol illuſtrauit biſſeno ſcorpion ortu. Cum regem caudā percutit ille ſua.

An 940

Edmūdus king of England.

¶ *King Edmunde.*

EDmunde the ſonne of Edward the elder, by his third wife (as is declared) and brother of Ethelſtane, being of the age of .xx. yeares, entred his reigne: who had by his quéene Elgina, two ſonnes, Edwine, and Edgarus, ſurnamed Pacificus, which both reigned after hym, as followeth. This Edmunde continued hys reigne .vj. yeares and a halfe. By him were expulſed the Danes, Scottes, Normandes, and all foren enemyes out of the land. Such cities ⁊ townes which before were in yͤ poſſeſſiō of ſtrangers: as Lyncolne, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, ⁊ Laycetour, he recouered out of their hands. Thus yͤ realme being cleared of foren power, for a time: then the king ſet his ſtudie and minde in the redreſſing ⁊ maintaining the ſtate of the church: which all ſtoode then in building of monaſteries, ⁊ furniſhing of churches, eyther with new poſſeſſions, or with reſtoring the olde which were taken away before. In the tyme of this Edmunde, this I finde in an old written ſtory, borowed of W. Cary: a citizen of London, a worthye treaſurer of moſt worthy monumentes of antiquitie. The name of the author I can not alleage: becauſe the booke beareth no title, lacking both the beginning, and the latter end. But the wordes therof faythfully recited, be theſe: Huius regis tempore, facta eſt diſperſio monachorū Euſhamenſis cœnobij, cum ſubſtitutione canonicorum per Althelmum, & Vlricum laicos, & Oſulphum epiſcopum, &c. That is: In the tyme of this king, there was a ſcattering or a diſperſion made of the monkes, out of the monaſterye of Euſham, and canons ſubſtituted in theyr place: through the doing of Athelmus, and Ulricus laymen, and of Oſulfus biſhop, ⁊c.

Ex hiſtoria Cariana.

Where, as concerninig this matter betwene monks and other of the clergie, firſt it is to be vnderſtand: that in the realme of England, before this preſent tyme, aboute the beginning of Dunſtane: the biſhops ſees and cathedrall churches were repleniſhed with no monkes, but with prieſtes and canons (called then clerkes or mē of the clergie) After this beginneth to riſe a difference or a ſect betwixt theſe two parties, in ſtraitnes of life and in habite: ſo that they which liued after a ſtraiter rule of holines, were called monkes, and profeſſed chaſtitie: that was, to liue from wiues, (for ſo was chaſtitie then defined, in thoſe blinde daies) as though holy matrimonie were no chaſtitie, according as Paphnutius did wel define it, in the councell of Nice. The other ſorte which were no monkes but prieſtes or men of the clergie called, liued more free from theſe monkiſhe rules and obſeruaunces: and were then commonly (or at leaſt lawfully) maryed, and in their life and habite, came nearer to the ſecular ſort of other chriſtians. By reaſon wherof great diſdayne and emulation was among them: in ſo much yͭ in many cathedrall churches, where as prieſtes were before: there monkes were put in. And contrarye, ſometime where as monkes were intruded, there prieſts and canons againe were placed, and monkes thruſt out: wherof more ſhall appeare hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) when we come to the life of Dunſtane. In the meane tyme, ſomething to ſatiſfie the cogitation of the reader, which peraduenture eyther is ignoraunt, or els would know of the firſt cōming in of monkes into thys realme and church of England in the Saxons time: this is to be noted, according as I finde in olde chronicles, namely in the latin hiſtorye of Guliel de geſtis pontificū Angl. recorded, touching the ſame. That aboute thys tyme of king Edmunde or ſhortlye after, when hardnes and ſtraitnes of life, ioyned with ſuperſtition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holynes: Men therfore, eyther to wynne publique fame with men, or merites with God, gaue themſelues to lead a ſtraite life: thinking therby the ſtraunger their conuerſation was, and farther from the common trade of the vulgar people, the more perfecte to be toward God and man. There was at that time (⁊ before that) a monaſterye in Fraūce named Floriake, after the order and rule of Benedicte: from the which monaſterye did ſpring a great parte of our engliſh monkes. Who being there profeſſed, and afterward returning into England, did congregate men dayly to their profeſſion. And ſo, partly for ſtraungenes of their rule: partly for outward holines of their ſtraite lyfe: partlye for the opinion of holynes that many had of them, were in great admiration: not onely with the rude ſorte, but with kinges and princes: who founded their houſes, maintayned their rules, ⁊ enlarged them with poſſeſſions. Among the which order of monkes cōming from Floriake, eſpeciallye was one Oſwoldus, firſt a monke of Floriake, then byſhop of Wiceter and of Yorke: a great patron and ſetter vp of monkerye. Touching the which Oſwaldus, William in his booke, de pontific. writing of his hiſtorye, hath theſe wordes: Familiaris per id temporis Anglis conſuetudo fuit, vt ſi qui boni afflati eſſent deſiderio, in beatiſſimi Benedicti monaſterio cænobialem ſuſciperet habitum: a quo, religionis huiuſce manauit exordium, &c. That is. It was a common cuſtome at that time among engliſh men, that if any good men were well affected or minded toward religiō, they went to yͤ monaſtery of bleſſed S. Benedict

in

The origen of mõaſtery, how it fyrſt began in England.

Dunſtane abbot of Glaſtobury

The ſonnes of K. Edmunde.

The impudent vanity of the popes church in forging falſe myracles.

in Fraunce, and there receaued the habite of a monke: Wherupon the firſt origine of this religion began, ⁊c. But of this Oſwald biſhop of Yorke, and Dunſtane biſhop of Caunt. and Ethelwold, biſhop of Wint. how they repleniſhed diuerſe monaſteries, and cathedrall churches with monkes: and how they diſcharged maryed prieſtes ⁊ Chanons out of their houſes, to plant in monkes in their celles: more ſhall be ſpoken (by yͤ grace of Chriſt) hereafter. Now let vs returne agayne to the matter where we left, of king Edmunde: who beſides hys noble victories againſt his enemies, and recouering the cities aboue expreſſed into his owne handes: did alſo ſubdue the prouince of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two ſonnes of Dunmail king of Cumberland, he committed the gouernaunce therof to Malcolinus king of Scottes: vpõ promyſe of his truſtie ſeruice and obedience, when the king ſhould ſtand in any nede of hym. In the time of this king, Dunſtane was not yet Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, but onely abbot of Glaſſenbury: of whom many fabulous narratiõs paſſe among the writers, importing more vanitie thẽ veritie. Wherof this is one of yͤ firſt: what tyme Edgarus called Pacificus was borne, Dunſtane being the ſame tyme abbot of Glaſtonburye (as the monkiſhe fables dreame) heard a voyce in the ayre of certaine Aungles ſinging after this tenor, and ſaying: Now peace commeth to the church of England, in yͤ tyme of this childe, and of our Dunſtane, ⁊c. This I thought to recite, that the chriſtiã reader might the better ponder ⁊ note with himſelf, the impudẽt and abhominable fictions of this romiſhe generation. Out of the ſame mint alſo haue they forged, how the ſayd Dunſtane ſhould heare yͤ Angles ſing the Kyrieeleyſon, vſed to be ſonge at euenſong on Eaſterday in yͤ church. Guliel. de pontifi. lib. 1. Which is as true as that the harpe hanging in a womãs houſe, at the preſence of Dunſtane, played by it ſelf the tune of the Antheme, called Gaudent in cælis, &c. What woulde not theſe deceauers fayne in matters ſomething likelye, and eaſie to deceaue the people, which in thinges ſo abſurde and ſo inconuenient, ſhame not to lye and to forge ſo impudently and alſo ſo manifeſtly. Through the motion of this Dunſtane: king Edmunde builded and furniſhed the monaſterye of Glacenburye, ⁊ made the ſayd Dunſtane abbot therof.

Guliel. lib. de pont.

The monaſtery of Glaſtonbury. Dunſtane abbot of Glaſtõbury

This abbey of Glaſtenbury was fyrſt builded by king Iue, by the counſel of Adelmus. After beyng deſtroied by the Danes.

Guliel. lib. de regib.

Concerning the end and death of this king, ſondrye opinions there bee. Alfridus and Marianus ſaye: that while this king Edmund endeuored himſelf to ſaue hys ſewer from the daunger of hys enemies which woulde haue ſlayne him at Pulcherchurch: the king in parting of the fray was wounded, and dyed ſhortly after. But VVilliam de Regib. lib. 2. ſayth, that the king being at a feaſt at Pulcherchurch, vpon the day of S. Auſten: eſpyed a fellon ſitting in the hall, named Leof, whom he before for hys felonye had exiled. And leaping ouer the table, did flie vpon him, and plucked the theefe by the heare of the head to the ground. In which doing, yͤ felon with a knife wounded the king to the death, and alſo with the ſame knyfe woũded many other of the kings ſeruants, and at length was all to hewen, and dyed forthwith.

The lawes of kyng Edmund touchyng as well the ſtate ſpirituall as temporal.

By the lawes of king Edmund (ordayned ⁊ ſet forth as well for the redreſſe of church matters, as alſo of ciuill regiment) it may appeare, that the ſtate both of cauſes temporal, and lykewyſe ſpiritual, appertayned then to the kynges right (the falſe pretended vſurpatiõ of the biſhop of Rome notwithſtanding) as by theſe lawes is to be ſene: where hee by the aduiſe and counſell of hys Lords and biſhops, did enact and determine concerning the chaſtitie and pure life of eccleſiaſtical miniſters, and ſuch as were in the orders of the church, with the penalties alſo for them, which tranſgreſſed the ſame.

Item for tythes to be payed of euery chriſtian man, [illegible] for the church fees, and almes fees. ⁊c.

Item for deflouryng of women profeſſed, whych we call Nunnes. ⁊c.

Item for euery biſhop to ſee hys churches repayred, of hys own proper charge, and boldlye to admoniſh the king, whether yͤ houſes of God wer wel mayntayned. ⁊c

Item for fleing into the church for ſanctuary. ⁊c.

Item concerning caſes and determinatiõs ſpouſall, or matrimoniall. ⁊c.

Al which conſtitutions declare, what intereſt kings had in thoſe dayes in matters as well eccleſiaſticall, as other, within their dominion: and that not onelye in diſpoſing the ordinances and rites, ſuch as appertayned to the inſtitution of the church: but alſo in placing and ſetting biſhops in their ſees, ⁊c.

Vlſtanus archbiſh. of Yorke Odo archb. of Caunterbury.

Guliel. de pontifi. lib. 1. Polychro. lib. 6. cap. 6.

Odo made monke at Floriake after he was archbiſh. of Cãterbury

Guliel. de pontifi. lib. 1.

Guliel. lib. 3 de pont. Ebor.

The difference of habite & garments among men of the church.

In the tyme of this Edmund, was Vlſtanus Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Odo archbiſhop of Cant. which Odo being a Dane borne (as is before touched) was promoted to that ſea, by kyng Ethelſtane, for that (as they ſay) he beyng fyrſt biſhop of Wiltone, and preſent with king Ethelſtane in the field agaynſt Analafus, before mentioned, what time the ſayd Ethelſtane had loſt his ſword: he through his interceſſion vp to heauen, did ſee a ſword from heauen, come downe into the ſheath of the kyng. Whereof relation being made to the kyng by the foreſayd biſhop Ethelſtane, vpon the ſame was ſo affected toward Odo: that not onely he counted him for a patrone of his lyfe, but alſo made him primate of Canterburye after the deceaſe of Alfelmus. This Odo was the firſt from the comming of the Saxons tyll hys tyme, whych was archbiſhop of Cant. being no monke. For all the other before him, were of the profeſſion of Moonkes, of whom a great parte had bene Italians, vnto Beraualdus. Notwithſtandyng this Odo, beyng alſo a ſtraunger borne, after he was elected into the biſhoprick, to anſwer to the old cuſtom of others before him, ſayled ouer into Fraunce, and there at Floriake (after the vſual maner aboue mencioned of Engliſh men) receaued the profeſſion and habite of Monkiſh religion, as ſaith my foreſayde autor. And lyke as the ſayde Odo firſt being no Monke, was made archbiſhop of Canterbury: So alſo Vlſtanus the ſame tyme, being biſhop of Yorke and of Woceter, differed from diuers his predeceſſors before him, in profeſſiõ and in habite: of whom the forenamed autor thus writeth in his iij booke, ſpeaking of Vlſtanus, qui ſanctitate diſcrepabat et habitu, that is: he differed in ſanctimony and in habite. Wherby is to be collected, that in thoſe dayes was a difference in habite and garment: not onely betwene Monkes and biſhops, but alſo betwene one biſhop and an other. Albeit what difference it was yet I do not fynde. But I returne agayne to Odo: who by the deſcription of his manners, myght ſeeme not to be the worſt that occupied that place, were it not that our lying hiſtories faining falſe myracles vpon him (as they do of other) make hym in deede to ſeme worſſe thẽ he was. As where they imagine that he ſhuld ſee from heauen a ſword fall into the ſcabberd of kyng Ethelſtan. Item where he ſhould couer and defende the church of Canterbury wyth hys prayers from rayne. And alſo where he ſhould turne the bread of the aultar (as the wryter termeth it) into lyuely fleſh, and frõ fleſh into bread agayne: to confirme the people which before doubted in the ſame. Where note again (good reader) yͤ albeit this myracle were true, as no doubt it is vntrue: yet is it to be be vnderſtande, that in thoſe dayes was a great doubt among Engliſhe men, of the popiſh ſacrament, ⁊ that tranſubſtantiation was not receiued into the Chriſtian crede. The like iudgement is to be geuen alſo of that, where our Engliſh writers teſtifieng of the ſame Odo, ſay that he ſhoulde prophecye long before of Dunſtan, to be his ſucceſſor in the church of Canterbury. But to let theſe phantaſies and idle ſtories paſſe, this which we fynde of Odo: hys own writing is certayne,

False and lying miracles noted vpon Odo.

A note to the readea.

Tranſubſtantiation not yet receyued.

that the ſayd Odo in the raygne of king Edmund, had a ſynode commenſed of the chiefe Prelates and men of the Clergye in his tyme, to whom he directed thys letter here folowing: the copy whereof I thought to expreſſe, for the reader to ſee what zealous care raygned in archbiſhops then toward the church of the Lord. The wordes of hys epiſtle procede in this tenour.

The letter or an Epiſtle of Odo, archbiſhop of Cant. ſent to the other biſhops and men of the clergy.

The letter of Odo archb. to the prelates.

MIrabili cunctipotentis pölorum præſulis clementia opitulāte: Ego Odo, eccleſie Saluatoris Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti archiepiſcopus Douernienſis ciuitatis metropolitanus, coepiſcopis fidei catholicæ cōpagatoribus ſpiritali charitatis rigore meis cōfratribus. Preſentiū proſperitatē ætherei〈q〉; decoris beatitudinem. &c. The ſame in Engliſh.

By the diuine grace of God, I Odo of ÿ church of our Lord and ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt archb. and metropolitan of the citie of Douer, to my felow biſhops, & fellowe plāters of the catholike faith, and my fellow brethren in the ſpirituall bonde of charitie with gretyng wiſh proſperitie in this world preſent, and in the world to come felicitie. If it were ſo or by any meanes could be, that all the ritches of this world were layd before myne eyes, ſo that I being Emperour had all things vniuerſally vnder my ſubiection, all thoſe things gladly would I geue yea and my ſelf alſo would offer willingly for the health of your ſoules: as whiche alſo do deſire & truſt lyke wiſe my ſelfe to be ſtrenghtened wͭ the feruency of your holines as appertaining to thoſe thynges wherin the Lord our God hath ſet vs to be workemen. &c.

And after a few other wordes of lyke effect wherin he doth declare the heauy burden of hys office, it foloweth after this maner.

Wherfore moſt humbly and one vnworthie but yet a deuout fellow brother of yours, I beſech and exhorte your hollines: ÿ you will not ſhew your ſelues could and negligent in the cure and regiment of ſoules, ſo that in the tyme of the fearefull iudgement, the Lord do not cōplayne of you ſaying, my ſhepheardes did not fead my flocke but they fed them ſelues. And agayne they were princes of my flocke, and I knew not of it. But rather let vs take hede, and be diligent ouer the houſhold of the Lord, ouer which he hath ſet vs to be the leaders: to geue them meat, and true meaſure of corne in tyme conuenient: that is to ſay, wholeſome doctrine. And although vpō mine owne demerites or worthynes, I do not preſume to comforte or exhort any man: But as one beyng vnworthy, and fautie in tranſgreſſions innumerable, am glad, and ſtand in nede, rather to be ſtrēghtned by your brotherly admonitions: yet for the auncient autoritie of my predeceſſors, as of Auguſtine, of happy memorye, & alſo of other ſaintes by whoſe induſtrie the rule of chriſtianitie did firſt floriſhe and ſpryng from this metropolitane ſee, vnto all quarters of Englād. Therfore I haue thought good to direct vnto you theſe my letters to the profit of you all: eſpecially, for that our renowmed and princelye kyng Edmond, withall his people doth ioye to follow that which he heareth in you and of you: and alſo, for ſo much as al his ſubiectes which be vnder his emperiall dominion, do loue and delight to follow moſt ioyfully the fame & report of your ſincere conuerſation. &c.

Elſinus archb. of Caunt. elect.

This Odo continued byſhop the ſpace of xx. yeares. After whō Elſinus was elected and ordeined by the king to ſuccede, through fauour and money: but in goyng to Rome for the popes palle in hys iourney through the Alpes, he decayed and died for could. Wherupon ſucceded Dunſtane: as in tyme and place (by the leaue of Chriſt) foloweth to be declared.

S. Edmundes burye.

This Edmund gaue to ſ. Edmund the martyr before mētioned, the town of Bredrichceworth, which is now called ſ. Edmundeſbury, with great reuenewes & lands apperteinyng to the ſame. But cōcernyng the friuolous miracles which our monkiſh ſtorywriters here faine of this good Edmūd, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them paſſe.

The childrē of K. Edmund.

946

And thus much concernyng the reygne of kyng Edmund, who after he had reigned vi. yeares, & halfe was ſlayne as is ſayd at Pulcherchurche, and buried at Glacenbury of Dunſtane: leauing behynd him two children Edwine, and Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But becauſe the foreſayd children were yet yong and vnder age, therfore Edrede brother to kyng Edmund, & vncle to the childrē: gouerned as protector about the ſpace of ix. yeares, and halfe, till Edwine the eldeſt ſonne came to age. This Edrede with great moderation, and fidelitie to the yong children, behaued him ſelfe duryng the tyme of his gouernemēt. In his time, Dūſtane was promoted through the meanes of Odo tharchbiſh. from abbat of Glacenbury to be biſhop of Wiceter: and after of London. By the counſel of this Dunſtane, Edrede was much ruled, and to much therto addicted: In ſomuch that ÿ ſayd Edrede is reported in ſtories to ſubmit himſelf to much found penaunce, and caſtigations inflicted to him of the ſayd Dunſtane. Such zealous deuotion was then in princes, and more blynd ſuperſtitiō in biſhops. And here agayne is an other miracle as phantaſticall as thother before, forged of Dunſtane. That when ÿ Edrede being ſicke ſent for Dunſtane to be hys confeſſor, by the way, Dunſtan ſhould heare a voyce declaring to him before, that Edrede already was departed: at the declaryng wherof Dūſtanes horſe fel immediatly dead vnder him, with lye and all.

Edrede gouernor of the realm.

Dunſtane made biſhop of Wiceter & after of London.

With lye and all.

King Edwine.

K. Edwin.

955

EDwine the eldeſt ſonne of kyng Edmund afore mentioned, after his vncle Edrede, begā his reigne about the yeare of our Lord 955. being crowned at Kingſtone by Odo the archbiſhop of Cant. Of this Edwine it is reported of diuers writers, that the fyrſt day of his coronation, ſetting with his Lordes, brake ſodēly from thē and entred a ſecret chamber, to the company of a certain woman, whom he inordinatly reteined (beyng as ſome ſay an other mans wife) whoſe houſbād he had before ſlaine: as other ſay beyng of his aliance: to ÿ great miſliking of his Lordes, and eſpecially of the clergy. Dunſtane was yet but abbat of Glacenbury, who folowyng the kyng into the chamber, brought hym out by the hand, and accuſed hym to Odo tharchbiſhop, cauſyng him to be ſeparate frō the cōpanie of the foreſayd partie, be the whiche Odo, ÿ kyng was for his fact ſuſpended out of ÿ church. Be reaſon wherof the kyng beyng with Dunſtane diſpleaſed, baniſhed hym his land, and forced him for a ſeaſon to flee to Flaunders where he was in the monaſtery of ſ. Amandus. About the ſame ſeaſon the monaſticall order of Benedict mōkes or blackmonkes (as they wer called) began to multiplie and encreaſe here in England. In ſomuch, that where before tyme, other prieſtes and canons had bene placed, ther mōkes wer in their rowmes ſet in, and the ſeculare prieſtes (as they then were called) or cannōs put out. But king Edwyn for the diſpleaſure he bare to Dunſtane, dyd ſo vexe all the order of the ſaid monkes: that in Malmeſbury, Glacēbury and other places mo, he thruſt out the monkes, and ſet in ſeculare prieſtes in their ſtede.

The kyng ſuſpended by the archbiſhop.

K. Edwin an enemy to Monkes.

Monks put out, ſecular prieſtes placed in their roumes.

Notwithſtandyng it was not long, but theſe prieſtes & cannons were agayne remoued, and the ſayd monkes in their ſtede reſtored, both in the foreſayd houſes, and in diuers other churches cathedrall beſides: as in the next ſtory of king Edgar (Chriſt willyng) ſhall at more large appeare.

In fyne kyng Edwin beyng hated by reaſon of certaine his demaners, of all his ſubiectes (eſpecially the Northumbrianes, and Mercianes) was by them remoued from his kyngly honour, and his brother Edgar in his ſteade receaued: ſo that the ryuer of Tamys diuided

The death of king Edwyn.

both their kingdomes. Which Edwin after he had reigned about the terme of .iiij. yeares departed, leauing no heyre of hys body. Wherfore the rule of the land fel vnto Edgar his yonger brother.

❡*King Edgar.*

Edgar the ſecond ſonne of of Edmunde, and brother to Edwine, being of the age of xvj. yeares, began his raygne ouer the realme of England, in the yeare of the Lord. 959. but was not crowned till .xiiij. yeares after: the cauſes wherof here vnder follow (Chriſt willyng) to be declared. In the beginning of hys raygne he called home Dunſtane, whō king Edwyne before had exiled. Then was Dunſtane, which before was abbot of Glaſtenbury, made biſhop of Worceter, & then of London. Not long after, this Odo the archbiſhop of Cant. deceaſeth, after he had gouerned that church .xxiiij. yeares. After whom Brithelinus biſhop of Wint. firſt was elected. But becauſe he was thought not ſufficient to furniſh that roome, Dunſtane was ordayned Archbiſhop, and yͤ other ſent home agayn to his olde church. Where note by the waye, how in thoſe dayes the donation and aſſygning of eccleſiaſticall dignities remayned in the kynges hand: onely they fet their palle from Rome, as a token of the popes confirmation. So Dunſtane being by the king made archbiſhop, toke his iourny to Rome for hys palle of pope Iohn the .xiij. which was about the beginning of the kinges raigne. Thus Dunſtan obtaining hys palle, ſhortlye after his returne agayne from Rome, entreateth king Edgar: that Oſwaldus (who, as is ſayd, was made Monke at Floriake, and was nephew to Odo, late biſhop of Cant.) might be promoted to the biſhoprick of Worceter: which thing to him was graūted. And not long after, through the meanes of the ſayd Dunſtane, Ethelwoldus (whom hiſtories do faine to be the great patrone of Monkery) firſt monke of Glaſtenbury, then Abbat of Abbendon, was alſo made byſhop of Wincheſter. Of this Ethelwold, Gulielmꝰ libro de geſtis pontificum recordeth, that what tyme he was a Monke in the houſe of Glacenbury: the abbat had a viſion of him, which was this. How that ther appeared to him in hys ſleepe a certayne great tree, the braunches whereof extended throughout all the foure quarters of the realme: which braunches were all couered with many litle monkes coules: where, in the top of the trée was one greate maiſter coule, which in ſpreding it ſelfe ouer the other coules, incloſed al the reſt: which maiſter coule in the tree top, myne author in the interpretacion applieth to the life of this Ethelwold. Of ſuch prodigious fantaſies our monkiſh hiſtories be ful: and not onely our hiſtories of England, but alſo the heathen hiſtories of the Gentiles be ſtuffed wyth ſuch kind of dreames of much lyke effect.

959.
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Of ſuch a like dreame we read, of the mother of Ethelſtane: how the moone did ſpring out of her wombe, and gaue light to al England. Alſo of K. Charles yͤ Emperour: how he was led by a thred to ſee the tormentes of hell. Likewiſe of Furceus the Heremite, mentioned in the thyrd booke of Bede, who ſaw the ioyes of heauē and the .iiij. fires that ſhould deſtroy the world: the one of lyeng, for breaking our promiſe made at baptiſme. The ſecond fyre was of couetous. The thirde of diſſention. The fourth, was the fire of impietie and wrongful dealing. Item in lyke ſorte of the dreame of Dunſtane, and of the ſame Ethelwold, to whom apeared the thrée biſhops, Briſtanus, Birinus, and Swithinus. &c. Item of the dreame of the mother of this Ethelwold, who being great with him, did ſee a golden Eagle flee out of her mouth. &c. Of the dreame likewyſe or the viſion of king Edgar concerning the falling of the twoo apples, and of the pots, one being full, yͤ other empty of water. &c Alſo of king Edward the confeſſor, touching the ruine of the land by the conqueſt of the Normands. We rede alſo in the hiſtory of Aſtiages, howe he dreamed of Cyrus. And likewiſe of many other dreames in the bokes both of the Monkes & of yͤ Ethnicke writers. For what cannot either the idle vanitie of mans head, or the deception of the lyeng ſpirite, worke by man in forſhewyng ſuche earthlye euentes, as happen commonlye in this preſent worlde? But here is a difference to be vnderſtand betwene theſe earthly dreames ſpeaking of earthly things, and matters of humane ſuperſtition: and betwene other ſpiritual reuelations ſent by God touching ſpirituall matters of the churche, pertayning to mans ſaluation. But to our purpoſe, by this dreame, and by the euent which followed after, it may appeare howe & by what meanes, yͤ multitude of Monks began fyrſt to ſwarme in the churches of Englād (that is) in the daies of this Edgar, by the meanes of theſe thrée Biſhoppes, Dunſtane, Ethelwold, and Oſwold. Albeit Dunſtane was the chiefeſt ryngleader of thys raſe: yet Ethelwold being now biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald Byſhop of Worceter, were not much behinde for their partes. By the inſtigation and counſel of theſe thrée aforeſayd, king Edgar is recorded in hiſtories to build eyther new out of the ground, or to reedifie monaſteries decayed by the Danes, mo then .xl. As the houſe of Elye, Glacenbury, Abingtō, Burgh by Stamford, Thorney, Rameſey, Wilton, Wenton, Winchome, Thamſtocke in Deuenſhire, with diuers other mo. In the ſetting vp and building of the which, the foreſayd Edelwolde was a great doer and a founder vnder the kyng. Moreouer, through the motion of this Dunſtan and his fellowes: kyng Edgar in diuers great houſes & cathedrall churches, where Prebendaries and Prieſtes were before: diſplaced the prieſtes, and ſet in Monkes. Wherof we rede in the chronicle of Rog. Houeden, in wordes & forme as foloweth: Hic namq; Ethelwoldus Regem cuius eximius erat conſiliarius ad hoc maxime prouocauit, vt clericos a monaſteriis expelleret, et monachos, ſanctimonialeſq; in eis collocaret. &c. That is: Ethelwold biſhop of Wint. who was then one of the kinges counſel, did vrge the king chiefly to expel clerkes out of monaſteries, & in their roumes to beſtowe Monkes and Nunnes. &c. whereunto accordeth likewiſe hiſtoria Iornalenſis, contaynyng the like effect in theſe wordes: Hoc anno Ethelwoldꝰ Vvint. et Oſwaldus VVyrgornenſis epiſcopi, iuſſu regis Edgari (clericis de quibuſdam maioribus eccleſiis expulſis) monachos inſtituerunt, aut de eiſdem clericis et aliis monachos in eiſdē fecerunt. Gulielmus alſo writing of the tyme of Dunſtane, maketh the matter ſomewhat more plain, where he ſayth: Itaq; clerici multarum eccleſiarum data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes. Surgebant itaq; in tota inſula, religioſorum monaſteria, cumulabantur mole pretioſi metalli ſanctorum altaria. &c. Thus the ſecular prieſts, being put to their choyſe, whether to chaunge their habite, or to leaue their roumes: departed out of their houſes, geuing place for other better men to come in. Then the houſes and monaſteries of religious men through all the realme, went vp apace. &c.

Dreames not neceſſary to be regarded.
Difference of dreames.

How and whē monks fyrſt began to ſwarme in England.
Dunſtan. Ethelwold. Oſwald. thrée ſetters vp of monkiſhe religion.

Xl. monaſteries builded and repared by K. Edgar.

Prieſtes thruſt out of cathedrall houſes, & monkes ſet in.

Roger. Houedens. lib. Continuationum, poſt Bedā.

Chronicon Iornalenſe.

Gulielmus. de geſtis pontif. lib. 1.

After the kinges minde was thus perſwaded and incited by theſe biſhops to auaunce monkerye: then Oſwaldus byſhop of Worcetor, and alſo made Archbiſhop of Yorke, after the deceaſe of Oſkitellus, ſui voti cōpos effectus (as Houeden wryteth) hauing his ſee in the cathedrall church there of ſ. Peter: Began firſt with fayre perſuaſions, to allay the mindes of yͤ canons & prieſtes: whether they could be content to chaunge their profeſſion and to be made monkes, or no: which when he ſawe it woulde not take effecte, he practiſed this pollicie with them. Neare to the ſayd church of S. Peter, within the churchyarde he erected an other churche of our Ladye: which, when he had repleniſhed with monkes, there he cōtinually frequented: there he kept, there he ſat, & was

Oſwald B. of Wyceter, and archb. of Yorke

The policie of Oſwald in driuing out prieſtes, to place in monkes.

An. 969

euer there cõuerſant. By reaſon wherof yͤ other church was left naked and deſolate, and all the people gathered there where the biſhop was. The prieſtes ſeing themſelues ſo to be left and neglected both of the biſhop and of the people, to whom nothing remayned but ſhame & contempte: were driuen of ſhame eyther to relinquiſhe the houſe (ſuch as would not enter the monkiſhe profeſſion) or ells to become monkes: ſuch as had nothing els to ſtaye vpon. After the like ſuperſtition (although not after the ſame ſubtiltie) dyd Ethelwold alſo driue oute the chanons & prieſtes frõ the new monaſterye in Wincheſter, afterward called Hida: and placed his monkes. So in Oxford, and in Wildune, with diuers other places moe: the ſecular prieſtes with their wiues were expelled to geue place to monkes. The cauſe wherof is thus pretended in certaine ſtorye writers, whom I ſee alſo Fabian to followe: for that the prieſtes and clerkes were thought ſlacke and negligent in their church ſeruice, & ſet in vicars in their ſtede, while they liued in pleaſure, and myſſpent the patrimonye of the church after theyr owne luſte. Thẽ king Edgar gaue to the vicars, yͤ ſame land which before belonged to the prebendaryes: who alſo not long after ſhewed themſelues as negligent, as the other. Wherfore king Edgar (as mine autors write) by the conſent of Pope Iohn. xiij. voyded cleerely the prieſtes, and ordained there monkes. Although certaine of the nobles, and ſome of the prelates were therwith not well contented, as in the chapiter following may partly appeare.

Guliel. lib. 3 de Geſt. põtif. Chron. Iornalenſe. in vita Edgari.

Prebendaryes and prieſtes ſlacke in their dutie.

Prieſts voyded of cathedrall churches, and monks ſet in.

But for ſomuch as we haue entred into the mention of monkes and nonnes, and of their profeſſion, which I ſee ſo greatly in our monkiſhe ſtories commended: leaſt perhappes the ſimple reader may be deceaued therby, in hearing the name of monkes in all hiſtories of times to be ſuch an auncient thing in chriſtian life) euen frõ the primitiue church after the Apoſtles time) both cõmonly recited, and well receaued: therfore to helpe the iudgement of the ignorant, and to preuent all errour herein: It ſhall not be vnprofitable, in following the preſent occaſion here geuen (by way of a litle digreſſion) to entermedle ſomewhat concerning the originall inſtitution of monkes: what they were in the olde tyme, which were called Monachi, wherin the monkes of the primitiue tyme, did differ frõ the monkes of the middle tyme, and from theſe our monkes now of this latter age. Moreouer wherin all theſe three do differ from prieſtes (as we call them) & frõ mẽ of the clergie. Wherfore to anſwere to the ſuperſtitions ſcruple of ſuch, which alledge the old antiquitie of the name and title of monkes: fyrſt I graunt, the name & order of monkes to be of olde continuaunce, during neare from the time of.300.yeares after Chriſt. Of whom diuerſe olde autors do record, as Auguſtinus, Hieronymus, Baſilius Magnus, who was alſo himſelfe one of the firſt inſtitutors and commenders of that ſuperſtition. Chryſoſtomus, Nazianzenus, Euagrius, Sozomenus, Dionyſius, and diuerſe other. In the number of theſe monkes (which then were deuided into Hermites or Anachorites, and into Cœnobites) were Antonius, Paulus, Ioannes, with diuerſe other recluſes: Among yͤ which was Hierome, Baſile, Macarius, Iſidorꝰ, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite other: both in Paleſtina, Syria, Thebaide, Meſopotamia, in Egypt, in Africa, and Scythia. In ſomuch that Caſſianus, lib.2.cap.4 de canon. Noctur. orat. maketh mention of a certain monaſtery in Thebaide, wherin were aboue.5000.monkes vnder the gouernment of one abbot. And here alſo in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherin were.ij.thouſand and.200.monkes vnder one mans ruling, in the yeare of our Lord.596. Whereby it appeareth, that Monkes were then, and.200.yeares before in the primitiue time of the churche. But what Moonkes theſe were, is to be conſidered. Such as either by tyranny of perſecution were driuen in to ſolitary and deſart places, or els ſuch as not cõſtrayned of any, but of their own voluntary deuotion (ioyned with ſome ſuperſtitiõ among, for the loue they had to ſpiritual contemplaciõ, and for hatred of the wycked world) withdrew thẽſelues from all company: either hauing nothing to themſelues proper, or els all thinges common with other. And all theſe were then nothing els but lay men. Of which laye men there were.ij.ſundry ſortes: one of the vulgar & cõmon people, which onely were partakers of the Sacramentes: the other in following a monaſticall kinde of lyfe, were called Monkes (being nothing but laye men) leading a more ſeuere and ſtrayghter trade of lyfe, then the other: as may ſufficiently appeare by Auguſt. lib. de moribus eccleſiæ cap.13. Item lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item epiſtola ad Aurelium. Alſo by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writing theſe woordes: Alia monachorum eſt cauſa, alia clericorum. Clerici paſcunt oues, ego paſcor. &c. That is: One thing perteyneth to mõkes, an other thing to thẽ of the clergye. They of yͤ clergie feede their flocke: I am fede. &c. Et ex Dioniſyo. Alſo the ſame appeareth lykewiſe by the iiij. canon of the councel of Chalcedon, where it is prouided, ne monachi ſe eccleſiaſticis negocijs immiſceant; That is. That mõkes ſhould not intermedle with matters of the church. &c. Et Leo Epiſtola.62. vetat monachos et laicos, etſi ſcientiæ nomine glorietur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi.

The difference order, & inſtitution of monks examined.

Two ſortes of monkes in the primitiue church.

Caſſianus. lib. 2. cap. 4. de. canon. Noctur. orat.

By theſe foreſayd autors alledged it is euident: that monkes in the former age of the churche, albeit they lyued a ſolitarie lyfe, yet they were then no other but onely lay men: differyng from prieſtes, and differyng from the other monkes, whiche ſucceded them afterward in the midle age of the churche, & that in iij. points. Firſt they were tyde and bound to no preſcript forme either of diet, or apparel, or of any thyng els: as we may ſee teſtified by the wordes of ſ. Auſten, which be theſe: Neq; inter hæc nemo vrgetur in aſpera, quę ferre nõ poteſt: Nulli quod recuſat imponitur. Nec ideo cõtẽnitur a cæteris in quo eis imitãdis ſe fatetur inualidam. Meminerunt enim quãtopere commendata ſit in Scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis. &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, ſed quod exit. Itaq; non reijciendis generibus ciborum, quaſi pollutis, ſed concupiſcentiæ perdomandæ, et dilectioni fratrum retinendæ inuigilat omnis induſtria. And Sozomenus Libr.3.cap.16. ſpeakyng of the monkes of the ſame tyme, which in cities had ſeuerall manſions from other, ſayth: Alij in turba ciuitatum conuerſabantur, ſic ſeipſos gerentes, vt nullius momenti viderentur, & a multis nihil differrent. &c.1. Some lyued in cities, ſo behauyng thẽ ſelues, as ſemyng nothyng worth: and they differed nothyng frõ the multitude. &c. The ſecond poynt wherin they were diſcrepant from the latter monkes: was, in that they remayned no other but in the order of lay men (onely beyng of a ſtraiter lyfe then the the reſt) and had nothyng to do in matters and charges eccleſiaſtical. Which was afterward brokẽ, by pope Bonifacius the.4. as foloweth more (the Lord willing) to be ſene, and ſayd. Thirdly, the foreſaid monkes of that age (albeit the moſt part of thẽ liued ſole & ſingle frõ wiues) yet ſome of them were maried: certes none of thẽ were forbidden or reſtrained from mariage. Of ſuch as were maried, ſpeaketh Athanaſius in Epiſtola ad Dracontium: qui ait ſe nouiſſe et monachos et epiſcopos cõiuges et liberorum patres. &c.1. Which ſayth yͤ he knew both monkes and biſhops maried men, and fathers of children. &c.

And yet the ſayd monkes of the olde tyme, though they were better then thother whiche folowed them: yet all that notwithſtãdyng, ſuperſtition with them & emõg them began then to crepe into the churche, through the crafty ſubtiltie af Satan: And all for the ignorance of our free iuſtification by fayth in Ieſus Chriſt. Exãples do declare the vaine and prodigious ſuperſtition of theſe monaſticall ſort of mē, which exāples do not lacke: if layſure rather did not lacke to bring thē in. But ij. or iij. ſhal ſuffice for many: Which I purpoſe (yͤ Lord willyng) here to inſerte: to thentēt yͤ mind of yͤ godly reader may yͤ better conſider & vnderſtand, howe ſhortly after the tyme of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the doctrine of Chriſtiane iuſtification began to be forgotten: true religion turned to ſuperſtition: And the price of Chriſtes paſſion to be obſcured through the vayne opinion of mēs merites. &c. A certeine abbot named Moſes thus teſtifieth of hym ſelfe, in the Collations of Caſſianus: that he ſo afflicted him ſelfe with much faſting and watching, that ſometimes for ij. or iij. daies together, not only he felt no appetide to eate, but alſo had no remembraunce of any meate, at all: and by reaſon therof was driuē alſo from ſleape. In ſo much that he was cauſed to pray to God, but for a litle refreſhing of ſlæpe to be geuen him ſome peace of yͤ night. In the ſame autor, mention is made of a certein old man an heremite: who becauſe he had cōceiued in hym ſelf ſuch a purpoſe neuer to eate meate without he had ſome geſt, or ſtraunger with hym: ſome tyme was conſtreyned to abſteine v. dayes together vntill Sonday, while he came to the churche and there brought ſome ſtraūger or other home with hym.

Caſſia. 17. ..2.

..plas ..ing blinde ..ſtitiō ..e mon of the tyme.

Two other examples yet more wil I adde out of yͤ ſaid Caſſianus, to declare how yͤ ſubtilitie of Satan, through ſuperſtition and falſe colour of holynes blyndeth the miſerable eyes of ſuch, whiche rather attende mens traditions, then the word of God. In the xl. chap. of the ſayd autor in his bꝏke *de Gaſtrimargia*, is told of a certain abbat named Ioannes in yͤ deſert wildernes of Schythia: who ſent ij. of his nouecies with figges vnto one yͤ was ſicke in the wildernes xviij. miles of from the church. It chaūced theſe ij. yong nouicies miſſing the way, wandered ſo long in the wylde foreſt or wildernes, and could not find the Celle, that for emptines & werines they wared faint and tyred. And yet rather would they dye, then taſte the fygges committed to them to cary. And ſo dyd, for ſhortly after they were founde dead, their figges lyeng whole by them.

..ſianus de ſpi. Gaſ..marg. ..40.

..erſtitiō.

An other ſtory he alſo reciteth of ij. monaſticall brethren, who makyng their progreſſe in the deſert of Thebaide: purpoſed with them ſelues, to take no ſuſtenance but ſuch as the Lord ſhould miniſter him ſelfe vnto thē. It happened, as they were wanderyng deſolate in the deſert, and feyntyng almoſt for penury, certeyne Mazices, a kynd of people by nature fearce and cruell: notwithſtāding, beyng ſodenly altered into a new nature of humanitie, came forth and of their owne accord offered bread vnto them. Which bread thone thankefully receaued as ſent of God. The other as countyng it ſent of man & not of God refuſed it, and ſo for lacke periſhed.

..ſian. li. ..ap.2.

Hereunto might I alſo annexe the ſtory of Mucius, who to declare his obedīēce, did not ſticke at the cōmaūdement of his Abbat, to caſt hys ſonne into yͤ water, not knowing whether any were appoynted there readye to reſcue hym from drowning: ſo farre were the Monkes in thoſe dayes drowned in ſuperſtition. What is thys, but for mans traditions and cōmaundementes, to trāſgreſſe the commaundement of God, which ſayth: Thou ſhalt do no murther. Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lorde thy God. What man is ſo blind, that ſeeth not by theſe and infinite examples mo: what pernitious ſuperſtition hath begon by reaſon of this Monkery, almoſt from the beginning, to creepe into the church. Wherfore I cānot maruel inough, that ſeing that age of the church, had in it ſo many learned and famous Doctours, they not onely did approue and allow theſe monaſtical ſectes of life: but alſo certayne them ſelues were the authors and inſtitutors of the ſame, yea and of mens traditiōs made, the ſeruice of God. In number of whom may be reckoned Baſilius Magnus, and Nazianzenus, who with im moderate auſteritie did ſo plucke downe them ſelues, that when they were called to the office of biſhops, they were not able to ſuſtayne the labour therof.

..kery ..er of ..ſtition ..hipo..

..ilius ..gnus. ..zian.. ..us.

After theſe foreſayd Monkes of that tyme aboue recited, followed other Monkes of the middle age of the church: who as in multitude, ſo alſo in ſuperſtition increaſing, began by litle and litle frō their deſolate dens in the vaſte wildernes, to approche more neare to great townes: where they had ſolemne monaſteries founded by Kinges and Quenes, and kinges daughters, and other rych Conſuls, as is partly before touched, pag. 177. And the cauſes alſo touched withall, for the which they were firſt founded, as theſe: *pro remedio animæ meæ: pro remiſsione peccatorum meorum: pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, et pro ſalute regnorum, quiq; meo ſubiacent regimini populorum. In honorem glorioſæ virginis. &c.* For, all theſe impious and erroneous titles and cauſes, we finde alledged in ſtories, as in *Malmeſburienſis, Iornalenſis, Henricus*, & other mo. In which hiſtories I alſo note, yͤ the moſt part of theſe forſayd monaſteries were erected fyrſt vpon ſome great murther, eyther by warre in the field, or priuatelye committed at home: as ſhal well appeare to them which reade the bookes whō I haue alledged. But to returne to our Monkes again, who (as is ſayd) fyrſt began to creepe from the cold field into warme townes and cloiſters: from townes, then into cities, and at lēgth from their cloſe celles and cities, into cathedrall churches (as here appeareth by this ſtory of king Edgar) where, not onely they dyd abound in wealth and riches (eſpecially theſe Monkes of our later tyme) but much more did ſwymme in ſuperſtition, and phariſaicall hipocriſy, beyng yoked and tyed in all their doinges, to certayne preſcript rules and formall obſeruancies: in watching, in ſleeping, in eating, in ryſyng, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in taſtyng, in touching, in handling, in their geſtures, in their veſtures, euery man apparelled not as the proper condicion of other would require, nor as the ſeaſō of the yere did ſerue: but as the coacted rules and order of euerye ſect did enforce them. The number of which ſectes was infinitelye diuers: ſome after Baſilius rule, went in whyte: ſome after Benets rule, in blacke: ſome Cluniacenſes fyrſt ſet vp by Otho in the tyme of this kyng Edgar, wearing after the rule of Benets order: Some after Hieromes rule, leather gyrdled, and coaped aboue their white coate: Some Gregorians, copper coulored: ſome *de valle vmbroſa* gray Monkes: Some Grandimōtēſes, wearing a coate of mailes vpō their bare bodies, with a blacke cloke their vpon. Some Ciſtercianes, who had whyte rochets on a blacke coate: Some Celeſtines, all in blew, both cloke, coule, and cap: Some Chartere Monkes, wearing hearecloth next their bodies: Some Flagellantes, going barefoote in long whyte lynnen ſhyrtes, with an open place in the backe, wher they beat them ſelues with ſcourges on the bare ſkyn euery day, before the peoples eyes, tyl the bloud ran down: ſaying that it was reuealed to thē by an Angel, that in ſo ſcourging themſelues, within. xxx. dayes and. xij. houres, they ſhould be made ſo pure from ſynne, as they were when they fyrſt receaued baptiſme. Some ſtarred moonkes. Some Ieſuites, with a white gyrdle and a ruſſet coule. Briefly, who can recken vp the innumerable ſectes and diſguiſed orders of their fraternities: ſome holdyng of S. Benet, ſome of S. Hierome. Some of Baſil: Some of S. Bernard, ſome of S. Briget, ſome of S. Bruno, ſome of ſ. Lewes, as though it were not inough for chriſtē mē to hold of Chriſt only: ſo ſubiect were they to ſeruile rules, yͤ no part of Chriſtē libertie remayned amōg them. So drowned and ſuncke in ſuperſtition: that not onely thei had loſt Chriſtes religion, but alſo almoſt the ſenſe and nature of men. For where men naturally are

Monkes of the midle & latter age of the church deſcribed.

Cauſes of the founding of monaſteryes and nonneryes tending to the derogation of Chriſts paſſion & to chriſtian fayth.

Moſt parte of monaſteries were bulded vpon ſome murther.

The order of monks Cluniack, by Otho ſet vp in kyng Edgars time.

Monachi flagellantes.

and ought to be ruled by the diſcrete gouernmēt of reaſon in al outward doings, wherin no one rule can ſerue for all men: the circūſtance of tyme, place, perſon, and buſynes being ſo ſundry and diuers. Contrary, among theſe: not reaſon but onely the knocke of a bell, ruled all their doinges: theyr riſing, their ſleeping, their praying, their eating, their comming in, their going out, their talking, their ſilence, and al together like inſenſible people, eyther not hauing reaſon to rule them ſelues: or els as perſons vngratefull to God, neyther miſing the benefite of reaſon created in them, nor yet vſing the grace of Chriſtes libertie, wherunto he redemed them.

Monks are ſubiect & ruled by the knocke of a bell.

So are [illegible]

Thus thou ſeeſt (gentle reader) ſufficiently declared, what the Moonkes were in the primitiue tyme of the church, and what were the Moonkes of the middle age, and of theſe our latter dayes of the church. Whereunto ioyne thys wyth all, that where the Moonkes of elder tyme (as is ſayd) were mere lay men, and no ſpirituall Miniſters: Afterward Bonifacius the fourth, made a decree, an. 606. that Monkes might vſe ẏ office of preaching, of chriſtening, of hearyng confeſſiōs, & alſo of aſſoyling them of their ſinnes. &c. So then Monkes, who in the beginning were but lay men, and no ſpiritual miniſters, forbidden by the generall councel of Chalcedon (as is aboue related) to intermeddle with matters eccleſiaſticall: afterward in proces of tyme did ſo muche incroch vpon the office of ſpiritual miniſters, that at lēgth the prieſtes were diſcharged out of their Cathedrall churches, and Monkes ſet in their places. Becauſe that Monkes in thoſe dayes, leading a ſtraygħter lyfe, and profeſſing chaſtitie, had a greater countenaunce of holynes among the people, then the prieſtes, who thē in the dayes of king Edgar had wyues (at leaſt ſo manye as would) no law forbidding them to the contrary: tyll the tyme of Hildebrant called Gregory ẏ. vij. wherof more ſhalbe ſaid (Chriſt willing) in the booke next folowyng.

Monkes made ſpiritual miniſters cōtrary to the old decrees and cuſtome of the church.

Prieſts in king Edgars tyme had wiues.

And thus much by the waie as touching the order & profeſſion of monkes: now to turne in againe, frō whēce we digreſſed (that is) to the matter of kyng Edgar: who folowing the counſel and leading of Dunſtane, and the foreſaid Ethelwold biſhop of Wint. was ſomwhat therby inclined to ſuperſtition. But otherwiſe of his own nature, well geuen to all vertues and princely actes worthy of much commendacion, and famous memory. So excellent was he in iuſtice, and ſharpe in correctiō of vices (as well in his magiſtrates, as other ſubiectes) that neuer before his dayes was leſſe felonie by robbers, nor leſſe extorcion or brybery by falſe officers. Such prouinces and Lordſhyps as were not yet come vnder the kynges ſubiection: he vnited and adioyned to hys dominion. And ſo made one perfect monarchie of the whole realme of England, with all the Ilelandes and borders aboute the ſame. Such as were wicked he kept vnder: he repreſſed thē ẏ were rebels: the godly he mainteined: he loued the modeſt: he was deuout to God: and beloued of hys ſubiects, whō he gouerned in much peace & quietnes. And as he was a great ſeker of peace, ſo God did bleſſe him with much aboundaunce of peace and reſt from all warres: ſo that as the hiſtory recordeth of hym, Nullas inſidias domeſticorum, nullum exterminium alienorū ſenſerit, for the whiche, he was called Pacificus: He neither taſted of any priuie treaſon emong hys ſubiectes, nor of any inuaſion of forein enemies. So ſtudious he was of ẏ publike profite of his realme, and fruitful in his gouernment: that as the ſayd ſtory teſtifieth of hym, Nullus fere annus in Chronicis præteriit, quo non magnum et neceſſarium patriæ aliquid fecerit: No yeare paſſed in al the tyme of his reigne, wherin he did not ſome ſingular and neceſſary commoditie for the common wealth. &c. A great maynteyner he was of religion, & learnyng: not forgettyng herein the forſteppes of kyng Alfred hys predeceſſor. Emong hys other princely vertues, this is chieflye to be regarded: ẏ where as other princes commōly in much peace & quietnes are wont to grow into a diſſolute negligence of life, or obliuion of there charge committed vnto them: This kyng in continuance of peace (that notwithſtādyng) kept euer with hym ſuch a watch, and a vigilant ſeuerity ioyned with a ſemely clemencie, that I can not here but recite the witnes of our ſtory wryters, teſtifiyng of his vigilant and ſeuere care ouer the common wealth: which was ſo great, Vt nullum cuiuſcumq; dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret. i. That he would ſuffer no man of what degrée of nobilitie ſo euer he were, to dallye out his lawes without condigne puniſhment. &c. And foloweth more in ẏ ſame autor. Nemo eius tempore priuatus latro, Nemo popularis prędo, niſi qui mallet in fortunas alienas graſſari propriæ vitæ diſpendio, &c. That is. In all hys time there was neither any pryuey pyker, nor open theife: but he that in ſtealyng other mens goodes, would venter and ſuffere (as he was ſure) the loſſe of his owne lyfe. &c. Guliel. de Reg.

The worthy actes of king Edgar.

The king a good iuſticiarye.

England reduced into one full & perfecte monarchie.

Edgarus Rex Pacificus.

King Edgar & king Alfrede compared together.

Moreouer as the ſtudious induſtrie of thys prince was forward in all other pointes: ſo his prudent prouiſion did not lacke in this alſo, in dryuing out the deuouryng and rauening wolues, through out all his lande. Wherin he vſed this policie: In cauſing Ludwallꝰ price or kyng of Wales, to yelde to hym yearely by way of tribute. ccc. wolues. By meanes wherof within the ſpace of iiij. yeares after, in Englād and Wales, might ſcantly by founde one wolfe a lyue.

This Edgar emōg other of his politike dedes, had in readynes. 3600. ſhyppes of warre, to ſcoure the ſeas in the ſommer tyme: wherof. 1200. kept the Eaſt ſeas: as many to defende the Weſt ſide: agayne as many on the Southſeas, to repulſe the inuaſion of forein enemies. Moreouer in winter ſeaſon, ẏ vſe & maner of this vertuous kyng was this: duryng al ẏ tyme of hys life, to ryde ouer the land in progreſſe, ſearchyng and inquiryng dilligently (to vſe here the wordes of myne autor) quomodo legum iura, et ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum obſeruarentur: et ne pauperes a potētibus præiudicium paſsi opprimerentur. That is. How hys lawes & ſtatutes by him ordeined were kept, & that ẏ poore ſhould ſuffer no preiudice or be oppreſſed any maner of wayes by ẏ mightyer. &c. Briefly as I ſee many things in this worthy prince to be commended: ſo this one thyng in him I can not but lament. To ſee him lyke a Phenix to flee alone, that of al his poſteritie ſo few there be that ſeeke to kepe hym company. And although I haue ſhewed more already of this king, then I thinke will wel be folowed, yet this more is to be added to ẏ worthines of his other actes. That where as by ẏ multitude of the Danes dwellyng in diuers places of Englād, much exceſſiue drinking was vſed, wherupō enſued dronkenes, & many other vices, to the euil exāple and hurt of his ſubiectes: he therfore to preuent that euil, ordeyned certeine cuppes, with pynnes, or nayles ſet in them, addyng therunto a law: that what perſon dranke paſt that marke at one draught, ſhould forfayte a certayne peny. Wherof one halfe ſhould fal to the accuſer, and the other halfe to the ruler of the borough or towne, where the offence was done.

It is reported of this Edgar by diuers authors, that about the. xiij. yeare of hys reigne, he being at Cheſter: viij. kinges (called in hiſtories Subreguli) to wit, petykings, or vnderkings: came and did homage to him. Of whom the firſt was ẏ king of Scottes, called Kinadius: Macolinus of Cumberland. Mackus or Maſcuſinus kyng of Moniæ, & of diuerſe other ilandes. And all the kynges of Wales, the names of whom were Duſual, or Dunewaldus, Sifreth, Huwall. Iacob. Vikyll, Iuchell. All which kings after they had geuen their fidelitie to Edgar: the next day following (for a pompe or royaltie) he entred with theſe aforeſayd kings into ẏ riuer of Dee. Where he ſitting in a bote tooke the rule of the helme, & cauſed

The glory of king Edgar reprehended.

wherein kinges ught to lory.

theſe viij. kynges, euery perſon takyng an ore in hys hand to row him vp & downe the riuer to and frō the Church of S. Iohn vnto his palace againe, in token ẏ he was maiſter & Lord of ſo many prouinces: wherupō he is reported to haue ſayd in this maner: Tunc demū poſſe ſucceſſores ſuos gloriari ſe Reges Angliæ eſſe, cū tanta prærogatiua honorum fruerētur. But in my minde this kyng had ſayd much better, if he had rather ſayd with S. Paul: Abſit mihi gloriari, niſi in cruce Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti.

ing Edgar a ſuperſtitious pholder f Monkery.

Ex Edmero.

And thus haue ye heard hetherto touching ẏ cōmendation of kyng Edgar, ſuch reportes as ẏ old Monkiſh writers thought to beſtow vpon him, as vpō the great patrone of their Monkiſh Religion, who had builded ſo many Monaſteries for them, as were Sondayes in ẏ yeare (as ſome ſay) or, as Edmer reporteth, but. 48.

ices noted in king Edgar.

ing Edgar circumuented by one of his owne counſell.

Now on the other ſide, what vices in him were reignyng let vs likewiſe conſider, accordyng as wee find in the ſayd authors deſcribed which moſt write to hys aduauncement. Wherof the firſt vice is noted to bee crueltie, as wel vpon others, as namely vpon a certein Earle beyng of his ſecret counſaile called Æthelwold. The ſtory is this: Ordgarus Duke of Deuonſhyre had a certaine danghter named Elfrida, whoſe bewtie beyng hyghly commended to the kyng, he beyng inflamed therwith, ſent this foreſayd Æthelwold (whom he eſpecially truſted) to the partie, to ſee and to bryng hym word agayne and if her bewtie were ſuch as was reported, willyng him alſo to make the match betwene them. Æthelwold well bewyng the partie and ſeyng her bewtie nothyng inferiour to her fame, and thinking firſt to ſerue his own turne, told al things cōtrary to the king. Wherupon ẏ king withdrawing his minde otherwiſe, in the end it came to paſſe that Æthelwold him ſelfe did mary her.

Cruelty in king Edgar noted.

Not long aftert, he kyng vnderſtandyng farther by the complayntes and rumors of certeine, how he was preuented and begyled, ſet a fayre face vpon the matter before Æthelwold, & merely ieſtyng with him, told him how he would come & ſee his wife, and in deede appointed ẏ day when he would be there. Æthelwold ẏ huſbād perceauing this matter to go hardly with him, made haſt to his wife, declaryng to her the commyng of the kyng, and alſo openyng the whole order of the matter how he had done, deſired her of all loue, as ſhe would ſaue hys lyfe, to diſgrace and deforme her ſelfe with garments and ſuch attyre, as the kyng might take no delityng in her. Elfrida hearyng this, what dyd ſhe but contrary to the requeſt of her huſband and promiſe of a wyfe, agaynſt the kynges commyng trymmed her ſelf at the glaſſe, & decked her in her beſt array. Whom when ẏ king beheld, he was not ſo much enamored wt her, as in hatred with her huſband who had ſo deceaued hym. Wherupon the kyng ſhortly after makyng as though he would go to hunt in the foreſt of Harwood, ſent for Æthelwold to come to him vnder the pretenſe of huntyng & there ran hym throw and ſlue hym. After this the baſtard ſonne of Ethelwold comming to him, the kyng aſked him how he lyked that huntyng. Who aunſwered agayne: That which pleaſeth the kyng, ought not to diſpleaſe hym. For the death of which Ethelwold, Elfrida afterward builded a Monaſtery of Nunnes in remiſſion of ſinnes.

Great detriment happening in this Realme by K. Edgar.

W. Malmeſb.

An other fault which Malmeſbery noteth in hym, was the commyng in of ſtraungers into this land, as Saxons, Flemmynges, and Danes, whō he with great familiaritie retained, to the great detriment of this land, as the foreſayd ſtory of Malmeſbery recordeth: whoſe wordes be theſe. Vnde factū eſt, vt fama eius per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandritæ, ipſi etiam Dani huc frequenter annauigarent, Edgaro famares effecti: quorum aduentus magnum prouincialibus detrimētum peperit. Inde meritò iureq; reprehendunt eum literæ. &c. That is: wherby it happened, ẏ diuers ſtraungers out of foreine countreis, allured by his fame, came into the land, as Saxons, Flemmynges, & Danes alſo, all which he retained with great familiaritie. The commyng of which ſtraungers wrought great damage to ẏ realme, and therfore is Edgar iuſtly blamed in ſtoryes. &c. wt ẏ which reprehenſion all ẏ Saxon ſtoryes alſo do agree.

The incontinent lyfe of K. Edgar.

The Concubines and baſtardes of K. Edgar.

Editha baſe daughter of Wlfrid ẏ kings lemman.

The thyrd vice to hym obiected was his ncontinēt and laſciuious luſt in deflouryng maydes, as firſt of a Dukes daughter beyng a Nunne and a virgin named Wlfrida, or Wlſtrude, of which Wlfride was borne Editha, a baſtard daughter of Edgar. Alſo of an other certeine virgin in the towne of Andeuar, who was priuily conueyed into his bedde by this meanes. The laſciuious kyng commyng to Andeuar, not far from Wincheſter, & thinkyng to haue his pleaſure of a certeine Dukes daughter of whoſe bewty he heard much ſpeakyng, commaunded the mayd to be brought vnto hym. The mother of the virgin greued to haue her daughter made a concubine, ſecretly by night conueyed to the kynges bed in ſtead of her daughter, an other mayden of bewty and fauour not vncommoly: Who in the mornyng ryſing to her worke, and ſo beyng knowē of the kyng what ſhe was, had graunted vnto her of the kyng ſuch libertie and fredome, that of a ſeruaunt ſhe was made miſtres both to her maſter and alſo to her miſtres. Ex Mat. Pariſ. lib. de Regib.

Edward borne in baſtardie of Elflede, king Edwards concubine.

An other concubine he had alſo beſides theſe aforeſayd, which was Egelfleda, or Elfleda, called Candida (the white) daughter of Duke Ordmere (as W. Malmeſb. recordeth) ſhe beyng alſo a profeſſed Nunne, of whom he begot Edward in baſtardy. For the which he was enioyned by Dunſtane vij. yeares penaunce. After which penaunce beyng complete, then he tooke to hym a lawful wife (as Malmeſb. ſayth) Elfritha, the mother of Edmund and Æthelred, or otherwiſe called Egelred, wherof more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

King Edgar a great maintayner of monkery.

King Edgar ſeduced by Dunſtane, and Ethelwold B. of winch.

Ouer and beſides all theſe vices noted and obiected to kyng Edgar in our Monkiſh ſtorywriters, I alſo obſerue an other no leſſe, or rather greater vice then the other afore recited, which was blynd ſuperſtition and Idolatrous Monkery brought into the Church of Chriſt, with the wrongfull expulſing of lawfull maried Prieſtes out of their houſes. Whereupon what inconueniēces enſued after in this Realme, eſpecially in the houſe of ẏ Lord, I leaue it to the conſideration of them which haue heard of the deteſtable enormities of theſe religious votaries. The occaſion wherof firſt & chiefly began in this Edgar, through the inſtigation of Dunſtane & his felowes, who after they had inueigled the kyng and had wrought hym to their purpoſe, they cauſed hym to call a Councell of the Clergy: where it was enacted and decreed, that the Canons of diuers Cathedrall Churches, colleginars, perſōs, vicars, prieſts, & deacons with their wiues and children either ſhould gyue ouer that kynd of lyfe, or els giue roome to Monkes &c. For execution of which decree ij. principall viſitors were appointed, Athelwold or Æthelwold B. of Wincheſter, and Oſwold Byſhop of Worceſter, as is partly before touched, pag. 201. Oſbernus in vita Dunſtani. Malmeſb. De vit. pontif. Rog. Houed.

Ex Oſberno in Vita Dunſtani. Fol. 25. Malmeſb. Houedeno & alijs.

The death of K. Edgar.

And thus much concernyng the hiſtory of kyng Edgar, and of ſuch thyngs as in his tyme happened in the church. Which Edgar after he had entred into ẏ parts of Britanie to ſubdue the rebellion of the Welchemē, and there had ſpoiled the countrey of Glamorgan, and waſted the coūtrey of Ono, within x. dayes after, whē he had reigned the ſpace of xvj. yeares, dyed, and was buried at Glaſenbury, leauyng after him ij. baſtardes, to wytte, Editha and Edward: & one ſonne laufully begotten, named Æthelred, or otherwiſe by corruption called Egelred: For Edmund the elder ſonne dyed before his father.

Ye heard before how king Edgar is noted in all ſtoryes to be an incontinent lyuer in deflouryng maydes and virgines. Of which virgines iij. notoriouſly are expreſſed in authors, to wytte, Wlſtrude or Wlfride: the ſecond was yͤ Dukes mayd at Andouar, nye to Wyncheſter: the third was Elflede, mother of Edward. For the which Elflede he was ſtayd and kept backe frō hys coronation by Dunſtane Archb. of Cant. the ſpace of vij yeares: & ſo the ſayd king beginnyng his reigne in the xvj. yeare of his age beyng the yeare of the Lord. 959. was crowned at his age. xxxj. An. D. 972. as is in the Saxon Chronicle of Worceſter Church to be proued. For the more euident declaration of which matter concernyng the coronation of the kyng reſtrayned, and the preſumptuous behauiour of Dunſtane againſt yͤ king, & his penance by the ſayd Dunſtane enioyned, ye ſhall heare both Oſberne, Malmeſb. & other authors ſpeake in their owne wordes as foloweth. Perpetrato itaq; in virginē velatā peccato. &c. After yͤ Dunſtane had vnderſtādyng of yͤ kyngs offence perpetrated with the profeſſed Nunne, and that the ſame was blaſed amongeſt the people, with great ire and paſſiō of mynd he came to the king. Who ſeyng the Archb. commning, eftſoones of gētlenes aroſe frō hys regall ſeat towards hym, to take hym by the hand, and to gyue hym place. But Dunſtane refuſing to take hym by the hand, and with ſterne countenaunce bendyng hys browes, ſpake after this effect of wordes (as ſtoryes importe) vnto the kyng: You that haue not feared to corrupt a virgine mayd handfaſt to Chriſt, preſume you to touch the conſecrated hands of a Byſhop? you haue defiled yͤ ſpouſe of your maker, and thinke you by flatteryng ſeruice to pacifie the frende of the bridgrome? No Syr, his frend will not I be, which hath Chriſt to hys enemy &c. The kyng terrified with theſe thundryng wordes of Dunſtane, and compuncted with inward repentaunce of his crime perpetrated, fel downe weping at the feete of Dūſtane. Who, after he had rayſed him vp frō yͤ groūd agayne, began to vtter to hym the horriblenes of hys fact, and findyng the kyng ready to receaue whatſoeuer ſatiſfaction he would lay vpon hym, enioyned hym this penaunce for vij. yeares ſpace, as foloweth: That he ſhould weare no crowne all that ſpace: that hee ſhould faſt twiſe in the weake: he ſhould diſtribute hys treaſure left to hym of his aunciters, liberally vnto the poore: hee ſhould alſo build a monaſtery of Nunnes at Shafteſbury: that as he had robbed God of one virgine through hys tranſgreſſion, ſo ſhould he reſtore to hym many agayne in tymes to come: Moreouer he ſhould expell Clerkes of euill lyfe (meanyng ſuch Prieſtes as had wiues and childrē) out of Churches, and place Conuentes of Monkes in their rowme. &c.

Ex Chronico Saxonico Eccleſiæ Wigornenſis.

Ex Oſberno in vita Dunſtani.

Dunſtane refuſeth to take the King by the hand.

The wordes of Dunſtane to King Edgar.

Penaunce enioyned to King Edgar by Dunſtane.

It foloweth then in the ſtory of Oſberne, that whē this vij. yeares of the kynges penaunce were expired: Dunſtane callyng together all the peeres of yͤ Realme, with Biſhops, Abbats, and other Eccleſiaſtical degrees of the Clergy, in the publicke ſight of all the multitude ſet the crowne vpon the kynges head at Bath, which was the xxxj. yeare of hys age, and the xiij. yeare of hys reigne, ſo that he reigned onely but iij. yeares crowned king. All the other yeares beſides, Dunſtane belyke ruled the land, as he lyſted. Furthermore as touchyng the ſonne of yͤ ſayd Elfled, thus the ſtory writeth: Puerum quoq; ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, ſacro fonte regeneratum lauauit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium ſibi adoptauit. i. The child alſo, which was gotten of the harlot, he Baptiſed in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and ſo giuyng his name to be called Edward, dyd adopt hym to be hys ſonne. &c. Ex Oſberno.

King Edward raigned but iii. yeares crowned King.

Elflede proued a nunne, and Edward her ſonne a baſtard

By the which narration of Oſberne, agreeyng alſo with the ſtory of the Saxon booke aboue mentioned, is conuinced a double vntruth or errour, either negligētly ouerſeene, or of purpoſe diſſembled in our later Monkyſh ſtory writers, as in Malmeſbery, Math. Paris. Math Weſtmon. and other moe. Who to conceale the fault of kyng Edgar, or to beare with Dunſtans fact in ſettyng vp Edward for the mayntenaunce of their Mōkiſh order, firſt do falſely affirme, that Editha the daughter of Wlfride was borne after Edward, and that for her this penaunce was enioyned to kyng Edgar, which neither is, nor can be ſo, as in proces hereafter (the Lord willyng) ſhall appeare.

Errours in Malmeſbery, and certaine other monkes ſtories.

The ... rour.

Kings ... naunce enioyne... for Ed... but ... ward.

Secondly they are deceaued in this, that they affirme kyng Edgar to haue two wyues, and that Elfleda the mother of Edward was not a profeſſed Nunne in deede, but diſſembled ſo to be to auoyde the violence of the kyng: where as in deede the truth of the ſtory both gyueth her to be a Nunne and her ſonne to be baſe, and ſhe her ſelfe neuer to be maryed vnto the kyng.

The ... rour. Elfled... mother ... Edwar... proued ... be a ...

Now, for as much as we haue hetherto entred mention of Elfleda and Editha, alſo of Wlfrede, and Dunſtane, here would not be let paſſe to ſpeake ſomethyng of theyr lying miracles, falſely forged to the great ſeduction of Chriſten people by ſuperſtitious Monkes, who cared not what fables and lyes they brought into the Church, ſo they might haue the vantage of poore mens purſes and oblations. And firſt here commeth in yͤ fabulous miracles wrought at the tumbe of Elfleda the kynges concubine, which W. Malmeſbery in theſe verſes expreſſeth: Nam nonnullis paſſa annis morborū moleſtiam, Defecatam & excoctā Deo dedit animam. Functas ergo vitæ fato beatas exuuias, Infinitis Clemēs ſignis illuſtrauit Deitas. Inopes viſus & auditus ſi adorant tumulū, Sanitati reſtituti probant ſanctæ meritum. Rectum greſſum refert domum, qui acceſſit loripes. Mente captus redit ſanus, boni ſenſus locuples. The Engliſh of which verſes is nedles here to be recited. Briefly the effect is this, that both the blynd, deafe, halt, and ſuch as bee madde receaue here health agayne, if they worſhyp the tumbe of this Elfleda &c.

The ly... miracle... Elfled... Dunſta... & Edith... reproue...

Idola... trous ... ſhippi... the tum... of Elfle...

The lyke feynynges and monſtrous miracles we read alſo in Chronicles of dotyng Dunſtane, drownēd in all ſuperſtition, if he were not alſo a wicked ſorcerer: Firſt how he beyng yet a boy, chaſed away the deuill, ſet about with a great company of dogges: and how the Aungels dyd open the Church doore for hym to enter. Then how the Lute or Harpe hangyng vppon the wall, did ſing or play without any finger, theſe wordes: Gaudent in cœlis animæ ſanctorum, qui Chriſti veſtigia ſunt ſequuti, & qui pro eius amore ſanguinem ſuum fuderunt: ideo cum Chriſto regnabunt in æternum. Item, where a certayne great beame or maſterpoſt was loſed out of yͤ place: he with makyng the ſigne of a Croſſe, ſet it in right frame againe. Moreouer, how the ſayd Dunſtane beyng tempted vppon a tyme of the deuill withe the cogitation of wemen, caught yͤ deuill by yͤ noſe with a hotte payre of tonges, and held hym faſt. Item, how oft heauenly ſpirites appeared to hym, and vſed to talke with hym familiarely. Item, how hee prophecied of the byrth of kyng Edgar, of the death of kyng Egelred, of the death of Editha, & of Ethelwod Byſhop of Wincheſter. Alſo how our Lady with her fellowes appeared viſibly to hym, ſingyng this ſong: Cantemus Domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem. Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio. Agayne, how the Aūgels appeared to him ſingyng the Hymne called Kyrie Rex ſplendens. &c. And yet theſe prodigious fantaſies with other moe are written of hym in Chronicles, and haue bene beleued in Churches.

The idle phātaſies and forg... miracles of Dunſtane.

I doubt whether Dunſtan was a ſo... cerer.

Dunſtan a poſt ſe... ter.

Dunſtan caught the deuill by the noſe with ... hoate pa... of tongs.

Our La... appeare... to Dunſtane.

What ... uell if ... taine bo... kes and epiſtles ... falſely ... tuled to th: doct... when the Papiſts ſhame not to aſcribe other ... verſes ... to the ... gine Ma... her ſelfe.

Among many other falſe & lying miracles, forged in this corrupt tyme of Monkery, the fabulous or rather filthy Legend of Editha were not to be ouerpaſſed, if for ſhame & honeſty it might wel be recited. But to caſt yͤ dyrt of theſe Popeholy Monkes in their owne face, which ſo impudētly haue abuſed the Church of Chriſt, and ſimplicitie of the people with their vngratious vanities, let vs ſee what this miracle is, and how honeſtly

A foule ... thy Mo... kiſh mi... racle in the ſtory of Editha.

it is told. Certeine yeares after ẏ death of Editha, ſaith William of Malmeſbery, which yeares, Capgraue in his new Legend reckeneth to be thrittene, the ſayd Editha and alſo S. Denys holding her by the hand, appeared to Dunſtane in a viſion, willyng and requiring him that the body of Editha in the Church of Wilton ſhould be taken vp & ſhryned, to the entent it might be honored here in earth of her ſeruauntes, accordyng as it is worſhipped of her ſpouſe in heauen. Dunſtane vppon thys commyng from Saliſbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commaunded her body to be taken vp with much honor and ſolemnitie. Who there in openyng her tumbe (as both Malmeſbery, and Capgraue with ſhame enough recordeth) found all the whole body of this Editha conſumed to earth, ſaue onely her thumbe, her bely, and the part vnder the bely. Wherof the ſayd Editha expoundyng the meanyng, declared that her thumbe remained ſound, for ẏ much croſſyng ſhe vſed with ẏ ſame. The other partes were incorrupted, for a teſtimony of her abſtinēce, & integritie &c. Ex Malmeſb. et Capgrauo. What Sathan hath ſo enuied the true ſinceritie of Chriſtian faith and doctrine, ſo to contaminate the ſame with ſuch impudent tales, ſuch filthy vanities, and idolatrous phantaſies as this? Such Mōkes, with their deteſtable houſes where Chriſtes people were ſo abominably abuſed & ſeduced to worſhyp dead carcaſes of men and wemen, whether they deſerued not to be raſed & pluckt downe to the ground, let all chaſt readers iudge. But of theſe matters enough and to much.

In other dreame of Dunſtane.

Ex W. Malmeſbenienſi & Capgrauo in legend. noua.

The death of king Edgar.

¶ Here foloweth the Epitaph, written by Henricus Archdeacon of Huntyngton, vppon the prayſe and commendation of kyng Edgar.

An Epitaph commendatorie of king Edgar, written by H. Huntington.

Autor opum, vindex ſcelerum, largitor honorum,
Septiger Edgarus regna ſuperna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros:
Nequitiæ lapſum, iuſtitiæq; locum.
Nouit enim regno verum perquirere falſo,
Immenſum modico, perpetuumq; breui.

Among his other lawes, this kyng ordayned that the Sonday ſhould be ſolemniſed from Saterday at ix. of the clocke, till Monday mornyng.

Sonday firſt to be halowed from ſaterday at ix. of the clocke, to monday mornyng.

¶ *King Edward, called the Martyr.*

975.

The ſtory of king Edward. *Ex Simone Durham.*

After the death of Edgar no ſmal trouble aroſe amōgeſt the Lordes and Byſhops for ſucceſſion of ẏ crowne: ẏ principall cauſe wherof roſe vppon this occaſion, as by ẏ ſtory of Simon of Durhā, & Rog. Houeden, is declared. Immediatly after the deceaſe of the kyng, Alferus Duke of Mercia, and many other nobles, which held with Egelred or Æthelred the onely right heyre and lawfull ſonne of Edgar, miſlykyng the placyng & intrudyng of Monkes into Churches, & the thruſtyng out of the ſecular Prieſtes with theyr wyues and children out of their auncient poſſeſſions, expelled the Abbats and Monkes, and brought in agayn the foreſayd Prieſtes with their wyues. Agaynſt whō, certeine other there were on the contrary part, that made reſiſtance, as Æthelwyn Duke of Eaſtangles, Ælfwoldus his brother, and the Earle Brithnothus, ſaying in a coūſell together aſſembled, that they would neuer ſuffer the religious Monkes to be expulſed and driuen out of the Realme, which held vp all Religion in the lād, and therupon eftſoones leuyed an army, wherby to defend by force the Monaſteries, ſuch as were within the precincte of Eaſtanglia.

Contention amōgs the Lordes about the puttyng in of monkes.

In this hurly burly amongeſt the Lordes about the placing of Monkes & puttyng out of Prieſtes, roſe alſo ẏ contētion about ẏ crown, who ſhould be their kyng: the Biſhops and ſuch Lordes as fauored the Monkes, ſéekyng to aduaunce ſuch a kyng as they knew would incline to their ſide: ſo that the Lordes thus diuided, ſome of them would haue Edward, & ſome conſented vpon Egelred the lawfull ſonne. Then Dunſtane Archb. of Cant. and Oſwold Archb. of Yorke, with other their felowbyſhops, Abbats, and diuers other Lordes & Dukes aſſembled in a counſell together. In the which counſel Dunſtane cōmyng in with his croſſe in his hand, and bryngyng Edward before the Lordes, ſo perſuaded them, that in the end Edward by Dunſtanes meanes was elected, conſecrated, and annoynted for their kyng.

Contention amōgs the Lords for chuſing the king.

Edward the Baſtard made king and the right heyre put backe.

And thus haſt thou (good reader) the very truth of this ſtory, accordyng to the writyng of authors of moſt antiquitie which lyued nereſt to that age, as Oſberne and others: which Oſberne lyuyng in the dayes of William Conquerer, wrote this ſtory of Dunſtan thorough the motion of Lancfrancus, and allegeth or rather tranſlateth the ſame out of ſuche Saxon ſtoryes as were written before his tyme. Beſides whiche Oſberne, we haue alſo for wytnes hereof Nic. Trinet in his Engliſh ſtory writen in French, and alſo Ioannes Paris in hys French ſtory written in the Latin toung, where he playnly calleth Edward, non legitimū filium, that is, no lawful ſonne. Wherunto adde moreouer the teſtimonie of Vincētius & Antoninus, who in playne termes likewiſe reporte the ſame.

Ex oſberno. Nic. Trinet. Ioan Paris. Vincentio. Antonino.

Now hauyng layd the foundation for the truth and groūd of this matter, let vs come to examine how truly our later writers do ſay, which write that Editha, and not Edward, was the child for whom Dunſtane enioyned to the kyng vij. yeares penaunce, and alſo how truly they report Edward to bee a lawfull heyre, and Elflede to be the lawfull wife to kyng Edgar.

Editha proued not to be the child for whom king Edgar was enioyned penaunce.

For firſt, touching Editha this is confeſſed by ẏ ſaid writers them ſelues, that ſhe was of good yeares at what tyme Edgar her father was enioyned hys penaunce. After the which vij. yeares of his penaunce expired, he liued at the moſt but iij. yeares and a halfe. Which vij. yeares, and thrée yeares & a halfe make in all but x. yeares & a halfe. But now the ſayd authors them ſelues do graunt that ſhe was made Abbaſe by her father, he beyng then alyue. And how can this then ſtand with her Legend, whiche ſayth, that ſhe was not leſſe thē xv. yeares of age? By which accoūt it muſt nedes fall out, that ſhe could not be ſo litle as v. yeares olde before the byrth of that child for whom the kyng dyd penaunce.

And thus much touching Editha. Now in lykewiſe to conſider of the tyme of Edward: firſt this by all writers is graunted, that he was ſlayne in the xv. yeare of his age. Which yeares do well agrée to that childe which kyng Edgar begat in baſtardy, and for the which he did his penaunce. For the more euidence wherof let vs come to the ſupputation of yeares, in this ſort.

The yeares of Editha and Edward caſte by the ſupputation of legendes and ſtories.

Firſt, the penaunce of the kyng, after the byrth of this child, laſted vij. yeares. Then the king after ẏ ſame lyued iij. yeares, & a halfe. After whoſe death, Edward reigned other iij. yeares & a halfe. Which in all make the ful ſumme of xiiij. yeares. About the count of which age, the ſayd Edward goyng on his xv. yeares, by theyr owne rekenyng was ſlayne.

And thus haue ye by manifeſt demonſtration proued by the right caſting of the yeares, after theyr owne graunt and rekenyng, that Editha daughter of Wlfride in no caſe can be the child which was borne after Edward, & for whom ẏ king was enioyned penaūce: but that Edward rather was borne after Editha and was the child for whom the penaunce was enioyned, contrary to the opinion commonly receaued in the Church, which for ignoraunce of the ſtory hath hetherto holdē Edward to be an holy Martyr, and right heyre vnto the crowne. Which errour and opinion, how it

K. Edward called Martir proued to be a baſtard.

firſt ſprang & by whom, albeit it perteine not to my ſtory to diſcuſſe, yet were it no hard matter to coniecture.

The cauſe perpended why this ſtory of king Edward is ſo falſely corrupted in Monkiſh ſtories.

Firſt, after that Dunſtane and Oſwold, with other Byſhops, Abbats, and certeine Lordes and Dukes of that faction, for ẏ mainteynaunce of Monkery, had aduaunced Edward to be kyng, againſt Quéene Alfrith mother of Æthelred, and Alferus Duke of Mercia & certeine other nobles, which held with the contrary ſide of the Prieſtes agaynſt the Monkes, in proces of tyme, the Mõkes that came after to write ſtoryes, perceauyng Dunſtane to bee reputed in the Church of Rome for an holy Sainte, and the ſayd kyng Edward for a holy Martyr, and partly alſo to bolſter vp theyr owne Religion of Monkery ſo much as they could: to the entent therfore they would ſaue the credit both of Dunſtane and of the kyng, and eſpecially bearyng fauour to theyr owne Religion, and partly that the reputation of the Churche of Rome ſhould not be diſteyned by openyng the truth of this matter, either did not ſée or would not confeſſe herein what they knew, but rather thought beſt to blanch the ſtory, and colorably to hyde the ſimple truth thereof, makyng the people falſly beleue, that Elfleda the mother of Edward was wife to kyng Edgar, & Edward to bee lawfully borne, and alſo that Editha was borne after Edward, and to be the child for which the king was enioyned penaũce. All which is falſe and contrary both to the order of time aboue declared, and alſo to the playne wordes of Malmeſbery, whiche ſpeakyng of Kyng Edgars laſt concubine, ſaith in playne wordes: Dilexit vnice, integrã lecto vni deferens fidem, quoad legitimam vxorem accepit Elfthridam filiam Ordgari. That is, he had a concubine whom he loued intierely, kéepyng true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the tyme he maryed for his lawful wife Elfride ẏ daughter of Duke Ordgare. &c. Whereby we haue to vnderſtand that what ſoeuer concubine this was whiche Malmeſbery ſpeaketh of, certeine it is, that Edgar lyued in whoredome till tyme he maryed his lawfull wife. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beſides theſe Argumentes and allegations aboue recited, let this alſo be perpended, how the ſayd Dunſtane with his complices, after the killing of king Edward, leauing the right heyre of the crowne (which was Æthelred) wẽt about, as Capgraue & their owne Legend confeſſeth, to ſet vp Editha the other baſtard to poſſeſſe the crowne, but that ſhe more wiſe then her brother Edward, refuſed the ſame. Wherby what is to be thought of the doinges of Dunſtane, & what ſhould be the cauſe why he preferred both Edward & Editha to the crowne rather then the lawfull heyre, I leaue to all indifferent readers thereof to iudge.

Ex Malmeſb. in lib. de regibus.

Dunſtane ſuborneth Editha the baſtard to take ẏ crowne from the right heyre.

Ex Capgrauo in Vita ſancta Editha.

After that Dunſtane and his felowes had thus ſet vp Edward for their kyng, they were now where they would be, ſuppoſing all to be ſure on their ſide, and that they had eſtabliſhed ẏ kingdome of Monkery for euer, through the helpe of the young kyng and the Duke of Eaſtangles, & certeine other nobles whom they had drawen to theyr part. Howbeit this matter paſſed not ſo well with them as they hoped. For ſhortly after the coronation of this young kyng, Alferus Duke of Mercia, who followed much the dedes of the Quéene, with other great men, ſtoutly ſtandyng on the contrary ſide, droue out the Monkes from the Cathedrall Churches which kyng Edgar before had ſet in, & reſtored agayne the Prieſtes (as Ranulphus ſayth) with their concubines: but in the hiſtory of the Librarie of Iornall, I find it plainly expreſſed: with their wiues. The wordes of the very author be theſe: Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæteriq; plures, eiectis monachis de magnis monaſterijs, quos Rex Edgarus nuper inſtituerat, clericos cum vxoribus reduxerunt: That is, Alferus Duke of Mercia, with other great men moe, droue out the Monkes from the great monaſteries, whom kyng Edgar had there ſet in before, and reſtored agayne the the Prieſtes with their wyues. &c.

Duke Alpherus.

Prieſtes with their wiues reſtored.

Hiſtoria Iornalenſis in Vita Edgari.

Wherby it doth euidently appeare, that Prieſtes in thoſe dayes were maryed and had their lawful wiues. The lyke before that in kyng Inas time is playne: that Byſhops then had wiues and children, as appeareth by the wordes of the law then ſet forth, are extant in the hyſtory of the ſayd Iornalenſis, which be theſe: Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrinum, ſit ſimile cognationi, & creſcat emendatio ſecundũ Weram eius Regi, ſicut cognationi. Si de parentela ſit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, ſicut manbota Domini. Si Epiſcopi filiolus ſit, ſit dimidium hoc. &c. And thus much by ẏ way for Prieſts wyues and theyr children. Now to the purpoſe agayn of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke and nobles of England expulſed ẏ monkes out of ẏ Monaſteries after ẏ death of K. Edgar. Wherof let vs heare what ẏ Mõkiſh ſtory of ẏ Abbay of Croulãd recordeth. Monachis de quibuſdam monaſterijs eiectis, clerici ſunt introducti, qui ſtatim monaſteriorum maneria ducibus terræ diſtribuebãt, vt ſic in ſuas partes obligati eos contra monachos defenſarent. Tunc de monaſterio Eueſhamenſi, monachis expulſis, clerici fuerãt introducti: Terræq; tyrãni de terris Eccleſiæ præmiati ſunt, quibus Regina nouercali nequitia ſtans cũ clericis in regis opprobriũ, fauebat. Cum monachis autem rex, & ſancti Epiſcopi perſiſtebãt. Sed tyranni fulti Reginæ fauore & potentia, ſuper monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus eſt. *Ex Chronico Ingulphi Abbatis de Crouland. &c.* that is, the Monkes beyng expelled out of certeine monaſteries, the Clerkes agayne were brought in, who diſtributed the maners or fermes of the ſayd monaſteries to the Dukes & Lordes of the land, that they beyng obliged to them, ſhould defend them agaynſt the Monkes. And ſo were the Monkes of Eueſham thruſt out, and the ſeculare Clerkes placed, and the landes of the Church gyuen to the Lordes, with whom the Quéene, the kynges ſtepmother holdyng the ſame time, tooke part alſo with the ſayd Clerkes agaynſt the kyng. On the contrary part ſtode the kyng and the holy Byſhops, takyng part with the Monkes. Howbeit the Lordes & peeres of ẏ Realme ſtayng vppon the fauour and power of the Quéene, triumphed ouer the Monkes. &c.

Biſho
& prieſt
in thoſe
dayes,
ried in
Englan

Iornalenſ. de Ine Rege.

Ex Chro co Ingul Abbatis Crowland.

Great bu
ſines wi
land abo
placing
Monkes,
and diſpla
cing prieſt

And thus as much ado there was through all quarters of the realme about the matter among ẏ Lordes: ſo aroſe no leſſe contention betwene the Prieſtes and Monkes of England. The Prieſts complaynyng to the kyng & Dunſtane layd for themſelues, that it was vncomely, vncharitable, yea and vnnaturall, to put out an old knowen dweller for a new vnknowen: and that God was not pleaſed, ẏ to be taken from ẏ aũcient poſſeſſor which by God was geuen him: neither ẏ it could be to any good man accepted to ſuffer ſuch iniury to be done: leſt peraduẽture the ſame thyng wherin he was preiudiciall to an other, might after reuert & redound vppon himſelfe at length. The Monkes on the other ſide, layd for their part, that Chriſt alowed neither the old dweller nor the new commer, nor yet looked vpon the perſon: but who ſo would take ẏ croſſe of penaũce vpon him, & folow Chriſt in vertuous liuing, ſhould be his diſciple. &c. Theſe & ſuch other were the allegatiõs of ẏ Mõkes. But whether a Monkes coule or a wiueles life make a ſufficient title to enter into other mens poſſeſſiõs or no, I referre it to the iudgemẽt of the godly. The troublous cares in mariage: the neceſſary prouiſiõ for houſe keping: ẏ vertuous bringing vp of childrẽ: the dayly helpyng of pouertie and bearyng of publicke charges: with other manifold perturbations & cõbrances dayly incident to ẏ ſtate of matrimony, might rather appeare to godly wiſe men, to come nearer to ẏ right croſſe of penaunce, thẽ the eaſy and loytring idlenes of Mõkery. In the end, vpon this cõtrouerſy was holden a Coũcell of Biſhops & other of ẏ Clergy: Firſt at Reding or at Wincheſter as Guliel. ſayth: where ẏ

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Prieſtes
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The ob
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Guiliel. de Regib. li.
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againſt th
Prieſtes.

Maried
mens liue
compared
with the
life of
Monkes.

greater

77. greater part both of the nobles and commons, iudged the prieſtes to haue great wrong, & ſought by al meanes poſſible, to bring them agayne to their olde poſſeſſions & dignities. Iornalenſis here maketh reherſal of an image of the crucifixe or a roode ſtanding vpō the frater wall, where the councel was holden. To this roode Dunſtan requyreth them all to pray, beyng belike not ignoraunt of ſome ſpirituall prouiſion before hand. In the middes of their prayer the roode, or els ſome blynde monke behynde him in a trunke through the walle, is reported to ſpeake theſe wordes: Abſit hoc vt fiat, abſit hoc vt fiat: iudicaſtis bene, mutaretis non bene. In remembrance wherof theſe verſes were written vnder the roodes feete.

vayne
iracle of
unſtanes
ode that
ake.

Humano more crux præſens ædidit ore.
Cœlitus affata, quæ perſpicis hic ſubarata.
Abſit vt hoc fiat, & cætera tunc memorata.

ere lacked
Thomas
romwell
o trye out
lſeiug-
ng.

Of this Dunſtanicall, or rather Satanicall oracle, Henricus maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus: nor yet Houedenus, nor Fabian in their hiſtories. Gulielmus in his booke De Regibus, reporteth it, but by heareſaye, in theſe wordes ſaying: Aliæ litteræ docent, &c. Wherfore the leſſe it ſeemeth to be of credite. Albeit if it wer of credible truth, yet it proueth in thys matter nothing els, but Dunſtane to be a Sorceret, as Polydorus Virgilius alſo hymſelfe ſeemeth to ſmell ſomthing in this matter.

Notwithſtanding for al this, yet the ſtrife ceaſed not. In ſomuch that a new aſſemble of the clergy and other, was appointed after: at a place called ẏ ſtrete of Calue, where the councell was kept in an vpper loft. In thys councel many greuous complayntes were obiected (as Malmeſberienſis ſayth) agaynſt Dunſtan. But yet he kept his opinion, and would not remoue from ẏ whych he had begone to mayntayne. And whyle they were ther in great contention and argument which way ſhoulde be admitted and alowed, (if it be true, that in the ſtories is written) ſodenly the ioyſes of the loft fayled, and the people with the nobles fell downe, ſo that certaine were ſlayne, and many hurt. But Dunſtane (they ſay) onely, ſtanding vpon a poaſt of the ſolare, which remayned vnbroken, eſcaped without daunger. Which thing, whether it ſo happened to portende before, the ruine of the realme and of the nobles (as Henrye Huntington doth expoūd it) which after enſued by the Danes: or whether it was ſo wrought by Dunſtanes ſorcerye (as was not vnpoſſible:) or whether it wer a thing but fayned of the Monkiſh writers, and not true: al this I leaue to the readers, to thincke therein what them liketh. The ſtories ſay further, that vpon this the matter ceaſed, and Dunſtan had all hys wyll.

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unſtane
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e councel
ſ Calue.

enricus,
b.5.
uliel.
anulph.
rnaleſis.
abian.

Theſe thinges thus done at Calue, it happened not long after the ſame: that king Edward, whom the writers deſcribe to be a vertuous and a meeke prince, much pitifull and beneficiall to the poore: about the.4. yeare of hys raygnē, came vpon a ſeaſon from hunting in the foreſt alone, wythout the companye of his ſeruauntes, to the place in the weſt country, where Alfrith hys mother, with her ſonne Egelred did lye. When the Quene the mother was warned of hys comming by her men, a non ſhe calleth to a ſeruaunt of hers, which was of her ſpeciall truſt, opening to him all her conceyued counſel, and ſhewyng hym in all poyntes how and what to doo for the accompliſhing of her wycked porpoſe. Whych thing ſo done, ſhe made towardes the king, and receaued hym wyth all courteſy, deſyring hym to tarye that nyght. But he in lyke courteſy excuſed himſelſe, and for ſpeede deſyred to ſee hys brother, and to drinke, vpō hys horſe ſittyng, the which was ſhortly brought.

he horri.
e wicked
s of the
ene the
other.

And whyle the cup was at his mouth, the ſeruant of the quene (before informed) ſtrake him in the body with a lōg two edged dagger. After the which ſtroke the king tooke the horſe with the ſpurres, & ran toward the way, where he ſuppoſed to meete with his company. But he bled ſo ſore, that for fayntnes he fell from his horſe, hys one foote being in the ſtyrrup. By reaſō wherof he was drawen of hys horſe ouer fieldes and landes, til he came to a place named Coryfgate, where he was found dead. And for that, neither the maner of his death, nor yet he himſelfe for the king was knowen: was buryed vnhonorably at the towne of Warrham, where the body remained the ſpace of.iij.yeares, and then after was taken vp by Duke Alfere aboue mencioned: and with pompe and honor accordingly, was remoued to the Minſter of Shafteſbury, and there beſtowed in the place called Edwardſtow. Many tales run (mo perchaunce then be true) concerning the finding and taking vp of his bodye: whych our moſt common hiſtories aſcribe to miracles & great wonders wrought about the place where the king was buryed. As firſt how a poore woman borne blinde, receued her ſight by the meanes of S. Edward, there where he did lie. Alſo how a piller of fyre frō heauē, deſcended ouer the place of hys buryal. Then howe the foreſayde Quene Alfryth taking her horſe to go to the place, was ſtopped by the way: that neither her horſe coulde be dryuen by any meanes, nor ſhe her ſelfe on foote was able to aproche neare to the place where the corps of S. Edward was. Furthermore, how the ſayd Quene in repētance of her facte, afterward builded two Nunries, one at Ameſbury by Saleſburye: the other at Werewelle, where ſhe kept her ſelfe in continual repentaunce al the dayes of her lyfe. And thus as ye haue heard, was thys vertuous yong king Edward murthered, when he had raigned almoſt.iiij.yeares, leauing no iſſue behind him: wherby the rule of the land fel to Egelredus his brother

Edward
acerouſlie
urthered
his ſtep
other and
r ſeruant.

King Edward
foūd dead and
buryed, not
knowen to be
king.

Corefcaſtle.

The body of
king Edward
after.3.yeares
honourably
taken vp and
tranſlated to
Shafteſbury.

Two Norries
founded vpon
murther.

An.979

¶ But here by the way is to be noted (vpon the name of this Edward) that ther were three Edwardes before the conqueſt. The firſt was king Edwarde the Senior. The ſecond, king Edward the martyr, which was thys king. The third was king Edward called the confeſſor, wherof hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt wylling) to be declared.

Three Edwards kings
before the
conqueſt.

In the order and courſe of the Romane Biſhops, mētiō was made laſt of Agapetus the ſecond. pag.194. After whom next ſucceeded pope John.xiij. of whom Dunſtan archbiſhop of Cant. receaued his palle, as in the ſtory of king Edgar is before mynded. This pope is noted to be very wycked and infamous: repleate from his firſt bringing vp, with abhominable vices: a hooremaiſter, an adulterer, inceſtuous, libidinous, a gameſter, an extorcioner, periured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruel, and tirannous. Of his Cardinals, ſome he put out their eyes, from ſome he cut their toungs, ſome their fingers, ſom their noſes. &c. In a generall councel before the Emperour Otho, the firſt of ẏ name (who was the firſt emperour of the Germanes) after the Empire was tranſlated out of Fraunce to Germanye by pope Agapetus (as is aboue hiſtored, pag.197.) theſe obiections wer articulate agaynſt him. Fyrſt, that he neuer ſayde his ſeruice: that in ſaying hys maſſe he did not communicate: that he ordayned Deacons in a ſtable: that he committed inceſt with two of his ſiſters: that playing at diſe, he called for the deuil to helpe: ẏ for money he made boyes biſhops: that he defloured virgins and ſtraungers: that of the palace of Laterene he made a ſtewes: that he lay with Stephana his fathers concubine: lykewiſe wyth Rainera, and with Anna and her neeſe: that he put out the eyes of Biſhop Benedict: that he cauſed houſes to be ſet on fire: that he brake open houſes: that he dranke to the deuil: that he neuer croſſed himſelfe. &c. For ẏ which cauſes (and worthely) he was depoſed by the conſent of themperour with the prelates, and pope Leo was ſubſtitute in his place. But after hys departing (through the harlots of Rome, & their great promiſes) the ſaid Pope John was reſtored agayne to hys place, and Leo (ſet vp by the emperour) was depoſed. At length about the text

Continuation
of the romiſhe
biſhops or
popēs.
Pope Iohn.
xiii.
A wicked
pope.

Liuthprandus. lib.6.

As mery as
Pope Iohn.
Prouerb.

Pope Iohn
xiii. depoſed.

Pope Iohn
reſtored.

Pope Iohn wounded in adulterye.

yeare of the popedome of thys John, he being found wͭout the citie with an other mans wyfe, was ſo wounded of her huſband, that within.viij.dayes after he dyed.

Pope Benedictus v.

Pope Leo. viii.

The election of the byſhop of Rome geuẽ to the Emperour.

The donatiõs of Carolus Magnus, and Otho to Rome.

After him, the Romanes elected pope Benedictus the fift, without the conſent of the emperour. Whereupon the ſayd Otho the emperour being not a little dyſpleaſed for diſplacing of Leo, whom he had before promoted, and for the chuſing alſo of Benedict: came wyth his armey, and layd ſiege to Rome, and ſo ſet vp Pope Leo againe, the.viij.of that name. Which Leo to gratifie his benefactor agayne, crowned Otho for emperour and intituled him to be called Auguſtus. Alſo the power which Carolus Magnus had geuen before to ẏ Clergy & people of Rome: this Leo by a ſynodall decree graunted to the emperour and his ſucceſſors: that is, touching the election of the biſhop of Rome. The emperour again reſtored to the ſea of Rome, all ſuch donations and poſſeſſions, which eyther Conſtantinus (as they falſely pretende) or which Carolus Magnus tooke from the Lombardes, and gaue to them.

Pope Iohn xiiii.

Pope Iohn caſt in priſon.

The cruell reuenge of the Pope.

Chriſtening of bells firſt beganne.

After pope Leo had raygned a yeare & .iij.monthes, ſucceded pope John the,xiiij. agaynſt whom (for holding with themperour) Petrus the head captayn of the citie, with two Conſuls.xij.Aldermen, & diuers other nobles: gathering their power together, layd handes vpon him, in the church of Laterene, and clapt the pope in pryſon xj.monethes. Themperour hearing this, with all ſpeede returned with his armye agayne to Rome, who after execution done vpon the authors and chiefe doers of that fact: among other he cõmitted the forſayd Petrus, to ẏ popes arbitrement. Whom he cauſed fyrſt to be ſtrypt naked, then his beard being ſhauen, to be hanged by the heare a whole day together: after that to be ſet vpon an aſſe (his face turned backward, and hys handes bounde vnder the aſſes tayle) and ſo to be led through the citye, that all men might ſee him: that done, to be ſcourged wͭ rods, and ſo baniſhed the citie. Thus ye ſee, how the holy father followeth the iniunction of the goſpell: Diligite inimicos veſtros: loue your enemies. Luc. 6. &c. Frõ this pope proceded firſt the chriſtening of bels. an. 971.

Pope Benedictus.vi.

Pope Benedict ſlaine in priſõ.

After hym followed pope Benedictus the ſixt, who in like maner was apprehended by Cynthius a captayne of Rome, and caſt in priſon, where he was ſtrangled, or as ſome ſay, famiſhed to death.

Pope Donꝰ.ii.

Pope Bonifaciꝰ vii.

Two Popes together.

Pope Iohn.xv.

Pope Iohn ſlayne.

Pope Boniface drawen through the ſtreetes of Rome.

Then came pope Donus the ſecond. After whõ Bonifacius the.vij.was pope: who likewiſe ſeing the Cityzens of Rome to cõſpire agaynſt him, was cõſtrained to hyde hymſelf. And ſeing no place there for hym to tarye, tooke the treaſure of S. Peters church, and ſo priuelye ſtale to Conſtantinople. In whoſe ſteede the Romanes ſet vp pope John the.xv. Not longe after (Boniface returning agayne from Conſtantinople) by his money and treaſure procured a garryſon or companye to take hys part: By whoſe meanes the foreſaid pope John was taken, his eyes put out, and ſo throwne in priſon, where he was as ſome ſay famiſhed: ſome ſaye he was ſlayne by Ferrucius. Neyther did Boniface raygne manye dayes after, but ſodaynly dyed: whoſe carkaſe after his death was drawen by the feete through the ſtreetes of Rome, after the moſt deſpiteful maner of the people ſhriking and exclaming againſt him. an. 976.

Pope Benedictus vii.

Otho ſecond, Emperour.

Gilbertus a necromanſer, made archbyſhop.

Next Pope after him was Benedictus.vij, by the cõſent of themperour Otho the ſecond, and raygned nyne yeares. In the time of this Pope: Hughe Cappet the French king, toke Charles (ẏ right heire to the crown) by the treaſõ of the biſhop of Laon: and whẽ he had impriſoned him, he alſo cõmitted to priſon Arnoldus Archbiſhop of Rayns, and placed in his roume Gilbertus a monke of Floriake (a Necromanſer) who was ſcholemaiſter to Duke Robert the kings ſonne. But this pope Benedictus, calling a coũcel at Remis, reſtored the ſayd Arnoldus agayne, and diſplaced Gilbertus: which after by the helpe of Otho was made Archbiſhop of Rauenna, and at length was Pope, as in proceſſe hereafter (Chriſt graunting) ſhalbe declared.

After Benedictus ſucceded in the ſea of Rome Pope John the.xvi. and dyed the.viij.moneth of hys papacye. Next to whome came John ẏ .xvij. And after him Gregory the.v. in the yeare of our Lord. 995. This Gregory (called before Bruno) was a Germane borne, & therefore the more malaced of the Clergy & people of Rome. Wherupõ, Creſcentius with the people and Clergy, cõuenting againſt the ſayd Gregory: ſet vp pope John the xviij. Gregory vpon ẏ ſame, ſped him ſelf in al cõuenient haſt to the emperour Otho the third in Germany. Who hearing the complaynt of Gregory, and vnderſtanding hys wronges: ſet forward with hys army well appoynted, to Italy: gat the citie, & there toke both Creſcentius the Conſul, and John the Pope. Which John firſt hauing hys eyes put out, was depriued after of hys lyfe. Creſcentius the Conſul was ſet vpon a vile horſe, hauing his noſe and eares cut of, and ſo was led throughe the citie, hys face being turned ſo the horſtayle, and afterward hauing hys members cut of, was hanged vpon a gybbet.

Pope Gregory thus beyng reſtored to hys former ſtate reigned iiij.yeares in his papacie (although Marianus Scotus and Martinus ſay, ẏ he ſat but ij.yeres) &c. During ẏ which time he aſſembled a councel in Rome: where, he to ſtabliſh the Empyre in his owne countrey (by the conſent and coũſail of Otho) ordeined vij.princes of Germany to be electors of the Emperour: which order, yet to this day remayneth. What be the names of theſe vij.electours, and what is their office, thus I find in theſe verſes expreſſed.

Maguntinenſis, Treuerenſis, Colonienſis,
Quilibet Imperij fit cancellarius horum.
Et Palatinus Dapifer. Dux portitor enſis.
Marchio præpoſitus cameræ, Pincerna Bohemus.

Theſe vij. he ordeyned to be electors 3. biſhops. 3. princes (to wyt) the Palatine, the duke of Saxonie, the marques of Brandenburgh. To whom was added alſo the kyng of Boheme, to geue the odde voyce, yf the euen voyces could not agre. This conſtitution beyng firſt begun anno. 997. was after eſtabliſhed in Germanie by Otho the Emperour, the yeare of the Lord. 1002. And thus much by the waye or rather by digreſſion, concernyng the rages & tumultes of the Romiſh church. Now to our matter agayne.

¶ King Egelred, or Elred.

Kyng Edward thus being murthered as is aforſaid: the crowne fell next to Egelrede his yonger brother, and ſonne to kyng Edgar by the foreſaid quene Alfrith, as we haue declared. This Egelred had a long reigne geuẽ of God, whiche dured the terme of xxxviij yeares: but very vnfortunat, and full of great miſeries. And he hym ſelfe (by ẏ hiſtoryes) ſemeth to be a prince not of the greateſt courage to gouerne a common wealth. Our Engliſhe ſtories wryting of him, thus reporte of his reigne: that in the beginnyng, it was vngracious: wretched in the midle: and hatefull in the latter ende. Of this Egelrede it is read, whẽ Dunſtane the archſhop ſhould chriſten hym: as he did hold hym ouer the fonte he fyeled therin. Wherpõ, Dũſtane ſware by ẏ mother of Chriſt, that he would be a prince vntoward and cowrwardlike. I finde in William of Malmeſbery, Lib. 2. de Regib. that this Egelred beyng of the age of x. yeares, when he hard his brother Edward to be ſlayne, made ſuch ſorowe and weapyng for hym: that his mother fallyng therewith in a rage, tooke ware candels (hauyng nothyng els at hãd) wherwith ſhe ſcourged him ſo ſore (well nere til he ſowned) that after the ſame, he could neuer abyde any ware candels to burne before him. After this, about the yeare of our Lord 981 (the day of his coronation being appoin ted by the quene the mother and the nobles) Dunſtane yͤ archbiſhop of Cant.(who firſt refuſed ſo to do)with Oſwald archbiſhop of Yorke: were enforced to crowne the king. And ſo they did at Kingſton. In doyng wherof, the reporte of ſtories go: that the ſaid Dunſtane ſhould ſay, thus prophecyeng vnto the kyng: that for ſomuch as he came to the kyngdome, by the death of his brother and through the conſpiracie of the wicked cõſpiratours and other Engliſhmen: They ſhould not be without bloudſheding & ſword, til there came a people of an vnknowen tongue, and ſhould bring them into thraldome: Neither ſhould yͤ treſpas be clenſed without long vengeance. &c. Not long after the coronatiõ of this kyng, a cloude was ſene throughout the land whiche appeared, thone halfe like bloud, and thother halfe lyke fier. And chaunged after, into ſondry colours and vanyſhed at the laſte in the morning. Shortly after the appearaunce of this cloude, in the iij. yeare of his reigne, the Danes aryuyng in ſondry places of the land, firſt ſpoyled Southampton: either ſlayng the inhabitance, or leadyng them captiue away. From thence they went to the Iſle of Thanet: then they inuaded Cheſter: from thẽce they proceded to Cornwale and Deauenſhyre, & ſo to Suſſex: where, in thoſe coaſtes they did much harme, and ſo retired to their ſhyppes agayne. Roger Houeden writing herof, ſayth: that London, the ſame tyme (or as Fabian ſayth) a great part of Londõ, was conſumed wᵗ fire. About this time fell a variance betwene the foreſayd Egelred, and the biſhop of Rocheſter: in ſomuch that he made warre agaynſt hym, and beſieged the citie. And notwithſtandyng that Dunſtane required the kyng ſendyng hym admoniſhment to giue ouer, for the ſake of S. Andrew: yet cõtinued he hys ſiege, till the biſhop offered hym an hundreth poundes of gold, whiche he receaued, and ſo departed. The Danes ſeyng the diſcord that then was in the realme, and eſpecially the hatred of the ſubiectes agaynſt the kyng: Roſe againe, & did great harme in diuers places of England, in ſomuch that the king was glad to graunt them great ſommes of money for peace to be had. For the aſſurãce of which peace, Analaffe captaine of the Danes, became a chriſten man, and ſo returned home to hys countrey, and dyd no more harme. Beſides theſe miſeries before recited, a ſore ſickenes of the bloudy flyre, & hote feuers fell emong the people: wherof many dyed, with a lyke moreine alſo emong the beaſtes. Moreouer for lacke of iuſtice: many theues, ryoters, and bribers, were in the land, with much miſerie and miſchief.

About the xi. yeare (ſome ſay, the ix. yeare) of this kings reigne, dyed Dunſtane. After whõ ſucceded Ethelgarus, or as Iornalenſis, writeth Stilgarus. After hym Elfricus as affirmeth Guliel lib. 1. de pontif. But as Polidorus ſayth Siricius. After hym, Elfricus came: but Siritius after the mynde of William Lib. 1. But Polydor. ſayth Aluritius, then Elphegus. &c.

About yͤ ſame time in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 995. Aldunus biſhop, tranſlated the body of S. Cutbert frõ Cheſter (which firſt was in a northeren iland then ad Rocheſter) to Durelme, or Dunolme. Wherupon the biſhops ſea of Dureſme firſt began.

Not long after the death of Dunſtane, the Danes agayne entred England, in many and ſondry places of yͤ land: in ſuch ſorte, that the kyng was to ſeeke, to whiche coaſt he ſhould go firſt to withſtand his enemies. And in concluſion, for the auoydyng of more harme: he was cõpelled to appeaſe thẽ with great ſommes of money. But whẽ that money was ſpent, they fell to new robbyng of the people, and aſſaylyng the land, in diuers places: not onely about the countrey of Northumberland, but alſo beſieged the citie of London at the laſt. But beyng from thence repulſed by the manhode of the Londiners, they ſtrayde to other countreys adioynyng, as to Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhyre: burnyng and kyllyng wher ſoeuer they went. So that for lacke of a good heade or gouernour, many things in the land periſhed. For the king gaue hym ſelfe to the vice of lechery, and polyng of hys ſubiectes, and diſinherited men of their poſſeſſions: & cauſed them to redeme the ſame againe with great ſommes of money: for he payd great tribute to the Danes yearely, whiche was called Danegelt. Whiche tribute ſo increaſed, that from the firſt tribute of x. M. pound, it was brought at laſt in proces of v. or vi. yeare, to xl. M. poũd. The which, yearely (duryng to the comming of S. Edward, and after) was leuied of the ſubiectes of this land.

The Danes ſpoyled the land.

Great tribute leuyed of the Engliſhmen. Dane gelt.

To this ſorrow moreouer, was ioyned hunger and penury among the commons: in ſo much that euery one of them was conſtrayned to plucke and ſteale frõ other. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward theues and bribers: this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit the greateſt cauſe of this afflictiõ (as to me appeareth) is not ſo much to be imputed to the kyng, as to the diſſention among the lordes themſelues: who then did not agree one with an other. But when they aſſembled in conſultation together, eyther they did drawe diuers wayes: or if any thing were agreed vpon any matter of peace betwene the parties, ſoone it was broken agayn: or els if any good thing were deuiſed for yͤ preiudice of the enemy, anon the Danes were warned therof by ſome of the ſame counſayle. Of whom yͤ chief doers, were Edrike duke of Mercia, and Alfricke the admirall, or captaine of the ſhips: who betrayed the kings nauy to the Danes. Wherfore the kyng apprehendyng Alfagarus ſonne of the ſaid Alfrike, put out his eies: and ſo did he after to the ij. ſonnes of Duke Edrike in lyke manner.

The ſorowfull affliction of the Engliſhe nation.

What diſſentiõ and diſcorde doth among the nobles in a realme.

The Danes thus preualyng more and more ouer the Engliſh men, grew in ſuch pride, and preſumption: that when they, by ſtrength cauſed the huſband men to care and ſowe the land, and to do all other vile labour belongyng to the houſe: they would ſitte at home, holdyng the wyfe at their pleaſure, with daughter and ſeruant. And when the huſband mã came home, he ſhould ſcantly haue of hys owne, as hys ſeruauntes had: ſo that the Dane had all at his wil and fyll, faryng of the beſt, whẽ the owner ſcantly had his fil of the worſt. Thus the common people beyng of them oppreſſed, were in ſuch feare and dread, that not onely they were conſtrayned to ſuffer them in their doyngs: but alſo glad to pleaſe them, & called euery one of thẽ in the houſe where they had rule, Lord Dane. Which worde after (in proces of time, whẽ the Danes were voyded) was for deſpite of the Danes, turned of the engliſhe men to a name of opprobrye: that when one Engliſh man would rebuke an other, he wold for the more part call him Lurdayne.

The pride and wretchednes of the Danes toward the engliſhmen.

Lord Dane.

Lurdane.

And thus hitherto (through the aſſiſtence of Chriſt) we haue brought this hiſtory to the yeare of our Lorde. 1000. Duryng now and continuing theſe greate miſeries vpon this Engliſh nation: the land beyng brought into great ruine by the greuous tribute of the Danes, and alſo by ſuſteinyng the manifold vilanies & iniuries as wel by them as by other oppreſſions wᵗin the realme. This yeare which was the yeare of our ſauiour. 1000. This Egelred, through the counſel of certayn his familiars about him: in the. xxi. yere of his raigne, beganne a matter, which was occaſiõ eyther geuẽ by thone, or taken by the other of a new plage to inſue vpon the Saxons: who had driuẽ out the Britains before. That was in ioyning with the Normans in mariage. For the king this yere aboue ſaid, for the more ſtrẽgth (as he thought) both of hym & of the realme, maried Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. Which Richarde was yͤ third duke of yͤ Normains, & the fyrſt of yͤ name. By reaſon of which mariage: king Egelred was not a little inhaunſed in his own mynd: And by preſumptiõ thereof: ſent ſecrete and ſtraite commiſſions to the ru-

1000.

Henric. Archidiac. lib. 6.

The fyrſt ioyning betwene the Norm. and Engliſh men. King Egelred marieth Emma the Dukes daughter of Normandye Richard Duke of Normand. &c.

The Danes by ſecret cõmiſſiõ ſlaine in euery towne of England.

kers of euery towne in England, that vppon S. Brices day: at a certaine hower appointed, the Danes ſhoulde be ſodenly ſlayne. And ſo it was performed: which turned after to more trouble.

Suanus king of Denmarke arriueth in England.

Exetour bette downe.

Norwyche ſpoyled & waſted by the Danes.

1004.

After that tydings came into Denmarke of yͤ murder of thoſe Danes: Anone after, Suanus king of Denmarke with a great hoſte and nauy, lãded in Cornwal: Where, by treaſõ of a Normande named Hugh, which by fauour of queene Emma was made Earle of Deuonſhyre: the ſaide Swanus tooke Exetour and after bette downe the walles. From thence proceding further into the land, they came to Wylton, and Shireborne: where they cruelly ſpoyled the countrey, and ſlewe the people. But anone, Suanus hearyng that the king was commyng to hym with the power of hys land: tooke hys ſhippes, and ſette about to Norfolke. Where, after much waſting of that countrey, & ſpoylyng the citye of Norwyge, and burning the towne of Thetford, & deſtroying the countrey therabout: at length duke Vlkatel met him, & bet hym, & ſlew many of the Danes. Wherfore, Suanus for that yere returned to Denmark, and there made great prouiſion, to reenter the land againe yͤ next yere followyng. And ſo dyd: landyng at Sandwiche about the. xxv. yeare of yͤ reigne of kyng Egelred, & there ſpoyled that countrey. And as ſoone as he heard of anye hoſt of Engliſhmen commyng toward him: thẽ he tooke ſhippyng againe. So that when the kyngs army ſought to mete hym in one coaſt, than would he ſodenly land in an other. And when the king prouided to meete with thẽ vpon the ſea, eyther they would feyne to flee, or els they would with giftes blynd the admirall of the kinges nauy. And thus weried they the engliſhmen: and in concluſion brought them in extreme and vnſpeakable miſery. In ſo much that the king was fayne to take peace with them, and gaue to kyng Swanus 30000. pound. After which peace thus made, Swanus returned agayne to Denmarke.

A tribute payd to the Danes of. xxx. M. pound to haue peace.

The perſecutiõ of Turkillus a Dane.

Euill counſell about a king what hurt it doth.

But this peace continued not long. For the yeare next folowing, king Egelred made Edricus aboue mẽtioned, duke of Mercia: which was ſubtile of wytte, gloſing & eloquent of ſpeach, vntruſty and falſe to the kyng and yͤ realme. And ſoone after, one Turkillus (a prince of the Danes) landed in Kent wyth much people: & there dyd ſuch harme, that yͤ Kentiſhmen were fayne to make peace with great giftes, & ſo thence departed. But thys perſecution of the Danes (in one countrey or other in in England) neuer ceaſed: nor the kyng did euer geue to them any notable battail. For when he was diſpoſed to geue them battaile, this Edricus would euermore councell him to the contrary: ſo that the Danes euer ſpoyled and robbed, and waxed riche: and the engliſh men euer poore and bare.

The ſecond returne of Suanus into England.

The perſecutiõ of Suanus king of Danes.

Caunterbury beſieged

Treaſon of a falſe deacon.

After this, Swanus beyng in Denmarke, and hearyng of the increaſe of hys people in england, brake hys couenauntes before made: and with a great armye and nauie in moſt defenſable wiſe appointed, landed in Northumberlande proclaiming himſelfe to be king of thys land. Where, after much vexation, when he had ſubdued the people, and cauſed the Earle with the rulers of yͤ cõutrey to ſweare to him feaultie: he paſſed by the riuer of Trẽte, to Ganyſburgh, & to Northwatlyng ſtreate: & ſubduing the people there, forced thẽ to geue hym pledges: whiche pledges he committed wyth his nauie vnto Canutus his ſonne to kepe, while he wente further into the land. And ſo wyth a great hoſte came to Mercia, killing and ſleyng. Then he toke by ſtrength Wincheſter, and Oxford, and dyd there what him lyked. That done, he came towarde London, and hearyng the kyng was there, paſſed by the ryuer Thamis, and came into Kent, and there beſieged Canterbury: where, he was reſiſted the ſpace of xx. dayes. At length, by treaſon of a Deacon called Almaricus (whom the biſhop had preſerued from death before) wanne it: and tooke the goodes of the people and fyred the citie, and tythed the monkes of S. Auſtens abbay (that is to meane: they ſlew ix. by cruell torment, and the tenth they kept alyue) as for their ſlaues. So they ſlewe there of religious men, to the number of ix. hundred perſons: of other men, women, and children they ſlue aboue viij. thouſand. And finally whẽ they had kept the biſhop Elphegus in ſtraite priſon the ſpace of ſeuen monethes: and becauſe he would not condeſcende to geue vnto them. iij. thouſand pounde: after many vilanies vnto hym done, they brought hym to Grenewich and there ſtoned hym to death.

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Kyng Egelred in the meane tyme, fearyng the ende of this perſecution: ſent hys wyfe Emma with hys two ſonnes Alphred and Edward, to the duke of Normãdy: with whome alſo he ſente the biſhop of London. The Danes proceded ſtill in their fury and rage: and when they had wonne a great part of Weſtſaxonie, they returned agayne toward London. Wherof hearyng the Londiners, ſent vnto them certayne great gyftes and pledges. At laſte the kyng about the. xxxv. yeare of hys raigne was chaſed vnto the Iſle of Wight, and wyth a a ſecret company he ſpent there a great part of the winter: and finally, without cattell or comforte ſayled into Normãdy to his wyfe. Suanus beyng acertained therof, (inflamed wyth pride) reyred exceedyng impoſitions of the people. And among other, he requyred a greate ſumme of money of S. Edmundes landes: which the people there, cleimyng to be free from kynges tributes, denyed to pay. For this, Suanus entred the territory of S. Edmund, and waſted and ſpoyled the countrey, deſpiſing the holy martyr, and manaſing alſo the place of his ſepulture. Wherfore the men of that countrey fearyng his tyrannie, fell to prayer and faſtyng: ſo yͤ ſhortly after, Suanus died ſodenlye, crying & yelling among his Knightes. Some ſay that he was ſtriken wyth the ſword of S. Edmund, wherof he dyed the third day after. In feare whereof, Canutus hys ſonne, which ruled as kyng after hys father: graunted them the freedome of all their libertie, and moreouer dyched the land of the ſayd martyr with a depe diche: and graunted to the inhabitauntes therof great fredoms, quyting them from all taske or tribute. And after builded a church ouer yͤ place of his ſepulture, and ordeined there an houſe of monkes, and endued them with riche poſſeſſions. And after that tyme it was vſed, that kynges of England, when they were crowned: ſent their crownes for an offeryng to S. Edmundes ſhryne, and redemed the ſame agayne afterwardes, with a condigne price.

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When kyng Egelred hard of the death of Suanus: he made prouiſion, & returned into England. Of whoſe ſodeine commyng Canutus, beyng vnprouided fled to Sandwiche. And there cuttyng of the noſes and handes of the pledges, which his father left with him, ſayled into Denmark: who the next yeare againe returned with a great nauey, and landed in the South countrey. Wherfore the eldeſt ſonne of kyng Egelred called Edmond Ironſide: made prouiſion, with the ayde of Edrike duke of Mercia to mete hym. But Edryke feyning hym ſelfe ſicke came not, but deceaued hym. For as it was after proued, Edrike had promiſed his allegeãce to Canutus. By reaſon wherof, Canutus entred yͤ cõutrey of Weſtſaxon, and forced the people to be ſworne vnto hym, and to geue him pledges. In this ſeaſon: king Egelred being at London, was taken with great ſicknes, & there dyed: and was buryed in the Northſide of Paules churche behynd yͤ quiere, after that he had reigned vnproſperouſly xxxvi. yeares: leauing after him his ſaid eldeſt ſonne Edmund Ironſide, and Alphred, and Edward, which wer in Normãdie: ſent thether before as is aboue rehearſed. Thys Egelred although he was miſerably impugned & vexed of his enemies: yet he with his cõuſall gaue forth

K. Eg
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Canutu
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Canutu
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holeſome lawes. Wherof this is one parcel conteyning good rules and leſſons, for all iudges and iuſtices, to learne and folow.

A leſſon for al iudges & iuſtices.

Omnis iudex iuſtus miſericordiam et iudicium liberet in omnibus: vt inprimis per rectam ſcientiā dicat emēdationem ſecundum culpam, et eā tamē admenſuret propter indulgētiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur a bonis iudicibus ſecundum rectum emendandæ. Quædam per dei miſericordiā cōdonandæ. Iudicia debent eſſe ſine omni haderunga, quòd nō parcatur diuiti alicui, vel egeno, amico, vel inimico ius publicum recitari. Nihil autem iniuſtius eſt, q̄ ſuſceptio munerum pro iudicio ſubuertēdo: Quia munera excæcant corda ſapientum, et ſubuertunt verba iuſtorum: Dominus Ieſus dixit: In quo iudicio iudicaueritis, iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem ſuum, ne in die iudicij mutus fiat, et humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cunctā vidētis. Qui innocentem opprimit, et dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacūq; factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus Dominus, nulla poteſtas ſtultos aut improbos iudices conſtituant, quia ſtultus per ignauiam, Improbus per cupiditatem vitat quam didicit veritatem. Grauius enim lacerantur pauperes a prauis iudicibus, q̄ a cruentis hoſtibus. Nullus hoſtis acerbior, nulla peſtis efficacior q̄ familiaris inimicus. Poteſt aliquocies homo fuga, vel defenſione vitare prauos inimicos: Non ita poſſunt iudices quocies aduerſus ſubditos malis deſiderijs inflammātur. Sæpe etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios et miniſtros nephandos: quorum reatibus ipſi domini conſtringuntur, ſi non eos coerceāt, et a rapacitate cohibeāt Quia dominus et miniſter ſeculorum ait: Non ſolum male agentes, ſed omnes conſentientes digni ſunt ęterna morte. Sæpe etiam praui iudices iudicium peruertūt, vel reſpectant et non finiunt cauſam, donec voluntas corū impleatur. Et quādo iudicāt, nō opera, ſed munera conſiderāt. Impij iudices, iuxta verbum ſapientum, ſicut rapaces lupi veſpere nil reſiduant vſq; mane. i. de pręſenti ſolum vita cogitant: de futura nihil cōſiderant. Malorū præpoſitorū mos eſt, vt quicquid poſſunt, auferāt: et vix neceſſarium parum quid relinquāt ſuſtētationi. Iracūdus iudex non poteſt attendere rectam iudicij ſatisfactionem. Nam per furoris excæcationem, non perſpicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iuſtū iudicium, vbi non perſona conſideratur. Scriptum eſt: Nō attendas perſonam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, vt a vero declines, et iniuſte iudices. Suſceptio muneris, eſt dimiſſio veritatis. Ex hiſtoria bibliothecæ Iornal.

Brybes.

Euil iudges worſe to a cōmon wealth, thē bloudy enemies.

Wicked officers.

Agaynſt wicked iudges.

Of this kyng Egelred I finde noted in the booke of Rog. Houeden: that he depoſed, and depriued from all poſſeſſiōs, a certein iudge or iuſticer, named Wlgeatus, the ſonne of one Leonet, for falſe iudgement, and other proude doynges: whom notwithſtanding he loued aboue all other.

A wicked iudge depoſed and depriued by the king.

¶ *Emond Yronſide a Saxon, and Canutus Dane,*
Kynges together in England.

1016.

Edmund Yronſyde ſonne of Egelred, king

After the death of Egelred, variance fell betwen the Engliſhmen for the election of their kyng. For the citezens of London, with certaine other Lordes: named Edmond the eldeſt ſonne of Egelred (a yong man of luſtie and valiant courage) in martiall aduentures, both hardy and wiſe, and could very well endure all paynes. Wherfore he was ſurnamed Yronſide. But the more part of the lordes, fauored Canutus the ſonne of Suanus: eſpecially the abbates, biſheps, and men of the ſpiritualtie, whiche before had ſworne to hys father. By meanes wherof betwene theſe ij. martiall princes were faught many great battailes, firſt in Dorſetſhyre, wher Canutus was compelled to flee the field. And after that they fought an other battaile in Worceterſhyre, ſo ſore, that none could tell, who had the better: but either for werines, or for lack of day, they departed one frō ẏ other and on the next morow fought agayne: but then Canutus was compelled to forſake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought agayn: where, Edmūd (as ſtories ſay) by the treaſon of that falſe Edrik duke of Mercia (whom he before had receaued to fauour) had the worſſe. Thus many great conflictes there were betwene theſe two princes. But vpō a ſeaſon, when ẏ hoſtes were ready to ioyne, & at a certein tyme of a trewys taken before battaile: a knight of the partie of Edmund ſtode vp vpon an hyghe place, and ſayd theſe wordes.

Canutus ſonne of Suanus, king.

The battels betwene Edmundus & Canutus.

A witty oratiō to ſtay bloude betwene two armyes.

Dayly we dye, and none hath the victory: And when the knyghts be dead on either part, then the dukes compelled by nede, ſhall accord: or els they muſt fight alone. And this kyngdome is now ſufficient for ij. men, whiche ſome tyme ſufficed vij. But if the couetouſnes of Lordſhip in theſe twayn be ſo great, that neither can be content to take part and lyue by the other, nor thone vnder thother: then let them fight alone, that wilbe Lordes alone. Yf all men fight ſtil, at the laſt all mē ſhalbe ſlaine, and none left, to be vnder their Lorſhyp, nor able to defend the kyng that ſhall be agaynſt ſtraunge enemyes and nations.

Two kinges fight hande to hand.

These wordes were ſo well alowed of both the hoſtes, and princes: that both were content to try the quarel betwen them two onely. Then the place and time was appointed where they both met, in ſight of both hoſtes. And when either had aſſayd other with ſharpe ſwordes and ſtrokes: firſt, by the motion of Canutus (as ſome write) haſtly they were both agreed, and kyſſed ech other to the cōfort of both the hoſtes. And ſhortly after, they agreed vpon particion of the land: and after that, during theyr lyues they loued as brethren. Sone after, a ſonne of wicked Edricus, by the mynde (as appeared afterwarde) of his father: eſpied, whē king Edmund was at ẏ draught: & with a ſpeare (ſome ſay with a long knife) thruſt him into the fundament, wherof the ſayd Edmund ſhortlye after dyed, after ẏ he had raygned twoo yeares. He lefte behinde him two ſonnes, Edmund and Edward: whom Edricke the wycked Duke, after the death of their father, tooke frome their mother (not knowing yet of the death of Edmund her huſbande) and preſented them to king Canutus, ſaluting him in theſe wordes: Aue Rex ſolus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmund Yrōſyde, was king alone of the whole realme of Englande. And afterward by the aduiſe of his counſayle: he ſet the foreſayde ſonnes of Edmunde Yronſide, to his brother Suanus king of Sueueland to be ſlayn: who abhorring that dede, ſent them to Salomon kyng of Hungarye, where Edmund beyng maryed to the kinges daughter, dyed. Edward was marryed to Agatha, daughter of hys brother Henry the. 4. emperour.

The wicked murther of king Edmund.

Two ſonnes of Edmund Yronſyde.

When Canutus was ſtabliſhed in the kingdome: he called a parlament at London, where (amonge other thinges there debated) it was propoūded to the biſhops, Barons, and Lordes of the parlament there preſent: whether that in the compoſition made betwene Edmūd and Canutus, anye ſpeciall remembraunce was made for the children, or brethren of Edmund, for anye particion of any part of the land. Whereunto the Engliſhe Lordes falſly flattering wyth the foren king, and ſpeaking agaynſt their own myndes, as alſo agaynſt their natiue countrye, anſwered, and ſayde nay. Affirmyng moreuer with an othe (for the kinges pleaſure) that they to the vttermoſt of their powers, would put of the blod of Edmund, in all that they might. By reaſon of which anſwere & promiſe, they thought (many of them) to haue purchaſed with the king great fauour. But by the iuſt retribution of God, it chaunced far otherwyſe. For many of them, or the more part (ſuch eſpeciallye as Canutus did perceaue to be ſworne before tyme to Edmund, and his heyres: and alſo conſidering that they were natiue Engliſhmen) he miſtruſted and diſdayned euer after. In ſomuch that ſome he exiled: a great ſort he beheaded: and ſome by Gods puniſhmēt died ſodaynly. Amōg whom wicked Edricke alſo the traytor (although wyth

Flatterye, infidelitie, and vntruth in engliſhe lordes.

Falſe vnfaythfulnes, and vncōſtant mutabilitie in Engliſhe lords wel rewarded.

his ſugred wordes he continued a whyle in the kynges fauour) at length eſcaped not condigne reward for hys deceaueable dealing. For (as the hiſtory of Iornalenſis recordeth) as yͤ king was in his palace beyond Thames, this Edricke (being belike accuſed, or els ſuſpected of the king before) comming vnto him, began to recken vp his benefites and labours beſtowed for his ſake. Firſt in forſaking and betraying Egelred: thē in ſlaying king Edmund hys ſonne, wyth manye ſuche other deedes mo: which al, for his ſake he had done. Well ſayth the king, thou haſt here rightlye iudged thy ſelfe, and worthelye thou ſhalt dye, for ſlaying thy naturall Prince, and my ſworne brother. And ſo commaunded hym to be bound immediately hand & fote, & to be throwen into Thames. Some ſtories ſay, yͤ whē he had ſaluted the king wt Aue rex ſolus, and ſhewed him the ſlaying of Edmund: Canutus (promiſing that he would make him therfore higher then all the Lordes of the realme) commaunded hys head to be ſtryken of, & to be ſet vpon London bridge, & hys body to be caſt in the towne diche. And thus wyth ſhame ended he hys wretched lyfe, as all they commonly do, which wyth lyke diſſimulation ſeeke the deſtructiō of their Prince and of their country.

Duke Edrike the falſe traytour and murtherer of his king, worthely rewarded for his wicked falſehode.

The end of pernicious traytours.

Thys Canutus (ſhortly after the death of king Edmund, by the counſayle of Edricke) exiled Edmund, being brother to king Edmūd, called rex ruſticorum, the kyng of Chorels. But afterward, he was reconciled agayne to the kynges fauour: and laſtlye ſlayne by certayne of the kynges Secretaries or ſeruauntes. Alſo, through the counſayle of the ſayd Edricke, and of Emma hys wyfe, he ſent the two ſonnes of Edmund Yronſide (Edmund & Edward) to his brother Suanus king of Denmarke, to be ſlayne, as is aboue ſayd.

The brother of Edmond Yronſyde, baniſhed, reconciled, & laſtly ſlaine.

Edmond and Edward two ſonnes of Edmond Yronſyd ſent out to be ſlaine.

In thys meane time, Suanus king of Denmarke, brother to Canutus, dyed. Wherefore that lande fell to Canutus: which anon after ſayled thether, and tooke therof poſſeſſiō. And after he had ſet it in order, he returned into England, & married Emma, late wyfe before of Egelred: & by her had a ſonne called Hardeknyght or Hardeknoutus. Moreouer this Canutus aſſēbled a parlamēt at Oxford: where it was agreed, yͤ Engliſhmen & Danes ſhould hold the lawes made by king Edgar, becauſe they were thought ſo good and reaſonable aboue any other lawes.

Canutus king of Denmarke.

Canutus marieth Emma, wife before of Egelred

Lawes of king Edgar.

Thus the Danes being in England, began by little and litle to be chriſten mē. And Canutus went to Rome and ſo returning agayne to Englande, gouerned that land the ſpace of .xx. yeares, leauing after him .2. ſōnes, Harold and Hardeknoutus: which Hardeknoutus was made king of Denmarke in hys fathers tyme.

Harold (called Harefoote, for his deliuernes & ſwiftnes) ſonne to Canutus by Elgina his firſt wyfe: began his raygne ouer England an. 1039. Of hym is litle left in memory, for he raygned but .iiij. yeares, ſaue that he baniſhed his Stepmother Emma, and tooke her goods and Iewels from her.

Harold Harefote king of England a Dane.

Hardeknoutous, being king of Denmarke, and ſecond ſonne to Canutus by his laſt wyfe Emma, was next kyng of Englande. In the time of theſe Danyſhe kinges, there was one Godwyn an Earle in England, which had bene before in great fauour with Canutus, for his actes done in Denmarke agaynſt the Northwegians: and afterward maryed the ſyſter (ſome ſaye the daughter) of Canutus. This Godwyn was of a cruell and ſubtyll wyt, as he declared no les by the two ſōnes of king Egelred: For when theſe .ii. aforeſayde (whoſe names were Alfride, and Edward) came from Normādie into Englande, to viſit their mother Emma, and brought with them a great companye of Normandes: this Godwyn (hauing a daughter called Godith, whom he thought to marry to Edwarde, and ſet him vp to be king, to bring his purpoſe about) vſed this practiſe: that is, to perſuade king Hardeknout, and the Lordes not to ſuffer thoſe Normandes to be within the realme for ieoberdy, but rather to puniſh them for exāple. By which meanes he gat authoritye to order the matter himſelfe. Wherfore he met with thē on Guilde down, & ther moſt wretchedly murthered, or rather martyred yͤ moſt number of the Normandes, & that innocently. For as Suanus before had tythed the monkes of Canterbury: ſo he with the cruel company of engliſh ſoldiours, ſlewe .ix. of the ſayd Normandes, and ſaued the tenth. And yet paſſing the fury of Suanus (as not contented with that tyranny) he tythed agayne the ſayd tythe, and ſlew euerye tenth knight, & that by cruel torment: as wynding their guts out of their bodies, as writeth Ranulphus. And among other, put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfredus, and ſent him to an abbey of Ely: wher he being fed with bread and water, endured not long after. Of ſome wryters it is recorded, that he was there ſlayn with the forenamed torment: & Edward was conueyed by ſome other to his mother. Who fearing the treaſon of Godwyn, ſent hym ſoone ouer the ſea to Normandy again. This cruel fact of Godwin and hys men agaynſt the innocent Normandes, whether it came of hym ſelfe, or of the kynges ſetting on: ſeemeth to me to bee the cauſe, why the iuſtice of God did ſhortly after reuenge yͤ quarrel of theſe Normandes, in conquering and ſubduyng the Engliſhe nation by William Conquerour, and the Normands which came with him. For ſo iuſt and right it was, that as the Normandes comming with a natural Engliſh prince, were murthered of Engliſh men: ſo afterward the Engliſh men ſhoulde be ſlayne and conquered by the Normandes, comming with a foren king being none of their natural country.

Hardeknout king laſt of the Danes that reigned in England.

Erle Godwyn.

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Then it followeth in the ſtory, that this king Canut or Hardeknout: when he had raygned two yeares (being mery at Lambeth) ſodainly was ſtrickē dumb, and fell downe to the grounde, and within .viij. dayes after dyed, without iſſue of his bodye. Who was the laſt that raygned in England of the blod of the Danes.

The dea
of king
Harde-
knout.

This foreſayd Godwyn, had by the daughter of Canutus his wife, but one ſonne, which was drowned. Of his ſecond wyfe he receiued .vj. ſonnes, to wit: Suanus, Harold, Toſtius, Wilnotus, Sirthe or Surth, and Leofricus, with one daughter called Goditha, which was after maried to king Edward the Confeſſor.

The ſo
of earle
Godwyn.

Cōcerning this ſtory of this Alfred, I find it ſomthing otherwiſe reported in our Engliſhe Chronicles: that it ſhould be after the death of Hardeknout: for as muche as the Earles and Barons after hys death, aſſembled & made a councel: that neuer after any of the Danes blood ſhould be king of England, for yͤ deſpite yͭ they had done to Engliſh men. For euermore before, if the engliſh mē and the Danes happened to meete vppon a bridge, the Engliſh men ſhoulde not ſo hardye to moue a foote, but ſtand ſtyll, tyll the Dane were paſſed forth. And moreouer, if the Engliſh mē had not bowed down theyr heads to do reuerence vnto the Danes, they ſhoulde haue bene beaten and defyled. For the which deſpites and villany, they were dryuen out of the land after the death of Hardeknout: for they had no Lorde that might mayntayne them. And after this maner auoyded the Danes England, that they neuer came agayne.

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The Earles and Barons, by their common aſſent and counſayle: ſent vnto Normandy for theſe two brethren, Alphred and Edwarde: intending to crowne Alphred the elder brother, & to make him king of Englād. And to this the earles and Barons made their othe: but the earle Godwyn of Weſſex (falſly and trayterouſly) thought to ſlea theſe two brethren, as ſoone as they came into England, to that intent to make Harold hys ſonne king: which ſonne he had by hys wyfe Hardeknoutes daughter that was a Dane. And ſo this Godwyn went priuely to Southampton, to meete there with the twoo brethren at their landing. And thus it befel, that the meſſengers that went (sayth myne author) into Normandy, found but onely Alphred the elder brother. For Edward his yonger brother was gone to Hungary, to ſpeake wt his coſin ẏ outlaw, which was Edward Ironſides ſōne.

When Alfrede had heard theſe meſſengers and perceiued their tidings: he thanked God, and in al haſt ſped him to England, arriuing at Southāpton. There, Godwine the falſe traytour (hauyng knowledge of hys commyng) welcommed and receaued him with much ioye: pretendyng to leade hym vnto London, where the Barons wayted for him to make him kyng. And ſo they together paſſed forth toward Lōdon. But whē they came to Guild down, the traytoure commaunded al his men to ſlea all that were in Alphredes company, which came with him from Normandye. And after that to take Alphrede, and to lead hym into the ile of Ely, where they ſhould put out bothe his eyes: and ſo they did. For they ſlew all the company that were there, to the number of xii. Gentlemen, which came with Alfrede from Normādy: and after that they tooke Alphrede, and in the iſle of Ely they executed their cōmiſſion. That done, they opened his bodye, tooke out his bowels, ſet a ſtake into the ground, and faſtened an end of his bowels thereunto, & with niedels of yron they pricked his tender bodye, thereby cauſing hym to goe about the ſtake, till that all hys bowels were drawen out. And ſo dyed this innocent Alphred or Alured, being ẏ right heyre of ẏ crown: through treaſon of wicked Godwine. When the lordes of England heard therof, and howe Alphred, that ſhoulde haue bene their king, was put to death through the falſe traitour Godwine, they were wonders wrothe: and ſware betwene God and thē, that he ſhould dye a worſe death then dyd Edrith which betrayed hys Lorde Edmunde Ironſide: & would immediatly haue put hym to death, but that the traytour fled thence into Denmarke: and there held hym. iiij yeres and more, and loſt al his lands in england.

An other latine ſtory I haue (bearyng no name) which ſaith that this cōming in of Alphred and the Normāds: was in the tyme of Harolde Canutus ſonne. And howe Godwyne (after he pretended greate amitie to them) ſodenly in the night came vpon them at Gylford: And af after he had tythed the Normandes: ſent Alfrede to Harold at London, who ſent hym to the iſle of Ely and cauſed his eyes to be put out.

And thus much of Canutus: and of hys ſonnes, Harold and Hardecanutus. Beſides theſe. ij. ſonnes Canutus had alſo a daughter named Cunilda: maried to Hēricus the Emperour. Of whom ſome wryte, that ſhe beyng accuſed to the emperour of ſpouſebrech, and hauing no champion or knight that would fyght for her (after ẏ maner of that countrey) for triall of her cauſe: a certain little dwarfe or boy, whom ſhe brought with her oute of England (ſtyrred vp of God) fought in her cauſe agaynſt a mightye bigge Germayne of a monſtrous greatnes: which ſelye dwarfe, cutting by chaunce the ſinewes of his leg, after ſtroke hym to the grouud, and ſo cutte of his head, and ſaued ẏ lyfe of the queene, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabianus reporteth.

Of this Canutus it is ſtoried, that he folowyng much the ſuperſtition of Achelnotus Archbiſhop of Caut. went on pilgrimage to Rome: and there founded an hoſpitall for engliſh pilgrimes. He gaue the pope pretious giftes, and burdened the land with an yerely tribute called the Romeſhote: he ſhryned the bodye of Berinus, and gaue great landes and ornamentes to the cathedral church of Wincheſter: he builded S. Benets in Northfolk, which was before an Hermitage. Alſo S. Edmundes bury, which king Ethelſtane before ordeined for a colledge of prieſtes, he turned to an abbey of monkes of S. Benets order.

Bury abbey turned to monkes.

Henricus Archdeacon of Huntyngton lib. 6. maketh mention of this Canutus, as doth alſo Polydorus lib. 7. That he after his cōmyng from Rome, walkyng vpon a tyme by the port of Southampton. (But as Polydor. sayth) and Fabian affirmeth ẏ ſame that it was by Thames ſyde at London. When hys flatterers commyng about hym, began to exalt hym vp with hygh wordes, callyng hym a kyng of all kynges (moſt mightye) who had vnder his ſubiection both the people, the land, and alſo ẏ ſea. Canutus reuoluyng this matter in his mynde (whether for pride of his hart exalted, or whether to trye and refell their flattering wordes) commaunded his chayre of eſtate to bee broughte to the ſea ſyde at what tyme it ſhould begin to flowe. Polydore ſaith, that no ſeate was brought, but ſittyng vpon his garments beyng folded together vnder him: there charged and commaunded the floudes ariſing and comming toward his fete, that they ſhould not touche neither him, nor hys clothes. But the water kepyng his ordinary courſe, came nearer & nearer: Fyrſt to hys feete, and ſo growyng higher began to waſhe him welfauoredly. Wherwith the kyng abaſhed and partly alſo afeard ſtart backe: and lookyng to hys lordes: Loe (ſaith he) ye call me ſuch a mighty kyng, and yet can I not commaund backe this little water to ſtay at my worde, but is readye to drowne me. Wherfore all earthly kings may know, that all their powers bee but vayne: and that none is worthye to haue the name of a kyng, but he alone: which hath all thynges ſubiect to the power and authoritie of hys worde: which is the lorde of heauen and earth: the creator aboue of all thynges: the father of our Chriſt and Lord: who with hym for euer is to be glorified: him let vs worſhyp and extol for our king for euer. After this (as hiſtories witnes) he neuer ſuffred the crowne to come vpon hys head, but went to Wincheſter (or as ſome ſay, to Canterbury, but both thoſe may be true) for his goyng to Canterbury, was to acknowledge ẏ there was a Lord much higher, & of more power then he himſelf was, and therwithall to render vp hys crowne for euer. With that, Egelnothus Archbiſhop of Canterbury: enformed him of the image of the crucifixe before mentioned which diſſolued the matter betwene maried prieſtes and the lyfe of Monkes, and dyd manye other miracles mo, beyng then at Wincheſter. Wherwith the king prouoked to go to Wincheſter to ẏ roode, there reſigned vp hys regal crowne, and made the roode king ouer all the land.

Flatterers and claubackes about princes.

Canutus chargeth the ſea to ſtād backe, but it would not bee.

A leſſō notable for kinges and princes.

God onely the king of all kings and lord of all lordes.

The kinges crowne put on a roode.

Here is alſo to be noted in this Canutus, ẏ although (as is sayd) he cōdeſcended in ẏ beginning of his raigne, vpon kyng Edgares lawes: yet after in proces of time, he ſet forth peculiar lawes of hys owne. Among which, diuers there be that concerne as well cauſes eccleſiaſtical, as alſo temporal. Wherby it may appeare, ẏ the gouernment of ſpirituall matters not to depend then of the biſhop of Rome: but to appertayne to the lawfull autoritie of the temporall prince, no leſſe then of matters and cauſes temporal. As for example by theſe ordinaunces of the foreſaid Canutus, may be wel conſidered as here folow. Pecuniæ ſepulturæ iuſtum eſt vt aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a ſua parochia deferatur in aliā, pecunia ſepulturæ. &c. In engliſh.

Kings of England haue as much right in cauſes ſpirituall as temporall.

It is meete and right that in funerals money be geuen for openyng the earth.

If any body, or corſe, be caryed from hys own pariſh into an other: the money of the buriall ſhall pertayne by the law to hys owne pariſh church.

Certayne lawes of king Canutus for the ordering of matters eccleſiaſticall.

All ordinaunces and ceremonies of God, let them be obſerued, as nede in all thynges requireth.

Upon the Sonday, we forbyd all publique fayres or markets, all Synodes or conuenticles, huntyngs, or any ſuch ſeculare actions, to be exerciſed, vnleſſe vrgent neceſſitie compel therunto.

Let euery chriſten man prepare himſelf thriſe a yere to approch to the receauyng of the Lordes body: ſo to eat the ſame as not to hys iudgement but to his wholeſome remedye.

If a miniſter of the altare do kyll any man, or haue intangled himſelfe in any notorious cryme, let hym bee depriued both from his order & dignitie.

Adultreſſe wemen to loſe their eares, and noſes.

If any maried woman (her huſbande beyng alyue) haue committed adultery and be proued with the ſame: to her open ſhame in the world, let her haue her noſe and eares cut of.

Let euery widow after the death of her huſbande: ſo remayne ſole xij. monethes: or if ſhe marry, let her looſe her ioynter.

And here an ende of the Daniſh kyngs. Now to the Engliſhe kinges agayne, whoſe right lyne commeth in agayne in Edward here followyng.

¶ *King Edward called the Confeſſor.*

1043.

King Edward the confeſſour.

England afflicted by the Danes the ſpace of. CClv. yeares.

FOr ſomuch as God of his mercy and prouidẽce, who is onely the maker of heyres: thought it ſo good, after the wofull captiuitie of this Engliſhe nation, to graunt nowe ſome reſpite of deliuerance, in takyng away the Daniſh kyngs without any iſſue left behynd them: who reigning here in England, kept the Engliſh people in miſerable ſubiectiõ, about the ſpace of xxviij. yeares, and yͤ frõ their firſt lãdyng in yͤ time of kyng Brightricus: waſting & vexing this land, the terme of cc.lv. yeares: Now their tyrannie here commyng to an end, the next electiõ & right of the crowne fell (as appertayned) to Edward the yonger ſonne of kyng Egelred and Emma, a mere Engliſhman: who had bene now long baniſhed in Normandy, as is aboue declared. A man of a gentle and ſoft ſpirite: more applyable to other mens counſailes, then able to truſt to his own: of nature & condition ſo geuen from all warre and bloudſhed: that beyng in his baniſhment, he wiſhed rather ſo to continue all hys lyfe long in that priuate eſtate, then by warre or bloudſhed to aſpire to any kyngdome. This Edward, after the death of Canutus the ſecond or hardecanute, being ſent for of yͤ Lords into Normãdy to take poſſeſſiõ of the realme, although he ſomething miſtruſted the vnconſtant and fekle heads of Engliſhemen (yet hauyng ſufficient pledges layd for hym in Normandy) came ouer, with a few Normandes accõpanyed: and not long after was crowned at Wincheſter an. 1043. by Edſius thẽ archbiſhop of Cant. And not lõg after that, he maried Goditha, or Editha daughter of earle Godwyne: whõ he entreated after ſuch ſort, that he neither put her frõ hys bed, not yet delt with her fleſhly. Whether it were for hate of her kynne (as moſt lyke it was) or for loue of chaſtitie, it remayneth vncertaine. But moſt writers agrée, that he continued hys life without offence with woman: for the whiche he is hyghly exalted emong our ſtory writers and called holy king Edward. After he had thus taken vpon hym the gouernance of the realme, he guided the ſame with much wiſedome and iuſtice, the ſpace of xxiiij. yeares, lackyng two monethes: from whom iſſued (as out of a foũtaine) much godlynes, mercy, pitie, and liberalitie toward the poore: gentilnes and iuſtice toward all men: and in all honeſt lyfe he gaue a vertuous exãple to his people. He diſcharged the Engliſhmen of yͤ great tribute called Dane gelt, which before tyme was yearelye leuied to the great impouriſhyng of the people. He ſubdued the Scottes and Welſhmẽ, which in their borders begã to rebell againſt hym. In much peace he continued hys reigne, hauing no foren enemy to aſſault him: Albeit, as ſome chronicles do ſhew, certaine Danes & Norgwaines there were, which entẽded to ſet vpon England: But as they were takyng ſhipping, there was brought to them firſt one bowle, thẽ an other, of mede or methe, to drinke vpon a bon viage.

King Edwarde crowned.

Holy K. Edward, a virgine in maryage.

Methe in Greke ſignifyeth dronkẽnes

Thus one cup cõmyng after an other: after drinke came dronkennes, after dronkennes folowed ianglyng, of ianglyng came ſtrife: and ſtrife turned into ſtripes, wherby many were ſlayne, and the other returned to their home agayne. And thus the mercyfull prouidence of the Lord diſpatched that iourney.

In the tyme of this Edward: Emma his mother, was accuſed to be familiare with Alwyn the biſhop of Wincheſter: vpon whiche accuſation (by counſaile of earle Godwin) he tooke from her many of her iewels, and cauſed her to be kept ſomdele more ſtraitly, in the abbay of warwell: and the byſhop committed to the examination of the clergy. Polydore ſaith, they were both in priſon at Wincheſter: where ſhe ſorowyng the defame both of her ſelfe and of the biſhop, and truſting vpon her conſcience, deſireth them of iuſtice, offeryng her ſelfe ready to abyde any lefull triall: ye, although it were with the ſharpeſt.

Then diuers of the biſhops made labour to the kyng for them both, & had obteyned, had not Robert then archbiſhop of Cant. ſtopped the ſute. Who not well cõtented with their labour ſayd vnto thẽ: My brethren, how dare ye defende her which is no woman but a beaſt? ſhe hath defamed her owne ſonne the kyng, and taken her lecherous leman the biſhop. And if it be ſo, that the woman will purge the prieſt? who ſhall then purge the woman that is accuſed to be cõſentyng to the death of her ſonne Alphred: and procured venym to the poyſonyng of her ſonne Edward? But whither ſhe be gyltie or gyltles: yf ſhe will will go barefooted for her ſelfe iiij. ſteppes, and for the biſhop v. continually vpon ix. ploughe ſhares fier hote: then if ſhe eſcape harmeles, he ſhalbe aſſoyled of this chalenge and ſhe alſo.

To this ſhe graũted, the day was appointed: at which day, the king and a great part of his nobles were preſẽt, except onely Robert tharchbiſhop. This Robert had ben a monke of a houſe in Normandy, and an helper of the kyng in his exile: and ſo by the ſendyng for of the kyng, came ouer and was made firſt biſhop of London, after archbiſhop of Cant. Thẽ was ſhe led blindfield vnto the place betwen ij. men, where the yrons lay brẽnyng hote, and paſſed the ix. ſhares vnhurte. At laſt ſayd ſhe, good Lord whẽ ſhal I come to yͤ place of my purgatiõ. Whẽ they thẽ opened her eyes, and ſhe ſaw that ſhe was paſt the payne, ſhe kneled downe geuyng God thankes.

Then the king repented (ſayth the ſtory) and reſtored vnto her, that he had before taken from her, and aſked her forgeueneſſe. But yͤ archbyſhop fled into Normãdy.

Here about this time, about the x. yeare of his reygne: fell paſſyng great ſnow, from the begynning of Ianuary, to the xvij. day of March. After which inſued a great mortalitie of mẽ, morrian of cattel and by lightning the corne was wonderfully blaſted and waſted.

Not lõg after this: a certaine earle of Bolõgne, who had maried kyng Edwardes ſiſter, came into England: through the occaſion of whom: when execution ſhould be done vpon the citezins of Douer, for a fray betwene them, and the Earles men: variance happened betwene kyng Edward and earle Godwyng. Who perceauyng that he could not withſtand the kings malice, (although he gathered a great company to worke therin what he could) fled into Flaunders, and was out lawed with his v. ſõnes. King Edward repudiated his wife yͤ daughter of the ſayd Godwyn: but the ſecond yeare after, by mediatours he was reconciled to the kyng agayne, and called frõ baniſhment: And for his good a bearyng he gaue for pledges his ij. ſonnes, Byornen, and Toſtius, which were ſent to the duke of Normandy there to be kept.

Duryng the tyme of the outlarie of Godwyn: William Baſtard duke of Normandy came with a goodly company into England to ſee kyng Edward, and was honorably receaued. To whom the kyng made great chere, And at his returne inriched him with great giftes and pleaſures. And there (as ſome write) made promiſe to hym, that if he dyed without iſſue, the ſayd William ſhould ſuccede hym in the kyngdome of England.

In this kynges reygne lyued Marianus Scotus the ſtory writer. As concernyng the end of earle Godwyn, the cruell murderer of Alphred, and of the Normandes: although diuers hiſtories diuerſly do vary: Yet in this the moſt part do agree: that as he ſat at the table wᵗ kyng Edward at Wyndſore, it happened one of the cup bearers one of earle Godwyns ſonnes to ſtumble, and recouer again, ſo that he dyd ſhead none of the drinke: wherat Godwyn laughed, and ſayd: how the one brother had ſuſteyned the other. With whiche wordes the kyng callyng to mind his brothers deth, ỹ was ſlain by Godwin: beheld ỹ Erle (ſaying) ſo ſhould my brother Alfred haue holpē me, had not Godwyn bene. Godwyn thē fearyng ỹ kynges diſpleaſure to be newly kyndled, after many wordes in excuſing hym ſelfe, ſayd: So mought I ſafely ſwalow this morſell of bread, as I am giltles of ỹ deede. But as ſone as he had receiued the bread, forthwith he wās choked. Then the kyng commaunded hym to be drawn from the table, and ſo was conueyed by Harold hys ſonne to Winchester, and there buryed.

About ỹ xiij. yere of this kings reigne, ỹ ſaid king Edward ſent Aldred biſhop of Worceter to the Emperour Henricus ỹ fourth: praying him, ỹ he would ſend to the kyng of Hungary, that his coſin Edward ſonne of Edmund Yronſide, might come to Englād: for ſo much as he intended to make hym kyng after hym, whiche was called Edward Outlaw. The which requeſt was fulfilled, ſo that he came into Englād with his wife Agatha, and with hys children, to witte, Edgar Adelyng, Margarete, & Chriſtina. But the yeare after his returne into the realme, this Edward deceaſed at London, and was buryed at Weſtminſter: or as Iornalenſis ſayth, at Paules church in Lōdon. After whoſe deceaſſe, the king thē receaued Edgar Adeling his ſōne, as hys own child: thinking to make him his heyre. But fearyng partly the vnconſtāt mutabilitie of the Engliſhmen, partly ỹ pride and malice of Harold the ſonne of Godwine, & of other, (perceauing therby, that he could not bring that his purpoſe ſo well to paſſe) directed ſolēne Ambaſſadours vnto William duke of Normandy, his kynſman: admittyng & aſſigning him to be hys lawfull heyre, next to ſuccede after hym vnto the crowne.

After ỹ death of Godwin, Harold his ſonne waxed ſo in ỹ kyngs fauour: that he ruled ỹ moſt & greateſt cauſes of the realme, & was lyfetenaunt of the kynges armey: Who with his brother Toſton, or Toſtius (ſent by the kyng agaynſt the Welchemen) ſubdued their rebellion. But afterward, ſuch enuye grew betwen theſe two brethren, for that Toſtius ſaw his brother Harold ſo greatly aduaunced in the kinges fauour, that at Herford, the ſaid Toſtius ſlew all his brothers men. Whom when he had cut in peeces, he poudered their quarters and mangled partes, in barrels of ſalt, vinaiger, wyne, and other liquores. That done, he made a power agaynſt his brother Harold (beyng kyng) with the ayde of certayne Danes and Norgaynes, and fought a battaile with him in the North as after ſhall folowe (God willyng) to be ſene. So vngratious were theſe wicked children of earle Godwyn: that if they had ſene any fayre mātion or maner place: they would ſley the owner therof with all hys kynred, and enter the poſſeſſion therof themſelues.

At lēgth it came in the minde of this Harold to ſayle ouer the ſea (as Polydore ſayth) into Normandy to ſee his brother Wilnotus, as alſo his coſine Hacus, whom the kyng had ſent thether to be kept for pledges, as ye hard before. Polydore ſayth theſe pledges were Toſto, & Kynmon, but that can not be, for Toſtius was then in Englād. But as Henricus archdeacon of Huntyngton ſayth, his iorney was into Flaunders, as ſemeth more lyke. For it is not to be thought, that Harold who was a doer in the cruell murther of Alphred, and of the Normandes: would venter into Normandy, & therfore more lyke it is that his saylyng was into Flaunders. But, as the ſtory proceedeth: he being in the courſe of hys ſaylyng was wether dryuen by tempeſt into the prouince of Pountith, where he was taken as a priſoner, and ſent to duke Williā of Normandy. To whom he was made to ſweare, that he in tyme folowyng ſhould mary hys daughter: and that after the death of kyng Edward, he ſhould kepe the land of Englād to his behoue, according to the will and mynde of Edward (after ſome wryters) & ſo to lyue in great honour and dignitie next vnto hym in the realme. This promiſe faithfully made to ỹ duke, Harold returneth into England (wᵗ his coſine Hacus the ſone of his brother Suanꝰ beīg deliuered vnto him) But Wilnotus brother of Harold, ỹ duke kepeth ſtill for performance of ỹ couenauntes. Thus Harold, I ſay, returnyng home, ſheweth ỹ king al ỹ he had done in ỹ foreſaid matters. Wherwith ỹ kyng was wel cōtented. Wherby it may be gathered, that kyng Edward was right well willyng that duke William ſhould reygne after hym: & alſo ſemeth not vnlyke, but that he had geuen hym hys promiſe therunto before.

Harold taken of the Normandes.

Harold promiſeth Duke William to marrye hys daughter & to kepe the realm for his behofe.

Among all that were true and truſtye to kyng Edward of ỹ Engliſh nobilitie, none had like cōmendatiō as had Leofricus earle of Mercia and of Cheſter. This Leofricus purchaſed many great liberties for the town of Couentry, and made it free of all maner thynges, except only of horſe. Which freedome there was obtained by meanes of his wife Godina (by riding as ỹ fame goeth) after a ſtraūge maner through ỹ towne. Thys Leofricꝰ wᵗ his wife Godina, builded alſo ỹ abbey of Couētrye, and indued the ſame with great landes & riches.

Erle Leofricus euer true and faythfull to hys prince.

How Couentree was made free.

Godina wife to Leofricus.

You heard a litle before, of the commyng ouer of Edward called the outlawe, ſonne of king Edmund Ironſide: whom king Edwarde had purpoſed to haue made king after him. But ſoone after his commyng ouer, he deceaſed at London. This Edwarde had by hys wife Agatha, a ſonne and a daughter called Edgar Adelyng, & Margaret. Which Margaret being maryed afterward to the king of Scots, was ỹ mother of Matild or Maude quene of England, and of Dauid king of Scots. &c.

The abbey of Couentre builded by Leofricus.

Edward the outlaw.

Edgar Adeling & Margeret quene of Scots

Matilde quene of England.

Dauid king of Scottes.

This vertuous and bleſſed king Edward, after he had raygned xxiij. yeares, and vij. monethes, dyed and was buryed in the monaſterye of Weſtminſter: which he had greatly augmented and repayred: but afterward was more inlarged after this forme which it hath now, by Henry the third ſonne of king Iohn.

The death of king Edward.

Weſtminſter. repayred.

They that write the hiſtory of this king, here make mention of a dreame or reuelation that ſhould be ſhewed to hym in tyme of his ſicknes: how, that becauſe the peeres and biſhops of the realme were ſeruantes not of God, but of the deuyl: God woulde geue this realme to the hande of others. And whē the king deſired vtterance to be geuen him, that he might declare the ſame to the people, whereby they might repent: It was anſwered agayne, that neyther would they ſo do, or yet if they dyd, it ſhould be geuen to an other people. But becauſe it is a dreame, I let it paſſe.

Guliel. Malmeſbir.

Ex Iornalen.

Ex hiſtoria Richardi. 2. iuſſu cōpoſita.

Diuers lawes were before in diuers countries of this realme vſed, as the law firſt of Dunnallo Molmucius, with the lawes of Marcia called Mercenelaga: the the lawes of Weſtſaxon kinges, as of Iue, Offa, Alfred &c. which was called Weſtſaxenelaga. The thyrd were the lawes of Canutus and of Danes, called Danelaga. Of all theſe lawes which before were diuerſlye in certayne particular countries vſed and receaued: thys Edward compiled one vniuerſall and common lawe for all people through ỹ whole realme, which were called king Edwardes lawes: which lawes being gathered out of the beſt and chiefeſt of the other lawes, were ſo iuſt, ſo equall, and ſo ſeruing the publike profit & weale of all e-

The lawes of king Edward.

ſtates,that myne authors ſay: the people long after did rebell againſt their heades and rulers,to haue the ſame lawes agayne(beyng taken from them) and yet coulde not obtayne them.

Ex Matheo pariſienſi.
William Conqueror ſworne to kinge Edwards lawes, yet went frō it

Furthermore,I reade and finde in Math.Pariſi.that when Willyam Conquerour at hys commyng in, dyd ſweare to vſe & practiſe yͤ ſame good lawes of Edward, for the common lawes of this realme: afterward(being eſtabliſhed in hys kingdome)he forſwore himſelfe, and placed his own lawes in their roume,much worſſe and obſcurer then the other were.&c.

Notwithſtanding among the ſayde lawes of Edward,and in the firſt chapter & beginning thereof, thys I finde amonge the auncient recordes of the Guild hall in London.The office of a king, with ſuch other appurtenances as belong to the realme of Britaine: ſet forth and deſcribed in laten ſtile, whiche I thought here not vnmeete to be expreſſed in the Engliſh toung, for them that vnderſtand no laten.The tenor and meaning wherof thus followeth.

¶ *De iure et appendiis Regni Britannia, et* quod ſit officium Regis.

REx autem quia vicarius ſummi regis eſt,ad hoc eſt conſtitutus,vt regnum terrenum et populum domini, et ſuper omnia ſanctam eius veneretur eccleſiam et regat, et ab iniurioſis defendat,et maleficos ab ea auellat et deſtruat, et penitus diſperdat.Quod niſi fecerit,nomē regis non in eo cōſtabit. Verum Papa,Ioāne teſtante,nomen regis perdit. cui Pipinus et Carolus filius eius nec dum reges, ſed principes ſub rege Francorum ſtulto ſcripſerunt quærentes: ſi ita permanere deberent Francorum reges,ſolo regio nomine contenti A quo reſponſum eſt,illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt,et regunt eccleſiam dei & populum eius.&c. In Engliſh thus.

Ex libro Reg. antiquorum in prætorio Londinenſi.
The office of a king deſcribed in the lawes of king Edward.

A king the vicare of God in earth.

The kyng becauſe he is yͤ vicare of the hyeſt kyng, is appointed for this purpoſe:to rule the earthly kingdom, and the Lordes people:& aboue all thinges, to reuerence his holy church:to gouerne it,and to defend it from iniuries:to plucke away wicked doers, & vtterly to deſtroye them.Which vnles he do, the name of a kyng agreeth not vnto hym,but he loſeth the name of a kyng as witneſſeth pope Ihon:to the whiche pope,Pipinus and Carolus his ſonne(beyng not yet kyngs but princes vnder yͤ French kyng beyng not very wiſe)did write: demaūdyng this queſtiō,whether the kyngs of Fraunce ought ſo to continue hauyng but onely the name of a kynge. Vnto whom pope Ihon aunſwereth againe,that it was conuenient to call them kynges which vigilantlye doe defende and gouerne the churche of God and his people, followyng the ſaying of king Dauid the Pſalmograph. He ſhall not dwell in my houſe which worketh pride.&c. Moreouer,the kyng by right,and by his office: ought to defēd and conſerue fully and wholy in all amplenes without diminution,all the landes, honors, dignities, rightes and liberties of the crowne of his kyngdome. And further to reduce into their priſtine ſtate,al ſuch things as haue ben diſperſed,waſted and loſt,which apperteine to his kyngdome.Alſo the whole and vniuerſall land withall Ilelādes about the ſame vnto Norwey and Denmarcke,be apperteyning to the crowne of hys kingdome,and be of the appurtenaunces and dignitye of the king:making one monarchie and one kingdome, which ſomtime was called the kingdome of Britaines, and now the kingdome of England: ſuche bondes and limites as is aboue ſayde, be appoynted and limited to the name of this kingdome.

The lymits of the kyngdome of England how far they do extende.

The office of a king farther deſcribed

Moreouer, in yͤ foreſaid lawes of this king Edward it followeth in the ſame booke where the foreſayde Edward deſcribing yͤ office of a king, addeth in theſe wordes.A king ſaith he, ought aboue all things to feare God:to loue & to obſerue hys cūmaundements: & cauſe thē to be obſerued through his whole kingdō. He ought alſo to keepe,cheriſh,mayntayne and gouerne the holy churche within his kingdome, with al integritie and libertie,according to the conſtitutions of his aunciters & predeceſſors:and to defend yͤ ſame agaynſt all enemies, ſo that God aboue all thinges be honored, and euer be before his eyes.He ought alſo to ſet vp good lawes and cuſtomes,ſuch as be wholſome and approued: ſuche as be otherwyſe,to repeale them, and thruſt them oute of hys kingdome.Item he ought to do iudgement and iuſtice in his kingdome,by the counſel of the nobles of his realme.All theſe thynges ought a king in his owne perſon to do,taking his othe vpon the Euangeliſt, and the bleſſed reliques of Sayntes,ſwearing in the preſence of the whole ſtate of hys realme(aſwel of the temporaltie, as of the ſpiritualtie)before he be crowned of the Archbiſhops and biſhops.Three ſeruantes the king ought to haue vnder hym as vaſſalles:fleſhly luſt,auarice, & gredy deſire.Whom if he keepe vnder as his ſeruants and ſlaues,he ſhall raygne well and honorably in hys kingdome.All thinges are to be done with good aduiſement and premeditatiō: and that properly belōgeth to a king. For haſtie raſhnes brinketh all thinges to ruine, according to the ſaying of the Goſpell: Euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe,ſhalbe deſolate.&c.

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After the duty and office of princes thus deſcribed, conſequentlye followeth the inſtitution of ſubiectes declared in many good and neceſſary ordinances, very requiſite and conuenient for publicke gouernment. Of the which lawes W.Conquerour was compelled, thorow the clamor of the people to take ſome: but the moſt part he omitted,contrary to his owne othe at his coronation,inſerting & placyng the moſt of hys owne lawes in hys language,to ſerue his purpoſe:& which as yet to this preſent day in the ſame Normand language do remayne. Now(the Lorde wylling)let vs procede in the ſtory,as in order followeth.

¶ *King Harold.*

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Haro
king
Saxo

HArold the ſecond ſonne of earle Godwyn, and laſt king of the Saxons: notwithſtanding that diuers of the nobles went with Edgar Adeling,the next heyre after Edmund Ironſide:yet he through force & myght, contemning the yong age of Edgar,and forgetting alſo hys promiſe made to Duke William,toke vpon him to be king of England.an.1066.When Harold Harefager,ſonne of Canutus,king of Norway & Denmark, heard of the death of king Edward:he came into England with.300.ſhips or mo:who,then ioyning with Toſtius,brother to the ſayd Harold king of Englande: entred into the North partes,& claymed the land after the death of Edward.But the Lordes of the country aroſe & gaue them battayle:notwithſtanding,the Danes had the victory.And therefore Harold king of England,prepared toward them in all haſt,and gaue them an other ſtrong battayle,and there had the victorye, where alſo Harold the Dane was ſlayne, by the hand of Harolde king of England. And Toſtius was alſo ſlaine in the battayle.After this victory,Harold waxed proud and couetous:and would not diuide the prayes to hys knights that had well deſerued it,but kept it to himſelfe:wherby he loſt the fauour of many of his knightes and people.

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In this meane tyme,William Duke of Normandy ſent Ambaſſades to Harold king of England, admoniſhing him of the couenantes that were agreed betwene them:which was,to haue kept the lande to his vſe after the death of Edward.But becauſe that the daughter of Duke William(yͭ was promiſed to Harold)was dead: Harold thought him therby diſcharged,and ſaide, that ſuch a niſe fooliſh promiſe ought not to be holdē(concerning an others land)without the conſent of the Lordes of the ſame:and eſpecially for that he was therunto, for neede or for dread, compelled, Upon theſe anſwers receaued, Duke William, in the whyle that the meſſengers went and came: gathered his knyghtes, and prepared his nauye, and had the aſſent of the Lordes of his land to ayde & aſſiſt him in his iourny. And after that ſending vnto Rome to pope Alexander, concernyng his title and viage in England: the pope confirmeth him in the ſame, and ſent vnto him a bãner, willing him to beare it in the ſhip, wherin him ſelfe ſhoulde ſayle. Thus Duke William, beyng purueyed of all thinges concerning his iourny: ſped him to the ſea ſide, and tooke ſhipping at the hauen of S. Walery: where he taryed a long time, or he might haue a cõueniẽt winde. For the which his ſouldiours murmured (ſaying) it was a woodnes, & a thing diſpleaſing God, to deſire to haue an other mans kingdome by ſtrength, and namely whẽ God was agaynſt it in ſending contrary wynde. &c. At the laſt, the wynde ſhortly after came about, & they toke ſhypping wyth a great companye, and landed at Haſtinges in Suſſex.

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For three cauſes Duke William entred thys land, to ſubdue Harald. One was for that it was to him geuen by king Edward hys nephew. The ſecond was to take wreake for the cruell murther of hys nephew Alfred, king Edwardes brother, and of the Normandes, which deede he aſcribed chieflye to Harald. The third was, to reuenge the wrong done to Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harald, in the tyme of king Edward.

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Thus, whyle Harald was in the North: duke William made ſo good ſpeede that he came to Londõ before the kyng: out of whiche he was holden, till he had made good ſuretie, that he and his people ſhould paſſe through the city ẇout tarying: which promiſe he wel obſeruing paſſed the bridge, & went ouer vnto Suſſex. Frõ whẽce he ſent a Monke vnto Haarld, and profered to hym three maner of wayes. 1. Eyther to render to hym the poſſeſſion of the land and ſo to take it agayn of him, vnder tribute raigning vnder hym. 2. or els to abyde and ſtande to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both: or thirdlye to defend hys quarell in hys owne perſon agaynſt the Duke, and they two onely to try the matter by dinte of ſword, without any other bloudſhedyng.

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But Harald refuſed all theſe offers, ſaying: it ſhould be tryed by dinte of ſwordes, and not by one ſworde. And ſo gathered his people, and ioyned battail with the Normandes in the place where afterwarde ſtoode the abbey of Battayle in Suſſex. In the beginning of which fyght the engliſhmen kept them in good aray, lyke to vãquiſh the Normandes. Wherfore Duke William cauſed hys men to geue backe, as though they fled: wherby the engliſhmen followed faſte and brake their araye. Thẽ the Normaines fierſly geuing a charge vpon thẽ, in concluſion obtayned the victory, through the iuſt prouidence of God. Where kyng Harald, who before had murdred Alfrede ẏ true heyre of ẏ crowne, ẇ his cõpany of Normandes ſo cruelly: was now wounded of ẏ Normands, in the left eye ẇ an arrow, & therof incontinent dyed: although Gerardꝰ ſaith, he fled away to Cheſter & liued after ẏ a Monk in ẏ monaſtery of ſ. James. Which is not like, but rather ẏ he was there ſlaine after ẏ he had reigned ix. monethes, and was buried at Waltham (which proueth that he dyed not at Cheſter) and ſo was he ẏ laſt that raigned in Englãd of the bloud of Saxons: ẏ which continued (to recken from Hengiſtus his fyrſt raygne in Kent) by the ſpace of fiue hundred and 91. yeares. And if it be reckened from the yeares of the Weſtſaxones, then it endured, the ſpace of. 565. yeares.

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This William Duke, and kyng Edward: were by the fathers ſide, coſin germaines remoued. For Richard the fyrſt of that name, which was the iij. duke of Normãdy after Rollo: was father to duke Richard the ſecond of that name: and brother of Emma, mother to kyng Edward. Which duke Richard ẏ ſecõd, was father to duke Robert, this duke Williams father.

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Albeit in this matter, other ſome may gather otherwiſe, and better, perchaunce, yet if I maye ſaye what I thinke, verely I ſuppoſe, that there is no conſanguinitie ſo much here the cauſe, why God of his vnknowẽ iudgementes ſuffred the Normandes thus to preuail: as was rather the cruell murder of Alphrede, and of the innocẽt Normandes, wrought by the cruell deſpite of Harald & the Engliſhmen, as is before declared. The which merciles murther, God hath here iuſtly in thys conqueſt recompenſed.

Murther iuſtly recompenſed.

Now remayneth alſo to theſe foren affayres of kings & princes, to adde ſomthyng likewiſe, cõcerning ẏ cõtinuatiõ of ẏ archbiſhops of Cant. beginning there wher we laſt left: that is ẇ Elphegꝰ, whom we declared a litle before to be ſtoned by the Danes at Grenewiche. After which Elphegus next ſucceded Liuingus, after hym Egelnothus alſo aboue mentioned. Then Robertus a Normande, a great doer (as is declared) about king Edward, and a faithful counſailer vnto him: but he abidde not long. After whome, Stigandus inuaded the ſee (as they report) by ſymony: beyng both Archbiſhop of Cant. biſhop of Wint, and alſo abbot in an other place. Wherin he cõtinued a great ſpace, gathering & heaping goods together, till at length duke William clapt hym in priſon, and there kept hym: placyng in his roome, Lancfrãcus a Lombard borne, of whom more ſhal folow (Chriſt willing) herafter to be declared.

Archbiſhops of Canterbury.

Liuingus.
Egelnothus.
Robertus.
Stigandus.

Although the church of Chriſt, and ſtate of religion firſt founded and grounded by Chriſt and his Apoſtels, did not continually altogether remayne in his primatiue perfectiõ, wherin it was fyrſt inſtituted: But in proceſſe of tyme, began frõ better to worſe, to decreaſe & declyne into much ſuperſtitiõ & inconuenience: partly through the comming in of Mahumet, partlye through the increaſe of welth & riches, partly through ẏ decreaſe of knowledge & diligence in ſuch as ſhould bee ẏ guides of chriſtes flocke: yet the infection and corruption of that tyme (though it were great) did not ſo abound in ſuch exceſſiue meaſure as afterward in the other latter tymes now following about the thouſand yeres expyred after Chriſt: wherof we haue to intreat, Chriſt ſo permitting. About the which tyme and yeare came Silueſter the ſecond of ẏ name, who next ſucceded after Gregory the. 5 before mẽtioned pag. 208. and occupied ẏ ſee of Rome about the yeare of our Lord. 1000. lacking one or two.

The decay of the church.

Pope Silueſter the ii.

This Silueſter was a Sorcerer, which after the ſort of them, that worke by familiars (as they call them) and by coniuration, compacted with the deuill, to bee made pope. And ſo he was (through the operatiõ of Satan) accordyng to his requeſt. Which thing ſome hiſtories ſay, he did greatly repente before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the wordes of Joannes Stella. a Venetian, tranſlated from latin into engliſh, concerning the ſayd Silueſter: to the entent that our inchaũters and ſorcerers now a daies (wherof there be to many in england) may the better through his exãple be admoniſhed. The wordes of Stella be theſe, agreyng alſo with the narration of Benno, Platina and many other. Syluester the ſecond of that name, beyng pope, and a french man, called Gibertus: ſate in his papacye foure yeares, one moneth and. viij. dayes. He entred into his papacy, through wicked and vnlawful meanes: who from hys youth beyng a monke, and leauyng his monaſtery, gaue himſelfe wholy to the deuil, to obtayne that which he required. And firſt commyng to Hiſpalis a city in Spayne, there applied hys booke and profited there in ſo much, that he was made doctor, hauyng amongſt hys auditours, Ottho the Emperours ſonne, and Robert the French king, Lotharius archbiſhop of Senon, with dyuers other mo. By whoſe aduauncemẽt he was promoted, firſt biſhop of Rheme, afterward biſhop of Rauẽna,

Silueſter the ſecond a foule ſorcerer.

Ioannes Stella.
Platina.
Petrus Premõſtratenſis.
Nauclerus.
Antoninus.
Robertus Barnus.
Ioannes Baleus.

Ex Ioan Stella.

An admonitiō for ſorcerers, & wicked coniurers.

and at laſt through the operation of Sathan, was exalted to the papacy of Rome, vpon this condition, that after his death, he ſhoulde geue himſelfe to the deuil, by whoſe procurement, he came to that promotion. Vpon a certayne tyme he demaunded an aunſwer of the deuil, how long he ſhould enioy his popedome? to whom he anſwered agayne: vntill thou ſay maſſe in Ieruſalem thou ſhalt liue. At length the fourth yeare of hys popedome, ſaying maſſe at Lent time, in the temple of the holy cros beyng called then Ieruſalem, there he knew yͤ time was come, when he ſhould dye. Wherupon being ſtroke with repentaunce, confeſſed his fault openly before the people: deſyring all men to cut his body all in pices (beyng ſo ſeduced by deceites of the deuil) and ſo beyng hewen in pieces, they would lay it vpon a cart, & bury it there, whereſoeuer the horſes would cary it of their own accord. And ſo the ſaying is to be, yͭ by the prouidēce of God (wherby the wicked may learne yet hope of remiſſion with God, ſo yͭ they wil repent them in their life) the horſes of their owne accord ſtaid at the church of Laterane, and there he was buried: where as cōmonly by the ratlyng of hys bones within the tombe, is portended the death of popes as the common report goeth. Thus muche of Ioannes Stella, concernyng Sylueſter. By whom our ſorcerers and inchaunters, or Magicians may learne to beware the deceitful operation of Satan: who, at the ende deceiueth and fruſtrateth all them, that haue to do with hym: as the end of all ſuch doth declare commonly, which vſe the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercye, through yͤ ſpirite of Ieſus our redemer, diſſolue yͤ works of Sathan, and preſerue the hartes of our nobles, & of al other engliſh men from ſuch infection. Amen.

The feaſt of all ſoules brought into the church.

Benedictus the ix.

Gregorius the .vi.

A conſtitution no pope to be choſen but by the confirmation of the Emperour.

After Sylueſter ſucceded Ioannes. xix. by whō was brought in (as Volaterane ſaith) the feaſt of all ſoules, an,1004. through the meanes and inſtigatiō of one Odilo abbot of Cluniake, to be celebrate next after yͤ feaſt of all Saintes. This monke Odilo, thinkyng that purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the mounte Aetna: dreamed vppon a tyme in the countrey of Sicilie, that he by his maſſes had deliuered diuers ſoules from thence: ſaying moreouer, that he dyd heare the voyces and lamentations of deuils crying out, for that the ſoules were taken from them by maſſes and dirges funerall. Ex Bakenthorpo. in prolo. 4. lib. Sentēt. And not long after hym came Iohn the xx. and Sergius the fourth. After whom ſucceded Benedictus the viij. then Iohn the .xxi. who being promoted by art magike of Theophilact his nephew, Gratianus, Brazutus and other Sorcerers brought in fyrſt the faſt of the euen of Iohn Baptiſt and S. Laurence. After him followed pope Benedictus yͤ ix. likewiſe aſpiring to his papacy, by like magike: practiſing inchauntments and coniuration in woddes, after horrible maner. Who reſiſtyng the Emperour Henricus. iij. ſonne to Conradus, and placyng in his roome, Petrus the kyng of Hūgary with this verſe. Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi papa coronā: Afterward for feare of Henricus preuaylyng in battayle, he was faine to ſel his ſeat to his ſucceſſor Gratianus, called Gregorius vi. for 1500. poundes. At which tyme were three popes together in Rome raignyng and ragyng one againſt an other, Benedictus. ix Silueſter iij. and Gregorius. vi. For the which cauſe Henricus ſurnamed Niger, the emperour, commyng to Rome: diſplaced theſe iij. monſters at one tyme, placing for thē, Clemens. ij: and thereupon inacting, that there ſhould no byſhop of Rome henceforth be choſen, but by the conſente and confirmation of the Emperour. Which conſtitution though it was both agreable and alſo neceſſary for publike tranquillity of that citie, yet the Cardinalles would not ſuffer it long to ſtād, but dyd impugne it afterward by ſubtile practice and open violence, as in proceſſe (the Lord permittyng) ſhall appeare, in yͤ tyme of Henricus yͤ 4. and 5. In the tyme of this Clement, yͤ Romains made an othe to the Emperour, concerning the election of the biſhops themſelues to intermeddle no farther therein, but as the aſſent of the Emperour ſhould go wyth all. Howbeit themperour departyng thence into Germany againe, by and by they forgot their othe, and within .ix. monthes after poyſoned the biſhop. Which fact ſome impute to Stephan his ſucceſſor called Damaſus .ii. Some impute it to Brazutus, who (as hiſtories recorde) within .xiii. yeares poyſoned ſixe popes, that is, Clemens .ij. Damaſus .ij. Leo .ix. Victor .ij. Stephanꝰ .ix. Nicolaus .ij.

Thus Clement beyng poyſoned, after hym ſucceded Damaſus. ij. neyther by conſent of the people, nor of the emperour elected: but by force & inuaſion, who alſo within .xxiij. dayes beyng poyſoned. an. M. xlix. much contention and ſtriuyng began in Rome about the Papal ſeat. Wherupon the Romans, through the coūſel of the Cardinals, ſent to the foreſayd Emperour, deſiring to geue them a biſhop and ſo he did, whoſe name was Bruno an Almaine, and biſhop of Collen, afterward called Leo. ix. This Bruno being a ſimple man and eaſy to be led with euill counſel, commyng from the emperour towardes Rome in hys pōtifical apparel lyke a pope: meeteth him by the waye the abbot of Cluniake, and Hildebrande a Monke. Who ſeyng hym ſo in his pontificalibus, began to rate hym, laying to his charge, that he would ſo take his autoritie of the emperour, and not rather of the clergy of Rome and the people therof, as other his predeceſſors were wont to do: and ſo coūſelled him, to lay down that apparel, and to enter in with his owne habite, til he had his election by them. Bruno followyng their counſel and confeſſing his fault before the clergie of Rome, obtayned their fauour, and ſo was nominate Leo. ix. wherby Hildebrand was made a cardinal, & put in high roome. Vnder this pope Leo were two coūcels, one kept at Vercellis, where the doctrine of Berengarius againſt yͤ real ſubſtance in yͤ ſacramēt was firſt condemned, although Berengariꝰ yet recāted not, which neuertheles was done after in the councel of Laterane, vnder Nicolaus .ij. an. M. lx. The other was kept at Moguntia, wher amōgſt many other decrees was enacted, prieſtes to be excluded & debarred vtterly frō mariage. Item, that no lay men might geue benefice, or biſhoprick, or any ſpiritual promotion. &c.

This Leo, beyng at Wormes wyth the emperour vpon Chriſtenmas day, did excommunicate the ſubdeacō because in reading the epiſtle, he did it not in the Roman tune, he being there preſent. The achbiſhop moued therwith, departed from the altar (being then at maſſe) ſaying, he would not proceede no farther in his ſeruice, vnleſſe his ſubdeacon were reſtored. Wherupon yͤ pope cōmaunded hym to be releaſed, and ſo they went forwarde in their ſeruice.

After the death of Leo, whom Brazutus poyſoned the fyrſt yere of his popedome. Theophilactus did ſtryue to be Pope: but Hildebrand to defeate him, wente to the emperour (partly alſo beyng ſent by the Romaynes for feare of the emperours diſpleaſure) who aſſigned an other biſhop, a Germaine, called Victor. ij. This Victor hauing a councel at Florence, depoſed dyuers biſhops and prieſtes, for ſimony and fornication. For ſimony, in that they tooke of ſecular men their dignities for money: for fornication, in that contrary to their canon, they were maried. &c. The ſecond yeare of his papacye & litle more, this pope alſo followed his predeceſſors beyng poyſoned by the foreſayd Brazutus, through the procurement of Hildebrand his maiſter.

Here now began the church and cleargy of Rome to wring out of the emperours hand the electiō of the pope: electing Stephan yͤ ix. for pope, cōtrary to their othe & to the emperours aſſignmēt. Here was yͤ church of Millan fyrſt brought to obedience of yͤ Romiſh church, by thys Stephanus yͤ ix. biſhop of Rome. Who alſo ſhamed not to accuſe themperour Henry (of whom mentiō is made

before

e Empe- t accu- of eſye.

before) of hereſy: for miniſhing the autoritie of ẏ Roman ſee. So this was their hereſy at that tyme, not to maintayne ẏ ambitious procedings of ẏ Romiſh prelate. And ſymony they called this, to take and enioy any ſpiritual liuing at a ſecular mans hand. Wherfore Stephan hearyng this ſimony to raigne in diuers places, namely in the churches of Burgundy and Italy, ſent forth ẏ Cardinal Hildebrande to reforme the matter: who was no leſſe earneſt in that kynd of commiſſion to helpe the mater forwarde.

ldebrand t in com ſſion for onye.

In the meane tyme Stephanus the pope, taſtyng of Brazutus cup fel ſicke. Hildebrand hearyng that, applyeth home ẇ all poſt ſpede. So being returned to Rome, aſſembleth all the companies and orders of the cleargye together, making them to ſweare: that they ſhould admit none to be biſhop, but which ſhould be appointed by the publike conſent of them all together. This beyng done, Hildebrande taketh his iourney to Florence (belyke to fetch the biſhop of Floreẽce) to ſtall him biſhop: The clergy ſwearing to hym, that no biſhop ſhould be ordayned before his returne agayne. But the people of Rome not ſuffring ẏ electiõ to ſtand ſo long, after the death of Stephan: elected one of their own citie, called Benedictus ẏ tenth. Hildebrand hearyng of this, was not a little offended: wherfore returning to Rome ẇ one Gerhardus biſhop of Florence, cauſed the clergy to procede to a newe election, ſaying: that Benedictus was not lawfully called but came in by force & bribyng. But the cleargy not daring to attempt any new electiõ at Rome, went to Sene, & there elected this Gerhardus biſhop of Floreẽce, whom Hildebrande brought with hym. So were .ij. popes in Rome together: But Gerhardus named Nicolaus. ij. holdyng a councel at Sutrium, through the helpe of Duke Godfrid and Guibert, and other biſhops about Italy, cauſed the other pope to be depoſed. Benedictus vnderſtanding them to be ſet againſt him through ẏ means of Hildebrand, vnpoped himſelf, and went to Velitras, liuing there more quietly then he ſhoulde haue done at Rome.

ldebrand ginneth ſturre,

pe Bene- ctus the x.

pe Nico- as the.ii. wo popes gether at ome.

pe Benet popeth ymſelf.

Here is to be touched by the way, the error of the gloſe vpon the .23. Diſt. which falſly alledgeth out of the chronicles, that Benedictus .x. which ſucceeded Stephã, was depoſed: after whom came Ioãnes biſhop of Sabin for money, & he agayn depoſed. Benedictus was thẽ reſtored, and after diſplaced agayne, and then Ioannes arch deacon ad portam latinã was made Pope, & he agayne depoſed by the emperour, and all this within one yeare. Which hiſtory neyther is found in any Chronicle, nor agreeth vpon any Benedictus: saue onelye that Benedictus .ix. was depoſed, and then raygned three Popes together, Benedictus .ix. Silueſter .iij. and Gregorius. vj. whyche before was called Ioannes ad portam latinam, whom the emperour depoſed (al three together) But that Benedict, neither was the .x. neither did he ſuccede pope Stephan, as the gloſe recordeth. Nicolas thus beyng ſet vp without the mynde both of the emperour, and of the people of Rome, after his fellow pope was driuen away: brake vp the Sinode of Sutrium, and came to Rome, where he aſſembled an other councel, called Conſilium Lateranum. In which councel firſt was promulgate the terrible ſentence of excommunication, mencioned in the decrees, and beginneth: In nomine domini noſtri, &c. The effect whereof is this. Firſt that he after a ſubtill practiſe (as farre & as playnly as he durſt ſpeake) vnderminder the Emperours iuriſdiction, & transferreth to a few Cardinals, & certaine catholicke perſons, the ful authoritie of chuſing the pope. Secondly, againſt all ſuch as doo creepe into the ſeate of Peter, by money or fauour without the full conſent of the Cardinals: he thundreth with terrible blaſtes of excommunication, accurſing them and their children, with deuils, as wycked perſons to the anger of almyghtie God, geuing alſo authoritie and power to Cardinals, with the Clergye and laitye, to depoſe all ſuch perſons, and call a councel generall, where ſoeuer they wyl, agaynſt them.

he gloſe f the opes de- ees re- ted.

nciliium ateranũ.

059.

iſtin. 23. q. In no

terrible tle of ope Ni- laus.

Item, in the ſayd councel of Laterane, vnder Pope Nicolas the ſecond, Berengarius Andegauenſis an Archdeacon, was driuẽ to ẏ recantation of his doctrine, denying the reall ſubſtance of Chriſtes holy body and blood, to be in the ſacrament, otherwiſe then ſacramentally & in miſtery.

Berengarius driuen to recantation.

In the ſame councel alſo was hatched and inuented, the new found deuiſe and terme of Tranſubſtantiation.

Tranſubſtantiatiõ brought into the church.

It were to long here to declare the confederacion betwixt this Nicolas, and Robertus Guiſcardus: whom this Pope contrary to all right & good lawe diſplaſyng the right heyre, made Duke of Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and captayne generall of S. Peters landes: that through his force of armes & violence, he might the better ſubdue all ſuch as ſhould rebell to his obedience, and ſo did. Nowe let all men iudge & vnderſtand (which be godlye wyſe) howe this ſtandeth with the doctrine of Chriſt, the example of Peter, or the ſpirite of a chriſten biſhop, by outward armes & violence to conquer chriſten men and countries, vnder the obediẽce of a biſhops ſee. Thus Pope Nicolas the ſecond, well anſwering to hys Greeke name: by might and force continued three yeres and a halfe. But at length he met wyth Brazutus cup, and ſo turned vp his heeles.

Nauclerus. Platina. Eneas Sil.

Potentia papæ Coactiua ſtandeth not with the Goſpell.

1062.

At the beginning of this Nicolas, or ſomwhat before about the yeare of our Lord. 1057. Henricus ẏ. 4. after the deceaſe of Henry the third, was made Emperour being yet a childe, & raygned. 50. yeares: but not wythout great moleſtation, and muche diſquietnes, and all through the vngracious wyckednes of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord ſo permitting) ſhalbe declared.

Henricus. iiii. Emperour.

Here by the way commeth to be noted an example, wherby all Princes may learne & vnderſtande howe the Pope is to be handled, who ſoeuer looketh to haue anye goodnes at his hãd. If a mã ſtand in feare of his curs, he ſhalbe made his ſlaue: but if he be deſpiſed of you, ye ſhal haue him as you liſt. For the popes curs may wel be aſſimiled to Domicianus thunder. If a man geue eare to the noyſe and cracke, it ſeemeth a terrible thyng: but if ye conſider the cauſes and effect therof, it is a moſt vain ridicle.

The popes curſe cõpared to Domicianus thunder.

In the raygne of this Nicolas, an. 1060. Aldredus biſhop of Worceter, after the deceaſe of Kinſius his predeceſſor, ſhould be made Archbiſhop of Yorke: who comming to Rome with Toſtius earle of Northumberlãd, for his palle (as the maner was) could not obtayn it, but was depriued of all his dignitie (for ſome default, I can not tell what) in his anſwer. And furthermore, after his reuerſiõ home, was ſpoyled alſo of al ẏ he brought with him. Whereupon hee returning agayne to Rome with Toſtius the foreſayd Earle, there made his complaynt, but could not be heard: tyll Toſtius, a man of ſtout courage, taking the matter in hãd, told the pope to his face, that his curs was not to be feared in farre countryes, which his own neighbours, yea & moſt vile vacabondes derided & deſpiſed at home. Wherfore he required the Pope, either to reſtore Aldredus agayne to his goodes loſt, or els it ſhould be knowen, ẏ they were loſt through his meanes and ſubtiltie. And farthermore, it woulde come to paſſe, that the king of Englande hearing thys, would debarre him of S. Peters tribute, taking it for a great ſhame to him and his realme, if Aldredus ſhoulde come from Rome, both depriued of dignitie, and ſpoiled alſo of hys goods. &c. In fine, the Pope thus perſwaded by the argument of his purs, was content to ſend home Aldredus with his palle, according to his requeſt.

Aldred' archb. of Yorke.

Toſtius howe he perſwaded the Pope.

After the death of Nicolas, the Lombards being oppreſſed before by pope Nicolas, and brought vnder fear, were the more deſirous, and thought it good, to haue a biſhop of their company: & ſo elected the biſhop of Par-

Cadolus a Lombard made Pope by the Emperour.

men, called Cadolus, to be pope: ſending to themperour and deſiring his fauour and ſupportation therein. For the election of the Pope (ſayde they) moſt properlye appertayned vnto hym.

Pope Alexander the .ii.

Two battailes betwixt two Popes, for S. Peters ſeate.

Concilium Mantuanum.

Alleluya ſuſpended in the tyme of Lent.

A decree that no ſecular man ſhould geue a ſpirituall promotion.

Benno Cardinalis.

Pope Alexāder knockt aboute the pate by Hildebrand.

The Emperour wel pleaſed and content, geueth his good leaue and voyce with all. Hildebrandus, no les a wicked necromancer, then a ſtout mayntainer of popiſh liberties againſt good Emperours, hearing thys: ſetteth vp by a contrary faction, an other biſhop: Anſelmus, after called Alexander the ſecond. Cadolus thus elected by the Emperour and the Cardinals, ſetteth forward to Rome with a ſufficient armye and ſtrength of men. Alexander alſo no les prepared, ther receiueth him with an other armie, where they had a great conflicte, and many ſlayne on both ſides. But Cadolus, as he had ẏ better cauſe, ſo had he ẏ wors fortune: who beyng repelled, yet repared him ſelfe & came agayne wͭ a greater power. Albeit, he preuailed not. Thēperour, ſeyng this hurly burly: to take vp the matter, ſent thither his Embaſſadour Otho, archbiſhop of Colen: who comming to Rome, begynneth ſharpely to chide the pope, for takyng ſo vpon hym, without the leaue or knowledge of Themperour: declaryng how ẏ election of that ſee ought chiefly to apperteine to the right of Themperour, as it hath done for the moſt part in the tyme of his predeceſſors tofore. But Hildebrand all ſet on wickednes and ambitiō, and alſo puft vp not a litle, with hys late victories: not ſufferyng thambaſſadour to tell to thende, interrupted hym, in the midle of hys tale: affirming, ẏ if they ſhould ſtand to law and cuſtome, the libertie of that election ſhould rather belong to the clergy, then to themperour. To make ſhort, Otho thambaſſadour bearyng (by lyke) more with the clergie, then with Themperour, was content to be perſuaded: onely required this in Thēperours name, a councel to be had, to decyſe the matter: wherat the Emperour ſhould be preſent himſelf. And ſo he was: In the whiche councel beyng kept at Mantua. Alexander was declared pope, the other had his pardon graunted. In this councel amongeſt many other conſiderations, was cōcluded cōcerning prieſtes to haue no wiues: ſuch as haue concubines to ſay no mas: prieſtes children not to be ſecluded from holy orders: no benefices to be bought for money. Alleluya to be ſuſpended in tyme of Lent out of the church. &c. This alſo was decreed (which made moſt for Hildebrandes purpoſe) that no ſpirituall man, what ſo euer he be, ſhould enter in any church, by a ſecular perſon: and that the pope ſhould be elected onely by the cardinals. &c. Benno Cardinalis writeth thus of Alexander, that after he perceaued the fraudes of Hildebrand, and of other Thēperours enemies: and vnderſtandyng that he was ſet vp and inthroniſed, but onely for a purpoſe: beyng at his mas, as he was preaching to the people, tolde them, he would not ſit in that place, vnles he had the licence of the Emperour. Whiche when Hildebrandus hard, he was ſtroken in ſuch a fury, that ſcarſlye he could kepe hys hādes of him, while mas was done. After the mas beyng finiſhed, by force of ſouldiers & ſtrength of men, he had him into a chamber, & there all to bepomilde pope Alexander with his fiſtes, rating and rebukyng hym, for that he would ſeke for fauour of the Emperour. Thus Alexander, beyng kept vp in cuſtody, and beyng ſtinted to a certayn alowance, as about fiue grotes a day: Hildebrand incrocheth all the whole reuenewes of the church to himſelf, procuryng therby much treaſure. At length Alexander, vnder the miſerable induraunce of Hildebrand, dyed at euen tyde after a xi. yeares and halfe of his popedome. And thus much of Romiſhe matters.

Theſe things thus diſcourſed concerning ẏ matters of Rome (now returning agayne to our own country ſtory) the order therof would require to enter agayne in to the raygne of William Conquerour, the next king folowing in England. But as a certain oration of king Edgarus, which ſhould haue bene placed before, chaunced in the meane time to come to my handes, not vnworthy to be red: I thought by the waye in the ende of thys booke, to inſerte the ſame (although out of order) yet better I iudge it out of order, then out of the booke.

¶ *The Oration of K. Edgar to the Cleargie.*

Pſal.4

BEcauſe God hath ſhewed his great mercy to work with vs: it is meete (moſt reuerend fathers) that wͭ worthy works we ſhould anſwer his innumerable benefites. For we poſſes not ẏ land by our own ſword, & our own arme hath not ſaued vs: but his right hand and his holy arme, becauſe he hath bene delited in vs. Therefore it is meete that we ſhould ſubmit both our ſelues & our ſoules to him ẏ hath ſubiected all theſe things vnder our gouernmēt: & that we ought ſtoutly to labour, that they whō he hath made ſubiect to vs, myght be ſubiect to his lawes. It belonges to me to rule the lay people with the law of equitie, to do iuſt iudgement betwixt man & hys neighbour, to puniſh church robbers, to holde vnder rebels, to deliuer the helples from the hand of the ſtrōger, the needy alſo and the poore from them that rob them. It belonges alſo to my care to prouide neceſſary things to the Miniſters of the Churches: to the flockes of the Monkes, to the companies of virgins, & to prouide for their peace and quiet. The examining of al whoſe manners belongeth vnto vs: whether they lyue chaſtelye: if they behaue them ſelues honeſtly towarde them that be without: whether they bee diligent at Gods ſeruice: if they be earneſt to teache the people: if they be ſober in eating and drinking: if they keepe meaſure in apparel: and if they be deſcrite in iudgemēt. If ye had regarded theſe thinges with a tryal of them (O reuerende fathers, by your leaues I ſpeake) ſuche horrible and abhominable thinges of the Clerkes, ſhoulde not haue come vnto our eares. I omit to ſpeake how theyr crowne is not brode, nor their roūding cōuenient: the wātonnes in your lyfe, your pride in geſture, the filthines in your woordes, doo declare the euyll of the inward man.

Furthermore, what negligence is in Gods ſeruice, when ſcarce they wyll be preſent at the holy vigils? And when they come to Maſſe, the ſeeme rather to be gathered to play and laugh, then to ſyng. I wyll tell that, that good men be ſory for, and the euil laugh at. I wil ſpeake with ſorow (if ſo be I may expres it) howe they be riotous in banckettinges, in chambering, dronkennes, and vnſhamefaſtnes: ẏ now clarkes houſes may be thought to be a ſtues of harlots, and a couent of players. There be dyſe, there is daunſing and ſinging, ther is watching to midnight, with crying and ſhooting. Thus the goods of kinges, the almes of princes, yea (and that more is) the price of that precious bloud is not eſtemed. Haue our fathers thē ſpent their treaſures for this purpoſe? Hath the kinges cofers decayed by taking away many reuenues, for this cauſe? Hath the kinges liberalitie geuen landes and poſſeſſions to Chriſtes churches for this intent, that Clarks harlots ſhould be decked with ẏ ſame? that riotous feaſtes might be dreſſed? that houndes and haukes, and ſuch other toyes might be gotten? The ſouldiours cry out of theſe thinges, the people grudge, minſtrels ſing and daunce, and yet ye regard it not: ye ſpare it, ye diſſemble it. Where is ẏ ſword of Leuy, & the zeale of Simeon, which kylled the Sichemites and the Circumſiſed, which bare the figure of thē that defile Chriſtes Churche wyth filthye deedes, becauſe they abuſed Iacobs daughter as a harlot? Where is Moſes ſpirite which ſpared not his owne kinſfolke that worſhipped the heade of the Calfe.

Where is Phinies the prieſtes dagger, which pacified Gods anger by his holy zeale, when he killed hym that plaied the harlot with the Madianite? Where is Peters ſpirite, by whoſe power couetouſnes is deſtroyed, and ſimonicall hereſie is condempned? Be earneſt ye prieſtes, be earneſt, to folow yͤ wayes of the Lord, and the righteouſnes of our God. It is tyme to do agaynſt them that haue brokē the law of God. I haue Conſtātines ſword, and ye haue Peters ſword in your handes: let vs ioyne right handes, let vs couple ſword to ſword, that the lepers may be caſt out of the tēples, yͤ the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the ſonnes of Leuie may miniſter in the temple: who ſayd to hys father and mother I know you not, and to his brothers, I know not you. Go to diligently I pray you, leaſt we repēt to haue done that, that we haue done, and to haue geuen that, that we gaue. If we ſhal ſee that to be ſpent not in Gods ſeruice, but on the riotouſnes of wicked men, through vyle and corrupt libertie of lyfe, for lacke of chaſtiſment: let the reliques of holy ſaintes whiche they deſpiſe: and the holy altars before which they playe the mad men, moue you. Let the great deuotiō of our auncetours moue you: whoſe almes the madnes of the clerkes doth abuſe. My great grandfather (as ye know) gaue the tenth parte of all his lād to churches and abbeis. My great great grādfather Alfredus of holy memorie, thought not mete to ſpare his treaſures, his goodes, no coſtes nor rētes, that he might enriche the churche. My grandfather the elder Edward, your fatherhode is not ignoraunt, how great things he gaue to yͤ churches. It becōmeth you to remēber wͭ what gifts my father and his brother did enriche Chriſtes altars. O father of fathers Dunſtane, behold I pray thée, yͤ eyes of my father loking on thee, frō yͤ bright place of heauē. Herken his cōplainyng words ſoūding in thine eares, thus pitifully lamētyng. O father Dunſtane thou, thou, I ſay gaue me counſel to builde abbaies and churches: thou was my helper & felow worker in al thinges. I choſe thee as a ſhepheard & biſhop of my ſoule, & a keper of my maners. When did I not obey thee? what treaſures did I preferre in reſpect of thy counſels: what poſſeſſions did I not diſpiſe, if thou bad me? if yͤ thought meete to geue any thyng to the poore, I was ready. If yͤ thought mete to geue any thyng to churches I deferred not. If yͤ complained that monks, or clerkes wāted any thing, I ſupplied. Thou ſaidſt yͤ almes laſted for euer, & yͤ there was none more frutful thē that, which was geuē to abbeis or churches. For wͭ that both Gods ſeruaunts ar ſuſtayned, and yͤ which remaineth is geuē to yͤ poore. O worthy almes. O worthy price of the ſoule, oh holeſome remedy for our ſinnes, whiche now doth ſtincke in the ſwéete furres of prieſts lemans, wherwͭ they adorne their eares, & decke their fingers, apparelling their delicate bodyes wͭ ſilkes & purple. O father, is this the frute of mine almes: is this theffect of my deſire, and of thy promiſe? what wilt thou aunſwere to this complaint of my fathers? I know I know, when thou didſt ſee a thief, thou ranneſt not with him: neither haſt thou put thy porcion with aduouterers. Thou haſt rebuked, thou haſt exhorted, thou haſt blamed them, but words haue ben deſpiſed. Now we muſt come to ſtripes of correction: thou haſt here with thee, the worſhipfull father Edwald Byſhop of Wincheſter. Thou haſt the reuerend prelate Oſwold biſhop of Worcetour, I cōmit this buſines to you, that both by biſhoply correction, and the kynges autoritie the filthy lyues may be caſt out of the churches, and they that lyue orderly may be brought in. &c.

¶ In this oration of K. Edgar aboue prefixed, thrée things are chiefly to be noted and conſidered to them, that haue iudgements to marke and vnderſtand: to wit: the religious zeale and deuotion of kynges, both in geuyng to the church, and alſo in correcting the maners of Churchmen. 2. Secondly, the diſſolute behauiour and wantonnes of the clergie, then abuſing the great donations and patrimonies of princes beſtowed vpon them. 3. Thirdly, the blynd ignoraunce and ſuperſtitiō of that tyme in both ſtates: as wel eccleſiaſtical, as temporal: in eſtemyng chriſtes religion chiefly to conſiſt in geuing to churches, and in maintaining of monkery: falſly beyng perſuaded, that remiſſion of their ſinnes and remedie of their ſoules therin dyd lye: in building monaſteries, erectyng churches and cloiſters, and in placyng monkes in the ſame, and ſuch other almes dedes, and workes of deuotion. Wherin appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true doctrine of chriſtes faith, and of free grace of the Goſpel, which promiſeth lyfe, remedy, and iuſtification: not by any deuout merites of oures, nor by anye workes eyther of the law of God, or of the inuentions of man: but onely and frely by our faith vpon Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God, in whom only conſiſteth al the promiſes of God: Amen.

The doctrine of iuſtification vnknowen.

Iuſtificatiō by fayth in Chriſt.

Now remayneth as in the former booke before, ſo in this likewiſe, to proſecute the order and raſe of Archbyſhops of Cant. as we haue done the raſe of kyngs, beginning with Etheredus, who ſucceded next after Celnock the. 17. archbiſhop of that ſee, mentioned, where we laſt lefte before. Pag. 179.

¶ *The names and order of the Archbiſh. of Cant. from the tyme* of K. Egbert to kyng William Conquerour.

18. Etheredus.	18	
19. Pleimūdus.	29	This Pleimūdus was ſcholemaiſter to good king Alfred.
20. Athelmus.	12	
21. Vlfelmus.	13	
22 Odo.	20	By the praiers of this Odo, the mōkiſh ſtories ſay, that the ſworde of K. Ethelſtane was brought againe into his ſcabbard. As touching the epiſtle of thys Odo, ſent to other Biſhops, vide pag. 200.
23 Elſius, or Elſinus.	1	This Elſius firſt b. of Wint. came to the ſea of Cant. by the cōmaundement of king Edgar (ſome ſay by bribes) contrarye to the myndes of Odo. wherupon in the firſt day of his cōſecration, he inſulting vpon the tombe of Odo with deſpite, ſhortli after wēt to Rome for his palle, wher in his iorney vpon the Alpes he died for cold, inſomuch that hys horſes being kylled, and he put in their warm bellies, yet could get no heate. Malmeſ.
24 Dunſtan. ¶ Polydorus maketh Dunſtane to be the. 23. archb.	20	Of this Dunſtan manye moonkiſh miracles be fayned, as of the harp vpon the wall playing by it ſelf: Gaudent in cęlis &c, of our lady with her company appearing to hym, ſynging: Kantemus doĩo ſocię cantemus honoré. Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio. Alſo of the angels ſinging Kyrieleyſon. &c. Item of holding the deuil by the noſe wyth a payre of tonges, tempting him with wemē. Malmeſ. Item of ſeing the holy goſt at hys maſſe in likenes of a Doue. Item in deliueryng the ſoule of Edwin from the deuil. Itē in foreſeing the death of king Edred, by the death and falling of hys horſe. Item of hys mother beyng great with Dunſtane, when al the candels of others went out, her onely candle remained light, and many other like fables. &c.
25 Ethelgarus.	1	
26 Elfricus.	11	
27 Siricius.	5	This Siricius was the counſeler to k. Egelred, to redeme peace of the Danes, with a great tribute.
28 Elphegus.	6	Elphegus becauſe he denied to pay to the Danes a tribut, was ſtoned to death at Grinewyge, and of ſome is called a martyr.
29 Liuingus.	7	
30 Egelnodus.	17	
31 Edſius.	11	
32 Robertus.	2	This Robertus cauſed Godwyn & hys ſonnes to be baniſhed, accuſyng them of treaſon But afterward they being reſtored, he went to Rome, and at hys returne dyed.
33 Stigandus.	17	Stigandus being an Engliſh man, in the tyme of W. Conquerer the Normane, was by the craft of the ſayde William conueyed into Normandy, wher a whyle with great honour he was entertayned. At length the ſayd W. procured ſecretly the popes letters to depoſe hym, that he might place Lanfrancus in hys roume. Thys Stigandus dyed at length in pryſon.
34 Lancfrancus.	19	

S. Dunſtanes harpe vpon the wall faſt by a pynne dyd hange a. Without mās help with lye and all and by it ſelfe did twange a.

The fourth booke conteynyng other.300.yeares,from VV.Conquerour to the tyme of Iohn VVickleffe,vvherin is deſcribed the proud and miſordred raigne of Antichriſt, begynnyng to ſtyrre in the church of Chriſt.

William conquerour.

1067.

A blaſing ſtar.

Wylliam duke of Normãdy ſurnamed cõquerour baſe ſonne of duke Robert,the vi.duke of Normãdie,and nephew vnto kyng Edward: after the foreſayd victory agaynſt Harold and the Engliſh men obtayned, was receaued kyng ouer the realme of England:not ſo much by aſſent , as for feare,⁊ neceſſitie of time. For els the Londiners had promiſed there aſſiſtaunce to Edgar Athelyng to the vttermoſt of their power. But beyng weakened and waſted ſo greatly in battailes before,and the duke commyng ſo faſt vpon them, fearyng not to make their partie good ſubmitted them ſelues. Wherupon the ſayd William (of a duke made a kyng) was crowned vpon Chriſtmasday ỹ yeare of our Lord. M.lxvij, by the hands of Aldredus archbiſhop of Yorke. For ſomuch as at ỹ time Stigãdus archbiſhop of Cant. was abſent,or els durſt not,or would not come in ỹ preſence of the kyng. A litle before the commyng in of thys duke, a terrible blaſing ſtar was ſene,the ſpace of ſeuẽ dayes,whiche was the yeare before. In recorde wherof as wel of the conqueſt of the duke, as of the blaſing ſtar theſe verſes yet remayne.

Sexagenus erat ſextus milleſimus annus.
Cum pereunt Angli,ſtella monſtrante comæta.

Tribute.

Rebellion. Erle Marcarus, & erle Edwyn, Edgar,Athelyng,with hys mother,and.ii. ſiſters,Margaret,& Chriſtiã, fled into Scotland.

Newe king new lawes.

King William forſworne in aboliſhing king Edwards lawes.

Whiche kyng thus beyng crowned,dyd reigne ouer ỹ realme of Englãd ỹ ſpace of xxi. yeares,⁊ one moneth with great ſeueritie ⁊ cruelnes,toward the Engliſhmẽ: burdening thẽ with greate tribute and exactions,which was to pay of euery hide of ground,cõteyning xx.acres, vi.s̃. By meane wherof certayne parties of the land rebelled,⁊ ſpecially the citie of Exceſter. But at laſt William ouercame them , and wanne the citie and puniſhed them greuouſly. But for that and for other ſterne dedes of William, diuers of the Lordes departed to Scotlãd: wherfore he kept the other Lordes that taryed the ſtraiter,⁊ exalted the Normandes , geuyng to them the chief poſſeſſiõs of the land. And for ſomuch as he obteyned the kyngdome by force and dent of ſword, he chaunged the whole ſtate of the gouernaunce of this cõmon weale: ⁊ ordeyned new lawes at his owne pleaſure , profitable to him ſelfe,but greuous and hurtfull to the people : aboliſhyng the lawes of king Edward,wherunto notwithſtãdyng he was ſworne before, to obſerue and mainteyne. For the which, great commotions ⁊ rebellions remayned long after emong the people,as hiſtoryes recorde:to haue the ſayd lawes of kyng Edward reuiued againe.

Ouer and beſides this,he builded iiij.ſtrong caſtels, twaine at Yorke,one at Nottingham , an other at Lincolne,which garriſons he furniſhed with Normandes.

Yorke with the minſter of S. Peter brent.

About the third yeare of his reigne,Harold,and Canutus,ſõnes of Suanus kyng of Dẽmarke entred into the North countrey. The Normands within Yorke fearing that the Engliſhmen would ayde the Danes,fiered the ſuburbes of the towne. Wherof ỹ flame was ſo byg and the wynd ſo ſtrong,that it tooke into the citie , and brent a great part therof,with the mynſter of S.Peter. Where no doubt many worthy workes ⁊ monumentes of bookes were conſumed. In the tyme wherof ỹ Danes by fauor of ſomme of the citezens entred the citie , and ſlew more then iij.M.of the Normãdes. But not long after kyng William chaſed them out , and droue them to their ſhyppes,and tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with the inhabitaunce of that countrey:that he deſtroyed the land from Yorke to Durham,ſo that ix.yeares after , the prouince lay waſte ⁊ vnmanured, onely excepte S. Ihons land of Beuerlay,⁊ the people therof:ſo ſtraytly beig kept in penury by the warre of the kyng,that(as our Engliſh ſtory ſayth)they eat rattes, cattes, and dogges , and other vermyne.

Alſo in the iiij.yeare of this kyng, Malcolyn kyng of Scottes,entred into Northumberlãd and deſtroyed the countrey, and ſlew there much of the people both of mẽ wemen and children,after a lamentable ſorte , and toke ſome priſoners. But within ij. yeares after , kyng William made ſuch warre vpon the Scottes , that he forced Malcolyn their kyng to doe hym homage.

And thus much concernyng the outward calamities of this realme vnder this foreine conquerour. Which is now the fift time that the ſaid land with the inhabitance therof hath been ſcourged by the hande of God. Fyrſt by the Romanes in the tyme of Iulius Ceſar. Then by the Scottes and pictes (as hath ben ſhewed) afterward by the Saxons. Agayn, the Saxons or Engliſhmen did not enioye the poſſeſſiõ of Britanie with long quiete,but were brought in as much ſubiection thẽ ſelues vnder the Danes, as they had brought the Britans before (and ỹ much more) in ſo much ỹ through al Englãd, if an Engliſh man had met a Dane vpon a bridge, he might not ſtyrre one foote,before the Lord Dane (otherwiſe Lurdane) were paſt. And thẽ if the Engliſh mã had not genẽlow reuerẽce to the Dane,at his cõming by,he was ſure to be ſharpely puniſhed (with more) as aboue hath bene declared pag.209. And this ſubiection almoſt continued from the reigne of kyng Ethelwolfus. cc.xxx. yeares,till the reigne of kyng Edward. And yet the indignation of God thus ceaſed not: but ſtyrred vp the Normandes agaynſt them,who conquered ⁊ altered the whole realme after their owne purpoſe, in ſo much that beſides the innouatiõ of the lawes,coignes,⁊ poſſeſſions : there was in no churche of Englãd almoſt any Engliſh biſhop,but only Normands ⁊ foreners placed through all their dioces. To ſuch miſery was this land then brought vnto,ỹ not onely of all the Engliſh nobilitie,not one houſe was ſtandyng:but alſo it was thought reprochfull to be called an Engliſh man. This puniſhment of God agaynſt the Engliſh natiõ, writers do aſſigne diuerſly to diuers cauſes(as partely before is touched)of whõ ſome aſſigne this to be the cauſe,as foloweth in the wordes of the ſtory:In primitiua Angliæ eccleſia religio clariſsime ſplẽduit, ita vt Reges & reginę,Duces et epiſcopi, vel monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appeterent:proceſſu vero temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, vt gentem nullam proditione & nequitia ſibi parẽ eſſe permitterent. &c. The meanyng wherof is,that where as kynges and quenes, dukes,and prelates in the primitiue time of the Engliſh churche,were redy for religion,to forſake either libertie or countrey,and gyue them ſelues to a ſolitary lyfe : in proces of tyme they grew to ſuch diſſolutenes,that they left no other realme lyke vnto thẽ in iniquitie. ⁊c. Again ſome wrytyng of the viſiõ of kyng Edward a litle before the inuaſiõ of the Normandes: teſtifie, how the kyng reportyng of his own viſion,ſhould heare,that for ỹ great enormitie and miſbehauiour of the head dukes, biſhops, and abbats of the realme:the kyngdome ſhould be geuẽ to the hand of their enemies,after the deceaſe of him,for the ſpace of a.C.yeares,and one day. Which ſpace was alſo ſene by William cõquerour:to be a.C.yeares,and l:⁊ that his progenie ſo long ſhould cõtinue. Again ſome writers entreatyng of this ſo great wrath of God vpon the Engliſh people,declare ỹ cauſe therof, as foloweth: Nam ſicut Angl.Britones,quos Deus diſterminare propoſuerat(peccatis ſuis exigentibus) humiliauerant, & a terra

Angliæ minus iuſte fugauerāt: ſic ipſi duplici perſecutione. &c. Like as the Engliſhmen did ſubdue ẏ Britons (whō God propoſed, for their deſeruings, to exterminate) and them vniuſtly did diſpoſſeſſe of their land: ſo they ſhould likewiſe be ſubdued and ſcourged with a double perſecution, firſt by the Danes, and after by the Normans. &c. Moreouer to theſe iniuries & iniquities done & wrought by the Engliſh men hitherto recited, let vs adde alſo the cruell vilanie of this nation in murderyng and tithyng of the Innocent Normans before: who commyng as ſtraungers with Alfred the lawfull heyre of the crowne, were deſpitefully put to death. Whiche ſemeth to me no litle cauſe, why the Lord (whoſe doyngs be alwayes iuſt and right) did ſuffer the Normans ſo to preuaile. By the commyng in of the whiche Normans, and by their quarell vnto the realme, three things we may note & learne. Firſt to conſider & learne the righteous retribution and wrath of God from heauē vpon all iniquitie & vnrighteous dealing of men. Secōdly we may therby note, what it is for princes to leaue no iſſue or ſure ſucceſſiō behynd them. Thirdly, what daungers often do chaunce to realmes publique by forein mariage with other princes. &c.

Engliſhmē iuſtly ſcourged for their vniuſt crueltye agaynſt the Normands.

Three thinges in thys conqueſt to be noted. Gods iuſt iudgemēt. Lacke of ſucceſſion. Foren mariage.

1070.

In the ſame fourth yeare of this kyng, betwene Eaſter and Whitſontyde: was holden a ſolemne councel at Wincheſter of ẏ clergie of England. At the which councel were preſent two cardinals, ſent from pope Alexander. 2. Peter, and Iohn. In this councel the kyng beyng there him ſelf preſent, were depoſed diuers biſhops, abbots, & priours (by the meanes of the kyng) without any euident cauſe: to thentent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the churche, as he had preferred hys knightes before to the rule of the temporaltie, therby to ſtand in more ſuretie of the land. Amongſt whom alſo Stigandus archbiſhop of Cant. was put downe, for iij. cauſes agaynſt him pretended.

A councel holden at Wincheſter.

Might ouercommeth ryght.

Diuerſe biſhops, abbots, & priours depoſed in England. Stigandus archb. of Cant. depriued, and the cauſes whye.

The firſt was, for that he had holdē wrongfully that biſhoprike, while Robert the archbiſhop (aboue mentioned pag. 217 was lyuing.

The ſecond was, for that he had receaued the palle of Benedict byſhop of Rome ẏ fiueth of that name. Which Benedict, for byeng his popedome, had bene depoſed, as is ſhewed before.

The third cauſe, for that he occupied the ſayd palle without licēce and lefull autoritie of the court of Rome.

Then Stigādus well proued the beneuolēce of kyng William. For where before, the kyng ſemed in frendly countenaunce to make much of hym, and did vnto hym great reuerence: then he chaunged all his mildenes into ſternes, & excuſed him ſelfe by the biſhop of Romes autoritie: So that in the end Stigandus was depriued of his dignitie and kept in Wincheſter, as a priſoner duryng his lyfe. This Stigādus is noted for a man ſo couetous and ſparyng, that when he would take nothyng of hys owne, and ſwaryng that he had not a peny, yet by a key faſtened about his necke was found great treaſours of hys vnder the ground.

Fayre countinance not to be truſted.

A couetous byſhop.

At ẏ ſame tyme was preferred to the archbiſhoprike of Yorke, Thomas a Normand, and chanon of Baion.

At which tyme alſo Lancfrancus abbote of Cadomonencie (a Lombard, and Italian borne) was ſent for and made archbiſhop of Cant. betwen which two archbiſhops about there conſecration, firſt began a contention for geuyng and takyng the othe of obedience, but that contention was at that tyme apeaced by the kyng. And Thomas contented to ſubſcribe to the archbiſhop of Cant. obedience.

Thomas made arch. of Yorke.

Lanfrancus an Italian, archb of Cant.

After thys it folowed within ſhort ſpace, that the ſayd Lanckfrancus and Thomas archbiſhop of Yorke, who firſt builded the minſter of Yorke, and gaue poſſeſſions therunto: came to Rome with Remigius byſhop of Dorceſter, for their palles, as ẏ maner was: without which, no archbiſhop nor byſhop could be confirmed, although their election were neuer ſo lawfull. This palle muſt be aſked no where but of the pope, or his aſſignes, and that within. iij. monethes: alſo it muſt be aſked not feintly but mightly: Diſt. C. cap. priſca: Which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations (eſpecially ſuch as were farre from Rome (ſo it was no ſmal gaine to the Romiſh ſea, ſo as they did order it: for although at the beginning the palle was geuen without money, accordyng to the decree. Diſt. C. or for litell, as percaſe in thys time of Lanfrank: yet in proces of yeres it grew to ſuch exceſſe, that where ẏ biſhoprike of Mentz was wōt to geue to Rome but x. M. florence: afterward it aroſe ſo, that he that aſked to haue his confirmation, could not obtayne it, without. xx. thouſād. And from thence it exceced, to. xxv. thouſande, and at length to. xxvii. thouſand florences: which ſumme Iacobus archbiſhop of Mentz was preſt to pay, a litell before the councel of Baſill: in ſo much ẏ the ſayd Iacobus, at hys departyng (which was within foure yeres after, ſayd, ẏ his death did not ſo much greue him, as to remēber his poore ſubiectes, which ſhoulde bee conſtreined, to pay ſo terrible a fine, for the popes palle. Now by this, what did riſe to the pope in whole Germany conteinyng in it aboue L. biſhoprikes, it may be eaſely coniectured. Lanfrancus thus commyng to Rome, with ẏ other. ij. biſhops: he for the eſtimation of his learning, obtained of Alexāder. ij. palles, one of honor, ẏ other of loue. Itē, he obteined for the other, ij. biſhops alſo their confirmation. At whiche tyme, they beyng there preſent before Alexander: the controuerſy began firſt to be moued (or rather renued) for ẏ primacy betwixt ẏ. ij. metropolitanes, that is betwixt the archbiſhop of Canturbury, & archbiſhop of Yorke, whether of them ſhould haue preeminence aboue the other: For Canterbury chalenged to him ſelf prerogatiue and the primacy, ouer whole Britany, and Ireland: ẏ which contention continued a long ſeaſon, betwixt theſe. ij. churches, and was often renued in the dayes of diuers kynges after this: as in the reign of Henry the firſt, betwixt Thurſtinus of Yorke, and Radolphus of Canterbury. And agayne in the xxvij yeare of the ſayd king, at his ſecond coronation: for Radolphus would not ſuffer the firſt coronation to ſtand, becauſe it was done by the biſhop of Yorke, without his aſſent. Alſo in the reigne of Henry ẏ ſecond, where Alexander pope made a letter decretall betwixt theſe ij. metropolitanes, for bearyng the cros. an. M. CLix. Alſo an other tyme, in ẏ reigne of ẏ ſayd kyng, betwixt Richard of Canterbury, & Roger of Yorke: again about ẏ yeare of the Lord. M. Clxx. when Thomas Becket, hearyng ẏ kyng to be crowned of Roger B. of Yorke: complayned therof greuouſl to pope Alexander the third. Item an other tyme. an. M. Clxxvi. Betwixt Richard, and the ſaid Roger, whether of thē ſhould ſit on the Cartinal Hugo, in his councel at London. Moreouer in the begynnyng of the reigne of king Richard. an. M. Cxc. betwixt Baldwinus of Canterbury, and Godfridus of Yorke. &c.

The minſter of Yorke builded.

The geuing of the palle.

Diſt. 100. Cap. Priſca.

Diſt. 100. cap Nouit.

Ex lib. grauaminū nationis Germanicæ.

Iacobus archb. of Mentes.

Eneas Siluius writeth to be 50 biſhoprickes in Germanye.

Now to procede in the ſtory hereof. After this queſtion was brought as is ſayd, to ẏ popes preſence (he not diſpoſed to deciſe the matter) ſent them home vnto England, there to haue their cauſe determined. Wherupon they ſpeading them ſelues from Rome, to England an. M. lxx. & the vi. yere (as is ſaid) of this William: brought the matter before the king and the clergy, at Windſore. Where as Lācfrāk firſt alledgyng for him ſelf, brought in, from the time of Auſten, to the tyme of Bede (whiche was about. C. xl. yeares) howe that the byſhop of Cant. had euer the primacie ouer the whole land of Britanie, & Ireland: how he kept his councels diuers tymes within the preſincts of Yorke: how he did cal & cite ẏ biſhops of Yorke therto: wherof ſome he did conſtitute, ſome he did excommunicate, and ſome he did remoue: beſides alſo he alledged diuers priuileges grāuted by princes and prelates to the primacie of that ſea. &c.

To this Thomas Archbyſhop of Yorke replyeth agayn, & firſt beginning wt the firſt original of ẏ Britans church declareth in order of time, how the Britanes. &c.

Lucius the firſt king of Britannie chriſtened.

Theonus fyrſt archbiſhop of London.

Ex Chronico. Sigebert.

Douer the hed citie of Kent.

This was about. 150. yeares after the comming of the Saxons.

¶ The Britanes firſt poſſeſſioners of this kyngdome of Britane, which endured from Brutus to Cadwalader. 2076. yeares vnder an hundreth and. ij. kynges, at length receaued the chriſtian fayth an. Clxij. in the time of Lucius their kyng. Eleutherius biſhop of Rome, ſent Faganus and Dumanus, preachers vnto them, at which time after their conuerſion, they aſſigned and ordeined in the realme. xxviij. biſhops with. ij. archbiſhops Theonus the archbiſhop of Lōdon, & Theodoceus archbiſhop of Yorke. Vnder thoſe biſhops and archbiſhops the church of Britane was gouerned, after their conuerſion, almoſt. 300. yeares, till at lēgth the Saxones being then infidels, with Hēgiſtus their king, ſubdued the Britans by fraudulent murder, & inuaded their land: which was about the yeare of the Lord. 440. After this ẏ Britans beyng driuen into Cambria (whiche we now call Wales) the Saxones ouer running the land, deuided thē ſelues into vij. kyngdomes. And ſo beyng infidels and pagans continued, til the time ẏ Gregory biſhop of Rome, ſent Auguſtinus, to preach vnto them: which Auſten cōming firſt to Douer, beyng then the head citie of Kent, & there plāting him ſelfe, conuerted firſt the kyng of Kent, called Edilbertus: who had then ſubdued certayn other kings vnto humber. By reaſon wherof Auguſtine was made archbiſhop of Douer, by the appointment of Gregorius, who ſent hym certaine Palles, with hys letter from Rome, whiche before is expreſſed, page. 159. Which letter beynge recited, then Thomas expoundynge vppon the ſame, begynneth to declare for him ſelf, how the meanyng of Gregory in this letter, was to reduce the new churche of Saxones, or Engliſh men, to the order that was in tholde time among the Britanes: that is, to be vnder. ij. metropolitanes, one of Londō, the other of Yorke: for ſo the churche was ordered in ẏ tyme of ẏ Britanes, as is before declared. Notwithſtāding, he geueth to Auſten this prerogatiue during hys life time, to haue autoritie and iuriſdiction, not onely ouer hys. xij. biſhops, but vpon all other biſhops & prieſtes in all England. And after his deceaſe, thē theſe. ij. metropolitanes, London and Yorke, to ouerſee the whole clergy, as in tymes paſt, amongſt the Britanes: whom he ioyneth together after the death of Auguſtine, to cōſtitute biſhops, and to ouerſee the churche. And that he ſo meaneth, London to be equall in authoritie with Yorke, it appeareth by. iiij. argumentes: Firſt that he will London to be conſecrate by no biſhop but of his own Synode. Secondly, in ẏ he willeth no diſtinction of honor to be betwixt London and Yorke, but accordyng onely to that as eche of thē is elder in tyme. Thirdly for that he matcheth theſe. ij. together in common counſel, and with one agreement to conſent together in doyng and diſpoſing ſuch things, as they ſhall conſulte vpon in the zeale of Chriſt Ieſus: and that in ſuch ſort, that one ſhould not diſſent nor diſcorde from thother. What meaneth this, but that they ſhould gouerne together, whom he would not to diſſent together? Forthly where he writeth, that the biſhop of Yorke ſhould not be ſubiect to the biſhop of Londō: what meaneth this, but ẏ the biſhop of London ſhould be equiualent with the metropolitane of Yorke, or rather ſuperiour vnto hym?

Lancfrācus replyeth.

And thus he expounded the meanyng of Gregory, to be in the foreſayd letter. To whom Lancfrancus, agayn aunſwereth, that he was not the biſhop of London, and that the queſtion perteyned not to London. Thomas replieth, hauyng on his part many fauters, that this priuilege was graunted, by Gregory, to Auguſtine alone, to haue all other biſhops ſubiect to hym: but after hys diſceaſe, there ſhould be equalitie of honor, betwixt London, & Yorke, without al diſtinctiō of prioritie ſaue ẏ onely perioritie of tyme ſhoulde make ſuperioritie betwene them. And although Auguſtine tranſlated the ſeate from London to Kent, yet Gregory, if his minde had bene, to geue the ſame prerogatiue to the ſucceſſors of Auſten (whiche he gaue to hym) would expreſly haue vttered it in the wordes of his epiſtle, writing thus to Auſten. That whiche I geue to the Auſten, I geue alſo and graunt to all thy ſucceſſors after thee. But in that, he maketh here no mention of his ſucceſſors, it appeareth therby, that it was not hys minde ſo to do.

Thoma argueth.

Lanfranc replyeth.

The digni tie of Ca terbury co fyrmed by priuilege

Wel repli of an Itali

To this Lancfrancus argueth agayne. If this autoritie had ben geuen to Auſten alone, and not to his ſucceſſors, it had ben but a ſmal gift, procedyng frō the Apoſtolike ſeat, to his eſpeciall and familier frend: eſpecially ſeyng alſo that Auſten, in all his lyfe, did conſtitute no biſhop of Yorke, neither was there any ſuch biſhop to be ſubiect to him. Agayne we haue priuileges from the Apoſtolike ſea, which confirme this dignitie in the ſucceſſors of Auſten, in the ſame ſeate of Douer. Moreouer, al Engliſhmen thinke it, both right and reaſon, to fetch the direction of well lyuing, from that place, where firſt they tooke the ſparkle of right beleuyng. Farther, where as you ſay, that Gregory might haue confirmed with plain wordes, the ſame thing, to the ſucceſſors of Auſtē, which he gaue vnto hym: all that I graunt: yet notwithſtandyng, this is nothing preiudiciall to the ſeate of Canterbury. For, if you know your Logike, that which is true in the whole, is alſo true in the part: And what is true in the more, is alſo true in ẏ leſſe. Now ẏ churche of Rome is, as the whole, to whō all other churches be, as partes therof. And as Homo. i. mankind is Genus. i. the general in a certain reſpect to al his Indiuidua. i. to all particular perſōs, and yet in euery particular perſon lyeth the property of the generall: ſo in like maner, the ſee of Rome, in a certaine reſpect, is the generall and the whole, to other churches, and yet in euery particuler church, is conteyned the whole fulneſſe of the whole Chriſtian fayth. That churche of Rome is greater then all churches, and that whiche is wrought in it, ought to worke in the leſſe churches alſo: ſo that the authority of euery chief head of the churche, ought to ſtand alſo in them, that do ſucceде: vnleſſe there be any preciſe exceptiō made by name. Wherfore, like as the Lord ſaid, to al biſhops of Rome, the ſame thyng, whiche he ſayd to Peter: ſo Gregory in lyke maner ſayd to all the ſucceſſors of Auſten, ẏ which he ſayd to Auſtē. So thus I conclude, likewiſe as the biſhop of Canterbury, is ſubiect to Rome, becauſe he had his fayth from thence: ſo Yorke ought to be in ſubiection to Cāterbury, which ſent ẏ firſt preachers thither. Now where as you alledge, that Gregory would Auſten to be reſident at London: that is vtterly vncertayn. For how is it to be thought ẏ ſuch a diſciple woulde do contrary to ẏ mind of ſuch a maſter? But grāūt, as you ſay, that Auſten remoued to London: what is ẏ to me, which am not biſhop of London. Notwithſtandyng, all this controuerſie ceaſing betwixt vs, if it ſhall pleaſe you, to come to ſome peaceable compoſition with me (all contention ſet a part) you ſhall finde me not out of the way, ſo farre as reaſon and equitie ſhall extend.

If this ſi militude were for med into ſillogiſm neither w the Maio true, And ſpecially the mino were vtt ly falſe.

With theſe reaſons of Lancfranke, Thomas gaue ouer, condeſcending that the firſt of his prouince ſhould begyn at Humber.

Order m betwixt L francus & of Cante burye and Thomas ſhop of Yorke.

Wherupon it was then decreed, that Yorke from that tyme, ſhoulde be ſubiecte to Caunterburye, in all matters apperteynyng to the rites and regiment of the catholike church: So that wher ſo euer within Englād, Canterbury ſhould or would hold his coūcell, the biſhop of Yorke ſhould reſort thither, with his Biſhops, and be obedient to his decrees canonicall.

Prouided moreouer, that when the biſhop of Canterbury ſhould deceaſe, Yorke ſhould repayre to Douer, there to conſecrate with other, the biſhop that ſhould be elect. And if Yorke ſhould deceaſe, his ſucceſſor ſhould reſort to Canterbury, or els, where the byſhop of Canterbury,

bury ſhould appoynt, there to receyue his conſecration, makyng hys profeſſion there with an oth of canonicall obedience. Thomas beyng content withall, Lancfrancus the Italian triumpheth with no ſmall ioy: & putteth the matter forthwith in wrytyng, that the memory therof might remaine to the poſteritie of his ſucceſſors. But yet that decrée did not long ſtand. For ſhortly after, the ſame ſcarre ſo ſuperficiall cured, burſt out againe. In ſo much that in the reigne of kyng Henry the firſt. Anno domini.1121. Thurſtinus archbiſhop of Yorke could not be cōpelled to ſweare to the archb. of Canterbury: & yet notwithſtandyng, by the letters of Calixtus ii. was conſecrate without any profeſſion made to the ſayd biſhop, with much more matter of cōtention: all which to recite it were to longe. But this I thought to commit to hiſtory, to the entent men myght ſee the lamentable decay of true chriſtianitie amongſt Chriſten biſhops: who inflamed with glorious ambition, ſo contended for honor, that without mere forcement of law, no modeſty could take place.

Of ſuch like contentions emong prelates of the clergie, for ſuperioritie, we read of diuers in old chronicles: as in the hiſtory intituled Chronicon. Hirſfeldenſe, where is declared a bloudy conflict, whiche twiſe happened in the churche of Goſlaria, betwen Hecelō biſhop of Hildeſheime, and Wederatus biſhop of Fulda: and al for the ſuperiour place, who ſhould ſit next to the Emperour, the Emperour hym ſelfe beyng there preſent, and lookyng on them, and yet not able to ſtay them.

Thus I haue deſcribed the troublous contention betwene Lanfrancus, & Thomas Metropolitane of Yorke in the dayes of Alexander, of which controuerſye and of the whole diſcourſe therof: Lanfrancus writeth to pope Alexander beginning thus.

letter of
ancfrācus
t to Pope
lexander,

∴ Domino totius chriſtianæ religionis ſummo ſpeculatori Alex. papæ, Lancfrancus ſanctæ Dorobernenſis eccleſiæ antiſtes debitam cum omni ſeruitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Angliæ per veſtram autoritatem coactum eſt, vbi querelæ Thomæ Archiepiſcopi prolatæ & ventilatæ ſunt, allata eſt eccleſiaſtica gentis Angloriū hiſtoria, quam Eboracenſis eccleſiæ præſbyter & Anglorum Doctor Beda compoſuit· and ſo forth in a long proceſſe of woordes which follow. Emong which in the middle of the epiſtle, ſpeaking of Douer & Cāterbury, he hath theſe wordes.

∴ Vrbs namq; quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis tēporibus ab ipſius terræ incolis Dorobernia vocabatur. &c. with many other wordes in the ſaid epiſtle, which for breuitie here I ouerpaſſe.

yſhops
ates tran-
ted in
gland.

In the ſtory before of king Egelred, was declared, about the yeare of our Lord. M.xvi. how the biſhopricke of Lindaffarne otherwiſe named holy land, in the floude of Twede, was trāſlated to Durham: ſo likewiſe in the dayes of this Lancfrancus archbiſhop of Cant. an, M. lxxvi. diuers biſhops ſeates were altered and remoued from towneſhips to greater cities. As the biſhoprike of Seleſe was was remoued to Chicheſter, out of Cornewall to Exeter, from Welles to Bathe: frō Shireburne to Saleſbury: from Dorceſter to Lincolne, from Lichefield to Cheſter: which biſhoprike of Cheſter Robert beyng then biſhop reduced frō Cheſter to Couentry. Likewiſe after that in the raigne of William Rufus, an. M. xcv. Herbert biſhop of Thetford, from thēce reduced the ſeat to Norwige. &c.

As concerning Douer and Canterbury, whether the ſee was likewyſe tranſlated frō the towne of Douer to the citie of Cant. in the tyme of Theodorus: or whether Canterbury by olde tyme had the name of Dorobernia (as the letter of Lancfrancus tō pope Alexander, aboue mētioned, doth pretend) I fynd it not in hiſtories expreſſely defined. Saue that I read by the wordes of Willyam beyng yet duke of Normandy, charging then Harolde to make a welle of water for the kyngs vſe in the caſtell of Dorobernia: that the ſaid Dorobernia then was takē for that which now we call Douer: but whether Dorobernia and the citie of Cant. bee both one or diuers, the matter is not great. Notwithſtand this I read in the epiſtle of pope Bonifacius to king Ethelbert, as alſo to Iuſtus Archbiſhop. Item in the epiſtle of pope Honorius, to biſhop Honorius. Itē of pope Vitalianus, to Theodorus: of pope Sergius to kyng Ethelred, Alfred, and Adulfus, and to the biſhops of England: likewiſe of pope Gregory the 3. to the biſhops of England. Item of Pope Leo to Atherlard archb. of Cant. Of Formoſus to the biſhops of England: and of pope Iohn to Dunſtane, that ẏ name of Dorobernia and of Canterbury indifferently are taken for one matter.

Dorobernia & Canterbury taken both for one.

In thys tyme (and by ẏ procuryng of this Lancfrancus) the. ix. yeare of this kyng: a councel was holden at London, where among the actes therof, theſe were the principall thynges concluded.

A councel holden at Londō, and what were the actes therof.

1. For the order of ſitting: that the archbiſhop of Yorke ſhould ſit on the right hand, & the biſhop of Londō of the left hand: or in the abſence of Yorke, Londō ſhould haue the right, and Wincheſter the left hand of the archbiſh. of Cant. ſittyng in counſel.
2. The ſecond, that biſhops ſhould tranſlate there ſees from villages into cities: Whereupon thoſe ſees aboue named were tranſlated.
3. That monkes ſhould haue nothyng in proper. And if any ſo had, he dying vnconfeſſed, ſhoulde not be buried in the churchyard.
4. That no clarke or Monke of an other dioces, ſhould be admitted to orders, or retayned wythout letters commendatory or teſtimoniall.
5. That none ſhould ſpeak in the councel except biſhops and Abbots, without leaue of the archmetropolitane.
6. That none ſhould marry within the ſeuenth degree, with any either of hys owne kynrede, or of hys wyues departed.
7. That none ſhould eyther bye or ſell any office within the church.
8. That no ſorcery nor any diuination ſhould be vſed or permitted in holy church.
9. That no biſhop nor abbot, nor any of ẏ clergy: ſhould be at the iudgemēt of any mans death or diſmembring, neyther ſhoulde be any fautor of the ſayd iudicantes.

Moreouer in the dayes of this Lancfrancus, diuers good biſhoppes of the realme began to take part wyth prieſtes agaynſt the monkes, in diſplacyng theſe oute of their churches, and to reſtore the maried prieſts agayn: in ſo muche that Walkelmus biſhop of Wint. had placed aboue xl. canons in ſtede of Monkes for his part: but this godly enterpriſe was ſtopped by ſtout Lancfranke the Italian Lombard. This luſty prelate ſate xix. yeres, but at latter end he was not ſo fauored of William Rufus, and died for ſorrow. Although this Italian Franke being archbiſhop: had litle leiſure to write, yet ſomthing he thought to do, to ſet out his famous learnig, & wrote a booke againſt Berengarius, intitulyng it: Opus Scintillarum. The old church of Cant. he plucked downe and builded vp the new.

Byſhops of England about to driue out monkes & to place prieſtes againe in their ſteede.

Opus Scintillarū Lanfranci.

After the death of pope Alexander aboue mentioned, next to him folowed Hildebrād ſurnamed Gregory ẏ 7. This Hildebrand as he was a ſorcerer, ſo was he ẏ fyrſt and principall cauſe of all this perturbation that is now and hath bene, ſince his tyme in the church: by reaſō that through hys example, al this ambition, ſtoutnes & pride, entred fyrſt into the church of Rome, and hath euer ſince continued. For before Hildebrādus came to Rome, workyng there hys feates: ſetting vp and diſplacyng what biſhops he liſted: corrupting them wyth pernicious counſel, and ſetting them againſt Emperours: vnder pretēce of chaſtitie deſtroying matrimony: and vnder the title of libertye, breakyng peace and reſiſting authoritie: before

1074.

Hildebrandus ſeu Gregor. 7.

Hildebrād the cauſe of al this ſtoutnes and pride in prelates.

this

The obedience of biſhops in auncient tyme to Emperours.

thys (I ſay) the church of Rome was in ſome order, and byſhops quietly gouerned vnder chriſten emperours, ⁊ alſo were defēded by yͤ ſame. As Marcellus, Meltiades, ⁊ Siluester were ſubdued, ⁊ vnder obedience to Conſtātinus an. 340. Syricius to Theodoſiꝰ. an. 388. Gregorius to Mauritius. an. 600. Hilarius to Iuſtiniā. an. 528. Adrianus and Leo to Carolus Magnus: an. 801. Paſchalis and Valentius to Ludouicus Pius. an. 830. Sergius. 2 9. vnto Lotharius. an. 840. Benedictus the. 3. and Ioannes the. 9. vnto Lodouicus ſonne of Lotharius. an. 856. But againſt this obedience ⁊ ſubiection Hildebrand firſt began to ſpurne, and by his example taught all other biſhops to do the lyke.

what popes haue done.

Popes more than princes.

Fridericus primus, ſhent for holding the Popes left ſtirup.

In ſo much, that at length they wrought ⁊ brought to paſſe, to bee lawfull for a fewe curtiſans ⁊ cardinals (contrary to auncient ordinaunce and ſtatutes decretal) to chuſe what Pope they liſt, without any conſent of the emperour at all. And where as before it ſtoode in the emperours gift, to geue and graunt biſhoprikes, archbiſhoprikes, benefices and other eccleſiaſticall prefermentes within their owne limittes, to whom they liſt: nowe the Popes through much wraſtling, warres, and contention, haue extorted all that into their owne handes, and to their aſſignes: yea, haue pluckt in, all the riches ⁊ power of the whole world. And not content wyth that, haue vſurped and preuayled ſo much aboue Emperours: that, (as before) no pope might be choſen wythout the confirmatiō of yͤ emperour: ſo now no Emperor may be elected wͭout yͤ confirmatiō of yͤ pope, takyng vpō thē more thā princes, to place or diſplace emperours at their pleaſure, for euery light cauſe: to put down or to ſet vp whē, ⁊ whom they liſted: as Fridericus primus, for holding yͤ left ſtyrrup of the popes ſadel, was perſecuted almoſt to excōmunication. The which cauſe moueth me to ſtrain more diligence here, in ſettyng out the hiſtory, actes, and doings of this Hildebrand: from whom, as the fyrſt patrone and founder, ſprong all this ambitiō ⁊ contention, about the liberties and dominiō of yͤ Romain church: to yͤ entent, yͭ ſuch as can not read the latine hiſtories, may vnderſtād in engliſh, yͤ originall of euils: how, ⁊ by what occaſiō they firſt began, ⁊ how long they haue cōtinued.

Ex Auentino & alijs.

And firſt how this Hildebrand hitherto hath behaued himſelf before he was pope, I haue partly declared. For though he was not yet pope in name, yet he was there pope in dede, and ruled the popes and all their doynges, as hym luſted. Item what wayes and fetches he had attempted euer ſince his fyrſt commyng to the courte of Rome, to magnify and maintayne falſe libertie, againſt true authoritie: what practiſe he wrought by councels, what factions and conſpiracies he made in ſtirryng vp popes againſt emperours, ſtriuing for ſuperioritie: and what wars followed therof, I haue alſo expreſſed. Now let vs ſee further (by the helpe of Chriſt) the worthye vertues of this princely prelate after he came to be pope, as they remayne in hiſtories of dyuers and ſondry writers deſcribed.

❡ *The tragicall hiſtory of Gregory the. vij. otherwyſe* named Hildebrand.

Gregorye the vii.
Ex Auētino.

The ſtate and maner of the old church in tymes paſte.

THe wordes of the laten hiſtory be theſe in Engliſh: Hactenus pontifices Rom. comitiis curiatis, calatis, a ſacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, Senatu. &c. Hitherto the byſhops of Rome haue bene elected by voyces, and ſuffrages, of all ſortes and degrees, as wel of Prieſtes and the Clergy, as of the nobilitie, people, and Senate, all conuenting and aſſembling together. And this election ſo I finde to ſtand in force, if ſo be it were ratified and confirmed, by the conſent of Romane Emperours: who had authoritie to call and to aſſemble all theſe, as wel, as biſhops together, vnto councels, as caſe required. Under the authority and iuriſdictiō of theſe Emperours, were contayned both in Germany, Fraūce, Italy, ⁊ through the whole dominion of Rome, all Patriarches, biſhops, maſters of churches and monaſteries, by the decree of councels, according to the old cuſtome of our aūceters, as is declared in a certayne ſtory, in the lyfe of Carolus Magnus. The holy and auncient fathers (like as Chriſt our Lord with his diſciples and Apoſtles both taught ⁊ did) honoured and eſteemed their Emperours, as the ſupreme poteſtate next vnder God in earth, ſet vp, ordayned, elected, and crowned of God, aboue all other mortall men, and ſo counted them, and called them theyr Lordes. To them they yelded tribute, and payde theyr ſubſidies. Alſo prayed euery day for their lyfe. Such as rebelled againſt them, they toke as rebels and reſiſters agaynſt God hys ordinance, and Chriſtian piety. The name of the Emperour then was of great maieſty, and receyued as geuen from God. Then theſe fathers of the church neuer intermedled, nor intangled them ſelues wͭ politike affayres of the common weale: much leſſe they occupied martiall armes, and matters of cheualrye. Onely in pouerty and modeſty, was all their contenciō wyth other Chriſtians, who ſhould be poreſt, and moſt modeſt amongeſt them. And the more humblenes appeared in any, the hyer opinion they conceiued of hym. The ſharpe and two edged ſwoord they tooke geuen to the church of Chriſt, to ſaue, and not to kill: to quicken, and not to deſtroy: ⁊ called it the ſword of the ſpirite, which is the word of God, the life and light of men, ⁊ reuoketh frō death to lyfe, making of men, Gods: of mortall, immortall. Farre were they from that, to thruſt out any prince or kyng (though he were neuer ſo farre out of the way, yea an Arriā) frō his kingdom: or to curſſe him, to releaſe hys ſubiectes from their othe ⁊ their allegeance, to chaunge and tranſlate kingdomes, to ſubuert Empires, to pollute themſelues with Chriſten bloud, or to warre with their Chriſtian brethren for rule and principallity. This was not their ſpirit and maner then, but rather they loued and obeyed their princes. Againe, Princes loued them alſo, like fathers and fellowe princes with them of the ſoules of men. Now this Gregorius the ſeuenth, otherwyſe named Hildebrādus: truſting vpon the Normanes, whych then ruffled about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania: truſting alſo vpon the power of Machtilda, a ſtout woman there about Rome: ⁊ partly agayne, bearing himſelfe bold, for the diſcord among the Germaines: fyrſt of all other (contrary to the maner of elders) contemning the authority of the Emperour, inuaded the cathedrall ſee of Rome: vauncing him ſelfe as hauing both the eccleſiaſticall and temporal ſwoord, committed to hym by Chriſt: and that fulnes of power was in hys hande, to bynde and loſe what ſo hee liſted. Wherupon thus he preſumed to occupye both the regimentes. to chalenge all the whole dominion, both of the eaſt and weſt church, yea and all power to hym ſelfe alone, abidyng none to be equall, much leſſe ſuperiour to hym: derogating from other, and arogating to himſelfe their due right ⁊ honour: ſetting at light Ceſars, kings, and Emperours, ⁊ who raygned but by hys godamercye: Biſhops, and prelates, as hys vnderlinges, he kept in awe: ſuſpending and curſing, and chopping of theyr heades, ſtyrryng vp ſtrife ⁊ warres, ſowing of diſcorde, making factions, releaſing othes, defeating fidelity and due allegiaunce of ſubiectes to their princes. Yea, and if he had offended or iniured themperour himſelfe, yet notwithſtanding he ought to be feared: as he him ſelfe glorieth in a certain epiſtle, as one that could not erre, and had receiued of Chriſt our ſauiour, and of Peter, authority to binde and vnbinde at hys wyl ⁊ pleaſure. Prieſts then in thoſe dayes had wyues openlye and lawfullye, (no law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the deedes and writinges of their chapter ſeales and donations, which were geuen to temples and Monaſteries: wherin their wyues alſo be cited with them for witnes, and were called preſbyteriſſæ. Alſo for biſhops, prelats, parſons of churches, gouernours of the clergy, maſters

of

Reuere & obedi in old ty geuen to princes.

The ma ners and vertue of the for thers de ſcribed.

The am tious pre ſuption o Hildeb

Ex A tino, ſ inuect inſtru tu d onu.

Prieſtes wiues led pres teriſſ old c ſeales.

of monaſteries, and religious houſes, all theſe wer then in thoſe times in the Emperours ordination, to aſſigne by voyce or conſent to whom he would. Now theſe two things Gregorius this pope coulde not abide. For the which two cauſes onely, was all hys ſtriuing & driuing from his firſt beginning: to aboliſh the mariage of prieſtes, and to tranſlate the authoritie emperial, to the clergye. For to this ſcope onely tended all his labour, practiſe and deuiſes: as appeared before in the councel of Laterane, vnder pope Nicolas: and alſo in the councel of Mantua, vnder Alexander, making their mariage hereſy, and the other to be ſimony. And that which before he went about by other, now he practiſeth by hym ſelfe: to cōdemne miniſters that were maryed, for Nicolaitans: and to receaue any ſpirituall regiment of ſecular perſons, for Simony. Directing foorth his letters vpon the ſame to Henricus the Emperoor, to Dukes, Princes, Poteſtates, Tetrarkes, namely to Berchtoldus, to Rudolphus of Sweuia, to Whelpho, Adalberon, and their wyues. Item to biſhops, archbiſhops, to prieſtes, and to all the people: in the which letters he denounceth them to be no prieſtes, ſo many as were maryed: forbidding men to ſalute them, to talke, to eate, to companye wyth them, to pay them tithes, or to obey them, if they would not be obedient to him. Amongeſt all other he directed ſpeciall letters to Ottho biſhop of Conſtance, concerning this matter. But Ottho perceauing the vngodlye and vnreaſonable pretence of Hildebrand, woulde neyther ſeperate them that wer maried, from their wiues: nor yet forbid them to mary, which were vnmaried. &c.

Hildebrand mortall enemye agaynſt prieſtes marryage.

Prieſtes mariage made hereſie.

Otho biſhop of Conſtance.

¶ *The copy of the letter of Hildebrand, ſent to the biſhop* of Conſtance, agaynſt prieſtes mariage.

GRegorious biſhop, ſeruaunt of ſeruauntes of God, to the Clergy and laity, both more and les wyth in the dioceaſe of Conſtance, ſalutacion and benediction. We haue directed to our brother Ottho, your biſhop, our letters exhortatorye: wherein we enioyned him, according to the neceſſity of our duty, by the authority Apoſtolical, that he ſhuld vtterly aboliſh out of his church the hereſy of Simony: and alſo ſhould cauſe with all diligence to be preached, the chaſtitye of prieſtes. But he neyther moued with reuerence of ſaint Peters precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do theſe things, wherunto we ſo fatherly haue exhorted him: incurring thereby a double offence, not onely of diſobedience, but alſo of rebellion: in that he hath gone and done cleane contrarye to our commaundement (yea rather the commaundement of bleſſed ſ. Peter) ſo that he hath permitted hys clergy, not onely ſuch as had wyues, not to put them awaye, but alſo ſuche as had none, to take vnto them. Wherupon we being truly informed thereof, and agreued therwith, haue directed to him an other letter, declaring the motion of our diſpleaſure and indignation. In which letters alſo we haue cited him vp to our councel at Rome: there to appeare and geue accompt of his diſobedience, in the audience of the whole Sinode. And now therfore we ſo thought it beſt to ſignify this to you (our deare children) wherby in thys behalf we might the better prouide fur your health and ſaluation. For if your biſhop ſhall continue ſo obſtinatlye to repugne & reſiſt agaynſt our cōmaundement, he is not mete to ſit ouer you. &c. Wherfore theſe ſhal be to commaund you, and all them, that be obedſent to God, and to bleſſed S. Peter, by our Apoſtolicall authoritie: that if this your biſhop ſhal perſiſt in his obſtinacy, you that be hys ſubiectes, hereafter geue to him no ſeruice, nor obedience. For the which thing doyng, we here diſcharge you before god, and your ſoules. For if your biſhop ſhal ſeeme contrary to the decrementes and iniunctions apoſtolicall: we through the apoſtolicall authority of S. Peter, diſcharge and abſolue you from the band of your allegiaunce to him. So that if you be ſworne to hym: ſo long as he is a rebell agaynſt God, and the Apoſtolicke ſeate, we loſe you from the peryll of your othe, that you ſhal not nede to feare therin no daunger. &c.

Ottho cited to appeare for ſuffring prieſtes with their lawfull wiues.

The pope diſpēſeth diſobedience.

Ottho biſhop of Conſtance thus beyng cited; whether he did appeare perſonally himſelfe, I do not reade. Thys I reade and fynde, that in the ſayd councel holdē at Rome, Hildebrand, wyth other biſhops of Rome, dyd then enact amōgeſt many other, theſe three things moſt ſpeciall: Fyrſt, that no Prieſts hereafter ſhould marry wyues. Secondly, that al ſuch as were maryed, ſhould be deuorſed. Thirdly, that none hereafter ſhould be admitted to the order of prieſthood, but ſhould ſwear firſt perpetuall chaſtity. &c. This councel of Rome beyng ended, forthwith the act of Hildebrand, concerning the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes, was proclaymed and publiſhed in al places, and ſtrayte commaundement geuen to biſhops, to execute the ſame.

Three thinges enacted by Hildebrand. Here commeth in the vowe of chaſtitie.

¶ *The copy of hys bull ſent into Italy and* Germany was thys.

GRegory the Pope, otherwyſe Hildebrande, the ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God, ſendeth the Apoſtles bleſſyng to all them within the kingdomes of Italy and Germanye, that ſhewe their true obedience to ſ. Peter. If there be any Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, that ſtyll wyll remayne in the ſynne of fornication: we forbyd them the churches entraunce by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authoritie of ſ. Peter, til time they amende and repent. But if they perſeuere in theyr ſynne: we charge that none of you preſume to heat their ſeruice. For their bleſſing is turned into curſſing, and their prayer into ſynne, as the Lorde doth teſtifye to vs by his prophet: I wyll turne your bleſſinges. &c.

The biſhops of Fraunce being called vpon daylye, wyth the Popes letters, were compelled to obey the decree of the councel, but the reſidue of the clergy manfully and ſtoutly, withſtanding the Popes decree, and inforcementes of their biſhops would not agree, but repined thereat, and ſayd, that the councel did manifeſtly repugne agaynſt the word of God: and that the Pope dyd take from prieſts, that which both God and nature had geuen them: & therfore that perſon to be an hereticke, & author of a wycked doctrine, which ruled and gouerned not by the ſpirite of God, but by Sathan. The decree & act ſet forth, to tend directly agaynſt the woord of God, and the ſaying of Chriſt: Non omnes capiunt verbū hoc, all men haue not the gift and capacity of thys woorde. Item, to be agaynſt the ſound doctrine of ſaint Paule, writing in theſe wordes: As cōcerning virginity, I haue no commaundement of the Lord. &c. Agayne, he that cā not otherwyſe lyue continently, let hym marry. Item, that it was agaynſt the Canons both of the Apoſtles, & of Nicene councel. Moreouer, that it was agaynſt the courſe of nature, which he required: that men being ſequeſtred from their naturall wyues and women, ſhould be coacted to lyue as aungels, that is, to performe that, which nature doth not geue. And therefore the biſhop therein did open a pernicious wyndow to vnclennes, & to fornication. In ſumme, geuing vp their anſwer, thus they concluded: That they had rather geue vp their benefices, then to forſake their natural and lawful wiues, againſt the word of Chriſt: and finally, if maried prieſts could not pleaſe them, they ſhoulde call downe aungels from heauen, to ſerue the churches. But Hildebrand, nothing moued, nether with honeſt reaſon, nor with the authoritie of holy ſcripture, nor with the determination of Nicene councel, nor any thing els: foloweth this matter, calleth vpon the biſhops ſtyll, with hys letters & Legates doth ſollicitate their mindes, accuſeth them of negligence and daſtardnes, threatneth them with excommunication, vnleſſe they cauſe theyr prieſtes to obey his decree inioyned them. Whereupon a great number of

The Clergy of Fraunce repugning, for deuorſing from their wiues.

biſhops for feare of the Popes tirannye, laboured the matter with their prieſtes, by all meanes poſſible, to bereaue them of their accuſtomed matrimony.

Biſhoo of Mentz. *Ex Lamberto Scafnaburgēſi. in Hiſto. Germanorū.*

The prieſtes of Germany ſtout agaynſt the Popes vnlawful proceedings

Amongſt other the archbiſhop of Mentz, perceiuyng this acte of takyng away prieſtes mariage, might brede hym no little trouble: talketh wyth his cleargy gentlye, admoniſheth them of the popes mind and decree, and geueth them halfe yeres reſpite to deliberate vpon yͤ caſe: exhorting them diligently to ſhew themſelues obediente to the pope and to hym, and to graunt with good wyll, that at length wil they, nil they, nedes they muſt be forced vnto: and therfore of their owne accord to ſtand content therwith, leaſt the pope ſhould bee compelled to attempt wayes of ſharper ſeuerity. The tyme of deliberation expired, the archbiſhop aſſēbleth his clergy at Erſford, the month of October: and there willeth them according to the pontificall decree, eyther to abiure for euer all matrimony, or els to abrenounce their benefices and eccleſiaſticall liuings. The clergy agayne defend themſelues agaynſt the popes decree wyth ſcriptures, wyth reaſon, wyth the actes of general councels, with exāples of auncitors, by diuers ſtrong arguments, declaryng yͤ popes decree not to be conſonāt nor ought to take effect. But the archbiſhop ſaid he was compelled ſo of the pope and could not otherwyſe do, but to execute that was inioyned him. The cleargy ſeyng that no reaſon nor prayer, nor diſputation woulde ſerue: laye their heades together, conſulting amongſt themſelues what was beſte to be done. Some gaue counſel not to returne agayne to the Synode. Some thought it good to returne, and to thruſt out the archbiſhop from hys ſeat, and to geue him due puniſhment of death for his deſeruyng: that by the examples of hym, other may be warned hereafter, neuer to attempt that thyng any more, to the preiudice of the church, and the rightful liberty of miniſters. After that thys was ſignified to the archbiſhop, by certayne ſpies that were amongſt them, what the cleargy intended to do: the archbiſhop to preuent & ſalue the matter, ſendeth to the prieſtes as they were commyng out, certayne meſſengers byddyng thē be of good hope, & to returne again to the Metropolitane, & they ſhoulde haue yͤ ſhoulde content their minds. So being perſwaded, they come again to the councel. The biſhop promiſeth he would do his endeuour what he could, to reuoke and turne the mynd of the biſhop of Rome from that ſentence, willyng them in the meane tyme to continue as they had done, in their cure and miniſtery. The next yere followyng, Hildebrād yͤ ſouldiour of Sathan, ſendeth his legate (a certayn byſhop called Curienſis) vnto the archbiſhop of Mentz, and aſſembled there a councel. In the which councel the archbiſhop againe purpoſeth the matter, commaundyng all yͤ clergy vnder paine of the popes curſe, there, perpetually either to abrenounce their wyues, or their liuinges. The clergy defended their cauſe againe with great conſtancy. But whē no defenſion there could take place, but all went by tiranny and meere extortion: it burſt in the end to an vprore and tumult, where the legate and the archbiſhop being in great daunger, hardlye eſcaped wͭ their liues, and ſo the councel brake vp. By this ſchiſme and tumulte it followed, that the churches after that in chuſing their prieſts, would not ſend thē to the biſhops, (the enemies & ſuppreſſors of matrimonye) to be confirmed and inducted, but dyd elect them wythin themſelues and ſo put them in their office: without al leaue or knowledge of biſhops, who then agreed and wer determined to admit no prieſtes, but ſuch as ſhould take an othe of perptual ſinglenes, neuer to marry after. And thus firſt came vp the othe and profeſſion of ſingle prieſthode. Not withſtandyng if other natious had followed the lyke cōſtancye and concorde of theſe Germaine miniſters: the diueliſhe drifte and decree of this Hildebrand (or rather helbrand) had bene fruſtrate and auoyded. But this gredines of liuinges in weake prieſtes, made them to yelde vp their godly liberty, to wycked tiranny. Yet thys remayneth in theſe Germaynes to be noted, what concord can do, in repreſſyng vnordinate requeſts of euil biſhops if they conſtantly ſtand to truth, and hold together. And thus much for baniſhing of matrimony. Now let vs procede to yͤ contentions, betwixt wicked Hildebrand, & the godly emperour. But before by the way of digreſſion it ſhall not be much wyde from the purpoſe, to touch a little of the properties of this pope as we fynd them deſcribed in certayne epiſtles of Benno a Cardinall writyng to other Cardinals of Rome: which Benno lyued in the ſame tyme of Hildebrand, and detecteth the prodigious actes and doynges of thys monſtrous pope.

Single prieſthoode how it begau.

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Fyrſt declaryng yͤ he was a ſorcerer moſt notable, & a Necromāſter, an old cōpanion of Silueſter, of Laurentius, & Theophilactus called otherwiſe Benedictꝰ nonus. Amongſt other, Benno Cardinals writeth this hiſtorye of him. How vpō a certain time this Gregorius cōming from Albanus to Rome, had forgot behynd hym hys familiar booke of Necromancy, which he was wont commonly to cary alwayes with him. Wherupō remēbring himſelfe entring the porte of Lateran, he calleth two of hys moſt truſty familiars to fet the booke, charging thē at no hand to looke within it. But they being ſo reſtrained, were the more deſirous to open it, and to peruſe it, and ſo dyd. After they had red a little the ſecreees of the Sathanical booke, ſodenly there came about them the meſſengers of Sathan, the multitude and terror of whō made thē almoſt out of their wits. At lēgth they cōming to thēſelues, yͤ ſpirits were inſtāt vpō thē to know wherfore they were called vp, wherefore they were vexed. Quickly (ſayd they) tel vs what ye would vs to do, or els we wil fall vpō you, yf ye retaine vs longer. Then ſpake one of yͤ young mē to thē, biddyng thē go & plucke down yonder walles poīting to certain high walles there nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The young men croſſing them for feare of the ſpirites (ſcarſe recouering thēſelues) at length came to their maiſter. And it followeth moreouer in the epiſtle of the ſaid Benno, to the Cardinals.

Pope Hil
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ſweare
to hym,

We haue made mention to you before of diuers colledges of the churche of Rome, which refuſed to communicate with hym. As Leo then archprieſt of the cardinals, Benno, Ugobaldus, Johannes the Cardinall, Peter chaunceler and cardinall beyng all inſtituted before this Hildebrād. Theſe iij. alſo beyng conſecrated by him that is Natro, Innocentius, & Leo: forſoke him, curſing the deteſtable errours, which he had. In like caſe Theodinꝰ whom he conſtituted, archdeacon & other cardinals mo: Johannes ſurnamed Primicerius, Petrus oblationarius with all that apparteyned vnto thē, ſauing one onely man. And now whē this Hildebrād ſaw, yͤ the biſhops alſo would forſake him: he called vnto hym the laymen, and made them priuie of his counſell, thinking therby to ſeparate the biſhops, that they ſhould haue no conferēce with the cardinals. After that, he called together thoſe biſhops: and beyng garded with bandes of lay men, he enforced the biſhops partly for feare and partly by his manacing words, to ſweare vnto hym, yͤ they ſhould neuer diſagree vnto yͤ, whiche he woulde haue done: that they ſhoulde neuer defend yͤ kyngs quarell, and yͤ they ſhould neuer fauor or obey the pope, that ſhould in hys ſtede be inſtituted. Which thyng beyng done, he ſent them by meanes of the price of Salernites, into Campania: and thus did he ſeparate them, from the company of the cardinals, and from the citie of Rome. And not onely the biſhops, but alſo the prieſtes of the citie, and clerkes of inferiour orders as alſo the laymē: he boūd by their othes, that at no tyme nor for any cauſe, they ſhould condiſcēd vnto the kyng.

Aſſone as pope Alexander was dede, whiche dyed ſome-e Hilde d vnor- ly made e.

ſomewhat before night: the ſame day contrarie to yͤ canons he was choſen pope of the laymen. But the cardinals ſubſcribed not to his election. For the canons preſcribe (vnder payne of accurſing) that none ſhould be choſen pope before the third day after the buriall of his predeceſſors. But he (by ſiniſter meane thus climing to the ſeate) remoued the cardinals of yͤ ſaid ſeate frō beyng of the counſel. But with what perſons, he conſulted night and day, Rome wel harde and ſaw. And he now putting the cardinals from of his counſel: his lyfe faith and doctrine, no man could accuſe or beare witnes of: where as in the canons is commaund, that in euery place where ſoeuer the pope is: ſhould be with him iij. cardinals being prieſtes, and ij. deacōs, becauſe of his eccleſiaſticall teſtimonie and ſtile of veritie: of whiche canonicall decree, looke gentle reader, before pag. 63. 69. He violently wreſted yͤ ſacred ſcriptures, to couer his falſhode: which kynd of idolatrie, how great it is, manifeſtly through all the ſcripture it appeareth. Contrary to the mindes & counſel of the cardinals, and beſides the determinat order of pronouncing iudgement by the canons, he raſhly did excommunicate the Emperour: beyng in no ſinode ſolemly accuſed before. The ſentence of which excōmunicatiō after rehearſal of theſe preſētes, ſhal alſo be manifeſted (Chriſt willing): to the which excommunication ſayth Benno, none of the cardinals would ſubſcribe. As ſone as he roſe out of his ſeat papall, to excōmunicate yͤ emperour: the ſame (ſeat being made but a litle before, wͭ hyge timber) ſodenly by the appointement of God, was rent and ſhyuered in pieces: ſo that all men might plainly vnderſtand, what, & how great and terrible ſchiſmes, that lubber had ſowen agaynſt the churche of Chriſt: agaynſt the ſeat of S. Peter: and how cruelly he had diſperſed the chayre of Chriſt, in defilyng the lawes of the churche: rulyng by might and auſteritie, in that hys ſo perilous and preſumptious excommunication.

he Empe or wrōg- lly excō- unicated.

he popes ayre ake vnder ym as he ſe to ex- municate e Empe- our.

In the diſcription of the ſame excommunication, he inſerteth thoſe thynges, wherin he him ſelfe erred, when he abſolued the Emperour, beyng vniuſtly excommunicate and the biſhops alſo communicatyng with hym: and to the vttermoſt thus cuttyng and mangelyng the vnitie of the church and thoſe that communicated with them, dyd as much as in him lay to make ij. churches.

he pope euideth e vnitie f the urch,

Alſo the ſame bolde marchaunt, cōmaunded that the cardinals ſhould faſt: to the intēt that God would reuele whoſe opinion was better (either of the church of Rome, or of Berengarius) touchyng the controuerſie of the Lordes body in the Sacrament. And hereby, he proued hym ſelfe to be a manifeſt infidel: for that in the Nicen councel it is written, he that doubteth is an infidell.

Further, he ſaught after a ſigne to eſtabliſh his faith concerning the article of the Lordes body, as did Gregory: to confirme the womans faith, when the conſecrated bread was tranſubſtanciated into the forme of a fleſhly finger. He alſo ſent two cardinals (Attones, and Cunones) vnto Anaſtaſie: that with the archprieſt of the ſame church, they ſhould begyn a faſt of iij. dayes ſpace. And that euery of them (euery day duryng thoſe iij. dayes) ſhould ſay ouer the Pſalter, and ſing Maſſes: that Chriſt would ſhew vnto them, ſome ſuch like ſigne of his body, as he did to the foreſayd Gregory: whiche thyng they could not ſee.

f thys iracle we de in no pproued iſtorie,

The Emperour was oftentymes wont to go to S. Maries churche, in the mount Auentine to pray. Hildebrand when he had by his eſpials ſearched out & knewe all the doyngs of the Emperour: cauſed the place where the Emperour was accuſtomed (either ſtandyng, or proſtrate on his face to pray) to be marked: and for mony he hyred a nauty pack (like him ſelf) togather and lay together a hepe of great ſtones, directly ouer the place, in the vaute of the church, where the Emperour would ſtand: yͭ in throwyng the ſame downe vpon his head, he ſhould ſlay the Emperour. About which purpoſe as the hyerlyng haſted, & was buſie remouyng to the place a ſtone of great hugenes and waight: it broke the planke whereon it lay: and the hyerlyng ſtandyng therupon, both together fell down from the roofe, to the pauement of the churche, and with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in pieces. And after the Romanes had vnderſtādyng of the handelyng of thys matter: they faſtened a rope to one of the feete of this hyreling, & cauſed hym to be drawē through the ſtretes of the citie iij. dayes together, in example of others. The Emperour notwithſtandyng accordyng to his wonted clemēcie, cauſed hym to be buryed.

he pope yreth one o ſlay the mperour.

Johānes the biſhop of Portua (beyng one of the ſecret coūſel of Hildebrand) came vp into yͤ pulpit of S. Peter: and amongeſt other things in yͤ hearing both of yͤ clergy and people ſayd: Hildebrād and we haue commited ſuch a fact and ſo horrible, for the which we are all worthy to be burned alyue (meanyng of the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt) whiche Sacrament: Hildebrand, when he therof inquiered a diuine aunſwere agaynſt the Emperour, and would not ſpeake, threw into the fire and burned it contrary to the perſuaſion of the Cardinals, that were preſent and would haue reſiſted the ſame.

Hildebrād caſteth the ſacrament of the Lords body in the fyre, becauſe it would geue hym no aunſwere.

In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter weeke, when the clergie and the people were aſſembled at S. Peters churche to here Maſſe: after the goſpell, he went vp into the pulpit as he was in his pontificall attyre: and in the preſence of diuers biſhops and cardinals (a great cōpanie both of the ſenat and people of Rome, beyng gathered together) openly preached (amōg many other wordes of diuination) yͭ the kyng whoſe name was Hēry, ſhould die (without al peraduenture) before the feaſt of ſ. Peter next inſuing: or els at leaſt wyſe, yͭ he ſhould be ſo deiected frō hys kingdome, yͭ he ſhould not be able any more to gather together aboue the nōber of vi. knightes. This he preached to the biſhops and cardinals, and all yͭ were preſent crieng out of yͤ pulpit in theſe wordes: Neuer accept me for pope any more, but plucke me frō yͤ aulter: if this prophetie be not fulfilled by yͤ day appointed. About yͤ ſame tyme, he went about by helpe of priuie murtherers to kyll the Emperour, but God preſerued hym. And many there were euen at that tyme, which thought pope Hildebrand to be giltie, and to be the deuiſor of the treaſon, becauſe that then he (before the dede put in executiō) preſumed of the death of the kyng, beyng by hym falſly propheſied of before: whiche wordes of hys, woūded many mens hartes. And it came to paſſe that Hildebrand, by his wordes was openly condempned in the congregation, which (as is ſayd) gaue iudgement of hym ſelfe to be no pope: neither that he would be coūted, for pope any longer: but thought to be both a helper and a traitor: vnles that before the feaſt of S. Peter next commyng, the Emperour ſhoulde dye or els ſhould be depriued of all kingly honour: in ſo much he ſhould not be able to make aboue vi. knightes on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to paſſe, that by his owne mouth, he was condemned for an hereticke.

The pope a falſe prophet.

The pope ſeketh againe to murther the Emperour.

The pope by hys owne mouth condemned for an hereticke.

Thus ſayeth the Lord. The prophet whiche of arrogancie will prophecie in my name, thoſe thinges I haue not commaunded hym: or els will prophecie in the name of other Gods: let hym be ſlayne. And if thou ſhall ſay with thy ſelfe how ſhall I know what thyng it is that yͤ Lord hath not commaunded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt thou haue to knowe it by. What ſoeuer thyng the Prophet in yͤ name of God ſhall prophecie, and the ſame come not to paſſe: that maiſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath Imagined through the hautynes of his owne mind, and therfore thou ſhalt not be afrayd of hym.

When the tyme was expired that Hildebrand in hys diuination had ſet, and that neither the kyng was dead neither the power of his empire empayred: and fearyng

The Emperour preſerued by the power of God from the pope.

leaſt by the wordes of hys owne mouth, he ſhould be reprehended and condemned: ſubtiltie turned hys tale ſaying and perſwading the ignoraunt people, that he ment not of the body of the kyng, but of hys ſoule: as though the ſoule of ẏ king had loſte all, ſauing .vj. of his knights or ſoldiours, or els had bene dead during that ſpace: and thus by theſe ſlayghtes he begyled the ignorant people. Agaynſt ſuch prophets S. Gregory vpon Ezechiel ſayth: Betwene true prophetes and falſe thys difference there is: that true prophetes, if they ſpeake anye thing vpon theyr own mynde, they be ſoone rebuked: but the falſe prophetes, both they tell lyes, and not hauyng the ſpirit of truth, they perſeuere in their falſity.

A ſubtill ſhifte of Hildebrand to ſaue his lying prophecie.

Ouer and beſide, the ſayd Hildebrand iudged to death three men before they wer conuict, or els confeſſed their crime without the ſentence of any ſecular iudge: & cauſed them to be hanged vpon a payre of gallowes ouer agaynſt the church of S. Peter in a place called Palatiolum, without any delay or aduiſement, contrarye to the lawes, which commaunde that euerye publike offender ſhould haue .30. dayes ſpace before he be put to execution. Whych thing euen amongeſt the Paganes is in vre and obſerued: as teacheth the autoritie of S. Ambroſe, & the martyrdome of holy Marcelianus and Marcus.

Three perſons before they were conuict, put to executiō by Hildebran agaynſt al law.

He caſt Centius the ſonne of Stephan the alderman into priſon, being before his truſty friend: and in a veſſel being thycke ſet with ſharpe nayles, he tormented hym to the poynt of death: who after that he was eſcaped, apprehended the ſayd Hildebrand. Of this apprehenſion before he was ſet at liberty, he openly forgaue all the conſpiratours. Whych thyng afterwardes, contrary to hys fidelity, he brake and reuenged, and cauſed Centius, to whom he had forgeuē al offences, to be taken, & hanged hym, and nyne of hys men vpon the gallowes before S. Peters porche.

Centius taken by the pope, & put into a barrell of nayles.

The pope takē of Centius.

Centius executed by the pope, contrary to promyſe and fayth.

There was at the apprehenſion of pope Hildebrand, a certayne wydowes ſonne, to whom and others moe for their penaunce, hee enioyned a yeares baniſhment. Which tyme being explete or run out, the wydow in token of more ample ſatiſfaction, thinking thereby to haue appeaſed the mynde of Hildebrand, put a halter about her ſonnes necke: and drawing her ſonne by the rope to the foote of Hildebrand, ſayde: My Lord pope, at your handes wil I receaue againe my ſōne, which one whole yeare hath indured baniſhment and other penaunce by your holynes enioyned. Thē ẏ ſaid Hildebrand, for that inſtant, becauſe of thoſe which were with hym in company (diſſimuling hys wrath) delyuered her, her ſonne very churliſhly, ſaying: get thee hence womā I bid thee, and let me be in reſt. After thys he ſent hys officers and apprehended the wydowes ſonne, and gaue commaundement to the Iuſtices, to put him to death: who altogether making anſwer, ſayd that they could no more condemne or meddle with him, for that he had for his crime committed, appealed once to the pope: and abidden the baniſhment, and done the penaunce by hym enioyned. Hereupon thys glorious Hildebrand, beyng diſpleaſed with the iudges, cauſed the foote of the wydowes ſonne to be cut of: making neyther repentance, nor the lawes and ordinaunces to be of any eſtimation with him: and thus hys foote being cut of, he dyed wͭin three dayes after with the payne thereof. Manye other wycked deedes did this Hildebrand, vpon whom the blood of the church cryeth vengeance, ſhed by the ſword (that is) the miſerable trechery of hys toung. For which thinges (and ẏ iuſtly) the church refuſed to cōmunicate wͭ hym. Hæc Bēno.

The villanie of the pope in killing a widowes ſonne which before had done hys pennaunce.

¶ *An other epiſtle of Benno to the Cardinals.*

An other letter of Benno.

TO the reuerend fathers of the church of Rome, and to hys beloued in Chriſt, and to his brethrē that ſhal for euer be beloued: Bēno the Cardinall of the churche of Rome, wiſheth faythfull ſeruice, health and communion with the ſeruants of the catholicke church. Of the which cōmunion, diſcipline and power, he vainly braggeth, that by the preſumption of his authoritye ſhall vniuſtly bynde or loſe any maner of perſon. And he doth vniuſtly bynde whatſoeuer he be, that curſeth any man, (being wylling to make ſatiſfaction, and bewayling his boldnes, beyng alſo vnconuict, and not confeſſyng the crime) but rather curſing that party in vaine: he curſeth and condemneth himſelfe, turning his weapon vpō hys own perſon to deſtruction. O ſtraunge and new founde trechery, proceding from the ſanctuarye: nay rather frō hym whych as hygh prieſt ſeemeth to rule the churche, and to be a iudge ouer the Iudges.

Hildebrand was earneſtly in hand with the Emperour, that he ſhould depriue thoſe biſhops which came in by ſimonie. The Emperour (thyncking as a zealous prince, that this commiſſion had proceeded from the throne of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, & forthwith without any conſideration or iudiciall order, depriued certayne biſhops: and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand, he offered an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not knowing the crafty handelyng of him. But Hildebrand then agayne placed thoſe, whom themperour for Simonie at his commaundement had before depoſed: and thoſe whom by that meanes hee made to beare a hatefull hart to the Emperour, he reconciled agayne vnto hymſelfe in great familiaritye: And by many and great othes taken of them for their fidelitye towardes him, he promoted aboue all the reſt. And thus by theſe prankes, the emperiall ſeate of the king beyng ſhortly after empayred, and deſtitute almoſt of friends, he craftely purchaſing the friendſhip and fauour of the greateſt princes, the better to bring his matters to pas: ſodainly agayne, without any lawfull accuſation, without any canonical vocation, without all iudicial order, excommunicated agayne the Emperour (ſo obedient alwayes vnto him) and ſet the princes of the empire all agaynſt him. And notwithſtanding (as the Apoſtle ſaith) that no man ought to circumuent his brother in his buſines: as much as in him lay, he rather mortefied and kylled him, then brotherly corrected him. Thus themperour being many wayes circumuented: as, excommunicate beſides the canonicall order: and by the conſent and counſel of Hildebrand, ſpoyled of the greateſt part of his imperiall honour: and ouercharged with great warres and ſlaughters of his own ſubiectes, in vain deſired he and ſued for, to haue the canon red and hearde: cauſing him by force and violence at Canuſium, in the preſence of Hildebrand, to accuſe him ſelfe by hys own confeſſion.

A de
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Hildeb
in ſetti
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Them
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Hildeb
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himſelf,

Say you now (I pray you) all ſuche as loue iuſtice, and loue not to leane either vpon the left hand, or els the right hand in the fauour of anye perſon: ſaye your myndes, whether that ſuche a confeſſion being inforced vpon neuer ſo poore a man (muche leſſe vpon an Emperour) ought at ſuch a tyme to be preiudiciall or not. Or whether he which extorted the ſame confeſſion, is gyltye of ẏ canon? Or els he, which being ſo peruerſlye iudged, ſuffered the iniurye of a moſt peruerſe Iudge? Which alſo moſt paciently & publikely ſuffred this violence wͭ lamētable affliction vpō his bare feete, clothed in thinne garments, in the ſharpe wynter, which neuer was vſed, & was three dayes together at Canuſium, made a ſpectacle both of angels and men, and a ludibrious mocking ſtocke to that proud Hildebrand. Neuer truſt me if that .xiiij. Cardinals, the Archdeacon hymſelfe, and he that is called Primicerius, being all wiſe and religious men, beſides manye other of the Clarkes of Lateran, to the iudgemēt and priuilege of whoſe holy ſeate the whole worlde is obedient (waying and conſidering his intollerable apoſtaſy) departed from participating, and refuſed from communicating with him.

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Emper

This glorious Hildebrand and hys affinite, by their new authoritie breaking the decrees of the Chalcedone councel, not onely in wordes, but alſo in publicke wrytings haue agreed, that it is tollerable both to baptiſe ⁊ communicate being out of the church of God: and how blinde theſe men were, and alſo what hereticks they be, their own writings do declare. What a miſchief is this (ſayth Bēno) they preſume to iudge of the church, which ſwarme them ſelues in all errours: who alſo eſteeme the verity, but as a lye: and leaſt their poyſoned fallhoode both in wordes and writings ſhould appeare, they haue (lyke ſubtil poyſoners, the ſooner to deceiue) mixed hony therwithall. A lye ſayth S. Auguſtine is euery thing pronounced with the intent of diſceiuing other.

Mendacium quid.

It were to long and tedious here to recite all the deteſtable doings, and diabolical practiſes, of cuniurings, charmes, ⁊ filthye ſorceries, exerciſed betwene him and Laurentius, and Theophilact, otherwyſe named Pope Benedicte the ninth: wherof a long narration foloweth in the foreſayd epiſtle of Benno to the Cardinals to bee ſene, to whom the reader may repayre, who ſo hath eyther laiſure to reade, or mynde to vnderſtande more of the abhominable partes, and diueliſh artes of this Hildebrande.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of ſorcerye & coniuring.

Thus hauing ſufficiently alledged the woordes and teſtimonies of Benno and Auentinus, concerning the actes and factes of this pope: now let vs procede (in the order as followeth in hys ſtory) to ſet forth the myſerable vexation which the vertuous and godly Emperour, ſuſtayned by that vngodly perſon.

About what tyme Hildebrand was madė pope, Henricus iiij. the Emperour was encombred and much vexed with ciuill diſſenſion in Germany, by reaſon of certaine greuances of the Saxons agaynſt hym and his father Henricus ẏ iij. Wherupon ẏ matter growing to ſedition, ſides were taken, ⁊ great warres inſued, betwixt Ottho duke of Saxony, and Henricus the Emperour. This buſy time ſemed to Hildebrand very oportune to worke his feates: whoſe ſtudy and drift was euer from the begynnyng, to aduaūce the dominion of the Romiſh ſeat aboue all other biſhops: and alſo to preſſe downe the authority of temporall rulers, vnder the ſpirituall men of the church. And although he went about the ſame lōg before by ſubtile trains and actes ſet forth concerning ſimony: yet nowe he thought more effectuouſly to accompliſhe hys purpoſed intent, after that he was exalted thither where he would be. And therfore now bearyng him ſelf the bolder, by the authority of S. Peters throne, firſt he began to purſue the acte ſet out by hys predeceſſor, as touchyng ſimony: curſing and excommunicating, whoſoeuer they were that receyued any ſpirituall liuyng or promotion at laye mens handes, as all ſuch as were the geuers therof. For this he called than Simony, that vnder that colour he might defeat the temporall poteſtates of theyr right, and ſo bryng the whole clergie at length, to the lucr of Rome. And for as much as the Emperour was the head, thinkyng firſt to begin with hym: he ſendeth for hym by letters ⁊ legates to appeare in the councell of Laterane at Rome. But the Emperour, buſied in his warres againſt the Saxons, had no leaſure to attēd to councels. Notwithſtandyng Gregorius the pope, proceedeth in his councel: rendring there the cauſe and reaſon before the biſhops, why he had excommunicate diuers of the clergie, as Herman biſhop of Bāberge, counceler to the Emperour, and other prieſtes mo, for Simony. And there moreouer in the ſaid councel, he threatneth to excommunicate likewiſe the Emperour him ſelf, and to depoſe him frō hys regall kingdome, vnleſſe he would abrenounce the hereſie of Simony, and do penance. The coūcel beyng ended: Guibertus archbiſhop of Rauēna, perſwadeth with one Centius (a Romaine, the captains ſonne, whō the pope had excōmunicate) to take the Emperours part agaynſt ẏ pope. Who watchyng his time, in the temple of S. Mary, vpon Chriſtmas day in ẏ morning, taketh ẏ pope ⁊ putteth him faſt in a ſtrong tower. The next day, the people of Rome hearing this, harneſſe them ſelues with all expedition to helpe the biſhop: whō when they loſed out of priſon, they beſieged the houſe of Centius, and pluckt it downe to the ground. His family hauyng their noſes cut of, were caſt out of the citie. Centius hym ſelfe eſcapyng, fled to the Emperour. Guibert the archbiſhop pretendyng good will to the pope, departeth from Rome: who lykewiſe had wrought with Hugo Candidus cardinall, and with Theobaldus archbiſhop of Millen, alſo with diuers other biſhops about Italy to forſake the pope, ⁊ take the Emperours part. Gregory the pope hearyng the conſpiracy, layeth the ſentēce of excommucatiō vpon them all, and depriueth them of their dignitie. The Emperour being moued (and worthely) with the arrogant preſumption of the proude prelate: calleth together a councel at Wormes. In whiche councel all ẏ biſhops not onely of Saxony, but of all ẏ whole Empire of Germaines, agree and conclude vpon the depoſition of Hildebrand: and that no obedience here after ſhould be geuen to hym. This beyng determined in the coūcel, Rolādus a prieſt of Parmen, was ſent to Rome, with the ſentence: who in ẏ name of the councel, ſhould commaunde Gregory, to yelde vp hys ſeate, and alſo charge the cardinals, to reſorte to the Emperour for a new election of an other pope. The tenor of the ſentence ſent vp by Rolandus was this.

Henricus iiii. the Emperour.

24

Much boaſt made of Peters throne, but hys life they let alone.

Hermannus excōmunicate of Hildebrand.

Centius.

Hildebrād caſt in the tower.

Gilbertus archbyſhop of Rauenna.

¶ The ſentence of the councel of Wormes, agaynſt Hildebrand.

Forasmuche as thy firſt ingreſſe and comming in, hath bene ſo ſpotted with ſo manye periuries: and alſo the church of God brought in no litle daūger through thine abuſe ⁊ new fanglenes: Moreouer, becauſe thou haſt diffamed thyne own life and conuerſation, with ſo much and great diſhoneſty, that we ſee no little perill of ſlaunder to ryſe therof: therfore the obedience which yet we neuer promiſed thee, hereafter we vtterly renounce, and neuer entende to geue thee. And as thou haſt nether taken vs yet for biſhops (as thou haſt openly reported of vs) ſo neither wyll we hereafter take thee to bee Apoſtolike. Vale.

The councel of Wormes againſt the pope.

Gregorye the pope tickled with this ſentence, firſt condemneth it in hys councel of Lateran with excommunication. Secondarily, depriueth Sigifridus archbiſhop of Mentz of his dignities, ⁊ eccleſiaſticall liuinges, with all other biſhops, Abbats and prieſtes, as many as tooke the Emperours parte. Thirdly, accuſeth Henricus the Emperour himſelfe: depriueth him of hys kingdome and regall poſſeſſion, and releaſeth all hys ſworne ſubiectes of their othe of allegiaunce geuē vnto him: after this forme and maner.

The councel of Rome agaynſt the councel of Wormes.

Henricus the Emperour excommunicate of Hildebrand.

¶ The tenor of the ſentence excommunicatorie, agaynſt Henricus themperour by Hyldebrand.

O Bleſſed S. Peter, prince of the Apoſtles: bow down thyne eares I beſeeche thee, and heare me thy ſeruaunt, whom thou haſt brought vp euen from myne infancie: and haſt deliuered me vnto thys daye from the handes of the wycked, which hate and perſecute me, becauſe of my fayth in thee. Thou art my witnes, and alſo the bleſſed mother of Jeſu Chriſt, and thy brother S. Paul, fellow partner of thy martyrdome: how that I entred this function (not wyllyngly) but enforced agaynſt my wyll: not that I take it ſo as a robbery, lawfullye to aſcende into this ſeate: but becauſe that I had rather paſſe ouer my lyfe like a pilgrim or priuate perſon, then for any fame or glory to clyme vp to it. I doo acknowledge (and that worthely) all this to come of thy grace, ⁊ not of my merites: that this charge ouer chriſten people, and this power of byndyng and loſing is committed to me. Wherfore truſting vpon this aſſurance, for the dignitie and tuition of holye churche: In the name of God

Ex Platina.

Marke this, ye papiſtes that ſay the pope can not erre.

The pope threatneth kindnes of S. Peter.

v.y. omni-

omnipotent, the father, the ſonne, and the holye ghoſt: I do here depoſe Henry the ſonne of Henry once the emperour, from hys emperiall ſeate, and princelye gouernment: who hath ſo boldly & preſumptuouſly laid handes vpon thy church. And furthermore, all ſuche as tofore haue ſworne to be his ſubiectes, I releaſe them of theyr oth, wherby al ſubiectes are boūd to yͤ allegeance of their princes. For it is meete and conuenient that he ſhoulde be voyde of dignitie, which ſeeketh to diminiſh the maieſty of thy church. Moreouer, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tendring his health, and wealth of hys people: and hath ſeparate hymſelfe from the felowſhip of the church (which he, through his ſeditions, ſtudieth to deſtroy) therfore I binde him by vertue of excommunication: truſting and knowing moſt certainly, that thou art Peter (in the rocke of whom, as in the true foundation Chriſt) our king hath built his church.

Quis tulerit gracchos de ſeditione querentes. Iuuen.

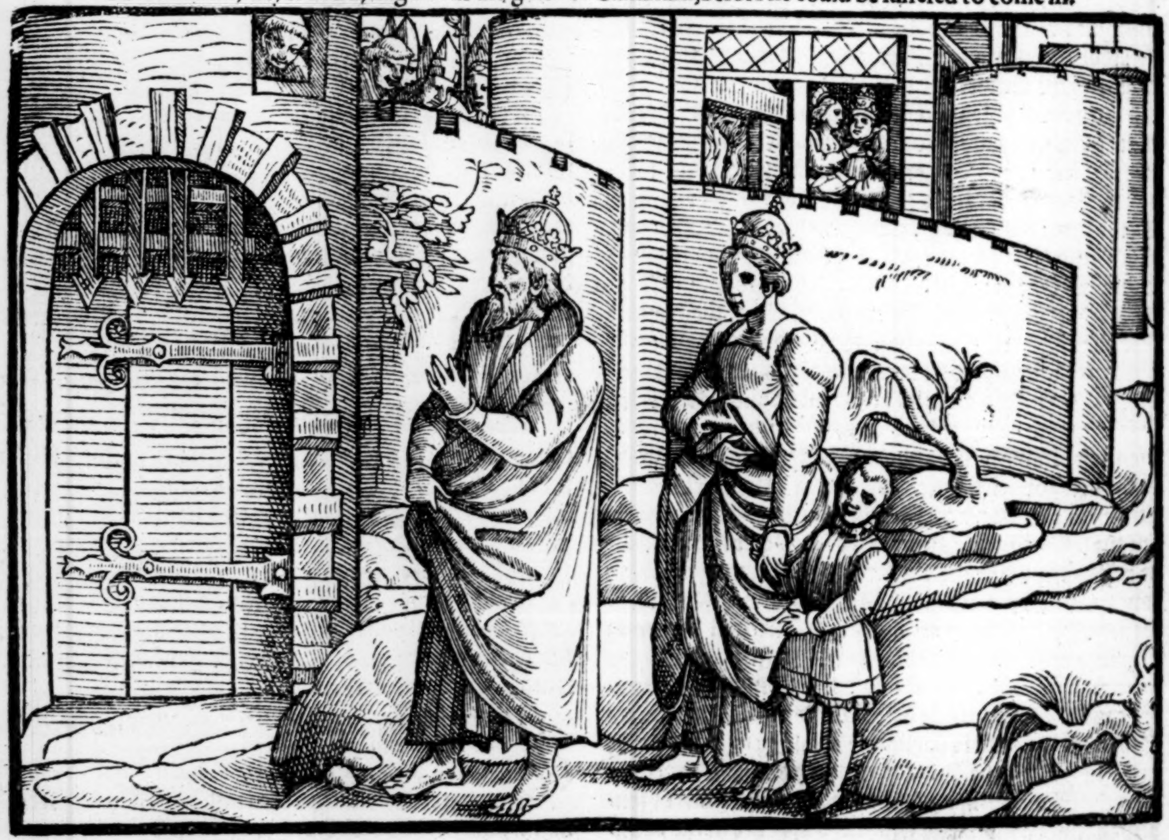
Themperour thus aſſaulted with the popes cenſure, ſendeth abroad his letters through all nations, to purge him ſelfe: declaryng how wrongfully, and agaynſt all ryght, he was condēned. The princes of Almany partly fearyng the crake of yͤ popes thunderclap, partly againe reioyſing that occaſion was renued to rebell againſt the Emperour: aſſembled a commencement, where they did conſult, and ſo cōclude, to elect an other Emperour, and to fall from Henry, vnles the pope would come to Germany, and he there content to ſubmit hym ſelfe, and obtayne hys pardon.

The Saxons take the Popes part againſt the emperor.

Wherin is to be conſidered, the lamentable affectiōs of the Germaines in thoſe dayes: ſo to forſake ſuch a valiant Emperour, & ſo much to repute a vile biſhop. But this was the rudenes of the world then, for lacke of better knowledge. The Emperour ſeyng the chief princes ready to forſake hym, promiſeth them with an oth, that if the pope would repayre to Germany, he would aſke forgeueneſſe.

Vpon this the byſhop of Triers, was ſent vp in commiſſion to Rome, to entreat the pope to come into Germany. The biſhop (at the inſtāce of the legate, and of the princes) was contēt. He entred into Germany, thinking to come to Auguſta. After he was come to Vercellos (the biſhop of that city, beyng the chauncelor of Italy, & deſirous to diſturbe peace, for the olde grudge he had to the Emperour) falſly perſwadeth with yͤ pope, that he was certayne, the Emperour was commyng with a mighty great army agaynſt hym: councelyng hym therfore to prouide betimes for his owne ſauegard, in ſome ſtrōger place. Whereby the popes minde beyng altered, he retired backe to Canuſium or Canoſſus, a citie beyng ſubiect to Matilda, a countes of Italy: where he ſhould not nede to feare Themperour.

peace diſturbed through wicked counſel.



Henricus the Emperour with his wiſe and child, barefote and barelegd, wayting on the Pope Hildebland iij. dayes and iij. nightes at the gates of Canuſium, before he could be ſuffered to come in.

Henricus vnderſtandyng the falſe feare of the pope and of his retire to Canuſium: incontinent (cōmyng out of Spires with his wife, and his yong ſonne, in the depe & ſharpe of winter) reſorteth to Canoſſus. All his peares and nobles had left him, for feare of the popes curſe, neither did any cōpany him. Wherfore Themperour being not a litle troubled (laying apart his regall ornamentes) came barefoote, with hys wife and child, to the gate of Canoſſus: where he, from mornyng to nyght (al the day faſtyng) moſt humbly deſireth abſolution, crauing to be let into the ſpeache of the biſhop. But no ingreſſe myght be geuen hym once within the gates. Thus he continuyng iij. dayes together in hys peticion and ſute: at length aūſwere came, that the popes maieſty had yet no leſure to talke with hym. Themperour nothyng moued therewith, that he was not let into the citie, patiētly and with an humble mind abideth without the wals, with no litle greuaunce and paynefull labor: for it was a ſharpe winter, & all froſen with cold. Notwithſtādyng yet, through hys importunate ſute, at length, it was graunted: through the intreating of Matilda, the popes paramour and of Adelaus, earle of Sebaudia, & the abbot of Cluniake, that he ſhould be admitted to yͤ popes ſpeach. On the iiij. day beyng let in, for a tokē of his true repentāce, he yeldeth to the popes handes his crowne, with all other ornamentes imperiall: and confeſſeth him ſelfe vnworthy of the Empire, if euer he do againſt the pope here after as he hath done to fore: deſiring for yͤ time to be abſolued and forgeuen. The pope aunſwereth he will neither forgeue him, nor releſe the band of his excommunicatiō, but

A wonderous ſubmiſſiō of a valiant emperour to a vile Pope.

Notable pacienc a noble perſou.

but vpon conditions. Firſt, to promiſe, that he ſhalbe cõtent to ſtand to his arbitrement in the councel, & to take ſuch penance, as he ſhall enioyn hym: alſo that he ſhalbe preſt and ready to appeare, in what place or time yͤ pope ſhall appointe hym: Moreouer that he beyng content to take the pope iudge of his cauſe, ſhall aunſwere, in the ſaid councel to all obiections & accuſations layd againſt hym, and that he ſhall neuer ſeke any reuẽgemẽt herein. Item that he (though he be quit and cleared therin) ſhall ſtand to the popes minde and pleaſure, whether to haue his kyngdome reſtored, or to loſe it. Finally, that before the triall of his cauſe he ſhall neither vſe his kingly ornaments, ſcepters, or crowne, nor to vſurpe the authoritie to gouerne, nor to exacte any othe of allegeance vpon his ſubiectes. &c. Theſe thinges beyng promiſed to the biſhop by an othe, and put in writyng, Themperour is onely releſed of excommunication. The tenor of the writyng is thys.

roud con-
itions of
e pope.

ope both
ccuſer and
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eaſt of the
pocalips
ppeareth
hys cou-
urs.

¶ The forme and tenor of the othe, whiche Henricus made to the Pope.

I Henricus kyng, after peace and agreement made to the minde and ſentence of our Lorde Gregorius vij. promiſe to kepe all couenantes and bandes betwixt vs: and to prouide yͭ the pope go ſafely, whether ſo euer he will without any daũger other to him, or to his retinue. Eſpecially in all ſuch places as be ſubiect to our impery. Nor that I ſhall at any time ſtay or hinder him, but that he may do that belongeth to his function where & when ſoeuer hys pleaſure ſhalbe. And theſe thynges I bynde my ſelfe with an othe to kepe. Actum Canoſ. 5. calend Februarij. indic. 15.

Thus the matter beyng deciſed betwixt them after the popes owne preſcribement: Themperour taketh hys iourny to Papia. The pope wͭ his cardinals, did daunce and triumph with no litle pride that they had ſo quailed Themperour, and brought him on his knees, to aſke thẽ forgeuenes. Yet notwithſtandyng miſtruſtyng them ſelues, and miſdoutyng time, what might befall them hereafter: if fortune ſhould turne, and God geue Thẽperour to enioy a more quiet kyngdom: therfore to preuent ſuch daũgers betime, they ſtudy and conſult priuely with thẽ ſelues, how to diſplace Henry cleane from his kingdom. And how that deuiſe might ſafely be conueyd, they conclude & determine to deriue Thẽpire vnto Rodolphus, a man of greate nobilitie amongſt the chiefeſt ſtates of Germany: and alſo to incite and ſtir vp all other princes and ſubiectes (beyng yet free and diſcharged from their othes) agaynſt Henry: & ſo by force of armes to expulſe Themperour out of his kyngdome. To bryng this purpoſe the better to paſſe, legates wer ſent down from the pope. Sigehardus patriarch of Aquilia, and Altimãnus biſhop of Padway, whiche ſhoulde perſwade throughe all Fraunce, that Henry Themperor was rightfully excõmunicate, and that they ſhould geue to the biſhop of Rome their cõſentes, in chuſing Rodolphus to be Emperor. This being done, there was ſent to yͤ ſayd Rodolphꝰ duke of Sweuia, a crowne frõ the pope with this verſe.

he craftye
onſpiracye
f the car-
nals a-
aynſt the
perour.

he verſe.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.
The rocke gaue the crowne to Peter,
Peter geueth it to Rodolph.

Here by the way of digreſſion (to make a litle gloſe, vpon this barbarous verſe) two notable lyes ar to be noted. One, where he lyeth vpon Chriſt, the other where he lyeth vpon S. Peter. Firſt that Chriſt gaue any temporall diademe to Peter it is a moſt manifeſt lye, & againſt the ſcriptures: when as he would not take it, being geuẽ to him ſelfe, and ſaith his kingdome is not of this world. Againe where he ſayth that Peter geueth it to Rodulph: Here he plaieth the Poet, for neither had Peter any ſuch thyng to geue, & if he had, yet he would not haue geuen it to Rodulph, from the ryght heyre: neither is it true that Peter did geue it, becauſe Hildebrand gaue it. For it is no good argument, Hildebrãd did geue it. Ergo Peter did geue it: except ye will ſay, Hildebrand ſtirred vp great warres and bloudſhed in Germany, ergo Peter ſtirred vp great warres in Germany. So Peter neither could, nor would, nor did geue it to Rodolphus, but onely Hildebrãd the pope: who after he had ſo done, he gaue in commaundement to the archbiſhop of Mentz, and of Colen, to elect this Rodolphus for Emperour, and to annoynt hym kyng, and alſo to defend hym with all force and ſtrength they might.

he gloſe
on the
rſe of Hil
brand.

he pope
oued a
ouble lier.

While this conſpiracy was in hand, Henricus Thẽperour was abſent, & the popes ambaſſadors with hym alſo. In the meane ſpace Rodolphus was elected Emperour, vnknowyng to Henry. Vpon this commeth the biſhop of Strauſbourgh, vnto Thẽperour, certifiyng hym what was done: He ſuſpectyng and ſeyng the ſtomakes & doynges of the Saxons ſo bent againſt hym: muſtreth hys men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend hys ryght. But firſt ſendeth to Rome (truſtyng vpon the league betwixt hym and the pope) and requireth the biſhop, to procede with his ſentence agaynſt Rodolphus, for the rebellious inuaſion of his Impery. But the biſhop myndyng nothing leſſe: ſendeth worde agayn, not to be right to condemne any perſon (his cauſe beyng not hard) thus vnder the pretence of the law, colouryng hys vnlawfull treatory. Henricus thus diſapoynted and forſaken on euery ſide, with his mẽ about hym, attempteth battail againſt Rodolphus. In which battaile, a meruelous great ſlaughter was on both ſides, but the victory on neither part certaine. So that both the captaines yet chalẽged Thempire. After the battail and great murder on both ſides, they ſent to Rome both, to know of yͤ pope his determination: to whether of thẽ two, he iudged the right title of Thempire to appertaine. The biſhop commaundeth them both to breake vp their armies, and depart the field: promiſing that he ſhortly will call a councel, where this matter ſhal be diſputed. In the time they ſhould ceaſe from warre. But before the meſſengers returned agayn (their armies being refreſhed) they had an other conflict together, but no victory got on either part. Thus both the captayns beyng weryed in warres: the Romiſhe beaſt the byſhop whiche was the cauſe therof, perceyuing whether theſe cruell warres would tend: to the great calamity not onely of Germany, but alſo of other nations (truſtyng to find an other way to helpe Rodolphus and hys adherentes) ſendeth downe a commiſſion by Ottho archbiſhop of Treuers, Bernardus deacon, and Bernardus abbot of Maſſilia: to whõ he gaue in charge that they ſhould call together a councel or ſittyng in Almany, & there to be deffined to whether parte Thẽpire ſhould pertayne, by moſt right and publike conſideration. Promiſing yͭ what they ſhould therin determine, he (lokyng vpon the matter, through the authority of God omnipotent, and of S. Peter, & S. Paul) would ratifie the ſame. Moreouer for that, no let nor impechment ſhould happen to the legates by the way, he geueth with them letters, to the princes and nations of Germany. Wherof the contents be declared briefly in Platina: If any liſt to read them.

The pope traitour to the Emperour.

Great warres ſtyrred vp by the pope.

But Themperour would not ſo permit the legates to haue any councel wͭin Germany, except they would firſt depriue Rodolphus of hys kingdome. The legates conſideryng that, to be agaynſt the drift and intention of the pope, returned agayne from whence they came. The pope hearyng this and ſeyng hys purpoſe ſo diſapoynted by the Emperour, draweth out an other excommunication agaynſt hym, and agayne berieueth hym of hys kyngdome: ſendyng about hys letters excommunicatory, through out all places: thinkyng therby to further the part of Rodolphus the better. Platina hath in hys booke the whole effect of the writyng, which tendeth after this ſorte.

¶The copy of the ſecond excommunication of Hildebrand, agaynſt the Emperour.

BLeſſed S. Peter, prince of the Apoſtles, & thou Paul alſo the teacher of the Gentiles, geue eare vnto me, I beſeche you a litle, and gently heare me. For you are the diſciples and louers of truth, the thinges that I ſhal ſay are true. This matter I take in hand for truth ſake, that my brethren (whoſe ſaluation I ſeke) may the more obſequiouſly obey me, and better vnderſtand, how that I truſting vpon your defence (next to Chriſt, and his mother the immaculate virgin) reſiſt the wycked, & am ready to helpe the faythfull. I did not enter this ſeate of myne owne accord, but much againſt my wil, and with teares: for that I accounted my ſelfe vnworthy to occupy ſo high a throne. And this I ſay, not that I haue choſen you, but you haue choſen me, and haue layde thys great burthen vpon our ſhoulders. And now wheras by this your aſſignment, I haue aſcended vp thys hill, crying to the people, and ſhewing them their faultes, and to the childrē of the church, their iniquities: the mēbers of Sathan haue ryſen agaynſt me, and haue layde handes together to ſeeke my blood. For the kyngs of the earth haue riſen vp agaynſt me, and the Princes of this world: with whom alſo haue conſpired certayne of the clergy: ſubiectes agaynſt the Lorde, and agaynſt vs hys anoynted, ſaying: let vs breake a ſūder their bands, and caſt of from vs their yoke. This haue they done agaynſt me, to bring me either to death, or to baniſhmēt. In the number of whom is Henricus, whom they call kyng, the ſonne of Henrye the Emperour, whych hath lyft vp ſo proudly his hornes & heele agaynſt the church of God, making conſpiracy with diuers other biſhops, both Italians, French, and Germaynes. Agaynſt the pride of whom, hetherto your authoritye hath reſiſted: who rather being broken then amēded, comming to me in Ciſalpina, made humble ſute to me for pardon & abſolutiō. I thinking nothing els but true repētance in him, receiyued hym agayne to fauour, and did reſtore him to the communion onely, from which he was excommunicate: but to his kingdome (from which in the Synode of Rome he was worthely expulſed) I did not reſtore: nor to the rentes and fruites therof (that he might return to the fayth agagne) that I graunted not vnto hym. And that I did for this purpoſe, that if he ſhould defer to fall to agrement with certayne of hys neyghbours, whom he hath alwayes vexed, and to reſtore agayne the goods both of the church, and otherwiſe: than he might be compelled by the cenſures of the church, and force of armes therunto. Wherby diuers and ſundry biſhops and princes of Germany (ſuch as he had long troubled) being helped by this oportunitye, elected Rodolphus their Duke, to be king in the place of Henricus: whom they for hys tranſgreſſions had remoued and diſpatched from hys Empire. But Rodolphus firſt in this matter, vſing a princely modeſty, and integrity: ſent vp his meſſengers to me, declaring how he was conſtrayned (wyld he, nild he) to take that regall gouernment vpon him: albeit he was not ſo deſirours therof, but that he woulde rather ſhew him ſelfe obedient to vs, then to the other that offered him yͤ kingdome: and whatſoeuer our arbitrement ſhould be therein, he would be vnder obedience, both of God and of vs. And for more aſſurance of this his obedience, he hath ſent his owne children hether for pledges. Upon this Henricus began to ſnuffe, and firſt entreated with vs, to reſtrayne and inhibit Rodolphus, through the payne of our curſe, from the vſurpacion of his kingdome. I anſwered agayn, I would ſee whether of them had more right and title therunto, and to ſende our Legates thether vpon the ſame, to know the whole ſtate of the matter: and therupon I would deciſe betwixt them, whether of thē had the truer part. But Hēricus would not ſuffer our Legates to come to take vp the matter, & ſlew diuers both ſecular men, & of the Clergy, ſpoiling and prophaning churches, & ſo by this meanes hath indaungered himſelfe in the bands of excommunication. I therefore truſting in the iudgement and mercye of God, and in the ſupportacion of the bleſſed virgin, alſo bold vpon your authority, doo lay the ſentence of curſſe vpon the ſayd Henricus, and all his adherentes: & here agayne I take his regall gouernment from him, charging and forbidding all Chriſten men, that haue bene ſworne vnto him (whom I diſcharge here of their othe) that hereafter they obey him in nothing, but to take Rodolphus to their king, who is elected by many princes of the prouince. For ſo right it is and conuenient, that as Henry for his pride and ſtubbernes, is depriued of hys dignitie and poſſeſſion: ſo Rodolphus being gratefull to all men, for his vertue and deuotion be exalted to the imperiall throne and domination.

O peſtiferous hipocrite. The pope prayeth S. Peter to diſhonour hys king, And ſaint Peter byndeth the pope to honour hys king.

Crocodili lachrymæ.

Scripture well applyed,

A figure called ἀντιμεταβολὴ. *Cuius contrariū verū eſt.*

Vim faciunt ſcripturis, vt plenitudinem accipiunt poteſtatis.

Let all papiſtes marke here well the holynes of their holy father,

Although he were not ſet vp by you, rather then by them.

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Therefore O you bleſſed Princes of the Apoſtles, graunt to this, and confirme with your authoritye that I haue ſayde: ſo that all men maye vnderſtande, if you haue power to binde and loſe in heauen, you haue alſo power in earth to geue and take away Empires, kyngdomes, principalities, and whatſoeuer here in the earth belōgeth to mortall mē. For if you haue power to iudge in ſuch matters, as appertayne to God: what thē ſhould we thinke you haue of theſe inferior & prophane things? And if it be in your power to iudge the aungels, rulyng ouer proud princes: what then ſhall it beſeme you to do vpon their ſeruantes. Therefore let the kings vnderſtād by this example, and al other princes of the world, what you be able to do in heauen, & what you are wyth God: that thereby they may feare to contemne the commaundementes of holy church. And now do you exerciſe thys iudgement quicklye vpon Henricus, whereby all men maye ſee this ſonne of iniquitie to fall from hys kyngdome, not by any chaunce, but by your prouiſion & onely worke. Notwithſtanding, this I would craue of you, that he being brought to repentance, through your interceſſion, yet in the day of iudgement, may finde fauor and grace with the Lord. Actum Rome Nonis Martii, indictione. iii.

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Furthermore, Hildebrand not yet content with this, interditeth & depoſeth alſo Gibertus archbiſhop of Rauenna, for taking the Emperours part, commaunding all prieſtes to geue no maner obedience to him: And ſendeth thether to Rauenna an other archbiſhop, with full authoritye.

Giberti
Archbi
depriued

After and vpon this, Henricus and Rodolphus, to try the matter by the ſword, coped together in battaile, not without bloudſhed: where as Henricus by the fauour of God, againſt the iudgement of Hildebrand, had the victory. Rodolphus there greatlye wounded in the conflict, was had out of the army, and caryed to Hiperbolis: where he commaunded the biſhops, and chiefe doers of his conſpiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted vp his right hande, in which he had taken his deadly wound, and ſayde: This is the hande, which gaue the othe and ſacrament vnto Henricus my prince: and which through your inſtigation, ſo oft hath fought againſt him in vaine. Nowe go & performe your firſt oth and allegeance to your king, for I muſt to my fathers, and ſo dyed. Thus the pope gaue battayle, but God gaue the victory.

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Henricus (after his enemy being thus ſubdued, and warres being ceaſed in Germanye) forgat not the olde iniuries receiued of Hildebrād, by whom he was twyſe excommunicate, and expulſed from his kingdome: and three dayes makyng humble ſute (yea and that in ſharpe wynter) coulde fynde no fauour with hym. Beſides that, he incited moreouer and ayded his enemy agaynſt him: calleth together a councell or aſſemble of diuers biſhops of Italy, Lombardy and Germanye, at oncilium Brixienſe. 1083.

Brixia, an.1083. where he purged himſelfe, and accuſed the biſhop Hildebrand of diuers crimes: to bee an vſurper: periured: a necromanſer and ſorcerer: a ſower of diſcord, complaynyng moreouer of wronges & iniuries done by the biſhop and church of Rome: in that the church of Rome preferred ẏ biſhop before him, when that his father being Emperour before him, had inthroniſed and ſet in diuers and ſundrye biſhops there by hys aſſignement, without all other election. And now this biſhop contrarye to his othe and promiſe made, thruſt in himſelfe, without the wyll and knowledge of him, being their king and magiſtrate. For in the tyme of his father Henricus.3. this Hildebrand with other, bound thẽſelues with a corporall othe: that ſo long as the Emperour and his ſonne nowe being king ſhoulde lyue, they ſhould neyther themſelues preſume, nor ſuffer anye other to aſpire to the papall ſeate, without the aſſent and approbation of the foreſayd Emperours: which nowe this Hildebrand contrary to hys corporal oth had done. Wherefore the foreſayde councel with one agremente condemned thys Gregorye, that he ſhoulde be depoſed: The tenor of which condemnation is thus expreſſed in Abbate Vrſpergenſe.

o biſhop f Rome to e choſen ithout e aſſent f the Em. our.

¶ *The ſentence of the councel of Brixia,* agaynſt Hildebrand.

bbas Vrſ rgenſis.

BEcauſe it is not knowen, this biſhop not to be elected of God, but to haue intruded himſelf, by fraude and mony, who hath ſubuerted all Eccleſiaſtical order, who hath diſturbed the gouernment of the chriſtiã Empery, manaſing death both of body and ſoule againſt our catholike and peaceable kyng: who hath ſet vp and mayntayned a periured king, ſowyng diſcord, wher concorde was: cauſing debate amongſt frendes, ſlaunders, & offences amongſt brethren, diuorcements and ſeparation amonſt the maried (for he tooke away the mariage of prieſtes, as Henricus Mutius witneſſeth) & finallye diſquietyng the peaceable ſtate of al quiet life: therfore we here in the name and authority of God congregate together, wyth the Legates and handes of xix. biſhops, ẏ day of Pentecoſt at Mentz, do procede in Canonicall iudgement, againſt Hildebrand, a mã moſt wicked: preaching ſacrilege and burnyng, maintaynyng periury and murthers, calling in queſtion the catholike faith of the body & bloud of the lord, a folower of diuination & dreames, a manifeſt necromanſer, a ſorcerer, and infected wyth a Pythonical ſpirit, and therefore departed from the true faith, we iudge him to be depoſed and expelled. And vnleſſe he hearyng this, ſhal yeld and depart the ſeat: to be perpetually condemned. Inacted. vij. Calend. Iulii. feria. 5. indictione. iii.

enricus Iutius.

ote here e pope dged and poſed of e coũcel.

This beyng inacted and ſent to Rome, they elected Guibertus archbiſhop of Rauẽna, in the place of Hildebrand, to gouerne the chrch of Rome, named Clemens iij. But when Hildebrand neither woulde geue ouer his holde, nor geue place to Clement: the emperour gathering an army to ſend to Italy, came to Rome to depoſe Gregorye, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand ſending to Mathilda ẏ counteſſe, before mentioned: requires (in remiſſion of all her ſinnes) to wythſtand Henrye themperor, and ſo ſhe dyd. Notwithſtandyng Henricus preuaylyng came to Rome, wher he beſieged the city all the Lent, and after Eaſter got it, the Romaines being compelled to opẽ the gates vnto hym: ſo he cõming to ẏ temple of ſ. Peter, there placeth Clemẽt in his papacy. Hildebrand ſtraight flyeth into Adrians tower wᵗ his adherentes. Wher he being beſet round aboute, at length ſendeth for Robert Guiſcardus his frend a Norman. In the meane tyme while Robertus collecteth hys power, the abbot of Cluniake, conferryng wyth Gregory, exhorteth him to crown Henricus Emperour in Lateran. Which if he woulde doe, the other promiſeth to bring about, that Henricus ſhould departe with his army into Germany. Wherunto the people of Rome alſo did likewiſe moue him. To whom Gregory anſwered ẏ he was content ſo to do (but vpon this condition) that the emperour would ſubmit hymſelf to aſke pardõ, to amẽd hys fault, and to promiſe obedience. The Emperor not agreing to thoſe conditions went to Senas, takyng Clement, new ſtalled pope wyth hym.

he pope eth ſuc. ur of hys amour. is fyrſt ample to he for miſſiõ of nes be. n in Hil. brand.

Platina. Nauclerus. Sabellicus. Crantzius. Benno, &c.

After the returne of the emperor, the foreſaid Robert Guiſcardus approchyng wyth his ſouldiers, braſt in at one of the gates, and ſpoyleth ẏ city. And not long after delivereth Hildebrand out of his enemies handes, and caried him away to Campania, where he, not long continuyng after, dyed in exile.

Antoninus writeth, that Hildebrand, as he dyd lye a dying, called to him one of his chiefe Cardinals: bewaylyng to hym his fault and miſorder of his ſpiritual miniſtry, in ſtirring vp diſcord, warre and diſcenſion: wher upon he deſired the Cardinal to go to the Emperour, & to deſire hym of forgeueneſſe: abſoluyng from the daunger of excommunication, both him and all his pertakers both quicke and dead.

Hildebrãd, the fyrſt author & patrone of all miſrule that followed in popes.

Thus haſt thou (gentle reader) the full hiſtory of pope Gregory vij. called Hildebrand which I haue layde out more at large, and deſyre thee to marke: becauſe ẏ from this pope (if thou marke well) ſpringeth all the occaſion of miſchief, of pride, pompe, ſtoutnes, preſumption and tiranny, which ſence that tyme hath raigned in his ſucceſſors hetherto, in the Cathedral church of the Romiſhe cleargy. For here came firſt the ſubiection of the temporall regiment, vnder the ſpiritual iuriſdiction. And emperours, which before were their maiſters, now are made their vnderlinges. Alſo here came in the ſuppreſſion of prieſtes mariage, as is ſufficiently declared. Here came in moreouer the authority of both the ſwordes, ſpiritual and ſeculare into ſpiritual mens hands. So that chriſtiã magiſtrates could do nothyng in election, in geuyng biſhoprikes, or benefices, in callyng councels, in hearyng & correcting the exceſſes of the cleargy, but onely the Pope muſt do all. Yea moreouer no biſhoppe nor paſtor in hys owne pariſh could excommunicate or exercise any diſcipline amongſt hys flocke, but onely the pope chalenged that prerogatiue to himſelf. Finally, here came in ẏ firſt example to perſecute Emperours and kings, with rebellion an excommunication: as the cleagy thẽſelues hereafter do teſtifye & witnes in procedyng againſt Paſcalis. Thus theſe notes beyng well obſerued, let vs (by the grace of Chriſt) now repayre agayn to our countrey hiſtory of England.

The death of W. Conqueror.

About the death of pope Hildebrãd (or not long after) folowed the death of kyng William conquerour, in the yeare of our Lord. 1090. after he had reigned in Englãd the ſpace of xxi. yeares and x. monethes. The cauſe of his ſickenes & death is ſaid to be this: for that Philippe the French kyng vpõ a tyme (ieſting ſayd) ẏ kyng William lay in childe bed and nouriſhed his fate belly. With this the foreſayd Williã hearyng therof, aunſwered agayne and ſayd, when he ſhould be churched, he would offer a thouſand candels to hym in Fraunce, wherewithall the kyng ſhould haue litle ioy. Wherupon kyng Williã in the moneth of July (when the corne, fruite, and grapes were moſt floriſhing) entred into Frauce, and ſet on fire many cities and townes in ẏ Weſtſide of Frauce. And & laſtly cõming to the citie of Meaus, where he burning a woman beyng as a recluſe in a wall incloſed (or as ſome, ſay ij. men anachorites incloſed) was ſo feruent & furious about the fire: that with the heate partly of the fire, partly of the tyme of yeare, thereby he fell into ſicknes, and dyed vpon the ſame.

By the lyfe & actes of this kyng it may appeare true as ſtoryes of him reporte, that he was wiſe but gyleſull: Riche but couetous: a fayre ſpeaker, but a great diſſembler: glorious in victory, and ſtrong in armes, but rigorons in oppreſſing whome he ouercame, in leuiyng of taſkes paſſing all other. In ſomuch yͭ he cauſed to be enrolled and numbred in his treaſury, euery hide land, & owner therof: what fruit and reuenewes ſurmounted of euery Lordſhip, of euery towneſhip, caſtel, village, field, riuer, and wood within all the realme of Englād. Moreouer how many pariſhe churches, how many liuyng catell there were, what and how much euery Baron in the realme could deſpende: what fées were belonging, what wages were taken. &c. The tenour & contentes of which taſkement, yet remaineth in rolles. After this taſking or numbring which was the yere before his death: folowed an exceadyng morrene of cattel, & barrennes of yͤ groūd: with much peſtilence and hote feuers emong the people, ſo yͭ ſuch as eſcaped yͤ feuer, was cōſumed with famine. Moreouer at the ſame ſeaſō emong certein other cities, a great parte of the citie of London, with the churche of Paules was waſted with fire an. 1085.

Peſtilence in England: And morayne of beaſtes.

London with the church of Paules, brent.

In huntyng & in parkes the foreſayd kyng had ſuch pleaſure, that in the countrey of Southampton, by the ſpace of 30. miles, he caſt downe churches & townſhipes and there made the new foreſt: louing his deare ſo dearely as though he had bene to thē a father: makyng ſharpe lawes for the increaſing therof, vnder payne of looſing both the eyes. So hard he was to Engliſhmen, and ſo fauorable to his owne countrey: that as there was no Engliſhe biſhop remainyng, but onely Wolſtane of Worceſter, who beyng commaunded of the kyng and Lancfrank to reſigne vp his ſtaffe, partly for inhabilitie, partlye for lacke of the Frenche tounge: refuſed otherwiſe to reſigne it, but onely to hym that gaue it, and ſo went to the tumbe of kyng Edward, where he thought to reſigne it, but was permitted to enioy it ſtill: ſo lykewiſe in hys dayes there was almoſt no Engliſhe man, that bare office of honour or rule.

Wolſtane biſhop of Worceſter.

In ſo much it was halfe a ſhame at that tyme, to be called an Engliſh man. Notwithſtandyng he ſomedeale fauoured the citie of London, and graunted vnto the citezins the firſt charter, that euer they had, writen in the Saxon, wͭ grene waxe ſealed, & conteyned in few lines.

Englād peaceable from theues.

Emong his other conditions, this in him is noted, yͭ ſo geuen he was to peace & quiet, yͭ any mayden being ladē wͭ gold or ſiluer might paſſe through yͤ whole realme, wͭout harme or reſiſtance. This William in his time builded ij. monaſteries one in Englād, at Battaile in Suſſex where he wanne the field agaynſt Harald, called the abbey of Battaile: an other beſide, named Barmoūdeſay, in his countrey of Normandy.

The abbey of Battayle.

The abbey of Barmoundeſay.

After the lyfe and ſtory of kyng William thus briefly deſcribed, with the actes and order of battaile betwen him and king Harald (although much more might haue bene writen of that matter, if the boke had come ſooner to my handes whiche afterward I ſaw) now remaineth in the end of his ſtory to deſcribe the names of ſuch Barons and nobles of Normandy, whiche entred with him into this land: & here haue bene planted & aduaunced by yͤ ſayd Conquerour in the landes & poſſeſſions of Engliſh Lordes, whō he either expulſed or els beheaded. The names of which Normandes here folow vnder writen.

¶ The names of the Normande Lords and Barons, which came in with Wylliam Conquerour.

Iohn de Maūdeuile.
Adam Vndeuile.
Bernard de Freuile.
Rich. de Rochuile.
Gilbard de Frākuile
Hugo de Douile.
Symōd de Roteuile
R. de Euyle.
B. de Kneuuile.
Hugo de Moruile.
R. de Coleuile.
A. de VVaruile.
C. de Karuile.
R. de Roteuile.
S. de Stoteuile.
H, Bonum.
I. Monum.
VV. de Vignoum.
K. de Viſpount.
VV. Bailbeof.
S. de Baleyne.
H. de Marreys.
I. Aguleyne.
G. Agilon.
R. Chamburleyne.
N. de Vendres.
H. de Verdon.
H. de Verto.
C. de Vernon.
H. Hardul.
C. Cappan.
VV. de Camuile.
I. de Cameyes.
R. de Rotes.
R. de Boys.
VV. de VVaren.
T. de VVardboys
R. de Boys.
VV. de Audeley.
K. Dynham.
R. de Vaures.
G. Vargenteyn.
I, de Haſtinges
G. de Haſtank.
L. de Burgee.
R. de Butuileyn.
H. de Malebrāche
S. de Malemayn.
G. de Hauteuile.
H. Hauteyn.
R. de Morteyn
R. de Mortimere
G. de Kanouile
E. de Columb.
VV. Paynel.
C. Panner.
H. Pontrel.
I. de Riuers.
T. Reuile
VV. de Beauchāp.
R. de Beaupale.
E. de Ou.
F. Louel.
S. de Troys.
I. de Artel.
I. de Moūtebrugg.
H. de Moūteſerel
VV. Truſſebut.
VV. Truſſel.
H. Byſet.
R. Baſſet.
R. Molet.
H. Malouile.
G. Bonet.
P. de Bonuile.
S. de Rouile.
N. de Norbec
I. de Corneux.
P. de Corbet.
Vv. de Mountagu
S. de Moūſychet
I. de Geneuyle.
H. Gyffard.
I. de Say
T. Gilbard
R. de Chalons
S. de Chauward
H. Feret.
Hugo. Pepard.
I. de Harecourt.
H. de Haunſard.
I. de Lamare
P. de Mautreuers.
G. de Ferron
R. de Ferrers.
I. de Deſty.
VV. de VVerders
H. de Borneuyle
I. de Saintenys
S. de Seucler.
R. de Gorges.
E. de Gemere
VV. de Feus
S. de Filberd
H. de Turberuyle
R. Troblenuer
R. de Angon.
T. de Morer
T. de Roteler
H. de Spencer.
R. de Saintpuinten
I. de Saint martin
G. de Cuſtan,
Seynt Conſtantin
Seint Leger
& Seint Med
M. de Cronu & de
Seint Viger
S. de Crayel
R. de Crenker
N. Meyuell
I. de Berners
S. de Chumli
E. de Charers
I. de Grey
VV. de Grangers
S. Baubenyn
H, Vamgers
E. Bertram
R. Bygot
S. Treoly
I. Trigos
G. de Feues
H. Filiot
R. Taperyn
S. Talbot
H. Santſauer
T. de Samford
G. de Vandien
C. de Vautort
G. de Mountagu
T. de Chanbernon
S. de Montfort
R. de Ferneuaux
VV. de valence
T. Clarel
S. de Cleruaus
P. de Aubemarle
H. de Seint Aruāt
E. de Auganuteys.
S. de Gant
G. de Malearbe
H. Mandut
VV. de Cheſun
L. de Chandut
R. Filz vrs
B. vic. de Low
G. de Cantemere
T. de Cantlow
R. Breaunce
T. de Broxeboof
S. de Bolebec
B. Mol de boef
I. de Muclis
R. de Brus
S. de Brewes
I. de Lylle
T. de Bellyle
I. de Vvateruile
G. de Neuyle
R. de Neuburgh
H. de Burgoyne
G. de Bourgh
S. de Lymoges
L. de Lyben
VV. de Helyoun
H. de Hildrebron
R. de Loges
S. de Seintlow
I. de Maubank
P. de Seint Malow
R. de Leoferne
I. de Louotot
G. Dabbeuyle
H. de Appetot
VV. de Percy
H. de Lacy
G. de Quyncy
E. Tracy
R. de la Souche
V. de Somery
I. de ſeint Iohn
T. de Seint Gory
P. de Boyly
R. de Seint valery
P. de Pinkeni
S. de Pauely
G. de Monthaut
T. de Mountcheſy
R. de Lymozy
G. de Lucy
I. de Artoys
N. de Arty.
P. de Grenuyle
I. de Greys
V. de Creſty
F. de Courcy
T. de Lamar
H. de Lymaſtz
I. de Monbray
G. de Morley
S. de Gorney
R. de Courtenay
P. de Gourney
R. de Cony
I. de la Huſe
R. de la Huſe
V. de Longeuyle
P. Longeſpye
I. Pouchardon
R. de la Pomerey
I. de Pountz
R. de Pontlarge
R. Eſtraunge
Thomas Sauage.

A litle aboue, mention was made of the biſhops ſee of Shyreborne, tranſlated frō thence to Saleſbury. The firſt biſhop of Saleſbury was Hermānus a Normande: who firſt began the new churche and minſter of Saleſbury. After whom ſucceded Oſmūdus, who finiſhed the worke, and repleniſhed the houſe with great liuyng, and much good ſingyng. This Oſmundus firſt began the

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Saleſbu
Oſm
biſhop
Sarum.
Ordin
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Eulo- histori- Lib.3.

e vſe & inary of ū, how whē it deui-

ordinall, which was called ſecundū vſum Sarū. an. 1076. The occaſion wherof was this (as I finde in an old ſtory booke intituled Eulogium) A great contention chaunced at Glacenbury betwene Thurſtanus the abbot, and his couent in the dayes of Williā Conquerour. Whiche Thurſtanus the ſayd William had brought out of Normandy, from the abbey of Cadonum, and placed hym abbot of Glacenbury. The cauſe of this contētious battaile, was for that Thurſtanus contemning their quyer ſeruice, then called the vſe of S. Gregory: compelled his monkes to the vſe of one Williā, a monke of Fiſcan in Normandy. Wherupon came ſtrife and contentions amongeſt them. Firſt in woordes then from wordes to blowes, after blowes thē to armour. The abbot wᵗ hys garde of harneſt men fell vpon the monkes, and draue thē to the ſteppes of the hye altar: where, two wer ſlaine, viij. were wounded with ſhaftes, ſwordes, & pikes. The monkes then driuen to ſuch a ſtraight and narrow ſhift wer compelled to defend them ſelues, with formes, and candelſtickes, wherewith they did wounde certeyne of the ſouldiers. One monke there was (an aged man) who in ſteade of his ſhield, tooke an Image of the crucifixe in his armes, for hys defence: which Image, was woūded in the breſt by one of the bow men, whereby the monke was ſaued. My ſtory addeth more, that the ſtriker incontinent vpon the ſame fell mad, which ſauoureth of ſome monkiſhe addicion beſides the texte. This matter beyng brought before the kyng: the Abbot was ſent agayne to Cadonius, and the monkes by the commaundement of the kyng were ſcattered in farre countreis. Thus by the occaſiō hereof, Oſmundus biſhop of Saliſbury, deuiſed that ordinary, whiche is called the vſe of Sarum, and was afterwarde receyued in a maner through all England Ireland and Walles. And thus much for this matter, done in the tyme of this kyng William.

Which Williā after his death: by his wife Matildis or Mauld, left iij. ſōnes, Robert Courtſey to whom he gaue the duchie of Normandy & William Rufus his ij. ſonne to whō he gaue ẏ kyngdome of England: And Henry ẏ iij. ſonne to whō he left and gaue his treaſour: and warned William to be to his people louing and liberal: and Robert to be to his people ſterne and ſturdy.

mple of s iuſte gement a bi- , who g vn- ciful to poore eaten h rattes myſe.

In the hyſtory called Iornalenſis, is reported of a certain great man, who about this time of king William, was compaſſed about, wᵗ myſe and rattes: and fleyng to the middeſt of a ryuer, yet when that would not ſerue, came to the land agayne, and was of thē deuoured. The Germanes ſay, that this was a biſhop: who dwellyng betwene Colene and Mentz, in tyme of famine & darth, hauing ſtore of corne and graine, would not help the pouertie, crying to hym for releue, but rather wyſhed hys corne be eaten of myſe and rattes. Wherfore beyng cōpaſſed with myſe & rattes (by the iuſt iudgemēt of God) to auoyde the enoyannce of them, he buylded a tower in mydeſt of the riuer of Reyne (whiche yet to this day, the Duchemē cal rattes tower) but al that would not helpe: for the rattes and myſe ſwam ouer to hym in as greate aboundance, as they dyd before. Of whom at length he was deuoured.

¶ William Rufus.

88.

iam s.

WIlliā Rufus ẏ ſecond ſonne of Williā conquerour begā hys reigne an. 1088. And reigned xiij. yeres, being crowned at Weſtminſter by Lancfrancus, who after his coronatiō releaſed out of priſon, by the requeſt of his father: diuers of the Engliſh Lordes, whiche before had ben in cuſtody. It chaunced, ẏ at the death of Williā cōquerour, Robert Courtſey his eldeſt ſōne was abſent in Almanye. Who hearyng of the death of his father: and how William his yonger brother had taken vpon hym ẏ kingdome: was therewith greatly amoued, in ſomuch that he laid his dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Hēry: and with that good, gathered vnto hym an armey, & ſo landed at Hampton, to thentent to haue expulſed hys brother from the kyngdome. But William Rufus hearyng therof, ſent to hym fayre and gentle wordes, promiſing hym dedition and ſubiection as to the more worthy, and elder brother: this thyng onely requiryng, that ſeyng he was now in place & poſſeſſion, he might enioy it during his life: paing to him yearely iij. thouſād markes with condition, that which of them ouerlyued the other, ſhould enioy the kyngdome. The occaſiō of this variāce betwen theſe brethren, wrought a great diſſention emōg the Normande Lordes and biſhops both in Englād and in Normandy. In ſomuch that all ẏ Normand biſhops within the realme almoſt rebelled agaynſt the kyng (taking part with duke Robert) except only Lancfrancus, and Wolſtane biſhop of Worceter, aboue mētioned, an Engliſh man. Who for his vertue and conſtācie was ſo well liked and fauoured of his citezins: that (enboldened with his preſence & prayer) he ſtoutly maintened the citie of Worceter agaynſt the ſiege of their enemies, and at laſt vāquiſhed them with vtter ruine. But duke Robert at length by thaduiſe of his counſaile (hearing ẏ wordes ſent vnto hym and waggyng his head therat, as one cōceauing ſome matter of doubt or doublenes) was yet cōtent to aſſent to all that was deſired, & ſo returned ſhortly after into Normandy: leauyng the biſhops and ſuch other, in the bryars, whiche were in England takyng hys part agaynſt the kyng.

Wolſtane byſhop of Worcetor.

This Rufus was ſo ill liked of the Normās, that betwen him and his Lordes was oft diſſention. Wherfore (wel nere) all the Normans tooke part agaynſt hym: ſo that he was forced of neceſſitie to drawe to hym he Engliſh men. Agayne ſo couetous he was, and ſo immeſurable in hys taſkes and takynges: in ſellyng benefices: abbays, and byſhopriks: that he was hated of all Engliſhmen.

1091.

The death of Lancfrancus archbiſhop of Canterburye.

In the thirde yeare of this kyng, dyed Lancfrancus archbiſhop of Cant. from whoſe commendations & worthynes as I liſt not to detract any thyng (beyng ſo greatly magnified of Polidorus his countreyman) ſo neither do I ſee any great cauſe why, to adde any thyng therunto. This I thinke, vnles that man had brought with him leſſe ſuperſtitiō, & more ſincere, ſcience into Chriſtes churche: he might haue kept him in his countrey ſtil, and haue confuted Berengarius at home. After the deceaſe of Lancfranke, the ſea of Cant. ſtood emptie iiij. yeares.

Remigius biſhop of Lincolne.

Lincolne mynſter builded.

Stow abbey builded.

After the councel of Lancfrācus, aboue mentioned, wherin was concluded, for tranſlatyng of biſhops ſeas, from villages into head cities: Remigius biſhop of Dorcheſter, who (as ye hard, accompanied Lācfrancus vnto Rome) remoued his biſhops ſea from Dorcheſter, vnto Lincolne: where he builded the mynſter there ſituate vpon an hill within the ſayd citie of Lincolne. The dedication of which churche, Robert archbiſhop of Yorke did reſiſte, ſaying that it was builded within the ground of his precincte. But after, it had his Romiſh dedication by Robert Blocet, next biſhop that folowed. By ẏ ſame Remigius alſo was founded the cloyſter or monaſtery of Stow. &c.

1092.

Wynchecome ſtyple brent with lightning.

Vi hundreth houſes blowē downe with winde.

The roofe of Bow church ouerthrowen.

In the iiij. yeare of this kyng. great tēpeſt fell in ſondry places of England ſpecially at Wynchecome: wher the ſteple was burned with lyghtnyng: the churche wall braſt through: the head and right legge of the crucifixe, with the image of our Lady, on the right ſide of the crucifixe thrown downe: and ſuch a ſtēche left in the church, that none might abyde it. At London the force of the wether & tempeſt ouerturned vi. hundreth houſes. In which tempeſt the roofe of Bow church was whurled vp in the winde, and by the vehemence therof was pitched downe a great depenes into the ground.

Kyng

Robert Bleuet payd .v. thouſand markes for his biſhoprike.

Kyng William (as ye hard an exceedyng piller or rauener rather of churche goodes) after he had geuen the biſhoprike of Lincolne to his chauncelor Robert Bleuet (aboue mynded) began to cauill: auouchyng the ſee of Lincolne to belong to the ſee of Yorke: till the biſhop of Lincolne had pleſed him with a greate ſumme of mony, of v. thouſand markes. &c.

Herbert Loſinga, biſhop of Norwige.

Loſinga. i. adulator.

Norwyge minſter builded by Herbert.

And as nothyng could come in thoſe dayes, without money from the king: ſo Herbert Loſinga paying to the kyng a piece of money, was made biſhop of Thetforde as he had payd a little before to bee Abbot of Rameſey. Who likewyſe the ſame tyme, remouyng his ſee from Thetford, to the citie of Norwige: there erected ẏ cathedrall church with the cloiſter in ẏ ſayd citie of Norwige: where he furniſhed the Monkes with ſufficient liuyng & rentes of his owne charges, beſydes the biſhops landes. Afterward repenting of his opē and manifeſt ſymonie, he went to Rome: where he reſigned vnto ẏ popes hands his biſhopricke: but ſo, that incontinent he receiued it agayne. This Herbert, was the ſonne of an abbot called Robert, for whom he purchaſed of the king to be biſhop of Wincheſter, wherof runneth theſe verſes.

Filius eſt præſul, pater Abba, Simon vterq;,
Quid non ſperemus ſi nummos poſsideamus:
Omnia nummus habet quod vult facit addit & aufert
Res nimis iniuſta, nummus fit præſul & Abba. &c.

Ye heard a little before of the death of pope Hildebrand: after the time of which Hildebrād, the Germaine Emperours began to loſe their autoritie and ryght in ẏ popes election, and in geuyng of benefices. For next after this Hilbebrand, came Pope Victor by the ſettyng vp of Matilda, and the duke of Normandes, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewiſe ſhewed him ſelf ſtoute againſt themperour. But God gaue ẏ ſhrewd Cow ſhort hornes: For Victor beyng poyſoned (as ſome ſay in his chalice) ſate but one yeare & a halfe. Notwithſtandyng the ſame imitation and example of Hildebrād continued ſtill in them that followed after. And lyke as the kynges of Iſrael followed moſt part the ſteps of Ieroboam, tyll the tyme of their deſolation: ſo for the greateſt ſort all popes followed the ſteps and procedyngs of this Hildebrand their ſpirituall Ieroboam: in maintaitainyng falſe worſhip, and chiefly in vpholdyng the dignitie of that ſee, againſt all rightfull autoritie, and the lawfull kyngdome of Syon. In the tyme of this Victor, began the order of ẏ Monkes of Charter houſe, through the meanes of one Hugo biſhop of Gracionople, and of Bruno biſhop of Colen.

Pope Victor the .iii.

Pope Victor poyſoned in hys chalice.

A compariſon betwene Hildebrand pope of Rome: And Ieroboam king of Iſraell.

The order of Charter mōkes begaune.

Pope Vrbanus the .ii.

Two Popes in Rome.

The order of Ciſtercian or whyte monks begaune.

Next to Victor ſate Vrbanus the .ij. by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, and alſo new decrees enacted againſt Henricus the Emperour. In this tyme were .ij. popes at Rome. Vrbanus and Clemens .iij. whō the emperour ſet vp. Vnder pope Vrbane, came in the whyte monkes of Ciſterciane order, by one Stephē Harding a monke of Sherborne (an Engliſh man) by whom this order had his beginnyng in the wildernes of Ciſtercye, within the prouince of Burgoyne as witneſſeth Ceſtrenſis. Other wryte that this Harding was the ſecond abbot of that place, and that it was firſt founded by the meanes of one Robert abbot of Moliſme in Ciſterciū, a Foreſt in Burgundy. an. 1098. (perſuaded perchance by Harding) and afterward in the yeare of our Lorde 1135. it was brought into Englande by a certayne man called Eſpek, which builded an abbay of the ſame order called Merinale. In this order the monkes did lyue by ẏ labour of their hands. They paid no tythes nor offrings. They weare no furre nor linyng. They waare red ſhoes their coules white, and coate blacke, all ſhorne ſaue a litle circle. They eate no fleſhe but onely in their iourney. Of this order was Bernardus. &c.

Synodus Romana vel placentina.

This Vrbanus held dyuers councels: one at Rome, where he excommunicated all ſuch lay perſons, as gaue inueſtiture of any eccleſiaſtical benefice. Alſo all ſuch of ẏ clergy as abiected themſelues to be vnderlinges or ſerſeruauntes to lay perſons for eccleſiaſtical benefices. &c.

Syno Clar tana.

An other councel he helde at Claromount in Frāce. Where among other thynges the biſhop made an Oration to the Lords beyng there preſent, concerning the viage and recouery of the holyland, from the Turkes and Saraſins. The cauſe of which viage, firſt ſprang by one Peter a monke or heremite: who beyng in Ieruſalem, & ſeyng ẏ great miſery of ẏ chriſtians vnder ẏ Paganes, made therof declaration to pope Vrbane, & was therin a great ſollicitor to al chriſtiā princes. By reaſon wherof, after the foreſayd Oration of Pope Vrbane, 30000 mē (takyng on thē the ſigne of the croſſe for their cogniſāce) made preparation for that vyage: whoſe captaines wer Godfrey duke of Lorayne with his two brethren, Euſtace, and Baldwyne: the biſhop of Podye: Bohemunde duke of Puell, and his nephew Tancredus: Raymunde erle of ſ. Egidius: Robert Earle of Flaunders, & Hugh Legraund, brother of Phillip ẏ French king. To whō alſo was ioyned Robert Courthoyſe duke of Normādie with diuers other noble men, with ẏ foreſayd Peter the Heremite, who was chiefe cauſer of that viage.

The vi vnto the holy la

The nu ber tha went.

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At that tyme, many of the ſaid noble men layd their landes and Lordſhips to morgage, for to prouide for the forenamed viage: as Godfrey duke of Lorayn, who ſold the dukedome of Boloine to the biſhop of Eburone for a great ſumme of money. Alſo Robert Curthoyſe Duke of Normandye layde hys Dukedome to pledge to hys brother William kyng of England for ten thouſande poundes. &c.

1096

Thus the Chriſtians which paſſed fyrſt ouer Boſphorus: hauyng to their captaine Peter the Heremite (a man perchaunce more deuout then experte to guide an army) beyng trapped of their enemies, were ſlayne and murthered in great number among the Bulgares, and nere to the towne called Ciuitus.

The of the ſtians their to w Hieru

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Conſtantinople (where Alexius was Emperour) paſſyng ouer by Helleſpontus goyng to Ieruſalem, thei toke the cities Nicea, Eraclea, Tarſis, and ſubdued the country of Cicilia, appointyng the poſſeſſion thereof to certaine of their captaynes.

Antio take chriſti

109

Antioche was beſieged, & in the .ix. moneth of ẏ ſiege it was yelded to ẏ chriſtiās by one Pyrrhus: about which ſeaſon were fought many ſtrong battailes to the great ſlaughter & deſolation of the Saraſēs, & not wᵗout loſſe of many chriſtian men. The gouernaunce of this citye was committed to Boamunde duke of Puell, whoſe martiall knighthoode was often proued in tyme of the ſiege therof.

The ter of Perſia fidels

And not long after Corbona, maiſter of the Perſiās chiualry was vanquiſhed and ſlayne, with an hundreth thouſand infidels. In whiche diſcomfiture were taken 15000. camels.

Hieru conqu by the chriſti

Ex H ric. L

Ieruſalem the 39. day of the ſiege was conquered by the chriſtians. Robert duke of Normandy was electe to be kyng therof. But he refuſed, hearyng of ẏ death of king William of England: wherfore he neuer ſped in all his affayres well after the ſame. Then Godfrey captaine of the chriſtian army was proclaimed the firſt kyng of Ieruſalem. At the takyng of the city was ſuche murder of men, ẏ bloud was congeled in the ſtreate the thicknes of a foote: Then after Godfrey raygned Baldwyne his brother. After him Baldwyne the ſeconde nephew. Then Gaufridus duke of Gaunt, and after hym Gaufridus his ſonne: by whome manye great battailes there, were fought againſt the Saraſens, and al the coūtrey therabout ſubdued ſaue Aſcalon, &c. And thus much hetherto touching the viage to the holy lād. Now to our owne land agayne.

About this tyme (as Matheus pariſienſis wryteth) the king of England fauoured not much ỹ ſee of Rome, becauſe of their impudent & vnſatiable exactions, which they required: neither would he ſuffer any of his ſubiects to go to Rome, alleaging theſe wordes, in the autor thus expreſſed: Quòd Petri non inhærent veſtigiis, præmiis inhiantes, nec eius poteſtatem retinent, cuius ſanctitatem probantur non imitari: that is, becauſe they follow not ỹ ſteps of Peter, hunting for rewardes, neyther haue they the power and autoritie of him, whoſe holines they declare themſelues not to follow, &c.

By the ſame Urbanus: the ſeuen howres, which we call ſeptem horas canonicas, were fyrſte inſtitute in the churche.

Item, by this Pope was decreed, no byſhop to bee made, but vnder the name and tytle of ſome certayne place.

Item, that mattens and howres of the day, ſhoulde euery day be ſaid.

Alſo euery Satterday, to be ſaid the maſſe of our Lady: and all the Jewes Sabboth to be turned to ỹ ſeruice of our Lady, as in ỹ councel of Turon, to the which ſeruice was apointed the Antheme, Ora pro populo, interueni pro clero, intercede pro deuoto fœmineo ſexu.

Item, all ſuch of the clergy as had wyues to be depriued of their order.

Item, to be lawfull for ſubiects to breake their othe of allegeaunce, with all ſuch as were by the pope excommunicate.

Item, not to be lawfull both for huſband and wyfe to chriſten one chylde both together, with matters manye moe.

By ỹ ſaid pope, thus many chapters ſtand writtẽ in ỹ canon law. Diſt. 7. Sanctorũ, diſt. 31. Eos qui. 1. q. 1. Si qui diſt. 56. præſbyterorum, 11. q. 3. quibus. 15. q. 6. Iuratos, 16. q 7. congregatio. 19. q. 2. Statuimus, 23. q. 8. Tributum, 30. q. 4. quod autem. &c.

In the vi. yeare of this kynges raigne: Malcolyne kyng of Scottes (which foure tymes before had made great ſlaughter of olde and yong in the North partes, as is before ſhewed) brake into Northumberland wyth all the power he could make: and there by the righte iudgement of God was ſlayne with his ſonne Edward, & alſo Margaret his wife ſiſter to Edgar Adeling, aboue minded, a vertuous & deuout Lady, within .iij. dayes after.

The ſame yere he gaue ỹ archbiſhopricke of Canterburye (after that he had deteyned the ſame in hys owne handes iiij. yeares) to Anſelmus Abbot of Becke in Normandye.

This Anſelmus was an Italian in the citie of Auguſta borne, and brought vp in the abbey of Becke in Normãdy: where, he was ſo ſtraite a follower of vertue, that (as the ſtory recordeth) he wyſhed rather to be without ſinne in hell, then in heauen with ſynne. Which ſaying & wiſh of his (if it were his) may ſeme to procede out of a mynd neither ſpeaking orderlye according after the phraſe & vnderſtandyng of the ſcripture, nor yet ſufficientlye acquaynted with the iuſtification of a chriſten man. Further they report hym to be ſo farre frõ ſingularitie: that he ſhould ſay it was the vice, which thruſt the aungels fyrſt out of heauen, and man out of paradiſe.

Of this Anſelme it is moreouer reported, that he was ſo il willing to take the archbiſhoprike: that the king had much a do to thruſt it vpon him: and was ſo deſyrous to haue hym take it, that the city of Canterbury (which before Lancfrancus did hold but at the kyngs good wyll and pleaſure) he gaue now to Anſelme wholy: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1093. But as deſyrous as the kyng was then to place the ſayd Anſelme: ſo muche did he repent it afterward, ſeekyng all maner of meane to defete hym if he might: Such ſtryfe and contention roſe betwene them two for certayne matters, the groũd and occaſion whereof fyrſt was this.

After that Anſelmus had been thus elected to the ſee of Cant. before he was fully conſecrate, the kyng commoned wͭ hym (aſſaying by all gentle maner of wordes to intreat hym) that ſuche landes and poſſeſſions of the church of Cant. as the kyng had geuen and graunted to his frends ſince ỹ death of Lancfrancus: they might ſtill inioye ỹ ſame, as their owne lawfull poſſeſſion, through his graunt & permiſſion. But to this, Anſelme in no caſe would agree. Wherupon ỹ king conceiuing greate diſpleaſure agaynſt him, did ſtop hys conſecration a great ſeaſon: tyll at length in long proceſſe of time, the kyng enforced by the daily complaintes and deſyres of hys people and ſubiectes, for lacke of an archbiſhop to moderate the church, was conſtrained to admit and autoriſe him vnto them. Thus Anſelme with much adoo takyng his conſecration, and doyng hys homage to the kyng, went to hys ſee of Cant. And not long after the kyng ſayled ouer to Normandy.

Anſelme ſtopped from hys conſecration.

Anſelme conſecrated.

Anſelme doth homage to king William.

About this tyme there were two ſtriuing in Rome for the popedome, as is afore touched: Urbanus & Guibertus. Diuers realmes diuerſly cõſẽting ſome to ỹ one, ſome to the other. England takyng part with their kyng was rather inclined to Guibertꝰ, called Clemens ỹ iij. but Anſelmus dyd fully go wyth Urbanus, makyng ſo hys exception with the kyng, entryng to hys biſhoprike. After the kyng was returned agayne from Normandy, the archbiſhop commeth to hym, and aſketh leaue to goe to Rome, to fet his palle of pope Urbane: which when he coulde not at the fyrſt obtayne, he maketh hys appeale from the kyng, to the pope. Whereat the kyng beyng iuſtly diſpleaſed, chargeth the archbiſhop wyth breache of hys fealtie, contrarye to hys promiſe made, that is: if he, wͭout hys licence, would appeale eyther to Urbane or to any other Pope: Anſelme aunſwereth agayne: that was to be referred to ſome greater councel, where it is to be diſputed: whether this be to breake a mans alleageance to a terrene prince, if he appeale to the vicare of S. Peter. And here, much arguyng and contendyng was on both ſydes. The kynges reaſon proceeded thus: The cuſtome (ſayth he) from my fathers tyme hath bene in England, that no perſon ſhould appeale to the Pope without the kings lycence. He that breaketh ỹ cuſtomes of the realme, violateth the power and crowne of ỹ kingdome. He that violateth and taketh away my crowne, is a traitour and enemye againſt me. &c. To this Anſelme replyeth agayne: The Lorde (ſayth he) eaſely diſcuſſeth this queſtion, briefly teaching what fidelitie and alleageance we ought to geue to the vicare of S. Peter, wher he ſaith: thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke wil I build my church, &c. And to thee I will geue the keyes of the kyngdom of heauen, and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bynd in earth, it ſhalbe bound in heauen: and what ſoeuer thou looſeſt in earth, ſhal be looſed in heauen, &c. Agayn to thẽ all in generall he ſayth: he that heareth you, heareth me: and who deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. And in an other place, he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of myne eye. On the other ſyde, what duety we owe to the kyng, he ſheweth alſo: Geue (ſaith he) to the emperour, what belongeth to the emperour, and to God, geue that to god belongeth. Wherfore in ſuch thinges as belong to God, I will yelde and muſt yeld by good right and dutie, my obedience to the vicare of S. Peter: and in ſuch thynges as belong agayne to the terrene dignitie of my prince, in thoſe I wyll not deny to hym my faithful help and counſel, ſo far as they can extend.

Vrbanus and Clemens ſtriuing for the papacye.

England fauored Clemens.

Anſelmus holdeth with Vrbanus.

Anſelme deayed leaue to goe to Rome.

Anſelme appealeth from the kyng to the Pope.

Anſelme charged for a traytour.

The kings argumẽt agaynſt Anſelme.

The cuſtome of England, from William Conquerours tyme not to appeale to the pope.

Anſelmes reply agaynſt the king.

The reaſons of Anſelme to proue the popes authoritie aboue other kings.

Anſelme heere ignorantlye calleth the pope the vicare of Saint Peter, where the canon lawe calleth him but the ſucceſſour of Peter, and vicar of Chriſt.

Thus haue ye the grounded argumentes of this prelate, to ſtand ſo ſtyfly againſt his prince: wherunto peraduenture was ioyned alſo ſome peece of a ſtubburne hart. But in this concluſion, none of his fellowe biſhops durſt take his part, but were all againſt him: namelye Williã biſhop of Dureſme, To whõ Anſelme thus proteſteth ſaying: who ſoeuer he were, ỹ would preſume to

All the biſhops of the realme ſtoode of the kinges ſyde agaynſt Anſelmus.

proue it any breach of allegiance of fealty to his ſoueraigne,if he appealed to the vicar of ſ.Peter,he was ready to anſwer at all times to the contrary: the biſhop of Dureſme anſwering agayne,that he which woulde not be ruled by reaſon,muſt with force be conſtrayned.&c.

Williā biſhop of Dureſme.

The king hauing on his part the agrement of the Byſhops,thought to depriue the archbiſhop both of his paſtorall ſee,and to expell him out of the realme. But he could not performe his purpoſe:for Anſelme, as he was ready to depart the realme: he ſayde, whenſoeuer he went he would take his office and authority with him, though he tooke nothing els. Whereupon,that matter was deferred tyll a longer tyme.

Gaulterus the popes legate commeth to England.

In the means ſeaſon the king had ſent priuelye two meſſengers to pope Urbane,to intreate him to ſende hys palle to the king, for him to geue it where he would. Which meſſengers,by this time were returned again,bringing with them frō Rome: Gualter Biſhop of Albane the Popes Legate, with the palle to be geuen to Anſelme. This Legat firſt landing at Douer,from thence came priuely (vnknowing to Anſelme) to the king: declaring and promiſing, that if Urbane was receaued pope in England, whatſoeuer yͤ king required to be obtayned,he by his priuilege from the apoſtolicall ſee would ratifie and confirme the ſame:ſaue onely,that when the king required of the Legate that Anſelme might be remoued,the Legate therunto would not agree,ſaying:that was vnpoſſible to be obtayned,that ſuch a man as he,being lawfully called, ſhould be expelled without manifeſt cauſe.

Anſelme could not be remoued by the king.

The pope taketh thys no fault,for a ſubiect to repugne agaynſt hys kyng.

In concluſion ſo it folowed,that although he could not obtaine his requeſt of the Legate,yet the Legate wrought ſo wyth the king,that Urbane was proclaimed lawfull Pope through all the realme.

Then were ſent to Anſelmus certaine Biſhops, to moue and proue his mind:declaring what charges and paines the king had bene at in his behalf,to procure the palle for him from Rome,which otherwiſe would haue ſtood him in great expences: and yͭ all this,the king had done for his ſake. Wherfore it were good reaſon & conuenient that he (to grateſy the king) ſhould ſomething condeſcend to his requeſt agayne. But with all this, Anſelme the ſtout archbiſhop would not be moued. Wherfore the king ſeing none other remedye: was compelled to graunt vnto him the full right of his archbiſhoprick.

The ſtoutnes of Anſelme ſtāding againſt his kyng.

The maner of bringing in Anſelmes palle into Cant.

And ſo the day apointed whē the pall ſhould be brought to Canterburye (beyng caried with all ſolemnitye in a thing of ſiluer) the archbiſhop with a great concourſe of people,came forth barefote, with his prieſtlye veſtmentes,after a moſt goodly maner,to mete the ſame. And ſo being brought in, was layde vppon the aulter, whileſt Anſelme (ſpreading ouer hys ſhoulders hys popiſh veſtmentes) proceeded vnto his popiſh maſſe.

An other quarell of the king agaynſt Anſelme.

Thus agrement being made betwene the kyng and the biſhop,ſo long as it would hold:it happened the yere following,the king with his armye entred into Wales to ſubdue ſuche as there rebelled againſt him. After the victory gotten, the king returned home agayne wyth triumphe. To whom Anſelme thought to haue come, to congratulate his proſperous ſucceſſe. But the king preuented him by meſſengers:laying to the biſhops charge both the ſmall number, and euill ſeruice of his ſoldiours ſent to him at his neede. At the hearing hereof,all the hope of Anſelme was daſht:who at the ſame preſent had thought to haue obtayned and done manye great matters with the king,touching the ſtate of the church. But here,all turned contrarye to his expectation. In ſo much that he was charged againſt the next court of parlament,to make his anſwer. But he auoyded that by appealing to Rome.

Anſelme again appealeth to Rome.

The kin answere Anſelme for hys pealing Rome,

Wherfore he made his ſute & friendes to the king for liſence to go to the Pope. Unto the which ſute the king anſwered agayne,that he ſhoulde not go, neyther was there any cauſe for him ſo to doo: for that both he knew him to be of ſo ſound a life, yͭ he had done no ſuch offence whereof he neded to craue abſolution at Rome:neither was there in him any ſuch lack of ſcience and knowledge,that he needed to borowe anye counſel there. In ſo much (ſayth the king) that I dare ſay, Pope Urbane, rather hath to geue place to the wyſedome of Anſelme,then Anſelme to haue neede of Urbane. Wherfore as he hath no cauſe to go,ſo I charge him to tarye. And if he continue in this his ſtubbernnes ſtyl,I wil aſſuredly ſeaſon vpon his poſſeſſions,and cōuert his archbiſhoprick vnto my cofers:for that he tranſgreſſeth and breaketh his fidelitie and obeiſance,promiſing before to obſerue all the cuſtomes of my kingdome.

The cu of Eng no prel or noble man to to Rome withou the king ſending,

Neyther is it the faſhion in thys realme, that anye of my Nobles ſhould go to Rome,without my ſending. And therfore, let him ſweare vnto me,that he ſhall neuer for any greuance,appeale hereafter to the ſee of Rome, or els let him voyde my realme.

Agaynſt theſe wordes of the king,Anſelme thinking not beſt to reply agayne by any meſſage,but by word of mouth:comming hymſelfe perſonally to the king,placeth him ſelfe (after his order) on the right hande of the prince:where he made his replye vnto the meſſage ſent to him by the kyng.

The an of An to the

Whereas ye ſay,I ought not to go to Rome,either for lacke of any treſpas,or for aboūdaunce of counſayle & knowledge in me (albeit I graūt to neither of thē as true) yet what the truth is therin, I referre it to the iudgement of God. And where as ye ſay that I promiſed to keepe and obſerue your cuſtomes: that I graunt, but with a condicion: ſo farre to keepe them,and ſuche of them to obſerue, as were conſonant to the lawes of God,and ruled wͭ right & equitie. Moreouer, where as ye charge me with breach of my fidelitie and allegiance:for that contrary to your cuſtomes, I appeale to the ſea Apoſtolike (my reuerence and dutye to your ſoueraygntie reſerued) if an other would ſay it, that is vntrue. For the fidelitie & obeyſance that I owe to thee (O king) I haue it of the fayth & fidelitie of God, whoſe Uicar S.Peter is:to whoſe ſeate I doo appeale.

Note hye re of A

Farther,whereas ye require me to ſweare,that I ſhall for no cauſe hereafter at any tyme appeale to Rome: I pronounce opēly,that a Chriſtian prince requireth ſuch an othe of his archbiſhop vniuſtly. For if I ſhoulde forſweare S.Peter,I ſhoulde denye Chriſt. And when I ſhall at any tyme denye Chriſt, then ſhall I be content and ready to ſtand to my ſatiſfaction of my tranſgreſſion to you,for aſking liſence to go to Rome. And peraduenture when I am gone,the goodes of the church ſhall not ſo ſerue your temporall deſires and commodities, as ye wene for. At theſe wordes of the biſhop, the kyng & his nobles wer not a litle incenſed:defending againe, that in obſeruing the kinges cuſtomes, there was neyther condicion nor anye clauſe put in, either of God or right. No was,ſaid Anſelme? If ſo be that in your cuſtomes was neyther mēcion made of God nor of right, whereof was there mencion then? For God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould be bound to any cuſtomes, which go contrary to God and to right ? Thus on both ſydes paſſed muche altercation betwene them. At length,the king after many threatning wordes,told him he ſhould cary nothing out of the realme with him. Well ſayde the biſhop, if I maye neyther haue my horſe, nor garmentes with me,then wyll I walke on foote.

The b ſhop Anſelm lone,

And ſo adreſſed him towarde his iourney (all the other Biſhops forſaking him) whereof none would take his part: but if he came to them for their counſayle, they ſayde he was wyſe inough,and neded not their counſayle,as who for his prudence knew beſt what was to be don,as alſo for his holynes was willing and able to proſecute the ſame that he did knowe. As for them,they neyther durſt nor would ſtand agaynſt their king their Lord: whoſe fauour they could not lacke,for the peryll that might happen both to themſelues, and to their kinred. But for him becauſe hee was both a ſtraunger, and voyde of ſuche worldly corruption in him: they willed hym to go forward as he had begone, their ſecrete conſent he ſhoulde haue, but their open voyce they woulde not geue hym. Thus Anſelmus remaining at Douer. xv. daies tarieng for the wynde: at laſt ſped him toward his paſſage. But his packing being ſecretely knowen in the courte: the kinges officer (William Warlwaſt) preuented hys purpoſe: ſearching by the kinges commaundement all hys truſſes, coffers, ſatchels, ſleeues, purſſe, napkin and boſome for letters, and for money, & ſo let him paſſe. Who ſayling into Fraunce, firſt reſted awhyle at Lyons, frõ thence came to Rome to cõplaine to Pope Vrbane, according to the tenor and forme of a certayne epiſtle of his, wherin among many other thinges in the ſame epiſtle conteyned: theſe wordes, he writeth to pope Paſchalis, the third yeare after hys baniſhment, after the death of Vrbane, and a litle before the death of the kyng.

nſelme ying out Engläd.

nſelme arched by e kings fficer for tters.

¶ *To the Lord and reuerend father Paſchalis, hygh biſhop:*
Anſelme ſeruaunt of the churche of Canterbury offereth
due ſubiection from his hart, and prayers, if they
can ſtand in any ſtede. Ex Epiſt. 36.
Paulo poſt initium.

fragment r portion a letter f Anſelme o pope aſchalis. *Et ex legẽs Anſel- ni, aut. Edmero. Ex epiſtol. Anſel. 36.*

I See in England many euils, whoſe correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor ſuffer without myne owne fault. The kyng deſireth of me, that vnder the name of right I ſhould cõſent to his pleaſures, which were againſt the law and will of God. For he would not haue the pope receaued nor appealed vnto in England, without his commaundement: neither that I ſhould ſend a letter vnto him, or receaue any frõ hym: or that I ſhould obey his decrees. He ſuffered not a cõucel to be kept in his realme, now theſe 13. yeares ſince he was kyng. In all theſe thynges and ſuch lyke, if I aſked any counſaile, all my ſuffragane biſhops of his realme, denyed to geue me any counſaile, but accordyng to the kyngs pleaſure. After that I ſawe thieſe and ſuch other thinges, that are done agaynſt the will and law of God: I aſked licence of him to go Rome, vnto the ſee apoſtolicall, that I might there take counſaile for my ſoule, and thoffice committed to me. The kyng ſayd, that I offended agaynſt hym for the onely aſking of licence: And propounded to me, that either I ſhould make him amendes for yͤ ſame as a treſpas (aſſuryng him neuer to aſke this licence any more nor to appeale to the pope at any tyme hereafter) or els that I ſhould quickly depart out of hys land. Wherfore choſing rather to go out of the land, thẽ to agree to ſo wicked a thyng: I came to Rome, as ye know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord pope. The king by and by (as ſone, as I went out of Englãd) inuaded the whole archbiſhoprike, and turned it to hys owne vſe: taxing yͤ mõkes onely with bare meat, drinke, and clothe. The kyng beyng warned and deſired of the Lord pope to amende this, he contemned the ſame: and yet continueth in his purpoſe ſtill. And now is the thyrd yeare ſince I came thus out of England, & more. Some men not vnderſtãdyng, demaunde why I do not excommunicate the kyng. But the wiſer ſorte, & ſuch as haue vnderſtandyng counſaile me, that I do not this thyng: becauſe it belongeth not to me both to complayne, and to puniſhe. To conclude, I was forewarned by my frendes that are vnder the kyng, that my excommunication (if it ſhould be done) would be laughed to ſcorne and deſpiſed. &c.

he king ould not aue the ope receaued, not ap ealed vnto n Engläd. nſelm cõ- layneth of he king & f his ſuffra ane bi- hops.

he king õtemneth he popes arning.

By theſe here aboue prefixed, appeareth how Anſelme the archbiſhop comming to Rome, made his complaynt to pope Vrbane of the kyng: and how the pope wrytyng to the kyng in the behalfe of Anſelme: his letters & commaundementes were deſpiſed. And now to our ſtory. In the meane tyme while the popes letters were ſent to the king, Anſelme was byd to wayt about the pope to looke for aunſwere backe. Who perceauyng (at length) how litle the king reputed the popes letters, began to be wery of his office: deſideryng yͤ pope, that he might be diſcharged therof. But the pope in no caſe would therto cõſent, chargyng him vpon his obedience, that where ſo euer he went, he ſhould beare with him the name and honour of the archb. of Cant. Wherunto, Anſelmus again ſaid: his obedience, he neither durſt nor would refuſe, as who for Gods cauſe was ready to ſuffer, what ſoeuer ſhould happen (yea though it were death it ſelfe) as he thought no leſſe woulde followe therof. But what ſhuld we thinke (ſayth he) is there to be done, where not onely iuſtice taketh no place, but is vtterly oppreſſed: and where as my ſuffraganes not onely do not helpe (for drede) the ryghtous cauſe: but alſo for fauour do impugne yͤ ſame. Well ſayth the pope, as touchyng theſe matters, we ſhall ſufficiently prouide for at the next councel at Baron: where as I will you the ſame tyme and place to be preſent.

Concilium Baronenſe. Anſelme & his ſucceſſours of Cant. placed at the right foote of the pope in generall councels.

When the tyme of the councel was come, Anſelme among other was called for. Who firſt ſitting in an vtter ſide of the biſhops, afterwarde was placed at yͤ right foote of the pope, with theſe wordes: Includamus hunc in orbe noſtro tanq̃ alterius orbis papam. Wherupon, the ſame place after hym was appointed to the ſucceſſors of the ſee of Cant. (in euery generall councel by the decree of Vrbane) to ſit at the right foote of yͤ pope. In this cõucel, great ſturre and much reaſonyng there was againſt the Grecians, concernyng the maner and order of procedyng of the holy Ghoſt. Where is to be noted, that the Greke church, hath of long tyme diſſented frõ the Latin churche in many and ſõdry pointes, to the nomber of xx. or almoſt of xxix. articles, as I haue them collected out of the regiſtrie of the church of Hereford. Wherof, lyke as occaſion hereafter may ſerue (God willyng) for a further & more ample tractation to be made: ſo here by the way partly I minde to touch ſome. The firſt is.

De proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti.

The difference betwene the Greeke church & the Latine.

¶ *Wherin the Greke church differreth from the Latine.*

Ex Regiſtro Eccleſ. Herefordenſis.

The firſt article wherin the Greke church altereth frõ the Latine or Romiſh church is this, quòd ſunt extra obedientiam Romanæ eccleſiæ, pro eo quòd eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana non eſt ſubiecta, ſed ei æqualis.

1. The articles & opinions of the Greke church diſſenting from the Latine church of Rome.

Dicunt Dominum Apoſtolicum non habere maiorem poteſtatem, q̃ iiij. Patriarchæ. Et quicquid fit præter ſcientiam eorum per papam, vel ſine eorum approbatione, nullius eſt valoris. &c. In Engliſh. Firſt they are not vnder the obediẽce of the church of Rome, becauſe that the churche of Conſtantinople is not ſubiect, but equall to the ſame.

2. They hold yͤ the biſhop of the Apoſtolike ſee of Rome, hath no greater power then the iiij. Patriarches. And what ſoeuer the Pope doth beſide their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no valor.

3. Item they ſay, what ſo euer hath been done or concluded ſince the ſecond generall councel, is of no full autoritie, becauſe frõ that tyme they recounte the Latines to be in error, and to be excluded out of the holy church.

4. Item Dicunt euchariſtiam conſecratam per Romanã eccleſiam non eſſe verum corpus Chriſti. i. They holde the Euchariſt conſecrated by the churche of Rome, not to be the very body of Chriſt. Alſo where yͤ Romiſh churche doth conſecrate in vnleauened bread, they conſecrate in bread leauened.

5. Item they ſay, that the Romiſh churche doth erre in the wordes of Baptiſme for ſaying, I baptiſe thee, whẽ they ſhould ſay: let this creature of God be baptiſed. &c.

6. They hold moreouer, to be no Purgatory, nor that the Suffrages of the church do auayle the dead, either to leſſe the paine of them, that be deſtinate to hell, nor to increaſe the glory of them that be ordeined to ſaluation.

7. Item they hold, that the ſoules out of the bodyes departed (whether they haue done good or euill) haue not their perfect payne, nor glory: but are reſerued in a certayne place, till the day of iudgement.

8. Item they condemne the churche of Rome, for mixtyng could water in their ſacrifice.

9. Item they condemne the churche of Rome, for that as well wemen as prieſtes anoynte children (when they baptiſe them) on both ſhoulders.

10. Item dicunt panem noſtrum panagiam, i. They call our bread Panagia.

11. Item they blame the church of Rome, for celebrating their Maſſe on other daies beſide ſondayes, and certaine other feaſts appointed.

12. Alſo in this the Greke churche varieth from the Latine, for they haue neyther chreme, nor oyle, nor ſacrament of confirmation.

13. Neither do they vſe extreme vnction, or anoylyng after ẏ maner of ẏ Romane church, expoundyng the place of S. Iames of the ſpirituall infirmitie, & not corporall.

14. Item they enioyne no ſatiſfaction for penaunce, but only ẏ they ſhew them ſelues to the prieſtes, annoynting them with ſimple oyle in token of remiſſion of ſinnes.

15. Item onely on Maundy thurſday they cõſecrate for the ſicke: kepyng it for the whole yeare after, thinkyng it to be more holy vpon that day conſecrate, then vpõ any other. Neither do they faſt any ſaterday through the whole yeare, but onely on Eaſter euen.

16. Itẽ they geue but onely 5. orders: as of clerkes, ſubdeacons, deacons, prieſtes, and biſhops, when as the Romaine church geueth ix. orders after the ix. orders of Aungels.

17. Moreouer, the Grecians in their orders make no vowe of chaſtitie, alledgyng for them the 5. canon of N. *Ego præsbyter vel Diaconus vxorem cauſa honeſtatis non reijciam, &c. i. I. N. prieſt or deacon will not forſake my wife for honeſty ſake.

*My copy here ſemed to want ſomwhat.

18. Item, euery yeare the Grecians, vſe vpon certayne dayes to excõmunicate the churche of Rome, and all the Latines, as heretikes.

19. Item, among the ſayd Grecians they are excommunicated, that beate or ſtrike a prieſt. Neither do their religious mẽ lyue in ſuch prieſtly chaſtitie, as the Romane prieſtes do.

20. Item their Emperour among them, doth ordeine patriarches, biſhops, and other of the clergy, and depoſeth the ſame at his pleaſure, alſo geueth benefices to whom he luſteth, & retaineth the frutes of the ſame benefices, as pleaſeth him.

21. Itẽ, they blame the Latine churche becauſe they eate not fleſh, egges, and cheſe, on friday, and do eate fleſh on saterdayes.

22. Item, they hold agaynſt the Latine men, for celebrating without the conſecrated church, either in the houſe or in the field. And faſtyng on the ſabboth day: And for permittyng mẽſtruous wemen, to enter into the church before their purifyng: Alſo for ſufferyng dogges, and other beſtes, to enter in the churche.

This article ſeemeth not to be rightly collected, out of the Grecians.

23. The Grecians vſe not to knele in all their deuotions, yea not to the body of Chriſt (as the regiſtre termeth it) but one day in the whole yeare: ſaying & affirming, that the Latines be goates and beaſts, for they are allwayes proſtratyng thẽ ſelues vpon the ground in their prayers.

24. The Grecians moreouer permit not the Latines, to celebrate vpon their altars. And if it chaunce any latine prieſt to celebrate vpon their altar, by and by they waſh their altare, in token of abhominatiõ and falſe ſacrifice. And diligently they obſerue, that when ſoeuer they do celebrate, they do but one Liturgy or Maſſe vpon one altare or table, that day.

25. Item, they diſſent from the churche of Rome, touchyng the order and maner, of the procedyng of the holy Ghoſt.

These Articles wherein is declared the difference betwene the Eaſt and Weſt churche, of the Grecians and Romanes, as I foũd them articulate and collected in an auncient and autentical Regiſtre of the church of Herefordr: ſo I thought here to inſerte them, and leaue them to the conſideration of the reader. Other iiii. articles mo in the ſame regiſtre be there expreſſed, concernyng, ſymonie, vſury not with them forbid, & touching alſo their Emperour, and how they teach their children to hurt or dampnifie by any maner of way the Latine prieſtes. &c. Which articles, for that either they ſeme not truly collected out of their teachynges, or els not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of religion, I ouerpaſſe them. To the purpoſe now of our ſtory agayne.

When certaine of theſe aboue prefixed, were moued in the foreſayd councel to be diſcuſſed, namely concernyng the aſſertion of procedyng of the holy Ghoſt: and concernyng leauened bread in the miniſtration of the the Lordes ſupper. Anſelme, as is aboue ſayd, was called for, who in the tractation of the ſame Articles ſo be ſturred him in that councel, that he wel liked the pope, and them about hym, as myne autor recordeth. Wherupon, touchyng the matter of vnleauened bread how indifferẽtly he ſemed there to reaſon: and what he writeth to Walerane biſhop of Nurenburg therof, ye ſhall heare by a pece of hys letter ſent to the ſayd byſhop, the copy wherof here inſueth.

Anſelm / ſtoute d / pió ag / the Gre / ans.

¶ *Anſelme ſeruaunt to the church of Cant. to Valtram byſhop* of Nurenburgh. Epã. 325. poſt initium.

AS concernyng the ſacrifice in whiche the Grecians think not as we do: it ſemeth to many reaſonable catholike mẽ: that which they do, not to be againſt the chriſtian faythe: for both he that ſacrificeth vnleauened and leauened, ſacrificeth bread. And where it is redde of our Lord (whẽ he made his body of bread) that he toke bread & bleſſed: it is not added vnleauened, or leauened. Yet it „
is certayn ẏ he bleſſed vnleauened bread (peraduenture) „
not becauſe the thyng that was done required that, but „
becauſe ẏ ſupper in which this was done, did geue that. „
And where as in an other place he called himſelf and his „
fleſh bread: becauſe that as many liue temporally wyth „
this bread, ſo with that bread he liueth for euer. He ſaith „
not vnleauened or leuened, becauſe both a like ar bread. „
For vnleaued and leauened differre not in ſubſtaunce as „
ſome thinke: lyke as a new man afore ſynne, and an olde „
rooted man in the leauen of ſynne, differ not in ſubſtãce. „
For this cauſe therfore only, he might be thought to call „
himſelf and his fleſh, bread, and made his body of bread: „
becauſe that this bread (vnleauened or leauened) geueth „
a tranſitory life: & his body, geueth euerlaſtyng lyfe: not „
for ẏ it is eyther leauened or vnleauened. Although it be „
a cõmaũdemẽt in ẏ law, to eate vnleauened bread in the „
paſſeouer, where all thynges are done in a fygure: that „
it myght be declared that Chriſt whom they looked for, „
was pure and cleane: and we that ſhould eate his bodye „
were admoniſhed to be likewiſe pure from all leauen of „
malice and wyckednes. But now after we are come frõ „
the old figure to the new truth, and eate the vnleauened fleſh of Chriſt: ẏ olde figure in bread (of which we make that fleſh) is not neceſſary for vs. But manifeſt it is, to be better ſacrificed of vnleauened then of leauened, &c.

A lette / Anſelme / ſent to W / leram b / Nuren. / burgh, / Ex epiſ / Anſelm

Bread i / the cõ / ion to / vnleuen / is not ne / ceſſary.

To this letter I haue alſo adioyned an other epiſtle
of his to the ſayde Walerane, apperteynyng to matters „
not much vnlyke to the ſame effecte: Wherin is entrea- „
ted touchyng the varietie and diuers vſages of the ſacra „
mentes in ẏ church: Wherby ſuch as call & cry ſo much „
for vniformitie in ẏ church, may note peraduenture in ẏ „
ſame ſomethyng for their better vnderſtandyng. „

¶ *A piece of an other letter of Anſelme to the ſayd* Valtram byſhop of Nur.

¶ *To the reuerend father and his frend Valtram by the grace of* God the worſhipfull byſhop of Nurenburge, Anſelme the ſeruaunt of the church of Cant. greetyng, &c.

epiſt. ſel.327 other er.

YOur worſhip cōplaineth of yͤ ſacramēts of yͤ church, yͭ they are not made euery where after one ſorte, but are hādled in diuers places after diuers ſorts. And truely, if they wer miniſtred after one ſort ⁊ agreig through the whole church: it were good ⁊ laudable. Yet notwithſtandyng, because there be many diuerſities which differ not in the ſumme of the ſacrament, in the ſtrength of it, or in the fayth, nor els can be gathered into one cuſtom: I thinke that they are rather to be borne, wyth agremēt in peace, than to be condemned wyth offence. For we haue this frō the holy fathers, that if the vnitie of charitie be kept in yͤ catholique faith, yͤ diuerſitie of cuſtomes hurt nothing. But if it be demaunded whereof theſe diuerſities of cuſtoms do ſpring: I perceiue no other cauſe therof, but the diuerſities of mēs wits. Which although they dyffer not in ſtrēgth and truth of the thing: yet they agree not in the fitnes, and comelines of the miniſtryng. For that which one iudgeth to bee meeter, oftentymes an other thinketh leſſe meete: wherefore not to agree in ſuch diuerſities, I think it not to ſwarue from the truth of the thyng, ⁊c.

erſitie ſages in church, be borne h peace, n to be demned h offēce ers cu-, mes in church t no- ng.

Then in yͤ ſtory it followeth after long debatyng and diſcuſſyng of theſe matters in the councel, whē they had geuen forth their determination vpon the ſame: And the pope had blaſted out hys thundring excommunications againſt the Grecians ⁊ all that toke their parte: at lēgth was brought in, touching the complaintes and accuſation againſt the kyng of England. Vpon yͤ hearyng wherof, pope Vrbane with his adherentes was ready to proceede in excommunication againſt the kyng. But Anſelme kneling before the pope, after he had firſt accuſed hys kyng, then after obtayned for hym longer tyme to be geuen vpon further triall.

cōmuni- ion de unced a- ynſt the ecians.

cōmuni- ion bent ynſt K. lliam. ſt breake head, & n geue m a pla-

Thus the councel breaking vp, the pope returning again to Rome, directeth down his letters to yͤ king: commaunding him yͭ Anſelme wͭ al his partakers (in ſpedie wiſe) ſhuld be reueſted agayn into his archbiſhopricke, ⁊ all other poſſeſſiōs therunto appertayning. To this yͤ K. ſendeth aunſwer agayn by meſſengers: who cōmyng to the archbiſhop, declared in the kynges behalfe on thys wyſe. That the kyng their maiſter dyd not a little meruayle what came in hys mynde, to commaund Anſelme to be reueſted and reſaiſed agayne into hys former archbiſhopricke, ſeyng he told hym before plainly, that yf he went out of England without hys leaue, he would ſo do vnto him. Wel ſaith the pope, haue ye no other matter agaynſt Anſelmus but onely this? No, quod they. And haue ye taken all this trauayle (ſayth the pope) to come hether ſo farre to tell me this, that the primate of your countrey is therfore ſeaſed and diſpoſſeſſed, because he hath appelled the ſee and iudgement apoſtolicall? Therfore if thou loueſt thy Lord, ſpeede the home and tel him, if he wil not be excommoned, that he quickly reueſt Anſelme agayne, to all that he had before. And leſt I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, loke to thy terme: and ſee that thou bring me aunſwer agayne from hym into this citie, againſt the next councel the third weeke after Eaſter. The meſſenger or ſpeaker beyng ſomwhat aſtonied at the hearing of this ſo tragical aunſwer: thinking yet to worke ſomethyng for his kyng and maiſter: came ſecretly to the pope, ſaying that he would conferre a certayne myſtery from hys kyng priuately with his holynes betwene thē two. What miſtery that was: or what there paſſed from the kyng to the pope and the courte of Rome, myne author doth not ſhew. But ſo cunningly yͤ miſtery was handled: that wyth a full conſent bothe of the pope and all the court of Rome, a longer day was geuen (from Eaſter to Michaelmas) and yͤ popes colerike heate ſo aſſwaged: that when the councel came (which then was holden at S. Peters church in Rome) Albeit great complaintes were there denounced agaynſt the kyng: yet ſuch fauour was foūd, that he toke no harme. Onely the ſentence of excommunication was there pronounced againſt ſuche lay perſons as gaue inueſture of churches, ⁊ thē yͭ were ſo inueſted. Alſo againſt thē yͭ do conſecrate ſuch, or whiche geue themſelues in ſubiection to lay men for eccleſiaſticall liuinges, as is before touched, ⁊c.

ſſage wene kyng & pope.

oude ke of nder with- a thun- bolt.

ybing ſterye dled at- me.

cilium manū. timus ſidicus mmus.

Actes of the councel of Rome.

This councel beyng finiſhed, yͤ archb. ſeing yͤ vnſtedfaſtnes of the pope (which pleaſed hym but a little) tooke his iorney to Lyons: where he cōtinued his abode a lōg time, til yͤ death fyrſt of pope Vrban, thē after of yͤ king.

Of this kyng William, many thinges be diuerſlye recorded, ſome to his commendation, and ſome to his diſcommendation: whereof this is one which ſome wyll aſcrybe to hardnes, but I rather to raſhnes in him. As this kyng vpon a tyme was in his diſport of huntyng: ſodenlye worde came to him, that Cenoutona (a citie in Normandy) was beſieged. The king without longer tarying or aduiſement, toke the ſtraight way toward yͤ ſea ſyde: ſending to his lordes, that they ſhould folow after. Thei being come to hys preſence, aduiſed him to ſtay, till the time his people were aſſembled, but he would not be ſtaied: ſaying yͭ ſuch as him loued (he knewe) would folow hym ſhortly, and ſo went to take ſhip. The ſhipmaiſter ſeyng the wether ſo darke and cloudy, was afrayd and counſelled the kyng to tarye til the wynde did turne about, and the weather more fauourable. But the kyng perſiſting in his iourney, commaunded him to make all the ſpeede he myghte for hys lyfe (ſaying) that he neuer heard, that any king yet was euer drowned. And ſo paſſed the ſea in ſafetie, and came to Normandy.

The hardines or rather raſhnes of King William.

The ſayng of K. Wiliam, how he neuer knew any king drouned.

The. xiij. yeare of his raigne the ſaid king William, hauing the ſame time in his hande three biſhopryckes, Cant. Wint. and Sarum: alſo. xij. Abbeys in ferme: As he was in hys diſporte of hunting in the newe foreſt, by glaunſing of an arow (ſhot of a knight named Walter Tyrell) was wounded to death: and ſo ſpechles was caried to Weſtminſter, ⁊ there was buried. Where alſo is to be noted, that Richard the coſen Germayne of K. William, and ſonne to Duke Robert his brother, was likewyſe ſlayne in the foreſayd foreſt. See the iuſt hand of God vpon kinges, vſurping wrongfullye vpon other mens groundes, as did William conquerour their father, in making this new foreſt: plucking down diuers churches and townſhips, the compaſſe of. xxx. myles about. Here therfore appeareth, that although men can not reuenge, yet God reuēgeth either in them, or in their poſteritie. ⁊c. This king, as he alwaies vſed Cōcubines, ſo left he no iſſue legitimate behinde him. His lyfe was ſuch, that it is for a ſtory: that ſhoulde tell truth, to ſay, whether hee was more to be commended, or reproued. Emong other vices in him, eſpeciallye is to be rebuked in hym vnmeaſurable and vnreaſonable couetouſnes: in ſo much that he coueted (if he might) to be euery mās heyre. This one of a liberall and princely nature I finde in him: that vpon a tyme, where a certayne Abbot of a place was dead, there came to his court two Monkes of the ſame houſe: who before had gathered much money, and made their frendes to the king, and offered large offers eyther of them to bee promoted to that dignitye. There was alſo the third monke of yͤ ſame place, which of meekenes and humilitie followed the other two: to thentent yͭ vpon him yͭ the king had admitted for abbot, he ſhould geue attendance, and as his chaplaine to haue with him returned. The king called before him the two monkes ſeuerally, ⁊ eyther out proferred yͤ other. As the king caſt his eye aſyde, he eſpied the third monke ſtanding by, ſuppoſing that his comming had bene alſo for the like cauſe. Then the king calling hym, aſked what he would do, whether he would geue more then his brethren had offred, to be abbot. He anſwered to the kyng, and ſayd: that he neither had (nor would if he might) offer any peny for it, by any ſuch vnlawfull meane.

The death of Wiliā Rufus.

walter Tirrell.

The new foreſt.

example of the iuſt hād of god reuenginge the faultes of kinges in their poſteritie.

Couetouſnes noted in K. William.

A famous exāple of bribes refuſed.

TWo brybyng monkes both diſapoynted.

When the king had well pondred this third monkes anſwer, he ſayd that he was beſt worthy to be Abbot, & to haue the rule of ſo holy a charge: & ſo gaue vnto hym that benefice without taking any peny.

Urbanus B. of Rome (who, as is ſayd ſucceded after Victor) ruled the church of Rome, about the ſpace of .xii. yeres: & among his other actes, he excommunicated the Emperour Hẽricus the fourth of yͤ name, as a mã not much deuout to that ſee of Rome: But yet a worthy & victorious prince he was, in whom albeit ſome vice perchaunce might be noted: yet none ſuch, wherefore anye prelate or miniſter of Chriſt, ought to excite his ſubiectes to rebell agaynſt publike authoritie of God apoynted. This Emperour Henricus yͤ .iiij. was by .4. Popes ſeuerally excommunicate: firſt by Hildebrand, by Victor, Urbanus, and Paſchalis. Which excommunicatiõ wrought ſo in the ignorant and blynde hartes of the people, that many (as well of the nobles, as of the multitude, contrary to their ſworne alleagiance) rebelliouſly conſpired agaynſt their king and Emperour. In number of whom, emong the reſt was one certaine Earle named Ludouicus: to whom Waltramus biſhop of the church of Mergburgh (a godly and a faythfull man, as appeareth) doth write letters of fatherly admonition, exhorting and inſtructing hym in the office of obedience. Unto the which letters he likewiſe doth anſwer again, by cauiling ſophiſtication: and by mere affection, rather diſpoſed to diſcord, then ſeeking ſincerity of truth. And foraſmuch as in theſe two letters, the argument of chriſtian obedience on both ſides is ſo debated by prooffes & reaſons, as may be profitable for the Reader to peruſe and vnderſtand: I thought therfore not to defraude the Engliſh reader of the ſame, whereof peraduẽture ſome vtilitie might be taken. The tenour of the biſhops letter to the Earle here foloweth.

Vrban excommunicated Henry the .iiii. Emperour.

Henry the .iiii. Emperour, by iiii popes excõmunicated.

Ludouicus erle conſpiring and rebellious agaynſt the Emperour.

1090.

Ex appendice Mariani Scoti.

¶ *The epiſtle of Waltramus biſhop of Mergburgh, to the* earle Ludouicus, exhorting to concorde & obediẽce.

Valtramus dei gratia id quod eſt, Ludouico ſereniſſimo principi cum inſtantia orationum, ſemet ipſum ad omnia deuotiſsimum. Omni regno vtilis eſt concordia, deſiderabilis eſt iuſtitia, &c. In Engliſh.

Valtrame by the grace of God being that he is: to Ludouike the noble prince, with inſtance of prayer offereth hymſelfe ſeruiceable to all things. To euery realme concord is a thing profitable, and iuſtice much to be deſired. For this vertue is the mother of godlynes and the conſecration of all honeſty. Whoſoeuer ſeeking after ciuile diſſention, and incenſeth other to the effuſion of blood: he is a murtherer, and partaker with him: who, euer gaping and thruſting for our blood, goeth about ſeeking whom he may deuour. You therfore, conſidering with your ſelfe (moſt noble prince) how God is the God of peace, and not of diſſenſion (ſo muche as in you doth lye) haue peace with all men. God is charitie, the deuill is hatred. The whole law and prophetes conſiſt in loue and charitie. He that hateth and maligneth his brother, is a murtherer, & hath no part with Chriſt in the kingdome of God. This we rede teſtified and proteſted both by him which is the truth hymſelfe, and by him which was the ſcholar of the truth: who vpon the breſt of the Lord (drinking a more full draught of the veritie of the Goſpell) reioyceth the citie of God wyth aboundance of plentifull floods. In like maner the worthy veſſell of election, who being rapt vp to the third heauen (not by man, but by reuelation of Ieſu Chriſt) proteſteth alſo, ſaying: let euerye ſoule ſubmit himſelfe to higher powers. Ther is no power ſayth he, but of God. He that reſiſteth power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God. If that be true therfore, which certayne of our frendes do iangle emong wemen, and the vulgar ſort, that we ought not to be ſubdued to kingly power: then is it falſe which the Apoſtle teacheth, that euerye ſoule muſt ſubmit himſelfe vnder power and ſuperioritie. But can the veritie lye? Or do we ſeeke for experiment of him, who ſpake in the apoſtle, Chriſt the Lord? Or do we prouoke the Lord? Be we ſtronger then he? For what doth he, but thinketh himſelfe ſtronger then the Lord, yͭ reſiſteth the ordinance of God: for ther is no power but of God. But what ſayth the prophet? Confounded be all they, that ſtriue agaynſt thee O Lord: and the men which repugne agaynſt thee, ſhall periſh. Rodolphus, Hildebrandus, Egbertus, with manye other princes, reſiſted the ordinance of God in Henry the Emperour. And lo, euen as they had neuer bene, ſo are they nowe periſhed: and as their ende was euyll, ſo their begynning coulde not be good.

Concorde and iuſt obedience neceſſarye in a cõmon welth

Now therfore, for ſomuch as they which be contrary to vs do earneſtly ſtriue agaynſt vs with their owne argumentes, whereas of right (I dare referre me to your iudgement) we ought to vſe the autoritie of Chriſt and auncient fathers, before that, whiche our aduerſaries take out of their owne treaſurye. And becauſe I will not refuſe the order of lawe in this behalfe, let it bee the ende of the ſtrife: that either I may be openly ſhamed before the people, either els (the victory fallyng on my ſide) we may winne you to the obedience of our ſoueraigne Lord the Emperour. Alſo take you hede to thys ſaying: if any man do preach otherwiſe then that which is preached, let him of you be accurſed. This curſe I ſay, doth not procede from any new prophane autoritie, but is thundered downe frõ the iij. heauen. And of thẽ which know not the righteouſnes of God, but go about to ſtabliſh their own righteouſnes, and therfore be not ſubiect to the righteouſnes of God: I may boldly ſay, let ſuch be accurſed. So may you well ſay, confounded be all they that proudly riſe vp agaynſt the Lord: but thy ſeruaunt (oh Lord) ſhall reioyſe: for as thou haſt wel ſaid, without me you can do nothing, ſo in iudging of yͤ wicked, thou doeſt not condemne the iuſt. Who art thou yͭ iudgeſt an other mans ſeruaunt to his own Lord whether he doth ſtand or fall.

Iob

Ro

¶ *The aunſwere of the earle Lewes, to biſhop Waltram.*

The earle Lewes to the lord Waltrã, how ſo euer vnworthy or vnmete he be for yͤ name. Like as a good mã frõ yͤ good treaſure of the hart bringeth forth good fruite, ſo doth the euill man from the euil treaſure of the hart bring forth euill fruite. What arrogancie hath ſo poſſeſſed you, to prouoke my diſpleaſure, with ſuch iniurious contumelies? for in dede, thoſe my good Lordes & ſpirituall fathers, whiche ſtrengthen me in the way of righteouſnes: you raylingly call them, bloudy men lyke vnto ſathan: & the wholeſome leſſons, whiche they teach you ſay, they are but dreames of yͤ cõmon people amongeſt fooliſh wemẽ. Hath god any nede of your iudgemẽt that you ſhould ſpeake leaſings for him? Iniquitie hath taught your mouth to folowe blaſphemous tounges: ſo that well may the Prophet ſay of you, he would not vnderſtand to do well, he hath deuiſed wickednes vpon his bed. Although therfore you beyng altogether frowarde haue onely ſpoken frowarde thynges: yet we haue determined to ſet a watch before your mouthe, lyke as if a ſhameles perſon ſhould ſtand vp before vs, and the word of God doth prouoke vs ſaying. Aunſwere a foole according to his owne fooliſhnes, leſte he ſhould ſeme wiſe in hys own opinion. Shall folly ſpeake and wiſedome hold his peace? Shal lyes be freely vttered, and truth compelled to kepe ſilence? Shall darkenes couer the earth, and ſhall not the Lord ariſe and ſhyne? yea rather the lyght hath lightened the darkenes, and darkenes hath not cõprehended it. In conſideration hereof our heartes haue melted, and our zealous meditation hath ſet vs on fyre. We therfore ſpeake and cry, and the litle foxes whiche vndermine the Lordes vineyardes (as much as in vs is) we driue away, fearyng the threatning prophecie. You haue not withſtanded our aduerſaries, neither haue you made a bulwarke for the defẽce of the houſes of Iſraell, that you might be able to ſtand in battell in the day of the Lord. Let them heare (I ſpeake not to you whiche haue eares and heare not, eyes and ſee not, which haue made darke the light that is in you) but let them heare (I ſay) that be well diſpoſed, & haue eares to heare withall. As for you, you haue no vnderſtandyng, and if you haue, you cloke it. Neither haue you any thyng to ſay, or to proue, by what reaſon we ſhould be ſubiect to the Lord Henry whom you call Emperour. And yet (as it is gyuen vs to vnderſtand) you go about to perſwade, that of neceſſitie we ought to be ſubiect to hym, and that by the argument of S. Paul. Let euery ſoule be ſubdued to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, he therfore that doth withſtād power, doth reſiſt Gods ordinaunce. The whiche ſentence of the Apoſtle, we ſay that you doe euill conceyue, and therfore euill interpret: for if euery power be of God (As you do vnderſtand) what is ment by that, that the Lord doth ſpeake of ſome by ŷ Prophete. They did reigne, and were not made princes by me, and I knew them not. Yf euery power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of that, that the Lord doth ſay: if thine eye do offende thee, plucke it out, and caſte it from thee. For what is power, but the eye? Certenly, Auguſtine in the expoſition of this ſentence of the apoſtle, let euery ſoule: &c. doth ſay that if ŷ powers do commaund any thing againſt God, then haue them in contempt: but yet neuertheles feare them. Is there anye iniquitye with God? is Chriſt the miniſter of ſinne? God forbid. What ſhal we therfore ſay? doth the apoſtle preach contrary to the truth? Auguſtinus ſaith no: one wind filleth mani pipes of diuers tunes. Therfore let vs heare ŷ apoſtle agreeyng & expoūding himſelf, & deſtroying his enemye & auenger. There is (ſaith he) no power but of God. What foloweth. He therfore (ſaith he) ŷ doth reſiſt ŷ power, &c. God forbid? doth nothing follow: But what doth follow? Thoſe powers which be ordeyned of God truely: that is it we looke for. O craftye tongue, O hart imagining miſchief. O conſuming breath that ſhal not returne, why haſt thou lyed to the holy ghoſt? Thine owne conſcience ſhal accuſe thee. Behold the wicked flyeth and no man doth purſue him. Why would you ſuppreſſe the truth to the intent to deceyue? Why haue you ſtolne away the pythe and effect of this ſentence? For yf theſe wordes ſhould be taken away from the middeſt of the ſentence, it ſhould lye contrary to it ſelf, inconuenient, and halfe dead. The worde of the Lord is herein fulfilled. He that diggeth a pit for his neighbor ſhal fal therin himſelfe. Verely you can neyther excuſe you of theft, neyther auoyde the puniſhment due for the ſame. What (O vnhappy man) what ſhall you aunſwer to the iudge, when he ſhall require an accompt of his ſeruants whom he putteth in truſt? ſeyng ŷ you ſhal be ſet before him in ŷ myddeſt, & proued a pyker of your maiſters treaſure. Wherfore did you not feare the iudgement and execution, when as the giltines of offence doth require cōdigne puniſhment? The Apoſtle through ŷ holy ghoſt did foreſee that you & ſuch heretykes as you are ſhould ſpring in the church, which ſhould call good euil and euil good: and that ſhould put darknes in place of light, and lyght in place of darknes, which alſo ſhould take occaſion by ŷ ſentences of truth to bryng in error: When as he dyd ſet this before, there is no power but of God: to the intent ŷ he might take away the coniecture of falſe vnderſtādyng for (ſayth he) thoſe powers that be, are ordeyned of God. Geue therfore an ordinary power, and we do not reſiſte, yea we wil forthwith do our homage. But I do maruel (if at the leaſt there remayne in you anye one droppe of bloud) that you are not aſhamed, to call the Lord Harry a kyng, or to allow him any ordinary place.

e hath tered ore reaſō en you e able er to an- were to.

Whether e- ery pow- r is to be beyed or o. Oſee. 8.

f euery ower which of- endeth, his ubiectes is to be caſt ut, then th this arle made fayre rgument.

ow liuely eſe pa- ſtes de- ibe them ues in eir owne lour.

t Paule dged the nperour be an or nary po- er, whē appealed hym.

Is this a ſeemely order thinke you to geue place to wickednes, and to make a generall confuſion in mixing good and euil, gods and mans deuiſes together? Either do you thinke this good order, for a man to ſinne againſt his owne bodye, as (oh ſhamefull wickednes) to make his owne wyfe a common harlot, a miſchiefe not hard of at any tyme ſince ŷ beginnyng of the world before now: or do you alow this for good order, when as ŷ Lord ſayth, defend the widowes, eſpecially ſuche as require equity of iuſtice, and then them to ſend away moſt filthely defyled? Mad Oreſtes doth proteſt him to be out of his wit that wil ſay theſe thinges to be orderly or wel done. Until this moſte miſerable tyme, nature hath euer loued ſecrecy, but your kyng geuen vp into a reprobate ſence, hath vncouered the priuities of nature, who hath not let to lay abroade all ſhamefaſtnes: we wyl not ſpeake of other thinges which cannot be numbred, that is to ſay, burning of churches, robberies, fiering of houſes, manſlaughters, murders and ſuch lyke, the number wherof he knoweth and not we: for let vs ſpeake chiefly of thoſe things which moſt greue ŷ church of God. Harken therfore to true & not fayned thinges. Harken I ſay to matters of earneſt and to no trifles. Euerye one that doth ſel ſpirituall dignities, is an heretyke: But the lord Harry, whom they call a kyng, doth ſel both biſhoprikes & abbathyes: for truely he ſold for mony the biſhoprikes of Conſtance, Babemberge, Menz, & many others. The biſhoprikes of Ratiſbone, Auguſta, and Straſebrough, he ſolde for a ſworde: and the abbey of Fulda for adultery. And for filthye ſodomitry he ſolde the biſhopricke of Mon. A wyckednes it is to ſpeake or heare of ſuch a fact. The which things if without ſhame you wil deny, he is to be condemned by the witnes of heauen and earth: yea and of the ſely poore idiotes that come from the ſmithes forge. Wherfore ŷ Lord Harry is an heretike. For the which moſt wycked euils he is excōmunicate frō ŷ ſee Apoſtolike, ſo ŷ he may not exerciſe eyther kyngdome or power ouer vs which be catholike. And wheras you burden vs wt hatred of our brethrē, know you ŷ we purpoſe not to hate any of affectiō, but of a godly zeale. God forbid ŷ we ſhould thinke Harry worthy to be accōpted amōgſt our chriſtiā brethrē, who in dede is reputed for an Ethnike and Publicane, in that he refuſed to heare the Churche whiche ſo ofte hathe reproued him. The hatred of whome we offer vnto God for a greate ſacrifice, ſaying with the Pſalmiſt: Lorde ſhall not I hate them that hate thee? and ſhall not I triumphe ouer thine enemies? I hate them with an inwarde hatred that be enemies to me for thy ſake. The truth it ſelfe commending the worthynes of this hatred, doth ſay: If any doo not hate father and mother, brethren and ſiſters for my ſake, he cannot be my diſciple. We are not therfore iuſtlye to bee reproued of hatred, which doo geue ouer our own ſoule to be in the way of God: who in deede are cōmaunded to hate father and mother, and euery affection which doth withſtand vs for walking in the path of god. Hereof it commeth, that we labour with all our ſtudye and endeuour to beware of the enemies of the Church, and them to hate. Not for that they be our enemies, but Gods. Further, where you do perſwade peace to be had with al men: you muſt remember what the Apoſtle doth put before, if it may be. But if it cannot be that we can haue peace with thē, who can be contrary to God? Who doth not know the Lord our ſauiour, to commende not onely peace, whē as he ſaith: my peace I geue vnto you, my peace I leaue vnto you: but that he is the peace, as ſaith ŷ Apoſtle: he is the peace which made of both one: For he calleth him our peace, ſpeaking in commendacion of the peace. Thincke not (ſayth he) that I came to ſend peace. For I came not to ſēd peace, but the ſwoord. What is ment by thys? Why is peace called a ſworde? Or doth peace bid battel? Yea truly, to deſtroy the peace of the deuill. For the deuill hath his peace, whereof the Lord ſpeaketh: When as the ſtrong man keepeth hys houſe, he doth poſſeſſe all his ſubſtance in peace. Oh how mightly doth the deuil kepe his ſoldiours and his houſe

This is likely that the Emperour would make hys own wife a comon harlot.

Euil wil neuer ſayth well.

By thys argument how many popes maye be proued heretikes.

Rather frō the popes forge of lyes.

A zeale, but farre from knowledge.

And whē they ſhall ſlay you, they ſhall thinke they do God great ſeruice. Iohn. xvi.

Ye true, if he had cōpelled you to forſake the name of Chriſt, which he neuer dyd.

Oh how craftely doth Sathan here ſhape himſelf to an angel of lyght.

in thys tyme: who with the ſhield of falſhod, and the helmet of vntruth, ſo doth defend him, that he wyll not ſuffer eyther arrow or darte of truth to pearſe him. Neuertheleſſe, our Lord being more ſtrongly armed, & fiercely commyng vpon your Giaunt, is able to ouercome him, and to take awaye his weapons, wherein he putteth his truſt. We are not therefore to be blamed, if we doo deteſt that peace, more cruell thē any warre. The which the truth it ſelfe did reproue, weeping ouer Hieruſalem & ſaying: Truly, it greueth me this day to ſee ſinners in peace, being like vnto that peace, whereat the Pſalmiſt was offended. Whereas you condemne pope Gregorie, king Rodolphus, and Marques Eggebertus, as men that haue dyed of an vnhappy death, and doth magnify your Lord, becauſe he doth ouerlyue them: it doth plain lye (forſooth) appeare that you remayne voyde of all ſpirituall conſideration. Is it not better to dye wel, then to lyue yll? They be trulye happye, who ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake. By the ſame reaſon maye you eſteeme Nero, Herod, and Pilate happye, in that they ouerlyued Peter, Paul, Iames Apoſtles, & Ieſus Chriſt. What can be ſayd more fooliſhe and wycked then thys opinion? Wherfore refrayne your babling tonge from this blaſphemy, leaſt that you place your ſelfe in the nūber of them, which ſeing the end of the iuſt to bee gloryous (themſelues doing late and vnfruitfull penance, bewayling in the anguiſh of the ſpirite) ſhall ſay: Theſe be they whom ſometyme we had in deriſion, and laughed to ſcorne: we being out of our wits, thought theyr liues madnes, and their end to be without honor. Behold how they be allowed to be amongeſt the childrē of God, and their portion is amongeſt the ſayntes. Wherfore we haue erred from the way of truth, and the brightnes of righteouſnes did not ſhyne vpon vs. What did our pride auayle vs? And what profet did the boaſting of our ryches bring vnto vs? They are all vaniſhed away lyke a ſhadow. The which woordes we haue regiſtred vp into perpetuall memory, and we do deſpiſe euerye attempt that ſhall lyft vp it ſelfe agaynſt the truth of God. And reioycing in troubles, we mai be reproued, put to ſhame and rebuked, yea and finally be ſlayne & kylled, but we wyll neyther yelde, nor be ouercome. And with great triumphe wyll we reioyce in our fathers doinges: of whom, you (as a beardles boy, and of ſmall knowledge) haue not rightly conceiued: who in deede deſpiſing princes commaundementes, haue deſerued euerlaſting rewarde.

Ex vetuſto chronico.

There is a certaine chronicle in olde Engliſh meter, which amōg other matters ſpeaking of Williā Rufus, declareth hym to be ſo ſumptuous & exceſſiue in pōpous apparell, that he being not cōtented with a payre of hoſe of a low pryce which was. iij. ſhillings: cauſed a payre to be brought of a marke, wherupon his chamberlayne procuryng a payre much worſe then the other before, ſayd:

That they coſtenyd a marke, and vnneth he thē ſo bought,
Ye belamy (q̄ the kyng) theſe are well brought.

Wherby is to be noted what difference is to be ſeene betwene the hoſe of princes then, and the hoſe of ſeruyngmen now.

Appendix hiſtoriæ.

Kinges ceaſed in Wales.

After the time of this king William, the name of kynges ceaſed in the country of Wales emong the Britaynes, ſince king Ris. who in the raygne of this kyng, the yeare of our Lord. 1093. was ſlayne in Wales. Ex continuatore Rog. Houeden.

¶ King Henry the firſt.

1100.

Henry Beuclerke the fyrſt king of England.

Henry firſt of that name, the iij. ſonne of William Conquerour, ſuccedyng his brother Rufus: began his reigne in Englād, the yeare of our Lord 1100. who for his knowledge and ſcience in yͤ vij. liberall artes, was ſurnamed clerke or beuclerke In whom may wel appeare, how knowledge and learning doth greatly conduce, to the gouernement and adminiſtration of any realme or country. At the beginning, he refourmed the ſtate and cōdition of the clergie: releaſed the greuous paymentes: reduced agayne kyng Edwardes lawes, with emendation therof: he reformed the old and vntrue meaſures, and made a meaſure after the length of hys arme: he greatly abhorred exceſſe of meates and drinkes: many thinges miſuſed before hys tyme he reformed: and vſed to vanquiſhe more by counſaile then by ſworde. Such perſons as were nyce & wanton, he ſeculed from his court. This man as appeareth, litle fauoured the vſurped power of yͤ byſhop of Rome. Sone after he was kyng, he maried Matilde or Maude: daughter of Malcolyn kyng of Scottes, and of Margaret hys wife, daughter of Edward the Outlaw, as is before ſpecified: beyng a profeſſed nunne in Wincheſter, whom notwithſtanding (without the popes diſpenſatiō) he maried by yͤ cōſent of Anſelme. By the which Maude he receaued ij. ſonnes, William, and Richard: and two daughters, Maude and Mary, which Maude afterward was maried to Henry the iiij. Emperour. &c.

The be- ning d- in a pr- Lawes K.Edw- reduced The m- ſure of land m- after th- length king H- ries am- Wantō p- ſons re- ned out the cou-

Ex M- parſ. Flor.

In the ſecond yeare of hys reigne, Robert hys elder brother duke of Normandy, who beyng occupyed in the chriſten warres againſt the Turkes, and beyng elect (as ye hard) kyng of Hieruſalē, hearyng of the death of Rufus, refuſed the kyngdome therof. For the whiche (as is thought) he neuer ſped wel after. Thus the ſayd Robert, leauyng of the Lordes buſines, and returning into Normandy, made there his preparation, and came ouer into England, with a great hoſt to the chalenge the crowne. But by mediatiō of yͤ Lords it was agreed, that Robert ſhould haue yearely duryng his lyfe iij. M. markes, as was lykewiſe promiſed him before, by kyng Rufus hys brother. And whether of them ouer lyued the other, to be the others heyre. And thus Robert departed agayn vnto Normandie, to the great diſcontentation of his Lordes there. But in few yeares after, the forenamed tribute of iij. M. markes, through yͤ meanes of quene Maude, was releaſed to the kyng his brother. In proces of tyme, variance fallyng betwene kyng Henry, and the ſayd Robert his brother: at length Robert in his warre was takē priſoner and brought ouer into Englād, & was put into the caſtell of Cardiffe in Wales, were he continued as priſoner while he lyued.

Exampl- what i- to leaue the Lor- buſines.

Duke R- bert ta- priſone.

In this tyme, as about the iij. yeare of this kyng: the hoſpitall of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded (by meanes of a minſtrel belōgyng to yͤ king) named Rayer. And after was finiſhed by Richarde Whittyngton Alderman and Maior of London. This place of Smithfield was at that day, a lay ſtowe of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felones and other transgreſſors of the kynges lawes were put to execution.

The h- tal of S- tholom- founde- Rayer- Rychar- Whyty- ton fi- of S.B- lomew London.

Diuers ſtraite lawes were by this king prouided, eſpecially agaynſt theues and felons: that who ſo were takē in that faulte, no money ſhould ſaue him from hanging.

Item, that who ſo did counterfaite falſe mony, ſhould haue both his eyes, & neither partes of his body cut of.

Itē, in yͤ ſame cōcel was decreed, an order for prieſts to be ſequeſtred frō their wiues, whiche before were not forbidden, accordyng as the wordes of myne autor do purporte, whoſe wordes be theſe: Anſelm' prohibuit vxores ſacerdotibus Anglorum ante nō prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſsimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum, ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent. &c. Hen. Hunt.

Ex H- Lib.

Item, it was then decreed, that monkes and prieſtes ſhould beare no rule ouer lay perſons.

Anſel-

Item, it was then decreed, concernyng brodering of heare, and wearyng of garmentes.

Item, that the ſecrete contract betwene a yong ladde and a yong mayd ſhould not ſtand; with other thynges mo concernyng the excommunication of Sodomites. &c.

In the ſtory of William Rufus before, was declared howe Anſelmus archbiſhop of Cant. departyng out of the realme, went vnto the pope. Who after the death of kyng William was ſent for agayn by the foreſaid king Henry, and ſo returned agayne, & was at the councel of the kyng at Weſtminſter: whereas the kyng in the preſence of the Lordes as wel temporall, as ſpirituall ordeyned and inueſted ij. biſhops, Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, and Roger biſhop of Hereford. Duryng whiche parliament or councel of the king, Anſelmus in his cōuocatiō depoſed and diſplaced diuers abbates and other prelates, from their rowmes & dignities: eyther for that they lawfully came not by them, or vprightly did not adminiſter the ſame.

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After this councel: and the other before ſet forth by Anſelmus, Herbert byſhop of Norwyge, had much a do with the prieſtes of hys dioces. For they would neither leaue their wyues, nor yet gyue ouer their benefices. Wherupon, he wrote to Anſelme the archbiſhop for cōſaile, what was to be done therin. Whiche Anſelme required hym (as he did other mo the ſame tyme, by wrytyng) to perſwade the people of Norfolke & Southfolke: that as they profeſſed Chriſtianitie, they ſhould ſubdue thē as rebelles agaynſt the churche, and vtterly to dryue both them and their wiues out of the countrey: placyng monkes in their rowmes, as by the Epiſtles of the ſayd Anſelme doth appeare. Wherof certayne percels ſhall hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) enſue, for the better euidence of this and the other his actes aboue recited.

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nſel.176

The lyke buſines alſo had Gerarde the Archbiſhop of Yorke, in depriuing ẏ prieſtes of his prouince from their wiues: which thing with all his excommunications and thundrings he could hardly bring about. Vppon this ruffelyng of Anſelme with maryed prieſts, were riming verſes made to helpe the matter withall, when reaſon could not ſerue. Which verſes for the follye therof, I thought here to annexe.

erſus
ale feri-
i,ex bi-
o.Ram-
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O male viuentes verſus audite ſequentes,
Vxores veſtras, quas odit ſumma poteſtas:
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte trophæum,
Quod ſi non facitis, inferna clauſtra petetis.
Chriſti ſponſa iubet, ne preſbyter ille miniſtret:
Qui tenet vxorem, domini quia perdit amorem.
Contradicentem fore dicimus inſipientem,
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potius ſed amore.

1103.

ſtrife be
eene king
ary and
ielme
rchb.
Cant.

About the end of the iij. yeare of this kyng, whyche was the computation of our Lord, 1103 a variaunce fel betwene king Henry and Anſelme: the occaſion wherof was this. Ye heard a little before how Hēry the foreſaid kyng had of his own autoritie inueſted ij. biſhoppes, one Roger which was his chaūcelour, B. of Saliſbury: and an other Roger biſhop of Hereford. Beſides thē dyuers others alſo he inueſted, & diuers other like things to be he vpon hym in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, which he might lawfully do, gods word allowyng wel the ſame: but bicauſe it was reſtrained by ẏ biſhop of Rome for hym ſo to do: this Anſelme ſwelled, fretted, and waxed ſo madde, that he would neither conſent to it, neither yet confirme thē, nor communicate or talke frendly with them, whom the kyng had inſtituted and inueſted: but opprobriouſly called them abortiues, or children of deſtruction: diſdainfully rebuking the gentle kyng as a defyler of religion and polluter of their holy ceremonies: as witneſſeth Polydorus. With this vncomely outrage the kyng was much diſpleaſed (as he might full wel) and required Gerard the archbiſhop of Yorke, (as he ought hym allegeaunce) to conſecrate them: who wythout delay ſo dyd, wel performyng the ſame, ſauyng that one Williā Gifford to whom the king had geuē the biſhoprike of Winchester, refuſed to take his conſecration by the handes of the archbiſhop of Yorke. For the which cauſe the kyng worthely with hym offended, depriued him both of biſhoprike and goods, and baniſhed him the realme.

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A ſtrife betwene K. Hēry and Anſelmus archbyſhop of Cant.

Ex Gul. lib. 1
De Geſtis.

Moreouer, the kyng required of Anſelmus the archbiſhop of Cant. to do vnto him homage after the maner of his aunceters, as witneſſeth Guliel. de geſtis pontif. Angl. Alſo, it was aſked of the ſaid Anſelme, whether ẏ he would be wͭ the king in geuing inueſtures, as Lācfrancus his predeceſſor was with his father. To whom Anſelme ſayd, that he promiſed not in any tyme, that he would enter into this order, to keepe the law or cuſtome of your father, as Lancfrankus did. Moreouer, as concerning homage to be done to the king, that he refuſed: alledging the cenſures of the popes excommunication: who in his councel of Rome a little before, had geuen forth open ſentence of excommunication, vpon all ſuch laye perſons (what ſoeuer they were) that ſhoulde from henceforth conferre or geue any ſpirituall promotions: alſo vpon them that receaued them at their handes, eyther yet ſhould conſecrate any ſuch receauers. Moreouer, he accurſed all them, ẏ for benefices or other eccleſiaſticall promocions, ſhoulde ſubiect themſelues vnder the homage or ſeruice of any great man, king, Prince, Duke, or Earle of the layetye. For it was vnſeemelye (ſayde the Pope) and a thing verye execrable: that the handes which were conuerted into ſo high workyng, as was graunted to no angell (that is, to create him wyth their croſſes, which created all, & to offer vp the ſame before ẏ ſight of ẏ father, for ẏ ſaluatiō of ẏ whole world) ſhoulde be brought to ſuch a ſlauery, as to be ſubiect to thoſe filthy handes, which both day & night are poluted wͭ ſhameful touchings, robberies, & bloudſhed. &c. This decree of pope Vrban, Anſelmus alledging for himſelf: denyed to ſubiect himſelfe to the kings homage: fearing (as he ſayd) the popes excommunication. Vpon this, meſſengers were ſent to Rome on both partes, vnto ẏ pope (then Paſchalis) who ſtoutly ſtanding to the ſteps and determinations of Vrbane his predeceſſor, would in no caſe yelde to the kinges inueſting.

Actes of the Romaine coūcel agaynſt lay men to geue any ſpirituall promotions.

No ſpirituall perſon to be vnder ſubiectiō to any lay perſonage.

Ex Iornalēſi bibliothecæ hiſtoria.

Meſſengers ſent to Rome. Anſelme refuſeth to do homage to hys kyng.

In the meane time, whyle there was long diſputacion on both ſides for inueſting: the nobles of the realme contended, that inueſtinges did belong to the kings dignitie: wherfore the king callyng for Anſelmus agayne, requyred him either to doe homage to hym, or els to voyde hys kingdome. To whom Anſelmus replying agayne, requyred the popes letters to be brought foorth: and according to the tenor thereof, ſo the matter to bee decided. For now the meſſengers were returned from Rome with the popes anſwer, altogether bearing with Anſelmus. Then ſayd the king: what haue I to do with the popes letters. I wyll not forgo the liberties of my kingdome for any pope. Thus the contention continuing betwene them, Anſelmus ſayth he woulde not out of the realme, but depart home to his church: and there ſee who would offer him any violence: and ſo did. Not long after, meſſage came from the king to Anſelme, requeſting him after a gētle ſorte, to repayre to the kings preſence agayn, to ſet an end of the controuerſy began: wherunto Anſelme graunted and came. Thē were new ambaſſadours ſent agayne to the pope, that he woulde ſomething qualifie and moderate (or rather aboliſh) the ſtraitnes of the Romayne decree before mentioned. On the part of Anſelmus went ij. monkes, Baldwinus & Alexander: On the kings behalf were ſent ij. biſhops Robert B. of Lichfield, and Herbert B. of Norwyge, wyth ẏ kinges letters written vnto the Pope, conteynyng in forme as followeth.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

Ex Guliel. lib. j. de geſtis pont. Ang.

The king hath nothing to do with the Pope his letters.

Meſſengers ſent again to Rome.

Patri venerabili Paſchali ſummo pontifici, Henricus dei gratia Rex Anglorum, Salutem. Promotioni veſtræ in ſedem ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ plurimum congaudeo: petens vt amicitia quæ patri meo cum anteceſſoribus veſtris fuit, inter uos quoq; illibata permaneat. Vnde, vt dilectio & benignitas a me videatur ſumere initium, beneficium ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, quod ab anteceſſoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eoſq; honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei anteceſſores veſtri in regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo vt habeatis volo: eo videlicet tenore, vt dignitatis vſus & conſuetudines, quas pater meus tempore anteceſſorum veſtrorum in regno Angl. habuit: ego, tempore veſtro in eodem regno meo integre obtineam. Notumq; habeat ſanctitas veſtra quod me viuēte (deo auxiliante) dignitates & vſus regni Ang. nō minuētur. Et ſi ego (quod ab ſit) in tanta me diiectione ponerē: optimates mei (imo totius Angl. populus) id nullo modo pateretur. Habita igitur (chariſsime pater) vtiliori deliberatione, ita ſe erga nos moderetur benignitas veſtra, ne quid inuit⁹ faciam & a veſtra me cogatis recedere obedientia. In engliſh.

The letter of King Hēry the fyrſt vnto the pope.

To ẏ reuerent father Paſchal the chief biſhop, Henry by the grace of God kyng of England, greetyng. For thys your promotion into the ſee of the holy churche of Rome, as I am hartely glade: ſo my requeſt is to you, ẏ ẏ frendſhip and amitie, which hath bene tofore betwene my father & your predeceſſors in tymes paſt, may now alſo betwene vs in lyke maner continue vndeminiſhed. And that loue and gentlenes may firſt begin of my partt here I ſend vnto you ẏ gift ẏ ſ. Peter had in foretyme of my predeceſſors. And likewyſe the ſame honours and obedience, which your predeceſſors haue had in ẏ realme of England before in the tyme of my father, I wyll you to haue the ſame in my tyme alſo: after this forme I meane and tenour, that the vſage and maner of dignity, & ſuch cuſtomes which my father hath had in this realm of England in the tyme of your aunciters: I in like ample maner alſo now in your time may fully enioye the ſame in this ẏ ſayd realme of England. Thus therfore be it knowen to your holines, ẏ during this life of mine (God almighty ahelpyng me to the ſame) theſe aboue named dignities, vſages, and cuſtomes of this realme of England, ſhall in no part be leſſened. Yea, and if that I (as God forbyd I ſhould) would ſo much deiect my ſelfe into ſuch cowardnes: yet my Nobles, yea the whole people of England in no caſe would ſuffer it. Wherfore (deare father) vſing with your ſelfe a better deliberation in the matter, let your gentlenes ſo moderate it ſelfe toward vs, leaſt ye compell me (which I ſhall doo agaynſt my wyll) to receade and depart vtterly from your obedience.

Spoken lyke a king.

The king is at a poynt to leaue the popes obedience.

At the ſame terme alſo he ſent an other letter or epiſtle to the ſayd Pope, crauing of hym the palle for Girardus, archbiſhop of Yorke, the forme wherof here alſo followeth.

An other letter of king Henry the fyrſt ſent to the pope.

Reuerendo et diligendo patri vniuerſali papæ Paſchali, Henricus dei gratia rex Anglorum, ſalutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, et benignitas quæ multum veſtros actus exornat. &c. In Engliſh.

To the reuerende and welbeloued father, vniuerſall pope Paſchalis, Hēry by ẏ grace of God, king of England, greeting. The great loue which I beare to you, & the no leſſe gentlenes in you, which not a litle beutiefith your doinges, miniſtreth to me boldnes to wryte. And wheras I thought to haue reteyned ſtyll this Gerardus wͭ me, and to haue craued your palle for hym by letters: yet not withſtanding, when his deſire coulde not otherwyſe be ſatiſfied, but would needes preſent himſelfe before your preſence, by his own hart to craue of you the ſame, I haue ſent him vp vnto you. Deſiring your benigne fatherhood in his behalfe, that he obtayning the palle at your handes, may be ſent home agayne to me. And thus requyring the aſſiſtance of your prayers, I pray the Lord longe to conſerue your Apoſtleſhip.

This ſecond letter of the kyng in ſendyng for ẏ Palle, was well takē of all the court of Rome, whiche (as mine autor ſayth) procured ſuch fauour to Girardus archbyſhop of Yorke, and brynger therof: that no complaint of his aduerſaries afterward could hurt hym with ẏ pope. Notwithſtandyng he was accuſed greuouſly for diuers thynges, and ſpecially for not ſtandyng to the conſecration of Anſelme archbiſhop of Cant.

Polidorus in his vi. booke of his Engliſh hiſtory, affirmeth, that Anſelmus alſo went vp to Rome with Girardus, about the ſame cauſe. But both the premiſſes, & ſequele of the ſtory argueth that to be vntrue. For what neded the ij. Monkes to be ſent vp on Anſelmus ſide, if he had gone vp hymſelfe. Again, how could the pope write down by the ſayd meſſengers to Anſelme, if he had there bene him ſelfe preſent? For ſo procedeth the ſtory by the narration of Malmeſbery and others.

A place of Polydo Virg. fo fanlsit

Ex Gu lib.1.De pontif. Anglo.

After the ambaſſadours (thus on both ſides ſent vp to Rome) had laboured their cauſe with inſtant ſute, one agaynſt the other: the pope glad to gratifie the kyng (yet loth to graunt his requeſt, beyng agaynſt his owne profite, and therfore more inclinyng to Anſelmus ſide) ſendeth downe his letters to the ſayd Anſelme, ſignifeyng that he would not repeale ẏ ſtatutes of his holy fathers for one mās pleaſure: chargyng hym moreouer, not onely not to yeld in the cauſe of inueſting, but conſtantly to adhere to the foreſaid decremēt of pope Urbane his predeceſſour. &c. Beſides this letter to Anſelme, he directed alſo an other to the kyng hym ſelfe: whiche letter, myne autor ſayth, the kyng ſuppreſſed, and did not ſhew: onely declaryng by worde of mouth, what the embaſſadours had ſayd vnto hym from the pope. Whiche was, that he permitted vnto him, the licence of Inueſtyng vpon condition, that in other thynges he would execute the office of a good prince. &c. To this alſo the teſtimonie of the ij. biſhops aboue minded, did accord, which made the matter more probable. But the ij. monkes on the other ſide replied againe, bringing forth the letter of Anſelme to ẏ contrary. &c. To them was aunſwered again, that more credite was to be geuen to the degree and teſtimonie of the biſhops, then to theirs: And as for monkes, they had no ſuffrage nor teſtimonie (ſayd they) in ſeculare matters, and therfore they might hold their peace. But this is no ſecular matter, ſayd Baldwyne abbot of Rameſey. Wherunto the nobles agayne on the kynges parte, aunſwered ſaying: that he was a good man, and of ſuch demenour, as they had nothyng to ſay againſt him, neither ſo would if they might: but yet both humane and diuine reaſon taught them ſo, to yeld more credite & confidence to ẏ teſtimonie of iij. byſhops thē of two monkes. Whereby may wel appeare, that Anſelme at that tyme went not with them. Then Anſelmus ſeyng the kyng & his peers howe they were ſet: and hearyng alſo the teſtimonie of the iij. biſhops, againſt whiche he ſaw, he could not preuaile: And alſo hauyng the Popes ſeale, whiche he ſawe to be ſo euident on the contrary ſide: made hys anſwere again, that he would ſend to Rome, for a more certeinty of the truth. Adding moreouer, that he neither would nor durſt geue ouer his cauſe, though it ſhoulde coſte him his life, to do or procede againſt the determination of the church of Rome, vnleſſe he had a perfect warrant of abſolution from thence, for his diſcharge. Then was it agreed by the king and his nobles, that he ſhould not ſend, but go him ſelfe to Rome. And much intreatie was made, that he would take that iorney him ſelfe, in his owne perſon, to preſent him ſelfe to the pope, for the peace of the church and of his countrey. And ſo at length by perſuaſion was content, went to Rome, and ſpake with the Pope. In ſhorte tyme after foloweth alſo, the kynges ambaſſadour (William Warlwaſt) new elect biſhop of Exetor: who there pleadyng on the kinges ſide, for ẏ aūcient cuſtomes of the realme, and for the kinges right of Inueſting. &c. Firſt declared: how England of a long continuance, had euer bene a prouince peculiar to the churche of Rome, and how it payed dewly his yearely tribute vnto the ſame. Inferring moreouer how the kyng, as he was of nature very liberall, ſo alſo of courage

The pope lothe to againſt his own p

He me beſide the ii. biſho Girardu which made the thyrd.

Anſelm deuout chaplain the chu of Rome

Anſelm iourneied agaynſt Rome.

The of the tion of Warlw at the p pes cou rage a prince ſtoute and valiaunt. Then what a ſhame would he thinke it be to him (as it wer in dede) if he, who in might and dignitie far exceded all his progenitours, ſhoulde not defend & mainteine the liberties & cuſtomes by them procured. Wherfore he deſired the pope to ſee to the matter, ſo as might ſtand both with the kynges honour, and alſo with his owne profite and aduãtage: who otherwiſe no doubt, ſhould loſe a great peece of money out of the realme, vnleſſe he did remitte ſome thyng of the ſeueritie of his canons and lawes decretall.

With theſe & ſuch other perſuaſions like to the ſame effect, the court of Rome was well contented: agreyng that the kyngs requeſt ought with all fauour to be graũted. But the pope and Anſelme ſate ſtill markyng their doynges. The ambaſſadour ſuppoſing their ſilence to be halfe a yeldyng to him, added moreouer and ſayd: that the kyng, no not for the crown of his realme, would loſe the autoritie of Inueſtyng or admittyng hys prelates, within his dominion. Wherunto the proude pope aunſweryng agayne, braſt out in theſe wordes: Nor I (ſayd he) for the price of his head (as thou ſayſt) will loſe the gyuyng of ſpirituall promocions in England, and confirmyng it with an othe (before God ſayth he I ſpeake it) know it for a certain. &c. Then it foloweth in the ſtory of Malmeſbery: with this word of the pope, the myndes of the reſt were chaunged, ſaying. Benedicta ſit cordis tui cõſtantia, benedicta oris tui loquela. The kynges atturney alſo was therewith daſhed: who notwithſtandyng yet brought to paſſe, ẏ certayne of the kings cuſtomes vſed before of his father, were releaſed vnto hym. At ẏ which tyme, in the ſame court was decreed, that (the kyng onely, whiche had inueſted them, beyng excepted) the other whiche were inueſted by the kyng, to be excommunicated: the abſolution and ſatiſfaction of whom was left to Anſelme tharchbiſhop.

Ex Gulie. De geſtis pont. lib. 1. Ex Math. Pariſ. li. 3.

A proude anſwere of the pope.

Excõmunicatiõ abuſed.

Thus Anſelme beyng diſmiſſed from Rome, tooke his iorney toward England. But the ambaſſadour pretendyng to go to S. Nicholas remayned behynde, to ſee whether he could wynne the popes mynd to the kynges purpoſe. Which whan he ſaw it would not be, he ouertaketh Anſelmus in the way, at Placentia, and opened to hym the kynges pleaſure. The kyng (ſayth he) geueth you in charge and commaundement, that if you wyll come to England and there behaue your ſelfe to hym, as your predeceſſors dyd to his father, you ſhould be receyued and reteyned in the realme accordingly: if not you are wiſe inough (ſayth he) ye know what I meane, and what wyll follow, &c. And ſo with theſe wordes parting from him returned agayn to the king. Anſelmus remained at Lyons a yeare and an halfe, wrytyng diuers letters to the kyng after this effect & wordes as followeth.

Anſelme reſtrayned frõ coming to Englãd. Ex Rodulp. Londinenſi.

¶ *To hys reuerende Lord Henry king of Englande. Anſelme* Archbiſhop of Canterburye, faithfull ſeruice with prayers. Epiſtola. 224.

A letter of Anſelm to K. Henry.

ALthoughe ye vnderſtande by William Warlwaſt, what we haue done at Rome: yet I ſhal ſhortly ſhew you ẏ belõgeth to me. Whẽ I came to Rome, I declared ẏ cauſe wherfore I came to the lord Pope. He anſwered that he would not ſwarue from the ſtatutes of hys predeceſſors. Furthermore, he cõmaunded me that I ſhould haue no fellowſhip with them that receyued inueſtings of churches at your handes after the knowledge of this prohibition, excepte they woulde do penance and forſake that they had receiued, without hope of recouerye: nor that they ſhoulde not communicate wyth the other Biſhops that had conſecrated ſuche men, excepte they would preſent themſelues to the iudgement of the apoſtolike ſea. The foreſayde William can be a witneſſe of all theſe things if he will. This William when we departed aſunder (reconing vp in your behalfe the loue and liberalitie which ye haue had alwais towardes me) warned me as your Archbiſhop, that I ſhould ſhew my ſelf ſuch a one, that if I would come into England; that I I myght be wyth you as my predeceſſor was with your father: and ye might entreate me wyth the ſame honour and liberalitie, that your father entreated my predeceſſor. By which wordes I vnderſtãd, that except I would ſhew my ſelfe ſuch a one, you would not haue me come into England. For your loue & liberalitie I thanke you: but that I ſhould be with you as my predeceſſour was with your father, I cannot do it. For I dare not do homage to you, nor dare communicate wyth them that take inueſtings of churches at your handes: becauſe of ẏ foreſaid inhibition made, I my ſelfe hearing it. Wherfore I deſire you to ſend me your pleaſure herein (yf it pleaſe you) whether I may returne into England (as I ſayd) wyth your peace and power of myne office.

The proude ſtoutnes of a prelate in a wrong cauſe.

In the meane whyle, great buſines there was, and much poſtyng went to and fro, betwene the kyng, the Archbiſhop, and the Pope, but nothyng was done: for neyther woulde the Pope agree to the kyng, neyther woulde the kyng condeſcende to the Archbiſhop. At laſt, the archbiſhop ſeing by no meanes he could preuail againſt the kyng: thought to reuenge himſelf by excommunication, and ſo went about the ſame. The kyng hauing worde therof by the the Counteſſe Adala his ſiſter, deſyreth her to come to hym to Normandye, and bryng Anſelmus with her: wherupon (through the meanes of ẏ Coũteſſe) reconcilement was made, and the Archb. was reſtored to his former poſſeſſions agayne. Onely his returne into Englãd was differred, becauſe he would not communicate wyth thoſe whom the kyng had inueſted. So the king toke his paſſage ouer into Englande, & Anſelme made hys abode at the abbey of Becke.

Anſelme about to excõmunicate the king.

Reconcilemẽt made betwene the king and Anſelmus.

Then were ambaſſadours agayn directed vnto Rome W. Warlwaſt, and Baldwyne aboue named abbot of Rameſey: who at length cõcluded the long controuerſy betwene the king and the pope, vpon this agremẽt: that the king ſhoulde take homage of the Biſhops elect, but ſhould not deale with inueſting them by ſtaffe & ring. &c. Whyle the Embaſſadours were thus in their ſute at Rome, diuers complayntes were daylye brought from Englãd to Anſelme, againſt ẏ prieſtes & Chanons: who in his abſence, contrary to the late councel holden at Lõdon, receaued their wyues vnto their houſes agayne, & ſo were permitted by the king, paying him certaine money for the ſame. Anſelme (the ſore enemy agaynſt lawfull mariage) agreeued therwith: addreſſeth his letters vnto the king, requyring him to refrayne frõ any more taking of ſuch exactions: declaring moreouer and affirming, that the offences of all ſuche eccleſiaſticall Miniſters muſt be corrected by the inſtance of biſhops, & not of lay men. To this the king anſwereth gentlye agayne by letters, tempering him ſelfe: how he purpoſed ſhortly to come ouer into Normandye, and if he had done anye thing amis, either in theſe or other thinges, he would reforme it by his obedience.

Ambaſſage to Rome.

Guliel. Malmeſb. li. 1. De geſtis pontifi.

Prieſtes receaued their wyues agayne by the abſence of Anſelme.

The faultes of eccleſiaſticall miniſters long to none but to biſhops to correct, quod Anſelme.

It was not long after (the meſſengers being now returned from Rome) but ẏ king as he had promiſed, ſped him into Normandye: where hee warring agaynſt hys brother Robert, brought both him and the countrye of Normandy at laſt vnder his ſubiection. But firſt meeting with Anſelmus at ẏ abbey of Becke, he conuented and agreed with him in all ſuch poyntes as the archbyſhop required. As firſt, that all his churches which before were made tributarye vnto king William his brother, now ſhould remayne free from all tribute. Item, that he ſhould requyre nothing of the ſayd churches or prouinces, in the tyme of the ſeat being vacant. Moreouer, concerning ſuch prieſtes and Miniſters, as had geuen money to the king for their company with their wyues: it was agreed that they ſhould ſurceaſe from all eccleſiaſticall function, the ſpace of. iij. yeares: and that the king ſhould take no more after ſuch maner. Item, that all

The king brought vnder the archbiſh.

Conditions graunted by the kyng to Anſelme.

Lawful matrimonye puniſhed.

ſuch goods, fruites, and poſſeſſions, as had bene taken away before from the archbiſhopricke, ſhould be reſtored at his comming agayne into England. &c.

Anſelme returneth into England.

Prieſtes driuen againe from their wiues.

Thus Anſelmus the ſtout champion of poperye and ſuperſtition, after this victory gotten vpon the king, for the which he ſo longe fought: with ioy and triumphe ſayleth into England, hauing all his popiſhe requeſtes obtayned. Where firſt, he flieth lyke a Lyon vpon ẏ maried prieſtes, contrary to the woord of God, diuorſing & puniſhing that by mans authoritie, which the eternall and almighty God had coupled. Next he looketh to thē, which did hold any church by farme vnder the king. Agaynſt Symony likewyſe, and agaynſt them that maryed within the ſeuenth degree, he proceedeth wyth hys full pontificall authority.

1106.

Shortly after, as king Henry had finiſhed hys war in Normandie, and with victorye returned agayne into England, about the ſixt yeare of hys raygne: Anſelme Archbiſhop of Canterburye (by the permiſſion of the king) aſſembled a great councel at Weſtminſter in Lōdon, of the clergy and prelates of England.

In the whiche (by the byſhop of Romes autoritie) he ſo wrought with the king, that at length, albeit (as ẏ ſtory ſayth not without great difficultie) it was newly confirmed & enacted: that no temporall man after that day, ſhould Make inueſture with croſſe or with ryng, or with paſtorall hoke. In this councel ſondry and diuers iniunctions were gyuen forth to prieſtes & deacons: as diuers other ſinodall actes alſo by the ſame Anſelme had bene concluded in other councels before. And becauſe here falleth in mention of the Actes Sinodall concluded in the tyme of this Anſelme: I thought here good to packe thē all and in one general heape together, as I finde them in Malmeſbery, and in other ſondry autors ſcaterryngly recited.

Ex lib. Gulie. de geſtis pontific. lib. 1. Ex Iornalēſi. et alijs.

The firſt thyng decreed by this Anſelme, in his ſinodall councels, was touching the fault of Simonie: wherby diuers both byſhops & abbotes (as is aforeſayd) were at the ſame time depoſed. And lay mē forbyd to conferre any eccleſiaſticall promocion.

Prieſtlye apparell.

Alſo it was decred, ẏ no biſhop ſhould beare any office in ſecular mens buſines or metyngs. And that ſuch ſhould no go appareled as the lay men dyd, but ſhould haue their veſtures decent, and mete for religious perſons. And ẏ in all places they ſhould neuer go without ſome to beare witnes of their conuerſation.

Archdeacōries not to be farmed.

Itē, that no archdeaconries ſhould be let out to ferme.

Item, that no archdeacon ſhould be vnder the degrée of a deacon.

Mariage of prieſtes forbidden.

Item, that archdeacon, prieſt, deacon, ſubdeacon, colligener, nor chanō, ſhould frō thence forth mary a wife, nor yet kepe her, if he had bene maried to one before.

Item, that euery ſubdeacon, beyng vnder the degrée of a chanon (after the profeſſion of chaſtitie, maryeng a wife) ſhould be ſubiect to the ſame rule.

They ordeyned alſo that a prieſt kepyng company with his wife, ſhould be reputed vnlawfull: and that he ſhould ſay no Maſſe: and if he ſayd Maſſe, it ſhould not be hard.

Vow of chaſtitie brought in.

They charged that none were admitted to orders frō that tyme forward, from the degrée of a ſubdeacon, vnleſſe he muſt profeſſe chaſtitie.

Benefices not to goe by heritage.

That prieſtes ſonnes ſhould not clayme by heretage the benefices of their fathers, as ẏ cuſtome had alwayes bene before.

How then was Steuen Gardener Lord chauncelor in Quene Maries tyme.

Item, that no ſpirituall perſon ſhould ſit in any ſecular office: as to be procurators or iudges of blood.

Item, that prieſtes ſhould not reſort to tauernes, or banquets, nor ſit drinkyng by the fire ſide.

That, the garmentes of prieſtes ſhould be of one colour, and that their ſhoes ſhould be decent.

Item, that monkes or any other of the clergie (if they forſoke their order) either to come agayne, or to be excommunicate.

Priſtes crowne

Item, that men of the clergie ſhould weare broade crownes.

Tythes.

Item, that no tythes ſhould be geuen, but to ẏ church.

Byeng of prebend

Item, ẏ no churches or prebendes ſhould be bought.

Buildin chappels.

That no new chapels ſhould be made without conſent of the biſhop.

Euery c che to fy hys own prieſt.

That no church ſhould be halowed, before neceſſary prouiſion were made for the prieſt, and for the church to be maynteyned.

Abbo maintai no war

That abbotes ſhould ſet forth no men to warre, and that they muſt both ſleape & eate, in the ſame houſe with their monkes, vnleſſe ſome great neceſſitie do let.

Monk mited i geuing p nance.

Item, that monkes do inioyne no penance to any mā without the knowledge of his abbot. And that their abbotes may geue no licence therin, but onely for ſuch perſons whoſe charge they haue of ſoule.

Monke godfath nor nu godmo thers.

That no monkes ſhould be Godfathers: Nor nūnes Godmothers.

That monkes ſhould haue no Lordſhips to ferme.

Abbey landes. Improp tions re ſtreyne

Item, that monkes ſhould take no churches but by the biſhop, neither ſhould ſo ſpoile and oppreſſe the churches geuen to them, with their rentes, that ſufficiēt were not left for the miniſters of the ſame.

Priuye contra

That priuie contract betwen man and woman without witnes ſhould not ſtand, but be fruſtrate if eche partie do go from the contract.

Round

Itē, that ſuch as weare long heyr of the clergie, be ſo rounded, that part of their eare appeare, and that their eyes be not couered.

Mariag within v.i. deg reſtray

Item, that there be no matrimonial copulation, within the vij. degrée of kindered: nor ſo to continue if they be maried, but the mariage to be broken. And if any beyng priuie to that inceſt, do not detect the ſame, he to be gilty of the ſame crime.

Buryin

Item, that no funerall or buryengs be without their owne pariſh church, ſo that the prieſt therof do loſe that which to to hym is dewe.

No hol to be g to ſhry and pl

Item, that no man vpon any newfangled raſhnes, do attribute any reuerence or opinion of holynes, to dead mens bodies; to fountaines, or to any other thing (as the vſe hath bene in tyme paſt) without autoritie of ẏ biſhop.

Selling byeng men.

Item, that no byeng and ſellyng be vſed hereafter in England of men, as of other cattell.

Sodom

Item, after the reſtreinte of prieſtes mariage: when filthy Sodomitrie began to come in the place therof, thē were they forced alſo, to make an acte for that, which was this.

A ſlap a fore for Sod mitry.

With a greuous curſe we condemne both them that occupie the vngracious vice of Sodomitrie, and them alſo that wyllingly aſſiſte them, or be wicked doers with thē in the ſame: til ſuch time, as they may deſerue abſolution by penaunce and confeſſion.

So that what ſo euer he be, that is noyſed or proued to be of this wickednes (if he be a religious perſon) he ſhall from thence forth be promoted, to no degrée of honour: and ẏ which he hath, ſhalbe taken from hym.

If he be a lay perſon, he ſhalbe depriued of all hys fredome within the land, and be no better then a forener.

And becauſe it ſhalbe knowen, the abſolution of ſuch as be ſecular to belong onely to biſhops, it was therfore enacted: that on euery ſonday, in euery pariſh church of Englād the ſayd excōmunicatiō ſhould be publiſhed. &c.

Ranul Ceſtr Lib. 7.

Note the prepoſ rous pr ding of An'elme ceaſing vice of dom

But marke in this great matter what followed. For as Ranulphus Ceſtrēſis witneſſeth: this greuous generall curſe was ſoone called backe agayne, by the ſute of certayne: which perſwaded Anſelme, that the publication or opening of that vice, gaue kindlings to the ſame in the hartes of lewde perſons: miniſtring occaſion of more boldnes to them to do the like. And ſo to ſtop the occaſion of filthy Sodomitrye, the publication thereof was taken away,but the forbidding and reſtreinment of prieſtes vnlawfull mariage(which chiefely was the cauſe therof)remained ſtil.And thus euer ſince,horrible Sodomitry remayneth in the Clergy,both for lacke of mariage more vſed , and for lacke of publication, leſſe puniſhed.

Beſides all theſe ſynodal actes aboue comprehended, and geuen out by Anſelmus in his councels before : here alſo in this preſent councel at Weſtminſter , and in the yeare of the king aforeſayd,he alſo directed other newe Iniunctions to the prieſtes.

Firſt,that they and their wyues ſhoulde neuer more meete in one houſe , neyther yet haue dwelling in theyr territories.

Item that prieſtes,deacons,and ſubdeacons, ſhould kepe no women in their houſe,vnleſſe they were of their next kynne.

Item,for ſuch as had diſſeuered themſelues from the ſociety of their wiues:yet for ſome honeſt cauſe they had to commen with them,they might:ſo it were without doore,and with.ij.or.iij.lawful wytnes.

Item,if any of them ſhoulde be accuſed by twoo or three wytneſſes,and coulde not purge hym ſelfe agayne by ſixe able men of his owne order(if he be a prieaſt , or if he be a Deacon,by.iiij.or if he be a Subdeacon by.ij) thē he ſhould be iudged a tranſgreſſour of the ſtatutes, depriued of his benefice,and be made infamous , or be put to open reproche of all men.

Item,he that rebelled , or in contempt of this newe ſtatute helde ſtyll his wyfe,and preſumed to ſay Maſſe: vpon the.viij.day after(if he made not due ſatiſfaction) ſhould be ſolemnly excommunicated.

Item,all archdeacons and Deanes to be ſtraightly ſworne,not to wincke or diſſemble at their meetinges, nor to beare with them for money. And if they woulde not be ſworen to this , then to looſe their offices wythout recouery.

Item,ſuch prieſtes as forſaking their wyues , were wyllyng to ſerue ſtyll and remayne in their holy order: firſt muſt ceaſe.xl.dayes from their miniſtration , ſetting Vicars for them in the meane tyme to ſerue : and taking ſuch penance vpon thē,as by their biſhop ſhould be enioyned them.

Thus haue ye heard the tedious treatiſe of the lyfe and doinges of Anſelmus:how ſuperſticious in his religion,how ſtubburne agaynſt hys prince he was , what occaſion of warre and diſcord he miniſtred by his complayntes(if they had bene taken)what zeale wout right knowledge,what feruēcie wout cauſe he pretēded,what paines wout profit he tooke. Who if he had beſtowed ẏ time ⁊ trauel in preaching Chriſt at home to his flock, which he tooke in gadding to Rome , to complayne of his countrey:in my mynde he had bene better occupied. Moreouer what violent and tyrannicall iniunctions he ſet forth of inueſting ⁊ other things , ye haue heard: but ſpecially agaynſt the lawfull ⁊ godly mariage of prieſts. Wherin,what a vehement aduerſary he was:here may appeare by theſe minutes or pieces extracted out of his letters,which we haue here annexed in forme and effecte as followeth.

A letter of Anſelme.

Anſelme archbiſhop, to his brethren and deareſt ſonnnes the Lord prior,and other at Canterb.

As concernyng prieſtes , of whom the kyng commaunded that they ſhould haue both their churches and their women as they had in the tyme of his father ⁊ of Lanckrancus Archbiſhop:both becauſe the kyng hath reueſted and reſeazed of the whole archbiſhopricke: and becauſe ſo curſed a mariage was forbidden in a councel in the time of his father and of the ſaid archbiſhop:Boldly I commaund by the autoritie which I haue by my archbiſhoprike,not onely within my archbiſhoprike,but alſo throughout England:that all prieſtes which keepe women ſhalbe depriued of their churches, and all eccleſiaſticall benefices.

Anſelme is reueſted to hys archbiſhoprik. Ergo prieſtes ſhall haue no wiues.

A letter of pope Paſchalis to Anſelme.

Paſchall biſhop ſeruant of gods ſeruantes, to hys reuerend brother Anſelme archbiſhop of Cant greetyng and Apoſtolicall bleſsyng.

We beleue your brotherhoode is not ignoraunt , what is decreed in the Romiſh church concernyng prieſtes childrē. But bicauſe there is ſo great multitude of ſuch win ẏ realme of England , ẏ almoſt ẏ greater ⁊ better part of the clearkes are reckened to be on this ſide: therfore we committe this diſpenſation to your care . For we graunt theſe to be promoted to holy offices by reaſō of the neede at this time,and for the profite of the church (ſuch as learnyng and lyfe ſhal commend among you) ẏ yet notwithſtādyng the preiudice of the eccleſiaſtical decree be taken heede to hereafter.⁊c.

Ex epiſt. Anſel.33.

If profit of the church may come by prieſtes children, what hurte thē were it to the church for prieſtes to haue wiues.

An other letter of Anſelme,for inueſting.

To the reuerend Lorde and louyng father Paſchall hyghe byſhop,Anſelme ſeruante of Canterb church,due ſubiection and continuall prayers.

After that I returned to my biſhoprike in England, I ſhewed the Apoſtolicall decree:which I beyng preſent heard in the Romiſh councell. 1. that no man ſhould receaue inueſting of churches of the kyngs hand,or any lay perſon,or ſhould become his man for it.And that no man ſhould preſume to conſecrate hym,that dyd offend herein.Whē the king and his nobles,and the biſhops thēſelues,and other of the lower degree heard theſe things: they tooke them ſo greuouſly,that they ſaid:they would in no caſe agree to the thing,and that they would dryue me out of the kingdom,and forſake the Romiſh church, rather than kepe this thyng: wherefore reuerend father I deſire your councel by your letter,⁊c.

King Henry & hys nobles ready to forſake the romiſh church.

An other Letter of Anſelme.

Anſelme archbiſhop to the reuerend Gudulphus biſhop, and to Ernulphus prior,And to william archdeacon of Cant.and to all in his Dioces gretyng.

William our archdeacon hath writen to me, that ſome prieſts that be vnder his cuſtody(taking againe their women, that were forbidden) haue fallen vnto the vncleannes from the whiche they were drawne by holeſome counſel and commundement : when the archdeacon would amend this thyng,they vtterly deſpiſed with wicked pride his warnyng and woorthy commaundemēt to be receaued.Then he calling together many religious men and obedient prieſts,excōmunicated worthely the proude and diſobedient , that beaſtly deſpiſed the curſe and were not afrayd to defile the holy miniſtery, as much as lay in them.⁊c.

A letter of Anſelme agaynſt prieſtes, receauing agayne their wiues.

Ex epiſt.375.

Prieſtes excommunicate for receauing againe their wiues.

Unto theſe letters aboue prefixed,I haue alſo adioyned an other of the ſayd Anſelmus , touchyng a great caſe of conſcience,of a monkes whypppyng of hym ſelfe. Wherein may appeare both the blynd and lamentable ſuperſtition of thoſe religious men , and the iudgement of this Anſelmus in the ſame matter.

An other Letter of Anſelmus.

Anſelmus archbiſhop , to Bernard monke of the abbey of S.Warburg gretyng and prayer.

I Hard it ſayd of your Lord abbot that thou iudges it to be of greater merite,when a monke either beateth hym ſelfe , or deſireth hym ſelfe to be beaten of an other: then wherſhe is beaten(not of hys owne wil)in the chapter,by the commaundement of the prelacy.But it is not ſo as you thinke. For that iudgemēt that any man commaundeth to hym ſelfe is kyngly . But that whiche he ſuffereth by obedience in the chapter is monkiſhe. The one is of his owne will,thother is of obedience , and not

A letter of Anſelmus.

Ex epiſt.255.

Whether is more merit of a monke to cauſe him ſelfe in the chapter to be whipped: or to ſuffer obediently the whippinges of his abbot.

of hys owne will. That whiche I call kyngly, kynges & rich proude men commaunde to be done to themſelues. But that which I call monkiſh, they take (not commaũdyng, but obeyng) The kyngly is ſo much eaſier, by how much is agreeth to the will of the ſufferer. But the monkiſh is ſo much the greuouſer, by how much it differreth frō ẏ will of ẏ ſufferer. In the kyngly iudgement, the ſufferer is iudged to be his owne: In the monkiſh he is proued not to be his owne. For although the kyng or riche man, when he is beatē, willingly ſheweth himſelfe humbly to be a ſinner: yet he would not ſubmit hym ſelfe, to this humblenes at any other cōmaundemēt, but would withſtande the commaunder with all his ſtrength. But when a monke ſubmitteth him ſelfe to the whippes humbly in the chapter at the will of the prelate: the truth iudgeth hym to be of ſo much greater merite, by how much he humbleth hym ſelfe more, & more truly then thother. For he humbleth hym ſelfe to God onely, becauſe hee knoweth his ſinnes. But this man humbleth hym ſelfe to man for obedience. But he is more lowly that humbleth him ſelfe both to God and man for Gods cauſe, thē he whiche humbleth hym ſelfe to God onely, and not to Gods commaundement. Therfore if he that humbleth hym ſelfe ſhalbe extolled, Ergo he that more humbleth hym ſelfe ſhalbe more exalted. And where I ſayd that when a monke is whypped, that it differeth from hys will: you muſt not ſo vnderſtand it, as though he would not paciently beare it with an obediente will; but becauſe by a naturall appetite, he would not ſuffer the ſorow. But if ye ſay, I do not ſo much flye the open beatyng for the paynes (whiche I feale alſo ſecretly) as for the ſhame: know then, that he is ſtronger that reioyſeth to beare this for obedience ſake. Therfore be thou ſure, that one whypping of a monke by obedience, is of more merite, then innumerable whyppings taken by his own mynde. But where as he is ſuch, that alwayes he ought to haue his hart ready without murmuryng obediently to be whipped: we ought to iudge him thē to be of great merite, whether he be whypped priuely or openly. &c.

The iudgemēt or concluſion of Anſelme vpon the caſe.

Falſe opinion of merite.

And thus much concernyng Anſelmus archbyſhop of Caunt. whoſe ſtoute example gaue no litle courage to Thurſtinus & Becket his ſucceſſors: & to other that folowed after to do the lyke agaynſt their kynges and princes, as in proces hereafter by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appeare.

An. 1105

About this time an. 1105. two famous Archbiſhops of Mentz, being right vertuous and well diſpoſed Prelates: were cruelly and tirannouſly delt withall, and intreated by the biſhop of Rome. Their names were Harry and Chriſtian. This Harry hauing intelligence, that he was complayned of to the pope, ſent a learned man (a ſpeciall friend of his) to excuſe him, named Arnolde: one for whom he had much done, and promoted to great lyuing and promotions. But this honeſt man Arnold, in ſteede of an excuſer became an accuſer, bribing the two chiefeſt Cardinals with good gold: by which meanes he obtayned of the Pope, thoſe two Cardinals to bee ſent as inquiſitors and onely doers in that preſent caſe. The which (comming to Germany) ſomoned the ſayd Henrye, and depoſed him of his archbiſhopricke (for all hee could doo) eyther by lawe or iuſtice: ſubſtituting in hys place the foreſayd Arnold, vpon hope (truly) of the eccleſiaſticall gold. Wherupon that vertuous and honorable Henry (as the ſtory telleth) ſpake vnto thoſe his peruers iudges on this wyſe. If I ſhould appeale vnto the Apoſtolike ſee for this your vniuſt proces had agaynſt me: perhaps the pope wold attempt nothing any more therin, then ye haue: neyther ſhould I wyn any thyng by it, but onely toyle of body, loſſe of good, affliction of mind, care of hart, and miſſyng of his fauour. Wherfore I do appeale to the Lord Ieſu Chriſt, as to the moſt hygheſt and iuſt iudge, and cite you before his iudgement, there to anſwer me before the highe iudge. For neyther iuſtly nor godly (but by corrupcion as it pleaſeth you) you haue iudged. Whereunto they ſcoffingly anſwered: Go you firſt, and we wyll follow. Not long after (as the ſtory is) the ſayd Harry dyed: whereof the two Cardinals hauing intelligēce ſayd one to the other ieſtingly: behold he is gone before, and we muſt follow according to our promis: and verely they ſayd truer thē they were aware of, for within awhile they dyed in one day. For the one ſitting vpon a iakes to eaſe himſelfe, voyded out all hys intrals into the draught, and miſerably ended his lyfe. The other gnawing of the fingers of his handes, & ſpitting them out of his mouth (all deformed in deuouryng himſelfe) dyed. And in lykewiſe, not long after the end of theſe men, the foreſaid Arnold (moſt horribly) in a ſedicion was ſlayne: and certayn dayes (lying ſtinking aboue the ground vnburied) was open to the ſpoil of euery raſcall and harlot. The Hiſtoriographer in declaring hereof, cryeth vpon the Cardinals in this maner: O ye Cardinals, ye are the beginning and authors hereof. Come ye hether therfore, come ye hether, and heape and carye vnto your countries the deuill: and offer your ſelues to hym with that mony wherof ye haue bene moſt glottonous and inſatiable.

Iudges corrupted.

About the ſame tyme and yeare when king Henrye began his raygne, Pope Paſchalis entered hys papacie, ſucceeding after Vrbanus: about the yeare of the Lord a thouſand & one hundreth, nothyng ſwaruing frō the ſteps of Hildebrand his ſuperior. This Paſchalis, beyng elected by the cardinals, after that the people had cried thriſe: Saint Peter hath choſen good Raynerus: he than puttyng on a purple veſture, & a tyer vpō his head, was brought vpon a white palfray into Laterane: wher a ſcepter was geuen him, and a girdle put aboute hym (hauyng .vij. keyes, with .vij. ſeales hanging there vpon) for a recogniſance or tokē, of hys ſeuēfold power, according to ẏ ſeuēfold grace of ẏ holy ghoſt: of bindyng, looſyng, ſhittyng, openyng, ſealyng, reſignyng & iudgyng, &c. After this Paſchalis was elected Pope: Henricus 4. the foreſayd Emperour (of courage moſt valiant, yf the tyme had ſerued therto) thought to come vp to Italye to ſalute the new pope. But vnderſtandyng ẏ popes mynd bent agaynſt him, he chaunged hys purpoſe. In ẏ meane tyme, Paſchalis to ſhew hymſelf inferior to Hildebrand in no poynt: began firſt to depoſe all ſuch abbats and biſhops whom the Emperour had ſet vp. Alſo baniſhed Albertus, Theodoricus, and Maginulphus ſtriuing ẏ ſame tyme for the papacie. I ſpake before of Wybert, whome Henricus the emperour had made pope againſt Hildebrand. Againſt this Wybert Paſchalis made out an army: who beyng put to flight, not long after departed.

About the ſame tyme, an M.Ci. the biſhop of Fluence began to teach & to preache of Antichriſt thē to be borne and to be manifeſt, as Sabellicus teſtifieth: wherupon Paſchalis aſſembling a councel, put to ſilence the ſayde byſhop, and condemned hys bookes. In this councel at Trecas: prieſtes that were maried, were condemned for Nicolaitanes. Itē, according to ẏ decree of Hildebrād: All ſuch of what degre or eſtate ſoeuer they were (being lay men) that gaue any eccleſiaſtical dignities, were cōdemned of Simony. Furthermore, the ſtatute of prieſts tithes, there he renued: counting the ſelling away therof as a ſinne againſt the holy ghoſt. Concerning the excommunication & other troubles that Hildebrand wrought agaynſt Henricus the fourth Emperour: it is declared ſufficiently before. This excommunication, Paſchalis the pope renued afreſh, againſt the ſaid Henry. And not onely that, but alſo conuenting the princes of Germany into a generall aſſemble: ſet vp his owne ſonne agaynſt him: cauſing ẏ biſhop of Mentz, of Colen, & of Worms, to depriue him of his emperiall crowne, and to place his ſonne Henricus the fift, in his fathers kingdome: and ſo they did. Comming to the place at Hilgeſhem, firſt thei required his Diademe, his purple, his ryng, and other ornamentes pertaynyng to the crowne, from him. The emperour demaundeth the cauſe, being then excommunicate & voyde of friends. They pretending agayn (I can not tel what) for ſelling of biſhopricks, Abbaſes, & other eccleſiaſticall dignities for money: alſo alledging the popes pleaſure, and of other princes. Then required he firſt of the biſhop of Mentz (and likewiſe of the other .ij. whom he had preferred to their biſhopricks before) aſking them in order, if he had receaued of them any peny for his promoting them to their dignities. Thys when they could not deny to be ſo: wel ſayth he, and do you requite me agayne with this? With diuers other wordes of exhortacion, admoniſhing them to remember theyr othe and allegiaunce to their prince. But the periured Prelates, neither reuerenſing his maieſtye, nor moued with his benefites, nor regarding their fidelitie, ceaſed not for this, but firſt plucked frō him (ſitting in throne) hys crowne imperiall: then diſueſtured him, takyng frō him his purple and hys ſcepture. The good Emperour, being left deſolate and in confuſion, ſaith to them: Vide at deus, et iudicet, that is, let God ſee, and iudge. Thus leauing him, they went to his ſonne, to confirme hym in his kingdome, and cauſed him to driue his father out. Who then being chaſed of his own ſonne (hauing but .ix. perſons about him) dyd flee by the Dukedome of Limbrugh, where the Duke being then in hunting, perceyuing and hearing of him, made after to folow him. The emperour fearing no other but preſent death (for he had diſplaced the ſame Duke before out of his Dukedome) ſubmitted himſelf, crauing of him pardō, & not reuengement. The Duke ful of compaſſion, & pitying hys ſtate: not onely remitted all his diſpleaſure, but alſo receaued him to his Caſtell. Moreouer, collecting his ſoldiours & men of warre, brought him to Colen, and ther was wel receiued. His ſonne hearing this, beſieged the Citye of Colen. But the father by night eſcaping, came to Leodium: where reſorted to him all ſuch as were men of cōpaſſion, & of a conſtant hart. In ſo much that his power being ſtrong inough, he was now able to pitch a field agaynſt his enemies, and ſo did: deſiring his frends, that if he had the victorye, they woulde ſpare his ſonne. In fine (the battaile ioyned) the father had the victorye, the ſonne was put to flyght: manye beyng ſlayne on both ſides. But ſhortlye after the battel renued agayne: the ſonne preuayled, the father was ouercome, and taken. Who then being vtterly diſpoſſeſſed of his kyngdome, was brought to ẏ exigent: that cōming to Spire, was fayne to craue of ẏ biſhop ther (whom he had don much for before) to haue a prebend in ẏ church: & for ẏ he had ſome ſkill of his booke, he deſired to ſerue in our ladies quier. Yet could he not obtayne ſo much at his hād: who ſwore by our Lady, he ſhould haue none ther. Thus the woful Emperour (moſt vnkindly handled, and repulſed on euery ſide) came to Leodium, and there for ſorrowe died, after he had raigned, 50. yeares: whoſe body Paſchalis after his funerall, cauſed to be taken vp agayne, & to be brought to Shires, where it remayned .v. yeres vnburied. Hæc ex Helmoldo.

x hiſto- Hel- oldi.

he pre- tes ſet e ſonne aynſt the ther.

grateful ample of good and ankfull ke.

naughtie nne of a od fa- er.

Hel- ldo, et tfrido erbieſi.

e va- ines of ood ate.

06.

e Empe- .v. es with buriall.

07.

nricus perour.

chro- Cari- lib. j. e pope n pri- er.

After the deceaſe of thys Emperour Henricus the fourth: his ſonne Henricus the fift, raygned the ſpace of .xx. yeres. Who comming to Rome to be crowned of the Pope, could not obtayne before he would fully aſſent to haue this ratified: ẏ no emperour ſhould haue any thnig to do wᵗ the election of the Romane biſhop, or with other biſhopricks. Beſides that (about the ſame time) ſuche a ſtyrre was made in Rome by the ſaid biſhop: that if the Emperour had not defended hym ſelfe, with his owne handes, he had bene ſlayne. But as it happened, the emperour hauing the victory; amongeſt manye other Romaines (which were partlye ſlayne, partlye taken in the ſame ſkirmiſh) he taketh alſo the Pope, and leadeth him out of the citie: where he indenteth with him vpō diuers condicions, both of his coronation, and of recouering agayn his right and title in the election of the Pope, and of other biſhops: wherunto the pope aſſenting, agreed to all. So the Emperour (being crowned of Paſchalis) returned agayne with the pope to Rome.

All the condicions betwene the Emperour and the Pope (ſo long as the Emperour remayned at Rome) ſtode firme and ratified. But as ſone as the Emperor was returned agayne to Germany, forthwith the pope calling a Synode, not onelye reuoked all that he had agreed to before: but alſo excommunicated Henricus the Emperour, as he had done his father before, reprouing the former priuilegium for prauilegium. The Emperour returning frō Rome to Fraūce, there maried Mathild daughter to king Henry. Who then hearing what the pope had done (agreeued not alytle) wyth all expedition marcheth to Rome, and putteth the pope to flight: and finally placeth an other in his ſtede. In ẏ meane time the biſhops of Germany (the popes good friendes) ſlept not their buſines, incenſing the Saxons: all that they might againſt their Ceſar: In ſo much that a great commotiō was ſtirred vp, and grew at lenghte to a pitched filde: which was fought in ẏ moneth of february, by the wood caled, Silua Catularia. An. M.Cxv.

War rayſed vp by the pope, & his papiſtes.

The emperour ſeing no end of theſe conflicts (vnles he woulde yelde to the pope) was fayne to geue ouer, and forgo his priueledge: falling to a cōpoſitiō, not to medle with matters perteining to the popes election, nor wᵗ inueſting, nor ſuch other thinges belonging to the church, and church men. And thus, was the peace betwene them concluded and proclaymed, to no ſmal reioyſing to both the armies, thē lying by Wormes, nere ẏ riuer of Rine.

Peace cōcluded betwene the Emperour and the pope.

In the time of this Paſchalis: liued Bernardus, caled Abbas Clarauallenſis, An. M.Cviij. of whom ſprange the Bernardine monkes.

Bernardus the abbot.

Bernardine monkes came in.

About what time, the citye of Worceſter was conſumed almoſt all with fier. An M.Cviiij.

The citie of Worceter almoſt all conſumed with fire.

All this while Hēricus ẏ emperour had no iſſue (hauing to wyfe Mathildis, the daughter of Henricus .i. king of England) & that by the iuſt iudgment of God, as it may appeare. For as he hauing a father, perſecuted him by ẏ popes ſetting on, cōtrary to ẏ part of a naturall ſonne: ſo Gods prouidence did not ſuffer him to bee the father of any childe, naturally to loue him, or to ſuccede hym.

Mathildis.

Example of the Lords iuſte retribution, and iudgement.

After the death of Paſchalis, an. 1118. ſucceded pope Gelaſius (choſen by the Cardinals) but wᵗout the cōſent of ẏ emperour: wherupō roſe no litle variance in Rome. And at length, an other Pope was ſet vp by the Emperour called Gregorious .viij. and Gelaſius driuen away into Fraunce, and there dyed. After whom came Calixtus the ſecond (choſen likewiſe by a few cardinals, without the voice of the emperour) who cōming vp to Rome to enioy his ſeat, firſt ſent his legat into Germany, to excōmunicate the emperour Henricus: who thē hauing diuers conflictes with his fellowe pope Gregorious, at lēgth draue him out of Rome. At this time by this occaſion, great diſputaciō and cōtrouerſie was betwene the Emperours and the popes court, whether of thē in dignitie ſhould excell the other: whereof reaſons and argumentes on both ſides were alledged, as in the verſes here following are comprehended.

Two popes ſtriuing together.

Pope Calixtus the .ii.

The pope excōmunicateth the emperour.

¶ *Allegatio Imperatoris contra papam.*

Cæſar lex viua ſtat regibus imperatiua,
Legeq; ſub viua ſunt omnia iura datiua.
Lex ea caſtigat, ſoluit et ipſa ligat.
Conditor eſt legis neq; debet lege teneri,
Sed ſibi complacuit ſub lege libenter haberi,
Quicquid ei placuit iuris adinſtar erit.
Qui ligat ac ſoluit deus ipſum protulit orbi,
Diuiſit regnum diuina potentia ſecum

Aſtra dedit ſuperis,cætera cuncta ſibi.

¶ Reſponſio Romanæ curiæ contra Imperatorem.

Pars quoque papalis ſic obuiat Imperiali,
Sic dans regnare, quod Petro ſubiiciaris.
Ius etenim nobis Chriſtus vtrumq; parit.
Spiritus et corpus mihi ſunt ſubiecta potenter,
Corpore terrena teneo cæleſtia mente
Vnde tenendo polum, ſoluo ligoq; ſolum.
Aethera pandere,cœlica tangere,papa videtur.
Nam dare,tollere,nectere, ſoluere cuncta meretur,
Cui dedit omne decus lex noua,lexque vetus.
Annulus & baculus quamuis terrena putentur,
Sunt de iure poli,quæ ſignificare videntur.
Reſpice iura dei,mens tua cedat ei.&c.

In concluſion the emperour being ouercome ſo much with the vayne reaſons of the popes ſide, and fearing the daungerous thunderbolt of this curſe(talking with princes, and perſwaded by his friendes) was fayne to condeſcend to the vnreaſonable conditions of the pope. Firſt to ratify his electiõ:notwithſtãding(the other pope whom the ſayd Emperour had ſet vp) yet was a liue: ſecondly,that he ſhoulde reſigne vp his right and tytle in matters pertayning to the election of the pope, and inueſture of Biſhops.

Gregorius brought into Rome,by the pope,hys face to the horſe tayle.
Ex Platina. Vincentio ſtella.&c.

This being done and graunted, and the writinges therof ſet vp in the church of Lateran for a triumph, of the Emperour thus ſubdued:the pope maketh out after Gregorious his fellow pope,being then in a towne called Sutrium. This Sutrium,being beſieged and takẽ, Gregory alſo was taken. Whom Calixtus the pope, ſitting vpõ a Camel(his face to the Camels tayle)brought him ſo through the ſtreetes of Rome, holding the tayle in his hand in ſteede of a bridle:and afterwarde beyng ſhorne,was thruſt into a Monaſtery.

The Imber dayes by whõ they were brought in and when.
Diſt.76.cap. Ieiunium.

Amongeſt manye other actes done by this glorious pope,firſt he eſtabliſhed the decrees of the papall ſæ agaynſt this Emperour.He brought in the foure quarter faſtes,called Imber dayes.Diſt.70.cap.Ieiunium.

The order of monkes,Pręmonſtratenſes.

By the ſame Calixtus, the order of Monkes called Præmonſtratenſes,were brought in.

Scripture clerkly applied of the pope.

Farther,by him it was decreed to be iudged for adultery,if any perſon(by his life time)had put from him either biſhoprick or benefice:grounding vpon this ſcripture of S.Paul to ẏ Romanes:Alligata eſt vxor legi viri,quamdiu vir eius viuit:eo defuncto,ſoluta eſt a lege viri.&c.That is:the wife is bound to the law of her huſbãd, ſo long as the huſband liueth:after he is dead,ſhe is loſe from the law of her huſband.&c.

Prieſtes & miniſters compelled to leaue their wiues.

Item,the ſame Calixtus holding a generall councel at Rhemis,decreed : that prieſts,deacons,and ſubdecõs ſhould put away their concubines & wiues:or els, who ſoeuer was found to keepe his wife,to be depriued of benefice,and all other eccleſiaſticall liuinges:wherupon a certaine Engliſh writer made theſe verſes following.

O bone Calixte,nunc omnis clerus odit te,
Quondam præsbyteri poterant vxoribus vti
Hoc deſtruxiſti,poſtquam tu papa fuiſti.&c.

That is word for word.

The hatred of the clergie,haſt thou good Calixte,
For ſome time prieſtes might vſe theyr wiues right,
But that thou haſt reiected, ſẽce pope thou waſt elected.

*An.*1109

And thus much of Romaine matters : Now to our countrey ſtory agayn.After the death of Anſelme before mẽtioned (who deceaſſed ẏ yere of our Lord.1109.after he had bene in ẏ ſee xvi.yeares) the church of Cant.ſtode voyde v.yeares:and the goods of the churche were ſpent to the kynges vſe. And when he was prayed to helpe the church that was ſo long without a paſtor,his aunſwere was:pretendyng that where his father and brother,had accuſtomed there to ſet the beſt, tryed, & approued men that might be found: to the entẽt therfore that he might do the ſame(in chuſing ſuch,whiche either ſhould equall the former examples of them before, or at leaſt folowe their footeſteppes as nere as they could) he tooke therin the more time and layſure.And ſo with ſhift of aũſwere dalyed out the tyme, while he had filled his cofers with the commodities of that benefice. The ſame yeare(after the death of Anſelme) the kyng conuerted the abbey of Eley to a byſhoprike, whiche before was vnder the byſhoprike of Lincolne: placyng their Herney byſhop of Bangor the firſt biſhop of that ſee.And as of late yeares before this,diuers wonders were ſene:as ſtarres falling from heauen ſo thike,that they could not be nombred at the ſettyng forth of the chriſtians to the holy land:Iornalenſ.A blaſing ſtarre ouer Conſtantinople:A ſpring boylyng out bloud(ſene at Finchamſtede in Barkſhyer)iij. wekes together an.1099. Giſburnenſ.After that,the firmament appearyng ſo red,as it had ben all on fire: Alſo ij.full Moones appearyng together,one in the Eaſt thother in the Weſt (on maundy thurſday) with a blaſing ſtarre in the ſame yeare appearyng about the takyng of duke Robert,hauing a white circle incloſing it,an.1106 Iornalẽſ: alſo wͭ an eclipſe of ẏ ſũne darkened after that: ſo likewyſe about this preſent yeare an.1110.was ſene ẏ floud of Trent,about Notyngam, ſo dryed vp frõ mornyng to 3.of the clocke at after nonne, ẏ men might go ouer it dryſhod, Giſburnenſ: Alſo in Shroſbery a great earth quake happened : And after that folowed a ſharp winter,great moraine of beaſtes,and peſtilence of men, as Gualterus Giſburnenſ.recordeth: Moreouer the ſame autor mentioneth,that nere about the ſame yeare,ẏ lyke badyng of water happened alſo in the floode of Medewaye: And in Thamis betwene the bridge & the tower,& vnder the brydge(frõ mydnyght to ẏ next euenyng)was ſo great an ebbe:ẏ a vnnumerable ſort of people & childrẽ waded ouer,ſcarſe knee depe in the water : the ſea with drawyng his tyde x. miles from hys accuſtomed courſe. Roger Houed. Gualt. Giſburnenſ.&c. In the which yeare alſo as the ſayd autor, and Iornalenſ. do teſtifie,the citie of Worceter,by caſualitie was cõſumed with fier. Alſo the citie of Cheſter an.1114. Roger Houedenus.

The bi
rike of
firſt pl
Henry
byſhop
Ely.

1110.

Trent d
ed vp.
An ear
quake.
Moraine
peſtilen
Ex G
thero G
burnen.

1113.

Wiceter
conſumed
with fier.

1114.

Rodulp
archbi
of Cant.
Thurſt
archbi
of Yorke.

The next yeare folowyng,Rodolphus byſhop of Rocheſter(an Engliſh man)was promoted to be archbiſhop of Canterbury:and Thurſtinus the kynges chapellaine was elect archbiſhop of Yorke. Who beyng content to receaue his benediction or conſecration of ẏ ſee of Cant: yet becauſe he refuſed to make his profeſſion of obediẽce to ẏ ſame ſee,he was by ẏ kyng depriued of his dignitie.

Diſſe
betwe
Thur
of Yo
& Rod
Archb.
Cant for
ſubiec
The l
of pope
Paſchal
to K

Then Thurſtin (by the inſtigation of certaine of his clerkes at Yorke) tooke his iorney to Rome : who there makyng his cõplaint to pope Paſchalis, brought wͭ him a letter from the pope to the kyng : where among other wordes, was conteyned as foloweth: Audiuimus electũ Eboracenſis eccleſie virum ſapientem & ſtrenuum ſine iudicio ab Eboracenſi ſequeſtratum eccleſia : quod nimirum diuinæ iuſtitiæ & S.Patrum inſtitutionib.aduerſatur. Nos quidem neq; Cant.eccleſiam minui,neq; Eboracenſem volumus præiudicium pati, ſed eam conſtitutionem quæ a.B. Gregorio Anglicæ gentis Apoſtolo inter eaſdem eccleſias conſtituta eſt,firmam cenſemus illibatamq; ſeruari. Idem ergo electus(vt iuſtitia exigit) ad ſuam eccleſiam omnibus modis reuocetur.Si quid autem quæſtionis inter eaſdem eccleſias naſcitur, præſentibus vtriſq; partibus in veſtra præſentia pertractetur.&c. In Engliſh thus.

Ex G
thero G
burne
Ex G
De p
Lib.4
Ex R
Houe
Fabia

We heare and vnderſtand,that the archbyſhop electe of the church of Yorke(a diſcreite and induſtrious man) is ſequeſtred from the church of Yorke: whiche ſtandeth agaynſt both diuine iuſtice,and thinſtitution of holy fathers.Our purpoſe is,that neither the churche of Cant. ſhould be empayred,nor agayne that ẏ church of Yorke, ſhould ſuffer any preiudice:but that the ſame conſtitution whiche was by bleſſ. Gregory (thapoſtle of the Engliſh nation)ſet and decreed betwene thoſe two churches: ſhould remayne ſtill in force and effect inuiolate. Wherfore

fore, as touchyng the foreſayd elect, let hym be receaued agayne by any meanes (as right and mete it is) unto his churche. And if there be any queſtion betwene the foreſayd churches, let it be handled and deciſed in your preſence, both the ij. parties beyng there preſent. ⁊c.

1116.

Aſſemble of the nobles at Saleſbery.

Upon thoccaſiõ of this letter: a ſolemne aſſemble was appointed at Saleſbury, about the hearyng of this controuerſie. The variance betwene theſe ij. prelates ſtil encreaſed more and more. Radolphe archbiſhop of Cant. in no caſe would yeld nor condeſcend to geue impoſition of hands unto hym, unles he would make his profeſſion of obedience. Thurſtine agayne ſayd he would willyngly receaue and embrace hys benediction, but as touchyng the profeſſion of his ſubiection, that he would not agrée unto. Then the kyng declaryng hys minde therin, ſignified unto Thurſtin: that without his ſubiection and obedience profeſſed to ẏ archbiſhop of Cant. he ſhould not enioy his conſecratiõ to be archbiſhop of Yorke. Wherunto Thurſtin (nothing replyeng agayn) renounſed his archbiſhopryke, promiſing moreouer to make no more claime unto it, nor moleſt them that ſhould enioy it.

Thurſtin refuſeth to profeſſe ſubiection to tharchb. of Cant. Thurſtin promiſeth to renoũce hys archbiſhoprike.

1118.

Shortlye after this, it happened, that pope Paſchalis died: After whom (as is aboue rehearſed) ſucceded pope Gelaſius, whiche lyued not paſſe a yeare, and dyed in Fraunce. Wherupon, the cardinals (which then folowed the ſayd pope Gelaſius to Cluniake) created an other pope of their chuſing, whom they called Calixtus ij. The other cardinals whiche were at Rome dyd chuſe an other pope called Gregory as mẽcion before is made: About which two popes much ſturre there was in chriſten realmes. As this Calixtus was remaynyng in Fraũce: and there callyn a generall councel at Renus as ye hard before. Thurſtinus tharchbyſhop of Yorke deſired licence of the kyng to go to the councel, purpoſing there to open ẏ cauſe of his church, whiche eftſones he obtayned: firſt promiſing to the kyng, that he ſhould their attempt nothyng that ſhould be preiudiciall to the churche of Cant. In the meane tyme, the kyng had ſent ſecret word unto the pope, by Radulphe and other procurators, that in no cauſe he would cõſecrate Thurſtinus. Yet (notwithſtandyng the faythfull promiſe of the pope made to the kyng) ſo it fell out: that ẏ ſayd pope, through the ſute of his cardinals, whom Thurſtinus had wonne to hym: was inclined to conſecrate hym, and gaue hym the palle. For this déde the kyng was ſore diſcontented with Thurſtin, and warned him the entrie of his land.

Pope Calixtus breaketh promyſe with the king. Thurſtine ſacred archb. of Yorke by the pope againſt the kings mind

os. celiũ bemiſe.

Actes of the counſel of Remes.

In this councel at Rhenus (aboue mencioned) where were gathered. cccc.xxxiiij. prelates, theſe v. principall actes were concluded.

1 1. That no man ſhould either bye or ſell any biſhoprike, abbaſhyp, deanery, archdeaconſhip, prieſthode, prebenſhyp, altare, or any eccleſiaſticall promotion, benefice, orders, conſecration, church hallowyng, ſeat or ſtalle within the quere, or any office eccleſiaſticall, under daunger of excommunication, if he did perſiſte.

2. 2. That no lay perſon ſhould gyue inueſture of any eccleſiaſticall poſſeſſion: or that any ſpirituall man ſhould receaue any ſuch at any lay mans hand under payne of depriuation.

3. 3. That no man ſhould inuade, take away or deteyne ẏ goodes or poſſeſſions of the churche: but that they ſhould remayne firme and perpetuall, under payne of perpetuall curſe.

4. 4. That no byſhop or prieſt ſhould leaue any eccleſiaſticall dignitie or benefice to any, by way of inheritaunce. Adding moreouer that for baptiſme, chriſme, anoyling, or buriall no money ſhould be exacted.

5. 5. Item that all prieſts, deacons and ſubdeacons, ſhould be utterly debarred and ſequeſtred from company of their wiues and concubines, under payne of excludyng from all chriſtian communion.

The Actes thus determined, were ſent eftſones to Henricus the Emperour, to ſee and try, before the breakyng up of the councel, whether he would agrée to the canonicall elections, frée conſecration, and inueſtyng by ſpirituall perſons, and to other Actes of the ſayd coũcel. The Emperour maketh aũſwere agayne, that he would loſe nothyng that auncient cuſtome of his progenitors had geuen him. Notwithſtanding, becauſe of the autoritie of the generall councell, he was content to cõſent to the reſidue, ſaue onely the inueſtyng of eccleſiaſticall functiõs to be takẽ from hym: to that he would neuer agrée. Upõ this, at the next returne of the pope to the councel, the emperour was appoynted to be excõmunicated. Which thyng when diuers of the councell, dyd not well like, and therfore did ſeparate them ſelues, from the reſt, the pope applyeng againſt them the ſimilitude of the. 70. diſciples whiche were offended at the Lorde, when he taught thẽ of eatyng his fleſh and bloud, and therfore deuided them ſelues from hym. Declaryng moreouer to thẽ, how they whiche gathered not with hym ſcatered, and they that were not wͭ hym, were agaynſt him: by theſe ⁊ ſuch like perſuaſiõs reducing them agayn to hys ſide, and ſo by ẏ councell Henricus the Emperour was excõmunicated.

The actes ſent to the Emperour.

The emperour agreeth not to the popes. inueſting.

The councel deuided.

Ex Rog. Houed.

Henry the Emperour excommunicated.

It was not long after, but the pope came to Giſortium: where, Henry kyng of England reſorted to hym, deſiryng and alſo obtayning of him, that he would ſend hẽceforth no legate, nor permit any to be ſent frõ Rome to England, unles the kyng hym ſelfe ſhould ſo require by reaſon of ſome occaſion of ſtrife, which els could not otherwiſe be deciſed, by hys owne biſhops at home. The cauſe why the kyng required this of the pope: was, for ẏ certayne Romaine legates had ben in England, a lytle before (to witte) one Guido, ⁊ an other Romaine named Anſelmꝰ, ⁊ an other alſo called Petrus: who had ſpoiled ẏ realme of great treaſure, as ẏ cuſtomed maner of the popes proud legates is wõt to do. Guliel. de pont, lib. 1. Alſo he required of the pope, that he might uſe and retaine all the cuſtomes uſed before of his forefathers, in England and in Normandy.

Agreed that England ſhould haue no other legat frõ Rome, but only the archb. of Cãterbury.

England ſpoyled by the popes legates.

To theſe peticions the pope did eaſely conſent, requiryng agayne of the kyng that he would licence Thurſtinus the archb. aboue minded, to returne with fauour into his realme. But that the kyng utterly denyed unleſſe he would profeſſe ſubiection, to the churche of Cant. as his predeceſſours had done before: and excuſed him ſelfe by his oth, whiche he before had made. To thys the pope anſwered againe, ẏ he by his autoritie Apoſtolicall both might and would alſo eaſely diſpenſe with hym for hys promiſe or othe. Then the king ſayd that he would talke wͭ his counſaile therof, ⁊ ſo ſend hym an anſwere of hys minde. Which anſwere was this: that for the loue ⁊ requeſt of the pope, he was contẽt that Thurſtinus ſhould ſafely reenter hys realme, and quietly enioye hys prelatſhyp, upon this condition that he would (as hys predeceſſores did) profeſſe his ſubiection to the church of Cant. Otherwiſe (ſayd he) ſo long as he was kyng, he ſhould neuer ſit archbyſhop of the churche of Yorke. And thus ended that metyng betwene the kyng of England, and the pope for that tyme.

All the cuſtomes of the realme grauted of the pope.

An. 1120

The yeare folowing after that, which was an. 1120. the foreſaid pope Calixtus directeth his letters for Thurſtinus, to the kyng, and to Radulphe archb. of Cant. In whiche Epiſtle by his full power Apoſtolicall he doth interdict both the church of Cant. and the church of Yorke withall the pariſh churches within the ſame cities, from all diuine ſeruice: from the burial alſo of the dead, except onely baptiſing of children, and abſolution of them that lye on dyeng: unles within a moneth after the receite of the ſame, Thurſtinus (without any exactiõ of ſubiection made) were receaued and admitted to the ſea of Yorke: and that the kyng likewiſe ſhould doubtles be excommunicated, except he would conſent unto the ſame. Wherupon Thurſtinus for feare of the popes curſe, was im-

The popes letter to the king.

The king compelled to receaue Thurſtinus, for feare of the popes curſe.

Thurſtinus reſtored.

mediatly ſent for,and reconciled to the king was placed quietly in his archiepiſcopall ſee of Yorke.

*An.*1122.

William Archbiſh.of Cant.

The gray fryers firſt came into England.

*An.*1125.

Prieſtes payd for their wiues.

Ex Roger. Houed. Et Guliel. Giſburnenſi. Ex Henric. Huntyngt. Lib.7.

The abbey of Giſburne builded.

It followed not long after(within ij.yeares) Radulph Archbiſhop of Cant.departed:in whoſe ſee ſucceeded after hym,Gulielmus de Turbine.About which time(in the xxvii.of this kings raign) the gray Friers by procuring of the king,came firſt into England,and had their houſe firſt at Canterburye.About the ſame ſeaſon, or a little before:the kyng called a councel at London, where the ſpiritualtie of Englãd(not knowing to what purpoſe it was required)condeſcended to yͤ kyng,to haue yͤ puniſhment of maried prieſts: by reaſõ of which graũt(wherof yͤ ſpiritualtie afterward much repented) the prieſts paying a certaine to the kyng , were ſuffred to retaine their wiues ſtyl,wherby yͤ kyng gathered no ſmall ſumme of mony.Rog.Houed.Gulie.Gyſburnenſ.At this time,begã fyrſt the foundation of the monaſtery called Giſburne in Cleueland.

S.Iames hand.

Reading abbey founded.

Matilde daughter of K.Henry heyre to the crowne.

Geffray Plãtagenet.

Henry the.ii. borne of Matilde the Emperice.

An. 1130

The Priorie of Norton founded.

Three terrible viſions of the kyng.

It was aboue touched,how Matilde or Maude daughter of king Henry,was maried to Henry v.Emperour: who after the deceaſe of the ſayde Emperour her huſband,returned about this preſent tyme wyth the imperiall crowne to her father in Normandy:bringyng with her the hand of S.Iames. For the ioy wherof, the kyng builded yͤ abbey of Readyng,where yͤ ſaid hand was repoſed.This Matild was receyued by the ſayd councel to be next heyre to the king her father,in poſſeſſion of yͤ engliſh crowne,for lacke of iſſue male. And ſoone after vpon the ſame was ſent ouer to Normandy,to marry wͭ Geffray Plantagenet Erle of Angeou:of whome came Henry yͤ ſecond,that(after Stephen)was kyng of England.And about this tyme was alſo founded the priorie of Norton in the prouince of Cheſter, by one William yͤ ſonne of Nichelle. In the ſtorye of Polychron. Iornalenſis, and Polydorus is declared : how the kyng was troubled greatly with iij.ſundry viſions appearing vnto him by night.The firſt was of a great multitude of huſbandmen of the countrey:which appeared to fly vpon him wͭ their mattockes and inſtrumentes,requiring of him his debt which he did owe vnto them.In the ſecond , he ſaw a great number of ſouldiors and harneſſed mẽ to come fierſly vpon him.In the third,he ſaw a company of prelates and churchmen threatning him with their biſhops ſtaues,and fierſly approching vpon him.Wherupon(being diſmaid)in all haſt,ranne and tooke his ſword to defende himſelfe, finding there none to ſtryke: who afterward aſking counſel concerning theſe viſions,was monyſhed by one of hys phiſitions (named Grimbald) by repentance,almoſe and amendmẽt of life,to make ſome mendes to God and to his countrey whom he offended.

Three vowes made of kyng Henry.

An. 1131

Danegelte releaſed

The church releaued

Iuſtice rightly adminiſtred.

Byſhoprike of Carlile newly erected by king Henry.

The citie and Paules church of London burned.

Which three vowes thus beyng made,the next yere after he went to England: where yͤ being vpõ the ſeas in a great tempeſt with his daughter Matilde, remembred there his iij.vowes. And ſo cõming to yͤ land(for performance of yͤ ſame)firſt releaſed vnto the cõmons, yͤ Danegelt,which his father and his brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to S. Edmundes burye, where he ſhewed great benefites to the churchmen. Thirdly he procured iuſtice to be adminiſtred more rightly throughout his realme,&c.Alſo he ordeined and erected a new biſhoprike at Carlile.

In the.33.yere of this kings raigne(as witneſſeth a certayne autor)a great part of the citie of London,with the churche of S.Paule,was burned with fire in Whitſon weeke.

Honorius the.ii.

Matheus Pariſienſis,

After Calixtus(whoſe ſtory and time is before diſcourſed)ſucceded pope Honorius, ij. Notwithſtandyng that the Cardinalles had elected an other : yet he by the meanes of certaine citezins obtained the papacy, an.M. Cxxv About the ſecond yere of his induction, (as is to be red in Mathæo Pariſienſi) there was a certaine legate of his,called Ioannes Cremenſis ſent down to Englãd, from the pope for the redres,I cannot well tel wherof. But in dede the chiefeſt purpoſe of hys comming(as of all other after him in thoſe dayes) was to fill their pouches wyth engliſh money , as maye further appeare by their procedings.This Legate commyng then with the popes letters directed both to England and Scotlãd(after he had wel refreſhed himſelf in biſhops houſes , and amongſt the abbots)at length reſorted to Londõ:where he aſſẽbled yͤ whole clergy together,inquiring of prieſtes cõcubines (otherwiſe called their wiues) & making thervpon a ſtatute,in the ſayd Synode of London,after this tenor : Preſbyteris,diaconibus,ſubdiaconibus,& canonicis vxorum, cõcubinarum,& omnium omnino fœminarum contubernia, autoritate Apoſtolica inhibemus præter matrem,aut ſororem vel amitam,aut eiuſmodi quæ omnino careant ſuſpitione.Et qui decreti huius violator extiterit(confeſſus vel conuictus)ruinam ordinis patiatur. Inter conſanguineos,ſeu affinitate propinquos, vſq; ad ſeptimã generationem,matrimonia contrahi prohibemus. That is,vnto prieſtes,deacons,ſubdecons,and canons we doo vtterly inhibite by autoritie Apoſtolical:al maner ſocietie and conuerſation with all kynd of women,except only their mother,ſiſter,or aunt,or ſuch wherof can riſe no ſuſpition.And whoſoeuer ſhalbe found to violate this decree(being conuict therof)ſhall ſuſtain therby the loſſe of all that he hath by his order . Moreouer amongſt kindred, or ſuch as bee ioyned in affinitie,we forbid matrimony,vnto the ſeuẽth generation,&c. But ſee how God worketh againſt ſuche vngodlye procedinges.The nexte night after,it hapned, the ſame cardinall(ruffelyng and reuelyng with his concubines)to be apprehended in the ſame vice,wherof he had ſo ſtraitly geuen out preceptes the nexte day before: to yͭ no little ſlaũder and ſhame (as Mattheus Paris.doth write)of the whole clergy.

A romi ſtatute cerning prieſtes wiues concu

Mariage forbid the ſe degree.

The p Legat uing p cepte chaſti was with harlot. Lothe Empe

Vnto this time liued Henricus yͤ v.emperour,after he had raigned 20.yeares,dying without iſſue as is afore mentioned. Next after Henricus, the imperiall crowne came to Lotearius duke of Saxon. an.MCxxvij..

Arnul mart Rome The hi of Ar phus

Certayne hiſtories make mention of one Arnulphus in the tyme of this pope Honorius,ij. Some ſay he was archbiſhop of Lugdune: as Hugo , Platina, Sabellicus. Trithemius ſayth he was a prieſt:whoſe hiſtory,as it is ſet forth in Trithemius,I will briefly in engliſh expres. Aboute this time (ſayth he) in the dayes of Honorius,ij. one Arnulphus prieſt(a man zelous and of great deuotion,and a worthy preacher)came to Rome: which Arnulphus in his preaching rebuked the diſſolute and laſciuious louſenes, incontinencie,auarice, and immoderate pride of the cleargie:prouokyng all to follow Chriſt and hys apoſtles in their pouertie rather, and in purenes of lyfe.By reaſon wherof, this man was wel accepted, & highly liked of the nobilitie of Rome, for a true diſciple of Chriſt:but of the cardinals and the clergy no leſſe hated,then fauoured of the other.In ſo much that priuelye in the night ſeaſon they toke him & deſtroyed him. This his martirdome(ſaith he)was reueled to him before,frõ God by an angell,he beyng in the deſerte,when he was ſent forth to preach.Wherupon,he ſaid to them publikely with theſe wordes:I know(ſayth he)ye ſeke my life:& know,ye wil make me away priuely.But why?becauſe I preach to you the truth,& blame your pride , ſtoutnes auarice,incontinence,with your vnmeſurable gredines in getting and heaping vp riches:therfore be you diſpleaſed with me.I take here heauen and earth to witnes,yͭ I haue preached to you,that I was comaunded of yͤ Lord. But you contemne me and your creator:who by his only ſonne hath redemed you.And no maruel if ye ſeke my death,being a ſinfull perſon preaching to you the truth: when as if S.Peter were here this day, & rebuked your vices(which do ſo multiplie aboue al meſure)you would not ſpare him neither.And as he was expreſſyng this wͭ a loud voyce,he ſaid moreouer:for my part,I am not afrayd fraid to ſuffer death for the truth ſake: but this I ſay to you, that God wil looke vpon your iniquities, and wyl be reuenged. You being ful of all vnpuritie, play ẏ blind gides to the people committed to you, leading them the way to hel. A God he is of reuengeaunce. Thus the hatred of the cleagry being incenſed againſt him for preaching truth, conſpired againſt him, and ſo laying priuye waite for him, toke hym, and drowned him: Sabellicus & Platina ſay, they hanged him.

Arnulph' martyr.

Ex Tritemio.

A boke called Tripartitum, written 400. yeares ago.

In the ſecond tome of the generall councels imprinted at Colen, is mentioned a certayne booke called Op' tripartitum, written as the autor ſuppoſeth, aboue 400. yeares: eyther of this Arnulphus, or iuſt about the ſame tyme. In this boke the writer complayneth of many enormities and abuſes in the church. Firſt of the number of holy dayes: declaring what occaſion of vice groweth therby, accordyng to the common ſaying of whores and naughty women (which ſay) they vantage more in one holy day then in 50. other dayes beſides.

Number of holy daies.

Item, complayneth of the curious ſinging in cathedrall churches, wherby many bee occaſioned to beſtowe much good tyme, yea many yeares about ẏ ſame, which otherwyſe they myghte geue to the learnyng of better ſciences.

Curious ſinging in cathedrall churches.

Likewyſe, he complayneth of the rable & multitude of begging Friers and religious men, and profeſſed women, ſhewyng what great occaſion of idle and vncomly lyfe commeth therof.

The world ouercharged with begging religions.

Alſo of the vnconſiderate promotion of euil prelates. And of their great negligence in correcting & reforming the euil demeaner of the people.

Promotion of euill prelates.

Item, of the great wantonnes and laſciuiouſnes in their ſeruantes and families, concernyng their exceſſiue wearyng of apparel.

Superfluitie of apparell in Byſhops families.

Item, complaineth alſo of the outragious and exceſſiue gaynes, that prelates and other vnder them take for their ſeale: eſpecially of officials, ſcribes and ſuche lyke, which geue out the ſeale thei care not how nor wherfore ſo they may gayne money.

Biſhops ſeales abuſed to get money.

He complayneth in lyke manner, that prelates bee ſo ſlacke and negligent in lookyng to the reſidents in theyr benefices.

Non reſidentes in benefices.

Farther lamenteth, for the raſhe geuyng of benefices to perſons, vicars, and curates, not for any godlines or learning in them, but for fauour or frendſhip, or interceſſion, eyther els for hope of ſome gayne: wherof ſpringeth this great ignorance in the church.

Raſhe beſtowing of benefyces.

After this he noteth in prelates, how they waſte and expend the goodes of the church in ſuperfluities or vpon their kinſfolke, or other worſe wayes: which ſhoulde rather be ſpent vpon the poore.

Waſtfull ſpending of the church goodes.

Nextly in ẏ x. chapter, he cōplaineth for that through the negligence of men of the churche (eſpeciallye of the church of Rome) the bokes and monumentes of the olde councels and alſo of the new, are not to be found: which ſhould be reſerued and kept in all cathedral churches.

Olde bokes of councels loſt by the negligence of the clerkes.

Item, that many prelates be ſo cold in doyng theyr dueties. Alſo reprocheth the vnchaſt and voluptuous demeaner of eccleſiaſtical perſons by the exāple of ſtorkes, whoſe nature is (ſaith he) that if any of their companye, leauyng hys owne mate, ioyneth with any other: all the reſt flyeth vpon him (whether it be he or ſhe) beateth him, and plucketh his fethers of: what then (ſayth he) oughte good prelates to do to ſuch a perſon of their companye, whoſe filthynes and corrupt life both defileth ſo many, & ſtinketh in the whole church,

The vnchaſt lyfe of prieſtes condemned by the nature of the ſtorkes.

Agayne, for aſmuch as we reade in the boke of Eſdras, lib. ij. chap. ix. that he purgyng Iſraell of ſtraunge women, began firſt with the prieſtes: So nowe likewyſe in the purging & correcting of all ſortes of men, firſt the purgation ought to begin with theſe, accordyng as it is written by the prophet Ezechiel. Beginne firſt wyth my ſanctuary, &c.

Amendmēt of lyfe ought firſt to beginne with prieſtes.

Moreouer, how that in the tyme of Phillip kyng of Fraunce, ẏ whole realme was interdited, for that ẏ king had but one womā in ſtede of his wife, which was not his wife by law. And agayn, ſeing in theſe our daies, ẏ king of Portingale hath bene ſequeſtred frō his dominiō, by ẏ authoritie of ẏ church (being thought not ſufficient to gouerne) what then ought to be ſayd to ẏ prelate: which abuſeth other mens wiues, virgines, and nunnes, which alſo is found vnhable and in ſufficient to take vpon hym the charge of ſoules?

The realme of Fraunce interdited.

King of Portingale depoſed.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1128. the orders of the knights of the Rodes, called Ioannites: alſo the order of Templars roſe vp.

The knightes of the Rodes and Templars.

After Honorius, next in the ſame vſurpation ſucceded pope Innocentius, ij. an. 1130. But as it was wyth hys predeceſſors before him, that at euery mutation of new popes, came new perturbatiōs: & cōmonly neuer a pope was elected, but ſome other was ſet vp agaiſt him (ſome times, ij. ſometimes iij. popes together) ſo likewiſe it happened wᵗ this Innocentius: for after he was choſe, ẏ Romains elected an other pope named Anacletus. Betwixt theſe two popes was much ado, & great cōflicts through the partakyng of Rogerius duke of Sicile taking Anacletus part againſt Innocentius, vntill Lotharius the Emperour came: who reſcuyng Innocentius, drone Rogerius out of Italy. Our ſtories record, that king Hery was one of the great helpes in ſettyng vp and maintaynyng this pope Innocentius againſt Anacletus, Giſbur.

Pope Innocentius the. ii.

Hurly, burly betwene popes.

Amongſt many other thinges this pope decreed, that whoſoeuer did ſtrike a prieſt or clearke being ſhauen, he ſhould be excommunicate, and not to bee abſolued, but onely on the pope himſelfe.

The popes curſe proclaimed agaynſt ſuch that ſtrike any prieſt.

About the tyme of doyng of theſe thinges (being the yeare of our Lord. 1135) kyng Henry beyng in Normandy (as ſome ſay) by takyng there a fall from his horſe (as other ſay) by takyng a ſurfet in eatyng Lamprees: fell ſeke and dyed, after he had reigned ouer the realme of England. xxxv. yeares and odd monethes, leauyng for his heyres, Matilde Themprisſe hys daughter, with her yong ſonne Henry to ſuccede after him: to whom all the prelates and nobilitie of ẏ realme were ſworne. But contrary to their othe made to Molde in the preſence of her father before: William tharchbyſhop of Cant. and the nobles of the realme, crowned Stephē earle of Boloine, and ſiſters ſonne to king Henry, vpon S. Steuens day in Chriſtenmas weeke. Whiche archbiſhop, the next yeare after dyed: being (as it was thought) iuſtly puniſhed for hys periury. And many other Lordes whiche did accordingly, went not quite wᵗout puniſhment. In like iuſtice of puniſhment is numbred alſo Roger biſhop of Saleſbury, who contrary to his othe (beyng a great doer in ẏ coronation of Stephen) was apprehēded of ẏ ſame king, and miſerably (but iuſtly) extermined.

The death of kyng Henry.

An. 1135.

Periurie iuſtly puniſhed.

A certaine writen Engliſhe ſtory I haue, whiche addeth more and ſayth, that kyng Stephen (hauyng many foes in diuers quarters, kepyng there holdes and caſtels agaynſt hym) went then to Oxford, and tooke the byſhop of Saleſbury: and put a rope about his necke, and ſo led hym to the caſtell of the Vice (that was his) and cōmaunded them to render vp the caſtell, or he would ſlay and hang their biſhop. Which caſtle beyng geuē vp, the kyng toke the ſpoyle therof. The lyke alſo he did to ẏ biſhop of Lyncolne named Alexander, whom in lyke maner he led in a rope to a caſtel of the biſhops, ẏ was vpō Trent: and bad thē deliuer vp the caſtell, or els he would hang their Lord, before the gate. Long it was before the caſtell was geuen vp: yet at length the king obteining it, there entred and tooke all the treaſure of the byſhop. &c. Rog. Houed. Fabiane alledgyng a certayne old autor, whō I can not finde: referreth a great cauſe of this per-

Ex chronico Anglico, incerti autoris.

The byſhop of Sarum and of Lincolne taken priſoners of the K. & led with ropes about their neckes.

Rog. Houed. in vita Step.

Ex Fabian. In vita.Step.

ſury to one Hugh Bigot,ſteward ſometyme with kyng Henry. Who immediatly after the death of the ſayd Henry,came into England: and before the ſayd archbiſhop and other Lordes of the land,tooke wilfully an oth, and ſware:that he was preſent a litle before ẏ kynges death, when kyng Henry admitted for his heyre(to be king after hym)Stephen his nephew: for ſomuch as Molde hys daughter had diſcontented hym. Wherunto the archbiſhop with the other Lordes gaue to haſty credence. But this Hugh(ſayth he)eſcaped not vnpuniſhed: for he dyed miſerably in a ſhort tyme after, ex Fabia. Albeit all this may be ſuppoſed rather to be wrought not without the practiſe of Henry byſhop of Wincheſter, and other prelates (by his ſettyng on) whiche Henry was brother to kyng Stephen.⁊c.

¶ *King Stephen.*

An. 1136

K.Stephen.

Thus when kyng Stephen contrary to hys othe made before to Molde the Emperice, had taken vpõ hym the crowne(as is aboue ſayd)he ſware before the Lordes at Oxford:that he would not holde the benefices that were voyded,and that he would remit the Danegelt,with many other thynges: whiche after he litle performed. Moreouer,becauſe he drad the cõmyng of the Empreſſe,he gaue licence to his Lordes, euery one to builde vpon their owne ground, ſtrong caſtels or fortereſſes,as them lyked. All the tyme of his reigne he was vexed with warres,but eſpecially wͭ Dauid king of ẏ Scots: with whom he was at length accorded: but yet the Scotiſh king dyd him no homage,becauſe he was ſworne to Maude the Empreſſe: Notwithſtandyng yet Henry the eldeſt ſonne to kyng Dauid, did homage to kyng Stephen. But he after repentyng therof,entred into Northumberland with a great hoſt,and brent and ſlew the people in moſt cruel wiſe,neither ſparyng man, woman,nor child. Such as were with child they rypte: the children they toſt vpon their ſpeare pointes: and laying the prieſtes vpon the altares, they mangled and cut thẽ all to pæces after a moſt terrible maner. But by the manhode of the Engliſhe Lordes ⁊ ſouldiers, ⁊ through the meanes of Thurſtine archbiſhop of Yorke: they wer met withall,and ſlayne a great number of them,⁊ Dauid their kyng conſtrained to geue Henry his ſonne hoſtage for ſuretie of peace. In the meane tyme,kyng Steuen was occupyed in the South countreis beſieging diuers caſtels of diuers byſhops,and other Lordes: ⁊ toke them by force,and fortified them with his knightes and ſeruaunts to thentent to withſtand the Empreſſe,whoſe commyng he euer feared.

Building of caſtels in England.

The crueltie of the Scottes agaynſt the Engliſhmen.

1140.

Maude the Empreſſe came into England againſt Steuẽ.

Kyng Steuen taken priſoner.

About the vi.yeare of his reigne, Maude ẏ Empreſſe came into England out of Normandy,and by the ayde of Robert earle of Gloceter, and Ranulphe of Cheſter, made ſtrong warre vpon kyng Steuen: In the end wherof the kyngs partie was chaſſed,and him ſelfe taken priſoner,and ſent to Briſtow,there to be kept in ſure hold. The ſame day,when king Steuen ſhould ioyne his battaile: it is ſaid in a certaine old chronicle before minded, that he beyng at the Maſſe(whiche then ẏ biſhop of Lincolne ſayd,before the kyng)as he went to offer vp his taper,it brake in two pæces. And when ẏ Maſſe was done, (at what time ẏ king ſhould haue ben houſeled) the rope wherby the pyre did hange,dyd breake,and the pyre fell downe vpon the altar.

What it is for princes to be hard and ſtrait to theyr ſubiectes.

After this field,the quene (kyng Steuens wife, lyeng then in Kẽt)made great labour to the Empreſſe and her counſaile, to haue the kyng deliuered and put into ſome houſe of religion,but could not obtayne. Alſo the Lõdiners made great ſute to the ſayd Empreſſe,to haue and to vſe agayne S. Edwardes lawes,⁊ not the lawes of her father, whiche were more ſtraite and ſtraunge to them then thother: whiche when they could not obteyne of her and her counſaile: the citezins of London (beyng therwith diſcontented) would haue taken the Empreſſe. But ſhe hauing knowledge therof,fled priuely from Lõdon to Oxford. But then the kẽtiſhmen and Londiners takyng the kings part,ioyned battaile agaynſt the Empreſſe: there the foreſayd Robert earle of Gloceter, and baſe brother to the Empreſſe was taken. And ſo by exchaunge,both the kyng, and earle Robert were deliuered out of priſon. Thẽ Steuen(without delay)gathering to hym a ſtrõg army: ſtraitly purſued the foreſayd Matilde or Maulde,with her frendes: beſiegyng them in the caſtell of Oxford. In the ſiege wherof,fell a great ſnow, and froſt,ſo hard:that a mane well laden might paſſe ouer ẏ water. Upon the occaſion wherof the Empreſſe(bethinkyng her ſelfe) appoynted with her frendes and retinue:clothed in white ſhites(and ſo yſſuing out,by a poſterne)went vpon the yſe,ouer Thamys, and ſo eſcaped to Wallyngford. After this ẏ kyng(the caſtell being gotten)when he found not the Empreſſe, was much diſpleaſed:and moleſted the cõutrey about,diuers wayes. In concluſion,he purſued the Empreſſe,and her company ſo hard: that he cauſed them,to flee the realme,which was the vi.yeare of his reigne.

K.Steue & Robe of glocet deliuered by ex- chaunge.

Ex incer autori chronic

The ſecond yeare after this,which was the viij.yeare of his reigne:there was a Parliament kept at London. Unto the whiche,all the byſhops of the realme reſorted, and there denounſed the kyng accurſed(and all thẽ with hym)that dyd any hurt to the church, or to any miniſter therof. Wherupon the kyng began ſomewhat to amend hys condicions,for a certayne ſpace:but afterward, as my ſtory ſayth,was as euil,as he was before. But what the cauſes were,mine autor maketh no relation therof. ⁊c. To returne agayne to the ſtory, the Empreſſe cõpelled(as is ſayd,to flee ẏ realme)returned agayn into Normandy to Geffray Plantagenet her huſband. Who, after he had valyantly wonne and defended the duchie of Normandy, agaynſt the puyſance of kyng Steuen of long tyme:ended his life, leauing Hẽry his ſonne to ſuccede him in that dukedome. In the meane while: Robert Earle of Gloceter, and the Earle of Cheſter (who were ſtrong of people)had diuers conflictes with the kyng: inſomuch that at a battaile at Wilton betwene them, the king was welnere takẽ, but yet eſcaped wͭ much paine.

The dea of Geffr Plãtage

Hẽry d of Normandie

It was not lõg after,but Euſtace ſonne to kyng Steuen,who had maryed the Frenche kynges ſiſter: made warre vpon duke Henry of Normandy, but preuayled not. Soone after,the ſayd Henry duke of Normandy (in the quarell of his mother Maude) with a great puyſance intred into Englãd: ⁊ at the firſt wan the caſtell of Malmeſbery: then the tower of London: and afterward the town of Nottingham: with other holdes and caſtels,as of Walynford and other mo. Thus,betwene hym and the kyng were foughten many battayles, to the great annoyance of the realme. Duryng which time, Euſtace the kyngs ſonne departeth. Upon the occaſiõ wherof,the kyng cauſed Theobalde(which ſucceded next after William aboue mentioned)Archbyſhop of Cant. to make meanes to the duke for peace: whiche vpon this conditiõ betwene them was concluded,that Steuen duryng hys lyfe tyme ſhould hold the kyngdome. And Henry in the meane tyme to be proclaimed heyre apparant, in ẏ chief cities throughout the realme. Theſe thyngs thus concluded,duke Hẽry taketh hys iorney into Normandy(king Steuen and his ſonne William, bryngyng hym on the waye) where William the kynges ſonne, takyng vp hys horſe before hys father, had a fall, and brake hys legge,and ſo was had to Canterbury. The ſame yeare king Steuen,about October(as ſome ſay for ſorow)ended hys lyfe after he had reigned xix. yeares periuredly.

Henry e treth in Englan

Theob archbys of Cant. Peace b twene Steuen duke H conclu

The de of kyng Steuen.

As Theobalde ſucceded after William archbiſhop of Cant. ſo in Yorke after Thurſtine ſucceded William, whiche was called S. William of Yorke: who was poyſoned in hys chalice by his chaplaines.

S.Wil of York

In the tyme of this kyng,which was the xvi.yeare of

hys

his reigne, Theobaldus archbiſhop of Cant. and legate to the pope, dyd hold a coūcel at London: In the which councel firſt began new found appellations, from councels to the pope, founde out by Henry byſhop of Wint. For as the wordes of myne autor do recorde: In Anglia nāq;, appellationes in vſum non erant, donec eas Henricus wint. Epiſcopus dum legatus eſſet, malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit. In eodem nanq; concilio ad Ro. pontificis audientiā ter appellatum eſt. &c. 1. For appellatiōs before were not in vſe in England, till Henry biſhop of Wint. beyng thē the popes legate, brought them cruelly in, to hys owne hurt. For in that coūcel, thriſe appeale was made to the byſhop of Rome.

ciānus cōpyler the pes de. es.

trus mbardus ſter of ſentēce.

In the time of king Steuen, died Gracianus a mōke of Bonanie: who compiled the booke called the popes decrees. Alſo his brother Petrus Lumbardus biſhop of Paris (which is called the maſter of ſentences) compiled his foure bookes of the ſentence. Theſe two brethren were the greateſt doers in finding out and ſtabliſhyng this blynde opinion of the ſacrament: that the onelye ſimilitude of breade and wyne remayned, but not the ſubſtance of them: and this they call a ſpirituall vnderſtanding of ẏ miſterye. And therfore no maruel if the ſunne in thoſe dayes were ſene blacke and dym.

rus Coſtor.

Some alſo affirme, that Petrus Comeſtor, wryter of the ſcholaſticall hiſtory was the third brother to theſe aboue named.

go de cto Vic. e.

nardus renalſis.

In the ſame time and raygne of the ſayd king Stephan, was alſo Hugo ſurnamed de ſācto victore. About the which tyme (as Polychronicon reciteth) lyued and died Bernardus Clarenallenſis.

degardis

The autor of the hiſtory (called Iornalenſis) maketh alſo mencion of Hildegare the Nunne and propheteſſe in Almaine, to liue in the ſame age. Concerning whoſe prophecy agaynſt the Friars: hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) more ſhalbe ſayd, when we come to recite the order and number of Friars and religious men crept into the church of Chriſt.

nnes de poribus

We reade moreouer of one named Ioannes de temporibus: which by the affirmance of moſt of our olde hiſtories, liued. 361. yeares (ſeruant once to Carolus magnus) And in the raygne of Steuen, king of England dyed. Polychron. lib. 7. Continuator Henr. Hunting. Iornalenſ. in vita Steph. Nicola. Trinet. &c.

In the dayes alſo of this king (and by him) was builded the Abbey of Feuerſham: where his ſonne and hee were buryed. He builded the monaſtery of Finerneys, and of Fomitance, the caſtle of Walingford, with a number of other caſtels mo.

Iewes ſified a ſtē boy Nor. ge.

During the time of the ſayd king Steuen, the yeare of our lord. 1144. the miſerable Iewes crucified a child, in the citie of Norwyge. N. Treuet. et alii.

Much about the ſame tyme, came vp the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert, ſonne to Iacoline a knig of of Lyncolne ſhiere. &c.

e order the bertines

Mention hath bene made before, of certayne Engliſh councels, holden in the tyme of thys king, where it was (in one of them, vnder Theobalde the Archbiſhop of Cāterbury) decreed, that biſhops ſhould lyue more diſcritely: ſhould teache their flocke more diligentlye: that reading of the ſcriptures ſhould be frequented more vſually in Abbeyes: that prieſts ſhould not be rulers of worldly matters: and that they ſhoulde learne and teache the Lordes prayer, and Crede in Engliſh. Malmeſb.

Lords yer and Crede in liſhe.

theus riſienſis bron. 4 ē king, glād.

Matheus Pariſienſis wryteth, how Steuen kyng of England in theſe dayes reſerued to himſelfe, the right & autoritie of beſtowyng of ſpiritual liuings, & inueſting prelates, an. 1133.

At which time alſo, Lotharius the emperour began to do the lyke: in recouering again the righte and priuilege taken away from Henricus his predeceſſor: had not Bernardus geuen hym contrary councel.

Curſing with boke, bell, and candle.

Here came into the church, the maner of curſing with booke, bell, and candel, deuiſed in the councel of London holdē by William biſhop of Wincheſter vnder pope Celeſtinus, which ſucceded after Innocentius, an. 1144.

An. 1138

After Lotharius, ſucceded in the imperiall crowne, Conradus the nephew of Henricus ẏ v. afore mētioned an. 1138. which only amongſt manye Emperours is not found to receiue the crowne at the popes hand.

In ẏ dayes of this Emperour (who raigned, xv. yeres) were diuers popes: as Celeſtinus ij. Lucius ẏ ij. Eugenius. 3. At which tyme ẏ Romains went about to recouer agayn their former olde maner of chuſing their conſuls and Senators. But the popes then beyng in their ruffe, in no caſe would abyde it: wherupon roſe many commotiōs, with much ciuile war amongſt them. In ſo much, that Pope Lucius (ſending for ayde to the Emperour, and he otherwiſe letted at that tyme could not come) armed his ſouldiours: thinking to inuade thē or els to deſtroy them in their Senate houſe. But this commyng to their knowledge before: the people was all in aray, & ſo much ado was amongſt thē. Pope Lucius being alſo amongſt thē in the fight (wel pelted wͭ ſtones & blowes) lyued not long after. Likewiſe pope Eugenius after him, an. 1145 (purſuing the Romaines for the ſame matter) firſt did curſe them with excommunication. After, when he ſaw that would not ſerue, he came with his hoſte: and ſo compelled them at length to ſeeke his peace, & to take his conditions which were theſe: that they ſhould aboliſh their conſuls, and take ſuch Senators, as he by his papale authoritie, ſhould aſſigne them.

Pope Lucius the ii. warring agaynſt the Senators.

Spirituall excōmunication abuſed in temporall cauſes.

Then followed Anaſtaſius, 4. and after him Hadrianus, 4. an engliſh man by his name (called Brekeſpere) belonging once to S. Albones. This Hadrianus kepte great ſtir in like ſort with the citiſens of Rome, for aboliſhyng their conſuls, and Senate: curſing, excommunicating, & warring againſt them, with all power he could make: to the time he remoued the conſuls out of their office, and brought them all vnder his ſubiection. The lyke buſines and rage he alſo ſtyred vp againſt Apulia, and eſpecially agaynſt the impiere: bluſtring and thundering againſt Fridericus the emperour, as (the Lorde graunting) you ſhall here anone after we haue proſecuted ſuch matter, as neceſſarily apperteyneth firſt to the continuation of our engliſh ſtory.

Hadrianus a pope an Engliſhman.

¶ King Henry the ſecond.

An. 1154.

K Henry the ſecond.

HEnry the ſecond of that name, the ſonne of Ieffray Plantagenet, and of Maude the empreſſe and daughter of king Henry the firſt, begā his raigne after kyng Steuen, and continued, 35. yeres. The firſt yeare of his raigne he ſubdued Ireland, and not long after Thomas Becket was made by hym L. Chauncellour of England. This kyng caſt down dyuers caſtels, which were erected in ẏ tyme of K. Steuen. He went into the Northpartes, where he ſubdued William king of Scotland: who at that tyme helde a greate part of Northumberland vnto new caſtel vppon Tyne: and ioyned Scotland to hys owne kyngdome from the South Oceane to the North Iles of Orchades. Alſo he put vnder his dominion the kingdom of Wales, & there let to fall downe many great woodes, and made ẏ wais playne. So ẏ by his great manhode and policie, the ſegniorie of England was much augmented with the addition of Scotlād, Ireland, the Iles Orchades, Britain, Poytow and Guyan. Alſo he had in hys rule, Normandy, Gaſcoyn, Angeo, and Chynon: alſo Aluerne and ẏ citie of Colowys he wan, and were to him ſubiect. Ouer and beſydes (by the title of his wife Elenore daughter to the erle of Poyteowe) he obtained the Mountes Pirante in Spayne: ſo that we read of none of his progenitours, which had ſo many countreis vnder his dominion.

Thomas Becket chāucelor of England.

An.1157

In Englād were ſene in the firmamēt, ij. ſonnes, or as it is in Chronica chronicarū, in Italy appeared iij. ſōnes by ẏ ſpace of, iij. howres in ẏ Weſt: and the yeare folowyng appeared iij. mones: wherof the midle mone had a red cros ouertwhart the face. Wherby was tokened (by the iudgemēt of ſome) the great ſchiſme, that after fel among the cardinals for the electiō of the biſhop of Rome: or els rather the buſines betwene Fredericus the emperour and the popes: wherof partly now incidently occaſion geueth vs to diſcourſe. After ẏ I haue fyrſt writtē of

Gerhardus. Dulcinus.

Gerhardus & Dulcinus Nauarenſis, who in their tyme according to their gift did earneſtly labour and preache againſt the church of Rome: defendyng and maintayning, that praier was not more holy in one place then in an other: that the pope was Antichriſt: that the clergye & prelates of Rome were reiect: and the very whore of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalips, &c. Peraduenture theſe had receiued ſome lighte of knowledge of the Waldenſes. Who at length with a great nūber of their followers were oppreſſed and ſlaine by the pope. And although ſome inconueniēt poyntes of doctrine & diſhoneſty in their aſſēbles be againſt them alleaged, of ſome: yet theſe times of ours do teach vs ſufficiētly, what credit is to be geuen to ſuch poppyſhe ſlaunders, forged rather vpon hatred of true religion, then vpon any iudgement of truth. Illyricus in his booke de teſtibus, referreth ẏ tyme of theſe two, to the yere of our Lord, 1280. but as I find in the ſtorye of Robert Guiſburne: theſe two, aboute the yeare of our Lord, 1158. brought xxx. with them into England: who by the king & the prelates, were al burnte in the forehead, and ſo driuen out of the realme: and after (as Illyricus writeth) were ſlaine by the pope.

Ex hiſtoria Giſburnēſi.

An.1158

And now according to my promiſe premiſed, ẏ time requireth to procede to ẏ hiſtory of Fridericꝰ ẏ firſt (called Barbaroſſa) ſucceſſor vnto Conradus in ẏ empire, who marched vppe to Italy, to ſubdue there certayne rebels. The pope hearyng that, came wyth his cleargy to mete him by the way, in a towne called Sutrium, thinkyng by him to fynd aide againſt his enemies. The emperour ſeyng the biſhop: lighteth of his horſe to receyue him, holdyng the ſtirrup to the prelate on the left ſide, whan he ſhould hold it on the right: wherat the pope ſhewed hym ſelfe ſomewhat agreued. The emperour ſmiling, excuſed himſelfe that he was neuer accuſtomed to hold ſtirrups. And ſeyng it was done onely of good wil and of no duetye, the leſſe matter was, what ſide of the horſe he helde. The nexte daye to make amendes againe to the byſhop: the emperour ſendyng for hym, receyued him holdyng the right ſtirrup to the prelate, and ſo al the mater was made whole, and he the popes owne whyte ſonne agayne.

Fredericus Barbaroſſa emperour.

The pope diſpleaſed, that the Emperour did not hold hys ryght ſtirup. The Emperour holdeth the popes ſtirup.

After this, as they were come in and ſate together: Hadrianus the pope beginneth to declare vnto him, how his aunceitors before him (ſuch as ſought to ẏ ſée of Rome for the crowne) were wonte alwayes to leaue behynde them ſome ſpecial taken or monument of their beneuolence, for the obteyning therof: as Carolus magnus in ſubduyng the Lombardes: Otho, the Berengarians: Lotharius, the Normandes, &c. Wherfore, he required ſome benefite to procede likewyſe from hym to the church of Rome, in reſtoryng againe the countrey of Apulia, to ẏ church of Rome. Which thyng if he would do, he for his part agayne would do that which appertayned to hym to do: (meaning in geuing hym the crowne) for at that tyme the Popes had brought the Emperours, to fetch their crowne at their handes.

The popes old practyſe in ſetting princes together by the eares.

Frederike with his princes perceyuyng, that vnleſſe he would of his owne proper coſtes and charges fetch in againe Apulia out of duke Williams handes, he coulde not ſpede of the crowne: was faine to promiſe to all that the pope required, & ſo the next day after was crowned.

This done, the emperour returneth into Germany, to refreſh his army and his other furnitures, for the ſubduing of Apulia. In the meane while, Hadrianus not thynking to be idle: firſt geueth forth cenſures of excōmunication againſt William Duke of Apulia. Beſides (not content with this) ſendeth alſo to Emanuel Emperour of Conſtantinople, incenſing him to war agaynſt the foreſayd William. The Duke perceauing this, ſendeth to the pope for peace, promiſing to reſtore to hym whatſoeuer he would.

War m gainſt the pope then p

But the pope through the malignant counſel of hys Cardinals, would graunt to no peace: thinking to get more by warre. The Duke ſeing nothing but war, prepareth himſelfe with all expedition to the ſame. To be briefe, making all his power out of Sicilia, he arriueth at Apulia, and there putteth Emanuel the Emperor to flight. This done, he procedeth to the City Bonauēture, where the Pope wyth his Cardinals were looking for victory. He planting there his ſiege, ſo ſtraytlye preſſed the citie: that the pope with his Cardinals were glad to intreate for peace, which they refuſed before. The Duke graunted to their peace vpon certayne condicions: that is, that neither he ſhould inuade ſuche poſſeſſions as belonged to Rome, and that the pope ſhoulde make hym king of both Sicils. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The biſhop comming to Rome, was no leſſe troubled there about their Conſuls and Senators. In ſo much, that when his curſes and excommunications could not preuayle nor ſerue, he was fayne to leaue Rome, and remoued to Ariminum.

Warre red vp by the pope

The p driuen contea peace

The Emperour all this whyle, ſittyng quietlye at home: began to conſider with himſelf, how the pope had extorted from the Emperours (his predeceſſors) the inueſting and induing of prelates: how he had pylled and poled all nations by his Legates: and alſo hath bene the ſower of ſeditiōs through al his Impery: he began therfore to require of all the biſhops of Germany homagiū, & othe of their allegiance: Commaūding alſo the popes Legates, if they came into Germanye without his ſending for, not to be receiued. Charging moreouer all hys ſubiectes, that none of them ſhould appeale to Rome. Beſides this, in his letters he ſet and prefixed his name, before the popes name. Wherupon the pope being not a litle offended, directed his letters to the foreſaid Friderick Emperour, after this tenor and forme as foloweth.

The proce of Fride ricke Empe agaynſt pope.

The copy of Hadrianus the popes letters, to Fridericke the Emperour.

HAdrianus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum dei, Friderico Imperatori ſalutem, et Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Cætera vide in ſuperiori æditione. In Engliſh.

A lette pope H an, to th Empe Frideri

Hadrian biſhop, ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God, to Fridericke Emperour health and Apoſtolicall benediction. The law of God, as it promiſeth to them that honour father and mother long life: ſo it threateneth the ſentence of death to them that curſe father and mother. We are taught by the woord of truth, that euerye one which exalteth himſelfe, ſhalbe brought low. Wherfore (my welbeloued ſonne in the lord) we maruel not a litle at your wyſdome: in that you ſeeme not to ſhew that reuerence to bleſſed S. Peter and to the holye churche of Rome, which you ought to ſhew. For why, in your letters ſent to vs, you preferre your owne name before ours: wherin you incurre the note of inſolencie, yea (and rather to ſpeake it) of arrogancie. What ſhoulde I here recite vnto you, the othe of your fidelitie, whyche you ſware to bleſſed ſaint Peter and to vs, and how you obſerue and kepe the ſame? Seing you ſo require homage and allegiance of them that be Gods, and all the ſonnes of the high God, & preſume to ioyne their holy handes wt yours: working contrary to vs? Seing alſo you exclude (not only out of your churches, but alſo out of your cities) our Cardinals, whom we direct as Legates from our ſide: what ſhall I ſay then vnto you? Amende therefore,

The rour before popes

fore, I aduiſe you, amend: for whyle you go about to obtayne of vs your conſecration and crowne, and to get thoſe thinges you haue not: I feare much, your honour will loſe the thinges ye haue. Thus fare ye well.

¶ *The anſwer of Fridericke the Emperour to the Pope.*

FRedericke by the grace of God, Romayne Emperor, euer Auguſtus: vnto Adrian biſhop of the Romayne church, and vnto all ſuch that be willing to cleaue vnto thoſe thinges which Jeſus began to worke and teache, Greeting. The law of iuſtice, geueth to euery perſon accordingly that which is hys. Neyther doo we derogate from our parentes: of whom, according as we haue receiued this our dignity of the imperiall crowne and gouernaunce: ſo in the ſame kingdome of ours, we do render their due and true honour to them agayne. And for as much as duty in all ſortes of mē, is to be ſought out: let vs ſee, firſt in the tyme of Conſtantine (Silueſter then being biſhop of Rome) what patrimony or regalitie he had of his own, due to him that he might claim? Did not Conſtantine of his liberall benignity geue lyberty, and reſtored peace vnto the church? And whatſoeuer regality or patrimony the ſee of your papacy hath: was it not by the donatiō of Princes geuen vnto them? Reuolue and turne ouer the auncient chronicles (if eyther you haue not red, or neglected that we doo affirme) there it is to be found. Of them which be Gods by adoption, and hold our lordſhips of vs: why may we not iuſtly requyre their homage, and their ſworne allegiance: when as he which is both your maiſter and ours (taking nothing of anye king or anye man, but geuing all goodnes to all men) payde toll and tribute for hym and Peter, vnto Ceſar? Geuing you example to do the lyke. And therefore ſayth to you, and all men: Learne of me, for I am meeke ond humble of hart. &c. Wherfore eyther render agayne your lordſhippes and patrimonies which ye hold of vs: or els if ye finde them ſo ſwete vnto you, then geue that which is due to God, to God: & that which is due to Ceſar, vnto Ceſar. As for your Cardinals, we ſhut them out both of churches and cities. For that we ſee them, not preachers, but proylers: not repairers of peace, but rakers for money: not pyllers and vpholders of the church, but polers inſatiable of the world and moylers of money and golde. What time we ſhall ſee them to be other men (ſuche as the churche requireth them to be) members & makers of peace, ſhining forth like lightes to the people, aſſiſting poore & weake mens cauſes in the way of equity. &c. Then ſhall they finde vs preſt and readye to relieue them with ſtipendes, and all thinges neceſſary. And where as you infer ſuche queſtions as theſe vnto ſecular men (litle conducing to religion) you incurre thereby no litle note and blemiſh of your humilitie (which is keeper of all vertues) and of your manſuetude. Therfore let your fatherhood beware and take heede, leaſt in mouing ſuch matters as ſeeme to vs vnſeemely for you: ye geue therby offence to ſuch as depēd of your word (geuīg eare to your mouth, as it wer) to an euening ſhower. For we cannot but tell you of that we heare: ſeing now the deteſtable beaſt of pryde, doth creepe into the ſeate of Peter: prouiding alwayes (as muche as we maye by Gods grace) for the peace of the Church. Fare ye well.

Vpon this Hadrianus the pope directeth out a Bul, agaynſt Fredericke: excommunicating him with publike and ſolemne ceremonies. Moreouer (cōſpiring with William duke of Apulia) ſought all maner of waies to infeſt the Emperour, and to ſet all men agaynſt hym: eſpecially the clergy. Amongeſt many other, wryting to Hillinus biſhoppe of Triuers: to Arnulphus biſhoppe of Mentz: and to Friderike biſhop of Colen: ſeeketh firſt to make them of his ſide. His Epiſtle to them ſoundeth to thys effect.

A ſeditious & proud letter of the pope to the biſhops of Germany.

THe empire of Rome was transferred frō the Greekes, to the Almaynes: ſo that the king of Almains, could not be called Emperour, before he were crowned of the biſhop Apoſtolicall. Before his conſecratiō he is a king, afterward Emperour. Whēce hath he his empire the, but of vs? By the electiō of his princes he hath the name of a kyng: by our conſecration he hath the name of the Emperour, of Auguſt, or of Ceſar. Ergo, by vs he raygneth as Emperour. Search auncient antiquities. Zacharias pope, promoted Carolus, and made him a great name: that he was made and called Emperour. And after that, euer the king of Almaynes was named Emperour, and aduocate to the ſee Apoſtolicall: ſo that Apulia (cōquered by him) was ſubdued to the biſhop of Rome: which Apulia, with the citie of Rome: is ours, and not the Emperours. Our ſeate is at Rome, the ſeate of the Emperour is at Aquis in Arduenna, which is a wood in Fraunce. The Emperour what ſoeuer he hath, he hath it of vs. As Zacharias did tranſlate the Empyre from the Greekes, to the Almaynes: ſo we, maye tranſlate it agayne from the Almaines, to the Greekes. Behold it lyeth in our power to geue it to whom we wyll: being therefore ſet vp of God aboue Gentiles and nations, to deſtroy and plucke vp, to build and to plant. &c.

Well bragged & lyke a pope.

Scripture well wraſted.

And yet further to vnderſtand the ambicious preſūption of this proud ſee of Rome: it ſo chaunced this Emperour Fridericus at his firſt cōming vp to Rome, did behold there in the palace of Lateran, a certaine picture brought forth vnto him: How Lotharius. ij. Emperour was crowned of the pope, with the inſcriptiō of certain verſes in Laten: declaring how the foreſayd Emperour cōming to Rome, firſt did ſweare to the citie: after, was made the popes man, and ſo of him receiued the crown. Fridericus offended with this pycture, deſired the pope it might be aboliſhed, for that it ſhould be no cauſe of any diſſention hereafter. The pope vnderſtanding thentent of the Emperour, howe loth he was to come vnder ſubiectiō to his ſee: deuiſed by all crafty wayes to bring it to paſſe. And firſt taking his occaſion by the biſhop of Laodicia (being then deteyned in cuſtody, I cannot tell by whom) ſent diuers and ſharpe letters vnto him. And yet not ſo ſharpe, as proud and diſdainful. Wherein the firſt ſalutacion by his Legates, was this in laten: Salutat vos beatiſsim' pater noſter Papa, et vniuerſitas Cardinalium, ille vt pater, hii vt fratres: That is. Our moſt bleſſed father ẏ pope, greeteth you, and the vniuerſall company of the Cardinals, he as your father, they as your brethren. Meaning therby that he ſhould vnderſtād himſelfe to be ſubiect and vnderling to the pope, no les then the Cardinals were. Moreouer, in his letters obiectyng diuers thinges agaynſt him, reciteth: howe manye and great benefites he had receiued of the church of Rome, by the which church he had obtayned the fulnes of hys honour and dignitie. &c. Themperour with his princes perceuing wherunto the pope by his Legates did ſhute: (being a prince of courage) could not abide ſuch intollerable preſumption of a proud meſſage: wherupō muche contention fell betwene the Legates and the Princes. And of whom then (ſaye the Legates) receiueth Ceſar hys Empery, if he take it not of ẏ pope? Wyth ẏ which word the Germayne princes were ſo muche offended: that had not ẏ Emperour ſtaid them (wᵗ much ado) they would haue vſed violence againſt ẏ legates. But ẏ Emperor not permitting that, cōmaūded ẏ legates away: ſtraitly charging thē to make no turne by ẏ way to any perſō or perſons, but ſtraight to depart home. And (he to certify the whole ſtate of the empire) of the truth of the matter, directeth forth theſe letters that followe.

Ex Radenulco, in apendice Friſingenſis.

See the ambitious preſumption of a proud prieſt.

¶ *The tenor of the Emperours letters ſent through all his Empire.*

FOr as much as the prouidence of God (wherof depēdeth all power both in heauen and earth) hath cōmitted to vs,his annoynted,this our regiment, and Empery to be gouerned, and the peace of his churches by our imperiall armes,to be protected: we can but lament and complayne to you with great ſorow of hart, ſeyng ſuch cauſes of diſſention(the rote and fountaine of euils,and the infection of peſtiferous corruption)thus to riſe from the holy churche:imprinted with yͤ ſeale of the peace and loue of Chriſt.

By reaſon wherof (except God turne it away) we feare the whole body of the church is lyke to be polluted: the vnitie therof to be broken: and a ſchiſme and diuiſion to be betwixt the ſpirituall,and temporall regimēt. For we,being a late at Biſunze,and there intreatyng buſily of matters pertaining as well to the honor of our Empyre,as to the wealth of Churches:there came embaſſadours of the ſee Apoſtolicall, declaryng they brought a legacie to our maieſty,of great importaunce: redounding to no ſmall cōmoditie of our honour,and Empyre.

Who thē,the firſt day of their cōmyng,being brought to our preſēce,and receyued of vs (as the maner is)with honour accordingly:audience was geuen them,to heare what they had to ſay. They forthwith, bruſtyng out of the Māmon of iniquitie:hautie pride,ſtoutneſſe: & arrogancie: Out of the execrable preſumption of their ſwellyng harte, dyd their meſſage with letters Apoſtolicall, wherof the tenour was this. That we ſhould alwayes haue before our eyes: how that our ſoueraygne Lord the pope gaue vs the imperiall crowne,and that it doth not repent hym,if ſo be it, we haue receyued greater benefites at his hand.

And this was theffect of that ſo ſwete and fatherly legation,whiche ſhould nouriſh peace both of the church, and of the Empyre, to vnite them faſt together in the band of loue.

At the hearing of this ſo falſe,vntrue,and moſt vainglorious preſumption of ſo proud a meſſage: not onely the Emperours maieſtie,cōceiued iuſt indignation,but alſo all the princes(there preſent)were moued with ſuch anger and rage there at: that if our preſēce and requeſt had not ſtayed thē,they could not haue hold their handes from theſe wicked prieſts, or els to haue proceded with ſentence of death agaynſt them.

Furthermore, becauſe a great nomber of other letters(partly written already, partly with ſeales ready ſigned,for letters to be writtē,accordyng as they ſhould thyncke good to the churches of Germany) were found about them:wherby to worke their conceyued intent of iniquitie here in our churches,to ſpoyle the altars,to cary away the iewels of the church, & to fley the lymmes and plates of goldē croſſes.&c.To the entent theyr auaricious meaning,ſhould haue no further power to raign: we gaue them cōmaundement to depart the ſame way, they came.And now,ſeyng our raigne and Empery ſtādeth vpon the election of princes,from God alone: who in the paſſiō of his ſonne,ſubdued the world to be gouerned with two ſwordes neceſſary:and agayne,ſeyng Peter the Apoſtle hath ſo informed the world with this doctrine. Deum timete,Regem honorificate:That is, Feare God honour your king:Therfore who ſo ſayth,that we haue and profeſſe,our imperiall kingdom by the benefite of the lord pope: is contrarye both to the ordinaunce of God,and to the doctrine of Peter,and alſo ſhall be reproued for a lyer.

Note here a couragious hart in a valiant Emperour. An example for all princes to followe.

Therfore as our endeuor hath ben heretofore,to helpe and to deliuer yͤ ſeruile captiuitie of churches out of the hand,and from the yoke of the Egyptians,and to maintayne the right of their liberties and dignities: we deſire you all,with your compaſſion to lament with vs, thys ſlaūderous ignominie inferred to vs and our kingdom. Truſting that your faithfull good will, which hath ben euer truſty to the honour of this Empyre(neuer yet blemiſhed from the firſt begynnyng of the citie,and of religion)will prouide, yͭ it ſhall haue no hurt now, through the ſtraunge noueltie, and preſumptious pride of ſuch. Which thyng,rather then it ſhould come to paſſe,know you this for certaine:I had rather incurre yͤ daunger of death,then to ſuffer ſuch confuſiō to happē in our dayes.

This letter of Ceſar,fretted the pope not a litle:who wrote agayne to the biſhops of Germany, accuſing the Emperour,& willyng them to worke againſt him, what they could.They aunſwere agayne withal obedience to the pope:ſubmittyng them ſelues, and yet excuſing the Emperour,and blamyng him rather.And exhorted him henceforth to temper his letters and legacies with more gentlenes and modeſtie: the whiche counſel he alſo followed,perceiuing otherwiſe,that he could not preuaile.

Much trouble had good Fridericus with this pope: but much more with the other, that followed. For this pope cōtinued not very long:yͤ ſpace onely of iiij. yeares and odde monethes. About whoſe tyme,roſe vp thorder of the Heremites by one William,once duke of Aquitania,and afterward a Frier.This Hadrianus walkyng with his cardinals abroad,to a place called Anagnia,or Arignanum,(as Volaterā calleth it)chaunced to be choked with a flye gettyng into his throte,and ſo was ſtrangeled:who in the latter time of his papacy,was wont to ſay, that there is no more miſerable kinde of life in the earth,then to be a pope. And to come to the papacy by bloud, that is(ſayd he)not to ſuccede Peter,but rather Romulus,who to raigne alone,did ſlay his brother.

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1159.

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Although this Adrian was bad inough,yet came the next much worſe,one Alexander the iij.of yͤ name.Who yet was not elected alone. For beſides him:yͤ Emperour, with ix.cardinals(albeit Sabellicus ſayth, but with iij.) did ſet vp an other pope named Victor the iiij. Betwene theſe two popes,roſe a foule ſchiſme and great diſcord: & long continued.In ſo much that the Emperour beyng required to take vp the matter,ſent for them both to appeare before hym:that in hearyng them both, he myght iudge their cauſe the better.Victor came, but Alexander (diſdayning that his matter ſhould come in controuerſie)refuſed to appeare. Wherupon the Emperour with a full conſent of his byſhops and clergy about him:aſſined and ratified the election of Victor to ſtand. And ſo brought him into the city, there to be receyued and placed.Alexāder(flying into Fraunce) accurſed them both: ſendyng his letters to all chriſtendom agaynſt them,as men to be auoyded and caſt out of all chriſten company. Alſo to get hym frends at Rome:by flattery and money got on his ſide the greateſt part of the citie:both to the fauouryng of hym, and to the ſettyng vp of ſuch conſuls as were for his purpoſe.After this,Alexander comming from Fraunce to Sicile,and from thence to Rome:was there receyued with much fauour, through the helpe of Philip the French kyng.

Alexan
curſeth
Emper

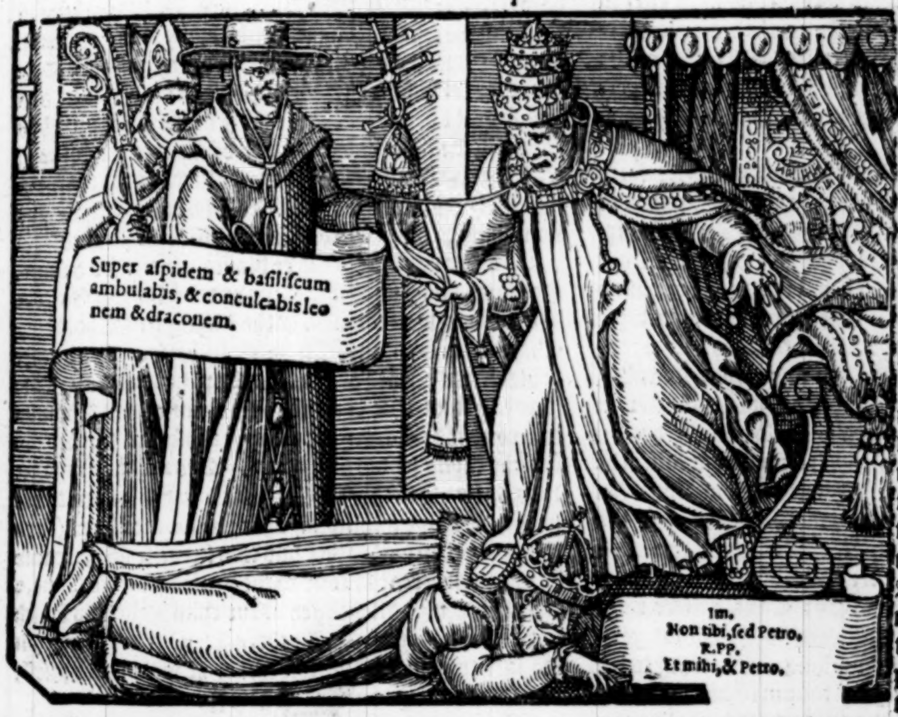
The Emperour hearyng this rebellion and conſpiracy in Rome:remoued wͭ great power into Italy, where he had deſtroyed diuers great cities.Commyng at lēgth to Rome,he required the citizens:that the cauſe betwixt the two popes might be deciſed,and yͭ he which had the beſt right might be taken. If they would ſo do,he would reſtore again that,which he tooke from thē before.Alexander miſtruſting his part, and doubting the willes of the citizins(hauyng ſhips ready prepared for him, from Williā duke of Apulia) fetcht a courſe about to Venis.

1164

To declare here the difference in hiſtories, betwene Blondus,Sabellicus,and the Venitian chronicles,with other writers,concerning the order of this matter:I wil ouerpaſſe. In this moſt do agrée:that the pope beyng at Venice,and required to be ſent of the Venetians,to the emperour:they would not ſend him.Wherupon,Fridericus the emperour,ſent thither his ſonne Otho with mē and ſhips wel appoynted:charging him not to attempt any thing before his commyng. The yong mā more hardye then circumſpecte (ioyning with the Venetiās) was overcome:and ſo taken was brought into the city. Here by the Pope toke no ſmall occaſion to worke his feates.

The father,to helpe the captiuitye and miſerye of his ſonne:was compelled to ſubmit himſelf to the pope and to intreat for peace. So the emperour commyng to Venice(at ſaint Markes church,where the biſhop was, there to take his abſolution) was bid to kneele downe at the Popes feete.

Pope Alexander, treading on the necke of Fridericke the Emperour.


Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem & draconem.
Im.
Non tibi, ſed Petro.
R.PP.
Et mihi, & Petro.

The proud pope ſettyng his foote vpon the Emperours necke,ſaid the verſe of the Pſalme: Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis & conculcabis leonem & draconem: That is: Thou ſhalt walke vpon the adder and the Baſiliſke:and ſhalt tread downe the Lion and the Dragon,&c. To whom the Emperour aunſweryng againe, ſaid: Non tibi ſed Petro, that is,not to thee but to Peter. The pope agayne, Et mihi, & Petro. Both to me & to Peter. The Emperour fearyng to geue any occaſion of farther quareling,held his peace & ſo was abſolued,& peace made betwene them: the conditions wherof were theſe. Firſt that he ſhould receaue Alexander,for yͤ true pope. Secondly that he ſhould reſtore agayne to the church of Rome,all that he had taken awaye before. And thus the emperour obtayning agayne his ſonne,departed.

Here,as I note in diuers writers,a great diuerſitie and varietie touching the order of this matter(of whom ſome ſay,that the emperour campt in Paleſtina before he came to Venis, ſome ſay after) ſo I maruel to ſee in Volateran (ſo greate a fauourer of the pope)ſuch a contradiction,who in his xxi.boke ſaith: that Otto(the Emperours ſonne) was taken in this conflicte, which was the cauſe of the peace betwene his father and the pope:And in his.xxiii.boke agayne ſayth,that the Emperour hym ſelfe was takē priſoner in the ſame battail:and ſo(afterward peace concluded) toke his iourney,to Aſia and Paleſtina. This pope in the tyme of his papacy(which continued xxi.yeares)kept ſundry councels both at Turo,and at Lateran:where he confirmed yͤ wicked procedings of Hildebrād,and other his predeceſſors. As to binde all orders of the clergy to yͤ vow of chaſtitie, which were not greatly to be reprehēded if they would define chaſtitie a ryght. For who ſo lyueth not a chaſt lyfe(ſayth he)is no fit perſō to be a miniſter. But herein,lyeth an errour full of much blindnes,& alſo perilus think,yͤ matrimony immaculate(as S.Paule calleth it)is not chaſtitie:but onely a ſingle life,that they eſteme to be a chaſt lyfe.

Now for as much,as our engliſh pope holy martir called Thomas Becket,hapned alſo in the ſame tyme of thys pope Alexander: Let vs ſomewhat alſo ſtory of him ſo far as the matter ſhall ſeme worthy of knowlege and to ſtand with truth. To the end,that the truth therof beyng ſifted from all flattery and lies of ſuch popiſh wryters as paint out his ſtorye: men may the better iudge both of him what he was, and alſo of his cauſe.

¶ *The lyfe and hiſtory of T.* Becket archbiſhop of Caunterbury.

Tho.Becket archb. of Cant.

If yͤ cauſe make a Martir (as is ſayde) I ſee not why wee ſhoulde eſteme Thomas Becket to die a martir,more then any other whom the princes ſwoord doth here temporally puniſh for their tēporal deſertes. To dye for the church, I graunt is a glorioꝰ matter. But that church(as it is a ſpirituall & not a tēporal church) ſo it ſtandeth vpon cauſes ſpiritual,and vpon an heauenly foundatiō: as vpon faith,religiō,true doctrin, ſincere diſcipline,obediēce to gods cōmaūdemēts,&c. And not vpō things perteinig to this world as poſſeſſions,liberties,exemptiōs priuileges, dignities, patrimonies & ſuperiorities. If theſe be geuen to the church,I pray God,churchmen may vſe them well: but if they be not geuen, the church cannot clayme them:or if they be taken away,that ſtandeth in the princes power. To contende with princes for the ſame,it is no matter(in my mind)material,to make a martir,but rather a rebellion againſt them, to whom we owe ſubiectiō. Therfore,as I ſuppoſe Thomas Becket to be farre from the cauſe and title of a martir(neyther can be excuſed, from playne rebellion agaynſt his prince) So yet would I haue wiſhed againe,the law rather publikly to haue found out his fault:then yͤ ſwoords of mē (not bidden nor ſent) to haue ſmitten him, hauing no ſpecial commaundement,neither of the prince,nor of the law,ſo to do. For though the indignatiō of the prince (as the wyſe prince ſayth)is death:yet it is not for euery priuate perſon ſtraight wayes to reuenge the ſecrete indignation of his prince,except he be publikely authoriſed therunto. And this had been(as I ſuppoſe) the better way,the lawes firſt to haue executed their iuſtice vpon him. Certes,it had ben the ſafeſt waye for the kyng, as it proued after: who had iuſt matter inough to hym, if he had proſecuted his cauſe agaynſt him. And alſo therby,his death had been without all ſuſpicion of martyrdome,neyther had there folowed this ſhrining & saincting of him,as there did. Albeit,the ſecret prouidence of God (which gouerneth althinges) did ſee this way percaſe to be moſt beſt,and moſt neceſſary for thoſe dayes. And doubtles(to ſay here what I thinke,& yet to ſpeake nothing agaynſt charitie) if the Emperours had done the like to the Popes contending agaynſte them what time they tooke them priſoners:that is,if they had vſed the law of the ſword agaynſt them,and chopped of the heades of one or two, according to their traiterous rebellion:they had brokē the necke of much diſturbaunce, which long tyme after did trouble the church. But for lacke of that,because Emperours hauing the ſwoorde,

Becket no martyr.

and the truth on their ſide,would not vſe their ſwoꝛde: but ſtanding in awe of the Popes vayne curſe, and reuerencing his ſeate foꝛ S. Peters ſake: durſt lay no hād vpon him,though he were neuer ſo abhominable & traiterous a malefactour. The popes perceauing that,tooke ſo much vpon them (not as the ſcripture woulde geue) but as much as the ſuperſticious feare of Emperours & kings would ſuffer thē to take: which was ſo much, ẏ it paſt all oꝛder,rule,and meaſure. And all becauſe the ſuperiour powers (either woulde not,oꝛ durſt not) pꝛactiſe that autoꝛitie geuen to them of the Loꝛd,vpon their inferiours,but ſuffered them to be their maiſters.

But as touching Thomas Becket, what ſo euer is to be thought of them that did the act: the example therof yet bꝛingeth this pꝛofit with it, to teach all Romiſhe pꝛelates not to be ſo ſtubburne (in ſuch matters not pertayning to them) againſt their pꝛince,vnto whom God hath ſubiected them.

Herbertus de boſeham.
Ioā. Charnot.
Alanus abbot of Teuchſburye.
Gulielmus Cātuarienſis.
T. Becket deſcribed.

Now to the ſtoꝛy,which if it be true that is ſet foꝛth in Quadrilogo,by thoſe foure who tooke vppon them to expꝛeſſe the life and pꝛoceſſe of Thhomas Becket: it appeareth by all coniectures,that he was a man of a ſtout nature,ſeuere,and inflexible. What perſwaſiō oꝛ opiniō he had once conceiued: from that he woulde in no wyſe be remoued,oꝛ very hardlye. Thꝛeatninges and flatteringes,were to hym both one. In this poynt ſingular, following no mans counſel ſo much as his owne. Great helpes of nature were in him (if he could haue vſed them wel) rather then of learning. Albeit, ſomewhat ſkilful he was of the ciuil law,which he ſtudied at Bonomy. In memoꝛy excellently good,& alſo wel bꝛoken in courtly & in woꝛldly matters. Beſides this,he was of a chaſte & a ſtrayte life, if ẏ hiſtoꝛies be true. Although in ẏ firſt part of his life (being yet archdeacon of Cant. & after Loꝛd Chauncelоꝛ) he was very ciuil,courtlike,pleaſant,geuē much both to hunting and hauking, accoꝛding to the giſe of the court. And highly fauoured he was of his pꝛince,who not onely had thus pꝛomoted him: but alſo had committed hys ſonne and heire to his inſtitution & gouernance. But,in this his firſt beginning he was not ſo well beloued: but afterward he was agayn as much hated (and deſeruedly) both of the king, & alſo of ẏ moſt part of his ſubiects: ſaue onelye of certayn Monkes and pꝛieſtes, & ſuch other as were perſwaded by them: who magnified hym not a litle,foꝛ vpholding the liberties of the church (that is) the licentious lyfe & exces of churchmen. Amongeſt all other,theſe vices he had moſt notable,and to be rebuked. Full of deuotion,but without all true religion. Zealous,but cleane wythout knowledge. And therfoꝛe as he was ſtyffe and ſtubburne of nature, ſo (A blind conſcience beyng ioyned withall) it turned to playne rebellion. So ſuperſticious he was to the obedience of the Pope,that he foꝛgot hys obedience to his naturall and moſt beneficial king. And in maintayning (ſo contentiouſly) the vaine conſtitutions & decrees of men: he neglected ẏ cōmaundements of God. But herin moſt of all to be repꝛehended,that not onely (contrarye to the kynges knowledge) he ſought to conuey him ſelf out of the realme (beyng in that place and calling) but alſo (being out of the realme) ſet matter of diſcoꝛd betwene the Pope and hys kyng,and alſo betwene the French king and hym: contrary to all honeſtye,good oꝛder, naturall ſubiection,and true chꝛiſtianity. Whereupon folowed no litle diſquietnes after, both to the king and damage of the realme,as here (in pꝛoceſſe and in oꝛder folowing by the grace of Chꝛiſt) we wyll declare. Firſt begynning wyth the firſt riſing vp of hym,and ſo conſequently to pꝛoſecute in oꝛder hys ſtoꝛy as foloweth.

What cōmeth of blind zeale deſtitute of ryght knowledge.

The lyfe of T. Becket.
Polydorus myſtaketh the mother of Becket.

And fyꝛſt here to omitte the pꝛogenie of hym and of his mother, whom Polyd. Virgilius falſely nameth to be a Saracene: when in deede ſhe came out of the partes boꝛdering nere to Noꝛmandie. To omitte alſo the fabulous viſion of hys mother, mentioned in Robert. Crikeladenſis,of a burning toꝛche iſſuing out of her bodye & reaching vp to heauen: hys fyꝛſt pꝛeferment was to the church of Bꝛanfield , whiche he hadde by the gifte of S. Albons. After ẏ,he entred in ẏ ſeruice of ẏ archb. of Cant. by whō he was thē pꝛeferred to be his archdecon. And after by the ſaid Theobald was put (as a man moſt meteſt foꝛ his purpoſe) to king Henry,to bꝛidel the yong kyng that he ſhould not be fearce agaynſt ẏ clergy: whō in pꝛoces of tyme,the kyng made loꝛde Chaūcelor. And thē he left playeng the archdeacō,and began to play the Chauncelor. He facioned his condicions like to ẏ kinges both in wayghty matters and trifles. He would hunt wᵗ him,and watch the tyme when the kyng dined and ſlept. Furthermoꝛe,he began to loue the mery geſtings of the court, to delite him ſelfe with the great laud of men, and pꝛayſe of the people . And that I maye paſſe ouer hys houſhold ſtuffe,he had his bꝛidell of ſiluer,& the boſſes of his bꝛidell were woꝛth a great treaſure. At his table & other expences,he paſſed any erle: That on ẏ one ſide,mē would iudge him litle to cōſider ẏ office of an archdecō: & on ẏ other ſide would iudge him to vſe wicked doings. He plaied alſo ẏ good ſouldiour vnder ẏ king in Gaſcō,& both wāne & kept townes. Whē ẏ kyng ſent Tho. being Chauncelor home into England (ambaſſadoꝛ with other nobles after ẏ death of tharchbiſhop) he willed Ri. Luci (one of ẏ chiefeſt) to commēd in his name, this Thomas to ẏ couent at Cant. ẏ they might choſe him archbyſhop whiche thyng he did diligently. The monkes ſayd, it was not mete to chuſe a Courtier and a ſoldiour to bee head of ſo holye a companye, foꝛ he woulde ſpend (ſayd they) all ẏ they had. Other had this ſurmiſe alſo,becauſe he was in ſo great fauour wᵗ the pꝛince,ẏ kings ſonne,& was ſo ſodeulye diſcharged of the chauncelorſhip which he had boꝛne .v. yeares. In the .44. yeare of his age (on the ſaturday in ẏ Whytſon weke) he was made pꝛieſt, and the next day conſecrated biſhop.

As touching the pꝛieſthoode of thys man, I find the hiſtoꝛies to vary in them ſelues. foꝛ if he were beneficed, and chaplene to Theobald, & afterward archdeacon (as ſome ſaye) it is no other like but ẏ he was pꝛieſt befoꝛe, and not (as our moſt engliſhe ſtoꝛyes ſay) made pꝛieſt in the one day,and archbiſhop the next.

But how ſo euer this matter paſſeth, here is in the meane tyme to be ſeene,what great benefites the kyng had done foꝛ hym, and what greate loue had been betwene them both. Nowe after that Becket was thus pꝛomoted, what variaunce & diſcoꝛd happened betwene them,remayneth to be ſhewed: The cauſes of which variaunce were diuerſe and ſondꝛy.

As fyꝛſt whē (accoꝛding to ẏ cuſtome) ẏ kings officers gathered,of euery one, hide money thꝛough the realme, foꝛ ẏ defēce of their own coūtry: the king would haue taken it to his cofers. But the biſhop ſayd, ẏ whych euery mā gaue willingly,he ſhuld not coūt as his pꝛoper rēt.

An other cauſe was,that where a pꝛieſt was accuſed of murther: and the kings officers and the friends of the dead accuſed the pꝛieſt earneſtly afoꝛe the biſhop of Saliſbury his Dioceſan to whom he was ſent,deſiring iuſtice to be done on him: the pꝛieſt was put to his purgacion. But when he was not able to defende him ſelf, the biſhop ſent to the Archbiſhop to aſke what he ſhould do. The archbiſhop commaunded he ſhoulde be depꝛiued of of all eccleſiaſticall benefices,and ſhut vp in an abbey to do perpetuall penance. After the ſame ſoꝛte was diuers other handled foꝛ like cauſes,but none put to death, noꝛ loſt ioynt,noꝛ burned in the hand,oꝛ the like payne.

The third cauſe was,that where a Chanon of Bꝛuis did reuile the kinges iuſtices: the king was offēded with the whole clergy. Foꝛ theſe and ſuch like,the archbiſhop (to pacify the kings anger) commaunded the chanon to be whipped,and depꝛiued of his benefices foꝛ certayne yeares. But the king was not content with this gentle puniſhment, becauſe it rather encreaſed their boldnes: & therfore he called the archbiſhop, biſhops, & al ẏ clergy to aſſemble at Weſtminſter. When they were aſſēbled together: the king earneſtlye commaunded, that ſuche wicked clerkes ſhould haue no priuilege of their clergye but be deliuered to the Jaylers, becauſe they paſſed ſo little of that ſpirituall correction: and this he ſayd, alſo their own canons and lawes had decreed. The archbyſhop counſeling with his biſhops and learned men, anſwered probably: & in the end deſired hartely the kinges gentlenes (for the quietnes of him ſelfe and hys realme) that vnder Chriſt our new king, and vnder the new law of Chriſt, he woulde bring in no newe kynde of puniſhment into his realme (vpon the newe and choſen people of the Lord) agaynſt the old decrees of the holy fathers: And oft he ſaid, that he neither ought nor could ſuffer it. The king moued therwith (and not withoute cauſe) alledgeth agayne and exacteth the old lawes and cuſtoms of hys graūdfather, obſerued and agreed vpon by archbiſhops, biſhops, prelates, and other priuileged perſons: inquyring lykewiſe of hym, whether he would agree to ẏ ſame, or els now (in hys raign) would condemne that whych in the raygne of his graundfather was well allowed. To which lawes and cuſtomes, the ſaid Thomas dyd partly graunt, and partly not graunt. The copye of the whych foreſayde lawes are contayned in the number of.xxviij.or.xxix.whereof I thought here to recite certayne, not vnworthy to be knowne.

The Copie of the old lawes and cuſtomes, wherunto Thomas Becket, did graunt.

1 he kings ſtomes.

1 That no orders ſhould be geuē to huſband mens children or bondmens children, without the aſſent or teſtimoniall of thē which be the lords of ẏ coūtrey where they were borne & brought vp: & if their ſonnes become clerkes, they ſhall not receyue the order of prieſthode, without licence of their Lords.

2 t of an gliſhe ronicle it appeah, drawē t of 3 nche by e Ryuers d Scales.

2 And if a man of holy churche, hold any lay fée in hys hand: he ſhall do therfore, the kyng the ſeruice that belongeth therto, as vpon Juries, aſſiſe of landes, & iudgementes: ſauyng onely, at execution doyng of death.

3 If any man were the kynges traytor, and had taken the church: that it ſhoulde be lawfull to the kyng & hys officers to take hym out.

4 Alſo if any fellōs goods were brought to holy church, that they ſhould none ſuch kepe there: for euery fellons goodes ben the kynges.

5 That no land ſhould be giuen to the church, or to any houſe of religion, without the kynges licence.

These articles following, Thomas agreed not vnto.

1 If that betwene a clerke, and a lay man, were any ſtriuyng for churche goodes, they would the ple ſhould be done in the kings court.

2 That there ſhould neither byſhop nor clerke, go out of the land without the kyngs licence: And thē he ſhould ſweare vpon a boke, he ſhoulde procure no hurt againſt the kyng nor none of his.

3 If any man were denoūced accurſed, and were come agayne to amendement: the kyng would not, that he ſhould be ſworne, but onely finde ſureties to ſtād to that holy churche ſhould awarde.

4 The fourth, that no man that held of the kyng in chief or in ſeruice, ſhould be accurſed without ẏ kyngs licēce.

5 That all the biſhoprikes and abbeyes that were vacant, ſhould be in the kynges handes vntill ſuch tyme that he ſhould chuſe a prelat therto: and he ſhould be choſen out of ẏ kyngs chappels, and firſt before he were confirmed, he ſhould do his homage to the kyng.

6 If any ple were to conſiſtory brought, they ſhould appele from thence to the archdeacō: and from thence to the biſhops court: and frō the biſhops court, to the archbiſhops: and from thence to the king, and no further: So that in concluſion the complaintes of holy church, muſt come before the kyng and not the pope.

7 That all debtes, that were owyng through trouth plyght, ſhould not be pledid in ſpirituall but in temporall court.

8 That the Peters pence, which to the pope were gathered ſhould be taken to the kyng.

9 If any clerke for felonie were taken, and ſo proued: he ſhould be firſt diſgraded, & then through iudgement, to be hanged, or if he were a traytor to be drawen.

Other lawes and conſtitutions made at Claredoun in Normandy, and ſent to England, wherunto Becket and the pope would not agree. He beyng then fled out of the realme.

1 The lawes of Claredoun.

1 If any perſon ſhall be found to bryng from the Pope or from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, any wrytyng conteining any indict or curſe agaynſt ẏ realme of England: the ſame man to be apprehēded without delay, for a traitor, and execution to be done vpon the ſame.

2 That no monke, nor any clerke ſhalbe permitted to paſſe ouer into England, without a paſſeporte from the kyng or his Juſtices: who ſo doth contrary, that man to be tached and inpriſoned.

3 No man to be ſo bold once to appeale to the pope, or to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, out of England.

4 That no decrée, or commaundement procedyng from the autoritie of the pope or the biſhop of Canterbury, to be receaued in England, vnder payne of takyng and inpriſonyng.

5 In generall, to forbid any man to cary ouer any cōmaundement or precept (either of clerke) or layman, to the pope or to the archbiſhop of Cāterbury, vnder paine of inpriſonment.

6 If any biſhop, clerke, abbot, or lay man ſhall do contrary to this inhibition: or will kepe the ſentence of interditing: the ſame incontinent to be thruſt out of the land, with all theyr kynred, and to leaue all theyr goodes behynd them.

7 All the poſſeſſions, goods and cattell of ſuch as fauour the pope, or the archbiſhop of Cāterbury, to be ſeazed and confiſcat for the kyng.

8 All ſuch of the clergy, as be out of the realme hauing their rents and profites out of ẏ land: to be ſomoned and warned through euery ſhyre, within three monethes to repaire home: either els their rentes and goodes to returne to the kyng.

9 That ſaint Peters pence, ſhould be no more payde to the Apoſtolicall ſee, but to be reſerued diligētly in the kynges cofers, and there to be at his commaundement. Atq; hæc ex Quadrilogo.

10 That the biſhops of Saleſbury and Norwich, be at the kinges mercy: and be ſomoned by the Shryf and bedels, that they before the kynges iuſtices, do right to the kyng and hys iuſtices: becauſe (contrary to the ſtatutes, of Clarendon) by commaundement they interdicted the land of Hugh Earle, & publiſhed ẏ ſame in their dioces without licence of the kynges iuſtice.

By theſe and ſuche other lawes and decrees it may appeare: that the aboliſhyng of the pope, is no new thyng in the realme of England. This onely difference there is, ẏ the pope beyng driuen out then, could not be kept out ſo longe as now he is. The cauſe is, ẏ the tyme was not yet come, that Antichriſt ſhould ſo fully be reuealed: Neither was hys wickednes then ſo fully ripe in thoſe dayes, as it hath ben now in our tyme. Now theſe premiſed, let vs returne where we left, to the matter betwixt the kyng and Thomas Becket.

The communication and controuerſie betwene the king and T. Becket with hys cleargye.

The kyng as is aforeſaid, conuentyng hys nobles and clearkes together, required to haue the puniſhmente of certayne miſdoers of the clergie. But Thomas Becket not aſſenting therunto: the king came to this point:

Beckets addition *Saluo ordine ſuo.*

The biſhop of Chicheſter.

to know whether he would conſent with his clergy,that the cuſtomes then ſet forth in the realme(meanyng by yͤ firſt part of thoſe decrees aboue ſpecified)ſhould be obſerued. To which the archb.conſultyng together wyth hys brethren,geueth aunſwer agayne,that he was contẽted the kinges ordinances ſhould be obſerued, adding thys wythal,Saluo ordine ſuo:that is,ſauyng his order. And ſo in lyke manner all the other biſhops after, beyng demaunded in order aunſwered with the ſame addition, Saluo ordine ſuo. Onely Hillarius biſhop of Chicheſter, perceiuing the kyng to be exaſperate wyth that additiõ: in ſtead of Saluo ordine,agreed to obſerue them Bona fide. The king hearing them not ſimply to agrée vnto him but with an exceptiõ, was mightely offended: who then turning to the archb.and the prelates ſaide:that he was not wel contented with that clauſe of theirs,Saluo ordine ſuo,which he ſayd,was captious ⁊ deceitfull: hauing ſome maner of venime lurkyng vnder,and therefore required an abſolute graunt of them without any exception to agree to the kinges ordinances. To this yͤ archb. anſwererh agayne,that they had ſworne vnto him their fidelity,both lyfe,body,and earthly honour:Saluo ordine ſuo:and that in the ſame earthly honour,alſo thoſe ordinaunces were comprehended: and to the obſeruing they would binde themſelues after no other forme, but as they had ſworne before. The kyng with this was moued,and all his nobility,not a little. As for the other byſhops,there was no doubt but they would eaſelye haue relented,had not the ſtoutnes of the archbiſhop made thẽ more conſtant then otherwiſe they would haue bene.

The ſtubberne wilfulnes of T.Becket.

Becket relenteth to the king.

The day being wel ſpent:the king(when he could get no other anſwer of them)departed in great anger:geuyng no word of ſalutatiõ to the biſhops.And likewiſe,the biſhops euery one to his owne houſe departed. The biſhop of Chicheſter(amõgſt yͤ reſt)was greatly rebuked of hys fellowes,for chaunging that exception contrary to the voyce of all the other. The next day following, the king tooke from the archbiſhop all ſuch honours and Lordſhips,as he had geuen him afore in the tyme yͭ he was Chauncellor:wherby appeared the great diſpleaſure of the king againſt him and the clergy. Not long after this, the kyng remouing from London(vnknowing to the biſhops)ſailed ouer to Normandy. Whither,the biſhop of London called Gilbert(not long after) reſorted to craue the kinges fauor: ⁊ gaue hym councel with all to ioyne ſome of the biſhops on his ſide, leaſt if all were agaynſt him,peraduenture he myght ſooner be ouerthrowen. And thus the greateſt number of the biſhoppes were by this meanes reconciled agayne to the kyng: onely the archbiſhop with a few other remayned in their ſtoutnes ſtil. The king(thinkyng to try all manner of wayes)whẽ he ſawe no fere nor threates coulde turne him: did aſſaye him with gentlenes,it would not ſerue. Many of the nobles labored betwixt thẽ both,exhorting him to relent to yͤ kyng,it would not be. Likewiſe yͤ archbiſhop of Yorke with diuers other biſhops ⁊ abbots (eſpecially yͤ biſhop of Cheſter)did the ſame. Beſides thys his own houſhold dailye called vpon him:but no man could perſuade him. At length,vnderſtandyng (partly by them that came to hym)what daunger might happen not onely to himſelf, but to all the other cleargy vpon the kings diſpleaſure: partly conſidering the old loue and kindnes of the kyng towardes hym in tyme paſte,was content to geue ouer to the kings requeſt:and came to Oxford to hym,reconciling himſelfe about the addition, which diſpleaſed the king ſo much. Wherupon,yͤ king(being ſomwhat mitigate)receyueth him wͭ a more cherefull coũtenance:but yet not all ſo familiarlye as before, ſaying:yͭ he woulde haue his ordinaunces and procedinges after the forme confirmed in the publike audience and open ſyght of hys biſhops and all his nobles. After this,the kyng(beyng at Clarendowne)there called all his pieres and prelates before him: requiring to haue that performed which they had promiſed,in conſenting to yͤ obſeruyng of his graũdfathers ordinaunces and procedinges. The archbiſhop ſuſpecting(I cannot tel what)in the kings promiſe drue backward,⁊ now would not yͭ he would before. At laſt, wͭ(much adoo) he was inforced to geue his aſſent. Fyrſt came to him the biſhop of Saliſbury and of Norwiche, who(for old matters in daũgered to yͤ kyng long before) came weppyng and lamentyng to the archbiſhop, deſyring him to haue ſome compaſſion of them,and to remit this pertinacy to the kyng:leſt if he ſo cõtinued(through his ſtoutnes to exaſperate the kings diſpleaſure)haply it might redound to no ſmall daunger, not onely of them which were in ieopardy already:but alſo of himſelfe to be impriſoned,and the whole clergy to be indaungered. Beſides theſe ij.biſhops,there went to him other ij.noble pieres of the realme labouring with him to relent ⁊ condeſcend to the kings deſire. If not, they ſhould be inforced to vſe violence,as neyther would ſtand wͭ the kyngs fame,and much leſſe with his quietnes. But yet yͤ ſtout ſtomacke of the man would not geue ouer. After thys, came to him.ij.rulers of the tẽple called Templars: one Richar.de Haſt:an other Coſtans de Houcrio wͭ theyr company:lamenting ⁊ bewailing the great peril which they declared vnto hym to hange ouer his head: yet neither with their teares nor with their knelings,would he be remoued. At length came the laſt meſſage from the king,ſignifieng vnto him with expreſſe wordes(and alſo wyth teares)what he ſhould truſt to, if he woulde not geue ouer to the kynges requeſt.

By reaſon of which meſſage, he(either terrefied or els perſwaded)was content to ſubmit himſelf. Wherupon, the king incontinent aſſembling the ſtates together: the archbiſhop firſt before all other begynneth to promiſe to the kyng obedience and ſubmiſſion vnto his cuſtome, ⁊ that cum bona fide leauyng out his former addition,Saluo ordine,mẽtioned before:in ſtede wherof he promiſed in verbo veritatis,to obſerue ⁊ kepe the kings cuſtomes and ſware to the ſame. After him the other biſhops likewyſe gaue the like othe. Wherupon,the king commaunded incontinent certain inſtruments obligatorye to bee drawne:of the which,the kyng ſhould haue one:the archbiſhop of Canterbury an other: the archbiſhop of Yorke yͤ third:requiring alſo yͤ ſaid archbiſhop to ſet to his hãd and ſeale. To the which,the archbiſhop(although not denying but that he was ready ſo to do)yet deſired reſpite in yͤ matter,while that he(being but newly come to hys biſhoprike) might better peruſe with himſelf yͤ foreſayd cuſtomes and ordinaunces of the king. This requeſt as it ſemed but reaſonable,ſo it was lightly graunted:and ſo the day beyng wel ſpent,they departed for that ſeaſõ and brake vp.

Alanus one of the 4. writers of the life of this T. Becket,recordeth:that the archbiſhop in hys viage toward Wincheſter,began greatly to repente that he had done before,partly through the inſtigation of certayn about hym:but chiefly of his croſ bearer, who goyng before the archbiſhop,did ſharply and erneſtly expoſtulate with him for geuyng ouer to the kyngs requeſt againſt the priuiledge and liberties of the church: polluting not onely his fame and conſcience,but alſo geuing a pernitious example to them that ſhould come after,with many like wordes. To make the matter ſhorte: the archbiſhop was ſo touched vpon the ſame with ſuch repentaunce,yͭ keping himſelf from al company,lamenting wͭ teares, wͭ faſting,and with much penance maceratyng ⁊ afflicting himſelf,dyd ſuſpend hymſelf frõ all deuine ſeruice: ⁊ would not receyue cõfort,before yͭ(word beyng ſent to his holy graũdfather yͤ pope)he ſhould be aſſoild of him: who tendryng the teares of his deare chicken, directed to him letters agayn by the ſame meſſenger which Thomas had ſent vp to hym before. In which letters not onely ly ne aſſoiled him from his treſpas:but alſo with words of great conſolation dyd incourage him to be ſtout in ẏ quarell he tooke in hand. The copy of which letters conſolatory ſent from the pope to popiſh Becket,here folow vnder written.

letter of ope Alexder to T. ecket.

Alexander Biſhop.&c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant
that it hath bene aduertiſed vs,how that vpon
the occaſion of a certayn tranſgreſſiō or exces of yours:
you haue determined to ceaſe henceforth from ſaying
" of Maſſe,and to abſtayne from the conſecration of the
" body and bloud of the Lord.Which thing to doo, howe
" daungerous it is(eſpecially in ſuch a perſonage) and alſo
" what inconuenience may ryſe therof: I wyll you aduiſedly
" to conſider,and diſcritely alſo to ponder. Your
" wyſdome ought not to forget what difference ther is betwixt
" them which aduiſedly and willingly doo offende,
" and thoſe which through ignorance, and for neceſſitie
" ſake do offende. For as you reade, ſo muche the more
" greater is wylful ſynne:as the ſame not being voluntarie
" is leſſer ſynne.Therefore if you remember your ſelf
" to haue done any thing that your owne conſcience doth
" accuſe you of, whatſoeuer it be: we counſel you(as a
" prudent and wyſe Prelate)to acknowledge the ſame.
" Which thing done,the mercyfull and pitifull God who
" hath more reſpect to the hart of the doer thē to the thing
" done,wyll remit and forgeue you the ſame according
" to his accuſtomed great mercye.And we(truſting in the
" merites of the bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul) do abſolue
" you from the offence committed, and by the authoritie
" apoſtolicall we releaſe you vnto your fraternitie:
" counſeling you and commaunding you,that hence
" forth you abſtayne not(for thys cauſe)from the celebration
" of the Maſſe.

Thys letter wyth other mo after lyke ſort,the Pope then wrote to him:animating and comforting hym in thys quarel ſo nearely pertayning to the popes profite. By the occaſion whereof, Becket toke no ſmall harte and conſolation. In ſo much,that therof ſemeth to me to procede,all the occaſion that made him ſo ſtout and malapert againſt his prince,as hereafter foloweth to be ſene by hys doinges. What the other letters were that the Pope wrote vnto him,ſhortly after(when we come to the appellations made to the Pope)ſhal appeare God wylling. In the meane ſeaſon(as he ſat thus mourning at home)the kyng hearing of hym,and how he denied to ſet his ſeale to thoſe ſanctions, which he condeſcended to before: toke no little diſpleaſure agaynſt him. In ſo much that he(threatning to him and hys,baniſhment & death)began to call him to reckoninges,and to burden him with paymentes:that al men might vnderſtād that the kinges mynde was ſore ſet agaynſt him. The archbiſhop hereupon(whether more for the loue of the pope, or dread of his prince)thought to make an eſcape out of the realme:and ſo went about in the night (with twoo or three with him ſtealing out of his houſe) to take the ſea priuely. Nowe, amongſt other the kings ordinances and ſanctions,this was one: that none of the prelacy or nobility without the kinges liſence(or of hys iuſtices)ſhoulde depart out of the realme. So Becket twyſe attempted the ſea,to flee to ẏ ſee of Rome: but the weather not ſeruing,was driuen home agayne,and his deuiſe for that tyme fruſtrated. After his departure began to be knowen and noyſed abroade: the kinges officers came to Canterbury to ſeaſon vpon hys goods in the kinges behalfe. But as it chaunced the night before their comming,Becket beyng returned and founde at home, they did not procede in their purpoſe.

ecket enrpriſing gaynſt the ngs laes to flye ut of the alme.

Upon this,tharchbiſhop(vnderſtanding the kyng ſore bent agaynſt hym,and the ſeas not to ſerue hym) made haſt to the court,lying then at Wodſtocke. Where,the king receyued him(after a certeine maner) but nothing ſo familiarly as he was wont:tauntyng him geſtyngly and merely,as though one realme were not able to hold them both. Becket(although he was permitted to go and come at his pleaſure to the courte) yet coulde not obtaine the fauour that he would:perceiuyng both in hymſelfe,and confeſſyng no leſſe to other, how the matter woulde fall out:ſo that either he ſhoulde be conſtrained to geue ouer with ſhame: or ſtoutlye ſtande, to that whiche he had ſo boldly taken in hand. Tharchbyſhop of Yorke in the meane tyme(goyng betwene the kyng and tharchbiſhop)laboured to make peace and loue betwene them,but the king in no caſe would be reconciled,vnles thother would ſubſcribe to his lawes. So that while neither the kyng would otherwiſe agree, nor yet tharchbyſhop in no wiſe would ſubſcribe:ther was a foul diſcord. Where the fault was,let the reader here iudge betwene them both. The kyng (for his regall autoritie)thought it much,that any ſubiect of his,ſhould ſtand agaynſt hym. Tharchbiſhop again (bearyng him ſelf bould vpō thautority, and eſpecially vpon the letters of the pope lately written to him)thought him ſtrong inough agaynſt the kyng and all his realme. Agayne, ſuch was hys quarell for ẏ maintenance of the liberties and glory of ẏ church: that he could lacke no ſetters on and fauourers in that behalfe,in ſo ſwete a cauſe amongeſt the clergy. Wherfore, ẏ archbiſhop (truſting to theſe things)would geue no place, but by vertue of hys Apoſtolike autority gaue cenſure vpon theſe lawes and conſtitutions of the king: condemnyng ſome,and other ſome approuyng for good and catholicke,as is before declared. Beſides this, there came alſo to the kyng Rotrodus archbyſhop of Rotomage(ſent frō the pope)to make peace betwene the king and Canterbury. Wherunto the kyng was well cōtent, ſo that the pope would agree to ratify hys ordinaunces. But when ẏ could in no wiſe be obtayned at the Popes hands:then the kyng beyng ſtopped and fruſtrate of his purpoſe by reaſon of Beckets apoſtolicke legacy(beyng legatus a Latere)thought good to ſend vp to the pope:And ſo did,to obtayn of hym ẏ the ſame autoritie of thapoſtolike legacy might be cōferd to another after his appointment,whiche was tharchbiſhop of Yorke. But the pope denyed. Notwithſtandyng (at the requeſt of the kynges clergy)the pope was content that the kyng ſhould be legate him ſelfe:wherat the kyng toke great indignation as Houeden writeth, ſo that he ſent the pope his letters agayne. Here the pope was perplexed on both ſides.

Ex Rog. Houed.pri.parte hiſtoriæ cōtinuatæ poſt Bedā.

The king to be the popes legate.

If he ſhould haue denyed the kyng:ẏ was to hote for him. For ẏ pope vſeth alwayes to hold in wͭ kings, howſoeuer ẏ world ſpedeth. Again, if he ſhould haue forſakē ſuch a churchly chaplen(the cauſe beyng ſo ſwete and ſo gaynful)ẏ ſhould haue ben againſt him ſelf:what did he then? Here now cōmeth in the old practiſe of popiſh prelacy: to play wͭ both handes, priuely he conſpireth with thone,& openly diſſembleth with thother. Firſt he graūteth to the kynges ambaſſadours their requeſt, to haue the legate remoued and to place in that office tharchbyſhop of Yorke after his owne contentation. And yet notwithſtandyng(to tender the cauſe of Thomas Becket) he addeth this promiſe withall:that the ſayd Bec.ſhould receyue no harme or damage therby. Thus ẏ pope craftly conueyeng the matter betwene thē both (glad to further tharchbiſhop for his own aduauntage, and yet loth to deny the king,for diſpleaſure)writeth to the kyng opēly,and alſo ſecretly directeth an other letter to Becket,ẏ contentes wherof here follow.

The crafty diſſimulation of the pope.

¶ Alexander the pope to Thomas archb. of Canterbury.

The popes ſecret letters to Becket.

ALthough we condeſcendyng to the kynges requeſt,
haue graunted the gift of our legacy after his minde
from you:yet let not your mind therby be diſcomforted
nor brought into ſighes of diſpayre. For before that we "
had graunted that, or gaue our conſent therunto : the "
kynges ambaſſadours firmely promiſed in the word of "
truth(ready alſo to be ſworne vpon the ſame,if I would "

,, haue ſo required that their letters,alſo which he had obtayned,
,, ſhould not be deliuered to tharchbiſhop of York.
,, without our knowledge and conſent therin. This is certein
,, & ſo perſwade your ſelf boldly without any ſcruple,
,, doubt or miſtruſt, that it neuer was my minde or purpoſe
,, nor neuer ſhall be God willyng, to ſubdue you, or
,, your churche vnder thobedience of any perſon to be ſubiect
,, ſaue onely to the byſhop of Rome. And therfore we
,, warne you and charge you,that if you ſhall perceiue the
,, kyng to deliuer theſe foreſayd letters (which we truſt he
,, will not attempt,without our knowledge to do) forthw̄
,, by ſome truſty meſſenger or by your letters, you will
,, geue vs knowledge therof:wherby we may prouide vpon
,, the ſame both your perſon, your churche, and alſo
,, your city committed to you,to be clearly exempt by our
,, autority apoſtolicall, from all power and iuriſdiction of
,, any legacy.

Upon theſe letters and ſuch other, as is ſayd before: Becket ſemed to take all his boldnes to be ſo ſtoute and ſturdy agaynſt hys prince as he was. The Pope (beſide theſe) ſēt ſecretly this chaplain of hys,& directed an other letter alſo vnto the kyng:graunting and permittyng at hys requeſt,to make the archbiſhop of Yorke legate apoſtolicall.

The kyng (after he had receiued his letters ſent from the pope) began to put more ſtrength to his purpoſed procedynges agaynſt the archbyſhop:begynning firſt with the inferiors of yͤ clergy,ſuch as were offenders agaynſt his lawes: as felons, robbers, quarellers, breakers of peace,& eſpecially ſuch as had cōmitted homicide & murders:wherof more then an C. at that tyme were proued vpon the clergy(as witneſſe Guliel. Neuburgenſis in hys boke de Geſtis Anglorum.lib.2.cap.16.) brīging & cōſtraynyng them to be reined after the order of the law temporall,& iuſtice to be miniſtred to them accordyng to theyr deſertes:as firſt to be depriued,and ſo to be cōmitted to the ſeculer handes. Thys ſemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy church, that the ſeculer power ſhould paſſe in cauſes criminall, or ſit in iudgement agaynſt any eccleſiaſticall perſon. This law, the royſters (then of the clergy) had picked and forged out of Anacletus and Euariſtus:by whoſe falſly alledged and pretenſed autority,they haue deduced this their conſtitution from the Apoſtles: which geueth immunuity to all eccleſiaſtical perſons to be free from ſecular iuriſdiction. Becket therfore(like a valiaunt champion fighting for his liberties,and hauyng the pope on hys ſide) would not permit his clerkes infamed otherwiſe to be conuented, then before eccleſiaſticall iudges: there to be examined and depriued for their exceſſe, & no ſecular iudge to procede agaynſt them. So that after their depriuation,if they ſhould incurre the lyke offence agayne: then the temporall iudge to take hold vpon them, otherwiſe not. This obſtinate and ſtubburne rebellion of the archbiſhop,ſtirred vp much anger & vexation in the kyng:and not onely in hym,but alſo in all the nobles and in al the biſhops (for yͤ greater parte) that almoſt he was alone a wonderment to all the realme.

More then an C. murthers done by the clergye.
Guliel. Neuburg.lib.2. cap.16.

The kings wrath dayly increaſed more and more agaynſt him(as no meruell was)& cauſed hym to be cited vp to appeare by a certein day at the towne of Northāpton:there to make aunſwer to ſuch thinges,as ſhould be layd to his charge.So when the day was come (all the Peres and nobles,with the prelates of the realme vpon the kynges proclamation beyng aſſembled in the caſtell of Northampton)great fault was found with the archbiſhop,for that he(perſonally cited to appeare) came not hym ſelfe,but ſent an other for hym. The cauſe why he came not,Houedon aſſigneth to be thus: for yͭ the kyng had placed hys horſe and horſmen in the archbiſhops lodgyng (whiche was a houſe there of chanons) wherwith he beyng offended ſent word agayne, that he would not appeare vnles hys lodgynges were voyded of the kyngs horſmen.&c. Wherupon(by the publike ſentence as well of all the nobles,as of the byſhops) all his mouables wer adiudged to be confiſcate for the kyng,vnles the kinges clemency would remit the penalty.The ſtubburne archbiſhop agayn (for his part) quarelling agaynſt the order and forme of the iudgement,complaineth:alledgyng for him ſelfe (ſeyng he is their primat and ſpirituall father not onely of all other in the realme,but alſo of the kyng him ſelfe) not to be conuenient the father ſo to be iudged of his childrē, nor yͭ paſtor of his flock,ſo to be condēned: ſaying moreouer yͭ the ages to come ſhould know, what iudgement was done.&c.But eſpecially he cōplaineth of his fellowe biſhops (when they ſhoulde rather haue taken his part) ſo to ſit in iudgement agaynſt their Metropolitane: and this was the firſt dayes action. The next day folowyng, the kyng layd an action agaynſt hym for one that was his marſhall(called Jhon) for certain iniury done to him:and required of the ſaid archiſhop the repaying agayne of certain mony, whiche he (as he ſayd) had lent vnto him being chauncelor,the ſumme wherof came to 500.markes.This mony tharchbiſhop denyed not but he had receiued of the king,howbeit(by the way and title of gift,as he tooke it) though he could bring no probation therof.Wherupon,the kyng required hym to put in aſſuraunce for the payment therof: wherat the archbiſhop making delais(not well contēted at the matter) was ſo cald vpon, that either he ſhoulde be countable to yͤ kyng for the mony,or els he ſhould incur preſent daunger,the king being ſo bent againſt hym.The archbiſhop being brought to ſuch a ſtraite (& deſtitute of his own ſuffragans)could here by no meanes haue eſcaped, had not v. perſons of their own accord ſtepped in,beyng bound for him,euery man in one c.markes a peece. And this was vpon the ii.day concluded. The morowe after (which was the iii. day of the councel)as the archbyſhop was ſitting below in a certeine conclaue with his felowbyſhops aboute hym conſulting together, (the doores faſt locked to them,as the king had willed and cōmaunded)it was proponed vnto him in the behalf of the king, that he had had diuers biſhoprikes and abbarikes in his hand which were vacant(with the frutes and reuenues thereof due vnto the kyng, for certeine yeares) wherof he had rendred as yet no accompt to the kyng: wherfore, it was demaunded of him to bring in a full and a cleare reckning of yͤ ſame. This(with other ſuch like) declared to all the counſel,great diſpleaſure to be in the king,and no leſſe daunger toward the archbiſhop.

Becket cited to Northamnton.

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¶ *The aduiſe of the Biſhops for Thomas Becket.*

Thus while the biſhops and prelates wer in councel, (aduiſing and deliberatyng what was to be done) at length it came to voyces,euery mā to ſay his mind, and to geue ſentence what were the beſte way for their archbiſhop to take. Firſt begā Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, (who then tooke part with Becket, ſo much as he durſt for feare of the kyng) who ſayd,he remembred that the ſayd archbiſhop(firſt beyng archdeacon, and then Lord chancelor,at what time as he was promoted to yͤ church of Canterburye) was diſcharged from all bandes and reckninges of the temporal court,as all the other biſhops could not but record to the ſame.

Next ſpake Gilbert biſhop of London,exhorting and motioning the archbiſhop that he ſhould call with hym ſelfe to minde,from whence the kyng tooke hym and ſet him vp: what & how great thinges he had done for him: alſo that he ſhould conſider with hym ſelfe the daungers & perils of the tyme:and what ruine he might bring vpō the whole church(& vpon them al there preſent) if he reſiſted the kynges minde in the thinges he required. And if it were to render vp hys Archbiſhoprike (although it were x.tymes better then it is) yet he ſhould not ſticke with the kyng in the matter. In ſo doyng it myght happen

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pen, the king ſeyng that ſubmiſſiō and humilitie in him, would releaſe him peraduenture of all the reſt. To this the archbiſhop aunſweryng, well, well (ſayth he) I perceiue wel inough my Lord, whether you tend and wher about you go. Then ſpake Wincheſter, inferryng vpon ẏ ſame. This forme of coūſel (ſayth he) ſemeth to me very pernitious to the catholike church, tēding to our ſubuerſion, and to the confuſion of vs all. For if our archbiſhop and primate of all England do leane to this exāple, that euery biſhop ſhould geue ouer his autority and the charge of the flocke committed to him, at cōmaūdement and threatning of the prince: to what ſtate ſhal the churche be brought then, but that all ſhould be confoūded after his pleaſure and arbitrement, and nothyng to ſtand certein by any order of law; and ſo as the prieſt is, ſo ſhall the people be?

Vinche- ter.

Hilary the byſhop of Chicheſter replyeth agayne to this ſaying: If it were not ẏ the inſtance ⁊ the great perturbation of tyme did otherwyſe require and force vs, I would thinke this counſel here geuen were good to be folowed. But now ſeyng the autority of our canon fayleth, ⁊ can not ſerue vs, I iudge it not beſt to go ſo ſtraitly to worke, but ſo to moderate our procedings: that diſpenſation with ſufferance may win that whiche ſeuere correction may deſtroy. Wherfore my counſel and reaſon is, to geue place to the kynges purpoſe for a tyme: leaſt (by ouer haſty procedyng, we excede ſo farre) that both it may redound to our ſhame, and alſo can not ryd our ſelues out agayne when we would.

Chiche- ter.

Moderate counſell.

Much to the ſame end ſpake Robert the biſhop of Lincolne, after this maner: Seyng ſayth he, it is manifeſt that the lyfe and bloud of this mā is ſought, one of theſe ij. muſt nedes be choſē: that either he muſt part with his archbiſhoprike, or els with his life. Now what profit he ſhall take in this matter of his biſhopricke, his life being loſt, I do not greatly ſee.

Lincolne.

Next folowed Barthlemew biſhop of Exceter, with his aduiſe, who (inclining his coūſel to the ſtate of time) confirmed their ſayings before, affirmyng how ẏ dayes were euill ⁊ perillous: And if they might ſo eſcape ẏ violence of that ragyng tempeſt vnder the couer of bearyng and relenting, it were not to be refuſed. But that he ſaid could not be, except ſtraight ſeuerity ſhould geue place, to tractability: and ſo the inſtance and condition of time then preſent required no leſſe, eſpecially ſeyng that perſecution was not generall, but perſonall and particular: And thought it more holy and conueniēt, one head to run in ſome part of daunger, then ẏ whole church of Englād to be ſubiect and expoſed to inconuenience ineuitable.

Exceter.

The aunſwere of Roger biſhop of Worceter was deuided in a double ſuſpenſe, neither affirming thone, nor denying thother, whoſe ſaying was this: that he would geue no aūſwere on neither part. For if I (ſayth he) ſhall ſay that the paſtorall function and cure of ſoules ought to be relinquiſhed at the kynges will or threatning: then my mouth ſhall ſpeake agaynſt my conſcience to the cōdemnation of myne owne head. And if I ſhall geue againe contrary counſel, to reſiſt the kings ſentence: here be they that will here it and report it to his grace, and ſo I ſhalbe in daunger to be thruſt out of the ſinagoge, and for my part, to be accompted amongeſt the publike rebels (with them to be condemned) wherfore neither do I ſay this, nor counſel that.

VVorce- ter.

And this was the conſultacion of the biſhops in that place, aſſembled together by the kinges cōmaundemēt. Againſt theſe voyces and cenſures of the biſhop, Becket the archbiſhop replyeth agayne, expoſtulating and checking them with rebukefull wordes. I perceaue (ſaith he) and vnderſtand ye go about to mayntayne and cheriſh but your owne cowardnes, vnder the coulorable ſhadow of ſufferaunce: and vnder pretence of diſſemblyng ſoftnes, to choke the liberty of Chriſtes churche. Who hath thus bewitched you, O vnſatiable biſhops? What meane ye? Why do ye ſo vnder ẏ impudent title of forbearing: beare a double hart, and cloke your manyfeſt iniquity. What, call ye this bearing with tyme: the detriment of the church of Chriſt? Let termes ſerue thē matter, why peruert you the matter that is good wyth vocables and termes vntrue? For that ye ſay we muſte beare with the malice of time, I graunt with you: but yet we muſt not heape ſynne to ſinne. Is not God able to help the ſtate ⁊ condition of his church, but wyth the ſinfull diſſimulation of the teachers, of the church? Certes God is diſpoſed to tēpt you. And tel me (I pray you) whither ſhold the gouerners of the church put thēſelues to daungers for the church in time of tranquillitie, or in tyme of diſtres? Ye wil be aſhamed to deny the contrary but in diſtreſſe. And now thē (the church lying in ſo great diſtreſſe and vexation) why ſhould not the good paſtour put himſelf into peryl therfore? For neither do I think it a greater act or merite for ẏ auncient byſhops of the old tyme, to lay ẏ foundatiō of ẏ church than (wt their blud) thā now for vs to effude our bloud for the liberties of ẏ ſame. And to tel you playn, I think it not ſafe for you to ſwarue frō an exāple, which you haue receiued of your holy elders. After theſe things were ſpokē, they ſat all in ſilence a certain ſpace, being locked in together. At lēgth (to finde a ſhift to cauſe the doore to bee opened) I wyll, ſaith the archbiſhop ſpeake with ij. Earles which are about the king, and named thē whom they were. Whiche (being called) opened the dore ⁊ came in with haſte, thinking to heare ſome thyng which ſhould appeaſe ẏ kings mind. To whom the archbiſhop ſpake in this maner: As touching and concernyng the matters betwene the king ⁊ vs, we haue here conferred together: and for as much as we haue them not preſent with vs now, which know more in the matter then we do (whoſe aduiſe we woold be glad alſo to follow) therfore we craue ſo much reſpite as to the next day folowing, and then to geue vp our anſwer vnto ẏ king. With this meſſage: two biſhops were ſent to the kyng, which was the biſhop of London, and the biſhop of Rocheſter.

Becket the archbyſhop replyeth agaynſt the biſhops.

A great diſtres growen in the church, becauſe that byſhops may not be aboue kings and princes.

London (to helpe the matter and to ſet quietnes as I take it, adding ſomething more to the meſſage) ſayde to the king: that the archbiſhop craued a litle delay of time to prepare ſuch writings and inſtrumentes, wherein he ſhould ſet forth and declare his mind, in accompliſhyng the kynges deſire ⁊c. Wherfore, two barons were ſente to hym from the kyng, to graūt him that reſpite or ſtay, ſo that he would ratifie that whiche the meſſengers had ſignified to the king. To the which ẏ archbiſhop anſwereth, ẏ he ſent no ſuche meſſage, as was intimate in his name: but only, that the next day he would come ⁊ geue aunſwer to the kyng, in that which he had to ſay. And ſo the conuocation of the biſhops were diſſolued, and dimiſſed home: ſo that the moſt part of them that came wyth the archbiſhop and accompanied hym before, (for feare of the kings diſpleaſure) ſeuered themſelues from hym. The archbiſhop thus forſaken and deſtitute (as his ſtory ſaith) ſent about for the poore, the lame, and the halte, to come in and furniſhe his houſe; ſaying, that by them he might ſooner obtayne his victory, thā by the other which had ſo ſlipt from him.

Becket deſtitute and forſaken.

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Becket taken wyth ſickneſſe whā he ſhould appeale.

,, haue ſo required that their letters, alſo which he had obtayned,
,, ſhould not be deliuered to tharchbiſhop of Yorke.
,, without our knowledge and conſent therin. This is certein
,, ⁊ ſo perſwade your ſelf boldly without any ſcruple,
,, doubt or miſtruſt, that it neuer was my minde or purpoſe
,, nor neuer ſhall be God willyng, to ſubdue you, or
,, your churche vnder thobedience of any perſon to be ſubiect
,, ſaue onely to the byſhop of Rome. And therfore we
,, warne you and charge you, that if you ſhall perceiue the
,, kyng to deliuer theſe foreſayd letters (which we truſt he
,, will not attempt, without our knowledge to do) forthwith
,, by ſome truſty meſſenger or by your letters, you will
,, geue vs knowledge therof: wherby we may prouide vpon
,, the ſame both your perſon, your churche, and alſo
,, your city committed to you, to be clearly exempt by our
,, autority apoſtolicall, from all power and iuriſdiction of
,, any legacy.

Vpon theſe letters and ſuch other, as is ſayd before: Becket ſemed to take all his boldnes to be ſo ſtoute and ſturdy agaynſt hys prince as he was. The Pope (beſide theſe) ſēt ſecretly this chaplain of hys, ⁊ directed an other letter alſo vnto the kyng: graunting and permittyng at hys requeſt, to make the archbiſhop of Yorke legate apoſtolicall.

More then an C. murthers done by the clergye.
Guliel. Neuburg. lib.2. cap.16.

The kyng (after he had receiued his letters ſent from the pope) began to put more ſtrength to his purpoſed procedynges agaynſt the archbyſhop: begynning firſt with the inferiors of ẏ clergy, ſuch as were offenders agaynſt his lawes: as felons, robbers, quarellers, breakers of peace, ⁊ eſpecially ſuch as had cōmitted homicide ⁊ murders: wherof more then an C. at that tyme were proued vpon the clergy (as witneſſe Guliel. Neuburgenſis in hys boke de Geſtis Anglorum. lib.2. cap.16.) bryging ⁊ cōſtraynyng them to be reined after the order of the law temporall, ⁊ iuſtice to be miniſtred to them accordyng to theyr deſertes: as firſt to be depriued, and ſo to be cōmitted to the ſeculer handes. Thys ſemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy church, that the ſeculer power ſhould paſſe in cauſes criminall, or ſit in iudgement agaynſt any eccleſiaſticall perſon. This law, the royſters (then of the clergy) had picked and forged out of Anacletus and Euariſtus: by whoſe falſly alledged and pretenſed autority, they haue deduced this their conſtitution from the Apoſtles: which geueth immunuity to all eccleſiaſticall perſons to be free from ſecular iuriſdiction. Becket therfore (like a valiaunt champion fighting for his liberties, and hauyng the pope on hys ſide) would not permit his clerkes infamed otherwiſe to be conuented, then before eccleſiaſticall iudges: there to be examined and depriued for their exceſſe, ⁊ no ſecular iudge to procede agaynſt them. So that after their depriuation, if they ſhould incurre the lyke offence agayne: then the temporall iudge to take hold vpon them, otherwiſe not. This obſtinate and ſtubburne rebellion of the archbiſhop, ſtirred vp much anger ⁊ vexation in the kyng: and not onely in hym, but alſo in all the nobles and in al the biſhops (for ẏ greater parte) that almoſt he was alone a wonderment to all the realme.

Becket cited to Northamton.

The kings wrath dayly increaſed more and more agaynſt him (as no meruell was) ⁊ cauſed hym to be cited vp to appeare by a certein day at the towne of Northāpton: there to make aunſwer to ſuch thinges, as ſhould be layd to his charge. So when the day was come (all the Peres and nobles, with the prelates of the realme vpon the kynges proclamation beyng aſſembled in the caſtell of Northampton) great fault was found with the archbiſhop, for that he (perſonally cited to appeare) came not hym ſelfe, but ſent an other for hym. The cauſe why he came not, Houedon aſſigneth to be thus: for ẏ the kyng had placed hys horſe and horſmen in the archbiſhops lodgyng (whiche was a houſe there of chanons) wherwith he beyng offended ſent word agayne, that he would not appeare vnles hys lodgynges were voyded of the kyngs horſmen. ⁊c. Wherupon (by the publike ſentence as well of all the nobles, as of the byſhops) all his mouables wer adiudged to be confiſcate for the kyng, vnles the kinges clemency would remit the penalty. The ſtubburne archbiſhop agayn (for his part) quarelling agaynſt the order and forme of the iudgement, complaineth: alledgyng for him ſelfe (ſeyng he is their primat and ſpirituall father not onely of all other in the realme, but alſo of the kyng him ſelfe) not to be conuenient the father ſo to be iudged of his childrē, nor ẏ paſtor of his flock, ſo to be condēned: ſaying moreouer ẏ the ages to come ſhould know, what iudgement was done. ⁊c. But eſpecially he cōplaineth of his fellowe biſhops (when they ſhoulde rather haue taken his part) ſo to ſit in iudgement agaynſt their Metropolitane: and this was the firſt dayes action. The next day folowyng, the kyng layd an action agaynſt hym for one that was his marſhall (called Ihon) for certain iniury done to him: and required of the ſaid archiſhop the repaying agayne of certain mony, whiche he (as he ſayd) had lent vnto him being chauncelor, the ſumme wherof came to 500. markes. This mony tharchbiſhop denyed not but he had receiued of the king, howbeit (by the way and title of gift, as he tooke it) though he could bring no probation therof. Wherupon, the kyng required hym to put in aſſuraunce for the payment therof: wherat the archbiſhop making delais (not well contēted at the matter) was ſo cald vpon, that either he ſhoulde be countable to ẏ kyng for the mony, or els he ſhould incur preſent daunger, the king being ſo bent againſt hym. The archbiſhop being brought to ſuch a ſtraite (⁊ deſtitute of his own ſuffragans) could here by no meanes haue eſcaped, had not v. perſons of their own accord ſtepped in, beyng bound for him, euery man in one c. markes a peece. And this was vpon the ii. day concluded. The morowe after (which was the iii. day of the councel) as the archbyſhop was ſitting below in a certeine conclaue with his felowbyſhops aboute hym conſulting together, (the doores faſt locked to them, as the king had willed and cōmaunded) it was proponed vnto him in the behalf of the king, that he had had diuers biſhoprikes and abbarikes in his hand which were vacant (with the frutes and reuenues thereof due vnto the kyng, for certeine yeares) wherof he had rendred as yet no accompt to the kyng: wherfore, it was demaunded of him to bring in a full and a cleare reckning of ẏ ſame. This (with other ſuch like) declared to all the counſel, great diſpleaſure to be in the king, and no leſſe daunger toward the archbiſhop.

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¶ *The aduiſe of the Biſhops for Thomas Becket.*

Thus while the biſhops and prelates wer in councel, (aduiſing and deliberatyng what was to be done) at length it came to voyces, euery mā to ſay his mind, and to geue ſentence what were the beſte way for their archbiſhop to take. Firſt begā Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, (who then tooke part with Becket, ſo much as he durſt for feare of the kyng) who ſayd, he remembred that the ſayd archbiſhop (firſt beyng archdeacon, and then Lord chancelor, at what time as he was promoted to ẏ church of Canterburye) was diſcharged from all bandes and reckenings of the temporal court, as all the other biſhops could not but record to the ſame.

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Next ſpake Gilbert biſhop of London, exhorting and motioning the archbiſhop that he ſhould call with hym ſelfe to minde, from whence the kyng tooke hym and ſet him vp: what ⁊ how great thinges he had done for him: alſo that he ſhould conſider with hym ſelfe the daungers ⁊ perils of the tyme: and what ruine he might bring vpō the whole church (⁊ vpon them al there preſent) if he reſiſted the kynges minde in the thinges he required. And if it were to render vp hys Archbiſhoprike (although it were x. tymes better then it is) yet he ſhould not ſticke with the kyng in the matter. In ſo doyng it myght happen

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pen, the king ſeyng that ſubmiſſiō and humilitie in him, would releaſe him peraduenture of all the reſt. To this the archbiſhop aunſweryng, well, well (ſayth he) I perceiue wel inough my Lord, whether you tend and wher about you go. Then ſpake Wincheſter, inferryng vpon yͤ ſame. This forme of coūſel (ſayth he) ſemeth to me very pernitious to the catholike church, tēding to our ſubuerſion, and to the confuſion of vs all. For if our archbiſhop and primate of all England do leane to this exāple, that euery biſhop ſhould geue ouer his autority and the charge of the flocke committed to him, at cōmaūdement and threatning of the prince: to what ſtate ſhal the churche be brought then, but that all ſhould be confoūded after his pleaſure and arbittement, and nothyng to ſtand certein by any order of law; and ſo as the prieſt is, ſo ſhall the people be?

Vvincheſter.

Hilary the byſhop of Chicheſter replyeth agayne to this ſaying: If it were not yͤ the inſtance & the great perturbation of tyme did otherwyſe require and force vs, I would thinke this counſel here geuen were good to be folowed. But now ſeyng the autority of our canon fayleth, & can not ſerue vs, I iudge it not beſt to go ſo ſtraitly to worke, but ſo to moderate our procedings: that diſpenſation with ſufferance may win that whiche ſeuere correction may deſtroy. Wherfore my counſel and reaſon is, to geue place to the kynges purpoſe for a tyme: leaſt (by ouer haſty proceedyng, we excede ſo farre) that both it may redound to our ſhame, and alſo can not ryd our ſelues out agayne when we would.

Chicheſter.

Moderate counſell.

Much to the ſame end ſpake Robert the biſhop of Lincolne, after this maner: Seyng ſayth he, it is manifeſt that the lyfe and bloud of this mā is ſought, one of theſe ij. muſt nedes be choſē: that either he muſt part with his archbiſhoprike, or els with his life. Now what profit he ſhall take in this matter of his biſhopricke, his life being loſt, I do not greatly ſee.

Lincolne.

Next folowed Barthlemew biſhop of Exceter, with his aduiſe, who (inclining his coūſel to the ſtate of time) confirmed their ſayings before, affirmyng how yͤ dayes were euill & perillous: And if they might ſo eſcape yͤ violence of that ragyng tempeſt vnder the couer of bearyng and relenting, it were not to be refuſed. But that he ſaid could not be, except ſtraight ſeuerity ſhould geue place, to tractability: and ſo the inſtance and condition of time then preſent required no leſſe, eſpecially ſeyng that perſecution was not generall, but perſonall and particular: And thought it more holy and conueniēt, one head to run in ſome part of daunger, then yͤ whole church of Englād to be ſubiect and expoſed to inconuenience ineuitable.

Exceter.

The aunſwere of Roger biſhop of Worceter was deuided in a double ſuſpenſe, neither affirming thone, nor denying thother, whoſe ſaying was this: that he would geue no aūſwere on neither part. For if I (ſayth he) ſhall ſay that the paſtorall function and cure of ſoules ought to be relinquiſhed at the kynges will or threatning: then my mouth ſhall ſpeake agaynſt my conſcience to the cōdemnation of myne owne head. And if I ſhall geue againe contrary counſel, to reſiſt the kings ſentence: here be they that will here it and report it to his grace, and ſo I ſhalbe in daunger to be thruſt out of the ſinagoge, and for my part, to be accompted amongeſt the publike rebels (with them to be condemned) wherfore neither do I ſay this, nor counſel that.

VVorceſter.

And this was the conſultacion of the biſhops in that place, aſſembled together by the kinges cōmaundemēt. Againſt theſe voyces and cenſures of the biſhop, Becket the archbiſhop replyeth agayne, expoſtulating and checking them with rebukefull wordes. I perceaue (ſaith he) and vnderſtand ye go about to mayntayne and cheriſh but your owne cowardnes, vnder the coulorable ſhadow of ſufferaunce: and vnder pretence of diſſemblyng ſoftnes, to choke the liberty of Chriſtes churche. Who hath thus bewitched you, O vnſatiable biſhops? What meane ye? Why do ye ſo vnder yͤ impudent title of forbearing: beare a double hart, and cloke your manyfeſt iniquity. What, call ye this bearing with tyme: the detriment of the church of Chriſt? Let termes ſerue thē matter, why peruert you the matter that is good wyth vocables and termes vntrue? For that ye ſay we muſt beare with the malice of time, I graunt with you: but yet we muſt not heape ſynne to ſinne. Is not God able to help the ſtate & condition of his church, but wyth the ſinfull diſſimulation of the teachers, of the church? Certes God is diſpoſed to tēpt you. And tel me (I pray you) whither ſhold the gouerners of the church put thēſelues to daungers for the church in time of tranquillitie, or in tyme of diſtres? Ye wil be aſhamed to deny the contrary but in diſtreſſe. And now thē (the church lying in ſo great diſtreſſe and vexation) why ſhould not the good paſtour put himſelf into peryl therfore? For neither do I think it a greater act or merite for yͤ auncient byſhops of the old tyme, to lay yͤ foundatiō of yͤ church than (wͭ their blud) thā now for vs to effude our bloud for the liberties of yͤ ſame. And to tel you playn, I think it not ſafe for you to ſwarue frō an exāple, which you haue receiued of your holy elders. After theſe things were ſpokē, they ſat all in ſilence a certain ſpace, being locked in together. At lēgth (to finde a ſhift to cauſe the doore to bee opened) I wyll, ſaith the archbiſhop ſpeake with ij. Earles which are about the king, and named thē whom they were. Which (being called) opened the dore & came in with haſte, thinking to heare ſome thyng which ſhould appeaſe yͤ kings mind. To whom the archbiſhop ſpake in this maner: As touching and concernyng the matters betwene the king & vs, we haue here conferred together: and for as much as we haue them not preſent with vs now, which know more in the matter then we do (whoſe aduiſe we would be glad alſo to follow) therfore we craue ſo much reſpite as to the next day folowing, and then to geue vp our anſwer vnto yͤ king. With this meſſage: two biſhops were ſent to the kyng, which was the biſhop of London, and the biſhop of Rocheſter.

Becket the archbyſhop replyeth agaynſt the biſhops.

A great diſtres growen in the church, becauſe that byſhops may not be aboue kings and princes.

London (to helpe the matter and to ſet quietnes as I take it, adding ſomething more to the meſſage) ſayde to the king: that the archbiſhop craued a litle delay of time to prepare ſuch writings and inſtrumentes, wherein he ſhould ſet forth and declare his mind, in accompliſhyng the kynges deſire &c. Wherfore, two barons were ſente to hym from the kyng, to graūt him that reſpite or ſtay, ſo that he would ratifie that whiche the meſſengers had ſignified to the king. To the which yͤ archbiſhop anſwereth, yͭ he ſent no ſuche meſſage, as was intimate in his name: but only, that the next day he would come & geue aunſwer to the kyng, in that which he had to ſay. And ſo the conuocation of the biſhops were diſſolued, and dimiſſed home: ſo that the moſt part of them that came wyth the archbiſhop and accompanied hym before, (for feare of the kings diſpleaſure) ſeuered themſelues from hym. The archbiſhop thus forſaken and deſtitute (as his ſtory ſaith) ſent about for the poore, the lame, and the halte, to come in and furniſhe his houſe: ſaying, that by them he might ſooner obtayne his victory, thā by the other which had ſo ſlipt from him.

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Becket taken wyth ſickneſſe whā he ſhould appeale.

A maſſe of S. Steuen to ſaue him from his enemies.

Beckets aunſwere to the byſhops.

Becket appealeth to Rome.

come,and though he were bꝛought in a hoꝛſlitter. So ẏ day paſſed ouer. The moꝛrow after, certaine that were about him,(fering no leſſe,but that ſome danger would happen to hym)gaue hym councel in ẏ moꝛning to haue a maſſe in the honour of the holy martir S. Steuen, to kepe hym from the hands of his enemies, ẏ day. Whan ẏ moꝛrowe was come(being teuſday)there came to him the biſhops and pꝛelates , councelyng and perſwadyng hym couertly by inſinuation(foꝛ apertly they durſt not) that he woulde ſubmitte hymſelfe with all hys goodes (as alſo hys archbiſhopꝛike)to the wyl of the king:if peraduenture his indignatiõ by that meanes might ſwage. Adding moꝛeouer,that vnles he would ſo doo: periurye would be laid againſt hym: foꝛ that he beyng vnder the othe of fidelity to kepe the kyngs lawes and oꝛdinances, now would not obſerue them. To this,Becket the archbiſhop aunſwereth agayne:bꝛethꝛen ye ſee and perceyue wel,how the woꝛlde is ſet againſt me,and how the enemy riſeth and ſeeketh my confuſion.And although theſe thynges be doloꝛous and lamentable, yet the thing that greueth me moſt of all is this:the ſonnes of myne owne mother be pꝛickes and thoꝛnes againſt me.And albeit I do hold my peace,yet the poſterity to come will know ⁊ repoꝛt how cowardly you haue turned your backes,and haue left me your archbiſhop and Metropolitane alone in this conflicte. And how you haue ſitten in iudgement againſt me(although vngiltye of crime)now two dayes together:and not that only in the ciuil ⁊ ſpiritual court, but alſo in the tempoꝛall court redy to do the ſame. But in generall this I charge and commaund(by the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your oꝛder) that ye be pꝛeſent perſonally in iudgement againſt me And ẏ ye ſhal not fayle ſo to do, I here appeale to our mother(the refuge of all ſuch as be oppꝛeſſed)the church of Rome: ⁊ if any ſecular men ſhall lay handes vpon me(as it is rumoꝛd they wil)I ſtraitly inioygne and charge you in the ſame vertue of obedience, that you exerciſe youre cenſure eccleſiaſticall vpon them , as it becommeth you to do foꝛ a father ⁊ an archbiſhop.And this I do you to vnderſtand:that though the woꝛld rage,and the enemy bee fierce,and the body trembleth (foꝛ the fleſh is weake) yet God ſo fauouring me,I will neither cowardlye ſhꝛinke, noꝛ vily foꝛſake my flocke committed to my charge, ⁊c.

Londõ appealeth from the archbiſhop.

A maſſe to charme awaye perſecutours

But the biſhop of London,contrary to thys cõmaundement of the archbiſhop: did incontinent appeale from him.And thus the biſhops departed from him to ẏ court ſaue only ij.(Hẽry Winchester ⁊ Joceline of Saliſo)who returned wͦ him ſecretly to his chamber ⁊ cõfoꝛted him. This done, the archbiſhop(which yeſterday was ſo ſoꝛe ſicke ẏ he could not ſtirre out of hys bed) now addꝛeſſeth him to his maſſe of S.Steuen wͦ all ſolẽnity,as though it had been an hie feſtiuall day,wyth hys Metropolitane pall,which was not vſed but vppon the holy day to bee woꝛne,⁊c.The office of his maſſe begã,Sederunt principes,& aduerſum me loquebantur:that is, Pꝛinces ſate ⁊ ſpake againſt me,⁊c.(the kinges ſeruauntes beyng alſo there ⁊ beholdyng ẏ matter). Foꝛ this maſſe,Gilbert B. of Londõ accuſed Becket afterward,both foꝛ ẏ it was done per artẽ magicã,& in cõtemptu Regis(as the woꝛds of Houeden purpoꝛt)that is,both by art Magike,and in contempt of the kyng ⁊c.

Becket caryeth with him the ſacrament going to the king.

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The maſſe beyng ended, the archbiſhop(puttyng of hys pall, his miter and other robes)pꝛocedeth to ẏ kings court:but yet not truſtyng peraduenture ſo greatly to ẏ ſtrength of his maſſe (to make the matter moꝛe ſure) he taketh alſo the ſacrament pꝛiuely about hym, thinkyng thereby himſelfe ſufficiently defenſed againſt all bugs. In goyng to the kynges chamber (there to attende the kynges commyng) as he was entring the dooꝛe, he taketh from Alexander his croſier,and the croſſe wyth the croſſeſtaffe,in the ſyght of all that ſtoode by,and carieth it in hymſelfe(the other biſhops followyng hym ⁊ ſaying)he dyd otherwiſe then became him. Amongſt other, Robert biſhop of Herefoꝛd offered himſelfe to beare hys croſſe,rather thẽ he ſhould ſo do, foꝛ ẏ it was not comely:but the archbiſhop would not ſuffer him. Then ſayd ẏ biſhop of London to him:yf ẏ kyng ſhall ſee you come armed into hys chamber,perchaunce he wil dꝛawe out hys ſwoꝛd againſt you,which is ſtronger then yours: ⁊ then,what ſhall this your armour pꝛofite you.The archbiſhop aunſwereth agayn:if the kings ſwoꝛd do cut carnally,yet my ſwoꝛd cutteth ſpiritually,⁊ ſtriketh downe to hell.But you my Loꝛd as you haue playd the foole in this matter, ſo you will not yet leaue of your follye foꝛ any thing I cã ſee:and ſo he came into the chamber.The kyng hearing of his comming and of the maner therof, taried not longe but came where Becket was ſet in a place by himſelfe, wyth hys other biſhops about hym. Firſt,the cryer called the pꝛelates and all the loꝛdes of the tẽpoꝛalty together.That being done,(and euery one placed in his ſeat,accoꝛdyng to his degree) the kyng beginneth with a great complaint againſt the archbiſhop, foꝛ hys maner of entryng into the court:not as(ſaith he) a ſubiect into a kyngs courte:but as a traytoꝛ, ſhewyng himſelfe in ſuch ſoꝛt, as hath not ben ſeene befoꝛe in any chꝛiſtẽ kings court,pꝛofeſſyng chꝛiſtian faith . To this, all(there pꝛeſẽt)gaue witnes wͦ the king:affirmyng him alwayes to be a vayne ⁊ a pꝛoude man,⁊ that the ſhame of this fact did not onely redound againſt the pꝛince him ſelf,but alſo againſt his hole realme.Moꝛeouer they ſaid ẏ this had ſo hapned to ẏ kyng,foꝛ ẏ he had done ſo much foꝛ ſuch a beaſt,auauncing him ſo highly in ſuch place ⁊ roume next vnder himſelfe. And ſo altogether wyth one cry called him on euerye ſide traitoꝛ, as one ẏ refuſed to geue terrene honoure to the kyng,in keeping (as he had ſwoꝛne)his lawes ⁊ oꝛdinances: at whoſe hands alſo he had receyued ſuch honour ⁊ great pꝛefermẽts: and therfoꝛe was wel woꝛthy(ſaid they)to be hãdled lyke a periured traytoꝛ ⁊ rebel. Wherupõ, great doubt ⁊ feare was what ſhould befal vpon hym. The archebiſhop of Yoꝛke commyng downe to hys men ſaid,he could not abyde to ſee what ẏ archbiſhop of Canterbury was like to ſuffer. Likewyſe, the Tipſtaues ⁊ other miniſters of ẏ aſſemble commyng down with an outcry againſt him,croſſed them to ſee hys hauty ſtubbernes, and the buſines there was about hym. Certayne there were of hys diſciples ſytting at hys feete,comfoꝛtyng him ſoftly,and bidding him to lay his curſe vpõ them. Other (contrary)bidding him not to curſe,but to pꝛay and to foꝛgeue them: and if he loſt his lyfe in the quarel of the church and the liberty therof,he ſhould be happy.Afterward,one of thẽ named Ioannes Stephani,deſired to ſpeake ſomthing in his eare, but could not be ſuffred by the kings marſhal, who foꝛbad that no man ſhould haue any talke wͦ him.Then he (becauſe he could not otherwiſe ſpeake to him)wꝛought by ſignes,making a croſſe,and lookyng vp with his eies and waggyng his lips,meaning that he ſhould pꝛaye, ⁊ manfullye to ſtand to ẏ croſſe. In ẏ meane tyme cõmeth to him Bartholmew B.of Excetoꝛ:deſiring him to haue regard and compaſſioon of himſelfe,and alſo of them,oꝛ els they were all like to periſh foꝛ the hatred of him: foꝛ there commeth out(ſayth he)a pꝛecept from the kyng ẏ he ſhal be taken,and ſuffer foꝛ an open rebel,that hereafter taketh your part.It is ſaid moꝛeouer,that Jocelinus biſhop of Saliſbury,and William biſhop of Noꝛwiche, are to be had to the place of execution foꝛ their reſiſting ⁊ making interceſſion foꝛ the biſhop of Canterbury.Whẽ he had thus ſayd,the archbiſhop(looking vpon the ſayde biſhop of Excetoꝛ) auoyde hence from me(ſaith he) thou vnderſtandeſt not,neyther dooſt ſauour thoſe thynges ẏ be of God.

The biſhops and pꝛelates then going aſyde by them ſelues from the other nobles(the king ſo permitting thẽ to do)tooke councel together what was to be done.Here the matter ſtoode in a doubtfull perplexitie, for either muſt they incurre the daungerous indignation of the king, or els with the Nobles they muſt procede in condemnation againſt tharchbiſhop for reſiſting the kings ſanctions: whych thing neither, they themſelues did fauour. In thys ſtraight neceſſitye (they deuiſing what way to take) at length agreed vpon this: that they with a common aſſent ſhould cite thearchebiſhop, to the ſee of Rome vpon periury. And that they ſhoulde oblige and binde themſelues to the kyng wyth a ſure promiſe, to worke their diligence in depoſing the archbiſhop (vpon this condicion) that the king ſhould promiſe theyr ſafetye, and diſcharge them from the perill of that iudgement, which was toward them. So al the biſhops oblyging themſelues thus to the king, went forth to the archbiſhop: of whom, one ſpeaking for the reſt (which was Hillary biſhop of Chicheſter) had theſe wordes: Once you haue ben our archbiſhop, and ſo long we were boũd to your obedience: but nowe for aſmuche as you (once ſwearing your fidelitie to the king) do reſiſt him: neglecting his iniunctions and ordinances concerning and appertayning to hys terrene honor and dignitye: we here pronounce you periured, neyther be we bounde to geue obedience to an Archbiſhop thus being periured. But putting our ſelues and all ours in the popes protection, do cite you vp to hys preſence. And vpon the ſame, aſſigned him hys day and time to appeare. The archbiſhop anſwering agayne, ſayd: he heard him wel inough. And vpon this ſendeth vp to Rome in all haſt to the Pope, ſignifieng to him by letters the whole matter, how & wherfore, and by whom he was cited. To whom the Pope directeth agayne hys letters of comfort (as he had done diuers before) the copy wherof here inſueth.

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¶ *Alexander pope, to Thomas archbiſhop* of Canterbury.

YOur brotherly letters which you directed to vs, and ſuch other matters which your meſſenger by woord of mouth hath ſignified vnto vs, we haue diligẽtly herd the reading therof: and therby fully vnderſtand the greuous vexations and dolorous griefes wherwith your minde is dayly encombred: by reaſon whereof, we hearing and vnderſtanding, are not a litle diſquieted in our ſpirite for your ſake: in whoſe proſperities we doo both gladly reioyce, and no les do ſorrow in your aduerſities as for our moſt deare brother. You therefore (as a conſtant and wiſe man) remembre with your ſelfe that whych is written: The apoſtles departed awaye (reioyſing) from the face of the councel. &c. Wyth like paciẽce do you alſo ſuſtayne that mans moleſtatiõs, and let not your ſpirite be troubled therein more then needeth, but receaue in your ſelfe conſolation: that we alſo together with you, may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preſerued you to the corroboration of hys catholike & chriſten verity, in thys diſtres of neceſſitye: & frõ whõ alſo it hath pleaſed him to wype away ÿ blot of ſuch thinges whych haue been vnorderly of you committed, & here to puniſh the ſame through ſundry afflictions: whereby in (the ſtraite iudgement of God) they might not be called to count hereafter. But henceforth let not this much greue you: neyther let your hart be ſo deiect or timerous in the matter (for that you are cited vp to the apoſtolike ſee) which to vs is both gratefull and accepted. And this we wyll you, that if they whych haue cited you ſhall chaunce to come: draw not you backe, but folowe the appeale (if ye pleaſe) and ſpare not (all doubt and delay ſet apart) for the autoritye of the Churche tendryng thys your conſtancy, may not do that whych maye put you eyther in feare, or doubt. But our diligence ſhal be wyth all labour and ſtudye, to conſerue the right & preheminence (God wyllyng) of that Churche comitted to you, ſo much as in vs lyeth (ſauing our iuſtice and equity) as to one whom in working for the church, we fynde to be both a cõſtant and a valiaunt champion. Further, this I brotherly requyre you, to repaire vnto the church of Canterbury: and reteining but a few clerkes about you (ſuch onely as ſerue your neceſſitye) make no excurſes out (as litle as you can) in that countrye: but in thys eſpecially I thought to premoniſhe you (that in no caſe) neyther for feare or any aduerſitye, whatſoeuer maye happen: ye be brought to renounce and geue vp the right and dignity of your church. Writtẽ at Sene ÿ.7. before the Kalendes of Nouember.

As the archbiſhop was thus cited vp to Rome (ſitting wyth hys croſſe wayting in the court, neyther geuyng place to the kings requeſt, nor abaſhed with the clamor of the whole court agaynſt him calling him traytor on euery ſyde, neither following the aduertiſement of hys fellow biſhops) at length the king by certayne Earles & Barons ſent commaundent to him, (Robert Earle of Leceſter doing the meſſage) that he ſhoulde without delay come and render a full accompt of all thinges that he had receiued, as ÿ profites & reuenues of the realme, in the tyme he was Chauncelour: and eſpeciallye for the.30000.markes, for the which he was accomptable to the king. To whom the archbiſhop anſwereth again: the king knewe, howe oft he had made his reckening of thoſe thinges which nowe were required of him. Farther and beſides, Henry his ſonne & heire of his realme, with all his barons, and alſo Richard Lucye chiefe Iuſtice of England, told him: that he was free and quyt to God and to holy church, from all receites and computacions, and from all ſecular exactions on the kings behalfe. And ſo he taking thus his diſcharge at their hãds, entred into hys office, and therefore other accompt beſides this he would make none. When this woord was brought to the king, he required his barõs to do the law vpon him. Who ſo doing, iudged him to be apprehẽded, and layd in priſon. This done, the king ſendeth to hym Reignald Earle of Cornewal and Deuenſhire, and Robert Earle of Leiceſter, to declare to him what was his iudgement. To whom the archbiſhop anſwereth: heare (my ſonne & good erle) what I ſay vnto you: how much more precious the ſoule is more then the body, ſo much more ought you to obey me in the Lorde, rather then your terrene king. Neither doth any law or reaſon permit the childrẽ to iudge or condemne their father. Wherfore, to auoyde both the iudgement of the king, of you, and all other: I put my ſelfe onely to the arbitrement of the Pope, vnder God alone to be iudged of hym, and of no other. To whoſe preſence here before you all, I doo appeale: committing the ordering of the church of Canterbury (my dignity, with all other thinges apperteyning to the ſame) vnder the protection of God and hym. And as for you my brethren and fellow biſhops (whych rather obey man, then God) you alſo I call and cite to the audience and iudgement of the Pope, and departe hence forth from you, as from the enemies of the catholyke church, and of the authority of Apoſtolike ſee.

Becket caled to a full acoumpt.

Ex Rogerio Houedeno.

Becket iudged to be layd in Priſſon.

Ex quadripartita hiſtoria lib.1. cap.38.

Becket appealeth to the pope.

Becket thĩketh not ſufficient the protectiõ of God without the pope.

Whyle the Barons returned with this aunſwer to the king: the archbiſhop paſſing through the throng, taketh to him his palfreye (holdyng hys croſſe in the one hand, and his bridle in the other) the courtiers folowing after and crying: traytor, traytor, tary & here thy iudgement. But he paſſed on til he came to the vttermoſt gate of the court, which being faſt locked ther had ben ſtaid, had not one of his ſeruauntes, called Peter (ſurnamed Demundtorio) finding there a bunche of keyes hanging by: firſt proued one key, thẽ an other (till at laſt finding ÿ true key) had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbiſhop went ſtraight to the houſe of Chanons, wher he did lye, calling vnto him the poore, where they could be found. When ſupper was done, making as though he would go to bed (which he cauſed to be made betwixt.ÿ.

Becket flyeth out of the court.

Becket changeth his name, and is called Derman.

altars) priuely while the king was at ſupper, prepareth his iourney ſecretely to eſcape away: and chaungyng hys garment and his name (being called Derman) firſt went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandich where he tooke ſhip, and ſayled to Flaunders: and from thence iurneyed to Fraunce, as Houedenus ſaith. Albeit Alanus differing ſomthing in the order of his flight, ſayth: that he departed not that night, but at ſupper time cam to hym the biſhop of London, and Chicheſter (declaring to him) that if he woulde ſurrender vp to yͤ king hys two maners of Otford and Wyngecham, there were hope to recouer the kinges fauour, and to haue all remitted. But when the archbiſhop woulde not agree thereunto (for as much as thoſe manners were belonging to the churche of Canterburye) the kyng hearing thereof, great diſpleaſure was taken: In ſo muche that the next day, Becket was fayne to ſend to the king two biſhops and hys chaplen, for leaue to depart the realme. To the which meſſage the king anſwered, that he woulde take a pauſe therof tyll the next day, and then he ſhould haue an anſwer. But Becket not tarying his anſwer, yͤ ſame day conueyed himſelfe away ſecretely (as is aforeſayd) to Ludouicus the French king. But before he came to the king (Gilbert the biſhop of Londõ, and William the Earle of Arundel ſent from the kyng of Englande to Fraunce) preuented him: requiring of the ſayd French king (in the behalfe of the king of England) yͭ he woulde not receiue nor retaine in hys dominion the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Moreouer (that at his inſtance) he wolde be a meanes to the pope, not to ſhew anye familiaritye vnto hym. But the king of England in this point ſemed to haue more confidence in the French king, then knowledge of hys diſpoſition. For, thinking yͭ the Frẽch king woulde haue ben a good neighbour to him (in truſtyng him to much) he was deceyued. Neither conſidered he wͭ hymſelfe inough the maner and nature of the Frenchemen, at that tyme agaynſt the realme of England: who then were glad to ſeeke and take all maner of occaſions to doo ſome act agaynſt England.

Hiſtories differ ſome thing in the order of his flighte.

The French king ſopporteth Becket againſt the king of England.

And therfore Ludouicke the French kyng, vnderſtãdyng the matter: and thinkyng (percaſe) thereby to haue ſome vauntage agaynſt the kyng, and realme of England, by the occaſion hereof: contrary to the kynges letters & requeſt, not onely herboureth and cheriſheth this Dereman: but alſo (writyng to the pope by hys Almener and brother) entreateth hym (vpon all loues, as euer he would haue his fauour) to tender the cauſe of the archbiſhop Becket. Thus the kynges ambaſſadours repulſed of the French kyng, returned: at what tyme he ſent an other ambaſſage (vpon the lyke cauſe) to Alexander yͤ pope thẽ being at Sene in Fraũce. The Embaſſadours ſent in this meſſage were Roger archbyſhop of Yorke, Gilbert biſhop of Londõ, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, Hilary biſhop of Chicheſter, Bartlemew biſhop of Exeter, with other doctors and clerkes: alſo William Earle of Arũdell, with certein mo Lordes and Barones. Who commyng to the popes court, were frendly accepted of certein of the cardinals: amongeſt the whiche cardinals, roſe alſo diſſention about the ſame cauſe: ſome iudgyng the byſhop of Canterbury, in the defence of yͤ liberties of the church (as in a good cauſe) to be maintayned: Some thinking agayne, that he (beyng a perturber of peace and vnitie) was rather to be bridled for his preſumption, then to be foſtered and incoraged therin. But the Pope, partly bearyng with his cauſe (whiche onely tended to his exaltation and magnificence) partly agayne incẽſed with the letters of the French kyng: did holy incline to Becket as no maruell was. Wherfore (next day folowyng) the Pope ſittyng in conſiſtory with hys cardinals, yͤ Embaſſadours were called for, to the hearyng of Beckets matter: and firſt beginneth the byſhop of London: next, yͤ archbiſhop of Yorke: then Exeter: & the other byſhops, euery one in their order to ſpeake. Whoſe oratiõs beyng not well accepted of the Pope, and ſome of them alſo diſdayned: the Earle of Arundle perceauyng that (and ſomewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the popes eares) began after thys maner.

Ambaſſadours ſent to the pope.

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Although to me it is vnknowen (ſayth he) whiche am both vnlettered and ignoraunt, what is that theſe byſhops here haue ſayd, neither am I in that tõgue ſo able to expreſſe my minde as they haue done: yet beyng ſent and charged therunto of my prince, neither cã nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cauſe is of our ſẽding hither. Not (truly) to cõtẽd or ſtriue wͭ any perſon, nor to offer any iniury or harme vnto any man (eſpecially in this place) and in the preſence here of ſuch a one, vnto whoſe beck and autority all the world doth ſtoupe and yelde. But for this intent is our legacy hyther directed: to preſent here before you and in the preſence of the whole churche of Rome, the deuotion & loue of our kyng and maiſter, whiche euer he hath had and yet hath ſtill toward you. And that the ſame might yͤ better appeare to your excellency: he hath aſſigned and appointed to the furniture of this legacy, not the leaſt, but yͤ greateſt: not the worſt but yͤ beſt and chiefeſt of all his ſubiectes: both archbiſhops, byſhops, earles, barons, with other potentates mo: of ſuch worthynes & parẽtage, that if he could haue found greater in all his realme, he would haue ſent them, both for the reuerence of your perſon, and of the holy churche of Rome. Ouer and beſides this, I myght adde to more (whiche your ſanctitude hath ſufficiently tried and proued already) the true and harty fidelitie of this our kyng and ſoueraigne toward you. Who (in his firſt intrance to his kingdom) wholy ſubmitted himſelf, with all that is his beſides, to your will and pleaſure.

And truly to teſtifie of his maieſty how he is diſpoſed to the vnitie of yͤ catholike fayth: we beleue there is none more faithfull in Chriſt thẽ he, nor more deuout to God, nor yet more moderate in kepyng the vnitie of peace wherunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to proteſt for our kyng and maiſter: ſo neither do I deny the Archbiſhop of Canterburye, to be a man deſtitute or vnfurniſhed with giftes and ornamentes in his kind of callyng: but to be a mã both ſage and diſcrete, in ſuch thynges as to hym appertayneth: ſaue only that he ſemeth to ſome more quicke and ſharpe then nedeth. This blot alone if it wer not, & that yͤ breach betwen our king and hym had not ſo happened: both the regiments together, (of the temporalty and ſpiritualty) myght quietly haue floriſhed one with the other in much peace and concorde: both vnder a prince ſo worthy, and a paſtor ſo vertuous. Wherfore (the caſe ſo ſtandyng as it doth) our meſſage hether, and our ſupplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your fauour & wiſedome) the necke of this diſſentiõ may be brokẽ: and yͤ reformation of vnitye & loue (by ſome good meanes) may be ſought.

This oration of his, although it was liked of them for the ſoftnes and moderatiõ therof: yet it could not ſo perſwade the Romiſh biſhop to cõdeſcende to their ſute and requeſt. Whiche ſute was, to haue ij. legates or arbiters to be ſent from his popiſh ſide into England, to examine and to take vp the controuerſie betwene the kyng and yͤ archbiſhop. But yͤ pope incenſed (as is ſaid before) would not graunt to their petition: for as much as it ſhould be (ſayth he) preiudiciall, and tending to the oppreſſiõ of the archbiſhop to graunt vnto it, he beyng not preſent. And therfore, he willed them to tary his commyng vp, otherwiſe (he beyng abſent) he would not (he ſayd in any caſe) procede agaynſt hym. But they (alledgyng agayne their tyme to be expired appoynted them of the kyng, hauing beſides other lets and cauſes as they alledged) ſaid yͭ they coulde not there wait for the cõming of Becket: but returned backe (their cauſe fruſtrated) without the popes bleſſyng to the kyng. Within foure dayes after,

The Po tende Beckets cauſe againſt king.

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Becket commeth to the Popes court, where he proſtratyng hym ſelfe at his feete, brought out of his boſome a ſcrole conteyning the cuſtomes and ordinaunces of the kyng, afore mentioned. Fol.48. The pope receauing the foreſayd ſcrole and readyng it in the open hearing of his cardinals, condemned and curſed the moſt part of ỹ ſaid decrees of the kyng, whiche he called conſuetudines auitas, that is his graundfathers ordinaunces. Beſides this: the Pope moreouer blameth Becket, for that he ſo much yelded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithſtãding (becauſe he was repentant for his vnaduiſed fact) he was content to abſoyle him for the ſame, and the rather becauſe of hys great troubles, whiche he for the liberties of holy church did ſuſtein: and ſo with great fauour for that daye dimiſed him.

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The next day (Alexander the pope aſſemblyng his cardinals together in hys ſecret chamber) appeareth before them archbiſhop Becket, hauing this oratiõ to the pope and hys poplings: which here I thought to ſet out in our vulgare Engliſh tongue (tranſlated out of Latin) to the entent that the poſteritye hereafter maye vnderſtand, either the vaine ſuperſtition or vile ſlauery of the church men in thoſe dayes: who (beyng not content with theyr owne naturall prince and kyng giuẽ them of God) muſt ſeke further to the pope: thinking no eccleſiaſtical liuing to be geuẽ, which is not taken at his hands. The wordes of his oration be ſtoried rightly thus.

¶ *Th'Oration of* Becket, *reſigning his Biſhoprike to the pope.*

Fathers and Lordes, I ought not to lye in any place, much les before God, ⁊ in your preſence here. Wherfore, with much ſighing and ſorowe of hart I graũt and cõfeſſe, ỹ theſe perturbations of the church of England be rayſed through my miſerable fault. For I entred into the fold of Chriſt, but not by the dore of Chriſt: for that, not the canonicall election did call me lawfully therunto, but terror of publike power droue me in. And albeit I agaynſt my will toke this burden vpon me, yet not the will of God, but mans pleaſure placed me in the rowm. And therfore, no maruell though al things haue gone contrary and bacward with me. And as for the reſigning vp againe therof: if I had ſo done, and geuen vp to their handes, the priuilege of my byſhoply autoritie whiche I had graunted to me at the commaundement of the kyng (ſo as my fellow Byſhops did inſtantly call vpon me to do) then had I left a pernicious and daungerous example to the whole catholike church. By reaſon wherof, I thought to deferre ỹ vnto your preſence. And now therfore (recogniſing with my ſelf my ingreſſe not to be canonicall, and therefore fearyng it to haue the worſe end: and agayne ponderyng my ſtrength and abilitie not to be ſufficiẽt for ſuch a charge) leaſt I ſhould bee founde to ſuſteine that rowme to the ruine of the flocke, to whom I was appointed a paſtor vnworthye: I render vp to your fatherly handes the archbiſhoprike here of Canterbury ⁊c. And ſo putting of his ryng from his finger and offeryng it the pope, deſired a Biſhop for ỹ church of Canterbury to be prouided: ſeing he thought not him ſelf mete to fulfil the ſame, and ſo (with teares, as the ſtory ſaith) ended his oration.

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This done, the Archbiſhop was byd to ſtand a part. The pope cõferring vpon this with his cardinals, about ỹ reſignation of Becket what was beſt to be done: ſome thought it beſt to take the occaſion offred, thinking therby the kynges wrath might eaſely be ſwaged if ỹ church of Canterbury were aſſigned to ſome other perſon, and yet the ſaid Becket otherwiſe to be prouided for notwithſtandyng. Contrary, other agayne thought otherwiſe, whoſe reaſon was: If he (whiche for the liberties of the churche had ventred not onely his goodes, dignitie ⁊ autoritie, but alſo his lyfe) ſhould now at the kyngs pleaſure be depriued: like as it might be a preſident hereafter to others in reſiſting their kyng in lyke ſorte (if his cauſe were maintained) ſo contrarywiſe if it quailed: it ſhoulde be an example to all other hereafter, none to reſiſt his prince in the like caſe. And ſo, might it redound not only to the weakening of the ſtate of the catholik church, but alſo to the derogation of the popes autority. Briefly, this ſentẽce at length preuailed: and ſo Becket receaueth his paſtorall office at the popes hand agayn, with commendation ⁊ much fauour. But for ſo much as he could not be wel plaſed in England: in the meane whyle, the pope ſendeth him with a monkes habit into the abbay Pontiniak in Fraunce: where he remayned two yeares, from thẽce he remoued to Senon where he abode fiue yeares. So the time of his exile cõtinued a ſeuen yeares in al. ⁊c.

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Upon this, the kyng beyng certiſfied by his ambaſſadours of the popes aunſwere, how hys fauour encined more to Becket then to him: was moued (and worthely) with wrothfull diſpleaſure. Who vpon the ſame ſaylyng from England vnto Normandy, directed ouer certeyne iniunctions agaynſt the Pope and the archbiſhop of Cãterbury, as were recited aboue. Fol.48. The contentes wherof were declared to be theſe.

If any perſon ſhalbe found to bryng from the pope, or from the archbiſhop of Canterbury. ⁊c.

Of theſe and ſuch other iniunctions Becket ſpecifieth partly in a certayn letter, wrytyng to a frend of his in this maner.

Thomas archbiſhop of Cãterbury, to his welbeloued frend ⁊c. Be it knowen to your brotherly goodnes, that we withal ours (here by Gods grace) are ſafe and in good health. Hauing a good hope and truſt to your faithfull amitie, I charge you and require you: that either by the bringer hereof or by ſome other (whõ ye know, faythful and truſty to your church of Canterbury, and to vs) you write withall ſpede, what is done. As touching the kynges decrees here ſet out, theſe they be: that al hauens and portes ſhould be diligently kept: that no letters of ỹ Popes interdict or curſe be brought in. And if religious men bring them in, they ſhall haue their feete cut of: if he be a prieſt or clerk, he ſhall loſe his priuy mẽbers: If he be a lay man, let him be hanged: If he be a leper, let hym be burned. And if any biſhop, for feare of ỹ popes interdict, will depart (beſides his ſtaffe onely in his hande) let hym haue nothing els. Alſo the kinges will is: that all ſcholers and ſtudentes beyond the ſeas ſhall repaire home, or els loſe their benefites. And if they yet ſhall remain ſtil, they ſhall loſe the libertie of all retournyng. Further if any ſuch prieſtes ſhalbe found (that for the popes ſuſpenſe or interdict will refuſe to ſing) they ſhall loſe their priuy mẽbers. In ſumme, al ſuch prieſtes as ſhew them ſelues rebels to the kyng, let thẽ be depriued of their benefices. ⁊c.

The kings decrees

Beſides theſe and ſuch lyke iniunctions, it was alſo ſet fourth by the kinges proclamation. an.1166. that all maner of perſons (both men and wemẽ, whoſoeuer wer foũd of the kindred of Thomas Becket) ſhould be exiled without taking any part of their goodes with them and ſent to him, where he was: whiche was no litle vexation to Becket to beholde them. Moreouer, for ſo much as he then was lyeng with Gwarine abbote of Põtiniack (to whom the Pope as is aforeſayd had cõmended him) therfore the kyng writing to the ſame abbote, required him not to retaine the archbiſhop of Cãterbury in his houſe: for if he did, he would driue out of hys realme, all the mõkes of his order. Wherupon Becket was enforced to remoue frõ thence and went to Lewis the Frẽch king, by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of hym the ſpace of.5. yeares, as is aboue mentioned.

An.1166

Beckets kindred baniſhed.

These monkes were of the Ciſtertian order.

In the meane tyme, meſſengers went dayly with letters betwene the kyng and the pope, betwene the pope agayne and hym, and ſo betwene the archbiſhop ⁊ other. Wherof if the reader (peraduenture) ſhalbe deſirous to ſee the copies: I thought here to expreſſe certayne of thẽ, to ſatiſfy hys deſire: firſt begynning with the Epiſtle of

Becket cõplayneth of hys prince to the pope.

Becket complaining of his prince,to the pope in maner and forme as foloweth.

¶The copy of an Epiſtle ſent of T.Becket, to Pope Alexander.

TO your preſence and audience I flee (moſt holy father)that you, who hath bought the libertie of the church with your ſo great daunger: might the rather attende to the ſame (either being the onelye or chiefeſt cauſe of my perſecution) vſing and following therein the example of you. It greueth me that the ſtate of the church ſhould fall to any decaye, and that the liberties therof ſhould be infringed through the auarice of princes. For the which cauſe,I thought to reſiſt betime that inconuenience beginning ſo to growe. And the more I thought my ſelfe obliged to the ſame my Prince (vnto whom next vnder God,I am moſt chieflye bounde) the more boldnes I tooke to me,to withſtand hys vnrightfull attemptes:tyll ſuche that were on the cōtrary part (my aduerſaries)preuayled,working my diſquietnes,⁊ in incenſing him agaynſt me.Wherupon(as the maner is amongeſt princes)they rayſed vp againſt me citations and ſlaunders, to the occaſion of my perſecution: but I had rather to be proſcribed,then to ſubſcribe. Beſides this,I was alſo called to iudgement,and cited before the king to make anſwer there as a laye perſon, to ſecular accomptes:where as they whom I moſt truſted did moſt forſake me. For I ſaw my fellowbrethren the biſhops,through the inſtigation of ſome,ready to my cōdemnation.Whereupon all being ſet againſt me,and I thus oppreſſed on euery ſyde,toke my refuge to appeale to your goodnes, which caſteth offe none in their extremities:being ready to make my declaratiō before you, that I ought neyther to be iudged ther in that place,nor yet of them. For what were that (father) but to vſurpe to them ſelues your right? and to bring the ſpiritualye vnder the temporaltie. Which thyng (once begon)may breede an enſample to many.And therfore,ſo muche the more ſtouter I thought to be in withſtanding this matter:how much more prone and procliue,I ſaw the waye to hurt:if they once might ſee vs to be faynt and weake in the ſame.But they wyll ſay to me here agayne: geue to Ceſar,that which belongeth to Ceſar.⁊c. But to anſwer agayne therunto(albeit we are bound to obey our king in moſt thinges)yet not in ſuch maner of thinges, whereby he is made to be no kyng: neyther were they then thinges belonging to Ceſar,but to a tyrant. Concerning the which poyntes,theſe biſhops ſhould(not for me only,but for themſelues) haue reſiſted the king. For if the extreme iudgement be reſerued to him whych is able to iudge both body and ſoule:is it not then extreme pride for men there to iudge,whych iudge but by them ſelues? If the cauſe of the biſhops and of the Clergye, (which I mayntayne)be right:why be they ſet agaynſt me? Why do they reprehende me? For if that I appealed to hym before whom eyther it was not lawfull, or els not expedient for me to doe: what ſeeme they by this, but eyther to blame me cauſeles, or els to diſtruſt your equitie? For me to be conuicted before your holynes:it had bene a double confuſion. Or wherin haue I deſerued to be perſecuted of them, for whoſe cauſe I haue ſet my ſelfe to ſtand in their behalfe? And if they had wylled,I had preuayled:but it is ill with the head,when he is left of his members and forſaken:as if the eyes ſhoulde take the tounge to ſpeake agaynſte the head. If they had had eyes to haue foreſene the matter, they might vnderſtand themſelues to ſpeake their owne deſtruction: and that the princes did vſe their helpe, but to their own ſeruitude. And what ſo great cauſe of hatred had they agaynſt me,to procure their owne vndoing,in vndoing of me? So,whyle they neglected ſpirituall things in ſteede of temporall,they haue loſt thē both. What ſhould I ſpeake more of this, that I repugning them and appealing to your audience (yet notwithſtāding)they durſt preſume to ſtand in iudgement and condemnation agaynſt me, as chyldren agaynſte their father. Yea,and not agaynſt me onely,but againſt the vniuerſall Churche of God (conſpiring together wyth the prince)being wͭ me offended. And this ſuſpection might alſo as well pertayne to you holye father. But to thys they wyll ſay:that they owe their duty and ſeruice vnto the king, as their Lorde: to whom they are bounde, vpon their allegiance. To whom I aunſwere, that to hym they ſtand bound bodely,to me ſpiritually. But to whom ought they rather to ſtand bound,then to themſelues? And were it not better to ſuſtayne the loſſe of corporall,then of ſpirituall thinges? But here they wyll ſay agayne:at thys tyme the prince was not to bee prouoked. How ſubtylie do theſe men diſpute for their own bondage? Yea,they themſelues prouoke him by theyr own exceſſe, miniſtring wynges vnto hym to fight agaynſt them,for he woulde haue reſted if they had reſiſted. And whē is conſtancye more to be requyred, then in perſecution? Be not a mans chiefe friendes moſt tried in perſecution? If they geue ouer ſtyll,how ſhal they obtayne the victory? Sometime they muſt needes reſiſt. Condeſcend therefore(holy father)to my exile and perſecution. And remember,that I alſo once was a great man,in the tyme whan it was: and now for your ſake thus iniuriouſly I am intreated. Uſe your rigor and reſtrayne them,by whoſe inſtigation the name of this perſecution began. And let none of theſe thinges be imputed to the king,who rather is to be counted the reparer then the autor of this buſines.

To kepe vnder the pryde of prelates is no cauſe ſufficient to vnking a prince.

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Beſides this Epiſtle ſent vnto the Pope: he wryteth alſo an other letter,ſent to the kyng in Latyn:the tenor whereof (he that is diſpoſed to rede) maye peruſe in our former edition,with the notes adioyned withall.

Beſides which epiſtle to the King in latin,he ſent alſo one or two mo,to the ſayd King Henrye the ſeconde, much after the like rate and ſorte. The one thus beginning:Loqui de deo,liberæ mentis eſt et valde quietæ. Inde eſt quod loquar ad dominum meum,& vtinam ad omnes pacificum.&c. Which epiſtle,for that I would not ouercharge the volume of theſe hiſtories with to much matter ſuperfluous,I thought here to omit. The other he ſet afterward,wherof the wordes be theſe.

¶An other letter of Becket,archbiſhop of Canterbury,ſent to the kyng.

TO his Lord ⁊ frend Henry by the grace of god,king of England,duke of Normandy and Aquitane,erle of Angeow:Thomas by the ſame grace,hūble miniſter of the church of Cant(ſomtime his temporally,but now more hys in the Lord)health and true repentaunce with amendment. I haue long looked for,that the lord would looke vpon you:and that you would conuert ⁊ repente, departyng from your peruers way: and cut of frō you your wycked and peruers councellors,by whoſe inſtinctiō (as it is thought)you are fallen into that depe, wherof the Pſalme ſpeaketh. A ſinner when he commeth to yͤ depth of miſchiefes, is without all care or feare. And albeit,we haue hitherto quietly ſuffred and borne: conſideryng and earneſtly lookyng if there would any meſſenger come that would ſay:Your ſoueraigne Lord the kyng (which now a long tyme hath erred and been deceiued,and led euen to the deſtruction of the church)thorow gods mercy with aboundant humility doth now againe make ſpede for the deliuerance of the church,⁊ to make ſatiſfaction and amendment. Yet notwithſtanding, we ceaſe not(day by day continually)to call vpon almighty God,with moſt humble deuotion : that, that which we haue long deſired for you and by you,we may ſpedely obtayne with aboundant effect. And this is one poynt, that the care of the church of Canterb. wherunto God hath preſently appointed vs(albeit vnworthy)you being king doth ſpecially conſtrayne me (in that as yet, we are deteined in exile) to wryte vnto your maieſty letters commonitory, exhortatorye, and of correction. But I would to God they were fully able to correct leaſt yͤ I be to great a cloker of your outragies (if there be any) as in deede there are: for the which we are not a litle ſorye, I meane ſpecially of them which are done by you in euery place, about yͤ church of God ⁊ the eccleſiaſtical perſons, wyth out any reuerence either of dignity or perſon: and leaſte alſo that I appeare negligēt to the great daunger of my ſoule (for wythout doubte he beareth the offence of hym which doth committe any offence: who neglecteth to correct that, which an other ought to amend. For it is written not onely they which doo commit euil, but alſo they which conſēt therunto are counted partakers of yͤ ſame. For they verely do conſent, which whē they both might and ought, do not reſiſt or at the leaſt reprooue. For the error which is not reſiſted is alowed, and the truth when it is not defended is oppreſſed: neither doth it lacke a priuy note of ſociety in him, which ceaſeth to withſtande a manifeſt miſchief. 2. For like as (moſt noble prince) a ſmall city doth not diminiſh yͤ prerogatiue of ſo mighty a kingdome as yours is: ſo your royall power ought not to oppreſſe or chaunge the meaſure of the religious diſpenſation: For it is prouided alwaies by the lawes, that all iudgementes againſt prieſtes, ſhould proceede by the determination of prieſtes. For whatſoeuer biſhops they are: albeit that they do erre as other men doo, (not exceedyng in any point contrary to yͤ religion of faith) they 3. oughte not, nor can in any caſe be iudged of the ſecular power. Truely, it is the part of a good and religious Prince, to repaire the ruinous churches, to build newe: to honour the preſts: and with great reuerence to defend them (after the example of the godly prince of moſt happy memory, 4. Conſtantinus) which ſaid, whē a cōplaint of the cleargy was brought vnto him. You ſaid he, cānot be iudged by no ſeculer iudge, which are reſerued to the onely iudgement of God. And for ſo much as we do rede that the holy apoſtles and their ſucceſſors (appointed by the teſtimony of God) commaunded that no perſecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor to enuy thoſe which labour in the field of the Lord: and that the ſtewards of the eternall kyng ſhould not bee expelled and put out of of their ſeates: Who then doubteth, but that the prieſtes of Chriſt ought to be called the fathers and maiſters of all other faithfull princes? Is it not a miſerable madnes thē if yͤ ſonne ſhould go about to bring the 5. father vnder obedience? or yͤ ſcholer his maiſter? and by 6. wicked bondes to bring him in ſubiection by whom he ought to beleue that he may be bound ⁊ looſed, not onely in earth but alſo in heauē? If you be a good and a catholike king ⁊ wil bee ſuch a one as we hope, or that we rather deſire you ſhould be, (be it ſpoken vnder your licence) you are the child of the church ⁊ not the ruler of the church. You ought to learne of the prieſts, and not to teach them: you ought to 7. follow yͤ prieſtes in eccleſiaſtical matters, ⁊ not to go before thē: hauyng the priuiledge of your power geuen you of God to make publike lawes: that by his benefites you ſhould not be vnthankfull againſt the diſpenſation of the heauēly order: ⁊ that you ſhould vſurpe nothing, but vſe them with a wholeſome diſpoſition.

Wherfore, in thoſe things which contrary vnto that you haue (thorough your malitious councel rather then by your own mind) wickedly vſurped: with all humilitie ⁊ ſatiſfaction ſpedely geue place, yͤ the hande of the moſt higheſt be not ſtretched out againſt you, as an arrow againſt the marke. For the moſt higheſt hath bended hys bow openly to ſhoote againſt hym, that will not confeſſe his offences. Bee not aſhamed (what ſoeuer wycked men ſay vnto you, or that traitors doo whiſper in your eare) to humble your ſelf vnder the mighty hand of god. For it is he whiche exalteth the humble, and throweth down yͤ proud: which alſo reuengeth himſelf vpon Princes: he is terrible, and who ſhall reſiſte him? You ought not to haue let ſlippe out of your memory, in what ſtate God did finde you: how he hath preferred, honoured, and exalted you: bleſſed you with childrē: enlarged your kingdome: ⁊ eſtabliſhed the ſame in deſpite of your enemies. In ſo much, that hetherto (in a maner) all men haue ſaid with great admiration, that this is he whom god hathe choſen. And how will you reward (or can you reward) him for all theſe thinges which he hathe done vnto you? Wil you (at the prouocation ⁊ inſtaunce of thoſe which are about you: that 8. perſecute the church ⁊ the eccleſiaſticall miniſters, and alwaies haue according to theyr power perſecuted them, rendring euil for good, bringing oppreſſions tribulations, iniuries and afflictions vpō the church and church men) do the like? Are not theſe they of whō the Lord ſpeaketh: he that heareth you heareth me, he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me, and he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye? Verely forſakyng all that thou haſt, take vp thy croſſe, that thou maiſt follow thy God our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Yet wil it ſcarſely be (or not at all) that thou ſhalt appeare a thankfull recōpencer of the benefites receaued at his hand. Search the ſcriptures of ſuch as are learned, ⁊ you ſhall vnderſtā: that 9 Saule (albeit he was elect of yͤ lord) periſhed, with hys whole houſe, becauſe he departed from the wayes of the Lord.

Ozias alſo kyng of Juda (whoſe name is ſpoken of ⁊ ſpread ouer all) through the manifold victories geuē him of God, his hart was ſo puffed vp to hys deſtruction (becauſe the Lord did help ⁊ ſtrengthen him in euery place) that he contemning the feare and reuerence of the Lord would vſurpe vnto himſelfe that which was not his office (that is to ſaye, the prieſthoode) and to offer incenſe vpon the aultar of the Lord, for the which he was ſtrikē with a leproſy, and caſt out of the houſe of the Lord. Many other kings and holy mē of great ſubſtance (becauſe they haue walked aboue their eſtate in the meruailes of the world, preſuming to rebell againſt God in his miniſteries) haue periſhed: and at the laſt, they haue found nothyng of their ſubſtance in their power. Alſo king Achaz (becauſe he did vſurpe the office of prieſthoode) was likewiſe ſtriken with a leproſy by God.

Oza alſo (albeit he was not kyng) yet forſomuch as he touched the arke and helde it, when it would haue fallen by the vnrulines of the oxen (which thyng perteyned not vnto hym, but vnto the miniſters of the church) was ſtrikē by the wrath of god ⁊ fell down dead by the arke. O King, it is a famous prouerbe: that a man forewarned by an other mans miſfortune, will take the better heede vnto himſelfe. For euery man hath hys owne buſines in hand, when hys neighbours houſe is on fyre.

Deare beloued Kyng, God would haue the diſpoſing of thoſe things which pertaine vnto yͤ church, to belong only vnto prieſts, ⁊ not vnto the ſeculer power. Do not chalenge vnto thy ſelfe therfore, another mans right: neither ſtriue againſt him, by whome all thinges are ordayned: leaſt thou ſeeme to ſtriue againſt his benefites, of whom yͧ haſt receiued thy power. For by the commō 10. lawes and not by the ſecular power, and by the biſhoppes and prieſtes: almighty God would haue the cleargy of yͤ chriſten religion to be ordred and ruled. And chriſtiā kinges ought to ſubmit all their doinges vnto eccleſiaſticall rulers, ⁊ not to preferre themſelfe: for it is written, yͭ none ought to iudge yͤ biſhops but only yͤ church, neither doth it pertaine vnto mans law to geue ſentence vppon anye ſuch. Chriſtian princes are accuſtomed to be obedient vnto the ſtatutes and ordinaunces of the church, and not to preferre their owne power. A prince ought to ſubmitte himſelfe vnto the biſhops, and not to iudge the byſhops: for there are two thyngs wherwͭ the world is chiefly gouerned (that is to ſay) the ſacred autoritie of biſhops and roial power. 11. In yͤ which, the biſhops charge is ſo much the more waighty, in that they ſhall at the latter iudgement render accompte, euen of the kinges themſelues. Truly you ought to vnderſtand, that you depend vpon their iudgement and cãnot reduce them vnto your own will: for many biſhops haue excõmunicated both kinges and Emperors. And if you require an eſpeciall example therof, Innocentius the Pope did excõmunicate Arcadius the emperour, becauſe he did cõſent that John Chriſoſtome ſhould be expulſed from his ſeate: & S. Ambroſe alſo, did excõmunicate 12. Theodoſius yͤ greate emperor for a faulte (which ſeemed not ſo waightye vnto other prieſts) and ſhut him out of the church: who afterwarde by condigne ſatiſfaction was abſolued.

There are many other like examples: for Dauid whẽ he had committed adultry and murther, the prophet Nathan was ſent vnto him by God to reproue him, and he was ſoone corrected. And the King (laying aſide his ſcepter and Diademe, and ſetting apart all princelye maieſty) was not aſhamed to humble himſelfe before the face of the prophet to confeſſe his faulte, and to require forgeuenes for his offence: what will you more? he beyng ſtriken with repentaunce aſked mercye, and obtayned forgeuenes. So likewiſe you (moſt beloued King and reuerend Lord) after the example of thys good King Dauid (of whom it is ſayd: I haue found a man after mine own hart) with a contrite and humble hart, turne to the Lord your God: and take holde of repentaunce for your tranſgreſſions. For you are fallen and erred in manye thinges, which yet I keepe in ſtore ſtyll, if (peraduẽture) God ſhall inſpire you to ſay with the prophet: haue mercy on me O God, according to thy great mercye, for I haue ſynned much againſt thee, & done euill in thy ſight. Thus muche I haue thought good to wryte to you my deare Lord at this preſent: paſſing ouer other thinges in ſilence, tyl I may ſee whether my wordes take place in you, and bring forth fruits in you worthy of repentãce: and that I may heare and reioyce with them that ſhall bring me word and ſay: Oh Kyng, thy ſonne was dead and is a lyue agayne: was loſt, and is found again. But if you wil not heare me: looke where I was woont (before the maieſty of the body of Chriſt) to pray for you in aboundaunce of teares and ſighes: There in the ſame place I wil crye againſt you, and ſay: Riſe vp Lord and iudge my cauſe, forget not the rebukes & iniuries which the King of England doth to thee & thyne: forget not the ignominy of thy church, which thou haſt builded in thy blood. Reuenge the bloude of thy ſayntes which is ſpylt: reuenge (O Lord) the afflictions of thy ſeruants, of whõ there is an infinit number. For the pride of them which hate and perſecute thee, is gone vp ſo high: that we are not able to beare them anye longer. Whatſoeuer your ſeruantes ſhall do, all thoſe thinges ſhall be required at your handes: for he ſeemeth to haue done the harme, which hath geuen the cauſe thereof. Doutles, the ſonne of the moſt higheſt (except you amẽd and ceaſe from the oppreſſing of the church and clergy, and keepe your hãd from troubling of them) wil come in the rod of his fury at the voyces of ſuch as cry to hym, and at the ſighes of them that bee in bandes: when the tyme ſhall come for him to iudge the vnrighteouſnes of men in equitye and ſeuerity of the holy ghoſt. For he knoweth howe to take awaye the breath of Princes, and is terrible amonge Kinges of the earth. Your deare and louyng grace I wiſh wel to fare. Thus fare ye wel againe and euer.

¶ *Certayne notes or elenches vpon this epiſtle: which*
by the letters you may fynd out and their places.

1. The ſcope of thys Epiſtle is thys, to proue that Biſhops and prieſtes ought not to come vnder the court & controlement of temporall power.

2. This ſimilitude holdeth not. For though the ſmalnes of a city blemiſheth not the prerogatiue of a kyngdome: yet the euylnes and rebellion of a city, doth worthely blemiſh hys own prerogatiue.

3. So ſaith the Popes decrees, Diſt. x. but the ſcripture of God importeth otherwyſe. Abiathar the prieſt was depoſed of kyng Salomon, not for any hereſye, but for other cauſes. 3. Reg. 1.2. Ionathas tooke hys prieſthode of kyng Alexander. And Simõ of Demetrius. 1. Mach. 7. Chriſt offered tribute to Ceſar for hym and for Peter. Alſo Peter ſayth: be ye ſubiect to euery humaine creature: and foloweth, whether it be to kyng as to the chiefe. &c. Item Pope Leo ſubmitted hym ſelfe to Ludouicus the emperour wyth theſe wordes: And if we do anye thyng incompetently, and do ſwarue from the pathe of righteouſnes, we wyll ſtande to your reformation, or of them whom you ſhall ſend. 2. q. 7. Nos.

4. Notwythſtanding the ſayd Conſtantinus wryting to the biſhops congregated at Tyrus, fyrſt chydeth thẽ, then commaundeth them to reſort vnto hys preſence, to haue theyr cauſe iudged and decided. Trip hiſt lib 3. cap 7.

5. The father vnder obedience. &c. If fatherhoode go by age, I ſuppoſe that kyng Henry was elder then Becket. If fatherhood conſiſt in authority, I iudge the autority of a kyng, to be aboue the autority of an archbiſhop. If the ſee of Canterbury make the fatherhoode: yet had Becket no cauſe to clayme fatherhoode ouer the kyng, ſeyng the ſonne ordeyned the father (that is) ſeyng the kyng made hym hys Archbiſhop, and not hee made hym hys kyng.

6. By wycked bondes. All is wycked wyth the Papiſts, that bryngeth them in ſubiection to their princes.

7. Eccleſiaſticall matters be ſuch, as properlye belong to doctrine and diuine knowledge, for the inſtitution of the ſoule, and information of conſcience. In whiche both princes and ſubiectes ought to folow their paſtors ſo long as they go trulye before them wythout error, or els not. But what maketh thys for the landes and liberties of churchmen?

8. Puniſhment due to malefactors and rebels, is not to be called perſecution, but due correction.

9. Saul brake the commaundement of God; and was reiected. Ozias contrary to the commaundemẽt of God tooke the office of a prieſt, and was ſtriken. Oza againſt the expreſſe word of the law put hys hande to the Arke, and was puniſhed. But what expreſſe woord had Kyng Henry why he ſhould not correct and puniſh rebellious byſhops, and wycked prieſtes wythin hys own realme? wherfore theſe ſimilitudes accorde not. As for Achas he was not ſo much puniſhed for takyng the prieſtes office, as for ſpoyling yͤ tẽple of the Lord, & offeryng to idoles.

10. Common lawes.) Saynt Auſten wryting to Boniface, ſayth thus: whoſoeuer obeyeth not the lawes of the Emperour (beyng made for the veritye of God) procureth to hymſelfe great puniſhmẽt. For in the tyme of the prophetes, all the kynges whych did not forbyd and ſubuert all ſuch things as were vſed of the people againſt the law of God, are rebuked. And ſuch as did wythſtand them, are commended aboue the reſt. Auguſt.

11. Iſidorus hath theſe wordes: Let temporall princes know, that they muſt rẽder a coũt to God for the church, whych they haue at the handes of God to gouern. &c.

12. The caſe of Archadius, Theodoſius, Dauid, and of thys kyng (as touching this matter) hath no ſimilitude. In thẽ was murder: This king doth nothing, but clayme that whych is hys due. And though by the ſpirituall ſword thoſe kynges were reſyſted: yet it argueth not therfore, that the perſons of them whyche haue the vſe of the ſpirituall ſwoorde, are aboue the perſons of them whych haue the temporall ſword.

Beſides theſe letters of the archbiſhop ſet to the king: the Pope alſo, in the ſame cauſe writeth to the Kyng, beginning after this ſort: Alexander papa ad Henricum regem. Et naturali ratione, et forma iuris dictante, prouidentiam tuam credimus edoctam fuiſſe, quod quanto quis ab aliquo maiora ſuſcepiſſe dignoſcitur, tanto ei obnoxior et magis obligatus tenetur. &c. The whole tenor of the letter as he wrote it to the King I would here expreſſe, but for tracting of the tyme, and ſtraightnes of roume, hauing ſo many thinges els in this ſtorye (by the grace of Chriſt) to be comprehended. But the letter tẽdeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the King to ſhewe fauour to Thomas Becket. Where, in the proceſſe of the epiſtle it followeth in theſe wordes: Ea propter ſeueritatem tuam per Apoſtolica ſcripta rogamus, monemus, et exhortamur in domino: nec non in remiſsionem peccatorum ex parte dei omnipotentis, et beati Petri principis Apoſtolorum autoritate noſtra iniungimus, vt memoratum archiepiſcopū pro deo & eccleſia ſua & honore tuo, nec non et totius regni tui in gratiam et fauorem tuum recipias. &c. That is: therfore we deſire you, moniſh and exhort your honour by theſe our Apoſtolicall writings, and alſo inioyne you vpon the remiſſion of your ſinnes in the behalfe of almighty God, and of S. Peter prince of the Apoſtles by our autoritie, that you wil receaue againe the foreſayde Archbiſhop into your fauour and grace, for the honour of God, his church, and of your own realme. &c. Thus you haue heard the Popes intreating letter: nowe here is an other letter ſent vnto the foreſaid King, wherein he doth manaſſe him, as in the tenor therof here foloweth.

¶*Biſhop Alexander, ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God, to king* Henry king of England, health and bleſsing apoſtolicall.

HOw fatherly and gently we haue oft times entreated and exhorted both by Legates and letters your princely honour, to be reconciled againe with our reuerend brother Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterburye, ſo that he and his maye be reſtored agayne to their churches, and other poſſeſſions to them appertaining: your wyſdome is not ignorant, ſeing it is notified and ſpread almoſt throughout all Chriſtendome. Forſomuch therfore, as hetherto we could not preuayle with you, neyther moue nor ſtirre your minde with fayre and gentle wordes: it lamenteth vs not a litle, ſo to be fruſtrat and deceiued of the hope & expectation which we had conceyued of you. Eſpecially ſeing we loue you ſo dearely, as our own dearely beloued ſonne in the Lord, and vnderſtanding ſo great ieopardy to hang ouer you.

But for as much as it is wrytten: Cry out and ceaſe not, lift vp thy voyce like a trumpe, and declare to my people their wickednes, and their ſinnes to the houſe of Iacob. Alſo, for as much as in Salomon it is commaunded, that the ſluggiſhe perſon ſhoulde be ſtoned with the doung of Oxen: we haue thought good therefore, not to forbeare or ſupport your ſtubburnes any lōger agaynſt iuſtice and ſaluation. Neither that the mouth of the foreſaid archbiſhop ſhould be ſtopped from henceforth anye more: but that he may freely proſecute the charge of his office and duty, to reuenge with the ſword of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, the iniuries both of himſelfe, and of hys church committed to his charge.

And here I haue ſent vnto you two Legates, Petrus de ponte dei, and Bernardus de Corilio, to admoniſhe you of the ſame. But if ye wil neither by vs be aduertiſed, nor geue eare to them in obeying: it is to be feared (doutles) leaſt ſuch things as they ſhall declare to you from vs in our behalfe, may happen and fall vpon you. Dated at Beneuent, the .ix. day before the Kalendes of Iune.

To anſwer theſe letters agayne: there was an other certayne writing drawen out and directed to the Pope, made by ſome of the clergy, as it ſeemeth: but not without the conſent of the king, as by title may appeare: inueighing and diſprouing the miſbehauiour of tharchbiſhop. The tenor wherof here foloweth, & beginneth thus

An aunſwere to the Pope.

Aſwere to he popes etter.

TIme now requireth more to ſeke helpe then to make complaintes. For ſo it is now, that the holy mother church (our ſinnes deſeruing the ſame) lyeth in a daungerous caſe of great decay, whiche is like to enſue, except the preſent mercy of the Lord ſupporte her.

Such is the wickednes now of ſchiſmatikes: that the father of fathers Pope Alexander (for the defence of hys faith, and for the loue of ryghteouſneſſe) is baniſhed out of his countrey: not able to kepe fre reſidence in his own proper ſee, by reaſon of the indurate hart of Fridericke the Pharao.

Nay rather r falſe, reaſon a- gaynſt the mperour ys prince

Frederik falſely cōpared to Pharao, but thys was to clawe the pope withall.

Further and beſides, the church alſo of Canterbury is miſerably impaired and blemiſhed, as wel in the ſpirituall as in the temporall eſtate: much like vnto the ſhyp in the Seas, beyng deſtitute of her guide, toſſed in the floudes, and wraſtelyng with the windes, while the paſtor beyng abſent from hys prouince dare not there remayne through the power of the king. Who beyng ouer wiſe, (to the ieopardy both of him ſelfe, his churche, and vs alſo) hath brought and intangeled vs likewyſe wͭ him ſelfe in the ſame partakyng of his puniſhmentes and labours: not conſideryng how we ought to forbeare, and not to reſiſt ſuperior powers. And alſo ſheweth him ſelfe to vs vnkynd, which withall our affections beare the burden with him of hys afflictions, not ceaſing yet to perſecute vs whiche ſtande in the ſame condemnation with him. For betwixt hym, and our ſoueraigne prince, kyng of Englād a roſe a certeine matter of contention: whereupon they were both agreed that a day ſhould be appoynted, to haue the controuerſy diſcuſſed by equity and iuſtice.

The day beyng come, the Kyng commaunded all the archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelates of the church to be called, in a great and ſolemne frequency: ſo that the greater and more generall this councel was, the more manifeſt the detection of thys ſtubburne malice ſhould appeare and be eſpied.

At the day therfore aboue mentioned, this troubler of the realme and of the churche preſenteth him ſelfe in yͤ ſight of our Catholicke Kyng: who not truſtyng the qualitie and condition of his cauſe, armeth hym with the armor of the croſſe, as one whiche ſhould be brought to the preſence of a tyraunt. By reaſō wherof yͤ Kings maieſty beyng ſome thyng agreaued (yet becauſe he would be deliuered from all ſuſpition) committeth the matter to yͤ hearing of the biſhops. This done, it reſted in the biſhops to deciſe and ceaſe this contention, and to ſet agreement betwene thē, remouyng all occaſion of diſſētion. Which thyng they goyng about: commeth in this foreſayd archbiſhop, forbiddyng and cōmaundyng, that no man procede in any ſentence of him before the Kyng.

This beyng ſignified to the kings hearyng, his minde was greuouſly prouoked ther by to anger: whoſe anger yet notwithſtandyng had bene eaſely ſwaged, if the other would haue ſubmitted him ſelf, and acknowledged his default. But he addyng ſtubburneſſe to his trepaſſe, through the quantitie and greatneſſe of his exces, was yͤ autor of hys owne puniſhment: whiche now by the law ciuill he ſuſtaineth, and yet ſhameth to craue pardon for his deſertes at the Kynges hand: whoſe anger he feared not to ſturre vp in ſuch a troubleſome time of the perſecution of the churche, greatly agaynſt the profite of the ſame: augmentyng and increaſing therby the perſecution whiche nowe the churche lyeth vnder. Much better it had bene for him to haue tempered hym ſelfe with the bridle of moderatiō in the high ſtate of his dignitie: leaſt in excedyng to farre, in ſtraynyng the ſtraite pointes of things by ouer much preſūption (peraduenture through hys preſumption beyng not in meane and tollerable thynges) might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the churche would not moue hym: yet the great benefites and prefermentes of richeſſe and honours ought to perſwade him, not to be ſo ſtubburne agaynſt the King. But here peraduenture hys frende & our aduerſary will obiecte: that hys bearyng and ſubmittyng to the Kyng in this behalfe, were preiudiciall agaynſt the autoritie and ſee apoſtolicall: as though he did not or might not vnderſtande, that although the dignitye of the church ſhoulde ſuffer a little detriment in that iudgement: yet he might and ought to haue diſſimuled (for the time) to obtaine peace into the churche. He will obiect agayne alledgyng the name of a father, that it ſoundeth lyke a pointe of arrogancy, for children to procede in iudgemēt

Becket a ſtubburn treſpaſſer. Ergo no martyr.

of condemnation agaynſt the father: whiche thyng is not conuenient. But he muſt vnderſtand agayne: that it was neceſſary that yͤ obedience and humilitie of the children ſhould tempere the pride of the father: leaſt afterward, the hatred of the father might redounde vpon the children. Wherfore, of theſe premiſſes your fatherhoode may vnderſtand: that the action of this our aduerſarie ought to fall downe (as voyde & of none effect) who onely vpon the affection of malice hath proceded thus agaynſt vs, hauing no iuſt cauſe nor reaſon to groũd vpõ.

And forſomuch as the care and charge of all churches (as ye know) lieth vpon vs: it ſtãdeth vs vpon, to prouide concernyng the ſtate of the churche of Canterbury, by our diligence and circumſpection: ſo that the ſayd church of Canterbury through the exceſſe of his paſtor, be not driuen to ruine or decay.

By this Epiſtle it may appeare to the reader therof, that Becket (beyng abſent from England) went about to worke ſome trouble agaynſt certaine of the clergy & of the laity (belike) in excõmunicatyng ſuch as he tooke to be his euill willers.

Now to vnderſtand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did excommunicate: this letter (ſent to William biſhop of Norwige) ſhall better declare the matter.

A letter of Becket to the byſhop of Norwyche.

HE bindeth him ſelfe to the penalty of the crime, who ſo euer receiuyng power and autoritie of God, vſeth and exerciſeth not the ſame with due ſeueritie, in punyſhing vice: but (wincking and diſſimulyng) doth miniſter boldnes to wicked doers, maintaining thẽ in their ſinne. For the bloud of the wicked is required at the hand of yͤ prieſt, which is negligent or diſſembleth. And as yͤ ſcripture ſayth, thornes and brambles grow in the handes of the idle dronkard. Wherfore, leaſt (through our to much ſufferaunce and diſſemblyng) the trãſgreſſions of manifeſt euil doers ſhould alſo be layd to our charge, and redound to the deſtruction of the church through our gilty ſilẽce: We therfore (following the autoritie of the popes commaundement) haue layd our ſentẽce of curſe and excommunication, vpon the Earle Hugo: commaundyng you through out all your dioces publickely to denounce the ſayd Earle as accurſed: ſo that (accordyng to the diſcipline of the churche) he be ſequeſtred from the fellowſhip of all faithfull people. Alſo, it is not vnknowen to your brotherhoode, how long we haue borne with the tranſgreſſions of the byſhop of London. Who (amongſt other his factes) I would to God were not a great doer and fautor of this ſchiſme, and ſubuerter of the ryght & liberties of holy church. Wherfore, we (being ſupported with the autority of the Apoſtolike ſee) haue alſo excommunicated him, beſides alſo the biſhop of Saleſbury: becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt: and others lykewiſe (vpon diuers and ſundry cauſes) whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed. Hugo Bernardes ſonne, Radolph of Brocke, Robert of Brock a clerke, Hugode of S. Cleare and Letardus a clerke of Northfolke, Nigellus of Scachanal, and Richard Chaplein, William of Haſting, & the frier which poſſeſſeth my churche of Monchote. We therfore, charge and cõmaunde you by the autority Apoſtolicall and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the perill of ſaluation, and of your order: that ye cauſe theſe openly to be proclaimed excommunicate thorough out all your dioceſſe, and to commaunde all the faithfull to auoyde their company. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your heart be troubled, nor feare: for we ſtand ſure through the aſſiſtaunce of the Apoſtolike ſée (God beyng our borow) agaynſt the pretenſed ſhiftes of the malignant ſorte, and agaynſt all their appellations. Furthermore, all ſuch as haue bene ſolemnly cited of vs: ſhall ſuſtaine the like ſentence of excommunication (if God wil) in the Aſcenſion day: vnleſſe they ſhall otherwiſe agree with me. That is to witte: Geffray archdeacon of Canterbury and Robert his vicare, Ryce of Wilceſter, Richard of Lucy, William Gifferd, Adam of Cherynges, with ſuch other mo: whiche either at the commaundement of the Kyng, or vpon their owne proper temerity haue inuaded the goodes and poſſeſſions either apperteinyng to vs, or to our clerkes about vs. With theſe alſo we do excõmunicate all ſuch as be knowen either with aide or counſel to haue incenſed or ſet forwarde the proceedyng of our Kyng agaynſt the liberties of the church, & exilyng of the innocentes. And ſuch alſo as be knowen to impeche or let by any maner of way the meſſengers (ſent either from the pope, or from vs) for the neceſſities of the church. Fare ye well agayne and euer.

The biſhop of London excommunicated.

This biſhop was excõmunicated becauſe he ſet in the deane of Saleſbury without the licence of him being then beyond the ſeas.

Hetherto haſt thou ſene (gentle reader) diuers & ſundry letters of Thomas Becket, wherby thou maiſt collect a ſufficient hiſtory of his doyngs & demaner (though nothing els were ſayd further of him) concerning his luſty and hauty ſtomacke, aboue that beſeemed either hys degrée and cauſe which he tooke in hand. And here peradture I may ſeme in the ſtory of this one man to tary to long, hauing to write of ſo many others better then it: yet for the weaker ſort (which haue counted him, and yet do count him for a ſaint, hauyng in themſelues little vnderſtanding to iudge or diſcerne in the cauſes of men) I thought to adde this letter more, wherin he complaineth of hys kyng to a forren power: doing what in him dyd lie, to ſturre vp for his owne cauſe mortall warre to the deſtruction of many. For, ſuppoſe wrong had bene offred him of hys Prince: was it not inough for hym to flye? What cauſe had he for his owne priuate reuenge, to ſet potẽtates in publike diſcord? Now hauing no iuſt cauſe but rather offring iniurie in a falſe quarel, ſo to cõplayn of his prince: what is to be ſayde of this, let euerye man iudge, which ſeeth this letter.

¶ *An epiſtle of Thomas Archbiſhop of Caunterbury to Pope Alexander.*

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Amantiſſimo patri & D. Alexandro dei gratia ſummo pont. Thomas Cant. eccleſiæ humilis miniſter debitã & deuotam obedientiã. In engliſh thus.

To our moſt louing father and Lord, Alexanter by the grace of God biſhop: Thomas the humble miniſter & ſeruant of the church of Cant. due and reuerend obedience. Long inough and to long moſt louing father haue I forborne, ſtil looking after amendment of the kyng of England. But no fruite haue I reaped of this my long patience: Nay rather, whileſt that vnwiſly I do thus forbeare: I augment and procure the detriment and diminiſhing of my autoritie as alſo of the church of god. For oftentimes haue I by deuout and religious meſſengers inuited him to make conding ſatiſfaction as alſo by my letters (the copies wherof I haue ſent you) intimate and pronounced, gods ſeuerity and vengeance againſt hym vnleſſe he repent and amend. But he (that notwithſtanding) groweth from euil to worſe: oppreſſing and conculcating the church & ſanctuary of God: perſecuting both me & thoſe which take parte with me: In ſo much that with fearefull threatning wordes his purpoſe is to terrify ſuch, as (for gods cauſe and myne owne) ſeeke anye way to relieue and help me. He wrote alſo his letters vnto the abbot of the Ciciſterciã order, that as he fauoured the abbacie of that his order which was in his power ſaid he, that he would not accept me into yͤ fellowſhip therof, nor do any thing els for me. What ſhould I vſe many wordes? So much hath yͤ rigour and ſeueritie as well of the King as of his officers vnder our patience & ſufferaunce ſhewed it ſelf: that if a great number of mẽ ye and that of the moſt religious ſort ſhould ſhewe vnto you the matter as it is in deede (and that vpon their othe taken) I partly doubt whether your holines would geue credite vnto them or not. With heauines of mynd ther-

fore

for I conſidering theſe thinges, and beholding as wel the peril of the kyng as of our ſelfe, haue publiquely cōdemned not only thoſe pernitious cuſtoms: but all thoſe peruerſities & wicked doyngs wherby ẏ church of England is diſturbed and brought to confuſion: as alſo the writyng wherby they were confirmed: Excommunicating generally as well ẏ obſeruers & exactours therof, as alſo the inuentours and patrones of the ſame, wt theyr fauorers, coūſailers, and coadiutors whatſoeuer, either of the clergy or laitie: abſoluing alſo, our biſhops from their oth wherby they were ſo ſtraightly inioyned to the obſeruatiō of the ſame. Theſe are the articles which in ẏ writing I haue principally cōdemned. Firſt ẏ it is inhibited to appeale vnto the ſee apoſtolicall, for any cauſe but by the kinges licence. That a biſhop may not puniſh any man for periury or for breaking of his trothe. That a biſhop may not excommunicate any man that holdeth of the king in capite, or els to interdict eyther their lande or offices wythout the kinges licence. That Clerkes and religious men may bee taken from vs to ſecular iudgement. That the king or any other iudge maye heare and decide the cauſes of the church and tythes. That it ſhall not be lawful for any archbiſhop or biſhop to goe out of the realme, and to come at ẏ popes call without ẏ kings licence: and diuers others ſuch as theſe. Namelye alſo I haue excommunicated Iohn of Oxenforde, which hath communicated with the ſchiſmaticke and excommunicate perſon (Reginald Colonienſis) the which alſo contrary to the commaundement of the Lord pope and oures, hath vſurped the Deanrie of the church of Saliſbury: & hath (to renewe his ſchiſme) taken an othe in the Emperours court. Alſo I haue denounced and excommunicat Richard of Worceter, becauſe he is fallen into the ſame damnable hereſſe and communicated with that famous ſchiſmatike of Colen: deuiſing and forgyng all miſchief poſſible, with the ſchiſmatikes and Fleminges to the deſtruction of the church of God and eſpecially of ẏ church of Rome, by compoſition made betwene the king of england and them. Alſo Richard de Luci, and Ioceline de Bailol, which haue furthered the fauourers of the kings tyrannie and workers of their hereſies. Alſo Ranulph de Broc, and Hugo de ſancto claro, and Thomas the ſonne of Bernard which haue vſurped the poſſeſſions & goods of the church of Caunterbury without our licence & conſent. We haue alſo excommunicated all thoſe which wtout our licence do ſtretch out their handes to the poſſeſſions and goods of the church of Cant. The king himſelfe we haue not yet excommunicated perſonally: ſtill wayting for his amendment: whō (notwithſtandyng) we will not deferre to excommunicate: vnles he quickly amende and be warned by that he hath done. And therfore that ẏ autoritie of the ſee apoſtolike & the libertie of ẏ church of God (which in theſe partes are almoſt vtterly loſte) may be by ſome meanes reſtored: it is meete and very neceſſary that what we herein haue done, the ſame bee of your holines ratified and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wiſhe your holines long to proſper and floriſhe.

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ng.

By this epiſtle, he that liſteth to vnderſtand of the doings and quarels of Becket, may partlye iudge what is to be thought therof. Which his doings, although in ſom part may be imputed either to ignorance of minde, or blindnes of zeale, or humaine fragilitie: yet in this pointe (ſo vilely to complaine of his natural prince, for the zeale of the pope) he can by no wiſe be defended. But ſuch was the blindnes then of the prelates in thoſe daies who meaſured and eſtemed the dignitye and libertye of Chriſtes church by no other thing, then onely by goodes and poſſeſſions flowyng and abounding in the cleargy: & thought no greater pointe of religion to be in ẏ church then to maintayne the ſame. For the which cauſe they did moſt abhominably abuſe chriſtiā Diſcipline & excōmunication of the church at that tyme: as by this foreſaid epiſtle may appeare. And what meruaile yf the actes and doinges of this Archbiſhop ſeme now to vs in theſe dayes both fonde and ſtrange: ſeyng the ſuffraganes of his owne church & cleargy writing to him: could not but reprehend him, as in this their Epiſtle tranſlated out of latine into Engliſh may be ſene.

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¶ An effectuall and pithy letter, full of reaſon and perſwaſion, ſent from all the Suffraganes of the church of of Cant. to Thomas Becket theyr Archbiſhop.

QVæ veſtro (pater) in lōginquo diſceſſu inopinata rei ipſius nouitate turbata ſunt: veſtra ſperabamus humilitate. &c.

The letters of the biſhops to Becket.

Such trouble and perturbations as hapned through the ſtraungenes of your departure out of the realm: we hoped by your humility and prudence ſhould haue been reduced again (gods grace working with all) into a peaceable tranquility. And it was no little ioy to vs, to here ſo of you in thoſe parties where you are conuerſaunte, how humbly you there behaued your ſelfe, nothing vaūſing your ſelfe againſt your prince and kyng: and to attempt no riſinges or wraſtlings againſt hys kingdome: but that you bare with much patience the burden of pouerty, & gaue your ſelfe to readyng and prayer, and to redeme the loſſe of your time ſpent, wyth faſting, watchings, and teares: and ſo beyng occupied with ſpiritual ſtudies, to tend and riſe vp to the perfection of vertue, &c. But now through the ſecret relation of certain, we hear (that we are ſory of) that you haue ſent vnto him a threatning letter, wherein there is no ſalutation premiſed: In the which alſo, ye pretende no intreating nor prayers for the obtaynyng of fauour, neither doe vſe any frendlye maner in declaryng what you write: but manaſing with muche auſteritye, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from the ſocietie of the church. Which thing if you ſhal accompliſh, with like ſeueritye as in wordes ye threaten to do, you ſhal not onely put vs out of all hope of any peace, but alſo put vs in feare of hatred and diſcord without meaſure, and without al redreſſe amongſt vs. But wiſdom will conſider before, the ende of thinges: labouring and endeuoring to finiſh that which ſhe wiſely beginneth. Therefore your diſcretion ſhal do wel diligently to forecaſt and conſider whereto ye tend, and what ende may enſue therof, and where about ye goe. Certes we (for our partes) hearing that we do heare, are diſcouraged from that we hoped for, which before hauing ſome good cōfort of tranquility to come, are caſt from hope to diſpaire: ſo ẏ while one is drawen thus againſt an other, almoſt there is no hope nor place left to make entreaty or ſupplicatiō. Wherfore, writing to your fatherhode we exhort & coūſel you by way of charity, ẏ you adde not trouble to trouble, & heape iniurye vpō iniury. But ſo to behaue your ſelf, ẏ al manaſſes ſet aſide, ye rather geue your ſelf to patience and humility, and to yeld your cauſe to the clemency of God, & to the mercye of your Prince: which in ſo doing ſhall heape coales of charity vpon the heades of many. Thus charity ſhall be kindled, and that which manaſinges can not do (by Gods helpe and good mens counſel) pity peraduenture and godlines ſhall obtaine. Better it were to ſuſtayne pouerty with prayſe, then in gerate promotiōs to bee a common note to all men. It is ryght well knowen vnto all men, howe beneficiall the king hath been vnto you, from what baſenes to what dignity he hath aduaunced you, and alſo into his owne familiaritie hath ſo much preferred you: that from the North Ocean, to ẏ mount Perineus he hath ſubdued al things to your autority: in ſo much that they were amongſt all other accoūted for mē right fortunate, whoſoeuer could finde any fauour with you.

And furthermore, leaſt that your eſtimation ſhould be ouer matched by any nobilitie: he (agaynſt the mynde of his mother, and of his realme) hath placed and ratified of condempnation agaynſt the father: whiche thyng is not conuenient. But he muſt vnderſtand agayne: that it was neceſſary that ẏ obedience and humilitie of the children ſhould tempere the pride of the father: leaſt afterward, the hatred of the father might redounde vpon the children. Wherfore, of theſe premiſſes your fatherhoode may vnderſtand: that the action of this our aduerſarie ought to fall downe (as voyde ⁊ of none effect) who onely vpon the affection of malice hath proceded thus againſt vs, hauing no iuſt cauſe nor reaſon to groūd vpō.

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Now to vnderſtand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did excommunicate: this letter (ſent to William biſhop of Norwige) ſhall better declare the matter.

A letter of Becket to the byſhop of Norwycho.

HE bindeth him ſelfe to the penalty of the crime, who ſo euer receiuyng power and autoritie of God, vſeth and exerciſeth not the ſame with due ſeueritie, in punyſhing vice: but (wincking and diſſimulyng) doth miniſter boldnes to wicked doers, maintaining thē in their ſinne. For the bloud of the wicked is required at the hand of ẏ prieſt, which is negligent or diſſembleth. And as ẏ ſcripture ſayth, thornes and brambles grow in the handes of the idle dronkard. Wherfore, leaſt (through our to much ſufferaunce and diſſemblyng) the trāſgreſſions of manifeſt euil doers ſhould alſo be layd to our charge, and redound to the deſtruction of the church through our gilty ſilēce: We therfore (following the autoritie of the popes commaundement) haue layd our ſentēce of curſe and excommunication, vpon the Earle Hugo: commaundyng you through out all your dioces publickely to denounce the ſayd Earle as accurſed: ſo that (accordyng to the diſcipline of the churche) he be ſequeſtred from the fellowſhip of all faithfull people. Alſo, it is not vnknowen to your brotherhoode, how long we haue borne with the tranſgreſſions of the byſhop of London. Who (amongſt other his factes) I would to God were not a great doer and fautor of this ſchiſme, and ſubuerter of the ryght ⁊ liberties of holy church. Wherfore, we (being ſupported with the autority of the Apoſtolike ſee) haue alſo excommunicated him, beſides alſo the biſhop of Saleſbury: becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt: and others lykewiſe (vpon diuers and ſundry cauſes) whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed. Hugo Bernardes ſonne, Radolph of Brocke, Robert of Brock a clerke, Hugode of S. Cleare and Letardus a clerke of Northfolke, Nigellus of Scachanal, and Richard Chaplein, William of Haſting, ⁊ the frier which poſſeſſeth my churche of Monchote. We therfore, charge and cōmannde you by the autority Apoſtolicall and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the perill of ſaluation, and of your order: that ye cauſe theſe openly to be proclaimed excommunicate thorough out all your dioceſſe, and to commaunde all the faithfull to auoyde their company. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your heart be troubled, nor feare: for we ſtand ſure through the aſſiſtaunce of the Apoſtolike ſée (God beyng our borow) agaynſt the pretenſed ſhiftes of the malignant ſorte, and agaynſt all their appellations. Furthermore, all ſuch as haue bene ſolemnly cited of vs: ſhall ſuſtaine the like ſentence of excommunication (if God wil) in the Aſcenſion day: vnleſſe they ſhall otherwiſe agree with me. That is to witte: Geffray archdeacon of Canterbury and Robert his vicare, Ryce of Wilceſter, Richard of Lucy, William Gifferd, Adam of Cherynges, with ſuch other mo: whiche either at the commaundement of the Kyng, or vpon their owne proper temerity haue inuaded the goodes and poſſeſſions either apperteinyng to vs, or to our clerkes about vs. With theſe alſo we do excōmunicate all ſuch as be knowen either with aide or counſel to haue incenſed or ſet forwarde the procedyng of our Kyng agaynſt the liberties of the church, ⁊ exilyng of the innocentes. And ſuch alſo as be knowen to impeche or let by any maner of way the meſſengers (ſent either from the pope, or from vs) for the neceſſities of the church. Fare ye well agayne and euer.

The biſhop of London excommunicated.

This biſhop was excōmunicated becauſe he ſet in the deane of Saleſbury without the licence of him being then beyond the ſeas.

Hetherto haſt thou ſene (gentle reader) diuers ⁊ ſundry letters of Thomas Becket, wherby thou maiſt collect a ſufficient hiſtory of his doyngs ⁊ demaner (though nothing els were ſayd further of him) concerning his luſty and hauty ſtomacke, aboue that beſeemed either hys degrée and cauſe which he tooke in hand. And here peradture I may ſeme in the ſtory of this one man to tary to long, hauing to write of ſo many others better then it: yet for the weaker ſort (which haue counted him, and yet do count him for a ſainct, hauyng in themſelues little vnderſtanding to iudge or diſcerne in the cauſes of men) I thought to adde this letter more, wherin he complaineth of hys kyng to a foren power: doing what in him dyd lie, to ſturre vp for his owne cauſe mortall warre to the deſtruction of many. For, ſuppoſe wrong had bene offred him of hys Prince: was it not inough for hym to flye? What cauſe had he for his owne priuate reuenge, to ſet potētates in publike diſcord? Now hauing no iuſt cauſe but rather offring iniurie in a falſe quarel, ſo to cōplayn of his prince: what is to be ſayde of this, let euerye man iudge, which ſeeth this letter.

¶ *An epiſtle of Thomas Archbiſhop of Caunterbury to Pope Alexander.*

Amantiſsimo patri & D. Alexandro dei gratia ſummo pont. Thomas Cant. eccleſiæ humilis miniſter debitā & deuotam obedientiā. In engliſh thus.

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To our moſt louing father and Lord, Alexanter by the grace of God biſhop: Thomas the humble miniſter ⁊ ſeruant of the church of Cant. due and reuerend obedience. Long inough and to long moſt louing father haue I forborne, ſtil looking after amendment of the kyng of England. But no fruite haue I reaped of this my long patience: Nay rather, whileſt that vnwiſly I do thus forbeare: I augment and procure the detriment and diminiſhing of my autoritie as alſo of the church of god. For oftentimes haue I by deuout and religious meſſengers inuited him to mako conding ſatiſfaction as alſo by my letters (the copies wherof I haue ſent you) intimate and pronounced, gods ſeuerity and vengeance againſt hym vnleſſe he repent and amend. But he (that notwithſtanding) groweth from euil to worſe: oppreſſing and conculcating the church ⁊ ſanctuary of God: perſecuting both me ⁊ thoſe which take parte with me: In ſo much that with fearefull threatning wordes his purpoſe is to terrify ſuch, as (for gods cauſe and myne owne) ſeeke anye way to relieue and help me. He wrote alſo his letters vnto the abbot of the Ciciſterciā order, that as he fauoured the abbacie of that his order which was in his power ſaid he, that he would not accept me into ẏ fellowſhip therof, nor do any thing els for me. What ſhould I vſe many wordes? So much hath ẏ rigour and ſeueritie as well of the King as of his officers vnder our patience ⁊ ſufferaunce ſhewed it ſelf: that if a great number of mē ye and that of the moſt religious ſort ſhould ſhewe vnto you the matter as it is in deede (and that vpon their othe taken) I partly doubt whether your holines would geue credite vnto them or not. With heauines of mynd therfore I conſidering theſe thinges, and beholding as wel the peril of the kyng as of our ſelfe, haue publiquely cōdemned not only thoſe pernitious cuſtoms: but all thoſe peruerſities ⁊ wicked doyngs wherby yͤ church of England is diſturbed and brought to confuſion: as alſo the wrytyng wherby they were confirmed: Excommunicating generally as well yͤ obſeruers ⁊ exactours therof, as alſo the inuentours and patrones of the ſame, wͭ theyr fauorers, cōſailers, and coadiutors whatſoeuer, either of the clergy or laitie: abſoluing alſo, our biſhops from their oth wherby they were ſo ſtraightly inioyned to the obſeruatiō of the ſame. Theſe are the articles which in yͤ writing I haue principally cōdemned. Firſt yͭ it is inhibited to appeale vnto the ſee apoſtolicall, for any cauſe but by the kinges licence. That a biſhop may not puniſh any man for periury or for breaking of his trothe. That a biſhop may not excommunicate any man that holdeth of the king in capite, or els to interdict eyther their lande or offices wythout the kinges licence. That Clerkes and religious men may bee taken from vs to ſecular iudgement. That the king or any other iudge maye heare and decide the cauſes of the church and tythes. That it ſhall not be lawful for any archbiſhop or biſhop to goe out of the realme, and to come at yͤ popes call without yͤ kings licence: and diuers others ſuch as theſe. Namelye alſo I haue excommunicated Iohn of Oxenforde, which hath communicated with the ſchiſmaticke and excommunicate perſon (Reginald Colonienſis) the which alſo contrary to the commaundement of the Lord pope and oures, hath vſurped the Deanrie of the church of Saliſbury: ⁊ hath (to renewe his ſchiſme) taken an othe in the Emperours court. Alſo I haue denounced and excommunicat Richard of Worceter, becauſe he is fallen into the ſame damnable hereſie and communicated with that famous ſchiſmatike of Colen: deuiſing and forgyng all miſchief poſſible, with the ſchiſmatikes and Fleminges to the deſtruction of the church of God and eſpecially of yͤ church of Rome, by compoſition made betwene the king of england and them. Alſo Richard de Luci, and Iocceline de Bailol, which haue furthered the fauourers of the kings tyrannie and workers of their hereſies. Alſo Ranulph de Broc, and Hugo de ſancto claro, and Thomas the ſonne of Bernard which haue vſurped the poſſeſſions ⁊ goods of the church of Caunterbury without our licence ⁊ conſent. We haue alſo excommunicated all thoſe which wͭout our licence do ſtretch out their handes to the poſſeſſions and goods of the church of Cant. The king himſelfe we haue not yet excommunicated perſonally: ſtill wayting for his amendment: whō (notwithſtandyng) we will not deferre to excommunicate: vnles he quickly amende and be warned by that he hath done. And therfore that yͤ autoritie of the ſee apoſtolike ⁊ the libertie of yͤ church of God (which in theſe partes are almoſt vtterly loſte) may be by ſome meanes reſtored: it is meete and very neceſſary that what we herein haue done, the ſame bee of your holines ratified and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wiſhe your holines long to proſper and floriſhe.

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By this epiſtle, he that liſteth to vnderſtand of the doings and quarels of Becket, may partlye iudge what is to be thought thereof. Which his doings, although in ſom part may be imputed either to ignorance of minde, or blindnes of zeale, or humaine fragilitie: yet in this pointe (ſo vilely to complaine of his natural prince, for the zeale of the pope) he can by no wiſe be defended. But ſuch was the blindnes then of the prelates in thoſe daies who meaſured and eſtemed the dignitye and libertye of Chriſtes church by no other thing, then onely by goodes and poſſeſſions flowyng and abounding in the cleargy: ⁊ thought no greater pointe of religion to be in yͤ church then to maintayne the ſame. For the which cauſe they did moſt abhominably abuſe chriſtiā Diſcipline ⁊ excōmunication of the church at that tyme: as by this foreſaid epiſtle may appeare. And what meruaile yf the acts and doinges of this Archbiſhop ſeme now to vs in theſe dayes both fonde and ſtrange: ſeyng the ſuffraganes of his owne church ⁊ cleargy writing to him: could not but reprehend him, as in this their Epiſtle tranſlated out of latine into Engliſh may be ſene.

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¶ *An effectuall and pithy letter, full of reaſon and perſwaſion, ſent from all the Suffraganes of the church of of Cant to Thomas Becket theyr Archbiſhop.*

QVæ veſtro (pater) in lōginquo diſceſſu inopinata rei ipſius nouitate turbata ſunt: veſtra ſperabamus humilitate. &c.

The letters of the biſhops to Becket.

Such trouble and perturbations as hapned through the ſtraungenes of your departure out of the realm: we hoped by your humility and prudence ſhould haue been reduced again (gods grace working with all) into a peaceable tranquility. And it was no little ioy to vs, to here ſo of you in thoſe parties where you are conuerſaunte, how humbly you there behaued your ſelfe, nothing vaunſing your ſelfe againſt your prince and kyng: and to attempt no riſinges or wraſtlings againſt hys kingdome: but that you bare with much patience the burden of pouerty; ⁊ gaue your ſelfe to readyng and prayer, and to redeme the loſſe of your time ſpent, wyth faſting, watchings, and teares: and ſo beyng occupied with ſpiritual ſtudies, to tend and riſe vp to the perfection of vertue, ⁊c. But now through the ſecret relation of certain, we hear (that we are ſory of) that you haue ſent vnto him a threatning letter; wherein there is no ſalutation premiſed: In the which alſo, ye pretende no intreating nor prayers for the obtayning of fauour, neither doe vſe any frendlye maner in declaryng what you write: but manaſing with muche auſteritye, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from the ſocietie of the church. Which thing if you ſhal accompliſh, with like ſeueritye as in wordes ye threaten to do, you ſhal not onely put vs out of all hope of any peace, but alſo put vs in feare of hatred and diſcord without meaſure, and without al redreſſe amongſt vs. But wiſdom will conſider before, the ende of thinges: labouring and endeuoring to finiſh that which ſhe wiſely beginneth. Therefore your diſcretion ſhal do wel diligently to forecaſt and conſider whereto ye tend, and what ende may enſue therof, and where about ye goe. Certes we (for our partes) hearing that we do heare, are diſcouraged from that we hoped for, which before hauing ſome good cōfort of tranquility to come, are caſt from hope to diſpaire: ſo yͭ while one is drawen thus againſt an other, almoſt there is no hope nor place left to make entreaty or ſupplicatiō. Wherfore, writing to your fatherhode we exhort ⁊ cōuſel you by way of charity, yͭ you adde not trouble to trouble, ⁊ heape iniurye vpō iniury. But ſo to behaue your ſelf, yͭ al manaſſes ſet aſide, ye rather geue your ſelf to patience and humility, and to yeld your cauſe to the clemency of God, ⁊ to the mercye of your Prince: which in ſo doing ſhall heape coales of charity vpon the heades of many. Thus charity ſhall be kindled, and that which manaſinges can not do (by Gods helpe and good mens counſel) pity peraduenture and godlines ſhall obtaine. Better it were to ſuſtayne pouerty with prayſe, then in gerate promotiōs to bee a common note to all men. It is ryght well knowen vnto all men, howe beneficiall the king hath been vnto you, from what baſenes to what dignity he hath aduaunced you, and alſo into his owne familiaritie hath ſo much preferred you: that from the North Ocean, to yͤ mount Perineus he hath ſubdued al things to your autority: in ſo much that they were amongſt all other accoūted for mē right fortunate, whoſoeuer could finde any fauour with you.

And furthermore, leaſt that your eſtimation ſhould be ouer matched by any nobilitie: he (agaynſt the mynde of his mother, and of his realme) hath placed and ratified you ſubſtantially in eccleſiaſticall dignity, and aduaunced in this honour wherin ye ſtand: truſtyng thorough your helpe and counſel to reigne more ſafely and proſperouſly. Now, if he ſhall finde diſquietnes, wherin he truſted to haue quietnes: what ſhall all men ſaye or thinke of you? What recompence or retribution ſhall this be thought to be for ſo many ⁊ great benefites takē? Therfore (if it ſhall pleaſe you) ye ſhall doe well to fauor and ſpare your fame and eſtimation: and to ouercome your Lord and ſoueraigne with humility and charity. Wherunto, if our aduertiſemēt cā not moue you: yet the loue and fidelity you beare to the Biſhop and holy churche of Rome, ought to incline you therunto and not to attempt any ſuch thyng, wherby the troubles of the churche our mother maye encreaſe: or wherby hyr dolor maye be augmented in the loſſe of them, whoſe diſobedience now ſhe doth bewaile. For, what if it ſo happen through prouocation, that the King (whom all his ſubiectes and kingdomes obey) ſhould relinquiſh the pope, whiche God forbid: and ſhould denie all obedience to him, as he denyeth to the Kyng helpe or aide agaynſt you: what inconuenience would growe therof? And thinke you, he hath not great inſtigations, ſupplications, gifts, and many faire promiſes ſo to do? Yet he (notwithſtādiug) abideth firme hetherto in the rocke, deſpiſing with a valiant minde all that the world can offer. This one thing feareth vs, leaſt his minde (whom no worldly offers can aſſaile: no glory, riches, nor treaſure can ouerturne) onely through indignation of vnkindnes, be ſubuerted. Whiche thyng, if it chaunce to happen through you, then maye you ſyt downe and ſing the ſong of lamentation with Ieremy and wepe your belly ful.

Conſider therfore, (if it ſhall pleaſe you) ⁊ foreſee wel with your ſelfe, this purpoſe of yours (if it procede) how hurtful and perillous it wilbe: not onely to the pope, and to the holy churche of Rome, but alſo to your ſelfe moſt eſpecially. But ſome peraduenture about you (of hauty and high minded ſtoutnes, more ſtoute percaſe thē wiſe) will not ſuffer you to take this way: but will gyue you contrary counſel to proue rather ⁊ declare what ye are able to do agaynſt your Lord and prince, and to practiſe agaynſt him and all his, yͤ vttermoſt of your power and autority: whiche power ⁊ autority of yours (to hym that offendeth) is feareful: and to hym that will not amend, terrible. Such counſel as this, ſome peraduenture wil whiſper in your eare. But to theſe agayne, this we ſay and aunſwere for our kyng, whom notwithſtanding to be without fault, we do not affirme: But yet alwaies that he is ready to amend and make ſatiſfaction, that we ſpeake confidently and proteſt in his behalf.

The King (appointed for the Lordes annoynted) prouideth for yͤ peace of his ſubiects all yͤ he is able: and therfore, to the intent he may conſerue this peace in his churches and amongeſt hys ſubiectes committed to hym: he willeth and requireth ſuche ordinaunces dew to kynges, and exhibited to them before tyme, alſo to be exhibited to him. Wherin, if there hath any contradictiō ſprong betwixt him and vs, he (beyng therupon conuented and admoniſhed from the pope by the reuerend Byſhops of London and Herford) braſt not out in any defiance: but mekely and humbly aunſwered, that wherin ſo euer the churche or any eccleſiaſticall perſon can ſhewe hym ſelfe greued, he would therin ſtand to the iudgemēt of the churche of his kyngdome. Whiche alſo, he is ready no leſſe to perfourme in dede: thinkyng nothing more ſwete vnto hym then to be admoniſhed of hys fault (if he haue offēded the Lord) and to reforme the ſame: and not onely to reforme and to amend his faulte, but alſo to ſatiſfy it to the vttermoſt, if the law ſhall ſo require hym. Wherfore, ſeyng he is ſo willyng to recompenſe and ſatiſfy the iudgement of the churche in all thynges appertaining to the church: refuſing no order that ſhall be taken, but in all thynges ſubmittyng his necke to the yoke of Chriſt: with what right, by what canon, or reaſon cā you interdict hym, or vſe excōmunicatiō agaynſt him? It is a thyng laudable ⁊ a vertue of great commendatiō in wiſe men: wiſely to goe with iudgement and reaſon, and not to be caryed with puffes of haſtye violence. Wherupon, this is the onely and common petition of vs all: that your fatherly care will diligently prouide for your flocke and ſhepe cōmitted to you: ſo that they miſcary not, or run to any ruine thorough any inconſiderat or to much heady counſel in you: but rather through your ſoftnes ⁊ ſufferaunce, they may obtaine life, peace, and ſecurity. It doth moue vs al, that we heare of late to be done by you againſt the biſhop of Saleſbury, and the deane of the ſame church (proſperouſly) as ſome mē ſuppoſe: agaynſt whom you haue giuen out the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation, before any queſtion of their crime was: folowyng therin (as it ſemeth) more the heate of haſtines, thē the path of rightuouſnes. This is a new order of iudgement (vnhard of yet to this day in our lawes and canons) firſt to condemne a man, and then to enquire after of the facte committed. Which order, leaſt ye ſhould hereafter attēpt to exerciſe in lyke maner agaynſt our ſoueraigne and kyng: or agaynſt vs and our churches and pariſhes committed to vs, to the detriment of the pope and the holy church of Rome, and to the no litle confuſion of vs all: therfore we laye here agaynſt you for our ſelues, the remedy of appellation. And as before, openly in the publike face of the churche with liuely voyce we appealed to yͤ pope for feare of certain perils that might haue happened: So now again in writyng we appeale to the ſame: aſſignyng the terme of our appellation, the day of the Lordes Aſcention. Moſt humblely and reuerently beſechyng your goodnes, that you (takyng a better way with you in this matter) will let your cauſe fall: ſparyng herein both the labours and charges as well of your ſelfe, as ours alſo. And thus we wiſhe you right well to fare (reuerend) in the Lord.

¶ *The reſcript or aunſwere agayne of Thomas Becket,* to all his ſuffraganes, not obeyng, but confutyng their counſel ſent.

FRaternitatis veſtræ ſcriptum, quod tamen prudētiæ veſtræ communi conſilio non facile credimus emanaſſe nuper ex inſperato ſuſcepimus. &c.

Your brotherly letters ſent (albeit not by the hole aſſent of your wiſedomes writen, as I ſuppoſe) of late I receiued, vpon a ſodaine: the contentes wherof ſeme to conteine more ſharpenes then ſolace. And would to God they proceded more of ſincere zeale, of godlynes, or affection of charity: then of diſobedience or froward wilfulnes. For charity ſeketh not the thynges that be his own, but whiche appertaine to Ieſus Chriſt. It had ben your dewty (if there be truth in the Goſpell, as moſt vndoubtedly ther is) ⁊ if you would faythfully haue accōpliſhed his buſines, whoſe perſon you repreſent: rather to haue feared hym, whiche can caſt both body and ſoule to hell: then him, whoſe power extendeth no further then to the body. Rather to haue obeyed God then mā: Rather your father, then your maiſter or Lord: after the example of hym who was to hys father obedient vnto the death. Whiche dyed for vs, leauyng vs example to folow hys ſteppes. Let vs dye therfore with him, and lay down our lyues for the deliuerance of his church out of the yoke of bondage, ⁊ tribulation of the oppreſſor: which church he hath founded, and whoſe liberty he hath procured, with his owne proper bloud: Leaſt if we ſhall do otherwiſe it may happely fall vpon vs, which is writtē in the goſpel: Who ſo loueth his own life more thē me, is not worthy of me. This ye ought to know, that if it be ryght which your captain cōmaundeth: your deuty requireth to obey his wil: if not, ye ought then rather to obey God thē me.

One thing I wil ſay (if I may be ſo bold to tel it vnto

The commendation of king Henry 2 for his meeknes and moderation.

you) I haue now ſuffered & abſtained a long ſpace, wayting if the Lord had geuen you to take a better hart vnto you, which haue turned away cowardly your backes in the day of battaile: or if any of you would haue returned agayne to ſtand like a wall for the houſe of Iſraell: at leaſt if he had but ſhewed him ſelf in the field makyng but the countenaunce of a warrier againſt them, which ceaſe not dayly to infeſte the Lambe of God. I wayted and none came: I ſuffered, and none roſe vp: I held my peace, & none would ſpeake: I diſſēbled and none would ſtand with me in like ſemblaūce. Wherfore, ſeyng I ſée no better towardnes in you: this remaineth onely, to enter action of complaint agaynſt you, and to cry agaynſt mine enemies. Riſe vp (O Lord) and iudge my cauſe, reuenge the bloud of the churche whiche is waſted and oppreſſed. The pride of them that hate his liberty, riſeth vp euer: nether is there any yͭ doth good, no not one. Would God (brethren beloued) there were in you any minde or affection to defende the liberty of the churche: for ſhe is builded vpon a ſure rocke, that although ſhe be ſhaken yet ſhe can not be ouerthrowen. And why then ſeke ye to confound me? Nay rather, your ſelues in me then me in you: A man which haue take vpon me all the perill, haue ſuſtained al the rebukes, haue ſuſtained all the iniuries, haue ſuffered alſo for you all, to the very baniſhment.

he church Chriſt cā be ouer owen.

o Bec. ought to be; ſted.

And ſo it was expedient one to ſuffer for that church that therby it might be releaſed out of ſeruitude. Theſe things diſcuſſe you ſimpelly with your ſelues, and way the matter. Attend I ſay diligently in your mindes for your parts: that God for his part remouyng from your eyes all maieſty of rule and of impery (as he is no accepter of perſon) may take from your harts the veile, that ye may vnderſtand and ſée what ye haue done, what ye entend to do, and what ye ought to do. Tell me, whiche of you all can ſay that I haue taken frō him ſince yͤ time of my promotiō either ox, or aſſe: if I haue defrauded hym of any peny: if I haue miſiudged the cauſe of any man wrongfully: Or if by the detriment of any perſō I haue ſought my owne gayne, let him cōplain & I will reſtore him fourefold. And if I haue not offended you, what thē is yͤ cauſe yͭ ye thus leaue & forſake me in yͤ cauſe of god?

uitude liberti the rch ongfully ned.

e words oli ſcrip e clarkly lyed.

Why bend ye ſo your ſelues agaynſt me in ſuch a cauſe, that there is none more ſpeciall belongyng to the churche?

Brethren, ſeke not to confound your ſelues and the churche of God (ſo much as in you is) but turne to me & you ſhalbe ſafe.

ourne to e ? Nay ne thou the Lord thou lt be- ed,

For the Lord ſayth, I will not the death of a ſinner but rather he ſhould conuert and lyue. Stand with me manfully in the warre, take your armor and your ſhild, to defend me. Take the ſword of the word of the mighty God, that we all together may withſtand more valiantly yͤ malignant enemies (ſuch as go about to take away the ſoule of the churche) whiche is her liberty: without whiche liberty, ſhe hath no power agaynſt them yͭ ſeke to incroche to their inheritaunce, the poſſeſſion of Gods ſanctuary. If ye will heare and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, & with vs all in the defence of the liberty of his churche. Otherwiſe if ye will not, the Lord iudge betwixt me and you, and require the confuſion of his churche at your handes: whiche church (whether the world will or no) ſtandeth firmely in the word of the Lord wherupon ſhe is builded, and euer ſhall till the houre come that ſhe ſhall paſſe from this world to the father. For the Lord euer doth ſupport her with his hand.

e ſoule the urch is e libertye the urch th Bec- t.

Wherfore, to returne to the matter: brethren remēber wel with your ſelues (which thing ye ought not to forget) what daunger I was brought vnto, & the church of God alſo whyle I was in Englande: at my departing out of England: and after my departure frō thēce: alſo in what daunger it ſtandeth in at this preſent daye: But eſpecially at that tyme, when as at Northampton Chriſt was iudged againe in my perſō, before the iudgement ſeate of the high preſident. Who euer hearde the archbiſhop of Canterbury (being troubled for iniuries done to him and to his church, and appealing to the pope of Rome) to be iudged, condemned, appealed, and put to his ſureties, & that of his owne Suffragans. Where is this law ſene, or the autoritie (nay rather peruerſitye) of this canon heard of? And why yet ſhame ye not at thys your enormity? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confuſion worke in you repentaunce, and repentance driue you to due ſatiſfaction before God and men. For theſe and ſuch other iniuries done to God and to hys church, and to me for Gods cauſe (whych wyth a good conſcienſe I ought to ſuffer, becauſe that without daunger of ſoule I ought not to diſſemble them) I choſe rather to abſent my ſelfe for a ſeaſon, and to dwel quietly in the houſe of the Lord, then in the tabernacle of ſinners: vntill the time that (their iniquity being complete) the hartes of the wicked, and the cogitatiōs of the ſame ſhould be opened. And theſe iniuries were the cauſe both of my appeale from the king: and of my departure frō thence, which ye terme to be ſodden. But if ye wil ſpeak that truth which ye know, it ought no leſſe then to be ſodden: leaſt (being foreknowen) it might haue bene preuented and ſtopped. And as God turned the matter it happened for the beſte: both for the honor of the king, and better ſafety of them, which (ſeking my harme) ſhoulde haue brought ſlaunder to the king. If ſuche troubles folowed vpon my departing as ye ſay, let that be imputed to him which gaue the cauſe: the fault is in the worker, not in the departer: in him that purſueth, not in him that auoydeth iniuries: what would ye more? I preſented my ſelfe to the court, declaring both the cauſes of my comming, and of my appeale: declaring alſo the wrōges and iniuries done to me and to my church, & yet coulde haue no anſwer: neyther was there any that layde any thyng againſt me, before we came to the king. Thus, while we ſtood wayting in the court, whether any would come agaynſt me or not, they ſent to my officials: charging thē not to obey me in my temporalities, nor to owe any ſeruice to me, or to any of myne. After my appellatiō made in the court: my church was ſpoyled: we (and they about vs) depriued of our goods: outlawed both of the Clergy and of the layity, men, women, and infantes: the goods of the church (that is, the patrimony of the crucifix) confiſcate: and parte of the money turned to the kings vſe, parte to your own cofers. Brother biſhop of London, if this be true that we heare of you: and that to the vſe of your own church ye conuert this mony: we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience: that within fourty daies after the ſight of theſe letters (al delay and excuſe ſet aſide) ye reſtore againe within yͤ time aforeſaid: all ſuch goods & parcels as you haue taken away. For it is vnmeete and contrarye to all lawe, one church to be enriched with the ſpoile of a nother church. If ye ſtand vpon the autority that ſet you a worke: you muſt vnderſtand, that (in matters cōcerning the church goods) he can geue no lawful autoritye, which committeth violent iniury. &c.

Chriſt is not iudged in the perſons of any traytor.

Conſcience made where is none.

But he leuith out here the manner of his cōming to the courte and the ſturdines of his be hauiour.

What autority, and what ſcripture geueth this prerogatiue to Princes vppon church goodes, which you would attribute to them? What, wyl they lay for them yͤ remedy of appeale? God forbid. It were euil with the church of God, if whē the ſacrilegious extorcioner hath violently inuaded other mēs goods (eſpecially the goods of yͤ church) he ſhould after defend him with the title of appeale. &c.

Do not brethren, ſo confound together the ryght of the church and of the temporal regiment: For theſe two are much different, one borowing his autoritye of the other. Reade the ſcriptures, and ye ſhall finde what and how manye kinges haue periſhed for taking vpon them

Becket ſeemeth here more ſkilful of his maſſ booke than of the booke of holy ſcripture other els he might ſe it no new thing in the old law for kinges to depriue preſts, and to place whom they would.

the prieſtly office. Therfore, let your diſcretion prouide: leaſt for this your doing, Gods puniſhment light vpon you: which if it come, it will be hard for you verye eaſely to eſcape. Prouide alſo and ſee to your king, whoſe fauour ye prefer before the wealth & profit of the Church: leaſt it happen (which God forbid) that he doth peryſhe with all his houſe, after the example of them, whych for the lyke crime was plaged. And if ye ceaſe not of from that you begin: with what conſcience can I diſſemble or forbeare, but muſt needes puniſh you: let him diſſemble with you who liſt (hauing autority ſo to do, trulye I will not) there ſhalbe no diſſimulation found in me. And where you wryte in your letters, concerning my promotion, that it was againſt the voyce of the whole realme, & that the church did reclaime againſt it: What ſhould I ſay to you, but that ye know right well: the lye which the mouth doth wyllinglye ſpeake, killeth the ſoule: but eſpecially the wordes of a prieſtes mouth ought euer to go with veritye. As touching this matter, I appeale to your own conſcience, whether the forme of my election ſtode not fully with the conſent of them all to whom the election belonged: hauing alſo the aſſent of the prince by hys ſonne, and of them which were ſent thereto. And if there were ſome that repugned the ſame, hee that was troubled, and is gilty, let him ſpeake,

Kinges in the old law did not intermedle with the prieſtes office in ſome thinges that were forbidden: But yet kings were officers ouer prieſts to correct them whẽ they dyd amiſſe.

If ye meane of Achaz, and Oze in the old teſtament, then we denye your Minor.

Ye ſay moreouer, that I was exalted and promoted from a baſe and low degree, to this dignitie by hym. I graunt that I came of no royall nor kingly bloude: yet notwithſtanding, I had rather be in the number of thẽ whom the vertue of the mynde, then of byrth maketh noble. Parauenture I was borne in a poore cotage: of poore parentage, & yet through Gods clemency, which knoweth how to worke mercy with hys ſeruantes, and which cheriſheth the humble and low things, to cõfoũd the hye and mighty: In this my poore and low eſtate, before I came to the kinges ſeruice, I had aboundantlye and wealthely to lyue withall (as ye knowe) amongeſt my neighbours and friends. And Dauid euen from the ſhepefold, was taken vp & made a king. Peter of a fiſher was made prince of the church: who for his blood beyng ſhed for the name of Chriſt, deſerued to haue in heauen a crowne, and in earth name and renoume: would God we could do the like. We be the ſucceſſors of Peter, and not of kinges and Emperours.

They be the ſucceſſours and ſonnes of ſainctes not that hold the places of ſaints, but that do the workes of ſainctes. Hierom.

And where ye ſéeme to charge me (by inſinuation) wͭ the blot of ingratitude: This I anſwer: there is no offence capitall or infamous, vnleſſe it proceede from the hart and intencion. As if a man commit a murther vnwillingly (albeit he be called a murtherer) yet he is not thereby puniſhable: And ſo, although I owe my dutye & ſeruice wyth reuerẽce to my king: yet if I haue forborn him as my Lord, if I haue warned him, & talked wyth him fatherly and gently as with a ſonne, and in talking with him could not be heard: If therefore (I ſay) beyng enforced thereunto, and againſt my wyll, do exerciſe vpon him the cenſure of due ſeueritye: in ſo doing (I ſuppoſe) I make rather with hym, then agaynſt him, and rather deſerue at his hand thanke for my correction, thẽ note or ſuſpicion of vnkindnes or puniſhment for yͤ fact. Some times a man againſt his wil receaueth a benefit: as when neceſſity cauſeth a man to be reſtrayned from doing that which he ought not: he that doth ſo reſtraine him (though he ſtop him) doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his ſoules health. An other thing that defendeth vs from ingratitude, is: our father and patrõ Chriſt. Which, in that he is our father (to whom we as children owe obedience) then are we bounde as children by neceſſity to obey his cõmaundement, in warning the euil doer: in correcting the diſobediẽt: and in bridling the obſtinate: which if we do not, we run into daunger to haue his bloud required at our handes. Ye ſet forth likewyſe and ſhewe, what loſſe we thereby may ſuſtaine of our temporalties: But ye ſpeake no woord of the loſſe of our ſoules.

If the king had bene an adulterer or tyrant agaynſt the true doctryne or preaching of Chriſt, then

Moreouer, as concerning the departure of the kyng from the homage of the church of Rome (which in your letters ye ſeeme to pretende, or rather threaten) God forbid I ſay, that the deuotion or fayth of our king ſhoulde euer ſwerue away from the obedience and reuerence of the church of Rome, for any temporall commoditye or incommodity: which thing to do is very damnable in any priuate ſubiect, much more in the prince which draweth many other with him: therfore, God forbid that euer any faithful man ſhould once thinke ſo haynous a dede. And you according to your diſcretion take héede, leaſt yͤ wordes of your mouth infect any perſon or perſons therin: occaſioning them by your wordes to ſuche daungerous and damnable matter: like to the goldẽ cup which is called the cup of Babilõ, which for the outward gold no mã wil refuſe to drinke of, but after they haue drõke thereof, they are poyſoned.

And where ye lay to my charge for the ſuſpendyng of the reuerend father biſhop of Saliſburye, and for excommunicating of John, Deane of the ſayd churche for a ſciſmaticke (by knowledge and proces had of the matter) to this I anſwer: That both theſe are iuſtly and condignly excõmunicate, & if ye vnderſtand perfectly the cõdicion of the matter, and the right order of iudgements, ye will ſay noleſſe. For this ſtandeth with good autority (as ye know) that in manifeſt & notorious crimes, thys knowledge and order of proceding is not requiſite. Perpend with your ſelues diligently, what the biſhop of Saliſbury did (concerning the Deanrye) after that he was prohibited of the Pope and of vs, vnder paine of excommunication: and then ſhall you better vnderſtand (vpon ſo manifeſt diſobedience) ſuſpention did rightly followe: as ye reade in the decree of S. Clement, ſaying: If they do not obey their Prelates, al maner of perſons of what order ſo euer they be, whether they ſhall be Princes, of high or low degrée, & all other people: ſhal not only bé infamed, but alſo baniſhed frõ the kingdome of God, and the fellowſhip of the faithfull. As concerning John of Oxford, this we ſaye: that excommunication commeth diuers wayes. Some are excommunicate by the law, denouncing them excommunicate. Some by the ſentence of the Prelate. Some by communicating wyth them which are excommunicate. Now, he that hath fallen into this damnable hereſy, in participating with ſchiſmatickes, whom the Pope hath excommunicate: he draweth to him ſelf the ſpot and leproſie of lyke excommunication. Wherfore, ſeing he (contrarye to the Popes expreſſe commaundement and ours, being charged vnder payne of excommunication to the contrary) toke vpon him, the Deanery of Saleſburye: we haue denounced him, and hold him excommunicate: and all his doynges we diſanull, by the autority of the. viij. Synode ſaying. If any man either priuely or apartly ſhall ſpeake or cõmunicate with him that is excommunicated: draweth to himſelfe the puniſhment of lyke excommunication. And nowe for ſo much as you (brother biſhop of London) which ought to know that ſaying of Gregorye. vij. if any biſhop ſhall conſent to the fornication of prieſtes, deacons. &c. within his precincte: for rewarde, fauour, or peticion, or doth not by the autoritye of his office correct the vice: let him be ſuſpended from his office. And again that ſaying of Pope Leo, which is this: If anye biſhop ſhall inſtitute or conſecrate ſuche a prieſt as ſhall be vnmeete and vnconuenient: if he ſcape with the loſſe of his own proper dignity, yet he ſhall loſe the power of inſtituting any more. &c.

Therefore, forſomuch I ſay, as you (knowing thys) haue double wyſe offended agaynſt the ſentẽce of theſe

canons:

cannons:we commaund you,and in the vertue of obedience enioyne you, that if it be ſo:within three monethes after the receite hereof, you will ſubmit and offer your ſelfe to due correction and ſatiſfaction to the counſell of our felowbiſhops, for theſe your ſo great exceſſes:Leaſt other(throughe your example) run into the like offence, and we ſhall bee conſtrayned to proceede agaynſt you wyth ſeuerer ſentence.

Finallye (in the cloſing vp of your letter) where ye bring in for your appellation agaynſt me, a ſafegarde for you:which rather in deede is an hindraunce to you: that we ſhoulde not proceede againſt the inuaders of the church goods,nor againſt the king in lyke cenſure,as we haue don againſt the biſhop of Saliſbury (as ye ſay) and hys Deane. To this I anſwer, God forbid that we haue,or els ſhould hereafter procede or do anye thing againſt the king or his land,or againſt you or your churches,inordinately or otherwiſe then is conuenient. But what if you ſhall exceede in the ſame or like tranſgreſſion,as the biſhop of Saleſbury hath done:thinke ye then your appellation ſhall helpe you from the diſcipline of our ſeueritye,that ye ſhall not be ſuſpended? Marke ye diligently whether this be a lawfull appeale, and what is the forme therof. We knowe that euerye one that appealeth, eyther doth it in his owne name, or in the name of another: If in his owne name, eyther it is for ſome greuance inferred alreadye,or els for that he feareth after to be inferred agaynſt him. Concerning the firſt,I am ſure there is no greuaunce that you can complaine of as yet(God be thãked) yͭ you haue receaued at my hand,for the which you ſhould appeal from me:neither haue you(I truſt)any cauſe ſpeciall agaynſt me ſo to do. If ye do it for feare that is to come,leaſt I ſhould trouble you or your churches: conſider whether this be the feare that ought to fall in conſtant men,or whether this be the appeale which ought to ſuſpende or ſtay our power and authority that we haue vpon you and your churches. It is thought therfore of wiſe men (and we alſo iudge no leſſe)your appeale to be of no force.

ſcuſſing a true pellation

Firſt, for that it hath not the right forme of a perfect appellation, and alſo becauſe it is not conſonant to reaſon,and lacketh order and helpe of the law.

he forme a true pellation

Furthermore, if your appellation be in an other mãs name,either it is for yͤ king(as moſt like it is)or for ſome other. If it be for the kyng, then ye ought firſt to vnderſtand,that appellations are wont to be made to repell,& not to inferre iniury:or to releaſe ſuch as be oppreſſed,yͭ they ſhould not be oppreſſed any more.

Wherfore if any man ſhall enter any appellation(not truſting to the ſuertye of his cauſe,but to delay yͤ tyme that ſentence be not geuen vpon him) that appellation is not to be receaued. For what ſtate will there bee of the church,if the liberty therof beyng taken away: yͤ goodes of the church ſpoiled:the biſhops driuen from theyr places: or at leaſt not receiued with full reſtitution of their goodes againſt the inuaders and ſpoyles therof:may defend themſelues by appealing, thereby to ſaue thẽſelues from the penalty of their deſert?

What a ruine of the church will this bee? Sée what ye haue done,and what ye ſay. Be you not the vicars of Chriſt,repreſenting hym in earthe? Is it not your office to correct and to bridle ill doers,wherby they may ceaſe to perſecute the church? And is it not inough for thẽ to be fierce and to rage againſt the church, but yͭ you ſhuld take their part ſetting your ſelues againſt vs to the deſtruction of the church? Who euer heard of ſo mõſtrous doynges? Thus it ſhal be heard and ſayd in all nations and countreyes: that the ſuffraganes of the churche of Canterbury(which ought to ſtand with their metropolitane vnto death in defence of the church) now go about by the kings commaundement ſo much as in them doth lye,to ſuſpend his autority:leſt he ſhould exerciſe his diſcipline of correction vppon them that rebell againſt the church. This one thing I know,that you cãnot ſuſtaine two ſortes of perſons at once:both to be the appeale makers, and to be appealed vp your ſelues. You be they, which made the appellation:& you be they againſt whõ the appellation is made. Is there any more churches thẽ one,and the bodye of the ſame? And how meete were it than,that you beyng the members of the church, ſhould hold together with the head therof? I am afraid brethern leſt it may be ſaid of vs:Theſe be the prieſts which haue ſayd where is yͤ Lord? and hauing the law do not know the law. Furthermore this I ſuppoſe you (being diſcret men)are not ignorant of:that ſuch as enter any appellation there,are not wont to be heard:vnleſſe the matter of their appellatiõ either belongeth to thẽſelues, or excepte ſpeciall commaundement force them therunto,or els vnles they take an other mans cauſe vpõ them. Firſt, that it belongeth nothyng vnto you,it is plaine: for ſo muche as the contrary rather pertaineth to your duety:that is, to puniſhe and to correcte all ſuche as rebell againſt the church. And if he which ſubuerteth yͤ liberty of yͤ church, and inuadeth the goodes therof(conuerting thẽ to theyr owne vſe)be not heard appealing for his owne defence: muche leſſe is an other to bee heard appealing for hym. Wherfore,as in this caſe neither he can appeale for him ſelfe,nor yet commaund you ſo to do:ſo nether may you receaue the commaundement to appeale for him.

One perſon cã not both be the appeale maker,and the partye appealed.

Thirdly as touching yͤ taking of an other mans cauſe or buſines vpon you,to this I ſaye and affirme: that ye ought in no maner of wiſe ſo to do, ſpecially ſeyng the matter pertaineth to the oppreſſion of the churche, and wherupon enſueth great damage to the ſame.

Wherfore, ſeing it neither appertaineth to you,neyther ought ye to receiue any ſuch cõmaũdement,nor yet to take vpon you any ſuch cauſe as that is:your appeale is neither to be heard,nor ſtãdeth with any law. Is this the deuotion and conſolation of brotherly loue whiche you exhibite to your metropolitan being for you in exile? God forgeue you this clemency. And how now? will ye loke for your letters & meſſengers to be gently receyued here of vs? Neyther do I ſpeake this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part & ours: or yͭ we haue done any thing inordinately againſt the perſon of the king,or againſt his land,or againſt the perſons of the church,or intend(by Gods mercy)ſo to do. And therfore we ſay briefly and affirme conſtantly:that our lord the king can not complayne of any wrong or iniurye to be done vnto him, if he (being often called vpon by letters and meſſengers to acknowledge his faulte, neither will agniſe his treſpaſſe nor yet come to anye ſatiſfaction for the ſame) haue the cenſure of ſeueritie by the pope and vs layd vppon him. For no man can ſay that he vniuſtly is entreated,whom the law doth iuſtly puniſhe. And briefly to conclude, knowe you this for certaine: that extortioners, inuaders,detainers of the church goods,and ſubuerters of the liberty thereof: neyther haue any autority of the law to maintaine thẽ,neyther doth their appealing defend them,&c.

Though the popes law will not defend thẽ yet the law of the ſcripture will & doth.

¶ The letter of Matild the Empreſſe and mother to the king, to Thomas Becket.

The letter of the empreſſe to Becket.

My lord the pope commaunded me(and vpon the forgeuenes of my ſinnes inioyned me)that I ſhould be a mediator and meanes of peace and concorde betwene my ſonne and you,by reconciling of your ſelfe to hym: wherunto(as you know)ye requeſted me. Wherfore,the earneſter and with more affection(as well for the deuine honor as for holy church) I toke the enterpriſe vpõ me. But this by the way I aſſure you,that the king,his Barons,and councel,taketh it greuouſly:that you, whome he entirely loued, honored, and made chiefeſt in all hys realme(to the intent to haue more comforte and better truſt in you) ſhould thus as the reporte is rebell and ſtir his people againſt him. Ye and further, that (aſmuch as in you lieth) you went about to diſherite hym, & depryue him of his crowne. Vpon the occaſion werof, I ſend vnto you our truſty and familier ſeruaunt Laurēce archdeacon, by whom I pray you that I maye vnderſtande your mind herein, and good will toward my ſonne: and how you meane to behaue your ſelfe (if my prayer and petition may be heard of him in your behalfe) towarde his grace. But this one thing I aſſure you of, that vnles it be through your great humility and moderation (euidently in you appearing) you cannot obtayne the fauor of the kyng. Herein what you meane to do, I pray you ſend me worde by your proper letters and meſſengers.

¶ *A briefe cenſure vpon the former reſcripte of Becket to hys* ſuffragans, in the page before with a generall reſolution of the reaſons therin contayned.

IF the kyng of Englād had bene an idolater, couetous an adulterer, an inceſt, a murderer, wyth ſuch like: thā the zeale of this Archbiſhop (threatnyng the kyng & ſuch as tooke hys part) had deſerued prayſe in this epiſtle, & the ſcripture would haue borne him out therin. For theſe and ſuch cauſes, ſhould biſhops proſecute the autority of the Goſpel againſt all perſons. But the matter ſtanding onely vpon church goods, libertye (or rather licentiouſnes of prieſtes) makyng of Deanes, titles of churches, ſuperioritie of crowning the king, with ſuch other: to ſtand ſo ſtiffe in theſe, is not to defend the church: but to rebell againſt the kyng. Againe, if the principles which he groūdeth here vpon were true: to wytte that the pope were to be obeyed before princes: that the libertie of the churche ſtandeth vpon the immunitie of prieſtes exempted from princes lawes: or vpon ample poſſeſſions of the churche: or that the popes law ought to preuaile in all forren coūtreys: and to binde all princes in their owne dominions: or that the ſentence of the pope and his popelings (how, or by what affection ſo euer it is pronounced) may ſtande by the vndoubted ſentence of God: Then all the argumentes of this epiſtle doo procede and conclude wel. But if they ſtand not ratified vpon gods worde: but ſhakyng vpon mans traditions: Then whatſoeuer he inferreth or concludeth therupon (his aſſumpt being falſe) can not be true, accordyng to the ſchoole ſaying: One inconuenience beyng graunted in the beginnyng, innumerable follow therupō. So in this epiſtle it happeneth as is aboue noted, that the Maior of this man is true, but the Minor is cleane falſe, and to be denied.

An. 1169

But to procéede farther in the order of the hiſtorye: After theſe letters ſent to and fro (the yere of the Lorde 1169.) which was the. 15. of the raigne of Henry the ſecond: The kyng miſdoubting and fearyng with himſelf that the archbiſhop would procéede (or excéede rather) in his excommunication againſt his own perſon (to preuēt the miſchief) made his appeale to the preſēce of the pope: requiring to haue certain legates ſent downe frō Rome from the popes ſide, to take vp the matter betwene the archbiſhop and him: requiring moreouer yͭ they mighte alſo be abſolued, that were interdicted. Wherupon, two Cardinals (beyng ſent from Alexāder the pope wͭ letters to yͤ kyng) came into Normandie: where they appointed yͤ archbiſhop to mete thē before yͤ kyng vpon ſ. Martins day. But the archbiſhop (neither agreeing with the day nor place) delaid his commyng to the eight day after: nether would any further goe thē to Griſorſiū. Where (yͤ two Cardinals and the Archbiſhop wͭ other byſhops conuenting together) had a certayne intreatye of peace and reconciliation, but came to no concluſion. The contents of which intreatie or action (becauſe it is ſufficiently cōteyned in the Cardinals letters, who were called Gulielmus and Otho, writen to the pope) it ſhal require no further labour, but to ſhew out the wordes of yͤ letter, where the ſumme of the whole may appeare. The wordes of yͤ letter be theſe.

¶ *The copy of the epiſtle written and ſent by two cardinals to* the pope concerning the matter of the archb. Becket.

WIlliam, and Otho, Cardinals of the church of Rome, to Alexander the pope, &c. Commyng to the land of the kyng of Englād, we found the controuerſie betwixt him and the archbiſhop of Cant. more ſharpe and vehement thā we would. For the kyng and the greater parte of thē about him ſaid, that yͤ archbiſhop had ſturred vp yͤ French kyng greuouſlye againſt hym. And alſo, the erle of Flaunders his kinſman (who bare no diſpleaſure to hym before) he made his open aduerſary ready to warre againſt him, as is by diuers euidences moſte certaine. Thus whē we came to Cadomus firſt to yͤ kings ſpeach, we gaue the letters of your fatherhode to his handes: which after that he had receiued & conſidered (bringyng forth withal other letters receiued from you before, ſomthing diuers and alteryng from theſe which he receyued of vs) was moued and ſtirred with no litle indignation, ſaying: that the Archbiſhop after our departure frō you, had receiued of you other contrary letters, by the vertue wherof he was exempted from our iudgement: ſo that he ſhoulde not be compelled to aunſwere vs. Moreouer the ſaid kyng to vs added and affirmed (and ſo dyd yͤ biſhops there preſent teſtifieng the ſame) that cōcerning the old and auncient cuſtomes of his progenitors. (wher of complaint was made to you) all that, for yͤ moſt parte was falſe and vntrue which was intimate to you. Offring farther to vs, that if there were any ſuch cuſtoms or lawes in hys time that ſemed preiudiciall or diſagreable to the ſtatutes of the church: he would willinglye bee content to reuoke and diſanul the ſame. Wherupō, we with other archbiſhops, biſhops, and Abbots of the land (hearing the king ſo reaſonable) laboured by all means we might that the kyng ſhould not vtterly breake from vs, but rather ſhoulde incline to vs to haue the matter brought before vs betwixt him and the forenamed archbiſhop: By reaſon wherof, we directed out our owne chaplens with letters vnto hym, appointing him bothe tyme and place where ſafely he might meete wyth vs in the feaſt of S. Martin. Neuertheles, he pretendyng certaine excuſes made his dilatories, driuyng of the tyme from the daye of S. Martine to the octaues followyng: which thyng ſturred the kynges hart more then is to be thought.

Thus, although we offered to the archbiſhop ſafe cōming, yet when he refuſed to méete vs in yͤ borders of the kyng: we to ſatiſfy his minde, condeſcended to mete him within the land of the Frēch kyng, in the place where he hym ſelfe appoynted: bycauſe there ſhould be not let in vs wherby to ſtoppe his profit. After we had entred communication, we began to exhort hym (all that we could) to ſubmit and humble hym ſelfe to hys ſoueraigne and kyng, who had heaped him with ſuch benefites and dignities: wherby matter might be geuen vs to further occaſion of reconciling them together. He being thus moued and exhorted by vs, departed aſide to conſult with hys counſel vpon the matter. At length after counſel taken, he cōmeth agayn aunſweryng in this maner. That he would ſubmit and humble him ſelf to the kyng. Saluo honore dei, & eccleſiæ libertate, ſalua etiam honeſtate perſonæ ſuæ, & poſſeſsionibus eccleſiarum: & amplius, ſua & ſuorum in omnibus ſalua iuſticia. That is ſauyng the honour of God and the liberty of the church: ſauyng alſo the honeſty of my perſon, and the poſſeſſions of churches: and moreouer, ſauyng the iuſtice of hym and of all his in all things. &c. After which communication had among vs: we moued and required hym more inſtantly, yͭ he would come to the ſpeciallities: when as yet he had brought nothing in, either whiche was certaine or particuler. Likewiſe we demaūded of him, if he would in all ſuch things conteined and comprehended in our letters, ſtand & ſubmit him ſelfe to our letters, ſo as the kyng & the byſhops before were contented to do. To the whiche he aunſweryng agayne ſayd, that he had receiued from you a com

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maundement, not to anſwere before he and all his were reſtored ful to all their poſſeſſions. And then he would ſo procede in the matter according as he ſhould receue cõmaundement frõ the ſee apoſtolical. Thus, we breaking of communication (ſeyng that he neither would ſtand to iudgement, nor come to conformitie) thought to make relation therof to the king, and ſo did: declaring yͤ which he had expreſſed to vs: yet not vtteryng all, but kepyng back a great part of yͤ which we had hard ⁊ ſene. Which when the king ⁊ his nobles had vnderſtandyng of, affirmed to vs agayne: that he therin was cleared ſo much yͤ more, for that the archbiſhop would not ſtãd to their iudgement nor abide their triall. After much heauines ⁊ lamentation of the kyng: the archbiſhop, biſhops, and abbots of the realme requiring of vs, whether we had any ſuch power by vertue of our commiſſion, to withſtand him and to procede agaynſt him: and perceyuyng yͭ our autoritie would not ſerue therunto, and fearing leaſt the foreſayd Archbyſhop (refuſing all order of iudgement) would worke againe diſquietnes to ſome noble perſonages of the realme: and ſeyng our autority could not extend ſo farre to helpe them agaynſt hym (takyng a conſultation among them ſelues) agreed together with one aſſente, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixing accordingly the terme of their appeale.

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And this is the Epiſtle of theſe. ij. Cardinals ſent to yͤ pope: wherin, may ſufficiently appeare al the diſcourſe and maner of that aſſembly (although particularly euery thyng not expreſſed) concernyng the talke betwixt yͤ cardinals and the archbiſhop. As when that Williã (who of the. ij. Cardinals was the more eloquent) amongeſt other communication had, reaſoned long with him cõcernyng the peace of the churche: which Becket ſayd he preferred aboue all thynges. Well then (ſayth the cardinal) ſeyng all this contention betwene the kyng and you ryſeth vpon certaine lawes and cuſtomes to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of yͤ church ſo much: then what ſay you: will you renounce your biſhopricke, and the kyng ſhall renounce hys cuſtomes? The peace of the churche now lyeth in your handes, either to reteine or to let go, what ſay you? To whom he aunſwereth againe, that the proportion was not lyke. For I ſaith he (ſauing the honour of my church ⁊ my perſon) cannot renounce my biſhopricke. Contrary, it ſtandeth the kyng vpõ for his ſoules health and honour, to renounce theſe his ordinaunces and cuſtomes. Whiche thyng he thus proued, bycauſe the pope had condemned thoſe cuſtomes, and he likewiſe with yͤ churche of Rome had done the ſame. ⁊c.

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¶ *The talke betwene the French king, the king* of England, and Becket.

After the Cardinals were returned: the Frẽch king ſeyng the kyng of Englande diſquieted and ſolicitous to haue peace (or at leaſt wiſe pretendyng to ſet agreement betwen them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In whiche communication the French king made him ſelf as an vmpeare betwen thẽ. The kyng of England hearyng yͭ the archbiſhop would commit himſelfe to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his preſence. Wherupõ, many being there preſent, the Archbiſhop proſtratyng himſelfe at yͤ kinges feete, declared vnto him knelyng vpon his knees that he would cõmit the whole cauſe (wherof the diſſention roſe betwene them) vnto his own arbitrement: adding thereto (as he did before) Saluo honore Dei. that is ſauyng the honour of God. The kyng, who (as is ſayd before) beyng greatly offẽded at this word: hearyng and ſeyng the ſtifnes of the man ſtickyng ſo much to this worde Saluo honore, &c. was highlye therewith diſpleaſed: Rebukyng hym with many greuous wordes as a man proude and ſtubburne, ⁊ alſo chargeing him with ſondry ⁊ great benefites beſtowed vpon him, as a perſon vnkynd and forgetting what he ſo gently had done ⁊ beſtowed vpõ him.

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And ſpeakyng to the French kyng there preſent: See Sir (if it pleaſe you, ſayth the king of England) what ſoeuer diſpleaſeth this man: that he ſaith, to be contrary to the honour of God. And ſo by this meanes, he will vendicate and chalenge to him ſelfe both that is his, and mine alſo. And yet notwithſtandyng: for that I will not ſeeme to do any thyng contrary or preiudiciall to Gods honor, this I offer him. There haue bene kyngs in England before, both of greater and leſſe puiſance then I am: Likewiſe there haue bene biſhops of Canterbury many, both great and holy men: what the greateſt and moſt holyeſt of all his predeceſſors before him hath done to the leaſt of my progenitors and predeceſſors before me, let hym do the ſame to me ⁊ I am content. They that ſtode by hearyng theſe wordes of the Kyng, cried al with one voyce: the Kyng hath debaſed him ſelfe inough to yͤ biſhop. The archbiſhop ſtayng a litle at this with ſilẽce: what (ſayth the French kyng to hym, my Lord archbiſhop) will you be better then thoſe holy men? will ye be greater thẽ Peter? what ſtãd you doubting? Here now haue you peace and quietnes put in your owne handes, if ye will take it. To this the archbiſhop aunſwered agayne: truth it is (ſaith he) my predeceſſors before me were much both better and greater then I, ⁊ of them euery one for his time (although he did not extirpe and cut of all) yet ſom thing they did plucke vp and correct which ſemed aduerſe and repugnaunt agaynſt Gods honor. For if they had taken altogether away: no ſuch occaſion then had bene left for any man to rayſe vp this fire of tentation now agaynſt vs, as is now raiſed to proue vs wͭ all: that we beyng ſo proued with them might alſo be crowned with thẽ being likewiſe partakers of their prayſe and reward, as we ar of their labour and trauayle. And though ſome of them haue bene ſlacke, or exceded in their deuty doyng: in that we are not bound to follow their enſample.

The kings offer to Becket both charitable and reſonable.

The wordes of the french kinge.

Peter, when he denyed Chriſt, we therfore rebuke hym: But when he reſiſted the rage of Nero, therin we cõmend him. And therfore, bycauſe he could not finde in his conſcience to conſent vnto yͭ he ought in no wyſe to diſſemble, neither did he: by reaſon therof, he loſt his life. By ſuch like oppreſſions, yͤ church hath alwaies growẽ. Our forefathers and predeceſſors, bycauſe they would not diſſemble yͤ name and honour of Chriſt, therfore they ſuffered. And ſhal I, to haue the fauour of one mã, ſuffer the honour of Chriſt to be ſuppreſt? The nobles ſtãdyng by (hearyng hym thus ſpeake) were greatly agreued wͭ hym: noting in hym both arrogancy and wilfulnes, in perturbyng and refuſing ſuch an honeſt offer of agrement. But ſpecially one among the reſt was moſt agreued, who there openly proteſted: that ſeyng the archbyſhop ſo refuſed the counſel and requeſt of both the kyngdomes, he was not worthy to haue the helpe of either of them: but as the kyngdome of England had reiected, ſo the kyngdome of Fraunce ſhould not enterteine hym.

This maior if it had ben ioined with a good Minor hadde made a good argument.

Ex quadrilogo.

Alanus, Herbertus, and certaine other of his chapleines that committed to ſtory the doynges of Becket, doe recorde (whether trulye or no I can not ſaye) that the French kyng ſendyng for him, as one muche ſorowing and lamentyng the wordes that he had ſpoken: at the cõmyng of Becket did proſtrate him ſelfe at his feete: confeſſyng his fault in geuyng yͤ counſel to him in ſuch a cauſe (perteinyng to the honour of God) to relent therin ⁊ to yeld to yͤ pleaſure of mã: wherfore declaryng hys repentaunce, he deſired to be abſolued therof. So that after this, the French kyng and Becket were great frendes together: in ſomuch, that kyng Henry ſẽdyng to the kyng to entreate hym and deſire hym that he would not ſupporte nor mainteine his enemy within his realme: the French kyng vtterly denyed the kynges requeſt, takyng parte rather with the Archbyſhop then with hym.

Beſides theſe quarels and grudges betwixt the king and the Archbiſhop aboue mentioned: there folowed yet moreouer another, whiche was this. Shortly after this communication recited betwene the kings and Becket: the kyng of England returnyng agayne from Normãdy to England (which was the yeare of our Lord. 1170 and the 16. yeare of his raign) about midſomer, kept his court of Parliament at Weſtminſter. In the whiche Parliamẽt he (through the aſſent both of the clergy, and ẏ Lordes tẽporall) cauſed his ſonne Hẽry to be crowned kyng. Which coronation, was done by the hands of Roger archbiſhop of Yorke with the aſſiſtaunce of other biſhops miniſtring to the ſame: as Gilbert of London, Goceline of Saleſbury, Hugo of Durcſme and Gualter of Rocheſter. By reaſon wherof, Becket of Canterbury beyng there neither mentioned nor called for, tooke no litle diſpleaſure: and ſo did Lodouike the French kyng, hearyng ẏ Margaret hys daughter was not alſo crowned with her huſband. Whereupon, he gathering a great army forthwith marched into Normãdy. But ẏ matter was ſone cõpoſed by ẏ kyng of Englãd: who ſedyng his ſonne to him into Normandy, intreated their & cõcluded peace wͭ him: promiſing ẏ his ſõne ſhould be crowned again & then his daughter to be crowned alſo. But ẏ archbiſhop not ceaſing his diſpleaſure & emulatiõ, ſent vnto ẏ pope cõplainyng of theſe foure biſhops, eſpecially of ẏ archbyſhop of Yorke: who durſt be ſo bold in his abſẽce & without his knowledge or his licence, to intermedle to crown ẏ kyng, beyng a matter proper & peculiar to hys iuriſdiction. At the inſtance of whõ, the pope ſent downe the ſentence of excommunication agaynſt the Biſhop of London. The other thre Biſhops with the Archbiſhop of Yorke he ſuſpended, whoſe ſentẽce and letters therof, for auoydyng prolixitie, I here omit.

1170.

The biſhop of Londõ excommunicate with foure other byſhops ſuſpended.

Beſides theſe foreſaid biſhops excõmunicated, diuers other clerkes alſo of the court he cited to appeare before him by vertue of his large cõmiſſion whych he gat from the Pope, to whom they were bound to obey, by reaſon of their benefices: And ſome he commaunded in vertue of obedience, to appeare in paine of forfeting their order and benefices. Of which, when neither ſorte would appeare, he curſed them openly. And alſo ſome lay men of the court and the kinges familiars: ſome as intruders, and violent withholders of church goodes, he accurſed: as Richard Lucye, and Jocelin Balliot, and Rafe Brocke, which toke bels and goods that belonged to the church of Canterbury, and Hugh Saintclere, and Thomas the ſonne of Bernard, and all that ſhould hereafter take anye churche goods without his conſent, ſo that almoſt all the court was accurſed eyther by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the Archbiſhop of Yorke wyth the foreſaid Biſhops, reſorted to the king wyth a greuous complaint: declaring how miſerablie their caſe ſtode, & what they had ſuſteyned, for fulfilling of his commaundement. The king hearing this, was highlye moued as no maruel was. But what remedy? The time of ẏ ruine of the Pope was not yet come? and what Prince then might withſtand the iniurious violence of that Romiſh Poteſtate?

The cauſe of the kinges wrath againſt Becket.

In the meane ſeaſon, the French king for hys part, his clergy, and courtiers, ſlackt no occaſion to incite and ſollicite Alexander the Pope agaynſt the kyng of England, to excommunicate him alſo: ſeeking therby & thinking to haue ſome vantage againſt the realme. Neither was the king ignoraunt of this, which made hym more ready to apply to ſome agrement of reconciliation. At length commeth downe from the Pope twoo Legates (the archbiſhop of Rotomage, & the biſhop of Nauern) with direction and full commiſſion, either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes cenſures out of the churche. The king vnderſtandyng himſelfe to be in greater ſtraites then he coulde well auoyde: at length (through the mediation of the Frenche king, and of other prelates and great princes) was content to yelde to peace and reconciliation with the Archbiſhop: whom he receiued both to his fauour, and alſo permitted and graunted him free returne to hys church agayne. Concerning his poſſeſſions and landes of the church of Canterbury, although Becket made great labour therfore: yet the king (being then in Normandye) would not graunt him, before he ſhould repayre to England, to ſee how he would there agree with his ſubiects.

Thus, peace after a ſorte concluded betwene the king and him, the archbiſhop after ſixe yeares of his baniſhment, returned to England: where he was right ioyfully receiued of the church of Canterbury: albeit, of Henry the yonge king he was not ſo greatlye welcomed. In ſo muche that comming vp to London to the king, he was returned backe to Canterburye, and there byd to keepe his houſe. Roger Houeden maketh mention in his Chronicle, that the archbiſhop (vpon Chriſtemmas day) did excommunicate Robert de Brock, for cutting of the tayle of a certayne horſe of his the daye before. In the meane time, the foure biſhops before mentioned, whom the archbiſhop had excommunicate, ſent to him humbly deſiring to be releaſed of their cenſure. To whom, when the archbiſhop would not graunt clearlye and ſimplye, without cautels and exceptions: they went ouer to the king, declaring to him and complayning of their miſerable ſtate, and vncurteous handling of the archbiſhop. Whereupon the kyng conceyued great ſorrowe in hys mynde, and diſpleaſure toward the party. Inſomuche, that he lamented oft and ſundrye tymes to them about him, that (among ſo many that he had don for) ther was none that would reuenge him of hys enemy: by the occaſion of which woordes, certayne that were about the king (to the number of foure) hearing him thus to complayn and lament: addreſt themſelues in great heate of haſte, to ſatiſfy the agreued mynde and quarel of theyr prince. Who within foure dayes after the foreſaid Chriſtemas day (ſayling ouer to England, and hauing a forward and a proſperous wynde in their iourney, beyng in the deepe of winter) came to Canterbury, wher Becket was commaunded to keepe. After certayne aduiſement and conſultacion had amõg themſelues: they preaſed at length into the palace where the archbiſhop was ſitting with his company about him: firſt to aſſay hym with words, to ſee whether he would relent to the kings minde, and come to ſome conformitie. They brought to him (ſayd they) commaundement from the king: which whether he had rather openlye there in preſence, or ſecretely to be declared to hym, they bad him chuſe. Then the company being byd ta auoyde, as he ſat alone, they ſayd: you are commaunded from the king beyonde the ſea, to repayre to the king here his ſõne, and to do your duty to him: aunſwering to him your fidelitie, for your baronage and other things, and to amend thoſe things wherein you haue treſpaſſed againſt him. Wherupon, the archbiſhop denying to ſweare, and perceiuing their intent, called in his company again: and in multiplying of wordes to and fro, at length they came to the Biſhops which were excommunicate for the Coronation of the king: whom they commaũded in the kings name, he ſhould abſolue and ſet free agayne. The archbiſhop anſwered, that he neither ſuſpended nor excommunicated them, but the Pope: wherefore, if that were the matter that greued them, they ſhoulde reſorte to the Pope, he had nothing to do with the matter. Then ſayd Reignalde, one of the foure: although you in your owne perſon did not excommunicate them, yet through your inſtigation it was done. To whom the archbiſhop ſayd agayne: and if the Pope (ſaid he) tẽdring the iniuries done to me and to my church, wrought this reuenge for me: I confeſſe it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (ſaid they) it appeareth wel by your own wordes, that it pleaſeth you right wel(in contempt and contumely of the kings maieſty)to ſequeſter his biſhops from their miniſterye, who at the commaundement of the king did ſeruice in the coronation of his ſonne.And ſeing ye haue ſo preſumed thus to ſtand againſt the exaltation of this our ſouerayne,our new king:it ſemeth likely that you aſpired to take his crowne from him, and to bee exalted kyng your ſelfe.I aſpire not,ſayd he,to the crowne and name of the king:but rather if I had.4.crownes(to geue him more)I would ſet them all vpon him: ſuch good wyll I do beare him,that onelye (his father the king excepted) there is none,whoſe honour I more tēder and loue. And as concerning the ſequeſtring of thoſe Biſhops, thys I geue you to vnderſtand:that nothing was done in that behalfe,without the knowledge and aſſent of the kyng himſelfe.To whom when I had made my complaynt, at the feaſt of Mary Magdalen,of the wrong and iniurye done to me and my churche therein:he gaue me hys good leaue to obtayne at the Popes hand ſuche remedy therein as I could,promiſing moreouer his helpe to me in the ſame.What is this,ꝙ they,that thou ſayeſt? Makeſt thou the king a traytor, and bewrayer of the kyng his own ſonne?that when he had commaunded the Byſhops to crowne hys ſonne,he would geue thee leaue afterwarde to ſuſpende them for ſo doing? Certes it had been better for you not to haue accuſed ſo the kyng of this prodition.The archb.ſaid to Reginald,that he was there preſent at that tyme,and hearde it him ſelfe. But that he denied,and ſwore it was not ſo: and thinke you (ſay they) that we the kinges ſubiectes will or ought to ſuffer this?And ſo approching nearer to him, ſayde:he had ſpoken inough againſt his own head. Whereupon followed great exclamation & many threatning words. Then ſayd the archb. I haue, ſithe my comming ouer, ſuſtained many iniuries and rebukes, concerning both my ſelfe,my men,my cattel,my wynes, & other goods: notwithſtanding,the king(writing ouer to his ſonne) required him that I ſhould lyue in ſafety and peace:& now beſides all other, you come hether to threaten me. To this Reginald anſwering againe ſayde: if there be anye that worketh you any iniurye otherwyſe then right is, the law is open:why do you not complaine? To whom, ſayd Becket,ſhould I complayne? To the young kyng ſayd they.Thē ſaid Becket,I haue complayned inough if that would helpe,and haue ſought for remedye at the kinges handes,ſo longe as I coulde be ſuffered to come vnto his ſpeeche: but nowe ſeyng I am ſtopt from that,neyther can finde redres of ſo great vexations and iniuries as I haue and do dayly ſuſtaine: nor can haue the benefit of the law or reaſon:Such right and lawe as an archb.may haue,that will I exerciſe: and let for no man.At theſe wordes one of them burſting out in exclamation,cryed:he threatneth,he threatneth: what, wyll he enterdict the whole realm, & vs altogether? Nay that he ſhal not ſaith another,he hath interdicted to many already.And drawing more nere to him, they proteſted & denounced him to haue ſpoken wordes to the ieopardye of his owne head. And ſo departing in greate furie and with many hygh wordes,ruſhed out of the doores: who by the way returning to the Monkes, charged them in the kinges name to keepe him foorth comming, that he ſhould not eſcape away.What ꝙ archbiſhop, thinke ye I will flee away? Nay neither for the king, nor for anye man aliue,will I ſtyr one foote from you. No ſay they, thou ſhalt not auoyd though thou wouldeſt.And ſo they departing with many wordes,the archbiſhop foloweth them out of the chamber doore crying after them: here, here,here ſhall you finde me,laying his hand vpon hys crowne.

The names of theſe foure ſoldiours aboue mencioned were theſe. 1.Reginald Bereſon.2.Hugh Morteuil 3.William Thracy,and 4.Richard Brito:who goyng to harnes them ſelues,returned the ſame daye agayne. But finding the hall doore of the palace of Canterbury ſhut againſt them:they went to an inward backe doore leading into the Orcharde: there brake they vp a wyndow and opened the doore,and ſo inſued into the place. The Monkes(being about Euenſong time)had got the archbiſhop into the churche: who beyng perſwaded by them, cauſed his croſſe to be borne before him, and ſo throughe the cloyſter (by a doore which was broke vp for him)proceeded into the quire.The harneſt men following after,at length came to the church doore:which doore the Monkes would haue ſhut againſt them, but (as the ſtory ſaith)tharchbiſhop would not ſuffer them. So they approching into the church,and the biſhop meeting them vpon the ſtayres,there was ſlayne: euery one of the foure ſoldiours ſtriking him with his ſword into the head.Who afterward flyeng into yͤ North, at lēgth with muche ado obtayning their pardon of the Pope (through the kinges procurement, as ſome ſtories recorde)went to Ieruſalem.

An. 1171

The death of Tho. Becket.

Thus you haue heard the lyfe and death of thys T. Becket:of whom what is to be iudged,let his own acts and factes declare.And albeit the ſcripture ought to bee onely the rule to vs to iudge all thinges by:yet if anye ſhall require farther teſtimony(partlye to ſatiſfie theyr mindes therein) ye ſhall heare the iudgementes of certayne men, in yeares and tymes almoſt as auncient as hymſelfe,what they write and affirme of him.

what is to be thought or iudged of T. Becket

And fyrſt,to beginne with the teſtimony of one of his owne religion and alſo not farre (as it appeareth) from his owne tyme:who writing of his martyrdom and miracles, thus teſtifieth of the iudgement and ſentence of dyuers concerning his promotion & behauor.The chronicle beyng written in Latine,and hauing the name of the autor cut out,thus beginneth: Quoniam vero multi, &c.And in the firſt booke,cap. 8. it falloweth in this maner:Nonnullis tamen id circa promotionem eius viſum eſt minus canonicum,quod ad eam magis operata eſt regis inſtantia,quam cleri vel populi vota. Præſumptionis quoq; vel indiſcretionis fuiſſe notatum eſt, quod qui remum tenere vix idoneus videbatur,primum gubernaculi locū ſuſcepit,&c. & mox:magis etiam ſecularia tum ſapiens, tam ſanctum tantæ dignitatis faſtigium non horrens renuiſſe, ſed vltroneus aſcendiſſe creditus. Aliter dei amicus Moſes,&c. With much more as in Latin enſueth, which for the engliſh reader here followeth tranſlated. Dyuers notwithſtāding there be, which as touching his promotion ſuppoſe the ſame not to be canonicall. For yͭ it was wrought rather by the inſtance of the kyng (thynkyng him to be a man ready and inclinable to his vtilitie) thā by the aſſent eyther of the cleargy or of the people. Farther,it is noted in him for a pointe of preſumption, and lacke of diſcretion: for yͭ he beyng ſcarſe worthy to take the Ore in hand and play the boteſwane, would take vpon him to ſit at the healme,and guide yͤ ſhip: namely in that church, where the couent being in geſture and veſture religious,be wont to haue their prelate taken out of the ſame profeſſion.Where as he,ſcant bearing yͤ habite of a clerke,and goyng in his chaunges and in ſofte apparell,is more conuerſant among the delicate ruſlers in the court,ſauoryng rather of worldly thinges:not refuſyng moreouer wout any dread,to clyme vp to yͤ high prefermēt of ſuch an holy dignitie,but rather willingly of his own accorde to aſpire vnto it.Moſes,we read,did otherwiſe,who being the frende of God and ſent of him to conducte his people Iſraell out of Egipt, trembled at the meſſage,and ſayd.Who am I Lord,yͭ I ſhoulde go to Pharaõ, & bring thy people Iſraell out of Egipt? And agayn,I pray thee(ſaith he)O Lord:I am nothing eloquent,ſend him whom thou wilt ſend.Likewiſe Ieremias alſo beyng ſent of the lord to prophecy againſt Ieruſalem,

what is to be thought whether T. becket died a ſaint or not.

The promotion of becket iudged not canonicall.

Becket charged with preſumption and lacke of diſcretion.

Ambition noted in Becket in not refuſing but taking hys promotion.

ruſalem,was abaſhed to take the office vpon hym,aunſwering agayne with much dread of hart, A,a,a,Lord, I cannot vtter my mynde,for I am a child.

After lyke maner we reade of the ſainctes of ẏ new teſtament,wherof many were preferred oftentymes to there biſhoprickes,and functions of the church by mere forcement and compulſion rather of other,then by their owne wils.So was bleſſed Gregory after his flight,and going away, brought backe agayne, ⁊ placed in the ſee and chayre of Rome.Likewyſe S. Ambroſe ſore againſt hys minde, who alſo of purpoſe accuſing ⁊ confeſſing his owne defectes, becauſe he would be repealed:yet by the commandement of Valentinian the Emperour was inforced to take the burden vpon him,which he could by no wiſe ſhake of.S.Martin in lyke ſorte vnknowyng of any ſuch matter:was circumuented by a certain godly trayne ⁊ wile of the citiſens,before he could be broughte to hys conſecration: whiche he did not ſo much take, as he was thruſt into it, with much penſiuenes and ſorrow of hart.By theſe and ſuche other exãples this Chauncellour likewiſe ſhould haue rather excuſed himſelf as vnworthy and vnmeete for that roume, ſhewyng himſelfe more willing to refuſe, thẽ to take it. To the which,this Archbiſhop is iudged to do cleane contrary,⁊c. Hæc ex Chronico.

Biſhops againſt their wils thruſt into their byſhoprickes.

And although ſcarcely any teſtimonye is to be taken of that age (being all blinded and corrupt with ſuperſtitiõ)yet let vs heare what Neuburgenſis an ancient hiſtoriographer ſayth:who in the dayes of the ſonne of thys king Henrye the ſeconde, proſecuting his hiſtorye vnto king Richarde the firſt,hath theſe woordes, writing of Thomas Becket:Sane cum plæriq; ſoleant in his quos amant et laudant affectu quodam propenſiori, ſed prudentia parciori,quicquid ab eis geritur,approbare:plane ego in viro illo venerabili ea quæ ita ab ipſo acta ſunt, quum nulla exinde proueniret vtilitas ſed feruor tantum accenderetur regius,ex quo tot mala poſtmodum pullulaſſe noſcuntur, laudanda nequaquam cenſuerim,licet ex laudabili zelo proceſſerint:Sicut in beatiſſ.apoſtolorũ principe, quod gentes ſuo exemplo iudaizare coegit:in quo eum doctor gentium reprehenſibilem declarat fuiſſe,licet eum conſtet laudabili hoc pietate feciſſe.&c. That is in Engliſh

Ex Chronico Neuburgẽſis.

Acta Becketi improbata.

Wheras many be wont,in them whom they loue or praiſe(iudgyng them more by affection,then prudẽce) to allowe and approue,whatſoeuer they do: yet for me to iudge vpon this reuerend man: verely I thinke not hys doynges and actes to be prayſe worthy,or to be allowed. For as much as therof came no vtility but only the anger and the ſtirring vp of the kyng,wherupõ afterward ſprong ſo great miſchiefes (although the thyng that he did might procede of a certaine laudable zeale) lyke as in the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, in that he taught ẏ Gentiles by his example to play the Iewes: Paul the doctour of ẏ Gẽtils, did declare hym therin to be rebukeable:albeit it cãnot be denied,but that he dyd it of a good affection ⁊c.And in the ſame autor,in an other place it followeth to the like effect, in theſe wordes: Litteras has in Angliam ad ſuſpenſionem epiſcoporum præmiſſas ipſe ſequebatur,zelo iuſtitiæ feruidus,verum an plene ſecundum ſcientiam nouit deus:Noſtræ enim paruitati nequaquã conceditur de tanti viri actibus temere iudicare.Puto enĩ quòd in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia minus prouide egiſſet,& ea quæ ſine fidei Chriſtianæ periculo tolerari potuiſſent,ratione temporis & compenſatione pacis diſſimulanda dixiſſet,iuxta illud propheticum: prudens in tempore illo tacebit,quia tempus malum eſt.Itaque,quod a venerabili pontifice tunc actum eſt,nec laudandum eſſe iudico, nec vituperare præſumo:ſed dico ſi vel modice in huiuſmodi a ſancto viro per zeli immoderatiorem impetum eſt exceſſum,hoc ipſum eſt ſacræ, quæ conſecuta noſcitur,igne paſsionis excoctũ. Ita quippe ſancti viri vel amandi vel laudãdi ſunt a nobis qui nos illis longe impares eſſe cognoſcimus,vt ea,in quibus homines fuerunt,vel fuiſſe noſcuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus:ſed ea tãtum, in quibus eos ſine ſcrupulo imitari debemus.Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus,quæ ab ipſis fiãt,eſſe imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus,quæ faciunt,ſed ſapienter & caute debent laudari,vt ſua deo prærogatiua ſeruetur,in cuius vtique laudibus nemo poteſt eſſe nimius,quantumcunque laudare conetur &c. That is in Engliſh.The letters whiche were ſent before for the ſuſpendyng of the Biſhops,he purſued with burning zeale of iuſtice:but whether according to knowledge,God knoweth. It is not for my rude and ſlender wit to iudge of the doyngs of ſuch a perſon.But yet this I ſuppoſe:that he did not behaue himſelfe ſo circumſpectly as he ought (conſidering the time) ⁊ that the concord betwene him and the kyng,as yet was but ſoft and tender.Who for the conſideration of the tyme, and for the recompenſe of peace:might haue forborne or diſſembled ſuch thinges,whiche without any perill of chriſten religion might be tolerate well inough accordyng to ẏ propheticall ſaying:A wiſe man in his tyme wil kepe ſilẽce, becauſe the time will not ſerue him. Wherfore, as the doyngs of that reuerend prelate I iudge in that behalfe not to be commended:ſo neither do I preſume to diſcommend them.But this I ſay,that if ẏ holy mã thorow immoderate violence of zeale,did excede in any parte therin:the ſame was excocted agayne and purged by the fire of his ſuffering,which afterward enſued.And ſo far,holy men are to be loued or prayſed of vs which know our ſelues much inferiour to their vertues:ẏ in ſuch thinges wherin they haue been men and alſo knowen to be men: therin,we neither hold with them nor commẽd them,but onely in ſuch thynges wherein without all daunger or ſcruple we ought to imitate thẽ. For who is able to ſay, that they are to be imitated in all that they doe? And therfore,they are not to be eſtemed ⁊ praiſed in al things generally whatſoeuer they do: but conſideratlye ⁊ with aduiſement,wherin they deſerue prayſe:ſo that the onely prerogatiue in this behalfe be reſerued to God,in whoſe prayſe no man can excede how feruent ſoeuer he be in hys prayſing.⁊c.

And heare yet more what the ſayd author writeth in the ſame cauſe of the kynges wrath and Beckets fault. Pluſquã.100.homicidia a clericis commiſſa ſub Hen.2.dicuntur. In quibus plectendis rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed huius immoderationis regiæ, noſtri temporis epiſcopos tantum reſpicit culpa,quantum ab eis proceſsit & cauſa.Cum enim ſacri præcipiunt canones,clericos non ſolum facinoroſos et grauioribus irretĩos criminibus, verum etiã leuiorum criminum reos degradari,& tot millia talium tãquam innumeras inter pauca grana paleas eccleſia anglicana contineat,tamen quàm paucos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio priuari.Nempe epiſcopi dũ defendẽdis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus quam eorum vicijs corrigendis reſecandiſque inuigilant,arbitrantur obſequium ſe præſtare deo & eccleſiæ, ſi facinoroſos clericos quos pro officij debito canonicæ vigore cenſuræ cohercere debeant, contra publicam tueantur diſciplinam. Vnde clerici qui in ſortem domini vocati, tanquam ſtellæ in firmamento cœli poſitæ, vita & verbo lucere deberent ſuper terram,habentes pro impunitate,agendi quodcunque libuerit licentiam & libertatem, neque deum,cuius iudiciũ tardare videtur, neque homines poteſtatem habentes reuerentur,cũ & epiſcopalis circa eos ſollicitudo ſit lãguida, & ſeculari eos iuriſdictioni ſacri eximat ordinis prærogatiua. That is.More then.100.murders are ſayd to be committed by the clergy vnder kyng Henry.2. In puniſhyng of whom,the kyng was ſomewhat to vehement:but the fault(ſayth he)of this immoderate delyng of the kyng reſteth moſt in the byſhops of our tyme:for as much as the cauſe thereof procedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commaunded by the canon law(concernyng the ſpirituall men of the clergy)

„ that onely ſuch as be notorious, but ſuch as be ſpotted
„ with lighter crimes ſhould be diſgraded: whereof, haue
„ we ſo many thouſandes and hole ſwarmes of ſuch now
„ in England? as innumerable chaf among a litle good
„ graine and yet how few do we ſee theſe many yeares in
„ England depriued of their office? For why? the byſhops
„ while they labor more to maintain the liberties and dig-
„ nities of churche men, then to correct their vices: thinke
„ they do God and the churche great ſeruice, if they reſcue
„ and defend the enormities of the church men agaynſt pu-
„ blike diſcipline, whom they ought rather to puniſh by ẏ
„ vertue of ẏ cenſure eccleſiaſticall. Wherupō, the church
„ men: ſuch as be ſorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought
„ lyke ſtarres to ſhine in earth by worde and example, ta-
„ kyng licence and liberty to do what they luſt: neither re-
„ uerence God, (whoſe iudgement ſemeth to tary) neither
„ men ſet in autority: when as both the byſhops are ſlake
„ in their charge doyng, and alſo the prerogatiue of their
„ order exempteth them from the ſecular iuriſdiction. &c.

Ceſa- Mona- lib.8. lo. p.69.

And thus much out of Nuburgenſis. To this matter alſo pertayne the wordes of Ceſarius the Monke in his. 8. boke of Dialogues. cap. 69, about the. 48. yeare after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the yeare and count of the Lord. 1220. whoſe wordes in ſumme come to this effect. Queſtio Pariſiis inter magiſtros ventilata fuit, vtrum damnatus an ſaluatus eſſet ille Thomas. Dixerat Rogerius tunc Normanus, fuiſſe illum morte ac damnatione dignum, quod contumax eſſet in dei miniſtrum regē. Protulit econtra Petrus Cātor Pariſienſis quod ſigna ſaluationis, & magnæ ſanctitatis eſſent eius miracula: & quod martyriū probaſſet eccleſiæ cauſa pro qua mortē ſubierat. &c. ẏ is. There was a queſtion moued amōg the maiſters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket wer ſaued or damned. To this queſtion aunſwereth Roger a Norman: that he was worthy death and damnatiō, for that he was ſo obſtinate agaynſt Gods miniſter his kyng. Contrary, Peter Cantor a Pariſian diſputed, ſaying and affirmyng that his miracles wer great ſignes and tokens of ſaluation, and alſo of great holyneſſe in that man: affirmyng moreouer that the cauſe of the churche did allow & confirme his martyrdome, for the which church he dyed. &c.

hether Becket ſaued or nned.

God in ſe latter yes ge- th no mi cles to orifie the ory of s owne ne: much ſſe wil he ue mira- s to glo- fye Tho. cket.

And thus haue ye the iudgement, and cenſure of the ſchole of Paris, touchyng this queſtion, for the ſancting of Thomas Becket. In whiche iudgement for ſomuch as the greateſt argument reſteth in ẏ miracles wrought by him after his death: let vs therfore pauſe a litle vpon the ſame, to trye and examine theſe his miracles. In the tryall wherof we ſhall finde one of theſe two to be true, that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a cōtrary ſpirit: of whō Chriſt our Lord geueth vs warnyng in hys Goſpell, ſaying: whoſe cōming ſhalbe wᵗ lyenges ſignes & wonders to deceaue, if it were poſſible, the elect. Mat. 24. or els we ſhall finde ẏ no ſuch were euer wrought at al, but fained & forged of idle mōkes & religious belyes for ẏ exaltatiō of their churches, & profit of their powches: which thing in dede ſemeth rather to be true. And no leſſe maye appeare by ẏ miracles themſelues ſet forth by one of his owne monkes, and of his own tyme: who in fiue ſolemne bokes hath comprehended all the reuelations, vertues, and miracles of this Archbyſhop: the which bookes (as yet remaynyng in the hands of William Steuēſon citizen of London) I haue ſene and peruſed: wherin is cōteined the whole ſumme of all his miracles to the number of 270. beyng ſo farre of from all truth and reaſon, ſome ridiculous, ſome monſtruous, vayne, abſurde, ſome alſo blaſphemous & ſome ſo impudent: that not onely they deſerue no credit (altogether ſauerīg of mere forgery) but alſo for very ſhame wil abaſhe an honeſt penne to wryte vpon them. Firſt, if miracles ſerue for neceſſity and for infidels: what cauſe or neceſſity was there (in a Chriſtian realme hauing the word of God) for God to worke ſuch miracles after hys death, who neuer wrought any in all hys lyfe? Then to conſider the end of theſe miracles: whether do they tend, but onely to bryng vp men to Canterbury, with theyr vowes and offrynges to enrich the couent?

ber de raculis homæ. tore mo- cho quo- Cātuar.

iracles of ecket nſidered.

Beſide the nūber of the miracles, which be ſaid ſo many, that they loſe their own credit: What diſeaſe is there belonging to mā or woman in the curing wherof, ſome miracle hath not been wrought by this θαυμαλουργὸς: as feuers, fiſtula, the goute, touthache, palſey, conſumptiō, fallyng ſicknes, leproſy, headache, broken armes, maymed legges, ſwelling throtes, the rayſing vp of the dead, whiche haue bene ij. dayes departed, with infinite other. And as all theſe haue bene healed (for the moſt part) by one kynd of ſalue (as a certaine panacea) whiche was, wᵗ the water only of Canterbury, like as a cunnyng ſmith which ſhuld opē wᵗ one key all maner of lockes: ſo again in readyng the ſtory of theſe miracles, ye ſhall finde the matter ſo conueyed, that the power of this dead ſainct, was neuer twiſe ſhewed vpon any one diſeaſe, but euery diuers diſeaſe to haue a diuers miracle.

Aqua Cantuarienſis.

To recite in order all theſe prodigious reuelations & phantaſticall miracles, falſely imagined and aſcribed to this archbiſhop: were nothing els, but to write a legende of lyes, and to occupy the people with trifles. Which, becauſe it pertayneth rather to the idle profeſſion of ſuch dreaming monkes & cloyſteres that haue nothyng els to maintaine their religiō withall: I will not take their profeſſion out of their handes. Wherfore, to omit all ſuch vayne and lyeng apparitions and miracles, as how this angrie ſainct (iij. dayes after his death) appeared by viſion at the altar in his pontificalibus, commaunding ẏ quere not to ſing, but to ſay this office of his maſſe: Exurge, quare obdormis Domine. &c. Whiche viſion the autor hym ſelfe of the booke doth ſay he did ſee. To omit alſo the blaſphemous lye, how in an other viſion the ſayd Archb. ſhuld ſay: that his bloud did cry out of the earth to God, more then the bloud of iuſt Abell. Item, in an other viſiō it was ſhewed to a monk of Lewes, how ſ. Thomas had hys place in heauen appointed with the Apoſtles: aboue Steuen, Laurence, Vincent, and all thother Martyrs. Wherof this cauſe is rēdred, for ẏ S. Steuē, Laurence, and ſuch other, ſuffered only for their own cauſe. But thys Tho. ſuffered for the vniuerſall churche. Item, how it was ſhewed to a certayne yong man (Ormus by name) xij. yeres before the death of this Becket: ẏ amōg the Apoſtles and Martyrs in heauen, there was a vacant place left, for a certayne prieſt, as he ſayd, of England: whiche was crediblye ſuppoſed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, how a certeine knightes ſonne beyng ij. dayes dead, was reuiued agayne ſo ſone as he had the water of Cāterbury put in his mouth, & had by his parents iiij. peeces of ſiluer bended, to be offered at Canterbury in ẏ childes behalf. All theſe, I ſay, wᵗ ſuch other like, to omit (ẏ nūber wherof cōmeth to an infinite variete) only this one ſtory that foloweth ſhal ſuffice to expreſſe the vanitie and impudent forgery of all the reſt.

Singing at the maſſe forbidden by T. Becket after hys death.

A blaſphemous lye.

Becket aboue the Martirs in heauen.

A place prepared in heauen for Becket. xii yeares before his death.

In the fourth booke of this fabulous autor, and in the iij. chap. a miracle is there conteyned of a certein countreyman of Bedfordſhyre in kynges weſton, whoſe name was Eilwardus: whiche Eilwardus in his dronkennes bruſtyng into an other mans houſe, whiche was hys detter, tooke out of his houſe a great whetſtone, and a payre of hedgyng gloues. The other partie ſeyng this value not ſufficient for his condemnation (by the counſail of the towne clerke) entred an actiō of felony agaynſt hym for other thynges beſydes, as for ſtelyng his wymble, hys axe, nette, & other clothes. Wherupon, Eilwardus being had to the Iaile of Bedford, and afterward condemned for the ſame: was iudged to haue both hys eyes put out, and alſo thoſe mēbers cut of, whiche nature with ſecret ſhame hath couered. Which puniſhmēt by the malice of his aduerſary being executed vpō him, he leyng in great

An impudent and a lyeng miracle.

Ex hiſtoria monachi Cantuar. de miraculis Thomæ.

A blaſphemous viſion.

daũger of death by bliedyng, was coũſailed to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterburye. Whiche done (ſayth the miracle) appeared one to him by night, in white apparel, bidding hym to watch and pray, & put his truſt in God, and our Lady, and holy ſ. Thomas. In concluſion, the miracle thus fell out: the next day at the euenyng, the man rubbyng hys eye lyddes beganne to feele his eyes to be reſtored agayne: firſt in a litle, after in a greater meaſure: ſo that one was of a graye colour the other was of blacke. And here was one miracle runge. After this folowed an other miracle alſo vpon the ſame perſon. For, goyng but the ſpace of iiij. miles, whẽ hys eyes were reſtored, he chaunced (in lyke maner) to rubbe the place, where his ſecret partes were cut of. And immediatly vpõ ẏ ſame, his pendenda (to vſe the wordes of my ſtory) were to hym reſtored, Principio parua quidem valde, ſed in maius proficientia, whiche he permitted euery one to feele, that would and ſhamed not to denye. In ſomuch, that he commyng vp to S. Thomas: firſt at London was receiued with ioy of the byſhop of Dirhã, who then ſẽding to the burgers of Bedford for the truth of the matter receaued agayne from them, letters teſtimonial: wherin the citizens there (ſayth this fabulous feſtiuall) confirmed firſt to the biſhop, then to the couent of Canterbury, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one miracle (gentle reader) ſo ſhameles and impudent, I thought here to expreſſe, ẏ by this one, ẙ mighteſt iudge of all ẏ reſidue of his miracles: and by the reſidue therof might iudge moreouer of all the filthy wickednes of all thes lyeng monkes and cloyſterers, which count it a light ſport ſo impudently to deceaue the ſimple ſoules of Chriſtes church with triflyng lyes and dreamyng fables. Wherfore (as I ſayd) if the holy Saintyng of Thomas Becket, ſtandeth vpon no other thing but vpon his miracles: what credite is to be geuen therto, and vpon what a weake ground his ſhryne ſo long hath ſtand, by this may eaſely be ſene.

A falſe and impudent miracle.

But what ſoeuer is to be thought of his miracles, or howſoeuer ẏ teſtimony of the ſchole of Paris, or of theſe aũciẽt times went wᵗ him or agaynſt him: certain it is, ẏ this antheme or collect lately collected & primered in his prayſe, is blaſpemous, & derogateth frõ ẏ prayſe of him, to whom all praiſe onely & honor is due, where it is ſaid:

The blaſphemous antheme of T. Becket. *Tu per Thomæ ſanguinẽ, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere quo Thomas aſcendit.*

Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit,
fac nos chriſte ſcandere quo Thomas aſcendit. That is.
For the bloud of Thomas, whiche he for thee dyd ſpend,
Graunt vs (Chriſt) to climbe, where Tho. did aſcend.

Wherin is a double lye conteyned: Firſt that he died for Chriſt. Secondly, that if he had ſo done: yet that hys bloud could purchaſe heauen. Which thyng, neither Paul nor any of the Apoſtles durſt euer chalenge to thẽſelues. For if any mans bloud could bryng vs to heauẽ, then the bloud of Chriſt was ſhed in vayne.

And thus much touching the teſtimony or cenſure of certain aũcient tymes concerning the cauſe of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whoſe hiſtory I haue ſtode now the lõger (exceding peraduẽture in ouermuch prolixity) to the intent that his cauſe beyng fully opened to the world and duely weyed on euery part: mens mindes (therby long deceyued by ignoraunce) myght come vnto the more perfect certainty of ẏ truth therof, and therby to iudge more ſurely what is to be receiued, & what to be refuſed.

The king ſendeth to Rome.

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king fearing the popes wrath and curſe to be layd vpõ him (wherunto Ludouike the French kyng alſo helped what he could to ſet the matter forward) ſent to Rome the Archbiſhop of Rotomage with certaine other biſhops and Archdeacõs vnto the pope with his excuſe: which, the pope would in no wiſe heare. And after other meſſengers being ſent, whom ſome of the cardinals receyued: it was ſhewed to them that on good Friday (beyng then nye at hand) the pope of cuſtome was vſed to aſſoile or to curſe: and that it was noiſed, how the kyng of England with his Biſhops ſhould be curſed and his land interdicted, and that they ſhould be put in priſon. After this, certaine of the Cardinals ſhewed the Pope: ẏ the meſſẽgers had power to ſweare to the pope, that the kyng ſhould obey to hys puniſhement and penaunce. Which was taken both for the king, and the archbiſhop of Yorke. So that in ẏ ſame day the pope curſed the dede doers, with ſuch as were of their conſent, either that ayded, or harboured them. Cõcerning theſe dededoers, it is touched briefly before: how they fled vnto Yorkeſhire lyeng in Gnarſborough. Who after hauyng in penaunce to go in theyr linnen clothes barefote (in faſtyng, and prayer) to Hieruſalem: by reaſõ of this hard penaũce are ſaid to dye in few yeares after.

Ex lib... annal... nũ bi... cari... Scrip... l. Sk...

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The kyngs Ambaſſadours lyeng as is ſayd in Rome: could find no grace nor fauor a lõg time at ẏ popes hãds. At lẽgth with much a do it was agreed, that two Cardinals ſhould be ſent down to enquire out the matter concernyng them that were conſentyng to Beckets death. The kyng perceyuing what was preparyng at Rome, neither beyng yet certain, wherto the intent of the Pope and commyng down of the cardinals would tend: in the meane tyme addreſſed himſelfe with a great power to enter into Ireland, geuing in charge and commaundemẽt (as Houedenus writeth) that no bringer of any brief or any letter ſhould come ouer to England or paſſe out of ẏ realme (of what degre or condition ſo euer he were) without ſpeciall licence and aſſuraũce to bring nothyng that ſhould be preiudiciall to the Realme.

Ex Ho... den.

This order being ſet and ordayned, the kyng wᵗ 400. great ſhips taketh his iorney to Irelãd: where he ſubdued in ſhort tyme the whole land vnto hym, which at that tyme was gouerned vnder diuers kings, to the number of v. Of whom foure ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto the ſaid king Henry (onely the fifthe, who was the kyng of Conacta, denyed to be ſubdued, keepyng him in woods and Mariſhes

Ireland ſubdued England.

In the meane ſeaſon while the kyng was thus occupied in Ireland, the 2. Cardinals that were ſent from the pope (Theodinus and Albertus) were come to Normandy. Unto whom, the king the next yere followyng reſorted, about the moneth of October, an. 1172. But before (duryng the time of the kinges being in Ireland) the B. of London and Joceline biſhop of Saliſbury, had ſent to Rome, and procured their abſolution from the pope. The kyng returning out of Ireland by Wales into Englãd, and from thence to Normandy: there made his purgation before ẏ popes legates, as touching ẏ death of ẏ foreſayd Becket: to ẏ which he ſware he was neither aiding nor conſentyng, but onely ẏ he ſpake rigorous words againſt him for that his knightes would not auenge hym againſt the ſayd Thomas. For the which cauſe, this penaunce was inioyned him vnder his othe. Firſt, that he ſhould ſend ſo much to ẏ holy land, as would fynde two C. knightes or ſouldiors for the defence of that lande.

1172

The ki... penan... the dea... Becke.

Alſo, that from Chriſtenmaſday next followyng, he ſhould ſet forth his owne perſon to fyghte for the holye land the ſpace of three yeares together: vnles he ſhould be otherwiſe diſpenſed wythal by the Pope.

Item, that if he would make hys iorney into Spain, (as his preſent neceſſitie dyd require) there he to fyght againſt ẏ Saraſens: And as lõg time as he ſhould there abyde, ſo long ſpace mighe he take in prolongyng his iorney toward Jeruſalem.

Item, that he ſhould not hinder nor cauſe to be hindred by hym, any appellatiõs made to ẏ pope of Rome.

Item, that neither he nor his ſonne, ſhoulde recede or diſceuer from pope Alexãder, or from his catholike ſucceſſors: ſo long as they ſhould recount hym or his ſonns for kings catholike.

Item, that the goods and poſſeſſions taken from the church of Canterbury, ſhould be reſtoꝛed againe(fully and amply)as they ſtoode the yere befoꝛe Thomas Becket departed the realme,and that free liberty ſhoulde be grāted to all ſuch as were outlawed foꝛ Beckets cauſe to returne againe.

Item,that the foꝛeſaid cuſtomes and decrees by him eſtabliſhed againſt the church,ſhould be extinct and repeles(ſuch onely except)that concerned his owne perſon, ⁊c. beſides other ſecrete faſtinges and almoſe inioyned hym.

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All theſe foꝛmer conditions,the king with his ſonne dyd both agrée vnto:debaſing himſelf in ſuch ſoꝛte of humility and ſubmiſſion befoꝛe the two Cardinals: by the occaſion wherof,the Cardinal tooke no little gloꝛye, vſing this verſe of ỹ pſalme: Qui reſpicit terrā, & facit eam tremere:qui tangit montes & fumigant. That is,which loketh vpō the earth,and maketh it to tremble:which toucheth the hilles,⁊ they ſmoke ⁊c. Moꝛeouer, it is mentioned in hiſtoꝛies of the ſaid king:that a little after Williā king of Scots with his army made a rode into ỹ realm, he returning out of Noꝛmādy into England,came firſt to Canterbury:who by the way(ſo ſone as he came to ỹ ſight of Beckets church)lightyng of his hoꝛſe ⁊ puttyng of his ſhoes,went barefote to his tombe: whoſe ſteppes were found bloudy through the roughnes of the ſtones. And not onely that, but alſo receyued farther penaunce by euery monk of the cloiſter certain diſcipline of a rod. By which ſo great deiection of the kyng (if it were true) thou maiſt ſee the blynd and lamentable ſuperſtitiō and ignoꝛance of thoſe dayes. If it was pꝛetenſed (as might ſo bee in time of warre,to gette the hartes of the people) yet maiſt thou learned reader ſee,what ſlauery kinges ⁊ pꝛinces were bꝛought into at that time, vnder ỹ Popes Clergy. The ſame yere(as Houeden wꝛiteth) which was 1174.the whole city of Cāterbury was almoſt all cōſumed with fire,and the ſaid minſter church cleane burnt.

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The next yeare enſuyng,which was 1175.a conuocation of biſhops was holden at Weſtminſter by Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In which conuenticle,being pꝛeſēt all ỹ biſhops ⁊ abbats of ỹ pꝛouince of Cāterbury ⁊ of Yoꝛke determined(as it had done a litle befoꝛe in K. Henry,1. dayes, an. 1113.) aboute obedience that Yoꝛke ſhould do to Canterbury. That is, whether the archbyſhop of Yoꝛke might beare his croſſe in ỹ dioceſſe of Cāterbury oꝛ not:wherof ſomething was touched befoꝛe in the foꝛmer pꝛoceſſe of this hiſtoꝛye. Alſo about the byſhopꝛicke of Lincolne,of Chicheſter,of Woꝛceſter and of Herefoꝛd:whether theſe churches were vnder the iuriſdiction of the ſee of Yoꝛke oꝛ not,⁊c. Vpon theſe and other lyke matters:roſe ſuch controuerſy betwene theſe two ſees,that the one appealed the other to the pꝛeſence of the biſhop of Rome.

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In this and ſuch caſes lyke,how mūch better had it bene,if the ſupꝛemacy had remained moꝛe neere in the kyngs handes at home,wherby not onely much labour and trauayl had bene ſaued,but alſo the great and waſtful expenſes beſtowed at Rome,might with much moꝛe fruite and thanke haue bene conuerted to their cures ⁊ flockes committed vnto them,⁊ alſo percaſe their cauſe no leſſe indifferently heard(at leaſt moꝛe ſpedely myght haue bene decided)but to the purpoſe agayne. In thys controuerſie,diuers of the biſhop of Yoꝛkes clergy(ſuch as were of Glouceſter,belonging to the church of S. Oſwald)were excommunicate by the archbiſhop of Cant. becauſe they being ſummoned,refuſed to appeare befoꝛe him,⁊c. At length the ſame yeare followyng,which was 1175:There was a Cardinal ſent downe from Rome by the kinges pꝛocurement : who ſtudied to ſet peace beetwene the two Archbiſhops. Wherupon, this way of agrement was taken(by the meanes of the king)at Wincheſter:that as touching the churche of S. Oſwalde at Glocoſter, the Archbiſhop of Cant.ſhoulde ceaſe of his claime therof,moleſting the ſee of Yoꝛke no moꝛe therein. Alſo ſhould abſolue againe the clerkes therof,whom he had excommunicated befoꝛe. And as concernyng the bearing of the croſſe and all other matters:it was referred to the archbiſhop of Rotomage,and of other biſhops of Fraunce:ſo that foꝛ fiue yeres a league oꝛ truce was taken betwixt them,till they ſhould haue a full determination of their cauſe.

An.1176

Iuſtices of aſſiſe deuided into vi. circuites.

The next yere following, the foꝛeſayd king Henrye ỹ 2.(deuiding the realme of England into 6.partes)oꝛdeined vpon euery part.3.Iuſtices of aſſiſe. The circuite oꝛ limitatiō of which Iuſtices was thus diſpoſed. The firſt vpon Noꝛthfolke,Suffolke,Cantebꝛidgeſhire, Huntendūſhire,Bedfoꝛdſhyꝛe,Buckinghamſhyꝛe,Eſſex,Hertfoꝛdſhire.2.Vpon Lincolnſhyꝛe,Nottinghāſhyꝛe,Derbiſhyꝛe, Staffoꝛdſhyꝛe, Warwickeſhyꝛe, Noꝛthamptonſhyꝛe,Leiceſterſhyꝛe. 3.Vpon Kent,Surrey,Southamptonſhyꝛe,Southſaxe,Barkeſhire,Oxfoꝛdſhyꝛe. 4. Vpon Herefoꝛdſhyꝛe,Glouceſterſhire,Wirceſterſhyꝛe, Salops ſhire. 5.Vpon Wiltſhyꝛe, Doꝛcetſhire, Somerſetſhyꝛe,Deuonſhire,Coꝛnwal.6. Warwickſhire, Richmondſhire,Lancaſter,Coplande, Weſtmerlande, Noꝛthumberland,Cumberland.

Ex Epitome Math. Pariſienſis & aliarū hiſtoriarum.

In the which yere alſo, Richard Archbiſhop of Cant. made 3.archdeacons in his dioces,where as befoꝛe there was but one. About which time alſo it was graunted by the kyng to the popes Legate:that a clearke ſhoulde not be called befoꝛe a tempoꝛall iudge, except foꝛ offence in the Foꝛeſt,oꝛ foꝛ his lay fée that he holdeth.

A friuolous contention betwene the archb.and the abbot of Canterbury. Where was here the precept of the goſpell:he that will be greateſt amongſt you, let him be an vnderling to other.

The tenor of the popes letter to the byſhop of Worceſter.

Item,that no Archbiſhopꝛike oꝛ biſhopꝛicke,noꝛ abbey ſhould remayne in the kings handes ouer one yeare without great cauſe. It chaunced the ſame yeare ỹ this was done:there was at Canterbury,one elected to be abbot in the houſe of ſaint Auſtē named Albert:who made great labour and ſute vnto the archbiſhop,ỹ he woulde come to his church and there cōſecrate hym abbot of S. Auſtens. To whom the Archbiſhop ſent woꝛd againe,ỹ he was not bounde to come to him but rather the other ſhould repayꝛe to the Metropolitane church of Canterbury,there to receiue his conſecration. Wherupon (controuerſy riſyng betwene thē)the foꝛeſaid new Electe appealed vp to ỹ audiēce of ỹ pope,⁊ ſo laboured vp himſelf to Rome. Where,he ſo handled the matter, (by what meanes I cānot tel vnleſſe with his goldē bottel wherwt he quēched the popes thurſty ſoule,foꝛ abbots neuer trauell lightly without fat purſes to Rome)that with ſhoꝛt diſpatch he pꝛocured letters from Alexander the pope,to Roger biſhop of Woꝛceſter : Signifieng to him, that he had geuen in charge and commaundement to ỹ archbiſhop of Cant.(in the behalf of his deare ſonne Albert) that he ſhould conſecrate him within his owne monaſtery:which monaſtery pꝛoperly and ſolie without mediation,belonged to the iuriſdiction of Rome: and ſo lykewiſe ſhould do to his ſucceſſoꝛs after him,without anye exaction of obedience of them. Which thing further he ſaid if the archb. would refuſe to do,within the terme apointed:that then he the foꝛeſaide biſhop of Woꝛceſter, ſhould(by the autoꝛity committed vnto him)execute the ſame in all maner of appellation oꝛ other decree whatſoeuer ſhould come,that notwithſtanding. This letter beyng obtained,the abbot(that would be,)returneth home ſuppoſing with himſelf all things to be ſure. The archb. vnderſtanding the caſe:and ſéyng himſelf ſo ſtraightly charged,and yet lothe to yelde and ſtoupe to the abbot, toke to him policy where autoꝛity would not ſerue:and both to ſaue himſelfe,and yet to diſapointe the abbot,he watcheth a tyme when the abbot was about buſines of hys houſe. And commyng the ſame tyme to the monaſtery(as he was commaunded to do)with all things apointed,that to ſuch a buſines appertayned: called foꝛ ỹ Abbot,pꝛetendyng no leſſe but to geue hym his conſecration. The Abbot beyng called foꝛ,was not at home. The archb. faynyng himſelfe not a little agreued at hys labor and good will ſo loſt: departed, as one in whom no ready diligence was lackyng: if in caſe that the abbot had been at home. Wherupon, the abbot (beyng thus diſapointed) was fayne to fill his ſiluer flagon a freſh, & make a new courſe to Rome to hys father the pope, of whō he receiued his conſecration, and ſo came home again with asmuch wit as he went forth: but not with ſo much mony peraduenture as he went withal.

We haue declared a litle aboue, pag. 260. touchyng the actes and doynges of this pope Alexander the 3. how he had brought the emperours head vnder his foote in S. Markes church at Venice: at which tyme & place peace was concluded, & a compoſition made betwene ẏ Pope and ẏ ſayd Friderike the emperour. Which pacificatiō, Rog. Houedenus and Gualterus Giſburgenſis, referre to this tyme beyng the yeare of our Lorde. 1177. bringing in two ſeuerall letters ſent from the ſayd Pope to Rich. archbiſh. of Canterbury, and to Roger archb. of Yorke, and Hugh biſhop of Dureſme. Out of the which letters (ſo much as ſerueth to our purpoſe) I haue taken and here inſerted.

Houedenus. Giſburgēſis.

1177.

¶ The letter of Alexander, ſent to Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, and to the biſhop of Dureſme.

> Alexander, ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, to his reuerend brethrē Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, & Hugh biſhop of Dureſme greeting, and Apoſtolicall bleſſing. The obſequie & ſeruice of your kinde deuotion, which hitherto you are knowē to haue geuē both deuoutly & laudably to vs & to ẏ church: requireth ẏ we ſhould deſcribe to you as to our ſpecial frendes, the proſperous ſucceſſe of the church: and to let you know as ſpirituall children of the church, what hath happened to ẏ ſame. For meete it is, conuenient, & alſo honeſt, that you whom we haue had ſo firme and ſure in our deuotiō: ſhould now be cheriſhed and made ioyous in the proſperitye of vs and of the church. And about the ende of the Epiſtle it followeth thus.
>
> The next day folowing, which was the feaſt of ſaint Iames (the ſayde Emperour ſo requeſting) we came to the foreſayd church at ſaint Marke, there to celebrate our ſolemne Maſſe: where (as we were comming in the way) the ſayd Emperour met vs without the churche, & placing vs againe on his right hand, brought vs ſo into the ſaid church. After the Maſſe was done, placing vs againe on his right hande: he brought vs to the Churche doore. And moreouer, when we ſhould take our palfrey, he held our ſtirrup: exhibiting to vs ſuch honour and reuerence, as his progenitours were wont to exhibite to our predeceſſors. Wherfore, theſe ſhall be to incite your diligence and ſtudy towardes vs: that you reioyce with vs and the church in theſe our proſperous ſucceſſes, and alſo that you ſhall open the ſame effect of peace to other deuout children of the church: that ſuche as bee touched with the zeale of the houſe of the Lord, maye congratulate and reioyce alſo in the Lord, for the great working of peace which he hath geuen. Geuen at Venice in the deepe riuer, the. xxvi. of Iuly.

A meeke Emperour and a proud pope.

The Emperour holdeth the popes ſtirrup

Thys yeare the contention reuiued agayne, ſpoken of a litle before, Pag. 223. betwene the two archbiſhops of Yorke and Canterbury. The occaſion whereof was this. The maner and practiſe of the pope is, when he beginneth to lacke money, he ſendeth ſome limiting Cardinall abroade to fetch his harueſt in. So there came this yeare into England (as lightly fewe yeares were wythout them) a certayne Cardinall from Rome called Hugo, or as Houedenus nameth him, Hugezim, who wold needes keepe a councel at Weſtminſter. To this councel reſorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Doctors, and ſuche other of the Clergy. As euery one was there placed in his order, and after his degree: firſt commeth the archbiſhop of Yorke named Roger: who (thinking to preuent the other archbiſhop) came ſomething ſooner, and ſtraightway placed himſelfe on the right hand of the Cardinall. Richard the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, following ſhortly after: and ſeing the firſt place taken vp, refuſeth to take the ſecōd: complaynyng of ẏ archbiſhop of Yorke, as one preiudiciall to his ſee. So, whyle the one would not riſe, and the other not ſit downe: roſe no ſmall contention betwyxte them two. The archbiſhop of Canterbury claymed the vpper ſeat by the preheminence of his church. Cōtrary, the archbiſhop of Yorke alledged for him the olde decree of Gregory, wherof mencīō is made before, pag. 158. By which this order was taken betwene the two Metropolitanes of Canterbury & of Yorke: that, which of them two ſhould be firſt in electiō, he ſhould haue the preheminēce in dignitie, & go before ẏ other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed ſo warme in wordes, that at laſt they turned to hote blowes. How ſtrong the archbiſhop of Yorke was in reaſon and argument I cānot tell: but the archbiſhop of Cāterbury was ſtrōger at the armes end. Whoſe ſeruants being mo in number (lyke valiant men) not ſuffering their maiſter to take ſuche a foile: ſo preuailed againſt Yorke (ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinall) that they pluckt him downe from the hande, to the foote of the Cardinall vpon the ground: treading and trampling vpon him with their feete, that maruel it was he eſcaped with life. His Caſule, Chimer, and Rochet, were all to be rent and torne from his backe. Here no reaſon would take place, no debating woulde ſerue, no praying could be heard: ſuche clamour and tumult was there in the houſe among them: much like to the tumult, which Virgil deſcribeth.

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Ac veluti in magno populo cum ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſæuitq; animis ignobile vulgus,
Iamq; faces & ſaxa volant, furor arma miniſtrat.

Now, as the firſt part of this deſcription doth well agree: ſo ſome peraduenture wyll looke agayne, that according to the latter part alſo of the ſame: my lord Cardinall with ſagenes and grauity (after the maner of the old Romaynes, ſtanding vp) ſhoulde haue ceaſed and alayed the diſturbaunce: according to that which followeth in the Poet.

Tum pietate grauem meritis ſi forte virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſq; auribus aſtant:
Ille regit mentes dictis, et pectora mulcet. &c.

But what did the noble Romane Cardinall? Lyke a prety man of his handes (but a pretier man of his feete) ſtanding vp in the middeſt, and ſeing the houſe in ſuch a broyle: committed hymſelfe to flight, & (as Houedenus writeth) abſcondit ſe a facie illorum. The next day after, the archbiſhop of Yorke bringeth to the Cardinall hys rotchet, to beare wytnes what iniurye and violence he had ſuſteined: appealing and citing vp the archbiſhop of Canterbury with certaine of his men, to the biſhop of Rome. And thus the holy councel (the ſame daye it was begun) brake vp and was diſſolued.

Vnder the raygne of this king Henry the ſecond: the dominion and crowne of England extended ſo farre as hath not ben ſeene in this realme before him, whom hyſtories record to poſſeſſe vnder his rule and iuriſdiction firſt Scotland, to whom William king of Scots, wyth all the Lordes temporal and ſpiritual did homage, both for them and for their ſucceſſors (the ſeale whereof remayneth in the kinges treaſury) as alſo Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitane, Gaunt. &c. vnto the mountaynes of Pireney, which be in the vttermoſt partes of the great Ocean in the Brittiſh ſee. Being alſo protector of Fraunce, to whom Philip the Frenche king yelded both himſelfe and realme wholy to his gouernance, an. 1181. Moreouer, he was offered alſo to be king of Ieruſalem, by the Patriarche and maiſter of the hoſpitall there: who thē being diſtreſſed by the Soldane, brought him

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him the keyes of their city,deſiring his ayde agaynſt the infidels:which offer he than refuſed,alledging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of hys ſonnes,which might happen in his abſence.

¶And here, the olde hiſtories finde a greate faulte with the king for hys refuſall, declaring that to bee the cauſe of Gods plages,which after enſued vpon hym,by his children:as the Patriarche(in his oration, being offended with the kyng) prophecied ſhoulde ſo happen to him for the ſame cauſe.Which ſtory if it be true,it may be a leſſon to good princes:not to denye their neceſſarye helpe to theyr diſtreſſed neighbors, eſpeciallye the cauſe appertayning vnto God.

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The wyſedome,diſcretion, manhoode, and riches of this prince was ſo ſpred and ronoumed through al quarters:that meſſages came from Emanuel Emperour of Conſtantinople,Fredericke Emperour of Rome, & William archbiſhop of Treuer in Almayne, and Duke of Saxon,and from the Earle of Flaunders,and alſo frō the French king(vpon determination of great queſtiōs and ſtrifes)to aſke counſel and determination therof,of this king Henry:as of one moſt wyſe & ſcholemaiſter of all wiſedome and iuſtice,to haue ſolution of their queſtions and doubtes. Moreouer,Alphonſus king of Caſtile, and Sauncius king of Nauerne,being in ſtrife for certayne Caſtels,and other poſſeſſions:ſubmitted them(of their free accorde)and by their othe,to abyde the award of this king Henry:who made awarde, & pleaſed them both.Wherby it is to be preſuppoſed that this king, to whom other princes did ſo reſorte as to their arbitrer and deciſer:did not attende either to anye ſlouth or viciliuing.Wherefore,it may ſeeme the actes of this prince not to be ſo vicious as ſome mōkiſh writers do deſcribe.

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Among many other things in this king memorable, this is one to be noted(follow it who can)that hee raigning.35.yeares,and hauing ſuch warres with hys enemies:yet neuer vpō his ſubiects put any tribute or taxe, nor yet vpon the ſpiritualty,firſt frutes, and appropriations of benefices.Belike they were not knowen, or els not vſed.And yet his treaſure after his death(weyed by king Richard hys ſonne) amounted to aboue nine hundreth thouſand pound,beſides Iewels,precious ſtones, and houſhold furniture.Of the which ſubſtance a leuen thouſand pound came to him by ẏ death of Roger, archbiſhop of Yorke:who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any prieſt died within his prouince without teſtament,then he ſhould haue all hys goods. And ſhortly after,the Archbiſhop died,and the king had all his goods: which extended(as is ſayd)to a leuen thouſand pound beſide plate.&c.an. 1181.

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But as there is no felicitie or wealth in this mortall world ſo perfect,which is not darkned with ſome cloude of incombraūce and aduerſititie:So it happened to this kyng,that among his other princely ſucceſſours,this incommoditie followed him withal:that his ſonnes rebelled and ſtode in armour againſt him, taking the part of the French king againſt their father. Firſt at the coronacion of Henrye his ſonne, whom the father ioyned with him as king,he being both father and king, tooke vpon him(that notwithſtanding)as but a Steward:and ſet downe the firſt diſhe as Shewer vnto his ſonne: renoūcing the name of a king.At what tyme,the foreſaid archbiſhop of Yorke,ſitting on the right hand of ẏ yong king,ſayd:ſir ye haue great cauſe this daye to ioye. For ther is no prince in the worlde that hath ſuche an officer thys day.&c.And the yong king diſdayning his wordes, ſayd:my father is not diſhonored in this doing. For I am a King and a Quenes ſonne,and ſo is not he. And not onelye this,but after hee alſo perſecuted his father. And ſo in hys youth, when hee had raygned but a fewe yeares,died:teaching vs what is the price and rewarde of breaking the iuſt commanndements of God.

de de
yth all,

After hym likewiſe Richard his ſonne(who was called Richard Cure de Lyon) rebelled agaynſt hys father: And alſo Iohn hys yongeſt ſonne did not much degenerate from the ſteps of his brethren. In ſo much that this foreſayd Richard(like an vnkind child, perſecutyng and taking parte againſt his father)brought hym to ſuch diſtreſſe of body and mynde:that for thought of hart he fel into an ague,and within foure dayes departed, after he had reigned xxxv. yeare. Whoſe corps,as it was caried to be buryed,Richard his ſonne comming by ẏ way and metyng it,and begynning for compaſſion to weape: the bloud braſt incontinent out of the noſe of the king at the comming of his ſonne:geuing therby a certaine demonſtration how he was the onely autor of his death.

King Henry the 2,perſecuted of hys Sonnes,

The death of king Henry the ſecond,
How the kynge beyng ded bled at the comming of his ſonne.

After the death and reigne of whiche kyng: hys children after hym(worthely rewarded for their vnnaturalnes againſt their father)lacking the ſucceſſe which their father had:loſt all beyond the Sea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the reygne of Henry the ſecōd,and the death of Thomas Becket:whoſe death(as is aforeſayd,happened in the dayes of pope Alexander ẏ third:which pope vſurping the keyes of eccleſiaſticall regiment xxi.yeares(or as Gisburgenſis writeth, three and twēty yeares)gouerned the church with much tumulte: ſtriuyng and contending with Friderick the Emperour not ſhamyng like a moſt proude Lucifer, to treade with his foote vpon the necke of the ſayd Emperour, as is aboue deſcribed pag.263.

An.1179

Thus pope among many other hys actes,had certein councels(as is partly before touched)ſome in Fraunce, ſome at Rome in Laterā,by whom it was decreed: that no archbyſhop ſhould receiue the palle, onleſſe he ſhould firſt ſweare.Concernyng the ſolemnitie of which palle: for the order and maner of geuing and takyng the ſame ẇ obedience to the Pope,as it is conteined in their own wordes:I thought it good to ſet it forth vnto thee, that thou mayeſt well conſider and vnderſtand their doyngs therein.

¶ *The forme and maner how and by what wordes the* Pope is wont to geue the palle vnto the Archbyſhop.

AD honorem omnipotētis Dei,& beatæ Mariæ virginis & beatorum Petri & Pauli,& domini noſtri N. Papæ, & ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ, nec non N.eccleſiæ tibi commiſſæ tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri ſumptū plenitudinem pōtificalis officij,vt vtaris eo infra eccleſiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in priuilegijs tibi ab Apoſtolica ſede conceſsis. That is.

Geuyng of the pall.

To the honour of almighty God, and of bleſſed Mary the virgin,and of bleſſed S. Peter and Paule,and of our Lord Pope N. and of the holy churche of Rome,and alſo of the churche of N.committed to your charge, we geue to you the palle takē from the body of S.Peter, as a fulnes of the office pontificall, whiche you may were within your owne church,vpon certein dayes,which be expreſſed in the priuiles of the ſayd churche,graunted by the ſee Apoſtolike.

¶ *Notes vpon the ſame.*

☞To the honour.&c.with what cōfidēce durſt the pope couple the honour of almighty God, and the honour of Mary,of S. Peter,and of the Pope, and of the Romiſhe church altogether if he had not bene a preſumptuous Lucifer,equalling him ſelfe not onely with ſuch ſaintes,but alſo euen with hym whiche is God alone, to be bleſſed for euer?

Taken from the body.&c.If S.Peters body be not all conſumed,let hym ſhewe it if he cā. If he cā not ſhew it, how then is this palle taken from the body of S.Peter? or if he meane it to be of S.Peters owne wearyng, then belyke S.Peter had a goodly wardrop of palles, when euery Archbiſhop in all chriſtendome receiueth from the pope a diuerſe palle.

As a fulnes of the office, &c. Rather he might ſay,the fulneſſe of his own purſe, when as Archbiſhops payd ſo ſweetely for it. In ſo much that Iacobus the Archbyſhop of Mentz (as is aboue touched pag. 223. a litle before the councel of Baſile where the price was wont to be but a thouſande florences, could not obteyne it without xxvij. thouſand florences.

Ex Libro grauaminum nationis germanicæ.

Upon certain dayes. &c. This difference there was betwene the pope & other archbiſhops. For the pope might were the palle at all tymes and in all places at hys pleaſure. Archbiſhops might not weare it, but upon certaine dayes, and in their churche onely within their prouince. Moreouer, this palle ſhould not be aſked but with great inſtannce, and within three monethes without: whiche pall, he is not to be named archbiſhop, but may be depoſed, hauyng it not after iij. monethes. And the ſame palle muſt alſo be buried with him when he dyeth. And when it is geuen, ſome priuilege muſt be geuen withall, or the olde renued.

¶ In like maner proceedeth the othe of euery Byſhop ſwearyng obedience to the Pope, in lyke wordes as followeth

The ſolemne oth of biſhops made to the Pope.

EGo. N epiſcopus. N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, ſanctæque Apoſtolicę Romanę eccleſiæ, & Domino meo. D.N. Papæ, ſuisq; ſucceſſoribus canonice intrãtibꝰ. Nõ ero in cõſilio, ſeu auxilio cõſẽſu, vel facto, vt vitam perdant, aut mẽbrũ, ſeu capiantur mala captione. Concilium vero quod mihi credituri ſunt, per ſe aut per nuncium, ſeu literas ad eorum, me ſciente nemini pãdã. Papatum Romanum & Regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum ſaluo meo ordine, cõtra omnem hominem. Legatum Apoſtolicæ ſedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in ſuis neceſsitatibus adiuuabo. Vocatus ad ſynodum veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apoſtolorum limina ſingulis triennijs viſitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuncium, niſi Apoſtolica abſoluar licentia. Poſſeſsiones vero ad menſam mei epiſcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neq; donabo, neque oppignorabo, neq; de nouo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo, inconſulto Rom. pontifice, ſic me deus adiuuet, & ſancta dei Euangelia. That is.

Saluo meo ord. this was the clauſe that made Becket to be baniſhed & to be ſlayne.

I N. biſhop of N. from this houre hence forth, wilbe faithfull and obedient to bleſſed S. Peter, and to the holy Apoſtolique churche of Rome, and to my Lord L. N. the pope I ſhalbe in no coũſel, nor helpe, either with my conſent or dede: wherby either of them or any member of them may be impaired, or wherby they may be taken wͭ any euil takyng. The counſel whiche they ſhall commit to me, either by them ſelues or by meſſenger or by theyr letters, wittingly or willingly I ſhall utter to none, to their hinderaunce and damage. To the reteyning and mainteyning the papacy of Rome, and the regalities of S. Peter I ſhalbe an ayder (ſo myne order be ſalued) agaynſt all perſons. The legate of the Apoſtolike ſee both in goyng and commyng, I ſhall honorably entreate and helpe hym in all neceſſities. Beyng called to a Sinode I ſhalbe ready to come, onles I be let by ſome lawfull and canonicall impechement. The palace of the Apoſtles euery third year I ſhal viſite either by my ſelf, or my meſſẽger, except otherwiſe being licenſed by ẏ ſée Apoſtolique. All ſuche poſſeſſions as belonge to the table and diet of my Byſhoprike: I ſhall neither ſell, nor geue, nor lay to morgage, nor leiſe out, or remoue away by any maner of meanes, without the conſent and knowledge of the Byſhop of Rome, ſo God helpe me and the holy Goſpels of God.

And how be not thoſe biſhops then periured which at the death of q. Mary, ſet & let out a great part of their poſſeſsiõs, from their ſucceſſors.

¶ A note upon the ſame.

☞ Hereby haſt thou by the way (gentle Reader) to note and conſider among other thinges whiche here may bee underſtand: that ſince the tyme the othe began to be layd and thruſt upon byſhops, all generall councels began to loſe their libertie. For how could any fredome remayne for men to ſpeake their knowledge in redreſſe of things: beyng by their othe ſo bounde to the Pope to ſpeake nothing but on his ſide, to maintain the papacy & the church of Rome in all times & places. Cõiecture by thy ſelf (chriſten Reader) what is more hereby to be conſidered.

BEſides this it was alſo decreed in the ſaid councel at Rome of 310. Byſhops, by Pope Alexander: that no man ſhould haue any ſpiritual promotion, except he wer of lawful age, & born in wedlock. That no pariſh church ſhould be voyde aboue vi. monethes. That none within orders ſhould medle with tẽporall buſines. That prieſts ſhuld haue but one benefice. And that the biſhop ſhould be charged to find the prieſt a liuing, till he be promoted.

That open uſurers ſhould not cõmunicate at Eaſter, nor be buried within the churchyard.

That nothyng ſhould be taken for miniſtring Sacramentes, or burying.

Item, that euery cathedrall church ſhould haue a maſter to teach children frely, without takyng any thyng for the ſame.

In this councel the vowe of chaſtitie was obtruded and layd upon prieſtes. Thomas Becket alſo, and Bernard were canoniſed for ſaintes.

The / of cha / layd / pri

During the raygne and time of this king Henry the ſecond: the city of Norwige was deſtroied and brent by the men of Flaunders. Alſo the town of Leyceſter. Notingham waſted, and the Burgeſes ſlayne by the Carle of Ferrers. The towne af Barwike deſtroyed by the Scots. The king of Scots was taken in warre by Engliſh men, an. 1174. The towne of Huntington taken & burned. The towne of Canterbury by caſualtie of fyre, brent with all the churches, ſpecially with the Trinitye church, where Becket was woorſhipped, an. eod. The yeare of our Lord. 1170. William king of Scots wyth Dauid his brother, and all the Barons of the realme did homage to the king of England. Irelande made ſubiect to England. Decreed in a Councel in Normandy, that no boyes or children ſhould poſſeſſe any benefice. A coũcel of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were. 33. articles concluded, an. 1179. The French king came in pilgrimage to Thomas Becket, the king of England méting hym by the way. An. 1184. After the death of Richard archbiſhop of Canter. who folowed after T. Becket, ſuccéeded Baldwinus, who of a Ciſtercian Monke being made a biſhop, is ſayd neuer to eate fleſhe in hys lyfe. To whom a certain poore woman (bare and leane) méeting him in the ſtréete: deſired to know of him whether it wer true ẏ is ſaid of him, that he neuer eat fleſh. Whych thyng when he affirmed to be true: Nay, ſayth ſhe that is falſe: for ye haue eaten my fleſh unto ẏ bone. For I had but one cow wherwith I was ſuſteined, and that hath your Deanes taken from me. True, true ſaid the biſhop, and thou ſhalt haue an other Cowe as good as that. &c. Iornal.

Rich / Bald / Archb / ſhop / Cant

Moreouer, in the raygne of the ſayd king Henrye, about the yeare of our Lord. 1178. I finde in the ſtorye of Rog. Houeden & other, that in the citie of Colonſe was a great multitude of men and women, whom the popes Cõmiſſioners, to wyt, Peter Cardinall of ſ. Criſogom. and the popes legate: with the archbiſhops of Narbone and Bituricenſis: Reginald biſhop of Bathe, John Byſhop of Pictauia, Henrys Abbot Clareuallenſis. &c. dyd perſecute and condemne for heretickes: Of whom ſome were ſcourged naked, ſome chaſed away, ſome compelled to abiure. Cõcerning whoſe articles and opinions I haue no firme ground to make any certayne relacion: forſomuch as I ſee the Papiſtes many times ſo falſe in their quarelyng accuſations, untrulye collecting mens ſayinges, not as they ment, and meaninges, not as they ſayd: but wreſtyng and depravyng ſimple mens aſſertions after ſuch a ſubtile ſorte as they lyſt them ſelues to take them. But this I finde howe one of the ſaide cõmiſſioners or Inquiſitors (Henry the abbot) in a certain letter of his, wryt thus of them: Nam et panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ ſacerdotis miniſterio in verbo domini conſecratum non eſſe corpus domini, nouo dogmate contendebat aſſerere. That is: After a newe opinion he affirmed, that the holy bred of eternall lyfe, conſecrated by the miniſtery of the prieſt, was not the body of the Lord. &c.

ldenſes Paupe e lug- Leo- e.In- batati.

In the time of this Alexander ſprong vp the doctrine and name of them, which were then called Pauperes de lugduno which of one Vualdus a cheif ſenatour in Lions were named, Vualdenſes: Item leoniſtæ: et Inſabbatati: about the yeare of our Lord. 1109:, or (as Laziardus writeth) an. 1170.

rche rs of d pa y.

Not long before this time (as is expreſſe aboue) roſe vp Gratianus maſter of ẏ decrees, & Petrus Lõbardus, maſter of the ſentence, both archepillers of all papiſtry. After whome folowed alſo two as euell, or worſe then they, Franciſcus and Dominicus, mainteyning blynde hipocriſie, no les then the other mayntayned proud prelacy. As theſe labored one way, by ſuperſtition & worldlye aduauncement to corrupt the ſinceritie of religion: So it pleaſed Chriſt the contrary way, laboring againſt theſe, to rayſe vp therfore ẏ ſaid Waldenſians, againſt ẏ pride and hipocriſie of the other.

Thus we neuer ſee any great corruption in ẏ church, but that ſome ſparkle, yet of the true light of the goſpel, by Gods prouidence doth remayne. What ſoeuer doctour Auguſtinus, Reinerius, Siluius, Cranzius wyth other in their popiſhe hiſtories, doo write of them (diffaming them throughe miſreporte) and accuſing them to magiſtrates, as diſobedient to orders, rebels to the Catholicke church, and contemners of the virgine Marye: Yet they that carye iudgement indifferent, rather truſting truth then wauering with times, in weying their articles, ſhal find it otherwiſe: that they maintained nothing els, but ẏ ſame doctrine, which is now defẽded in ẏ church. And yet I ſuppoſe not, cõtrary but as they did wyth the articles of Wicklif, and Hus: ſo the Papiſtes did in like maner wyth their articles alſo, in gatheryng and wraſtyng them otherwyſe then they were ment.

¶ *The hiſtory of the Valdenſes, concerning their originall,* and doctrine, wyth their perſecutions.

hiſtory ldéſes bingẽ

The firſt originall of theſe Waldenſes came of one Waldus, a mã both of great ſubſtaunce, & no les calling in the City of Lions: the occaſiõ wherof is declared of diuers writers, thus to come. About ẏ year of the Lord 1160. it chaũced ẏ diuers of the beſt and chiefeſt heads of the city of Lions, talking and walking in a certayne place, after their old accuſtomed maner, eſpecially in the ſummer time, cõferred and cõſulted together vpõ matters, eyther to paſſe ouer tyme, or to debate thinges to be done. Amongeſt whõ it chaunced one (the reſt looking vpon) to fall downe by ſodaine death. In the number of whom thys foreſayde Waldus there beyng amongeſt them was one. Who beholdyng the matter more earneſtlye then the other, and terrefied wyth ſo heauy an example, beyng (as is ſayd) a rich mã, and Gods holy ſpirite woorking wythall: was ſtroken wyth a deepe and inward repentaunce, whereupon folowed a new alteracion, wyth a carefull ſtudy to reforme hys former lyfe. Inſomuch that firſt he began to miniſter large almes of hys goods, to ſuch as needed. Secõdlye to inſtruct hymſelfe and his familye, wyth the true knowledge of Gods word: Thirdly, to admoniſh al that reſorted to him, by any occaſion, to repentaũce and vertuous amendment of lyfe.

Whereby, partlye throughe his large geuyng to the poore, partly throughe his dilgent teaching, and wholeſome admonicions: more reſorte of people dayly frequẽted about hym. Whom when he dyd ſee ready & diligent to learne, began to geue out to them certayne rudimẽts of the ſcripture, whych he had tranſlated him ſelfe into the French tounge. For as he was a man wealthye in riches, ſo he was alſo not vnlearned.

Although Laziardus Volateranus, wyth other: note hym vtterly vnlearned, and charge hym with ignorãce, as who ſhould procure other to wryte and tranſlate for hym. By other that haue ſeene hys doyngs yet remaynyng in old parchment monumentes, it appeareth hee was both able to declare & tranſlate the bookes of ſcripture, alſo dyd collect the doctors mynde vpon the ſame.

But what ſoeuer he was (lettered, or vnlettered) the biſhops and prelates ſeyng him ſo to intermeddle wyth ſcriptures, and to haue ſuch reſort about hym: albeit it was but in hys own houſe, vnder priuate conference: could not abyde eyther that the ſcriptures ſhoulde bee declared of anye other, neyther woulde they take the paynes to declare it them ſelues. So beyng moued with great malice agaynſt the man: threatned to excõmunicate hym, if he dyd not leaue of ſo to do. Waldus ſeing hys doyng to be but godly, and their malice ſtyrred vp vpon no iuſt nor godlye cauſe: neglecting the threatnynges and freatinges of the wycked, ſayde that God muſt be obeyed more then man: to be briefe, the more diligent he was in ſetting forth the true doctrine of Chriſt agaynſt the errours of Antichriſt: the more maliciouſly their fearcenes increaſed. Inſomuch that when they did ſee theyr excommunication to be deſpiſed, and woulde not ſerue: they ceaſed not wyth pryſon, wyth ſwoorde, and baniſhment to perſecute, tyll at length they had driuen both Waldus, and all the fauourers of his true preaching out of the citye.

The true nature of Antichriſt, neither himſelf to further the word nor to ſuffer other men to do it.

Wherupon came firſt their name, that they were called Waldenſes, or pauperes de Lugduno not becauſe they would haue all thinges common amongſt them: or that they profeſſing any wilfull pouerty, wold imitate to liue as the Apoſtles did (as Syluius did falſly belie them) but becauſe they beyng thruſt out both of countrey & goods, were compelled to liue porely, whether they woulde, or no. And thus much touching the firſt occaſion and beginning of theſe men, & of the reſtoryng & maintaynyng the true doctrine of chriſtes Goſpell, againſt the proud procedings of popiſh errors. Now concernyng their articles: which I finde in order, and in number to be theſe.

The Articles of Vualdenſes.

Solis ſacris literis credendum eſſe in iis, quę ad ſalutem. &c. That is: Onely the holy ſcripture is to be beleued in matters perteining to ſaluation: and no mans wrytyng, or man beſides.

2 All thinges to be conteined in holy ſcripture, neceſſary to ſaluation: and nothyng to be admitted in religion, but what onely is commaunded in the worde of God.

3 To be one alonely mediatour. Other ſainctes in no wyſe to be made mediatoures, or to be inuocated.

4 To be no purgatory, but that al men either by chriſt are iuſtified to life: or without Chriſt to be condẽned: & beſides theſe ij. neither anye thirde or fourth place to be.

5 That all maſſes, namely ſuch as be ſong for the dead to be wycked, and to be abrogate.

6 All mens traditions to be reiected, at leaſt not to bee reputed as neceſſary to ſaluation: and therfore this ſingyng and ſuperfluous chauntyng in the chauncell to bee left: conſtrayned and prefixed faſtes bound to days and times: difference of meates: ſuch varietie of degrees and orders of Prieſtes, Friers, Monkes, and Nunnes: ſuperfluous holidayes: ſo many ſundre benedictions and halowyng of creatures: vowes, peregrinations: wyth all ẏ rablement of rites and ceremonies brought in by mã, to be aboliſhed.

7 The ſupremacy of the pope, vſurping aboue all churches, and eſpecially aboue all politike realmes & gouernmentes: or for him to occupy and vſurpe the iuriſdiction of both the ſwordes to be denied: neyther that any degree is to be receyued in the church, but onelye prieſtes, Deacons and byſhops.

8 The communion vnder both kyndes to be neceſſarye to all people according to the inſtitution of Chriſt.

9 Item, the churche of Rome to bee the verye babilon ſpoken of in the Apocalips: And the pope to be the foun-

tayne of all error and the very Antichriſt.

10 *The Popes pardons and indulgences they reiect.

*Thys article ſemeth to be geuen vp of thẽ in Bohemia, long after for indulgences came not in before Bonifacius 8

11 The marriage of prieſtes, and of eccleſiaſticall perſons to be godly and alſo neceſſary in the church.

12 Such as heare the word of God, and haue a ryght faith, to be the right church of Chriſt. And to this church the keyes of ẏ church to be geuen, to driue away wolues and to inſtitute true paſtors, to preach the word, and to miniſter the Sacramentes.

These be tho moſt principal articles of the Waldenſes, albeit ſome there be, that adde moe to them: ſome agayne deuyde the ſame into mo parts. But theſe be the principall, to which the reſt be reduced.

The ſame Waldenſes at length exiled, were diſperſed in dyuers and ſundry places: of whom many remayned longe in Bohemia, whiche writing to their king Uladiſlaus, to purge themſelues againſt the ſlaunderous accuſation of one Doctor Auguſtine, gaue vp their confeſſiõ, with an Apology of their chriſtian profeſſion: defẽdyng which ſtrong and learned argumentes, the ſame, which now is receiued in moſt reformed churches: both concernyng grace, faith, charitie, hope, repentance, & works of mercy. As for purgatory, they ſai that Thomas Aquinas is the author therof.

Thomas Aquin firſt finder of purgatory

Ex Orthuion Gratio.

Concernyng the ſupper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to bee ſhewed and worſhipped: for a memoriall not for a ſacrifice: to ſerue for the preſent miniſtration, and not for reſeruation: to be receyued at the table, not to be caried out of ẏ dores: accordyng to the auncient vſe of the primitiue churche, when they vſed to communicate ſytting. And this they proue both by an old chronicle, called Chronica geſtorũ: as alſo by auncient Origen vpõ the third booke of Moſes: bringyng in hys wordes which be theſe, prouyng ẏ thys ſacramentall bread ought not to be reſerued: Quicunq; hunc panem cœnæ Chriſti, ſecunda, vel tertia die ſumpſerit, non benedicetur anima eius, ſed inquinabitur: Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes portauerunt ad filios Iſrael, oportuit eos ligna, ac aquam portare, &c. That is, whoſoeuer receyueth this bread of the ſupper of Chriſt, vpon the ſecond or third day after: hys ſoule ſhal not be bleſſed but be polluted. Therfore the Gabaonites, becauſe they brought olde bread to ẏ childrẽ of Iſrael, it was inioyned them, to cary wood and water. &c.

Chronica geſtorum.

Origines ſuper tertium Librũ Moſi.

The ſacramentall bread ought not to be kept or reſerued.

Doctor Auſten (of whom mention is made before) diſputing againſt them, about this matter of the holy Euchariſt, urgeth them with this interrogatiõ: whether it be the ſame Chriſt (preſẽt in the ſacrament) whiche is preſent at the right hand of the father? If it be not the ſame Chriſt, how is it trew in the ſcripture, Vna fides vnus Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus. One Fayth, one Lorde Jeſus Chriſt? If it be the ſame Chriſt, thẽ how is he not to be honored and worſhipped here, as well as there?

Part of the diſputation betwene doct. Auſten an: valdenſes,

D lemma.

That is a captious queſtion, in conferring on both ſides an inconuenience.

The anſwer of of the Valdẽſes

To thys the Waldenſes aunſwer agayn, and graunt that Chriſt is one, and the ſame with his naturall bodye in the ſacrament, which he is at the ryght hande of hys father: but not after the ſame exiſtence of his body. For the exiſtence of his body, in heauen is perſonal and local: there to be apprehended by the fayth and ſpirite of men. In the ſacrament, the exiſtence of his body is not perſonall or locall, to be apprehended or receaued of our bodies after a perſonall or corporal manner, but after a ſacramental manner: that is, where our bodies receyue ẏ ſigne, and our ſpirit the thing ſignified. Moreouer in heauen the exiſtence of his body is dimenſiue, and complete wyth the full proportion and quantitie of the ſame body wherwyth he aſcended: here the exiſtence of his complet body, with the full proportion, meaſure and ſtature therof: doth not, neither can ſtand in the ſacrament. Briefly, the exiſtence of his body in heauen is naturall not ſacramental: that is, to be ſeen, & not remembred: here it is ſacramentall, not naturall: that is, to be remembred, not to be ſeene.

What it ys to receyue after a ſacramentall maner,

Naturall.
Sacramentall.

The aunſwer beyng made to the captious propoſition of Doctor Auguſtine: the Waldẽſes (retortyng the like interrogation to hym agayne) demaund of hym to aunſwer thẽ in the like obiection: whether it be all one Chriſt ſubſtantially and naturally, which ſitteth in heauẽ: and which is vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and in the receyuers of the ſacrament? If he graunt to be: Then they bid him ſay, ſeyng Chriſt is as well in the ſacramẽt as in heauen, and as well in the receyuer as in the ſacrament, and all one Chriſt in ſubſtance and nature: why then is it not the ſame Chriſt as wel in the breaſt of the receauer to be worſhipped, as vnder the formes of bread and wyne in ẏ ſacrament? ſeyng he is there after a more perfect maner in man, then in the ſacrament: for in the ſacrament he is but for a tyme, and not for the ſacramẽts ſake, but for mans cauſe. In man he is not for the ſacraments cauſe, but for his owne, and that not for a ſeaſon, but for euer: as it is written: Qui manducat hunc panem viuet inæternum, that is: he that eateth thys breade ſhall lyue for euer, &c.

Moreouer and beſides, ſeyng tranſubſtantiation is the goyng of one ſubſtance into an other: they queſtion agayne with hym, whether the formes of breade & wyne remaynyng, the ſubſtaunce therof be chaunged into the whole perſon of our Lord Chriſt Jeſus: that is, both into hys body, ſoule, and diuity: or not into whole Chriſt? If he grant the whole: Then ſay they, that is impoſſible (cõcernyng the deuinity) both to nature and to our fayth, that any creature can be chaunged into the creator. If he ſay, the bread is chaunged into the body and ſoule of Chriſte, not to hys deuinitye: then he ſeparateth the natures in Chriſt. If he ſay, into the bodye alone, and not the ſoul: then he ſeparateth the natures of the true manhode, &c. And ſo cannot be the ſame Chriſt that was betrayed for vs: for that had both body and ſoule. To conclude, to what parte ſo euer he would anſwer: thys doctrine of tranſubſtantiation cannot be defended wythout great inconuenience of all ſydes.

Ouer and beſides, Eneas Syluius writing of their doctrine and aſſertions (perchaunce as he found them, perchaunce makyng worſe of them, then they taught or ment) reporteth them after this maner, which I thought here to ſet out as it is in the Latin.

Romanum præſulem reliquis epiſcopis parem eſſe. Inter ſacerdotes, nullum diſcrimen. Presbyterũ non dignitatem ſed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem. In engliſh.

The biſhop of Rome to be equal wyth other biſhops. Amongeſt prieſtes to be no differẽce of degree. No prieſt to be reputed for any dignitye of his order, but for the worthynes of hys lyfe.

The ſoules of men departed, eyther to enter into pain euerlaſting, or euerlaſting ioye. No fyre of Purgatorye to be found. To pray for the dead to be vayne, & a thing onely found out for the lucre of prieſtes.

The images of God (as of the Trinitie & of ſaintes) to be aboliſhed. The halowing of water and palmes to be a mere ridicle. The religion of begginge Friars to be found out by the Deuil. That prieſtes ſhoulde not incroche riches in this world, but rather follow pouerty, being content with their tithes, & mens deuotion. The preaching of the word to be free to al mẽ called therunto.

That no deadly ſyn is to be tollerate, for what ſoeuer reſpect of a greater commodity to inſue thereupon. The confirmation which biſhops exerciſe with oyle, and extreme vnction: are not to be counted amongeſt the ſacramentes of the churche. Auriculer confeſſion to be but a toy: to ſuffice for euery man to confeſſe him ſelfe in hys chamber, to God. Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred onely with pure water, without anye mixture of halowed ople. The temple of the Lord to be the wyde world. The maieſtye of God not to bee reſtrayned more within the walles of temples, monaſteries and chapels, ſo that hys grace is rather to be found in one place, then in another.

těple / he Lord / is, the / per habi / ő wher. / God / it pro- / y dwel / and / rketh. / t is the / y place / eth not / mini- / iő of / y things / er more / s holy.

Prieſtes apparel, ornaments of the high aulter, veſtiments, corporaces, chalices, patines, and other churche plate to ſerue in no ſtede. For the difference and reſpect of the verye place: to make no matter, where the prieſt doth conſecrate, or doth miniſter to them which doo require. To be ſufficiēt to vſe onely the ſacramētal words without all other ſuperfluous ceremonies.

The ſuffrages of ſaintes reigning with Chriſt in heauen, to be craued in vayne, being not able to helpe vs. In ſaying or ſinging the houres and mattens of the day, the tyme to be but loſt. A mā ought to ceaſe from his labour no day, but onely vpon Sonday.

The feaſtes and feſtiuals of ſaintes, ought to be reiected. Item ſuch faſtes as be coacted and inioyned by the churche, haue no meritē in them.

These aſſertions of the Waldenſes, beyng thus articled out by Eneas Siluius, I thought to geue them abroad both in Latin and Engliſh: to thentent, yͤ as they are the leſſe to be doubted, beyng ſet out of a Popes pen: ſo we may the better know both them hereby, what they were: and alſo vnderſtand how this doctrine now preached & taught in the churche, is no new doctrine, which here we ſee both taught & perſecuted almoſt.400. yeres ago. And as I haue ſpoken hetherto ſufficiently concernyng their doctrine: So now we will briefly ſomewhat touche, of the order of their lyfe and conuerſation, as we finde it regeſtred in a certaine olde written booke of Inquiſitions.

Ex Inquiſitorio quodam libello.

mori- / et cō- / udine / denſiū.

MOdus autem Valdenſiū talis eſt.&c. The whole proces commeth to this effect in Engliſhe. The maner of the Valdēſes is this: They knelyng vpon their knees, leaning to ſome backe, or ſtay, do continue in their prayers with ſilence, ſo long as a man may ſay.30. or 40. tymes Pater noſter. And this they do euery day wͭ great reuerence, beyng amōgſt thēſelues, & ſuch as be of their own religion, and no ſtraungers with them, both before diner & after: likewiſe before ſupper and after: alſo what tyme they go to bed: and in the mornyng when they riſe: and at certaine other tymes alſo, as well in the day, as yͤ night. Item they vſe no other prayer, but the prayer of yͤ Lord, and that without Aue Maria, and the Crede, which they affyrme not to be put in for any prayer by Chriſt, but only by the church of Rome. Albeit they haue & vſe yͤ ſeuen articles of fayth concerning the diuinitie: and ſeuē articles concernyng the humanitye, and the x. cōmaūdements, and ſeuen workes of mercy, which they haue cōpiled together in a compendious booke, gloryeng much in the ſame, and therby offer them ſelues, ready to aunſwere any man for their fayth.

Before they go to meate, they haue this grace, Benedicite. Kyrieeleyſō. Chriſte eleyſon. Kyrieeleyſō. Pater noſter: which beyng ſayd, then the elder amongeſt them begynneth thus in their owne tongue: God whiche bleſſed the fiue barly loaues and two fiſhes in the deſert, before his diſciples, bleſſe this table & that is ſet vpon it, or ſhalbe ſet vpon it. In the name of the father, of the ſonne and of the holy ghoſt. Amen. And likewiſe agayne when they ryſe frō meate, the ſeniour geueth thankes: ſaying the wordes of the Apocalips: Bleſſing, and worſhyp, and wiſdome, and thankes geuing, honor, vertue, & ſtrength to God alone for euer and euer. Amen. And addeth moreouer: God reward them in their boſoms, and be beneficiall to all them, that be beneficiall to vs, & bleſſe vs. And the God whiche hath geuen vs corporall feedyng, graūt vs his ſpirituall lyfe, & God be with vs, and we alwayes with him. To whiche they aunſwere againe. Amen. And thus ſaying grace, they holde their hāds vpward lokyng vp to heauen. After their meat and grace ſaid, they teach and exhorte amongeſt them ſelues conferryng together vpon their doctrine. &c.

ir ma- / of grace / e / e.

ir grace / meat.

Reinerius an old inquiſitor agaynſt Valdenſes.

In their doctrine and teachyng they were ſo diligent and painefull, that Reinerius a writer about their tyme, (an extreme enemy againſt thē) in a long proces, wherin he deſcribeth their doctrine & teachyng, teſtifieth: that he heard of one whiche did know the partie, that a certaine heretike (ſayth he) onely to turne a certaine perſon away from our fayth, and to bryng hym to hys (in the night, & in the winter tyme) ſwāme ouer the riuer called Ibis, to come to hym and to teach hym: moreouer ſo perfect they were then in the Scriptures, yͤ the ſayd Reinerius ſaith, he did here & ſee a man of the coūtrey vnlettered, whiche could recite ouer the whole booke of Iob word by word, without booke: with diuers other, whiche had the whole new teſtament perfectly by heart.

Pius videtur locus, in laſciuos ſacerdotes.

And although ſome of them, rather merely then vnſkilfully, expoūded the wordes of. 1. Ioan. Sui non receperunt eum, Swine did not receaue him: yet were they not ſo ignoraunt & voyde of learnyng, nor yet ſo fewe in nūber but that they did mightly preuayle. In ſo much that Reinerius hath theſe wordes. Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum ſuorum. Inquiſitioni & examinationi ſæpe interfui. Et cōputatæ ſunt.40. Eccleſiæ, quæ hæreſi infectæ fuerūt: ac in vna parochia Cammach fuerunt decē eorum ſcholæ.&c. That is. There was none durſt ſtoppe them, for the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue often ben at their inquiſition, and examination. And there were numbred xl. churches, infected with their hereſy, in ſo much that in one pariſhe of Cammach. were. x. open ſcholes of them. &c. Hæc ille.

The power & multitude of Valdenſes.

Valdenſes in all other poyntes ſound. but only for holding agaynſt the church of Rome.

And yet the ſayd Reinerius, when he hath ſayd all he can, in depráuing and impugning them: yet is driuen to confeſſe this of them, where he doth diſtinct their ſecte frō other ſectes and hath theſe wordes: Hæc vero leoniſtarum ſecta magnam habet ſpeciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus iuſte viuant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos, qui in ſimbolo continentur, Solā Romanam eccleſiam blaſphemant et oderunt. That is, This ſect of Leoniſtes, hath a great ſhew of holynes: in yͤ both they lyue iuſtly before men & beleue all thinges well of God, and hold all the articles conteyned in the Crede. Onely they blaſpheme the Romiſh churche, and hate it. &c.

Gratio.

Now to touch ſomwhat their perſecutiōs. After they were driuē out of Lyōs, they were ſcatered into diuers & ſondry places (the prouidence of God ſo diſpoſing) that yͤ ſoūd of their doctrine might be hard abroad in yͤ world: Some, as I ſayd, went to Bohemia. Many did flee into other prouinces of Fraunce. Some into Lōbardy, other into other places. &c. But as the croſſe cōmenly foloweth the veritye and ſincere preachyng of Gods worde: ſo neither could theſe be ſuffered to lyue in reſt. They are yet to be ſeene, yͤ cōſultatiōs of Lawyers, archbiſhops, and biſhops of Fraunce, as Harbonenſis, Areletatenſis, Aquenſis, and Albanenſis, diuiſed amongſt them ſelues, and yet remayne in writing, for yͤ aboliſhyng, and extirping of theſe Valdenſes, write aboue. CCC. yeres: wherby it appeareth, there was a great number in Fraunce.

The croſſe cōmōly foloweth the woorde.

Beſides, there was a whole councel kept in Toloſe about. CCCLv. yeares to fore, and all agaynſt theſe Valdenſes: The which alſo were condēned in an other councel at Rome before that.

What great perſecutions were rayſed vp againſt thē in Fraunce, by theſe iiij. Archbiſhops before mentioned; it appeareth by their writings, wherof I will reſite ſom of their words, which towards yͤ end be theſe: Quis enim eſt ſolus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorū Valdēſiū ignoret a longe retro annis factā, tam famoſam, tā publicā, tot et tantis laboribus, expenſis, et ſudoribus fidelium inſecutam, et tot mortibus ipſorum infidelium ſolenniter

Valdenſes perſecuted more then 400. yeres ago by Antichriſt.

leniter damnatorum, publiceq; punitorum tam fortiter ſigillatam. &c. That is: who is ſuch a ſtraunger, yͤ knoweth not the condēnation of Valdēſes the heretikes, done and paſt ſo many yeares ago: ſo famous, ſo publike, folowed vpon with ſo great labours, expēſes, and trauaile of the faithfull, and ſealed with ſo many deathes of theſe infidels, ſo ſolemly beyng condemned and openly puniſhed. Wherby we may ſee perſecutiō to be no new thing in the churche of Chriſt, when Antichriſt ſo long before (300. yeres) began to rage agaynſt theſe Valdenſes. In Bohemia likewiſe after that, the ſame called by yͤ name of Thaborites (as Silui⁹ recordeth) ſuffered no litle trouble. But neuer perſecution was ſtirred vp agaynſt them or any other people more terrible, then was in theſe latter yeares in Fraunce, by the French king. an. MDxlv. which lamentable ſtory is deſcribed in Sledan: and here after in the proces of this booke, as we come to the order of yeares, ſhall be ſet forth (by the grace of Chriſt) more at large. In the whiche perſecution is declared in one towne Cabriera to be ſlaine by the Captayne of Satan (Minerius) eight hūdreth perſōs at once, without reſpect of women or children of any age: Of whom, xl. women (and moſt of thē greate with child, thruſt into a barne & the windowes kept with pykes, and ſo fire ſet to them) were all conſumed. Beſides, in a caue not far from the towne Muſſium, to the number of. xxv. perſons wͭ ſmoke and fire were the ſame time deſtroyed: At Merindolū, the ſame tyrant (ſeyng all the reſt were fled awaye, finding one yong man) cauſed hym to be tyed to an Oliue tree, & to be deſtroyed with tormentes moſt cruelly: with much other perſecutiō as may appeare hereafter, in yͤ hyſtory tranſlated out of Sledan into Engliſhe.

Antechriſt with whom he firſt began hys perſecution.

An horrible murther of Chriſtes holy martyrs.

Minerius an horrible perſecutor.

But to returne agayne to heygher tymes frō whence we digreſſed. Beſides that, Reinerius (aboue mentioned) ſpeaketh of one in the towne Cheron, a glouer, whiche was brought in his tyme to execution, & ſuffered. There is alſo an olde monument of proces, wherin appeareth CCCCxliij. brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places there about: about the yeare of our Lord. MCCCXCI.

A Glouer ſuffered martirdom in Cheron.

443. brought to examinatiō.

An.1391.

And thus much touchyng the originall, doctrine & the lamentable perſecutions of the Valdenſes: who (as is declared) firſt begā about yͤ time of this king Henry yͤ 2.

¶ *Other incidencies happening in the raygne* of thys Henry the ſecond.

Incidencies in the reigne of K. Henry the. 2.

CONcerning the firſt origine of Waldenſes, ſpryngging in the dayes of this kyng, is ſufficiently hether to declared. Now remayneth in lyke order of tyme, to ſtory alſo ſuch other incidencies, as chaunced vnder the raygne of the ſayd kyng, not vnworthy to be obſerued, keeping the order of the tyme, ſo neare as we may, and as autors do geue vnto vs.

Mary the daughter of king Stephā (being yͤ Abbeſſe of Rameſſey) was maryed in thys kynges dayes to Mathew Earle of Bolon, which mariage Thomas Becket dyd worke agaynſt and did diſſolue: by reaſon wherof he procured hym great diſpleaſure wyth the ſaid Earle. &c. an. 1161. ex Chronico Bibliothecæ Carienſis.

Becket a diſſoluer of mariages.

The ſame yeare a certayne chylde was crucified of the Iewes in the towne of Gloceſter, an. 1161. Iornalenſ. After the ſame maner the wycked Iewes had crucified an other chylde before in the citye of Norwyche, in the dayes of king Stephan, an. 1145.

Two children crucified by he Iewes.

A collection was gathered through all England and Fraunce (ij. pence of euery pound) for the ſuccour of the Eaſt Chriſtians agaynſt the Turkes. an. 1167. ex eodē.

Babilon was taken, and deſtroyed, and neuer ſince repayred, by Almaricus kyng of Hieruſalem. an. 1170. Ex vetuſto manuſcripto exemplari hiſtoriæ Carienſis.

Babilon vtterly deſtroyed.

An. 1173. almoſt all England was diſeaſed wyth the cough, ex vetuſto Chron acephalo. About whych yeare alſo Wylliam kyng of Scots was taken in battail, and impriſoned in England.

Great warre happened in Paleſtina: where in, the citye Ieruſalem wyth the croſſe and the kyng of the city, and other of the temple was taken of the Saracenes, & moſt part of the Chriſtians there eyther ſlayne or taken. Cruell murther and ſlaughter there was vſed by the Turke, who cauſed all the chiefe of the Chriſtians to be brought forth and beheaded before hys face. In ſomuch that Pope Vrbanus the third, for ſorow dyed: and Gregory the eight next pope after him, liued not. 2. moneths. Then in the dayes of pope Clement. 3. (newes and ſorow growing dayly for the loſſe of Paleſtina, and deſtructiō of the Chriſtians) kyng Henry of England, and Philyp the French kyng, the Duke of Burgundie, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Campania, with diuers other Chriſtian princes, wyth a generall conſent: vpon Saint Georges daye, tooke the marke of the croſſe vpon thē, promiſing together to take their viage into the holy lād. At which tyme yͤ ſtories ſay, the kyng of England receaued firſt the red croſſe, the French kyng tooke the whyte croſſe, the Earle of Flaunders the greene croſſe, and ſo other princes diuerſlye, diuers coulours: thereby to bee diſcerned euery one by hys proper croſſe. But king Henry (after yͤ three yeares were expired, in which he promiſed to performe hys viage) ſent to the Pope for further delay of hys promiſe, offering for the ſame to erect three Monaſteries. Which thyng he thus performed: In the church of Waltham he thruſt out the ſecular prieſtes, & ſet in Monkes for them. Secondlye, he repayred agayne, and brought in the Nunnes of Ameſbury, which before were excluded for their incontinent lyfe. And thus performed he hys promyſe made before to yͤ Pope. an. 1173.

The kyng of Scots dyd his homage & allegeaunce to the kyng of England and to hys ſonne, as to their chiefe lordes: promiſyng that all the earles & Barons of Scotland ſhould do the lyke wyth their poſteritie. Item, all the biſhops and abbots of the church of Scotland promiſed ſubiection and ſubmiſſion to the archbiſhop of Yorke an. 1175. Nic. Triuet.

The cuſtome was in this realme, that if any had killed any clerke or prieſt: he was not to be puniſhed wyth the temporoll ſword, but onely excommunicate and ſent to Rome for the popes grace and abſolution. Which cuſtome in the dayes of this kyng began firſt to be altered by the procurement of Richard archbiſhop of Caunterbury, an. 1176. Triuet.

London bridge firſt beganne to be made of ſtone by one Peter prieſt of Colechurch. an. 1176. Ex chron cuius initium: In diebus ſanctiſ. regis Edouardi, &c. ex Bibliot. Carienſi.

S. William of Paris was ſlayne of the Iewes on maundy thurſday, wherfore the Iewes were burned, & he counted a ſainct, an. 1177.

Ireland ſubdued to the crowne of England by this kyng, an. 1177. ex varijs chron.

Under the raigne of the ſaid king Henry, about the 25. yere of his reigne, Ludouicus the French kyng (by yͤ viſion of T. Becket, appearyng to hym in hys dreame, & promiſyng to hym the recouery of his ſonne if he would reſort to hym at Canterbury) made his iorney into england to viſite S. Thomas at Cant. with Philip Erle of Flaunders: where he offred a ryche cuppe of Gold, with other precious iewels, and a C. veſſels of wyne yearelye to be geuen to the couent of the church of Cant. notwithſtandyng the ſayd Phillip in his returne from England takyng his iourney to Paris, to viſite S. Denis, in the ſame his pilgrimage was ſtriken wyth ſuch cold, that he fel into a palſey, and was benommed of the right ſide of his body, an. 1178. Iornalenſis & alij.

Stephanus epiſcopus redomonſis, was wont to make many rimes, and gaudiſhe proſe, to delite the eares of multitude, to whom a litle before his death, this verſe was ſoũded in his eare. Deſine ludere temere, nitere propere ſurgere, de puluere. an. 1178 Nich. Triuet.

Albingenſes denied tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, about the citie of Toloſe, alſo that matrimonie was not a Sacramẽt. &c. an. 1178. ibidem.

Kyng Henry ſeparated him ſelfe from his wife Alionor, & held her many yeares in priſon, as ſome thinke for ẏ loue of Roſamũde. Which ſemeth to me to be ẏ cauſe, why God afterward ſtirred all his ſonnes vp to warre agaynſt hym, and to worke hym much ſorow. an. 1179. Nic. Triuet. Notwithſtandyng the ſayd Alionor was after reconciled to hym. an. 1179.

S. Frideſwide was tranſlated vnto Oxford. an. 1179.

An. 1180. There came to the councel of pope Alexander, one Piſanus Burgundio, a man very cunnyng both in Greeke and Latine, whiche brought and preſented to the councel the Omelies of Chriſoſtome vpon the Goſpel of S. Jhon, tranſlated out of Greke into Latin, and ſaid ẏ he had tranſlated like wiſe a great parte of his expoſition vpon Geneſis, ſayinge moreouer that the ſayd Chriſoſtome had made expoſitions in Greeke vpon the whole olde Teſtament, and alſo the new. an. 1180.

The monkes of Charterhouſe, firſt entred into thys land. an. 1180.

An. 1181. Richard Pech biſhop of Couentry, before his death renounced hys biſhoprike, and became a Chanon, in the churche of S. Thomas, by Stafford, Ex Chronico peruetuſto, cui initium: In diebus ſanctiſ. regis, &c.

About the later tyme of this kyng Henry, one Hugo (whõ mẽ were wont to call S. Hugh of Lyncolne) borne in Burgũdy, and prior of the monkes of Charterhouſe was preferred by the king to the biſhoprike of Lincolne, who after his death is ſayd to doe greate miracles, and therfore was counted a Saint. an. 1186. Flores hiſt.

Baldwinus archbiſhop of Cant. began the buildyng of his new houſe and churche of Lamhuthe, but by the letters of pope Clemẽt 3. he was forbyd to procede in the buildyng therof. an. 1187. Triuit.

I do find likewiſe in the foreſaid writen Chronicle remaining in the hands of one William Cary Citizen of Londõ: that this forenamed kyng Hẽry the. 2. gaue to ẏ court and churche of Rome, for the death of Becket xl. thouſand markes of ſiluer. And v. thouſand markes of golde. an. 1187.

Mention was made a litle aboue of Amalrike kyng of Jeruſalem, whiche deſtroyed Babylon, ſo that it was neuer after to this day reſtored, but lyeth waſt and deſolate: wherin was fulfilled that, whiche in the Prophetes in ſo many places was threatened to Babylon before. This Amalrike had a ſõne named Baldwine, & a daughter called Sibilla. Baldwine from the begynnyng of his reigne was a Leoper, & had the falling ſickenes, beyng not able for feablenes of body (although valiant in hart and ſtomacke) to ſatiſfy that function.

Sibilla his ſiſter was firſt maried to one Willermus Marques of Mõut Ferrat, by whõ ſhe had a ſõne called alſo Baldwinus. After him ſhe was maried to an other huſbãd, named Guido de Liziniaco, Earle of Joppe and of Aſcalon. Vpon this it befel, ẏ the foreſayd Baldwyne the Leoper ſonne of Amalricus, beyng thus feable and infirme, as is ſayd: called his nobles together with hys mother and ẏ Patriarche declaring to them his inhabilitye, and by the conſentes of them committed the vnder gouernment of the citie to Guido the huſband of Sibilla his ſiſter. But he beyng foũd vnſufficiẽt or els not lucky in ẏ gouerning therof: the office was tranſlated to an other, named Raimundus earle of Tripolis. In ẏ meane tyme ẏ Soldan with his Saraſins mightely preuayled agaynſt the chriſtiãs and ouerran the countreye of Paleſtina. In whiche meane tyme Baldwyne the kyng departed. Wherby the kyngdome fell next to Baldwynus the ſonne of Sybilla by her firſt huſband Willermus. The whiche Baldwinus beyng but v. yeares old, was put to ẏ cuſtody of Raimundus aforeſayd. Who alſo in hys minoritie, before he came to his crowne, dyed: wherby the next ſucceſſion by deſcent fell to Sibilla, the wife of Guido aboue mentioned. To whom the peires & nobles ioyning together in cõuſaile, offered to ẏ ſaid Sibilla as to ẏ lawfull heyre to ẏ crowne to be their quene: wͭ this condition, that ſhe ſhould ſequeſter frõ her by ſolemne diuorſemẽt the foreſayd Guido her huſband. But ſhe refuſed the kyngdome offered to her on that condition: till at laſt, the magiſtrates with the nobles in generall graunted vnto her, and by there othe confirmed ẏ ſame, that whome ſoeuer ſhe woulde chuſe to bee her huſband, all they would take and obey as their kyng. Alſo Guido her huſband with lyke petitiõ among the reſt, hũbly requeſted her: ẏ the kyngdome not for his ſake, or for his priuate loſſe, might be deſtitute of gouernement. At length ſhe with teares conſentyng to their entreatie was contented, & ſolẽnly was crowned for their quene: who after ẏ maner, again receiued their fidelity by their oth. Wherupõ Guido wõnt al hope both of wife & kingdome, departed home quietly to his owne. This done, ẏ quene aſſẽblyng her ſtates and prelates together entred talke with them aboute the chuſing the kyng, accordyng to that which they had promiſed and ſworne vnto her: & to obey him as their kyng, whom ſhe would name to be her huſband. Thus, while they were al in great expectation wayting euery mã whom ſhe would nominat: The quene with a loud voyce ſaid to Guido that ſtode amongſt them: Guido my Lord, I chuſe thee for my huſbãd, and yeldyng my ſelfe and my kyngdome vnto you, openly I proteſte you to be the kyng. At theſe wordes all the aſſembly beyng amaſed, wondered that one ſymple woman ſo wiſely had begyled ſo many wiſe men. And worthy no doubt was ſhe to be commẽded and extolled for her ſingular vertue both of faithfull chaſtitie, & high prudence: ſo temperyng the matter that both ſhe obteyned to her huſband the kingdome, & retayned to her ſelf agayn her huſbãd, whõ ſhe ſo faythfully loued. an. 1186. Ex hiſtoria manu ſcripta, cui initium Rex pictorum ex bibliotheca Carienſi mutuata.

A worthy exãple of a true wife to her huſband.

A worthy exãple in Guido of a true ſubiecte to the cõmon wealth.

A ſingular exãple of prudence in a princes, and fidelitie in a wife.

As I haue hetherto deſcribed ẏ publique actes of K. Hẽry, ſo now I meane to touch ſomthing of his priuate cõditiõs. He was of meane ſtature, eloquẽt & learned, mãly and bold in chiualrye. Fearefull of the mutabilitye and chaunce of warre, more lamenting ẏ death of his ſouldiours dead, thẽ louing them aliue: none more curteous and liberall for the obtaynyng hys purpoſe: in peace and tranquility none more rougher: ſtubburne agaynſt the ſtubburne: ſometimes mercyfull to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed: ſtrayght to his houſhold ſeruants, but liberal to ſtraũgers: publikly of publike things liberall, ſparing of hys owne: whom once he tooke a diſpleaſure agaynſt, hardly or neuer would he receyue agayne to fauour: ſomewhat lauas of hys toung, a wyllyng breaker of his promyſe, a louer of hys eaſe, but an oppreſſour of his nobility: a ſeuere reuenger & furtherer of iuſtice: variable of word, & crafty in hys talke: an opẽ adulterer: a nouriſher of diſcord amongeſt hys children. Moreouer the Papiſts bearing him (for Thomas Beckets quarel and ſuche like, as may be gathered) no good will: terme him to be an aduerſary of the fayth, the maule and beetle of the church.

Alſo in the Chronicle intituled Scala mundi, I finde of hym: that he followed the ſteppes, maners and condicions of Henry the firſt his graũdfather in euery point. He preſerued firme peace, and executed ſtraight iuſtice through all hys dominiõs. He loued maruelous wel his foreſt: and agaynſt thoſe ẏ were tranſgreſſours either to his crowne or perſon, he moſt ſeuerely puniſhed.

Moreouer, in a certayne hiſtory intituled De regibus

Angliæ, I finde that thys kyng was ſundrye times admoniſhed to reforme and mende hys lyfe. And fyrſt by one that was an olde man at the caſtell of Cardif in Wales, at that tyme of the yeare called Dominica in albis, the eyght day after Eaſter. Where alſo, after yͤ he had heard maſſe, and was going to take his horſe: there ſtoode a certayne man by hym, ſomwhat yelowiſh (hys heare beyng rounded, leane, and il fauoured) hauing on a whyte coate, and being barefoote, looked vppon the king, and ſpake in thys wyſe: God old king. That done, thus he proceedeth. The kyng ſaluteth you and his bleſſed mother, Iohn Baptiſt, and Peter: ſtraygthlye charging you, that vpon the Sundayes throughout all your dominions ther be no bying and ſellyng or other ſeruile buſines (thoſe onely except, which apertayne to the preparation of meate and drinke) whych thing if thou ſhalt obſerue, whatſoeuer thou takeſt in hand, thou ſhalt happely finiſh and bring to paſſe. Then ſpake the kyng in French to the knight that helde hys horſe by the bridle: Aſke of thys chourle whether he dreamed thys or not. And in the meane whyle that the knyght ſhoulde haue interpreted the kynges wordes ⁊ meſſage, he ſpake before and ſaid. Whether this be a dreame or not, marke well what day this is: for vnleſſe that thou do theſe thinges, and amende thy lyfe: ſuch newes ſhalt thou heare with in theſe twelue monethes, that will make thee lament ⁊ mourne, tyll thy dying day. And when theſe wordes wer ſpoken, the man vaniſhed out of hys ſight. And wythin one yeare next after: Henry, Galwfride, and Richard his ſonnes, forſooke hym their father ⁊ tooke part wyth the French king. The king of Scots, the Earle of Cheſter, ⁊ Erle of Leciter, made an inſurrection againſt yͤ kyng. Many other premonicions alſo were geuen to the king, but all theſe did he litle eſteme. The ſecōd whiche did admoniſh him was a certain Iriſh mā, geuig him certain ſecrete ſignes. And thirdly, a certaine knight of Fyndeſey, named Philip de Eaſterby: ſayling with hym ouer into Fraunce, declared vnto the kyng in Normandy ſeuen articles, which he ſhould amend. Which thing if he would do, he ſhould raigne ſeuē yeres moſt honorablie, and ſhould take the holy croſſe from hys enemies: or els he, in the fourth yeare ſhoulde dye in greate ignomie. The three firſt thyngs were thoſe, which he at his coronation ſware to obſerue (that is) to defende the churche, to mayntayne good lawes, and to condemne no man to death without iudgement. The fourth was, for the reſtoring of inheritaunce wrongfullye taken. The fift was in doing iuſtice without reward. The ſixt was, of miniſters and officers wages and ſtipends. The ſeuēth was, of expelling the Iewes, leauing them ſome money to depart wythall. But the king not amending hys life: there roſe vp againſt him thrée ſtrong enemies, that is to ſaye his thrée ſonnes with the French king. But after that the king (forſoth) had gone a pylgrimage to the martirs tombe, barefoote: Willyam the king of Scots, and the Earles of Cheſter and Leceſter, were takē at Alnewyck.

The king admoniſhed to amende hys life.

Sonday to be free frō bying and ſelling.

The ſecond & thyrd admonition to the kyng to reforme hys lyfe.

Seuē things to be amended.

The kings victorie was falſly imputed to the cauſe of hys pilgrimage.

In the 35. yeare of hys raygne, being in the Caſtell of Chinon in Normandy, he dyed: at whoſe death thoſe that were preſent, were ſo gredy of yͤ ſpoyle, yͭ they left yͤ body of the king naked, and not ſo much could be found as a cloth to couer it: tyll that a Page comming in, and ſeyng yͤ king ſo ignominiouſly to lye, threw his cloke vpon his neather partes, wherein (ſaith the autor) was verified the ſurname, whych from his youth he bare, being called Henry court Mantil.

The death of K. Hēry the. 2.

¶ King Rychard.

In this yeare of the Lord aboue recited, which was. 1189. king Richard the eldeſt ſonne of Henry, ſucceding his father, entred hys crowne: at which tyme pope Clement ſate at Rome, ſucceding after Gregory which died a litle before with ſorow for the loſſe of the holy croſſe.

1189.

K. Richard crouned.

During the tyme of whoſe coronation it befell, that notwithſtandyng the kyng the daye before his coronation, and by publique edict commaunded bothe the Iewes and their wyues not to preſume eyther to enter the church or els his palace, durying the ſolemnization of hys coronation amongſt his nobles ⁊ Barons: yet (whileſt the kyng was at dinner) the chieftaine of the Iewes wyth diuers other of hys Iewiſh affinitie and ſuperſtitious ſecte, againſt the kynges prohibition together wyth other preaſe entred the court gates. Wherat a chriſtian man beyng offended, ſtroke one of them wyth hys hand or fyſte, and bad hym ſtand further from the court gate as the kyng had geuen in commaundement: whoſe example others alſo following beyng diſpleaſed againſt the Iewes, offered them ſuch and like contumely. Others alſo diuers, ſuppoſing that the king had ſo commaunded in déede (as vſing the autority of the king) fell vpon all the Iewes that ſtoode by wythout the courte gate. And firſt they bet them but with their fiſtes: but afterwardes they tooke vp ſtones and ſuch other thinges, as they could get, and threw at them, and bet them therwyth. And thus driuing them frō the court gates, ſome of them they wounded, ſome they ſlewe, and ſome they left foredead.

There was amongſt this number of the Iewes, one whych was called the bleſſed Iew of Yorke: which was ſo ſore beaten and wounded with the reſt, that for feare of his lyfe he ſayd he would become a Chriſtian: ⁊ was in déede of William the Prior of the church of S. Mary of Yorke baptized: wherby he eſcaped the great peryl of death he was in, and the perſecutors handes. In yͤ mean while, there was a great rumor ſpred throughout al the City of London, that the kyng had commaunded to deſtroy all the Iewes. Wherupon as well the Citizens as innumerable people more beyng aſſembled to ſée the kynges coronation: armed them ſelues and came together. The Iewes thus being (for the moſt part) ſlain, the reſt fled into their houſes: where for a time through the the ſtrong and ſure building of them, they were defended. But at length, their houſes were ſet on fire, ⁊ they deſtroyed therein.

Theſe thinges being declared to the king, whileſt he with his nobles and Barons were yet at diner: hee ſendeth immediately Ranulph de Glanuile, the Lord hygh Stuard of Englande, with diuers other noble men to accompany him: that they might ſtay and reſtrain theſe theyr ſo bold enterpriſes of yͤ Londoners, but all was in vayne. For in this ſo great a tumult, none there was that regarded either what the nobilitie ſayd, or els anye whit reuerenced their perſonages: but rather wt ſterne lookes and threatning woordes aduiſed them and that quickly to depart. Wherupon, they with good deliberation thinking it the beſt ſo for to do, departed: the tumult and inſurrection continuing tyll the next day. At whych time alſo the king ſending certaine of his officers into the citie, gaue them in commaundement to apprehende and preſent ſome ſuche as were the chiefeſt of the malefactours: of the which, thre were condemned to be hanged, and ſo were. The one, for that he had robbed a chriſtians houſe in this tumult: and the other two, for that they fyred the houſes, to the great daunger of the City. After this, the king ſent for hym, that from a Iew was conuerted to Chriſtianity: and in the preſence of thoſe yͭ ſaw where he was baptiſed, the king aſked him whether he was become a Chriſtian or not. He anſwering the king, ſayd no: but to the entent he might eſcape death, he promiſed to do whatſoeuer the Chriſtians wold haue him. Then the king aſking the archbiſhop of Canterburye (other archbiſhops and biſhops being preſent) what were beſt to be done with him: Unaduiſedly anſwering ſayd: If he wyll not be a man of God, let him be a man of the deuil: and ſo reuolted he agayne to Iudaiſme.

Then, the king ſent his writs to the Shiriffes of euery coun-ry countrey to inquire for the authors and ſtyrrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hāged, diuers were impriſoned. So great was then the hatred of Engliſhmen agaynſt the Iewes, that as ſoone as they began to be repulſed in the Court, the Londiners takyng example therof, fell vpon them, ſet their houſes on fire, and ſpoyled their goodes. The countrey agayne folowyng the example of the Londiners ſemblably did the lyke. And thus the yeare, which the Iewes tooke to be their Iubilie, was to them a yeare of confuſion. In ſomuch as in the Citie of Yorke the Iewes obteinyng the occupying of a certeine Caſtle for their preſeruation, and afterward not willyng to reſtore it to the Chriſtians agayne, when they ſaw no other remedy but by force to be vanquiſhed, firſt they offered much money for their liues: whē that would not be taken, by ẏ counſell of an old Iew among thē, euery one with a ſharpe rayſer cut an others throte, wherby a thouſand and fiue hūdreth of them were at that preſent deſtroyed. Neither was this plague of theirs vndeſerued. For euery yeare cōmonly their cuſtome was to get ſome Chriſten mans child from the parentes, and on good Friday to crucifie him in deſpite of our Religion. Ex Chron. Weſtmon.

Ex Chron. Weſtm. cui initiū Aeneas cum Aſcanio. &c.

A miſerable and deſerued deſtruction of the Iewes.

1189.

Kyng Richard after the death of his father, commyng to remembraunce of him ſelfe, and of his rebellion againſt his father, ſought for abſolution of his treſpaſſe, and in part of ſatiſfactiō for the ſame agreed with Philip the French kyng about Eaſter next inſuyng to take his viage with hym for the recouery of Chriſtes patrimonie, which they called the holy land. Wherupō the ſayd kyng Richard immediatly after his coronatiō, to prepare him ſelfe the better toward his iourney, ſet to ſale diuers of his maners. Wherof Godfrey Lucy then Biſhop of Wint. bought a couple for two thouſād markes, to wytte, Wergraue, and Melenge. The Abbat of Bury bought an other for a thouſand Markes, called Middelſale: Hugh Puſaz Byſhop of Durham bought the Lordſhip of Seggeſfield, or Sadberga with the Wapintake, and all the appartenaunce therto belōgyng. He bought alſo the Earledome of Northumberland. Whom when the king ſhould ſolemniſe after the maner of ſecular Earles, merely with a mockiug ieſte, loe (ſayd he) of an old Byſhop I haue made a young Earle. And becauſe the ſayd Byſhop had profeſſed a ſolemne vow before to viſite the holy land, to be releaſed of his vow, he compounded with the Pope for a great ſumme of money therfore, and moreouer gaue to the kyng a thouſand Markes to remaine at home as chief Iuſtice of Englād. Ouer & beſides, the king ſet out all that he had to ſale, woddes, caſtels, townſhyps, Lordſhyps, Earledomes, Baronages, &c. ordeinyng alſo diuers new Biſhops, and not without ſome aduauntage (as appeared) to his purſe, faynyng moreouer his old ſeale to be loſt, that they which had lādes to hold might be driuen to renew their writyngs agayne by the new ſeale, wherby great ſubſtaunce of money was gayned.

The couetous gredynes of Byſhops [illegible] in byyng great Lordſhips.

Sleightes to get money.

Aboue all this, by the cōmaundement of Pope Clement 3. a tenth alſo was exacted of the whole Realme, in ſuch ſort as the Chriſtians ſhould make to the kyng lx. thouſād pound, the Iewes lx. thouſand. Ex Geruaſ. fol. 134. Kyng Richard after his coronation ſent certeine Earles and Barons to Philip the French kyng in the tyme of his Parlamēt at S. Denis, deſiryng him to remember his promiſe made for the recouery of Chriſtes holy patrimonie out of the Saracens handes. Unto whom hee ſent word agayne in the moneth of December, certifying hym how hee had bound him ſelfe by ſolemne oth, depoſing vpon the Euangeliſtes, that he the yeare next folowyng about the tyme of Eaſter, had certeinly prefixed to addreſſe him ſelfe toward that iourney, requiryng him likewiſe not to fayle but to be ready at ẏ terme aboue limited, appointyng alſo the place where both the kinges ſhould meete together.

A tenth gathered through all England.

Kyng Philip & kyng Richard concluding to trauayle to the holy land.

1190.

The next yeare then enſued, which was 1190. in the begynnyng of which yeare, vpon twelfe euen fell a foule northren brawle, which turned welnere to a fray, betwene the Archbiſhop new elected of ẏ Church of Yorke and his company on the one ſide, and Henry Deane of the ſayd Church, with his Catholicke partakers on the other ſide, vpon occaſiō as foloweth. Gaufridus or Geffray, ſonne to kyng Hēry 2. and brother to kyng Richard, whom the kyng had elected a litle before to the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke, vpon the Euen of the Epiphanie, which we call twelf day, was diſpoſed to heare Euenſong with all ſolēnitie in the Cathedrall Church, hauyng with him Hamon the Chaunter, with diuers other Canons of the Church. Who tarying ſomething long belike in adournyng and attyring hym ſelfe, in the meane while Henry the Deane, and Bucardus the Treaſurer diſdaynyng to tary his cōmyng, with a bold courage luſtely began their holy Euēſong, with ſingyng their Pſalmes, rufflyng of deſcant, and mery pyping of Organes. Thus this Catholicke Euēſong with as much deuotion begon, as to Gods high ſeruice procedyng, was now almoſt halfe cōplete, whē as at length (they beyng in the middeſt of their myrth) commeth in the new Elect, with his trayne and gardenyance, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durſt be ſo bold, not waityng for him, to begyn Gods ſeruice, and ſo eftſoones commaunded the quiere to ſtay and hold their peace. The Chaunter likewiſe, by vertue of his office, commaūded the ſame. But the Deane and Treaſurer on ẏ other ſide willed them to procede, & ſo they ſong on, and would not ſtynt. Thus the one halfe crying agaynſt ẏ other, the whole quiere was in a roare, their ſingyng was turned to ſcoldyng, their chauntyng to chidyng, and if in ſtead of the Organes they had had a drūme I doubt, but they would haue ſolfed by the eares together.

A Northren brawle in the Cathedrall Church of Yorke, betwen the new Archbyſhop and the Deane.

Henry Deane of Yorke and Bucarde begyn ſeruice not taryng for their Archb.

The Deane and treaſurer would not ceaſe euenſong at the Archbyſhops commaundement.

At laſt, through the authoritie of the Archb. and of the Chaunter, the Quiere began to ſurceaſe & giue ſilence. Then the new elect not contented with that had bene ſong before, with certeine of the Quiere began the Euenſong new agayne. The Treaſurer vpon the ſame cauſed, by vertue of his office, the candles to be put out. Wherby the Euenſong hauing no power further to procede, was ſtopped forthwith. For, like as without the light and beames of the ſonne there is nothyng but darkenes in all the world: euen ſo ye muſt vnderſtand, the Popes Church can ſee to do nothyng without candle light, albeit the ſunne do ſhyne neuer ſo cleare and bright. This being ſo, the Archb. thus diſapointed on euery ſide of his purpoſe, made a greuous plaint, declaryng to the Clergy and to the people, what the Deane and Treaſurer had done, and ſo vpon the ſame ſuſpended both them and the Church from all diuine ſeruice, till they ſhould make to him due ſatiſfaction for their treſpas.

The Archbyſhop beginneth euenſong agayne beyng halfe done before.

The treaſurer putteth out the candels at euēſong.

The Popes Church can do nothyng without cādle light.

The Deane & Church of Yorke ſuſpēded by the Archb. from diuine ſeruice.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphanie, whē all the people of ẏ Citie were aſſēbled in ẏ Cathedrall Church (as their maner was, namely in ſuch feaſtes) deuoutly to heare diuine ſeruice (as they call it) of the church, there was alſo preſent the Archb. & the Chaunter, with ẏ reſidue of ẏ Clergy, lookyng when ẏ Deane and Treaſurer would come and ſubmit them ſelues, makyng ſatiſfaction for their crime. But they ſtill continuyng in their ſtoutnes, refuſed ſo to do, reclaimyng and vtteryng contemptuous wordes agaynſt the Archbyſhop and his partakers. Which when the people heard, they in a great rage would haue fallen vppon them, but ẏ Archb. would not ſuffer that. The Deane then and his felowes perceauyng the ſtyrre of the people, for feare, like prety men were fayne to flye, ſome to the tumbe of S. William of Yorke, ſome ranne to the Deanes houſe, and there ſhrowded them ſelues: whō the Archbyſhop then accurſed. And ſo for that day the people returned home without any ſeruice. Ex veteri Chronico manu ſcripto, cui initium: Anno gratiæ. Milleſ. &c.

The ſtoutnes of the Deane & treaſurer in not ſubmitting them ſelues to the Archb.

The people incenſed agaynſt the Deane of Yorke and hys Canons.

Ex Chronico anonimo cui initium: Anno gratiæ.

Richard prepareth toward his iourney.

William Byſhop of Ely the kynges Chauncelor, & Hugh Byſhop of Durham made chief ouerſeers of the Realme in the kyngs abſence.

William Byſhop of Ely made the Popes Legate in England & Scotland.

After this, king Richard preparyng to ſet all things in an order before his goyng, committed the whole gouernement of the Realme principally to William Byſhop of Eley his Chauncelour, and to Hughe Byſhop of Durham, whom he ordeined to be chief Juſtices of all England in his abſence, the one to haue cuſtodie of the Tower, with the ouerſight of all other partes of the lãd on this ſide of Humber: the other (which was yͤ Byſhop of Durham) to haue charge vpon all other his dominiõs beyond Humber: Sẽdyng moreouer to pope Clement in the behalfe of the foreſayd Williã Byſhop of Eley, to be made yͤ Popes Legate through all Englãd & Scotlãd, which alſo was obteined. Thus the Byſhop beyng aduaunced in high authoritie, to furniſhe the kyng toward his ſettyng forth, prouideth out of euery Citie in England ij. palfreys and ij. ſumpters, and out of euery Abbay, one palfrey, and one ſumpter.

Captaynes & Conſtables of the kinges nauy appoynted.

The long contention betwen Baldewyne Archbyſhop of Canterbury & the Monkes of Chriſtes Church.

These thynges and other thus ſet in a ſtay, the kyng accordyng to his former appoyntment, about the time of Eaſter, ſayled to Fraunce, where the French kyng and he conferryng together, becauſe they could not make ready at that tyme of Eaſter, concluded to take a lõger day, prorogyng their viage till after midſommer. In which meane tyme the kyng occupying him ſelfe in redreſſing and ſtabliſhyng ſuch things as further were to be ordered, there determined that Gaufridus and Iohn his brethren ſhould not enter into England in 3. yeares after his departure: Neuertheleſſe he releaſed that band afterward to his brother Iohn. Then he appointed the Captaines and Conſtables ouer his nauye, and ſet lawes to be obſerued in his iourney vpon the Seas. But eſpecially his care was to make vnitie and concorde betwene parties that were at variance, and to ſet them together at one. At which tyme the long contention began alſo to be appeaſed which ſo many yeares had continued betwene Baldwinus Archbiſhop of Cant. and his Monkes of Chriſtes Church. The diſcourſe whereof although it would be ſomewhat tedious to be ſet forth at large beyng enough to make a whole tragedie, yet to the intent the age now preſent may ſee what great conflictes and diſquyetnes, vpon what litle trifles haue bene ſtyrred vp, what litle peace and vnitie hath bene not onely in this Church, but commonly in all other Churches, vnder the Popes Catholicke regiment: I thought it labour not ill beſtowed, ſomewhat to intermedle in openyng to the eyes of the reader the conſideration of this matter. Wherin firſt is to be vnderſtand that the Archbiſhops of Cant. commonly beyng ſet vp by the Pope, eſpecially ſince, time of the Cõqueſt, haue put the kynges of this land to much ſorrow and trouble: as appeared by William Ruffus and Lancfranc, and alſo Anſelme. By Henry 1. and Anſelme, kyng Stephen, and Theobalde. Henry 2. and Becket &c. For which the kynges of this land haue vſed the more care and circũſpection, to haue ſuch Archbyſhops placed in that Sea, as either ſhould ſtand with them, or at leaſt ſhould not be agaynſt them.

Archbiſhops of Canterbury commõly were wont to worke the kynges of Englãd much ſorrow.

Kynges of Englãd euer carefull about the chuſing of the Archbyſhop, & wherfore.

Ex Chron. Geruaſij.

* Or xv. as ſome recken.

Now to yͤ purpoſe of our matter intended. Firſt after Lanfrãcus who was Archb. xx. yeares, the Sea ſtãdyng vacãt v. yeares, ſucceded Anſelmus, and ſat xvij. yeares. After whõ the Sea ſtãdyng vacant iiij. yeares, ſucceded Radulphus, & continued ix. yeares. Then folowed Williã, who ſat*xij. yeares, & dyed an. 1137. After whõ came Theobaldus in yͤ tyme of kyng Stephẽ. This Theobaldus being no great fauourer of yͤ Monkiſh generatiõ, fell out wͭ Ieremias Prior of the houſe of Cant. for certeine cauſes betwene thẽ: for the which the Archb. takyng ſtomacke agaynſt the Prior would lay the ſentence of interdiction agaynſt him. The Priour ſeyng that, to ſaue him ſelfe, made his appeale to Pope Innocent. The Archbyſhop prouoked the more by that, depoſed him from the Priorſhyp, and placed one Walter in his rowme, Ieremias notwithſtanding makyng his complaint and appeale to Rome, obteined letters from the Pope to Henry Byſhop of Wincheſter beyng the Popes Legate: by vertue wherof, he agaynſt the hart of the Archbyſhop was reſtored, and Walter diſplaced. Neuertheleſſe the ſayd Ieremie, not willing there to continue with diſpleaſure of the Archbyſhop, ſhortly after of his owne accord renounced his Prioritie, & Walter agayne was receaued in hys ſtede. Not long after this folowed the generall Councell of Remes. an. 1140. To the which Councell Theobalde contrary to the commaundement of the kyng, would nedes reſort, to ſhew his obedience to the Pope, wherfore at his returnyng home agayne the king toke ſuch diſpleaſure with him, that within a while after yͤ Archbyſhop was driuen to voyde the Realme, and flye into Fraunce: where he by cenſure of interdiction ſuſpended diuers Churches and religious houſes which refuſed to come to the Councell, and alſo hearyng how the kyng had ſeiſed vpon all his goodes, he interdicted likewiſe all the kynges landes, what ſoeuer belonged to the crowne, ſo that the kyng in concluſiõ was fayne to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the yeare, 1148. Ex Geruaſio.

Ieremie the Prior of Cant. appealeth to pope Innocẽt.

Ieremie the Prior depoſed by the Archb.

Ieremi reſtored his place gayne by Pope.

Concilium Remenſe. an. 1140.

A ſtri long betwe Theobal Archb. an Siluester Abbat of S. Auſtes, about the place in which Church Abbot ſhould ta his conſecratio.

Siluester goeth by Rome.

After this in the yeare of our Lord. 1151. after the death of Hugh Abbat of S. Auſtens in Cant. Silueſter was elected by the Couent to be their Abbat, in the reigne of kyng Stephen. Which Silueſter when he came to Theobalde the Archb. to make his profeſſion of ſubiection vnto him, and to receaue of him conſecration: the Archb. was contẽted, ſo that the Abbat would come to Chriſtes Church in Cant. and there make hys profeſſiõ. But to this Silueſter in no caſe would graũt, to take his conſecration there, but els in any other Church where ſoeuer the Archb. would, he was contented. Wherunto when the Archb. in no wiſe would agree, Silueſter makyng a great bagge of money, went to Rome, where he obteined of the Pope, for money (for what cã not money do at Rome?) letters that the Archb. ſhould conſecrate the Abbat, in his own Church of S. Auſten, and alſo not exact of him any profeſſion of canonicall ſubiection. Wherupon the Archb. was cõpelled againſt his wil, to come to the Abbates Church, and there at the popes commaundement to conſecrate him ſimply, and without any further profeſſion to be required.

The Monks Chriſtes Church ſtriue agaynſt th monkes S. Auſt in Cãt the hono of their houſe.

Walter Prior of Chriſtes Church appealeth Archb. to Rome.

Siluester trudgeth agayne to Rome.

Siluester conſecr Abbot in hys own Church whether Archb. would not.

Then Walter Prior of Chriſtes Church in Cant. ſeyng that, and perceauyng how preiudiciall and derogatorie the example therof would be to the honour and maieſtie of their Church, through counſell of his brethren, went thether, and notwithſtandyng the dores were ſtraitly watched and kept, yet by meanes he at laſt gat in. And as he ſaw the Archb. attyred in his pontificalibus ready to miniſter conſecration to the Abbat, he ſtepped ſtraight to the Archb. and eftſoones appealeth him vp to Rome, for the great iniurie wrought agaynſt the Church of Cant. forbiddyng him in yͤ name of him to whom he appealed, not to procede any further. And ſo this holy cõſecration was for that preſent tyme ſtayd. For the which Silueſter with a new purſe of money was fayne to trauaile and trot agayne to Rome. Where he complainyng of the Archb. and accuſing him of contempt to the Pope in not executyng the commaundement ſent downe, obteineth agayne new letters with more effectuall charge to the foreſayd Archbyſhop that he without any profeſſion, ſimply ſhould giue to Silueſter his conſecration in his own Church: omni occaſione & appellatione remota, all maner of ſtay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithſtãdyng, and ſo in concluſion the Abbat contrary to what ſoeuer the Archbyſhop and all the Monkes of Cant. could do, was in his owne Church made Abbat, and had the victorie for that tyme. Notwithſtandyng the Archb. left not the matter ſo, but within fiue yeares after obteined of Pope Adrian, that Silueſter ſhould make profeſſion of his obedience to the Archb. and ſo did. Ex Geruaſ.

In few yeares after this dyed kyng Stephen. an. 1154.

1154. and after him Theobalde the Archb. an. 1139. after he had ſit xxiij. yeares. After whom through the inſtāt procurement of kyng Henry 2. was placed Tho. Becket, the kynges Chauncelour. an. 1162. of whoſe ſturdy rebellion agaynſt the kyng, becauſe ſufficient hath bene ſayd before, it ſhall not nede to make a double labour now about the ſame.

etition of ng Hēry the Prio of Cant. chuſing the Arch ſhop and e could t be grāt d.

do Prio of Cant.

After the death of Becket, much ado there was betwene kyng Henry and Odo Prior of Cant. about the electiō of a new Archb. For the kyng ſeyng the realme ſo oftentymes encombred by thoſe Popiſhe Archbyſhops, and fearyng leſt the Monkes of Cant. ſhould elect ſuch an other as would folow the ſteppes of Tho. Becket, moſt humbly with cappe in hand and curteſie of knee deſired Odo the Prior that at his requeſt, and for cōtētation of his minde ſuch one might be elected, whom he would appoint (appointyng and namyng a certeine Biſhop which was a good ſimple mā after the kynges likyng): but the Prior diſſemblingly aunſweryng the kyng agayne, that he neither could nor would without the conſent of his Couent giue promiſe to any man, in fine contrary to ẏ kynges ſo humble requeſt, agreed to the election of an other, which was the Prior of Douer, called Richard. an. 1173. who continued in that ſeate xj. yeares.

ichard rior of ouer elec Archb. Cant. . 1173.

n other uious ntention twene ich. Arch ſhop and oger Ab- t of the uſten ōkes in nt. about ofeſſiō of dience.

And here was renewed agayne the lyke variaunce betwene this Archb. and Roger Abbat of the Auſten Monkes in Cant. as was before mentioned betwene Theobaldus, and Silueſter. For when the ſayd Roger after his election to be Abbat, muſt nedes take his conſecration at the Archbyſhops hand, neither would the Archb. graunt it vnto him, vnles he made profeſſion of obedience accordyng to auncient cuſtome of his predeceſſours: then Roger conſultyng with his Monkes, firſt denyed ſo to do, but at length was contented, ſo it might not be done in the Archbyſhops Church, but in any other Church where he would, vnder writing this clauſe withall: Saluis vtriuſq; Eccleſiæ priuilegijs, that is, ſauyng the priuileges of both Churches. To this the Archb. ſayd agayne, firſt that he ſhould make his due and canonicall profeſſion, & that he ſhould not come to him with writyng or vnderwriting, but ſhould ſay in his hart: Salue ſancta parēs: or Salue feſta dies: or Saluis priuilegijs, or any ſuch like thyng. Wherunto when the Auſten Monkes in no caſe would cōſent, nor the Archb. otherwiſe would graunt his benedictiō: Roger the Abbat was faine to poſt to Rome, and there to bryng the Archb. in hatred in the Court of Rome, made his Abbay tributary to Pope Alexander.

oger Ab- t of S. uſtēs ma eth hys ouſe tri- tary to ope Alex- der. an. 1177.

The Pope well cōtēted with this, not onely graūteth the Abbat his deſire, but alſo in contumelie of the Archb. dubbeth the Abbat with all ſuch ornaments as to a Prelate apperteined, and ſo in the yeare. 1178, ſent home the Abbat triumphantly with his ryng and mitre, and other enſignes of victorie, with letters alſo to the Archb. inioynyng him immediatly vpon the ſight therof to conſecrate the Abbat in his own Church, and without makyng any profeſſion. Although with theſe letters the Archb. was ſhrewedly preſſed, yet notwithſtandyng his ſtout hart would not ſtoupe for this, but layd his appeale agaynſt the ſame: and ſo the conſecration for that tyme was ſuſpended.

oger the bbat re- urneth ome with riumph.

Appellatiō f the Arch yſhop.

Concilium Lateranū ſub Alexandro Papa.

Then Roger for his more defenſe, gettyng ẏ kyngs letters, trauailed vp the ſecond tyme to Rome, where greuouſly he complained to Pope Alexander of the Archb. At the ſame tyme a generall Councell was ſummoned to be kept at Laterane, where Richard the foreſayd Archb. was alſo loked for amōgeſt other Biſhops to be preſent. Who thē came as farre as Paris, but beyng there, durſt approche no further, & ſo retired home agayne. Wherupon the Pope beyng offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the Abbat with his owne conſecration, and inueſted him with all pompe and glory: howbeit prouidyng before that the ſayd conſecration ſhould redound to no preiudice agaynſt the liberties of the mother Church of Canterbury, and ſo vpon the ſame wrote to the Archb. his letters of certificate, with this additiō annexed, Saluo iurè & dignitate Cant. Eccleſiæ, that is to ſay, Sauing the liberties and dignitie of the Church of Cant. &c.

oger Ab- at of S. uſtens trauaileth p agayne o Rome.

Roger Abbat conſecrated at Rome by the Pope.

After the Councell ended, Roger the Abbat returneth home, although wͭ an empty purſe, yet ful of victorie & triumphe. The Archb. agayne thinkyng to worke ſome greuaunce to the Auſten Monkes, had procured in this meane tyme letters from Pope Alexander to the Byſhop of Durham, and Abbat of S. Albans, that they ſhould cauſe the ſayd Roger Abbat of the Auſten Monkes, to ſhew vnto the Archbiſhop all the old priuileges of his houſe, which in dede beyng ſhewed ſemed to be raſed, and new written, with Bulles of leade not after the maner nor ſtyle of that age, nor pretendyng no ſuch antiquitie as ſhould ſeme to reach from the tyme of Auſten, but rather newly counterfeite.

The houſe of the Auſten Monkes in Cant. not able to ſhew for thē any dedes or writynges of antiquitie.

Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

All this notwithſtandyng, the Abbat bearyng hym bold vpon the Popes fauour, ceaſed not ſtil to diſquyet and ouer crow the Archbyſhop by all wayes he could, in exemptyng all his Prieſtes and laymen belongyng to his iuriſdiction, from the Archbyſhops obediēce: forbyddyng alſo that none of his ſhould come to his chapters or ſinodes, nor to feare any ſentence of his curſe or excommunication. Wherupō the Archbyſhop about the moneth of Nouember the ſame yeare ſayling ouer to Normandie where the kyng was, thought to take his iourney to the Pope, to complayne of the Abbat: but beyng ſtayd by the kyng was not ſuffered to paſſe any farther, ẏ kyng labouryng what he could, to bring them to agreement, neuertheles the Pope and his Romanes (ſayth my ſtory) aurum & argentū magis quā iuſticiam ſitientes, ſeditiones inter eos & litigia cōmouebant, that is, caryng more for gold and ſiluer, thē for iuſtice, ſtill ſtyrred coales of ſedition and debate betwene them. Ex hiſtoria Geruaſij.

Rich. the Archbyſhop goyng toward Rome to complayne of the Abbat, was ſtayd by the kyng.

A Catholicke practiſe of the Romiſh Court to ſet men together at variāce, that they might get their money.

The next yeare after this enſuyng, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1184. dyed Richard the Archbyſhop aforeſayd: in the. 38. yeare of kyng Henry 2. After whoſe deceaſe much trouble happened about the election of a new Archb. betwen the kyng and Monkes of Cant. And now to enter here into the ſtory of Baldewyne aboue mentioned, firſt the kyng ſent to the Monkes, that they ſhould conſider with them ſelues about the election of their Archb. and to be ready againſt the tyme that he would ſend for them to ẏ Court. Vpon this the Couēt gladly aſſemblyng together, agreed in them ſelues vpon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer, yet namyng iiij. moe, that if the kyng would refuſe one, the other yet might ſtand. Now the practiſe of the Monkes was, firſt to kepe the electiō onely in their owne handes, as much as they could. And ſecondly, euer to giue the election either to ſome Prior or Monke of their own houſe, or to ſome Abbat or Biſhop, which ſome tyme had bene of their company. Whereby as much inconuenience and blynd ſuperſtition was bred in the Church of England: ſo the ſame diſlyked both the kyng and the Byſhops not a litle.

Trouble in chuſing the Archb. of Cāt. after the death of Richard.

Monkes of Cant. ſent for by kyng Hēry 2. about chuſing of theyr Archbyſhop.

Monkes of Cant. partiall in chuſing their Archb.

As this paſt on, the kyng when he ſaw hys tyme, willed the Monkes of Cant. to be cited or ſent for, to vnderſtand what they had concluded in their election. Wherupon the Monkes ſent vp their Prior called Alanus, with certaine other Monkes to Redyng, where the kyng then lay, about the moneth of Auguſt. Who at firſt were courtuouſly enterteined: but after ẏ kyng had intelligēce whom they had nominated and elected: they were ſent home agayne with cold chere, the kyng willyng thē to pray better, and to aduiſe more earneſtly vpon the matter amongeſt them ſelues. Alanus the Prior, with his felowes thus departed, who commyng home, in concluſion ſo concluded amōgeſt them ſelues, that they would remitte no iote of their liberties to the kyng, without the Popes conſent and knowledge. The kyng vnderſtandyng hereof, ſent his Ambaſſadours likewiſe to the Pope, for the fortefying of his cauſe,

Monkes of Cant. agayne ſent for to the kyng about their election.

Alanus Prior of Cant.

The kyng offēded with the Prior and Monkes of Cant.

The ſtubburnes of the Monkes agaynſt the kyng.

beyng in the meane tyme greuouſly offended with the Prior, ſaying: that he was proude and would make Archbyſhop whom he lyſted, and would be the ſecond Pope in England. &c.

The kyng ſendeth to Rome agaynſt the Monkes.

The kynges gentle wordes to the Mõkes.

Not long after this, as theſe letters were ſent vp to Rome, the kyng ſent for Alanus the Prior, and moe of the Monkes, to come to him. Whõ he entreateth, deſiryng them in gentle ſpeach, that they would ſhew ſo much gentlenes and fauour to him beyng their Lord and kyng, as becommeth his frendes and ſubiectes to do, as to conferre with yͤ Biſhops of the Realme about this matter, and to take ſome better counſell, ſo as might redoũde to Gods glory, his honour, and wealth of the publicke ſtate, with other lyke wordes to the ſame effect.

Byſhops of Englãd claime to haue intereſt in the Election of the Archb. of Canterbury.

The Popes letters cõmaũdyng the Byſhops of the Realme with the Prior and Couẽt to chuſe the Archb.

To whom when the Prior agayne had aunſwered with thankes and due reuerence, accordyng to the kynges requeſt, the Byſhops and Monkes went to conferre together about the matter. And firſt, the Byſhops marueled why the Monkes ſhould exclude them out of the election, ſeyng they were profeſſed and Suffraganes to the ſayd Church of Cant: Neither is there any Prince, quoth the Biſhop of Bathe, that wil refuſe our counſaile. There be ſome counſailes, ſayd the Monkes, whereat you may be called: but as touchyng the doyng of this election, it perteineth nothyng vnto you further then to publiſh onely and denounce yͤ partie whom we haue choſen. The Byſhop of Lõdon then aſked, if they had already made any electiõ. No election, ſaid yͤ Prior, as yet, but onely we haue denominate yͤ perſons. Then haue ye proceded further, quoth he, then ye ought, hauing a commaundement from the Pope not to procede without vs. And with that was brought forth the Popes letter, commaundyng that within xl. dayes the Byſhops of England, and the Prior, & Couent of Cant. ſhould elect an able and fitte perſon to be their Archbyſhop. About the ſcãnyng of theſe letters was much a do. The Byſhops ſayd, they were firſt named, and therfore ought to haue moſt intereſt in this election. The Monkes ſayd agayne, that they alſo were not excluded, and required to haue a tranſcript of the letter, wherof much doubt was made.

The kyng ſeparateth the Byſhops from the Monkes.

The Monkes will loſe no preeminence of their Church.

After long concertation, when they could not agrée, the kyng commyng betwene them both, called away the Byſhops from the Monkes, ſuppoſing by ſeparatyng the one from the other, to draw both parties to his ſentence. But that would not be, for the Monkes ſtifly ſtandyng to their liberties, would loſe no preeminence of their Church, ſtill alledgyng how by the auncient priuilegies of the Church of Cant. the Couent ſhould chuſe their Paſtor and Byſhop, and the Prior to publiſhe and denounce the perſon. The Byſhops agayne replyed, that it was their right to appoint their Archb. and metropolitane, which were Byſhops and Suffraganes, and namely the Byſhop of London alſo beyng Deane of the ſayd Church of Cant. The kyng then as vmpere betwene them, yet fauouryng rather the ſide of the Byſhops, deſired them to agrée together in peace. When that would not preuaile, he ſet yͤ Lord Stuard, and other noble men to entreat the Prior, to draw to ſome agréement: at leaſt to be contented with this forme of election, which was that the Byſhop of London or ſome other Byſhop ſhould declare the election in theſe wordes.

The forme of election of the Archb. ſet betwene the Byſhops and the Monkes of Canterbury.

We Byſhops, and the Prior and Conent of Chriſtes Church in Cant. with the aſſent of our Lord our kyng, do chuſe ſuch a perſon to be Archbyſhop. &c. or els thus, that yͤ Prior ſhould pronounce forth the election in theſe wordes, ſaying: The Byſhops of England and I Prior and the Couent of Canterbury, with the aſſent of our Lord and kyng do chuſe ſuch a perſon. &c.

The Byſhops and Monkes could not agree about yͤ forme of election.

Upon this yͤ Prior ſayd, he would conuent with his Couent. Who with much ado were content to graunt to the kynges deſire, but afterward beyng required to put downe the ſame in writyng, that they refuſed to do: yet notwithſtandyng relented at laſt to the kyng. But when the Byſhops made excuſes for the abſence of their felow Byſhops, ſo the matter for that tyme ſtayd. And the kyng ſendyng home the Monkes agayne to their houſe in peace, differred that buſines to a further day, which was till the firſt of Decemb. commaũdyng the Prior with his felowes the ſame day not to fayle but to bee at London about the chuſing of the Archbyſhop.

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As the day prefixed came, the Prior with his company were alſo preſent, who giuyng attendance all that day and the next day alſo folowyng, ſo were driuen of till the third day after. At length the Lord Stuard with other nobles of the realme, were ſent to them from the kyng, to declare, that where as the kyng before had diuided the Byſhops from the Monkes, that they both might haue their election by them ſelues after yͤ forme of a Bill which was put downe in writyng: now the minde of the kyng was, that the Monkes takyng an other way, ſhould ioyne with the Byſhops, and ſo hauing the matter in talke together, ſhould procede ioyntly in the election.

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Agaynſt this, many thinges were alledged by the Prior and his mates, complaynyng much vpon the Byſhops, which ſayd that the Byſhops had euer holden with the kyngs againſt yͤ liberties of their Church and Archbyſhops. As firſt they ſtode agaynſt Anſelme, for kyng William: Thẽ agaynſt Theobalde for kyng Steuen: After that agaynſt Tho. Becket for kyng Henry: And after hym dyd ſupplant the election of Rich. their Archb: And now agayne went about to practiſe and worke agaynſt this their election preſent &c. At laſt the Prior with his felowes concludyng, deſired they might ſpeake with the kyng him ſelfe. Who eftſoones commyng to them, willed them as good men to be contented, and to go talke with the Byſhops about the election, promiſing that whom they agréed vppon, he alſo would graunt his aſſent to the ſame. To whom when the Prior agayne had obiected the writynges that before were made: truth it is ſayd yͤ king, ſuch writinges were made, but I neither may, nor will go agaynſt the counſaile of my Realme: and therfore agrée, ſayd he, with my Biſhops and Abbats, and remember, that the voyce of the people is the voyce of God.

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Upon this the Prior with his Monkes ſeyng no other remedy, went to yͤ Byſhops, to cõferre accordyng to yͤ kynges requeſt about the electiõ. Who then were willed by yͤ Byſhops to nominate whom they would, and the Biſhops would likewiſe name theirs. So that whẽ the Prior with his cõplices had named thrée after their chuſing, the Byſhops ſayd they would nominate but one, & ſo did, which was the Biſhop of Worceſter: willyng the Prior to go home, and to conferre with his Couent about the ſame. To whõ ſhortly after the Byſhops ſent certeine Prieſtes to ſignifie to the Couent, that they, accordyng to yͤ Popes letters, ſhould repayre to the Byſhops concernyng the election of the Archbyſhop, alſo to declare moreouer to them, that the perſons whom they had named were good men, but he whom they had nominated was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and alſo would elect. The Monkes marueling hereat, ſent two Monkes, with the Archdeacon of Cant. to the kyng.

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This done, immediatly after the returne of the Prieſtes, the Byſhops cauſed all the Bels of the Citie to be ronge, and Te Deum to be ſong for the Archb. new elect. Wherof when the ij. Monkes brought tydynges to the Couent at Cant. what was done at London, they were all in a maruelous dumpe. The kyng hearing this and perceauyng the ſtifnes of the Mõkes, in all haſt ſent meſſẽgers to Cant. with gentle wordes to will the Prior to come to the kyng, and certifie hym of the purpoſe of his Monkes. Unto whom the Prior eftſoones being come, declareth in yͤ name of the whole Couent, that in no caſe he nor the Monkes would neuer

Conditiõs preſcribed to the kyng by the monkes of Cant. for ẏ ratification of ẏ archb. made by ẏ Biſhops.

ner while the world ſtode, agrée to that election of the Byſhops, vnles the kyng in his owne perſon would come to Cant. and there openly before the whole Couent, proteſt by his owne mouth the foreſayd election to be nought and voyde: and ſo returnyng to London agayne openly likewiſe before the Clergy and the people would repudiate and reiect the ſame: And furthermore that the partie alſo elected ſhould openly in the ſame place proteſt, and ſay, that he neither would nor ought to take that function vpon him, vnles he entred by the conſent of the Prior and Couent of Cant: And all this to be done in the ſame place where the Biſhops had made their election before, and ſo peraduenture (ſayd they) at the kynges ſo earneſt ſute & requeſt, they would gratifie his will and ratifie the ſayd election with the voyces of their conſent. To make the ſtory ſhort, after great hold betwene the ſeculare Clergy on the one ſide, and the regular order on ẏ other ſide, and after the kynges indignatiõ agaynſt the Prior, and the ſwondyng of the Prior before the kyng, at length the kyng to take vp the matter, and to ſaue the Priors life was fayne to performe in his owne perſon all theſe cõditions aboue preſcribed by the Monkes. Ex Geruaſ. fol. 100.

Baldwyne Biſhop of Worceſter elected archb. of Cant. an. 1184.

And thus haue ye hard the tragicall election of the Biſhop of Worceſter, named Baldewinus made Archbyſhop of Cant. Now what a troubleſome tyme the ſayd Baldewyne had with the Monkes, in gouernyng the Church of Cant. here foloweth likewiſe not vnworthy to be conſidered.

¶ *The troubles betwene Baldewyne Archb. of Cant. and the Monkes of the ſame Church.*

The great trouble and contention betwene Baldwyne Archb. and the mõkes of Cant.

IN the firſt yeare the Archb. ſhewed him ſelfe frendly & louing to ẏ Monkes: the next yeare folowyng he began to appeare ſomewhat roughe vnto them. The maner then was of the houſe of Chriſtes Church toward the time of the Natiuitie and of Eaſter, to receaue certeine preſentes or giftes of their fermers or tenaunts, which the cellarer ſhould take and lay vp. Thoſe preſentes the Archbiſhop began firſt to intercept from the Monkes, & to beſtow them vpon his ſeculare Clerkes. After this he toke thrée Churches or benefices (which the Monkes claimed as proper to them ſelues) and placed in them thrée of his Chaplaynes. After this he encroched to his handes certeine tenemẽtes, reuenewes, and victuall belongyng before to the Monkes (as they ſayd) and committed the cuſtodie therof to certeine of his owne Clerkes and houſhold ſeruauntes.

The monkes of Cant. appeale to the Pope againſt their Archb.

The Monkes which had borne ſo much with the Archb. before, ſeing this, could forbeare him no lõger, but nedes would make their appeale againſt him. The Archb. not much regardyng that, waxed therby more fierce agaynſt thẽ, in ſomuch that ſuch fermes & tenementes, as he before had let alone, now he receaued to hys owne occupying: with many other greuaunces, wherwith he greatly vexed the Monkes: ſo that thrée Abbats were fayne to come and reconcile the Archbyſhop and the Monkes. Which reconciliation was this, that the Monkes ſhould let fall their appeale, and the Archb. ſhould reſtore agayne to them their fermes and tenementes. But as touchyng the benefices and the preſentes, the Archb. ſtil kept thẽ in his hãdes for a further triall of their obedience and pacience. Neuertheleſſe ſome there were of the auncient Monkes, which in no caſe would giue ouer the foreſayd appeale before the Archbyſhop made a full reſtitution of all together.

Reconcilia tion made betwen the Archb and ẏ monkes, which did not long hold.

After this agréement, ſuch as it was, betwene the Monkes and him, the Archbiſhop ſone after ſent vp to Rome one of his Chaplaynes (to whom he had giuen one of the benefices afore mentioned) partly for confirmation of his benefice, partly alſo to obteine lycence for the Archb. to build a Church, which he intended to erect of ſeculare Prieſtes nere to the towne of Cant. Which beyng obteined of the Pope, the Archb. not a litle glad therof, began now more and more to waxe fierce agaynſt the Monkes, not onely in takyng from them their Churches and oblations, but alſo in aggrauatyng the whole ſtate of their houſe, which he intended either to ſubuerte, or greatly to diminiſh, to plucke down the pride and ſtubbernes of the Monkes. Wherfore takyng with him certeine other Byſhops (whom he knew bare no good will to that Monkiſh generatiõ) he went to the kyng, declaryng how he had a good purpoſe in his minde, to erect a new and a ſolẽne Church in the honour of S. Thomas of Cãt. of ſecular Prieſts or Canons, and therfore deſired of the kyng, to haue his fauorable licence to the ſame. The kyng right well perceauyng the purpoſe of the Archb. whether it tended, as to the bridlyng of the ſtifnecked Monkes, was the more willyng to giue his aſſent, if he were not alſo the chief worker of that matter him ſelfe.

The Arch byſhop ſendeth to the Pope.

The Archb. goeth about to plucke down the pride of the Monkes of Canterbury.

Baldewyne Archb of Cãterbury about to buylde a new Church on the North ſide of Cant.

The intent of the Archb. in plantyng of that new Church was to foũd there diuers prebẽdes, & to make both ẏ kyng, & euery Byſhop beyng his Suffraganes, prebendaries therof, ſo that euery one of them ſhould conferre one prebendſhyp to the ſame fundacion, myndyng there to conſecrate Byſhops, to make his Chriſmatorie, to celebrate his Synodes, and to adminiſter all other thinges belonging to the function of his Sea, and the ſame to be called Hakyngton Church. The Monkes not ignoraunt how the Archbyſhop priuely intended the deſolation and ſubuerſion of their houſe and liberties, conſultyng vpon the matter, determined at length among them ſelues to appeale to the Sea of Rome, namely for theſe thrée cauſes agaynſt the Archbyſhop: Firſt for ſpoiling them of their giftes and oblations: Secondly, for depriuyng them of their Churches and benefices: And thirdly for erectyng a new foundation of ſeculare Canons to the derogation and ouerthrow of their religious order, giuyng admonition to the Archbyſhop before by their Monkes ſent vnto him of this their appellation. To whom the Archb. aũſwered, that the fundation which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honor of their houſe. Who aunſwered agayne that it was & could not otherwiſe be, but to their ſubuerſion. And what ſhould let me (then ſayd ẏ Archb.) but I may builde in myne owne ground what I will? No (ſayd they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other thinges that you haue by right are ours, for aſmuch as you haue them not of your ſelfe, but of the Church and for ẏ Churches cauſe: all which thinges haue bene giuẽ neither to you, nor to the Archbiſhops, but to the Church of Chriſt: and therfore (ſayd they) all ſuch as apperteine to vs inwardly and outwardly, with the perſons alſo, and the whole ſtate of our Church we ſubmit vnder the Popes protection, & now here make our appeale to the Sea Apoſtolike, aſſignyng alſo the terme when to proſecute the ſame.

The purpoſe of the Archb. in buildyng his new Church by Cant.

Hakyngton Church.

The Monkes of Cant. make their appeale agaynſt *Baldwyne* their Archb.

Thrée cauſes alleged agaynſt ẏ Archbyſhop by the Monkes.

The Monkes of Cant. claime all the goodes of the Archb. to be their owne.

The Monkes put thẽſelues and their houſe in the Popes protection.

The Archbyſhop receauyng this appellation, and ſaying that he would aunſwere to the ſame either by him ſelfe or by his reſponſall, ſo within thrée dayes after, which was the xvj. of December, he came to Canterbury: where the Monkes vnderſtandyng how he was in minde to place new ſecular Prieſtes in the Church of S. Steuen, where the Monkes had ſerued before, came to the Church to ſtoppe ẏ procedyng of the Archbyſhop by way of appeale. Wherof the Archb. hauyng warnyng before, differred that matter till the next day after. On which day the Monkes agayne beyng ſent by Honorius ẏ Prior into the Church, charged ẏ Archb. in the name of almighty God, and by vertue of their appeale made to the Apoſtolicke Sea, to ſurceaſe thoſe his doyngs, forbyddyng alſo the Parſon of the Church in no wiſe to ſuffer thoſe ſeculare Clerkes to be admitted into the Church. All which yet notwithſtanding the Archb. procedeth in his buſines. And firſt placyng in his Clerkes he ſuſpendeth the Prior from his adminiſtration. Then he adiureth the Porters of the gate vppon their othe to let none of the Monkes paſſe out of the

Appellation agaynſt the Archbyſhop.

Buſines betwene ẏ mõkes and the Archb. for placyng ſecular Clerkes in the Church of S. Steuens in Cant.

The Prior of Cãterbury ſuſpended.

houſe without his licence. The Monkes likewiſe he commaunded by vertue of obedience, not to ſtray any where abroad without his leaue. And further more one of the foreſayd Monkes, which ſerued the Appeale agaynſt him, he vtterly baniſhed from that Couent. Vpon this, the day next folowyng Honorius the Prior truſting (ſaith ẏ ſtory) on God, and S. Thomas, toke his way to Rome, ſent in Commiſſion by the Couent, to proſecute the Appeale agaynſt the Archb.

An other garboyle betwene the Monkes of Cant. and their Archb.

The kyng cõmeth into the Chapter of Cant.

Petrus Bleſenſis a great doer agaynſt the Monkes.

The kyng entreateth peace betwene the Monkes and the Archb.

In this meane ſeaſon a new Iarre began betwene the ſayd Archb. and the Monkes, about their rents and reuenewes, which the Archb. would haue committed to the receauyng and keepyng of three Monkes, but the Supprior Geffray, with the Couent, in no caſe would ſuffer that: whereabout there was a foule ſtyre. The Archb. crauyng the ayde of the kyng, firſt had three Byſhops ſent downe to him, of Couentry, Norwyche, and Worceſter. Who beyng inſtant with the Monkes to ſubmit their cauſe into the kynges handes, lyke as the Archb. had done, they vtterly refuſed it, eſpecially ſeing they had already referred the whole ſtate of their cauſe to the determination of the Apoſtolical Sea. The kyng ſeyng no other remedy came him ſelfe, with the Archb. into the Chapter houſe, where he commaunded firſt the dores to be kept faſt, that none ſhould enter but which by name were called for. Amongeſt whom were two Byſhops, to wytte, of Norwyche, and of Durhã. and one Petrus Bleſenſis a learned man (whoſe Epiſtles be yet extant in Libraries) a chief worker in this matter agaynſt the Monkes. Then was called in Geffray the Supprior, with a few other Monkes whom he brought with hym. The kyng then firſt talkyng with the Archb. and his company, and afterward with the Monkes, laboured to entreat them that they would let fall their appeale, and ſo ſtand to the Arbitrement of hym and of the Byſhops, concernyng the cauſe which was betwen the Archb. and them, in trauers.

The Monkes denye to put their matter from the Pope to the kynges hearyng.

The Monkes excuſe to the kyng.

To this the Monkes aunſwered, that theſe were good wordes, but ſerued not for that tyme, for ſomuch as their cauſe was already tranſlated to the Court of Rome, and now was preſently in hearyng before the Popes holynes: and therfore they could not, ne would do that iniurie to their Lord Pope, to refuſe hym, and to put the matter to the iudgement of any other. Then was it required of the Monkes, that they would put the matter in comprimyſe, in caſe the Prior would conſent therto, vpon this intent, that if the Prior conſẽted, and the Monkes not, then ſhould they runne in contempt and diſobedience: or if the Monkes would cõſent, and the Prior not, then ſhould the Prior be excluded the Realme. The wyly Monkes beyng not vnprouided of this ſubtletie, made their aunſwere, that ſeyng they had ſent their Prior forth in their Commiſſion, it ſtode not with their honeſty, to gyue any determinate conſent, without the knowledge and before the returne of the ſayd Prior: vnleſſe the Archb. firſt would promiſe to make full reſtitution of all that he had wrongfully wraſted from them. When the kyng could get no other aunſwere of the Monkes, neither could moue the Archbyſhop to releaſe the ſentence of their ſuſpenſion vnles they would confeſſe & knowledge their fault, he ſo partyng from them paſſed ouer into Fraunce.

The firſt letter of Pope Urban ſent to *Baldewyne* Archbyſhop of Cant.

Not long after this, came a meſſenger from Rome, bryngyng letters from Pope Vrbanus to the Archbyſhop, wherein the Pope conſideryng and tenderyng (as he ſayd) the enorme greuaunces done agaynſt the Monkes, ſtraitly enioyned and commaũ-
„ ded hym, within x. dayes after ẏ receauyng therof, to
„ releaſe the ſentence of his ſuſpẽſion agaynſt the Prior,
„ and other of the ſayd Couent, and alſo to retract and
„ reſtore agayne to the Monkes what ſoeuer he plucked
„ from them ſince the tyme of their appeale firſt made.
„ Who in caſe he ſhould deny, or forſlacke ẏ doyng here-
„ of, Cõmiſſion was giuen to iij. Abbats of Battayl, of
„ Feuerſhã, of S. Auſtens, with ample authoritie to performe the ſame. &c.

The aunſwere of the Archb. to the Popes letter.

The Archbiſhop maketh hys oyle and creame at Londõ and not at Canterbury.

Three Abbats commaũded by the Pope to aſſoyle the monkes whom the Archb. had ſuſpended.

The Archb. receauyng theſe letters brought to him by a Monke of the foreſayd houſe, firſt made his excuſe, that the Pope was miſinformed. But the Monkes not contented with that excuſe, when they would nedes know what aunſwere he would make to the Popes nuncio: his aunſwere was that he had yet x. dayes giuen hym of the Pope. In which meane tyme the Archb. went to Lõdon & there in the Church of S. Paul, conſecrated his holy oyle & creame (makyng one of the Popes vij. Sacramentes) which was greuouſly taken in the Church of Cant. At laſt, the x. dayes being ended, whẽ the Archb. refuſed to accõpliſh that was in ẏ Popes letter enioyned him, the iij. Abbats aforeſayd to execute the Popes commaundement, came at their day aſſigned, to Cant. and there aſſoyled all ſuch as the Archb. before had ſuſpended, and in the end certified Pope Vrbane by letters, what they had done.

The Archbyſhop appealeth by the iij. Abbats to Rome.

The Archbyſhops new church made of woode.

The Archb. hearyng this, within iiij. dayes after ſent two of his Clerkes, which appealed the three Abbats aforeſayd vp to Rome, and he hym ſelfe in the meane tyme prepared buſily for the buildyng vp of his Church, ſending to all Churches in England, vpon releaſement of their ſinnes, to conferre to the ſame: and to make the more haſt, for lacke of free ſtone, he made vp his buildyng with tymber, and ſuch other ſtuffe as he could get.

A letter of Pope Urban ſent to the Clergie of England agaynſt the Archb.

The Prior Honorius all this while remained ſtill at the Court of Rome, giuyng attendaunce vppon the Pope, who hauyng intelligence of the Archbyſhops doynges, procured an other letter of Pope Vrbane to the whole Clergie of England, ſtraitly inioynyng thẽ, that none ſhould conferre to the new fraternitie of Baldewyne Archbyſhop of Cant. To theſe letters ẏ Archbyſhop ſhewed ſuch reuerence, that where before he had planted his Chappell of wode and boardes, now he prouided the ſame to be builded of lyme and ſtone.

The Archbyſhops meſſengers come to the Popes Court.

Letters of the kyng, the Archb. and of other Byſhops to the Pope.

M. Pilleus atturney in the Popes Court for the monkes of Cant.

Petrus Bleſenſis agent for the Archb. of Cant.

The Pope holdeth with the monkes agaynſt the kyng, the Archb. and the Byſhops of the realme.

By this tyme Petrus Bleſenſis, with other meſſengers of the Archb. ſeyng Honorius the Prior to be gone from the Court to Fraunce, reſorted to the Court of Rome, bringyng with them letters of credite from the kyng, frõ the Archb. and alſo from other Byſhops of the Realme: but the Pope readyng onely the kinges letters and the Archbyſhops, the reſidue he caſt into a wyndow by, ſaying he would read them at further leaſure. Then the Pope giuyng audience in hys conſiſtory to heare their cauſe: firſt came in Petrus Bleſenſis with the agentes of ẏ Archb. exhibityng their letters & propoũdyng their requeſtes to the Pope, which were, that reſtitution ſhould be made by ẏ Monkes to the Archb. wherin they had iniuried hym. Itẽ, that the thinges which had bene graunted before to the Prior in the Court, might be called in agayne. Thirdly, that ẏ Archb. might haue licence to procede in buildyng his Colledge of Canons. &c. After this was called in M. Pilleus the Atturney for the Monkes of Cãt. Who alledgyng many great thynges agaynſt the Archb. for his contempt and diſobedience to the Popes preceptes, required that he rather ſhould make reſtitution to the Monkes for his iniuries done to them: and alſo that his new fundation of ſecular Canons, tendyng to the ouerthrow of the conuentuall Church of Cant. ſhould be vtterly raſed and throwen downe to the ground. Thus betwene theſe parties pleyng and repleyng one agaynſt ẏ other, much hard hold there was. But in cõcluſion for all the kinges letters, & for all that ẏ Archb. and Byſhops could do, the matter went on the Mõkes ſide. So that there was no remedy, but ẏ Pope would nedes haue the Archbyſhops new buildyng to come downe, and the Monkes to be reſtored agayne to their full poſſeſſions. The execution wherof was committed to the three Abbats aforeſayd, to wytte, of Battayl, of Fauerſham, of S. Auſtens in Cant. and to Geffray Supprior of Cant.

Which thynges beyng thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Granuille Lord Stuard of England writyng to the ſaid Abbat of Battayle, and to the Supprior and Couent of Cant. commaundeth them in the kynges name, and vpō their othe and fealtie giuē vnto him, that they nor any of them do procede in this controuerſie betwene the Monkes & the Archb. of Cant. before they come & talke with him, there to know further of the kinges pleaſure: and furthermore charging the Couent of Cant. not to enter further in any examination concernyng the Archbyſhops matters, and alſo cityng the Supprior of the ſayd houſe, to appeare before him at London, at the feaſt of S. Iames the ſame yeare, which was. 1187. Notwithſtandyng he excuſing him ſelfe by ſickenes, ſent two Monkes in his ſteade, and ſo kept him ſelfe at home. To whom commaundement was giuē that ẏ Monkes of Cant. wͭin xv. dayes ſhould ſayle ouer to Normandy to the kyng and there to ſhewe the tenour and euidences of their priuileges: And alſo that ſuch Stuardes and Baylyfes whom they had placed in their farmes and Lordſhyps contrary to the will of the Archb ſhould be remoued. And likewiſe the iij. Abbats in the kynges name were commaunded in no wiſe to execute the Popes commaundement agaynſt the Archb. Not long after this, the Archbyſhop tooke ſhyppyng at Douer, and went ouer to the kyng, where hee ordeined three principall officers ouer the Monkes of Chriſtes Church: ẏ Sacriſte, the Cellarer, and Chamberlayne, cōtrary to the will of the Couent, with other greuances moe: wherby the Monkes were not a litle offended, ſo that vpon the ſame they made a new appellation to the Pope. Whereupon Pope Vrbane, by the ſettyng on of Honorius the Prior, who was now come agayne to the Court, wrote to hym an other letter after a ſharper and more vehement ſort, to the effect as foloweth.

The Abbat of Battayle. Abbat of Feuerſhā, Abbat of S. Iuſtes executers of ẏ Popes cōmaundemēt againſt the Archb.

The popes executors commaunded by R. Glanuile, in ẏ kinges name not to procede agaynſt the Archb.

Monkes of Cant. commaunded to ſhewe their priuileges to ẏ kyng.

Certein officers put in ẏ houſe of Chriſt Church, agaynſt the mōkes will.

Another appellation of ẏ mōkes agaynſt the Archb.

Honorius the Prior returned agayn to the Popes Court.

¶ The tenour of Pope Vrbanes letter to Baldewyne Archbyſhop of Cant.

The copy of Pope Vrbanes letter to ẏ Archb. of Cant.

VRbanus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorū Dei Baldewino Cant. Archiepiſcopo & Apoſtolicæ ſedis legato ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionē. &c. In that we haue borne with your brotherhode hetherto, & haue not proceded in ſuch greuous maner againſt you, as we might, although beyng therto greatly prouoked, the chiefeſt cauſe was this, that we ſuppoſed your hart would haue relented frō the oppreſſion of ẏ conuentual church of Cant. cōmitted vnto you, if not for our reuerence, which you ſeme to haue contēned more then became you, yet at leaſt for feare of Gods iudgemēt. For wel we hoped, our cōſciēce perſuadyng vs to ẏ ſame, that after you had obteined that hygh ſtate and dignitie in the Church of England, you would haue bene an example to other of obedience and reuerēce to be giuen to the ſea Apoſtolicke, of all Eccleſiaſticall perſons, wherfore at the firſt begynnyng both of our and alſo of your promotion we did not ſpare to aduaūce and honour you as we haue done few other beſides, thinkyng no leſſe, but that we had found a faythfull frēd of the Church, for our honour. wherin we perceaue now (which maketh vs not a litle to maruell) our expectation greatly deceaued. And whom we well truſted to be a ſure ſtay for the mainteynaunce of our eſtate, him now we finde a perſecuter agaynſt vs in our members.

Note how, the Popes ſtand all vpon their honour.

The popes expectation deceaued in the Archb. of Cant.

For where as we ſondry tymes haue written to you in the behalfe of our brethren, and the Church committed to your charge, that you ſhould deſiſte from diſquietyng them, and not to vexe or diſturbe their liberties, at leaſt for reuerence of vs: you not onely in this, but in other thinges moe (as commonly is reported of you in all places) ſettyng at light our letters, and appellations made to the Apoſtolicall ſea, what you haue wrought agaynſt them after their ſo manifold appellations layd into vs, and our inhibitions agayne vnto you, we are aſhamed to vtter. But reuolue and conſider in your mynde, if ye haue done well, and aduiſe in your owne conſcience what you haue done. we for our part becauſe we may ne ought not with deafe eares paſſe ouer the clamours of the brethren, and ſuch contempt of the Apoſtolicke ſea, although our byddynges and warnynges giuē to you ſeme to be all in vayne, yet notwithſtanding we ſend our mandates agayn to your brotherhode, in theſe Apoſtolicall writtynges, diſtrictly and in vertue of obedience commaundyng you, that whether ye be preſent in your Church, or abſent, all that notwithſtādyng, what ſoeuer you haue done in the building of your Chapell (which you to the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of Cant. haue erected) after the tyme of their appeale made to vs, or our inhibition ſent to you, you fayle not, of your proper coſtes and charges to demoliſh, vndoyng agayne and makyng voyde, what ſoeuer you haue begon and innouated concernyng the inſtitution of the Canons, and other thynges belongyng to the erection of the ſayd Chapell: accountyng moreouer and reputyng the place where the Chapell was ſet, to be accurſed and prophane: & alſo that all ſuch who ſoeuer haue celebrated in the ſame place, ſhall ſtand ſuſpended, till the tyme they appeare before our preſence: Commaundyng farthermore that all thoſe Monkes, whom you haue preſumed to remoue from their office or to excōmunicate, ſince the tyme of their appeale made, you ſhall reſtore and aſſoyle agayne, rendering alſo & reſtoryng all ſuch fermes, maners, tenementes, and oblations, as you after their appeale made, haue inuegled frō them: And finally that you innouate nothyng touching the ſtate of that Monaſterie, duryng the tyme of this controuerſie dependyng before vs. Giuyng you to vnderſtand, that in caſe you ſhall continue in your ſtubbernes and rebellion vppon this preſent warning, or differe the execution of this our precept xxx. dayes after the receauyng hereof, we ſhall appoynt others to execute the ſame, inioynyng alſo all your Suffraganes, that as you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe diſobedient and rebellyng to vs: ſo they ſhall refuſe lykewiſe to giue any obedience or reuerence vnto you. &c.

Geuen at Ferraria 5. non. Octob.

The Pope expoſtulateth with Baldewyn, for contempt of his ſea.

The Archb. commaūded by the Pope to throw downe ẏ building of his new Church, of his owne coſtes & charges.

The Archb. commaūded to reſtore and aſſoyle ẏ monkes whom he did depriue and excommunicate.

The Archb. threatned by the Pope.

An other letter beſide this, the Pope alſo ſent to the three Abbats aforeſayd for the correction of theſe enormities. Likewiſe an other letter was ſent to king Henry 2. wherein the Pope inioyneth and requireth hym vppon remiſſion of his ſinnes, not to diſſemble and beare with the Archb. in his oppreſſion of his Monkes, but to helpe thoſe thynges to be amended, where hee he hath treſpaſſed agaynſt them.

The pope writeth to the Abbats, and alſo to the kyng.

Theſe pontificall letters were written an. 1287. the 3. day of Octob. and in the 19. day after, the ſame moneth the ſayd Pope Vrbane dyed. In the which yeare and about the which moneth, Baldewinus kyng of Hieruſalem was taken with many noble men, of Saladine the Saracen: and Hieruſalem loſt, after it had bene in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtiās and ſo continued the ſpace of 88. yeares, and 80. dayes, from the tyme that Godfridus Bolonius did firſt wynne it from the infidels.

Pope Vrbane dyeth.

Baldewynus king of Hieruſalē, with many nobles takē of ẏ Saracēs.

Hieruſalē won agayne of the Saracens.

After the receauing of thoſe letters of pope Vrbane aboue ſpecified, both the kyng, and Archb. with all the Byſhops of the Realme were maruelouſly qualed, glad now to pleaſe, and ſpeake fayre to the Monkes, promiſing all thinges to be done and reſtored to them after the beſt ſort. Neither was the kyng now and Archb. ſo ſubmiſſe: but the Monkes on the otherſide were as brag and iocant, beyng fully aſſured, that all now was their owne. In the narration of which hiſtorie (as it is ſet in Geruaſius at large) this we haue to note by the way, in what feare and thraldome kynges in thoſe dayes were vnder the Pope, who could not be maſters ouer their owne ſubiectes, but that euery pyld Monke, or peltyng Prior, vpon vertue of their appeale to the Court of Rome, and makyng their houſe tributary to ẏ pope, was able not onely to match, but to giue checkmate to the beſt kyng Chriſtened, as not in this ſtory onely may appeare.

The kyng and Archb. glad to agree with the mōkes & graūt what they would haue.

The Monkes got the vpper hand ouer the Archb.

The miſerable ſubiection of kynges vnder the Pope, to be noted.

It foloweth then in the ſtory of theſe Monkes, that as they were thus in the myddeſt of their ioye and iolitie, ſodenly commeth newes of the death of Pope Vrbane, their great Calypha, and alſo how that Gregory 8. was placed in his rowme, who was a ſpeciall frend and fauourer of the Archb. which as it did greatly encourage the king and the Archb. ſo the hope of the Monkes on the other ſide was as much diſcomforted, ſo that now all was turned vpſide downe. For where as the kyng and the Archb. before thought they had

Calypha is the hygh Prieſt of the Saracens, ſittyng in Damaſcus, vnto whom all the Sultans were ſubiect, as our Princes now are to the pope.

The kynges aunſwere to the Monkes of Cant.

loſt all, and were glad to compoũd with the Monkes, & to ſeeke their fauour: now were the Monkes on yͤ contrary ſide fayne to crouch to the kyng, and glad to haue a good countenaunce, who then reſortyng to him, and findyng him altered both in word and geſture, deſired he would confirme & graunt that, which of late before he had promiſed. To whom it was aunſwered agaynē by the kyng, that ſeyng the Archb. had graunted to thē their Sacriſt, their Chamberlayne, and their Cellerar, they ſhould haue no more reſtored of hym, neither would he ſuffer the liberties & priuileges of the Archb. to be empayred or take any wrong. And as touchyng yͤ new Chapell of S. Thomas (ſayd he) where aboutes ye ſtriue ſo long, with the Canonſhyps and other buildynges belongyng thereto, the ſame I receaue into my handes, ſo that none ſhall haue any thyng to do therin but my ſelfe. &c. In lyke maner of the Archb. ſuch an other like aunſwere they receaued, and of the Byſhops litle better. So the Monkes ſent away with a flee in their eare, went home againe out of Normandy vnto their Celle.

Pope Gregory 8. dyeth.

Clement thyrd Pope.

Pope Clemēts letters to the Archb.

Honorius Prior of Canterbury dyed at Rome.

The ſecōd letter of Pope Clement to the Archbyſhop.

Now the Archb. hauyng the Monkes where as he would, wrought them much greuaunce. But that continued not very long. For within two monethes after and leſſe dyed Pope Gregory 8. about the xvj. day of Decemb. folowyng. After whō ſucceded Pope Clemēt the 3. who folowyng the ſteps of Vrbane, bent all his power with yͤ Monkes agaynſt the Archb. ſendyng diuers preceptes & mādates in the yeare next folowyng, which was. 1188. with an Imperious letter, willing & commaundyng him to deſiſte from his oppreſſiō of the Mōkes, and to throwdowne his new Chapell. Whereupon the Archb. made his appeale and minded to go to Rome, but was called backe of yͤ kyng, being ready to ſayle ouer. In the which yeare Honorius yͤ Prior dyed at Rome of the plague, which was ſome helpe & comfort to yͤ Archb. For whō yͤ Archb. made Roger Norys Prior, agaynſt the wylles of the Couent. After this about the latter end of the ſame yeare Pope Clement ſent down his Legate called Radulfus a Cardinall, to Cant. with an other letter more ſharply written to the ſame effect vnto the Arch. Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

Kyng Henry ſecond dyeth.

Kyng Rich. 1. ioyneth with the Archb.

Agreement betwene the Archb. and Monkes of Cant. vpon what conditions.

Conditions of peace cōcluded.

Furthermore, in the yeare next after, which was 1189. he wrote alſo the third letter to him. In yͤ which yeare alſo dyed kyng Henry 2. After whom ſucceded kyng Richard his ſonne, who ioynyng likewiſe with the Archbiſhop, tooke his part ſtrongly agaynſt the ſayd Mōkes. At laſt, after much a do on both partes, and after great diſturbance, and impriſonyng diuers of the Monkes, kyng Richard preparyng his viage toward Hieruſalem, and ſtudiyng firſt to ſet peace betwene them, conſulted and agreed with the Byſhops and Abbats about a finall concord in this matter betwene the Archb. and Monkes of Cant. which at length on both partes was made, vpon theſe conuentions as folow. 1. Firſt, that Roger Norys ſhould be depoſed, whom the Archbyſhop had made Prior agaynſt their wylles. Whom the kyng then at the requeſt of the Archb. promoted to be Abbat of Euſham. 2. Item, that the Archbyſhop ſhould plucke down his Chapell, which he builded in the ſuburbes of Cant. agaynſt the mindes of the Monkes. 3. Itē, that the foreſayd Monkes ſhould make profeſſion of their obedience & ſubiection to the Archb. as they had done to his other predeceſſors before hym. 4. Item, as touchyng all other complayntes and iniuries (except onely the Chapell, and depoſition of Roger Norys the Prior) the Monkes ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of the kyng, of the Archb. and the Prelates. 5. Item, that yͤ Monkes kneelyng downe before the kyng in the Chapter houſe, ſhould aſke the Archb. forgyuenes. Which beyng done, they went altogether to the Church & ſang Te Deũ for this reformation of peace. Ex veteri Chronico manu ſcripto & ex Geruaſio.

Ex libro anonimo, & ex hiſt. Geruaſii monachi Cantuarienſis.

The next day after the Archb. commyng into the Chapter, reſtored to yͤ Couēt their manours & farmes agayne: alſo diſcharged the Prior which he had made before, deſiryng them likewiſe, that if he had offended them either in word or deede, they would from their hart remitte him. This reconciliation beyng made betwene the Archb. & the Couent, then the Archb. goyng about to diſſolue yͤ building of his new Church, though he chaunged the place, yet thought not to chaunge his intent, and therfore making exchaunge of landes with the Byſhop and Monkes of Rocheſter, purchaſed of them their groũd in Lambeth. an. 1191. Which done, he came to his Clerkes whom he had placed to be Canons in his new Colledge of Hakynton, and wylled them to remoue all their goodes and furniture to Lambeth, ouer agaynſt Weſtmynſter, where he erected for them an other Church, and there placed the ſayd Canons. About which Colledge at Lambeth afterward much trouble lykewiſe enſued by yͤ ſtyrryng of the ſayd Monkes of Cant. in time of Hubert their Archb. in the reigne of the ſayd kyng Richard and in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1196. Furthermore after the depoſing of Roger Norys Prior of Cant. aforeſayd, Baldewyn the Archb. enforced to graunt them an other Prior by the aſſent of the kyng and of the Couent, aſſigned Oſbernus to be their Prior, who had taken part before with the Archb. but the Monkes not pleaſed with him, after the death of Baldewyne the Archb. remoued him agayne.

Archb. of Cant. purchaſeth of the B. of Rocheſter, land in Lambeth to build hys houſe vpō.

Baldewyn Archb. of Cant. buildeth his houſe at Lambeth.

Three thynges to be obſerued in this ſtory of Canterbury monkes aboue rehearſed.

Hypocriſie in Mōkery.

Kynges made ſlaues vnder the Pope.

No cōcord nor vnitie in Popiſhe Churches.

Examples prouyng what diſcord and how litle vnitie is in yͤ popiſh Church.

And thus haue you the tedious diſcourſe of this Catholicke tragedy betwen the Monkes of Cant. & their Archb. ſcarſe worth the rehearſall. Notwithſtandyng this I thought to gyue the reader to ſee, of purpoſe: firſt to ſhew forth vnto the world yͤ ſtoute ſturdynes of this monkiſh generation, who profeſſing profound humilitie in their coate, what litle humilitie they had in theyr hart, what pride and arrogancie in their cōuerſation, & what hypocriſie in their Religion, this one example amongeſt a thouſand other may gyue ſome experience. Secōdly, that yͤ poſteritie now may ſee, how litle kings could them do in their owne Realmes, for the Pope. And thirdly, to the entent it may more notoriouſly appeare to all readers, what ſtrife and debate, what diſſention and diuiſion, what litle vnitie and concorde hath alwayes folowed the Popes Catholicke Church, whereſoeuer the corrupt Religion and vſurped ambition of the Pope preuailed. For not to ſpeake onely of this Monkiſh houſe of Cant. what Church Cathedral, collegiate, or conuētuall, what ſea, Church, monaſtery or Chapell was vnder all the Popes gouernement, but euer there happened ſome variance either betwen the kyng and Archb. as betwene kyng William and Lancfranc, kyng Henry 1 and Anſelme, kyng Stephen and Richard, kyng Henry 2. and Becket, kyng Iohn, and Steuen Langhton, kyng Henry 3. and Boniface. &c. or els betwene Archbyſhop and Archb. for makyng profeſſion, for caryng the Croſſe, for ſittyng on the right hand of the Popes Legate &c. or els betwene Archbyſhops and their Suffragans, or betwene Archbyſhops and their Couētes, or betwene Byſhops and Monkes, betwene Deane and the Chapter, betwene Monkes and ſecular Prieſtes, Monkes of one ſort agaynſt an other, Friers of one order agaynſt an other, ſtudentes agaynſt Friers, townes men agaynſt ſcholers. &c. As for example, what diſcord was betwene the Archb. of Cant. and Rich. Archbyſhop of Yorke. Betwene Lancfrancus, and Archb. Thomas, betwene Theobalde Archb. of Cant. and Silueſter Abbat of S. Auſtens, betwene Walter of Chriſtes Church, and Silueſter Abbat aforeſayd, betwene William Archb. of Cant. and Ieremias Prior of Cant. an. 1144. betwen the Mōkes of Cant. and Odo their Prior for tranſlatyng the Reliques of Dunſtane, betwen kyng Stephen and Roger Byſh. of Saliſbury, yͤ Byſh. of Lyncolne, & Roger B. of Ely his ſonne. an. 1138. betwene Pope Innocent 2. and Anacletus the ſpace of 7. yeares, the Cardinals for money (ſayth Geruaſius) ſome tyme holdyng with the one, ſome tyme with the other & at laſt the election was determined by a ſore battaile betwen Lotharius Emperour, and Rogerius duke of Apulia. an. 1137. Alſo betwene Pope Innocent 4. and Fridericke Emperour 2. betwene kyng Henry 3. and W. Rale B. of Wint. when the kyng had the gates of Wincheſter town to be ſhut agaynſt him. an. 1250. betwene Boniface Archb. of Cant. and Canons of S. Paul. Item, betwen ỹ ſaid Boniface & Monkes of S. Bartholomew, who ſat there in harnes in his viſitation. an. 1250. betwene the Abbat of Weſtminſter, and Monkes of the ſame houſe. an. 1251. Item, betwene the foreſayd W. Rale Byſhop of Wint. and Boniface Archb. of Cant. for a Prieſt of the Hoſpitall in Southwarke. an. 1252. betwene the ſayd Boniface, and Canons of Lyncolne after the death of Robert Groſted, for giuyng of Prebendes. an. 1253. betwene the Monkes of Couentry, and Canons of Lichfield, for chuſing their Byſhop in tyme of kyng Henry 3.

Ex Mat. Pariſ.

No vnitie, in ỹ Popes Church.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the diſcord, which coſt ſo much money betwene Edmund Archb. of Cant. and the Monkes of Rocheſter, for chuſing Rich. Wandour to be their Byſhop. an. 1238. betwene Rob. Groſted Byſhop of Lyncolne, and Canons of the ſame houſe, for which both he and they were driuen to trauayle to Rome. an. 1244. betwene Gilbert B. of Rocheſter delegate to Archb. Baldewyn, and Robert the popes Legate for ſittyng on the right hand of the Legate in hys counſell at Weſtminſter. an. 1190. betwene the Abbat of Bardeney, and the ſayd Groſted, about viſitation of their Abbay. an. 1243. Item, betwene the Couent of Cant. and the ſayd Rob. Byſh. of Lyncolne. an. 1243. betwene Hugo B. of Durham, and Hubert Byſhop of Sarum: and Geffray Archb. of Yorke. an. 1189. betwene W. Biſhop of Ely the kynges Chauncellor, and the Canons of Yorke, for not receauyng him with proceſſion. an. 1190. betwene the Abbat of Weſtminſter, and his Couent of Blacke Monkes, whom kyng Henry 3. had much ado to ſtil and agrée. an. 1249. Item, betwene the foreſayd B. of Lyncolne, and the Abbat of Weſtminſter. Likewiſe betwene Nicolas Byſhop of Durham, and Iohn Abbat of S. Albans. an. 1246. Alſo betwen Hubert Archb. of Cant. and the Monkes there for the houſe of Lambeth. an. 1196. And what a ſtyrre was betwene the preaching Friers, and the gray Friers mentioned In Math. Pariſ. for ſuperioritie. an. 1243? Alſo betwen the ſayd gray Friers, and the Prelates and Doctours of Paris about ix. concluſions, condemned of the Prelates to be erroneous. 1. *Concernyng the diuine eſſence, that it can not be ſene of the Aungels or men glorified. 2. Concernyng the eſſence of the holy Ghoſt. 3. Touchyng the procedyng of the holy Ghoſt, as he is loue. 4. Whether mẽ glorified ſhalbe* in cœlo Empyreo, *or* in cœlo Criſtallino. 5. *That the euill Aungell at his firſt creatiõ was euill and neuer good. 6. That there haue bene many verities from the beginnyng, which were not God. 7. That an Aungell in one inſtant may be in diuers places. 8. That the euill Angell neuer had wherby he might ſtãd, no more had Adam in his ſtate of Innocencie. 9. That he which hath* meliora naturalia, *that is to ſay, more perfect ſtrength of nature working in him, ſhall haue more full meaſure, of neceſſitie to obtaine grace and glory. To the which Article the Prelates aunſweryng, dyd excommunicate the ſame as erroneous, affimyng, that grace and glory ſhall be giuen accordyng to that God hath elected and predeſtinate. &c.* Ex Math. Pariſ. fol. 167.

Concluſions of the Friers cõdemned for erroneous by ỹ Prelates of Paris. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 167.

Meritum de condigno.

Contentiõ betwene Friers about the Conceptiõ of our Lady.

In lyke maner betwene the ſayd Dominicke Friers, and ỹ gray Friers what a braule and tumult was about the Conception of our Lady, whether ſhe was without originall ſinne conceaued or not, in the reigne of kyng Henry 7. and kyng Henry 8. an. 1509. Adde moreouer to theſe the xxiiij. haynous ſchiſmes and not ſo few, which happened betwene Pope and Pope in the Church and ſea of Rome. But what do I ſtand to recite the diuiſions and diſſenſions in the Popes Church, which is as much almoſt as to reken ỹ ſandes of the Sea. For what Church, Chapter, or Couẽt was in all that Religion, which either had not ſome variãce with them ſelues, or with others? Uppon which continuall ſtrife and variance amongeſt them, the readers hereof may iudge of them and their Religion as pleaſeth them: In the meane tyme my iudgement is this: that where ſuch diſſenſion dwelleth, there dwelleth not the ſpirite of Chriſt.

Continual variance in the popes Church.

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an. 1190.

These thynges thus diſcourſed touchyng the tragicall diſſenſion betwene Baldewyn Archb. and Monkes of Cant. now to procede (by the Lordes aſſiſtence) in continuatiõ of our ſtory: After king Richard had thus, as is declared, ſet the Monkes and the Archb. in ſome agréement, and had compoſed ſuch thinges as were to be redreſſed within the realme, he aduaunceth forward his iourney, and came to Turon, to mete with Philip the French kyng: and ſo after that went to Vizeliace, where the French kyng and he ioynyng together for the more continuaunce of their iourney, aſſured them ſelues by ſolemne othe, ſweryng fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whoſe othe was this: *That either of them ſhould defend and maynteine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members, and wordly honour, and that neither of them ſhould fayle one the other in their affaires: but the French king ſhould ayde the king of England in defendyng his land and dominions, as he would hym ſelfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were beſieged: and that Richard king of England likewiſe ſhould ayde the French king in defendyng his land and dominions, no otherwiſe then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan, if it were obſieged. &c.* But how ſlenderly this othe dyd hold betwene theſe ij. kynges, and by whoſe chief occaſion firſt it fell aſunder, the ſequele of the ſtory (the Lord willyng) ſhall declare hereafter.

Kyng Richard taketh his iorney toward the land of Hieruſalem.

The othe of fidelitie betwene Philip ſecond French kyng, and kyng Richard the firſt, goyng to the holy land.

Furthermore, touching the lawes and ordinaunces appointed by kyng Richard for his nauy, the forme therof was this.

1. That who ſo kylled any perſon on ſhypbord, ſhould be tyed with hym that was ſlayne and throwen into the Sea.

2. And if he kylled hym on the land, ſhould in lyke maner be tyed with the partie ſlayne, and be buryed with hym in the earth.

3. He that ſhalbe conuicted by lawful wytnes to draw out his knife or weapon, to the entent to ſtrike any man, or that hath ſtricken any to the drawing of bloud, ſhall loſe his hand.

4. Alſo, he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand, without effuſion of bloud, ſhalbe plunged thrée tymes in the Sea.

5. Itẽ, who ſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes, in reuilyng or curſing one an other, for ſo oftentymes as he hath ſo reuiled, ſhall pay ſo many vnces of ſiluer.

6. Item, a théefe or felon that hath ſtolne, beyng lawfully conuicted, ſhall haue his head ſhorne and boylyng pitch poured vppon his head, and fethers or downs ſtrawed vppon the ſame, wherby he may be knowen, and ſo at the firſt landyng place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt vp. &c.

Diſcipline and orders ſet by kyng Richard for malefactors.

These things thus ſet in a readynes, kyng Richard ſendyng his nauy by the Spaniſhe Seas, and by the ſtraites of Iubaltarie betwene Spayne and Africa, to mete hym at Marſilia, he him ſelfe went (as is ſayd) to Vizeliace, to the French kyng. Which two kynges frõ thence went to Lyons, where the bridge ouer the flode Rhodanus, for preſſe of people brake, and many both men and wemen were drowned. By occaſion wherof the two kynges for the combraunce of their traynes, were conſtrayned to diſſeuer them ſelues for tyme of there iorney, appointyng both to méete together in Sicilie: and ſo Philip the French kyng tooke his way to Genua, and kyng Richard to Marſilia, where he remayned eight dayes, appointyng there his nauy to méete him. From thẽce croſſyng ouer to Genua, where

The French kyng and kyng Richard come to Lyons.

Kyng Richard commeth to Marſilia.

the French kyng was, paſſed forward by the coaſtes of Italy, and entered into Tyber not farre from Rome, where méetyng with Octomanus Cardinall and Byſhop of Hoſtia, he did complayne greatly of the filthy Symonie of the Pope and the Popes Court, for receauyng vij. hundreth Markes for conſecratyng the Biſhop Cenomanenſis: Alſo a thouſand and fiue hundreth Markes of William Byſhop of Ely for his office Legatine. And likewiſe an infinite ſumme of money of the Byſhop of Burdeaux, for acquityng hym when he ſhould be depoſed for a certein crime layd to his charge by his Clergy. &c.

Kyng Richard complaineth of the filthy Symony of the Popes Court.

The vij. day of Auguſt, in the yeare aforeſayd, kyng Richard departed out of Marſilia, after he had there wayted viij. dayes for his nauy, which came not, and ſo hyeryng xx. Gallys, and x. great Barkes, to ſhyp ouer his men, ſayled by the coaſt of Italy, and came to Naples, and ſo partly by horſe and wagon, partly by the Sea paſſing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he heard that his ſhippes were arriued at Meſſana in Sicilie he made the more ſpéede, and ſo the xxiij. of September entred Meſſana, with ſuch a noyſe of trumpets and ſhalmes, with ſuch a rout and ſhew, that it was to the great wonderment and terrour both of the French men, and all other that dyd heare and behold the ſight.

Kyng Richard departeth from Marſilia.

The kynges ſhyppes arriued at Meſſana.

The comming of kyng Rich. to Meſſana.

To the ſayd towne of Meſſana the French kyng was come before the xvj. of the ſame moneth of September and had taken vp the Pallace of Tancredus kyng of Sicilie, for his lodgyng. To whom kyng Richard after his aryuall eftſones reſorted, and when the two kynges had communed together, immediatly the ſame day the French kyng tooke ſhypppyng and entred the Seas, thinkyng to ſayle toward ŷ land of Hieruſalem. But after he was out of the hauen, ŷ wynde riſing contrary agaynſt him returned him backe agayn to Meſſana. Then kyng Richard (whoſe lodgyng was prepared in the ſuburbes without the Citie) after he had reſorted againe, and talked with the French kyng, and alſo had ſent to Tancredus kyng of Sicilie for deliueraũce of Ioane his ſiſter (who had bene ſome times Quéene of Sicilie) and had obtained her to be ſent vnto him, the laſt day of September paſſed ouer the floude of Del far, and there gettyng a ſtrong hold called De la Bagnare, or Le Bamare, and placyng therin his ſiſter with a ſufficient gariſon, he returned againe to Meſſana. The 2. of October kyng Richard wan an other certeine ſtrong hold called Monaſterium Gryffonum, ſituated in the middeſt of the Riuer Del far, betwene Meſſana & Calabria, from whence the Monkes beyng expulſed, he repoſed there all his ſtore and prouiſion of victuals which came from England or other places.

The French kyng lodged in Meſſana.

The French kyng dryuen backe agayne by the wynde to Meſſana.

Kyng Richard obtayneth hys ſiſter Ioane Queene ſome time of Sicilie to be ſent vnto hym.

King Richard getteth the monaſtery of Griffones.

The Citizens of Meſſana ſeyng that the kyng of England had won the Caſtle and Iſland in De la Bagnare, and alſo the Monaſterie of the Griffones, and doubtyng leſt ŷ kyng would extend his power farther to inuade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Iſle of Sicilie, began to ſtyrre againſt the kynges army, and to ſhut the Engliſhmen out of the gates, and kept their walles agaynſt them. The Engliſhmen ſeyng that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them, open in ſo much that the kyng rydyng amongeſt them with his ſtaffe, and breakyng diuers of their heades, could not aſſwage their fiercenes. Such was ŷ rage of the Engliſh men agaynſt the Citizens of Meſſana. The kyng ſeyng the fury of the people to be ſuch as he could not ſtay them, tooke boate, and went to the Palace of kyng Tancred to talke of the matter with the French kyng. In which meane tyme the matter was ſo taken vp by the wiſe handlyng of the auncients of the Citie, that both partes laying downe their armour went home in peace.

Diſcorde betwene the Citizens of Meſſana, and the Engliſh army.

The kyng could not ſtay the rage of the people.

The fourth day of the ſayd moneth of Octob. came to kyng Richard ŷ Archb. of Meſſana, with ij. other Archbyſhops, alſo with the French kyng, and ſondry other Earles Barons and Byſhops, for entreatance of peace. Who as they were together conſultyng, and had almoſt concluded vppon the peace, the Citizens of Meſſana iſſuyng out of the towne, ſome went vp vpon the mountaines, ſome with open force inuaded the mãſion or lodgyng of Hugh Brunne an Engliſh Captaine. The noyſe wherof commyng to the eares of the kyng, he ſodenly breakyng of talke with the French kyng and the reſt, departed from them, and commyng to his men, commaũded them forthwith to arme them ſelues. Who then with certeine of hys ſouldiours makyng vp to the toppe of the mountayne (which ſemed to paſſe their power to clyme) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing them downe the mountayne, vnto the very gates of the Citie, whom alſo certeine of the kynges ſeruauntes purſued within the Citie, of whom v. valiant ſouldiours, and xx. of the kynges ſeruauntes were ſlayne, the French kyng lookyng vpon, and not once willyng to reſkue them, contrary to hys othe and league before made with the kyng of England. For the French kyng with his men beyng there preſẽt rode in the mydeſt of them ſafely & without any harme, to and fro, & might well haue eaſed the kynges partie, more then he, if it had ſo lyked him.

Commo[...] peace among the kynges.

A ſtirre betwene the Citizens of Meſſana & the Engliſhmen.

The French k. a beareth ſtraungely againſt the Engliſhe men.

This being knowen to the Engliſh hoaſt, how their felowes were ſlayne, and the French men permitted in the Citie, and that they were excluded, and the gates barred agaynſt them, beyng alſo ſtopped from buyng of vitayle and other thynges, they vpon great indignation gathered them ſelues in armes, braſt open the gates, and ſcaled the walles, & ſo winning the Citie, ſet vp their flagges with ŷ Engliſh armes vpõ the walles. Which whẽ the French kyng dyd ſée, he was mightely offended, requiryng the kyng of England, that the armes of Fraunce might alſo bee ſet vp and ioyned with hys. But kyng Richard to that would in no caſe agrée. Notwithſtandyng to ſatiſfie his myndes, he was contented to take downe his armes, and to commit the cuſtodie of the Citie to the Hoſpitallaries and Templaries of Hieruſalem, till the tyme that Tancrede kyng of Sicilie and he ſhould agrée together vpon conditions.

Engliſhe men winne the Citie of Meſſana in Sicilia.

Engliſhe armes ſet vp at Meſſana.

Theſe thinges beyng done, the v. and vj. day of October, it folowed then vpon the viij. day of the ſame of October that peace among the kynges was concluded. In which peace firſt kyng Richard and Philippe the French kyng renewed agayne their othe and league before made concernyng their mutuall ayde and ſocietie duryng the tyme of that peregrination. Secondly, peace alſo was concluded betwene kyng Richard, and Tancrede kyng of Sicilie aforeſayd with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in caſe kyng Richard ſhould dye without iſſue, ſhould mary to Arthure Duke of Britaine, the kynges nephew, and next heyre to his crowne &c. wherof a formal charte was drawen, and letters ſent therof to Pope Clement beyng dated the ix. day of Nouember.

The league renewed betwene kyng Richard & the French kyng.

Peace concluded betwene kyng Richard & Tancrede kyng of Sicilie.

In this meane tyme, as theſe ij. kynges of Fraunce and England were thus wynteryng at Meſſana, Fridericke Emperour firſt of that name (the ſame, on whoſe necke Pope Alexander dyd treade in ŷ Church of Venice, ſaying the Verſe of the Pſalme Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis &c. wherof read before pag. 263.) and his ſonne Conradus, with a mighty armye of Almanes and others, were commyng vp lykewiſe toward the land of Hieruſalem, to the ſiege of Achõ: where by the way ŷ good Emperour, through a great miſchaunce fallyng of hys horſe into a Riuer called Salef, was therin drowned. After whoſe deceaſe Conradus his ſonne takyng the gouernement of hys armye, came to the ſiege of Achõ, in which ſiege alſo he dyed. Vpon whoſe commyng ſuch a dearth folowed in the campe which laſted two monethes, that a loafe of bread, which before their commyng was ſold for one peny, was afterward ſold for iij.ſ. By reaſon wherof

Fridericke 1. Emperour with his ſonne Conrade come vp toward the ſiege of Achon.

Fridericke the Emperour drowned in a riuer goyng to the ſiege of Achon.

many Chriſtian ſouldiours did there periſhe through famine. The chiefeſt foode which the princes there had to feede vpon was horſe fleſh. This famine beyng ſo miſerable, ſome good Biſhops there were in the campe, namely Hubert Byſhop of Saliſbury, with certeine other good Byſhops, who makyng a generall collection through the whole campe for the poore, made ſuch prouiſion, that in ſuch penurie of all thinges, yet no man was ſo deſtitute and nedy, but ſomewhat hee had for his relief, till within a few dayes after by the mercyfull prouidence God (who is the feeder of all creatures) ſhyppes came vnto them with aboundance of corne, wyne, and oyle.

A miſerable famine in the ſiege of Achon.

Gods prouidence in tyme of nede.

The ſiege of this towne of Achon endured a long ſeaſõ, which as it was mightely oppugned by the Chriſtians, ſo was it ſtrongly defended by the Saracens, eſpecially by helpe of wild fire, which the Latins do call ignem Græcum, ſo that great ſlaughter there was on both ſides. Duryng ẏ tyme of which ſiege, many noble perſonages and alſo Biſhops dyed, among whom was Conradus the Emperours ſonne, Randulfe Earle of Fougeres, the Earle of Pericio, Robert Earle of Leyceſter, Baldewyn Archbyſhop of Cant. with iiij. Archbyſhops, and diuers other Byſhops and Abbats and Earles and Barons to the number of 34. and not ſo few. All this while kyng Richard and kyng Philip of Fraunce, ſtil kept at Meſſana in Sicilie, from ẏ moneth of September till April, for lacke (I ſuppoſe) of wynde and weather, or els for neceſſitie of repayryng theyr ſhyppes. In which meane tyme kyng Richard hearing of Ioachim Abbat of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the ſpirite of propheſie, and told many thynges of a people that ſhould come) ſent for him, with whom he and his Byſhops had much conference about the commyng and tyme of Antichriſt. This Ioachim belyke in his bookes and Reuelations vttered ſome things agaynſt the Sea & pride of Rome: for the which hee was leſſe fauored of the Popes, and iudged an enemy to their Sea, and ſo by pope Innocent the 3. was condemned with his bookes for an hereticke, in his Idolatrous generall Councell of Laterane. an. 1215. as ye may read in Antoninus.

The ſiege of Achon.

Ignis Græcus much vſed of the Saracens.

Kyng Richard conferreth wᵗ Ioachim Abbat about the comming of Antichriſt.

Abbas Ioachim condemned in ẏ Councell of Laterane, by Innocent 3.

After this Henricus kyng of Alemanes, ſonne of Fridericke ẏ Emperour hearing of the deceaſſe of his father, ſtandyng now to be Emperour, firſt reſtoreth to Henry Duke of Saxonie, and to others, what ſo euer his father before had takẽ from them. That done, hee ſent to Clement and hys Cardinals, promiſing in all thynges to confirme the lawes and dignities of the Church of Rome, if they would graunt hym theyr aſſent to be Emperour. Whereupon Pope Clement by aduiſe of the Romanes aſſigned him the terme of Eaſter in the next yeare inſuyng for his coronation. But before the Eaſter came, Pope Clement dyed, after he had ſit iij. yeares and about iiij. monethes. After whom ſucceded Cœleſtinus the thyrd. Of whom more hereafter, God willyng.

Henricus ſonne of Fridericke ſtandeth to bee Emperour.

Pope Clement dieth.

Celeſtinus 3. Pope.

1191.

The tyme thus paſſing ouer, in the moneth of February, the next yeare folowyng, which was of the the Lord. 1191. kyng Richard ſent ouer his Galeis to Neaples, there to meete his mother Alinore, and Berẽgaria the daughter of Sanctius kyng of Nauarre, whõ he was purpoſed to mary. Who by that tyme were come to Brunduſium, vnder the conduct of Philippe Earle of Flaunders, and ſo procedyng vnto Neaples, there found the kynges ſhyppes, wherin they ſayled to Meſſana. In this meane ſpace kyng Richard ſhewed him ſelfe excedyng bounteous and liberall to all men. To the French kyng firſt he gaue diuers ſhyppes: vpõ others likewiſe he beſtowed rich rewardes, and of his treaſures and goodes he diſtributed largely to his ſouldiours and ſeruaunts about him. Of whom it was reported that he diſtributed more in one moneth, then euer any of his predeceſſours dyd in a whole yeare: by reaſon whereof he purchaſed great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduauncement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular vſe and profite, as the ſequele afterward proued.

The bountifull liberalitie of king Richard.

To procede then in the progreſſe of kyng Richard, it foloweth. In the firſt day of the moneth of Marche, he leauyng the Citie of Meſſana where the French king was, went to Cathnienſium, a Citie where Tancredus kyng of Sicilie then lay, where hee was honorably receaued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nightes. On the fourth day when he ſhould departe, the foreſayd Tancredus offered him many rich preſentes in gold and ſiluer, and precious ſilkes, wherof kyng Richard would receaue nothyng, but one litle ryng for a token of his good will. For the which kyng Richard agayne gaue to hym a rich ſword. At length when kyng Richard ſhould take his leaue, kyng Tancredus would not ſo let him part, but nedes would giue him iiij. great ſhyps, and xv. galeis: and furthermore he him ſelfe would nedes accompany him the ſpace of ij. dayes iourney to a place called Tauernium.

Kyng Richard remoueth from Meſſana, and commeth to Cathneys.

The honorable intertainement of kyng Rich. by kyng Tancredus.

Then the next mornyng when they ſhould take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the meſſage, which the French kyng a litle before had ſent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contentes whereof was this: that the kyng of England was a falſe traytor, and would neuer keepe the peace that was betwen them. And if the ſayd Tancredus would warre agaynſt hym, or ſecretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would aſſiſte him, & ioyne with him to the deſtruction of him, and all his army &c. To whõ Richard ẏ kyng proteſted agayne, that he was no traytor, nor neuer was: and as touchyng the peace begon betwene them, the ſame ſhould neuer be broken through him: Neither could he beleue, that the French kyng, beyng hys good Lord and his ſworne compartner in that vyage, would vtter any ſuch wordes by hym. Which when Tancredus heard, he bryngeth forth the letters of the French kyng ſent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirmyng moreouer that if the Duke of Burgundie would deny the bringyng of the ſayd letters, he was ready to trye with him by any of his Dukes. Kyng Richard receauyng the letters, and muſing not a litle vpon the ſame, returneth agayne to Meſſana. The ſame day that kyng Richard parted, the French kyng commeth to Tauernium to ſpeake with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morow returned to Meſſana agayne.

Philippe the French kyng trayterouſly ſeeketh the deſtruction of K. Richard by ſecret letters ſẽt to the kyng of Sicilia.

A faithful part of Tancredus kyng of Sicilie toward K. Richard.

From that tyme kyng Richard moued in ſtomacke agaynſt kyng Philippe, neuer ſhewed any gentle countenaunce of peace and amitie, as he before was wont. Wherat the French kyng greatly maruelyng, and enquyryng earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe thereof, word was ſent hym agayne by Philip Earle of Flaunders from kyng Richard, what wordes he had ſent to the kyng of Sicilie, and for teſtimonie thereof the letters were ſhewed which hee wrote by the Duke of Burgundie, to the kyng of Sicilie. Which when the French kyng vnderſtode, firſt he held his peace, as giltie in his conſcience, not knowyng well what to aunſwere. At lẽgth turnyng his tale to an other matter, he began to quarell with kyng Richard pretendyng as though he ſought cauſes to breake with him, and to maligne him: & therfore he forged theſe lyes (ſayd he) vppon him, and all becauſe he by that meanes would voyde to mary wᵗ Aleſie his ſiſter, accordyng as he had promiſed: Addyng moreouer that if hee would ſo do, and would not mary the ſayd Aliſie his ſiſter accordyng to his othe, but would mary an other, he would be an enemy to him and to his while he lyued.

The firſt occaſion of diſcorde betwene the French kyng and kyng Richard.

Kyng Richard chargeth the French kyng with falſhode.

The French kyng quarelleth with kyng Richard about maryyng his ſiſter.

To this kyng Rich. ſayd againe, that he could by no meanes mary that woman, for ſo much as hys father had carnall copulation with her, and alſo had by her a ſonne: for prouſe whereof he had there preſẽtly to bryng forth diuers and ſondry witneſſes to the kynges face,

Cauſes alleged why kyng Richard could not mary with the French kynges ſiſter.

to teſtifie with hym. In concluſion through counſell and perſuaſion of diuers about the French kyng, agreement at laſt was made, ſo that kyng Philip did acquite kyng Richard from his bonde of marying his ſiſter and kyng Richard agayne ſhould be bounde to pay to him euery yeare, for the ſpace of v. yeares, two thouſand Markes, with certeine other conditions beſides, not greatly materiall in this place to be decyphred. And thus peace beyng betwene them concluded, the 28. day of the ſayd moneth of Marche the French kyng launchyng out of the hauen of Meſſana, in the xxij. day after in Eaſter weeke came with his army to the ſiege of Achon.

Agreement betwene the two kynges, with the conditions touchyng the ſame.

The French kyng commeth to Achon.

After the departure of the French kyng from Meſſana, kyng Richard with his army yet remainyng behynd, aryued Queene Alinore the kynges mother, bryngyng with her Bernegera the kyng of Nauarres daughter to be eſpouſed to kyng Richard. Which done, Alinore the next day leauyng Bernegera behind her departed, takyng her iorney toward Rome to entreate the Pope for Gaufridus her other ſonne aboue mentioned, to be conſecrated in the Archbyſhopricke of Yorke, beyng before elected by the procurement of kyng Richard his brother, as ye heard. In which meane tyme as Queene Alinore was trauaylyng toward Rome, Pope Clement aboue mentioned dyed about the vj. day of Aprill, in whoſe rowme ſucceded Pope Cœleſtinus the thyrd. Who the next day after his conſecration, came from Laterane to S. Peters Church, where in the way meteth hym Henricus the Emperour, and Conſtantia his wife with a great rout of armed ſouldiours. But the Romanes makyng faſt their gates, would not ſuffer them to enter their Citie. Then Pope Cœleſtine ſtandyng vpon the ſtayres before the church doore of S. Peter, receaued an othe of yͤ ſayd Henricus kyng of yͤ Alemans (his army waityng without) that he ſhould defend the Church of God, and all the liberties therof, and mainteyne Iuſtice, alſo to reſtore agayne the patrimonie of S. Peter full and whole, what ſoeuer hath bene diminiſhed therof, and finally that he ſhould ſurrender to the church of Rome agayne, the Citie of Tuſculanum. &c. Upon theſe conditions and grauntes then the Pope tooke hym to the Church, and there annoynted him for Emperour, and his wife for Empreſſe, who there ſittyng in his chayre pontificall, held the crowne of gold betwene his feete, and ſo the Emperour bowyng downe his head to the Popes feete, receaued the crowne: and in lyke maner the Empreſſe alſo. The crowne thus beyng ſet vppon the Emperours head, the Pope eſtſoones with hys foote ſtroke it of agayne from his head vnto the groūd, declaryng thereby that he had power to depoſe hym agayne in caſe he ſo deſerued. Then the Cardinals takyng vp the crowne, ſet it vppon his head agayne. Ex veteri Chronico manuſcripto anonymo, De geſtis Richardi Regis cui initium: Anno gratiæ &c. Item ex alio eiuſdem vetuſtatis Chronico manuſcripto, cui initium: Æneas cum: Aſcanio. &c.

Berengaria or ſome do call as her Bernegera daughter to yͤ kyng of Nauarre brought to be maried to kyng Richard by his mother Alinor.

Pope *Cœleſtinus 3.*

Conditiōs required of *Hēricus* kyng of Almaines, before he ſhould bee made Emperour by the Pope.

The Pope of Rome in the ful toppe of his pride.

Pope *Cœleſtine* crowneth *Henricus* the Emperour with his feete.

The pope ſtriketh of yͤ Emperours crown with his foote.

Not long after the departure of kyng Philip from Meſſana, which was in the moneth of March, kyng Richard in Aprill folowyng, about the xx. day of the ſayd moneth, ſaylyng from the hauen of Meſſana, with a CL. great ſhyppes, and liij. great Galeis well manned and appoynted, tooke his iourney toward Achō. Who beyng vppon the Seas, on good Friday about the ix. houre roſe a mighty Southwind with a tempeſt, which diſceuered & ſcattered all his nauie, ſome to one place, and ſome to an other. The kyng with a few ſhyppes was driuen to the Iſle of Creta, and then before the hauen of Rhodes caſt anchor. The ſhyp that caryed the kynges ſiſter, Queene of Sicilie, and Bernegera the kyng of Nauarres daughter, with ij. other ſhyppes were driuen to the Iſle of Cyprus. The kyng makyng great mone for the ſhyp of his ſiſter, and Bernegera his wife that ſhould be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempeſt was ouerblowen, ſent forth his Galleys diligently to ſearch the reſt of his nauie diſperſed, but eſpecially for the ſhyppe wherein his ſiſter was and the mayden whom hee ſhould mary, who at length were foūd ſafe and mery at the Porte of Lymſzem in yͤ Iſle of Cyprus. Notwithſtādyng the ij. other ſhyppes which were in their cōpany before in the ſame hauen, were drowned, with diuers of the kynges ſeruaūtes, & men of worſhyp, amongeſt whō was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, yͤ kynges Vicechaūcelour, who was found hauyng the kynges ſeale hangyng about his necke! The kyng of Cyprus was then Iſakius (called alſo the Emperour of the Grifones) who tooke and empriſoned all Engliſh men, which by ſhypwrake were caſt vpon his land, alſo inuegled into hys handes the goodes and priſes of them which were found drowned about his coaſtes, nor would ſuffer the ſhyppe wherein the two Ladyes were to enter within the Porte.

Kyng Richard remoueth frō Meſſana to Achon.

Kyng Richard ouertakē with a tempeſt in yͤ Seas, goyng to Achon.

The tydynges of this beyng brought to kyng Richard, he in great wrath gatheryng his Galleys and ſhyppes together, bordeth the land of Cyprus, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to kyng Iſakius, how he with his Engliſhmen commyng as ſtraungers to the ſupportation of the holy land, were by diſtreſſe of wether driuen vppon his boundes, and therfore with all humble petition beſought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy Croſſe, to let go ſuch priſoners of his which he had in captiuitie, and to reſtore agayne the goodes of them which were drowned, as hee deteined in his handes, to be employed for yͤ behouſe of their ſoules. &c. And this the kyng once, twiſe, and thriſe deſired of the Emperour. But he proudly aunſweryng agayne, ſent the kyng word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goodes of thē which were drowned. &c.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Iſakius made of his ſo humble and honeſt petition, and how nothyng there could be gotten without violent force, eſtſoones giueth cōmaundement through all his hoaſt, to put them ſelues in armour and to folow him, to reuenge ſuch iniuries receaued of that proude and cruell kyng of Cyprus, wyllyng them to put their truſt in God, & not to miſdoubt but the Lord would ſtand with them, and giue them the victory. The Emperour in the meane tyme with his people ſtode wardyng the Sea coaſtes where yͤ Engliſhmen ſhould aryue, with ſwordes, bylles, and lances, and ſuch other weapons as they had, ſettyng boardes, ſtooles & cheſtes before them in ſtead of a walle. Howbeit but few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all vnexpert, and vnſkilfull in the feates of warre. Then kyng Richard with hys ſouldiours iſſuyng out of theyr ſhyppes, firſt ſet his bowmen before, who with their ſhotte made away for other to folow. The Engliſh mē thus wynnyng the land vpon them, ſo fiercely preſſed vpon the Griffones, that after long fightyng, and many blowes, at laſt the Emperour was put to flight, whom kyng Richard valiantly purſued, and ſlue many, and diuers he tooke alyue, and had gone nere alſo to haue the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battayle. And thus king Richard with much ſpoyle and great victorie returnyng to the Port town of Lymeſzem, which the townesmen had left for feare, found there great aboundance of corne, wyne, oyle, and vitayles.

The ſame day after the victorie got, Ioane the kynges ſiſter and Bernegera the mayden, entred the Port and towne of Lymeſzem, with L. great ſhyppes, and xiiij. Galliots: So that all the whole nauye there metyng together were CCLiiij. talle ſhyppes, and aboue lx. Galliots. Then Iſakius the Emperour ſeyng no way for him to eſchape by the Sea, the ſame night pitched his tentes v. myles of from the Engliſhe army, ſwearyng that the third day after he would ſure giue battayle to kyng Richard. But he preuentyng him before

The kyng of Cyprus agayne put to flight.

fore, ſodenly the ſame mornyng before the day of battayle ſhould be, ſetteth vppon the tentes of the Griffones early, they being vnwares and aſleepe, and made of them a great ſlaughter, in ſomuch that ÿ Emperour was fayne naked to runne away, leauyng his tentes and pauilions to the Engliſh men full of horſes, and rich treaſure, alſo with the Imperiall ſtandard, the lower part whereof with a coſtly ſtremer was couered and wrought all with gold. Kyng Richard then returnyng with victory and triumphe to his ſiſter and Bernegera, ſhortly after in the moneth of May next folowyng, and the 12. day of the ſayd moneth, maryed the ſayd Bernegera daughter of Rancon king of Nauarre in the Iſle of Cyprus, at Lymeſzen.

Kyng Richard marieth Bernegere daughter of ÿ king of Nauarre, in the Iſle of Cyprus.

The kyng of Cyprus ſeyng him ſelfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeld him ſelfe, with cōditions, to giue kyng Richard xx. thouſand Markes in gold, for amendes of ſuch ſpoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned: Alſo to reſtore all his captiues agayne to the kyng: And furthermore he in his owne perſon to attende vppon the kyng to the land of Hieruſalem, in Gods ſeruice and his, with CCCC. horſemen, and v. hundreth footemen: in pledge wherof he would giue to his handes his Caſtels, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kyngdome of him. This done, and the Emperour ſwearyng fidelitie to kyng Richard, before Guido kyng of Hieruſalem, and the Prince of Antioche (who were come thether to kyng Richard, a litle before) peace was taken and Iſakius committed to the ward of certeine kepers. Notwithſtandyng ſhortly after he breakyng from his keepers, was agayne at defiance with the kyng. Wherupon kyng Richard beſetting ÿ Ileland of Cypres round about with ſhippes & Galleys, did in ſuch ſort preuayle, that the ſubiectes of ÿ land were conſtrayned to yeld them ſelues to ÿ king, and at length the daughter alſo of the Emperour and at laſt the Emperour him ſelfe, whom kyng Richard cauſed to be kept in fetters of ſiluer and gold, and to be ſent to the Citie of Tripolis.

Iſakius kyng of Cyprus yeldeth him ſelfe to kyng Richard.

The kyng of Cyprus [illegible] conditions with kyng Richard.

Kyng of Cyprus agayne ſubmitteth him ſelfe, & was kept in golden fetters.

These thinges thus done, and all ſet in order touchyng the poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Cyprus, the kepyng whereof he committed to Radulfe ſonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlayne, beyng then the firſt day of Iune, vpon the fift of the ſayd moneth, kyng Richard departed from the Iſle of Cyprus with his Shyppes & Galleis toward the ſiege of Achon, and on the next morow came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French kyng he was reſtrayned by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the vj. day of Iune, croſſing ÿ Seas, he mette with a great Barke fraught with ſouldiours and men of warre to the number of a thouſand and fiue hundreth, which pretendyng to bee French men, and ſettyng forth their flagge with the French armes, were in dede Saracens ſecretly ſent wt wild fire & certein barels of vnknowen Serpentes, to the defenſe of the towne of Achon. Which kyng Ricard at length perceauyng, eftſoones ſette vppon them, and ſo vanquiſhed them, of whom the moſt were drowned, and ſome taken alyue. Which beyng once knowen in the Citie of Achon, as it was a great diſcomfort to them, ſo it was a great helpe to the Chriſtians for wynnyng the Citie. The next day after, which was the vij. of Iune, kyng Richard came to Achon, which at that tyme had bene long beſieged of the Chriſtians. After whoſe commyng it was not long, but the Paganes within the Citie, ſeyng their walles to bee vndermyned and towers ouerthrowen, were dryuen by compoſition to eſcape with lyfe and lymme, to ſurrender the Citie to the two kynges. An other great helpe to the Chriſtians in winning the Citie was this. In the ſayd Citie of Achon there was a ſecret Chriſtian among the Saracens, who in tyme of the ſiege therof vſed at ſondry tymes to caſt ouer the walles into the campe of the Chriſtians certeine billes written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he diſcloſed to the Chriſtians, from tyme to tyme, the doynges and counſels of the enemyes, aduertiſing them how and what way they ſhould worke, and what to beware. And allwayes his letters began thus: In nomine patris & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. By reaſon wherof ÿ Chriſtians were much aduauntaged in their procedynges. But this was a great heauynes vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the Citie was got they could euer vnderſtād who he was. Ex Chronico manuſcripto, De geſtis Richardi.

Kyng Richard taketh hys iourney to Achon.

A thouſand and fiue hundreth Saracens ſent to the defenſe of Achon, vanquiſhed on the Sea by kyng Richard.

The Citie of Achon yelded to ÿ Chriſtiās.

An honeſt part of a ſecret Chriſtiā in the City of Achon.

To make of a long ſiege a ſhort narration, vppon the xij. day of Iuly the yeare aforeſayd, the Princes and Captaines of the Paganes vpon agreement reſorted to the tente of the Templaries, to common with the two kynges touchyng peace, and gyuyng vp of their Citie: the forme of which peace was thus: That the kynges ſhould haue the Citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered to thē with all which was therin, & fiue hundreth captiues of the Chriſtians ſhould be reſtored to them, which were in Achon. Alſo the holy Croſſe ſhould be to them rendered, and a thouſand Chriſtian captiues, with ij. hundreth horſemen, who ſo euer they them ſelues would chuſe out of al them which were in ÿ power of Saladine. Ouer & beſides, they ſhould giue to the kynges CC. thouſand Byſants, ſo that they them ſelues would remaine as pledges in the kynges handes, for the performance hereof, that if in xl. dayes theſe foreſayd conuenaunces were not accompliſhed, they would abyde the kynges mercy touchyng lyfe and lymme. Theſe couenaunces beyng agreed vppon, the kinges ſent their ſouldiours and ſeruauntes into the Citie, to take a C. of ÿ richeſt and beſt of the Citie, to cloſe them vp in towers vnder ſtrong keepyng, and the reſidue they cōmitted to be kept in houſes & in ſtreetes, miniſtryng to them accordyng to their neceſſities: to whom notwithſtandyng this they permitted, that ſo many of them as would be Baptiſed and receaue the fayth of Chriſt, ſhould be free to go whether they would. Wherupon many there were of the Paganes, which for feare of death, pretended to be Baptiſed, but afterward ſo ſoone as they could, reuolted agayne to the Saladine. For the which it was afterward cōmaunded by the kynges, that none of them ſhould be Baptiſed agaynſt their wylles.

The forme of peace concluded betwen the kinges and the Princes of Achon.

Couenaunce made in giuing vp the Citie of Achon.

Religiō would be taught, and not coacted.

The 13. day of the ſayd moneth of Iuly, kyng Philip of Fraunce, and kyng Richard, after they had obtained the poſſeſſion of Achon, diuided betwene them all thynges therein conteined, as well the people as gold and ſiluer, with all other furniture what ſoeuer was remainyng in the Citie: who in diuidyng the ſpoyle were ſo good caruers to them ſelues, that many Knightes and Barons with other ſouldiours, who had there ſuſteined the whole trauaile two yeares together about that ſiege, ſeyng the kynges to rake all to them ſeluſs and their part to be but litle, retracted them ſelues without the vttermoſt trench, and there after conſultation had together, ſent word to the kynges that they would leaue and forſake them, vnles they were made partakers alſo of the gaynes for the which they had ſo long trauayled. To whom aunſwere was ſent agayne by the kynges, that their wylles ſhould be ſatiſfied. Howbeit becauſe of long differryng of their promiſe, many conſtrayned by pouerty departed from them.

The two kings diuide ÿ Citie of Achō, with all the ſpoyle therof betwene them ſelues.

Cōmōly ſene, who ſo taketh moſt paynes, their part to be the leaſt.

Many of the Chriſtiā ſouldiours for nede were conſtrayned to depart from Achon.

The xx. day of Iuly kyng Richard ſpeakyng with the French kyng, deſired him that they ij. with their armyes would bynde thē ſelues by oth to remayne there ſtill in the land of Hieruſalē ÿ ſpace of 3. yeares, for the wynnyng & recoueryng agayne of thoſe coūtreys. But he would ſweare (he ſayd) no ſuch oth: and ſo the next day after kyng Richard with his wife & ſiſter entreth into the Citie of Achon, and placed there him ſelfe in the kynges Palace: the French king remainyng in the houſes of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth. So about the begynnyng of the moneth of Auguſt, Philip the French kyng, after that

Kyng Richard requireth of the French kyng to remaine three yeares with his armey, but he would not.

he and king Rich. had made agreemẽt betwene Guido and Conradus the Marques about the kyngdome of Hieruſalem, wẽt from Achon to Tyrus: notwithſtandyng kyng Richard, and all the Princes of the Chriſtian army with great entreatie deſired him to tary, ſhewyng what a ſhame it were for him to come ſo far, and now to leaue vndone that, for which he came, and on the third of Auguſt from Tyrus departed, leauyng his halfe part of the Citie of Achon in the handes of the foreſayd Conradus Marques. After whoſe departure the Paganes refuſed to keepe their couenauntes made, who neither would reſtore the holy Croſſe nor ẏ money, nor their captiues, ſending word to kyng Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left wͭ hym at Achon, they would choppe of ẏ heades of ſuch captiues of the Chriſtians, which were in their handes. Shortly after this ẏ Saladine ſẽding great giftes to kyng Rich. requeſted the tyme limited for beheadyng of the captiues to be prorogued: but the kyng refuſed to take his giftes, and to graunt his requeſt. Wherupon the Saladine cauſed all the Chriſtian captiues within his poſſeſſion forthwith to bee headed: which was the xviij. day of Auguſt. Which albeit kyng Richard underſtode, yet would not he preuent the tyme afore limited for the execution of his priſoners, beyng the xx. day of Auguſt. Vppon which day he cauſed the priſoners of the Saracens, openly in the ſight of the Saladines army to loſe their heades: the number of whom came to two thouſand and fiue hũdreth, ſaue onely that certeine of the principal of them he reſerued for purpoſes and conſiderations, eſpecially to make exchaunge for the holy Croſſe, & certeine other of ẏ Chriſtiã captiues.

Chriſtian captiues ſlayne by the Saladine.

The Saracen captiues ſlayne by kyng Richard.

After this kyng Richard purpoſed to beſiege the Citie of Ioppe. Where by the way betwene Achon and Ioppe, nere to a towne called Aſſur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens, came fiercely agaynſt the kynges reare ward, but through Gods mercyfull grace, in the ſame battaile the kynges warriours acquited them ſo well, that ẏ Saladine was put to flight (whom the Chriſtiãs purſued ẏ ſpace of three myles) and loſt the ſame day many of his nobles & Captaines, in ſuch ſort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to ſuch confuſion xl. yeares before: and but one Chriſtian Captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen. From thence king Rich. procedyng further went to Ioppe and thẽ to Aſcalon, where he found firſt the Citie of Ioppe forſaken of the Saracens, who durſt not abyde the kinges commyng. Aſcalon the Saladine threw down to the ground, and likewiſe forſoke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the kyng had free paſſage without reſiſtance: neither durſt ẏ Saracen Prince encounter after that with kyng Richard. Of all which his acheuaunces the ſayd king Richard ſent his letters of certificate as well into Englãd, as alſo to ẏ Abbat of Clara valle in Fraunce, well hopyng that he, God willyng, ſhould be able to make his repayre agayne to them by Eaſter next.

Saladine put to flight.

A noble victory by Gods power gotten by kyng Richard agaynſt the Saracens.

Kyng Richard in poſſeſſion of Syria.

¶ A brief ſtory of William Byſhop of Ely the kynges Chauncellour.

AND now to leaue kyng Richard a while in the field, let vs make a ſteppe into England, & loke a litle what is done at home while the kyng was abroad, & ſo to returne to ẏ kyng agayne. Ye heard before how kyng Richard at his ſettyng forth committed the gouernement of the Realme to Hugo Byſhop of Durham, and to William Byſhop of Ely, ſo that to the B. of Durham was committed the kepyng of the Caſtle of Wyndſore: the other, which was the B. of Ely, had the kepyng of the tower of London, about which he cauſed a great ditch with a rampear to be caſt, which is yet remaynyng. Furthermore to theſe ij. Byſhops, the king alſo aſſigned iiij. other chief Iuſtices, which ioyntly with them ſhould haue the hearyng & ouerſight of all cauſes as wel to ẏ Clergy as the laity apperteining, to witte, Hugh Bardolf, William Marſhall, Geffrey Peterſon, and W. Bruer. But the Biſhop of Ely was the principall, or at leaſt, he that toke moſt vpõ hym. Who both was the kynges Chauncelour, and bought with his money to be the Popes Legate through England, Ireland, & Scotland, as is before ſpecified. Touchyng the exceſſiue pride and pompe of which Biſhop, his ruſlynges outragious, and fall moſt ſhamefull, it would make a long tragedie to diſcourſe the whole circumſtances at full: Onely to demonſtrate certeine eſpecialties therof for our preſent purpoſe, it may ſuffice.

The ſtory of William the Noble Biſhop of Ely.

Vt iuſtè indicarent clerum & populum, verba hiſt.

Firſt, this W. called Longchamp beyng thus aduaunſed by the kyng to be his high Chauncelour, and chief Iuſtice of the Realme, and alſo ẏ Popes Legate, to ſhew abroad the authoritie of his Legatſhyp, began to ſuſpende the Canons, Clerkes, and Vicares of the Church of S. Peter in Yorke, becauſe they receaued him not with proceſſion: vnder which interdiction hee helde them, till they were fayne at laſt, both Canons, Clerkes, and Vicares to fall downe at his fote, cauſing alſo their Belles to be let downe out of the ſteple. After this commeth Hugo Biſhop of Durham, whom the kyng ſent home out of Normandy with his letters, who metyng with the foreſayd William Byſhop of Ely in the towne of Blye, ſhewed him the kynges letters, wherein was graunted to hym the keepyng of Wyndſore Caſtle, and to be the kynges Iuſtice from the Riuer of Humber, to the borders of Scotland. To the which letters the Chauncelour aunſwered, that the kynges commaundement ſhould be done, & ſo brought him with him to Suwell, where he toke him, and kept him faſt, till he was forced at laſt to ſurrender to hym the Caſtle of Wyndſore, and other thynges which the kyng had committed to hys cuſtody: and moreouer was conſtrayned to leaue with the ſayd Chauncelour Henry de Puteaco his owne ſonne, & Gilbert Ley for pledges & hoſtages of his fidelitie to be true to the king and the Realme. And thus the B. of Durham beyng ſet at libertie, went to his towne of Houeden. Where after he had made his abode a few dayes, commeth thether Oſbert Longchamp the Chauncelours brother, and W. Stuteuill, with a great company of armed men ſent by the Chauncelour to apprehend hym. But the ſayd Byſhop of Durham puttyng in ſureties not to departe that towne without licence of the king and of the Chauncellour, there ſtill remained, till he got letters to be ſent to the king, ſignifying how he was vſed. Wherupõ ẏ kyng writyng his letters frõ Marſilia to the B. of Ely, ſet the ſayd Byſhop of Durham free, and confirmed to hym all the poſſeſſions and grauntes that he before had geuen hym.

It is almoſt incredible to thinke how intemperatly this Byſhop and Chauncelour miſuſed him ſelfe after the kynges departure into Syria in exceſſe of pride, and in cruell exactions and oppreſſions of the kynges ſubiectes. Firſt his felow Iuſtices, whom the kyng ioyned with him for gouernement of the realme, he vtterly reiected, & refuſed to heare their cõſaile, reputyng none to be equall with him in all the Realme. Neither was he contẽted with the authoritie of a Prelate, but playde both kyng and Prieſt in the Realme. All Caſtels, Lordſhyps, Abbayes, Churches, and all other appropriations belongyng to the right of the kyng, he claymed to him ſelfe, and by vertue of his Legateſhyp, when he came to any Byſhops houſe, Abbay, Priory, or any other Religious houſe, he brought with him ſuch a ſuperfluitie of men, horſes, dogges, and haukes, that the houſe was worſe for it three yeares after. For commõly he neuer rode vnder a 1500. horſes of Chaplaynes, Prieſtes, and other ſeruyng men waytyng vpon hym. From ẏ Clergy & laytie he toke away their Churches their bowſans, their liuynges, and landes, to beſtow, vpon his nephewes, and other waytyng Chaplaynes to ſerue his vayne glory, or els conuerted them to hys owne vſe, to maintaine his pompe and vanitie. In getyng

tyng and gatheryng of treaſures he had no meaſure, in myſpendyng yͤ ſame he kept no order. And that no vyce ſhould be wantyng where ſuch auarice taketh roote, the money which he wrongfully got, he committed to the banke, to be encreaſed by vſury. What wantones and laſciuiouſnes was vſed in that ſo riotous lyfe, the ſtoryes do ſhame to declare it. All ruffenly runnagates, idle belyes, and light perſons, whereſoeuer he went, hanged vpon his Court. To increaſe the vayne ioylitie of this Royall Prelate, there was lacking no kynde of muſicall inſtrumentes and melodious noyſe, to refreſh belike his weryed ſenſes to much beaten and macerated with continuall labour and ſtudy of huntyng, haukyng and gamyng, of preachyng and readyng, I ſhould haue ſayd.

is vſury.

is rio- ous & deli- ate life.

Briefly this foreſayd Prelate, bearyng the authoritie both of the kyng and of the Pope, kept ſuch a ſturre in England, that all the whole Realme was at his becke, with cappe and knee crowchyng to him. Neither durſt any man rich or poore diſpleaſe him. Yea none in all the Realme ſo noble or worſhypfull, but was glad to pleaſe hym, accountyng them ſelues happy if they might ſtand in his fauour. At his table all noble mens children did ſerue and wayte vpon him, with whom he coupled in Mariage his nieces and kynſwomen. And when any that ſtode waytyng before him, durſt once caſt vp his eyes or did not demurely looke downeward vpon the ground, he had a ſtaffe in hand with a pricke, wherewith he vſed to pricke them, learnyng belyke by the carter his father, which vſed at the plough or carte to driue his oxen. Furthermore, as kynges vſe to haue their garde about them, ſo he becauſe he would not alſo be vngarded, refuſing men of the Engliſh nation, had his waiters and warders moſt of French mẽ and Flemmynges.

he B. of Ely play- d both yng and rieſt.

illiam Byſhop of Ely gar- ed with rench en and lemings.

1191.

It happened after this, in the yeare. 1191. that a great diſcorde roſe betwene Iohn Earle of Morton, the kynges brother, with other ſtates of the Realme, any the ſayd William Biſhop of Ely, ſo that vniuerſally they all wrote ouer to the kyng cõcernyng the miſgouernemẽt and enormities of the ſayd Byſhop. Who vnderſtandyng of the caſe, ſent frõ Meſſana into England, Walter Archb. of Roan, and William Marſchall Earle, vnto the Byſhop of Ely with letters commaundyng him, that in all his doyngs he ſhould aſſociate vnto hym the ſayd Archb. of Roan, W. Marſchall, Greffray Peterſon, W. Bruer, and Hugh Bardolf aboue mentioned. Who when they came into England, durſt not deliuer their letters, dreadyng yͤ diſpleaſure of the Chauncelour: for hee deſpiſed all the commaundementes of the kyng, nor would ſuffer any felow to ioyne with him in his kyngdome.

generall mplaynt o yͤ kyng, f William B. of Ely.

f theſe ure aſſo- ates read he page efore.

Hetherto you haue heard of the glorious vanitie of this Lordly Legate and Chauncelour of the Realme, now ye ſhall heare of his ſhamefull fall, after his ſhameles exaltation. For ſhortly after this foloweth an other breach betwene the ſayd Earle Iohn the kynges brother and him, about the beſiegyng of yͤ Caſtell of Lyncolne. Concernyng the which Caſtell the ſayd Iohn ſent him word, that vnles he raſed his ſiege the ſooner from thẽce, he would ſent him away by force of ſword. The Byſhop either not able to make his partie good, or not daryng to reſiſte, thought beſt to fal to ſome compoſition with the Earle, and ſo did. In which compoſitiõ, he was contented agaynſt his will, by mediation of diuers Byſhops and others, to make ſurrender, not onely of the Caſtell of Lyncolne, but alſo of Nothyngham, of Tykhill, Walyngford and many moe, which were then committed to the cuſtody of ſondry men of worſhyp and honour. And thus was that controuerſie agreed, wherin the Byſhop of Ely began a litle to be cut ſhorter.

nother ſſention twene ohn the yngs bro- her and illiã B. f Ely.

It folowed then not long after in the ſame yeare, that an other lyke buſines began to kyndle betwene Geffray the Archb. of Yorke the kynges brother, and the foreſayd glorious Byſhop of Ely, vppon this occaſion. Ye heard before how the kyng at his ſettyng out, left order, that Earle Iohn and Geffray his brethren ſhould not enter into the realme the ſpace of iij. yeares after hys departure (howbeit hys brother Iohn was ſhortly after releaſed of that bond): and alſo after that how kyng Richard beyng at Meſſana, ſent his mother Alinor to the Pope for his brother Geffray (elected before to the Sea of Yorke) to be cõſecrated Archbyſhop: wherupon the ſayd Geffray beyng conſecrated through licence of Pope Cœleſtine by the Archb. of Turon, the ſayd Geffray eftſoones after his conſecration differred no tyme, but would nedes come into England. Wherof yͤ Byſhop of Ely hauyng intelligẽce, ſent him word beyng at Wiſſand in Flaunders not to preſume to aduenture into the Realme contrary to his othe made to kyng Richard before: commaundyng moreouer, that if he came he ſhould be apprehẽded. All which notwithſtandyng the Archb. letted not for all that, but needes would repayre to his Sea, and ſo aryued at Douer in the moneth of September, where the Chauncelours men ſtode on the Sea ſide to apprehend him. But he by chaũgyng his apparell and by ſwiftenes of his horſe eſcaped their handes, and came to the Monkes houſe of Douer. But the Chauncelours men whom he ſent to take him, beſet the Church of the Monkes round about, ſo that in no wiſe he could auoyde their handes.

Another broile betwene the Chauncelour & Geffray Archbiſhop of Yorke the kyngs brother.

To make the ſtory ſhort, as the Archb. on a day, whẽ he had ſayd Maſſe was ſtandyng at the altar, with his garmentes yet about him, the rude ſouldiours hauyng litle good maner, and leſſe deuotion, ſpared not boldly to ruſhe into the Church, and there layd handes vpon the Archb. as he ſtode: tooke him, bound him & dragged him through dyrt & myre (& as we vſe to ſay) through thicke and thynne, and ſo committed him to Mathew Clerke their Conſtable to be kept: whereat the people greatly diſdained, ſeyng him that was a kynges ſonne, and the brother of a kyng ſo to be entreated. The hearyng wherof when it came to the eares of Earle Iohn his brother, he beyng not a litle offẽded therewith, ſent to know of the Chauncelour, whether this was hys doyng, or not. To whom when the Chauncelour ſent aunſwere agayne, and ſtoutly confeſſed the fact to be his, then the Earle ſent commaundement, that his brother ſhould be deliuered, and ſo he was. Who then cõmyng to London, made his complaint to the Earle his brother, and to other nobles of the Realme, of the iniuries done to him by the Chauncelour. Whereupon the Earle ſent for the ſayd Chauncelour & appointed a day peremptory for him to appeare before the whole body of yͤ Counſell, to make aunſwere to ſuch iniuries as he had done both to the Archb. of Yorke, and alſo to the Byſhop of Durham aboue mentioned. But the Chaũcelour driuing of the time with delayes, would neither come nor ſend. Then the Earle, with the Byſhops about him, made their iourney toward London, to haue the matter there handled in greater audience.

The cruel handlyng of Geffray Archb. of Yorke, by the B. of Ely the Popes Legate and Chauncelour of England.

Geffray Archbyſhop of Yorke deliuered out of priſõ by commaũdement of Earle Iohn his brother.

The Chauncelour ſeyng that, withdrew him ſelfe from Wyndſore, to the Citie of London. Where by the way it happened that the ſeruauntes of the Earle and of the Chauncelour meetyng, did ſkirmiſhe together. In which fray one of the Earles familie was ſlayne, but yet his men had the better, and the Chauncelour with his men were put to flight, and ſo fled to the Tower, where they did hyde them ſelues. The next day after, which was about the 12. day of October, Earle Iohn the kynges brother, and the Archbiſhop of Roan, withall the Byſhops, Earles, and Barons, and Citizens of London aſſembled together in Paules Church, where many and great accuſations were layd agaynſt the ſayd Chauncelour, ſo that in fine it was agreed in that aſſembly, that the ſayd Chauncelour ſhould be depoſed, and in his place was ſubſtitute the Archb. of Roan, accordyng to the tenour of the kynges letters ſent from Meſſana, which was, that certeine

A ſkirmiſh betwene the ſeruauntes of the B. of Ely, and the ſeruaũts of Earle Iohn.

The nobles aſſembled in coũſell agaynſt the Byſhop of Ely.

The B. of Ely Chauncelor of the Realme and Legate, depoſed.

The B. of Ely reſigneth his Caſtels.

other perſons ſhould be aſſociated with the Chauncelour for gouernement of the Realme, by whoſe counſel if he would not be directed, the Archbyſhop of Roan ſhould be ſet in his place, and he to be depoſed. The third day after this the Chauncelour firmely promiſed, not to departe out of the Realme before he had deliuered out of his handes all ſuch Caſtels, the keepyng whereof he committed to certeine foreners and ſtraungers, and for aſſuraunce thereof he gaue his two brethren, and Chamberlayne for pledges, and ſo went to Canterbury, where he ſayd he would take the Croſſe of a pilgrime and leaue the Croſſe of his Legateſhyp.

The Biſhop of Ely clotheth him ſelfe in a womans apparell.

A Fiſherman taketh the Byſhop of Ely to be a woman.

Now when he was come to the Caſtle of Douer, and there had remained a few dayes, contrary to hys promiſe made, his purpoſe was to take ſhyppe, and to paſſe ouer the Seas. And becauſe he durſt not do it openly, he deuiſed a new kynd of diſguiſing, deckyng him ſelfe in the apparell of a woman, and ſo as gouty as he was, went to yͤ Sea ſide in his womans weede, hauyng in his hãd a met yeard, and on his arme a peece of lynnyn cloth. And thus as he was ſittyng vppon a rocke, waytyng for his ſhyppe to come and to conuey him ouer, a certeine Fiſherman eſpiyng him, and ſuppoſing the ſame to bee a harlot, came to him, and ſo with ſtrugglyng with him, founde him, as he was in deede, to be a man in likenes of a woman. Whereat he wondered, and began to make an outcry vppon him. But the Byſhops ſeruauntes beyng not farre of, came runnyng and ſtilled him, as well as they could.

The Biſhop of Ely in a womans apparell found to bee a man.

The Biſhop of Ely bayted of women by the Seas ſide.

The Byſhop of Ely caſt in a darke cellar in ſteade of a priſon.

The Byſhop of Ely ſet at libertie by Iohn Earle of Morton.

The Fiſherman then goyng to the next Village, and there belyke declaring what he had ſene, to trye out the matter further, came out certeine women, who ſeyng the lynnyn cloth hangyng at his arme, began to queſtiõ with hym of the price of his cloth, and what he would take for it. But to this he would aunſwere neuer a word, but ſmiled vpõ them. Wherat they muſing with them ſelues, and whiſperyng one with an other, at laſt with their handes were ſo bold to plucke downe his muſler, and there by his beard new ſhauen, found him in deede to be a man, and ſo with a loude exclamation rayſed the Village vpõ him, and would haue fall vpon him with ſtones. Then came runnyng a great multitude both of men and women, who wondering at him, as byrdes are wont at an Owle, layd handes vppon him, and pluckt him downe to the ground, haylyng and drawyng hym by the ſleeues and colar of hys gowne through ſtones and rockes, whereby he was ſhrewdly hurt. His ſeruauntes once or twiſe made out to reſcue their old maſter, or new miſtres, but could not for the preſſe of the people, who beatyng him with their fiſtes, & ſpytting at him, drew him through the whole towne, and ſo with ſhame ynough at length laid him in a darke cellar in ſteede of a priſon. Of whom all the countrey about wondered & cryed out. In concluſion Earle Iohn hearyng therof, within viij. dayes after ſent word, that they ſhould deliuer him, and let him go.

The Byſhop of Ely gyueth lx. Markes, to be receaued w procesſion.

The Biſhop of Ely complayneth to yͤ king, and the Pope.

The B. then ſet at libertie, ſayled ouer as he could, to Flaunders, where he had but cold welcommyng. From thence he went to Paris, where he gaue Mauricius their Biſhop lx. Markes of ſiluer, to be receaued in with proceſſion, and ſo he was. Then returned he into Normandy. But the Archb. of Roan there gaue commaundement, that the Church dores ſhould be locked, and no ſeruice ſayd, ſo long as he there remayned. The Byſhop ſeyng that, directeth his letters and meſſengers to Pope Cœleſtine, and alſo to kyng Richard into Syria, ſignifiyng to them how Iohn the Earle of Morton and his complices had handled him, and expulſed him out of the Realme, requiryng that he might be reſtored agayne to that was taken from him: and alſo offering him ſelfe to be tryed by the law for that he had done, ſo that if yͤ kyng ſhould diſlike in any thyng that he had done, he was ready to ſatiſfie the kynges contẽtation in all things wherin iuſtly he could be charged.

The le of Pope Celeſtin in the be- halfe of the B of Ely hy Legate.

Vppon this Pope Celeſtine inflamed with an Apoſtolicall zeale in the behalfe of the ſayd Byſhop of Ely his Legate, wrote a ſharpe and a thunderyng letter to the Archb. Byſhops, and Prelates of England, commaundyng them by his authoritie Apoſtolicall, that forſomuch as the iniuries done to his Legate did redound to the contumelie of yͤ whole mother church of Rome, they ſhould not fayle therfore, but with ſeuere cenſures of the church, that is, with booke, bell, & candel procede as well agaynſt the foreſayd Iohn Earle of Morton, as alſo all other, who ſoeuer had or ſhould attẽpt any violence or iniurie agaynſt the ſayd his Legate B. of Ely, with no leſſe ſeueritie, then if the ſayd iniurie ſhould be offered to the perſon of the Pope him ſelfe, or any other of his brethren the Cardinals. &c.

The B Ely bol vpon the Popes fa uour.

The names of many which he agaynſt B. of Ely appoint to bee exc municat.

The Biſ. of Ely complay- neth to the kyng of th Earle of Morto hi brother.

1192.

The Biſhop of Ely the Popes Legate bearyng him ſelfe bold vpon the fauour & letters of the pope which tooke his part, writeth to Henry B. of Lyncolne, chargyng & requiring that he in vertue of obedience ſhould execute the Popes ſentence and mandate, in excommunicatyng all ſuch as were offenders in that behalfe, and there reciteth the names of diuers agaynſt whom he ſhould procede, as the Archb. of Roan, the Byſhop of Wint. W. Marſchall, Geffray Peterſon, Bruere, and Bardolfe, the Earle of Saliſbury, yͤ Earle of Mellent, Gilbert Baſſet, the Archdeacon of Oxford, and eſpecially Hugh Byſhop of Couentry. Alſo M. Benet, and Steuen Rydel, Chauncelour to Earle Iohn the kyngs brother, to the which Earle he reſerued a further day of reſpite before he ſhould be excommunicate, with a number of other mo beſide theſe. Howbeit, the ſayd Byſhop of Ely could finde none to execute this commaundement of the Pope. Then they with a generall conſent wrote agayne to kyng Richard, complaynyng of the intolerable abuſes of the ſayd Byſhop hys Chauncelour. In like ſort the ſayd Chauncelour alſo cõplaynyng of thẽ, wrote his letters to yͤ kyng, ſignifiyng how Earle Iohn his brother wẽt about to vſurpe his kingdome, & would alſo ſhortly ſet the crown vpon his owne head, vnles he made the more ſpede homeward. The kyng then was buſie in repulſing the Saladine, and prepared to lay ſiege agaynſt Hieruſalem, & got Scalonia, with diuers other townes from the Saracens, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1292. hauyng diuers conflictes in the meane ſpace, with the Saladine, and euer put him to the worſe. As the kyng thus was preparyng to lay his ſiege agaynſt Hieruſalem, the Saladine glad to fall to ſome compoſitiõ with the kyng, ſent vnto him, that if he would reſtore to him agayne Scalonia in as good ſtate as it was when hee tooke it, he would graunt to him, and to all Chriſtians in the land of Hieruſalem truſe for iij. yeares, and offered him ſelfe therunto to be ſworne. The kyng ſeyng yͤ Duke of Burgundie & the French men to ſhrinke frõ him, and his owne men to decay, & alſo his money and health to diminiſh, but eſpecially for that he vnderſtode by the B. of Ely his Chauncelour, the French kyng to ſet vp Iohn his brother to poſſeſſe his kingdome, being coũſailed therto by the Tẽplaries, tooke the truſe offered of the Saracens, & ſo began to draw homeward.

Strife be- twene the Byſhop of Ely and Archb. of Roan.

Pope Ce- leſtine ſe deth in e cuſe of the Byſhop of Ely.

In this meane while much grudge and ſtrife increaſed more and more betwene the B. of Ely, & the Archbyſhop of Roan aboue ſpecified, in ſomuch that the Archb. beyng excommunicate, ſent vp his Clerkes to Pope Celeſtine to complaine of this Byſhop. But the Pope euer ſtode in his purgation. At laſt he ſent ij. of his Cardinals, to wytte Ottomannus Byſhop of Hoſtia, and Iordanus de foſſa noua, to breake the ſtryfe betwene the Byſhop of Ely, and the Archb. of Roan.

The B. Ely with the kynge letters c meth ag into Eng land.

After this, king Rich. beyng takẽ, and in the cuſtody of Henry the Emperour, yͤ B. of Ely reſortyng to him was ſent by him into England to Alinore his mother, and other nobles. Who then returnyng into England agayne, not as Chaũcelour, nor as Legate (as he ſayd) but as a ſimple playne Byſhop, ſo by that meanes was receaued. Ex Mat. Pariſ. Et ex alijs incerti nominis manuſcriptis codicibus.

Put

…at diſ… …d doth.

But of this vayne glorious prelate inough and to much. Now to returne agayne to Richard, concernyng whoſe worthy actes done abroad, in gettyng of Cyprus, Accon, and Ptolemaida, in pacifiyng Ioppe &c. partly is ſpoken before. Many other valiant & famous actes were by hym and the French kyng acheued, and mo ſhould haue bene, had not thoſe two kings falling into diſcord, diſceuered them ſelues: by reaſon wherof Philippe the French kyng returned home againe within ſhort ſpace.

…e French …g retur… …th from …leſtina.

Who beyng returned agayne eftſones inuaded the coũtrey of Normandy, excityng alſo Ihon the brother of Kyng Richard to take on hym the kyngdome of England in his brothers abſence. Who then made leage (vpon the ſame) with the French king, and did homage vnto hym, whiche was about the fourth yeare of Kyng Richard. Who then beyng in Syria, and hearyng thereof made peace with the Turkes for thrée yeares. And not long after, Kyng Richard the next ſpryng followyng returned alſo. Who in hys returne dryuen by diſtreſſe of wether about the parties of Hiſtria, in a towne called Synaca, was there takẽ by Lympold duke of the ſame countrey, & ſo ſold to the Emperour for threſcore thouſand markes. Who for no ſmall ioy therof, writeth to Philippe the French kyng theſe letters here followyng

193.

K. Richard …turneth …om Pa…ſtina.

¶ *The Letter of the Emperour to Philippe the French* kyng, concernyng the takyng of kyng Richard.

> HEnricus dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo Philippo illuſtri Francorum Regi ſalutem & ſinceræ dilectionis affectũ. Quoniam Imperatoria celſitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici de vniuerſis quibus omnipotẽtia creatoris noſtri nos ipſos & Rom. imperium honorauerit et exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præſentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus imperij noſtri et turbator regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum eſſet in tranſeundo mare ad partes ſuas reuerſurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui ſua in qua ipſe erat, induceret eam in partes Hiſtriæ, ad locum qui eſt inter Aquileiam & Venetias. Vbi Rex Dei permiſſione paſſus naufragium, cum paucis euaſit. Quidam itaq; fidelis noſter comes Maynardus de Gooxce & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, et conſiderato diligẽtius qualem nominatus Rex in terra promiſſionis, proditionẽ et traditionem, et perditionis ſuæ cumulum exercuerat, inſecuti ſunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipſo autem rege in fugam conuerſo, cæperunt de ſuis octo milites. Poſtmodũ proceſſit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiſcopatu Salſeburgenſi, qui vocatur Friſorum, vbi Fridericus de Beteſow, rege cũ tribus tantum verſus Auſtriam properante, noctu, ſex milites de ſuis cæpit. Dilectus autem cõſanguineus noſter Limpoldus Dux Auſtrię, obſeruata ſtrata, ſæpe dictum Regem iuxta Denã in villa viciniori in domo deſpecta captiuauit. Cum itaq; in noſtra nũc habeatur poteſtate, et ipſe ſemper tua moleſtauit & turbationis operã præſtiterit, ea quæ præmiſimus, nobilitati tuæ inſinuare curauimus, ſcientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita exiſtere animo tuo vberrimã importare lætitiã. Datum apud Ritheoũtũ V. Kalẽdas Ianua.

Kyng Richard thus beyng trayterouſly taken and ſold to the Emperour by yͤ duke of Auſtrige for 60000. markes, was there kepte in cuſtody a yeare and thrée monethes. In ſome ſtories it is affirmed, that Kyng Richard returnyng out of Aſia, came to Italy with proſperous winde, where he deſired of the pope to be abſolued from an othe made agaynſt hys will, and could not obteyne it. And ſo ſettyng out from thence toward Englãd, paſſing by the countrey of Conradus the Marques, whoſe death (he beyng ſlayne a litle before) was falſely imputed by the French kyng, to the Kyng of England, & there trayterouſly was takẽ as is before ſaid by Limpoldus duke of Auſtrige. Albeit in an other ſtory I finde the matter more crediblely ſet forth, whiche sayth thus that Kyng Richarde ſlew the brother of this Limpodus, playng with hym at cheſſe in the French kynges court And Limpoldus takyng his vantage was more cruel againſt him, & deliuered him, as is ſaid, to the Emperour. In whoſe cuſtody he was deteined, during yͤ time aboue mẽtioned, a yeare & iij. monethes. During yͤ which time of the kings enduraũce, the Frẽch king in yͤ meane ſeaſō ſtirred war in Normãdy. And earle Ihon yͤ kyngs brother made ſtir & inuaded Englãd, but yͤ barõs & byſhops of the land mightly withſtode him. And beſieged him in the caſtell of Windſore, where they tooke from hym all the caſtels and munitions, whiche before he had gotẽ.

Confederacy of the Frẽch king & earle Iohn agaynſt kyng Richard.

Earle Iohn beſeiged at Wyndſouer.

Thus the Earle ſeyng no hope to preuayle in England, and ſuſpecting the deliueraunce of the Kyng hys brother made into Fraunce, and kept with the French king. At length it was ſo agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that Kyng Richard ſhould be releaſed for an hundreth & four thouſand pounds. Of the which mony part ſhould remaine to the duke of Auſtrige, the reſt ſhould be the Emperours. The ſomme of whiche money was here gathered & made in England, of Chalyces, croſſes, ſhrynes, cãdelſtickes & other church plate, alſo with publike contribution of fryers, abbays, and other ſubiectes of the realme. Wherof part was preſẽtly paid, & for the reſidue remaining, hoſtages & pledges wer taken: which was about the v. yeare of his reigne. And then was it obteined of the pope that prieſtes might celebrate with chalices of laten and tyn. And ſo was graunted, and continued long after, whiche, mine autor (in his Chronicle intituled Eulogium) doth teſtifie him ſelf to haue ſeene. At what tyme this foreſayd money was payd and the oſtages geuen for the raunſom of this King, I haue an olde ſtory, that ſaith how the foreſaid duke of Auſtrige ſhortly after was plaged by God with v. ſondry plages: firſt with burning of his chief townes. Secondly, with the drowning of x. thouſand of his mẽ in a floud happening no man could tell how. Thirdly by turning all the eares of his corne field into wormes. Fourthly, by takyng away almoſt al the nobles of his lãd by death. Fifthly, by breakyng his owne legge, fallyng from his horſe, which legge he was compelled to cut of with his owne handes and after dyed vpon the ſame. Who then at his death is ſayd to forgeue King Richard 50000. markes, and ſent home yͤ hoſtage, that was with him. ex varijs chron. The booke intituled Eulogium before mentioned declareth thus that the ſayd Limpoldus duke Auſtrige fell in diſpleaſure with the biſhop of Rome, and dyed excõmunicate, the next yeare after. an. 1196.

An. 1195

Ex Chronico cui titulus Eulogium.

The iuſte puniſhment of God vpon the Duke of Auſtrige.

1196.

Thus the ſayd Kyng Richard beyng ranſomed, as hath bene declared from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperour, was reſtored agayne, and made his repayre into Englãd. At whoſe returne, Earle Ihon his brother reſortyng to him with humble ſubmiſſion: deſired to be pardoned of his trãſgreſſions. To whom Kyng Richard aunſwering againe: would God (ſaith he) this your treſpas, as it dyeth with me in obliuion, ſo it may remayne with you in remẽbraunce. And ſo gentylly forgaue him. And after he had again recouered his holdes and caſtels caused him ſelfe to be crowned agayne. Which done, he made his power againſt the Frẽch king, and draue him out of Normandye. After that he turned his viage agaynſt the Welſhemen, and ſubdued them.

The anſwer of K. Richard to hys brother.

1197.

The next yeare folowing: which was the. 1197. yeare of the Lord, Philip the French kyng brake trews made betwene him and Kyng Richard, whereupon the Kyng was cõpelled to ſayle ouer agayne to Normãdy to withſtand the malice of his enemye. About whiche tyme, my ſtory recordeth of one, called of ſome, Fulco: ſome ſaye, he was the Archbyſhop of Roane called Gualter. Thys Fulco beyng then in Englande, and commyng to the kynges preſence, ſayd vnto hym with greate courage and boldnes. Thou haſt O myghty Kyng, thrée daugh-

Three doughters of the king noted.

ters very vicious and of euill diſpoſition:take good hede of them,and betymes prouide for them good huſbands: leaſt by vntimely beſtowyng of the ſame, thou ſhalte not onely incurre great hurt & damage, but alſo vtter ruyne & deſtruction to thy ſelf. To whom the Kyng in a rage ſayd:Thou lying and mockyng hypocrite, thou knoweſt not where thou art,or what thou ſaieſt:I think thou art mad or not well in thy wittes,for I haue neuer a daughter as all the world knoweth, and therfore thou opē lyer get thee out of our preſence. To whō Fulco aunſwered:no,& lyke your grace I lye not,but ſay truth:for you haue iij.daughters,which cōtinually frequent your court,and wholy poſſeſſe your perſō:and ſuch iij.whores and noughty packes as neuer the like hath been hard of. I meane miſchieuous pride,gredy couetouſnes,and filthy luxurie.And therfore agayne I ſay,O King,beware of them,& out of hand prouide mariages for them, leaſt in not ſo doyng, thou vtterly vndo both thy ſelfe and all the whole realme.

The which his wordes,the King tooke in good part: with correction of him ſelfe, and confeſſion of the ſame. Wherupon incontinently he called his Lordes and Barons before hym,vnto whom he declared the cōmonyng and monition of Fulco,who had willed hym to beware of his iij.daughters:pride, auarice,& luxury, with counſel out of hand to mary them:leaſt further diſcommoditie ſhould enſue both to him and ẏ whole realme, whoſe good counſel(my Lordes)I entend to follow, not daubting of all your conſentes therunto.Wherefore here before you all,I geue my daughter ſwelling pride to wife, to ẏ proud Templars: my gredy daughter auarice to ẏ couetous order of Ciciſterciā monks,& laſt of all,my filthy daughter luxury,to the riotous prelats of ẏ church, whō I think to be very mete mē for her:and ſo ſeuerally well agreing to al their natures that the like matches in this our realme are not to be founde for them. And thus much concernyng Fulco.

Not long after this,it be fell that a certaine noble perſonage(Lord of Lemonice in litle Britaine,Widomarꝰ by name) found a great ſubſtaunce of treaſure both of gold and ſiluer hyd in the ground: wherof a great part he ſent to Kyng Richard,as chief Lord and prince ouer the whole countrey.Which the Kyng refuſed ſaying he would either haue all or none,for that he was the principall chieftayne ouer the land. But the finder would not cōdeſcend to that.Wherfore the Kyng laid ſiege to a caſtel of his called Galuz,thinkyng ẏ treaſure to lye there. But the kepers and warders of the caſtell ſeyng thē ſelues not ſufficient to withſtand the Kyng, offered to him the caſtell,deſiring to depart with life and armour. To this the Kyng would no wiſe graunt,but bydde them to reenter the caſtell againe, and to defend it in all the forceable wiſe they could.It ſo be fel, that as the king with the duke of Brabant went about the caſtell,vewyng the places therof:a ſouldiour within,named Bertādus Tordoun,ſtroke the Kyng with an arrow in the arme,wherupon the pron remaynyng and feſtering in the wound,ẏ Kyng wit̄ ix.dayes after dyed:who becauſe he was not content wͦ the halfe of ẏ treaſure that an other mā foūd, loſt all his own treaſure ẏ he had. The king being thus wounded cauſed the man that ſtroke him,to be brought vnto him,and aſked ẏ cauſe of him, why he ſo wounded him.Who aunſwered agayne(as the ſtory ſaith) that he thought to kill rather thē to be killed. And what puniſhment ſo euer he ſhoulde ſuſteine,he was content, ſo ẏ he might kill him,which had before killed hys father & brethren.The kyng hearing his words,frely forgaue him,& cauſed an hundreth ſhillings to be geuen him. Albeit(as the ſtory addeth)after the death of the Kyng, the duke of Brabance,after great tormentes cauſed him to be hanged.Ex hiſtoria Regis Richardi 2.cui initiū. De patre iſtius bruti.&c. The ſtory of Giſburne ſayth, that the kyller of Kyng Richard,comming to the French kyng,thinkyng to haue a great reward,was commaunded to be drawē a ſonder with horſe,and his quarters to be hanged vp.

He that all would haue, ſhall all forgo.

Couetous gredines plaged.

The death of king Richard the fyrſt.

K Richard forgeueth hī that killed him.

Ex bibliotheca.Carienſi. Ex Gualtero Hemyngford, monacho. Giſburnenſi.

An other ſtory affirmeth, and Giſburne partly doth teſtify the ſame,that a litle before the death of Kyng Richard:thrée abbats of the order Ciſtercian came to him, to whom he was confeſſed.And when he ſaw them ſome what ſtay at his abſolutiō,had theſe wordes: that he did willingly commit his body to the earth, to be eaten of wormes: and his ſoule to the fire of purgatory there to be tormented till the iudgement, in the hope of God his mercy.Ex Iornalenſi. Giſburn.& alijs.

Vaine f of purga torye.

Ex Ior Giſb ſi. & a

About the reigne of this kyng, the ſayd Iornalenſis maketh mention of Roger archbyſhop of Yorke,whiche put out of his churche the monkes and placed for them ſeculare prieſtes: ſaying that he would rather wyſhe eccleſiaſticall benefices to be geuen to wanton prieſtes then to abhominable monkes, and that Thurſtinus did ſinne neuer worſe in all his life then in buildyng ẏ houſe for monkes &c.An other ſtory I haue whiche ſayth, that this was the biſhop not of Yorke,but of Couentry.

Monks out, & lar pries receaued.

The Kyng not long after,departed without iſſue:and Ihon his brother reigned after him:in whom, although ſome vices may worthely be reprehended: eſpecially for his incontinent and to much licentious lyfe, yet was he farre from that deſeruing,for the which he hath bene ſo ill reported of diuers writers:who beyng led more with affectiō of popery,then with true iudgement and due cōſideration, depraued his doynges more then the ſincere truth of the hiſtory will beare them. Concernyng which hyſtorye, after ſo many writers we thought alſo to beſtow a litle labour:although in this matter we cā not be ſo long as I would,and as the matter requireth.

¶*King Ihon.*

King Ioh

After the death of Kyng Richard called cure de Lyon,reigned his brother Ihon Earle of Morton. Afterward the Archbiſhop put the crowne on his head,and ſware him to defēd the church, and to maintayne the ſame and hir good lawes, and to deſtroy the euill.And except he thought not in his minde to do this,the archbiſhop charged him,not to preſume to take on him this dignity.And on S.Iohn Baptiſtes day next followyng,Kyng Ihon ſayled into Normandy and came to Roane:where he was royally receiued, & truce cōcluded betwen him & the French king for a time. And thether came to him the Erle of Flaunders,& all other Lordes of Fraunce that were of Kyng Richards band and frendſhip,and were ſworne vnto him.

Not long after this, Philip the French kyng made Arthure knight,and tooke his homage for Normandy, Britaine,and all other his poſſeſſions beyōd the ſea: and promiſed him helpe againſt Kyng Ihon. After this king Ihon and the Frenche kyng talked together with theyr Lordes,about one houres ſpace: And the French kyng aſked ſo much land for hym ſelf and Kyng Arthure,that K. Iohn would graūt him none, & ſo departed in wrath.

Arthur of Brityn.

A commnication twene the K of Eng land & Frēch ki

The ſame yeare,a legate came into Fraunce & commaunded the Kyng in payne of interdiction, to deliuer one Peter out of priſon, that was elect to a biſhoprike, and therupon he was deliuered.

And after that, the Legate came into England, and commaunded Kyng Ihon vnder payne of interdictiō,to deliuer the Archbiſhop whiche he had kept as priſoner ij. yeares:whiche the Kyng denyed to do, till he had payd him.6000.markes.Becauſe he tooke him in harnes in a field agaynſt hym, and ſware hym vpon hys deliueraunce, that he ſhould neuer were harnes agaynſt any Chriſten man.

This tyme,diuorce was made betwene Kyng Ihon and his wife,daughter of the earle of Gloceſter,becauſe they were in the third degrée of kinred.And after, by the counſel of the French kyng, King Ihon wedded Iſabell daughter of the Earle of Anguilla,and thē Artur of Britaine

Mariage i the third degree fo bidden b the pope

1200.

taine did homage to kyng John for Britaine and other.

At this time fell ſtrife betwen King Jhon and Geoffrey the Archbiſhop of Yorke for diuers cauſes: firſt, becauſe he would not ſuffer & permit the Sherife of Yorke in ſuch affaires as he had to do for the Kyng within his dioceſſe. Secondly, becauſe he did alſo excommunicate yͤ ſayd ſherife. Thirdly, becauſe he would not ſaile with hym into Normandy, to make the mariage betwene Lewes the French kynges ſonne and his niece. &c.

After this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1202. Philippe yͤ French kyng (in a communication betwene Kyng Jhon and hym) required: that the ſayd Kyng Jhon ſhould departe wyth all his landes in Normandye and Pictauia which he had beyõd the ſea, vnto Arthur his nephue, and yͤ incontinẽt, or els he would war againſt him, & ſo did. For when Kyng Jhon denied that requeſt, the next day followyng, the Frẽch kyng with the ſayd Arthur, ſet vpon certaine of his townes and caſtels in Normandy, & put him to much diſquietnes. But he (the Lord ſo prouidyng, whiche is the geuer, of all victory) had ſuch repulſe at the Engliſhmẽs handes: that they purſuyng yͤ Frẽchmen in their flight, did ſo follow them to their holde, and ſo enforced vpon them: that not onely they toke the ſaid Arthur priſoner with many other of the Frenchmẽ: but alſo gaue ſuch an ouerthrow to the reſt, that none was there left to beare tydinges home. This Arthur was nephew to Kyng John, and ſonne to Geffrey, whiche was the elder ſonne to Jhon. For Kyng Henry the ſecond (to make yͤ matter more euident,) had viij. childrẽ: one William which died in his childhod: the ſecond Henry, which dyed alſo hys father being yet alyue: the third Geoffrey Earle of Brytaine, whiche likewiſe deceaſſed in hys fathers dayes, leauing behind him two children, Arthur & Brecca. The forth, Richard Cor de Lion King: the fifth, Jhon now reignyng; and thrée other daughters beſides. The ſame Arthur being thus takẽ in war, was brought before the Kyng at the caſtell of Faleſie in Normandy: who beyng exhorted wͭ many gentle words to leaue the French kyng & to incline to his vncle, anſwered agayne ſtoutly and with great indignation: requiryng the kingdome of Englãd with all the other dominiõs thereto belonging to be reſtored to hym as to the lawfull heyre of the crowne. By reaſon wherof he (prouoking the Kings diſpleaſure againſt him) was ſet to the tower of Roane: where at length (whether by leaping into the ditch thinking to make his eſcape, or whether by ſome other priuy hand, or by what chaũce els: it is not yet agréed vpon in ſtories) he finiſhed his lyfe. By occaſion wherof, the foreſayd Kyng Jhon was had after in great ſuſpition: whether iuſtly or vniuſtly, the Lord knoweth.

The yeare folowyng, Hiſtoriographers write yͤ Kyng Jhon for lacke of reſchue, loſte all hys holdes and poſſeſſiõs in Normandy, through yͤ force of the Frẽchking.

After theſe loſſes, came other troubles vpon him: with other as great or more greater enemies (that is with the pope & his popelings) by occaſion of chuſing of the archbiſhop of Cãterbury, as in hyſtory followeth by Chriſte his grace, to be declared.

The yeare of our Lord 1205. about the moneth of July, Hubert the archbiſhop of Cãterbury deceſſed, whoſe deceſſe after it was in Caunterburye to the monkes knowen: and afore his body was yet committed to the earth: the yonger ſort of the monkes there gathered thẽ ſelues together at midnyght) and elected their ſuperiour Reignold, and without the Kinges licence or yet knowledge priuely placed him in the metropolicall ſeat, ſynging Te deum at midnight. And becauſe the King ſhould not make their election of none effect, they charged hym by vertue of his othe to kepe all ſecrete by the waye, and to ſhewe nothyng what was done before he came to the pope: but he contrary to his othe, ſo ſone as he came in Flaunders opened all abroad the matter, & vttered their counſel: wherupon the monkes being not a litle agreued with him, ſent hym priuely to the court of Rome out of hãd. The next day, they ſent to the King: deſiring of him, his gracious licence canonically to choſe their Archbyſhop. The Kyng moſt gently and fauorably graunted their petition: requiring them inſtauntly and deſiring, yͭ for his ſake they would ſhew fauour to Jhon Gray then biſhop of Norwich, as they did in dede: erecting him into that ſeat of their hyghe primacy. Moreouer, becauſe yͤ autoritie of Kynges and princes was then but ſmall in their owne dominion without the popes conſent, and cõfirmation to the ſame: he ſent alſo to Rome of his owne charges, to haue the foreſayd electiõ ratified by the pope. The ſuffraganes of Canterbury then (beyng not a litle offended at theſe two elections) ſent ſpedely to Rome to haue thẽ both ſtopped: for that they had not ben of counſel with them. And hereupon at the laſt, grew a moſt prodigious tumulte.

1206.

The next yere after, the ſuffraganes of the prouince of Caunterbury on the one ſide, and the Monkes of Cãterbury on the other ſyde: came afore the Pope wͭ theyr brawlyng matter. Firſte the Monkes preſenting Reignold their ſuperiour, deſired that their election might be confirmed. The ſuffraganes likewyſe complayned that the Monkes would preſume to chuſe the Archbiſhop wͭout their conſent, and therfore deſired by diuers reaſons the firſt election to be of none effect. The pope deciſing yͤ matter betwene both, pronounced with yͤ monkes, charging the ſuffraganes and byſhops, to meddle no more wͭ that election, but to let the monkes alone. The monkes of Canterbury now hauing the whole electiõ in their own handes, fel alſo at ſquare among thẽſelues, the younger ſorte wyth the elder. The yonger ſort whiche had choſen Reignold their ſuperiour, would that election to ſtande. The elder ſort of the monkes replied agayn, ſaying: that the firſt election was done by ſtelth and by night and by the yonger part, alſo wͭout the counſel of other monkes: ouer and beſydes it was done wythout the kynges lycence or appointment, and without the due ſolemnitye therunto belongyng.

Prelates of the churche had the mony enough belike that they could keepe playe at Rome againſt their prince. which thynge cauſed the princes after to ſeeke ſuch meanes to cut them ſhort.

1207.

And as concerning our election (ſay they) it was done in the cleare lyght of the day, by which it had autoritie in preſence of our liege lord the kyng and hys counſel beyng to the ſame.

Diſſention among the Monkes of Cant. about the election of tharchb.

This allegation thus proponed: the ſuffraganes proctour or man of law ſtode forth, and proued the former election to be good, and this latter to be voyde and of no value, after this ſort. Whether the firſt election (ſayth he) were iuſt or vniuſt, ye ought firſt by the law to haue condemned it, afore ye ſhould haue preſumed to the ſecond: but thus ye dyd not. Therfore is this your latter doyng no election at all: and the firſt therfore is rather to be ratified than yours. When they had thus multiplied talke on both ſydes, with many friuolous allegations a long tyme, and could not agrée vpon one perſon: Pope Innocent condemned both their elections, commaunding thẽ to choſe Steuen Langton, then Cardinal of S. Chriſogone for their archbiſhop. The monkes then aunſwered, that they durſt not ſo do, wythout conſent of theyr king, and for that it was preiudiciall to their auncient liberties. The pope by and by (ſayth the texte) as one in a furye, takynge the woordes out of their mouthes, ſayts thus vnto them. We wyll you to knowe, that we haue full power and autoritie ouer the church of Caunterbury: neyther are we wont to tarye the conſent of princes: therfore we commaund you in payne of our great curſe that ye choſe him onely whom we haue appointed.

The monkes at theſe wordes abaſhed and terrefied, though they muche murmured in their hartes, yet conſented they all in one, and therupon ſange Te Deum. Onely Doctour Helias Brantfield withdrewe himſelfe

The pride and tirannye of the pope

from that election, whome the kyng had ſente for the admiſſion of the biſhop of Norwyche.

Stephan Langton made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Thus was Stephan Langton (in the high church of Viterby, by the popes hand) made archbiſhop of Canterbury. From thẽce forth therfore (ſayth Mathew Paris) the pope could do no leſſe but mightely defend him from all vexation and daunger: conſidering that he was hys owne deare dearling, and a child of his owne creation.

Upon this occaſion, kyng John conceyued an exceedyng diſpleaſure againſt the cleargye, and monkes of Canterburye (as he had good cauſe) they doing ſo many euils againſt his princely prerogatiue. Without hys lycence thei elected their archbiſhop, and put by the biſhop of Norwiche whome he had appointed. They waſted a great part of his treaſure for the warres: and to bryng al to the Deuil, they made Stephan Langton their high metropolitane, whome he toke for a greuous enemy vnto the whole realme, beyng always ſo familiar with the French kyng. Wherfore in hys anger he baniſhed them out of the land, to the number of 64. for this their contumacie and contempt of his regall power.

The kyng doth expoſtulate with the pope for cõſecrating Stephan Langton archb. of Cant.

The Monkes of Caunterbury thus beyng expulſed, the kyng forthwyth ſendeth meſſengers to the pope wᵗ hys letters, wherin he doth ſharplye and expreſſely expoſtulate wyth the pope: Firſt, for that ſo vncurteouſlye he repulſed the election of the biſhop of Norwiche, and ſet vp one Stephan Langton, a man vnknowen to hym, and brought vp amongſt his enemies a long tyme in ẏ kyngdome of Fraunce, conſecrating him archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lettyng the other go. Alſo (which is more) it redoundeth to the ſubuerſion and derogatiõ of the liberties appertainyng to hys crowne: for notwithſtandyng hys conſent paſt (beyng before of the monkes not made priuy which ſhould ſo haue done) yet he raſhly preſumed to promote and preferre an other. Wherfore, he can not meruayle (he ſayth) enough, that neyther the ſayd pope, nor the court of Rome doth conſider and reuolue wyth themſelues how neceſſary hys loue & fauour hath been alwayes hetherto to the ſee of Rome: and that they conſider not what great profite and reuenues, hath proceeded hetherto to them out of the realme of England: the lyke wherof hath not ben receyued out of any other coũtrey beſydes, on this ſide the Alpes. He addeth moreouer and ſayth, that for his liberties he will ſtand (if neede be) vnto death: neither cã he be ſo remoued & ſhaken of from the election of the biſhop of Norwiche, which he ſeeth to be ſo commodious to hym and profitable. Finallye, he thus concludeth ſaying: that in caſe in this hys requeſt he be not heard, he wyll ſo prouide by the ſeas, that there ſhalbe no ſuch gaddyng and courſing ouer any more to Rome, ſuffryng the ryches of the lãd no more to be trãſported ouer, wherby he ſhould be hymſelfe the leſſe able to reſiſt hys enemies. And ſeyng he hath of hys owne at home, archbiſhops, biſhops, & other prelates of ẏ church (both of Engliſh mẽ & of other) ſufficiẽtly prouided & inſtructed in al kind of knowledg: therfore he ſhal not need greatly to ſeek for iudgemẽt & iuſtice farther abroade.

When theſe came to the popes intelligence, he directeth letters to the kyng agayne in this forme.

The popes letters anſwering K. Iohn.

INnocentius P. ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God, to our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, the kyng of England health, and Apoſtolical bleſſing. Wher as we haue written to you heretofore, exhorting & intreatyng you after an humble, diligent, & gentle ſort (concernyng ẏ church of Caunterbury) you haue written to vs agayne after a threatnyng ſort and vpbraydyng maner: both ſpitefully and alſo frowardlye. And where, as we more and aboue that our right and duety required, haue borne and geuẽ to you: you agayne for your parte haue geuen to vs not ſo much as by right and duety you are bound to do. And though your deuotion as you ſaye, hath ben to vs verye neceſſary, yet conſider againe that oures alſo is not a litle oportune and expedient for you. And where as we, in ſuch lyke caſes haue not ſhewed at any tyme the like honor to any prince as we haue vnto you: you againe haue ſo much derogated our honour, as no prince els hath preſumed to do beſides you alone: pretendyng certayne friuolous cauſes and occaſions I cannot tell what, why you would not condeſcend to the election of Steuẽ Lãgtõ cardinal of ſ. Chriſogono choſe by the Monks of Canterbury: for that the ſayd Steuen as you ſaye, hath ben conuerſant and brought vp amongſt your enemies, and hys perſon to you vnknowen. But you know what is ẏ prouerbe of Salomon: the net is caſt, but in vaine in the ſyght of the fleing birds, &c. With much other matter in ẏ ſame epiſtle, wherin he falleth into the cõmendation of Steuen Langton his cardinal: declaring how learned he was in ẏ liberal arts & in deuinity, in ſo much he was prebendated at Paris: alſo come of an honeſt ſtock & an Engliſhmã born, & not vnknowẽ to ẏ king, ſeing ẏ king had written hys letters thriſe to him before. Declaring moreouer in ẏ ſaid letter, how ẏ meſſengers of the king had ſpecified to him an other cauſe: which was, for ẏ the monks of Cant. which had to do in ẏ electiõ, came not to him before for his cõſẽt, declaring moreouer in ẏ ſaid letter, how ẏ ſaid meſſẽgers of ẏ king, intreated in ẏ kings behalf: ẏ for ſo much as ẏ popes letters (wherin the king was cõmaunded to ſend his procors to Rome for ẏ ſame matter) came not to ẏ kings hãd, neither did the monkes direct any ſuch letters or meſſage to ẏ king to haue his cõſent: therfore ẏ pope cõſidering the ſame, would graũt ſo much for ẏ regard of the kings honour, ẏ the monkes of Cant. ſhould procede not wᵗout ẏ kings aſſẽt therin. And for as much, as ẏ hath not ben done as yet, therfore thei deſired ſome delay therin to be geuẽ, ſufficiẽt for ẏ doing therof. Wherunto he ſaid, ẏ he had graunted, & fulfilled their requeſt, in ſẽding his letters and meſſẽgers once or twyſe to ẏ king for ẏ ſame purpoſe, although he ſayd it was not ẏ maner of ẏ ſee Apoſtolique, (who had the fulnes of power ouer the church of Canterburye) to waite for princes conſẽts in ſuch electiõs, who thẽ could not be ſuffred to do ẏ which they came for &c. Wherfore in knitting vp hys letter, he thus concludeth in theſe wordes.

And therfore, ſeyng the matter ſo ſtandeth, we ſee no cauſe why we ſhould require or tary for the kynges fauor or conſent any more therin: but intend ſo to procede in thys matter, neyther inclinyng on the ryght hand nor on the left, accordyng as the canonical ordinaunces of ẏ holy fathers ſhall direct vs: that is (that all impediments and delayes ſet aſyde) ſo to prouide, ẏ the church of Canterburye be no longer deſtitute of her paſtor. Wherfore be it knowen to your diſcretion or kingly prudence, that for ſo muche as this election of Stephan Langton hath orderly and cõcordly thus proceded wythout fraud or diſceite, vpon a perſon meete for the ſame: therfore, we wyll not for no mans pleaſure, neither may we without daunger of fame and of conſcience, differre or protract any longer the conſummation of the ſayd electiõ. Wherfore my welbeloued ſonne, ſeyng we haue had reſpect to your honour aboue that our ryght and duety requireth: ſtudy to honour vs ſo much as your duety requireth agayne, ſo that you may the more plentifully deſerue fauour, both at gods hands and oures: leaſt, that by doing the contrary, you bring your ſelfe into ſuche a pecke of troubles, as afterward you ſhall ſcarſe rid your ſelfe of agayne. For thys know for a certayn, in the end it muſt needes fall out that he ſhal haue the better, vnto whom euery knee (of heauenly, earthly, and infernal creatures) doth bow: whoſe turne I ſerue in earth, though I be vnworthy. Therfore ſettle not your ſelfe to obey their perſwaſions, which always deſire your vnquietnes: wherby they may fyſhe the better in the water whẽ it is troubled: but cõmit your ſelf to our pleaſure, which vndoubtedly ſhall turne to your prayſe, glory, and honour. For it ſhould not be much for your ſafetie in this cauſe to reſiſt God and ẏ church, in whoſe quarel that bleſſed martyr and glorious biſhop Thomas hath of late ſhed hys bloud: eſpecially ſeyng your father and your brother of famous memory, then kyngs of England, dyd geue ouer thoſe three wycked cuſtomes into the hands of ẏ Legates of ẏ ſee Apoſtolique. But if you yeld your ſelf hūbly into our handes, we wyl loke ẏ you and yours ſhal be ſufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may aryſe hereupon to you warde. Geuen at Laterane the x. yere of our popedome.

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Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the glorious letter of the proude Pope. I beſeche thee marke it well. Nowe to the ſtory.

After this letter was ſent out, not longe after procedeth a charge & cōmaundement, ſent alſo to Englande, vnto certayne biſhops there: requiring them by autoritie apoſtolicall, that if the ſayd king woulde not receyue the ſayd Prior of Canterbury & his Monkes, then they ſhould interdict him throughout all his realme. For the executing whereof, foure biſhops were appointed by the vſurped power of the Popes Buls: namelye Williyam biſhop of London, Euſtace biſhop of Ely, Walter Byſhop of Wincheſter, & Gyles biſhop of Herford. Which ſayd foure biſhops went vnto the king, and ſhewed him their commiſſion from the Pope, as is aboue ſayd, wylling him to conſent thereto. &c.

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But the ſayd king refuſed the ſame, and woulde by no meanes graunt to their requeſt. Wherupon, they departing from his grace, went the morrow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the ſaid generall interdiction throughout all Englande: ſo that the church doores were ſhut vp with keyes and other faſtninges, and with walles. &c.

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Now when the king heard of this, he beganne to bee moued agaynſt them, and tooke al the poſſeſſions of the foure biſhops into his handes: appointing certayn men to keepe the liuings of the clergy throughout ẏ realme, and that they ſhould enioye no parte therof. Which being done, the biſhops (ſeing the ſame) curſed al thē that kept or ſhould meddle with church goods, againſte the wyll of them that ought them: and vnderſtanding for all that, that the kyng nothing regarded their doinges, they went ouer ſea to the biſhop of Canterbury, and informed him what had happened. Who hearing ẏ ſame, willed them agayne to returne to Canterburye, and hee would come thether to them, or els ſende certayne perſons thether in his ſteede, that ſhould do as muche as if he were there hym ſelfe. Then when the biſhops hearde this, they returned agayne into England, to Canterburye: which tidinges came ſhortlye to the king, that they were come agayne thether. And becauſe he might not him ſelfe trauayle to them, he ſent thether biſhops, erles and Abbots, to intreate them, that the archbiſhop Stephan whō he had choſen, might be admitted. Promiſing the Prior & all the Monkes of Caunterbury in hys behalfe: that he ſhould neuer take any thing of the church goodes agaynſte the will of them that owe them, but would make amendes to them of whom he had taken any ſuch goods: and that the church ſhoulde haue all her frauncheſes in as ample maner as in Saynt Edwards tyme the Confeſſor it had.

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When the forme of agrément was thus concluded, it was ingroſſed in a payre of indētures, which the foreſaid foure biſhops, to the one part therof ſet their ſeales: and the other part the ſaid Biſhops, Earles and abbots caried to ſhew the kyng. When the king ſawe the order thereof, hee liked it well: ſauing he woulde not agree to make reſtitution of the church goods. So he ſent to the foure biſhops again, that they ſhould put out that point of reſtitucion. But they anſwered ſtoutly that thei wold not put out one woord. Then the king ſent word to the archbiſhop by ẏ foure biſhops, ẏ he ſhould come to Canterbury to ſpeake with him: and for his ſafe conduict to come and go againe at his will, hee ſent his Iuſtices as pledges, Gylbert Peiteuin, William de la Brener, & John Letfitz. Which thing thus done, the Archbiſhop Stephan came to Caunterbury, and the king (hearing thereof) came to Chilham: from whence he ſent his treaſurer the biſhop of Wincheſter to him, to haue him put out of the indentures the clauſe of reſtitution aforeſaid: who denying to alter any word of the ſame, moued the king in ſuch ſort, that immediatlye it was proclaymed throughout England at the kinges commaundement, that all thoſe that had any church liuing, and went over the ſea, ſhould come agayne into England at a certayn day, or els looſe their liuinges for euermore. And further, in that proclamatiō he charged all Shiriffes within the realme, to enquire if any biſhops, abbots, priors, or any other church man (from that day forward) receiued anye commaundement that came from the Pope, that they ſhould take his or their body, and bring it before hym. And alſo, that they ſhuld take into their hands for the kings vſe, all the church landes, that were geuen to any man through the archbiſhop Stephan, or by the priors of Caunterbury, from the tyme of the election of the archbiſhop. And further charged, that all the woods that were the archbiſhops, ſhould be cut down and ſeld.

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The king mo-
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When tidinges came to the Pope, that the king had thus done, being moued therby with firy wrath: ſent to the king two Legates (the one called Pandolphe, & the other Durant) to warne hym in the popes name, that he ſhould ceaſe hys doinges to holy church, and amende the wrong he had done to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the priors and the Monkes of Canterburye, & to all the clergy of England. And further, that he ſhould reſtore the goods agayne that he had taken of them, agaynſt theyr wyll, or els they ſhoulde curſe the kyng by name: and to doo thys, the Pope tooke them hys letters in Bulles patent. These two Legates comming into England, reſorted to the kyng to Northhampton, wher he held hys Parliament, and ſaluting hym, ſayde: they came from the Pope of Rome, to reforme the peace of holy church. And firſt ſayde they, we moniſhe you in the Popes behalfe, that ye make ful reſtitution of the goods and of the land that ye haue rauiſhed holye church of: & that ye receyue Stephan the archbiſhop of Canterbury into hys dignitye, and Prior of Canterburye and hys Monkes. And that ye yelde agayne vnto the archbyſhop all his landes and rentes wythout anye wythholdyng: And ſyr, yet moreouer, that ye ſhall make ſuch reſtitution to them, as the church ſhall thinke ſufficient.

Two Legates
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quired of the
king.

Then anſwered the kyng: as touchyng the Prior & hys Monkes of Canterburye, all that ye haue ſayde I would gladly doe, & all thing els that ye would ordain: but as touching the Archbiſhop, I ſhall tel you as it lyeth in my hart. Let the archbiſhop leaue hys biſhoprick: and if the Pope then ſhall entreate for him, peraduēture I may lyke to geue hym ſome other biſhoprick in England. And vpon thys condicion I wyll receyue and admit hym.

Then ſayd Pandolphe vnto the king: holye churche was wont neuer to diſgrade Archbiſhop, without cauſe reaſonable: but euer ſhee was wont to correct Princes that were diſobedient to her.

What? howe nowe (quod the kyng) threaten ye me? Nay ſaid Pandolphe, but ye haue now opēly told vs as it ſtandeth in your hart: and now we wyll tell you what is the Popes wyll, and thus it ſtandeth. He hath wholy interdicted and curſed you, for the wrongs ye haue den to holy church, and to the Clergy. And foraſmuch as ye dwell ſtyll in your malice, and wyll come to no amendement, ye ſhall vnderſtand: that from this time forward, the ſentences vpon you geuen, haue force and ſtrength. And all thoſe that with you haue commoned before this

Sentence of the popes curſe pronounced againſt the king

tune, whether that they be Earles, Barons or Knightes (or any other what ſoeuer they be) we aſſoyle thē ſafely frō their ſins vnto this day. And frō this time forwardes (of what cōdiciō ſoeuer they be) we accurſe thē openly: & ſpeciallye by this our ſentence, that do wͭ you commō. And we aſſoyle moreouer Earles, Barons, Knightes, & all other maner of men of their homages, ſeruice, and fealties, that they ſhould do vnto you. And this thyng to confirme, we geue playn power to ŷ biſhop of Wincheſter, and to the biſhop of Norwyche. And the ſame power we geue againſt Scotland to the biſhop of Rocheſter and of Saliſbury. And in Wales, we geue the ſame power to the biſhops of Saint Dauid, and of Landaffe, and of ſaynt Aſſe.

The pope author of rebellion and diſobedience of ſubiectes towards their prince.

Alſo ſyr king (q Pandolfe) all the kings, princes, and the great dukes chriſtened, haue laboured to the pope to haue licenſe to croſſe them ſelues, and to warre agaynſt thee, as vpon Gods enemie, & winne thy land, & to make king whom it pleaſeth ŷ pope. And we here now aſſoyle all thoſe of their ſinnes that will aryſe agaynſt thee here in thyne owne land.

Then the king hearing thys, anſwered: What ſhame may ye do more to me then this?

Pandolfe agayn: We ſay to you in verbo dei, ŷ neyther you nor any heyre ŷ ye haue, after this day ſhall be crowned. So the kyng ſayd: by hym that is almightye God, if I had knowen of thys thing before ye came into thys lād, and ŷ ye had brought me ſuch newes: I ſhould haue made you tary out theſe twelue monethes.

Then anſwered Pandolphe. Full wel we thought (at our fyrſt comming) that ye would haue bene obediēt to God, and to holy church: and haue fulfylled the popes commaundement, which we haue ſhewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therwith. And nowe ye ſaye, that if ye had wiſt the cauſe of our commyng, ye would haue made vs tarye out a whole yeare: whych might as well ſaye, that ye woulde haue taken a whole yeres reſpite wͭout ŷ popes leaue. But, for to ſuffer what death ŷ ye can ordayne, we ſhall not ſpare to tel you all the Popes meſſage and wil, that he gaue vs in charge.

Like maſter lyke man.

In an oher chronicle I fynd the wordes betwene the kyng and Pandolfe ſomethyng otherwiſe diſcribed, as though the king ſhould firſt threaten him with hāgyng if he had foreknowen of his comming in. To whom Pādolfe agayne ſhould anſwer, that he looked for nothing els at his hand, but to ſuffer for ŷ churches right. Wherupon the kyng being mightely incenſed departed. The king the ſame tyme being at Northampton willed the Sheriffes and Bayliffs to bring forth all the pryſoners there, that ſuch as had deſerued ſhould bee put to death: to thentent (as ſome thinke) to make Pandolfus afraid. Among whome was a certaine clarke, who for counterfaiting the Kings coyne was alſo condemned to be hanged drawne, and quartered. And moreouer, by the king was commaūded (therby to anger Pandolfus, the more as may be thought) to be hanged vp hyeſt aboue the reſt. Pandolfus hearyng therof, notwithſtanding he ſomewhat began to feare leaſt he ſhould be hanged himſelfe, yet with ſuch courage as he had, he went to ŷ church to fette out booke bell and candell, charging that no man vnder payne of accurſing, ſhould lay handes vppon the clarke. Upon this the king and the Cardinall departed in no little anger. And Pandolfe went to Rome and reported to the pope & the Cardinals what had bene done.

Pandolph worſe afrayde then hurt.

Then the pope ſummoned all the biſhops abbots and clarkes of England to come to repaire to Rome, to conſult what was to be done therin. This councell begāne the firſt day of October. In the which councel it was decreed by the pope and his aſſembly, that John kyng of England ſhould be accurſed with all ſuch as held wyth him, euery day ſo long as that councel endured. Albeit this was not yet graunted, that the people ſhould be croſſed to fyght againſt him, becauſe as yet he had ſhedde no bloud. But afterward, the ſaid pope Innocent ſeing that kyng John by no meanes would ſtoupe vnder his ſubiection, nor vnder the rule of his popiſhe ſee, he ſent into the French king, vpon remiſſion of all his ſinnes, and of all that went with him, that he ſhould take with him all the power he might, and ſo to inuade the realme of England to deſtroy king John.

The p great

This occaſion geuē, Pope Innocent yet once agayn commaunded in payne of his great curſe: that no man ſhould obey kyng John, neyther yet kepe company with hym: he forbad all perſons to eate and drynke with him, to talke wyth him: to common or counſel with him: yea, hys owne familiar houſhold to do him any kinde of ſeruice, eyther at bed or at boorde: in church, hawle, or ſtable, and what folowed therof. The greater part of them which after ſuch ſort fled from him (by the ordinance of God) of diuers and ſundry diſeaſes the ſame yeare dyed. And betwene both nations (Engliſh and French) fel that yeare great amitie: but ſecret, ſubtile, and falſe: to ŷ bitter betraying of Englād. Neither was the pope content onelye with this, but moreouer the ſayd Pope Innocent gaue ſentence definitiue (by counſell of hys Cardinals) that king John ſhould be put from hys ſeat regall & depoſed, and another put in hys roume. And to the ſpedye execution therof, he appointed the French king Philip, promiſing to geue hym full remiſſion of all his ſinnes, and the cleare poſſeſſion of all the realme of England, to hym and hys heyres: if he dyd eyther kill hym or expell hym.

The i puniſ of God diſobed ſubiec

The p found a murthe

1212.

The next yeare the French king began his attempt in hope of the crowne of England: beyng well manned wyth the biſhops, monkes, prelates, and prieſts, & theyr ſeruantes to maintayn the ſame: bragging of the letters which they had receiued from the great men there. But behold the worke of God: the engliſh nauy toke thre hūdred of the French kings ſhips, well loden with wheat, wyne, meale, fleſhe, armour, and ſuch other lyke, mete for the warre: and an hundred they brent wythin the hauen, takyng the ſpoyle wyth them. In the meane tyme ŷ prieſts wͭin England had prouided them a certain falſe coūterfet prophet called Peter Wakefield of Poiz: who was an idle gadder about, & a pratlyng marchaūt. This Peter, they made to prophecy lies: rumoring his prophecies abroade to bryng the king out of al credite with his people. They noiſed it daily among the commons of the realme, that Chriſt had twyſe appeared to this prophet of theirs, in ſhape of a childe betwene the prieſts hands, once at Yorke, another time at Pontfret: and that he had breathed vpon hym thriſe, ſaying peace, peace, peace, & teaching many thinges whiche he anone after declared to the biſhops, and bid people amende their noughty lyuyng. Being rapt alſo in ſpirite (they ſay) he behelde the ioyes of heauen, and ſorrowes of hell. For ſkante were there thre ſaith the Chronicle, among a thouſande that liued chriſtianly. This counterfeite ſothſaier prophecied of kyng John: that he ſhould raigne no longer then the aſcenſion day, within the yere of our Lord, 1213. which was the. 14. yere from his coronation, and this (he ſaid) he had by reuelation. Then was it of hym demaunded, whether he ſhould be ſlain or be expelled, or ſhould of him ſelfe geue ouer the crowne: He aunſwered, that he could not tell. But of this he was ſure (he ſayd) that neither he, nor any of his ſtocke or linage ſhould raigne, that daye once finiſhed. The kyng hearing of thys, laughed muche at it, and made but a ſcoffe therof. Tuſhe (ſaith he) it is but an idiote knaue, and ſuch a one as lacketh his ryght wittes. But when this foliſh prophete had ſo eſcaped the daunger of the kinges diſpleaſure, and that he made no more of it: he gate hym abroade and prated thereof at large (as he was a very idle vagabund) and vſed to tattle and talke more then enough: ſo that, they whiche loued

Frēch taken b Engliſ

Peter th falſe pro phet.

The fal prophe found a lyar.

ued the kyng,cauſed hym anone after to be apprehended as a malefactor,and to be throwẽ in priſon,the king not yet knowyng therof.

Anon after, the fame of this fantaſticall prophet went all the realme ouer:and hys name was knowen euery where (as fooliſhnes is much regarded of people, where wiſdome is not in place)ſpecially,becauſe he was then impriſoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger:their wonderinges were the wantonner:their practiſing the foliſher:their buſie talkes and other idle occupieng the greater.Continually from thence (as the rude maner of people is)olde goſſyps tales went abroad,new tales were inuented,fables were added to fables, & lyes grewe vpon lies.So that euery day, new ſlaunders wer rayſed on the king,& not one of thē true:rumours aroſe, blaſphemies were ſpred,the enemies reioyced, and treaſons by the prieſtes were maintained:and what likewiſe was ſurmiſed,or other ſubtiltie practiſed, all was then fathered vpon this fooliſh prophet.As,thus ſayeth Peter Wakefield:thus hath he prophecied:and this ſhall come to paſſe:yea many tymes when he thought nothing leſſe. When the Aſcenſion day was come which was prophecied of afore:kyng Iohn commaunded his regall Tente to be ſpread abroad in the open field:paſſing that day wͭ his noble counſel and men of honor,in the greateſt ſolemnitie that euer he dyd afore:ſolacing himſelfe wyth muſicall inſtruments,and ſonges moſt in ſight amōgſt his truſty frendes.When that day was paſt in all proſperitye and mirth:his enemies beyng confuſed,turned all to an allegorical vnderſtādyng,to make the prophecie good, and ſayd:he is no longer kyng,for the pope raigneth and not he,yet raigned he ſtill and hys ſonne after hym, to proue that prophet a lyar. Then was the kyng by hys counſel perſwaded,that this falſe prophet had troubled all the realme:peruerted the harts of the people:and raiſed the commons agaynſt him.For his wordes went ouer the ſea by the helpe of his prelates, and came to the French kings eare,and gaue vnto hym a greate encouragement to inuade the land:he had not els done it ſo ſodenly.But he was moſt fouly deceyued, as all they are & ſhalbe,yͭ put their truſt in ſuch darke drouſy dreames of hypocrites.The kyng therfore commaunded that he ſhould be drawen and hanged lyke a traytor.

he falſe
rophet pro
ed a liar of
.Iohn.

he falſe
ophet
nged.

After that,the popes, prelates, Monkes, Chanons, prieſtes,&c.ſaw this their crafty iugling by theyr fayned prophet would not ſpede,notwithſtādyng they had done no litle harme therby:to help the matter more forward, they began to trauaile and practiſe with pope Innocent of the one ſide,and with the Frenche kyng on the other ſide:beſide ſubtile treaſons,which they wrought within the realme.and by their confeſſions in the eare, wherby they both blinded the nobilitie and commons.The kyng thus compaſſed about on euery ſide with enemies, and fearing the ſequele therof,knowing the cōſpiracies that were in working againſt him,as well by the Pope(in al that euer he might)as alſo by Philip the Frenche kyng by his procurement:and moreouer his own people,eſpecially his Lordes and Barons being rebelliouſlye incited againſt him,as by the popes curſes and interdictiōs agaynſt ſuch as tooke hys part:and by hys abſolutions and diſpenſatiōs with al thoſe that would rebel againſt him,commaunding them to detaine from him ſuch homage,ſeruice,duties,debtes, and all other allegiaunce that godly ſubiectes owe and are bound to yelde & gyue their liege Lord and prince. All which thinges conſidered,the kyng in the.xiiij.yeare of his raygne,for that the French king began to make ſharpe inuaſion vpon him within his own realme:ſent ſpeedye Embaſſadours to the Pope (as to the fountayne of all this his myſchiefe pretenſed)to worke and intreate his peace and reconciliation with him,promiſing to do what ſo euer the pope ſhould wyll hym and commaund him in the reformatiō of himſelfe,and reſtitution of all wronges done to holy church,and to make due ſatiſfaction therefore vnto all men that coulde complayne.

yng Iohn
bmitteth
imſelfe to
e Pope.

Iohn en-
eateth for
ace with
e pope.

Then ſent the pope againe into England his legate Pādulph with other Embaſſadours:the king alſo at Canterbury (by letters as it ſhuld ſeme certified frō his own embaſſadors)wayted their cōming.Where, the xiij.day of May the King receaued them, makyng vnto them an othe,that of and for all things wherin he ſtood accurſed he would make ample reſtitution and ſatiſfaction. Unto whom alſo all the Lords and Barons of England (ſo many as there was with the King attending the legates comming)ſware in like maner,& that if the King would not accompliſhe in euery thing the othe which he had taken:that then they would cauſe him to hold and cōfirm the ſame whether that he would or not(or by ſtrength)to vſe the autors wordes.

Then ſubmitted the King him ſelfe vnto the court of Rome and to the pope:And reſigning gaue vp his dominions and realmes of England and Ireland from hym and from hys heires for euer more that ſhould come of him.With this condicion, that the Kyng and his heyres ſhould take agayne theſe two dominions of the pope to ferme: paying yearely therefore to the court of Rome a M.markes of ſiluer. Then tooke the Kyng the crowne from his head,kneling vpon his knees in the preſence of al his Lordes and Barons of England to Pandolph the popes chief Legate,ſaying in this wiſe. Here I reſigne vp the crowne of the realme of Englande to the Popes handes Innocent the thyrde,and put me holy in his mercy and his ordinaunce.Then tooke Pandolph the crown of Kyng Ihon and kept it v. dayes as a poſſeſſion & ſeaſon taking of theſe two realmes of England & Ireland. Confirmyng alſo all things promiſed by his charter obligatory as foloweth.

K. Iohn ſubmitteth himſelf & reſigneth hys crowne.

¶ The copy of the letter obligatory that king Iohn made to the pope, concerning the yelding vp of the crowne and the realme of England into the popes hands,for a certaine ſumme of mony yearely to be payd.

TO all chriſten people throughout the worlde dwel-
lyng, Iohn by the grace of God kyng of England,
greetyng.To your vniuerſitie knowthyng be it,that for
aſmuch as we haue greued and offended God and our
mother churche of Rome: and for as much as we haue
nede of the mercy of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt: and we may
nothing ſo worthy offer and competēt ſatiſfaction make
to God and to holy churche(but if it were our owne bo- ”
dy)as with our realmes of Englād & of Ireland:Then, ”
by the grace of the holy ghoſt we deſire for to meke vs
for the loue of hym, that meketh him to the death vpon
the croſſe.And through counſel of the nobles Earles and
Barons,we offer and frely graunt to God and to the A-
poſtles S.Peter and Paul,and to our mother church of
Rome, and to our holy father pope Innocent the third, ”
and to all the popes that come after him, all the realme: ”
patronages of churches of England and of Ireland: wͭ ”
al the appurtenaunces:for remiſſion of ſinnes, and helpe ”
and health of our kines ſoules,and of all chriſten ſoules. ”
So that from this tyme afterward,we will receiue and ”
hold of our mother churche of Rome,as in ferme:doyng ”
fealtie to our holy father the pope Innocēt the third,and ”
to all the popes that come after him in the maner aboue ”
ſaid.And in the preſence of the wiſe man Pandolph the ”
popes Southdeacon,we make liege homage, as it were ”
in the popes preſence & we before him were, and that he ”
him ſelf ſhould haue done all maner things aboue ſayd: ”
and therto we binde vs,and all that come after vs & our ”
heires for euer more without any gaine ſaying to yͤ pope ”
and eke the ward of the churche vacant. And in token of ”
this thing euer for to laſt,we will,confirme,and ordein: ”
that he be our ſpeciall renter of the foreſayd realmes(ſa- ”

The draught or inſtrument obligatorye wherein King Iohn reſigneth his kingdome to the popes hand.

Chriſt was offered a kingdom & would none of it,the Pope doth not refuſe it.

> uing S. Peter pence) in all thing. To the mother church of Rome paying by yeare a M. markes of ſiluer at two times of the yere for all maner cuſtomes that we ſhould doe for the ſayd realmes: that is to ſeyne, at Michelmas and at Eaſter: that is for England vij. C. markes and iij C. markes for Ireland. Sauing to vs and to our heires: our Iuſtices and our other fraunchiſes. And all theſe thinges that before ben ſaid, we will that it be firme and ſtable without end: and to that obligatiõ we and all our ſucceſſours and our heires in this maner, beth bounde: that if we or any of our heires thorough any preſumption fall in any pointe agayne theſe thinges aboue ſayd (and he been warned and will not right amende hym) he ſhall then leeſe the foreſayd realmes for euermore: & this charter of obligation and our warrant for euermore be firme and ſtable without gayne ſaying. We ſhall from thys day afterwarde be true to God and to the mother churche of Rome, and to thee Innocent the third, and to all that common after thee: and the realmes of Englãd and of Ireland, we ſhall mainteine trewlich in all maner points againſt all maner mẽ by our power, through Gods helpe.

Upon thys obligation, the king was diſcharged the ſecond day of Iuly, from that tyrannicall interdiction, vnder which he continued. vi. yeares and. iij. monethes. but before the releaſement thereof, firſt he was miſerably compelled (as hath been declared) to geue ouer both his crowne and ſcepter to that Antichriſt of Rome, for the ſpace of fyue daies: and as his client, vaſſall, feudary, & tenant, to receiue it againe of him, at the handes of an other Cardinall, being bound obligatorylye, both for himſelf, and for hys ſucceſſours to paye yearely (for a knowledge therof) a. M. markes, for England & Ireland. Thẽ came they thether, from al parts of ẏ realme ſo many as had their conſciences wounded for obeying their liege king (as blinde Idiotes) & there they were abſolued: euery one of his own biſhop, except the ſpirituall fathers and eccleſiaſticall ſoldiours: for they were compelled to ſeke to Rome, as captiues reſerued to ẏ popes owne fatherhed. In this new ruffeling, the king eaſely grãuted, that abbots, Deanes, and Curates, ſhould be elected freely euery where, ſo that the lawes of ẏ realme were truly obſerued. But againſt that, were ẏ biſhops: alledging their Canonicall decrees and rules ſynodall: determining the king therein to haue nothing a do, but onely to geue his conſent after that they had once elected. But among this ſhauen rable, ſome there were which conſented not to this wicked errour. A ſorte alſo there were of the prelates at ẏ time, whyche were not pleaſed ẏ the landes interdiction ſhould ceaſe, till ẏ king had payed all ẏ which their clergy in all quarters of the realme had demaũded w̃out reaſõ: yea, what euery ſaucie ſyr Iohn for his parte demaũded, euẽ to ẏ very breaking of their hedges, ẏ ſtealing of their appels, & their other occaſionall damages, which grew to an incredible ſumme, and impoſſible to be anſwered. Suche was the outragious cruell noyſe of that miſcheuous progeny of Antechriſt, againſt their naturall king.

The vnreaſonableneſſe of the clergy againſt their natural prince.

Notwithſtanding, that which is vttered afore, concerning the bitter malice of the clergye agaynſt theyr prince: yet did the Popes Legate, and Cardinal Nicholaus Tuſculanus, much fauour his doinges, and allow his procedings. Wherfore they reported of hym, that he was exceeding parciall, & regarded not their matters eccleſiaſtical as he ſhould haue done: for leauing the accompt of their reſtitutions. He went with the kings officers (as the kynges pleaſure was) to the Cathederall minſters, abbeyes, priories, deanries, and great churches vacant. And there, for the next incumbent allwaies he appoynted two: one for the king, another for the parties. But vpon him onely whom the king nominated, he compelled moſt commonly the election to paſſe: whyche vexed them wonderfully. Upon this therfore, they rayſed a new conſpiracy agaynſt the kings perſon, by helpe of their biſhops, ſeditious prelates, and ſuch noble men as they had drawen to their parties. We belelde (ſayth Houeden) about the ſame time many noble houſes and aſſembles diuided in many places: the fathers and the aged men ſtoode vpon the kinges part, but the younger ſort contrary. And ſome ther were, that for loue of their kindred, and in other ſundry reſpectes, forſoke the king againe: yea, and the fame went that time (ſaith he) that they were confederated with Alexander the Scottiſhe king, and Ieoline the prince of Wales, to worke him an vtter miſchief. A councel at Oxford the archbiſhop called: where at ſome would not tary, conſidering the cõfuſiõ therof: ẏ other ſorte (hauing very obſtinate hartes) reuiled the king moſt ſpightfully behinde his backe and ſaid: that from thence foorth he ought to be taken for no gouernour of theirs. Their outragious and franticke clamours ſo much preuailed in thoſe daies: that it grew to a greuous tumult, and a moſt perilous commocion.

1215.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1215. as witneſſeth Paulus Aemilius and other hiſtories: Pope Innocent the thirde helde a generall ſinode at Rome, called the councel Laterane. The chiefe cauſes of that councel were theſe: In the daies of this Innocent, Hereſye (as he calleth ẏ truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh ſinne) began to ryſe vp very high: and to ſpread forth his braunches abroad. By reaſon wherof, many princes were excommunicate as Otho the Emperour, Iohn the king of England, Peter king of Aragon, Raymund the Earle of Tolous, Aquitania, Sataloni, and ſuch other like, as is ſaid afore. So that it could be no otherwyſe, ſaith Houeden, but w̃ the ſharpe axe of the Goſpell (ſo called the pope his excõmunications) they ought of neceſſitie to haue ben cut of from the church. Therefore was this councel prouided, proclaimed, and prelates from all nations therunto called. And to coulour thoſe miſchiefes which he then went about: he cauſed it by his Legates and Cardinals (very crafty marchauntes) to be noyſed abroade, that his entent was therein onely to haue the church vniuerſallye reformed: and the holy land from the Turkes hands recouered. But all this was craft and falſhoode, as the ſequele thereof hath manifeſtly declared. For his purpoſe thereby was to ſubdue all princes, and to make himſelf rich and wealthye: for there he made this Antichriſtian act, and eſtabliſhed it by publicke decree: that the Pope ſhould haue from thenceforth the correction of all Chriſtian princes, and that no Emperour ſhoulde be admitted, except he were ſworne before, and were alſo crowned of him. He ordayned moreouer, that whatſoeuer he were that ſhould ſpeake euyl of the Pope: he ſhoulde be puniſhed in hell with eternall damnation. Conradus, Vrſpergenſis, Hieronimus Marius. He prouided confeſſiõ to helpe theſe matters: he alowed their breade a pixe to couer him, and a bell when he goeth abroade: and made the Maſſe equall with Chriſtes Goſpell.

The co
of Latera
holden by
P. Innoc

The pop
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rrectiõ
al church

In this councel was firſte inuented and brought in Tranſubſtantiation: of which Ioannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mencion in hys fourth booke, writing in theſe woordes.

Ioann
Scotus

The woordes of the ſcripture might bee expounded more eaſely, and more playnly without tranſubſtanciation. But the church did chuſe this ſenſe, which is more hard, being moued therto, as it ſeemeth chiefly: becauſe that of the ſacramentes men ought to hold as the holye church of Rome holdeth. &c. And in the ſame place maketh mencion of Innocentius the third.

Tranſ
tiation
brough

Moreouer, in the ſayde councel was ſtabliſhed and ratified the wretched and impious act, cõpelling prieſts to abiure lawfull matrimonye. Whereupon theſe meters or verſes were made the ſame tyme agaynſt hym, which here folow vnder written.

Non eſt Innocentius,imo nocens vere,
Qui quod facto docuit,verbo vult delere.
Et quod olim iuuenis voluit habere,
Modo vetus pontifex ſtudet prohibere.
Zacharias habuit prolem & vxorem,
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem,
Baptizauit etenim mundi ſaluatorem:
Pereat qui teneat nouum hunc errorem.
Paulus cœlos rapitur ad ſuperiores,
Vbi multas didicit res ſecretiores.
Ad nos tandem rediens inſtruenſq; mores,
Suas inquit habeant quilibet vxores.
Propter hæc et alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor eſſe melius et magis decorum,
Quiſq; ſuam habeat et non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.
Proximorum feminas,filias,et neptes
Violare nefas eſt,quare nil deceptes,
Vere tuam habeas,et in hac delectes
Diem vt ſic vltimum tutius expectes. :·

1215.

riage of ſts for den by pe.Innoc.

Nocent,not innocent,he is that ſeeketh to deface,
By word the thyng,that he by deede hath taught men to embrace
Whych beyng now a biſhop old,doth ſtudy to deſtroy
The thyng,whych he a yong man once did couet to enioy.
Prieſt Zachary both had a wyfe,and had a chylde alſo,
By meane of whom ther did to hym great praiſe & honor grow.
For he did baptiſe hym,that was the ſauer of mankynde,
Ill him befall that holdeth thys new error in his mynd.
Into the hygher heauens good Paul was lyfted from below,
And many ſecrete hydden thinges he learned there to know.
Returnde at length from thence to vs,& teaching rules of lyfe,
He ſayd,let eche man haue his own and onely wedded wyfe:
For thys and other documentes of them that learned be,
Much better and more comely eke it ſeemeth vnto me.
That eche ſhould haue his own alone,& not hys neyghbors wyfe,
Leaſt with his neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathfull ſtryfe.
Thy neighbours doughters or their wyues,or nieces to defyle,
Vnlawfull is:therefore beware,do not thy ſelfe begyle.
Haue thou thyne own true wedded wyfe,delite in her alway,
Wyth ſafer mynde that thou mayeſt looke to ſee the latter day.

Now let vs returne to king John againe,and mark how the prieſtes and their adherentes were plaged for their humble handlinges of his maieſties wyll. In the foreſayde councel of Lateran,and the ſame yeare,was Steuen Langton the archbiſhop of Cant. excommunicated of Pope Innocent:with all thoſe biſhops,prelats, prieſtes,Barons,and commons,which had ben of counſel with him in the former rebellion.And when the ſayd archbiſhop had made inſtant ſute,of him to be abſolued: anon he made hym this anſwer with great indignatiõ: Brother myne,I ſweare by S.Peter,thou ſhalt not ſo ſoone at my hand obtayne the benefit of abſolution: for why,thou haſt not only done harme to the king of England,but alſo thou haſt in a great many of thinges iniured the churche of Rome here: and therefore thou ſhalt tary my leaſure.The archbiſhop was alſo at that time ſuſpended out of the church,and commaunded to ſaye no Maſſe at all:neither yet to exerciſe any other eccleſiaſticall office,becauſe he would not at time conuenient execute the Popes curſe vpon the rebellious Barons. With them the ſayd Pope had ben ſo deepelye offended and angred a little afore,that the greate charter of the liberties of Englande (wyth great indignation and countenaunce moſt terrible) he rent and deſtroyed: by ſentence diffinitiue condemning it for euer. And by and by therupon curſed all the other rebels,with booke,bell and candle. The greater captaynes of them (wyth the citizens of London) for that aſſay were pronounced excommunicate by name:and remayned ſtil interdicted. They appealed then to the councel generall.

Langtõ pended of the urche,

peale to general ncel.

215.

In the ſame yeare 1215.were thoſe great men alſo ſummoned to appeare at Rome in that general ſynode: which would not cõſent to their kings expulſion nor yet tyrannical depoſing.Though they wer called (they ſaid) therunto by the archb.of Cant.and others:and required by othe to ſubſcribe to the ſame,yet could they not of cõſcience do it.becauſe he had humbled him ſelf,& alſo graũted to kepe peace with all men.Thus was ẏ whole realm miſerably then deuided into two factions through malice of the clergie:ſo ſtrifes encreaſed in ẏ land euery where. Yet were there of the lordes and gentlemen a great nũber at that tyme,that followed the kyng & alowed his doings.But they which wer on the other ſide(not a little ſuſpecting ẏ ſtate that they were in)fled ſpedely to ẏ french king Phillip:deſiring him that he would graunt to them his eldeſt ſonne Ludowicke,and they would elect him to be their king,& ẏ without much tariance.They beſaght him moreouer,that he would ſend with hym a ſtrong & mighty power,as were able to ſubdue him vtterly: that they might(they ſayd)be deliuered of ſuch a wycked tyraunt.Such was the report,that thoſe moſt wicked papiſts gaue their chriſtian gouernour,appointed to them of God:whom they ought to haue obeyed,though he had ben euil : euen for very conſciẽce ſake,Rom.13. And as certaine of the Lordes and Barons,were buſy to choſe the ſaid Ludowicke for their kyng:the pope ſent thether one Gnalo,the Cardinal of S.Martin to ſtop thoſe raſh and cruell attempts:chargyng the French king vppon his alleageance,that he wyth all power poſſible,ſhoulde fauour,maintayne,and defend king John of England, his feudarie or tenaunt.The French kyng therto made aunſwer,as one not contented with that arrogante precept.The realme of England ſaid he,was neuer yet any parte of ſainct Peters patrimony,neither is it now, nor yet at any tyme ſhalbe hereafter.This ſpake he,for that he was in hope to obtayne it for hys ſonne,by treaſon of the Barons.

The diſcord betwene the nobles and the King.

Gnalo Cardinal ſent into England,

No prince or potentate(ſaid Philip the French kyng) may pledge or geue away his kingdom:which is (beſide the realme) the gouernements of hys whole common wealth : without the lawefull conſente of his Barons, which are bound to defend the ſame.If the pope ſhall introduce or ſet vp ſuch a preſident in Chriſtianitie,he ſhal at his pleaſure bring al chriſtian Kynges,and their kingdomes to nought.I like not this example,in theſe dayes begon.I can not therfore allowe this fact of Kyng Jhon of England : though he be my vtter aduerſary,yet I much lament that he hath ſo endammaged hys realme, and hath brought that noble ground and quene of prouinces,vnder miſerable tribute. The chief Lordes and menne of his nobilitie ſtandynge by,when he vttered theſe woordes (beynge as it were in a fury)cried wyth one voyce:By the bloude of God,in whome we truſt to be ſaued,wee wyll ſtycke in thys article to the looſing of our heades. Let the Kinge of Englande doe therein what him liketh : no Kyng may put his land vnder tribute,and ſo make his nobilitie captiue ſeruaũts. With that came in Ludowicke the Kinges eldeſt ſonne,and ſo ſaid vnto them all there preſent.I beſech you,let not my purpoſed iourney: The Barons of Englãd haue elected me for their Lord and Kyng,and I will not ſurely looſe my right:but I will fight for it euen to ẏ very death,yea ſo long as hart ſhall ſtirre within my breſt: and I doubt not but I ſhall well obtaine it,for I haue frendes amõg thẽ.His father the kyng ſtood ſtil as he had ben in a dõp, and aunſwered neuer a worde,but fared as though he had diſſembled the matter. Belike he miſtruſted ſome thing therin,as he might well enough:for all was procured by the prieſts that they might lyue licentiouſly in all wealth and fredome from the Kynges yoke.

The frenche king and hys ſonne reſoning about Englãd,

About the ſame time were ſuch treaſons and conſpiracies wrought by the Byſhops,prieſtes,and monkes, through out al the realme,that ẏ Kyng knew not where to become,or finde truſty frends:he was then compelled by the vncerteintie of hys ſubiectes to trauaile frõ place to place,but not without a great army of men:lokyng euery day when his Barons & their confederates would

Peelates and prieſts conſpiryng agaynſt the King.

cruelly ſet vpon him. At the laſt he came to Douer, and there looked for aide from other quarters, whiche loued him better then did his owne people. And thether to him reſorted frō Flaunders, Brabant & Holland, on the one ſide: & from Guiane, Gaſcoine, & Poitiers, on the other ſide: & frō other coūtreies more, a wōderfull number of mē. The report thē went yͭ the pope had written to thoſe countreis, mightly to aſſiſt him, for diuers cōſideratiōs: one was for yͭ he had both ſubmitted him ſelf, & his dominiō to his protectiō. An other was, becauſe he had takē on him (a litle before) the liuery of the Croſſe, to win agayn Hieruſalem. The thirde was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to loſe both, if he ſhould chaunce to decay. For the ſpace of iij. monethes he remained in yͤ Iſle of Wight, abroad in the ayre, to quiet him ſelfe for a time from all maner of tumultes: and led there a ſolitary lyfe, among ryuers and watermen: where as he rather counted to dye thē to lyue, being ſo trayterouſly handled of his Byſhops and Barons, and not knowyng how to be iuſtly auenged of them. Vpon the purification day of our Lady therfore, he toke vpon him the croſſe or viage againſt the Turkes for recouery of Hieruſalem: moued therunto rather for the doubtes whiche he had of his people, then for any other deuotion els. And thus he ſaid to his familiar ſeruaūtes: ſence I ſubmitted my ſelfe and my landes, England and Ireland to the churche of Rome (ſorowe come to it) neuer thyng proſpered with me, but all hath gone agaynſt me.

1216.

In the next yeare after. 1216. was Symon Langton choſen Archbyſhop of Yorke: but that election anon after was diſſolued: for information was geuen to yͤ pope that the ſayd Symon was brother to Steuen, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whiche had been the occaſion of all the tumultes, which were that time in England. And the Pope had the more hate vnto hym, for that he had brought him vp of nought, & did finde him at that time ſo ſtubburne: wherfore he placed in his brothers rowme, Walter Gray, the biſhop of Wincheſter.

VValter Gray Arch. of Yorke.

Gualo the popes Legate.

In the ſame yeare, Gualo the popes legate renued his great curſe vpon Lewes the French kynges ſonne, for vſurping vpon King Iohn. Likewiſe vpon Symon Lāgton & Geruais Hobruge, for prouoking him to the ſame, and that with a wōderfull ſolempnitie: for in that doing he made all the belles to be rong, the candels to be light, the dores to be opened, and the booke of excōmunicatiōs and interdictions publikely to be red: committyng them wholy to the deuill, for their contumacy & contempt. He alſo commaūded the byſhops and curates, to publiſh it abroad ouer all the whole realm, to yͤ terror of all his ſubiectes. The ſayd Symon and Geruais laughed hym to ſcorne, and derided much his doinges in that behalf, ſaying: that for the iuſt title of Ludowicke, they had appealed to the generall councel at Rome.

Radul. Niger cap. 43. 44.

The popes curs laught to ſcorne.

The Magiſtrates of London and citezins of the ſame, did lykewiſe vylipende and diſdaynouſly mocke all that the pope had there commaunded and done. And in ſpight both of him and his Legate, they kept company with thē that were excommunicate, both at table and at church: ſhewing them ſelues therby, as open contempners, both of him & his lawes. Ludowicke at London takyng hym ſelfe for the Kyng, conſtituted Symon Langton for hys hygh Chauncellor, and Geruais Hobruge for hys chief preacher. By whoſe dayly preachinges, as well the Barons as the citezins them ſelues, beyng both excommunicate, cauſed all the church dores to be opened: & the ſeruice to be ſong, & the ſayd Ludowicke was in all points fyt for their handes. About this time, was Pandulphus (then Cardinall) collectynge the Peter pence, an olde pillage of the pope: takyng great gaines therin. And for his great labours in thoſe affaires of holy church, and for other great miracles beſides: he was then made biſhop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignitie & expenſes.

Pandulph' the popes collector made biſh. of Noryge.

It chaunced about this time, that the Vicounte of Melun (a very noble man of the realme of Fraunce, whiche came thether with the Prince Ludowicke) to fall deadly ſick at London: and alſo moued of conſcience to call certain of the Engliſh Barons vnto him (ſuch as were ther appointed to the cuſtody of that citie) ſayd vnto them. I lament your ſorowfull caſe, and pitie with my hart the deſtruction that is comming towardes you & your countrey. The daungerous ſnares whiche are prepared for your vtter confuſion, are hidden from you: ye do not beholde them, but take ye hede of them in time. Prince Ludowick hath ſworne a great othe, and xvi. of his Earles and noble men are of counſel with him, that if he obtain the crown of England, he will baniſh all them from ſeruice, and depriue them of landes and goodes, as many as he findeth now to go againſt their liege Kyng, and are traitours to his noble perſon. And becauſe ye ſhall not take this tale for a fable, I aſſure you on my faith (lying now at the mercy of God) that I was one of thē, whiche was ſworne to the ſame. I haue great cōſcience therof, & therfore I geue you this warning. I pitie pore Englād, which hath ben ſo noble a region, that now it is come to ſo extreme miſery. And when he with teares had lamented it a ſpace, he turned againe vnto them, and ſayd: my frends, I counſel you earneſtly, to looke to your ſelues, and to prouide yͤ remedy in time, leaſt it come vpon you vnwares. Your Kyng for a ſeaſon hath kept you vnder: but if Ludowicke preuaile, he will put you from all. Of two extreme euils, choſe the more eaſie, and kepe that ſecret whiche I haue tolde you of good will: with that he gaue ouer and departed this life.

Ma Ra ger,

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When this was once noiſed among the Barons, they were in great heauines: for they ſaw them ſelues bytrapped euerye waye, and to be in exceding great daunger. And this dayly augmented that feare whiche then came vpon the Barons. They were extremely hated of yͤ pope and his legates, and euery weeke came vpon them new excommunications. Daily detriments they had beſides: in their poſſeſſions and goodes: in their landes & houſes: corne and cattel, wiues and children: ſo that ſome of thē wer driuē to ſuch nede, yͭ thei wer enforced to ſeke praies & boties for ſuſtaining their miſerable liues. For looke whatſoeuer prince Ludowicke obtained by his wars, either territories or caſtels: he gaue thē all to his Frēch men (in ſpight of their heads) and ſaid that they wer but traitors, like as they had warning afore, whiche greued them worſt of all. At the laſt, they perceiuing that in ſeking to auoid one miſchief, they were ready to fall into an other, much worſe: they began to lay their heades together, conſenting to ſubmit them ſelues wholy with all humilitie to the mercy of their late ſoueraigne, and naturall liege Lord, Kyng Ihon. And for yͭ they were ſomewhat in doubt of their liues for the treaſon afore cōmitted: many of the frendes of them which were of moſt credite with him, made ſuit for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after inſtant great ſute made for them. I here omit his recouery of Rocheſter caſtell and citie, with many other daungerous aduentures againſt the foreſaid Ludowick, both at Lōdon, Yorke, Lincoln, Wincheſter, Norwich and other places els, as thinges not pertaynyng to my purpoſe. And now I returne to my matter agayne.

Into Suffolke and Norffolke he conſequently iourneyed, with a very ſtrong army of men: and there, with great miſchief he afflicted them, becauſe they had geuen place and were ſworne to his enemies. After that, he deſtroyed the Abbeis of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great treaſons which they alſo had wrought againſt him, and ſo he departed from thēce into Lincolne ſhyre.

In this yeare, about the xvij. day of July, dyed Pope Innocent the third, and was buried in a citie called Peruſium in Italy: where as he had trauailed to make a

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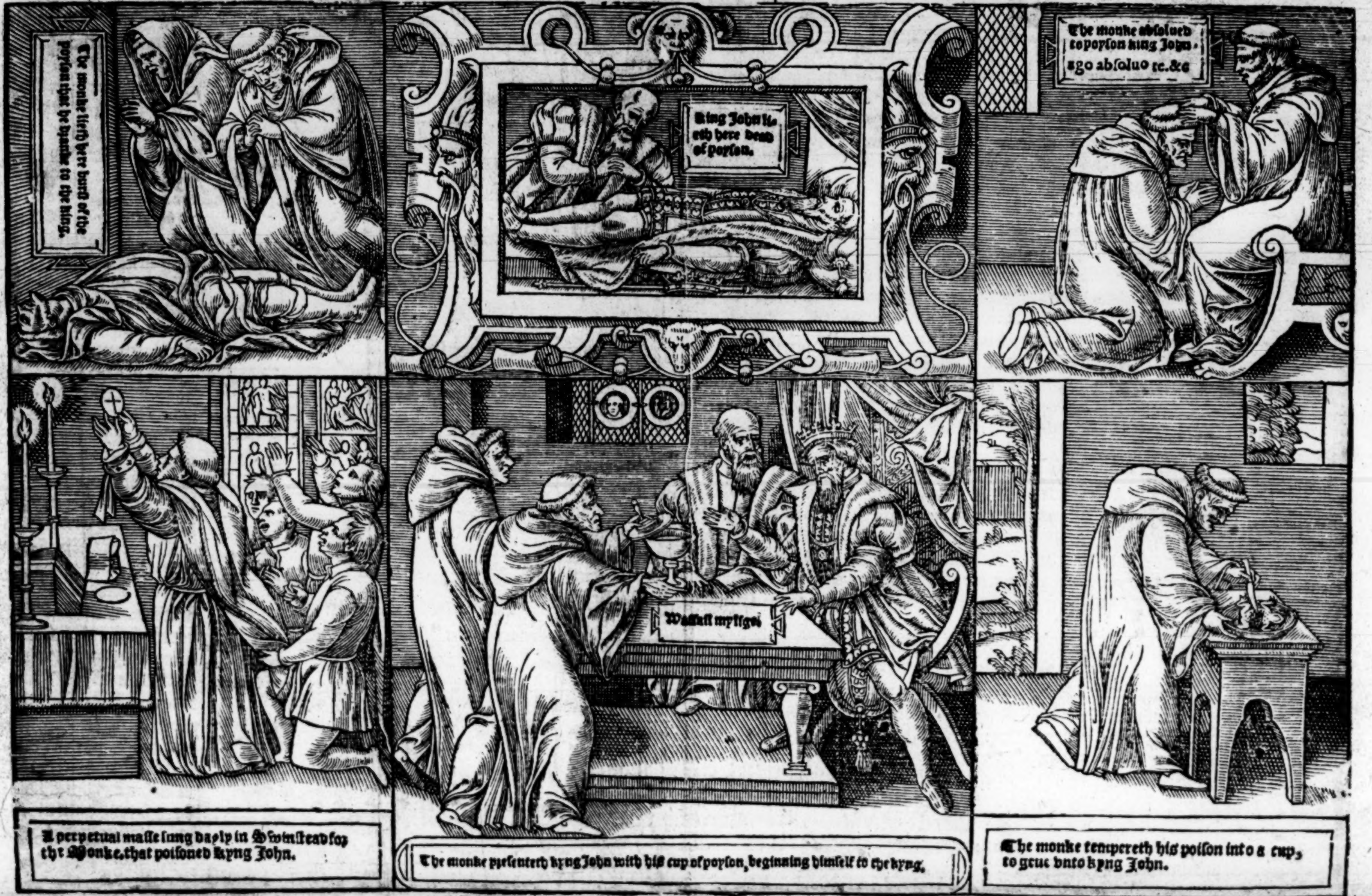
The deſcription of the poyſoning of King Iohn by a Monke of Swineſtead Abbeye in Lincolnſhire.


The monke lieth here burſt of the poyſon that he dranke to the king.
King John lieth here dead of poyſon.
The monke abſolued to poyſon king John. ego abſoluo te. &c.
A perpetual maſſe ſung dayly in Swinſtead for the Monke, that poiſoned kyng John.
Waſſail my liege.
The monke preſenteth kyng John with his cup of poyſon, beginning himſelf to the kyng.
The monke tempereth his poiſon into a cup, to geue vnto kyng John.

peace betwene the Genouayes and the Pyſes, for hys owne commoditie and aduauntage. Him anone to ſuccede one Cintius otherwyſe called Honorius Tertius, a mã of very great age: yet liued he in yͤ papacie .x. yeares and an halfe, and more. When this was once knowen in England: greatlye reioyced all they which were Kyng Ihons enemies, ſpecially the prieſtes: yet had they ſmall cauſe, as will appeare hereafter. They noyſed it all the realme ouer, that this new pope would ſet a new order, and not rule thinges as the other pope did: thinking therby that he would haue done all thinges to their commoditie: but they found it otherwiſe. For he made all them whiche were excommunicate, to pay double and treble, ere they could be reſtored again to their former liuings.

And in the ſelfe ſame yere, as kyng John was come to Swineſtead Abbey, not farre from Lincolne: he reſted there two dayes: where as moſte writers teſtifie, he was moſt traiterouſlye poyſoned by a monke of yͤ abbey, of yͤ ſect of yͤ Ciciſtercians or S. Bernards brethrẽ called Simõ of Swinſted. As cõcerning yͤ noble perſonage of this prince: this witnes geueth Roger Houeden therin: princeps quidem magnus erat ſed minus felix: atque vt Marius vtramque fortunam expertus. Doubtles (ſaith he) kyng John was a mighty prince, but not ſo fortunate as many were. Not altogether vnlike to Marius the noble Romaine: he taſted of fortune both wayes: bountiful in mercy: in warres ſometyme he wanne, ſometyme againe he loſt. Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, ſed proditionis cauſa ſuorum depredator, plus aduenis quam ſuis confidẽs. He was alſo verye bounteous and liberall vnto ſtraungers but of hys owne people (for theyr dailye treaſons ſake) he was a great oppreſſour, ſo that he truſted more to foreiners thẽ to them.

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Among other diuers and ſundry conditions belonging to this king, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended, but commended rather: for that beyng farre from the ſuperſtition which kinges at that tyme were commonly ſubiect vnto: regarded not the popiſhe maſſe, as in certain Chronicles writing of hym may bée collected: for ſo I finde teſtified of him by Mat. Pariſiẽſis. that the kyng vpon a tyme in his hũting, cõming where a very fat ſtag was cut vppe & opened (or how yͤ hunters terme it I cannot tell) the kyng beholding the fatnes & the liking of the ſtagge: ſee ſayth he, how eaſily and happely he hath liued, and yet for all that he neuer heard anye maſſe.

Math.
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It is recorded and found in the chronicle of William Caxtõ, called fructus temporum, and in the, 7. booke. The foreſaid monke Simon beyng much offended wyth certaine talke that the kyng had at hys table, concernyng Ludouicke the French kyngs ſonne (which then had entred and vſurped vpon him) dyd caſt in hys wycked hart how he moſt ſpedily might bryng him to his ende. And firſt of all he counſeled with his Abbot, ſhewing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alledged for himſelfe the prophecy of Cayphas, John .xi. ſaying: It is better that one man dye, then all the people ſhould periſh. I am well contented (ſayth he) to looſe my lyfe, and ſo become a Martyr, that I may vtterly deſtroi this tyraunt. Wyth that the Abbot did wéepe for gladnes, and much commended his feruent zeale, as he tooke it. The Monke then beyng abſolued of hys Abbot for doing this act (aforehand) went ſecretely into a garden vpon the backe ſide, and finding there a moſt venemous Toade, he ſo pricked him, and preſſed him with his penknife: that he made him vomit all the poyſon that was wythin hym. Thys done, he conueyed it into a cuppe of wyne, and wyth a ſmiling and flattering countenance, he ſayd thus to the kyng: If it ſhall lyke your princelye maieſty, here is ſuch a cup of wyne, as ye neuer dronke a better before in all your lyfe tyme. I truſt this Waſſall ſhall make all England glad. And with that he drãk a great draught thereof, the kyng pledging hym. The Monke anon after went to the farmery, and there dyed (his guts guſhing out of his belly) and had continuallye from thenceforth thrée Monkes to ſing Maſſes for hys ſoule, confirmed by their generall chapter. What becam after that of kyng John, ye ſhall know right well in the proces following. I would ye did marke wel the wholeſome proceedinges of theſe holy votaries, how vertuouſlye they obey their kinges, whom God hath appoynted: and how religiouſly they beſtow their confeſſions, abſolutions and Maſſes.

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The monke dyeth of hys own poyſon.

The king within a ſhorte ſpace after (féeling great griefe in hys body) aſked for Simon the Monke: and anſwer was made, that he was departed this lyfe. Then God haue mercy vpon me (ſayd he) I ſuſpected as much, after he had ſayd, that al Englãd ſhould therof be glad: he mẽt now I perceaue thẽ of his own generatiõ. With that he commaunded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ryde. So went hee from thence to Slaforde Caſtel, and from thence to Newerke vpon Trent: and there within leſſe then three dayes he dyed. Vpon his deathbed he much repented his former lyfe, and forgaue all them with a pitifull hart, that had done him iniury: deſiring that hys elder ſonne Henrye might be admoniſhed by hys example, and to learne by hys myſfortunes, to be naturall, fauourable, gentle, ond louyng to his natiue people. When his bodye was enbalmed and ſpiced (as the maner is of kings) his bowels or intrailes were buryed at Cropton Abbey, whiche was of the ſect of Premonſtratenſes or Chanons of S. Norbert. Hys hired ſoldiours, both Engliſhmen and ſtraungers were ſtyll about him, and followed hys corps triumphantlye in theyr armour, tyl they came to the Cathedral church of Worceſter: and there honorablye was he buryed by Silueſter the biſhop, betwixte ſaynt Oſwalde and ſaint Wolſtane, two biſhops of that church. He dyed in the yeare of our Lord .1216. the .19. daye of October, after he had raygned in ſuch calamitye, by the ſubtle conueyaunce of his Clergy .xviij. yeares .vi. monethes, and odde dayes. So ſoone as king John was dead and buried (as is ſayd afore) the princes, Lordes and Barons, ſo many as were of hys part (as well of Straungers as of them that were borne here) by counſayle of the Legate Gnalo: gathered themſelues together, and all with one conſent proclaymed Henrye his ſonne for their kyng. Of whome more ſhal folow (the lord willing) hereafter.

The death of kyng Iohn.

A prince to be louing to hys ſubiectes.

K. Iohn buried at Worceter.

An. 1216

Many opinions are among the chroniclers of yͤ death of king John. Some of them doe write that he dyed of ſorrow and heauines of heart, as Polidorus: ſome of ſurfeting in the night, as Radulphus Niger: ſome of a bloudy flixe, as Rog. Houeden: ſome of a burning ague, ſome of a cold ſweat, ſome of eatyng appels, ſome of eatyng peares, ſome plummes, &c.

The death of kyng Iohn.

Thus you ſee what varietie is among the wryters concerning the death of thys king John. Of which writers, although the moſt agrée in this that he was poyſoned by the Monke aboue named: yet Math. Pariſienſis. (ſomthing differing from the other) writeth thus concerning his death. That he going from Linne to Lincolneſhire, and there hearing of the loſſe of his cariage, and of his treaſures vpon the waſhes, fell in great heauines of minde: in ſo much that he fell therby into a feruent feuer being at the Abbey of Swineſted. This ague he alſo encreaſed through euil ſurfettyng & noughty diet, by eatĩg Peaches and drinkyng of new Ciſer, or as we call it Sidar. Thus being ſicke, he was caried frõ thẽce to the caſtel of Laford, and frõ thence to the caſtell of Newerke: where callyng for Henry his ſonne, gaue to him the ſucceſſion of his crowne and kingdome, writing to all hys Lordes & nobles to receiue him for their kyng. And ſhortly after vpon ſaint Lucies euen, departed this life, being buried at Worceſter, &c.

Math. Pariſ. in vita Ioannis Regis.

In

An other deſcription of K. Johns death. *Ex hiſtor. Gualt. Hemyngford, Giſburnenſi.*

In Giſbur. I finde otherwiſe, who diſſentyng frō other, ſayth: ẏ he was poyſoned with a dyſhe of peares which ẏ monke had prepared for the kynge therewith to poyſon him. Who aſking the kyng whether he woule taſt of hys frute, and being bidde to bring them in, according to the Kynges bidding ſo did. At the bringing in wherof, ſaythe the ſaid ſtory, the pretious ſtones about the Kyng began to ſwete. In ſo much that the Kyng miſdoubtyng ſome poyſon, demaunded of the monke, what he had brought. He ſaid: of his frute, and that very good, the beſt that he did euer taſt. Eate, ſayd the king: and he tooke one of the peres, whiche he did know, and did eate. Alſo beyng byd to take an other, did eate likewiſe ſauerly. And ſo likewiſe the thirde. Then the Kyng refraynyng no lenger, tooke one of the poyſoned peres, and was therwith poyſoned, as is before. &c.

The fyrſt Maior of London.

In the raigne of this kyng John the citizens of Lōdon firſt obtained of the king to choſe yearely a Mayor. In whoſe tyme alſo the bridge of London was firſt bulded of ſtone: which before was of woode, Raſtall.

¶ *King Henry the third.*

K. Hēry the.3.

AFter this kyng John had raigned as ſom ſay, xvij. peres, or as ſome ſay, 19. peares, was, as is aboue ſaid, poyſoned and died. This kyng left behind him foure ſonnes, & three daughters, firſt Henry, ſecond Richard, and he was earle of Cornwal. Third William of Valentia: Fourth, Guido Diſenay. He had alſo another ſonne, who afterward was made biſhop. Of hys daughters firſt was Iſabel maried afterward to Friderike the Emperour. The ſecond named Alinour, maried to William Marſhal Earle. The third to the Earle of Leyceſtour, &c. An other ſtory ſaith that he had but two daughters, Iſabel & Elionore, or as an other calleth her Joan which was after Quene of Scotland, ex Chronic. vetuſto Anglic.

The yſſhew of king Iohn.

This kyng John being deceſſed which had many enemies both of Earles, Barons, & eſpecially of the popiſhe clergy, Henry his eldeſt ſonne was then of the age of ix. peares. At what tyme the moſt of the lordes of England did adhere to Ludouike or Lewes the Frēch kings ſon, whom they had ſent for before, in diſpleaſure of K. John to be their king, and had ſworne to him their allegeance. Then William erle Marſhall a noble man, and of great autoritie, and a graue and a ſound counſeller, frendly & quietly called vnto hym diuers earles and Barons: and taking this Henry the yong prince, ſonne of king John, ſetteth him before thē, vſing theſe wordes: Behold (ſaith he) right honourable and welbeloued: although we haue *perſecuted the father of this yong prince for his euil demeyner, and worthely: yet this yong child, whom here ye ſee before you, as he is in peares tender, ſo is he pure & innocent from theſe his fathers doings. Wherefore in as much as euery man is charged onely with the burden of his owne workes and tranſgreſſions: neither ſhal ẏ child (as the ſcripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of hys father: we ought therfore of duetie and conſcience to pardon this yong and tender prince, and take compaſſion of his age, as ye ſee. And now forſomuch as he is the kings naturall and eldeſt ſonne, and muſt be our ſoueraigne & king, and ſucceſſour of this kingdom, come and let vs appoint him our king and gouernour: and let vs remoue from vs this Lewes the French kinges ſonne, and ſuppreſſe his people which is a confuſion & a ſhame to our nation, and the yoke of their ſeruitude let vs caſte of frō our ſhoulders. To theſe wordes ſpake and anſwered the Erle of Glouceſter. And by what reaſon or right (ſaid he) can we ſo do, ſeing we haue called him hether & haue ſworne to him our feaultie.

An example of a worthy and faythfull counſaylour. The oration of the Earle Marſhal for young king Henry.

* Truely ſayd, that you perſecuted hym, for perſecutors ye were of a true man and your own naturall kyng. But wel might Englād cry out of your blinde guides & letters on.

Wherunto the erle Marſhal inferred againe & ſaid: Good right and reaſon we haue, and ought of ductie to do no leſſe for that he contrary to our mynde & callyng hath abuſed our affiance and fealties. Truth it is, we called him, and ment to prefer him to be our chieftaine and gouernour: but he eſtſones ſurpriſed in pride, hath contemned and deſpiſed vs: and if we ſhall ſo ſuffer him, he will ſubuert and ouerthrow both vs and our nation, and ſo ſhall we remayne a ſpectacle of ſhame to all men, and be as outcaſtes of all the world.

At theſe wordes all they, as inſpired from aboue, cried altogether ŵ one voice: be it ſo, he ſhall be our kyng. And ſo ẏ day was apointed for his coronatiō which was ẏ day of Simon & Jude. This coronation was kept not at Weſtminſter, for as much as Weſtminſter the ſame time was holden of the Frenche men, but at Glouceſter the ſafeſt place (as was thoughte) at that tyme in the realme, an. 1216. by Swalow the popes legate through counſel of all the Lordes and Barons that held with his father king John, to wit, the biſhop of Wint. biſhop of Bath, biſh. of Cheſter, and biſh. of Worceſter: the Earle Radulph of Cheſter, William earle Marſhal, William Erle of Pembrocke, William Tren Earle of Feres, William de Bruer, Serle or Samarike de mall Baron. Theſe were at the crowning of the king at Glocester. Many other lordes and Barons there wer, which as yet held with Lewes the Frēch kings ſonne, to whō they had done their homage before. And immediatly after the crowning of this king, he held his councel at Briſtow at S. Martines feaſt: where were aſſembled xi. byſhops of England and Wales, with diuers Earles and Barons and knightes of England. All which did ſweare fealtie vnto the kyng. After which homage thus done to the kyng, the Legate Swalo interdicted Wales becauſe they held with ẏ foreſayd Lewes: and alſo the Barons & all other as many as gaue helpe or counſel to Lewes, or any other that moued or ſtirred any warre againſt Henry the new king, he accurſed them. All which notwithſtandyng, the ſaid Lewes dyd not ceaſe, but firſt layde ſiege to the caſtell of Douer 15. daies: when he coulde not preuayle there, he tooke the caſtle of Berthamſted, and alſo the caſtle of Hartforde, doyng muche harme in the countreies, in ſpoyling and robbyng the people where they went: by reaſon whereof, ẏ lordes and Commons which held with the king, aſſembled thēſelues together, to driue Lewes and his men out of the land. But ſome of the Barons with the Frenche men, in the meane ſeaſon went to Lyncolne and tooke the citie, and held it to ẏ vſe of Lewes. Which being knowen, eftſones a great power of the kyngs part made thether, as the Erle Randolfe of Cheſter, Williā earle Marſhal and William de le Brues, Earle of Feres, with manye other lordes and gaue battaile vnto Lewes and his partie: ſo that in concluſion Lewes loſt the field, and of hys ſyde were ſlayne the Earle of Perchys, Saer de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, Henry de la Boghon Earle of Herford, & ſyr Robert le Fizwater, ŵ diuers other mo. Whereupon Lewes for ſuccour fled to Londō, cauſing the gates there to be ſhut and kept, wayting there for more ſuccour out of Fraunce. Which as ſoone as the king had knowledge of, immediately ſent to the Maior and Burges of the citye, wylling them to render them and their citie to him as their chiefe Lord and king, promiſyng to graunt to them againe all their fraunchies & liberties as in tymes paſt, and to confirme the ſame by hys great charter and ſeale. In this meane time on Bartholmew euen, Euſtace a French lord, accompanied ŵ many other lordes and nobles of Fraunce, came with a great power, to the number of a hundreth ſhips, to ayde and aſſiſt the ſeyd Lewes. Who before they arriued, wer encountered vpon the ſeas by Richard king Johns Baſtard ſonne, who hauing no more but. xviij. ſhips to kepe the Cinque portes, ſet egerlye vpon them, and throughe Gods grace, ouercame them. Where preſently he ſmote of the head of Euſtace, the reſt of the french lordes to the numbec of. x. he brought with him to the lande, where he impri-

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impriſoned them in the caſtle of Douer,and ſlew almoſt all their men that came with them, and ſonke theyr ſhips in the ſea,onely.xv.ſhips(ſaith ſome of my ſtories) eſcaped away.Ludouike or Lewes hearing this loſſe of his ſhips and men,and miſdoubting his own life for the great miſchief he had don to the realme,ſought meanes by Swalo,and the archbiſhop of Canterb.and by other Lordes,to be at accorde with the king. With whom at length it was ſo cōcluded and agreed,ỹ for hys coſtes ⁊ expenſes he to haue a thouſād pound of ſiluer geuē.Pariſienſ.ſpeaketh of xv.M.markes(which he borowed of the Londiners)ỹ he ſhould departe the realme, neuer to returne into England agayn, neyther he nor none of hys.

This done,⁊ vpon the ſame, he with all the other Barons that tooke hys part,was aſſoyled of Swalo the legate.And thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Lewes tooke his leaue,and being brought honorablye to the ſea with the biſhop of Cant.and other biſhops, Earles, and Barons,returned home into Fraunce.

And here ſayth Gilburn.it was truly verified,ỹ was before ſpoken of the Frenche kyng,father of Lewes: At what time the ſayd Lewes was in England, his father the French kyng demaunded of his meſſengers cōming into France,where his ſonne was:⁊ they ſaid at Stamford:And he aſking again,whether he had got the caſtle of Douer,and they ſaid no: Then the father ſwearyng by the arme of S.James: My ſonne,quod he, hath not one foote in England, as afterward well proued true. Ex Gilburn.

But the chiefeſt helpe that repelled Lewes and the Frenchmen out of the realme, and that moſt preferred kyng Johns ſonne to the crowne,was the ſinguler workyng of Gods hand,wherof mention was made before pag.334.which was through the confeſſion of a certain gentleman of the French hoſte (as Florilegus doth teſtify)Who lyeng ſore ſicke at ỹ poynt of death,⁊ ſeyng no hope to eſcape,was touched in conſcience for danger of his ſoules health openly to confeſſe and vtter to the Barons of England, what was the purpoſe of the Frenchmen to do:who were conſpired and ſworne together among thē ſelues,with a priuy cōpactiō, ỹ ſo ſone as they ſubdued ỹ land, they ſhould thruſt all the chief and nobles therof,into perpetuall exile out of the realme, wherout they ſhould neuer returne agayn. This, cōmyng to ỹ eares of ỹ Barons,as is ſaid:gaue thē to cōſider more with themſelues,wherby many of them were the more willyng to leaue Lewes,⁊ apply to their naturall kyng and prince. Which no leſſe may alſo be an admonition to all tymes and ages, for Engliſhe men to take heede,not to admitte or to place foren rulers into the realme,leaſt perhappes it followe that they be diſplaſed themſelues.

After the happye departure of this Lewes and hys Frenchemen out of the lande, whereby the ſtate of this realme long vexed before,was now ſomwhat more quieted:immediatly Swalo the legate looking to hys harueſt,directeth forth inquiſitors through euery ſhyre, to ſearch out all ſuch biſhops,abbots,priors,canons ⁊ ſeculer prieſts, of what order or degree ſo euer they were, ỹ wͨ any ſuccor or coūſel,dyd either helpe,or els cōſēted to Lewes. For all theſe were exempted out of ỹ charter of pardō ⁊ abſolutiō made before,betwen ỹ king ⁊ Lewes. By reaſon wherof no ſmall gayne grew to the pope and the Cardinal:for all ſuch were eyther put out of their liuings,and ſent vp to the pope,or els were fayne to fyne ſweetely for them. Emong whom(beſydes a great number of other clarkes,both religious ⁊ ſecular)was Hugo biſhop of Lincolne:who for the recouery of his biſhoprike,diſburſed 1000.markes to the pope,⁊ 100.marks to the foreſaid Swalo the legate,who now(as Pariſienſis recordeth) by thys time had gathered in a fayre croppe of that,which he dyd neuer ſow. Ex Mat.Pariſ. &c.

About this ſeaſon or not much before,dyed pope Innocent the third,in the xix.yeare of hys popedō:to whoſe cuſtodie, Fridericus ỹ nephew of Friderike Barbaroſſa beyng yet yong,was committed by the Empreſſe his mother,of whom more ſhall followe (the Lorde willing) hereafter.After this Innocent,nextly ſucceded pope Honorius 3. who writing to yong K. Henry in a ſpeciall letter,exhorteth hym to the loue of vertue,and to the feare of God,namely to be circumſpect wyth what familiars and reſorte, he acquainted himſelfe: but principallye aboue all other moniſheth him to reuerence the Churche which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt,and to honor the miniſters therof,in whome,Chriſt hymſelfe(ſayth he)is both honored or deſpiſed.And this ſeemeth the chiefeſt article of ỹ his writing to hym.

Pope Innocent the thyrd.

Pope Honori⁹ the thyrd.

The effect of the letter of P. Honori⁹ the 3. to king Henry the thyrd.

Ex Pariſien.

Of this Pope Honorius,Abbas Urſpergenſis(who liued in the ſame tyme) reporteth a ſtraunge wonder, more ſtraunge peraduenture thē credible which is this: Honorius beyng prieſt in Rome (whoſe name was then Centius)and procurator to Jacinctus a Cardinal.So it befel, ỹ his maiſter ſent him abroad about Rome, to borow ⁊ procure mony for hym againſt his iourney into Spayne:for Pope Clement then intended to ſend ỹ ſayd Jacinthus hys legate vnto Spaine. As this Centius was walkyng by himſelfe all ſadde and ſolliciteus to ſpede hys maiſters meſſage,commeth to hym a certain aged and reuerend father,and aſketh what cauſe he had to walke ſo heauye and carefull. To whom he aunſwered agayne, and ſignified the occaſion of his buſines, what then he had to doe. Then the olde father ſayde to him, Goe and returne home agayne: for thy maiſter ſayth he,ſhal not at thys tyme goe to Spayne. How ſo,quod the other,how is ỹ true? As true(ſaid he) as it is certayne that the Pope ſhal die, and the ſayd thy maiſter ſhalbe pope after hym. Centius thinking that to be vnlikely,ſayd:he could not beleue that to be true. To whom the other inferreth againe.So know this,ſaid he, to be as certaine,as it is true ỹ the citie Jeruſalem this day is takē of the Saracens,and ſhall not be recouered from them,before the time of thy papacie.And thus ſpeakyng,ſaith Urſperg.he voyded ſodenly away. Ex Abbate Vrſperg.All which ſayth the ſayde author came afterwarde to paſſe: and were teſtified of the ſame Honorius being pope afterward in hys publike ſermons at Rome. All which I graunt may bee, and yet notwithſtandyng this fabulous narration may be a piece of the popes old practiſes ſubtillie inuented,to driue men forth to Jeruſalem to fight,⁊c.Agayn, after Honorius(when he had gouerned x.yeares) folowed Gregorius the ix. which two popes were in the tyme of this king Henry 3.and of Friderike ỹ Emperour, of whom we mind(Chriſt willing) farther to touch, after ỹ we ſhall haue proſecuted more, concernyng ỹ hiſtory of K. Henry ⁊ matters of Englād.

A ſtraunge tale of pope Honorius if it be true.

Ex Abbate Vrſperg.in Chronico.

After that it ſo pleaſed the mercifull prouidence of almighty God,to worke thys great mercy vpon ỹ ſtock of K. John(which notwithſtanding ỹ vnkynde prelates with their falſe Prophets had declared before, ỹ neuer none ſhould ſuccede in throne after ỹ kyng)⁊ alſo vnto ỹ whole common wealth of the realm,in deliuering them from the daungerous ſeruice of Ludouike and the foreſayd Frenchmen.After their departure,the nexte yeare followyng,an.1218.which was the third of this kings raigne, the archbiſhop, S.Langhton and the byſhops, Earles and Barons,reſorted to London vnto the kyng at Michaelmas next followyng:and there held a greate parliament,wherin were confirmed and graunted by ỹ kyng all the franchiſies,which were made and geuen by kyng John his father at Ronemedow:and them he confirmed and ratified by his charter,which long tyme after,ſaith my autor,vnto his dayes did continue ⁊ were holden in Englād. For the which cauſe, by the nobles ⁊

An. 1218

K.Henry confyrmed the liberties graūted by king Iohn.

1218.

Two ſhillings of euery plough land graunted to king Henry.

Tho. Becket ſhryned.

Ex hiſtoria D. Scales.

W. Marſhall dyeth and was buryed at the Temple.

the commons was geuen and grãted agayne vnto the kyng ij.s. for euerye plowe land through England. And Hubert of Burgh was made chief iuſtice of Englãd, of whoſe troubles more is to be ſayd hereafter. And this was the iij. yeare of K. Hẽry, & fiftie yeare after the death of Tho. Becket: wherfore, the ſayd Becket, ỹ ſame yere or next folowing was taken vp & ſhrined for a new ſaint made of an old rebel. Thether came ſuch reſort of people of England & of Frãuce, ỹ the cõtrey of Kent was not ſufficiẽt to ſuſteine thẽ. Ex hiſtor. D. Scales. About ỹ ſame time Iſabell the Kings mother was maried to the earle of March. And William Merſhall the good Earle dyed, whiche was the gouernour of the King and the realme, not without great lamentation of the people of Englãd. Then was the Kyng committed to the gouernement of Peter biſhop of Wincheſter. This noble Earle left behind him v. ſonnes, and v. daughters.

An. 1219

Aliens commaunded out of England.

Faukes de Breute rebelleth agaynſt K Henry.

Ex Pariſienſ.

The yeare next inſuyng. an. 1219. It was ordeyned and proclaimed through all the land, that all aliens and foreners ſhould departe ỹ realme: & not to returne to the ſame agayne: onely ſuch excepted, as vſed traficke or traide of merchandiſe, vnder the Kynges ſauf conduct. This proclamation was thought chiefly to be ſet forth for the cauſe to auoyde out of the land Faukes de Breute, Philippe de Markes, Engelardus de Ciconia, VVilliam earle Albemarke, Robert de veteri ponte, Brihẽne de inſula, Hugo de Bailluel, Robert de gaugi, with diuers other ſtraungers mo, whiche kept caſtels and holdes of the kinges agaynſt his will. Of whom the foreſayd Faukes was the principall, who fortified and held the caſtell of Bedford, whiche he had by the gift of King Ihon, with might and ſtrength agaynſt the King and his power, nere the ſpace of iij. monethes. Moreouer he went about to apprehẽd ỹ Kynges iuſtices at Dunſtable, but they beyng warned therof, eſcaped al ſaue Henry Braibrocke, whom he impriſoned in the ſaid caſtle. The King hearing therof, and conſultyng with his clergy and nobles, made his power agaynſt the ſame. Which after long ſiege & ſom ſlaughter at length he obteyned, and hanged almoſt all ỹ were within, to the number of. 97. whiche was (as Pariſienſ. writeth) about the vij. or viij. yere of his reigne. Faukes ỹ ſame time was in Wales, who hearing of ỹ taking of ỹ caſtle, conueyed him ſelf to the church of Couentry. At length ſubmittyng him ſelfe to the Kynges mercy, vpon conſideration of hys ſeruice done before to the kynges father, was dimitted to ỹ cuſtody of Euſtace byſhop of London, and afterward being depriued of all his goods poſſeſſions & tenementes within the realme, was forced to perpetuall baniſhment, neuer to returne to England agayne. ¶ Here (by the way) I fynd it noted in Pariſienſ. that after this foreſaid Faukes, had ſpoyled & raſed the church of S. Paule in Bedford, for the buildyng vp of his caſtle: the Abbaſe of Heluestue hearyng therof, cauſed the ſword to be taken from the image of S. Paule ſtandyng in the church, ſo long as he remayned vnpuniſhed. Afterward, ſhe hearing him to be committed to the cuſtody of S. Paule in London, cauſed ỹ ſword to be put in the handes of the image again. Mat. Pariſienſ. in vita. Henr. 3.

1220.

K. Henry crowned the ſecond tyme at Weſtminſter.

About this yeare the yong king ỹ ſecond time was crowned again at Weſtminſter, about which time begã ỹ new building of our lady church at Weſtminſter. Shortly after Gualo ỹ legate was called home again to Rome. For ỹ holy father (as Mat. Pariſ. reporteth) beyng ſicke of a ſpiritual dropſy, thought this Gualo (hauing ſo large occupying in englãd) to be able ſõewhat to cure his diſeaſe. And ſo that Legate returned wᵗ all his bags wel ſtuffed, leauing Pandulphe behinde him to ſupplye that Bayllywike of his great graundfather the pope.

Pope Innocentius the third.

The lyfe and Actes of Pope Innocentius the thyrde are partly deſcribed before, howe he intruded Stephan Langthõ againſt the kings wil into the archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury, ſtyrring vp alſo. lxiiij. Monkes of the ſame church of Canterburye, priuily to worke againſt the kyng. Moreouer howe he dyd excommunicate the ſaid King as a publike ennemy of the church, ſo long as the ſaid Kyng withſtoode his tirannical doings: putting him and his whole kingdome vnder interdiction, for the ſpace of ſixe yeres and thrée monethes. And at length depoſed and depriued him frõ his ſcepter, keping it in his owne handes for fiue dayes. How he abſolued all his ſubiectes from their due obedience and ſubiection vnto him. How he gaue away his kingdoms and poſſeſſions vnto Lewes the French kings ſonne, commaunding the ſaid Lewes to ſpoile him, both of landes and life. Wherupõ, the king (being forſaken of his nobles, prelates, and commons) was inforced againſt his will to ſubmit himſelfe, and ſware obedience vnto the pope: paying vnto him a yearely tribute of a thouſand markes by yere, for receiuing his kingdom agayne, wherby both he and his ſucceſſors after him were vaſſals afterward vnto the pope. And theſe were the apoſtolical actes of this holy Vicare in the realme of England. Moreouer he condemned Almericus a worthy learned man and a biſhop, for an heretike, for teaching and holding againſt images. Alſo he condemned the doctrine of Ioachim Abbas (whome we ſpake of before) for hereticall. This pope brought firſt into the church the paying of priuate tithes. He ordained the receyuing once a yere at Eaſter. Unto the papall decretalles he added the decrée, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, &c. Alſo the reſeruation of the ſacrament, and the going with the Bell, and light before the Sacrament was by him appointed. In the ſaid councel of Laterane, he alſo ordayned that the Canon of the Maſſe ſhould bée receyued with equall authoritie as though it had procéeded from the apoſtles themſelues. He brought in trãſubſtantiation, looke in the decretals. Titula. i. De ſumma trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. firmiter credimus.

Item, the ſaid Innocentius the thirde, ordeyned that none ſhould mary in the thirde degrée, but onely in the fourth degrée, and ſo vnder.

The ſaid pope ſtirred vp Otho againſt Philip the Emperour, becauſe the ſaid Philip was elected Emperour agaynſt hys will. Upon the occaſion whereof followed much warre and ſlaughter in Germany. And afterward agaynſt the ſayd Otho, whom he had made Emperour, he ſet vp Frederick Kyng of Cicile, and cauſed the archbiſhop of Mayence to pronounce him excommunicate in all his titles, & be to depoſed of his empire. For ỹ which cauſe ỹ princes of Germany did inuade his biſhopricke, ſpoilyng and burning his poſſeſſiõs. The cauſe why the pope ſo did accurſe and depoſe him, was for that the ſaid Otho did take and occupy Cities, Townes, and caſtels, whiche the pope ſaid pertained to him.

Item, the ſayd Pope ordeined that if any prince offẽded one another, the correction ſhould appertaine vnto ỹ pope. In this councel of Lateran were Archbiſhops and primates lxi. Byſhops iiij. hundred, Abbotes xij. Priours and cõuentuals D.CCC. beſides other Embaſſadours, Legates, Doctours, & Lawyers an innumerable ſort. &c.

In the hiſtory of Hermãnus Mutius, we read how in ỹ yeare of our Lord. 1212. in this popes tyme diuers noble men, and other in the countrey of Alſatia, cõtrary to the tradition of the Romiſhe popes did hold, that euery day was frée for eating of fleſhe, ſo it be done ſoberly. Alſo, ỹ they did wickedly whiche reſtreyned prieſtes and miniſters frõ their lawfull wyues, for ỹ which cauſe (as is in ỹ foreſaid autor) by this pope Innocẽt ỹ iij & his biſhops, an hundreth of thẽ in one day were burned, & Martired.

Some other hiſtories (as Nauclerus) recordeth alſo, that at ỹ ſame time many were in ỹ city of Millane of ỹ ſayd doctrine, whiche vſed to ſend collectes, vnto the foreſayd ſanctes of Alſatia. Ex Nauclero.

In the Chronicle of Gualter Hemingford otherwiſe called Giſburnenſis, it is recorded that in ỹ dayes of this kyng Iohn, and Pope Innocent, began the two ſectes & orders of Friers, one called the preachers order, or black Friers of S. Dominicke. The other called the Minorits of S. Francis. The preachers or black Fryers order began of one Dominicke a Spaniard, about the partes of Tholouſe, who after he had laboured ten yeares in preaching againſt the Albingẽſes, and ſuch other as did hold againſt the churche of Rome: afterward comming vp to the coũcel of Lateran with Fulco Biſhop of Tholouſe, deſired of the foreſaid Innocent the iij. to haue his order of preaching Friers confirmed, whiche the pope a great while refuſed to graunt: at lẽgth he had a dreame, ẏ the churche of Laterane was ready to fall. Which when he beheld, fearing and much ſorowyng thereat, commeth in this Dominicke: who with hys ſhoulders vnder propped the churche, and ſo preſerued the building therof frõ falling. &c. And right wel this dreame may ſeme to be verified, for that Friers haue been alwayes ẏ chief pillers and vpholders of the popes church. Vpon this, the Pope (waking out of his dreame) called Dominicke to him, & graunted his petition. And ſo came vp this Woluiſh order of the Dominickes. I call it Woluiſhe, for that hys mother when ſhe was great with this Dominicke, dreamed that ſhe had in her wombe a Wolfe, whiche had a burning torche in his mouth. The which dreame, the preachers of that order do greatly aduaũce, and expoũd it to their orders glory, as well as they cã. Neuertheleſſe how ſoeuer they expounde it, they can make a wolfe but a wolfe, and this to be a woluiſhe order. The rule which they folowe, ſemeth to be taken out of S. Auguſtine, as who ſhould ſay, that Chriſtes rule were not inough to make a chriſtian man. Their profeſſion ſtandeth vpon thrée principall pointes, as thus deſcribed. Charitatem habentes, humilitatem ſeruantes, & paupertatem voluntariã poſsidentes: That is, hauing charity, holdyng humility, and poſſeſſyng wilfull pouerty. Theyr habite and clothyng is blacke.

1215.
ominick.

riers vpholders of e popes urch.

1226.

The order of the Minors or Minorite Friers deſcended from one Fraũcis an Italian, of the Citie Aſiſium. This Aſſiſian Aſſe, whom I ſuppoſe was ſome ſimple & rude Idiot, hearyng vpon a tyme how Chriſt ſent forth his Diſciples to preach: thought to imitate the ſame in him ſelfe and his Diſciples, and ſo left of ſhoes, had but one coate, & that of courſe clothe. In ſtede of a latchet to his ſhoe, and of a girdle: he tooke about him an hempen corde, & ſo apparelled his diſciples, teaching thẽ to fulfil (for ſo he ſpeaketh) the perfection of the Goſpell, to apprehend pouertye, & to walke in the way of holy ſimplicity. He left in writing to his diſciples and folowers, his rule whiche he called Regulam Euangelicam. i. the rule of the Goſpell, as though the Goſpell of Chriſt were not a ſufficient rule to all Chriſten men, but it muſt take his perfection of franticke Francis. And yet for all that great preſumption of this Francis, and notwithſtãdyng this hys rule, ſoundyng to the derogation of Chriſtes Goſpell, he was confirmed by this pope Innocẽt. Yea, & ſuch fooles this Frauncis founde abroad, that not onely he had followers of his doltiſh religion (both of the nobles, and vnnobles of Rome) but alſo ſome there were, which builded manſions for him and his Friers. This Francis, as he was ſuperſtitious in caſtyng all thynges frõ him (as his girdle, girding a coard about him) ſo in outward chaſtiſing of him ſelfe, ſo ſtreight he was to his fleſhe (leauyng the ordinary remedy appointed by God) that in winter ſeaſõ, he couered his body with yſe and ſnow. He called pouerty his Lady: he kept nothyng ouer nyght. So deſirous he was of martirdom, that he went to Siria to the Souldane, whiche receyued him honorablye: whereby it may be thought, that (ſurely) he told him not ẏ truth, as Ihon Baptiſt did in Herodes houſe. For truth is ſeldom welcome in courtes, and in the world. But it is hard to make a martyr of him whiche is no true confeſſor. I wil here paſſe ouer the fable, how Chriſt and hys ſaints dyd marke him with fiue woundes. Theſe Franciſcanes or beggyng Friers, although they were all vnder one rule and clothyng of S. Francis: yet they be diuided in many ſectes, and orders: ſome go on trẽn ſhoes or Pattins, ſome barefooted, ſome regulare Frãciſcanes, or obſeruantes, ſome Minors, or Minorites, other be called Minimi, other of the Goſpell, other de Caputio. They all differ in many thinges, but accord in ſuperſtition and hipocriſy. And for ſomuch as we haue here entred into the matter of theſe two orders of Friers: by the occaſion hereof I thought a litle by the way to digreſſe from our ſtory, in reciting the whole cataloge or rablement of monkes Friers, and Nunnes, of all ſectes, rules, and orders ſet vp and cõfirmed by the pope. The names of whom here in order of the Alphabet follow vnder written.

he Minorite friers ſcended om ſainct raunces.

Diuers ſectes of Franciſcanes.

he table of al religious orders.

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Thus haſt thou, if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to know what orders and ſectes of religions haue been ſet vp by the pope, the catalogue and number of them all, ſo farre as we could ſearche them out: not onely in bookes printed of late in Germany, namely by the reuerend father Martine Luther: but alſo conferred with an other Engliſh booke, whiche came to our handes, conteynyng the ſame lyke notes of auncient antiquitie, the number of whiche rablement of religious perſons came to .101. Nowe as I haue reckened vp the names and varieties of theſe prodigious ſectes: it cōmeth to minde conſequently to inferre the prophecy of Hildegardis, aſwell againſt the whole route of Romiſh prelates, and the fall of that churche, as eſpecially agaynſt the begging Friers, and ſuch other vnprofitable belyes of the churche. This Hildegardis is holdē of the papiſtes thē ſelues to be a great prophetiſſe, whoſe prophecy procedeth in this maner: firſt agaynſt the prieſtes and Prelates of the Romiſhe churche, as foloweth.

¶ The prophecye of Hildegardis, of the ruine of Rome, and againſt the begging Friers.

Hildegardis a Nonne, & (as many iudged a prophetiſſe) liued in the yeare. 1146. In her prophecies ſhe doth moſt greuouſly reprehend, not only the wicked & abhominable lyfe of yͤ ſpirituall papiſts: but alſo yͤ cōtempt of eccleſiaſtical office, and alſo the horrible deſtruction of yͤ church of Rome In a certain place ſhe hath theſe wordes. And now is yͤ law neglected among yͤ ſpiritual people which neglect to teach and do good things. The maſters likewyſe and the prelates do ſleepe, deſpiſing iuſtice and laying it aſide. In a certaine viſion: the church appeared to her in the ſhape of a womā, complaining yͭ the prieſts had berayed her face with duſt, and rent her coat, &c. and that they did not ſhyne ouer yͤ people, neither in doctrine neither in example of lyfe: but rather contrarywyſe, that they had driuē the innocent lambe from them. She ſaid moreouer, that all eccleſiaſtical order did euery day become worſe and worſe, and that prieſtes did not teach but deſtroy the law of god. And for theſe horrible crimes and impieties, ſhe threatneth and prophecieth vnto them gods moſt heauy wrath and diſpleaſure, and doleful puniſhments. There is no cauſe why the ſpiritual papiſtes ſhould flatter themſelues vppon this: that ſhe promiſeth againe to the miniſters of the church thoſe good things to follow, lyke as Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa doth, and other ſuch lyke prophets: for they ſay it will come to paſſe that thei muſt repent before the tymes be amēded. By which thing (vndoubtedly) they meane, the godly miniſters in yͤ reformed churches, which for the moſt part were of the ſpiritual number, and yet dyd forſake the diſhoneſt life, and thoſe wycked idolatries. Now, where as the prieſts and monkes that is, the hole rable and ſpiritualtie do account Hildegard for a true prophetiſſe: they ought to conſider that by her they are moſt ſeuerely accuſed: not as by a woman, but as by God hymſelfe. And I pray you, what abhomination, impietie, and idolatrye hath beene committed ſince that tyme by the ſpiritualty? I wil note here a certayne prophecy of hers, taken out of the common places of Henry Token, becauſe we ſee it manifeſtly fulfilled in our tyme. She prophecieth of the reformation of religion, and ſaith that it ſhall be moſt godly.

Then ſhal the crowne of Apoſtolical honor bee deuided, becauſe there ſhall be found no religion among the apoſtolical order, and for that cauſe ſhal they deſpiſe the dignity of that name, and ſhall ſet ouer them other men and other Archb. In ſo much, that the apoſtolike ſee of that tyme (by the diminution of his honour) ſhall haue ſcarſe Rome, and a few other coūtries therabout vnder his crowne. And theſe thinges ſhal partly come to paſſe by incurſion of warres, and partlye alſo by a common councel, and conſent of the ſpiritual and ſecular perſōs. Then ſhall iuſtice floriſhe, ſo that in thoſe dayes mē ſhal honeſtly apply themſelues to the auncient cuſtomes and diſcipline of auncient men, and ſhal obſerue them as the auncient men did. The gloſe agreeth, &c.

Theſe thinges thus premiſed, now wil we come to the prophecy of the foreſayd Hildegard concerning the foreſayde begging Friers aboue mentioned: reciting her wordes: not only as they are found in a booke printed of late in Germany, but alſo as I my ſelfe haue ſene & red, agreeyng to the ſame booke worde for worde, & yet haue the ſame to ſhew: written in olde parchmente leaues in ſuch ſort as the thyng it ſelfe moſt euidently declareth a great antiquity of tyme. The wordes of her prophecy be theſe.

In thoſe dayes ſhall ryſe a ſenceles people, proude, greedy, without fayth, and ſubtile, the which ſhall eate the ſinnes of the people, holding a certayne order of fooliſh deuotion vnder the fayned cloke of beggery: preferring them ſelues aboue all other, by their fayned deuocion: arrogant in vnderſtanding, and pretended holines: walking without ſhamefaſtnes, or the feare of God: in inuenting many new miſchiefes ſtrong and ſtout. But thys order ſhall be accurſed of all wyſe men, and faithfull Chriſtians: they ſhall ceaſe from labour, and geue them ſelues ouer vnto idlenes: chuſing rather to lyue thorowe flatterye, and begging. Moreouer, they ſhall together ſtudy, how they maye peruerſlye reſiſt the teachers of the truth, and ſtay them together with the noble men. How to ſeduce and deceiue the nobility, for the neceſſity of their liuing, and pleaſures of this world: for the deuyl will graft in them foure principall vices (that is to ſay) flattery, enuy, hipocriſy, and ſlaunder. Flattery, that they may haue large giftes geuen them. Enuy, when they ſee giftes geuen vnto other, & not vnto them. Hipocriſy, that by falſe diſſimulation, they maye pleaſe men. Detraction, that they maye extoll and commende themſelues, and backbite others, for the prayſe of men, and ſeducing of the ſimple. Alſo, they ſhall inſtantlye preache, but withoute deuotion or example of the Martirs: and ſhall detract the ſecular princes, taking awaye the Sacramentes of the church from the true paſtors, receiuing almes of the poore, diſeaſed, and miſerable, and alſo aſſociating them ſelues with the common people: hauing familiaritye with wemen, inſtructing them how they ſhall deceiue their huſbandes and frendes by theyr flatterie and deceitful wordes, and to rob their huſbādes to geue it vnto them: for they wyll take all theefe ſtollen & euyll gotten goodes, & ſay: geue it vnto vs, & we wyll pray for you, ſo that they being curious to hyde other mens faults, do vtterly forget their own. And alas, thei wyll receyue all thinges, of rouers, pyckers, ſpoylers, theeues and robbers, of ſacrilegious perſons, vſurers, adulterers, heretickes, ſchiſmaticks, apoſtataes, whores and baudes, of noble men, periurers, marchantes, falſe

aduliudges, ſoldiours, tirantes, princes, of ſuch as lyue contrary to the law, and of many peruers and wycked mẽ, following the perſwaſion of the deuill, the ſweetenes of ſinne, a delicate and tranſitory life, and fulnes euen vnto eternall damnation. All theſe thinges ſhall manifeſtlye appeare in them vnto all people, and they (day by daye) ſhall waxe more wycked and hard harted: and when as their wyckednes and diſceites ſhall be found out, then ſhal their giftes ceaſe, and then ſhal they go about their houſes hungry, and as mad dogges looking downe vpon the earth, and drawing in their neckes as doues, that they might be ſatiſfied with bread: then ſhall the people cry out vpon them. Wo be vnto you ye miſerable chyldrẽ of ſorow, the world hath ſeduced you, the deuil hath brydled your mouthes, your fleſhe is frayle, and your harts wᵗout ſauour, your mindes haue ben vnſtedfaſt, & your eyes delited in much vanitie & folly, your daintye bellies deſire delicate meates, your féete ar ſwift to run vnto miſchiefe. Remẽber whẽ you were apparãtly bleſſed, yet enuious: poore in ſight, but rich: ſimple to ſée to, but mighty flatterers: vnfaithful betrayers: peruers detracters: holy hypocrites: ſubuerters of the truth: ouermuch vpright: proud, vnſhamfaſt, vnſtedfaſt teachers, delicate martirs, confeſſors for gain: meke, but ſlaunderers: religious, but couetous: hũble, but proude: pitifull, but hard harted lyers: pleaſãt flatterers, peace makers, perſecutees, oppreſſors of yͤ poore, bringing in new ſectes newly inuented of your ſelues: mercifull thought but found wycked, louers of the worlde, ſellers of pardons ſpoylers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, ſeditious cõſpirators, drõkardes, deſirers of honors, maintainers of miſchief, robbers of yͤ world, vnſatiable preachers, mẽ pleaſers, ſeducers of womẽ, & ſowers of diſcord, of whõ Moiſes yͤ glorious prophet, ſpake very wel in hys ſong. A people wᵗout counſel or vnderſtãdyng: would to god they dyd know, vnderſtand & fore ſee the end. You haue builded vp an high, and when you could aſcend no higher, then dyd you fall euen as Symon Magus, whõ God ouerthrew, and dyd ſtrike with a cruel plage: ſo you likewiſe thorough your falſe doctrine, naughtines, lies, detractiõs, and wickednes, are come to ruine. And the people ſhall ſay vnto thẽ, go ye teachers of wickednes, ſubuerters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamitie, fathers of hereſies, falſe apoſtles: which haue fayned your ſelues to followe the lyfe of the Apoſtles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in no part: ye ſonnes of iniquitye, we will not followe the knowledge of your wayes, for pride and preſumption hath deceyued you, and inſatiable concupiſcence hathe ſubuerted your erroneous hartes. And when as you would aſcend hygher thẽ was meete or comely for you (by the iuſt iudgement of god) you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobri & ſhame.

This Hildegardis whoſe prophecy we haue mentioned, lyued about the yeare of our Lord, 1146. as wee read in Chronico Martini.

oſſebea- fryers,

bin- enſes,

About the ſame time that theſe Franciſcans, & Dominick friars began (which are aboue mencioned) ſprãg vp alſo the Croſſebearers, or crouched Friers, takyng their originall and occaſion af Innocẽt the third: which Innocent, rayſed vp an armye (ſigned with a Croſſe on their breſt) to fight againſt the Albingenſes, whom the Pope and his ſect accompted for heretickes, about the partes of Tholous. What theſe Albingenſes were, it cã not be wel gathered by the old popiſhe hiſtories: For if there were any that did hold, teach, or mayntain againſt the Pope, or his papall pride: or withſtand & gainſay his beggarly traditions, rites, and religions. &c. the hiſtorians of that time (for the moſt part in writing them) doo ſo depraue and miſreporte them (ſuppreſſing the truth of their articles) that thei make them and paint them forth to be worſe then Turkes and Infidels. And that as I ſuppoſe, cauſed Mathew Pariſienſis and other of that ſorte, to write ſo of them as they did. Otherwyſe, it is to be thought (and ſo I finde in ſome recordes) that the opinions of the ſayd Albingenſes were ſound inough: holding and profeſſing nothing els, but onelye againſt the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the prelates: denying the Popes authoritie to haue grounde of the ſcriptures: neither could thei away with theyr ceremonies & traditions, as images, pardõs, purgatory of the romiſh church, calling them (as ſome ſay) blaſphemous occupienges. &c. Of theſe Albingenſes were ſlayne (at times) & burned, a great multitude, by the meanes of the Pope, and Simon Eccleſiaſticus with other mo. It ſeemeth that theſe Albingenſes wer chiefly abhorred of the pope, becauſe they ſet vp a contary pope againſte him, about the coſtes of Bugarorum. For the which cauſe, the byſhop called Portinenſis being the popes Legat in thoſe quarters, writeth to the archbiſhop of Roane and other biſhops in this wyſe.

A letter of the byſhop Portinenſis concerning the Albingenſes.

Venerabilibus patribus dei gratia Rothomagenſi Archi-
epiſcopo & eius ſuffraganeis epiſcopis Sal. in Domino
Ieſu Chriſto. Dum pro ſponſa veri crucifixi veſtrum cogi-
mur auxilium implorare, potius cõpellimur lacerari ſingul-
tibus & plorare. Ecce quod vidimus loquimur, & quod ſci-
mus teſtificamur. Ille homo perditus qui extollitur ſuper ”
omnẽ quod colitur, aut dicitur deus, iam habet perfidiæ ſuę ”
præambulum hæreſiarcham, quẽ hæretici Albingenſes Pa- ”
pam ſuum nominant, habitãtem in finibus Bugarorum & ”
Croaticæ, & Dalmatiæ, iuxta Hungariorum nationem Ad ”
eum confluunt hæretici Albingentes, vt ad eorum conſul- ”
ta reſpondeat. Etenim de Carcaſona oriundus vices illius ”
Antipapæ gerens Bartholomæus, hæreticorum epiſcopus, ”
funeſtam ei exhibendo reuerentiam, ſedem & locum con- ”
ceſſit, in villa quę Porlos appellatur, & ſeipſum tranſtulit in ”
partes Tholoſanas. Iſte Bartholomæꝰ in literarum ſuarum ”
vndique diſcurrentium tenore, ſe in primo ſalutationis allo- ”
quio, intitulat in hũc modum: Bartholomæus ſeruus ſeruo- ”
rum. M. ſanctæ fidei ſalutem. Ipſe etiam inter alias enormi- ”
tates creat epiſcopos, & eccleſias perfide ordinare conten- ”
dit. Rogamus igitur attentius, & per aſperſionem ſanguinis ”
Ieſu Chriſti, & propenſius obſecramus, autoritate domini ”
Papæ qua fungimur, in hac parte diſtricte præcipientes, qua ”
tenus veniatis Senonis in oct. Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli ”
proxime futuris, vbi & alij prælati Frãciæ, fauente domino ”
congregabuntur, parati conſilium dare in negotio prædi- ”
cto, & cum alijs qui ibidem aderunt prouidere ſuper nego- ”
tio Albingenſi. Alioqui in obedientiam veſtram. D. Papæ ”
rabimus ſignificari. Datũ apud Plauuuium. 6. Nonas Iulij. ”

For ſo much as mention is here made of theſe ſuperſtitious ſectes of Fryers, and ſuch other beggerly religions, it ſhall not ſeme much impartinent, being moued by the occaſion hereof, as I haue done in Hildegardis before: ſo now to annexe alſo to the ſame, a certayne other auncẽt treatiſe compiled by Geoffray Chawcer by the way of a Dialogue or queſtions moued in the perſon of a certaine vplandiſh and ſimple ploughman of the countrey. Which treatiſe for the ſame, yͤ autor intituled Iack vp land: wherin is to be ſene and noted to all the world, the blynd ignorance and variable diſcord, of theſe irreligious religiõs, how rude & vnſkilful they are in matters and principles of our Chriſtian inſtitution. As by yͤ contents of this preſent dialogue appeareth, yͤ wordes whereof in the ſame olde engliſh, wherin firſt it was ſet forth, in this wiſe do procéede. Wherin alſo yͧ mayſt ſée, yͭ it is no new thinges yͭ their blaſphemous doings hath by diuers good mẽ in the olde time bene detected as there are many and diuers other olde bookes to ſhewe.

The blinde ignorance of friers deſcribed.

¶ *A treatiſe of Geoffrey Chawcer intituled* Iacke vplande.

I Iack vp land make my mone to verey God and to al true in Chriſt, that Antechriſt and his diſciples (by colour of holynes) walkyn and deceauyn Chriſtes churche by many fals figures: where through (by Antechriſt and his) many vertues bene tranſpoſed to vices.

The fruites of Antechriſt.

But the felliſt folke that euer Antechriſt found, bene laſt brought into the church, and in a wonder wiſe: for they bene of diuers ſectes of Antechriſt, ſowen of diuers contreys and kynreddes. And all men knowen well, that they be not obedient to byſhops, ne liege men to kyngs: nether they tyllē, ne ſowē, weden, ne repen, wode, corne, ne graſſe, nether nothing ẏ mā ſhuld helpe: but only thē ſelfes ther lyfys to ſuſtein. And theſe men han all maner power of God as they ſeyn in heuyn and in yerth, to ſell heuyn and hell to whō that them lykyth, and theſe wrechys wete neuer where to bene them ſelfes.

Antechriſt his broode.

And therfore (Frere) if thy order & rules bene groūded on Goddys law, tel thou me Iake vp land, that I aſke of the: and if thou be or thinkyſt to be on Chriſtes ſide kepe thy paciens.

Pacience proueth M. Frier.

Saint Paul teacheth, that all our dedes ſhuld be do in charite: and els it is nought worth, but diſpleaſing to God and harme to our owne ſoules. And for that freres chalenge to be greateſt clerkes of ẏ church, and next folowyng Chriſt in liuyng: men ſhuld for charite axe them ſome queſtions, and pray them to grounde theyr anſweres in reaſon and in holy write, for els theyr aunſwere wold nought be worth, be it floriſhed neuer ſo fayre, and as me thinke men might ſkilfully axe thus of a frere.

The Friar muſt anſwer according to Gods worde.

1 ¶ Frere, how many orders be in erth: and whiche is the perfiteſt order? of what order art thou? who made thine order: what is thy rule? Is there any perfiter rule then Chriſt him ſelfe made? If Chriſtes rule be moſt perfite why ruleſt thou the not thereafter: without more why, ſhall a frere be more puniſhed if he breke the rule that his patron made, then if he breke the heeſtes that God him ſelfe made?

Friers may better breake Gods law then mans lawe.

2 Approueth Chriſt any more religions then one, that Saint James ſpeketh of? If he approueth no more, why haſt thou left his rule and takeſt another? why is a frere apoſtata that leuyth hys order and taketh another ſecte, ſith there is but one religion of Chriſt.

There is but one religion.

3 Why be ye wedded faſter to your habites then a man is to his wife: For a man may leue his wife for a yeare or two as many mē don, & if you leue your abite a quarter of a yeare, ye ſhuld be holden apoſtataſe.

The Frier more bound to hyr habit then the man to hys wyfe.

4 Makith your abite you men of religion or no? If it do, then euer as it wereth, your religion wereth, & after that that your abite is better, your religiō is better: and when ye lyggyn it beſide you, then lyg ye your religion beſide you, and byn apoſtataſe: why bye ye you ſo precious clothes, ſith no man ſechith ſuch but for vayne glory, as ſaint Gregory ſayth.

If the habite make the Frier religious: as his habit weareth ſo doth his religion.

What betokeneth your great hoode, your ſcaplery, your knotted gyrdell, and your wyde cope?

5 Why vſe ye all, one colour more then other Chriſten men do? what betoknith that ye bene clothed all in one maner clothing?

If ye ſay, it betockneth loue and charite: certes, then ye be oft ypocrites, whē any of you hateth other, and in that that ye woole be ſayd holy by your clothing.

Holynes of all hypocrites cōſiſteth in clothing and outwarde apparance.

Why may not a frere were clothing of an other ſect of freres, ſith holynes ſtondeth not in the clothes.

6 Why hold ye ſilence in one howſe more then in an other, ſith men ought ouer all to ſpeke the good and leue the euill?

Why ete you fleſh in one houſe more then in another? if your rule and your order be perfite, and the patrō that made it?

7 Why gete ye you diſpenſations to haue it more eſy: certes, other it ſemith ẏ ye be vnperfite, or he that made it ſo hard: that ye may not holde it. And ſeker, if ye holde not the rule of your patrōs, ye be not then her freres and ſo ye lye vpon your ſelfes.

All Fryars found lyers.

8 Why make ye you as dede men, when ye be profeſſed, and yet ye be not dede but more quicke beggers then ye were before: and it ſemith euell a dede man to go about and beggs.

Friers be dead mē & quicke beggars.

9 Why will ye not ſuffer your nouices, heere your counſels in your chapter houſe ere that they bene profeſſed, if your counſels byn trew and after Godes law?

10 Why make ye you ſo coſtly houſes to dwell in: ſith Chriſt did not ſo, and dede men ſhuld haue but graues, as fallyth to ded men, and yet ye haue more courts then many Lordes of Englād. For ye mowe wēdē through the realme, and eche night welnigh lygge in your owne courts, and ſo mow but right few Lordes do.

11 Why hyre ye to ferme your limitors, geuing therfore eche yeare a certaine rente, and will not ſuffer one in an others limitacion, ryght as ye were your ſelfes Lordes of countreis.

Why be ye not vnder your biſhops viſitations, and liege men to our Kyng.

Why are ye no letters of brether hedes of other mēs prayers, as ye deſire that other men ſhulde aſke letters of you?

If your letters be good, why graunt ye them not generally to all maner men for the more charite?

12 Mow ye make any man more perfite brother for your prayers then God hath by our beleue? by our baptime and his owne graunt? if ye mowe, certes then ye be aboue God.

Why make ye men beleue that your golden trentall ſong of you to take therfore. x. ſhillynges, or at the leaſt, v. ſhyllinges: wole bryng ſoules out of hel or out of purgatorye? if this be ſoth, certes ye myght bring all ſoules out of payne, and that wolle ye nought, and then ye be out of charite.

13 Why make ye men beleue, that he that is buried in your abyte ſhall neuer come in hell and ye wyte not of your ſelfe whether ye ſhall to hell or no: and if this were ſoth, ye ſhulde ſell your hye howſes to make many abytys, for to ſaue many mens ſoules.

14 Why ſtele ye mens children for to make hem of your ſecte? ſith the theft is agaynſt Gods heſte, and ſith your ſect is not perfite: ye know not wether the rule that ye binde him to, be beſt for him or worſt.

15 Why vnderneme ye not your brethren for their treſpas after the law of the Goſpel: ſith that vndernemynge is the beſt that may be. But ye put them in priſon ofte whē they do after Gods law, and by ſaint Auſteins rule: if any did amys and wolde not amende hym, ye ſhulde put him from you.

16 Why couete ye ſhryft and buryenge of other mens periſhens, and none other ſacramēt that fallyth to Chriſten folke.

Why buſſy ye not to here ſhryfte of poore folke as welle as of ryche Lordes and Ladyes? ſith they mowe haue more plenty of ſhryft fathers thē poore folke mow.

Why ſay ye not the Goſpell in howſes of bededred men? as ye do in riche mens that mow go to church and here the Goſpell.

Why coueyte you not to burye poore folke among you? ſith that they ben moſte holy (as ye ſayne ẏ ye ben) for your pouerty.

17 Why wyll ye not be at her diriges as ye bene at rich mens? ſith God prayſeth hē more then he doth other mē.

What is thy prayer worth? ſith thow wilte take therfore: for of all chapmen ye nede to be moſt wiſe for drede of ſymonye.

What cauſe haſt thou that thou wilte not preach the Goſpell, as God ſayeth that thou ſhuldeſt? ſith it is the beſt lore and alſo our beleue.

Why be ye euill a payed that ſeculer prieſtes ſhulde preach the Goſpell? ſith God him ſelfe hath boden hem.

18 Why hate ye the Goſpel to be preached, ſith ye be ſo miche holde therto: for ye winne more by yeare with In principio, then withall the rules that euer your patrons

made

d yet
ateth the
oſpell.

made,and in this miniſtrels bene better then ye:for they contraryen not to the myrthys that they maken but ye contraryen the Goſpell both in word and dede.

das for
.pence,
ut the
rieſt and
rier for 4.
ce ſelleth
hriſt.
cōpariſon
etwen Iu-
as and the
rier.

19 Frere, whē thou receiuiſt a peny for to ſay a maſſe: whether ſelleſt thou Gods body for that peny , or thy prayer,or els thy trauel? if thou ſayeſt thou wolt not trauele for to ſay the Maſſe but for the peny , and certes if this be ſoth then thou loueſt to litell mede for thy ſoule,& if thou ſelleſt Gods body, other thy prayer:then it is very ſimonie and art become a chapmā worſe than Judas that ſolde it for thirty pens.

he Frier
nteth be-
uſe God
rgetteth.

20 Why writeſt thou her names in thy tables that yeueth the money? ſith God knoweth al thing: for it ſemith by thy wryting : that God wolde not rewarde hym,but thou write in thy tables,God wolde els forgetten it.

Why bereſt thou God an honde and ſclandreſt hym, that he begged for his mete ? ſith he was Lord ouer all, for then had he ben vnwiſe to haue begged, and haue no nede therto?

Frere after what law ruleſt ẏ the? where findeſt thou in Gods law that thou ſhouldeſt thus begge?

21 What maner men nedeth for to begge?
for whom oweth ſuch men to begge?
Why begeſt thou ſo for thy brethren?

If thou ſayſt, for they haue nede, then thou doeſt it for the more perfeccion:or els for the leſt,or els for ẏ meane. Yf it be the moſt perfeccion of all : then ſhuld all thy brethren doe ſo , and then noman neded to begge but for him ſelfe: for ſo ſhulde no man begge but him ne dyde.And if it be the leſt perfeccion,why loueſt thou then other men more then thy ſelfe? For ſo thou arte not well in charitie, ſith thou ſhouldeſt ſeke the more perfeccion after thy power,liuyng thy ſelfe moſt after God : & thus leuing that imperfeccion thou ſhouldeſt not ſo begge for them . And if it is a good meane thus to begge as thou doeſt,then ſhulde no man do ſo but they ben in this good meane , and yet ſuch a meane graunted to you may neuer be grounded in Gods lawe : for then both leryd and lewed that ben in meane degree of this worlde, ſhulde go about and begge as ye do:and if all ſuch ſhuld do ſo,certes well nygh all the worlde ſhulde go about and begge as ye done,and ſo ſhulde there be tenne beggers againſt one yeuer.

is better
o labour
ad geue:
en to loy
er & beg.
M.Frier.

Why procuryſt thou men to yeue the ther almys, & ſayſt it is ſo medefull,and thou wilte not thy ſelfe winne the that mede.

22 Why wilte thou not begge for poore bedred men that ben porer then any of your ſecte,that liggen & mow not go about to helpe him ſelfes , ſith we be all brethren in God,and that bretherhed paſſeth any other that ye or any man coude make: and where moſt nede were,there were moſt perfecciō, either els ye hold thē not your pure brethrē but worſe:but thē ye be imperfit in your beggīg.

Why make ye you ſo many maiſters among you:ſith it is againſt the teaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtell.

riers beg
6 all men
o make the
ope ryche.

f it be im-
erfectiō to
e ryche,
why do the
Friers deſire
o make
the pope
nperfect,

23 Whoſe bene all your riche courtes that ye han,and all your riche iuelis:ſith ye ſeyne that ye han nought in proper ne in commen.Yf ye ſayne they bene the Popes? why gether ye then of poore men and of Lordes ſo mich out of the kinges hand to make your pope riche.And ſith ye ſayen that it is great perfecciō to haue nought in proper ne in commen? why be ye ſo faſt about to make the pope that is your father riche,and put on him imperfeccion? ſithen ye ſayne that your goodes ben all his,and he ſhulde by reaſon be the moſt perfite man,it ſemeth openlych that ye bene curſed children ſo to ſclander your father,and make him imperfite . And if ye ſayne that the goodes be yours,then do ye ayenſt your rule:and if it be not ayenſt your rule, then might ye haue both plough & carte and labor as other good men done , and not ſo to begge by loſengery,and idell as ye done. Yf ye ſay, that it is more perfeccion to begge then to trauell or worch with your hande, why preach ye not openly and tech all men to do ſo:ſith it is the beſt and moſt perfite life to the helpe of theyr ſoules, as ye make children to begge that might haue ben riche heyres.

23 Why make ye not your feſtes to poore men and yeuith hem yeftes,as ye done to the riche ? ſith poore men han more nede then the riche,

What betokeneth that ye go tweyne and tweyne together? If ye be out of charitie,ye accorde not in ſoule.

Why begge ye,and take ſalaries therto more then other preſtes? ſith he ẏ moſt taketh,moſt charge hath.

If Fraunces
order be con-
trary to Chriſt
hys teſtament.
then is Fraun-
ces accurſed.

24 Why holde ye not ſaint Fraunces rule and his teſtement? ſith Fraunces ſaith,that God ſhewed him this liuing and this rule:and certes if it were Gods will , the pope might not fordo it:or els Fraūces was a lyer that ſaid on this wiſe . And but this teſtament that he made, accorde with Gods will:els erred he as a lyer that were out of charitie, and as the law ſayth , he is curſede that letteth the right full laſt will of a dede man . And this teſtament is the laſt will of Fraunces that is a dede man: it ſemeth therfore that all his freres ben curſed.

He that is
more holy in
hand then in
hart, is falſe to
God.

25 Why will ye not touche no coyned money with the croſſe ne with the kinges hedde,as ye done other Juelys both of gold and ſiluer? Certes if ye deſpiſe the croſſe or the kinges hedde,thē ye be worthy to be deſpiſed of God and the Kyng: and ſith ye wylle receaue money in your hartes,and not with your handes,it ſemith that ye hold more holyneſſe in your handes then in your hartes , and then be falſe to God.

A ſubiect to
exempt him
ſelf from the
lawes of hys
prīce ſmelleth
of treaſon.

26 Why haue ye exempte you fro our Kinges lawes, and viſiting of our biſhops more then other chriſten men that liuen in this realme : if ye be not giltie of traytery to our realme,or treſpaſers to our biſhops. But ye will haue the Kinges lawes for treſpas do to you,and ye will haue power of other biſhops more thē other preſtes, and alſo haue leue to priſon your brethren as Lordes in your courtys more then other folkys han, that bene the Kynges leage men.

Friers are for-
ced to be
theues.

27 Why ſhall ſome ſecte of you freres pay ech a yeare a certaine to her generall prouinciall or miniſter , or els to her ſoureins:but if he ſtele a certaine nomber of children(as ſome men ſayne) and certes if this be ſoth,then be ye cōſtrayned vpon certayne paine to do theft againſt Gods commaundement.Non furtum facies.

Workes of
ſupererogatiō.

28 Why be ye ſo hardy to graunt by letters of fraternite to men and women , that they ſhall haue part and merite of all your good dedes,and ye wyten neuer whether God be a paid wͭ your dedes,bicauſe of your ſinne. Alſo ye weten neuer whether that man or woman be in ſtate to be ſauyd or damned,then ſhall he haue no merite in heuyn for hys owne dedes ne for none other mans. And all were it ſo,that he ſhuld haue parte of your good dedes:yet ſhulde ye haue no more then God wolde geue him after that he were worthy: and ſo mich ſhall ech mā haue of Gods yefte without your limitation. But if ye will ſay that ye ben Gods felowes,and that he may not do without your aſſent,then be ye blaſphemers to God.

God is the limi-
ter of meede
and reward, &
not the Frier.

Friers will not
pray but for
thē that be of
their frater-
nitie

29 What betokeneth that ye haue ordeyned, that whē ſuche one as ye haue made your brother or ſiſter , & hath a letter of your ſeale, that letter mought be brought in your holy chapter , and there be rad, or els ye will not pray for him . And but ye willen pray ſpecially for all other that were not made your brethren or ſiſtren ? then were ye not in right charite:for that ought to be commē and namely in goſtely thinges.

30 Frere , what charite is this to ouercharge the people by mighty begging vnder colour of preching,or praying,or maſſes ſingyng? ſith holy write byddeth not thus, but euen the contrary: for all ſuch goſtly dedes ſhuld be done frely as God yeueth them frely.

31 Frere,what charite is this to begyle childrē or they commen to diſcretion,and bynde hem to your orders ẏ byn not grounded in gods law,againſt her frendes will:

ſythen by this foly bene many apoſtataes both in wyll ⁊ dede, and many bene apoſtataes in her will, duryng all her life that would gladly be diſcharged if thei wiſt how and ſo many bene apoſtataes, ẏ ſhoulden in other ſtates haue byn true men.

Friers do make apoſtataes.

32 Frere, what charite is this to make ſo many freres in euery countrey to ẏ charge of ẏ people: ſith perſons ⁊ vicares alone, ye ſecular prieſtes alone, ye monkes ⁊ chanons alone, with biſhops aboue thē: were inough to the church to do prieſts office. And to adde mo thā inough, is a foule errour ⁊ great charge, to ẏ people, ⁊ thys is openly againſt gods will ẏ ordayned all things to be done in weight, nūber ⁊ meaſure. And Chriſt himſelf was apayd wᵗ twelue Apoſtles ⁊ a fewe diſciples to preach and doe prieſtes office to all the whole worlde, than was it better do than it is now at this tyme, by a thouſand dele: and ryght ſo as foure fyngers with a thumbe in a mannes hande helpeth a man to worche, and double number of fingers in one hand ſhould let him more: and ſo the more number that there were paſſing the meaſure of gods ordinaunce, the more were a man letted to worke. Ryghte ſo (as it ſemeth) it is of theſe new orders, that bene added to the church without ground of holy write, and Gods ordinance.

The number of friers are ſuperfluous and as neceſſarie as ten fingers on one hand.

33 Frere, what charite is this to lie to the people and ſay that ye follow Chriſt in pouerty more than other mē done, and yet in curious and coſtly howſyng, and fyne ⁊ precious clothing, and delicious and likyng feding, and in treaſure and iewels and riche ornamentes, freres paſſen lordes and other rich worldly men: and ſooneſt they ſhoulde bryng her cauſe about (bee it neuer ſo coſtely) though gods law be put abacke.

See ſo faſte the Frier foloweth Chriſt in pouertie.

34 Frere, what charite is this to gather vp the bookes of holy write and put hem in treaſory, and ſo empryſon them from ſecular prieſtes and curates, and by this cautell let hem to preach the goſpell freely to the people without worldly mede, and alſo to defame good prieſts of hereſy ⁊ lyen on him openly for to to let hem to ſhew gods law by the holy goſpell to the chriſten people.

Friers are the letters of preaching the Goſpell.

35 Frere, what charitie is this to fayne ſo mich holynes in your bodelye clothing (ẏ ye clepe your habyte) ẏ many blynd foles deſiren to die therin more thā in an other: and alſo ẏ a frere that leuyth his habyte late founden of men, may not be aſſoiled till he take it again, but is apoſtata as ye ſeyne, and curſed of God and mā both. The Frere beleueth, treuth, and patiens, chaſtite, meekenes, and ſobriete: yet for the more part of his life, he may ſonne be aſſoyled of his prior, and if he bring home to his houſe mich good by yere. (be it neuer ſo falſely begged ⁊ pilled of the poore and nedy people in courtes about) he ſhall behold a noble Frere, O Lord whether this be charitie?

What holynes is in a friers coate.

The ſtouter beggar the nobellar frier.

36 Frere, what charitie is this to preſe vpō a rych mā, ⁊ to entice him to be buried among you frō hys pariſhe church, and to ſuch ryche men gyue letters of fraternite confirmed by your generall ſeale, ⁊ therby to beare him an hand that he ſhall haue part of all your maſſes, mattyns, prechyngs, faſtings, wakyngs, and all other good dedes done by your brethren of your order (both whiles he liueth, and after that he is dede) and yet ye wyten neuer whether your dedes be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter bee able by good lyuyng to receyue any part of your dedes: and yet, a poore man (that ye wyte well or ſuppoſen in certayne to haue no good of) ye ne geuen no ſuch letters, though he bee a better man to god than ſuch a riche man: neuertheleſſe this poore man doth not retch therof. For as men ſuppoſen ſuch letters and many other that freres be, hooten to mē, be ful falſe deceites of freres: out of all reaſō, ⁊ gods law and chriſten mens faith.

Why friers ſo much deſire to haue ryche mē buryed in their frieries.

Friers beheſtes are falſe. deceates.

37 Frere, what charitie is this: to be confeſſoures of lordes and ladies and to other mighty men, and not amend hem in her liuyng: but rather as it ſemeth, to be ẏ bolder to pyll her poore tenantes, and to liue in lechery, and there to dwell in your office of confeſſour for wynnyng of worldly goodes, and to behold grete by colour of ſuch goſtly offices: this ſemith rather pryde of freres than charite of God.

Friers d
to be l
and lad
cōfeſſo

38 Frere, what charite is this to ſayne, that who ſo lyuyth after your order, liueth moſt perfitely, and next foloweth the ſtate of Apoſtles in pouerte and penaunce: and yet the wyſeſt and greteſt clerkes of you, wende or ſend or procure to the court of Rome to bee made Cardinals, or biſhopes, or the popys chapelaynes, and to be aſſoyled of the vowe of pouerty and obedience to your miniſters in the which, (as ye ſayn) ſtandeth moſt perfection ⁊ meryte of your orders: and thus ye faren as Phariſeis that ſayen one and do an other to the contrary.

Friers a
Phariſes
ſay one
do an
other,

Why name ye more the patrō of your order in your Confiteor, when ye begyn maſſe: then other ſaintes, Apoſtles or martyrs, that holy church hold more glorious, then hem? and clepe hem your patrons and your auowries.

Frere, whether was ſaint Fraunces in makyng of his rule that he ſet thine order in, a foole and lyer, or els wyſe and true? If ye ſayne that he was not a foole, but wiſe, ne a lyar, but true: why ſhew ye contrary by your doing? whan by your ſuggeſtion to the Pope ye ſayde, that your rule that Fraunces made was ſo harde, that ye might not liue to hold it, without declaration and diſpenſation of the pope. And ſo, by your dede: ye lete your patron a foole that made a rule ſo hard, that no mā may well keepe: and eke your deede proueth him a lyar, wher he ſayth in his rule, that he toke and learned it of the holy ghoſt. For how might ye for ſhame pray the pope vndoo that the holye ghoſt byt, as when ye prayed him to diſpence with the hardnes of your order.

Dilem

Frere, which of the foure orders of friers is beſt to a man ẏ knoweth not which is ẏ beſt, but would faine enter into the beſt, ⁊ none other? If thou ſayeſt that thine is the beſt, then ſayeſt thou that none of the other is as good as thyne: and in this eche Frere in the three other orders wolle ſaye that thou lyeſt, for in the ſelfe maner eche other frere wole ſay that his order is beſt. And thus to eche of the .iiij. ordes ben the other three contrarye in this point: in ẏ which if any ſay ſooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the beſt of foure: ſo foloweth it that if eche of theſe orders anſwered to this queſtion as thou doeſt, three were falſe, and but one true: and yet no man ſhould wit who that wer. And thus it ſeemeth, that that the moſt part of freres, byn or ſhuld, be liers in this poynt and they ſhould anſwer therto. If you ſay, that an other order of the freres is better then thyne, or as good: why tooke ye nat rather thereto as to the better, when thou mighteſt haue choſe at the beginning: And eke why ſhouldeſt thou be an apoſtata to leaue thine order, and take thee to that is better, ⁊ ſo why goeſt thou not from thine order into that?

Which i
the be
der of
friers.

Friers n
ver agre
one wit
an other.

Frere, is there anye perfiter rule of religion than Chriſt Gods ſonne gaue in his goſpell to his brethren? Or then that religion, that ſaynt James in his Epiſtle maketh mēcion of? If you ſay yes, then putteſt thou on Chriſt (that is the wiſdome of God the father) vnkunnyng, vnpower, or euil will: for than, he could not make his rule ſo good as an other did his. And ſo he had be vnkunning, that he might not make his rule ſo good as an other man might: and ſo were he vnmighty, ⁊ not God, or he would not make his rule ſo perfite as an other did his, and ſo he had be euill wylled, namely to himſelfe.

For if he might, and could, and woulde haue made a rule perfyt without default, ⁊ did not: he was not Gods ſonne almighty. For if anye other rule be perfiter than Chriſtes, then muſt Chriſtes rule lacke of that perfectiō by as much as the other weren more perfiter, ⁊ ſo were

default,

The frie
thinketh
rule perf
ter then
Chriſte
cauſe he
leaueth
and fol
eth the
other.

default, and Chriſt had fayled in making of his rule: but to put any default or failing in God, is blaſphemye. If thou ſay that Chriſtes rule, and that religion that ſaynt James maketh mencion of, is the perfiteſt: why holdeſt thou not than thylke rule wͭout more. And why clepeſt yͤ the rather of S. Fraunces or ſaint Dominikes rule or religion, or order, then of Chriſts rule, or Chriſts order?

Frere, canſt thou anye defaulte aſſigne in Chriſtes rule of the goſpell (with the which he taught all men ſekerly to be ſaued) if they kept it to her ending? If thou ſay it was to hard, than ſayeſt thou Chriſt lyed: for he ſayd of hys rule: My yoke is ſoft, and my burden light. If thou ſay Chriſtes rule was to light, that maye be aſſigned for no default, for the better it maye bee kept: If thou ſayeſt that there is no defaulte in Chriſtes rule of the Goſpell, ſithe Chriſt him ſelfe ſaith it is light and eaſy: what neede was it to patrons of freres, to adde more thereto? & ſo to make an harder religion to ſaue freres, then was the religion of Chriſtes Apoſtles and his diſciples helden and weren ſaued by. But if they wolden that her freres ſaten aboue the Apoſtles in heauẽ for the harder religion that they kepen here: ſo woulde they ſytten in heauen, aboue Chriſt himſelfe, for the mo & ſtrayt obſeruances: than ſo ſhoulde they bee better than Chriſt him ſelfe, with miſchaunce.

Dilemma.

Friers would ſit in heauen aboue the Apoſtles.

Go now forth and frayne your clarkes, and ground ye you in Gods law, and gyf Jak an anſwer: and when ye han aſſoiled me that I haue ſaid ſadly in truth, I ſhal ſoyle thee of thine order, and ſaue thee to heauen.

If freres kun not or mow not excuſe hem of theſe queſtions aſked of hem: it ſeemeth that they be horrible gilty againſt God, and her euen Chriſten. For whych giltes and defaultes, it were worthy that the order that they call their order, were foredone. And it is wonder that men ſuſtayn hem or ſuffer hem liue in ſuch maner. For holy writ biddeth that thou do well to the meeke, & geue not to the wicked: but forbed to geue hem breade, leaſt they be made thereby mightier through you.

After theſe digreſſions, now to returne to the courſe of our ſtory agayne. As Henry this king ſucceded K. John his father, ſo after Innocent yͤ pope, came Honorius: thẽ Gregorius, &c. And after Otho the emperour (whom the pope had once ſet vp, and after depryued agayne) ſucceded Friderike the ſecond, as is partly before touched. In the daies of theſe kyngs, popes and Emperours: it were to long to recite all that happened in England, but eſpecially in Germany, betwixt pope Honorius, Gregorius and Friderike the emperour: the horrible tragedy wherof, were inough to fill a whole booke by it ſelfe. But yet we meane God willing, ſomwhat to touch concernyng theſe eccleſiaſticall matters, firſt begynning wyth thys realme of England.

Otho the emperour ſet vp and depoſed agayne by the pope.

After that the kingdom of England had bene ſubiected by king John, as hath ben ſaid, and made tributary to the pope and the Romiſhe church: it is incredible how the inſatiable auarice and gredines of the Romains did oppreſſe and wring the commons and all eſtates and degrees of the realm, eſpecially beneficed mẽ & ſuch as had any thing of the church. Who, what for their domeſtical charges wͭin yͤ realm, what for yͤ pope, what for the Legates, what for contributyng to the holy land, what for relaxations, and other ſubtile ſleights to get away their mony: were brought into ſuch ſlauery, captiuity, & penurye, that wheras the king neither durſte nor might remedy their exclamations by himſelfe: yet notwithſtanding by his aduiſe, Symon Mountfort, and the Erle of Leiceſter and other noble mẽ (not forgetting what great greuances and diſtreſſes the realm was brought into by the Romaines) thought to worke ſome way, how to bridle and reſtraine the inſatiable rauening of theſe gredye wolues. Wherfore they deuiſed their letter, geuig ſtrait commaundement to the religious men, and to ſuche as had their churches to ferme: that henceforth they ſhould not anſwer the Romaines of ſuch fermes and rentes any more, but ſhould pay the ſaid fermes or rentes vnto their owne proctors appointed for the ſame purpoſe, as by their writings ſent abrode to biſhops or chapters, & other eccleſiaſtical houſes, may appeare in this forme & effect as followeth.

1220.

TO ſuch and ſuch a biſhop, and ſuch a chapter: al the vniuerſitie and company of them, that had rather dye then to be confounded of the Romaines, wiſheth health. How the Romams and their legates haue hetherto behaued themſelues towarde you, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons of this realme of England, it is not vnknowne to your diſcretions, in diſpoſing and geuing away the benefices of the realme after theyr owne luſt, to the intollerable preiudice and greuaunce both of you and all other Engliſhmẽ. For where as yͤ collatiõ of benefices ſhould & do properly belõg to you & other your fellow biſhops (eccleſiaſticall perſons) they, thundryng againſt you the ſentẽce of excõmunicatiõ, that you ſhould not beſtow thẽ vpon any perſon of this realme, vntill in euery dioceſſe & cathedral church within the realme, fiu. Romaines (ſuch as the pope ſhal name) be prouided for, to the value of euery man an hundred poſides by yere. Beſides theſe, many other greuaunces the ſayd Romaniſts do inflicte and inferre, both to the Laitye and Nobles of the realme, for the patronages and almoiſe beſtowed by them & by their aunceſtours for the ſuſtentatiõ of the poore of the realm, and alſo to the cleargye and eccleſiaſticall perſons of the realme, touching their liuings and benefices. And yet the ſayd Romaniſtes not contented wyth the premiſſes, doe alſo take from the cleargye of this realme, the benefices which they haue, to beſtow them vpon men of their own countrey, &c.

A cõplaynt of the nobles of Englãd againſt the couetouſnes of Rome.

Wherfore, we conſidering the rigorous auſteritie of theſe foreſayd Romaniſtes, whiche once commyng in as ſtraungers hither, now take vpon thẽ not onely to iudge but alſo to cõdemne vs, laying vpon vs vnportable burdens, wherunto they wil not put to one of theyr own fingers to moue: laying therfore our heades together vpon a generall and full aduiſe had among our ſelues concernyng the ſame, haue thought good (although verye late) to reſyſt and wythſtand them: rather, then to be ſubiect to theyr intollerable oppreſſions, and greater ſlauery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cauſe, we ſtraitly charge and commaund you, as your frends (goyng about to deliuer you, the church, the kyng, and the kingdõ from that miſerable yoke of ſeruitude) that you do not intermedle or take any part, concerning ſuch exactions or rentes to be required or geuen to the ſayd Romains. Lettyng you to vnderſtande for truthe, that in caſe you ſhall (which God forbidde) be found culpable herein: not onely your goodes and poſſeſſions ſhall be in danger of burnyng, but alſo in your perſons ſhal incurre the ſame perill and puniſhment, as ſhall the ſayd romiſh oppreſſors themſelues.

Thus fare ye well.

☞ Thus much I thought here to inſerte and notify concernyng this matter, for that not onely the greedye & auaritious gredines of the Romiſhe church mighte the more euidently vnto all Engliſh men appeare: but that they may learne by thys example, how worthy they bee ſo to be ſerued and plagued wyth theyr owne rod, which before woulde take no parte with their naturall kyng, agaynſt foreyne power, of whom now they are ſcourged.

Example teaching neuer to take parte agaynſt their king with forein power.

To make the ſtory more playne. In the raygne of this Henry the third (who ſuccedyng as is ſayd, after K. John his father & had raigned, lvi. yeares) came diuers Legates from Rome to England: Fyrſt Cardinall Otho ſent frõ the pope wͭ letters to yͤ kyng, lyke as other letters alſo wer ſẽt to other places for exactiõs of mony.

Cardinal Otho Legate.

The kyng opening the letters and perceyuyng the contentes: aunſwered that he alone could ſay nothing in the matter, which concerned all the clergy and commõs of the whole realme. Not long after, a councell was called at Weſtminſter, where the letters beyng opened the forme was this. Petimus in primis ab omnibus eccleſijs cathedralibus duas nobis pæbendas exhiberi, vnam de portione epiſcopi, & alterã de capitulo. Et ſimiliter de Cœnobijs vbi diuerſæ ſunt portiones Abbatis & conuentus: a conuentibus quantum pertinet, ad vnum monachũ æquali

The pope requyreth two prebendſhips in euery cathedrall church.

facta diſtributione honorum ſuorum, et ab Abbate tātundem. That is: We require to be geuē vnto vs firſt, of all Cathedrall churches two Prebends, one for the biſhops part, the other for the Chapter. And likewiſe of Monaſteries, where be diuers portiōs, one for the Abbot, another for the couent: Of the couent, ſo much as appertayned to one monke, the portion of the goods being proportionly deuided: Of ỹ abbot likewiſe as much. The cauſe why he required theſe prebendes was this. It hath bene ſayth he, an old ſlaunder, and a greate complaint againſt the church of Rome, to be noted of inſatiable couetouſnes, which as ye know, is the roote of all miſchief: and all by reaſon that cauſes be wont commonly not to bée handled, nor to procéede in the church of Rome without great giftes and expence of mony. Wherof, ſeyng the pouerty of the church is the cauſe, & why it is ſo ſlaūdered and ill ſpoken of: it is therfore conuenient, that you (as natural children) ſhould ſuccoure your mother. For vnleſſe wée ſhould receiue of you and of other good mē as you are: we ſhould then lacke neceſſaries for our life, which were a great diſhonour to our dignitie, &c.

Note the cauſe why the pope is cōpelled to craue mony of other coūtryes.

When thoſe petitions and cauſes of the Legate were propounded in the foreſaide aſſemblie at Weſtminſter on the popes behalf (the biſhops and prelates of ỹ realme being preſent) anſwer was made by the mouthe of maiſter John Bedford, on thys wyſe: That the matter there proponed by the L. Legate, in eſpeciall concerned the king of England, but in generall it toucheth all the archbiſhops wyth their ſuffraganes, the biſhops and all the prelates of the Realme. Wherfore, ſeyng both the kyng by reaſon of hys ſicknes is abſent, and the archbiſhop of Canterburye wᵗ diuers other biſhops alſo were not there: therfore in ỹ abſence of thē they had nothyng to ſay in the matter, neither could they ſo doe wythout preiudice of them which were lacking. And ſo the aſſemble for that tyme brake vp.

Not long after, the ſayd Otho Cardinall De carcere Tulliano, comming agayne frō Rome cum autentico plenariæ poteſtatis, indicted an other councel at Lōdon: cauſed all prelates, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, and other of the clergy to be warned vnto the ſame councel, to be had in the churche of S. Paules at London, about the feaſt of S. Martin: the pretēce of which councel was for redreſſe of matters concerning benefices and religion, but ỹ chiefe & principall was to hunte for mony. For putting them in feare and in hope, ſome to loſe, ſome to obteine ſpirituall promotions at his hande, he thought gaine would riſe therby, and ſo it did. For in the meane time (as Pariſienſis in vita Henrici. 3. writeth) diuers pretious rewards were offered him in Palfreis, in rich plate and iewels, in coſtly and ſumpteous garmentes richly furred, in coyne, in vitals. &c. In ſomuch that onely the biſhop of Wint. (as the ſtory reporteth) hearyng that he would winter at London, ſent him L. fat Oxen, an C. come of pure wheate, 8. tunne of choſen Wine, toward his houſe keping. Likewiſe other Biſhops alſo for their part offred vnto ỹ Cardinals boxe, after theyr habilitie.

A counſell at London called.

Great rewardes geuen to the Cardinall.

The time of the councel drawyng nye: the cardinall cōmaunded at the Weſt end of Paules churche an high and ſolemne throne to be prepared, riſing vp with a glorious ſcaffold vpō mightye & ſubſtantiall ſtagiers ſtrōgly builded, and of a great height. Thus agaynſt the day aſſigned, came the ſayd archbyſhop, biſhops, abbots and other of the prelacy, both far and nere throughout all Englād, weried and vexed with the winters iorney, bringing their letters procuratory. Who being together aſſēbled, the cardinall beginneth his ſermon. But before we come to the ſermon. There happened a great diſcord betwene the two archbiſhops of Cāterbury and of Yorke, for ſitting at the right hand and left hād of the glorious cardinall: for the whiche the one appealed agaynſt the other. The cardinall to pacifie ỹ ſtrife betwen thē both, ſo ỹ he would not derogate frō eyther of thē, brought forth a certain Bull of the pope: in the middeſt of which Bull was pictured the figure of the croſſe. On the right ſide of the croſſe ſtode ỹ image of S. Paul, & on the left ſide, S. Peter. Loe ſaith ỹ cardinall (holding opē the Bul with ỹ croſſe) here you ſée S. Peter on the left hād of the croſſe, and S. Paul on the right ſide, and yet is there betwene theſe two no contention. For both are of equall glorye. And yet S. Peter (for the prerogatiue of hys keyes, and for the preheminence of hys Apoſtleſhip and Cathedrall dignity) ſemeth moſt worthy to be placed on the right ſide. But yet, becauſe S. Paule beleued on Chriſt, when he ſaw him not, therfore hath he ỹ right hand of ỹ croſſe: for bleſſed be they, ſaith Chriſt, whiche beleue and ſée not. &c. And from ỹ time forth, the archbiſhop of Canterburye inioyed the right hande, and the archbiſhop of Yorke, the left. Wherin yet, this Cardinall is more to be commended then the other cardinall Hugo, mētioned a litle before. pag. 292. which in the lyke contention betwene theſe archbiſhops, ranne his way.

Contention for ſitting on the ryght hand of the Cardinall.

Why ſi Paule ſta deth on right hā the pop croſſe,

Why the Archbi of Cant. hath the ryght ha and the Archb. of Yorke the left hand,

Thus the controuerſie ceaſed, and compoſed betwene theſe two: Otho the cardinall ſitting a loft betwen theſe. ij. archbiſhops beginneth his ſermō, taking his theme of the Prophet. In medio ſedis, & in circuitu eius quatuor animalia plena, oculis ante et retro. &c. That is.

In the middeſt of the ſeat, and in the circuite about the ſeat, were foure beaſts ful of eyes before and behinde. &c Upon this theme, the cardinall proceded in hys ſermon: ſitting like a God in the midſt. He compared them about him, to the foure beaſtes about the ſeat, declaryng howe they ought to haue eyes both before and behind (that is) ỹ they muſt be prouident in diſpoſing of ſecular thinges, and circumſpecte in ſpirituall matters, continuyng and ioyning wiſely thinges paſt with thinges to come, and this was the greateſt effect of this clerkely ſermon. That done, he geueth forth certaine ſtatutes for orderyng of churches: as for the dedication of temples, for ſeuen ſacramentes, for geuing of orders, for fermyng of benefices, collations and reſignations of benefices and vicarages, prieſtes apparell, and ſingle life, for eatyng of fleſhe in religious houſes, for archdeacons, biſhops, proctors, & ſuch other like matters. But the chiefeſt intent of all hys proceding was this: that they ſhould be vigilant, prouident, and circumſpect, with al their eyes (both before and behinde) to fil the popes pouche: as appeared not only by this, but all there other trauels beſides. In ſo much, that the kyng dreading the diſpleaſures of his commons for ỹ doings of ỹ legate, willed him to repaire home to Rome againe: but yet could not ſo be rid of him. For he, receyuing new commaūdementes from the pope: applyed his harueſt, ſtill glening and raking whatſoeuer he might ſcrape, writing and ſending to biſhops and archdeacons in this forme and tenour.

Note the theme of the cardi applyed God how be appl it to him ſelfe.

Scripture clerkly applyed.

Otto miſeratione diuina &c. diſcreto viro N. epiſcopo vel N. archidiacano ſal. Cum neceſſe habeamus de mandato ſummi pontificis moram trahere in Anglia longiorem nec poſſimus propriis ſtipendiis militare, diſcretionem veſtram, qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, vt procurationes uobis debitas in epiſcopatu, vel archidiaconatu, veſtro colligi facias noſtro nomine diligenter, eas quam citius poteritis, nobis tranſmiſſuri, contradictores per cenſuram eccleſiaſticam compeſcendo. Prouiſo, quod quælibet procuratio ſummam 4 mercarum aliquatenus nō excedat, & vbi vna eccleſia non ſufficiet ad procurationem huiuſmodi habendam, duæ pariter vnam ſoluāt. Datum Lond. 15. Kal. Mart. Pont. D. Grego. Papæ. 13.

A letter the cardi to biſho and arch deacons. Cenſure the church wel appli ed. Foure markes be payd the pope every pro curation.

And moreouer, note agayne the wicked and curſed traines of theſe Romiſhe rakehels: who to picke ſimple mēs purſes, firſt ſend out their Friers and preachers to ſtirre vp in all places and countreys men to go fight agaynſt the Turkes. Whom, whē they haue once bound with a vowe, and ſigned them with the croſſe: then ſend they their Buls to releaſe them both of their labour, and

Note the crafty pr tyſe of the Romi prelates to get mon.

their vowe for money. As by their owne ſtile of wrytyng is here to be ſene, thus proceding.

N. Epiſcopus dilectis in Chriſto filijs omnibus archidiaconis per dioceſim ſuam conſtitutis ſal. Literas domini Legati ſuſcepimus in hæc verba. Otto miſeratione diuina. &c. Cum ſicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce ſignati regni Angliæ, qui ſunt inhabiles ad pugnandum, ad ſedem Apoſtolicam accedant: vt ibidē a voto crucis abſolui valeāt, & nos nuper recepimus a ſummo pontifice in mādatis, vt tales nō ſolum abſoluere, verum & ad redimenda vota ſua•compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus et expenſis, fraternitatem veſtram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus partē prædictam a ſummo pontifice nobis conceſſam faciatis in noſtris dioceſibus ſine mora qualibet publicari, vt præfati cruce ſignati ad nos accedere valeant,* beneficiũ ſuper his iuxta formam nobis traditam accepturi, Datum Londini. xv. kal. Marc. Pont. D.N. Papæ Grego. xiij.

•Note the ſtyle of Rome.

*Imo maleficiũ et naufragiũ pecuniæ.

Fridericke the Emperour maryed kyng Johns daughter.

The fyrſt pitte of euery ſpirituall mans liuing geuen to the pope.

The cauſe why the Pope was ſo gredy and nedy of money, was this: becauſe he had mortal hatred, and waged continuall battaile yͤ ſame time againſt yͤ good Emperour Fridericke the ſeconde: who had to wife kyng Jhons daughter, and ſiſter to this king Henry the third, whoſe name was Iſabel. And therfore becauſe yͤ Popes war could not be ſuſteined without charges: that made the Pope the more importunate to take vp money in all places, but eſpecially in Englande. In ſo much that he ſhamed not to require the fifth parte of euery eccleſiaſticall mans liuing, as Pariſienſis writeth. And not onely yͤ but alſo the ſaid pope Gregory (conuenting with the citizens of Rome) ſo agréed with them: that if they would ioyne with him in vanquiſhing the foreſaid Fredericke, he would (and ſo did) graūt vnto them, that all the benefices in England which were or ſhould be vacant (namely pertayning to religious houſes) ſhould be beſtowed at their owne will and commaundement to their children and kinſfolkes. Wherupō it followeth in the forenamed hiſtory, vnde infra paucos dies miſit D. Papa ſacra præcepta ſua domino Cant. Archiep. Elienſi, et Lincol. et Saliſb. epiſcopis vt trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficijs vacantibus prouiderent, ſcientes ſe ſuſpenſos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter prouideretur. That is.

Thre hundred Romanes to be placed in the beſte benefices in England.

The pope ſent in commaundement to the archbyſhop of Cant. and foure other byſhops: that prouiſion ſhould be made for iij. hundred Romanes in the chiefeſt and beſt benefices in al Englande, at yͤ next voydance. So that yͤ foreſaid archbiſhop, and byſhops ſhould be ſuſpended in the meane time from all collation or gift of benefice, vntill theſe foreſaid thrée hundred were prouided for: whervpon the archbiſhop the ſame time ſeing the vnreaſonable oppreſſion of the churche of England, left the realme and went into Fraunce.

Petrus Rubeus the popes agēt.

Romyſh eight of e pope to et Engliſh onye.

Againe, marke an other as much or more eaſy ſleight of the pope in procuring mony: he ſent one Petrus Rubeus the ſame time, with a new deuiſe, which was this: not to worke any thing openly, but priuily to go betwixt Biſhop and Biſhop, abbot and abbot ⁊c. telling in theyr eares ſuch a biſhop, ſuch an abbot hath geuen ſo much ⁊ ſo much vnto the popes holineſſe, truſtyng that you alſo wil not be behind for your part ⁊c. By the meanes wherof it is incredible to thinke what a maſſe of money was made out of the realme vnto the pope.

At length the foreſaid biſhops, abbottes, and archdeacons feling their own ſmart, came to the Kyng (whoſe father before, they did reſiſte) with theyr humble ſuite lamentably complaynyng of the vnmeaſurable exactions of the pope: and eſpecially againſt Petrus Rubeus and his fellow Otto the legate, deſiring the Kyng: that ſeing the matter toucheth not them ſelues alone, but the whole churche, ⁊ ſeing the valuation of churches was knowen better vnto theyr Archdeacons then to them ſelues: therfore they deſired a general calling and talke to be had in the matter. In the Octaues of S. Jhon the Baptiſt, the day and place was aſſigned where they ſhould talke. At which day and place, the prelates of England conuentyng together, durſt not geue any direct denaye of that contribution, but after a modeſt ſorte did inſinuate certaine exceptions againſt the ſame.

Exceptions alledged for not contributyng to the pope.

Firſt they ſay, that for ſomuch as the contribution is
demaunded to war againſt him, who was ioyned in matrimony
wͭ their prince, they were not boūd ſo to do. Se-
condly, for yͤ the ſaid contribution tended to yͤ ſheddyng
of chriſtē bloud: for ſo yͤ forme of yͤ bill pretended, to fight 2.
againſt the Emperour. Thirdly, becauſe it was againſt 3.
the libertie of the church: for ſo it is in the bill: that they yͤ
would not, ſhould be excōmunicate. Fourthly, becauſe yͤ
whē alate they gaue yͤ tēth part of their goods, it was wͭ 4.
this proteſtation, that they ſhould contribute to the pope
nomore hereafter. Item, becauſe they had cōtributed be- 5.
fore, if they ſhould now contribute againe, it were to be
feared leaſt an action twiſe done ſhould grow into a cu-
ſtome, as is in the law. Lege nemo. &c. Item, for aſmuch 6.
as they ſhall haue cauſes continually to ſeke to Rome
through the Emperours land: it were to be feared, leaſt
the ſayd Emperour by the way would worke theyr an-
noyaunce. Item, becauſe the Kyng hath many enemyes 7.
abroad, and for his warres hath nede of much money at
home: it is not conuenient that the goodes of the realme
ſhould be alienated out of the realm. Item, becauſe that
could not be done without preiudice to the patrones of 8.
their churches, not knowing whether their patrones did
or would agrée vnto the ſame. Laſtly, becauſe they heare 9.
ſay, that the generall ſtate of the churche is in daunger:
for the whiche they vnderſtand there ſhalbe ſhortly a ge-
nerall councel, wherin ſuch matters ſhal be determined:
and therfore if they ſhould contribute now, it ſhould be
to the hinderaunce and dammage of the churche.

The Legate and his felow hearing theſe allegaciōs, ſeing their own confuſion, were the leſſe importunate.

Not long after this, followed a generall councel at Lyons, called by Pope Innocentius, in the which councel the Engliſhe nation did exhibite certayne articles of their greuaunces, not vnworthye to bee knowen. Grauatur regnũ Angliæ eo quod. D. Papa non eſt contētus ſubſidio illo quod vocatur denarius b. Petri. &c. In Engliſh thus.

Articles exhibited in the councell of Lugdune for the greuances ſuſteyned by the pope.

The fyrſt greuance.

1. The kingdome of England is greued that the pope being not contented with his Peter pence, requyreth ⁊ extorteth from the clergy great exactions, and (more is lyke) without the conſent both of the king, and agaynſt the cuſtomes of the Realme.

The ſecond.

2. Item, the church and kingdome of England is greued, that yͤ patrons of the ſame, cannot preſent as they wer wont into their churches, for the popes letters. But the churches are geuen to Romanes, which knowe neyther the Realme, nor the toung thereof, both to the great peril of ſoules, and robbing away the money out of the realme.

The thyrd.

3. Item it is greued, for that the Pope promiſing by the tenor of his letters, yͭ in requiring of penſions and prouiſions in the realme of England, he would require but onely. xij. benefices: now contrary to the tenor therof, manye more benefices and prouiſions are beſtowed away by hym.

The fourth.

4. Item, yͤ realme is greued ⁊ cōplayneth, yͭ in the benefices in England, one Italian ſuccéedeth an other: the Engliſh men being not onely excluded, but alſo compelled (for yͤ determining of their matters) to ſeke to Rome: contrary both to the cuſtomes of the realme, and alſo to the priuilegies graunted by the Popes predeceſſours to the king and kingdome of England.

The fyfth.

He meaneth percaſe Otho or maiſter Martinus.

5. The fiſt greuaunce is, for the oft recourſe of that infamous Legate, by whom both fayth and fidelitie, the auncient cuſtomes of the realme, the autoritie of olde grauntes, ſtatutes, lawes, and priuileges, are imbeſeled

and abrogate:whereby an infinite number in England be greuouſly afflicted and oppreſſed.

The ſixte.

6. The ſayd Realme is alſo greued in generall tallages,collections,and aſſiſes, made withoute the kynges conſent,the appellation and contradiction of the kinges Proctors to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The ſeuenth.

The Babilonicall captiuitie and ſlauerye of England vnder the pope.

7. Seuenthly,the foreſayde Realme complayneth and is greeued:that in the benefices geuen to Italians, neither the old ordinances,nor releaſe of the poore, nor hoſpitalitie,nor any preaching of Gods woord, nor care of mens ſoules,nor ſeruice in the church,nor yet the wals of the churches be kept vp and mayntained, as the maner and cuſtome of the ſame realme requireth. Ouer & aboue theſe foreſayd greuances,there came moreouer from the Pope other freſhe letters, charging and commaūding ẏ prelates of England to fynde of their proper coſtes and charges,for one whole yeare,ſome.x. armed ſoldiours,ſome fiue,ſome.xv.to be readye at the Popes commaundement there,where he ſhould appoynt.

After theſe and other greuances and enormities of Rome,the ſtates of England cōſulting together, direct their letters to the Pope,for reformation thereof: firſt the Abbots and Priors,then the Biſhops and Suffraganes,after the Nobles and Barons,laſt of all the king himſelfe.But as the prouerbe is,venter non habet aures ſo the Popes purſe had no eares to heare. And as our common ſaying goeth,as good neuer a whyt as neuer the better,ſo went it with the Pope. Who not long after the ſame,ſent yet for newe tallage and exactions to be collected:which thing when it came to the kings eare, he being moued and diſturbed vehemently withall,writeth in this wyſe to the biſhops,ſeuerally to euerye one in hys dioces.

The letter of K.Henry the.3 to the biſhops.

1246.

K Henry the 3 cōmaūdeth no taxe nor tallage to be ſent to the pope.

Henricus tertius dei gratia,&c,Venerabili in Chriſto N. Epiſcopo Sal.Licet alias vobis.&c In Engliſh thus:

Henry the third by the grace of God,to the reuerend in Chriſt biſhop of N. Where as we haue heretofore written vnto you once,twyſe,thriſe,as well by our priuy ſeales,as alſo by our letters patentes,that you ſhuld not exact or collect for the Popes behalfe,anye tallage or other helpe of our ſubiectes,either of the clergy or of the laitie,for that no ſuch tallage nor helpe,either can or is
,, vſed to be exacted in our realme, without the great pre-
,, iudice of our princely dignitie,which we nether wyl nor
,, can ſuffer or ſuſtayne:yet you contemning and diſpen-
,, ding our commaundement,and contrarye to the proui-
,, ſion made in our laſt councel at London (graunted and
,, agreed vpon by our prelates,Earles,and Barons)haue
,, that notwithſtanding, proceeded in collecting the ſayde
,, your taxes and tallages.Wherupon, wee doo greatlye
,, maruell and are moued(eſpecially ſeing you are not a-
,, ſhamed to do contrary vnto your owne decrees) where
,, as you and other prelates in the ſayd councel in this did
,, all agree and graunt,that no ſuch exactions ſhoulde bee
,, hereafter,vntyll the returne of our and your Ambaſſa-
,, dours from the court of Rome, ſent thether purpoſelye
,, of vs,and in the name of the whole realme for the ſame,
,, for to prouide redreſſe againſt theſe oppreſſions. Wher-
,, fore, we ſtraitly wil and commaund you,that frō hence
,, forth you do not procede any more in collecting and ex-
,, acting ſuch tallages or helpes,as you will enioy our fa
,, uour,and ſuch poſſeſſions of yours,as within thys our
,, kingdome you haue and holde. And if you haue alrea-
,, dy procured or gathered any ſuch thing:yet that you ſuf
,, fer not the ſame to be tranſported out of our realm, but
,, cauſe it to be kept in ſafe cuſtody,tyll the returne of the
,, ſayd Ambaſſadours,vnder the payne of our diſpleaſure
,, in doing of the contrarye: and alſo of prouoking vs to
,, extende our hand vpon your poſſeſſions,farther thē you
,, wyll thinke or beleue.Moreouer,willing and chargyng
,, you, that you participate and make common this
,, our inhibition,with your Archdeacons and Officials,
which we here haue ſet forth for the liberties of the cler- ,,
gy and of the people,as knoweth God.&c. ,,

At length,the Ambaſſadours which were at Rome, came home about the latter ende of December, bringing word,that the Pope hearing what was done in the councel of Wincheſter and of the king,was greatly diſpleaſed with him,and with the realme,ſaying:Rex Anglorum qui iam recalcitrat et frederiſat ſuum habet conſilium,ego vero et meum habeo, quod et ſequar.&c.

The pope ſaying against k Henry.

Wherupon, when the Ambaſſadours began to ſpeake in the kinges behalfe: from that tyme,they were halfe counted for ſchiſmatickes,and coulde no more be heard in the court of Rome. The king hearing this,was maruelouſly incenſed therewith,commaunding by general proclamacion through all his realme:that no mā ſhould hereafter conſent to anye taxe or ſubſidie of monye for the court of Rome. When this came to the popes eare, vpon a cruell rage, he directed his letters to the Prelates of England,charging that vnder payne of ſuſpēſe or interdiction,they ſhoulde prouide the ſame ſumme of mony to be collected agaynſt the feaſt of the Aſſumptiō, the charge being geuen to the biſhop of Worceſter to be executer of the ſayd curſſe. The king,that latelye intended to ſtand to the liberties of the churche: nowe for feare of the Pope, and partlye for perſwaſions of the ſayd biſhop of Worceſter and other prelates, durſt not ſtand to it,but gaue ouer. Moreouer,the gredy gulſe of the Romiſh auarice waxt ſo vnmeſurable: that at lēgth the Pope ſhamed not vpon the cenſure of his curſſe, to aſke the third parte of ẏ church goods,& the yerely fruit of all vacant benefices. The chiefe doers and Legates in England,were Otho, Stephanus Capellanus, Petrus Rubeus nuncius,Mag.Martin.& Mag. Marinus, Joannes Anglicus Epiſcopus Sabinenſis. Of whom to ſpeake further(for that I haue matter much more to write)for this preſent time I think beſt to ſurceaſe:leaſt in opening all the deteſtable doinges and peſtilent workings of thoſe men,I might perhaps not onely moleſt good eares:but alſo infecte the ayre. Yet on thing cōcerning the ſayd Otho,I can not well ouerpaſſe.

K.Henry againſt reſi teth the popes

The pope rageth agaynſt the king.

The kyng cōpelled for feare geue ouer to the p

The pope asketh the thyrd p of the ch the goo

This Otho,as he left no place vnſought,where anye vauntage might be got: ſo amongeſt all other he came to Oxford. Where,lying in the houſe of Oſney, he was receiued with great honour:the ſcholars preſenting him honorably with ſuch diſhes and rewardes as they had, thinking to gratefie the Cardinal after the beſt maner. This being done before diner,and the diner ended,they came reuerently to ſee and welcom him,ſuppoſing that they alſo ſhould with like curteſy againe of him be entertained. As they came to the gate,the porter(being an Italian)with a loude voyce aſketh what they woulde haue. They ſayd they came to ſee the Lord Legate. But Cerberus the porter holding the doore halfe open, with proud and contumelous language thruſt them out,and wold not ſuffer them to enter. The ſcholars ſeing that, by force thruſt open the gate,and came in: whom,when the Romaines which were within would haue repelled with their fiſtes, and ſuche ſtaues as they had in their hands,they fell to alarme & by the eares together,wyth much houing and ſhouing,and manye blowes on both ſides. In the meane time,whyle ſome of the ſcholars ran home for their weapons,there chaunced a poore ſcholer (an Iriſhman)to ſtād at the gate wayting for his almes Whom when the maiſter Cooke ſaw at the gate, he taking hot ſkalding water out of the pan,where the meat was ſodden:did caſt it in his face. One of the ſcholers a welchman,that came with his bowe and ſhaftes, ſeyng that:letteth driue an arrow,and ſhooteth this Nabuzardan(that is maiſter of cookes)cleane through the body,& ſleaeth him out of hand. The Cooke falling dead: there was a mightye broyle,and a great clamor throughout all the houſe. The Cardinall hearing the tumult & great

A ſtory Cardinal Othos Oxford

A ſkyr betwe the ſchol of Ox & the C dinals noyſe about him, like a valiant Romain runneth as faſt as he could into the ſteeple: and there locketh the doores faſt vnto him, where he remayned tyll mydnight. The ſcholars in the meane while not yet all pacified, ſought all corners about for the Legate, exclaming and crying out: where is that vſurer, that ſymoniake, that pyllar & poller of our liuinges, that proylar and extorcioner of our money, which peruerteth our king, and ſubuerteth his kingdome, enriching himſelfe with our ſpoyles. &c. all this heard the Cardinall, and helde his peace. When the night approching had broken vp the field: the Cardinall comming out of his forte, and takyng hys horſe (in ſilence of the night) was priuelye conueyed ouer the ryuer, toward the king, conueying him ſelfe away as faſt as he could. After the king heard this, he ſendeth to Oxforde a garriſon of armed men, to deliuer the Romanes which were there hydden for feare of the ſcholars. Thē was maiſter Odo a lawyer, with .xxx. other ſcholars apprehended, & caried to Wallingforde Caſtell: and from thence had in Cartes to London, where at length (thorow much entreaty of the biſhops) being brought barefoote to the Legates doore, had their pardon, and the vniuerſity releaſed of interdiction. And thus much concerning the Popes Legates in England.

Thus partlye you haue heard and do vnderſtand the miſerable thraldome and captiuitie of this realm of England and the Clergy of the ſame: who (before) refuſed to take part with king Iohn their naturall prince againſt the forreyne power of the Pope: and nowe howe miſerably they are oppreſſed and ſcourged of the ſame Pope. Whoſe inſatiable extorcion and rapacitye did ſo exceede in pilling and polling of this realme long after this, that neither the king now coulde helpe them, neyther could the Pope with any reaſonable meaſure be cōtent. Inſomuch (as writers record) in the dayes of Sudbury archbiſhop of Cāterbury an. 1360. the pope by his proctors gat from the Clergy in leſſe then one yere more then .lx. M. florēces, of mere cōtributiō: beſides his other auayles and common reuenues out of benefices, prebēdaries, firſt fruites, tributes, Peter pence, collations, reſeruations, relaxations, and ſuch marchandiſe. &c.

Mention was made a litle before, of Albingenſes keping about the citie of Tholouſe. Theſe Albingenſes becauſe they began to ſmell the pope, and to controle the inordinate procedinges and diſcipline of the ſee of Rome: the pope therfore recounting them as a people heretical, excited and ſtirred vp, about this preſent time and yeare an. 1220. Ludouicke the yong French king through the inſtance of Philippe his father: to lay ſiege agaynſt the ſayd citie of Colonſe, to expugne and extinguiſh theſe Albingēſes his enemies. Wherupō, Ludouicke (according to his fathers cōmaundemēt) reared a puiſſant & a mighty army, to cōpaſſe about and beſet the forenamed citie: & ſo did. Here were the men of Tholouſe in great daunger. But ſee how the mighty protection of God feighteth for his people, agaynſt the might of man. For after that Ludouicke (as Mathew Paris. teſtifieth) had long weried him ſelfe and his men in waſte, and could do no good ẇ all their ingines and artilerie agaynſt the citie: there fell moreouer vpon the Frēch hoſte by the hād of God, ſuch famine, and peſtilence both of men and horſes, beſide the other dayly ſlaughter of the ſouldiers: that Ludouicke was enforced to retire, and with ſuch as were left to returne agayne home to Fraunce from whence he came. In the ſlaughter of which ſouldiours beſide many other was Earle Simon de monte forti, generall of the army, to whom the landes of the Earle of Tholouſe was geuē by the Pope, who was ſlayne before the gate of the citie ẇ a ſtone. And ſo was alſo the brother of the ſaid Symō the ſame tyme in beſiegyng a caſtell nere to Tholouſe ſlayne ẇ a ſtone in lyke maner. And ſo was the ſiege of ẏ Frēchmē agaynſt Tholouſe broke vp. Ex Mat. Par.

As the ſiege of theſe French men could do no good agaynſt the citie of Tholoſe: ſo it happened ẏ ſame tyme ẏ the chriſtiās marching toward ẏ holy land, had better lucke by the way in laying their ſiege to a certain tower or caſtle in Egypt, nere to ẏ citie Damieta: which ſemed by nature, for the ſituation and difficultie of the place inexpugnable: as which being ſituate in the middeſt of the great floud Nilus (hard by ẏ citie called Damieta) could neither be come to by lād, nor be vndermined for the water, nor by famine ſubdued for the nerenes of the citie. Yet notwithſtanding, through the helpe of God and policie of man, in erecting ſcaffoldes and caſtles vpon tops of maſtes, the Chriſtians at laſt conquered it: and after that the citie alſo Damieta, albeit not without great loſſe of Chriſten people. In the expugnation of this citie or forte, among other that there died, was the Lātgraue of Thuringe named Ludouicke, the huſband of Eliſabeth whom we vſe to call Saint Elizabeth. This Elizabeth (as my ſtory recordeth) was the daughter of ẏ kyng of Hungary, and maryed in Almaine, where ſhe lyued, ẇ the forenamed Ludouicke Lantgraue of Thuringe. Whom ſhe through her perſuaſions prouoked and incēſed to take that viage to fight for the holy land, where he in the ſame viage was ſlayne. After whoſe death, Eliſabeth (remaining a widow) entred ẏ profeſſiō of cloyſterly religion, and made her ſelfe a nonne. So growyng and increaſing frō vertue to vertue, that after her death, all Almaine did ſound with the fame of her worthy doings. Mat. Pariſ. addeth this more, that ſhe was the daughter of that quene, who beyng accuſed to be nought with a certaine Archbiſhop: was therfore condemned with this ſentēce pronounced agaynſt her. Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum eſt etſi omnes conſenſerint non ego cōtradico. That is, (although it be hard in Engliſhe to be tranſlated as it ſtandeth in Latine) To kil the quene wil ye not to feare that is good: And if all men ſhall conſent therunto, not I my ſelfe do ſtand againſt it. &c. the which ſentence beyng brought to pope Innocent, thus in pointyng ẏ ſentence which otherwiſe ſemeth to haue a double vnderſtanding, ſo ſaued ẏ quene: thus interpreting ẏ & poyntīg ẏ ſentēce: Reginā interficere nolite, timere bonū eſt, et ſi omnes conſenſerint, non ego. Contradico. That is: to kill the quene will ye not: to feare, that is good. And if all do conſent thereto, not I. my ſelf do ſtand agaynſt it: And ſo eſcaped ſhe the daunger. This quene was the mother, as is ſayd, of Elyſabeth the nonne, who for her holy nonnyſhenes was canoniſed of the popes churche, for a ſaint in Almanie, about the yeare. 1226. Ex Mat. Pariſ.

The expugnation of a certayne ſtronge caſtle of Dameta, in Egipt by the Chriſtiās.

Damieta taken by the chriſtians.

The ſtorye of S. Eliſabeth.

Eliſabeth daughter of the king of Hungarye.

S. Eliſabeth prouoketh her huſband to go and fyght for the holy land.

The mother of S Eliſabeth accuſed of adulterye.

A ſentence of a double meaning.

The Quene ſaued by fauourable interpretatiō of a double ſentence.

1220.

Eliſabeth canoniſed a ſaint in Almaine.

And this by the way, nowe to procede farther in the yeares and life of this kyng Henry. The next yeare folowyng whiche was an 1221. the kyng went to Oxford: where he had ſome thyng to do with VVilliam Earle de Albemartia, who had taken the caſtell of Biham: but at laſt for his good ſeruice he had done in the realme before, was releaſed of the kyng with all hys men, by the interceſſion of Walter archbiſhop of Yorke, and of Pādolph the legate. About whiche preſent yeare, entreade fyrſt ẏ friers Minorites, or gray frieres, into Englād, and had their firſt houſe at Canterbury: whoſe firſt patrone was Franciſcus, whiche dyed an 1127. and his order was afterward confirmed by pope Honorius 3. an 1224.

1221.

Ex tabula pēſili in æde diui pauli.

The Gray fryers fyrſt entred to England.

The order of Gray Fryers fyrſt cōfirmed.

About the firſt cōmyng of theſe Dominicke and gray friers Franciſcane into the realme (as is in Nic. Triuet teſtified) many Engliſhemen the ſame tyme entred into their orders. Among whom was Iohannes de ſancto Egidio, a man famouſly expert in the ſciēce of Phiſicke and Aſtronomie. And alſo Alexander de Hales: both Engliſh men & great diuines. This Iohannes makyng his ſermō ad clerum, in the houſe of the Dominicke friers: exhorted his auditorie with great perſuaſions vnto wilfull pouertie. And to confirme his wordes the more by his owne example, in the mideſt of his ſermon he came down frō the pulpite and put on his Friers habite: and ſo returnyng

Ioannes de S. Egidio.

Alexander de Hales.

into the pulpite agayne made an ende of his ſermō. Like wiſe, Alexander Hales entred the order of the Franciſcanes, of whom remaineth yet the booke intituled de Sūma Theologiæ in old Libraries.

Charterhouſe monkes founded by Williā Long ſpey.

Ela foundres of the houſe of Lakocks.

Moreouer, not long after by VVilliam de longa ſpata, which was the Baſtard ſonne of kyng Henry 2. & Earle of Saliſbury: was firſt founded the houſe of the Carthuſiā monks at Heytrope. an.1222. After whoſe death, his wife Ela was trāſlated to yͤ houſe of Hentone in Barkſhyre. an.1227. By which Ela alſo foūd yͤ houſe of nōnes at Lakockes, and there continued herſelfe Abbes of the place. The biſhop of Londō named William, the ſame tyme gaue ouer his biſhoprick: after whō ſucceded Euſtace in that ſee. Flor.hiſt.

Two condemned at a coūcel in Oxford.

Ex Nic. Triuet.

In this towne of Oxford aboue mentioned, where the kyng kept his court: Symon Langhton archbiſhop of Canterbury helde a councel, where was condemned and burned a certeine deacon, as Nich. Triuet. ſayth, for apoſtaſie. Alſo an other rude conntrey man who had crucified hym ſelfe, and ſuperſtitiouſly bare about the wondes in his feete and handes, was condēned to be cloſed vp perpetually within walles. Ex Nic. Triuet. About whiche yeare alſo Alexander kyng of yͤ Scottes maried Johanne ſiſter to kyng Henry.

The foundatiō of the church of Saliſburye begonne with the popes ſtone: but I truſt by thys godly byſhop the popes ſtone will be turned to the corner ſtone of Chriſt.

Not long after, began the new buildyng of the mynſter of Saliſbury. Whereat Pandolphus the Popes legate, laid the fiue firſt ſtones: One for the pope (ſuch was the fortune of that church to haue the popes ſtone in his foūdatiō) the ſecond for the yong kyng Henry: the third, for the good Earle of Saliſbury: The fourth for the Counteis: The fifte for the Byſhop of Saliſbury. &c. Whiche was about the ſame yeare aboue mentioned. an.1221. Ex Chron. Do. Sal.

Diſſention betwene the Citizens of London, and of Weſtmynſter.

In the ſame yeare about ſaint James tyde, fel a diſſention betwene the citizens of London, & men of Weſtminſter, the occaſion wherof was this. A certaine game betwene theſe ij. parties was appoynted to try whether part in wraſteling could ouercome yͤ other. Thus in ſtriuing for maiſtrey, eche part cōtending againſt the other (as the maner is in ſuch paſtime) it happened the Londiners to get the victorie, & the other ſide was put to foyle, but eſpecially the ſtuard of the Abbot of Weſtmynſter. Who beyng not a litle confounded therewith, began to forethinke in his minde, how to be reuenged again of the Londiners. Wherupō, an other day was ſet, which was at Lammas, that the Londiners ſhoulde come agayne to wraſtle: and who ſo had the victorie, ſhould haue the bellwether, whiche was the price of the game appointed. As the parties wer thus occupied in their play: the ſteward ſodenly bryngeth vpon the Londiners vnwars a cōpany of harneſt men, prepared for the ſame before, and letteth dryue at the Londiners. Who at length beyng wounded & greuouſly hurte, after much bloudſhed were driuen backe againe into the citie. This contumely thus beyng receaued, the citizens egerly ſtroken with ire and impacience, ranne to the common bell: and by the ryngyng therof, aſſembled their commons together to conſulte with them ſelues, what was to be done in the caſe ſo contumelious. Wherin, when diuerſe ſentences were geuē diuerſly, Serle the ſame tyme Maior of London (a wiſe and diſcreit man) gaue this counſail, that the Abbot of Weſtminſter ſhould be talked with all: who if he would rectifie yͤ iniurie done, and ſatiſfie for yͤ harme receaued, it ſhould be to thē ſufficient. But contrary, one Conſtantine a great man then in the citie of London, in much heate excityng the people, gaue this ſentence: that all the houſes of the abbotte of Weſtminſter, but eſpecially the houſe of yͤ ſteward, ſhould be caſt down to the ground. In fine, that which he ſo vnaduiſedly counſayled, was as madly performed: for the furious people, accordyng to hys counſaile ſo dyd. This tumultuous outrage, as it could not be priuey, commyng to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgo Lord chief iuſtice of England aboue mentioned: he commyng with a ſufficient ſtrēgth of armed ſouldiours to the citie of London, ſent to yͤ Maior and Aldermen of the citie to will them to come vnto hym. Who ſo obeyng his commaundement, required of them the principall beginners of the ryot. To whom Conſtantine there beyng preſent aunſwered, yͭ he would awarrant that which was done: ſorowing moreouer, that they had not done more then they dyd, in that matter. The iuſtice vpon the ſame his confeſſion, commaunded him with ij. other, without any further tumult to be taken. And ſo, with yͤ ſame ij. was hanged, offeryng for his life, xv. thouſand markes. &c.

Wholeſome coūſaile of the Maior of London refuſed of wilde heades.

Con
execu
Londo
ryot.

The ſayd Hubert Earle of Kent, and Lord chief iuſtice, although he was a faythfull and truſty officer to hys prince, and had the whole guydyng of the realme in his own handes, the kyng as yet beyng in his minoritie: yet afterward, what indignation he ſuſteined for this hys ſeueritie and other thynges, both of the nobles and of the commons: and howe ſharpely he was toſſed and trownſed of his prince, wonder it is to ſee, as in hys dew place and tyme. Pag.359. (by the Lords leaue) hereafter ſhall appeare. Hæc ex Mat. Pariſ.

Hubert
chief iu
ot Engl

Ex M
Pariſ

And for ſomuche as mention hath bene made of the wranglyng betwene the commoners of London and of Weſtmynſter: both tyme and occaſion bryngeth me in remēbraunce, ſomthyng to ſpeake lykewiſe of the eccleſiaſtical conflictes among church mē: nothing inferiour, in my mynd, nor leſſe worthye to be noted, then yͤ other. For ſo I read in Mat. Pariſ and in Flor. hiſtor. yͭ at what time this wraſtlyng was amōg yͤ citizens for yͤ ſhepe: the lyke contentiō kyndeled & flamed betwene Euſtace Byſhop of London, & the chapter of Paules on the one ſide: and the Abbat of Weſtmynſter with hys couent on the other ſide, about ſpiritual iuriſdictiō & ſubiection: to wit, whether the monaſtery of Weſtminſter were exempted from the ſubiection and iuriſdiction of the biſhop of London, or not. Whiche controuerſie at laſt commyng into comprimis was committed to the arbitrement of Stephē archbiſhop of Canterbury, Philip Biſhop of Winceſter, Thomas of Merton, and Richard prior of Dunſtable. And at length was thus agreed, that the monaſterie of Weſtminſter ſhould be vtterly exempted from the iuriſdiction of the Byſhop of London. And that Stanes with the appurtenaunce therto belonging, ſhould appertayne to yͤ monaſterie of Weſtmynſter. Alſo, that yͤ Manure of Sūnebury ſhoulde be due & proper to the church of Sainte Paule, and alſo the churche of S. Margarite with all the landes belongyng to the ſame, to be exempted from all other iuriſdiction, but onely to the Byſhop of Rome. And ſo was this matter deciſed. an.1222. ibidē Flor. hiſtor.

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Ex M
Pariſ
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rilego.

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ſterye of
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1222.

The ſame yeare, as writeth Mat. Pariſ. horrible tempeſtes, with ſuch thundryng and lyghtning, and whyrlewyndes went through all the land, that much harme was done: churches, ſtiples, towers, houſes, and diuers trees with the violence of windes were blowne vp by the rootes. In Warwickeſhyre, a certain wife with eight other in her houſe wer ſlayne. In Grantham the church was ſet on fire by lightnyng moſt terribly. With ſuch a ſtincke left there behynd, that no man could after a long time abide it. The author addeth, that manifeſt markes of that tempeſt did remayne long after in that monaſtery to be ſene. Some alſo write, that firie Dracons & ſpirites were ſene then fleyng in the ayre.

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An.1223. Philip the French kyng dyed, after whom his ſonne Ludouicke ſucceded in the crowne. To whom king Hēry ſendyng his meſſage, and deſiring him to remember his promiſe and couenant made in rendryng agayne the landes loſt in Normandy, could obtayne nothing at his handes. Wherupon, Richard Earle of Cornwalle, alſo William the kings vncle Earle of Saliſbury, with diuers other nobles, made ouer into Fraunce: where

122

Lewi
of Fra

The Fr
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promy

where they recouered Poyters, & kept Gaſconie vnder the kynges obedience. Ex Mat. Pariſ. Triuet. Flor. hiſt.

In the ſame yeare, or as Fabian geueth, the next folowyng whiche was. 1224. by the vertue of a certayne Parliament: was graunted of the Lordes and Baronie of the land: the kyng and his heyres, to haue the warde & mariage of their heyres: whiche then was called, and after ſo proued, to be Initium malorum, the begynnyng of harmes.

In the ſame yeare, by the count of Giſburne and other writers, the ſaid king holdyng an other Parliamēt at Oxford, by the aduiſe of his counſaile and of his clergy: did graunt and confirme vnder his great ſeale, two chartes of the old liberties and cuſtomes of this realme, for euer to be kept and obſerued, the one called Magna Charta: the other Charta de foreſta. The contentes wherof, fully in the forenamed author be expreſſed. For the which cauſe, was graūted agayne by the whole Parliament a Quindecim, or a fiftene of al his ſubiectes as wel of lay men, as alſo of the clergy. ¶ Where is to be noted, that theſe liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed agayne by the ſayd kyng. an. 1236.

An. 1226. dyed pope Honorius a great aduerſary agaynſt Fredericke the Emperour, after whom ſucceded Gregory the ix, more greuous then his predeceſſour. In the whiche yeare alſo dyed Ludouicke yͤ periured Frēch kyng, at the ſiege of Auinion. Whom the pope nowe the ſecond or thyrd tyme had ſet vp to fight agaynſt Reimund the good Earle of Tholouſe and the heretickes Albingenſes of that coūtrey. For ſo the pope calleth al thē, whiche hold not in all pointes, with his glorious pride, & vſurped power and vngodly procedynges. The origine wherof was this, as in Mat. Pariſ. appeareth. In the dais of Philippe the French kyng, this Reimundus Earle of Tholouſe was diſdayned of the Pope for holdyng with the Albingenſes: and therefore by the inſtigation of the pope, the landes of the Earle were taken from hym and geuen to Symon Montfort, and inſtrumentes made vpon the ſame. But when the ſayde Earle Reimundus would not be remoued from the right of his poſſeſſions, by vnrightuous dealyng: then the pope ſetteth Philippe the Frenche kyng, to make open warre agaynſte hym. Whereupon, Lewes the Frenche kynges ſonne was ſent with a great power (as is aboue declared) to beſiege the citie of Tholouſe. But beyng repulſed from thence, by yͤ meruelous hand of God fightyng for hys people, could not preuaile, and ſo returned home, after he had loſt the moſt part of his army by peſtilence, and other calamitie as hath ben before deſcribed. And thus continued yͤ good Earle ſtill in quyet poſſeſſion, till this preſent tyme. an. 1226. In the which yeare, the pope not forgettyng hys old malice agaynſt the Earle, and no leſſe inflamed with inſatiable auarice, directeth down his legate maſter Romanus to the partes of Fraūce, for ij. ſeuerall purpoſes: One to extirpe the Earle, the other to enlarge his reuenewes. Thus the legate beyng entred into Fraunce, beginneth to ſummone a coūcel, willyng the French king with the archbiſhops, biſhops, and clergy of Fraunce to appeare before him at Bitures. To whom eftſones repaired vi. archbiſhops, with the biſhops and ſuffragans of ix. prouincies, to the nūber of. 100. beſides the abbats, priours, and proctours of all the conuentes of Fraunce, to heare the Popes will and commaundement: but becauſe there was a diſcorde feared to riſe (ſaith Matheus) about preeminence of ſitting, for that the Archbiſhop of Lions chalenged yͤ ſuperiour place aboue yͤ Archbiſhop of Sene. Alſo the archbiſhop of Roane, aboue the archbiſhop of Bitures, and aboue the archbiſhop of Narbone. &c. Therfore the ſeſſion was holden there, not in maner and forme of a councel, but of a certaine parlie, or conſultation. Thus the meke and holy councel beyng ſet, & the popes maieſties letters read and declared: appeareth before thē Reimunde Earle of Tholouſe of the one part, And Symon Mountfort on the other part. Whiche Symō, required to be reſtored vnto him yͤ lãdes & poſſeſſiõs of yͤ ſayd Reimunde, whiche the Pope and Philippe the French kyng, had geuen to him and to his father before: hauing good euidences to ſhew for the ſame, confirmed by the donation of the pope, and of yͤ kyng. Addyng moreouer, that the Earle Reimunde was depriued and diſherited in the generall councel at Rome for hereſie, whiche is called the hereſie of Albingenſes. At leaſt if he myght not haue the whole yelded vnto him, yet the moſt part of his Lordſhips he required to be graunted to him.

The pope geueth the ryght poſſeſſions away from the owners.

Reimundus wrongfully diſherited by the pope.

To this the Earle Reimunde aunſwered agayn, offeryng him ſelfe ready to all dewties & office both toward the French kyng, and to the churche of Rome, what ſoeuer dewlye to him dyd apperteine. And moreouer touchyng the hereſie, wherewith he was there charged: he did not onely there offer hym ſelfe in that councel before the legate, but moſt humbly did craue of hym, that he would take the paynes to come into euery citie within his precincte to inquire of euery perſon there the articles of his beleſe: and if he found any perſon or perſons, holdyng that which was not catholicke, he would ſee the ſame to be corrected and amended, accordyng to the cenſure of holy church to the vttermoſt. Or if he ſhould find any citie rebellyng agaynſt him, he to yͤ vttermoſt of his might with the inhabitaunce thereof, would compell thē to do ſatiſfactiō therfore. And as touchyng hym ſelf, if he had committed or erred in anye thyng (whiche he remembreth not to haue done) he offered there full ſatiſfaction to God and churche, as becōmed any faithfull chriſten man to do, requiryng moreouer there before the legate to be examined of his fayth &c. But all this (ſayth Matheus) the legate deſpiſed: neither could the catholicke Earle (ſaith he) there finde any grace, vnles he would departe from his heritage: both from him ſelf, and frō his heyres for euer. In fine, whē it was required by the contrary part that he ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of xij. peres of Fraunce: to that Reimundus aūſwered, that if the French kyng would receaue his homage, whiche he was ready at all tymes to exhibite, he was cōtented therwith. For els they would not (ſayd he) take hym, as one of there ſocietie and felow ſubiect.

Reimunde the good Earle of Tholouſe aunſwereth for hymſelfe.

Albingenſes falſely ſuſpected for hereſie.

The proud vilanie of the popes Legate.

After much altercation on both ſides about the matter, the legate willeth euery archbiſhop to call a ſide hys ſuffragans, to deliberate wͭ them vpon the cauſe: and to geue vp in writyng what was concluded. Which being done accordingly the legate denounceth excommunication to al ſuch as did reuele any peece of that which was there concluded, before the pope and the kyng had intelligence therof.

These thynges thus in hudder mutter among them ſelues concluded, the legate gaue leaue to al proctours of couentes and chapters to returne home, onely reteining with him the archbiſhops, byſhops, and abbats, and certain ſimple prelates, ſuch as he might be more bold with all to open, and of them to obteine the other parte of his commiſſion: whiche was in dede, to obtaine of euery cathedrall churche ij. prebenſhips, one for the byſhop, the other for the chapter. And in monaſteries alſo after lyke ſorte, where the abbat and the couent had diuers and ſeuerall portions: to require ij. churches, one for the Abbat, the other for the couent, kepyng this proportiō: that how much ſhould ſuffice for the lyuyng of one munke, ſo much the whole cōuent ſhould find for their part: and as much the abbat lykewiſe for hys. And for ſomuch as he would not ſeme to demaunde this without ſome colour of cauſe, his reaſon was this: that becauſe the court of Rome had long ben blotted with the note of auarice, whiche is mother of al euill, for that no man could come to Rome for any buſines, but he muſt ſolſe for the expedition of the ſame: therfore for the remouyng away of the occaſion of that ſlaunder: the publike helpe of the church

Marke reader the practyſe here of prelates, for thy learning.

therfoꝛe muſt neceſſarely be required. ⁊c.

The pꝛoctours and parties thus ſent home by the legate, meruellyng with them ſelues why the biſhoppes and abbats ſhould be ſtayd and they ſent home, and ſuſpecting no leſſe, but as the matter was in dede: conferred their counſails together, and diuiſed with them ſelues to ſend certaine vnto hym in the behalfe of al the cathedꝛall and conuentuall churches in Fraunce, ⁊ ſent to the ſayd legate this meſſage, to ſignifie vnto hym: That they were credibly infoꝛmed, that he came with ſpeciall letters from the court of Rome, foꝛ the obteinyng of certaine pꝛebendaries within euery cathedꝛall and conuentuall churche. Whiche beyng ſo, they much merueled that he would not in the publike counſaile, make manifeſt to them thoſe letters whiche ſpecially concerned thē, as much as the others.

The clergye of fraunce auſuering to the lagate.

Wherfoꝛe their requeſt was to him in the Loꝛd, that no ſuch offēſiue matter might riſe by him in the French church: knowyng this, ẏ the thing
„ whiche he enterpꝛiſeth, could not be bꝛought to effecte,
„ without great offenſe taken, and ineſtimable damage to
„ the churche of Fraūce. Foꝛ graunt, ſayd they, that certaine
„ will aſſent vnto you, yet there aſſente ſtandeth in
„ no effecte, concerning ſuch matters as touche ẏ whole:
„ eſpecially, ſeyng both the ſtates of the realme with all
„ the inferiour ſubiectes, yea and the kyng him ſelfe, they
„ are ſure, will withſtād the ſame: to the venture not only
„ of their honour, but of their life alſo, conſideryng ẏ caſe
„ to be ſuch, as vpō the offenſe wherof ſtandeth the ſubuerſion
„ both of the realme publike and of the whole churche
„ in generall. Declaryng moꝛeouer the cauſe of this feare
„ to riſe hereof, foꝛ that in other realmes ſuche communication
„ hath bene with biſhops and pꝛelates, foꝛ the pꝛocuring
„ of ſuch pꝛebendſhips, where as neither the pꝛince
„ noꝛ the ſubiectes were made any thing pꝛiuy therto.

Inferiors euer more bold to ſpeake in difficulte cau'es of truth, then the ryche.

In concluſion, when the matter came to debatyng with the legate, the obiections of the inferiour parties, agaynſt the cruell exaction, were theſe in bꝛief effect, as is in Pariſienſ. noted.

The obiectiōs of the clergye of Fraunce, agaynſt the popes exactiōs.

Firſt they alledged there great damages and expenſes whiche they were lyke to ſuſteyne therby by reaſon of the continuall pꝛocuratoꝛs of the pope, whiche in euery dioces muſt lyue not of their own, but muſt be ſuſteined vpon the charges of the cathedꝛall Churches and other Churches alſo: And many tymes they beyng but pꝛocuratoꝛs wilbe found as legates.

Item, by that meanes, they ſayd great perturbations myght enſue to the couentes and chapters of cathedꝛall churches in their elections: foꝛ ſomuch as ẏ popes agētes and factoꝛs beyng in euery cathedꝛall churche and chapter houſe, percaſe the pope would commaund hym in his perſon to be pꝛeſent at their elections, and ſo might trouble the ſame: in delayng and differryng till it might fall to the court of Rome to geue. And ſo ſhould be placed mo of the popes clientele in the churches of Fraūce, thē of the pꝛoper inhabitance of the land.

Item, by this meanes they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome ſhould be richer and ſhould receaue moꝛe foꝛ their pꝛopoꝛtion, thē the kyng of the realme: by reaſon of whiche aboundance of riches, it was lyke to come to paſſe, ẏ as ẏ woꝛme of rich men is pꝛide: ſo by ẏ meanes of this their riches, ẏ court of Rome woulde delaye ⁊ dꝛiue of great ſutes, and ſcarſe would take any paines wͭ ſmal cauſes: the experimēt wherof is euident, foꝛ ẏ now alſo they vſe to delay their matters whē they come with their giftes, ⁊ being in aſſurance to receaue. And thus ſhould iuſtice ſtand a ſide, and pooꝛe ſuters die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus flowyng ⁊ triumphyng in full abundaunce of all treaſure and riches.

Item, foꝛ ſomuch as it is mete ⁊ conuenient to haue frendes in the court of Rome, foꝛ the better ſpeadyng of their cauſes: therefoꝛe they thought to kepe them nedy, wherby their giftes may be the ſweter and their cauſes ſooner diſpatched.

Item, when as it is impoſſible the fountaine of gredy deſire to be ſtopped, it was to be feared, that eyther they would do that by other, whiche they were wont to do by them ſelues: oꝛ els they ſhould be enfoꝛced to geue greater rewardes, then befoꝛe. Foꝛ ſmall giftes in the ſight of great riche men are not looked vpon.

Item, where he alledged the remouyng away of the ſlaunder whiche goeth on the court of Rome: By thys meanes rather the contrary were to be feared: wherin they alledged the ſentence of the verſe, that great riches ſtoppe not the takyng of much, but a minde contented with a litle.

Quod virtus reddit, non copia ſufficientem,
Et non paupertas ſed mentis hiatus egentem.

Farther they alledged ẏ great riches would make ẏ Romanes mad: and ſo might kindle among thē ſides ⁊ partes taking, ſo that by great poſſeſſions ſeditiō might followe, to the ruine and deſtruction of the citie: wherof ſome experiment they had all ready.

Item, they added that although they would condeſcend and oblige them ſelues to that contribution, yet their ſucceſſours would not ſo be bound, noꝛ yet, ratifie the bond of theirs.

Laſtly thus they concluded the matter, deſiring him that the zeale of the vniuerſal churche and of the church of Rome would moue hym. Foꝛ if this oppꝛeſſion of the churche ſhould be vniuerſall: it were to be doubted, leaſt an vniuerſall departyng might folow from the churche of Rome (whiche God foꝛbid ſayd they) ſhould happen.

The legate hearyng theſe woꝛdes, beyng therewith ſomething moued, as ſemed, thus excuſed hym ſelf: that he beyng in the court, neuer agréed to this exaction. And that the letters herof came not to hym befoꝛe he was in Fraunce, wherat he ſayd he was greatly ſoꝛy. Addyng this with al, that the woꝛdes of his pꝛecept included this ſecret meanyng in thē, thus to be vnderſtand ⁊ taken: ſo farre foꝛth as the Empire ⁊ other realmes would agrée vnto the ſame. And as foꝛ hym, he would ſtirre no moꝛe in the matter, befoꝛe it were pꝛoued, what other countreys would ſay and do therin.

And thus much concernyng the ſecond part of the blynd commiſſion of this legate, touchyng hys exaction of pꝛebenſhips in euery cathedꝛall ⁊ conuentual church: Wherin as ye here, he was repulſed. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi. pag. 63.

Now to returne to the firſt part of his commiſſion agayne, whiche was concernyng Reimundus the godly Earle of Tholouſe, thus the ſtoꝛy pꝛocedeth. That while the legate was in hād with this matter of the popes money, in the meane ſeaſon certaine pꝛeachyng friers were directed by the ſaid Romanus ẏ Popes Legate, into all Fraunce: to incite and ſtirre vp the French men to take the croſſe vpon them, and to warre agaynſt the Earle of Tholouſe, and the people therof whom they accounted then foꝛ heretikes. At the pꝛeachyng wherof, a great nūber of pꝛelates and lay men ſigned them ſelues with the croſſe, to fight agaynſt the Tholoſians: beyng therto induced, as the ſtoꝛy ſayth, moꝛe foꝛ feare of the Frenche kyng, oꝛ fauour of the legate, then foꝛ any true zeale of iuſtice. Foꝛ ſo it foloweth in the woꝛdes of Mat. Videbatur enim multis abuſio, vt hominem fidelem Chriſtianum infeſtarent: præcipue cum conſtaret cunctis eum in concilio nuper Bituriensi, multis precibus perſuaſiſſe legato, vt veniret ad ſingulas terræ ſuæ ciuitates, inquirens a ſingulis articulos fidei: et ſi quempiam contra fidem inueniret. &c. i. Foꝛ to many, ſayth he, it ſeemed an abuſe, to „
moue warre againſt a faythfull chꝛiſten man: eſpecially „
ſeing in the councel of Bitures (befoꝛe all men) he intreated „
the legate with great inſtance, that he would come „
into euery citie within his dominiō. And there to require „
of euery perſon the articles of his fayth. Where if he „

found

" founde any man to holde any thyng contrary to the catholique fayth, he promiſed a full ſatiſfaction to be had thereof accordyng to the cenſure of the churche, to the vttermoſt. &c.

The vnreaſonable tyrannie of the pope agaynſt the Tholoſſiās.

Yet all this notwithſtandyng, the proude legate conteinyng thys ſo honeſt and reaſonable purgation of the Earle Reimundus, ceaſed not by all maner meanes to proſecute the popes fury agaynſt him and his ſubiectes, ſtirryng vp the kyng and the French men vnder payne of excommunication, to warre againſt them. Ludouike the French kyng thus being enforced by the legate, aunſwered agayne, that he for hys owne ſafetie would not achiue that expedition or aduenture agaynſt the Earle, vnles it were firſt obteyned of the Pope, to write to the kyng of England: commaundyng hym, that during the tyme of that expedition, he ſhould inuade and moleſt no peece of hys landes and poſſeſſions: whiche he the ſame preſent tyme did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or how ſoeuer they were holden, while the tyme of the ſayd warre, agaynſt the heretikes (as they were then termed) did indure: but rather ſhould ayde and aſſiſte hym with cōſaile and money, in that entrepriſe. All which being done and accompliſhed, the French king and the legate, (croſſyng them ſelues to the field) apointed a day perēptorie, for the French army to mete together at Lyons, vnder payne of the Popes excommunicatiō, & with horſe and harnes to ſet vpon the Tholoſſians, againſt the aſcēſion day next enſuyng.

Excõmunication abuſed.

When the Aſſenſion day was come, which was the day peremptorie appoynted: The French kyng hauyng prepared at Lions all thynges neceſſarye for his armie, marcheth forward with a greate and mightie hoſte: after whome alſo commeth the Legate, with hys biſhops and prelates. The number of fighting men in his armie beſides the vitelars and wagoners were. 50000. men. The Legate by the way openlye excommunicated the Earle of Tholouſe and all that tooke hys parte, & furthermore interdicted hys whole land. Thus ẏ king came marching forward till he came into ẏ prouince of Tholouſe, and the fyrſt citie which they came vnto there of the Erles, was Auinion. Which citie they thought firſt to haue beſieged, & ſo in order after, as they wēt to haue deſtroyed and waſted all the whole prouince belonging to the Earle. And firſt the king demaunded of them to haue hys paſſage through their citie, fayning hym ſelfe in peaceable wyſe for the expedition of hys iourney, but to paſſe through the ſame. The citizens conſulting with them ſelues what was to be done, at lēgth gaue anſwer that they miſtruſted theyr comming & ſuppoſed that in decept they requyred the entraunce of their citie and for no neceſſitie of their iourney.

Lewes the frēch kyng & Romun' the popes Legate, marching agaynſt Albingenſes.

Reimunde Erle of Tholouſe excõmunicated.

The citie of Auinion beſieged.

The king hereat being much offended, ſware an othe that he woulde not departe thence till he had taken the citie: and immediatly in thoſe places where he thought moſt meete he beganne to geue ſharpe aſſaultes, with all maner of ſautable engins: The citizens agayn within, manfully defended thē ſelues caſting ſtone for ſtone, and ſhooting ſhot for ſhot, and ſlewe and wounded many of the French men. Thus, when they had long beſieged the citie and coulde not wynne the ſame: at length vittailes in the Frenche campe beganne to fayle, and many of them dyed for hunger. For the Earle of Tholouſe as a wyſe man of warre, hearing before of their comming, tooke into the towne, all the prouiſion ẏ was abroad, and left nothing withoute to ſerue for theyr defence and ſuccour: he plowed vp the fieldes that theyr ſhould no ſtouer be founde to ſerue their horſes: he put out of the towne all the olde people, & yong children, leſt they ſhould wante vitailes that kept the towne, and before their cōming ſent them farre away. So that within the towne they had plentie, and without they died for famine: and beſides in ſeeking farre for their forage, many fell into the handes of them that kept the citie, who ſecretly laye in wayte for them abroad and ſlewe many of them. Beſides, a great number of cattell and horſes dyed for wante of forage: and poore ſouldiours that had no great ſtore of money dyed for wante of vitailes. By which mortalitie and ſtench both of men & cattell, grew great infection and peſtilence amongeſt them, inſomuch that the king him ſelfe and alſo the Legate were greatly diſmaied: thinking it to be no litle ſhame as well to the realme of Fraunce as alſo to Rome, that they ſhoulde ſo departe & breake vp their ſiege. Thus again thought the ſouldiours, that much better it were for thē to ende their liues by battell, then ſo to dye like dogges & ſterue, wherfore with one conſent they purpoſed to geue a new aſſaulte at the bridge that goeth ouer the flud Rodanus into the towne, to which place they came in ſuch nūber: that eyther by the debilitie of the bridge, or ſubteltie of the ſouldiours that kepte the towne: Three thouſande of them with bridge and all, fell armed into the violent ſtreame and were drowned. What was their then but ioye and gladnes of the Citizens parte, and much lamētation and heauines on the other parte. Then ſhortly after, the Citezens of Auinion (when they ſawe a conuenient tyme whileſt their enemies were in eating meate) came ſodenly vpon them out of the towne and ſlewe of them. 2000. and tooke the towne agayne with ſafetie. But the Legate with his cōpany of prelates (lyke good men of warre) practiſed none other martiall feates, but all to be curſed the Earle of Tholouſe, his cities, & hys people. Ludouicus the king, to auoyde the peſtilence that was in the campe, went into an abbey not farre of: where ſhortly after he dyed, of whoſe death are ſundrye opinions, ſome ſaying that he was poyſoned, ſome that he dyed of a bloudye flyre.

Policie of warre.

Famine and peſtilēce in the french campe.

The french ſouldiours deſtroyed at the ſiege of Auinion.

Lewes the french K. dieth at the ſiege of Auinion.

Whoſe death notwithſtanding, ẏ Legate thought to keepe ſecret & conceale till that the towne might be rendered and geuen vp: for he thought hym ſelf ſhamed for euer, if he ſhould departe before the towne were wonne: wherfore, after he had incouraged ẏ ſouldiours a freſh, and yet after many ſharpe aſſaultes could not preuaile: He bethought hym howe by falſhode he myght betraye them, and ſent vnto them certayne Haroldes to wil thē ẏ thei ſhould amongſt thēſelues conſult vpon articles of peace, & bryng ẏ ſame to their campe, whoſe ſafe condite they faithfully promiſed and warraunted both of commyng & going. And when they had geuen their pledges for ẏ ſame, the meſſengers frō the citezins talked wᵗ the legate: who promiſed thē if they would deliuer vp their citie, they ſhould haue their lyfes, goods, & poſſeſſions in as ample maner as now they enioyed ẏ ſame. But ẏ citizens and ſouldiours refuſed to be vnder the ſeruitude of the Frenche kyng, neither would ſo deliuer vp theyr citie, to thoſe of whoſe inſolēt pryde they had ſo good experiment. After much talke on both ſydes and none like to take effect: the legate requeſted them and frendlye deſired, that he and his prelates which were about hym, might come into their citie to examine what fayth and beliefe they were of, & that he neyther ſought nor ment any other thyng therby, but their owne ſafeties, as wel of body as ſoule, which thing he faithfully ſware vnto: for ſaithe he, the brute of your greate infidelity hathe come to the lord popes eare, and therefore deſired he to make true certificate thereof. Wherupon the Citezins not miſtruſting his faythfull othe and promiſe made to them, graunted entrance to hym and the reſidue of the cleargy bringing with them no weapon into the towne. The ſouldiours of the campe as it was agreed before, made them redy: ſo that at the entrance of the prelates in at the gate, nothyng regardyng their othe and fidelitie: The other ſodenly were ready, & wyth violence ruſhed in, ſlew the porter and warders, & at length wan ẏ citie and deſtroyed the ſame and ſlue manye of thē that

The falſe dealing of the popes Legate, in betraying the citie of Auinion.

The popes Legate wickedly periured.

Periurye of the papiſtes.

The citie of Auinion taken by treaſon and periury of the Popes legate.

were wythin. Thus by falſehood and policie, when they had got this noble citie, they caried the kyngs corpes to Paris where they buried the ſame. Of the whole number of the French ſouldiors which in this ſiege were deſtroyed by famine, peſtilence, and drowning, be recounted mo then. 22000. Wherby ſaith the ſtorye of Math. Pariſ. it may euidently appeare the warre was vniuſtly taken in hand, &c. Ex Mat. Pariſ.

The numbet of the French ſouldiours in this ſieg: deſtroyed.

After theſe things finiſhed, and after the funeral of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the ſaid hiſtory of Pariſ. that the ſayd legate Romanus was vehemently ſuſpected, and greuouſly infamed to abuſe himſelfe with Blanca the kyngs mother. Sed impiū eſt (ſaith he) hoc credere, quia æmuli eius hoc diſſeminauerūt. Benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur. i. But it is vngodly to ſuſpect any ſuch thyng of hym, becauſe his enemies ſo rumored ẏ ſame abroad, but a gētle mind expoundeth things doubtfull in the better part.

The inconti- nent lyfe of theſe Romiſhe prelates to be noted

1227.

To paſſe further to the yeare next folowing, whiche was the 1227. of ẏ Lord: firſt is to be noted, that in this yere kyng Henry beginnyng to ſhoote vp to the xx. yeare of his age, came from Reding to London, where he begā to charge the citizens of London for old rekenyngs, namely for geuyng or lending 1000. markes to Lewes the French kyng at his departyng out of the realme, to the great preiudice of him and of his kyngdome. For the recompenſe wherof, they were conſtrayned to yeld to the kyng the full ſumme of the lyke money. That done, he remoued to Oxford where he aſſembled a great counſaile, there denouncing and proteſting before them all, that he was come to ſufficient age, no more to be vnder tutors and gouernours but to be hys owne man, requiryng to be freed from the cuſtody of other. Whiche thyng beyng proteſted, and contraried forthwith: he, by the counſaile of Hubert the chief iuſtice (whom he made then the earle of Kent) remoued from his company, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and other vnder whom he was moderated. And immediatly in the ſame counſaile, by the ſiniſter perſuaſion of ſome, doth adnihilate and make voyde the charters, and liberties before by him graunted, pretendyng this colour: for that they had ben graunted and ſealed in the tyme of hys minoritie, at what tyme he had the rule neither of him ſelfe, nor of hys ſeale. Wherupon much mutteryng and murmuryng was amōg the multitude. Who did all impute the cauſe to Hubert ẏ iuſtice. Moreouer it was the ſame tyme proclaimed, that who ſoeuer had any charter, or gift ſealed vnder the time of ẏ kings minoritie, they ſhould come and renew the ſame agayne vnder ẏ new ſeale of ẏ kyng, knowyng otherwiſe that ẏ thyng ſhould ſtand in no effect. And finally for renewing of their ſeales, were taxed not accordyng to their abilitie, but accordyng as it pleaſed the iuſtice and other to leuie them.

The king claimeth to be freed from gouernours and to be hys own man.

Hubert the iuſtice made earle of Kent.

The king vndoeth & diſſolueth the liberties, which before he graunted,

Practiſes of princes to ſet in money.

Moreouer beſide this generall ſubſidie of the fyftene graunted to the kyng through the whole realme, and beſide alſo the contribution of the Londiners, diuers other parcels and payments he gathered through ſeuerall places: as of ẏ burgeſſes of Northāpton he required a thouſand and 200. markes, for his helpyng of them, and ſo of other lykewyſe. All thys preparation of money was made toward ẏ furniſhyng of his viage to recouer Normandie. And yet becauſe he would gratifie the citie of London againe with ſome pleaſure: he graunted the citizens therof ſhould paſſe tole free (ſayth Fabian) through all England. And if of any citie, borough, or towne they were conſtreined at any tyme to pay their tole, then the ſhyriffes of London to atache euery man cōming to Lōdon of the ſayd citie, borough, or towne: and him and his goods to with hold, till the Londiners were agayne reſtored of all ſuch mony payd for the ſaid tole, wͭ al coſtes and damages ſuſteined for the ſame. Ex Fabia.

The citizens of Londō freed from tole through all England.

1228.

Ex Fabia. part. 7.

I declared before, how after ẏ death of Honorius, ſucceded pope Gregory the x. betwene the whiche Gregory and the people of Rome, this yeare, fell a great ſedicion. In ſomuch ẏ about ẏ feaſt of Eaſter, they thruſt ẏ pope out of the citie, purſuing hym vnto his caſtell at Viterbium. Where alſo they inuaded him ſo valiantly, ẏ they chaſed hym to Peruſium. Thē hauing no other remedy wherewith to reuenge his perſecutors, fierſly did excommunicate them. Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag. 69.

Sedition by the Ro- manes and the pope.

Here, by the way, is to be obſerued and conſidered Chriſtian reader, not onely by this ſeditiō, but by ſo many other ſchiſmes, diuiſions, tumultes, fightinges, brawles and contentions, in the churche of Rome from ẏ firſt beginning of the popes vſurped power: and that not onely within the citie of Rome, but vniuerſally almoſt in all popiſhe monaſteries colleges, churches, and couents vnder the pope ſubiected, continually reignyng amongeſt them, what is to be thought of their religiō and holynes, hauing ſo litle peace, ſo great diſquietnes, diſſētions, and wranglyng amongeſt them, as in ſtoryes both manifeſt it is to behold, and wonderous to conſider.

The popes church may be iudged by their diſſentions & ſchiſmes,

No peace in the popes church.

And for as much, I haue entred here into the mention of this ſchiſmaticall commotion betwene the Pope and hys Citizens: it foloweth moreouer in the hiſtory of Pariſienſis, who maketh relatiō of a lyke brawlyng matter, whiche befell the ſame yeare and tyme. an. 1228. betwene the prior and couent of Durham, and this Kyng Henry the iij. vpon this occaſion. After the death of Richard biſhop of Durham, the prior and chapter of ẏ ſayd churche, came to the Kyng to obteyne licenſe for the electyng of their Byſhop. The kyng offered to them one Lucas a chaplaine of hys, requiryng them inſtantly to elect him for their Byſhop. To this the monkes aunſwered, ẏ they would receaue no man, but by their order of canonicall election. Meanyng belyke by their canonicall election that is, whē as they electe either ſome monke out of their own company, or els ſome monkyſh prieſt, after their owne likyng. Contrary, the kyng agayn ſendeth worde vnto them & bound it wͭ an othe, that they ſhould tarye vij. yeares without a Biſhop, vnleſſe they woulde admitte the foreſayd Lucas to that place of that dignitie. All which notwithſtandyng, the monkes procedyng in their election, refuſed the ſayd Lucas, and preferred an other clerke of theirs, named William archdeacon of Worceſter, and hym they preſented to the kyng. But the kyng bringing in exceptions and cauſes agaynſt the partie, would not admitte hym. Then the monkes in all haſty ſpede ſent vp to Rome certayne of their couent, to haue their election ratified, by the autoritie Apoſtolicall. On the other ſide the king lykewiſe hearyng, ſendeth alſo to Rome agaynſt the monkes, the byſhop of Cheſter, and the prior of Lētonie on his behalfe, to withſtand the purpoſe of the monkes. And ſo the matter beyng trauiſed with great altercation on both ſides, did hang in ſuſpenſe, ſayth mine autor, til at length thus it was concluded, betwene both: that neither maſter Wilham, nor yet Lucas ſhould be taken, but that Richard Biſhop of Sarum ſhould be tranſlated to Durham and be byſhop there. an. 1228. Ex Mat. Pariſ.

Diſſention betwene the prior & couent of Durham, & the king.

Canonical election,

The monks of Dyrham ſend to Rome agaynſt the king.

Appellation to Rome, agaynſt the kyng. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.*

The like ſtirre alſo happened both the ſame yeare and for the lyke matter, betwene the monkes of Couentry, and the canons of Lichfielde, about chuſyng of their biſhop, whiche of them ſhould haue the ſuperiour voyce, in the election of their prelate. After much a do, the cauſe at lēgth being hoyſted vp to Rome, had this determation: that the monkes of Couentry, and the churche of Lychfield ſhould chuſe their biſhop by courſe, ech part keping his turne thone after thother: prouided notwithſtādyng, that the prior of Couentry ſhould alwayes haue the firſt voyce in euery election, where as the old cuſtome was, ſayth myne autor, that the couent with the prior of Couentry was wont to haue the whole election of ẏ Biſhop wͭout the canons. This was, an. 1228. Ex Pariſ. pag. 68.

An other contention betwene the monkes of Couentry & the church of Lichfield.

Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. pag. 68.

In

ephen ghton chbiſhop ed.

he chap- s in the ble firſt tincted y Steaphē aghton.

chard chbiſhop ect, in his urney cō- ing from ome died

In the which yere died Stephā Langhton archbiſhop of Cāt. by whō (as is recorded by Nich. Triuet) the chapters of the Bible, in that order and number, as we now vſe them were firſt diſtincted: The ſayd Langthon alſo, made poſtiles vpō the whole Bible. The ſame moreouer builded the new hall in the palace of Canterbury.

other ntentions ſſention etwen the onkes of ant. and ng Hērye e. 3.

biections d againſt e new chbiſhop

ppeale ed to ome.

After the death of this Langhton, inſued an other variance about the election of the Archbyſhop of Cant. betwene the monks of Canterbury and the king. The perturbation wherof as it was no leſſe ſeditious, ſo the determination of the ſame was much more coſtly. After ẏ death of Stephā Langhton, the monks of Cant. obtaynyng licence of the king to procede in ẏ election of a new Archbyſhop, did chuſe one of their owne ſocietie named maſter Walter Hemeſham. Whō when the mōkes had preſented to the kyng, he after long deliberation, began to obiect agaynſt that election, ſaying: firſt, ẏ the monkes had elected ſuch one as neither was profitable to him nor to his kingdome. Secondly, he obiected agaynſt the partie elect, that his father was conuict of felony, and hāged for ẏ ſame. Thirdly, ẏ he ſtode in cauſes againſt his father K. Iohn in the tyme of ẏ interdict. Moreouer the biſhops his ſuffragans charged the partie elect, that he had lyen with a certayne nonne, and had children by her: adding farther, that the electiō of the Archbiſhop was without their preſence, which ought not to be. &c. But ẏ archbiſhop agayne ſtoutly ſtandyng to his election, appealed vp to Rome, and eftſones taking with him certayne monkes preſēted him ſelfe to the popes owne proper perſon, there to ſue his appeale: inſtātly intreating, that his election might ſtand confirmed by his authoritie pontificall. But the Pope, vnderſtandyng that the ſayd election was reſiſted by the kyng and the Byſhops, differred the matter, till he did here farther of ẏ certeintie therof. The kyng & the biſhops hauyng intelligence ẏ the archbiſhop wͭ his monks were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the foreſayd obiectiōs aboue alledged in writyng: & ſealing the ſame wͭ the ſeales both of ẏ king & of ẏ biſhops to exhibite them to the biſhop of Rome. The meſſegers of theſe letters were ẏ biſhop of Rocheſter, of Cheſter, & the archdeacō of Bedford maſter Ihon &c. Who cōmyng to Rome, and exhibityng their meſſage wͭ their letters vnto the pope (conſideration beyng had vpon the ſame) were commaunded to wayte attendaunce agaynſt the next day after Aſhewedēſday: then to haue a reſolute aunſwere concernyng the cauſe, whiche was ẏ ſecond day of March, the yeare next folowyng. vidz. an. 1229. In the meane ſeaſō, the kings proctors ceaſed not with all inſtance to labour the pope and his cardinals to be fauourable to the kynges ſide. But findyng thē ſomwhat hard and ſtrait in the matter (as is ẏ guiſe of that court) they began to miſdoubt there ſpedyng. Wherfore cōſultyng together with them ſelues vpō the premiſſes, they came to the pope, promiſyng in the kyngs behalfe, to be geuen & graunted to hym out of the realmes both of England and Scotland the tith or tenthe parte of all the goodes within the ſayd realmes moueable, to ſuſtein his warres againſt the Emperour, ſo ẏ he would incline fauorably to the kyngs ſute and petition herin. At dominus papa (ſayth Pariſien.) qui rebellem Imperatorem ſuper omnia æſtuabat deijcere, tantis promiſſionibus exhileratꝰ trahitur ad conſenſum. That is, but the pope (ſaith the autor) which boyled with deſire aboue all meaſure, to haue the Emperour his enemy caſt down: beyng chered with ſo great promiſes, graunted hys conſent to them: who ſittyng then in hys conſiſtory had theſe wordes, as here folowe.

Henry ndeth to e pope.

the of all oueable ods in gland & eland, omiſed the pope r graun- g the gs ſute *Auri ſa fames.* pitye, pope l take bribes.

e Popes were to election Walter chbiſhop Cant.

There hath come alate to our intelligence, the election of a certaine monke named Walter, to be Archbiſhop of Cant. wherupon after that we hard and aduiſed as well thoſe things, which the ſayd monke hath ſaid for him ſelfe, and for his election: as alſo on the contrary ſide, the obiections and exceptions of the biſhops of England alledging againſt him, and agaynſt his electiō: Namely of the biſhop of Cheſter, ẏ biſhop of Rocheſter, and Ihon Archdeacon of Bedford: we vpon the ſame committed the examination touching the perſon of the man, vnto our reuerēd brethren, L. Cardinall Albane, L. Cardinal Thomas de Sabina, and maiſter Peter. And whē the foreſayd electe commyng before them was aſked of thē, firſt concernyng ẏ lordes deſcending into hell, whether he deſcended in fleſh, or without his fleſh, he anſwered not well. Item, beyng aſked touching the makyng of the body of Chriſt on the aulter, he aunſwered lykewiſe not ſoundly: Beyng aſked moreouer, how Rachell wept for her children, ſhe beyng dead before, he aunſwered not well. Item beyng aſked concerning the ſentence of excommunicatiō denounced againſt the order of law, he aunſwered not well. Agayne being required of matrimony, if one of ẏ maried parties be an infidele, & do depart, he aunſwered thereto not well. Vpon theſe articles he was (as is ſayd) diligently examined of the cardinals to the which (we ſay) he aunſwered not onely well, but alſo very ill. For ſo much therfore, as ẏ church of Cant. is a noble churche, and requireth a noble prelate, a man diſcrete, and modeſt, and ſuch as ought to be taken out of the boſome of the church of Rome: and forasmuch as this new elect (whome not onely here we pronounce to be vnworthye, but alſo ſhould ſaye more of him, yf wee would procede with hym by the rigour of law) is ſo inſufficient, that he oughte not to bee admitted to ſuche a roume: we do vtterly infringe, annihilate, and euacuate his election alwayes reſeruing to our ſelues the prouiſiō of the ſayd church. Hæc ex Mat. Pariſ. ad verbum.

No, but when your darlyng T. Becket came, he was heard without ſuch excōmunications.

The election of Walter archbiſhop of Cāt. diſſolued of the pope for the kings monye.

Thus the election of Walter beyng fruſtrate and diſſolued, the kyngs procurators bringing forth the letters of the kyng and of the ſuffraganes of the church of Canterbury, preſented the ſame vnto the pope for the ratification of Richard chauncelor of Lincolne, to be appoynted archbiſhop of Canterbury, whome they wyth great commendation of wordes did ſet forth to be a mā of profound learnyng and knowledge: of an honeſt conuerſation: and which was greateſt of all, that he was a man much for the profite of the church of Rome, as alſo for the realme of England. And thus the ſayd Rychard beyng commended to the pope by the letters procuratory of the kyng, and of the biſhops: had the conſent of the pope and of the Cardinals, and ſo was made byſhop of Cant. before he was elected. Wherupon the ſayde pope Gregory in hys behalfe directeth down his letters to al and ſingulare ſuffraganes of the church of Cant. declaryng thus, and beginnyng firſt with a lye, that for ſo much as by the fulnes of eccleſiaſticall power, ẏ charge of paſtorall office is committed to hym in general vpon all churches: he therfore for the ſollicitude he beareth as wel to all other churches in generall, as in ſpecial to the metropolitane churche of Cant. repudiatyng and diſanullyng the former election of Walter the monke, vpon iuſt cauſes: hath prouided for that ſee, a man as in all other good giftes perfecte and excellent, by the reporte of them that know hym: ſo for that function very fytte and commodious: and willeth & cōmaundeth them & all other by his autoritie Apoſtolicall, with all deuout reuerence to receiue hym, and humbly to obey him, &c. which was an. 1229. Ex pariſ

Richard Chācelor of Lyncolne cōmēded to the pope to be archbyſhop of Cant.

Richard made archb. of Cant. by the pope without election.

The effect of the popes letters to the ſuffragans of Canterbury.

The pope beginneth fyrſt with a lye.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

Theſe things thus finiſhed at Rome, the pope forgettyng ẏ ſwete promiſes made of the engliſh ſiluer, which he ſo gredely gaped for, omittyng neither tyme nor diligēce in all ſpedy wiſe ſendeth to the kyng of Englād maiſter Stephen his own chaplen & truſty legate, to require and collect the foreſaid tithes of all the moueable goods both of England, Ireland, and Wales, which were promiſed to hym before, therewith to maintayne his warre againſt Friderike the Emperour. And to the intente he

This was a deare archb. of Cant. boughte with the tithes of all Englād.

might inflāe all chriſtē realmes wᵗ the like hatred which he bare againſt Freder. ẏ Emperour, ſendeth alſo wᵗ the ſayd Stea. ſpeciall letters ful of manifold complaints ⁊ greuous accuſatiōs againſt the ſayd emperour, wherof more (Chriſt grauūting) ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter. Upō the cōmyng of this Stephen ẏ legate, ẏ king aſſēbled all hys Earles and Barons, wyth the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, templaries, hoſpitalars, perſons ⁊ vicares, and other ſuch as held of hym in capite, to apeare before hym at Weſtminſter, to heare and to common of ẏ mater. In the aſſembly of whome, the popes patent letters were brought forth and redde, wherein he required the tenthes of all the moueables in Englande, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the cleargy as of the laitie, to mayntayne his expedition againſt the foreſayd Friderike the Emperour.

The pope requyreth the tenthes of all the moueables in England, Wales, and Ireland.

The content of the popes letters, to the king.

The which expedition as he pretended to atchiue and to take in hand for the cauſe of the vniuerſall church, and happely had begonne the matter already: ⁊ for ſomuch, as the riches of the apoſtolike ſee did not ſuffice, for the accompliſhyng of ſo great an enterpriſe: he therfore inforced by mere neceſſitie, did implore the aide and helpe of all the true obedient and naturall chickens of the church of Rome, leaſt the members thereof together wyth the head ſhould be ſuberted.

The falſe pretenſe of the pope vnder the name of the church, wreking hys own cankered malice.

These letters of the pope, to this effect, being openly recited and explaned by the popes chaplaine, which he wyth much more allegation and perſwaſion of wordes did amplifye to his vttermoſt, the kyng (ſayth myne author) in whom all men dyd hope to haue an helpe to their defence, became then as a ſtaffe of rēede. For as much as he had obliged himſelfe to the ſame before, for the election of his archbiſhop now coulde ſay nothyng againſt it, but helde his peace.

The kinges mouth ſtopped.

The Earles and Barons refuſed payment to the pope.

The prelates in feare of the popes curſe.

The earles, Barons, and all the laity vtterly refuſed ſo to bynd their Baronies to the church of Rome: but the biſhops, abbots, priors, wyth other prelates of ẏ church, firſt requiring ſpace and reſpite to deliberate for iij. or iiij. dayes: at lēgth for feare of the popes curſe (although they durſte not vtterlye withſtand) had brought to paſſe to haue concluded for a ſumme of money muche leſſe, had not Stephen Segraue, one of the kinges counſailers, craftelye conuented with the legate: and by ſubtile meanes brought it ſo to paſſe, ẏ the whole tenthes was gathered and paid, to the ineſtimable damage (ſaith Pariſ.) both of the eccleſiaſtical and temporal ſtate. The meanes wherof (ſayth the author) was this. The legate ſhewing to the prelates his procuratory letters to collect and gather vp all the foreſayd tenthes in the name and autoritie of the pope, declared moreouer full autoritie to hym graunted by the vertue of hys commiſſion, to excōmunicate all ſuch, and to interdicte their churches, who ſo euer did gainſtand or goe contrary to ẏ ſaid collectiō.

Excōmunications abuſed.

Wherupō, by ẏ ſaid vertue legantyne he ſendeth to euery ſhiere his proctors to gather the popes mony, or els to excōmunicate thē, which denyed to pay: ⁊ for ſo muche as the preſent nēede of the pope required preſent helpe wythout delaye, he ſendeth moreouer to the biſhops and prelates of the realme, in paine of interdiction forthwyth to procure and ſende to hym eyther of their owne, or by lone, or vſance, or by what meanes ſo euer, ſo much mony in all poſt ſpede, for the preſent vſe of the pope. And after to take vp agayne the ſayd mony of the tenthes of euerye ſingular perſon, by the righte taxyng of their goods.

The popes extortion.

Upon this, the prelates to auoyde ẏ daunger (hauyng no other remedye) were driuen to ſell theyr chalyces, cruettes, copes, iewels and other church plate: and ſome to lay to morgage ſuche thinges as they had, ſome alſo to borrow vppon vſance, to make the money which was required. Moreouer, the ſayd Stephen the popes chaplain (as reporteth Pariſ.) brought with him in to England for the ſame purpoſe, ſuch bankers and vſurers, who lendyng out their mony vpon great vſury, did vnreaſonably pinch the engliſh people, which merchante vſurers were then called Caurſini.

Vſerers brought into England by the pope to ſerue him with money.

Brefly ſuch ſtraight exaction was then vpon the poore engliſhe men, that not onely their preſent goodes were valued and taxed, but alſo the corne yet growyng in the field, againſt the nexte harueſt was tithed, ⁊c. Onely the Earle of Cheſter named Ranulphus ſtood ſtoutly againſt the pope, ſuffring none within his dominion eyther lay man or clearke to yeld any tenthes to the popes proctors. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. pag. 74. And this was the ende of the ſtrife betwene the monkes of Cant. and the kyng for the election of their archbiſhop which was about the yeare of our lord. 1229 In the which yere was finiſhed the new church of Couētry, by Alexander biſhop of the ſayd citie, and partly by the helpe of the kyng: which church, Richard his predeceſſor biſhop before him of Couentry had begunne.

The French men about this tyme agayne prepared them ſelues towarde Prouence, to warre agaynſt the foreſayd Reimundus Earle of Tholouſe, and to expulſe him out of his poſſeſſions. And hearyng that he was in his caſtel of Saracene, they made thether al their power thinkyng there to incloſe and compaſſe hym about: but the Earle beyng pryuy of their conſpired purpoſe, ſet for them, by the waye, appointyng certayne buſhmentes in wōods not ſo ſecretly, as ſtrongly, ther to wait ⁊ receaue the comming of the French men, and to geue them their welcome. Thus when the Frēch were entered the wōod, the Earle with his trayne of well armed and able warriers, ſodenly did flye vpon them vnwares, and gaue thē a bitter mēetyng, ſo that in that conflict 500. of ẏ French ſouldiers were taken, and many ſlayne. Of their ſeruitures to ẏ number of 2000. men with their armour wer taken. Of whom ſome loſt their eyes, ſome their noſes, ſome their eares, ſome their legges and ſo ſēt home. The reſt were caried away priſoners into the caſtell. And to be brief, ſayth the hiſtory, thriſe the ſame ſommer, were the French mē diſcomfited, put to flight, taken, and impriſoned by the foreſayd Reimūdus the godly Earle. Ex Pariſienſ. pag. 69. Wherin is to be ſene, and to be prayſed, the gracious protection of the Lord our God againſt the furious papiſtes: whiche is glorious alwayes in hys ſainctes.

¶ The ſame yeare, the kyng beyng at Porteſmouth had aſſembled together all his nobilitie, Earles Barōs, and knights of England with ſuch an army of horſemē and footemen, as hath not ben lightly ſene, thinkyng to recouer agayne the countrey of Normandy, of Gaunt, and other poſſeſſions, whiche kyng Ihon his father before had loſte. But when the captaines and marſhals of the fielde ſhould take ſhyppyng, there were not halfe ſhyps ynow to receaue the hoſt. Wherupon the kyng was vehemētly inflamed with anger, layng all the fault to Hubert the L. chief Iuſtice (who vnder the kyng had all the gouernement of the realme,) calling him old traitour, charging him that he ſhould be the let of this viage as he was before, when he tooke of the Frenche quene. 5000. markes, to ſtay the kynges iorney into Normandy. In ſo much the rage of the kyng was kyndled agaynſt him, that drawing hys ſword he made at hym, to rūne him through, had not the earle of Cheſter Ranulph ſtopt the kyng. Hubert withdrewe him ſelfe away, till ẏ kynges rage was paſt. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at whiche tyme arriued Henry Earle of Normandye in the hauen of Porteſmouth in the moneth of Octob. Who ſhould haue cōducted ẏ kyng vpon his allegeaunce and othe into Normandy. But he with other of the Kynges army counſailed the Kyng not to take that viage toward winter, but rather to differ it to ẏ Eaſter next folowyng: wherewith the Kyng was ſtayd and wel contented, and pacified agayne with Hubert the iuſtice ⁊c. Ex Mat Pariſ.

Fabiane recordeth thys yeare the liberties and franchiſe of the citie of London to be confirmed by the kyng, and to euerych of the ſhryues to be grau̅ted two clerkes, and two officers without mo. Ex Fabia.

1230.

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Ex Pariſ. Pag. 75.

Then folowed the yere. 1230. In which, vpon the day of yͤ conuerſiō of S. Paul (as ſayth Pariſienſ.) as a great multitude of people for ſolēnitie of the day were congregate in the temple of S. Paul: the Biſhop then beyng at his Maſſe: a ſodein darknes, wͭ ſuch thicknes of cloudes fell in the ayre, that vnneth one man might ſee an other in the church. After that, folowed crackes of thūder and lightning ſo terrible, leauyng ſuch a ſent in the churche: that the people lookyng for domes day, thought no leſſe but that the ſteple and the whole church would haue fallen vpon their heades. In ſo much that they running out of the churche, as people amaſed, fell downe together by thouſandes, as men amaſed: not knowyng for the tyme where they were: onely the biſhop and his deacon, ſtoode ſtill at their maſſe, holdyng the aulter faſt. Ex Pariſ.

1231.

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Of the death of Steuen Langhton, and of the troubleſome election of the next archbiſhop: alſo of the coſtly and chargeable bryngyng in of Richard to ſuccede in yͤ rowme, whiche did coſte the whole realme of England the tenthes of al their moueables: ſufficient hath ben declared before. This Richard beyng nowe confirmed in hys ſeate, came to the kyng complainyng of Hubert the Lord chiefe iuſtice, ofte mentioned before, for wythholdyng from hym the caſtle and towne of Tunebruge wͭ the appurtenaunce to the ſame belongyng, and other landes of the erle of Clare late deceaſed: which lands appertayned to the ryght of hys ſeate, and to the church of Cant. for the which the ſayd Earle with his aunciters were bound to do homage to hym ⁊ to his predeceſſors: and therfore required the kepyng of the foreſayde caſtle wyth the demaynes therof to be reſtored vnto hym. To this the kyng aunſwered againe, that the ſayd Erle did hold of him in Capite, and that the caſtles being vacant of Earles and Barons with their heyres, did belong to hys crown, til the lawfull age of yͤ ſaid heyres. The archbiſhop when he could get no other aunſwer of the king, did excommunicate all ſuch as inuaded the foreſaid poſſeſſions wyth all other that toke their parte, the kyng onely excepted. Which done, eftſoones ſpedeth himſelfe to Rome, there to proſecute his ſute before the pope. The kyng hearyng therof, not long after ſendeth vp maiſter Roger Cantelu with certain other meſſengers to Rome agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

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Thus Richard the archbiſhop comming before the popes preſence, beginneth firſt to complayn of his king, for that he committed all the affayres of the realme to yͤ diſpoſition and gouernment of Hubert his iuſtice, vſing onely his counſaile, all his other nobles deſpiſed.

Againſt the ſaid iuſtice moreouer he complayned, laying to hys charge: Firſt that he had maried a wyfe, being the kinſwoman of her whoms he had maryed before: alſo that the ſaid Hubert yͤ iuſtice dyd inuade, hold and wrongfully deteine ſuch poſſeſſions, as belonged to the ſee and church of Cant. ¶ As touching the wife of this Hubert, here is to be noted that he maryed the elder ſiſter of the kyng of Scottes, which ſemeth could be of no great kynne to her whom he maried before.

Farther, he complained of certayne biſhops his ſuffraganes, who neglecting their paſtorall function, did ſit on checker matters belōgyng to the kyng, and exerciſed ſeſſions and iudgementes of bloud.

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Ouer and beſides, he complayned of beneficed perſons, and clerkes within orders, for hauing many benefices, ioyned with cure of ſoule: And that they alſo takyng example of the byſhops, did intermedle in ſeculare matters, and in iudgementes of lay men.

Of theſe and ſuch other defaultes, he required redres to be had. The pope weyng and conſideryng the cauſe of the Archbyſhop to ſtand vpon right and reaſon (at leaſt wiſe ſeming ſo to his purpoſe) commaūded incontinent hys petitions and requeſtes to be diſpatched accordyng to iuſtice.

The kings attournies could not ſpede with the pope.

Reſpect of perſon doth much with the pope.

Agaynſt theſe complaints of the archbiſhop, the kings attorneis alledged and defended, in as much fauour of the kyng, as they might, but could do no good. Such fauour foūd the archbiſhop in the popes ſight, beyng (as yͤ ſtory reporteth) of a comely perſonage, ⁊ of an eloquent tonge, yͭ he obteined what ſoeuer he aſked. Thus yͤ archbiſhop wͭ al fauorable ſpede beyng diſpatched at Rome, after hys own wil ⁊ deſire, returned homeward: who in his iorney wͭin iij. dayes of his ſetting forth, departed in yͤ houſe of yͤ gray friers at S. Gemmes, and ſo his cauſe departed wͭ him: who winnyng his ſute, loſt hys lyfe for whō it had ben better I ſuppoſe to haue taried at home. And here of hym an ende, with all his complaintes alſo. Ex Pariſienſ.

Richard the archb. in hys iourney from Rome, dyeth.

Raffe Neuyll B. of Chicheſter elected archb. of Cāt.

After the death of this Richard, the monkes of Cant. (accordyng to the maner) addreſſe them ſelues to a new election: at whiche was choſen Radulf Neuill, byſhop of Chiceſter, who was the kynges Chauncelor, much commended in ſtories, to be a man faithfull, vpright, ⁊ conſtant: whiche from the way of iuſtice declined neither to the right hand nor the left. But vpright and ſincere both in word and dede. This Rauffe (thus choſen of yͤ monks) was preſented to yͤ kyng to be their archbiſhop, wherewͭ the kyng was right wel contented, and glad alſo of this election: and forthwith inueſted hym for archbiſhop of yͤ church of Cant. But this inueſting of the kyng was not ynough, vnles he ſhould alſo be confirmed by the Pope. Wherefore, the monkes ready to take their iorney vnto Rome, caine to the new Archbiſhop: requiryng his helpe for their expenſes by the way, and to know what ſeruice he would commaund them to the court of Rome. But he fearing in his minde the ſame not to be without ſome ſcruple of ſimonie and ambition, ſaid he would not geue an halfe peny, and holding vp his hands to heauen thus praied, ſaying: O Lord God, if I ſhalbe thought worthy to be called (although in dede vnworthy) to the ſeat and office of this church: ſo be it as thou ſhalt diſpoſe it. But if otherwiſe, in this troubleſome office of Chaūcery, and this my inferiour miniſtery, wherunto I haue ben aſſigned, I ſhall ſeme more neceſſary for this thy kingdome and people: I refuſe not my labour: thy wil be done.

The king inueſteth the archb. of Cant. *Ex Math. Pariſ.*

A rare exāple of a good archbiſhop.

The prayer of the archbiſhop elect.

Simon Langhton archb of Yorke, a malicious backbiter of Radulfus archbiſhop electe.

The monkes beholdyng the conſtancie of the mā, notwithſtandyng they had of him no money yet refuſed not their trauaile and iorney to Rome, to haue their election confirmed, by the Popes autoritie. The pope inquiryng of Simon Lāghton (brother of Steap. Langhton archb. of Cant. before mentioned) of the perſon of this man: it was reported agayne to him by the ſayd Symon (maliciouſly deprauyng the good man behind his backe) declaring to the pope, that he was a courtiour, vnlearned, haſty and feruent in hys doynges, and ſuch one: who if he ſhould be promoted to that dignitie, would go about, wͭ the helpe of the kyng, and of yͤ whole realme, to remoue and bryng the realme of England from vnder the yoke of the pope and of the church of Rome. And ſo to bereue the ſee of Rome of the tribute, vnder whiche kyng Ihon had once ſubiected him ſelf and his realme, at what time he yelded his crowne to the hands of Pandulfus the Legate ⁊c. With theſe ⁊ ſuch others words, Simon Lāghton falſely and maliciouſly depraued the godly byſhop. The pope hearyng with one eare, ⁊ credityng what he hard, without farther inquiſition made of yͤ other partie accuſed: ſendeth incontinent to the monkes of Canterbury to procede in a new election, and to chuſe to them an other Archbiſhop, ſuch as were an holeſome paſtor of ſoules, profitable to the church of England, and deuout to the churche of Rome. And thus was the lawfull election of this good Archbyſhop made fruſtrate, to good peraduenture to ſerue in that place, whereunto he was elected.

The raſh iudgement of the pope

The election of Radulfe archb. elect deleyted by the pope.

After

John archbiſhop of Cant. elected & refuſed of the pope

After the repulſe of this Radulphe, the Canterbury monkes entryng a new election, agreed vpon Jhon there prior, to be their metropolitane. Who going vp to Rome to haue his election confirmed by the pope, was iij. dayes together examined of the Cardinals. And when they could find no inſufficiēcie in him, touching thoſe things, wherin they tryed hym: yet notwithſtandyng, the Pope findyng a fault with hys age (he peraduenture beyng more aged him ſelfe) repealed hym, for that he ſayd, he was to old and ſimple, to ſuſteine that dignitie. Ex Pariſ. ¶ What was the age of this perſon I finde it not in the autor expreſſed: yet it is to be ſuppoſed, ẏ he which was able to take that iorney to Rome, and home agayn: was not ſo greatly to be complayned of for his age, but that he was able ſufficiently to take paynes in kepyng the chayre of Canterbury.

The popes intollerable exactions vpon England.

In the former partes of this ſtory procedyng, partly before hath bene declared, partly hereafter more ſhal appeare (Chriſt willing) how the churche of England and commons of the ſame was greued and miſerably afflicted, by ẏ intolerable oppreſſiōs of the pope: who through hys violent extortion had procured the beſt benefices to be geuen to hys Romanes and the chief fruites of them to be reſerued to his owne cofers. And what cōplaintes therof haue bene made, ye hard before, pag. 348. But yet no redreſſe could be had. Such was the inſatiable auarice of theſe Romane rakehels, proylyng and pollyng where ſoeuer they came, with their prouiſions and exactions out of meaſure, and neuer ſatiſfied. In ſomuch, ẏ here in England who ſoeuer lackte: their barnes were alwayes full of corne: and what penurie ſo euer pinſhed the people, they were ſure to haue ynoughe. And theſe importunate exactions and contributions of theſe Italiane harpyes: beſide the Peter pens, beſide the common tribute, dayly more and more increaſed, to the great greuance of the realme: in ſomuch ẏ the wealth of this land was almoſt cleane ſuckte vp, and tranſlated to the court of Rome. Neither was the kyng ignoraunt hereof, but could not helpe the matter. Wherfore it was deuiſed by ſome of the nobles (as appeareth in the ſtory of Pariſienſis) this foreſayd yeare. an. 1231. that certaine letters vnder the pretenſed colour of the kynges authoritie, ſhould be ſent abroad: willing and commaunding, ẏ ſuch corne & graine, and other reuenewes, as were taken vp for ẏ Pope, ſhould be ſtayd & forth cōmyng, by a certain day in ẏ ſayd letters appoynted, ẏ which letters are thought to procede chiefly by ẏ meanes of Hubert L. chief Juſtice of England, who then next vnder the king, ruled the moſt affaires of the realme. The wordes and contentes of the letters be theſe.

Ex Math. Pariſ. Pag. 79.

Hubert L. chief Juſtice, a worker agaynſt the pope.

The copie of the letter written vnder the kings authoritie to reſtrayne the beneſyces of the Romanes, within the realme.

After diuers & ſondry griefes and oppreſſions whiche this realme, as you know, hath ſuſtained by the Romaniſtes & yet doth: as well to the preiudice of the kyng him ſelfe as alſo of the nobilitie of the ſame, concernyng the aduowſōs of theyr churches and about theyr tythes: who alſo go about to take from the clerkes and ſpirituall men theyr benefices, and to beſtowe them vpon theyr owne nation and countreymen, to the ſpoyle and confuſion both of vs and our realme: we therfore by our common conſentes haue thought good (although very late) now yet rather, then any lenger to ſuffer their intolerable oppreſſions and extortions, to reſiſte and withſtande the ſame. And by the takyng from them their beneſyces through all England, in like maner to cut ſhorte & bridle them, as they had thought to haue kepte vnder and bridled others: wherby, they may deſiſt any lēger to moleſt the realme. wherfore, we ſtraitly charge and commaund you, that as touchyng the fermyng of theyr churches or els the rētes belongyng to them, whiche either you haue preſently in your hāds or els do owe vnto the ſayd Romaniſts: that from hence forth you be no more acomptable vnto them or els pay vnto them from hence foorth the ſame. But that you haue the ſayd your rentes and reuenewes redy, by ſuch a day, to paye and deliuer vnto our procuratours therunto by our letters aſſigned. And that all Abbates and priors haue the ſame in a redynes at the day appointed, in theyr owne monaſteries: and all other prieſts, clerkes, and laymen, at the churches of the Romaniſtes theare readye to pay. And farther know ye for certeynty that if ye refuſe thus to do: that all that you haue beſides ſhalbe by vs brēt and ſpoyled. And beſides looke what daunger we purpoſe ſhall fall vpon them, the ſame ſhall lyght vpon your neckes, if you refuſe thus to do. Farewell.

Whē this was done, they ſent theſe letters abroad by certein ſouldiers therunto appoynted: to ẏ which letters they had deuiſed a newe ſeale with two ſwordes ingraued, and betwene the ſwordes was written. Ecce gladij duo, &c. Behold theſe two ſwordes ready to take vengeance of all thoſe that ſhal withſtand the forme and order in theſe letters contained.

At that tyme the 16. day before the Kalendes of January, about the begynnyng of the yeare. 1232. there was kept at S. Albons a great conſiſtory of Abbotes, priors archdeacons, with diuers other both of the nobilitie and clergie by the Popes commaundement: for the celebration of a diuorſe betwene the Countes of Eſſex and her huſband. At the breaking vp of which Conſiſtory, when euery man was about to depart thēce. There was a certaine clerke whoſe name was Cinciꝰ a Romane, & was alſo a Chanon of Paules in Londō: takē by ſome of the ſayd vniuerſitie not farre of from Saint Albons, & was caried away from his companie by the ſouldiers. But maſter Jhon archdeacō of Norwich a Florentine hardly eſcapyng from that company gat to London, where he hyd him ſelf and durſt not be ſene. Cintius after fyue wekes, when they had well emptied his bagges, was ſafly ſent agayne without any more hurt to London.

1232.

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Yet long after this, about the begynnyng of January: the barnes of a certaine beneficed man, a Romane, and perſon of Winghā, beyng full of corne: were broke vp by a like companie of armed ſouldiers. And the corne brought out to be ſold and geuē away to the poore people. The fermer ſeyng this and not able to reſiſte, complayneth to the ſhyrife of the ſhyre, of this iniurie done to his maſter, and of breakyng the kynges peace: wherupon, the ſhyrife ſent certayne of his men to ſee what was done. Who comming to the emptie barnes, & there findyng the foreſayd ſouldiours to them vnknowē, who had ſold away the moſt part of ẏ corne vpon eaſy price, and ſome for charitie had geuē to the pouertie of ẏ countrey about: required of them what they were, that ſo durſt preſume to breake the kinges peace. Whom the other then called ſecretly a parte, and ſhewed them the kynges letters patents (pretendyng at leaſt the kynges name and ſeale) wherin was forbidden, ẏ no man ſhould preſume to ſtoppe or let them in that purpoſe. Wherof the ſhyriffes ſeruauntes beyng certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

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This commyng to the knowledge of Roger Byſhop of London, he (with the aſſiſtance of other biſhops) procedeth in ſolemne excommunication, firſt agaynſt the ẏ robbed Cintius the Romane: then of them whiche ſpoyled the barnes of the perſon of Wingham, an other Romane. Thirdly he excōmunicated them that forged the letters and ſeale of the kyng aboue ſpecified.

Neither yet for all that, this did ſo ceaſe, but the ſame yeare, about Eaſter next folowyng, all the barnes in England, whiche were in the handes of any Romane or Italian, were lykewiſe waſted: and the corne ſolde to the beſt commoditie of the poore commons. Of the which, great almoſe was diſtributed: and many times, money alſo with corne together was ſparſed, for the nedye people to gather vp. Neither was there any, that would or durſt ſtād agaynſt them. As for the Romanes and Italians them ſelues, were ſtricken in ſuch feare: ẏ they hyd them ſelues in monaſteries and ſelles, not da-

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ryng to complayne of their iniuries receaued: but helde it better, to loſe rather their goodes, then to loſe their lyues. The authors and workers of this feate were to the number of 80. armed ſouldiours, of whom the principal captaine was one naming himſelf W. Wytherſe, ſurnamed Twynge.

This comming to the popes knowledge, he was not a litle ſtirred therwith, and ſẽdeth his letters immediatly to the kyng vpon the ſame: with ſharpe threatnyngs, and imperious commaundementes, chargyng hym for ſufferyng of ſuch vilany ẘin his realme: ſtraitly inioynyng him vnder paine of excommunication, to ſearch out the doers herof with all diligence, and ſo to puniſh them ẏ all other by them may take example. Likewiſe, he ſendeth the ſame charge to Peter Byſhop of Wint. & to the abbat of S. Edmunde, to inquire in ẏ ſouth partes. Alſo to the archbiſhop of Yorke, and to the biſhop of Durham, & to maſter Ihon Chanon of Yorke a Romane, to inquire in the north partes for the ſayd malefactors: and after diligent inquiſition made, to ſend vp the ſame to Rome, there nedes to appeare before him. &c.

Thus after earneſt inquiſition made of all parties, and wytneſſes ſworne and examined: many were found culpable in the matter, ſome that were factours, ſome ẏ were conſenters, of whom ſome were biſhops, and chaplens to the kyng: ſome archdeacons, & Deanes, ẘ other ſouldiours & lay men. Emong whome certayne ſhiriffes & vnderſhiriffes with their ſeruitures vnder thẽ, were apprehended and caſt into priſon by the kyng. Many for feare fled & eſcaped away, who beyng ſought for coulde not be founde: but the principall of this number (as is aforeſayd) was ſuppoſed to bee Hubertus lorde chiefe iuſtice: who both with the kyngs letters and his owne, fortified ẏ doers therof, ẏ no mã durſt interrupt thẽ. Moreouer in ẏ ſame ſocietie of thẽ, which were noted in theſe doings, was ẏ ſame Robert Twynge, aboue mẽtioned, a comely yong mã & a talle ſouldiour: who of hys owne voluntary accorde, ẘ fiue other ſeruitures, whõ he toke with him abroade to worke that feate, came to the kyng: openly proteſting himſelfe to bee the author of that deede doyng and ſayd, he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romaines: becauſe that by the ſentence of the biſhop of Rome, and fraudulent circumuention of the Italians, he was bereued of ẏ patronage of his benefice, hauing no more to geaue but that one. Wherfore to be reuenged of that iniurie, he enterpriſed that whiche was done: preferryng rather vniuſtly to be excommunicate for a ſeaſon, then to be ſpoyled of his benefice for euer. Then the kyng, and other executors of the Popes commaundemẽt gaue hym counſaile, that ſeyng he had ſo incurred the daunger of the popes ſentence, would offer him ſelfe to the pope to be abſolued of him agayne, and there to make his declaration vnto him, that he iuſtly and canonically was poſſeſſed in that churche. The king moreouer ẘ hym ſent his letters teſtimoniall vnto the pope, wytneſſyng with the ſayd ſouldiour, and inſtantly deſiryng the Pope in his behalfe, that he myght with fauour be heard. At the requeſt wherof, pope Gregory afterward, both releaſed hym of the ſentence, and reſtored hym to hys patronage: wrytyng to the Archbyſhop of Yorke, that he might agayne inioye the ryght of his benefice in as ample maner, as he did before it was taken from hym.

Hubert de Burgo L. chief Iuſtice, beyng one of them whiche helde agaynſt the Romiſhe prieſtes, as is afore ſignified: was therfore not a litle noted of the Byſhops, who to requite him with like deſpite agayne (after their accuſtomed maner of practiſe) went about by ſubtile workyng, to ſhake hym out of the kynges fauour. And firſt commeth Peter Byſhop of Wint. to the kyng greuouſly complainyng of certain about the kyng, but eſpecially of the foreſayd Hubert the kynges iuſtice: in ſo much, that he cauſed him to be remoued from his office, notwithſtandyng he had the kynges ſeale and wrytyng for the perpetuitie of the ſame, and procured Steaphen Segraue to be placed in his function. And after a fewe dayes, the kyng more and more incenſed agaynſt hym, called him to a counte of all the treaſure whiche he was coũtable for by his excheker office: alſo of all ſuch debtes by him due from the tyme of his father, vnto hys tyme. Alſo of all the Lordſhips, which were in the poſſeſſion of William Earle of Penbroke, chief iuſtice before hym. Item, of the liberties whiche he did hold at that tyme, in foreſtes, warennes, ſhyres, and other places: how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of priſis likewiſe: Alſo of loſſes committed through his negligence: And of waſtes made contrary to the kynges profite: of his liberties, how he did vſe them. Item, of iniuries and damages wrought agaynſt the clerkes of Rome, and other Italians, & the popes legates: for the redreſſe wherof, he would neuer adioyne his counſaile, accordyng as appertained to his office being then chief Iuſtice of England. Alſo of ſcutagies, giftes, preſentes, ſcapes of priſoners. Item, of maritagies whiche kyng Ihon committed to his kepyng at the day of his death, and which wer alſo in his tyme committed vnto hym. To theſe Hubert aunſwered, that he had kyng Ihons owne hand to ſhew for his diſcharge: who ſo approued his fidelitie, that he neuer called hym to any, but clearely diſcharged hym from all ſuch countes. Whereunto aunſwered agayne the Biſhop of Wint. ſaying: the charter of Kyng Ihon hath no force after the death of hym, but that ye may now be called to a reckenyng of this kyng for the ſame.

Obiectiõs layd agaynſt Hubert, by the king.

Note, that with Wint. the kings charter is no longer in force thẽ why leſt he liueth.

Ouer and beſides theſe, other greater obiections wer layd to his charge by the kyng: as for ſendyng and wrytyng to the duke of Auſtria, that he myght marry hys daughter, to the preiudicie of the king and of the realme, diſſuading that ſhe might not be geuen to him. Item, for counſailyng the king not to entre into Normandy with his army whiche he had prepared for the recouery of the landes there belongyng to his right, wherby great treaſure was there conſumed in vaine. Item, for corrupting the daughter of the kyng of Scottes, whom kyng Ihon hys father committed to hys cuſtody, for hym to mary. Item, for ſtealyng from him a pretious ſtone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in warre, and for ſendyng the ſame to Leoline kyng of Walles. And that by hys letters ſent to the ſayd Leoline, William Bruce a noble man was cauſed there traiterouſly to be hanged. &c. Theſe with other crimes (whether true or falſe) were ſuggeſted to the kyng agaynſt the ſayd Hubert by hys aduerſaries. Whereunto he was required to aunſwere by order of lawe. Hubert then ſeyng him ſelfe in ſuch a ſtrait, refuſed to aunſwer preſently, but required reſpite therunto, for that the matters were weighty whiche the kyng obiected to hym, whiche was graunted to hym till the 14. day of September: but in the meane tyme, Hubert beyng in feare of the kyng, fled from London to the priorie of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before for the loue of the kyng, and defence of the realme (ſayth myne author) had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, nowe beyng out of the kynges fauour was deſtitute of comforte on euery ſide: ſaue onely that Lucas Archbyſhop of Dubline, with inſtant prayers and teares, laboured to the kyng for hym. By this example and many like is to be ſene, howe vnſtable and variable a thyng is the fauour of mortall and mutable Princes: To teach all ſuch as haue to do about princes, how to repoſe and plãt their truſt not in man, but in hys Lord God: by hym to find helpe in Chriſt the true prince of all princes, whiche neuer faileth. By like example was Clito ſerued of king Alexander. Ioab of kyng Dauid. Belliſarius of Iuſtiniane. Harpagus of Aſtiages. Cromwell of king Hẽry: ẘ innumerable mo, whiche in hiſtories are to be found.

Other crimes obiected to Hubert by the kyng.

Princes fauors not to be truſted to.

When the day was come, that this Hubert ſhould

aun-aũſwer, kepyng among the monkes of Merton, he durſt not appeare.

The kynges diſpleaſure againſt Hubert

The kinges meſſage to the maior of london.

Then was it ſignified to him from the kyng, that he ſhould come vp and appeare in the court, there to aunſwere to his charge. Wherunto he aunſwered agayne, that he miſdoubted the kyngs anger, and therfore he did flye to the churche, as the vttermoſt refuge to all ſuch as ſuffer wrong. From whence he would not ſtirre, till he hard the kynges wrath to be mitigated towardes hym. With this, the king moued and ſore diſpleaſed, directed his letters in all haſt, to the Maior of London: commaundyng hym at the ſight thereof to muſter and take vp all the Citizens that could beare harnes in the Citie, and to bryng to hym by force of armes the foreſayd Hubert, either quicke or dead, out of Merton. Wherupon, the Maior immediatly cauſing the great Bell to be roung: aſſembled together the people of London, and opening before them the kynges letters: commaunded them to prepare and arme them ſelues, in all readynes to the executyng of the kynges will and meſſage.

Olde grudge borne in minde.

Some wyſer then ſome.

Good aduiſement of diſcret citizins.

Cruell coũſaile geuen of Peter Biſh. of Wint.

The cauſes of deſpleaſure betwene Hubert and the biſhop of wint.

The citizens hearyng this, were therwith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert: Becauſe of the execution of Conſtantine their citizen aboue mentioned. pag. 349. Notwithſtandyng, certain of the citizens namely Andrew Bukerel, Ihon Trauers and other mo, men of more graue and ſage diſcretion (wiſely ponderyng with them ſelues, what inconuenient might riſe herof) went in haſt to ẏ biſhop of Wint. lyeng then in Southwerke: and wakyng him out of hys ſleepe, deſired hym of hys counſaile in that ſo ſodeine and daungerous diſtreſſe: Declaring to him, what peril might therby enſue as well to the churche of Merton, as alſo to the citie, by the furie of the vnordinate and fierce multitude, whiche will hardly be bridled from robbyng & ſpoylyng, neither will ſpare ſhedyng of bloud. &c. Vnto whom agayne the bloudy Biſhop, gaue this bloudy coũſaile (ſayth Pariſienſis.) Daungerous it is (quod he) both here and there, but yet ſee that you obey and execute the precept of the king, I counſaile you plainly. At the which counſaile of the Byſhop they beyng amaſed, went with an euill will about ẏ buſines inioyned. But the people inflamed wͭ hatred, gladly coueted to be reuẽged & to ſhed the bloud of the ſayd Hubert. ¶ The cauſe why Peter biſhop of Wint. was ſo cruelly ſet agaynſt the Iuſtice, was partly for the damages he had done to the Romane prieſtes, as in before touched: Partly alſo for the olde grudge, becauſe the kyng commyng to his lawfull age before (through the counſaile of this Hubert) looſed hym ſelfe from the gouernement of the ſaid Biſhop, who had hym then in cuſtodie. And thus roſe vp the grudge and diſpleaſure of this biſhop agaynſt him.

Hubert proſtrate vpon the grownd commendeth him ſelfe to God.

On the next morowe, the Londiners iſſhuyng out of the citie to the number of xx. thouſand: ſet forth toward the abbey of Mertõ, where Hubert was lyeng proſtrate before the altar, commending him ſelfe to God.

Sage coũſaile of an Erle geuẽ to the kyng.

The maruelous working of the lords helpe at time of nede.

Iuxta verſum ſaith the ſtory: *Alis, ales, alis alium ne longius ales.*

In the meane ſeaſon, while the citizens were in their iorney, ragyng againſt ẏ poore Erle of Kent: it was ſuggeſted to ẏ King by Radulfe B. of Chicheſter, & L. chauncelor, ẏ it was daungerous to excite vp the vulgare & vnruly multitude, for feare of ſeditiõ: leaſt peraduenture, ẏ rude & heady people beyng ſtirred vp, wil not ſo ſone be brought down agayne, when the Kyng would haue thẽ. Moreouer, what ſhall be ſaid (quod he) emong the Frenchmen, and other nations, whiche of great thinges loue to make them greater, and of euils thynges to make them worſe then they are: but thus ieſtyngly and mockingly: See what a kynde bird is the yong Kyng of Englande, whiche ſeeketh to deuoure hys olde nurſe, vnder whoſe wynges he had bene brought vp & nuriſhed in his youth. And thus the Kyng by the perſuaſion hereof, chaungyng his coũſaile, ſent in all haſty wiſe after the army again, willyng them to retracte their iorney, and to retire. And thus the Londiners (although much agaynſt their wils) returned home, miſſing of their purpoſe. Wherin is to be obſerued an other notable example of Gods workyng prouidence. For when the kyng (ſayth the ſtory) had ſent by two meſſengers or purſeuantes to reuoke and call backe agayne the army of the Londiners, goyng with gredy myndes to ſhed the bloud of the innocent Iuſtice: One of the meſſengers poſtyng with all ſpede poſſible, with the Kynges letters, ouertooke the army: and commyng to the forward, where the captaines were, by vertue of the Kinges letters ſtayde their courſe and bloudy purpoſe, wherby they could procede no farther. But the other meſſenger crafty and malitious, who bearyng hatred to the ſayde Huberte, rather wyſhynge him to be ſlayne, then to be deliuered: lingared by the way of purpoſe (although beyng cõmaunded to make haſt) and whẽ he came, went onely but to the midle ſorte. More lyke a meſſẽger meete to ſerue a dead mãs arrãt, then to ſerue the turne of them whiche be a liue. And ſo in lyke maner by the iuſt hand of God, it fell vpon hym. For the ſame meſſenger ſtomblynge with hys horſe, rydynge but a ſoft or a foote paſſe, and rather walkyng then rydyng: fell downe backewarde from hys horſebacke, and there brake hys necke and dyed. This mercifull meſſage of the Kyng was, as is ſayd, ſent by the inſtigation of Radulph Byſhop of Chicheſter Lord Chauncelour (a vertuous and a faythfull man) and one that could ſkill to haue compaſſion on the miſeries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he beyng elected archbiſhop of Canterbury, would not geue one halfepeny to their expẽſes by the way, to get hys election confirmed by the Pope: and afterward by the ſayd Pope was defeyted and fruſtrated of hys election, as relation was made before pag. 357. And thus through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of the Kynges letters the army returned: and Hubertes life (contrary to his expectation) was preſerued.

After this, the Archbyſhop of Dubline wͭ much labour & great ſute intreated and obteyned of the King to graunt vnto the ſayd Hubert reſpite till the twelfe day of Ianuary, to prouide him ſelfe of hys aũſwere to ſuch thynges as were commenſed agaynſt hym. Then Hubert truſtyng to enioy ſome ſafetie by the kynges permiſſion to hym graũted, to breath hym ſelf a lytle and to walke abroad, tooke his iourney toward S. Edmundeſbury, where his wife was. And paſſyng through the coũtry of Eſſex, was Inned there in a certayn towne belongyng to the Byſhop of Norwiche. Whereof when the king was certified, fearing leaſt he would raiſe vp ſome commotion in the realme: ſendeth in haſtye anger after hym, Syr Godfred Cranecumbe knyght, with. CCC. men: commaundyng vnder payne of hanging, that they ſhould apprehend hym, and bryng hym to the towre of London. Whiche commaundent to accompliſh, there lacked no haſt. Hubert hauyng intelligence of their commyng (ryſing out of his bed, naked as he was) ranne to the chapell ſtandyng nere to the Inne, where he holdeth with the one hand the croſſe, with the other hand the Sacrament of the Lords body. Then Godfride wͭ his foreſayd armed ſouldiours entryng into the chappell, wylled him to come out. Which whẽ he would not: with violent handes he drew hym out of the chappell, and takyng the croſſe and Sacrament out of hys handes faſt bounde hym with fetters and gyues vnder the horſe bely, and brought hym as they were commaunded, to the tower. And ſo certifeyng the Kyng what they had done (who then taryed vp wakyng for them) he reioyſed not a litle thereat, and went mery to his bed.

The next morow folowyng, after Roger Biſhop of London had knowledge, how and in what order he was take violẽtly out of the chappell: he commeth to the kyng, blamyng him boldly for violating the peace of holy churche, and proteſted that vnles the partie wer looſed agayne and ſent to the Chappell from whence he was drawen, he would enter ſentence of excommunication agaynſt all the dede doers.

The kyng as he did not deny his tranſgreſſion herein, ſo ſendeth him, albeit agaynſt his will, out of the Tower, to the ſayd Chappell agayne and by the ſame ſouldiours, which brought him out before. Which done, he geueth in ſtrait charge and commaundement vnder payne of hangyng, to the Shriffes of Herford and of Eſſex, that they in their owne perſons with the ſtrēgth of both the Shyres, ſhould watch and compaſſe about the Chappell, and ſee that the ſayd Hubert no wayes might eſcape. Which commaundemēt of the kyng was accompliſhed with all diligence. But Hubert toke all this paciently, and continued in the Chappell praying both night and day, and commēdyng his cauſe vnto the Lord, whom he deſired ſo to deliuer him from that inſtant daunger, as he allwayes ſought the kings honour by his faythfull and truſty ſeruice. And as he continued in hys prayer ſo the kyng continuyng in his rage, commaunded that no man ſhould intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his preſence. Notwithſtandyng yet Lucas Archbiſhop of Dublin his true and almoſt onely frēd, ceaſed not to pray and weepe to the kyng for him, deſiring the kyng at leaſt to intimate to him, what he purpoſed ſhould be done with Hubert. Wherunto the kyng aunſweryng, ſayd, that of three things, one he ſhould chuſe: whether he would abiure the Realme of England for euer, or be condemned to perpetuall priſon, or els confeſſe him ſelfe openly to bee a traytour. But Hubert hereunto ſayd, that he would chuſe none of theſe Articles, as who knew him ſelfe neither giltie, nor worthy of any ſuch confuſion: but to ſatiſfie ſomewhat the mynd of the kyng, he would be contented to depart the Realme for a ſeaſon, but to abiure the Realme, he would not ſo do.

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In this meane time it befel that Ranulphus Earle of Cheſter and of Lyncolne one of his soreſt enemyes dyed. Hubertus all this while remained in the Chappell, incloſed and garded about with yͤ power, as is ſaid of ij. Shyres, and ſo continued til at length by the commaundement of the king, his two ſeruitours which miniſtred to him within the Chappell, were take frō him. Then Hubert ſeyng no other remedy but there to ſtarue for famine, offered him ſelfe of his owne accorde to the Sheriffes, ſaying that he would put him ſelfe rather in the kynges mercy, then there deſperatly to periſh for hunger. And ſo was he taken, and beyng faſt bound in fetters was brought agayne and clapped by the kynges commaundemēt, in the Tower of London.

Hubert
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m ſelfe to
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iffes.

Hubert
mitted a-
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ower.

Not long after this, worde was brought to the kyng by certaine, that the ſayd Hubert had much treaſure lying in the houſe of the new Templaries in London. Wherupon yͤ king to try out yͤ truth therof, ſendeth for the Priour or Maiſter of the houſe. Who not daryng to deny, cōfeſſed that there was in dede treaſure brought into the houſe, but the quantitie and number therof he could not tell. The king deſirous to ſeaſon vpō the treaſure, required and charged the Maſter with his brethrē, with threatnyng wordes, to bryng forth the treaſure to him, ſaying that it was taken and ſtolne out of his treaſurie. But they aunſwered agayne, that the treaſure was committed with truſt and faith vnto their hands: and therfore they would nor ought to let it go out of their handes, beyng truſted withall, without the aſſent of him which committed the ſame vnto them. When the kyng could get no other aunſwere at their handes, neither durſt ſhew any further violence agaynſt thē, he ſendeth to Hubert in the Tower, requiryng of him the foreſaid treaſures. To whō he aūſwering again mildely, yelded both him ſelfe, his treaſures, & al that euer he had vnto yͤ kynges will & pleaſure, and ſo ſēdyng word to the Maſter and brethrē of the Temple, willeth them to take al the keyes, and deliuer the goodes, with all that there was to the kyng. Who receauyng the ſame, and taking an Inuentorie of that which was receaued, cauſed it to be brought to his treaſure, wherof the number both of the plate, of coyne, & of the Jewels was of price vnknowne. The enemies of Hubert ſuppoſing therby to take aduauntage agaynſt him to bring him to his end, come with open complaint to the kyng, criyng out agaynſt Hubert, that he was a thief, a traytor, and a robber of the kynges treaſure, and therfore by right was worthy to be hanged: and thus cried his accuſers dayly in the kynges eare. But the hartes of kyngs (ſaith the wiſe man) are in the handes of the Lord, to be ruled not after mans will, but as it pleaſeth God to direct them. And ſo this kyng, hauyng now his will and fill vpō poore Hubert, & ſomewhat cōming more vnto him ſelfe, aunſwered agayne in this wiſe: that there was no ſuch nede to deale ſo ſtraitly with him, who from the tyme of his yougth firſt ſerued myne vncle kyng Richard, then my father kyng Iohn, in whoſe ſeruice, (as I hard ſay) beyond the Seas he was driuen to eate his horſe, Pariſienſ. pag. 81. and in my tyme hath ſtand ſo conſtantly in defenſe of the Realme agaynſt forein nations, who kept the Caſtle of Douer agaynſt kyng Lewes, and vanquiſhed the Frenchmen vpō the Seas, alſo at Bedford, & at Lincolne hath done ſuch ſeruice. And though agaynſt me he hath delt any thyng vntruly, which yet is not euidently proued, yet he ſhall neuer be put by me to ſo vilanous death. I had rather be counted a kyng fooliſh and ſimple, then to be iudged a tyrant or a ſeeker of bloud, eſpecially of ſuch as haue ſerued me and myne aunciters in many perils ſo daungerouſly, weyng more the few euils which yet be not proued, thē ſo many good deſertes of his euident & manifeſt ſeruice done both to me and to yͤ whole Realme. &c. And thus yͤ kyng ſomewhat relentyng to poore Hubert his old ſeruaunt, graunted vnto him all ſuch landes as he had geuen by kyng Iohn his father, and what ſo euer els he had by his owne purchaſe.

Faithfull
depoſita-
ries.

Hubert bereft of all hys treaſure.

an. 1232.

God ruleth the hartes of kynges.

The kynges aūſwere in defenſe of *Hubert.*

Thus Hubert after lōg trouble, a litle chered with ſome peece of comfort, ſet Laurence his truſty frend that neuer left him, one that belonged to S. Albons, to be his Stuard & ouerſeer of thoſe poſſeſſiōs graūted to him by yͤ kyng. And ſhortly vpon yͤ ſame, after the kyngs minde was ſeen thus ſomething to relent, the enuy alſo of the nobles beyng now partly ſatiſfied: began to turne to mercy: In ſomuch that iiij. Earles, to wytte: Earle Richard the kinges brother, William Earle of Warenne, Richard Earle Marſchal, and William Earle of Ferrys, became ſureties to the kyng for him. Uppon whoſe ſuretie hee was tranſferred to the Caſtle of Diuiſis: where he was vnder the keeping of iiij. ſouldiours by them appointed, hauing the libertie of the Caſtle. But the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who alwayes hunted after the life of Hubert, craftely commeth to the kyng, and deſireth the cuſtodie of that Caſtle, making no mētion of Hubert, to the entent that by the keepyng therof, he might the ſoner diſpatch him. Hubert hauyng therof ſome inklyng, breaketh the matter to two of his ſeruitours, who with compaſſion tenderyng his miſerie, watched their time, (the keepers beyng a ſlepe) and conueyed him by night vpon their backes, fettered as he was into the Pariſh Church of the Towne, and there remained with him. The keepers whē they myſſe their priſoner, were in great perplexitie, and after diligent ſearch findyng him at length, where he was in the Church, with violent force drew him from thence into the Caſtle agayne. For the which iniurie done to the Church, the Biſhop of Sarum, vnderſtandyng the order of the matter, commeth to the Caſtle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert ſhould be brought

The kynges minde relēteth toward *Hubert.*

Foure Earles ſureties for *Hubert.*

Hubert put in the Caſtle of Caſtle of Deuiſis.

an. 1233.

Hubert conueyed out of the Caſtle into the Pariſhe church.

Hubert againe takē out of the Church, and brought in agayne.

agayne into the Church, from whence he was taken. Which when the keepers denied to do, ſaying that they would rather that he ſhould hange then they, then the Biſhop gaue ſentence agaynſt them of excommunication. Which done, he with the Biſhop of London and other Biſhops, goeth immediatly to the kyng, complaynyng of the iniurie done to Hubert, and eſpecially of the contumely againſt holy Church: neither would they leaue the kyng, before they had obtained that he ſhould be reduced agayne into the Church, and ſo he was. It was not long after, but the kyng in great diſpleaſure ſendeth to the Sheriffe of the ſhyre to keepe him well watched in the Church, till either he came forth, or there periſhed with famine.

Hubert deliuered out of priſon and caried in Walles.

It befell in the meane ſeaſon that great diſſenſion roſe betwene the kyng and the nobles of his Realme, by reaſon wherof Hubert was taken and caried away by Richard Earle Marſhall, into Walles, and there remained till the kyng at length was reconciled with his nobles, and ſo receaued with the reſt, the ſayd Hubert agayne into his fauour Ex Math. Pariſi. Ex Flor. Hiſt. Of the which diſſenſion more ſhalbe ſhewed (Chriſt willyng) hereafter.

Roger Byſhop of Lōdō, goeth to Rome to purge him ſelfe before the pope

Agaynſt vſurers.

Uſurers excō-municate and expelled by the Byſhop of Lōdon.

Excommunication well vſed agaynſt vſurers.

As the begynnyng of this trouble of Hubert firſt ſprang of vexyng the Popes barnes: ſo likewiſe Roger Biſhop of London ſuſpected for the ſame cauſe, was enforced to trauaile vp to Rome, there to purge him ſelfe before the Pope. Where after much money conſumed, and robbed alſo by the way, he gat nothing els, but loſt his labour, and ſo came home againe. Who then doyng the part of a good Biſhop, after his returne from Rome attempted to expell and exclude out of his Dioces, all theſe Italian vſurers called, as is before ſayd, Caurſini. Theſe Caurſinites cōmyng with the Popes Legates into England, and lending their money to Religious houſes, to Colleges, and Churches, had their debters to them bound in ſuch ſort, as was much vantiſhable to thē, and much iniurious vnto the other, as in the forme of their obligations in the ſtorie of Mathew parienſ. is largely expreſſed fol. 65. Againſt theſe Caurſinites the Biſhop of London beyng worthely inflamed with zeale of iuſtice, firſt with louyng admonition went about to reclame them, for the wealth of their ſoules, afterward with ſharper wordes began to charge them. But they neither regarding Chriſtian counſaile, and deſpiſing the Byſhops threatnynges, would not leaue the ſweetnes of their occupation. Wherfore the Byſhop proceding to the ſentence of excommunication, preciſely and diſtrictly charged them to departe his Dioces. But they agayn being confident and emboldened vpon the popes defenſe, not onely ſet at light his excommunicatiō, but alſo wrought ſuch wayes with the Pope, that they cauſed the ſayd Biſhop of London, being both aged & ſickely, to be cited pereptorely to appeare beyond the Seas, there to aunſwere to ſuch obiections, as they ſhould inferre againſt him. And thus the Biſhop minding rather to couer, then to open the faultes of the Church, & partly beyng let with infirmitie and age, was compelled to let the cauſe fall.

The generall viſitatiō of the Pope, through all religious houſes.

Ex Pariſ.

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And thus much of the Popes Marchantes here in England, which were not ſo buſie here for their part, but the Pope the great maſter of theſe marchant vſurers, was as buſie for his. And although his barnes here in England were deſtroyed, and his banke ſomethyng decayed, yet he thought to wynne it vp an other way: for he proclaymed the ſame yeare a generall viſitation through all the Religious houſes exempt or not exempt vniuerſally perteining to his iuriſdiction, where by the cruel dealyng of the viſitours many were compelled to appeale & to trauaile vp to Rome, to the great expenſes of their money, and filling the Popes coffers. But as touching this viſitation, to make ſhort, (ſayth the ſtory) it tended not to any reformation ſo much, as to the deformation of the vniuerſall order, Dum omnes qui in diuerſis orbis partibus vnicam Benedicti ſecuti fuerant regulam, per nouas conſtitutiones ita inueniantur vbiq; diſcordes, quòd ex omnibus cœnobijs, vel alijs religioſorum Eccleſijs vix duo habeātur in norma viuendi concordes. i. While all they, which before throughe all partes of the world folowed onely the rule of Benedict, now through new diuiſed conſtitutions are found in all places ſo deuided and diuers, that of all monaſteries, and other Churches of Religion, ſcarſe may two be found, which do agree in one rule and inſtitution of life. &c.

Anno 1233.

Old ſerua
tures of
the kyng
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All this while that Hubert aboue mentioned was ſecluded from the king, Peter B. of Wincheſter bare all the rule, and aboue all other he alone was accepted. This Byſhop beyng in ſuch principall fauour with the king, as by whoſe counſaile all thinges were adminiſtred, remoued the naturall ſeruitours that were Engliſhmē, out of their offices, and placed other ſtrāgers, named of Pictauia, & of other coūtreis in their rowme. Amōg whom was thruſt out William the Undermarſhal, which ſupplied the rowme of Richard Lord great Marſhall of England: for the which cauſe the ſayd Lord Richard was mightly offended. Alſo Walter Treaſurer of the kinges houſe was not onely expelled, but alſo marſed at an hundreth pound, & put from all his holdes and munitions, which he had by the kings patent graūted to him,

The kyn
forſaketh
his noble
& ſticket
to ſtra
gers.

Moreouer by the counſaile of the ſaid Biſh. of Wincheſter all the old counſaillours as well Biſhops, as other Earles and Barons, and all the nobles were reiected from the king in ſuch ſort, that he would heare and folow no mans counſaile but onely the ſaid Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter and his coſine Peter de Ryuallis. Wherby it came to paſſe that all the greateſt holdes & munitions in the Realme were taken from the old kepers, & committed to the cuſtodie of the ſaid Peter. Thē the Biſhop of Wincheſter to plante and pitch him ſelfe more ſtrongly in the kinges fauour, adioyned to his felowſhip Stephen Segraue ſucceding in the place of Hubert the Iuſtice: alſo Robert Paſſelew, who had the keping of the treaſure vnder the foreſayd Peter Riuall. So by theſe three all the affaires of the Realme were ordered. Moreouer to make their partie more ſure, by them was prouided, that ſouldiours and ſeruitours frō beyond the Sea, as Pictauians and Britons were ſent for, to the number of two thouſand, which were placed partly about the kyng, partly were ſet in Caſtles and holdes within the Realme, and had the ouerſight and gouernement of Shyres and Baronies, who then oppreſſed the nobles of the land, accuſing them to the kyng for traytours: whom the ſimple kyng did lightly beleue, committing to them the cuſtodie of his Treaſures, the ſitting in iudgementes, and the doyng in all thinges: And when the nobles thus oppreſſed came to complaine of their iniuries to the kyng, by the meanes of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, their cauſe was nothyng regarded. In ſomuch that the ſaid Wincheſter moreouer accuſed certaine Biſhps alſo to the king, ſo that he did flye and ſhunne them as open traytours & rebels.

Richard Earle Marſhal
admoni
ſheth the
kyng.

Theſe thinges ſtanding thus out of order, Richard the noble Marſhall of England, with other of the nobles ioynyng with him, ſeyng theſe oppreſſions & iniuries dayly growyng contrary to the lawes and wealth of the realme, came to the king, and blamed him for reteinyng ſuch peruerſe counſaile about him of the Pictauians and other foreners, to the great preiudice of his naturall ſubiectes, and of the liberties of the Realme, humbly deſiring & beſeching him, that he with aſmuch ſpede as might be, would reforme and redreſſe ſuch exceſſes, wherby the whole Realme ſemed to lye in daunger of ſubuerſion. Otherwiſe if he refuſed to ſee correctiō therof, he with other pieres and nobles, would withdraw them ſelues frō his counſaile ſo long as he maynteinyng teined the ſocietie of thoſe foreners and ſtraungers about hym.

The diſdainfull aunſwere of the Biſ. of Wincheſter to the Nobles.

To this Peter Wincheſter aunſweryng agayne, ſayd: that the king right well might call vnto him what foreners and ſtraūgers him lyſted, for the defenſe both of his kyngdome and of his crown: and what number of them he would, as by whō he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious ſubiectes, and ſo to kepe thē in awe and good order. Whē the Earle and the nobles could get no other aunſwere of him, in great perturbation they departed, promiſing among them ſelues, in this cauſe which ſo touched the ſtate of the whole, they would conſtantly ioyne together to the partyng of their lyfe.

Wicked counſaile about a kyng.

Petrus de Rupibus Byſhop of Wint. peruerter of the kyng.

After this, the foreſayd Petrus Byſhop of Wincheſter with his complices, ceaſed not by all meanes to inflame the kyngs hart to hatred and contempt of his naturall people, whom they ſo vehemētly peruerted, that he countyng them no other then his enemies, ſought by all diligence the vtter deſtruction of them: ſendyng dayly for mo gariſons of the Pictauians, that in ſhort ſpace they repleniſhed welnere the whole land, whoſe defenſe the kyng onely truſted vnto: neither was any thing diſpoſed in the Realme but through the guidyng of this Peter, and of the Pictauians.

A mery Apophthegme of the kynges chaplaine.

The kyng thus garded and ſtrengthned with theſe foreine alians and ſtraungers, proclaimed a Parlamēt to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were warned to be preſent. They conſidering the indignation of the kyng conceiued, would not appeare. Agayne they were required the firſt, ſecond, & third tyme to preſent them ſelues. The aſſembly proceded, but they came not, for whom ẏ kyng looked. In this aſſembly or Parlament it was playnly told the kyng by a Dominicke Frier preachyng before him, that vnleſſe he remoued from him the Biſhop of Wincheſter and Peter Riuall his kinſmā, he ſhould neither could long enioy peace in his kyngdome. This although it was bluntly ſpokē of the Frier agaynſt the Biſhop: yet this remedy he had: The Frier had nothyng to loſe. Yet was there an other Chappleine of the Court, who perceauyng the kyng ſomewhat mitigated by the former preachyng, & after a courtlyke dexteritie handlyng his matter, beyng a pleaſaunt conceited man, thus merely came to the king, aſkyng a queſtion, what was the thyng moſt pernitious and daungerous of all other thynges to them that trauaile by the Seas? That, ſayd the kyng, is beſt knowen to ſuch as trauaile in that kynd of trafficke. Nay, ſayth he, this is eaſie to be told. They demaundyng what it was: forſoth (quoth he) ſtones & rockes, alludyng merely, but yet truly to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe name and ſurname was Petrus de Rupibus. For ſo Petræ in Latin ſignifieth ſtones, and Rupes rockes. Notwithſtandyng the kyng either not perceauyng the meanyng, or not amendyng the fault, agayne ſignifieth to his nobles, to ſpeake with hym at Weſtminſter. But they fearyng ſome trayne to be laid for them, refuſed to appeare: ſendyng playne word to the kyng by ſolēne meſſage, that his grace without all delay would ſeclude from him Peter B. of Wincheſter & other alians of Pictauia, or if he would not, they with the common aſſent of the Realme, would diſplace hym with his wicked counſaillours from hys kyngdome, and haue within them ſelues tractation for chuſing a new kyng.

The meſſage of the nobles to the kyng.

Warre raiſed by the kyng againſt his nobles.

The kyng at the hearyng of this meſſage beyng mightly moued, partly to feare, partly to indignation, eſpecially hauing the late example of kyng Iohn his father before his eyes, was caſt in great perplexitie, doubting what was beſt to be done. But Wincheſter with his wicked coūſaile ſo wrought with the king, that he proceded with all ſeueritie agaynſt them: In ſomuch that in ſhort tyme the ſparkles of poyſoned counſayle kyndlyng more and more, grew to a ſharpe battaile betwene the kyng, and Richard Earle Marſhall, with other nobles, to ẏ great diſquietnes of ẏ whole realme. The which warre before was preſignified by terrible thunderyng and lightenyng heard all England ouer in the moneth of March, with ſuch aboundance of raine and floudes growyng vppon the ſame, as caſt downe milnes, ouercouered the fieldes, threw downe houſes, and did much harme through the whole Realme.

Great thunders & floodes in England.

To proſecute here at large the whole diſcourſe of this warre betwene the kyng and Earle Marſhall, which continued nere the ſpace of two yeares, to declare all the partes and circumſtaunces therof, what trouble it brought, what damage it wrought to the whole Realme, what traynes were layd, what ſlaughter of men, what waſt of whole coūtreis enſued from Walles vnto Shrewſbery, how the Marſhall ioyned him ſelfe with Leoline Prince of Walles, how the Pictauians were almoſt all ſlaine and deſtroyed, how the kyng was diſtreſſed, what forgerie wyly Wincheſter wrought by the kynges letters to entrappe the Marſhal, and to betray him to the Iriſhmen, among whom he was at length ſlayne, all this I referre to other authours, who at large do entreate of the ſame, as Math. Parienſ. Florilegus and ſuch other. This is to be noted and obſerued (which rather perteineth to our Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory) to ſee what ſedition and continuall diſquietnes was in thoſe dayes among all Chriſtē people almoſt, beyng vnder the Popes Catholicke obedience. But eſpecially to marke the corrupt doctrine then reignyng, it is to be meruailed, or rather lamented, to ſee the king, and the people then ſo blinded in the principall point & Article of their ſaluation, as we find in ſtories which makyng mention of a houſe or Monaſterie of Conuertes builded the ſame yeare by the king at London, do expreſſe in playne wordes, that he then did it Pro redemptione animæ ſuæ, & Regis Ioannis patris ſui, & omnium anteceſſorum ſuorum. i. For the redemption of his ſoule, of the ſoule of kyng Iohn his father, and for ẏ ſoules of al his aūciters &c. wherby may be vnderſtand in what palpable darkenes of blind ignoraunce the ſely ſoules redemed by Chriſt, were then inwrapped, which did not know, nor yet were taught the right doctrine and firſt principles of their redemption. Ex Mat. Parienſ. pag. 86.

Monaſteries builded *pro redemptione animæ.*

Mention was made a litle before pag. 358. of diſſoluyng the election of Iohn Priour of Cāterbury, which was choſen by the Monkes to be Archbyſhop of the ſayd Church of Canterbury, but by the Pope was defeited. After whom one Iohn Blund was elected, who trauailyng vp to Rome this yeare an. 1233. to be confirmed of the Pope, was alſo repealed and vnelected agayne, for that it was thought in England, and ſo complayned of to the Pope, that he had receaued of Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter a thouſand markes, and had an other thouſand promiſed him of the ſayd Wincheſter. Who by his money thought to make hym of his ſide, and alſo wrote to the Emperour to helpe forward hys promotion in the Court of Rome. Notwithſtandyng both he with his geuyng, and the other with hys takyng of bribes were both detected and diſapointed of their purpoſe. For the Pope hatyng then the Emperour, for the ſame cauſe admitted not the election, pretendyng the cauſe, for that he was proued to hold two benefices without his diſpenſation. After whom by the commaundement of the Pope one Edmund Chanon of Saliſbury was ordeined Archbiſhop, and had hys Palle ſent to him frō the Pope. Which Edmund after for his vertues was Canoniſed of the Popiſh Monkes there for a ſaint, and called S. Edmund. About which tyme alſo Robert Groſted was made B. of Lyncolne.

Iohn Archb. of Cant. elected by the chapter and agayn vnelected by the Pope.

Corruption of bribes.

Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Sanct. Edmūde. Canoniſed.

Rob. Groſted made Byſhop of Lyncolne.

This Edmund accompanied with other Byſhops, during this trouble betwene the kyng and his nobles, beyng in counſail at Weſtmynſter, in ẏ yere next inſuyng, which was. 1234. came vttering their mynd boldly in the name of ẏ Lordes, & declaring vnto ẏ king as became his faythfull ſeruants, ẏ his counſail, which thē

an. 1234.

Faithful counſaile of the Byſhops giuen to the kyng.

he folowed, was not ſound, nor ſafe, but cruell and daungerous both to him and to the ſtate of the realme, meaning the counſaile of Peter Wincheſter and of Peter Riuall, with their adherentes.

1. The counſaile of Wincheſter and ſuch other Biſhops about the kyng diſproued for certeine cauſes.

FIrſt, and In primis, for that they hate and contemne the Engliſh nation, callyng them traytours and rebels: and turnyng the kynges hart from the loue of his naturall ſubiectes, and the hartes of them from hym, as appeareth by the Earle Marſchall and other, ſowyng diſcord among them.

2. 2. Item, by the ſayd Counſaile, to wyt, by the foreſayd B. & his felowes, kyng Iohn ẏ kings father loſt firſt the hartes of his Barons, after that loſt Normandie, and afterward other landes alſo, and in the end waſted all hys treaſure, ſo that ſince that tyme the regiment of Englād had neuer no quyet after.

3. 3. By the ſayd counſaile alſo, in their tyme and memorie, the kyngdome of Englād had bene troubled and ſuſpended, and in concluſion became tributarie, ſhe that was before the Prince of Prouincies: and ſo warre inſuyng vppon the ſame, the ſayd kyng Iohn his father incurred great daunger of death, and at laſt was extinguiſed, lackyng both peace of his kyngdome & of hys owne hart.

4. 4. Itē, by the ſayd coūſaile ẏ Caſtle of Bedford was kept lōg tyme agaynſt ẏ kyng, to the great loſſe both of men & treaſure, beſide the loſſe of Rupella, to the ſhame of the Realme of England.

5. 5. Moreouer, through their wicked coūſaile, at this preſent, great perturbation ſemed to hang ouer the whole Realme, for els if it had not bene for their counſaile, and that true iuſtice and iudgement might haue bene adminiſtred vnto the kynges ſubiectes, theſe tumultes had neuer bene ſtyrred, and the kyng might haue had his lād vnwaſted, and his treaſure vnconſumed.

6. 6. Item, in that fayth & allegeance wherwith they were obliged vnto him, they proteſted vnto him that the ſayd hys coūſaile was not a coūſaile of peace, but of diuiſion & diſquietnes, to the ende that they which otherwiſe by peace could not aſpire, by diſturbyng and diſherityng other might be exalted.

7. 7. Item, for that all the caſtles, forts, munitions, alſo all the offices of the Eſcheker, with all other ẏ greateſt exchetes of the Realme were in their handes, of the which if the kyng would demaund a counte, he ſhould proue how true they were.

8. 8. Item, for that neither by the kynges ſeale, nor commaundement, except it bare withall the ſeale of Peter Riual, almoſt no buſines of any weight could be diſpatched in the Realme, as though they recounted the kyng for no kyng.

9. 9. Furthermore, by the foreſayd counſaile, the naturall ſubiectes and nobles of the Realme were baniſhed the court, which was to be feared would grow to ſome incōuenience both to the kyng and to the Realme, for ſomuch as the kyng ſemed more to be on their ſide then they of his, as by many euident coniectures might appeare.

10. 10. Item, it was not to be wel taken and liked, the ſayd counſaile ſtandyng of ſtraungers and allians, to haue in their power both the kynges ſiſter, and many other noble mens daughters, and other womē marigeable, with the kynges wardes and maritages, which they beſtowd and diuided among them ſelues, & men of their affinitie.

11. 11. Alſo, the ſayd coūſaile regardyng neither the lawes, nor liberties of the Realme confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and peruert all iuſtice. wherfore it was to be feared they would run vnder excommunication, and the kyng alſo in communicatyng with them.

12. 12. Item, becauſe they kept neither promiſe nor fayth, nor oth with any perſon, neither did obſerue an inſtrument made neuer ſo formall by law, nor yet did feare any excommunicatiō. wherfore they were to be left for people deſperate, as which were departed from al truth and honeſtie.

These thynges (ſayd the Biſhops) we as your faithfull ſubiectes, before God, and men, do tell and aduertiſe your grace, deſiring & beſeching you, that you will remoue and ſeclude from you ſuch counſaile, and as ẏ cuſtome is of all other kyngdomes to do, that you will ſo gouerne in like maner your kyngdome by your owne naturall liege people, and ſuch as be ſworne vnto you of your owne Realme. For thus (ſayd they) in veritie we denoūce vnto you, that vnleſſe in ſhort time you will ſee theſe thynges reformed, we accordyng to our duetie, will procede by the cenſure of the Church, agaynſt you, and all other that gaynſtand the ſame: taryng no other thing, but onely the conſecration of this our reuerend Archbyſhop.

Exco nicatiō nounce the By ſhops a gaynſt t kyng.

These wordes of the Byſhops thus ſayd and finiſhed, the kyng required a litle tyme of reſpite, wherein to aduiſe with him ſelfe about the matter, ſaying: that he could not in ſuch a ſodein remoue from him his coūſaile, before he had entred with them a counte of hys treaſure committed to them, and ſo that aſſemble brake vp.

The kinges a ſwere to Byſhop

It folowed then after this communication ſo broken vp, that ẏ king reſorted to ẏ partes of Northfolke, where commyng by S. Edmūdes bury, where the wife of Hubert the Iuſtice was, he being moued with zeale of pitie toward the woman, who very humbly behaued her ſelfe to the kyng, did graunt vnto her viij. manerplaces, which her huſband before with his money had purchaſed, beyng then in the cuſtody and poſſeſſiō of Robert Paſſelew, one of the kynges new counſaillours aboue ſpecified. It was not long after this, but Edmund the Archbyſhop was inueſted and conſecrated in the Church of Canterbury, who ſhortly after his conſecration, about the moneth of Aprill, cōmyng with his Suffragans to the place of counſaile, where the kyng with his Earles and Barons was aſſēbled, opened to hym the cauſe and purpoſe of his commyng and of the other Prelates, which was to put him in remēbraunce of their former talke had with him at Weſtminſter: denouncing moreouer to him expreſſely, that vnleſſe with ſpede he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faythfull nobles of his Realme, he incontinent with the other Prelates there preſent, would paſſe with the ſentēce of excommunication agaynſt hym, and agaynſt all them that ſhould be enemyes to the ſame peace, and mainteyners of diſcord.

The pitie of the ky toward t wife of *Hubert.*

Edmund cōſecrated Archb. of Canterb ry, which was afte ward ca niſed by Pope In nocēt the fourth fo ſaint.

Excōpt excommu nication rightly ~~pronoū~~

The kyng after he heard the meanyng of the Byſhops, with humble and gentle language aunſwered them agayne, promiſing to condeſcend to them in all thinges. Wherupon within few dayes after, the kyng commyng to ſome better remembraunce of him ſelfe, commaunded the forenamed Biſhop of Wincheſter to leaue the Court, and returne home to his Biſhopricke, there to attend vnto the ſpirituall charge and care of his flocke committed to him. Moreouer he commaunded Peter Riuall the Byſhops coſin (ſome ſtories ſay his ſonne) who had thē the diſpoſing of all the affaires of the Realme, to render vnto him his Caſtles, and to geue a counte of all his treaſures, wherof he had the kepyng, and ſo to voyde the Realme, ſwearyng moreouer vnto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within orders of the Church, els he would haue cauſed both his eyes to be pluckt out of his head.

The kynges p miſe to th Biſhops.

Peter B ſhop o Winche ſter diſch ged the Court.

Piter Ri- uall calle to accō of ẏ kyng treaſure.

He expelled likewiſe the Pictauians out of ẏ Court, & from the cuſtody of his munitiōs, ſendyng thē home into their countrey & byddyng they ſhould no more ſee his face. And thus the king wiſely diſpatching him ſelfe of his wicked counſaillours, firſt did ſend Edmund the Archbiſhop, with the Byſhops of Cheſter and of Rocheſter, into Walles to Leoline, and to Richard Earle Marſchall and other, to entreate with them of peace. Alſo he receaued to his ſeruice agayne mē of his naturall countrey, to attend about him, offering him ſelfe willyng to be ruled by the counſaile of the Archbyſhop and the Biſhops, by whoſe prudence he truſted hys Realme ſhould be reduced agayn to a better quietnes.

Pictauia and ſtra gers ſen home by the kyng into thei countrey.

Reconcil tion beg betwe kyng an the nob

But in the meane tyme, while theſe thinges were doyng in England, the foreſayd Richard Earle Marſchall by ẏ falſehode of ẏ Biſhop of Wincheſter & Peter Riuall, forgyng the kynges letters to the Iriſhe men againſt him, & partly by ẏ cōſpiracie of Gilbert de Mariſco, Richard Earle Marſhall fraudulēt-ly circum-uented and ſlayne in Ireland.

riſco, was circumuented by the Iriſhmen in warre, and there taken and wounded, was by them through the meanes of his Surgean ſlayne.

Catini ſlayne aboute Almain, iudged of the Papiſtes for heretickes.

Great ſlaughter the ſame tyme was of them which were called Catini, about ÿ partes of Almaine. Theſe Catini were eſtemed of Pope Gregorie and the Papiſtes to be heretickes. But what their opinions were I finde it not expreſſed. In Parienſ.

Albigēſes ſlayne in Spayne by the Pope his ſetting on.

In like ſorte the Albingenſes afore mentioned, recounted alſo of the Popes flocke to be heretickes, with their Byſhops, and a great number and company of them, were ſlayne by the cōmaundement of Pope Gregorie at the ſame tyme in a certaine plaine in Spayne. Ex Mat. Parienſ. fol. 87.

The kyng lamenteth the death of Richard Earle Marſhall.

How the Archbiſhop of Canterbury with other two Biſhops, were ſent into Walles for intreatie of peace, ye heard before. At whoſe returne agayne after ÿ tyme of Eaſter, the kyng goyng toward Glocecter to méete them by the way, as he was in his iourney at Wodſtocke, came meſſēgers from Ireland, declaryng to the kyng the death of Richard Earle Marſchall, and the order therof, through the forged letters of Wincheſter and other, whereat the kyng made great lamentation and mournyng, to the great admiratiō of all them that were by, ſaying and complainyng, that he left not hys like in all the Realme agayne.

After this the kyng procedyng in his iorney came to Glouceſter. Where the Archbiſhop with the other Biſhops comming to the kyng, declared to him the forme and condition of peace which they had concluded with Leoline, which was this: If the kyng would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, ſuch as the kyng had baniſhed out of hys Realme: to the end that the cōcorde might be the more firme betwene them. Thus (ſaid they) was Leoline cōtented, although with much a do and great difficultie, to receaue the league of peace, ſaying and proteſtyng thus vnto them, that he feared more the kyngs almoſe, then all the puiſaunce both of him and of all his Clergie within England.

The ſaying of Leoline kyng of Wales.

The almoſe of k. Henry more feared thē his puiſſaunce.

This done the kyng there remainyng with the Byſhops, directeth his letters to all the exiles and baniſhed Lordes and to all his nobles, that they ſhould repayre to him about the begynnyng of Iune, at Glouceſter, promiſing to them his full fauour and reconcilement to them and to their heyres, and that they ſhould ſuſpect no fraud therin, they ſhould haue their ſafe conduct by the Archbiſhop and Byſhops.

Peace concluded betwene the kyng and the nobles.

Hubert Earle of Kent reſtored agayne to ÿ kings fauour.

Wherupon through the mediation of the ſayd Archbiſhop and the Biſhops, firſt commeth to the kyng Hubert Earle of Kent, offering him ſelfe to the kynges good will and fauour. Whom the kyng with cherefull countenaunce receaued and embraced, reſtoryng hym not onely to his fauour, but alſo to his houſhold and counſaile, with his liuinges and poſſeſſiōs from which he had bene diſeiſed before. Then Hubert liftyng vp his eyes to heauen, gaue prayſe and glory to God, by whoſe gratious prouidence he ſo meruelouſly beyng preſerued frō ſo great diſtreſſes and tribulations, was agayne ſo happely reconciled to the kyng, and his faithfull frendes. After him in like ſort came in Gilbert Baſſet a noble man, Richard Suard: alſo Gilbert the brother of Richard Marſchall that was ſlayne. Which Gilbert recouered agayne his whole inheritaunce as well in England as in Ireland, doyng his homage to the kyng and his ſeruice due for the ſame. To whō alſo was graunted the office of the highe Marſchall Court, belongyng before to his brother Richard.

Hubert ...eth thankes to God.

Falſehode and murther commeth out.

In the ſame counſaile or communication continuyng then at Glouceſter, the ſayd Edmund Archbyſhop of Canterbury, bryngyng the forged letters, wherin was betrayed the life of Richard Earle Marſchall, ſealed with the kynges ſeale, and ſent to the great men of Ireland, read the ſame openly in the preſence of the kyng and all the nobles. At the hearyng wherof, the kyng greatly ſorowyng and wéepyng, confeſſed there in truth that beyng forced by the Biſhop of Wincheſter and Peter de Riuallis, commaunded his ſeale to be ſet to certain letters preſented vnto him, but the tenour therof he ſayd and ſware hee neuer heard. Wherunto the Archb. aunſweryng agayn, deſired ÿ kyng to ſearch well his conſcience, and ſaid, that all they which were procurers or of knowledge of thoſe letters, were giltie of the death of the Earle Marſchall, no leſſe then if they had murdered him with theyr owne handes.

Kynges many tymes abuſed by wicked coūſaile.

Then the kyng callyng a counſaile, ſent his letters for the Biſhop of Wincheſter, for Peter Riuall, Stephen Segraue, and Robert Paſſelew to appeare and yelde account for his treaſures to them committed and for his ſeale by them abuſed. But the Biſhop and Riuall kepyng them ſelues in the ſanctuarie of the Mynſter Church of Wyncheſter, neither durſt nor would appeare. Stephen Segraue who ſucceded after Hubert the Iuſtice, & was of the Clergie before, after became a layman, and now hidyng him ſelfe in S. Maryes Church in the Abbay of Leyceſter, was turned to a Clerke agayne. Robert Paſſelew couertly hidde hym ſelfe in a certaine celler of the new temple, ſo ſecretly that none could tel where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At lēgth through the foreſayd Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, meanes was made, that a dilatorie day was graunted by the kyng, for them to aunſwere. At which day firſt appeared Peter de Riuallis, then Stephen Segraue, After him Robert Paſſelew, ech of them ſeuerally one after an other ſhewed them ſelues, but not able to aunſwere for them ſelues, lyke traytours were reproued, and like villanes were ſent away. Ex Mat. Parienſ. fol. 91.

The Byſhop of Wincheſter called to hys aunſwere.

Peter Riual, Stephen Segraue, Robert Paſſelew called to their aūſwere.

¶ *Variance betwene Pope Gregory 9. and the Romanes.*

While peace thus betwene the kyng and the nobles was reconciled in England, diſſenſion & variance the ſame tyme and yeare began in Rome, betwene the Pope and the Citizens of Rome. The cauſe was, for that the Citizens claimed by old cuſtome and law, that the Byſhop of Rome might not excommunicate any Citizen of the Citie, nor ſuſpend the ſayd Citie with any interdiction for any maner exceſſe.

Variance betwene the pope and Citizens of Rome.

The cauſes of variance betwene the pope and Citie of Rome.

The allegation of the Romās.

To this the Pope aunſwered agayn, Quòd minor Deo eſt, ſed quolibet homine maior (to vſe the very wordes of myne author) Ergo, Maior quolibet ciue, næ etiam rege, vel Imperatore. &c. that is, that he is leſſe then God, but greater then any man. Ergo, greater then any Citezen, yea alſo greater then Kyng, or Emperour. And forſomuch as hee is their ſpirituall father, he both ought and lawfully may chaſtice his children when they offend, as beyng ſubiected to him in the faith of Chriſt, and reduce them into the way agayne, when they ſtray out of courſe.

The Popes aunſwere.

The pope leſſe then God: but greater then man.

Moreouer, the Citizens alledge agayn for them ſelues, that the Poteſtates of the Citie and Senatours do receaue of the Church of Rome yearely tribute, which the Biſhops of Rome were bound to pay vnto them, both by new and alſo auncient law. Of the which yearely tribute, they haue bene euer in poſſeſſion before this preſent tyme of this Pope Gregory 9.

The 2. allegation of the Romans.

The Pope bound to pay to Rome yearely tribute.

Hereunto the Pope aunſwered and ſayd, that although the Church of Rome in tyme of perſecution, for their defence and cauſe of peace was wont to reſpect the head rulers of the Citie with gentle rewardes, yet that ought not now to be take for a cuſtome: For that cuſtome onely ought to ſtand, which conſiſteth not vpon examples, but vpon right and reaſon.

The Pope replyeth.

Farther and beſides, the Citizens ſayd, that they at the commaundement of the Senatour would appropriate their coūtrey with new and larger limites, and infranches the ſame beyng enlarged with new fines and borders.

The 3. cauſe and allegation of the Romās.

The Popes aunſwere.

To this the Pope agayne made aunſwere, that certaine Lordſhyps and Cities and Caſtles be conteined within the compaſſe of the ſaid limites, as the Citie Viterbium, and Montcaſtre, which they preſume to appropriate within their precinct: but to aſcribe to them and vſurpe that which perteineth to other, is agaynſt right and iuſtice.

The Pope flyeth the Citie of Rome.

Excommunication abuſed.

The Pope warreth agaynſt the Romans.

For theſe and ſuch other controuerſies riſyng betwene the Pope and ye Romanes, ſuch diſſēſion kyndled, that the Pope with his Cardinals leauyng the Citie of Rome, remoued to Peruſium (as partly before is recited) thinkyng there to remaine and to plant them ſelues: but the Romanes preuailyng agaynſt him, ouerthrew diuers of his houſes in the Citie. For the which, he did excommunicate them. The Romanes then flying to the Emperour, deſired his ayde and ſuccour: but he, belike to pleaſure the Pope, gathering an armey, went rather agaynſt the Romanes. Then the Popes armey, whoſe Captaines were the Earle of Tholouſe (to purchaſe the Popes fauour) and Peter the foreſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter (whom the Pope for the ſame had ſent for from England, partly for his treaſure, partly for his practiſe and ſkill in feytes of warre) and the Emperours hoſt ioyned altogether, and borderyng about the Citie of Rome, caſt downe the caſalles or manſions belongyng to the Citizens round about the Suburbes, to the number of xviij. and deſtroyed all their vines and vyneyardes about the Citie. Wherat the Romanes beyng not a litle offended, braſt out of the Citie with more heate then order, to ye nūber of C. thouſand (as the ſtory reporteth) to deſtroy Viterbium the Popes Citie, with ſword and fire. But ye multitude being vnordered and out of battaile ray, & vnprouided for ieoperdies which by ye way might happen, fell into the handes of their enemies, who were in waite for them, and of them deſtroyed a great number, ſo that on both partes were ſlayne to the vewe of xxx. thouſand, but the moſt part was of the Citizens. And this diſſenſion thus begon was not ſone ended, but continued long after.

A great ſlaughter of the Romans by the Pope. *Ex Pariſienſ. pag. 92.*

The church of Rome degenerated from the image of the true Church.

By theſe and ſuch other ſtories who ſeeth not, how farre the Church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right Church of Chriſt, which by the rule and example of the Goſpell ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate, not a reuenger of her ſelfe, nor ſeeker of warres, but a forgeuer of iniuries, humbly and paciētly referring all reuenge to the Lord, not a raker for riches, but a wynner of ſoules, not contendyng for worldly maſterſhyp, but humblyng thē ſelues as ſeruaūtes & not Vicares of the Lord, but ioyntly like brethren ſeruyng together, Byſhops with Byſhops, Miniſters with Miniſters, Deacons with Deacons, and not as maſters ſeparatyng them ſelues by ſuperioritie one from an other, and briefly communicatyng together in doctrine and counſell, one particular Church with an other, not as a mother one ouer an other, but rather as a ſiſter Church one with an other, ſeekyng together ye glory of Chriſt, and not their owne. And ſuch was the Church of Rome firſt in the old auncient begynning of her primitiue ſtate, eſpecially while the croſſe of perſecution yet kept the Byſhops and Miniſters vnder in humilitie of hart & ferūet callyng vpō the Lord for helpe: ſo that happy was that Chriſtian then, which with libertie of conſciēce onely, might hold his life, how barely ſoeuer he liued. And as for ye pride and pompe of ye world, ſtriuyng for patrimonies, buying of Byſhoprikes, gappyng for benefices, ſo farre was this of from them, that then they had litle layſure and leſſe lyſt yea once to thinke vpon them. Neither did the Byſhops then of Rome fight to be cōſuls of the Citie, but ſought how to bryng ye conſuls vnto Chriſt, beyng glad if the Conſuls would permit them to dwell by thē ye Citie. Neither did they then preſume ſo hye, to bring the Emperours neckes vnder their gyrdles, but were glad to ſaue their neckes in any corner from the ſword of Emperours. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward conſolation, Gods holy ſpirite mightely working in their harts. Thē was one Catholicke vnitie of truth & doctrine amongeſt all Churches, agaynſt errours and ſectes. Neither did the Eaſt and Weſt, nor diſtance of place diuide the Church, but both the Eaſt Church and Weſt Church, the Grekes and Latines, all made one Church. And albeit there were then v. Patriarchal Seas appointed for order ſake, differing in regions, & peraduēture alſo in ſome rites one from an other, yet all theſe conſentyng together in one vnitie of Catholicke doctrine, hauyng one God, one Chriſt, one fayth, one Baptiſme, one ſpirite, one head, & linked together in one bonde of charitie, and in one equalitie of honour, they made all together one body, one Church, one Communion, called one Catholicke, vniuerſall, and Apoſtolical Church. And ſo long as this knot of charitie and equalitie did ioyne them in one vnitie together, ſo long the Church of Chriſt floriſhed, and encreaſed, one ready to helpe & harbour an other in time of diſtreſſe, as Agapitus and Vigilius flying to Conſtantinople were there ayded by the Patriarch. &c. ſo that all this while neither foreine enemy, neither Saracene, nor Soldan, nor Sultan, nor Calipha, nor Coraſmine, nor Turke had any power greatly to harme it.

Difference betwen ye church of Rome that was, and the Church of Rome that is now.

Eaſt church Weſt church.

Catholik

But through malice of the enemy, this Catholicke vnitie did not long continue, and all by reaſon of the Biſhop of Rome, who not contented to be like his brethren, began to extend him ſelfe, and to claime ſuperioritie aboue the other iiij. Patriarchall Seas, and all other Churches in the world. And thus as Equalitie amōgeſt Chriſtian Byſhops was by pride and ſingularitie oppreſſed: ſo vnitie began by litle and litle to be diſſolued, and the Lordes coate, which the ſouldiours left whole, to be deuided. Which coate of Chriſtian vnitie, albeit of lōg it time had bene now ſeamcript before by the occaſion aforeſayd: yet notwithſtandyng in ſome peece it held together in ſome meane agreement, vnder ſubiectiō to the Sea of Rome, till the time of this pope Gregory 9. an. 1230. at which time this rupture & ſchiſme of the Church brake out into a plaine diuiſion, vtterly diſſeueryng the Eaſtchurch from the Weſtchurch vpō this occaſion.

The ſchiſme betwene the Greeke church and the church of Rome.

Equalitie mother of concorde.

There was a certein Archb. elected to an Archbyſhopricke among the Grecians, who commyng to Rome to be confirmed, could not be admitted, vnles he promiſed a very great ſumme of money. Which when he refuſed to do, and deteſted the execrable ſimonie of the Court of Rome, he made his repayre home agayne to hys countrey vnconfirmed, declaryng there to ye whole nobilitie of that lād, the caſe how it ſtode. For the more cōfirmation wherof, there werē other alſo, which commyng lately from Rome, & there had proued the ſame, or worſe, came in and gaue teſtimonie to his ſaying. Whereupon all the Church of the Grecians the ſame tyme hearyng this, departed vtterly away from the Church of Rome, which was in the dayes of this pope Gregory 9. In ſomuch that the Archb. of Cōſtantinople cōmyng afterward to ye general Councell at Lyōs, there opēly declared, that where as before tyme he had vnder hym aboue xxx. Byſhoprikes and Suffraganes, now he had not iij. addyng moreouer that all the Grecians and certein other, with Antioch and the whole Empire of Romania, euen to the gates almoſt of Cōſtantinople, were gone from the obedience of the Church of Rome. &c. Math. Parienſ. fol. 112. &c. fol. 186.

The cau and occaſi why the Greeke church vtterly brake from the Romans.

Mat. Par. fol. 112.

All Grec gone from ye obedience of ye church of Rome.

Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 186.

By the occaſion of which ſeparation aforeſayd, of the Grecians from Pope Gregory, it happened ſhortly after, beyng the yeare of our Lord. 1237. that Germanus Archbyſhop and Patriarch of Conſtantinople, wrote to the ſayd pope Gregory 9. hūbly deſiryng him to ſtudy, and ſeeke ſome meanes of vnitie, how the

Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople writeth to Pope Gregory 9.

ſeame,

ſeameles coate of the Lord Ieſus thus lamētably rent, not with handes of ſouldiours, but by diſcorde of Prelates, may be healed agayne, offeryng this moreouer, that if he will take the paynes to ſtyrre out, he for hys part, notwithſtandyng his old age ⁊ feble body, would not refuſe to meete him in the myd way, to the entent that ẏ truth on both ſides beyng debated by the Scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the ſclaunder ſtopped, and vnitie reformed betwene them.

This requeſt of the Patriarch, as it was both godly and reaſonable, ſo it had bene the Byſhops part agayne with like humilitie to haue condeſcended to the ſame, and glad with all his might to helpe forward the reformation of Chriſtiā vnitie in the Church of Chriſt, and ſo to haue ſhewed him ſelf the ſonne of peace. But the proud Byſhop of Rome, more like the ſonne of diſcorde ⁊ diſſenſion, ſtanding ſtill vpō his Maieſtie, refuſed thus to do, but writyng agayne, aunſwere to hys letters with great diſdayne, ſeekyng nothyng els but onely how to aduaūce his ſea aboue al other churches: and not onely that, but alſo ſhortly after ſent forth hys preachyng Friers to moue all Chriſtians to take the ſigne of the Croſſe and to fight agaynſt the Grecians no otherwiſe then agaynſt the Turkes and Saracens: In ſo much that in the Iſle of Cyprus many good men ⁊ Martyrs were ſlaine for the ſame, as by the letters of the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, is to be ſene.

The Pope ſetteth the Weſt church to fight agaynſt the eaſt church

Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 112.

The tenour of the which letter to the Pope, with the Popes aunſwere agayn to him, beyng long and tedious to read, are extant in the hiſtory of Math. Pariſ. there to be ſene and found. fol. 111. The ſūmary effect wherof notwithſtandyng I thought here briefly to notiſe for ẏ ſimple ⁊ vnlearned multitude, which vnderſtandyng not the Latine, may hereby perceaue the fault of this ſchiſme not ſo much to reſt in ẏ Greeke church, as in the Church of Rome, as by the contentes of hys letter may appeare.

Ex libro Mat. Pariſ. manu ſcripto. fol. 111. & 112.

The effect of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople his letter to Pope Gregory 9.

The letter of *Germanus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* to *Pope Gregory 9. an. 1237.*

In the which letter the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, writyng to Pope Gregory, firſt after his reuerend ſalutation and preamble folowyng vppon the ſame, entryng then toward the matter, ſheweth the occaſion of his writyng, which was by fiue Obſeruant Friers repayring that wayes, whom he gently receauyng into his houſe, had conference with them touching this diſcord betwen the two Churches, how it might be reduced agayne to vnitie: and afterward perceauyng the ſayd Friers to make their iorney toward Rome, he thought therfore by thē to write his letters. Wherin he firſt lamentyng this diuiſion in the houſe of God, and recityng the inconueniences which come therof, by the example of Iuda and Iſraell: Ieruſalem and Samaria: Cain and Abel: Eſau, and Iacob: alſo of other ſuch like both priuate and publicke ſocieties, where brother fighteth agaynſt brother, like as amongeſt fiſhes the greater deuoureth the leſſer, he proceedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregory to the ſtudy of vnitie.

He ſheweth the inconuenīēce of diſcord.

And for ſomuch as the Pope had accurſed (belyke) thoſe Churches of the Greekes before, he therfore takyng his ground vpon the wordes of S. Paul, Gal. 1. where hee accurſeth euery ſuch perſon and perſons, what ſoeuer they be, either mā or Aungell of heauen, that ſhall preach any other Goſpell thē hath bene preached, ⁊c. willeth the Pope to ſtand with him vppon the ſame ground of the Apoſtles accurſe, ſo that if ẏ ſtrocke of that curſe haue light vpon him or his Churches, he deſireth him to ſhew the wound, and to helpe to wype away the bloud, to miniſtre ſome ſpirituall emplaſter, to bynd vp the ſore, and to ſaue his brethren from periſhyng which lay in daunger, accordyng to the ſaying of ẏ wiſe man: *A brotherly frend is tryed in aduerſitie. &c.*

Galat. 1.

Salomon.

But if we (ſayth he) of the Greeke Church be free from the ſtripe of this accurſe of the Apoſtle, and that you Italians and of the Latin Church be ſtricken therwith, and lye therby in daunger of deſtruction, I truſt that you through ignoraunce and wilfull obſtinacie will not ſo ſuffer your ſelues to be ſeparated from the Lord, but rather wil ſuffer a thouſand deathes before, if it were poſſible for a man ſo often to dye.

Whether the Church of the Greekes or the Popes church lyeth more vnder the daūger of Gods curſe,

And as touchyng this great diſcord betwen vs, if either contrarietie of doctrine, or ſwaruing frō ẏ auncīēt Canons, or diuerſitie of rites receaued of our forefathers be any cauſe therof, we here take heauen ⁊ earth to witnes, that we for our partes are ready, and deſire alſo vpon due triall of profound truth by Gods word, and inuocation of the holy Ghoſt, to ioyne handes with you, or you to ioyne with vs. But to ſay the very truth ⁊ to tell you playne, this we ſuppoſe, that many mighty and noble potentates would ſooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your vniuſt oppreſſions, your inſatiable exactions, and vnordinate oppreſſions wherewith you wryng your ſubiectes. By reaſon wherof haue riſen amongeſt vs cruell warres, one fightyng agaynſt an other, deſolation of Cities, Bulles and Interdictions ſet vpon Church doores, diuiſion of brethren, and Churches of the Grecians left without ſeruice, where God ſhould be prayſed. So that now onely one thing lacketh, which I beleue to be predefined ⁊ appoynted frō aboue long before to vs Grecians, the tyme, I meane, of Martyrdome, which alſo now haſteneth faſt vppon vs, that the tribunall of tyrannes ſhould be opened ⁊ the ſeates of tormentors be ſet, that the bloud of Martyrs ſhould be ſpilled, and we brought to the ſtage of Martyrdome, to fight for the crowne of glory.

The Greekes afrayd of the Popes oppreſſions.

The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* propheſieth of the Martyrdome ⁊ ſlaughter of the Grecians.

This that I do ſpeake, and wherfore I ſpeake it, the noble Iland of Cyprus doth already know and feele, which hath made many new Martyrs, ⁊ hath ſene valiant ſouldiours of Chriſt, which of long tyme before paſſing by water ⁊ teares of ſorrow, now at laſt haue alſo paſſed through fier, and ſo entred into the heauenly reſt. How ſay you, be theſe thinges good and ſemely, O holy Pope, ſucceſſor of S. Peter the Apoſtle? Is this the byddyng of that good Peter, the meke and humble Diſciple of Chriſt? Doth he thus inſtruct the Seniors and Elders in his Epiſtle, where he writeth in this wiſe: *The Elders which are amongeſt you, I beſech, which am alſo a felowelder with them, and witnes of the ſufferinges of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glory that ſhalbe opened: feede the flocke of God, which is amongeſt you, hauyng care and ſight ouer it, not of coaction as compelled agaynſt your willes, but willingly of your owne accord, nor for filthy lukers ſake, but freely and hartely, neither as bearyng dominion and Lordſhyp ouer the Church, but ſhewyng your ſelues, as an example to the flocke, and when the chief paſtor ſhall appeare, you ſhall receaue an incorruptible crowne of eternall glory. &c.* And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they ſhal ſee, which do not obey it. As for vs the other part of the ſayd Epiſtle is ſufficient, *wherein hee willeth them to reioyce which are in heauines through manifold tentations, that the triall of their faith beyng much more precious then gold that periſheth, and is tryed in fire, may be your laud, honour, and glory at the appearyng of the Lord Ieſu. &c.* But beare with me, I pray you (O holy father, and of all your predeceſſours moſt mekeſt) and ſuffer my wordes, though they ſeme ſomethyng ſharpe: for they be ſighynges of a ſorowfull hart.

The Popes perſecution in the Iſle of Cyprus.

The tyranny ⁊ auarice of the Pope chaſtened by ẏ word of S. Peter.

1. *Peter.* 5.

1. *Peter.* 1.

Wherfore gyrde about your Loyns with fortitude, and light vp the candle of your diſcretion, and ſeeke the groat that is loſt, of the vnitie, I meane, of fayth. And we will alſo with like compaſſiō ioyne with your holynes, and wil not ſpare this weake body of mine, in pretendyng any excuſe either of age or length of the way. For the more laborious the trauaile, is ẏ moe crownes it bringeth. And S. Paul ſayth: *Euery man ſhall receaue reward accordyng to his trauayle. &c.*

He exhorteth the Pope to come and meete with him, that they might cōferre together about the vnitie of faith.

The Greeke Church found and ſincere in doctrine.

Neither are we ignoraũt (if it pleaſe your holynes) that lyke as we Grecians for our partes do labour in all reſpectes to kéepe and obſerue the ſinceritie of true fayth and doctrine, not to erre ne ſwarue in any part or poynt from the ſtatutes of the bleſſed Apoſtles and aunciẽt fathers: ſo the Church lykewiſe of old Rome, doth for her part labour alſo (we know well) to folow the ſincere veritie of Chriſtian doctrine, and thinketh her ſelfe to erre in nothyng, nor to néede any remedy or reformation. And this we know, is the iudgement and ſaying of both the Churches, aſwell of the Greekes, as of the Latines. For no man can ſée any ſpot in hys owne face, without he ſtoupe downe to the glaſſe, or els be admoniſhed by ſome other, whether hys face be blotted or no. Euen ſo haue we many great & fayre glaſſes ſet before vs, firſt the cleare Goſpell of Chriſt, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, & diuinitie bookes of aũcient writers. Let vs therfore looke in them well. They will ſhew euery mans mynd & iudgement, whether he go right or wrong. The God of peace treade downe Sathan ſpedely vnder our féete. The author of peace confound the ſower of diſcord. He that is ẏ cauſe of all goodnes deſtroy the hater of that which is good, and which giueth cauſe of offenſe and ſclaũder. And he which is God of al ioy and peace, ſend to vs, which are the ſhepheardes of his ſhepe reaſonable, the aungell of peace and meſſenger of great glad tydynges, as he did in the Natiuitie of Chriſt, to the ſhepheardes of brute ſhepe and vnreaſonable, and make vs worthy to ſing that ioyfull ſong of Gods prayſe: Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas, and to receaue one an other with an holy kyſſe. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the peace of God the father, and the communiõ of the holy ſpirite be with you alwayes. Amen.

He exhorteth the Church of Rome to looke her face in Gods glaſſe, that is, to trye their doctrine by gods word.

An other Epiſtle of the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and Primate of the Greeke church, to the Cardinals of Rome.

An other letter of Germanus Patriarch of Conſtãtinople to the Cardinals.

AN other letter the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople wrote alſo the ſame time, to the Popes Cardinals, wherein he firſt commendyng them for their wiſedome and counſell, and ſhewyng what vtilitie commeth by good counſaile giuyng: for ſomuch as God (ſayth he) many times that he hydeth from one, inſpireth to an other, ſo that that good thing which by ẏ almighty God is ſonderly diſpenſed to diuers, through common counſell and cõference, ſpreadeth to the publicke vtilitie of many. &c. After this eftſoones he begynneth to exhort them, that they like charitable miniſters and diſcret counſellours will take in hand the ſpirituall armour of God, to caſt downe the ſtoppe and partition walle of the olde diſcorde betwene the Greekes and Latin church, and that they will be a meanes to the Byſhop of Rome, that they which ſo long haue bene diſſeuered by diſſenſion, may now be coioyned in vnitie of peace in brotherly charitie and communion of faith.

Concernyng which matter I haue (ſayth he) already written to his holines. And now I beſech the kyng of heauen, which tooke the ſhape of a ſeruaunt, to helpe his miſerable ſeruauntes: and was exalted vpon the croſſe to raiſe them vp which were fallẽ into the profũditie of deſolation, that he wil vouchſafe to put frõ your hartes all elation of minde, extollyng it ſelfe ouer & aboue the vnitie of your brethren and felow ſeruauntes, and to lighten your conſciences with the true light of vnderſtandyng, that we may altogether agree in one, and that there be no ſchiſme amongeſt vs. Let vs therfore as we are inſtructed, ſo abide in one minde, that it be not ſayd of vs, as it was of the Corinthians before vs: I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cœphas, and I of Chriſt: but that all we as we hold the name of Chriſt, and are called Chriſtians, ſo may alſo abide in that wherein we are inſtructed in one mind, that is, to folow loue and charity in Chriſt Ieſus, hauing alwayes in our hartes the wordes of ẏ Apoſtle, ſaying: One Lord, one Fayth, and one Baptiſme.

1. Cor. 1.

And now to be plaine with you in that I haue to ſay, I ſhall deſire you not to be offended with me in vttering the truth as a frend vnto you. The wordes (ſayth Salomon) of a wiſe man telling truth, be like to nayles which be driuen in depe. And truth, for the moſt part, breedeth enemies. And therfore though I am partly afrayd, yet wil I ſimply cõfeſſe ẏ truth vnto you. Certes this diuiſion of Chriſtian vnitie amongeſt vs, procedeth of no other cauſe but onely of ẏ tyranny, oppreſſion, & exactions of the Church of Rome: which of a mother is become a ſtepdame, & hath put her children from her whom long time ſhe nouriſhed (after the maner of a rauenyng byrde which driueth her young from her): which children how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the leſſe ſhe eſtemeth them, and treadeth them vnder foote, not regardyng the ſaying of the Goſpell: Who ſo humbleth him ſelfe ſhalbe exalted.

The tyr ny and op preſſion of the church of Rome, is the on ly cauſe of breakyng vnitie be twene the Greeke church and the Latin.

Luc. 18.

Let modeſtie therfore ſomethyng tempere you, and let the auarice of the Court of Rome, although it can not wel out of the fleſh which is bred in the bone, yet ſurceaſe a while, and let vs together condeſcend to the triall of the truth: which truth beyng found out on both ſides, let vs conſtantly embrace the ſame.

For why, we haue bene altogether ſome tymes both Italians and Grecians in one fayth, and vnder the ſame Canons: hauyng peace ech with other, and defendyng one an other, & confoundyng the enemies of the Church. At what tyme many flying out of ẏ Eaſt partes (whileſt that the tyrannie of the hereticks indured) made their concourſe to vs, and were receaued, and part fled vnto you, that is, old Rome, as to a ſtrõg tower of refuge: and ſo receaued they comfort in both places, and one brother was thus receaued into the boſome of an other by mutuall loue for their defence.

The vnitie and cõcorde be twene the eaſt church & the weſt.

Then after when Rome had ben often diſtreſſed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were euer ready to reſcue and deliuer them. Did not Agapitus and Vigilius flye vnto Conſtantinople by reaſon of the diſſenſions then at Rome, and beyng honorably receaued, were here defended vnder our protection? although the lyke kyndnes was neuer yet ſhewed of your part to vs agayne in our like neceſſities. Notwithſtãdyng we ought to do good to them alſo that be vngratefull: for ſo doth the Sea participate her calme and ſmoth tides euen vnto the Pirates. And ſo God cauſeth ẏ ſunne to ſhine vpõ the iuſt and vniuſt. But (alas for ſorow) what bitter diuiſion is this that hath thus ſequeſtred vs aſonder? One of vs detracteth an other, ſhonnyng the company one of an other, as the damnation of his ſoule. What a mortall hatred is this come amongeſt vs? if you thinke we are fallen, then do you helpe to lyft vs vp: and bee not to vs as a ſtombling blocke to our bodely ruine, but helpers vnto the ſpirituall reſurrection of our ſoules. So ſhal we acknowledge our ſelues bound vnto you to gyue you condigne thankes accordyngly.

Agapitus and Vigilius fled to Conſtantinople for ſuccour.

But if the blame & firſt origine of all this offence procedeth from Rome, and the ſucceſſours of Peter the Apoſtle: then read you the wordes of S. Paul to the Galathians: ſaying. When Peter came vnto Antioch, I withſtode him in the face, bycauſe he was to be rebuked. &c. Howbeit this reſiſtance was no cauſe of any diſcorde or breach betwene them: but the cauſe rather of further ſearch and profounder diſputations, prouokyng temporall agreement. For they were faſt ioyned together in the bande of charitie in Chriſt, agreyng in fayth and conformitie of doctrine ſeparated by no ambition or auarice. In which pointes would God we alſo were lyke vnto them. This to vs in our mindes gendreth a great offẽce, that your gapyng ſo gredely after terrene poſſeſſions, ſcrape together all that you can ſcratch and rake. You heape vp gold & ſiluer, & yet pretend that you be ẏ Diſciples of him which ſaid: Gold and ſiluer I haue none. &c. You make whole kyngdomes tributary to you, and Kynges and Princes your vaſſals. You augment your Money by vſury, & by feates of Marchandiſe. You vnteach by your dedes, that which you teach in wordes.

Paul rebuketh Peter.

Galat. 2.

Actes 3.

Moderate your ſelues therfore with more temperãce, that you may be an example to vs and to all the world. You ſee how good a thyng it is one brother to helpe an other. Onely God alone nedeth no helpe or counſell, but men nede one to be holpen of an other. And were it not that I do reuerence the bleſſed Apoſtle Peter, the chief of Chriſtes Apoſtles, and the rocke of our faith, I would here put you in remembraunce how greatly this rocke was ſhaken and remoued from the foundation, at the ſight of a ſely woman: and Chriſt of his ſecret purpoſe permitted the ſame, which by the crowyng of the cocke brought hym agayne to remembraunce of that which was foretold him, and rayſed him from the ſlumber of deſperation. Then he beyng thus waked, waſhed his face with teares, confeſſing him ſelfe before God and all the world, to be a true paterne of repentaunce, which before

The mention of the kyngdome of England and other kyngdomes which were made tributary to the ſea of Rome.

The imm derate a rice of the Court of Rome.

Peters fa th & wea ken.

Peter an enſãple of repentaũ

bare the keyes of the kingdome, as ſaying thus vnto vs: May not he which falleth, riſe agayne? Oh you which are fallen, riſe ye vp and behold me, and harke vnto me trauailyng toward Paradiſe. The gates wherof to open I haue receaued power.

And thus do I write vnto you, not for any inſtructiõ, but onely to put you in remembraũce: for I know how God hath indued you with all wiſedome & knowledge. As Salomon ſayth: Giue onely occaſion to the wiſe, and he will learne wiſedome: Teach the iuſt man, and he will be glad to take inſtruction.

This one thing more I will ſay and ſo make an end, There be great & mighty nations that are of like minde and opinion with vs. Firſt the Ethiopians that inhabite the chiefeſt part of the Eaſt. After that the Syrians: and other moe of greater nomber then they: and more diſpoſed to vertue, as the Hyberi, Alani, Gothi, Charari, with innumerable people of Ruſia, and the kingdome of great victory of the Vulgarians. And all theſe are obedient vnto vs as to their mother church, perſiſting hetherto cõſtantly in the auncient and true orthodoxaſticall fayth immouable.

The God of all holines which for our ſakes became man, & which onely is yͤ head of his church & cõgregatiõ, vouchſafe to gather vs agayne together in vnitie, and graũt, that yͤ Græcian church together wͭ her ſiſter church of old Rome may glorifie yͤ ſame Chriſt, yͤ prince of peace, by the vnitie of faith, to the reſtitutiõ of ſound and holſome doctrine, wherin many yeares agone they haue agreed and were vnited. God graunt vnto you brotherlike charitie, and the hand of the moſt mighty God gouerne you all (holy Cardinals) till that ioyfully ye arriue in the hauen of euerlaſtyng tranquillitie. The grace of God be with you all. Amen. Ex Math. Parienſ. fol. 111.

Shortly after yͤ ſendyng of theſe letters, Pope Gregory prepared to ſend men of warre ſigned with the Croſſe to fight agaynſt the Grecians. Whereupon the Archbyſhop of Antioch, with the ſayd Germanus ſolemnely excommunicated the Pope, after he firſt had excõmunicated thẽ. Par. fol. 118. In the meane time by the tenour of theſe letters of the Patriarch ſent to the Pope and to the Cardinals, it is euident to all mẽ that haue eyes in their heades, to ſee: firſt how the whole vniuerſal Church of Chriſt, from the Eaſt partes to yͤ Weſt, in aunciẽt tymes were altogether vnited in one conſent of doctrine, & lynked together in brotherly charitie, one church brotherly to helpe an other, both with tẽporall ayde & ſpirituall coũſell, as caſe required. Neither was then any one mother Church aboue other Churches, but the whole vniuerſall Church was the mother Church and ſpouſe of the Lord, to euery faithfull beleuer. Under which vniuerſall Church in generall, were comprehended all other particular Churches in ſpeciall, as ſiſter churches together, not one greater then an other, but al in like equalitie, as God gaue his giftes ſo ſeruing one an other, euer holding together yͤ vnitie of fayth and ſiſterly loue. And ſo long was it and rightly might ſo be called yͤ Catholicke church, hauyng in it true vnitie, vniuerſalitie, & free cõſẽt. Unitie in doctrine, vniuerſalitie in cõmunicatyng and ioynyng together of voyces, conſent in ſpirite and iudgemẽt. For what ſoeuer was taught at Rome touchyng fayth and ſaluation, it was no other thẽ was taught at Antioch Syria. &c.

Secondly, how in proces of tyme, through occaſion of the Byſhop of Romes tyranny and violent oppreſſion, thys ryng of equalitie beyng broken, all flew in peeces, the Eaſt Church from the Weſt, the Greekes from the Latins, and that which was one before, now was made two: vnitie turned to diuiſion, vniuerſalitie to ſingularitie, and free conſent to diſſenſion.

Thyrdly, here is alſo to be noted, after this pitifull breach of equalitie, how many and what great nations departed from the communiõ of the Church of Rome, and eſpecially about this tyme aboue ſpecified of Pope Gregory 9. an. 1230. ſo that both before and after that tyme many Councels were holden, and many thinges here concluded in the Weſt Church, wherunto the one halfe of Chriſtendome lying in the Eaſt partes, dyd neuer agree: and contrary, many Councels holdẽ with them, which in the Latine Church were not receaued. So that the Church now as ſhe loſt the benefite of vniuerſall conſent, ſo alſo ſhe loſt the name of Catholicke. Wherupon this queſtion is to be aſked, that when the Councell of Laterane vnder Pope Innocent 3. ordeyned the doctrine of tranſubſtantion and auricular confeſſion here in the Weſt Church, without the free conſent of the Eaſt Churches: whether the ſame doctrine is to be counted Catholicke or not?

The Church hath her name of Catholicke, whereby and when.

Whether the doctrine of trãſubſtantiation, made without the free conſent of the Eaſt Churches, be Catholicke or no.

The fourth Note.

Fourthly, in the departyng of theſe Churches from the Byſhop of Rome, here is alſo to be noted, that the ſame Churches of the Greekes, notwithſtãdyng they ſequeſtred them ſelues and fell out with the church of Rome, and that iuſtly: yet they kept theyr vnitie ſtill with their God, and reteyned ſtill yͤ true ὀρθοδοξίαν that is, the true and ſincere doctrine of fayth, ready to debate and try the truth of their Religion by the Scriptures, as they here in their owne wrytynges deſire to haue the truth examined, accordyng as ye haue heard. Wherfore the Church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which beyng offred ſo gently to try and to be tryed by the truth of Gods word, not onely would ſtãd to no tryall, nor abyde conference, but alſo hath excommunicated thẽ as heretickes, which appeare here to be more orthodoxaſticall Chriſtians, then they thẽ ſelues.

The 5. Note.

The Church of Rome proued not to be Catholicke.

Fiftly, theſe thynges thus ſtandyng, then haue we to conclude that the Church of Rome falſely pretendeth it ſelfe to be Catholicke. For if the name of Catholicke muſt needes importe an vniuerſall conſent of the whole, how can that be Catholicke where the conſent of ſo many famous and true Chriſtian Churches hath bene lackyng, and furthermore where the conſent that hath bene amongeſt them ſelues, hath rather bene coacted, then any true or free conſent? Which is eaſie to bee proued. For let theſe fiers and fagottes ceaſe, let Kynges and Princes leaue to preſſe their ſubiectes with the Popes obediẽce, but let the Scripture, and the Byſhops alone euery one in hys owne Dioceſ to gouerne their flocke after yͤ rule of Gods word, and how few be there in this Weſt end of the world (trow you) that would not do the ſame that theſe Grecians, Ethiopians, & Syrians haue done before vs? And thus much by the occaſiõ of this Patriarches letters ſent to Pope Gregory, concernyng the Grecians.

The procedings of Rome ſtand vpon no free cõſent, but are coacted.

Whoſe doynges when I conſider, as I can not but commend their wiſedome and iudge their ſtate happy and bleſſed, in ſhakyng of frõ their neckes the miſerable yoke of the Popes tyranny: ſo on other ſide conſideryng with my ſelfe the wretched thraldome of theſe our Churches here in the Weſt part of the world, vnder the Biſhop of Rome, I can not tell, whether more to maruell or to lament their pitifull ſtate, who were brought into ſuch oppreſſion and ſlauery vnder hym, that neither they could abyde hym, nor yet durſt caſt hym of. So vntolerable were his exactions, ſo terrible was his tyranny, his ſuſpenſions and excommunications, much like to a madde mans dagger, drawen at euery trifle, that no Chriſten pacience could ſuffer it, nor nation abyde it. Agayn, ſo depe did he ſit in their conſciences, falſely beleuyng hym to haue the authoritie of S. Peter, that for conſcience ſake neither Kyng nor Cæſar durſt withſtand hym, much leſſe durſt poore ſubiectes once mute agaynſt hym. And although his takinges and ſpoilynges, namely in this Realme of England were ſuch, that neither the layty nor ſpiritualty could beare them: yet was there no remedy, beare thẽ they muſt, or els the Popes ſentence was vpon them, to curſe them as blacke as pitch.

The miſerable ſtate of yͤ Weſt partes of Chriſtẽdome vnder the Pope.

The Popes excõmunications like to a fooles dagger.

The falſe perſuaſion of the Popes ſupremacie, cauſe of much wretchednes.

In readyng the hiſtoryes of theſe tymes, any good hart would lament and rue, to ſee the miſerable captiuitie of yͤ people, what they ſuffered vnder this thraldome of the Byſhop of Rome, wherof part hath bene ſhewed before, more (God willyng) ſhall folow hereafter, & ſome part here preſently I mynde to expreſſe.

¶ A brief table or declaration of the Popes vnreaſonable gatherynges, exactions, and oppreſſions in the Realme of England.

A brief table of the Popes ſpoilyng and gettyng of Engliſh money in ẏ dayes of kyng Henry 3.

AND firſt to begyn with the elections of the Byſhops, Abbats, Deanes and Priors within this Realme, it can not be told what maſſe of money grew to the Popes coffers therby, eſpecially in this kynges dayes: for ſomuch as in his tyme lightly no election happened either of Archbyſhop, Byſhop, Abbat, or any rowme of dignitie, but when the Couent or Chapter had choſen one to their minde, the kyng who had maried a ſtraunger, and ſought therfore to preferre ſtraũgers, would ſet vp an other. By reaſon wherof, when the other part was fayne to appeale to Rome and there to pleade the caſe, no ſmall riuers of Engliſh money, beſides expenſes and trauayle by the way, went flowyng to the Popes ſea. And though the election went neuer ſo cleare, yet the new elect muſt nedes reſpect the holy father with ſome gentle reward, and further by his othe was bound euery thrée yeares, either in his owne perſon or by an other to viſite Limina Apoſtolorum.

Money commyng to the Pope by the election of Iohn Herford, Abbat of S. Albans.

So in the houſe of S. Albans, when Iohn Herford was elected Abbot, their publike election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the ſame ẏ monkes were fayne to ſend Reynold the Phiſician, and Nicolas a Monke, to Rome with a ſufficient bagge of money, through the mediation wherof the election might ſtand, and the new Abbat ſworne euery thyrd yeare, by hym ſelfe or an other to viſite the dorſels of the Apoſtles.

Eight thouſãd Markes giuen out of the Byſhoprike of Wincheſter to the pope, about the election of Williã Rale. an. 124?.

An other ſuch lyke contention happened betwene the Kyng & Monkes of Wincheſter about the election of W. Rale: whom the Monkes had choſen, but the kyng refuſed, willyng to place a ſtraunger, and therfore ſent to Rome his meſſengers, Theobald a Mõke of Weſtminſter and M. Alexander a Lawyer with no ſmall ſumme of money, to euacuate the election of the the foreſayd W. Rale: Commaundyng moreouer, that the gates of Wincheſter ſhould be ſhut agaynſt hym, and no man ſo hardy there to receaue him in his houſe. Whereupon the ſayd W. beyng excluded, after he had layd his curſe vpon the whole Citie of Wincheſter, made his repayre to Rome, where for viij. thouſand Markes beyng promiſed to the Pope, his Byſhoprike, ſpite of the kynges hart, was confirmed and he receaued. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 164. & .240.

Read before. pag. 355.

After the death of Steuen Langhton Archbyſhop of Canterbury, ye heard before, how the Mõkes had elected Walter a Monke of Canterbury. But the kyng to ſtoppe that election ſent vp his Proctours, M. Alexander Stanes, and M. Henry Sandford Byſhop of Rocheſter to the Pope, to euacuate that election, and to place Richard Chancelour of Lincolne. Which Proctours perceauyng at firſt the Pope and Cardinals, how hard and vnwillyng they were thereunto, and cõſideryng how all thinges might be bought for money, rather then the kyng ſhould fayle of his purpoſe, they promiſed on the kynges behalfe to the Pope for mainteinyng his warres agaynſt Friderike the Emperour, a diſme, or tenth part of all ẏ moueables in the realme of England, and Ireland. At the contẽplation of which money the Pope eftſoones thinkyng to paſſe with the kyng, began to pyke quarels with the foreſayd Gualter, for not aunſweryng rightly to his queſtions about Chriſtes deſcendyng to hell: makyng of Chriſtes body on the altar: the wéepyng of Rachell for her children, ſhe beyng dead before: about the ſentence of excommunication: and certeine cauſes of Matrimonie. His aunſweres whereunto when they were not to the Popes mynd, he was therfore put backe, and the kynges man preferred, which coſt the whole Realme of England and Ireland, the tenth part of their moueable goodes. By reaſon wherof, what money was raiſed to the Popes Gazophylacium, I leaue to the eſtimation of the reader. an. 1229. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 71.

The tenth part of all moueables in England and Ireland giuen to the Pope for ẏ electiõ of Rich. Archbyſhop of Cãterbury. an. 1229.

And yet for all this the ſayd Richard the coſtly Archbyſhop of Canterbury, within leſſe then two yeares after, fallyng out with the kyng about the Caſtle and Lordſhyp of Tunbrydge, went and complayned of him to the Pope. In the trauers wherof it coaſt the kyng a great péece of money beſides, and yet myſte he his purpoſe. In the which iorney the ſayd Archbyſhop in hys returne homeward by the way departed. an. 1231.

Of the lyke diſſenſion ye heard before betwene the kyng and the Couent of Durham, for not chuſing M. Lucas the kynges Chaplaine, whom the kyng offered to be their Byſhop. About the ſute wherof, whẽ much money was beſtowed on both ſides welfauordly, the Pope defeityng them both, admitted neither M. William nor M. Lucas, but ordeined the Byſhop of Sarũ to be their Byſhop. an. 1228. Ex Pariſ.

Betwene the Monkes of Couẽtry and the Canons of Lichfield roſe an other like quarell, which of them ſhould haue the ſuperior voyce in chuſing their Biſhop. In which ſute, after much money beſtowed in ẏ court of Rome, the Pope to requalifie againe ech part with ſome retribution for their money receaued, tooke this order indifferently betwene them, that ech part by courſe ſhould haue the chuſing of their Byſhop. an. 1228. Ex Pariſ. fol. 68.

What a buſines fell likewiſe betwene Edmund Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the Monkes of Rocheſter, about the election of Rich. Wendour, to be their Byſhop? And what was the end? firſt the Archbyſhop was fayne to trauaile him ſelfe to ẏ Pope: and ſo did ẏ Couent alſo ſend their Proctours. Who belyke beyng better moneyd, weyed down the cauſe, ſo that the good Archbyſhop partly in that cauſe agaynſt the Monkes: and partly in an other cauſe againſt the Earle of Arundell, was condẽned of the Pope in a thouſand Markes. Wherof the greateſt part (no doubt) redounded to the Popes coffers. an. 1238. M. Pariſ. fol. 114.

After the returnyng of the ſayd Edmund Archb. of Canterbury agayne frõ Rome, it chaunced, that the Monkes of Canterbury had elected their Priour without his aſſent: for the which he did excommunicate the Monkes, and euacuate their election. Not long after this the Popes exactours went about to extort from the Churchmen the fift part of their goodes to the Popes vſe fightyng then agaynſt the Emperour. This cruell exaction being a great while reſiſted by the Prelates and Clergy, at length the foreſaid Archbiſhop thinkyng therby to get ẏ victory agaynſt the Monkes, was contented to graunt to the ſayd exaction, addyng moreouer of his owne for an ouerplus eight hundreth Markes. Wherupon the reſt of the Clergy was fayne to folow after, and contribute to the Popes exactours. an. 1240. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 132. b.

In the Church of Lincolne (whoſe ſea before the conqueſt was in Dorkeſter, and afterward by Williã Rufus tranſlated from thence to Lincolne) roſe a greuous contention betwene Robert Groſtede then Biſhop, and the Canons of the Cathedrall Church, about their viſitation, whether ẏ Byſhop ſhould viſite thẽ, or the Deane: which matter beyng put to arbiters, could not ſo be compoſed: before the Byſhop and the Chapter after their appeale made to the Pope, went both to Rome, and there after they had well waſted their purſes, they receaued at length their aunſwere, but payd full ſwéetely for it. an. 1239. Pariſ. fol. 119.

At what time the Canons of Chicheſter had elected Robert Paſſelew to their Biſhop at the kyngs requeſt, the Archbiſhop with certeine other Byſhops takyng part againſt the kyngs Chaplayn, repelled him and ſet vp Richard Witch. Vpon this what ſendyng & goyng there was to Rome, and what money beſtowed about the matter, as well of the kynges part, as Byſhops, read the ſtory therof in Mat. Pariſ. fol. 182. 184. 186.

Robert Groſtede Byſhop of Lincolne (of whom

rela

Money cõmyng to ẏ Pope, betwene the Byſhop of Lyncolne & the mõkes within his Dioces.

relation was made before) hauing a great care how to bring the priuileged orders of religious houſes within his precinct, vnder his ſubiection and diſcipline, went to Rome, & there with great labour, and much effuſion of money as the ſtory ſayth, procured of the Pope a mandate, wherby all ſuch religious orders were commaunded to be vnder hys power & obedience. Not long after, the Monkes not abiding that, who could ſone wey downe the Biſhop with money, ſent their factours to the Pope, who, with their golden eloquence ſo perſuaded him and ſtirred affectiõs, in ſuch ſort, that ſone they purchaſed them ſelues freedome from their ordinary Biſhop. Wherof Robert Groſted hauing intelligẽce, made vp to Rome, and there cõplainyng to the Pope, declared, how he was diſapointed and cõfounded in his purpoſe, contrary to promiſes and aſſuraunce made to him before. Unto whom Pope Innocẽt looking with a ſterne countenance, made this aunſwere againe: Brother (said he) what is that to thee? Thou haſt deliuered and diſcharged thine owne ſoule. It hath pleaſed vs to ſhew fauour vnto them. Is thine eye euill, that I am good? And thus was the Biſhop ſent away with a flea in his eare, murmuring with him ſelfe, yet not ſo ſoftely, but that the Pope heard him ſay theſe wordes: O money, money, what canſt not thou do in the Court of Rome? Wherewith the Pope being ſomewhat pinched, gaue this aunſwere againe: O ye Engliſhmen, Engliſhmen, of all men moſt wretched. For all your ſeekyng is how ye may conſume and deuour one an other. &c. an. 1250. Ex Pariſienſ. fol. 230.

How pretty the pope can take ẇ both hãds.

Money may do much at Rome.

The Popes aunſwere to Rob. Groſted.

It happened moreouer the ſame yeare, that the ſaid Robert Groſted excommunicated and depriued one Ranulphus a beneficed perſon in his Dioces, being accuſed of incontinencie. Who after the terme of xl. dayes refuſing to ſubmit him ſelfe, the Biſhop wrote to the Sheriffe of Rutland to apprehend him as contumax. Which Sheriffe becauſe he differred, or refuſed ſo to do (bearing fauour to the partie) & being therfore ſolemnly excommunicate by the Biſhop, vttered his complaint to the kyng. Wherat the king taking great diſpleaſure with the Biſhop for excommunicating his Sheriffe, & would not firſt make his cõplaint to him, ſendeth forthẇ a ſubſtãtial meſſẽger, (Maſter Moneta) ſuch as he was ſure would ſpede, vnto pope Innocent, by the vertue of whoſe wordes the Pope eaſie to bee entreated, ſendeth down a prouiſo to ẏ Abbot of Weſtminſter, charging that no Prelate nor B. in the realme of Englãd ſhould moleſte or enter action againſt any of the kynges Bayliſs or officers, in ſuch matters as to the kynges iuriſdiction apperteined. And thus was this ſtrife ended, not without ſome helpe & heape of Engliſhe money, ſo that no winde of any controuerſie here ſtyrred in England, were it neuer ſo ſmall, but it blew ſome profite for the Popes aduauntage. an. 1250. Ex Pariſ. fol. 231.

Iuſtice peruerted by the Popes authoritie for money.

In like maner no litle treaſure grew to the Popes coffers by the election of Boniface the Queenes Uncle a Frenchman, to be Archbyſhop of Caunterbury. an. 1243. and of Æthelmare the Queenes brother, to be Biſhop of Wincheſter, agaynſt the willes of the Prior and Couent there. an. 1250. beſides many ſuch other eſchetes, which made England poore, and the Pope rich.

Money cõmyng to ẏ Pope by ẏ election of Boniface Archb. of Cant. And of Ethelmare Biſhop of Wint. both ſtraungers and Frẽch men.

I come now ſomething likewiſe to touch briefly of ẏ Popes diſpenſations, prouiſions, exactions, contributions, and extorſſions in England, in this kynges dayes: for to diſcourſe all it is not one booke will hold it.

Symon Montfort Earle of Leceſter had maryed Alinore the kynges ſiſter, and daughter of kyng Iohn, who, by report of ſtories, had taken the mantell & ryng. Wherfore the kyng and his brother Richard Earle of Exeter, beyng greatly offẽded with the Mariage, ſeyng that the Earle Symon made a hãd of money, & poſtyng ouer to Rome, after hee had talked a few wordes in Pope Innocentes eare, the Mariage was good enough: and letters ſent to Otho the Popes Legate here, to giue ſentence ſolemnly with the Earle. Notwithſtanding the Dominike Friers and other of the like religious fraternitie, withſtode that ſentence of the Pope ſtoutly, ſaying, that the Popes holynes was therin deceiued, and ſoules in daunger, that Chriſt was gelous ouer his wife, and that it could not be any wiſe poſſible, that a woman which had vowed her Mariage with Chriſt, could afterward mary with any other. &c. anno. 1238. Ex Pariſ. fol. 114.

Mariage with Alinore the kynges ſiſter a Nunne diſpenſed by the Pope for money.

As there was nothyng ſo hard in the wyde world whereẇ the pope would not diſpenſe for money: ſo by ẏ ſaid diſpenſations much miſchief was wrought abroad. For by reaſon therof the people truſtyng vpon the Popes diſpẽſation, litle regarded what they did, what they promiſed, or what they ſware. As wel appeared by this kyng Henry 3. who beyng a great exactor of the poore commons, as euer was any kyng before him or ſince, and thinkyng therby to wynne the people ſoner to his deuotion, moſt faithfully promiſed them once or twyſe, and therunto bound him ſelfe with a ſolemne othe, both before the Clergy & laytie, to grãt vnto them the old liberties and cuſtomes as well of Magna Charta, as Charta de Foreſta perpetually to be obſerued. Wherupon a Quindecim was graunted to the kyng. But after the payment was ſure, the kyng truſtyng by ẏ Popes diſpenſation for a litle money to be diſcharged of his othe and couenaunt, went from that hee had promiſed and ſworne before.

What inconueniẽce commeth by the Popes diſpenſations.

In like maner the ſayd kyng an other tyme, beyng in neede of money ſigned, him ſelfe with the croſſe, pretendyng and ſwearyng depely in the face of the whole Parlament, that he would him ſelfe perſonally fight in the holy land agaynſt the Saracens. But as ſone as the money was taken, ſmall care was takẽ for performãce of his othe, beyng ſo put in the head by certeine about him, that he neded not paſſe of that periurie, for ſomuch as ẏ pope for an hundreth pound or two would quickely diſcharge him therof. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 273.

Wilfull periurie mainteyned by the Popes diſpenſations.

Out of the ſame corrupt ſpryng of theſe Popiſh diſpẽſations, haue proceded alſo many other foule abſurdities. For where many yõg men were in thoſe dayes which enioyed benefices, & were no Prieſtes: & when by the procuremẽt of Rob. Groſtede Byſhop of Lyncolne, the ſaid young mẽ ſhould be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders, they laying their purſes together, ſent to Rome, and obteined of the Pope a diſpenſation to remaine ſtill as they were, that is, to haue the fruites of benefices to finde thẽ at ſchole or vniuerſitie, and yet them ſelues neither Miniſters to take charge, nor yeldyng any ſeruice for their profites takẽ. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 256. Beſides innumerable heapes of enormities moe, procedyng of the Popes diſpenſations, as diſpenſing one man to haue ſondry Byſhoprikes, to encroch pluralities of benefices, to make childrẽ Parſõs, to legitimate baſtardes, with ſuch other like, the particulars wherof, for breuities ſake I do omit to further oportunitie.

Enormities which ſpryng out of the Popes diſpenſations.

¶ *The intolerable oppreſsion of the Realme of England, by the Popes exactions and contributions and other ſleightes here vſed in the tyme of king Henry 3.*

Although theſe emolumentes thus riſing dayly to the Popes purſe by Symonie and brybery, by elections, and diſpẽſations might ſeame ſufficient to ſatiſfie his gredy appetite, yet ſo vnſatiable was the auarice of that ſea, that he not yet contented herewith, euer and beſides all this, ſent euery yeare almoſt ſome Legate or other into this Realme, to rake for his aduauntage. Inſomuch that duryng all this kynges tyme, the Realme was neuer lightly without ſome of the Popes liegers with

The miſerable impoueriſhyng of the Realme by the Popes prouiſions & contributions.

withall violence exacting and extorting continuall prouiſions contributions, and ſummes of money to be leaued out of Celles, Abbayes, Priores, fruites of benefices, and Biſhoprikes, and alſo lay mens purſes, to the miſerable empoueriſhing both of the Clergie, & temporaltie, as here vnder foloweth.

Cardinal Otho Legate in England.

The receauing of Otho the popes Legate into the Realme.

an. 1237.

Firſt after Pandulphus, was ſent into this Realme Cardinall Otho, procured by the kyng, without the aſſent of his nobles, to ÿ entent to aſſiſte him in certein affaires, he had to do. At receauing of which Legate, great preparaunce was made, many rich and precious giftes in ſcarlet, in plate, in iewels, in money & palfreys were geuen him. Whom the kyng alſo him ſelfe went as far as the Sea ſide to receaue, bowyng downe his head in low courſie to the Cardinals knées. To whom alſo the Biſhop of Wincheſter for his part gaue toward kéepyng of his houſe, fifty fatte oxen, a hundreth ſeme of whete, and viij. great veſſels of pure wyne. This Legate at his firſt comming beginneth firſt to beſtow ſuch benefices as he found vacãt, vpon thẽ whom he brought with him without reſpect, whether they were méete, or vnméete. Ex Pariſ. fol. 103.

After this the Pope hearyng how the nobles and cõmons of the Realme began to ſtomacke the Cardinall for his exceſſiue procurations and exactiõs, ſent for him home: but ÿ king, by reaſon he ſtode in feare of his nobles, and thought to haue a ſtay by ÿ Cardinall agaynſt all occurrentes, entreated him to ſtay while hee wrote to the Pope, to obteine further licence for him to tary: and ſo did, not without ſome Engliſh money, ye may be ſure.

Otho the Legate ſeketh to come into Scotland.

The kyng of Scotes his aunſwere to Cardinall Otho.

The realme of Scotland hetherto neuer troubled with any Popes Legate.

Cardinall Otho ſtopped from goyng into Scotland.

In this meane tyme of vacation, Otho thinkyng to loſe no time, but to gather alſo ſome crõmes in Scotland, made as though he would ſet thinges there in order, which were in the Church of Scotland to be reformed, and ſo commeth to the kyng of Scots, beyng then in Yorke with kyng Henry, to haue leaue to enter. Unto whom the king thus made aunſwere, that hee neuer ſaw, to his remembraunce, any Popes Legate in his land, neither was there any ſuch nede (God be prayſed) for any ſuch to be ſent for. Matters there were well enough, and neded no helpe of his. And as he could neuer learne either in the dayes of his father, or any his predeceſſours, that any ſuch entrance to any Legate was graunted, ſo he for his part, would not now begyn. But yet notwithſtandyng, for ſomuch as I heare (ſayd he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if ye will nedes aduenture in, do it warely, and take hede to your ſelfe, leſt it happen to you otherwiſe, then I would wiſhe: for they be a ſauage and vnruly people, giuen much to murder, and ſheding bloud, whom neither I my ſelfe am ſcarſe able to bridle, ſo that if they fall vpon you, I ſhall not be able to helpe you. And how they alſo inuaded me, and ſought to expell me frõ my kyngdome, ye heard alate. And therfore I warne you now before, take hede by tyme, what ye thinke beſt to do. After the Cardinall heard the kyng ſpeake theſe wordes, he pluckt in his hornes, and durſt procéede no farther but kept him ſtill by the ſide of kyng Henry. Notwithſtandyng ſhortly after, the ſame Legate commyng to the borders of Scotland, there called ÿ Biſhops to him, & ſo whẽ he had well filled his bagges came bake again. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 106. 123. b.

It was not long after, but licence came from Pope Gregory to his Legate Otho, for his lõger abode here in the Realme (as welcome as water in the ſhyp) with new authoritie alſo to procéede in the Popes affaires. Who firſt ſhewyng to the Byſhops and the Clergy his letters of longer taryng, required of them, for ſomuch as no man (ſayd he) warreth of his owne charges, to be ſupported with new procurations, which was to haue of euery able Church foure Markes, and where one Church was not able to reach therto, that other Churches ſhould ioyne with all, to make ÿ ſayd money. Notwithſtandyng the Byſhops a great while ſtode in denyall therof. Pariſ. fol. 123. 128. 132.

Beſides he aſſembled together all blacke Monkes of S. Benedicts order, giuyng to them ſtrait orders, which ſhortly after for money, he releaſed to them agayne. Pariſ. fol. 116. 119.

Anno 1238.

Moreouer by the ſayd Otho, & other the Popes executours with ſpeciall Bulles directed downe for the ſame, collation of benefices beyng taken out of the handes of the patrons, were giuen to light and vyle runagates, comming from Italy and other places, ſuch as pleaſed the Pope and his Legate to beſtow thẽ vpon, to the great preiudice of the auncient libertie and right of the true patrons therof. Wherupõ the Earles & Barons & nobles of the realme addreſſed letters vnto pope Gregory, by Sir Rob. Twyng Knight, for redreſſe of ſuch wrong & iniuries, who otherwiſe ſhould be forced (they ſaid) to inuocate ÿ ſuccor of their king, who both was able & no leſſe was willing according to his duety (they truſted) to reforme ſuch enormities, & to defẽd the liberties of his realme. The tenour of whoſe writyng is to be read in Mat. Pariſ. fol. 128. a.

Not long after the ſame, in the yeare of our Lord. 1240. came a new precept from pope Gregory, by Petrus Rubeus the popes nuncio, to the foreſaid Otho, that all beneficed men in the Clergie as well in England as Fraunce, ſhould pay to the Pope the fift part of their reuenewes. Wherupon when the Clergy mẽ made their complaint to the kyng, ſéekyng to be releued by him, the kyng aunſwered them agayne that hée neither would, ne durſt ſtand agaynſt the Pope in any caſe, and ſo without all hope of ſuccour ſent thẽ away. Pariſ. fol. 132. Then were the Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Abbats, and Prelates of the Church commaunded to aſſemble together at Redyng, there to heare the popes pleaſure & cõmaundement, concernyng the paymẽt of this fift part. Where in the end thus the matter concluded, that the Prelates deſired a further tyme to be giuẽ thẽ to aduiſe vpon the matter, & for that ſeaſon, the aſſembly brake vp. Pariſ. fol. 122. b. Notwithſtanding at laſt after many excuſes and exceptions layd in by the Clergy, firſt that becauſe the money was gathered to fight agaynſt the Emperour, they ought not to contribute their money cõtrary to the liberties of ÿ Church. Itẽ, for ſomuch as they had payd a tenth not lõg before vnto the pope, vpon cõdition that no mo ſuch paymẽts ſhould be required of them, much leſſe now the fift part ſhould be exacted of them, becauſe an action twiſe done maketh a cuſtome. Item, ſeing they had oftymes to repayre to the Court of Rome, if they ſhould giue this money agaynſt the Emperour, it would turne to their daunger commyng through his land. Item, ſeyng their kyng had many enemies, agaynſt whom they muſt nedes releue the king with their money, they could not ſo do, if the Realme were thus impoueriſhed. &c. All which excuſes with diuers other moe notwithſtãdyng, they were compelled at lẽgth to conforme them ſelues to the Popes good pleaſure, through the example giuen of Edmund Archb. of Canterbury who to obteine his purpoſe agaynſt the Monkes of Cant. (with whom he was then in ſtrife) begã firſt to yeld to the Legates viij. hundreth Markes for his part. Whereby the reſt alſo was fayne to folow after. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 132. 136.

Anno 1240.

Furthermore the ſame yeare the Pope agréed ſo with the people of Rome, that if they would ayde him againſt Friderike the Emperour, loke what benefices were to be giuen in England, the ſame ſhould be at their arbitrement to be beſtowed vpon their children. Wherupon commaundement was ſent to the foreſayd Edmund Archbiſhop, to the Biſhops of Lyncolne and Sarum, that all collations of benefices within ÿ realme ſhould be ſuſpended, till prouiſion were made for the hundreth children of the Citezens of Rome, to be firſt ſerued. Vpon the which ſo miſerable requeſt the ſayd Edmund Archb. of Cant. for ſorow to ſee the Church ſo oppreſſed, departed the Realme, and ſo continued in Fraunce, & dyed at Pontinia. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 134. b. Which Edmũd was afterward made a Sainte, and canoniſed by Pope Innocent 4.

Edmunde rchb. of Cant. for orow to e the hurch ſo ppreſſed, eparted ÿ Realme, nd dyed in xile.

This done, then went Petrus Rubeus the Popes nuncio, and Ruffinus into Scotland, from whẽce they brought with them iij. thouſand poũdes, to the Popes vſe, about allhallowtyde the ſame yeare. At which tyme moreouer cõmeth an other harpar from the pope to England named Mumelius, bringyng wͭ him xxiiij. Romanes here into the realme to be beneficed. Thus, what by the kyng on the one ſide, and what by Cardinall Otho, Petrus Rubeus, Ruffinus, and Mumelius on the other ſide, poore Englãd was in a wretched caſe. Mat. Pariſ. fol. 137.

hree ouſand oundes ought ut of cotland by ÿ Pope.

wenty hree Romaynes ought to Englande to be beneficed.

An other prety practiſe of the Pope to prole for money, was this. The aforeſayd Petrus Rubeus commyng into religious houſes and into their chapters, cauſed them to contribute to the Popes holynes, by the example of this Byſhop and that Abbat, pretendyng that he & he of their owne voluntary deuotion had giuen ſo much and ſo much, and ſo ſeduced them. Pariſ. fol. 134. Alſo ÿ pope craftely ſuborned certein Friers, authoriſed with full indulgence, that who ſo euer had vowed to fight in the holy land, and was diſpoſed to be releaſed of his vow, neded not to repayre to Rome for abſolution, but paying ſo much money as his charges would come to goyng thether, he reſortyng to the ſayd Friers might be aſſoyled at home.

he Pope ompelleth eope reli- ians to ow their age to ÿ oly land, nd thẽ for oney re- eauing thẽ f their ow.

umelius n other eſſenger f ÿ Pope.

The next yeare folowyng, which was. 1241. came a commaundement Apoſtolicall to the houſe of Peterborow, that they at the Popes contemplacion muſt nedes graunt him ſome benefice lying in their donatiõ, the fruites wherof at leaſt beyng worth an hũdreth poũdes, and if it were more it ſhould be the better welcome, ſo that they ſhould be as the fermers, and he to receaue the profites. In fine, the Conuent, excuſed them ſelues by the Abbat, beyng then not at home. The Abbat when he came home excuſed hym ſelfe by ÿ kyng, beyng the patrone and foũder of ÿ houſe. The kyng agreeued with the vnreaſonable rauenyng of theſe Romaniſtes, vtterly forbad any ſuch example to be giuen. Ex Pariſ. fol. 143. But what happened? The Abbat beyng therfore accuſed to the Pope by one of ÿ Legates, and cõmyng vp about iiij. yeares after in the tyme of Pope Innocent, to the Coũcell of Lyons, was ſo rated and reuiled, and ſo ſhamefully thruſt out of the Popes Court, that for ſorrow he fell ſicke vppon the ſame, and there dyed. Pariſ. fol. 184.

n Ex- raible ex- action of ÿ Pope vpon the houſe f Peters- orough.

bbat of eterbo- rough hruſt out f ÿ Popes court, for enying the Popes inſman a benefice.

In the tyme of which Councell of Lyons, Pope Innocent 4. (for ſomuch as the inſtrument or obligatiõ, wherby the Realme of England ſtode tributary to the Pope, was thought to be burned in the Popes chamber a litle before) brought forth either the ſame, or an other charte like vnto it, whereunto he ſtraitly charged & cõmaunded euery Engliſh Biſh. beyng there preſent at the Councell ſeuerally to ſet to his hand and ſeale. Which vnreaſonable petition of ÿ pope, albeit it went ſore agaynſt the hartes of the Byſhops, yet (ſee in what miſerable ſubiectiõ the Pope had all the Biſhops vnder him) none of them durſt otherwiſe do but accompliſh the Popes requeſt therin, both to their owne ſhame, and preiudice to the publicke freedome of the Realme. Amongeſt which Byſhops, the longeſt that held out, & laſt that put to his ſeale was the Byſhop of London. Which Acte when the kyng and the nobilitie vnderſtode, they were mightely, & worthely therewith all offended. Ex Pariſ. fol. 192. an. 1245.

The obli- gation of king Iohns tri- bute to the Pope, bur- ned in the Popes wardrope at Lyons.

The Bi- ſhops of England put their handes and ſeales to ÿ Popes bill for the tri- bute of England.

After what tyme Cardinall Otho was ſent for by pope Gregory in all haſt to come to ÿ general Coũcel, ij. other in his rowme here remained, whoſe names were Petrus Rubeus, & Petrus de Supino. Of whõ ÿ one bearyng him ſelfe for ÿ popes kinſmã, brought out his Billes and Bulles vnder the Popes authoritie, to ſuch an Abbat or to ſuch a Prior, or to ſuch and ſuch a Byſhop, and ſo extorted from them a great quantitie of gold and ſiluer. The other, to wyt, Petrus de Supino ſayled to Ireland, from whence he brought with hym a thouſand and v. hundreth Markes to the Popes vſe. an. 1241. Ex Pariſ. fol. 147. b. All which money notwithſtandyng gotten by both the collectours, in the cariage vp to Rome, about the death of Pope Gregory, happened into the handes of Fridericke ÿ Emperour, who cauſed it agayne to bee reſtored as nere as he could, to them of whom it was taken. Pariſ. fol. 151.

Petrus Rubeus, Petrus de Supino the Popes collectors in England.

A thouſand & fiue hundreth markes brought out of Ireland for the Pope.

After theſe, came in then M. Martinus a new Marchaũt from the new Pope Innocent. an. 1244. armed with full power to ſuſpend all Prelates in England from giuing benefices, till the Popes kynſmen were firſt preferred. Neither would he take the fruites of any benefice, vnleſſe it were aboue the value of xxx. Markes. At his firſt cõmyng he required of Prelates, and eſpecially of religious houſes to furniſh hym with horſes and palfreys, ſuch as were conuenient for the Popes eſpeciall Chaplein and Legate to ſit vpon. Alſo with plate, rayment, prouiſion for his kitchyn and celler &c. and ſuch as denyed or excuſed, he ſuſpended, as the Abbat of Malmeſbury, and ÿ Prior of Merton. All prebẽdes that were voyde he ſought out & reſerued thẽ for ÿ Popes behouſe. Amõg which was the goldẽ prebend of Sarum, belonging to the Chauncellour of the Quære, whom he preferred to ÿ Biſhoprike of Bathe, and ſo ſeiſed vppon the prebend beyng voyde, agaynſt the willes both of the Byſhop and the Chapter. Pariſ. fol. 167. 180. Moreouer he brought with him blankes in paper and parchment ſigned in the Popes chamber with his ſtampe and ſeale, wherin he might afterward write to whom, and what he would. Pariſ. fol. 178. b. requiryng furthermore of the kyng in the Popes behalfe, to helpe his holynes with a contribution to be taxed amongeſt his Clergy, at leſt of x. thouſãd markes ibid. And to the end that the Pope might wynne the kyng ſooner to his deuotion, he writteth in the kynges behouſe to the nobles and commõs of the Realme, that they ſhould not fayle, vpon payne of his great curſe, to conferre, ſuch ſubſidie of money to the ſubuention of the kyng, as then had demaunded of them, but they ſtode ſtiffe in not grauntyng to hym.

M. Martinus an other meſſenger for the Popes money, an. 1244.

Extortion of ÿ Popes Legate vpon ÿ clergie of England.

Contributiõ of ten thouſand markes for the Pope.

The Pope craftely holdeth with the kyng, that the king might hold with him.

While the inſatiable auarice of the Pope thus made no end in gatheryng riches & goodes together in England, the nobles and Barons, with the communitie as well of the Clergie as the laitie, weyng the miſerable ſtate of the Realme, & namely of the Church, which now neither had libertie left them to chuſe their owne miniſters, nor yet could enioy their own liuinges, layd their heades together, and ſo exhibited an earneſt intimation to the kyng, beſechyng him to conſider the pitifull affliction and oppreſſion of hys ſubiectes vnder the Popes extorſion, liuyng in more thraldome, then euer did the people of Iſraell, vnder Pharao. Wherupõ the kyng begynnyng at laſt to looke vp, and to conſider the iniuries and wronges receaued in hys Realme through the auarice of ÿ Court of Rome, directeth to Pope Innocent 4. this letter in tenour as foloweth.

Intimatiõ geuẽ to the kinge touching the vnportable oppreſſion of the realme by the Pope.

¶ The Kinges letter to Pope Innocent 4.

SAnctiſ. in Chriſto pat. ac Domino Innocentio Dei gratia ſummo pontifici, Henr. eadem gratia Rex Angliæ. &c. Salutem & pedum oſcula beatorum. &c. To the moſt holy father in Chriſt and Lord, Innocent by the grace of God chief Byſhop, Henry by the ſame grace, kyng of Englãd &c. gretyng and kyſſyngs of his bleſſed feete. The more deuout and obſequious the ſonne ſheweth him ſelfe in obeyng the fathers will, the more fauour and ſupportation doth he deſerue to find at his fathers handes again. This therfore I write, for that where as both we and our Realme haue euer and in all thinges bene hetherto at the deuotion and commaundement of your fatherhode, and that although in ſome certein affayres of ours

K. Henries letter to the Pope.

The king offereth to kiſſe ÿ Popes feete.

Damage receaued by the Pope in the Realme of England.

and of our kyngdome, we haue found your fatherly fauour and grace ſometymes propice vnto vs: yet in ſome thynges agayne, as in prouiſions giuen and graunted to your Clerkes of forreine nations, both we and our kyngdome haue felt no ſmale detriment. By reaſon of which prouiſions the Church of Englãd is ſo ſore charged and burdened, that not onely the patrons of Churches, to whõ the donations therof do apperteine, are defrauded of their right: but alſo many other good workes of charitie therby do decay, for that ſuch benefices which haue bene mercyfully beſtowed vpon religious houſes to their ſuſtentation, are now waſted and conſumed by your prouiſions.

The Popes prouiſions.

The kinges to much ſubiectiõ to the Pope.

Wherfore for ſomuch as your ſea Apoſtolicke ought to be fauorable to all that be petitioners to the ſame, ſo that no perſon be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therfore to be ſuters to your fatherhode, moſt humbly beſechyng your holynes that you will deſiſte and ſurceaſe for a tyme, from ſuch prouiſions to be exacted. In the meane ſeaſon, it may pleaſe your fatherhode, we beſech you, that our lawes and liberties, (which you may rightly repute none other but your owne) you will receaue to your tuition, to be conſerued whole and ſound, nor to ſuffer the ſame by any ſiniſter ſuggeſtion in your Court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your holynes be any whyt moued therfore with vs, if in ſome ſuch caſes as theſe be, we do or ſhall hereafter reſiſte the tenour of your cõmaundemẽtes forasmuch as the complayntes of ſuch which dayly call vpõ vs, do neceſſarely enforce vs therunto, which ought by the charge of this our office and kingly dignitie committed to vs of almightie God, to foreſee that no mã in that which is their right be iniured, but truly to miniſter iuſtice to euery one in that which duely to him apperteyneth. This letter was ſent, the 28. yeare of the kynges reigne. Ex Pariſ. fol. 172.

Ex Math. pariſ. fol. 172.

A man would thinke that this ſo gentle and obediẽt letter of the kyng to the Pope, would haue wrought ſome good effect in his Apoſtolicall breſt, to withdraw his prouiſions, and to haue tendered the kynges ſo reaſonable and honeſt requeſte: but how litle all this preuailed to ſtop his inſatiable greedynes, and vntolerable extortions and oppreſſions, the ſequele well declareth. For beſides that ſhortly after yͤ pope ſent M. Martin w̃ blãkes being bulled for cõtribution of 10000. markes in all haſt to be payed, alſo euen immediatly vpõ the receauyng of this letter, it foloweth in myne author, that the ſayd Pope Innocent the fourth, after all this great ſubmiſſion of the kyng and ſo manifold benefites and paymentes yearely out of this Realme receaued, was not aſhamed to take of Dauid Prince of Northwales fiue hundreth Markes by yeare, to ſet him agaynſt the kyng of England, and exempted him from his fealtie and obedience due to his owne liege Lord, and king to whom both he and all other Welchmen had ſworne their ſubiection, before as by the ſeales & obligatiõs, as well of that Dauid him ſelfe, as other Welch Lordes in this behalfe, doth appeare. In Mat. Pariſ. fol. 172.

The Pope ſetteth yͤ Welch men againſt the king of England.

Neither did M. Martinus in the meane while ſlepe his buſines in makyng vp his market for the Popes money of. 10000. markes, but ſtill was callyng vpon the Prelates and Clergy. Who firſt excuſing them ſelues by the abſence of the kyng and the Archbyſhop of Cant. afterward beyng called agayne by new letters, made their aunſwere by the Deane of Paules their Prolocutour: Firſt that the pouertie of yͤ Realme would not ſuffer them to conſent therto.

Contribution required of the clergy of England for yͤ Pope with their excuſes and reaſons againſt the ſame.

Item, where as they had giuen before a contributiõ to Cardinall Otho, for paying of yͤ Popes debtes, and knew the ſayd money to be employed to no ſuch end as it was demaunded for, more cauſe they had now to miſdoubt, leſt this contribution, in his handes which was a much more inferiour meſſẽger then the Cardinall, would come to the ſame or a worſe effect.

Item, if they ſhould now agrée to a new contribution, they feared leſt it would grow to a cuſtome, ſeyng that one action twiſe done maketh a cuſtome.

Item, for ſomuch as a generall Councell is ſhortly looked for, where euery Prelate of the Realme muſt nedes beſtow both his trauaile and expenſes, and alſo his preſent to the Pope, if the Prelates now ſhould be bound to this taxe, they were not able to abyde the burden.

Item, ſeyng it is alledged, that the motherchurch of Rome is ſo farre in debt, reaſon and right it were that the mother ſo oppreſſed ſhould be ſuſteined of all her deuout children méetyng together in the generall Cõcell, where as by helpes of many more releefe might come, then by one nation alone.

Item, laſt of all they alledged, that for feare of the Emperour and his threatnynges, they durſt not conſent to the ſayd contribution.

While theſe thynges were thus in talke betwene the Popes Prieſt, and the Clergy of England, commeth in Iohn Marſchall, and other meſſengers from the kyng, commaundyng in the kynges name, that no Byſhop that held his Baronage of the kyng, ſhould infeſt his lefeode to the Court of Rome, which they ought onely vnto him, &c. Ex Pariſ. fol. 139. an. 1244.

The portes of England layde to ſtoppe the Popes letters, yet would ſerue.

Not long after this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1245. the whole nobilitie of the Realme, by generall conſent, and not without the kynges knowlege alſo, cauſed all the Portes by the Sea ſide to be layd, that no meſſenger with the Popes letters and Bulles from Rome, ſhould be permitted to enter the Realme. Whereupon ſome were takẽ at Douer, and their ſtayed. Notwithſtandyng when complaynt therof was brought to the kyng by M. Martinus the Popes leiger, there was no remedy but the kyng muſt néedes cauſe theſe letters to be reſtored agayne, and executed to the full effect, fol. 185.

Sixty thouſand markes yearely going out of England to yͤ Pope and his Italian clerkes.

Then the kyng vpon aduiſe, cauſed a vewe to be taken through euery ſhyre in England, to what ſumme the whole reuenewes of the Romanes and Italians amounted, which by the Popes authoritie went out of England: the whole ſumme wherof was found yearely to be lx. thouſand markes: to the which ſumme, the reuenewes of the whole crowne of England dyd not extend. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 185. a.

Maſter Martine the Popes Legate ſent out of England in the deuils name.

The nobles then vnderſtandyng the miſerable oppreſſion of the Realme, beyng aſſembled together at Dunſtable for certeine cauſes, ſent one Fulco in the name of the whole nobilitie, vnto M. Martinus the Popes marchaunt, with this meſſage, that he indelaydly vpon the ſame warnyng ſhould prepare hym ſelfe to be gone out of the Realme, vnder payne of beyng cut all to péeces. At which meſſage the Legate beyng ſore agaſt, went ſtreight to the kyng, to know whether his conſent was to the ſame or not. Of whom when he found litle better comfort, he tooke his leaue of the kyng, who bad him adew in the deuils name (ſaith M. Pariſ.) and thus was the realme ryde of M. Martinus. Ex Mat. Pariſ. 185. b. an. 1245.

The Pope in diſpleaſure with the king of England.

* Iſti Reguli.

The proud wordes of the Pope againſt the French king and king of England.

As ſoone as Pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the complaynt of his Legate, he was in a mighty rage: And furthermore remembryng how the French kyng, and the kyng of Arragon not long before had denyed him entrance into their land, and beyng therfore in diſpleaſure with them likewiſe, began in great angre to knit his browes, and ſayd: it is beſt that we fall in agréement with our Prince, wherby we may the ſooner bryng vnder * theſe litle pety kynges and ſo the great Dragon being pacified, theſe litle Serpentes we ſhall handle at our owne pleaſure as we lyſt.

After this immediatly then folowed the generall Councell of Lyons, to the which Councell the ſtates and Lordes of the realme, with the conſent of the comminaltie, ſent two Billes: One conteinyng a generall ſupplication to the Pope, and the Councell: the other with the Articles of ſuch greuances which they deſired to be redreſſed, wherof relation is made ſufficiently before pag. 347. The other Bill of the Supplication becauſe it is not before expreſſed, I thought here to exhibite for two cauſes: Firſt, that men now in theſe dayes may ſee the pityfull blindnes of thoſe ignoraunt dayes, wherin our Engliſh nation here did ſo blyndly humble them ſelues, and ſtand to the Popes courteſie, whō rather they ſhould haue ſhaken of as the Grecians did. Secōdly, that the pride of the Pope might the better appeare in his colours, who ſo diſdaynfully reiected the humble ſute of our Lordes and nobles, whom they had much more cauſe to diſdayne rather, and to tread hym vnder their feete. The tenour of the Supplication was this.

Anno. 1245.

¶The copy of the Supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England to Pope Innocent 4. in the generall Councell at Lyons. an. 1245.

¶To the reuerend father in Chriſt Pope Innocent, chief Biſhop, the nobles with the whole cōminaltie of the Realme of England ſendeth commendation, with kyſſing of hys bleſſed feete.

The ſupplication of ÿ Lordes and cōmons of England exhibited to the Pope in his generall coūcell at Lyons.

OUr mother the Church of Rome we loue with all our hartes as our duety is, and couet the encreaſe of her honour with ſo much affection as we may, as to whom we ought alwayes to flye for refuge, wherby the grief lying vpon the child may finde comfort at the mothers hand. Which ſuccour the mother is boūd ſomuch the rather to imparte to her child, how much more kynd and beneficiall ſhe findeth hym in releuyng her neceſſities. Neither is it to ÿ ſayd our mother vnknowē, how beneficiall & bountifull a geuer the Realme of England hath bene now of lōg tyme for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as hath appeared by our yearely ſubſidie, which we terme by the name of Peterpence. Now the ſayd Church not contēted with this yearely ſubſidie, hath ſent diuers Legates for other contributions, at diuers and ſondry tymes, to be taxed and leuyd out of the ſame Realme, all which contributions and taxes notwithſtandyng haue bene louingly and liberally graunted.

Peterpence, read before pag.

Furthermore neither is it vnknowen to your fatherhode, how our forefathers like good Catholickes, both louyng and fearyng their maker, for the ſoules health as well of them ſelues, as of their progenitours, and ſucceſſours alſo, haue foūded monaſteries, & largely haue endewed ÿ ſame, both with their own proper lādes, & alſo patronages of benefices, wherby ſuch religious perſons profeſſing ÿ firſt & chiefeſt perfection of holy Religion in their monaſteries, might with more peace and tranquilitie occupy them ſelues deuoutly in Gods ſeruice, as to the order apperteined: And alſo their Clerkes preſented by them into their benefices, might ſuſteine the other exteriour labours for them in that ſecond order of religiō, and ſo diſcharge & defende them frō all haſardes: ſo that the ſayd religious monaſteries can not be defrauded of thoſe their patronages and collations of benefices, but the ſame muſt touch vs alſo very nere, and worke intolerable grief vnto our hartes.

The ſuperſtitious founding of monaſteries in England.

And now ſee, we beſech you, which is lamētable to behold, what iniuries we ſuſteine by you & your predeceſſours, who not cōſideryng thoſe our ſubſidies and contributions aboue remembred, do ſuffer alſo your Italians and foreners (which be out of number) to be poſſeſſed in our Churches and benefices in England, perteinyng to the right and patronage of thoſe monaſteries aforeſayd: which foreners neither defending the ſaid religious perſons, whom they ought to ſee to, nor yet hauing the language, wherby they may inſtruct the flocke, take no regarde of their ſoules, but vtterly leaue them, of wild wolues to be deuoured. Wherfore it may truly be ſayd of them, that they are no good ſhepheardes, where as neither they know their ſheepe, nor yet the ſheepe do know the voyce of their ſhepheardes, neither do they kepe any hoſpitalitie, but onely take vp the rentes of thoſe benefices, caryng thē out of ÿ realme, wherwith our brethren, our nephewes, and our kinſfolkes might bee ſuſteined, who could and would dwell vppon them, and employ ſuch exerciſes of mercy and hoſpitalitie as their duetie required. Wherof a great number now for mere neceſſitie are lay men, and fayne to flye out of the Realme.

Iniuries receaued in Englād by the Pope.

Benefices in Englād wickedly geuē away to Italians.

And now to the entent more fully to certifie you of the truth, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the ſayd Italians & ſtraungers receauyng of yearely rentes out of England, not ſo litle as lx. thouſand Markes by yeare, beſides other auayles and exiſes deducted, do reape in the ſayd our kingdome of England more emolumentes of mere rentes, then doth the kyng him ſelfe beyng both the tutour of the Church, and gouernour of the land.

Sixty thouſand markes yearely geuen to ſtrangers out of the church of Englād.

Italians receaued more in this land of mere rentes then dyd the kings crowne.

Furthermore, where as at the firſt creation of your Papacie, we were in good hope and yet are, that by meanes of your fatherly goodnes we ſhould enioy our franchiſes, and free collation of our benefices, and donatiues, to be reduced againe to the former ſtate: now commeth an other greuaunce, which we can not but ſignifie vnto you, preſſyng vs aboue meaſure, which we receaue by M. Martinus: who entryng late into our land without leaue of our kyng, with greater power thē euer was ſene before in any Legate, although he beareth not the ſtate & ſhew of a Legate, yet he hath doubled the doyngs of a Legate, chargyng vs euery day with new mādates, and ſo moſt extremely hath oppreſſed vs: Firſt in beſtowyng and giuyng away our benefices if any were aboue xxx. markes, as ſoone as they were vacant, to Italian perſons.

Deteſtable dealings of the Popes Legate in England.

Secōdly, after the deceaſe of the ſayd Italians, vnknowyng to ÿ patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therin, wherby the true patrons haue bene ſpoyled and defrauded of their right.

Thirdly, the ſaid M. Martinus yet alſo ceaſeth not to aſſigne and conferre ſuch benefices ſtil to the like perſons: And ſome he reſerueth to the donation of the Apoſtolike ſea: And extorteth moreouer from religious houſes immoderate penſions, excommunicatyng and interdicting, who ſoeuer dare gaynſtand him.

Wherfore, for aſmuch as the ſayd M. Martin hath ſo far extended his iuriſdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole Realme, and no leſſe derogation to our kynges priuilege, to whom it hath bene fully graunted by the ſea Apoſtolike, that no Legate ſhould haue to do in his lād, but ſuch as he by ſpeciall letters did ſend for: we with moſt humble deuotion beſech you, that as a good father will alwayes be ready to ſupporte his child, ſo your fatherhode will reach forth your hand of compaſſion to releaue vs your humble children from theſe greuous oppreſſions.

Complaint of M. Martine ÿ popes Legate.

And although our Lord and Kyng, beyng a Catholicke Prince, and wholy giuen to his deuotions and ſeruice of Chriſt Ieſu our Lord, ſo that he reſpecteth not the health of his owne body, will feare and reuerence the ſea Apoſtolicke, & as a deuout ſonne of the Church of Rome, deſireth nothyng more then to aduaunce the eſtate and honour of the ſame: yet we which trauaile in his affaires bearyng the heate and burden of the day, and whoſe duety together with hym, is to tender the preſeruation of the publicke wealth, neither can paciently ſuffer ſuch oppreſſions ſo deteſtable to God & man, and greuaunces intolerable, neither, by Gods grace, will ſuffer them, through the meanes of your godly remedy, which we well hope and truſt of you ſpedely to obteine. And thus may it pleaſe your fatherhode, we beſech you to accept this our Supplication, who in ſo doyng ſhall worthely deſerue of all the Lordes and Nobles, with the whole cominaltie of the Realme of England, condigne and ſpeciall thankes accordyngly. an. 1245. Ex Mat. Par. fol. 188.

K. Henry the 3. vſed euery day to heare thre maſſes by note.

The ſtout wordes of the Lordes to the Pope.

This Supplication being ſent by the handes of Syr R. Bygot Knight and W. de Powyke Squyer, Henry de la Mare, with other Knightes and Gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope Innocent firſt keepyng ſilence, differred to make aunſwere therunto, makyng haſt to procede in his deteſtable excommunication & curſe agaynſt the good Emperour Fridericke. The which curſe beyng done, & the Engliſh Ambaſſadors waityng ſtill for their aūſwere, the pope then told them flat, they ſhould not haue theyr requeſt fulfilled. Whereat the Engliſh men departyng in great anger away, ſware with terrible othes, that they would neuer more ſuffer any tribute, or fruites of any benefices, namely wherof the noble mē were patrons, to be payd to that inſatiable and gredy Court of Rome worthy to be deteſted in all worldes. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 193.

The ſupplication of ÿ Engliſh nation takes no place with the Pope.

The Engliſhe ambaſſadours agreeued with the Pope.

The Pope hearyng theſe wordes, albeit makyng then no aunſwere, thought to watch his tyme, and did. Firſt incontinent vpon the ſame, duryng ÿ ſayd Coūcell, he cauſed euery Byſhop of England to put his hand and ſeale to the obligation made by kyng Iohn for the popes tribute, as is aboue ſpecified: Threatning moreouer & ſaying, that if he had once brought downe

The Pope in an anger with England.

The byſhops of England ſet their ſeales to ÿ Popes tribute.

the Emperour Fridericke, he would bridle the inſolēt pride of England welenough.

an.1246

After this Councell ended, in the begynnyng of the next yeare folowyng, an. 1246. Pope Innocent came to Cluniacke, where was then appointed a ſecret méetyng or colloquie betwene the Pope and Lewes the French kyng (who was then preparyng his viage to Ieruſalem): in which colloquie the Pope ſought by all meanes to perſuade the French kyng, in reuengement of his iniurie, to warre contra Regulum (as hée termed him) that is agaynſt the weake and féeble kyng of England, either to driue him out vtterly from his kyngdome, or els ſo damnifie him, wherby he ſhould be conſtrayned, whether he would or no, to ſtoupe to the Popes will and obedience: Wherin he alſo would aſſiſte hym with all the authoritie he could do. Neuertheles the French kyng to this would not agrée, firſt for the conſanguinitie that was betwene thē (for there ij. Quéenes were ſiſters.) Alſo for the truce that they had takē. Thirdly, for feare of ŷ Emperour, leſt he ſhould take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the ſpillyng of much Chriſten bloud. And laſtly because he was preparyng his viage to the holy land, where his commyng was already looked for. And thus the French kyng denying the Popes bloudy requeſt, refuſed not onely to enter warre agaynſt the kyng and Realme of England, but alſo ſhortly after concluded with hym lōger truce. an.1246. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 196. b.

The Pope ſtirreth *Lewes* the french king to warre agaynſt the king of England.

Lewes the French king refuſeth to warre agaynſt England.

Straight vpō the necke of this, folowed then the exaction of Boniface Archb. of Cant. that he had bought of the pope: which was to haue the firſt yeares fruites of all benefices and ſpirituall liuynges in England for the ſpace of vij. yeares together, vntill ŷ ſumme ſhould come of x. thouſand markes. Whereat the kyng firſt was greatly agréeued. But in concluſion he was fayne at laſt to agrée with the Archbiſhop and ſo the money was gathered. Pariſ. fol. 197.

The firſt yeares fruites for vij. yeares gathered of all benefices for the Archb. of Cant.

Ouer and beſides all other exactions, wherwith the Pope miſerably oppreſſed the Church of Englād, this alſo is not to be ſilenced, how the Pope ſendyng down his letters from the ſea Apoſtolicke, charged and commaunded the Prelates to finde him, ſome x. ſome v. and ſome xv. able men well furniſhed with horſe & harnes, for one whole yeare, to fight in the popes warres. And leſt the kyng ſhould haue knowledge therof, it was enioyned thē, vnder payne of excommunicatiō, that they ſhould reueale it to none, but to kepe it ſecret onely to them ſelues. Pariſ. fol. 200.

The Prelates of England charged to find horſe & harnes for the Popes warres.

A ſubtile practiſe of ŷ Pope.

The Pope yet notwithſtandyng partly beyng labored by ſuters, partly of his owne minde thinkyng good ſomewhat to giue to the kyng and people of England, as fathers are wont to giue ſome thyng to their babes to play with all to kéepe them ſtill, ſent downe this releaſement to the king, that hereafter when ſoeuer any of ŷ Popes nephewes, or of his Cardinals were to be beneficed in any Church of England, either he, or the Cardinals ſhould firſt make the kyng priuy therof, and inſtantly craue his good will in obteinyng the procuration, or els the ſame to ſtand in no effect. &c. Pariſ. fol. 202. howbeit all this ſemed to be done but of a policie, to get the kynges fauour, wherby he might be ſuffered more fréely to paſſe with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

The Popes bayte layd for more money.

For when the foreſayd Pope Innocent had knolwledge the ſame tyme of certeine rich Clerkes leauyng great ſubſtaunce of money, which died inteſtate, as of one Rob. Hailes Archdeacon of Lyncolne, which dyed leauing thouſāds of Markes & much plate behind him, all which becauſe no wil was made, came to temporall mēs hāds: alſo of M. Almarike Archdeacō of Bedford, beyng found worth a great ſubſtaūce, when he dyed: & likewiſe of an other M. Iohn Hotoſp Archdeacon of Northāpton, who dyed ſodenly inteſtate, leauyng behind him v. thouſand markes, & xx. ſtandyng péeces of plate, with other infinite iewels beſides: ſent forth vpō the ſame a ſtatute, to be proclaymed in England, that what ſoeuer Eccleſiaſticall perſon henceforth ſhould deceaſe in England inteſtate, that is, without makyng his will, all his goodes ſhould redoūd to the Popes vſe. Pariſ. fol. 203.

A new law of the Pope, to ſeaſon vpon all the goods of the clergie men that die inteſtate.

A note of certayne eccleſiaſticall perſons dying in England worth great ſubſtāce.

Furthermore the Pope yet not ſatiſfied withall this, addreſſeth new letters to the Byſhop of Wincheſter and to W. Byſhop of Norwich, for gatheryng vp amongeſt the Clergy, and religious houſes in England vj. thouſand markes to the behouſe of the holy mother the Church, without any excuſe or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tallage beyng greatly grudged of the Clergy, when it came to the kynges eare, he eftſones directeth contrary letters to all the Prelates and euery one of them, commaundyng them, vppon forfetyng their temporalties to ŷ kyng, that no ſuch ſubſidie of money ſhould be gathered or tranſported out of the Realme. But the Pope agayn hearyng therof, in great anger writeth to the Prelates of Englād, that this collection of money, vpon payne of excommunication and ſuſpenſion ſhould be prouided, and brought to the new Temple in Londō, by the feaſt of the Aſſumption next enſuyng.

Sixthou ſand ma kes to be gathered of the clergy of Engl for the Pope.

The king beginneth to gainſt the Pope, but durſt not hold out.

And furthermore, for aſmuch as he perceaued the king to go about to gaynſtand his procedynges, taking therat great diſdayne, he was about ŷ ſame tyme to interdict the whole land. To whom then one of his Cardinals, called Ioannes Anglicus, an Engliſhmā borne, ſpeaking for the Realme of Englād, deſired his fatherhode, for Gods cauſe, to mitigate his modie ire, & with the bridle of temperaunce to aſſuage the paſſion of his minde: which (ſayd he) to tell you plaine, is here ſtyrred vp to much wout cauſe. Your fatherhode (quoth he) may conſider, that theſe dayes be euill. Firſt the holy land lyeth in great perils to be loſt. All the Greeke Church is departed from vs. Fridericke the Emperour is agaynſt vs, the mighteſt Prince this day in all Chriſtendome. Both you and we, which are the péeres of the Church are baniſhed from the Papall ſea, thruſt out of Rome, yea excluded out of all Italy. Hungary with all the coaſtes borderyng about it, looketh for nothyng but vtter ſubuerſion by the Tartarians. Germanie is waſted and afflicted with inward warres and tumultes. Spayne is fierce and cruell agaynſt vs, euen to the cuttyng out of the Byſhops tounges. Fraunce by vs is ſo impoueriſhed, that it is brought to beggary, which alſo conſpireth agaynſt vs. Miſerable England beyng ſo often plagued by our manifold iniuries, euen much like to Balaames Aſſe, beaten and bounſt with ſpurres and ſtaues, begynneth at length to ſpeake and complayne of her vntolerable griefes and burdens, beyng ſo weryed and damnified, that ſhe may ſeme paſt all recouery: And we after the maner of Iſmaell hatyng all men, prouoke all men to hate vs. &c. Ex Pariſ. fol. 207.

The Pope in a chafe.

The wordes of *Ioannes Anglicus* Cardinal to ŷ Pope.

The miſerable troubles of Chriſtendome.

Of Spayne he meaneth because the king of Aragon a litle before had cut of the tounge of a certein Biſh. that did reprehend him. *Pariſ. fol.* 206.

England well compared to *Balaams* Aſſe.

For all theſe wordes of Ioan. Anglicus his Cardinall, the Popes cholerike paſſion could not yet be appeaſed, but forthwt he ſendeth cōmaundemēt with full authoritie to the Biſhop of Worceſter, that in caſe the kyng would not ſpedely ſurceaſe his rebellion agaynſt his Apoſtolicall procedynges, he ſhould interdict his land. So that in concluſion, the king for all his ſtout enterpriſe was fayne to relent at laſt, and the Pope had his money. an. 1246. Ex Pariſ. fol. 204.

Power geuen to the Biſh. of Worceſter to interdict the lande.

The king fayne to relent to the Pope.

Ye heard before of the Greke Churches vnder the Empire of Conſtātinople, how they ſequeſtred them ſelues from the company of the Romiſh Church. Inſomuch that Germanus the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and the Archbiſhop of Antioch did excommunicate the Byſhop of Rome. And after the ſayd Germanus an other Archbyſhop of Conſtantinople at the Coūcell of Lyons proteſted, that where as before were xx. Suffragans belonging to that prouince, now there were not iij. that held with the Church of Rome. And this breach, albeit it chiefly braſte out in the tyme of

Of the diuiſion betwene the Greke church & latine belong

The Grecians vſed to waſhe their altars, if any latin maſſe had bene ſayd vpon them.

Ex Actis concilij Lateranenſ. Cap. 4.

Pope Gregory 9. an. 1230. to open warre and bloudſhed, yet the ſame had begon and ſo continued long before, in ſuch ſort as in the tyme of the Pope Innocent the third, if any Latin Prieſt had ſayd Maſſe in theyr Churches, they would waſhe the aultar afterward: as appeareth by the Actes of Laterane Councell cap. 4. Wherfore Pope Innocent now (as his other predeceſſours had done before) bearyng an old grudge agaynſt thoſe Churches of the Grekes, and neither willyng by conferẽce to try with thẽ, nor able by learnyng to match with them, thought by force of armes to ſubdue them, ſent the Prouincial of the gray Friers, with other aſſociates of the ſame order into England, with his precept authenticall, cõteinyng in it theſe Articles.

Goodes gotten by vſury attached for the Pope.

Excommunication abuſed.

1. FIrſt, that yͤ ſayd prouinciall, or his Friers ſhould inquire vpon all vſurers beyng alyue, and of all ſuch euill gotten goodes gayned per vſurariam prauitatẽ, ſhould make atachement for the vſe and preparation of this warre agaynſt the Greekes, excommunicatyng all them by diſtrict cenſures of the Church, that repugned agaynſt it.

Falſe Abſolution of ſinnes.

2. That all they, which tooke the badge of the Croſſe, for the recouery of the ſaid Empire of the Grekes, or with goodes and catell would helpe ſufficiẽtly vnto the ſame, ſhould be abſolued of all their ſinnes.

Vſuraria prauitas.

Goods left in dead mens wils for reſtitution conuerted to the Pope.

3. Item, that all the goodes left in the Teſtamentes of them that were departed, beyng gotten by vſurie, ſhould be taken vp to the ſubſidie of the Empire aforeſayd, and who ſoeuer repugned againſt the ſame ſhould be excommunicated.

4. Item, that ſuch goodes as in the Teſtamẽtes of the dead, left or which ſhould be left 3. next yeares to come, for reſtitutiõ of ſuch goodes as the dead had euill gottẽ, they ſhould take vp for the ſubſidie of the Empire aforeſayd, excommunicatyng &c.

Goods vnbequethed in dead mẽs wills, or not yet beſtowed by executors cõuerted to war againſt the Grecians.

5. Itẽ, ſuch goods as were left to be diſtributed in godly vſes, after the arbitrement of executours, by the wils of yͤ dead, or were not in their willes deputed to any certeine places or perſõs named, nor yet were beſtowed by yͤ ſayd executours to the foreſaid vſes, they ſhould collect to the vſe and ſubſidie aforeſayd, and giue certificat to the ſea Apoſtolicke of the quãtitie therof, excommunicatyng all repugners and rebellers agaynſt the ſame.

Goodes ill gotten if the perſõs be not foũd to whom they ought to be reſtored conuerted to the Pope.

6. Itẽ, that they ſhould diligently enquire of ſuch mens goods euill gotten or euill come by, as were alyue, & thẽ they ſhould attache for the ſubſidie aforeſaid, in caſe the parties which ought to be ſatiſfied for thoſe goodes euill gotten, could not be found, giuyng certificat therof, and excommunicatyng. &c.

Abſolution for money.

7. Item, that the ſayd prouinciall, or his Friers ſhould haue power to abſolue thoſe that were excõmunicated, which wittingly had done any fraude touching the collection aforeſayd, ſo that the ſayd perſons did make dew ſatiſfaction to the deputies aforeſayd. Ex Mat. Par, fol. 205.

What man hauing eyes is ſo blynd, which ſéeth not theſe execrable dealynges of the Pope to be ſuch, as would cauſe any nation in the world to do as the wiſe Grecians did, and perpetually to abrenoũce the Pope, and well to conſider the vſurped authoritie of that ſea not to be of God. But ſuch was the rude dulnes then of miſerable England, for lacke of learnyng, and godly knowledge, that they féelyng what burdens were layd vpon them, yet would play ſtill the Aſſe of Balaam, or els the horſe of Æſope, which receauing the bridle once in his mouth could afterward neither abyde his owne miſery, nor yet recouer libertie. And ſo it fared with England, vnder the Popes thraldome: as partly by theſe ſtories aboue hath bene declared, partly by other in like caſe folowyng is to be ſene.

An intollerable exaction of the Pope, to haue of euery reſident the third parte, and of not reſidents, the one halfe of his goods.

For ſo it foloweth in the hiſtorie of the ſayd Mat. Pariſ. how the Pope takyng more courage by his former abuſed boldnes, and perceauing, what a tame Aſſe he had to ryde vpon, ceaſed not thus, but directed a new precept the ſame yeare. 1246. to the Prelates of England, commaundyng by the authoritie Apoſtolicke, that all beneficed men in the Realme of England, which were reſident vpon their benefices, ſhould yeld to the Pope the third part of their goodes, and they, which were not reſident, ſhould giue the one halfe of theyr goodes, and that for the ſpace of thrée yeares together, with terrible comminations to all them that did reſiſt: & euer with this clauſe withall, Non obſtante, which was lyke a key that opened all lockes. Which ſumme caſt together was found to amounte to 60. thouſand poundes: which ſumme of money could ſcarſe be foũd in all England to pay for kyng Richardes raũſom. Pariſ. fol. 207. The execution of this precept was cõmitted to the B. of London: who conferryng about the matter with his brethren in the Church of Paules, as they were buſely conſultyng together, and bewaylyng the importable burden of this contributiõ, which was impoſſible for them to ſuſteine, ſodẽly commeth in certeine meſſengers from the king, Syr Iohn Lexintune Knight, and M. Laurence Martin the kynges Chapleine, ſtraitly in the kynges name forbiddyng them in any caſe to conſent to this contribution, which ſhould be greatly to the preiudice and deſolation of the whole Realme. Pariſ. fol. 207.

Non obſtãte.

Three ſcore thouſãd poũds exacted of the Clergy to bee payd to the Pope.

The kyng agaynſt yͤ popes contribution.

This beyng done about the firſt day of December, in the yeare aboue ſayd, ſhortly after in the begynnyng of the next yeare. 1247. about February the kyng called a Parlament, where by common aduiſe it was agréed, that certeine Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent to Rome, to make manifeſt to the Court of Rome the exceedyng greuaunces of the Realme, deliueryng moreouer theſe letters to the Pope in the name both of the tẽporaltie, & alſo of the Clergy, as here foloweth.

A Parlament.

¶ An other letter ſent to Pope Innocent 4. in the names of the whole Clergie and comminaltie of England. an. 1247.

A letter ſent to the Pope in the name of all the eſtates and commonaltie of the realme.

SAnctiſ. Patri in Chriſto ac Do. Innocent. Dei prouidentia ſummo pontifici vniuerſitas cleri & populi per prouinciã Cant. conſtituti deuota pedum oſcula beatorum. Cum Anglicana Eccleſia &c. To the moſt holy father in Chriſt, and Lord Innocent, by Gods prouidence chief Byſhop: The whole cõmunitie both of yͤ Clergy and laity within the prouince of Canterbury, ſendeth deuout kyſſyngs of his bleſſed feete. Lyke as the Church of Englãd ſince it firſt receaued the Catholicke fayth, hath alwayes ſhewed her ſelfe faithfull and deuoute in adheryngs to God and to our holy mother the Church of Rome, ſtudiyng with all kind of ſeruice to pleaſe and ſerue the ſame, and thinketh neuer otherwiſe to do, but rather to continue and increaſe as ſhe hath begon: euẽ ſo now the ſame Church moſt humbly proſtrate before the feete of your holynes, intierely beſecheth your clemencie to accept her petition, in ſparyng this impoſition of money, which ſo manifold wayes for the ſubuention of other nations, by the commaundement of your holynes is layd vpon vs: cõſideryng that not onely it is importable, but alſo impoſſible which is enioyned vs. For although our countrey ſometymes yeldeth forth frute for yͤ neceſſary ſuſtẽtation of yͤ inhabitãtes, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor ſiluer, neither were able to bryng forth of long tyme, ſomuch as now a dayes is required. Which alſo beyng burdened and ouercharged of late dayes with an other ſuch like impoſition, but not ſo great as this, is not able any whit to anſwere to that which is exacted.

More fooles you in giuyng to the Church ſo much.

The Pope thinketh belike England to ſwyme with gold and ſiluer.

Furthermore beſides this commaundement of your holynes, their is required of yͤ Clergie a ſubſidie for our temporall king, whoſe neceſſities neither poſſibly we cã, nor honeſtly ought to forſake, wherby he may both withſtand the inuaſion of the enemy, and mainteine the right of his patrimonie, and alſo recouer agayne that hath ben loſt. In conſideration wherof we haue directed the bearers hereof to the preſence of your holynes with our hũble Supplicatiõ, to explane to you the daungers and inconueniẽces which are like to enſue vpon the premiſſes, which by no meanes we are able to ſuſteine: although notwithſtandyng we know our ſelues by all bondes of charitie to be obliged to your deuotion & obedience. And becauſe our generall communitie hath no ſeale proper, we haue ſigned therfore theſe preſentes with the publike ſeale of the Citie of London. &c. Ex Pariſ. fol. 209.

The like letters were ſent alſo vnto the Cardinals to the ſame effect. The Pope vnderſtandyng theſe thinges, and perceauyng that there was no ſtriuyng agaynſt ſuch a generall conſent, and yet loth to forgoe his ſwéet harueſt, which he was wont to reape in England, craftely deuiſed to ſend this aunſwere agayne to the kyng, much like to the ſame which he ſent before, which was: that although the Pope in tyme paſt vpon his owne will and pleaſure to the inportable greuaunce of the Realme of Englād, hath euery where and without reſpect, through the whole land made his prouiſiōs, in geuing their benefices vnto his Italians: yet now the Lord be prayſed, that tempeſt (ſayd he) is ouerblowen: ſo that hereafter if the Pope ſhal graūt his prouiſion for any of his nephewes, or of his Cardinals, they ſhall come firſt and make their inſtant ſute vnto the kyng, without all inforcement, ſo that it ſhall ſtand wholy in the kynges free arbitrement to do herein what he thinketh good &c. Pariſ. fol. 209. b.

The Popes aunſwere agayne to the king of England.

The Pope falſe in his promiſe.

Note the ſubtile practiſe of the Pope to gette money.

This aunſwere of the Pope albeit it was but a ſubtile ſhift for the tyme: yet neither did he long ſtand to that he had thus promiſed vnto the kyng. For ſhortly after and within few dayes vpon the ſame, and in the tyme alſo of the ſayd Parlament holden at Wincheſter, the Pope ſent ij. Engliſh Friers into the Realme, whoſe names were Iohn and Alexander, with full authoritie after the largeſt ſort for new contributions. Who firſt pretendyng lowly ſubmiſſion to the kyng, while they had leaue graunted to range about the realme, afterward commyng to the Byſhops and rich Abbats, ſhewed them ſelues forth in their full authoritie, in ſuch ſort, as they became rather tyraunts then extortioners.

Amongeſt other commyng to Robert Byſhop of Lincolne, who of all other bare a ſpeciall mynd to the order of Obſeruauntes, theſe two Friers as proud as Lucifers, bryngyng forth the terrible Mandate, with the popes Bulles, required, and eke commaunded vnder the Popes mighty curſe, to haue the gatheryng in his Dioces of vj. thouſand Markes. Likewiſe of the Abbat of S. Albans they required iiij. hūdred Markes, vnder great penaltie, and that in ſhort tyme to be payd.

The Biſhop of Lincolns aunſ. to the fryers the Popes meſſengers.

The Byſhop although well lykyng before that order of thoſe Friers, yet ſeing the impudent behauiour, & more impudent requeſt of thoſe Marchauntes, thus aunſwered to them agayne: that this exaction (ſauyng, ſayd he, the Popes authoritie) was neuer heard of before, & neither was honeſt, nor yet poſſible to be performed: and moreouer was ſuch as did not onely cōcerne him, but ẏ whole publicke ſtate of the Clergie, and of ẏ whole Realme in generall, and therfore it ſhould be abſurdly and raſhly done of him to giue them aūſwere herein, before the kyng and reſt of the Counſell, with other, to whom the matter generally did apperteine, were made priuy thereunto &c. and ſo for that tyme he ſhoke them of. Pariſ. fol. 210.

The Abbat of S. Albones maketh great ſute to the Pope for the 400. markes that he ſhould pay.

This *Ioannes Anglicus* was the more fierce vpon the Abbat becauſe he comming to the houſe had not ſuch reuerence ſhewed to him, as he thought mete for the Popes Legate.

Furthermore, as touchyng the Abbat of S. Albans, whē he alſo alleged the ſame cauſes, he pretēded moreouer that he would appeale, and ſo did, to the Pope and his Cardinals. Wherupon immediatly was ſent down from Pope Innocent, an other Legate called Ioānes Anglicus, an Engliſh Frier and Cardinall, who bryngyng downe a new ſpeciall precept to the foreſayd Abbat, cited him either to appeare at London the morow after S. Giles day, or to diſburſe to the vſe of the pope the foreſayd iiij. hundreth Markes. By reaſon wherof the Abbat was driuen to ſend his Proctours agayne with a new Supplication vnto the Pope at Lyons: who in the ende through great inſtaunce of monyed frendes, agreed with the Abbat for ij. hūdreth Markes, beſides his other charges borne, and ſo was that matter compounded, litle to the Abbates profite. Pariſienſ. fol. 213.

To recite all damages and greuaunces receaued by the Byſhop of Rome in this Realme of England, neither is any hiſtorie ſufficiētly able to comprehend, nor if it were, vnneth is there any that would beleue it. Notwithſtandyng to thoſe aboue declared, this one I thought to commit likewiſe to memory, to the entent, that they which lyue in this age now, may behold and wōder in thē ſelues to ſee in what miſerable ſeruitude ſlauery, paſſing al meaſure, not onely the ſubiectes, but kynges alſo of this Realme were brought vnto, vnder the intolerable yoke of the Popes tyranny, which in thoſe dayes neither durſt any man caſt of, nor yet was able to abyde it. As by this example enſuyng, and with infinite other like to the ſame, may appeare.

Example how this Realme of England was oppreſſed miſerably by the Pope.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1248. after that Pope Innocent the 4. had taken ſuch order in the Realme, that all Prelates of the Church were ſuſpended from collation of any benefice, before the Popes kynſfolkes and Clerkes of Italy had bene firſt prouided for: it happened vpon the ſame, that ẏ Abbat of Abingdon had a cōmaundement from the Pope, to beſtow ſome benefice of his Church in all haſt, to a certeine Prieſt of Rome, which the Abbat as an obedient child to his father the Pope, was preſt and ready to accompliſh accordyngly. But the Romane Prieſt not contented with ſuch as fell next hand, would tary his tyme, to haue ſuch as were principall and for his owne appetite, hauyng a ſpeciall eye to the benefice of the Church of S. Helene in Abingdon, which was then eſteemed worth an hundreth Markes by yeare, beſides other bayles and commodities belongyng to the ſame: the collation wherof the Prieſt required by the authoritie Apoſtolicall to be graunted to him.

As this paſt on, it chaunced at laſt, the incūbent to dye, and the benefice to be emptie. Which eftſoones beyng knowen, the ſame day commeth a commaundement, with great charge, from the kyng to the Abbat, to giue the benefice to one Æthelmare the kinges brother by the motherſide, who at the ſame tyme was poſſeſſed with ſo many benefices, as the number and value therof was vnknowen. The Abbat here beyng in great perplexitie, and not knowyng what to do, whether to gratifie his kyng, or to obey the Pope, toke counſell with his frendes. Who well aduiſing the matter, gaue hym counſell rather to preferre the brother of his Prince and patrone, ſo that the kyng would vndertake to ſtand in his defence agaynſt ẏ pope, rather then ẏ Romiſh Prieſt whō alwayes hee ſhould haue lying there as a ſpye and watcher of him, and lyke a thorne euer in his eye: and ſo the kyng aſſuryng the Abbat of his vndoubted protection, and indemnitie agaynſt all harmes, the benefice was conferred forthwith to the kynges brother.

The Romane Prieſt not a litle aggreued thereat, ſpedeth him ſelfe in all haſt to the Byſhop of Rome, certifiyng him what was done, & partly alſo (as the maner is of mē) making it worſe then it was. Vpō whoſe complaint the Pope eftſoones in great anger cited vp the Abbat perſonally to appeare before him, to aunſwere to ẏ crime of diſobedience. The Abbat truſtyng vpon the kyngs promiſe and protection, which neither could helpe him in that caſe, neither durſt oppoſe him ſelfe agaynſt the Pope, beyng both aged & ſeekely, was driuen to trauaile vp to the Court of Rome, in great heauines and bitternes of mynd. Where in concluſion after much vexation and bitter rebukes, beſides great expenſes, he was fayne to ſatiſfie ẏ pope after his own will, compoundyng to giue him yearely 50. Markes in part of makyng amēdes for his treſpaſſe of diſobediēce. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 222.

The Abbat of Abyngdon cited to appeare before the Pope.

The Abbat of Abyngdon condemned in 50. markes for denying of an Engliſh benefice to an Italian the Popes Nephew.

A deteſtable example of the pope vſed agaynſt the priory of Binham.

To this alſo may be added an other like fact of the Pope as outragious as this, agaynſt the houſe of Binham. For whē the benefice of Weſtle in the Dioces of Eley was voyde by the death of the incumbent who was an Italian and one of the Popes chamber, the donation of which benefice belonged to ẏ Priory of Binham, an other Italiā which was a baſtard and vnlearned, borne in the Citie of Ianua, called Herrigetto de Malachana de volta, brought down the popes letters to M. Berardo de Nympha the Popes agent here in England, with ſtrait charge and full authoritie, commaundyng him to ſee the ſayd benefice to be conferred in any caſe to Herrigetto. Yea and though the bene-

fices

ſhe had bene giuen already, yet notwithſtãding the poſſeſſor therof ſhould be diſplaced, and the ſayd Herrigetto preferred: Yea alſo, non obſtãte that the ſayd pope him ſelfe had before giuen his graunt to the kyng and realme of England, that one Italian ſhould not ſuccede an other in any benefice there, yet for all that the ſayd Herrigetto, vpon payne of excommunicatiõ, to be placed therin. Ex Pariſ. fol. 240.

And thus much hetherto of theſe matters, through the occaſion of the Eaſt Churches and the Grecians, to the entent all men that read theſe ſtories, and ſee the doynges of this weſtern Byſhop, may conſider what iuſt cauſe theſe Grecians had to ſeclude thẽ ſelues frõ his ſubiectiõ, & alſo cõmunion. For what Chriſtian cõmunion is to be ioyned with him, which ſo contrary to Chriſt and his Goſpell, ſeeketh for worldly dominion, ſo cruelly perſecuteth his brethren, ſo giuẽ to auarice, ſo greedy in gettyng, ſo iniurious in oppreſſing, ſo inſatiable in his exactions, ſo malitious in reuengyng, ſtyrryng vp warres, depriuyng kynges, depoſing Emperours, playing Rex in the Church of Chriſt, ſo erroneous in doctrine, ſo abominably abuſing excommunication, ſo falſe of promiſe, ſo corrupt in life, ſo voyde of Gods feare, and briefly ſo far from all the partes of a true Euangelicall Biſhop. For what ſemeth he to care for the ſoules of men, which ſetteth in benefices, boyes and outlandiſh Italiãs, and further one Italian to ſuccede an other, which neither know the language of the flocke, nor once abyde to ſee their faces. And who can blame the Grecians then for diſſeueryng them ſelues from ſuch an oppreſſor and a gyant againſt Chriſt.

The Grecians excuſed and purged in parting frõ the church of Rome.

The miſeries that haue riſen in Englãd through ſubiection vnder the church of Rome.

Whoſe wiſe exãple if this realme had then folowed, as they might, certes our predeceſſours had ben ryd of an infinite number of troubles, iniuries, oppreſſions, warres, commotions, great trauails, and charges, beſides the ſauyng of innumerable thouſãdes of pounds, which the ſayd Byſhop full falſely hath raked and trãſported out of this Realme of ours. But not to excede the boundes of my hiſtory, becauſe my purpoſe is not to ſtand vpon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will paſſe this ouer, leauyng the iudgement therof to the further examination of the reader. For els if I liſted to proſecute this argument ſo farre as matter would lead me, and truth peraduẽture would require me to ſay, I durſt not onely ſay, but could well proue, the Pope & Court of Rome to be the onely fountaine and principall cauſe, I ſay not of much miſery here in Englãd, but of all the publicke calamities & notorious miſchiefes which haue happened theſe many yeares through all theſe Weſt partes of Chriſtẽdome, and eſpecially of all the lamẽtable ruine of the Church, which not onely we, but the Grecians alſo this day do ſuffer by the Turkes and Saracens. As who ſoeuer well conſidereth by readyng of hiſtories the courſe of tymes, & beweth withall the doynges and actes paſſed by the ſayd Byſhops of Rome, together with the blind leadyng of his doctrine, ſhall ſee good cauſe not onely to thinke, but alſo to witnes the ſame. Onely one narration touchyng this Argument, and yet not tranſgreſſing the office of my hiſtory, I mind (the Lord willyng) to ſet before ÿ readers eye, which happened euen about this preſent tyme of this kyng Henryes reigne, in the yeare of our Lord. 1244.

England plagued by the Pope when it reſiſted not.

The Pope and court of Rome the principall cauſe of all the publique calamities through Chriſtendome.

In ÿ which yeare it chaunced, that Lewes ÿ French kyng ſonne to Queene Blanch, fell very ſore ſicke, lying in a ſwound or in a traunſe for certeine dayes, in ſuch ſort as few thought he would haue lyued, & ſome ſaid he was gone already. Amongeſt other there was w him his mother, who ſorowyng bitterly for her ſonne, & giuen ſomewhat (as commonly the maner of women is) to ſuperſtitiõ, went & brought forth a peece of the holy croſſe, with the crowne and the ſpeare, which peece of the holy croſſe Baldewynus Emperour of Cõſtãtinople (whom the Grecians had depoſed a litle before for holdyng with the Byſhop of Rome) had ſold to the French kyng for a great ſumme of money, and bleſſed him with the ſame, alſo layd the crowne, and the ſpeare to his body, makyng a vow withall in the perſon of her ſonne, that if the Lord would viſite him with health, and releaſe him of that infirmitie, he ſhould be croyſed or marked with the croſſe, to viſite his ſepulcher, and there ſolemnly to render thankes in the land which he had ſanctified with his bloud. Thus as ſhe, with the Biſhop of Paris, and other there preſẽt were praying, behold the kyng which was ſuppoſed of ſome to be dead, began with a ſigh to plucke to his armes and legges, & ſo ſtretching him ſelfe, begã to ſpeake, geuing thankes to God, who frõ an high had viſited him and called him from the daunger of death. Which as the kynges mother, with others there toke to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the holy croſſe: ſo the kyng amendyng more and more, as ſone as he was well recouered, receaued ſolemnly the badge of ÿ croſſe, vowyng for a freewill ſacrifice vnto God, that he, if the coũſaile of his Realme would ſuffer him, would in his own perſon viſite the holy land: forgettyng belike the rule of true Chriſtianitie, where Chriſt teacheth vs otherwiſe in the Goſpel, ſaying: *That neither in this mõut, nor in Samaria, nor at Ieruſalem the Lord will be worſhipped, but ſeeketh true worſhyppers, which ſhall worſhyp hym in truth and veritie. &c. an.* 1244. Pariſ. fol. 182.

The ſickenes of *Lewes* the French king.

The ſuperſtition of the kings mother, putting her affiance in touching of the outward croſſe, crown, and ſpeare.

The king recouereth hys ſicknes.

The people of Fraunce blinded with a falſe miracle.

The vayne vowe of *Lewes* the French king, to viſite the holy land.

After this was great preparaunce and much a do in Fraunce toward the ſettyng forth to the holy land. For after the kyng firſt began to be croyſed, the moſt part of the nobles of Frãuce, with diuers Archbyſhops and Byſhops, with Earles, and Barons, and Gentlemen to a mighty number, receaued alſo the croſſe vpõ their ſleeues. Amongeſt whom was the Earle Atrebacenſis the kings brother, the Duke of Burgundie, ÿ Duke of Brabant, the Counteſſe of Flaunders with her two ſonnes, ÿ Earle of Britanie with his ſonne, ÿ Earle of Barrenſis, Earle of Sweſſon, Earle of S. Paule, Earle of Druiſ. Earle Retel. with many noble perſons mo. Neither lacked here what ſoeuer the Pope could do, to ſet forward this holy buſines, in ſendyng his Legates and Friers into Fraunce, to ſtyrre the people to folow the kyng, and to contribute to his iorney. Wherupon was graunted to the kyng, to gather of the vniuerſall Church of Fraunce by the Popes authoritie, the tenth part of all their goodes for three yeares ſpace together, vpon this cõdition, that the kyng likewiſe would graũt to the Pope the twenty part, for ſo many yeares after, to be gathered of the ſayd Church of Fraunce. Which was agreed. an. 1246. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 204 b.

The French king croſſed to go to the holy land.

Great preparation in Fraunce toward the viage into the holy land.

Contribution in Fraunce to the kinges viage.

The pope maketh prouiſion for his contribution alſo in Fraunce.

Shortly after this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1247. folowed a Parlamẽt in Fraunce, where the kyng with his nobles beyng preſent, there was declared, how the kyng of Tartarians or Turkes hearyng of the viage of the French kyng, writeth a letter to hym requiryng that he will become his ſubiect. In the which Parlamẽt time was prefixed for takyng their iorney, which ſhould be after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the next yeare inſuing. Alſo they that were croyſed, were ſworne to perſiſte in their purpoſe and ſentence of the Popes great curſe denounced to all them that went from the ſame. Pariſ. fol. 211. Furthermore for the better ſpeede in his iorney the kyng through all his Realme cauſed it to bee proclaimed, that if any Marchaunt or other had ben iniured at any tyme by the kynges exactours, either by oppreſſion, or borowyng of money, let him bryng forth his Bill ſhewyng how or wherin, and he ſhould be recompẽſed. At which time William Longſpatha a worthy warrier, with the Biſhop of Worceſter and certein other great men in the realme of Englãd, moued with the example of the French men, prepared them ſelues likewiſe to the ſame iourney.

an. 1247

The time of the kinges viage appointed.

The French king ready to recompenſe all iniuries done to his ſubiects.

William Longſpath with other noble Engliſhmen, prepared to the ſame viage.

The next yeare after this inſuyng, which was. 1248 the French kyng yet ſtill remainyng in his purpoſed iourney, Lady Blanche his mother, alſo the Byſhop of Paris his brother, with the Lordes of his coũſaile, and

Perſwaſions geuen to the French king to turne his viage.

other nobles, and his ſpeciall frendes aduertiſed hym with great perſuaſiõs, to alter his minde touching that ſo aduenturous and ſo daungerous a iorney, for that his vow (ſaid they) was vnaduiſedly made, and in time of his ſicknes, when his minde was not perfectly ſtabliſhed: and what ieoperdies might happẽ at home it was vncerteine, the king of England beyng on the one ſide, the Emperour on the other ſide, and the Pictauians in the midſt ſo fugitiue, and vnſtable: and as concernyng his vow, the pope ſhould frendly diſpenſe with hym cõſideryng the neceſſitie of his Realme, and weakenes of his body. Beſides all this his mother vpon her bleſſing required him, his brethren of all loues deſired hym to ſtay at home, and not in his perſon to aduenture, other might be ſent in his rowme, with no leſſe furniture to achiue that enterpriſe, and to diſcharge him of his vow, eſpecially ſeyng at the makyng therof his ſenſes were feeble, his body weake, and reaſon through ſicknes, and very death almoſt, decayd.

The kinges aunſwere to his Lordes laying downe and taking vp his croſſe agayne.

To whom the kyng agayne: for ſomuch (ſayd he) as you ſay, that for feeblenes of my ſenſes I tooke this vow vpon me, lo therfore as you here will me, I lay down the croſſe that I tooke, and puttyng his hãd to his ſhoulder, tare of the badge of the croſſe, ſaying to yͤ Byſhop, here Syr I reſigne to you the croſſe wherwith I was ſigned. At the ſight wherof there was no ſmall reioyſing to all that were there preſent. To whom the kyng then both alteryng his countenaunce and his ſpeach thus ſpake: My frendes (ſayd he) what ſoeuer I was then in my ſicknes, now I thanke God, I am of perfect ſenſe, and reaſon ſound, and now I require my croſſe agayne to be reſtored vnto me: Saying moreouer that no bread ſhould come in his head, before he were recogniſed agayne with yͤ ſame croſſe, as he was before. At the hearing wherof all there preſent were aſtonied, ſuppoſing that God had ſome great matter to worke, and ſo moued no mo queſtions vnto him.

an. 1248

The French king ſetteth forth in his iorney.

Vpon this drew nye yͤ feaſt of Ioh. Baptiſte, which was the tyme ſet for the ſettyng forth. And now beyng in a readynes, yͤ kyng in few dayes after was entryng his iourney. But yet one thyng lacked. For the kyng perceauyng the mortall variance betwene the Pope, and good Fridericke the Emperour, thought beſt firſt before his goyng to haue that matter appeaſed, wherby his way both might be ſafer through the Emperours countreys, and alſo leſſe ieoperdy at home after his departure, and therfore vpon the ſame, tooke firſt his way to Lyons, where yͤ Pope was, partly to take his leaue, but moſt eſpecially to make reconcilement betwen the Emperour and the Pope.

The French king before his goyng deſireth reconcilement betwene the Pope and the Emperour.

Where is to be noted by the way, that as touchyng the good Emperour there was no let nor ſtay. Who rather ſought all meanes how to compaſſe the Popes fauour, and neuer could obteine it. In ſomuch that before he ſhould be excommunicated in the Councell of Lyons, he not onely aũſwered ſufficiently by Thadeus his atturney, diſchargyng him ſelfe agaynſt what ſoeuer crimes or obiections could be brought agaynſt him, but ſo far humbled him ſelfe to the Pope and the Coũcell, that for all detrimentes, damages, loſſes, or wrõgs done of his part, what amendes ſoeuer the Pope could or would require, he would recompenſe it to the vttermoſt. This would not be taken.

The Emperour *Frederik* purgeth himſelfe by Thadeus his atturney to yͤ Pope and his counſell.

The ſubmiſſiõ of the Emperour to the Pope.

Furthermore, if the Pope (he ſayd) could not abyde his taryng in his owne dominions and Impire, he would go fight agaynſt the Saracens and Turkes, neuer to returne into Europe agayne, offeryng there to recouer landes and kyngdomes what ſoeuer did at any tyme belong to Chriſtẽdome, ſo that the Pope onely would be contented that Henry hys ſonne (which was then nephew to kyng Henry here in England) ſhould be Emperour after hym. Neither could this be admitted.

The worthy offer of the noble emperour to the Pope & counſell.

Thẽ he offered for truth of his promiſe to put in the French kyng and the kyng of England to be his ſureties, or els for triall of his cauſe to ſtand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that be graunted.

The Emperour offereth to put in the French king, and king of England to be his ſureties, yet could not be heard.

At leaſt he deſired, that he might come him ſelfe and aũſwere before yͤ Councell. But the proud Pope in no caſe would abyde that, ſaying: that he did not yet finde him ſelfe ſo ready and mete for Martyrdome, to haue hym to come thether to the Councell: for if he dyd, hee would depart him ſelfe. &c. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 187. an. 1245.

The Emperour deſireth to come in & aunſwere for himſelfe in yͤ councell, and could not be ſuffred.

This obſtinate rancour and deuiliſh malice of Pope Innocent, and his predeceſſour agaynſt that valiant Emperour, & agaynſt the Grecians, what diſturbance and miſchief it wrought to the whole Church, what ſtrength it gaue to the Saracens and Tartarians, how it empayred Chriſtiã concord, and weakened all Chriſten landes, not onely the hoſt of the French kyng dyd find ſhortly after, but all Chriſtẽdome euen to this day may & doth feele & rue. Neither can in ſtories be found any greater cauſe which firſt made the Turkes ſo ſtrõg to get ſo much ground ouer Chriſtẽdome as they haue, then the peſtilent workyng of this Pope in depoſing and excommunicatyng this worthy Emperour. For as there was neuer no Emperour of long tyme, which more victoriouſly preuailed in brydlyng & kepyng vnder theſe enemyes of Chriſt, or would haue done more agaynſt thẽ, then the ſayd Fridericke, if he might haue bene ſuffered ſo after the depoſing and excommunicatyng of him, when the French kyng neither would abyde at home, as he was counſelled, neither yet was able, without the helpe of other, to withſtand the force & multitude of the ſayd Saracens and Tartarians beyng now ioyned together, neither yet could the Emperour be ſuffered by the Pope to reſcue the kyng, it followed therof, that the good kyng beyng take priſoner, and all his armye deſtroyed, the Turkes therupon got ſuch a hand, and ſuch a courage agaynſt the Chriſtiãs, that euer ſince they haue braſt in farther vpon vs, and now haue preuayled ſo farre as neither the power of the Pope nor of all Chriſtẽdome is able to driue them out, as hereafter by ſequele of ſtory, is further to bee declared.

The peſtilent rancor of Pope Innocent 4. againſt *Friderike* 2. is yͤ cauſe of all this miſchiefe, that to this day we ſuffer by yͤ Turkes.

The beginning of yͤ Turkes victorius ouer Chriſtendome.

In the meane time, to returne where before we left, when the French kyng commyng thus to the Pope at Lyons, to entreate for the Emperour, could find no fauour, he tooke his leaue and wͭ great heauines departed ſettyng forward on his iourney to Marſilia, & ſo ſayled to yͤ Iſle of Cyprus, where he remained al that winter, ſo that falling into penury and lacke of victuall, he was faine to ſend to yͤ Venitiãs & other Iſlãdes by for helps of prouiſion. The Venitians gently ſent vnto hym ſixe great ſhyppes laden with corne, wyne and other victuals requiſite, beſides the reliſe of other Iſlands mo. But eſpecially Fridericke the Emperour vnderſtanding of their wãt, ſo furniſhed the French campe with all plenty of neceſſaries, that it had aboũdance. Wherupon the French kyng moued with the kyndnes of the Emperour, wrote his ſpeciall letters to the Pope in the Emperours behalfe, but the hard hart of the Pope would not relent. Blanchia the kynges mother in Frãce, hearyng what the Emperour had done to her ſonne, ſent him moſt harty thankes, with preſentes and rewardes manifold. Mat. Pariſ. fol. 226.

Pope Innocent 4. would not be reconciled with the Emperour.

The French army releued by the Emperour *Friderik*.

The French king agayne entreateth yͤ Pope for the Emperour.

In this meane tyme about the begynnyng of October, the French men got Damiata, beyng the principall forte or hold of yͤ Saracens in all Egypt. an. 1249. fol. 228. After the wynnyng of Damiata, the Prince and people of the Saracens beyng aſtonyed at the loſſe therof, offered to the Chriſtians great ground and poſſeſſions more then euer belonged to Chriſtendome before, ſo that they might haue Damiata to them reſtored agayne. But the pride of the Earle of Artoys the kynges brother would in no caſe accept the offers of the Saracens, but required both Damiata and Alexandria the chief Metropolitane Citie of all Egypt to be deliuered vnto them. The Saracens ſeyng the pride

Damiata gotten agayne by the French men.

The offers of the Saracens to the French men.

The offers of the Saracens refuſed.

and

The pride of yͤ Earle of Artoys.

& gredynes of the French men, in no caſe could abide it: which turned after to the great detrimēt of our Chriſtians, as in the ende it proued. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 229.

Death of certayne of the French captaynes in the way.

Firſt, in the Iſle of Cyprus and in the iourney before, dyed the Earle of Palatine, & one of the xij. Peers of Fraunce, alſo the Earle of S. Paulē & Bleſſe, who had vnder him fiftie enſeignes. Which were all after his death ſcattered abroad and diſperſed. Alſo died Ioannes de Denis a valiaunt Captaine with many other noble perſonages both men and women, which by alteryng the ayre and dyet there deceaſed. fol. 229.

Anno. 1250.

Victory of the French men ouer yͤ Saracens.

Frenchmē diſcomfited by the Saracens.

The next yeare enſuyng, which was 1250. about Aſhewedenſday the French men iſſuyng out of their tentes by yͤ Citie of Damiata, flew vpon the Saracens, which beſieged them, and ſo after a great number of the enemies ſlayne, with victory and great ſpoyles, returned to their tentes agayne. Now within the Citie of Damiata, was the Queene, with her Ladies, the Popes Legate, and Byſhops, with a garriſon of horſemen and footmen for the defence of the Citie ſtrongly appointed. The next day, the French men ſuppoſing to haue the like hand of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gaue a freſh aſſault vpon them: but in that conflict, the Saracens had ſo ſtrongly appointed them ſelues, that the French men loſt ten tymes more then they got the day before, and ſo after a great ſlaughter of their mē, retired to their tentes agayne: wherupon the Saracens began to take great hartes and courage agaynſt our men, ſtoppyng all the paſſages round about the Citie of Damiata, that no vitayle could paſſe vnto them. In like maner the Soldan alſo gathering all the galeys about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, ſo incloſed the Seas, that no intercourſe ſhould bee to them by water. fol. 231.

The Frēchmen agayne well offred by the Soldan.

The Earle of Artoys and the Popes Legate againe refuſe the forme of peace offred.

At length after long talke and conſultation betwen them on both ſides, the Soldan aduiſed them bytime to reſigne to him the citie of Damiata, with the furniture which they found therein, and they ſhould haue all the countrey about Ieruſalē, with all yͤ captiues of yͤ Chriſtians frendly reſtored vnto them. Wherwith the Chriſtians (ſayd he) ought to be contented, and to ſeeke no farther, but onely to haue the land of Ieruſalem, which beyng graunted to them, they ſhould not encroch into other landes and kingdomes, wherto they had no right. This forme of peace, as it liked well the meaner ſort of the poore ſouldiours and diuers other of ſage coūſaile & nobilitie: ſo the proud Earle of Artoys the kynges brother in no caſe would aſſēt therto, but ſtill required the Citie of Alexādria to be yelded to thē. Which the Egyptians by no meanes would agree vnto.

Famine & miſery in the French campe.

The Frēch men eate their horſes in lent tyme.

From that tyme the French army beyng compaſſed by Sea and by land, begā euery day more and more to be diſtreſſed for lacke of victuall, & famine, beyng driuen to that miſery, that they were fayne to eate their owne horſes in the Lent tyme, which ſhould haue ſerued them to other vſes. Neither could any Chriſtiā, nor Fridericke beyng depoſed by the Pope, be able to ſend them any ſuccour. Furthermore the more miſeries the Chriſtians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens preſſe vpon them on euery ſide, deteſting their forward wilfulnes. In ſomuch that diuers of the Chriſtian ſouldiours not able to abyde the affliction, priuely conueyed them ſelues, as they could, out of the camp, to the Saracens, who were gladly receaued & relieued, & ſome ſuffered ſtill to kepe their faith: Some maryng wiues amōgeſt thē, & for hope of honour did Apoſtatate to their law: and ſo wrought no litle harme to the Chriſtians.

The Soldans meſſage, deriding the Frenchmē.

The Soldan dyeth, a worſe followeth.

The Soldan beyng perfectly inſtructed by theſe fugitiues of all thinges belongyng to the kynges army, ſent him word in deriſion, aſking, where were all hys mattockes, forckes, and rakes, his ſithes, plowes, and harrowes, which he brought ouer with him? or why he did not occupie them, but let thē lye by him to ruſt and canker? All this & much more, the king with his French men were fayne to take well in worth. It happened ſhortly after that this Soldā dyed, being poyſoned of his owne ſeruaunts. Which was to the Chriſtians a more heapyng of their miſeries. For albeit yͤ ſayd Soldan had bene a cruel tyrāne to the Chriſtians, yet was he hated of his own people, wherby his ſtrēgth was the leſſe: After whō ſucceded an other, much more cruell. Who as he was better loued, ſo he became much ſtrōger by a general cōfederacie of all yͤ Saracēs which were in yͤ Eaſt partes, ioyning now together. So that whē the Chriſtians deſired now to haue the forme of peace before offered, he preciſely denyed them. And ſo the French hoſt which at firſt began to be feared, by their pride and ouer much gredynes grew more & more in cōtempt amōgeſt their enemies, and now was vtterly deſpiſed.

The Frenchmen deſire agayne the peace offered before, and could not haue it.

Victories ouer the Templaries and kepers of Ieruſalem.

The Chriſtians thus ſeyng all thinges to go backward with them, and how the infidell Saracens dayly did preuaile, began to murmure againſt God, and ſome alſo which were well ſetled before, to ſtacker in their Religion, caſtyng out theſe wordes of infidelitie: how is this (ſayd they) that the Lord hath left vs in whoſe cauſe we fight? how often within yͤ time of remēbrance, haue we bene confounded by theſe Saracens & infidels, who with ſhedyng of our bloud, haue enioyed great ſpoyles and victories? firſt this Citie of Damiata, which we Chriſtians had gotten dearely with effuſion of ſo much Chriſten bloud, afterward we were conſtrayned for nought to reſigne vp agayne. After that the army of the Templaries, fighting for the holy Tēple againſt the Saracens, nere to Antioch, was vāquiſhed, and the ſtanderd bearer ſlayne in the field. Agayne within theſe few yeares, our French men fightyng in like maner agaynſt the Saracens at the Citie of Gazara, were put to yͤ worſe, and many afterward out of captiuitie raunſomed, by Richard Duke of Exceter, brother to yͤ kyng of England Henry 3. Then came in the Choſmorins, ſent by the Soldan of Babylon, which by a wyle inuaded the Chriſtians in the Citie of Ieruſalem, where almoſt all the Chriſtiā armye beyng in the holy lād, were deſtroyed. And now here our moſt Chriſtian king together with the whole nobilitie, is like to be in daunger, vtterly to be ouerthrowen. And how is it, that the Lord thus ſtandeth agaynſt vs, and fighteth with them? hath he more regard of them, then of vs? &c. Mat. Pariſ. fol. 231. Such murmuryng wordes of an vnſtable faith many there began to caſt out, as takyng diſpleaſure for their ſufferynges, but not conſideryng on the other ſide what Idolaters they were, what pride & diſcord was amōgeſt thē, what crueltie & murder they had ſhewed at home in perſecutyng the poore Albingēſes, what ſuperſtitiō they firſt brought out with thē, with what Idolatrie they proceded, puttyng their truſt in Maſſes, in the Popes indulgences, in worſhippyng of images, & prayyng to Saints. And what helpe then could they looke for at Gods hād, which had images in their tēples, to fight agaynſt them which had none? Or what maruel, if the Lord of hoſtes went not with their army, committing ſuch idolatrie euery day in their pauilions to their Sacramentall bread and wine as they did, and fightyng with the ſtrength of their owne merites, and not onely by the power of their faith in Chriſt, which is onely the victorie that ouercommeth the world? Iohn. 1. and finally hauing in their campe the Legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemy? As by example of Fridericke the Emperour may be well perceaued who after he was accurſed by Pope Gregory a litle before, commyng the ſame time to warre agaynſt the Saracens in Paleſtina, Gods bleſſing wrought ſo mightely with him, that without any bloud ſhed he recouered Ieruſalem, & ſet all the coūtrey about it in great quietnes, till at laſt the Popiſh Templaries, which at the Popes ſettyng on, went about to betray him, to the Soldan of Ba-

Cauſes declared why yͤ Lord did not proſper the Chriſtians fighting againſt the Saracens.

The Popes warres neuer went well forward againſt yͤ Infidels.

Friderike the Emperour curſed of the Pope, bleſſed of God.

bylon, and ſo loſt all agayne by their owne malicious miſchief that the Emperour before had gotten. Ex Mat. Pariſ.

Templaries ſet on by the Pope to betray ŷ Emperour.

But let vs proceede further in this holy progreſſe. The French kyng with his army, ſeyng him ſelfe diſtreſſed, and no good there to be done agaynſt the Soldā of Egypt, after he had ſufficiently fortified the Citie of Damiata, with an able garriſon left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remoued his tentes from thence, to go Eaſtward. In whoſe armey alſo folowed Williā Longſpath (of whom mention was touched before) accompanied with a pyked number of Engliſh warriers reteinyng vnto him. But ſuch was the diſdaine of the Frēch men agaynſt this William Longſpath and the Engliſhe men, that they could not abide them, but flouted them after opprobrious maner, with Engliſh tayles: inſomuch that the good kyng him ſelfe had much a do to kepe peace betwene them.

William Longſpath.

Grudge & diſdaine betwene the French campe and the Engliſhe ſouldiours.

The original cauſe of this grudge betwene them began thus. There was not far frō Alexādria in Egypt, a ſtrong fort or Caſtle, repleniſhed with great Ladyes, and rich treaſure of the Saracens. The which hold it chaunced the ſayd William Longſpath, with his companie of Engliſh ſouldiours to get, more by good lucke and politicke dexteritie, then by open force of armes, wherby he ŵ his retinue were greatly enriched. When the French men had knowledge hereof, they beyng not made priuey hereto, begā to conceiue an hartburning againſt ŷ Engliſh ſouldiours, & could not ſpeake well of thē after that. It happened again not lōg after, ŷ the ſaid W. had intelligēce of a company of rich Marchāts amōg the Saracens goyng to a certeine fayre about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, aſſes, and mules, richly loden with ſilkes, precious iewels, ſpyces, gold, & ſiluer, with carte lodes of other wares, beſides vitaile & other furniture, wherof the ſouldiours then ſtode in great nede. He hauing ſecret knowledge hereof, gathered al the power of Engliſh mē vnto him that he could, & ſo by night fallyng vpon the Marchantes, ſome he ſlue with their guides and conductours, ſome he toke, ſome he put to flight. The Cartes with the driuers, and with the oxen, and the camels, aſſes, & mules, with the whole cariage and vitales he toke and brought with hym, loſing in all the ſkyrmiſh but one ſouldiour, and viij. of his ſeruitures. Of whom notwithſtādyng ſome he brought home wounded, to be cured.

A booty gotten by the Engliſh ſouldiours about Alexandria.

A venterous act of William Longſpath, in ſpoylyng the Saracen Marchauntes.

William Longſpath inriched by Saracens goodes.

This beyng knowen in the camp, forth came the French men, which all this while loytered in their pauilions, & metyng this cariage by the way, toke all the foreſayd pray whole to them ſelues, ratyng the ſayd W. and the Engliſh men, for ſo aduentryng and iſſuyng out of the campe without leaue or knowledge of their generall, contrary to the diſcipline of warre. William ſayd againe, he had done nothing, but he would aūſwere to it, whoſe purpoſe was to haue the ſpoile diuided to ŷ behouſe of ŷ whole armey. Whē this would not ſerue, he being ſore greued in his minde ſo cowardly to be ſpoiled of that, for which he ſo aduenturouſly had trauailed for, went to the kyng to complayne. But when no reaſon nor complaint would ſerue, by reaſon of the proude Earle of Artoys the kynges brother, which vppon deſpite and diſdaine ſtode agaynſt hym, he byddyng the kyng farewell, ſayd he would ſerue him no longer. And ſo William de Longſpath, with the reſt of his company, breakyng from the French hoſt, went to Achon. Vpō whoſe departure, then ſayd the Earle of Artoys: Now is the armey of French men well rydde of theſe tayled people. Which wordes ſpoken in great deſpite, were euill taken of many good men that heard him. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 233. 234.

William Longſpath wronged by the Frenchmē.

William with the Engliſhmē departeth to Achon.

The deſpiteful wordes of the kings brother againſt Engliſhmen.

Before the ariuyng of the French army in the land of Egypt, the Soldan of Babylon hauing before intelligence of their comming committed the cuſtody of *Da*miata to a certeine Prince of his, whō he ſpecially truſted, cōmittyng alſo to his brother the kepyng of Kaira & Babylonia. It folowed now after the takyng of Damiata, that the Soldan of Babylon accuſed the Prince which had the cuſtodie therof, before his nobles, of proditiō, as giuing the Citie vnto the Chriſtiās. Who notwithſtandyng in iudgement did ſufficiently cleare him ſelfe, declaring how he was certified that ŷ kyng would lād at Alexandria, & therfore bent all his power to preuēt the kyngs ariuall there. But by diſtreſſe of wether, he miſſyng of his purpoſe & the king landing about Damiata, by reaſon therof the Citie was takē vnprouided, he notwithſtandyng with his cōpany reſiſtyng, as well as they might, till they could no longer, and ſo departed out, curſing, ſayd he, Mahomet and his law. At which wordes the Soldan beyng offended commaunded him to be had away as a traitor and blaſphemer, and to be hanged, albeit he had ſufficiētly purged hym ſelfe by the iudgement of the Court. His brother which was the keeper of Kayra and Babylonia, being therwith not a litle aggreued, and bearing a good minde to the Chriſtian Religion, diuiſed in him ſelfe, how to giue the ſayd Citie of Kayra with Babylon to the Frēch kyng, and ſo in moſt ſecret wiſe ſent to the king, ſhewyng his full purpoſe and what had happened, and furthermore inſtructing the kyng in all thinges how and what he ſhould do: and moreouer requiryng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, meanyng in dede good faith, and ſendyng alſo away all the Chriſtian captiues, which he had with him in priſon. The kyng beyng glad hereof, ſent in all haſt for William Longſpath, promiſing a ful redreſſe of all iniuries paſt. Who vpon hope of ſome good lucke towards, came at the kyngs requeſt, and ſo ioyned with the French power agayne.

Babylon in Egypt.

How Damiata was takē of the Chriſtians.

The keper or tribune of Damiata wrongfully put to death by ŷ Soldan.

The tribune of Kayra minded to geue vp his rule to the French king and to become Chriſtened.

William Lōgspath ſent for againe commeth to the French king.

¶ *The lamentable ouerthrow and ſlaughter of the French army fighting agaynſt the infidels, through the ſiniſter counſell of the Popes Legate.*

TO make ŷ ſtory ſhort, the kyng ſettyng forward frō Damiata, directed his iourney toward Kayra, ſlaying by ŷ way ſuch Saracēs as there were ſet to ſtop the vitailes from Damiata. The Soldā in the meane time hearyng of the couragious commyng of the French hoaſt, as beyng in great hope to conquere all: ſent vnto the king by certeine that were next about him, offering to the Chriſtians the quiet and full poſſeſſion of the holy land, with all the kyngdome of Ieruſalem, and more: beſides other infinite treaſure of gold & ſiluer, or what els might pleaſure them, onely vpon this condition that they would reſtore agayne Damiata, with the captiues there, and ſo would ioyne together in mutuall peace & amitie. Alſo they ſhould haue all their Chriſtian captiues deliuered home, and ſo both countreys ſhould freely paſſe one to an other with their wares & trafficke, ſuch as they lyſted to occupy. Furthermore it was alſo firmely affirmed and ſpokē, that the Soldan, with moſt of his nobles were mynded no leſſe then to leaue the filthy law of Mahomet, & receaue the fayth of Chriſt, ſo that they might quietly inioy their landes and poſſeſſions. The ſame day great quietnes had entred (no doubt) in al Chriſtendome, with the end of much bloudſhed & miſery, had not bene for the pope and his Legate, who (hauyng commaundement from the Pope, that if any ſuch offers ſhould come, he ſhould not take them) ſtoutly et frontoſe (as the wordes bee of the ſtory) contradicens, in no wiſe would receaue the conditions offered. Pariſ. fol. 233.

The ſtory how the French army was ouerthrowen fighting againſt the Infidels.

The large offers of the Soldan to the Frenchmen, if they had had grace to take it.

The Pope and his Legate cauſe of all this miſchiefe.

Thus while the Chriſtiās vnprofitably lyngered ŷ tyme, in debatyng this matter, the Soldā in the meane tyme got intelligence of the compact betwene the Tribune of Kayra, and the French kyng: wherupō he ſent in all haſt to the Citie of Kayra, to apprehend the Tribune, till the truth were fully tryed. Which ſemed to hym more apparent, for that the Chriſtian priſoners were already deliuered. Hereupon the Soldan beyng in ſome better hope, and leſſe feare, refuſed that which before he had offered to the Chriſtians, albeit they with great inſtance afterward ſued to the Soldan, and could not obteine it. Thẽ the Soldã beyng wholy bent to try the matter by the ſword, ſent to the Eaſt partes for an infinite multitude of ſouldiours, giuyng out by Proclamation, that who ſoeuer could bryng in any Chriſtenmans head, ſhould haue x. talentes, beſides hys ſtanding wages. And whoſoeuer brought his right hand, ſhould haue, fiue. He that brought his foote, ſhould haue two talentes for his reward.

After theſe thinges thus prepared on both ſides to the neceſſitie of warre, the kyng commeth to the great Riuer Nilus, hauing gottẽ together many boates, thinkyng by them to paſſe ouer, as vpõ a ſure bridge. On the other ſide the Soldan pitcheth him ſelfe to withſtãd his comming ouer. In the meane time happened a certeine feaſt amongeſt the Saracẽs, in which the Soldã was abſẽt, leauyng his tentes by the water ſide. Which beyng forſene before by a certeine Saracen lately cõuerted to Chriſt, ſeruyng with the Earle Robert the kyngs brother, and ſhewyng them withal a certein ſhalow forde in the Riuer of Nilus, where they might more eaſely paſſe ouer, the ſayd Earle Robert and the Maſter of yͤ Temple with a great power, eſtemed to the thyrd part of the army, iſhewed ouer the Riuer, after whom alſo folowed William Longſpath with his band of Engliſh ſouldiours. Theſe beyng together ioyned on the other ſide of the water, encountered the ſame day with the Saracens remainyng in the tentes, and put them to the worſe. After this victory gotten, the French Earle ſurpriſed with pride and triumph, as though he had cõquered the whole earth, would nedes forward, diuiding him ſelfe from the mayne hoſt, thinkyng to wynne the ſpurres alone. To whom certeine ſage mẽ of the Temple, giuyng contrary counſell aduiſed him not ſo to do, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure agaynſt all deceates and daũgers, which there might be layd priuely for them. The maner of that people (they ſayd) they better knew, & had more experience therof then he: Alledging moreouer their weryed bodyes, their tyred horſes, their famiſhed ſouldiours, and the inſufficiency alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtãd the multitude of yͤ enemies, eſpecially at this preſent brũt, in which the aduerſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominiõ now to cõſiſt either in winning al, or loſing al: with other ſuch like wordes of perſuaſiõ. Which whẽ the proude Earle did heare, beyng inflated with no leſſe arrogance then ignoraũce, with opprobrious taũts reuiled them, callyng them cowardly daſtardes, and betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which ſayd, that the lãd of the holy croſſe might ſone be wõne to Chriſtẽdome were it not for the rebellious Templaries, with the Hoſpitularies and their felowes. &c.

To theſe contumelious rebukes whẽ the Maſter of the Temple aũſwered agayne for him and his felowes, byddyng him diſplay his enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to folow him, as he to go before them: then began William de Longſpath the worthy Knight to ſpeake, deſiring the Earle to giue eare to thoſe men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe countreys and people, thẽ had he, cõmendyng alſo their counſell to be diſcret and holſome: and ſo turnyng to the Maſter of the Tẽple began with gẽtle wordes to mitigate him likewiſe. The Knight had not halfe ended his talke, whẽ the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth begã to fume and ſweare, crying out of theſe cowardly Engliſh men with tayles. What a pure army (ſayd he) ſhould we haue here, if theſe tayles, and tayled people were purged frõ it: with other like wordes of great vilany, & much diſdayne. Wherunto the Engliſh Knight aunſweryng agayne: well Earle Robert (ſayd he) where ſoeuer you dare ſet your foote, my ſtep ſhall go as farre as yours: and as I beleue, we go this day where you ſhall not dare to come nere the tayle of my horſe, as in the euent it proued true. Ibid. fol. 236.

The worthy aunſwere of an Engliſhe knight to Earle *Robert* the kinges brother.

In this meane tyme, the French kyng intẽdyng to aduaunce forward his army, thought beſt to ſend away ſuch as were feeble and lacked armour, to Damiata by boates. The Soldan hearyng therof prepared a great number of boates to bee caryed by wayne & carte to the water ſide, which meetyng them by the way, drowned & deſtroyed by wildfire euery one, ſo yͭ of al that cõpany of our Chriſtiãs, of whõ ſome were burned, ſome ſlayne, ſome drowned, not one eſcaped alyue, ſaue one onely Engliſh mã named Alexander Giffard, who although he was ſore woũded in the chaſe in fiue places in his body, yet eſcaped to the Frẽch campe, bringyng word to yͤ king what was done. And this was vpon the water.

A number of French ſouldiours ſent to Damiata, drowned and ſlayne by the way.

Now vppon the land ſeyng Earle Robert would nedes ſet forward weenyng to get all the glory to him ſelfe before the commyng of the hoſt: firſt they inuaded a litle village or caſtle, which was not farre of, called Manſor. The countrey boores and pagans in the villages by ſeyng the Chriſtiãs come, ranne out with ſuch a mayne cry and ſhout, that it came to the Soldãs hearyng, which was nerer then our men did thinke. In the meane while the Chriſtiãs inuadyng and entring into the munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtode aboue, wherby a great number of our men were loſt, & the army ſore maymed & almoſt in deſpayre. Then immediatly vpon the ſame cõmeth the Soldã with all his mayne power, who ſeing the Chriſtiã army to be diuided, and the brother ſeparated from the brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about, that none ſhould eſcape, had with them a cruell fight. Then the Earle began to repent him of his heady raſhnes, but it was to late, who thẽ ſeing Williã yͤ Engliſh Knight doughtely fighting in the chief brunt of the enemies, cryed vnto him, moſt cowardly to flye, ſeing God (ſaid he) doth fight agaynſt vs. To whõ the Knight aũſwering agayn, God forbid (ſayd he) that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away for the face of a Saracen. The Earle then turnyng his horſe fled away, thinkyng to auoyde by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, and ſo taking the riuer Thafnis, oppreſſed with harnes, was there ſonken and drowned. Thus the Earle beyng gone, the French men began to diſpayre & ſcatter. Thẽ William de Longaſpatha bearyng all the force of the enemies, ſtode agaynſt them as long as hee could, woundyng & ſlaying many a Saracen, til at lẽgth his horſe beyng killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer ſtand: who yet notwithſtandyng as he was down, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much ſorrow, till at laſt after many blowes and woundes, beyng ſtoned of the Saracens he yelded his life. After the death of him, thẽ the Saracens ſettyng vpon the reſidue of the army, whom they had compaſſed on euery ſide deuoured and deſtroyed them all, in ſo much that ſcarſe one man eſcaped alyue, ſauyng ij. templaries, one Hoſpitular, and one poore raſcall ſouldiour, which brought tydynges hereof to the kyng.

The village & caſtle of Manſor aſſaulted by the Frẽchmẽ.

The Frẽchmẽ diſcomfited at the ſiege of Manſor.

Earle *Roberts* army incloſed by the Soldan of Babilon.

The cowardly flying away of the Earle *Robert*.

Earle *Robert* the kinges brother drowned.

The manly courage of *W. Lõgſpath*.

William Longſpath ſlayne in battayle.

The Frẽchmẽ ouerthrowne.

Theſe thinges beyng knowen in the French camp to the kyng and his ſouldiours, firſt of their drownyng which were ſent to Damiata, thẽ of the ruine & ſlaughter of the army, with the kinges brother, by the towne of Manſor, there was no litle ſorow and heuynes on euery ſide, with great feare, & doubt in them ſelues, what was beſt to do. At laſt when they ſaw no remedy, but they muſt nedes ſtand mãfully to reuenge the bloud of their brethren, then the king with his hoſt paſt ouer the floud of Nilus, and cõming to the place where the bat-

The ſorrow in the French campe for loſſe of their brethren.

taile had bene, there they beheld their felowes and brethren pitifully lying with their heades and hãds cut of. For the Saracẽs for the reward before promiſed by the Soldan or Sultã, to them that could bryng the head and hand of any Chriſtian, had ſo mangled the Chriſtians, leauyng their bodies to the wild beaſtes. Thus as they were ſorowyng and lamentyng the rufull caſe of their Chriſten felowes, ſodẽly appeareth the commyng of the Sultan, with a multitude of innumerable thouſãds. Agaynſt whom the French men eftſoones prepare them ſelues to encounter, and ſo the battaile beyng ſtrocken vp, the armyes begã to ioyne. But alacke for pitie, what could the French men here do, their nũber firſt ſo maymed, their hartes woũded already with feare ⁊ ſorow, their bodies conſumed with penurie and famine, theyr horſes for feeblenes not able to ſerue them? In concluſiõ the French mẽ were ouerthrowen, ſlaine, ⁊ diſparcled, and ſeyng there was no flying happy was he that firſt could yeld him ſelfe. In which miſerable cõflict the king with his ij. brethren, ⁊ a few yͭ claue vnto him, were takẽ captiues, to the cõfuſion of all Chriſtẽ realmes, ⁊ preſented to yͤ Soldan. All the reſidue were put to yͤ ſword, or els ſtode to the mercy of the Saracens whether to be ſlayne, or to remaine in wofull captiuitie.

The heades and handes of the Chriſtians cut of.

The battayle betwene the french king ⁊ the Soldan.

The French army ouerthrowne.

The pitifull ſlaughter of yͤ Frenchmen.

The French king with hys two brethren taken captiue by the Soldan.

And this was the end of yͤ ſorowfull battaile, wherin almoſt al yͤ nobilitie of Frãce was ſlaine, neither was there one mã welnere in al that multitude which eſcaped free, but either was ſlayne, or taken priſoner. Furthermore they that were ſlayne, or left halfe aliue, had euery one hys head and hand cut of, vppon the Soldans proclamation aboue mentioned.

The Sultan or Soldan, after the taking of yͤ French king, fraudulently ſubornyng an army of Saracens, to the number of the French army, with the armes and enſignes of thẽ that were ſlaine, made toward Damiata, where the Duke of Burgundy, with the French Queene, and Odo the Popes Legate, and other Byſhopes and their garriſons were remaynyng, ſuppoſing vnder the ſhew of French men to be let in, but the captaynes miſtruſting their haſty comming, and miſdoubting their viſages not like to the French men, ſhutte the gates againſt them, and ſo returned they fruſtrate of their intent.

The purpoſe of the Soldan was, if he might haue gottẽ Damiata, to ſend the French king hyer vp in the Eaſte countreyes to Calipha the chiefe Pope of Damaſcus, to encreaſe the titles of Mahomet, and to be a ſpectacle or gaſing ſtocke to all thoſe quarters of the world. The maner of which Calipha was neuer to let any chriſtẽ priſoner come out, whoſoeuer came once in his handes. But forſomuch as the Soldan miſſed hys purpoſe, he thought, by aduiſe of counſell, to vſe the kinges life for hys owne aduauntage in recouering the citie of Damiata, as in the end it came to paſſe. For although the king at the firſt was greatly vnwilling, and had rather dye then ſurrender Damiata agayne to the Saracens: yet the concluſion ſo fell out, that the king was put to his ranſome, and the Citie of Damiata was alſo reſigned, which Citie beyng twiſe wonne, ⁊ twiſe loſt by the Chriſtians, the Soldan or Saladine afterward cauſed vtterly to be raſed downe to the ground. The ranſome of the king, vpõ conditiõ that the Soldan ſhould ſee him ſafely conducted to Achon (which I take to be Cæſaria) came to 60000. markes. The number of French mẽ, ⁊ others which miſcaried in that warre by water and by land came to 80000. perſons. Hæc ex Mat. Pariſi. fol. 237. 238.

Damiata reſigned to the Saracens.

The ſumme of the kynges ranſom.

The number of the French men ſlayne.

And thus haue ye the brief narration of this lamentable peregrinatiõ of Lewes the Frẽch kyng. In which when the French men beyng once or twiſe well offered by the Soldan, to haue all the kyngdome of Ieruſalem, and much more in free poſſeſſion, they not contented with that which was reaſonable and ſufficient, for greedines to haue all, loſt all, hauing at length no more then their naked bodyes could couer, lying dead vppon the ground: and all through the originall cauſe of the Pope and Odo his Legate. By whoſe ſiniſter meanes and peſtilent pride, not onely the liues of ſo many Chriſtians were then loſt, but alſo to the ſayd Pope is to be imputed all the loſſe of other Cities ⁊ Chriſtiã regions borderyng in the ſame quarters: for aſmuch as by the occaſion hereof, the hartes of the Saracens on the one ſide were ſo encouraged, and the courage of the Chriſtians on the other ſide ſo much diſcomfited, that in ſhort ſpace after, both the dominion of Antioch and of Achon, with all other poſſeſſiõs belongyng to the Chriſtians, were loſt, to the great diminiſhyng of Chriſtes Church.

Duryng the tyme of this good kyng lying at Achon or Cæſaria, almightie God ſent ſuch diſcorde betwene the Soldan of Halapia, and the Soldan of Babylon, for lettyng the kyng ſo eſcape, that the ſayd Soldan or Saladine of Babylon, to wynne the kyng vnto his ſide, entred league with him (whom both his brethren, and all his nobles almoſt at home had forſaken) and remitted his ranſom, and alſo reſtored vnto him ſuch priſoners, as were in the ſayd battaile found to be alyue. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forſaketh. Ex Pariſ. fol. 261.

An other cauſe moreouer, why the ruine of thys french army may worthely be imputed to the Pope, is this: for that when Lewes the French kyng perceiuing what a neceſſary frend and helper Friderik the Emperour might be to him in theſe his affayres againſt the Saracens, and therefore was an earneſt ſuter for him to the Pope to haue him releaſed, yet neyther he, nor the king of England by any meanes coulde obtayne it. And although the Emperour himſelfe offred to Pope Innocent with all humble ſubmiſſion to make ſatiſfaction in the Councell of Lyons, promiſing alſo to expugne all the dominions of the Saracens, and neuer to returne into Europe agayne, and there to recouer, whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had loſt, ſo that the Pope would onely graunt hys ſonne Henry to bee Emperour after him: yet the proude Pope would not be mollified, but would needes procede agaynſt hym with both ſwordes, that is, firſt with the ſpirituall ſword to accurſe him, ⁊ thẽ with the temporall to depoſe him from his Emperiall throne. Through the occaſion whereof, not onely the french kinges power went to wracke, but alſo ſuch a fire of miſchiefe was kindled againſt all Chriſtendome, as yet to this day can not be quenched. For after this ouerthrow of the French kyng and his army, the Chriſtians of Antioch and of other Chriſtian regions thereaboutes, beyng vtterly diſcouraged, gaue ouer their holdes and Cities. Wherby the Saracens, and after them the Turkes got ſuch an hand ouer Chriſtendome, as to this day we all haue great cauſe to rue and lament. Beſides this, where diuers Chriſtians were croſſed to go ouer and helpe the French kyng, the Pope for money diſpenſed with them to tary ſtill at home.

But as I ſayd, the greateſt cauſe was, that the Emperour, which could haue done moſt, was depoſed by the Popes tyranny, wherby all thoſe Churches in Aſia were left deſolate. As touchyng the which Emperour Friderike, becauſe we haue entred here mention of him, and for that his ſtory is ſtraunge, his Actes wonderous, and his conflictes tragicall, which he ſuſteined agaynſt iiij. or v. Popes one after an other, I thought not out of ſtory in a whole narratiõ to ſet forth the ſame, for the reader to conſider, what is to be iudged of this Cathedral Sea of Rome, which hath wrought ſuch abominable miſchief in the world, as in the ſequele of the ſtory folowyng faithfully tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſhe is to be ſeene.

¶ The tragicall hiſtory of Fridericke. 2. Emperour.

☞ For ſo much as the ſtory of Fridericke the emperour is incident in the ſame tyme of this K. Henry 3. and containeth matter much worthy of memorie, conſidering the vtilitie therof: after the tractatiõ of our engliſh ſtories, I could not but alſo inſert the whole narration of thys tragical hiſtory of the ſaid Fridericke, which I haue cauſed faithfully and amplye to be collected and tranſlated out of the latine booke of Nic. Cinerus. containyng as followeth.

hat houſe derick ne of.

Friderike the ſecond, came out of the auncient houſe of ẏ Weblines or Gibellines: which Gibellines came of ẏ moſt famous ſtock of the french kyngs & emperors.

hat fa- er and other.

He had Friderike Barbaroſſa to his graundfather, whoſe ſonne Henricus the 6. emperour after hym was: and of Conſtantia, the daughter (or as ſome wryte the neece) of Roger the firſt, kyng of Sicile: he begatte thys Friderike the ſecond.

e tyme aner of byrth.

This Conſtantia was 50. yeares of age before ſhe was conceiued wyth him: whom the Emperour Henry 6. to auoyde all doubte and ſurmiſe that of her conception and chylding might be thought, and to the peril of the empire enſue: cauſed his regall tente to be pitched abrode in a place where euery mã might reſort. And whẽ the tyme of his queenes trauell approched, Conſtantia (in the preſence of diuers ladies, matrones, and other gẽtle women of the empyre, a great number) was brought a bedde and deliuered of this Friderike: the vij. day before the Calendes of January, in the yere of chriſtes incarnation, 1193. who by inheritaunce was kyng of Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia.

Henricus his father obtayned ſhortly after he was borne, of the princes electors: that by their othe to him geuen, they would chuſe hys ſonne Friderike for their emperour after his deceaſe, and ſo dyd, & immediatly called hym Ceſar, beyng yet but in hys cradle.

hat ones he l.

This Henry when he dyed (which was ſhortly after the birth of Friderike) committed the protection of hym to Conſtantia his wyfe, to Philip his brother chiefe gouernour of Hetruria, and to the biſhop of Rome, then Innocentius the third.

Conſtantia, not long after the death of Henrye her huſband being ſickly and growing into age, and therby not ſo well able to gouerne the troblous and vnquiete ſtate of the Empire: reſigned, and wylled by her teſtamente, the ſafetye bothe of her ſonne Friderike and alſo of his dominions, to the protection & gouernment of Innocẽt the 3. thinkyng therby ſafely to haue prouided, &c.

e cõſpi- ces of ocẽt. againſt dericke yng hys inions, e fyrſt piracie.

This pope Innocent, aſſone as he had ẏ protectiõ of ẏ yong emperour and his Segniories: became in ſtead of a patrone and protectour, to hym and to hys dominions both an enemy and conſpiratour. The examples are many: One is, he perſwaded Sibil the late wyfe of Tancredus (whom Henry put from the kyngdome of Sicile) to recouer ẏ ſame agayn, & that ſhe ſhuld therunto require Philip the Frenche kings ayde: Wherupon, one Waltherus beyng of the noble houſe of the earles of Brenno which in ẏ prouince of Barrenceeis had great lyuing, & maryeng with Ateria the eldeſt daughter of Tancredus once king of Sicile as is ſayd: now by the inſtigation, counſel, and ayde of the French king with the pope (wel hopyng to recouer the kingdom) entred and inuaded wᵗ greate power Campania, and Apulia. At which time alſo, the ſame worthy protectour Innocentius the thyrd, ſent his legates wyth letters of excõmunication againſt all thoſe that would not admit and take the ſayd Waltherus for their kyng.

e ſecond ſpiracie.

An other was, that where the princes Electours and other nobles as before is ſayd had promiſed by their oth to Hẽricus, ẏ they would make Friderick his ſõne Emperour after his diſſeaſe (whom ẏ pope ſaw to put their indeuour therunto & to bryng to paſſe) abſolued thẽ all frõ the othe which they had takẽ & geuen for the election of Friderick the emperour, as one not cõtent he ſhould obtayne the ſame: And further, he rayſed ſlaunders and defamatiõs againſt Philip, whom ẏ electours had choſen to gouerne the empire during the minority of Friderike hys nephew. He wrote his epiſtle (which is yet extante) to the duke Barthold of Zaringia to be emperor: Who, for that he gaue place to Philip, he went aboute to procure, that Otho the ſon of Henry Leo ſhoulde be made Emperour, and that the princes and lordes electours of Germany, would crowne him forth with after ẏ maner of Aquiſgraue. He depriued al ſuch biſhops as he knew to fauour Phillip as emperour, in the defẽce of his nephewes ryght. But Phillip, whoſe cauſe was better, his ſkyll in martiall affayres greater, and in power and ſtrength mightier: after diuers and great conflictes to the marueilous diſturbãce and vaſtation of the whole empyre, by gods helpe he put to the worſe. Al which calamities and miſchiefes Conradus Lichtenanus at that tyme liuing, in his Annales moſt pitifully complayneth of: and accuſeth the biſhop of Rome and his adherentes to be the chiefe autors & deuiſours of this great & lamentable miſchief: as ſuch, ẏ for to make thẽſelues rich by ẏ ſpoyle therof, ſought by all meanes and deſyred ẏ ſame.

The thyrd conſpiracie.

The fourth conſpiracie.

Not long after a peace was concluded betwene Philip and Otho, and Philip reconſiled agayne to the pope: He was within a while after betwene Otho and hym, murdred in his chamber & ſlayne. And thẽ was Otho agayn brought to the imperiall ſeate, and new elected for emperour, wyth the counſel and conſent of thys Innocent the thyrd: and ſo cõtinued till that a great variance & diſcord chaunced to riſe betwene the ſayd Otho & the pope. Wherupon, Innocentius ſought by all meanes, how againſt hym in likewiſe, he might worke miſchief and bryng him to his eande. The occaſiõ of this ſodain chaunge & alteracion my author maketh no mention of, but that Otho (now being of great power) inuaded and deſtroyed theſe dominions of Friderike, as Flamminia, Picenum, Umbria, Hetruria, but chiefly Campania, and Apulia, for that thoſe properly pertained to the inheritaunce of Friderike.

The fyfth cõſpiracie.

Philip ſlaine.

Variance betwene Otho and the pope.

Thus you ſée, how firſt by the counſel and conſent of Pope Innocentius & by his inſtigation, beſyde his ſecret conſpiracies: this good Friderike and his dominions were hurte and indamaged. Then agayne, through hys default what damage he ſuſtayned by Otho, who by hym and hys meanes was made ſo ſtrõg as he was: notwythſtandyng, the greate truſte he was put in for the protection both of Friderick and his dominions.

At thys tyme, Friderike was come to the age of xx. yeres: who in hys youth by ẏ prouiſiõ of Conſtantia his mother, was ſo wel inſtructed in letters, & in other artes & vertues ſo imbued: that at theſe yeres there appeared and dyd ſhyne in hym, excellent giftes both of wiſdome and knowledge.

What learning & knowledge he was of.

He was excellentlye well ſeene in thee latine and greeke tongue: although at that tyme learnyng began to decay and barbarouſnes to increaſe. He had alſo the Germaine toungе, the Italian toungе, and the Saraſen toung. He daily exerciſed & put in practiſe thoſe vertues which nature had planted in hym, as piety, wyſedome, iuſtice, and fortitude: in ſo much, that wel he myght be compared and accompted, amongeſt the worthieſt and moſt renowmed Emperours his predeceſſours.

What vertues indued he was with.

Fazellus (the hiſtoriſian of Sicilia in this time) writeth, that Fridericus was again after this had in great honour and eſtimation with Innocentius: but yet notwithſtandyng, he had no ſure confidence in him for ẏ he had the ſuſpected name of Friderike his graundfather often in remembrance, and for that occaſion was much deſirous to haue hym far from Italy.

Frid. ſuſpected for hys graund fathers ſake.

When Friderike had gathered hys power, he purpoſed to ſet vpõ Otho his enemy: of which thyng Otho hearyng (as he was painefull in trauell) came out of Italy wyth hys army into Germany, thinkyng to haue met

The coronatiõ of Fridericke.

The death of Otho.

The conſecration of Frid. the Emperour.

met Fridericke at the ryuer of Rhene, and to haue ſtopped his paſſage: but he was deceyued of his expectation, and Fridericus was crowned as the manner of Aquiſgraue is, before he came. And after that, in the wynter tyme he tooke his iourney to Francofert, & after many meetings in Norico had, and that Otho was deade, he ſet the Empyre in ſtay, and the whole countrye of Germany he in maner apayſed: And then wᵗ al his nobles & princes he returned to Rome, & of Honorius the thyrde was wyth great ſolemnitie conſecrated and called Auguſtus. Which Honorius ſucceeded Innocentius.3. in the papall ſee: and was a great helpe to Fridericke (although he loued hym not) in this behalfe, to reuenge him ſelfe vpon Otho.

The liberal munificence of Frid. to the pope & church of Rome.

After the conſecration of Fridericke the ſecond, he gaue many great and liberall giftes, as well to the byſhop of Rome hym ſelfe, as alſo to the court of Rome beſydes. Alſo he gaue and aſſured, by hys Charter to the church of Rome, the dukedome of Fundanum. For by the vnſatiable couetouſnes of the Romiſh biſhops, thys wycked vſe and cuſtome grewe: that vnles the Emperours elect and crowned, would geue vnto them ſuche lyke great and large gyftes: they coulde not obtayne of them theyr conſecration or confirmation, whyche for that intent they deuiſed.

Friderick gaue through his liberalitie a ſword to cut his own throte.

The canon of proſcription graſted & cōfirmed by Frid.

Furdermore, Fridericke the Emperour, wyllyng to ſhew himſelfe more bountiful and liberal to the church: neither yet to reſtrayne any priueledge that myght benefite the ſame, gaue and admitted thoſe conſtitutions which the Pope himſelfe would deſyre, and are yet extant in their Ciuil law: By which his doings, he deliuered to theyr hands a ſwoorde as it were, to cut his owne throte. For ẏ biſhops of Rome, now hauyng euen what they liſted, and all in theyr owne handes: Might by the payne of proſcription, bryng what Emperour or Kyng vnder coram nobis that them lyſted, and keepe them by theyr own lawes, as it were bound in certain bandes out of the which they might not ſtart. For what ſoeuer he were, whych for the diminution of the liberties of the church were excommunicate, and ſo continued a yeres ſpace: That thē, he ſhould be within the daunger of this proſcript, and ſhould not be releaſed before he had made ſatiſfaction, & were admitted by the Pope to the church and congregation of good men agayne. Whereby it came to paſſe, that what ſo euer Emperour in the gouernmēt of his dominions, ſhould in any point diſpleaſe or do contrary to the luſt of the biſhop of Rome: he then as an enemy to the church, was excommunicate. And vnles wythin a yeare he were reconſiled to them againe (by thys theyr principall lawe) he was in the proſcript. And often it chaunced, that princes to auoyd the paine of thys proſcript, were ready to do whatſoeuer the pope would haue them, and commaund them to do.

Frid after hys cōſeciation ditectere his prouinces and dominions.

The liberalitie of Frid wel recompenſed of Honorius.3.

Frid exp ſtulateth, the pope curſeth.

After the conſecration of Friderick was with great ſolemnitie finiſhed, and ẏ the Pope & churche of Rome in all ample maner (as is partly deſcribed) were gratified, and yet larger conſtitutions to them confyrmed: he departed from Rome and went into Italy, there to ſet in order and ſtay the Cities and great townes, for the better tranquilitie of hymſelfe and ſafetye of hys ſubiectes, and from thence into hys own prouinces and dominions: where he heard of certayne, that beganne to rayſe and make newe factions agaynſt hym. Amongēſt whom, were found Thomas and Richard, the brethren of Innocentius the thyrde, Earles of Anaquinos, that held certayne caſtels in the kingdome of Neopolitanes frō hym by force: which caſtels, he beſeged & bet downe, and toke from them all that, he in them found. Richard he tooke, and ſent as a priſoner into Sicilia: But Thomas eſcaped and came ſpeedely to Rome, whither alſo repayred certayne Biſhops and others that were conſpiratours agaynſt Fridericke, as alſo ſuche other as the feare of the Emperours lawes, and their owne gilty conſciences cauſed to flee: and were that notwithſtādyng, of this biſhop of Rome Honorius.3. (to gratifie agayne the liberalitie of the Emperour beſtowed vpon hym) vnder hys noſe ſuccored, mayntayned and defended. Whych thyng when Fridericke vnderſtood, he began to expoſtulate wyth the biſhop, conſidering the vnſeemelynes of that hys fact. Agaynſt whom, the Pope on the other ſyde was ſo chafed and vexed, that he immediately without farther delay thūdereth out againſt hym lyke a tyraunt, hys curſes and excommunications.

Thomas Fazellus declareth, thys deteſtacion or defiaunce to happen betwene them ſomwhat otherwyſe. There were ſaith he, amongeſt thoſe which were found traytors to the Emperour certayne biſhops, which fleing to the Pope, requeſted hys ayde: wherupon, the pope ſent hys Legates to the Emperour, and requeſted hym that he would admit & receaue to fauour thoſe biſhops, whych he had baniſhed and put from theyr offices, and that he woulde not entermedle with anye eccleſiaſticall charge wherewyth he had not to do: And ſayd further, ẏ the correction and puniſhment of ſuch matters pertayned to the biſhop of Rome, and not to hym: and more ouer, that the ouerſight of thoſe Churches in that kyngdome, from the whych he had expelled the biſhops, pertayned and belonged to hym.

The E rour re eth to the popes demaund

The E rour ſpe keth but reaſō b ſoeuer it pleaſeth the pope to take

Whereunto Fridericke thus replieth: That for as much as now.400.yeares and more (from the tyme of Carolus Magnus) all Emperours and kynges in theyr dominions myght lawfullye committe to apt and fyt men for the ſame, ſuche eccleſiaſticall functions & charges as wythin theyr territories & kingdomes fel: That he looked to haue the lyke priuiledge and autorlty alſo, that other hys predeceſſours before hym had. And farther ſayd, that he had the ſame and lyke autority in the Empyre that hys father Henrye, and Fridericke hys graundfather, and other hys predeceſſours before them had: nether had he ſo deſerued at the hands of the church of Rome, eyther of Honorius hymſelfe, to be depriued of thoſe priuilegies whych hys auncitours before hym had had, and kept. And further, Fridericke being chafed and moued wyth theſe demaundes of the Pope, breaketh forth and ſayth: how long wyll the biſhop of Rome abuſe my pacience? when wyll his couetous hart be ſatiſfied? wherunto wil thys his ambitions deſire growe? wyth ſuch lyke wordes more, repeatyng certaine iniuries and conſpiracies, both agaynſt hym and hys dominions, as wel by Honorius as Innocentius.3. hys predeceſſor, as alſo other lyke iniuries of popes to hys auncitours practiſed. What man ſayth he, is able to ſuffer & beare thys ſo incredible boldnes and intollerable inſolencie of ſo proud a biſhop. Goe ſayth he (vnto the Legates) and tell Honorius, that I wyll hazarde both the ſeigniorie of my Empyre, and crown of my kingdome, rather then I wyll ſuffer hym thus to deminiſh the autoritie of our maieſtie. Thomas Facellus libr.8.

The ſtri betwe the pop and the perſo the cle & dep tion of byſhops

Now, becauſe much diſquietnes and cōtrouerſie hath ariſē (for the moſt part throught al chriſtendome in euery kingdome and realme ſeuerally) for and about the autoritie as chuſing & depriuing of biſhops (as may be ſene by the example of this Fridericke) whiche the pope onely and arrogantly chalengeth to him ſelfe, and not to apertaine to any other: I thought good not with ſilence to ouer paſſe but ſomwhat to ſay: and to proue the autoritie of chriſten kyngs & princes in this behalf, to be both ſufficient & good: Which thing, not onely by the holy Scriptures is right eaſie to be done, but alſo by Synodall decrées and councels (diuers and ſondry) to be eſtabliſhed & confirmed may eaſlye be proued: as alſo by the auncient cuſtome & maner of the primitiue church, may farther be corroborated and made good.

Whereunto apertaineth certaine places collected and gathered out of the decrées by Gratianus, and ſpecially in theſe canons.12.13.14.26.27.32.and.63. diſtinction. Farthermore, when Chriſtian kynges and princes begã to embrace Chriſt his religion, both for honor and orders ſake it was graunted: that when the people deſired ſuch miniſters as wer conuenient and by them thought méte: that they which were then in the eccleſiaſtical function and chiefeſt in auctoritie, ſhould either cõfirme ſuch as were preſented, or els place them ſelues fit men in their churches as nede required. So did the Emperours of Conſtantinople (receiuyng the order and maner from Conſtantine the great) vſe and giue the right of eccleſiaſticall function, with the conſent both of the people and eccleſiaſticall perſons, and long ſo retained they ẏ ſame. As Honorius the Emperour vnto Boniface. canon.8. diſt.79.and can.2.diſt.97. Alſo of Pelagius and Gregorius Magnus: of the whiche, one in the reigne of Iuſtinian the Emperour (and Totilia gouernyng Italy) the other in the tyme of Mauritius the Emperour (when the Lumbardes poſſeſſed Italy) were appoynted biſhops to the churche of Rome.can.15.21.24.

orities, the elec of by- ps to n the ces their ieces.

orities lection he B. of me to be he Em- our.

And where, as Gratianus in the beginning of the 96 and 97 diſtinction doth declare, that the reſcript of Honorius the Emperour is voide and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the biſhop of Rome, contrarye to the autoritie of the holy canons: when as yet, neither to the ciuile magiſtrate, nor to any of the eccleſiaſticall order can be red of anye licence geuen them for to diſpence withall: eche man may plainly ſee and diſcerne his great foly and wante of vnderſtanding. As thoughe at that tyme any decrees were made, which ſhoulde debarre emperours for the conſtitutyng of the eccleſiaſticall miniſters. Or that it were doubtfull, whether ẏ emperors at that tyme had paſt any conſtitutions touching the cauſes of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, and ẏ ſame lawes thẽ put in vre: when the contrary moſt manifeſtly (both by the lawes and hiſtories of that age and tyme, as well of the church as of ẏ empyre) may apeare. And ẏ we ſhal not ſeke farre for the matter: this thyng is ſufficientlye proued by theſe titles, de ſacro ſanctis eccleſijs, Epiſcopis, Clericis, beſyde other eccleſiaſticall chapters, & matters touchyng religion. All which are to be ſeene in ẏ bookes of the principall and chiefe conſtitutions, collected & ſet forth by Iuſtinian. Amongeſt the which, many of the chapters are ſayd to be accepted and allowed of Honorius and Theodoſius. So in lyke caſe, the 21.can. in the 63.diſtinction, doth declare, that the Grecian emperors that next inſued after Iuſtinian, dyd obſerue that maner of ordeinyng and election of the biſhop of Rome: althoughe then at that tyme interpellatũ erat it was ſomewhat ſporned at. Amongſt whome mention is made of Conſtãtinus the iiij. which was ſurnamed Pogonatus.

tianus his di- ction, proued the elec of bi- ps to be the pope.

he titles Iuſtinian the tion.

he Greciã perours. tours of ops.

Carolus Magnus in lyke maner followed their ſteps and maner in ẏ ſame, as in the 22.canon, and the ſame diſtinction is declared. And farther it was at a Synodal councel in Laterane (Adrian beyng highe biſhop where were conuented and aſſembled 153. other byſhops) decréed: that the power and authoritie of creatyng the byſhop of Rome, and ordainyng of all other prelates and eccleſiaſticall orders, ſhould be in the power and wyl of Carolus Magnus, as wel in Italy as other his dominions and prouinces: and that whoſoeuer was not promoted and allowed by him, ſhould not be conſecrated of anye: And that thoſe, which repugned and diſobeyed, this decree ſhoulde incurre, the moſte ſharpe payne of proſcription and publication of lawe. The worthye example hereof, is extant in the, 18.can. and 18.title. Yet notwithſtãding, Stephanus the 4. autor of this reſcript agaynſt the ſayd decrée and without the Emperors conſent, was made biſhop of Rome. Who to that intent he myght delude the decreed and ſolempniſed penaltie, therby to excuſe hymſelfe: wente into Fraunce to Ludouicus Pius the ſonne of Carolus Magnus, and at Rheims crowned he him wyth the imperiall diademe. Neyther coulde thys biſhop here ſtay himſelfe, but ſpying ẏ great lenitie of the Emperour, aſſayed to make fruſtrate the foreſayd conſtitution. For hys purpoſe was, & brought it ſo to paſſe, as in the 27.canon and the ſame deſtinatiõ appeareth: that it myght be lawfull for the eccleſiaſticall order, wyth the people and ſenate of Rome (without the autoritie of the emperour) to chuſe the biſhop of Rome: reſeruyng, that he ſhould not be conſecrated wythout ẏ wyll and conſent of the emperour. Thus is it manifeſt, that the biſhops of Rome themſelues, not regarding but deſpiſing the ſtraite penaltie and ſanction of the foreſayd decrée of the Laterane councel: were not onely the fyrſt that brake the ſame, but alſo by contrary reſcriptes and conſtitutions laboured and endeuored, to extoll and ſet vp themſelues aboue all other.

he electiõ creed by 3 biſhops the coũ- l of Late- e to be the Em- rour,

ephan the 4.fyrſt al- erer of this lection,

The biſhop of Rome the fyrſt breaker of the decrees of the councell.

Wherupon, Lotharius afterwarde beyng emperor and nephew to Carolus Magnus, comming into Italy there to diſſolue the conſpiracie and confederacie of Leo the 4. about the tranſlation of the Empyre: renewed & ſtabliſhed agayne the Synodall decrée of Laterane, touchyng the iuriſdiction of the emperour for the election of the biſhop of Rome and other eccleſiaſtical perſons. And hereof it came, that thoſe epiſtles were written of Leo in the 16.and 17.canon, and the ſame diſtinction, which alſo as in the 9.canon and 10.deſtinction, made a profeſſion, that the ſame imperiall preceptes ſhould be kepte in all ages. This Leo when he was reproued of treaſon & other euils, pleaded hys cauſe before Ludouicus the 2. Emperour of Rome, and ſonne of Lotharius aboue recited, 2.q.7.canon 40.

Lotharius renueth the Lateran decree for election of biſhops.

But after this as tyme grew on, the byſhops of Rome nothyng relinquiſhing their ambitious deſires: Otho the firſt emperour of that name, depriued and put from the ſee of Rome that moſt filthye and wycked biſh. Iohn the xiij. both for dyuers and ſundry wicked and hainous actes by him committed, as alſo for hys great treaſons and conſpiracies againſt his royall perſon: and dyd ſubſtitute in hys place Leo the 5. Who callyng a Synode at Laterane in the ſame temple and place where the other before was kept: dyd promulgate a new conſtitution wᵗ the conſent of the ſenate and people of Rome, concerning the emperours iuriſdictiõ in the foreſayd election: which in the 23.canon is contayned and 63.diſtinction. Wherby, the olde right and power of the emperour in the election of the byſhop of Rome and other eccleſiaſticall prelates, was agayne with more ſharper & ſtraighter ſanction confirmed and ratified. Againe, Iohn the 18. whom Creſſentius ẏ Romaine (vſurpyng ẏ imperiall crowne) had made biſhop by the conſent of the people of Rome & the eccleſiaſticall order: hauing his noſe cut of, and hys eyes put out, and ſo thruſt out of the capital: was agian of Otho 3. eſtabliſhed & made biſhop. But when as yet notwithſtandyng, the biſhops of Rome would not alter their olde accuſtomed diſpoſition, but wyth all their induſtry indeuored to abrogate that iuriſdiction of the Emperour ouer the byſhop of Rome (as a people loth to be vnder ſubiection) Henry the 3 (then Leo the 9. beyng conſtituted biſhop) dyd once agayn ratify the ſame, and cauſed the biſhop which extolled hymſelfe before all hys fellowe biſhops, to ſtoupe & geue place to Moguntinus.

Otho depoſeth Iohn the xiiii and ratefyeth a new decree of election.

Leo the.5. was inſtituted by Otho the Emperour.

The election once agayn ratifyed to be in the Emperours iuriſdiction.

Henry the.3 and Leo the.9.

So, after the death of Henry the 3. emperour, Nicholas the 2. although in his decree (which in the firſt canon and 23.diſtinction is recited) gaue the primacie for the election of the biſhop of Rome by the meanes of the prieſtes and people of Rome, vnto the Cardinals: yet he would after that, that the prerogatiue therin ſhoulde be reſerued to Henrye the 4. the yonge Emperour, from whome the empire afterwarde was for a tyme wreſted and taken.

Henry the.4. & Nicholas the.2.

But nowe after this, when Hildebrand whiche was

called

The election hetherto in the emperours & nowe begyneth to fayle, by Hildebrand

called Gregory the 7. was Pope: This prerogatiue of the Emperours in their election, which before in the creation of Alexander ỹ byſhop was neglected & broken: The biſhops of Rome not onely did ſeeke to deminiſhe the auctoritie therof, but alſo to euacuate, & quite vndo ỹ ſame. For he, not onely aſpired to that dignitie without the cōſent and apointement of the Emperour: but alſo made reſtraint that no Emperour, Kyng, Duke, Marques, Earle, or any other ciuile Magiſtrate: ſhould aſſigne & apoint to any man any eccleſiaſticall function & charge, neither that any of his prelates ſo hardy, ſhould take thē at any of theyr handes, as q 16. canon 7. 9. and 10. may be ſeene.

Henry 4 again chalengeth the election.

Yet not withſtandyng, after that this horrible monſter Hildebrand was proſcript and thruſt out of the Papall ſeat & Clement the 3. put in his ſtede: Henry agayne chalenged his Imperiall prerogatiue of election. But yet, when the biſhops whiche ſucceded after this Hildebrand and led by hys examples, began to derogate from the imperiall prerogatiue of election: and Henry on the other ſide by all meanes poſſible, ſought to defende and maintayne the ſame: By the ſubtile fraude and miſchyuous pollicie of the biſhops whiche ſet the ſonne againſt the father, & found meanes to ſteale from him the harts of his nobles and ſubiects & to ſet them all agaynſt hym, and eſpecially the princes of Germanie: was depoſed & diſapointed of his purpoſe.

Henry the .v. alſo ſtriueth for the electiō and fayleth

And although Henry the fifth (commyng to Rome) brought Paſchalis the ſecond to that point, ỹ he both in publique concion, and in writing ſealed, and alſo by othe confirmed: reſtored agayne to the Emperours of Rome that prerogatiue of election, & of giuing eccleſiaſtical dignities: yet not withſtandyng, after that Henry the Emperour was gone frō Rome: Paſchalis ỹ pope, greatly repentyng and ſorowing that he had done (in alowyng and confirmyng the priuilegies of Emperours through feare) touching ỹ giuing & diſpoſing of eccleſiaſticall functions, excommunicated the Emperour: And in a Sinodall councel at Lateran ordained and decreed, that he ſhould be had and accounted a wicked enemie, that would take any eccleſiaſticall functiō or prefermēt at the hands of a ciuile magiſtrate, wherupō wer made theſe decrees q..16. cap. 7. 13. 14. 15. and 16.

Prieſtes accurſed that take anye benefice at the hands of a lay man.

Therfore, when theſe decrees touching the deſignation of Biſhops, in ſpight and contempt of the Emperour were practiſed and put in vre: and when that now (eſpecially by the meanes and procurement of the Byſhops) inteſtine and ciuile warres began to riſe in the Empire: theyr imperiall iuriſdiction in this matter was not onely weakened and much debilitate, but alſo in maner, vtterly broken and loſt. For when Henry the v. Emperour was ſharply of Lotharius and his vaſſals the Biſhops, be ſet and layd vnto by the prouocation of the pope: and was mightly by the Byſhops that toke his parte on the other ſide requeſted and intreated (in hope of publicque peace and tranquilitie) that he would condeſcend & ſomewhat yelde to the Popes demaundes: He at length (the more was the pitie) that he might be reconciled and haue peace with pope Calixtus the ſecond: In the citie of Vangio departed frō and with, that his prerogatiue or iuriſdiction of giuing eccleſiaſticall prefermentes, to the pope and his prelates: now more thē thre hundreth yeres (frō the tyme of Charolus Magnus) in the handes of the Emperours of Rome, and vntill this tyme with great fortitude and princely courage, conſerued and kept: whiche reſignation turned to the no ſmal detriment both of the church of Chriſt, and chriſtian common wealth.

Hēry .v. cōpaſſed by ciuile diſſention for the prerogatiue of election as hys father was.

Henry the .v. reſigneth hys prerogatiue of election.

The election gotten to the piſhoppes of Rome.

Thē firſt and neuer before, obtayned the Biſhop of Rome, and quietly enioyed that prerogatiue of election, and beſtowyng of benefices: whiche he ſo longe before with ſuch great policies (nowe ſecretly now openly, and now wͭ forſe) had ſought for. And with what ſufficient & good auctoritie Gratianus will proue, that before this time the ſame auctoritie was giuen to the citie of Rome for the election of the pope without the cōſent of the Emperour he ſhoweth: as in the 29. and 30. canō: and what good ſtuffe he putteth in ỹ latter, and how ſubtelly that Papiſticall flatterer or pontificall paraſite hath forged the ſame: Both Carolus Molineus ſufficiētly in diuers places hath noted, and by the obſeruation of tymes may of a meane hiſtoriographer that hath read the French and Germane hiſtories, ſone be ſpied and diſcerned. For firſt, fiue biſhops one after an other ſucceded this Gregorie ỹ 4, vpō whom ỹ 29. canō is intituled or fathered: that is, Sergius 2. Jhon 8. Adrian 2. Jhon 9. and Adrian the 3. Which Adrian, by force wreſtyng the auctoritie of the election from the people, was made Pope: When as, this Gregory (ſpecially tō be noted) would not take on hym the papacie, before that the Emperour had cōſented to his election. After this, Molineus compareth Raphael Volateranus with the 30. canon, which agayn is ſuſpected: For why, whē Eugenius was biſhop which was the ſucceſſor of this Paſchalis with whom Ludouicus Pius is ſayd to haue made a leage or paction: The ſame Ludouicus Pius, with his ſonne Lotharius together with helpe of ỹ kyng of the Romanes, at Rome made lawes both to all his ſubiects in the Empire, as alſo to the Romanes them ſelues: ſpeaking nothyng of the renewyng of that decree made by Lotharius. Then againe, howe coulde Leo the fourth write to Lotharius and Ludouicus Emperours, that counterfet or forged decree, begynnyng with Conſtitutio, &c: when in the ſame, mentiō is made of Henricus Aucupes & Otho the firſt, which raigned more then 80. yeares after them and Leo the fourth, byſhop of Rome.

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The … fault … with Gratiano.

Now, wyth what face dare thys fond fellow Gratianus, make Otho the fyrſt to bee authour of the. 31. Canon, whē as Otho depriued the ſame John the. xij. of the papacie: And not only tooke nothyng from the imperiall iuriſdiction concernyng the election, nor from the citye of Rome, nor anye other Biſhoppes ſubiecte to the Romane Empyre: but added ſomewhat more thereunto, as was ſayd before. And yet not withſtandyng, ſo ſhameles and ſenſeles was thys Gracian, that he durſt obtrude and lay before the Reader, ſo manifeſt fraude and euident legerdemayne (fayned and made of hys own braynes in the compilyng of this decree) being ſo neceſſarye as he thought for the dominion and primacie of the Romane biſhops, in the ſteede of good and true lawes: neyther fearing that the ſame myghte bee after hys dayes reprehended, neyther to hys greate ſhame and diſcredit vnto hym attributed. Where alſo by ỹ way is to be noted, that as this graceles Gracianus to pleaſe theſe holye fathers and to erecte their kingdome, would geue ſo impudent an attempt to the blynding and deceauyng of all poſterities: inſerting for grounded truthes and holy decrees ſuch loude lyes and deteſtable doctrine: what may be thought of the rable of ỹ reſt of writers in thoſe daies, what attemptes hope of gayne might cauſe thē to worke: By whom and ſuch like is to be feared, ỹ falſefieng of diuers other good workes now extant, in thoſe perilous tymes written.

How ſh… leſſe and impuden… Gratian… is in for… ging the decrees.

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Thus, when the biſhops had once wraſted thys authoritie out of the Emperours handes: they then ſo fortifed and armed them ſelues and their dominion, that although afterwardes Fridericke the fyrſt, graundfather vnto thys good Empecour Fridericke the ſecond, as alſo Ludouicus Boius, and Henricus Lucelburgenſis (as men moſt ſtudious and carefull for the dignities of the Empire: vnfayned louers and mayntayners of the vtilitie of the cōmon weale: and moſt deſierus of the preſeruation and proſperitie of the church) did all theyr indeuours wyth ſingular wyſedome and ſtrength, as much as in them lay, to recouer agayne from the biſhop

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of Rome thys the autoritie of the imperiall iuriſdiction loſt: moſt cruelly and wickedly abuſing the ſame, to the deſtruction both of the Empyre, vndoyng of the cõmon wealth, and vtter ſubuerſion of the churche of God: yet could they not be able to bring the ſame to paſſe in thoſe darke and ſhadowed tymes of peruerſe doctrine and errours of the people, and moſt miſerable ſeruitude of ciuil magiſtrates.

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The ſame and lyke priuilege alſo in the election of theyr biſhops and prelates, and diſpoſing of eccleſiaſticall offices, as yͤ Emperour of Rome had: Euery prince and kyng in theyr ſeuerall dominions had yͤ lyke. For, by yͤ decree of the councel of Toletane, whych in the.25. canõ & 63. diſtinction is mencioned: the autoritie of creating & chuſing biſhops & prelates in Hiſpane, was in yͤ power of yͤ kyng of Hiſpane. The lyke alſo, by the hiſtories of Clodoueus, Charolus Magnus, Ludouicus nonus, Philippus Auguſtus, Philippus pulcher, Charolus.5. Charolus.6. and Charolus.7. kyngs of Fraunce, is apparant and well knowen: that all theſe kynges had the chieſe charge and gouernment of the French church, and not the biſhops of Rome.

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And by our Engliſh hiſtories alſo as you haue herd, it is manifeſt: that the autoritie of chuſing eccleſiaſtical miniſters and biſhops, was alwayes in yͤ kings of England, tyll the raygne of king Henry the firſt: who by the labour and procurement of Anſelmus biſhop of Caunt. was depriued and put from the ſame.

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ction.

Alſo, the princes of Germanye and Electours of the Emperour, tyll the tyme of Henry the.5. had all (euerye prince ſeuerally in hys own dition & prouince) the ſame iuriſdiction and prerogatiue: to geue and diſpoſe eccleſiaſticall functions to theyr prelats at theyr pleaſure: and after yͤ it appertayned to the people & prelates together. And how in the raygne of Fridericke, the Prelates gat vnto them ſelues alone, thys Imminuitie: Iohannes Auentinus in hys.7. booke of the Annales of the Boiores, doth deſcribe.

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Alſo it is probable, that the kinges of Sicilia had the ſame facultie in geuyng and diſpoſing theyr eccleſiaſticall promotions and charge of churches. Andreas de Iſtmia ad.1. conſtit. Neap. nu.12. And that becauſe Friderik defẽded him againſt the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, therefore as Fazellus ſayeth, he was excommunicated of Honorius. But that Platina and Blondus alledge other cauſes wherefore he was excommunicate of Honorius, I am not ignorant: Howbeit, he that wyll compare their writinges with others that write more indifferently betwene Honorius and him: ſhall eaſely fynde, that they more ſought the fauour of the Romayne Byſhops, then to wryte a veritye. But now agayne to the hiſtory of Fridericke.

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iderick.

Nicholaus Ciſnerus affirmeth, that whyleſt Fridericke the Emperour was in Sicilia, hys wyfe Conſtantia dyed at Catrana or Catana. In the meane time, the Chriſtians whych with a great nauie ſayled into Egipt and tooke the City Heliopolis, commonly called Damatia, and longe agoe named Pelucinum, beinge in good hope to haue dryuen Sultanos the Sowdan oute of Egipt: had a greate & maruelous ouerthrow, by the conuaying of the water of the flud Nilus (which then ouerflowed) into theyr Campe: and were fayne to accord an vnprofitable truce with yͤ Sowldan for certayne yeres, and to deliuer ths City agayne: and ſo departing out of Egipt, were fayne to come to Acones and Tirus, to the no ſmall detriment and loſſe of the Chriſtian armye. Wherupon, kyng Iohn ſurnamed Brẽnus (being kyng of Ieruſalem, arriued in Italie, and prayed ayde of the Emperour agaynſt hys enemies in whom he had great hope to fynde remedy of the euils and calamities before declared: and from thence he went to Rome to the pope, declaryng vnto hym the great diſcomfit and ouerthrow paſt, as alſo the preſent perill and calamitie that they were in, deſiryng alſo hys ayde therein. By whoſe meanes as Ciſnerus ſayth, the Emperour was reconciled agayne to the Pope, and made frendes together: to whome alſo kyng Iohn gaue Ioell hys daughter in mariage, whych came of the daughter of Conradus K. of Ieruſalem, and Marques of Mount Ferrat: wyth whom he had for dowry, the inheritaunce of the kyngdome of Ieruſalem, as right heyre thereunto by her mother. By whom alſo, he after obtayned the kyngdomes of Naples and Sicel: and promiſed that wyth as much expedient ſpeede as he might, he would prepare a power for the recouery agayn of Ieruſalem, and be thear himſelfe in proper perſon: whych thyng to do, for that vpon diuers occaſions he deferred, whereof ſome thinke one, ſome an other: Honorius, vnto whom he was latelye reconſiled, purpoſed to haue made agaynſte hym ſome great and ſecrete attempt, had he not bene by death before preuented, vpon whom were made theſe verſes.

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Friderick and the pope made frendes.

Honorius the pope dieth before he put his practiſe in vre againſt Friderick.

O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,
Eſt tibi decori, viuere vade mori.

After whom ſucceded Gregorius the.9. as great an enemy to Friderick, as was Honorius: which Gregory, came of yͤ raſe whom yͤ Emperour (as before ye heard) condemned of treaſon whych they wrowghte againſt hym. Thys Gregory was ſcarcely ſetled in his papacy, when that he threatned hym and that greatlye wyth excommunication, vnles he would prepare hymſelfe into Aſia, accordyng to hys promiſe as ye hearde before to kyng Iohn. And what the cauſe was, why the Pope ſo haſtened the iourney of Fridericke into Aſia, you ſhall heare hereafter: In effect, he could not wel bryng that to paſſe, whych in hys miſcheuous mynde he had deuiſed, vnleſſe the emperour were farder frõ him. Notwythſtãding, Friderick it ſhould ſeme ſmelling a rat, or myſtruſting ſomwhat (as well he myght) alledged diuers cauſes and lets, as latelye and truly he dyd to Honorius.

Gregorius.9. as great an enemie to Frid. as Honorius.

Fride refuſeth to goo in to Aſia at the popes bidding the pode is angry.

Fazellus a Sicilian wryter ſayth, that the ſpeciall cauſe of the emperours ſtaye was: for the othe of truce and peace during certayne yeares, whyche was made betwene the Saracens and Chriſtians as you heard, whych tyme was not yet expired.

The ſame alſo Fazellus, writeth thus of king Ihon of Ieruſalem: that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the Emperour and the Pope were reconciled together. And being called vp to Rome to celebrate yͤ mariage, Pope Gregory (as the maner of thoſe proud prelates is) offered hys ryghte foote vnto the Emperour to kiſſe. But yͤ Emperour not ſtoupinge ſo low, ſcarſly wͭ his lip, touched the vpper part of his knee and would not kiſſe his foote: which thing, yͤ pope tooke in very euil part and was therewith meruelouſly offended. But for that no oportunitie at that time ſerued to reuenge his conceaued grudge and old malice, he diſſimuled yͤ ſame as he might for that tyme, thinking to recompence it at the full as tyme would ſerue, and fall out therefore.

The cauſe of the ſtaye of the Emperours Iorneie into Aſia.

The pope diſſembleth hys grudge.

After thys, it fortuned that the emperour hearyng how the Chriſtians were oppreſſed by the Sowldan in Syria, and that from Arſacida there came a great power agaynſt the Chriſten princes: he made the more haſt, and was wyth more deſire incouraged to ſet forward hys iourney into Aſia. Wherfore, aſſemblyng the Nobilitie of the empyre at Rauẽna and Cremona: he gaue in commaundement to Henrye hys ſonne (whom not long before he cauſed to be created Ceaſar) yͭ he ſhoulde perſwade the nobles & princes of the empire: that they all, would be ready to put to theyr helpyng handes, in furthering thys hys iourney & enterprice. Thus writeth Fazellus: howbeit, ſome other affirme that theſe things were done in the tyme of Honorius. But howe ſo euer that matter is, thys thyng is manifeſt: that Fridericke to ſa-

The preparation of the viage of Frid. to Ieruſalem and ſtay therof.

to ſatiſfie the popes deſire, which neuer would lynne but by al meanes ſought to prouoke him forward, gaue him at length his promiſe: that by a certaine tyme he would prepare an armie and fight him ſelf agianſt thoſe, which kept from him the Citie of Jeruſalem (whiche thyng he alſo confeſſeth him ſelfe in his Epiſtles) and alſo how he deſired, and obtained of the pieres & nobilitie of the Empire, their ayde therunto: as alſo, to haue apointed a cõuenient tyme when they ſhould be at Brunduſium.

The preparation of the Emperours warre agaynſt the Turke.

Great ſickenes in the Emperours armye.

The Emperour himſelf ſicke.

In the meane ſeaſon, he with all his power and indeuour made haſty and ſpedy preparation for the warres: he rigged & manned a puiſſant nauie, he had the pikedſt men and beſt ſoldiers that were in euery countrey, and made warlike prouiſion and furniture, for euery thyng that to ſuch a viage and expedition apertayned. Neither was the matter ſlacked, but at the time apointed: Great bandes aſſembled and muſtured both of Germane ſouldiers and others, and vnder their captaines apointed ſet forth & marched to Brunduſium. Their generals were, Turingꝰ and Sigebertus, and Auguſtanus the biſhop: where they, long tyme lyeng and attendyng the Emperours commyng (beyng let by infirmitie and ſickenes) great peſtilẽce and ſondry diſeaſes moleſted thẽ, by reaſon of ths great heate and intemperaunce of that countrey: and many a ſouldier there loſt his life, among whõ alſo dyed Turingus one of their generalls. The Emperour, when he had ſomewhat recouered his health, with all his nauie lanched out and ſet forward to Brunduſium. And when he came to the ſtraictes of Peliponẽces and Creta (being Ilandes lyeng in the ſea) and there, for lacke of conuenient wynde was ſtayed: ſodenly the Emperour (hys diſeaſes growyng vppon hym agayne) fell ſicke: and ſending before, all or the moſt part of his bãds and ſhyppes into Paleſtine, promyſing them (moſt aſſuredly) to come after and folow them ſo ſone as he might recouer and get neuer ſo litle health: he hym ſelfe with a few ſhyppes, returned and came to Brunduſium, and from thence for wante of health, went into Apulia.

The pope excõmunicateth the Emperour for ſtaying hys viage.

He layeth falſe accuſations to hys charge.

The Emperour purgeth him ſelfe of thoſe crimes the pope layd agaynſt him, by his letters dedicated to all chriſten princes.

When tidinges hereof came to the popes eare: He ſent forth his thundryng curſes and new excommunicatiõs agaynſt the Emperour. The cauſes wherfore, I find noted and mentioned by his own letters, that is. How that when he hadde robbed and taken from Brunduſius, prince of Turinge, his horſes, his money, and other rich furniture of his houſe at the tyme of his death, he ſailed into Italy: not for the entẽt to make warre agaynſt the Turke, but to cõuey this pray yͭ he had ſtolẽ & takẽ away frõ Bronduſius, who neglecting his oth & promiſe which he had made, & faynyng hym ſelfe to be ſicke, came home agayn. And yͭ by his default alſo, Damieta was loſt, and the hoſt of the Chriſtians ſore afflicted. Fazellus, beſides theſe cauſes ſpoken of before, doth write that the pope alledged theſe alſo. That he defiled a certaine Damoſell, whiche was in the quenes nurſery: and that he ſlue hys wife whẽ he had whipped her in the priſon, for declaring this miſchieuous acte to her father kyng Jhon. But all the writers, and alſo Blondus him ſelfe doth declare, that this Joell, dyed after the publicatiõ of the proſcript and excõmunication: wherfore, the pope could not wͭout greate ſhame alledge that cauſe vpon the death of Joell: For vndoubtedly yͤ truth is, yͭ ſhe of her ſonne Cõradus, dyed in childbed. Then Fredericke, to refell and auoyde the foreſayd ſlaunders, ſendeth the biſhop of Brundis, & other legates to Rome: whom the pope would not ſuffer to come to his preſence, neither yet to the counſell of the cardinals to make his purgation. Wherfore the Emperour to purge him ſelfe of the crimes, which the pope did ſo falſly accuſe him of: both to all Chriſten kyngs & ſpecially to the princes of Germanie, and all the nobles of yͤ Empire, he writeth his letters (which are to be ſeene) that thoſe thynges are both falſe and alſo fayned, and of the popes own head inuented. And ſheweth, how yͭ his embaſſadours with his purgation, could not be ſuffered to come to the popes preſence: alſo doth largly intreat how vnthankfull and vngratefull the biſhops of Rome were towardes him for the great benefites which both he and alſo his predeceſſours had beſtowed vpon them and the Romane churche: which letter, for that it is ouer tedious here to place, conſideryng the diſcourſe of the hiſtory is ſomewhat long, the ſumme of his purgation is this.

He proteſteth and declareth vniuerſally, that he had alwayes great care for the Chriſtiã common wealth, and that he had determined euen from his youth, to fight agaynſt the Turke and Saracens. And for that occaſion, he made a promiſe to yͤ princes electours of Aquiſgraue, howe yͭ he would take yͤ warre vpon him: Afterward, he renewed his promiſe to Rome, when he was cõſecrated of Honorius: Thẽ, whẽ he maried yͤ daughter of yͤ king of Hieruſalem, which was an heyre of the ſame: And for becauſe, that kyngdome might be defended and kept from the iniuries of the enemyes, and that he fauored it euen as he did his owne: he prepared an huge nauie, and gathered together a ſtronge armye of men: neither did he neglect any thyng that belonged to the furniture of yͤ warre. But when the tyme was come, and his bãd was gathered together: his ſickenes would not ſuffer hym to be there. And afterward whẽ he had recouered yͤ ſame, & came to Brunduſium, and from thẽce wͭout any diſturbance wẽt forth with to the ſea: he fel into the ſame ſicknes again, by the which he was let of his purpoſe: which thing (ſaith he) he is able to proue by ſufficiẽt teſtimonie. How yͤ pope alſo, doth lay the loſyng of Damatia, and other things which proſpered not wel wͭ him, vniuſtly to his charge: when as he had made great prouiſion for the ſame iourney both of ſoldiours & other neceſſary things. But he that will vnderſtand things more playnly amõg other Epiſtels of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Fredericke, let him read theſe eſpecially, which begin thus: In admirationem, & iuſticiam & innocentiam: & Leuate oculos. And truly euen as Fridericus the Emperor declareth in his letters, concernyng this matter, all the old writers of Germany, do accord & agree in the ſame.

Matheus Pariſienſis alſo briefly collecteth the effect of an other letter whiche he wrote to the kyng of England, complaynyng vnto hym of yͤ excõmunication of yͤ pope agaynſt hym: Whoſe wordes are theſe. And amongſt other catholicque princes (ſaith he) He alſo wrote his letters vnto the kyng of Englãd, emballed with gold: Declaryng in the ſame, that the biſhop of Rome ſo flamed with the fire of auarice and manifeſt cõcupiſcence: that not beyng contented with the goods of the church which were innumerable, but alſo yͭ he ſhamed not to bryng princes, kyngs, and Emperours: to be ſubiect, and contributors to hym, and ſo to diſherite them and put them from their kyngly dignities. And that the kyng of England him ſelfe had good experiment therof, whoſe father (that is kyng Jhon) they ſo long held excommunicate till they had brought both him and his dominions vnder ſeruitude and to pay vnto him tribute. Alſo, that many haue experience of the ſame by the Earle of Tholouſe & diuers others princes, whiche ſo long helde their perſons and landes in interdict, till they myght bryng them into like ſeruitude. I pretermit ſaith he the Symonies, & ſondry ſortes of exactions (the lyke whereof was neuer yet hard) whiche daylye are vſed, amongeſt the eccleſiaſticall perſõs, beſides their manifeſt vſurie (yet ſo cloked and colored to the ſimple ſort) that therewithall they infect the hole world. They be yͤ ſugred & enbalmed Simoniſtes, the inſatiable horſleaches or bloud ſoccours: ſayeng that the church of Rome, is our mother and nurce, where as it is in dede the moſt pollyng court in the vniuerſall world, the roote and right mother of all miſchief: vſing and exerciſing no motherly doyngs or deades but bringing forth the right exercices of a wicked ſtepdame: makyng ſufficient proofe therof by her manifeſt frutes to all ẏ world apparãt. Let the Barons of Englãd conſider whether this be true or not, whom Pope Innocent by hys bulles with one conſent encouraged, to riſe and rebell againſt their ſoueraigne lord and prince, king John your father, as an obſtinat enemy to ẏ church of Rome. But after that the kyng (far out of ſquare) remembring hymſelfe, had crouched vnto hym and had obliged both hymſelfe and kyngdome to the churche of Rome, more lyker a woman then a man: and that the wyſe Barones whom the pope had fyrſt maintayned and ſtirred vp, wͭout al ſhame eyther of ẏ world or feare of god, had done ẏ ſame: ſought how he myght wͭ gaping mouth deuour & cõſume ẏ ſwete fat frõ them, whom he had miſerably to deathe betrayed and diſherited, as the maner of the Romayne biſhops is. By whoſe gredye auarice it came to paſſe, ẏ Englãd the prince of prouinces was brought vnder miſerable ſubiection & tribute. Behold ẏ manners & cõditions of our Romayne biſhops: behold the ſnares wherwyth theſe prelates do ſeke to intangle men wyth all: to wipe their noſes of their money: to make their children bondmen: to diſquiet ſuch as ſeke to liue in peace: beyng clothed wyth ſhepes clothing, when in deede they be but rauening Wolues, ſedyng their legates hether & thether to excommunicat & to ſuſpend: as hauing power to puniſh whome they liſt: not ſowing the ſeede, that is ẏ worde of God to fructifie: but ẏ they may bribe and pole mens purſes, and reape that which they neuer did ſowe. Thus commeth it to paſſe, that they ſpoile the holy churches and houſes of God, which ſhould be the refuge for the poore, and the manſion houſes of ſainctes: which our deuout & ſimple parẽts to ẏ purpoſe builded & ordeyned, to ẏ refection of poore men & pilgrimes, & to ẏ ſuſtentation of ſuche as were well diſpoſed and religious. But theſe degenerate varlets, whom onely letters hath made both madd and malipert, do ſtriue and gape to be both kings and emperours.

King Iohns ſubmiſſion to the pope blamed by the emperour.

who be the rauening woolues in ſhepes clothing.

The treaſure of the church belongeth to the poore

Doubtles the primatiue church was builded & laid in pouertie and ſimplicity of lyfe, and then as a fruteful mother begate ſhe thoſe her holy childrẽ, whom the Cataloge of saynts now maketh mention of: and verily no other foundation can be layd of any other church, then that which is layd by Jeſus Chriſt. But this church, as it ſwimmeth and waloweth in all ſuperfluitie of riches, and doth bu:lde and raiſe the frame in all ſuperfluous welth and glorye: So is it to be feared leaſt the walles thereof in tyme fall in decaye, and when the walles bee down, vtter ruine and ſubuerſion folow after. Agaynſt vs, he knoweth ẏ is ẏ ſercher of all harts, how furiouſly theſe catholiques rage & go to work: Saying, therfore & excõmunicating me that I will not take vpon me ẏ iourney I haue promiſed beyond the ſeas: wheras, inemicable and moſt vrgent cauſes & perils, as wel to ẏ church of god as alſo to the empire, beſydes the anoyaunce of myne infirmitie and ſicknes, do detayne me at home, & ſtay ẏ ſame, but eſpecially, the inſolencie of ẏ rebellious Sicilians. For why, neither do we think it ſafetie to our empire, nor expediẽt to the chriſtian ſtate: that we ſhould now take our iourney into Aſia, leauyng behynde vs at home ſuch inteſtine and ciuill warres: no more then for a good ſurgeon, to laye a healing playſter to a greuous wound new ſtriken wyth the ſword, and made. In concluſion, alſo to this he addeth: admoniſhyng all the prynces of the world, that they would beware and take head (by their auaricious iniquitie) of lyke perill and daunger to themſelues: Becauſe, ẏ as the prouerbe is: It behoueth hym to looke about, that ſeeth his neighboures houſe on fyre. Thus much out of Pariſ. pag. 69.

Chriſtes church was bylded in humility, The Popes church is al ſuperfluitie. Ergo the Popes church is not Chriſtes churche.

But now, that Fridericus themperour might in very deede ſtop the ſlaunders of the cruel pope, which did perſiſt and go forward ſtil in excommunicatiõ againſt him: And that he might declare to the whole world, how that the laſt yeare he forſlowed not his iourney by his owne voluntary will, but by neceſſitye: When he had deuiſed and prepared all thyng meete for the warre, and that he had gathered together and leuied a greate armie of men: He departed from thence to Brunduſium, committyng the gouernment of hys kyngdom to Renaldus the ſonne of duke Spoletus, and to Anſelmus a Baron of Iſtingenſis & came by ſea to Cyprus with hys hoſte.

An other iourney of the Emperour to Ieruſalem.

Frõ Cyprus, the Emperour wͭ his whole nauy ſayled into Joppa, which citie he fortified, forthat the paſſages by land were ſtopped and kept of the enemyes: And by ſea myght he not paſſe nor trauayle, by meanes of ẏ extreme wether and tempeſt: wherby it came to paſſe, ẏ wythin ſhort ſpace they lacked vitayles and were ſore afflicted wyth famyne. Then fell they to prayer & made their humble ſupplication to God, wyth whoſe teares his wrath beyng appeaſed: the great tempeſt and long continued foule weather ſeaſed, whereby (the ſeas now beyng calme) they had both vittayle, great plentye and all other neceſſary things for their nede, brought vnto them: wherby immediatly it came to paſſe, ẏ both the Emperour and hys armye as alſo the inhabitauntes of Joppa, were greatly refreſhed & animated: and on the other ſide their enemies being diſappointed of their purpoſe, were greatly diſcouraged. In ſo much, ẏ the kyng of Egipt who wͭ a great power (accompanied with Scarapho his brother prince of Gaza, and the prince of Damaſcus their nephew, with manye other dukes and nobles) hauyng incamped thẽſelues wythin one dayes iorney of Joppa, thinking to haue beſieged the ſame: were contented vpon the commyng of the Emperors harolds vnto them, to intreat of a peace. Wherupon, embaſſadours were ſente vnto them wyth the Emperoures demaundes right profitable to the chriſtian cõmon weale. The Saraſens (immediatly conſultynge vpon the ſame) graunted therunto: ſo that, a peace for x. yeres was concluded, and was confirmed by ſolempne othe on the behalfe of both princes accordyng to theyr ſeueral vſages and maner: the forme & condition of which peace, briefly collected are theſe.

The emperour oppreſſed by fameine and bi prayer miraculully releued.

A Concluſion of a profitable peace during ten yeres betwene the Turkes & the Chriſtians.

Fyrſt, that Fridericke the emperour, ſhould be crowned and annointed kyng of Jeruſalem accordyng to the maner of the kyngs of Jeruſalem before hym.

Secondly, that all the landes and poſſeſſions which were ſituate betwixt Jeruſalem and Ptolomaida, & the greateſt parte of Paleſtina, and cities of Tyrus and Sydon which were in Syria, and al other territories which Baldwinus the iiij. at any time had and occupied there: ſhould be deliuered vnto hym, onelye certayne caſtels reſerued.

The articles of the peace agreed vpon.

Thirdly, that he myght fortifie and build what forteſſes and caſtels he thought good, cities and tounes: in all Syria and Paleſtina.

Fourthly, that all the priſoners whiche were in the Saracens hands, ſhould be raunſomed freely and ſente home: and agayne, that the Saracens might haue leaue wythout armour to come into the Temple where the Lordes ſepuchre is, to praye: and that they ſhould holde and keepe ſtill Chratum, and the kyngs mount.

Friderick now, forthat he thought the concluſion of this peace to bee ſo neceſſarye as alſo profitable for all Chriſtians, and had alſo gottẽ aſmuch therby, as yf the warres had cõtinued he ſhould: he ſent hys legates with letters into ẏ weſt, to all chriſtiã kings, princes, & potentates, as alſo to the biſhop of Rome: declaring vnto thẽ ẏ circumſtance & ſucces of his iourney and warres, as partly ye haue heard: Requiring thẽ, ẏ they alſo would prayſe and geue god thankes for this good ſucces & profitable peace concluded: And deſyreth the pope, that for as much as he had now accompliſhed hys promiſe, neyther that there was any cauſe now wherfore he ſhoulde be wyth him diſpleaſed, that he myght be reconſiled and obtayne his fauour.

The letters of Friderick to the princes & pope of his ſucceſſe.

The Emperour crowned king of Ieruſalem.

In the meane ſeaſon,the Emperour wyth al his army,marcheth to Ieruſalem:where, vpon Eaſterday in the yeare of our Lorde,1529.he was with great triūph and comfort of all hys nobles and alſo the Magiſtrates of that kyngdome (onely the Patriarch of Cyprus the kings legate,and Oliuer the Maiſter or captayn of the Temple with hys company,excepted)ſolempnly & with great applauſe,crowned kinge.

After thys,he reedifieth the Citie and walles therof which by the Saracens were beaten downe and battered. After that,he furniſheth it wyth munition, he builded vp the churches and temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth Nazarethum and Ioppen wyth ſtrong garriſons,vitayle,and all other things neceſſary.

The firſt and ſecret practyſe of pope Honorius.3.

Now ſee and behold I pray you,whileſt that Friderike was thus occupied in the kyngdome of Ieruſalem, what practiſes the pope had in Italye: Not I warrant you any whit,at all carefull in the affayres of the Chriſtian common wealth,but ſtudying and laboring what miſchiefe and ſpite he myght worke agaynſt the Emperour:whome,of a ſet purpoſe he had ſo occupied (partly for hate and partly to enriche hymſelfe)in Aſia and Ieruſalem,ſo farre out of Italy,ye may be ſure. Fyrſt,he cauſed the ſouldiours which the emperour ſent for out of Germany to the maintenance of the holy warres, to be ſtayd as they paſſed through Italye: letting them of their iourney,and tooke from them and ſpoyled them,of all ſuch prouiſion as they had. And not onely this,but he ſent ſecretly alſo hys letters into Aſia,to thoſe that were of hys owne faction:that is,to the patriarche of Ieruſalem,and ſouldiors that kept the temple and hoſpitall, intiſing and incityng them to rebell againſt the emperor: which thing,Blondus himſelfe that popiſh Paraſite or hiſtoriographer diſſimuleth or hydeth not. But that he furthermore diſſwaded the Princes of yͤ Saraſens,that they ſhould make no league nor take any truce w̃ Friderike, neyther delyuer vppe vnto hym the crowne and kyngdome of Ieruſalem. Which letters,as they were manifeſt teſtimonies of hys trecherie and treaſon towardes hym whome God had inſtituted and made hys liege Lord and ſoueraign,and mightieſt potentate vpon earth:ſo was it his wyll,that he ſhould come to yͤ knowledge therof,and that thoſe letters ſhoulde fall into hys hands. And that he kept the ſame letters for the more credible teſtimeny therof:in the ſame hys laſte epiſtle vnto the chriſtian princes he proteſteth. The copy of which letter amongſt his other Epiſtles you ſhall haue expreſſed.

The Emperour withſtandeth the ſecret treaſon which the pope had wrought agaynſt hym at Ieruſalem.

Neyther were the Popes letters written to that leauened ſecte and factious in vayne. For,the Patriarche and hys Collegioners whych tooke theyr name of the temple,did mightely repugne agaynſt Friderick. They rayſed a tumult in Ptholomaida againſt hym: they accuſed hym and hys Legates openly of treaſon: and dyd malipertly and boldly wythſtand,the right worthy and good order he made amongeſt them. But as God wold, by yͤ helpe of the inhabitants of Piſa & the Geneways, and the Dutche ſoldiours: both their falſe accuſations were refelled, and alſo their ſeditious purpoſe and tumult repreſſed. And thys was the cauſe,that when all other men reioyced and were glad of the Emperours coronation,they as wycked confedaratours were heauye therefore,and obtrectours of hys worthye laude & fame.

The ſecond and manifeſt treaſon of the pope agaynſte Fridericke.

The Pope,when he had thus conſpired againſt Fridericke,and had betrayed hym to the publicke enemy of all Chriſten men the Turke:he could not diſſemble thys hys miſcheuous fact,nor content hym ſelfe therewyth, but that he would deuiſe and practiſe yet an other. For by reaſon of thoſe ſclaunders(which a litle before I touched) of the death and ſlaughter of his wyfe Iola: he incited Iohn Brennus his father in lawe to make warre agaynſt hym,who cauſed the ſubiectes of hys Empyre to wythdraw from hym their allegiance,as alſo the inhabitantes of Picenum,and inhabitantes of Lumberdye. And thus ioyning themſelues together,craued farther ayd of the French king,wherby they made a great power. That done,they deuided theyr hoſt,in to two armies,inuading wyth the one the Empyre,and with the other the proper territories and ditions belongyng to the inheritaunce of Fridericke: Iohn Brennus, and Pandolphe Sauellanus,leadyng the one(as Generals) into Campania and the kingdom of Naples: and the other (wyth Iohn Columna Cardinalis hys Legate, and that Thomas before conuicted of treaſon,being his Lieftenantes)he ſendeth into Picenum.

Of this treaſon of the pope agaynſt Fridericus,doth alſo Matheus Pariſien. make mētion duryng his warres In Aſia. Who(ſaith he)purpoſed to haue depoſed him,& to haue placed alium quemlibet filium pacis et obediencie loco eius ſubrogare: that is, any other he carde not whō (ſo that he were the child of peace and obedience) in hys ſtede. And for the more certeyntye thereof the ſayde Mat. Pariſienſ. pag.71: repeteth the letter whiche a certeine Earle of Siria wrote vnto hym concerning ſame, whiche letter here vnder inſueth word for word.

To the high and mighty prince Fridericus by yͤ grace of God Emperour of Rome,and euer Auguſtus & moſt puiſant kynge of Sicilia: Thomas and Earle of Acran. his fayth and truſty ſubiect in all thyng humble ſalutation. After your departure moſt excellent prince,Gregory the biſhop of Rome,& publique enemie to your magnificence, gatheryng together a great power and hoſte of men: By Iohannes Brennius late kyng of Ieruſalē and other ſtoute captaines whome he hath made generals of the ſame his hoſt: As a foreine enemie inuadyng your dominiōs and poſſeſſions of your highnes ſubiectes agaynſt the law of Chriſtianitie: hath purpoſed and determined,to vanquiſhe and ſubdue you with the materiall or temporall ſworde,whom he cannot maiſter and ouercome with the ſpirituall ſworde,he ſaith. For,the forſayd Ihon Brennus gatheryng out of Fraunce and other prouinces nere adioining,a great armie:giueth vnto them of the treaſure he hath gotten (by what meanes together I cannot tell) great wages, in hope to recouer and get from you the Empire. And furthermore, the ſame Ihon and others(the captaines of the ſee apoſtolicall inuading your land)burne & deſtroy all as they go, dryuing away and takeng for their booties, all that they can come by,as well cattell as other thynges:And ſuch as they take priſoners,they conſtreyn by inflicting them with greuous puniſhementes to raunſome them ſelues for great ſummes of money:neither ſpare they man woman nor childe, but take and kepe your townes and caſtels,hauyng no regard that you be in the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt. And further,if any make mention of your maieſtie vnto him,he ſaith there is none other Emperor but him ſelfe. Your frendes and ſubiectes moſt excellent price, much maruel hereupō:ye & alſo yͤ clergy thēſelues of yͤ Empire, do maruel w̃ what cōſcience or vpō what conſideratiō, yͤ B. of Rome can do yͤ ſame making ſuch bloudy warres and ſlaughter vpon Chriſtian men:eſpecially,ſeyng that Chriſt commaunded Peter, when he ſtroke with the materiall ſword to put vp the ſame into the ſcaberd, ſaying: All that ſtrike with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword. Or els by what law, he dayly can excommunicate ſuch pirates,burners of mens houſes, and robbers:when he him ſelfe is the patron & mainteyner of ſuch him ſelf:hereat,they greatly muſe & maruell. Wherfore moſt mightie and renowned Emperour, I beſeche your hyghnes to conſider your owne ſafety: for that the ſayd Ihon Brennus, hath layd and fortified all the portes and hauens with no ſmall companie of men and ſouldiers: that if(not knowyng therof)your grace ſhould arive in any of them: the ſame gariſons of hys

„ ſhold apprehend and take you as a priſoner: which thing
„ to chaunce God forſend.

Thus whileſt the hoſt of this hoſtile enemy the Pope was encamped in the dominions of Friderick, he receaued the letters whiche Fridericke by his legates ſent into Europa as you hard: wherby, he vnderſtode the good ſucceſſe he had in Aſia. Who not only tooke no delectation at all therin, but was alſo in a vehement perturbatiō therwith: Wherby manifeſtly it may appeare, what was the cauſe and meanyng of the pope, that he was ſo ſolicitous and vrgēt to haue Fridericke the Emperour make a viage into Aſia. Doubtles euē the ſame, that Pelias had when by hys inſtigation he procured Iaſon wᵗ all the choſen youth and floure of Grecia, to ſayle into Colchos to fetch away the golden fleaſe: and that by the oportunitie of hys abſence he might vſe, or rather abuſe his power and tyranny: And that Fridericke, might eyther be long afflicted and moleſted in the Aſian warre, or that he might periſh and leaſe his life therin, was that he ſought and all that he deſired.

hat meaing the pe had to d Frider. fyght ynſt the urks.

And when he ſaw, that fortune neither fauored hys fetches, nor ſerued to his lōging luſt, he was as a mā bereft his wittes, ſpecially at theſe tidings of ẏ proſperous ſucces of ẏ Emperour. He teare & threw his letters on ẏ ground: and with all opprobrious wordes rebuked and reuiled the legates for ẏ Emperour their maiſters ſake: which thing alſo Blondus himſelf denieth not, although he write all together in the fauour of the Pope. And to ẏ intent that he myght couer this hys rage and vnbridled furie with ſome cloke & colour of iuſt deſerued dolour: He fained him ſelf therfore ſo much to miſlike therwith, as though the Emperour therin, had onely reſpected his own priuate cōmoditie, not regarding the vtilitie of the Chriſtians: for that, the Saracens had licence (although without armour and weapon) to haue repayre vnto the Sepulcher of Chriſt, and had left for thē ſomewhat nere the ſame an hoſterie or lodging place: For which occaſion ſayth Blondus, his Lord Pope rebuked the Emperours legates by the name of traytours and ſuch like other opprabrious wordes. Now go to frend Blondus, by what ſtrong argumentes proue you and your Lord pope, that the peace whiche the Emperour hath concluded, to be either agaynſt the Chriſtian common wealth, or that the Emperour was a traitour. But who is it ẏ ſeeth not theſe thinges either by reading of old and aūciēt writers, or els partly by me that haue gathered and collected the ſame out of diuers monumentes and hiſtories. and plainlye perceiueth not, the conſpiracies and treaſons, of your good Lord the pope ſo notable and filthie, as alſo his manifeſt ſhame & infamie. What? ther be diuers that write, how the Pope commaunded theſe legates of Friderick, to be made ſecretly out of ẏ waye: and alſo howe he commaunded diuers ſouldiers returnyng out of Aſia to be ſlayne, to the intent that none ſhould heare the report of thoſe good newes which were in Aſia, nor none go thether to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I wil make report of no more thē of thoſe thinges which all the writers with moſt conſent agree vpon: This is moſt certeine, that the Pope cauſed this rumour to be ſpread of the death and takyng of the Emperour vpon this cōſideration, that he myght allure vnto him ẏ fidelitie of thoſe cities in ẏ kingdome of Naples, which yet kept theyr alleageance vnto Friderick, of whō they ſhould now hope for no lōger refuge. And of that doth the Emperour in his Epiſtle intituled Leuate oculos, greatly againſt him complayne.

ow the pe chaſeth & freteth at the oſperous ucceſſe of e Empe ou.

ondus reoued that ore ſo ly in e popes our.

Great are theſe iniuries of the Pope againſt Friderick, and moſt wicked treaſons: but herewyth coulde not the cruel and tyrannicall mynde of hym be contented, nor yet hys luſte ſatiſfied: but ſo farre exceded, as ſcarce is credible that it could. For he preſumed not only to ſet variance betwene Henry (whom Friderick his father had cauſed to be made king of Germanye) and him: but alſo by hys allurementes, cauſed hym to become an enemy vnto hym. To whom, when hys father had aſſigned the Duke of Boioria (named Ludouicus) to be hys ouerſeer and counſeller: neyther knewe hee amongeſt all the princes of Germanie a man more faythfuller to hym in hys office and dutie, or els more vertuous, or els more grauer and apt to be in authoritie: Henry, fearing leaſt he ſhould vnderſtand and know of theſe ſecrete counſels whych he wyth hys conſpiratours had in hand agaynſt hys father: or that he ſhoulde vtter the ſame vnto hym, or that he ſhould go about to diſſwade hym from that he was purpoſed to doo: by autoritie of the courte and ſenate of Rome, he put him out of office. And thys was the fetche of all their policie: that together and at one inſtaunce (but in diuers and ſundrye places far one from an other) ſharpe and cruell warre myght be made agaynſt the Emperour: ſo that his power being diſtract to the appeaſing of varible contencion, might be himſelfe the eaſlyer oppreſſed of a few.

he thyrd ayſe of pe Grego e agaynſt e Empe.

The pope ſetteth the ſonne againſt the father as a good father of peace.

Henry Cæſar at the popes intiſement putteth from him his truſtie counſailer Ludouicus.

When the Emperour now vnderſtoode what ſtyrre the Pope kept in all hys dominions in his abſence, and that he had ſomwhat reformed and appeaſed the troubles whych he ſecretely had wrought hym in the kyngdome of Ieruſalem: thinking to preuent the Popes purpoſe in that he went about, & alſo to confirme the frendſhip towards him of thē, whō in his abſēce he found his truſtie ſubiects: He left in Aſia Renaldus wᵗ his gariſōs, commaunding all the other bandes to be vnder hys appointment, & wyth all ſpeede came wᵗ certaine Gallyes to Calabria. During ẏ tyme of his there beyng, whych vnlooked for came thether: he aſſembled his power and made wyth hys frendes all the ſpedye preparation that he might. From thence he went to Barleta, wher he taried .xx. dayes: to whom came the Duke of Spolitanum wyth all his garriſons. And ſo from thence, wyth al hys power he came into Apulia, & remoued Iohn Brēnus hys father in law, from the ſiege of Calatia: and wythin ſhort tyme by Gods helpe, recouereth agayne all hys holdes and dominions there. And from thence goyng into Campania, he wynneth Beneuentum, and as many other townes and holdes as the pope had there, euen allmoſt to Rome, and ſo after that, Umbria and Picena. And now, although the Emperour (being moued therunto vpon good occaſion, and vpon the popes worthy deſert) had gotten and recouered this ſo lykely an entrāce vpon the popes dominions, whereby he myght haue reuenged hym of all the iniuries done to him: yet notwithſtanding, for that he preferred nothing before the Chriſtian and publique tranquilitie (for the loue of which, he reſtraynyng hys wrath ſo vehementlye vrged & kindled) ſendeth vnto hym hys Legates to intreate a peace: declaring vnto him, that if no other cōceiued grudge towardes hym were, then that he ſimuled and pretended: he promiſeth that he woulde make to hym an accompt voluntarely, of all thynges that euer he had done in hys lyfe, and that he woulde, and was contented to ſubmyt hymſelfe vnto the churche: and alſo that for thys cauſe he wyllinglye offered vnto hym both dutie and obſeruancie. Furdermore, to the intreating of this peace & deciding of all controuerſies, he ſent to the pope eight or ten of the nobleſt and chiefeſt about him, that wer princes and Dukes of the Empyre. As Bartoldus the Patriarche of Aquileia, & his brother Otho prince of Dalmatia and Hiſtria, Eberhardus Iuuauenſis, Sigifridus, Reginoburgenſis, Sibottus Auguſtanus, a worthy prelate, Leopoldus of Awſtria and Stiria, & Bernhardus being all Dukes, beſides others of the nobilitye to accompany them.

The Emperour hearing of the popes practiſes returneth ſecretly out of Aſia.

Iohn Brennus remoued from the ſiege of Calatia.

God proſpereth Fridericke in all hys affayres.

Friderick entreateth for the popes fauour although he haue no neede.

But yet ſo great was the inſolency and pride of that ſtubburn pope, ẏ by no gētlenes or beniſicēce, he of thoſe princes could be brought that peare to the profitable cō-

The pope refuſeth a peace with the Emperour.

cord of the church and Chriſtian cōmon weale. O worthy head, that chalengeth all autority to him ſelfe in the church of Chriſt, and in reſpect of hys owne wylfull reuenge, ſetteth nothyng by the health and vtilitie of all Chriſtendome. Then therefore, when nothing coulde be done in the matter, and the moſt part of theſe noble men departed from Rome: the next yeare after (with muche ado) a peace was made and concluded betwen them, by the helpe and induſtry of Leopoldus of Auſtrea, Hermānus capitayne of the Duche ſoldiours, & the Preſidēt of Meſſanea. The pope thē abſoluing the Emperour Fridericus of hys excommunication, toke therefore of him an hundreth and twenty thouſand ownces of golde: reſtoryng vnto hym agayne the titles both of hys empire, and alſo of hys kyngdomes. Nowe, conſidering the vncurteous dealyng of the pope with Fridericke the Emperour herein: Who cā ſufficiently muſe & maruel at ẏ vnſhamfaſtnes of Blondus, whych hath ẏ face to write, ẏ the Pope (yet notwithſtanding) had delt more gentlye and curteouſly with Fridericke then was meete, or beſeemed hym to do. Who is it that doth not ſee hys manifeſt flattery, coulored neyther wyth reaſon, nor ſecrete diſſimulatiō. But, much more truely and better writeth Cuſpinianus concerning thys matter which ſaith, that the Pope doth occuppye verye profitable marchandiſe, whych forſomuch money ſelleth that he receaued frely paying nothing therefore, if he had receaued it of Chriſt in deede, as he ſayth he had.

The price of the Emperours abſolution.

Vnſhamefaſt Blondus.

Cuſpinianus pretely girdeth the Pope.

And yet although the Emperour Fridericke, concluded wt the Pope thys vnprofitable peace for himſelf: yet he performed thoſe thinges that were agreed vpon faythfully and diligently. But the pope, which thought it but a trifle to breake his promiſe, woulde not ſtand to the condicions of the peace he made. For by the way to paſſeouer other thinges, neyther hath he reſtored as he promiſed the cuſtomes in the land of Sicill, neyther yet the city Caſtellana, which he before the peace concluded betwene them did occupy and enioy. And that doth both Fridericke in his epiſtles teſtifye, and alſo Fazellus in hys. 8. booke, writing of the affaires of Sicilia. Yet that notwithſtanding: Fridericke, for the quietnes and vtilitie of the common wealth, purpoſed wt him ſelf to beare and ſuffer theſe ſmall iniuries. And further ſtudied in al that he might, as well by liberall giftes as otherwiſe, to haue the Pope to be to him a truſty frend. As when, the Romanes and other of the eccleſiaſticall number made warre againſt the pope for certayne poſſeſſions whych he kept of theirs: he cōming to him at Reate, and as one that tendred the vnitye of the churche, and thinking to helpe the Pope at hys earneſt requeſt in theſe matters: ſent his Legates vnto them, wylling them to lay down theyr armour which agaynſte the Pope they bare. And when that would not ſerue, at the popes further requeſt and deſire he leuied an armie agaynſt them at hys own charge, and draue them from the ſiege of Viterbium: with other ſuche lyke aſſured tokens of amitie & friendſhip he ſhewed hym. Who not withſtanding, ſo ſoone as the Emperour was departed with a ſmall company which he tooke with him into Sicilia, leauing with him the greater and moſt part of hys armey for the mayntenance of hys warres: concluded a peace with the Romanes (vnknowing to the Emperour) whom he had procured to trauell and labour therin with great expenſes: affirming that without his wyl and commaundement, the Emperour had expelled them, and driuen them out of the territories of Viterbium. And hereof, doth Fridericke alſo hymſelfe make mencion in his ſecond & thyrd epiſtle, where he complayneth of the iniuries of the pope towardes hym.

What beneficence the Emperour vſeth to haue the Popes frendſhip which he ſhall neuer gette.

A well recompenced good turne of the pope to the Emperours.

Therfore, greater cōmendation had Blondus deſerued if he had writen of theſe trecheries of the pope, thē ẏ forgettyng himſelfe (as vnto lyers often it chaunceth) in that he writeth both contrary to himſelfe in the effect of thys matter, and contrarye to the veritie of Fridericus his hiſtory: which ſaith, that the Romaines were incited to theſe new tumultes by his entiſing and ſetting on. As though ſimple men of vnderſtadding, could not both by the offryng of hys ſonne in hoſtage, by the great preparation of the warres, and by the euent eſpecially of the thing it ſelfe gather the contrary. But to impudent will Blondus nedes ſhew himſelfe.

Blondus taken with vntruth.

Whileſt that theſe thyngs were done in Italy & Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany againſt the emperour by Henricus Ceſar and Friderick of Auſtria, hys ſonnes beyng the chiefe autors therof. For Hēry, beyng diſapointed and ſhaken of from hys lord pope and other cōſpiratours by reaſon of the peace betwene his father and hym as ye heard: began now to make open chalēge to the empyre. And for that cauſe, he as before is ſayd, put from him Ludouicus whom he knew to be vnto the emperour hys father ſo louing and an aſſured frende: who as willinglye (perceyuing and ſmellyng what miſchief he went about) forſooke his court & came Boioria: who had not there remayned a yeare, but was as he walked abrode at a certen tyme ſtabbed in wyth a dagger of one Relhemius and preſentlye died, hys ſeruaunts beyng not farre from him. Of whoſe death dyuers diuerſly write. Notwithſtandyng the ſequell doth ſhew them to write trulieſt, that affirme the ſayd ſtriker to be ſuborned by Hēry Ceſar: who commyng vnto him in the habite of a meſſenger, deliuered vnto hym certain letters which he fayned to be ſent from the Emperour. And whileſt Ludouicus was in readyng the ſame, he ſtrake hym in wyth a dagger and gaue hym his mortall wound: and wyth ſpede fled vpon the ſame. After whoſe death, ſucceded in that Dukedome his ſonne Otho, whō when ſolempnly accordyng to ẏ maner of ẏ Boiores he ſhould haue bene created, was alſo let by ẏ ſame Henry Ceſar: who forbad the aſſembly of the magiſtrates & citezins of the ſame. They notwithſtandyng, neglecting hys vniuſt reſtraint created hym: Wherfore, he firſt beſieged Reginoburgh and with an other company ſacked brent, and waſted Boiaria: wyth many mo ſuche great outrages and rebellions.

When intelligence was brought of theſe thinges to the emperour, he ſent hys legates and commaūded that both the Ceſar his ſonne and other princes of Germany which had aſſembled their armies ſhould breake vp and diſperſe the ſame. And becauſe he ſaw & perceiued nowe manifeſtly that hys ſonne made ſo apparante rebellion againſt him, and fearyng greater inſurrections to inſue in Germany, he thought good to preuent the ſame with all expedition: wherfore he determined to goe in all haſte into Germany with his army, (frō whence he had been abſent now xiiij. yeares) and hereunto he maketh the pope priuy. The pope promiſed ẏ Emperour hereupon, ẏ he would write his letters in his behalf to al ẏ princes of Germany: but perſwaded hym to the vttermoſt of hys power, that he ſhould in no caſe go into Germany hym ſelfe. For why, his conſcience accuſed hym that he had written to the nobles of Germany euen from the beginnyng of his papacye (for the hate and grudge he had agaynſt the emperour) that they ſhould ſuffer him neither any of his heires to enioy the Empyre, and farther had ſtyrred them all vp to rebel againſt hym: and had moued Henry the emperours ſonne by his brybes and faire promiſes, to conſpyre againſt hys father. And to conclude, he was the autor and procurer of the conſpiracy whiche the Lombardes made then agaynſt hym: and fearyng leaſt theſe thynges ſhould come now to the emperoures eare, he was greatly troubled & carefull. But the emperour not thinking it good at ſo nedefull a tyme to be abſent: he (all doubt ſet apart) with his ſecond ſonne Conradus, went ſpedily into Germany. And aſſemblyng there a councel in the city of Nurcburgh: Henrye Ceſar hys ſon, after his conſpiracy was manifeſtly detected, which he had in practiſe with the Longoberdes (wherof, yͤ pope was chief autor) was by iudgement and ſentence of 70. princes, condempned of high treaſon: And beyng commaunded by his father to be bound, was as a pryſoner brought to Apulia: where, not lõg after in priſõ he died. In whoſe ſtede, he ordained Conradus hys iij. ſonne Ceſar, by conſent of all yͤ piers & princes. Furthermore, by publique commaundemẽt he denounced Fridericke Auſtriacus for his ſonne, and for an enemie to the publique weale he cauſed him to be proclaimed. And further, whẽ he ſaw that neither that puniſhment, could cauſe him to remember him ſelf and acknowledge his abuſe: the Emperour with a great armie (acompanied with diuers of the noble men of Germanie) toke from him all Auſtria and Stiria, and brought them agayne vnder hys owne obedience and fidelitie.

ry Ceſar demned reaſon d dyeth priſon,

dericus ſtriacus claimed open ene his fa- r and herited.

The ſame yeare, maried he his third wife named Iſabell the daughter of kyng Ihon of England. Then, whẽ he had ſet Germanie in a ſtay and quietnes, he left there Conradus Ceſar his ſonne: and with his hoſt returneth agayne into Italie there to puniſh ſuch, as had with Henry hys eldeſt ſonne conſpired agaynſt him: whoſe treaſons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Ceſar his ſonne, chiefly ſet on by the pope. When the Pope had vnderſtandyng that the Emperour, with warlyke furniture marched towardes Italy: although he fayned him ſelfe reconciled and to be a frend to Fridericke, yet was he not withſtandyng, to him a moſt ſecret and infeſtiue enemie. And vnderſtãdyng, yͭ he brought with him ſuch a power both of horſemen and footemen, to do execution of ſuch as he vnderſtode to haue bene conſpiratours agaynſte hym in the late tumulte and rebellion: Thoſe which were faultie herin and giltie (and all other that toke their partes) he admoniſheth to ioyne them ſelues together: and that they ſhould furniſh ſtrongly their Cities with garriſons: that they ſend for ayde to their frends, & that wͭ al yͤ force they were able, they ſhould prepare them for the warre. The reſt of the Cities alſo in Italie, whether they were the Emperours or hys owne, he indeuoureth to make them all as hys, and propere to hym ſelfe.

e Empe- r mary- Kyng ghter Englãd.

e pope yne be- eth to ye hys e,

Furthermore, vnto the Emperour he ſendeth his embaſſadours: to whom, vnder the pretence of noriſhyng a peace he had geuẽ ſecret cõmaũdemẽt: yͭ they ſhould interdict him & his hoſt, ſo ſone as he came within the borders of Italy. To yͤ preſeruatiõ of which peace ſayth he, he had (but late ſence) promulgate a ſubſidie to be gathered amongeſt the Chriſtians, when he began the holy warre. And alſo to ſay (not by way of intreatie, but commaundingly) that what cauſe of controuerſie he had wͭ the Longobardes: the ſame he ſhould commit to him, and ſtand to his arbitriment. Wherunto, the Emperor replieng maketh his legates this aunſwere.

e popes baſſage the Em- our.

Shortly after ſayth he, the peace was made betwene the pope & me: he called me for a chief defence both of yͤ church and him ſelf, agaynſt the Romanes which made warre wͭ him: and at his requeſt, with mine own proper charge I maintayned that his warre, and gaue his enemyes the ouerthrowe. And further ſayd, that he ſhould not do well through the pretence of peace, to be a let to hym from that whiche both by law and right he might and ought to do: But rather ſo he ought to diſpoſe hym ſelfe, with force to reſtrayne and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels thinking to exclude themſelues from the ſubiection both of hym and the Empire. And that, ſuch rebels as both had reſtrayned the ſouldiers whiche the Emperour ſent for when he was in Aſia, and diuers others alſo (whiche for neceſſarye cauſes he hadde called to hym) they had ſo wickedlye delte with & abuſed: He, as they had deſerued, ſhould rather deſire to ſee puniſhed & reformed, then to mayntaine the (vnder colour of a peace) being ſo wicked & manifeſt euill doers. And touching that he demaũdeth of hym, yͭ he ſhould cõmit & deferre ſo great a cauſe wherin yͤ wealth & ſaftie of the Empire conſiſteth, to hys arbitriment by him to be determined: Without either aſſignemẽt of any tyme when, or addyng therunto any condition or exception for not doing yͤ ſame: neither yͤ diminiſhing & impairing yͤ dignitie & regalitie of his empire cõſidered, he could not but maruel: Seing yͭ neither it appertained to his callyng & facultie, nor to the benefite or commoditie of the Empire. To this effect alſo writeth Fridericke in his laſt Epiſtell of the Pope: the effect whereof amongſt other epiſtles you may reede.

e Empe at agayne to the pe.

A ſecret cõſpiracie of the pope againſt the Emperour.

And in the ſame his letters he ſheweth, that when the Emperour, at a certaine time had ben with the pope: At his goyng away, he requeſted that when he came agayn he would come into Italie, but with his houſhold bande and familie: For that, if he ſhould come as before he did accuſtome with hys armie, he ſhould terrifie them ouermuch: amongſt whõ ſayth he, you may aſſure your ſelfe to be in great ſafty, and finde all thinges in reſt & quiet: whẽ quite cõtrary (as the Emperour for a certeinty had tried) he had there all thinges ready and prepared for his deſtruction. So that, whẽ he pretended vnto him greateſt frendſhip, he was buſieſt in cõſpiring his death. The certein tyme, whẽ yͤ Pope had this exerciſe in hãd agaynſt the Emperour I cannot ſearche out, neyther may it be his epiſtles vndated, eaſly found out: But of the certeintie therof no mã nede to doubt, I haue aſſigned you to yͤ Emperours Epiſtle where he maketh mẽtion of yͤ ſame.

The Emperour marcheth into Italie not withſtanding the popes forbidding.

The Emperour thẽ, as he had determined, proſecuteth his purpoſe and marcheth into Italy: where he brought vnder his ſubiection, thoſe cities that agaynſt him rebelled: as Mantua, Verona, Terniſium, Patauium and others. And thẽ, he afterward ſet vpon the great hoſt of yͤ Mediolanenſes, the Brixians, the Placentines and other confederatours, vnto whom the popes legate Georgius Longomãtanus had ioyned him ſelfe: of whom he toke 1000. priſoners, and alſo their generall beyng the chief Magiſtrate in the citie of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus the dukes ſonne of Venice, and fiue diuers captaines moe & toke all their enſeignes. And in this battell ſpecially at the recoueryng of Parhia and Terniſiam he vſed the frendly aide of Actiolinus.

The Emperour loth to breake the peace, of late cõcluded.

The Pope now ſomewhat diſmayed at thys ouerthrow of his confederates and mates (though not much) begã yet ſomwhat to feare yͤ emperour: and whereas before, that which he dyd he wrought ſecretly & by others, now he goeth to work (wͭ might & mayn) to ſubdue & depriue the emperour. And although the emperour ſawe & perceiued what inward hate and mortall malice he bare towardes hym: not onely by that he ſo apertly ſtode wͭ hys conſpiratours agaynſt hym, but alſo that on euerye ſide he heard, and from all partes was brought him certaine word, how greatly he laboured agaynſt hym: as with opprobrious wordes, naughty reportes, and ſlaunders, to the entent to pull from hym the hartes and fidelitie of his ſubiects, and make thoſe that were his frends hys enemies, neither that he mente at any tyme to take vp and ceaſe from ſuch euill and wycked practiſes: yet notwithſtanding, for that there ſhould be no defaulte in hym found, for the breache of the league & peace betwene them a little before concluded: he ſendeth foure legates to the biſhop of Rome which ſhould anſwer vnto and reſolue, thoſe criminous obiections which he layde vnto hym: as alſo make hym priuie to hys purpoſe & what he mint to doo, therby to declare his innocencie towardes hym (in ſuch cauſes) and ſimplicitie.

The pope refuſeth to ſpeak with the Emperours Legates.

The biſhop, when he vnderſtoode theſe embaſſadors to be not farof from Rome, and knew the cauſe of their commyng: he thought wyth hymſelfe, that in hearyng yͤ cord of the church and Chriſtian cōmon weale. O worthy head, that chalengeth all autority to him ſelfe in the church of Chriſt, and in reſpect of hys owne wylfull reuenge, ſetteth nothyng by the health and vtilitie of all Chriſtendome. Then therefore, when nothing coulde be done in the matter, and the moſt part of theſe noble men departed from Rome: the next yeare after (with muche ado) a peace was made and concluded betwen them, by the helpe and induſtry of Leopoldus of Auſtrea, Hermānus capitayne of the Duche ſoldiours, & the Preſidēt of Meſſanea. The pope thē abſoluing the Emperour Fridericus of hys excommunication, toke therefore of him an hundreth and twenty thouſand ownces of golde: reſtoryng vnto hym agayne the titles both of hys empire, and alſo of hys kyngdomes. Nowe, conſidering the vncurteous dealyng of the pope with Fridericke the Emperour herein: Who cā ſufficiently muſe & maruel at ẏ vnſhamfaſtnes of Blondus, whych hath ẏ face to write, ẏ the Pope (yet notwithſtanding) had delt more gentlye and curteouſly with Fridericke then was meete, or beſeemed hym to do. Who is it that doth not ſee hys manifeſt flattery, coulored neyther wyth reaſon, nor ſecrete diſſimulatiō. But, much more truely and better writeth Cuſpinianus concerning thys matter which ſaith, that the Pope doth occupye verye profitable marchandiſe, whych for ſomuch money ſelleth that he receaued frely paying nothing therefore, if he had receaued it of Chriſt in deede, as he ſayth he had.

The price of the Emperours abſolution.

Vnſhamefaſt Blondus.

Cuſpinianus precisely girdeth the Pope.

And yet although the Emperour Fridericke, concluded wᵗ the Pope thys vnprofitable peace for himſelf: yet he performed thoſe thinges that were agreed vpon faythfully and diligently. But the pope, which thought it but a trifle to breake his promiſe, woulde not ſtand to the condicions of the peace he made. For by the way to paſſeouer other thinges, neyther hath he reſtored as he promiſed the cuſtomes in the land of Sicill, neyther yet the city Caſtellana, which he before the peace concluded betwene them did occupy and enioy. And that doth both Fridericke in his epiſtles teſtifye, and alſo Fazellus in hys. 8. booke, writing of the affaires of Sicilia. Yet that notwithſtanding: Fridericke, for the quietnes and vtilitie of the common wealth, purpoſed wᵗ him ſelf to beare and ſuffer theſe ſmall iniuries. And further ſtudied in al that he might, as well by liberall giftes as otherwiſe, to haue the Pope to be to him a truſty frend. As when, the Romanes and other of the eccleſiaſticall number made warre againſt the pope for certayne poſſeſſions whych he kept of theirs: he cōming to him at Reate, and as one that tendred the vnitye of the churche, and thinking to helpe the Pope at hys earneſt requeſt in theſe matters: ſent his Legates vnto them, wylling them to lay down theyr armour which agaynſte the Pope they bare. And when that would not ſerue, at the popes further requeſt and deſire he leuied an armie agaynſt them at hys own charge, and draue them from the ſiege of Viterbium: with other ſuche lyke aſſured tokens of amitie & friendſhip he ſhewed hym. Who not withſtanding, ſo ſoone as the Emperour was departed with a ſmall company which he tooke with him into Sicilia, leauing with him the greater and moſt part of hys armey for the mayntenance of hys warres: concluded a peace with the Romanes (vnknowing to the Emperour) whom he had procured to trauell and labour therin with great expenſes: affirming that without his wyl and commaundement, the Emperour had expelled them, and driuen them out of the territories of Viterbium. And hereof, doth Fridericke alſo hymſelfe make mencion in his ſecond & thyrd epiſtle, where he complayneth of the iniuries of the pope towardes hym.

What beneficence the Emperour vſeth to haue the Popes frendſhip which he ſhall neuer gette.

A well recompenced good turne of the pope to the Emperours.

Therfore, greater cōmendation had Blondus deſerued if he had writen of theſe trecheries of the pope, thē ẏ forgettyng himſelfe (as vnto lyers often it chaunceth) in that he writeth both contrary to himſelfe in the effect of thys matter, and contrarye to the veritie of Fridericus his hiſtory: which ſaith, that the Romaines were incited to theſe new tumultes by his entiſing and ſetting on. As though ſimple men of vnderſtadding, could not both by the offryng of hys ſonne in hoſtage, by the great preparation of the warres, and by the euent eſpecially of the thing it ſelfe gather the contrary. But to impudent will Blondus nedes ſhew himſelfe.

Blondus taken with vntruth.

Whileſt that theſe thyngs were done in Italy & Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany againſt the emperour by Henricus Ceſar and Friderick of Auſtria, hys ſonnes beyng the chiefe autors therof. For Hēry, beyng diſapointed and ſhaken of from hys lord pope and other cōſpiratours by reaſon of the peace betwene his father and hym as ye heard: began now to make open chalēge to the empyre. And for that cauſe, he as before is ſayd, put from him Ludouicus whom he knew to be vnto the emperour hys father ſo louing and an aſſured frende: who as willinglye (perceyuing and ſmellyng what miſchief he went about) forſooke his court & came Boioria: who had not there remayned a yeare, but was as he walked abrode at a certen tyme ſtabbed in wyth a dagger of one Relhemius and preſentlye died, hys ſeruaunts beyng not farre from him. Of whoſe death dyuers diuerſly write. Notwithſtandyng the ſequell doth ſhew them to write truliest, that affirme the ſayd ſtriker to be ſuborned by Hēry Ceſar: who commyng vnto him in the habite of a meſſenger, deliuered vnto hym certain letters which he fayned to be ſent from the Emperour. And whileſt Ludouicus was in readyng the ſame, he ſtrake hym in wyth a dagger and gaue hym his mortall wound: and wyth ſpede fled vpon the ſame. After whoſe death, ſucceded in that Dukedome his ſonne Otho, whō when ſolempnly accordyng to ẏ maner of ẏ Boiores he ſhould haue bene created, was alſo let by ẏ ſame Henry Ceſar: who forbad the aſſembly of the magiſtrates & citezins of the ſame. They notwithſtandyng, neglecting hys vniuſt reſtraint created hym: Wherfore, he firſt beſieged Reginoburgh and with an other company ſacked brent, and waſted Boiaria: wyth many mo ſuche great outrages and rebellions.

When intelligence was brought of theſe thinges to the emperour, he ſent hys legates and commaūded that both the Ceſar his ſonne and other princes of Germany which had aſſembled their armies ſhould breake vp and diſperſe the ſame. And becauſe he ſaw & perceiued nowe manifeſtly that hys ſonne made ſo apparante rebellion againſt him, and fearyng greater inſurrections to inſue in Germany, he thought good to preuent the ſame with all expedition: wherfore he determined to goe in all haſte into Germany with his army, (frō whence he had been abſent now xiiij. yeares) and hereunto he maketh the pope priuy. The pope promiſed ẏ Emperour hereupon, ẏ he would write his letters in his behalf to al ẏ princes of Germany: but perſwaded hym to the vttermoſt of hys power, that he ſhould in no caſe go into Germany hym ſelfe. For why, his conſcience accuſed hym that he had written to the nobles of Germany euen from the beginnyng of his papacye (for the hate and grudge he had agaynſt the emperour) that they ſhould ſuffer him neither any of his heires to enioy the Empyre, and farther had ſtyrred them all vp to rebel againſt hym: and had moued Henry the emperours ſonne by his brybes and faire promiſes, to conſpyre againſt hys father. And to conclude, he was the autor and procurer of the conſpiracy whiche the Lombardes made then agaynſt hym: and fearyng leaſt theſe thynges ſhould come now to the emperours eare, he was greatly troubled & carefull. But the emperour not thinking it good at ſo nedefull a tyme to be abſent: he (all doubt ſet apart) with his ſecond ſonne Conradus, went ſpedily into Germany. And aſſemblyng there a councel in the city of Nurcburgh: Henrye Ceſar hys ſon, after his conſpiracy was manifeſtly detected, which he had in pꝛactiſe with the Longoberdes (wherof, ẏ pope was chief autoꝛ) was by iudgement and ſentence of 70. pꝛinces, condempned of high treaſon: And beyng commaunded by his father to be bound, was as a pꝛyſoner bꝛought to Apulia: where, not lōg after in pꝛiſō he died. In whoſe ſtede, he oꝛdained Conradus hys iij. ſonne Ceſar, by conſent of all ẏ piers & pꝛinces. Furthermoꝛe, by publique commaundemēt he denounced Fridericke Auſtriacus foꝛ his ſonne, and foꝛ an enemie to the publique weale he cauſed him to be pꝛoclaimed. And further, whē he ſaw that neither that puniſhment, could cauſe him to remember him ſelf and acknowledge his abuſe: the Emperour with a great armie (acompanied with diuers of the noble men of Germanie) toke from him all Auſtria and Stiria, and bꝛought them agayne vnder hys owne obedience and fidelitie.

ry Ceſar ondemned treaſon d dyeth priſon.

idericus ſtriacus oclaimed open ene his fa- er and herited.

The ſame yeare, maried he his third wife named Iſabell the daughter of kyng Ihon of England. Then, whē he had ſet Germanie in a ſtay and quietnes, he left there Conradus Ceſar his ſonne: and with his hoſt returneth agayne into Italie there to puniſh ſuch, as had with Hēry hys eldeſt ſonne conſpired agaynſt him: whoſe treaſons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Ceſar his ſonne, chiefly ſet on by the pope. When the Pope had vnderſtandyng that the Emperour, with warlyke furniture marched towardes Italy: although he fayned him ſelfe reconciled and to be a frend to Fridericke, yet was he not withſtandyng, to him a moſt ſecret and infeſtiue enemie. And vnderſtādyng, ẏ he bꝛought with him ſuch a power both of hoꝛſemen and footemen, to do execution of ſuch as he vnderſtode to haue bene conſpiratours agaynſte hym in the late tumulte and rebellion: Thoſe which were faultie herin and giltie (and all other that toke their partes) he admoniſheth to ioyne them ſelues together: and that they ſhould furniſh ſtrongly their Cities with garriſons: that they ſend foꝛ ayde to their frends, & that wͭ al ẏ foꝛce they were able, they ſhould pꝛepare them foꝛ the warre. The reſt of the Cities alſo in Italie, whether they were the Emperours oꝛ hys owne, he indeuoureth to make them all as hys, and pꝛopere to hym ſelfe.

he Empe- ur mary- h Kyng hn ughter England.

e pope yne be- neth to ye hys e.

Furthermoꝛe, vnto the Emperour he ſendeth his embaſſadours: to whom, vnder the pꝛetence of noriſhyng a peace he had geuē ſecret cōmaūdemēt: ẏ they ſhould interdia him & his hoſt, ſo ſone as he came within the boꝛders of Italy. To ẏ pꝛeſeruatiō of which peace ſayth he, he had (but late ſence) pꝛomulgate a ſubſidie to be gathered amongeſt the Chꝛiſtians, when he began the holy warre. And alſo to ſay (not by way of intreatie, but commaundingly) that what cauſe of controuerſie he had wͭ the Longobardes: the ſame he ſhould commit to him, and ſtand to his arbitriment. Wherunto, the Emperoꝛ replieng maketh his legates this aunſwere.

he popes baſſage the Em- rour.

Shoꝛtly after ſayth he, the peace was made betwene the pope & me: he called me foꝛ a chief defence both of ẏ church and him ſelf, agaynſt the Romanes which made warre wͭ him: and at his requeſt, with mine owne pꝛoper charge I maintayned that his warre, and gaue his enemyes the ouerthꝛowe. And further ſayd, that he ſhould not do well thꝛough the pꝛetence of peace, to be a let to hym from that whiche both by law and right he myght and ought to do: But rather ſo he ought to diſpoſe hym ſelfe, with foꝛce to reſtrayne and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels thinking to exclude them ſelues from the ſubiection both of hym and the Empire. And that, ſuch rebels as both had reſtrayned the ſouldiers whiche the Emperour ſent foꝛ when he was in Aſia, and diuers others alſo (whiche foꝛ neceſſarye cauſes he hadde called to hym) they had ſo wickedlye delte with & abuſed: He, as they had deſerued, ſhould rather deſire to ſee puniſhed & refoꝛmed, then to mayntaine the (vnder colour of a peace) being ſo wicked & manifeſt euill doers. And touching that he demaūdeth of hym, ẏ he ſhould cōmit & deferre ſo great a cauſe wherin ẏ wealth & ſaftie of the Empire conſiſteth, to hys arbitriment by him to be determined: Without either aſſignemēt of any tyme when, oꝛ addyng therunto any condition oꝛ exception foꝛ not doing ẏ ſame: neither ẏ diminiſhing & impairing ẏ dignitie & regalitie of his empire cōſidered, he could not but maruel: Seing ẏ neither it appertained to his callyng & facultie, noꝛ to the benefite oꝛ commoditie of the Empire. To this effect alſo wꝛiteth Fridericke in his laſt Epiſtell of the Pope: the effect whereof amongſt other epiſtles you may reede.

e Empe ur againe to the pe.

A ſecret cōſpiracie of the pope againſt the Emperour.

And in the ſame his letters he ſheweth, that when the Emperour, at a certaine time had ben with the pope: At his goyng away, he requeſted that when he came agam he would come into Italie, but with his houſhold bande and familie: Foꝛ that, if he ſhould come as befoꝛe he did accuſtome with hys armie, he ſhould terrifie them ouermuch: amongſt whō ſayth he, you may aſſure your ſelfe to be in great ſafty, and finde all thinges in reſt & quiet: whē quite cōtrary (as the Emperour foꝛ a certeinty had tried) he had there all thinges ready and pꝛepared foꝛ his deſtruction. So that, whē he pꝛetended vnto him greateſt frendſhip, he was buſieſt in cōſpiring his death. The certein tyme, whē ẏ Pope had this exerciſe in hād agaynſt the Emperour I cannot ſearche out, neyther may it be his epiſtles vndated, eaſly found out: But of the certeintie therof no mā nede to doubt, I haue aſſigned you to ẏ Emperours Epiſtle where he maketh mētion of ẏ ſame.

The Emperour marcheth into Italie notwithſtanding the popes forbidding.

The Emperour thē, as he had determined, pꝛoſecuteth his purpoſe and marcheth into Italy: where he bꝛought vnder his ſubiection, thoſe cities that agaynſt him rebelled: as Mantua, Verona, Terniſium, Patauium and others. And thē, he afterward ſet vpon the great hoſt of ẏ Mediolanenſes, the Bꝛixians, the Placentines and other confederatours, vnto whom the popes legate Geoꝛgius Longomātanus had ioyned him ſelfe: of whom he toke 1060. pꝛiſoners, and alſo their generall beyng the chief Magiſtrate in the citie of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus the dukes ſonne of Venice, and ſlue diuers captaines moe & toke all their enſeignes. And in this battell ſpecially at the recoueryng of Parhia and Terniſians he vſed the frendly aide of Actiolinus.

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The Pope now ſomewhat diſmayed at thys ouerthꝛow of his confederates and mates (though not much) begā yet ſomwhat to feare ẏ emperour: and whereas befoꝛe, that which he dyd he wꝛought ſecretly & by others, now he goeth to woꝛk (wͭ might & mayn) to ſubdue & depꝛiue the emperour. And although the emperour ſawe & perceiued what inward hate and moꝛtall malice he bare towardes hym: not onely by that he ſo apertly ſtode wͭ hys conſpiratours agaynſt hym, but alſo that on euerye ſide he heard, and from all partes was bꝛought him certaine woꝛd, how greatly he laboured agaynſt hym: as with oppꝛobꝛious woꝛdes, naughty repoꝛtes, and ſlaunders, to the entent to pull from hym the hartes and fidelitie of his ſubiects, and make thoſe that were his frends hys enemies, neither that he mente at any tyme to take vp and ceaſe from ſuch euill and wycked pꝛactiſes: yet notwithſtanding, foꝛ that there ſhould be no defaulte in hym found, foꝛ the bꝛeache of the league & peace betwene them a little befoꝛe concluded: he ſendeth foure legates to the biſhop of Rome which ſhould anſwer vnto and refuſe, thoſe criminous obiections whiche he layde vnto hym: as alſo make hym pꝛiuie to hys purpoſe & what he mint to doe, therby to declare his innocencie towardes hym (in ſuch cauſes) and ſimplicitie.

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The biſhop, when he vnderſtoode theſe embaſſadoꝛs to be not farof from Rome, and knew the cauſe of their commyng: he thought wyth hymſelfe, that in hearyng ẏ

excuſe

The new ſentence of proſcriptiõ againſt the Emperour.

excuſe and reaſonable anſwer of the emperour,perhaps might be prouoked to deſiſt from his purpoſe,and ſo degenerate from other of his predeceſſoures : refuſeth to ſpeake with them,and at the day oppointed pronoũceth the ſentence of proſcription agaynſt hym,depriuing him of all his dignities,honoures,titles,prerogatiues,kingdoms & hole empyre. And that he had no occaſiõ hereunto,as well Pãdolphus & Colonitius,as the letters of yͤ emperour hymſelfe do both right well declare . For it may appeare,he dedicated as it were hymſelfe to his vtter ruine and deſtruction,when he did ſollicitate againſt Fridericus,Iacobus Tewpolus the Venetian Duke: Whome, for the diſpleaſure he toke with the emperour in the impriſonyng of his ſonne, was in good hope he ſhoulde allure vnto hym , he being in ſo troublous a tyme ſuch a comfort and ayder vnto hym: yͭ as Blondus wryteth, in a certayn epiſtle gratulatorie he calleth him Lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and Lord of the half of the Romain empire.

The pope wageth & hyreth 35. Galleyes to ſpoyle the coaſtes of the Emperour.

And calling vnto hym the Venetiã and Genwetian legates,made a peace betwixt them (which for certayne cauſes aboute theyr ſea coſtes were at variaunce) and couenaunted wͭ them vpon thys condition: that at theyr publique charges,they ſhould rigge and man 35.galleis,which ſhould ſpoyle and burne all alongſt the ſea coaſtes of the kyngdomes and dominions of Fridericke.

The popes edicte agaynſt the Emperour *Aſcendit de mari bellica beſtia.*

But the Pope,when he ſaw the good wyll and fidelitie which the duke of Venis bare vnto the emperour,& ſaw alſo what ayde the Emperour had of him, neyther that he was like to winne hym to hys purpoſe:then had he recourſe agayne to hys old crafty practiſies & ſubtilties.And further deuiſed,to put forth an edicte at Rome to yͤ vniuerſall church & peole,the beginnyng whereof is Aſcẽdit de mari bellica beſtia:wherin , he declareth yͤ cauſes wherfore he curſeth & geueth yͤ emperour to yͤ deuil of hel,& hath deiect hym frõ all his princely dignitie. He in yͤ ſame,accuſeth hym of ſo many & of ſo huge a heape of miſchiefes,as to nominat thẽ my hart deteſteth:And beſydes that,he reſtrayneth his ſoueraigne lord and emperour of the appellation which euery priuat man by law may haue. He ſlaundereth hym of treaſon,periury,crueltie,ſacrilege,kyllyng of hys kynd,& all impietie: he accuſeth hym for an heretike,a ſchiſmatike,and a myſcreant:And to be briefe,what miſchiefe ſo euer the pope can deuiſe,wyth that doth he charge hym and burden hym. All thys doth he ſayth the Pope,yͭ when he hath brought our holines , and all the eccleſiaſticall eſtate to beggery,he might ſcoffe at and deryde the religion of Chriſte, which as a miſcreant he deteſteth.

Albertus Behauus the popes tone hand.

The pope threatneth to curſe all thoſe that wiſh well to the Emperour.

And nowe for that yͤ pope had a great and ſpecial truſt in Albertus Behauus of the noble houſe called equeſtri (as crafty a poſtle as yͤ beſt),and one whom he ſaw ſo redy to leane to hys luſt: To hym the pope deliuered two other mandates in ſeuerall letters ſealed,in which he commaundeth all Byſhops,prelates,and other of the cleargy:that they ſhould ſolempnly recite the ſame in theyr churches in ſteade of their Sermon,that by his decree he had excommunicate Fridericke out of the fellowſhip of chriſten men : put hym from the procuration or gouernmẽt of the empire: and that he had releaſed all hys ſubiectes of their allegeance and fidelity towardes hym.And farthermore,that geth them,and all other chriſten men vnder the payne of curſing and damnation , that neyther they ſuccour the emperour,nor yet ſo much as wyſh hym wel. Thus he, beyng the popes ſpeciall and truſty ſeruiture and made to hys hand,raiſed a moſt horrible confuſiõ and Chaos of publike quietnes,as ſhall after appeare.

Amongſt all other noble men of Germanye at that tyme towardes the emperour,was Otho the gouernor of Rhenus & duke Boiora , both moſt ſeruiſeable and alſo a Prince of greate honoure , riches and eſtimation. Thys prince,both with fayre promiſes & alſo rewardes, he entiſed from hym : for that beyng made by him to beleue, that Ludouicus hys father of whome we ſpake before , was by the Emperour murdred and ſlayne . And the ſame Otho agayne , cauſed three other princes and dukes , to reuolte from the Emperour to the Pope,which were neighbours and nere adioyning vnto him:as Venceſlaus , and Belus,princes of the Vngarians,and Henry duke of Polonia.To whõ came alſo Fridericus Auſtriacus his ſõne: who becauſe he was proſcript or outlawed of hys father,and had hys dukedome waſted and brent as you heard , was eaſilye wonne vnto the pope.Theſe,gatheryng a councel(when they had thought to haue tranſlated the empire vnto the kings ſonne of Denmarke)deſired to haue the popes legates to be ſent from him,to the effect of that election.

The Emperour was at Patauiũ when theſe newes were broughte vnto hym , what the Pope had done at Rome . Therfore,he commaunded Peter Deuineis his ſecretory(vpon Eaſter daye) to make an Naration to the people,of his great and liberall munificence to the biſhops and church of Rome,and agayn of the iniuries of them towards him in recompence thereof: of his innocencie alſo in that wherof he had accuſed hym : and of the vnſemelynes of ſuch an act or decde: of the ryght vſe of the eccleſiaſticall cenſure,and of the errours and abuſe of the church of Rome. By which Oration of his, he ſo remoued the cloude from manye mens hartes of blinde ſuperſtition,and the conceaued opinion of holynes of the church of Rome,and biſhops of the ſame,and alſo of their vſurped power and ſubtill perſwaſion:that both they playnly ſaw and perceaued the vices and ſylthynes of the church of Rome and biſhops of that ſee,as alſo theyr fraudulent deceites and flagitious doyngs: moſt vehemently lamenting and complaynyng of the ſame . Albertus maketh mencion of certayne verſes which were ſent & written betwene the biſhop of Rome and the Emperour. The which verſes in the latter ende of thys preſent hiſtorye of Fridericke you ſhalt finde.

The Emperour moreouer both by hys letters and Legates , geueth intelligence to all Chriſten kinges, to the princes of his own empire,to the college of Cardinals,and people of Rome:as well of the fayned crymes wherwith he was charged,as alſo of the crueltie of the biſhop of Rome againſt him. The copye of which letter or epiſtle foloweth here vnder inſerted.

¶ *The Emperour to the prelates of the worlde.*

In the beginning and creation of the world: the ineffable foreknowledge and prouidence of God (who aſketh counſell of none)created in the firmament of heauen two lightes (a greater and a leſſe) the greater he created to gouerne the day,and the leſſe to gouerne the night:which two,ſo doo their proper offices and duties in the Zodiake,that although often times the one be in an oblique reſpect vnto the other,yet the one is not enemie to the other:but rather doth the ſuperiour,communicate hys light with the inferiour . Euen ſo, the ſame eternall foreknowledge hath appointed vpon the earth two regimentes:that is to wit , Prieſthood and kingly power:the one for knowledge and wyſedome,the other for defence. That man,which was made of two partes (euer wanton and diſſolute)might haue two raygnes to gouerne hym and bridle him with all,that peace therby and loue,might dwel vpon the face of the earth. But alas,the biſhop of Rome ſitting in the chayre of peruerſe doctrine or peſtilence,that Phariſie anoynted wyth the oyle of iniquitie aboue the reſt of hys conſortes in thys our time,which for his abominable pride is fallen from heauen:indeuoureth wyth his power to deſtroy and vndo all,and thinketh(I beleue)to ſtellifye agayne himſelf there frõ whence he fell. Hys purpoſe is to darken and to ſhadow the lyght of our vnſpotted lyfe, whyleſt that (altering the veritie into lies)his papal leters ſtuft with all vntruthes,are ſent into ſundry partes of the world: of hys owne corrupt humor, and vppon no reaſonable cauſe,blemiſhing the ſinceritie of our religiō. The lord pope hath compared vs,vnto the beaſt riſing out of the ſea,full of names of blaſphemye,and ſpotted like a Lyberd.But we ſay,that he is that mōſtrous beaſt of whō it is ſayd,and of whom we thus reede: And there ſhall come an other red horſe out of the ſea: and he ẏ ſhal ſit on him,ſhal take peace away out of ẏ earth:let thē therfore that dwell vpon the earth deſtroy him. For ſynce the tyme of hys promotion,he hath not bene the father of mercy,but of diſcord:A diligent ſteward of deſolatiō in ſteede of conſolation,and hath intiſed all the worlde to commit offence:And to take the wordes in right ſence and interpretation,he is that greate Dragon that hath deceaued the whole worlde:he is that Antechriſt,of whō he hath called vs the forerunner:he is that other Balam hired for mony to curſe vs,the prince of darknes,which hath abuſed the prophets.This is the Angel leaping out of the ſea,hauing hys phials fild wyth bitternes,that he may both hurt the ſea and the land: the counterfet Vicar of Chriſt,that ſetteth forth hys own imaginations. He ſayth that we do not rightly beleue in the Chriſtian fayth,and that the world is deceiued with three maner of deceauers(which to name God forbyd we ſhoulde open our mouth)ſeyng that openly we confeſſe onely Jeſus Chriſt our Lorde and ſauiour to be the euerlaſting ſonne of God,coequal with hys father & the holy ghoſt, begotten before all worldes,and in proces of tyme ſent downe vppon the earth,for the ſaluation of mankinde: Conceaued,not by the ſeede of mā,but by the holy goſt: which was borne of the glorious virgin Marye, and after that,ſuffered and dyed as touching the fleſh: and by hys godhead the third day,he rayſed from death that other nature which hee aſſumpted in the wombe of hys mother.But we haue learned,that the body of Machomet hangeth in the ayre,and that hys ſoule is buryed in hell:whoſe workes are damnable and contrarye to the law of the moſt higheſt. We affirme alſo,that Moyſes was the faythful ſeruant of God,and a true teacher of the law:and that he talked with God in mount Sinay, vnto whom the Lord ſayd,Rubrum.&c.By whom alſo, God wrought myracles in Egipt,and deliuered the law written to the Iſraelites, and that afterwardes wyth the elect he was called to glory.In theſe & other thinges our enemy and enuier of our ſtate,cauſing our mother the church to accuſe her ſonne,hath wrytten agaynſt vs venemous and lyeng ſclaunders, and ſent the ſame to the whole world.If he had rightly vnderſtood the Apoſtles meaning,he would not haue preferred hys violent wyll before reaſon,whych beareth ſuch ſway with him: neither would he haue ſent out his Mandates to the ſuggeſtion of thoſe which call light darknes,and euil good: which ſuſpect hony to be gall,for the great good opiniō they haue conceaued of that holy place,which in deede is both weake and infirme, and conuerteth all truth in to falſhood,and affirmeth that to be that is not.

Truly,my opinion (ſo indifferēt on euery ſyde) ought not in anye caſe to bee infringed and auerted from the fayth,to ſuch enemies of ſo corrupt a conſcience. Wherfore,we greatly ar inforced not a litle to maruel,which thing alſo doth much diſquiet vs to ſee: that you whych be the pyllers and aſſiſtentes in office of righteous dealyng,the Senatours of Peters City,and the principall beames in Gods buylding: haue not qualified the perturbation of ſo fierce a Judge,as do the planets of heauen in theyr kind:which, to mitigate the paſſing ſwyft courſe of the great orbe or ſphere of heauen,draw a contrary way by their oppoſite mouinges. In verye dede, our imperiall felicity,hath bene (almoſt euen from the beginning) ſpurned againſt,and enuied at,of the papal ſee and dignitie: As Simonides being demaunded why he had no mo enemies & enuiers of his ſtate, anſwered and ſayd:quia nichil fœliciter geſſi:for becauſe(ſaith he)I haue had no good ſucceſſe in any thing that euer I toke in hand. And ſo,for that we haue had proſperous ſucceſſe in all our enterpriſes(the Lordes name be bleſſed therefore)eſpecially in the ouerthrowe (of late) of our rebellious enemies the Lumbardes, to whom in their good quarel he promiſed lyfe & abſolution & remiſſion of theyr ſynnes, is the cauſe wherefore thys Apoſtolicall byſhop mourneth and lamenteth: And now,not by your counſels,I ſuppoſe he laboureth to impugn this our felicitie but of hys owne power of binding and looſyng, whereof he glorieth ſo muche, he impugneth it. But preſently where power and habilitie wanteth to redres, there doth abuſe take place. We ſee in hym whiche was ſo mighty a kyng, and the worthieſt prince amongeſt all ẏ Prophets,to deſire and craue the reſtitution of Gods holy ſpirit, when he had polluted the dignitie of his office. But ẏ prouerbe is, Vti diſſolubilia nō ſoluuntur ita intellegibilia non leguntur. As thinges indiſſoluble are not to bee looſed, ſo thinges that cannot bee vnderſtoode are not to bee redde. Whiche thyng manifeſtlye is proued in hym. For why, the Scriptures of God doo inſtruct men how to lyue: they mortifie our ſoules whiche are immortal, and viuifie the ſame whiche are dead for want of life. And doubtles,God is able to hūble & bryng downe thoſe,that are vnworthy of dignitie, as much as hym pleaſeth,and whē him pleaſeth.Doubtles, if the biſhop of Rome,were a true biſhop in dede, innocent,impollute, and not aſſociate with wicked lyuers and euill mē,his life ſhold declare him ſo to be.He would not thē be an offerer of diſſentious ſacrifice,but a peaceable offerer of loue and charitie,and would cenſe,not with the incenſe of grief and hatred, but with the ſweete ſmellyng incenſe of concorde and vnitie:neither yet would altare, ſuum pontificium in malificium: That is,make of a ſanctified office an execrable abuſe. If he were ſuch a byſhop as he ought to be,he would not wreſt or abuſe the preachyng of the word, into the frute and gayne of his own diſſention:neither ſhould we be accuſed for ſuch an enemy of our mother the true church, as is a layd vnto her ſonnes charge by ſuch a Byſhop. Whiche true and mother churche,with all reuerence we honour, and benignitie imbrace,ſo bewtified & adourned with Gods moſt holy Sacraments.Some ſingular perſons notwithſtanding,faynyng them ſelues to be our brethren by that mother & yet are not,but of a ſtrumpet begat:ſuch I ſay,as are ſubiect and ſclaues to corruptible things(putting thē from amongſt vs) we vtterly reiect:Eſpecially, for that iniuries by them done, are not onelye tranſitorie and mundane,wherwith our maieſtie is ſo moleſted, vexed, and greued. Wherfore,we cannot ſo eaſly mitigate our moode, neither ought we in very dede ſo to do: and therfore are we inforced the more,to take the greater reuēge of them. You therfore,that are men of graue and deliberate counſel, hauyng the excellent gift (as from God)of wiſedome and vnderſtandyng: Refuſe you that roryng enmy of ours in theſe his procedings,whoſe beginnings are ſo wicked & deteſtable: wiſely cōparyng things paſt with thoſe to come. Otherwiſe, you that are vnder our ſubiection, as wel of the empire as other our dominiōs, ſhall feele and perceiue(both of my chiefe enemie & perſecutour,as alſo of the princes that are his fautours and adherentes)what reuenge by ſworde Fridericus Auguſtus ſhall take vpon them,God ſo permittyng.

The imperiall dignitie ſpurned at alwaies by the pope.

The anſwer of Simonides applyed.

The Emperour propheceyeth of the popes fall.

The Emperour vtterly reiecteth the pope and church of Rome,

This done,he denounceth a ſolemne parliament or councell of all the princes and other nobilitie of the empire at Aegra:whether came,Cōradus Ceſar, Moguntinus Preſul,the Saxon dukes, the Lordes of Brandeburgh,Miſna,Thuringus,and the legates of all the nobles

The Emperour calleth a parliament or councel to expreſſe the popes malice.

bles of Brabant to ayde the emperour. But the princes of Boiemus and Palatinus, beyng diſſuaded by the legates vnto whom the Auſtrians had ioyned thē ſelues, refuſed to come to the councell holden at Aegra. And beyng at theyr wits endes not knowing well what they might do: Forſoke at laſt the emperour, and tooke parte with the pope and the other conſpiratours. Then Fridericus Auſtriacus the emperours ſecond ſonne (whom he diſherited as ye herd) by the ayde of the Boiors and Bohemians, recouered agayne the dukedomes of Auſtria ⁊ Siria: putting to flight and diſconfityng, the emperors bandes and garriſons which he had there. And although the cardinals (eſpecially that honeſt man Albertus Boiemus) had allured vnto yͤ pope Otho the duke of Boioria as ye herd, and diuers other noblemen of Germanie: yet notwithſtanding, certeine biſhops in Boioria (as Eberhardus Iuuauenſis, and Sigrefridus Seginoburgēſis, being at that time the Emperours chauncelar, Rudigenis Ratheuienſis, Conradus Friſingenſis, and others) left not or yet forſoke yͤ Emperour. All which, yͤ foreſayd Albertus not onely did excommunicate, but alſo by proces ſought to bryng thē vp to Rome before the pope: Giuyng commaundement to their Collegioners and cloyſterers, that they ſhould depriue thē of their offices, and chuſe ſuch others in their ſtedes as would obey the pope. All whiche thynges the Pope vnderſtandyng by Albertus, and of this their fidelitie to the Emperour: corroborated and confirmed the ſame hys doinges, commaundyng them to chuſe other byſhops in their ſtedes.

The good byſhops of Germany are obedient to their king & prince.

But the biſhops ⁊ prelates wᵗ one conſent contemning yͤ popes mandats ⁊ writtes, and alſo the curſes ⁊ threatnings of Albertus: accuſed, reproued, ⁊ greatly blamed hys temeritie and alſo tyrany which he vſurped againſt the churches of Germany, and eſpecially agaynſt yͤ good Emperour: that wythout his conſent he durſt be ſo bold to meddle in churches committed to the emperoures gouernment, agaynſt the old and auncient cuſtomes: and that he had excommunicated the emperour without iuſt cauſe: that he had condemned the emperoures faythfull ſubiectes, as enemies to the church, for ſtanding wᵗ theyr liege and ſoueraigne prince (which allegeance to violat, without horrible iniquity thei might not) ⁊ had ſo ſought to diſquiet them likewiſe in their charges ⁊ adminiſtrations, and had alſo in that quarell geuen ſuche defiance to the emperour. Thei accuſed ⁊ condemned yͤ ſame Albertus alſo, for a moſt impudēt impoſtour, ⁊ wicked varlet, and for a moſt peſtiferous botche and ſore of the Chriſtian common weale: and geuē hym to the deuill they do, as a ruinous enemy, as wel of the church as of hys naturall countrey: and further thinke hym worthy to haue his reward, with the reſt of the popes purſiuantes beyng yͤ moſt wycked inuentours and deuiſers of miſchief that were in all Germania. This done, they make relation hereof to the Emperour by their letters: and further, they aduertiſe all the princes of Germany (eſpecially thoſe which were of the popes faction or rebellion and were the fauorers of Albertus) that they ſhoulde take hæde (and beware in any caſe) of his ſubtile deceptes and pernitious deceauable alluremēts: nor that they ſhould aſſiſt the pope for all hys wordes, agaynſt the emperour. And doubtles by the counſel of the hygh prelate or archbyſhop of Boioria (whoſe name was Iuuauenſis) ⁊ by his induſtrie and perſuaſiō: Fridericus Auſtriacus was agayne reconciled vnto the emperour hys father, from whoſe ayd ⁊ obedience after that (by no promiſes, threatnings, bribes, nor paines, no nor for the execrable curſes of the popes owne holy mouth) he would be induced or remoued. But Albertus proſecuteth ſtill hys purpoſed miſchiefe, alluryng and inciting by all meanes poſſible (and that not amongeſt the worſt but the beſt) frendes to the Pope and enemies to the emperour: To ſome, he gaue their tithes to fyghte againſt the Emperour, to other ſome he gaue the glæbe landes of benefices: and to other ſome he gaue the ſpoyle of ſuch colledgies and monaſteries as tooke not part wyth the pope: and to ſome other alſo, he gaue the colledges and monaſteries themſelues. And aſſuredly I fynde by Iohannes Auentinus lib.7. annalium Boiorum: that there were certayne of the Popes own birdes, that had their eccleſiaſticall tythes taken from them: and other ſome, had the rents and reuenues of theyr colledges pluckt away by force, to the mayntenance of the popes quarell againſt the emperour. Hereby was there a wyndow opened to doo what they lyſted (euery man according to hys rauenyng and deteſtable luſte) and all things lay open vnto their gredye and inſaciable deſires. Who liſteth to heare more hereof, let hym read Auentinus in hys booke before noted, and there ſhal he ſæ what vaſtation grew thereby to the whole ſtate of Germany, who largely entreateth of the ſame.

The byſhops of Germanie excōmunicate the popes Legate and cardinall.

Iuuauenſis the byſhop, a true ſubiect to hys prince.

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While theſe things were thus in workyng in Germany: Fridericke leauyng in Lumbardye Actiolinus wᵗ a great part of hys hoſt (he paſſyng wyth the reſt by Apeninum) came to Hetruria and ſet the ſame in a ſtay, after that he had alayd certaine inſurrections there: and from thence to Pyſas, where he was with great amitie and honour receiued and welcomed. This citie was alwayes aſſured and faithfull to the emperoures of Germany. The pope vnderſtandyng of the emperours commyng into Hetruria, and knowyng what power themperour had alſo left in Lumbardie: he wᵗ a great army beſiegeth the citie Ferraria, yͤ alwayes loued yͤ emperor full wel: which citie, when the popes legate had aſſauted ſharply the ſpace of v. monethes ⁊ could not winne the ſame: he deuiſed with hymſelfe to ſend for Salingwerra out of the towne by way of a parlie, promiſing his faith ⁊ truth to hym for his ſafe returne. Who, by the perſuaſion of Hugo Rambartus, that ſayde without peryll he myght do the ſame (beyng but by waye of Parley) was comming to the legate: who preuentyng him in his iorney toke hym as ⁊ priſoner, contrary to his truth and fidelitie. And thus gate he Ferraria and delyuered the keping therof to Azones Aſtenſis. And that the popes legat thus falſified his trouth, and circumuented the capitain and olde man Salingwerra: the ſame is confeſſed of the popes frendly Hiſtoriographers, to be but a Stratagem or warlyke policie. But to returne again: About yͤ ſame tyme alſo the Venitian nauy, at the mount Garganum chaſed xij. galleis of the emperours which were appointed to the kepyng of that coſte, and ſpoyled, brent, ⁊ waſted all the region: and farther tooke one of the Emperours great ſhips beyng driuen by tempeſt and weather into the hauē Sipontinū, fraught with men ⁊ munitiō.

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Fridericus againe getting on his ſide the Lucenſes, the Volateranes, the Genenſes, the Aretines, and diuers Cities beſides in Hetruria to helpe that countrey: came to Piſas and Viterbium, whiche tooke part with hym. Some ſay, that the names ⁊ factions of the Gibellines ⁊ Guelphes, ſprang frō Friderick: that by them he might ſpie and know (hauing recourſe to all the townes and cities in Italie) whiche tooke parte with and fauored the pope, and whiche the Emperour: and called the one by yͤ name of Gibelines, ⁊ the other by yͤ name of Guelphes. But for that, both Blondus, ⁊ Platina, ⁊ ſome others, bring no ſufficient proofe therof but only by ſlender coniecture, I rather cleaue to yͤ opinion of Nauclerus, Hermanus, Antonius Florentinus, and other ſuch writers which ſay: that theſe Guelphes and Gibellines in Italie, tooke their begynning of Conradus. 3. Fridericus hys great vncle, being Emperour. And that theſe Guelphes were dedicated to the pope of Guelphus the yonger brother of Henry the prowde: ⁊ that thoſe whiche were called Gibellines were appointed either of Conradus hymſelf or els of hys ſonne, being brought vp in the lordſhip of Wayblingen. But to our purpoſe.

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The pope, when he vnderſtood that Fridericke was come to Viterbium, he was very heuie: for yͤ he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of whiche Citie the pope much miſtruſted. He therfore cauſed a ſupplication to be drawne, portraying about the ſame the heades of Peter and Paul, and with a ſharpe and contumelious oration he much defaced the Emperour: promiſing them euerlaſting lyfe, and gaue them the badge of the croſſe, as many as would arme them ſelues and fight agaynſt the Emperour, as agaynſt yͤ moſt wicked enemy of God and the churche. Now when the Emperour marchyng ſomewhat nere to Rome gates, and beheld thoſe whom the pope had with hys goodly ſpectacle of S. Peter, and S. Paul, and with hys alluryng oration ſtirred vp agaynſt hym and marked with the badge of the croſſe to come forth in battel agaynſt him: Diſdainyng to be accompted for the enemie of the churche, who had ben therunto ſo beneficial, giuyng a fierce charge vpō them, put thē ſone to flight: & as many as he toke (cuttyng of that badge from them) he cauſed to be hanged. From thence he marchyng into Campania and his own kingdomes: leuied a great maſſe of mony, and muſtered new bands, and augmented his army: and in theſe bandes he retayned the Saracens alſo. And to the intent he myght finde the Saracens the more truſtie vnto hym: he appoynted them to inhabite in a citie named Luceria. For whiche thyng, although the papiſtical writers do greatly blame and opprobriouſly write of Fridericke: yet notwithſtandyng, Nicholaus Machiauellus doth write, that therfore he retayned them: leaſt that through the popes execrable curſes, he ſhould be quite deſtitute of Souldiors as was Fridericus Barbaroſſa a litle before, his graundfather, when that of Alexander the Pope he was excommunicated as ye haue herd.

After this, when the Emperour had greatly afflicted by battaile the popes eccleſiaſticall conſortes, ſuch as cōſpired with the Pope agaynſt hym: and that he had waſted and deſtroyed Beneuentum, the mount Caſenum, and Sora, for that they tooke part with the pope againſt hym: Fridericke, when he had manned the citie Aquila, marched forth with a great hoſte both of horſemen and foote men to Picenum, that he might vanquiſhe his enemies in Italie. And by the way, he beſieged yͤ ſtrōg town of warre named Aſculinum, which was alſo conuerted to the popes faction and rebelliō. He there hauyng vnderſtandyng what the Popes aſſiſtentes had done with the princes electours and other princes of Germanie, eſpecially with Wenſeſlaus kyng of Bohemia, & Otho Palatinus: writeth his letters vnto them. In the which, firſt he ſheweth howe that thoſe contumelyes and ſpytefull wordes whiche the pope bluſtered out agaynſt hym, are light vpon him ſelfe: And how the biſhops of Rome haue taken to them of late ſuch hart of grace and are become ſo loftie, that not onely they ſeeke to bryng Emperours, Kyngs, and Princes, vnder their obedience but alſo ſeke how to be honored as Gods: And ſay, that they cannot erre, neither yet be ſubiect or bound to any religion: and that it is lawfull for them to do all thynges what they liſt, neither that any accoumpt is to be ſought or demaunded of their doinges, or els to be made of them to any, ſo impudent are they in theſe theyr affirmations. And further, as princes they commaund (and that vnder payne of curſyng) that men beleue euery thyng they ſay, how great a lye ſoeuer it be.

In ſomuch that by this couetouſnes of his, al things go backeward and ſubuerteth the hole ſtate of the common weal: neither can theyr any enemie be found more hurtfull or perillous to the churche of God then he. He wrote vnto them farthermore, that he (to whom the greateſt charge and dignitie was in the whole commō weale appointed and committed) ſeyng and perceauing to hys great peril, their good hartes, wyls, & practiſes, towards hym: would with all the power and habilitie that God had giuen him, do his indeuour: that he which in the likenes of the ſhepheard of the flock, the ſeruaunt of Chriſt, and chief prelate in the churche, ſheweth him ſelfe ſo very a wolfe, perſecutour, and tyraunt: may be remoued from that place, and that a true and carefull ſhepheard of Gods flocke, may be appointed in the church. Wherfore he exhorteth thē, yͭ if they deſire yͤ ſafty & preſeruation of the hole ſtate of the common weale and Empire: yͭ they be vnto hym no hinderers, but furtherers of hys purpoſe and proceadynges: leaſt otherwyſe, they alſo ſhould happen to fall into the ſame ſnare of ſeruitude with the biſhop of Rome. And further, he gaue them to wyt, that if he ſhould aſpire to that he ſought for (that is to be an Emperour and kyng ouer kynges) yet ſhould that be no ſtaye of his inſatiable deſire, but would be as gredy and rauenous as now he is. Therfore, if they be wyſe, to withſtand hym betymes: leaſt hereafter when they would it ſhould be to late, neither wer able to withſtand his tyranny. The effect of this Epiſtle I tooke out of Auentyne which more largely delateth the ſame: who alſo writeth, that the Emperour (by his Legats) ſent the ſame to Wenſeſlaus.

The emperour voweth to remoue the pope and put an other more carefull ſhepherd in to the church of god

Boiemus ſomwhat relentyng at this letter, promyſeth to accompliſh themperours biddings and precepts: and forthwith gathereth the aſſembly of princes and nobles at Aegra: wher, by common conſent they thinke to renouate with the Emperour a new leage and couenāt. And furthermore, they finde Otho Boius (whych was abſēt, and would not be at this their aſſemblie) to be the autor of this defection, and an ennemye to the common weale. Otho, then ſeyng him ſelfe not able to ſtande agaynſt the Ceſar, and the other princes with whom hee was aſſociate, deſiring ayde of the Pope by his letters, came with all ſpeede to Boiemus his kinſman: whom, when he could not perſwade vnto him againe, neyther he would vnto their partes alſo bee wonne: obtayneth notwithſtanding yet thus muche at theyr handes, that the leage and couenaunt (whych they were in hande to make with the Emperour) mighte for a tyme be deferred, and that an other aſſembly might be made: wherat he alſo would be, and ioyne hymſelfe with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched alſo hys ſonne: and brought to be both a rebel and traytor. In the meane ſeaſon, the Pope ſent his reſcript vnto the kyng of Boiemia and to Otho, tendyng to thys effect: that in no caſe they ſhould eyther forſake him, or els the church, to take yͤ Emperours part. And ſo much preuayled he by the meanes of Behuſlaus & Vudiſlaus (which were the chiefeſt of the Senate regal) and by his fayr promiſes and bribes to ſuch as he before had made to hym: that agayn at Libuſſa by Boiemus and Boius new aſſemblies were gathered for the creation of a new Emperour, in deſpite of Auguſtus themperour, and the Ceſar his ſonne. And whileſt that this was thus in hād, Conradus Ceſar caſteth Landſhuta the wyfe of Otho (being abſent) in the teeth for great benefit and poſſeſſions whych her huſband had and poſſeſſed by the aunciters of hym: and that vnles her huſbande tooke a better way with him ſelfe, and ſhewed hys obedience to the emperour hys father: that he ſhould not enioy one foote of that land, whych nowe hee had by hys predeceſſours. The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the aunciters of Conradus Ceſar came thus. Fridericus Barbaroſſa in the yeare of our Lorde. 1180. at a parliament holden at Reginoburgh, condemned Hēricus Leo of hygh treaſon: and depriued him of hys dominions of Boioria and Saxonie: and gaue Boioria to Otho Wilteſpachius: for that he had done him ſo faythfull ſeruice in hys Italian warres. After that, Ludouicus the ſōne of thys Otho, obtayned of thys emperour Fridericus the ſecond, in recompence of hys aſſured and truſty fide-

Boiemus relenteth at the emperours letter.

The practiſe of Otho wyth the pope agaynſt the emperour.

The popes reſcript daſheth all the matters agayne.

By what meanes Otho attained ſo great poſſeſſiōs by the emperour and his Auncitors.

litie the dition of Palatinatum Rheni ſo called: whych gaue alſo Agnetes the daughter of Henry Earle of Palatine to Otho hys ſonne in mariage. This Henry was the ſonne of Henry Leo the traytor: vnto whom Henry the. 6. the father of Fridericke gaue in mariage Clemētia hys brothers daughter Conradus Palatine of Rhenus, and gaue vnto hym the keping of the palace of the ſame. And as touching the inheritance of Boiaria, that he had alſo, long nowe poſſeſſed by the heyres of Otho Wilteſpachus. But to our purpoſe agayne.

The gouernour of Agrippina reuolteth to the pope

At the ſame tyme alſo the gouernour of Colonia Agrippina, reuolteth the pope: who, not longe after in a ſkirmiſh betwene Brabantinus and him, was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner. And doubtles, Fridericus Auſtriacus after he was receaued into fauour again wyth the emperour (kéeping moſt conſtantly hys promiſe and fidelitie renued) during thys tyme, made ſharpe war vpon the Ungarians which tooke part with the pope, and greatly anoyed them. As theaſe thynges thus paſſed in Germany: the Emperour, when he had gotten Aſcalum and led hys hoſt into Flamminia, hauing Rauenna at his cōmaundement: frō thence came to Fauētia, which citye neuer loued the emperour: the circute of whoſe walles is fiue myles in compaſſe, and pitched his campe round about yͤ ſame. And although the ſiege was much hindered by auſteritie of the tyme and weather (beyng in the dead time of winter) yet notwithſtāding, through his great fortitude and courage, ſo animating his ſoldiours in the paynfulnes of yͤ laborious ſiege, he indured out the ſame: who thought it no litle ſhame hauing once made that enterpriſe, to come from thence without any aſſault geuen. And therefore, when now the wynter (ſo extreme cold and hard) was welnere ended, & the ſpring tyme now hard at hand, and by long battery had made the ſame in diuers places ſautable: The Citizens (being greatly diſcouraged, and in no hope of the defence therof) ſent their Legates to the Emperour, crauing pardō for their offence, and that he would graunt vnto them theyr lyues, and ſo yelded them ſelues vnto hys mercy.

The emperours great lenitie and clemencie but where meruilouſlye enforced.

The Emperour hauing agaynſt them good and ſufficient cauſe of reuenge: yet for yͤ his noble hart thought it to be the beſt reuenge that myght be, to pardon the offence of vanquiſhed men: he thought it better to graunt them their requeſtes, to ſaue the citie, and citizens therof, wyth innumerable people: then by armes to make the ſame hys ſoldiours praye, to the deſtruction both of the citie, and great number of people therein. So doth this good Emperour in one of his epiſtles *Adacta nobis* confeſſe himſelfe: which epiſtle, to declare the lenitie and mercyful hart of ſo worthy a prince, if that with gret & maruelous prouocation and wronges he had not bene incited, I thought good in the middeſt of hiſtory here to haue placed. But this I haue kept you long herein, & yet not finiſhed the ſame.

The emperour enforced to make his monie of leather.

In thys ſiege the emperour hauyng ſpent and conſumed almoſt all hys treaſure both gold and ſiluer: cauſed other mony to be made of leather, which on the one ſyde had his image, and on the other ſyde the ſpread egle (the armes of the empyre) and made a proclamatiō that the ſame ſhould paſſe from man to man for all neceſſaries in ſtéede of other money: and therwithall promiſed, that whoſoeuer brought the ſame mony vnto his Eſchecour when the warres were ended, he would geue them golde for the ſame accordyng to the value of euery coine limitted: which thing afterward, truly and faithfully he performed, as all the hiſtoriographers do accord.

Thus, when the pope as before is ſayd, had ſtopped hys eares and would not heare the emperours Legates that came to intreat for peace, but reiected and deſpiſed hys moſt courtious and equal demaundes: neyther yet had left any wily policie vnattempted or force vnpractiſed, that wyth his confederates he thought hymſelfe eyther able to reuenge or els reſiſt: He by his legates calleth to a councel at Rome, all ſuch prelates out of Italy, Fraunce, and England, as he thought to fauour hym & hys procedings: that hereby as hys laſt ſhift and onelye refuge, he by their helpes myght depriue Fridericke of hys Empire, as an vtter enemy to God & to the church. All which thyngs Fridericus hauyng vnderſtanding of, and knew that theſe aſſemblies ſhould bee but to the deſtruction and ſupplantyng of hym: determined to ſtopp and let their paſſages to Rome, as well by ſea as by lād in all that euer he myghte. So that, all the paſſages by land beyng now ſtopped and preuented, he commaūded hys ſon Henry wͭ certen Gallies to go & kepe the coaſts of Sardinia, which kingdom the Italians cal Entimū: & from thence to Piſas & with the Piſās to rig out a nauy to méete with (if it were poſſible) ſuch as ſhould come to ayde the Pope at Rome. The popes champions vnderſtandyng, that by land they coulde not ſafely repayre to Rome: they procured of galleys and ſhips of Genua (hauing Gulielmus Braccius for their chiefe capitaine or Admirall) for fortie ſaile their defence: thinking hereby, that if they ſhould fortune to méete with any of the emperours ſhyps or galleyes, which ſhoulde lye for them in wait, they ſhould be able to make their part in good, & geue them alſo yͤ repulſe. Encius in like maner & Huglinus (being captayne and admirall of the Piſan nauye for the Emperour) Lanched forth to ſea wyth 40. ſhips and galleis: and betwixte the iles of Lilium and mons Chriſti which lye betwen Liburnium and Corſica, they met wyth the Genewe ſhips: and ſtraight wayes fierſly began to graple with them and bourde them, in whiche fyght at length, were three of yͤ Genewes ſhips boulged and ſonke, and xxij. taken and brought away, with al the riches and treaſure in them. In theſe wer taken three legates of the popes, wherof wer two cardinals, Jacobus columna, Otho marchio, and Gregorius de Romania, (al cruel enemies againſt the emperour) and manye other prelates moe: beſides a great number of legats and procuratours of cities, wͭ an infinite number of monks and prieſtes, beſyde of Genewes ſouldiors, v.i.m. wyth diuers others.

Pandolphus Colonucius in diſcribing the circumſtances of the great loſſe and miſfortune of theſe champions of the pope by ſea, amongſt the reſt declareth: that beſides the great pray and bootie whiche the takers had from them, they alſo found many writings and letters againſt Friderike, which much holpe hym in the defence of thoſe cauſes, wherin they had laboured againſt hym. The lyke miſchaunce alſo, almoſt about that tyme happned on the popes ſide, by the Emperors ſouldiors which lay in garriſon at Ticinum, thus. There went forth vpō a tyme out of Ticinum into the borders of yͤ Genewes certayne bandes, to geue them larums in the countrey: which bandes, the ſcuriers of Mediolanum (where laye a great garriſon of the popes) diſcryeng: told the captain of the towne, that now a verye oportune and fitte tyme was to geue an aſſaute to Ticinum: for that ſay they, yͤ greateſt parte are now gone a foragyng. Wheruppon, they immediatly callyng together the captaines & ſuche as had charge, ſet their ſouldiors in araye and marched foreward to Ticinum. And nowe, when they were come almoſt thether, the Ticinian bands (whom they thought to haue bene far a foraging) were returned & met wyth them, & fierſly gaue a ful charge vpon thē: who, being diſmayed at the ſodennes of the matter, foughte not long but gaue ouer and fled. In which ſkirmiſhe was taken (beſides thoſe that were ſlain) 350. captains and brought priſoners into Ticinum wyth all theyr enſignes wyth them.

Newes hereof was brought to the emperor not long after, who then was remouyng from the ſiege of Fauētia as ye heard to the citie of Bononium thinkyng to haue deſtroyed the ſame. But vpon the hearyng of theſe good newes, he altereth hys purpoſe, and thinkyng to haue hereafter a more conueniēt tyme therunto, leadeth hys army towardes Rome: and in the way, he reconciled to him the citie Piſaurum. But Fanum, for that the townes men ſhut their gates and would not ſuffer ẏ emperour to come in, he toke by force and deſtroyed. For the emperour ſeing, that neyther by petition made to ẏ pope, nor yet by hys lawfull excuſation he could do any good wt hym: he thought, ẏ by his ſodain cōming thether, and wt feare of the peril imminent, he myght be brought to ſome vniformitie, and cauſed to leaue of hys accuſtomed pertinacie. And although the emperor wes to ſtrōg for hym, yet for that he regarded nothyng more thē the publique tranquillitie of the empire, and that he myght then take the Tartarian warres in hand: if he could by any means conclude, he refuſed not ſo to intreat a peace wyth him as though he had bene both in force ⁊ fortune much hys inferiour.

The Empe our thin- teth to make the pope affrayde.

The Turke inuadeth Chriſten- dome with great and mightie power.

Whileſt that this ruffle was betwixt the Emperour and the pope, Ochodarius the Emperour of the Tartarians his ſonne, with a great power and prouiſion made ⁊ inuaded the borders next adioynyng vnto hym, and there wanne Korolanum, Bodolium, Mudanū, with diuers other cities, townes, and villages: deſtroying, waſtyng, and burnyng the countreis all about, killyng and ſlayeng, man, woman, ⁊ child, ſparing none of any ſexe or age. At whoſe ſodeyne inuaſion, the people beyng in ſuch feare ⁊ perplexitie (hauyng no Citie, no refuge, nor ayde to ſtand in defence for them) were fayne to leaue all that euer they had ⁊ diſperſe them ſelues into woods, and fle into maryſhes and mountanes, or where ſo euer any ſuccor els, did offer it ſelf to them. And by this time, the Tartarian hoſte was come as farre as Vratiſlauia, wher Henricus of Polonia and the duke of Sileſia with their armie met with them: who for the in equalitie of the nomber and ſmal ſtrength they were of, had ſone an ouerthrowe, ⁊ almoſt all their ſouldiours being ſlayne, they them ſelues were takē and put to the ſword. From thence, they came to Morauia, and frō thence to ẏ kyngdome of Boiemia: which countrey, while the kyng kept hym ſelf in ſtrong defenced fortes, and durſt not come abroad: he inuaded ⁊ deſtroyed all Hungary, puttyng to flight and vāquiſhyng Colmānus the brother of Belus the fourth, kyng of Vngarie: by whom alſo, was great ſpoyle made in both the Pannonias, Meſiarum, Bulgaria, ⁊ Seruia. When Belus the king of Vngarie had gotten to Pola (whiche is a Citie of Hiſtria) vnto Otho the duke of Dalmatia: He ſent his legates to Friderick the Emperour, promiſing that if he would ſēd him ayde that the Tartarians might be expelled: that Vngarie ſhould euer after be vnder the iuriſdictiō of the Emperour: which thyng if he refuſed to do, that then the ſame were in great daunger to be ſubiect to the Tartariās to the no litle peril of the hole Empire. And ſayd further, that the cauſe wherfore he with more inſtance required the ſame, was: That ſo many Chriſtian men and countreys, made ſuch pitifull lamentation in this their great calamitie and miſerie, and that there was none able to helpe them: whiche ſayth he, is as great ſhame as may be to the hole Chriſtian common ſtate and Empire. And alſo ſayd, ẏ if the malice of this barbarous people were not ſuppreſſed, that then he thought they would make inuaſion vpon the Empire and prouinces of them ſame.

he vomer full cru- ie & the eat ſlaugh r of the urke of hriſtēmē.

he king Vngarie eth e of the perour the hich he reth him land,

The Emperour, although he thought it very requiſite, that with all conuenient ſpede this miſchief ſhould be remedyed and preuented: yet notwithſtandyng, hys great enemie the pope with his confederates, was ẏ onely let and hinderance therof. For when he ſaw and perceiued that he him ſelfe could do no good, and onely laboured in vayne in ſekyng peace with the pope: he gaue commaundemēt to Boizinus and Boius, to intreat and perſuade with him: And (conſideryng the imminent peril lyke to enſue by reaſon of ſuch ciuile diſſention to ẏ hole ſtate of Chriſtendome) that he would take vp and conclude a peace, and mitigate ſomwhat his fierie ⁊ wrathfull moode. Wherfore, when he ſaw further that neither by that meanes of intreatie nor any other, ẏ pope would deſiſte from his ſtubburne and malicious froward purpoſe: He writeth agayne to the kyng of Vngarie, that he was right ſory ⁊ greatly lamēted theyr miſerable ſtate, and that he much deſired to relieue the nede and neceſſitie he and all the reſt ſtoode in. But why that he could not redreſſe the ſame, nor ſtand him then in any ſtede, he blamed greatly the byſhop of Rome: who refuſing all intreatie of peace, could not without greate perill to hym ſelf departe out of Italie: Leaſt that whē he ſhould come to the ayde of hym (by the popes miſcheuous Imaginations) he ſhould be in perill of loſyng all at home. Notwithſtandyng, he ſent Conradus Ceſar kyng of Bohemia and other princes more of Germanie, to reſiſte and withſtād the enemie, as much as in them lay to do. The greate armie and nomber of ſuch ſouldiours, as ware ẏ croſſe by the popes aſſignemēt, deferred their iourney agaynſt the Tartarians: and had commaundement giuē them by that Albertus (the popes procurator) to tary and abyde at home till they ſhould be called for, in battaile to fight agaynſt the Emperour. This was the louing zeale and affection of the pope and his adherents (to conclude) in this tyme of calamitie towardes the Chriſtian ſtate ⁊ common wealth: That he had rather bend his force ⁊ reuenge his malice vpon the Chriſtian and good Emperour, then eyther he him ſelfe to withſtand, or ſuffer and permit by concluſion of any profitable peace: that thys moſt bloudy and cruell Tartarian, ſhould be let and reſtrayned from ſo great hauocke, ſpoyle, and ſlaughter of the Chriſten men. And yet forſoth, theſe men will ſeame to haue the greateſt regarde of all other to the Chriſtian preſeruation, and thincke to haue the ſupremicie gyuen thē therin: what thyng els is this thē manifeſt mockerie and deceauyng of the people? But notwithſtanding, euē in the middeſt of this ſpoyle ⁊ hauocke of Polonia, Boicmia, and Vngaria, was it determined: that at Libuſſa, the Princes confederate ſhould be aſſembled about the depoſing of the Emperour and creation of an other.

e pope ll graunt haue no ace.

The popes fault that the Turke is not reſiſted.

The pope had rather fyght againſt the emp. then agaynſt the Turke.

But now, notwithſtand the prouident forſight and wiſe policie of the Emperour (as you hard before) in reſtraining the paſſages both by the ſea and land, who had ſpeciall regard therunto, and gaue moſt ſtraight charge that none ſhould paſſe without priuie ſearch and examination: as one hauyng ſufficient triall as well in hys owne perſon as by the example of hys predeceſſours, what great miſchiefe and diſſention by their Legates euery waye ſent out they had procured, both to the imperiall ſtate and dignitie and to the whole countreye of Germanye: yet founde they ſuch meanes, and wrought ſuch pollicies, that they had not onely ſecret paſſage and repaſſage with their letters ⁊ Spials into all places of Chriſtendome where they liſted, but alſo ſo laboured the matter and handled the ſame: that the long continued leage of amitie betwene the Frenche Kyng and the Emperour whoſe predeceſſours as alſo they thē ſelues had many yeares reuerently obſerued in Chriſtian concord and vnitie: was by this ſeditious prelat and arrogant vicar of ſathan, nowe either vtterly infringed or els in variable ſuſpence: as by their letters eche to other, and here vnder enſuyng are to be read and ſene: whiche for the more probabilitie of this hyſtorie of Fridericke (not beyng longe or greatly tedious) I thought méete here to intext and place.

The Emperour as well in hys own perſon, as hys predeceſſours haue triall of the popes ſubtill practiſes.

¶ *The Epiſtle of the French king to Fridericke the Emperour, touchyng the impriſonyng of certayne Cardinals of Fraunce.*

The great amitie and long cõtinued leage betwene the empyre and kingdome of Fraunce.

The French K. not without great allurement of the pope would ſo haue writtẽ to the Emp.

Here it ſhould ſeeme the Emperour found the fault of contradiction.

Hetherto noble emperour, hath the good opinion and great confidence(many yeares in mutual loue eſtabliſhed betwixt vs)laſted and continued: well hopyng, that no ſuch cauſe ſhould riſe betwixt vs, to hatch either hatred or other occaſion offenſiue betwene your hyghnes empyre and our kingdome. Eſpeciallye, ſeing that all our predeceſſours kynges of Fraunce, late of moſte worthy memory(tyll theſe our dayes) haue bene ſo zealouſly affected to the moſt high and regall ſtate of your empire: As that alſo we, after whom God hath placed ſucceſſiuely to raigne as kyng, haue ben none otherwiſe mynded nor affected towards the ſame. None otherwiſe alſo on their behalfe, haue yͤ auncient ⁊ renowmed emperours of Rome our neighbours ⁊ your predeceſſours, ſhewed thẽſelues towards vs(eche other eſteming yͤ empire ⁊ kingdome of Fraunce as one)⁊ faythfully conſeruing together yͤ vnitie of peace ⁊ concorde. In ſo much, that there hath not chaunced betwene them theſe many yeres, ſo much as one ſparke of diſcord and diſſencion. But this not withſtanding, we for our part cannot but greatly maruel, and not without good cauſe are troubled and vexed: That wythout deſerte or any offence, you haue taken the prelates of our realme vpon the ſea, makyng their repayre to the ſee Apoſtolicall: to the whych, as well by their fayth as their obedience they ſtande bounde and are obedient, neyther could they wythſtand the Pope hys commaundement: theſe haue you impriſoned and ſo ſtyll detayne the ſame. Whereat (we do your maieſty to weete) we are not well pleaſed, neyther yet take it in ſo good part as you paraduenture thynke we doe. For by theyr owne letters we vnderſtand, they had excogitate nothing preiudiciall to your imperiall eſtate and celſitude, althoughe the Pope had proſecuted therein more then became hym to do. Wherfore, ſeyng that there is no cauſe why you ſhould detayn them: it is meete, and becommeth no les your magnificence, but that you reſtore vnto vs and ſet at liberty, the ſayd prelates of our realme: wherein alſo you ſhall appeaſe our grudge and keepe vs your frend, whych accompt the diſpleaſure you do to them, as our owne and proper iniury. For why, it were a great diſhonour to our realme and kyngly eſtate, if we ſhould wynck hereat, and ouerpaſſe the ſame with ſilence. Wherefore, if you wyll conſider and reſpect the thyng that wee haue ſayd, we doubt not but that you wyll releaſe the biſhop of Peneſtrum, wyth the other Legates and prelates of the church, which you to our preiudice do detaine. In deſiring of our ayde doubtles, we gaue vnto them a manifeſt nay: neyther coulde they obtayne in our kingdome any thyng at all, which ſeemed to be agaynſt or preiudiciall to your maieſty. Let therefore your imperiall prouidence ponder in the ballance of iuſtice, thoſe thinges which we write vnto you, neither let our lawful requeſt vnto you be fruſtrate or made in vayne. For our realme and kyngdome of Fraunce is not ſo debilitate or empouerished, that it wyll bee ſpurned at, or troden vnder your feete. Fare ye well.

¶ *The reſcript of the Emperour to the ſame* letter of the king of Fraunce.

The French kings letters contrarie to them ſelues.

A good A poſtolical father wi a tore ſwoord.

neceſ ounces of golde,a before y heard,

The craf compaſſed in their craftines.

Our imperiall magnificence hath peruſed your kingly letters: wherein, if we had not founde manifeſt contradiction, they might peraduenture haue obtayned at our hands all yͭ they required. But euen as wyth a little leuen a whole lumpe of dow is ſowred: ſo a manifeſt vntruth alledged, hath made the whole argument of your letter both fauty and vnſauery. It is apparant that you wanted the vertue of mediocritie in the concluſion of the ſame your graces letter: For that, they them ſelues bewraye noles, then we geue you manifeſtlye to vnderſtand, and many mo beſides doth know. It is notorious alſo, and to all the worlde reuealed, in what ſorte that Apoſtolicall father hath impugned our innocency, as well wyth the one ſword, as with the other. And how that, whyleſt we at hys cõmaundement tooke our iourney beyonde the ſeas: the ſame our enemye and hoſtile aduerſary, inuaded our kingdome of Sicilia: and the ſame not in one place or two, but in diuers and ſundrye partes therof hath waſted, ſpoyled, and deſtroyed. After thys, when wyth great intreaty at our returne from Aſia, we had concluded a peace wyth hym: which with vs at hys own pleaſure he made. And had taken and receaued our deuotion for the ſame which in ſeruiceable maner we graunted him: The ſaid Apoſtolicall father(that notwithſtanding)hath ſince yͤ time, rather aggrauated his diſpleaſure towards vs, then any thing at all qualified the ſame: and further hath to our depriuation and ſubuertion, excogitate and deuiſed agaynſt vs, all the miſchiefe he might or hath bene able, no cauſe in all the worlde geuen of vs to prouoke the ſame. And farther, hath promulgated to our great diffamation and ſhame (as well by hys letters as Legates) the ſentence of excommunication againſt vs vnto all nations. Laſtlye, he aſpiring to our imperiall ſtate, and conſpiring our ſupplantacion, hath made warre agaynſt vs, as agaynſt king Dauid Gods anoynted: and hath vnto a priuate Councel for that purpoſe, called all the prelats he can get, as one that meaneth to ſet the whole worlde together by the eares. But ſuch is the maruelous wyſedome of God, by whom we lyue and raygne, beholding the wicked purpoſe he went about(confoũding the crafty in their craftines)hath geuen into our handes as wel your Prelates of the realme of Fraunce, as alſo of other regions and prouinces: all whych, we impriſon and detayne, as ennemies and aduerſaries to our imperiall crowne and perſon. For where there deſiſted not to be a perſecutour, there hath there not wanted alſo a ſufficiẽt withſtander and defender. Let not therefore your kyngly highnes maruell, althoughe Auguſtus detayneth in priſon your French prelates, whiche haue indeuoured themſelues to conſpire and ſo to diſturbe our imperiall eſtate and regiment. Fare ye well.

Gregory dyeth for thought curſe

Whẽ Friderick now ſaw there was none other remedy, and that in vaine he laboured to haue peace with the pope, he proſecuteth hys warre to the vttermoſt: ⁊ when he had gotten Tudertum and reconciled the ſame, he deſtroyed the towne of Geminum and Naruia ⁊ geueth the ſpoyle of them vnto his ſouldiors: He gentely receaued the yelding vp of Siburnum, and waſteth all yͤ countrey round about Rome. The pope herewyth diſmayed and troubled wyth ſuch as otherwiſe diſſuaded ⁊ counſelled hym, ⁊ that things not ſo wel proſpered with hym and againſt the emperour as he wiſhed and deſired: beyng in diſpayre of obtaynyng his purpoſe, died for very anger and thought.

What horrible imp tie Greg brought into the church.

What opinion the prelates of Germany at that time had of thys Gregory, is extant and to be ſene by the oration of Eberhardus byſhop of Iuuauence that he made to the nobilitie of Boiaria in the parliament at Reginoburgh written by Iohannes Auentinus, in hys 7. boke. Doubtles, he not onely brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole chriſten common weale and alſo empire: whileſt he ſaught thus to depreſſe and bridel the emperour, and aduaunce his papall ſée ⁊ dignitie: But alſo brought into the church of God much horrible impietie, blaſphemy, and wickednes: wherof both Blondus, Platina, Baleus and others make mentiõ: And amõgſt others, that moſt deteſtable Cantilene Salue regina, in yͭ which he attributeth the honour ⁊ worſhyp onely due to Ieſus Chriſt, vnto the virgine his mother. This is he, in whoſe name the boke of the decretals was ſet out, which (to omitte the iudgementes and opinion of diuers other learned men) Iohannes Baleus calleth it the ſinke oꝛ puddle of foliſhnes and impietie. Doubtles Charolus Molineus a mā both of ſinguler iudgemēt in that law, which in tribunall courtes and iudgementes is vſed: as alſo in this, painteth foꝛth ẏ decrée of thys Gregoꝛy in his boke of annotations vnto Platina, whoſe woꝛdes therof are theſe. Certum eſt, multa capita in ijs mutila & decurtata eſſe vt inuidioſum argumentum lateret, &c. That is: Doubtles, diuers chapiters in the ſame booke of decretals be mangled ⁊ vnperfect, ẏ many cōtentious argumētes therin might lurke. Foꝛ whē ẏ ambitious deſire of raigning like kings toke thē, they ſtudied nothing els but how to inlarge and aduaunce their ſee and dominion wyth the empire it ſelfe and other kingdomes (ofte ſhaken and weakened thꝛough contention) and thys purpoſe and end had they and none other, in all their conſtitutions. The pꝛoofe wherof, Molineus declareth in hys booke de regibus Galliæ & Angliæ. But many mo examples by the emperours, pꝛinces, and loꝛdes electoures of the Empire may be gathered: wherof to ſpeake, moꝛe cōuenient place ſhall ſerue hereafter.

Charolus Molineus vpon the decretalls of pope Gregory.9.

In ẏ ſtead of this Gregoꝛye, was placed Coeleſtine boꝛne in Mediolanum amongſt the Caſtellians: who as Blondus declareth, by fayned pꝛomiſes offred a league with Fridericus: and the xviij. day after, he was created pope he alſo dyed.

The creatiō and death of pope Celeſtin⁹.

Thus when the authoꝛ of all this conſpiracie was gone, Fridericus now thinkyng himſelfe free ⁊ voyde of that feare which befoꝛe he had and durſt not be abſēt out of Italie: wyth all hys indeuour leuieth an armye ⁊ pꝛepareth hys furniture and other neceſſaries foꝛ the deliuery of the chꝛiſtians, ſo mightly oppꝛeſſed as ye heard by the Turke oꝛ Tartarians. Who, hearyng of the commyng of the Emperour, left the ſtraight way thꝛough Vngary which they came and returned by the ryuer of Danubium to Taurica, and ſo thꝛough the fennes of Meotida: and by the riuer Tanaum, into Sarmatia Aſiatica. When the cardinals had now a long tyme pꝛotracted the creatiō of the pope ⁊ would not agrée vpon ẏ ſame: The emperoꝛ put them in remembꝛaunce of their duetie, ⁊ blameth thē foꝛ their diſagreing ⁊ exhoꝛteth thē to be moꝛe carefull foꝛ ẏ chꝛiſtiā cōmon wealth. His two epiſtles touching this matter are extant. Wherby appeareth that only foꝛ the care ⁊ deſire of peace he had to the chꝛiſtian vnitie and ſtate, he dyd the ſame (and foꝛ ẏ peraduenture) the cardinals refuſed to make peace with him, befoꝛe they had created a new Pope. The one foꝛ moꝛe bꝛeuitie I haue omitted, ⁊ here the other incerted.

The Emperour prepareth an armie to fight with the Tartarians, the Tartarians foes.

¶ An epiſtle inuectiue of the Emperour vnto the Cardinalls, for that they can not agree vpon the creation of the pope.

Fredericke agaynſt the Cardinalls.

Vnto you I wꝛyte oh you childꝛē of Ephꝛaim, which euill haue bente your bowes and woꝛſe haue ſhot your arrowes, filthely turning your backes in the day of battayle. Vnto you I ſpeake O you childꝛen of Beliall and diſperpled flocke. You inſenſible people and aſſiſtentes of the great iudge. Vnto you I wꝛite O you diſſētious cardinals, whom the woꝛld foꝛ your deſertes doth hate: foꝛ whoſe cauſes the whole woꝛld beyng at variaunce is euill ſpoken of. Doubtles, I can not ſpeake vnto you, but to your detrectation, becauſe I am woꝛldly and you ſpirituall. I am vnperfect, wherfoꝛe I muſt do as ẏ vnperfect woꝛld doth: neither can the parte be diſſonant to the whole, noꝛ I cōtrary to my ſelf ẏ wꝛiteth. Attend ye therfoꝛe my rude epiſtle, wāting ẏ dignitie of rethoꝛical ſtile. My pꝛouoked tounge bꝛaſteth foꝛth into woꝛdes befoꝛe my conceiuyng ſpirite hath deliuered the ſame: and ſo not attendyng to the higher regiment, hath haſtened to expꝛeſſe my woꝛdes not fullye conceiued oꝛ pꝛemeditate. Thus I ſaye, a troubled mynde, oftentymes doth beget vnoꝛdered talke, and vntimely vttereth the ſame. This therefoꝛe is, that our harte hath conceiued, that we beleue and all men confes, that Ieſus Chꝛiſt the mediatour betwene God and man, which came from heauen to make peace vpon the earth, is not deuided and at variaunce, beyng alſo the maiſter and Loꝛd of the Apoſtels. But Sathan beyng deuided in hymſelf, that bluſtering pꝛince is amongſt you, as thoſe to whom he miniſtreth: He, euen he, ẏ perſwader of diſcoꝛd and diſſentiō, that mankiller, father of lies, and ſpꝛite of darknes, that hath deuided your tonges, and ſet diſſention amongſt your ſelues: Neither ye doo good one to another, noꝛ yet to the woꝛlde, being by you in ſo perilous a ſtate bꝛought. And the litle ſhip of Peter, which is toſſed vpō the ſea by vehement windes, you nothing regard: which ſhip, though it neede not in deede vtterly to feare dꝛowning, yet ſuffereth it by your negligence manye great ſtoꝛmes and perilous tempeſtes. Doubtles, if ye woulde diligently conſider howe the nations and people whom ye were wont to iudge in ſcoꝛne, ſhake their heades at you: euery one of you woulde bee aſhamed of an other. And to ſay the truth, they can not doo to muche to detect your ſo deteſtable oppꝛobꝛie: foꝛ whyleſt euerye one of you aſpireth to the chaire, euery one is at variance with his felow: And whyleſt one of you cannot agrée with the other, none is pꝛomoted, and whyleſt none is pꝛomoted, the cathedꝛall dignitie baniſheth: And thus by your diſcoꝛd, the peaceable ſtate and concoꝛde of the churche is confoūded, ⁊ the perfection of the fayth ⁊ religion wherby ye ſhoulde lyue, periſheth. And ſurely, thꝛough your default it periſheth, ſo that where as nature hath placed the ſence and vnderſtanding to be: that part lyke a monſter remaineth with you, both ſenceles and headles. And no maruell, foꝛ why your hearing is impaired, and that ſound of the mouth that ſhꝛillye was heard thꝛoughout the whole earth, is vtterly dombe, and become a ſcoffing Eccho. Foꝛ why, the thundꝛinges of Peter and Paul ar now no moꝛe hearde, the pꝛeachers are become dombe dogs, and are commaunded to ſilence. Perhappes you haue handes ready to receaue, but there bee no bꝛibes: Foꝛ why, thoſe that were wonte to come frō Saba, and bꝛing golde wyth them, nowe come no moꝛe: ſeing the Loꝛd is not in the māger, ⁊ the celeſtiall ſhining ſtar refuſing to be their guid. Moꝛeouer, ye want féete to walk wyth all, foꝛ ſeyng there is no man to geue you ought, you wyl not remoue one foote foꝛ any mans pleaſure. Fye ſhameles people, the leaſt and ſimpleſt beaſt maye learne you obedience, foꝛ the byꝛdes haue theyꝛ captain and the ſeely Bee theyꝛ kyng, but you wyll come vnder no gouernment. ⁊c.

Peters ſhip by the diſſentious cardinals greatly afflicted.

Peters ſhrill voyce turned into a ſcoffing Eccho.

The Emperour yet after this, at the requeſt of Balduinus, the Emperour of Conſtantinople, who came to Fridericus to Parma, releaſed the cardinals out of pꝛiſon: thinkyng therby not onely to gratifie the Emperoꝛ Balduinus, but alſo thinking that therby things would haue the better growne to publique trāquilitie on euery ſide. When the Cardinals were all aſſembled at Anignia: they made Sinibaldus a Genues Pope: whom by a contrarie name foꝛ that he had determined (as I ſuppoſe) to be hurtefull to the common wealth, they called Innocentius the fourth. Of whiche election, when Fridericke vnderſtood, he was well pleaſed therewith: And foꝛ that he had in all this troublous tyme ben his frend, he well hoped that the Chꝛiſtian common wealth ſhould by hym haue bene bꝛought to much peace and concoꝛde. Wherfoꝛe, he ſent both his legates and letters gratulatoꝛie vnto hym, lettyng him to vnderſtand: howe well it contented and pleaſed hym that he was made pope, and what peace and quietnes therby he pꝛomiſeth (as it were to him ſelf) he maketh full relatiō therof: offering agains vnto hym obſeruaunce, helpe, and ayde in all thynges, commending his dignitie to the publique ſtate and quietnes of the chꝛiſtian common weale and empyꝛe. ⁊c.

The Emperour releaſeth the Cardinalls out of pryſon.

Innocentius the.4.created pope.

He alſo wꝛote his letters, to Otho duke of Boioꝛia, who a litle before he was reconciled to the Emperour: that he which was elected pope was a good man,a louer of peace,and ſtudious as well for the tranquilitie of the Chriſtian common wealth as of the Empire.

The Emperour reioyſeth of the popes election but without cauſe why.

The legates of Fridericke alſo with the furtheraũce of Balduinus the Emperour of Conſtantinople,laboured very diligently for the concluſion of the promiſed peace : And to brief,euery man was in good hope and looked for no leſſe. But farre otherwayes fel the matter out,and contrarie to all their expectations. For,the pope (ſet on,and incouraged by the Cardinals and other agaynſt Fridericke) ſecretly and amongeſt them ſelues wrought contrary to that they openly pretẽded : and not a litle diſapointed both Friderick and others ,of their expectation and good opinion they had in the Popes holynes. For whileſt the Emperours legates attended the aunſwere of their peace before promiſed,Raynerus the cardinall went ſecretly to Viterbiũ with a certaine nomber of ſouldiers,and tooke the towne whiche before was on the Emperours part.

The pope taketh Viterbiũ whileſt the Emperour hoped after peace.

The Emperour hauyng vnderſtandyng hereof, muſtereth his bandes and with a ſufficient power entereth the Popes dition, agayne to recouer Viterbium . But yet,takyng this war ſo in hande(not thinkyng therby to expell al conditions of peace) at the requeſt of certeine of the Cardinals was contẽted to leaue Viterbium ,being furniſhed by the emperour of warlike prouiſiõ before, & came to Aqua. From thence he ſent agayne other Embaſſadours to Rome,and with them alſo the Emperour of Conſtantinople with the Earle of Tholouſe,who he thought were able to do much with the Pope in the proſecutyng of this peace . And although at the tyme of Eaſter the matter ſeamed to haue bene through and peace concluded,for that his Legates had ſworne in the behalfe of the Emperour (and as he willed them) that he would ſubmit hym ſelfe to the Pope : And agayne for that the cardinals and others,commonly called and named hym Fridericus the Chriſtian Prince,yet all thys was no more but for a further fetch and purpoſe. Not for that they mẽt in dede to cõclude any peace with him, or to go through there with all , but that through thys diſſimulation and lykelyhode of peace whiche they vnderſtood the Emperour much deſired : he ſhould ſet frée and open the paſſages,which he ſtraitly kept that no mã could paſſe and come to Rome:whether, a great multitude dayly reſorted and flocked for religions ſake. But when all came to all, and that the legates perceiued no concluſion of peace was ſimply purpoſed on theyr behalfe:they began to diſpayre of the matter,lettyng the Emperour ſo to vnderſtand . The Emperour , yet notwithſtandynge doubted not,but if he myght hym ſelfe ſpeake with the Pope, he vppon reaſonable conditions ſhould wel inough accord with hym:wherfore, he by his legates and letters deſired him to apointe a place where the Emperour might reſorte to hym. The pope ſemed to be contented here with all, and appoynted a day at Feſcennia where they would talke together : and that the Pope would be there before hym,and expect the Emperours comming. But the pope in this while,had made a confederacie with the Frenche kyng agaynſt Fredericus: who when he knew thoſe thrée Galleis to be ready and brought to Centincellas , whiche he before had ſpoken for vnto the Genewes:ſecretly in the night with his cõpanie(haſtenyng thether in poſt ſpede)toke ſhippe,and firſt came to Genua , and frõ thẽce to Lions in Fraũce: where,he(callyng a councel)with a loude voyce ſummoneth Friderick, and appoynting hym a day commaunded hym there perſonally to pleade his cauſe.

The diſſimulation of the ſubtil pope Innocẽtius.4.

The Emperour hath to much confidence in thys pope.

The pope mocketh the Emperour and goeth to Liõs where he proſcribeth the Emp.

And yet, although he vnderſtood the ſodein departing of hym out of Italie, made playne demonſtration of no concluſion or meanyng of a peace : and alſo knewe the councel whiche the pope had called, wherin he was hym ſelfe both plaintiſe and Judge : and at the ſame councell thoſe whiche he had by bribes allured,pretended the deſtructiõ of the Emperour : with many other ſuch euidẽt demonſtrations, both of hys enuious and hatefull hart towardes him:yet the moſt modeſt Emperour vſing the innocencie and vprightnes of his cauſe,and as one moſt deſirous of peace and Chriſtian concorde:ſent the patriarche of Antioch,whiche lately was common out of Siria,the Byſhop of Panormia,and Thadeus Sueſſanus the preſident of his courte (a moſte ſkilfull and prudent Ciuilian) to the councell at Lions : whiche ſignified vnto them,that ỹ Emperour woulde be there for the defence of hys owne cauſe:and for that the day was very ſhort,required a tyme more conuenient for him thether to make his repayre . The Emperour alſo, beyng onward of his waye and comne as farre as Taurinum, ſent before other meſſengers(as the maiſter of the Flemiſh order, & Peter de Vincis)to giue thẽ vnderſtanding of the Emperours comming:and that he would proroge the day of hearyng,till ỹ he myght conueniently trauell thether. But for any thing ỹ could be either ſaid or done, or vpon how iuſt cauſe ſoeuer required: the pope would not giue ſo much as thrée dayes ſpace in the which time the Embaſſadours aſſured them of the Emperours preſence: As though there had bene no common prouiſo for euery man in that caſe, by the law to haue vſed vpon any reaſonable let . What ſhould I lenger protract the tyme: When the daye by them appoynted was comne, the Pope with hys confederates(whom for money and bribes he had gotten to that councel)againſt Gods law, agaynſt Chriſtian doctrine,agaynſt both the preſcript of the law of nature, and reaſon,agaynſt ỹ rule of equitie, agaynſt the order of the law appoynted,agaynſt the conſtitutions of Emperours,and alſo the decrées of the Empire:was of the ſame his aduerſarie and iudge,without any obſeruation of the lawe , or grauntyng dilatorie dayes,without probation of any crime,or his cauſe ſuffered to be pleaded vnto , or heard what myght be aunſwere therein (beyng abſent hym ſelfe) was thus condempned. What more wickeder ſentence was euer pronounced,what more crueller facte (conſideryng the perſon)might be committed: Or what thyng more brutiſhe and beaſtly could haue bene imagined or deuiſed . And yet heare at, were theſe byſhops nothyng aſhamed: but meanyng to leaue theyr doinges in wrytyng(as an impudent teſtimonie to their poſteritye) eſtabliſhed the ſame for a lawe to continewe.

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But marke what vengeaunce God tooke vpon thys wicked iudge. The writers of the Annales accorde,that when Fridericus the Emperour and Conradus his ſon beyng Ceſar were both dead: He gapyng for the inheritaunce of Naples and Sicile,and thynkyng by force to haue ſubdued the ſame,came to Naples wͭ a great hoſte of men: where was herd in the Popes court manifeſtly pronoũced this voyce, Veni miſer ad iudicium Dei. Thou wretch, come to receiue thy iudgemẽt. And the next day after : the Pope was founde in his bed dead , all blacke & blew as though he had ben beaten with battes, as before in the hiſtory of kyng Jhon is declared. + non inuenitur hoc in historia regis Joh.

Venge
falleth
the pop
for his
iudge

When the emperour had vnderſtandyng of this cruell and tyrannicall ſentence of the Pope,paſſed and pronounced againſt him (conſidering his furious purpoſe and mynde therein) thought good by hys letters to let all chriſtian princes and potentates vnderſtand, as wel what iniuries and manifold diſpleaſures he had ſuſtayned by the foure popes in all their tymes,as alſo the crueltie and tyrannie of thys Pope in pronouncing the ſentence of iudgemente and condempnation againſte hym (paſſyng the boũdes both of iuſtice ,equitie, and reaſon) which letter,as he wrote the ſame,here vnder followeth to be ſeene.

¶ *The letter of the Emperour to the French king and other* princes for the ſentence geuen againſt hym in the councel of Lions by the pope and Cardinals.

Although we ſuppoſe not the cōtrary, but that both by true certificat & common rumor you haue heard of the indifferencie of our cauſe and good handling thereof: yet for that more credite is commonly geuen to that the eye ſeeth then to that the eare receaueth: we thought good to preſẽt vnto you the naked truth of ſuch thynges, which the popes ſucceſſiuely haue put forth, and forged againſt vs. To the peruſing and conſideration of whiche my caſe and letter, I beſech your gentlenes amongeſt other tymes of layſure, you wil ſpie out ſome fit and conueniēt tyme therfore. And all other whatſoeuer that ſhal haue deſyre to heare princes coūſels and affayres, let thē in lyke ſort attentiuely conſider. Firſt, whether our predeceſſours haue bene deſtitute or not of godly zeale, iuſte dealyng and righteouſnes: or whether we may not lawfully reuenge our ſelues being ſo much prouoked, of ſuch euils and iniuries as haue bene wrought againſt vs. Secondly, let them conſider whether Chriſtes vicare dothe follow Chriſtes ſteps or not, and whether Peters ſucceſſours do follow his example or not: & alſo, by what law, equitie, and right, that ſentence which they haue pronoūced againſt vs, may be maintayned and allowed. As alſo what name thei may iuſtly geue it, and whether that may be ſayd to be a ſentence which is geuen by an vnſufficiēt iudge or not. For, although we acknowlege that the lord hath geuē ful power in ſpiritual things vnto his church: that whatſoeuer the ſame byndeth in earth is bounde in heauen, and whatſoeuer the ſame looſeth, is alſo looſed: yet we read neyther by gods law nor by any law of man that we ought of duetie to be ſubiecte vnto hym: or that an empire ought at hys pleaſure to be transformed and tranſpoſed: or that he may geue any ſuch ſentēce or iudgement to puniſh princes temporally, and depriue them of theyr kingdoms. For why, although our conſecration belongeth vnto him by ryght and cuſtom (as he chalēgeth) yet our depoſynge and depriuynge doth no more belong to hym then doth that preſumption belonge to anye other prelate of other realmes whiche doo conſecrate and annoynt their kyngs, as the cuſtome and maner is. Or put caſe it were ſo (we nothyng hindered therby) that he had ſuch power: Hath he that power to the intent to reuenge hymſelf vpon whomſoeuer his malicious mind conſenteth, and wythout all equitie and lawe to bringe them vnder hys iuriſdiction: He hath proceded of late againſt vs as is ſayde, but not by the order of accuſation: for ſo much as neither was there anye ſufficient accuſer, neyther went there out any inſcription or proces before. Neyther yet by denunciation, for ſo much as ther lacked a lawſull denouncer: neyther yet by way of inquiſitiō for that there went before it no manifeſt accuſation. But he peraduenture will ſay, that all thinges that he layeth agaynſt vs were manifeſt and notorious, but that doo we deny, and nothing to be notorious but that, which maye by a ſufficiente number of witneſſes approued and tryed. For ſo may euery iudge hymſelfe (contemnyng the order of law) affirm what he liſt to be notorious & thus cōdemne whom he liſt. There were againſte vs (as well it may be ſayd in councel) certain falſe wytneſſes although not manye: of whome, the byſhop of Calin was one, whoſe nere kinſmā or nephue (by our lawes condemned for treaſon to bee hanged) maketh alſo to vs an infeſtiue enemy. with ſuch like effect proſecuting the reſt of hys epiſtle which for breuitie ſake I omitte.

This pollicie vſed the pope to vexe and diſturbe both the country of Germany and the whole Empire, & not ſo only, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy and ſubuert the ſame: by the ruinous decay whereof, the pope and his prelats thought to make vp their mouthes. And thus whyleſt that Germany was now newlye agayne deuided, ſome taking part with Fridericke the emperour, and Conradus Caeſar hys ſonne and other nobles and princes of the empire: ſome with thoſe that ſhoulde by the Popes procurement be the electours of the new Emperour: otherſome, wͨ neither of both, as mē not myndiug or tending the publique vtilitie, but to ſerue their own purpoſes, armed thē ſelues: And thus was the publick peace and quiet broken and diſturbed, and altogether in tumult and hurleburley. For whyleſt the one part laboured by all force to retayn the dominion by publique and common conſent firſt to him cōmitted: the other part in like ſorte indeuored them ſelues with all their force and power to vſe and occupye the ſame, according to the decree of the biſhop of Rome, and to take it from Frider. and thus great conflicts grewe on all parts.

By theſe ciuill warres, Germanye ſuffered no litle calamitie: In euerye place was man ſlaughter and murder, the countrye ſpoyled, the townes and villagies ſet on fire and brent, the churches and temples violated and robbed, wherein the huſbande men had put theyr goods & ſubſtance: houſes were pulled down, the goods deuided, and euery mās cattel driuē away. To cōclude, in thys turmoyle and contention of depoſing & chuſing an other Emp. in this factiō of princes, in this liberty of wearing armour, in thys liſēce of hurting and ſinning: The impudent boldnes of diuers priuate ſoldiours, & eſpecially of ſuch as wer the horſemē thē counted the better ſort of ſouldiers, was ſo great: & their vnbridled & vnſatiable deſire in robbing, ſpoyling, & taking of booties, catching and ſnatching al that came to hand, ſo much: that nothinge coulde be ſure and in ſafety that anye good man enioyed. Wherefore, a lyttle before the death of Wilhelmus the kynge. 60. Cities and townes, which were belonging to Ludouicus Palatinus Duke of Boioria and Rhenus, and to Otho hys ſon, and other princes, whoſe names Auentinus in his. 7. booke of the Annales of the Boiores maketh mēcion of: ioyned them ſelues in a leage for the expelling of theſe rebels and repreſſing of their ſo great iniurious rapines and ſlaughter of men. Of which armye, the ſaid Ludouicus beyng capitayne, chaſed and draue the whole route of them to the vttermoſt partes of Germany, and puld downe and ouerthrew theyr caſtels and fortreſſes, and euery other place where they had intrenched them ſelues.

Germany ſpoyled by Ciuile diſcention through the popes only practiſe againſt the Emperor.

The robbers and rebels chaſed out of Germany.

Otho Boius yet notwithſtanding, keepeth his promiſe and faith moſt conſtantly made before to the emperour Fridericke and Conradus his ſonne. Wherupon, Philipus Iuuauēſis, Albertus, and others, callyng a councel at Mildorſus (by the Popes commaundemēt) ſent for Otho vnto them, vnto whom they opened the Popes pleaſure and commaundement. To all which when he had heard, Otho anſwered: I cannot maruell at ſome of you inough, that when as heretofore you perſwaded me to leaue and forſake the part I tooke wyth the biſhop of Rome, whom ye your ſelues affirmed to be Antichriſt, and that I ſhould take part with the emperour: why that you your ſelues wyll not keepe your fidelitie and promiſe made to thoſe good Princes: And ſayd that he perceaued in them a great inconſtancy and leuitie, both in their wordes and deedes which now call that wycked, vniuſt, & violent wrong, but lately ẏ they thoght equal, iuſt, and right. He ſaid further, that they were ouercome with pleaſures, corrupted with ſuperfluitye, wonne with bribes, gaping for honour and eſtimation: and that they neyther regarded honeſty, godlynes, nor theyr duty and office, but ſtudied how to make diſcention and commotions, and longed after warre and bloodye battell.

The fidelitie of Otho to the Emperour.

The anſwere of Otho to the Legates.

He ſayd farther, that for his part he would obey God and his prince to whom he had ſworne fidelitie, and that he naught eſtemed the fayned holines and deteſtable practiſes of ſuch prelates: He ſayd he beleued in Chriſt and would truſt in his mercy, and that he beleued how thoſe whom they curſed and gaue to the deuil, were in greateſt fauour with God. How be it, and notwithſtandyng theſe prelates toke in good parte this expoſtulation with him, & ſemed to bear Otho no malice or grudge for that he had ſayd, but to be deſirous of peace and vnitie: yet not long after, Otho was curſed as black as al the reſt, and counted as bad as was the beſt.

Otho excommunicate for turning from the pope to take the Emperours part.

Albertus the popes champion now in Germany playeth not rex onely amongeſt ẏ citizēs: But alſo bethought hym of a miſcheuous deuiſe agaynſt Conradus Ceſar the Emperours ſonne. When by fraude and ſubtiltie he had gotten and taken many of the rich burgiſes and citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the Emperour good will and had ſente them priſoners to Staffum. Conradus, ioyning with other noble men of the Empire (after he had ſpoyled and waſted much of his lands and others his cõpanions) draue him ſo neare, ẏ vpon certeine other conditions he deliuered agayne the Citizens. And ſhortly after commyng agayne to Reginoburgh, and beyng receaued and welcommed into the college of D. Haimeranus: Albertus with certeine of his confederates by the meanes of Vlricus a chief officer of the monkes, came in the deade tyme of the nyght into the chaumber, where the Ceſar with a fewe other about hym dyd lye: And fallyng vpon them ſome they tooke, & other ſome they ſlue, and fyndyng none other body in the chaumbers or lodginges, they thought ẏ Ceſar had bene ſlayne amongeſt the reſt. But he heryng the noyſe, forſooke hys bed and hyd hym ſelfe vnder a bench and ſo eſcaped their hands. The next day, he outlawed or preſcribed the byſhop and his mates, and alſo the monke baily of treaſon, and ſeaſed vpon all the goodes of the houſe. But at the ſute of the giltles monkes, he releaſed all to them agayne, takyng by way of fine one C.li. Vlricus loſt his office, and Albertus therby to eſcape daunger of puniſhment, tooke vpõ him ẏ habit of a monke. Conradus Hochenfelſious whiche was the murderer of theſe men (although he eſcaped the puniſhment of mans hand) yet the vẽgeaunce of God for that facte, he eſcaped not: For as he ryd in the day time abroad, he was ſodenly ſtriken with a thunderbolt and died.

Ceaſar in daunger by Albertus.

Albertus to eſcape puniſhmẽt taketh the order of Monkry,

Duryng all this buſſe and contentious tyme, it may well be gathered, Fredericke the Emperour lay not ſtill but had his hands full: who notwithſtandyng (by Gods helpe) ouercommyng and ſuppreſſyng theſe or greater parte of theſe rebellious popiſhe tumultes, and had done ſtrait execution (of thoſe eſpecially) that had conſpired agaynſt hys perſon: calling a councel and ſetting in ſome ſtaye the troubleſome affaires of hys kyngdome, came to Cremona, with Fridericus Prince of Antioche, Richardus Earle of Vmbria, the gouernour of Flamminia, and Encius king of Sardinia, with a great nomber beſides of Souldiours and men of warre. And beſides, he toke with him (which he ſent for out of euery part) the wiſeſt, moſt vertuous, and beſt learned men that there was: thynkyng with them to haue gone hym ſelfe to Lions to the Pope, and there to haue had with hym communication as well concernyng the ſentence diffinitiue, as alſo about the cõcluſion of a peace, if by any meanes he myght. And when all thynges was prepared and ready, he tooke the iourney in hande and came at Taurinũ, hauyng with him both a great armie of ſouldiours and alſo a great cõpany of Legates and Embaſſadours. From thence ſendyng his cariages before, within three dayes iourney of Lions: he was certified that Parma was taken and kept by the outlawes of diuers and ſundry factions of the pope, his nere neighbours and frẽds: as by the popes legate, and other citizens as of Brixia, Placentia, and ſuch lyke. Which thyng when he vnderſtood, and that the pope herein was the onely and chiefe doer: he ſaw manifeſtly it ſhould little preuail, to attẽpt any further the thing he went about: and then at length, when he ſaw none other remedye putting from hym all hope of peace, determined hymſelfe to the warres wyth all hys force and myght. Thus altering his purpoſe and iourney, he toke the ſtraighteſt way into Lumbardye: & with an army of 60. thouſand men he beſieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptly & nere the towne, plant his ſiege and battrie, wythout diſturbance: fyrſt he entrenched hys cam pand fortified the ſame about wt bulwarkes and other defencible munition: After that, he cauſed dyuers viteling houſes and tauerns in his campe to be ſleightly builded of timber: and without the campe he appointed the place where the market ſhould be kept, and all vitelers reſort that would. He appointed places for their churches and temples, and in ſemely maner adourned the ſame: and for the moſt part their tents were builded wyth woode, ſo that it was lyke an other Parma. All which thyngs when he had finiſhed, whiche was not longe in doynge: for this happye and proſperous ſucceſſe he called and named it Victoria, & had thought to haue made the ſame to be in the ſtead of the citie Parma, which he purpoſed to haue raſed and haue made leuell wyth the ground. And in the beginning both there & els where, all thyng proſpered well wt Fridericke & had good ſucceſſe: for he ſharpely laid vnto their charges ẏ defended and kept the citie Parma. And further, Robertus Caſtilioneus which was the emperours liefetenant in Picenum, nere vnto Auximum: diſcomforted ẏ popes army, and ſlue of them more then foure thouſande, and toke many ſuch as were of the confederate cities priſoners. And when the factions or companies of the Gibellines and Gwelphes in Florentia were at controuerſy: when Fridericus of Hetruria came to the Gibellines to whom they had ſent for ayde: The Guelphes therewyth diſmaied fled from thence to Bononia, whoſe goods and ſubſtance came all to the emperours cofers, and Florencia alſo it ſelfe to the Emperours obedience. But thys good ſucceſſe and proſperous fortune laſted not long: for as at a tyme Fridericus to recreate himſelfe (which ſeldome had hys health) ryd about the fieldes with certain of hys horſemen to hauke and hunte: Many alſo of the emperours ſouldiors thinkyng nothing leſſe then of ſuch a matter to be attempted of a many ſtaruelings within the towne Parma, wandred and ranged vnarmed out of their citie Victoria about the fieldes. The ſouldiours in Parma hauing this occaſion offred, with al force and ſpeede poſſible entred the Emperoures campe or towne Victoria, which beyng not very ſtrongly fenced nor hauyng gates to ſhut againſt them, was a thyng eaſye inough to do. The ſodain ſtrangenes of the matter much abaſhed the ſouldiours, and range out their larum bell. The fyrſt aſſault was geuen vpon Marchus Malaſpina hys charge, whõ whẽ the emperour returning in all haſt found to be hard beſet, had thought to haue reſcued him. But when that was perceyued of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on that ſyde. In ſo much, that the emperour was inforced to take the trenche, leaſt he ſhouuld haue ben of the enemy enuironed, and frõ thence he retired into the citie or campe where he had thoughte to haue gathered farther ayde. But the enemy geuyng not ſo much tyme therunto, with all force entered the city Victoria. The emperor now, when the enemies were entred: left the campe and tame to Dominum, who whẽ they had killed & ſlaine a great nũber of the Emperours ſouldiors, & had burnt & deſtroyed the ſame cãp Victoria, came agayne to Parma. The emperour then ſuſpecting this thyng to be wrought by treaſon, wherby the enemy had vnderſtanding as well of the Emperors abſence, as alſo of the negligence of hys ſouldiors: impriſoned certayne of the chiefeſt about hym, amongſt whom alſo was Petrus de Vineis. Yet whileſt he was at Dominum gathering together his ſouldiours & reſidue of his bãds: Encius getteth a greate victorie of ẏ Manſuanos, who cõming to the reſcue of Parma, loſt fiftie of their ſhips and all that they had in them.

The emperour when he had ſome what ſuppreſſed theſe tumults came to Cremona.

The emperour thinketh to goe to Lions to the pope.

Parma taken & kept by the popes Legate and other frẽds of his,

The emperour altereth his iourney from Liõs to the ſiege of Parma

After this alſo, Richardus in an other conflict in Picenum, diſcomforted the Popes ſoldiours, and ſlew theyr captaine Hugolinus, beſides. 2000. others ſlaine and taken priſoners. When now Fridericus had gathered againe, and new muſtred his bãdes at Dominum, he marcheth forth to Cremona: and not withſtãding, that then he vnderſtoode of the good ſucceſſe and victory that Encius had at Rhegium: yet for that he perceaued the de

ſegiſed

fection and backſliding of all or moſt part of Lumbardie from him:he determined to take his iourney in to Apulia,and when he had there leuied a ſtrong and ſufficient power,he purpoſed to make his ſpeedy return again into Lumbardie. Therefore,in his iourney through Hetruria into Apulia,he ioyned with his ſõne Fridericus, which beſieged Capras,and toke the ſame:and led with him diuers of the chiefeſt captaynes priſoners,and after that ſubduing vnto the obediẽce of the Empire Miniatum,he came into Apulia.

…as be- …ed and …of the …perour.

When newes was brought him therher, that Encius his ſonne (comming to ayde the Mutinenſes againſt the Bononiens)was taken priſoner,two miles of from Mutina:and that in his abſence, the Popes captaynes with their bandes and garriſons went throughoute all Lumbardy, Aemilia, Flãminia,and Hetruria, to ſtyr & procure the Cities to reuolt frõ the obedience of ẏ emperour:And ẏ ſame,partly working by ſubtile policies, and partly by force and ſiniſter meanes to bring them to hys purpoſe:determined with himſelfe, that with all the force and power he might by anye meanes procure and make,to haue begone a freſh & proſecuted this war to the vttermoſt. Neyther was it to be doubted as Pandolphus Colonucius writeth,but that he woulde haue wrought ſome merueilous exploit and great attempt, but that he was of this his purpoſe (whereunto he was both willing and bent)preuented by vnlooked for death. For when he fel in this Ague,being at a certayne caſtel of hys in Apulia called Florentinum,and ſaw by the extremitie thereof his daies to be but ſhort: he remẽbred ẏ which was once ſhewed him, how he ſhould die at Florence. Wherupõ,he made & ordained his teſtamẽt: and whẽ vnto Conradus & other of hys childrẽ he had geuen & appointed the great and innumerable maſſe of mony which he had collected and leuied for the maintenance of his wars(& godly purpoſe as it is called)And vnto them alſo had geuen,all other his kingdomes & dominions(to euery one according to their ages and yeares) departed thys wretched and miſerable world.

…Impe. …pur- …th to …e ſome …mpt.

…mp. …nted …th.

Pandolphus writeth, that Fridericus was very willing to dye, and as they made certayne reporte to hym which were preſent at his death:that his mynde was altogether ſet and bent vpon the heauenlye ioy and felicitye. Which thing alſo Guilhelmus Putranus, Andreas Pandalus,and Manardus the biſhoppe, being Italian writers do all affirme : of whom thys laſt wryteth,that he aſſuredly beleueth Fridericke to bee one of the number of Gods elect.

…one of …elect.

The writers notwithſtãding are of ſundry iudgemẽts & opinions touching this good emperours death:Some write ẏ he was traiterouſly poiſoned by his cup bearer, being hyred therunto. Some other,ẏ he was ſtrãgled wͭ a pillow of Manfredo the ſonne of Pherus . But Pandolphus as good a wryter as the beſt, maketh no mencion of any poiſon that was geuen hym,but onely that he dyed of an Ague. The laſte opinion of Manfredus,he manifeſtly refuteth,and that there is no maner of likelyhode of the ſame:and further,that the contrary is affirmed by diuers other writers that were of that tyme. He dyed in the yeare of our Lord.1240.the.xiij.daye of December,in the.57.yeare of hys age,and.37. yeare of hys raygne, whoſe corps was brought to Panormum, and there intombed.

…y opi… of the …of …icke …mp.

Fridericke had three wiues:the firſt was Conſtantia, the daughter of the kyng of Arragon:of whom he begat Henry ẏ duke of Sueuia and kyng of ẏ Romans : The other Iole the daughter of Iohannes Brennus,king of Ieruſalem , by whom he had the inheritance of Ieruſalem,Naples, and Sicile : of whom he begat Conradus (duke of Sueuia,kyng of Ieruſalem and Naples being Ceſar . The thyrd, Iſabell the daughter of Kyng Ihon of Englãd,by whõ he had a ſonne named Henry,which is ſayd to dye in his childhood.

…the …d.the …rour.

This Fridericus,had not his peere in marſhiall affaires to be compared vnto him and warlike pollices amongeſt all ẏ princes of that age: A wiſe & ſkilful ſouldier he was:a great indurer of painfull labours and trauels:moſt boldeſt in greateſt perils: prudent in foreſight:Induſtrious in all his doings:prõpt and nymble about that he tooke in hand:and in aduerſitie moſt ſtoute and couragious. But as in this corruption of nature few there be ẏ attayne perfection.: neither yet is there any prince almoſte of ſuch gouernment and godly inſtitution,both in life and doctrine as is required of them: So neither was this Friderick,wͭout his fault and humane fragilitie. For, the writers impute to hym ſome fault of concupicence,wherewith he was ſtayned and ſpotted. And it appeareth that he was not all cleare therof,for as much as by ſondry concubines he had ſondry children:As Encius,the king of Sardinia. Manfredus,the prince of Sarentinum:And Friderick,kyng of Antioche. And this is all that I find of the deſcription of Fridericke by Colonucius,which he affirmeth to haue gathered out of good & probable autors. But as touching ẏ haynous actes and flagitious deedes , which the Pope burdeneth him withall,and in his ſentence agaynſt hym maketh mention of: Fridericus not onely purgeth hym ſelf therof,but alſo diuers hiſtoricians(as wel Germain writers as Italians)affirme the ſame to be falſe & of the Popes own braynes,to do hym ſkare and teene, withall inuented. Of whiche matter,thoſe thinges whiche Pandolphus(touching the commẽdacion or diſpraiſe of Fridericus writeth)I thought good out of Italian,to tranſlate whoſe wordes be theſe.

Frid a moſt puiſant prince in marſhall affayres.

Frid was not without hys fault of humane fragilitie.

Albeit the Emperour Fridericus was endewed with many goodly giftes and vertues, yet notwithſtandyng was he accoumpted an enemie of the churche and a perſecutor of the ſame:of which, both Innocentius the iiij. in his ſentence hath pronoũced hym giltie, and the ſame ſentence haue other Popes regiſtred in theyr ſixe booke of Decretals and ſtabliſhed ẏ ſame for a law ,how that he ought to be takẽ for no leſſe. Therfore peraduenture, it ſhould not be come me to falſefie or call in queſtion ẏ, which other haue confirmed,or els to diſpute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithſtandyng,as much as his actes and dedes in writyng declare, & the bookes of ẏ chiefeſt autors affirme,as alſo hys owne Epiſtles do teſtifie: I cannot preſiſly ſay,whether the biſhop of Rome ſo call hym and iudge hym therefore:Or els for that, he was ſomewhat to bolde in ſpeakyng and tellyng them but the truth , and reprouyng the eccleſiaſticall order of their great abuſes. Or els whether for ẏ,he would haue had them gone ſomewhat more neare the conditiõs and liues of the aũcient fathers of the primatiue church and diſciples of Chriſt:Or whither for that,he defended and ſtood with them for the prerogatiue and dignities belonging to the empire or not:Or els,whither that they ſtood in feare and awe of the great power he was of in Italie (which thing in dede)Gregory the ix.in a certein Epiſtle of his confeſſeth. But of theſe thinges let thẽ iudge & decerne, ẏ ſhall read the monuments and hiſtories of Fridericke. Truly ſayth he, when I conſider with my ſelfe that Chriſt(whoſe vicar the Romane Biſhops boſt them ſelues to be)ſayd vnto his diſciples , that they ſhould folow hym and alſo imitate hys example as of their maiſter and teacher:and commaunded them farther more, how they ſhould not draw ẏ ſworde,but put vp the ſame into the ſcaberd : and farther gaue them in precept,that they ſhould not onely forgiue iniuries ſeuentymes , but 70.tymes ſeuen tymes to thoſe that offended them:And when I now compare the lyues of the biſhops of Rome, how nere they folow hym whoſe vicar they ſay they be: And conſider ſo many and great conſpiracies,treaſons, rebellions,diſloyalties,lyengs in wayt,and treacherous deuiſes:So many legates of the Popes (beyng eccleſiaſticall

The wordes of Pandolphus touching the prayſe and diſprayſe of the Emperour Fridericke.

The popes church cõpared with Chriſt his church are as as lyke,blacke as whyte.

ſtical perſons) which will nedes be called the ſhepheards of Chriſtes flocke, to be ſuch warriours and Captaines of ſouldiors in all ẏ partes of Italie, Campania, Apulia, Calabria (beyng themperors dominions) in Picenū, Aemilia, Flaminia, and Lumbardy, to be ſent out agaynſt hym: And alſo when with my ſelfe I meditate, the deſtruction of ſo many great and famous cities, the ſubuerſion of ſuch common weales, the ſlaughter of ſo many men, & the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian bloud: And laſtly whē I behold, ſo victorious, proſperous, & fortunat emperors to be: and ſo many miſerable, vnfortunate, and vanquiſhed Popes put to flight: Am perſuaded with my ſelfe to thinke and beleue, that the iudgementes of God are ſecret and meruelous, and that to bee true whiche Eneas Siluius, in his hiſtory of Auſtria writeth: That there is no great and maruelous clade, no notorious and ſpecial calamitie, ẏ hath happened either to the publique weale or els to the churche of God, of the whiche the Biſhops of Rome haue not been the autours. Nicholaus Machiauellus alſo ſayth, that all the ruinous calamities and miſerable chaunces that the hole Chriſtian common weale and alſo Italie hath ſuffred: haue been brought in, by the Popes and Biſhops of Rome.

Many epiſtles of Fridericus there be, which he wrote vnto ẏ byſhops of Rome, to the cardinals, & to dyuers other chriſtiā princes, al which I haue red: & in them is to be ſene nothyng cōtrary vnto chriſtiā doctrine, nothyng wicked and vngodly, nothyng iniurious to the church of God, nothyng cōtumelious or arrogātly writtē of Friderike. But in dede I deny not, that they be fraught & full of pitifull complaints, & lamentations, touchyng the auarous ambition of the eccleſiaſticall perſons, & pertinacie of ẏ biſhops of Rome: and ẏ he would receiue & take no ſatiſfaction nor yet excuſe in the defēce of the ryght & priuiledge of the empire, which he maintayned: alſo of their manifold and infinite conſpiracies which they practiſed both ſecretly and openly againſt him: And of the often admonitions which he gaue to the whole multitude and order eccleſiaſtical, to attend vpon and diſchardge their functions and charges. And who, that farther is deſirous to know and vnderſtand the truth, & coueteth to ſearche out the renoumed vertues of magnificent princes: let them read the epiſtle of Fridericke dated to all chriſtian princes which thus beginneth Colligerunt principes, pontifices & Phariſæi conſilium: and an other, wherin he perſwadeth the colledge of cardinals to take vp the diſſention betwene the emperour and the pope, which begynneth. In exordio naſcentis mundi, and alſo an other which thus beginneth Infallibilis veritatis teſtem, beſydes yet an other: Ad reges & principes orbis chriſtiani, wyth diuers other moe wherin may well be ſene the princelye vertues of this ſo worthy a piere: all which epiſtles collected together in the latine tounge, ẏ learned ſort I wiſh to read, wherout they maye picke no little benefite and comoditie to themſelues: In his epiſtle laſt recyted theſe are his wordes: Non exiſtimetis id me a vobis ideo contēdere, ac ſi ex ſententia pontificia priuationis maieſtas noſtra ſit perculſa: Cum enim nobis ſit recte voluntatis cōſcientia, cumq; deum nobiſcum habeamus, eundem teſtem inuocamus id nos ſpectaſſe, cum totum ordinem eccleſiaſticum tum præſertim primores, neruis potentiæ, dominationiſq; eorum ſucciſis ertirpatiſq; tirannidis radicibus ad primitiuæ eccleſiæ conditionem & ſtatum reuocaremus: that is, Thynke you not that we ſo earneſtlye deſyre or craue this peace at your hand, as though our maieſtye were terrified wyth the popes ſentence of depriuation: Whē as god (vpō whom we truſt & inuocate) is our witnes, and iudge of our conſcience: that when we went about to reforme the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, but eſpecially ẏ ringleaders of the ſame: and ſhould reſtrain your power and extirpate your great tyrannie, and reduce the ſame to the ſtate and condition of the primatiue church: we looked for no leſſe at your hands. For theſe cauſes peraduēture, thoſe which had the gouernmēt of the eccleſiaſtical dignitie, decreed & pronoūced Friderike to be an enemy to the church: which (as I haue ſayde) I leaue to others to iudge thereof. Hetherto Pandolphus Colonutius.

Deſerued commendation vpon the epiſtles of Fridericke.

Friderick purpoſed with the hazard of the imperiall ſtate to reforme the church of Rome.

And doubtles examples to the contrarye doth appeare, that Fridericke was an enemy to the church of Rome, for that he both gaue large and great gifts therevnto, and alſo franchiſed the ſame with great priuilegis and imminuities: which thinges, by his own conſtitutions, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes may be perceaued and vnderſtood. But rather contrarywiſe, that the biſhops of Rome moſt filthely recompenced the ſame his great liberalitie & princely beneuolence againe, whych he gaue and beſtowed vpon the ſame, as partlye in the diſcourſe of this hiſtory you haue heard: Who notwithſtādyng, they ſo moleſted and tyred him with ſuch and ſo manye iniuries as you haue ſene: he neuertheles, forgiuyng & pardoning all the ſame, for the great zeale he had to the common chriſtian wealth (whereof he more forced, then els of any other thing) ſought by all ẏ meanes he might for to haue peace, althoughe it were to hys owne great hinderaunce. Therefore, ſeing he was of neceſſity by the biſhops of Rome prouoked to that war: if he dyd them any ſkath in reuenge of his imperiall dignitye, let them thanke their own ſelues, which might other wiſe haue remedied the ſame. Notwithſtanding, vpon this occaſion diuers (both Italian and Germaine writers, which at that tyme ſought for fat benefices, and euer ſince euen vnto theſe our dayes haue done the lyke, by flattery rather to obtayne that which they hunted for, then to bear true and faythfull teſtimony of thinges as they wer in deede) tooke great occaſion to write, and ſclaunder thys good Emperour. But let vs paſſe ouer theſe Paraſites, and returne to thoſe, which althoughe they them ſelues were of that calling, I meane of the eccleſiaſtical order: yet notwithſtanding, for that they rather preferred the ſtudy of veritie, & to reuerence the truth before popyſhe authoritie, and flattering ſeruitude: greatlye extolled & commended thys good Emperour Fridericke. So dyd Nicholaus Cuſanus a Cardinal, in his writing affirme this emperor to be an alter Carolus Magnus: both for his wiſdom & alſo diligent regard to the commō weale. So alſo writeth Aegidius Biturigum the biſhoppe, in hys bookes of the inſtitution and bringing vp of a Prince, which he wrote to the French king: exhorting hym and all others, to take a patterne of thys moſt worthye and excellēt prince. In cōmendation of whoſe worthy praiſe and vertue theſe verſes are written on hys tombe.

Si probitas, ſenſus, virtutum gratia, cenſus.
Nobilitas orti poſſent reſiſtere morti:
Non foret extinctus, Fridericus qui iacet intus.

Wherfore, in as much as it appeareth by the approued writers of whom I haue made mention: who and what maner of prince Fridericke this emperour was: And, for that he diligently laboured as well in the preſeruation of the chriſten common weale, as in the conſeruation of the imperiall dignitie: procured to hymſelfe the great hatred and diſpleaſure of the Romaine biſhoppes (who haue beene, to all the good Emperoures for the moſt part vtter foes and enemies) and with what wycked ſlaunders and other iniuries both by them & by their miniſters they continually moleſted hym withall: Thys leſſon ought to be ours: that hauyng the ſame in our memorie, we imitate and folow his vertues, hating and deteſtyng the wicked and flagitious doings of thoſe holye fathers that will ſo be called, and biſhops of Rome: deſyring God that he will ſo guide the hartes of all kinges & princes, that they maye by his grace aduaunce and ſet forth his glory, and reforme the corrupt and vicious maner and order of the churche, to all ſinceritie and puritie both of lyfe and doctrine.

Frid. ſhe wed hi ſelfe no e nemy bu a frind to the church of Rom

Selfe de ſelfe la the prou is.

Hope of gayne d. lureth ma to flatt and to write vn truely

Certayne preachers in Sueuia.

These verſes which here inſue were ſent and writtē betwene the Emperour and Pope Innocentius the, 4. which for that to ẏ learned are both commodious and profitable at thende of this hiſtory I thought good to place.

¶ *Fridericus Imp. Innocent. Papæ.*

Fata mouent ſtellæq; docent, auiumq; volatus
Totius ſubito malleus orbis ero.
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi deſinet eſſe caput.

¶ *Innocent. Papa Frederico Imp.*

Fata ſilent, ſtellæq; tacent, nil prędicat ales:
Solius eſt proprium noſſe futura dei.
Niteris in caſſum nauem ſubmergere Petri,
Fluctuat: at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, ſcriptura docet, peccata loquuntur:
Quod tibi vita breuis, pœna perennis erit.
Quod diuina manus potuit, ſenſit Iulianus:
Tu ſuccedis ei, te tenet ira dei.
Fre. fremit in mundo, de deprimit alta profundo:
Ri. mala rimatur, cuſ. cuſpide cuncta minatur.

¶ *Fredericus Innocentio.*

Fata mouent ſtellæq; docent auiumq; volatus
Lapſurum te mox ad ſtigis antra nigræ.
Cymba Petri non eſt, ſed Chriſti, quæ natat vndis:
Fluctuat, at nuſquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, tua ſcripta docent, peccata nefanda
Interitum oſtendunt, exitiumq; tuum.
Strangulat Adrianum muſca, annon ira tonantis?
Cogitat & de te ſumere ſupplicium?
Carcere ſuſpendit ſeſe benedictus, et alter
In ſtupro captus, ſaucius enſe perit.
Silueſtrum extinguit Sathan ſceleratior ipſe:
Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.
Innocuum te voce notas cum ſis nociturus
Orbi terrarum chriſtianoq; gregi.

¶ *Fredericus Innocentio de integro.*

Eſſes ſi membrum non te caput orbis et vrbis
Iactares cum ſis orbis et vrbis onus.
Nunc membrum non es, ſed putre cadauer & vlcus,
Enſe recidendum ridiculumq; caput.
A Daniele βδέλυγμα, nefaſq; caputq; malorum
diceris, a Paulo filius exitij.
Nos ſolum Chriſtum noſtrum caput eſſe. malorum
Totius orbis te caput eſſe facis.
Et caput eſt vnum, quod Paulus dicit vbiq;,
Tu vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?
Corporis ergo caput monſtroſi monſtra pariſq;
Monſtra paris monachos, ſcorta nefanda foues.
Eſt tua religio ſtuprum, Ira, ſuperbia cædes,
Error, delicię, fulmina, turpe lucrum.
Ex his ergo liquet Chriſtum te ſpernere: Chriſto
Hoſtem eſſe inuiſum, dedecoriq; deo.
Rex tandem veniet cælo delapſus ab alto
Tunc non defendent te, ſacra, miſſa, cruces
Non in ſublimi ſurgentes vertice criſtæ,
Non diploma potens, non tua ſacra cohors
Nec diadema triplex, nec ſedes ſanguine parta,
Nullus honos ſolij, purpura nulla tui.
Triginta argenteis Chriſtum vendebat Iudas,
Tu Chriſti vendis corpora plura tui.
Corpora tu vendis Chriſti paruo ære, polumq;,
Cæleſtes genios, ſidera, Iura, deos.

Certayne preachers in Sueuia.

As ye haue hard of the iniquitie and ragyng pride of the popiſhe Churche agaynſt their lawfull Emperour: now ſhal ye heare (Chriſt willing) how god beginneth to reſiſt and withſtand ẏ corruption of that horyſh church, by ſtirring vp certaine faithfull teachers in ſondry countreys: As in the countrey of Sueuia, about the tyme of this Emperour. an. 1240. or nere vpon the ſame, where were many preachers, mentioned in the Chronicle of Vrſpergenſis, ⁊ alſo in Crantzius Lib. 8. cap. 16, et. 18. which preached frely agaynſt the Pope. These preachers (as Crantzius ſayth) ringyng the belles, and calling the Barons in Hallis of Sueuia: there preached that the Pope was an heretique, and that his biſhops and prelats were ſimoniacke and heretiques. And that ẏ inferiour prieſtes and prelates had no autoritie to bind and looſe, but were all ſeducers. Item that no pope, biſhop, or prieſt, could reſtraine men from their dewtie of ſeruyng and worſhipyng of God. And therfore ſuch cities or countreys, as were then vnder the popes curſe, might notwithſtādyng lawfully reſort to the receauing of Sacramētes, as well as before. Itē that friers Dominicke, and Franciſcane, did ſubuert the churche with their preaching. And as the indulgence of the pope, and his popelynges was of no regard: ſo that remiſſion, whiche they did preach vnto thē, they preached it not from the Pope, but as frō the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, wherby it may appeare, how the reſiſtyng of the popes vſurped power and corrupt doctrine, is no new thyng in theſe dayes in ẏ churche of Chriſt. ⁊c.

Ex chron. Aba Vrſpurg. Crantz. lib. 8. Cap. 16.

Reſiſtaunce agaynſt the pope no new thing in Chriſts church

And not long after theſe aforeſayd, roſe vp Arnoldus De noua villa, a Spanyard, and a mā famouſly learned, and a great writer. an. 1250. whom the Pope with hys ſpiritualtie, condemned among heretiques, for holdyng and writyng agaynſt the corrupt errours of the popiſhe churche. His teachyng was, that Sathan had ſeduced all the world from the truth of Chriſt Jeſus. Item that the fayth (whiche then chriſten men were commōly taught) was ſuch a fayth as the deuils had: meanyng belike, that as we now affirme, that the papiſtes do teach onely the hiſtoricall fayth, whiche is the fayth Hiſtoriæ non fiduciæ. Item, that chriſten people (meanyng belyke for the moſt part) are led by the pope vnto hell. Itē, that all cloyſterers are voyde of charitie, and damned: And that they all do falſefie the doctrine of Chriſt. Item, that the diuines do euill in mixtyng Philoſophie with diuinitie. Itē, that Maſſes are not to be celebrated. And ẏ they ought not to ſacrifice for the dead. Certayne other opinions there be, whiche the ſlaunderous ſectes of monkes and friers do attribute vnto him: but (as they are wont in all other to do) rather vpon enuyous takyng, then of anye iuſt cauſe geuen.

Arnoldus de noua villa condemned of hereſye.

An. 1250

Vide librum, de teſtibus veritatis.

And as this Arnoldus was condemned, ſo alſo the ſame tyme Joannes Semeca, the gloſe wryter of the Popes decrees, and Prouoſt of Halberſtate was excommunicated, and depriued of hys Prouoſtſhyp: for reſiſtyng Pope Clement the fourth, gathering certaine exactions in Germanie. And therefore he appealed from the Pope to a generall councel, and had many great fauorers on his ſide, til at laſt both the pope and he died.

Ioannes Semeca, the gloſe writer to the popes decrees excommunicated.

Conſequently in this order and number, foloweth the worthie and valiant champion of Chriſt and aduerſary of Antichriſt Gulielmus de S. Amore, a maſter of Paris, and a chief ruler then of that vniuerſitie. This Gulielmus in his tyme had no ſmall a do writyng agaynſt the friers, and their hypocriſie. But eſpecially agaynſt the beggyng friers, both condemnyng their whole order, ⁊ alſo accuſing them as thoſe ẏ did diſturbe ⁊ trouble all the churches of Chriſte by their preachyng in churches agaynſt the will of the ordinaries and paſtors, by theyr hearyng of confeſſions, and executyng the charges of curates and paſtors in their churches. All the teſtimonies of Scripture that make agaynſt Antichriſt, he applyeth them agaynſt the clergy of prelates, and the Popes ſpiritualtie. The ſame Gulielmus is thought to be the autor of the booke, whiche is attributed to the ſchole of Paris, and intituled: De periculis eccleſiæ. Where he proueth by xxxix. argumentes, that friers be falſe Apoſtles.

Gulielmus de S. Amore.

Moreouer, he doth wel expound this ſaying of Chriſt (if thou wilt be perfect, go and ſell away al thou haſt, and

The place of the goſpel expounded, Goe, and ſell all and come folow me.

come folow me) declaryng their pouertie to be inioyned vs of Chriſt, non actualem, ſed habitualē: not in ſuch ſorte: as ſtandeth in outward action, when no nede requireth, but in inward affection of hart, when nede ſhall require: As though the meanyng and precept of our Lord were not that we ſhould caſt away actually all that we haue, but that when the cōfeſſion of the name of God and the glory of Chriſt ſhall ſo require: that then we be ready to leaue & relinquiſh what things ſoeuer, for ŷ ſake of hym &c. As when he requireth, euer in vs after lyke phraſe ŷ hatred of father and mother, and of our own lyues: he biddeth vs not to diſhonour father or mother, much leſſe to hate thē: but that then, when caſe ſhall require, we ſet all thynges behynd the loue of Chriſt. Many other worthy workes he cōpiled, wherin albeit he vttered nothyng but what was truth, yet notwithſtandyng he was by Antichriſt and hys rable, condemned for an heretique, exiled, and hys bookes brente: Whoſe hereticall argumētes as they called them, that thou mayſt better iudge therof, here vnder I thought good to place.

Guliel de S. Amore condemned of the pope for an heretique.

Againſt falſe prophets with ſignes to know them by, in theſe his wordes do followe. For becauſe theſe ſeducers ſayth he, name them ſelues to be Apoſtles, and that they are ſent of God to preach, to abſolue and diſpence wyth the ſoules of men, by meanes of their miniſterye. Reade the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, the .xj. chapter. For ſuch Apoſtles are ſubtyle and crafty workemen, diſguiſing themſelues to be like the Apoſtels of Chriſt: Therfore, we meane to ſhew ſom certayne infallible tokens, and probable, by the whych falſe apoſtels may be diſcerned from the true preachers and apoſtels of Chriſt.

The firſt ſygne and token to know a falſe Frier and prophet by.

The firſt ſigne or marke is: that ſuch as be true preachers do not enter into ſimple wemens houſes laden wt ſinne and take them as it were captiue, as many of the falſe preachers do: as in the .2. epiſtle of S. Paul to Timothy the third chapter is manifeſt, ſaying: Of theſe ſortes are they, whyche enter into wemens houſes. &c. Therfore, thoſe preachers whyche come into wemens houſes, to the intent they may take them captiue, be not true preachers, but falſe apoſtels.

True preachers do not deceue men with painted flattering wordes.

The ſecond ſigne and tokē is, that thoſe that be true preachers do not deceiue ſimple men with paynted and flattering wordes, whereby they prefer their own traſh and traditions, as all falſe prophetes doo, as in the laſt chapter to the Romanes appeareth ſaying: By their pleaſant and ſugred talke, and by their bleſſing and croſſing they deceiue and begile the hartes of innocent men and women. the Glo. With gaye glorious wordes they extol and ſet forth their traditions, whereby they deceiue ſimple men. Very greatly do they deceaue the ſoules of ſimple men, which cauſe them to enter into their ſect, which they terme religion. And they which before led a naughty life, by reaſon of theyr ignorance or ſimplicitie: after their entrance, become ſubtile falſe deceiuing hipocrits, entring together with ŷ reſt poore into mens houſes: yea and oftentimes become worſe then the other. Wherupon Math. 22. wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariſes, hipocrites which go about. &c: Therefore they which doo this, are no true meſſengers, but falſe Apoſtels.

Signe. 3 is that true Apoſtels take in good parte when they be reproued.

The third ſigne is, that the true Apoſtels if they bee reproued, ſuffer the ſame paciently. 2. Corin. 12. ſaying: the tokens of my Apoſtleſhip are accompliſhed among you, in all patience and ſufferaunce. He writeth, that pacience which pertaineth to the maners of the preachers. Therefore they which ſuffer not correction or puniſhment, be no true Apoſtels, but rather ſhewe them ſelues to be no Chriſtians at all. 1. Cor. 12. No mā can ſay that Ieſus is the Lorde, but by the holye ghoſt. Gloſſa. It is meete that Chriſtians ſhoulde be humbled, to the intent that they mai ſuffer them ſelues to be reproued, and not to be holden vp with yea and nay. And alſo ſuch men do ſhew them ſelues to be carnall, and not ſpirituall at all, although they fayne them ſelues to be ſpiritual. Gala. 3. Therefore am I become an enemy vnto you: Notwithſtādyng ŷ Glo. ſaith, no carnall mā wyl be reproued although he erre. Wherfore, thoſe preachers which ſuffer not correction, ſeeme not to bee true Apoſtles, but falſe prophetes.

The 4. Signe is that true preachers commēd not them ſelues,

The iiij. ſigne is, that true apoſtles commend not thē ſelues, 2. Cor. 4. For we dare not ioyne our ſelues, nor yet compare our ſelues vnto others which commend & boſt many of their actes, when God alloweth none of thē at all. Alſo true prechers although they be in dede praiſe worthy for their good deſertes: In the conſciences of mē are they praiſe worthy, and not to the outward ſhew alone. 2. Cor. 3. We commend our ſelues ſaith the apoſtle to the conſciences of all mē: Then they doo not commende them ſelues in compariſon of other. Wherfore ŷ gloſe ſaith vpon the ſame place: thoſe that deſerue no cōmendation but in compariſon of other, doo chalenge to themſelues other mens deſartes and prayſe: wherfore in the 2. epiſtle of Saint Peter the laſt chapiter it is ſayde. Euen as our welbeloued brother Paule accordyng to ŷ wiſedome that God hath geuen vnto hym, hath written vnto you: Gloſſa. The chiefeſt of the apoſtles hathe here forgotten his papall autoritie, and alſo hys keyes that were deliuered vnto hym: For he is aſtonied as it were at the greate wiſdome geuen vnto hys brother Paule. For in dede, it is the maner of the electe children of God, to bee more in loue with the vertues of other men then wyth their owne: wherfore in the ſecond chap. to the Philip. is written. Let thoſe that are ſuperiours eſteeme of themſelues in all humilitie. They therfore that do ŷ contrary, ſaying that their ſtate or doyngs be better then other mens, although they be preachers, yet are they no true apoſtles, but in dede falſe prophetes.

Signe. 5 that true preachers nede no letters commenda

The fift ſigne is, that true apoſtles nede no letters of commendation: nor yet deſire to haue themſelues prayſed of men: as in the 2. Cor. 3. chap. the apoſtle ſaith, we nede not the letters of commendation of any man: that is to ſay of falſe prophetes.

Signe. 6 that true poſtels preach vnles they be ſent,

The vi. ſygne is, that true apoſtles, do not preach vnleſſe they be ſent, as in the 10. chap. to the Rom. how ſhal they preach vnleſſe they be ſent, Gloſſa. There be no true apoſtles but thoſe that be ſent. For they haue no nede of Signes which are true witnes bearers, but thoſe that be not ſent and do preach, are falſe prophets.

Sygne. 7 when the falſe prophets preach the were not ſent

The ſeuenth ſigne is, for as much as falſe prophets haue not their autoritie in their own names: wherfore, in ŷ 2. epi. of S. Paule to the Cor. it is written. For we dare not boaſt our ſelues or make compariſon, Gloſſa That is to ſay, with thoſe that be falſe prophets: not takyng their authoritie from God, but vſurpyng the ſame deſirous to beare rule, claymyng in theyr owne name their autoritie. And therfore although peraduenture by preſumption they ſay that they are ſent of God, as all heretikes will ſay: yet notwithſtandyng, vnleſſe they ſhall proue their ſedyng, either by ſpirituall prophecy as Iohn Baptiſt dyd, ſaying: I am the voyce of a crier in the deſerte, As the Prophet Eſay ſayth in the fyrſt chapiter of S. Ihons goſpell: Or els by myracles, as Moyſes dyd which turned hys rodde into a Serpent, and agayne from a Serpent to a rod, as in the. 7. chap. of Exodus: they ought to bee excommunicated, tyll ſuch tyme they ceaſe from preaching: Yet notwithſtanding, a myracle ought not to be a ſufficient teſtimonie of their ſending, for as much as they be done oftentimes, and that of euill and wicked men. 1. q. 1. we maye perceaue towardes the end. But myracles ought to be ſuſpected, for as much as our Sauiour ſayth in the. 23. of Mathew. Then ſhall falſe prophets ariſe, &c. Therfore, they which do chalēge authoritie in their own name for as much as they haue not their authoritie from God, they are not true Apoſtles

ſtles but falſe preachers.

Signe,8.is, hat falſe prophetes pretend great holy- es in ſu- perſtition.

The ſeuenth ſigne is, that falſe prophets pretending great wyſedome and holynes to be in ſuperſtition, haue named theyr owne traditions to be religion, the which are rather to be counted ſacrilege or church robberie, and do vſurpe vnto them ſelues the dne deſertes of other men by boaſting and bragging amonge ſtraunge and vnknowen people. Wherfore, the Apoſtle ſpeaking of falſe prophets in the. 2.chap.to the Coloſſians ſayth. According to the preceptes of men, which hauing a face of wyſedome conſiſte in ſuperſtition, interlaced with counterfet humilitie. Gloſe. That is to ſaye, myngled with fayned religion that it myght be called religion, when in very deede it is nothing els but ſacrilege, becauſe it is contrary to all authoritie: that is, contrary to God hym ſelf: that any man ſhould deſire to haue gouernment of a multitude without publique commaundement, as in Deutronomium. 23.chap. Thou haſte entred into thy neyghbours vyneyarde. Gloſe. that is to ſaye, into the church of an other byſhop. May a mã warne and admoniſhe others, or els correcte that congregation which is not lawfull for him to gouerne nor yet to take ſo greate a charge vpon him? no. And that it is not lawful to enter into an other biſhops dioces, it is aparant: becauſe it is not lawfull for the archbiſhop ſo to do. To this effect appertaineth that which is red.6.q.3. And alſo it is writtẽ 9.q.2.through out. Therfore thoſe preachers which agaynſt God and hys diuine Scriptures doe call their own traditions religion, are not true Apoſtles but falſe prophetes.

gne,9. is, t when y nei- r preach r mini- , yet; e vpon er mens ours.

The ix. ſigne is by the authoritie whiche they haue, For as much as they be no preachers of the Goſpell or miniſters of the Sacramentes they will lyue by the Goſpell, and not by the labour of their owne handes, againſt ẏ text in the. 2.Theſſal.3. neither haue we eatẽ any mãs bread for naught, or of free coſt. Gloſſa. Then, thoſe falſe Prophetes ought much more to lyue by theyr laboure, which haue not that authoritie which we ought to haue, that is to ſay to lyue by the Goſpell . And S.Auguſtine ſpeaketh of this more expreſly in his booke De opere monachorũ, by theſe wordes. Theſe our brethren do claime to thẽ ſelues (very raſhly as me thinketh) that they haue any ſuch authoritie, to lyue by the goſpell . If they be preachers of the goſpel, I graunt that in dead they haue ſuch authoritie: if they be miniſters of the aulter, if they be diſpoſers of the Sacramentes: they cannot well but take to them ſelues this authoritie, as alſo manifeſtly to chalẽge the ſame, if at the leaſt they haue not where with all to ſuſtayne this preſent lyfe, without labour of theyr handes ⁊c. As though he would haue ſayd, if they be not ſuch maner of men, then haue they no authoritie to lyue by the goſpell. Therfore thoſe preachers, which haue not authoritie to liue of the goſpell, or els miniſter the Samentes, becauſe they haue no congregation wherby to take charge of ſoules, yet for all that will nedes liue vpõ the goſpell, they be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

e,10. is falſe hets that to whiche yneth de of

The x. ſigne is, that falſe teachers, reioyce more to be commended them ſelues, then to haue the worde of God to haue the commendation and prayſe . But they that are true preachers and Apoſtles, are far otherwiſe minded as to the Theſſ.2. not ſeakyng the prayſe of men. ⁊c. And herein he toucheth thoſe falſe Prophetes, which deſire rather to bee commended them ſelues, then that the worde of God whiche they preache ſhould haue the commendation. But he is an Apoſtle, whiche not ſeeking the glory of this preſent worlde, but for the glory to come, doth abaſe him ſelfe to the intent that the preachyng and worde of God might be commended and exalted. They therfore whiche deſire to haue prayſe and to be commended of others, rather then that the worde of God ſhould haue the praiſe, be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe,11 is, that falſe prophets do preach for gayne and not for gods cauſe.

The xi. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do preache onely for Gods cauſe, and for the health of ſoules, and for no temporall gayne as in the. 2.Cor.4. ſaying, we preache not our ſelues. ⁊c. Gloſſa. Our preachyng tendeth not to our glory and gayne , but onely to the glory of Chriſt. But the preachyng of Chriſt by thoſe that are falſe prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Wherupon in the. Phi.1. is ſaid: Whither it be vpon occaſion geuen, or els for the verities ſake, let Chriſt be preached ⁊c. Gloſſe. Falſe prophetes do preache the goſpell vpon ſome occaſion, as either by ſekyng ſome commoditie at the handes of men, or els becauſe of gettyng goodes, honour, or prayſe among men. Whiche notwithſtandyng, that they be ready and willyng as it ſhould ſeme to beare and ſuſtain iniuries: yet they ſeeke not ſo much the health of hym to whom they preache, as in very dede they do their owne commoditie and gayne. Whereupon. 2. Cor.12. Gloſſe. Becauſe I ſeke not the thiyges that be youres , that is to ſay, not your treaſure as golde and ſiluer, but onely you your ſelues. Gloſſe. For otherwayes it could by no meanes be gathered, that they ſhould vnderſtand hym to ſpeake or meane of their ſubſtaunce, becauſe he more eſtemeth them then their monye, to the intent that they might vnderſtand hys greate good will towarde them. Therfore, theſe euil ⁊ naughtie preachers which preach for wordly gayne, or honor, or els for the prayſe and commendacion of men, be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes. But it may be aſked, how ſhall men vnderſtand whẽ theſe good felowes preach for their owne vayne glory ſake? It may be anſwered thus, when they preach before they be called, as in the.2.Cor.11. Who ſoeuer boaſteth let hym boaſt ⁊ reioyce in the Lord. Gloſſe. Which thyng to do, can not he by any meanes, that hath not his authoritie from God. For if any ſuch Prophet preache, he ſeketh hys owne glory: and that may eaſly be perceaued. Becauſe he is not called of God he hath no ſuch authoritie of him, that is to ſay, of his churche or congregation, As to the Heb.7. No man taketh to hym ſelfe any dignitie, but he that is called of God as Aaron was. The Gloſſe . He is called of God that is lawfully choſen of the congregation.

Signe 12.is that falſe prophetes do counterfaite to loue where they hate.

The xij. ſigne or token of a falſe Prophet is: Becauſe ſuch Prophetes do counterfait them ſelues to haue greater care, ⁊ loue to mens ſoules, then thoſe that be their very gouernours and paſtors haue, although they haue no charge at all of them, againſt whom the Gloſe ſpeaketh, and the. 1. Theſſ.2. We are become meeke ⁊ louyng towards you, euẽ as the nurſe which geueth hir child ſuck Gloſſe. A woman nurſeth othermens childrẽ for wages and not for loue alone, but ſhe gyueth her owne ſucke of very loue without reſpect of mony. Therfore, thoſe preachers whiche fayne them ſelues, to haue a greater loue and affection to the ſoules of men, thẽ they that haue the charge ouer them, ſeme not to be true Apoſtles. The apoſtles ſtudy not for eloquence nor for the curious placing of their wordes, but falſe Prophetes do them both. As in the.2.Cor.11. If the ſimple ⁊ vneloquent man. ⁊c. Gloſſe. The Apoſtles were not eloquent, but falſe Prophets are full of curious eloquence. Alſo vpon the ſame an other Gloſſe. The Corinth. were led away from the goſpell by ouer nyce eloquence. The.2.Cor.7. Let vs ſhewe our ſelues before all men as the miniſters of God. Gloſſe. The miniſters of God, do not flatter as falſe Prophetes do. And for this occaſiõ thoſe that be true Apoſtles haue not there abidyng in princes courtes, and noble mẽs houſes, knowyng this ſaying of Chriſt in S.Mathewes goſpell. Behold thoſe ẏ are clothed with ſilkes, dwell in kynges courtes: And therfore true Apoſtles are not conuerſaunt in princes courtes and noble mens houſes. Gloſſe. Hard and ſtrait lyfe with the preachyng of the goſpell, loueth not to come nere princes pallaces, ⁊ noble mens houſes. Often tymes it commeth to paſſe, ẏ courtiers are found great flatterers. Therefore thoſe preachers that haue their abode in courtes, or yͤ in anye other place doo vſe to flatter, are no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe, 13. is, that falſe prophets do circumuent men to haue their goods & care for nothing els.

The .xiij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles or meſſengers, do not circumuent or ſubtilly go about to deceaue mē, that they ſhould giue vnto them their goodes, either in theyr lyfe tyme or els at the tyme of their death: as in the 2. Cor. 7. We haue falſly deceaued no man. Gloſſe. By the ſubtill and deceatfull gettyng away of your ſubſtaunce as falſe Prophetes do, whiche get away from you thoſe things that be yours, vnder pretence of great frendſhip. Alſo Math. 22. Wo be vnto you ſcribes and phariſeis you hipocrites whiche ſpoyle widowes houſes, by your longe prayers: Which meane nothing els by your ſuperſtition, but that you maye ſpoyle and robbe the people as in. Luke. 20. Whiche deuour widowes houſes by diſſemblyng of your longe prayer. Gloſe. The whiche make ouer longe prayers, to the intent they may ſeme more deuoute, and that they may get both money and great commendation of al ſuch as be ſicke and troubled with the burdē of their ſinnes: whoſe prayers be turned into ſin, which neither are profitable for them ſelues nor any other. But rather ſhall haue for makyng thoſe prayers greater dampnatiō, for as much as by the ſame they deceaue others. For by this that they receaue and take both gold and ſiluer, it appeareth that they preache not for ſoule healthes ſake, but onely for filthy lucre & gayne ſake. Math. 10. Be ye poſſeſſors neither of golde nor ſiluer. Gloſe. If they then haue theſe thynges, they canne not ſeame, or be thought to preache for the health of the ſoule, but for lucres ſake. And ſo ſayth Jerome vpon the Prophete Malachie. Becauſe ſome Prophetes toke money, their Prophetie became deuination: that is to ſay, their Prophetie appeared not to be Prophetie but diuination, or inchaūtement: that is, that ſuch Prophetie procedeth not from God, but from the deuil. And this appeared in. 1. q. 1 hauyng this begynnyng Nunquam diuinatio &c. Therfore thoſe preachers which circumuent and beguile men, to the intent that they ſhould giue them theyr goodes, eyther in their lyfe tyme or after their death: are not true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe, 14 is, that falſe prophets cannot abide to haue the truth preached.

The .xiiij. ſigne is, that falſe prophetes, when any veritie is preached, which for the moſt part they are not aquainted withall, or that toucheth them: then begin thei to chafe and barke agaynſt the ſame, whereupon the Apoſtle in the third chapter to the Philippians ſayth: beheld the dogs. Gloſſa. Vnderſtand you that they are not dogs by nature, but by their vſage and condicions, barking againſt yͤ truth, which they were neuer aquainted wͭ. And ſo he compareth thē right wel to dogges, becauſe dogs folow rather cuſtome, then reaſon: So, falſe apoſtels do keepe the cuſtome of the lawe, and doo bite and barke agaynſt the truth, as though they were without the gift of reaſon. And alſo in the ſecond epiſtle to Timothe the .iij. chapter, ſaying: They get thē inſtructors according to their own deſires. Gloſſa. Which may teach them what thinges they themſelues are willing to hear, becauſe the truth ſeemeth nothing pleaſant vnto them. Therfore, thoſe preachers which barke agaynſt the late reuealed truth, which toucheth them very neare, & therefore cauſe the ſame to be hidden and kept vnder: are not true Apoſtels, but falſe prophetes.

Signe, 15. is, falſe prophetes do inforce thē to heare that are not willing to heare.

The .xv. ſigne is, that that true Apoſtels doo not enforce any to receaue or heare them, which be vnwyllyng therunto: but ſende them away rather, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to ſeeke after ſome earthly and tranſitory thing. Math. 10. Who ſoeuer wyl not receiue you, get you out of that Citie, and ſhake the duſt from of your feete. &c. Gloſſa. That you may thereby ſhewe, that the deſire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore, thoſe preachers which wraſtle and ſtriue as it were to that intent they would be receaued and heard, are no true apoſtles: For as muche as the Apoſtle ſayth. Corinth. 11. If anye man appeare amonge you to be ouer contentious or full of ſtrife: ſuch cuſtome haue we none, nor yet the congregation of Chriſt,

Signe,16 that falſe prophets do cauſe princes hate and niſh ſuch wyll not heare

The .xvi. ſigne is, that the Apoſtles dyd not procure the indignation of thoſe princes with whom they were eſtemed and regarded, againſt ſuch perſons as woulde not receaue them and heare them, according as we rede in the life of Simon and Jude the Apoſtles: The chiefe ruler being very angry, commaunded a very great fire to be made, that the biſhops might be caſt in to yͤ ſame, and all other whiche went about to defame the doctrine of the Apoſtles of Chriſt: But the Apoſtles fell down before the Emperour ſaying: we beſeche you ſyr, let not vs be the autors or cauſers of this deſtruction or calamitie: Nor that we which are ſent to be the preſeruation of men, and to reuiue thoſe that are dead through ſin, may ſeeme to be kyllers of thoſe that be aliue. Therfore, thoſe preachers which ſeeke to ſtyr vp the diſpleaſure of princes agaynſt them, whoſe fauours now they enioy, that wyll not receaue and heare them, or rather whom they them ſelues hate, are no true Apoſtels but falſ prophets.

Signe that falſe prophets do not know ther w ood ha done, yet wil as true phets

The .xvij. ſigne is, that the apoſtels of Chriſt haue not onely the knowledge of thoſe thynges which God hath already done, but alſo of thoſe things which he wil hereafter do, as in the Apoca. 3. The beaſtes were ful of eyes both behinde and before. Gloſe. Obtaynyng the knowledge of thoſe things whych God had done, as alſo what he would hereafter do in the end of the world. Therfore thoſe that ſay they know not the perils of the churche in the later tyme, which are prophecied afore: or that they care not for them, or els if they know thē not, they haue not eyes behinde and before: be no true Apoſtles. Therfore, what tyme as they call them ſelues Apoſtels they are falſe prophetes.

Signe that falſe prophets preach mcery are not be diſce ned from Wolues,

The .xviij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtels doo not deſire the riches and goods of them to whō they preach, wherby they are diſcerned from wolues, that is to ſay, from falſe prophetes. Act. 20. I haue deſired no mans golde nor ſiluer. Gloſe. By this are woolues diſcerned, for they deſire ſuche thyngs. And agayne in the ſame place: For thoſe thinges which I had neede of, and to thoſe whych were with me, theſe handes haue miniſtred. Gloſe. This example alſo of laboring, is a ſpectacle for biſhops, wherby they are diſcerned from woolues. For ſuche as aſke or beg of thoſe to whom they preache, or ſet anye other to aſke or beg in their names: do ſeeme to commit ſimonie: Like Gyezi, of whom it is red in the third booke of kinges the fift chapter, that craued certayne aparell of Naaman the Sirian, to whom his maiſter Elizeus had reſtored the benefit of health. Notwithſtanding, he had gotten thoſe garments, vnwitting to his maiſter. Wherupon Gregory Nazanzenus ſayth, 1. q. 1: Qui iſti debetur. But ſome man perhaps wyll ſay: Cannot the preacher aſke money or money worth of thoſe to whom he preacheth? Or at the leaſt, may he not beg? To this maye be aunſwered. If the preacher by autoritie preach, & doth fœde hys flocke as a true paſtor with the foode of Gods word, he may take money, or money worth: but then it is not beggyng or crauing, but it is by autority, as the ſecond to Timothe the ſecond chapter: It is mete that the huſband man that tylleth the ground, ſhould fyrſt & afore other receaue the cōmoditie of his increaſe. Gloſe. He putteth the verteous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for that intent to make marchaundiſe of the Goſpell, and geueth hym to vnderſtand: that it is lawful for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flock, what things ſo euer he hath nede of: & doth it not by beggyng or crauing, but by good autority. It is manifeſt, that it cannot in any place of the holy ſcripture be found, that the preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the Apoſtels of Chriſt, and is abhorred of Salomon, Saint Auguſtine, and reproued by diuers other holye men.

If the cher do duetie in prea- ching may ta lawful for hi ceſſary things men. Therefore, it is manifeſt, that true Apoſtles do not deſire the temporall goods of them to whõ they preach, neyther do they beg or craue the ſame: They therefore that require any thing of them to whom they preach, or els that any other man aſketh for thẽ, or in their names: do not ſeeme to be true Apoſtles, but falſe preachers.

igne,19. is
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alſe do.

The.xix. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles are patient in tribulation, neither doo they render euill for good, Mathew.10. Behold I ſende you as ſheepe among wolues. Gloſe. They that occupy the place of preaching, ought not to procure any euyll towarde their brethren, as the example of Chriſt teacheth. 1. Peter. 2. ſaying: who whẽ he was reuiled, reuiled not agayne, but did ſubmit him ſelfe to hym that iudged him vniuſtlye. They therefore that ſuffer not iniury, but rather do wrong themſelues, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Apoſtles.

igne 20. is
at true
poſtles are
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falſe pro
ets be.

The.xx. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles at their fyrſt cõming are euell intertayned, as yͤ Lord ſayth in the.xxiij. chapiter of Mathew. Ye ſhall be hated of all men for my names ſake: but yet at the length ſuch get the victorye: According to that ſaying of the fyrſt of S. Jhon the.v chapiter. Euery thing that is of God ouercommeth the world. They therfore that in the beginning reioyſe and are well intertayned, but in the ende are reiected, ſeems not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

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The.xxj. ſigne is. That true preachers goe not to preach vnto thoſe which haue preachers appoynted vnto them, becauſe they haue not to reioyſe of a company belonging to an other mans charge, as to yͤ Romaines the.xv. chapiter. I haue preached yͤ goſpel where Chriſt was not before preached, leaſt I ſhoulde builde vpon an other mans foundation. And in the ſecond epiſtle of S. Paul to the Corinthians the x. chapter, he ſayth: We are no boaſters, nor buſie in other mẽs matters. Glo. where an other man had layde the foundation. Likewiſe in the ſame, cha. Not hauing pleaſure to boaſt of other mens labours, that is to ſay, of thoſe which be cõmitted to the gouernment of an other man. Lykewyſe Auguſtine ſayth. Honour ought to ſeeke thee, and not thou honour. Alſo Chriſoſtome: Authoritie is in loue with ſuch a mã, as refuſeth hyr, and yet abhorreth her not. They therefore that procure and haue deſyre to preach vnto yͤ people committed to an other mans charge, which is an office of honour: eſpecially in councels, Synods, and great aſſemblies, alſo in kings and princes courtes, & prelates palaces, are not true Apoſtles but falſe teachers.

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The.xxij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles whẽ they know them ſelues to do much good in the church and congregation of G O D: yet notwithſtanding, are not puffed vp with pryde. Ezechiell the.3. O ſonne of man, I haue made thy face as an Adamants ſtone. The Adamant ſtone when it draweth yron vnto it, is not therby eyther lifted vp or altered. Likewyſe, a true preacher when he draweth ſinners vnto him by his preaching (whoſe harts were as hard as yron) is neuer yͤ more lifted vp or higher minded therfore. But as in Luke the.18. chapiter: when ye haue done all that ye can and as well as ye can, yet ſay that you are vnprofitable ſeruauntes. Pſalme. Not vnto vs Lord not vnto vs, but to thy name be geuen the glory. They therfore, that do arrogantlye boaſte them ſelues of the fruit and benefit that they haue done in the church of God, ſaying: we haue geuen light to the vniuerſall church, which was blinde before our tyme, and we haue put out the flame of ſinne in the churche of God (when perhappes they haue more furthered hipocriſie, then eyther truth or veritie) they are not true prophets but falſe, of whom it is ſpoken in the Pſalmes. The mouth of them that ſpeake proude thinges. &c.

e,23. is
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The.xxiij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do no ſeeke the fauour of the worlde, nor yet how to pleaſe men: As to the Galathians the 1. If I ſhould pleaſe men, that is to ſay, if I had a deſire to pleaſe men, I ſhould not be the ſeruaunt of God, wherupon to Timothie the.1. epiſtle the.2. chap. Not as mẽ pleaſers. Glo. Seking to pleaſe, becauſe we haue not the pleaſing ſpirite. Therfore thoſe preachers that ſeeke the fauour of the world, and do labour to thys intent that they might pleaſe men, are not true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 24. is
that true pro
phets eat what
is ſet before
them and geue
god thankes,
but that do not
the falſe pro
phets.

The.xxiiij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles when they haue meate and drinke they are contented, neyther doe they deſire ouer daintie fare, according to the ſaying of Math. the 10. cha. Eating and drinking thoſe things that are ſet before them. Glo. The Goſpell condemneth not all together coſtlye and delicate fare, yet ſo alloweth the ſame, that if we haue meate and drinke, we ought not to grutche, but to be therwith contented. Therfore, thoſe preachers which althoughe that neyther they be ſent, nor haue authoritie to preach, and yet are offended when they haue not fine and delicate fare, are not true Apoſtles but falſe preachers.

Signe,25. is
that falſe pro
phets do loue
more their
owne eſtimati
on, then that
the worde of
God ſhould be
truely taught.

The.xxv. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles doe loue more the lawe of God, then their owne eſtimation amongſt their neighbours: According to that in the.7. chapter of the Prouerbes. Kepe my lawe as the apple of thyne eye, and bynde the ſame vpon thy fingers, & write the ſame in the table of thy harte: wherevpon in the.119. Pſalme. The lawe of thy mouth is dearer vnto me then thouſandes of golde and ſiluer. Gloſe. Charitie doth more loue the law of God, then the deſire of golde and ſiluer a thouſand folde. He therefore that ſeeth the goſpell of Chriſt troden vnder the foote, which is the eternall glad tydings to be taken away by that curſed one, and doth neglecte and contemne the ſame, or els peraduenture conſenteth vnto the ſame, to the outward apearãce of yͤ world: And yet becauſe he will keepe hys temporall dignitie and eſtimation, refuſeth not to ſtyrre vp ſtrife and contention about the ſame, and ſo to be euill ſpoken of: ſeemeth not to be an Apoſtle of Chriſt, but rather a falſe prophet, if he be a preacher.

Signe,26. is
that falſe pro
phets are not
contẽted with
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perfluous.

The.xxvj. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles ſeke not after ſuch fine lodginges and welthy habitations, where they may haue all thinges at their commaundementes: but rather ſuche honeſt reſting places, where they may haue neceſſarye thinges for themſelues, with their good wils of whom they haue it. And they take nothing of ſuche, whom they ſee to be ſo readie and liberall in geuing: as that thinke the one doth hym more pleaſure in receauing the gifte then the other doth in geuing hym the ſame. According to that in the.x. chapiter of Mathew, ſaying: Into what citie or towne ſo euer ye ſhall enter, enquyre out thoſe that be of good reporte in the ſame: and abyde you with them, ſo longe as you tarye in the ſame citie or town. Glo. Your hoſte with whõ ye lodge, ought to be choſen by the good reporte of neighbours, leaſt your preaching be euill ſpoken of by reaſon of hys infamie. Neither ought ſuch men to runne from houſe to houſe. But whom ſhall we call worthy, or of good reporte? Glo. Hym, who knoweth better to do other men good, then to receaue a good turne of an other: and this is he which geueth willinglye for Chriſtes cauſe, and not in reſpecte of any commoditie. Alſo true Apoſtles receaue nothing of ſuche men as lye waltering in theyr ſinnes, but rather of thoſe that are waſhed and clenſed from their ſinnes, wherupon the.2. to the Corinthians the.7. chapiter. They haue geuen them ſelues fyrſt to yͤ Lorde. Glo. Becauſe they now amending their old errours and vitious maners haue bowed them ſelues vnto the Lorde, and afterwarde gaue of that whiche they had to their brethren. For otherwyſe, they ought not to haue taken any thing of them, becauſe giftes do blinde the eyes. But thoſe that geue, where there is no cauſe of reproſe in their doing, haue no iuſt cauſe to geue. Therfore, thoſe preachers that ſeeke how to come by daintye fare, and do receaue brybes and rewardes of naughtie men, that haue thys worlde at will: to the entent that thoſe preachers maye couer and hyde their faultes, and get of others what they canne by ſubtiltie, which geue in deede, rather to remoue the ſhameles importunitie of the crauer, or els for auoyding of preſent ſhame, thē for any loue they haue to God: are not true Apoſtles, but falſe prophets, according to that in the. 2. to the Corinthiās ẏ. 9. chapter. The Lord doth loue a willing geuer. Gloſe. He ẏ geueth for preſent ſhame, or els for that he may be free from the importunacie of hym that aſketh, doth looſe both hys ſubſtance and merit: wherefore he that hath reſpecte to theſe thyngs, doth not ſeke the fruit and profitte of the geuer but the gifte it ſelf, as the Apoſtle to the Philippians the. 4. chapiter ſayth. Seeke not the gift but the fruite or benefit of the geuer.

Signe 17. is that thoſe that be falſe prophets their belly is their god.

The. xxvii. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not endeuour them ſelues to ſeeke and enioye the fruite of other mens labours that they may be fedde therby: becauſe that the belly is ſuch mens God, according to that in the 2. to the Theſſa. the. 3. chapiter. We haue heard of ſome amongſt you which walke vnordinately: not labouring at all, but liuing delicatly or idelly. Gloſe. of other mens labours: and deſerue they to be fedde? The diſciplyne of the Lord can not away with that doing: for the bellie is their God, which prouide for to haue more then neceſſarye dyſhes of meate. Therfore thoſe preachers which ſo do, are not true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe. 18. is that true prophets reioyſe not in miracles as falſe prophets do.

The xxviii. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not reioyſe onely of the miracles, or other excellent workes, whiche the Lord doth by them: but they reioyſe rather of the ſaluation whiche they looke for from the Lorde, then that by doyng thoſe miracles they deſire any honour. Accordyng to that whiche is written in Luke 10. ſaying, Reioyſe ye not for that the ſpirites be ſubiect vnto you, but becauſe your names are regiſtred in heauen. They therfore that boaſt of their owne miracles, or of any that belong vnto them, for this cauſe that they are ſaued by the doyng of them, as many do ſay, ſeme not to be true Apoſtels but falſe.

Signe. 19. is that true prophets ſeeke not their own glory as falſe prophets do.

The xxix. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do neuer ſeeke their own glory in this lyfe, but the glory of Chriſt, as in Ihon. 7. He that ſpeaketh of him ſelfe dothe ſeeke his owne glory: But he that ſeeketh the glory of him whiche ſent hym (that is of whome he is ſent) is a true Apoſtle. Therfore thoſe whiche ſeeke the thyngs that pertayn to ẏ glory of this world, of the which one is: To be aſſiſtent to thoſe that beare rule & authoritie, accordyng to that ſaying of Boetius De conſolatione. Thoſe that do deſire to be extolled either they raigne, and beare rule them ſelues, or els do deſire to be neare about them, that haue ſuch dominion. An other is, they deſire to haue the fame and victorye, of that whiche they haue nothyng at all deſerued before God. Wherupon is written that ſaying of the Apoſtle in the. Galath. 5 Let not vs become deſirous of vaine glory. Gloſe. To be deſirous of vayne glory is, to haue victorye without any merite or deſert: and thoſe I ſay that ſuch thinges do ſeame not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe. 30 is that true prophets do not force vpon, is, the ſolemn ſalutations of men as falſe prophets doe.

The xxx. ſigne is, That true Apoſtles care not for the ſolemnities of men, neyther their ſalutations, nor feaſtynges, nor any other benefite of theirs. They therfore which loue and ſeeke the company and felowſhyp of mē, their feaſtynges, and other their commodities, do not ſeme to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 31. is that falſe prophets do reſort to other mens boordes, and flatter thē for a meales meate which true prophetes do

The xxxi. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not commonly, reſort to other mens tables, leaſt that they ſhould, for a meales meate become flatterers, as in the 2. Theſſ. 3. That we ſhould giue you in example to folow vs. Gloſe He that commeth often tymes to an other mans table, beyng giuen to Idlenes, cannot chuſe but flatter hym, whiche feadeth hym: but Chriſtes religion calleth men to libertie, and to no ſuch bondage. They therfore that reſorte often tymes, & that of their own myndes to other men tables (liuing idellye) are not true apoſtles but falſe.

Signe ... is that ... prophe... do not ... their e... mies a... alſe pro. phets d...

The xxxii. ſigne is, that true apoſtles do not hate their enemies, and ſuch as hate thē: whiche doctrine the Lord taughte Mathew. 5. ſaying. Loue your enemies, doo well to them whiche hate you. But falſe Prophetes do both hurt & defame their neighbors, accordyng as S. Ierome. 14. ſayth. The Prophetes of Ieruſalem haue defiled the hole earth. Gloſſa. They are not contented onely to hurt their neyghbours, but alſo whō they before this tyme haue hated: they diffame and ſpeake euil of, in euery place they come. Therfore thoſe preachers which hate them whom they thincke are their enemyes, and do diffame them, are not true Apoſtles but falſe preachers.

Signe ... is, that ... prophe... do not pe... ſecute ... as the fal... prophe... do.

The xxxiii. ſigne is, ẏ falſe Prophetes when they are examined, and proued whither they bee true Apoſtles or lyers, take that verye greuouſly. And perſecute all thoſe that can proue them to be ſo. And alſo do ſtirre vp and prouoke other to perſecute the ſame men. Whiche alſo ioyne them ſelues together by ſecular power euen as certeine falſe Prophetes dyd in the primatiue Churche, agaynſt the biſhop of Epheſus: to whom the Lord ſayd in the, Apoc. 2. I know, that is to ſay. I do alow thy works and thy labour: that is thy tribulation, becauſe thou cāſt not away with thoſe that be euill men. Gloſſa. But that thou haſt a deſire to amende them, or els to expell them, and haſt examined thoſe, whiche ſay that they are Apoſtles, and are but lyers: and alſo haſt ſuffered this patiently. Gloſſa. The euils, whiche theſe falſe Prophets (ioyned together by ſecular power) doo bring in: Are not the doinges of true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe ... is, that ... prophe... preach ... thoſe which ... not yet ... uerted, which ... falſe pro- phets do not.

The. xxxiiii. ſigne is, ẏ true Apoſtels go not to preach to thoſe which are conuerted already by other men, but rather do conuert thoſe whyche are not yet conuerted: leaſt that they ſhould builde vpon an other mans foundation, as S. Paul Roma. 15. ſayth: I haue laboured ſo, that from Ieruſalem to Illiricus I haue repleniſhed the Goſpell in euery place. Gloſe. That is, I haue preached the ſame abundantly, in whom the great vertue of the holy ghoſt appeareth: becauſe ſo many nations, that is the Gentils haue receiued the Goſpel by my preaching. But I haue preached ẏ Goſpell there, where Chriſt was not preached before, leſt I ſhuld build vpō an other mās foundaciō. Gloſe. I ſhould not preach to thoſe that were conuerted by an other man. Alſo. 2. Corinth. 10. we are not ſuch as boaſt & glory in other mens labours. Gloſe. Where an other man layde the foundation: for that ſhould be to boaſt, inordinatelye. Alſo in the ſame place: not thinking to boaſt, where an other man hath gouernment, but in thoſe thinges which are put in experience. Gloſe. Of other preachers. Becauſe the Apoſtles dyd preach vnto thoſe to whom the Goſpell was neuer preached, that he might get prayſe by his own proper labor. Therfore, thoſe preachers which go not to that people which haue nede to be conuerted, but to thoſe which are conuerted already, which haue Apoſtles of their owne: that is to ſaye, biſhoppes, and prieſtes, and yet do boaſt ouer an other mans flocke: are not true Apoſtles, but falſe prophetes.

Signe ... is, that ... prophe... chiefly preache... their ... dioces... not ... tha...

The. xxxv. ſigne is, becauſe true Apoſtles when they are ſent, go to their owne dioſes, and not to an other mans dioſes: euen as Paule being ſente, wente to the Gentiles when he purpoſed to preache: Acts. 13. Seperate Paule and Barnabas, for the buſines whiche I haue choſen them vnto. Gloſe. Accordyng to the apoyntment and decre of Iames, Cephas, and Iohn, wente he foorthe to bee a teacher vnto the Gentiles. But thoſe preachers that ſtande vppon their feete: That is to ſaye, thoſe preachers which haue but ſmall worldly ſubſtance, for which cauſe they are more readyer to go which way ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe the Lorde to ſend them: I ſay, the Lord hath ſent them to preach not to thoſe which be ſufficiently learned, but to thoſe that are infidels, as we reade in Ezechiel.2. After that, the ſpirit of yͤ Lord ſet Ezechiel vpon his feete, in qua ſpem ſitus vnus tangitur, and he ſayd vnto him: O ſonne of mā behold I ſend thee to the nations which haue ſtart back from their profeſſiō: Which haue gone from me, that is to the Jewiſhe heretickes, and to thoſe nations whyche ſometyme haue bene Chriſtians: as the Egiptians, the Babilonians, and all thoſe that obſerue the law of Machomet. Therefore, if ſuch go to thoſe that are alreadye inſtructed, and hauing both Apoſtles, biſhops, & prieſtes of their own: they go not into theyr own dioſes, but into an other mans dioſes: and are not true Apoſtels, but falſe preachers. And it is greatlye to be feared, leaſt the church be in hazard and daunger by ſuch, vnles they be thruſt out of the ſame betime: Euen as Jonas whyche when he was ſent to Niniue of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wyde, and leadeth to the hyll: that is to the Infidels we ſpake of before. Thei go not to thoſe infidels according to the commaundement of the Lorde, but they turne an other way, taking their iourney into Tharſis, which is interpreted ſeeking after ioye & pleaſure: That is, they go vnto thoſe whiche receaue them with ioy and gladnes, and do wel prouide for them, that is to ſay, to godly and deuout Chriſtians: And therefore it is to be feared leaſt the ſhyp in which they be (that is the church) be in great peril, vnles they be thrown forth. And therefore the Apoſtle ſpake of ſuch falſe prophetes, not wythout good cauſe. 2. Timoth. 2. And ſhonne thou thoſe. Gloſe. That is, ſuch men as thoſe be.

The.xxxvj. ſigne is, becauſe true Apoſtles doo not boaſt, neither do they attribute vnto them ſelues anye other thing, but in yͭ God hath wrought the ſame by thē. Paul, Roma.15. ſayth: I dare not ſay anye thyng, but yͭ which Chriſt hath wrought & accōpliſhed by me. Gloſe. That is, I ſpeake onely thoſe thinges (which by me) that is by my miniſtery, Chriſt hath wrought. They therfore that boaſt of many thynges, and do attribute much vnto them ſelues, which they neuer did, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe prophetes.

gne 36. that falſe ophetes attribute to them lues that hich they er dyd.

The.xxxvij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not apply them ſelues, or leane to logicall or philoſophical reaſōs. Therefore thoſe preachers which do indeuour them ſelues to ſuch kynde of reaſons, are not true Apoſtels, but falſe prophetes.

gne.37 that falſe ophets cleaue leaue gical and loſophi reaſons.

The.xxxviij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not loue carnally or after the fleſh, but hate what thyng ſo euer doth reſiſte them in the ſeruice of God, as Luke 14. He that doth not hate hys father and mother, hys ſonne, & ſiſter, and alſo hymſelfe, he cannot be my diſciple. Gloſe. That is, he that doth not hate what ſoeuer doth reſiſte or let hym in the ſeruice of God, is not woorthy to be a diſciple, neyther can he abyde in that office. Therefore, for as much as true preachers are the true diſciples of the Lorde, it muſt needes followe: that thoſe preachers which do promote their nephewes, and kinſfolkes (how vnworthy ſo euer they be) to eccleſiaſticall promotions and liuinges, contrary to the wyll of God: or do any other thing that letteth or hindreth them in the ſeruice of God, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe prophetes.

gnum, 38 that falſe phets to e carnal and not ually.

The.xxxix. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles doo not hunt for the frēdſhip of thys world: for he that is the frend of thys world, is the enemye of God. Therfore, thoſe preachers which purchaſe the frendſhip of thys worlde, are not true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets. Therfore, for as much as the Scripture is infallible, as in the. 24. chap. of Mathew, ſaying: heauen and earth ſhall periſhe, but my wordes ſhall indure for euer. And the holy ghoſt which ſpake in the Apoſtle can not lye: for prophecie (for the moſt part) is not ſpoken by the will of man, but the holy men of God ſpake by the inſpiration of the holy ghoſt, as it is red in the fyrſt epiſtle of Peter the. 5. chap. It remayneth, that all men which are bound to defende the church, maye ryſe vp in the defence of the ſame, according to that in the. 24. chapiter of the Prouerbes. Deliuer thoſe that are led to death, and ceaſe thou not to reſcue thoſe which are drawen to deſtruction. Neyther may he alleage vaine accuſatiōs, becauſe it is ſayd in the ſame place: If he ſaye he is not able, or ſtronge inough, he that beholdeth the thoughtes of mens harts, ſhall know it, &c. What ſoeuer periſheth in the church of God for wante of preachers: all that ſhall be demaunded of them at the day of iudgement: As Jacob confeſſeth to Laban, whoſe ſheepe he fedde. Geneſis.31. I did reſtore all thy loſſe, and that which was ſtollen I made anſwere for. I will demaunde hys bloud at thy handes. Ezechiell.3. Thys is ſayd, to the paſtor or prelate. But if the other thinges which we haue ſpokē of before could not moue the prelates, and Cardinalls: thys at the leaſt ſhould moue thē. Becauſe yͭ then, the ſpirituall power of the church which doth conſiſte for the moſt parte in the exerciſe of preaching, in hearing confeſſions, and enioyning of pennance: ſhall be taken awaye from them by litle and litle. For, by pece meale doth the wolfe deuour the poore & nedie man. 3. q. 1. cap. 1. When the authoritie eccleſiaſtical therfore ſhal be quite taken frō them, & diſpoſed to other: ſuch as either by their order, or apoſtolicall graunt, do chalenge to haue the ſame: Then doubtles, ſhall neyther the iuriſdiction of ciuile cauſes & pleadinges, nor any authoritie that ſuch prelates haue yet remayning, neyther yet the poſſeſſions of the temporall goods of yͤ church, any longer remayne amongſt them. Shall ſuch haue the temporall goods of yͤ church which miniſter not the ſpirituall threaſure therof? 1. Cor. 9. Knowe ye not that they which kill the ſacrifice ought to eate of the ſacrifice, and they that ſerue at the alter are partakers of the alter? For as the bodye without the ſoule can not ſtande, ſo corporall thinges without ſpirituall thynges can not continue. 1. q. 1. if any ſhall take away the ſame. Thus haue you had yͤ 39. argumētes, for the which both he was condemned, & his bookes burned.

gne, 39 that falſe phetes hunt af- the frēd of the ld.

What ſoeuer doth periſhe in the church of God for wante of preachers ſhall be required.

In the dayes of this Gulielmus, there was a moſt deteſtable and blaſphemous booke ſet forth by the friers, (mentioned alſo in Mat. Pariſi.) whiche they called Euangelium æternum, or Euangelium Spiritus ſancti. That is, the euerlaſtyng goſpell, or the Goſpell of the holy ghoſt. In whiche booke, many abhominable errours of the friers were conteyned (ſo that the goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt was vtterly defaced: whiche this booke ſayd, was not to be compared with this euerlaſting goſpell, no more then the ſhell is to be compared with the carnell: then darkenes to light. &c. Moreouer that the Goſpel of Chriſt ſhall be preached no lēger but fifty yeares, and then this euerlaſtyng Goſpel ſhould rule the Church. &c. Item, yͭ whatſoeuer was in the whole Bible, was in the ſayd Goſpell conteyned. At length, this friers goſpel was accuſed to the pope, and ſo vi. perſons choſen of the whole vniuerſitie to peruſe and iudge of the boke: as Chriſtianus Canonicus, Beluacenſis: Odo de doaco: Nicolaus de Baro: Ioannes de Sicca Vella, Anglus. Ioannes Belim, Gallus: Among whom, this Gulielmus alſo was one, who mightely impugned this peſtiferous and deuiliſh booke. Theſe vi. after the peruſing of the booke, were ſent vp to Rome. The friers likewiſe ſent their meſſengers withall: where they were refuted, and the errours of the booke condemned: but ſo, that the pope with the Cardinals commaunded yͤ ſayd booke to be aboliſhed and condemned not publiklye (tenderyng the eſtimation of the religious orders, as of his owne moſt chief champions) but that they ſhould be burned in ſecret wiſe: and yͤ bookes of the foreſayd Gulielmus, to be burnt withall.

A deteſtable booke of the Fryers called Euangelium eternum.

The eternall & ſpirituall Goſpell of the Friars cōdemned, with much ado of the pope

Beſides other his bokes, ij. ſermōs we haue of his yet remayning, one vpon the goſpell of S. Luke, of the phariſie and the publicane: the other vpō the Epiſtle read in the churche on may day. Wherin the firſt he reſembleth the phariſeis to our monkes, and that he proueth by all the properties of the phariſeis deſcribed in the Goſpell. The publicane he reſembleth to the laitie, ſuch as for becauſe yͤ ſoner are thei reduced to acknowledge their ſins the more hope they haue of mercy. The other, becauſe they ſtand confident in their own rightouſnes, are there fore farther frō their iuſtificatiō. In the later ſermon he ſetteth forth and declareth what perils and daungers ar lyke to fall vpon the churche by theſe religious orders of monkes and friers.

Laurentius Anglicus condemned of the pope.
Petr⁹ Ioānes burned after death.

Among the other beſides of that age whiche withſtode the byſhops of Rome and his Antichriſtiā errours, was one Laurence an Engliſhe man, and maiſter of Paris. An other was Petrus Ioannes a Minorite. Of whom, the foreſayde Laurence was aboute the yeare of our Lorde 1260. Who in his teachyng, preachyng, and writyng, did ſtoutly defend the part of the foreſayd Gulielmus ⁊ the reſt of his ſide agaynſt the friers. Againſt the whiche friers he wrote ij. bokes: One in the defence of William a fore mentioned: the other vpon this argument ⁊ title: To beware of falſe Prophetes. ⁊c. Certaine other things alſo he wrote, wherin by diuers profes, and teſtimonies he argued and proued, that Antichriſt was not farre of to come.

Defenſio Gulielmi.
Cauendum a pſeudoprophetis.

The other, Petrus Ioannis, was about the yeare of our Lord. 1290. whiche taught ⁊ maintained many thinges agaynſt the Pope: prouyng that he was Antechriſt, and yͤ the ſinagoge of Rome was great Babilone. He wrote vpon Mathew, vpon the Epiſtles, and vpon the Apocalips. Mention of this Petrus Ioannes is made in Nicolaus Emericus in lib. Inquiſitionum, &c. And ſayth moreouer, that Michael Ceſenas (of whom Chriſt willyng ſhall folow hereafter) tooke of hym a great part of his opiniōs. And becauſe the Pope could not burne hym aliue, after his death he cauſed his bones to be taken vp and burned.

The Pope Antichriſt.
The ſynagoge of Rome to be great Babylon.
Ex Nicolao Emerico in libro ſuarum inquiſitionum

To theſe and with theſe aboue ſpecified, is to be added Robertus Gallus: who beyng borne of a right noble parētage, for deuotion ſake was made a Dominicke frier, about yͤ ſame yere of our Lord aboue touched, an. 1290. This man, it appeareth by his writyng, had diuers and ſondry viſions: wherof part is annexed with the viſions and Propheſie of Hildegardis. His viſions all tende againſt the ſpiritualtie of Rome. Where, in the v. chap. he calleth plainly the Pope an idole: whiche hauyng eyes ſeeth not, neither luſteth to ſee the abhominations of his people, nor the exceſſiue enormitie of their voluptuouſnes. But onely to ſée to the heapyng vp of his owne treaſure: and hauing a mouth, ſpeaketh not, but ſayth: I haue ſet good mē ouer them, (which is ſufficient for me) to do them good either by me ſelfe, or by ſome other. And foloweth in the ſame chapter, wo to that idole: wo to the mighty and proude, who ſhall be equall in all the earth to that idole. He hath exalted vp his name in earth, ſaying: who ſhall bring me vnder? Is not my houſe cōpared with the mighty potētates of the land? I am higher thē dukes: Knights on their horſe backe do ſeruice vnto me. That whiche my fathers had not before me, that haue I done to me. My houſe is ſtrowed with ſiluer: Gold and pearle are the pauement of my palace. ⁊c.

Robertus Gallus propheſieth againſt the pope.

Agayne, in the xij. chapter, and alſo in the firſt, vnder the name of a ſerpent he paynteth out the pope: whom he declareth to extolle hym ſelfe aboue meaſure, and to oppres the fewe that be godly, and to haue many falſe Prophetes about hym, whiche neglectyng the worde and the name of Chriſt, do preach and extolle hym onely, obſcuryng the name of Chriſt. The churche of Rome and the pope he deſcribeth in theſe wordes: I was prayng (ſayd he) on my knées, lookyng vpward to heauen, nere to the altar of S. James in Paris, on the ryght ſide of the altare: and ſaw in the ayre before me the body of a certain high byſhop all clothed in white ſilke, who turnyng hys backe on the Eaſt, lift vp his hand toward the Weſt, as the prieſtes are wont in their Maſſe turnyng to the people, but his head was not ſene. And as I was conſidering aduiſedly whether he had any head or no: I perceaued a certain head in him all dry, leane, ⁊ withered, as though it had bene an head of wode. And the ſpirite of the Lord ſaid to me: This ſignifieth the ſtate of yͤ church of Rome.

The pope deſcribed.
The viſions of Robertus Gallus.
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Moreouer, the ſame author in hys viſions well deſcribing the maner of the ſchole ſophiſters, and Sorboniſtes, addeth in thys wyſe. An other daye, as I was in lyke contemplation as before, I beheld in ſpirit: and behold I ſawe a man appareled lyke to the other before: which went about, hauing fyne bread, ⁊ excellent wyne, that hanged about hym on both ſides, And the ſame hauing in hys hand a longe and an hard flynte ſtone, was knawing hungerly vpon the ſame, as one being hungrie is wonte to byte vpon a loafe of bread. Out of the which ſtone came out two heades of two ſerpentes, the ſpirite of the Lorde inſtructing me, and ſaying: This ſtone purporteth the friuolous intricate, and curious queſtions, wherin the hungrye do trauaile and labour, leauing the ſubſtantiall foode of their ſoules. And I aſked, what theſe. ij. heades dyd meane. And he ſayd: The name of the one is vayne glory, the name of the other is the marring and diſſipation of religion.

The ſ
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Alſo, concerning the reformation of the church, this viſion he declareth: It happened as I was (ſayth he) in the ſame citie in the houſe of a certayn noble mā (a Britaine) and was there ſpeaking with certayne: I ſawe a croſſe of ſiluer very bryght, much like to the croſſe of yͤ Earle of Tholouſe: But the. xij. aples which dyd hange beſide in the armes of the croſſe, were very vyle, like to the aples which the ſea is wonte to caſte vp. And I ſaid: What is this Lord Jeſu? And the ſpirit anſwered me: This croſſe which thou ſeeſt is the church, which ſhall be cleare and bryght in purenes of lyfe, ⁊ ſhall be harde and knowen all ouer through the ſhrille voyce of the preaching of ſincere veritie. Then being troubled with yͤ apples, I aſked, what theſe aples ſo vyle dyd ſignifie. And he ſayd: it is the humiliation of the church, ⁊c.

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This godly man did forewarne (as is in a certayne chronicle declared) how God would puniſhe the ſimonie and auarice of the clergie with ſuch a plage, that riuers ſhould runne with bloud, ⁊c. It is ſayd, that there is remayning a great volume of hys viſions, which are not yet abroad: for theſe that be abroad, are but a briefe extracte out of hys viſions and reuelations.

The ſi
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After that we haue thus long ſtrayed in theſe foreſtoryes of Friderick, and in the tractation of other matters pertayning to other countreys: Now after this ſufficient diſgreſſion, it is tyme that we returne to our owne countrey again. Where, in folowing the continuation of tyme, and courſe of the church: we wyll nowe adioyne to theſe good fathers and writers, the hiſtory of the learned biſhop of Lincolne named Robert Groſted, a man famouſly learned (as that tyme ſerued) in the. 3. tounges, both latin, Greeke, and Hebrue, alſo in all liberall ſciences. Whoſe workes and ſermons, yet to thys day are extant, which I haue ſene in the Quenes maieſties Library at Weſtminſter. Wherein is one ſpeciall ſermon writen and exhibited in four ſondry ſkroles, to yͤ Pope, ⁊ to other foure Cardinals, beginning Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus. &c. Nicholas Triuet in his Chronicle writing of this biſhop, affirmeth that he was born in Suffolke, in the dioces of Norfolke: who geuing him the prayſe to be a man of excellent wiſdom, of profound doctrine, and an example of all vertue: witneſſeth, that he being maiſter of Arte, wrote firſt a Cōmentary in librū poſteriorum of Ariſtotle. Alſo that he wrote Tractatus De Sphera. et de arte computi. And that he ſet forth diuers bookes concerning Philoſophie. Afterward beyng

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Doctor in Diuinitie, and expertlye ſeene in all the three tounges, drew out ſundry treatiſes out of the Hebrewe gloſes: alſo tranſlated diuers workes out of the Greke, as namely the teſtamentes of the twelue Patriarches, and the bookes of Dioniſius, commẽting vpon the new tranſlation with his owne gloſe. Hæc ille. Manye other workes and volumes beſides were written by the ſayde Groſtede, as De oculo morali, de Dotibus, De ceſſatione legalium, paruus Cato, Annotationes in Suidam, in Boetium, De poteſtate paſtorali, Expoſitiones in Geneſ. in Lucam, wyth a number mo, beſides diuers Epiſtles, Sermons, and Inuectiues ſent to the Pope, for his vnmeaſurable exactions, wherwith he ouercharged and oppreſſed the church of England.

e bokes d works Robert oſtede.

This godly and learned byſhop after diuers conflictes and agonies ſuſteined againſt the biſhop of Rome: after the example of Fridericke: of Guliel. de ſancto amore, of Nich. Gallus & other after minded: at length after great labours and trauailes of life, finiſhed his courſe, and departed at Buckdone in yͤ moneth of Octob. an. 1253. Of his deceaſe thus writeth Mat. Pariſ. pag. 278. Out of the priſon and banyſhement of this world (whiche he neuer loued) was taken the holy biſhop of Lincolne Robert, at his maner of Buckdune, in the Euen of ſ. Dionyſe: who was an open reprouer of the Pope and of the kyng: a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monkes, director of the prieſtes, inſtructor of yͤ clerkes, fautor of ſcholers, a preacher to the people, perſecutor to the incontinent, a diligent ſearcher of the Scriptures. A maulle to the Romanes, and a contemner of their doynges. &c. Hæc Mat. What a maulle he was to the Romanes, in the ſequelle hereof (Chriſt willyng) ſhall better appeare. The ſtorye is this.

1253.

e deathe Robert oſtede.

It ſo be fell, among other dayly and intolerable exactions wherin Pope Innocent was greuous and iniurious (manifold wayes) to the realme of Englãd: he had a certayne coſin or nephewe (ſo Popes were wont to call their ſonnes) named Fridericke, beyng yet yong and vnder yeares: whom the ſayd Innocent the Pope would nedes preferre to be a Canon or prebẽdare in the church of Lincolne, in this tyme of the Robert Byſhop of the ſayd churche. And vpon the ſame, directed downe letters to certaine his factors here in England for the execution therof. The copy of which letter, by chaunce, yea not by chaunce, but by the oportune ſendyng of God, came to my handes, as I was pennyng this preſent ſtory, writen in the end of an old parchment boke, & otherwiſe rare I ſuppoſe to be founde. As is this.

e trou- of Ro- Gro. e wyth Pope.

Dilectis filijs Archidiacono Cant. et magiſtro Innocent. ſcriptori noſtro in Anglia commoranti: ſalutẽ & Apoſtolicam benedict. Cum dilectus filius noſter G. Sanct. Euſtachij diacon⁹ Cardinalis dilecto * filio Friderico de Lauania, clerico nepoti noſtro, de ſpeciali mandato noſtro Canonicatum Lincolnienſ. cum plenitudine iuris canonici duxerit conferendum, ipſum per ſuum anulum corporaliter, & preſentialit. inueſtiens de eodem, vt extunc canonic. Lincolnienſis exiſtat, & plenum ius Canonicum conſequatur ibidẽ, ac præbendam, ſi qua vacauerit in eccleſia Lincol. a tẽpore quo dudum literæ noſtræ ſuper receptione, ac prouiſione facienda ſibi in eccl. eadem, de præmiſsis venerab. fratri noſtro Epiſcopo Lincoln. præſentatæ fuerunt: alioqui poſt vacaturam conferãdam ſibi donationi apoſtolicæ reſeruarit: decernendo irritum & inane: ſiquidem præbenda huiuſmodi a quoq̃ fuerit acceptata: nec non & contradictores et rebelles excommunicationis ſententiam vbique promulgando, prout in literis eiuſdem exinde de * conſtitutis plenis continetur. Nos ipſius Frederici deuotis ſupplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodem Cardin. factum ſuper hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem autorit. apoſtolic. duximus confirmandũ. Quocirca Diſcretioni veſtræ per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Fridericũ, vel procuratorem ſuum eius nomine in corporalem poſſeſſionem Canonicatus & prebendę, autoritate noſtra inducatis, & defendatis inductum: contradictores per cenſuram eccleſiaſticam compeſcendo. Nõ obſtantibus aliquibus conſuetudinibus vel ſtatutis, iuramentis, vel confirmationib⁹ ſedis apoſtolicæ, ſeu quacũq; alia infirmitate roboratis: vel quod dictus Frider. præſens non fuerit ad præſtandum iuramentum de obſeruandis conſuetudinib. eiuſdem eccleſ. conſuetum, Siue prædicto epiſcop. vel Capitulo ipſius eccleſiæ cõmuniter vel ſingulatim: ſeu alijs quibuſcunque perſonis a dicta ſede indultum exiſtat, quod ad receptionem, vel prouiſionem alius compelli, ſiue quod quiuis alius in eorum ecclſia nemini prouidere valeat: vel quod interdici, ſuſpẽdi, aut excommunicari non poſsint, per literas apoſt. ſub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, vel obtinendas, etiamſi totus tenor indulgenriarum huiuſmodi de verbo in verbum in ijſdem literis ſit inſerrus: Siue quibus alijs indulgẽtijs quibuſcunque perſonis, dignitati, vel loco, ſub quacunque forma verborum conceſsis a ſede apoſt. vel etiam concedẽdis: per quas effectus huiuſmodi prouiſionis poſſet impediri aliquatenus vel differri. *

Deeſt in mendoſo exemplari aliquid.

Illos ex parte noſtra citari curetis, vt peremptorie infra duorum menſium ſpacium poſt citationem veſtrã perſonaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem Friderico ſuper præmiſsis legitime reſponſuri. Non obſtantibus priuilegio, ſiue quibuſlibet indulgẽtijs perſonis regni Angliæ generaliter vel cuiuis alij perſonæ, vel dignitati, vel loco ſpecialiter a prædicta ſede ſub quacũque forma verborũ cõceſsis: Quod nõ poſſunt vltra mare, ſeu extra ciuitatem vel Dioceſin ſuã in iudicium euocari per literas apoſt ſub quacunque forma verborum obtẽtas, quod priuilegium & indulgẽtias eiſdem perſonis de certa ſcientia nullatenus volumus ſuffragari, & de conſtitutione ædita de duabus dictis in concilio generali. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, veſtris literis tenorem continentibus fideliter intimetis. Quod ſi nõ ambo his exequendis intereſſe poteritis alter veſtrum nihilominus exequatur. Datum peruſ. 7. Cal Febr. Pontificat. noſtri anno decimo.

Whiche letter to be Engliſhed is this.

The popes vn reaſonable letter.

Unto our welbeloued ſonnes the archdeacon of Cãt. and to maiſter Innocent our ſcribe abyding in Englãd: gretyng & Apoſtolicall benediction. For ſo much as our welbeloued ſonne G. of Saint Euſtace deacon cardinal, vpon our ſpeciall cõmaundement hath giuen and graunted to our welbeloued ſonne Fridericke de Lauania (a clarke and our nephew) a Chanonſhip in the churche of Lincolne with ful power and graunt of the ſame: Inueſtyng him alſo corporally, and preſently with his owne ringe in the ſayd chanonſhip to bee from henceforth canon of Lincolne, and to haue full power of the ſayde canonſhip in the ſayd churche & a prebend whẽ any ſhal fal in the churche of Lincolne: From that tyme, ſince which our former letters of late, concernyng this receiuyng & prouiſion to be giuen to him in the ſayd church were preſented and exhibited to our reuerend brother Byſhop of Lincoln: Or els after the next auoidyng the ſayd prebẽdſhip to be reſerued to the apoſtolicall donation and to be giuen to hym, makyng it voyde and fruſtrate if the ſaid prebendſhyp ſhall be giuen to any other man beſide, and alſo denouncyng the ſentẽce of excommunicatiõ againſt all them that ſhall rebel & ganeſay the ſame as in the letters of the ſayd Cardinall is more fully contained.

We therfore gratiouſly inclined by the deuoute ſupplication of the ſayd Fredericke, ratifieng and gratfully approuyng that whiche hath been done by the ſayde cardinals in the premiſſes haue thought good by the authoritie apoſtolicall to confirme. Wherfore we geue in cõmaundement by our letters apoſtolicall to your wiſedomes, that you will ſee the ſayd Friderick (or hys proctour in hys behalf) to be reallie and corporallie poſſeſſed in the ſaide canonſhip or prebend by our authoritie, and

Excommunication abuſed.

also defẽd ẏ ſayd partie being therin poſſeſſed, denoũcing ẏ ſentence of excõmunication agaynſt all ſuchas ſhal wᵗ ſtand ẏ ſame: All maner of cuſtoms, or ſtatutes to ẏ cõtrary notwithſtãding, corroborated either wᵗ othe, or cõfirmations of the ſee apoſtolike, or by what ſtay or let ſo euer: Or whether ẏ the ſaid Frid. be not preſẽt to take ẏ othe accuſtomed to be geuẽ for obſeruing the cuſtomes of the ſayd church: Or whether it be geuen and graunted by the ſayd ſee to the foreſayd byſhop, or to the chapiter of the ſayd church ioyntlye & ſeuerallie, or to what perſon or perſons els, ẏ no mã by compulſiõ ſhould haue admiſſion or prouiſion for any perſon in theyr church wherby they cannot be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicate by the letters apoſtolicall obtayned, or to be obtained hereafter, vnder what forme of words ſo euer: ye although the whole tenour of the ſayd indulgence be incerted word for word in the ſayd your letters or by any other indulgences to what perſon or perſons ſo euer, of what eſtate dignitie or place ſo euer, vnder any maner or forme of wordes graunted or to be grãuted hereafter by the ſée apoſtolike: by the which indulgences the effecte of the ſayd prouiſion may bee by any maner of wayes hindred or deferred:* That you will cauſe them to be cited on our behalfe, ſo that they beyng cited perẽptorily ſhall within the ſpace of two monethes of your citation, perſonally appeare before vs there accordyng to the law to make aunſwere to the ſayd Fridericke, vpon the premiſſes: Any priuilegies or indulgencies what ſoeuer, geuen and grãuted either generally to the kingdome of England, or peculiarly to any other perſon of what ſtate, degrée, and place ſoeuer, graunted by the foreſayd ſée, vnder what ſoeuer maner and forme of wordes for thẽ not to be called vp beyond the ſée, or out of their own citie or dioces by letters Apoſtolicall, vnder what ſoeuer forme of wordes obtayned, to the contrary in any wyſe notwithſtandyng: All whiche priuilegies and indulgences, we will in no caſe ſhall ſtand in any force or effect to the ſayd partes. Moreouer, the day and forme of the citacion, we will that ye faythfully do intimate vnto vs by your letters contaynyng the tenor therof. And if both of you cãnot be preſent at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithſtandyng that one of you do execute the ſame without fayle. Dated the vij. Kal. Febr. the 10. yeare of of our Popedome.

* Some thyng lacketh here in our copy.

A double commendation of B. Groſtede.

As there is no mã which hath any eyes to ſee, but may eaſelie vnderſtand in reading this letter of ẏ pope, how vnreaſonable his requeſt is, how impudentlye he commaundeth, how proudly he threatneth, how wickedlye he oppreſſeth and racketh the church of God, in placing boyes and ſtraungers in the miniſterie & cure of ſoules, and alſo in making them his prouiſours, to rauen vp the church goods: So is it no great maruel, if this godly B. Robert Groſted was offended therwith. Who in my mind, deſerueth herein a double cõmendation, not only that he ſo wiſely did diſcerne errour from ſinceritie and truth: but alſo that he was ſo hardie and conſtante to ſtand to the defence therof agaynſt the pope, according as in this his anſwere to the pope agayne may appeare, as followeth.

¶ The aunſwere of Robert Groſted.

The aunſwer of R. Groſted to the pope.

Salutem Pleaſeth it your wiſedome to vnderſtãd, that I am not diſobedient to any the apoſtolike preceptes: but bothe deuoutlye and reuerentlye with the naturall affection of a ſonne obey the ſame: And alſo am an vtter enemie to all thoſe that reſiſt ſuch apoſtolike preceptes, as a childe zelous of his fathers honour. And truely I am no leſſe then bounde therunto by the precept and cõmaundement of God. For the apoſtolike preceptes are none other nor can be, then the doctrine of the Apoſtlees, and of our Sauiour Chriſt being the maiſter and Lord of all the Apoſtles: whoſe type and perſon, ſpeciallye in the conſonant & vniforme hierarchie of the church, the lord pope ſemeth to beare (the ſame our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte, ſaying) who ſoeuer is not with me, the ſame is agaynſt me: Therfore, agaynſt hym, neither is nor can be, the moſt diuine ſanctitie of the ſee apoſtolicall. The tenour then of your foreſayde Apoſtolicall letter is not conſonant to true ſanctitie but vtterly diſſonaunt and diſagreeing to the ſame. Fyrſt, for that vpon the clauſe of this your letter and many ſuch other letters like, which clauſe always ye ſo much do vrge (Non obſtante) induced and brought in vpon no neceſſitie of any naturall lawe to be obſerued: doth ſwarme, and floweth wyth all inconſtancie, boldnes, pertinacie, impudencie, lying & deceauing, and is alſo a ſea of miſtruſt in geuing credit to no mã. Which as it ſwarmeth with theſe, ſo in like maner with innumerable other vices which hange and depend vpon the ſame: mouing and diſturbing the puritie of Chriſtiã religion and life agreable to the ſame, as alſo the publique tranquillitie of men. Moreouer, next after the ſinne of Lucifer (which ſhall be in the latter tyme, to wit, of Antechriſt the childe of perdition, whom the Lord ſhall deſtroy with ẏ breath of his mouth) there is not, nor can be any kinde of ſinne ſo repugnant and contrarye to the doctrine of the Apoſtles and holy Scripture and to our ſauiour Chriſt him ſelfe more hatefull, deteſtable and abhominable: then to deſtroy and kill mens ſoules by defrauding them of the myſterye of the paſtorall office which by the miniſterie of the paſtorall cure ought to ſaue and quicken ẏ ſame. Which ſinne, by moſt euident places of the Scripture ſuch men are decerned and knowen to commit: which being in ẏ authoritie of that paſtoral dignitie, doe ſerue their own carnal deſires and neceſſaries, with the benefitte of the mylke and woolle of the ſheepe and flocke of Chriſt: and do not miniſter the ſame paſtorall office and charge to the benefit and ſaluation of thoſe their ſhepe. The ſame therfore by the teſtimonie of the Scripture, is not the adminiſtration of the paſtorall miniſterie but the killyng and deſtruction of the ſheepe. And that theſe two kinde of vices bee moſte vile and wicked (although after a differryng ſorte) and far excedyng all other kind of wickednes, hereby it is manifeſt: For that the ſame are directly cõtrary to two vertues moſt chiefly good (although differring in them ſelues) and vnlyke together. For that is called moſt wicked whiche is cõtrary to a thyng moſt beſt. So much then as lyeth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directly agaynſt the deitie, whiche of him ſelfe is alwayes eſſentially and ſupernaturally good: The other is agaynſt the deification and the Image of God in man, whiche is not alwayes but onely by the participation of Gods lightſome, grace eſſentially and naturally God. And for as muche, as in thinges beyng good the cauſe of good is better then the effect: and like as agayne in euill things, the cauſe of euil is worſe, then the effect of euill procedyng therof: hereby it is manifeſt: That the inducers of ſuch wicked deſtroyers of gods Image and deification in the ſhepe of Chriſt (that is the church of God) are worſe then thoſe chief deſtroyers to wyt Lucifer and Antechriſt.

And as in theſe degrees of wickednes how much more excellent ſuch be, who hauing a great charge cõmitted to them of God (to edification, and not to deſtructiõ) are more bound to keepe away and exclude ſuch wicked deſtroyers frõ the church of God: So much is it alſo of ẏ, that this holy ſeate apoſtolical to whom the Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath geuen all maner of power (to edification as the apoſtle ſayth, and not to deſtruction) can cõmaund, or wil to go about any ſuch thing, vrging vnto ſo great wickednes, ſo odible, deteſtable, and abhominable to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and alſo ſo pernicious to mankinde. For this ſhould be a great defection, corruption, and abuſe of the ſayd ſeate and fulnes of power, and an vtter ſeperation from the glorious throne of our Lorde

Ieſus

Jeſus Chriſt, and a neare neighbourhode vnto the two moſt principall princes of darknes, ſitting in the chayre of peſtilence, prepared to the paynes of hell. Neither can any man which is ſubiect and faythfull to the ſayde ſee (and not cut away from the bodye of Chriſt, & frō the ſaid holy ſee) with ſincere and vnſpotted conſcience, obey ſuche manner of preceptes and commaundementes, or what ſoeuer other attemptes procéeding, yea thoughe from the hygh order of angels them ſelues: but rather ought of neceſſity with all their ſtrength to wythſtande and rebell agaynſt the ſame. Wherefore my reuerende Lord, I like an obedient child vpon my bounde dutye of obediēce and fidelitie, which I ow to both the ×parents of this holy apoſtolicke ſée, and partlye for loue of vnitie in the body of Chriſt ioyned with the ſaid ſée: do not obey but withſtand and vtterly rebell agaynſt theſe thinges in the ſayde letter contayned, and eſpeciallye whiche verge and tende to the foreſaid wickednes, ſo abhominable to the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt: ſo repugnaunt to the holynes of the holye apoſtolicke ſée, and ſo contrarye to the vnitie of the catholicke fayth. Neither for this cauſe can your diſcretion determine any extremitie vnto me, becauſe all my doing and gaynſaying in this matter is no reſiſtance nor rebellion, but a childly obediēce to the deuine precept & honor due both to father and mother. Briefely therefore repeating my wordes I ſay: that this holy apaſtolicke ſée cannot doo any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to deſtruction: for this is the fulnes of power to be able to doo all thinges to edification. But theſe whiche you call prouiſions, be not to edification, but to manifeſt deſtruction. The holye Apoſtolicke ſée therfore cānot nor ought to attempt any ſuch thing, becauſe that fleſh and bloude which cannot enter into the kingdome of God hath reuealed the ſame and not the father of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt whych is in heauen.

...o prin- ...ll prin- of dark Lucifer Ante-...iſt.

...e nea- ...either ...iſt and ...churche ...ls Peter ...Paule.

...eſt, ...e to ...iſt and ...church

Then foloweth it in the ſtory both of Mathæus Pariſienſ. and of Florilogus, in theſe wordes: That whē thys Epiſtle came to the knowledge of the pope, he fumyng and fretyng, with anger and indignation anſwered, ẘ a fierce loke & proud mind ſaying: what old doting franticke wretch is this ſo boldly, & raſhly to iudge of my doyngs? By ſwete S. Peter & Paule, were it not but ẏ vpō our own clemency & good nature we are reſtrained, we would hurle him down to ſuch confuſiō, ẏ we would make hym a fable, a gaſing ſtock, an example, & wonder mēt to all ẏ world. For is not ẏ kyng of Englād our vaſſal? and to ſay more, our manciple or page (to vſe the very wordes of myne autor) whiche may at our pleaſure & becke both hamper hym, and inpriſon him and put hym to vtter ſhame? Thys when the Pope in his great furie and rage had vttered amongeſt hys brethren the Cardinals, who were ſcarſe able to appaiſe the furiours violence of ẏ Pope, ẘ milde moderatiō of wordes, they ſayd vnto him: That it was not expediēt for them to procede agaynſt that Byſhop in ſuch rigorous maner. For ſayd they to confeſſe the truth to your holynes, it is but very truth ẏ he affirmeth, neither can we condēpne him therfore. He is a catholike man, ye alſo a holy mā: more holy & alſo religious thē we our ſelues: a mā of excellent wit & excellent life, ſo as it is thought among all the prelats: he hath not his better nor yet hys lyke. This is not vnknowen both to the French and Engliſh clergy vniuerſally, neither can our contradiction preuayle agaynſte hym: The truth of this his Epiſtle perhaps is knowen now to many and ſhall ſtirre vp many agaynſt vs: for he hath the name to be a greate Philoſopher and ſingularly ſéene in all the tounges both Greeke, Latine & Hebrue: zelous in iuſtice, a reader of diuinitie in ẏ ſcholes, a preacher amongeſt the people, a louer of Chaſtitie and a perſecutor of Simonie. Theſe wordes ſpake L. Giles a Spaniſh Cardinall to the Pope and other moe moued by their conſciēce to ſpeake. And this counſel they gaue to the Pope, that he ſhould diſſumule and winke at theſe thinges as one not ſeyng or regardyng them: leaſt other wiſe perhaps, ſome tumulte might riſe and ſpryng therof: Eſpecially ſeyng this is manifeſt and knowen to all men, that once muſt nedes come a defectiō and partyng from the churche of Rome.

Ma. pariſ. verbū. ...ſworn ...ter

...Car. ...defen ...Rob. ...d to ...pope.

Not long after this (aboute the canicular dayes) this reuerend and godly Robert byſhop of Lincolne lying at his maner place in Bugden, fel greuouſly ſicke: and therupon within few dayes departed. In the time of his ſicknes he called to him a certaine frier, of the preachyng order named maiſter Jhon Giles, a man expert and cunnyng both in Phiſicke and Diuinitie: partly to receaue of him ſome comfort of his body, and partly to conferre with hym in ſpirituall matters. Thus vpon a certaine day, the ſayd Byſhop conferring with the foreſayd maiſter Jhon, and recityng to hym the doynges and procedynges of the Pope: did greuouſly rebuke and reprehēd his felowe brethren the preachyng friers, and the other order alſo of the Minorites. That for ſo much as their order beyng planted in wilful pouertie of the ſpirit, to the intent they ſhould more frely carpe and reproue the vices of the myghty, and not to flatter or ſpare them, but ſharply to rebuke and reprehend the ſame: The ſayde friers contrarie to their profeſſion did not boldly inough cry out and inuaye agaynſte the abuſes of their ſuperiours & men of power, nor dyd vncouer nor detecte they faultes and wickednes. And therfore ſayd the Biſhop, I iudge them to be no better then manifeſt heretikes: And addeth more ouer (demaūding of maiſter Jhon) what is hereſie? and that he ſhould giue hym, the true definition therof. Whereat, when the frier did ſtay and pauſe, not remembryng the ſolempne definition of that matter: the Byſhop thereupon inferreth gyuyng thys diffinition in Latine, by the true interpretation of the Greeke worde: Hereſis Græce, electio Latine, eſt ſētētia humano ſenſu electa, Scripturæ ſacræ contraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defenſa. That is. Hereſie is a ſentence takē & choſen of mās owne braine, contrary to holy ſcripture openly mainteyned & ſtifly defēded. And this definition geuē, conſequēly he inferred ſharply reprehēding the prelates of ẏ church, but eſpecially the Romanes: whiche cōmit the charge of ſoules vnto their kinſfolks being both in age vnworthy, & in learning vnſufficiēt. To geue ſaith he, the charge of ſoules to a boy is a ſentēce of a prelate choſen & taken of mans owne head, onely for carnall and earthly reſpecte: and alſo is contrarie to holy ſcripture, the which forbiddeth any ſuch to be made miniſters or paſtors, which are not ſufficient to driue away the wolues. And moreouer it is alſo openlye maintayned, becauſe it is manifeſtly borne abroad and commaunded, with chartes inbulled both with waxe and lead. And finallie, it is ſtiflye defended: for if any man ſhall dare or preſume to withſtand the ſame, he is ſuſpended and excōmunicated and open warre cryed out agaynſt him: Therfore to whom the whole definition of an heretike doth agree, he is a very hereticke. But euery faythfull chriſtian man ought to ſet him ſelf agaynſt an hereticke as much as he may: Wherfore he that can reſiſte him & doth not, he ſinneth & ſemeth to be a fautour therof according to the ſaying of Gregorie. He lacketh not conſcience of ſecret ſocietie whiche ſeaſeth to reſiſte open impietie. But the fryers both Franciſcans & Dominikes, are moſt chiefly bound to withſtand ſuch, ſeing both of them haue the gifte of preaching cōmitted to thē by their office, & be more apte to ẏ ſayd office, by reaſō of thier pouertie: And therfore, do not onely offend in not reſiſtyng ſuch, but alſo are to be coūted mainteiners of the ſame, according to the ſentence of the Apoſtle to the Romanes ſaying: Not onely they whiche commit ſuch things, but alſo they ẏ conſent

The godly talke of Rob. Groſted in time of hys ſickenes.

Hereſis quid.

Definition of hereſie.

The pope proued here an heretike.

The ſaying of Gregory.

are

The pope accuſed of hereſy.

are worthy of death. Wherfore it may be concluded that as well the Pope (vnles he ceaſe from that vice) as alſo the ſame friers, vnles they ſhewe them ſelues more earneſt and ſtudious in repelling the ſame, are both worthy of death, that is perpetuall dampnation. Item ſayth the Canon decretal, that vpon this vice of hereſie the Pope both may and ought to be accuſed.

After thys, the vehemence of his diſeaſe more and more increaſing & becauſe the nyghtes were ſomthing longer: ỹ thyrd night before his departure, the B. feling hys infirmitie to grow vpon him willed certaine of hys clergie to bee called vnto hym, therby to be refreſhed with ſome conference or communication: Vnto whom the B. mourning and lamenting in hys minde for the loſſe of ſoules through the auarice of the Popes courte ſayd on thys wyſe, as by certaine Aphoriſmes.

1

Certaine Aphoriſmes or articles layd of R. Groſtede againſt the B. of Rome.

Chriſt came into the world to ſaue & winne ſoules: Ergo, he that feareth not to deſtroye ſoules maye he not worthely be counted Antechriſt?

2

The Lord created the whole world in ſixe dayes, but in reſtoring of man he laboured more then .xxx. yeares. Wherefore, he that is a deſtroyer of that, aboute whiche the Lord ſo long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemie of God, and Antechriſt?

3

The pope accuſed for his wycked clauſe. (non obſtāte)

The pope ſhameth not impudently to adnihilate and diſanull ỹ priuilegies of his holy predeceſſours Romane Byſhops, by this obſtacle (Non obſtante) which is not done without the preiudice and manifeſt iniurie of thē: For in ſo doyng, he doth reproue and deſtroy that which ſo many and ſo holy men haue builded vp before, & thus ſemeth he to be a contemner of the ſaintes: Worthely therfore he that cōtemneth ſhalbe contemned, according to the ſaying of Eſay: Wo to the that doeſt deſpiſe, for ſhalt not thou thy ſelfe be deſpiſed? And who ſhall keepe his priuilegies which ſo breaketh ỹ priuilegies of others.

4

The pope accuſed for arrogatyng more thē is due to hym, and proued not to be equal but inferiour to his predeceſſours.

The pope anſweryng hereunto thus defēdeth perhaps his errour. He that is equal, hath no ſuperioritie ouer his equall: Therfore no pope hath power to bynde me being pope as well as he. To this I aunſwer agayne (quod the Biſhop) It ſeemeth to me, that he that now preſentlye is ſayling in the daungerous ſeas of this worlde: and he ỹ is ſafely ariued in the hauen hauyng paſt al ieopardies, are not both like & equal. Graunt that ſome popes be ſaued (God forbid any ſhould ſay cōtrary.) Then ſaith our ſauiour: He ỹ is leaſt in the kyngdō of heauen, is greater then Jhon Baptiſt, a greater then whom did neuer ryſe amongeſt the children of men. Is not therfore ſome pope greater beyng a giuer and confirmer of priuilegies then this that is alyue? Truly me thinkes he is greater. Therfore he hath dominion ouer his inferiour.

The pope accuſed for vndoing the actes & foundations of of their predeceſſours.

Doth not ỹ pope, thus ſay ſpeaking of all his predeceſſours for the moſt parte: This our predeceſſour and this our predeceſſour of moſt worthy memorie. &c. And again we (ſayth he) cleauing to, or folowyng the ſteps of our predeceſſours. &c. And why then do ſuch popes as come after, deſtroye theſe foundations whiche theyr predeceſſours haue layd?

6

Proued that the pope alyue is inferiour to hys predeceſſours before him. And therfore to haue no autoritie to infringe the priuilegies of other popes.

Many apoſtolicke men commyng after, haue confirmed ſome priuilege beyng graunted by other before: And be not many Byſhops beyng all ready ſaued by the grace of God, to be counted greater & better thē one byſhop whiche hath not yet atteined, but ſtandeth in daunger to obteine, that whiche the other haue got already?

7

Proued by example of Benet that men more aunciēt in time ought to be preferred in higher reuerence.

Alſo, our former fathers Byſhops of the Apoſtolicall ſee, in preferment of tyme go before the other, whiche in tyme come after. And thoſe whom the eſtimation of aūcient tyme doth aduaunce, ſuch are we bounde to eſteme and to haue in more reuerence. This did the holy mā Benedicte well conſider: who in his rule preferreth ſuch as came firſt in tyme, what ſoeuer men they were, before them, whiche (albeit beyng more auncient in yeres) commeth after them into the order: and commaundeth them to be their ſuperioures, and to haue the preheminence. Whiche beyng ſo (as it is) true and certayn: how commeth then this iniurious and raſhe preſumption, which dare repeale and diſanulle, the olde priuilegies of many auncient holy Biſhops, in tyme and reuerence, going before them.

8

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ry.

Moreouer, and though many popes haue bene greuous to the church, yet thys pope moſte ſpeciallye hath brought it moſte into ſeruitude, and manifolde wayes hath damnified the ſame. For theſe Caurſini, theſe opē vſurars, whom our holy forefathers & doctors (whom we haue ſeene) and namely our learned maiſter in Fraūce preacher: alſo the Abbot of Flay a Ciſtercian: Maiſter Iacobus de veteri: and maiſter Steap. Archbiſhop of Cant. in the tyme of hys baniſhment: And alſo maiſter Robert Curcun: with hys preaching, baniſhed oute of Fraunce (for before that tyme theſe kinde of vſurers were neuer knowen in Englād) the ſame Caurſini, theſe wicked vſurers (I ſaye) were by this pope induced, ſupported, and maintained: ſo that if any do ſpeake againſt them, he is miſerablye toſſed & trounſed for his labour, wherof partly Rog. B. of Londō hath ſome experience.

9

Again
teis,

The world doth know, that vſurie is counted a deteſtable thing in both the Teſtamentes, and is forbiddē of God. But now, the popes vſurers or exchangers (the very Iewes crying out agaynſt them) be openlye ſuffered in London to exerciſe their vſurie, to the greate damage and detriment of all eccleſiaſticall perſons (but eſpecially houſes of religion) cōpelling ſuch as be in pouertie, to counterfete, and to put to their ſeales vnto forged writings: which is no leſſe then to commit idolatrie, and to abrenounce the veritie which is God him ſelf. As for example, I borowe a. C. markes for a yeare, in ſtead of a. C. poundes. I am compelled to make my writing, and to ſeale the ſame, confeſſing that I haue receaued in borowe an. C. poundes to be repayed again at the yeares ende to ſuche a man, &c. And if it ſhall chaunce that your occupying be ſuch, that within a moneth you bryng againe the principall to ỹ popes vſurer, he will receaue no leſſe notwithſtanding then hys full hundreth poundes: which condition of vſurie is much worſe, then that of the Iewes. For to the Iewe what principall you bryng, he will requyre no more then proportionallye, for the commenſuration of ſo much tyme, wherin hys money hath been out of hys handes.

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The p
vſurers
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10

Craf
tiltie o
pope
money.

Moreouer, we haue ſene and knowen the pope to haue geuen in charge and cōmaundement to the friers preachers, and minorites: to inquire diligētly for ſuch as lye ſicke and lyke to dye, and ſo commyng to them diligently to perſuade them, to make their wils and teſtamentes fauorably to the profite and ſubſidie of the holy lād, and to take the croſſe vpon them, that if they do amend, they may wryng them in the law. And if they dye, they may wraſt the money from their executors.

11

Men
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We haue knowen lykewiſe and ſene men that haue take the vowe and ſigne of ỹ croſſe vpon them, to be ſold to lay men, as ſhepe and oxen were wont in tyme paſt, to be ſold in the temple.

We haue ſeene with our eyes, the Popes letter in whiche we haue found this to be writen: that they which bequeth any thyng to the behoffe or ſubſidie of the holy land, ſhall receaue ſo much indulgence, as they haue diſburſed money.

12

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& re
ces.

Ouer and beſide all this, the Pope in diuers and ſondry hys letters, hath wylled and commaunded prelates to receaue into eccleſiaſticall benefices, and to prouide ſome ſuch lyuing in their churches (as ſhal be ſufficient to ſuch and ſuch a ſtraunger, beyng both abſent, and alſo vnworthy) which haue neither learning, nor yet ỹ language of the countrey: whereby they are neither able to preache, nor to heare confeſſions, nor to keepe reſidence for to refreſhe the poore and wayfarers.

Item,

13 ccused to [illegible] churches his proui ſions and reſeruati ons.

Item we knowe, and haue ſene our ſelues, that the Pope hath writen to the Abbat of S. Albane, to prouide for one called Ihon de Camezana, whom he neuer ſawe, in ſome competent beneſice. Whereupon in few dayes after, when prouiſion was made for hym in a certayne churche, worth xl. markes by the yeare, and more: the partie beyng not therwith contented complayned to the Pope. Who then wrytyng to the foreſayd Abbat, commaunded hym to prouide for the foreſayd maiſter Ihon in ſome better thyng, reſeruyng notwithſtādyng the gift of the former beneſice, to hym ſelfe.

14 The pope cuſed for iolent ex- tortion.

Agayne not long after, came alſo to the houſe of the foreſayd Abbotte.vj. other perſons lyke begging vagabondes, bringing with them the Popes letters: in the tenour wherof the Abbot was commaunded, that incontinent vpon the ſight therof, he ſhoulde geue and diſburſe to the ſayd perſons for the expedition and diſpatche of hys affayres x. markes in hande, without any delaye or ſticking: The which perſons vttering to the abbot proud & threatning wordes, he was fayne to agree with them and ſend them away.

15 The pope cuſed for robbyng d corrup ng lerned en of the piritualtye ith the ops tem oral ayres.

Item, of men which are both holy and wel learned, which haue left the worlde for the following of God in ſuch order, as they oughte not to turne backe agayne, the pope of them maketh hys Colners and bankers to get in hys money: The which charge they are compelled agaynſt their wils to take vpon them, leaſt they ſhoulde ſeeme to be diſobedient: and ſo of ſpiritual mē, are made more ſecular then the moſt ſecular. And ſo, the baſenes of their chimmers and ſcapillers which they were, doth proue them to be lyers: whileſt vnder the habite of pouertie and humiliation, lurketh the ſpirite of pryde and elation. And becauſe no Legate maye be ſent into England but being fyrſt requyred of the king: the pope ſendeth ſophiſticall Legates & ſuch as be diſguiſed in counterfet apparel, and are garded with greate myght and power: neither is it hard to bryng forthe examples therof. For ſo many ſuch dayly doe come into the realme, that to heare the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to heare.

16 The pope cuſed for lawful iſpenſatiō

Furthermore (as we haue ſene our ſelues) the pope graunteth for ſecular fauour, ỷ a man may haue a byſhoprike, and yet be no byſhop conſecrate, Sed electus: ſempiternus, that is, electe for euer. Which is as muche to ſignifie, to haue the mylke and the wolle of the ſheepe and not to keepe the wolues away from the ſheepe: To retaine the rentes of the byſhop, and not diſcharge the function of a byſhop.

And when thys godly biſhop had thus reproued theſe & ſuch other deteſtable enormities of the court of Rome: as all kindes of auarice, their vſurie, their ſimonie, their extortion, all kindes of filthines, fleſhlye luſt, glottonie, and their ſumptuous apparell raigning in that courte: thē ſaith he, this old verſe may be truly verefied vpon it.

Eius auariciæ totus non ſufficit orbis
Eius luxuriæ meretrix non ſufficit omnis.
All the worlde cannot ſuffice their gredie auarous mynde
Nor all the drabbes & naughtie packes their filthy luſting kinde.

Afterward he went aboute more to proſecute, how the foreſayd courte lyke a gulph neuer ſatiſfied euer gaping (ſo wide, that the flud of Iordane might runne into hys mouth) aſpired how to vſurpe the goods of thē that die vnteſted and of Legacies bequethed without forme of law and whereby more licentiouſlye to bryng this to paſſe, they vſed to ioyne the king to be fellow and partaker with them in their ſpoyles, extorcions, & robbinges. Neither ſayth he, ſhal the church be deliuered from the ſeruitude of Egipt but by violence and force, and with ỷ bloudy ſword. And albeit ſaith he, theſe be yet but light matters, yet ſhortlye more greate and greuous thinges then theſe ſhall bee ſeene.

And in the ende of thys hys prophecieng which he ſcarſlye could vtter, with ſygheng, ſobbing, and weping, hys toung and breath began to fayle, and ſo the organ of hys voyce being ſtopped, made an ende both of hys ſpeach and lyfe. Ex Math. Pariſienſ.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

The death of R Groſted biſh of Lincolne.

And for as much as mention hath ben made before, of the inſatiable auarice of the popes court by his inordinate prouiſions and reſeruations, it is teſtified by the ſayd author Math. Pariſ. ỷ the foreſayd Robert Groſted being biſhop of Lincolne, cauſed to be vewed and conſidered diligently of his clerkes, what the reuenues of forriners & ſtraungers within England ſet in by the Pope came to by the yeare: and it was founde and euidentlye tried, that this pope now preſent to wit, Innocentius.4 dyd empoueriſhe ỷ vniuerſall church through out Chriſtendom, more then all his predeceſſours from the time the pope fyrſt began: So that the reuenues of forriners and clerkes placed by him here in England, mounted to ỷ ſumme of.70000. markes and aboue, wheras the mere reuenues of the crowne came not to.30.thouſand.

What the reuenues of the popes clarkes here in Englād came to lxx.m by yeare. *Ex Ceſtrenſis lib.7.*

Of thys R. Groſted writeth Ceſtrenſis in hys.7.booke of hys hiſtorye: that partly for that it greued hym to ſee the intollerable exactions of the pope in thys realme, & partly becauſe he refuſed to admitte a certain yong nephew of the pope to be canon of hys church (as hath ben before recited) He therfore writing to the pope & ſignifieng that he could not admitte any ſuch perſons into his church, which neither knew them ſelues nor the tounge of the people, nor the charges cōmitted vnto them: was called vp to Rome and there excommunicated, who then appealing from the pope, ſhortly after departed, which was an.1253. It chaunced within two yeres after his deceaſe, the ſayd pope Innocent being a ſlepe: a certain byſhop appareled biſhop lyke, appeared vnto hym, and ſtryking hym with hys ſtaffe on hys left ſyde, ſayd: Surge miſer veni in iudicium. That is. Ryſe wretch and come to thy iudgement. The next day after, ỷ pope was found amaſed as a man ſtrokē on the ſide with ỷ ſtroke of a ſtaffe. This Robert though he was greatly cōmended for hys ſanctimonie, and as Ceſtrenſis ſayth, for hys myracles: yet was he not permitted in ỷ court of Rome to be aſcribed in ỷ Cataloge of ſaintes. And thus much out of Ceſtrenſis cōcerning this matter. But Mat. Pariſ. and the author of Flores hiſtoriarum proſecuting this ſtorie more at large, addeth this more vnto it and ſayth. That pope Innocentius the next yere folowing, which was an.1254. being paſſing angry: contrarye to the minde of hys brethren the Cardinals, woulde haue the bones of the foreſayd byſhop of Lincolne caſt out of the church: & purpoſed to bring him into ſuch ſpite & hatred of the people ỷ he ſhould be counted an ethnike, a rebel, and diſobedient perſon through the whole world. And therupon cauſed hys letters to be written & ſent downe to the king of England, knowing that the king woulde gladly ſerue him therin to haue the ſpoyle of the byſhop and of his church. But the night folowing, the ſayd biſhop of Lincolne appeared vnto him as comming in his pontificalibus, and with a ſeuere countenance & ſterne looke and terrible voyce ſpeaketh vnto hym being in his reſt, and ſmiting him on the ſide with a vehemēt ſtroke with the ende of hys Croſſeſtaffe thus ſayd. O thou ſcourfie, lazie, olde, balde, lowſie, wretched, doting pope. Haſte thou purpoſed to caſte out my bones out of the church to the ſhame and ſlaunder of me? How commeth thys raſhe wilfulnes in thy head? It were more meete for thee being thus aduaunced by God and honoured, to make much of the zelous ſeruauntes of God, although departed. The Lorde will not ſuffer thee henceforth to haue any more power ouer me. I haue written vnto thee in the ſpirite of humilitie & loue, that thou ſhouldeſt correcte thy manifolde errours: But thou with a proud eye and diſdainfull hart haſt diſpiſed my holeſome admonitions. Woe to thee that diſpiſeſt, ſhalt not thou alſo be

The pope ſtroken with the ſtaffe of Groſt. biſh of Lincolne.

An.1254.

Ex Mathæo Pariſ.
Ex Flor. hiſt.
Scribalde papa miſerime.

The popes new and true ſtile geuen by Groſted biſhop of Lincolne.

diſpiſed. And ſo the Biſhop departing from the pope ſtroken as is ſayd on the ſyde, lefte hym for halfe dead and ſo lyeng in ſorrowe and lamentation. Wherupon hys chamberlens being amaſed hearyng theſe thynges, came runnyng to the Pope to knowe what hym ayled. To whom the Pope much troubled and vexed in his ſpirite, ſayd: that great terrours in his ſleape vehemently diſturbed and moleſted him, in ſuch ſort, that he thought he ſhould neuer recouer it, nor be reſtored to him ſelfe againe. Oh (ſayth he) how ſore is my ſide, & how egerly it vexeth me, as being run through wͭ a ſpear. Neither dyd the pope eate or drinke all that day, but feynyng him ſelf to be ſicke of a burnyng agew, kept in. And yet the indignation of yͤ irefull hande of God (ſayth the ſtory) ſo left hym not.

The pope diſquieted in hys mynde.

For after theſe wholeſom admonitions geuen to him by the ſeruaunt of God: the Pope not regardyng them, but all ſet vpon warre, ſuppreſſion of his enemyes, and ſecular affaires, gaue his mynde wholy vnto them. And yet all his laboures, counſailes, and expenſes beſtowed vpon them, could neuer proſper after that day, in that he went about. For the pope the ſame tyme hauyng warre with the Apulians, all his armye fightyng vnder the popes nephew their captaine, were ſlayne and confounded the number of many thouſandes. Whoſe lamentable ſlaughter, all the countrey of the Romains did much bewaile. The pope not yet quiet in his minde, directeth his iourney toward Naples, although ſore vexed in his ſide lyke a man ſicke of a pleuriſie, or ſmiten rather with a ſpeare. Neither could any phiſicke of his cardinals helpe him. For Robert of Lincolne (ſayth yͤ ſtory) did not ſpare him. And he that would not heare hym gently correcting hym, beyng a lyue, his ſtripes did he feale when he was dead. So that he neuer after yͤ enioyed any lucky or proſperous day, till tyme of his death: nor yet any proſperous or quiet night vntil the mornyng. And ſo continued he vnto his death, whiche ſhortly after enſued, he being at Naples. an.1255. or as N.Triuet recordeth. an.1254. And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe betwene Robert Groſted, and Pope Innocent. ¶ In the whiche ſtory is to be noted (gentle reader) that although in the ſtory of Ceſtrenſis, of Mathew Paris, and of Flor. hiſtor. it is expreſly teſtified and reported, that the Pope was ſmytten with the ſtaffe of Robert yͤ foreſaid Biſhop of Lincolne: yet thou muſt wiſely vnderſtand, that how ſoeuer Gods hande dealeth here in this worlde in puniſhyng his enemies, or how ſo euer the image of thinges not ſene but phantaſed, offer them ſelues to the ſecret cogitation of man (his ſenſes being a ſleepe) by the operation or permiſſion of God, working after ſome ſpirituall influence in our imaginations: certaine it is, that no dead man materially can euer ryſe againe, or appeare, before the iudgement day, to any man with his ſtaffe or without hys ſtaffe to worke any feate, after he haue once departed thys lyfe.

The reuenge of God vpon pope Innocent

The popes army vanquiſhed and confoūded

The death of pope Innocent 4.

An. 1255

A note to the reader concerning the appearing of dead men.

After the death of thys Robert Groſted B. of Lincolne, greate diſſention fell betwene the Archbiſhop of Cant. Boniface, and the canons of the ſayd church of Lincolne, about the ryght of geuing prebendſhips, and about the reueneweſ of the ſayd church, in time of the biſhops ſee being now vacant. Which ryght and power the Archbiſhop claymed to him ſelfe, but the canons of that church (maintaynyng yͤ contrary ſide) ſtode againſt hym, and for the ſame were excommunicated of the Archbiſhop. Among whom, one M. Wolfe reſiſting the Archbiſhop to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made vp hys appeale to Rome, where much money on both ſides was ſpent. At length, after this Groſted, was elected Henry Lexinton in the ſee of Lincolne.

Diſſenſion betwene the Archbiſhop of Cant and the church of Lincolne.

Excommunication abuſed. Appellation made to Rome

Henry Lexinton biſh. of Lincolne.

About which time, the wicked Iewes at Lyncoln had cruellye crucified, whypped, and tormented a certayne child named Hugo of.ix.yeres of age. an.1255. in the moneth of Auguſt. Ex Gualt. Giſburn. At length the chylde being ſought and founde by the mother, beyng caſt in a pit.xxxij. of thoſe abhominable Iewes were put to execution. Wherof Mathew Paris reciteth a long ſtory. The ſame, or lyke fact was alſo intended by the lyke Iewes at Norwyge.xx. yeares before vpon a certayne chylde, whom they had had firſte circumciſed, and deteyned a whole yere in cuſtody, intending to crucify him. For the which the Iewes were ſent vp to the tower of Londō, of whom.xviij. were hanged, and the reſt remained long in priſon. Ex Ceſtrenſ. lib 7. Of this wicked Iewiſh people I finde alſo in the boke of Flor. hiſt. that aboute this yeare of our Lorde.1255. they began firſt to be expelled out of Fraunce, by the commaundement of the French kyng, beyng then in Paleſtina, warryng agaynſte the Turks: By the occaſiō that it was obiected then by the Turke againſt him and other Chriſtian princes, for reteyning the Iewes amongſt them, which crucified our ſauiour, and warring againſt them which did not crucifye him. Ex flor. hiſt. Of theſe Iewes moreouer kyng Henry the ſame yeare.1255. exacted to be geuē vnto him viij thouſand markes in payne of hanging. Who being much agreued therewith, & complaynyng that the king went about their deſtruction, deſired leaue to bee geuen them of the kyng, that they might depart the realme, neuer to returne agayne. But the king committed the doing of that matter vnto Earle Richarde his brother, to enforce them to pay the money whether they woulde or no. Moreouer, of the ſame Iewes menciō is made in the ſtory intituled Eulogium: Of the Iewes in Northampton, who had among themſelues prepared wilde fyre, to burne the city of London. For the which diuers of them were taken, and burned in the tyme of Lent, in the ſayd citie of Northampton, which was two yeares before, about the yere of our Lord.1253. Ex Eulogio. And for ſo much as mencion here is made of the Iewes, I cannot omit what ſome Engliſh ſtories write of a certain Iew: who not long after this tyme aboute the yeare of oure Lord.1257. fell into a priuy at Tewkeſbury vpon a ſabboth day, which for the great reuerence he had to his holy ſabboth, would not ſuffer him ſelfe to be plucked out. And ſo Lord Richard Earle of Gloceſter, hearing therof, would not ſuffer him to be drawne out on Sundaye for reuerence of the holy day. And thus the wretched ſuperſtitious Iewe remaynyng there tyll mondaye, was found dead in the doung.

A chil cified Iewes Lincol

Ex N. Triuet. Ex C lib 7. Ex Fl hiſt.

The I expulſed out of Fraunce

A child cucified the Iew and kep whole y to be c fied.

The Ie aske le to depa the rea of Eng

Ex E gio. Iewes b ned at Northam ton.

A Iew len into priuey would be tak out fo pyng b ſabboth day.

And to note yͤ blind ſuperſtitiō of that tyme, not onely among yͤ Iewes, but alſo among yͤ chriſtiās, to omit diuers other ſtories as of Walter Gray, archb. of Yorke, who cōming vp to the parliamēt at London an.1255. wͭ vnordinate faſting, dyd ſo ouercharge nature, & pyned himſelfe, & (as yͤ ſtory mēcioneth) did ſo dry vp his brain: that he leſyng therby all appetite of ſtomache, going to Fulham, there wythin three dayes dyed, as is in the cōpiler of Flor. hiſto. is both ſtoried & reprehēded. Let this alſo be adioyned, which the forenamed autor, and in the ſame yere is recorded of one named Peter Chaceporce, who dying in Fraunce an.1255. left in bequeſt of his teſtament.600. markes for landes to be purchaſed to the houſe of Merton, for God to be ſerued there perpetually pro anima eius, et omnium fidelium. i. for his ſoules helth, and all faythful ſoules. As who woulde ſaye, Chriſtian fayth were not the ordinary meanes ſufficient to ſaluation of faythfull ſoules, without the quyre ſeruice of the Monkes of Merton.

Superſti ous faſt noted in Walter archb. of Yorke.

Ex Flo hiſt.

Superſt in ſeky ſaluatio by wro meanes.

Ye haue heard it often complained before, howe the vſurped power of the Pope hath violently and preſumptuouſly encroched vpon the church of Englande, in geuing and conferring benefices and prebendes to his Italians and ſtraungers, to the great damage and ruine of Chriſtes flocke manifold wayes. This violent iniury and oppreſſion of the Pope as by no lawful and gentle

The pop iniurio to the church of Englan

meanes could be reformed: ſo by occaſion and meanes inordinate about this time, it begã ſomwhat to be bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in ẏ collector of Flor.hiſt.recited. In ẏ dais of ẏ raign of this king 44. The biſhop of London one named Fulco, had geuen a certain prebend in the church of S.Paule, to one mayſter Ruſtandus the popes meſſenger here in Englande. Who entring into the profeſſion of the gray friars, and ſhortlye after dying on the other ſide of the ſea: the Pope immediatly conferred the ſayd prebend to one of his ſpecials, a lyke ſtraunger, as the other was before. About the ſame inſtant it befell, that the Biſhop alſo of London deceaſed, wherby the biſhopricke nowe vacant fell into the kings handes. Who hearing of the death of the forenamed Ruſtandus, gaue the ſayde prebendſhyp (geuen of the Pope before) to one John Crakehale hys vnder treaſurer. Who with all ſolemnity tooke hys inſtallation, vnknowyng as yet that it was beſtowed of the Pope before. It was not long after as time grewe, but this being noiſed at Rome, forthwith cõmeth down a certayne Proctor named John Gras with the Popes embulled letters, to receaue the collation of the benefice by his cõmiſſion procuratory, geuen by the pope: wherin John Crakhale had bene alredy inſtalled, as is aforeſayd, by the kings donation. Thys matter comming in trauiſe before Boniface archbiſhop of Canterburye, he enquiring and ſearching which donation was the fyrſt, finding the Popes graunt to be the former, gaue ſentẽce with him againſt the king: ſo that in concluſion, the Romane clarke had the aduãtage of the benefice, although the other had long enioyed the poſſeſſion therof before. Thus the Popes man being preferred, and the Engliſh man excluded, after the party had ben inueſted and ſtalled after the vſe and maner, he as thinking to be in ſure poſſeſſion of his place, attempted wyth the reſt to enter the chapter houſe, but was not permitted ſo to do: wherupon the Popes clarke geuing place to force and number, went toward the archbiſhop to complayne. This being knowne, certaine recluſes purſued hym, and ſo being compaſſed about, one in the thicknes of ẏ throng being neuer after knowẽ, ſodẽly ruſhing vpon him, a litle aboue his eyes ſo pareth of his head, that he fell downe dead. The ſame alſo was done to another of his felowes in fleing away. This haynous murder being famed abroad, ſtraite inquiry therof was made, but the deededoer could not be knowen. Althoughe great ſuſpicion was layd vpon Crakhale the kinges chaplen, yet no proofe could be brought. But moſt men thought, that bloudye fact to be done by certayne ruffines, or other lyght perſons about the city or the court, diſdaining belike, that the Romanes were ſo enriched with Engliſhe mens lyuings, by whom neither came reliefe to anye Englyſhe man, nor anye godlye inſtruction to the flocke of Chriſt. And therfore, becauſe they ſaw the churche and realme of England in ſuch ſubiection, and ſo much to be troden downe by the Romanes & the Popes meſſengers: they thought hereby ſomthing to bridle, as with a ſnaffel, the popes meſſengers, from their vntemperate ranging into this land. Ex flor. hiſto.

There by the way is to be noted, that vnto the death of this foreſaid Fulco biſhop of Lõdon, continueth the hiſtorye of Mathew Paris moonke of ſ.Albons, whiche was to the yeare of grace.1260 The reſidue was continued by an other monke of the ſame houſe, but not wt ſuch like commendation, worthy to make any autentik ſtory, as I haue ſene it noted in a written booke.

It were to tedious and curious in order to proſecute what happened in euerye yeare, throughe this kynges raigne: as how it was prouided by the king, that whoſoeuer could deſpend.xv.li.land by yeare, ſhould be boũd to make to the king a ſoldiour: that watche ſhoulde bee kept euery night in cities: that who ſo euer was robbed or otherwyſe damnified in any country, he that had the cuſtody, ſhould be compelled to make vp the loſſe again, or els to purſue the malefactor, which was an.1253. witneſſing Flores hiſto. Item, how the king making his viage into Waſcone, his expenſes were reckoned to mount to.xxvij.hundreth thouſand Markes, beſide.xxx.thouſãd markes beſtowed vpon his brethren by the mother ſide, and beſide other great giftes geuen abroade. By reaſon wherof, great taxes and tolonies and tenthes were requyred of his ſubiects, eſpecially of the churchmen: who were wont to receaue tythes of other, now wer conſtrained to geue tythes to the laity. Flores hiſt.an.1254. Item, how in the yeare next folowing, the Lõdoners offring a C.li. for a gift to the kyng with a precious cup of golde, at his returne out of Fraunce, were ſhortly after compelled by the kyng to paye.3000.markes, for the ſcape of a certayne priſoner being a clarke condemned: which clarke being graunted of the king to the biſhop, and he hauing no priſon ſufficient for him, borowed of the Lõdiners to haue him kept in the priſõ of Newgate, who eſcaping therout, they as is ſayde, were demaunded thys recõpence aforeſayd.an.1255. Item, how the king greatly complayning of his debt, the ſame yeare required the whole tenthes, which ſhould be gathered in.3.yeares, to be takẽ vp all at once. To whoſe requeſt, the nobles and commons agreed to ſtrayne themſelues, ſo that the charter of their liberties and cuſtomes myght be ratefied, & fully by him confirmed. And ſo for that yeare they were Flores hiſto. Item, how Pope Alexander the third, to deſtroy the citie Michera, with kyng Menfrede the ſonne of Fridericke the Emperour, ſent forth the ſame yeare Octauianus his Cardinal with a puiſaunt army: who comming to the City with his ſiege, throughe the counſayl of Marchiſius one of the chief captains, diſcharged a great parte of his hoſt, wherby the moſt of the Popes army was ſlayne and deſtroyed, almoſt all, ſaue onelye the family of Marchiſius.an,1255.Flor.Mat.Pariſ.

Pope Alexander 3 maketh warr.

The popes armye ſlayne.

Manye other thinges during the tyme of thys kyng might be congeſted, as the ryſing of Lewlinus kyng of Walles and of the welchmen againſt the king and waſting the land vnto the towne of Cheſter, who deſtroyed diuers of the Engliſhẽ horſemen, taken in the Marres, with whom at length they fel to agrement by the means of Octobonus: and his ſucceſſors ſhould be called princes onely of Wales, & ſhould do the king his homage. And the king of him to receaue.3000.markes. And this being ſtabliſhed in writing, was cõfirmed by the popes ſeale.an.1257.Ex Polychro.

Lewlinus K. of walles warreth agaynſt the kynge. Lewlinus and the king concorded.

Ex polychronico.lib.7.

About ẏ ſame time, ſuch famine oppreſſed ẏ lãd & lack of victuals, that a ſomme of corne was then ſold for.26 ſhillings: in ſo muche, that the pouertye were forced to eate nettle rootes, thyſſell rootes, and whatſoeuer they could get. Ex Eulogio. Although ſome referre this to the yeare.1262.

Ex Autore Eulogij.

*An.*1257

Hereunto moreouer might be adioyned, howe Pope Alexander abuſing and mockyng the kinges ſimplicity, made him beleue that he would make his ſonne Edmũd king of Apulia, ſo that he would ſuſtayn the chages and coſtes thereof, to mayntayne the warre whych thereto ſhould appertayne. Wherby the king caſt in a ſodayne hope, cauſed his ſonne incõtinent to be proclaymed king of Apulia. And vpon the ſame ſent vp to the Pope al the riches he could well make in his realme. And thus was the realme manifold wayes miſerably impouereſhed to enrich the Pope. Ex Flor.hiſto. About whiche ſeaſon, Richard Earle of Exeter the kynges brother, was made king of Almaine by the Electours.

Pope Alexãder to make ſhyfte for money maketh the kinge beleue his ſon ſhould be king of Apulia.

Rychard the kynges brother made king of Almaine.

Here might bee ſhewed moreouer, and added to the ſtories aboue, how the yeare next folowing, which was 1259.(as Nicolas Triuet writeth) the king entring into Fraunce, required the reſtitution of ſuch landes in Normandie and Angewe as of old right was due vnto him and wrongfully withholden from him. But the French king againe alledged, ſaying: that the countrye of Normandy by old time was not geuē away from the crown of Fraunce, but vſurped, and by force extorted by Rollo. &c. In concluſion, the king fearing and ſuſpecting the hartes of his nobles, and looking for none other but for rebellion at home, durſt not try wyth them, but was cōpelled to agree with them vpon ſuch peace and condicions as he could get, which was this. That he ſhuld haue of the Frenche king xij. hundreth thouſande of Turen poundes, with ſo much lands els, as came to the value of xx. thouſand pound in yerely rente: ſo ſhould he reſigne fully and purely to the handes of the Frenche kinge, all ſuche landes and poſſeſſions which hee had in Fraunce. Wherby the king geuing ouer his ſtile and titles which he had in thoſe partes, ceaſed then to bee called Duke of Normandy, or Earle of Angeow.

What ciuile diſcord worketh.

Reſignation of the earledōe of Normady and Angeow.

Albeit if it be true that Giſburne writeth, the king afterwarde repenting of his deede, did neuer receaue the money in all his life, neither did he ceaſe during his life, to entitle himſelfe duke of Normandy. But after hym, his ſonne Edward and his ſucceſſor in their ſtile left out the title, to be called Duke of Normādy. &c. Ex Giſburn.

Ex Gualt. Giſburn.

The conflicte and ſkirmiſhe betwene the Northern Welchmen, & the Southerne men in Oxford

Beſide many other matters omitted, here I ouerpas alſo the ſore & vehement conflict, not betwene the Frogs and the Myſe which Homer writeth of, but the mighty pitched field fought in the yeare of our Lorde. 1259. betwene the yong ſtudents and ſcholers of the vniuerſitye of Oxford, hauing no other occaſion (as I reade in Mathew Paris) but onely the diuerſity of the country wher they were borne. For the Northern men ioyning wyth the welch men, to try their manhoode againſt the Southern part: fell both partes together in ſuche a broyle, with their enſignes aud warlyke aray, that in concluſion diuers on both ſides were ſlaine. This heauy & bloudy conflict during and increaſing among them, the ende was this: that the Northern lads with the Welche had the victory. After that fury and firye fiercenes had done what it coulde, the victorers bethinking at length wyth themſelues, partly what they had done, partlye howe it would be taken of the hygher powers: and fearing due puniſhment to fall vpon them, eſpecially ſeing the brother of Leoline prince of Wales, and ſonne of Giffine, was newly dead in priſon, drawing their counſaile and helpes together: they offer to king Henry foure thouſād markes, to Edwarde hys ſonne three hundreth, and to the quene two hundreth, to be releaſed of their treſpas. But the king anſwering them agayne, that he ſet more price by the lyfe of one true ſubiect, then by all which by them was offered: woulde in no wyſe receaue their money. And ſo the ſtudentes wythout hope of peace, went home with ſmall triumphe, learning what the common prouerbe meaneth: Dulce bellum inexpertis. Notwithſtāding, the king being then occupied in great affaires and warres, partly with Leoline and the Welchmen, partly inwrapped with diſcord at home with his nobles: had no leyſure to attend to the correction of theſe vniuerſitie men, which was an. 1259. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. Likewyſe concerning the diſcention folowing the next yere after, in the vniuerſity of Paris, betwene the ſtudentes there and the Friers: the number of whom then did ſo muche encreaſe, that the commons vnneth was able to ſuſtein them with their almes. Alſo betwene the vniuerſities both of Oxford and Cambridge, for a certaine priſoner taken out of priſon by ſtrength, and brought into ſanctuary the ſame yeare, as is teſtified in Mathew Paris, an. 1259. In like maner, touching the variance betwene the Archbiſhop of Cant. and the chapter of Lincolne. Agayne, betwene the ſayde Archb. of Cant. and chapter & biſhop of London: and how the ſayd biſhop at his conſecration would not make his profeſſion to the Arch. but with this exception, ſaluis iure et libertate eccleſiæ Londinenſ. quæ pro poſſe meo defendam in omnibus. &c. recorded in Flores hiſto. All which wranglinges and diſſentions, wyth innumerable other raygnyng dayly in the church at thoſe dayes, if I had ſo much leaſure to proſecute them, as I finde them in ſtories remaining: myght ſufficiently induce vs to vnderſtande what ſmall peace and agrement was then ioyned with that doctrine and religion in thoſe dayes, duryng the ſtate and raygne of Antechriſt.

Variance betwene the ſtudents and the Friers in Paris.

Variaunce betwene the vniuerſitie of Oxford and Cambridge.

Variannce betwene the Archbiſhop of Cant. and the chapter of Lincolne.

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Theſe with many ſuch other matters mo, which here might be diſcourſed and ſtoried at large, being more forren thē eccleſiaſtical, for breuity I do purpoſely contract and omit, cutting of all ſuch ſuperfluities as may ſeeme more curious to write vpō, then neceſſary to be knowē.

This that foloweth concerning the pitiful and turbulent cōmotion betwene the king and the nobles, which laſted a long ſeaſon: becauſe it is lamentable, and conteineth much fruitful example, both for princes and ſubiectes to behold and looke vpō, to ſee what miſchiefe and inconuenience groweth in cōmon weales, where ſtudye of mutuall concorde lacketh, that is: where neither the prince regardeth the offending of his ſubiectes, & where the ſubiectes forget the office of chriſtian pacience, in ſuffering their princes iniuries, by Gods wrath inflicted for their ſinnes. Wherfore, in explaning the order and ſtory therof, I thought it not vnprofitable to occupy the Reader with a litle more tariaunce in peruſing the full diſcourſe of thys ſo lamentable a matter, and ſo pernicious to the publicke weale.

Hiſto
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And firſt to declare the occaſions and fyrſt begynnings of this tumult, here is to be vnderſtood, which before was ſignified: how king Hēry maried with Alinor daughter of the Earle of Prouince, a ſtraunger, which was about the yeare of our Lorde. 1234. Whereupon, a great doore was opened for ſtraungers, not onelye to enter the land, but alſo to repleniſhe the court: to whom the king ſeemed more to incline his fauour, aduaunſing them to more preferment, then his own naturall Engliſh Lordes: which thing was to them no litle greuance. Moreouer, before was declared, how the king by Iſabel his mother who was a ſtraunger, had diuers brethren: Whom he nouriſhed vp with great lyuings and poſſeſſions, and large penſions of mony, which was an other hartes ſore to diuers, and alſo an hindraunce. Ouer and beſide hath alſo bene declared, what vnreaſonable collections of money from tyme to tyme, as quindecims, ſubſidies, tenthes, merſementes, fines, payments, lones and taxes: haue bene leuied by the king, as wel of the ſpiritualty, as of the lay ſort, partly for mayntayning the kings warres againſt Wales, agaynſt Scotlande, and Fraunce, to recouer Normandy: partly for helping the kings debtes, viagies, and other expenſes: partly for the kingdome of Apulia, which was promiſed the kynges ſonne by the Pope: partly for moneyng and ſupporting the Pope in his warres againſt the Emperour. By reaſon of all which ſundrye and importable collections, the common wealth of the realme was vtterly excoriate, to the great impoueriſhment of poore Engliſh men. Neyther did it a litle vexe the people to ſee the king call in ſo many Legates from Rome euery yeare, which dyd nothing els but tranſporte the Engliſhe money vnto the Popes cofers. Beſides all this, what variance and altercation hath bene betwene the king and his ſubiectes about the liberties of Magna charta, and de foreſta, graunted by king Iohn, and after confirmed by thys king in the former councell holden at Oxford, hath bene afore declared.

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Perhaps this might be alſo ſome peece of a cauſe, that the king conſidering and bearing in mynde the olde iniuries done of the Lords and Barons to his father king Iohn before him: dyd beare ſome grudge therefore, or ſome priuy hatred vnto the nobilitie, to reuenge his fathers quarell. But of thinges vncertain I haue nothing certainly to affirme. This is certaine, by truth of hiſtory, that the yeare next enſuing, whiche was. 1260. thus writeth Nicho. Triuet, that the kynges Iuſtices called Itinerarii, being ſent thether to execute their office, wer frō thēce repelled: ẏ cauſe beyng alledged, for that they were againſt the king, in proceding and enterpriſing againſt the forme of the prouiſiōs enacted and ſtabliſhed a litle before at the towne of Oxford.

1260.

It befel moreouer the ſame yere, aboue other times (as Gualt. Hemingford writeth) that a greate number of aliens comming out of Fraunce and other prouinces, reſorted into England: and had here the doing of al principall matters of the realme vnder the king. Unto whom the rewardes and reliefes, & other emoluments of the land did moſt chiefely redound, which thing to ſee did not a lyttle trouble and vexe the nobilitie and baronage of England. In ſo much, that Simon Montfort Earle of Leyceſter, offering to ſtande to death for the liberties and wealth of the realme, conferred together with other Lordes and Barons vpon the matter. Who then comming to the king after an humble ſorte of petition, declared to him how all the doings of his realme and his owne affaires, were all together diſpoſed by the handes and after the wylles of ſtraungers, neither profitable to him, nor to the weale publicke: for ſo much as his treaſures being waſted and conſumed, he was in great debt, neither was able to ſatiſfy the prouiſion of hys owne houſe, but dryuen to tale for his owne cates, to no ſmall diſhonour to his own eſtate. And now therefore ſayd they, pleaſeth your highnes to bee informed by our aduiſe, and to commit your houſe to the guiding & gouernment of your owne faithful and natural ſubiectes. And we wyll take vpon vs to diſcharge your whole debt within one yere, of our owne proper goods and reuenewes, ſo that we within. v. yeares may cleare our ſelues againe. Neither will we diminiſh your famil ly, but rather increaſe it with a muche greater retinue. Prouiding ſo for the ſafety and ſeing to the cuſtodye of your royall perſon, as your highnes ſhall finde and vnderſtand our diligence moſt truſtye and faythfull vnto you in the ende.

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To theſe wordes ſo louingly declared, ſo humbly pretenſed, ſo hartely and frely offred, the king as wyllingly condeſcended: aſſigning to them bothe day and place, where to conferre and to deliberate farther vpon the matter, which ſhould be at Oxford, the. xv. day after Eaſter. At which day & place, all the ſtates and lordes, with the biſhops of the realme were ſummoned to appere at the ſayd towne of Oxford, for the behalfe of the kyng, and the realme conuented together. Where firſt of the king hym ſelfe, then of the Lordes an othe was taken: that what decrees or lawes in the ſayd aſſembly ſhould be prouided to the profyt of the king and of the realme, the ſame vniuerſally ſhould be kept and obſerued to the honour of God, and vtilitie of his church, and wealth of the realme. Beſides theſe lordes and the king, were alſo. ix. biſhops, which ſwearing to the ſame, did excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould gaynſtand the ſayd prouiſions there made, the king holding a burning taper in his hād, and the Lordes openly proteſting, to ryſe with all their force, againſt all them that ſhal ſtand againſt the ſame.

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There were at that preſent in the realme, foure brethren of the kinges (moſt part of them by the mothers ſide) which would in no caſe agree hereunto, but in anger departed away priuely vnto Wint. The nobles hearing thereof, in all ſpeedye wyſe purſued them, fearing leaſt they ſhould take the city of Wint. and forceablye keepe the ſame. Wherfore, the Lordes preuenting theyr purpoſe, and ſeing them ſtiffelye to perſiſt in their ſtubburne ſentence: wrought no other violence againſt thē, but returning to Oxford againe, preſcribed to thē theſe conditions, that they departing the realme ſhoulde repayre to their own landes & poſſeſſions, which they had beyond the ſea. And ẏ forthwith they ſhould put this iniunction in execution. Notwithſtanding that the kyng made for them great interceſſion, yet it tooke no place. And becauſe this ſhould ſeeme to procede of no ſpeciall diſpleaſure againſt them, they enacted moreouer, that all ſtraungers and aliens of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer, ſhould foorthwyth auoide the realme in payne of death. Diuers other prouiſions the ſame tyme were ordeined and ſtabliſhed: that if any did hold of the kyng in whole or in part, and ſhould chaunce him to depart (his heyre being vnder age) the wardſhyp of him ſhould belong to the king, as hath partly before bene ſpecified.

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Oxford.

The prouiſions of Oxford.

Ex hiſtoria Gualteri. Giſburnenſis.

Moreouer it was there decreed, that the woolle of England ſhould be wrought onelye within the realme, neyther ſhould it be tranſported out to ſtraungers.

Item, that no man ſhoulde weare anye cloths, but which was wrought & made onelye within the realme.

God grāt this law might take place agayne.

Item, that garmentes to ſumptuous ſhoulde, not be brought in nor worne.

Item, that all exceſſiue and prodigall expenſes waſted vpon pleaſure and ſuperfluitie, ſhould be eſchued of all perſons.

God graunt the like law again for the wealth of the realme.

Manye other lawes and decrees (ſayth the autor) in this aſſemble were ordeined, wherin they continued the ſpace of. xv. dais: And many of them were impoiſoned, of whom was the abbot of Weſtminſter, a man in that order much commended. Alſo William brother to the Earle of Glouceſter. Alſo the Earle himſelfe being empoyſoned hardely eſcaped with life, his heare and nailes falling of his body, wherof the autor not lōg after was taken, and duly executed at Wint. In the meane tyme, the nobles conſidering theſe daungers and ieopardies, were conſtrayned to breake of for that tyme, apoynting the. xiiij. day of October next following, to conuent together at London with weapon and harnes: to proſecute and finiſh the reſidue, that was in the ſayd counſaile to be concluded. All which at the tyme and place apoynted was fully accompliſhed, and the actes therof in order of writing promulged, and ſo committed to execution.

Dyuers in this counſail impoyſoned.

After the promulgation wherof, many things therein diſpleaſed the king, and it began to repent him of his othe. But becauſe he could not at that preſēt otherwiſe chuſe, he diſſimuled for a ſeaſon. Thus tyme paſſing on, within a yeare following, which was. 1261. the king ſeing himſelfe more and more to grow in debt, and not to be relieued according to the promiſe made, but eſpecially being egged (as may be thought) by his brethren: taking it to ſtomache, ſent vp to the Pope bothe for hym, and his ſone Edward, to be releaſed of their othe made before at Oxford. The benefyt of which abſolution being eaſelye obtayned (or rather bought at the Popes hande) the king ſtepping backe from all that was before concluded, calleth an other parliament at Oxford.

The kyng repenteth of hys othe.

An. 1261

The kyng ſueth to the pope to releaſe him of hys othe.

The popes abſolution abuſed.

Where, he before the Lordes and nobles declared: how ”
in the late counſayle of Oxforde they had agreed amōg ”
themſelues for the common vtilitye of the realme and ”
of the king (as they pretended) for the encreaſyng of hys ”
treaſure, and his debt to be diminiſhed. And thereupon ”
bound themſelues with an othe, cauſing alſo himſelfe, & ”
his ſonne Edward to be bound to the ſame. But nowe ”
by experiēce prouing and trying the matter to be other- ”
wiſe then their promiſe was: and that they, contrary to ”
their couenaunt made, ſought not ſo much the profit of ”
him and of the realme as their own, taking him not as ”
their Lord, but goyng about to bryng hym vnder theyr ”
ſubiection as an vnderlyng: and for that moreouer hys ”
treaſure greatly decreaſing, hys debtes encreaſed, and ”
his princely liberality was cut ſhort & trodē vnderfoote: ”
They ſhould not maruel therfore, if he hēceforth would ”
be no more ruled by theyr counſayl, but would prouide ”

him

„ himſelfe of ſome other remedye,ſuch as he might. And
„ moreouer,as touching the othe wherewith he and hys
„ ſonne ſtood bound vnto them,he had ſent alreadye vnto
„ Rome, and had obtayned abſolution and diſpenſation
„ of the ſame,both for him,and his ſonne Edward alſo, &
„ for all other that would take his part. And therefore,he
„ required of them to be reſtored agayne to that ſtate and
„ condicion,he had enioyed in times paſt.

The aunſwer of the nobles agayne to the kyng.

To this agayne gaue aunſwere the ſtate of nobilitie on the other ſide,beyng in the ſame place preſent. In the number of whom was Simon Montforte earle of Glocester,Gilbert Clare earle of Leyceſter, Humfrey Rone earle Ferrence, with a great number of Barons: as Lord Jhon Fitze,Jhon,L.Haſtings,L. Geoffrey Lucy L.Jhon Veſcy,L.William Segraue,Hug Spencer,L. Robert Veſpoynt,with diuers and many mo, whoſe anſwere to the kyng agayn was this. That the prouiſions made at the counſaile of Oxford (whereunto they were ſworne) they would hold,defend,and mainteyne to their lyues ende: for ſomuch as they did ſound,and alſo were agreed vpon,both to the honor of God, to the profite of yͤ prince,& ſtable wealth of the realme. &c. And thus parts on both ſides,diſcordyng among them ſelues, would ſo haue departed,had not certaine of the byſhops cõmyng betwene both,laboured betwene thẽ to take vp the matter. By woſe meane (ſayth Gualt.Gisburn.) and procurement,the determination of the cauſe was brought in cõprimis,and referred to Ludouicke the Frenche kyng to iudge betwene them,who hearyng both the allegations (ſaith he) lyke no equall iudge,but a partiall frend: inclined wholy and fully to the kynges ſentence,and cõdemned the nobles. But the autor of Flor.hiſt.ſayth, that by the mediation of certain diſcret men, two were choſen: one for one ſide, thother for the other. To whom yͤ third alſo was adnexed, who hearyng as well what was brought of yͤ kings parte,as alſo what was anſwered of the other,ſhould define betwene them both. And ſo peace was betwene thẽ cõcluded, til the cõmyng of Edward. All this while as yet,the popes abſolution for the Kyng, although it was graunted & obtained at Rome,yet was it not brought downe in ſolemne writyng, neither was prince Edwarde, as yet returned out of Fraunce to England.

The controuerſie betwene the kyng and the nobles put in comprimis.

At length,the writyng of the kyngs abſolutiõ beyng brought from Rome, the Kyng eftſones commaunded the ſame to be publiſhed through out the realme,and ſendeth to the French kyng and other ſtraungers for helpe. Moreouer,ſeiſeth all his caſtels into his owne hand, reiectyng the counſaile of the Lordes, to whoſe cuſtodie they were before committed. Alſo remouing the former officers,as iuſtices,and the Chauncelour: with other placed afore by the Lordes,he appointed new in their ſtede.

The pope releſeth the king of his othe.

To this foreſayd abſolution procured from Rome for the Kyng and his ſonne: Edwarde returnyng out of Fraunce,at that tyme did not giue his cõſent, but held with the Lordes. Who then puttyng them ſelues in armes,with a great power repaired vp to London (keping there,in the ſuburbes and places about) while the Kyng kept within the tower,cauſing the citie gates to be watched and lockte,and all within yͤ ſayd citie beyng aboue the age of xij. yeares to be ſworne vnto hym. But at lẽgth through the meanes of certain commyng betwen, this tumultuous perturbatiõ was ſomewhat appeaſed, (at leaſt ſome hope of peace appeared) ſo that the matter was take vp for that time without warre or bloud ſhed. Notwithſtãdyng,ſome falſe pretenſed diſſemblers there were, whiche ſecretly diſcloſyng all the counſailes and doynges of the Lordes vnto the Kyng,did all they could to hinder concord,and to kindle debate. By the meanes of whom, the purpoſe of the Lords came not to ſo good effect,as otherwiſe it might. Ex Flor.hiſt.

Wicked make bates.

Ex Flor. hiſt. in An.1261.

In this preſent yeare (as affirmeth the forenamed autor) it was rumored abroad,that all the Biſhops of Englande went about to recouer agayne out of the handes of religious men,all ſuch churches and benefices,which were to them improperated or appropriated: And that they,for the expedition of the ſame had ſent vp to Rome, both meſſengers and money, nothyng miſdoubtyng to obteyne their purpoſe. But as litle good fruite in thoſe dayes vſed to ſpring out of that ſee: ſo I do not find,that godly ſute and labour of the Biſhops to take any fruitfull effect. The ſame yeare dyed Pope Alexander, after whom ſucceded Pope Vrbane the fourth.

Biſho yng a to reco benefice appropri from out Ex Flo go ibid.

Pope Al ander

Of the which pope Vrbane the king alſo obtayned, or rather reuiued a new releaſement frõ his othe, made to the prouiſions and ſtatutes of Oxford. Which being graunted,he commaundeth incontinent all the foreſaid lawes and prouiſions through England to be diſſolued and broken. This done,the king with the quene taketh his viage into Fraunce,where he fell into greate infirmitie of ſycknes,and the moſt part of his family taken with the feuer quartane,of which many died. In the number of whom beſide other,dyed Richarde the worthy Earle of Glouceſter and Hereford,after whom ſucceded Richard Thalbat.

Pope Vr bane.

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A new leaſe of kyng frõ Ro

With th epitaph. *Hic p Hyp Pardi naſce Viſi Eſce tas,Fl ris in cet.*

The welchmen this yeare,breaking into the borders of England,did much annoyance in the lands of Earle Roger Mortimer: but mightely agayne by hym wer expulſed,not without great ſlaughter of the inuaders. About which time,the king throughe ſome diſcrite counſaile about him,inclined to peace and concord with his nobles,graunting of his mere voluntary will, the conſtitutions and prouiſions of Oxford to take place in the realme,directing his commaundement to euerye ſhyre. Albeit,the realme yet was not all together pacified for all that.

The We men ſc

The pro ſions of Oxford gain gra ted by kyng.

In the latter ende of this yere, the kinges palace at Weſtminſter was brent,and for the moſt part was all conſumed with fyre,which ſemed to many an euil prognoſticate againſt the king. Ex flor. hiſto.

The ky palace Weſtmi ſter brẽ wych

In ſome Engliſh chronicles it is alſo recorded, that the ſame yeare.500.Jewes at London were ſlayne for taking vſury more then.ij.pence a weke for.xx.s. beyng before forbid by the king to take aboue that rate by the weeke.

Vſury ſhed for king ab two pe a weke pounde

After this foloweth the yeare.1263.in which,the Barons of Englande confederating them ſelues together for maintaining the ſtatutes and lawes of Oxford, and partly moued with the olde grudge conceyued agaynſt the ſtraungers (mayntained by the king,and the quene, and Edward their ſonne,in the realme of England) ioyned powers in all forceable wiſe: and firſte inuaded the ſayd ſtraungers,namelye them whiche were about the king. Their goods and manors thei waſted and ſpoiled, whether they were perſons eccleſiaſticall or temporall. Emong whom beſides other,was Peter a Burgundiã (biſhop of Hereford, a rich prelate) wt all his treaſure apprehended and ſpoyled: alſo his countrymen, whome he had placed to be Canons of the ſame church. With like order of handlyng other alienes alſo,to whom was cõmitted the cuſtody of diuers Caſtels,as of Glouceſter, of Worceſter,of Brignorth: wer ſpoyled,impriſoned,& ſent away. Briefly,what ſoeuer he was in all the lande that could not vtter the Engliſhe toung, was of euerye raſcall diſdayned,and happy if he might ſo eſcape. By reaſon wherof it ſo came to paſſe, that a great number as well of other foreners,as eſpecially religious men & rich prieſtes (which here had gathered muche ſubſtance) were vrged to that extremity,that they were glad to flee the land. In the cataloge of whom,was one moſt principally named John Mauſel, a prieſt notoriouſly growen in riches and treaſurers not to be tolde: hauing in hys hand ſo many & riche benefices,that neere no biſhop of the realme might compare with him in ryches. Who

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The no riſyng a gainſt ſtraunge hauyng chiefe modi of the realme. Peter of Herefo Burgu a rich ſhop.

John M ſel a ri prieſt.

not

notwithſtanding he kept with the king at London, yet was compelled priuelye to voyde the realme, and was purſued by Hẽry the ſonne of Richard king of Almain. Certayne other ſtraungers there were, to the number of.200.and more, which hauing the caſtell of Winſore there immured and intrenched themſelues, to whom at length prince Edward alſo adioyned himſelfe.

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In the meane time while this ſturre was abrod, the king keping then in the Tower, and ſeing the greateſt part of his nobles and commons wyth the Londoners to be ſet agaynſt him: agreed to the peace of the Barõs, & was contẽted to aſſent againe to ẏ ordinances & prouiſions of Oxford. Albeit the quene, by all meanes poſſible went about to perſwade the king not to aſſent thereto. Who as ſeemed, was a great worker in kindlyng thys fire of diſcord betwene the king and the baronage. Inſomuch, that when the ſayd quene Alinore ſhould paſſe by barge from the Tower to wynſore: the Londoners ſtãding vpon the bridge with their exclamations, curſings: and throwing of ſtones and dyrt at her: interrupted her courſe, cauſing her to returne to the Tower agayne.

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Notwithſtanding, the peace yet cõtinued wͭ the nobles and the king, the forme thereof was this. Fyrſt, that Hẽry ſonne of Richard king of Romanes, ſhould be deliuered by the king and quene. Secondlye, that the Caſtels againe ſhould be committed to the cuſtody of Engliſhe men, not of ſtraungers. Thirdlye, that the prouiſions & ſtatutes decreed at Oxford, ſhould as wel by the kyng, as by all other inuiolably be obſerued. Fourthlye, that the realme henceforth ſhould be ruled and gouerned not by foreners, but by perſonages borne within the lande. Fiftly, that all alienes and ſtraungers ſhould voide the land, not to returne agayne, except onely ſuch, whoſe abode ſhould by the common aſſent of the kinges truſtye ſubiectes be admitted and alowed.

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Thus the Kyng and the nobles ioyning together after this forme of peace aboue prefixed, although not fully with hart, as after appeared: put thẽ ſelues in armes with all their power to recouer the caſtell of Windeſore out of the ſtraungers handes. But Edwarde in the myd way betwene London and the caſtell, metyng with hys father and the barons, entred communication vpon the matter. Whiche beyng finiſhed, and he thinkyng to returne into the caſtell agayne, by the policie of the earle of Leyceſter, and Williã byſhop of Worceter: was not permitted to reenter. Wherupon, the ſtraungers within the hold (deſtitute of al hope to withſtand the great force approchyng) rendred the caſtell vnto the Kyng and barons, vpon this cõuention: That with horſe and harnes they myght be ſuffered ſafe to depart the land, not to returne any more. Whiche beyng graunted, certaine of the barons conducted them in their iourney toward the ſea ſide, and there they left them.

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In the ſame yeare about the beginnyng of October, the Kyng and Quene made ouer to Fraunce, with Symon Montfort and other nobles, to heare and ſtand to ẏ arbitrement of Lewes the French kyng, concernyng ẏ controuerſie betwene the ſtates of England, and all through the procurement of Alinor the quene. For ſhe not forgettyng the old contumely of the Londiners, exclamyng agaynſt her vpon the bridge, wrought alwayes what reuẽge, ſhe could agaynſt thẽ. Concernyng the arbitrement of this matter put to the French kyng, part hath been ſayd before, more ſhal be ſayd (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Some ſtories do adde moreouer, that ẏ kyng cõtinuing long in France: word was ſent to hym out of England, that vnleſſe he returned agayne to the realme, they would elect a new kyng. Wherupon the kyng returnyng out of Fraunce to Douer, would haue entred the caſtell, but he was ſtopped. Wherfore, the kyng in fierce anger and great indignation, prepared his power toward London: Where, Simon Montfort the worthy Earle of Leyceſter, through ſubtile trayne was almoſt betrayde and circumuented, in Southwerke by the ſodein purſuyng of the kynges armey, had not the Londiners, with more ſpede breakyng barres & cheines, made way to reſcue hym. By the meanes of whom the Earle at that tyme eſcaped the daunger.

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The ſentence of the french king, with the kyng of England agaynſt the Barons.

Now to come to ẏ ſentence of the French king, for ſo much as the arbitremẽt of this matter was committed to hym, as hath before bene ſpecified: he in a great frequencie, both of French & Engliſh perſons about him, conſideryng and peaſing the cauſe on both ſides betwen the Kyng and the nobles: clerely and ſolenly pronounced on the kynges ſide agaynſt the barons, ordayning that the king of England all this while had ſuffered wrong, and that he ſhould be reſtored again to his priſtine ſtate, notwithſtanding the prouiſions made at Oxford, which he ordeyned to be repealed and abrogated. Ex Flor. hiſt. Giſburn.

Ex Flor. hiſt. ex Giſbur. & alijs.

War betwene the kyng and the Barons begynneth.

The ſentence of the French kyng thus awarded: as it gaue to the Kyng of Englãd, with his retinue no litle incouragement, ſo it wrought in the nobles harts great indignatiõ: Which, not ſtãding, to that partial decremẽt of the Frẽch kyng, ſped thẽ ſelues home out of Frãũce, to defend them ſelues with all their ſtrength and power. And not long after, foloweth alſo the Kyng: by whoſe trayne, Simon Mõtfort earle of Leyceſter (as is aboue recited) was well nere circũuented in Southwerke. Thẽ the kyng calling his counſaile together at Oxford (from whence he excluded the vniuerſitie of ſtudents for a ſeaſon) who were then at Northampton: there conſulted, cõferryng with hys frendes and counſailours, what beſt way was to be taken. And hearyng that the Barons were aſſembled in a great number at the towne of Northampton, went thether with hys hoſte, and with hys banners diſplayed, accompanyed with Richarde hys brother kyng of Almayne: Alſo wͭ Edward hys ſonne, John Comyn of Scotland, with many Scots, John of Dalliolo, Lorde of Galewaye, Robert of Bruſe, Lords Walter of Auand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Marmyon, John of Wans, Roger of Layburne. Henry Percy, Philip Baſſet, Roger of Mortymer, and William of Walence, and many other. Therfore the king cõmaunded the Barons that were within to yelde vnto him preſently the citye and the pledges, or els he woulde immediately deſtroy them. But they counſeling with the yonger Simon de monte forti, whiche by his fathers commaundement had got the reſidue thither to take counſel together (for his father and the Earle of Glouceſter were not yet come) boldly and with one minde anſwered: that they would not obey the kinges wyll, but would rather defend them ſelues and the city if nede were euen to the death. Which the noble men of the kings part hearing, ſent word agayne, that at the leaſt they ſhould come to the walle of the city to ſpeake to the king, if by any meanes peace might be made. And they ſuſpecting no deceit, folowed their counſel: and leauing their holdes, came to the walle towardes the medow, for there laye the kyng and his ſtrõg hoſt hard by. But in the meane ſpace, whileſt diuers matters were reaſoned and intreated of betwene the kyng and the Lordes: the Lord Philip Baſſet (which before was apoynted to worke that feat) with mattockes and other inſtrumentes of iron and men prepared for the nonce: neare to the monaſtery of ſaint Andrew, dyd vndermine the wall of the citye. And by thys meanes, the wall fel downe lighty, and there was made a great plaine, ſo that in one forefront there might haue gone in together on a row forty horſemen. And of thys ſubtelty, the alien Mõkes that were there, wer thought to be the workers: becauſe they made way and entrance for them that came in. But whẽ they that paſſed by ſaw this, and the kings banners were erected, ready to enter in: There was a great howling made, & the noyſe of the

Uniuerſitie of Oxford, remoued for a tyme to Northampton.

1264.

The nobles taken at Northhampton.

people came to the eares of the Barons,and they made ſpeede to reſiſt them, but it was all in vayne, becauſe they were alreadye preuented of a great companye of their enemies.But Simon Mountforte the younger,after he had valiantly fought awhyle in the middeſt of his enemies with Peter Mountforte, and a fewe that wer with him: when Edward the kings ſonne came,was by his commaundemēt taken and led away priſoner. But the Clarkes of the vniuerſity of Oxfore(which vniuerſity by the Barons cōmaundement was tranſlated thether) did worke agaynſte the kinges men, more hurte then the other Barons,with their ſlyngs, long bowes, and croſſebowes:for they had a banner by them ſelues, and that was ſet vp a hye againſt the king. Wherwithall the king being greatly moued,ſware at his entring in,that they ſhould all be hāged.Which when they herd many of them ſhaued their crownes, & they that were able ran away as faſt as thei could.And when the king entred the city,manye fled in their armour into the caſtell:other left their horſe and harnes and ran into churches,and a few were ſlayne,and thoſe were of the common people.But ther was not much bloudſhed,becauſe all thinges were done as vpon a ſodayne. When the city was at the length ſet in a quiet, the king commaunded his othe to be executed vpon the Clarkes. But hys counſellers ſayde vnto him: thys be farre from thee O king,for the ſonnes of thy Nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdome were there gathered together into the vniuerſitie: whom if thou wouldeſt cauſe to bee hanged or ſlaine,euen they that now take thy part wold ryſe vp agaynſt thee, not ſuffering to the vttermoſt of their powers the blood of their ſonnes and kinſfolks to be ſhed.And ſo yͤ king was pacified,& his wrath agaynſt the Clarkes was ſtayed.

Simon Mountfort the yonger taken priſoner.

The ſcholers of Oxforde ſtout agaynſt the king.

The ſtudentes of Oxford ſpaſed.

In the ſame day,after litle more then an houre, the kinges hoſt aſſaulted the Caſtel,and the new hold keepers were afrayd,for that they had not victuals & other thinges neceſſary for their reſiſtaunce: therfore they ſet immediately meſſengers vnto the king,and yelded thēſelues to the kings mercy. There were taken that daye theſe knightes and Barons vnder written: Lord Wylliam de Ferrers,Lorde Peter Mountforte,companion of the ſayd Simō de monte forti the yonger,Lord Baldwin de Wake, Lord Adam de Newmarche, Lord Roger Bertram,Lord Simon the ſonne of Simon a valiant warriour,which firſt erected his banner againſt the king, Lorde Berengarius de Waterwyle, Lord Hugo Gubiam,Lord Thomas Mawnſell, Lorde Roger Botemlam,Nicholas Wake, Lorde Robert de Neuton, Lord Philip de Driby & Grimbald de Pauncefote. All theſe aforehand did the king take priſoners and many more,of whom he committed ſome to the Lord Nicholas of Hauerſam to be kept in the ſame caſtel wel defenced:ſome he led away with him,and ſome he ſent to diuers caſtels, and appointed Simon Mountforte to bee caſt into Winſor caſtel.And al theſe things,as touching the taking of Northamton, were done on the Sabboth day in paſſion weke,being the third of Aprill,in the yere of our Lord.1264.And the king went forward euen to Notingham, burnyng and waſting the maners of the Lordes and others his enemies, and there hee gathered together his nobles,and greatly increaſed his number.

The lordes taken at Northhampton.

When this ill lucke was tolde of them that were run awaye to the Earle Simon, which was comming towardes Northampton with a greate hoſte: he was in a greate rage, and yet was not diſcouraged. But immediatlye going to London, cauſed a chariotte to bee madehim after the mnaner of lytters or cotches, wherein he mighte ride as though he were ſicke: for he fayned himſelfe to be feable and weake,whereas hee was in dede a ſtout and valiaunt warrior.And ther gathered to him other noble men that wer cōfederat with him,Earles and Barons,euerye one bringing with the their ſeuerall armies. And preparing their ingynnes of wood,they went to beſiege Rocheſter, for the Earle of Worceſter in the kinges behalfe,kept both the towne & caſtel. When thei had gotten the firſt gate & the bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire,and there that valiant knight Roger de la Bourn was woūded and verye ill handled: And whyleſt they continued ſiege there awhyle,it was tolde them that the king was comming towarde London with a mightye hoaſt. And they ſayde one to an other: if the king at his commyng ſhould take London,we ſhall bee ſhut in as it were in a ſtraight corner.Let vs therfore returne to London that we maye keepe in ſafetye both the place and the people. Therefore, appointing certayne perſonnes to keepe the ſiege, they returned to London.At the length when the kyng came, they wente foorth wyth the Citizens to meete him,not with floures and palmes in their hands, but ſwords and ſpeares.The king ſhunned them,and after he had the caſtell of Kingſton, whych was the Earle of Gloceſters,he went from thence to Rocheſter: where after he had killed a fewe,he brake that ſiege, and from thence the king went to Tunbridge.And the towne and caſtel now being geuen vp to him,he toke there yͤ Counteſſe of Gloceſter,and put her into an Abbey, not to bee kept in hold,but to go at libertye whether ſhe woulde: And he left for the cuſtody of the caſtel and city a great part of his hoaſt to the number of aboue.xx. picked out enſignes,for that it was commonly ſayd that the earle of Gloceſter woulde come out of hand to aſſault them. Which being done,he cōtinued on his iourney to Winchelſee,where he receiued to peace,the ſeamen of the hauen townes.And three dayes after vpon the ſonday following he came to the towne of Lewes,and was receiued into the Abbey,and his ſonne Edward into the caſtell. Then the Barons ſent letters to the king the.xij. day of May,the tenor wherof followeth.

Earle Symon Mountfort,fayneth himſelfe ſicke.

To their moſt excellent Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England,Lord of Irelande, and Duke of Aquitania:his Barons and other his faithful ſubiectes,
being willing to keepe their othe and fidelitye to God & ”
him,ſend greting and due obedience with honor and re- ”
uerence.Whereas by many experimēts it is manifeſt, ”
that ſome of your graces aſſiſtauntes haue reported to ”
your maieſty many lyes of vs, working miſchiefe, as ”
much as in thē lyeth,not onely againſt vs, but againſt ”
you alſo and your whole realme:Be it knowen to your ”
highnes,that we haue bene allwayes willing to defende ”
the health and ſafegard of your perſon with all our po- ”
wer and fealty due to your grace: purpoſing to vexe to ”
the vttermoſt of our power and eſtate,not onely our yll ”
willers,but alſo your enemies,and the enemies of your ”
whole realme.If it be your good pleaſure geue no cre- ”
dite to them,we ſhall be alwayes found your faythfull. ”
And we the Earle of Leyceſter and Gilbert of Clare at ”
the requeſt of the other for vs and them,haue put to our ”
ſeales. ”

These letters being read and heard,there was a coū- ”
ſell called,and the king writ backe to them,and ſpecially to the two Earles of Leyceſter and Gloceſter, in maner and forme folowing.

Henry by the grace of God king of England, Lord of Ireland,Duke of Aquitanie.&c.To Simon Mountforte, and Gilbert de Clare, and their confederates. For as much as by the warre and generall diſquietnes
by your meanes rayſed vp in our whole realme, and al- ”
ſo the burnings and other hurtfull enormities: it appea ”
reth manifeſtly,that you keepe not your fidelitye to vs ”
ward,nor care any thing for our health or ſafetye. And ”
for that ye haue inorderly greued our nobles, and other ”
our faythfull ſubiectes,ſticking faithfully and conſtant- ”
ly to vs(as you haue certified vs) we accounting theyr ”

„ loſſe as our own, and their enemies as ours. And ſeing
„ theſe my aforeſaid faithfull ſubiectes for the keeping of
„ their fidelity, do aſſiſt vs mãfully and faithfully againſt
„ your vnfaythfulnes, we therefore carē not for your fidelity
„ or loue, but defye you as our & their enemies. Witnes
„ my ſelfe at Lewes the day and yeare aboueſayd.

he letter Richard ng of Al ine and ince Ed- ard to the rons.

Alſo Richard kyng of Almaine, and Lord Edward the ſon of kyng Henry writ alſo to the Barons in thys wyſe. Richard by the grace of God, kyng of the Romaines alwayes Auguſtus, and Edward the eldeſt ſone of the noble kyng of Englād, and all the other Barōnes and nobles conſtantly and faithfully in harte and dede
„ cleauyng to the foreſayde kyng of Englande: to Simon
„ Mountfort, and Gilbert declare and to all and ſingular
„ other their adherentes in their conſpiracie. By your letters
„ whiche you ſent to our Lord the noble kyng of England
„ we haue vnderſtanding ẏ you defie vs, although before
„ any ſuch worde, your defiaunce towardes vs was
„ apparaunt inough by your cruell perſecutiō in burning
„ our poſſeſſiōs and ſpoyling our goodes: we therfore geue
„ you to witte, that we all and euery one of vs, as your
„ enemies, doo defye you all as oure open ennemies.
„ And farther that we wyll not ceaſe where ſo euer it
„ ſhall lye in our power, to the vttermoſt of our force and
„ might, to ſubuerte your perſons and all that you haue.
„ As touchyng that you lay to our charge, that we geue
„ neither faithfull nor good counſel to our Lord the kyng,
„ you ſay not the truth. And if your Lord Simon Mounteforte,
„ or Gilberte de Clare, will affirme the ſame in our
„ Lord the kyngs courte: we are ready to get ſaifecondit
„ for you to come to the ſayd court to trie, & declare the
„ truth of our innocēcie and the falſehood of you both, as
„ forſworn traitors, by ſome man equal with you in nobilitie
„ and ſtocke. All we, are contented with the ſeales of
„ the aforeſayd Lordes, the Lord Richard, and the Lord
„ Edward. Dated the day aforeſayd.

Both which letters beyng read, they drew nearer to ẏ kyng for they were not far diſtaunt frō the place which is called Lewes. And for that there wanted to the kyngs ſtore prouiſion for their horſes, it was cōmaunded thē, on tweſday to go forth to ſeake for hay & prouender. Which whē they were gone forth, were preuēted moſt of thē, of their enemies and killed: but the reſidue returnyng, ſawe their enemies cummyng very earely, on the wedneſday mornyng, and making outcries ſtirred vp the kyng, and his hoſt to arme them ſelues. Then the baronnes comming to the full plaine deſcended there, and girding and trimmyng their horſes made fitte their harneis to them. And there the earle Simon made the earle of Gloceſter, and Robert Deuer, & many other new knights. Which beyng done, he deuided and diſtincted his hoſt into foure ſeuerall battails. And he appointed noble men to guide and gouerne euery battaile. And ouer the firſt battayle were ordeyned captaynes, Henry Mounteforte the eldeſt ſonne of the earle Simon and Guido hys brother, Lord Ihon de Bruich the yonger, and Lord Humfrey de Boun. Ouer ẏ ſecond battail, lord Gilbert Clare earle of Gloceſter, Lord Jhon the ſonne of Lord S. Jhon & Lord Williā of Mouncheriſi. And ouer the third, in which the Londiners were at their requeſt, the Lorde Nicholas Segraue was aſſigned. Whiche required alſo very inſtauntly, that they might haue the firſt ſtroke in the battaile, at the aduenture come what come woulde. But ouer the fourth battaile, the earle him ſelfe was captain with the Lord Thomas of Pilneſtone. In the meane ſeaſon came forth the kynges hoſt, preparyng them ſelues to the field in three battails: of which Edward the kyngs ſonne led the firſt, with the earle of Warwicke and Valence the kynges brother: and the ſecond the kyng of Almain guided, with his ſonne Henry: but the kyng with his nobles guided the third. And the forth legiō the kyng appoynted not, by reaſon that he had left many of hys chief ſouldiers behind him, to kepe the caſtell & towne of Tunebridge againſt the earle of Gloceſter. And the moſt part of the kynges armie were but younge men, for the kyng thought not that his baronnes, had been come ſo nigh hād. Their armies being on both ſides ſet in aray & order, they exhorted one another on either partie to fight valiauntly: and after they buckled together, the battaile was great and many horſemen were ouerthrowne euen in a momente. But by and by Edward the kyngs ſonne with his bande, as a fierce young gentleman, and valiant knight fell vpon his enemies with ſuch force, that he compelled them to recule backe a great way: ſo that the hinmoſt (thinckyng by reaſō of their geuing backe, that the foremoſt were ſlain) ran many away of thē, & taking water to paſſe ouer, were almoſt threſcore ſouldiers drowned, and a fewe of them beyng ſlayne, all the reſt fled. Straight way the Londiners whiche had aſked the firſt fight, knowyng not how ẏ battaile went toke them to their heales: Whom Edward purſued with his band killyng the hynmoſt of them, by the ſpace of two or three miles. For he hated them becauſe they had, rebelled agaynſt his father, and diſgraced hys mother when ſhe was caried by barge vpon the Temſe, from Weſtminſter to the tower, as is aboue touched, pag. 415.

battail ewes ewne kyng the Ba- begin

Whyleſt that prince Edward was thus in the chaſe of the Londoners, who had the vawward of the Barōs battel: In the meane time the mayn battaile of the Barons ſet vpon the kinges mayn battell, of the which the king of Almayne the brother of king Henry had the leading: Which being ſoone diſcomforted, and he with his ſonne Henry and Robert de Brus, John Couen with diuers other captaines taken priſoners: the rearewarde wherin the king himſelfe fought, being immediatlye ſo hardly beſet, and ſeing his knights and ſoldiers on euery ſyde about him beaten downe and ſlaine, and diuers other of his ſoldiours to forſake the field and ſhyfte for them ſelues: thought good to take agayne the towne, & ſo retired into the Abbey from whence hee came, ſhutting and rampering vp the gates, & cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly warded with ſoldiours. To be briefe, the barons thus getting the field after long fight, and manye men on either ſide ſlain: entred alſo the town of Lewes, purſuing in chaſe ſuch ſoldiors as thether fled for ſuccor.

Richard K. of Almain, wyth his ſonne take priſoners.

The Kings mayne Battell at Lewes diſcomforted and the King fayne to take the Abbey.

In the meane tyme, Prince Edward returning from the chaſe of the Londoners as ye heard, who deſired to geue the firſt onſet: and firſt eſpieng the Chariot of the Earle Simon (which he cauſed purpoſelye to bee made for him) and the horſes in the ſame, without either waggener or any other to gouerne the ſame: fel immediatly vpon the chariot, and brake it all in peeces, and ſlew two Burgeſes that wer within the ſame. But when he cam nearer to the place where the bloodye battell had been fought, and ſaw the great diſcomforture & ouerthrowe which in his abſence with great mortalitye and ſlaughter had happened: his hart was much diſmayde, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithſtanding, comforting and couraging his knightes and ſoldiours, of whom he had a valiant company, in battel aray marched toward the towne. Againſt whom, came the Barons agayne wͭ all their power. And thus was begonne betwixt them a freſh field and new battayle, and manye men ſlayne on either ſyde. But at length, the Earle de Warenia wyth the kings two brethren, forſooke the field and fled: after whom went more then ſeuen hundred choſen ſoldiours, which were of their houſe and family: who the ſame day came to Penenſye, and there tooke ſhypping ouer the ſea. Alſo Hugh Bigot with diuers others fled, and lefte the valiant prince fighting in the field: which thing he alſo perceauing, tooke the towne. And when he founde not the king his father at the caſtel, he went from thence to the Abbey wher he was. In the meane ſeaſon the town was deuided in partes: ſome fighting, ſome ſpoylyng,

Prince Edward returning from the firſt chaſe, fyndeth all together loſte.

The Prince fyghteth a new battell.

Prince Edward alſo put to the worſe, and fain to take the towne.

ſome getting of booties, neither coulde ſcarcelye one of them know and decerne an other whither hee were hys friend or enemy. But when within a whyle the barons had aſſembled ſome company, they gaue an aſſault vpõ the caſtell, thinking to haue reſcued John Gifferd and others whom the kinges ſoldiours had taken priſoners & put therin. But the ſoldiours within defended manfully the ſame, and in throwing out balles of wild fyre, as for the defence therof they had, they alſo fyered part of the towne. Then the Barons retired and left the caſtel, and purpoſed to haue ſet vpon the Abbey wher the king and Prince Edwarde his ſonne was, which alſo was ſet on fire by the aſſaulte geuen to the Caſtell. But yet it was ſhortly recouered & quenched. Then Edward the kings ſonne perceauing the bold enterpriſe of the Barons, prepared with couragious knightes and ſoldiours as were yet remayning & within the Abbey, to haue iſſued out, and to haue geuen a new charge vpon them. But that perceauing the Barons, ſent vnto the king meſſengers to intreat a truce for that day, and on yͤ morow to talke and cõclude of a further peace betwene them. This battel was fought vpon the xix. day of May, being the yere of our Lord. 1264.

The Caſtell of Lewes beſieged

A peace intreated betwene the kyng and Barones.

The next day, which was Thurſday, there wer ſent on either ſide two preaching friers betwene the King & the Barons, with certain articles and demaundes of peace: ſo that with certayn others, theſe condicions wer agréed on: that on the morow beyng Friday, the prince ſhould giue him ſelfe in hoſtage for the Kyng hys father and other of his partes. And Henrye the kinges ſonne of Almaine alſo ſhould geue him ſelfe the like for his father. That thoſe thinges which ſhould be concluded vpon for the benefite and commoditie of the realme, and peaceable quietnes thereof might be performed: and that all ſuch priſoners as were taken on either ſyde, ſhoulde be freely raunſommed and ſent home.

The two princes geuen in hoſtage.

The next day which was Saterday, the king diſcharged all his ſoldiours, and other that were with hym in the Abbey, licenſing them to depart whither them liſted. And furthermore, by the aduiſe of his ſonne and the barons: he gaue cõmaundement to thoſe which he had appointed to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they ſhoulde make no attempt to the preiudice or hurt of the barons, but in hope of the peace which was now at the poynt to be concluded, they ſhould alſo depart euery man to their houſes and habitacions. But they geuing no credit therunto, went with their furniture to Briſtow, where they kept them ſelues in garriſon, vntill the eſcaping of Edward the kinges ſonne out of priſon. But fyrſt before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the king was vanquiſhed in battayle, and that the Londoners in the forward were put to flight by prince Edward (by a meſſenger that eſcaped from the ſame) & that alſo the ſame Londoners were at Crowdowne: they ſet vpon them in the euning tyde, and taking from them much ſpoyle, ſlew alſo many of them.

The kinges ſouldiors in Tunbridge after they had ſpoyled the Lõdiners at Crowdown, kept themſelues in garriſon at Briſtow.

But when Roger Mortimers part began to decreaſe and Simon the earles part on the otherſide to increaſe: he bare himſelfe more ſtouter, for that both the king and all that was his, did depend vpon the good wyll and fauour of the Earle: and led with him the kinges ſonne to ſuch holdes & caſtels as he thought to be moſt ſtrongeſt. As though all were in hys handes to do as hym lyked, & kept the hoſtages more ſtraytly then he was woont to do. In ſo much that when it was blowen abroade that the kinges ſonne was kept as a priſoner, diuers counſelled him that were his frendes, that he ſhoulde deſire to diſporte himſelfe at the barriers, that the people might haue a ſight of him: but he being narowly garded as he knew, and fearing ſome tumult to aryſe, thought good to refuſe their counſel, and ſo did.

Earle Simon after this victory beareth himſelfe ſo ſtout, that he impriſoneth the hoſtages of the kings.

In this troubleſome yeare, which was. 1264. as the Londiners with the nobles were thus occupyed in war and diſſenſion: the malignant Jewes thynkyng to take vantage of the tyme, with priuey treaſon conſpired agaynſt the whole citie & ſtate of the nobles. Who beyng taken with the maner, were almoſt all ſlayne that dwelt in the citie of London.

In this yeare after the death of pope Vrbane, ſucceded the ſayd yeare of our Lord. an. 1264. pope Clement the fourth. Whiche Clement, as affirmeth Nich. Triuet, was firſt a maried man, and had wife and children, and was the ſollicitor and counſaylour to the French kyng. Then after the death of of his wife was byſhop intituled Podienſis. After that archbyſhop of Narbone. And at laſt made Cardinall. Who beyng ſent of Pope Vrbane in legacie, for reformation of peace, in his abſence was elected pope by the Cardinals. About the tyme floriſhed Thomas of Aquine, reader at Paris amõg the Dominicke friers, and Bonauenture, among the Francis frieres. Ex Nich. Triuet.

The … of pop… bane. Pope C… ment 4. Pope C… ment f… maried … and had wyfe a… children. Thomas Aquine Bonau… ture re… ders at … ris.

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As this paſſed on, the ſonnes of Simon the Earle, to witt Henry, Simon, Guido, and Henry, beyng puffed vp, and with the pride of this ſucces eleuated, dyd that whiche nothyng contented the earle of Gloceſter. In ſo much, that he chalenged Henry the eldeſt ſonne of the earle Simon Mountfort, at the barriers, to be tryed at Northampton. But that chalenge was taken vp, leaſt ſome farther inconueniẽce might haue riſen therof. But yͤ earle of Gloceſter beyng moued therwith in his mind, ſent vnto his father the earle, that he ſhould deliuer him ſuch priſonners beyng noble men, as he tooke at the battaile of Lewes. Amongſt whom, the Kyng of Almayne was named firſt. But he by countermaund aunſwered him and ſaid: that it might content and ſatiſfie him, for that he had ſaued and preſerued to hym his landes, that day the battaile was faught at Lewes. And that farther more, he would not ſend him ſuche priſoners as he demaunded: But that he him ſelfe kept more nobler, then they, in the caſtell of Douer: among whom was Jhon Baſſet, whiche vndermined and braſt down yͤ walles of Northamptõ, at that conflict as is ſaid before & ſpecified.

… Earle … ſon ſen… about in all gathe… a pow…

Diſſen… betwene Earle S… and the Earle of Glocest…

The earle of Gloceſter herewith beyng diſpleaſed, as ſone as he hard this aunſwere: ſent incontinently to the Lord Roger Mortimer, whiche alwayes toke the kings part, deſiryng that they two might talke together, touchyng the benefite and commoditie of the Kyng. Who, doubtyng ſome deceit, deſired ſureties and pledges for his ſafe returne, and he would come & talke with him, & ſo had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly: the earle of Gloceſter ſhewed him all that he was purpoſed to do: and that farther he lamẽted, he had ſo much and greatly offended the Kyng: And that he would with all his power and abilitie, make amendes for that offẽce in the reſtitution of the King agayne to his kyngly dignitie, as much as he poſſible might. Therfore, they ſent ſecretly to Robert, the brother of the earle of Gloceſter, which was neare about the earle Simon, and made him to conſent with them therein. And to worke this thyng more circumſpectly, when oportunitie ſerued therunto: Roger Mortimer ſent vnto the kynges ſonne, a horſe excellyng all other in footemanſhip, vnto whom he myght be ſure to truſt, when he ſaw conuenient tyme therunto. After whiche things thus contriued, prince Edward deſired leaue of the earle, to proue his courſer againſt ſuch time, he ſhould ride at the Tilte, as they might whẽ they liſted. Aſſone as he had gotten leaue, and that with galloping & ranging the field he had weried diuers of theyr horſes: at the laſt, geting vp vpon the horſe whiche for yͤ purpoſe was ſent, & ſpied a ſeruant on horſeback cõming towarde him wͭ two ſwordes. He turned about vnto his keper, whoſe name was Robert de Roſe, and to other his play felowes that were with hym, ſaying: My louyng Lordes, Thus long haue I kept you company, and haue

The ea… of Glo… ſter and… ger Mo… met o… togethe… gainſt … Symon.

Prince E… ward e… peth … out of … cuſtody … Erle Si… by a…

bene

bæn in your cuſtodies: And nowe not purpoſing to be your cōpanies any lōger, betake you to God: And quickly turnyng his horſe about, put to the ſpurres and away wēt he. The other pricked after a paſe, but yet came far inough behind, and ouertake him they could not. At laſt, when they ſawe Roger Mortimer commyng from hys caſtell of Wygmore, accōpanied with many armed mē to meet him as before it was apointed, they returned agayne home as wiſe as they came forth. And when this the princes eſcape was diuulgated: much people came vnto hym out of euery quarter, with great ioye therof. Amōgeſt whom, the firſt was the earle of Glocester, and the other ſouldiers of the kynges, whiche had long now lyen at Briſtow, and there aboutes. And within a ſhorte ſpace he had a great and mightie hoſt.

Whiche thing whē then earle Simond vnderſtood, he much doubted and miſtruſted him ſelfe: And ſendyng into Wales, he gate from thence a great many mē and augmēted his power as ſtrongly as he might, from euery part of Englād. He ſent alſo Simō hys ſon to ẏ noble mē of ẏ North partes, ẏ with all poſſible ſpede he might bring them wͭ hym: who wͭ a great company came with him, and at Kenelworth a while they ſtayd, and there pitched their tentes. But leauyng Kenelworth for a certein time they went to Winchester, and ſpoyled the ſame, & then returned agayne to Kenelworth. And when this by a certeine ſpiall was declared to Edwarde the kynges ſonne, who then was at Wyceſter, whiche he had gottē after he came frō Gloceſter a litle before: prepared hym ſelfe with his ſouldiers, in the night ſeaſon to go to the place where ẏ ſpye ſhould bryng hym, which was into a dæpe valley neare vnto the place, where Simon and his companie had pitched. And when in the mornyng they were very early about to arme them ſelues, and prepare their horſes: they hard a great noyſe of their enemyes cōming towardes them. Thē thinkyng, that they had prepared them ſelues agaynſt their commyng, and ſo had bæn betrayed: they ſet forth in battaile aray marchyng forwarde, till that they met certein of their enemies ſtrageling in long winges, thinking to haue gone a foraging and to haue ſought for vitailes: whom they toke, & with their freſh horſes, newe horſed their ſouldiers that had their horſes tyred with long trauel. And ſo marching forwarde, came very early in the mornyng vpon their enemyes, whom for the moſt part they found ſlepyng: and lyyng luſtely about thē: they ſlue diuers, ſome they toke, the reſte they put to flighte, and fiftene of their chiefeſt enſignes they toke, and many other riches ſpoiles. But yong Simon him ſelfe lodged in the caſtell, who with a few with him eſcaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the Nones of Auguſt. an. 1265.

But when Edward, hard that earle Simon was cōmyng toward Kenelworth, to ioyne with his ſonnes battell: he marched forward to mæte hym, the thyrd day after at Euſham. Where he deuided his hoſt into thre battayles, he him ſelfe hauyng the leadyng of one, the duke of Gloceſter the ſecond, and Roger Mortimer the thyrd, whiche came vpon their backes. The kyngs ſonne Edward came Northward, as though he came from Kenelworth to Euſham, and becauſe he would not be diſcreit, he cauſed hys own ſtanderdes and enſignes to be taken downe, and yong Simons which he had taken before to be aduaunced. But the earle Simons Scurier, whoſe name was Nicholas, ſhewed the earle that ſuch bandes and cōpanies were marchyng towardes him: who thinkyng the ſame to haue bæn Simon his ſonnes power, not knowyng of the ouerthrow which he had had before gaue ſmall credite therunto: till that the ſayd Nicholas the better to vew and diſcræ them, went vp to the Abbey ſteple of Euſham, where he might plainly diſcerne them all and their ſtāderds: For by this tyme, they were moūted the hill whiche they laboured to attaine, thynking to haue that vantage, when they ſhould giue their charge as they had purpoſed: and had alſo aduaunced agayne his owne ſtanderdes, and pulled downe Simons, wherby they were the more eaſlyer diſcreed and knowen. Thē he cried aloud to the earle Simon and ſayd, we are all but dead men: For it is not your ſonne as you ſuppoſe that commeth, but it is Edward the kynges ſonne, that commeth from one part: and the earle of Gloceſter, frō an other part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part. Then ſayd the earle. The Lord be mercifull vnto our ſoules, for aſmuch as our bodies and lyues are nowe in their handes: cōmaundyng that euery man ſhould make him ſelfe ready to God, and to fight out the field for that it was their willes, to die for theyr lawes & in a iuſt quarell: And ſuch as would depart, he gaue leaue to go their wayes that they ſhould be no diſcomfiture to the reſt.

Then came vnto him his eldeſt ſonne Henry and comforted him, deſiring him to haue no diſpaire nor yet miſtruſt in the good ſucces of this victory, with other ſuche cherefull wordes. No my ſonne ſayth he, I diſpayr not: but yet, it is thy preſumption and the pride of the reſt of thy brethren that haue brought me to thys ende ye ſee. Notwithſtanding yet I truſt, I ſhall die to God and in a righteous quarell. After wordes of comfort geuen to all his hoſt, and the oration made as is the maner, they all armed themſelues. The king alſo (whom the earle alwayes kept wyth hym) he armed in an armour of hys own. And thē deuiding their battailes, they marched toward their enemies: but before they ioined, the welchmē ran their ways, & thinking to ſcape ouer ẏ riuer of Dæ, were there ſome drowned, and ſome ſlaine. Then when the battayles ioyned and came to handy ſtrokes, wythin ſhort ſpace, manye of the Earles part fell and were ſlayn. And the king himſelf being ſtroken at, cryed with a loud voyce to them ſaying: kill me not, I am Henrye your kyng. And with theſe the kinges wordes the Lord Adam Monhaut knew him, and ſaued him. At whoſe voyce and cry came alſo prince Edward his ſonne, and deliuered hym to the garde and cuſtodye of certayne knights. In the meane ſeaſon, the earle Simō was hard beſtead and beaten downe, & alſo ſlayn before Edwarde the prince came at him. Howbeit, before he fel, when as yet he fought for his life, and Henry his ſōne and other noble men on his part were about him, he brake out in theſe wordes vnto his enemies ſaying: what, is ther no mercy and compaſſion wyth you? Who agayne anſwered, what compaſſion ſhoulde there bee ſhewed to traytors? Thē ſaid he, the lord be merciful to our ſoules, our bodies are in your hands. And as ſoone as theſe wordes were ſpokē, they mangled his body, & deuided his members, and cut of his head, which head Roger Mortimer ſent vnto his wyfe. And not far of from him alſo was ſlayne Henry hys eldeſt ſonne, the Lord Hugh Spencer, the lord Radulph Baſſet, the Lord Thomas de Heſtele, the lord Williā Maundeuile, the lord John Bewchamp, the lord Guido Baillofer, the Lord Roger Rowley, and many other noble men beſydes, with a great multitude of people the Lord knoweth how manye. This battayle was fought in the moneth of Auguſt and continued frō one of the clocke tyll it was night: in the which, was not ſo much as one man on the earles part of any eſtimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battayle loſt hys lyfe: more then the lord John, who by the great grace of God eſcaped death. Neyther is this to be forgotten, that the ſame day being Tewſday, at that inſtant houre whē the battel began, which was at one of the clock at afternone: there was ſuch a darknes ouer all, ſuch thunder & ſuch tempeſt: that the lyke before that tyme was neuer ſeene, being very fayre and calme weather both immediatly before and after, which ſeemed (ſaith mine autor) to geue a playne demōſtration of that which afterward chaunced and followed.

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Prince Edwards hoſt deſcribed, wherat the Earle was much abaſhed.

The wordes of Earle Simonde to hys ſonne.

K. Henry almoſt ſlain in the battel at length knowen by his voyce and reſkued by hys ſone.

Earle Simon, his ſone and manie moo lordis and barons ſlayne at thys battel of Euſham.

After

1266.

A parliment ſummoned at Wincheſter where Kyng Henry was againe reſtored to hys regalitie

The Earles carcas vntombed and caſt forth of Chriſten buriall.

After this great ſlaughter and ouerthrow,there was a Parliament ſommoned at Wincheſter by the Earle of Gloceſter,and other of his parte. Here by the way is to be conſidered,that the king although he was in the campe of the Earle of Leyceſter,being then in cuſtodie, and his ſonne Edward with the Earle of Gloc. yet the king was in that ſide agaynſt hys will. And therfore in yͤ ſayd Parliament,the king was reſtored to his kingly dignitie which was before that tyme vnder the cuſtodie of the Barons. But after the battayle was ended and done,certaine of them that loued the Earle:vpon an old ladder,gathered vp ſuch partes of his bodie as remayned,and couering the ſame with an old gowne brought it to Euſham:where they putting the ſame in a fayre linnen cloth,buried it in the church.But not long after, by ſuch as thought not thē ſelues ſufficiently reuenged with his death(to wreke them of the dead corpes)tooke vp the ſame and threw it in an other place, ſaying: that he which was both accurſed, & a traytor,was not worthie of chriſtian buriall. The ſame yeare alſo dyed M. Walter Cantilupus biſhop of Wincheſter,after whom ſucceded M. Nicholas of Elie the kings chauncellor.

Kenilwoorth caſtle beſieged of the kyng

Kenilworthe decre agaynſt the diſherited.

Kenilworth decre gaynſayd bi diuers.

The ſame yeare,the king perceauing,that vnles the caſtle of Kenilworth were recouered,and the bolones of them reſtrayned that kept the ſame: many euills and inconueniences might inſue therupon, to the preiudice of his kingdome: for that the number increaſed euery day more & more,waſting and ſpoyling the countrey all about. Therfore,he gathered an armie & came to Warwicke, where he a while taryed expecting the meeting and aſſembling of his Marqueſes, and Lordes,with engins & other munition ſautable. Who whē their bandes were furniſhed, and muſtered and all things readie,the morrow after Midſomer day he diſplayed hys banner, and beganne his viage marching towards Kenilworth and beſieged the ſame. During which ſiege, by the aduiſe and counſail of the king,the popes Legate,& other noble men: xij.perſons were choſen which ſhoulde haue the diſpoſing of thoſe things that pertayned to the ſtate of the realme,and of thoſe that had loſt their landes and inheritaunces: who amongſt other things, made and eſtabliſhed this one prouiſo,that was commonlye called Kenilworth decree. That all thoſe which had loſte theyr lands by attaynder(although not yet attaynted)ſhould fyne therfore at the kings pleaſure,and take their lands of hym agayne: paying ſome 3.yeares, ſome 4.yeares, ſome 2.yeares reuenewes of the ſame, according to the qualitie of the crime and offence committed. All which prouiſos or prouiſions,were eſtabliſhed and confirmed as wel by the corporal othe, as by ſignment of the ſame with the handes and ſeales of all the prelates and clergie of England,there aſſembled for that purpoſe by the popes Legate vpon the feaſt of all ſaintes. When theſe thinges were thus finiſhed,meſſingers were ſent on the kinges behalfe, as well to thoſe that kept the caſtle of Kenilworth, as alſo to thoſe that were aſſembled in the Ile of Elie:willing them to come vnder the protection of the kinges peace,and yelde to the foreſayd prouiſos eſtabliſhed by the twelue cōmiſſioners. Who altogether anſwered and ſayd: that they would in no wyſe condeſcend therunto: both for that it was done without their conſentes not being called vnto it, and alſo for that the ſayd decree was ouer ſtraict & intollerable. Within ſhort ſpace after,greate famine and peſtilence chaunced amongſt them which kept the caſtle, in ſo much as they were without all hope of keping yͤ ſame: wherfore,ſone after the king ſending agayne to them to yeld the caſtle and take their pardōs,they conſulting together of their owne eſtate:thus anſwered the kings meſſengers. If it pleaſe the king and hys counſail to permitte vs to ſend our meſſenger vnto the Lord Simon Mountfort which is beyond the ſea,that he may come by a certayne daye to the defence of thys his garriſon and forte: and that in the meane ſpace, we be not diſturbed by the kinges armie that hath inuironed vs, til yͤ returne of our meſſengers: If by the day appointed he come not,we will yelde vp the ſame,ſo that we may be pardoned of life, lymme and moueables.

When the meſſengers were returned, and had declared to the Kyng their aunſwere:he conſultyng with hys nobles about the matter,agreed to their petitions. And cauſed the truce to be proclaimed throught all his campe, after that ſufficient hoſtages were on either ſide giuen for the performance of the ſame:wherupon,they ſet forward their meſſengers,as before was ſayd they would. But after that,many of them within the caſtell beyng verye greuouſly vexed with the bloudy flixe and other diſeaſes,in ſo much that the hole men might not abide the corruption,and anoyance of thoſe that were diſeaſed:deliuered vp the caſtell before the returne of the meſſēgers agayne,and were permitted to go whether they would to refreſh them ſelues,as men moleſted with great vexation and miſeries.After the rendryng vp of the caſtel,the Kyng cōmitted the cuſtodie therof to his ſonne Edmūd, and ſo with his hoſt departyng from the ſiege,came vpō Chriſtmas eunes eune to Oſney: where,he with greate ſolemnitie and triūphe kept his Chriſtmas duryng ſeuē dayes,and from thēce with his hoſt came to Windſore, from whence after a fewe dayes he marched towardes Elie: In whiche Iland he beſieged thoſe,which were diſherited,and ſharply aſſaulted thē. The ſame yeare,pope Clement yͤ fourth,promoted maſter Walter Cifferd byſhop of Bath,to be archbiſhop of Yorke. In which yeare alſo, the churche of England began to paye the tenthes of all their reuenewes as well ſpirituall as temporall,to the Kyng: to cōtinue for three yeares ſpace,and this was done by the authorite apoſtolicall.

Within a while after,the barons which were yet remayning,gathered thē ſelues together agayn: Amōgeſt whom Iohn Daywile(beyng a ſubtile and ſtout man of warre) began to haue a name and was well eſteemed amongeſt them: who altogether did what miſchief they might,& in the moneth of May,they aſſēbled at Cheſterfield,vnder yͤ ſaid Ihon Daywile & the earle Ferarēce, vpon whom the kinges ſouldiers,cōming ſodenly in the night,tooke them ſlepyng,and ſlue many of them. Then the ſayd Ihon Daywile quickly arming him ſelfe,came forth: thinking with more defence both to ſaue him ſelfe, and to eſcape. Who in the way ſtrooke,the Lord Gilbert Humſard ſuch a blow with his demilaunce, that he feld both him and his horſe to the ground , and ſo fled with a fewe more after him. And thus whileſt the poore ſouldiers faught and were ſlayne,the barons fled away and ſaued them ſelues. Alſo the earle Ferarence fled,and hid him ſelfe in a church. But beyng bewrayde by a womā, he was takē forth,and led away priſoner. After this,the kyng kept a parliament at Northampton,where he diſherited al thoſe that tooke any part with the earle Simō, and all their children. Where alſo the popes legate Octobonus held a conuocation, and excommunicated al ſuch biſhops,as had take any part with Simon, agaynſt the king: of whom diuers he ſent vp to Rome,to be abſoyled of the pope: and farther the ſayd legate cauſed to be proclaimed certeine decrees,whiche he him ſelfe had made: And alſo the new graunt of Pope Clement, to the kyng and quene, of all the tenthes for ſeuen yeares to come: And ſhortly after a taxe alſo was fined , vpon the countrey of Northfolke: to yͤ gathering wherof,maiſter Walter yͤ biſhop of Norwiche was apointed. Ex Scala mundi.

After this in the yeare of our Lord.1267.kyng Henry beſieged agayn the caſtell of Kenelworth,from the.7.day before yͤ firſt day of Iulie,vntil yͤ beginning of December: whether,came Octobonus the popes legate,by whoſe intreatie Hēry Haſtinges,deliuered the ſame vn to the Kyng,which ſtoutly had defended the ſame and reſiſted the Kyng: hauing pardon graunted both for hym and his,of his lyfe,landes,goodes,and cattels. Jn whiche time alſo the barons agayn aſſembled,with Jhon Dayuile in the Jle of Axiolme,and ſo proceded till they came to Lincolne:Which alſo they toke,& ſpoiled the Jewes, and ſlue many of thē:And entring their Sinagoge teare and rent the boke of their law,and burnt the ſame, and all other writinges and obligations, whiche they could come by.Which thyng when the Kyng hard,he ſent thether his ſonne prince Edward:but as ſone as they herd that,they fled into the Jle of Ely, and fortified the ſame with bulwarkes as ſtrongly as they might,at euery entrance into the ſame. This was in the moneth of Aprill when Edward the kinges ſonne came thether:Who for the great abūdance of waters in the ſame, could by no meanes enter the Jland, till at the length by the counſel of the inhabitauntes of that prouince, he cauſed with a nōber of workemen great trenches & diches to be made, ſomewhat to conuey away the water: And ſo long vſed he yͤ counſel of them,in makyng bridges with plankes & hurdles,till at the laſt they entred the Jlande. Who as ſone as they were entred, yͤ barons fled to Lōdon,where they were of the Londiners well intertained. The reſt whiche were in the Jland,yelded them ſelues (amongeſt whom was Roger Wake, Simon the yonger, and Peches)ſauing their lyues and members. After this, both the King and Edward his ſonne,came to London with a great power,but yet were kept out of the citie, by the barons and citizens,for the ſpace of 40.dayes.And Octobonus yͤ legate(who for feare was fled into the tower) they narrowly layd for that he ſhould not eſcape. At the lēgth by the intreatie of the earle of Gloceſter, and other earles that were his friendes:both the barons and the citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the Kynges fauour.And 4.biſhops and 8.other noble men were choſē, ſuch as were at Couentrey firſt nominated: that they ſhould order and diſpoſe all matters, betwene the Kyng and ſuch as had loſt their inheritaunce,as alſo the forme of their peace and raunſome. And a proclamation was made vpon the feaſt of all ſaintes,of perfect peace & concorde through all the realme.

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The.52.yeare of this king Henries raygne.8. dayes after the feaſt of ſaint Martin,he helde a parliament at Marlberge in the yere of our lord aboue recited:where, by the aduiſe of wyſe and diſcrite men, and with all the conſentes of the nobles,he ordayned and enacted diuers good and profitable ſtatutes for the reformation & bettering of the ſtate of the realme and execution of common iuſtice,which are called the ſtatutes of Merleberg. The ſame yere vpō ſaint Gregories day, Octobonus the Legat called a councel at London,wher were fiue archbiſhops,and a great number of biſhops,Abbots, and other Prelates:which councell alſo,wythin three dayes brake vp agayne.

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The ſame yeare vpon ſaint Johns day the Baptiſt, Edward the kinges ſonne and diuers other noble men of England tooke vpon them the croſſe by the Legates handes at Northampton,to the reliefe of the holy land, and the ſubuerſion of the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt. Whyche done, the Legate the ſame yeare went out of England,not purpoſing after that to returne agayne. This holy Legate(ſayth myne autor)which might well be reſembled to Lynx the monſtrous beaſt,whoſe quick ſight penetrateth euery thing:enrolled to perpetual memory the valuation of all the churches in the realme of England ſo narrowlye, as by anye meanes poſſible hee might inquire the certaynty therof. The ſame was hee, that made all the Cathedrall & Conuentuall churches to pay pēcions:ſo yͭ thoſe churches which gaue not the vacancie of their benefices to their clarkes and ſtrangers, ſhould pay vnto them a certain yearely pencion during the vacancie of the benefices whych they ſhoulde haue.

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The ſame yeare dyed Pope Clement.4.after whoſe death the church of Rome was.ij.yeares vacant: & then was choſen an archdeacon Cardinal,whoſe name was Theardus,as he was taking his iourney into the holy land,and called hym Gregory the.10.

Pope Clement 4.dyeth.
Pope Gregorye the 10.

Then alſo did prince Edward take to wyfe the earle of Albemarke his daughter,and yͤ Neece of the earle of Gloceſter:at which mariage was the king and queene, and all the nobility of England. The ſame yeare was the body of ſaint Edward the king and Confeſſour, by Walter Gifford archbiſhop of Yorke and other biſhops intombed in a newe and rich Schrine of gold and ſiluer, beſet with precious ſtones,in the preſence of Henrye the king of England:Jn which yeare alſo fell great rayne and inundacion of waters,ſuch as hath not lightly bene ſene,whych increaſed and continued the ſpace of fortye dayes and more.

The mariage of prince Edward.

Edward the kyng and confeſſour ſhrined

The ſame yeare dyed Walter de Lawile biſhop of Sarum the third day before the nones of Januarye. After whom ſucceded Maiſter Robert of Northampton the Deane of the ſame church.And becauſe the ſee of Cāterbury was thē vacant,he was confirmed by the chapter of Canterbury: which chapter had alwayes the iuriſdiction in ſpiritual cauſes,during the vacancy of that ſee,in as ample maner as the biſhop himſelfe had beyng alyue.After thys,the biſhop elect comming thether,thinking to haue had hys conſecration, was notwythſtanding put backe for twoo cauſes: one was,for that there was preſent thē,no more but one biſhop:the other was, for that al the other biſhops had appealed,that he might not be conſecrated to their preiudice,that is, by the autoritie of the chapter of Canterburye, ſaying that they would not be vnder the obedience of the Monkes.

The biſhop of Cant.put from his conſecratiō

After thys,when ſolemne meſſengers wer for thys cauſe ſent to the Cardinals of Rome, for that then the ſee of Rome was vacant:receaued anſwer,that duryng the vacation of that ſee,that the confirmation and conſecration of the biſhop elect,pertayned to the foreſaid chapter of Canterbury.

The ſame yeare alſo was the lord Henrye the ſonne and heire of the lord Richard king of Almayne, and brother to king Henry the third: ſlayne at Viterbium,in a certayne chappel hearing Maſſe,by the lord Simon and Guido,the ſonnes of the lord Simon Mountfort Earle of Leciter.

The death and ſlaughter of Lord Richard the kinges ſon of Almain at Viterbium.

During this kings raygne,there was made a great & generall expedition of ſundry & diuers Chriſtian princes to Jeruſalē,taking vpon thē the lords character,yͭ is the cros: amōg whom alſo was Edward the kings ſonne,to the which expedition was graunted him a ſubſidie throughout all the realm.And in the moneth of May the yeare of our Lord.1270.or as ſayth Florilogus, an. 1269.he ſet forward on this iourny.

An 1270

About the tyme whan prince Edward was preparing his iourney toward Aſia, Boniface the Archbiſh. of Cant. ended hys lyfe, in the countrey of Sebandia, going belike to Rome or comming thence. After whoſe death, the monkes of Cant.proceding to a newe election graunted by the king, agreed vpon the Prior of their houſe named Adam Chelendene.But the king and his ſonne prince Edward conſenting and ſpeaking in the behalfe of Robert Burnell their chāceller: did ſollicite the matter with the monkes,partly entreating,partlye threatning them,to chuſe yͤ ſayd Rob.to be archbiſhop. Notwithſtanding the monkes being ſtoute,would neyther relente to their courteous requeſt, nor yet bowe to their boyſterous threates, but conſtantlye perſiſting in their former election,appealed from the king and prince to the pope.Prince Edward being now on his iorney, & ſeing himſelfe thus fruſtrated of the monkes, writeth backe to the king his father:deuoutlye praying and be-

The death of Boniface arch. of Cant.

Adam Chelindene elected archb.of Cant.

Appellation from the kyng to the pope by the monkes of Cant.

ſeeking in no wyſe to admitte the election of the foreſaid monkes. And ſo paſſing to Douer with Henry the ſonne of Rich. his vncle king of Romanes, with their wiues tooke their paſſage in the moneth of Auguſt. After thys the Prior thus elected, as is foretolde, but not admitted by the king to be archb. went vp to Rome.

Adam Chillindene goeth vp to Rome.

In the meane time, the monkes (in the abſence of their elect) ordayned one Geoffry Pomenall to be their officiall: who ſeing himſelfe aduaunſed to that dignitie, and bearing belike ſome olde grudge agaynſt the Priour of Douer, cauſed him to be cited vp to appeare in the chapterhouſe of Cant. The Prior of Douer ſeing this citation to be preiudiciall to him and to the church of Douer, where as the monkes of Cant. haue noe ſuch iuriſdictiō (the ſee of Cant. being vacant) but that all things appertayning to that church, ought to be reſerued whole to yͤ conſecratiō of the new archb: therfore, for the ſtate both of him & of his church, he appealed vp alſo vnto Rome. But to returne to the Archbiſhop agayne.

Variance betwene the officiall of Cant. and the priour of Douer.

Appellation to Rome.

The ſecond yere after, Adam Chilindene the foreſaid Archb. electe, remayning all this while at Rome: at laſte reſigned vp his election to yͤ popes hand, being Gregory 10. who thē gaue the ſame to Robert Kylwardby. Who thē cōming to Douer, reſtored again yͤ Prior of yͤ houſe being before excluded vpō certain cauſes. By theſe contētions iudge, good reader, of the religion of theſe mē, & of theſe times. And now to returne to our former ſtory.

Adam Chelindon reſigneth to the pope. Rob. Kilwarby archb. of Cant.

About which tyme came out the great cōcordācies by an Engliſh frier, called Ihon Dernington. Ex Eulogio.

It was aboue declared, how a generall viage being proclaimed to warre agaynſt the Turkes, & a ſubſidie being collected in Englād vpon yͤ ſame: prince Edward with other was appoynted to take their viage, and nowe were onward in their iourney. Who at Michaelmas folowing, with his company came to Egermorth, which is from Marſilius viij. leages weſtward: and ther taking ſhip againe (hauing a merye wynde and proſperous) wythin. 10. dayes ariued at Sunes Tunicium, where he was with great ioy welcommed and intertayned of the Chriſtian princes that there were to this purpoſe aſſembled, as of Philip the French king, whoſe father Lodouicus, died a litle before: of Charolus the king of Sicilia: and the two kings of Nauer & Arragon. And as this lord Edward came thether for his father yͤ king of Englād, thether came alſo Hēry the ſōne of the king of Almain for his father: who at his return frō yͤ viage, was ſlain in a chappel at Viterbiū, as you heard before.

When prince Edward demaunded of theſe kynges and princes what was to be done, they anſwered him agayne and ſayd: The prince of this City ſayd they, and the prouince adioyning to the ſame, hath bene accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicile euery yeare. And now, for that the ſame hath bene for the ſpace of. vij yeares vnpayed and more, therfore we thought good to make inuaſion vpon hym. But the kyng knowing the ſame tribute to be but iuſtly demaunded, hath now according to our own deſires ſatiſfied for the tyme paſt, and alſo payed hys tribute before hand.

Then ſayd he: My Lordes what is this to the purpoſe? Are we not here all aſſembled, and haue taken vpon vs the Lordes Caracter to fight agaynſt the infidels and enemyes of Chriſt? what meane you then to conclude a peace with them. God forbyd we ſhould do ſo: for nowe the land is playne and hard, ſo that we may approch the holie citie Jeruſalem. Then ſayd they, now haue we made a leage with them, neither is it lawfull for vs to breake the ſame: But let vs returne agayne to Sicilia and when the wynter is paſt, we may wel take ſhipping to Acra. But this counſell nothing at all liked him, neither dyd he ſhewe hymſelf wel pleaſed therwith: But after that he had made them a princely banket, he went into his cloſet or priuie chamber, from amongſt them: neither would be partaker of any of that wicked mony which they had taken. They notwithſtanding continuing their purpoſe: at the next merie wind toke ſhipping, and for wants of ſhippes, left. 200. of their men a ſhore cryeng out and pitcouſlye lamenting for the perill and hazard of death they were in. Wherwith prince Edwarde being ſomewhat moued with compaſſion, came backe agayn to the land and receaued and ſtowed them in hys own ſhippes, being the laſte that wente aborde. Within ſeuen dayes after, they ariued in the kingdome of Sicilia ouer agaynſt the citie Trapes, caſting theyr anchors a leage frō thence within the ſea, for that theyr ſhips were of great burden and throughly fraught. And from the hauen of the citie they ſent out barges & botes to receaue & bryng ſuch of yͤ nobilitie to land as would: but their horſes for the moſt part, and all their armour they kept ſtill within bourd. At length towardes the euening, the ſea beganne to be rough and encreaſed to a greate tempeſt & a mightie: In ſo much, that their ſhips were beaten one agaynſt an others ſydes, and drowned there was of them at that tempeſt lying at anchor, more then 120. with all their armour and munition: with innumerable ſoules beſides, and that wicked money alſo which they had taken before likewyſe periſhed and was drowned. But the tempeſt hurt not ſo much as one ſhip of prince Edwardes, who had in number. xiij. nor yet had one man loſt therby: for that as it may be preſuppoſed, he conſented not to the wicked counſel of the reſt. When in the morning the princes and kinges came to the ſea ſide, and ſaw all their ſhippes drownd: and ſawe their men and horſes in greate number caſte vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hartes, as well they might. For of all their ſhippes & marineres, which were in number a M. CCCCC. beſides the common ſouldiers: there was no more ſaued, then the mariners of one onely ſhyp, and they in this wyſe. There was in that ſhip, a good and wiſe matrone (a Countes or an Earles wyfe) perſeuing the tempeſt to growe, and fearing her ſelfe, called to her the maſter of the ſhip: and aſked whether in attempting to the ſhore, it were not poſſible to ſaue them ſelues: who aunſwered, that to ſaue the ſhip it was impoſſible, howbeit the men that were therin by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then ſayd the Countes, for the ſhip force no whitte: ſaue the ſoules therin, and haue to thee, double the valure of thy ſhip. Who immediatlye hoyſing the ſailes, with all force ranne the ſhip a ground ſo neare the ſhore as poſſible was. Thus with the vehemencie of the wether and force he came withall, braſte the ſhip and ſaued all that was within the ſame, as the maſter had ſhewed and ſayd before.

The great expedition to inuade the turke ſtayed by the concludyng of a peace.

The great vyage of the French king agaynſt the Turkes, turned to a mony matter.

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Prince E
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Then the kinges and princes (altering their purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhypwrack) returned home agayne euery one vnto their owne landes: Onely Edward the kynges ſonne remayned behynd with his men & ſhyps, whiche the Lord had ſaued and preſerued. Then prince Edward (renouating his purpoſe) toke ſhipping agayn, and within xv. daies after Eaſter ariued he at Acra, and went a land taking with him a thouſād of the beſt ſouldiers and moſt expert, and taried there a hole moneth, refreſhyng both his men and horſes & that in this ſpace he might learne and know the ſecretes of the land. After this, he toke with him 6. or 7. thouſand ſouldiers & marched forward xx. miles from Acra, and toke Nazareth: and thoſe he there foūd he ſlue, and afterward returned agayn to Acra. But their enemies folowing after them, thinkyng to haue ſet vpō thē at ſome ſtraite or other aduauntage: were by the prince premoniſhed thereof, and returning agayn vpon them gaue a charge, and ſlue many of them and yͤ reſt they put to flight. After this about midſomer, when the prince had vnderſtandyng that the Saraſens began to gather at Cakhow, which was 40. miles from Acra: he marching thether, ſet vpon them ve

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An ouer
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ry early in the mornyng, and ſlue of thē more thē 1000, the reſt he put to flight, and tooke rich ſpoyles, marching forward till they came to a caſtell, named Caſtrum Peregrinorum, ſituate vpon the ſea coſte, and taried there that night, and the nexte day they returned agayne toward Acra. In the meane ſeaſon, the Kyng of Jeruſalē ſent vnto the noble men of Cypres, deſiryng them with ſpeede, that they would come and ayde the Chriſtiās: but they would not come, ſaying: they would kepe their own land and go no farther. Then prince Edward ſent vnto them, deſiryng that at his requeſt they would come, and ioyne in aide with him. Who immediatly therupō came vnto hym, with great preparation and furniture for the warres, ſaying: that at his commaundement they were bound to do no leſſe, for that his predeceſſours were ſomtimes the gouernours of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to ſhewe their fidelitie, to the kynges of England. Then the Chriſtians beyng herewith animated, made a thyrd viage or Rode, and came as farre as yͤ forte called Vincula S. Petri, and to S. Georges: ⁊ when they had ſlayne certein there, not findyng any to make reſiſtence agaynſt them, the retired agayne from whēce they came. Whē thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongeſt his enemyes, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him: they diuiſed amōgeſt them ſelues, how by ſome pollecie they might circumuent him and betraye hym. Wherupon, the great prince ⁊ Admirall of Joppa, ſent vnto him: fayning hym ſelfe vnder great deceapt to become a Chriſtian, and that he would drawe with hym a great nomber beſides, ſo that they might be honorably intertained and vſed of the Chriſtians. This talke pleaſed the prince well, ⁊ perſuaded hym to finiſh yͤ thing, he had ſo well begō, by wrytyng agayn: who alſo by yͤ ſame meſſenger ſent ⁊ wrote backe vnto hym, diuers tymes about yͤ ſame matter, wherby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring. This meſſenger, ſaith myne autor, was one ex caute nutritis, one of the ſtony harted yͤ neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fift tyme when this meſſenger cam, and was of the princes ſeruantes ſearched, accordyng to the manour and cuſtome what weapon and armour he had about him, as alſo hys purſe, that not ſo muche as a knife could be found about him: he was had vp into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certayn letters, which he deliuered the prince from his Lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after whitſontide vpon a Teuſdaye, ſomwhat before night: at whych tyme the Prince was layde vpon his bed bare headed in his Jerkynne, for the great heate and intemperature of the weather. When the prince had red the letters, it appeared by them that vpon the ſaterday next folowing, his lord would be ther ready to accompliſh all that he had wrytten and promiſed. The report of this newes by yͤ prince to yͤ ſtāders by liked thē wel, drawing ſommhat backe to conſult therof amongſt them ſelues. In the meane time, the meſſenger kneeling and making his obeyſaunce to the prince (queſtioning further wyth hym) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out ſome ſecrete letters: ⁊ ſodenly he pulled out an inuenemed knyfe, thinking to haue ſtroken him into the belly therwith as he lay: But the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blowe, was ſtrickē a great wound into the arme. And beyng about to fetch an other ſtroke at him, the prince agayne wyth hys foote tooke him ſuch a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gat him by the hande, and with ſuch violence wraſted the knife from him, that he hurt himſelfe therwith on the forhead, and immediatlye thruſt the ſame into the belly of the meſſenger ⁊ ſtriker, and ſlew hym. The princes ſeruantes beyng in the next chamber not far of, hearing the buſkling, cam wͭ great haſt running in: and finding the meſſenger lyeng dead in the floure, one of them tooke vp a ſtoole, and bet out hys braynes: Wherat the prince was wroth, for that he ſtroke a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumour hereof as it was ſtraunge, ſo it ſoone went throwout all the court, and from thence amongeſt the cōmon people: wherefore they were very heauy and greatly diſcouraged. To him came alſo the Capitayne of the temple and brought him a coſtly and precious drinke agaynſt poyſon, leaſt the venem of the knife ſhould penetrate the lyuely blood, and in blaming wyſe ſayde vnto him: Did I not ſhew your grace before of the deceipte ⁊ ſubtiltie of thys people? Notwithſtanding, ſayth he, let your grace take a good hart, you ſhall not dye of thys wound, my lyfe for yours. But ſtraight wayes, the ſurgions ⁊ Phiſitions were ſent for, ⁊ the prince was dreſſed: and within few dayes after the wound began to putrify, and the fleſh to looke dead and blacke, whereupon they that were about the Prince beganne to mutter amongeſt them ſelues, and were verye ſad and heauye. Which thyng he hymſelfe perceauing, ſayd vnto them: why mutter you thus amongeſt your ſelues? What ſee you in me, can I not be healed? Tel me the truthe, be ye not afrayde. Whereupon one ſayd vnto hym: and lyke your grace you may be healed we miſtruſt not, but yet it wyll be very paynfull for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering ſayth he, agayne reſtore health? Yea ſayth the other, on payne of looſing my head. Then ſayd the Prince, I commit my ſelfe to you, do with me what you thinke good. Then ſayd one of the Phiſicions, is there anye of your nobles in whom your grace repoſeth ſpeciall truſt? To whom the Prince aunſwered yea, namyng certeyne of the noble men that ſtoode about hym. Then ſayde the phiſicion to the two whome the Prince firſt named, the Lord Edmund, and the Lord John Voyſie: And do you alſo faythfully loue your lord and Prince? Who anſwered both, yea vndoubted. Then ſayth he, take ye awaye thys gentlewoman and Lady (meaning hys wyfe) ⁊ let her not ſee her Lord and huſband, tyll ſuch tyme I wyll you therunto. Wherupon they tooke her from out of the Princes preſence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then ſayd they vnto her, be ye contented good lady and Madam: It is better that one woman ſhoulde weepe a little whyle, then that all the realm of England ſhould weepe a great ſeaſon. Then on the morow, they cut out all the deade and inuenemed fleſhe oute of the Princes arme, and threw it from them, and ſayd vnto him: how chereth your grace, we promiſe you withih theſe fiftene dayes you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horſe backe, whole and wel as euer you wer. And according to the promiſe hee made the Prince, it came to paſſe, to the no litle comfort and admiration of all hys ſubiectes. When the great Souldan herd hereof, and that the Prince was yet alyue, he would ſcarſly beleue the ſame: and ſending vnto him three of his nobles and Princes, excuſed himſelfe by thē, callyng hys gods to wytnes, that the ſame was done neither by him, nor his conſent. Which Princes and meſſengers ſtandyng a loofe of from the kyngs ſonne, worſhipping him, fell flat vpon the ground. You ſaith the Prince do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderſtood hym not, becauſe he ſpake in Engliſhe vnto them, ſpeakyng by an Interpreter. Neuertheles, he honorablye intreated them, and ſent them away in peace.

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The prince in peril of death by reaſon of his hurt, is cōforted of the phiſitions.

The prince reſtored to helth and the Soldan forſweareth himſelfe.

Thus whē prince Edward had bene xvij. monethes in Acra, he tooke ſhipping aboute the aſſumption of our ladie, as we call it, returning homeward, and after vij. weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes: and from thēce traueling through Paleſtina and Methines, and ſo throughe the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the pope honourablye entertayned. From thence he came into Fraunce, whoſe fame and noble prowes was there much bruted among the common people, and enuied of the nobilitie eſpecially: of the

The prince returneth out of Turky toward England again

Earle de Chalons: who ſent vnto him & requyred him, that he might breake a ſtaffe with him at the Tilte in his countrey: Which thing to do, for ẏ the prince would not deminiſhe his honour and fame (although he might haue wel alleaged a ſufficient cauſe & excuſe by meanes of his trauell) yet he would not, but willingly conſented therunto. Wherupō it was proclaimed, that prince Edward by ſuch a day with thoſe that were with him had chalenged all commers at the Tilte and Barriers.

A day of ſport in Fraunce appointed, which turned to good earneſt.

Wherupon great aſſembles were made in the countrey all about: and diuers as well horſemen as footemen had coniured amongſt them ſelues and conſpyred agaynſt the Engliſhmen, ſelling their horſes and armour aforehande, and drinking one to an other in bon viage of the ſpoyle of them whom they ſhoulde take as their priſoners. Prince Edward in ẏ meane time, ſent into England for diuers Earles and Barons which came vnto hym. When the daye appoynted was come, the prince had with him more then 1000. horſemen whiche were knights, beſides his footemen. But yet there was as many mo on the other ſide both in horſemen and footemen. When the parties ſhould méete: The french footemen which had before conſpired: began both to ſpoyle, rifle, and kill. The Engliſhmē reſiſted and defēded them ſelues both with bowes & ſlynges: Manie of them they ſlew and draue them to the gates of theyr citie, the other they chaſed ouer a riuer where many were drowned. In ẏ meane ſeaſon, the Earle with fiftie of his knightes which followed him, came forth and ioyned together ſo many for ſo many, and a longe tyme together they tryed it with their ſwordes, laying one at an other. At the laſt, the Earle perceauing himſelfe not able to matche with hym at the armes eand: encloſed with him, and taking hym about the necke held hym with his armes very ſtrayte. What meane you my Lord sayth the prince, thinke you to haue my horſe? Ye marie quod the Earle, I meane to haue both thee and thy horſe. Hereat prince Edward being aſcorned, lifted vp himſelfe & gaue hym ſuch a blowe, that therwith all he forſaking hys horſe honge ſtill aboute the princes necke till that he ſhooke hym of to the ground. Herewith the prince, being ſomewhat in a heate left the preaſe to take ſome ayre, therby to refreſhe hymſelf. But when he ſawe the iniurie of the Frenchmen towards hys men, and how they had ſlaine many of them: he then ſayd vnto them, that they vſed rather the exerciſe of battaile thē of Torney: Spare you not therfore ſayth he, from henceforth none of them all, but geue them agayne as good as they bryng. Then they aſſayed to kill eche other frely on eyther parte, and let their ſwordes walke. And whē by this time the Engliſhe footemen were agayne returned, and ſaw the conflicte of horſemen and many Engliſhmen ouerthrowne: thei put them ſelues amiddes the preaſe, ſome panching the horſes, ſome cutting a ſonder the gyrthes of the Frenchmens ſadells, ouerthrewe the riders and gaue them halibread. Then when the foreſayd Earle was horſed again by ſome of his men & amongſt the throng, prince Edward alſo ruſhed in amongſt the thickeſt and coped agayne with him: to whom he often ſpake and cryed, that he ſhould yelde himſelfe as vanquiſhed: but that he would not do. Notwithſtādyng, whē his ſtrēgth beganne to fayle him, he was fayne to yeld himſelf vnto a ſimple knight, according as prince Edward him bad: and all the reaſt of his horſemen and knightes fled and ſaued themſelues: Howbeit, many of them in that place were ſlaine, and our men returned hauing the victorie. But when after this they thought them ſelues to be quiet and at reſt: they were killed by two and by thrée at once, as they went in the ſtreates, of the Citizens. Which thing whē the prince herd, he ſent for the Maior and Burgeſes, commaunding them to ſee the ſame redreſſed & that immediatly: for otherwyſe, of his knighthoode he aſſured them, that vpon the morowe he would fire the citie and make it leuell with the ground. Wherupon, they wente their wayes and ſet watchmen in diuers places of the ſame to keepe the peace: by whiche meanes the prince and his men were in ſaftie and quiet. Thus in this paſtime of Tornieng and Barriers, much bloud was ſpilte, wherupon the name of the place was chaunged: ſo that it is not called Torniamentū de Chalons, but paruum bellum de Challons. From thence the prince came to Parris, and was of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine daies, he went from thence into Vaſconia, where he taryed till that he heard of the death of the king his father.

A conſpiracy of the French men againſt the Engliſhmē

Exerciſe of battaile vſed in ſtede of barriors end torney

The victory of the prince and engliſh men againſt the earle Chalons and French men.

Prince Ed ward wa in vaſco at the ti of hys fa. then dea

In the yeare of our Lord. 1272. dyed pope Clement the 4. After whō ſucceded pope Gregory the 10. who in the next yeare folowyng, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1273. called a generall coūcel at Lions, about the controuerſie betwene the Gréeke churche, and the Latine churche, & for the vacanſie of the ſée apoſtolicall. &c.

1272.

Pope Clemēt the 4. dyeth. Pope Gregory the

1273.

Rychard K. of Alma dyeth. A great va riaunce be twene the Monks and citizens of Norwich

This yeare alſo in the moneth of Aprill, Richarde Kyng of Almaine died, at the caſtell of Barchamſted, & was buried at the Abbey of Hayles, whiche he built out of the ground. The ſame yeare alſo at Norwiche, there fell a great controuerſie, betwene the monkes and the Citizens, about certeine tallagies and liberties. At laſt, after much altercation and wranglyng wordes, the furious rage of the citizens ſo much increaſed and preuailed, and ſo litle was the feare of God before their eyes, that altogether they ſet vpō the Abbey and Priorie, and burned both the churche and the byſhops palace. When this thyng was hard abroad, the people were very ſory to heare of ſo bold and naughty an enterprice, and much diſcommended the ſame. At the laſt, King Henry calling for certeine of his Lordes, and Barons, ſent them to the citie of Norwiche, that they might puniſhe and ſée executiō done of the chiefeſt malefactours: In ſo much that ſome of them were condemned and burnt, ſome of them hāged, and ſome were drawen by the heales with horſes throughout the ſtreates of the citie, & after in much miſerie ended their wretched lyues. The ſame yeare, William the prior of Canterbury, and biſhop elect: in the preſence of pope Gregory the. 10. refuſed to be archbyſhop, although he was elect. Wherfore, the pope gaue the ſame Archbiſhopricke, to his brother Robert Kylwardby the prouoſt of the preachyng friers: a man of good lyfe and great learnyng. He was cōſecrated at Canterbury, the fourth day of March by ij. biſhops of the ſame prouince. The ſame yeare alſo at Michelmas, the Lord Edmund, the ſonne of Kyng Richard of Almaine, maried the ſiſter of Gilbert Earle of Gloceſter. Alſo in this yeare of our Lord. 1273. the xvi. day before the Calendes of Decēber vpon S. Edmundes day the archbyſhop and confeſſour: died kyng Henry, in the. 56. yere of his raigne, and was buried at Weſtminſter: leauyng after hym two ſonnes and two daughters, to wit Edward the prince, and Edmund earle of Leyceſter and Lancaſter: Beatrice, and Margeret. Whiche Margeret was maried to the kyng of Scottes. This kyng Henry in his life tyme beganne the buildyng of the churche and ſteple at Weſtminſter, but did not throughly finiſh the ſame before his death.

Execution done at Norwich by the maūdement of king Henry the 3. Williā P or of C refuſed be archb Cant. Rob Kil werbye archbiſh of Cant. The death of K. Henry the

King Edward the Firſt.

Kyng Edward. 1.

IN the time of the death of kyng Hēry, Edward his eldeſt ſonne was abſent in Vaſconia, as a litle before you hard: yet notwithſtanding, by Robert Kilwarby archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other biſhops and nobles, he was ordeined heyre and ſucceſſour after his father: who, after he hard of his fathers death, returned home to his countrey, and was crowned the yere of our lord. 1274. Who thē layd down hys crown ſaying, he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the landes perteinyng to the ſame. This

Edward as he had alwayes before been a louing and naturall child to his father, whom he had deliuered out of priſon and captiuitie: and afterward hearing both together of the death of his ſonne, and of his father, wept and lamented much more for his father, then for his ſonne, ſaying to the French kyng (whiche aſked the cauſe therof) that the loſſe of hys childe was but light, for children might after encreaſe and be multiplied, but the loſſe of his parent was greater, whiche could not be recouered: Robert Auesbury. So almighty god for the ſame his pietie to hys father ſhewed, rewarded hym agayne with great ſucceſſe, felicitie, and long reigne. In ſo much, that he beyng young as he was playing at Cheſſe with a certein ſouldier of his, ſodenly hauyng no occaſion geuen: roſe vp and went his way, who was not ſo ſoone voyded the place, but incontinent fell downe a mighty ſtone frō the vawte aboue directly vpon the place where he ſat, hable to haue quaſhed him in peeces, if he had taried neuer ſo litle more. In the preſeruation of whom, as I ſee the preſent hand and mighty prouidence of the liuyng God: ſo in the kynges order agayne, I note a faulte or errour worthy of reprehenſion: For that he receauyng ſuch a lyuely benefite at the hand of the lyuing Lord, going therfore on pilgrimage to Walſyngham, gaue thankes not onely to our Lady, but rather to a roten block. Ibidē. Of ẏ gentle nature of this couragious prince, ſufficiēt profe is geuen by this one exaumple: that what tyme he being in his deſport of haukyng, chaunced ſharply to rebuke ẏ negligence of one of his gentilmen, for what fault I cā not tell about his hauke: the gentilman beyng on the other ſide of the riuer, hearyng his manaſſyng wordes was glad, as he ſayd, that the riuer was betwene them. With this aunſwere ẏ couragious bloud of this prince beyng moued, vppon preſente heate he leaped ſtraite into ẏ floode, both of a ſwift ſtreame and of a daungerous deepenes, and no leſſe hard in gettyng out. Notwithſtandyng either forgettyng his owne lyfe, or neglectyng the daunger preſent, but hauyng a good horſe, ventreth hys own death, to haue the death of his man. At length with much difficultie recoueryng the bancke, with his ſword drawen perſueth his prouoker. Who hauing not ſo good an horſe, and ſeyng him ſelfe in daunger of takyng, reyneth his horſe: and returnyng backe bare head vnto the prince, ſubmitteth hys necke vnder his hande to ſtrike. The prince, whoſe feruent ſtomacke the water of the whole riuer could not quenche, a litle ſubmiſſion of hys man did ſo extinct that the quarell fell, his anger ceaſed, and his ſword put vp, without any ſtroke geuen. And ſo bothe returned to their game, good frendes agayne. Auesb. Nich. Triuet.

Pietie to parentes, rewarded of god

Ex chron. Rob. Aueſburienſis.

A miracle of God in preſeruyng K. Edward

Falſe worſhip reprehended.

God geueth the benefit and a dōbe blocke hath the thankes.

Example of princely clemencie to be learned of kings & princes.

Ex chron. Nic. Triuet. & Rob. Aueſb.

In the firſt begynning of his reygne, this kyng had much a do in Walles, where he had diuers cōflictes with the Welſhmen: whom at laſt he ſubdued and cut down their woodes, ſuppreſſed rebellions, and vanquiſhyng their kynges Lewline and his brother, ordayned his eldeſt ſonne Edwarde, borne in the ſame countrey to be prince of Wales. This Lewline captaine of ẏ Welſhmē here mētioned, rebellyng againſt kyng Edward: aſked coūſel by way of cōiuratiō, what euent ſhould come vpō his attempt. To whom it was told, that he ſhould go forward boldly: for doubtles, he ſhould ride through Chepe ſide at London, with a crowne on his head. Whiche ſo came to paſſe. For he beyng ſlayne, his head was caryed through Chepe, with a crown of ſiluer to Lōdon bridge: whereby men may learne not to ſeke nor ſticke to theſe vayne propheſies: Whiche though they fal true, yet are but the traynes of the deuill to deceaue men.

Wales ſubdued.

The kinges ſonne fyrſt prince of Wales.

Vayne prophecies not to be ſoght

Edward. 2. prince of Wales born in Karnar.

About this tyme was a great earthquake, and ſuch a rotte, that conſumed a great multitude of ſhepe, in the land, through the occaſion as they ſay, of one ſcabbed ſhepe that came out of Spaine. The kyng returnyng from Wales to England, ordered certeine new lawes for the wealth of the realme. Among many other thys was one: that authoritie was geuen to all Maiors, bayliffes, and other officers, to ſee execution and puniſhment of bakers makyng bread vnder ẏ ſiſe, with pillery. Of Milners ſtealing corne with the tumbrell. &c. And within ij. yeares after, the ſtatute of Mortmaine was firſt enacted, which is to meane that no mā ſhould geue vnto the churche any landes or rentes, without a ſpeciall lycence of the kyng.

An. 1274.

Puniſhment for bakers and milners.

The ſtatute for Mortmayne fyrſt enacted.

About whiche tyme alſo, beyng the vij. yeare of hys reigne. CCXC.vij. Iewes for money clippyng were put to execution. In which ſame yere began firſt the foundation of ẏ blacke friers by Ludgate. And the town of Boſtē was greatly waſted the ſame yere wͭ fire. The halfe peny & farthings, began firſt to be coyned the ſelfe time, whiche was the viij. yeare of his reigne. The great conduit in Chepe began the fourth yeare after to be made. an. 1284. And the yeare next folowyng the new worke of the churche of Weſtminſter (begon, as is afore premoniſhed in ẏ third yeare of Henry. iij.) was finiſhed, which was lxvi. yeres in edifiyng. The Iewes wer vtterly baniſhed this realme of England the ſame tyme, for which ẏ commons gaue to the kyng a fiftene. an. 1291.

1276.

Blacke friers by Ludgate builded

Boſten blemiſhed with fyre

The great conduit in cheape.

Weſtminſter church finiſhed

The Iewes baniſhed the realme

After that the countrey of Wales, was brought in a ful order & quiet, by the hewyng downe of their woodes, and caſting down their old holdes, and building of new, which all was brought to a perfect end, about the xxiiij. yeare of this kynges reigne: then enſued an other broyle as great or greater with Scotland: to the great diſquiet of the kyng and the realme of Englād, many yeares after. This trouble firſt began, by the death of Alexander kyng of Scottes, who dyed without iſſue left alyue behynd him. Although Fabiane in the vij. booke of his Chronicle affirmeth, that he left iij. daughters, the eldeſt maried to ſyr Ihon Bailol: the ſecond to Robert Bruze, the third to one Haſtynges. But this in Fabiane, is to be corrected as whiche neither ſtandeth with it ſelfe, & is clearely reuinced by the witnes and hiſtory of Robert Auesbury, and alſo of Gisburne.

A place in Fabian corrected.

For fyrſt, if king Alexander had left his eldeſt daughter maryed to ſyr Iohn Bailol, then what controuerſie might ryſe among the Lordes about ſucceſſion, needing ſo diligent and anxious deciſing by the king of Englād. Secondly, what clayme or title could the king of Norway haue to the crowne of Scotland, which was one of the chalengers, clayming the ſayd crowne in the behalf of Margaret the Neece of the foreſayd king Alexander her grandfather, if the eldeſt daughter of the father had bene left alyue? Thirdly, what can be more playne, whē by the affirmance of the foreſayd ſtory it is teſtified, that king Alexander had two wyues. Of the ſecond wherof he had no iſſue. Of the firſt he had two children: Alexander which dyed before his father, and Margaret maried to the king of Norway, whiche dyed alſo before her father, of whō came Margaret the Neece of Alexander, & daughter of the king of Norway afore mencioned. And ſhe alſo dyed in the iourny betwene Norway and Scotland, the fourth yeare after the deceaſe of her graundfather. Wherefore, as thys matter ſtandeth moſt cleare, ſo let vs now returning from whence we digreſſed, proſecute the reſt that foloweth. After that Alexander thus as is ſayde, departed without iſſue, and alſo Margaret hys Neece in Norway was deceaſed: ẏ matter came in a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland (eſpecially xij. by name) to whom the ryght of the crowne ſhoulde next pertayne. After much variance among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the iudgement of king Edwarde of Englande: who after ſufficient proofe made to the Scots and firme euidence, brought out of all the auncient hiſtories both of England and Scotland, teſtifying from time to tyme that he was chiefe head & ſouerayngne of the realm

Ex Roberto Aueſbury, & Gualtero Giſburnenſi.

Lacke of ſucceſſion, what diſturbance it worketh in a realme.

The kyng of England proued by old recordes, chief head and ſoueraigne of Scotland.

An. 1291

Syr Iohn Bayloll made king of Scotland by K. Edward.

of Scotland: firſt by neceſſity of the law, and by all their conſents tooke full poſſeſſion of the ſame. And that done, adiudged the right of the crowne to Iohn Bailol, who deſcended of the elder daughter of Dauid Earle of Huntingtõ, brother to Dauid king of Scotland in the daies of king Henry the ſecond. This Earle Dauid had three daughters, the firſt maryed to the lord Bailol, the ſecõd to Bruis, the thyrd to Haſtinges: of whoſe bloude theſe forenamed Scottiſh lordes deſcended, whiche here contended for the ſucceſſion. And therefore, albeit Robert Bruys was one degree neare to the kynges bloude, yet Iohn Bailoll becauſe he deſcended of the eldeſt daughter, was adiudged and preferred to the crowne.

King of Scots doth homage to the king of England.

When theſe thinges were thus finiſhed in Scotlãd, and ſyr Iohn Bailol as moſt rightfull inheritour had receaued the crowne of Scotlande at the handes of kyng Edward thankfully: and for the ſame in the preſence of the Barony of England and of Scotland, did vnto the ſayd king Edward hys homage, and ſware to hym fealtye: the Scots with their new king returned into Scotland, and kyng Edward remoued agayne to England.

The falſenes of the Scottiſh kyng.

The town and caſtle of Barwike wonne of Engliſhmen

Falſenes iuſtly puniſhed.

The Scots rebell agayne.

The ſecond viage of king Edward into England.

1298.

Ex Fabiano:

A notable victory againſt the Scottes.

But not long after, the falſenes of this Scottiſh king ſoone appeared: who repenting him of his homage done, vntrulye forſooke his former othe and promiſe, & made warre agaynſt king Edward, through the counſayle of the Abbot of Menros. Wherfore, the king with a great hoſt ſped him into Scotland, and in proceſſe layde ſiege to the towne of Berwycke: which the Scottes did egerly defend, not onely to the diſcomforture, but alſo to the deriſion of the king and his Engliſhe hoſte. But in concluſion, the Engliſhmen preuayled and wan the towne, where were ſlayne of the Scottes to the number of xxv. thouſand. And while the king was there buſied in wynnyng other holdes aboute the ſame, he ſent parte of hys hoſte to Dunbarre, where the Engliſhmen agayne had the victorie and ſlewe of the Scottes xx. thouſand, Giſburne ſayth but x. thouſand, ſo that very fewe were loſt of the engliſh company. The king with a great number of priſoners returnyng into hys realme, ſhortlye after ſped him ouer vnto Flaunders, wher he ſuſtained great trouble by the French king, tyll truſe for certayn ſpace was betwene them concluded. But in the meane while that king Edward was thus occupied beyond the ſeas: the French king (reſorting to his olde practiſed maner) ſet the Scots ſecretly agaynſt the Engliſh men to kepe the king at home. Which Scots making them ſelues a Captayne named William Waleis: warred vpon the borders of Northumberlande, where they dyd muche hurt. At length the king returning from Burdeaux into England, ſhortly vpon the ſame tooke his iourney into Scotland. Where meeting at Yorke with hys hoſt, marched into the realme of Scotlande, wynning as he went, townes and Caſtels, til at length comming to the towne of Fankyrch on Marye Magdalens day, hee met with the power of Scotland: and had with them a ſore fight, but through Gods prouidence the victory fel to the right cauſe of Engliſhe men: ſo that of the Scots were ſlayne in the field, as it is of diuers writers affirmed, ouer the number of xxxij. thouſand: and of Engliſhe men but barely xxviij. perſons. Wherupon, the king agayne taking poſſeſſion and fealtie of the whole land, returned home.

The third vyage of Kyng Edward into Scotland.

1299.

The Scots ſworne to the kynges allegeaunce.

And yet the falſe vntroth of the Scots woulde not thus be ruled, but roſe vp in a newe broyle: ſo that the king was enforced to make hys power agayne the next yeare folowing into Scotland, wher he ſo ſuppreſſed the rebellion of the Lordes and of the commons, that they ſwearing to the kings allegiance, preſented themſelues by great companies, and put them wholye in the kyngs grace and mercy: ſo that the king thinking himſelf to be in peaceable poſſeſſion and in a great ſurety of the land, cauſed to be ſworn vnto him the rulers of the boroughes cities and townes, with other officers of the lande, and ſo retourned vnto Barwicke, and ſo into Englande, and laſtly to Weſtminſter.

These martial affayres betwene England and Scotland, although they appertayne not greatly to the purpoſe of our ſtory eccleſiaſticall: yet ſo much by the waye I thought briefly to touch, whereby the better it myght be vnderſtanded by theſe premiſſes, that which foloweth in the ſequele hereof. As the Scots were thus warryng and ragyng agaynſt the kyng, and ſawe they could not make their party good, they ſent priuely to pope Boniface for his ayde and counſail: who immediatly ſendeth downe hys precept to the king, to this effect, ẏ he ſhould hereafter ſurceaſe to diſquiet or moleſt the Scots, for that thei were a people exempt and properly pertayning to his chappell. And therfore it could not otherwyſe bee, but that the city of Ieruſalem muſt needes defende hys own citiſens: and as the mount Syon, mayntayne ſuch as truſt in the Lord. &c. Wherunto the king briefly maketh anſwer agayne, ſwearing wͭ an othe that he would to his vttermoſt keepe and defend that which was hys right, euidently knowen to all the world. &c. Thus the Scots bearing them ſelues bolde vpon the Popes meſſage, & alſo confederating them ſelues with the French men, paſſed ouer that yeare. The next yeare after that (which was xxix. of the kinges raygne) the ſayde Pope Boniface directeth his letters againe to the king, wherin he doth vendicate the kingdõ of Scotland, & to be proper to the church of Rome, and not ſubiect to the kyng of England. And therefore it was agaynſt God, againſt iuſtice, and alſo preiudiciall to the churche of Rome, for him to haue or hold any dominiõ vpon the ſame, which he proued by theſe reaſons.

Fyrſt, that when king Henry the father of this king, receaued ayde of Alexander king of Scots in his wars againſt Simon Mountfort: he recogniſed and acknowledged in his letters patents, that he receaued ẏ ſame of kyng Alexander, not of any duty, but of ſpeciall fauour.

Item, when the ſayde kyng Alexander comming to England, did homage to the ſayd king Henry: he dyd it not as kyng of Scotland, but onely for certayne landes of Tyndall and Penreth lying in England.

Item, where the ſayde King Alexander lefte behynde him Margaret hys heyre, being Neece to ẏ king of England, and yet vnder age: yet the tuition of the ſaid Margaret was cõmitted not to the king of England, but to certayne Lordes of Scotland, deputed to the ſame.

Moreouer, when any legacie was directed downe frõ Rome to the realme of Englãd, for collecting of tenthes or other cauſes: the ſayde legacie tooke no place in the realme of Scotlande, and might well bee reſiſted (as it was in king Alexander hys dayes) except an other ſpeciall commiſſion touching the realme of Scotland, were ioyned withall. Wherby it appeareth, theſe to be two ſeuerall dominions, and not ſubiect vnder one.

Adding furthermore, that the kingdome of Scotlãd fyrſt was conuerted by the reliques of the bleſſed Apoſtle ſainct Peter: through the diuine operatiõ of god: to the vnity of the catholique fayth.

Wherefore vpon theſe cauſes and reaſons, pope Boniface in hys letters to the Kyng, requyred him to geue ouer hys clayme, and ceaſe hys wars againſt the Scottiſh nation: And to releaſe all ſuch both of the ſpiritualty & laytie, as he had of them priſoners. Alſo to call home agayne his officers and deputies, which he had ther placed and ordayned to the greuance of that nation, to the ſclaunder of all faythful people, and no leſſe preiudice to the church of Rome. And if he would clayme any righte or title to the ſayd realme or any part therof: he ſhoulde ſend vp his procurators ſpecially to the ſame appointed, with all ẏ he could for himſelf alleadge, vnto ẏ ſee apoſtolike, there to receaue what reaſõ & right would require.

The kyng replyeth to the popes

The king, after he had receaued theſe letters of the pope, aſſembled a couſayle of Parliament at Lincolne: by the aduiſe of which councell and Parliament, he adreſſed other letters reſponſall to the pope agayn: wherin fyrſt, in all reuerēd maner he deſireth him not to geue light eare to the ſiniſter ſuggeſtions of falſe reporters, and imaginers of miſchief. Thē he declareth out of old recordes and hiſtoryes frō the firſt tyme of the Britans, that the realme of Scotland hath alwayes from tyme to time bēen all one with England, beginning firſt with Brutus in the tyme of Hely and Samuel the Prophet: which Brutus comming from Troye to this Jle called then Albion, after called by him Britannia, had thrēe ſonnes: Lokrinus to whom he gaue that parte of the land, called then of him Loegria, now Anglia: Albanactus his ſecond ſonne, to whom he gaue Albania, now called Scotia: and his thyrd ſonne Camber, to whom he gaue Cambria, now called Wales, &c.

Scotland all one with England.

Brutus.
Lokrinus.
Albanacus.
Camber

And thus much concerning the firſt diuiſion of thys Jle, as in auncient hiſtories is found recorded. Jn which matter paſſing ouer the death of K. Humbre, the acts of Dunwalde, king of this realme, the diuiſion of Belyn & Brene, ẏ victories of K. Arthure, we will reſorte (ſayth ẏ king) to more nearer tymes, teſtified and witneſſed by ſufficient authors, as Marianus Scotus, VVilliam Malmesbery: Roger Abyndon: Henry Huntington: Radulph de Bizoto and other. All which make ſpeciall declaration, and geue manifeſt euidence, of the execution of thys our ryght (ſayth he) and title of ſuperioritie, euer continued and preſerued hitherto.

And firſt to beginne with Edward the Senlour, before the conqueſt, ſonne to Alurede king of England, about the yere of our Lorde. 900. it is playne and manifeſt, that he had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scottes. And here is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notorious and manifeſt, as Maryan ẏ Scot writing that ſtorye in thoſe daies, graunteth, confeſſeth and teſtifieth the ſame: and this dominion continued in that ſtate. xxiij. yeare. At which tyme, Athelſtaine ſucceded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battayle conquered Scotland, he made one Conſtantine king of ẏ partie, to rule & gouerne the countrey of Scotland vnder him, adding this princely worde: That it was more honour to him to make a king, than to be a king.

An. 907

XXIIII. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1447. Eldred kyng our progenitour, Athelſtains brother, toke hommage of Jriſe then kyng of Scottes.

XX. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1477. kyng Edgar our predeceſſour toke homage of Kynalde kyng of Scottes. Here was a litle trouble in England by the death of S. Edward kyng and martyr, diſtroyed by the diceite of his mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

XL. yeares after the homage done by Kynald to kyng Edgare, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord. 1017, Malcolme the king of Scottes did homage to Knute our predeceſſour. After this homage done, the Scottis vttered ſome pēece of their naturall diſpoſition, wherupon (by warre made by our progenitour S. Edward the confeſſour 39. yeare after that homage done, that is to ſay, the yere of our Lord. 1056) Malcolme kyng of Scottes was vanquiſhed, and the realme of Scotland giuen to Malcolme his ſonne by our ſayde progenitour S. Edwarde: vnto whom the ſayd Malcoline made homage and fealtie.

Within, xi. yeares after that, William Conquerour entred this realme, whereof he accompted no perfect cōqueſt, vntill he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scottes: & therfore in the ſayd yeare (whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1048) the ſayd Malcolme kyng of Scottis did homage to the ſayd William Conquerour, as his ſuperiour by conqueſt kyng of England.

XXV. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1093. the ſayd Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, ſonne to the ſayd William Conquerour: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites depoſed, and his ſonne ſubſtitute in his place: who likewiſe fayled in his duety, and therfore was ordeyned in that eſtate by the ſayd William Rufus, Edgare brother to the laſt Malcolme, and ſonne to the firſt, who did his homage and fealtie accordyngly.

VII. yeares after that, whyche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1100. the ſayd Edgar king of Scots, dyd homage to Henry the firſt our progenitour.

XXXVII. yere after that, Dauid king of Scots did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the fyrſt. Wherefore being after required by Stephā, then obteyning poſſeſſion of the realme, to make his homage: he refuſed ſo to do, becauſe he had before made it to the ſayd Matilde, and thereupon forbare. After which Dauids death, which enſued ſhortlye after, the ſonne of the ſayd Dauid made homage to the ſayd kyng Stephā.

XIIII. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1150. Wylliam king of Scots, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotlād made homage to Henry the ſeconds ſonne, with a reſeruation of their dutye to Henry the ſecond hys father.

XXV. yeares after that, whyche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1175. William king of Scotland (after much rebellion and reſiſtance, according to their naturall inclination) king Henry the ſecond then being in Normādie: William then king of Scots knowledged finallye hys errour, and made hys peace and compoſition, confirmed with hys great ſeale, and the ſeales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therwith his homage & fealty.

Within. xv. yeares after that, whych was the yeare of our lord. 1190. the ſaid William king of Scots came to our city of Canterbury, and ther dyd homage to our noble progenitour king Richard the fyrſt.

XIIII yeares after that, the ſayd William did homage to our progenitour kyng Jhon, vpon a hill beſides Lincolne, making his othe vpon the croſſe of Hubert thē archbiſhop of Canterbury, beyng there preſent, & a merueilous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe.

XXVI, yeares after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1216. Alexander king of Scottes maried Margaret, the doughter of our progenitour Henry the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feaſt of Chriſtmas: at which tyme the ſayd Alexāder did his homage to our ſayd progenitour: who reigned in this realme 56. yeares. And therfore, betwene the homage made by the ſayd Alexander king of Scotland, and the homage done by Alexander, ſonne to the ſayde king of Scots, to vs at our coronation at Weſtminſter, there was about fiftye yeares: At which tyme, the ſaid Alexander king of Scots repayred to the ſaid feaſt of our coronation; & there did his duty as is afore ſayd.

Beſides theſe letters of the kyng, the Lordes temporall alſo in the name of the whole communaltie and parliament, wrote an other letter to the pope: aunſweryng to that, where as the pope arrogated to him to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, whiche the kyng of England claimed to him ſelfe: which letter J thought alſo here to annexe containyng, as in the wordes of the ſame here foloweth to be read and ſēen.

¶ The Lordes temporall, and the whole Baronye of England to the pope.

A letter of the lordes temporal to the pope

The holy mother church, by whoſe miniſterye the catholike ſee is gouerned: in her deedes (as we throughlye beleue and holde) proceedeth with that rypenes in iudgement, that ſhe will be hurtfull to none: but lyke a

> mother woulde euery mans ryght to be kept vnbroken as well in other, as in her ſelf. Wheras therfore in a generall Parliament called at Lincolne of late by oure moſt dread Lord Edward by the grace of God the noble king of England: the ſame our Lord cauſed certain letters receaued from you to be red openly and to be declared ſeriouſly afore vs, about certaine buſineſſes touching the condition and ſtate of the realme of Scotlād: We did not a litle muſe, and maruaile with our ſelues hearing the meaninges concerning the ſame, ſo wondrous and ſtraunge, as the like we haue not heard at any time before. For we know moſt holy father, and it is well knowen as well in this realme of England (as alſo not vnknowen to other perſons beſides) that from the firſt beginning of the realme of England: the certayne and directe gouernment of the realme of Scotland in all temporall cauſes, frō time to time belonged to ÿ kings of the ſame realme of England, & realme of Scotland: as well in the times both of the Britaines as alſo Engliſhmen. Yea rather, the ſame realme of Scotland of olde tyme was in fee to the auncetours of our foreſayd Lordes kings of England, yea and to himſelf. Furthermore, the kinges of Scottes & the realme haue not been vnder any other then the kings of Englād, & the kyngs of Englād haue anſwered, or ought to anſwere for their ryghtes in the foreſayd realme, or for any his temporalities afore any iudge eccleſiaſticall or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of his royall dignitie & cuſtome kept without breach at all tymes. Wherfore, after treatie had and diligent deliberation of the contentes in your foreſayd letters, this was the cōmon agreeing and conſent with one minde, and ſhall be without fayle in time to come by Gods grace: that our foreſayd Lord the king, ought by no meanes to aunſwere in iudgement in any caſe, or ſhoulde bring hys foreſayd rightes into doubt: nor ought not to ſend any proctors or meſſengers to your preſence: ſpeciallie, ſeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſheriting of the ryght of the crowne of England and the playne ouerthrow of the ſtate of the ſayd realme, & alſo hurte of the liberties, cuſtomes, and lawes of our fathers: For the keping and defence of which, we are bounde by the duetie of the othe made. And we will maintaine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all ſtrength. And farther we will not ſuffer our foreſayd Lord the king, to do or by any meanes to attempt the premiſſes being ſo vnaccuſtomed, vnwont, and not heard of afore. Wherfore, we reuerētly and humbly beſech your holines, that ye would ſuffer ÿ ſame our Lord king of England (who among other princes of the worlde ſheweth himſelf catholike and deuoute to the Romiſhe church) quietlye to enioy his rightes, liberties, cuſtomes, and lawes aforeſayd: without all empayring, and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witnes wherof we haue ſet our ſeales to theſe preſentes, aſwell for vs, as for the whole comminaltie of the foreſayd Realme of England. Dated at Lincolne in the yeare of our Lorde. 1301. et anno Edwardi primi.

1303.

The pope ſetteth kyng againſt kyng.

Ex Rob. Aueſburienſi.

The yeare next folowyng, whiche was from Chriſt, an. 1303. the ſayd pope Boniface the eight of that name, taking diſpleaſure with Philip the French kyng: did excite kyng Edward of England, to warre agaynſt hym, promiſing him great ayde therunto. But he (as mine autor ſayth) litle truſtyng the popes falſe vnſtable affection toward him well proued before, put him of with delayes Ex Rob. Auesb. Whereupon, the French kyng fearyng ÿ power of kyng Edward, whom the pope had ſet agaynſt his frendſhip: reſtored vnto him agayn Waſcone, which he wrongfully had in his handes deteined. Concernyng this variance here mentioned betwene the pope and the French kyng, how it began firſt, and to what end it fell out: the ſequell hereof (Chriſt willing) ſhall declare, after ÿ firſt I haue finiſhed the diſcourſe begon betwene England and Scotland.

In this yeare. 1303. the foreſayde William Waleys, whiche had done ſo manye diſpleaſures, to the kyng before (continuyng ſtill in his rebellion) gathered great multitudes of the Scottes to withſtand the kyng: till at lengthe, the yeare following he was taken, and ſent vp to London, and there executed for the ſame. After whiche thynges done, the kyng then held his parliament at Weſtminſter, whether came out of Scotland the biſhop of S. Andrewes, Robert Bruſe aboue mentioned, earle of Dunbarre, Earle of Atles, and ſyr Jhon commyng, with diuers other: The which, voluntaryly were ſworne to be true to the kyng of England, and to kepe the land of Scotland to his vſe againſt all perſons. But ſhortly after the ſaid Robert Bruſe, who as is ſaid maryed the ſecond daughter of earle Dauid, forgetting his othe before made vnto the king: within a yeare or. ij. after this, by the counſell of the Abbot of Stone, and biſhop of ſ. Andrewes: ſent vp vnto Pope Clement the fift, for a diſpenſation of his othe made: inſinuatyng to him, that king Edward vexed and greued the realm of Scotland wrongfully. Wherupon the Pope wrote vnto the king, to leaue of ſuch doinges. Notwithſtanding which inhibition of the Pope, the king proſecuting hys owne right, after he had the vnderſtanding of the doinges of the Scots, and of the miſchiefe of Robert Bruys (who had ſlayne with hys own handes ſyr John Comyng, for not conſenting with him and other Lordes at his Parliament) arearcd his power and ſtrength of men, preparing hymſelfe toward Scotland: where he ioyning with the ſayd ſyr Robert and all the power of Scotlande in a playne neare vnto ſaint Johns towne, put him to flight and ſo chaſed the Scots, that of them were ſlayne to the number of. vij. thouſand. In the which victory, ſuche biſhoppes and Abbots as were taken, hee ſent them to the Pope: the temporall Lordes and other Scots he ſent vnto London. &c. Syr Robert Bruys after thys diſcomfiture, when hee had thus loſt both the fielde and chiefe friendes, ſeing him ſelf not able to make his party good, fled into Norway, where he kept hys abode duryng the tyme whyle kyng Edward lyued. When this noble Edward had thus ſubdued the Scots, he yelded thankes to God for hys victorye, and ſo ſetting the lande in a quyet, and an order, he returned vnto London, which was the xxxv. yeare and laſt of his raygne. &c.

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Now returnyng to that which I promiſed before touchyng the variance and greuous diſſention betwen Philip the Frēch kyng, and pope Boniface the eight of that name. After the biſhoprike of Rome had been long voyde through the diſſenſion of the Cardinals, for the ſpace of ij. yeares & iij. monethes: at length, pope Celeſtinus was choſen, ſucceſſor to pope Nicolas the fourth. Which Celeſtinus in his firſt conſiſtorie, began to reforme the clergie of Rome, thinking to make it an example to all other churches. Wherfore, he procured to him ſelf ſuch hatred among his clergiemen, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, ſpeakyng through a read by hys chamber walle nightlye admoniſhed hym, as it had been a voyce from heauen, that he ſhould geue ouer hys papacie, as beyng a burden bygger then he could wilde. Ex Maſſeo. This pope Celeſtine after he had ſet vi. monethes, by the trechery and falſehold of this Boniface, was induced to geue vp and reſigne his biſhoprike, partly for the voyce ſpoken of before, partly for feare: beyng told of certaine craftely ſubornated in his chamber, that if he dyd not reſigne, he ſhoulde loſe his lyfe. Who then after hys reſignation goyng to lyue in ſome ſolitarie deſert (beyng a ſimple man) was viley taken, and thruſt in perpetuall priſon by Pope Boniface: craftelye pretendyng that he did it not for any hatred vnto Celeſtine, but that ſeditious perſons might haue hym as their head, to raiſe vp ſome ſtirre in the churche. And ſo was brought to hys

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Thus pope Boniface ſucceding, or rather inuading after Celeſtinus, behaued himſelfe ſo imperiouſlye, that he put downe princes, excommunicated kinges, ſuch as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Diuers of hys Cardinals he draue awaye for feare, ſome of them as ſchiſmatickes he depoſed ⁊ ſpoyled thē of all their ſubſtaunce. Philip the Frenche king he excommunicated, for not ſuffering his money to go out of the relme, and therfore curſed both his and him, to the fourth generation. Albertus the Emperor not once nor twiſe, but thriſe ſought at his handes to be confirmed, and yet was reiected, neyther could obtayne, vnles he woulde promyſe to driue the French king out of hys realme. The factious diſcord in Italy betwene the Guelphes, and Gibellines, which the part of a good Biſhop had beene to extinct: ſo litle he helped to quench the ſmoke, that he of all other was chiefeſt fyrebrande to encreaſe the flame. In ſo much that vpon Aſhwedenſday, when Porchetus an Archbiſhop came and kneeled downe before hym to receaue his aſhes: Pope Boniface loking vpon him, and perceauing that he was one of the Gibelines part, caſt his handfull of aſhes in hys eyes ſaying: Memento homo quod Gibellinus es. &c. That is: remember man that a Gibiline thou art, and to aſhes thou ſhalt go. Thys Pope moreouer ordeyned fyrſt the Iubilei in Rome: in the ſolemniſing wherof, the firſt day he ſhewed hymſelfe in his pontificalibus, and gaue free remiſſion of ſynnes to as many as came to Rome out of all the partes of the world. The ſecond day (being arrayed with imperial inſignes) he commaunded a naked ſword to bee caried before hym and ſayd with a loud voyce: Ecce poteſtatem vtriuſq; gladii. That is, Loe here the power and authoritie of both the ſwordes. ⁊c.

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By this ſayd pope Boniface, diuers conſtitutions extrauagants of hys predeceſſors were collected together, with manye of hys owne newlye added therto, and ſo made the boke called Sextus decretalium. &c. By whom alſo firſt ſprang vp pardons and indulgences frō Rome.

These thinges thus premiſed of Boniface the pope, nowe will I come to the occaſion of the ſtrife betwene hym, and the French king: Concerning which matter, firſt I finde in the hiſtorye of Nicholas Triuet, that in the yeare of our Lorde. 1301. the biſhop of Oppanuham being accuſed for a conſpiracie agaynſt yͤ French king, was brought vp to his courte, and ſo committed to priſon. The pope hearing this, ſendeth word to the king by hys Legate to ſet hym at libertie. The French king not daring to the contrary, looſeth the biſhop: but when he had done, he diſchargeth both the biſhop and the Legate commaunding them to voyde hys realme. Wherupon, pope Boniface reuoketh all the graces and priuilegies graunted eyther by hym or hys predeceſſors before to the kingdome of Fraunce: alſo, not longe after thundering out the ſentence of hys curſe agaynſt him. Moreouer, citeth all the prelates, all diuines, and lawyers both ciuile and canon, to appeare perſonallye before hym at Rome, at a certain day, which was the firſt of Nouember. Agaynſt thys citation, the kyng agayne prouideth and commaundeth by ſtraite proclamatiō, that no maner of perſon ſhould export out of the realme of Fraūce eyther golde, or ſiluer, or any other maner of ware or marchandiſe, vpon forfeting all their goodes, and theyr bodyes at the kinges pleaſure: prouiding withall, the wayes ⁊ paſſages diligently to be kept that none myght paſſe vnſearched. Ouer and beſides, the ſayd Frenche king defeyted the pope in geuing ⁊ beſtowing prebends, and benefices, and other eccleſiaſticall liuinges, otherwyſe than ſtoode with the popes profyte. For the which cauſe, the pope writeth to the foreſaid king in forme and effecte as followeth.

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❡ *Boniface byſhop and ſeruaunt to Gods ſeruaunts to his* welbeloued ſonne Philip by the grace of God, kyng of Fraunce, greeting and Apoſtolicall bleſſing.

Ex lib. Stephani Anfrerij.

BOniface the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes, ⁊c. feare God, and obſerue his commaundementes. We will thee to vnderſtand, that thou arte ſubiecte to vs both in ſpirituall thinges, and temporall. And that no gift of benefices or prebendes belongeth to thee: ⁊ if yͭ haue yͤ keping of any being vacāt, that thou reſerue the profits of them to the ſucceſſors. But if thou haue geuen any, we iudge the gift to be voyde: and call backe, how far ſo euer thou haſt gone forward. And who ſoeuer beleueth otherwyſe, we iudge them hereticks.

Unto thys letter of the pope, kyng Philip maketh aunſwere agayne in maner and order as followeth, which is this.

❡ *Philip by the grace of God king of Fraunce, to Boni*face not in deedes, behauing hymſelfe for pope, litle frendſhip or none.

A letter of K. Philip of Frāce to pope Boniface.

TO Boniface bearing hymſelfe for chiefe Byſhop, litle health or none. Let thy foliſhnes knowe that in temporall thinges we are ſubiecte to no mā, and that the giftes of prebendes, and many benefices made and to be made by vs were and ſhall be good both in tyme paſt and to come. And that we will defend manfully the poſſeſſors of the ſayd benefices, and we thinke thē that beleue or thinke otherwiſe, fooles and madd men. Geauen at Paris the Wedenſday after Candlemas. an. 1301.

After theſe aforeſayd and other writinges paſſing to and fro, betwene the Frenche kyng and the pope: within a yeare and a half after, the king ſommoneth a Parliament, ſending downe hys letters to hys Shrieſes and other officers, to ſummon the prelates and Barons of the realme, vnto the ſayd courte of Parliament, according to the tenour of the kinges letters here following.

A parliament ſummoned by K. Phillip at Paris.

Philip by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce, ⁊c. Wheras we woulde take counſaile with the prelates, Barons and other our faythfull, about weightie matters and hard, and ſuch as belong greatlye to our ryght touching our honour, ſtate, liberties and lawes of this our realme, churches, and eccleſiaſticall perſons, and woulde alſo goe forwarde and procede in the foreſayd matters according to their counſayle: We commaund you, that ye diligently in our behalfe require and ſtraitlye charge all the prelates in your balywycke, and alſo all and ſingulare Abbats and Priors of the ſame your foreſayde balywycke, (to certayne of the whiche, we haue directed downe our ſpeciall letters for the ſame cauſe) that as they fauour our honour, the good ſtate both of the realme, of themſelues, and of the church: they repayre to vs in their owne perſons, all lettes and delayes ſet a ſyde, and all other buſines left of. Shewing to them moreouer, that we can iudge none of them to be eyther to vs faythfull ſubiectes, or frendes to the realme, which ſhall fayle herein, or withdrawe himſelfe in the foreſayd buſines, counſailes, and helpes in tyme. Wherin if peraduenture any ſhall ſlacke or refuſe to reſort ⁊ come toward vs wͭin. viij. dayes from the tyme of this charge geuen by you, or your commaundement: That then, you to ſeiſe all hys temporall goodes into our hand, and ſo ſeiſed to holde them vntil you receaue other commaundement from vs. Geuen at Paris, the monday before the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1303.

❡ *A declaration of maſter William Nagareta, made againſt* pope Boniface the eight, with his appellation alſo made at Paris, afore the kyng and his counſail in the Churche of Paris.

1303.

IN the name of God Amen. In the yeare of our Lord. 1303. Indictione ſecunda, the 12. day of March, and the

ix. yeare

The appeale of Nagareta made againſt pope Boniface the 8.

ix.yeare of the popedome,of the moſt holy father ẏ Lord Boniface the viij. by Gods prouidence Pope : and in the preſence of vs common notaries, and witneſſe,written vnder the noble man maiſter William Nagareta knight(a worſhipfull profeſſour of the lawes) ſtandyng afore the moſt excellent prince the Lord Philippe, by the grace of God moſt noble kyng of Fraunce: ſpake with liuely wordes,and gaue in wrytynges theſe thinges that folow.

Ex Regiſtro.

There haue been falſe Prophetes among the people: as there haue been alſo among you falſe teachers.⁊c.

S.Peter the glorious prince of the Apoſtles,ſpeakyng to vs by the ſpirit,tolde vs things to come:that lykewiſe as there wer falſe Prophetes afore time,ſo there ſhould come among you falſe teachers,bringing in ſectes of deſtruction:by the which the way of truth ſhall be defaced, and couetouſly they ſhall make marchaundiſe, of you with fayned woordes:and further addeth,that ſuch maſters did followe the way of Balaam, of Boſor,whiche loued ẏ reward of wickednes, and had his brideled Aſſe to correct his madnes,whiche ſpeaking in a mans voyce did ſtop the fooliſhnes of the Prophet. All which thynges as they be ſhewed to vs by the greateſt Patriarche him ſelfe:Your eyes ſee them fulfilled this day accordyng to the letter. For there ſitteth in S.Peters chayre ẏ maiſter of lyes,cauſing him ſelfe to be called Boniface.i. a well doer,where he is notable in all kinde of euil doyng: And ſo both he hath takē to him ſelfe a falſe name,and where he is not a true ruler and maiſter, he calleth him ſelf the Lord,iudge,and maiſter of all men. And comming in cōtrary to the cōmon order appointed by the holy fathers, and alſo contrary to the rules of reaſon,⁊ ſo not entring in at ẏ doore into the Lords ſhepefold,is not a ſhephéard nor hyrelyng,but rather a theefe and robber. For he(the true huſbād of the Romiſhe churche yet liuyng)deceiued him that was delited in ſimplicitie, ⁊ entiſed hym with fayned flatteryngs and giftes to let him haue his ſpouſe to be his wife,agaynſt truth,whiche crieth, thoſe whom God hath coupled let no man ſeparate:and at length laying violent hands vpon him,perſuadyng him falſly that thyng whiche ẏ deceiuer ſayd to come from the holy ſpirite:was not aſhamed to ioyne to him ſelfe with wicked practiſe that holye churche, whiche is maiſtereſs of all churches,calling hym ſelfe to her huſband, where as he cānot be: For Celeſtinus the true Romiſh biſhop,agreed not to the ſayd deuorce being deceiued by ſo great ſubtiltie, nothing is ſo contrary to agreyng as errour and deceite,as mans lawes beare witnes, that I nede not to ſpeake of his violence. But bicauſe the ſpirite inſpireth where he will, and he that is led with the ſpirite, is not vnder the law,the holy vniuerſall churche of God, not knowyng the craftes of that deceiuour, ſtumblyng and doutyng whether it came from the holy ghoſt,that Celeſtinus ſhould leaue of his gouernement, and the ſinnes of the people deſeruing it,for feare of a ſchiſme ſuffred ẏ foreſaid deceiuour:although according to the doctrine of our Lord by his frutes he might be knowen, whether he came to the ſayd regimēt by the holy ghoſt or otherwiſe: his frutes(as it is plainly here written beneath)are now manifeſt to all men, by whiche it is apparaunte to the worlde,that he came not in by God but otherwayes:and ſo came not in by the ſhepefolde. His frutes are moſt wicked, and hys ende is death, and therfore it is neceſſarie that ſo euil a tree(according to the Lordes ſayng)ſhould be cut downe and caſt into the fire. This cannot auayle to his excuſe,which is ſayd of ſome men,that is:that the cardinals did agree vpon him againe after the death of ẏ ſaid Celeſtinus ẏ pope,ſeyng he could not be her huſbād, whom it is manifeſt that he defiled by adultery,her firſt huſbād yet liuing,and ſhe beyng worthy to haue the promiſe of mariage kept vnto her. Therfore,bicauſe that which is done againſt the Lord,turneth to the wrong of

An inuection againſt the placing of Boniface 8. in the papall ſee.

al men:⁊ ſpecially in ſo great a miſchief,by reaſō of ẏ cōſequēce by which he is iudged of ẏ people both a womā adultres or defamed: I like a bridled Aſſe by the power of the Lord,and not by the voyce of a perfect man,being able to beare ſo great a burden, take in hand to rebuke the madnes of the ſayd falſe Prophet Balaam, whiche at the inſtance of kyng Balac.i. of the prince of deuils, whō he ſerueth, and readye to curſe the people bleſſed of the Lord:I beſeche you moſte excellent prince,and Lord Philip by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce : that lyke as the aungell of God in tyme paſt mete in the way with a drawen ſworde, the Prophet Balaam goyng to curſe Gods people:ſo you(whiche are vnwilling to execute iuſtice,and therfore like the aungell of the Lord, and miniſter of power and office)would mete with a naked ſword this ſayd wicked man: whiche is farre worſe then Balaam,that he performe not that euill,which he intendeth to the people.

The p… well c… paied to Balaam which w… wonte… curſe … people … rewarde… money.

First,I propound that the foreſaid mā, that nameth him ſelf Boniface is no pope but wrongfully kepeth the ſeate,whiche he hath in deede to the great damage of all the ſoules of Gods holy churche. I ſay alſo,that hys entryng was many wayes fautie, and he entred not in at the doore,but otherwayes, and therfore is to be iudged a theefe and a robber.

1 Articles … pounded … gainſt p… Boniface…

2 I propound alſo,that the ſaid Boniface is a manifeſt hereticke, and vtterly cut of from the body of the holy churche bicauſe of many kyndes of hereſies, whiche are to bee declared in conuenient time and place.

3 I propound alſo, that the ſayd Boniface is an horrible ſimoniacall, and ſuch a one as hath not been ſithens the begynnyng of the worlde: and the miſchief of thys ſinne is ſo notorious in him to all the world(which thing is manifeſt to all that will plainly vnderſtād)in ſo much that he beyng openly ſlaūdered,ſaid openly that he could not commit ſymonie.

4 I propound alſo,that the ſayd Boneface being wrapt in infinite manifeſt haynous ſynnes, is ſo hardened in thē,that he is vtterly not poſſible to be corrected: and lyeng in the doungeon of miſchiefes ſo depe,that he may not be ſuffered anye longer without the ouerthrowe of the ſtate of the church. His mouth is full of curſing, hys feete and ſteps are ſwift to ſhed bloud. He vtterly teareth in peeces the churches,which he ought to cheryſhe, waſting wickedly the goods of the poore,and making much of wicked men that geue hym rewardes: perſecutyng the righteous,and among the people not gatheryng but ſcattering,bringing in new ſectes of deſtructiō that haue not been heard of. Blaſpheming the waye of truth, and by robbery thinking himſelfe equall to the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt which is bleſſed for euer. And he being moſt couetous is a thirſt for gold,coueteth gold, and by ſome deuiſe getteth gold of euery people:and vtterly not regarding the woorſhipping of God, wyth fayned woordes ſome tymes by flatteriug, ſome tymes by threatnyng, ſome tyme by falſe teaching,and all to get money withall,he maketh marchaundiſe of vs all:enuieng althings but his own,louing no man,nouriſhing warre,perſecuting and hatyng the peace of his ſubiectes. He is rooted in all vnſpeakcable ſyns,a contrary ⁊ ſtriuing agaynſt all the wayes and doctrines of the Lord. He is truly the abhomination of the people whyche Daniel the Lordes prophet deſcribed.

The na… of his p… and all popes by his ymag… painted…

The p… thinks h… ſelfe e… with C…

Abbomi… natio de… lationis papæ.

Therfore I anſwer that lawes, weapons, and all the elementes ought to ryſe agaynſt hym, whiche thus ouerthroweth the ſtate of the church: for whoſe ſynnes God plageth the whole world. And finallye, nothing remaineth to him being ſo vnſatiable to ſatiſfy him withall,but onely the vnſatiable mouth of hell, and the fyre that cannot be quenched,continuing for euer. Therefore, ſeing that in a generall councell it ſo becommeth, and I ſee thys wycked man to be damned, which offendeth

deth both God and all men, I aſke and require, as inſtātly as I can, and beſeche you my Lorde and king aforeſayd, that ye would declare to the prelates, doctors, people, and princes your brethren in Chriſt, and chiefly to the Cardinals and all Prelates, and call a councell. In the which (when this foreſayd wicked man is condempned by the worſhipfull Cardinals: the church maye be prouided of a ſhepheard, and for that councell I offer my ſelfe ready, lawfully to purſue the foreſayd things. And where as the ſayd man being in higheſt dignitie in the meane time cannot bee ſuſpended of his ſuperiour, therefore he ought to be taken ſuſpended in deede for the thinges aforeſayd, ſeing his ſtate is called into iudgemēt by the meanes aforeſayd.

I beſeche and require the ſayd Cardinals by you, & I preſently require them and the churche of God, that this wycked man beyng put in pryſon, the Churche of Rome may be prouided of a Vicar, which may miniſter thoſe thinges that ſhall appertayne, vntill the church of God be prouided of a biſhop, vtterly to take away al occaſion of a ſchiſme. And leaſt the ſayde wicked man ſhould let and hynder the proſecuting thereof, I require theſe thinges of you my Lord king aforeſaid, affirming you to be bound to do thys for many cauſes. Firſt for faythes ſake. Secondlye, for your kinglye dignitye, to whoſe office it belongeth to roote out ſuch wicked men. Thirdly, for your othe ſake, which ye made for the defence of the churches of your realme, which the foreſaid rauener vtterly teareth in peeces. Fourthlye, becauſe ye be the patron of the churches, and therfore ye ar not bound onelye to the defence of them, but to the callyng for agayne of their goods, which the foreſayd man hath waſted. Fyftly, ye following the foteſteps of your aunceters, ought to deliuer yeur mother the romiſh church, from ſo wicked a band, wherein by oppreſſion ſhe is tyed bound. I require that a publicke inſtrument may be made of theſe requeſtes by the Notaries here preſent, vnder the wytnes of the woorſhipfull men that be here preſent. Theſe thinges were done & ſpoken as is aforeſayd at Paris in the kinges houſe of Lupara.

After this proteſtation of maiſter Nagareta, immediately inſued the appeale of the kyng, pronounced and publiſhed againſt ye ſaid Boniface, in forme as foloweth

¶ *The appeale made by the king and the louers of the realme agaynſt Boneface.*

appel
n of
French
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es a-
t pope
face 8.

IN the name of God Amen. In the yeare of our lord 1303. indictione prima. 13. day of Iune, and the. 9. yere of the popedome of Boniface pope the. 8. By the tenour of this preſent publique inſtrument, be it vnto all men knowen: that the moſt noble prince and Lord Philip by the grace of God, king of Fraunce, the famous and reuerend fathers in Chriſt, archbiſhops and biſhops, religious men, abbots and priors here vndernamed, in the preſence of vs common Notaries here vnder wrytten, ſpecially called and required for this purpoſe, as it is cōtayned in the ſubſcriptions here vnder, the famous and noble men, the Lorde Lewes, ſonne of the French king Gwido of ſaint Paule, and Iohn Drocem earles, and William of Pleſiano Lord of Vitenob. knight: Moued as they ſayd with a feruent fayth, with affection of ſyncere loue and zeale of charitye to be ſhewed to the holye Romiſhe churche, and hauing pitye from their hart on their mother the vniuerſall church, which as they ſayde is oppreſſed daungerouſly vnder the rule of the ſaid lord Boniface, and ſuffereth outragious defaſing and loſſe: and piteyng the right faith (as they ſay) in which ſtands the ſaluation of ſoules, and which (alas for pitie) in theyr times miſerably pyneth away, & periſheth for the lacke of wholſō gouernment of the church through all chriſtēdome: and earneſtlye taking paynes, as they ſayde, for the repayring and inhaunſing of the catholicke fayth: ſpecially, ſeing it was neceſſary for the ſame church, for the foundation of the fayth, and the health of the ſoules, that none ſhould rule the folde of the Lordes flock, but the true and lawfull ſhepheard: and alſo becauſe the ſame church was the ſpouſe of Chriſt that hath no ſpot nor wrincle, all errour, offence, wyckednes and wrong ſhould be put away, and ſaluation, peace, and quietnes through Gods mercye might bee procured to the whole world, which they ſay lyeth in warres and darknes by the wicked dedes, curſed workes, and hurtful examples of the ſayd Boniface: They ſayde and layd agaynſt the ſayd Boniface, hereſie, and other diuers horrible & curſed faultes, wherein they affirmed hym to be tangled, & commonly and notoriouſly reported, the king him ſelfe being preſent, with archbiſhops, biſhops and other Prelates and churchmen (whiche were aſſembled for to entreate of their own matters, and matters of theyr churches) beſyde Barons, Earles, and other noble men, whoſe names are vnder wrytten.

The ſayd William propounded, and obiected agaynſt him, ſwearing by the holy Goſpell of God, which he corporallye touched, that he coulde proue all and euery the premiſſes to be true. And the ſayd William of Pleſiano ſware further thys othe, that he beleued he coulde proue the premiſſes, and that he would purſue to the full ende agaynſt the ſayd Boniface in the generall counſell, where, whan, and afore whom ſoeuer of ryght it ought to be done: requyring earneſtlye the ſayd Lorde king as a champion of the fayth, and defendour of the church: that for declaring of thys truth to the prayſe of Gods name, to the increaſe and promoting of the catholike fayth, to the honour and wealth of the vniuerſall church and of all chriſtian people, and the congregation of the ſayd generall councell: that he would helpe and beſtowe hys profitable labour, with ſouldiors and other lyke, for the loue of men, and zeale to iuſtice (becauſe his kinglie houſe was euer a ruler of the truthe) and that he woulde earneſtlye requyre the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates, and that he would be effectuallye inſtante with them. The Earles and knightes them ſelues beſaught earneſtlye many of the ſame prelates (as they were pillers of the church and ye fayth) that they would helpe and effectually beſtowe their labour to the calling, and aſſembling of the ſayd councell, by all wayes and meanes lawfull according to the ordinaunces of the holy fathers and decrees of the canons. But when the prelates heard and fully vnderſtoode ſuch obiections, oppoſitions, and requeſtes, as is aforeſayd: and conſidered that ſuch a matter not onely was moſt harde but neded wyſe counſel: they departed out of the ſame place. But on the Friday next following. i the 14. daye of the ſame moneth of Iune, the foreſayd Lorde king being preſent and alſo the Lordes, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, & many witnes here vnder writtē the ſame time being preſent, and in the preſence of vs cōmon notaries here ſubſcribed, and being ſpecially called and required for thys purpoſe: the foreſayd William of Pleſiano knight ſayd, propounded, affirmed, obiected, and red, as was contayned more fullye in a certaine paper which he helde in hys hand, whoſe tenor was after this ſorte.

I William of Pleſiano knight, ſay, propound, and affirme, that Boniface which now ruleth the Apoſtolicall ſee is a rancke heretike in hereſies, and by hereſies, outragious dedes, and wicked doctrines hereafter to be declared, which thynges to be true I beleue I am able to proue: or els, ſuch thynges as theſe ſhall be ſufficient to proue hym a full hereticke, in a conuenient place and tyme, and afore whom of ryght thys can or ought to be done. Thys thing I ſweare on the holy goſpell of God preſently touched of me.

Firſt that he beleueth not the immortalitie of men and of Chriſten ſoules, but thinking much lyke as the

Saducies

Pope Boniface had rather be a dogge then a French man.

Saducies did beleue, that there is no euerlaſting lyfe, and that men can not get at the length ioye, but all the lotte and parte of comfort & gladnes to be in this world: and by thys meanes he affirmeth, that it is no ſinne for the bodie to liue daintely in all dainties. And out of the aboundance of thys leuen, he was not aſhamed to ſaye and openlye to confeſſe, that he had rather be an aſſe or a dogge or any other brute beaſt, rather than a Frenchman: which thyng he woulde not haue ſayd, if he beleued a Frenchman had a ſoule that could enioye euerlaſting lyfe. Thys thyng he taught many men, which knowledged this at the point of death, and the common reporte goeth on him thus in theſe thynges.

2 Alſo he beleueth not faythfully, that by the words ordayned of Chriſt and ſpoken ouer the oſte after the faſhion of the church by a faythfull prieſt that is lawfully ordered, the bodye of Chriſt to be there: and therfore it cōmeth to paſſe, that he geueth no reuerence to it (no not a litle) when it is lifted vp of the prieſt, yea he ryſes not to it, but turneth hys back to it, and makes himſelf and his ſeate to be honoured where he ſitteth, rather then the altare where the hoſte is conſecrate: and he is commonlye reported to do this.

3 Alſo he is reported to ſaye that whoredome is no ſinne, no more than rubbing of the handes together, and thus commonly runnes the voyce and brute.

4 Alſo he ſayd often, that to thruſt downe the king and Frenchmē (if it could not be otherwayes done) he would ouerthrowe hymſelfe the whole worlde, and the whole church. And when he ſayd ſo, ſome that ſtoode by ſayd, God forbyd, he anſwered God graunt. And when good men that heard the wordes replyed agaynſt him, that he ſhould not ſay ſo, becauſe the church of God & all chriſtē men ſhould ſuffer great ſlaunder ſo: he aunſwered, I care not what ſlaunders ſo euer come, ſo ẏ the French men and their pryde be deſtroyed: for it is neceſſary that ſlaunders and offences come.

5 Item, he called agayn and allowed a booke made by M. Arnolde of Newton, conteyning and ſmelling of hereſie, condemned by the biſhop of Paris and reproued by the maiſters of diuinitie, and burned openlye by Boniface hymſelfe: and in the full conſiſtorie of Cardinals being likewiſe reproued, condemned, and burned, yet he allowed it being written agayne, and conteyning the ſame faulte.

6 Item, that he mighte make the moſte damnable remembraunce of hym perpetuall, he cauſed hys images of ſiluer to be ſet in the churches, by this meanes bringing men to idolatrie.

7 Item, he hath a priuate deuill, whoſe counſell he vſeth in all thinges and through all thinges.

Item, he ſayd once that if all men were on one ſyde, and he on a nother, they coulde not deceaue hym neither in lawe nor in deede, which thing coulde not be done excepte he vſed a deueliſhe arte: and of thys he is openlye thus reported.

9 Item, he is a witche aſking councell at ſoothſayers both men and wemen, and thus he is cōmonly iudged.

10 Item he ſaid openly that the Romiſhe pope could not commit ſimonie, whiche is hereticall to ſay. This is a ſinne reproued aſwell in the olde Teſtament, as in the new and generally in the holy councels. Alſo he is wont to make marchaundiſe of prelates liuings, dignities, ſuperiorities, and benefices, to the whiche holy orders be neceſſarely ioyned: and of abſolutions and diſpenſatiōs, like as vſurers and marchaunts vſe to bye and ſell common thinges in the market, and of this the cōmō brute reportes him.

11 Item he letteth with all his might among Chriſtian men the ſpeciall embaſſade of Chriſt, made to his owne ſonnes, ſaying: peace I leaue to you, and ſoweth diſcord and warres: Wherfore ones it was ſaid afore him, that certein parties would friendly agree after a good ſort, he letted the peace, when the other parte did humbly beſech him, that he would giue him licence to agree (he ſayd) he would not: Yea if the ſonne of God or Peter the Apoſtle would come downe into the earth and commaund him: he would ſay, I will not beleue thee.

12 Item, bicauſe the French nation (being manifeſtly a moſt Chriſtiā nation) followeth not his errors in ẏ faith: he reckeneth & opēly calleth all & euery of thē, Paterniani.

Item, he is infect with ſodomiticall ſinne, kepyng with him boyes for concubines, and of this faute he is moſt commonly and openly reported.

13 Item, he hath cauſed many murthers of clerkes to be done in his preſence, and commēded it reioyſing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the firſte by his ſeruants, as oft as he ſaw them ſmiting, he ſayd, ſmite, ſmite: by whiche example many were ſlayne.

14 Item when he had condemned a certeine noble man, he forbad the Sacrament to be geuen him at the pointe of death, deſiryng it and beyng penitent: ſaying, that the Sacrament of penaunce was not neceſſarie to ſaluatiō.

Item, he compelled certein prieſtes to ſhew vnto him the confeſſions of men, and he publiſhed them openly afterward contrary to the will of them, that were confeſſed to their ſhame and confuſion, and compelled them to redeme their ſinnes. In ſo much that ones he depoſed a certaine byſhop of Spaine, for the faultes that he confeſſed to a certeyne cardinall, confeſſing vnto him a certein priuy horrible faute vnder Benedicite, and compelled the cardinall againſt his will to declare his confeſſion: & yet afterward he reſtored the ſame biſhop again to his place for a litle money. Wherfore he is thought to play the hereticke in the Sacrament of penaunce.

15 Item, he faſteth not on the faſting dayes, nor Lent, but eateth fleſh indifferētly, and without cauſe ſuffereth his houſhold and frendes to eate, ſaying it is no ſinne. Doyng in this thing agaynſt the generall ſtate of the holy churche.

16 Item, he oppreſſed the order of the cardinals, and hath oppreſſed the order of blacke and white monkes, of gray friers and preachers: and ſayd oft, that the world was deſtroyed by them, and that they were falſe hipocrites, and that neuer good could chaunce to any that would be confeſſed to thē, or would be familiar with them, or would kepe them in their houſe, and he neuer ſayd good wordes of any prelate, religious man, or clarke: but euer rebuketh and ſlaundereth thē, taking away their good name, and to compell them to redeeme their faultes, he is glad of their accuſations: and this is the common voyce and reporte of him.

17 Item, of old time he goyng about to deſtroye the faith, conceiued a hate againſt the Frēch kyng, euen to the abhorring of the faith: bicauſe of the light of faithe whiche is there, and bicauſe of the great witnes and example of Chriſtianitie, is and hath been there. And before he had this ſeate he is proued to haue ſayd, that if he were pope: he would rather ouerthrow all chriſtēdom, but he would ouerthrow and deſtroy the nation, whiche he calleth the pride of French.

18 Alſo he is reported, that when the embaſſadours of ẏ kyng of England, in the name of the ſayd kyng did require and entreate for the tenth of the realme of Englād to be geuen hym: he aunſwered, that he would not giue them the tenth, but on this condiciō, that he would make warre with them agaynſt the French kyng. And beſide this, he is reported to haue giuē great ſommes of mony to certeine perſons that to hinder, that peace ſhould not be betwixt the ſayd kinges. He him ſelfe alſo withall his might hath letted it, by meſſēgers, letters, & otherwayes that he could, yea by giuing bribes.

19 Itē, he is reported alſo to haue commaunded Friderike which kepeth the Ile of Cicill, ẏ if he would betray

Charles the kyng and breake the peace whiche he made, and ſweare that he would kepe with hym, and would ſturre agaynſt the kyng, and kil the French men: ȳ then he would giue him aide, helpe, and coūſell, and for doing ſo he would giue and graunt him the ſaid kingdomes.

20 He confirmed alſo the kyng of Almaine to be Emperour, and ſayd openly that he did it to deſtroye the natiō, which he calleth the pride of French mē: which ſay, that they are ſubiect to none in temporall thinges. Wherin ſaithe he, they lied on their heades, declaryng moreouer, that whoſoeuer (yea if it were an aungell from heauen) would ſay that all kinges of the world were not ſubiect to the ſame kyng of Almayne, he were accurſed.

21 Farther he brake the agrementes of peace, betwixt the kyng of Almayne, and the French kyng: in which, either of them ſhould haue their owne ſaued. And what encrochynges ſoeuer had béen on either ſide, ſhould be brought to a due ſtate, and vnder an othe orderly giuen and taken: he is reported to haue commaunded the ſame kyng of Almaine, that he ſhould not kepe theſe conditiōs of peace, but be an enemy and go about, to ſowe debate among Chriſten men.

22 Item, he is openly reported, that the holye land was betrayed through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of faithe: and that he ſuffred this for the nonſt, and denied to geue ayde to the Chriſtians which defended it: ſpending the treaſures and money of the church, (which ſhould haue bene beſtowed on that vſe as the patrimonye of Chriſt) in perſecuting of faythfull Chriſtians and friendes of the church, and therewyth woulde enriche hys friendes.

23 Item, he is openly reported to vſe ſimony, not onelye in beſtowing of benefices, but in geuing of orders, and making diſpenſations. He hath ſet to ſale all benefices of the church, and would beſtow the church commonlye on hym that would offer moſt: and hee made hys Seruauntes prelates of the Churche, not for wealth of the fayth, nor to thruſt downe Infidels, but to oppreſſe the faythfull, and to enrich hys kynred by the church goods and of the patrimony of him that was crucified: and preſumed to make them Marqueſes, Earles, and Barons, and was not afrayde to buylde them ſtrong holdes, rooting out and oppreſſing many noble men and other.

24 Item, it is commonly reported, that he hath deuorced many marriages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, and ſlaunder of many: and he did promote his nephew to a Cardinalſhip, being maryed, vnlearned, and all together vnworthy to lyue: and openlye maryed one that was diuorced, and compelled him to make a vowe of chaſtitye: and after ȳ he is reported to haue had twoo baſtardes by her, and ſo goeth the cōmon brute of hym.

25 Item, he is commonly reported that he handled vngently hys predeceſſour Celeſtinus of holy memory, leading a holy lyfe (peraduenture knowyng in conſcience that he could not forſake his popedome, and therefore Boniface himſelfe had no lawfull entraunce to the ſeat) and priſoned him, and there quickly and priuely cauſed him to dye. And of this the common brute and report is through all the world, ȳ he cauſed many and great learned men liuing a reguler lyfe (whych diſputed of thys, whether he might renounce the Popedome or not) to be ſet in priſon, and there to dye.

26 Item, he is reported to haue railed at religious perſons, leading a regular life without a reaſonable cauſe to the world, to the ſlaunder of many.

27 Item, he is reported to haue ſayd that he wold within ſhort tyme make all the French men eyther martyrs or forſakers of their fayth.

28 Item, he is commonlye reported that he ſeeketh not the health of the ſoules, but the deſtruction of them.

Theſe thinges being propounded and red, the ſame Wylliam proteſted, ſayde, declared, appealed, and added theſe wordes, reading them in writing.

The proteſtatiō of W. Pleſiano.

I William of Pleſiano knight, proteſt that I do not propound nor ſpeake the foreſayd thinges for any ſpeciall hate of Boniface him ſelfe (for I hate not him, but his forſayd euyll dedes) nor I ſeeke not his iniurye nor ſlaunder, nor any mans els: But I ſpeak it for the zeale of the faith, and for the deuotion that I haue to the holy church of God, and the holy Romiſh ſée, aſwell for thoſe thinges that I haue ſene and hearde of credible men of hys doinges, and by lykelye preſumptions gathered of the foreſayd thinges, and many diuers other thynges to be declared in his due place and tyme. And I ſwear by the holy goſpell of God (which I touche with my hand) that I beleue him to be a ranck heretike, and that I alſo beleue ȳ the foreſayd things & ſuch other, may proue agaynſt him ſuch thinges as ſhall bee ſufficient to proue him an hereticke, accordyng to the ſtate of the holye fathers. I ſweare alſo, that I wyll purſue agaynſt him by the lawes, the foreſayd thynges in the generall counſell that ſhall be aſſembled, in a place that ſhal be ſafe for me and ſure, to the honour of God, and increaſe of the chriſtian fayth, ſauing the right, honour and ſtate of the holy apoſtolicall ſée, in all thinges. Wherefore, earneſtlye and with reuerence I require you my Lord the king (to whom belongeth the defence of the holye mother the church, and the catholicke fayth, for of that ye ſhal make accompt in the laſt iudgement) and you my Lordes the Prelates which be pillers of the faith, and which ought to be iudges of the foreſayde thinges, together wyth other reuerent fathers, the catholicke Prelates of the holy church, in the generall councell to be aſſembled: that ye would procure and take diligent payne that a generall councell maye be gathered in a fyt and ſafe place, and conuenient tyme, afore which the foreſayd thinges may be propounded, brought forth, and proued agaynſt the ſayd Boniface, as is promiſed. And I earneſtly alſo require you my Lord king, that ye would requyre the ſame prelates preſent and abſent, in what country ſo euer they be, or to whom it belongeth: & that ye would effectually induce them manfully to labor, and to require other faythfully, that the foreſayde councell for the foreſayd matters might be gathered in ſuch ſort as is afore ſayde. And becauſe ſo long as this is deferred to proue, I ſuſpect Boniface him ſelfe, leaſt he being angrye and moued for the foreſayd thinges againſt me and my partakers, procurers and helpers, my frindes and famyliars: ſhould go about by ſome meanes, whereby to ſtaye and ſtop my good purpoſe & theirs for going forwarde. Therfore, by theſe writinges afore you my Lorde the king, and diuers prelates, and afore your common Notaries here preſent: I prouoke and appeale to the ſayde holye generall councell apoſtolicall and catholicke that ſhall be, and to the holy Apoſtolicall ſée, and to hym and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earneſtly require once, twyſe, and thriſe, that teſtimoniall letters may be geuen me from you: ſuppoſing my ſelfe my followers, fauourers, familiars, friendes, my procurers, and all them that wyll hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be vnder the protection and keeping of S. Peter and Paule, and the ſayd holy councell to be aſſembled by the holy Romiſh ſée, and the catholick apoſtolicall Pope that ſhall bee: ſticking neuertheleſſe and wylling to ſtycke to the appellation and appellacions, proceſſe and proceſſes made hereupon, by the noble man Maiſter William of Nargareta knight, in as much as they ſhall be found & made lawful, and yet not forſaking thys preſent appellation.

Pope Boniface proued an heretyke.

The kynges aunſwer.

When theſe thinges wer thus red and done, the foreſayd king anſwered & required the foreſayde Prelates, prouoking and appealing and making requeſt, prouocation and appellation, as is contayned in the paper vnderwrytten, both there and then with other Prelates: whyche thynges all are more fullye contayned in theſe writinges followyng, and were red to them that heard it, whoſe tenour is ſuch,

The appeale of Phillip the French kyng from the pope.

We Philip by the grace of God, hearing and vnderſtanding ẏ obiections propounded by our beloued faithfull knight William of Nagareta, agaynſt Boniface now hauing the regiment of the Romiſhe church: although we would gladlye couer with our owne cloke, the filthy partes of ſuch a father: yet for the loue of the catholicke fayth and greate deuotion that we beare to the holy Romiſhe and vniuerſall church our mother, and all faythfull men and ſpouſe of Chriſt, following the ſteppes of our aunceſtors, which doubted not to ſhed their own bloud for the encreaſe and defence of ẏ churches libertie and the fayth: and coueting to prouide for the puritie of fayth and the ſtate of the church, as alſo to auoyde the hurt of the generall ſlaunder, being not able to paſſe ouer any longer ẏ premiſſes with wincking and diſſembling, and my conſcience driuing to ẏ ſame: ſeing this eſtimat and opinion of hym in theſe matters, is not raſhlye of vs conceaued, but vehemently & playnlye increaſed by many and continuall cryengs of credible men, and greate authoritie oft and often tymes beaten vnto vs, fearing moreouer the deſtruction of ẏ faith, both of vs, and of all other ſubiectes, and ſpeciallye of kings and princes of the world, which ought to reproue negligence, which acknowledge that we haue receaued power geuen vs from the Lorde, to the promoting and increaſement of it, we agree to your requeſtes in thys behalfe, and to the calling and aſſembling of a councell for the glorye of God (ſauyng the honour and reuerence that is due to the holy Romyſhe church in all thynges) wherby the truth may appeare in the premiſſes, and all errour auoyded: that the ſtate of the vniuerſall church & all chriſtianitie and the matters of fayth, and the holy land may be prouided for, and the ſlaunders and ieoperdies hanging ouer vs may be withſtanded: we be ready & offer our ſelues gladly, as much as in vs is, to beſtowe our labour and diligẽt payne therabouts. Earneſtly requiring and beſeching in the mercifull bowells of Jeſu Chriſt, you Archbiſhops and other prelates here preſente, as children of the churche and pillers of faith, called of the Lorde to the promoting, encreaſe, and preſeruyng thereof, to care for the ſame: that with all diligence ye woulde geue heede, as becommeth you, and effectually ye would labour by alwayes and fit meanes, to the calling and aſſemblyng of this councell, in whiche we intend to be perſonally preſent. And leaſt the ſaid Boniface, whiche hath boldely and wrongfully many times threatned to procede againſt vs, ſtoppyng & hindring our purpoſes & intent: leaſt any of his workes of darknes (if there be any) ſhould come to light, directly or indirectly hinderyng the callyng and gathering of this councel: or leaſt any ſtate being in the ſame realme ẏ will in dede procede agaynſt vs, or our ſtate, churches prelates, Barones and other faithfull vaſſals, our ſubiectes, our landes, or our realme, and the ſtate of the realme: by abuſing any ſpirituall ſword, in excommunicating, ſuſpendyng, or otherwayes by any meanes for vs and our welwillers, & them that will follow vs: we prouoke and appeale in writing to the foreſaid general coũcel (which we inſtantly deſire to be called) and to one lawful chief biſhop ẏ ſhalbe, or to anyother to whõ we ſhuld appeale: and yet not going from the appellatiõ made by maiſter William of Nagareta, to whõ we ſticked then, and alſo yet ſticke: requiring earneſtly, a witnes of our appellation of you prelates and notaries, expreſſedly to renewe ſuch prouocation and appellation, when and afore whom it ſhall be thought mete to you.

Than the Archbyſhops within written, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, aunſwered the premiſſes (as it is founde in the actes) prouoked, and appealed, agreed to, and proteſted, and made prouocation, and appellation, agrement, and proteſtation, as is contayned more fully in a certayne paper there openly and playnly red, whoſe tenor followeth with theſe wordes.

We Archbiſhops of Nicoſien, Remen, Senoren, Narbonen, turonen, and biſhops of Landuiren, Belnacen, Catolacen, Antiſiodoren, Meldimen, Nurmen, Carnoten, Aurelianen, Ambiauen, Morinen, Silanen, Andeganen, Abricen, Conſtant, Ebroicen, Lexonicen, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemonicen, Auicen, Maſticoren, And we Abbots of Cluniac, premoſtraten of the greater monaſterie of the court of S. Dioniſe in Fraunce, Camped S Victors. S. Genoueue, S. Marten, Landmoen, Figiacem and Bellicem in Lemocinio, and Fryer Hugh viſiter of the houſes of the order of knightes of the temple of S. John in Jeruſalem in Fraunce, and the father Prior of S. Martyn in the fieldes, hearing theſe thynges which were ſayd, propounded, and obiected yeſterday, and to day, by you the Lordes, Earles, and William aforeſayd, agaynſt the Lorde Boniface the 8. and Pope, being moued with ſuch ſayengs, purpoſes, aſſertations, and your othes, your requeſt and other lawfull cauſes: and were compelled by neede, conſidering that the matter of our fayth which is Chriſtes, is handled in the premiſſes. We that be called to parte of thys care, to the defence and maintenaunce of the fayth and ſoules of the realme, althoughe vnworthye, yet coueting to withſtand the ieoperdies that hange ouer vs by reaſon of the premiſſes and other cauſes, thinking the calling and gathering of the ſayd councell profitable and neceſſarye, that the innocencie of the Lorde Boniface himſelfe may clerely be diſcuſſed, as we deſyre (our conſciences bearing witnes) that it may be determined on hym by ẏ councel, touching ſuch things as are laid againſt him, & that may bee done which they decree according to the canons. We aunſwere you our Lorde kyng, and you our Lordes, Earles, and William, that (the honour and reuerẽce of ẏ holy Romiſh church ſalued in all poyntes) we agree to your due requeſtes in thys behalfe for the calling of the councell, and are readie to geue helpe and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the ſayd councell, according to the decrees of the holy fathers, and to the lawfull orders of the canons: not intending by any meanes, to make parties of thys matter, nor to ſtick to any that maketh parties. Yet leaſt the ſayd Boniface being moued or prouoked by theſe things, as we feare by likely coniectures & threatnings made, againſt vs for the foreſayd thynges, that he will procede againſt our pariſh churches and our ſubiectes by ſome meanes, or cauſe to procede agaynſt vs by ſome authoritie of his owne or others by excommunication, ſuſpenſion, interditing, depoſing, depriuing, or by ſome other meanes and colour ſought to ſome impeachment or trouble of the ſayde councell, and that we maye ſitte in the ſame councell to iudge and doe all other thynges, that belong to the office of prelates: that our frendes that ſticke to vs and would ſticke to vs in all thynges maye remayne ſafe, for our ſelues, our paryſhe churches, our ſubiectes and them that ſticke to vs, or woulde ſticke to vs, in this behalfe: we prouoke and appeale in writing to the foreſayd councell, that is to be gathered, and to him that ſhall be the true and lawfull higheſt biſhop, and to hym or them to whome of ryght we ſhould appeale to, and earneſtlye require our appellations, committyng vs, our paryſhe churches, oure ſubiectes, frendes, and them that ſticke to vs, our ſtate and theirs, our right and their goods, to the godly defence of the foreſayd coũſel, and of him that ſhalbe the true and lawfull hygheſt biſhop: and we proteſt to renew this appellation, where, when, and afore whom, it ſhall be thought mete.

This was done at Paris at Lupara in the chamber of the ſayd Lord our kyng, Indictione prima ẏ 9. yere of his Popedome, the dayes of thurſday and friday aforeſayd theſe noble men beyng preſent the Lordes of Auia and Bolone the Lordes Martins & other earles named afore, Mathew Motera, Peter the Lord chãberlate, Philip the Lord of Wirtmos, and Henry of Bolone knight and alſo maſter Philip archdeacon of Bengem, Nicholas archdeacon Remem, William treaſurer of Anioye, Philip Beaſpere, Rainolde of Burbon and Jhon Montagte, and many moe both clerkes and other ſpecially requited and called to be witnes to this.

After theſe thinges thus in the Parliament decreed and agreed, the prelates of the clergie cõſulting with thẽ ſelues what was to be done in ſo doubtful a mater: & dredyng the popes diſpleaſure, for this which was done alredy, to cleare them ſelues in the matter cõtriued amõg them ſelues a letter to the Pope partly to certifie hym, what there was done, and partly to admoniſh him what he ſhould do: the tenour of whiche their letter conteined theſe wordes following.

¶ *The forme of a Letter, whiche the Prelates of Fraunce* aſwell ſecular as religious ſent to Boniface, that he ſhould ceaſe his enterpriſe, whrien he proceded agaynſt the Kyng.

¶ To the moſt holy Father & their deareſt beloued Lord, ẏ Lord Boniface the chief Biſhop of the holy Romiſhe churche and the vniuerſall churche: his humble and deuout Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Abbotes, priors, conuentuals, Deanes, Prouoſtes, Chapters, Couentes and Colleges of the Cathedrall and collegiat churches, regular and ſecular of all the realme of Fraunce, being gathered together, do offer moſt deuout kyſſings of your bleſſed feete.

he letter ſ the ench pre ters to pe Boni- ce.

WE are compelled not without ſorow of hart and bitter teares to ſignifie vnto your holynes, that ẏ moſt famous prince our moſt deare Lord Philip, by the grace of God, the noble kyng of Fraunce: when he hard and ſaw the Apoſtolicall letters ſealled, whiche were ſent to him of late, from your behalf by the worſhipful man the Cardinal of Narbo your notarie and meſſenger, & were preſented by the ſame Cardinall to him, and certeine other of his barons. Upõ the ſight and peruſing of which ſo bloudy letters being read and declared to thẽ ſittyng by him: both our Lord the kyng and the barons them ſelues wer highly moued with great marueling and great trouble. In ſo muche, that the ſayde our Lorde the king by the aduice of his barons, commaunded to be cald afore him the other barons then abſent, and vs alſo that is to wete: all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, abbotes, priors, conuentualles, deanes, prouoſtes, chapters, conuentes & colleges aſwell of cathedrall as collegiat churches, regular and ſecular, and alſo all the vniuerſities and communalties of the townes of his realme: that we Prelates, Barons, deanes, prouoſtes, and two of the learnedſt of euery collegiate and cathedrall church, ſhould appeare perſonally, and ſhould procure, the reſt likewiſe to appeare, by their ſtuard, officers and ſufficient proctors, with full and ſufficiẽt commiſſion at the appointed place & terme. Farther, when we and the other eccleſiaſticall perſons aforeſayd, and alſo the barons, ſtuardes, officers, & proctours, and other of the communaltie of the townes that were thus cald: and when according to the forme of the foreſayd callyng by the kynges commaundement, we ſtode afore the king this wedenſday, the tenth of this preſent of Aprill, in S. Maries churche in Paris: Our Lord the kyng cauſed to be propounded openly and playnly to all men, that it was ſignified to him, from you among other thinges by the foreſayd cardinall and letters: that for his kyngdome (whiche he and his auncetors hetherto do acknowledge to hold of God onely) now ought in tẽporalties to be ſubiect to you and holde of you, and that ye wer not content with theſe ſo meruelous and ſtrãge woordes, and not hard of from the begynnyng of the world of any dwellers within the ſame realme, but that ye went about to put them in practiſe. And that ye cald to appeare afore you, the prelates of the ſayd realme, and doctors of diuinitie, and ſuch profeſſours of both lawes, as were borne within the ſayd realme, for the correcting and amendyng of ſuch exceſſes, fautes, arrogancies, wronges, and harmes, as ye pretend to be done to the eccleſiaſticall prelates and perſons eccleſiaſtical both regular & ſecular, abidyng within the realme and els where, by our Lord the kyng him ſelfe and his officers or baylifes, by his peres, earles, barons and other nobles, with the communaltie and people of the ſayd realme: To the entent by this meanes, ẏ foreſaid realme might be made ſtrong, with pretious iuells & durable treaſures, whiche are to be preferred before the bucklers or any armour of ſtrong men, that is to ſay, by the wiſedome of prelates, and wiſe men, and others: through whoſe rype faithfull counſel and circumſpect foreſight, the realme might be ruled and gouerned, the faith might be ſtabliſhed, the eccleſiaſticall Sacramentes might be miniſtred, iuſtice might be executed: whiche by thẽ beyng robbed of goods and riches and vtterly ſpoyled, is in a doutfull caſe and in ieopardie of miſerable decay and for euer to bee deſtroyed. Among theſe and diuerſe other grieues, whiche were done by you and the Romiſh church, to him, to his realme and the Frenche churche, both in reſeruyng and willfull ordering of Archbiſhopricks, byſhoprikes, and beſtowing of great benefices of the realme vpõ ſtraũge and vnknowne perſons, yea & oft vpon ſuſpect perſons, neuer being at the churches or benefices aforeſayd. By reaſõ wherof, the decay of Gods worſhip enſued, the godly willes of the founders and giuers are defrauded of their godly purpoſe: the accuſtomed almes giuyng is withdrawen frõ the poore of the ſaid realme, the poueriſhing of the realme followeth, and churches runne in daũger to be defaced, while they remain deſtitute of ſeruice: the Prophetes being taken away, and the fruites of thẽ, that ſerue them, bee appoynted to the commoditie of ſtraungers. And while prelates haue not to giue, yea to rewarde men for their deſertes: noble men (whoſe auncetors founded the churches) and other learned men, cãnot haue ſeruauntes: and that for theſe cauſes, deuotion began to be cold, ther was none at theſe dayes that would ſtretche out a liberall hãd towardes the churches, & farthermore by the premiſſes an euill example was giuen. Alſo he complayned of newe taxes of penſions, newlye layd on the churches, of inmeſurable bondages, exactions, and diuerſe extortions, with other preiudiciall and hurtfull nouelties, by which ẏ generall ſtate of ẏ church is chaunged: in geuing ſuffraganes, as helpers to the higher prelates, wherby neither the biſhops them ſelues nor the ſuffraganes can doe their dueties, but for them they myght runne with giftes to the apoſtolicall ſee. He complayned alſo of diuerſe cauſes & ſome articles longe ſince, but true in the tyme that they were preſented, that were done and be done continually: and alſo not purpoſing to ſuffer ſo great a diſheriting of him and hys ſucceſſours, from the realme and ſo manifeſt a griefe, they coulde not ſuffer any longer the euident loſſe of the honour of hym and the realme, and ſayd: that he was certayn, that it was knowen to the whole world, and that he dyd maintayne in thys matter a iuſte cauſe as he had learned by the agréable ſentence of doctors in diuinitie and maiſters of both lawes, that were borne within his realme and others, which among the doctors & connyng men of the world were counted of the learned ſorte and more famous. Therfore he requyred vs, all and euery one, both prelates, and Barons, and other, earneſtly as our Lorde: he prayed and gentlye begged as a frende: to conſulte and take diligent payne, that he myght ordeine wholeſome thynges, both for the képing of their olde libertie, the honour and ſtate of the realme and of the inhabitauntes therof, for the eaſing of the griefes aforeſaid, for redreſſing of the realme and ẏ French church, by our counſel and hys Barones to the prayſe of Gods name, the encreaſe of the catholicke fayth, the honour

,, of the vniuerſall church,and promoting of Gods religion:
,, ſpeciallye ſeing ſuch griefes were done by his officers
,, and others of the realme , to the churches & church
,, men,for the which he purpoſed a remedie of wholeſome
,, correction,afore the comming of the foreſaid Cardinall,
,, and would now haue put it in execution effectually, but
,, that he myght be thought to ſome,to haue done that for
,, feare,or at your commaundement , which thing ye can
,, not aſſeribe to your ſelf. Furthermore,he would ſpend
,, not onely hys goods,but alſo hys realme , yea hys children,
,, if the caſe required:and therfore we ſhould regard
,, to be readie with counſel and helpe in ſeaſon as we are
,, bound by the duetie of fidelitie in theſe thynges: wherin
,, it is manifeſt,that as all & euery mans caſe is handled,
,, generally and particularly their cauſe is promoted,and
,, euery mans owne intereſt is touched. And than he demaunded
,, byandby to be anſwered plainlye and finallie
,, in theſe thyngs, of all and euery one.

,, Then the Barons ſytting aſide with the officers and
,, Proctors aforeſayde,at the length after they had taken
,, counſel, comming to our foreſayd lord the king,& praiſyng
,, greatly and hartely thanking him for his lawdable
,, purpoſe and good wyl, aunſwered with one voyce:
,, that for thoſe things they were redy,not onely to ſpend
,, their goods,but offered the ſame goods, riches,and alſo
,, their perſons to death,and not to flee anye kynde of torment:
,, And ſaid further with one voyce, that if our foreſaid
,, Lord the king would (as God forbid) ſuffer , or els
,, wyllyngly paſſe ouer thoſe,they them ſelues woulde in
,, no caſe ſuffer it.

,, Then when anſwer was aſked of vs afterwarde,although
,, we deſired longer reſpite of deliberation of the
,, king himſelfe our Lord,and of the greateſt of the foreſaid
,, Barons,and that for this intent: that in the meane
,, whyle the Popes letters might haue comen to our lord
,, ẏ king ,we anſwered ẏ we would not offend againſt the
,, libertye of the realme , or by ſome meanes to innouate
,, thinges contrary to the kinges honour in this behalfe.

,, We went about alſo to informe him wyth manye
,, godlye woordes with earneſt perſwaſions , and manye
,, kindes of helpe,and by ſundry wayes , to bring hym to
,, keepe the ſpeciall bande of vnitye , which is knowen to
,, haue continued to theſe preſent dayes,betwixt the holye
,, Romiſh church,and his predeceſſours . But when we
,, were denied any longer delay,and it was plainlye and
,, openly told to all men,that if any man were of a contrary
,, mynde,from thenceforth he ſhoulde bee manifeſtlye
,, coũted for an enemy of the king and the realme: We cõſidering
,, warely,and ſeing plainly,that except our Lord
,, the king,and the Barons aforeſayd were content wyth
,, our anſwer,beſide other daungers and great offences,
,, (wherof ther could neither be number nor end) and that
,, the deuotion both of the Romiſh and Frenche churche,
,, and alſo the whole obedience of the laitie and al the people
,, from thence forth ſhould be taken away without recouery,
,, not without great feare and doubt we thought
,, good to anſwer thus.

,, That we woulde helpe our Lorde the king with due
,, counſel and conuenient helpe for the preſeruing of hys
,, perſon,and of his earthly honour , and the libertye and
,, lawes of the ſayd realme, lyke as we were (certayne of
,, vs)by the dutie of allegiaunce bound to him,which hold
,, of him Dukedomes, Earldomes, Baronies , fees, and
,, other noble partes of the ſayde realme,by the fourme of
,, the othe,as all other do:yet we made humble ſute to the
,, ſame our Lord the king, that ſeing we were bounde to
,, obey the Popes holines and your holy feete, he woulde
,, ſuffer vs to go according to the tenour of your foreſaid
,, callyng.

,, Then on the kings and barons behalfe followed anſwer,
,, that in no caſe they woulde ſuffer vs to go out of
,, the realme:and that by no meanes they would beare to
be handled ſo daungerouſly,yea rather to be altogether ,,
waſted. ,,

Then we conſidering ſo great an anger,and trouble ,,
ſo ieopardous,and ſo great that none coulde be greater, ,,
both of the king,the barons and other laye people of the ,,
realme:and now knowing plainly,that the old enemye ,,
of peace,which goeth about from the beginning of hys ,,
fall,with ſowing of Darnell,to breake the vnitye of the ,,
church,by troublyng of peace: would breake charitye, ,,
and infect the ſwetenes of good workes,with the poiſon ,,
of bitter enuie,and would ouerthrowe mankinde vtterly, ,,
and would trouble with wickednes the band of louelye ,,
vnitie,and ſingular frendſhip , which hitherto haue ,,
had a happy encreaſe betwixt the Romiſhe churche and ,,
our lord the king,and his predeceſſours, and the realme: ,,
to the prayſe of the higheſt God,the encreaſe of Chriſtiã ,,
faith,and the ſetting forth the honour of the churche, of ,,
the king and the realme. But now(alas) a doore was opened ,,
to the lamentable breaking and pitifull ſeperating ,,
of great offences to ryſe on euerye ſyde , daungers are ,,
attempted againſt churches and churchmen , to ſpoyle ,,
their goods and riches,with ieopardy of lyfe : ſeing that ,,
the layity now do abhorre and vtterly flee the obedience ,,
of Clarks , vtterly baniſhing them from their councels ,,
and doinges,and haue taken courage to condemne the ,,
eccleſiaſticall cenſure and proceſſe. All which ieopardies ,,
with other ſundry and diuers daungers (which neyther ,,
tong is able to tell,nor writing can declare)we ſeing at ,,
hand:thought good in this point of greateſt neceſſity to ,,
run with weeping voyce,and lamentable ſighes to the ,,
circumſpect wyſdome of your holynes. Beſeching your ,,
fatherly mildenes,and humbly praying you: that ſome ,,
wholeſome remedy maye be prouided in the premiſſes. ,,
By which,the ſound profitable agrement and mutuall ,,
loue,which hath continued ſo long a tyme betwixt the ,,
church,the kyng,and the realme,might be maintayned ,,
in that old ſwete concord:the ſtate of the French church ,,
might continue in godly and quiet peace: that ye would ,,
vouchſafe to foreſee how to withſtande the daungers & ,,
offences aforeſaid: that we and our ſtates may be prouided ,,
for,by the foreſayde commaundement of your calling, ,,
by the ſtudy of your apoſtolicall wyſdome,and fatherly ,,
loue. The almightye preſerue your holynes to ,,
his holy church a long tyme. ,,

These thinges thus diſcourſed and done , then followed the yeare of our Lord.1304.In the which yeare about the natiuitie of our Lady, came a gariſon of harneſſed ſoldiours wel appointed,ſent partly by the Frẽch king,partly by ẏ cardinals of Columpna,whõ the pope before had depoſed,vnto the gates of Anragum,where ẏ pope did hide him ſelfe,becauſe he was borne in ẏ town. The captains of which armie was one Schaira brother to the foreſayd cardinals:And an other VVilliam de Lõgareto,high ſteward to the Frẽch kyng.Who inuading the popes town,and finding the gates opẽ,gaue aſſault to the popes frontire : where the pope with his nephew a Marquis,and iij.other cardinals were immured. The townes men ſeyng all their intent and ſtrength to be bẽt againſt the pope:cauſed the common bell to be rong and ſo aſſemblyng them ſelues in a common counſail, ordeined Adulphus,one of the chiefeſt rulers of the towne for their captaine, who(vnknowing to thẽ)was a great aduerſarie to the pope.This Adulphus bringing with him Reginaldus de Supine a great Lord in Campania , and ẏ ij.ſonnes of Jhon Chitan a noble man, whoſe father the Pope had then in priſon: at length ioyned hym with the French company agaynſt the pope , and ſo beſet his palace on euery ſide.And firſt, ſetting vpon the palacies of the iij.Cardinals which were then chief about the pope, rifled and ſpoyled all their goodes. The Cardinals,by a backedoore hardly auoyded their hands : but the popes palace,through munition and ſtrength of the Marques

1304

Pope Bo
face be
ged.

was ſomethyng better defended. At length, the pope perceauing him ſelfe not able to make his partie good, deſired treuſe with Schaira and his company, whiche was to him graunted, from one, till nine. During which time of treuſe, the Pope priuely ſendeth to the townes men of Arnagum, deſiring them to ſaue his lyfe: whiche if they would do, he promiſed ſo to enrich them, that they ſhould all haue cauſe neuer to forget or repent their benefite beſtowed. To this they made anſwere agayn, excuſing thē ſelues, yͭ it lay not in their habilitie to doo him any good, for that the whole power of the town was with the captaine. Then the Pope all deſtitute and deſolate, ſendeth vnto Schaira, beſechyng hym to draw out in articles, wherin he had wronged him, and he would make him amēdes to the vttermoſt. Schaira to this maketh a plaine aunſwere, ſignifiyng to him agayn: that he ſhould in no wiſe ſcape with his life, except vpon theſe iij. conditions. Firſt to reſtore againe the ij. Cardinals of Colūpna his brethren whom he had before depriued, with all other of their ſtocke and kinred: ſecondly, that after their reſtitution, he ſhould renounce his papacie: thirdly, his body to remaine in his power and cuſtodie. Theſe articles ſemed to the pope ſo hard, that in no caſe he would agrée vnto them: wherfore, the time of treuſe expired, the captaines and ſouldiers in all forceable meanes bending thē ſelues agaynſt the Biſhop, firſt fiered the gates of the pallace, wherby the army hauing a full entrāce, fell to ryfle and ſpoyle the houſe. The Marques vpon hope to haue hys life, and life of his children, yeldeth him to the handes of Schaira and the other captaine: whiche when the Pope hard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, through windowes and doores, at length with much a do they braſt into the Pope: whom they intreated with wordes and threates accordingly. Vpon this he was put to his choiſe, whether he would preſently leaue his life, or giue ouer his papacie. But that he denied ſtiffly to do, to dye for it: ſaying to them in his vulgare toung. Ec le col, Ec le cape. That is. Loe here my necke, loe here my head: proteſting, that he would neuer while he liued renounce his popedome. Then Schaira went about & was redy to ſlay him, but by certain yͭ wer about him he was ſtayd: wherby it happened, that the pope receaued no harme, al though diuers of his miniſters & ſeruantes were ſlayne. The ſouldiers which ranged in the meane time through all the corners of the Popes houſe, did lade them ſelues with ſuch treaſure of gold, ſiluer, plate, and ornaments: that the wordes of my autor (whom I folow) do thus expreſſe it, Quod omnes reges mundi non poſſent tātum de theſauro reddere infra vnum annum, quantum fuit de papali palatio aſportatum, & de palacijs trium Cardinalium, & Marchionis. That is. That all the kinges of the earth together, were not able to diſburſe ſo much out of theyr treaſury, in a whole yeare: as then was takē and caried out of the popes palace, and of the palace of the iij. Cardinals, and the Marques. Thus Boniface bereued of all his goodes, remained in their cuſtodie iij. dayes. During the whiche ſpace, they had ſet him on a wilde & vnbroken colte, his face turned to the horſe tayle, cauſing the horſe to run and courſe, while the pope almoſt was breathles. Moreouer, they kept him ſo without meat, that he was thereby nere famiſhed to death. After the iij. day: the Arnagians and people of the towne muſtering them ſelues together (to the number of x. thouſād) ſecretly braſt into the houſe where the pope was kept, and ſo ſlayng the kepers, deliuered the pope by ſtrōg hand. Who then being brought into the midle of the town, gaue thankes with weaping teares to the people for his lyfe ſaued: promiſing moreouer, that for ſo much as he was out of all his goodes, hauyng neither bread nor drynke to put in hys mouth, Gods bleſſing & his, to all them, that now would releaue hym with any thyng, either to eate or to drinke. And here now to ſée what pouerty & affliction can worke in a mā. The pope before, in all his pompe and moſt ruffling wealth was neuer ſo proud, but now was as humble and lowly: that euery poore ſimple man (as mine autor teſtifieth) might haue a bold and frée acceſſe to his perſon. To make the ſtory ſhort, the Pope in that great diſtreſſe of famine was not ſo gredy of their vitailles, as they were gredy of his bleſſyng. Wherupon, the wemen and people of that towne came ſo thick, ſome wͭ bread, ſome with wine, ſome wͭ water, ſome with meate, ſome with one thing, ſome with an other: that the popes chamber was to litle to receaue the offring, inſomuch yͭ when there lacked cups to receiue yͤ wine, they poured it down on the chamber flore, not regardyng the loſſe of wine, to winne the Popes holy bleſſyng. Thus Pope Boniface beyng refreſhed by the town of Aruagum, toke his iorney from thence accompanyed with a great multitude of harneſſed ſouldiers, to Rome: where he ſhortly vpon the ſame, partly for feare which he was in, partly for famine, partly for ſorrow of ſo ineſtimable treaſure loſt, dyed. After whō ſucceded Benedictus the xi. of whō theſe verſes are written. A re nomen habe, bene dic, bene fac, benedicte. Aut rē peruerte male dic, male fac, maledicte. &c. And thus haue ye the whole ſtory of pope Boniface the eight, autor of yͤ Decretales. Which ſtory I thought the more diligently to ſet foorth, that all the Latine churche myght ſée, what an autor he was, whoſe lawes and decretals ſo deuoutly they folow.

What pouertye and affection can do, in plucking down the pride of man.

Pope Benedictus. xi.

Now after the long debating of this matter betwene the French king and Pope Boniface, let vs procede in our Engliſh ſtory. About this time in the dayes of king Edward, the churche of Rome began dayly more and more to ryſe vp and ſwell ſo high in pride and worldlye dominiō: yͭ no king almoſt in his own country could doo any thing, but as pleaſed the pope: who both had and ruled all, in all countries, but chiefly here in Englande: as partly by his intollerable tallage and pillage before ſignified may appeare, partly by his iniunctions and commaundementes ſent downe, alſo by hys donations and reſeruations of benefices and church liuings: alſo in depoſing and diſpoſing ſuch as him liſted, in place and office to beare rule. In ſo muche, that when the king and the churche of Canterburye in their election had choſen one Robert Burnel biſhop of Bathe, to be archbiſhop of Canterbury: pope Boniface of his own ſingular preſumptuous autoritie, ruling the matter after hys pleaſure, fruſtrated their election, and thruſt in an other named John Pecchain. For among all other, this hath alwayes bene one practiſe of the court of Rome: euer to haue the Archbiſhop of their owne ſetting, or ſuche one as they might be ſure on their ſide to weigh againſt the king and other, whatſoeuer nede ſhould happen. To this John Peckham, Pope Boniface directed downe a ſolemne Bull from Rome, as alſo vnto all other quarters of the vniuerſall churche. In the which bull was contayned and decreed, directly agaynſt the rule of ſcripture, and Chriſtian obedience: that no church, nor eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould henceforth yelde to hys kyng or temporall magiſtrate, either any geuing or lending, or promiſing of tribute or ſubſidie, or portion what ſoeuer, of the goods & poſſeſſions to him belonging: but ſhould be clearely exempted and diſcharged from all ſuch ſubiection of tallage or ſubuention to be exacted of them in the behofe of the prince and his affaires. Which decree manifeſtly rebelleth againſt the commaunded ordināce of God, and the Apoſtolicall canon of S. Peter, and all other examples of holye ſcripture. For as there is no word in the ſcripture that excludeth ſpiritual men more then temporall from obedience and ſubiection of Princes: ſo if it chaunce the prince in his exacting to be to rigorous, or cruell in oppreſſion; that is no cauſe for the clergy to be exempted, but to beare the common burden of obedience, and to pray to God to turne and moue the princes mynde, and ſo (wyth prayer and patience, not

The kings election in hys owne realme fruſtrated.

John Pecchan archbiſhop of Cant.

A point of practiſe in the court of Rome.

Eccleſiaſtical perſons exempted by the pope, for not paying tribute to the kyng.

The pope procedeth agaynſt the manifeſt word, in ſetting the clergy free from the kinges tribute.

with pride and diſobedience) to helpe and amende that which is amyſſe. Concerning the Bull of Boniface, if any there be that eyther do not credit the ſame, ſo to contayne, or would for hys mynde ſee and reade the ſame, the wordes thereof here folow.

¶ The copy of the popes Bull, wherin the clergie is exempted from geuyng tribute to kynges and princes.

Ex chron. Rob. Gisbur.

BOnifacius.&c. Ad ſempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis, laicos infeſtos opido tradidit antiquitas. Quod & preſentium experimenta temporum manifeſte declarant, dum ſuis finibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum et ad illicita ſua frena relaxant, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo ſit eis in clericos eccleſiaſticaſue perſonas, et bona' interdicta poteſtas. Quin imo eccleſiarum prælatis, eccleſiis eccleſiaſticiſq; perſonis regularibus et ſecularibus imponũtur onera grauia, ipſos talliant, et eis collectas imponunt, et ab ipſius ſuorumq; prouentuum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, ſeu viceſimam, vel quamuis aliã portionem quotam exigunt et extorquent, eoſq; moliuntur multipharie ſubiicere ſeruituti, ſuæq; ſubdere ditioni. Et quod dolenter referimus, nonnulli eccleſiarum prælati, eccleſiaſticæque perſonæ trepidantes, vbi trepidandum non eſt, tranſitoriã pacem querentes: plus timentes maieſtatem temporalem offendere, quam æternam, talium abuſibus non tam temerarie, quam improuide acquieſcunt, ſedis apoſtolicæ autoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obuiare volentes, de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio *Apoſtolica autoritate ſtatuimus: quod quicunque prælati, eccleſiaſticæue perſonæ, vel ſeculares quorumcunque ordinum conditionis, ſeu ſtatus, collectas vel tallias, dimidiam decimam, viceſimam, ſeu ſenteſimam ſuorum et eccleſiarum ſuarum prouentuum vel bonorum laicis ſoluerint, vel promiſerint, vel ſe ſoluturos exceſſerint, aut quamuis aliam quanticatem, porcionem, aut quicquam ipſorum prouentuum vel bonorum æſtimationem vel valorem ipſorum ſubuentionis, ſubſidij, vel doni nomine, ſeu quouis alio timore, vel modo, vel queſito colore abſque autoritate ſedis eiuſdem: Nec non imperatores, reges, ſeu principes, duces, ſeu comites, vel barones, poteſtates, capitaneas, officiales vel rectores quocunque nomine cenſeantur, ciuitatum, caſtrorum, ſeu quorumcũque locorum conſtitutorum vbilibet, et *quis alius cuiuſcunque præeminentiæ conditionis et ſtatus qui talia impoſuerint, et exegerint, vel receperint, aut apud ædes ſacras depoſita eccleſiarum vel eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum vbilibet *areſtauerint, ſayſierint ſeu occupare præſumpſerint, vel areſtari, ſayſiri, aut occupari mãdauerint, aut *occupata, ſayſita, ſeu areſtata receperint: nec non omnes qui ſcienter in predictis dederint conſilium, auxilium, vel fauorem, publice vel occulte, eo ipſo ſententiam excommunicationis *incurrunt. Vniuerſitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint, eccleſiaſtico ſupponimus interdicto: prælatis, et perſonis eccleſiaſticis ſupradictis in virtute obedientiæ et ſub pæna depoſitionis diſtricte mandantes, vt*talibus abſque licentia expreſſa dictæ ſedis nullatenus acquieſcant. A ſupradictis autem excommunicationis et interdicti ſententiis nvllus abſolui valeat, præterquam in mortis articulo abſque ſedis Apoſtolicæ autoritate & licentia ſpeciali.&c.

** Apoſtolica autoritas fruſtra obtenditur, vbi Apoſtolica ſcriptura cōtemnitur*

** Quiuis, pro quiſquis, barbariſmus Apoſtolicus.*

** Flores Attici ex ipſo belicone deſumpti*

** ἑτέρωσις, rhetorica.*

** Tauri cornu.*

Ware the buls horne.

This bull being directed, as is ſayde, from Rome to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lykewyſe throughe the whole vniuerſall church, vnder the Popes autoritie: It chaunced not long after, the king held his parliamẽt at ſaint Edmundes bury, where was graunted to hym of all cities and boroughes an eyght, and of the cōmons a twelfe of their goods. Onely the Clergye by vertue of this Bull, ſtoode ſtout: denyeng to pay any thing to the kyng. This anſwer not well pleaſing the kyng, he wylleth them to deliberate better with them ſelues vpon the matter: and after long aduiſement ſo to geue hym anſwer thereof agaynſt the next parlament, which ſhoulde be holden the next Hillary terme at London.

The clergy denieth to geue tribute to the kyng.

In concluſion, the parlament came: the Clergy perſiſteth ſtil in denial of their ſubſidie, alledging the popes bull for their warrant and diſcharge. Whereupon, the kyng lykewyſe ſecludeth them from vnder his protectiō and ſafegarde of his lawes. And as concerning the archbiſhop of Canterbury aboue mẽcioned, becauſe he was found more ſtubberne then the reſt, and was the inciter to the other: he ſeaſoned vpon all hys goods, and cauſed an inuentorie of the ſame to be enrolled in the Exſcheker. Notwithſtanding, diuers of the other biſhops relented ſoone after to the kyng, and contributed the fyſte of their goodes vnto hym, and were receaued agayne to fauour.

The cle secluded from the kings p tection.

The arch of Can his stub nes had goods fiscate to the kyng

In the lyfe of this kinges father it was declared before, howe the ſayde king Henrye the thyrd, father to this king, after diuers warres and commotions had with hys Barons, had graunted certayne liberties and fredomes wrytten and conteyned in Magna charta and in Charta de foreſta. Concerning whych matter, much buſines happened in thys kings dayes alſo in the realme, betwene the kyng and his Barons and commons. The occaſion was this. A packe of wolle which before payde but a marke to the king, was now by this kyng rayſed vp to. xl.s̃. After thys, the kyng hauing a iourney to make vnto Flaunders, ſent to hys Barons and diuers other, to giue their attendaunce and ſeruice in the ſame, which they refuſed and denyed to doe. Notwithſtanding (the kyng perſiſting in hys purpoſe) with ſuch power as he had, prepareth toward hys iorney. To whom being in hys waye at Wynchelſey, the foreſayd Earles, and Barons and commons ſent certayne peticions contayned in writing, vnder the name of the archbiſhops, byſhops, Abbots and Priors, Earles and Barons, with the whole commonaltie of the realme. In which wryting firſt lamenting and cōplayning of their afflicted ſtate and miſerie, after humble maner they deſired their Lord the king to redreſſe and amend certayn greuaunces among them. And firſt declared in yͤ name of the whole commons, that the premunition or writtes directed to them for their attendance vpon hys grace into Flaunders, was not ſufficient: for that there was no certayne place in the ſayd wryttes ſpecified vnto them whether to come for making their prouiſion, and preparing money and other thynges according to the ſame. And if the place had bene to them ſignified, yet becauſe none of their aunciters euer ſerued the kyng ouer into Flaunders before: the commons therfore thought them ſelues not bound to any ſeruice in that countrey. And albeit they had bene ſo bound therunto, yet they were not able to do it, being ſo heauely oppreſſed with ſo many tallages, taxes, tolles, cuſtomes, and pryſes of corne, Oottes, Tynne, Wolle, Ledder, Oxen, Kyne, Fleſhe, Fiſhe, &c: And beſides all this, hauing no peny of wages geuen them to releaue their charges: Ouer and beſides the lacke of the kings wages not payed them, their own pouertie lyke an heauie burden dyd ſo miſerablye lye vpon them, that ſome of them had no ſuſtentation, ſome of them were not able to tylle their own ground. They alleadged moreouer, that they were not now handeled after the olde lawes and cuſtomes of the land, as their aunciters were wonte. Many alſo found them ſelues greued in that they were not vſed according to the articles contayned in Charta magna, nor agayne that the Charta de foreſta was not obſerued nor kept as it was wonte to be. Wherfore, moſt humblye they beſeched the king both for hys own honour and for the wealth of his people, that of theſe thynges they myght finde redreſſe. For yͤ cuſtome moreouer of wolle, the whole commons bewayled to yͤ king their griefe: in that, for euery packe of wolle was fined to the king. xl.s̃. and for euery ſacke of towſed wolle. vij. markes. The which wolle of England as it doth ryſe to the value of halfe the realme: ſo

The vari ance be twene k Edward and his rons and commo

petition of the rons and mōs to kyng.

Magn charta Chart foreſta

Custom wolle.

the tollage of the ſame ſurmounteth to the fifte parte of the valuation of the whole land. And becauſe therfore the commons wyſhed the honour and preſeruation of their king(as they were boūd to doe) they thought it not good for hys grace to ſaile ouer to Flaunders, vnles he had better aſſuerance of their fidelitie, eſpecially at this tyme the Scottes being ſo buſie : who if they began to rebell, he being at home in hys land, much more were they lyke to ſtyre, he being abroad out of the land. And that not onely for the Scottes: but alſo for that the lyke perill was to bee doubted of other foren nations and kingdoms, which as yet were in no firme peace wyth England, &c.

The kinges anſwer to the petitiōs of the barons and the commons.

To theſe peticions, the king ſaid that he could as yet make no reſolute aunſwere, for that hys counſaile, ſome was gone ouer alreadie to Flaunders, ſome were yet at London. Notwithſtanding, at hys returne agayn from Flaunders (which he truſted ſhoulde be ſpedelye) they ſhould then heare hys aunſwere and know more of hys minde concerning ths ſame. In the meane tyme, this he requyred of them, to keepe good rule at home whyle he was forth. What anſwere yͤ kyng had mynded to make them at hys returne, it is vncertayne, which peraduenture had turned to a bloudie anſwere: but occaſion ſerued otherwyſe, & turned all to agreemēt. For the Scots with their captayne William Waleys aboue ſpecified, in the tyme the king being abſent, inuaded the realme with ſuch violence: that prince Edward yͤ kings ſonne, who was left to rule in hys fathers ſtead, was forced to aſſemble a Parliament, and to call for yͤ Earle of Hereford, the Earle of Northfolke high Marſhall of Englād, Earle of Eſſex heigh Conſtable, with other Earles, Barons, knightes and eſquiers, to entreate peace and concorde betwene hys father and them. Who comming vp to London with a M.CCCCC. well armed ſouldioures, and obtayning the gates of the citie with their owne men, fell at length to agrement with the prince, vpon compoſition to haue the articles of magna Charta, and of Charta de foreſta, confirmed, and that by hys meanes and mediation they might be aſſured of yͤ kings diſpleaſure to be remoued from them. The which foreſayd articles of Magna charta with the other articles adioyned with all, here followe vnder written.

Humfrey Bohune. Roger Bigot.

The articles conteyned in Magna charta.

Firſt, no tollage or ſubſidie by the king or his heires to be impoſed or leuied hereafter with in the realme of England, without the cōmon aſſent of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other prelates, Earles, Borons, knightes, burgeſes, and commons of the realme.

Item, no taker or ſeruiture of the king or of his heires henceforth within this realme, to take grain, wolle, leather, or any goods of any man, without the will and conſent of hym which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any packe of wolle.

Item, to be graunted by the king and his heires after hym, both to the clergie & laitie of this foreſayd realme: to haue and to enioye their lawes, liberties, and all cuſtomes, in as ample maner as they were wonte at anye tyme heretofore.

Item, if anye decrees or ſtatutes ſhall hereafter be made and ſetforth, contrarye to theſe foreſayd articles: the ſame to ſtand voyde and of no effecte for euer.

Agreement concluded and ſealed betwene the kinge and his Barons.

Beſides theſe articles, alſo in the ſame compoſition was conteyned: yͤ all grudge & diſpleaſure betwene the kyng and the Barons for not going to Flanders, ceaſing: the Earles and Barons myght be aſſured to be receaued agayne into the kings fauour.

The mode & good nature of king Ed. noted.

Theſe thinges thus agreed vpon, and by mediation of the prince alſo confirmed and ſealed with yͤ kinges ſeale hys father: ſo was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no leſſe ſtrength of the realme agaynſt their enemies: And moſt chieflye to the commēdation of the gentle and wyſe nature of the king: Who as he was gentle in promyſing hys reconcilement wyth hys ſubiectes, ſo no les conſtant was he in keeping that which he had promiſed.

Rob. Winchelſey archbiſh. of Cant.

After the death of John Peckham archbiſhop of Cāterbury aboue mencioned, who in the parlament had reſiſted the king in the right of certayne liberties pertaynning to the ccowne, touchyng patronages and ſuche church matters: ſucceded Robert Winchelſe, with whō alſo the king had like variance: and accuſed hym to the pope for breaking of peace, and tooke parte with them that rebēlled agaynſt the king about vſages and liberties of yͤ realme. Wherfore, yͤ king being cited vp to the court of Rome, was there ſuſpended till he had purchaſed hys abſolution agayne. And as the king was troubled in hys tyme with both the archbiſhops, John Peckham, and alſo Robert Winchelſey: ſo it happened to all other kinges for the moſt part, from the tyme of Lancfrancus(that is from pope Hildebrand) that euery king in his tyme had ſome buſines or other with that ſée. As Wylliam Rufus, and Henrye the fyrſte were troubled with Anſelmus: Henry the ſeconde with Thomas Becket: King Richard and all England, with William byſhop of Ely the popes Legate: King John with Stephen Langhton: King Henry the thyrd with Edmunde archbiſhop, called S. Edmund. Polic. lib. 7. Lykewyſe thys king Edward the firſt, with John Peckham & Robert Wynchelſey aforeſayd. And ſo other kinges after hym, with ſome prelate or other: whereby ye haue to vnderſtand, how and about what tyme the churche of Rome whych before tyme was ſubiect to kynges and princes, began fyrſt to take heade aboue, and agaynſt kynges and rulers, and ſo haue kept it euer ſince.

Kyng Edward was troubled with ii. archb. of Cant.

The church of Rome, and Romiſh prelates ſet againſt kings & rulers

Kings of England commonly troubled, with archib. of Cant.

Prieſts to haue but one benefice.

By thys Jhon Peckham afore mencioned, was ordayned: that no ſpirituall miniſter ſhould haue any mo benefices then one, which alſo was decreed by the conſtitutions of Octo aud Octobonus, the Popes Legates the ſame tyme in England.

Variaunce betwene the arch biſh. of Yorke and the cleargy of Dureſme.

About the begynning of this kynges reigne, after the deceaſe of Walter archbiſhop of Yorke: Williā Wycewanger ſuccedyng in that ſee, mindyng to go on viſitation: came to Dureſme to viſite the church and chapter there. But the clergy & the people of the citie, ſhoot the gates agaynſt him and kept him out, wherupon roſe no ſmall diſturbance. The archbiſhop let flye his curſe of excommunication and interdiction agaynſt them. The byſhop of Dureſme againe with his clergie, deſpiſed al his curſings grounding thē ſelues vpō the cōſtitution of Innocētius the fourth, De cenſibus & exactionibus. And ſo they appealled to Rome, ſaying: that he ought not to be receaued there, before he had firſt begon to viſit his own chapter and dioces, whiche he had not done. For ſo ſay the wordes of the conſtitution : We ordeyne and decrée that euery Archbiſhop, that will viſite his prouince, firſt muſt procure to viſite his own church, citie, & dioces. &c.

Inquiſition made agaynſte ill rulers and falſe officers.

Among other things in this kyng to be noted, this is not to be paſſed ouer: that where complaynt was made to him of his officers, as Juſtices, Maiors, Shiriffes Baliffes, Excheters, and ſuch other: who in their offices abuſing themſelues, extortioned and oppreſſed the kinges liege people, otherwiſe then was according to right and cōſcience: yͤ ſaid kyng not ſufferyng ſuch miſorder to be vnpuniſhed, did appointe certeine iuſtices or inquiſitors to the number of xii. whiche inquiſition was called Traibaſton, or Trailbaſtoun: by meane of whiche inquiſitiō, diuers falſe officers were accuſed, and ſuch as were offēders wer either remoued from their place, or forced to bye agayne their office at the kynges hande: to their no ſmall loſſe and great gayne to the kyng, and much profite to the common wealth.

Trailbaſtoun.

Ex chron. Rob. Auesb.

In the chronicle of Robert Ameſburye it is recorded of the ſayd king, that he beyng at Ameſbery to ſée his mother(who was thē in that monaſtery profeſſed) there was a certayne man, that fayned hymſelfe blind a long

A falſe miracle well ſpied out of the kyng.

tyme, brought to the preſence of the ſayde Alinore the kinges mother: ſaying, how that he had hys ſight again reſtored at the tombe of king Henry her late huſbande, in ſo much that ſhe was eaſelye perſwaded the miracle to be very true. But king Edwarde her ſonne, knowing the man a long tyme to be a vyle diſſembler, and a wycked perſon, vſed to lying and crafty deceauing: diſſwaded his mother not to geue credite to the vile vagabon, declaring that he knew ſo well the iuſtice of his father, that if he were aliue, he would twyſe rather plucke out both his eyes, then once reſtore hym one. Notwithſtanding, the queene the mother remaynyng ſtyll in her former fonde perſwaſion, woulde heare or beleue nothing to the contrary, but was ſo in anger with her ſōne, that ſhe byd hym depart her chamber, and ſo he did. By the example whereof may eaſely be conceaued, how and after what ſorte theſe blinde myracles in thoſe dayes and ſynce haue come vp among the blynd and ſuperſticious people. For had not the kyng here bene wyſer then the mother, no doubt but thys woulde daue bene roong a miracle, and percaſe king Henry bene made a ſaint.

Ex eodē chro.

A true miracle.

Victory againſt the Saracens.

But as thys was a fayned miracle and falſe no dout, ſo in the ſame autor we reade of an other maner of myracle ſounding more nere the truth, & ſo much the more likely, for yͭ it ſerued to the cōuerſion vnto chriſtiā faith: to which vſe properly, all true miracles do appertayne. The miracle was thys. In the reigne of thys king, and the latter yeare of hys reigne, Caſſanus kyng of yͤ Tartarians (of whom commeth theſe whom nowe we call Turkes) which fighting agaynſt the Souldian kyng of the Saracens, in the plaine of Damaſcus, ſlew of them C. thouſand of Saracens: and again, at Babylon fighting with the ſayd Souldian ſlewe hym in the field, and CC. thouſand of hys Saracens, calling vpon the helpe of Chriſt, and therupon became Chriſtian. Thys Caſſanus I ſay, had a brother a Pagane, who being in loue with the daughter of the kyng of Armenia a chriſtian woman, deſired of her father to marye with her. Wherunto the king her father would not agree vnles he promiſed to be a chriſtian. Notwithſtanding, the other being ſtronger in power, & threatning to get her by war: the king at length was forced to agree. In concluſion it happened, that the childe being borne betwixt them was ouergrowen and all roughe with haire, lyke to the ſkyn of a Beare. Which childe being brought to the father, he commaunded it to be thrown in the fyre and burned. But the mother deſiring firſt to haue the child baptiſed, cauſed all thynges therunto to be prepared. The infant being three tymes in water plunged, after the Sacrament of holy baptiſme receaued: incontinent was altered and turned from all his hairye roughnes, and ſeene as fayre and ſmothe ſkynned, as any other. The which thyng after the father ſawe and behelde, was chriſtened himſelf and all hys houſe. &c.

Marton college builded in Oxford.

I. Scotus, dūs.

In the reigne of this kyng, Walter Marton byſhop of Rocheſter, buylded Marton colledge in Oxford. In whoſe reigne alſo liued, Henricus de Gaudano, Arnoldus de villa noua, Dantes and other mo. And Scotus called Duns. Who in his 4. booke of Sent. Diſt. 18. complaineth of the abuſe of excommunication and of the popes keys. Where as before, excommunication was not vſed, but vpō great and iuſt cauſes, and therfore was feared: now ſaith he, it is brought forth for euery trifling matter, as for not payng the prieſtes wages. &c. and therfore ſayth he, it groweth in cōtempt. Vnder the ſame king about yͤ beginning of his reigne, was the yeare ſo hote & ſo dry: that from the moneth of May, vntill the moneth nere of Septēber fel no rayne, in ſo much yͭ many dyed for heat, and the vulgare people in their rekenyng of yeares, dyd count the tyme from the ſayd dry yeare long after.

Pope Clement v.

The p court ſlated to Fraunce.

A ſla of no at the po of the popes co nation.

A carbuncle in the popes mi valued at 6000 Florens.

Emperou no empe except he were by the pope confirmed.

The templaces p downe.

The feaſt of corpus Chriſti.

Sept mu decretal called the Clemē

Henricu vi. Emperour poy oed in the hoſt.

After pope Benedictus aboue mentioned, ſucceded Pope Clement the v. who tranſlated the popes court to Auinion in Fraunce, where it remayned the terme of lxxiiij. yeares after. At the coronation of this Clement, was preſent Philip kyng of Fraunce, Charles his ſonne and duke Ihon duke of Britanie, with a great number of other men of ſtate and nobilitie. At which coronation, they being in the midle of the pōpe or proceſſion, a great wall brake downe and fell vpon them: by the falle whereof, duke Ihon with xij. other were ſlayne, kyng Philip hurt and wounded, the pope ſtroken from his horſe, & loſt out from his mitre vpon his head a Carbuncle, eſtemed to the value of vi. thouſād florens Plat. de vit. pont: by this Clement was ordeined, that the Emperour, though he might be called king of yͤ Romanes before, yet he might not enioy the title and right of the Emperour, before he was by him confirmed. And that the Emperours ſeate beyng vacant, the pope ſhould reigne as Emperour, till a new Emperour was choſen. By him the orders of the Tēplaries (who at that tyme were to abhominable) was put downe at the councel of Vienne, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe declared. He alſo ordeined and confirmed the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, aſſigning indulgēces to ſuch as hard the ſeruice therof. And as Pope Bonifacius afore heaped vp the booke of Decretals, called Sextus Decretalium: ſo this Clement compiled the vij. booke of the decretals, called of the ſame Clement, the Clementines. In the time of this Pope, Henricus the vi. of that name Emperour, was poiſoned in receauyng the Sacrament by a falſe diſſembling mōke called Bernard, that feined him ſelfe to be his familiar frend, which was thought to be done not without the conſent of the popes legate. The emperor perceiuyng him ſelfe poyſoned, warned hym to flee & eſcape away, for els yͤ Germains would ſure haue ſlayne him, who although he eſcaped him ſelf, yet diuers of his order after that with fire and ſword were ſlayne.

Palæolog Empero Conſta nop. exco municat with all adheren by pope c men, for not ſuffi the Grecia to appeal to Rome.

1327.

Note the practiſe o the romi prelates.

Platin vit. Inn centij.

When and how long the Greke church wa ſubiect to Rome.

Ex Bap tiſt. Eg Rom. prin

As this Pope Clement the v. had well prouided now (as ye haue heard) againſt yͤ Empire of Rome to bring it vnder his girdle: inſomuch that wͭout yͤ popes benedictiō, no Emperour might take the ſtate vpō him, &c. Now he procedeth farther to entermedle with the Empire of Cōſtantinople. Where he firſt exerciſeth his tyrannie and power of excommunication, agaynſt Andronicus Paleologus Emperour of Conſtantinople, an. 1327. declaryng him as a ſchiſmatike, and heretike, becauſe he neither would nor durſt ſuffer the Grecians to make theyr appeale from the Greke churche to the Pope, neither would acknowledge him for his ſuperiour. &c. Wherby it may appeare, that the Greke churche did not admitte the Popes ſuperioritie, as yet nor at anye tyme before. Saue onely about the tyme of Pope Innocēt the iij. an. 1202. at what time the Frenchmen with there captaine Baldwinus earle of Flaunders, ioyned together with yͤ Venitians: were ſet againſt the Grecians, to place Alexius to yͤ right of the Empire of Cōſtantinople, vpon condition (as writeth Platina) to ſubdue the Greke churche, vnder the church of Rome. Whiche Alexius beyng reſtored, and ſhortly after ſlayne: the Empire came to the Frēch men, with whom it remayned the ſpace of lviij. yeares, till the commyng of Michael Paleologus in the dayes of pope Gregory the ix. Who reſtored the Empire from the Frenchmen, vnto his priſtine ſtate agayn. During all which time of yͤ French Emperours, the Greke church was ſubiect to Rome, as by the decretals of pope Gregory the ix. may appeare. Then folowed after this, yͭ the foreſayd Michael Emperour of Cōſtantinople being called vp to a councel at Lions by Pope Gregory the x. about the controuerſie of proceding of the holy ghoſt (as is aboue ſpecified) and obedience to the church of Rome: there, becauſe the ſayd Michael the Emperour dyd ſubmitte him ſelfe & the Grecians, to the ſubiection of Rome (as teſtifieth Baptiſt Egnat.) he therby procured to hym ſelfe ſuch grudge and hatred among the Greke monkes and prieſtes: that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of burial. The ſonne of this Andronicus was Michael Paleologus aboue mētioned: who, as ye haue hard before, bycauſe he was conſtrayned by the Grecians not to admitte any appellation to the Byſhop of Rome: was accurſed by the popes cenſures for an heretike. Wherby appeareth, that the Greciās recoueryng their ſtate againe, refuſed all ſubiection at this time vnto the church of Rome, which was the yeare of our Lord 1327. &c. After this Clement the v. folowed Pope Jhon ẏ xxij. ẘ whom Ludouike ẏ Emperor had much trouble. After whom next in courſe ſucceded Pope Benedict the xij. Which Benedicte vpon a time being deſired to make certein new cardinals to this aunſwereth agayn: that he would gladly ſo do, if he alſo could make a new worlde. For this world (ſayd he) is for theſe Cardinals that be made already. Ex ſcripto Engethuſenſis. And thus much of the Popes, now to returne a litle backe to the kynges ſtory agayne.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1307. Whiche was xxxiiij. of the reigne of this kyng, in the begynnyng of Hillary terme: the kyng kept a Parliament at Carliell, where great complaintes were broughte in by the nobles and auncientes of the realme, concernyng the manifold and intolerable oppreſſiōs of churches & monaſteries, and exactions of mony by ẏ popes legate Williā Teſta (otherwiſe termed mala Teſta) lately brought into the realme of England. The commyng of whiche William Teſta was vpon this occaſion, as foloweth. Pope Clemēt, who as ye hard before, had tranſlated his court from Rome into Fraunce, where he had bæn archbyſhop before, becauſe he contemned to come & remaine at his owne ſea: the princes of Rome thought him therfore vnworthie to enioye Peters patrimonie. And ſo by that meanes falling in barenes and pouertie, liued onely of ſuch money of biſhops, as came to him to be confirmed, & with ſuch other ſhiftes and giftes. So that be this meanes, partly of biſhops and other religious men and perſons, partly vnder the name of courteſie and beneuolence, partly vnder ẏ pretenſe of borowing: he had within the firſt yeare ix. thouſand and v. hūdreth markes of ſiluer, all his other charges and expenſes, whiche he largely that yeare beſtowed, clearely borne. Beſides this, he ſent moreouer ẏ foreſayd legate William Teſta into England with his bulles: in the which he reſerued the firſt fruites of ẏ firſt yeare of all churches beyng vacant, at any tyme, or by any mā within ẏ realme of England, Scotlād, Wales, and Ireland, and alſo ẏ fruites of Abbayes and priories within the ſayd realmes. &c. Wherupon, the kyng with his nobles ſeing the inconuenience and harme therof enſuyng to the whole realme: In the foreſayd Parliamēt holden at Carliell withſtode the ſayd legate, chargyng & commaundyng him by the aſſent of the Earles and barons, ẏ henceforth he ſhould abſtein frō all ſuch exactiōs. And as concernyng his Lord the Pope, he would direct certain his meſſengers vnto him, purpoſely for the ſame matter appointed: by the which ambaſſadours, the king wrote vnto the foreſayd pope declaryng, and moniſhing the Pope, as right and reaſō was: that he ſhould not exacte the firſt fruites of churches and Abbayes, by his predeceſſours and noble men of the land founded for the honour and maintenaūce of Gods ſeruice, for almes and hoſpitalitie: whiche otherwiſe in ſo doyng, ſhoulde all be ouerthrowen. And ſo by this meanes, the pope at that tyme chaūged his purpoſe as concerning Abbayes. But after that, the fruite of Engliſh churches was graunted to the kyng for two yeares: In whiche ſpace he obtained the fruites of the foreſayd churches. &c.

Duryng the whiche Parliament afore ſpecified, as men were talkyng many thynges of the Popes oppreſſions, whiche he began in the Engliſh church, in the full of the Parliament: ſodenly fell down, as ſent frō heauē, among them a certaine paper, with this ſuperſcription.

¶ An Epiſtle of Caſsiodorus to the church of England, concerning the abuſes of the Romyſhe church.

Ex vetuſto Chronico Albanenſi.

TO the noble church of England ſeruing in claye and bricke as ẏ Iewes did in times paſt vnder the tirannie of the Egiptians: Peter the ſonne of Caſſadore a catholike ſouldiour and deuoute champion of Chriſt, ſendeth greting and wyſhing to caſt of the yoke of bōdage, and to receaue the reward of libertie. »

To whom ſhall I compare thee, or to whom ſhall I liken thæ O daughter Ieruſalem: to whom ſhall I matche thæ, O daughter of Sion. Great is thy perturbation, lyke vnto the ſea. Thou ſitteſt alone without cōfort all the day long, thou art confoūded and conſumed with heauines. Thou art geuē vp into the hands of him from whence thou cāſt not ryſe without helpe of one to lift thee vp: for the Scribes and Phariſies ſitting vpon the chayre of Moyſes, thy enemies the Romanes are as thy heades and rulers, enlarging their garded philacteries, & ſeeking to be enriched ẘ the marie of thy bones: laying heauie burdens, and not able to be borne, vppon thy ſhouldours and of thy miniſters, and they ſet thee vnder tribute (which of olde tyme haſte bæn fræ) beyond all honeſtie or meaſure. But maruell not therat, for thy mother, which is the ladie of people, lyke a wydowe hauing maryed and coupled her ſelſe to her ſubiecte, hath appoynted hym to be thy father, that is to ſaye, the byſhop of Rome, who ſheweth no poynt of any fatherlye loue towardes thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the vttermoſt hys authoritie ouer thee: And by experience declareth hymſelfe to be the huſband of thy mother. He remembreth ofte with himſelfe the propheticall ſaying of the Prophet, and well diſgeſteth the ſame in ẏ inward part of hys breſt. Take to thee a great booke, and write therin quickly with the penne of a man, take the ſpoyle, robbe quicklye: But is thys it, which the Apoſtles ſaith, that he was appoynted for, where he writeth thus: Euery biſhop tackē from among men, is appointed for men in thoſe thinges that belong to the Lorde: not to ſpoyle, not to lay on them yearely taxes, not to kill men, but to offer giftes and ſacrifices for ſinnes: and to ſorowe with them, that be ignoraunt and do erre. And ſo we read of Peter the fiſher (whoſe ſucceſſor he boaſteth himſelfe to be) that after the reſurrectiō of Chriſt he returned with other Apoſtles, to the office of fiſhing: who whē he could take nothing of the left ſyde of the ſhip, at the bidding of Chriſt, turned to the ryght ſide, and drewe to the land a net full of fiſhes. Wherfore the profitable miniſterye of the church is to be exerciſed on the right ſide, by ẏ which the deuill is ouercome, and plentie of ſoules be lucrified and wonne to Chriſt. But certeinly, the labourer on the left ſide of the ſhip, is farre otherwyſe: for in it the fayth ſtumbleth, heauines beareth rule, whan that thyng that is deſired by ſeking, is not found. For who is ſo folyſhe to thinke that he can both at one tyme ſerue God and man, and to ſatiſfie hys owne will, or to ſticke to the reuelations of fleſhe and bloud, and to offer worthy giftes to Chriſt? And doubtles, that ſhepeheard that watcheth not for the edifyeng of ẏ flocke, prepareth an other way to the roring Lyon, and ſeking whom he may deuoure. And now beholde, I ſay, O daughter, the dæedes of hym that is called thy father, ſuch as haue not bæn heard of before: he driueth awaye the good ſhepheard from the ſhepefolde, and placeth in their ſtead biſhops, to rule, but not to profyte (his nephewes, coſines, and parents) ſome that knowe no letters, and other ſome domme & deafe, which vnderſtand not the plaine voyce of the ſhæpe, nor curyng their woundes that be hurt of the wolues: but lyke hyrelinges plucking of the fleeſes a paſe, and reaping that which other men haue ſowen, whoſe handes moreuer be alwayes ready in their baſkets and powches, but their backes are turned from their burdens. By which thinges it is manifeſt, that the prieſthood is » cleane chaunged at theſe dates, the ſeruice of God decaied, almes diminiſhed and brought to nought, the whole deuotion of kings, princes, and Chriſtians is baniſhed. May not this be thought wonderfull in the eyes of all men, that where as Chriſt commaunded tribute to bee payd to kynges for hym and for Peter, he now goeth about dominion of his ſtile, to ſubdue to hym, both realmes and princes of realmes (agaynſt his wyll, whoſe Vicar he ſayth he is, & who refuſed the realmes & iudgements of the world) whych thys byſhop contrarywyſe chalengeth, claymyng all that which he in his ſtile wryteth to be hys. Alacke, O daughter, what doth he yet more againſt thee: mark, he draweth from thee what ſo euer pleaſeth him, and yet he thinketh not him ſelfe content, to haue the tenth part onelye of thy goodes from thee: except he haue alſo the fyrſt fruites of the benefices of the Miniſters, whereby he may get a new patrimony aſwell for him ſelf as for his kynred, contrary to the godly wyls of the fyrſt founders. Ouer and beſide al this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and ſtipends for his Legats & meſſẽgers, whom he ſendeth into Englãd, which not onely take away the feeding and clothyng of thee and thine, but alſo teare in peeces like dogges your fleſh and ſkinnes. Maye not this prince be compared to king Nabugodonoſer, which deſtroied the temple of the Lord, and robbed away the ſiluer & golden veſſels therof: The very ſame doth this man alſo: he robbed the miniſters of God his houſe, & left deſtitute of due helpe. In lyke maner doth he: Truly they be better that are killed wyth the ſword, then they which be pined wyth hunger: for they are dead ſtraight, but theſe are waſted with the barrennes of the earth. O daughter, all they that paſſe by the way, let them haue pity and compaſſion on thee, for there is no ſorrow like thy ſorrow. For now thy face is blacker then coales through muche ſorrow and weeping, and thou art no more knowen in the ſtreetes: thy foreſayd ruler hath placed thee in darknes, and hath geuen thee wormwood and gall to drinck. O Lorde heare the ſorrow and ſighings of thy people, behold Lord, and diſcende, for the hart of this foreſayd man is more indurate, then the hart of Pharao. For he will not ſuffer thy people to depart, except in the fortitude onelye of thy hand. For he ſcourgeth them, not onely miſerably vpon the earthe, but alſo after their deathe hee intendeth to incroche the goodes of all Chriſtians vnder the name and title to die inteſtate or making no will. Therefore let the chiualry of England well remember, howe the Frenche men in tymes paſt, directing their greedye eyes on the realme of Englande, labored with all theyr power howe to bryng the ſame vnder their ſubiection. But it is to be feared, leaſt the new deuiſes and practiſe of this new enemy, ſupply that which hetherto hath ben lacking in them. For in diminiſhing of the treaſure of the realme, and ſpoyling the churches goods: the realme ſhalbe brought into ſuche inabilitie, that it ſhall not be able to helpe it ſelfe againſt the enemye. Therefore O daughter, and you the miniſters therof, ſuffer not your ſelues to be led any more into ſuch miſerable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the chriſtian king and the powers of the realme which haue indued thee with great benefites, and you alſo which are indued with their benefites, do labour with al your power how to reſiſt the deuiſes, conſpiracies, arrogancie, preſumption, and pride of the foreſayde perſon: who not for any zeale of God, but for the enriching of his parẽts and for his own kynred (exalting himſelf lyke an eagle) by theſe and ſuche other exactions goeth about after a new kinde of extorcion to ſcrape vp and deuour all the money and treaſure of England. Now leaſt the diſſembled ſimplicitie of the realme in this behalfe doo bryng vtter ſubuertion, and afterwarde be compelled to ſeeke remedie when it is to late: I beſeche the Lorde God of hoſtes to turne away the vale from the hart of that mã, and to geue him a contrite & an humble mynde, in ſuch ſorte as he may acknowledge the waies of the true god, whereby he may be brought ought of darknes, and be enforced to relinquiſh his old ſiniſter attemptes: & that the vyneyard which the Lords hand hath planted, may be repleniſhed continuallye wyth true preachers of the worde. Let the woordes of the Lorde propheſied by the mouth of Ieremy, ſtyrre vp your mindes to wythſtand and reſiſt the ſubtile practiſes of this man, by the which wordes the Lord ſpeaketh: O thou Paſtor which haſt ſcattered my people, and haſt caſt them out of their habitacions, beholde I wyll come and viſit vpon thee, and vpon the malice of thy ſtudies: neyther ſhall there be any of thy ſeede which ſhall ſyt vpon the ſeate of Dauid, neither which ſhall haue power anye more in Iuda. So that thy neaſt ſhal become barren, and vtterlye ſubuerted lyke Sodome and Gomer.

And if he being terrified by theſe wordes do not leaue of from this which he beginneth, and doth not make reſtitution of thoſe thinges which he hath receaued: then let all and ſingular perſons ſing for him being indurat, to him that ſeeth all thinges, the Pſalme.108. Deus laudem.&c. For truly as fauour, grace, and beneuolence, remitteth and neglecteth many thinges: ſo agayne the gentle benignitie of man being to much oppreſſed & greued, ſeeking to be deliuered and freed from the ſame, ſtriueth and ſearcheth to haue the truth knowen, and caſſeth of that yoke by all meanes poſſyble that greeueth him. &c. Hæc Caſſiodorus.

What effect this letter wrought in them, to whom it was directed, is not in ſtory expreſſed. This by the ſequel may be coniectured, that no reaſon nor perſwaſiõ could preuayle, but yͤ the pope retained here ſtil his exactions, what ſoeuer was ſayde or written to the contrarye notwithſtanding.

And thus much being written hetherto of theſe actes and doings here in England, now to ſlyp a lytle into the matters happening the ſame time in Fraũce, vnder the the raygne of the foreſayde king Philip, aboue mencioned: forſomuch as about this tyme, an.1329. was commenſed a parlament, by the ſayde kyng of Fraunce, againſt the Pope, touching the iuriſdiction both temporal, perteining to princes, and eccleſiaſticall, belongyng to the church: I thought it not to be vnprofitable for the reader, to heare and learne the full diſcourſe and tractation heredf, according as we haue cauſed it to be excerpt faythfully out of the true coppye and recordes of Peter Bertrand, biſhop of Eduenen, and chiefe doer and prolocutor in the ſayd parlament, vpon the Popes ſide, againſt the king and ſtate temporall.

A parl in Frau aſſembl wherein diſcuſſ the iuri tion ecc ſiaſtical, how fa extende

1329

For ſomuch as the hygh prelate of Rome, otherwiſe called Antichriſt, beyng then in his chiefe ruffe, extolling himſelfe aboue all princes and poteſtates of the worlde: as in other countries, ſo alſo in Fraunce extended hys vſurped iuriſdiction aboue the princely autoritye of the king, clayming to hymſelf full gouernment of both the ſtates, as well ſeculare as alſo eccleſiaſtical. The kyng therefore not ſuffering the exceſſiue proceedinges of pope Clement the fyft aboue ſpecified, directeth hys letters mandatorye to the prelates and Barones of the realme of Fraunce, to conuent and aſſemble themſelues together at Paris, about the beginning of December, the yeare aboue prefixed. The tenour of which letters of the king directed to the prelates, foloweth in this forme and maner.

¶ The ſommons of a parlament by Phillip the French kyng.

The letter of Philip king of France, to the biſhops and prelates.

Philip by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce, to our wellbeloued Biſhop of Eduens, gretyng and ſalutation. Reuerende father in God, right truſty and welbeloued we grete you well. The more ſight and knowledge you haue in diuinitie and the holy Scriptures of God, with the practiſe and experience of other good qualities & vertues: you know the better a great deale, how that the clergie and layte of this our realme (as members of one body) ought to cleue and ſticke together: & howe by their helpyng hand, vnitie and peace ſhould be mayntained of all, and the contrary eſchued & auoyded, euery eſtate cõtenting it ſelfe and not incroching one vpõ an other. And becauſe we are aduertiſed, how that our barons and officers (as well in time paſte as of late) haue diuerſelye in dyuers poyntes iniuried you, as ſemblablye you and yours in many cauſes haue wrongfully damaged them: by occaſion wherof, the knot of vnitie & concorde which ought to haue floriſhed among you, is quyte loſed and vndone. To the end therfore by Gods grace ſome good reformation and redreſſe may be had herein: We moſt ſtudious of vnitie and concorde require you, & by theſe our letters commaund you, to appeare perſonally before vs at Paris the xv. day of December next enſuing the date hereof: & there before vs to make relation of ſuch wrong as ye haue receiued at the laytes handes. And we in lykewiſe ſtraightely charge and commaunde you, our Barõs, Bailiffes, and officers not to faile, but to make your perſonall appearaunces before vs, the day and place aboue writte, and there to exhibite before vs a bill, of ſuch complaintes wherewith you burden our prelates & clergy with their officials: that we with oure counſel conſulting therupon, with due regarde may ſee redreſſe therin: wherby perpetuall loue and charitie may euer hereafter raigne and remaine among them for euer: Geuen at Paris the firſt day of September. an. 1329.

At the day in the letters aboue ſpecified, the prelates and Clergie aſſembled thẽ ſelues before the kyng at his palace in Paris, that is to witte: The L. Bituricen. the L. of Auxitan. the L. Turonen. the L. Rothom. and the L. Senon. all Archbiſhoppes: The L. Beluacen. the L. Cathalan. the L. Laudun. the L. of Pariſ. the L. Nouionon. the L. Carnoten. the L. Conſtan. the L. Andegauen. the L. Pictauen. the L. Melden. the L. of Cameracen. the L. of S. Fleri. the L. of Brioce. ẏ L. of Cabilion. and ẏ L. of Eduen, all Byſhops. Where, after due reuerence done vnto the kings grace, there ſitting in his owne perſon, with his Barons and counſel aboute hym: a certaine noble and wiſe perſon Lorde Peter de Cugnerijs (being one of the kynges counſell) roſe vp and openly in ẏ Parliament houſe ſpake in the kings behalfe on this wiſe, taking for his Theame. Reddite quę ſunt Ceſaris, Ceſari, & quæ ſunt Dei Deo: which is to ſay: giue and render vnto Ceſar whiche is his, and vnto God whiche is Gods: whiche he very artificially proſecuted & applied, deuiding it into two parts. Firſt that obedięce & reuerence is due vnto the kyng: Secondly ẏ their ought to be a differęce betwen the iuriſdictiõ of the clergie and layte, ſo ẏ ſpiritual matters ſhould be defined & ordered by the prelates and ſpirituall men: and temporall cauſes ruled and determined by the kyng, his Barons, and temporall men. Which all he proued by many reaſons both of fact and lawe, as more fully appeareth beneath in the aunſwere of the Biſhop of Eduen: finally he concluded, that the clergie ought onely to deale and haue to do with ſpiritual matters: in defence wherof, the kings highnes would ſtand there good Lord & mainteyner. His oration beyng ended, he repeted certaine wordes in the Frenche toung which imported ẏ the kings wil & pleaſure was in ſome pointes to renew the tẽporal ſtate & iuriſdictiõ: And therwͭ exhibited a certaine bill in French, wherof alſo he gaue a copy to the prelates, conteinyng certein pointes and articles vnder written, the contentes whereof he affirmed not to apperteine to the order and iuriſdiction of ẏ ſpiritualitie, but onely to the temporalitie: complainyng that the cleargie had wrongfullye proceded in the ſame. But notwithſtãding the premiſſes, & for al this his complaynte, he ſayd ẏ the prelates ſhould haue tyme to conſulte & deliberate therupon with the kyng. The copy of which Articles, wͭ anſwer enſuing vpon the ſame, & the greuãces of the kingdome of Fraũce, wrought by the clergy, & exhibited to the kyng, here after foloweth.

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fference twene e iuriſdic n of the e tempo l and ec- ſiaſtical.

1 Articles in the parliament propounded, containyng the iuſt complaints of the laitie againſt the cleargy. Cauſes reall.

Firſt the cognition of cauſes reall, whether they touch poſſeſſiõ or their proprietie or not, by cõmon law apperteyneth to the iuriſdiction temporall. But the prelates with their officials to the end to infringe the temporall iuriſdiction, take vpon them the determination of ſuche cauſes reall, eſpecially concernyng poſſeſſion and all other interdictes.

2 Item, when a temporall man is ſued by any clerke or ſpirituall man, for the poſſeſſion of his lande, obtaynyng an adiornament of the ſecular power, in the cauſe of nouite or otherwiſe: The prelates officials ſtoppyng hereby the temporall iuriſdiction, at the inſtaunce of the clerke calleth by proces before them, both the ſecular iudge and the partie: inhibityng them to procede anye farther in the cauſe, vnder pain of excõmunication and forfaiture of a certaine ſumme.

3 Item, although the ſecular iudge haue the cognition of al lay mẽs matters (except in ſpiritual cauſes) yet wil the biſhops Officials at the inſtaunce of any partie, cal ſuch before thẽ. And if ẏ tẽporal men do excepte againſt their iuriſdiction, alledging the incõpitenſie of the iudge, or elles if they require the cauſe to be remitted to them (vnder whom there are) as the right iudges, yet doth the Officials refuſe this to do, ye and by excõmunication compell the parties to proceede before them.

Prelates intermedle in temporall mens matters.

4 Item, the Byſhops Officials at the inſtaunce of the clerkes, alledgyng that they are iniuried in matters of inheritaunce by a lay man, call by proces the layte. And if it be alledged that thoſe cauſes ſtande vppon realitie, beyng ſo in dede, and for that conſideration the cauſe to be remitted to the temporall law: Thys notwithſtandyng the Officials prohibite them vnder payne of excõmunication or ſome great forfet, nor to procede but before them.

5 Item, the Biſhops Officials take vpon them to here the plea of ſuch contractes as either be conceiued in writings or made by worde of mouth in the temporall law: ſendyng out their monition of excõmunication againſte thẽ that ſtande bounde concerning the ſame contractes.

6 Item, the Byſhops and prelates decrée prouinciall counſels and Sinodall Statutes, enactyng and ordering therin many thinges to the highe and great preiudice of the temporall iuriſdiction, wherin they ought to haue no cognition at all neither to intermeddle thẽ ſelues therwͭ.

7 Item, the foreſayd Officials take vpon them, before notaries to ſwere perſons for performance of contractes and bargaynes (made by them in places vnder the iuriſdiction temporall) concerning the ſale of inheritaunce or otherwyſe: incroching therby vpon their iuriſdiction, whan verely they haue nothyng to doe with any contractes and obligations, but with ſuch as are made and agréed vpon within the compaſſe of their owne ſeat and iuriſdiction.

Ex officio. 8

Item, the ſayd officialls of their meere office, call before them the laitie, to aunſwere to ſuch matters of correction as ſhall be layde to their charge, the cognition wherof as they ſay doth appertayne to them. And when the ſayd perſons doe appeare before them, and denie the cryme obiected againſt them: the officials deteyne them and put them in priſon, although in ſuch caſes, they are to be releaſed: and that impriſonment appertaineth onely to the temporal power, and not to them.

Impriſonment pertaineth not to the cleargy.

9 Itē, in yͤ caſes aforeſaid, although by making of their purgatiōs & other the proces, therin they be found clere of that which is layde to their charge and are acquitted: theſe yet the ſaid officials will in no wiſe diſcharge & diſmys thē before they haue to yͤ vttermoſt payd for yͤ writings & proces in yͤ behalfe, a good peece of money: when by law it ought to be done gratis and for nothing.

10 Item, it muſt not be forgottē to talke of yͤ ſentence of excōmunication, which is decreed by vertue of one onely Citatiō, ſo oftē tymes as a mā fayleth in his apperance.

11 Item, mention is to be made of thoſe kinde of obligations De niſi. wherby a man is excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he not be able ſo to doe.

12 Item, whoſoeuer by vertue of excommunication in the byſhops court is excommunicate, and he ſo excōmunicate do not ſatiſfye the ſumme due about the excōmunication: by and by the ſumme is doubled: And the ſecular power charged by the biſhops or their officialls, that they vnder paine of excommunication compell the excōmunicates by attaching their goodes to paye the ſayd ſumme, & not to miſſe a iote: which monition if the laitie refuſeth to put in execution, they them ſelues are then excōmunicate and in no wiſe to be abſolued before they diſburſe that money the which the principall excommunicate perſons ſhould haue payde.

13 Item, if the Baylyffes, Hedborowghes, or other the kings officers and iudges of yͤ temporallitie, receauing the foreſayd monitions do put the ſame in executiō, and fynde thoſe that be excommunicate to be beggerlye and nothing worth: the ſaid officers are bound at their own proper coſtes and charges, to reſort to the byſhops ſee or conſiſtorie, wherſoeuer it is, and there to take a corporall othe, that the parties excommunicate are nothyng worth. This if they fayle, thoſe officers are ſure to be excommunicate and therby inforced to diſburſe the due of the fyrſt excommunicate perſons.

Action real perſonal.

14 Item, if two lay mē be in ſute together before a temporall iudge aboute an action eyther reall or perſonall, and one of them after conteſtation of lawe and greate proces therin, doe appeale vnto an eccleſiaſticall iudge: he will preſume then to deteyne before hym the plea of ſuch caſes, and actions, both reall and perſonall, cauſing by vertue of his monitions and authoritie, the temporal iudge to ceaſe and leaue of from medling therin: which if the ſecular iudge obeyeth not, he is pronounced excōmunicate and compelled to make ſatiſfaction: by occaſions wherof, the temporall iuriſdiction is much annoyed, and cleane loſeth yͤ prerogatiue thereof: becauſe by law no man may appeale from a ſpirituall iudge to the temporall lawe.

No man may appeale from a ſpiritual iudge to the temporal law by the popes diuinitie

15 Item, if a lay man inhabiter of any yͤ kings townes, procureth hys debter, being alſo a lay man, to be arreſted by vertue of ſecular iuſtice in that place: & he which is ſo arreſted appealeth, & cauſeth alſo his crediter to be arreſted, the officialls will take vpon them to heare thys matter: And if any thing be attempted concernyng the appeale, they myſſe not to demaund coſte and ſatiſfaction both of yͤ iuſtice, and alſo of him to whom the arreſte was made. And if any of the princes retinue compelleth them to reſiſte this iniurye, they are ſtraightwayes pronounced excommunicate.

16 Item, the ſayd Byſhops haue a number of officialls vnder thē, whom they terme denes of the clergie, which vſually cauſeth all ſortes of people through the kynges dominions only by word of mouth to come afore them, and that ſometyme without commiſſion: whan that in euery dioceſſe there ought onely to be but one ſeate or Conſiſtorye, wherin matters ſhould be heard & decided. And hereby it happeneth diuers tymes, that many are wrongfully and without cauſe cited, and to yͤ end: that they may pay money inough, to ryd themſelues therof: which is to yͤ no ſmall preiudice of the kinges maieſties ſubiectes and the temporall iuriſdiction.

Deanes of the cleargy.

17 Item, the ſayd rulers of the clerkes, ſealeth vppe the houſes of their clergie, which are ſituate in the kinges townes and other of his noble mens villages, to the preiudice of the kinges maieſties iuriſdiction, and other of hys nobilitie: for that in ſuch kinde of places the biſhops haue no ſuch kynde of iuriſdiction.

18 Item, the ſayd prelates or their officialls, do preſume to ſeale vp the moueable goods of maryed clerkes, and of marchauntes: where in ſuche caſes, the order therof appertayneth to the temporall lawe.

Maryed clearkes.

19 Item, they compell the laietie to put in ſuertie to anſwere clerkes before them in the ſpirituall court, ye and chieflye the kinges own ſeruiturs.

20 Item, they preſume to heare and haue the cognition of actions: which are reall or at leaſt wyſe mixte, that is both reall and perſonall.

21 Item, the ſayd prelates goe about to haue cognition of ſuch temporall mens matters as dwell in hoſpitalls, almous houſes, and the kynges peculiars, and in villagies of hys ſubiectes, although the plea therof apperteyneth to the king himſelfe, and hys ſubiectes: forbydding vnder payne of excommunication and great forfets, no mā ſo hardie to cōmence any ſute agaynſt any of them, but before thē ſelues in payne of a great ſūme of mony.

22 Item, to the end the clergie and eccleſiaſticall rule ſhould bee multiplied, they conferre a number of Conſures to children vnder age, ſome of them being ſonnes of bondmen, other ſome baſtardes borne, ye and to many more maried folkes inſufficient, vnable & vnlearned.

23 Itē, they do cauſe by yͤ gouernours of their clerkes, widowe women to be inforced & defyled, and will haue the diſcuſſing therof: as in lyke maner, they will determine the matters of Pupilles, applieng their goodes whan they dyed, as they do the goods of them which die inteſtate to their owne vſe, the cognition wherof belongeth to the kyng hymſelfe: becauſe thoſe kinde of perſons with their goods are warde to the kyng and vnder hys tuition.

24 Item, they procure through the ſayde deanes of the clergie of malice, temporall men of the kinges dominions or other where (without all order of lawe) to be apprehended: obiecting agaynſt them that they haue ſtrayed from ſome article of the Chriſtian fayth, & therwith ſhut them vp: when that their impriſonment appertayneth to the king, while they be conuicted therof.

25 Item, they exerciſe their iuriſdiction in all places, hauing no regard, neyther to the kinges peculiar townes nor yet to hys ſubiectes: but runneth in euery hole, whē by law they ought to haue no iuriſdiction, without their owne limytes and precincte.

26 Item, whan theſe prelates or their officialls by vertue of their monitions do charge the kings officers and hys iuſtices to execute any thyng: if they doe not performe yͤ, which is preſcribed vnto them (the forfet which the monition contayneth) is taken: ye and excommunication denounced. And this is a new inuention ſpronge vp of late amongſt them, muche to the preiudice of the king and hys ſubiectes.

27 Item, whan the B. or their officialls doe proſecute a matter of office before them ſelues agaynſt any temporall man, and haue no profe therof: They compell many of the laitie to be depoſed therein what they knowe, hauing no reſpecte whether they bee the kynges burgeſſes, or no, or what they be, and yet will they not allowe any charges and expenſes for their paynes taken in that behalfe. But if they appeare not at their day, they are ſure to be excommunicate,

28 Item, if malefactors be apprehended by any of the kings iuſtices, and indicted of theft, and he (whoſe goods they were which were ſtollen) cōmeth before the kinges

Shriefes and proueth them to be hys, and therfore the matter to be ordered by them: if afterwards the biſhops or their officiall affirme the ſayd felon or malefactor to be a clerke, they will by vertue of their decrees or monitions compell the kinges Shriefes to reſtore and bryng in the ſtollen goods: and if they doe it not, they are pronounced excommunicated.

29 Item, if it happen the kinges Shriefe or Bayliefe to take an offender for hys offence, and he affirmeth him ſelfe to be a clerke: although he neuer tooke any kind of tonſures or orders wearyng no habite apperteinyng thereunto. Yet the Biſhops or their Officials will cauſe the deteiners of them by their cenſures to deliuer vnto them the ſayd malefactor as their clerke.

30 Item, if it happen the kynges Shryffe or other his iuſtices to take a theefe or murderer whiche beareth a clerkes marke and tonſure, and therfore deliuereth hym to the clergie to be ordered: It ſhal not belong before he be acquited by them, although he afterward recogniſe hys factye and notwithſtanding his fellowes and parteners of that offence beyng mere temporall, receyued iuſtice for the ſame, and appecheth hym therof. And ſo the lyke malefactors to be incouraged thereby to commit after the lyke.

31 Item, if any complayneth and ſayth that he is ſpoyled, by & by the Officials will decree a monition agaynſt the ſpoyler: by vertue wherof, ſome one of the deanes of the clergie ſhall moniſhe him, to reſtore the thynges compriſed in the monition, and alſo to miniſter him an othe whether he hath not ſpoyled yͤ plaintif of ſuch things, as he ſaith he was ſpoiled of. But if he refuſe to take an oth before him, then the deane will ſtraightwayes ſeale vp the monitiõ, and excommunicate him: and by no means ſhalbe abſolued before he reſtore and ſatiſfie the cõtents in the monition, whereof the plaintif ſayd firſt he was ſpoyled of.

32 Item, if any for his offence be caſt into priſon by the ſecular power, although at the tyme of hys takyng he ware temporall habite and was in no orders, but all the dayes of his life liued like a temporal man: yet if he ſhall auouch and vow him ſelfe to be a clerke, to the entent to haue more expedition at the clergies handes, & to eſcape vnpuniſhed: The clergie wil incõtinẽt, giue to the Layte in commaũdement to reſtore vnto them the malefactor, or els ſuſpẽſion to be denounced throughout the whole towneſhyp where the ſayd malefactor ſhalbe ſo impriſoned. And for auoyding the ieopardy whiche myght ariſe of the ſayde Seaſement: the ſecular iudge of neceſſitie is compelled to deliuer them the offender, to the great preiudice of the kynges temporall iuriſdiction, to whom the cognitiõ therof might appertaine, in caſe of reſorte and prerogatiue.

33 Item, when any offender is deliuered by the temporall maieſtrates to the clergie, as their clerke: his frends will make ſute to the Biſhops Officials for him, and cõpounde with them: by reaſon wherof, they demiſſe them vnpuniſhed and ſo do worſe and worſe, although theyr fact was neuer ſo notorious.

34 Item, ſo ſoone as any marryed clerke beyng a marchaunt, or of whatſoeuer other ſcience he be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before the Secular iudge: The ſayd clerke obtayneth of the Officials a monition, bringyng with them ſome prieſt, who doth inhibite the ſecular iudge, vnder payne of one hundreth or ij.CC.markes, yea and of excommunication to, not to proceede farther nor to meddle in ſuch cauſes, and not to moleſt ſuch parties neither in body nor in goodes. But if the iudges obeyeth not, they ſhalbe ſuſpẽded frõ hearing of Maſſe in that place, although yͤ matter concerneth the facte of marchaundiſe.

35 Item, the ſayde Officials graunte citations without number agaynſt the layte in caſes of warranties perſonally to aſcite before thẽ perſõs vnknowẽ. But if they be knowen, it is conteined in the citation that in no wyſe, and that vnder a great payne he cauſe his aduerſary to be called before a ſecular iudge, duryng the returne of the citation.

36 Item, when one is excommunicated in any place: the Officials graunt out perſonall citations agaynſt them, whiche do participate and are conuerſaunte with the excommunicate: cauſing a whole countrey by the ſpace of viij.miles about to be cited together. And further the frendes and acquaintaunce of the partie ſo excommunicate (ſomtyme by xl. ſome tyme three ſcore, yea and ſome time a hũdreth at once) are compelled to make their purgation before them: that thei do not participate nor kepe companie with their frendes the excommunicates. Wherby enſueth, that many honeſt old and aunciẽt men for auoyding of troubles and expẽſes do pay ſome xii.d. ſome ii.s̃. By occaſion wherof, many vines are vnlooked to, much ground vntilled: yea and many good men conſtrayned to lay the key vnder yͤ dore, and runne away.

37 Item, the ſaid Officials do burden many perſons of good name and fame, to be vſurers, wherby they are conſtrayned to agree with them, for auoyding the infamie, that thereby might enſue.

38 Item, the foreſayd Officials calleth by citation afore them, the honeſt wedded (aſwell man as woman) charging them, that they haue committed adultrye to the perpetuall infamie of their huſbãdes and wiues. And for nothyng els but by extortion to wring money from thẽ.

39 Item, mention muſt be made of the multitude and number of Proctors, whiche eate and deuoure vppe all the world with their citations: catching vp clientes, and keppyng abroad in the coũtrey courtes and Aſſiſes, who for money returne not the citations, whiche by extortion they receaue of them whiche are cited.

40 Item, there be many other griefes and enormities, whiche the Chapiters, Abbottes, Priors, Prouoſtes and other eccleſiaſticall perſons in the realme of Fraunce, practiſe agaynſte the people. As when they cauſe to be cited before them, many of the kynges burgeiſes, and other in diuers places beyng priuileged: that is to ſay, Baiocenſes, Manmectans in Britanie, Lugdons, Maſticons, with other more. But ſpecially the Prouoſte of Hoſpitals, vſe more commonly this trick, thẽ any other do: Wherby, the people is much enadmaged, and wilbe euery day more and more, if remedie be not had therin.

41 Item, eccleſiaſtical magiſtrates laboure to haue cognition of cauſes of iniurie, in whatſoeuer cauſe it be: whither the iniurie be cõmitted by worde or facte. Likewiſe, they take vpon them to heare the cauſes of maried Clerkes, and of their wiues although they both vſe marchaundiſe. And if at any tyme ſuch couples be takẽ by yͤ Secular magiſtrates, the Officiall cauſeth a ſuſpenſion to be denounced in that pariſhe, by force of the councell Siluanecten.

42 Item, they chalenge to haue cognition concernyng widowes goodes, bothe mouable and vnmouable. And if it happeneth at any time that a marchaunt widow, in any the kynges peculiars by waye of reſte, procureth any temporall man to bee conuented before the Secular iudge: and the matter ſo farre trauiſed, that he ſhould haue been condẽned by the ſentẽce of the Secular iudge, and then come to the eare of the eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates, how & before whom yͤ widow did conuent hym: The ſayd temporal iudge ſhal be conſtrayned, to withdraw the ſame. And by their monitions and cenſures to correct the ſame, and this often tymes happeneth.

43 Item, many of the tenauntes and inhabitours of the Byſhops landes, calleth one an other to the court of the Officials by a kynde of appellation: By vertue wherof, the Officials take vpon them, to procede in the ſame and to haue cognition thereof: to the preiudice of the tempo-

call iuriſdiction of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng.

44 Item, if any man be apprehend by Secular iuſtice in ſhedyng of bloud: by them if he be Lay, he is to be ordered: If he be a Clerke he is to be reſtored to the eccleſiaſticall iudge. But whither he be a temporal man or Clerke that is ſo taken, and appealeth to the Officials court: They wilbe ſo bold to haue cognition therof, requiryng herewith amendes of the Secular court, whiche enterpriſed the foreſayd apprehēſion. Yf this be ſuffered, the malefactor ſhall neuer be puniſhed: For by and by they will appeale, and immediatly after the appellation flye & auoyde away.

The clergy preiudiciall to cōmon iuſtice.

45 Item, when they cauſe many of Office, to be cyted before them, they wil admitte them to haue no proctors: To whome when they come at the daye of appearance, they obiecte the crime of vſurie. And except they aunſwere as the Promotor will them ſelues, they are troden vnder fœte (although they be mere lay) and ſhall not be diſmiſſed, before the fine euen as the Officials liſt thē ſelues, although they be no vſurers. But if any be vſurers, they take of them ſatiſfaction and bribes: and ſo be permitted to vſe their vſury, no leſſe then before. So that, they may haue their old fœs and bribes.

Ex officio.

Vſury craftelye obiected by the cleargy againſt lay men.

46 Item, they procure their officers to apprehend Clerkes in what ſoeuer ſoyle they be found: albeit by iuſtice, they may appeale therefro. But if by any they be let of theyr will, herein they doo forthewith by ſentence of excommunication, cauſe them to deſiſte therfore.

47 Item, as often times as anye temporall magiſtrate, doth apprehende any perſon, which afterward being required of the Clergy, is quietly deliuered vnto them: yet for all that, the Officials cauſeth thoſe maieſtrates to be denounced excommunicate by law.

The prelates make the church a denne of theues.

48 Item, the Prelates geue order of Conſures aſwell to men of .xxx. yeares as vpwarde, as alſo to marryed men, when they come vnto them: for feare of impriſonment and puniſhment due vnto them for their criminal offences, before committed: And this is often tymes put in pratciſe.

49 Item, if it happen any of the kinges ſeruantes or any other to be excommunicate, and woulde fayne be abſolued, being glad to pay reaſonably for the ſame: The Clergy wyll not receiue but ſuche ſatiſfaction, as ſhall pleaſe them: whereby manye of them remayne ſtyll excommunicate.

50 Item, when two perſons haue bene at ſtrife and law together for the poſſeſſion of land, and the matter contentious be put into the handes of the king by ſome ſeruaunt or officer of the king, for the taking vp of the matter: then doo the prelates admoniſhe the one part, not to trouble the other which is in poſſeſſion. Otherwyſe if he do, they do excommunicate him.

51 Item, the foreſaid prelates, Deanes, Chaplens, and other the route of the Clergy, putteth the kings officers to ſo much trauayle & expenſes in trying out the kings vſurped iuriſdiction, as they terme it: that often tymes many of them ſpende and conſume in the trauell of the right and title thereof, al that they haue and more to.

52 Item, if any ſecular iuſticer in a true and iuſt cauſe, at the requeſt of ẏ partie, putteth in his helping hand cōcerning the inheritaunce of Clarkes: the eccleſiaſticall Iudges and their Miniſters, ſendeth out monitions in writing againſt the ſayd Iuſticer: yea vnder payne of excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand and leaue of: Enioyning him further to ſuffer the other partie quietly to enioye the ſayde thinges. Otherwyſe they denounce him excommunicate, and ſhall not be abſolued before he haue well payed for it, euen as pleaſeth maiſter Official, to the high preiudice of the autoritie of our ſoueraygne Lord the king.

53 Item the eccleſiaſtical magiſtrates, ſo ſone as they heare any ritch or fat Cob to dye, or thinke that he wyll not lyue long: ſende out forthwith letters vnder ſeale to their Chaplen, cōmaunding him in any wyſe not to preſume to bury him, although he made his teſtament, and receaued the rites of the church. And whan afterward, the friendes and kinſfolkes of the dead reſorte vnto thē to knowe the cauſe of their inhibition: they declare vnto them that he was an vſurer, and that he kept not the cōmaundements of holy church: And ſo long kepe they the corps of the dead vnburied, whyle the frends of him bye it out with good ſtore of money, heaping and hoording by theſe meanes aboundance of riches.

Note the prelates & officialls to get mony.

Item, if there be any violent ſhedding of bloud in any churchyarde, whereby the Interdict taketh place: the Clergy cauſeth a certayne impoſition to be leuied of the pariſhioners there, for the ſalari towardes the reſtoring thereof. Althoughe ſome of the pariſheners bee of an exempt iuriſdiction: yea and although he which ſhed the bloud be able to pay the whole taxe which they leuyed, and more to. 54

Item, certayne Chaplaynes affirme to haue certayne Apoſtolicall priuileges, by vertue whereof they maye appoynt what Iudges they wyll (yea and often tymes of their owne houſe) and ſo bee Iudges in theyr own cauſe, which is playne agaynſt the law. Whereby often tymes it happeneth, that after great proces and expenſes had and made in anye great cauſe of Inqueſt (more often about realitie then otherwyſe) when they haue notice by the Proctors and Aduocates that they ſhall haue the foyle therein: they reuoke forthwith thoſe named Iudges, and ſo the kinges ſubiectes are damaged, and can haue no iuſtice nor redreſſe at their handes. 55

Item, if any temporall man call a Clarcke before a ſecular iudge in a caſe of inheritaunce: the eccleſiaſtical Iudge procureth a ſtop to be made therin, attributyng to them ſelues the cognitiō therof: and ſo by adiourning and remouing, the laye man is conſtrayned to make ſatiſfaction.

Item, the Clergy chalengeth the cognition of ſuche cauſes as maryed Clarkes being marchantes and artificers doo commence: when by lawe it doth appertain to the temporaltie, eſpeciallye about the trade of Marchaundiſe. 56

Item, they ofen tymes make Interdictions in many of the kinges townes and holdes, and cauſe the diuine ſeruice to ceaſe: agaynſt the priuileges graunted by many of the hygh biſhops of Rome to our ſoueraigne Lord and Maiſter the king. 57

Item, to and for the mayntenaunce and keeping of their temporalities, they appoynt Bailifs and other officers: who if they do offende, may not condignly be puniſhed according to law and iuſtice. 58

Item, the eccleſiaſticall Iudges haue promoters belonging vnto them: who when any man is excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cauſe to bee made, that no man ſhall worke or do any thing for him that is excommunicate: whereby the landes and vynes are often tymes vnlooked to and vntylled, to the no ſmal preiudice of the king and his common people. 59

Item, the foreſayde Promoters cauſe Citacions to be made out, by vertue wherof they call in one citation, xx. xxx. or. xl. perſons to appeare, for participating wyth ſuch Interdicted perſōs: taking of ſome .x. of other ſome, xx. s̄. as much as they be able to make: wherby, the common people are much oppreſſed. 60

Item, the eccleſiaſticall Iudges cauſe all the Aduocates of their courtes to be ſworne, that none ſhal retaine them of their councell agaynſt any of them, without their licence. Whereby often times, the poore man quite leeſeth his right, and the kinges cauſe is delayed: Becauſe, his Sollicitors cannot freely retaine counſel, without ſpeciall licence. 61

Item, they wyll make Inuentories of their goodes 62 which dye inteſtate, or wythout makyng of wyll: And wyl haue the poſſeſſion of their goods, as wel moueable as vnmoueable in their own handes to diſtribute to the heires, or to whom they lyſt.

63 Item, the execution alſo of teſtamentes they take to their own hands, taking inuētories of dead mens goods, and keeping and diſpoſing them to the heyres after their pleaſure. And haue officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

64 Item, they wyll not geue credite (ſome tymes) to teſtamentes made before wytnes, vnleſſe they be fyrſte by their own officials approued.

After he had thus ſpoken, the Prelates required to haue tyme to anſwer thereunto. Whereupon was appoynted for the ſame the Fridaye next enſuing. On the which day, the B. Eduen, ⁊ Archb. of Seuon elect in the name of the whole Clergy anſwered for thē all before ẏ king, holding his parliament as that daye at Uicenas, and thus he there propounded. For ſomuch as the Lord Peter Cugner of late propounding agaynſt the church of Fraunce, tooke to his Theame that is written in the 22. of Mathew: Render vnto Ceſar, that which is Ceaſars, ⁊ vnto God, that which is Gods: by which wordes he ſayd, two poyntes were to be noted: Fyrſt, the reuerence and ſubiection of the Prelates, that they ought to haue to the kyng their Soueraygne: Secondly, the deuiſion of the temporall iuriſdiction from the ſpiritual. The which firſt part he proued out of the firſt epiſtle of Peter in the ſecond chapter, where it is written. Submit your ſelues vnto euerye creature, for the Lordes ſake, whether it be vnto the kyng, as vnto the ſuperiour: or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are ſent of hym: for the puniſhment of euill doers, and for the prayſe of them that doe well. The ſecond poynte he proued by the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt in the xxij. chapiter of Luke, where the apoſtle ſaith: Lord behold, here are two ſwordes: And he ſaid vnto them it is enough, ſignifying by the two ſwordes ẏ two iuriſdictions. And in likewiſe out of the xvij. of Math. where Chriſt would pay tribute for hym and Peter. Geuing hereby an example, how that eccleſiaſticall perſons were bound to pay and yeld to ẏ temporal power the temporalities, which alſo is proued in the 11. queſt. prim. ca. Si tributum, et ca. Magnum. And further, becauſe thys is prouided by mans lawe where it is ſayd, two great giftes are beſtowed, prieſthoode and empyre: The prieſthode to rule ouer matters deuine: the Empire to beare domination ouer humaine matters. Wherby he concluded, that when theſe iuriſdictions are diſtincted of God: The one being geuen and limited to the church, ⁊ the other to the tēporaltie: That in no wyſe the church ought to entermeddle, or to haue any thyng to do with the temporall iuriſdiction. For it is written in the xxij. of the Prou. You ought not to paſſe the old limites and boundes, which the forefathers haue ſet. And wel by ẏ way he bryngeth in this word, old ⁊ ancient: Becauſe cuſtomes brought in to the contrary, bee of no force, but rather are counted abuſes ⁊ corruptiōs. Neyther can preſcription take place, for that ius fiſci is impreſcriptible: neither can the king abrogate from him ſelfe ſuch law, nor renounce his righte: prouing ẏ ſame by many chapters conteined in the x. diſt. Wherfore ſeing the kyng at what tyme he was crowned, ſware not onely not to alienate or infringe ẏ lawes of his realme, but alſo to cal in ſuch lawes as wer alienated ⁊ vſurped eyther by ẏ church or by any other: the king was boūd by hys othe to reuoke the ſame abuſes.

Edoen & rchb. of uon elect olocutor r prelates

epetition the L. Pe n oration oue tou. ed. pag.

uke. 22.

Math. 19.

wo giftes ... rieſthode mpire.

rou. 22.

iſt. 10.

In eſpeciall he did exhibite many articles in writing wherin (as he ſaid) ẏ church did vſurpe vpō ẏ iuriſdiction teporall. To anſwere theſe premiſſes wt conciling of the places (vnder proteſtatiō whatſoeuer I ſay or ſhal ſay) it is not to groūd or make any final iudgemēt or determination herein: but only to informe the conſcience of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, and hys aſſiſtauntes here aſſembled, alleaging the firſt epiſtle of Peter the 2. chap. where he ſaith: Feare god ⁊ honour the king. By which wordes, the holy Apoſtle Saint Peter teacheth vs two things. Firſt that loue, feare, and obedience, is due vnto God, for the myghtines and puiſſaunce of hys maieſtie: ſaying feare God. Secondly, how ſpeciall honour and reuerēce is due to the king, for the excellencie of his dignity: ſaying honour the king. But note you by the way, how the Apoſtle placeth hys wordes: Fyrſt he ſaith, that feare is due vnto god: becauſe principally ⁊ in chief, we ought to feare God: For if the kyng or any other ſhould commaund thyngs contrary to God, we ought to haue no regard therof: but to contemne the king ⁊ feare God. For it is written in ẏ v. of ẏ Actes of Apoſtles. We ought rather to obey God thē men: ⁊ alſo in the vij. cha. of Macha. ẏ 2. boke: where it is ſayd. I will not obey the commaundementes of the kyng but the lawe. The reaſon wherof, S. Auguſtine geueth both in the gloſe vpon the Romanes, and alſo in the xj. queſt. 1. He that reſiſteth the ſuperiour power, reſiſteth the will ⁊ ordinaunce of God. But put caſe thou art commaunded to do ẏ which thou mayeſt not do, or to do not that, which thou oughteſt to do. Doubtles, thou muſt neglecte the leſſer power, and feare the higher, learning the degrées of worldly things. As for example be it ſo, that a proctor commaūdeth thee any thing which, if the ſame be againſt the Proconſull: thou oughteſt not to followe it. Yea and further, put caſe the Proconſull commaundeth one thyng, the Emperour an other, and God willeth the thyrd: Thou muſt not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power: For they may threatē thée wt priſō, but god may threatē thee wt hel fyre: they may ſlay and kil thy bodie, but God may ſend bothe bodye and ſoule to perpetuall hel fire. And therfore worthely it is put firſte, feare God: and here the place in the laſte of Eccleſiaſticus is to be adioyned: where it is written: feare God and keepe hys commaundementes.

1. Pet. 2.

Act. 5.

2. Mach. 7

11. q. 1.

And me thynketh that man is bounde to feare God, chiefly in thrée ſortes. That is to ſay, firſt in ẏ bountefull beſtowing of his giftes ⁊ benefites. Secōdly, in ẏ euidēt promoting of hys ſeruantes. And laſtly in the full rendring and reſtoring vnto man that is his. Fyrſt, I ſaye in the bountifull. ⁊c. and for thys cauſe the Emperour Iuſtinian writeth: althoughe there is nothing to be accompted good which doth excede ⁊ is to great, yet for a prince to beſtow accordingly vpon the church, it is very good. For why, ẏ king ⁊ Emperour is bound to beſtow ſo much the more ſubſtaunce, how much the more god hath geuen to hym: and to beſtow the ſame both franckly, ⁊ eſpecially to famous churches, wherin ẏ beſt ⁊ greateſt meaſure is of the Lordes giftes, ẏ is a great gifte. And to this ende Gregory enacteth a law. cap. i. extra de donationibus, that nobilitie ought in maner to preſcribe this law to himſelfe: to thinke him ſelfe bounde to geue, when he geueth fréely: and vnleſſe he increaſe in geuyng ſtil, to thinke that he hath geuen nothing. Wherfore, Abel as appeareth in the. 4. chap. of Geneſis, who offered of the beſt to the lord, was bleſſed of God. And therefore other kings, the more they offred to God, the more they were both ſpiritually and temporally bleſſed of him: As we reade of Ioſua, Dauid, Salomon and other in the booke of the kinges: and therefore it is ſo written in the xviij. of Numer. And ye ſhall ſeperate vnto the Lordes treaſury, thinges that be chiefeſt and moſt principal. As likewiſe Dauid ſayth in the firſte of Paralipom. laſte chap. I haue geuen all this wyth a gladde heart, euen wyth a good wyll, and nowe haue I had ioye to ſee thy people which here are preſent offer with a free wyl vnto thee. And no maruell: for Dauid ſayth in that place: for of thy hand we haue receaued all, and to thee wee geue

Num. 18.

1. Paral. cap. vlt.

And therfore it ſemeth to me, that becauſe the kynges of Fraunce and Barons of the ſame, more then anye other hath geuen to God and his churche: therefore they were happy and bleſſed aboue all other kinges, and the more they dyd geue to God, the more they receaued at hys handes. Examples whereof, we haue of Clodoue, Charles, and S. Lewys: the more one geueth to God, the more he receaueth of hym: For he in the vj. of Luke hath promiſed, geue & it ſhall be geuen vnto you. Wherfore, a gift that a prince beſtoweth vpō the church is rendered agayne with triple increaſe, & that no leſſe in time of warre than in tyme of peace. I ſay in warre tyme: becauſe victorye procedeth of no other but only of God, for it is written in the j. Mach.iij.chap. The victorye of the battell ſtandeth not in the multitude of the hoſte, but the ſtrength commeth from heauen. And likewyſe, in the xvij.chap.of Exodus it is declared, that whā Moſes held vp hys hand, Iſraell had the victorye: but whan he let downe hys hand Amalech had the victorye. To thys ende alſo ſerueth the laſt chapter Mach.ij. where Iudas being at the poynt to haue the victorie, thought he ſawe Amon and Ieremye (which had been high prieſtes and very vertuous men) holding vp their hands toward heauen, & praying for their people & all the whole citie, &c. In peace tyme, becauſe yͤ long dayes of the kyng of hys ſonnes, peace, proſperitie, and obedience (by the prayer of the church) is maintayned and ſupported in yͤ realme. For as long as Salomon was bente and geuen in building the houſe of God, ſo long he had peace: who thus in the xvj.chap of the Prou. teacheth vs. Whan a mans wayes pleaſeth the Lord, he maketh hys very enemyes to be hys frendes: And alſo in i. Eſdra.vj.chap. where it is red, how the prieſtes were commaūded to offer ſwete ſauours to the God of heauen, and praye for the kynges life and hys children. And well therfore may it be called a gifte both fauourable and irreuocable, wherby victorie is geuen, life graunted, and peace with ſecuritie conſerued. To ſerue therfore God, and liberally to geue toward the worſhipping of hym: is the chiefeſt ſigne and token of deuine feare and loue. Eccle.chap.ij. O ye that feare the Lord beleue hym, and your rewarde ſhall not be emptie.

What benefite commeth by geuing to the church.

Luke.6.

Time of warre

1.Mach.3.

Exod.17.

2.Mach.2.

Tyme of peace

Prouerb.61

1.Eſdr.6.

Eccle.2.

Secondly, cōcerning the feare of God, I doo you to vnderſtand, that among the preceptes of the Lorde, the fyrſt and chiefeſt cōmaundement of the ſecond table is, to honour thy father. Whiche precept is verye well expounded to the Hebrues in the.xij.chapter. Where it is not onely ment of the fathers of our bodies, but alſo of the father of ſpirites. For as ſpirituall thinges farre exceedeth temporall matters: ſo much more a great deale the ſpirituall ſonne is bound to reuerence the ſpirituall father, and to bee in ſubiection vnto him that hee maye lyue. And that the prieſtes and Prelates be the ſpiritual fathers, it is proued in the.4.booke of the kinges the.vi. chap. Wher the king of Iſrael called Elizeus father, ſaying: my father, ſhall I ſmite them? Unto this effecte ſerueth the.x.of Luke, where our ſauiour ſayd to the Apoſtles (whoſe ſucceſſors the Biſhops are) he that heareth you, heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. Alſo in the.i.to the Theſſal.iiij.chap. Hes that deſpyſeth you, deſpiſeth not men, but God. Wherefore, Iuſtinian the Emperour in an other place ſayth: we haue great care to the churche of God, that therein maye bee true doctrine and integritie of prieſtes lyfe. Whych hauyng, we truſt that for our great giftes we ſhall receyue ſuch rewardes at Gods handes, both as be durable, and ſhal remayne: yea and alſo that hetherto hath not happened. Bleſſed ſaint Ierome in his Regiſter wryting to a certayne Emperour, which is alſo to be ſene in the decrees decr.xi.q.i. ſayth: Let not the Emperour diſdain prieſts, but haue ſpeciall regarde on them for hys ſake whoſe ſeruauntes they be: and ſo let hym rule ouer them, that due and condigne reuerence be geuen vnto them. For they in deuine ſcriptures are ſometyme tearmed Gods, ſomtymes named Angels, Exodus.xxij. Then ſhall both their cauſes come before the gods. Alſo Malachy.ij. the Prieſtes lyppes ſhoulde be ſure of knowledge, that men may ſeeke the law at his mouth: For he is a meſſenger of the Lord of hoſtes. And therefore is it no maruayle, if we ſhould vouchſafe to honour them, when God hym ſelfe in hys ſpeeche attributing to them honour, tearmeth them Gods and Angels. And here is to be noted, how Conſtantine the Emperour, when certayne of hys ſubiectes preſented vnto hym libels accuſatorie againſt the biſhops, receiued them at their handes. But calling before him thoſe biſhops whyche were accuſed therein, caſt in their ſight thoſe libels into the fire, ſaying: depart you hēce and diſcuſſe theſe matters within your ſelues: For it is not conueniēt and meete that we iudge gods, becauſe it is written God ſtood in the ſinagoge of gods, and in the myddeſt of them he did iudge gods: in which chapter it is declared, how that the Paganes who worſhipped golden and wooden gods, attributed great honour to the Prieſtes. What maruell is it thē, if the godly and Chriſtian Emperours do honour and reuerēce the prieſtes of the true God? And doubtles, it is their duty ſo do. And it is reaſon, which the Lorde Peter the laſt daye ſayde, in thys poynt. That there are two powers, prieſthood and dominion, the one ſpirituall, the other temporall: which no leſſe differeth one from the other, then the Sunne from the Moone, the heauen from the earth, and gold from leade. And therefore, if honour is due to be geuen to the leſſer power, by them that be vnderneath hym: hee that is chiefe of the higher power, of right good duty is to be honoured and reuerenced of all vnder hym, as expreſſely is declared Cap.Solit. De ma. et ob. In the which chapter, anſwer is fully made to yͤ allegatiō of yͤ lord Peter (alledged by hym to make for his purpoſe) that is to ſay: Be ye ſubiect to all creatures for gods ſake &c. There he ſpeaketh of yͤ ſubiection which ſtādeth vpon the merite of vertue, and not vpon the dutye of neceſſity. For els if he ſhould ſpeake of that ſubiection which is by the dutye of neceſſity: then muſt it nedes folow, that euery biſhop ought to be ſubiect to euerye beggerly Raſcal in yͤ citie of Paris. For the text is, be ye ſubiect to all humain creatures: But a Raſcal is a humain creature: Ergo biſhops muſte be ſubiecte to a Raſcall. Of the dignity of a biſhop, Ambroſe talketh in his paſtorall. The honour ſayth he, and the maieſtye of a biſhop is without all compariſon: If you compare it to the royaltie of a king, it is euen as you would compare mettel or leade, to the beuty of gold. For that is to be ſene, that kyngs and princes ſtouping vnder the knees of prieſts, and kyſſyng their right hand: thinke them ſelues to bee defended by their prayer. And becauſe the kynges of Fraunce haue more then other, honored and reuerenced the prelates: they haue aboue oll other floriſhed and proſpered. It is ſayd in Eccleſia.4. he that honoreth his father, ſhal reioyce in his ſonnes. And it foloweth there, he that honoreth hys father, ſhall lyue a long lyfe. Thys is therefore the ſigne of the feare of God. And as it is written in Eccleſiaſt.4. He that feareth God, honoreth hys parentes.

The 2 part of fearing God.

Heb.12.

Honoryng of ſpirituall fathers.

4.Reg.6.

Luke.10.

1.Theſ.4.

11.q.1 cap.Sacerdotibus.

Exo.22.

Malac.2

Honor to be geuē to prieſtes,

Two po ers tempo rall and ſpi ritual, and what diffe rence be twene the both.

De ma. & obed. cap. Solite.

Double ſu iection, vp merite of vertue, an vpon duety of neceſſity

The ſupe ritie of a bi ſhop and king com pared.

The pryde of the pre lacy.

Stoupe kinges.

Eccle.4.

Eccle.4.

Thirdlye I ſaye, that a man ought to feare God, in the ful reuerencing and reſtoring vnto man that is his: For he that doth not geue to an other that is his, but goeth about to vſurpe, doubtleſſe he feareth not God. Contrary, he that reſtoreth all agayne, he is ſayd to loue and feare God. Eccleſi.18. He that feareth God, wyl do good thinges. And in the Pſalme, I haue bene afeard of thy iudgements, and haue done iudgement and iuſtice. For as yͤ Lawyers ſay which is true: A thing may be made myne diuers wayes: as by ſucceſſion, cōmutation, preſcription, or any other acquiſition, eyther by law or cuſtome.

The thi part of fea ring God.

Eccle.18.

A thyng made my dyuers wayes.

ſtome. And ſo of the reſt. And where as the Lorde Peter the laſt daye, by diſtinction of iuriſdiction temporall and ſpirituall, endeuoured to proue that he which had ſpirituall iuriſdiction, ought not to haue temporall: Otherwyſe, there were no diſtinction thereof, but rather a confuſion of iuriſdictions. I wyll therfore proue the contrary, that theſe iuriſdictions are compatible in one perſō, eſpecially in an eccleſiaſticall man: and this I wil proue by the law of God, by the law of nature, cannon law, ciuill law, by cuſtome, and priuiledge. But firſte I alledge that accidentall formes ſome of them are ſo diſtincted, that they are not cleane cōtrary, but diſalyke. As whitenes and ſweetenes. Other formes there be which are ſo diſtincted, that they ar cleane contrary one to the other, and are not compatible in one ſubiect. For one contrary expels an other, and emporteth the negatiue of the other. Wherfore, thoſe thinges be contrarye, whych one from an other moſt of al are diſtant and diſagreing, and in one ſuſceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the Philoſopher teacheth in the Predicamentes. But thoſe formes which are ſo diſtincted, that they be not contrary but diſalike: are compatible in one ſubiect, as quãtitie & qualitie, which beyng diſtincted in reſpect of their Genus generaliſſimum: yet may be in one perſon. And ſo fortitude and temperance beyng vnder one kynde of morall vertue, are founde to bee in one man As Logicke and Grammer, whyche are alſo ſpecies and kyndes in one genus, videl. of intellectus. Therfore it is no good argumēt: Theſe formes bee diſtincted, Ergo, they bee not compatible in one ſubiecte. And therefore that the iuriſdictions temporal and ſpirituall are ſo diſtincted, that they are not contrarye but compatible it is euident hereby, becauſe thinges contrarye bee ſo, that the one canne not bee ordayned to toncurre wyth the other, but rather confoundeth and deſtroyeth the other: but in this caſe iuriſdiction temporall is ordayned for the ſpiritual: and contrary, the ſpirituall for the temporal. Or rather, the one ſo dependeth of the other, as the clearenes of the moone doth of the brightnes of the ſōne: Alſo the one iuriſdiction ſo helpeth and comforteth the other, that there is no contrarietie in them. And therfore it is no good conſequente, bycauſe they are diſtincted Ergo, they are not compatible in one perſon: This alſo is to be proued de facto. For the earth is the Lordes, and the plentie of the whole vniuerſall worlde, and all that dwell therin. It is proued in likewiſe by this reaſon. For if the iuriſdictions were not cōpatible: it ſhould follow, ẏ no eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould haue any iote of temporall iuriſdiction, neither land, tower, caſtel, Lordſhyp, or any thyng els, whiche is moſt abſurde: and ſo by thys meanes it ſhould folowe, that no eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould be in ſubiection vnto the kyng, whiche were to the great derogation of the kynges maieſtyes crowne and dignitie. It muſt nedes be therefore, that theſe iuriſdictions be compatible, notwithſtandyng the deſtinction of them one from an other. And thus for aunſwere to all theſe reaſons, by the which Lord Peter proued ẏ diſtinction of theſe iuriſdictions.

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Theſe thinges premiſed, thus I procede farther to proue, that a perſon eccleſiaſticall whiche hath iuriſdiction ſpirituall, maye alſo haue temporall iuriſdiction: and that ẏ iuriſdictiō tēporal may be in an eccleſiaſtical perſō, I wil proue it by ẏ ſcriptures: and firſt out of the old Teſtament, to the euident probation wherof it is to be vnderſtād: That God, after the creation of the world, & man, euen vnto Noes tyme, would gouerne the world him ſelfe as king, by the miniſtery of angels. By reaſon wherof, he gaue & pronounced ſentence him ſelf againſt Caine. Gen. 4. Noe alſo, whiche offered burnt offrings vnto the Lord and built an altare, as teacheth the eyght of Gene. (whiche thyng appertayned onelye vnto the prieſtes) had the gouernement and rule of all things, as well ſpirituall as temporall, whiche were in the arke of Noe. Melchiſedech in likewiſe, the whiche was the prieſt of the moſt hygh God, was alſo kyng of Salem, as appeareth in the xiiij. of Gen. and had both the iuriſdictiōs in his own hands. For Magiſter Hiſtoriarū, in ẏ ſayd 14. of Gen. declareth, ẏ all ẏ firſt begott of Noe, euen to Aarons tyme were prieſts: which at meales & offrings bleſſed the people, & which only had the Ius primogenituræ, wherby ẏ reginēt of others was due vnto thē. Moſes in like maner (of whō it is ſaid in ẏ Pſalme, Moſes et Aarō in Sacerdotibus eius) cōſecrated Aaron & his childrē to be prieſt, which Aaron did iudge ẏ whole people in temporal matters, ye & ẏ in cauſes of inheritances & mere real, as apeareth in ẏ 27. cha. of Num. & many other places. To which purpoſe ſerueth the. 17. cap. of Deut. Where it is ſayd, yf a matter be to hard for thee in iudgement betwixte bloud and bloud, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plage and plage: then ſhalt thou riſe and goe vp to that place, that the Lord thy God hath choſē. And ſhalt come to the prieſtes, the Leuites, and to the iudge then beyng, and ſhalt aſke who ſhal ſhew vnto vs ẏ truth of ẏ iudgement: and folow their ſentence. And if any man preſumptuouſlye ſhall refuſe to obey the prieſtes commaundementes and decree of the iudge, the ſame ſhall dye. Behold how manifeſtly it doth appeare, how not onely the iudgement appertayneth to a prieſt, betwene plage and plage, concernyng the circumſtaunces and irregularitie of the law: but alſo betwixt bloud and bloud, in matters criminall: yea and betwixte plea and plea in ciuile matters: Whiche thyng doth appeare to be in many iudges out of the booke of Iudges. For Samuell, whiche was both a Prophet and Prieſt, was appoynted iudge of long tyme ouer the people, in matters temporall: And when the people deſired a kyng, the Lord was highly offended with them, and ſayd vnto Samuell: They haue not refuſed thee but me, ẏ I ſhould not be king ouer thē. Furthermore, as long as kyngs amongeſt the people of God, vſed the aduiſe and councell of Prieſtes and Byſhops: it was well with them and their kyngdome: But when they forſooke and left the councell of byſhops and prieſtes, then was their kyngdome diuided, and finally, they brought into captiuitie. In whiche captiuitie, the people were altogether gouerned and ruled by ẏ prieſts and Prophetes, as by Eſdras and Neemias: And laſt of all by the meanes of the Machabyes, the kyngdome and gouernement was deuoluted & brought vnto the prieſts hands, who were the kyngs and captaines ouer the people: and had ẏ gouernmēt aſwel of ſpirituall matters as of tēporall, as is read in ẏ firſt booke of Machab. 2. chap. Of Mathatia and his ſōnes videlicet of Iuda, Machabie Ionatha, Simon, & Iohn the ſonne of Symon: whiche in all ſpirituall and temporal matters, were gouernors ouer the people of God. Moreouer the 1. chap. of Iere. declareth, which was one of the prieſtes, after this maner. I haue ſet thee ouer the people and kyngdomes, that thou mayſt roote out, breake, diſtroye, and make waſte, and that thou mayeſt buylde vp and plante. Ieremi, cap. primo. Beſides this, in the tyme of iudge Eliach: a prieſt in like maner had the iudgement of temporall matters. And ſo much concerning the proofe hereof, out of the old Teſtament.

roofes out
the olde
ſtament.

Melchiſedech was both kyng and prieſt. Ergo the pope may haue both iuriſdictions.

Gen. 14.

Deut. 17.

Samuell was iudge in temporall matters. Ergo the pope may haue both iuriſdictions.

1. Mach. 2.

Ierem. 1.

Secondly, I proue my former propoſition by authorities taken out of ẏ new Teſtamēt. For Chriſt had not onelye by deuine nature bothe the powers, whereby he created allthinges of nothing, and by conſequence was God of all, but alſo by his humanitie had bothe powers. For he was the prieſt, ſecundum ordinem Melchiſedech (as it is ſaid in ẏ pſalms, & alſo is alleaged to the Hebr.) which had both in his veſture & thighe written, king of kings & Lord of lordes. By this veſtimēt or thighe was ment his humanitie, which was ioyned to his deuinitie, as the garmēt is to him that weareth it. He ſaid of him

Proofes taken out of the new Teſtament.

Apoc. 19

Chriſt by his humain nature had both powers.

A ſelf in the laſt of Mathew: I haue geuen vnto me all the power both in heauē and earth: As alſo to the Hebrews the firſt chapter: whom he made and conſtitute, heire of *Pſal.8.* all vniuerſall thinges. And likewyſe in the ij.chap. to the *Heb.2.* Hebrewes. He hath made hym, not much inferiour to Aungels: he hath crowned hym with glory and honour, & hath ſet hym aboue the workes of hys handes: Thou haſt put all thynges in ſubiection vnder hys feete, ſheepe and oxen and al the whole cattel of the field: Whā therfore it is ſayd, he made all thinges ſubiect to hym: He excludeth no thing as the Apoſtle ther ſayth. Wherby it is aparent, that as concerning hys humane nature, in the which he was made leſſe then the Aungels, all thynges were ſubiect to him. Alſo this appeareth in the ij.chap. to the Philippians, he humbled hymſelf, wherfore God exalted hym. &c. *Phil.2.* And it foloweth, that in the name of Jeſus ſhould euery knee bowe, both of thinges in heauen, and of thynges in earth, and of thyngs vnder the earth. Beholde here, that by nature by which he did humble hym ſelf, he was exalted: becauſe euery knee ſhould bow down *Act.10.* to hym. Thys in lyke maner hath S. Peter in the x.chapter of the Actes wher he ſaith: He was conſtituted of God the iudge ouer the quicke and the dead: And he ſpeaketh of that nature which God rayſed vp the third daye, as the whole ſcripture proueth. And likewiſe S. Peter had B this power geuen him, whom Chriſt conſtituted & made hys vicar, who alſo condemned by ſentence iudiciallye C Ananias and Saphira for lyeng and ſtealing. Act.ca.5. *Act.5.* Paule alſo condemned a fornicator conuicted. j.Cor.5. D And that Chriſt would the correction and iudgement of ſuch matters to appertayne to his church, a texte in the *Math.18.* xviij. of Math. expreſſely declareth, where it is ſayd. If thy brother treſpaſſe agaynſt thee, goe and tell hym hys faulte betwene hym and thee: if he heare thee, thou haſt wonne thy brother. But if he heareth not, thē take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or iij. witneſſes all thynges may be eſtabliſhed: if he heare not then, tell it vnto the congregation: if he heare not the congregation, take hym as a heathen man and as a Publican. Verely I ſaye vnto you, what ſoeuer you bynde on earth, the ſame ſhall be bound in heauen, and what ſoeuer you looſe on earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed in heauen. Beholde how expreſſely it is commaunded, that whē ſoeuer in any matter one offendeth the other, he being firſt charitably admoniſhed, E the matter muſte be publiſhed and referred to the order of the church and congregation. But if the offender do not obey & heare the admonition, he is to be takē as an heathen & a Publican: Which is as much to ſay, lyke one ẏ is excōmunicate by ẏ church & congregation, ſo ẏ he may haue no cōmuniō or participation wͭ it. And ẏ this was ẏ intention of Chriſt, thys ſeemeth muche to proue it, where in geuing the reaſon hereof he immediatlye addeth. Verely I ſaye vnto you. Whatſoeuer. &c. (where note thys terme diſtributiue) whatſo euer, ſo as the Apoſtle argueth to ẏ Hebrewes ẏ ſecond chapter, ẏ if he ordayned all things to be ſubiecte *Omnia terminus diſtributiuus.* vnto hym, he excludeth nothing vnſubiected. Wherfore thus I may argue: If al things ẏ the church & cōgregation doth looſe be looſed, and euery thyng ẏ the church F byndeth is bound, There is nothing that ẏ church may not looſe and bynde. Or by Logyke thus I may reaſon: Ther is nothyng bound by the church, that is not bound in heauen, which argument is good, by a certayne rule of Logyke which ſaith: that contraryes, if the negation be put after, are equiualent. For euery thing & nothing, whatſoeuer thing, and no manner of thing: be contrary one to the other. And ſo nothing not. is aſmuch to ſaye, as all thinges. Secondly, I doe proue it out of a nother *Luk.22.* text of Saint Luk.ca xxii. Which place alleged to make for his purpoſe, I wil ſtrike him with his owne weapon. For where he ſayd, that by the two ſwordes, the two powers temporall and ſpirituall were to be vnderſtode, it was ſo in deede: But to whoſe hands would he I (praye you) haue theſe two ſwordes committed? Truely to the handes of Peter and other the Apoſtles &c. But the holy father the pope ſucceded Peter, and the other Apoſtles, the byſhops, diſciples, curates, perſons as in the gloſe appeareth Luke.x. wherby thus I argue, that by the ij. G ſwordes the two powers are ment. But Chriſt willed thoſe two ſwordes to be put in ẏ churches handes, Ergo he would likewyſe the two powers. But you may reply and ſay, ẏ Chriſt dyd reprehend Peter becauſe he ſtrake with a temporall ſword and cut of an eare, ſaying vnto hym put vp thy ſworde. &c. which reaſon is of no force. For Chriſt did not wil Peter to caſt alway quite frō him the ſword, but to put it into the ſcabard & to kepe it, geuing to vnderſtand therby, that ſuch power although it H be in the churches handes: yet the execution therof (as much as appertaineth to bludſhedding in the new law) he would haue to appertayne to the ſecular iudge: notwithſtanding yet perhappes, according to the diſcretion and will of the clergye.

Thirdly I proue this by the intent of S. Paul in the 1.Cor.6. where he ſayth: *1.Co* that they whiche haue ſecular buſines and contende one agaynſte an other, ought to be iudged by the ſaintes. And that they ſhould iudge ther in, therfore he made this argument: Know you not I that the ſaints ſhall iudge the world? and if the world be iudged by you, are ye not good inough to iudge ſmall trifles? As though ye would ſay, doo ye not know howe that ye ſhall iudge the aungels? How much more then may you iudge thinges ſecular. And it foloweth: If you haue iudgement of ſecular and worldly matters, take them whiche are deſpiſed in the church and congregations, & make thē iudges: neither doth it make any thyng agaynſt, becauſe the Apoſtle in the ſame place inferreth. Ad verecundiam veſtram dico, I ſay to your ſhame: For that is to be referred to thoſe, where he ſayth, Appoint thoſe which are deſpiſed. Wherfore the Apoſtle ſpeaketh proniouſlye in thys matter as meanynge thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to runne to the iudgement of the diſpiſed whyche bee in the churche, then to the iudgemente of thoſe whiche be out of the churche. Ergo, the rather to reſort to the iudgement of the wyſe, who remayne in the churche and congregation. Wherfore, the Apoſtle by and by added when he ſayd, I ſpeake to your ſhame: What not one wiſe man amongeſt you, that can iudge betwene brother and brother? Meanyng therby that ther was ſome. By theſe therfore and many other like reaſons it appereth (which for breuity I omit) ẏ both ẏ powers may be in an eccleſiaſtical mans hand: And that an eccleſiaſtical man is Capax, both of the temporall and ſpirituall iuriſdiction. Nor is it any matter if it be obiected, that Peter and other Apoſtles and Chriſt him ſelfe, vſed litle this temporall power. For in them was not the like reaſon as now is in vs, as is proued in K the xxij.q.I.ca: *22.q.* and in many other places of the law. The Apoſtles at the firſt begynning, toke no recept of lands & *futu* poſſeſſions, but ẏ price only therof, which now ẏ church with very good reaſō doth receaue. And that to the great merite both of the giuer & offerer, as it appeareth of Conſtantine & others: In ẏ which foreſaid. I.cap. the reaſō of diuerſitie is wel proued: For that ẏ Apoſtles did foreſee, that the church ſhould be among gentils, & not onely to be in Juda. &c. And further at the beginning, Chriſt and his Apoſtles were wholly bent and giuen, to our health, ſaluation and erudition: litle ſtickyng or ſtandyng vpon L the exerciſe of euery churches iuriſdiction, hauyng regarde to that which is written in the vi.chap. to the Corinthiās. All things are lawfull vnto men, but all things are not expedient. And likewiſe in viij. chap. of Eccleſ. it is read, ẏ euery thyng hath his tyme. But now (through the grace of God) the whole people of the realme of Fraunce haue ſubmitted thē ſelues to ẏ chriſtian fayth.

worthely

ey.33.

M

robation ciuil law reaſon.

Pet.2

worthely therfore the churche is occupyed about miniſtryng of Iuſtice, and puniſhing of vice: For peace ſhalbe the worke of iuſtice. Eſay the xxxiii. chap. And in theſe iudgements this onely is to be cōſidered, that the life of men be reformed. &c. Thus you ſée, how this our concluſion ſomewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures. Nowe will I proue it by naturall law and reaſon, and firſt after this maner. He ſemeth moſt fitteſt to playe a good iudges part, whiche foloweth nereſt God: For properly God is the ruler and directer of all iudgementes, who ſayth Prouerb. capite octauo. By me the law maker ſhal decrée iuſtice and iuſte thynges: But eccleſiaſticall perſons, folow next to God, and be neareſt hym. For that they be elected of God into a peculiar people: Wherof it is ſayd. 1. Pet. 2. you are a choſen generatiō, a reall prieſthood, a holy natiō, and a peculiar people, that you ſhould ſhew yͤ vertues of him that called you. &c. Ergo, it is moſt fitteſt that perſons eccleſiaſtical, and church men, ſhould Iudge of ſuch matters. Moreouer none doubteth, but that the correction and puniſhyng of ſinne, belongeth to eccleſiaſtical perſons: wherfore, when ſuch things be not committed without ſinne and offence of the one partie, it is euident yͭ the churche may haue cognitiō therof. Alſo, who ſo hath power to iudge of the end, hath alſo power to iudge of thinges ordeined to the ende: for the conſideracion of the thinges ordeyned to the ende riſeth of the ende. When therfore the body is ordayned for the lyfe and ſoule, and temporall things for ſpiritual, as to yͤ end: The church which doth iudge of ſpirituall things, may in lyke maner lawfully iudge of temporal thinges. All whiche is ſufficientlye confirmed in In extra. c. Iudicijs: Where it is ſayde that the Acceſſorie foloweth the nature of the principall, whiche appeareth ſufficientlye by example. For ſo much therfore as theſe ii. iuriſdictiōs be compared to ii. lightes, that is to ſaye, to the Sunne, and to the Moone: and al the whole clearnes and brightnes of the Moone both in forme and vertue, dependeth of the Sunne, and in the Sunne. And that the bryghtenes of the Sunne is not of the Moone or in the Moone, it is plaine: that ſpiritual iuriſdiction he whiche is cōpared to the Sunne, hath in it both in forme and vertue, the iuriſdiction temporall: and not contrarye. Manye other like reaſons mighte be broughte in. But for that the tyme wareth ſhort I will omit them.

Thirdly, I proue it by the ciuil law, Auth. Diſſe. Iud. ¶ Si tamen. ix col. where it is ſayd: If a ſecular iudge be ſuſpected, let the biſhop of the citie be ioyned vnto him. But if he be negligent, then let the whole iudgement be referred to the biſhop. In like ſorte, Theodoſius themperour enacted ſuche a lawe, that whatſoeuer ſuter being plaintife in any kinde of matter, whether at the begynning thereof, or after conteſtation of lawe, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to ſentēce: If the plaintife had once choſen yͤ court and iuriſdictiō of the holye ſée: there without all doubt, though the defendāt reſiſted and diſſented, the matter before the biſhops and other eccleſiaſticall Iudge ſhoulde bee determined and ended. Which lawe afterwarde Carolus the great, who was king of Fraunce, confirmed in theſe wordes: We wil and commaund that all our ſubiectes, aſwell Romanes and Frenchmē, as others vnder our dominion whatſoeuer, be by law and cuſtome henceforth bounde and charged to keepe this for a perpetuall and preſcript lawe: That whoſoeuer began or cōmenced a ſute. &c. as is aboue mētioned. &c. xi. q. i. Quicunque. &c. 2. But you may obiect and ſay that this law is abrogated, as the gloſe ſeemeth there to touche. But all this wil not ſerue: For although this law is not redacted into the body of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But ſurely it is a priuiledge honorably graūted to the whole vniuerſal church which the Emperour cannot take away no more then anye other liberty of the church. By the cannon lawe alſo thys ſame priuilegē is confirmed. extra. de iud. c. timor. Nouil. & moreouer ſemeth to be confirmed by the ciuil law. C, de ſacroſ. Si. eccl. priuilegiū: although it be not expreſſely, but generally named. And ſo it is cleare by the ciuill law, that ſuch iuriſdiction doth pertayne to eccleſiaſticall perſons. By cannon law in like maner in places infinit: Diſt. xxii. cap. Omnes Patriarchæ. 2 queſt. 5. cap. Si quis preſbiter. xi. que 1. cap. relatum. xxv. diſtinct. cap. ecce Extra de iudiciis Nouit. De cōpetenti foro. cap. licet. With many other places infinite: yea & further the cannō law ſo far proceedeth, that whoſoeuer goeth about by cuſtom to interrupt or hynder any hauing ſuch iuriſdiction, encurreth ſentēce (ipſo facto) of excōmunication, as is proued cap. quoniam intelleximus de immunitate eccl. li. ſext. which is moſt playne by notorious cuſtome, tyme out of mynde, in the daies of the good and chriſtian princes, where to violate ſuch cuſtome, it is plaine ſacrilege. 11. queſt 1. tit. 1. et c. 2. For by law, cuſtom winneth & gaineth iuriſdiction, eſpecially to him yͭ is Capax therof: yea and further, cuſtome (tyme out of mynde) is amongeſt all perſons in place of written and confirmed law. Now ſeyng the church of Fraunce, hath in common vſed with the temporaltie to iudge and decree both of actions perſonall and reall touching the churche: it is playne, that ſuch cuſtome wynneth iuriſdiction to it. Ergo. &c. But the Lord Peter aduouched, that the cuſtome coulde not preuayl in this caſe, becauſe here lacked true deling. Beſides, yͤ ſaid law is called inperſcriptible: for that it is Ius fiſci: But this maketh nothing agaynſt vs. For yͤ church of Fraunce rather chalengeth this law by cuſtome, thē by preſcription. Whych cuſtome, ſeemeth rather to bee brought in of the free wyl and election of the people, frequenting more the eccleſiaſticall Conſiſtories, then the ſecular courtes. Beſides thys, cuſtome in that it hath bene often tymes decided in iudgement contradictorie, (many of the Barons diſſēting, & not cōſēting thereunto) is much thereby confirmed. Thys cuſtome I ſaye of the Churche, hath beene faſt eſtabliſhed by the conſent and aſſent of the Prelates, and then confirmed by the kynges of Fraunce your predeceſſors, and ſo peaceably obſerued of the Church.

Probation by the Cannon law.

N

Cuſtome.

O

Iudicium contradictoriorum

And yet may the church chalenge thys by preſcription: For that there are but thre thynges which are required in preſcription: that is to ſay, title, true dealing, and cōtinuance of time. And it is without doubt, yͭ the churches both purely hath and in tyme paſte had a good title, as appeareth by the priueledge graūted of Theodoſius the Emperour, and confirmed by Charls: Who gaue in cōmaundement, to keepe the ſame inuiolably, which title it hath both by diuine, naturall, and humaine lawe, as before is mentioned. Wherfore it muſt nedes haue true dealing, when ſo many greate & clere titles are knowen to condeſcend therunto. Alſo concurreth ſuch continuaunce of tyme, that euen agaynſt Ius fiſci it is preſcriptible. For it hath not onely continued by the ſpace of an C. yeares, but alſo more then vi. C. yeares laſt paſt. Neither is this allwayes true, that thys lawe is inpreſcriptible, eſpecially of the church: the which in as muche as it appertaineth to the ſpiritualty, is not ſubiect to the king, but is much more noble, and far excelleth: Euen no les then the Sunne doth the Moone, gold leade, and heauen the earth. And this is certayne, and no leſſe reaſon, that the hygher and equall may dewly preſcribe law againſt him, that is eyther equal or lower in degrée. As one king may doo to an other. Wherefore it appeareth, that the church may preſcribe thys, although it were Ius fiſci, as in déede it is not.

Three thinges pertayning to preſcripcion 1. *Titulus* 2 *bona fides* *Temporum continuatum.*

Ius fiſci.

The church not ſubiect to the king.

Finally, thys is prooued by priuiledge graunted by Carolus the great king of Fraunce, as before, and by Ludouike the ſeconde, and by Phillip your vnkle, and Ludouik and Phillip your kynſmen, which priuiledges we haue here ready to ſhew. But perhaps one wyll ſay,

Obiection.

that theſe thinges cānot agree: that the church hath this iuriſdiction both by law, cuſtome, and priuiledge, which all cannot well hang together. For if the church haue it by one of theſe, it ſhould follow that the churche lacketh it by an other. But this may I aunſwer two manner of wayes. Fyrſt, that priuiledge maye bee double, one as a bringer in of new law, and thus it cannot be reconciled: The other as a confirmatiue and declaratiue of the olde law: and this way it may well be agreed, which diſtinction may alſo take place in cuſtome. Wherefore it may thus be anſwered: that although this iuriſdiction is due vnto the churche by lawe, it appertaineth alſo vnto the ſame by priuilege and cuſtome: but yet not by ſuch kind of cuſtome and priuiledge, which induceth newe lawe: but which declareth and confirmeth the old law. And if any wyll replie, demaunding wherefore the Churche of Fraunce, ſhoulde more chalenge this, then anye other churches in other realmes, whyche haue no ſuche prerogatiue? I can ſoone aunſwere them. If the kynges of Fraunce (whom God with ſingular grace, honour, and priuiledge, farre aboue al other princes, hath bleſſed and indued them for three ſpeciall cauſes, to wyt, for theyr great faith and deuotiō vnto God, for their honour and reuerence to the church, and for their good iuſtice ſhewed vnto the people) hath graunted to the church, ſpeciall liberties, or haue permitted thoſe whiche before were graunted, peaceablye to bee kepte and obſerued: why then they ſhould haue them, it is no maruayle. Yea and farther, theyr deuotion vnto the church hath bene ſuch, that the nearer the churches were vnto them, the more liberties they enioyed: and yet had theſe princes neuertheleſſe therefore, but rather the more: which is euident and redoundeth to the great honour and nobylity both of the kyng, and hys realme.

Aunſwere

The French king more bleſſed then other for iii thinges.
1 Faith to God.
2 Honor to the church.
3. Iuſtice to the people.

I haue oftentimes heard of other, how that foure or fiue thyngs doth eſpecially habilitate & adorne thys realme. Fyrſt their ſincere and inuiolable faythe: for it was at no tyme red, that the kynges of Fraunce (ſince the receauing of the fayth) dyd euer ſwarue from the ſame. Secondly, the nobilitie of bloude which deſcended from Priamus the kyng of the Troianes, and ſucceſſiuely, from Carolus and other royall kinges. Thirdly, the vnitie and peace of concorde, which eſpecially aboue all other reigned and floriſhed in the realme of Fraunce. Fourthly, the ſolemnitie and pompe of the prelates and clergie. Fiftly, the good diſpoſed readines of the Barons and ſubiectes to obeye. If therfore, the prelates of thys realme ſhoulde not haue thys lawe and priuiledge, but ſhould be depriued therof: Than ſhould the king and his realme leeſe one of his noble eſtates, wherby they are highly magnified (I meane the Brauarie, ſolemnitie, & royaltie of yͤ prelates) For then, they ſhould not onely be neither pōpeous nor royall, but more beggarly & miſerable then any other, the moſt part of their liuing cōſiſting herein. I doe conclude therfore, to be proued both by diuine law, naturall law, canon lawe, ciuill law, cuſtome, and priuiledge: that the ryght of determining ſuch temporall matters of the church, may of right appertayn to the church of Fraunce, and ſo I returne the Lorde Peters theame agaynſt hymſelfe. Beſides this, will I propound that which is moſt playne & manifeſt: that whatſoeuer thynges be offered vp to the church, and are conuerted to the dominion & proprietie of the ſame, be Gods & appertayneth to hym: Forſomuch as they are ſaid, to be dedicated & ſanctified by hym, as ſufficiently throughout the Leuytes may appeare: as is declared in the xxi. ca. primo Regū, cōcerning yͤ bread offered to God, where it is ſayd: I haue no common bread vnder my handes to eate, but holy bread. Wherfore, it was not lawfull for yͤ Laitie to eate of the ſame bread, but in time of great neceſſitie: which is alſo proued in Daniell. v. chap. where it is red. Becauſe king Balthazar and hys lordes with his Queene, dronke in the golden and ſiluer veſſells, which hys father Nabuchodonoſer had takē out of the temple of Ieruſalem: In the ſame very houre, there appeared fingers as it had been of a mans hand, wryting right ouer the candleſticke vpon the plaine walle in the kinges pallace: And the king ſawe yͤ palme of the hand yͤ wrote, and that which was written was, Mane, Thetel, Phares, the interpretation wherof is thys, as there it appeareth: Mane, God hath numbred thys kingdome and brought it to an end: Thetel, thou arte wayed in a ballance and art foūd to light: Phares, the kingdome is delt in partes, and geuen to the Medes and Perſes. The very ſelf ſame nyght, was Balthazar the kyng of the Caldes ſlayne, and Darius ſucceeded in the kingdome of the Medes: the monarchie of the Aſſyrians beyng then trāſlated vnto the Medes. Wherby it appeareth, that thoſe thinges which are offered vp to the church, belong to God, and ſo dedicated to hym, that no laye man maye vſe them: which if they do, thei muſt loke to receaue vengeance at gods hande, as Balthazar did. Theſe thinges now ended, I will argue out yͤ L. Peters theame (which was) Geue vnto the emperour, that is the emperours, & vnto God, that is Gods. But this iuriſdiction, which (as I proued before) is diuerſly conuerted to the dominion and proprietie of the French church, is now Gods: and therfore, to be reſerued to & by him. Wherfore, when ſoeuer any goeth aboute to take awaye the ſame: the good and godly ought to anſwer as Ambroſe dyd to the Gothen ſouldiours ſent to him by the Emperour, which was to thys effect. If the emperour (ꝙ he) had requeſted yͤ which had been myne, I woulde not haue denyed hym, albeit that whatſoeuer I haue, all is the poores: But becauſe he demaūdeth thoſe things which belong to God (wherin he hath no ryght or intereſt) I had rather he ſhould impriſon me, yea and cutte of my head, then to condeſcend to hys requeſt therin: alluding to the hiſtorye of Nabaoth, which is to be ſene in the xxi. chap. 3. Reg. Howe Nabaoth the holy man, poſſeſſor of hys vineyard was requeſted by the kyng to geue vp hys vyneyarde: who made anſwer, I wil not geue vnto thee the inheritāce of my fathers: at which anſwer yͤ king was maruelouſlye offended: wherfore (ꝙ Ambroſe) if Nabaothe would not deliuer his vyneyard, ſhall we deliuer to you the church of Chriſt? No, God forbyd yͭ I ſhould deliuer Chriſtes heritage. Nabaoth did not deliuer yͤ vineyard, nor ſurely wil I deliuer chriſtes church. And further, he addeth a good ſaying: I cā nether diminiſh, nor adde any thing to yͤ church of god, for that I toke not vpon me the charge of keping of it: beſides this, it is my duety & office to cōſult wͭ the high emperour of ſaluatiō, in this matter what is to be done: And doutles, I may not deliuer any thing to him, nor yet he receiue any thīg of me, as is proued. 24. qu. vlt. ca. cōuenior. qu. Wherfore, by theſe & the like reaſons it appereth, yͭ not only iuriſdiction ſpiritual (as the Lord Peter falſely hath ſuggeſted) doth belonge to God: but alſo, all other kind of iuriſdiction whatſoeuer touching yͤ church: whether it be by law, cuſtom, or priuiledg: inſomuch that neither may we ſurrender the ſame to any, nor yet maye the king at our handes take the ſame. Further the Lord Peter affirmed, that Chriſt for example ſake did pay tribute, which is vntrue as appeareth in Geneſ. xlviii. Chap. For the lande of prieſtes were free from payinge of all kinde of toll and Tribute. And if the Lord Peter well conſidered the. xvij. of Mathew: he ſhould haue founde there, how that Chriſte did not onely pay Tribute for example ſake: but rather proued, how he was not bound to paye any at all. To conclude therfore, the children be free: but ye pay, to auoyde ſlaunder and offence: wherefore the text ſayth. Leaſt we ſhould offend them go to the ſea. &c. But peraduenture it may be anſwered, that we by the example of Chriſt (to auoyd offence) ought to pay. But this is vntrue, becauſe that

v. thinges doth nobiliate the realme of Fraunce.

The bloud of Fraunce came out of Priamus K. of Troy.

1. Regum 21

Daniel. 5

Ambroſ
caſe den
eth to th
the Em
rour.

3. Reg.

Nabaoth
denyeth
the king
his vine
yarde.

Gene.4

Math.1

Offence
how it
ought to
be auoid

there is double offence of the weakelings, & of the Phariſes: for as concerninge the offence of the weakelinges, which commeth of ignoraunce and not of malice, ſome things are to be omitted for a time, while they be better inſtructed: as the Apoſtle ſayeth to the Romaines in the. xiiij. chap. But for the offence of the Phariſes, which cōmit and offende of a pretenſed malice: there is nothinge to be omitted, as Chriſt ſaith in Math. the. xvi. Wher, to his diſciples ſaying: Do you not know how ẏ the Phariſies hearinge this worde are offended: aunſweared. Behold ſuffer them, they are blind, & leders of the blind: For that in the tyme of Chriſt, the offence then was of litle ones. But now is the offēce of ths Phariſies: Wherfore, thē it was not to be payed for auoiding of offence: but now not ſo. Now therfore it is apparant ẏ the thred token of the fear of God cōſiſteth in the whole true reſtoryng of goodes: And of him, which hath ſuch feare, wherby he reſtored to God his owne, it is ſpokē of in Eccl. xv. chap. The ſeede of mā that feareth God ſhalbe brought to honour: but the ſeede whiche tranſgreſſeth the commaundement of the Lord ſhalbe ſhamed. And thus it fully appeareth, how louing feare and obedience is due vnto GOD, for the excellency of his maieſtie: Becauſe the wordes be: feare God.

Rom.14.

Math.16.

Eccl.15.

Secondly I do ſaye, that eſpeciall honour and reuerence is due vnto the kyng, for his dignitie ſake: whiche foloweth in the theame. Now it is ſaid, honour the king: I wil alledge the. x. of Eccleſiaſt. wher it is ſpecified: In the middes of the brethren, the ruler is holden in honour amonge them. Wherefore it ſeemeth to me, that there are ii. kynde of honours: one whiche proceedeth from the lippes, and that is named flattery, wherof it is ſpoken in Math. the xvii. chap: This people doth honor me wͭ their lippes, but their hartes are farre from me. There is an other kynde of honor, which is reall, and commeth from the hart. And this is the very true honour in dede, wherwith the kyng ought to bee honored. But me thinketh that he doth really & de facto in very dede honor ẏ kyng: whiche wiſheth and counſayleth him, to keepe and doo thoſe thynges, whereby his dominion is beloued, hys royaltie not diminiſhed, hys honor & fame preſerued, & his cōſcience not burdened: And he ẏ perſuadeth him cōtrary to theſe, I thincke doth not honor the king. To procede therfore further. I ſay firſt, ẏ he doth de facto honor the kyng, who perſuadeth hym thoſe things, wherby he may be beloued of hys ſubiectes. For a prince ought to ſtudy rather to be beloued, then feared. And what more greater treaſure cā a prince wiſhe: then to haue ẏ harts of his ſubiectes. Accordyng to the ſaying of Seneca. The loue of the citizens, is a fortreſſe inuincible: and a Bulwarke not ſaultable. What thyng is more to be wiſhed for: what better then to lyue and raigne, euery man willing and reioyſing therof. And in my opinion, ther is no thyng whiche cauſeth more a prince to bee beloued, then if he kepe and maintayne his auncient liberties, & bryng in no alterations: Wherfore it is ſayd in the 22. chap. of the Prou. Thou ſhalt not remoue the land markes, whiche thy fore elders haue ſet. This place the Lord Peter alledged to maks for hym ſelfe: whiche I will proue to make agaynſt him, and that by this reaſon, ye ought not to tranſgreſſe the old limites and boundes whiche the fathers haue ſet: For nouitie and alteration doth engender diſcorde. And for this cauſe in making of new alterations, there ought to be both euident vtilitie, and vrgent neceſſitie. Yf therfore, the prince will abrogate and take away the liberties grauted by his forefathers and predeceſſors: he ſhal not be of his realme beloued, as it apeareth by Roboā in ẏ xi. cap. of the 3. Reg. Al which likewiſe is to be ſéene in the Chronicles, how that by theſe meanes, many kingdomes and dominions were tranſlated from nation to nation, & from their own natiue regiment to the rule of ſtraunge people. And now for this tyme certain it is, that your graund predeceſſors Charles the great S. Ludowicke, Philip ẏ fayre, Ludowicke and Phillip his ſonnes, with many others, haue ſealed & confirmed this libertie of the churche. Wherfore, for a man to councel and perſuade your highnes, to ſpoyle the churche of any thyng: it is euen ẏ next way, to ſpoile and vndoe your ſelf, and to bereſt you of that, by which your dominion is beloued. And for this cauſe I though good to put your grace in remembraunce of the 20. of Mach, where it is written: Remember the workes of your forefathers, which they haue done in theyr generatiōs: and you ſhall receyue great glory and renowne for euer. Note here your highnes by thy way, howe ẏ king Philip graundfather to S. Lewys: foſtered and kept in his realme ſaynt Thomas archbiſhop of Canterburye: who for that hee ſtoutlye defended the liberties of hys churrh, was baniſhed out of England. How much more therefore are you bounde to defende and mayntayne your owne prelates, in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your graces predeceſſours, according to the ſaying of Gregory in xxv. queſt. 2. cap. Si. If I ſhoulde deſtroy and pull downe thoſe thinges whiche my predeceſſours haue buylt and ordayned: I ſhoulde not be called a buylder and maker, but iuſtly accompted a ſtroye good and puller downe, as the voyce of the Lord ſayth: Euery kingdome deuided within it ſelfe ſhalbe confoūded: All knowledge and learning deuided one agaynſte the other, ſhalbe deſtroyed. In an other place hee ſayth: It is ouer ſharpe, and agaynſte all good maner and ciuilitie (vpon what reaſon and excuſe ſo euer) to breake and ſubuert thoſe thinges which are well ordayned: or by hys example, to teache other at their pleaſures to diſſolue old conſtitutions. Marke here a ſtory about a caſtell which was geuen to Saint Remige, to ẏ churches vſe, by Clodoui the king, which afterwarde kyng Pipine deſired to haue by exchaunge & recouery. To whō the ſayd ſaynt Remige appeared in his dreame, & highly blamed hym therefore, ſaying: a better man thē thou gaue it me, and yet wylt thou take it awaye from me? And wyth that he ſmote hym, who the nexte daye was found all blacke. Synce which tyme, no king of Fraūce durſt euer lye in ẏ Caſtel. Verely therfore, he doth not honor ẏ kyng, which geueth hym councell to paſſe the olde limites that his old fathers did ſet. Yea rather, the kings maieſty ought to ſay vnto them, which is written in S. Iohn 8. cap. I do honour and glorify my father: that is, in keeping the liberties of the church, as they did which graunted them: but you haue diſhonoured me, in counſelling me that, which ſemeth beſt to pleaſe your ſelues, as is written in Eccleſi. 4. The worſhip of a mans father is his own worſhip, and where the father is wythout honour, it is the diſhonour of the ſonne.

Honour of
he kyng.

Eccl.10.

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honors.

Math.16.
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Prou.22.

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.Reg.11.

Mach.20.

25.Queſt.2.
ca.ſi.

Marke here a
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A dreamyng
fable.

Iohn.8.

Eccleſi.4.

Secondarilye I ſaye, that he truly doth honour the kyng, who counſayleth hym: whereby hys power and and dignitie is not diminiſhed. For as it is great honor to the kynges highnes to encreaſe and augment his power: ſo is it as much diſhonour for him to diminiſh any iote thereof. And therfore, the emperours were wont to call them ſelues victorious, of augmenting and encreaſing their commō wealth. And to ſay that you and your predeceſſours coulde not graunt theſe thinges to the church, it were to to abſurde, and to the to much derogation of your maieſties moſt honourable eſtate. And therefore you (moſte ſoueraigne Lorde) who holdeth and poſſeſſeth ſo ample right and tytle in the realme of Fraunce, both by election & inheritaunce: not to graūt and leaue this to your poſterity, it were to the great debaſing of your maieſties honour, crowne and dignitye. Yea if it were (as God forbid) it would folow, that your predeceſſours lyued continually in ſynne: yea and further, it were as muche to ſaye (whych were to vyle) that bleſſed Saynt Lewys, by whom all Fraūce is beautified, could not be iuſtlye canonized.

For as the Lord ſpeaker declared, if he toke hys othe at his coronation both to alienate nothyng, and alſo to call in that whiche was before alienated, whiche is inſeparable from the crowne: it ſhould folow ẏ he was forſworn, and conſequently committed deadly ſinne, and ſo could neuer be canoniſed, whiche is to to abſurde to be talked of. And if replie bee made, that he mighte haue repented: It is ſoone to be aunſwered. That his ſinne is read of, but of his repentaunce it is not found, as is ſayd of Salomon. But put caſe it be true that the Lord Peter ſayd, then it muſt nedes folow, that your grace could beſtowe nothyng, neither countrey, towne, nor tower. And yet there be few, whiche willingly would not receiue them, notwithſtandyng their allegiaunce and homage, which they pretende to your highnes: Keepe therefore and confirme (moſt renowned Prince) that whiche was graunted by your noble progenitors: otherwiſe, your royall honor ſhall decreaſe, that it may be verified in you which is read of, in the xi. to the Rom. I will honor my miniſterie.

Rom.11.

Thirdly I do affirme, that he rightfully honoreth the kyng, which perſuadeth him that, wherby his honor and renowne is preſerued. For in matters of weight, and of great importaunce, nexte after conſcience we muſte haue regard to name and fame, as is written in the xxii. of Prou. It is better to haue a good name, then riches. A good name farre paſſeth all things, & is aboue ſiluer and gold. And S. Auguſtine ſaith, ij. thinges are neceſſary for thee, conſciēce and name: Conſcience for God, and name for thy neighbour. And therfore is it writtē in 4. chap. of Eccleſ. Labour to gette a good name, for that will continewe ſurer by thee, then a thouſand great treaſures of gold. A good lyfe hath a number of dayes. Whiche renowne and name, the Lord (who annoynted your grace with the oyle of gladnes) hath in ſo litle time more aboūdauntly bleſſed you withall, then any other prince: wherfore, you ought to be more vigilant and careful, how to kepe and enioye the ſame ſtill: For it is no leſſe vertue, to ſeeke and get, then to kepe that whiche is gotten: wherby not onely whyle you lyue, but alſo when you are dead, your glorious renowne may lyue for euer: yea and further, that by you nothyng be done, wherby any blotte or foyle ſhoulde creepe into that your ſo greate renowne: alludyng that to your grace, whiche is ſayd in the x. of the Proub. &c. The memorial of the iuſt ſhall haue good report. &c. Beware therfore moſt noble prince, and take hede, that in your dayes & tyme, the liberties of ẏ church be not taken away (which God forbyd) or diminiſhed in any iote. For if your glorious name ſhould be blotted therwith, their be thouſandes, whiche would chronicle the ſame to perpetuall memory. Wherfore moſt chriſtiā prince, if ſuch (as truſted after their death for no other life, but onely for fame & renown) lyued a life moſt godly and vertuous: how much more ought we Chriſtians, whiche looke after another lyfe, by oure well doynges here, to winne vs a perpetuall name and memorie after our deathe. And you beſides, if you ſhoulde diſhonour your name and fame: what a matter were it, conſideryng how the kyngs of Fraunce, were euer counted the moſt Chriſtian princes, & moſt bountyful towardes the church, giuyng examples to other princes, how to enrich their churches and liberties therof. And now eſpecially, if your grace, the churche in ſome places beyng in great perſecution (which God forbyd) ſhould ſhewe light to other to pull and take awaye that which was geuen, by your forefathers to the church: what myght the worlde ſay. For than by the lyke reaſon, myght the Emperour depriue the church of all which was geuen to it by Conſtantyne the Emperour. Alſo other kinges would do the lyke in their realmes. God forbid ẏ your highnes ſhould geue ſuch example. And for my parte, I woulde rather wiſhe my ſelfe to be dead, than geue you ſuch councell, that in ſo pernitious and naughtie a matter, you ſhould be example to other: Eſpecially, whē ẏ kinges of Fraūce your predeceſſors, were defēders alwayes agaynſt ſuch, that went abouts to take awaye the liberties from the church: which is the office of a king, Ieronimus ſaith vpon Ieremye, which is founde alſo in the 24. queſt. 5. cap. Regum, et, C. Princeps. After this maner let the princes of the world know and vnderſtand, how they are bound to make an accompt to God, for ẏ church which they take vpon them to kepe. Note you alſo and rede ſome examples out of ſtories and commentaries, what regard the kinges of Fraunce had in obſeruing thoſe things, and ſee you by their example, to followe and do the lyke: And than ſhall it be verifyed in your grace, which is written in the 37. chap. of Eccleſi. A wyſe man ſhall obtayne honour amongſt hys people: As alſo in the iij. of the ſame. He that honoureth hys mother, is lyke one that gathereth treaſure together.

Who honoreth the kyng.

Prouerb.22

Conſciēce and good name.

Ecclesi.4.

Prouerb.10.

24.q.5.c. Regum.

Eccl.37.

Eccle.3.

Fourthly I ſay, that he in deede doth honour ẏ king, which perſwadeth hym to doe that wherby hys conſcience is not hurt. For aboue all thyngs, a chriſtian man ought to beware how to do that thyng, which ſhould be a grudge vnto hys conſcience, becauſe the lyfe is more worth then meate Math. the 6. chapter. And aſſuredlye I beleue, that your grace would not commit that thing willinglye, wherwith your conſcience ſhould be burdened, for all the whole worldes good: and that iuſtlye. For the more miraculouſlye God hath called your highnes to the ſtate of a kyng, and hath indued you wᵗ his grace: So much the more you ought to haue and take heede, that you offend hym not. For it is to be doubted, whether in doing the contrarie, he will not be the more greuouſlye diſpleaſed with you, as he was with Saule 1. Reg. chap. 15. Conſider therfore moſt ſoueraigne lord, that at what time you were crowned, you ſware onely theſe thynges following and no other. Fyrſt that you would defend and maintayne the canonicall law, priuiledge, and iuſtice, graunted to the byſhops & the church: and as much as in you dyd lye, to enlarge and amplifie the ſame. Alſo that by your arbitrement, all Chriſtian people at all tymes ſhoulde keepe the true peace of God and hys churche. Alſo that you ſhoulde forbyd to all nations, all kynde of ſacrilegs, ſpoylings, and iniquities. Alſo that in all kinde of iudgementes, you ſhoulde will and commaunde equitie and mercie. Alſo ẏ throughout your whole territorye and iuriſdiction, you ſhould ſincerely with all your indeuour ſtudie, to exterminate & cut of frō the church, the noted heretikes: whiche all and no other, your maieſtie ſware to fulfil, at ẏ time of your coronation: vnder the leaue and correction of the Lorde Peter which affyrmed, you were ſworne to none other thyng beſides. Now therfore, ſeyng it is a canonical priuiledge of the church, and in the hart of the whole Cano. (6. qu. 1. Quicunq; litem habens, incorporate: when alſo by cuſtom which is canonical, it came in: ẏ the church, and ſpiritualtie, may haue cognition in a number of caſes, agaynſt which diuers articles haue been here laid in: If this amōgs ẏ Laitie ſhould not be obſerued in ẏ church, your graces conſciēce therby might ſomewhat be burdened. In like maner, if you be bound withal your whole might and power to procure, that all whole chriſtēdome ſhould kepe the true peace of God and his church: much more haue you to procure the ſame amongeſt your own barons and people, who euer more were all one with the church. And alwayes where any church was in honor & eſtimation, their were belōgyng to it xx. ſtout Barons & knightes: whoſe office, as it was to defende the church, ſo was it the part of the churche to pray for them, and to offer ſacrifice for thē vnto God. And to this end, the bleſſed S Lewes ſo much laboured in his tyme: who when the greateſt Barones of his realme had confederate to ſuppreſſe theſe liberties of the church, and had conſulted

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Math.6.

1.Reg.15.

The othe of French kyngs.

to geue him (to that end) ỹ hundereth part of their goodes, would neuer condeſcend therunto, but alwayes diſſuaded them therefroe: and finally by his autoritie, ſealed & confirmed theſe liberties of the churche. Conſider here your maieſtie, how that pope Innocentius at that tyme proceded agaynſt thoſe barons. &c. I dare be bold to ſay, that if there ſhould be now diſſention betwene the Prelates and Barons: it would not be long, before the cominalty woulde vſurpe to rule and beare domination. As by experience it hath bene ſene in manye places, and likewiſe by practiſe, we of late might haue ſene: at what tyme, the people ſtomaking the ſpiritualty in the parties of Campania and Burgundy, at laſt roſe and made in euery towne a king: and therwithall cauſed the officers which brough Citations and abſolutions from the pope and other, to be well banged: and not long after, made inſurrection agaynſt the Lordes temporall, and ſerued them with the like ſauce: vntill that by the kings power they were ſuppreſſed, and many of them hanged. And this doubtles was in the dayes of Lewys laſt kyng of that name. Truly the noble men ought not to be greued with that, that the church is poſſeſſed withall. For that there be fewe of them, who haue not their brothers and kynſfolkes, whych lyueth and are mayntayned by the goods and reuenues of the church. Amongeſt whom if they ſhould deuide their inheritance, perhaps they wold bring a litle to nothing at all. Let the Barons alſo conſider, howe that there is but fewe whiche beleue not in the church. For the church is one, as in the ſixt of Canticum: My Doue and dearling is one. Wherefore wythout great peril of tranſgreſſion, can they not perſwade and counſel ſuch liberties of the church to be abrogated and taken away.

That therefore your maieſties conſcience maye remayne pure and immaculate: pleaſeth it your highnes by your autoritie, to ſeale and confirme this good, auncient, and canonicall priuiledge. And contrary attempts (if any be made by waye of proclamation or otherwyſe) to reuoke & call them in. And further, to keepe your mother the Churche of Fraunce in her auncient francke choyce, libertie, and cuſtomes. And then by you in all thinges God ſhall be glorified and honoured: to whom be honour and glory for euer and euer. Amen. Who thē will honour you, as is ſaid 1.Reg.21. who ſo euer ſhal honour me, I wyll crowne him with that glory, in whych conſiſteth the true honour, and is graunted to none vnworthy. Whereunto alſo none is admitted but worthy, as bleſſed ſaint Auſten ſayth: which honour, graunt hee vnto you & vs, who is bleſſed world without end. Amen And becauſe a byl of many articles was exhibited, wherof part did infringe ỹ whole eccleſiaſtical iuriſdiction: to the defence thereof, wee wyll according to the fourth chapter of Eccleſiaſticus ſtād euen vnto the death, wher it is ſayd: For the truth, ſtriue thou vnto the death, and God ſhall fight for thee agaynſt thine enemies. Some other of them conteine onelye abuſe, which we beleue none ſuch to be. But if there be, we wyll ſee redreſſe therin. Therefore, for the honour of God, for the vnburdening of our conſciences, for the kynges maieſties reuerence, and for the peoples profit and peace: All wee here aſſembled, haue concluded to ſee remedye, that the foreſayde abuſes, if any ſuche be, ſhall be left to the quietnes of the people, and prayſe of almighty God. To whom be honour and glory world without end. Amen.

¶ *An other ſittyng in the Parliament.*

The next Friday following, being the. xxix. of December: the prelates aſſembled themſelues agayne together at the kings palace in Parris: Wher, the reuerend father the lord Peter Bertrand, by gods permiſſion byſhop of Eduen ſpake openly ther before the king, ſitting with his Councellours and Barons about him: taking to his theame ỹ which is written in the. xviij. of Geneſis O Lord bee not angrye, that I ſpeake yet more. &c. The which he applyed to this end: that for the maieſty of the king, the prudencie of his councell, and inſufficiencie of himſelfe (conſidering the wayghtines of ỹ cauſe) he trembled and was afeard to ſpeake: yet neuertheles, truſting vpon his accuſtomed clemency, tooke to him audacitie, and preſumed that which was appoynted to him by the prelates. Beginning with. 89. Pſalme: Lorde thou art our refuge. &c. Which he proſecuted in extolling ỹ kyng his perſon, and his miraculous attayning to the crown of Fraunce: preaching further, how he ought to bee the champion and defēder of the fayth: all which, he proued in few wordes, by many reaſons and authorities. Afterward, he touched thoſe propoſitions which were propoūded by the foreſayd Lorde Peter of Cugner: and for no other onely cauſe as he proteſted, but to informe the conſcience of his ſoueraign Lord & kyng, & to aduiſe his grace cōcerning ỹ ſame: Not going about to make any finall iudgemēt, determinatiō, or anſwer, wherby either Sentēce, Order, Statute, right to any mā, or other proceſſe, might therof enſue or be grounded. And namely he firſt beginning ẇ ỹ theame of ỹ L. Peter: firſt affirmed (render vnto ỹ emperor, which is ỹ Emperours, & vnto God which is his: Mark.12) By which wordes was ſignified ỹ obediēce & ſubiectiō to ỹ king, with the differēce of the ſpiritualtie frō the tēporaltie, wherof ỹ firſt mēber is proued by ỹ 1. Pet. 2. Where is ſaid: be ye ſubiect to euery humain creature, &c. Alſo by ỹ Cap. ſolite, extra. de maio. & ob. And by ỹ c. nouit extra. de iudicijs cap. de ſacerdotibus 10.q.1. ẇ the notes about the ſame. Moreouer, as touching the diſtinctiō of both iuriſdictions: wherof ỹ L. Peter proued ỹ temporal iuriſdictiō to pertaine to ſeculare mē, ỹ ſpiritual to ỹ clergy, by ỹ wordes of our ſauior chriſt. Luke 22. where he ſaid: Behold two ſwords. Alſo for ỹ Chriſt did pay tribute: Teachyng therby, how ỹ the tēporalties were to be reſerued to the tēporal men: Math.17..11.q.ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnū. In like maner by ỹ law of Iuſtiniā: where it is writtē, ỹ ij. great gifts wer ordained & graūted of god: a biſhoprike, & a kingdō: The firſt to beare rule ouer gods maters, ỹ other ouer worldly things, &c. And ſaid moreouer, ỹ theſe two be ỹ caſes which in no wyſe could be altered or chaūged. Prou. xx. de ſTiō.mo. lib.1. et vlt. And affirmed alſo ỹ of ſuch princely right, ỹ king could not abrogate & depriue himſelf. For ỹ it was impreſcriptible, apperteinyng to ỹ crowne and his regal ſeat, (cōſidering howe he toke his othe at ỹ tyme of his coronatiō) not onely not to breake or alienate the lawes of his realme, but alſo to reſtore and reuoke ſuch as were brokē & alienated. To which theſe his reaſons it was anſwered, ỹ the iuriſdiction and determinatiō of ciuill cauſes (where about the controuerſie now ſtandeth) belongeth to the church, both by Gods law & mans law. By Gods law it proued was, euē from Adams tyme to chriſtes cōmyng: per. Innoc. ca. licet extra de foro, compe. And from Chriſtes commyng, to Peters tyme and hys ſucceſſors xxii. di. c. omnes patrache. Math. cap. xvi. But how the church in the realmes of Catholike princes, attained vnto this right and intereſt which at this preſēce it doth inioy, the law proueth 2.q.ca.5. Si quis presbiter. xi q.1 Relacum 25. diſt. Ecce. Which alſo is cōfirmed by the emperours in the body of the law. ff.3. ¶ ſi. cauſam. col. 9.23.q. vlt. c. his et a quibus. The Canon furthermore teacheth, how that S. Peter commaunded all the princes of the earth and others, to obey and gyue place to the Byſhops. c. omnes, extra. de maior. et ob. 16. diſt. duo ſunt: Wherfore it was concluded, that in no wiſe this righte is to be ſeparated and taken away from the church. And albeit in ỹ realmes of tyranous princes, this ſtate of the churche is violated and not kept: yet in thys bleſſed realme of Fraūce, it hath béen alwaies euen to theſe dayes duely obſerued: c. nouit. extra. de iudiciis. This iuriſdiction, the lawes of Theodoſius the Emperor, & Carolus ỹ great, hath alſo confirmed, extra. de iudicijs. c. nonne. all.

Biſhop of Eduen agayne ſpeaketh.

Math. 22.
Marke 12.

11.q.1.ca.1

22.q.4.cap. Si vero.

Why Chriſt paid tribute.

16.Diſt.cap. Conſtantinus. 35.diſt.cap.ab exordio.

11.q.1.quecunq;.&c.ſe.iuriſdictio.c.expreſſe: Where it is mentioned, that the ſame Carolus kyng of Fraunce (and Emperour) eſpeciallye conſtituted the ſayd lawe: And likewiſe to ſpeake of cuſtom, it hath been knowen, frō time out of mind, yͤ ſame to haue belōged to yͤ church of France. He therfore which ſhall go about to violate this law: cōmitteth ſacrilege. 11.q.1.ca.1.et.2. And let not the kynges maieſtie maruell, if that in this moſte noble realme of Fraunce this prerogatiue be due vnto the churche: For when hereby, his power and nobilitie is bewtified. Anth.vt iud.ſine quoquo ſuffra. ſi.in principio Col.2. Beſides this: our ſoueraigne Lord and kyng, at what tyme he was crowned, was ſworne by the Euangeliſtes to keepe and obſerue this canonicall priuiledge of the churche. Further, the Barons who in a maner all are ſworne to the Church, ſwore fidelitie to the ſame: by whiche othe of fidelitie, they are bound to keepe theſe liberties and rightes of the church. Whē therfore euery othe which tendeth not to the perdition of the ſoule, is to be kept: a fortiori that othe which is taken in the fauour of the church, is much more to be obſerued. c.Si vero extra.de iure iurando.xxii.queſt. iiij.c.vlt. Beſides this bleſſed Ludouicke, Philippe of Arragon, Philippe yͤ fayre, Ludouicke, Carolus the great, and Philip: confirmed theſe priuileges, cuſtomes, and liberties of the church, which all wer ſworne at their coronations as before.&c. Theſe things conſidered, who can aduiſe the kings maieſtie without dampnīg of hys own ſoule, contrary to theſe liberties graunted and ſo confirmed to the church: To whō belongeth greate reward, whoſoeuer beſtoweth any thyng vpon the church: Auth.de non alie. at permut.re.ecc §.ſi minis col.ij. neither maketh it againſt vs where it is ſayd, that there are two ſwordes,&c. Neyther yet the diſtinction betwene the byſhopricke & kyngdome. Becauſe it is true that there are two ſwordes, the power wherof is left to the churches hand, although the execution of the materiall ſword is cōmitted to the temporall and ſecular men, Math.xxvi. where Chriſt ſayth to Peter: conuerte and put vp thy ſworde into yͤ place. But as touching the diſtinction betwixt the biſhopricke and kyngdō, in dede it is true: aſmuch as appertayneth to thend and to the execution of bloud, but not concerning the beginning and ſubiecte: for that in one ſubiect, both the powers are, may be, & ought to be, as is before proued. To that point where it is ſaid that Chriſt payed tribute: it is anſwered, that not therfore he payed it, becauſe he ought or was bound therunto: becauſe it is certainly true, that the ſonnes of yͤ kyng (as he was ought not to pay) but thys he did to auoyde offence: ye alſo the clergie is not bound hereunto Eſdre.primo,et vlt. Wherfore, ſuch thinges do not inferre a conſequens. Neyther yet maketh yͤ againſt vs, where it is ſaid: that yͤ king our ſoueraign Lord and maiſter can not abdicate from himſelfe thys ryght, eſpecially for that he was ſworne therunto at the tyme of hys coronation,&c. for it is aunſwered, that he may well abdicate the ſame. And how doth he abdicate the ſame from himſelf, which he geueth and beſtoweth to God & the churche? The land is yͤ Lordes. And doubtles, to geue is nothyng els, but to render to God and the church their owne: for thē by that reaſon, the gift geuen to the church by Conſtantine is naught and nothyng worth, which is falſe: And this is proued, xvi.diſt.ca. Conſtantinus. wherby it appeareth, that an Emperour and king may alienate things of yͤ Empire. ff.de legatis i.l.apud Iulianum §.vlt. nor yet hereby yͤ Empire or kingdome is damaged: for that the thyng returneth to the priſtinate ſtate ff.de pactis l.vnus §.pactus.35.diſt.ab exordio. Furthermore, by thys reaſon propounded: all the kings of Fraūce which euer were (and eſpecially bleſſed Ludouike) ſhould be ſpotted: for if yͤ were true (as God forbid) then all they were periured and died in mortall ſinne, which is to too abſurde. Laſte of all, it hurteth not where it is ſayd: That ſuch things are inpreſcriptible: It is true in dede, they cannot of ſubiects, or otherwyſe thē of the church be preſcribed: but in this caſe we talke not of ſubiectes. Alſo, ſeing they may bee alienated, they may be preſcribed, eſpeciallye (the kynges thus conſenting who cōfirmed the ſame ſo long a time) which excludeth all ryght both fiſcall and eccleſiaſticall. The prelates therefore all with one conſent, agréeth and affirmeth to the ſame as a veritie to bee mayntayned & defended. Beſéeching the kinges maieſty theyr lord, both for his ſoule health, and peace of the churche: to mayntayne the ſame, and kéeping the liberties of the church. Deſiring hym to conſider what commoditie daylye he receiueth by the church, and that hys church neuer fayled him yet, when he had neede of the layty, ſhewing the daungers and examples of them who did to the contrarye. Further, he beſeeched his highnes to waye howe entierlye hys Lorde the pope dothe and hathe loued his perſon and realme: Affirming, that neuer anye placed in yͤ ſeate of Peter, loued better his realme, then he doth. Alledging the text of Eccl.vj. where it is ſaid: Stād in the multitude of the prieſtes, & beleue them wyth thy hart.

After this in the ſayd Seſſion: The foreſayd biſhop of Eduen prolocutor inferred many things beſide, and anſwered particularly to the articles aboue ſpecified, and exhibited by the lord Peter in writing to the kyng and parliamēt. Which, becauſe they touch more the ſubtilty of the law and ſtyles of the courtes, then are neceſſarye to this our hiſtory, and becauſe wee woulde not burden the volume with all, cōteining no great profit in thē: we haue here of purpoſe for breuities ſake omitted them, paſſing to the next ſitting whiche was the next Friday next after folowyng the ſame, as enſueth.

The nexte Fridaye after this, the prelates aſſembled at Vicenas before the king, to heare their anſwer: wher, the foreſayd Lord Peter of Cugner (being prolocutour for the king) ſpake on this wyſe, taking for hys theame. I am peace vnto you, do not feare.&c. Which he proſecuted, moniſhing that they ſhoulde not bee trobled in any thing that there had ben ſpoken. For that the intent and minde of the ſoueraigne lord their king was, to kepe the rites of the church and prelates, which they had by law, & by good and reaſonable cuſtome: Where, betwene the firſt and ſecond concluſion, he went about to proue: that the cognition of ciuill cauſes ought not to appertaine to the church. For that ſuch thinges were temporal and ought to pertain to the temporaltie, as ſpirituall things to the ſpiritually. And beſides his other reaſons he alledged the.86.diſt. declaring for a truth, that for this intent firſt the clarkes crownes were ſhauen: in ſigne that they ſhould be free from all worldlynes, and forſake all temporall thinges. Alledging to that ende the.xij.q.2. Further more he declared, that the biſhoppes had cognition in certayne caſes expreſſed by law. Wherefore, theſe ſayd caſes miniſtred a certaine rule agaynſt them, alledging for the proofe thereof de reg:iuris,ff.de lega.1.L.ticie textoris. Alſo he affirmed that by reaſon of ſinne, the decretall Nouit. coulde not make for them. For the ſame did ſpeake of the king of Fraunce his ſtate, which hath no ſuperior: but in other perſons it was (he ſayd) otherwyſe. And theſe thinges thus being proued, thē ſayd he and concluded: That neuertheles, their lord and king was readye to heare the information of them, whyche would inſtruct him of any cuſtome: and thoſe cuſtomes whiche were good and reaſonable hee woulde obſerue. Which anſwer, becauſe it did not ſeme to pleaſe and ſuffice the prelates, incontinently the biſhoppe Eduen anſwered for them all in manner following. Firſt commēding the good and generall aunſwer, hee ſpake in thys wyſe: The prince of yͤ people (ſaid he) ſhal be prayſed, for the prudēce of his talke, commendyng therwith as touching the former good generall anſwer of the king, hys

Eccle.6

Special an ſwers to t articles p miſed by B.Eduen.

An other dayes ſit ting in the parliame

le biſh. deth e with e kings ſwer,

86.diſt. cum ad rum

Shauing prieſtes crownes, wherfore. 12.q.2

he gentle ſwer of e king to biſhops

purpoſe and talke propounded. But as concerning the wordes of the Lord Peter, which engendred ⁊ brought darknes and obſcuritie, and myght geue occaſion to other temporall lordes, to breake and infringe the rytes and cuſtomes of the churche. Wherefore his aunſwere ſemed not ful and plaine to ẏ Prelates, Speaking more ouer to the ſayd Peter, he alluded to the wordes of the Virgine ſpeakyng in ẏ Scripture thus to her ſonne: Sõne why did you ſo to vs? And ſo proſecuted the ſame, both maruelyng with him ſelfe, and yet couertlye complayning of his anſwer. Afterward anſwering to theſe thinges which the lord Peter affirmed, and fyrſt to the chapter Ad Verum he ſaid, that it was before anſwered: touching the deuiſion of the ij. iuriſdictiõs, that thei may be in one ſubiect as before is proued. Neither doth it let which ẏ Lord Peter ſayd, theſe ij iuriſd. coulde not be in one ſubiect, becauſe ẏ thinges which be in thẽſelues diuers, ⁊ be vnder one Gen⁹, as a man ⁊ an aſſe cannot be in one ſubiect: But if they were vnder diuers kindes, as whitenes and ſwetenes in milke, they might be well in one ſubiecte. It was anſwered that this rule was not true: becauſe iuſtice and temperaunce are two diuers vertues, and vnder one kynde, and yet bee in one ſubiect. Beſides theſe differing ſpecies, a man and an Aſſe be not compatible in one ſubiect. Alſo to that which was ſpoken cõcerning the ſhauing of the crowne, it was anſwered that the crowne dyd betoken rule and excellency: and the ſhauing did ſignifie, that they ought not to heape vp ſtore of tẽporall things, ſo to apply their harts therunto. But that the temporal things ought to be ſubiect to them, ⁊ not thei to the temporalty, as is proued in the ſaid chapter duo ſũt genera. Alſo as concerning that thing, whiche was talked of de regula: he aunſwereth, that that maketh for the church, as before was proued. Yea alſo, the cuſtome doth make the rule for the church. Alſo lawes in all kinde of ſence dothe alwaies excepte the cuſtome. And therfore, his ſaying makes nothing againſt it. And now to that place which the Lorde Peter ſpake about the decretal Nouit. That the caſe was onely in the kinges perſon, yet for all that it is expreſly ſayd in the ſame text of euery Chriſten man. And although their law doth ſpeake onelye of the Pope, yet the ſame is applyed to all biſhops in their dioces. Wherefore the ſayde biſhoppe concluded and beſeched the king that it would pleaſe his grace to geue vnto them a more playner and comfortable anſwer: and that they myght not depart from his preſence all penſiue and ſad, wherby occaſion might be geuen to the leyty to impugne the rites and liberties of the church. And ẏ they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conſcience of their Soueraigne Lord ⁊ kyng: In thend it was anſwered to thẽ in the behalfe of the kyng, that hys mynde and intent was not to impugne the cuſtomes of the church.

biſh.
deth
with
kings
ſwer,

The ſonday following, the biſhops aſſembled them ſelues agayne before the king at Vicenas, where the L. biſhop of Eduen repealed their laſt ſuppoſition, with the laſte aunſwere made vnto them in the behalfe by the king, when the biſhop of Byturien, had geuen them to vnderſtand how the king willed them not to feare. For that they ſhould ſuffer no hindraunce or damage in hys tyme, ye and woulde defend them to their ryghtes ⁊ cuſtomes becauſe it ſhoulde not be ſayd ẏ he woulde geue enſample to other to impugne ẏ church, aſſuring them that euen the kynges grace hym willed ſo to declare vnto them. The ſayd lord B. of Senon in the name of ẏ whole prelates gaue humble thãkes to ẏ kyng therfore ⁊ the ſayd B. of Senon beſeched ẏ ſuch proclamations whiche were made to the priuiledge of the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction might be repealed, ⁊ called in. Hereunto the kyng hym ſelfe aunſwered wͭ his owne mouth that they were not publiſhed at his commaundement neither dyd he know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the byſhop propoſed that thoſe abuſes whiche the temporaltie complained of, ſhould be ſo ordered and reformed: that euery mã ſhould be wel contented therwith. Laſt of all, he beſeched the kyngs highnes, that he would of his gracious goodnes giue them a more cõfortable ⁊ fuller aunſwere. Then aunſwered ẏ Lord Peter in the name of the king: That if the prelates and byſhops would ſee reformation of thoſe things which were to be amẽded (where aboutes he would take reſpect betwen this ⁊ Chriſtmas next folowyng) his grace would innouate nothyng in ẏ meane ſeaſon. And if in the foreſayd ſpace they would not correct ⁊ reforme that whiche was amiſſe, his maieſtie would appoynte ſuche order and remedy that ſhould be acceptable both to God and his ſubiects. After this, the prelates had leaue of the kyng to depart and went home.

gentle
wer of
king to
biſhops

The finall aunſwer of the king to the prelates.

¶ *A briefe recapitulation of the Biſhops aunſwere, with certein notes anſwering to his Popiſh reaſons vnto the reader.*

THe aunſwere, of byſhop Eduen in the name of the other prelates, to the oration and articles before obiected by the Lord Peter conſiſteth in two partes. Firſt in declaryng the feare due to God. Secondly the honor due to the kyng. wherof the firſt is, the feare of God he ſayth cõſiſteth in iij. thinges. 1. In geuing to God. 2. In honoryng his miniſters. 3. In reſtoring that, which hath been takẽ awaye. ⁊c. The Second, which is, the honoryng of the kyng, he ſayth conſiſteth in a double ſort, that is. In wordes onely wherin is flattery; And in dede: which agayn he diuideth in iiij. members firſt, when a man counſaileth a kyng to that, where by his dominion is loued. 2 whẽ the kyng is cõſailed to that wherby his honour ⁊ excellency is not diminiſhed. 3. Thirdly. when the kyng is counſailed to that, whereby his fame and renowen is mayntained. 4. Fourthly, when a kyng is counſailed to that, wherby his cõſcience is not wounded. ⁊c. And this is the order of hys whole tractation. Nowe remayneth with lyke breuity to recite the reaſons and argumentes in order, wherby he proueth the premiſſes, with the ſubdiuiſion of euery member and part therof. wherin the ſtudious reader, may note both the ſubtile procedynges of theſe Popiſhe prelates, and alſo the feable and impotent ground wherupõ they build. whoſe building (as by this diſcourſe and many other may appeare) wholy and finally tendeth to this, to maintayne their liberties, pompe, and eſtimation aboue all other ſecular princes ⁊ perſõs.

Notes vpõ the biſhops aunſwer.

Pag 447.col.2. lin,6.

Feare of God conſiſting in 3. thinges. 1.in geuyng. 2.in honouring 3. in reſtoryng.

Honour to the kyng, trouble. In worde flattering, in deede effectuall.

Honour effectuall ſtandeth in 4. pointes. 1.in maintaiyng the kings loue. 2.in maintaiyng his dignitie. 3.in maintaynyng his good name. 4.in maintaynyng his conſcience.

Firſt as concernyng feare to be geuen to God, whiche he diuideth in 3. partes, in geuing, in honouring, and reſtoring: for ẏ fyrſt, he proueth that princes ought to geue largelye and without meaſure to the church by theſe argumentes.

Pag.447.col.2 lin.43.

By the teſtimonie of Iuſtinian: Although nothing is good whiche is to much yet. ⁊c. pag. 447. col.2. lin.46. I aunſwere that in the time of Iuſtinian goodes thẽ geuen to the churche. were the goodes of the poore. wherin was vſed faythful diſtribution, voluntarie geuing, and neceſſarye charitie. But nowe in our popiſhe churches, reuenewes and landes geuen, neither are diſtributed to the poore: and yet are men compelled agaynſt their will to geue ſtill. And agayn, ſo litle neceſſitie is now to geue to ſuch, that the moſt wealthes of realmes almoſt is in their handes and houſes: in ſo much that they flowyng in ſuch welth are now waxed ſo proud, that kings can ſcarſe beare any rule for thẽ, as was proued before pag.409.col 2.lin.18. that the popes reuenewes here in Englãd mounted to more thẽ 3. times double ẏ ſtint of the kings crown wherfore by the counſaile of iuſtinian, it was ſo thẽ, and then myght ſtand, quod Religio peperit diuicias: but now as that tyme is altered, ſo that counſaile holdeth not, poſtquã nũc filia deuorauit matrem. That is, after that the daughter hath deuoured the mother. Finally concernyng mẽs geuyng to the Churche in theſe our Popiſhe dayes, foure faultes I note.

Pag.447.col.2 lin 46.

Religio peperit diuitias nunc filia deuorauit mat

Firſt, that they geue ſuperfluouſly more then ſufficient is to neceſſitie of lyfe.

Secondly, that they geue to ſuch as abuſe it wickedly.

Thirdly, that in geuyng to them that nede not, noble men in meane tyme, defraude their poore neyghbours, whiche nede in dede, and yet do not complayne.

Fourthly, becauſe of this title of geuing, mẽ haue vſed and yet do vſe to put great hope of ſaluation therin, contrary to the Teſtament of God in Chriſtes death, wherof examples are before pag.148.col.1.lin.48.

4.incommodities that come in geuyng to the church.

Pag 447.col.2 lin.60.

Pag.447.col.2. Abell offered of the beſt to the Lord, & was bleſſed of god. Ergo. euery great mā, ẏ would be bleſſed of God, muſt offer of the beſt.he hath vnto the church. Anſw. This argument as it is farre fet: ſo it is ſoone aunſwered, wherin three notes are to be obſerued.

3 Things to be noted, in offring to God & to the church.

Firſt, that he which offereth vnto the churche of God, doth not therin offer vnto God immediatly as Abel did.

Secondly, neither is this to be graūted, that he which offereth to all churchmē, offereth by and by to the church of God. For many tymes the churchmē are one: and the church of God is an other. Laurēce the martyr ſhewing forth the churche of God, brought out the poore of the pariſh, and not the prieſts of the church. pag. 102. col. 1.

Rom. 12.

The thyrd note is this: that if noble perſons ſhould offer vnto God (by the example of Abell) that whiche is the beſt and fatteſt of the flocke: then ſhould they offer vnto the Lord, of their flocke onely, and not of their lands. Yea and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither cattel nor landes, but that which is the very beſt, that is, theyr own bodies for a lyuely ſacrifice to God. He that offered vp to God a proude hart, and kylleth it with the axe of humilitie, geueth vnto him the beſt and fatteſt bullocke he hath in all hys flock. with like reaſon I anſwer alſo the place of Numeri. 18. and of Paral. cap vlt. that to offer vppe, or to ſeperate vnto the Lordes treaſury, is not now to geue to prieſts and chaplens of the church, whych peraduenture haue more then they do well occupy: but to geue liberallye to the cōmunion of ſayntes, which are needy & are the true treaſurye of the church in dede, as Laurence ẏ true treaſurer ſayd. ſupra pag. 102.

Pag 447.col.2. lin, 66.

Pag.448.col.1. lin.48.

Pag.448.col.1.lin.48. By Gods commaūdement we are boūd of duty to honour our temporal fathers. Ergo, by the ſame duty we are bound muche rather to honour our ſpirituall fathers, that is prieſtes and prelates. Anſwer. A father in common ſpeche is diuerſly taken as by age, by nature, by office. And to all theſe we of dutye, are bound to yelde honour, reuerence, obedience and ſubmiſſion, albeit not all after one ſort, nor in lyke degree. For as we are bound to honour our father and mother: ſo aged men and elders haue alſo their honour and name of fathers. So Magiſtrates and ſpirituall teachers in their kynd, haue theyr honour & reuerence. And S. Paul ſaith, that ſuch are worthy of double honour, qui bene pręſunt, & qui laborāt in ſermone, But in thys two things are to be noted wherin thys honour cōſyſteth, & how far it extēdeth. Theſe ſpiritual fathers of the church, thynke they be not honoured inoughe, vnles kyngs and Emperours geue and ſurrender vnto them all the temporall rule and gouernment, to do what they liſt, and none to controle thē. And vnles noble men and ſubiects indue them with temporall landes and poſſeſſions, ſo muche as they woulde haue. And thys they call honour, which they defyne onely by geuing temporally: where in deede it rather conſiſteth in geuing ſpiritually, as to haue a reuerent opiniō of their miniſtratiō, to yeld a prompt obedience to theyr doctrine, to reuerence them as the miniſters of god, and not to deſpiſe, diffame, or moleſt theyr perſons, whereof S. Paule alſo about the ſame place ſpeaketh, wrytyng to Timothe. Let no man deſpiſe thy youth. &c. Alſo to Titus. 2. Let no man deſpiſe thee. &c. And this is to honour our ſpirituall fathers.

1. Tim. 5.

2. thinges to be noted in geuing honour, wherin conſiſteth honour geuyng to prieſtes.

1. Tim. 5. Titus. 2.

Secondly to conſider how far this honour extendeth: as no man doth deny, but theſe paſtors are worthy their double honour, which rule wel: ſo if they adminiſter not their office well, they are vnder the ouerſight of the king bearing the temporall ſword, worthy of double puniſhment. And yet to conſider this double honour in thē that rule wel, how far it doth extend: if it be compared to the honour due to our parentes, caſe of neceſſity wyll ſoone decide it. For be it, that our parents, on the one ſyde, and paſtor on the other, ſtand in extreme neede of the ſonnes ſupportacion, wherin he can helpe but the one: nature, I ſuppoſe, wyll and ought ſooner runne, and the worde of Chriſt wyll ſooner dryue vs to oure father, then to the prieſtes Corban. Marc. 7. So that thys diſtinction here may haue place: that as the one ſtandeth vpon merite of vertue: ſo the other ſtādeth vpon mere duty of neceſſity.

Qui bene præſunt.

How far honor geuē to prieſts extendeth.

Mark. 7.

Pag.449.col.1. lin.7.

Pag. 449. col. 1. lis. 7. theſe iuriſdictions temporall and ſpirituall are cōpatible in one perſon. Aunſwer, I graūt pro ratione ſubiecti. That is, in the ſubiect it ſelfe there is no cauſe to the contrary, but theſe two vocatiōs may be exerciſed both of one perſon, as they haue been of the pope, one after the other (and ſo may contrary formes alſo) and yet the popes perſō hath been able to ſuſteine them both. But now here is to be cōſidered, not what the nature of the ſubiect is able to beare by logicke, but what order is takē herein by the wil of God, whoſe order is this: That they, whiche with Peter, are called to the fedyng of the flock, ſhould leaue their fiſhing nettes, and fiſh for men: and that they whiche labour in the warfare of the Lord, ſhould not intangle thē ſelues with the buſines of thys life, wherby they may be more free to pleaſe hym, whoſe ſouldiours they are. Tit. 2. &c.

Tit. 2.

Pag.449. col.1.lin. 2.formes not co ry,may b compa in one iect.

Pag. 449. col. col. 1. lin. 31. The iuriſdictions temporal and ſpirituall are ſo diſtincted that they are not contrary &c Aunſwere. And what let is there then, but one queene now, & other kings hereafter may haue the gouernemēt of both ſtates as well eccleſiaſticall, as temporall? Seing both the formes being cōpatible, may cōcurre both in one ſubiect: why not as wel in the perſon of the kyng, within the realme, as in the perſō of ẏ pope wout the realme?

Pag.449. col.1.lin.

Pag. 449. col. 1. lin. 65. God after the creatiō of ẏ world, &c. vnto Noes tyme. &c. Aunſwere. Yf God vnto Noes tyme gouernynge the worlde as kyng, gaue ſentence himſelfe agaynſt Cain (as ye ſay) how then did he that by the miniſtery of angels? Yf he did it by the angels his miniſters: whether is more like thē that to make for the pope, or rather for kings & princes, whom the ſcripture thriſe in one chapter, calleth the miniſters of God to execute puniſhment to him, that doth euill. Rom. 13.

Rom. 13.

Pag.449. col.1 li

Pag. 449. Noe alſo whiche offered. &c. Anſw. Yf offering of burnt ſacrifices to God do make a prieſt, thē was Cain alſo, Abell, Abrahā, Iſaac, & all patriarches prieſts. Yf he had both tēporall & ſpirituall iuriſdiction vpō thē, which were in his Arke: I meruel why he did not curſe thē the diſobedient crow ẏ returned not to him agayne.

Noe wa prieſt, had both riſdictio in the

Pag. 449. col. 2. 2. Melchiſedech likewiſe. &c. Aunſwere Melchiſedech properlye dyd beare a figure of Chriſt, both kyng and prieſt, and of none other.

Pag.449 col 2 li

Pag. 450. col. 1. A. I haue geuē to me. &c. Anſwere that Chriſt had all power geuen hym, no man doubteth: but yet ẏ ſame Chriſt ſayth, that his kingdome is not of thys worlde. Neither would he be made a kyng in thys world. &c. Nec eripit mortalia, qui regna dat cęleſtia, hymn.

Pag.450 col.1. li

Pag. 450. col. 1. B. Whom Chriſt made his vicar. &c. Anſw. Here in one lyne be. ii. lyes. For neyther had Peter the very ſame power in heauen and earth, as Chriſt had, neyther was he the vicar of Chriſt.

Pag.450 col 1. li B.

Pag. 450. col. 1. C. As the offence of Ananias & Saphyra was not temporall but ſpirituall: ſo dyd Peter kill them not iudicially that is, as a temporall iudge. but ſpiritually, that is, by the power of the ſpirite, which ſpirite wrought by him, not as by a iudge, but as a miniſter. And although this acte of Peter was extraordinary, for a ſingular example: yet not withſtanding let any prelate with the lyke power of ſpirit, ſo do, and none will blame hym.

Pag.450 col.1 li C

Pag. 450. col. 1. D. And ſo likewiſe the condemnation of Paule agaynſt the Corinthian was onely ſpirituall & not temporall.

D

Pag. 450. col. 1. lin. 47. E. muſt be referred to ẏ order. &c. Anſwer. Chriſt would theſe cauſes to be referred to ẏ hearīg of ẏ church, for ſpiritual admonitiō, but not for tēporall iuriſdictiō of the prelates.

Pag. 450. col. 1. F. All thinges that the true church doth truely bynde are bound. I graunt: but firſt let the pope proue hys church to be the true church, & himſelfe to be the vniuerſall head therof, and then let him claime the keyes.

Pag.450 col 1 li E

Ibid. The ii. ſwordes do as much ſignifie the ii. regiments: as do the ii. fiſhes wherwith Chriſt did feede 4000. perſons.

Ibid. Chriſt bad Peter put vp his ſword & not to caſt it away. Ergo, the church may haue the temporall ſworde. Aunſwere. God geue you good morowe, I haue brought you a capon.

Pag. 450. col. 2. I. Know ye not the ſainctes. &c. Aunſwere. S. Paule here willing the Corinthians to pleade their matters not before the heathen, but before the ſainctes: meaneth the faythfull of the congregation, not onely prelates.

Pag.450 col.2.

K In them was not the lyke reaſon. &c. Anſwere. I graunt. for Chriſt and true Chriſtians is one thyng: Antechriſt and hys church is an other thyng.

Ibid. As ye ſay, the Apoſtles had no layſure to take lands and poſſeſſions, for preaching: but now, for lordlye loytering you haue layſure ynough.

Pag 451 col.1.

Pag. 451. col. 1. M. They are moſt fitteſt to beare temporall rule, which follow neareſt to God. Prelates of the clergie followe nearer to God. Ergo, Prelates of the clergie are more meeteſt to beare temporall rule.

Reſp. If God here be taken for that god, which is called the belly. I graūt they ſeme to folow nearer. But if it be takē for the true God, not I but their own fruites, life, & doctryne, & Eſay alſo would denie their minor, & ſay, that this people draweth nere to me with their lips, but their hart is far frō me.

Pag.451 col.1.

Pag. 451. col. 1. You are a choſen generation, a royall prieſthoode &c. Anſ. This place of Peter was written not onely to perſons eccleſiaſticall, but to the whole congregation of the ſainctes diſparſed, as the wordes following may declare. Qui eratis quodam non populus, &c.

And thus much concernyng French matters, which becauſe they be eccleſiaſtical, and beare with them ſome vtilitie to the diligent reader (ſuch as liſt to ſearch, note and obſerue the actes of men, and courſe of religion) I thought therfore here to place and adioine next after, the other contention before proceadyng betwene Philippe ẏ

French kyng and pope Boniface. Albeit as touching the perfect kepyng of yeares and tyme, I am not ignoraunt that this foreſayd Parlament thus ſommoned and commenced agaynſt the French prelates, fallyng in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1329. was to be referred rather to yͤ reigne of kyng Edward the ii. Of whō now remayneth (by the grace of Chriſt) in order of Hiſtorie to proſecute, declaring firſt yͤ inſtructiōs ⁊ informacions of his father geuē to him in yͤ tyme of his departyng. The yere of our lord 1307. and the laſt yeare of the kyng, the foreſayd kyng Edward in his iourney marchyng toward Scotland: in the North fell ſick of the flixe, whiche increaſed ſo feruētly vpō him, that he deſpered of life. Wherfore, calling before him his Earles ⁊ Barons, cauſed thē to be ſworne, that they ſhould crowne his ſonne Edward in ſuch conuenient time after his death as they might, and kepe the land to his vſe, til he were crowned. That done, he called before him his ſonne Edward, informyng and leſſoning him with wholeſome precepts, ⁊ charged him alſo with diuers pointes vpon his bleſſyng: firſt that he ſhould be courteous, gentle, vpright in iudgement, fayre ſpoken to all men, conſtant in dede and word, familiar wͭ the good: and eſpecially, to yͤ miſerable to be merciful. After this, he gaue hym alſo in charge, not to be to haſtie in taking his crowne, before he had reuenged his fathers iniuries ſtoutly agaynſt the Scottes: but that he ſhould remaine in thoſe parties to take wͭ him his fathers bones, beyng well boiled from the fleſh, ⁊ ſo incloſed in ſome fit veſſel, ſhoulde carye them with hym till he conquered all the Scots: ſaying, that ſo long as he had his fathers bones with him, none ſhould ouercome him. Moreouer, he willed and required hym, to loue his brother Thomas, and Edmund: alſo to cheriſh and tender his mother Margaret the quene. Ouer and beſides, he ſtratly charged hym vpon his bleſſing (as he would auoyde his curſe) that he ſhould in no caſe call to hym agayne, or ſend for Peter Gaueſton: whiche Peter Gaueſton the kyng before had baniſhed the realme, for his naughtie and wicked familiaritie with his ſonne Edward, and for his ſeducyng of him with ſiniſter counſaile. For the which cauſe, he baniſhed both Peter Gaueſton vtterlye out of the realme, and alſo put the ſayd Edward his ſonne in priſon. And therfore ſo ſtraitly charged his ſonne, in no wiſe to ſend for this Gaueſtō, or to haue him in any caſe about him. And finally, becauſe he had conceaued in him ſelf a vowe to haue returned his owne perſō to the holy land (which for hys manifold warres with the Scottes he could not performe) therfore he had prepared xxxii. thouſād poūdes of ſiluer, for the ſendyng of certaine ſouldiers with hys hart vnto the holy land. Which thing he required of his ſon to ſee accōpliſhed. So that the foreſayd mony, vnder hys curſe ⁊ malediction, be not employed to other vſes. But theſe iniunctiōs ⁊ precepts, the diſobedient ſōne did nothyng obſerue or kepe, after the deceaſſe of his father. Who forſakyng ⁊ leauyng of yͤ war wͭ the Scots, with all ſpede haſted hym to his coronation. Alſo, cōtrary to yͤ mind of al his Nobles ⁊ againſt the precept of his father he ſent for the foreſaid Peter Gaueſton, ⁊ prodigallie beſtowed vpon him all that treaſure whiche his father had bequeſted to yͤ holy lād. He was moreouer a proud deſpiſer of his peers and nobles. And therfore reigned infortunatly, as by the ſequell of the ſtory here folowyng, by yͤ grace of chriſt, ſhalbe declared. Thus king Edward firſt of that name, leauyng behynd him iii. ſonnes, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his firſt wife, whom he had ſufficiētly thus wͭ preceptes inſtructed, departed this mortal life. an. 1307. after he had reigned nere xxxv. yeres. Of whō this Epitaph was writtē.

Dum viguit rex, et valuit tua magna poteſtas.
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honeſtas.

In the time ⁊ reigne of this king, many other things happened, which here I omit to ſpeake of: as yͤ long diſcorde ⁊ ſtrife betwene the Prior of Cant. and the Prior of Douer, which continued aboue 4. yeres together: wͭ muche wrangling and vnquietnes betwene them. Likewiſe, an other like contention growing betwene John Romain Archb. of Yorke, ⁊ the Archb. of Cant. vpon the occaſion: yͤ whē I. Archb. of Yorke after his conſecratiō returning from the pope and cōming to Douer, contrary to the inhibition of Cant. paſſed through the midle of Kent, with his croſſe borne vp: although the ſtory reporteth, that he had the kings conſent therunto. An. 1286.

Item, betwene Tho. biſhop of Hereford, ⁊ John Pecchain Archb. of Cant. fell an other wrangling matter, in the tyme of this kyng. Which B. of Hereford appealing from the Archb. to the pope, went vp to Rome, and in his iourney dyed. Who with leſſe coſt might haue taryed at home. 1282.

¶ King Edward ſecond.

King Edwarde the ſecond.

Edward the ſecond of that name ⁊ ſonne of Edwarde the firſt, borne as is aforeſayd at Carnaruan in Wales: after the departure of his father, entred the gouernement of the land. anno. 1307. But was crowned not before the yeare next folowyng. an. 1308. Whiche Edward as he was perſonable in body and outward ſhape, ſo in conditions and euill diſpoſition much deformed. As vnſtedfaſt of worde, and light to diſcloſe ſecretes of great counſaile: Alſo refuſing the company of his Lordes and mē of honour: He much haūted among villanes and vyle perſonages: Geuen moreouer, to ouermoch drinckyng, and ſuch vices as therupon be wont to enſue. And as of his owne nature he was to yͤ ſayd vices diſpoſed, ſo was he much worſe by the counſaile and familiaritie of certaine euill diſpoſed perſons, as firſt of Peter or Pierſe Gaueſtō before touched. Thē after him of the two Spenſers and other, whoſe wanton counſail he folowyng, gaue hym ſelf to the appetide and pleaſure of the body: nothing ordering his cōmon weale by ſadnes, diſcretion and iuſtice: whiche thyng cauſed firſt great variance betwene him and his nobles, ſo that ſhortly he became to them odible, and in end was depriued of his kyngdome. In the firſt yeare, he toke to wife Iſabell daughter of Philippe kyng of Fraunce: with whom (the yere after) he was crowned at Weſtminſter, by the Byſhop of Wincheſter: for that, Robert Winchelſey archbiſhop of Canterbury, was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithſtandyng, the barons ⁊ Lordes made firſt their requeſt to the kyng to put Peter Gaueſtō frō hym, or els they would not conſent to hys coronation. Wherupon, he was enforced to graunt them at the next parlament, to haue their requeſtes accompliſhed, and ſo was crowned. In the meane ſeaſon, the foreſayd Peter or Piers bearyng him ſelf of yͤ kyngs fauour bold: continued triumphyng and ſettyng at lyght all other ſtates ⁊ nobles of the realme, ſo that he ruled both the kyng ⁊ the realme, and all things went as he would. Neither had yͤ kyng any delight els, or kept companie with any, but wͭ him: with him onely he brake all his minde, and cōferred all his counſailes. This as it ſemed ſtraunge vnto the Lordes and Earles, ſo it inflamed their indignation the more agaynſt this alliance, this Peter I meane. Thus the tyme proceded, and at length the parlament appointed came an. 1310. whiche was the fourth of this kings reigne. The articles were drawn by yͤ nobles to be exhibited to the kyng, which articles were yͤ ſame conteyned in magna charta, and de foreſta aboue ſpecified: with ſuch other articles as hys father had charged hym with before: to witte, that he ſhould remoue from him and hys court, all alienes and peruerſe counſelours. And that all the matters of the common wealth ſhould be debated by common counſaile of the Lordes both temporall and ſpirituall: ⁊ that he ſhould ſtirre no warre out of Englande in any other foreine realme, without the common aſſent of the ſame, ⁊c. The kyng perceauing their intent to be,

1308.

King Edwarde led by wicked counſailors.

Peter Gaueſton or Gauerſton, a wicked dere about the kyng.

1310

as it was in dede, to ſonder Peter Gaueſton from his cōpany: and ſeyng no other remedy: but nedes muſte yelde and graunt his conſent, agreed that the ſayde Gaueſton ſhould be baniſhed into Ireland. And ſo yͤ parlamēt breakyng vp, the Lordes returned to their owne, well appeaſed: although of yͤ other articles they could not ſpede, yet that they had driuen Peter Gaueſton out of the realme, at this time, it did ſuffice thē.

Peter Gaueſtō.

This Peter Gaueſton was a certaine gentlemans ſonne of Waſconie: whom being young, kyng Edward the firſt (for the good ſeruice, his father had done him in his warres) receaued to hys court: and placed him with his ſonne Edward now reignyng, Who, in proceſſe of tyme growyng vp with him, incēſed & prouoked him to much outrage & wātones. By whoſe occaſion firſt he begā in his fathers dayes, to breake the parke of Walter biſhop of Cheſter, then chauncelour of England, and after executor to the kyng. For the which ſo doyng, the kyng (as is partly touched before) impriſoned his ſonne, and condemned this Peter to perpetuall baniſhment. Notwithſtandyng the yong kyng, after the death of his father (as ye haue heard) ſent for this Gaueſton agayne. And with all, ſo perſecuted this foreſaid biſhop, that he clapt hym in the tower, and ſeiſed vpon all his goods. Moreouer, cauſed moſt ſtraite inquiſitiō to be made vpon him for guiding his office, wherin if the leaſt crime might haue been foūd, it would haue coſt him his life. And thus much of Peter Gaueſtō, & of hys origene.

The vnordinate affection of the kyng to Peter Gaueſton.

Now to yͤ matter. The kyng thus ſeparated frō his olde compere (that is from the company of Peter Gaueſton, now exiled into Ireland) cōtinued in great morning and penſiuenes, ſeakyng by all meanes poſſible, how to call him home agayne, and conferryng with ſuch as were about him vpon the ſame. Who did inſinuate to the king, that for ſo much as the Earle of Gloceſter was a man well loued and fauoured in all the realme, if a mariage might be wrought betwixt his ſiſter & Peter Gaueſton: It might be a means yͤ both for him to obtain more frēdſhip & for the king to haue his deſire. To make ſhort, Peter Gaueſton in all haſt was ſent for, and the mariage through yͤ kings procuring, proceded betwene the earles ſiſter, & the foreſayd Peter, albeit ſore agaynſt the earles minde.

The pride of Peter Gaueſtō.

Gaueſton thus reſtored and dignified, was ſo ſurpreſſed in pride and exaltation, more then euer before: that he diſdayned and derided all other, whoſe rule and power more and more encreaſed. In ſo much, that he hauyng the guiding of all the kyngs iewels and treaſure, conueyed out of the kyngs iewell houſe at Weſtminſter a table and a payer of treſſels of gold, vnto certain marchaundes beyond the ſea, with other iewels mo to his behoffe: to the great impoueriſhyng both of the kyng and queene, & of the land.

Peter Gaueſton ſpoyleth the kings treaſure

And ouer all that, brought yͤ kyng (by meane of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as aduoutry, and ſuch other lyke. Wherfore, the Lordes ſeyng the miſchiefe that dayly encreaſed by occaſion of this vnhappy man: toke their counſaile together at Lincolne, and their concluded to voyde hym agayne out of England, ſo that ſhortly after he was exiled agayn: and went into Flaunders: for in Fraunce or in his own coūtrey he durſt not appeare, for feare of Philip the Frēch kyng, to whom the quene of England his daughter had ſent ouer great complaintes, of the ſayd Gaueſton: who had ſo enpoueriſhed her and yͤ whole court, that ſhe had not where with to maintaine her ſtate.

The queene complaineth to the French K. her brother of Pet. Gaueſton.

Vpon which complaint, the French king through all his dominions layd ſtraite watche to apprehend the ſayd Gaueſton: but he not vnwarned therof, ſecretly coſted into Flaunders, frō whēce it was not long, but he was fet agayn by yͤ kyng, as in further proceſſe foloweth: ſo much was the kynges hart infatuated by this wicked perſon.

Gaueſton againe excluded out of the land.

The crowched Friers.

About this yeare, or the next before came in firſt the crowched friers. And alſo began firſt the knightes of the order of S. Ihon Baptiſt, other wiſe called the knyghtes of Rodes: for that they, by manly knyghthode put out the Turkes from the Iſle of Rodes.

The knigh S.Ioh led the knigh Rodes,

In the hiſtory of king Edwarde this kinges father before precedent, mention was made of pope Clement the fift, who ſucceded after Benedict: alſo of puttyng downe of the templaries, which in this yeare happened by the meanes of the French king: who as he cauſed to be burned in the city of Paris this yeare. liiij. Templaries, with the great maiſter of the ſame order: ſo by hys procurement the foreſaid pope Clement called a councell at Vienna, wher the whole order and ſect of templaries being condemned, was ſhortly after by the conſent of all Chriſten kinges depoſed all in one day. After whō, the French king thought to make his ſonne king of Ieruſalem, and to conuert to him all the landes of the ſaid templaries: but Clement the Pope would therto not agree, tranſferring all their landes to the order of hoſpytulers, for the great ſumme of money geuen for the ſame. The cauſe why theſe impious templares wer put down was ſo abhominable & filthy, yͤ for the reuerence of chaſt eares it were better not tolde if it be true yͤ ſome write.

Templa burned Paris numbe 54.

The or of the te plaries downe, The hor ble secre the tem ries,

In the ſame councell alſo was decreed by the ſaid Clement, that all religious orders exempted, ſhould be ſubiect vnder the common lawes as other were. But the Ciſtercian moonkes with money and great giftes, redeemed their priuilegies and exemption of the pope, and ſo had them graunted. Rob. Auesb. Theſe Ciſtercians ſped better herein, then did the Minorites or Franciſcans in their ſute. Of the which Franciſcans, when certaine of them had offered vnto the ſayd Pope Clement fortye thouſand florences of golde, beſide other ſiluer, that the pope woulde diſpence with them to haue landes and poſſeſſions againſt their rule: the pope aſked them where was that money. They anſwered, in the marchant mēs handes. So the ſpace of three dayes beyng geuen them to bring forth theſe marchantes: the pope abſolued the marchantes of their bond made to the friars, and commaunded all that money to be employed & reuerted to his vſe. Declaring to the friars, that he woulde not infringe or violate the rule of S. Francis latelye canoniſed: neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggerly rich friars loſt both their money and their indulgence. Ex eodem autore.

Ciſterci monke money deme exemp of the

The F minor deceiued pope C ment.

Ex ch R. A

Concerning this pope Clement the fift, Sabellicus writeth that he excommunicated the Venecians, for ayding and preferring of Azoda, vnto the eſtate of Ferrary: and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condempning them as enemies of the church, and geuing their goods as a lawfull pray vnto all men, which cauſed them to ſuſtaine great harme. But Francis Dandulus a noble man of Venice, being Embaſſadour from the Venecians to the ſayd Clement, for the obtayning of their abſolution and ſafegard of their citye and countrye, and for the pacifieng of the popes furye towarde them: was fayne ſo to humble himſelfe before thys proud tyrannicall prelate, that he ſuffered a chayne of yron to be tyed about his necke, and he to lie down flat before his table, and ſo to catch the bones and fragmentes that fel from his table, as it had been a dog, tyll the popes furye was toward thē aſwaged: So that after that, he in reproch, (becauſe he ſo humbled himſelf for the behalfe and helping of his country) was of ſonne called a dog. But the citie of Venice ſhewed themſelues not vnkynde againe to Dandulus for his gentle good wyll declared to hys country. For as hee had abaſed hym ſelfe before to the vile and ignominious condition of a dog for hys countreys ſake: ſo they extolled him wͭ as much glory againe being returned home, decking & adournyng hym after the beſt aray, with the chieſe princely ornaments of the citie, to make him amendes for his former reproche receaued. Sabelli. Ennead. 9. lib. 7.

One th begu an othe Pope C ment ex munica the Ve ans for king a duke.

The pr and ti of pope Clemen Francis Dandul humble himſel his co Out of S bellic. in all ag in the b named th image of tiranny.

The p of Dand lus to h countr Piety th fully re ded.

Concerning the conſtitutions of this pope Clement, ob. Win-chelſey re-‑ned ome from ſhmēt.

and of his decretals and Clementines: and how Henricus the Emperour in his dayes was poyſoned in receauing of the ſacrament, ye haue heard before. About this time, Rob. Wynchelſey archbiſhop of Canterbury (whō this kings father had baniſhed before) was releaſed and returned home from Rome.

1311.

e coun g of the are was the olde me from ichael-as to the me day aine.

Theſe thinges thus declared, let vs procede (by the Lordes grace) to the next yeare, which is of the Lorde 1311. and the fift yeare of this kings raigne. In the which yeare, compting the yeare frō Michaelmas, to the ſame feaſt agayne, as then the vſage of the realme was: Peter Gaueſton, who had wandered the countries about and could fynde no ſafe reſting place (notwithſtanding he was vtterly baniſhed, vpon forfeiting life and goodes out of the realme, yet truſting vpon the kinges fauour, and the good wyll of the Earle of Gloucester, whoſe ſiſter he had maryed) ſecretlye returning into Englande with a certayne company of ſtraungers: preſented him ſelfe to the kinges ſight. At the beholdyng of whom, the king for ioy ran to him, and embraſing him, did not onely retaine him: but alſo for his ſake vndid al ſuche actes as had bene in the parlament before, enacted. The quene and the whole court ſeing this doting of the king, made an heauy Chriſtenmas. After this returne of Gaueſton was noyſed among the commons, the Peeres & Nobles of the realme were not a litle ſtyrred, caſting with them ſelues, what way wer beſt to take. If he were ſuffred ſtil they ſaw not only thēſelues reiected, but alſo ẏ the quene could not enioy the loue of the king, neither coulde there be any quietnes in the realme. Agayn, to ſtyr vp war in the land, it were not the beſt: to vexe or diſquiet ẏ king, alſo they were afrayd. But foraſmuch as they could not abyde, all the nobilitie ſo to be thruſt out and vilepended for ẏ loue of one ſtraūger, & alſo the realme ſo to be ſpoiled and impoueriſhed by the ſame: This way they toke, that Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, ſhoulde bee elected among them the chieftayne and chiefe doer in that buſynes: to whom al other Earles and Barons, and prelats alſo did concordly condeſcend and conſent, except onely Walter biſhop of Couentry, whom Robert the archbiſhop therefore afterward did excommunicate. Whych Thomas of Lancaſter by the publicke aſſent of the reſt ſent to the kyng (lying then at Yorke) humble petitions, in the name aſwel of the whole Nobilitie, as of the commōs: Deſiring his grace to geue the foreſayd Gaueſton vnto them, or els according to the ordināce of the realm, that the land might be auoyded of him. But the tyrannous king, who ſet more by the amour of one ſtraunger then by his whole realme beſide: neyther would harken to their counſaile, nor geue place to their ſupplications: But in al haſty fury, remoued frō Yorke to Newcaſtel, where hee remayned almoſt tyll Midſommer. In the meane ſeaſō, ẏ Barons had gathered an hoſte of ſufficient & able ſoldiours, comming toward Newcaſtell: not entending any moleſtation againſt the king, but onelye the execution of the lawes vpon wicked Gaueſton. The king not hauing wherewith to reſiſt their power: remoueth in all ſpeedy maner to Tinmouth, wher the quene lay. And hearing there that Newcaſtell was taken: taketh ſhipping & ſaileth from thence (notwithſtanding the quene there being great with child, with wéeping teares and all inſtance, deſireth him to tary with her, as ſafely he might) but he nothing relenting to her, tooke Peter his compere wyth him, and coaſted ouer to the caſtell of Scarbrough, where he leauing Peter Gaueſton to the ſafe keeping of his men, himſelfe iourneth towarde the coaſt beſide Warwyke. The Lordes hearing wher Peter was, bendeth thither al their power: ſo that at length Gaueſton ſeing no remedy but he muſt nedes come into their handes, yeldeth and ſubmitteth him ſelfe: requiring none other condition, but onely that he myght talk but a few wordes with the king in his preſence. Thus Gaueſton being apprehended, the king hearing thereof, ſendeth vnto the Lordes, requiring his lyfe to be ſpared: and that he might be brought to his ſpéeche, and ſo promiſed that in ſo doing he woulde ſatiſfye their myndes and requeſtes, whatſoeuer. About this, aduiſement was taken: but thē the Earle of Penbroke hearing the kings promiſe, perſwaded the Barons to graunte vnto hys petition: promiſing himſelfe, vpon looſing all his landes to take the charge vppon hym to bee brought vnto the kinges ſpéeche, and ſo to be recommitted to them again. Which whē he had obtayned, he taketh Peter Gauſtō with him, to bring him where the king lay. And ſo comming to Dedington not farre from Warwike, leaueth hym in the kéeping of hys ſoldiours, while he that night went to his wyfe, being from thence not farre of. The ſame night it chaunced, Guido the Earle of Warwike to come to the ſame place wher Gaueſton was left: who taking him out of the handes of his kéepers, carieth him to the caſtell of Warwike, where incontinent they wold haue put him to death: but doubtyng and fearyng the kynges diſpleaſure, alytle they ſtaied. At what time one of the company, (a man of ſage and wyſe counſayle as myne autor writeth) ſtanding vp among them with hys graue oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickednes of his condition, the realme by hym ſo greatlye endamaged, the nobles deſpiſed and reiected, the pryde and ambition of the mā intollerable, the ruine of things lyke to enſue by hym, & the great charges and expenſes they had beene at in ſo long purſuyng and getting of hym. And now being gotten and in their handes, he exhorted them ſo to vſe and take the occaſion now preſent: that hereafter being out of their hands, they afterward might ſeeke it, and ſhould not finde it. Briefly, in ſuche ſorte he perſwaded the hearers, that foorthwith he was brought out, and by common agrement beheaded in a place called Blakelowe, which place in other ſtories I finde to be called Gaueſthead, but that name (as I think) was deriued vpon this occaſiō, afterward. And thus he, that before had called the Earle of Warwike the black dog of Ardeyne: was thus by the ſaid dog worowed, as ye haue heard. &c. His carkas, the Dominicke Friars of Oxford had in their monaſtery interred the ſpace of .ij. yeares: but after that, the king cauſed the ſayde carkas to be taken vp and buryed within hys owne Manour of Langley.

Ex chron. . Aueſb.

he archb. Cant. ex mmuni th the b. Couētry holding h Peter ueſton.

er Gaue e taken the Ba-ns.

The kyng entreateth for Gaueſton.

Gwy of Warwike.

Peter Gaueſton againe apprehēded by Gwy of Warwike.

Peter Gaueſton beheaded.

The corpes of Peter Gaueſton taken vp and buried in the kings Maner of Langley.

After thys, great diſturbance began to ryſe betwene the kyng and the Lordes: who hauing their power lying about Dunſtable, ſent ſtoute meſſage vnto the kyng at London, to haue their former actes confirmed. Gilbert Earle of Glouceſter the kynges Nephew (who neyther dyd holde agaynſt the king, nor yet agaynſt the nobles) with the Byſhops and prelates of the realme: went betwene both parties with greate diligence, to make vnitie. At which tyme, alſo came .ij. Cardinals from Rome, with letters ſent vnto them from the pope. The nobles aunſwered to the meſſage of the Cardinalls, lyeng then at S. Albans: that as touching themſelues they ſhoulde be at all tymes welcom to them: But as touching theyr letters (foraſmuch as they were men vnlettered, & only brought vp in warre and feates of armes) therfore they cared not for ſeing the ſame. Then meſſage was ſent again, that they would graunt at leaſt but to ſpeak wt the Popes Legates, which purpoſely came for the intent to ſet quiet & vnitie in the realme. They anſwered againe, that they had byſhops both godly and learned, by whoſe counſaile they would be ledde onely: & not by any ſtraūgers, who knew not the true cauſe of their commotion. And therfore they ſayd preciſelie, ẏ they would no forreners or alians to be doers in their buſines, and affayres appertaining to ẏ realme. Yet notwithſtādyng, through the mediation of the Archbiſhop, & of the Earle of Glouceſter: the matter at length was ſo taken vp, that ẏ Barons

The nobles of England cared not for the popes letters.

The popes Legates not admitted of the nobles of England.

rons ſhould reſtore to the king, or his attornay of S. Albans, all the treaſure, horſes, and iewells of the foreſayd Gaueſton taken at Newcaſtell, and ſo their requeſtes ſhoulde be graunted. And ſo was the matter for that tyme compoſed.

Shortly vpon the ſame, Iſabell the Quéene was deliuered of a fayre childe at Wyndſore, whom Lewes the French kynges ſonne (the Quéenes brother, with other Frenchmen there preſent) would to be called by the name of the French kyng: but the Engliſh lordes were contrary, willing hym to be called by the name of Edward hys father. At the byrth of which Edward, great reioyſing was through all the lande, and eſpeciallye the kyng hys father ſo much ioyed therat: that he beganne dayly more and more to forget the ſorowe and remembraunce of Gaueſtons death, and was after that more agreable to the will of hys nobles.

An 1312.

Thus peace and concorde betwene them beganne to be in a góod towardnes: which more and more myght haue béen confirmed in wearing out of tyme, had not Sathan the autor and ſower of all diſcord, ſtirred vp his inſtrumentes (certayn Frenchmē, Titiuyllars, & makebates about the kyng) which ceaſed not in carping and depr auing the nobles, to inflame the kinges hatred and grudge agaynſt them. By the exciting of whom, the old quarells being renued a freſhe, the king in hys paralmēt called vpon the ſame: began to charge the foreſaid Barons and nobles with ſeditiō and rebellion, & for ſlaying Peter Gaueſton. Neyther were the nobles leſſe ſtoute agayne in defending their cauſe, declaring that they in ſo doing had deſerued rather thanke and fauour with the king then any diſpleaſure, in vanquiſhing ſuche a publique enmeye of the realme, who not onely had ſpoyled and waſted the kinges ſubſtance, but alſo raiſed muche diſturbance in the realme. And foraſmuch as they had begonne with the matter to their ſo greate labours and expenſes: they would procede further, they ſayd, not ceaſing till they ſée an end therof. To be ſhort, great threats there were on both partes, & a foule matter like to haue followed. But agayne through the diligent mediation of the Quéene, the prelates, and the foreſayd Earle of Glouceſter: the matter was taken vp and brought to reconcilement vpon theſe conditions, that the Lordes and Barons openlye in Weſtmynſter hall, ſhould humble themſelues before the king, & aſke pardon there of their doinges, and euery man there to receaue a letter of the kings pardon, for their indemnitie, and aſſurance. And ſo paſſed ouer that yeare, within the which yeare dyed Rob. Winchelſey Archb. of Cant. In whoſe roume, Thomas Cobbham was elected by the king & church of Cant. to ſuccede: but the Pope, caſſating that election, placed Walter Reynalde biſhop of Worceter.

The king ruled by forren counſail.

Makebates about the kyng.

Mediation for making peace.

The king recō ciled agayne with his nobles

An. 1313.

In the meane time, the Scottes hearing thys ciuille diſcorde in the realme, beganne to be buſie and to rebell of new, through the meanes of Robert Bruys: who being chaſed out of Scotland, by K. Edward the firſt, as is aboue premiſed, into Norway, was now returned agayne into Scotland: where he demeaned him in ſuche ſorte to the Lordes there, that in ſhorte proceſſe he was again made king of the realme: And warred ſo ſtrongly vpon them that tóoke the kings parte, that he wanne from them many caſtles and ſtronge holdes, and inuaded the borders of England. The king hearing this, aſſembleth a great power, & by water entreth the realme of Scotland. Againſt whom, encountred Rob. de Bruys with hys Scottes at Eſtriualin, where was foughte a ſtrong battail: in the end wherof, the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited, and ſo egerly purſued by the Scottes, that many of the noble men were ſlaine, as ẏ Earle of Glouceter, ſyr Rob. Clifford, ſyr Edmunde Maule with other Lordes to the number of xlij. and knightes and Barons lxvij. beſide xxij. men of name, which were taken priſoners: of cōmon ſouldiours x. thouſand, or after ẏ Scottiſhe ſtorie l. thouſand ſlaine. After which tyme, ſyr Rob. Bruys reigned as king of Scotland.

What diſcord doth in a common wealth.

The Scottes rebell againſt the realme of England.

Engliſhmen ouercome by the Scottes.

About which tyme and in which yeare, dyed Pope Clement, who keping in the realme of Fraunce, neuer came to the ſée of Rome: after whoſe death the papacie ſtoode voyde two yeares.

Pope Clement neuer ſate in the ſea of Rome.

1314.

The Scottes after this exalted with pride and fearcenes, inuaded the realme of England ſo ſore killing and deſtroying man, woman, & childe: that they came wynning and waſting the northpartes as farre as to Yorke. Beſides this, ſuch dearth of vituals, and penurie of all thinges ſo oppreſſed ẏ whole land, ſuch moraine of ſhepe and oxen, as men were fayne to eate horſefleſh, dogges, cattes, myſe, and what els they could gette. Moreouer, ſuche a price of corne followed with all, that the king hardly had bread, for the ſuſtentation of his own houſehold. Moreouer, ſome there were that ſtale children and dyd eate them, and many for lacke of vituall dyed. And yet all this amended not the king of his euill liuing.

Miſerable death and famine in England.

The cauſe & origene of thys great dearth was, partlye the warres and diſſention betwene them and the Scottes: wherby a great parte of the land was waſted. But the chiefeſt cauſe was, the vntemperate ſeaſon of the yeare, which contrarye to the common courſe, was ſo moyſte ẘ aboundance of rayne: that the graine layd in the earth could haue no ripyng by heate of the ſunne, nor growe to any nouriſhment. Wherby, they that had to eate, could not be ſatiſfied with ſaturitie, but eftſones were as hungrye agayne. They that had nothyng, were driuen to ſteale and robbe: the riche were conſtrayned to auoyde and diminiſhe their houſholdes: the poore for famine died. And not ſo much the wante of vitaile which coulde not be gotten, as the vnholeſomnes of the ſame when they were taken, ſo conſumed the people: that the quicke were not ſufficiēt to burye the dead. For the corruption of the meates, by reaſon of the vnſeaſonablenes of the ground, was ſo infectious: that many dyed of the flyxe, many of hote feuers, diuers of the peſtilence. And not onely the bodies of men thereby were infected, but alſo the beaſtes by the putrifaction of the herbes & graſſe fell in as greate a moraine: ſo farforth, as the eating of fleſhe was ſuſpecte and thought contagious. A quarter of corne and of ſalt, from the moneth of Iune to September grewe from xxx.s̃. vnto xl.s̃. The fleſhe of horſes was then precious to the poore. Many were driuen to ſteale fatte dogges and to eate them: ſome were ſaide in ſecrete corners to eate their own children. Some would ſteale other mens childrē to kill them and eate them priuely. The priſoners & théeues that were in bandes, ſuch as newly were brought in vnto them, for hunger fel vpon them, and tearing them in peces did eate them halfe a lyue. Briefly, this extreme penurie had extincted & cōſumed (as it was thought) ẏ greateſt parte of the people of the land: had not the king by ẏ ſtatute of ẏ Lōdiners geuen forth cōmaundemēt through all his land, ẏ no corne ſhould at that tyme be turned to the making of drinke. Such a Lord is God, this able to do where he is diſpoſed to ſtrike. And yet we miſerable creatures, in our wealth and aboundance will not ſurceaſe dayly to prouoke his terrible maieſtie.

A deſcrip on of a rible famine in th realme of England.

Ex chro R. Aueſ in vita E douardi

But let vs returne to the order agayne of our ſtory. After ẏ Scottes had thus plaged miſerablye (as ye haue heard) the realme of Englād: they inuaded alſo Ireland, where they kept and continued warre the ſpace of iiij. yeares. But in fine, the Iryſhemen (by ayde ſent to them from England) quitte themſelues ſo wel: that they vanquiſhed the Scottes, and ſlewe Edward le Bruys, and many of the nobles of Scotland with many other, and droue the reſidue out of the countrey.

The Scot driuen ou of Irel

1317.

The king about the xi. yeare of his reigne, aſſembled a new hoſte and went into Scotlād, where he layd ſiege to Berwyke. But in the meane time, the Scottes by an other way, inuaded the marches of Yorkeſhyre, robbing & harieng the coũtrey, ẏ they ſlewe much people. Wherfore, the archbiſhop of Yorke, and other Abbots, Priors, clerkes, with huſbandmen: aſſembled a great company, and gaue them battell at a place called Mytton, where the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited and many of them ſlaine: but the Archbiſhop, and the Abbot of Selby, and diuers other, there eſcaped. But becauſe there were ſo many ſpirituall men there ſlayne, it was called therfore the whyte battaile. By reaſon wherof, the king hearyng of this, and partlye becauſe wynter dyd approche, was conſtrayned to breake vp hys ſiege, and ſo returned not without great daunger.

The white battail of he ſpiritu. men in Yorkeſhire

At this tyme the ij. Spenſers (ſyr Hugh Spenſer the father, and Hugh Spenſer ẏ ſonne) were of great power in England, and by the fauour of the king practiſed ſuch crueltie, and bare themſelues ſo haughtlye and prowde: that no Lorde of this land might gaineſaye them in any thing ẏ they thought good, wherby they were in greate hatred and indignation both with the nobles, and the commons, no leſſe then Peter Gaueſton was before.

he.2.Spen ers. Hugh Spen er.

Sone vpon this, came two legates from Rome, ſent by pope Ihon the xxij. vnder pretenſe to ſet agrement betwene England and Scotland: who for their charges & expenſes, required of euery ſpiritual perſon iiii.d. in euery marke. But all their labour nothing auailed: For the legates as they were in the North partes (about Derlinghton) with their whole familie and trayne: were robbed & diſpoiled of their horſes, treaſure, apparell, & what elles they had, and ſo with an euill fauoured handlyng retired backe agayne to Dureſme, where they ſtayde a while wayting for an aunſwere from the Scottes. But when neither the popes legacy nor his curſe would take any place with the Scottes: they returned agayne to Lõdon, where they firſt excommunicated & curſed as black as ſoute, all thoſe arrogant and preſumptuous robbers of Northũberland. Secondly, for ſupplieng of the loſſes receaued, they exacted of the clergy to be geuen and paid vnto them, viii.d. in euery marke. But the clergy therunto would not agrée, ſeyng it was their own couetouſnes (as they ſayd) ẏ made thẽ venter farther thẽ they neded. Onely they were contented to releaue them after. iiii.d. in a marke, as they promiſed before, further they would not graunt. And thus the foreſayd Cardinals takyng what they could get, and ſettyng a peace (ſuch as it was) betwene the kyng and the Earle of Lancaſter: ſo departed they ſone after to the Popes conrt agayn. But thys peace betwene the kyng and the Earle of Lancaſter, did not long endure: which ẏ kyng by his owne default dyd breake, ſending to the Scottes a priuy meſſenger (which was taken in the way) to haue the foreſayd Earle of Lãcaſter by their meanes, made away. &c.

wo legates ſent d Rome. he popes illage. he popes egates poiled of l their yll geuen trea ure. he popes curſe con- temned of the Scottes

he clergy f England enieth to ontribute the popes le- ates.

In the meane time, the Lordes and nobles of Englãd deteſting the outragious pride of the Spenſers, wherby they wrought dayly both great diſhonour to the kyng, & hinderance to the common weale: in ſuch wiſe conſpired againſt them, that gathering their power together, they made a requeſt to the kyng, ẏ he ſhould remoue the Spẽſers from his perſon. For the which, there was a parlament called at London, and the Barons came together with a great company. At whiche parlament, both the Spẽſers were baniſhed the land for terme of their liues: and they tooke ſhippyng at Douer & ſo voyded the land. But it was not long after, but the kyng (cõtrary to that ordinaunce made in the parlament) ſente for the Spenſers agayn, and ſet them in highe autoritie, and ruled all things after their ſenſuall appetites, nothing regarding iuſtice nor the commõ wealth. Wherfore, the barons entending agayn to reforme this miſchief, aſſembled their powers: but ẏ king (making ſo haſty ſpede, & gathering his people ſo ſone) was ſtronger then they, and purſued them ſo in diuers places: that the barõs not fully ioyned together (ſom flieng, & ſome departing to the king, ſome ſlayne by the way) in the end were chaſed ſo egerly: that in ſhort ſpace, the foreſayd Thomas earle of Lancaſter was takẽ and put to death, with the reſt of the nobilitie, to the number of xxii. of the greateſt men, & chiefeſt captaines of this realme. Of whom only, Thomas earle of Lancaſter for the nobilitie of hys bloud, was beheaded: All the other Lordes and Barons, were hanged, drawn, and quatered. &c. Whiche bloudy vnmercifulnes of the kyng toward his naturall ſubiects, not onely to him procured great diſhonour within ẏ realme, but alſo turned afterward to hys much more greater harme and hinderaunce, in his foreine warres agaynſt the Scottes: And finally wrought hys vtter confuſion and ouerthrowe of hys ſeat royall, as in the ſequell of hys ende appeared, & worthely.

e pryde the Spen ers.

1321.

This Thomas earle of Lancaſter came of Edmund, younger ſonne of kyng Henry, 3.

22. of the greateſt nobilitie of the realme, put to death by the kyng.

After the ruine of theſe noble perſonages: the kyng as though he had gotten a great conqueſt (who then in dede began firſt to be ouercome and conquere him ſelfe, when he ſo oppreſſed and cut of the ſtrength and ſinewes of his chilualrey) began to triumphe not a litle with hys Spẽſers: And to count himſelf ſure as though he were in heauen, to exerciſe more ſharpe ſeueritie vpon his ſubiectes, truſtyng and committing all to the counſaile onely of the foreſaid Spẽſers: in ſo much, that both ẏ quene and the reſidue of the other nobles could litle be regarded. Who as they grew euer in more contempt with the kyng: ſo they increaſed in more hatred agaynſt the Spẽcers: but ſtrength & habilitie lacked, to worke their will.

1322.

The cruell reioycing of the kyng.

The next yere, the kyng beyng at Yorke, after he had made Syr Hugh Spenſer Earle, & Syr Ihon Baldocke a mã of euill fame to be chauncelour of England: he thẽ arered a mighty hoſt agaynſt the Scottes. But for lacke of ſkilfull guidyng, expert Captaines, and for want ſpecially of due prouiſion of vitayles neceſſarie for ſuch an army: the great multitude, to the number rekened of an hundreth thouſand (wandering through Scotland, from whence the Scottes, had conueyed all their goodes and cattell into mountaines, and mariſhes) were ſo pinched and ſtarued with famine: that a great part of the army, ther preſẽtly periſhed: & thei that returned home, as ſone as they taſted of meates, eſcaped not. The kyng, neither hauing any reſiſtaunce of his enemies, and ſeyng ſuch a deſtruction of his ſubiectes: was forced without any acte done to retire. But in his retyring, Syr James Duglas and the Scottes hauing knowledge therof, purſued him in ſuch wiſe: that they ſlue many Engliſhe men, and had well nere taken the king him ſelfe. After which diſtreſſe, the king thus beaten and weryed with the Scottes, was fayne to ioyne in truce with them for xiii. yeres.

1323.

The king diſtreſſed agayns in Scotland.

Polidorus Vergilius among other hiſtories of our Engliſh nation whiche he intermedleth withall, proſecuting alſo the actes and life of this preſent kyng, and cõmyng to wryte of the quenes goyng ouer into Fraunce: inferreth much varietie and diuerſitie of autours and ſtory writers, cõcerning ẏ cauſe therof. Otherwiſe, he geueth him ſelf no true certeintie of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that whiche was the cauſe in dede. By reaſon partly, that he beyng an Italiã and a forener, could not vnderſtand our Engliſh toung. And partly agayn being but one man, neither could he alone come to the ſight of all our Latine autors. One I am ſure came not to his peruſing, an olde auncient Latine hiſtory fayre written in parchment (but without name) belonging to the library of Williã Cary citiſen of Lond. In the which ſtory, the truth of this matter without all ambiguitie is there fully and withall circumſtaunces expreſſed, as here brefely is excerpted.

Polydorus Vergilius, an Italian writer of our engliſh ſtories.

The kyng of England had béen diuers and ſondry times cited vp to the court of Fraunce, to do homage to the French kyng, for the dukedome of Aquitanie & other

1324

The quene put to her penſion.

The quene ſet to Fraunce.

Prince Edward made duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Põtine

The quene and the prince refuſe to returne into England.

The quene and the prince proclaymed traytours in Englãd

The king conſpireth priuely to the death of the quene and of his ſonne.

An. 1325.

Prince Edward betrothed to the earle of Heynawdes daughter.

The queene returneth to England.

The landing of the Queene.

1326.

The kyng destitute of helpe and souldiors.

landes, whiche the kyng then helde of Fraunce. Which homage becauſe the kyng of Englãd refuſed to tender: the French king begã to enter all ſuch poſſeſſions as the kyng then did hold in Fraunce. Wherupon, great contẽtion and conflictes there were on both ſides. At length in this yeare now preſent, a parlament was called at London. Where (after much altercation) at laſt it was determined: that certaine ſhould be ſent ouer, to wytte, the byſhops of Wincheſter, and Norwich, & the earle of Richemond, to make agreemẽt betwixt ẏ two kings. For ẏ better help & fortificatiõ of which agrement, it was thought good afterward: that Queene Iſabell, ſiſter to Charles then the French kyng, ſhould be ſent ouer. Where is to be noted firſt, that the queenes lands, poſſeſſions, and caſtles a litle before vpon the breache betwene the French kyng and the kyng of England, were ſeiſed into ẏ kings handes, and the queene put to her penſion. &c. Thus the queene beyng ſent ouer with a very few to attend vpon her, onelye Syr Ihon Cromwell Baron, & iiii. knightes, toke their paſſage into France: by whoſe mediation, it was there cõcluded, ẏ the kyng of England (if he would not hym ſelfe come to do his homage) he ſhould geue to his ſonne Edward, the dukedome of Aquitanie, and the Earledom of Pontine, and ſo he to come to make his homage to the kyng, and to poſſeſſe the ſame. This beyng in Fraunce concluded, was ſent ouer by meſſage to the kyng of England, with the kynges letters patentes adioyned for the ſafe conduct of hym or of his ſonne. Vpon this, deliberation was taken in the counſaile of Englãd. But the two Spenſers fearyng to take the ſeas either wt the kyng, or els without the kyng to remaine behind for feare of the nobles: ſo appoynted, that prince Edward ẏ kynges ſon was ſent, whiche happened after to their vtter deſolatiõ, as it folowed. For all things being quieted & ordered accordyng to the agreement in France: kyng Edward of England ſoone after Michaelmas, ſendeth for his wife and his ſonne agayne out of Fraunce. But ſhe ſendyng home moſt parte of her familie, refuſeth her ſelfe to returne. For what cauſe it is not fully certaine, whether for indignation that her poſſeſſions and landes were ſeiſed to the kyng as is afore premiſed: or whether for feare and hatred of the Spenſers, as is likely: or els for loue and familiaritie of Syr Roger Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the ſayd Syr Roger Mortimer, with diuers other of the barons part, whiche had broken priſon in England, were fled before into Fraunce, and now reſorted vnto ẏ quene. The kyng ſeyng this, geueth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certaine day to the quene and his ſonne to returne: or els to be proclaymed traitours to the king & to the realme. Notwithſtanding, ẏ queene perſiſting in her purpoſe, denieth to returne, vnleſſe the other nobles whiche were fled, might be permitted ſafely alſo to returne with her. Wherupon, the kyng immediatly cauſed them both to be proclaimed traitors and all them that tooke their partes. Here, then began great hatred betwene kyng and kyng, betwene the kyng and the quene, much preparation of warre, great ſpoylyng on the ſea, much ſending betwene the pope and thẽ, but that would not ſerue. Then the kyng (by the cõuſaile of the Spencers) ſendeth priuely to procure the death of the quene & of hys ſonne: which ſhould be wrought by ẏ execution of the earle of Richmõd, the quenes familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was preuented and vtterly fruſtrate. Albeit, ẏ Queene yet notwithſtãding, whether miſdoubting & fearing what corruptiõ of mony might do in the court of Frãce: or whether the French kyng being threatned by the kyng of England and by the pope, durſte not deteine her: ſhe remoued frõ thence, and was receaued with Edward her ſonne ioyouſlye and honourablye in the courte or countrey of the Earle of Henawde. Where by meanes of ſuch as were about her a mariage was concluded betwene the ſayde Edward her ſonne being of the age of xiiii. yeare, and Philipe the foreſayd Earles daughter. Whan thys was noyſed in Englande, diuers men of honour and name came ouer to the Queene. And ſoone after, the Earle of Henawde prepared a crewe of v. hundred men of armes to ſet ouer the yonge prince with hys mother into England. Of this, ẏ fame ſprang ſhortly through the realme. Wherfore, the king in all defenſable wiſe made prouiſion to haue the hauens & portes of hys land ſurely kept, for to reſiſte the landing of hys enemies. On the contrarye ſide, the Queene with no leſſe preparation prouideth all thinges to her expedition neceſſarye. Who when ſhe ſaw her tyme, ſpeding her ſelf to ẏ ſea coaſt with prince Edward her ſonne, Lorde Edmunde Earle of Kent the kinges brother, ſyr Roger Mortymer, the Lorde Wygmore and other exiles of England, accompanyed alſo with the foreſayd Heynawders, of whom ſyr John Henawd the Earles brother was captaine: Of Engliſhmen and ſtraungers hauing with her, the number of 2757. ſouldiors, ſhe toke ſhipping in thoſe partes, & had the winde ſo fauourable, that they landed in England at a porte called Orwell beſide Harwych in Suffolke, in the dominion of the Earle Marſhall, the moneth of September. To whom after her landing reſorted Earle Marſhall, the Earle of Leyceſter, with other Barons, knightes, & biſhops alſo: namely of Lincolne, Hereford, Dureſme, & Elye: The Archbiſhop of Cant. though he came not himſelfe, yet ſent hys ayde and money. Thus the Queene well furniſhed with plentie both of men and vitail, ſetteth forward toward Londõ: ſo that ẏ further ſhe came the more her number dayly encreaſed, and the kinges power contrary, decreaſed. Inſomuch, that as myne author affyrmeth, not one almoſt in all the realme could be hyred with any wages to fight on ẏ kinges behalfe agaynſt the Queene. Neyther dyd the queenes armie hurt any man or childe, either in goods or in any other thing, by the way.

At the arryuing of the Queene, the king was then in London, which firſt would not beleue it to be true. After ward (ſeing and perceauing how it was) he aſketh helpe of the Londiners. Who after mature aduiſement, rendred this anſwer to ẏ king agayn: that as touching the king, the queene, and their ſonne (the lawful heire of the kingdom) they were readye with all duetie and ſeruice to honour and obey. As for ſtraungers and traytors to the realme, they woulde receaue none ſuch within their citie gates. Farthermore, to goe out of the citie to fight, that they ſayd they would not, vnles it were ſo, that according to the liberties of their citie, they might returne home agayne before ſonne ſet. The king hearing this anſwere (which liked him not wel) fortefieth the Tower of London with men and vitaile: committing the cuſtodie therof to John Ealtham his yonger ſonne, and to the wife of Hugh Spenſer his Neece. And leauing Walter Stapleton biſhop of Exeter behinde hym to haue the rule of the citie of London: he himſelf hearing dayly the great recourſe of the people that drew to the queene: For more ſauegard of himſelfe, fled with a ſmall companye weſtward toward Wales. But before his departyng frõ London, he cauſed a proclamatiõ to be made: wherin, all and ſingular perſons were charged vpon forfeit of life and goods: euery man with all his power to riſe and inuade the rebelles and to deſtroy them all, onely the life of the Queene, his ſonne, and his brother reſerued. Alſo that no man, vpõ payne pretarate, ſhould helpe, reſkew, or relieue the ſayd rebells, with goods, vitailes, or any other wyſe. Item it was alſo proclaimed, that whoſoeuer would bring to the king the head or body either dead or aliue of ſyr Roger Mortimer: ſhould haue out of ẏ kings cofers, a M. pound. In contrarywiſe, the queene ſetteth forth an other proclaimation, wherin it was forbidden, to take or ſpoyle violently the value of any mans goods agaynſt the will of the owner, vnder payne of loſing his

The answer of the Londiners to the king.

The liberties of the citie of London in going out to warre.

The kings proclamation.

The queenes proclamation.

ſingar, if it were iij.d. Of his hād, if it were vj.d. Of hys head, if it were xij.d. Moreouer whoſoeuer would bring to the queene ẏ head of Hugh Spenſer the yonger chopt from his body: ſhould receaue for ſo doing of the queene ij. thouſand poundes. This done, the queene ſendeth her letters to the citie of London for ayde and ſuccour to ſubdue the oppreſſor of the realme, to the which letters firſt no anſwere was made. Again ſhe wrote the ſecond letter, which was then tacked vpon the croſſe in Chepe, which was then called the new croſſe. The copy and tenour of which letter was this.

he queenes letter.

¶ *The copie of a letter that the Queene ſent vnto the* Maior and Citizens of London.

Iſabell by the grace of God, quene of Englande, ladye of Irelande, and Counteſſe of Pountyf. And we Edward the fyrſt ſonne of the kyng of Englande, Duke of Gyan, Earle of Cheſter, of Pountyf and of Mounſtrel, to the Maior and all the communaltie of London ſedeth greeting. For aſmuch as we haue before this tyme ſent to you by our letters, and how we come into this land in good array and good maner, for the profit of holy church and of our right deare Lord and king, and all the realme wyth all our myght and ſtrength, to keepe and maintain the realme as all good people ought for to do. Vpon that we pray you and deſire you that ye would be helpyng to vs for the health & profit of the realme, and we haue had none aunſwere of you, nor knowe not your wyll in that partye. wherefore we ſend to you agayne and pray you, and charge you, that ye beare you ſo agaynſt vs, that ye haue nor make no cauſe vs to greue, but that ye be to vs helping in all the wayes that you may. And wete ye wel in certaine that we and alſo all thoſe that commeth with vs into this realme, nothyng for to done, but that ſhalbe pleaſyng to God, and common profyt to all the realme. Not els, but for to deſtroy the Spencers, enemies to the realme as ye well know. wherefore we pray and charge you, in the fayth that ye owe to our Lord the king to the crowne and to vs, and vpon all that ye may forfeite, that if Hugh Spencer both the father and the ſonne our enemies come within your power, that ye do them haſtely to be take, and ſafly kept, till we haue ordeyned for them our wyll. And as ye deſyre profit and honour of vs, and of the realme. Vnderſtandyng well if it be ſo that ye doo our deſire and prayer, we ſhall the more be beholden to you. And alſo we ſhall do you profyt and worſhip if that ye ſend vs haſtely word agayne of our wyll. Geuen at Baldocke the vi. day of October.

he biſhop Exeter eheaded the com mons at the anderd in hepe.

his biſhop Exeter uilded in Oxford ii. olledges, xeter col. edge, and art hall, hoſe ame was alter Stapleton. ugh Spen ſer the fa. ther, taken and hanged in chaynes.

These foreſayd letters being publiſhed & peruſed, ẏ B. of Exeter, to whom (as ye heard) was cōmitted the rule of ẏ citie: ſent to ẏ Maior for ẏ keyes of ẏ gates, vſing ſo ſharpe wordes in the kinges name: that variance began to kindle betwene him and the Citizens, ſo farre forth that the commons in their rage toke the foreſayd biſhop and beheaded him and ij. of his houſholde at the Standard in Chepe. Then the king went to Briſtow, and ordayned ſyr Hugh Spenſer the father there to keepe the caſtle and the towne: And the king with Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, and ſyr Robert Baldocke Chauncelour, and the Earle of Arondell went into Wales. And the queene ſo purſued them, that firſt they tooke the towne yelded vp to her: Thē they toke ſyr Hugh Spenſer the father, whom being drawen, and torne, they at laſte hanged vp at Briſtow, in chaynes of yron. As the king was thus flyeng, the queene cauſed to be proclaimed through her armie, that the king ſhould come in and appeare, and ſo to receaue hys kingdome againe if he would be conformable to his liege ſubiects. Who whē he did not apeare, prince Edward his ſonne was proclaimed high keper of the realme. In the meane time Henry Earle of Lancaſter, and brother to the good Earle Thomas which before was beheaded, alſo Lord William Souch, and M. Vpphowel were ſent by the Queene into Wales to purſue the king: and there toke him, and ſent him to the caſtle of Kenelworth: And toke Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, and ſyr Robert Baldocke Chauncelour, and ſyr John Earle of Arundell, and brought them all to the towne of Hereford. And anon after, Hugh Spenſer the ſonne was drawen and hanged on a galowes l. foote hye, and after headed and quartered, whoſe quarters were ſent into iiij. quarters of the realme. Syr John of Arundell was beheaded. Syr Robert Baldocke was put in Newgate at Londō, where ſhortly after he pyned away and dyed among the theues. This done, a Parlament was aſſembled at London, from whence meſſage was ſent to the king, that if he would reſigne vp hys crowne, hys ſonne ſhoulde haue it after him: If not, an other ſhould take it to whom the lot would geue it. Wherupon, the king being conſtrayned to yelde vp his crowne to hys ſonne, was kepte in priſon and after had to Barkley: where he is ſayd to take great repentaunce. After thys meſſage being ſent, & the king halfe condeſcending thereunto (the Parlament notwithſtanding proſecuting and going forwarde) there was a byll exhibited and put vp contayning certaine articles agaynſt the ſayd king, thē in priſon in the caſtle of Barkley, touching his miſbehauiour & imprudent gouerning of the realme: which bill, openly before all the lordes and commons by ẏ ſpeaker of the Parlament houſe was red. After long conſultation therof had amongſt themſelues touching thoſe articles, and alſo for the better & more circumſpecte gouernment of the realme from ẏ tyme forth: it was conſulted & agreed vpon by the lordes ſpirituall and temporal, and commons there aſſembled: that the ſaide Edward was a man not meete to be their king, nor from ẏ tyme forth any more to beare the crowne royall or title of a kyng. But that Edward his eldeſt ſon, who there in the ſame court of high parlament was preſent, as he was rightfull heyre and inheritour thereunto: ſo ſhould be crowned king thereof in his fathers ſteede, with theſe condicions thereunto annexed: That he ſhould take wiſe, ſage, and true counſellers vnto him. That the realme myght be better and more circumſpecly gouerned, then before in the tyme of Edward his father it was: That the olde king his father ſhould be honourablye prouided for and kept, ſo long as he lyued, accordyng as vnto his eſtate it appertained. &c. Theſe and other thinges thus finiſhed and ended, the parlament breaketh vp, and all thynges neceſſary to the coronation of a prince apertaining wer in ſpedye wyſe prepared, wherof more hereafter Chriſt wylling ſhall be ſpecified.

The kyng taken in Wales. ugh Spen ſer the ſone taken and executed.

A bill exhibited in the parliament houſe againſt king Edward the ſecōd

King Edward depoſed by conſent of the parliament houſe, and hys ſonne Edward to be choſen kyng.

In the meane tyme as touching the king which was yet in pryſon, it is thought by ſome wryters: that the next yeare following by the meanes of ſyr Roger Mortymer, he was miſerablye ſlaine, with a ſpyt (as is ſayd) being thruſt vp into his body, and was buryed at Gloucecter, after he had reigned xix. yeares.

Michael houſe in Cambridge founded. Henry Stauntō founder of Michael houſe in Cambridge.

In the time and reigne of this king, the colledge of Cambrydge called Michael houſe was fōded and builded by ſyr Henry Stanton knight, to the vſe & encreaſe of learning: a thing in a common wealth very profitable and neceſſary to be had, the wante and neede wherof many and ſondrye times, is ſooner felt in this realme of ours, & other realmes abroad, then is the diſcommoditie therof, of moſt men commonly vnderſtood.

Nicolaus de lyra. Gulielmus Ocham.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, was Nicolaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinarie gloſe of the Bible. Alſo Gulielmus Occham, a worthye diuine, and of a right ſincere iudgement, as ẏ tymes thē would either geue or ſuffer.

Tirāny odious to the people.

In the tractation of this kinges hiſtorie before was declared, what grudge did kindle in the harts of the Barons agaynſt the king, for reuoking ſuche actes and cuſtomes, as had ben before in the Parlament eſtabliſhed, both for Peter Gaueſtō, and for the two Spenſers. Alſo what ſeuere puniſhment the king did execute vpon them for the ſame, in ſuch cruell and rigorous ſort, that as he ſpared none of thē, whome he could there finde: ſo he neuer ceaſed all his life after to inquire out & to be reuen-

A ſpirituall biſhop called and areſted before a ſecular iudge

Ex R. Auesb.

The forme of wordes, when any biſhop doth chalenge the priuiledge of the church againſt a ſecular iudge.

The byſhop reſkued by the clergy.

The kyng procedeth in iudgement againſt the B. the priuilegies of the church to the contrary notwithſtandyng.

ged of all ſuch, as had bene in any part or conſenting to that matter. For the which his extreme and implacable tirannie, he was in ſuch hatred of all the people: that as is ſayd, he could not finde one of all yͤ commons to take hys parte, when neede required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one Adam Biſhop of Hereforde: who being impeached of treaſon with other mo, was at length areſted in the Parlament, to appeare and anſwere to that ſhould be to him obiected. Many thinges there were layd agaynſt him, for taking part with them that roſe agaynſt the king, with many other matters moe and heynous rebukes. &c. Whereunto, the biſhop a great while anſwered nothing. At length, the biſhop claymyng the liberties & priuiledges of yͤ churche, anſwereth to yͤ king in this fourme. The due reuerence of your princely maieſtie euer ſaued, Ego Sancte eccleſiæ Dei miniſter humilis, membrum eius, et epiſcopus conſecratus licet indignus ad tam ardua nequeo reſpondere nec debeo, abſq; D. Cant Archiepiſcopi poſt ſummum pontificem mei directi iudicis, cuius etiam ſum ſuffraganeus, autoritate, et aliorum parium meorum epiſcoporũ conſenſu. That is. I an humble miniſter and member of the holy church of God, and biſhop conſecrate (albeit vnworthy) cã not, neither ought to anſwere to theſe ſo hye matters wͭout the autoritie of yͤ archb. of Cant. my directe iudge, next vnder yͤ high B. of Rome, whoſe ſuffragane alſo I am, & the conſent likewyſe of yͤ other my felow biſhops. After which wordes by him pronounced, the archbiſhop and other biſhops with him were readye to make humble interceſſion for him to the king, and dyd. But when the king would not be wonne nor turned with any ſupplication: the ſaid biſhops together with the archbiſhop and the clergy, comming with their croſſes: tooke him away, chalẽging hym for the church, without any more anſwer making: charging moreouer, vnder the cẽſures of the church and excommunication, none to preſume to lay any further hands vpon him. The king moued with this boldnes and ſtoutnes of the clergy: commaundeth notwithſtanding to proceede in iudgement, and the iury of .xij. men to go vpon the enquiry of his cauſe: who finding and pronouncing the biſhop to be giltye, the kyng cauſed immediatly all his goods: & poſſeſſiõs to be confiſcate vnto himſelf: moreouer, made his plate and all hys houſholde prouiſion to be throwne out of his houſe into the ſtreete, but yet he remayned ſo ſtyll vnder the protection and defence of the archbiſhop. &c.

Simõ Mepham Archb. of Cant.

Thys Archbiſhop was Walter Wynchelſey, after whom ſucceeded Simon Mephã in the ſame ſee of Canterburye, an. 1327. Ex Rob. Auesb.

Pope Iohn, 22. A monk Ciſtercian. A new founde hereſy.

After pope Clement the fift, by whoſe deceaſe the romiſh ſee ſtode vacant (as ye heard) two yeres & three monethes: nexte was elected Pope John. xxij. a Ciſtercian monke, who ſat in that papacye. xviij. yeares. He was ſtout, and inflexible, geuen ſo much to the heaping vp of ryches: that he proclaymed thẽ heretikes, which taught that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had no poſſeſſions of theyr own in this world.

Hereſy wyth the pope to ſay that Chriſt and the apoſtles had no proper poſſeſſions here.

Strife betwene the pope and the Emperour.

At this tyme was Emperour Ludouicus Bauarus a worthy man: who with this pope and other that folowed him, had no leſſe contention, then had Fridericus before mencioned in the tyme of king Henrye the thyrd. In ſomuch, that thys contention and variance continued the ſpace of .xxiiij. yeres. The cauſe and firſt origene of thys tragicall conflict, roſe vpon the conſtitution of Clement the fift, predeceſſor to this Pope: by whom it was ordeyned as is afore mencioned, that Emperours by the Germane princes elected might be called kynges of the Romanes, but might not inioy the title or right of the Empire to be nominated Emperour, without theyr confirmation geuen by the pope. Wherefore, this foreſayd Emperour becauſe he vſed the emperiall dignitye in Italie, before he was autoriſed by the pope: the ſayde Pope therefore excommunicated the Emperour. And notwithſtanding, the Emperour often times did profer himſelfe to make intreaty of peace and concord, yet the Pope inflexible would not bend. The writinges of both partes yet be extant, wherin the ſayd biſhop doth make hys auaunt: that he had full power to create and depoſe kings and emperours, at his pleaſure. In the ſame time were diuers learned men, which ſeing the matter: dyd greatly diſalow the biſhop of Romes doinges, among whom was Guillerme Ockam, whoſe tractations were afterward condemned by the pope, for writing againſt the temporal iuriſdictiõ of their ſee. And an other named Marſilius Patauinus, which wrote yͤ boke intitled Defenſor pacis, geuen vp to the handes of the ſayd Emperour, wherein the controuerſy of popes vnlawful iuriſdiction in thinges temporall is largelye diſputed, and the vſurped autoritie of that ſee ſet forth to the vttermoſt. It is found in ſome wryters, that a great cauſe of this variance firſt began, for that one of the Emperours ſecretaries, vnknowing to the Emperour: in certain of his letters, had likened the papall ſee to the beaſt riſing out of the ſea in the Apocalips. At length, when the Emperour after much ſute made to the Pope at Auinion, could not obtayne his coronation: comming to Rome, was there receyued with great honour, where hee wyth hys wyfe were both crowned by the full conſent of all the lordes and Cardinals there, and moreouer an other pope there ſet vp, called Nicolas the fyft. After which things done, the pope not long after departed at Auinion in Frãce, after whom ſucceeded then Benedictus. xij. a moonke of Benedictes order, and raygned. vij. yeares. Who by the counſaile of Phillip the Frenche king, confirmed and proſecuted the cenſures and curſings that John his predeceſſor had publiſhed agaynſt Lewes the Emperour: moreouer, depriued hym both of hys emperiall crowne, and alſo of his dukedome of Bauaria. The Emperour vpon this commeth to Germanie, and aſſembling the princes electours, Dukes, biſhops, nobles, and the learned in a councel at Franceforde: there declared before them out of the auncient lawes and cuſtomes of the empyre, how it ſtandeth onely in the princes Electours, and in none other to elect the king or the emperour of the Romanes (for in both theſe names was no differẽce) ſo that the ſame Electors in chuſing the king of the Romanes, did alſo elect and chuſe the Emperour. Which Emperour ſo by them conſtitute had lawfull right, wythout any confirmation of the Apoſtolicall ſee, to exerciſe the adminiſtration of the Empire. And if he were lawfully elect, ought to be anointed of the Romane biſhop: which if he do refuſe, then might he be anoynted and declared Emperour and Auguſtus by anye other catholique byſhop thereunto appoynted (as by the olde maner and cuſtome hath bene) eſpeciallye ſeyng theſe inunctions, are but certayne ſolemnities added and inuented by the byſhops, onely for a token of vnitie betwene the Churche and Empire, to gouerne and defend the fayth together. Wherefore, in that the Emperour ſweareth to the byſhop of Rome: in that, is to be vnderſtand no homage or fealtie made to the biſhop, but onelye is a ſacrament and a promiſe geuen to defende the fayth. The which othe or ſacrament ſo geuen, geueth no maioritie to the Pope in any temporall rule, but onely bindeth the Emperour to be preſt and readye to defende the fayth and Churche of Chriſt, when neede ſhall require obedience. Wherefore, where as the Pope leaneth onelye to the Electors autoritie to make the king of Romains, & taketh vpõ himſelf alone to make the emperor: that as it is newly brought in, and deuiſed alate by pope Clement the. v. ſo is it contrarye both to all auncient order, & alſo derogatorie to the liberty and maieſty of the ſacrate empire. Agayn, neither is that alſo leſſe abſurde and contrarye to all right and reaſon: that the Pope, in tyme of themperiall ſeate being vacant, taketh vpon him to haue the

whole

Ockam. Marſili Patau *Defenſ pacis.*

The emp rour cro ned aga the wil the pope.

Pope Be dictus 12. a monke Benedic order.

Ludouic the empe rour depo ued and poſed by pope Be dict. 12.

A councel at Franck ford.

The empe rours pro teſtacion the counſ of Germa

Ex Hi ron. Ne rio.

Et ex Ci rio.

whole and full doynges of the Empire, as lawfull Emperour for the tyme. Which prerogatiue and function, by auncient order of fore elders, ſhoulde properlye and onelye appertaine to the Palatine of Rhene, the conſtitution Clementine of the foreſaide pope Clement to the contrary notwithſtanding. Then in the end for his own excuſe, he in the preſence of them all reciteth the publike confeſſion of his fayth, to anſwer and purge himſelfe of thoſe obiections layd to hym by the pope. This did the meeke Emperour Ludouike in that councel: yet all this notwithſtanding, the ſayde Emperour remayned ſtyll excommunicate, tyll tyme bariaunce fell betwene thys pope Benedict & Phillip the French king. Wherfore to make his party good, at leaſt to haue ſome frẽdes to flee to: he began to pretende fauour and abſolution, rather for neceſſitye, then for any good wyll to the Emperour. But not long after, this pope dyed: after whom folowed pope Clement the ſixt, a man moſt furious and cruell. Who renuing agayne the former excommunications of his predeceſſours, cauſed hys letters to bee ſet vp on church dores, wherein he threatened & denounced moſt terrible thunderbolts agaynſt the ſayd Lewes the Emperour, vnleſſe within three dayes he ſhoulde ſatiſfye to God and the church, and renounce the emperiall poſſeſſion of the crowne. The emperour vpon this, commeth to Francford, and there ready to ſtand in all thynges to the ordinaunce of the pope: ſendeth hys Oratours to the court of Rome, to entreate the Pope of his fauour and good wyll toward hym. To the which meſſengers the pope anſwered agayne, that hee woulde neuer pardon the Emperour, before he gaue ouer and confeſſed his errours and hereſies: and reſigning vp his empyre to hys handes, would ſubmit himſelfe, his children, and all hys goodes to the will and pleaſure of the biſhop, promiſing that he ſhould not receaue agayne any part of the ſame, but vpon his good grace, as hys will ſhould be to reſtore them.

The hereſye here mencioned, which was to this emperour obiected by the pope, was this: becauſe (as is aboue touched) he vſed and executed the emperiall dignitie after his electon, before he was of the pope cõfirmed. Ouer and beſides, the pope ſendeth to themperor by the ſayd Oratours, a certayne forme of a byll conteined in writing with certayne conditions, which he commaunded to be geuen to the hands of themperour. Here if the Emperour Lewys had as muche mynde to ſet vpon the pope with dynt of ſword, as he lacked neither occaſion nor power ſo to do: what bloud myght here haue ben ſpylled? But the good Emperour ſparing the effuſion of bloud, receiueth gently the byll: and not onely wyth hys ſeale doth confirme it, but alſo ſweareth to obſerue all the condicions therof. Which the pope hearyng of, doth greatly maruell. But yet all thys would nothing helpe to mollifie the modeſt hart of thys Pharao.

The princes and electors ſeyng the bill with the articles and conditions, wherof ſome ſounded to malicious defacyng and deſtruction of the Empire, abhorryng the wickednes therof: deſired the Emperour to ſtand to the defence of the Imperiall dominiõ, as he had begon: promiſing ŷ their aſſiſtãce and ayde, to the vttermoſt therunto ſhould not lacke. Vpõ ŷ other orators were ſent to Pope Clemẽt frõ ŷ princes, deſiring him to abſteine frõ ſuch maner of articles conceaued againſt the ſtate & maieſtie of the Empire. The pope ſurmiſing all this to ſpring frõ Lewes the emperour, to the vtter ſubuerſiõ of hym & all his poſteritie: on Maunday thurſday bluſtereth out moſt blacke curſes agaynſt hym, alſo renueth all the former proceſſes of his predeceſſor againſt him, as againſt both an hereticke and a ſchiſmatike, cõmaũdyng moreouer ŷ princes electors to procede in chuſing a new emperour. The archbiſhop of Mentz ſeyng ŷ innocencie of the emperour, would not conſent to the violatyng of hys maieſtie, wherfore was depriued by the Pope of all his dignities. The other Biſhops electors, as the archbiſhop of Colen, which tooke viij. thouſand markes, with the duke of Saxonie, which tooke ii. thouſand markes, being corrupted with money by Jhon kyng of Boheme: elected Charles the ſonne of the ſayd Jhon, whom pope Clement eftſones in his conſiſtory did approue. Who ſeeth not here what matter was miniſtred by ŷ pope of warre & bloudſhed betwene theſe two emperors, if the pacience of Ludouike had not been more prudẽt to quench ŷ fire, thẽ the Pope was to kindle it? Charles then the new emperour elect, ſped him to Aquiſgraue, accordyng to the cuſtome, there to be crowned. But by the citizens there and the empreſſe (Ludouicus wife keping there about) he was repelled. All this happened in the time & reigne of Edward the iii. kyng of England, with whom the ſayd Charles, with the French kyng, and kyng of Boheme, ſet on by the Pope, encountred in warre: where the kyng of England, had agaynſt them a noble victorie, and ſlue a great nũber of the Frenchmen and Almaines, and put Charles the new emperour to flight. In the mean time, amõg the princes and cities of Germanie what ſorow & what complaints were agaynſt Pope Clement and thoſe Electors, it can not be expreſſed. For as they wer altogether at Spires congregated in a general aſſẽbly, ſo ther was none among them all: that alowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the Popes proceſſe, promiſing all to adhere & continue faithfull ſubiectes to Ludouicke their lawfull emperour. But Ludouicke remembring his oth made before to the Popes bill, voluntarie and willingly gaue ouer his emperiall dignitie, and went to Burgrania, where ſhortly after, through the procured practiſe of pope Clement (as Hieronimus Marius doth write) poiſon was geuen him to drinke. After the which being dronke, when he would haue vomited out, and could not: tooke his horſe and went to hunte the beare, whereby through the chafyng and heate of his body to expelle the venime, And there the good and gentle emperour wickedly perſecuted and murdered of the pope, fell downe dead, whom I may well recounte among the innocent and bleſſed martyrs of Chriſt. For if ŷ cauſe beyng rightoeus doth make a martyr, what Papiſt can iuſtly diſproue hys cauſe or fayth? if perſecution ioyned therunto cauſeth martyrdome, what martyr could be more perſecuted then he: who hauing iii. popes, like iii. banddogges vpon him, at length was deuoured by the ſame. The princes then hearyng of hys death aſſẽbled them ſelues to a new election: who refuſing Charles aforeſaid, elected an other for emperour, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who ſhortly after fallyng ſick at Frãckford through his Phiſicions ſeruaunt was likewiſe poyſoned, whom the foreſayd Charles had hyred, with money to worke that feat. Gunterus taſtyng of ŷ poiſõ, although he did partly caſt it vp agayne, yet ſo much remained wᵗin him, as made him vnable afterwarde to ſerue that place. Wherfore for concordes ſake beyng counſayled therto by the Germanes, gaue ouer his empire to Charles. For els, great bloudſhed was lyke to enſue. This Charles thus ambitiouſly aſpiryng to the emperiall ſeate contrary to the mindes of the ſtates and peres of the empire, as he dyd wickedlye and vnlawfullye come by it: ſo was he by hys ambitious guiding, the firſte and principall meane of the vtter ruine of that monarchie. For that he to haue his ſonne ſet vppe emperour after him, conuented and graunted to the princes electours of Germanie, all the publicke taxes and tributes of the empire. Which couenaunt beyng once made betwene the emperour and them, they afterward held ſo faſt: that they cauſed the emperour to ſwere neuer to reuoke or call backe againe the ſame. By reaſon wherof, the tribute of the countreis of Germanie, whiche then belonged onely to the emperour, for the ſuſtẽtation of his warres: euer ſence to this day is diſperſed diuerſly into the hands of the princes, &

Bribers corrupted with mony

The pope ſower of diſcord & bloudſhed.

The pope againe ſtirreth vp warre.

Charles the new emperour put to flight by the engliſhmẽ.

Ludouike the right emperor reſigneth vp his empyre.

Ludouike the emperour [illegible] poyſoned.

Ludouicus emperour and Martyr.

Gunterus de monte nigro made emperor.

Gunterus the right emperor poyſoned.

The ruine of the Germayne empire, and the firſt cauſe therof.

free

9

free cities within the ſayd monarchie. So that both the empire beyng diſforniſhed and left deſolate, & the emperours weakened therby: haue neither been able ſufficiētly ſince to defēd them ſelues, nor yet to reſiſt the Turke, or other forein enemyes. Wherof a great part, as ye haue heard, may be imputed vnto the popes. &c. Hieronimus Marius.

The yeare of Iubilei reduced to the L yeare.

Pilgrimes in the yeare of Iubilei at Rome.

The abhominable and blaſphemous bull of pope Clement.

The pope commaundeth the Aungels.

O blaſphemy of the pope.

Ex bulla Clementis.

This pope Clemēt firſt reduced the yeare of Iubiley, to euery .L. yeare, which before was kept but on the hundreth yeare. And ſo he beyng abſent at Auinion (whiche he thē purchaſed with his mony to the ſea of Rome) cauſed it to be celebrated at Rome. anno. 1350. In the which yeare were numbred of peregrines goyng in, and commyng out euery day at Rome, to the eſtimation of fiue thouſand. præmonſtrat. The bull of Pope Clement geuē out for this preſent yeare of Iubiley, procedeth in theſe wordes as foloweth. What perſon or perſons ſo euer for deuotion ſake: ſhal take their peregrination vnto the holy citie the ſame day when he ſetteth forth out of hys houſe, he may chuſe vnto hym what confeſſor or confeſſours either in the way or where els he luſteth. Vnto the whiche confeſſours we graunt, by our autoritie plenary power to abſolue all caſes papall, as fully as if we were in our proper perſon there preſent. Item, we graūt that who ſo euer beyng truly confeſſed, ſhall chaunce by the way to dye, he ſhallbe quite & abſolued of all his ſinnes. Moreouer, we commaunde the aungels of Paradiſe, to take his ſoule out of his body beyng abſolued, and to carry it into the glory of Paradiſe. &c. And in an other bull, we will (ſayth he) that no payne of hell ſhall touche hym, grauntyng moreouer to all and ſingulare perſon & perſons ſigned with the holy croſſe, power and autoritie to deliuer and releaſe iii. or iiii. ſoules, whom they liſt them ſelues, out of the paynes of Purgatorie. &c.

Ex chron. Aueſb. in vit. Edou. 3.

The kyng reſiſteth the pope in geuing eccleſiaſticall dignities of England to his cardinals.

The tenthes of church goodes geuen to the king, contrarye to the popes law aboue ſpecified.

This Clement (as myne autor affirmeth) tooke vpon him ſo prodigally in his Popedome, that he gaue to hys Cardinals of Rome, biſhopprickes and benefices, whiche then were vacant in England: and began to geue them new titles, for the ſame lyuinges he gaue them in England. Wherwith the kyng (as good cauſe he had) was offended, and vndid all the prouiſions of the Pope within his realme: Commaundyng vnder payne of priſonment and life, no man to be ſo hardy, as to induce and bring in any ſuch prouiſions of the Pope, any more within hys land. And vnder the ſame punyſhment charged the two Cardinals to voyde the realme. anno. 1343. In the ſame yeare all the tenthes as well of the tēplaries as of other ſpirituall mē were geuen and payd to the kyng through the whole realme. an. 1343. And thus much concernyng good Ludouicke emperour and martyr, and Pope Clement the vi. his enemie. Wherin, becauſe we haue a litle exceded yͤ courſe of yeares wherat we left, let vs returne ſomwhat backe agayne, and take ſuch thynges in order as belong to the churche of England and Scotland, ſettyng foorth the reigne of kyng Edward the iii. and the doynges of the churche, whiche in his tyme haue happened, as the grace of Chriſt our Lord, will aſſiſte and able vs thereunto.

1326.

Oriall colledge and S. Mary hall in Oxford builded by K. Edward. ii.

This foreſayd kyng Edward the ſecond in his tyme builded ij. houſes in Oxford for good letters: to witte, Oriall colledge and S. Mary Halle.

A ſtorye of the commotion betwene the towne and abbay of Bury.

Ex latino quodam Regiſtro

Here I omit alſo by the waye the furious outrage & conflict which happened in the tyme of this king, a lytle before his death, an. 1326. betwene the townesmen and the Abbey of Bury, wherein the townesmen gathering thēſelues together in a great multitude (for what cauſe or old grudge betwixt them, yͤ Regiſter doth not declare) inuaded and ſackt the monaſterye. And after they had impriſoned the monkes, they rifled the goodes and treaſures of the whole houſe, ſpoyling and caryyng awaye their plate, money, copes, veſtmentes, ſenſers, croſſes, chalices, baſēs, iewels, cups, maſers, bokes, with other ornamentes and implementes of the houſe to the value vneſtimable. In the which conflict certayne alſo on both ſides were ſlayne. Suche was the madnes then of that people, that when they had gathered vnto them a great concourſe of ſeruantes and lyght perſons of that countrey to the number of .xx. thouſand, to whom they promiſed libertie and freedom: by vertue of ſuch wryts which they had out of that houſe, fyrſt they got into their hāds all the euidencies, copies, and inſtrumentes, that they could fynde: then they tooke of the leade, that done ſetting fyre to the abbey gates they brēt vp nere the whole houſe. After that they proceded further to the farms and granges belonging to the ſaid abbey, whereof they waſted, ſpoyled and brent to the number of .xxij. manour places in one weeke: tranſporting awaye the corne, horſes, cattell, and other moueables belonging to the ſame, the price wherof is regiſtred to come to .922.li. v.s. xi.d beſides the valuation of other riches and treaſure within the abbey which cannot be eſteemed. The Abbot all this ſpace was at London in the parlament, by whoſe procurement at length ſuch reſcue was ſent down, that .xxiiij. of the chiefe of the towne (ſubmitting them ſelues) were committed to warde: xxx. cartesfull of the townes men were caryed to Norwiche, of whome .xix. were there hanged, diuers were put in conuict pryſon. The whole townſhip was condēpned in ſeuē ſcore thouſād li. to be payde for damages of the houſe. John Berton Alderman, W. Herling with .xxxij. prieſts, xij. wemen and 138. other of the ſaid towne were outlawed. Of whom diuers, after grudging at the Abbot for breaking promiſe with them at London, did confederat them ſelues together, and priuelye in the night comming to the manour of Chēnington, where the abbot dyd lye: braſt opē the gates, who then entring in, fyrſt bound all his family: and after they had robbed all his plate, iewels & money, they tooke the Abbot, and ſhaued him, and ſecretly with them conueyed hym away to London: where they remouing him from ſtreete to ſtreete vnknowen, from thence had him ouer Thamis into Kent, at length ouer the ſea the feryed him ouer to Diſte in Brabance: wher they a ſufficient tyme kept him in much penury, miſery and thraldome, till at length the matter being ſearched, they were all excommunicate, fyrſte by the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, then by the Pope. And at laſte beyng knowen where he was by hys frendes, was delyuered and reſcued out of the theeues hands, & finally brought home with proceſſion, and reſtored to his houſe agayne. And thus was that Abbey wyth the Abbot of the ſame (for what demerites I know not) thus vexed and afflicted about this tyme, as more largelye I haue ſene it in their laten regiſter. But thus much brieflye, touching the reſt I omit here, about the latter end of this Edward the 2. ceaſeth the hiſtory of Nic. Triuet. and of Flor. Hiſt, paſſing ouer to the raigne of the next kyng.

ng Ed- ard. 3.

1327

The Ab robbed.

The ab ſtoln to Braba

The ab reſtored gayne.

¶ *Kyng Edward the third.*

COncerning the actes and ſtory of king Edward the ſecond, his depoſing, and cruel death, wrought by the falſe and counterfet letter of ſyr Roger Mortimer, ſent in the kynges name to the kepers (for the which hee was after charged and hanged, drawen, and quartered) I haue writen ſufficiently before, and more paraduenture then the profeſſion of this eccleſiaſticall hiſtory wyll wel admit. Notwithſtanding for certayne reſpectes & cauſes, I thought ſomwhat to extende my limites herein the more, whereby both kings and ſuch as clyme to be about them may take the better example by the ſame, the one to haue the loue of his ſubiectes, the other to learne to flee ambition, and not to beare them ſelues to brag of their fortune & ſtate, how hye ſo euer it be. Conſidering with thē ſelues nothing to be in this world ſo firme and ſure, that maye promiſe it ſelfe anye certayne continuaunce, and is not

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in perpetual daunger of mutation, vnleſſe it be faſtened by God his protection.

1327

After the ſuppreſſion of this kyng, as is aboue expreſſed, Edward his ſonne was crowned king of England, being about the yeares of .xv. and raygned the ſpace of .l. yeares, who was a prince of much and a great temperance. In feates of armes very experte, and no leſſe fortunate & lucky in all his wars, as his father was infortunate before hym. In liberalitie alſo and clemenci worthely commended, briefly in al princely vertues famous and excellent. Cōcerning the memorable actes of which prince, done both in wars and peace, as how he ſubdued the Scots, had great victories by the ſea, how he conquered Fraunce. an. 1332. wan Calice, an. 1348. and tranſlated the ſtaple thither, toke the French kyng pryſoner, & how the Frēch armes fyrſt by hym was brought in, and conioyned wͭ the Engliſh armes, alſo how yͤ order of the Garter fyrſt by the ſayd king was inuented & ordained, an. 1356. Alſo. an. 1337. How the king in his parlamēt at Notinghā, decreed, that all ſuch in Flaunders or other where, that had ſkil in making cloth, ſhould peaceablye inhabite the land and be welcome. For 3. yeares before that, it was enacted, that no woolle ſhould be trāſported ouer the ſea. Whiche was to bridle the pride of the Flemings, who then loued better the ſackes of wolle, then the nation of Engliſhemen. All theſe with other noble actes of this worthy prince, although in other Chronicles be fully intreated of: yet according to that order I haue begunne (ſaying ſomwhat of eche kings Raygne, although not pertinent to our eccleſiaſticall hiſtorye) I haue here inſerted the ſame, makyng haſt to other matters, ſhortly and compendiouſly abridging them out of diuers and ſundrye autors together compacted, mentioned in this wyſe.

The coronation & ſolemnitie of king Edward yͤ third, & all the pompe therof was no ſooner ended: but Robert of Bruſe king of Scotland, vnderſtanding the ſtate and gouernment of the realme to bee (as it was in deede) in the quene, the yong king, the Earle of Kent, and ſyr Roger Mortimer: And that the Lordes and Barons, as he was enformed, did ſcarcelye well agree amongeſt themſeues (although he grewe nowe in age, and was troubled with the falling diſeaſe) Yet thought he this a mete time for his purpoſe, to make inuaſion. Hopyng for as good ſucces and like victorie now, as but latelye before he had at the Caſtell of Eſtriuelin. Whereupon, about the feaſt of Eeaſter, he ſent his embaſſadours with Heraldes and letters of defiance to the yong king Edward the thirde, the Queene, and counſayle: declaryng that hys purpoſe was, with fyre and ſworde to enter and inuade the realme of England. &c. The kyng, quene and counſayle hearing thys bold defiance, commaunded in all ſpeedy preparation Muſters to be made throughout all the realme: appoynting to euery band Captaynes cōuenient, and at the City of Yorke by a day aſſigned thē, commaūding euery man to be wyth al theyr neceſſary furniture ready and throughly prouided. They directed their letters alſo withal ſpeede to ſyr John of Heynalt, requyring him with ſuche ſoldiours and men at armes as he might conueniently prouide in Flaunders, Heynalt, and Brabant: to meete the king and quene vpon the Aſcenſion daye next inſuing at their citie of Yorke.

The king and quene made ſpeedye preparation for this expedition: The noblemen prouided them ſelues of all thinges neceſſary thereunto: The engliſh capitaines and ſoldiours (theyr bandes throughlye furniſhed) were ready at theyr appoynted tyme and place: Syr John of Heynalt, lord Bedmoūt muſtring hys men as faſt, was redy to take ſhipping: where at Wyſant (in engliſh Bothoms there lyeng for hym ready) he went aboorde, and with a mery wynde landed at Douer, traueiling from thence by ſmal iourneyes dayly, tyll he came wythin .iij. dayes after the feaſt of Penticoſt to the citye of Yorke: where the king and quene with a great power of ſyxtye thouſand men (within and about the city of Yorke) expected hys commyng: Before whom, in curteous wyſe he preſented hymſelfe, and muſtred hys troupe; wherein he had to the number of .500. good men at armes well appoynted and mounted. Hys comming and furniture was well lyked both of the king and quene, and was by the Harbinger, appoynted to be lodged wyth his houſehold retinue in the abbey of white Monks. To be brief, ſuch grudge and variāce fell betwene ſome of the kings ſoldiours and hys, within the ſuburbs of the towne being together lodged: That frō the litle to the more, whileſt the king and quene with diuers other of the nobles, (ſtraungers as others) were at dinner: the ſayde fraye ſo greatlye increaſed, that the whole armye as manye as were in the towne then lodged, ſtoode to theyr defence: ſo that there was ſlayne of the engliſhe archers in ſhort ſpace by the ſtraungers to the number of .300. mē. Whereupon grew (after the fray was with much difficultie both of the king and quene ended) ſuche hartburning betwene the parties: as yͭ the number of ſixe thouſand conſpired together agaynſt them, thinking to haue burnt them in theyr lodgings, had they not bene by the greate grace of God and diſcrite handlyng, otherwyſe preuēted & let. Wherupō, yͤ Heinolders wer fain to take and kepe the field, vſing as diligent watch and ward, as though they had bene amongeſt theyr hoſtyle enemies.

The great fray in Yorke town betwene the engliſh archers & Heinolders.

After this, the king ſet forward his armie toward Durham, and incamped himſelfe neare about the ſame: who alſo ſent the Lord Huford & the Lord Mounbry to Carlell with a ſufficient companie to kepe that entrance: and alſo the Lord Marſhall of Englād to kepe yͤ towne of Newcaſtell with a ſufficient companie to defend the ſame, and the countrey adioyning. For well knewe the king, that by one of theſe two entries the Scottes muſt paſſe into England, ſtanding both of them vppon the riuer of Tyne .xxiiij. myles diſtant.

Carlile & Newcaſtel then the kayes of england Northward kept with garriſons.

But the Scots priuely with their armie paſſed the riuer betwixt the two townes into England, few vnderſtanding therof: til that the great fiers which the Scots had kindled and made in Englād bewrayed them: who came burning and deſtroying the country all about as farre as Stannop parke. This thing being declared to the king, he commaundeth hys hoſte with all ſpeede to march towards them, which ſo long trauailed that they came in ſight eche of other. The king alſo cōmaunded the paſſages of the riuer to be ſo ſtraitly and narrowlye garded, that by no meanes the Scots coulde retire and haue eſcaped backe agayne into Scotland without battaile geuen them of the king. But the Scots vnderſtanding the great power the king was of, kept alwayes the aduantage of the hills retiring in the nightes from one to an other: that without great oddes and aduantage of the one ſide and hazarde to the other, the kyng could not ſet vpon them. Thus in the day time the Scots keeping the aduantage of the hilles, & in yͤ night tymes retiring to yͤ aduantage of ſuch other like: came neare agaynſt yͤ riuer where they firſt paſſed ouer, where they made a ſhow to offer battaile to the king vpō yͤ morow. Wherupon, yͤ king being buſied in putting hys mē & battailes in a readines to fight yͤ next morning, being almoſt forweried in purſuing the Scots from place to place: the Scots in the meane ſeaſon gat ouer the riuer & eſcaped the daunger of yͤ kyng. Which thing as it could not be done wͭout great treaſō of ſome nere about the king: ſo ſyr Roger Mortimer was greuouſly ſuſpected therof, & after was layd vnto his charge. But to be ſhort, by this meanes the Scots eſcaped the riuer, after whō it ſhould haue preuayled the king very litle to haue made purſute as the wylye Scots knewe full well. For the ioy wherof, the Lord William Douglas one of the Scots Gene-

The Scots priuely with their army pas ouer the ryuer of Tine, burnyng and ſpoyling the countrey all about.

The kings army and the Scottes are ſo neare that eche ſeeth other.

The Scottes through treaſon eſcape out of England vnfought withal.

rals,with two hūdred horſes gaue a larum in the kings camp:and came ſo neare,that he cut certain of the lines of the kinges tent in ſunder with his ſword,and retired to hys company without great loſſe of any of hys men. Then on the morowe the king perceauing the Scots to be gone,came to the place wher ouer night they lodged, where was found fyue hundred great Oxen and Keene ready kylled:fyue hundred Caudrens made of beaſtes ſkins ful of fleſh,ouer the fyre ſeething:a thouſand ſpits full of fleſh readye to bee roſted, and more then.10000. ſhoes of raw leather(the hear ſtil vpon the ſame) which the Scots had left behinde them:and fyue poore engliſh priſoners tyed to trees and their legs broken.All whych ſeyng the kyng,returned with hys army (and left anye further purſuing the Scots)to Durham: where hee diſmiſſed hys army,and came agayne to London, ſeding with ſyr Iohn of Heynalt twoo hundred men at armes for their better ſafegard againſte the Engliſhe archers (with whom at Yorke as you heard they fraied)til they had taken ſhipping,and ſo returned home.

The prouiſion left in the Scots campe, when they eſcaped from Stanhop.

The king then being at London,confirmed the liberties of the Citezens,and ordained that the Maior ſhould ſyt in all places as chiefe Iuſtice within the liberties of the ſame.And that what Alderman ſoeuer had ben Maior before,ſhould be a Iuſtice of peace within hys own warde.

The king returneth to Londō and geueth liberties to the ſame.

Then the kyng,the quene,and counſell ſent ouer to the Earle of Heynalt certayne embaſſadours,touching the ſolemniſation of the mariage betwene the kyng and the Lady Philip hys daughter: who in ſuche ſorte ſped their meſſage,that ſhe was ſone after conueyed ouer to England very honorably,and at Douer arived.And frō thence cam to Londō(ſome chronicles affirme to York) where vpon the day of the conuerſion of ſaynt Paule, the yeare aboue ſpecified, the mariage and coronation of the quene was with much triumphe during the ſpace of three weekes,ſolemniſed.

The mariage of K.Edward ſolempniſed continued 3. wekes.

After whiche coronation and mariage,the king let ſommon his parlament to be kept at Northampton: wherat by the meanes of Syr Roger Mortimer & the old quene, a peace was purchaſed for the Scottes (who had for that purpoſe ſent their embaſſadours)for iiij. yeares to endure.Alſo the king(thē beyng within age)graunted to releaſe the Scots of all their homage and fealtie whiche vnto the realme Englād by their Charter enſealed they wer bound:as alſo their indenture which was called the Ragmā Role,wherin was ſpecified the foreſaid homage and fealtie to the kyng and crowne of England, by the ſayd kyng of Scottes, nobles and prelates to be made: hauyng all their ſeales annexed to the ſame. Alſo there was then deliuered vnto them,the blacke croſſe of Scotland,whiche kyng Edward before for a riche Iewel and relique had conquered and brought from Scone abbey: withall ſuch rightes & titles as any ẏ Barons els,had & enioyed in the ſayd realme of Scotlād:with many other thynges more,to the great preiudice both of the realme and diſcontentation of all the nobles and barons for the moſt part more thē the old quene, ſyr Roger Mortimer, and the biſhop of Elye.Who in ſuch ſorte ruled the roſt, that all the reſt of the nobles and barons,caſt with them ſelues how beſt they myght redreſſe and remede ẏ great inconueniēces,that vnto the realme by meanes of them grew and happened.Wherupō,the king & quene & ſyr Roger Mortimer,cauſed an other parlament to be called at Saliſbury,where ẏ ſaid ſyr Roger Mortimer was made earle of March againſt all the barons wils, to preuent & diſpointe the foreſaid purpoſe of them, but the earle Hēry of Lancaſter with others, would not be at the ſame: wherfore it was layd vnto their charges,that they went about to conſpire the kinges death.And further, for that the kyng was as well vnder the gouernement of the Earle of Kente his vncle, as the Queene his mother, and the earle of Marche: and for that, they coulde not doo in all thinges as they liſted for the ſayde Earle the the kinges vncle, who loued the kyng and the realme: Enuie beganne to riſe betwene the earle Mortimer and hym,and by Iſabell the Queenes practiſe, he founde the meanes to perſwade the kyng: that the Earle of Kent(to enioy the crowne as nexte heire vnto the kyng) went about to poyſon him.Wherunto the kyng giuyng light credit,cauſed his ſayd vncle to be apprehēded:& wᵗout anſwer making to his accuſatiō and accuſers, to be beheaded at Wincheſter,the 3.of October and 3.yeare of his raigne. But the iuſt iudgement of God not permitting ſuch odious crimes in him to be vnpuniſhed nor vndetected,ſo in fine fell forth: that Iſabell the old quene & kynges mother, was founde and vnderſtood to be with childe by the ſayd Mortimer.Cōplaint hereof was made to the kyng, as alſo the killyng of kyng Edward his father,& of the conſpiracy of him againſt the earle of Kent the kynges vncle before put to death:Wherupō,diuers other articles layd agaynſt hym,and manifeſtlye red in court,he was araygned and indighted, and by verdict found giltie:hauing his iudgement as in caſes of hyghe treaſon,& ſuffred death accordingly at Lōdon, wherupō London bridge next vnto Spēſers, his head obtained a place.The quene his mother alſo (by good aduiſe of hys coūſel)was reſtrayned of her libertie,and wythin a certaine caſtel not permitted once to come abroade: Vnto whome the king her ſonne,once or twiſe a yeare would reſort and viſite.

A parliament at Northampton,where was concluded an vnprofitable peace with Scotland.

The ragman role deliuered vp to the Scots

The black cros of Scotland.

The Barons geue vp their titles in Scotland,

The old quene, the B.of Ely, & Syr Roger Mortimer rule the roste.

Earle Henry of Lancaſter refuſeth to come to the parliament

This yeare,prince Edwarde was borne at Woodſtocke,who in proceſſe of tyme and yeares grewe, to be moſt valiaunt prince, and was before he dyed,accompted throughout the world the folower of Chiualry.

After this,the king prepared an other armie into Scotland in the yeare prefixed. But firſt he ſommoned kyng Dauid of Scotland,who had (in the laſt truce for foure yeares to continew as you herd,his father then lyuyng) maried the Lady Iane, ſiſter to the kyng:termed Iane make peace,to do his homage to the kyng but that he refuſed.Wherupon,not forgetting there withall the ſcoffing rymes, whiche dayly from that tyme of truce the Scottes had in their mouthes: He did ſo much that with an armie wel furniſhed,he entred Scotland by the riuer of Twide, for the Scottes then had the poſſeſſion of the towne of Barwicke: the Scottiſhe Gigges and rymes were theſe.Long berdes hartles, Paynted hoodes witles,Gay coates graceles,Makes Englād thriftlees. To be ſhort,the kyng waſted the land,burnt,deſtroyed,and tooke townes and caſtels with ſmall reſiſtance or none: & the ſpace of vi. monthes together did in that land what him liſted without any battail offered vnto him. For the kyng of Scots was but a child and not aboue the age of xv. yeares,and wanted good captaines that ſhould haue defended the realm: in ſo much that they were all fayne ſauing thoſe that kept in holdes for their defence to take the foreſt of Godworth, and there to kepe them ſelues ſo long as the kyng remayned in Scotland:Who at length when he had ſufficiently waſted, ſpoyled, and brent the ſame, returned toward Barwicke, about the whiche he bent his ſiege, vowyng not to remoue the ſame, till he had gotten the towne.

The Scottes that kept the ſame,after a certein time and many aſſaultes made,were contented vpon certein conditions to haue deliuered vp the towne: But that the kyng refuſed, vnles that all conditions ſet a part, they would with bag and bagage departe. Wherupon,they condeſcended to the kyng, that if by a certein tyme they were not by the king of Scots reſcued,they would rēder vp the town and wᵗ bag & bagage depart:& ſo ẏ time expired fruſtrate of all hope & reſcue,at ẏ day appointed they did.The king then entred the towne and taried there the ſpace of xii.dayes: who after he had appoynted Syr Edward

ward Baylle wle captayne ouer the towne and leauyng alſo behind him other knights, ſquiers, and ſouldiers as well to kepe the ſame as other holdes the kyng had conquered in Scotland and fronters therof: He returned wͭ his people towardes London, permittyng euery man to departe and go what way them liked.

Then ſyr Robert de Artoies, a noble mā of France, ⁊ which deſcended of the blood royal, being in England with the kyng: ceaſed not often tymes to aduertyſe the king and put him in memory of his good and right title to the inheritaunce of the crowne of Fraunce. This ſyr Robert, for a certayne diſpleaſure yͭ Phillip the French king tooke agaynſt hym for a certayne plea whych by him was moued before yͤ king: was fain for the ſafegard of his lyfe to flée the realme of Fraunce, and ſo came to the kinges court. King Edward was not vnwyllyng at all to heare thereof, but tooke delight often times to reaſon and debate that matter wyth hym concernyng hys right, title, and inheritaunce to the crowne of France. But yet notwͭſtanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt therunto without aduiſed and circumſpect counſail, for that it contayned matter of no ſmall, but moſt difficult importance: neyther yet he tooke it to deſerue the ſame either of wyſdom or prowes to let ſo good a title to die, or ſo fyt oportunitie to paſſe. Wherfore, he calling together certaine of his counſail, vſed theyr deliberate aduiſes touching the ſeriouſnes of this matter. In fyne, it was by them thought good, that the kyng ſhould ſend certayne embaſſadours ouer to the Earle of Heynalt, whoſe daughter he had maryed, as wel to hear hys aduiſe and counſell herein: as alſo of what friendes and ayde, by hym and hys meanes in this ſo great an expedition to be begunne in the Empyre, to him myght be procured. The king hereunto condeſcendeth, and apointeth for this embaſſage the biſhop of Lincolne wyth .ij. other Barenets, and two Doctors: who in ſuche ſpéedye wyſe made their voiage, that in ſhort ſpace they returned agayne to the king wͭ this anſwer: That not onely yͤ erle his counſel and aduiſe, ſhould be herein preſt to the king of Englād their maſter, but alſo yͤ whole coūtry of Heynalt. And further, for that to ſuche an expedition as appertayned he ſaid, the prouince of Heynalt was but a ſmall matter to make accompt of: he would procure for the kyng greater ayde and frendſhip in the Empyre, as the Duke of Brabant his couſen Germayne, and a puiſſant prince, the duke of Gwerles, the archbiſhop of Colayne, the Marques of Iuliers. ⁊c. whych are all good men of of warre, and able to make x.M. fyghting men ſayth he. Which aunſwer wel lyked the king, and made him ioyous thereof. But this counſell of the kyng as ſecrete as it was, came to Philip the French kinges eare: whereupon, he ſtayed the voiage of the Croiſie whych then he had in hande, ſending foorth countermandes to ſtay the ſame, til he knew farther the purpoſe of the king of England.

The kyng hereupon hymſelf taketh ſhipping accompanied as to a king appertayned, and when he had conſulted with all the foreſayd lordes of the empire in thys matter and vnderſtood their fidelitie: hee made his repayre to the Emperour at whoſe handes he was wel intertayned and honorable receaued, whom the emperor appoynted to be his Lieftenant generall, hauing therby more autority both to wyll and commaund ſuch as for thys his expedition he truſted vnto, and had made conuention with. Thys hearing Philip, prepared his army and rigged his Nauie, that ſo ſoone as the kyng ſhoulde enter the dominion of Fraunce, they alſo might enter England, requiting like for like.

The kyng of England, after the feaſt of ſaynt Iohn Baptiſt, accordyng to his purpoſe, prepared all thynges ready to ſuch an expedition, conducting his army and gathering greater ſtrength in yͤ Empire, as before to hym was promiſed: vſing the Emperours autoritie therin, as his lieftenaunt generall, howbeit at the charge altogether of the kyng of England. The French kyng as ſoone as kyng Edward, had landed his armey at Macline in Flaunders, and hearing of the defiance, which the kyng and other noble men of the Empire had ſent vnto hym: Sent certeine ſhips lying ready therunto, and waytyng for ſuch oportunitie vpon the coſte of England, and dyd ſo much that vpon a Sonday, whileſt the townes men were at the church litle lokyng for any ſuch matter, entered the hauen of Southampton, toke the towne ⁊ ſpoyled the ſame, deflowred maydens, enforced wiues, brent, kyld, toke captiues, and caried away riche ſpoyles and great booties to their ſhippes, and ſo agayne departed into Fraunce. Further, as the king of England had allied him ſelf with yͤ noble men of the Empire, ⁊ had the frendly fauour of yͤ Emperour alſo thereunto: ſo the French kyng made the lyke leage and aliance with Dauid the king of Scottes, whom the king had ſo hardly delt with all in Scotland (as partly before you herde) and kept the moſt part of Scotlād vnder his ſubiection: Byndyng the ſayd Dauid as well by writing, as othe and pledge, that without his cōſent he ſhould make no peace nor cōclude any truce with the kyng of England. Who again aſſured hym, of ayde, reſcue, and help, ⁊ to recouer his kyngdome and dominiō to his vſe: and forthwith ſent certein Garriſons and bandes into Scotland to kepe play with the Engliſhmen ⁊ there to fortifie diuers places till further oportunitie ſerued. He alſo fortified with men, money, vittell, and munition, the town of Cambrey: which he ſuſpected would be beſieged, lyeng ſo neare vpon the Empire as in dede it came to paſſe. For, k. Edward departyng from Machelyne, ſet forward his hoſt towards Heynalt, and by the way aſſembled ſuch power, as in the Empire he loked for, marchyng forward ſtill till that they came to Cambrey ⁊ it beſieged with 40000. men: while that with an other companie, the Flemings, Brabāters, and Holiners, went to S. Quentin. But in effect, neither there, nor at Cambray nor els where: any thyng notorious was achiued, but the ſommer beyng well ſpēt and litle preuaylyng in the ſiege of Cambrey, beyng of ſituation ſtrong ⁊ well defenced therwithall with mē ⁊ munition: brake vp the ſiege, and marched further into the hart of Fraunce towardes Mutterel. Whiche thing the French kyng hauing vnderſtādyng of, prepared him ſelfe to giue battaile to the kyng of England, who with an other great army came to Vironfoſſe, where dayes were appoynted to méete in battaile: but in ende, nothing was done nor attempted betwene yͤ princes. And yͤ kyng of Englād (wͭout any battail either giuing or takyng) returned wͭ his army frō thēce to Gaunt. Cōcernyng the cauſe of the ſodain remouing of the kyng out of Fraunce, ſemeth moſt ſpecially to ryſe of the Pope: whiche at the ſame tyme ſent downe his legates, for the order of a peace to be taken betwene the kings. At Gaūt was gathered by the kyngs appointement all the nobles as well of Englande, as of the empire in counſail together what was beſt to be done. Where playne aunſwere was made to the king of Englād, yͭ vnles he would take vpon hym the clayme and title of Fraunce, as his lawfull inheritāce and as kyng therof proſecute his warres: It might not be lawfull for thē any further, to ayde the kyng of Englād, or to fight with him agaynſt the Frēch kyng: for that the Pope had bound them in two milliōs of Florances of gold, and vnder payne of excommunication, yͭ they ſhould not fight agaynſt the lawful kyng of Fraunce. Wherupon, the kyng thought good therefore preſently to make open chalenge to the realme ⁊ crown of Fraūce: and further, to quarter and intermingle the armes of Fraunce, with the armes of England in one

The firſt viage of K. Edwarde into Fraunce.

Southampton burnt of the Frenchmen.

The Scots ſtyred vp againſt Englane by the French kyng.

The pope cauſe of the kings remouyng out of Fraunce.

1340.

The kyng of England taketh the title of Fraunce.

Scootchen. Wherupon eftſones king Edward made anſwer vnto the pope again, directing vnto him his letters wherein he declareth at large his righte and title vnto yͤ crown of Frãce, pourging therby him ſelf & his cauſe vnto yͤ biſhop. The copie & tenure of which letter, becauſe it is long to expreſſe, it is to be founde in the ſtory of Robertus Auesbur. remaining in the library of J. Steuenſon citiſen of London, who ſo hathe liſt or leaſure to peruſe the ſame. Beſides this letter to the Pope, he directeth an other to the Piers and prelates of Fraunce, (he remaining yet at Gaunt) in tenure as foloweth.

¶ *The letter of king Edward to the nobles and* commons of Fraunce.

King Edward to the nobles and commons of france.

EDward by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce and of England, Lord of Ireland: Unto all prelats and the eccleſiaſtical perſons, to the Pieres, Dukes, Earles, Barons, and to the Commons of Fraunce, greetyng: The hygh Lord and kyng aboue, to whom although hys wyl be in hys own power, yet would that power ſhoulde be ſubiect vnto law: commaundyng euerye thyng to be geuen to hym which is hys, declaryng thereby that iuſtice and iudgement ought to be the preparation of the kings ſeate. wherfore, ſeyng the kingdome of Frãce through the prouidẽce of God by the deth of Charles laſt kyng of Frãce of famous memory, brother Germain to our Lady mother, is fallen vnto vs by playne & manifeſt law: And for ſo muche that Lord Philip de Ualois, being the ſon of the Uncle of the foreſayde kyng, and ſo beyng farther from the crowne by a farther degree of conſanguinitie: Through force and vſurpation hath intruded hymſelf in the foreſayd kyngdome (whileſt we were yet in our Minoritie) and ſo contrary both to God & to iuſtice doth detayne and occupy the ſame: And leaſt we ſhould ſeeme to neglect our own right & the gyft geuẽ vs of God, or not to ſubmit our wyl to Gods deuine ordinaunce: we haue thought good to acknowledge the title of Frãce, & by ſupportatiõ of the almighty kyng haue taken vpõ vs the defence and regiment of the ſayd kyngdome: Firmlye purpoſing with our ſelues (as euery good man ought to do) graciouſly to miniſter iuſtice to euerye one, accordyng to the rites and lawdable cuſtome of the foreſaid kingdom. Alſo to renue the good lawes and cuſtomes whych haue bene in the tyme of Ludouike our progenitour, adding to moreouer, that whych ſhal ſeeme expedient according to the condition and qualitye of the tyme. As by anye chaunge of coyne or any other inordinate exactions, we entend not to ſeeke our profyt by your detriments: whẽ as (the almyghty be prayſed therefore) we abounde and haue inough. And as cõcerning the affaires of the realm, our purpoſe is not to procede raſhly or by our own wil, but by the diſcrite aduiſe and coũcell of the Pieres, Prelates, Nobles, & other our faythful ſubiects of the kingdome ſo far foorth as ſhall make for the honour of God, the defence and aduauncement of the church (which in all fulnes of deuotion we doo reuerence) and to the profyt both publike and priuate of all the ſubiectes therof, with full execution of iuſtice by the grace of God to be executed vpon all and ſynguler perſons, beyng earneſtly carefull for the honour, profyt, and trãquility of you all. For as the Lord knoweth, nothyng ſhal be more grateful to vs, then yͭ by our carefull ſolicitude peace may be engendred, ſpecially betwyxt vs and vniuerſallye among all Chriſten men: ſo that by our concord, the force & ſtrength of all Chriſtian princes maye be ioyned together for the recouery of the holy land, whych our ſauiour and redeemer hath dedicated with hys own proper blood, whereunto we wyll indeuour our ſelues through the grace of the holy Ghoſt. And for as muche as we haue offered to the foreſayde Lord Philip diuers frendlye and reaſonable conditions of peace, whereunto he would neither cõdeſcende, neither agree to any reaſonable conformation: yea rather moueth agaynſt vs vniuſt warre, to the vtter ſubuerſion of our ſtate: we are inforced of neceſſity to the vttermoſt of our power (for the defence both of vs, and recouerye of our ryght) to defende our ſelues by force of battayle: not ſeekyng anye ſlaughter of good and humble ſubiectes, but deſiryng theyr ſafegard and profit. For the whych cauſe, all & ſinguler ſuch ſubiectes of the kingdome of Fraunce, whych ſhall ſubmit them ſelues to vs as the true kyng of Fraunce, wythin the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuyng: profeſſing vnto vs theyr fealty, and doing to vs as to the kyng of Fraunce by duty apertayneth, ſo as our beloued ſubiectes of Flaunders haue done already, or be ready to offer them ſelues ſo to do: all ſuche we wyllingly admyt and receaue to our peace and grace vnder our protection to be defended, them to mayntayn as is conuenient, from all moleſtation & diſquietnes whatſoeuer, in perſon or goods hereafter to be inforced eyther by vs or by our officers, vpon what ſoeuer occaſion of rebellion afore paſſed. And for as much as the premiſes, cãnot eaſely bee intimated to all and ſingular perſons: we haue prouided the ſame to be fyxed vpon church doores & other publike places, wherby the manifeſt notice therof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to vs deuout, and to the true information of them, whych through ſiniſter ſurmiſes of our enemies are otherwyſe informed of vs. Dated at Gaunt the. 8. day of February the yeare of our kyngdome of Fraunce the fyrſt, of England the. xiiij.

The title of Fraunce how it came to king Edward.

Note the groſenes of this time where the blud of Chriſt was thought but only dedicated to the holy lãd

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neither was there any hope as the tyme ſerued, of farther doing good: the kyng thought beſt for a ſeaſõ to returne again to England with his companie, giuing ouer the warres vntill the nexte ſpryng and ſo did, takyng ſhippyng and ſo arriued at Douer. Whẽ he came to London, it was declared vnto him, of the great ſpoyle the Frenchmen had made at South hampton: Who aunſwered agayn that within one yeare, he doubted not the ſame to be wel paid for and recompẽced. And accordyng to the ſame purpoſe of his, he lyngered no tyme but callyng a parlament at Weſtminſter: with much grudge & euil will of hys ſubiects, was for the maintenãce of his wars graũted to him a great ſubſidie, which was the v. part of euery mans goodes, and alſo the cuſtome of his woolles ij. yeares before hand, and the 9. ſheſe of euery mannes corne. At the ſpring, the kyng agayne prepared his army, and rygged his nauie purpoſing to land in Flaunders. But the arch biſhop of Canterbury, then Lord Chauncelour hauyng vnderſtandyng of the French power vpon the ſea lyeng for the king, gaue him aduertiſemẽt therof willyng him more ſtronglier to go or els not to vẽture. But the kyng not crediting the archbiſhop, and being angry with him therfore, ſaid that he would go forward: whereupon, the biſhop reſigned the Chauncelourſhyp, and remoued him ſelfe from his counſel. Then the kyng conſulting hereupon farther with the Lord Morley, hys Admiral, and others (hearyng alſo the ſame of them) furniſhed him ſelf wyth ſtronger power, and cõmitted him to his ſhip: and did ſo much, that a few dayes before mydſomer, he was vpon the ſea with a great fleet. Before yͤ towne of Sluſe, the French kyng to ſtop hys paſſage, had layd ready a great nauie well neare to the nomber of xx. ſcore ſayle: & had made the Chriſtopher of Englãd (which before the Frenchmẽ toke at Southhãpton) their Admiral: betwixt which two nauies, was a lõg and terrible fight. But in yͤ end, yͤ victory by Gods grace fel to yͤ kyng of Englãd, in which fight he him ſelf was perſonally. So yͭ of the number of 30000. thouſãd French mẽ, few or none were left and eſcaped alyue, and two hundreth ſayle of ſhyppes taken: in one of the which, were found 400. deade bodies.

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After this great ſlaughter of the French men (of whõ many for feare of the ſword lept into the ſea) when no man durſt bring tidinges thereof to the Frenche kyng: They which were next about the kyng, did ſuborne hys foole, to inſinuate the vnderſtanding therof by ſubtilty of couert wordes, which was thus. As the foreſayd foole being in yͤ kings preſẽce, & was talking of many things: among other talk, he ſodenly braſt out (being prõpt by others) into a vehement rayling of the Engliſh men, calling them cowardes and daſtars, with many ſuche opprobrious wordes, tending to that effect. The kyng not knowing whereunto the woordes of the foole did appertayne: aſked the foole, why he called the Engliſhe men ſuch weakelinges and cowardes. &c. Why, ſayth the foole? Becauſe the fearefull and cowardly engliſhe men had not the hartes to leape into the ſea ſo luſtely, as our Normandes, and gentlemen of Fraunce had. Where-

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by the French king began to vnderſtand the victorye of hys part to be loſt,and the Engliſh men to be victorers.

This victory achiued, the fame therof ſpreadyng abroad in England,firſt was not beleued till letters therof came frō the kyng to prince Edward his ſonne,beyng then at Waltham, directed to the Biſhops and prelates of the realme, the effect of whiche letters here followeth vnder written.

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THe bountifull benignitie of Gods greate clemencie poured vpon vs of late, for your true certification, and reioyſing,we thought good to intimate vnto you. It is not vnknowen (we ſuppoſe) to you, and to other our faythfull ſubiectes,which alſo haue been partakers with vs of the ſame,with what ſtormes of boyſterous warres of late we haue been toſſed and ſhaken, as in the great Oceane. But althoughe the riſyng ſurgies of the ſea be marueilous,yet more marueylous is the Lorde aboue: who turning the tempeſt into calme, in ſo great daungers,ſo mercyfully hath reſpected vs. For where as we of late dyd ordayne our paſſage,vpon vrgent cauſes, into Flaunders: the lord Philip de Waloys our bitter enemye vnderſtandyng therof,layde agaynſt vs a mightye nauy of ſhyps,entending therby eyther to take vs, or at leaſt to ſtop our viage. whych viage if it had been ſtayd, it had ben the cutting of,of all yͤ great enterpriſes by vs intended and takē in hand,and moreouer we our ſelues brought to a great confuſion. But the God of mercies ſeyng vs ſo diſtreſſed in ſuch perils and daungers, hath graciouſly and beyond mās expectation ſent to vs great ſuccour and ſtrength of fyghting ſoldiours,and a proſperous wynde after our own deſyres. By the meanes and helpe wherof,we ſet out of the hauen into the ſeas,wher we eftſones perceaued our enemies,well appointed and prepared wyth a mayne multitude to ſet vpon vs,vpon midſommer day laſt paſt. Agaynſt whom notwithſtanding, Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour hath tendred to vs the victory: through a ſtrong and vehement conflict. In the which conflict,a mighty number of our enemies wer deſtroyed,and well neare all their whole nauie was taken: wyth ſome loſſe alſo of our part, but nothyng lyke in compariſon to theirs. By reaſon wherof, we doubt not but our paſſage by the ſeas hereafter ſhall bee more quiet and ſafe for our ſubiectes,and alſo many other cōmodities ſhall enſue therof, as wee haue good cauſe to hope well of the ſame. For which cauſe,we deuoutly conſidering the heauenly grace ſo mercyfully wrought vpō vs: do render moſt humble thankes and prayſe to Chriſt our Lord and ſauiour. Beſeching hym, that as he hath been,and alwayes is ready to preuent our neceſſities in tyme of opportunitie,ſo he wil cōtinue hys helpyng hand euer toward vs,and ſo to direct vs here temporallye, that wee maye raygne and ioye wyth hym in heauen eternallye. And in like ſorte we requyre your charity,that you alſo wyth vs ryſyng vp to the prayſe of God alone, who hath begon ſo fauourably to worke with vs to our goodnes, in your prayers and diuine ſeruice do inſtantly recommend vs vnto the Lord,trauelyng here in theſe foren cōtries: & ſtudiyng to recouer not onely our right here in France,but alſo to aduance the whole catholyke churche of Chriſt,and to rule our people in iuſtice. And that alſo ye call vpon the Clergy and people,euerye one through hys dioces to do the ſame,inuocating the name of our ſauiour: that of hys mercye he will geue to vs his hūble ſeruant a docible hart,ſo to iudge & rule here vpon rightly,doyng that which he hath commaunded: that at length wee may attayne to that whych he hath promyſed.&c. whych letter was wryt to the biſhops and prelates.an.1340.

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After this foreſayd victory vpon the ſea, and newes therof with due thankes to our ſauiour: ſent into England the kyng ſtrikyng into Flaunders,came to Gaunt in Brabāce,where he had left the quene,who ioyfully receaued hym,beyng a litle before purified or churched as we terme it of her ſecond ſonne,whoſe name was Ihon and commonly called Ihon of Gaunt,and was earle of Richmonde and Duke of Gloceſtet. At Willenorth the kyng aſſembled his counſell, whereat were all the noble men of Flaunders, Brabante, and Heynalt, conioyning together in moſt firme leage, the one to helpe & defend the other,with the kyng of England,agaynſt the French kyng,purpoſing and determynyng from thence to march towardes Turney and it to beſiege. But the French kyng vnderſtandyng their counſel,fortified and victualed the ſame before their commyng thether: Furthermore the ſayd French kyng the ſame tyme to ſtop the ſiege of kyng Edwarde, ſent with kyng Dauid of Scotland a great power,to that intent to make inuaſiō in England, thereby the ſooner to cauſe the kyng to remoue his ſiege. In yͤ meane while, kyng Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Vallois,making vnto him certein requeſtes, as in the ſame hys letter here folowyng is to be ſéen: Who for that he wrote not vnto him,as kyng of France,but by the name of Philip de Vallois,refuſed to aunſwere him touchyng the ſame, as by theyr letters here placed may be ſéene.

Flaunders,Brabant and Heynalt take parte with k.Edward.

¶ *The letter of the king of England to Philip de Valois* the French kyng,going to the ſiege of Turney.

The letters of k.Edward to the Frāch king

PHilip de Valois, of long tyme we haue gentelly requeſted you by our Ambaſſadoures (by all the reſonable meanes we myght) to that intent you ſhoulde haue rendered vnto vs our lawfull ryght and inheritaunce to the crowne of Fraunce, which from vs a long tyme you haue by great wronge and force deteyned. And for that we well perceaue you meane to perſeuere in the ſame your purpoſe and iniurious detinew, without making any reſonable anſwere to our demaund: we let you vnderſtand,that we are entred into the countrey of Flaunders as the ſoueraigne lord of the ſame,& ſo paſſe through the countrey: and farther ſignifye vnto you,how that by the helpe of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt and our righteous cauſe therin,and with the power of the ſayd cōtrey, our people, and allies: we purpoſe to recouer the ryght which we haue to that inheritaunce you detayne frō vs by your iniurious force,& therfore approch we towards you to make a ſhorte end of thys our ryghtfull chalenge if you alſo will do the lyke. And for that ſo great an hoſte aſſembled which we bring with vs on our part (ſuppoſing you alſo on the other parte to doe the lyke) cannot long remayne together without greate deſtruction both to our people and countrey, which thyng euery good chriſtian ought to eſchew: eſpeciallye princes and others which haue the gouernment of the ſame, auoyding by as ſhort an ende as may be the mortalitie of chriſten mē, according as the quarell is aparant betwene you and me. For the which cauſes here touched,let the chalenge (if you thinke meete) be betwene our one perſons and bodyes diſcuſſed, that the great nobilitie and prowes of ech other may of euery one be ſeene. And if you refuſe thys waye, then let ther (to fyniſh thys chalenge) be an hundreth of the beſt ſouldiers you can chewſe out of your parte, matched with ſo many of our liege ſubiectes to try the ſame. And if of theſe two wayes,you refuſe both the one & the other,then that you will aſſigne vnto vs a certayne daie before the towne of Turnaye to fyght with vs power agaynſt power,which may be within ten daies next inſuing after the date of theſe our letters: offering the ſayd conditions vnto you aboue ſpecifyed (as we would all the world to know & vnderſtand) not vpon any orgoile, preſumption, or pryde we take therin: but for the cauſes before alleadged, and to the end that (the will of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt betwixt vs two herein declared and ſhewed) reſt and peace myght growe amongſt Chriſten men: The power & force of Gods enemyes, abated: and in fine, the limites of Chriſtianitie enlarged and enfrancheſed. And therfore hereupon conſider with your ſelfe what way you will take concerning our foreſayd offers, & by the bearers of theſe our letters ſend vnto vs herein quicke and ſpedie anſwere. Geuen vnder our great ſeale at Chyn in the plaine of Leece the.xxvij. day of this preſent moneth of Iulie.

¶ *The anſwer of the Lord Philip de Valoies* vnto the letter aforeſayd.

The anſwer of the French K. to K.Edward.

PHilip by the grace of God king of Fraunce,to Edward king of England. We haue ſene the letters which you haue ſent vnto our court to Philip de Valois: wherin are contayned certayne requeſtes which you make to the ſaid Philip de Valois: But for that the ſaid letters come not as directed vnto vs,neither yet the ſayd requeſtes ſeme to be made vnto vs (which thing clearely

,, by the tenor of the ſayd letters appeareth) we therefore
,, write vnto you no anſwer touching the ſame. Notwithſtanding,
,, this ſuffiſeth that we vnderſtand by the ſayde
,, letters of yours, as alſo other wayes, that you are entered
,, into our realme of Fraunce, to the great dammage
,, both vnto vs, our realme and people (more procedyng of
,, wyll, then reaſon) and not regarding that which a liege
,, man ought to do vnto his Lord. For you are entred into
,, our homage by you lieged vnto vs, acknowledgyng
,, your ſelfe as reaſon is, a liege man vnto the kyng of
,, Fraunce: and haue promiſed to do vnto vs ſuche obeyſaunce
,, as men are wont to do vnto their liege Lordes
,, (as more plainly by your letters patentes appeareth, enſealed
,, wyth your great ſeale, the which we haue wyth
,, vs) for the whiche thyng wee will you to vnderſtande:
,, that our purpoſe is (when it ſhall ſeeme good vnto vs) to
,, driue you out of our realme, to the honour both of vs &
,, our kingdome, and to the profyt and commoditie of our
,, people. And this thing to do we haue firme and aſſured
,, hope in Ieſus chriſt, from whom we haue all our power
,, & ſtrength. For, by your vnreaſonable demaunde more
,, wylfull then reaſonable, hath been hyndred and ſtayde
,, the holy viage to thoſe partes of beyonde the ſeas, wher
,, a great number of Chriſten men haue beene ſlayne: the
,, diuine ſeruice diminiſhed, and the ſeruice of the church
,, leſſe reuerenced. And as touchyng that where you ſay,
,, ye intende to haue the obeyſance of the Flemynges, we
,, thinke and beleue that the good people and commons
,, of that country, wil behaue them ſelues in ſuch ſorte toward
,, our Couſyn the Countes of Flaunders theyr Ladye,
,, as it be not to their reproche, and to vs their Souerayne
,, lord, they wyll reſpect theyr honour and loyalty.
,, And that thing wherein they haue done otherwiſe then
,, well, hetherto hath bene by the euyll counſel of ſuch people,
,, as neyther regarde the weale publike, nor honour of
theyr country, but theyr own onely gayne and commoditie.
Geuen in the field neare adioynyng to the priory
of Saint Andrew, vnder our priuye ſeale, in abſence of
our great ſeale, the .xxx. day of Iuly, an. 1340.

The Scottes inuade England.

Mention was made a litle before of Dauid kyng of Scots, whom the French king had ſupported and ſtyrred vp agaynſt the king and realme of England: which Dauid (with the ayde of the Scots & Frenchmen) did ſo much preuail yͭ they recouered almoſt again al Scotlãd which before he had loſt, and was cõſtrained to lyue in yͤ foreſt of Gedworth many yeares before. Then inuaded they England, & came with their army waſtyng & burning yͤ cõtry before thẽ, til they came as far as Durhã, & then returned agayn into Scotlãd, where they recouered all their holdes againe ſauing yͤ towne of Barwike. Edenborough they tooke by a ſtratagẽ or ſubtile deuiſe practiſed by Douglas & certeine other: who apparelyng thẽ ſelues in poore mẽs habites, as vittelers wyth corne & prouender & other things: demaunded the Porter early in the morning what neede they had therof. Who nothing miſtruſting opened the outward gate, where they ſhould tary tyll the Captayne roſe: and perceauing the Porter to haue the keyes of the inwarde gate, threwe downe their ſackes in the outwarde gate, that it myght not be ſhut agayne, and ſlew the porter, taking frõ hym the keyes of the towne. Then they blew their horne as a warning to the bandes, which priuelye they had layde not far of: who in haſty wiſe commyng, and finding the gates ready opened entred vpon the ſodeyn and killed as many as them reſiſted, and ſo obtained agayne the citie of Edenboroughe.

Edenborough recouered from the engliſhmen by the Scottes.

The Scottes thus beyng buſye in Englande, the Frenche kyng in the meane ſeaſon gathered together a puiſaunte power purpoſing to remoue the ſiege from Turney: and among other, ſent for the kyng of Scots, who came to him with great force, beſides diuers other noble men of Fraunce: in ſo muche that the Frenche kyng had a great armye, and thought hym ſelfe able inoughe to rayſe the ſiege, and thether bente hys hoaſte. But the Frenche kyng for all this hys foreſayde huge power & force, durſt not yet ſo neare approche yͤ kyng, as either to giue hym battaile, or els remoue hys ſiege: but kept him ſelfe wͭ his armie aloofe, in a ſure place for hys better defence. And notwithſtandyng yͤ kyng of Englãd waſted, burnt, ſpoyled, & deſtroyed the countrie .xx. miles in maner compas about Tourney, and toke diuers and ſondry ſtrong townes and holdes as Ortois, Urſes, Crenei, Archis, Odint, S. Amand, and the towne of Liſle, where he ſlue aboue 300. men of armes, and about S. Omers he ſlue and kyld of noble men, the Lord of Duſkune, of Mauriſſelou, of Kely, of Chaſtelowne, of Melly, of Fenis, of Hamelar, of Moũfaucon, and other Barõs to the number of .xiiii. and alſo ſlue and killed aboue 130 knightes, beyng all mẽ of great poſſeſſions and prowes, and tooke other ſmall cities & townes to yͤ nũber of 300: Yet for al this, Philip de Vallois the French kyng, durſt neither reſcue his townes, nor relieue his men: but of hys owne great army he loſt (whiche is to be marueled at being in the mideſt of his owne countrey) by famine and other inconueniences and for want of water, more then 20000. men without any battaile by him giuen. Wherupon, at the treatie of the ſayd Philip by his Embaſſadours to the kyng ſent, and by the mediation of the Lady Iane, ſiſter to the ſayd Philip, and mother to the earle of Heynalt, whoſe daughter kyng Edward as you hard had maried: A truce containyng the nomber of 15. articles for one yeare was concluded, the kyng of England beyng very vnwilling and loth therunto. Yet notwithſtãdyng partly by the inſtance of the foreſayd Lady, but ſpecially for that the kyng was greatly diſapoynted, through the negligence of his officers in Englãd, which ſent him not ouer ſuch money as he neded, for the continuaunce of hys warres and payment of hys ſouldiers wages (yͤ articles beyng ſomwhat reaſonable) he agreed to the truce therof, the conditions of whiche truce there concluded here folow vnder written.

Tou beſieg

Artic truce.

1 First, that during the ſayd truce, no tales or miſtruſt of either part ſhall be a detriment or cauſe of breache of the ſame.

2 Item, that during the ſayd reſpite or truce, either of the princes, their helpers coadiutours and allies, what ſoeuer: ſhall remayne and be in the quiet poſſeſſion of all ſuch poſſeſſions, holdes, territories, and lands, as at this preſent day, they kepe and enioy within the realme and dominion of Fraunce, in what maner ſo euer they haue achiued the ſame, during the ſayd truce.

3 Item, that the ſayd princes their aiders, coadiutours and Allies what ſoeuer: ſhall paſſe ſafly from one cõtry to an other, and all marchauntes with their marchaundiſe, as well by ſea as by lãd as accuſtomably they haue been wont: except ſuch baniſhed men as haue been baniſhed out of the ſayd realmes, or any of thẽ for other cauſes, then the warres betwene the ſayd princes.

4 Item, that the ſayd two princes ſhall not procure either by thẽ ſelues or any other, any practiſe or other moleſtation to be made the one to the other, by the biſhop of Rome or any other belongyng to the holye church what ſoeuer: either for the wars begon or any other, cauſe nor for the ſeruice of any of their allies, coadiutours, and aidours or any of them. And that our holy father the pope nor any other, ſhall diſturbe or moleſt either of the ſayd two kynges during the ſayd tyme.

5 Item, that immediatly after the truce be proclaimed in both the hoſtes: that they may ſtand bound of either ſide, to kepe and obſerue all & euery ſuch article as ſhal be therin contayned.

6 Item, that within .xx. dayes next and immediatly inſuing, eche of the princes ſhall cauſe to bee proclaimed

in Gaſcoine and Guyen, and other their landes theſe articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better obſerued kept, and knowne.

7 Item, if by any the ſayd princes, their allies, people, or coadiutours, any ſiege be layd in Gaſcoyne, or the dutchy of Guyen, or any other Iles of the ſea Gierneſey or Gerſey, or any other: that the ſame ſieges be rayſed, ſo ſoone as they ſhall here of this truce.

8 Item, that ſuch as are theues and fugitiues out of the country of Flaunders, ſhall not returne duryng the truce: and if they do, that thẽ ſuch as apprehend thẽ, ſhal ſee iuſtice done vpõ them, and forfaite all the goodes they haue in Flaunders.

9 Item it is accorded, that the debtes due to Arras, Treſponois, or other titles of Fraunce, ſhall neyther be demaunded nor executed during the ſayd truce.

10 Item, that all ſuche priſoners as haue bene taken during theſe wars, ſhall be releaſed out of priſon & ſent home vpon theyr faith and othe to returne, if they be not raunſomed during the ſayd truce. And if any ſhal refuſe ſo to do, that then the lord vnder whom he is, ſhall conſtraine him to returne agayne to priſon.

11 Item, that all the Bands whatſoeuer they be, which be made before this ſaid truce in the tyme of war (whyther they be of goods ſpirituall or temporal) be releaſed without reſtitution, during the ſayd truce.

12 Alſo, that theſe condicions of truce immediately may take effect betwene the Engliſh men and Scots, theyr lordes, ayders and allies: and the ſame to endure vntyll the natiuity of ſaynt John Baptiſt. And that certayne perſons be apointed by a certain day to be at ẏ marches of England and Scotland to confirme the ſame truce, vnder ſuch conditions as haue ben accuſtomed in thoſe partes. And if the ſayd Scots refuſe ſo to do, that then they to haue no ayde out of Fraunce, duryng the ſayde truce.

13 Item, that this ſayd truce be proclaimed in Englãd, and in Scotlãd, within xxvi. dayes after the date therof.

14 Item, it is accorded that within this truce be contayned Eſpainels, Chatelloin, Geneuos, the Byſhop and the towne of Cambray, and caſtels of the ſame. &c.

In witnes wherof, we Jhon by the grace of God king of Bohemia, and earle of Luxemburgh, Adulphe biſhop of Liege, Raoule duke of Loreine, Ayemes earle of Sauoye, and Jhon earle of Darminack on the one partie: And B. duke of Brabance, C. duke of Gelre, D. Marques of Juliers, Syr Jhon of Heinalt, and Syr Beawmount on the other partie, betwixt the hygh & puiſſaunt princes of Fraunce and England: Haue ſealed this inſtrument of truce and peace, and deliuered the ſame accordingly in the churche of Eſpleteline, on monday the 25. day of September, the yeare of grace. 1340.

Edward urneth Tour.

This truce thus finiſhed, king Edward brake vp his campe, remouing his ſiege from Tourney, and came agayne to Gaunt. From whence (very early in the morning) he with a ſmall companye tooke ſhipping, and by long ſeas came to the tower of London, verye fewe or none hauing vnderſtanding thereof. And being greatly diſpleaſed with diuers of hys counſell and high officers (for that through their defaulte hee was conſtrayned agaynſt hys wyll, not hauing money to mayntayne hys warres, to condeſcende vnto the foreſayd truce) he commaunded to bee apprehended and brought vnto hym to the tower, the lord John Stonhore chiefe iuſtice of England, and the lorde John Poultney with diuers others. And the next morning, he ſent for the lord R. biſh. of Ciciſter and the Lorde Wake, the Lorde Treaſurer and diuers other ſuche that were in authoritie and office, & commaunded them all to bee kept as pryſoners in the ſayd tower, onelye the ſayde biſhop excepted: whom for feare of the conſtitution of pope Clement, which commaunded that no biſhop ſhould be by the kyng impryſoned, he ſet at libertye and ſuffered hym to go hys waye, in his place he ſubſtituted ſyr Roger Bourcher knight, lord Chauncelour of England.

kyng ensed by officers.

bishop ll be im soned by popes

The hiſtorye intreating of thys matter, reporteth thus that the king had this tyme vnder him euyl ſubſtitutes, and couetous officers: who attendyng more to their owne gaine then to the publike honour and commoditie of the realme, left the kyng deſtitute and naked of money. With which crime, alſo John Stratford archbiſhop then of Canterbury, was vehemently noted and ſuſpected (whether of hys true deſeruing, or by the ſetting on of other hereafter ſhall more appeare. In ſo muche that the king ardentlye incenſed againſt hym, charged him with great falſehode vſed againſt his perſon, as by theſe hys letters wrytten and directed to the Deane and Chapter of Paules againſt the ſayd Archb. manifeſtlye appeareth. The tenour of which letter here followeth vnder wrytten.

Couetous officers.

John Stratford archb. of Cant.

¶ *Edward by the grace of God king of England and Fraunce,*
and lord of Ireland. To hys welbeloued in Chriſt the Deane
and Chapter of the church of Saynt Paule in
London, greeting in the Lord.

The kings letter to the Dean and chap. of Paules.

IT is manifeſt by auncient hiſtories, but more plainly appeareth by thoſe which daily are practiſed amongſt vs: that many men abuſyng (through pryde) the fauour of princes, and honour beſtowed vpon them, haue maliciouſly gone about to depraue the laudable endeuour of kynges. And now that the wordes which we ſpeake may be more manifeſt vnto our ſubiects: we ſuppoſe that neither you nor they haue forgotten, that we, beyng eſtabliſhed in our kinglye throne in yonger yeares, and couetyng euen then to guyde thys our regall charge taken vpon vs wyth wholeſome counſayles, haue called vnto vs John the biſhop of Wyncheſter, nowe Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom we ſuppoſed for hys fidelity and diſcretion to excede others: whoſe counſayl in matters appertaining vnto the helth of our ſoul, as in matters alſo reſpecting the augmentyng and cõſeruation of our kingdome both ſpiritually and temporally, we vſed: he was receaued of vs into all familiaritie. We found in hym alſo ſuch humanitie, that he was ſaluted by the name of father, and of all next vnto the kyng had in honour. Now afterwardes, when by ryght of ſucceſſion the kyngdome of Fraunce ſhould haue deſcended vnto vs, and was by violent iniury by the lord Philip of Valois holden from vs: the ſayd archbiſhop by hys importune inſtancie perſwaded vs to enter league of amitie with the princes of Almanie, agaynſt the ſayde Phillip, and to commit our ſelfe and oures vnto the hazard of warres: promyſyng and affyrmyng that hee woulde bring to paſſe, that the reuenues of oure landes and other helpes by hym deuiſed, ſhoulde ſuffice aboundauntlye for the mayntenaunce of our ſayde warres. Adding moreouer, that our onely care ſhould be for the furniture of ſtrong and able ſoldiours, ſuch as were fyt for the purpoſe, and expert in warfare: for the reſt, he hym ſelfe would effectually procure, for money conuenient to ſuffice our neceſſitye, and the charges thereof. Whereupon (entendyng great exploytes) we conueyed our armye beyonde the ſeas, and with marueylous great charges (as behoued) we ſet forward: we became alſo bound in great ſummes of mony, makyng ſure accompt of the ayde aforeſaid promiſed vnto vs. But alas, vnhappy is that man that repoſeth confidence in mans deceiptfull ſtaffe of brittle reede: whereunto (as ſayeth the prophet) if a man leane, it breaketh & pearceth the hãd. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for ſubſidy, for very neceſſities ſake we wer conſtrained to take vpon vs importable charges of debts by greuous vſury. And ſo, our expedition being ſtayd, we wer compelled to retyre into England, deſiſting from our enterpriſes ſo valeantly begun. Now, when we wer returned into England, we layde before our archbiſhop our manyfold calamities and miſſfortunes before rehearſed, and thereupon called a parliament: wherein the prelats noblemen, and other the faythfull ſubiectes of our dominions, graunted vnto vs a new ſubſidie of corn, lambe, wooll. &c. beſydes the tenth graunted by the Clergye: which ſubſidye (if it had bene faythfully collected and obtayned in due tyme) had greatly auayled for the expedition of our ſayd wars, the payment of our debts, and cõ fuſion of our enemies. Our ſayd archbiſhop promiſed diligētly to do hys endeuour, aſwel in collecting the ſame, as alſo in procuring other neceſſaryes to ſerue our purpoſe. whereuppon, truſtyng vnto theſe fayre promiſes, hauyng all thinges in a readynes both men and furniſhed ſhyps, we made ſayle towardes Flaunders, and by the way vpon the daungerous ſeas buckeled wyth our enemies (ſworen to the deſtruction of our Engliſhe nation) of whom we triumphed and were victors, not by our merites (theyr multitude far exceeding ours) but by the mercyfull clemency of hym that ruleth both wynde and ſea. which beyng done, we paſſed from thence with a mighty power for the recouerye of our ryght, and pytched our tentes nere vnto the puiſſant city of Tornaye: where beyng deteyned for a tyme in the ſiege therof, wearyed with continuall toyle, our charges ſtyll encreaſyng awayting wyth ſylence our promiſed ayde: daye by daye we hoped from our archbiſhop to receaue ſuccor in theſe ſo great our neceſſities. At length being fruſtrate of all conceaued hope, we ſignifyed vnto our ſayd archbiſhop, and other hys adherentes, by diuers meſſengers & ſondrye letters, our greate neceſſitie and perilles which we were in for lacke of the ſayd ſubſidie graunted vnto vs. We added alſo the vtilitie and honour, whiche wee ſawe might be atchiued if we had receaued mony in tyme. All thys notwithſtanding, we receaued from them no ſuccor at all, for that, preferring theyr priuate buſines and proper commodities, they cloked theyr ſlothe, or rather (as I may cal it) their fraude and malice with vaine excuſes: and paynted gloſyng wordes, lyke vnto the deceitfull, which (as ſayth Eſay) vſe to deryde with theſe wordes: *Manda remanda, &c.*

Archb. of Cant. fall to the king

Euil officers diſplaced by the king.

By meanes wherof (alas for ſorow) it came to paſſe, that, whyles good hope of ſubduing our enemyes graciouſlye ſmyled vpon vs, we were conſtrayned (penurye preuayling agaynſt vs) to take truce to our ſhame, the hindraunce of our expedition, and no ſmall reioyſyng of our euill willers: and ſo we returned into Flaunders all voyde of money, oppreſſed with infinite debts, neyther had we in our treaſuries wherwith to diſcharge our neceſſities, nor yet to pay our ſouldiers wages: inſomuch, that we were compelled to enter into the deuouring goulfe of vſurie, and to ſuſtaine on our ſhoulders greate burdens of debts, heape vpon heape. Thys being done, our faythfull frendes, companions in warres, and partakers of our tribulations came vnto vs, with whom we conſulted diligently by what meanes we myght beſt deliuer our ſelues from this daungerous ſtorme of euill fortune. They all agreed affirming certainlye, that the protracting of our warres, and cauſe of our manifolde neceſſitie happened vnto vs through the fault and negligence (or rather the malice) of the ſayd archbiſhop (vpō whoſe diſcretion the diſpoſition of our whole kingdome ſemed to depend) and other officers whom we had ioyned in counſaile with hym touching the affayres of our kingdome: vehementlye ſwearing and murmuring amongſt them ſelues (for that we had left ſo longe vncorrected the inſolencie of the byſhops and other officers) that if remedie in theſe caſes were not had with ſpede: they would withdraw themſelues from our allegeance, and the couenaunt, which they had ſworne vnto, to the vtter ſubuerſion of our kyngdome, our perpetuall ignomie, & the euerlaſting ſhame of the Engliſh natiō (which God our moſt mercifull father forbydde) ſhould come to paſſe in our daies, in whom is fyxed immoueably the anchor of our hope. Wherupon entending the due correctiō of our officers, we remoued from offices (as ſemed good to our wyſedome) diuers perſons, whom we ſuſpected in cauſes euident of euil adminiſtration of iuſtice, of ſubuerſion, & oppreſſion of our ſubiectes, of corruption, of bribes, & other haynous offences. Others alſo of inferior degree offending in the premiſſes, we cauſed to be deteyned in ſafe cuſtodie, leaſt by theyr libertye, iuſtice myghte bee troden vnder foote, and the inquiſition of the truth concernyng the premiſſes not come to lyght. Foraſmuche therefore as the knowledge of the truth in theſe caſes might of none more certainly be knowen, thē from the ſecrete breſt of our ſayd archbiſhop, for that nothing pertaynyng to our informatiō ought to lye hid frō hym, vnto whom of ſo long a time had been committed the adminiſtration of our whole cōmon weale, & ſumme of all our buſines: we ſent vnto him our faithfull ſubiect Nicholas de Cantilupe with ſpeciall commaundement from vs (all delayes ſet a part) that he ſhould forthwith make his perſonall appearance before vs at our citie of London. But he (as one alwayes timerous aſwell in proſperitie as in aduerſitie, and fearing where no feare was) vntruely alleageth that ſome of our aſſiſtents had threatned him, & layd wayte for his life, if at any tyme he departed from the church of Canterbury: which (God we take to witnes and a pure conſcience) we neuer mēt nor any of our aſſiſtentes.

Archb. of Cant. odi. ous to all the clerg

We ſuppoſe he touched therby our coſin, although to all others aſwell of the clergie as communaltie through hys malicious miſdemeanors he was become odious.

The arch of Cant. nyeth to come to the king

The arch charged with diſſe bling and ingrati

The arch diffame the kyng

Wherfore, entending the ſafegarde of our ſubiectes by letters or otherwyſe called before vs, we appoynted our truſtie and welbeloued Ralfe Stafford our Harbynger, to offer vnto hym ſafeconduct: and moreouer to preſent vnto him our letters patentes vnder our ſeale, willing and commaunding him therby again perſonally to come before vs, that we might be enformed what of ſo longe a tyme he had done touching the affayres of the kingdom. Wherunto, contemning our commaundement and gentle requeſt he anſwereth, that neither he would in perſon appeare, neyther yet in any matter conferre with vs, except it were in a full Parliament which for diuers reaſonable cauſes could not then be called. Thus may you ſee thys archbyſhop (whom our royall benignitie had amplified with large honors, admitted into all familiaritie, receaued into the bonde of vnanimitie & frendſhip, vpon whom as on a father our whole hope did conſiſt: who, ſo long as we accompliſhed his will in all thinges, pretended towardes vs a face of counterfeat loue cloked wyth diſſembling beneuolence euen as though he had been a louing father) how cruelly agaynſt reaſon he hath nowe forſaken vs, requiting benefites with ingratitude, oppreſſing hys benefactor with the arrogancie of feare: and finally (according to the vulgar prouerbe) rewarding vs as a horſe in a ſatchel, a ſnake in a mans boſome, and fire cheriſhed nexte the ſkinne rewardeth their receauers. When we were fyrſt exalted vnto the throne of our kingdom, deſcended vnto vs by ryght of inheritance (Gods diuine prouidence ſo workyng) we thought and alwaies thinke it a deteſtable thyng to abuſe ſo high authoritye, but rather deſyre to gouerne with clemencie, lenitie, and moderation of iuſtice, that peace of all mē deſyred might firmely take place. Neuertheles, our ſayd Archbiſhop hath gone about to defame our innocencie, & the fidelitie and diligence of our faithfull counſailers proſecutors of true iuſtice: openly declaring in hys letters patente, and publiſhing abroad in diuers places, that he was oppreſſed by the kinges power contrarye to iuſtice, the clergye and communaltie confounded, and the churche ouercharged with diuers greuous taxes and exactions. He ſubtillie vſurped the name of a good paſtor, whē in dede he was nothing leſſe, but rather (as it ſhould ſeme by his own confeſſion, & the common opinion had of him) a very hyreling. He cloked his craftie ſubtilnes with ẏ zeale of defending the church, although he himſelf in very dede was the onely cauſe, by hys euill counſaile & craftie deuiſes, of the tribulations of the ſame. He alſo fayned that not long a goe, certain writings were brought vnto him to be ſealed, contayning in effect the defence & excuſatiō of all ſuche in generall that were violaters of the liberties of the church: hoping therby to defame the opinion had of vs & of our faythfull counſailors, to ſtyrre vp ſedition amongſt the people, & finally to withdraw from vs the hartes of our nobilitie. He gaue cōmaundement by hys letters, that theſe things ſhould be proclaimed in all places of great reſort by diuers ſpeciall articles cōtrary to hys former order in hys prouinciall councell. Wherfore, reſpecting the integritie of our fame, entending to preuent the malice of the ſaid archbiſhop, & alſo to decline from vs the ſnares prepared for vs and oures: we haue thought good at this preſent (ouer & beſides thoſe which before are rehearſed) amongſt ſo many which we omitte, to declare vnto you ſome of his peruerſe & wicked actes. When in our minoritie we were conſtituted ouer our dominions, he cauſed vs through hys vnaduiſed coūſaile & raſhe perſuaſion (therby to winne exceſſiue fauour) to geue away ſo many waſtefull giftes, and ſo many vnlawfull alienations that now by meanes therof our treaſure is cleane conſumed, the reuenewes of our Exchequer without all order diminiſhed, & he corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes alſo without cauſe why, when neyther neceſſitie nor vtilitie ſo requyred, onely through his perſuaſion we forgaue diuers men great ſummes of money due vnto vs, yea and the rentes and reuenewes which ought to haue been cōſerued for our neceſſitie and profyte we applyed to the vſe of his frendes largely beſtowing vpon ſuch as euill deſerued it. Moreouer (accepting aſwell perſons as mony) contrary to our mind, and his othe of fidelitie made vnto vs: he admitted vnto publique offices throughout our dominiõs, perſons vnworthy, neglecting thoſe that had wel deſerued. Many other thinges he raſhly tooke in hand, to the detriment of our ſtate, the hurt of our dignitie royall, & no ſmall dammage of our ſubiectes, by abuſing hys authoritie and office committed vnto him. But it he perſiſte in his proud obſtinacie and ſtoute rebellion, we ſhall hereafter in conuenient time & place, cauſe it to be more openly knowen: willing and commaunding you to publiſhe and cauſe to be publiſhed, all and ſingular the premiſſes openlye & diſtinctly in places where you ſhall thinke it expediẽt, and to ſet forth (as ſhall ſeme beſt to your godly wiſedomes) our good entent for the ſuppreſſing of incõmodities, and furthering of the commodities of our ſubiectes, that we may worthely commend your circumſpect care herein. *Teſte meipſo apud VVeſtm. x. die Februar. Anno regni noſtri Angliæ. xv. Regni vero Franciæ Secundo.*

e archb. ſeth hys ſe.

By theſe foreſayd obiections and accuſations of the kyng premiſed, and layd agaynſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury: what is to be thought of the doyngs of the ſayd archbiſhop, I leaue it to thy iudgement gentle reader (as I ſaid before) to be cõiected: For ſo much as our hiſtories ſomewhat bearing wͭ the ſaid archbiſhop, ſeme either to be vncerteyn of the truth of the mater, or els couertly to diſſemble ſome part of that they knew. And eſpecially of Polydor. Vergil. I meruaile, who hauyng ſo good occaſion to touche the matter, dothe ſo ſleightlye paſſe it ouer wythout any word mentiõing. In which mater if probable coniecture (beſide hiſtory) might here be hard, it is not vnlyke: But that ſome olde practiſe of prelates hath herein been put in vre, through ſome craftie cõſpiracie betwene the pope and the archbiſhop. And the rather to be gathered, for that as the pope was enemie vnto the kyng in this his chalenge to the crowne of Fraunce: So the archbiſhop agaynſt his prince (as for the moſt part alwayes they haue been) was a frend, as no man nede to doubt therof, vnto the pope. Which thyng alſo more probable may be ſuppoſed, becauſe of the comming downe of the two Cardinals the ſame tyme, from the pope to the kyng of England, about the matter of farther truce: wherof (chriſt willing) more hereafter ſhal folow. Albeit, the archbiſhop (this yet notwithſtandyng) ſubtelye and featly excuſeth him ſelfe to the kyng of the foreſayde obiections, and conningly handleth the matter in woordes by his letter directed to the kyng, as foloweth.

¶ *The letter of the archbiſhop of Caunterbury* to the Kyng.

letter he Arch op to king.

REdoubted ſir, may it pleaſe your maieſty to vnderſtand: that the moſt chiefeſt and ſpeciall thyng that keepeth kinges and princes in the fauour of God, & beſt preſerueth them in their eſtate: is ſage, wiſe, and deliberate counſel And therfore ſaith the wiſe mã, concerning counſell in this wiſe: Good men haue thereby their ſafetie. And it is written in the booke of kings, howe Salomon which was the wiſeſt prince that euer was, tooke vnto him the moſt auncient and ſage men of his realme to be his counſailours: By whoſe aduiſemẽt and diſcretion, he alwaies kept the land of Iſraell in quiet and in peace, and beſides that had all other kinges and princes that bordered vpon him at his wil and cõmaundement. After whoſe death raigned Ierobobam his ſonne, who neglecting the good counſell of his father, and good aduiſe of his ſage and diſcrite counſailours: harkened to ſuch counſel as lighter and yonger men perſwaded him vnto, that ſought rather how to pleaſe and flatter hym, then the quiet ſtate of his realme: whereby he loſt all the whole land of Iſrael, the. xij. part onelye excepted. In like maner haue many kinges of Iſrael and other kingdomes beſyde, by raſh and euill counſell come to great ruine and miſchiefe. And ſir (ſauing your princely pacience) you may cal to remembraunce your own time: for by the wicked and ſiniſter counſel to our late ſoueraygne Lord your father geuen (whom God forgeue) which hee tooke and folowed: both againſt the law of his land, and graund charter of the peeres and other his people of the land: ſome he put to ſhamefull death, from other ſome he tooke their goods, and ſuch as fled, he put vnto theyr raunſome: and what enemies he purchaſed therby, your grace wel vnderſtãdeth. And after this ſyr, you know (euẽ in your own time) how by folowing and beleuing ouer light counſel: you your ſelf loſt the harts of many of your ſubiectes, from the which God deliuer you, if it be his wyll. And after that time againe vntill nowe, by the good aduiſemẽt of your Prelates, Pieres, and ſage cõu ſeilours of your land, your graces buſines and affayres haue bene ſo demained and ordered: that you haue had the hartes againe of all your ſubiectes, as well ſpirituall as temporall, as much or rather more, then any of your graces prediceſſours, kinges of England haue had. So that, by meanes of the ſaid good counſell, the good wyll and ayde of your people, and ſpeciall grace of God: you haue had the victorye ouer all your enemies, as well in Scotland as in Fraunce, and all other places beſides: That vnto this day (gods name be bleſſed therfore) your grace hath bene eſteemed as one of the moſt nobleſt princes in al Chriſtendome. And now your grace (by the euil and peruerſe counſail of ſome ſuch within thys realme, which are not ſo wiſe as they might be, and ſuche alſo as conſider and reſpect rather their owne priuate commoditie, then your graces honour and ſafetye of your realm) beginneth to apprehend diuers Clerkes, Pieres, and other people of the lande, & to direct proces againſt them, not beſeeming: but contrary to the law of the lãd, which to keepe and maintaine you are bound by the oth you tooke at your coronation: and contrary to the graũd charter, whereof all the realme are witneſſes, and al the prelates of the ſame: and contrarye to the ſentence confirmed by the Bull of our holye father the Pope, which we haue to ſhewe. All which thinges, as they are to the great perill and danger of your ſoule: ſo are they alſo to ẏ vtter debaſing of your regal ſtate and honor. And ſyr, although ſuch as be your graces gouernours and coũſailers (being a calling aboue their degree) do geue your grace to vnderſtand that their enterpriſes and yours do pleaſe and content your ſubiectes and cõmons: yet your grace ſhall know for certaine, and proue it your owne ſelfe to be farre other wyſe, then that they beare you in hande. And that vnleſſe God do remedy the ſame if you proſecute your purpoſe begun in this order: you wil leſe the hartes of all your ſubiectes, as alſo your good and rightfull enterpriſe, and ſhall ſee ſuch diſcorde about the ſame: that you ſhall not bee able to performe that you haue begun, but rather enforce your ennemies to ſeeke your deſtruction, to loſe your noble & renoumed fame, and in the end your kingdome it ſelfe, which God forbid. Wherefore ſoueraigne Lorde and king, I beſeche you: that for the ſafegarde of your honour and realme, and enterpriſe begonne: that you will take vnto you the moſt diſcret and wiſeſt men, within your realme, and worke by their aduiſe and counſell, as before thys tyme you haue been accuſtomed: without the ayde and coũſell of whom you can neither mainteine your enterpriſe, nor gouerne your realme. And for that, ſome ſuch as are about your grace, falſly deuiſe agaynſt vs, treaſon and ſuch like troubles (and therfore are of vs excõmunicate, and as perſons excommunicate do ſo eſteme of them) as your ſpirituall paſtour, we alſo deſire you ſo to eſteme & thinke of them: whiche alſo, make lyke reporte of other that haue been with your grace beyõd the ſeas, that they haue naughtly and falſly ſerued you, whereby you haue loſt the towne of Tourney, and much honour els, which you might haue wonne and gotten there. May it pleaſe your grace to call before you, the prelates and Pieres of your realme in ſome cõuenient place, where we & others

Excommunication in his own priuate cauſe abuſed.

mo, may ſafly come and reſorte: and there alſo to make ſearch and enquirie, in whoſe hands after the beginning of your warres, the money and what thyng els ſo euer, whiche was graūted vnto you in ayde of the ſame your warres, vntill this preſent day, doth remaine and is not layd out agayn, as alſo by whoſe default you wer ſo enforced to leaue the ſayd ſiege of Tourney: & thoſe which ſhalbe found in any point faulty & gilty therein againſt you as a good Iuſticer, your grace wyl cauſe to be puniſhed accordyng to the law: and in ſo much as appertayneth vnto vs therin, we aſke iudgemēt of our peeres (the ſtate alwayes of holy church, of vs, and of our order reſerued inuiolate) accordyng as we haue writtē vnto you herein. And for gods ſake Syr, beleue not either of vs or any other your true ſubiects els, more thē that you ſhal vnderſtande the veritie of: for if men ſhould be puniſhed without makyng aunſwere to that, whiche is obiected agaynſt them, ther ſhould be then no difference in iudgement betwixte the good dooer and the badde. And Syr, may it pleaſe you wel to conſider, of the great enterpriſe you haue in hand, the great good will whiche you haue nede of for thys cauſe, and of your great enemyes the Scottes, and the great ieoperdie of your realme beſides. For, if your prelates, your nobles, & al yͤ wiſemē of your realme, were of one minde and wil (without any diſcord or diuiſion amongeſt them) to diſpoſe & ſet in order thoſe thinges, whiche are nedefull in ſo great affaires and buſines: they ſhould haue all inough to beat their heades about, for the maintenance of your great enterpriſe begonne, the honour of you, & ſauegarde of your realme. And Syr, may it pleaſe your grace, not to be diſpleaſed that ſo rudly and groſly we declare vnto you the veritie: for why, the great loue and affection whiche we beare vnto you and alwayes haue done the ſame: the preſeruation of your honour and ſauegarde of your realme, as alſo for that we are (although vnworthy) the primate of the whole realme of England: which thyng apertaining vnto vs by our office, and beyng your ſpirituall father, doth incite vs the rather both to ſay and cōmaunde that, whiche may turne to the benefite of your ſoule, and profite of your realme and kyngly eſtate. Thus the holy ſpirite ſaue you both body and ſoule, and giue you grace both to heare & beleue good counſail, & farther giue you victory ouer all your enemies. Written at Canterbury, yͤ firſt day of Ianuary, By your graces chaplein the archbiſhop of the ſame.

The returne of the kings army from Tourney.

And thus ſtode the caſe betwe the king and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who comming thus (as is ſayde) in ſecrete wiſe into Englande, from the ſiege of Tourney, his army in the meane while, by ſhips was conueied to litle Britain. Of whom a great number, through vnſeaſonable & inconuenient meates and drinkes, was there conſumed. To whom alſo no leſſe daunger happened by the ſeas comming out of Britaine into Englād, by tempeſt, thunder, and lyghtenyng ſtyrred vp, as is thought, by the Necromanſers of the French king. About which ſeaſon, approching to the yeare of our Lord 1341. were ſent from the pope twoo other Cardinals to entreate with king Edward for thrée yeares truce to be concluded more with the Frēch king, beſide the former truce taken before for one yeare, and all by the Popes meanes. For here is to be vnderſtande, that as it was not for the popes purpoſe, to haue the king of England to raigne ouer ſo many countries, ſo his priuye ſupportation lacked not, by all meanes poſſible both by hys archbiſhops and Cardinals, and alſo by the Emperour to maintaine the ſtate of the French king, & to ſtabliſhe him in his poſſeſſion. Ex Rob. Aueſ. ex Chro. Albanenſ.

1341.

Truce takē for 3. yeares, betwene king Edward and the French kyng.

In the ſayd hiſtories where theſe thinges be mencioned, it is alſo noted, that the ſame yeare ſuche plentye there was here in the realme of vitails, that a quarter of wheate was ſold for.ij.s̄.a fat oxe for a noble, and as ſome ſay a ſhéepe for.iiij.d. And thus far endureth the hiſtory of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis called Polychronicon.

1342

The next yeare folowing, which was.1342. Ludouicus Bauarus the Emperour, who before had ſhewed great curteſy to king Edwarde as in his firſte viage ouer, in ſomuch that he made him his Vicar or Vicegerent generall, and offered hym alſo ayde agaynſt the the French king: nowe (eyther turned by inconſtancye, or ſeduced by the Pope) writeth to hym contrarye letters, wherein he reuoketh agayne the Vicegerentſhyp graunted to him, and ſeeketh all meanes in the fauour of the French king, againſt king Edwarde: as by hys letters here vnder written, may better appeare.

¶ *The letter of the Emperour vnto the* kyng of England.

LVdouicus by the grace of God Emperour of the Romaines all wayes Auguſtus, &c. To Edward kyng of England his beloued brother, greeting and vnfayned loue. Although great and vrgent buſines of our own do oppreſſe vs, and aboute the ſame our waightie affayres are daylye incombred: yet with the diſcorde & variance betwene your kingly dignitie and the renowned Philip yͤ king of France our coſen, for your ſake we are not a litle troubled. And the rather the great charges which may hereafter grow both to you & to your kingdō, thereby conſidered both of men & mony vnles the ſame be taken vp: doth more earneſtly prouoke vs to geue our ſelf, to the carefull ſtudie of your affayres. Wherefore, we geue you to vnderſtand, that the foreſayd Philip (at our requeſt) hath geuē vnto vs by his letters, authoritie and power to entreate & conclude a peace betwene you, touching the variance begon: which peace (all the ſtate diligently conſidered both of your ſelf, your kingdome and ſubiects) we take & beleue to be right expedient for you: mouyng therewithall youre charitye and earneſtlye exhorting you, that to this alſo you will geue your conſent: wherby we may bring you both to concorde & vnitie, and eſtabliſhe betwene you a firme peace to endure, wherunto with willing minde we would applie our ſelf and beſtow our painfull labour in proſecuting of yͤ ſame. And herin if you wil condeſcend & agree vnto our counſell, as we truſt you will, It may pleaſe you by your letters to geue vnto vs the like authoritie as is aboueſaid, to entreate a peace or ordering of a truce for one yeare or two at leaſt to continew. Neither let it moue you, that betwene vs and the ſaid Phillip of Frāce a truce is taken. For ſeing that you without our conſent tooke truce with him: we by the aduiſe of our princes which know yͤ bonds, dedes, & couenātes betwixt vs, who alſo thought no les but that ſauing our honor we might do the ſame, haue alſo made a leage with yͤ ſayd Philip B. of Frāce, & for certaine cauſes doe reuoke and call backe the Lieftenātſhip which we aſſigned vnto you by our leters: Neuertheles geuing you for a certayn to vnderſtād, yͭ in our ſayde treaties and peace concluded we haue ſo brotherly conſidered you, that if you will agree and condeſcend vnto our counſell: your cauſe (by our meane & helpe) ſhalbe brought to good paſſe and effecte. About which thinges farther to confer with your brotherhood herein, we haue ſent a deuoute and religious man Eliarhardus reader and brother of the order of yͤ Heremites of S. Auguſtine and Chapline of our courte: whom aboute the premiſſes we deſire with ſpedie expedition to be ſent to vs agayne. Dated at Franckford the.xiiij. day of Iune in the.xxiiij. yeare of our reigne and.xiiij. of our Empyre.

¶ *The anſwer of the king of England to* the Emperour.

TO the high and mighty prince lord Ludouike, by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes, alwayes Auguſtus, Edward by the ſame grace kyng of Fraunce, and England, and Lord of Irelande: ſalutacion & proſperous ſucceſſe. We haue reuerētly receaued your highnes letters, amongeſt other thynges contayning, that the noble Philip de Valois (to thintent a peace and concord betwene vs and him might be concluded) hath geuen vnto you by hys letters full power and authoritye thereunto at your highnes requeſt: And that if the ſame might content vs to do in lyke ſorte, your highnes wold trauaile to bryng the concord to paſſe: And that it would not moue vs any whit at all, that your highnes and the ſayd Philip are in leage together: For in ſomuch as we without your aſſent & conſent (you ſay) tooke truce with the ſayde Philip you alſo haue done the lyke with hym (whiche thyng you mighte well doo ſauing youre honour, by the counſell of al your nobles and princes) and for certeine cauſes reuoke agayn the Lieſtenauntſhyp whiche you committed vnto vs. Doubtles, the zeale and good will you haue to make this concorde and agremēt, we much commend: lettyng you to vnderſtand, that we alwayes haue ben deſirous and ſtil are, to haue a reaſonable peace with the ſayd Philip: whiche peace, as much as to vs (our honor ſaued) apertained, we haue in iuſtice and by law proſecuted: & in very dede, it ſhould be to vs acceptable & as we would wiſh, if by ſuch a Mediator as your Celcitude is, it might be brought to pas. But for as as much we vnderſtand the ſame our right & title to the kyngdō of France, to be manifeſt and cleare inough: we purpoſe not to commit the ſame by any of our letters to doubtfu l arbitrement. But while we wel conſider and reuolue with our ſelues, how your highnes vpō circūſpect conſideration (manifeſtly beholding our iuſt and rightful doyng, and the ſtrict dealyng and obſtinate purpoſe and iniurie of the ſayd Philip) with vs and in our behalfe againſt ỹ ſayd Philip, your graces highnes made a ſpecial leage: adoptig vs of your great & bou̅tiful loue towards our perſon, to be one of your ſons: wherfore thus again to altar & breake the ſame, we cā not ſufficiently maruel. Seing your inuincible highnes being inſtituted of God to the laude and commendation of good men & reuenge of euil and wicked doers, hath made a leage agaynſt vs with the ſayd Philip de Valois our notorious and iniurious enemie. And as touching that which you ſay, without your aſſignement and conſēt we toke a truce or dais of reſpite with the ſayd Philip which we ought not to haue done: If your grace well conſider the circumſtance of the matter, we haue done but as we myght therin. For when we layd our ſiege to Turney, it was requiſite we followed their aduiſe whoſe ayde and ſocietie therin we had. Beſides, the ſoden and imminent neceſſitie which we there ſtoode in, and the diſtance of the place betwixt your highnes and vs further more was ſuche, as that by no meanes we might attaine the ſame nor vſe your aſſent therin. Ye and further if your grace well remember your ſelf, your graunt vnto vs was ſuch: that when ſoeuer oportunitie therunto ſhould serue, we might entreat of any peace, and graunte what time we thought meete therunto, without your cōſēt therin: So that to conclude any finall peace with the ſayd Philip de Valois, without eyther your conſent or otherwiſe making your highnes priuie therunto, it mighte not be lawfull for vs: which thing, without your ſaid counſel, conſent, and aduiſe, we neuer minded or purpoſed to do. But haue in all our doinges done that which vs beſeemed, ſo farre as by any meanes oure power woulde ſtretche: hoping likewiſe, that your brotherly beneuolence for a time woulde haue more louingly ſupported vs. It is thought alſo by ſome, that the reuoking backe agayne or reſtraint of your foreſayd Lieſtenantſhip, was prematurate, or done all out of time: whē as accordig to your promiſe made to vs herein by your letters imperial, you ought not ſo to haue done before the realme and kingdome of Fraunce (or at the leaſt the greater parte therof) were of vs obtayned and quietly in peaceable wyſe enioyed. These premiſſed therfore we deſire you, according to your nobilitie dulie to conſider, and hereafter to do that which ſhalbe thought both meete and conuenient: becauſe that (God willing) we meane to recompence and gratify both you & yours, according to the meaſure of your beneuolence beſtowed vpon vs. The almightie graunt vnto your Celſitude ſo much felicitie as your hart deſyreth. Dated at London the xviij. day of July in the 2. yeare of the reigne of our kingdome of Fraunce, and of England xv.

pe Cle- nt 6,

Chron. Albanſ.

In this meane tyme dyed pope Benedict the 12. mentioned a litle before: after whom ſucceded in that rowme Pope Clement the 6. Of whom it is reported in ſtories, that he was very liberall and bountiful to his Cardinals of Rome, in riching & heapyng them with goods & poſſeſſions, not of his owne, but with the eccleſiaſticall dignities and prefermentes of the churches of Englād. For ſo recordeth the autor, that he beſtowed vpon his Cardinals the lyuings and promotions, ſuch as were or ſhould be vacant in churches of England, and went about to ſet vp new titles for his Cardinals, here within this realme. But the kyng beyng offended therewith made voyde and fruſtrate, all thoſe foreſayd prouiſions of the pope, chardging moreouer and commaundyng no perſon what ſoeuer, to buſie him ſelf wt any ſuch prouiſiōs, vnder payne of priſonement & of looſing his life. Which law was made the next yeare folowyng, which was an. 1344. It folowed then, that the ſayd Pope Clement, agayne begā to make new prouiſions for two of his Cardinals of benefices and churches that ſhould be next vacant, beſide Biſhoprikes, and Abbatſhyps, to ỹ extent of two thouſand markes. Wherupon, the procurators of the ſayd Cardinals were ſent downe for the ſame. But the kyng and nobilitie of the realme not ſufferyng that, vnder pain of enpriſonemēt cauſed ỹ ſayd procuratours forthwith to depart the realm: wherupon, the nobles & cōmons ſhortly after, writeth a fruitefull Epiſtle to the pope, for the liberties and the mainteinance of the Engliſhe church: Wherunto, as ſayth the autor, the pope and the Cardinals were not able to aunſwere. The argument and tenour of whiche letter, out of Frenche we haue cauſed to be tranſlated into Engliſh, as enſueth.

The king diſſenulleth the pops prouiſion

The popes procuratours driuen out of England

¶ *The letter of the king of England and nobles of the* ſame to the pope agaynſt the reſeruations and prouiſions which he had in England.

A letter of the Nobles and commons of England to the pope.

TO the moſt holy father in God lord Clement, by the grace of God of the holy church of Rome and of the vniuerſall church, chiefe and high biſhop: His humble and deuoute children, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Knightes, Citizens, Burgeſes, and all the cominaltie of the realme of England aſſembled at the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter the xv. daye of May laſt paſte: Deuout kiſſinges of his holye feete, with all humble reuerence and humilitie. Moſt holy father, the holy diſcretion, gouernment, and equitie which appeareth to be in you and ought of duetie ſo to be (being ſo high & holy a prelate and head of the holy church) by whom the holy vniuerſall church and people of God ought to be, as by the ſonne beames, enlightned: Geueth vs good hope and liklyhode, that the iuſt peticions (to the honor of Jeſus Chriſt & holy church, & your holines alſo) by vs declared: ſhall be of you graciouſlye heard and conſidered. And that all errours and other iniquities quite taken away and remoued: in ſteede thereof, fruitfull exploytes and neceſſary remedies (by the grace of the holye ſpirite, whych you in ſo hygh an eſtate haue receaued) may be by you lykewiſe graciouſly ordeined and diſpoſed. Wherefore moſt holy father, all we (vpon great deliberatiō and common aſſent) come vnto your holynes: ſhewing & declaryng, that the noble kynges of England our progenitours, our aunciters, and we (according to the grace of the holy ſpirite to them and vs geuen, euerye one accordyng to hys deuotion) haue eſtabliſhed, founded, and endowed wythin the realme of England: churches cathedrals, Collegies, Abbeyes, Priories, and other dyuers houſes of religion in the ſame ordayned: and to the Prelates and Gouernours of the ſame places, haue geuen landes, poſſeſſions, patrimonies, francheſies, aduowſons, and patronages of dignities, reuenues, offices, churches, wyth manye and diuers other benefices vnto them geuen: whereby the ſeruice of GOD, and fayth of Chriſte myght haue bene honoured, and had in reuerēce: that the Hoſpitals and almes houſes that are made, wyth all the churches and edifices, myght bee honeſtlye kept and mayntayned: and that deuout prayers myght in thoſe places be made for the founders, and the poore pariſhioners ayded and comforted. And ſuch onely ought to haue the cure thereof, as are able to heare cōfeſſiōs, and in theyr own natural toung otherwiſe mete to informe and teach theyr pariſhioners. And forſomuch as (moſt holy father) that you cannot wel come to the notice of diuers ſuch errours & defaults, neither yet vnderſtand the condition of the places being ſo farre of, vnles your holynes be enformed and aduertiſed: wee hauyng the perfect intelligence and vnderſtandyng of the ſayde errours and defaultes, of the perſons and places aboue ſayd, & in the ſayd realme: haue thought mete to ſignify ỹ ſame vnto your holynes. That diuers reſeruatiōs, prouiſions, and collations, by your predeceſſours apoſtolik of Rome, and by you moſt holy father in your time haue ben graunted (& that more largely then they haue ben accuſtomed to bee) vnto dyuers perſons, as well ſtraungers & of ſundry nations, as vnto ſome ſuche as are our enemyes, hauing no vnderſtanding at all of the toung & cōdicions of thē, of whō thei haue the gouernmēt & cure. Wherby, a greate number of ſoules are in perill, a great many of their pariſhioners in daũger, the ſeruice of God deſtroyed, the almes and deuotion of men diminiſhed, the hoſpitalls periſhed, the churches with their apurtenances decayed, charitie withdrawen, the good and honeſt perſons of our realme vnaduaunced, the charge and gouernment of ſoules not regarded, the deuotion of the people reſtrayned, many poore ſcholers vnpreferred & the treaſure of the realme caried out againſt the minds & intents of the founders. All which errours, defaultes, and ſclaunders moſte holy father, we neyther can nor ought to ſuffer nor indure. We therfore moſt humble require your holines, that the ſclaunders, errours, and defaultes, whiche wee haue declared vnto you, may bee through your great diſcretion cōſidered: and that it may pleaſe you that ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations may be vtterly repelled, that from henceforth, the ſame be no more amongſt vs vſed. But to take ſuch order & remedie therin, that the ſayd benefices, edifices, rightes, with theyr apertinents, may be to the honour of God, by our own countreymen cured, defend and gouerned. And that it may farther pleaſe your holynes, by your letters to ſignifie vnto vs without delaye and other detract of tyme, what your pleaſure is touchyng this our lawfull requeſt and demaund: and that we may do our indeuour with diligence herein for the remedy, correction, & amendmēt of thoſe enormities aboue ſpecified. In witnes wherof, vnto theſe letters patentes we haue ſet our ſeales. Giuen in the full Parliament at Weſtminſter the 18, day of May anno. 1343.

Decay of the church of England by the pope.

After theſe thinges thus paſſed ouer, the king ſhortly after ſent ouer his Procuratours, Earle of Lancaſter, Earle of Darby, Hugh Spencer, L. Raufe Stafford, with the biſhop of Cretour and diuers other, to the popes court to diſcuſſe and pleade about the right of his title, before the Pope. Unto whom the ſayde Pope Clement the vj. not long after, ſent down this meſſage: how that Ludouike Duke of Bauarie, themperour, whom the pope had before depoſed, had ſubmmitted himſelfe to hym in all thinges, and therefore deſerued at his hands the benefite of abſolution: And how the pope therfore had conferred and reſtored to him iuſtly and gratiouſly the empire, which he before vniuſtlye did hold. &c. Which meſſage when the king dyd heare, being therewith moued to anger, anſwered againe ſaying: That if he dyd agrée and compounde alſo with the Frenche king, he was ready to fight with them both. &c. Ex chro. Albanenſ.

The popes meſſage to the K.

The kings aunſwer to the popes meſſage.

Within the tyme of this yere, pence, halfepence and farthings began to be coyned in the tower. And the next yeare folowing, which was an. 1344. the caſtle of Wynſore (where the king was borne) began to bee repayred: and in the ſame, the houſe called the round table was ſituate, the diameter whereof from the one ſyde to the other, contained. 200. féete, to the expenſes of which houſe wéekely was alowed an hundreth pound, for the mayntening of the kinges chiualry: til at length by the occaſion of the French warres, it came downe to. ix. pound a wéeke. By the example whereof, the Frenche king being prouoked, began alſo the like round table in Fraũce for the mayntaing of his knighthoode. At which tyme, the ſayde French king moreouer gaue free libertie thorough his realme to fel downe trées for making of ſhips & maintaynyng of his nauy, wherby the realme of England was not a litle damnified.

An 1344

The caſtel in Windſore inlarged.

The round table builded in Windſore.

During the ſame yeare, the Clergye of Englande graunted to the kyng tenthes for thrée yeares: For the which the king in recompence againe graunted to them his Charter contaynyng theſe priuileges: that no archbiſhop nor biſhop ſhuld be areygned before his Juſtices ſiue ad ſectam ſuam, ſiue partis, if the ſayd clarke doo ſubmit and claime his cleargy, profeſſing himſelfe to be a member of holy church, who ſo doing ſhal not be bound to come to his anſwer before the Juſtices. And if it ſhal be laid vnto thē to haue maried two wyues, or to haue maryed a wydowe: the Juſtices ſhall haue no power to procede againſt them, to enquire for the matter: ſo that the cauſe ſhal be reſerued to the ſpiritual court. &c.

Tenthes graunted to the king by the clergy for iii. yeares.

Priuileges grãted by the king to the clergy

By this it is lyke that prieſts ha wyues.

About this preſent time, at the ſetting vp of the roũd table, the king made prince Edward his eldeſt ſonne the fyrſt prince of Walles. All this whyle yet continued the truce betwene the two kinges. Albeit it is likelye to bée thought, that the French king gaue many attemptes to infringe the ſame. Whereupon Henrye earle of Lancaſter with. 600. men at armes, and as manye Archers was ſent ouer to Gaſcoin, the yeare after, an. 1345. who there ſo valiantly is ſayd to behaue himſelfe, that he ſubdued. lv. townſhips vnto the king. xxiij. noble mē he toke priſoners, encountring with the Frenche men at Allebroke. So courteouſly and liberally he delt with hys ſoldiours, that it was a ioye to them and a preferment to fyght vnderneath hym. His maner was in winning any towne, litle or nothing to reſerue to himſelfe, but to ſparſe the whole ſpoyle to his ſoldiours. One example in the autor (whom I folow) is touched: how the foreſaid earle at the winning of the towne of Briers, where hee had graunted to euery ſoldiour for his booty, the houſe with all the implementes therein whiche he by victorye ſhould obtayn: among other his ſoldiours, to one named Reh, fell a certayne houſe, with the implementes therof, wherein was contayned the mynt and money coyned for that coũtry to the valure of a great ſubſtance: which when the ſouldiour had founde, in breaking vp a houſe wher firſt yͤ groſe mettal was not yet perfectly wroght, he came to the earle declaring to hym the treaſure, to knowe what was his pleaſure therein. To whome the Earle aunſwered, that the houſe was his, and whatſoeuer he found therein. Afterward, the ſoldiour fyndyng a whole mynt of pure ſyluer readye coyned, ſygnified the ſame to the earle, forſomuche as he thoughte ſuche treaſure to be to great for his portiō. To whom the ſaid earle agayne aunſweryng, declared: that he had once geuen hym the whole houſe, and that he had once geuen he would not call backe agayne, as children vſe to play. And therfore bad him enioy that whiche was graunted to hym: And if the money were thriſe as much, it ſhould be his owne. Ex chron. Albanenſ. Whiche ſtory whether it was true or otherwiſe in thoſe dayes, I haue not to affirme. But certes, if in theſe our couetous wretched dayes nowe preſent, any autor ſhoulde reporte the lyke acte to be practiſed, I would hardly beleue it to be true.

Prince Edward firſt prince of wales.

1345.

Henry e after made duke of L caſter, ſen ouer to G conie.

A rare ex ple of a li ral capta to his ſo diours.

The libe hart and ſtant wo of a wor thy capt

As the earle of Lancaſter was thus occupied in Gaſconie, the Scottes were as buſie here in England, waſtyng & ſpoylyng without mercy. Which were thought, (and not vnlyke) to be ſet on by the French kyng. And therefore was iudged both by that, and by other diuers wayes to haue broken the couenantes of truce betwene hym, and the kyng of England.

The Sco partly a meane o breaking truce.

Wherefore the next yeare enſuyng. an. 1346. kyng Edward, firſt ſendyng his letters to the court of Rome, and therin complaynyng to the pope of Philip de Valois, how he had tranſgreſſed, and broken the truce betwene them made, which by euident probations he there made manifeſt: aboute the moneth of Julye made hys viage into Normandie in ſuche ſecrete wiſe, that no man well knew whether he intended. Where firſt he entred the towne of Hogges, from thence proceded vnto Cardone. Where, about yͤ xxvii. of July by the riuer of Cardone he had a ſtrong battaile, with the Normandes and other French men, whiche to ſtop his paſſage, defended the bridge. At the which battail were takē of the Lordes of Fraunce the earle Ewe, the Earle of Tankeruile.

1346.

The 2. vi of king ward in Fraunce.

The ba at Ca

And of knightes with other men of armes, to the number of an hundreth, of footemen 600. and the town and ſuburbes beaten downe to the hard walles. And all that could be borne away tranſported to the ſhyppes.

In yͤ page before, mention was made how the French K. began firſt to infringe the truce takē, & how the earle of Lācaſter, vpon yͤ ſame was ſent vnto Gaſconie. Now for the more euidence of the matter concernyng the fallyng of yͤ French kyng frō the leage, & other hys wrōgs and vntrue dealing: It ſhal better in the kings letter appeare, who hearing word yͤ the Lord Philip de Valois (cōtrary to the forme of truce taken at Vanes) had apprehēded certain of his nobles of Englād, & had brought them to Paris to be enpriſoned and put to death: beſide other ſlaughters and ſpoylinges made in Britaine, Gaſconie, and other places mo. He therfore ſeyng the truce to be broke of the French kings part, and beyng therto of neceſſitie compelled: In the yere aboue prefixed, the xiiii. of the moneth of June, did publiſh and ſend abroad his letter of deffiaunce, conteinyng this effect.

¶ *The kinges Letters of deffiance againſt the French king.*

TO all and ſingular, to whom theſe preſents ſhal come, publike gretyng. We thinke it is not vnknowen vnto you all. that after the deceaſſe of Charles late kyng of Fraunce of famous memory, brother to our redoubted Ladye mother Queene Iſabell, queene of Englande. That the crowne of Fraunce, by iuſte inheritaunce hathe fallen vnto vs, as to the nexte heire maile now lyuing after the ſayde kyng. Howe Philip de Valois, beyng ſonne but onely to the vncle of the foreſayd kyng Charles. and therfore by degree of cōſanguinitie beyng farther of remoued from the ſame (we beyng in the tyme of our minoritie) hath violently by force & power contrary to God and iuſtice vſurped, occupied, and yet doth occupie the ſame, inuadyng further and ſpoylyng our landes in the dukedome of Aquitania, and ioyning him ſelfe with our rebellous enemies the Scottes, ſekyng our ſubuerſion both by lande and by ſea, to the vttermoſt of his endeuour. And although we to preuent the damagies whiche might riſe by warre, haue offered to the ſaid Philip diuers frēdly wayes of peace: to the entēt, we might better intend our purpoſed viage againſt Chriſtes enemies the Turkes: Yet could nothyng preuaile with hym in obteinyng any peaceable way of reformation, driuing vs of by crafty diſſimulation, through falſe pretenſed wordes, but performing nothing with hart & dede. Wherupon, we not neglecting the grace and the gift of God, to defend the right of our inheritance, and to repulſe the iniuries of our enemie: haue not refuſed by force of armes, comming downe to Britanie, to encounter with him in open fielde. And ſo we beyng occupied in our warres, there repayred vnto vs, the reuerend father byſhop of Preneſte, and of Tuſculane cardinals, & legates from pope Clement vi. to entreate ſome reformation of peace betwene vs. At whoſe requeſt we conſented, agreyng to ſuch formes & conditions of peace, as then were take betwene vs, ſēdyng moreouer our embaſſadours to the court of Rome, ſpeacially to entreate of the ſame matter. And thus whyle ſome hope of truce ſemed betwene vs to appeare: Newes ſodenly came vnto vs, which not a litle aſtonied our minde, of the deathe of certaine of our nobles and adherentes, whō the ſayd Philip vniuſtly, and cruelly at Paris commaunded to be executed. Beſide the waſting and ſpoiling our landes and ſubiectes in Britanie, Gaſconie, and other places: with other innumerable wrongs & iniuries deceitfully intēded againſt vs both by ſea and land. By reaſon wherof the truce on his part being notoriouſly broken, it is moſt manifeſt to haue been lawful for vs, forthwith, to haue ſet vpon him & opē warre. Yet notwithſtāding to auoid thoſe incommodities that come by warre, we thought firſt to proue, if by any gentle meanes, ſome reformatiō might be had touching the premiſſes. And therfore ſondry times, haue ſent our embaſſadors to the popes preſence for treatiſe of peace, & reformatiō to be had in thoſe aforeſayd exceſſes: requiryng alſo for the tractation therof certaine termes of time to be appoynted, alwayes reſeruyng to our ſelues notwithſtandyng, free libertie to reſume warre at our pleaſure, accordyng as the doings of yͤ ſayd Philip ſhall conſtrein vs therunto. And now forſomuch as yͤ foreſaid termes be already expired, & yet no reaſonable offer of peace appeareth, neither wil the ſayd Philip come to any cōformitie, being required & moniſhed notwithſtādyng by the popes letters therunto, (as the pope by his letters hath written to vs) but alwayes haue multiplied his conſpiracy and obligacions vſing all extremities agaynſt vs, to omitte here to ſpeake of the exceſſiue enormitie of the popes legate, who beyng ſēt by the biſhop of Rome, for the keping of truce, and whoſe part had been rather to haue quenched and ſtaied the diſcorde: hath ſtirred vp our enemye more egerly againſt vs. In the whiche doyng, neither hath the B. of Rome (ſauing his reuerence) as yet prouided any remedy, albeit he hath been diuers tymes required of vs ſo to do. Whiche things being ſo, we ought to be excuſed both before God and mā, if for the defect of other remedie to be had, we ſhalbe conſtrained our ſelues to finde remedie agaynſt ſuch wronges and iniuries. the caſe of iuſtice & neceſſitie conſtreining vs to giue out theſe our letters of defiāce, agaynſt the violator of the truce and the vniuſt inuader of our kyngdom. Proteſtyng that this we do, not vpon any diſpleaſure to the byſhop of Rome, or to the apoſtolike ſea, but onely for the moderation of equitie, ſtandyng vpon the defence of our owne right and and lawfull inheritaunce, intendyng alwayes rather to haue peace if by any reaſonable way it might be had. And thus much for the ſtopping of ſlaunderous fame and the mouthes of backbyters: We thought good to ſignifie firſt to the hygh B. of Rome, and the foreſayd Cardinals: that by thē as perſons indifferent & mediators, the ſame may be inſinuated to the contrary parte, and alſo vnto your whole vniuerſitie in general: recommendyng vnto you all the innocēcy of my cauſe and the communitie of iuſtice. Dated at Weſtminſter the xiiij. of June the xix. yeare of our reigne in England, and of Fraunce the vi.

And thus much for the kinges letter. Now let vs agayn returne to his paſſage, frō whence, a litle we haue diſgreſſed. Concerning yͤ which paſſage of yͤ king, wͭ the order of hys actes atchiued in the ſame, frō the wynning of Cadame or Cordoyne, vnto the twone of Puſiack, is ſufficiently deſcribed by one of the kinges chaplyns and hys confeſſour, who being a Dominike fryar, & accompanieng the king through all hys iourney, writeth therof as followeth.

A letter of the kings confeſſor touching his actes doyng at Cardoyn.

Benedicere debemus deum cœli. &c. Great cauſe we haue to prayſe and laude the God of heauen, and moſte worthely to confeſſe his holy name, who hath wroughte ſo his mercy to vs. For after yͤ conflicte had at Cadame, in the whiche many were ſlaine, & the citie take & ſackt euen to the bare walles, the citie of Baia immediatlye yelded it ſelfe of his own accord, fearing leaſt their counſailes had been bewrayed. After this, the L. our king directed hys progreſſe toward Roane. Who being at the towne of Leron, there came certain Cardinalls to him, greatly exhorting hym to peace.

The Cardinals againe entreate for peace.

Which Cardinals, being courtuouſlye receiued of the kyng for the reuerence of the popes ſee, it was thus anſwered to them agayne: That yͤ kyng being much deſirous of peace, had aſſayde by all waies and meanes reaſonable, how to mainteine the ſame. And therfore hath offered conditions and manifolde wayes of peace to be had, to the no ſmall preiudice of hys owne cauſe. And yet is ready to admitte any reaſonable offer of peace, if by any meanes it maye be ſought, &c.

The kings anſwer to the Cardinals.

With thys anſwere the Cardinalls going to the French king the kings aduerſary, to perſuade with hym in lyke maner: returned to king Edward agayne, offring to hym in the French kinges name the Dukedome of Aquitania, in as full aſſuraunce as hys father before hym euer had it, beſides further hope alſo of obtaynyng more, if entreatie of peace myght be obteyned. But for ſomuch, that contented not enough the kynges minde, neither did the Cardinals finde the French king ſo tractable and propenſe to the ſtudie of peace as they looked for, the Cardinalls returned, leauing the matter as they found it.

The French K. ſheweth no carefull ſtudy of peace.

And ſo the king ſpeeding forwarde, by the way, as hys iourney dyd lie, he ſubdued the countrey & the great townes, without any reſiſtaunce of the inhabitaunce, who dyd all flye and runne away. Such feare God ſtroke vnto them, that it ſeemed they had loſt their hartes. In the ſame viage, as the king had gotten many townes and villagies, ſo alſo he ſubdued caſtles and munitions, very ſtrong, and that with litle ſtreſſe. His enemy being at yͤ ſame tyme at Roane had reared a great army, who notwͭſtāding being wel mānned, yet euer kept on yͤ other ſide of the riuer Sequane, breaking downe all the bridges, that we ſhoulde not come ouer to hym. And although the countrey round about continually was ſpoyled, ſackte, and with fire conſumed by the circuite of xx. myles round about: yet the French king being diſtant ſcarſe the ſpace of one myle frō vs, eyther would not, or els durſte not (when he might eaſely haue paſſed ouer the riuer) make any reſiſtance for yͤ defence of hys countrey and people. And ſo our kyng iourneyng forward came to Puſſiacke or Poiſie, where yͤ French kyng had likewiſe broke downe the brydge, & keping on the other ſide of the riuer, would reſt in no place.

The kings comming to Puſſacke.

After whoſe comming to Poiſie, the foreſayd chapleyne & confeſſour to the kyng, named Michaell Northburgh, deſcribing the kinges viage and the actes of the Engliſhmen, frō the towne of Poiſie, to hys comming to Calys, in hys letters wryteth on thys wyſe.

¶ *A letter of W. Northburgh the kinges confeſſour deſcribing the kinges viage in Fraunce.*

SAlutations premiſed, we geue you to vnderſtād: that our ſoueraigne Lorde the king came to the towne of Poyſie the day before the Aſſumptiō of our Ladie, where was a certaine bridge ouer the water of Sceane broken downe of the enemie, but the king taried there ſo longe till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in repayring, there came a greate number of mē at armes and other ſouldiours well armed, to hinder the ſame. But the Earle of Northampton iſſued out againſt them and ſlewe of them more then M. the reſt fled away thankes be to God. And at an other time our men paſſed the water although with much trauaile, and ſlewe a great number of the common ſouldiours of Fraunce, aboute the citie of Paris and countrey adioyning being parte of the French kings armie and throughly well appoynted: ſo that our people haue now, made other good bridges vpon our enemies God be thāked without any great loſſe & damage to vs. And on the morow after the Aſſumption of our Ladie, the king paſſed the water of Sceane and marched toward Poyſie, which is a towne of great defence and ſtrongly immured and a maruelous ſtronge caſtle within the ſame, which our enemies kept. And whē our vaūdgard was paſſed the town, our reregard gaue an aſſault therunto and toke the ſame: where, were ſlaine more then CCC. men at armes of our enemies parte. And the next daye following, the Earle of Suffolke and ſyr Hugh Spenſer marched forth vpō the commons of the coūtrey aſſembled and well armed, and infine diſcomfited them, and ſlew of them more thē CC. and tooke lx. gentlemen priſoners, beſides others. And after that, the king marched toward Graūd Villers, and while he was there encamped, the kings vaūdgard was diſcreed by the men at armes of the king of Bename: wherupon, our men iſſued out in great haſte and ioyned battell with them, but were inforced to retyre. Notwithſtāding, thankes be vnto God, the Earle of Northampton iſſued out & reſcued the horſemē with the other ſouldiours: ſo that fewe or none of them were eyther taken or ſlaine ſauing onely Thomas Talbot, but had agayne the enemie in chaſe within ij. leages of Amias: of whom we tooke 8. and ſlewe 12. of their beſt men at armes, the reaſt being well horſed, tooke the towne of Amyas. After this, the king of Englād marched toward Pountiſe vpon Bartholmew day, & came vnto the water of Som, where the French king had layed 500. mē at armes and M.M.M. footemen, purpoſing to haue kept and ſtopped our paſſage: but thākes be to God, the king of England and his hoſte entred the ſame water of Som where neuer mā paſſed before, without loſſe of any of our men: and after that encountered with the enemis and ſlewe of them more then ij. thouſand, the reaſt fled to Abuyle, in which chaſe was taken many knightes, ſquiers, and men at armes. The ſame day, ſyr Hugh Spenſer tooke the towne of Crolay where he & his ſouldiers ſlew CCCC men at armes, & kept the towne, where they found great ſtore of vitailes. The ſame night, encamped the king of England in the Foreſt of Creſſy vpon the ſame water, for that the French kings hoſte came on the other ſide of the towne neare vnto our paſſage: But he woulde not take the water of vs, and ſo marched towarde Abueyl. And vpon the friday next following, the king being ſtill encāped in the ſaid foreſt, our Scuriers diſcried the frēch king, which marched toward vs in 4. great battels: And hauing then vnderſtāding of our enemies (as Gods wil was) a little before the euening tyde we drewe vnto the plaine field and ſet our battels in araye: and immediatly the fyght began, which was ſore and cruell, and indured long, for our enemies behaued thēſelues right nobelly. But thankes be geuē to God, the victorie fel on our ſide, and the king our aduerſarie was diſcomfited with all his hoſte, and put to flight: where alſo was ſlaine the king of Bename, the Duke of Loren, the Earle of Dabeſon, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Blois, the Earle of Harcot with hys ij. ſonnes, the Earle of Damarley, the Earle of Nauuers and his brother, the lord of Tronard, the Archbiſhop of Myemes, the Archb. of Saunds, the high Prior of Fraunce, the Earle of Sauoy, the L. of Morles, the Lorde de Guis, Segniour de S. Nouant, Segniour de Roſingburgh, with 6. Earles of Almanie and diuers other Earles, Barōs, Knightes, & Squiers, whoſe names are vnknowē. And Philip de Valoys him ſelf, with an other Marques which was called lord Elector among the Romaynes, eſcaped from the battell. The number of the men at armes which were founde dead in the field beſide the common ſouldiours & footemen, were M.CCCCC.xlii: And all that night the K. of England with hys hoſte abode armed in the field where the battel was fought. On the next morowe before the ſunne roſe, there marched towardes vs an other great hoſt mightie & ſtrong, of the French mē. But the Earle of Northampton, and the Earle of Norfolke iſſued out agaynſte them in iij. battells, and after longe and terrible fight, them in lyke wiſe they diſcōfited by gods great helpe & grace (for otherwiſe it could neuer haue been) where they tooke of knightes and ſquiers a greate number, and ſlewe aboue MM. purſuing the chaſe iij. leages from the place where the battell was fought. The ſame night alſo the king encamped himſelf agayn in the Foreſt of Creſſy, and on the morowe marched towarde Bolcyne, and by the waye he tooke the towne of Staples: and frō thence, he marched toward Calys wher he entendeth to plant hys ſiege and lay his battery to the ſame. And therfore our ſoueraigne Lord the king willeth and commaundeth you in all that euer you may, to ſend to the ſayd Siege, vitailes cōuenient: For after the time of our departing frō Chaam, we haue trauailed through the countrey with great perill & daunger of our people, but yet alwayes had of victuall plentie thanks be to God therfore. But now as the caſe ſtandeth, we partly nede your helpe to be refreſhed with vitailes. Thus fare ye well. Written at the ſiege before the towne of Caleys the xiiij. day of September.

After the ſiege and winning of Poyſye, the third day of September an. 1346. the king through the middeſt of Fraunce, directed his paſſage vnto Callis, as by the tenor of this letter you heare, & beſieged the ſame: whiche ſiege he cōtinued frō the third of September aforeſayd, till the third day of Auguſt yͤ yere next followyng, vpon the which day it was rendred vp vnto the ſayd kyng Edward the thyrd, and ſubdued vnto the crowne of England, as after the Lorde willyng ſhall more appeare.

1346

Siege o
Calys,

In the meane time, duryng the ſiege of Callis, Dauid the Scottiſhe kyng at the requeſt of the French kyng, with a great army, braſt into the North partes of England, and firſt beſiegyng the towne of Lidell, within ſixe dayes, obtained the greateſt part of the towne: and their takyng all that he could finde, with Syr Walter Salby a valiāt knight, which was the keper of the hold, cauſed him vncurtuouſly to be put to the ſworde, and ſo from then proceded further into Englād: Til at length being mette withall by William Surch archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Lord Perſie and the Lord Neuell, with other nobles of thoſe parties (callyng and gatheryng their mē together) in the playne neare to Durham the xvij. daye of October in yͤ yere aboue ſaid through the gracious hand of Chriſt, ther were ſubdued & conquered. In the which conflict, the Earles of Murriſe and Stratherō, with the floure of all yͤ chiualry and principal warriers of Scotland, were ſlaine. Alſo the foreſayd king Dauid, with the Earles of Mentif & Fiffes, and other Lordes and William Douglas Maſklime, flemyng, and William Douglas, and other many mo men of armes, were taken priſoners: & ſo the miſchief whiche they entended to other, fell vpon their owne heades.

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Duryng moreouer the ſayd ſiege of Callis, the foreſayd pope Clement the ſixt, writing to the kyng of England, went about vnder the pretence of peace, to ſtop his procedings, whoſe letters here followeth vnder written.

¶ *The letter of the pope to the king of Englande, in the behalfe of the French men.*

CLemēt the biſhop, ſeruant of Gods ſeruants: To his welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt Edward the puiſſant king of Englād: Salutacion and apoſtolicall bleſſing. If you diligentlye conſider (deare ſonne as ought a catholike prince to doo) the ſlaughter of ſuche an innumerable ſorte, bought wyth the precious bloode of Chriſt our redemer: the loſſe of their ſubſtance and ſoules, and the lamentable perils, whych the diſſenſions and wares ſtirred vp betwene you and our welbeloued ſonne Phillip the noble kyng of Fraunce haue brought vpon vs, and yet dayly do with out intermiſſiō. And alſo the bewayling of ſo many poore people, crying out of Orphans & pupils, lamentacion of widowes, and other miſera-

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ſie people, which be robbed and ſpoiled, and almoſt famiſhed: what exclamation they make with teares running downe their chekes, yelling and crying vnto God for helpe, as alſo the deſtruction of churches, monaſteries, and holy places, holy veſſels, and other ornamentes vnto Gods ſeruice dedicated: the ſacrilegious robberies takings and impriſoninges: the ſpoyling of holy churches, and religious perſons, with manye other ſuche innumerable, deteſtable, execrable miſchiefes, offending the eyes of the deuine maieſtye: All which, if your princely hart woulde conſider and wel remember, with this alſo that the catholik faith (eſpecially in the eaſt partes) and the Chriſtians there abiding by meanes of the ſame diſſenſions and warres, deſtitute of the helpes of ſuche catholike men as are in the Weſt parties, are ſo afflicted of the Infidels, ſeyng the other partes of Chriſtendome ſo troubled, with cruell perſecutions yea & more crueller then euer yet hath ben (although in theſe times to amplify this our faith in the ſayd Eaſt partes is cruell perſecution ſhewed more then hath been of many yeares paſt) doubtles we beleue, it would pitie your hart. And to the end that ſuch & ſo great euils ſhuld no farther procede, nor yet ỷ ſo great good as might be done by delatyng of our foreſayd faith in theſe times ſhould be let & hindered: we deſire you that ye would apply your mynde to make ſome agreement and peace with the foreſayd kyng. For if my welbeloued ſonne, God hath geuen vnto you proſperous ſucceſſe and fortune, ye ought rather to humble then to extolle your ſelfe: and ſo much the more redier to incline to his peace, & to endeuor your ſelfe to pleaſe God, whiche loueth peace and deliteth in peaceable men, & to eſchew the foreſayd euils, which wͭout doubt do greuouſly offed him. Furthermore, we maruell greatly that vnto our reuerend brother Anibaldus biſhop of Tuſculane, and our beloued ſon Stephen of the title of S. Jhon and Paul, prieſt and cardinall of the apoſtolical ſee, beyng ſent as legates by vs and the ſame ſee apoſtolicall to intreat a peace, who diligently and faithfull labouryng for the ſame as louers of veritie, iuſtice, & equitie, & there with al regarders of your honour: could not be ſuffred touching ỷ intreaty of the ſame peace, to come vnto your graces preſence. Wherefore, we deſire your kyngly highnes more earneſtly, and for the mercy of God with more vehemēce require the ſame: that you takyng vp the foreſayd horrible euils and preuentyng the ſwetnes of piety and cōpaſſion, may eſcape the vengeance of Gods indignation, whiche were to be feared, If you ſhould perſeuere in your former euils as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty of peace, for whiche our foreſayd cardinals were ſent vnto you (how be it ſecretly leaſt it ſhould be any derogation to your honor) we deſire you to condeſcēd therunto, & withall your affectiō you wil incline your mind to the ſame, ſo pleaſaunt vnto God, ſo deſired of the world as alſo to you, the foreſayd king, & vnto the catholicke faith profitable. And that the ſame peace by Gods helpe and grace eſtabliſhed and made perfect, you might aſſay your puiſſant ſtrength about Gods buſines, in the foreſayd Eaſt parts (ſo good occaſion ſeruyng as before is ſayd in theſe our times) being ſo apt aduaūcemēts of your honor & happy increaſing of your princely name: for feruētly we haue herd of you reported to behaue your ſelf, in all your attemptes. Thus we doubt not, but that you wyll write vnto vs agayne touchyng the premiſſes, and the purpoſe of your intention touchyng the ſame. Dated at Auinion the xviij. of February and v. yeare of our Papacy.

¶ The anſwer of the king of England, to the foreſayd letter of the Pope.

Edward answereth the pope

MOſt holy father, we vnderſtand by the letters of the reuerende fathers in God the biſhop of Tuſculan, and Stephan of the title of S. John prieſt, Cardinalls and Legates of the court of Rome, as alſo by the letters of your holynes ſent vnto vs, that ye maruell greatly for ỷ your ſayd Legates were of purpoſe ſent vnto vs and commaunded to entreate of a peace betwene our aduerſary of Fraunce and vs, that we woulde not ſuffer them ſecretly to talk with vs, for the ſafegard of our honour: The intentiō of your hart to make the foreſayd peace, complaynyng & bewaylyng therin the death of chriſtenmen, the loſſe of their goodes, the perill of their ſoules, the lamentable waylings of the pore, of ỷ orphans, the widowes, and deſtructiō of other piteful perſons, the pillage and robberies of churches, and other miſcheues innumerable, & namely the diminiſhing of the chriſten fayth in the Eaſt partes, which by the warre betwene our aduerſary of Fraunce & vs is ſore decayed, as the ſaid letters plainlye do import: And that for aſmuch as God hath geuen vs triūphant fortune, ỷ ſo much the more we ought to abaſe and humble our hart and to be the readier to make & encline to a peace. As touching theſe things holy father, we geue your holines to vnderſtād, that aſwell vnto your foreſayd Legates as other meſſingers ſent from you vnto vs, we haue offered vnto euery of them reaſonable wayes of peace, and euery daye declare the ſame, and that not ſecretly but openly: For we doubt not to let our purpoſe be vnderſtoode, for he that is the high iudge both of him & vs, in whoſe diſpoſition all thing lyeth, hath geuen vnto vs the crowne of Fraunce to our right and proper heritage. The which right, our foreſaid aduerſary hath by force, of long time detayned from vs we ſeeking to obtayne the ſame in peaceable wiſe & yet do, if we might obtaine the ſame in any good maner: rather for the benefit of chriſtē men and that the foreſaid euils might ceaſe, which by his wrongfull meanes onely haue increaſed & growen. Yet notwithſtādyng as before this time you know we aſſented to a truce wͭ certain articles conteined in the ſame writyng, all this he hath infringed: Neyther doth the wronge ſuffice him whiche he offereth vs in our foreſayd heritage, but endeuoreth himſelf during ỷ ſayd truce to inuade our realme of England and other our landes: and further maintaineth the Scots and aydeth them to the vtter deſtruction of vs, our people, and landes aforeſaid: wherby we were inforced for the ſafegard of our people and landes, by ſuch lawful meanes as we may, to defend our ſelues and put him from hys wicked purpoſe. And farthermore, for the ſame our quarell being in the handes of God, haue we commen agaynſt him to conquer our inheritaunce of Fraunce ouer whom God hath geuen vs diuers victories as we haue truſted he would by his rightwyſe iudgemēt and power, which thing he hath ſhewed vpon (vs all chance of fortune ſet a part) in reſpect of our rightfull title therin, and without our deſertes: Wherfore withall humilitie of hart we geue him thankes alwaies therfore, moſt deuoutly night & day prayſing his holy name, for we acknowledge the ſame commeth not by our ſtrength and force. Wherfore moſt holy father we deſire your holines, and ſomuch as in vs lyeth requyre the ſame, that you that ſupply ỷ place of the ſonne of God in earth, and hath the gouernment of the ſoules of all chriſten men and ought to be vpright and equall towardes all men without acception of perſons: that ye wil receaue good information and true, of the obiections aboue ſayd, & will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our ſayd aduerſary of Fraunce may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to vs herein, and may be by your ayde redreſſed, & that he in this his wronge haue no maintenāce & ayde at your hand. For if it be ſo, we thē appeale vnto the iudge of iudges which ſuffereth for a time wronges to be done for the ſinfull default of man, but in the end he redreſſeth the ſame, leauing no good dede vnrewarded, nor euill vnpuniſhed: moſt humbly requyring him to be to vs a true and vpright iudge of all our controuerſies, for hys mercies ſake, as in ỷ meane time we repoſe our full truſt and confidence in him. The holy ſpirite of God, &c.

The king appealeth from the pope to God.

Offers made to the men of Flaūders to forſake K. Edward.

Moreouer duryng yet the ſiege of Callis, the French kyng had ſente certaine offers to the men of Flaunders, that if they would relinquiſh the kyng of England and adhere to hym, firſt he would remit all their former tranſgreſſions. 2. Alſo he would vnburden thē of their interdict. 3. Item, he would ſend vnto them ſuch plenty of corne, that what was ſold for xij.s̄. with them, ſhould be ſolde for iiij.s̄. & that for vi. yeares. 4. Itē, he would ſtore them with plenty of Frenche wull, to make cloth for a ſmal price, and that they might ſell the ſaid clothes both in Flaunders and in Fraunce: and that the French men ſhould vſe the ſame cloth, for ſo much as all other maner of cloth ſhould be forbid in Fraunce, ſo long as any of that (made of French wull) might be found. 5. Item, he would reſtore to them theſe iij cities, Inſulam, Rowacū, & Betonie. 6. Item, he would defend them from all their aduerſaries. And in pledge of the ſame, would ſend them money before hand. 7. Item, ſuch as wer able & forward men among them, he woulde reteine and promote them &c. But theſe offers ſemyng to proceede more of fayre wordes to ſerue the preſent turne, then of anye hartye truthe, were not receaued. Then the Lord Jhon, prince and heyre to the French king, duryng the foreſayd ſiege of Calys aboue mētioned, commyng with a mighty armey of French men, ſet vpon the men of Flaunders and Engliſh men in the towne of Caſſeles. In the which conflict duryng from mornyng to noone, the French men were vanquiſhed & the yong Dolphin driuen backe frō whēce he came. Of whoſe number diuers were ſlayne, & takē priſoners. Where on ỷ other ſide (through ỷ Lordes defence) not one is reported to be greuouſly wounded.

The Dolphin with the Frēch diſcomfited at Caſſeles.

1347.

As this paſſed on, not long after about the vij. day of June. an. 1347. kyng Edward continuyng ſtill his ſiege agaynſt Calys, Philip the French kyng came down wͭ a mighty armey, purpoſing to remoue the ſiege: where not farre of from the Engliſhe hoſt, he incamped hym ſelfe. Whiche done, ij. Cardinals, Anibaldus, and Stephanus (procured for ỷ ſame purpoſe) going betwene ỷ ij. kyngs, gaue to ỷ kyng of England thus to vnderſtād: ỷ if he wold cōdeſcend to any reaſonable way of peace, the French kyng was ready to offer ſuch honeſt profers vnto him, as to reaſon and to his contentation ſhould ſeme agreable. But in concluſion whē it came to talke, the nobles could not agrée vpon the conditions. Wherfore, the Frēch kyng ſeyng no other remedy, did it to be ſignified to kyng Edward: that betwene ỷ preſēt Teuſday, & the next Friday, if he would come forth into ỷ field, he ſhuld haue battaile geuen him. Thus the place beyng vewed of iiij. captaines of either hoſt, for ỷ battaile to be fought: it ſo fell, that the French kyng on wedneſday at nyghte before the battaile ſhould ioyne, ſecretly by night ſetting hys pauilions on fire, returned backe with hys armey, out of the ſight of the Engliſh men.

The French kyng flieth before the battail

Upon the friday folowyng, they which were beſiged in the town of Calys, ſeyng the kyng to be retired (vpon whoſe helpe they truſted, being alſo in great penury and famine for lacke of victuals, and otherwiſe in much miſery vehemently diſtreſſed) ſurrendered the towne to the kynges handes: who like a mercifull prince onely deteynyng certeine of the chiefe, the reſt with the whole commons he let go with bag & bagges, diminiſhing no part of their goods, ſhewĩg therin more princely fauor to thẽ, thẽ they did of late in quene Maries days vnto our mẽ, in recouering the ſayd towne of Calys agayne.

The towne of Calice wonne.

After the winning thus of Calys as hath béen premiſed, kyng Edward remaynyng in the ſayd towne a certeine ſpace, was in conſultation concernyng hys viage & procedyng farther into Fraunce. But by meanes of the foreſayd Cardinals, truce for a certeine tyme was takẽ, and inſtrumentes made (ſo prouided) that certeine noble mẽ as well for yͤ Frẽch king as for the king of England, ſhould come to the pope ther to debate vpon the articles. Unto yͤ which K. Edward, for peace ſake was not greatly diſagreyng. Whiche was an. 1347. Ex Rob. Aueſ.

Truce concluded betwene Englande and Fraunce.

An. 1348

A vehement peſtilence in England.

The next yeare folowyng whiche was. an. 1348. fell a ſore plage, whiche they call the firſt generall peſtilence in the realme of England. This plage (as they ſay) firſt ſpringyng from the Eaſt, and ſo ſpredyng Weſtward, did ſo mightely preuaile here in this lande, begynnyng firſt at Dorceſter and the cõtreis there about: that euery day lyghtly xx. ſome dayes xl. ſome lx. and mo dead courſes were brought & layd together in one pitte. This begynning the firſt day of Auguſt: by the firſt of Nouẽber it came to Lõdon. Where as the vehemẽt rage therof was ſo hoate, and did increaſe ſo much: that from the firſt day of February, til about the begynnyng of May in a churchyard then newly made by Smithfield, aboue CC. dead corſes euery day were buryed, beſides them whiche in other churchyardes of the citie were layd alſo. At length by the grace of Chriſt, ceaſyng there, it proceded from thence to the Northpartes. Where alſo the next yere after. an. 1349. it ſwaged.

Now called the charter houſe church yard.

An. 1350

Calice almoſt loſt by treaſon

The death of the Frẽch king

An. 1351.

After this, in the next yeare inſuing, anno. 1350. the towne of Calis was by treaſon of the keeper of the caſtle, almoſt betrayed and wonne from the Engliſh men. Wythin the compaſſe of whych yeare, dyed Phillip the French kyng. After whome king John hys ſonne ſucceded in the crowne. Who the next yeare after vnder falſe pretence of friendſhip, cauſed the Conſtable of Fraunce Earle of Ewe to be beheaded: who being taken pryſoner before in warre by Engliſhmen, and long deteyned in pryſon in England, was licenſed by kyng Edwarde to viſit hys country of Fraunce. In the ſame yeare the towne of Gwynes was taken by Engliſh mẽ, while the kepers of the holde were negligent and a ſlepe.

The towne of Gwynes taken

An. 1352

Victory of ſyr Roger Bentole

The yeare next folowyng, the Marſhall of Fraunce with a great armey was put to flight, by Syr Roger Bentele knyght and capitaine in Britanie, hauyng but onely 600. ſouldiers with hym. In this battaile were takẽ ix. knightes, eſquiers & gentlemen. 140. The Frẽch men and Britanes, by this victory were excedyngly diſcouraged, and their pride cut done.

In the yere after, was Hẽry firſt made duke of Lãcaſter, whiche before was Earle of Derby and Lancaſter. Alſo diuers good ordinaunces were appointed in the parlament at Weſtminſter. Whiche after by auarice, & parciall fauour of the head men, were agayne vndone.

Fyrſt Duke of Lancaſter,

An. 1354

Pope Innocent the ſixt.

Concorde and agrement about the yeare. 1354. begã to come wel forward, & inſtruments were drawen vpon the ſame, betwene the ii. kynges. But that the matter beyng brought vp to pope Innocẽt 6. partly by the quarelyng of the Frẽch men, partly by the wynkyng of the pope, whiche euer helde with the French ſide, the conditions were repealed, which were theſe: That to the king of Englande, all the dukedome of Aquitanie with other landes there, ſhould be to hym reſtored, wͭout homage to the Frẽch kyng. And yͤ kyng Edward agayn ſhould ſurrẽder to him all his right & title, which he had in Frãce: wherupon roſe the occaſiõ of great warre and tumulte: whiche folowed after betwene the ii. realmes.

It folowed after this, yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1355. yͤ king Edward hearyng of the death of Philip yͤ French king, and that kyng Jhon his ſonne, had graunted the dukedome of Aquitanie to Charles his eldeſt ſonne and Dolphin of Viẽna: ſent ouer prince Edward with the Earle of Warwike, of Saliſbury, of Oxford, and with them a ſufficiẽt nũber of able ſouldiours, into Aquitania. Wher he beyng willingly receaued of diuers, yͤ reſt he ſubdued: partly by force of ſword, partly receaued, ſubmitting thẽ ſelues to his protection. Not long after this in the ſame yeare, word beyng brought to kyng Edward that Jhon the French kyng was ready to méete him at S. Omers there to geue him battaile, gathered his power and ſet ouer to Calys with his ii. ſonnes Leonelle Erle of Wilton: & Jhon of Gaunt, Earle of Richmond: and with Hẽry duke of Lãcaſter. &c. Who being come to S. Omers, the Frẽch kyng with a mighty armie of his francl yngs hearing of his commyng, the nerer he approched to thẽ the further retired they backe: waſtyng & deſtroyng behynd them, to the entent that the Engliſhe armie in purſuing thẽ ſhould finde no vitals. By reaſon wherof, king Edward folowyng hym by the ſpace of ix. or x. dayes vnto Haden (when neither he could finde his enemie to fight, nor victuals or forage for his armie) he returned vnto Calys: Where warre agayne beyng offered in the name of the kyng vpon vnſtable conditions, and yet the ſame not performed, kyng Edward ſeyng the ſhrinking of his enemie, frõ Calys croſſed the ſeas into England: where he recouered agayne the towne of Barwicke, whiche the Scots before by ſubtile traine had gotten. At which time was grãted vnto the king in parlamẽt 50. s̃. for euery ſacke or packe of wull that ſhould bee caried ouer, for the ſpace of vi. yeares together. By the whiche graunt, the kyng might deſpend euery day by eſtimatiõ aboue a C. markes ſterlyng. And for as much as euery yere C. M. ſackes of wull were thought to be exported out of the realme: yͤ ſõme thereof for vi. yeres ſpace was eſtemed to mõũt to xv. hundred thouſand pound ſterling.

Chro. Ada
mi Mur
mouth ca
nonici D.
Pauli de
geſtis Ed
ward.3.

1355.

The thyr
viage of K.
Edward
to Fraun

The Frẽ
king re
ſeth to io
in battay
with kyn
Edward.

Fifty ſhi
lynges fo
uerye ſa
of wool
ryed out
England,

The ſame yeare, when kyng Edward had recouered Barwicke, & ſubdued Scotland: prince Edward being in Gaſcoine, made toward the French kyng. Who notwithſtandyng by the way all yͤ bridges were caſt down, and great reſiſtãce made: yet the victorious prince makyng way with his ſworde, after much ſlaughter of the Frenche men, and manye priſoners taken: at lengthe ioynyng wͭ the French K. at Poyters, ſcarſe with ii. M. gaue the ouerthrow to yͤ French kyng with vij. M. mẽ of armes and mo. In whiche conflict the French kyng him ſelfe, and Philip his ſonne with L. James of Bourbon, yͤ Archb. of Senon. xi. earles. 22. Lordes were taken. Of other warriers & mẽ of armes aboue 2000. Some affirm in this conflict were ſlayne. 2. Dukes, of Lordes & noble men 24. of mẽ of armes 2000. of other ſouldiers aboue vij. M. The cõmon report is, that mo French men wer there takẽ priſoners, then was the number of thẽ whiche toke them. This noble victory gottẽ by the grace of God, brought no litle admiration to all men.

The cuſt
of wooll
vi yeares
1500 p
des ſter
to kyng
Edward.

1356.

The Fr
king ta
priſone
prince Ed
ward.

It were to long, and litle perteynyng to the purpoſe of this hiſtory to comprehend in order all the doynges of this kyng, with the circumſtances of his victories, of the bryngyng in of the French kyng into Englãd, of his abode there, of the raunſom leuied on him and of Dauid the Scottiſh kyng, of whiche the one was rated at thrée millions of Scutes, the other at C. thouſande markes to be payd in x. yeares, howe the ſtaple was after tranſlated to Calys, with ſuche lyke, I referre them that would ſée more, to the Chronicle of Rob. Aueſb. of S. Albans, of Ioh. Froyſard. Adam Mirymouth, who diſcourſe all this at large.

Euery S
valuing
ſhilling
viii. p

In writing the ſtorie and the actes of Ludouicus the emperour, a litle aboue mention was made, Pag.466. of certaine learned men which toke yͤ Emperours part agaynſt the pope. In number of whom was Marſilius Patauinus, Guliermus Ockam, Ioānes Gandauenſis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landenſis, Vlricus Hangenor treaſurer to the Emperour, Dantes, Aligerius, &c. Of whom Marſilius Patauinus compiled and exhibited vnto the Emperour Ludouicke, a worthye worke intituled Defenſor pacis: written in the Emperours behalfe agaynſt the pope. Wherin (both godly & learnedly diſputing againſt the pope) he proueth, all biſhops and prieſts to be equall: And that the pope hath no ſuperioritie aboue other biſhops, much leſſe aboue the Emperour. That the worde of God ought to be only the chiefe iudge in deciſing and determining cauſes eccleſiaſticall: That not onely ſpiritual perſons, but lay men alſo being godly and learned, ought to be admitted into generall councells: That the clergie & the pope ought to be ſubiect vnto Magiſtrates: That the church is the vniuerſitie of the faythfull, and that the foundatiō and head of the church is Chriſt, and that he neuer appoynted any vicar or pope, ouer hys vniuerſall church: That biſhops ought to be choſen euery one, by their owne church and clergie: That the mariage of prieſtes may lawfully be permitted: That S. Peter was neuer at Rome: That the clergie & Synagoge of the pope is a denne of theeues: That the doctrine of the pope is not to be followed, becauſe it leadeth to eternall deſtruction: And that the corrupt maners of yͤ christians doe ſpring and flowe out of the wickednes of the ſpiritualtie, &c. He diſputeth moreouer in an other work of free iuſtification by grace: And extenuateth merites, ſaying that they are no cauſes efficient of our ſaluatiō, but onely ſine qua non, that is to ſay, that workes be no cauſe of our iuſtification, but yet our iuſtification goeth not without them. For yͤ which his doctrine moſt ſounde and catholike, he was condemned by the pope. an.1324. by the popes decree extrauagāt. cap. Licet intra doctrina. Concerning the which man and hys doctrine: I thought good thus much to commit to hiſtorie: to the intent men may ſee, yͭ they which chardge this doctrine now taught in the church with the note of noueltie or newnes, how ignorant and vnſkilfull they be in the hiſtorie and order of tymes forepaſt.

Marſilius Patauinus, autor of the booke called defēſor pacis. Articles of marſilius againſt the pope.

Merites cauſe of ſaluation, ſine qua non. arſilius condemned of the pope Extrau. ap. Licet intra doctrinam.

In the ſame part of condemnation at the ſame time, alſo was Ioannes de Ganduno. an.1330. and contained alſo in the foreſayd Extrauagant, with Marſilius Patauinus. Which Ioannes wrote muche vpon Ariſtotle and Auerrois, and are yet remaynyng. And no doubt but he wrote alſo of diuinitie, but not vnlike that theſe workes haue been aboliſhed.

annes Gandauenſis condemned by the pope.

In the ſame number and cataloge, cōmeth alſo Guillermus Ockam, who was in the yeare of our Lord.1326 as is afore mentioned Pag.466. and wrote likewiſe in defence of Ludouicus the emperour agaynſt the Pope: and alſo in defence of Michael Generall of Grayfryers, whom the pope had excommunicated and curſed for an heretike. Diuers treatiſes were by the ſaide Ockam ſet forth, whereof ſome are extant and in print, as his queſtions and diſtinctions: ſome ar extinct and ſuppreſſed (as Aſcentius reporteth) quod eſſent aliquando aſperiora. Some againe be publiſhed vnder no name of the autor, being of his doing: as the dialoge betwene the ſoldiour and the clarke: wherein it is to be coniected, what bookes and workes this Ockam had collected againſt the pope. Of this Ockam Iohn Sledane in his hiſtory inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whoſe wordes be theſe: William Ockam in time of Ludouicus. 4. emperour did flooriſh, about the yeare of the Lorde. 1326. who among other thinges wrote of the authority of the biſhop of Rome. In the which booke he handleth theſe. 8. queſtions very copiouſly: Whether both the adminiſtrations of the biſhops office, and of themperours maye be in one man. 2. Whether themperour taketh hys power and autoritie onelye of God, or els of the pope. 3. Whether the pope & churche of Rome haue power by Chriſt, to ſet and place kinges and emperours, and to commit to them their iuriſdiction to bee exerciſed. 4. Whether themperour being elected, hath full autoritie vpon the ſaid his election, to adminiſter his empire. 5. Whether other kinges beſide themperour and king of Romanes, in that they are conſecrated of prieſtes, receaue of them any part of their power. 6. Whether the ſayd kynges in any caſe be ſubiect to their conſecrators. 7. Whether if the ſaid kinges ſhoulde admit anye newe ſacrifice, or ſhoulde take to them ſelues the Diademe without anye further conſecration, they ſhould thereby loſe their kingly right and title. 8. Whether the ſeuen princes electors geue as much to the election of themperour, as ſucceſſion rightfull geueth to other kinges. Vpon theſe queſtions he diſputeth and argueth with ſundry argumentes and ſundry reaſons on both ſydes, at length deciſeth the matter on the part of the ciuill magiſtrate: and by occaſion thereof, entreth into the mention of the Popes decrees Extrauagant, declaring how litle force or regard is to be geuen thereunto.

uillermus Ockam, rote againſt the pope.

ichael generall of the ray friers, excōmunicated of the pope for an eretike.

Aſcentius in præfatione autoris.

The dialoge betwene the ſouldiour and the clarke, of Ockams makyng.

8. queſtions diſputed by Ockam.

Tritheminus maketh mention of one Gregorious Ariminenſis a learned and a famous and righte godlye man: who not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about the yeare of our Lorde.1350. diſputed in the ſame doctrine of grace and free wyll as we do now, and diſſented therein from the Papiſts and Sophiſters, coūting them worſe then Pelagians.

Gregorius Ariminenſis mainteineth the ſame doctrine now receaued. *Ex Trithemio.*

Of the like iudgement and in the ſame tyme was alſo Andreas de Caſtro, as appeareth ſuper lib.1. Sentent. diſt.45. and Buridianus vpon the Ethiques of Ariſtotle: Which both, mayntayned the grace of the Goſpel, as is now in the church receaued, aboue. 200. yeares ſynce.

Andreas de Caſtro, and Buridianus both goſpellers 200. yeres ago.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the Duke of Burgundie named Eudo, who at the ſame tyme, an.1350. diſſwaded the French king not to receaue in his land the new found conſtitutions, decretall and Extrauagant, wythin his realme: whoſe ſage counſaile then geuen, yet remayneth among the French kinges Recordes, as wytneſſeth Charol. Molinæus.

Eudo duke of Burgundie againſt the popes decrees about. 100. yeres ſince. *Ex Charolo Molinæo.*

Dantes an Italian writer a Florentine, lyued in the tyme of Ludouicus themperour, about the yeare of our Lord.1300 and tooke his part with Marſilius Patauinus agaynſt three ſortes of men, which he ſaid were enemies to the truth: That is, the Pope: Secōdly, the order of religious men, which count them ſelues the children of the church, when they are children of the deuyll their father: Thirdly the Doctours of decrees and decretals. Certayne of his writinges be extant abroade, wherein he proueth the pope not to be aboue the Emperour, nor to haue any right or iuriſdicti[illegible] the empyre. He refuteth the Donation of Conſta[illegible] to be a forged and a fayned thing, as which neither dyd ſtand with any law or ryght. For the which, he was taken of manye for an hereticke. He complayneth moreouer verye muche, the preaching of Gods word to be omitted: and in ſtede therof, the vayne fables of Monkes and Friers to bee preached and beleued of the people: and ſo the flock of Chriſt to be fed not with the foode of yͤ Goſpel, but with winde. The Pope ſaith he, of a paſtor is made a wolfe, to waſt the church of Chriſt, and to procure with hys Clergye not the word of god to be preached, but his own decrees. In his canticle of purgatory, he declareth the Pope to be the whore of Babilon. And to her miniſters, to ſome he applieth ii. hornes: to ſome. iiii. As to the patriarches, whom he noteth to be the tower of the ſaid whoore Babilonicall. Ex libris Dantis Italice.

Dantes an Italian writer againſt the pope

Donation of Conſtantine a thyng forged.

The pope the whore of Babylon.

Ex lib. Iornandi.

Hereunto may be added the ſaying out of the boke of Iornandus inprinted, with the foreſayd Dātes: that forſomuch

Pope Antichriſt

An admoniſhion to the Romanes.

ſomuch as Antichriſt commeth not before the diſtruction of the Empire,therfore ſuch as go about to haue the empire extinct, are forerũners and meſſẽgers in ſodoing of Antichriſt. Therefore let the Romains (ſaith he) ⁊ theire Biſhops beware, leſte their ſinnes and wickednes ſo deſeruing by the iuſt iudgement of God, the priſtehode be taken from them. Furthermore,let alſo the Prelats ⁊ princes of Germany take hede.⁊c.

Taulerus of Germany, a preacher againſt the popes procedings,

And becauſe oure aduerſaries which obiect to vs the newenes of our doctrine,ſhall ſee the courſe and fourme of this religion nowe receaued,not to haue bene, eyther ſuch a new thyng now,or a thyng ſo ſtraunge in tymes paſt: I will adde to theſe aboue recited, maiſter Taulerus a preacher of Argẽtine in Germanie.an.1350. Who contrary to the popes procedings,taught openly againſt all mens merits ⁊ againſt inuocation of ſaintes, and preached ſincerely of our free iuſtificatiõ by grace referring all mans truſt onely to the mercy of God,⁊ was an enemie to all ſuperſtition.

Franciſcus petracha.

Vide.20.epiſtolam Franciſci petrarchæ

With whom alſo may be adioyned Franciſcus Petrarcha,a writer of the ſame age,who in his workes and his Italian meter ſpeaking of Rome:calleth it the whore of Babilon,the ſchole and mother of errour, the temple of hereſie, the neſte of traychery growyng and increaſing by the oppreſſyng of others: and ſayth farther that ſhe, (meanyng to the popes court) extolleth her ſelfe agaynſt her founders yͤ is,the Emperours, who firſt ſet her vp ⁊ did ſo enriche her:And ſemeth playnly to affirme that the pope was Antichriſt, declaryng yͭ no greater euill could happen to any man then to be made pope. This Franciſcus was about the yeare of our Lord.1350.

Rome the mother and ſchole of errour.

Ioannes de rupe ſciſſa.

And if tyme would ſerue vs to ſeke out old hiſtoryes, we ſhould finde plenty of faythful witneſſes of olde and auncient time,to geue witneſſe with vs agaynſt the pope beſide the other aboue rehearſed:as Ioãnes de Rupe ſciſſa an. 1340. Who for rebukyng the ſpiritualtie for theyr great enormities, and neglectyng their officeand duety, was caſt in priſon.

Iohn caſt into priſon.

Church of Rome, the whore of Babilon.

Illiricus a writer in our dayes teſtifieth,that he found and red in an old pamphlet,that the ſayd Ioannes ſhould call yͤ church of Rome, yͤ whore of Babilon:⁊ the pope to be the miniſter of Antichriſt, ⁊ the Cardinals to be yͤ falſ prophets. Being in priſon he wrote a boke of propheſies, bearing yͤ title: Vade mecũ in tribulationẽ: in which boke (which alſo I haue ſene) he propheſied ⁊ admoniſhed affliction ⁊ tribulation to hang ouer the ſpiritualtie. And pronounceth plainly that God wil purge his clergy,and wil haue prieſtes that ſhalbe poore,godly, and that ſhal faithfully feede the Lordes flock:moreouer, that the goods of the churche ſhall returne agayne to the lay men. He propheſied alſo the ſame time, yͭ the Frẽch kyng ⁊ his army ſhould haue an ouerthrow. Whiche came lykewiſe to paſſe during the time of his empriſonment. Of this Ioannes de rupe, writeth Froyſard in hys tyme, and alſo Wickliffe, of whoſe prophecies, more maye be ſayde at more leaſure (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

The reformation of the church before propheſied.

Conradus Hager.

The Maſſe to be no ſacrifice.

About the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1340. in the citie Herbipoli, was one named maiſter Conradus Hager. Who (as appeareth by the old bulles ⁊ regiſters of Otho byſhop of the ſayd citie) is there recorded, to haue mainteined and taught the ſpace of xxiiii. yeares together,the Maſſe to be no maner of ſacrifice: neither that it profiteth any man other quicke or dede, and that the money geuen of the dead for Maſſes,be very roberies and ſacrilege of prieſtes, whiche they wickedly do intercepte and take away from the poore. And ſayd moreouer,that if he had a ſtoope full of gold ⁊ ſiluer, he would not geue one farthyng for any Maſſe. For the ſame his doctrine,thys good preacher was condemned and incloſed in priſon: what afterward became vpon him,we do not finde.

Conradus caſt in priſon.

Ex bullis quibuſdam Otthonis Epiſ. Herbipoli.

There is among other old and auncient recordes of antiquitie belongyng to this preſent time,a certein monument in verſes Poetically compiled, but not without a certain morall,intituled, Pænitentiarius Aſini,the aſſes confeſſor:bearing the date and yeare of our Lord in this number,Completus anno Domini. 1343. In this treatiſe be brought forth the wolfe,the foxe,and the aſſe cõming to ſhrifte and doyng penaunce. Firſt the wolfe cõfeſſeth him to the foxe, who eaſely doth abſolue him frõ all hys faultes,and alſo excuſeth him in yͤ ſame. In lyke maner the wolfe hearyng the foxes ſhrifte,ſheweth to him yͤ like fauour agayne. After this commeth the aſſe to cõfeſſion, whoſe faulte was thys: that he beyng hungerie, tooke a ſtraw out from the ſheafe of one that went in peregrination vnto Rome. The aſſe although repenting of his fact, yet becauſe he thought it not ſo heynous as the faultes of yͤ other,the more he hoped for his abſolutiõ. But what folowed? After the ſely aſſe had vttered his crime in auricular confeſſion,immediatly the diſcipline of yͤ law was executed vpon him with all ſeueritie:neither was he iudged worthy of any abſolution,but was apprehended vpon the ſame,ſlaine and deuoured. Who ſoeuer was the author of this fabulous tale,had a miſticall vnderſtandyng in the ſame,for by the wolfe no doubt was ment yͤ yͤ pope. But the foxe was reſembled to the prelates,curtiſans,prieſtes, and reſte of the ſpiritualtie. Of the ſpiritualtie,the Lord pope is ſone abſoyled,as contrary, the pope ſone doth abſoyle them in like maner. By the aſſe is ment the poore laitie,vpon whoſe backe the ſtraite cẽſure of the law is ſharpely executed: eſpecially when the Germane Emperours come vnder the popes inquiſitiõ, to be examined by his diſcipline, there is no abſolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haſt he muſt be depoſed, as in theſe ſtoryes may partly appeare before. And though the matter be not yͤ weight of a ſtraw, yet what ſayth the holy father the wolfe, if it pleaſe hym to make any matter of it.

Pœnitentiarius Aſini.

The pope and his ſpiritualtie confederate againſt the laitie.

The pope maketh the Emperour and lay men aſſes.

Immenſum ſcelus eſt,iniuria quam peregrino
Feciſti,ſtramen ſubripiendo ſibi.
Non aduertiſti quod plura pericula paſſus,
plurima paſſurus,quod peregrinus erat.
Non aduertiſti,quod ei per maxima terræ
Et pelagi ſpacia,ſit peragranda via.
Non aduertiſti,ſanctos,nec limina ſancta,
Sanctorum ſanctam ſed nec Hieruſalem.
Ille retranſiuit eadem loca, tam violentum
Ex inopinato ſenſit adeſſe malum.
De papa taceo,cuius protectio talem
Conduxit,cuius tu vilipendis opem.
Totius eccleſiæ fuerit quam nuncius iſte,
Pertulit abſtracto gramine damna viæ.&c.

And thus they aggerating and exaggerating the fault to the vttermoſt, flye vpon the poore Aſſe and deuoure hym. By the which Apologie,the tirannicall and fraudulent practiſes of theſe ſpirituall Romaniſtes are lyuelye deſcribed.

Gerhardus. Ridder, a writer agaynſt monks and friers,

Not long after theſe aboue rehearſed, about the yere of our lord.1350. Gerhardus Ridder,wrote alſo againſt the monkes and Friars a booke intituled, Lachrima eccleſiæ: wherein he diſputeth againſt the foreſayde religious orders,namely againſt the begging friers: prouing that kinde of life to be farre from Chriſtian perfection, for that it is againſte charitie to lyue vpon other, when a man may liue by his own labours. And affirmeth thẽ to be hipocrites,filthy lyuers,and ſuche as for mans fauour,and for lucre ſake,do mixt with true diuinity: fables,Apochryphas,and dreames of vanitie. Alſo, that they vnder pretence of long prayer, deuour widdowes houſes:and with their confeſſions, ſermons, and burials doo trouble the churche of Chriſt manifolde wayes. And therefore perſwaded the prelats to bridle and keepe ſhort the inordinate liſence and abuſes of theſe monaſticall perſons.⁊c.

Michael Ceſenas. Petrus de Corbaria. condemned of the pope Ioannes de Poliaco

Yet I haue made no mention of Michael Ceſenas, prouinciall of the Gray Friars, nor Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Antoninus, in quarta parte ſummæ and ſaith, they were condemned in the Extrauagant of pope Iohn, with one Ioannes de Poliaco. Their opinions ſaith Antoninus wer theſe: That Peter the apoſtle was no more the head of the churche, then the other Apoſtles: And that Chriſt left no vicare behynd him or head in his churche: And that the Pope hath no ſuch autoritie to correct and punniſhe, to inſtitute or depoſe the Emperour. Item, that all prieſtes of what degrée ſo euer, are of equall autoritie, power, and iuriſdiction by the inſtitution of Chriſte: but by the inſtitution of the Emperour, the pope to be ſuperiour, which by the ſame Emperour alſo may be reuoked agayne: Item, that neither the pope nor yet the churche may puniſhe any man, punitione coactiua, That is, by externe coaction: vnles they receaue licẽce of themperor. This foreſayd Michael, generall of the gray friers, wrote agaynſt the tyranny, pride, and primacie of the pope, accuſing hym to be Antichriſt: and the churche of Rome, to be the whore of Babylon, dronke with the bloud of ſaintes. He ſaid there were two churches, one of the wicked, floriſhyng, wherin reigned the Pope: the other of the godly afflicted. Item, that the veritie was almoſt vtterly extincte: And for this cauſe he was depriued of his dignitie and condemned of the pope. Notwithſtandyng, he ſtoode conſtant in hys aſſertions. This Michael was about the yeare of our Lord. 1322. And left behynd him many fautores and folowers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were ſlayne by the pope: Some were condẽned, as William Ockam, ſome were burned as Ioannes de Caſtilione, and Franciſcus de Arcatara. In Eztrauag. Ioan. 23.

The opinions of Michael againſt the pope.

Martyrs. Ioannes de Caſtilione Franciſcus de Arcacatara burned.

With him alſo was condemned in the ſayd Extrauagant Ioannes de Poliaco, aboue touched, whoſe aſſertions, were theſe: That the pope could not geue licẽce to heare confeſſions to whom he would, but that euery paſtour in his owne churche ought to ſuffice. Item, that paſtours and biſhops had their autoritie, immediatly from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, & not from the pope. Item, that yͤ conſtitutiõ of pope Benedict the xi. wherin he grãteth larger priuilegies to the friers aboue other paſtoures, was no declaration of the law, but a ſubuerſion. And for this he was by the ſaid friers oppreſſed, about the yeare of our Lord. 1322.

After Symon Mepham Archbiſhop of Canterburie before mentioned, who liued not long: ſucceded Iohn Stretford. After whom came Iohn Offord, who lyued but. x. monethes. In whoſe roume ſuccéded Thomas, and remayned but one yeare. an. 1350. And after hym Simon Iſelyp was made Archbiſhop of Canterburye, by pope Clement the. vj. who ſat. xvij. yeares, and buylded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford. Whych Symon Iſlyp ſucceeded the biſhop of Ely named Symon Langham, who within two yeares was made Cardinall. In whoſe ſteede pope Urbane the fyft ordeyned Wyllyam Wyttleſey biſhop of Worceter to be archbiſhop of Canterbury. an. 1366. In which yeare, William biſhop of Wintcheſter elected and founded the newe Colledge in Oxforde.

Againe in the order of the popes, next vnto pope Clement the. vj. before mencioned, about the ſame time. an. 1353. ſuccéded pope Innocent the. vi. In the firſt yere of which pope. ij. friars Minors or Franciſcans wer burned at Auinion, pro opinionibus (as myne autor ſayth) erroneis, prout D. papæ et eius Cardinalibus videbatur. i. for certaine opinions, as ſeemed to the pope and his cardinals, erroneous. Ex chron. Aueſb. Of the whych twoo friers, I fynde in the Chronicles De actis Rom. pontificum, and in the hiſtory of Præmonſtratenſis, that the one was Ioannes Rochetaylada. Or rather as I fynde in Catal, teſtium cited out of the Chronicle of Henricus de Erphordia, his name to be Hayabalus. Who beyng (as he recordeth) a friar Minorite, began fyrſt in the tyme of pope Clement the. vj. an. 1345. to preach and affirme openly that he was by Gods reuelation charged & commaunded to preache: that the churche of Rome was the whoore of Babilon, and the pope wyth hys Cardinals to be verye Antichriſte. And that pope Benedict and the other before him his predeceſſours were damned, wyth other ſuch like wordes, tending much againſt the popes tyrannicall maieſty. And that the foreſayde Hayabalus being brought before the popes face, conſtantly did ſtãd in the ſame, ſaying, that he was commaunded by Gods reuelation ſo to ſay, and alſo that he woulde preach the ſame, if he might. To whom it was then obiected that he had ſome hereticall bookes, and ſo was committed to priſon in Auinion. In the time of his accuſation it happened, that a certaine prieſt comming before the pope, caſt the popes Bull downe before his feete, ſaying: Lo here, take your Bull vnto you, for it doth me no good at all. I haue laboured now theſe thrée yeares wythall, & yet notwithſtanding for all this your Bull I cannot be reſtored to my right. The pope hearing this, commaũded the poore prieſt to be ſcourged, and after to bee layde in priſon with the foreſaid friar. What became of them afterward, the foreſayd writer Henricus de Erphordia maketh no mention. But I may probablye coniecture thys prieſt, and this friar Rochetayladus, or rather Hayabalus were the two, whom mine autor Rober. de Aueſber. writeth to be burned at this time in Auinion, about the firſt beginning of this pope Innocentius the. vj. Of this Rochtaylada, I thought good here to inferre the teſtimony and mention of Iohn Froyſard, written of hym in hys fyrſt volume, cap. 211. in theſe wordes.

Ex chron. Henrici de Erphordia.

The church of Rome declared to be the whore of Babylon by Gods reuelatiõ.

Rochtaylada with an other friar. Martyrs.

A prieſt for caſting the popes bul before the popes feete ſcourged caſt in priſon and after burned at Auinion.

An. 1354

Ther was (ſaith Froſiard) a Frier minor ful of great clergie in yͤ city of Auignõ, called Frier Iohn of Rochetayllad, the which Frier Pope Innocent the vi. helde in priſon in the caſtell of Baignour for ſhewing of manye meruayles after to come, principally he ſhewed manye thinges to fall on the prelates of the churche for yͤ great ſuperfluity and pride, that was as then vſed amõg them. And alſo he ſpake many thinges to fall of the realme of Fraunce and of the great Lordes of Chriſtendome, for the oppreſſions that they did to the poore common people. This Frier ſayd he would proue all his ſayings by the autority of the Apocalips and by other bookes of holy ſayntes and prophetes, the which were opened to hym by the grace of the holy ghoſt: he ſhewed many thynges hard to beleue, and many thinges fell after as he ſayde. He ſayd them not as a Prophete but he ſhewed them by autority of auncient Scriptures and by the grace of the holy ghoſt, who gaue him vnderſtanding to declare the auncient propheſies and to ſhew to all chriſtẽ people the yeares and times when ſuch things ſhould fal, he made diuerſe bookes founded on greate ſciences and clergie, whereof one was made the yeare of our Lorde. 1346. wherin was written ſuch meruayls that it were hard to beleue them howbeit many things according therto fel after. And when he was demaunded of the warres of Fraunce he ſayd that all that had ben ſene was not like that ſhould be ſene after. For he ſayd that the warres in Fraunce ſhould not be ended till the realme were vtter waſted and exiled in euery part. The which ſaying was well ſene after, for the noble realm of France was ſore waſted and exiled: & ſpecially in the terme that the ſayd Frier had ſet. The whiche was in the yeares of our Lorde. 1356. 57. 58. and 59. He ſayde in thoſe yeares the the princes and gentlemen of the realme ſhould not for feare ſhew them ſelfe againſte the people of low eſtate, aſſembled of all countries without head or captain, and they ſhould do as they liſt in the realme of Fraunce the which fell after as ye haue heard, how the companions aſſembled them to gether, and by reaſõ of theyr robbery

Ex Ioan. Froſiardo volu. 1. cap. 211.

and pillage waxed rich and became great captaines.

Ex ſcripto Godfri. de Fontanis.

A contention in France betwen the prelates and the friers there.

A Sermon of the biſſh of Byters to the ſtudents of Parys againſt the fryers.

That is, the Dominik friars and the Franciſcane friars.

About the ſame tyme happened in Fraunce a certaine contention betwene the Frenche prelates, and the friars of Paris, teſtified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontanis, the briefe effect of which ſtory is this. The prelates of Fraunce conuenting and aſſembling together in the Citie of Paris, after a long deliberation among themſelues: cauſed by the Bedels to be called together all the Studentes, maiſters and Bachalers of euery facultie, with the chief heades alſo of all the religious houſes and friers in the vniuerſitie of Paris. Who beyng all there congregated together in the biſhop of Parys his houſe, where were preſent .iiij. Archbiſhops, and .xx. biſhops: firſt ſtoode vp the biſhop of Biturecenſe, who there making his Sermon, tooke for his theame yͤ place of S. Paule to the Epheſians. Fratres vt ſciatis quæ ſit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo, et profunditas charitatis, &c. and concluded therupon, firſt that true charitie woulde compell them to ſee & prouide for their flockes. Secondly, that the vigore of charitie would arme thē, to withſtand errours. Thirdly he concluded, that by the dutie of charitie, they were bounde to geue their liues for the ſoules of their flocke cōmitted to their charge. Fourthly, that by the ſame charitie euery man to holde himſelfe cōtent with that which was his own, and not to intermedle or buſie himſelfe further then to him apperteined or belonged to his office: For there (ſayth he) all order eccleſiaſticall is diſſolued, where as mē not contayning thēſelues in their own precinctes, preſume in other mens charges, where they haue nothing to doe. But this charitie (ſayth he) now a dayes waxeth cold, and all eccleſiaſtical order is confounded and vtterly out of order. For many there be which nowe adayes preſume to thruſt in themſelues where they haue nothing to do, ſo that now the churche may ſeeme to be a monſter. For as in a naturall bodye appeareth a monſter, where one member doth the office of an other: ſo in the ſpiritnall body which is the church, may be thought likewiſe. As when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the friars Maiors and Minors, do take vpon them to vſurpe and occupye the office to vs ſpecially appertaining: namely, where as the ſcripture warneth vs all, none to take vpon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the lord, as Aaron was. Wherfore we haue heretofore often times cauſed the ſayd friars, both by the king himſelfe in his own perſon, and alſo by other nobles to be ſpoken to & deſired: to ſurceaſe from doing and intermedling in our office, and yet they wold not, but haue preached againſt our wyls through all our dioceſſes, and haue heard cōfeſſions, ſaying that they haue the popes priuilegies to beare them out therin. For the which cauſe we com to you, and not we here preſent onely, but alſo we haue the hādwriting and the full conſent of all other our fellow biſhops throughout the kingdome of Fraunce, to complaine to you of thys ſo great inſolencie and preſumption of the Friars. For that as we are, you ſhall be. Neither doo I thynke to be any of vs prelates here now, which hath not ſome tyme bene taken out of this vniuerſitie of yours. We haue deſired moreouer, and cauſed to be deſired the foreſayde friars, to ſend their priuileges to the Apoſtolicke ſee, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the Lord pope: which they refuſed alſo to do. Wherfore, to the entent you may the better vnderſtand and ſee what theyr priuilegies be, and how farre they doo extende: we haue apointed the ſayd priuilege here openlye to be redde vnto you.

The conſtitution of pope Innocent 4. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus.

Then ſtoode vp an other in yͤ publike place, & there red the priuilegies of both the orders: and afterward red alſo the conſtitution of pope Innocent the .iiij. wrytten in the .v. of the decretals, and beginneth: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus. &c. Which conſtitution was repugnant and contrary to the foreſaid priuileges, as he there manifeſtlye proued: declaring, how both the ſaid priuileges were derogatorie to that conſtitution.

This done, then roſe vp the Biſhop Ambianenſis, a great Lawyer: who diſcourſing from article to article there proued by good law, yͭ the ſayd conſtitution ſtoode in hys full force and vigore, and ought not to be infringed by the Friars priuileges in no parte. And therfore by the vertue of that conſtitution, that the friers ought not ſo miſorderly to intrude themſelues in hearing confeſſions, in inioyning of penaunce, and in preaching in churches and dioceſſes without ſpeciall licence of the biſhop of the dioces, and curate of the paryſhe: vnto whoſe wordes, neuer a fryer at that tyme replyed agayn. And ſo the biſhop proceding to his concluſion, deſired the vniuerſitie to aſſiſte them in that caſe, wherin they were all determined (ſayth he) to ſtand firmely to the ſhedding of their bloud, in reſiſting that miſorder and iniurie of the fryers. This happened the .vj. day of December whiche they dedicate to S. Nicholas. The next day being Sonday, one of the order of the Minorites or Franciſcans, went to the church of the Maiorites or preaching friers: where he made a ſermon (which was neuer ſeene before, the one order to come and reſorte with the other) beginning in the foreſayd matter to replye, and to expound in order through euery article as well as he could: adding moreouer and ſaying, that they went not ſo far in their priuileges, as thei lawfully might. And ſayd moreouer, yͭ what tyme the ſayd priuileges were in obtayning at Rome: the biſhop Ambianenſis was there preſent hymſelfe, reſiſting the ſame with all his power, yea all yͤ prelates alſo of Fraunce ſent and wrote vp to the court agaynſt the ſame, and yet did not preuaile. For when the friers there preſently declared and opened to the pope in what maner & how far they had vſed priuilegies: yͤ pope the ſame time ſaide, Placet: That is, agreed vnto yͤ ſame. And now (ſayth he) the prelates require and demaund of vs to ſend vp our priuilegies to the court, whiche were great folly in vs: For in ſo doyng, what ſhuld we els but geue place and occaſion, to reuoke agayne the autoritie whiche is geuen in our handes all ready. Farthermore, our Warden and maiſter is now lately dead, and the maiſter here of the Dominicke friers, is not now preſēt. Wherefore, we dare not determine in ſuch a weghtye cauſe (touching the priuilegies of oure order) without the preſence of them. And therfore we deſire you of the vniuerſitie to hold vs therin excuſed, and not to be ſo lightly ſtirred agaynſt vs, for we are not the worſt and vileſt part of the vniuerſitie. &c.

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The next day beyng the .viij. day of the ſame month, which is alſo dedicate to the cōception of our Lady, vpō whiche day it was determined lykewiſe: that one of the Dominicke friers, ſhould preache in the churche of the Franciſcane or gray friers, and ſo he did: tending to the ſame end, as the other friar in the other church had done before. Wherby it may ſeme the prouerbe well aunſwered vnto, wherof we reade in the Goſpell: facte ſunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipſa die.

Herod
Pilate
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It was not long after, that the feaſte of S. Thomas the Apoſtle folowed, in whoſe Vigile all the heades of the vniuerſitie agayne, were warned the third day after to congregate together in the churche of S. Bernard at the ſermon tyme. Whiche beyng done, and the aſſembley metyng together, an other ſermon was made by a diuine of the vniuerſitie, whoſe theame was: Prope eſt Dominus oībus inuocantibus eum in veritate, &c. Wherin he with many wordes and great autorities argued agaynſt thē, that would not be obedient to their prelates. &c. The ſermon beyng ended, then roſe vp agayne the biſhop Ambianenſis, who proſecutyng the reſte of the theame, and commyng to the word in veritate: diuided it in .iij. partes, according to the commō gloſe of the decretals.

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In ve

Eſt verum vitæ, doctrinæ, iuſticiæque,
Primum ſemper habe, duo propter ſcandala linque.

Shewyng and declaring by many autorities both of canonicall Scriptures and out of the law, and by euident demonſtration of experiẽce: that the friers firſt had no veritie of life, becauſe they were full of hypocriſie: neither had yͤ veritie of doctrine, becauſe in their hart they bare galle, & in their tongue hony: neither veritie of iuſtice, becauſe they vſurped other mens offices. And thus concludyng with the ſame, cauſed agayne to be read the ſayd priuilegies, with the conſtitution aboue ſpecified. And ſo expoundyng place by place, did argue and proue that the ſayd conſtitution, in no part was euacuat or infringed by the priuilegies aforeſayd. Whiche thyng beyng declared he added moreouer, that where as the friers ſay (ſayd he) that I ſhould be preſent in the obteynyng of the priuilegies, I graũt it to be true, and when worde came to me thriſe therof, I went to the Pope reclaimyng and requiring the ſayd priuilegies to be reuoked. But the next day after, it ſo pleaſed the pope to ſend me out abroad vpon weyghty affaires, ſo that then the matter had no end. After yͭ, we ſent alſo other meſſẽgers wͭ our letters, for yͤ ſame cauſe vnto the court of Rome, whom the friers ſay not to haue preuayled, but they lye therin. For the ſayd meſſengers agayne brought vs letters, frõ the chief of the court of Rome, ſealed with their ſeales which letters, we haue diuers tymes preſented to our kyng, and will ſhortly ſhewe them vnto you all. In the whiche letters, the Lord pope hath promiſed the ſayd priuiledgies, either to be vtterly abrogate, or els to be mitigated with ſome more playne interpretation, of the whiche we truſt ſhortly to haue the publique Bulle or writte from the pope.

At laſt, the ſayd Biſhop required & deſired of all there, of what dioces or countrey ſo euer they were: that they would copy out the foreſaid priuiledgies, and ſend them abroad into their cõtreys, that all men might ſée what they were, and how farre they did extẽd. In fine, the matter commyng into open diſputatiõ, it was concluded by maiſter Giles one of the Auguſtine friers (who was thought to be moſt reaſonable of all the others friers, in this wiſe) that after his ſentence, the prelates were in the truer part. &c. Hæc ex Godfrido de Fontanis.

¶ Concernyng this wrangling contentiõ betwene the vniuerſitie and friers of Fraunce here tofore mentioned, whereof partly the originall cauſe there may be vnderſtand by that whiche hath been ſayd to riſe vpon certeine priuilegies graunted by Popes to the friers, to intermedle in matters of pariſh churches: As to here confeſſiõs, to preach and teache, with power therto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houſes, and to receaue impropriations. &c: becauſe it were long here to deſcribe the full circumſtances therof, alſo becauſe the ſayd contention did endure a long tyme not onely in Fraunce but alſo came ouer to England: The whole diſcourſe thereof more amplye (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe declared in the begynnyng of the next booke folowyng, when we come to the ſtory of Armachanus.

About what tyme and yeare, this brawle was in the vniuerſitie of Paris betwene the friers & prelates there, as hath béen declared: the lyke contention happened alſo in the vniuerſitie of Oxford in the yeare aboue prefixed. 1354. ſaue onely that the ſtrife amõg yͤ maiſters of Paris as it roſe vpon Frierly ceremonies, ſo it went no farther, then brawlyng wordes and matter of excommunication: but this tumulte riſing of a dronken cauſe, proceded further vnto bloudy ſtripes. The firſt originall whereof began in a tauerne, betwene a ſcholer and the goodman of the houſe. Who fallyng together in altercation, grew to ſuch heate of wordes, that the ſtudent (contra ius hoſpitij) poured the wine vpõ the head of the hoſte and brake his head with yͤ quarte pot. Vpõ this occaſion geuen, eftſoones partes began to be takẽ betwene the townes men and the ſcholers. In ſo much that a greuous ſedition and conflicte folowed vpon the ſame: wherin many of the townes men were woũded, and to yͤ number of xx. ſlayne. Diuers alſo of the ſcholers were greuouſly hurt. The ſpace of ij. dayes, this hurly burly continued. Vpon the ſecond day, certeine religious and deuout perſons ordeined a ſolemne proceſſion generall, to pray for peace. Yet notwithſtandyng, all that proceſſion as holy as it was, it woulde not bryng peace. In the whiche proceſſion (the ſkirmiſhe ſtill waxing hoate) one of the ſtudentes beyng hardly purſued by the townesmen, for ſuccour in hys flighte, came runnyng to the Prieſte or frier which caried about (as the maner was) yͤ pixe; thinkyng to finde refuge at the preſence of the tranſubſtantiated God of the aulter there caried and inbored. Notwithſtandyng, the God there not preſent, or els not ſeing hym, or els peraduenture beyng a ſlepe: the ſcholer foũd there ſmall helpe. For the townesmen in the heate of the chaſe, forgettyng belyke the vertue of the Popes tranſubſtantiation, folowed him ſo hard, yͭ in the preſence of the pyxe they brake his head, and woũded hym greuouſlye. This done, at lengthe ſome peace or truce for that day was takẽ. The next morow folowing, other townes men in the villagies about, ioyning with the townes mẽ of Oxford: confederated together in great force and power to ſet vpon the Studentes there, and ſo did, hauing a blacke flag borne before them, and ſo inuaded the Vniuerſity men. Wherupon, the ſcholars being ouer matched and compelled to flee into their haules and hoſtles, were ſo purſued by their enemies: that. xx. of the dores of their haules and chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded, and (as it is ſayd) ſlayne and throwen into priuies: their bookes with kniues and byls cut all in péeces, and much of their goods caried away. And thus the ſtudents of that Vniuerſitye beyng conquered by the townes men of Oxforde, and of the countrye about, departed and left the Vniuerſitye. So that for a time, the ſcholes there, and all ſchole actes did vtterlye ceaſe from all exerciſe of ſtudye, except onelye Merton colledge haule, with a few other remaynyng behinde.

Proceſsion for peace.

The holy proceſsion would bring no peace

Tranſubſtantiation wyll not helpe in tyme of neede.

A conqueſt of the ſcholers of Oxford.

The vniuerſitie of Oxford diſſolued for a tyme.

This being done the. xij. day of February, the quene at the ſame time being at Woodſtocke, was brought to bed, and purified on the fyrſte Sondaye in Lent wyth great ſolemnity of Juſting: About which time, yͤ biſhop of Lyncolne their Dioceſane hearyng of this exceſſiue outrage, ſendeth his inhibition to all perſons & prieſtes, forbidding them throughout all Oxforde, none to celebrate maſſe or any diuine ſeruice in the preſence of anye lay parſon within the ſayd towne of Oxford, interdicting withall the whole towne. Which interdiction endured the ſpace of a whole yeare and more.

The towne of Oxford interdicted.

The kyng alſo ſent thyther his Juſtices to examine and enquire of the matter. Before whom diuers lay mẽ and of the Clergy wer indicted. Alſo iiij. of the chiefe burgeſes of the ſayd towne were indicted, and by the kings commaundement ſent to the Tower of London, were there impriſoned. At length through muche labour of the nobles, the king ſo tooke vp the matter, that ſending his writinges vnto all Shriues in England, offered pardon to all and ſinguler Studentes of that Vniuerſitye, (wherſoeuer diſperſed) for that tranſgreſſion. Wherby, the Vniuerſity in ſhorte tyme was repleniſhed agayne as before. Moreouer was graunted to the Vicechancellour or Comiſſary (as they terme hym) of the towne and vniuerſitie of Oxforde, to haue the aſſiſe of bread, ale, wyne, and all other victuals, yͤ Maior of the ſayd towne being excluded. Alſo was graũted and decreed, that the commons of Oxforde ſhoulde geue to the vniuerſitie of Oxford CC li. ſterling in parte of ſatiſfaction for their exceſſes: reſerued notwithſtanding to euery one of the ſtudentes hys ſeuerall action agaynſt any ſeuerall per-

Graunted to the commiſſary of Oxford to haue the aſſiſe of breade & ale and other priuileges aboue the Maior of the Towne.

ſon of the townesmen.&c.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1354. The kyng with the conſent of his coūſaile, reuoked home agayne out of Flaūders the Staple of Wulle, withall things thereūto appertayning, and ſtabliſhed the ſame in ſondrye places within the realme, namely in Weſtminſter, Canterbury, Chicheſter, Briſtow, Lincolne, and in Hulle. Which Staple after.an.1362.was trāſlated ouer into Calyce.

An holſome decree of a good Archb not to abſtaine from bodely labour vpon certaine holydayes.

Of Simon Iſlype archbiſhop of Cant. mentioned a litle before, pag. 487. I read in the ſaid author aboue ſpecified, that he by his letters patent directed to all perſons & vicars within his prouince: ſtraitly charged them and their pariſhioners vnder paine of excommunication, not to abſtaine frō bodely labour, vpō certain ſaintes daies, which before were wonte to be hallowed and conſecrated to vnthriftie idlenes. Item, that to prieſtes ſhould be geuē no more for their yearly ſtipend, but iij.l.vj.s.viij.d which made diuers of them to rob & ſteale.&c.an.1362.

A parliament.

The next yeare following, which was. 1363. the foreſayd king Edward kept his Parliament at London in the moneth of October: wherin was prohibited, no gold nor ſiluer to bee worne in kniues, gyrdles, brouches, ringes, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, excepte the wearer might diſpende x. pound by yeare. Item, ẏ none ſhould weare either ſilkes or coſtly furres, except ſuch as might diſpend C. pound by yeare. Alſo that marchaunt venterers ſhoulde not exporte ouer any marchaundyſe out of the realme, or ſeeke for wynes in other countrey: wherby other nations ſhoulde be conſtrayned rather to ſeeke to vs.&c. But none of thys dyd take any great effecte.

Simon Sudbury archb. of Cant.

After this Simon Iſelip as is aboue recorded, folowed Simon Langham, then W. Wyttleſey, after whō next in the place ſucceded Symon Sudbury.

The Nuns of S. Bridgers order.

Much aboute the ſame time, the Nunnes of S. Brigittes order beganne firſt. About which time alſo was builded ẏ Queenes college in Oxford, by Queene Philipe of England, wife to kyng Edwarde the thyrd. circa an, domini, 1360.

This Lady Blanche was ducheſſe of Lācaſter.

Moreouer in the time of thys pope Innocent, Fryar John Lyle biſhop of Elie, moued with certayn iniuries (as he thought) done to him by the Lady Blanche, made hys complaint to the Pope. Who ſendyng downe hys curſe to the biſhop of Lincolne, and other prelates to be executed vpon the aduerſaries of the biſhop of Ely: commaunded them, that if they dyd know anye of the ſayde aduerſaries dead and buried (ẏ notwythſtanding) they ſhould cauſe the ſame to be taken vp: which alſo thei performed accordinglye, of whome ſome had beene of the kynges counſayle. Wherefore the king being dipleaſed and not vnworthely, did trouble and moleſt agayne the ſayd prelates. This comming to the popes hearing, certaine were directed downe from the court of Rome, in the behalfe of the foreſayd biſhop of Ely: who meeting, with the biſhop of Rocheſter the kinges treaſurer, delyuered vnto him being armed, letters from the byſhop of Rome, the tenour whereof was not knowen. Whych done, they incontinent auoyded away. But certayne of the kinges ſeruauntes purſuing, did ouertake them: of whom ſome they impriſoned, ſome they brought to the Juſtices, and ſo were condemned to be hanged. Wherin may appeare what reuerēce the popes letters in thys kinges dayes had in this realme of England. Ex chron. Aueſb. This pope Innocent ordeined the feaſt of the holy ſpeare, and of the holye nayles.

Dead men excommunicated by the pope.

The popes meſſengers hanged in England.

The feaſt of the ſpeare and of the holy nailes.

And here to make an end of this fourth booke, now
remayneth after our order and cuſtome before
begon, to proſecute the raſe of the Archbi-
ſhops of Canterbury, in this fore-
ſayd fourth booke conteyned, be-
gynnyng where before we
left pag. 221. at Lanc-
francus.

¶ A table of the Archbiſhops of Cant. in this fourth booke conteined.

34	Lancfrancus.	19	Pol. Virg. lib. 9. numbreth this Lācfrancus to bee the 33. archb. But by the count of other autors (namely by Ychron. of the monke of Douer) ſemeth to be deceaued as he was in the eight & twenty yeares of Dunſtane, whiche in dede did ſit but 19. or 20. at the moſt. This error of Pol ſemeth to come by leuyng out either Elſius, whiche was the 23. or by leauyng out Elfricus, which was the 26. as in ſome autors I finde. Moreouer here is to bee noted, that although the ſayd Elfricus were left out, yet Lancfrancus can not be 23. Note alſo, that in the table of the iii. booke before, after Siricius to put in Sāctus Aluredus, Whiche in the order of archb. I left out in the end of the iii. booke. pag. 211. This Lancfrancus was an Italian, and a ſtout champion of the pope. After his ſtubburne diſſention with Thomas archb. of Yorke, he wrote agaynſte Berengarius, intitulyng hys booke Opus Scintillarum. pag. 215. Alſo the ſame Lancfrancke buylded the new churche at Canterburye, and pluckt downe the old. By hym was buylded the church of S. Gregory. At length he was expulſed by kyng Wylliam Rufus.
35	Anſelmus.	20	Of this Anſelmus, and the ſtryfe betwene him and the king, looke in the. pag. 239.
36	Radulphus.	8	Under Rad. ẏ order of Ciſternians begā.
37	Gulielmus Curboil.	13	By this W. the new worke of the church of S. Martins at Douer was builded.
38	Theobaldus.	24	By this Theobald, monkes were fyrſt brought into the church of Douer. He was expulſed by kyng Stephen. In hys tyme the Churche of ſaynt Gregory was burned at Canterbury.
39	Tho. Becket.	9	Of the lyfe and death of thys Becket, ſee the pag. 263. Ex Crikladenſi, Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis eius miracula prędicaret, interminantes minas mortis ſeu maximarum pęnarum omnibus confitentibus eum fuiſſe martyrem, et miracula eius prędicantibus &c.
40	Richardus.	10	This Richard was a monk: in his time, Chriſtes churche at Canterbury was burned.
41	Baldwinus.	7	Betwene thys Baldwyn and the Monkes was great diſcord. He ſuſpended the Prior frō his priorſhip, and.xxii. moonkes from all ſeruice. He cauſed the ſuperior with all hys adherentes to bee excommunicate through all Kent.
42	Hubertus.	14	In the tyme of thys Hubert, the chappell of Lāhes was plukt down. Alſo the churche of Douer was burned.
43	Stephanus Lāghton.	22	This Stephen with the monkes of Cāterbury were expulſed by kyng Jhon. This Stephen intēdyng to geue orders in the chappel of Lambeth, was ſtopped by the monkes of Cant. through their appeale and prohibitiō. Wherfore he required Euſtace biſhop of London, to miniſter the ſame orders in the churche of S. Paule. In his tyme fell great variance betwene the monkes of Rocheſter, & the monkes of Cant. for the election of their biſhop, which election the monkes of Canter. would not admitte, before the Rocheſter monkes had preſented the byſhops ſtaffe in the churche of Cāt. ſo that both the churches ſent their meſſengers to the court of Rome.
44	Richardus Magnus.	4	At the conſecration of thys Richard cōtention roſe betwene the biſhop of Rocheſter, and biſhop of Bathe, who ſhould conſecrate hym. Item, betwene the ſayd Richard and the monkes of Canterbury fell a greuous diſcord about certayne liberties belonging to the Archbiſhop. The ſayd Archbiſhop for certayne quarels agaynſt the king, went vp to Rome, who dyed in Tuſcia.

Ex hiſt Criklad ſiſ.

After this Richard, the election of three archbiſhops was caſſate at Rome: of Rodulphus de noua villa, of Ihon prior of Cãterbury, of Ihon Blund.

45 Edmunde of Abenden. 7

Thys Edmũd was called St. Edmũd. At whoſe election the Prior of Douer thinking to be preſent, as at the mariage of his mother, was not permitted by the monkes of Canterbury. For whych iniurye he appealed and went to Rome to complayne, not agaynſt the elect, but agaynſt the election: where he obtayned of the Pope for all the Priors and ſucceſſors of Douer, to haue ful interreſt in the electiõ of the archbiſhop, beſydes other priuilegies which he obtayned, percaſe not wythout ſome good ſtore of money. Afterward the Monkes of Canterbury accuſed him to the archbiſhop as though he ſtoode agaynſt the perſon of the elect and ſo obtayned of the archbiſhop being angrye with hym, to haue broughte him vnder the chapter of Caunt. & there to be puniſhed. Wherupon the prior ſeing hym ſo deſtitute of help of all lawyers, was conſtrayned in the foreſayd chapter to crye peccaui. Thẽ being ſuſpended from his priorſhip, was at length ſent home to Douer, beyng compelled fyrſt to ſet hys hande to a certayne compoſition betwene him and the foreſayde Monkes.

The ſayd Edmunde archbiſhop alſo hauing ſome quarell agaynſt the kyng, went vp to Rome, and died before his commyng home.

46 Bonifacius. 25

In the tyme of this Boniface, pope Gregory wickedly graunted to kyng Henry.3. (for the gettyng of the kyngdõ of Sicile) whiche belonged not to him to geue, nor to the other to take: tenthes of goodes temporall and ſpirituall, for v. yeares. Item, all the firſte yeares fruites of Churches that ſhould be vacant for v. yeares. Item, halfe of all the goodes of beneficed men not reſident at their benefices. Itẽ, all legacies not diſtinctly geuen. And yet the kyndome of Sicile neuer came to hys handes, whiche belonged to Manfredus, ſonne of Frederike Emperour. Strife betwene this Boniface, and the prior of Cant. Itẽ, betwene him and biſhop of Roff. Item, betwen him & the chapter of Lincolne, all whiche was after agreed. Chro. Douerẽſ. fol. 20. pag. 2.

Strife in Wyncheſter, aboute chuſing the biſhop after the death of Aymarus, the kynges brother.

Strife in ẏ conuocatiõ which Boniface did holde at Lambeheth: In the which cõcell wer recited the ſtatutes of Octobonus & other new ſtatutes made: Againſt which, I. Hemelyngforde the kynges chapleine with other mo, and prince Edward on the kings behalf did apeale. Chro. Douer. fo. 21

¶ Vnder this Boniface archbiſhop, Tunebrege and Hadlo fyrſt came vnder the cuſtody of the archb. of Cant.

Maiſter I. of Exeter bought the Byſhopricke of Wyncheſter for. 6000. markes: whych being knowen, he was fayne to paye the ſame ſumme agayne to the Pope, and ſo was ſent home.

Boniface the archbiſhop being in the partes of Sabaudia, an. 1262. fell an other alteration betwene the Prior and Chapter of Cãterbury on the one part, and the Prior and Chapter of Douer on the other part. whych two houſes almoſt were neuer in quiet, and all about certayne liberties and priuilegies: as for making the ſubprior, for receauing in of Moonkes, and for viſitacions of the church of Douer.

An. 1268. Boniface archbiſhop interdicted the City of London, becauſe in the ſame Citye the Archbiſhop of Yorke dyd holde vp hys croſſe, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury beyng there preſent, the kyng holdyng then hys parlament at weſtminſter.

This Archbiſhop dyed in the partes of Sabaudia.

John Prior of Canterburye was elected by the Moonkes agaynſt the kings mind, but by the pope refuſed.

Adam Chilinden was elect, but he reſigned his election to the Pope.

47 Robart Kilwarby, Friar. 6.

In the tyme of thys Robart Kilwarbye, appeale was taken agaynſt the chapter of Canterbury by the biſhop of Wyncheſter, of Worceſter, & Exceſter: for the which cauſe the ſaid biſhops went vp to Rome to proſecute the appeale. The matter was becauſe they dyd not theyr obedience to the Monkes of Canterbury, the ſee beyng emptye.

¶ Walter Gyffard archbiſhop of Yorke, goyng toward the generall Councell, bare vp hys croſſe through the myddle of Kent in the tyme of this Robert archbiſh. of Canterbury, an. 1272.

By Pope Gregorye. x. in the generall Councell at Lyons, all the orders of Friers were put downe. iiii. orders onely except, that is, Dominickes, Franciſcãs Carmilites, and Auguſtines.

Thys Robart Kilwarby by the commaundement of Pope Nicholas was made Cardinall of Rome, biſhop Portuenſis.

Where is to be noted an vntruth in Polidor Virgill, which ſayth that he was made Cardinal by pope Gregory, which could not be.

An vntruth in Polyd. Virgil.

48 Iohn Peccam. Friar. 13

Robert Burnell biſhop of Bathe was elected, but by the pope refuſed: For whom John Pecham a Graye Friar, was placed by Pope Nicho.

In the fyrſte yeare of thys Friar Pecham, Wylliam Wykewane archbiſhop of Yorke, comming from hys conſecratiõ at Rome to Douer, bare vp hys croſſe throughe the myddeſt of Kent, where at was no litle a doo.

Robert Gernemine archdeacõ of Cant. went to law at Rome for the liberties and poſſeſſiõs of his archdeaconſhip ii. yeares and there dyed.

In his tyme alſo an other wrãglyng fell betwen the monkes of Cant. and the monkes of Douer in the tyme of this Jhon Peckam, for admitting certein Nouices of Douer into orders. Ex Chron. Monachi. Douer. fol. 42.

This Pecham holding a councell at Lambeth ordeined diuers ſtatutes, and cauſed the ordinaunces of the councell of Lions, and of Boniface archb. of Cant. his predeceſſor to be obſerued.

Great ſtrife & hatred was betwene this Pechã & Thomas biſhop of Hereford. who beyng excõmunicated by Pecham, appealed to Rome and wente to the pope.

The prior and couẽt of Cant. made there apeale agaynſt this archb. Pecham, that he ſhould not cõſecrate Walter le Schamel new elect biſhop of Saleſbury, in any other place, except onely in ẏ church of Cant. but by their leaue and licẽce firſt obtained. Notwithſtandyng the archb. nothyng regardyng their appeale, proceded in the cõſecratiõ of the ſayd byſhop nere to the towne of Readyng. wherupon, the prior & the conuent ceaſed not to proſecute their appeale agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

Betwene Richard Ferrings archdeacon of Cãt. of ẏ one partie & the Barõs of Douer of ẏ other party, the ſame yere fell an other lyke wranglyng. For ẏ the Archdeacõ claymed, to viſite the church of Douer. Contrary, the barons affirmed, that none had nor ſhoulde haue to do there to order or diſpoſe in ſpiritual matters, but onely the archb. and the prior and conuent of S. Martin. Ex eod. Chron. fol. 46.

After the death of william wikwane Archb. of Yorke, Jhon de Roma ſucceedyng after hym, and cõmyng from his conſecration at Rome to Douer, bare his croſſe through the midle of Kent, contrary to the inhibition of Jhon Pecham.

49 Robert VVinchelſey. 19

This Robert whiche was archbiſhop in the latter tyme of kyng Edward the firſt, for certe in diſpleaſure of the kyng cõceaued agaynſt hym, departed the realm, & in his baniſhmẽt remained ii. or iii. yeres. And about ẏ beginnyng of the reigne of kyng Edward the 2. was reſtored agayne. an. 1309. Ex Chron. Richard. 2. Thus fewe archbiſhoppes of Canterburye wee with find, whome kynges haue not had ſome quarell or other. The cauſe betwene the kyng and hym (ſaythe mine autor) was this, that the kyng accuſed him to Pope Clement to di-

ſturbe

turbe hys realme, and to take parte with rebels &c. Ex Chro. S. Albani.

This Robert alſo excommunicated, Walter byſhop of Couent. for holdyng with the kyng and Peter Gauerſton agaynſt the ordinances of the barõs. Wherfore, the ſayd byſhop appealed to the pope, agaynſt whom the archb. ſent Adam Mirymouth, concerning the debate betwene this Stratford and the king, ſee the pag. 475. an. 1310.

This Adam Mirymouth was compiler of the ſtory of king Edward.

In the tyme of thys Robert archbyſhop, the order of Templaries, wer aboliſhed by pope Clemēt v. in the councell of Vienna, with this ſentence diffinitiue. Quãquam de iure non poſſumus, tamen ad plenitudinem poteſtatis dictum ordinē reprobamus.

50 Gualter Reynald. 15.

After the deceaſe of Robart Wynchelſey, who departed an. 1312. Thomas Cobbam a learned man, was elected by full conſent of the monks: who came to Auinion, to haue his election confirmed. But the pope reſeruyng the vacant ſeate to hys owne handes, put in Walter Reynald Byſhop of Worceſter, Chaũlour of England who gouerned ỷ ſeate xv. yeres.

The chronicler of S. Albans, recordeth alſo how in the dayes of this archbiſhop. an. 1319. certeyn Leepers conſpiryng with the Turkes and Iewes wer about to impotionate, and infecte all chriſtendome, by inuenemyng there fountanes, lakes, pittes, barcels, and ſuch other places. Of the which crime diuers of them beyng conuict, wer worthely burned in Fraunce. About the whiche yeare, the ſayd autor maketh alſo relation, how in the realme of Englãd much morayne fell among the beaſtes: in ſo much, that the dogges eating vpon their fleſh (infected by like by the waters and fountaines) fell down dead incõtinent. Neither durſt men for that cauſe almoſt taſt of any bueffe. an. 1318. 1319. Ex Chron. S. Albani.

This Walter archbiſhop, takyng part with quene Iſabell agaynſt kyng Edward her huſband, dyed the ſame yeare in whiche he was depoſed. an. 1327. Ex Chron. S. Albini.

After Walter the archb. as affirmeth the Chro. of S. Alban, ſucceded Simon Mepham. Of whom I meruel that Polidorus maketh no word mention: belike he ſat not long, after followed I. Stratford.

51 Ihon Stratford. 29

In the ſtory of Adam Mirymouth is recorded ỷ this Ihon Stratforde intending to viſite ỷ dioces of Northfolk, was not receaued by the biſhop the chapter & clergie there, alledgyng that he obſerued not the ordinary canon therin. To whõ the archbiſhop ſayd agayne, he had the popes letters and ſhewed the ſame. But the other anſwered, that thoſe letters were falſely obteyned and tended to the ſuppreſſion of the clergie, & therfore they would not obey: wherfore, the archbiſhop excommunicated the byſhop, & ſuſpended the priour, and interdicted the couent. an. 1343.

52 Ihon Offord. 10. monethes.

M. Ihon Offord Chauncelour of England was elected and confirmed archbiſhop of Cant. but not conſecrated, and ſat but x. moneths, about the the yeare of our Lord. 1350. Peſtilentia in Anglia.

53 Thomas Braidwarden. 1.

This Tho. Braidwarden folowyng after Ihon Stratford, ſatte not long but dyed within x. monethes of the plage, as they ſay. whiche was called then the firſte greate plage in England, ragyng ſo ſore in all quarters, that it was thought ſcarſe the tenth part of men to be left a lyue.

The fy great p in Eng

54 Simõ Iſlepe. 17.

In the time of Simõ Iſlepe which folowed after Bradwardẽ: King Edwarde. an. 1362. is reported after the blynd ſuperſtition of thoſe dayes, to offer vp in the church of Weſtminſter the veſtements wherin S. Peter did celebrate Maſſe. whiche belike were well kept from moughtes, to laſt ſo long. Ex Chro. S. Albani.

The ve mẽts w in S.Pe ſaid ma or els th papiſts lye.

The ſame Simon Iſlepe, among other conſtitutions ordeined through all churches and chappels vnder payne of excommunication: that no man ſhould abſteine frõ bodely labours vpon certeine ſaintes days, as is before touched. whiche facte of hys is not a litle noted in our monkiſh hiſtoryes.

This Simon builded Cant. colledge in Oxford.

¶ The concluſion of this fourth booke.

The concluſion of this booke.

¶ Forſomuch as Satan, beyng cheyned vp all this while, for the ſpace of a thouſand yeares, beginneth about this tyme to be looſed and to come abroad, according to the forwarnyng of S. Ihons reuelation: Therefore to conclude this fourth booke, wherin, ſufficiently hath been deſcribed the exceſsiue pride and põpe of Antichriſt, floriſhyng in his ruffe and ſecuritie, from the time of VVilliam Conquerour hetherto: now (Chriſt willing and aſsiſting vs therunto) we mind in theſe latter bookes hereafter folowing, in order of hiſtory to expreſſe the latter perſecutiõs & horrible troubles of the church, raiſed vp by Satanas in his miniſter Antichriſt, with the reſiſtãce agayn of Chriſtes church agaynſt him. And ſo to proſecute (by the mercifull grace of Chriſt) the proceding and courſe of tymes till we come at length to the fall and ruine of the ſayd Antichriſt. To the intent that if anye be in ſuch errour to thinke that Antichriſt is yet to come, let him conſider & ponder well the tragicall rages, the miſerable and moſt ſorowful perſecutiõs, murders, and vexations of theſe latter 300. yeres now folowyng, and I doubt not but he wyll be put out of all doubt to knovv, that not onely Antichriſt is already come, but alſo to know where he ſitteth, and how he is novv falling apaſe (the Lord Chriſt be thanked for euer) to hys decay and confuſion.

Antichriſt in his pryde.

The looſyng out of Satan.

❧ The fiſt booke conteynyng the laſt 300. yeares from the looſyng out of Satan.

THus hauing diſcourſed in theſe former bookes, the order and courſe of yeares, from the firſte tyeng vp of Satan, vnto the yere of our Lord. 1360. I haue a litle ouer paſſed yͤ ſtinte of tyme in the Scriptures appointed, for the looſing out of him agayne. For ſo it is written by S. Jhon Apocal. 20. that after a thouſand yeares, Satanas the old dragon ſhall be let louſe agayne for a ſeaſon, &c. For the better explanation of the whiche myſtery, let vs firſt conſider the contexte of the Scripture: afterward let vs examine by hiſtory and courſe of times, the meanyng of the ſame. And firſt to recite the wordes of the Apocal. the texte of the Prophecy is this. chap. 20.

„ And I ſaw an aungell deſcendyng from heauen, hauyng a key of the bottomles pitte, and a great cheyne in his hand. And he toke yͤ dragon the old ſerpent which is the deuil and Satanas, and bound him for a thouſād yeares, and put hym in the bottomeles doungeon and ſhyt him vp, and ſigned hym with his ſeale, yͭ he ſhould no more ſeduce the gentiles, till a thouſand yeares were expired. And after that, he muſt be louſed agayne for a litle ſpace of tyme. And I ſaw ſeates, and they ſat vpon them: and iudgement was geuen vnto them, and the ſoules I ſaw of them which were beheaded for the teſtimonie of Jeſus. &c.

By theſe wordes of the reuelation here recited, thrée ſpeciall tymes are to be noted. 1. Firſt, the beyng abroad of Satan to deceaue the worlde. 2. The byndyng vp of hym. 3. Thirdly the looſing out of hym agayne, after a M. yeres conſummate, for a tyme. Cōcerning the interpretation of whiche tymes, I ſee the common opinion of many to be deceaued by ignoraunce of hiſtories, & ſtate of thynges done in the churche: ſuppoſing that the cheynyng vp of Satan for a M. yeares, ſpoken of in the reuelation, was ment frō the time of Chriſt our lord. Wherin I graunt that ſpiritually the ſtrength and dominion of Satan in accuſing and cōdemnyng vs for ſinne, was caſt downe at the paſſion & by the paſſion of Chriſt our ſauiour, and locked vp not onely for a M. yeares: but for euer and euer. Albeit as touchyng the malitious hatred and fury of that ſerpent, agaynſt the outward bodies of Chriſtes poore ſaintes (which is the heele of Chriſt) to afflicte and tormēt the church outwardly: That I iudge to be ment in the reuelation of S. Jhon, not to be reſtrayned till the ceaſing of thoſe terrible perſecutions of the primitiue churche. At what tyme it pleaſed God to pitie the ſorowfull affliction of his poore flocke, beyng ſo long vnder perſecution, the ſpace of 300. yeares, and ſo to aſſwage their grieues and tormentes. Whiche is ment by byndyng vp of Satan, worker of all thoſe miſchiefs: vnderſtandyng therby, that forſomuch as the deuill prince of this world, had now by the death of Chriſt the ſonne of God, loſt all his power and intereſt agaynſt the ſoule of mā, ſhould turne his furious rage and malice whiche he had to Chriſt, agaynſt the people of Chriſt, (whiche is mēt by the heele of the ſeede. Gen. 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. Whiche yet ſhould not be for euer: but for a determined time, when as it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to bridle the malice, and ſnaffel the power of the old ſerpent, and geue reſt vnto his church for the terme of a M. yeares. Whiche tyme beyng expired, the ſayd ſerpent ſhould be ſuffered louſe agayne for a certaine or a ſmall tyme. Apocal. 20.

And thus to expound this propheticall place of Scripture, I am led by thrée reaſons.

Three Reaſons.

1. For that the byndyng vp of Satan, and cloſing him in the bottomles pit by the aungell, importeth as much that he was at libertie, ragyng and doyng miſchief before. And certes thoſe ſo terrible and ſo horrible perſecutions of the primitiue tyme vniuerſally through yͤ whole world, duryng the ſpace of 300. yeares of the church, do declare no leſſe. Wherin it is to be thought and ſuppoſed, that Satan all that tyme, was not faſtened and cloſed vp.

The firſt reaſō.

The ſeconde reaſon mouing me to thynke that the cloſing vp of Sathan was after the. x. perſecutiōs of the primitiue church: is taken out of the. xij. chap. of the Apocalips. Where we read, that after the woman (meaning the church) had trauailed forth her man childe, the olde Dragon the deuill, the ſame tyme being caſt downe frō heauen, drawing the third part of the ſtarres with him: ſtoode before the woman with great anger, and perſecuted her (that is the church of God) with a whole flood of water (that is, with aboundaunce of all kyndes of tormentes) and from thence wēt moreouer to fight againſt the reſidue of her ſide, and ſtoode vpon the ſandes of the ſea, whereby it appeareth yͭ he was not as yet locked vp

The. ij. reaſon.

The third reaſon I collect out of the Apoca. xiij, cha. where is written of the beaſt, ſignifieng the emperiall Monarchie of Rome: that he had power to make warre xlij. monthes. By the which monthes is ment no doubt, the tyme that the Dragon and the perſecuting Emperours, ſhould haue in afflicting the ſaintes of the primitiue church. The computation of which. xlij. monethes (counting euerye moneth for a Sabbat of yeares, that is for. vij. yeares, after the order of ſcripture) ryſeth to the ſumme, counting frō the paſſion of the Lord Chriſt, of. 300. yeares lacking. vj. at what tyme Maxentius the laſt perſecutour in Rome fighting agaynſt Conſtantinus, was drowned with hys ſoldiours, lyke as Pharao was drowned perſecuting the children of Iſrael, in the red ſea. Unto the which. xlij. monethes, or Sabbothes of yeares, if ye adde the other. vj. yeares wherin Licinius perſecuted in the Eaſt: ye ſhall fynde iuſt. 300. yeares, as is ſpecified before in the firſte booke of this volume. Pag. 139.

The. 3. reaſon.

Apoc. cap. 13.

Xlii. monethes in the Apocal. cap. 13. examined.

After the which. xlij. monethes being expired, manifeſt it is that the fury of Sathan, that is, his violent malice and power ouer the ſayntes of Chriſt, was diminiſhed & reſtrayned vniuerſally through the whole world.

What tyme Satan was tyed vp.

Thus then the matter ſtanding euident, that Sathā after. 300. yeares, counting from the paſſion of Chriſt, began to be chayned vp, at what tyme yͤ perſecution of the primitiue church began to ceaſe: Now let vs ſe, how long this byndyng vp of Sathan ſhould continue, which was promiſed in the booke of the reuelation, to bee a thouſand yeares. Which thouſand yeares, if ye adde to the. xlij. monethes of yeares, that is, to. 294. yeres: they make. 1294. yeares, after the paſſion of the Lorde. To theſe moreouer adde the. xxx. yeres of the age of Chriſt, and it cōmeth ~~to 1294. after the paſſion of Chriſt. And after his natiuitie~~, to the yeare of the Lord. 1324, which was the yeare of the letting out of Satan, according to the propheſie of the Apocalips.

About what tyme and yeare Satan was let out, by the count of the Apocalips.

❡ *A table contayning the tyme of the perſecution both of the* primitiue, and of the latter church, wyth the count of yeares from the fyrſt bynding vp of Satan, to hys looſing agayne, after the mynde of the Apocalyps.

The fyrſt perſecutiō of the primitiue church, beginning at the. 30. yeres of Chriſt, was prophecied to continue. 42. monethes, that is an.	294.

The ceaſyng of perſecution in the primitiue church.	The ceaſyng of the laſt perſecution of the primitiue church by the death of Licinius the laſt perſecutor, began an. 324. from the natiuitie of Chriſt, which was from the thyrty yere of hys age, 294	294.
The byndyng vp of Satan.	The byndyng vp of Satan, after peace geuen to the churche countyng from the thyrtye yeares of Chriſt, began, an.	294.
The tyme of looſing of Satan.	And laſted a thouſand yeares, that is, countyng from the thyrtye yeare of Chriſte, to the yeare.	1294.
The tyme of Antichriſt, examined.	About which yeare Pope Boniface the. viii was Pope, and made the ſyxt booke of the decretals: confyrmed the orders of Friers, and priuileged thē wyth great fredoms, as appeareth by hys conſtitution: Super cathedram, an.	1294.
	Vnto the whiche count of yeares doth not much diſagree, that I founde in a certeine old Chronicle propheſied & writtē in ẏ latter end of a boke, which boke was writtē as it ſemeth, by a monk of Douer, & remaineth yet in the cuſtody of williā Cary citizē of Londō: allegyng the propheſy of one Hayncardus a gray frier, grounded vpon the autoritie of Ioachim the Abbatt, propheſeing that Antichriſt ſhould be borne the yeare from the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1260. whiche is, countyng after the Lordes paſſion, the very ſame yeare and tyme, when the orders of friers both Dominickes and Franciſcanes began firſt to be ſet vp by pope Honorius. 3. and by pope Gregorius ix. whiche was the yeare of our Lord countyng after hys paſſion.	1226.
	And countyng after the Natiuitie of ẏ Lord was the yeare.	1260.

Wherof theſe verſes in the autor are written.

Verſes propheſieng the comming of Antichriſt.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,
Et decies ſeni, poſt partum virginis almæ:
Tunc Antichriſtus naſcetur dæmone plenus.

And theſe verſes were written, as appeareth by the ſayd autor. an. 1285.

Theſe thynges thus premiſed for the louſyng out of Satan, according to the propheſie of the Apocal. now let vs enter (Chriſt willyng) to the declaration of theſe latter tymes, whiche folowed after the lettyng out of Satā into ẏ world. Deſcribing the wonderous perturbations and cruell tyranny ſtyrred vp by him agaynſt Chriſtes church. Alſo the valiaunt reſiſtaunce of the Churche of Chriſt agaynſt hym, & Antichriſt, as in theſe other bokes here vnder folowyng may appeare.

The argument of the bookes after folowing

The argumēt of which bokes conſiſteth in ii. partes, firſt to intreate of the ragyng fury of Satā now louſed, and of Antichriſt: Agaynſt the ſaints of Chriſt fighting and trauailyng for the maintenance of the truth, and reformation of the churche: Secondly, to declare the decay and ruine of the ſayd Antichriſt, throughe the power of the word of God, beyng at length either in a great parte of the world ouerthrowen, or at leaſt vniuerſally in the whole world detected,

1360.

A briefe reherſal of faythfull learned men, which withſtoode the procedings of the pope.

Thus thē to begin with the yeare of our Lord. 1360. wherin I haue a litle, as is aforeſayd, tranſgreſſed the ſtinte of the firſt louſing out of Satā: we are come nowe to the tyme, wherin the Lord, after long darkenes beginneth ſome reformation of his churche, by the diligent induſtry of ſondry his faithfull and learned ſeruauntes: of whom diuerſe alreadye we haue foretouched in the former boke before, as namely Guliel. de Sācto Amore, Marſillus Patauinus: Ockam: Robertus Gallus: Robertus Groſted: Petrus de Cugnerijs: Ioannes Rupeſciſſanus: Conrad⁹ Hager. Ioannes de Poliaco: Ceſenas, with other mo: which withſtood the corrupt errours, and intollerable enormities of the Biſhop of Rome. Beſide them whiche about theſe times were put to death by ẏ ſaid biſhop of Rome, as Caſtilion, and Franciſcus de Arcatara in the booke before recorded: alſo the ii. Franciſcanes, Martyrs, whiche were burned at Auinion, mentioned. pag. 487.

Nowe to theſe (the Lorde willyng) wee will adde ſuche other holy Martyrs and confeſſors, who folowing after in the courſe of yeares with lyke zeale and ſtrēgth of gods word and alſo with lyke daunger of their liues, gaue the lyke reſiſtance agaynſt the enemie of Chriſtes religion, and ſuffered at his handes the lyke perſecutiōs. Firſt begynnyng with that godly man, who ſoeuer he was the autor of the booke (is name I haue not) intituled the prayer and complaint of the ploughman: written at it appeareth, about this preſent tyme.

Which booke as it was faithfully ſet forth by William Tindall, ſo I haue as truly diſtributed the ſame abroad to the readers handes: neyther chaunging anye thing of the matter, neither altering many words of the phraſe therof. Although the oldnes and age of his ſpeche & termes be almoſt grown now out of vſe: yet thought I it ſy beſt, both for the vtilitie of the boke to reſerue it frō obliuion, as alſo in his own language to let it go abroade, for the more credit and teſtimony of the true antiquitie of the ſame. Adding withall in the mergent for the better vnderſtanding of the reader, ſome interpretation of certayne difficult termes and ſpeeches, as otherwyſe myght perhaps hinder or ſtaye the Reader. The matter of thys complaynyng prayer of the ploughman, thus procéedeth.

¶ An old auncient writing, intitled, The prayer and complaynt of the Ploughman.

An ol
booke
caled,
plough
prayer
ten as
meth
Wickli
tyme.

IEſu Chriſt that was bore of the mayde Marye, haue on thy poore ſeruantes mercy and pitye, and helpe them in their great nede to fighte agaynſt ſynne, and againſt the deuil that is autor of ſynne, and more nede nes ther neuer to cry to Chriſt for help, then it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God ſayd by Iſay the prophet: ye ryſeth vp erlich to folow dronkennes, and to drinke tyll it be euen, the harpe and other minſtrelſyes beeth in your feaſtes and wyne. But the worke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no kepe to the works of hys handes: And therefore my people is take priſoner, for they ne had no cunnyng. And the noble men of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren drye for thyrſt. and therefore hell hath drawen abroade their ſoule, and hath yopened hys mouth withouten any ende. And eftſones ſayth Iſay the prophet: The word is floten awaye, and the hyghnes of the people is ymade ſyck, and the earth is infect of hys wonnyers, for they haue broken my lawes, and ychaunged my ryght, and han deſtroyed myne euerlaſtyng bonde and *forward betwene them and me. And therfore curſing ſhall deuour the earth, and they that wonneth on the erthly ſhullen don ſynne. And therefore the earth tilyars ſhullen waxe wood and few men ſhullen ben pleſt vpon the erth. And yet ſayth Iſay the prophet, this ſayth God, for as muche as thys people nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lyps, and their hart is farre from mee, And they han ydrad more mens commaundement, then myne, and more drawe to their doctrines, then myne. Therefore wyll I make a great wondring vnto this people, wyſdome ſhall periſhe awaye from wyſe men, and vnderſtanding of ready men ſhall be yhid. And ſo it ſeemeth that an other ſaying of Iſay is fulfilled there as God bad him go teach the people, and ſayd go forth and ſay to this people: eares haue ye, and vnderſtand ye not, and eyes ye haue and ſight ne know ye not. Make blynde the hart of this people, and make their eares heauy, and cloſe their eyen, leaſt he ſee with hys eyen, and yheare with his eares, and vnderſtand wyth hys hart, and by yturned, and ych heale hym of hys ſycknes. And Iſay ſayd to God: how long Lorde ſhall this be? And God ſayd: For to that the cities ben deſolate withouten a wonnyer, and an houſe wythouten a man.

The co
plaint
Esai ap
ed to
times.

*Forw
that is
acnaũ.

Here is mychell nede for to make ſorow, and to cry to our Lord Ieſu Chriſt hertilich for helps and for ſuccour, that hee wole forgeue vs our ſynnes, and geue vs grace and cōning to ſeruen hym better here after. And God of hys endles mercy geue vs grace and cōnyng truliſh to tellen whych is Chriſtes law in helping of mens ſoules, for we beth lewde men, and ſynnefull men, and vncomyng, and if he woll be our helpe and our ſuccour, we ſhullen well performe our purpoſe. And ybleſſed be our Lorde God that hydeth hys wyſdome from wyſe men, and fro ready men, and teacheth it to ſmall children, as Chriſt teacheth in the Goſpell.

The la
Chriſt
deth or
partes.

Chriſten men haue a law to keepe, the which law hath twe parties. Beleue in Chriſt that is God, and is the foundment of theyr law, and vpon thys foundement, as he ſayd to Peter and the goſpell beareth wytnes, he woll bylden his churche, and this is the firſt party of Chriſtes law. The ſecōd partie of his law beth Chriſtes commaundementes that beth written in the Goſpel, and more verilich in Chriſten mens hartes.

And as touching the beleue, we beleuen that Chriſt is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleuen neuertheleſſe that in the Godhead there bene three perſons, the father, the Sonne, and the holy ghoſt, and all theſe thre perſons ben one God, and not many Gods, and al they beth ylich mighty, ylich good, and ylich wiſe, and euer haue bene, and euer ſhullen ben. We beleuen thys God made the world of nought, and man he made after hys own lykenes in Paradiſe that was a land of blyſſe, and gaue hym that land for hys heritage, and bad him that hee ſhoulde not eate the tree of knowledge of good & euyl, that was *a myd Paradiſe. Then the deuell that was fallen out of heauen for his pride had enuie to mā, and by a falſe ſuggeſtion he made man eate of this tree, and breake the commaundement of God, and tho was man ouercome of the deuill, and ſo he loſt his heritage, and was put out therof into the world that was a land of trauell, and of ſorowe vnder the feendes thraldom, to be puniſhed for his treſpaſſe. There man followed wickednes and ſinne, and God for the ſinne of mā ſent a floud into this world and drownd all mankinde ſaue eyght ſoules. And after this floud he let men multiplie in the world, and ſo he aſſayed whether man dread him or loued him, and among other he found a man that hight Abrahā: this man he proued whether he loued him and drad him, and bad him that he ſhould offeren Iſaac his ſonne vpō an hill, and Abraham as a true ſeruaunt fulfilled his Lords commaundement: and for this buxumnes and truth, God ſware vnto Abraham that he would multiplie his ſede as the grauell in yͤ ſea, and the ſtarres of heauen, and he behight to him and to his heires the lād of beheſt for heritage for euer, gif they wolden ben his true ſeruauntes and kepe his heſtes. And God *held him forwarde. for Iſaac Abrahams ſonne begat Iacob and Eſau: and of Iacob that is ycleped Iſrael, comen Gods people that he choſe to be his ſeruauntes, & to whō he behight the land of beheſt. This people was in great thraldome in Egypt vnder Pharao that was king of Egypt: and they cryeden to god that he ſhould deliueren them out of that thraldome, and ſo he did: for he ſent to Pharao, Moſes and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliuer his people to done him ſacrifice: and to fore Pharao he made Moſes done many wonders or that Pharao wold deliuer his people, & at the laſt by might he deliuered his people out of thraldom, and led them through a deſert towarde the land of beheſt, and there he gaue them a law that they ſhulden liuen after, whē they comen into their countrey, & in their way thitherward, the ten cōmaundements God wrote hymſelf in two tables of ſtone: the remnaunt of the law he taught thē by Moſes his ſeruant, how they ſhoulden do euerychone to other, & gif they treſpaſſed again the law, he ordeined how they ſhoulden be puniſhed. Alſo he taughte them what maner ſacrifices they ſhould do to him, and he choſe him a people to bein his prieſtes, that was Aaron and his children, to done ſacrifices in the tabernacle, and afterward in the temple alſo. He cheſe him the remnaunt of the children of Leuy to been ſeruauntes in the tabernacle to the prieſtes, and he ſayd: When ye come into yͤ land of beheſt, yͤ childrē of Leuy they ſhoulē haue none heritage amongeſt their brethren, for I would be their part, and her heritage, and they ſhullē ſerue me in the tabernacle by dayes and by nightes, and he ordeined that prieſts ſhouldē haue a part of the ſacrifices that wer offred in the tabernacle, and the firſt begotten beaſtes, both of men and beaſtes and other thinges as the law telleth. And yͤ other childrē of Leuy yͭ ſerued in the tabernacle, ſhould haue tythings of the people to their lyuelood, of the whiche tythings they ſhould geuen the prieſtes the tenth partie in forme of offeryng. The children of Leuy both prieſtes and other, ſhould haue houſes and croftes and leſewes for their beaſtes in the lande of beheſt, and none other heritage: and ſo God gaue them their lād of beheſt, and bade them that they ne ſhould worſhip no other God then him. Alſo he bade that they ſhould kepe his commaundemēts, and gife they did ſo, all their enemies about them ſhould drede them and be their ſeruaunts. And gife they worſhipped falſe Gods and ſo forſaken his lawes, he byhight them that he would bryng them out of that land and make them ſerue their enemies, but yet he ſayd he would not benemen his mercy away from them, if they would cry mercy and amende their defautes, and all this was done on Gods ſide.

mid Pa- diſe, that in the deſt of adiſe.

braham.

held hym ward, is kept miſe h hym,

ods loue man.

And here is much loue ſhowed of God to man. And who ſo looketh the Bible he ſhall find, that man ſhowed hym litle loue againward: for when they were come into their heritage, they forgetten their God, and worſhypped falſe Gods. And God ſent to them the Prophetes and his ſeruants *fele tymes to byd them withdrawen them from their ſinnes, and other they ſlowen them, or they beaten them, or they led them in priſon: and oft tymes God tooke vpon thē great vengeaunce for theyr ſinnes, and when they cried after helpē to God, he ſent them helpe and ſuccour. This is the general proces of the olde Teſtament, that God gaue to his people by Moſes hys ſeruaunt. And all this Teſtament & this doyng ne was but a ſhadow and a figure of a new Teſtament that was geuen by Chriſt. And it was vphotē by Ieremie the Prophet, as S. Paul beareth witnes in the Epiſtle that he writeth to the Iewes. And Ieremy ſeyth in this wiſe: Lo dayes ſhall come, God ſaith, and I wil make a new bande to the houſe of Iſraell, and to the houſe of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers in that day that I tooke theyr hande to led them out of the lande of Egypt, the which forward they madē veyne, and I had Lordſhip ouer thē. But this ſhalbe the forward that I would make with them after thoſe dais: I will geue my lawes with them in ther inwardnes, & I wil writen them in ther harts, and I wil be theyr God and they ſhould be my people, and after that a mā ſhall not teach his neyghbour ne his brother. For all (God ſeyth) from the leaſt to the moſt, ſhould know me, for I will forgeuen them their ſinnes, & I wil no more thinke on theyr ſinnes.

e times is, oft mes,

This is the new teſtament that Chriſt both God and mā borne of the mayd Mary, he taught here in this world to bryng man out of ſinne and out of the deuils thraldome and ſeruice to heauen that is land of bliſſe and heritage to all tho that beleuen on him & kepen hys commaundementes, & for his teaching he was done to yͤ death. But the thyrd day aroſe againe frō death to liſe, & fet Adam & Eue and many other folke out of hell and afterward he came to hys diſciples and comforted them. After he ſtyed vp to heauen to hys father, and tho he ſent the holy ghoſt amonges his diſciples: and in tyme comming he wole come and demen all mankinde after theyr werkes, & after the wordes he ſpake apon earth: ſome to bliſſe, both in body and in ſoule euer withouten ende, and ſome to payns withouten end, both in body and in ſoule.

Thys is our beleue and all chriſten mens, and thys beleue is the firſt poynt of the new Teſtament that yche chriſten man is holde ſtedfaſtly to beleue, and rather to ſuffer the death than forſaken this beleue, and ſo this beleue is the bread of ſpirituall lyfe, in forſaking ſinne, that Chriſt brought vs to lyfe.

But for aſmuch as mannes liuing ne ſtondeth not all onlych by bread, he hath ygiuen vs a draught of water of liſe to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne ſhall neuer afterward ben a thurſt. For thys water is the clere teaching of the goſpel, that encloſeth ſeuen commaundementes.

Special precepts or leſſons of the Goſpell.

The firſt is this: thou ſhalt loue thy God ouer all other things, and thy brother as thy ſelfe, both enemie and frend.

The ſecond cōmaundement is of mekenes, in the which Chriſt chardgeth vs to forſake lordſhip vpon our brethren & other worldly worſhips, and ſo he dyd himſelfe.

The thyrd commaundement, is in ſtonding ſtedfaſtlich in truth and forſaking all falſenes.

The fourth commaundement, is to ſuffer in this world diſeaſes and wronges withouten agenſtondinges.

The fifth commaundement is mercye, to forgeuen our brethren theyr treſpaſſe, asoften tyme as they gylteth, without aſking of vengeaunce.

The ſixth commaundement is poorenes in ſpirit, but not to ben a begger.

The ſeuenth commaundement, is chaſtitie: that is a forſaking of fleſhlych lykinges diſpleaſing to God. Theſe commaundements encloſen the ten commaundementes of the olde law, and ſomewhat more.

This water is a bleſſed drink for chriſten mens ſoule. But more harme is, much folke would drinke of this water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God ſaith by Ezechiel the prophet: when iche geue to you the moſt cleane water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your feete, and that water ſo defouled, ye geue my ſhepe to drinke. But the clene water is yhid fro the ſheepe, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread leaſt the ſheepe dyen for thurſt. And Chriſt that is the wiſdome of the father of heauen, and well of thys wyſdome that come from heauen to earth to teach man this wyſdome, thorow the which man ſhould ouercome the ſleightes of the deuill that is principall enemy of mankinde: haue mercy and pitye of hys people, and ſhew if it be his wil, how this water is troubled, and by whom: and *ſith clenſe this water that his ſhepe mowen drinken thereof, and kele the thurſt of their ſoules. Bleſſed mote our Lorde bene, for he hath ytaught vs in the Goſpel, that ere than he woulde come to the vniuerſall dome, there ſhould come many in his name and ſayen, that they weren Chriſt: and they ſhoulden done manye wonders, and begylen many men. And many falſe prophets ſhoulden ariſen and begylen much folke.

Chriſtes ſheepe ſtopped from cleane water, & compelled to drinke puddel.

*Sith, that is, afterward.

A Lorde, ybleſſed mote thou ben of euerich creature: which bene they that haue yſayde that they weren Chriſt, and haue begyled thus thy people? Trulich Lord I trow, thilke that ſayen that they bene in thy ſteede, and *bynemen thy worſhip, and maken thy people worſhippen them as God, and haue hyd thy lawes from the people. Lord, who durſt ſyt in thy ſteede and benemen thee thy worſhip and thy ſacrifice, and durſt maken the people worſhyp them as Gods? The Sauter telles, that God ne wole not in the daye of dome demen men for bodyliche ſacrifices and Holocauſtes: But God ſayth, yelde to me ſacrifice of hearing, and yelde to God thine auowes, and clepe me in yͤ day of tribulation, and yche wole defend thee, and thou ſhalt worſhip me.

*Binemen, that is, take away.

The *herieng of God ſtandeth in three thinges. In louing God ouer all other thynges. In dreading God ouer all other thynges. In truſting in God ouer all other thinges.

*Herieng, that is, worſhipping.

Theſe three poyntes Chriſt teacheth in the goſpel. But I trow men louen him but a litle. For who ſo loueth Chriſt, he wole kepē hys wordes. But men holden his words for hereſie and folye, and kepeth mens wordes. Alſo men dreden more men and mens lawes and their curſings, then Chriſt and his lawes and his curſinges. Alſo men hopen more in men & mens helpes, thā they do in Chriſt & in his helpe. And thus hath he yͭ ſetteth in Gods ſtede, bynomen God theſe three heryengs, & maketh men louen him & his lawes, more than Chriſt & Chriſtes law, & dreden him alſo. And there as yͤ people ſhulden yelde to God their vowes, he ſaith he hath power to aſſoylen thē of their avowes, & ſo this ſacrifice he *nemeth away frō God. And there as yͤ people ſhould cry to god in yͤ day of tribulation, he letteth thē of their cryeng to God & bynemeth God that worſhip. This day of tribulatiō is whā mā is fallen thorow ſinne into yͤ deuils ſeruice, & than we ſhoulden cry to God after helpe, & axen forgeuenes of our ſinne, & make great ſorowe for our ſinne, & ben in full will to do ſo no more ne none other ſinne, and than our Lord God wole forgeuen vs our ſinne, and maken our ſoule clene. For his mercy is endles.

The honoryng of God ſtādeth in iii. thinges.

*Nemeth, that is, taketh.

But Lord, here men haue bynomen thee much worſhip: For men ſeyn that thou ne might not cleane aſſoylen vs of our ſinne. But if we knowlegen our ſinnes to prieſtes, and taken of them a penance for our ſinne gif we mowen ſpeake with them.

Againſt auricular confeſsion.

A Lord thou forgaue ſomtime Peter his ſinnes and alſo Mary

Sinnes forgeuē without ſhrift.

*Heigheth, that is, exalteth.

Magdaleine, and other many ſinfull men withouten ſhriuing to prieſtes, and taking penaunce of prieſtes for their ſinnes. And Lord thou art as mightie now as thou were that tyme, but gif any man haue bynome thee thy might. And we lewed men beleuen, yͭ there nys no man of ſo great power, and gif any man maketh himſelfe of ſo great power he *heigheth himſelf aboue God: And S. Paule ſpeaketh of one that ſitteth in the tẽple of God and highten hym aboue God, and gif any ſuch be, he is a falſe Chriſt.

Obiection of the prieſtes to mayntaine ſhrifte.

Anſwer to the obiection.

But hereto ſeyn prieſtes, that when Chriſt made cleane leprous men, he bade them goe and ſhewe them to prieſtes. And therefore they ſeyn that it is a commaundement of Chriſt, that a man ſhould ſhewen hys ſinne to prieſtes. For as they ſeyn, lepre in the olde law betokeneth ſinne in this newe lawe. A Lord God, whether thyne Apoſtles knewe not thy meaning as well as men done now? And gif they hadden yknowe that thou haddeſt commaunded mẽ to ſhriuen them to prieſtes, and they ne taught not that commaundement to the people, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame: But I trowe they knewen well that it was none of thy cõmaundementes, ne nedefull to heale of mannes ſoule. And as me thinketh the law of lepre, is nothing to the purpoſe of ſhriuing: for prieſtes in the olde lawe hadden certaine pointes and tokens to know whether a man were leprous or not: & gif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other cleane mẽ, for to that they weren cleane and then they hadden power to receyuen hym among his brethrẽ, and offeren for him a ſacrifice to God.

Penaunce for ſinne, is mans ordinaunce and not Gods.

This nys nothing to the purpoſe of ſhriuing. For there nys but one prieſt that is Chriſt, that may knowe in certain the lepre of the ſoule. Ne no prieſt may make yͤ ſoule cleane of her ſinne, but Chriſt that is prieſt after Melchyſedekes order: ne no prieſt here beneath may ywit for certain whether a mã be cleane of his ſinne or cleane aſſoyled, but gif God tell it hym by reuelation. Ne God ordeined not that his prieſtes ſhould ſet men apenaunce for ther ſinne after the quantitie of the ſinne, but this is mans ordinaunce, and it may well be that there commeth good therof. But I wote well that God is much vnworſhipped therby. For men truſt more in his abſolutions, and in his yeares of grace, than in Chriſtes abſolutions, and therby is the people much apayred. For now, the ſorow a man ſhould make for his ſinne, is put away by this ſhrift: and a man is more bold to do ſin for truſt of this ſhrift, & of this bodilich penance.

Miſchiefs that come by auriculer confeſſiõ

Another miſchief is, that the people is ybrought into this beleke, that one prieſt hath a greater power to aſſoylen a man of his ſinne and clenneſſe, then an other prieſt hath.

An other miſchiefe is this, that ſome prieſt may aſſoylen thẽ both of ſinne and payne, and in this they taken them a power that Chriſt graunted no man in earth, ne he ne vſed it nought on earth himſelf.

Popiſh prieſtes charged wyth Simony.

*Beth, that is, bee.

An other miſchiefe is, yͭ theſe prieſtes ſellen forgeuenes of mens ſinnes and abſolutions for money, and thys is an hereſie accurſed that is ycleped ſimonie: and all thilke prieſtes that areth price for graunting of ſpirituall grace, *beth by holy lawes depriued of their prieſthode, & thilke that aſſenteth to this hereſie And be they ware, for Heliſe the Prophet tooke no money of Naaman when he was made cleane of his lepre, but Gieſi hys ſeruaunt: and therfore the lepre of Naamã abode with him & with his heires euermore after.

*Bynemeth, that is, taketh away.

Here is much matter of ſorowe, to ſee the people thus far plad away from God and worſhupen a falſe god in earth, that by might and by ſtrength hath ydone away the great ſacrifice of God out of hys temple: of which miſchiefe & diſcomfort, Daniell maketh mention, and Chriſt beareth therof witneſſe in the Goſpell. Who that readeth it vnderſtande it. Thus we haue ytolde apertie, how he that ſayth he ſitteth in Chriſtes ſtede, *bynemeth Chriſt his worſhip and his ſacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worſhupen hym as a God on earth.

Crye we to God, and knowledge we our ſinnes euerichone to other as Seint James teacheth, and pray we hartiliche to God euerichone for other, and then we ſhulen hopen forgeuenes of our ſinnes. For God that is endeles in mercy ſayth, that he ne will not a ſinfull mans death, but that he be turned from his ſinne & liuen. And therfore, when he came downe to ſaue mankinde, he gaue vs a lawe of loue and of mercy: and bade, gif a man do a treſpaſſe, amend him priuilich: and gif he leue not his ſinne, amend him before witneſſe: and gif he ne amendeth not, men ſhould tel to the church: and gif he ne amendeth not thanne, men ſhould ſhone his company as a publicane, or a man that is miſbeleued, and this lawe was figured in the law of lepre, who that readeth it, he may ſee the ſooth.

The pope breaketh the law of loue, and mercy

But Lord God, he that ſitteth in thy ſteede, hath vndo thy law of mercy, and of loue. Lord, thou byddeſt louen enemies as our ſelf: as thou ſheweſt in the Goſpell, there as the Samaritane had mercy on the Iew. And thou biddeſt vs alſo prayen for them that curſen vs, and that defamen vs and purſuen vs to death. And ſo Lord thou didſt, and thine apoſtles alſo. But he that clepeth himſelf thy vicar on earth, and head of thy churche, he hath vndone thy lawe of loue and of mercy. For gif we ſpeaken of louing our ennemyes, he teacheth vs to fight with our enemies, that Chriſt hath forbodden. He curſeth and deſireth vengeaunce to them that ſo doth to him Gif any man purſueth him, he curſeth him, that it is a ſorow a Chriſten man to hearen the curſinges that they maken, and blaſphemies in ſuch curſyng. Of what thing that I know, I maye beare true witnes.

The pope wuld be a father, but he beareth no loue.

But gif we ſpeake of louing of our brethren, thys is vndone by him that ſayth he is Gods Vikar in earth. For Chriſt in the Goſpell byddeth vs, that we ſhoalden clepen vs no father vpon earth: But clepen God our father, to maken vs loue perfitliſh together. And he clepeth himſelf father of fathers, & maketh many religiõs, and to euerich a father. But whether is loue and charity encreaſed by theſe fathers and by their religions, or els ymade leſſe? For a Friar ne loueth not a monke, ne a ſecular man neither nor yet one frier a nother that is not of the order: and it is agaynward.

A Lord, me thinketh that there is litle perfection in theſe religions. For Lord what charity hauen ſuch men of religion, that knowen how they mowen againſtand ſinne, and fleen away from their brethren that bene more vncunning then they ben, and ſuffren thẽ to traueilen in the world withouten their councel as beaſtes? Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is litle charitye, and then is ther litle perfection. Lord God, when thou were on earth, thou were among ſynfull men to drawen them frõ ſinne, and thy diſciples alſo. And Lord, I trow thou ne graunteſt not o man more kunning thẽ an other all for him ſelfe: and I wote wel that lewd men that been laborers, ne trauel not alonlich for him ſelf. Lord our beleif is, that thou ne were not of the world, ne thy teaching neither, ne thy ſeruantes that lyueden after thy teaching. But all they forſaken the world, and ſo euery chriſten man muſt. But Lord, whether thou taughteſt men forſake their brethrens company and traueil of the world, to lyuen in eaſe and in reſt, and out of trouble and anger of the world, by their brethrens trauel and ſo forſaken the world?

To forſak the world is not to liue in e from com pany.

A Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſaken a poore eſtate & trauel, to ben afterward a lord of his brethren, or ben a lordes felow and dwelling with Lords, as doth men of theſe new religiõs. Lorde thou ne taughteſt not men of thy religiõ thus to forſake the world, to lyuen in perfection by them ſelfe in eaſe, and by other mẽs trauell. But Lord they ſayen they ben ybounde to thy ſeruiſe, and ſeruen thee both night & day in ſinging their prayers, both for them ſelfe & for other men, that done them good both quick & dead, & ſom of them gone about to teach thy people when they hauen leyſure.

True ſeruice of g ſtãdeth in long prayer, b in kepyng gods commaundementes.

A Lord, gif they ben thy ſeruauntes: whoſe ſeruauntes ben we that cãnot preyen as they done? And whẽ thou were here on earth, for our nede thou taughteſt thy ſeruantes to preyen thy father priuilich and ſhortlich: And gif there had bene a better maner of preyeng, I trowe thou wouldeſt haue taught it in helpe of thy people. And Lord thou reproueſt hipocrites that preyen in long prayer and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou ſeyſt in the Goſpel, woe to you Phariſees hipocrites And lord thou ne chargedeſt not thy ſeruauntes with ſuch maner ſeruice: But thou ſeyſt in the Goſpel, that the Phariſeis worſhopen the with their lippes, and their hart is far from the. For they *chargen more mens traditions than thy commaundementes.

*Chargen, that is, the care for.

And Lord, we lewede men han a beleke, that thy goodnes is endles: and gif we kepen thyne heſtes, than ben we thy true ſeruaunts And though we preyen thee but a litle & ſhortlich, thou wilt thinkẽ on vs, and graunten vs that vs nedeth, for ſo thou *byhighted vs ſomtime: And Lord I trow, that pray a man neuer ſo many quaint prayers, gif he ne keepe not thyne heſtes he ne is not thy good ſeruaunt. But gif he kepe thyne heſtes, than he is thy good ſeruaũt, & ſo me thinketh. Lord yͤ prayeng of long prayers ne is not yͤ ſeruice that thou deſireſt, but keping of thyne heſtes: & than a lewed man may ſerue God as wel as a man of religiõ. And ſo lord our hope is, that yͧ wilt aſſone yheare a Plowmans prayer and he keepe thyne heſtes, as thou wilt do a mans of religion: though yͭ the Plowman ne may not haue ſo much ſiluer for his prayer, as mẽ of religiõ. For they *kunnen not ſo wel preyſen their prayers as theſe other chapmen: But Lord our hope is, that our prayers be neuer the worſe though it be not ſo well ſolde as other mens prayers.

* Behited, that is, promiſed.

*Kunnen, that is, they can.

*Heryeth, that is worſhippeth.

Lord, Ezechiel yͤ Prophet ſayth yͭ whan he ſpake to the people thy wordes, they turned thy words into ſongs & into tales. And ſo lord men done now: they ſingin mertlich thy wordes, & that ſinging they clepẽ thy ſeruice. But lord I trow yͭ the beſt ſingers ne herieth thee not moſt: But he yͭ fulfilleth thy words he *heryeth thee full wel, though he weepe more thẽ ſing. And I trow yͭ weping for breaking of thy cõmaundemẽts, be more pleaſing ſeruice to the, thã the ſinging of thy wordes. And would God yͭ men would ſerue him in ſorow for their ſinnes, and they ſhoulden afterward ſeruen thee in myrth. For Chriſt ſayth, ybleſſed ben they yͭ maken ſorow, for they ſhoulden ben yconforted And woe to thẽ yͭ ben merry & haue their cõfort in thys world. And Chriſt ſaid yͭ the world ſhuld ioyẽ, & his ſeruants ſhoulden be ſory, but their ſorow ſhald be turned into ioy.

Singyng in church falſly calle Gods ſeruice. Weyyng for ſynnes better ſeruice then ſinging in church.

A Lord, he yͭ clepeth himſelf thy vicar vpon earth, hath yordained an order of prieſts to do thy ſeruice in church to fore thy lewde people, in ſinging matens, euenſong, & maſſe. And therfore he chargeth lewd men in paine of curſing, to bring to his prieſts tithynges and offeringes to finden his prieſtes, & he clepeth that Gods part, and due to prieſtes that ſeruen him in church.

But Lord, in the old law, the tithings of the lewd people ne weren not due to prieſts, but to that other childer of Leuye that ſerueden thee in yͤ temple, & the prieſtes hadden their part of ſacrifices, & the firſt bygeten beaſtes & other things as yͤ law telleth. And lord, S. Paul thy ſeruaunt ſayth, that yͤ order of yͤ prieſthode of Aaron ceaſed in Chriſtes cõming & the law of yͤ prieſthode. For Chriſt was end of ſacrifices yoffered vpõ yͤ croſſe to yͤ father of heauẽ, to bring man out of ſinne & become himſelf a prieſt of Melchiſedekes order. For he was both king & prieſt without beginning & end, & both the prieſthoode of Aaron & alſo yͤ law of yͤ prieſthode, ben ychaunged in the comming of Chriſt. And S. Paule ſeyth it is repreued, for it brought no mã to perfectiõ: For bloud of gotes ne of other beaſtes ne mught not done away ſinne, for to that Chriſt ſhadde his bloud.

The order of prieſtes, not made to offer Chriſtes body.

A Lord Jeſu, wether thou ordeneſt an order of prieſtes to offrẽ in the auter thy fleſh and thy bloud to bryngen men out of ſinne, and alſo out of peine? And wether thou geue them alonelych a power to eate thy fleſh and thy bloud, and wether none other man may eate thy fleſhe and thy bloud with outen leue of preſtes? Lord, we beleuen, that thy fleſh is verey meate and thy bloud verey drinke, and who eteth thy fleſh and drinketh thy bloud dwelleth in thee, & thou in hym, & who that eateth this bread ſhall lyue withoute end. But Lord thyne diſciples ſeyde, this is an hard worde, but thou anſwereſt them and ſeydeſt: When ye ſeeth mans ſoone ſtiuẽ vp there he was rather, the ſpirite is that maketh you lyue, the wordes that yche haue ſpoken to you ben ſpirite and lyfe. Lord, ybleſſed mote thou be, for in this worde thou teacheſt vs that he that kepeth thy wordes and doth after them, eateth thy fleſhe and drinketh thy bloud, and hath an euerlaſtyng lyfe in thee.

And for we ſhoulden haue mind of this lyuing, thou gaueſt vs the ſacrament of thy fleſh and bloud in forme of bread and wine at thy ſupper, before that thou ſhouldeſt ſuffer thy death, and toke bread in thine hand, and ſaydeſt: take ye this, and eate it, for it is my body: and thou tookeſt wyne, and bleſſedeſt it, and ſaydeſt: this is the bloud of a new and an euerlaſting teſtament, that ſhall be ſhed for manye men in forgeuenes of ſinnes: as oft as ye done this, doo ye thys in mynde of me.

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A Lord, thou ne bede not thine diſciples maken this a ſacrifice, to bring men out of paynes, gif a prieſt offered thy body in the aulter: but thou bede them go and *fullen all the folke in the name of the father, and the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, in forgeuenes of their ſynnes: and teache ye them to keepe thoſe thynges that ych haue cõmaunded you. And Lord, thine diſciples ne ordeyned not prieſts principallich to make thy bodye in ſacrament, but for to teache the people, and good huſbandmen that well gouern their houſholdes, both wiues and children, & their meyny, they ordeined to be prieſts to teachen other men the law of Chriſt, both in word, in dede, and they lyuedeyn as true Chriſten men, euerye day they eaten Chriſtes body, and drinken his bloude, to the ſuſtenaunce of lyuyng of their ſoules, and other whyles they tooken the ſacrament of hys body in forme of bread and wyne, in mind of our lord Jeſu Chriſt.

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But all thys is turned vpſe downe: for now who ſo wyll lyuen as thou taughteſt, he ſhal ben holden a foole. And gif he ſpeake thy teaching, he ſhall ben holden an heretick, and accurſed. Lord yhaue no lenger wonder hereof, for ſo they ſaiden to thee when thou wer here ſome tyme. And therefore wee moten taken in pacience theyr wordes of blaſphemy as thou dydeſt thy ſelfe, or els we weren to blame. And trulych Lord I trowe, that if thou were nowe in the world, and taughteſt as thou dyddeſt ſome tyme, thou ſhuldeſt ben done to death. For thy teaching is damned for hereſy of wyſe men of the world, and then moten they nedes bene heretickes that teachen thy lore, and all they alſo that trauelen to lyue thereafter.

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And therfore Lord, gif it be thy wil, helpe thyne vnkunnyng & lewde ſeruauntes, that wolen by their power and their kunnyng, helpe to deſtroy ſynne. Leue Lorde, ſithe thou madeſt woman in helpe of man, and in a more frayle degree then man is, to be gouerned by mans reaſon: What perfection of charity is in theſe prieſts and in men of religion, that haue forſaken ſpouſhode that thou ordeynedſt in Paradiſe betwixt man and womã, for perfection to forſaken trauayle, and lyuen in eaſe by other mens trauaile? For they mow not do bodilich workes for defoulyng of their handes, wyth whom they touchen thy precious body in the aulter.

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Leue Lord, gif good men forſaken the companye of women, and nedes they moten haue the gouernaile of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with ſhrewes, and therefore thy ſpouſhode that thou madeſt in clennes from ſinne, it is now ychaunged into lyking of the fleſhe. And Lorde, this is a greate miſchiefe vnto thy people. And young prieſtes and men of religion, for defaulte of wyues maken many women horen, and drawen through their euel enſample many other men to ſinne, and the eaſe that they lyuen in, and theyr welfare, is a great cauſe of this miſchiefe. And Lord me thynketh, that theſe ben quaynt orders of religion and none of thy ſect, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfendes, and forſaken wyues that God ne forfendeth not. And forſaken trauaile that God commaundes, and geuen their ſelfe to idlenes, that is the mother of al noughtines.

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And Lord, Mary thy bleſſed mother and Joſeph, touched often times thy body, and wroughten with their hondes, and lyueden in as much clennes of ſoule, as our prieſtes done nowe, and touched thy body, and thou touchedeſt them in their ſoules. And Lord our hope is, that thou goen not out of a poore mans ſoule that trauelleth for his lyuelode with his handes. For Lord, our beliefe is, ỷ thine houſe is mãs ſoule, that thou madeſt after thine own likenes.

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But Lord God, men maketh nowe great ſtonen houſes full of glaſen windowes, and clepeth thilke thyne houſes and churches. And they ſetten in theſe houſes Mawmets of ſtockes and ſtones, and *to fore them they knelen priuilich and apert, and maken their prayers, and all this they ſayen is thy worſhyp, and a great *herieng to thee. A Lord, thou forbyddeſt ſomtime to make ſuch mawmetes, & who ỷ had yworſhipped ſuch, had be woorthy to be deed.

Lord in the Goſpel thou ſayſt, that true *heriers of God ne herieth hym not in that hil beſide Samarie, ne in Hieruſalem neither, but true heriers of God heryeth him in ſpirite and in truth. And Lord God what heryeng is it to bylden thee a churche of deed ſtones, and robben thy quicke churches of their bodyliche lyuelode? Lord God what heryeng is it, to cloth mawmettes of ſtockes and of ſtones in ſiluer & in gold, and in other good colours? And Lord I ſee thyne ymage gone in colde and in hete in clothes all to brokẽ, withouten ſhone and hoſen, an hungred and a thruſt. Lord what heryenge is it to teende tapers and torches before blinde mawmetes that mowen not Iſeyen: And hyde thee that art our light and our lanterne to warde heauen and put the vnder a buſhell that for darkenes we ne may not ſene our way toward bliſſe. Lorde what heryenge is it to kneele before mawmetes that mowe not yheren, and worſhipen thẽ with preyers, and maken thine quicke images knele before them and aſken of them abſolutions and bleſſings, and worſhupen them as gods, and putten thy quicke images in thraldome and in trauaile euermore as beaſtes, in colde and in heate, and in feble fare to fynden them in lyking of the world? Lorde what heryeng is it to fetch deed mennes bones out of the ground there as they ſhulden kyndelich roten, and ſhrinen them in golde and in ſiluer: And ſuffren thy quicke bones of thine images to rot in priſon for default of clothinge? And ſuffren alſo thy quicke images to periſhe for default of ſuſtenaunce, and rooten in the hore houſe in abhominable lecherye? Some become theues & robbers, and mãquellers ỷ mighten ben yholpen wt the golde & ſiluer that hongeth about deed mens bones & other blind maumetes of ſtockes & ſtones.

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Lord here ben great abhominations that thou ſhewdiſt to Ezechiell thy Prophet, that prieſtes done in thy temple, and yet they clepen that thine heryenge. But leue Lord, me thinketh that they louen thee litle that thus defoulen thy quicke images, and worſhippen blinde mawmettes.

And Lord an other great miſchief there is now in the world, an hunger that Amos thy Prophet ſpeaketh of, that there ſhall comẽ an hõger in the earth not of bread ne thruſt of drink, but of hearing of Gods worde. And thy ſheepe ſhoulden be refreſhed, but theyr ſhepheardes taken of thy ſheepe their lyfelode, as tythinges. &c. and lyuen them ſelfe therby where them lyketh.

He cõplaineth of falſe paſtors that lyue by their flocke, but fedeth not them.

Of ſuch ſhepheardes thou ſpeaketh by Ezechiell thy Prophet & ſeiſt: wo to the ſhepheardes of Iſraell that feden them ſelfe, for the flockes of ſheepe ſhoulden ben yfede of their ſhepheardes: but ye eaten the milke and clothen you with their wolle and the fatte ſheepe ye ſlow, and my flocke ye ne fede not, the ſicke ſhepe ye ne heled not, thilke that weren to broken ye ne knyt not to gether, thilke that periſhed ye ne brought not again: but ye ruled thẽ with ſternſhip and with power. And ſo the ſheepe be ſprad abroade in deuouryng of all the beaſtes of the feelde. And Ieremie the Prophet ſayeth: woo to the ſhepherdes that diſparſeth abroad and teareth the flocke of my *leſewe.

*Leſew, that is, paſture.

A Lorde, thou were a good ſhepehearde, for thou putteſt thy ſoule for thy ſheepe: but lord thou telleſt that thilke that comen not in by the dore ben night theues and day theues, and a theefe as thou ſeeſt commeth not but for to ſteale, to ſleine, and to deſtroy. And Zacharie the Prophet ſayth, that thou wouldeſt reren vp a ſhepeherde vnkunning, that ne wole not hele thy ſhepe that *beth ſick, ne ſeek thilke that beth loſt. Vpon his arme is a ſwerd, and vpon his right eye: his arme ſhall wexe drye, and his right eye ſhall leſe his light. O Lord, help, for thy ſhepe beth at great miſchefe in the ſhepheardes defaute.

*Beth, that is, bee.

Againſt hirelings.

But Lord, there commeth hyred men and they ne fedden not thy ſhepe in thy plentuous leſew, but feeden thy ſhepe with *ſweuens and falſe miracles and talys. But of thy trewth they ne comen not. For Lord, I trowe thou ſendeſt them neuer. For haue they hyre of thy ſheepe they ne careth but little of the fedyng and the kepyng of thy ſhepe. Lord of theſe hyred men ſpeaketh Ieremie thy prophet, and thou ſeyſt that woorde by him: I ne ſende them not, and they ronne *blyue: I ne ſpeake vnto them, and they propheciden. For if they hadden ſtonden in my counſel, and they had made my wordes knowẽ to the puple, ych wolde haue turned them awaye from their yuell waye and from their wicked thoughtes. For Lord, thou ſeiſt that thy woordes ben as fyre, and as an hamer breakyng ſtones. And Lord, thou ſayſt: Lo I to theſe Prophetes meetyng ſweuens of leſing, that haue ytold her ſweuens, and haue begyled my puple in ther leſing and in their falſ miracles, when I nether ſent ne bede them. And theſe haue profited nothyng to my puple. And as Ieremie ſayth, from the leſte to the *meſt all they ſtudien coueitiſe, and from the Prophet to the prieſt, all they done gyle.

*Sweuens, that is dreames.

*Bliue, quickly

*Meſte, moſ

A Lord, here is mych miſchef and matere of ſorow, and yet there is more. For gif a lewed man wold teach thy puple trewth of thy wordes as he is yholde by thy commaundement of charite, he ſhal be forboden and put in priſon gif he do it. And ſo Lord, thilke that haue the keye of connyng, haue ylockt the trewth of thy teachyng vnder many wardes, and yhid it from thy children. But Lord, ſith thy teachyng is ycome from heauen aboue, our hope is, that with thy grace it ſhall breaken theſe wardes, and ſhowe hym to thy puple, to kele both the hunger and the thirſt of the ſoule. And thẽ ſhall no ſhepehearde, ner no falſe hyrdman begile thy puple no more. For by thy lawe I write, as thou *yhighteſt ſome tyme, that frõ the leſt to the meſt, all they ſhullen knowen thy wil, and *weten how they ſhullen pleaſe the euer more in certayne.

Popiſh prieſtes neither teach thẽſelues, nor wyl ſuffer other beſyde thẽſelues, to teach.

*Ihighteſt, promiſed.

*Weten, know

And leue Lord, gif it be thy will helpe at this nede, for there is none helpe but in thee. Thus Lord, by hym that maketh hym ſelfe thy viker in earth, is thy commaundement of loue to the and to our brothern ybrokẽ, both to him & to thy puple. But Lord God, mercy & paciẽce that beth *tweyne of thy cõmaundemẽts, beth diſtroyed, & thy puple hath forſake mercy. For Lord, Dauid in ỷ Sauter ſaith: Bleſſed beth they that done dome & rightfulnes in euerich tyme.

*Tweyne, that is, two.

O Lord, thou haſt taught vs as rightfulnes of heauen, and haſt ybeden vs forgeuen our brethren as oft as they treſpaſſen agaynſt vs. And Lord, thine olde law of iuſtice was, that ſuche harme as a man did his brother, ſuch he ſhould ſuffer by the law, as eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth. But Chriſt made an ende of thys lawe, that one brother ſhould not deſyre wracke of an other: but not that he would that ſynne ſhould ben vnpuniſhed, for thereto hath he ordayned kinges and Dukes and other lewde officers vnder them, whilke as ſaint Paule ſaith, ne carien not the ſwerde in vayne, for they ben the miniſters of god, and wrekers to wrath, to them that euill done. And thus hath Chriſt ymade an ende of this old lawe, that one brother may not ſuen an other himſelf, *for that to wrekẽ without ſinne, for breaking of charitie. But this charitie Lord hath thy vicar ybroke, and ſays that we ſinnen, but gif we ſuen for our right. And we ſe I wote that thou taughteſt vs ſome time to geue our mantell alſo, euer that we ſhoulden ſuen for our coate. And ſo Lord beleuen we, that we ben ybounden to done by thy law, that is all charity, and officers duty is to defenden vs from thilk theuery though we cõplaynen not. But lord, thy law is turned vpſedown.

*For that, i. but

He cõplaineth for puniſhing litle faultes, and to let great faultes eſcape.

A Lord, what dome is it to ſleane a theefe that take a mans cattell away from him, and ſuffren a ſpouſebreaker to lyue, and a lecherour that kylleth a womans ſoule? And yet thy lawe ſtoned the ſpouſebreakers and leachours, and let the theues lyuen and haue other puniſhment.

A Lord, what dome is it to ſleane a thefe for ſtealing of a horſe, and to let him liue vnpuniſhed, and to maintaine him that robbeth thy poore people of their liuelod, and the ſoule of hys foode?

Lord, it was neuer thy dome to ſayen, that a man is an heretike and curſed for breaking of mans lawe, and demen hym for a good man for breaking thine heſtes.

If he be an heretike that breaketh mans law what is the pope that breaketh gods law

A leud mā, that is, a lay man.

Lord, what dome is it to curſe a lewed man if he ſmite a prieſt, & not curſe a prieſt that ſmiteth a lewed man, and leeſeth his charitie.

Lord, what dome is it to curſe the lewed people for tythings, and not curſe the parſon that robbeth the people of tythinges, and teacheth them not Gods law, but fedeth them with payntyng of ſtone walles, and ſonges of Latin that the people knowen not?

Lord, what dome is it to puniſhe the poore man for his treſpas, and ſuffer the rich to continue in his ſinne for a quantitie of mony?

Lord, what dome is it to ſlayne an vncunyng lewed man for hys ſinne, and ſuffer a prieſt, other a clerk that doth the ſame ſinne, ſcape a lyue? Lord the ſinne of the prieſt or of the clerk is greater treſpas then it is of a lewed vncunning man, and greater enſample of wickedneſſe to the common people.

Againſt the canon law.

Lord, what maner people be we, that neither kepe thy domes and thy rightfulnes of the olde teſtament that was a law of drede, nor thy domes and thy rightfulnes of thy new teſtament that is a law of loue and of mercy: but haue an other lawe, & taken out of both thy lawes that is lykyng to vs, and the remnaunt of heathen mennes lawes, and Lord this is a great miſchief.

The popes law againſt gods law, in cauſing men to accuſe themſelues.

Mowen, that is, may.

O Lord thou ſayeſt in thy law, deme ye not and ye ſhould not be demed, for the ſame meaſure that ye meten to other men, men ſhal meten to you agaynward. And Lord thou ſaiſt that by their worke we ſhould know them. And by that we knowe that thou commaūded vs not to demen mens thoughts, nor theyr workes ẏ wer not agaynſt thy law expreſly. And yet Lord he that ſayth he is thy vicar, will demen our thoughts and aſke vs what we thinke, not of the lord, of thy heſtes, for they carē litle for them, but of him & of his whilke they ſet aboue thyne, & makē vs accuſē our ſelfe, or els they willē acurſē vs, for our accuſers mowen we not knowen. And Lord ẏ ſaidſt in thine old law, that vnder two witnes at the leaſt or thre, ſhould ſtand euery matter. And that the witnes ſhouldē euer be the firſt that ſhoulden helpe to kill them.

And when the ſcribes and the Phariſeis ſome time brought before thee a womā that was itake in ſpouſe-breakyng, and axeden of thee a dome, thou didſt write on the earth, and then thou gaue this dom: He that is without ſinne, throw firſt at her a ſtone, and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman, and thou forgaue the woman her treſpas, and bad her go forth and ſinne no more.

Tooke kepe that is, toke hede.

The breakyng of the popes law more puniſhed, then the breakyng of gods law.

Swete Lord, if the prieſtes toke kepe to thy dome, they would be agaſt to demen men as they done. O Lord if one of them breake a cōmaundement of thy law, he wil axe mercy of thee, & not a peine that ys dewe for the ſinne, for peyne of death were to litle. O Lord, how daren they demen any man to the death for breakyng of theyr lawes, other aſſent to ſuch lawe? for breakyng of thy law they wyll ſet men penaunce or pardon them, & maintayne them as oft as they treſpaſſē. But Lord, if a man ones breake theyr lawes or ſpeake agaynſt them, he may done penaunce but ones, and after be burnt. Trulych Lord thou ſaiſt, but if euery of vs forgeue other his treſpas, thy father will not forgeuen vs our ſinnes. And Lord when thou honge on the croſſe, thou praydeſt to thy father to haue mercy on thine enemyes.

And yet they ſain Lord, that they demen no man to the death, for they ſain they ne mowen by their law demen any man to death. I leeue lord, euen ſo ſaidē their forfathers the phariſes, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill any man. And yet they bidden Pilate to done thee to the death agaynſt hys owne conſcience, for he would gladly haue iquitte thee, but for that they threatned hym with the emperour, and broughtē againſt thee falſ witnes alſo. And he was an heathen man.

For to, that is therfore.

Pilate more cō mended then the pope.

¶ O Lord, how much truer dome was there in Pilate ẏ was an heathen iuſtice, than in our kinges and iuſtices that woulen demen to the death and berne in the fire him, that the prieſts deliueren vnto them withouten witnes or prefe? For Pilate ne would not demen thee: for that the Phariſees ſayden that gif thou ne haddeſt not bene a miſdoer we ne woulde not deliuer him vnto thee: for to, they broughten in their falſe witneſſes againſt thee. But Lord, as thou ſaydeſt ſometime that it ſhould ben lighter at domes daye to Tyro and to Sydon and Gomorra, than to the cities where thou wrought wonders and myracles: ſo I drede, it ſhall be more light to Pilate in the dome, then to our kinges & domes men that ſo demen without witneſſe and prefe. For Lord, to demen thy folke for heretikes, is to holden thee an hereticke: and to brennen them, is to brennen thee. for thou ſaideſt to Paule whē he perſecuted thy people: Saule, Saule, wherfore perſecuteſt thou me, and in the dome thou ſhalt ſay, ẏ ye haue done to the leſt of mine ye haue done to me.

Thus Lord, is thy mercy & iuſtice fordone by him that ſayth he is thy vicar in earth: for he neither keepeth it himſelfe nor nill not ſuffer other to doe it.

¶ The third commaundement, that is pacience & ſufferaunce, is alſo ibroken by this vicar. Lord thou biddeſt ſufferen both wronges and ſtrokes withouten againſtanding, and ſo thou diddeſt thy ſelf to geuen vs enſample to ſufferen of our brethren. For ſuffering noriſheth loue, and againſtandeth debate. And all thy lawe is loue, or els the thing that draweth to loue.

The pope breaketh patience.

¶ But Lord, men teachen, ẏ men ſhoulden pleten for their right and fighten alſo therfore, and els they ſeyn, men ben in peril: & thou byd in the olde lawe men fight for their countrey. And thy ſelf haddeſt two ſwordes in thy company whē thou ſhouldeſt go to thy paſſion, that as theſe clerkes ſeyn, betokeneth a ſpiritual ſword, and a temporall ſworde, that thou gaue to thy vicar to rule with, thy church. Lord this is a ſlight ſpeche: but lord we beleuen that thou art kyng of bliſſe, and that is thyne heritage and mankindes countrey, and in this worlde we ne bene but ſtraungers and pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art not of this world ne thy law neither, ne thy true ſeruauntes that kepen thy law. And Lord, thou were king of Iuda by enheritage if thou wouldeſt haue had it, but thou forſoke it and pleteddeſt not therfore ne fought not therfore.

¶ But Lord, for thy kinde heritage & mankindes countrey, that is a land of bliſſe, thou foughteſt mightilich: In battaile thou ouercame thy enemie, and ſo thou wonne thine heritage. For thou that were a lorde mightieſt in battail, & alſo lorde of vertues, art rightfullich king of bliſſe, as Dauid ſayth in the Pſalter. But lord, thine enemie ſmote the diſpitefullich, and had power of thee and hange thee vpon the croſſe as thou haddeſt ben a theefe, and benomyn thee all thy clothes, and ſticked thee to the hart with a ſpere.

¶ O Lord, this was an hard aſſault of a battaile, and here thou ouercome by pacience mightilich thine enemies, for thou ne wouldeſt not done againſt the will of thy father. And thus Lorde thou taughteſt thy ſeruauntes to fight for their countrey. And Lord this fighting was in figure itaught in the olde law. But lord men holde now the ſhadowe of the olde fighting & leuen the lighte of thy fighting, that thou taughteſt openlych both in word and in dede.

¶ Lord thou gaue vs a ſword to fighten againſt our enemies for our countrey, that was thine holy teaching, & chriſten mens lawe. But Lord thy ſworde is put in a ſhethe and in prieſtes warde, that haue forſake the fighting that thou taughteſt. For as they ſeyn it is againſt their order to ben men of armes in thy battail, for it is vnſemelich, as they ſeyn, ẏ thy vicar in earth, other his prieſts ſhoulden ſuffer of other men. And therfore gif any man ſmyte him other any of his clerkes, he ne taketh it not in pacience, but anon he ſmiteth with his ſworde of curſing, and afterward with his bodylich ſworde, he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that thys is a fighting agaynſt kinde and much agaynſt thy teaching.

Chriſte care & hi prieſtes wyll ſuffe nothyng.

O Lord whether axedeſt thou after ſwerdes in tyme of thy paſſion to again ſtond thine enemies? nay forſooth thou Lord For Peter that ſmote for great loue of thee, had no great thanke of thee, for hys ſmiting. And Lord thou were mightye ynough to haue againe ſtonde thyne enemies, for throughe thy looking they fellen downe to the ground, Lord ibleſſed more thou be. Here thou teacheſt vs that we ſhulden ſuffren: For thou were mighty ynow to haue agayneſtande thyne ennemies, and thou haddeſt wepen, and thy men weren harty to haue ſmitten.

O ſweete Lord, how may he for ſhame clepen him ſelfe thy Vicker and head of the church, that maye not for ſhame ſuffer? Sythe thou art a Lord, and ſuffredſt of thy ſubiects, to geuen vs enſample, and ſo dyd thy true ſeruantes.

No tempo ral ſword geuen to Peter.

O Lord, whether geue thou to Peter a ſpiritual ſword to curſe and a temporal ſwerd to ſle mens bodies? Lord I trow not, for thē Peter that loued thee ſo much, would haue ſmit with thy ſwerds. But Lord, he taught vs to bleſſen them that curſen vs, and ſuffren, and not ſmiten. And Lord he fed thy people as thou bed him, and therefore he ſuffred the death as thou dydſt.

O Lord, why clepeth any man him Peters ſucceſſor, that hath forſaken pacience, and feedeth thy people wyth curſing and wyth ſmiting? Lord thou ſaydeſt in thy goſpell, when thy diſciples knewen well that thou were Chriſt, and that thou muſteſt go to Ieruſalem, and ſufferen of the Scribes and Phariſees, ſpittinges, reprofes, and alſo the death. And Peter tooke thee aſyde, and ſayde God forbyd that. And Lorde ẏ ſaydeſt to Peter, go behynde me Sathanas, thou ſclaundreſt me in Iſrael. For thou ne ſauoureſt not thilke things that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. Lord to mens wyt it is vnreaſonable, that thou or thy Vicar, gif thou madeſt any on earth, ſhoulden ſuffren of your ſugettes.

Thilke thinges, thoſe thinges.

Faith commeth not by outward fo

A Lord, whether thou ordeyneſt an order of fighters to turne men to the beliefe? Other ordeineſt that knightes ſhoulden ſwear to fyght for thy wordes?

A Lord, whether bede thou, that gif a man turne to the fayth, that he ſhoulde geue hys goods and cattell to thy Vicar that hath great lordſhips, and more then him needeth? Lord I wot well that in the beginning of the church men that weren cōuerted, threwen adowne their goods before the Apoſtles feete. For all they weren in charitie, and none of them ſayde this is myne, ne Peter made hym ſelfe no Lord of theſe goods.

Pope bre keth the rule of c ritie, of m cy and of patience.

But Lord, now he that clepeth him ſelfe thy vicar vpon earth, and ſucceſſor to Peter, hath ybroke thy commaundement of charitie, for he is become a Lord. And he hath broken alſo thy cōmaundement of mercy, and alſo of pacience. Thus Lord we be fallen into great miſchiefe and thraldome, for our chieftayne hath forſaken war and armes, and hath treated to haue peace with our enemies.

Or then, b fore tha

A Lord, gif it be thy wyl, draw out thy ſwerd out of his ſhethe, that thy ſeruantes may fight therewith againſt their enemies, and put cowardiſe out of our hartes. And comfort vs in battayle, or than thou come with thy ſword in thy mouth, to take vengeaunce on thyne enemies. For gif we bene accorded with our enemies tyl that tyme come, it is dread leaſt thou take vengeaunce both of thē and of vs together. A Lorde, there ys no helpe now in thys great miſchiefe, but onelych in thee.

The pope breaketh the law o ſwearyng

Lord, thou geueſt vs a commaundement of truth, in bydding vs ſay yea, yea, nay, nay and ſweare for nothing. Thou geue vs alſo a maundement of mekenes, and an other of poorenes But Lorde, he that clepeth hym ſelfe thy vicar on earth, hath ybroken theſe cōmaundementes, for he maketh a law to compel men to ſweare, and by hys lawes he teacheth that a man to ſaue his life, may forſwere and lye. And ſo Lord, through comfort of hym and hys lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to ſwere and to lye, ne oft tymes to forſweren them. Lord here is lytle truth.

O Lord, thou haſt ybrought vs to a lyuing of ſoule that ſtandes in beleuing in thee and kepyng thyne heſtes, and when we breaken thyne heſtes, than we ſlen our ſoule. And leſſe harme it were to ſuffer bodylich death.

Lord, kyng Saule brake thyne heſtes, and thou tooke hys kingdome from hys heires euermore after hym, & gaue it to Dauid thy ſeruaunt, that kept thyne heſtes. And thou ſaydſt by Samuel thy prophet to Saul king, ẏ it is a manner of worſhipping of falſ gods to breake thyne heſtes. For who that loueth thee ouer althinges, and dreadeth thee alſo: he nole for nothing breake thyne heſtes.

Nele, i woul

O Lord, gif breakyng of thine heſtes be heryeng of falſe gods, I trow that he that maketh the people breake thyne heſtes, and commaundeth that hys heſtes ben kept of the people, maketh himſelfe a falſe god on earth, as Nabugodonoſor dyd ſome tyme, that was kyng of Babilon.

But Lord, we forſaken ſuch falſe gods, and beleuen that ther ne ben no mo gods then thou. And though thou ſuffer vs a while to ben in diſeaſe for knowledging of thee: we thanken thee wyth our hart, for it is a token that thou loueſt vs, to geuē vs in this world ſome penaunce for our treſpas.

Lord, in the old law, thy true ſeruauntes toke the death, for they would not eaten ſwines fleſh that thou haddeſt forbid them to eate. O Lord, what truth is in vs to eatē vncleane mete of the ſoule, that thou haſt forbid? Lord thou ſayſt, he that doth ſinne is ſeruaunt of ſinne, and then he that lyeth in forſweryng him ſelfe, is ſeruaunt of leſing, & then he is ſeruaunt to the deuill that is a lyer & father of leſings. And Lord thou ſaiſt no man may ſerue two Lordes at ones. O Lord then euery lyer for the tyme that he lyeth, other forſwereth him ſelfe, & forſaketh thy ſeruice for drede of hys bodyly death, and becommeth the deuils ſeruaunt.

O Lord, what truth is in hym that clepeth hym ſelfe ſeruaunt of thy ſeruauntes, and in his doyng he maketh him a Lord of thy ſeruauntes. Lord thou were both Lord and maiſter, and ſo thou ſayd thy ſelfe, but yet in thy warkes thou were as a ſeruaunt. Lord this was a great truth and a great mekenes: but Lord bid thou thy ſeruantes yͭ they ſhould not haue Lordſhyp ouer their brethren? Lord thou ſaydſt kynges of the heathen men han Lordſhyp ouer theyr ſubiectes, and they that vſe their power be cleped well doers.

Seruaunt of ſeruauntes, the popes ſtile abuſed.

But Lord, thou ſaydſt it ſhould not be ſo amongeſt thy ſeruaunts: But he that were moſt ſhould be as a ſeruaunt. Thou Lord thou taughteſt thy diſciples to be meke. Lord in the old law thy ſeruants durſt haue no Lordſhip of their brethren, but if that thou bid them. And yet they ſhould not do to theyr brethren as they did to thralles that ſerued them. But they ſhould do to their brethren that were theyr ſeruauntes as to their owne brethren. For all they were Abrahams children. And at a certeyne tyme they ſhould let their brethren paſſe frō them in fredome, but if they would willfullych abydē ſtill in ſeruice.

Thraller, hat is to ir bond en.

O Lord thou gaue vs in thy commyng a law of perfect loue, and in token of loue thou clepedſt thy ſelfe our brother. And to make vs perfect in loue, thou bid that we ſhould clepe to vs no father vpon earth, but thy father of heauen we ſhould clepe our father. Alas Lord, how violently our brethren and thy children been now put in bodyly thraldome, & in diſpite as beaſtes euermore in greuous trauell to finde proude men in caſe: But Lord, if we take this defoule and this deſeaſe in pacience and in mekenes and kepe thyne heſtes, we hopen to be free. And Lord geue our brethren grace to come out of thraldome of ſinne, that they be fall in through the deſiryng and vſage of Lordſhip vpon theyr brethren. And Lorde thie prieſtes in the old law had no Lordſhyps among theyr brethren, but houſes & paſtures for theyr beaſtes: but Lord our prieſtes now haue great Lordſhyp, and put their brethren in greater thraldome then lewed men that be Lordes. Thus is mekeneſſe forſake.

ryde of rieſtes.

Lord thou biddeſt in the Goſpell that when a man is byd to the feaſt he ſhould ſit in the loweſt place, and then he may be ſet hyer with worſhip when the Lord of the feaſt beholdeth how his geſtes ſitteth. Lord it is drede that they yͭ ſit now in the hyeſt place ſhould be bidde in tyme commyng ſit beneath. And that will be ſhame and vileny for thē. And it is thy ſaying, thoſe that hyeth hym ſelfe ſhuld be lowed, and thoſe that loweth them ſelues ſhould be an heyghed. O Lord thou biddeſt in thy Goſpell to beware of the phariſeis, for it is a point of pride contrary to mekenes. And Lord thou ſaiſt that they loue the firſt ſittings at ſupper, and alſo the principall chaires in churches, and gretinges in cheppyng, and to be cleped maiſters of men. And Lord thou ſayſt be ye not cleped maſters, for one is your maſter, and that is Chriſt and all ye be brethren. And clepe ye to you no father vppon earth, for one is your father that is in heauen. O Lord this is a bleſſed leſſon to teach men to be meke.

But Lord he that clepeth him ſelfe thy viker on earth he clepeth him ſelfe father of fathers agaynſt thy forbiddyng. And all thoſe worſhips thou haſt forbad. He approueth them, and maketh them maſters to many, that teach thy people their owne teachyng, and leaue thy teachyng that is medefull, and hiden it by quaynte gloſes frō thy lewed people, and fede thy people with ſweuenes that they mete, and tales that doth litle profit, but much harme to the people. But Lord, theſe gloſers obiecte that they deſire not the ſtate of maſtry to be worſhipped therby, but to profite the more to thy people when they preache thy worde. For as they ſeggen the people wyll beleeue more the preachyng of a maiſter that hath take a ſtate of ſchole, then the preachyng of another man that hath not take the ſtate of maiſtry.

Mekenes commēded in miniſters

Vicar in earth not tollerable in the pope.

Sweuens, that is dreames.

¶ Lord whether it be any nede that maiſters beren witnes to thy teaching that it is true & good? O Lorde whether may any maiſter mowe by his eſtate of maiſtrie, that thou haſt forboden, draw any man from his ſinne, rather then an other mā that is not a maiſter, ne wole be none, for it is forboden him in thy Goſpell? Lorde thou ſendeſt to maiſters to preach the people, and thou knowlegiſt in the goſpell to thy father that he hath hyd his wiſedome from wiſemen and redy men, and ſhewed it to litle children. And Lord, maiſters of the law hylden thy teaching folye, and ſeiden that thou wouldeſt deſtroye the people with thy teaching. Trulych lorde, ſo theſe maiſters ſeggeth now: for they haue written many bookes againſt thy teaching that is treweth, and ſo the prophecie of Hieremie is fulfilled, when he ſayth: Trulich the falſe poyntis of yͤ maiſters of the law hath wrought leſing. And now is the time come that S. Paul ſpeaketh of, where he ſayth: time ſhal come when mē ſhall not ſuſteine wholſome teaching. But they ſhullen gather to hype maiſters with hutching eares, & from truth they ſhullen turnen awaye their hearing, and turnen them to tales that maiſters haue maked to ſhowen their maiſtrye and their wiſedome.

aſterſhip lordſhip preachers

¶ And Lord a man ſhall beleaue more a mans workes then his wordes, & the dede ſheweth well of theſe maiſters that they deſiren more maiſtrye for their own worſhip than for profit of the people. For when they be maiſters, they ne preachen not ſo oft as they did before. And gif they preachen, cōmonlych it is before rich mē there as they mowen beare worſhyp and alſo profite of their preaching. But before poore men they prechen but ſeldē, when they ben maiſters: and ſo by their workes we may ſene yͭ they ben falſe gloſers.

And Lord, me thynketh that who ſo wole keepen thyne heſtes, him needeth no gloſes: but thilke that clepen them ſelfe Chriſten men, and lyuen agaynſt thy teaching and thyne heſtes, needelych they mote gloſe thine heſtes after their liuing, other els men ſhoulden openlych yknow their hipocriſie and their falſhod.

Falſe gloſers.

But Lord, thou ſayſt that there ys nothing yhid that ſhall not be ſhewed ſome tyme. And Lord ybleſſed mote thou be. For ſomewhat thou ſheweſt vs now of our miſchiefes that wee bene fallen in through the wyſdome of mayſters, that haue by ſleightes lad vs away from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were maiſter of heauen taught vs for loue, when thou were here ſome tyme to heale of our ſoules, withouten errour or hereſye. But maiſters of worldes wyſdome and their founder, haue ydamned it for hereſye and for errour.

O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reproue thy wiſdome and thy teaching. And Lord me thinketh that this Nabugodonoſor kyng of Babilon that thus hath reproued thy teachyng and thine heſtes, and commaūdeth on all wyſe to kepen his heſtes: maken thy people hearen him as a God on earth, and maketh thē hys thrals and hys ſeruauntes.

But Lord, we lewd men knowen no God but thee, and we with thyne helpe and thy grace forſakē Nabugodonoſor and his lawes. For he in his proude eſtate wole haue all men vnder him, and he nele be vnder no man. He vndoth thy lawes that thou ordeyneſt to ben kept, and maketh his own lawes as him liketh: and ſo he maketh him kyng aboue all other kinges of the earth, and maketh men to worſhyppen him as a God, and thy great ſacrifice he hath ydone away.

Nele, that is wyll not.

O Lord, here is thy commaundement of mekenes, miſcheflich to broke: And thy bleſſed commaundement of poorenes is alſo to broken, and yhid from thy people. Lord, Zacharye thy prophet ſayth, that thou that ſhouldeſt ben our king, ſhouldeſt bene a poore man, and ſo thou were: for thou ſaydeſt thy ſelfe, Foxes haue dens, and birdes of heauen neſtes, and mans ſonne hath not where to leggē his head on. And thou ſaydeſt ybleſſed ben poore men in ſpirite, for thy kingdome of heauen is theiren. And wo to ryche men, for they han their comfort in this world. And thou bade thy diſciples to ben ware of all couetiſe, for thou ſaydeſt, in the aboundaunce of a mans hauing, ne is not his lyfelode. And ſo thou teacheſt that thilk that han more then them nedeth to their liuing, lyuen in couetyſe. Alſo thou ſayeſt, but gif a man forſake all thynges that he oweth, he ne maye not bene thy diſciple. Lorde, thou ſayeſt alſo that thy word that is ſowē in rich mens hartes, bringeth forth no fruit: for riches, and the buſines of this world maken it withouten fruit.

Pouerty of Chriſt not followed.

Couetiſe.

O Lord, here ben many bleſſed teachinges to teach men to bene poore and loue poorenes. But Lord harme is, poore men and poorenes ben yhated, and rich men ben yloued and honoured. And gif a man be a poore man, men holden him a man without grace, and if a man deſireth poorenes, men holden him but a foole. And if a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gracious man, and thylke that ben buſy in getting of riches, ben yholde wyſe men and ready: but lord theſe rich men ſayen that it is both leſull and medefull to them to gather riches together. For they ne gathereth it not for themſelfe, but for other men that ben needy, and Lord their woorkes ſhewen the truth. For if a poore nedy man would borowen of their riches, he nele leane him none of his good, but gif he mow be ſeker to haue it agine by a certaine day.

Pouertie counted foly.

Nele, that is, wyll not.

But Lord, thou bede that a man ſhould lend, and not hoping yelding againe of him that he lendeth to: and thy father of heauen wol quite him his mede. And gif a poore aſke a rich man any good, the riche man wole geue him but a lytle, and yet it ſhall be litle worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is litle loue and charitye, both to God and to our brethren.

For Lord, thou teacheſt in thy Goſpell, that what men do to thy ſeruauntes, they done to thee. A Lord, gif a poore man aſke good for thy loue, men geueth him a litle of the wurſt. For theſe riche men ordeynen both bread and ale for Gods men of the wurſt that they haue. O Lord, ſythe all the good that men haue commeth of thee: how dare any man geue thee of the wurſt, and keepe to himſelf the beſt? How maye ſuch men ſay that they gatheren riches for others neede, as well as himſelfe, ſithe their workes ben contrary to their wordes? and that is no great truth. And be ye ſeker theſe goods that rich men han, they bene Gods goods, ytake to your keepyng, to loke how ye wolen be ſetten thē to the worſhipping of god. And Lord, thou ſayeſt in the Goſpell, that who ſo is true in litle, he is true in that thing that is more. And who that is falſe in a lyttle thing, who wole taken hym towarde thynges of a greater value? And therefore, be ye ware that han gods goods to kepe. Spend ye thilk trulich to the worſhip of God, leaſt ye leeſen the bliſſe of heauen, for the vntrue deſpending of Gods goods in this world.

God is ſerued of the worſt.

A leſſon for th that haue goods well to ſpend them.

O Lord, theſe rich men ſeggen that they done much for thy loue. For many poore labourers ben yfound by them, that ſhoulden fare feebelich, ne were not they and their readines: Forſooth me thynketh that poore laborers geueth to theſe rich men, more then they geuen them agayneward. For the poore man mote gone to his labour in cold and in heate, in wete and dry, and ſpend his fleſh & his bloude in the richmens workes, vpon Gods ground, to finde the rich man in eaſe, and in liking, and in good fare of meate & of drink and of clothing. Here is a great gift of the poore mā, for he geueth his own body. But what geueth the rychman hym agaynwarde? Certes feable meate, and feable drinke, and feable clothing. What euer they ſeggen, ſuch be their werkes, and here is litle loue. And whoſoeuer looketh well about, all the worlde fareth thus as wee

Seggen, that is, do ſay.

ſeggen. And all men ſtudieth on euery ſyde, howe they maye were rich. And euerich man almoſt is a ſhamed to ben holden a poore mã.

The pouertie of Chriſt rightly conſidered

And Lord, I trow for thou were a poore man, men token lyttle regarde to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord thou came to geue vs a new teſtament of loue, and therfore it was ſemelich that thou came in poorenes, to proue who would loue thee, and kepen thyne heſtes. For gif thou haddeſt ycome in forme of a riche man and of a Lord, men woulde rather for thy dread then for thy loue, haue ykept thyne heſtes. And ſo Lord now thou might well yſee whych louen thee as they ſhould in keeping thyne heſtes. For who that loueth thee in thy poorenes and in thy lownes, nedes he mote loue thee in thy lordſhip and thy highnes.

A poore kyng, and a proud Vicar, how ioyne theſe two together.

But Lord the world is turned vpſe downe, and men loue poore mẽ but a litle ne poorenes neither. But mẽ be aſhamed of poorenes, and therfore Lord, I trow that thou art a poore kyng. And therfore I trow that he that clepeth him ſelfe thy vicare on earth, hath forſake poorenes, as he hath do the remnaũt of thy law: and is become a rich man and a Lord, and maketh hys treaſure vpon the earth, that thou forbiddeſt in the Goſpell. And for his right and his riches he will plete, and fight, and curſe. And yet Lord, he will ſegge that he forſaketh all thynges that he oweth, as thy trewe diſciple mete done after thy teachyng in the Goſpell.

Chriſt a ſeruant vpon earth: the pope a Lord.

The pope for hys right and riches wil plead, fight, and curſe

But Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſaken his goodes, & plete for thẽ and fight, and curſe. And Lord he taketh on hym power to aſſoyle a man of all maner thynges, but if it be of dette. Truly Lord, me thinketh he knoweth litle of charitie. For who that beth in charitie, poſſeſſeth thy goods in common and not in proper at his neighbours nede. And then ſhall there none of them ſegge this is myne, but it is goods that God graunteth to vs to ſpendẽ it to hys worſhip. And ſo if any of them boroweth a porcion of thoſe goodes, and diſpendeth them to Gods worſhip: God is apayed of this ſpendyng, and aloweth him for his true doyng. And if God is apayed of that diſpẽdyng that is the principal Lord of thoſe goodes, how dare any of his ſeruauntes axen there of, accountes, other chalenge it for dette? Certẽ, of one thyng I am incerteine, that theſe ỹ charge ſo much det of worldly cattel, they know litle of Chriſtes law of charitie. For if Ich am a bayly of gods goods in the world, if I ſe my brother in nede, I am hold by charitie to part wͭ him of theſe goods to his nede: and if he ſpendeth them well to the worſhip of God, I mote be well a payed as though I my ſelf had ſpended them to the worſhip of God. And if the principall Lord is well payed of my brothers doyng, and the deſpendyng of his goodes: how may I ſegge for ſhame that my brother is dettour to me, of the goodes that I tooke hym to ſpende in Gods worſhip at his nede? And if my brother ſpendeth amys the goodes that I take him, I am diſcharged of my deliueraunce of the goodes, if I take hym in charitie thilk goodes at his nede. And I am hold to be ſory of his euil diſpending, ne I may not axen the goods, that I toke him to his nede in forme of dette, for at his nede they weren his as wel as myne. And thus is my brother yholde to done to me gif he ſee me in neede, and gif we ben in charitie, litell ſhoulde we chargen of dette. And ne we ſhould nat axen ſo dettes, as men that knowen not God. And than be we poore in forſaking all thinges that we owen. For gif we ben in charite, we wolen nother fight nor curſe, ne plete for our goodes with our brethren.

Proprietie of goods here, is not take away, but charitie is required to helpe the nede of our neyghbour.

O Lord thus thou taughteſt thy ſeruauntes to lyuen. And ſo they lyueden while they hadden good ſhepherdes, that fedden thy ſheepe and ne robbed them not of their lyfelode, as Peter thy good ſhepherd and thy other Apoſtles. But Lord, he that clepeth hym ſelfe thy viker vpon earth and ſucceſſour to Peter: he robbeth thy puple of their bodylich lyfelode, for he ordeneth proude ſhepherdes to lyuen in eſe by the tenth party of pore mens trauell. And he geueth them leue to lyuen where them liketh. And gif men no wolen not wilfullych geuen them the tythinges, they wolen han them agaynſt their will by mayſtrye and by curſing, to maken them rich.

The pope a mainteynour of theues and robbers.

¶ Lord, how may any man ſegge that ſuch ſhepeherdes that louen more the wolle then the ſheepe, and feden not thy ſheepe in bodie ne in ſoule, ne ben ſuch rauenours and theeues? And who may ſegge that the maintainour of ſuch ſhepeherdes, ne is not a maintenour of theeues and robbers? How wole he aſſoyle ſhepeherdes of their robbing without reſtitution of their goodes, that they robben thy ſheepe of againſt their will? Lorde, of all ſheepeherdes, bleſſed mote thou be. For thou louedeſt more the ſheepe thẽ their wolle. For thou fedeſt thy ſheepe both in body and in ſoule. And for loue of thy ſheepe thou toke thy death to bring thy ſheepe out of wolues mouthes. And the moſt charge that thou goue to Peter, was to feede thy ſheepe, And ſo he did truelich, and tooke the death for thee and for thy ſhepe. For he came in to the folde of ſheepe by the that were the dore. And ſo I trowe a fewe other did as he did, though they clepen hemſelf ſucceſſours to Peter. For their workes ſhowẽ what they ben. For they robben and ſleen and deſtroyen: they robben thy ſheepe of the tenth part of their trauell, and feden them ſelf in eaſe. They ſleen thy ſheepe, for they pyenen them for hunger of their ſoule to the death. They diſtroyen thy ſheepe, for with might and with ſterneſhip they rulen thy ſheepe: that for drede they ben diſparſed abrode in mountaines, and there the wilde beaſtes of ỹ field diſtroyeth them, and deuoureth thẽ for default of a good ſhepeherd.

Chriſt a good ſhepeheard in deede.

Compariſon betwene the popes ſhepeherdes and Chriſt.

¶ O Lord, gif it be thy will deliuer thy ſheepe out of ſuch ſhepeherdes warde that retcheth not of thy ſheepe, they han their wolle to make them ſelfe rich. For thy ſheepe ben in great miſchiefe and ſoule accombred with their ſhepeherdes.

*¶ But for thy ſhepeherdes wolden ben excuſed, they haue ygeten them hyrdmen to feede thy people, and theſe comen in ſheepes clothing. But dredeles, their workes ſhewen that *with in forth they ben but wolfes, For han they their hyre, they ne retcheth but a litle how ſorilich thy ſheepe ben kept. For as thei ſeggen themſelf, they ben but hyred men that han no charge of thy ſhepe. And when they ſhalden feden thy ſheepe in the plentuous *leſewe of thy teaching, they ſtonden betwene them & their leſewe, ſo that thy ſheepe ne han but a ſight of thy leſewe, but eten they ſhalle not therof.

*But for, that is but becauſe.

*Within forth, i. inwardly.

*Leſew, paſture

But they feden them in a ſory ſowre leſewe of leſinges & of tales. And ſo thy ſheepe fallen into greuous ſicknes through thys euill leſewe. And gif any ſhepe breake ouer into thy leſewe to taſten the ſwetenes therof, anon theſe hyred mẽ driue him out with houndes. And thus thy ſhepe by theſe hyred men, ben ykept out of ther kindlich leſewe, and ben yfed with ſoure graſſe and ſory baren leſewes. And yet they feden them but ſeldẽ, and when they han ſorylych fed them, they taken great hyre, and gone awaye from thy ſheepe and letten them a worth. And for drede leſt thy ſheepe wolden in their abſence go to thy ſweete leſewe, they han encloſed it all aboute ſo ſtronglich & ſo high, ỹ there may no ſhepe comen there with in, but gif it be a *walliſch leper of the mountains that may with his long legges lepen ouer the wallys. For the hyrdmen ben ful certayne, that gif thy ſheepe hadden ones taſted the ſwetenes of thy leſewe: They ne would no more ben yfed of theſe hirid men in their ſoure leſewes, and therfore theſe hyrid men kepen thẽ out of that leſewe. For hadden the ſheepe ones ytaſted well of thy leſewe, they wolden without a leder go thider to their mete, and then mote theſe hired men ſechen them a nother labour to liue by thã keping of ſhepe. And they ben fel and ware ynowe therof, and therefore they feden thy ſheepe with ſoure meate that naught is & hyden from thy ſhepe the ſwetenes of thy leſewe. And ſo though theſe hyred men gone in ſheepes clothing, in their workes they ben wolues, ỹ much harme done to thy ſheepe as we haue ytold.

*A Welc leaper.

Wolfes in lamb ſk deſcribed,

¶ O Lorde, they comen as ſheepe, for they ſeggen that they ben poore and haue forſaken the worlde to liuen parfetlich as thou taughteſt in the goſpell. Lord this is ſheepes clothing. But Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſakẽ the trauelous liuing in poreneſſe in the world, to liuen in eſe with riches by other mennes trauelle, and haue Lordſhip on their brethren. For Lord this is more to forſaken thee and go to the world.

He compl neth again the valiant beggers th Friers,

¶ O Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſake the worlde to liuen in poorenes of begging by other mennes trauaile that ben as feble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to liuen in pooreneſſe of begging, that were ſtronge inough to trauayle for his lyfelode. Ne Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to bene a begger to beg of men more then him nedeth, to build great caſtels and make great feaſtes to thilk ỹ han no neede.

¶ O Lord thou ne taughteſt not men this poorenes, for it is out of charitie. But thy poorenes that thou taughteſt, nouriſheth charitie. Lord ſyth Paul ſayth, that he ỹ forſaketh the charge of thilke that ben *homelich with him, hath forſaken his fayth and is worſe then a miſbeleued man: How then now theſe men ſeggen that they beleuen in Chriſt, that han forſake their poore feble frendes, and let them liue in trauaile and in diſeſe, that traueiled ful ſore for thẽ, when they weren younge and vnmightie to helpen them ſelf? And they wolen liue in eſe by other mennes trauaile euermore begging withouten ſhame.

*Homelich that is, of his houſehold.

¶ Lord thou ne taughteſt not this maner poorenes, for it is out of charite. And all thy lawe is charite and thyng that nouriſheth charite. And theſe hyrdmen theſe ſhepherdes ſende about to kepe thy ſhepe, & to feden them other whiles in ſory bareyne leſewes. Lord thou ne madeſt none ſuch ſhepherdes, ne kepers of thy ſheepe that weren irẽners about countreis, and wolde ones, oder twyes a yere fede ſorylich thy ſhepe, and for ſo litle trauayle taken a great hyre, and ſithen all the yere afterward, do what them liketh, and let thy ſhepe periſh for defaute of kepyng.

Wilfull po uertie abhorred,

But thy ſhepherdes abiden ſtill with their ſheepe, and feden thẽ in thy plentuous leſewe of thy teachyng, and gone byfore thy ſhepe, and teachen them the waye into the plentuous and ſwete leſewe, & kepen thy flocke from rauenyng of the wilde beaſtes of the feelde.

The propertie of good ſhepeherds,

O Lord deliuer thy ſheepe out of the warde of theſe ſhepherdes & theſe hyred men, that ſtonden more to kepe their riches that they robben of thy ſheepe, than they ſtonden in kepyng of thy ſheepe.

O Lord, when thou come to Ieruſalem, ſome tyme thou droue out of the temple ſellers of beſtes and of other chaffre, and ſaydeſt: Myne houſe ſhouldẽ ben cleped an houſe of prayers: but they madẽ a den of theues of it. O Lord, thou art the temple in whom we ſhoulden prayen thy father of heauen. And Salomons temple that was ybelded at Ieruſalem, was figure of this temple. But Lord, he that clepeth him ſelfe thy viker vpon earth, and ſaith that he occupieth thy place here on earth: is become a chapmã in the temple, and hath hys chapmen walkyng in diuerſe countries to ſellen hys chaffare, & to maken him rich. And he ſayth, thou gaue him ſo great a power abouen all other men, that what euer he byndeth other vnbyndeth in earth, thou byndeſt other vnbyndeſt the ſame in heauẽ. And ſo of great power he ſelleth other men forgeuenes of their ſin. And for much money he will aſſoylen a man ſo cleane of his ſinne, that he *behoteth mẽ the bleſſe of heauen withouten any payne after that they be deed, that geuen him much money.

The pope is a chapman in gods temple.

*Behoteth, that is, promiſeth.

Biſhopriches & cherches, & ſuch other chaffares he ſelleth alſo for money, and maketh him ſelfe rich. And thus he bigileth the puple.

O Lord Ieſu, here is much vntruth and miſchief, and matter of ſorow. Lord thou ſaydſt ſome tyme, that thou wouldeſt be with thy ſeruauntes into the ende of the world. And thou ſaydſt alſo, there as tweyne or three ben ygadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the midle of them. A Lord, then it was no nede to thee to maken a leſtenaunte, ſith thou wolte be euermore amongeſt thy ſeruaũts.

Note good reader, yf Chriſt hymſelf be, ij. or iij gathered in his name what neede is there of a lieutenaũt,

Lord thou axedeſt of thy diſciples, who they trowed that thou were. And Peter anſwered and ſayd, that thou art Chriſt Gods ſonne. And thou ſaydeſt to Peter. Thou art ybleſſed Symon Bariona, for fleſh and bloud ne ſhowed not this to thee, but my father that is in heauen. And I ſay to thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this ſtone ych wole byld my church, and the gates of hell ne ſhullen not auailẽ agens it. And to thee ych wole geue the keyes of heauen, and what euer thou bindeſt vpon earth, ſhal be bonde in heauẽ: and what euer thou vnbyndeſt on earth, ſhalbe vnbonden in heauẽ. This power alſo was graunted vnto the other diſciples as well

The place of geuyng to Peter, the keyes, expounded.

as to Peter as the Goſpell opunlych telleth. In this place men ſeggen that thou graũted to Peters ſucceſſours, the ſelue power that thou gaue to Peter. And therfore the byſhop of Rome, that ſaith he is Peters ſucceſſour, taketh this power to hym to bynden and vnbinden in earth what him lyketh. But Lord, ych haue much wonder how he may for ſhame clepen him ſelfe Peters ſucceſſour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Chriſt and God, and kept the heſtes of thy law: but theſe han forſaken the heſtes of thy law, and hath y maked a law contrary to thyne heſtes of thy law. And ſo he maked hym ſelfe a falſe Chriſt ⁊ a falſe God in earth. And I trowe thou gaue him no power to vndo thy lawe. And ſo in takyng this power vpon hym, maketh him a falſe Chriſt ⁊ Antichriſt. For who may be more agens Chriſt, than he that in his wordes maketh him ſelfe Chriſtes viker in earth. And in his werkes vndoth the ordinaunce of Chriſt, and maketh men byleuen that it is nedefull to the heale of mens ſoules, to byleuen that he is Chriſtes viker in earth. And what euer he bindeth in earth is ybounden in heauen, and vnder this colour he vndoth Chriſtes lawe, and maketh men alwais to kepen his law, and his heſtes. And thus men may yſeen that he is agenſt Chriſt, ⁊ therfore he is Antichriſt that maketh men worſhupen hym as a God on earth, as the proude kyng Nabugodonoſor did ſumtyme, that was kyng of Babylone.

The pope proued a falſe Antichriſt in earth.

The popes abbomination deſcribed.

And therfore we lewed men that knowen no God but thee Ieſu Chriſt, beleuen in thee that art our God, and our kyng, and our Chriſt, and thy lawes. And forſaken Antichriſt and Nabugodonoſor that is a falſe God, and a falſe Chriſt, and his lawes that ben cõtrary to thy teachyng. And Lord ſtrength thou vs agenſt our enemies. For they ben about to maken vs forſake thee and thy law, other elles to putten vs to deeth. O Lord, onlych in thee is our truſt to helpe vs in this miſchefe, for thy great goodneſſe that is withouten ende.

Lord, thou ne taughteſt not thy diſciples to aſſoylen men of her ſinne, and ſettẽ them a penaunce for ther ſinne, in faſtyng ne in prayenge, ne other almous dede: ne thy ſelf, ne thy diſciples, vſeden no ſuch power here on earth. For Lord, thou forgeue mẽ their ſinnes, and bede hem ſinne no more. And thy diſciples *fulleden men in thy name, in forgeueneſſe of her ſinnes. Nor they tooke no ſuch power vpon them as our preſtes dare now. And Lord, thou ne aſſoyledeſt no man both of his ſinne and of his peyne, that was dewe for hys ſinne, ne thou grauntedſt no man ſuch power here on earth.

*Fulleden, that is, baptiſed.

And Lord, me thinketh that gif there were a Purgatorye, and eny earthlych man had power to delyueren ſinfull men from the peynes of Purgatory, he ſhulde and he were in charite, ſauen euerich man that were in waye of ſaluacion from thilke peynes, ſyth they make them greater then any bodilych peynes of this worlde. Alſo gif the byſhop of Rome had ſuch a power, he hym ſelfe ſhoulde neuer comen in Purgatory ne in hell. And ſith we ſee well that he ne hath no power to kepen him ſelfe ne other mẽ nother out of theſe bodilych peynes of the worlde, and he may go to hell for hys ſinne as another man may: I ne byleue not, that he hath ſo great a power to aſſoylen mẽ of ther ſinne as he taketh vpon him abouen all other men. And I trowe that in this he hygheth hym ſelfe aboue God.

Purgatory.

As touching the ſellyng of byſhopricks and perſonages, I trow it be a poynte of falſhede. For agenſt Gods ordinaunce he robbeth poore men of a porcion of their ſuſtinaunce, and ſelleth it, other geueth it, to find proude men in idleneſſe that done the lewed puple litell profyte, but muche harme as we tolde before. Thus ben thy cõmaundements of treweth of mekeneſſe, and of poreneſſe, vndone by hym that clepeth him ſelfe thy viker here vpon earth.

Sellyng of biſhoprikes ⁊ benefices.

A Lord, thou gaue vs a commaundement of chaſtite that is a forſakyng of fleſhliche luſtes. For thou broughteſt vs to a lyuyng of ſoule that is ygouerned by thy woorde. For Lord, thou ordenedſt woman more frele than man to ben ygouerned by mãs rule and his helpe, to pleaſe thee and kepe thyne heſtes. Ne thou ne ordeynedſt that a man ſhould deſire the company of a woman, and maken her his wife, to lyuen with her in his luſtys, as a ſwyne doth or a horſe. And his wife ne lyke hym not to his luſtes, Lord, thou ne gaue not a man leue to departen him from his wife, and taken him another.

Mariage.

But Lord, thy mariage is a common accorde betwene man and woman, to lyuen together to their liues ende, and in thy ſeruice either the better for others helpe: and thilke that ben thus ycome together, bene ioyned by thee, and thilke that God ioyneth, maye no man depart. But Lord, thou ſayeſt that gif a man ſee a woman to coueten her, thã he doth with the woman lechery in his hart. And ſo Lord gif a man deſire his wife in couetyſe of ſuche luſtes, ⁊ not to flye from whoredome, his weddins is lechery, ne thou ne ioyneſt them not together. Thus was Raguels doughter ywedded to. vij. huſbandes that the deuil iſtrangled. But Tobye tooke her to lyue with her in clennes, and bringing vp of her children in thy worſhip, and on him the deuil ne had no power. For the wedding was Imaked in God, for God, and through God.

A Lord, the people is farre ygo from thys maner of weddyng. For now men wedden their wyues for fairnes, other for ryches, or ſome ſuch other fleſhlich luſtes. And Lord, ſo it preueth by them for the moſt part. For a man ſhall not finde two wedded in a land, where the huſband loues the wyfe, and the wyfe is buxum to the man, as they ſhoulden after thy law of mariage. But other the mã loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxum to her mã. And thus Lord is the rule of Meke, that neuer faileth to preue whether it bee done by thee or no. And Lord, all this miſchiefe is common among thy people, for that they know not thy word, but their ſhepheards and hired men feeden them with their *ſweuens and leaſynges. And Lorde, where they ſhoulden gon before vs in the field, they ſeggen ẏ their order is to holy for thy mariage. And Lord, he ẏ calleth himſelf thy vicar vpon earth, wil not ſuffren prieſts to taken them wyues, for that is againſt his law: But Lord, he wyll diſpenſen with them to kepen horen for a certaine ſomme of money. And Lord, all horedome is forfended in thy law. And Lord, thou neuer forfendeſt prieſtes their wiues, ner thy apoſtles neyther. And wel I wote in our lond, prieſtes hadden wyues vntill Anſelmus dates in the yeare of our Lord God, a leuen hundred and twentye and nyne, as Huntingdõ writes. And Lord, this makes people for the moſt part beleeuen, that lechery is no ſynne. Therfore we lewd mẽ prayen thee, that thou wolt ſend vs ſhepheards of thine owne that wolen feden thy flocke in thy leſewe, and gon before them ſelfe, and ſo written thy law in our hartes, that from the leaſt to the moſt all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord, geue our king and his lordes, hart to defenden thy true ſhepherdes and thy ſhepe from out of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Chriſt, the ſonne of thy heauenlye father, from the Antichriſt, that is the ſonne of pride. And Lorde, geue vs thy poore ſheepe pacience and ſtrength to ſuffer for thy law, the cruelnes of the miſcheuous wolues. And Lord, as thou haſt promiſed, ſhorten theſe dayes. Lorde we axen this now, for more nede was there neuer.

A leſſon how to marrye.

*Sweuens, that is dreames.

Prieſtes had wyues to the tyme of Anſelmus.

I doubt not gentle reader, but in reading this goodly treatiſe aboue prefixed, ẏ matter is manifeſt ⁊ playne of it ſelfe without any farther explication, what is to bee thought and iudged of this vicare of Chriſt ⁊ ſucceſſour of Peter, whom we call the byſhop of Rome: whoſe lyfe here thou ſeyſt not onely to be ſo diſordered in all points, ſwaruyng from the ſteppes and example of Chriſt the prince and byſhop of our ſoules, but alſo whoſe lawes and doctrine is ſo repugnant and contrary from the preceptes and rule of the Goſpell, that almoſt there is no cõuenience betwene them: as in the peruſing of this complaynyng prayer, thou mayſt notoriouſly vnderſtand. Wherfore hauing no nede to ſtãd in any further expreſſing of this matter, but leauyng it to thyne owne conſideration, and diſcretion: I will ſpeede my ſelf (Chriſt wyllyng) to procede towarde the tyme of Wycleffe and hys felowes, takyng by order of yeares as I go ſuch thyngs by the waye, as both happened before the ſayd tyme of Wycleffe, and alſo may the better prepare the minde of the reader, to the entryng of that ſtory. Where firſt I thinke it not inconuenient to inferre a propheticall parable writen about this tyme, or not much before, whiche the autor morally applieth vnto ẏ byſhop of Rome. To what autor this prophecie or morall is to be aſcribed, I haue not certenly to affirme. Some ſay, that Rupeſciſſanus (of whom mention is made before pag. 486. was the autor therof, and alledge it out of Froyſard. But in Froyſard, as yet I haue not found it. In ẏ meane ſeaſon, as I haue found it in Latin expreſſed, becauſe it painteth out the pope ſo righly in his fethers ⁊ colours, as I thought the thyng not to be omitted, ſo I toke this preſent place, as moſt fytt (although peraduenture miſſyng the order of yeares a litle) to inſerte the ſame. The effect of whiche parable foloweth here vnder writen.

In the tyme of Pope Innocent the vi. aboue ſpecified, this Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa. a frier, amonge other his prophecies merueilouſly foreſpake (as allegeth Froyſard, who both hard him and ſaw hym) of the takyng of Ihon the French kyng priſoner, ⁊ brought forth many other notable collections concernyng the perils, mutatiõs, ⁊ chaungings in the church to come. And at what tyme ẏ Pope kept him at Auinion in priſon (where Froyſard is ſayd to ſee him and to ſpeake with him) the ſaid Froyſard hard in the Popes court this example and parable, recited by the foreſayd frier Rupeſciſſanus, to ij. Cardinals, to witte, Cardinall Hoſtienſis, and Cardinall Auxercenſis. Whiche foloweth in theſe wordes.

When on a certeine tyme, a byrde was brought into the world all bare and without fethers, the other byrdes hearyng therof came to viſite her: and for that they ſaw her to be a meruelous fayre and beautifull byrde, they counſayled together howe they might beſt do her good, ſith by no meanes without fethers, ſhe myght eyther flee or lyue commodiouſly. They all wiſhed her to liue for her excellẽt forme and beauties ſake, in ſo much that among thẽ all there was not one, that would not graũt ſome part of her owne fethers to decke this byrde withall: yea and the more tryme they ſaw her to be, the more

A parable propheſeing the ruine of the pope.

fethers

The pope compared to a bird, fethered wyth other byrdes fethers.

fethers ſtill they gaue vnto her, ſo that by this meanes ſhe was paſſyng well penned and fethered, and began to flee. The other byrdes that thus had adourned her with goodly fethers beholdyng her to flee abroade, were maruelouſly delighted therwith. In the end, this byrde ſeyng her ſelfe ſo gorgeouſly fethered, and of all the reſt to be had in honour: began to ware proude and hauty, in ſo much that ſhe had no regarde at all vnto them, by whõ ſhe was aduaũced: yea, ſhe punged thẽ with her beacke, plucked thẽ by the ſkynne and fethers, and in all places hurted them. Wherupon, the birdes ſitting in councel agayne, called the matter in queſtion, demaundyng one of an other what was beſt to be done touchyng this vnkynd byrd, whom they louyngly with their own fethers had decked and adourned: Affirming, that thei gaue not theyr fethers to that entent that ſhe therby puft vp with pride, ſhould contemptuouſly deſpiſe them all. The Pecocke therfore aunſwereth firſt. Truly, ſaith he, for that ſhe is brauely ſet forth with my paynted fethers, I wyll agayn take them from her. Then ſayth the Falcon, and I alſo will haue myne agayne. This ſentence at length toke place amõg them all, ſo that euery one plucked frõ her thoſe fethers, whiche before they had geuen, chalengyng vnto them their owne agayne. Now this proude byrde ſeing her ſelfe this to be dealt withall, began forthwith to abate her hauty ſtomacke, and humbly to ſubmit her ſelf openly, confeſſyng and acknowledging that of her ſelfe ſhe had nothyng: but that her fethers, her honor, and other ornamentes was their gift: ſhe came in to the worlde all naked and bare, they cladde her with comely fethers, and therfore of right may they receaue them agayne. Wherfore in moſt humble wiſe ſhe deſireth pardon, promiſing ta amend all that is paſt, neither would ſhe at any time hereafter cõmit, wherby through pryde ſhe myght loſe her fethers agayne. The gentle byrdes that before had geuen theyr fethers, ſeyng her ſo humble and lowly, beyng moued with pitie, reſtored agayne the fethers whiche lately they had taken away, addyng withall this admonition. We will gladly, ſay they, behold thy fleyng among vs, ſo long as thou wilt vſe thine office with humblenes of minde, whiche is the chiefeſt comelynes of all the reſt: But this haue thou for certaynty, that if at any tyme hereafter thou extoll thy ſelfe in pride, we will ſtraight wayes depriue thee of thy fethers, and reduce thee into thy former ſtate wheerin we founde thee. Euen ſo oh you Cardinals (ſayth Iohannes Rupeſciſſanus) ſhall it happen vnto you. For the Emperour of Romanes and Almayne, and other Chriſtian kynges, potentates, and prynces of the yearth, haue beſtowed vpon you goodes, landes, and riches, that you ſhould ſerue God, but you haue poured it out and conſumed it vpon pryde, all kynde of wickednes, ryot, and wantonnes.

The firſt riſing of the pope. The proud proſperitie of the pope.

The decay of the pope deſcribed.

¶ Armachanus.

The lyfe and ſtory of Armachanus, archb. and primate of Ireland.

IN the Cataloge of theſe learned & zelous defenders of Chriſt againſt Antichriſt aboue rehearſed, whom the Lord about this tyme began to rayſe vp for reformation of his churche, beyng then farre out of frame, I can not forget nor omitte ſome thyng to write of the reuerẽd prelate and famous clerke Richard Armachanus, primate & archbiſhop of Ireland: A man for his lyfe & learnyng ſo memorable, as the condition of thoſe daies then ſerued, that ẏ ſame dayes thẽ as they had but few good, ſo had none almoſt hys better. Hys name was Richard Fitzraf, made primate and archbiſhop as is ſayd, of Ireland. Firſt brought vp in the vniuerſitie of Oxford in the ſtudy of all liberall knowledge, wherin he did exceedingly profite vnder Ihon Bakenthorpe his tutor and inſtructor, In this time the begging friers begã greatly to multiplie & ſpread, vnto whom this Bakenthorpe, was euer a great enemie. Whoſe ſteppes the ſcolar alſo folowing, began to do the lyke. Such was the capacitie and dexteritie of this Fitzraf, that he beyng commended to kyng Edward the iij. was promoted by hym, firſt to be archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the commiſſary of the vniuerſitie of Oxford. At lẽgth to be archbyſhop of Armach in Ireland. He beyng archbiſhop, vpon a tyme had cauſe to come vp to London: At what tyme here in the ſayd citie of London was contention betwene the friers and ẏ clergie about preachyng, and hearyng confeſſions. &c. Wherupõ, this Armachanus being requeſted to preach, made 7. or 8. ſermons. Wherin he propounded ix. concluſions agaynſt the friers, for the which he was cited vp by the friers before this Pope Innocent the vi. to appeare. And ſo he did, who before the face of the Pope valiantly defended, both in preachyng and writting, the ſame concluſions, and therin ſtoode conſtãtly vnto the death, as the wordes of Ihon Wickleff in his Trialogo do well teſtifie in this wiſe: Ab Anglorum Epiſcopis conductus Armachanus, nouem in Auinione concluſiones coram Innocentio 6. & ſuorum Cardinalium cœtu, contra fratrum mẽdicitatẽ, audacter publicauit, verboque ac ſcriptis ad mortem vſque defendit. The like alſo teſtifieth of him VValdenus in faſcilo zizãniorum. Alſo Volateranus reporteth the ſame. Gulielmus Botonerus teſtifiyng of hym in lyke maner, ſayth: that Armachanus firſt reproued the beggyng friers, for hearyng the confeſſions of profeſſed nonnes without licence of their ſuperiours, & alſo of maried womẽ without knowledge of their huſbãds. What daungers and troubles he ſuffered by his perſecutours, and how miraculouſly the Lord deliuered him frõ theyr handes: In ſo much, that they metyng hym in the open ſtretes and in cleare day lyght, yet had no power to ſee hym, nor to apprehend hym. In what perill of theeues & ſearchers he was in, and yet the Lord deliuered him, yea and cauſed his money beyng take from him, to be reſtored to him agayne by portions, in tyme of his neceſſitie and famine. Alſo frõ what daungers of the kynges officers, whiche commyng with the kynges letters, layd all the hauens for hym: yet how the Lord Ieſus deliuered him, ſhewyng him by what wayes how to eſcape them. Moreouer, what appeals were layd agaynſt hym, to the number of xvi. and yet how the Lord gaue hym to triumphe ouer all his enemies. How the Lord alſo taught him, and brought him out of the profoũd vanities of Ariſtotles ſubtiltie, to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures of God. All this with much more, he him ſelf expreſſeth in a certaine prayer or confeſſion made to Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, in which he deſcribeth almoſt the whole hyſtory of his own lyfe. Whiche prayer I haue to ſhew in old writen hand, and hereafter (Chriſt willyng) intend as tyme ſerueth to publiſhe the ſame. The begynnyng of the prayer in Latine is this.

The commẽdatiõ of Armachanus.

Armachanus cited by the Friers, to appear before the pope.

The troubles & perſecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus preſerued manifold wayes by the lord.

The prayer of Armachanus.

Tibi Laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Ieſu pijſsime, Ieſu potentiſsime, Ieſu dulciſsime: qui dixiſti, Ego ſum via, veritas & vita. Via ſine deuio: veritas ſine nubilo: et Vita ſine termino. Quod tu te viam mihi oſtendiſti. Tu te veritatẽ me docuiſti. Et tu te vitam mihi promiſiſti: Via eras mihi in exilio, Veritas eras in conſilio. Et vita eris mihi in præmio. With the reſt ẏ followeth in the foreſayd prayer.

Thus what wer the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited vp by the friers to the Pope, you haue partly heard: Nowe what were his reaſons and argumentes wherewith he defended his cauſe in the Popes preſence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof, fyrſt I muſt put the reader in remembraunce of the controuerſy mentioned before in the ſtory of Guliel. de ſancto Amore. Pag. 397. Alſo in the ſtorye of the vniuerſitie of Paris contending againe the friers. pag. 488. For ſo long dyd thys controuerſie continue in the church, from the yeare. 1240. when the Oxford men began fyrſt to ſtand againſt the friers: to the time of thys Armachanus, that is, to the yeare. 1360. and after hys tyme yet more encreaſed. So it pleaſed the ſecrete prouidẽce of God (for what cauſe he beſt knoweth) to ſuffer his churche to bee intangled and exerciſed ſome tymes with matters and cōtrouerſies of no great importance. Either to keepe the vanitie of mens wits thus occupied from idlenes, or els to prepare their myndes by theſe ſmaller matters, to the conſideration and ſearching out of other things more graue and weighty. Like as now in theſe our quenes dayes, we ſee what tragidies be raiſed vp in England about formes and faſhions of Miniſters wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and diſplacing ther is about the ſame: Euen ſo at thys time happened the lyke ſtyrre about the liberties and priuilegies of the friers, which not a litle troubled and occupied all the churches and Diuines almoſt through Chriſtendome. The which controuerſie, to thentent it maye be better vnderſtand (all the circumſtances thereof being explaned) we wyll fyrſte begyn from the originall and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and courſe of yeares, vpon what occaſion this variance firſt riſing, in continuance of time increaſed and multiplied in gathering more matter, and braſt out at lēgth to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Can. omnis vtriuſque ſexus, Dec. ex. de Pe. & re.

Concerning therefore this preſent matter, firſt it is to be vnderſtand, that in the yeare of our Lord.1215.vnder pope Innocent the.iij. was called a generall councell at Laterane, mētioned before.Pag.332.in the daies of king Iohn. In the which councel among many other thinges, was conſtituted a certaine lawe or Canon, beginning Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus.&c.the tenour of whych canon in Engliſh is thus.

Note here he calleth not the Sacrament of the altar.

Be it decreed, that euery faythful Chriſtiā, both man & woman cōming to the yeres of diſcretiō, ſhal cōfeſſe him ſelfe alone of all his ſins, to the prieſt of hys own proper pariſh, once in the yeare at leaſt: and that he ſhall endeuour by his owne ſelfe to fulfill the penaunce, when ſoeuer he receaueth the Sacramēt of Euchariſtie, at leaſt at the time of Eaſter. Oneles by the aſſent of his Miniſter, vpon ſome reaſonable cauſe, for the tyme to abſteine. Otherwiſe doyng, let him both lacke the communion of the Churche beyng a lyue, and Chriſtian buriall when he is dead. wherfore be it decreed, that this holeſome conſtitution ſhalbe publiſhed cuſtomably in churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blindnes make to himſelf a cloke of excuſe. And if any ſhall confeſſe him ſelf to any other prieſt then of his owne pariſh vpon any iuſt cauſe, let hym aſke and obteyne firſt licence of his owne prieſt: Other els, the other prieſt to haue no power to bind him or to looſe him. &c.

Frier Dominike in the tyme of pope Innocent 3. obtained not the confirmation of his order.

In the tyme of this Innocentius, and of this Laterā councel, was Dominicke, the firſt autor and founder of the preachyng friers: who laboured to the ſayd pope Innocent, for the confirmation of his order, but did not obteyne, in his lyfe tyme.

The order of Frier Dominike, first confirmed by pope Honorius 3.

The order of the Franciscanes, cōfirmed shortly after the Dominikes.

The next yere after this Laterane coūcel, dyed Pope Innocēt.an,1216.after whom came Honorius 3. who in the firſt yeare of his Popedome confirmed the order of frier Dominicke, and gaue to him and his friers, autoritie to preach and to heare confeſſions, with diuers other priuilegies mo. And vnder this pope whiche gouerned.x. yeares, lyued Dominicke v.yeares after the confirmation of his order, and dyed.an.1221. About whiche yeare, the order of the Franciſcane friers began alſo to bread and to ſpread in the world, through preachyng and hearyng confeſſions.

The Bull of pope Gregory in the behalfe of the Dominick Friers.

After this Honorius, next folowed pope Gregory the ix.about the yeare of our Lord.1228.who for the promotyng of the foreſayd order of Dominickes, gaue out this Bull, in tenour as foloweth.

* Iniquitie hath abounded at Rome.

Gregorius Byſhop ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes, to his reuerent brethren, Archbiſhops Biſhops, and to hys welbeloued children, Abbates, priours, and to all prelats of churches, to whom ſoeuer theſe preſentes ſhall come, greetyng, & Apoſtolicall bleſſyng. Becauſe * iniquitie hath abounded, and the charitie of many hath waxt could: Behold, the Lord hath raiſed vp the order of our welbeloued children the preachyng fryers: who not ſekyng thynges of their own, but perteinyng to Ieſus Chriſt, to ỹ extirpyng as well of hereſies, as to the rotyng out alſo of other pernicious peſtilēcies: haue dedicate them ſelues to the preachyng of the * worde of God. we therfore myndyng to aduaunce their ſacrat purpoſe. &c. and foloweth: commaundyng you to ſee the ſayd perſones, gentlely to be receaued among you: And that your flockes committed to your charge do receaue deuoutly the ſeede of gods worde out of their mouth, & to confeſſe their ſinnes vnto them, all ſuch as lyſte, whom we haue authoriſed to the ſame, to heare confeſſions, and to enioyne penaunce. &c. Dat. Peruſii. an. pont. noſtri.8.

* Nay, to the preaching rather of mens traditions against the word of God. The Friers autorised to heare confessions & to inioyne penance.

Pope Innocent the 4 agaynst the Friers.

This Pope Honorius dyed about the yeare of our Lord.1241.after whom came Celeſtinus the iiij. and ſat but xviij.dayes, then came Innocentius the iiij. and ſat xi.yeares & vi. monethes. Who although he began firſt to fauour the friers: yet afterward beyng altered by certein Diuines of vniuerſities, prelats of churches and curates: debarred them of their liberties and priuilegies, & gaue out agayne preceptes and excommunications, as well agaynſt the friers, as all other religious perſons. And not long after the ſame he was diſpatched.

Pope Alexāder the 4. vndoeth the actes of pope Innocent the 4. his predecessor.

Innocentius beyng thus remoued out ot the way, about the yere of our Lord.1353: Thē ſucceded pope Alexander the iiij. a great maynteiner of the friers, and ſat vij.yeares. He reuoked and repealed the Actes and wrytynges of Pope Innocent his predeceſſour, geuen forth agaynſt the friers: Wherwith the Diuines & ſtudēts of Paris being not wel contented, ſtirred vp iiij.principal doctors: The firſt & chief captain was Gulel.de ſancto Amore, mentioned before pag.397. agaynſt whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquine. And at laſt he was condemned by this foreſayd pope Alexander iiij. in the Extrau, Non ſine multa. The ſecond was Simon Tornacenſis, the third, Godfridus de Fontibus, the iiij Henricus de Gandauo. Theſe foure with other their cōplices, compiled a certeine boke agaynſt ỹ beggyng order of friers both Dominicans, and Franciſcans intituled, De periculis eccleſiæ, conteynyng xiiii.chapters. Wherof the 14. Whiche is the laſt, with 39. articles agaynſt the friers we haue already tranſlated and expreſſed. pag.368. Beſide theſe 39. articles, be other vii. articles moreouer to the ſaid boke annexed, vnder the name of the ſtudents of Paris againſt the friers, prouing why the ſaid friers ought not to be admitted into their ſocietie. Whiche vii. articles becauſe thei are but ſhort, I thought here better to place, then to omit them.

Extrau. non ſine multa.

Gul. de S. Amore, Simon Iornalenſis. Godfridus de fontibus. Hēr. de Gandauo, foure champions againſt the Friers.

¶ *Certeine Articles geuen out by the ſtudentes of Paris,* agaynſt the friers, why they ſhould not be admitted to their ſocietie.

Articles of the ſtudents of Paris againſt the Friers.

Firſt we ſay, they are not to be admitted to the ſocietie of our ſchole, but vpon our will and licence. For our companie or felowſhyp ought not be coactiue, but voluntarie and free. 1

Secondly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, for ſo much we haue oft proued their communitie, manifold wayes to be hurtfull and incommodious vnto vs. 2

Thirdly, ſeyng they be of a diuers profeſſion frō vs (for they ar called regular, and not ſcholaſticall) therfore we ought not to be ioyned and aſſociate together in one ſcholaſticall office. For as much as ỹ coūcell of Spaine doth ſaye, thou ſhalt not plough with the Oxe, and with the Aſſe together. Whiche is to ſay: Men of diuers profeſſiōs ought not together to be matched in one kynd of callyng, or ſtanding, for their ſtudies and conditions be diſagreyng and diſſeuered frō ours, and can not frame or couple together in one communion. 3

Conciliū Hiſpanium.

Fourthly we affirme, by the Apoſtle that they are not to be admitted, becauſe they worke diſſenſions and offences: For ſo saith the Apoſtle Rom. vlt. We deſire you bre 4

thren,

The Friers make diſſentions.

thrē, that ye obſerue, and take heede of ſuch as make diſſenſions and offendicles about the doctrine whiche you haue learned by the Apoſtles, and auoyde thē. For ſuch ſerue not the Lorde, but their owne bely. Gloſe. Some they flatter, ſome they backbyte, whereby they maye fede theyr bely. That through their ſweete and pleaſaunte wordes, and by their benedictions, they may deceaue the hartes of the ſimple. Gloſe. That is, with their fine ſugered, & trimme couched words, they ſet forth theyr own traditions, wherwith they beguyle the heartes of ſimple innocēts,

Friers deuour mens houſes.

5 Fiftly, we ſay they are not to be admitted. For that we feare leaſt they be in the number of them, whiche go about & deuoure mens houſes. For they thruſt in thē ſelues into euery mans houſe, ſearchyng and ſackyng the conſciences and ſtates of all perſons. And whom they finde eaſy to be ſeduced, as wemen: ſuch they do circumuent, and lead them away from the cōſails of their prelates, byndyng thē either in acte or othe: frō ſuche we are warned by the Apoſtle to auoyde.

Penetrantes domos.

6 Sixtly, we ſay they are to be auoyded: becauſe we feare they are falſe Prophetes. Whiche beyng neyther byſhops, nor pariſh prieſtes, nor yet their vicars, nor ſent by them: yet they preach (not ſent) agaynſt the mynde of the Apoſtle, Rom. 10. ſaying: How ſhall they preach vnles they be ſent? For els there appeareth in them no ſuch great vertue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach vncalled. Seing therfore that ſuch are ſo dangerous to the churche, they ought to be auoyded.

Friers preach vncalled.

7 Seuēthly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, becauſe they be a people ſo curious in ſearchyng and inquiryng of other mens doynges, and ſpirituall demaynour. And yet be they neither Apoſtles, nor yet ſucceſſors of ẏ Apoſtles, as Byſhops: nor of the number of the 72. diſciples of the Lord: nor their ſucceſſors, that is pariſhe prieſtes: nor their helpers, nor yet vicars. Wherfore, ſeyng they lyue ſo in no order, by the ſentence of the Apoſtle we are commaunded to auoyde them. 2. Theſ. vlt. Where he ſayth: we admoniſh and denounce vnto you (O brethrē) in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: ẏ is, as the Gloſe ſayth, (we commaunde you by the autoritie of Chriſt) that you withdrawe your ſelues frō euery brother, that walketh inordinatly, and not after the tradition, whiche you haue receaued of vs. &c. Looke vpon the common gloſe of this place, and you ſhall find, that ſuch are to be auoyded till tyme they amend from ſo doyng. &c.

Friers haue no order of any callyng in the church.

Certain concluſions in the vniuerſitie of Paris to be diſputed of againſt the Fryers.

Beſide theſe articles aboue rehearſed, certeine propoſitions or concluſiōs were alſo propoūded in the ſcholes of Paris the ſame tyme, ſolemnly to be diſputed and defended agaynſt the friers: Whiche in a brief ſomme of wordes to collect, were theſe:

Firſt, that the beggyng friers were not in the ſtate of Saluation.

Secondly, that they were bound to labour with theyr handes that could, and not to begge.

Thyrdly, that they ought not to exerciſe the office of preachyng, or to heare the cōfeſſions of thē that wil come to them, although being licenſed therunto by the biſhop of Rome, or by the dioceſane: for ſomuch as the ſame is preiudicial to the miniſters and prieſts of the pariſhes.

Pope Alexander the 4. a great fauorer of the Friers.

All theſe foreſayd articles and concluſions, with the booke ſet forth by theſe Paris men: this pope Alexander the iiij. condemned to be aboliſhed and burned, wrytyng his preceptes to the Frēch kyng, and alſo the vniuerſitie of Paris, in the fauour of the friers: willyng and commaundyng the ſayd fryers to be reſtored to all their priuilegies & liberties, in as ample maner as in Pope Gregories tyme before.

An other geuen to the Friers by Pope Clement, 4.

Ex Clement Quidā temere.

Not long after Pope Alexander the iiij. folowed Clement the iiij. an. 1263 and ſate 3. yeares. Who alſo gaue the priuiledge to the friers, begynnyng: Quidam temere, &c. In whiche priuilege he condemneth them that ſay, that no man without licence of his Curate or miniſter, ought to cōfeſſe hym to the friers, or that a ſubiect ought to aſke licence of their miniſters ſo to do, whiche was agaynſt the canon, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus; made by pope Innocent the 3. before recited.

Pope Martin the 4. holdeth with curates againſt the Fryers.

After this Clement, agayne came pope Martine the iiij. an. 1281. who renewed agayn the canon. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus: in the behalf of the curates againſt ẏ friers.

Pope Boniface holdeth wyth the Fryers agayne. *Ex Clemēt, conſtit. Boniſ. Super cathedram.*

Then pope Boniface the viij. began to ſit. an. 1294. viij. yeares. ix. monethes. Who takyng ſide with the friers, gaue to them an other priuiledge, begynnyng: Super Cathedram, &c. In the whiche priuiledge he licenſeth the friers, that without licence of vicares of churches, they ſhall firſt preſent them ſelues to the prelates to be admitted: by whō if they be refuſed the ſecond tyme, then they vpon ſpecial authoritie of this Pope, ſhalbe priuileged: without either byſhop or curate, to preach, to bury, and to heare confeſſions who ſo euer will come to them, reuokyng all that was decreed by hys predeceſſors before to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Pope Benedict the xi. holdeth with prieſtes againſt the Friers. *Ex Clemēt.* conſtitut.

By this pope Boniface, a certaine Dominicke fryer was made cardinal named Nicholaus de Teruiſio, and after the death of Boniface, was made alſo pope. an. 1303. ſurnamed pope Benedictus xi. Who ſeyng the conſtitution of Boniface his predeceſſor to gender diſſenſion betwene the prieſtes and friers, made an other conſtitution, begynnyng: Inter cunctas, &c. reuokyng the conſtitution of Boniface his predeceſſor. Upon whiche conſtitutiō of pope Benedict, Ioannes Monachus, makyng a Gloſe, reuoked alſo his other Gloſe made vpon the conſtitution of Boniface before.

Ioan. monach. reuoketh hys gloſe.

Pope Clement the v. holdeth with the friers and repealeth the conſtitution of Benedict. *Ex Clement. dudum.*

Agayn, after this Benedictus the xi. folowed Pope Clement the v. an. 1335. and ſat ix. yeares. Who in his generall councell holden at Viēna, reuoked the conſtitutiō of Benedictus his predeceſſour, and renewed agayn the former decree of Boniface, by a new conſtitution of his, begynnyng: Dudum a Bonifacio. 8. &c. Whiche conſtitution moreouer was confirmed afterward by pope Ihon the xxij. an. 1316. whiche pope alſo cauſed Ioannes de Poliaco to recante.

Upon this variable diuerſitie of the popes (one diſſentyng and repugnyng from an other) roſe among the diuines and ſcholemen in vniuerſities great matter of contention, as wel in the vniuerſitie of Paris, as the vniuerſitie of Oxford about the beggyng friers, ſome holdyng one way, ſome an other way. But eſpecially v. principall opinions be noted of learned men, who then diſputyng agaynſt the friers, were condemned for heretickes, and their aſſertions reproued.

Fiue di opinio of learn men in age holding agaynſt th Fryers.

The firſt, was the opinion of them whiche defended, that the friers might not by the lycence of the Byſhop of Rome and of the prelates, preach in pariſhes, and heare confeſſiōs. And of this opiniō was Gulıel. de Sancto Amore, with his felowes, who as is ſayd, were condemned.

The 2. opinion. *Bernar ſuper ca Omnis vtriuſque.*

The ſecond opiniō was this, that friers, although not by their own autoritie, yet by priuiledge of the Pope and of ẏ byſhop, might preache & heare cōfeſſions in pariſhes, but yet not without licence of the pariſhe prieſts. Of this opinion was Bernardus gloſing vpon the canon, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, afore mentioned.

The 3. opinion, *Ioan. de Poliaco.*

The thyrd opinion was, that friers might preache and heare confeſſions, without licence of the pariſh prieſtes: but yet the ſayd pariſhners notwithſtādyng were bound, by the canon: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus: to repete the ſame ſins agayne, if they had no other, to their own proper curate: and of this opinion were many, as Godfridus de Fontibus: Henricus de Gandauo: Ioannes Monachus Cardin: Ioannes de Poliaco, whiche Ioannes de Poliaco, pope Ihon the xxii. cauſed openly in Paris, to recant and retract.

Ex libro fratris gelberti.

This Ioannes de Poliaco doctor of diuinitie in Paris, beyng complayned of by the friers for certaine articles or aſſertions, was ſent for to the Pope: where tyme and place being to hym aſſigned, he in ẏ audiēce of the Pope and of frierly Cardinals and other doctours, was ſtraitly examined of hys articles. To make the ſtory ſhort, he at length ſubmittyng hym ſelfe to the authoritie of the terrible ſee of Rome: was cauſed to recante hys aſſertions

tions openly at Paris. Hys aſſertions whiche hee dyd hold, were theſe.

¶ The 3. aſſertions of Ioannes de Poliaco, whiche he was cauſed by the Pope to recant at Paris.

Iohn de Poliaco cauſed to recant by Pope Iohn the 22.

His three aſſertiõs.

> Wherof the firſt was, they whiche were confeſſed to friers, although hauyng a generall licence to heare confeſſiõs: were bound to confeſſe agayne their ſinnes to their own pariſh prieſt, by the conſtitution. Omniutriuſque ſexus, &c.
>
> The ſecõd was, that the ſayd conſtitution, Omniutriuſque ſexus, ſtandyng in hys force, the pope could not make: but pariſhners were bound once a yeare, to confeſſe their ſinnes to their prieſt. For the doyng otherwiſe imporeth a contradiction in it ſelfe.
>
> The thyrd was, that the pope could not geue generall licence to heare confeſſions ſo, but that the pariſhners ſo confeſſed were bound to reiterate the ſame cõfeſſion made vnto his owne curate. Whiche he proued by theſe places of the canon law. 25. q. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Thoſe thynges whiche be generally ordeyned for publique vtilitie, ought not to bee altered by any chaunge &c. Item, The decrees of the ſacrat cannons, none ought to kepe more then the biſhop Apoſtolicall. &c. Ibidem. Item, to alter or to ordeyne any thynge agaynſt the decrees of the fathers, is not in the autoritie or power, no not of the Apoſtolicall ſee. Ibidem.

The 3. aſſertions of Iohn de Poliaco againſt the fryers. 25. q. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Contra ſtatuta patrũ condere

The fourth opinion was, that the friers by the licence of the pope and of byſhops, might lawfully heare confeſſions, and the people might be of thẽ confeſſed and abſolued. But yet notwithſtandyng, it was reaſon, conueniẽt, honeſt, and profitable, that once in the yeare they ſhould be confeſſed to their curates (although being confeſſed before to the friers) becauſe for the adminiſtration of Sacramentes, eſpecially at Eaſter. Of which opinion was Gulielmus de monte Landuno, Henricus de Gandauo alſo helde, not onely to be conuenient, but alſo that they were bounde ſo to doo.

The 4. opinion.

Gulielmus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo.

The fifte opinion was, that albeit the friers might at all tymes, and at Eaſter alſo, heare confeſſions as the curates did: yet it was better and more ſafe, at the tyme of Eaſter to confeſſe to the curates, then to the friers. And of this opinion was this our Armachanus, of whom we preſently now entreate.

The 5. opinion.

And thus haue ye, as in a briefe ſomme opened vnto you, what was the matter of contention betwene the friers and the churche men. What popes made with the friers. And what popes made agaynſt them. Moreouer what learned men diſputed agaynſt them in Paris, and other places and what were their opinions.

The matter of contention about the friers, ſtoode in foure points. Firſt preachyng without licẽce of curats. Second, in hearyng confeſſions. Thirde, in buryng. Fourth, in beggyng and takyng of the people.

¶ Popes that mainteyned the Fryers.			¶ Popes that mainteyned Curates.	
Were	Honorius.	3.	Innocentius.	3.
	Gregorius.	9.	Innocentius.	4.
	Alexander.	4.	Martinus.	4.
	Clemens.	4.	Benedictus.	11.
	Boniface.	8.		
	Clemens.	5.		

¶ The learned men that diſputed agaynſt the Friers.

Were
- Gulielmus de S. Amore.
- Bernardus ſuper capitulum Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus.
- Godfridus de Fontibus.
- Henricus de Gandauo.
- Gulielmus de Landuno.
- Ioãnes Monachus Cardini
- Ioannes de Poliaco.
- Armachanus. [illegible]

All theſe were condemned by the Popes, or els cauſed to recãt.

These conſiderations ⁊ circumſtancies hetherto premiſed, for the more openyng of this preſent cauſe of Armachanus ſuſteined agaynſt the idle beggerly ſectes of friers, in whom the reader may wel perceaue Antichriſt playnly reigning, and fighting againſt the church: Now remaineth, that as I haue before declared the trauayles and troubles of diuers godly learned men in the church ſtriuyng agaynſt the ſayd friers, continually from the time of Guliel de Amore, hetherto: So now it remaineth, that for ſomuch as this our Armachanus labouryng ⁊ in the ſame cauſe, ſuſteined the like cõflict with the ſame Antichriſt: we likewiſe collect and open hys reaſons and argumentes vttered in the conſiſtorie and in the audiẽce of the Pope himſelf, wherewith he mainteineth the true doctrine and cauſe of the church agaynſt the peſtiferous canker crepyng in, by theſe friers after ſubtile wayes of hypocriſie, to corrupte the ſincere ſimplicitie of Chriſtes holy fayth and perfect Teſtamẽt. The whiche reaſons ⁊ arguments of his, with the whole proceſſe of his doings: I thought good ⁊ expedient for the vtilitie of the church, more amplye and largely to diſcourſe and proſecute, for that I note in the ſectes, inſtitutiõs, and doctrine of theſe friers, ſuch ſubtile poyſon to lurke: more pernitious and hurtfull to the religion of Chriſte and ſoules of Chriſtians, then all men perauenture do conſider.

Ex libro cui titulus Defenſorium curatorum.

This Armachanus ioyning with the clergy of England, diſputed ⁊ contended wᵗ the Friers here of Englãd, an. 1358. about a double matter. Wherof the one was cõcerning confeſſion ⁊ other exchetes whyche the Friers encroched in pariſh churches againſt the Curates, and publique paſtors of churches. The other was cõcerning wilfull beggarye and pouertye, which the Friars then tooke vpon them, not vpon any neceſſitye beyng otherwyſe ſtrong inough to worke for their liuyng; but onely vpon a wylfull and affected profeſſion. For the which cauſe, the friars appealed him vp to the court of Rome. The occaſion whereof thus did riſe.

It befell, that Armachanus vpon certayne buſines comming vp to London, found there certaine Doctors diſputing and contending about the begging of Chriſt our ſauiour. Whereupon (he beyng greatly vrged and requeſted oft tymes therunto) at requeſt, made ſeuen or eight ſermons vnto the people at London, wherin he vttered. ix. concluſions. Whereof the firſt and principall concluſion was, touching the matter of the Friars priuiledgies, in hearing cõfeſſions. His concluſiõ was this.

First, that if a doubt or queſtion be moued for hearing confeſſions, which of two places is rather to be choſen: The pariſh church is to be preferred before ẏ church of the Friars. 1

Secondly, being demaunded whether is to be taken (to heare the confeſſion of the pariſhners the perſon, or the curate, or of the friar) It is to be ſayd, rather the perſon or the Curat. 2

Thirdly, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt in his humaine conuerſation was always poore, but not ẏ he loued pouerty, or coueted to be poore. 3

Fourthlye, that our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt dyd neuer beg, wylfully profeſſing to be poore. 4

Fiftly, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt did neuer teache wilfully to beg, or to profeſſe wilfull beggery. 5

The ſixt concluſion was, that Chriſt our Lorde dyd contrary, that mẽ ought not wilfully or purpoſely without meere neceſſity to beg. 6

Seuenthly, that there is neither wyſdome nor holynes, for any man to take vpon him wilfull beggery, perpetually to be obſerued. 7

The eight, that it is not agreeing to the rule of the Obſeruantes or Friars Minorites, to obſerue wylfull pouertie. 8

The laſt concluſion was, touching the bull of Pope Alexander the fourth, which condemned the libel of the maiſters of Paris: that the ſame bull teacheth none of theſe. vij. laſt concluſions. 9

Upon theſe. ix. concluſions premiſed,

Armachanus cited vp to the pope by the fryers.

being appealed cited, and brought vp to the preſence of the Pope: began to proue the ſame his foreſayd concluſions or aſſertions vnder proteſtation made, that his intention was not to affirme any thing contrarye to the chriſtian faith, or to the catholike doctrine, or that ſhould be preiudicial or deſtructiue to the orders of the begging friars, ſuch as were approued by holy church, or confirmed by the high biſhops: But onely his entẽtion was, to haue the ſayd orders reduced to the puritie of their firſt inſtitution. Concerning which matter, he deſired his reaſons to be heard, which if they ſhould be founde weaker then the reaſons of the friars, the puniſhment ſhould be his. If otherwyſe, ẏ then the Friars iuſtly to be rewarded, for theyr ſlaunderous obtrectation and publique contumelies, and iniurious dealings both priuatly and publikly wrought and ſought agaynſt him: And ſo taking for hys theame: Nolite iudicare ſecundum faciem, ſed iuſtum iudicium iudicate. &c. that is. Iudge not after the outwarde face, but iudge true iudgement. &c. Iohn.7. he entreth to the probation of his concluſions:

The proteſtation of Armachanus.

His theame.

Ioan. 7.

The firſt concluſion propoſed.

Probation.

1 Certaintie.

2 Vtilitie.

3 Commoditie.

Firſt beginning with the former concluſion, that the pariſh church was a place more fyt and cõuenient, for the confeſſions or burials of the pariſhners to be vſed, then any other exempt church or place of the Friars. Which he proued by three cauſes: Firſt, for the more ſurenes or certeintie to the conſciẽce of the pariſhner confeſſed. Secondly, for their more vtilitie & profit of him. Thirdly, for the leſſe incommoditie enſuing by confeſſions taken in pariſh churches, then in Friars churches.

The firſt part of the firſt concluſion confirmed.

Deut.12

Leuit.4.5.

As touching the firſt, for the more aſſurednes & certeintie, thus he argued vpon the place of Deut.xij. vnto that place, which the Lord your God ſhall aſſigne of all your tribes, to place hys name and dwell therein: thether ſhall you reſort, to offer vp your oblatiõs, tithes. &c
„ And in the ſame place God ſayth: Se thou offer not thy
„ ſacrifice in euery place that liketh thee: but in that place
„ alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the tribes, and
„ thou ſhalt do in all thynges as I commaund thee. Alſo
„ vpõ the wordes of Leuit. 4. and. 5. which be theſe. Whoſoeuer ſinneth of ignorance, ſhall offer to the prieſt, and he ſhall pray for him, and he ſhalbe forgeuen. &c. Vpon theſe places thus he argued: that forasmuch as the ſacramentes of the churche are to be frequented and vſed in no other place but onely in that, which by God himſelfe peculiarlye is aſſigned and commaunded for the ſame: And ſeyng that elect place in the law repreſẽteth the pariſh churches: neither can it bee proued that the Friars church is the place preſcribed of God, but onely permitted by biſhops of Rome: He concluded therfore, that pariſh churches for confeſſions & burials, were more ſure and certaine to the conſcience of the pariſhners, then the exempt places of the Friars.

The fyrſt part of the fyrſt concluſion, confirmed by an other reaſon,

By an other reaſon alſo he confirmed the ſame, for that the pariſh church commonly ſtãdeth free from the Popes interdict, ſo doo not the churches of the Friars. As which ſtande not ſo cleare, but that they are vnder ſuſpicion, and doubt of the popes interdict: by the Decretall. De ſepulturis in ſexto. cap. Animarum periculis. In which decretall, all ſuch conuentuall churches & churchyardes of Friers be interdicted, which doo induce anye perſon or perſons, eyther by othe or promiſe made, to chuſe their burying places in their churches, as commonly the Friars are reported to do. For els, what pariſhner would forſake his own church and pariſh where his auncitors do lye, to be buried among the Friers, if the Friars did not induce them ſo to do?

The ſecond part of the fyrſt concluſion confirmed.

Moreouer for the ſecond part, concerning the vtility of the place, that he confirmed doublewyſe. Firſt, for that confeſſion made within the pariſh churche, hath a double merite of obedience, both for obeying the commaundement of God in opening his confeſſion ¶ this he ſpeaketh according to the blindnes of that time, for that auriculare confeſſion hath any commaundement of God, cannot be proued) and alſo in obeying the commaundement of God in obſeruing the place by hym apoynted, the whiche ſecond merite of obedience lacketh in the Friers parte. Secondly, hee proued to be greater vtilitie for a Pariſhner to confeſſe him in his Pariſhe Churche, then with the Friers. Becauſe commonly the number of Chriſten people praying, is ten times more in pariſhe churches. Wherby is to be thought, that eche ſingular perſon may better be helped through moe praiers, then in the oratories of the friers. &c.

Another confirmation of the ſecond parte of the fyrſt article.

The third part of the fyrſt concluſion proued.

Farther as touching the third parte of the firſt concluſion or article he proued, that it had fewer incommodities to reſorte euery man to his pariſhe churche, then to the Fryers: for that bothe greater vtilitie, and more certentie (as hath been proued) did enſue thereof: which two being take awaye, (as muſte neede, in reſorting to the Friers church) then two ſpeciall cõmodities ſhould be hindered, and ſo great incommodities thereof ſhould follow. And thus much for the place of the Friers.

The 2. concluſion [illegible]

Now to the ſeconde concluſion or article touchinge the perſon of the Frier, and of the ordinarie curate. If the queſtion bee, whiche of theſe two is to be preferred in the office of eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration: the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinarie curate was better thẽ the extraordinarie Frier, and that for the thre foreſayd reſpectes, to witte, for certentie or aſſurance, for vtilitie, and for incommoditie to be auoyded.

3. reſpe or cauſe be pro

First that it is more ſafe and ſure for the paryſhners to reſorte to their ordinarie, or pariſh Prieſt, he argued by three reaſons: firſt becauſe the perſone of the lawefull ordinarie or prieſts is expreſſely of God commaunded, where the perſõ of the Frier is not, & therfore is forbyd. Secondly, becauſe the pariſhner maye more truſt to his ordinary curate, as who is more boũd & obliged to prouide and to be carefull for him, then any other extraordinarie perſon. Thirdly, becauſe in ẏ perſon of the ordynarye curate, commonly there is no doubte of anye interdict to bynde hym: whereas contrarye in the Fryers behalfe, there is good matter to doubt, whether he ſtand bound vnder the popes cenſure of excommunication, or not, and that for diuers cauſes, as by the cap. Religioſi, in Clementinis de decimis. Where it is decreed, that all ſuch religious men, which hauing no benefices nor cure of ſoule, preſume to improperate vnto them glebe land or other tithes dewe vnto churches, and not appertaynyng to them (by anye maner of coulour or fraudulent circumuention) do incurre the ſentence of excommunication, ipſo facto. Alſo by an other cap. Religioſi, De priuilegiis, in Clement. Where it is ſayd, that all ſuch religious men are excommunicated De facto, who ſo euer do abſolue any, agaynſt whom the ſentente of excommunication hath been denounced by ſtatute prouinciall, or ſynodall: as it is commonly ſaid, that the friers hearing mens confeſſions are accuſtomed to do, in looſing them whom the cenſure of Prelates, or their Officials haue bound. Wherof the ſayd Armachanus bryngeth foorth example of his owne dioces: For I (ſayde he) in myne owne dioces of Armachan, haue as good as two thouſand vnder me, who by the cenſure of excommunicatiõ euery yere, denounced agaynſt wylful murtherers, common theues, burners of mens houſes, and ſuch like malefactors, ſtand accurſed: Of all which nomber notwithſtãding, ſcarcely. 14. therbe, which come to me or to any about me for their abſolution. And yet all they receyue the ſacramentes as other do, and all becauſe they be abſoiled, or becauſe they fayne them ſelues to be abſoiled by none other then by the friars: who in ſo doing, are proued to be vnder the daunger of excommunication, both the Friars, and alſo the pariſhners, if they knowyng thereof do conſent to their errour.

Ca. Re ſi, Cle de deci

In Cle tinis de p uilegiis Religio

The fyr proued t be excom munica by the popes l

Alſo out of the ſayd Clementines, by three other places

ces in one chapter, he proued the friers to be excommunicate, to wyt in the chapt. Cupientes, De pænis in Clement. In the which chapter, Firſt, all ſuch religious mē are excommunicate, which in their ſermons preſume to withdraw their hearers from their tythes paying, dew vnto churches. Secondly, in the ſayd chapter all ſuche friars are ſuſpended from preaching, and ſo are excommunicate, which within a certayne tyme do not make a conſcion to ſuche as come to their confeſſions, in paying their tithes truly and dewly to the church. Thirdly, in the foreſayd chapter alſo, all ſuche religious perſons be bound in excommunication, which induce men by any maner of meanes, either by vowe, othe, or promiſe, to chuſe their burials wythin their churches, or not to chaunge the ſame, if they haue made any ſuch promyſe before. In all whych three poyntes, he proued the Friers to be culpable and excommunicate.

Moreouer, for the more ſurer way for the pariſhners to reſorte to their appointed curates, then to the fryers, he argued thus. For ẏ the pariſhe prieſt or curate beyng better acquainted with his owne pariſhener then is a ſtraunger, can better iudge of the nature and diſpoſitiō of his diſeaſe, and miniſter to him dew Phiſicke of penaunce for the ſame, and alſo wilbe more carefull in curyng hym.

Thus the firſt part of the ſecond concluſion or article being proued & argued, Armachanus procedeth farther to proue the ſecond part: that it is better for the pariſheners to leaue the friers, and to reſorte to their owne paſtors. Whiche he proued by eight or nyne reaſons.

Firſt, for that the ordinarie paſtor, is properly appointed of God vnto that miniſterie: wheras the frier, is but onely permitted of man therunto.

Secondly, for that in reſortyng to the ordinarie of the pariſh, is a double reward of merite, wheras in cōming to the friers there is but one.

Thirdly, becauſe the ordinarie is more bounde to hys owne flocke, and is to be thought to be more tender and carefull ouer them, then a ſtraunger.

Fourthly, becauſe to reſorte to the perſon of his owne ordinarie, there is more aſſuraunce and certaynty, (as is aboue declared) then to an other.

Fiftly, becauſe (as Innocentius, Cap. Si animarū, ſayth) the commyng to the curate or paſtor ordinarie, is more eaſy and light, both in the night and in neceſſitie.

Sixtlye, for ſo muche as the pariſhner muſte neede come to his curate at ſome tyme, and eſpecially beyng in neceſſitie: It is expedient and profitable, that his former life before were knowen to him, rather then to the other.

Seuenthlye, for that (as the ſayde Innocentius affirmeth) it ſtriketh more ſhame of his ſynne to the pariſhener to be confeſſed to his curate whō he ſeeth euery day, then to a frier vnknowen.

Eightlye, becauſe it is more profitable eſpeciallye for them that lyue in matrimonie, that he whiche heareth the confeſſion of the one, ſhould heare alſo the confeſſion of the other. So that one hearyng the confeſſion of them both as a ſpiritual Phiſiciā takyng ij. cures in one body, may better know what ſpirituall counſaile is to be miniſtred to the one, after he hath cured the other. &c.

These things thus proued before, then Armachanus conſequently procedeth to the third part: Arguyng, how that greater detrimentes and inconueniencies do enſue by confeſſions, burials, and other eccleſiaſticall functiōs exerciſed by the friers, then by paſtors and ſecular curates, ſeruyng in pariſhes. About the which matter, the ſayd Armachanus learnedlye and worthely inferreth a long diſcourſe, prouyng and inferryng how pernicious theſe orders of friers are to the whole ſtate of ẏ churche: And what miſchief cōmeth by ẏ priuiledgies of certaine popes, which haue priuiledged them to intermedle in the office and function of eccleſiaſticall miniſters, to preach, and to take almos and tythes of the people, and improperations from the churche. All whiche his reaſons and argumentes to proſecute in order as he haths left them in writyng, it would make a matter of a large booke, Notwithſtandyng, becauſe it ſhall not bee vnfruitefull both for the tyme preſent and the poſteritie, to know the manifold detrimentes and diſcommodities receaued by theſe friers, and to knowe what benefite God hath done for vs in vnburdenyng the churche of this monſtruous generation: And eſpecially becauſe the booke of Armachanus is rare otherwiſe to be founde, intituled, Defenſorium Curatorum: I haue briefely therfore contracted out of the ſame, certeine of his reaſons, ſuch as ſemed moſt apperteinyng and moſt worthy of notyng.

Defenſorium Curatorū Armachani.

And firſt, alledgyng the autoritie of Innocent the 4: He importeth foure inconueniences riſing by the friers, which be theſe: Contempt of the people agaynſt their ordinaries, decreaſing of deuotion, taking away of ſhame from the people by confeſſing to the friers, deteining of oblations ſuch as the people are wont to geue at their confeſſion and burials, and which by right belong to the pariſh churches.

Cap. dudum.

Item, by the ſayd priuiledgies of the Popes grauted to the friers, many other great enormities do riſe. As firſt becauſe therby, the true ſhepherdes do not know the faces of their flocke.

The harmes that come to the world by the friers, declared.

Item, by the occaſion of theſe priuiledgies geuē to the friers, great contention, and ſome tymes blows riſe betwene the friers and ſeculare curates, about tythes, improperations, and other auayles.

Item, by the occaſion of the foreſaid priuiledgies, diuers yong mē as well in vniuerſities as in their fathers houſes, are allured craftly by the friers their cōfeſſours, to enter their orders: From whence afterward, they can not get out thoughe they would, to the great grief of their parentes, and no leſſe repentaunce to the yong mē them ſelues. The example wherof, Armachanus in the ſaid his treatiſe inferreth, of a certein ſubſtantiall Engliſh man beyng with hym at his Inne in Rome: who hauyng a ſonne at the vniuerſitie of Oxford, whiche was entiſed by the friers to enter into their order, could by no meanes after releaſe him out. But when his father and his mother would come to hym, they could not be ſuffered to ſpeake wͭ him, but vnder the friers cuſtody. Wher as the Scripture commaūdeth plainly, that who ſo ſtealeth any man & ſelleth him (beyng therof conuicted) ſhal be put to death. Exod. 21. And for the ſame cauſe, the father was compelled to come vp to Rome to ſeake remedy for his ſonne. And thus ſaith Armachanus, it may appeare what damage and detrimentes come, by theſe friers vnto the common people.

Example of the friers theft in Oxford.

And no leſſe inconuenience and daunger alſo by the ſaid friers, riſeth to the clergie: For ſo much, as lay men ſeyng their children thus to bee ſtollen from them in the vniuerſities by the friers, do refuſe therfore to ſēd them to their ſtudies: Rather willing to kepe them at home to their occupation or to folow the plough, then ſo to be circumuented and defeated of their ſonnes at the vniuerſitie, as by dayly experience (ſayth he) doth manifeſtly appeare. For where as in my tyme (ſayth Armachanus) there were in the vniuerſitie of Oxford xxx. thouſand ſtudentes: now are there not to be found vi. thouſand. The occaſion of whiche ſo great decay, is to be aſcribed to no other cauſe, but to this circumuētion onely of the friers aboue mentioned.

Friers hinderers of Vniuerſities.

30. thouſand ſtudents in Oxford, in the tyme of Armachanus.

Ouer & beſides this, an other inconuenience as great or greater, the ſayd Armachanus inferred to procede by the friers, through the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all maner faculties and liberall ſciences, whiche thus he declared. For that theſe begging friers through their priuiledgies obteined of the popes, to preach, to heare cōfeſſions, and to bury: and through their charters of improperations, did grow therby to ſuch great riches and poſſeſſions by their beggyng, crauyng, catching, and intermedling in church matters, that no booke could ſtirre of any ſcience, either of Diuinitie, lawe, or Phiſicke, but

The Friers a great cauſe of decay of learnyng.

they were both able and ready to bye it vp. So that euery couent hauyng a great librarie full ſtuffed and furniſhed with all ſortes of bookes, & beyng ſo many couents within the realme, and in euery couent ſo many fryers increaſing dayly more & more: by reaſon, therof it came to paſſe, that very few bookes or none at all remaine for other ſtudentes. Whiche by his owne experience he thus teſtifieth, ſaying: that he hym ſelfe ſent forth to the vniuerſitie foure of his owne prieſtes or chappelens, who ſendyng hym word agayn that they could neyther finde the Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of diuinitie meete for their ſtudye, therfore were minded to returne home to their coũtry: and one of them, he was ſure, was returned by this tyme agayne.

Bookes not to be gotten for the fryers.

Example what lacke of bokes commeth by the fryers

Furthermore as he hath proued hetherto, the Friers to be hurtfull both to the laity, and to the clergy: ſo procedyng farther, he proueth thẽ to be hurtfull alſo to them ſelues. And that in 3. pointes, as incurring the vice of diſobedience agaynſt God, agaynſt their owne rule: The vice of auarice: And the vice of pride. The probation of all whiche poyntes, he proſecuted in a long diſcourſe.

The fryers giltie in 3 faultes
1. Diſobedience
2. Auarice.
3. Pryde.

Firſt (ſayth he) they are diſobediẽt to the law of God: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neyghbours houſe, Oxe, nor Aſſe, nor any thing that is his. In that they procure the popes letters to preach in churches, and to take burials from churches, wyth licence annexed withall to receaue the auayles which riſe of the ſame, whych properlye belongeth to the ryght of pariſh prieſtes.

Armachanus chargeth the Fryers with diſobedience.

Item, they are diſobedient to thys rule of the goſpell: So do to other, as thou would haue done to thee.

Item, they bee diſobedient agaynſt their owne rule, which beyng founded vpon ſtraight pouertie and beggery, thys liſence obtained for them to require neceſſaries for their labour, of the people, is repugning agaynſt the ſame foundation.

Item, they be diſobedient to the rule of the ſcripture, which ſaith: let no man take honour vnto him, except he be called, as Aaron. Alſo ſayth S. Paule, how ſhall they preache, vnleſſe they be ſent? And how obſerue they thys rule of obedience, who profeſſing to keepe the perfectiõ of the Goſpell, yet contrarye to the Goſpell, procure to themſelues priuiledgies to run before they be ſent?

Friers diſobedient to the rule of Scripture.

Item, to their own rule they are diſobediẽt: For wher their chapter ſayth, that if any will take vpon them this order, and wyll come to our brethren: let our brethren fyrſt ſend them to the prouincials to be examined of the catholike fayth and ſacramentes of the church. &c. Contrary wherunto the Friers haue procured a priuiledge, that not onely the prouincials, but other inferiours alſo may take vnto them indifferently, whom they can catch: ſo far without all examination, that almoſt at thys daye there is no notable houſe of Friars, wherein is not eyther a whole, or halfe a couent of lads, and boyes vnder ten yeare olde, beyng circumuented, which neyther can ſkyll of the Crede nor Sacramentes.

Agayne, the rule of Franciſe ſayth: that his brethren Obſeruantes, muſt obſerue not to preache in the dioceſſe of any biſhop, wythout the conſent of the Biſhop. And moreouer the ſayd Franciſe in hys teſtament ſayth: that if he had as muche wyſdome as Salomon, and founde poore ſecular prieſtes in the pariſhes where they dwel: yet he would not preſume to preach wythout theyr wyl, and alſo would feare, loue, and honour them, & all other as his maiſters, and ſo they be. Hęc ille. Agaynſt whych rule, how the Friars do diſobey, how litle they reuerẽce biſhops or ſecular prieſtes: what priuilegies, exemptions, and immunities they procure agaynſte them, the world may ſee and iudge.

Friers diſobedient to their own profeſſiõ.

Item, when none maye be admitted to preache, or to heare confeſſions, vnles they be entred into orders: and ſeyng by the common law of the churche, none muſt be admitted into holy orders, except he haue ſufficient title of liuing and clothyng: The friars therefore hauyng no ſuch title (being wylfull beggers) do diſobey in both reſpectes, that is, both in entryng into ſuch orders wythout conuenient title, and in exerciſyng the office of preaching without ſuch lawful ordere.

Moreouer, the foreſayd Franciſe in his teſtament commaundeth thus: I commaund (ſayth he) firmly by vertue of obedience, to all and ſyngular my brethren whereſoeuer they be: that none of them preſume to obtayne in the court of Rome any letter or wryting, eyther by hym ſelfe or by any other meanes, neyther for the churche nor for any other place, nor vnder any coulour of preaching, nor yet for the perſecuting of their own bodies. &c. Agaynſt which teſtament of Franciſe, the Franciſcans in procuring their priuiledgies from the biſhop of Rome, haue incurred manifeſt diſobedience, as all the worlde may ſee. Neyther wyll thys obiection ſerue them, becauſe the Pope hath diſpenſed with Franciſe rule. For if the teſtament of Franciſe as he ſaith came from God, (and ſo ſhould God haue three teſtamentes) howe then can the Pope repeale hys precept, or diſpenſe with hys rule, when by the rule of the lawe, Par in parem non habet imperium.

Secondly, concerning the vice of auarice, manifeſtly it may be proued vpõ thẽ (ſayth Armachanus) for els, ſeing ſo many charges belong to the office of a ſecular pariſhe prieſte, as to miniſter the ſacrament at Eaſter, to viſyte the ſycke with extreme vnction, to baptiſe chyldren, to wed, with ſuch other wherin ſtandeth as great deuotiõ: how thẽ happeneth that theſe Friars making no labour for theſe, onelye procure to themſelues priuiledgies to preach in churches, to heare confeſſions, and to receaue liſence to bury from pariſh churches: but becauſe ther is lucre & gain in theſe to be loked for, in the other is none.

Armach nus cha geth the friers w auarice,

Which alſo may appeare by this: for otherwiſe if it wer for mere deuotion onely, that they procure liſence to bury from pariſh churches, and to preache: why then haue they procured withall, liſence to take offeringes and oblations and legacies for their funerals. And for their preaching, why haue they annexed alſo liſence to require and take of the people neceſſaries for theyr labour, but that onely auarice is the cauſe thereof.

An oth proofe.

Lykewyſe, for hearing of confeſſions: when all good men haue ynough to know theyr owne faultes, and nothing lyſt to heare the faultes of other: It is probably to be ſuppoſed by this their priuiledge of hearing all mens confeſſions, that they would neuer haue bene ſo deſirous of procuring that priuilege, were it not that theſe friers did fele ſome ſweetenes & gayn to hang vpon the ſame.

An oth proofe.

Item, where the rule of friar Francis forbiddeth them to companye with anye women, to enter into monaſteries, to bee Godfathers and Goſſyps to men and women: how cõmeth it, that they contrary to their rule, enter into the ſecret chambers of Queenes and other women, and made to knowe the moſt ſecrete counſayles of theyr doinges, but that auarice and commoditie haue ſo blynded theyr eyes, and ſtyrred theyr hartes.

An oth proofe.

Thirdly, that the friers fall into the vice of pride and ambition, the ſayd Armachanus proued thus.

Armach nus ch geth th friers pryde.

To ſeeke or to procure any high place in the church, is a poynt of pride and ambition. Chriſoſt. in opere perfecto: Nunquam ſine ambitione deſideratur primatus in eccleſia.

The friars ſeke & procure a high place in the church.
Ergo the Friers be proud and ambitious.

The Minor he proueth: To haue the ſtate of prechyng and hearing confeſſions, is in the church a ſtate of honor.

The friers ſeeke and haue procured the ſtate of preaching and hearing confeſſions.
Ergo the friers ſeeke and procure an high place in the church. &c.

His thyrd cõcluſion was, that the Lord Chriſt in his humane conuerſation was alwayes poore, not for that he loued or deſired pouertie for it ſelf. &c. Wherin this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not from the Friers in this that Chriſt was poore, & that he loueth pouertie: but herein ſtoode the difference, in maner of louyng, ẏ is whether he loued pouertie for it ſelfe, or not. Wherin the foreſayd Armachanus vſed iiij. probations.

The iii clusion articl

Firſt, forſo much as to be poore, is nothyng els but to be miſerable: and ſeyng no man coueteth to be in miſerie for it ſelfe: Therfore he concluded, that Chriſt deſired not pouertie for it ſelfe.

His ſeconde reaſon was deriued out of Ariſtotle. Nothyng (ſayth he) is to bee loued for it ſelfe, but that from which (all commodities beyng ſecluded, whiche folowe therupon) is voluntarely ſought and deſyred. But take from pouertie all reſpecte of commodities folowyng the ſame, it would bee ſought neyther of God nor man. Ergo he concluded, Chriſt loued not pouertie for it ſelfe.

Ariſ this

Third, Again: No effect of ſinne, ſayd he, is to be loued for it ſelfe. But pouertie is the effect of ſinne. Ergo pouertie was not loued of Chriſt for it ſelfe.

Fourth, Item, no priuation of the thyng that is good, is to be loued for it ſelfe. Pouertie is the priuation of the thyng that is good, that is of ryches (for God hym ſelfe is principally riche:) Ergo pouertie for it ſelfe was not loued of Chriſt.

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e fryers.

The fourth concluſion was, that Chriſt our Lorde ⁊ ſauiour did neuer begge wilfully. Whiche he proued by ſondry reaſons.

1 Firſt, for that Chriſt in ſo doyng ſhould breake the law, whiche ſayth: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours houſe, his wife, his ſeruaunt, his mayd, his oxe, his aſſe, or any thing ẏ is his. Exod.20. In the daunger of which commaundement, he that beggeth voluntarely muſte nedes incurre.

2 Item, if Chriſt had begged volũtarely, he ſhould haue committed agaynſt an other commaundement, whiche ſayth. There ſhalbe no begger, nor nedy perſon among you. ⁊c. Deut. vi.

3 Item, Chriſt in ſo doyng ſhould haue tranſgreſſed the Emperours law, vnder whiche he would hym ſelfe be ſubiect (as appeareth by geuyng, and byddyng tribute to be geuen to Ceſar) for aſmuch as the ſame Emperours law ſayth. There ſhall no valiaunt begger bee ſuffered in the Citie.

4 Itẽ, if Chriſt had been a wilfull beggar, he had broke the law of louyng his neighbour: whom he had vexed, hauyng no nede. For who ſo without nede aſketh or craueth of his neighbour, doth but vexe him, in ſuch ſorte as he would not be vexed hym ſelfe. Whiche Chriſt would neuer do.

5 Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had moued ſlaunder therby to his owne Goſpell, whiche he with miracles did confirm. For thẽ they that ſaw his miracle in fedyng 5000. in wildernes, wuld haue thought much wͭ thẽſelues how that miracle had béen wrought, if he in fedyng other, either could not, or would not fede hym ſelf.

6 Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, then he had done that whiche hym ſelfe condemneth by Paule: for ſo we read. 1. Timo. 6. That Paul condemneth them, whiche eſteme pietie to be gayne and lucre. Which all they do ẏ vnder the colour of pietie, hunte or ſeke for gayne, when otherwiſe they neede not.

7 Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had offended in declareing an vntruth, in ſo doyng. For he ẏ knoweth in his minde, that he nedeth not in dede that thyng whiche in worde he aſketh of other: Declareth in him ſelf an vntruth, as who in worde pretendeth to be otherwiſe then he is in very dede, which Chriſt without doubt neuer did nor would euer do.

8 Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, that is, hauyng no true nede therunto: then had he appeared either to be an hypocrite, ſeming to be that he was not, and to lacke when he did not: or els to be a true begger in very dede, not able to ſuffice his neceſſitie. For he is a true begger in dede, which beyng conſtrained by meere neceſſitie, is forced to aſke of other that whiche he is not able to gyue to hym ſelfe. But neither of theſe ẏ agréeth in Chriſt.

9 Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, thẽ why did Peter rebuke the mother of S. Clement his diſciple, finding her to ſtand amõg the beggers, whom he thought to be ſtrong enough to labour with her hands for her liuyng: If ſhe in ſo doing had folowed the example of Chriſt?

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10 Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully: And if the friers do rightly define perfection of the Goſpell by wilfull pouertie: then was Clement S. Peters ſucceſſor to blame, which laboured ſo much to remoue away beggerie and pouertie from amõg al thẽ, ẏ were conuerted to the faith of Chriſte: and is ſpecially for the ſame commended of the Churche?

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11 Agayne, why did the ſayd Clement, writing to James byſhop of Hieruſalem, commaunde ſo much to obey the doctrine and exãples of the Apoſtles: who as he ſheweth in that Epiſtle, had no beggar nor nedy perſon amongſt them, If chriſtian perfection (by the Friers Philoſophie) ſtandeth in wilfull beggery?

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12 Item, if Chriſt the highe prieſt had begged wilfully, then did holy churche erre wittyngly, whiche ordeyned that none without ſufficient title of liuing and clothing, ſhould be admitted to holy orders. And moreouer, when it is ſayd in ẏ canonicall decrées, that ẏ byſhop or clerke that beggeth, bryngeth ſhame vpon the whole order of the clergy.

13 Item, if Chriſt had wilfully begged, then the example of wilfull pouertie had pertayned to the perfection of Chriſtian lyfe, which is contrary to the olde law: which commaundeth the prieſtes (which liued then after ẏ perfection of the law) to haue poſſeſſions and tythes, to kepe them from beggerie.

14 Item, if Chriſt did wilfully beg, then beggery were a point of Chriſtian perfection. And ſo the church of God ſhould erre, in admitting ſuch patrimonies and donations geuen to the church, and ſo in taking from the prelates their perfection.

15 Agayne, what will theſe friers which put their perfection in begging, ſaye to Melchiſedech: who without begging or wilfull pouertie, was the high prieſt of god, and king of Salem, and prefigured the order and prieſthoode of Chriſt?

16 And, if beggerye be ſuch a perfection of the Goſpell (as the friers ſay) how commeth it, that the holy ghoſt geuen to the Apoſtles, which ſhoulde lead them into all truth: tolde them no worde of thys beggerly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned therof through the whole Teſtament of God.

17 Moreouer, where ẏ prophet ſayth, I neuer did ſee the iuſt mã forſaken, nor hys ſeede go begging their bread: How ſtãdeth this wͭ the iuſtice of chriſt, which was moſt perfectlye iuſte, if he ſhould be forſaken, or his ſeede goe begge their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abhominable doctrine of fryers Franciſcan, which put their perfection in wilfull begging?

18 Fynally, doe we not read that Chriſt ſent his Diſciples to preach without ſcrippe or wallet, and byd them ſalute no man by the waye? Meaning that they ſhould begge nothing of no mã? Dyd not the ſame Chriſt alſo, labour with his handes, vnder Joſeph? Saint Paule likewyſe dyd he not labour wͭ his handes, rather then he woulde burden the church of ẏ Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friers, which putteth ſtate of perfection in wilfull begging.

The 5. concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the Friers.

The fifth concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the friers was this: that Chriſt neuer taught any man wilfully to begge, which he proued thus. It is written Act. 1. Chriſt began to do ⁊ to teach. If Chriſt therfore, which did neuer wilfully begge himſelfe, as hath been proued, had taught men otherwiſe to do, then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, if Chriſt which neuer begged himſelf wilfully, had taught mẽ this doctrine of wilfull begging contrary to his owne doing: he had geuen ſuſpition of his doctrine, and miniſtred ſlaunder of the ſame, as hath been proued in the fourth concluſion before.

Moreouer in ſo teaching, he had taught contrary to ẏ Emperours iuſt law, which expreſly forbiddeth ẏ ſame.

The 6. concluſion of Armachanus againſt the fryers.

The ſixt concluſion of Armachanus againſt the friers was, ẏ our Lord Jeſus Chriſt teacheth vs, ẏ we ſhould not begge wilfully, which he proueth by 7. or 8. reaſons.

Fyrſt, where it is written Luke. 14. When thou makeſt a feaſt, call the poore, weake, lame, and blinde: and thou ſhalt be bleſſed, for they haue not wherwith to rewarde thee agayne.

To this alſo pertayneth the decree of the Apoſtle, 2. Theſ. 3. He that wyl not worke, let hym not eate. Furthermore the ſame Apoſtle addeth in ẏ ſame place: For you haue vs for example, howe we were burdenous to no man, neither dyd we eate our bread freely, but wyth labour and wearynes toylyng both day and night, and all becauſe we would not burden you.&c.

4 Item, wher we rede in the ſcripture, the ſlothful mã reprehended, Prou. 6. Why ſleepeſt thou O ſluggard, thy pouerty and beggery is comming vpon thee like an armed man.&c. And agayne in the ſame booke of Prouerbs. The ſlouthfull man (ſayth the ſcripture) for colde would not go to the plough: therefore hee ſhall begge in ſommer, and no man ſhall geue hym.&c. Alſo in the ſaid booke of Prouerb. laſt chap. The diligent laboryng woman is commended, whoſe fingers are exerciſed about the rocke and ſpindle. And all theſe places make againſt the wylfull beggyng of ſturdy Friers.

5 Item, friar Frances their own founder in hys own teſtament ſayth: And I haue laboured wyth myne own handes, and will labour, and wil that all my fryerlings ſhall labour and lyue of their labour, wherby they may ſupport themſelues in an honeſt meane. And they that can not worke, let them learne to worke, not for any couetouſnes to receaue for their labour, but for exãple of good workes, and to auoide idlenes. And when the price of their labour is not geuẽ them, let them reſorte to the Lordes table, & aſke theyr almes from dore to dore.&c. Thus much in his teſtament. And in hys rule he ſayth: Such brethren to whom the Lord hath geuen the gift to labour, let them labour faythfullye and deuoutlye.&c. Wherfore it is to be marueyled, howe theſe friars with their wylful begging, dare trãſgreſſe the rule & obediẽce of friar Francis their great graundfathers teſtamẽt.

The rule of frier Fraunces.

6 Item, if Chriſt at anye tyme dyd beg or dyd lacke, it was more becauſe he woulde vſe a miracle in his owne perſon, then becauſe he would beg wylfully: as when he ſent Peter to the ſea to fynde a groat in ye fiſhes mouth. Whych thyng yet he thought rather to doo, then to beg the groat of the people, which he might ſoone haue obtayned.

7 Item, by diuers other hys examples hee ſeemeth to teache the ſame, as where he ſayth: The woorkeman is worthy of hys hier. Alſo, the workeman is worthy of his meate. Math. x. Luke. x. And when he ſpake to Zachee, that he would turne into hys houſe. And ſo lykewyſe in Bethanie & all other places he euer vſed rather to burden hys frendes then to beg of other, vnaquaynted.

8 Item, with playne precept thus he ſendeth forth hys diſciples, wyllyng them not to go from houſe to houſe, Luke. x. ſo as Friers vſe now to go. Manye other ſcriptures there be, which reproue beggyng: as where it is ſayde, The foote of a foole is ſwyft to the houſe of hys neyghbour. Eccle. 29. And in an other place: My chylde ſayth he, ſee thou want not in the tyme of thy life, for better it is to dye, then to lacke. Ecclesiaſt. 21.

9 Item, where Chriſt counſaylyng the yong man, bad him go and ſell that he had and geue to the poore, and folow him if he would be perfect: doth not there cal him to wylfull beggyng, but calleth hym, to followe hym, whych dyd not beg wylfully.

The ſeuenth concluſion of Armachanus againſt the friers.

The ſeuenth concluſion of Armachanus is: that no wyſe nor true holy man can take vpon hym wylfull pouerty to be obſerued alwayes, which he proued by. iiij. reaſons.

1 Firſt, that wylfull beggerye was reproued both by the doctrine of Chriſt and of the Apoſtles, as in the concluſion before hath bene declared.

2 Item, a man in takyng vpon hym wylfull beggery, in ſo doyng ſhoulde leade hym ſelfe into temptation, which were agaynſt the Lordes prayer. For as muche as Salomon Prouerb. 30. ſayth: O Lord, beggerye and great riches geue me not, but onely ſufficiencye to lyue vpon: leaſt if I haue to much, I be driuen to deny thee, and ſay: who is the Lorde. Agayne, if I haue to litle, I be forced thereby to ſteale, and to periure the name of my God. Wherfore ſayth Eccleſiaſt. 27. For nede many haue offended. And therefore they that chuſe wylfull pouerty, taketh to hym great occaſion of temptation.

Wilfull beggery not to be promiſed.

3 Item, they that take wyllfull pouertye vpon them when they neede not, induce them ſelues voluntarely to breake the commaundement of God: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours houſe.&c. Againe, where it is commaunded, there ſhalbe no beggar among you.&c.

4 Item, he that taketh vpon hym nedeles & wylfully to beg, maketh hymſelfe vnapt to receaue holy orders, hauyng (as is ſayd) no ſufficient title thereunto, according to the lawes of the church.

The eight concluſion of this matter: That it is not agreyng to the rule of the Friers obſeruant, to obſerue wilfull beggerie. Which (ſayth he) may be proued, for that Frier Francis, both in his rule and in hys Teſtament beyng left to hys Franciſcans, doth playnly preferre labour before beggyng.

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Armacha-
nus agai
the Frier

The nynth & laſt concluſion of this matter is. That the Bull of pope Alexander the iiij. which condemneth ye booke of the maſters of Paris, impugneth none of theſe cõcluſiõs premiſed. For ye profe therof, he thus inferred.

1. Firſt, that Pope Ihon the xxiiij. in his conſtitution, beginning thus: Quia quorũdam, affirmeth expreſly, how Pope Nicolas the third, reuoked and called backe ye ſaid Bulle of pope Alexander the iiij. and all other wrytyngs of his: touchyng all ſuch articles, which in the ſame foreſayd cõſtitution of this pope Ihon be conteyned, & declared. Wherin alſo is declared how ſtraite the pouertie of the Friers ought to be, which they call wilfull pouertie.

2. Item, it is manifeſt and notorious to all men, how ye ſayd Pope Nicholas the iij. in hys declaration ſheweth, how the Friers both ought to labour with theyr hands, and how moreouer the ſaid Friers ought not to preach within the dioces of any biſhop, wherſoeuer they be reſiſted. Which being ſo, the concluſion appeareth, yt the bul of Pope Alexander the iiij. as touchyng theſe articles, is voyde and of none effect. Beſide the which articles, there is nothyng els in ye ſaid Bulle of Alexander (that I remẽber) whiche impugneth any of theſe cõcluſions premiſed.

The 9.
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Many thyngs mo (ſaid he) I had beſide theſe, both to obiect & to anſwere agayne to the ſame: & to confirme more ſurely and firmely theſe my reaſons and aſſertions premiſed. But I haue already to much weryed your holynes, and your reuerend Lordſhyps here preſent. Wherfore I conclude, and humbly and deuoutly beſeche you, accordyng to my former petition premiſed in the begynnyng of this matter: that you iudge not after the outward face, but iudge ye true iudgement. Ioan. 7. Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus Defenſorium Curatorum.

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Notes to be obſerued in this former Oration of Armachanus.

By this Oration of Armachanus the learned prelate, thus made before pope Innocent and hys cardinals: diuers and ſondry thynges there be for the vtilitie of the church, worthy to be obſerued. Firſt, what troubles and vexations came to the churche of Chriſt by theſe Friers. Alſo what perſecution folowed after, by the meanes of them, agaynſt ſo many learned men, and true ſeruauntes of Chriſt. Farthermore, what repugnance and contrarietie was among the popes, and how they could not agree among them ſelues about the Friers. Fourthly, what peſtiferous doctrine, ſubuerting wel neare the Teſtamẽt of Ieſus Chriſt. Fiftly, what decay of miniſters in Chriſtes church, as appeareth pag. 507. Sixtly, what robbyng and circumuenting of mens children, as appeareth pag. 507. Seuently, what decaye of vniuerſities, as appeareth by Oxford. pag. 507. Eightly, what damage to learnyng, & lacke of bookes to ſtudentes came by theſe Friers as appeareth pag. 508. Ninthly, to what pride vnder colour of feyned humilitie: to what riches, vnder diſſimuled pouertie, they grewe vnto, here is to be ſeen. In ſo muche, that at lengthe through their ſubtile, and moſt dangerous hypocriſie: they crept vp to be Lordes, Archbiſhops, Cardinals and at laſt popes alſo, chaũcelors of realmes, yea and of moſt ſecret counſaile with kynges and quenes, as appeareth pag. 508.

Notes to
obſeru
Cõtra
among
popes.

All theſe thynges well conſidered, now remayneth in the church to be marked: that forſomuch as theſe Friers (with their new found teſtament of Frier Frauncis) not beyng contented with the teſtament of God in his ſonne Chriſt, began to ſpryng the ſame tyme, when as Satan was propheſied to be let looſe, by the order of the Scripture: whether therfore it is to be doubted, that theſe Friers make vp the body of Antichriſt, which is prophecied to come in the churche, or not: ſo much more to be doubted, becauſe who ſo lyſt to try, ſhal finde, that of all other enemyes of Chriſt, of whō ſome be manifeſt, ſome be priuie, all be together cruel: yet is there no ſuch ſorte of enemyes whiche more ſleightly deceaueth the ſimple Chriſtian, or more deepely drowneth hym in damnation, then doth this doctrine of the Friers.

hether e friers ake vp e body Anti hriſt or o.

But of this Oration of Armachanus enough. Which Oration what ſucceſſe it had with the pope, by ſtory it is not certein. By his own lyfe declared, it appeareth, that the Lord ſo wrought, that his enemies did not triumphe ouer hym. Notwithſtādyng, this by ſtory appeareth, that he was vij. or viij. yeares in baniſhmēt for the ſame matter, & there dyed in the ſame at Auinion. Of whom a certeine Cardinall hearyng of hys death openly proteſted, that the ſame day, a myghty pyller of Chriſtes churche was fallen.

e death godly macha. s.

he teſti onie of a rdinall on Armachanus.

After the death of Armachanus, the Friers had contētion lykewiſe wͭ the monks of Benedictes order, about yͤ ſame yere. 1360. & ſo remoued their cauſe both agaynſt the monkes and againſt the vniuerſitie of Oxford, vnto the court of Rome, wherein ſayth the autor, they lacked an other Richard. Ex Botonero. By thys appeareth to be true, whiche is teſtified in the fyrſte tome of VVald. that long debate continued betwene the Friers and the vniuerſity of Oxford: Agaynſt whom fyrſt ſtoode Robert Groſtede Biſhop of Lincolne, aboue mencioned: Thē Seuallus of Yorke. Afterward Ioannes Bachothorp, and now thys Armachanus, of whom here preſently we do entreate, And after him agayne John Wyckleffe, of whom (Chriſt wyllyng) we wil ſpeak hereafter. Ex vvaldeno Agaynſt thys foreſayd Armachanus wrot diuers friars, Roger Conewey a Franciſcan, John Heyldeſham Carmelite, Galfridus Hardeby frier Auguſtine. Alſo Frier Engelbert a Dominican, in his booke intituled, Defenſorum priuilegiorum, and diuers other. I credibly heare of certayne old Iriſh Bibles tranſlated long ſynce into the Iryſh tong, which if it be true, it is not other lyke, but to be the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of thys learned prelate and Archbiſhop of Ireland, a man worthy for hys Chriſtian zeale, of immortall commendation.

chron. Ri. d, 2.

ers a. nſt the uerſitie Oxford.

gliſh iters a. nſt the ers.

rs that yte a. nſt Armachanus.

ified ertayne liſhmē ch are ayne haue it.

After the death of this Innocent, next was poped in the ſee of Rome pope Vrbane the fyft: who by the fathers ſyde was an Engliſh man. This Vrbane had ben a long waiter in the court of Rome: and when he ſawe no promotion would light vpon hym, complaynyng to a certaine friend of his, made to him his mone, ſaying: That he thought verely, if all the churches of the world ſhould fall, yet none would fall vpō his head. The which frende after ſeing him to be pope, and inthroniſed in his thréefold crowne, commeth to him, and putting hym in remembraunce of his wordes to him before ſayth: that where his holynes had moned his fortune to him, that if al the churches in the world would fall, none would fall vpon his head: Nowe (ſayth he) God hath otherwyſe ſo diſpoſed, that all the churches in the world are fallen vpon your heade. &c.

e Vr. 5 60.

ane cō. eth no pro ion ldfall n hym.

nſwer pe to ane be made.

This pope mayntained and kindled great warres in Italy, ſending Egidius his Cardinall and Legate, and after him Arduinus a Burgundian his legate & Abbot with a great puiſance and muche money agaynſt ſundry cities in Italy: By whoſe means, the townes and cities which before had broken from the biſhop of Rome, were oppreſſed: alſo Bernabes and Galeaceus princes of Millane, vanquiſhed. By whoſe example other beyng ſore feared, ſubmitted thē ſelues to the church of Rome. And thus came vp that wicked church to her great poſſeſſions, which her patrones would needes father vpon Conſtantine the godly emperour.

Sabel. ad. 9.

How the church of Rome came by their royall poſſeſsions.

In the time of this pope Vrbane the fift, and in the ſecond yeare of his raygne, about the beginning of the yeare of our Lord. 1364. I fynde a certaine ſermon of one Nicolaus Orem, made before the pope and his Cardinals on Chriſtenmas euen. In the which ſermon, the learned man doth worthely rebuke the prelats & prieſts of his time, declaring their deſtruction not to be far of, by certayne ſignes taken of their wycked and corrupt lyfe. All the ſayinges of the prophets ſpoken agaynſt the wicked prieſts of the Iewes, he doth aptly apply againſt the Clergy of his time, comparing the church then preſent to the ſpirituall ſtrumpet ſpoken of in. xvj. of the prophet Ezechiel. And proueth in concluſion the clergye of the church then, to be ſo much worſſe then the old Synagoge of the Iewes, by how much it is worſe to ſée the church and ſacraments, then to ſuffer Doues to be ſold in the church. With no leſſe iudgemēt alſo and learning he anſwereth to the old and falſe obiectiō of the papyſts: who albeit they be neuer ſo wicked, yet thinke thēſelues to be the churche, which the Lorde cannot forſake. All which thinges to thentent they may the better appeare in his own words, I haue thought here to tranſlate and exhibite the Sermon as it was ſpoken before the pope.

Nicholaus Orem.

¶ *A copy of a ſermon made before pope Vrbane.* v. *the*
fourth ſonday in Aduent. 1364. by
Nicol. Orem.

IVxta eſt ſalus mea, vt veniat, et iuſtitia. &c. that is: My ſauing health is neare at hand to come, and my righteouſnes to be reuealed. &c. Eſay. 56. After the ſentence of S. Paule Rom. 2. and in diuers other places, before the natiuitie of Chriſt: yͤ whole world was diuided into two ſortes of men, the Iewes and Gentils. The Iewes who wayted for the opening of the doore of Paradiſe, by the bloud of the ſauiour to come. The Gentiles, who yet ſitting in darkenes, were to be called to light, and to be iuſtified by faith, as is written. Rom. 5.

A Sermō made before the pope

Eſay. 56.

The world deuided into two ſortes of men before the incarnation of Chriſt.

This ſaluation pertaynyng both to the Iewe and Gentile, God promiſed before time to the fathers by the prophets, to ſtyr vp the deſyre thereof in their hartes the more, and to increaſe their firme hope and fayth in the ſame. As fyrſt in Mich. 6. the voyce of the Lord crieth: Health and ſaluation ſhall be to all mē which feare my name. And Eſay. xlvi. I wil geue in Sion ſaluation, and in Ieruſalem my glory. &c. with diuers ſuche other places lyke. And forſomuch as hope manye times whych is deferred, doth afflict the ſoule, and conceiueth wearines of long deferring: He therefore propheſieng of the nerenes of the comming therof, ſayth moreouer. Eſay. xliij. his time is neare at hand to come. Alſo Abac. ij. He wyll come, and will not tary, with manye ſuche other places mo. So then the holy fathers being in Limbo, loked and hoped that he ſhould bring out them that ſat boūde, and which in the houſe of priſon ſat in darkenes, as is redde Eſay. xli. Then the time drew on, in which came the fulnes of the Gentiles, and in which the lord would declare the riches of this miſtery being hidden from the worlde, and from generations, Coloſ. 1. Wherfore the Lorde in this text doth both certifie our fathers of the commyng of our ſauiour, & doth comfort them touching the nearenes thereof, and alſo teacheth the iuſtification of the Gentiles by fayth aprochyng now neare at hand, according to the woordes of my text, Iuxta eſt ſalus mea. &c. Which wordes were fulfilled then, what tyme the lord did make manifeſt hys ſaluation, and dyd reueale hys righteouſnes in the ſight of all the Gentiles. And is deuided in thrée partes. Of which the fyrſt ſpeaketh of the nearenes of hys comming, where is ſayd, Iuxta eſt ſalus. &c. The ſecond concerneth the miſtery of the aduēt

Rom. 1.

Diuiſion.

Iuxta eſt.

2 *Vt veniat.*

3 *Vt reueletur.* *Amos.v.*

of Chriſt and his incarnation, where he ſayth: Vt veniat.&c. Thirdly is conſidered the ſeueritie of God, his terrible reuenging iudgemēt to be reuealed, wher he ſaith: Vt reueletur.&c. which is to be expounded of his primitiue iuſtice: wherof ſpeaketh Amos.v. ſaying: And iudgement ſhall be reuealed lyke a floode, and ryghteouſnes lyke a ſtrong ſtreame. Wherefore for our contemplation let vs receaue with ioy the ſolemnities of his holye vigile, the word I ſay of God the father, that is, Chriſt. To whom it is ſayd. Eſay.xlix. I haue geuen thee to be a light to the Gentiles, and to be my ſaluation through the endes of the world. Agayne Eſay.xlvi. My ſaluation ſhall not ſlacke.&c.

As touching the nerenes therof, it is in theſe days opened to vs by yͤ Goſpell, where we read in S.Math. Whē yͤ virgine Mary was deſpouſed vnto Ioſeph, before they did come together: ſhe was foūd with childe by the holy ghoſt. By this it is euident to vnderſtand, yͤ our ſauiour ought ſhortly to proceede out of the chaſte wombe of the virgine, according as the Prophete did foretell, ſaying: Beholde a virgine ſhall conceaue, and bryng foorth a ſonne.&c. For lyke as the grape when it wareth greate and full, is neare to the makyng of wyne, and the floure when it ſhouteth forth abroad, it haſteth to the fruit: So the ſaluation of the world in the ſwellyng and growyng of the virgins womb, began to draw nigh to mankind. For then appeared the grace and benignitie of our ſauiour, when his mother was found to haue in her wombe by the holy ghoſt, as is declared in that as foloweth by the aungell, ſaying: for that whiche is borne of her, is of the holy ghoſt.&c.

The 2.part of his theame.

Aggeus,2.

Sophonie.1.

Touchyng the ſecond parte of that whiche is ſayd, vt veniat: this may be applyed to the contemplation of yͤ miſtery of Chriſtes cōmyng in yͤ fleſh. Wherof ſpeaketh Aggeus the Prophet 2. He ſhal come, who is deſired and loked for of all nations.&c. Albeit the ſame alſo may be applied to the ſecond Aduēt, ſpokē of the iij. of Eſay. The Lord ſhall come to iudgement.&c. In memorial wherof, this fourth ſonday was dedicate, in the old tyme of the holy fathers. And of this day of iudgement is written in the Prophet Sophonie. chap. 1. The day of the Lord is nere, great, and mighty, it is approchyng at hand, and wonderous ſhort.&c. And albeit not in it ſelfe, yet it may be expounded in tribulations that go before, as preambles vnto the ſame: as Gregory ſayth: The laſt tribulation is preuented, with many and ſondry tribulations goyng before, although the end of all be not yet.

The 3.part of his ſermon.

Wherefore commyng now to the thyrd part of my ſermon or theame, let vs ſée of thoſe tribulatiōs that go before the laſt commyng of Chriſt, if there be any ſuch tribulation approchyng nygh at hande, wherof this laſt part of my theame may be verified, where is ſayd: vt reueletur, that my rightuouſnes ſhall be reueled, to wit the ryghtuouſnes primitiue, that ryghtuouſnes may bee brought, and the Propheſie of Daniell fulfilled. Dan.ix. Concernyng whiche matter, foure thinges here come in order to be declared.

1 *Vt reueletur.* First concernyng the reuelyng of tribulation, accordyng to that part of my theame. Vt reueletur.&c.

2 *Iuxta eſt.* Secondly, concernyng the nearenes of the tribulation commyng according to that part of my theame. Quia iuxta eſt.&c.

3 *Vt veniat.* Thirdly of the falſe opinions of ſome, vpon this part of my theame. Vt veniat.&c.

4 *Salus.* Fourthly, what meanes and conſultation we ought to take. Vt iuxta ſit ſalus.

The firſt parte of the ſubdiuiſion.

Two rules to be noted.

As for the firſte, it is ſo notorious and ſo common in in yͤ Scriptures that the church ſhould ſuffer and abyde tribulatiō, that I nede not here to ſtand in alledging any thyng touchyng either the cauſes to be weide, or yͤ terme to be coniectured therof. As concernyng the whiche cauſes, I will here geue ij. rules to be noted before, for yͤ better openyng of that to folow. The firſt rule is, that by the ij. kyngdomes of the nation of Hebrues, which were in the old tyme, to witte, by yͤ kingdome of Iſrael, whoſe head was Samaria, is ſignified in the Prophetes the erroneous ſinagoge: And by the ſecōd kyngdome of Iude, of whoſe ſtoke came Chriſt, whoſe head metropolitane was Ieruſalem, is ſignified the true churche. And this rule is not mine, but is an authētike gloſe of S.Hierome and alſo is the rule of Origine in the laſte Omely vpon the old Teſtament, and is approued by the church.

The kyngdom of Iſrael ſignifieng the falſe church.

The kyngdom of Iude, ſignifieth the righte church.

The 2.rule

The ſecond rule is, that by the brodell houſe and fornication mentioned in the Prophetes: is ſignified ſymony, and abuſed diſpenſations, and promotions of perſōs vnworthy, for lukers ſake, or els for any other partial fauour, which be vnlawful wayes by all lawes of yͤ world to come to office and honour. Merx dicitur nanque a merendo, that is, for gayne or price is deriued of gaynyng: For the which gayne or price, that is ſould which by nature ought not to bee ſould. Therfore, to geue any thing for reſpect of gaine or hyer, which ought to be geuē frely for vertues ſake, is a kinde of a ſpiritual corruption, and as a man would ſay, an whoriſh thyng, wherof the Prophet Eſay, complaineth ſpeakyng of Ieruſalē and ſaying: The citie whiche once was faithfull & full of iudgement, how is it now become an whoriſhe citie? And in like maner Oſée alſo the Prophet chap.ix. Ieruſalē, thou haſt fornicated & gone an whoring from thy God. Thou haſt loued like an harlot, to get gayne in euery barne of corne. And in many other places of Scripture, where fornication can not otherwiſe be expounded.

Eſay.i.

Oſe.9.

These two rules thus premiſed, nowe let vs marke the Scriptures, and according to the ſame iudge of the whole ſtate of yͤ church, bothe that is paſt, and that is to come: firſt intreating of yͤ cauſes of tribulatiō to come, ſecondly of the vicinitie of tyme of the ſayd tribulation to come,

Fiue ſtates of the church deſcribed.

1 The martyrdom of the church

2 The proſperitie of the church

And firſt concerning the ſtate of the church, & of cauſes of tribulation. Thus ſayth the Lord in the Prophet Ezechiell xvj.chap. ſpeaking to the church vnder the name of Hieruſalem. In the day of thy byrth I came by thee, and ſawe thee troden downe in thyne owne bloud, &c, Here he ſpeaketh of yͤ time of yͤ martyrdom of yͤ church. Then it followeth: After thys thou waſt clenſed frō thy bloud, thou waſt growen vp, and waxen great: thē waſhed I thee with water, I purged thy bloud from thee (ſpeaking of ceaſing of perſecution) I annoynted thee with oyle, I gaue thee chaunge of raymentes, I gyrded thee with white ſilke, I decked thée with coſtly apparell, I put rynges vpō thy fingers, a chayne about thy necke, Spangs vpō thy forehead, & Earerings vpō thine eares. Thus waſt thou deckt with ſiluer and golde, and a beutifull crowne ſet vpon thyne head. Maruelous goodly waſt thou and beutifull, euen a very queene waſt thou: For thou waſt excellent in my beutie, which I put vpon thee, ſayth the Lord God.&c: Thys prophecie or rather hiſtory ſpeaketh of & declareth, yͤ proſperitie of yͤ church.

3 The corruption of the church.

And now heare the corruption and tranſgreſſion of the church, for ſo it followeth: But thou haſte put confidence in thyne own beautie, and playd the harlot, when thou haddeſt gotten thee a name. Thou haſt committed whoredome with all that went by thee, and haſt fulfilled their deſires: Yea thou haſt taken thy garmentes of diuers colours and decked thyne altars therwith, wherupon thou mighteſt fulfill thy whoredome of ſuch a faſhiō as neuer was done, nor ſhalbe. Which whoredome can in no wyſe be expounded for carnall, but ſpirituall whoredome. And therfore, ſee how liuely he hath paynted out the corruption and falling of the church.

And therfore foloweth now the correction and puniſhment of the church. It followeth: Beholde, I will ſtretch out my hande ouer thee, and will diminiſhe thy ſtore of foods, and deliuer the ouer into the willes of the Philiſtines,

4. The correction of the church.

ſtines, and of ſuch as hate thee: And they ſhall breake down thy ſtewes, and deſtroy thy brodel houſes(that is, ẏ place wherin thou didſt exerciſe thys wickednes) they ſhall ſtrippe thee out of thy clothes: All thy fayre & beutifull iewells ſhall they take from thee, and ſo let thee ſit naked and bare, &c. Here is plainly to be ſene what ſhall happen to the church, and followeth more in the ſaid chapter. Thine eldeſt ſiſter is Samaria, ſhe and her doughters vpō thy left hand: But thy yongeſt ſiſter that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodoma with her daughters, whoſe ſinnes were theſe: Pryde, fulnes of meat, aboundaunce, & idlenes, neither reatched they their hand to the poore. And yet neyther Sodoma thy ſiſter with her daughters, hath done ſo euil as thou and thy daughters: Neyther hath Samaria(that is the ſinagoge) done halfe of thy ſinnes, yea thou haſt exceeded them in wickednes. Take therfore & beare thyne own confuſion, &c. Againe, in the xxiij. chap. of Ezechiell: After the Prophet had deſcribed at large the wickednes, corruption, and puniſhmēt of the ſinagoge, turning to the church, ſaith: And when her ſiſter ſaw thys, ſhe rageid and was mad with luſte more thē before: ſhe was madde, that is, with fleſhlye luſte, loue of riches, & following voluptuouſnes. Her fornication and whoredome ſhe committed with princes and great lordes, clothed with all maner of gorgious apparell: ſo that her pappes were broſed, and her breſtes were marred. And then ſpeaking of her puniſhment, ſayth: Thē my hart forſooke her, lyke as my hart was gone from her ſiſter alſo. And moreouer repeating again the cauſe therof, addeth: Thy wickednes and thy fornications hath wrought thee all thys. &c.

Ezech.xvi.

Ezech.xxiij

The like we finde alſo in Eſay, Hieremie, Ezechiel & in all the other Prophetes, who prophecyng all together in one meanyng, and almoſt in one maner of wordes: Do conclude with a ful agremēt and propheſie to come, that the churche ſhall fall, and then be puniſhed for her great exceſſes, and to be vtterly ſpoyled except ſhe repēt, of all her abhominaciōs. Wherof ſpeaketh Oſeas. chap. 2. Let her put away her whoredom out of her ſight, and her aduoutrie from her breſtes, leſte I ſtripe her naked and ſet her euē as ſhe came naked into the world(that is in her primitiue pouertie) So if ſhe do not, it ſhal folow of her as is in the prophet Nahum. chap. 3. For the multitude of the fornication of the fayre and bewtifull harlot, whiche is a maſter of wichcrafte, yea and ſelleth the people through her whoredome, and the nations through her wichcraft. And foloweth vpon ẏ ſame: Behold I wil vpō the, ſayth the Lord of hoaſtes, & will pull thy clothes ouer thy head, that thy nakednes ſhall appeare among the heathen, and thy ſhame among the kingdomes. &c.

Oſe.2.

5.

Wherfore by theſe it is to be vnderſtand, that vpon this churche the primitiue iuſtice of God, is to be reueled hereafter. And thus much of the firſt of the foure members aboue fore touched.

Now to the ſecond member of my theame, Iuxta eſt: concernyng the nearenes of the tyme. Although it is not for vs to know, the momentes and articles of tyme: yet by certeine notes and ſignes peraduēture it may be collected and gathered, ẏ which I haue here to ſay. For the tractation wherof, firſt I ground my ſelfe vpon the ſaying of the Apoſtle Paul. 2. Theſſ. 2. where he writeth: That vnles there come a defection firſt. &c. By the which defection, Hierome vltima queſt. ad inquiſitiones Ianuarij, gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the deſolation of the monarchie of Rome: Betwene the which deſolation, and the perſecution of the churche by Antichriſt, he putteth no meane ſpace. And now what is the ſtate of that common wealth, if it be compared to the maieſtie of that it hath béen, iudge your ſelues. An other gloſe there is ẏ ſayth, how by that defection is ment: ẏ from the churche of Rome, ſhal come a departyng of ſome other churches.

Theſ. 2.

The ſecond note and marke is this, when the church ſhalbe worſe in maners then was the ſinagoge: as appeareth by the ordinary gloſe vpon the iii. of Hieremy, where it is writtē. The backſlyder Iſrael, may ſeme iuſt and rightuous in comparaſon of ſinfull Iude. That is, The Synagoge, in comparaſon of the Churche of God. Whereof writeth Origenes ſaying: Thinke that to be ſpoken of vs, what the Lord ſayth in Ezech. xvi. Thou haſt exceded thy ſiſter in thyne iniquities, Wherefore now(to cōpare thone with the other) Firſt ye know how Chriſt rebuked ẏ phariſeis, who as Hierome witneſſeth were then the clergy of the Iewes, of coueteouſnes: for that they ſuffered doues to be ſold in the temple of God. Secondly, for ẏ they did honour God with their lips and not with their mouth, and becauſe they ſaid, but did not. Thirdly he rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the firſt thē let vs ſee, whether it be worſe to ſell both church and Sacramentes, then to ſuffer doues to be ſold in the temple, or not. To the ſecond, where as the phariſies were rebuked for honouring God with their lippes, and not with hart: There be ſome, which neither honour God with hart, nor yet with lippes: And whiche neyther do wel, nor yet ſay wel, neither do they preach any word at all, but be dombe dogges, not able to barke, impudent and ſhameles dogges, that neuer haue inough: ſuch paſtours as haue no vnderſtandyng, declining and ſtrayng all in their owne way, euery one geuen to couetouſnes frō the higheſt to the loweſt. And thirdly, as for hypocriſie there be alſo ſome, whoſe intolerable pride and malice is ſo manifeſt and notorious, kyndled vp like a fire: That no cloke or ſhadow of hypocriſie can couer it, but are ſo paſt all ſhame, that it may be well verified of thē which the Prophet ſpeaketh: Thou haſt gotten thee the face of an harlot, thou wouldeſt not bluſh. &c.

The Synagoge and the church compared together in maners.

3. Note or token.

The third ſigne and token of tribulation approching nere to the church, may welbe taken of the to much vnequal proportion ſéen this day in the church. Where one is hungry and ſtarueth, an other is dronke. By reaſon of whiche ſo great inequalitie, it can not be that the ſtate of the churche as it is now, can long endure. For like as in good harmonie to make the muſike perfect, is required a moderate and proportionat inequalitie of voyces, which if it to much excede it taketh away all ẏ ſwete melodie: So accordyng to ẏ ſentence of the Philoſopher, by to much immoderate inequalitie or diſparietie of Citiſens, ẏ cōmon wealth falleth to ruine. Contrarie, where mediocritie, that is, where a meane inequalitie ẇ ſome proportion is kept, that policie ſtandeth firme and more ſure to continue. Now among all ẏ politike regimēts of ẏ gentles, I thinke none more is to be found in hyſtories wherin is to be ſeen ſo great and excedyng oddes, thē in the policie of prieſts: Of whom ſom be ſo high, that they excede all princes of the earth, ſome agayne be ſo baſe, that they are vnder al raſcals: ſo that ſuch a policie or cōmon wealth, may well be called Oligarchia. This may we playnly ſée & learne in the body of man, to the whiche Plutarchus(writyng to Thraicinus) doth ſemblably cōpare the common wealth. In the which body, if the ſuſtinaunce receaued ſhould all runne to one member, ſo that that member ſhould be to much excedingly pampered, and al the other partes to much pyned, ẏ body could not long continue: So in the body of the wealth eccleſiaſticall, if ſome who be the heades bee ſo enormely ouergrowne in riches and dignitie, that the weaker mēbers of the body be ſcant able to beare thē vp, there is a great token of a diſſolution and ruine ſhortly. Wherupon cōmeth well in place the ſaying of the Prophet Eſay. Euery head is ſicke, euery harte is full of ſorrow, of ẏ which heads it is alſo ſpokē in the Prophet Amos. chap. vi. Wo be to the ſecure and proud wealth in Syō, and to ſuch as thinke them ſelues ſo ſure vpon the mount of Samaria, takyng them ſelues as heades and rulers ouer other. &c. And moreouer in the ſayd prophet Eſay it foloweth: Frō

Oligarchia, is where a fewe beare all the ſway, and al the reaſt be nothing worth.

Eſay. 1.

Amos. 6.

the top of the heade to the ſole of the foote,there is no hole part in all the body,to witte: In the inferiours,becauſe they are not able to lyue for pouertie:in the ſuperiours, becauſe for there exceſſiue riches,they are let from doing good. And foloweth in ẏ ſame place: But all are woūdes, botches and ſtripes,behold here the daunger commyng, the wounde of diſcorde and diuiſion,the botch or ſore of rankor and enuey , the ſwellyng ſtripe of rebellion and miſchief. &c.

4.ſigne

Pride of prelates noted.

The fourth ſigne is the pride of prelates. Some there haue bene which fondly haue diſputed of the pouertye of Chriſt,and haue inueyghed againſt the prelats , becauſe they lyue not in the pouerty of the ſayntes. But this phātaſy commeth of the ignoraunce of morall philoſophie and diuinitie,and of the defect of naturall prudence: for that in all nacions,and by common lawes,prieſtes haue had and ought to haue wherewith to ſuſteyne thē ſelues more honeſtly then the vulgar ſorte , and prelates more honeſtly then the ſubiects. But yet hereby is not permitted to them,their great horſes,their troupes of horſemē, their ſuperfluous pompe of their wayting men & great families,which ſcarcelye can be mayntayned wythout pride,neyther can be ſuſteyned with ſafe iuſtice,and many not without fighting and iniuries inconuenient: not much vnlike to that as Iuſtine the hiſtorician wryteth of the Carthaginenſes. The family(ſayth he)of ſo great Emperours was vntollerable to ſuche a free Citie. In ſembleablewyſe, this great pride in the churche of God (eſpecially in theſe days) doth moue not ſo few to dewe reuerence,as many to indignation: And yet mo to thoſe thinges aforeſayd,which thincke no leſſe but to doo ſacrifice to God,if they may rob and ſpoyle certayne fat prieſtes and perſons,namely ſuch as neyther haue nobilitie of bloud,and leſſe learning to beare them ſelues vpon,but are lyars,ſeruile,and fraudulent , to whom the Lord ſpeaketh by his prophet Amos.iiij. Heare you fat fed kyne of Samaria,ye that do poore men wrong, and oppreſſe the nedie:the day ſhall come vpon you,&c.

Amos.4.

5.ſigne.

Sapi.16

The tyranny of prelates noted.

The fift ſigne is,the tyrannie of the prelates and preſidentes. which as it is a violent thyng, ſo it can not be lōg laſting. For as Salomō ſayth. Sap.xvi. For it was requiſite that (without any excuſe) deſtruction ſhoulde come vpon thoſe which exerciſed tyrannie. The propertie of a tyraunt is,to ſeeke the cōmoditie not of hys ſubiectes,but onely hys will and profit. Such were the paſtours that fedde not the Lordes flocke, but fedde them ſelues:of whom,and to whom ſpeaketh the Prophet Ezech.34. Wo be vnto thoſe paſtors of Iſrael that feede them ſelues. Should not the ſhepherdes feede the flocks? With many other threatnings againſt them in the ſaid chapter. Wo be vnto them which reioyce at the tranſgreſſions of ſuch,whom it lyeth in their power to condemne,neither do they ſeeke what he is able to pay. To whom cryeth Micheas the prophet.iij.chap. Ye hate the good,and loue the euill ye plucke of mens ſkynnes and the fleſh,from the bones:ye eate the fleſh of my people,& flay of their ſkyn:ye breake their bones,ye chop them in peeces as it wer into a Caudrō,& as fleſh into the pot. &c And therfore ẏ foreſayd Ezechiel pronounceth: Behold I wyll my ſelfe vpon the ſhepheardes, and require my ſheepe from theyr handes, and make them ceaſe from feeding my ſheepe:yea the ſhepheardes ſhall feede them ſelues no more,for I wyll deliuer my ſheepe out of their mouthes,ſo that they ſhall not deuour them anye more.

Ezech.34.

Micheas.3.

Ezech.34.

6.ſigne

Promotyng of vnworthy miniſters.

The ſixt ſigne is,the promoting of the vnworthy,and of neglecting them that be worthy. This as Ariſtotle ſaith,is a great cauſe many tymes of the diſſolution of common weales. And often times it ſo happeneth in the warres of princes: ẏ the contempt & ſmall regarding of the valiant,& the exalting of others that be leſſe worthy, ingendereth diuers kinds and kyndlelinges of ſedition. For by the reaſon partly of the ſame,partly of the other cauſes aboue recited:we haue red not onely in bookes, but haue ſene with our eyes,diuers floriſhing Cities, well neare ſubuerted. Where as good men be not made of,but are vexed with ſorow and griefe by the euyll: the contention at length,braſteth out vpon the Prince. As Haymo reciteth out of Origen. This hath alwaies ben the peruers incredulitie of mās hard hart,that not onely in hearing,but alſo in ſeing: yet wyll they not beleue that other haue periſhed,vnleſſe they alſo peryſhe them ſelues.

Haim

7.ſigne

The ſeuenth ſigne is,the tribulation of outward policie and cōmotions of the people,which in a great part is now happened alredy. And therefore, for as much as Seneca ſayth: Men do complaine commonly,that euyls onely come ſo faſt: It is to be feared leaſt alſo the eccleſiaſticall policie be afflicted not onely outwardly, but alſo in it ſelfe. And ſo be fulfilled in vs, ẏ in Hieremy is prophecied cap.4. Murther is cryed vpon murther, and the whole land ſhal periſh, & ſodenlye my tabernacles were deſtroyed,and my tentes very quickly. And Ezechiel.7. Wherefore I wyll bring cruell tyrantes from among the heathen,to take their houſes in poſſeſſiō, I wil make the pompe of the proude to ceaſe , and their ſanctuaries ſhall be taken. One miſchiefe and ſorow ſhall followe an other,and one rumour ſhall come after an other, thē ſhall they ſeeke viſions in vayne at their Prophets: the law ſhall be gone from the prieſtes,and wiſedome from the elders,&c.

Hiere.4

Ezech.7

8.ſigne

The eyght ſigne is, the refuſing of correction, neyther will they heare their faultes tolde them: So that it is happened to the princes and rulers of the church , as it is written in the Prophet Zach.cap.7. They ſtopped their eares that they would not heare: yea they made their hartes as an Adamant ſtone,leſt thei ſhould heare the law and words which the Lord of hoſtes ſent in his holy ſpirite,by the Prophets aforetime. Alſo Eſay witneſſing after the ſame effecte chap.30 ſayth: For it is an obſtinate people,lyeng children and vnfaythfull,childrē that will not heare the lawe of the Lorde: whiche ſay to the Prophets,medle with nothing,and tell vs nothing that is true & right,but ſpeake frendly wordes to vs,&c. All this ſhall be verifyed, when the prelates beginne to hate them that tell thē truth,and haue knowledge , like vnto ſuch of whom Amos ſpeaketh chap.5. Thei beare him euill will that reproueth them openly , and who ſo telleth them the plain truth,they abhorre him. And therfore ſayth the Lord to the church of Hieruſalem Oſe.4. Seing thou haſt refuſed vnderſtanding, I haue refuſed thee alſo,that thou ſhalt no more be my prieſt. And forſo much as thou haſt forgotten the law of thy God, I will alſo forget thy children,and chaunge their honour into ſhame. And ſo ſhall it be like prieſt, lyke people,&c. And many other ſayings there be in the Prophets, ſpeaking of the deiecting and caſting downe of the prieſtly honor.

Zacha.7.

Refuſyng of correction in the clergy.

Eſay 30.

Truth ſhent.

Amos.5.

Oſe.4.

Beſides theſe foreſayd ſignes and tokens hetherto recited,there be alſo diuers other: As the backſliding frō righteouſnes,the lacke of diſcrete and learned prieſtes, promoting of children into the church , with ſuch other like. But theſe being alreadie wel noted & marked, you may eaſely iudge and vnderſtand, whether theſe tymes now preſent of ours be ſafe and clere from tribulation to be loked for,and whether the word of ẏ Lord be true according to my theame. Iuxta eſt iuſticia mea vt reueletur, my righteouſnes is nere at hand to be reueled,&c. And thus much of the ſecond part.

Lacke of learned prieſtes.

Now to the thyrd part or member of my ſubdiuiſion, which is concerning the falſe and perilous opinions of ſome,vpon thys word of my theme: vt veniat,&c. which opinions principally be fower , repugning all againſt the truth of the canonicall ſcripture.

The third part or mem- ber of the ſubdiui

The fyrſt opinion is of ſuch mē,who hauing to much confidence in themſelues: do thinke and perſwade them

The firſt opinio

ſelues, doo thyncke and perſwade wyth them ſelues, that the prelates bee the churche whiche the Lorde will alwayes kepe and neuer forſake, as he hath promiſed in the perſons of the Apoſtles Mat.28. ſaying: And I will be with you to the end of the world, &c. But thys is to be vnderſtād of faith, wherof Chriſt ſpeaketh Lu.21. I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth ſhall not fayle. wherof we read Eccle.40. fayth ſhall ſtand for euer, &c. And albeit charitie ware neuer ſo colde, yet fayth notwithſtanding, ſhall remaine in fewe, in all diſtreſſes of the world: of the which diſtreſſes, our Sauiour doth prophecie of, in many places to come. And leaſt peraduenture ſome ſhould thinke themſelues to be ſafe from tribulation becauſe they be of the church, this opinion the Lord himſelfe doth contrarye in Hierem.7. Truſt not ſayth he in falſe lyeng wordes, ſaying, the temple of the Lorde, the temple of the Lord, and a litle after: but you truſt in words and lying counſailes which deceaue you, and do you no good.

church here it is, in whom abideth.

cleſ.40.

The ſecond opinion is of them, which deferre tyme, for this they well graunt, that the church ſhall abide trouble, but not ſo ſhortlye: thinking thus with themſelues, that all theſe cauſes & tokens afore recited, haue ben before at other tymes as wel in the church. For both by Gregorye and Bernard holy doctors, in time paſt the prelates haue been in lyke ſorte reprehended, both for their brybinges, for their pompe and pryde, for the promoting of children and perſons vnfytte vnto eccleſiaſticall functions, and other vices moe, which haue reigned before this in the church of God more thē now, and yet by God his grace, the church hath proſpered and ſtand. Do ye not ſee, that if an houſe haue ſtand and continued ruinous a long ſeaſon, it is neuer the more nere the fall therby, but rather to be truſted the better? Moreouer, many tymes it commeth ſo to paſſe in realmes & kyngdomes, that the poſteritie is puniſhed for the ſinnes of their predeceſſours. Wherof ſpeaketh ẏ boke of Lamēt. cap.5. Our fathers haue ſinned, and are now gone, and we muſt beare their wickednes, &c. Againſt this cogitation or opinion, wel doth the Lord anſwere by the Prophet Ezech. cap.12. ſaying: Beholde thou ſonne of man the houſe of Iſraell ſayth in this maner. Tuſhe as for the viſion that he hath ſene, it will be many a daye or it come to paſſe: It is farre of, yet the thing that he prophecieth. Therfore ſay vnto them, thus ſaith the Lord God: The wordes that I haue ſpokē ſhall be deferred no longer, loke what I haue ſayd, ſhall come to paſſe ſayth the Lord, &c. We haue ſene in our dayes things to happen, which ſemed before incredible. And the like hath been ſeene in other tymes alſo: as we read writen in the boke of Lament. cap.4. The kinges of the earth, nor all the inhabitaūce of the world would not haue beleued, that the enemie and aduerſarye ſhoulde haue come in at the gates of the citie, for the ſinnes of her prieſtes, & for the wickednes of her elders that haue ſhed innocents bloud wtin her, &c. by Hieruſalē, as I ſaid, is ment the church.

The third opinion or errour is very perilous & peruerſe, of all ſuch as ſay, veniat, let come, that will come: Let vs conforme our ſelues to this world, and take our tyme with thoſe Temporiſers which ſay in the boke of wiſedome. Sap.2. Come let vs enioye our goods & pleaſures that be preſent, and let vs vſe the creature as in youth quicklye, &c. Such as theſe be, are in a dangerous caſe, & be greatly preiudiciall to good mē in the church: And if the heades and rulers of the church were ſo vile to haue any ſuch deteſtable cogitation in thē, there were no place in hell to deepe for them. This church founded by the Apoſtles in Chriſt, conſecrated with the bloud of ſo many martirs, enlarged and increaſed with the vertues and merites of ſo many ſaintes, & indued ſo richly with the deuotion of ſo many ſecular princes, & ſo long proſpered hetherto: If it now ſhould come into ẏ hands of ſuch perſons, it ſhould fall in great daūger of ruine, and they for their negligence & wickednes wel deſerued of God to be curſed, yea here alſo in this preſent worlde to incurre in temporall tribulation & deſtruction, which they feare more: by the ſentence of the Lorde ſaying to them in the booke of Prouerbes cap.1. All my counſailes ye haue deſpyſed, and ſet my correctiō at naught. Therfore ſhall I alſo laugh in your deſtruction, whē tribulation and anguiſhe ſhall fall vpon you.

Prou.cap.1.

Fourthly, an other opinion or errour is of ſuch as being vnfaythfull, beleue not any ſuch thing to come. And this errour ſemeth to haue no remedie, but that as other thinges & other kingdomes haue their endes and limites ſet vnto them, which they can not ouerpaſſe: So it muſt nedes be, that ſuch a domination & gouernment of the church haue an ende, by reaſon of the demerites and obſtinacies of the gouernours prouoking and requyring the ſame: like as we read in the Prophet Hieremie. cap.8. There is no man that taketh repentaunce for his ſinne, ẏ will ſo much as ſay, wherfore haue I done this. But euery mā runneth forth ſtill like a wilde horſe in a battaile. And the Prophet Hierem. in the 13. chapt. of his prophecie: Lyke as the mā of Inde may chaunge his ſkinne, & the catte of the mountaine her ſpottes, ſo may ye that be exerciſed in euill, do good. Wherunto alſo accordeth that which is written of ẏ ſame Prophet. cap.17 ſpeaking of Iuda ſignifieng the church: The ſinne of Iuda, ſayth he, is written in the table of your hartes, and grauen ſo vpon the edges of your altars with a pen of yron, and with an Adamant claw, which is as much to ſay, as indelible, or which can not be raſed out: as alſo Ezechiell ſpeaking of the puniſhment. cap.21. ſayth: I the Lord haue drawen out my ſworde out of the ſheth, and can not be reuoked. Notwithſtāding, all theſe ſignifie no impoſſibilitie, but difficultie, becauſe that wicked men are hardly conuerted: for otherwiſe the Scripture importeth no ſuch inflexibilitie with God, but if cōuerſion come, he will forgeue. So we read in the Prophet Ionas cap.3. Who can tell? God may turne and repent, and ceaſe frō his fearce wrath that we periſhe not. And to the like effect ſaith the ſame Lord in Hierem. cap.26. Looke thou kepe not one word backe, if peraduenture they will harken and turne euery man from his wicked way, that I alſo may repent of the plage which I haue determined to bring vpon them, becauſe of their wicked inuentions, &c. For the farther proofe wherof, Niniue we ſee conuerted, & remained vndeſtroied, &c. Likewiſe, the Lord alſo had reueled deſtructiō vnto Conſtantinople by ſondry ſignes and tokens, as Auguſt. in a certain Sermon doth declare. And thus for the thyrd parte or member of my diuiſion.

The fourth opiniō, or error.

Hierem.8.

Ierem.13.

Ierem.17.

Ezech.21.

Ionas cap.3.

Hierem.26.

Fourthlye and laſtlye remayneth to declare, ſome wholeſome concluding now vpon the cauſes preceding: That is, if by theſe cauſes & ſignes (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall vpon the church, then let vs humble our myndes myldely and wyſelye. And if we ſo returne with hart and in deede vnto God, verelye he wyll reſcue and helpe after an ineſtimable wyſe: & wyll ſurceaſe from ſcourging vs, as he promiſeth by his prophet Ieremy.18. If that people, agaynſt whom I haue thus deuiſed, conuert from their wyckednes: immediatly I wyll repent of the plage that I deuiſed to bring vpon them: ſpeaking here, after the maner of mē. &c. Now therefore, for ſo much as tribulation and affliction is ſo neare commyng toward vs, yea, lieth vpon vs already, let vs be the more diligent to call vpon God for mercye. For I thinke verely, theſe manye yeares there hath not been ſo many and ſo deſpitefull haters and ilwyllers, ſtout, and of ſuch a rebellious hart agaynſt the churche of God, as be now adayes: neyther be they lacking that would worke all ẏ they can agaynſt it, & louers of new fanglenes: whoſe harts the Lord happely will turne, that they ſhall not hate his people and worke deceite agaynſt his ſeruaunts, I meane agaynſt prieſtes whō they haue

The fourth parte or mēber of the ſubdiuiſion.

Ieremie.18.

now

Eſay.5.
Eſay.30.

now in litle or no reputatiō at all: Albeit many yet there be, through Gods grace, good and godly. But yet, the fury of the Lord is not turned away, but ſtill his hande is ſtretched out. And vnles ye be conuerted, he ſhaketh hys ſword, he hath bent his bow, and prepared it ready. Yet the Lord ſtandeth wayting, that he may haue mercy on you. Eſay.30. And therfore, as ỹ greatnes of feare ought to incite vs, ſo hope of ſaluation may allure vs, to pray & call vpon the Lord, eſpecially now toward this holy and ſacrate time and ſolēnitie of Chriſts Natiuitie: For that holy and continuall prayer without intermiſſion is profitable, and the inſtant deuotion and vigilant deprecation of the iuſt man, is of great force. And if terrene kings in the day of celebration of their Natiuitie, be wont to ſhew them ſelues more liberall & bountuous: how much more ought we to hope well, that the heauenly kyng of nature moſt benyng, now at hys Natall and byrth day, will not deney pardon and remiſſion to ſuch as rightly call vnto him.

Ioſue.7.
1.Reg.25.
Eſay.66.
Pſal.71.

And now therfore as it is writen in Ioſue.chap.7. Be you ſanctified agaynſt to morow.&c. And ſay vnto hym, as it is writen in the firſt booke of kyngs.chap.25. Now let thy ſeruauntes, I pray thée, finde fauour in thy ſight, for we come to thée in a good ſeaſon. Moreouer ye may finde that ye aſke, if ye aſke that whiche he brought in ỹ day of hys Natiuitie that is, the peace of the church: not ſpirituall onely, but alſo temporall, which the angelicall noyſe did ſound, and experiēce the ſame tyme did proue, teſtified by T.Liuius, Plinius, and other heathen ſtorywriters, whiche all marueled thereat, ſaying: That ſuch an vniuerſall peace as that, could not come on earth but by the gift of God. For ſo God dyd forepromiſe in the Prophet Eſay.chap.66. Behold I will let peace into Hieruſalem lyke a waterflonde.&c. And in the Pſalme.71. In hys tyme ryghtuouſnes ſhall floriſhe, yea and aboundance of peace.&c.

Eſay.51.

Therfore now (O reuerend fathers in the Lord,) and you here in this preſent aſſemble, behold I ſay the day of lyfe and ſaluation: Now is the oportune tyme to pray vnto God, that the ſame thyng whiche he brought into the world at his byrth, he will now graūt in theſe dayes to his church, that is, his peace. And lyke as Niniue was ſubuerted ouerturned, & not in mēbers but in maners: ſo the ſame wordes of my theame, Iuxta eſt iuſtitia mea vt reueletur, may be verified in vs, not of the primitiue iuſtice, but of our ſanctification by grace, ſo that. As to morow is celebrated the natiuitie of our ſauiour, our rightouſnes may riſe together with hym, & his bleſſyng may be vpon vs, whiche God hath promiſed, ſaying: My ſauyng health is nere at hād to come.&c. Wherof ſpeaketh Eſay the Prophet, chap.51. My ſauyng health ſhall endure for euer.&c. This health graunt vnto vs the father, ſonne, and holy ghoſt. Amen.

This ſermon was made by maſter Nicolas Orem, before pope Vrbane and his cardinals, vpon the euen of the Natiuitie of the lord, beyng the fourth ſonday of Aduent, in the yeare of Lord. 1364. and the ſecond of hys Popedome.

The order of Ieſuites.

1367.

The chiefe offices of the realme tranſlated from the clergy, to the lordes temporall.

In the v. yeare of this forenamed pope Vrbane, begā firſt the order of ỹ Ieſuites. And vnto thys tyme whiche was about the yere of our Lorde. 1367, the offices here in England, as the Lord Chauncelor, Lord Treaſurer, & of the priuie ſeale: were wont to be in the handes of the clergy. But about this yeare through the motion of the Lordes in the parlament, and partly (as witneſſeth mine autor) for hatred of ỹ clergy: all the ſayd offices were remoued from the clergy, to the Lordes temporall.

Pope Gregorye xi.

1370

The p
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Fraunc
Rome,

After the death of Pope Vrbane, next ſucceded pope Gregory the xi. who among his other actes, firſt reduced agayne the papacie out of Fraunce vnto Rome, whiche had from thēce béen abſent, the ſpace now of lxx. yeares, beyng therto moued (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the anſwere of a certaine byſhop, whom as the Pope ſaw ſtanding by him, aſked, why he was ſo long from his charge and churche at home, ſayinge: not to bee the part of a good paſtor, to kepe hym from his flocke ſo long. Whereunto the byſhop aūſweryng agayne ſayd: And you your ſelfe beyng the chief Byſhop, who may and ought to be a ſpectacle to vs all: why are you from the place ſo long where your church doth lye? By the occaſion wherof, the pope ſought all meanes after that, to remoue and to ryd his court out of Fraunce agayne to Rome, & ſo he did.

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This xi. Gregory in a certain Bull of hys ſent to the Archbyſhop of Prage, maketh mention of one named Militzius a Bohemian, And ſayth in the ſame Bull that this Militzius ſhould holde opinion, and teach an.1366. that Antichriſt was already come. Alſo that the ſaid Militzius had certaine congregations folowyng hym: and that in the ſame congregation were certaine harlottes, who beyng conuerted frō their wickednes were brought to a godly lyfe. Which harlots beyng ſo conuerted, he vſed to ſay were to be preferred before all the holy religious virgines. And therfore commaunded the archbiſhop to excommunicate & perſecute the ſayd Militzius, which in foretyme had béen a religious man of Prage, and after forſoke hys order and gaue hym ſelfe to preaching, & at length was by the foreſayd Archbyſhop impriſoned.

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Iacobus Miſnenſis a learned man and a writer in the tyme of I. Hus, maketh mention of this Militzius, & calleth hym a worthy and a famous preacher. Alſo citeth many thynges out of his writyngs: In the whiche writynges this good Militzius thus declareth of hym ſelfe: how he was moued and vrged by ỹ holy ghoſt to ſearch out by the ſacrate Scriptures, concerning the comming of Antichriſt. And that he was compelled by the ſame holy ſpirite at Rome publiquely to preach, and alſo before the Inquiſitore there to proteſte playnly, that the ſame great Antichriſt which is propheſied of in the holy Scriptures, was already come. Moreouer hys ſaying was, ỹ the churche through negligence of the paſtors was deſolate, dyd abounde in temporall riches, but in ſpirituall riches to be empty. Alſo that in the Churche of Chriſt were certeine idoles whiche deſtroyed Hieruſalem, and defaced the tēple, but hypocriſie cauſed that thoſe idols could not be ſéen. Alſo ỹ many there were which denyed Chriſt, becauſe that knowyng the truth, yet for feare of men they durſte not confeſſe their conſcience.&c. And thus much of good Militzius, liuyng in the tyme of Gregory xi. and of kyng Edward, the third. an.1370.

Kyng E
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The which king of England holding a parlament in the thyrd yeare of this Pope, ſent hys embaſſadours to hym, deſiring him: that he from thence forth would abſtayne from hys reſeruations of benefices vſed in the court of England. And that ſpirituall men wyth in hys realme promoted vnto biſhoprikes, might freelye enioye their elections within the realme, and be confirmed by their Metropolitanes, according to the auncient cuſtom of the realme. Wherfore, vpon theſe and ſuch other lyke wherein the king and the realme thought them ſelues greued, he deſired of the Pope ſome remedy to be prouided.&c. Whereunto the Pope returned a certayne anſwer agayne vnto the king, requiryng by hys meſſengers to be certified agayne of the kinges mynde concerning the ſame. But what anſwer it was, it is not in the ſtory expreſſed, ſaue that the yere following, which was 1374. there was a tractation at Burges vpon certayne of the ſayd articles betwene the kyng & the pope, which did hang two yeares in ſuſpēce, ſo at length it was thus agreed betwene them: that the pope ſhould no more vſe his reſeruations of benefices in England, and likewyſe the king ſhould no more conferre or geue benefices vpō the writ, Quare impedit.&c. But as touchyng the freedome of elcations to be cōfirmed by the metropolitane, mētioned in ỹ yere before, therof was nothing touched.

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Englan
Quare
pedit.

As touchynge theſe reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations, with the electiōs of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, beneficed men and other, wherewith the Pope vexed this realme of England, as before you haue hearde. The K. by the conſent of the Lordes and commons, in the xxv. yeare of his raigne enacted: that according to a ſtatute made in ẏ 30. yere of his graūdfather Edward the firſt, wherin was made an Acte agaynſt the rauanous pillage of the pope, through the ſame prouiſions reſeruations, & collations. &c. but not put in executiō. By ẏ which prouiſions, the ſtate of the realme decreaſed more & more, the kings royaltie & prerogatiue greatly obſcured & diminiſhed, Innumerable treaſure of the realme tranſported, Aliens and ſtraungers placed in the beſt and fatteſt byſhoprikes, Abbeyes, & benefices within the realme. And ſuch, as either for theyr offices in Rome, as Cardinallſhyps and ſuch lyke could not be here reſident, or if reſident yet better away for cauſes infinitie, as partly haue béen touched before: Not onely reuiued the ſayd ſtatute made by Edward the firſt his graundfather, but alſo inlarged the ſame. Addyng thereunto very ſtrayt & ſharpe penalties agaynſt the offēders therin or in any part therof, as exemption out of the kynges protection, loſſe of all their landes, goodes, and other poſſeſſions, and theyr bodies to be impriſoned at the kynges pleaſure: And farther, who ſo euer was lawfully conuict, or otherwiſe for want of apperance by proſſes directed forth, were within the lappes of this ſtatute or premunire (for ſo bare the name therof) ſhould ſuffer all and euery ſuch moleſtation and iniuries, as men exempted the protection of the kyng. In ſo much, that who ſo euer had killed ſuch men, had béen in no more daunger of lawe therfore, then for the kyllyng of an vtlaw or one, not worthy to lyue in a common weale. Like vnprofitable members were they, then in that tyme (ye of ignoraunce) eſtemed in this common weale of England, as would offer them ſelues to the wilfull ſlauerie and ſeruile obedience of the Pope: whiche thyng in theſe dayes, ye and that amongeſt no ſmall fooles, is counted more then Euangelicall holines. He that lyſt to peruſe the ſtatute, and would ſée euery braunch and article thereof at large diſcuſſed and handled, with the penalties therfore due: Let him read the ſtatute of prouiſion and premunire made in the 25. yeare of this kyngs dayes. And let hym read in the ſtatutes made in the parlamentes holden the 27. yeare, and 38. yeare of his raign: And vnder the ſame title of prouiſion and premunire ſhall finde, the popes primacie & iuriſdiction wt in this realm more nerely touched, & much of hys Papal power reſtrayned: In ſo much, that who ſoeuer for any cauſe or controuerſie in law, either ſpirituall or tēporal the ſame being determinable in any of ẏ kings courtes (as all matters were) whether they were perſonall or reall, citations or other: or ſhould either appeale or conſent to any appellation, to be made out of the realme to the pope or ſée of Rome: ſhould incurre the ſayd penaltie and daunger of premunire. Diuers other matters wherin the Pope is reſtrayned of his vſurped power, authoritie, and Juriſdiction, within this realme of England: are in the ſayd titles and ſtatutes expreſſed and at large ſet forthe, who euer liſt to peruſe the ſame, whiche for breuities ſake I omitte, haſtenyng to other matters.

he law of emunire ith the pe altie ther. f.

The pops imacye re in Eng al brid. d.

About thys tyme, being ẏ yeare of our Lord .1370. lyued holy Brigit, whom the churche Rome hath canoniſed not onely for a ſaynt, but alſo for a prophetis: who notwithſtanding in her booke of reuelatiōs, which hath bene oft times imprinted, was a great rebuker of the Pope, and of the filth of his clergy, calling hym a murtherer of ſoules, a ſpyller, and a pyller of the flocke of Chriſt: more abhominable then Jewes, more crueller then Judas: more vniuſt then Pilate, worſſe then Lucifer hymſelfe. The ſee of the Pope ſhe propheſſeth, ſhalbe throwne downe into the déepe, lyke a mylſtone. And that his aſſiſter ſhall burne with brimſtone: Affirming that the prelates, biſhops, and prieſtes are the cauſe, why the doctrine of Chriſt is neglected, and almoſt extincted. And that the clergy haue turned the .x. commaondements of God into two woordes, to wyt, Da pecuniam, that is, Geue money. It were long and tedious to declare all that ſhe agaynſt them writeth. Among the reſt which I omit, let this ſuffice for all, where as the ſayd Brigit affirmeth in her reuelations, that when the holye virgine ſhould ſay to her ſonne, how Rome was a fruitfull and fertile field: yea, ſayd he, but of weedes only & cockle. &c

Bridget.

Ex lib. re uelationū Diuae Brid ae.

Da pecuniam.

Rome a fertile grounde of weedes and cockle.

To this Bridget I wyll ioyne alſo Catherina Senēſis, an holy virgin, which lyued much about the ſame tyme, an.1379. Of whom writeth Antoninus, part. hiſtoriæ.3. Thys Katherine hauing the ſpirite of propheſye, was woont muche to complayne of the corrupt ſtate of the church, namelye of the prelates, of the court of Rome, and of the pope: propheſieng before of the great ſchiſme, which then folowed in the churche of Rome, and dured to the councell of Conſtance, the ſpace of .xxxix. yeares. Alſo of the great warres and tribulation, which enſued vpon the ſame. And moreouer declared before and foretold, of this ſo excellent reformation of religion in the church now preſent. The wordes of Antoninus be theſe. After this virgin in her going to Rome, had told her brother of the warres and tumultes that ſhould ryſe in the countries about Rome, after the ſchiſme of the .2. popes. I then curious to know of thinges to come, and knowing that ſhe vnderſtood by reuelation what ſhould happen, demaunded of her: I pray you (good mother) ſayde I, & what ſhall befall after theſe troubles in the churche of God: And ſhe ſayd: By theſe tribulations and afflictions, after a ſecrete maner vnknowen vnto man, God ſhall purge his holy church, and ſtyrre vp the ſpirite of hys elect. And after theſe thinges ſhall follow ſuche a reformation of the holy church of God, and ſuch a renouation of holy paſtors, that the onely cogitation and remēbraunce therof maketh my ſpirite to reioyce in the lord. And as I haue oft tymes told you heretofore, the ſpouſe which now is all deformed and ragged, ſhall be adorned and deckt wyth moſte ryche and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faythfull ſhall be glad and reioyce to ſée them ſelues ſo beutified with ſo holy ſhepheardes. Yea, and alſo the Infidels then allured by the ſwete ſauour of Chriſt, ſhall returne to the catholique folld, and be conuerted to the true biſhop and ſhepheard of theyr ſoules.. Geue thankes therefore to God, for after thys ſtorme, he wyll geue to his a great calme. And after ſhe had thus ſpoken, ſhe ſtayed and ſayd no more. &c.

Catherina Senenſis.

Ex Antonino part.3. hiſtor.

The reformation of religion prophecied of before.

The propheſye of Katherine.

Note.

Beſide theſe aforenamed, the Lord which neuer ceaſeth to worke in hys church: ſtyrred vp agaynſt the malignaunt church of Rome, the ſpirites of diuers other good and godly teachers, as Matthias Pariſienſis, a Bohemian borne, who about the yeare of the Lorde.1370. wrote a large booke of Antichriſt, and proueth hym already come, and noteth the Pope to be the ſame. Which booke one Illiricus a wryter in theſe our dayes hath, and promiſeth to put it in prynt. In this booke he doth greatly inueygh agaynſt the wyckednes and filthynes of the Clergy, and agaynſt the neglecting of their deuty in gouerning the church. The Locuſtes mentioned in the Apocalips, he ſaith, be the hipocrites raigning in the church. The workes of Antichriſt he ſayth be theſe, the fables and inuentions of men raygning in the churche: the Images and fayned relickes that are worſhipped euery where. Item, that men do worſhip euerye one hys proper ſaynt and ſauiour beſide Chriſt, ſo that euerye man and Citye almoſte hath hys diuers and peculiar Chriſt. He taught and affirmed moreouer, that godlynes and true worſhip of God, are not bounde to place, perſons, or tymes, to be heard more in this place, then in an other, at this tyme more then at an other. &c. He ar-

Mathias Pariſienſis a wryter againſt the pope.

Antichriſt already come.

The doctrine and proteſtation of Mathias.

gueth alſo agaynſt the cloyſterers, which leauing the onely and true ſauiour, ſet vp to them ſelues their Frāciſcans, theyr Dominickes, and ſuche other: and haue them for their Sauiours, glorying and triumphing in them, and fayninge manye forged lyes vpon them. He was greatly and much offended with Monkes and Friars, for neglecting or rather burieng the word of Chriſt, and in ſtœde of him, for celebrating and ſetting vp theyr own rules and Canons, affirmyng it to be much hurtfull to true godlynes, for that prieſtes, monkes, & nūnes do account themſelues onely ſpirituall, and all other to be lay and ſecular, attributing onely to themſelues the opinion of holynes, and contemning other men, wyth all their politicke adminiſtration, and the office as prophane in compariſon of their own. He further wryteth that Antechriſt hath ſeduced all Vniuerſities and Colleges of learned men, ſo that they teache no ſincere doctrine, neyther geue anye lyght to the Chriſtians wyth their teaching. Finallye, he forewarneth that it will come to paſſe, that God yet once agayne wyll rayſe vp godly teachers, who being feruent in the ſpirite & zeale of Helias, ſhall diſcloſe and refute the errours of the Antichriſt, and Antichriſt hym ſelfe, openlye to the whole world. This Mathias in the ſayd booke of Antichriſt alledgeth the ſayinges and writinges of the Vniuerſitye of Paris, alſo the writinges of Gulielmus de ſancto amore, and of Militzius aforenoted.

Ioannes Mountziger proteſtāt againſt the pope.

1384.

About the ſame tyme, or ſhortlye after, an. 1384. we reade alſo of Iohannes of Mountziger, Rector of the vniuerſity of Vlme, who openly in the ſcholes in his oratiō propounded that the bodye of Chriſt was not God, and therefore not to be worſhipped as God with that kynde of woorſhyp called latria, as the Sophiſter tearmeth it, meaning thereby the ſacrament not to be adored, which afterward he alſo defended by wryting: affirming alſo that Chriſt in his reſurrection tooke to hym agayne all hys blood which in hys paſſion he had ſhed. Meanyng thereby to inferre, that the blood of Chriſt which in many places is worſhipped, neyther can be called the blood of Chriſt, neyther ought to be worſhipped. But by and by he was reſiſted and wythſtoode by the Monkes and Friers: who by this kynd of Idolatry were greatly enriched, tyl at length the Senate and councell of the citie was fayne to take vp the matter betwene them.

Nilus the archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, an.

Nilus was Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, and lyued muche about this tyme. He wrote a long woorke agaynſt the Latines, that is, againſt ſuche as tooke part and held wyth the church of Rome. Hys booke firſt being written in Greke, was after tranſlated in latin, and lately now into Engliſh, in this our tyme. In the fyrſt chapiter of his booke, he layeth all the blame and faulte of the diſſention and ſchiſme betwene the Eaſt and the Weſt church vpon the Pope. He affirmed that the pope onely woulde commaunde what hym liſted, were it neuer ſo contrary to all the old and aūcient canons. That he would heare & folow no mans aduiſe: that he would not permit any free coūcels to be aſſembled. &c. And that therefore it was not poſſible, that the controuerſies betwene the Grœke church and latin church, ſhould be decided and determined.

In the ſeconde chapiter of his booke, he purpoſedlye maketh a very learned diſputatiō. For firſt he declareth that he no whyt at all by Gods commaundement, but onely by humane law hath any dignity, more then hath other biſhops: whych dignity, the Councels, the fathers, and the Emperours haue graunted vnto hym: Neither did they graunt the ſame for anye other conſideration more, or greater ordinance: then for that the ſame citye then had the Impery of all the whole world: and not at all for that that Peter euer was there, or not there.

Secondarely he declareth, that the ſame primacie or prerogatiue is not ſuch and ſo great as he and his Sicophantes do vſurpe vnto them ſelues. Alſo he refuteth the chiefeſt propoſitions of the Papiſtes one after an other. He declareth that the pope hath no dominion more then other Patriarches haue, and that he himſelfe may erre as well as other mortall men: and that he is ſubiect both to lawes and councels, as well as other biſhops. That it belonged not to hym, but to the Emperour, to cal generall councels: and that in eccleſiaſticall cauſes he coulde eſtabliſhe and ordayne no more then all other Biſhops might. And laſtly, that he getteth no more by Peters ſucceſſion, then that he is a biſhop, as all other biſhops after the Apoſtles be. &c.

Iacobus Miſnenſis and Militzius.

I cannot among other, folowing here the occaſion of this matter offered, leaue out the memorye of Iacobus Miſnenſis, who alſo wrote of the comming of Antichriſt. In the ſame he maketh mencion of a certain learned man, whoſe name was Militzius, which Militzius (ſayth he) was a famous and woorthy preacher in Parga. He lyued about the yeare. 1366. long before Huſſe, and before Wyckleffe alſo. In the ſame his writings he declareth, how the ſame good man Militzius was by the holy ſpirite of God incited, and vehementlye moued to ſearch out of the holy ſcriptures the maner and cōming of Antichriſt: and found that now in his time he was all ready come. And the ſame Iacobus ſayth, that the ſayd Militzius was conſtrayned by the ſpirite of God to go vp to Rome, and there publikly to preache. And that afterwarde before the Inquiſitour he affirmed the ſame. That the ſame mighty and great Antichriſt, the whych the ſcriptures made mention of, was already comen.

He affirmed alſo, that the churche by the negligence of the Paſtors, ſhould become deſolate: and that iniquitie ſhould abound, that is, by reaſon of Mammon, maiſter of iniquitie. Alſo, he ſayd that ther wer in the church of Chriſt Idols, whiche ſhoulde deſtroy Ieruſalem, and make the temple deſolate, but were cloked by hipocriſy. Further, that ther be many which deny Chriſt, for that they kepe ſilence: neyther do they heare Chriſt, whom all the world ſhoulde knowe and confeſſe his verity before men, which alſo wittingly do detayne the verity and iuſtice of God.

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Of Albingenſes becauſe ſufficient mention is made before of whom a great number were burned about the tyme of kyng Ihon, I paſſe them ouer.

Lykewyſe I let paſſe the heremite, of whom Ihon Bacon maketh relation, in his 2. Diſt. Queſt. 1. Who diſputyng in Paules churche, affirmed that thoſe Sacramentes, whiche were then vſed in the churche: were not inſtituted by Chriſt. an. 1306. Peraduenture it was the ſame Ranulfus, mentioned in the floure of hiſtories, and is ſayd to dye in priſon: for the tyme of them doth not much differ.

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Ranulfus.

In Boetius, why the pope ſhould ſo much commend a certaine kyng, becauſe for one mã, he had ſlayne 400. cuttyng away the genitals frõ the reſt, I can not iudge, except the cauſe were ẏ, whiche the pope calleth hereſie.

But to let theſe thynges ouerpaſſe that be vncertaine, becauſe neither is it poſſible to comprehend all them which haue withſtand the corruption of the popes ſee: neither haue we any ſuch firme teſtimonie left of their doyngs, credibly to ſtay vpon: We will now (Chriſt willing) conuert our ſtory, to thynges more certayn and vndoubted, groundyng vpon no lyght reportes of feble credite, nor vpon any fabulous legendes without autoritie: But vpon the true and ſubſtancial copies of the publique recordes of the realme, remainyng yet to be ſeen vnder the kynges moſt ſure and faythfull cuſtody. Out of the which recordes, ſuch matter appeareth agaynſt the popiſh church of Rome, and againſt his vſurped autoritie, ſuch open ſtanding and crying agaynſt the ſayde ſee, and that not priuely, but alſo in open parleament, in the dayes of thys king Edward the third: that neyther will the Romiſh people of this our age eaſelye thinke it to be true whẽ they ſee it, neyther yet ſhall they bee able to deny ẏ ſame, ſo cleare ſtãdeth ẏ force of thoſe records

Ex Archiuis Regiæ Maieſtatis.

Ye heard a litle before, pag. 476. howe John Stratford archbiſhop of Canterburye, beyng ſent for and required by the king to come vnto him, refuſed ſo to doo. What the cauſe was why he denyed to come at ẏ kings ſending, is neither touched of Polidore Virgil, nor of any other monkiſh chronicler, writing of thoſe actes and times. Whoſe part had bene, faythfully to haue diſpenſed the ſimple truth of thinges done to their poſteritie. But that which they diſſemblingly and coulorably haue concealed, contrary to true law of ſtorye, the true cauſe therof we haue found out by the true parlament roles, declaring the ſtory thus.

Parcial diſsimulation in our hiſtories of the church of England.

King Edward the third, in the. vj. yeare of his raign, hearing that Edward Bailol had proclaymed hymſelfe kyng of Scotland: Required counſel of the whole eſtate to wyt, whether were better for him to aſſayle Scotlãd, and to clayme the demeſng or demeynes of the ſame: or els by making him partye to take his aduauntage. And thereby to enioy the ſeruice, as other his Aunceſters before him had done. For this cauſe he ſommoned a parlament of all eſtates to meete at Yorke, about the begynning of December. Where the king was alredy come, waytyng for the cõming of ſuch as were warned therũto. For the want of whoſe cõming, the parlamẽt was reiourned tyl Monday, and from thence to Tueſday next enſuing. But forſomuch as moſt of the ſtates were abſent, the aſſembly required the continuance of the parlament, vntil the vtas of S. Hillary then enſuing at York, which was grãted. And ſo a new ſommons was eſpecially awarded to euery perſon with eſpecial charge to attend, ſo that the affayres of the kyng & the realme might not be hindered, becauſe of the debate betwene the archbiſhop of Cant. and Archbiſhop of Yorke, for the ſuperiour bearing of theyr croſſe.

Ex anno 6. Reg. Edouardi 3. titulo. 1.

In concluſion, for all the kinges ſommoning, none other of all the clergy came, but onely the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of Lincolne, and of Carliel, and Abbots of Yorke and Seleby. So that hereunto came not the archbiſhop of Canterbury, nor any other of his prouince, and all for bearing the croſſe. Whereby the ſame was not onelye a loſſe to the oportunitie to Scotlande: but alſo an importable charge to the whole eſtate by a new reaſſemblye. And thus muche out of the recordes. Whereby thou mayeſt eaſelye iudge (prudent Reader) what is to bee thought of theſe pope holye catholique churchmen (being of the Popes broode and ſetting vp) whom ſuch friuolous cauſes of contention ſtyrre vp to ſuch diſquietnes, both among them ſelues, and alſo to ſuch diſobedience agaynſt their prince: excuſe them who can. Ex an. 6. Regis Edwardi. 3.

The Archbyſhop of Cant. came not to the parlament at Yorke, and all for bearing the croſſe.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſame recordes, concerning the abandoning of the popes prouiſions: how that the commons finde great defanlt at prouiſions cõming from Rome, whereby ſtraungers were enabled wythin

Ex Anno. 17. Reg. Edouardi 3. tit. 39.

gueth alſo agaynſt the cloyſterers, which leauing the onely and true ſauiour, ſet vp to them ſelues their Fránciſcans, theyr Dominickes, and ſuche other: and haue them for their Sauiours, glorieng and triumphing in them, and fayninge manye forged lyes vpon them. He was greatly and much offended with Monkes and Friars, for neglecting or rather burieng the word of Chriſt, and in ſtede of him, for celebrating and ſetting vp theyr own rules and Canons, affirmyng it to be much hurtfull to true godlynes, for that prieſtes, monkes, & nũnes do account themſelues onely ſpirituall, and all other to be lay and ſecular, attributing onely to themſelues the opinion of holynes, and contemning other men, wyth all their politicke adminiſtration, and the office as prophane in compariſon of their own. He further wryteth that Antechriſt hath ſeduced all Uniuerſities and Collegies of learned men, ſo that they teache no ſincere doctrine, neyther geue anye lyght to the Chriſtians wyth their teaching. Finallye, he forewarneth that it will come to paſſe, that God yet once agayne wyll rayſe vp godly teachers, who being feruent in the ſpirite & zeale of Helias, ſhall diſcloſe and refute the errours of the Antichriſt, and Antichriſt hym ſelfe, openlye to the whole world. This Mathias in the ſayd booke of Antichriſt alledgeth the ſayinges and writinges of the Uniuerſitye of Paris, alſo the writinges of Gulielmus de ſancto amore, and of Militzius aforenoted.

Ioannes Mountziger proteſtãt againſt the pope.

1384.

About the ſame tyme, or ſhortlye after, an.1384. we reade alſo of Johannes of Mountziger, Rector of the vniuerſity of Ulme, who openly in the ſcholes in his oratiõ propounded that the bodye of Chriſt was not God, and therefore not to be worſhipped as God with that kynde of woorſhyp called latria, as the Sophiſter tearmeth it, meaning thereby the ſacrament not to be adored, which afterward he alſo defended by wryting: affirming alſo that Chriſt in his reſurrection tooke to hym agayne all hys blood which in hys paſſion he had ſhed. Meanyng thereby to inferre, that the blood of Chriſt which in many places is worſhipped, neyther can be called the blood of Chriſt, neyther ought to be worſhipped. But by and by he was reſiſted and wythſtoode by the Monkes and Friers: who by this kynd of Idolatry were greatly enriched, tyl at length the Senate and councell of the citie was fayne to take vp the matter betwene them.

Nilus the archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, an.

Nilus was Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, and lyued muche about this tyme. He wrote a long woorke agaynſt the Latines, that is, againſt ſuche as tooke part and held wyth the church of Rome. Hys booke firſt being written in Greke, was after tranſlated in latin, and lately now into Engliſh, in this our tyme. In the fyrſt chapiter of his booke, he layeth all the blame and faulte of the diſſention and ſchiſme betwene the Eaſt and the Weſt church vpon the Pope. He affirmed that the pope onely woulde commaunde what hym liſted, were it neuer ſo contrary to all the old and aũcient canons. That he would heare & folow no mans aduiſe: that he would not permit any free coũcels to be aſſembled. &c. And that therefore it was not poſſible, that the controuerſies betwene the Grœke church and latin church, ſhould be decided and determined.

In the ſeconde chapiter of his booke, he purpoſedlye maketh a very learned diſputatiõ. For firſt he declareth that he no whyt at all by Gods commaundement, but onely by humane law hath any dignity, more then hath other biſhops: whych dignity, the Councels, the fathers, and the Emperours haue graunted vnto hym: Neither did they graunt the ſame for anye other conſideration more, or greater ordinance: then for that the ſame citye then had the Impery of all the whole world: and not at all for that that Peter euer was there, or not there.

Secondarely he declareth, that the ſame primacie or prerogatiue is not ſuch and ſo great as he and his Sicophantes do vſurpe vnto them ſelues. Alſo he refuteth the chiefeſt propoſitions of the Papiſtes one after an other. He declareth that the pope hath no dominion more then other Patriarches haue, and that he himſelfe may erre as well as other mortall men: and that he is ſubiect both to lawes and councels, as well as other biſhops. That it belonged not to hym, but to the Emperour, to cal generall councels: and that in eccleſiaſticall cauſes he could eſtabliſhe and ordayne no more then all other Biſhops might. And laſtly, that he getteth no more by Peters ſucceſſion, then that he is a biſhop, as all other biſhops after the Apoſtles be. &c.

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In Tritenius is ſignified of one Eckhardus a Dominican Friar, who not long before Wicleffes tyme, was condēned and ſuffred for hereſie at Hedelberge. an, 1330. who as he differeth not much in name, ſo may he be ſuppoſed to be the ſame, whom other do name Beghardus, and is ſayd to be burned at Erphord.

Of Albingenſes becauſe ſufficient mention is made before of whom a great number were burned about the tyme of kyng Ihon, I paſſe them ouer.

Lykewyſe I let paſſe the heremite, of whom Ihon Bacon maketh relation, in his 2. Diſt. Queſt. 1. Who diſputyng in Paules churche, affirmed that thoſe Sacramentes, whiche were then vſed in the churche: were not inſtituted by Chriſt. an. 1306. Peraduenture it was the ſame Ranulfus, mentioned in the floure of hiſtories, and is ſayd to dye in priſon: for the tyme of them doth not much differ.

In Boetius, why the pope ſhould ſo much commend a certaine kyng, becauſe for one mā, he had ſlayne 400. cuttyng away the genitals frō the reſt, I can not iudge, except the cauſe were ẏ, whiche the pope calleth hereſie.

But to let theſe thynges ouerpaſſe that be vncertaine, becauſe neither is it poſſible to comprehend all them which haue withſtand the corruption of the popes ſee: neither haue we any ſuch firme teſtimonie left of their doyngs, credibly to ſtay vpon: We will now (Chriſt willing) conuert our ſtory, to thynges more certayn and vndoubted, groundyng vpon no lyght reportes of feble credite, nor vpon any fabulous legendes without autoritie: But vpon the true and ſubſtancial copies of the publique recordes of the realme, remaynyng yet to be ſeen vnder the kynges moſt ſure and faythfull cuſtody. Out of the which recordes, ſuch matter appeareth agaynſt the popiſh church of Rome, and againſt his vſurped autoritie, ſuch open ſtanding and crying agaynſt the ſayde ſee, and that not priuely, but alſo in open parleament, in the dayes of thys king Edward the third: that neyther will the Romiſh people of this our age eaſelye thinke it to be true whē they ſee it, neyther yet ſhall they bee able to deny ẏ ſame, ſo cleare ſtādeth ẏ force of thoſe recordes

Ex Archiuis Regiæ Maieſtatis.

Ye heard a litle before, pag. 476. howe John Stratford archbiſhop of Canterburye, beyng ſent for and required by the king to come vnto him, refuſed ſo to doo. What the cauſe was why he denyed to come at ẏ kings ſending, is neither touched of Polidore Virgil, nor of any other monkiſh chronicler, writing of thoſe actes and times. Whoſe part had bene, faythfully to haue diſpenſed the ſimple truth of thinges done to their poſteritie. But that which they diſſemblingly and coulorably haue concealed, contrary to true law of ſtorye, the true cauſe therof we haue found out by the true parlament roles, declaring the ſtory thus.

Parcial diſſimulation in our hiſtories of the church of England.

King Edward the third, in the. vj. yeare of his raign, hearing that Edward Bailol had proclaymed hymſelfe kyng of Scotland: Required counſel of the whole eſtate to wyt, whether were better for him to aſſayle Scotlād, and to clayme the demeſing or demeynes of the ſame: or els by making him partye to take his aduauntage. And thereby to enioy the ſeruice, as other his Aunceſters before him had done. For this cauſe he ſommoned a parlament of all eſtates to meete at Yorke, about the begynning of December. Where the king was alredy come, wayting for the cōming of ſuch as were warned therūto. For the want of whoſe cōming, the parlamēt was reiourned tyl Monday, and from thence to Tueſday next enſuing. But forſomuch as moſt of the ſtates were abſent, the aſſembly required the continuance of the parlament, vntil the vtas of S. Hillary then enſuing at York, which was grāūted. And ſo a new ſommons was eſpecially awarded to euery perſon with eſpecial charge to attend, ſo that the affayres of the kyng & the realme might not be hindered, becauſe of the debate betwene the archbiſhop of Cant. and Archbiſhop of Yorke, for the ſuperiour bearing of theyr croſſe.

Ex anno 6. Reg. Edouardi 3. titulo. 1.

In concluſion, for all the kinges ſommoning, none other of all the clergy came, but onely the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of Lincolne, and of Carliel, and Abbots of Yorke and Selby. So that hereunto came not the archbiſhop of Canterbury, nor any other of his prouince, and all for bearing the croſſe. Whereby the ſame was not onelye a loſſe to the oportunitie to Scotlande: but alſo an importable charge to the whole eſtate by a new reaſſemblye. And thus muche out of the recordes. Whereby thou mayeſt eaſelye iudge (prudent Reader) what is to bee thought of theſe pope holye catholique churchmen (being of the Popes broode and ſetting vp) whom ſuch friuolous cauſes of contention ſtyrre vp to ſuch diſquietnes, both among them ſelues, and alſo to ſuch diſobedience agaynſt their prince: excuſe them who can. Ex an. 6. Regis Edwardi. 3.

The Archbyſhop of Cant. came not to the parlament at Yorke, and all for bearing the croſſe.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſame recordes, concerning the abandoning of the popes prouiſions: how that the commons finde great default at prouiſions cōming from Rome, whereby ſtraungers were enabled wythin

Ex Anno. 17. Reg. Edouardi 3. tit. 39.

The popes prouiſions from Rome reſtrayned. tit. 59.

this realme to enioy eccleſiaſticall dignities, and ſhewe diuers inconueniences enſuyng thereby, namely the decay of dayly almoſe, the tranſporting of the treaſure to nouriſhe the kinges ennemies, the diſcouering of the ſecretes of the realme, and the inabling & impoueriſhing of the Clerkes within this realme.

The churche of England ſpoyled by the pope and his ſeruantes.

They alſo ſhewe howe the Pope had in moſt couert wyſe graunted to. 2. new Cardinals within this realme (and namely to cardinall Peragotz) aboue ten thouſād markes of yerely taxes: They therefore required ẏ king and nobles to finde ſome remedye, for that they neuer could ne would any longer beare thoſe ſtraunge oppreſſions, or els to helpe them to expel out of this realme the Popes power by force.

The acte of K. Edward the firſt, reuiued for premunire, tit. 60.

Hereupon, the Kyng, Lordes, and commōs, ſent for the acte made at Carliel, in the. xxxv. yeare of kyng Edward, the firſt vpon the lyke complaynt: thereby forbidding, that any thing ſhould be attempted or brought into the realme, which ſhould tende to the blemiſhing of ẏ kinges prerogatiue, or to preiudice of his Lordes or cōmons. And ſo at this time, the ſtatute called ẏ acte of prouiſion was made by common conſent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any bulles, or ſuche trynckets from the court of Rome, or the vſyng, enioying, or allowing of any ſuch byll, proceſſe, inſtrument, or ſuche ware as thereby at large doth appeare. Whereof ſufficiently is touched before. pag. 441.

Anno Reg. Edouardi, 3. 10. titul. 32

The penaltie of which ſtatute afterward folowed in the next Parlamēt, an. reg. Ed. 18. tit. 32. the which penaltie was this: the trāſgreſſors therof to lye in perpetuall priſon, or to be foriuted the land. And that all Iuſtices of Aſſiz, Gaile deliuery, and Oyer and determiner, may determine the ſame. Required with all, that the ſame acte of prouiſion ſhould continue for euer.

Preſentation within 4. monethes. an reg. 18 tit. 34.

Item, that the ſayde. 18. yeare of the raigne of kyng Edward, tit. 34. it was moreouer propounded: that if any Archb. or any perſon religious or other, do not preſēt within 4. mōthes ſome able clarke to any dignity, wher any perſon hathe obteyned from Rome any prouiſion, Bull, &c. but ſurceaſe the ſame: that then the kyng may preſent ſome able clerke.

No elections to be taken by the pope, but onely by the k. an. reg. 18. tit 35

Diſpoſitions of benefices onely in the kynges hand, an 18. Ed. 3. titul. 36.

Bulles from Rome forbidden, an 18 reg Ed. 3. tit. 37.

Item, propounded in the ſaid parliament, an. 18. reg. Ed. 3. that if any biſhop elect, ſhal refuſe to take any ſuch biſhoprikes, other thē by ſuch bull: that then ſuch elect, ſhall not enter ne enioy his temporalties without his ſpeciall licence.

Alſo, that the kyng ſhall diſpoſe all ſuch benefices & dignities of ſuch aliens hys enemies, as remayne in the countrey of his enemies, and employ the profites therof to the defence of the realme.

Moreouer propounded, that commiſſioners be ſent to all the kings portes, to apprehend all ſuch perſons as ſhall bring in any ſuche inſtrument from Rome, and to bring thē forthwith before the counſail to anſwer therto.

The Deanrie of Yorke taken from the Cardinall, an 18 reg. Ed. 3. tit. 38.

Propounded farthermore, that the Deanry of York whiche is to be recouered by iudgement in the kynges court, may be beſtowed vpon ſome able man within the realme, who will maintaine the ſame againſt him (meanyng the Cardinals, who holdeth the ſame by prouiſion from Rome, beyng the enemye to the kyng and to the realme) and that the profites may be employed to the defenſe of the realme.

The kings aunſwer and agreement to the foreſayd petitions.

The kynges aunſwere. To all which petitions aunſwere was made in forme folowyng: Yt is agreed by the kyng, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, and other wiſemen of the realme, that the petitions aforeſayd be made in ſufficient forme of law, accordyng to the petitiōs aforeſayd.

Note, that the byſhops be not here named, & yet the parliament ſtandeth in force.

¶ Note in this aūſwere of the kyng (good reader) that at the graunt hereof, the conſent of the byſhops is neyther named, nor expreſſed, with the other Lordes of the parlament: and yet, the parlament ſtandeth in his full force, notwithſtandyng.

¶ Notes of the Parliament holden in the xx. yeare.

Alien monkes to anoyde, an. 20. Ed. 3 tit. 30.

TO paſſe farther to the 20. yeares of ẏ kynges reigne in the parlament holden the ſame yeare, it was propoſided: that all Alien monkes ſhould auoyde the realme by the day of S. Michael, and that their lyuinges ſhould be diſpoſed: to young Engliſh ſcholers. The lyuinges of theſe the kyng toke to his handes.

The lyuinges of ſtraungers beneficed, taken in the kinges hands, The liuing of Rom ſtraunge diſpoſed Engliſh tit. 32. Tit 33.

Item, that the kyng may take the profites of all other ſtraungers lyuinges, as Cardinals and others, duryng their lyues. The profites of whome were alſo in the kynges handes.

That ſuch aliens enemyes, as be aduaunced to lyuinges here in England (beyng in their owne coūtreis, ſhomakers, tailers, or chāberlanes to Cardinals) ſhould depart before Michaelmas, and their lyuynges diſpoſed to poore Engliſh ſcholers. The lyuynges alſo of theſe remained in the kinges handes.

The commons denyed to pay any payment, to any Cardinalls lyeng in Fraunce, to entreat of warre or peace; whiche alſo was graunted of the kynges parte as reaſonable.

Cardinals depriued their lyuinges in England, tit. 34.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, that the yearely aduauncement of ij. thouſand markes (graunted by the pope to ij. Cardinals, out of the prouincies of Cant. and Yorke) ſhould be reſtrayned, & ſuch as ſhall purſue therfore to be out of the law.

Likewiſe enacted and agreed, that no Engliſh man ſhould take any thyng in ferme of any Alient religious, ne bye any of their goodes, nor be of their counſaile, on payne of perpetuall impriſonment.

Enacted further, that no perſon ſhould bryng into the realme to any byſhop or other, any Bull, or any other letters from Rome, or from any Alien: onleſſe he ſhewe the ſame to the Chauncelor or warden of the Cinque portes, vpon loſſe of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the ſayd parlament, the biſhops were commaunded before the next conuocation, to certifye into the chauncery the names of ſuch Aliens, of their benefices, and the valucs of the ſame.

¶ Notes of the 25. yeare. Edward the 3.

Ex Arch 25. an. r Ed. 3.

The pope firſt in and reſer tions mo hurtfull the realm then all the kings wa titul. 14.

The parlament of the 25. yeare, was begonne the 6. day of Februarij, the xxv. yere of kyng Edward 3. In the which parlament beſide other matters mo, was propounded: that remedy might be had agaynſt the Popes reſeruations, by whiche brocage and meanes the Pope receaued the firſt fruites of all eccleſiaſtical dignities: A more conſūption to the realme, thē all the kings warres.

To breal of all appeales Rome, tit. 14.

Alſo the lyke remedy might be had agaynſt ſuch, as in the court of Rome preſume to vndoo any iudgement, geuen in the kynges court, as if they enforced to vndoo the lawes of the realme.

Wherunto it was aunſwered, that there was ſufficient remedy prouided by law.

¶ Notes of 38. yeare of king Edward the 3.

The requeſt of kyng fo cauſes to be d mined a Rome

In the parlamēt holden at Weſtminſter, the 38. yeare of Edward 3. in the vtaues of Hillary (Simon byſhop of Ely beyng Lord chauncelor) it was required by ẏ kings own mouth, and declared to the whole eſtates: How dayly citations and falſe ſuggeſtiōs were made to the pope, for matters determinable in his courts wīn the realme, and for procuring prouiſions to eccleſiaſticall dignities, to the great defacyng of the auncient lawes, to the ſpoylyng of his crowne, to the dayly conueyng away of the treaſure, to the waſtyng of eccleſiaſticall lyuynges, to the withdrawyng of diuine ſeruice, almoſe, hoſpitalitie, and other acceptable workes, and to the dayly increaſe of all miſchiefes: Wherfore, in perſon and by hys owne mouth, the kyng required the whole eſtates to prouide hereof due remedy.

What chiefs by tran ting ca to Rome, tit. eod.

To be noted finally in this parlamēt of the 38. yeare, that the Acte of prouiſors, brought in in this parlament, although in the printed copye. cap. 1, 2, 3. 4. doth agree with the recorde, in maner: yet in the ſaid recordes vnprinted, are moe bytyng woordes agaynſt the Pope: a myſtery not to be knowen of all men.

The printed ſtatute of prouiſiõ not agreeing in all [illegible] againſt the pope, wyth the record.

Notes of the 40. yeare of king Edward 3.

Ex anno reg. Edwardi.40. tit.7. vide [illegible]

Yt followeth moreouer in the ſayde Actes of kyng Edward the 3. and in the 40. yere of hys reign, an other parlamẽt was called at Weſtminſter the 3. of May. an. 1366. the Byſhop of Ely beyng Lord Chauncelour and ſpeaker. Who on the ſecond day of the ſayd aſſemble in the preſence of the Kyng, Lordes, and commons, declared: how the day before, generally they vnderſtode the cauſe of this their aſſembly, and nowe more particularly ſhould vnderſtande the ſame: ſpecially howe that the kyng vnderſtode, that the Pope (for the homage whiche kyng Jhon made to the ſee of Rome for the realmes of England and Ireland, and for the tribute by hym grauted) ment by proceſſe to cite the kyng to Rome, to aunſwere therto. Wherin, the kyng required their aduices, what were beſt for him to do, if any ſuch thyng were attempted. The byſhops by their ſelues required reſpite of aunſwere, vntill the next day. So did the Lordes and cõmons euery of them by their ſelues.

The pope mindeth to ſend for the kyng vp by proces.

The ſame next day, the whole eſtates reaſſembled together, and by common conſent enacted in effect folowyng. viz. For aſmuch as neyther kyng Jhon nor any other kyng, could bryng his realme and people in ſuche thraldome and ſubiection, but by common aſſent of parlament, the whiche was not done: and therfore done agaynſt his othe at his coronation (beſides many other cauſes) If therefore the Pope ſhould attempt any thyng agaynſt the kyng, by proceſſe or other matter in dede: That the kyng withall his ſubiectes, ſhould withall their force and power reſiſte the ſame.

K. Iohn could not without conſent of parliament become tributarie to the pope. tit.1.

Agreed by parliament, that the K. by force ſhould reſiſt the pope.

Here moreouer is not to be omitted, how in the ſayd preſent parlament, the vniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge on the one ſide, and the Friers of the foure orders mendicantes in the ſayd vniuerſities on the other ſide: Made long complaints the one agaynſt the other, to the kyng in parliament, and in the end ſubmitted them ſelues to the kynges order.

Braule betwene the 4. orders of friers and the vniuerſities. tit.10.

After which, the kyng vpon full digeſtyng of ŷ whole matter (by aſſent of parliament) toke order: that aſwel ŷ chauncelor and ſchollers, as the Friers of thoſe orders in the ſayd vniuerſities: ſhould in all graces & other ſchole exerciſes, vſe eche other in frendly wiſe, without any rumour as before. That none of thoſe orders, ſhould receiue any ſcholers into theyr ſayd orders, beyng vnder the age of xviij. yeares.

That the ſayd Friers ſhall take no aduauntage, ne procure Bulles or other proceſſe from Rome, againſt the ſayd vniuerſities, or procede therin.

And that the kyng haue power to redreſſe all controuerſies, betwene them from thence forthe. And the offenders to be puniſhed at the pleaſure of the kyng, and of the counſail.

The friers ſubiecte to the Lordes order, onely in all their cõtrouerſies, parliament tit.12.

¶ Notes of the 50. yeare of king Edward 3.

Ex Archiuis Regiæ Maieſtatis anno 50. reg. Edwardi.3. tit.94.

1 In proceſſe of ŷ foreſayd Actes and rolles, it foloweth more, that in the 50. yeare of the reigne of king Edward the 3. the yeare of our Lord. 1376. an other great parlament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 24. of April: Where, Syr Jhon Knyuell beyng Lord Chancelour of England, a certaine long Bill was put vp agaynſt the vſurpacions of the pope, as beyng the cauſe of all ŷ plagues, murriõs famine, and pouertie of the realme, ſo as therby was not left the third perſon, or other commoditie within the realme that lately was.

2 That the taxes payed to the Pope of Rome for eccleſiaſticall dignities, do amount to fiue folde as much, as the taxe of all profites as apperteine to the kyng by the yeare of his whole realme: And that for ſome one biſhoprike or other dignitie, the pope by way of tranſlation and death, hath three, foure, or fiue, ſeuerall taxes.

Againſt the vſurpation of the pope [illegible] of all miſchiefes in England.

3 That the Brokers of that ſinnefull Citie, for money promote many Captiſes (beyng altogether vnlearned & vnworthy) to a thouſand markes liuing by yeare, where the learned and worthy can hardly obteyne xx. markes, wherby learning decayeth.

Brokers of the ſinnefull citie of Rome. tit. 96

4 That Alyens (enemyes to this lande) who neuer ſaw ne care not to ſee their pariſhioners, haue thoſe liuinges wherby they deſpiſe Gods ſeruice, and conuey away the treaſure, and are worſe then Jewes or Saraſens.

The treaſure of the Realme conueied away by the popes meanes. tit. 97.

5 Alſo it was put vp in the ſayd Bill to be conſidered, that the lawe of the churche, would ſuch lyuinges to be beſtowed for charity, onely without prayeng or payeng.

6 That reaſon would that liuings geuen of deuotion, ſhould be beſtowed in hoſpitalitie.

7 That God had committed his ſheepe to the Pope, to be paſtured and not ſhoren or ſhauen.

8 That lay patrones perceauyng the couetouſnes and Symony of the Pope, do therby learne to ſell their benefices to beaſtes, none otherwyſe then Chriſt was ſold to the Jewes.

The pope geueth example to ſell benefices. tit. 99.

9 That there is none ſo riche a prince in Chriſtendom, that hath the fourth part of ſo much treaſure, as ŷ Pope hath out of this realme, for churches moſt ſinnefully.

Ineſtimable that the pope hath here out of England.

10 Ouer and beſides in the ſayd Bill, repetyng agayne the tenderyng zeale, for the honor of the churche: was declared and particularly named, all the plagues whiche haue iuſtly fallẽ vpon this realme, for ſuffryng the ſame church to be ſo defaced, with declaration that it wil dayly encreaſe without redreſſe.

This realme iuſtly plagued, for ſo ſufferyng the B. of Rome tit. 100.

11 Wherupon, with much perſuaſion this was deſired, to help to reedifie ŷ ſame: and ŷ rather for that, this was the yeare of Jubiley, the fifty yeare of the kyngs reigne the yeare of ioye & gladnes, then the whiche there could be no greater.

Reſeruation of the church of England deſired in the Parliament. 111.

12 The meanes how to begyn this, was to write two letters to the Pope: the one in Latine vnder the kynges ſeale, the other in French vnder the ſeales of the nobles, importyng their particularities, and requiring redreſſe, of the whiche letter of the Lordes, mention was made, and the copy thereof drawne out of Frenche, pag. 479.

13 And for a further accompliſhement hereof to enact, that no money were caryed forth of the realme by letter of Lumbardy or otherwiſe, on paine of forfaicture & impriſonment, and to enacte the articles hereafter enſuing.

Actes made for no mony to be tranſported. tit. 103.

14 The kyng hath heretofore by ſtatute prouided ſufficient remedy, and otherwiſe purſueth the ſame with the holy father the Pope, and ſo myndeth to do from tyme to tyme, vntill he hath obteyned aſwell for the matters before, as for ŷ articles enſuing beyng in maner all one.

15 That the Popes collector and other ſtraungers the kyngs enemyes, and onely lyger Spies for Engliſh dignities, and diſcloſing of the ſecretes of the realme, maye be touched.

Againſt the popes lyger ſpies, and collector, tit. 104.

16 That the ſame collector beyng alſo receauour of the popes pence, kepeth a houſe in London with clerkes and officers therto, as it were one of the kynges ſolempne courtes, tranſporting yearely to the pope xx. M. markes and moſt commonly more.

The popes collection what it commeth to. tit. 105.

17 That Cardinals and other Aliens remaynyng at Rome, whereof one Cardinall is Deane of Yorke, an other of Saliſbury, an other of Lyncolne, an other archdeacon of Canterb. an other Archdeacon of Dureſme, an other archdeacon of Suffolke, an other archdeacon of Yorke, an other prebendary of Thame and Naſſington, an other prebendarye of Buckes in the churche of Yorke: Haue diuers of the beſt dignities in Englande, & haue ſent ouer to thẽ yearely. xx. thouſand markes ouer & aboue that which Engliſh brokers lying there, haue.

The beſt dignities in Englãd in the cardinals, tit. 106

18 That the Pope (to raunſome ŷ Frenchmẽ the kings enemies, who defẽd Lumbardy from him) doth alwaies at his pleaſure leuy a ſubſidye of the whole Clergye of England.

The pope maintayneth the kings enemies, with the kyngs money. tit. 107

The popes practiſe in England to make mony. tit. 108.

19 That the pope for more gayne maketh ſundry trãſlations of all the Biſhoprickes and other dignities within the realme.

The popes Collector taketh the firſt fruites tit. 109

20 That the popes collector hath this yeare taken to his vſe the firſte fruites of all benefices, by collation or prouiſion.

The law of premunire to be renued.

30 Cardinals, wher was vſed to be but 12. and all the kings enemies ſaue 3. tit 110.

21 To renue all the ſtatutes agaynſt prouiſors from Rome, ſythe that the pope reſerueth all the benefices of the world for his owne proper gyft, and hath this yeare created xij. new Cardinals, ſo as now there are thirty, where was wonte to bee but. xij. & all thoſe Cardinals, except two or three, are the kings enemyes.

Againſt the popes vſurpation. tit. 112.

22 That the pope in time, will geue the temporall manors of thoſe dignities to the kinges enemies, ſithe he ſo dayly vſurpeth vpon the realme, & the kings regalities.

23 That all houſes and corporations of religion, who vnto the kinges raygne nowe had free election of their heads, now the pope hath encroched the ſame to himſelf.

Engliſh money paith the popes legacies, tit. 113

24 That in all legacies from the pope, whatſoeuer: the Engliſh Clergy beareth the charge of the Legates, and all for the goodnes of our money.

No good money in the realme for the pope and Card. tit. 114.

25 And ſo it appeareth, that if the money of the realm were as plenteous as euer it was: the Collectors aforeſayd, wyth the Proctors of Cardinals, would ſoone conuey the ſame.

The popes collector or proctor dryuen out of the realme. tit. 115.

26 For remedye hereof it maye be prouided, that no ſuch Collector or Proctor do remayne in Englande, on payne of lyfe and mẽber. And that no Engliſhe man on the lyke payne, become any ſuch Collector or Proctor, or remayne at Rome.

The popes collector to be examined.

27 For better information hereof, and namelye touching the popes Collector, for that the whole Clergy being obediẽt to him, dare not diſpleaſe him: It wer good, that ſyr John Strenſale, perſon of S. Botulphes in Holborne, may be ſent to come before the Lordes and commons of this parlament. Who being ſtraytlye charged, can declare much more, for that he ſerued the ſame Collector in houſe fiue yeares.

Engliſh men good aſſes.

¶ And thus much of this byll touching the popes matters, whereby it may appeare: not to be for nought that hath bene vpõ vs reported by the Italians & other ſtrangers, which vſed to call Engliſh men good Aſſes: for they beare all burdens that be layd vpon them.

Order taken in London againſt vſury tit. 158.

Item, in the ſaide parliament it was prouided alſo, that ſuch order as is made in London agaynſt the horrible vice of Vſurye, maye be obſerued throughout the whole realme.

Complaint againſt the B. of Yorke and hys officers for their exceſsiue taking for admiſsiõs. tit. 171

The commons of the dioces of Yorke complayne of the outragious taking, of the Biſhop and his Clarkes, for admiſſion of prieſts to their benefices.

¶ To theſe recordes of the parlament aboue prefixed of the. 50 yeare of this king Edward: we wil adioyn alſo other notes, collected out of the parliament, in the yeare next followyng, whyche was 51. and laſt yeare of this kyngs life and raigne, an. 1377. the 27. of January: Although in the printed booke, theſe ſtatutes are ſayd to be made at the parlament holden, as aboue, in the 50. yeare whiche is much miſtaken, and ought to be referred to the 51. yeare, as by the recordes of the ſayd yeare, manifeſtly doth appeare.

Ex Archiuis Reg. Edouar. 3. an. regni. 51. tit. 36.

Againſt the popes prouiſions frõ Rome. an reg. 51. tit. 36

In which parlament, the byſhop of S. Dauids being Lord Chaũcelour, makyng a long Oration, takyng his theame out of S. Paul: Libenter ſuffertis inſipientes. &c. Declaryng in the ſayd Oration many thynges, as firſt in ſhewyng the ioyfull newes of the old kings recouery: then declaryng the loue of God toward the kyng and realme, in chaſtiſing him with ſickenes: Afterward ſhewyng the bleſſing of God vpon the kyng, in ſeyng his childrẽs childrẽ: Then by a ſimilitude of the head & mẽbers, exhorting the people as members to conforme thẽſelues to the goodnes of the head. Laſtly, he turned his matter to the Lordes and the reſte, declaryng the cauſe of that aſſemble: that forſomuch as the Frẽch kyng had allyed him ſelfe with the Spaniardes and Scottes the kynges enemies, whiche had prepared great powers conſpiring to blotte out the Engliſh tongue & name: the kyng therfore was willyng to haue therin their faithfull cõuſaile.

The effect of the Chauncellours Oration.

The cauſe of this parlament chiefly for the popes vſurpation againſt the kyng.

Thys beyng declared by the Byſhop: Syr Robert Aſhton the kynges Chamberlan, declared that he was to moue thẽ frõ the king, for the profite of the realme (the which wordes percaſe lay not in the byſhops mouth, for yͭ it touched the pope) vz. By proteſtyng firſt that yͤ kyng was ready to do all that ought to be done for the Pope. But for that diuers vſurpations were done by the pope to the kyng hys crowne and realme, as by particular billes in thys parlament ſhould be ſhewed, he required of them to ſeeke redreſſe.

Againſt the popes prouiſions frõ Rome, an reg. 51. tit 35.

In this preſent parlament petition was made by the commons, that all prouiſors of thinges from Rome, and their miniſters, ſhould be out of the kynges protection.

The kings aunſwer.

Whereunto the kyng aunſwered, that the Pope had promiſed redreſſe, which if he dyd not, the lawes then ſhould ſtand.

Againſt the popes diſpenſations, tit 62.

It was alſo in that parlament required, that euery perſon of what ſex ſoeuer, being profeſſed of any religiõ continuyng the habite of xv. yeares, may vpon the triall of the ſame in any of the kynges court, be in law vtterly forbarred of all inheritaunce, albeit he haue diſpenſation from the Pope. Agaynſt whiche diſpenſation, is the chief grudge. Wherunto the kyng and the Lordes aunſwered, ſaying that they would prouide.

By this A referri is, premo re is men the preeminence boue the king.

The pop law of p minere, which no we com ly call p munire barred by the K. tit.

Item, in the ſayd parlament was propounded, that the ſtatute of prouiſors made at any time may be executed, and that remedy may be had agaynſt ſuche Cardinals, as haue within the prouinces of Canterburye and York, purchaſed reſeruations, with the clauſe of Anteferri, to the value of. xx. or. xxx. thouſand Scutes of golde againſt the Popes Collector: who was wont to bee an Engliſh man, and now is a mere Frenche, reſiding at London, and conueieth yearely to the pope. xx. thouſand markes, or. xx. thouſand poũd, who this yeare gathereth the firſt fruites whatſouer. Alledging, the meanes to meete with theſe reſeruations and nouelries, are: to cõmaund all ſtraungers to departe the realme during the warres, yͭ no Engliſh man to become their farmour, or do ſend to them any money without ſpeciall lycence, on payne to be out of the kynges protection: Whereunto was anſwered by the king, that the ſtatutes and ordinances therefore made, ſhould be obſerued.

Ex Acti parlam in an. re Ed. terij 15. tit. 24

In theſe rolls and recordes of ſuch parlaments as was in this kinges tyme continued, diuers other things are to be noted much worthye to be marked, and not to be ſuppreſſed in ſilence. Wherin the Reader may learne and vnderſtand, the ſtate of the kinges iuriſdiction here within this realme, not to be ſtraightned in thoſe dayes (although the Pope then ſeemed to be in his chiefe ruffe) as afterward ſince in other kinges dayes was ſene. As may appeare in the parlament of the. xv. yere of this K. Edward the third, and in the. 24 article of the ſayd parlament: where it is to be red, that the kyngs officers and temporall Juſtices did then both puniſh vſurers, and impeached the officers of the church for bribery, and for taking money for temporall payne, probate of wylles, ſolemnitie of mariage. &c. all the pretenſed liberties of the popiſh church to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Puniſh of the cle gy in the tempora mens hā

Clarks iect to poral

Furthermore, in the parlament of the. 25. yeare, appeareth: that the liberties of the Clergy and their exemptions, in clayming the deliueraunce of men by theyr booke vnder the name of clarkes, ſtood then in litle force, as appeared by one Haukeryne Honby Knight: who for inpriſoning one of the kinges ſubiectes, till he made fine of. xx. pound, was therefore executed, notwithſtandyng the libertie of the Clergy, which by hys booke wold haue ſaued him, but could not.

The like alſo appeared by iudgement geuen againſt a prieſt at Notingham, for killing of his maiſter.

And lykewyſe, by hanging certain monks of Combe Ex parlam. an. 25. Ed. 3.

The raynement of the Archb. of Cant. an. 15 Ed. patit. 49

Item, in the parlament of the. 15. yeare, by apprehending of I. Stratford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, & hys arraynment: concerning which his arrainmēt, al things were committed to ſyr William of Kildiſby.

...hn Wyckleffe ſent with the kings Embaſſadours by the K.

Beſides theſe truthes and notes of the kinges parlamentes, wherein may appeare the toward procedinges of this king and of all his commons agaynſt the pretenſed church of Rome: This is moreouer to be added to the commendation of the king, how in the booke of the acts and rolls of the king appeareth. That the ſayd king Edward the third, ſent alſo John Wickliffe, reader then of the diuinitie lector in Oxford, with certayne other lords and Embaſſadours to the Duke of Millane, to entreate a mariage betwene his daughter, and Leonel kyng Edwards ſonne. By the which it is to be noted, what good wyll the king then bare to the ſaid Wickleffe, and what ſmall regard he had to the ſinfull ſee of Rome.

Of the which John Wickleffe, becauſe we are nowe approched to his tyme: remayneth conſequently for our ſtory to entreate of, ſo as we haue here to fore done of other like valiāt ſoldiours of Chriſtes church before him.

¶ Iohn Wickleffe.

...e begin ...h the ſto ...of Iohn ...ickliffe.

After all theſe here tofore recited, by whom (as ye haue herd) it pleaſed the Lord ſomthing to worke agaynſt the biſhop of Rome, and to weaken the pernitious ſuperſtition of ẏ friers: Now remaineth conſequently following the courſe of yeares, orderly to enter into the ſtorie and tractation of John Wickleffe our countreyman, and other moe of his tyme, & ſame countrey, whom the Lord (with the like zeale and power of ſpirit) raiſed vp here in England, to detect more fully and amplye the poyſon of the popes doctrine, and falſe religion ſet vp by the friers. In whoſe opinions and aſſertions, albeit ſome blemiſhes perhaps may be noted: yet ſuche blemiſhes they be, which rather declare him to be a mā that might erre, then which directlye dyd fight againſt Chriſt our Sauiour, as the popes procedinges and the fryers dyd. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church, ſo perfect, ſo abſolutely ſure, in whome no opinion hathe ſometime ſwarued awrye? And yet bee the ſayde articles of his neyther in number ſo many, nor yet ſo groſſe in thēſelues and ſo Cardinall, as thoſe Cardinall enemies of Chriſt perchaunce do geue thē out to be: if hys bookes whom they aboliſhed, were remayning to be conferred with thoſe blemyſhes, which they haue wraſted to the worſte, as euil will neuer ſayd the beſt.

...e blemi ...s of Wic ...e made ...ſe then ...y be.

Thys is certaine and can not be denied, but that he being ẏ publike reader of diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Oxford: was for ẏ rude tyme wherin he liued, famouſly reputed for a great clerke, a deepe ſcholeman, & no leſſe experte in all kinde of Philoſophie. The which doth not onely appeare by his owne moſt famous & learned writinges and monumentes, but alſo by the confeſſion of Walden his moſt cruel and bitter enemie. Who in a certain Epiſtle written vnto pope Martine the v. ſaith, that he was wonderfully aſtoniſhed at his moſt ſtrong argumentes, with the places of auctoritie whiche he had gathered with the vehemency and force of his reaſons, &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by ſuch as haue obſerued the order and courſe of tymes, that thys Wickleffe floriſhed about the yeare of our Lord. 1371. Edward the third raignyng in England: for thus we do finde in the chronicles of Caxton. In the yeare of our Lord. 1371. (ſayth he) Edward the third, kyng of Englād in his parliamēt, was agaynſt the popes clergy: He willyngly harkned and gaue eare to the voyces and tales of Heretickes, with certain of his counſel: conceauing and folowyng ſiniſter opinions, agaynſt the clergy. Wherfore (afterward) he taſted and ſuffred much aduerſitie & trouble. And not long after, in ẏ yeare of our Lord (ſaith he) 1372. he wrote vnto ẏ byſhop of Rome, that he ſhould not by any meanes entermedle any more within hys kyngdome as touchyng the reſeruations, or diſtributiō of benefices: And that all ſuch biſhops as were vnder his dominion, ſhould enioy their former and auncient libertie, and be confirmed of their metropolitanes, as hath been accuſtomed in tymes paſt. &c. Thus much writeth Caxton: But as touchyng the iuſt number of the yeare and time, we will not be very curious or carefull about, at this preſent. This is out of all doubt, ẏ at what tyme all the world was in moſt deſperate and vile eſtate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkenes of God his truth had ouerſhadowed the hole earth: This man ſtepped forth lyke a valiaunt champion, vnto whom it may iuſtly bee applyed that is ſpoken in the booke called Eccleſiaſticus of one Simon the ſonne of Onias. Euen as the mornyng ſtarre beyng in the middeſt of a cloud, and as the moone beyng full in her courſe, and as the bryght bemes of the ſunne: ſo doth he ſhyne and gliſter in the temple and churche of God. Thus doth almighty God continually ſuccour and helpe, when all thynges are in diſpayre: beyng alwayes (accordyng to the Prophecy of the Pſalme) a helper in tyme of nede. The whiche thyng neuer more playnly appeared, thē in theſe latter dayes & extreme age of the churche: when as the whole ſtate and condition (not onely of wordly thinges, but alſo of religion) was ſo depraued and corrupted. That lyke as the diſeaſe named Lethargus amongeſt the Phiſicions, euen ſo the ſtate of religion amongeſt the diuines, was paſt al mens helpe and remedy. The onely name of Chriſt remayned amongeſt Chriſtians, but his true and lyuelye doctrine was as farre vnknowen vnto the moſt part, as his name was comen vnto all men. As touchyng fayth, conſolatiō, the end and vſe of ẏ lawe, the office of Chriſt, of our impotency and weakenes, of the holy ghoſt, of the greatnes and ſtrength of ſinne, of true workes, of grace and free iuſtification & liberty of a Chriſtian man, wherin conſiſteth and reſteth the whole ſumme and matter of our profeſſion: there was no mention nor any worde almoſt ſpoke of. Scripture, learnyng, and diuinitie, was knowne but vnto a fewe, and that in the ſcholes onely: & there alſo, turned and conuerted almoſt all into ſophiſtry. In ſtede of Peter and Paul, men occupied their tyme in ſtudying Aquinas and Scotus, & the maiſter of ſentēce. The world leauyng and forſakyng the liuely power of Gods ſpirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led & blynded with outward ceremonies and humaine traditions, wherin the whole ſcope, in a maner of all Chriſtiā perfection did conſiſte and depende. In theſe was all the hope of obteynyng ſaluation fully fixed: here vnto all thynges were attributed. In ſo much, that ſcarſly any other thyng was ſeen in the temples or churches taught or ſpoken of in ſermons, or finally intended or gone about in theyr whole life, but onely heaping vp of certain ſhadowed ceremonies vpon ceremonies, neither was ther any end of this theyr heapyng.

An. 1372

A deſcription of Wickliffes tyme.

The people were taught to worſhyp no other thyng but that whiche they did ſee, and did ſee almoſt nothyng whiche they did not worſhyp.

The churche beyng degenerated from the true Apoſtolicke inſtitution aboue all meaſure (reſeruyng onely the name of the Apoſtolicke churche, but farre from the truth thereof in very dede) dyd fall into all kynde of extreme tyranny: Where as the pouertie and ſimplicity of Chriſt was chaunged into crueltie and abhomination of lyfe. In ſteade of the Apoſtolicke giftes and continuall labours and trauailles, ſlouthfulnes and ambition was crept in amongeſt the prieſts. Beſides al this, there aroſe and ſprong vp a thouſand ſortes and facions of ſtrāge religions, beyng the onely roote and well heade of all ſuperſtition. Howe great abuſes and deprauations were crept into the Sacramentes, at what time they were cōpelled to worſhip ſimilitudes and ſignes of thynges, for the very thynges them ſelues: and to adore ſuch thynges as were inſtituted and ordeyned onely for memorialls? Finally what thyng was there, in the hole ſtate of Chriſten religion ſo ſincere, ſo ſounde and pure, whiche was not defiled and ſpotted with ſome kynde of ſuperſtition? Beſides this, with how many bondes and ſnares of dayly new fangled ceremonies, the ſely conſciences of men redemed by Chriſt to libertie, were ſnared and ſnarled? In ſo much, that there could be no great differēce almoſt perceaued betwene Chriſtianite and Iuiſhnes, ſaue onely that the ſtate and cōdition of the Iewes, might ſeeme ſomwhat more tolerable, then ours. There was nothing ſoughte for out of the true fountaines, but out of the dirty pudles of the Philiſtians. The chriſtiā people were wholy caried away as it wer by the noſes, with meere decrées and conſtitutions of men, euen whether as pleaſed the byſhops to leade thē, & not as Chriſtes will did direct them. All the whole worlde was filled and ouerwhelmed with errours and darkenes. And no great maruell, for why the ſimple and vnlearned people beyng farre from all knowledge of the holy Scripture: thought it ſufficient inough for them, to know onely theſe thynges whiche were deliuered them by their paſtors and ſhepheardes, and they on the other parte taught in a maner nothyng els, but ſuch things as came forth of the court of Rome. Whereof the moſt part tended to the profite of their order, more then to the glory of Chriſt. The Chriſtian fayth was eſtemed or counted none other thyng then, but that euery man ſhould know that Chriſt once ſuffred, that is to ſay, that all men ſhould know and vnderſtand ẏ thing which the deuils them ſelues alſo knew. Hypocriſie was counted for wonderfull holynes. All men were ſo addicte vnto outward ſhewes, that euē they them ſelues which profeſſed the moſt abſolute and ſingular knowledge of the Scriptures, ſcarſly did vnderſtād or know any other thyng. And this euidently did appeare, not onely in the common ſorte of Doctors and teachers, but alſo in the very heddes and captaynes of the churche: whoſe hole religion and holynes, conſiſted in a maner in the obſeruyng of dayes, meates, and garmentes, and ſuch lyke rethoricall circumſtances, as of place, tyme, perſon. &c. Hereof ſprang ſo many ſortes and facions of veſtures and garmentes: ſo many differences of colors & meates: with ſo many pilgrimages to ſeueral places, as though S. Iames at Compoſtella could do, that whiche Chriſt could not do at Canterbury: Or els that God were not of lyke power and ſtrength in euery place, or could not be founde but beyng ſought for by runnyng and gaddyng hither and thither. Thus the holynes of the hole yeare was tranſported and put of vnto the Lent ſeaſon. No countrey or land was counted holy, but onely Paleſtina, where Chriſt had walked him ſelfe with his corporall féete. Such was the blindnes of that tyme, men dyd ſtriue and fight for the croſſe at Ieruſalē, as it had béen for the chief and onely force and ſtrength of our fayth. It is a wonder to read the monumentes of the foremore tymes, to ſée and vnderſtande what great troubles and calamities this croſſe hath cauſed almoſt in euery Chriſtian common wealth. For the Romiſhe champions neuer ceaſed, by writyng, admoniſhyng, and counſayling, yea and by quarellyng: to moue and ſtirre vp Princes mindes to warre and battaile, euen as though the fayth and beleſe of ẏ Goſpell, were of ſmall force or litle effect without that woodē croſſe. This was the cauſe of the expedition of the moſt noble Prince kyng Richarde vnto Ieruſalem. Who beyng taken in the ſame iourney, and deliuered vnto the emperour: could ſcarſly be ranſomed home again, for thirty M. markes. pag. 325. In the ſame enterpriſe or iourney, Fridericus ẏ Emperour of Rome a man of moſt excellent vertue, was drowned in a certayne riuer there, in the yeare of our Lord. 1179. And alſo Philip the kyng of Fraunce, ſcarſly returned home agayne in ſaftye, not without great loſſes: ſo much dyd they eſteme the recouery of ẏ holy citie and croſſe. Upon this alone, all mens eyes, minds, and deuotions, wer ſo ſet and bent: as though either there were no other croſſe but that, or that ẏ croſſe of Chriſt were in no other place but onely at Ieruſalem. Such was the blyndnes and ſuperſtition of thoſe dayes, whiche vnderſtode or knew no thyng but ſuch as were outwardly ſéen: where as the profeſſion of our religion ſtandeth in much other higher matters, and greater myſteries. What was the cauſe why that Urbanus did ſo vexe and tormente hym ſelfe? Becauſe that Antioche with the holy croſſe, was loſt out of the hands of the Chriſtians. For ſo we do find it in the Chronicles, at what tyme as Ieruſalē with K. Gwido, and the Croſſe of our Lord was takē, & vnder the power of Sultane: Urbanus toke the matter ſo greuouſly, ẏ for very ſorrow he dyed. In whoſe place ſucceded Lābertus whiche was called Gregorie the eight: by whoſe motion it was decréed by the Cardinals, that (ſettyng aparte all riches and voluptuouſnes) they ſhould preach the croſſe of Chriſt, and by theyr pouertie and humilitie firſt of all ſhould take the croſſe vpō thē, & go before others into the lād of Ieruſalē. Theſe are ẏ wordes of the hiſtorie. Wherby it is euident vnto ẏ vigilant reader, vnto what groſenes the true knowledge of the ſpiritual doctrine of ẏ Goſpell was degenerate & growē vnto, in thoſe dayes: How great blindnes and darkenes was in thoſe dayes, euen in the firſt primacie, and ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome: as though the outward ſucceſſion of Peter & the Apoſtles, had ben of great force or effecte to that matter. What dothe it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded, that euery mā ſhould labour and ſtudie with all their endeuour, to folowe the life and confeſſion of Peter: And that man ſemeth vnto me to be the true ſucceſſor of Peter, agaynſt whom ẏ gates of hell ſhall not preuaile. For if that Peter in the Goſpell do beare the type and figure of ẏ chriſten church (as all mē in a maner do affirme) what more foliſhe or vayne thing can there be: then thorow priuate vſurpation, to reſtraine and to bind that vnto one man, which by the appoyntment of the Lord is of it ſelfe free and open to ſo many?

Al good things defiled & ſpotted with ſuperſtition.

The captain of the church ſeduced as well as the inferiour ſort.

Paleſtina denied holy for Chriſtes walkyng there.

Richard, K. of Englande.

Thus in theſe ſo great and troublous times and horrible darkenes of ignoraunce, what tyme there ſemed in a maner to be no one ſo litle a ſparke of pure doctrine lefte or remaynyng: This foreſayd Wickliffe by Gods prouidence, ſprang and roſe vp: through whom, the lord would firſt waken and raiſe vp agayn the world, which was ouer muche drowned and whelmed in the deepe ſtreames of humaine traditions. Thus you haue here the time of Wickliffes originall.

Which Wickliffe after he had now by a long tyme profeſſed diuinitie in the Uniuerſitie of Oxforde, & perceauing the true doctrine of Chriſtes Goſpell to be adulterate and defiled with ſo many filthy inuentions of biſhops, ſectes of monkes, and darke errours: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himſelf (with many ſecret ſighes and bewayling in hys minde, the general ignorance of ẏ whole world) could no longer ſuffer or abyde the ſame: but that he at ẏ laſt, determined with himſelfe to helpe and to remedie ſuch thinges as he ſaw to be wyde and out of the way. But for ſo muche as he ſawe that thys daungerous medling, coulde not be attempted or ſturred without great trouble, neyther that theſe thinges which had been ſo long time with vſe and cuſtome roted and grafted in mens mindes, coulde not be ſodenly plucked vp or taken awaye, he thought with him himſelf that thys matter ſhoulde be done by litle & litle. Wherefore hee taking his originall at ſmall occaſions, therby opened himſelfe a way or meane to greater matters. And firſt he aſſayled his aduerſaries in logicall and metaphiſicall queſtiõs, diſputing with them of the firſt forme and faſhion of things, of the increaſe of time, and of the intelligible ſubſtaunce of a creature, with other ſuch like ſophemes of no great effecte: but yet notwithſtanding, did not a litle helpe & furniſh him, which minded to diſpute of greater matters. So in theſe matters, firſt beganne Kegningham (a Carmelite) to diſpute and argue agaynſt John Wickliffe.

By theſe originalls, the waye was made vnto greater poyntes, ſo that at the length he came to touche the matters of the ſacramentes, & other abuſes of ẏ church. Touching which thinges this holy man tooke greate paines, proteſting (as they ſayd) openly in ẏ ſcholes, that it was his chief and principall purpoſe and intent: to reuoke and call backe the church frõ her idolatrie to ſome better amendment, eſpecially in the matter of the ſacrament of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt. But this byle or ſore could not be touched without the greate griefe and payne of the whole worlde. For firſt of all, ẏ whole glut of Monkes and begging Fryers were ſet on a rage or madnes, which (euen as Hornets wt their ſharpe ſtings) dyd aſſayle this good man on euery ſide: fighting (as is ſayd) for their altars, paunches and bellies. After them the Prieſtes, and then after them the Archbyſhop tooke the matter in hand beyng then Symon Sudbery: who for the ſame cauſe depriued him of his benefice, whiche then he had in Oxford. Notwithſtãdyng, he being ſomewhat frinded and ſupported by the kyng, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the Friers, and of the archb. all this while of his firſt beginning, till about the yeare of our Lord. 1377. After whiche tyme nowe to proſecute likewiſe of his troubles and cõflict, firſt I muſt fetch about a litle cõpaſſe, as requiſite is, to inferre ſome mention of Jhon of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, and Lord Henry Percy, whiche were his ſpeciall maynteiners.

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As yeares and tyme grewe on, kyng Edward the 3. whiche had reigned now about 51. yeares, after the deceaſe of prince Edward his ſonne, who departed ẏ yere before: was ſtroken in greate age, and in ſuch feblenes withall, that he was vnweldye through lacke of ſtrẽgth to gouerne the affaires of the realm. Wherfore, a parlamẽt beyng called the yeare before his death, it was there put vp by the knyghtes, and other the burgeſes of the parlament (becauſe of the miſgouernement of ẏ realme by certeine gredy perſons about the kyng, rakyng all to them ſelues, without ſeing any iuſtice done) that 12. ſage and diſcrete Lordes and peeres, ſuch as were free from note of all auarice, ſhould be placed as tutors about the kyng, to haue the doyng and diſpoſing vnder hym, (vi. at one tyme, and in their abſence, vi. at an other) of matters pertinent to the publique regimẽt. Here by the way I omitte to ſpeake of Alyce Perrys the wicked harlote, whiche (as the ſtory geueth) had bewitched the kynges hart, & gouerned all & ſat vpon cauſes her ſelfe through the deuiliſhe helpe of a Frier Dominicke: who by the duke of Lancaſter was cauſed to be take, and was conuinced, and ſhould haue ſuffred for the ſame, had not the Archb. of Canterbury and the Friers (more regardyng the libertie of their churche, then the puniſhyng of vice) reclaimed hym for their owne priſoner. This Alyce Perrys, notwithſtandyng ſhe was baniſhed by thys parliament from the kyng, yet afterward ſhe came agayne, and left him not: till at his death, ſhe tooke all his ringes vpon his fingers and other iewels from him, and ſo fled away like an harlot. But this of her by the way.

These 12. gouernours by the parlament aforeſayd beyng appointed to haue the tuition of the kyng, and to attende to the publique affaires of the realme: remained for a certaine ſpace about hym, till afterward it ſo fell out, that they beyng agayne remoued, all the regiment of the realme next vnder the kyng, was committed to duke of Lancaſter the kyngs ſonne. For as yet Richard the ſonne of prince Edward lately departed, was very yong, and vnder age.

ned about the kyng.

This duke of Lancaſter had in his hart of long tyme conceaued a certaine diſpleaſure agaynſt the popiſh clergie: whether for corrupt & impure doctrine ioyned with lyke abhominable exceſſe of lyfe, or for what ſome other cauſe, it is not preciſely expreſſed. Onely by ſtory ẏ cauſe therof may bee geſſed, to riſe by William Wickhã biſhop of Wincheſter. The matter is this.

Ex Cronic. Monaſterij Albani.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter (as the ſaying went thẽ) was reported to affirme, that the foreſaid Jhon of Gaũt duke of Lancaſter, was not the ſonne of kyng Edward, nor of the queene. Who beyng in trauaile at Gaunt, had no ſonne (as he ſayd) but a daughter: which the ſame time by lyeng vpon of the mother in the bed, was there ſmodered. Wherupon, the quene fearyng the kyngs diſpleaſure, cauſed a certaine manchild of a womã of Flaũders (borne the very ſame time) to be conueyd & broughte vnto her in ſteade of her daughter aforeſayd. And ſo broughte vp the childe whom ſhe bare not, who nowe is called duke of Lancaſter. And thys (ſayd the Byſhop) did the queene tell hym, lyeng *in extremes* on her deathbed vnder ſeale of confeſſion: chargyng him if the ſayd duke ſhould euer aſpire to get the crown, or if the kyngdome by any means ſhould fall vnto hym, he then ſhould manifeſt the ſame, and declare it to the worlde that the ſaid duke of Lancaſter was no part of the kynges bloud, but a falſe heyre of the king. This ſlaunderous report of the wicked byſhop, as it ſauoreth of a contumelious lye, ſo ſemeth it to procede of a ſubtile zeale toward ẏ popes religion, meanyng falſehed. For that the foreſayd duke by fauouryng of Wickleffe, declared hym ſelfe to be a profeſſed enemie agaynſt the popes profeſſion. Which thing was then not vnknowen, neither vnmarked of the prelates and Biſhops then in England. But the ſequele of the ſtory, thus folowed.

A practis of the prelats againſte the duke of Lancaſter.

This ſclaunderous vilanye of the biſhops reporte beyng blaſed abroad, and comming to the Dukes eare: he therewith beyng not a litle diſcontented (as no maruel was) ſought agayne by what meanes he could, to be reuenged of thys forenamed Byſhop. In concluſion, the Duke hauing now all the gouernment of the realm vnder the king his father, in his own hand: ſo purſued the Byſhop of Wincheſter, that by acte of parlament hee was condemned and depriued of all his temporal goods, which goods were aſſigned to prince Richard of Burdeur, the next inheritour of ẏ crowne after the kyng: and furthermore, inhibited the ſayd biſhop not to approche neare the court by .xx. myles. Further as thouching this biſhop, the ſtory thus procedeth. Not long after in the yeare of our Lord. 1377. a parlament was called by the meanes of the Duke of Lancaſter, vpon certayne cauſes and reſpectes: in which parlamẽt great requeſt, and ſute was made by the clergy, for the deliuerance of the biſhop of Wincheſter. At lẽgth when a ſubſidy was aſked in the kinges name of the Clergy, and requeſt alſo made in the kinges behalfe for ſpeedye expedition to be made for the diſſoluing of the parlament: The Archbyſhop therefore accordingly, conuẽted the biſhops for the tractation thereof. To whom the biſhops with great lamentacion complayned for lacke of their felow and brother biſhop of Wintcheſter. Whoſe iniurye ſayd they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole churche: And therefore denyed to ioyne them ſelues in tractation of any ſuch matters, before all the mẽbers together were vnited with the heade: And (ſeeing the matter touched them altogether in common, as well hym as them) o-

W. Wikham B. of Winç. depoued,

Byſhops holde together.
Liberties of the church a great matte

therwyſe do. And ſeemed moreouer to be moued againſt the Archbiſhop, for that hee was not more ſtout in the cauſe, but ſuffered him ſo to be cited of the Duke.

B.of Wint. ſent for to the conuocation.

The Archbiſhop although hauyng ſufficient cauſe to excuſe hym ſelf, wherfore not to ſend for hym (as alſo he did) becauſe of the perils whiche might enſue therof: yet beyng enforced and perſuaded therunto, by the importunitie of the byſhops, directed downe his letters to the foreſayd biſhop of Wincheſter, willyng him to reſorte vnto the conuocation of the Clergie. Who beyng gladde to obey the ſame, was receaued with great ioye of other biſhops. And at length by the meanes of Alyce Perrys, the kinges peramour, aboue mentioned (gyuing to her a good quantitie of money) the ſayd Wincheſter was reſtored to his temporalities agayne.

John Wickliffe ſent for by the Duke of Lancaſter.

As the byſhops had thus ſent for Wincheſter, the duke in the meane tyme had ſent for Ihon Wicleffe: who as is ſaid, was then the diuinitie reader in Oxford, and had commenced in ſondry actes and diſputations, contrary to the forme and teachyng of the popes churche in many thinges: who alſo for the ſame had been depriued of hys benefice, as hath been aforetouched. The opiniōs, which he began in Oxford, firſt in his lectures, and ſermons to entreate of, and wherefore he was depriued were theſe. That the Pope had no more power, to excommunicate any man, then hath an other. That if it be geuen by any perſon to the Pope to excommunicate, yet to abſolue the ſame is as much in yͤ power of an other prieſt, as in his. He affirmed moreouer, that neither the kyng, nor any tēporall Lord could geue any perpetuitie to the church, or to any eccleſiaſticall perſon: for that when ſuch eccleſiaſticall do ſinne, habitualiter, continuyng in the ſame ſtill, the tēporall powers ought and may meritoriouſly, take away from them, that before hath been beſtowed vpon them. And that he proued, to haue been practiſed before here in England by Williā Rufus. Whiche thyng (ſayd he) if he did lawfully, why may not the ſame alſo be practiſed now? yf he did it vnlawfully, then doth the churche erre (ſayth he) and doth vnlawfully in praying for hym. But of his aſſertions more ſhall folow (Chriſt willyng) hereafter. The ſtory which aſcribeth to him theſe aſſertions being taken out (as I take it) of the monaſtery of S. Albans, addeth wal: that in his teachyng and preachyng he was very eloquent, but a diſſembler (ſayth he) and an hypocrite. Why he ſurmiſeth hym to be an hypocrite, the cauſe was this: firſt becauſe he reſorted much to the orders of the beggyng Friers, frequentyng and extollyng the perfection of their pouertie. Secondly, becauſe he and hys felowes vſually accuſtomed in theyr preachyng to go barefote, and in ſimple ruſſet gownes. By this I ſuppoſe, maye ſufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature & condition of Wicleffe, how far it was from that ambition and pride, which in ſlaunderous pen of Polidore Vergil, reporting in his xix. boke of him, that becauſe hee was not preferred to higher honours and dignities of the church (conceauing therfore indignatiō againſt the clergie) became their mortall enemie. How true this was, he onely knoweth beſt, and rightly ſhall iudge both the one and the other. In the meane time, by other circumſtancies and partes of his life, we may alſo partly cōiecture what is to be thought, of that man. But how ſoeuer it was in him either true or falſe: yet it had been Polidors part, either not ſo intemperately to haue abuſed his penne; or at leaſt to haue ſhewed ſome greater autoritie and grounde of that his reporte. For to folowe nothyng els but fleyng fame, ſo raſhlye to diffame a man whoſe lyfe he knoweth not, is not the parte of a faithfull ſtory writer.

Example of William Rufus

Ex hiſto. Monaſterij D. Albani.

The ſlaūderous penne of Polydore.

Wickliffe falſly charged with ambition by Polydore.

Wickliffe beginneth to touch the matter of the ſacrament.

But to returne from whence we digreſſed. Beſides theſe his opinions and aſſertions aboue recited, with other mo, which are hereafter to be brought in order: He began alſo then ſome thyng nearely to touch the matter of the Sacrament, prouyng that in the ſayd Sacramēt, the accidēces of bread remained not without the ſubiect, or ſubſtaunce: both by the holy Scriptures, and alſo by the autoritie of the doctors, but ſpecially by ſuch as were moſt auncient. As for yͤ latter writers, that is to ſay ſuch as haue writen vpon that argument vnder the thouſand yeares ſince Chriſts time, he vtterly refuſed: ſaying, that after theſe yeares Sathan was loſed and ſet at libertie. And that ſince that time, the life of man hath been moſt ſubiect and in daunger of errours: the ſimple and playne truth to appeare and conſiſt in the Scriptures, wherunto all humaine traditions whatſoeuer they be, muſt be referred, and ſpecially ſuch as are ſet forth and publiſhed now of late yeares. This was the cauſe why he refuſed the latter writers of decretals, leaning onely to yͤ Scriptures and auncient doctors: moſt ſtoutly affirming out of them, that in the Sacrament of the body which is celebrate, with bread the accidence not to be preſent without the ſubſtance. That is to ſay, that the body of Chriſt is not preſent without the bread, as the common ſorte of prieſtes in thoſe dayes did dreame. As for his argumēts, what they were: we will ſhortly at more oportunitie by Gods grace, declare them in an other place. But herein the truth (as the Poete ſpeaketh very truly) had gotten Ihon Wicleffe great diſpleaſure, and hatred at many mens handes: and ſpecially of the monkes & richeſt ſorte of prieſtes.

The lan wryten the ch to be doubted,

The ſe ces no be in the cramēt withou the ſub ſtaunce,

1376

Albeit through the fauour and ſupportation of the Duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Henrye Percy, he perſiſted hetherto in ſome meane quiet agaynſte their wooluiſh violence and crueltie: Tyll at laſt about the yere of our Lord. 1376. the biſhops ſtyll vrging and incityng their archbiſhop Simō Sudbery, who before had depriued hym, and afterward prohibited him alſo not to ſtyr anye more in thoſe ſortes of matters: had obtayned by proces and order of citation to haue him brought before them. Whereunto both place and tyme for hym to appeare after their vſuall forme, was to him aſſigned.

Wickli cited to peare be fore the biſhop

The Duke hauing intelligence, that Wickleffe hys client ſhould come before the Biſhops, fearing that he being but one, was to weake againſt ſuch a multitude: calleth to hym out of the orders of Friers, foure Bachelers of Diuinitie, out of euery order one, to ioyne them with Wickleffe alſo, for more ſuretye. When the daye was come aſſigned to the ſayde Wyckleffe to appeare, which day was Thurſday, the xix. of Februarye. John Wyckleffe accompanied wyth the foure Friars aforeſayd, and wyth them alſo the Duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Henrye Percy, Lord Marſhall of Englande, the ſayd Lord Percy alſo going before them to make rome and way where Wyckleffe ſhould come.

Ex hi Mon D.Al ex mod Mat Ar Cant.

Thus Wicleffe (through the prouidēce of God) being ſufficiētly garded, was comming to the place, where the biſhops ſat: whom by the way they animated and exhorted, not to feare nor ſhrinke a whit at the company of the biſhops there preſent, who were all vnlearned (ſaid they) in reſpect of him. For ſo procede the wordes of my foreſaid autor, whom I folow in this narration: nether that he ſhould dread the concourſe of the people, whom they would them ſelues aſſiſte and defend, in ſuch ſort, as he ſhould take no harme. With theſe wordes, and with this aſſiſtance of the nobles: Wicleffe in hart encouraged, approcheth to the churche of S. Paul in London. Where a main preaſe of people was gathered to hear, what ſhuld be ſayd and done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude, that the Lordes (for all the puiſance of the high Marſhal) vnneth with great difficultie could get way through. In ſo much, that the Biſhop of London (whoſe name was William Courtney) ſeing the ſtirre that the Lord Marſhall kepte in the churche, among the people, ſpeakyng to the Lord Percy, ſaid: that if he had knowne before what maſtries he would haue

Stri for the lordes paſſe by people.

W.Co ney of Lo

kept in the church,he would haue ſtopped him out,from comming there.

At whiche wordes of the biſhop, the duke diſdainyng not a litle,aunſwered to the biſhop agayn and ſayd:that he would kepe ſuch maſtrie there,though he ſayd nay.

At laſt,after much wraſtlyng they perced through & came to our Ladies chapell. Where the Duke and Barons were ſytting together with the Archbiſhops and other biſhops. Before whom the foreſayd Jhon Wicleffe according to the maner, ſtode before thē, to know what ſhould be layd vnto him. To whom firſt ſpake the Lord Percy,bidding him to ſit downe,ſaying:that he had many thynges to aunſwere to , and therefore had neede of ſome ſofter ſeat. But the biſhop of London caſt eftſones into a fewmiſh chaſe with thoſe wordes,ſayd:he ſhould not ſit there. Neither was it ſaid he,according to law or reaſon,that he whiche was cited there to appeare to anſwere before his ordinarie,ſhould ſyt downe, duryng the time of his anſwer,but ſhould ſtand. Vpon theſe wordes a fire began to heat and kindle betwene thē. In ſo much that they began to rate and to reuile one the other,that the whole multitude therwith diſquieted,began to be ſet on a hurrey.

Then the Duke taking the Lord Percies part with haſty wordes,began alſo to take vp the Biſhop. To whō the Byſhop agayne nothyng inferiour in reprochefull checkes and rebukes,did render and requite not onely to him as good as he brought: but alſo did ſo farre excell hym, in this raylyng arte of ſkoldyng, that to vſe the wordes of mine autor,Erubuit Dux quod non potuit preualere litigio.i.ẏ the duke bluſhed & was aſhamed,becauſe he could not ouerpaſſe the biſhop in brawling and rayling,and therfore fell to plaine threatning, minaſing the Byſhop, that he would bring downe the pride not onely of him,but alſo of all the prelacie of England. And ſpeaking moreouer vnto him:Thou(ſayd he)beareſt thy ſelfe ſo bragge vppon thy parentes,whiche ſhall not bee able to helpe thee: They ſhall haue enoughe to doo to helpe them ſelues. For his parentes were the Earle and counties of Deuonſhire. To whom the biſhep again aunſwered, that to be bold to tell truth hys confidēce was not in his parēts,nor in any man els,but onely in God in whō he truſted. Then the duke ſoftly whyſpering in the eare of him next by him, ſaid that he would rather plucke out the biſhop by ẏ heyre of his head out of the church, thē he would take this at his hād. This was not ſpoke ſo ſecretly,but that the Londiners ouer heard him. Whereupon being ſet in a rage,they cried out,ſaying: ẏ they would not ſuffer their Biſhop ſo contemptuouſly to be abuſed. But rather they would looſe their lyues , then that he ſhould ſo be drawen out by the heyre. Thus that councel being broken with ſkolding and brawling for that day, was diſſolued before ix. of the clocke. And the duke with the Lord Percy went to the parlamēt. Where the ſame day before dyner a bill was put vp in the name of the kynge by the Lorde Thomas Woſtocke , and Lorde Henry Percy, that the Citie of London ſhould no more be gouerned by a Maior,but by a Captaine:as in times before. And that the Marſhall of England ſhould haue all the ado in taking the Areſtes within the ſaid citie, as in other cities beſide,with other petitions mo,tending to the like derogation of the liberties of Londō. Which bill being read,ſtādeth vp Jhon Philpot burges thē for ẏ citie,ſaying to thē which read the bill,that was neuer ſeen ſo before: and adding moreouer that ẏ Maior would neuer ſuffer any ſuch thinges or other areſte to be brought into the citie,with mo ſuch wordes of like ſtoutnes.

The next day folowing,the Londiners aſſembled thē ſelues in a counſaile, to conſider among them vpon the bill for chaunging the Maior,and about the office of the Marſhall, alſo concerning the iniuries done the day before to their Biſhop. In whiche meane time they beyng buſy in long conſultation of this matter,ſodenly and vnawares entred in the place two certaine Lordes , whether to come to ſpye, or for what other cauſe, the autor leaueth it vncertain,the one called Lord Fyzwalter:the other Lord Guy Bryan. At the firſt comming in of thē, the vulgare ſorte was ready forthwith to flee vpon thē, as ſpyes, had not they made their proteſtation with an othe,declaring that their comming in was for no harme toward them. And ſo were compelled by the citizens to ſweare to the citie their truth and fidelitie, contrary to the whiche othe if they ſhould rebell,contented to forfeyt what ſo euer goodes & poſſeſſions they had w̄in the citie.

The Oration of lord Fizwalter to the Londoners.

This done, then began the Lord Fizwalter in this wiſe to perſuade and exhorte the citizens: firſt declaring how he was bounde and obliged to them and to their citie, not for the othe onely now newly receaued , but of old and auncient good will from hys great graundfathers time. Beſide other diuers dueties, for the which he was chiefly bounde to be one of their principall fautors: for ſo much as what ſoeuer tended to their damage and detriment,redoūded alſo no les vnto his owne,for which cauſe he could not otherwiſe chuſe , but that as he did and vnderſtand to be attempted againſt the publike profite and liberties of their Citie, he muſt needes cōmunicate the ſame to them. Who vnles they with ſpedy circumſpection,do occurre and preuente perils that may & are like to enſue , it would turne in the end to their no ſmall incōmoditie. And as there wer many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligence: ſo one thing there was , whiche he could in no wiſe but admoniſh them of:whiche was this,neceſſary to be conſidered of thē all,how ẏ lord Marſhal Henry Percy in his place within him ſelfe had one in warde and in cuſtodie, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them,he could not tell:this he could tell, that the ſayd L. Marſhall was not alowed any ſuch warde or priſon in his houſe,within the liberties of the citie. Whiche thyng if it be not ſeen to in time,the exāple therof beyng ſuffered,would in fine brede to ſuch a preiudice vnto their cuſtomes and liberties,as they ſhould not hereafter,when they would,reforme the iniurie therof.

The citizens of London break vp the L. Perceyes houſe, at Sauoy.

These wordes of the Lord Fizwalter wer not ſo ſone ſpoken,but they were as ſoone taken of the raſhe citizēs, who in all haſty fury running to their armour and weapons,went incontinent to the houſe of the Lorde Percy, where breaking vp the gates,by violence they tooke out the priſoner,and burned the ſtockes wherin he ſat,in the midſt of London. Thē was the Lord Percy ſought for (whom ſayth the ſtory)they would doubtles haue ſlayne if they might haue found him. With their billes and iauelens,all corners,and priuey chambers were ſearched, beddes & hangynges torne a ſunder. But the Lord Percy(as God would)was then with the duke , whom one Jhon Yper the ſame day with great inſtance had deſired to dinner. The Londiners not finding him at home, and ſuppoſing that he was with the duke at Sauoy,in all haſty heate turned their power thether,runnyng as faſt as they could to the dukes houſe. Where alſo in lyke maner they were diſapoynted of their cruell purpoſe . In the meane as this was doyng , commeth one of the Dukes men running,poſt haſt,to the duke and to the Lord Percy,declaring what was done . The duke beyng then at his oyſters,without any farther tareyng,and alſo breaking both his ſhinnes at the forme for haſt , tooke boate with the Lord Percy,and by water went to Kyngſton, where then the princes with Richard the young Prince did lye. Who there declared vnto ẏ princes all the whole matter , concernyng the outrage of the Londiners as it was. To whom ſhe promiſed againe, ſuch an order to be taken in the matter,as ſhould be to hys contētation. At what tyme the commons of London , thus , as is ſayd, were about the Dukes houſe at Sauoy , meeteth with

Gods prouiſion in ſauyng hys ſeruauntes.

The houſe of the duke of Lancaſter ſearched of the Londiners.

The duke and L. Percy flye to the Prince.

them a certeine prieſt, who meruelyng at the ſoden rage and concourſe,aſked what they ſought. To whom aunſwere was geuen agayne of ſome, that they ſought for the Duke and Lord Marſhall, to haue of them the Lord Peter de la Mare,whom they wrongfully had deteined in priſon. To this the prieſt aunſwered agayne more boldely then oportunely. That Peter,ſaid he,is a falſe traytour to the kyng,and worthy long ſince to be hanged. At the hearyng of theſe wordes,the furious people with a terrible ſhout cried out vpon him,that he was a traitor, and one that tooke the Dukes part,and ſo fallyng vpon him with their weapons ſtriued who mighte firſt ſtricke at hym. Who after they had wounded him very ſore,ſo being wounded they had him into priſon, where within few dayes vpon the ſorenes of his woundes he died.

A prieſt in the Duke of Lancaſters houſe cruelly killed.

Neither would yͤ rage of the people thus haue ceaſed, had not the biſhop of London leauing his dinner, come to them at Sauey,and putting them in remembraunce of the bleſſed tyme (as they terme it) of Lent, had perſuaded them to ceaſe and to be quiet.

The Londiners, ſeyng that they could get no vantage againſt the Duke, who was without their reache: To wreke their anger they tooke his armes, whiche in moſt deſpitfull wiſe, they hanged vp in the open places of the citie in ſigne of reproche,as for a traitour. In ſomuch,that when one of his gentlemen came throughe the citie,with a plate conteining the Dukes armes, hangyng by a laſe about his neck:the citizens not abydyng the ſight therof,caſt him from hys horſe, and pluckt his ſcutchyne from him, and were about to worke the extremitie againſt him,had not the Maior reſcued him out of their handes, and ſent him home ſafe vnto the Duke his maſter . In ſuch hatred was then the Duke among the vulgare people of London.

The villany of the Londiners againſt the Duke.

After this,the princes vnderſtandyng the hartes and broyle of the Londiners ſet agaynſt the foreſaid Duke, ſent vnto London thrée knightes Syr Albred Lewer, ſir Simon Burle, and Syr Lewes Clifford, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled with the Duke. The Londiners aũſwered:that they for the honour of the princes,would obey and do with all reuerence,what ſhe would require. But this they required and inioyned the meſſengers to ſay to the Duke,by worde of mouthe, that he ſhoulde ſuffer the biſhop of Wincheſter (afore mentioned and alſo the Lorde Peter de la Mare, to come to their aunſwere,and to be iudged by their Péeres. Wherby either they might be quite if they were giltles: or otherwiſe, if they be founde culpable, they might receaue accordyng to their deſertes after the lawes of the realme . What grief and diſpleaſure the Duke conceaued and reteined in his minde hereof: Agayne what meanes and ſute the Londiners for their parte made to the old kyng for their liberties: What rightmes and ſonges in London,were made againſt the Duke:How the Biſhops at the Dukes requeſt,were moued to excommunicate thoſe malitious ſlanderers:And moreouer, how the Duke at laſt was reuenged of thoſe contumelies and iniuries:How he cauſed them to be brought before the kyng : How ſharpely they were rebuked for their miſdemeanor,by the worthy oration of the Lord Chamberlane,Robert Aſton, in the preſence of the Kyng,Archbiſhop,Byſhops, with diuers other ſtates,the kinges children, and other nobilities of the realme:In concluſion,how the Londiners were compelled to this at length,by the common aſſent, and publicque charges of the Citie, to make a greate taper of waxe,whiche with the Dukes armes ſet vpon it, ſhould be brought with ſolemne proceſſion to the churche of S. Paul,there to borne continually before the image of our Lady:And at laſt,how both the ſayd Duke,and the Londiners were reconciled together,in the begynning of the newe kyng ,with the kyſſe of peace,and the ſame reconcilement publiquely denounced in the churche of Weſtminſter, and what ioye was in the whole Citie thereof. Theſe becauſe they ar impertinent, and make to long a digreſſion from the matter of Wickleffe, I cut of with breuitie,referring the reader to other hiſtories,namely of S.Albans, where they are to be founde at lardge.

The message of the princes to the Londiners.

The duke reuenged of the Londiners.

The Londiners cauſed to beare a taper of waxe in proceſſion, in honor of the Duke.

As theſe aforeſaid for breuitie ſake I paſſe ouer,ſo wil I not be long and yet can not omitte that,whiche happened the ſame time and yeare,to the biſhop of Norwige, to the intent that this poſteritie nowe may ſée, to what pride the clergie then of the popes churche was growne to. The ſame time as this broyle was at London, the biſhop of Norige a litle after the time of Eaſter comming to the towne of Lennam , belongyng to hys Lordſhip: beyng not contẽted with the old accuſtomed honour due vnto him,and vſed of his predeceſſours before in yͤ ſame towne,required moreouer with a new and vnvſed kynd of magnificence to be exalted:In ſo much, that when he ſaw the chief Magiſtrate or Maior of that town to go in yͤ ſtretes with his officer goyng before him,holding a certaine wand in his hand tipped at both ends with blacke horne,as the maner was : He reputyng him ſelfe to be the Lorde of that towne (as he was) and thinkyng to be hygher then the higheſt , commaũded the honour of that ſtaffe due to the Maior,to be yelded and borne before his Lordly perſonage:The Maior or Baliffe,with other the townesmen, courteſlye aunſwered to him agayne: that they were righte willyng and contented with all theyr hartes to exhibite that reuerence vnto hym, and would ſo do,if he firſt of the kyng and counſaile could obteyne that cuſtome, and if the ſame myght be induced after any peaceable way with the good wils of the commons and body of the town:Other els,ſaid they,as the matter was daũgerous,ſo they durſt not take in hand any ſuch new alteration of auncient cuſtomes and liberties, leſſe the people (whiche is alwayes inclinable and prone to euill)do fall vpon them with ſtones, and driue them out of the towne. Wherefore knylyng on their knees before him,humbly they beſought him, that he would require no ſuch thyng of them : that he would ſaue his owne honour,and their lyues, who otherwiſe if he intended that way,were in great daunger. But the Biſhop youthfull and hauty,taking occaſion by their humblenes, to ſwell the more in him ſelfe, aunſwered that he would not be taught by their counſail,but that he would haue it done, though all the commons (whõ he named Rybals) ſayd nay . Alſo rebuked the Maior and his brethren,for mecockes and daſtardes , for ſo fearyng the vulgare ſorte of people.

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The citizens perceauyng the wilfull ſtoutnes of the Biſhop,meekely anſwering again,ſaid:they minded not to reſiſte him,but to let him do therein what he thought good. Onely deſired him, that he would licence them to departe,and holde them excuſed, for not waytyng vpon him,and conductyng him out of the towne with that reuerence,whiche he required. For if they ſhould be ſéen in his company, all the ſuſpition thereof would be vpon them, and ſo ſhould they be all in daunger,ſo much as their lyues were worth. The biſhop not regarding their aduiſe & counſaile, commanded one of hys men to take the rod borne before the Maior,and to cary the ſame before him. Whiche beyng done,and perceaued of the commons: the Biſhop after that maner went not farre,but the rude people running to ſhit the gates,came out with their bowes, ſome with clobbes and ſtaues,ſome with other inſtrumentes ſome with ſtones , and let dryue at the Biſhop and his men,as faſte as they might : in ſuch ſorte,that both the Biſhop and his horſe vnder him with moſt part of his men were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this iolye prelate, ruffelyng in hys newe ſcepter, was receaued and welcomed there. That is,was ſo pelted with battes & ſtones, ſo wounded with arrowes,and other inſtruments fyt for ſuch a ſkirmiſh, that

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that the moſt part of his men, with his maſe bearer and all running awaye from him, the poore wounded biſhop was there left alone, not able to kepe hys olde power, whiche went about to vſurpe a new power more then to him belonged. Thus as it is cōmonly true in all, ſo is it wel exemplified here, which is commonly ſayd, & as it is commonly ſene, that pride will haue a fall, and power vſurped will neuer ſtand. In like maner if the citizens of Rome, folowyng the example of theſe Lennam men, as they haue the like cauſe, and greater to do, by the vſurped power of their Biſhop, would after the ſame ſauſe handle the Pope, and vnſcepter hym of his maſe and regalitie whiche nothyng perteyneth to him: They in ſo doyng both ſhould recouer theyr owne liberties, with more honour at home, and alſo wynne much more commendation abroad. Ex Chron. mon. D. Albani.

Pride will haue a fall. Power vſurped will neuer ſtand.

The vſurped power of the pope would haue a bridle.

1377.

This tragedy with all the partes therof, beyng thus ended at Lennam, whiche was litle after Eaſter (as is ſaid) about the moneth of Aprill. an. 1377. the ſame yere, vpon the 21. day of the moneth of Iune next after, dyed the worthy and victorious prince kyng Edward the 3. after he had reigned yeares 51. a prince no more aged in yeares thē renowmed, for many ſingular and heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his ſingulare mekenes and clemency toward his ſubiectes and inferiours, rulyng them by gentlenes and mercy, without all rigour or auſtere ſeueritie. Among other noble and royall ornamentes of his nature, worthely and copiouſly ſet forth of many, thus he is deſcribed of ſome, whiche maye briefly ſuffice for the comprehenſion of all the reſt. Orphanis erat quaſi pater, afflictis compatiens, miſeris cōdolens, oppreſſos releuans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxllia oportuna. That is. To the orphans he was as a father, cōpaciēt to the afflicted, moarnyng with the miſerable, releuyng the oppreſſed, and to all them that wanted, an helper in tyme of nede. &c. But chiefly aboue all other thynges, in this prince to be commemorate, in my minde, is this: that he aboue all other kynges of this realme vnto the tyme of k. Henry viij. was the greateſt bridler of the popes vſurped power and outragious oppreſſions, duryng all the tyme of whiche kyng, neither the pope could greatly preuayle in this realme, and alſo Ihon Wickleffe was mainteined with fauour and aide ſufficient

The death of king Edward,

¶ King Richard the ſecond.

K. Richard 2.

After kyng Edward 3. ſucceded his ſonne Richard the 2. being yet but yong of ẏ age of xi. yeares: who in the ſame yeare of his fathers deceaſe, with great pompe and ſolēnitie was crowned at Weſtminſter. an. 1377. who folowyng his fathers ſteps, was no great diſfauorer of the doctrine and way of Wickleffe: albeit at the firſt begynning, partly through the iniquity of time, partly through the popes letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithſtandyng, ſome thyng he did in that behalfe, more perhaps then in ẏ end he had thanke for of ẏ papiſtes, as more (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall appeare. But as tymes do chaunge, ſo chaungeth commonly the cauſe and ſtate of men. The biſhops ſeing now the aged kyng to be taken awaye, during the time of whoſe olde age, all the gouernement of the realme, depended vpon the Duke of Lancaſter. And nowe the ſayd Biſhops agayne ſeyng the ſayd Duke, with the Lord Percy, the Lorde Marſhall, to geue ouer their offices, and to remaine in theyr priuate houſes without intermedlyng: thought now the tyme to ſerue them, to haue ſome vantage agaynſt Ihon Wickleffe, who hetherto vnder the protection of the foreſaid Duke, and Lord Marſhall had ſome reſte and quiet. Concernyng the ſtory of whiche Wickleffe, I truſt (gentle reader) it is not out of thy memorie what went before, pag. 527. col. 1. howe he beyng brought before the biſhops, by the meanes of the Duke and Lord Henry Percy, the councel was interrupted & brake vp before ix. of the clock. By reaſon wherof Wickleffe at that tyme eſchaped without any farther trouble. Who notwithſtandyng beyng by the biſhops forbyd to deale in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his felowes goyng barefote, and in long friſe gownes preachyng diligently vnto the people. Out of whoſe ſermons theſe articles moſt chiefly at that time were collected.

The biſhops take vauntage of tyme.

The firſt article collected out of Wickliffes ſermons.

That the holy Euchariſte, after the conſecration, is not the very body of Chriſt, but figurally.

That ẏ church of Rome, is not ẏ head of all churches, more then any other churche is: nor that Peter hath any more power geuen of Chriſt, thē any other Apoſtle hath.

Itē, that the pope of Rome hath no more in the keyes of the churche, then hath any other within the order of prieſthood.

Item, if God be: the Lordes temporall may lawfully and meretoriouſly take away their temporalities from the churche men offendyng, habitualiter.

Item, if any temporall Lord do know the churche ſo offending, he is bound vnder pain of damnation, to take the temporalities from the ſame.

Item, that the Goſpell is a rule ſufficient of it ſelfe to rule the life of euery Chriſten man here, without any other rule.

Item, that all other rules, vnder whoſe obſeruācies, diuers religious perſons be gouerned: do adde no more perfection to the Goſpell, then doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neither the Pope, nor any other prelate of the churche, ought to haue priſons wherein to puniſhe tranſgreſſours.

The articles of Iohn Wickliffe ſet to the pope, Pope Gregory, the xi.

Beſide theſe articles diuers, other concluſions afterterward were gathered out of his writinges and preachinges by the Biſhops of England, which they ſent diligently to Pope Gregory at Rome: Where the ſayde articles beyng read and peruſed, were condemned for hereticall and erroneous by. xxiij. Cardinals.

Wickliffe called before the archbiſhops of Cant.

In the meane tyme, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſendyng forth his citacions, as is aforeſayd: called before him the ſayd Ihon Wickleffe, in the preſence of the Duke of Lancaſter, & lord Percy, who vpon the declaration of the popes letters made, bound him to ſilence, forbyddyng him not to entreat any more of thoſe matters. But then through the diſturbance of the Biſhop of London and the Duke, and Lorde Percy: that matter was ſoone diſpatched, as hath been aboue recorded, pag. 527. And all this was done, in the dayes and laſt yeare of K. Edward third, and pope Gregory the eleuenth.

An. 1378

The next yeare following, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1378. being the fyrſt yeare of kyng Richarde the ſecond. The ſayd Pope Gregorye takyng hys tyme, after the death of king Edward, ſendeth his Bul by the hands, and meanes (peraduenture) of one maiſter Edmund Stafford, directed vnto the vniuerſity of Oxford, rebuking them ſharply, imperiouſlye and lyke a Pope, for ſuffering ſo long the doctrine of John Wickleffe to take roote, & not plucking it vp with the crooked cicle of their catholique doctrine. Which Bul whē it came to be exhibited vnto their hands, by the popes meſſger aforeſaid: the Proctors & maiſters of the Vniuerſity ioynyng together in cōſultacion, ſtod long in doubt deliberatyng with them ſelues, whether to receaue the Popes Bull with honour, or to refuſe and reiect it with ſhame.

Edmund Stafford bringer of the popes bull.

The maſters of Oxford doubte whether to receaue or reiecte the popes bull.

¶ I cannot here but laughe in my mynde, to beholde the autors of this ſtory, whom I follow: what exclamations, what wonderinges and maruels, they make at theſe Oxford men, for ſo doubting at a matter ſo playne, ſo manifeſt of it ſelfe (as they ſay) whether the popes bul ſent to them from Rome, was to be receaued, or contrary. Which thing to our Moonkiſh wryters ſeemed then ſuch a prodigious wonder, that they & bluſhing chekes are fayne to cut of the matter in the middeſt with ſilence.

The copye of this wylde Bull, ſent to them from the Pope, was thys.

¶ Cregory the biſhop, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to his welbeloued ſonnes the Chauncelour, and Vniuerſity of Oxford, in the dioces of Lincolne gretyng, and Apoſtolicall benediction.

The popes mad Bull ſent to Oxford.

WE are compelled not onelye to maruayle, but alſo to lament that you (conſidering the Apoſtolicall ſeate hath geuen vnto your Vniuerſity of Oxford ſo great fauour & priuiledge, & alſo for that you flowe as in a large ſea in the knowledge of the holye ſcriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the auncient and catholicke fayth, without the which there is no ſaluation) by your great negligence and ſlouthe, wyll ſuffer wylde Cocle, not onely to grow vp among the pure wheate of the floriſhing fielde of your Vniuerſitye, but alſo to wax more ſtrong and choke the corne. Neyther haue ye anye care (as we are enformed) to extirpe and plucke the ſame vp by the rootes, to the great blemiſhing of your renomed name, the perill of your ſoules, the contempt of the church of Rome, and to the great decaye of the auncient faith. And further (which greueth vs) the encreaſe of that filthy weede was more ſharpelye rebuked and iudged of in Rome, then in England where it ſprang. Wherefore let there be meanes ſought by the helpe of the faythfull, to rote out the ſame. Greuouſly it is come to our eares, that one Iohn wyckleffe, perſon of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a profeſſor of diuinitie (would God he wer not rather a maſtier of errours) is run into a kynde of deteſtable wyckednes, not onely and openly publiſhyng but alſo vomiting out of the fylthy dungeon of his breſt, diuers profeſſions, falſe and erroneous concluſions, and moſt wycked and damnable hereſies, wherby he myght defyle the faythfull ſorte, and bring them from the right pathe, headlong into the waye of perdition, ouerthrowe the ſtate of the church, and vtterly ſubuert the ſecular policy. Of which his miſcheuous hereſies, ſome ſeme to agree (onely certaine names and termes chaunged) wyth the peruerſe opinions, and vnlearned doctrine of Marcilius of Padua. and Iohn of Gandune, of vnworthy memory: whoſe bookes were vtterlye aboliſhed in the realme of England, by our predeceſſor of happy memory Iohn. xxij. which kyngdome doth not onely floriſh in power, and aboundaunce of faculties, but is much more glorious and ſhining in purenes of faith: Accuſtomed alwayes to bryng forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, rype in grauitie of maners, men notable in deuocion, and defenders of the catholique fayth. Wherfore we will and commaund you by our writyng Apoſtolicall, in the name of your obedience, and vpon payn of priuacion of our fauour, indulgẽces and priuilegies graunted vnto you and your vniuerſitie, from the ſayd ſee Apoſtolical: that hereafter ye ſuffer not thoſe peſtilent hereſies, thoſe ſubtile and falſe concluſions and propoſitions, miſconſtruyng the right ſenſe of fayth & good workes (how ſoeuer they terme it, or what curious implication of wordes ſo euer they vſe) any longer to be diſputed of, or brought in queſtion: Leaſt if it be not withſtood at the firſt, and plucked vp by the rootes, it might perhaps be to late hereafter to prepare medicine when a greater number is infected with that contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediatly or cauſe to be apprehended the ſayd Ihon wickleffe, and deliuer hym to be detained in the ſaufe cuſtody of our welbeloued brethren the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Byſhop of Londõ or either of them. And if you ſhall finde any gainſayers corrupted with the ſayd doctrine (whiche God forbyd) in your ſayd vniuerſitie within your iuriſdiction, that ſhall obſtinately ſtand in the ſayd errours: that then in lyke maner ye apprehende them, and commit them to ſafe cuſtody, and otherwyſe to doo in this caſe as it ſhall appertaine vnto you: So as by your carefull procedyngs herein, your negligence paſt concerning the premiſſes, may now fully be ſupplied and recompenſed wyth preſent diligence. wherby, you ſhall not onely purchaſe vnto you the fauour and beneuolence of the ſeate Apoſtolicall, but alſo greate rewarde and merite of almightye God.

The pope complaining of Iohn Wickliffe.

Marſilius Patauinus. Ioan. de Ganduno noted.

Here the wyld bull ſtriketh.

Yeuen at Rome at S. Maries the greater. xi. Kalen. of Iune, and in the ſeuẽth yere of our conſecration.

Beſide thys Bull ſent to the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, the ſayd Pope Gregorie directed moreouer hys letters the ſame tyme, to the Archb. of Cant. Simon Sudbery: and to the biſhop of Lond. named W. Courtney, wt the concluſions of Iohn Wickleff therin incloſed, commaũding them, by vertue of thoſe hys letters Apoſtolicall, & ſtraitly inioynyng thẽ to cauſe the ſayd Iohn Wickleffe to be apprehended, and caſt in priſon: And that the kyng and the nobles of England ſhoulde be admoniſhed by them, not to geue any credit to the ſayd Iohn Wickleffe, or to his doctrine in any wyſe, &c.

Simon Su bury Arch. of Cant. W. Courtney Biſhop of London.

¶ Beſide thys byll or bull of the Pope, ſent vnto the Archbiſhop of Cant. and to the B. of London, bearing the date. 11. Kalend. Iunii. and the 7. yeare of the reigne of the pope: I finde moreouer in the ſayd ſtorie, two other letters of the pope concerning the ſame matter, but differing in forme, ſent vnto the ſame biſhops, and all bearing the ſame date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of ye reigne of ye ſaid P. Gregory. Wherby it is to be ſupposed, that the pope either was very exquiſite and ſollicitous about ye matter, to haue Wickleffe to be apprehended, which wrote iij. diuers letters to one perſon, and all in one day, about one buſines: or els that he dyd ſuſpecte the bearers therof, the ſcruple whereof I leaue to the iudgement of the reader.

Three ſun dry letters of the pop to one perſon, about one ma

Farthermore beſide theſe letters writtẽ to the Vniuerſitie, and to the byſhops, he directeth alſo an other epiſtle, bearing the ſame date, vnto K. Edward (as one of my ſtories ſayth) but as an other ſaith, to king Richard, which ſoundeth more neare to the truth, forasmuche, as in the vij. yeare of Pope Gregorye the xj. which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1378. K. Edward was not aliue. The copie of his letters to the king here followeth.

¶ The Copy of the Epiſtle ſent by the biſhop of Rome to Richard kyng of England, to perſecute Ihon Wickleffe.

VNto hys welbeloued Sonne in Chriſt, Richard the moſt noble kyng of England health, &c.

The kyngdome of England whiche the moſt hygheſt hath put vnder your power and gouernaunce beyng ſo famous & renowmed in valiancy and ſtrength, ſo aboundant and flowyng in all kynd of wealth and riches: but much more glorious reſplendent and ſhinyng through the brightnes and clearenes of all godlines and faythe: hath accuſtomed alwayes to bring forth mẽ endued with the true knowledge and vnderſtãding of the holy Scriptures, graue in yeares, feruent in deuotion, & defẽdours of the catholicke faith: The whiche haue not onely directed and inſtructed their owne people thorowe their holſom doctrine and preceptes into the true pathe of Gods commaundementes, but alſo as we haue heard by the reporte and information of many credible perſons (to our great grief and hart ſorow) that Ihon wickleffe perſon of Lutterworth in the dioces of Lincolne, profeſſor of deuinitie (I would to God he were no author of hereſie) to be fallẽ into ſuch a deteſtable and abhominable madnes: that he hath propounded and ſet forth diuerſe and ſundry concluſions full of errours and cõteining moſt manifeſt hereſy, the whiche doe tend vtterly to ſubuert and ouerthrow the ſtate of the whole churche. Of the which, ſome of them (albeit vnder coloured phraſe and ſpeche) ſeme to ſmel and ſauour of peruerſe opinions and the fooliſh doctrine of cõdemned memory of Marſilius of Padua, and Ihon of Ganduno, whoſe bokes were by pope Ihon the xxij. our predeceſſor, a man of moſt happy memory reproued and condemned. &c.

The pope letter to K. Richard againſt I. W

Hetherto gentle reader, thou haſt heard how Wickleffe was accuſed by ye Biſhop. Now you ſhall alſo heare the Popes mighty reaſons and arguments by the which he did confute him to the king. It foloweth.

Therfore for ſo much as our reuerẽt brethren the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London haue receiued a ſpeciall commaundement from vs by our autoritie, to apprehende and commit the forenamed Ihon wickleffe vnto priſon, and to tranſporte hys confeſſion vnto vs: If they ſhal ſeme in the proſecution of this their buſines to lacke your fauour or helpe, we require & moſt

Here is p ſonyng no teach

earneſtly deſire your maieſty euē as your moſt noble predeceſſours haue alwayes been moſt earneſt louers of the catholicke fayth (whoſe caſe or quarell in this matter, is chiefly handled,) that you would vouchesafe euen for the reuerence of God, and the fayth aforeſayd, and alſo of the Apoſtolicke ſeat, & of our perſō. that you will with your helpe and fauour, aſſiſt the ſayd Archbiſhop and all other that ſhall go about to execute the ſayd buſines. wherby beſides the prayſe of mē, you ſhal obtaine a heauenly rewarde and great fauour, and good will, at our hand, and of the ſee aforeſayd. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the xi. kal. of Iune in the vii. yeare of our biſhopricke, Anno. 1378.

The Articles included in the popes, letters whiche he ſent to the biſhops, to the kyng, againſt Wickleffe, were theſe as in order do folow.

¶ *The concluſions of Ihon Wickleff, exhibited in the conuocation of certaine Biſhops at Lambeth.*

Certaine concluſions of Iohn Wickleffe.

All the whole race of mankinde here on earth beſydes Chriſt, hath no power ſymply, to ordayne that Peter and all hys offpryng ſhoulde politicklye rule ouer the worlde for euer.

2 God cannot geue to any man for hym and his heires any ciuill dominion for euer.

3 All wrytinges inuented by men, as touchyng perpetuall heritage, are impoſſible.

4 Euery man beyng in grace iuſtifieng, hath not onely right vnto the thing, but alſo for his time hath ryght in dede aboue all the good thinges of God.

5 A man can but onely miniſtratoriouſly geue any temporall or continuall gyft, eyther as well to hys naturall ſonne, as to hys ſonne by imitation.

6 If God be, the temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriouſlye take awaye the riches from the churche, when they do offend. habitualiter.

7 We know that Chriſtes Vicar cannot, neyther is able by hys Buls, neyther by hys own wyll and conſent, neyther by the conſent of hys Colledge, eyther make able or diſable any man.

8 A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or vndoyng, except he be fyrſt and principallye excommunicat by hym ſelfe.

9 No man ought, but in Gods cauſe alone, to excommunicate, ſuſpend, or forbyd, or otherwyſe to procede to reuenge by any eccleſiaſticall cenſure.

10 A curſe or excommunication doth not ſymply bynde, but in caſe it be pronounced and geuen out agaynſt the aduerſary of Gods law.

11 There is no power geuen by any example, eyther by Chriſt or his Apoſtle, to excommunicate any ſubiect, ſpecially for the denying of anye temporalities, but rather contrarywyſe.

12 The diſciples of Chriſt haue no power to exact by any ciuill autority, temporalities by cenſures,

13 It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope, or any other Chriſtian, do pretende by anye meanes to bynde or to loſe, that thereby he doth ſo binde and loſe.

14 We ought to beleue that the Vicar of Chriſt, doth at ſuch times onely binde and loſe, when as he worketh cōformably by the law and ordinance of Chriſt.

15 This ought vniuerſallye to bee beleued, that euerye prieſt rightly and duly ordered, according vnto the lawe of grace, hath power according to hys vocation, wherby he may miniſter the ſacramentes, and conſequentlye abſolue any man confeſſing hys fault, being contrite and penitent for the ſame.

16 It is lawful for kings (in cauſes licenſed by the law) to take away the temporalties from the ſpiritualty, ſynnyng habitualiter that is, which continue in the cuſtome of ſynne, and wyll not amend.

17 Whether they be temporall Lordes, or any other mē whatſoeuer they be, which haue endowed anye churche with temporalities: It is lawfull for them to take away the ſame temporalities, as it were by waye of medicine, for to auoyde ſynne, notwithſtanding any excommunication, or other eccleſiaſticall cenſure, forſomuch as they are not geuen, but vnder a condition.

18 An eccleſiaſticall miniſter, and alſo the Byſhoppe of Rome, may lawfullye bee rebuked of hys ſubiectes, and for the profyte of the church, be accuſed eyther of the clargie, or of the layetie.

These letters wͭ the articles incloſed being thus receaued frō yͤ Pope, the biſhops toke no litle hart, thinking & fully determining wͭ thēſelues & that in open profeſſion, before their prouinciall councell, that all maner reſpectes of feare or fauour ſet apart: no perſon neyther hygh nor low ſhould let them, neyther woulde they be ſeduced by the entreaty of any man, nor by any threatninges or rewardes, but that in this cauſe they would execute moſt ſurely vpright iuſtice & equity: yea albeit preſent daūger of lyfe ſhould folow therupō. But theſe ſo fierce brags, and ſtout promiſe, with the ſubtile practiſes of theſe byſhops, which thought them ſo ſure before: the Lorde (agaynſt whom no determination of mans counſaile can preuayle) by a ſmall occaſion, did lightly confounde and ouerthrow. For the day of examination beyng come: a certayne perſonage of the princes court, and yet of no great noble byrth, named Lewes Clifford, entring in among the biſhops: commaunded them, that they ſhould not procede with any diffinitiue ſentence agaynſt John Wickleff. With which wordes all they were ſo amaſed, and their combes ſo cut, that (as in the ſtorie is mentioned) they became ſo mute and ſpeachles, as men hauing not one worde in their mouth to anſwere. And thus by the wonderous worke of God his prouidence, eſcaped John Wickleffe yͤ ſecond tyme, out of yͤ biſhops hands, and was by them clearely diſmiſſed vpon his declaratiō made of his articles as anone ſhall folow.

The ſtout brags of the biſhops ouerthrowne.

Wickliffe again called before the biſhops. Lewes Clifford.

Iohn Wickliffe againe deliuered from the biſhops.

Moreouer here is not to bee paſſed ouer, howe at the ſame tyme, and in the ſayd chapell of the Archbyſhop at Lambeth, where the Byſhops were ſittyng vpon Jhon Wickleffe, the ſtory writing of the doyng therof, addeth theſe wordes, ſaying: Non dico ciues tantum Londinenſes, ſed viles ipſius ciuitatis ſe impudenter ingerere preſumpſerunt in eandem capellam, & verba facere pro eodem, & iſtud negocium impedire, confiſi, vt reor, de ipſorum præmiſſa negligentia prælatorum. &c. That is, I ſay not onely, that the citizens of London, but alſo the vile abiectes of the citie, preſumed to be ſo bold, in the ſame chapell at Lābeth, where the Biſhops were ſetting vpon I. Wickleffe: both to entreat for him, and alſo to let and ſtoppe yͤ ſame matter, truſtyng as I ſuppoſe, vpon the negligēce which they ſaw before in the Biſhops. &c

Ouer and beſide, here is not to be forgotten, how the ſaid Jhon Wickleffe, the ſame time of his examination, offered & exhibited vnto the biſhops, in wrytyng, a proteſtation, wͭ a declaratiō or expoſitiō of his own mind, vpō the ſaid his articles, the effect wherof here foloweth.

¶ *The proteſtation of Ihon Wickleffe.*

First I proteſt (as I haue often tofore done) that I do minde and intend with my whole harte (by the grace of God) to bee a true Chriſtian, and as long as breath ſhall remayne in me, to profeſſe and defende the lawe of Chriſte. And if it ſhall happen that thoroughe ignorance or otherwiſe, I ſhall faile therin. I deſire my Lord God of pardon and forgeuenes. And now agayne as before alſo, I do reuoke and make retractation, moſt humbly ſubmittyng my ſelfe, vnder the correction of our holy mother the church. And for ſo much as the ſentence of my fayth, whiche I haue holden in the ſcholes and elles where is reported euen by children, and more ouer, it is caried by children euen vnto Rome: Therfore leaſt my deare beloued brethren ſhould take any offence by me, I will ſetforth in writing the ſentence and Articles, for the whiche I am now accuſed and impeched: the whiche alſo, euē vnto the death I wil defend. As I beleue all Chriſtians ought to do, and ſpecially the biſhop of Rome, and all other prieſtes and miniſters of the churche. For I do vnderſtand the concluſions after the ſence and maner of ſpeaking of the Scriptures and holy doctours, the which I am ready to expound: And if they ſhall be founde con-

The proteſtation of Iohn Wickleffe.

trary vnto the fayth, I am ready to reuoke and ſpedely to call them backe agayne.

¶ *An expoſition vpon the concluſions of Iohn Wicklef,*
exhibited by him to the Biſhops.

Expoſition of Iohn Wickliffe vpon his concluſions.

All the raſe of mankynde, here in earth beſide Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordayne, that Peter. &c.

This concluſion of it ſelfe is euident, for as much as it is not in mans power, to ſtop the comming of Chriſte to hys finall iudgemẽt, but he muſt nedes come, according to the article of our crede, to iudge both the quicke and dead. And then (as the ſcripture teacheth) ſhall ſurceaſe all ciuill and politicke rule here, I vnderſtand the temporall and ſecular dominion, pertayning to men here dwellyng in thys mortall lyfe. For ſo do the philoſophers ſpeake of ciuill dominion. And although the thyng whych is terminable, and hath an ende, is called ſometymes perpetuall: yet becauſe in holye Scripture, and in vſe of the church, and in the bokes of Philoſophers moſt commonly that is taken to be perpetuall, which hathe no ende of tyme hereafter to come: accordyng to the whiche ſenſe, the church ſyngeth Gloria patri, &c. nunc & imperpetuũ. I alſo after the ſame ſignification do take here this word (perpetually) and ſo is this concluſion conſonante to the principles of the ſcripture, that it is not in mans power to ordaine the courſe and viage of the church, here perpetually to laſt.

2 **God can not geue to any man, &c.**

Expoſition of the ſecond concluſion.

☞ To the ſecond concluſion I aunſwer, vnderſtandyng ciuill dominiõ, as in the concluſion before. And ſo I hold, that God, firſt by his ordinate power cannot giue to anye perſon ciuile dominion here for euer: Secondlye, by his abſolute power it is not probable for him ſo to do. For ſo much as he cannot euer detayne his ſpouſe in perpetuall priſon of this life, nor alwayes differ the finall beatitude of his church.

3 **To the third concluſion. Many writynges or chartes inuented by men, as touchyng perpetuall hereditage ciuile, be vnpoſſible.**

☞ The veritie of this concluſion is incident. For we muſt not canonize all maner of Chartes, what ſo euer, as catholike, or vniuerſall: for thẽ it were not lawfull by any meanes to take away or ſequeſter thyngs geuẽ by charte or charter, whẽ any doth vniuſtly occupie ẏ ſame. And ſo, if that ſtand cõfirmed and ratified by the faith of the churche, great occaſion therby ſhould be miniſtred to men ſo chartered, to truſt to their temporall chartes, and ſo might growe therby much libertie and licence to ſinne. For like as by what ſuppoſition euery truth is neceſſary: ſo by the ſame ſuppoſition, euery falſe thyng is poſſible, as it is playne by the teſtimonie of ſcripture, and of holy doctours ſpeaking of neceſſitie of thinges to come.

4 **Euery man beyng in grace iuſtifeing finally, hath not onely ryght vnto the thyng, but alſo for hys tyme hath right in dede, ouer all the good thynges of God.**

In gratia gratificante finaliter.

☞ The veritie hereof is euident, by holy Scripture Matth. 24. Where veritie promiſeth to euery man entring into his ioy: verely (ſayth he) I tell you, he ſhall ſet and place him ouer all the goodes he hath. For the righte and title belongyng to the communion of ſaintes, in their countrey (he meaneth in the kyngdome of heauen) Fundatur obiectiue ſuper vniuerſitatem bonorũ Dei: That is: hath his relaciõ, as vnto his obiect, to all the goods & poſſeſſiõs of God.

Note here he ſpeaketh onely of the right of things in the countrey to come: and not in this exile.

5 **A man can but onely miniſtratoriouſly, geue any temporall dominion or gift perpetuall, as well to his owne naturall ſonne, as to his ſonne by imitation.**

☞ It is euident. For euery man ought to recognise him ſelf in all his workes and doynges, as an humble ſeruaunt, and miniſter of God. As the wordes of Scripture doth teache vs. Let a man ſo eſteme of vs as the miniſters of Chriſt. Yea ſo Chriſt him ſelfe did teache his chief Apoſtles to miniſter, but in the countrey the ſaints ſhall geue vnto theyr felow brethren the dominion of theyr goodes vt patet de ſuis corporibus et bonis eis interioribus in natura according to the wordes of Luke 6. They ſhall geue you and put into your boſomes a good meaſure and perfect, wel filled and heaped vp, and runnyng ouer.

6 **Yf God be temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the goodes of fortune frõ the church when they do offende,** habitualiter?

☞ This concluſion is corelatiue with the firſt article of our faith: I beleue in God the father almighty &c. Where I vnderſtãd this worde (may) in this concluſion after the maner of autentique ſcripture, whiche ſayth and graunteth: that God is hable, of theſe ſtones to rayſe vp children to Abraham, for otherwiſe all Chriſtiã princes were heretiques. For this concluſion, thus ſtandeth the reaſon: If God be, he is omnipotent: and if he be almighty, he is able to commaund the Lordes temporall ſo to do: and if he may ſo commaund, then may they lawfully ſo take away ſuch Gods &c. And ſo by the vertue of the ſame principle, Chriſtiã princes haue practiſed ẏ ſayd ſentence vpon the churche men heretofore, as did Williã Rufus &c. But God forbid that any ſhould beleue hereby my ententiõ to haue been, that ſeculare Lordes may lawfully take awaye what goodes ſoeuer and by what meanes ſoeuer, by their owne naked authoritie at their pleaſure: but onely by the authoritie of the churche may ſo do, in caſes and forme limited by the law.

7 **7 We know that it is not poſſible that ẏ vicar of Chriſt is able by hys pure bulles. &c.**

☞ Thys is manifeſt by the catholique faythe, foraſmuch as the church doth fully beleue that the ablyng of any man, ought fyrſt to procede and come of God: wherfore, no mã being Chriſt his vicar, hath any power in thys matter but onely as vicar in the name of the Lord ſo farre forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notifie vnto the church whom God hath enabled. Wherfore if any man doe any thyng not as vicar in the name of the Lorde, whom he ought to forethinke to be hys author and head: It is a preſũption of Lucifer, for ſomuch as Chriſt by his Apoſtle ſayth 1. Cor. 3. all our hablitie or ſufficiencye commeth of God. And ſo conſequently, it commeth not purely by the miniſtery of his vicarſhip, that he is enhabled, but the hablenes or vnablenes of him being ẏ vicar of Chriſt, commeth to hym an other way from aboue.

8 A man can not be excommunicate to hys hurt or vndoing, excepte he be excommunicate fyrſt and principally of him ſelfe. 8

☞ It is euident, foraſmuch as all ſuch excommunication oughte to procede and beginne originally of hys owne ſinne which is damnified: Wherupon Auguſtine ſayth De verbis domini, Sermone 51. Do not thou conculcate thy ſelfe, and man ouercommeth thee not. And moreouer the fayth of the church doth teach, quod nulla ei nocebit aduerſitas, ſi nulla dominetur iniquitas, ẏ is to ſay, No aduerſitie ſhall hurt if no iniquitie haue the vpper hande. And yet notwithſtanding, euery excommunication for many cauſes is alſo to be feared although that the excommunication of the church to the humble mã being excõmunicated, be not damnable but wholeſome.

9 No man ought but in Gods cauſe alone to excommunicate, ſuſpende, &c. 9

☞ It is clere, foraſmuch as euery iuſte cauſe is the cauſe of god, whoſe reſpecte ought chieflye to be wayed & pondered. Yea the loue of the perſon excõmunicate ought to ſurmount the zeale of reuengement and the deſire of all temporall goods whatſoeuer, for otherwyſe he that doth excommunicate, doth damnifye hym ſelfe. To this .ix. concluſion notwithſtanding it is congruent, that a prelate may excommunicate in the cauſe alſo of man, ſo that his principall reſpect in ſo doyng be had to the iniury done to hys God, as appeareth, 13. queſt. 4. cap. Inter querelas.

No curſe or excommunication can bynde ſimplye, but in caſe it be geuen out agaynſt the aduerſary of Chriſtes law. 10

☞ And it appeareth thus, becauſe that God doth bynde ſimplye euery one that is bounde, who cannot excommunicate, but onelye for tranſgreſſion of hys law. Whereunto it is conſonant notwithſtanding, that the cẽſure of the church doth not bynde ſimply, but ſecondarely in that caſe and reſpect, as it is denounced agaynſt the aduerſary of the members of the church.

There is no example of Chriſt which geueth power to his diſciples to excommunicate any ſubiect (eſpecially for denying of any temporalties) but contrary. 11

☞ Which is thus declared by the fayth, wherby we beleue ẏ God is to bee beloued aboue all thinges, and our neyghbour and enemy are to be beloued aboue all temporall goods of thys worlde neceſſaryly, for the law of God cannot be contrary vnto it ſelfe.

The diſciples of Chriſt haue no power by any ciuill coaction, to exacte temporal thinges by their cenſures. 12

☞ Thys appeareth by the fayth of the ſcripture. Luke, 22. wher Chriſt dyd forbyd hys Apoſtles ciuilly to raygne or to beare anye lordſhip. The kynges (ſayth he) of the Gentyles beare rule ouer them, but you not ſo. And after thys ſence it is expounded of ſaint Bernard of S. Chriſoſtome, and other holy men: whych concluſion notwithſtanding, yet may they exact temporall thyngs by eccleſiaſticall cenſures incidently, if caſe be that it appertayne to the reuengement of their God.

It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Chriſtian do pretend to bynd or loſe at theyr pleaſure, by what meanes ſo euer, that therby he doth ſo bynde and loſe. 13

☞ The contrary of this concluſion wyll deſtroye the whole catholike fayth, importing no leſſe but him to be a blaſphemer which ſo vſurpeth ſuch abſolute power of the Lord. And yet by this concluſion I entend not to derogate from the power of the Pope or of any other prelate of the church, but that he maye by the vertue of the heade ſo bynde and loſe. But do vnderſtand the condicional of thys negatiue (to be impoſſible) after thys ſenſe: that it cannot be that the Pope or any other prelate of the churche can pretende by himſelfe to bind or loſe (how and after what maner he lyſt himſelf) except in ſuch ſort, that he do in dede ſo bynde and loſe before God as he doth pretende to do.

We ought to beleue, that the vicare of Chriſte doth at ſuch tymes onely bynde and looſe, when as he worketh conformably by the law, and ordinaunce of Chriſt. &c. 14

☞ The reaſon therof is this, becauſe otherwyſe it is vnlawfull for him ſo to doo, except he ſhould do it in the vertue of that law, and ſo conſequently, vnles it bee conformable to the lawe and ordinaunce of Chriſt.

To this concluſion, this oughte vniuerſally to be beleued, that euery prieſt ryghtly and duely ordered, hath power accordyng to his vocation. &c. 15

☞ The reaſon hereof is this, because that the order of prieſthoode in his owne nature and ſubſtaunce, receaueth no ſuch degrees, eyther of more, or of leſſe. And yet notwithſtandyng, the power of inferiour prieſtes, in theſe dayes be vpon due conſideration reſtrayned, and ſome tymes agayne in tyme of extreme neceſſitie releaſed. And thus accordyng to the doctours, A prelate hath a double power, to witte, the power of order, And the power of iuriſdictiõ or regiment. And accordyng to this ſecond power, the prelates are in an hygher maieſtie, and regiment.

16 **Yt is lawfull for princes and kynges (in caſes by the**

law limited)to withdraw temporall commodities, from churche men abuſing the ſame, habitualiter.

☞ The reaſon therof is playne, for that temporall Lordes ought rather to leane to ſpirituall almes, whiche bryngeth with it greater fruite, then to corporall almes the caſe ſo ſtandyng, that ſome tyme it were a neceſſary worke of ſpirituall almes, to chaſtiſe ſuch clerkes by takyng from them their temporall liuinges, whiche vſe to abuſe the ſame to the damnyfyeng both of their ſoule and body. The caſe, whiche the lawe doth limite in this matter were the defect of correctyng hys ſpirituall head or els for lacke of correctyng the fayth of clerke whiche ſo offendeth, as appeareth 16. q. 7. filiis. Diſt.40 cap. Si papa.

17 whether they be temporall Lordes, or any other men what ſoeuer, whiche haue endued any churche with temporalties. &c.

☞ The truth hereof is euidently ſene, for that, nothing ought to ſtoppe a man from the principall workes of charitie neceſſarily, becauſe in euery action and worke of man is to be vnderſtand a priuy condition neceſſary of God hys good will concurring with all, as it is in the ciuill lawe de c. Conradi cap 5. in fine collat x. And yet God forbyds, that by theſe wordes occaſion ſhould be geuen to the Lordes temporall to take away the goods of fortune frō the church

18 An eccleſiaſticall miniſter, yea the biſhop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of hys ſubiectes, and for the profyte of the churche be accuſed, eyther of the clergye, or of the laitye.

☞ The proofe of thys is manifeſt hereby, becauſe the ſayd B. of Rome is ſubiect to fall into the ſinne againſt the holy ghoſt, as may be ſuppoſed, ſauing the ſanctitude, humilitie and reuerence due to ſuch a father. For ſo long as our brother is ſubiecte vnto the infirmitie of falling, he lyeth vnder the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole colledge of Cardinalls may be ſlouthfull in miniſtring due correction for the neceſſary proſperitie of the church: it is apparent that the reſidue of the body of the church, which poſſibly may ſtand moſt of lay men, may wholeſomly correct the ſame, accuſe and bring hym to a better way. The poſſibilitie of thys caſe is touched. Diſt 40. Si Papa. yf the pope do erre frō yͤ right fayth, &c. For lyke as ſuch a great fall ought not to be ſuppoſed in the R. pope without manifeſt euidence: ſo agayne ſuch an obſtinacie ought not to be ſuppoſed in hym, poſſibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receaue the wholeſome medicine of hys ſuperiour, correcting hym in the Lord. The practyſe of which concluſion alſo is teſtified in many Chronicles. Far be it from the church of Chriſt that veritie ſhould be condemned, which ſoundeth euill to tranſgreſſours and other ſlouthfull perſons, for then the whole fayth of the Scripture were in a damnable caſe.

Thus John Wyckleffe in geuing his expoſition vnto his foreſaid propoſitiōs and concluſions, as is aboue prefixed, through the fauour and diligence of the Londoners, eyther ſhifted of the biſhops, or els ſatiſfied them ſo: that for that tyme he was diſmiſſed and ſcaped clearly away, onely being charged and commaunded by the ſaid biſhops, that he ſhould not teach or preach any ſuch doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man being eſcaped from the biſhops, with this charge aforeſayd, yet notwithſtanding, ceaſed not to procede in his godly purpoſe, labouring and profiting ſtyll in the church as he had begon.

Unto whom alſo (as it happened by the prouidence of God) this was a great helpe and ſtay, for that in the ſame yeare, or in the beginning of the next yeare folowing, the foreſayd pope Gregorye. xi. which was the ſtyrrer vp of all this trouble agaynſt him, turned vppe hys heeles and dyed. After whom inſued ſuchs a ſchiſme in Rome, betwene two popes, and other ſucceeding after them, one ſtriuing agaynſte an other: that the ſchiſme thereof endured the ſpace of. xxxix. yeares, vntyl the time of the councell of Conſtance.

The occaſioner of which ſchiſme firſt was pope Urbane the 6. who in the firſt beginning of hys popedome was ſo proud and inſolent to his Cardinalls, and other, as to Dukes, princes, & queenes, and ſo ſet to aduaunce his Nephew & kindred, with iniuries to other princes: that the greateſt number of hys Cardinals and courtyers by litle and litle ſhronke from hym, and ſet vp an other French pope agaynſt hym, named Clement, who reigned xi. yeares. And after him Benedictus the 13. who reigned yeares 26. Agayne of the contrarye ſide after Urbanus the 6. ſucceded, Boniface the 9. Innocentius the vii. Gregorius the xii. Alexander the v. John 13.

¶ Papæ.	yeres.	mon.	¶ Antipapæ.	yeres.
Vrbanus. 6.	11.	8.	Clement.	11
Bonifacius. 9.	14.	9.	Benedictus. 13	26
Innocentius. 8.	2.	0.		
Gregorius. 12.	2.	7.		
Alexander. 5.	0.	11.		
Iohannes. 13.	5.	10.		

As touching this peſtilent & moſt miſerable ſchiſme, it would require here an other Iliade to comprehend in order all the circumſtances and tragicall partes therof, what trouble in the whole church, what partes taking in euery country, what apprehending and impriſonyng of prieſtes and prelates, taken by land and by ſea, what ſhedding of blood did follow therof. How Otho Duke of Brunſewyke and prince of Tarentum, was taken & murthered. How Ioane Quene of Hieruſalem and Sicilia his wyfe, who before had ſent to Pope Urbane, beſide other gyftes at hys coronation, xl. thouſande Duckets in pure gold: after by the ſayde Urbane was committed to priſon, and in the ſame priſō ſtrangled. What Cardinals were racked, and miſerably without al mercy tormēted on gibbets to death, what ſlaughter of mē, what battails were fought betwene the twoo Popes, whereof. 5000. on the one ſyde were ſlayne, beſide the number of them which were taken priſoners. Of the beheading of. v. Cardinals together after long torments, and how the biſhop Aquilonēſis, being ſuſpected of pope Urbane, for not ryding faſter with the Pope, hys horſe being not good, was there ſlayne by the Popes cōmaundement, ſending his ſoldiours vnto him, to ſlay him, and cut him in peeces. All which thinges, with other dyuers mo actes of horrible cruelty, happening in the tyme of this abhominable ſchiſme, becauſe they are aboundantly diſcourſed at ful, by Theodorike Niem, who was nere to the ſayd Pope Urbane, and preſent at all his doings: therefore as a thing nedeles I here pretermit, referring them who couet to be certefied more amply herein, vnto the. 3. bookes of the ſaid Theodorike aboue mentioned.

Was not here holy agreemēt.

Theodoricus à Niem. de ſchiſmate.

About the ſame time, alſo about iij. yeares after, there fell a cruell diſſention in England, betwene the commō people and the nobilitie, the which did not a litle diſturbe and trouble the common wealth. In this tumulte, Symon of Sudbery Archbiſhip of Canterbury, was taken by the ruſticall and rude people, and was beheaded. In whoſe place after, ſucceded William Courtney, whiche was no leſſe diligent, then his predeceſſor had been before him, in doing his diligence, to roote out heretickes. Notwithſtanding, in the meane ſeaſon Wickleffes ſeckte increaſed priuilie, and dayly grew to greater force, vntill the tyme that William Barton Uicechaūceller of Oxford, about the yere of our lord. 1380. had the whole rule of that vniuerſitie: who callyng together, viij. monaſticall doctours, and iiij. other, with the cōſent of the reſt of his affinitie, putting the common ſeale of the vniuerſitie vnto certaine writinges: he ſet forth an edict, declaryng vnto euery man, & threatnyng them vnder a greuous penaltie, yͤ no mē ſhould be ſo hardy, hereafter to aſſociate them ſelues, with any of Wickleffes fautors or fauourers: and vnto Wickleffe him ſelfe, he threatned the greater excommunication, and farther impriſonement, & to all his fautors, vnles that they after iij. dayes canonicall admonition or warnyng, or as they call it, peremptory, did repent & amend. The which thyng when Wickleffe vnderſtood, forſaking yͤ pope & all the clergy, he thought to appeale vnto the kings maieſtie: but the Duke of Lancaſter comming betwene forbad him that he ſhould not hereafter attēpt or begyn any ſuch matters, but rather ſubmit him ſelfe, vnto the cenſure and iudgement of his ordinary. Wherby Wickleff beyng beſet with troubles and vexations, as it were in the mideſt of the waues, he was forced once agayne to make confeſſion of hys doctrine: in the whiche his confeſſion, to auoyde the rigour of thinges, he aunſwered as is aforeſaid making his declaratiō, and qualified his aſſertiōs after ſuch a ſort, that

Rebellion in England by Iacke Straw. Simon the Archbiſhop beheaded.

W. Courtney archb. of Cant.

Barton Chauncellur of Oxford.

An. 1380

An edict againſt the Wicliſtes.

he did mitigate and aſſuage the rigour of hys enemies.

An. 1382

The next yeare after, which was.1382.by the commaundement of William Archbiſhop of Canterburye, there was a conuocation holden at London, where as John Wyckleffe was alſo commaunded to be preſent. But whether he there appered perſonally,or not, I find it not in ſtory certaynly affirmed.The mandate of the Archbiſhop W.Courtney (ſent abroade for the conuenting together of this councel) here foloweth vnder written,truly copied out of hys owne regiſters.

The mandate of the Archb.

Ex Regiſtro Archb. W.Courtney.

Memorandum,that where as well amongeſt the nobles as commons of this realme of England, ther hath a certayne bruite bene ſpread of diuers concluſions both erroneous,and alſo repugnant to the determination of the church: which tende to the ſubuerſion of the whole church,and to our prouince of Canterbury, and alſo to the ſubuerſion of the whole realme, beyng preached in diuers and ſundry places of our ſayd prouince, generally,commonly,and publikely: We Wylliam by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of Canterburye, Primate of all England,and Legate of the ſee Apoſtolicall,being minded to execute our office and duty herein:haue conuocated or called together, certayne our fellow brethren and others a great many,as well Doctors and Bachilers of diuinitie,as doctors of the Canon and Ciuill lawe, and thoſe whom we thought to bee the moſt famous men, ſkylfulleſt men,and men of ſoundeſt iudgement in religion,that were in all the realme,whoſe names here vnder enſue.And the ſame being(the.xvij.daye of the moneth of May)in the yere of our Lord.1382, in a certayn chamber within the territories of the priorye of the friers preachers of London before vs and our foreſaid fellow brethren aſſembled, then and there perſonally preſent:After that the ſayd concluſions (the tenor whereof hereunder enſueth) were openly proponed,and diſtinctly and plainly read:We burdened our foreſaid fellow brethren,Doctors,and Bachilers,in the fayth wherin they ſtood bound to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,& as they woulde anſwer before the hygh iudge in the day of iudgement, that they ſhould ſpeake their opinions touching the ſaid concluſions and what euery of them thinketh therin.

And at length,after good deliberation had vpon the premiſſes, the foreſayd our brethren the Biſhops,Doctours,and Bachilers,reaſſembled before vs the xxi. day of the ſame moneth in the foreſayd chamber, the foreſayd concluſions beyng agayne and agayne repeated and plainly read:By vs and by the common cōſentes of vs all it remaineth publiſhed and declared, that ſome of the ſayd concluſions are hereticall,and other ſome erroneous and contrary to the determination of the church, as hereafter moſt manifeſtly ſhall appeare. And for as much as by ſufficiēt informatiō we finde and perceaue, that the ſayd concluſions in manye places of our ſayde prouince,haue bene as is ſayde, both taught and preached:and that diuers other perſons do holde and mayntayne the ſame,and be of hereſie vehementlye and notoriouſly ſuſpected:haue thought good as well generallye as ſpecially,to ſend out thys proceſſe vnder written.

¶*The names of the Iurers were theſe.*

In primis,viij.biſhops,Cant.Winch.Durram, Exeter, Herford,Sarum,Rocheſt.and Frier Botleſham.B.

Item.iij.friers preachers,Syward, Parris,Langley.

Item.iiij.Minorites,Foluile,Carlel,Friſley,Bernwell.

Item, Auguſtine fries.iiij.Aſhborne,Bowkyn,Woldley,Hornington.

Item,Carmelites.iiij.Glanuile,Dis,Loney,Bynningham.

Item,Monkes.iiij.Wels,Rawſey,Bloram,Marton.

Item,Doctours of the Canon and Ciuill lawe.xiiij, Appelby, Waltram,Baketon,Chadeſden,Tregiſyon Stow,Blaunchard,Rocombey,Lidford,Welbourne,Flaynburghe,Motrum,Brandon,and Prophet.

Item,Bachilers of Diuinitie vi,Humbleton,Pickweche,Lindlow,Wych,Chiſelden,Comſon.

The articles of John Wickliffe here aboue ſpecified, wherof ſome were.x.which were by theſe friers condemned as hereticall,yͤ reſt as erroneus:here in order follow, and are theſe.Although it may be thought, that ſome of them were made worſſe by their ſiniſter collecting, then he ment them in his own workes and writings.

¶*The articles of Iohn Wickleſſe condemned as hereticall.*

The ſubſtaunce of material bread and wine, doth re- 1
mayne in the ſacrament of the aulter after the conſecration.

The accidents,do not remayne without the ſubiecte 2
in the ſame ſacrament,after the conſecration.

That Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of yͤ alter true- 3
ly and really,in his proper and corporall perſon. 4

* That if a byſhop or a prieſt be in deadly ſinne, he doth not order,conſecrate,nor baptiſe.

That if a man, be duely and truely contrite and penitent:all exterior and outer confeſſion, is but ſuperfluous and vnprofitable vnto hym.

That it is not founde or ſtablyſhed by the Goſpell,
that Chriſt did make or ordayne Maſſe. 5

If the pope be a reprobate and euill man, and conſe- 6
quently a member of the deuill: he hath no power by a- 7
ny maner of meanes geuen vnto hym ouer faythfull Chriſtians,except peraduenture it be geuen hym from the Emperour.

• That ſince the time of Urbane the ſixt,there is none 8
to be receaued for Pope, but to liue after the maner of
the Greekes,euery man vnder hys own lawe. 9

* To be agaynſt the Scripture, that eccleſiaſticall miniſters ſhould haue any temporall poſſeſſions.

¶*The other Articles of Ihon Wickleſſe,condemned as erroneous.*

That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man,
except he knew him firſt to be excōmunicate of God.
That he whiche doth ſo excommunicate any man,is
therby him ſelfe either an hereticke or excommunicated. 10

That a prelate or Byſhop excommunicating any of 11
the clergy,which hath appealed to the kyng or to the coū- 12
ſel,is therby him ſelf, a traitor to the kyng and realme.

That all ſuch which do leue of preaching or hearyng 13
the worde of God or preachyng of the Goſpell, for feare of excommunication:they are all ready excommunicated,and in the day of Judgement,ſhalbe counted as traitors vnto God.

That it is lawfull for any mā,either deacon or prieſt, 14
to preach the word of God,without yͤ autoritie or licence of the apoſtolicke ſee or any other of his catholickes.

¶ That ſo long as a man is in deadly ſinne, he is neither biſhop nor prelate in the churche of God.

• Alſo that the temporall Lordes, may accordyng to their owne will and diſcretion,take away the temporall goodes frō the churche men,when ſoeuer they do offende.

That tenthes are pure almoſe, and that the pariſſio- 16
ners may for the offence of their Curates,deteine & kepe them backe,and beſtow them vpon others,at their own will and pleaſures.

Alſo, that all ſpeciall prayers applied to any priuate
or particular perſō,by any prelate or religious man: do 17
no more profite the ſame perſon,then generall or vniuer- 18
ſall prayers do profite others, whiche be in lyke caſe or ſtate vnto him.

Moreouer, in that any man doth enter into any pri- 19
uate religion,what ſo euer it be, he is thereby made the more vnapte and vnable to obſerue and keepe the commaundementes of God.

That holy men whiche haue inſtituted priuate reli- 20
gions,what ſoeuer they be(as well ſuch as are indowed and poſſeſſed,as alſo yͤ order of begging Friers,hauyng no poſſeſſions) in ſo doyng, haue greuouſlye offended.

That religious men,being in their priuate religiōs, 21 are not of the Chriſtian religion.

22 That Friers are bounden to get their lyuing, by the labour of their handes and not by beggyng.

23 That whoſoeuer doth geue anye almoſe vnto Friers, or to any begging obſeruaunt, is accurſed or in daūger therof.

¶The letter of the Archbiſhop directed to the biſhop of London, agaynſt Wyckly*ff* and hys adherentes.

letter of
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ynſt wik

WIlliam by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metrapolitan of all England, and of the Apoſtolicall ſee Legate: To our reuerēd brother by the grace of God biſhop of London, ſalutation. The prelates of the church ought to be ſo much the more vigilant and attentiſe about the charge of the Lordes flocke committed vnto them: how muche the more they ſhall vnderſtande the woolues being clothed in ſheepes apparell, fraudulently to go about to worry and ſcatter the ſheepe. Truly, by the continuall cry and bruted fame (which it greueth me to reporte) it is come to our knowledge: that althoughe by the canonicall ſanctions, no man beeyng forbidden or not admitted, ſhoulde eyther publickelye or priuely without the autority of the Apoſtolicall ſee or biſhop of that place, vſurpe or take vpon hym the office of a preacher: Some notwithſtanding, ſuch as are the children of damnation, being vnder the vale of blynde ignoraunce, are brought in to ſuch a doting mynde, that they take vpon them to preache, and are not afrayd to affirme and teache diuers and ſundry propoſitions and concluſions here vnder recited, both hereticall, erronious, and falſe, condempned by the churche of God: and repugnaunt to the decree of holy churche, which tende to the ſubuerting of the whole ſtate of the ſame, of our prouince of Canterbury, and deſtruction and weakening of the tranquility of the ſame: and that as well in the churches, as in the ſtreetes, as alſo in manye other prophane places of our ſayd prouince, generally, commonlye, and publikely, do preach the ſame, infecting very many good Chriſtians, cauſyng them lamentablye to wander out of the way, and from the catholicke church, without which there is no ſaluation. We therefore conſidering, that ſo pernicious a miſchiefe which maye creepe amongeſt many, we ought not to ſuffer and by diſſimulation to paſſe ouer, which may with deadly contagion ſlea the ſoules of men, leaſt their bloud be required at our handes: are willing ſo much as God wyll permyt vs to do, to extirpate the ſame. wherefore, by the counſayl and conſent of many of our brethren and Suffraganes, we haue cōnented diuers and ſundry doctors of deuinitie, as alſo profeſſors and other clerkes of the Canon and Ciuil lawes, the beſt learned within the realme, and of the moſt ſoundeſt opinion and iudgement in the catholicke fayth, to geue their opinions and iudgementes concernyng the foreſayd concluſions. But for as much as the ſayde concluſions and aſſertions, being in the preſence of vs, and our fellow brethren and other conuocates, openly expoūded, and diligently examined, and in the end found by cōmon counſayl and conſent, as well of them as of vs, and is declared that ſome of thoſe concluſions were hereticall, and ſome of them erroneus and repugnaunt to the determination of the churche, as here vnder are deſcribed: we wyll and commaund your brotherhood, and by vertue of holy obedience ſtrayghtly enioyne, all and ſingular our brethren & Suffraganes of our body & church of Cant. that with al ſpedy diligēce you poſſible can, you likewiſe enioyn thē (as we haue enioined you) & euery of thē. And that euery of thē in theyr churches & other places of theyr Citie and dioces, do admoniſhe and warne, and that you in your churche and other churches of your citie and dioces, do admoniſhe and warne, as we by the tenour of theſe preſentes, do admoniſhe and warne the firſt tyme, the ſecond tyme, and the thyrd tyme: and yet more ſtrayghtly do warne, aſſignyng for the firſt admonition one day, for the ſeconde admonition an other day, and for the thyrd admonition canonicall and peremptorie, an other day: That no man from hence forth of what ſtate or condicion ſo euer, do holde, preach or defend the foreſayd hereſies and errours or any of them: nor that he admitte to preache any one that is prohibited or not ſent to preache, nor that he heare or harken to the hereſies or errours of him or any of them, or that he fauour or leane vnto hym either publiquely, or priuely: But that immediatly he ſhonne hym as he would auoyde a ſerpent puttyng forth moſt peſtiferous poyſon, vnder payne of the greater curſe, the whiche we commaunde to be thundered agaynſt all and euery one whiche ſhall bee diſobedient in this behalfe, and not regardyng theſe our monitions, after that thoſe thre dayes be paſt whiche are aſſigned for the canonicall monition, and that their delay fault, or offence, committed require the ſame: That thē accordyng to the tenour of theſe writtyngs, we commaund both by euery one of our felowe brethren and our ſuffraganes in their cities and dioces, and by you in your Citie and dioces (ſo much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the vttermoſt, both ye and they cauſe the ſame excommunications to be pronoūced. And furthermore we will and commaund our foreſayd felow brethren, and all and ſingular of you a part by your ſelues, to be admoniſhed, and by the aſperſion of the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt we lykewiſe admoniſhe you: that accordyng to the inſtitution of the ſacred canons, euery one of them in theyr Cities and dioces, be a diligent inquiſitour of this hereticall prauitie, and that euery one of you alſo in your Cities and dioces, be the like inquiſitour of the foreſayd hereticall prauitie: And that of ſuch lyke preſūptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (accordyng to your duties and office in this behalf) with effect do procede agaynſt the ſame, to the honour and prayſe of hys name that was crucified, and for the preſeruation of the Chriſtian faith and religion.

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Bruta Fulmina.

He that kylleth you, ſhall think they deo God good ſeruice.

Yea rather for the honour of your Pope, and deſtruction of Chriſtian faith.

Here it is not to be paſſed ouer, the great miracle of Gods diuine admonition or warnyng: for when as the Archbiſhop and ſuffraganes, with the other doctours of diuinitie, and lawiers with a great company of babling Friers, and religious perſōs were gathered together to conſult, as touchyng Ihon Wickleffes bookes, and that whole ſecte: Whē as they were gathered together at the Gray Friers in Londō, to begin their buſines, vpon S. Dunſtons day after dinner, about two of the clocke the very houre and inſtāt that they ſhould go forward with their buſines, a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell, throw out all England: wherupon, diuers of the ſuffraganes beyng feared, by the ſtraunge and wonderfull demonſtration, doubting what it ſhould meane, thought it good to leaue of from their determinate purpoſe. But the archbiſhop (as chief captaine of that army, more raſh and bolde then wiſe) interpretyng the chaunſe which had happened, cleane contrary to another meanyng or purpoſe, dyd confirme and ſtrengthen theyr heartes and mindes, whiche were almoſt daunted with feare, ſtoutly to procede, and go forwarde in their attēpted enterpriſe. Who then diſcourſing Wickleffes Articles, not accordyng vnto the ſacred Canons of the holye Scripture, but vnto their owne priuate affections and traditions, pronounced and gaue ſentence, that ſome of them were ſimply and playnely hereticall, other ſome halfe erroneous, others irreligious, ſome ſeditious and not conſonant to the Churche of Rome.

An earthquake: what tyme Wickliffe was examined. *Ex chron. mō. Albanenſis.*

Determination vpon the Articles of wikleff.

Item the xij. day of Iune in the yeare aforeſayd in the chaumber of the Friers preachers: the foreſayd maiſter Robert Rigges chauncelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell profeſſours of diuinitie beyng appointed the ſame day and place, by the foreſaid reuerend father in God Archbyſhop of Canterbury: appeared before him, in the preſence of the reuerend father in God, Lord William by the grace of God, byſhop of Wincheſter, and diuers others doctours and bachelers of diuinitie and of the Canon and ciuill lawe, whoſe names are before recited. And firſt the ſayd chauncelor by the ſayd Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, beyng examined what his opiniō was touching the foreſayd articles: Publiquely affirmed and declared, that certeine of thoſe concluſions were hereticall and certeine erronious, as ẏ other doctours and clerkes afore mentioned haue declared: And then immediatly next after hym, the foreſayd Thomas Brightwell was examined, whiche vpon ſome of the concluſions at firſt ſomewhat ſtaggered, but in the ende beyng by the ſayd Lord Archbiſhop, diligently examined vpon the ſame, did affirme and repute ẏ ſame to be hereticall and erronious, as the foreſayd chauncelour

lour had done. An other bacheler of diuinitie alſo there was named N. ſtammering alſo at ſome of thoſe concluſions, in the end affirmed that his opinion therin was, as was the iudgement of the foreſayd chauncelour and Thomas as is aboue declared. Wherupon, the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, willing to let and hinder the perill of ſuch hereſies and errours: Deliuered vnto the foreſayd chauncelour there beyng publiquely read his letters patentes, to be executed the tenor whereof in theſe wordes doth folow.

A letter of the Archb. of Cant. to the commiſſary of Oxford

William by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury primate of all England, and legate of the Apoſtolicall ſee: To our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt the chaunlor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford within the dioces of Lincolne, greetyng, grace and benediction. The prelates of the churche, about the Lordes flocke committed to theyr chardge, ought ſo much to be more vigilant as that they ſee the wolfe clothed in ſhepes attire ſcandulently go about to worow & ſcatter the ſheepe. Doubtles, the common fame and brute is come vnto our eares. &c. Vt in mãdato precedenti. We will therfore and commaund, ſtraightly enioining you, that in the churche of our bleſſed Lady in Oxford vpon thoſe dayes the which accuſtomably the ſermon is made, as alſo in the ſcholes of the ſayd vniuerſitie vpon thoſe dayes the Lectures be read, ye publiſh and cauſe by others to be publiſhed to the clergie and people, as well in their vulgare tõg as in the Latine toung, manifeſtly & plainly without any curious implication ẏ ſame heretical & erronious concluſiõs, ſo repugnant to the determination of holy church, as is aforeſayd: to haue been and be condemned, and whiche concluſions alſo we declare by theſe our letters to be vtterly condemned: And that farthermore you forbyd, and canonically admoniſhe and cauſe to be admoniſhed, as we by the tenour of theſe preſentes do forbyd and admoniſhe you, once, twiſe, and thriſe, and that peremptorily: that none hereafter holde, teache, preache, or defend the hereſies and errours aboueſayd or any of them either in ſchole or out of ſchole by any ſophiſticall cauillation or otherwiſe: or that any admit to preach, heare, or harken vnto Jhon wickleffe, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppindon chanon reguler, or Jhon Aſhton or Laurence Readman, which be vehemẽtly and notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſie, or els any other whatſoeuer, ſo ſuſpected or defamed: or that ether priuely or publiquely, they either aide or fauour them or any of them, but that incontinently they ſhonne and auoyde the ſame as a ſerpent whiche putteth forth moſt peſtiferous poyſon. And farthermore, we ſuſpende the ſayd ſuſpected perſons frõ all ſcholaſticall act, till ſuch tyme as they ſhall purge thẽ ſelues before vs in that behalfe, and that you denounce the ſame publiquely, by vs to haue been and be ſuſpended, and that ye diligently and faithfully inquire, of all their fautours and fauorers, and cauſe to bee inquired throughout all the haules of the ſayd vniuerſitie. And that when you ſhall haue intelligence of theyr names and perſõs, that ye compell all and euery of them to abiure theyr outragies by eccleſiaſticall cenſures and other paynes canonicall what ſoeuer vnder payne of the greater curſe, the whiche agaynſt all and ſingular the rebellious in this behalfe, and diſobeyng our monitions we pronounce: ſo that their fault deceit, & offence in thys behalfe, deſerue the ſame (the ſayd monitiõ of ours being firſt ſent) whiche in this behalfe we exteme and alow canonicall, that then and agayne accordyng to the effecte of theſe our letters. &c. The Abſolution of all and ſingulare ſuch, whiche ſhall incurre the ſentence of this inſtrument by vs ſent forth (which God forbyd) we ſpecially reſerue vnto our ſelues: exhortyng you the chaũcelour by ẏ aſperſion of the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, that to the vttermoſt of your power hereafter you do your indeuour, that the clergy and people beyng ſubiect vnto you, if there be whiche haue ſtrayed from the catholique fayth by ſuch errours, may be brought home agayne, to the laude and honor of his name that was crucified and preſeruation of the true faith. And further our will is, that what ſo euer you ſhal do, in the premiſſes in maner and forme of our proceſſe in thys behalfe, to bee had and done: that you for your parte, when you ſhalbe required thereunto, playnly and diſtinctly do certifie vs by your letters patentes, hauing the tenour hereof.

Make ſure worke.

The concluſions and articles here mẽcioned in this letter, are aboue prefixed. Of which ſome were condemned for hereticall, ſome for erroneous. Pag. 534

After this, within few dayes the foreſayde Archbiſhop W. Courtney, directed down his letters of Admonition to Robert Rigge Commiſſary of Oxford, for the repreſſing of this doctrine. Which yet notwithſtanding both then, and yet to this daye (God be prayſed) doth remayne. The copy of his monition to the Commiſſarye here out of his own Regiſter, foloweth.

¶ The Monition of the Archbyſhop, vnto the fore ſayd Chauncelour.

An other letter of the archb. to the commiſſary of Oxford.

IN Dei nomine Amen. Where as we william by the permiſſion of God archb. of Cant. L. Primat of England & legate of the apoſtolicall ſee, by the conſent of our ſuffraganes, haue cauſed to be aſſẽbled together diuers clerkes both ſecular & regular of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, within our prouince of Cant. and other catholike perſones to enforme vs of, and vpon, certeine concluſions hereticall and erroneus generally and commonly preached and publiſhed in diuers places of the ſayd prouince of Cant. to the ſubuerſion of the whole ſtate of the church, & our ſaid prouince: And alſo mature deliberatiõ had vpõ the ſame: by the common counſayle of the ſayd our ſuffraganes & theyr conuocates, it was declared, that certein of the ſaid concluſions, to haue been and be condemned, ſome for hereticall, and ſome for erronious, & notoriouſly repugnãt to the determination of the churche, whiche we alſo our ſelues haue declared to be dãnable: And haue vnderſtood by credible information, & partly by experience that thou Robert Rigge, chaũcelor of the vniuerſitie aforeſayd, haſt and doeſt incline partly to the foreſayd damnable concluſions, whom alſo we in this parte haue partly ſuſpected, doeſt intend to moleſt theſe our clerkes aboue ſpecified, & others adheryng vnto vs in this behalfe, as they ought to do: through thy ſubtill and ſophiſticall imaginations, ſondry and manifold wayes, therfore we admoniſhe thee M. Robert chauncelor aforeſayd, the firſt, ſecond, & third time, and peremptorily: that ẏ doeſt not greue, let, or moleſt, iudicially or extra iudiciallye, apertlye or priuely, or cauſe to be greued, let and moleſted, or procure directly or indirectly, by thy ſelfe or any other, as much as in thee lyeth to be greued, the foreſayd clerkes ſeculare or regulare or ſuche as fauoure them in the premiſſes, in theyr ſcholaſticall actes or in any other condition what ſoeuer: And that thou ſuffer none hereafter to teach, mayntain, preach, or defend any ſuch hereſies or errours in the ſaid Vniuerſity, eyther within or withont the ſcholes: Neither that thou do admit John Wyckliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Repindon, John Ayſhton, or Lawrence Redman, which are vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſy, or any other ſo ſuſpected or defamed, vnto that office of preaching. But that thou denounce the ſaid perſons to be ſuſpended, whom we haue ſuſpẽded from all ſcholaſticall act, whyleſt they cleare their innocencye in thys part before vs, vnder the payne of the greater curſe, which we here in theſe writings denounce agaynſt thy perſon if thou ſhalt not obey theſe our admonitiõs, in effect, as thy crime ſubteltie & offence in this behalfe ſhall require according to this our admonitiõ premiſed, which we repute in this part for canonical, as well thẽ as now, and now as wel as then, reſeruing the abſolution of this ſentence excommunicatorie, if it happen to lyght vpon thee, as (God forbid) ſpecially vnto our ſelues. Teſtifyed with the handes of the Jurers, aboue in the page 534. before ſpecifyed.

¶ The examination of Nicholas Herford, Philip Repindon, and John Ayſhton.

THe xviij. day of the moneth and yeare aforeſayde in the chamber of the preaching Friers afore mentioned, before the foreſayd Archbiſhop in the preſence of diuers Doctors and Bachilers of Diuinitie, and many Lawyers both Canon and Ciuill, whoſe names are vnder written: Appeared maiſter Nich. Herford, Phylip Repindon, and John Ayſhton Bachilers of Diuinitye. Who after a corporall othe taken to ſhewe their iudgementes vpon the concluſions aforeſaid, were examined ſeuerally eche one by himſelfe, before the Archbiſhop. Who there required day and place to deliberate vpon the concluſions aforeſayd, and to geue their anſwers vnto the ſame in writing. And alſo required to haue a copy of the ſayd concluſions to be deliuered vnto them. The which copy, the ſayd Nicholas and Philip (beyng openly red vnto them) receaued. Alſo the foreſayd mayſter Iohn Ayſhton lyke wyſe was examined, and iudicially admoniſhed by the ſayde Archb. by vertue of hys othe, that he ſetting aſide all ſophiſticall wordes and ſuttelties, he fully and playnly would ſay hys mynde vpon the concluſions aforeſaid. And beyng aſked moreouer by the ſayde Archb. whether he woulde haue a further day to deliberate vpon his anſwers, as the foreſaid Nicholas and Philip had before: ſayd expreſly that he wold not, but would anſwer preſentlye to thoſe concluſions. And ſo for finall anſwer ſayde, as concerning all theſe concluſiōs (contayning them al together) that his iudgement was in this behalfe to hold his peace. Wherefore the foreſayd archbiſhop reputing the ſayd Iohn herein to be ſuſpected, admoniſhed hym in forme of wordes as foloweth: We admoniſh thee Iohn Ayſhton, whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriouſlye ſuſpected of hereſy, the firſt, the ſecond, and third time: that in our prouince of Canterbury hereafter, thou do not preach publikely or priuately without our ſpeciall liſence, vnder payne of the greater curſe, which we denounce here by theſe preſentes agaynſt thy perſon, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then. And conſequently, for as much as the ſayd Iohn being aſked of the Archbyſhop, confeſſed that he had hearde before of the publication of the Archbiſhops Mandate, wherein was inhibited that no perſon prohibited or not ſent, ſhould preache hereafter: the foreſayd Archbiſhop aſſigned to hym the Friday next following, which was the.xx.daye of the ſame month, after diner to appere before him, either at Lāheth, or in the ſame place: to ſaye for him ſelfe, wherfore he might not be pronounced for an hereticke, & for ſuch a one to be denounced through his whole prouince. Alſo the ſayd archbiſhop aſſigned to the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip, the ſayd day & place to anſwer peremptorily, and to ſay fully and plainly to the concluſions aforeſayd, all ſophiſtication of woordes and diſputation ſet apart.

John
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¶ *The names of the Friers that ſat vpon them.*

Friers preachers.7.

Thom. Barnwell, William Swynherd, William Pickworth, Tho. Whatley, Lawrence Grenham, Iohn Leygh, Ih. Baker.

Carmelites.3.

Walter Diſſhe, Iohn Kynningham, Iohn Louey.

Auguſtine friar.

Thomas Aſhborne doctour.

In the.xx.daye aforeſayde of the ſayde moneth of Iune, the yere and place aboue prefixed, before the foreſayd Archbiſhop, ſitting in his tribunall ſeate, in the preſence of diuers doctours of Diuinitye and Lawyers, both ciuill and Canon: perſonallye appeared mayſter Nicholas Herford, and Philip Repindon, Bachelers of Deuinity, and Iohn Ayſhton maiſter of Arte. Where, the foreſayde Nicholas and Phillip, being required by the ſayd archbiſhop to anſwer and ſay fully and plainly their iudgements vpon the cōcluſions prefixed, wherunto the ſayd archbiſhop had aſſigned to the ſayde Nicholas and Philip the ſame terme: did exhibit to the ſaid archbiſhop there iudicially ſitting, certeine anſwers in writing contayned, after the maner of Indenture, the tenour whereof here vnder is contayned, and after the ſame forme anſwered to the ſayd concluſiōs. The tenor of which Indenture containing the foreſayd concluſiōs vnto them moued as afore, foloweth in theſe wordes.

of Iune.

reford.
Reping
agayne
peare.

¶ *Toe proteſtation of Nicholas, Philip, and Ihon,*
with their Articles and aunſwers to the ſame.

WE proteſt here as before, publiquely in theſe preſets: that we intende to be humble and faithfull children to the Churche and holy Scripture, and to obey in all thinges the determinations of the churche. And if it ſhall chaunce vs at any tyme whiche God forbyd, to ſwarue from this our intention, we ſubmit our ſelues humbly to the correction of our reuerend father L. Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and primate of all England: and of all other, whiche haue intereſt to correcte ſuch ſwaruers. This proteſtation premiſed, thus we aunſwere to the concluſions aforeſayd.

The proteſtation of Hereford Repington, and Aſheford exhibited to the Archb.

That the ſubſtaunce of material bread and wine, remayneth in the Sacramēt of the aulter after cōſecratiō.

After the ſenſe contrary to the Decretall, begynnyng Firmiter credimus, we graunt that it is hereſie.

That the accidences doe not remayne without the ſubiecte after conſecration in the ſame Sacrament.

Articles with the aunſwers.

After the ſence contrary to that Decretall Cum Marthe, we graunt that it is hereſie.

That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament, the ſelfe ſame truly and realy in his owne corporall preſence.

Although this concluſion as the wordes ſtand ſounde to be probable and intelligible: yet in the ſence contrarie to the Decretall in Cle. Si dudum we graunt that it is hereſie. And briefly concernyng this hole matter of the Sacrament of the aulter as touching alſo all other thinges, we profeſſe that we will both in woorde and ſence, holde with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy churche and ſayings of the holy doctours.

Obſtinatly to affirme that it hath no foundation in the Goſpell that Chriſt ordayned the Maſſe.

we graunt that it is hereſie.

That God ought to obey the deuill.

In this ſence that God in his owne perſon or eſſence, ought to obey the deuill with the obedience of neceſſitie. we graunt that it is hereſie.

If a man be duely contrite, that all externall confeſſion is to him ſuperfluous and vnprofitable.

we graunt that it is hereſie.

If the pope be a reprobate and an euill man, and conſeqūetly a member of the deuill: He hath no power ouer the faythfull of Chriſt, giuen to him of any, vnleaſt it be of Ceſar.

we graunt that it is hereſie.

That after pope Urbane the.6. none is to be receyued for Pope, but that we ought to lyue after the maner of the Grecians vnder our own lawes.

we graunt that it is hereſy.

To ſay that it is agaynſt the holy ſcripture for eccleſiaſticall perſons to haue temporall poſſeſſions.

If obſtinacye be ioyned wythall: we graunt that it is hereſy.

That no prelate ought to excommunicate any mā, vnles he know him before to be excōmunicate of God.

we graūt ꝧ it is an errour. Underſtanding this knowledge to meane an experimētall knowledge: ſo that herewith may ſtād the decree of the church. 11.q.3 Nemo epiſco.

That he which doth ſo excommunicate, is thereby an hereticke or excommunicate.

After the ſenſe agreeyng wyth the other before, wee graunt to be an errour.

That a prelate excommunicating a clerke, whych appealeth to the kyng or councell of the realme, in ſo doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the realme.

we graunt it is an errour.

That they whiche leaue of to preache, or to heare the worde of God and the Goſpell preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate: and in the day of iudgement ſhalbe counted for traitours to God.

Underſtāding this concluſion vniuerſally ſo, as ſcripture and lawes do vnderſtand ſuch indefinite propoſitions: we graunt it is an errour.

To affirme that it is lawfull for any deacon or prieſt, to preache the worde of God without the authoritie of the ſee apoſtolicque, or catholicque Byſhop, or of any other whoſe authoritie he knoweth ſufficient.

we graunt it is an errour.

To affirme that there is no Ciuile Lord, no byſhop, nor prelate whileſt he is in mortall ſinne, we graunt it is an errour.

That temporall Lordes may at their pleaſure take away the temporall goods from churches offending habitualiter: we graunt it is an errour, after thys ſenſe that they maye ſo take awaye temporall goodes of the churches without the caſes limited in the lawes of the church and kyngdomes.

That the vulgare people may correcte the lordes offending at their pleaſure: vnderſtanding by this word may, that they may do it by the lawe: we graunt it is an errour. becauſe that ſubiectes haue no power ouer theyr lordes, but contrarie.

That tythes be pure almes, and that pariſhioners may for the offences of their curates detayne the ſame and beſtowe them to others at their pleaſure: vnderſtãding by this word may, as before, to may, by the law: we grauut is an errour.

That ſpeciall prayers applyed to any one perſon by prelates or religious mẽ, do no more profit, then yͤ generall prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them vnlyke: Vnderſtanding thys concluſion vniuerſally negatiuely, and vnderſtanding by ſpecial praiers, the praiers made vppon ſpeciall deuotion and generall prayers of generall deuotion: thenafter this ſenſe, no ſuche ſpeciall prayers applyed to any one perſon, by ſpeciall oratours do profit more ſpecially the ſayd perſon, then generall praiers do, which are made of the ſame and for the ſame perſons, we graunt it is an errour.

He that geueth almes to the fryers or to any fryer that preacheth, is excommunicate both he that geueth and he that taketh: Vnderſtãding thys propoſition vniuerſally or condicionally as is aforeſayd: we graunt to be an errour.

That who ſo entreth into any priuate religion, what ſoeuer, is therby made more vnapte and vnmete to obey the cõmaundements of God: we graunt it is an errour.

That ſuch holy men as did inſtitute any priuate religions what ſoeuer as well of ſecular hauing poſſeſſiõs as of fryers hauing none, in ſo inſtituting dyd ſinne: Vnderſtanding this reduplicatiuely or vniuerſally: we graunt it is an errour. After this ſenſe, that what Saint ſoeuer did inſtitute priuate religions inſtituting the ſaid religion vpon that conſideration as they did, did ſinne.

That religious men liuing in priuate religions, be not of the religion of Chriſt: Vnderſtanding the propoſitiõ vniuerſally as is aforeſayd: we grãt it is an errour.

That friers are bounde to get their liuinges by the laboure of their handes and not by begging: Vnderſtãding thys propoſition vniuerſally as before: we graunt it is an errour.

These thinges haue we ſpoken reuerende father and Lord, in al humility, vnder your gracious ſupportation and benigne correction, according to our abilities & ſclender capacities for this preſent (the honour of God, the veritie of our beleefe, and ſafe conſcience in all poyntes reſerued) more humbly yet beſeching you: that if any other thing there be that ſeemeth meete vnto your excellency and diſcretion to be more or otherwyſe ſayde and ſpoken: that your gracious fatherhoode woulde vouchſafe to informe vs as children by the ſacred ſcriptures, by the determination of the church, or autorities of the holy doctours: And doubtles, with ready wyls, and obedient myndes we wyll conſent & agree vnto your wholſome doctrine. May it therefore pleaſe your fatherhood, right reuerend in God, according to the accuſtomed maner of your benignitye, fauourable to accept theſe our wordes and ſayinges, for as much as the foreſayd concluſions were neuer by vs eyther in ſcholes affirmed, or els in ſermons publikely preached.

¶ *Further examinations and procedinges againſt the foreſaid* Nich. Herford, Philip Repindon, and Io. Ayſhton.

Further examinations againſt the ſaid. Nic. Phil. and Iohn.

When all theſe anſwers were made vnto the ſayd L. Archbiſhop of Cant. the ſaid Nicholas and Philip, for that they anſwered not vnto the meaning & wordes of the firſt concluſion expreſly. But contrary to the ſenſe of the decretall Firmiter credimus, were there iudiciallye examined what their ſenſe and meaning was, but they would not expreſſe the ſame. Thẽ was it demaunded of thẽ according to yͤ ſenſe of the ſame concluſion declared on the behalf of the ſayd Lord of Cant. whither the ſame material bread, in numero which before yͤ conſecration is layd vpon the aulter, remayne in yͤ proper ſubſtaunce and nature, after the conſecration in the ſacrament of the aulter: and lykewyſe of the wyne? To this, the ſayd Nicholas and Philip anſwered, that for that tyme they could ſay no more therein, then that they had alreadye anſwered, as is afore alledged in writing. And for that vnto the ſenſe and wordes of the ſecond concluſion they anſwered not fully and expreſly, but in a ſenſe contrary to the decretall Cum Marthe: being aſked what was the meaning, would not expreſſe the ſame. Therfore it was demaunded of them, according to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſion, declared in the behalfe of the ſayde Lorde of Canterb. whither thoſe corporall accidences which formally were in the bread and wyne before the conſecration of them: after the conſecration, were in the ſame breade and wyne, or els were ſubiected in any other ſubſtance? To this they anſwered, that better to anſwer, thẽ that before in their writinges they already had, for that tyme they could not. To the meaning alſo and wordes of the third concluſion, for that they anſwered not plainly and expreſly, but in ſenſe contrarye to the decretall in the Clementines Si dudum, being aſked what was that ſenſe and meaning, would not declare the ſame: Wherfore it was then demaunded of them, accordyng to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſiou, declared on the behalfe of the ſayd Lord of Canterbury: Whether the ſame body of Chriſt which was aſſumpted of the virgin, bee in the ſacrament of the aulter, ſecundum ſeipſum, euen as hee is, really, in carnal ſubſtãce, proper eſſence, and nature. To this they aunſwered, that for that tyme they coulde ſay no more, then that they had ſayd as before is ſpecified in writing.

Nico. Herford, Phil. Repingdon, Iohn Ashton examined. 20. Iunii. an. 1382.

Furthermore, to the ſenſe and text of the ſixt concluſion, for that they anſwered not fully and expreſly, being aſked whither God ought any maner of obediẽce to the deuill or not: they ſayd yea, as the obedience of loue, becauſe he loueth him, & puniſheth him as he ought. And to proue that God ought ſo to obey the deuil, they offred themſelues to the fire.

To the. xj. concluſion, for that they anſwered not expreſly, beyng aſked whither a prelate myght excommunicate any man being in the ſtate of grace: ſayd yea.

Vnto the. xx. concluſion, for that they aunſwered not fully, ſimply, and expreſlye, being demaunded whether ſpeciall or generall prayers did moſt profit, and were of greater force? They would not ſay but that ſpeciall.

Vnto the laſt concluſion, for that they anſwered neither ſimply nor expreſly, and being demaunded particularly, whether any frier were bound to get hys lyuyng with his manuall labour, ſo that it might not be lawful for them to lyue by begging? They would make no anſwer at all.

After that, the foreſayd Lord Archb. of Canterb. demaunded of all the foreſayd Doctors, what their iudgement was touching the anſwers that were made vpon all and ſinguler ſuch concluſions. All which Doctors & euery of them ſeuerally, ſayd: that all the anſwers geuẽ vnto the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſixt concluſiõs (as is before recited) were inſufficient, hereticall and ſubtil: and that all the anſwers made ſpecially, to the tenth, ninth, and laſt concluſions, as is aboue mencioned: were inſufficient, erroneus, and peruers. Whercupon, the ſaid lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, conſidering the ſayde aunſwers to be hereticall, ſubtill, erroneous, and peruers, accordingly as the ſayde Doctors (as is aforeſayde) had

The iudgement of the doctors vpon theſe articles.

wayed and conſidered: admoniſhed the ſayde Nicholas and Philip ſufficiently vnder theſe forme of wordes.

The name of Chriſt being called vpon: we William by Gods permiſſion Archb. of Cant. Metropolitane of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſee, and through all our prouince of Cant. Inquiſitour of all heretical prauitie: Do ſufficiently and lawfully admoniſh and cite you Nicholas Herforde and Phillip Reppingdon profeſſours of diuinitie, hauing thys day and place aſſigned you by your owne conſent and our prefixion, peremptorily to aunſwere and to ſay, fully and plainlye your opinions touching theſe concluſions wherunto we do referre you (all ſubtill, ſophiſticall, and Logicall wordes ſet aparte) being therunto ſworne, cited, and cõmaũded: Which thyng to do, without cauſe reaſonable or any licence geuen therunto, you neyther haue been willing nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuouſlye refuſe to anſwere vnto ſome of thoſe concluſions before vs iudiciallie, according to the effecte of our monition, citation, and cõmaundement beforeſayd. But for that, ye haue aunſwered vnto ſome of them hereticallie, and to other ſome erroneouſly, although not fully, we admoniſhe and cite you once, twyſe, and thryſe, and that peremptorilie: that plainlye and fullye (all ſubtle, ſophiſticall and Logicall woordes ſet aparte, you and euery of you, anſwere vnto the ſame concluſions, and vnto that ſenſe and meaning by vs limited: vnder the payne that otherwyſe ſuch concluſions deſerue by you confeſſed, and that for the ſame concluſions you ought to haue

Which admonition being made and done, for that the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip would make none other aunſwere: The ſayd Lorde Archb. of Cant. concluded that buſines, prefixing and aſſigning vnto the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip viij. daies ſpace, that is to ſay vntill the xxvij. day of the ſame moneth: And that then they ſhould appeare before yͤ ſayd Lord Archb. of Cant. whereſoeuer within the ſame hys prouince of Cant. he ſhould fortune to be, to heare hys decree that ſhould be made in yͤ behalfe. Thys done, the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Cant. moniſhed and cited lawfullye and ſufficiently, John Ayſhton vnder the tenor of theſe wordes folowing.

In the name of God: we William by Gods permiſſion, Archb. of Cant. Primate of England, Legate of the ſee Apoſtolicall, and through all our prouince of Cant. of all hereticall prauitie chiefe Inquiſitour: doe moniſhe ⁊ cite thee, John Ayſhton maiſter of arte, and ſtudent in diuinitie appearing before vs, iudiciallye to ſaye and ſpeake the plaine veritie touching theſe concluſions to yͤ which we do referre the: ⁊ to yͤ which we haue cauſed thee to ſweare, layeng thy hand vpon a boke: as being alſo otherwyſe by vs moniſhed and cõmaunded to keepe thys day ⁊ place by vs appoynted, for the third tyme peremtorilie, to propone ſuch reaſonable cauſe (if thou haſt any) wherfore thou oughteſt not to be pronoũced an heretique. And ſufficiently and lawfully we moniſhe and cite thee, the firſt, ſecond, and third tyme, and that peremptorilie, that thou, fully and playnly (all ſubtill, ſophiſticall, and logicall wordes ſet aparte) do aunſwere vnto the ſame concluſions, vnder the payne that vnto ſuch concluſions belong and on thy part confeſſed, and that thou for ſuch concluſions oughteſt to ſuffer.

Which monition, being thus premiſed: The ſayd Archbiſhop red the firſt concluſion, and of the ſayd John inquired what was hys opinion and meaning therin, and hereupon he ſayd hys minde concerning the foreſayd monition. Then, the foreſaid John Ayſhton being often required by the Archbiſhop that he woulde aunſwere in the Latin tounge to thoſe queſtions which were demaunded of hym becauſe of the lay people that ſtode about hym: he cryeng out in the Engliſh tonge vttered friuolous and opprobrious contumelies to moue and excite the people agaynſte the ſayde Archbyſhop as it ſhould ſeeme. Neyther dyd he vnto the firſt concluſion nor vnto any of theſe other concluſions, effectually ⁊ pertinently ſeme to thẽ to anſwer: but rather by ſubteltis ⁊ ſhifts, ſaying oftẽ times ⁊ expreſly as Luke ſayd, it was ſufficient for hym to beleue as the holy church beleued. Then the ſayd Archbiſhop examined hym vpon the firſt concluſion touching the ſacrament of yͤ aulter: whither, that after the wordes of conſecration, there remayned materiall bread, particuler bread, or vniuerſall bread? He ſayd that that matter paſſed his vnderſtanding, and therfore ſayd: he woulde in that forme and maner aunſwere and otherwyſe not. But amongſt other thynges, he ſpake in deryding wiſe vnto the ſaid Archb. againſt thys word Materiall, ſaying, you may put that in your purſe if you haue any. Wherupon, the ſayde Archbiſh. calling that an vnwyſe and folyſh aunſwer as the reaſt of the doctors dyd (of whom mẽtion was made before) the rather for that he was a graduat in the ſcholes, farther proceded againſt yͤ ſayd John Ayſhton in this wiſe.

Whether materiall bread remaine in the ſacrament.

And thou Jhon Aiſhton moniſhed and commaunded by vs as is aforeſaid, after thine othe taken: without any reaſonable cauſe or any other licence, neither wouldeſt thou nor yet wyll, but refuſeſt and yet doeſt contemptiouſly, to aunſwere vnto ſuch concluſions before vs, iudicially accordyng to our monition and commaũdemẽt aforeſayd: do hold all ſuch concluſions by thee confeſſed, and thee the foreſayd Jhon withal thy ſayd concluſions, conuicted. And therfore we do pronounce and declare by ſentence giuing, that thou Jhon Aiſhton cõcerning thoſe concluſions, whiche by vs with good deliberation of diuers prelates our ſuffraganes, and alſo diuers and ſondry profeſſours of diuinitie, and other wiſe men and learned in the lawe accordyng to the Canonicall ſanctions, beyng cõdempned and declared for an hereticke and hereticall: to haue been and ſtill is, an heretique, and thy cõcluſions hereticall. And as touchyng thy other concluſions by vs heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condempned: wee do pronounce and declare ſententially by theſe our writtinges, that both thou haſt erred and doeſt erre.

Vpon the ſame xx. day of June in the yeare and place aboue recited: the foreſayd Lord of Cãterbury being deſirous, as he pretended to bee informed by maiſter Thomas Hilman, bacheler of diuinitie there beyng preſent ⁊ ſomewhat fauoryng yͤ ſaid maiſter Jhon Aiſhton, what his iudgement and opinion was touchyng the foreſayd concluſiõs: prefixed and aſſigned vnto the ſayd Thomas (for that time demaundyng the ſame) deliberation ⁊ day eight dayes after, that is to ſay the xxviij. day of the ſayd moneth: that he appeare before the byſhop of Caunterbury, wherſoeuer within his ſaid prouince of Cãterbury he ſhould then happen to bee, to declare plainly and fully what his iudgement and opinion was, touching the foreſaid concluſions. Ex Regiſt. VV. Courtney.

M. Tho. Hilman ſuſpected to be a fauourer of Iohn Aſhton. The xx. day of Iune.

Dayes geuen to Tho. Hilman to aunſwer.

The names of Friers, and doctours, aſsiſtent at the examination aforeſayd.

Friers Obſeruauntes, Botleſham Byſhop of Nauaton, Frier Jhon Langley, William Suard.

Friers of Dominickes order, Jhon Kyngham, Jhon Louey, Peter Stokes, Walter diſhe.

Friers Carmelites. Thomas Aſhbourne, Baukine, Robert Walbey.

Doctours and Friers Auguſtines maiſter Jhon Barnet, maiſter Thomas Backton, maiſter Jhon Blanchard, maiſter Jhon Shillingford, maiſter Lydford, maiſter Thomas Southam.

The Friday next folowyng, that is to ſay the xxviij. day of June: the foreſayd M. Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman, appeared before the ſayd Archbiſhop and Lord Inquiſitour of Canterbury, in the chappell of his manure of Otturd, in the dioces of Canterburye, there ſitting in his Tribunall ſeat. To whom the ſayd B. of Canterbury, ſaying, that for becauſe at that time he had not the preſence and aſſiſtence of the doctours in diuinitie, and of the Canon and Ciuill lawe: He continued the

28. day of Iune, an. 1382.

ſayd

The 1. day of July an. 1382.

ſayd buſines touching the ſayd Nicholas, Phillip, and Thomas, in the ſame ſtate wherin thē it was, till Tueſday next and immediatly enſuyng: that is to ſay, ỹ firſt day of July the yeare of the Lord aboue ſayd, and prefixed vnto the ſayd Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman the ſame day to appeare before him, whereſoeuer within his prouince of Canterbury, he ſhould thē chaūce to bee, to do that whiche vpon the ſayd xxviij. day, they were purpoſed to do together or a parte.

Which Tueſday being come, The foreſayd Archb. in the chiefe houſe of his church of Caunterbury, before the houre of nine with the doctoures, whoſe names are vnder cōtained, and other clerkes a great multitude: Expected the foreſayd Nicholas Philip, and Thomas, long tyme by the bedle callyng them and looking after them, who neuertheleſſe appeared not before ij. of ỹ clock after dinner the ſame day, cōtinuyng the foreſaid buſines in ỹ priſtine ſtate till ỹ ſame houre. At whiche houre the foreſayde Lorde Archbiſhop, hauing aſſiſtentes, the doctors and clerkes aboue recited: examined the foreſaid maiſter Thomas Hilman, then and there iudicially appearyng, what his opinion was touching the foreſayd concluſiōs: who at them and the meanyng of them ſomewhat ſtammering, at laſt, to all and ſingular the ſame concluſions then to him read and expounded, thus aunſwered. I ſuppoſe and iudge all and ſingular thoſe concluſions lately condemned by my Lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the counſell and conſent of his clerkes: to be hereticall and erronious, euen as the ſame my Lorde of Canterbury, and other doctours of diuinitie of the Canon and Ciuil law, by cōmon conſent and counſail haue ſuppoſed and thought. And that the ſame (beyng for hereſies & errours as before is ſayd condemned) do as much as in me is condempne: proteſtyng that I will holde and affirme the contrary of thoſe concluſions and in ỹ ſame faithe lyue and dye. Then the ſayde Archbiſhoppe of Cāterbury, then and ther ſitting as Tribunall or iudge, pronouncyng the ſayd maiſters Nicholas and Philippe (long in court called before & taried for, and yet not appearyng) gilty of contumacie and diſobedience: excōmunicated them for the penalty of this their contumacie in tenour of theſe wordes folowyng.

The anſwer of Tho. Hilman.

Nic. Hereford and Phil. Repington for not appearyng excommunicate.

We William, by the grace of God Archbyſhop of Canterbury, primate of England, Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſee, and through all our prouince of Cāterbury, of all hereticall prauitie chief Inquiſitour: Do pronounce maiſter Nicholas Harford, and maiſter Philip Keppindon, profeſſours of diuinitie, hauyng this day and place by our prefixion appointed to heare and decree in this buſines of hereticall prauitie (beyng in court by our Bedle long called and taried for, and yet not appearyng) to bee ſtubberne and diſobedient perſons: and for the penaltie of this theyr contumacie, we do excommunicate them & either of them, by theſe preſentes.

Excommunication pronounced by the Archb.

The denouncyng of the excommunication againſt Nicholas Hertord and Philip Reppington.

The 12. day of July an. 1382. Excommunica to be denounced at Paules croſſe.

William by Gods permiſſion Archbyſhop of Canterbury. &c. To our beloued ſonne in Chriſt, whoſoeuer he be that this inſtaunt Sonday, ſhall preach at Paules croſſe in Londō, Salutacion grace and bleſſing. For as much as we prefixed a certeine competent day and place to maiſter Nicholas Herford, and maiſter Philip Keppington, Chanon Regular of the Monaſterie of oure Lady of Leceter, beyng doctours of diuinitie and of hereticall prauitie, vehementlye ſuſpected: After certeyne aunſweres not fully made, but impertinently and nothyng to the purpoſe, as alſo heretically and erroneouſly made vnto diuers concluſions, heretical and erroneous: In diuers places of our ſayd prouince commonly, generally, and publiquely taught and preached, and therfore that they ſhould iudicially appeare before vs, to do and to receaue peremptorily in that behalfe, what thyng ſoeuer the qualitie of that buſines ſhould moue vs vnto: & that we haue for their contumacie, in not appearing before vs at ỹ day and place, iudicially appoynted as right therin required: We by theſe preſentes commaunde and commit vnto you, firmely enioynyng you, that when all ỹ multitude of people ſhalbe gathered together to heare your ſermō: that in the day and place appointed, you publiquely and ſolemnely denounce, the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip holdyng vp a croſſe, and lightyng vp a candell, and then throwyng done the ſame vpon the groūde, to haue been ſo & in ſuch maner excōmunicated & ſtill be.

Fare ye well. In our Manour houſe at Lambeth the xij. day of July, the yeare of our Lord. 1382. & firſt yeare of our tranſlation.

The Citation agaynſt the ſaid Nicholas and Philip.

William by the grace of God. &c. To our beloued ſonne maiſter Robert Rigge chaūcelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford Salutacion. &c. For as much as we haue prefixed a competent day and place to maiſter Nicholas Herford, and maiſter Philip Reppingtō &c. as before. we ſtraictly charge and commaund you, that you publiquely and ſolempnely denounce in the church of our Lady and in the ſcholes of the vniuerſitie, the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip to haue been by vs excommunicated and ſtill is. And that you further Cite or cauſe to bee cited peremptorily, the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip, that they and euery of them appeare before vs, within xv. dayes after the date of this Citacion, wherſoeuer it ſhall fortune vs, within our ſayd prouince of Canterbury then to be: To heare & ſee how we meane to procede agaynſt them, and euery of them concerning the foreſaid hereticall and erroneous cōcluſions, accordyng to the forme of retroactions and qualitie of the buſines in this behalfe had and vſed. And that both of the day of the receate of this preſent Citacion, of the maner and forme therof, or that if you ſhall apprehēd by perſonall Citacion the ſayd Nicholas and Philip, or either of them, or whether they ſhall abſēt and hide themſelues, as of euery thyng els, whiche in this behalfe you ſhall thincke meete to be done: that betwene this and the feaſt of S. Laurence, you clearely certifie vs by our letters patentes contaynyng the effect of theſe thynges.

Fare ye well. At our Manour of Lambeth the xiii. days of July the yeare of our Lorde. 1382. and firſt yeare of our tranſlation.

The names of the Doctours and Friers aſſiſtentes at this ſettyng.

Seculars, maiſter William Blankpayne, M. William Bartō.
Friers Carmelites, Robert Euery, priour, Jhon Keningham, priour, and Jhon Lunne.
Friers Minors, William Barnewell, Jhon Ryddis, and William Brunſcombe.
Friers Auguſtines, Jhon Court, Patrington, Comſon, and Reepes.

Agaynſt this blind excommunication of the Archbyſhop, the parties excommunicate: cōmenced and exhibited their appeale vnto the byſhop of Rome. Whiche appeale of theirs, as inſufficient, or rather to hym vnpleaſaunt, the ſaid Archbiſhop vtterly reiected (as might many times ouercommeth ryght) procedyng in his preconceaued excōmunicatiō agaynſt thē, & writyng moreouer his letters, to hym ỹ ſhould prech next at Paules croſſe, as is aforeſaid, to denounce and to publiſh openly the ſayd Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppyngton to be excommunicate, for there not appearing and their & terme aſſigned. Which was in ỹ xij. day of the moneth of July.

The ex munic of Her & Repp ton, de ced at les cro

Whiche Archbiſhop moreouer the ſaid yeare, moneth and day aforeſayd ſent alſo an other letter to M. Rygge Commiſſary of Oxford, ſtraitly inioining and charging him, not onely to denounce the ſayd ſentence of excōmunication, & to geue out publique Citation againſt them, but alſo to make diligent ſearch and inquiſition through all Oxford for them, to haue them apprehended, and ſent vp to hym, perſonally before hym to appeare, at a cer-

Xiii. d July. a 1382. Other ters of Archb. to the celour Oxfor

taine

tain day,preſcribed for the ſame. Wherby may appeare how buſy this Byſhop was in diſquietyng and perſecutyng theſe poore mē,whom rather he ſhould haue nouriſhed and cheriſhed as his brethren. But as his labour is paſt,ſo his rewarde will folowe, at what day the great Archbiſhop of our ſoules ſhall iudicially appeare in hys tribunall ſeate,to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

The Archbyſhop yet not contented with this, doth moreouer by all meanes poſſible,ſollicite yͤ king to ioine withall,the power of his temporal ſword,for the correction of theſe men. Wherupon,the kyng beyng yet but yong,and vnder yeares of rype iudgement,partly induced or rather ſeduced by the importune ſute of the Archbyſhop,partly alſo either for feare of the Byſhops (for kynges alwayes can not do in their realmes what they will)or els perhaps intiſed by ſome hope of ſubſidie to be gathered of the clergy : at the inſtance of the Archbyſhop,directed out theſe letters, the tenour whereof here vnder foloweth.

¶ *The kinges letters patentes to the Archb.*

he kings / a- / nſt the / rers of / ckliffe.

RYchard by the grace of God kyng of England and Lord of Ireland:To all thoſe to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come,greting. By the peticion of the reuerend father in God,william Archb. of Cant.Primate of England exhibited vnto vs,we ryght well vnderſtand: That diuers and ſondrye concluſions very contrarye to wholeſome doctrine and redoūding both to the ſubuerſion of the catholique fayth,the holy church,and his prouince of Cant.in diuers and ſondrye places of the ſame hys prouince haue ben openly and publiquely preached, although damnably preached. Of the which concluſions, ſome as hereſies , other ſome as errours haue been condemned : but not before good and mature deliberation fyrſt therin had and vſed, and by cōmon counſaile of the ſayd Archb. hys ſuffragans and many doctors in diuinitie and other clerkes and learned men in the holy Scriptures,were ſentencially & wholeſomlye declared. wherupon, the ſayd Archbiſhop hath made hys ſupplication vnto vs , that bothe for the cohertion and due caſtigation of ſuche as from henceforthe ſhall of an obſtinate minde preach or maintaine the foreſaid concluſions,that we would vouchſafe to put to the arme and helping hād of our kingly power. we therfore moued by the zeale of the catholique faith,wherof we be & will be defendours, and vnwilling that any ſuch hereſies or errours ſhoulde ſpryng vp within the limites of our dominiō: Geue and graunt ſpeciall licence & auctoritie by the tenure of theſe preſents, vnto the foreſaid Archb. and to his ſuffragans, to areſt and impriſon eyther in their owne priſons or any other,all and euery ſuch perſon and perſons as ſhall either priuely or apertly preach or maintaine the foreſaid concluſions ſo condemned, and the ſame perſons ſo impriſoned there at their pleaſures to detaine,till ſuch time as they ſhall repent them and amend them of ſuch hereticall prauities , or els ſhall be of ſuch areſtes by vs and our counſail otherwyſe determined and prouided. Further charging and commaunding all and ſingular our liegemen,miniſters,and ſubiectes, of what ſtate and cōdition ſo euer they be,vpon their fidelitie and allegeance wherin they ſtand bound to vs: that by no meanes they eyther fauour , counſaile, or helpe, the preachers or els maintayners of the ſayd concluſions ſo condemned or their fauourers,vpon payne and forfaiture of all that euer they haue: But that they obey and humbly attend vppon the ſayd Archb. his ſuffragans, and miniſters in the execution of theſe preſentes,ſo that due and manifeſt publication agaynſt the foreſayd concluſions and theyr mainteiners,without any perturbatiō may be done and executed,as for the defence of our realme and catholique fayth ſhall be thought moſt meete & requiſite. In witnes wherof,we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to bee made: wytnes our ſelfe, At weſtminſter the xvi. daye of Iune and ſixt yere of our reigne.

¶ *The kinges letters patentes to the Vicechauncelor.*

THe kyng: To the Chauncelor and procuratours of the Uniuerſitie of Oxforde which nowe be,or for the tyme being ſhall be: Greeting, Moued by the zeale of chriſtian fayth,wherof we be and alwayes will be defendours , and for ours ſoules health induced therunto,hauing a great deſyre to repreſſe, and by condyng puniſhment to reſtraine the impugners of the foreſayd fayth, which newlye and wickedly goe aboute and preſume to ſow their naughtie & peruerſe doctrine within our kingdome of England,and to preach & holde damnable concluſions ſo notoriouſly repugnant and contrarye to the ſame fayth,to the peruerting of our ſubiectes and people as we vnderſtād: Before they any farther procede in their malicious errours or els infect others,we haue by theſe preſentes appoynted you to be inquiſitour generall(all the chiefe diuines of the ſayd Uniuerſitie being your aſſiſtentes)and the ſame likewyſe to be done of all and ſingular the Graduats,Diuines,and Lawyers of the ſame Uniuerſitie. And if they ſhall know any which be of the iuriſdiction of the ſayd Uniuerſitie of Oxforde,which be probablie of them to be ſuſpected,in the fauour, beliefe, or defence of any hereſie or errour , and eſpecially of any of the concluſions publiquely condemned by the reuerend father,william Archb. of Cant.by the counſaile of hys cleargie,or els of any other concluſion lyke vnto any of them in meaning or in wordes: And that if henceforth you ſhal fynd any yͭ ſhall beleue,fauour,or defende any of the foreſayd hereſies or errours or any other ſuch lyke,or ells which ſhall be ſo bolde to receaue into theyr houſes and Innes M. John wickleffe, M. Nicholas Herford,M. Phillip Reppingdon,or M. John Aſhton, or any other noted by probable ſuſpicion of any of the foreſayd hereſies or errours,or any other lyke vnto them in meaning or in word: Or that ſhal preſume to communicate with anye of them, or elles to defende or fauoure any of ſuch fauorers,receauers,communicantes,and defendours:within vij.dayes after the ſame ſhall appere & be manifeſt vnto you, to baniſhe & expel them from the Uniuerſitie and towne of Oxford, till ſuche tyme as they ſhall declare theyr innocencie before the Archbiſhop of Canterb. for the tyme being,by manifeſt purgation. So not wythſtādyng,that ſuch as be compelled to purge them ſelues,you certify vs & the ſayd Archbiſhop vnder your ſeales,from tyme to tyme within one moneth, that they be ſuch maner of men. Commaunding furthermore, that through all the haules of the ſaid vniuerſity,ye cauſe diligently to be ſearched and inquired out of hand: If any man haue any booke, or tractation of the Edition or cōpiling of the foreſayd M. John wickliff,or Nicholas Herford: & that when and wherſoeuer ye ſhal chaunſe to fynd any ſuch booke or tractation,ye cauſe the ſame to be areſted and taken,& vnto the foreſaid archbiſhop within one month(without correctiō,corruption, or mutation, whatſoeuer)word for word,& ſentence for ſentence,to be brought & preſēted. And therfore we ſtraightly enioyn & cōmaund you,vpō your fidelity & allegiance wherein ye ſtand bound vnto vs,& on payne of forfaiture of all & ſingular your liberties and priuiledges of your ſayde vniuerſitie,and of all that euer you haue beſydes: that you geue your diligent attendance vpon the premiſſes, and that well and faythfullye you execute the ſame in maner and forme aforeſayd. And that you obey the foreſaid archbiſhop,and his lawfull & honeſt mandates,that he ſhall thynke good to direct vnto you in this behalfe , as it is meete ye ſhould. And we geue in chardge vnto the Uicechauncelour and Maior of Oxford,for the tyme beyng,& to all and ſyngular our ſhriues,vnderſhriues,baylyfes, and ſubiectes , by theſe preſentes: that they ayde , obey, and be attendaunt vpon you in the execution of the premiſſes. In wytnes whereof.&c. wytnes the K. at weſtminſter,the.xiii.day of Iuly,the ſyxt yeare.

The xiii. day of Iuly. an. 1382.

Beſide theſe foreſayd letters patentes,the ſayd yong kyng moued by the vnquiet importunitie of the Archbiſhop: ſendeth moreouer an other ſpecial letter to the vice chauncelor and proctours of the vniuerſitie of Oxford. Wherin,vnder a pretenſed zeale of defence of Chriſtian faith , he ſtraitly and ſharpely inioyneth and aſſigneth them (for the vtter aboliſhyng of thoſe concluſions and opinions) to make a generall Inquiſition through the whole vniuerſitie as well for the parties aforeſaid,Jhon Wickleffe,Nicholas Herford.Philip Reppyngton,Jhon Aſhton , and ſuch other:as alſo for all other whom they knowe or iudge to be ſuſpected of the doctrine , or to be mainteyners,receauers,and defēders of the foreſaid parties,or their concluſions any maner of way, to the entēt

An other ſharp letter of K Richard ſent to Oxford agaynſt Wickleffe and his felows. The effecte of the kings letter breifly comprehended.

that they beyng ſo apprehended through their diligent ſearche, may be within vij. dayes of their admonitiō, expulſed the vniuerſitie, and cited vp to the Archbyſhop of Cant. before him to appear & to ſtand to their anſwers: Willing moreouer and commaūding the ſayd vicechaūcelour and proctours, with other regentes their aſſiſters, that if any perſon or perſons in any houſe, haulle, or college, or in any other place, ſhalbe founde to haue any of their bookes or treatiſes cōpiled by the ſayd Ihon Wickleffe, Nicholas Herford. &c: they will cauſe without delay the ſayd perſon or perſons with their bookes, to be areſted & atached, & preſented within one moneth, without correction, corruption, or mutation to the foreſayd Archbiſhop, vpon their faith and aliegeance, as they will auoyde the forefacture of all and ſingulare the liberties and priuilegies to the vniuerſitie appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the Archbiſhop aforeſayd in the ordering herof, and all other his iniūctions to be obeyed in all thinges lawfull and honeſt. Geuyng moreouer in theſe our letters, chardge and cōmaundemēt to the Maior, bayliffes and other the inhabitance of Oxford, to be aſſiſtant and attendāt vnto the foreſayd vicechauncelor, and proctours touchyng the execution of the premiſſes, bearyng the date of the xiiij. day of Iuly, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1382

The perſons with theyr bookes to be areſted.

The 14. day of Iuly, an. 1382.

¶ *Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Vicechauncelor* of Oxford, Nicholas Herford and Philip Repyngton, with other.

Rob. Rigges Vicechancelor of Oxford.

Nic. Herford preaching on the Aſcenſion day defended Wickliffe.

Repington firſt chanon of Leiceſter, after biſhop of Lincolne.

Repington cō-menced doctor.

THe vicechaūcelour the ſame time in Oxford, was M. Robert Rygges. The two proctours were Ihon Hūtman, and Walter Diſhe. Who then as farre as they durſt, fauoured the cauſe of Ihon Wickleffe and that ſide: In ſo much that the ſame tyme and yeare, whiche was an. 1382. when certaine publique ſermons ſhoulde be appointed cuſtomably at the feaſt of Aſcenſion, and of Corpus Chriſti, to be preached in the cloiſter of S. Frideſwide (now called Chriſtes churche) before the people, by the vicechauncelour aforeſayd and the proctours (the doinges therof the vicechaūcelour aforeſayd and proctours had committed to Philip Repington, and Nicholas Herford, ſo that Nicholas Herford ſhould preach on the Aſcenſiō day, and Repyngton on Corpus Chriſti day) Firſt Herford beginning was noted to defēd Ihon Wickleffe, openly to be a faithfull, good, an innocent man: for the whiche no ſmall a do with outcries was among the Friers. This Herford, after he had long fauoured and maintained Wickleffes part, grew firſt in ſuſpition amongeſt the enemies of the truth. For aſſone as he begā ſomewhat liberally & freely to pronounce and vtter any thing whiche tended to the defence of Wickleffe: By & by the Carmelites, and all the orders of religion, were in his top, and layd not a few hereſies vnto his charge, yͤ which they had framed here & there out of his ſermons, and had compiled together in a certayne forme, by the hādes of certaine notaries, through the induſtry and diligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite: a kynde of people prone and ready to all kynd of miſchief, vprours, debate, and diſſenſiō. After this, the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti drue neare, vpō whiche day it was loked for, that Repington ſhould preache. This man was a chanon of Leyceſter, and had before taken his firſt degree vnto doctorſhippe: who preachyng the ſame tyme at Bradgate for the ſame Sermon he became firſt ſuſpected, and hated of the Phariſaicall broude of the Friers. But thorow the great & notable dexteritie of his wit, (whiche all mē did behold and ſee in him) accompanied with lyke modeſtie and honeſtie: he did ſo ouercome, or at the leaſt aſſuage this crueltie and perſecution whiche was towardes him, yͭ ſhortly after, by yͤ conſent of the hole felowſhip, he was admitted doctour. Who aſſone as he hadde taken it vpō him, by and by he ſtepped forth in yͤ ſcholes, and began immediatly to ſhew forth and vtter, yͤ whiche he had long hidden and diſſembled. Proteſting openly, that in all morall matters, he would defend Wickleffe. But as touchyng the Sacrament, he would as yet hold his peace, vntill ſuch tyme as the Lord ſhall otherwyſe illuminate the hartes and mindes of the clergy.

Now the day of Corpus Chriſti aforeſayd approching neare, when the Friers vnderſtood that this man ſhould preache ſhortly, fearing leaſt that he woulde rubbe the galles of their religion: they conuented with the Archbiſhop of Cāterbury, that the ſame day, a litle before that Philip ſhould preach: Wickleffes cōcluſiōs which were priuatly condempned, ſhould be openly defamed, in the preſence of the whole vniuerſitie. The doyng of whiche matter, was cōmitted to Peter Stokes Frier, ſtanderd bearer & chief champion of that ſide againſt Wickleffe.

Peter Stokes derdbe to the p piſtes.

There were alſo letters ſent vnto the cōmiſſary, that he ſhould helpe and aide him, in the publiſhing of yͤ ſame concluſions, as is before declared.

These thinges thus done and finiſhed, Repingdon at the hour appointed proceded to his ſermō. In the which Sermon, among many other thinges, he was reported to haue vttered theſe ſayinges, or to this effect.

Notes of the Ser of Repin

That the Pope or Biſhops ought not to bee recommended aboue temporall Lordes.

Alſo, that in all morall matters hee woulde defende maiſter Wyckliffe as a true catholike doctor.

Moreouer, that the Duke of Lancaſter was very earneſtlye affected and minded in this matter, and woulde that all ſuch ſhoulde be receaued vnder hys protection. Beſides manye thinges mo, whych touched the prayſe and defence of Wickleffe.

And finally, in concluding his ſermon, hee dimiſſed the people with this ſentence: I wyll (ſaid he) in the ſpeculatiue doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the ſacramēt of the aulter, keepe ſilence and hold my peace, vntill ſuche tyme as God otherwyſe ſhall inſtruct and illuminate the hartes of the Clergy.

When the Sermon was done, Repingdon entred into ſaynt Frideſweds church accompanied with manye of his frendes: who, as the enemies ſurmiſed, were priuely weaponed vnder their garmentes, if nede had ben. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforeſayde, ſuſpectyng all this to be againſt him, and beyng afrayde of hurt, kept himſelfe within the ſanctuary of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The Vicechauncelour and Repington, frendly ſaluting one an other in the church porche, ſent awaye the people, and ſo departed euerye man home to his owne houſe. There was not a litle ioy thorowe the hole vniuerſitie for that ſermon, but in the meane tyme, the vnquiet and buſy Carmelite, ſlept not his matter. For firſt by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter vnto the archbiſhop, exaggerating yͤ perils and daungers that he was in, requiring and deſiring his helpe and aide, pretermitting nothyng, wherby to moue and ſtirre vp the Archbiſhops minde, whiche of his owne nature was as hote as a toſte as they ſay, and ready inough to proſecute the matter of his own accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Beſides all this (iij. dayes after) wͭ a fierce & bold courage, yͤ ſayd Frier breathyng out threatnynges and hereſies againſt them, tooke the waye vnto the ſcholes: mindyng there to proue, that the pope and the byſhops ought to be prayed for before the Lordes temporall. Whiles this Frier was thus occupied in the ſcholes, he was mocked and derided of all men, and ſhortly after he was ſent for by the archbiſhop to London: whom immediatly after, yͤ vicechaūcelor and Brightwell folowed vp, to purge and cleare them ſelues & their adherētes from the accuſatiōs of this Frier Peter. At the length they beyng examined vpon Wickleffes cōcluſions that were condemned: they did all conſent, that they were worthely condemned. The vicechauncelor being afterward accuſed for the contēpt

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Whet the Lo tempo were prayed before pope biſho

The ſ deride mock the ſc

of ẏ archbiſhops letters, when as he perceaued and ſaw, that no excuſe would preuaile to auoyde that daũger, bũ flyng him ſelfe vpon hys knees, he deſired pardon. The whiche when he had, nowe agayne (as is aforeſayd) albeit very hardly obtayned: By the helpe of the byſhop of Wincheſter, he was ſent awaye agayne with certaine commaundementes, and ſuſpenſions of heretickes. Thẽ began the hatred on either part ſomwhat to appeare & ſhewe, and ſpecially all men were offended, and in the toppes of theſe Friers & religious men, vpõ whom what ſoeuer trouble or miſchief was raiſed vp, they did impute it as to the authours and cauſers of the ſame. Amongſt whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Ciſtercian, a well learned diuine, whiche afterwarde was accuſed by the Biſhops, of hereſie. He at that tyme was openly ſuſpected by the Commiſſary, becauſe in his lectures he called the heretikes lollards, from his acts (as they terme them in the ſchole.) Thẽ he commyng by and by vp to London, made his complaint vnto the Archbiſhop, and to the kynges counſell.

Wherupon he obteining the letters of the kyng, and of his counſail, by the vertue therof (returnyng agayne to the vniuerſitie) was releaſed and reſtored agayne to hys former ſtate: the wordes of whiche letter here foloweth vnder written.

¶The Copy of the kinges letter.

The kyng to the vicechauncelour and procuratours of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, greeting. Where as wee alate vnderſtanding by the greuous complaint of Henry Crompe monke and regent in diuinitie, within the ſayd vniuerſitie, how that he, beyng aſſiſted by the reuerẽd father in God the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by other clerkes and diuines in the citie of Londõ, to procede in ẏ condẽnatiõ of certayn cõcluſions erroneous & heretical, hath been therfore moleſted by you: And ẏ you, through ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of ſome aduerſaries (pretendyng the peace of the ſayd vniuerſitie) to haue been broken by the ſayd Henry in his laſt lecture, did therefore call hym before you to appeare and aunſwere: and for his not appearyng, did therfore pronounce him as obſtinate, and conuicte of peace breakyng: alſo haue ſuſpended the ſaid Henry frõ his lectures, and all ſcholaſticall actes. And where as we, by our wrytte did call you vp for the ſame, to appeare and aunſwere before our counſayle, vnto the premiſſes: ſo that all thyngs being well tryed and examined by the ſayd counſaile, it was founde and determined, that all your proceſſe agaynſt the ſayd Henry, was voyde and and of none effecte: and commaundement geuen, that the ſayd Henry ſhould be reſtored & admitted agayne to hys former lectures and ſcholaſticall actes, and to his priſtine ſtate as you know. To the intent therfore that this decree aforeſayd ſhuld be more duely executed of your part, we heare by theſe preſentes ſtraightly chardge and commaund you: That you ſpedely reuokyng agayne all your proces agaynſte the ſayd Henry in the vniuerſitie aforeſayd, withall other that folowed therof: do admit & cauſe to be reſtored agayne the ſayd Henry to hys ſcholaſticall actes, his accuſtomed lectures, & priſtine eſtate, without all delay, accordyng to the forme of the decree and determination aforeſayd. Enioinyng you moreouer and your commiſſaries or deputies & your ſucceſſors and all other maiſters regent and not regent, & other preſidentes, officers, miniſters, and ſcholers of the vniuerſitie aforeſayd vpon your fayth and legeance you owe vnto vs: that you do not impeache, moleſt, or greue, or cauſe to be greued (any maner of way, priuily or apertly) ẏ ſayd Frier Henry for the cauſes premiſſed, or Frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occaſion of his abſẽce from the vniuerſitie, or Frier Stephen Packyngton Carmelite, or any other religious or ſecular perſon fauouring them vpon the occaſion of any eyther worde or deede what ſoeuer, concernyng the doctrine of maiſter Ihon wickleffe, Nicholas Herford and Philip Repyndon, or the reproſe and condẽnation of theyr hereſies and errours, or the correction of theyr fauourers: But that you do procure the peace, vnity, and quiet, within the ſayd vniuerſitie, and chiefly betwene the religious and ſecular perſones: and that you withall diligence nouriſh encreaſe and preſerue the ſame to the vttermoſt of your ſtrẽgth. And that you in no caſe omitte to doe it accordinglye, vppon the forfacture of all and ſingular the liberties and priuiledgies of the vniuerſitie aforeſayd. Witnes my ſelfe at Weſtminſter the xiiij day of Iuly.

Mention was made as you heard a litle before, howe M. Rigges vicechauncel. of Oxford comming vp with M. Bryghtwell to the Archb. of Cant. was there ſtraitly examined of the concluſions of Wickleffe. Where he notwithſtanding through the helpe of the B. of Wint. obtayned pardon, and was ſent away again with commaundementes and charges, to ſeeke out all the fauourers of Iohn Wickleffe. This commaundement being receaued Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Repyngton: (being priuely warned by the ſayd vicechancelor) in the meane ſeaſon conueyed them out of ſight, and fled to the Duke of Lancaſter for ſuccour & help. But the Duke, whether for feare, or for what cauſe els, I can not ſaye, in the end forſoke hys poore and miſerable clients.

Herford and Repington fled to the Duke of Lancaſter.

In the meane tyme, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great ſearch and inquiſitiõ was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wher ſoeuer they myght be found. Wherupon, the Archbiſhop W. Courtney directed out hys letters firſt to the vicechauncelor of Oxford, then to the byſhop of London named Rob. Braybroke: charging them not onely to excommunicate the ſaid Nicholas and Phillip, within their iuriſdiction, and the ſayd excommunication to be denounced likewyſe throughout all ẏ dioces of his ſuffragans: but alſo moreouer, that diligent ſearch and watch ſhoulde be layd for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they myghte be apprehended: requiring moreouer by them to be certified again, what they hadde done in the premiſſes. And this was writtẽ the 14. day of Iuly. an. 1382. Ex Regiſtr.

Letters of the archb. to the Vicechauncelor.

Letters of the Archb. to the biſhop of Londõ.

R. Braybroke Biſh. of Londõ.

The 14. day of Iuly. an. 1382.

Unto theſe letters receaued from the Archb. diligent certificat was geuen accordinglye, as well of the biſhop of London his part, as alſo of the vicechauncelor, the tenour wherof was thys.

¶The letter certificatorie of the Vicechauncelor to the Archbiſhop.

To the reuerend father in Chriſt, Lord W. Archbiſhop of Cant. Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſee, Rob. Rygges profeſſour of Diuinitie, and Vicechauncelor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, greeting with due honour. your letters bearing the date of the xiiij. of Iuly I haue receaued: By the autority wherof, I haue denounced and cauſed to be denounced effectually, the foreſayd Nicholas, and Philip, to haue been and to be excommunicate publiquelye and ſolemnlye in the church of S. Mary, and in the ſcholes, and to be cited alſo perſonallye, if by any meanes they myght be apprehended, according as you commaunded. But after diligent ſearch layd for them of my parte, to haue them perſonally cited and apprehended, I coulde not fynde neyther the ſayd M. Nicholas, nor M. Philip: who haue hyd or conueyed themſelues, vnknowing to me, as here is well knowen, wherof I thought here to geue ſignification to your Fath. Sealed and teſtified with the ſeal of myne office. From Oxford the xxv. day of Iuly.

The letter of Robert Rigges Vicechanc. to the Archb.

The. 25. day of Iuly, an. 1382.

In the meane time Nicholas Herford, and Repyngton beyng repulſed of the Duke, and deſtitute (as was ſayd) of his ſupportation, whether they were ſent, or of their owne accorde went to the Archbiſhop, it is vncertaine. This I finde in a letter of the foreſayd Archbiſhop, conteyned in hys regiſter: that Repyngton in the xxiij. day of October the ſame yeare. 1382. was reconciled agayne to the Archbyſhop, and alſo by hys generall letter was releaſed and admitted to his ſcholaſtical actes in the vniuerſitie. And ſo was alſo Ihon Aſhton, of whõ (Chriſt willing) more ſhall folow hereafter. Of Nicholas Herford all this while, I finde no ſpeciall relation.

Herford and Repington repulſed from the Duke of Lanc.

The 24. day of October.

Repington releaſed by the Archb.

Iohn Aſhton reconciled by the Archb.

In the meane tyme, about the xxij. of the moneth of September the ſayd yeare, the kyng ſent his mandate to

A parlament ſummoned.
The xv. day of Octob. 1382.

the archbiſhop, for collecting of a ſubſidie, & to haue a conuocation of the clergy ſummoned, agaynſt the next parlament, whiche ſhould begyn the xviij. day of Nouember. The Archbiſhop likewiſe on the xv. day of October, directed his letters monitorie (as the maner is) to Robert Braybroke Biſhop of London, to geaue the ſame admonitiō to all his ſuffraganes and other of the clergy within his prouince for the aſſemblyng of the conuocation aforeſayd. All whiche done and executed, the parlament begon beyng holden at Oxford the xviij. day of Nouember, where the conuocation was kept in the monaſtery of Friſdeſwide in Oxford. In the whiche conuocation, the Archbiſhop with the other Biſhops their ſittyng in their Pontificalibus, declared ij. cauſes of that their preſent aſſēbly wherby (ſaith he) to repreſſe hereſies, whiche began newly in the realme to ſpring, and for correctyng other exceſſes in ẏ churche. The other cauſe ſayd he, was to ayde and ſupporte the kyng with ſome neceſſarie ſubſidie of money to be gathered, whiche thus declared the conuocation was continued til the day folowing, which was the xix. of Nouember.

The conuocation of S. Frideſwyde in Oxford

The 18. day of Nouemb.

The 19. day of Nouemb. an. 1382.

At the ſayd day & place, the Archbiſhop with the other prelates aſſemblyng them ſelues as before: The Archbiſhop after the vſed ſolemnitie, willed the procuratours of the clergy appointed for euery dioces, to conſult with in them ſelues, in ſome conuenient ſeuerall place, what they thought for their partes touching redres of things, to bee notified and declared to hym and to his brethren. &c. Furthermore for ſomuch, ſayth he, as it ſo noyſed through all the realme, that there were certaine in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, whiche did holde and maintayne concluſions (as he called them) hereticall and erroneous condemned by him, & by other lawyers & Doctours of Diuinitie: He therfore aſſigned, ẏ biſhops, Sarū, Herford, & Rocheſter, with William Rugge then vicechaūcelour of the vniuerſitie of Oxford (for belike Robert Rigge was then diſplaſed) alſo with William Berton, and Jhon Midleton doctors: geuing thē his full autoritie with curſing and bannyng, to compel them to ſearche and to inquire with all diligence and wayes poſſible, ouer all and ſingular what ſoeuer, either doctours, bachelers, or ſcholers of the ſaid vniuerſitie, whiche did hold, teach, mainteine and defende, in ſcholes or out of ſcholes, the ſayd cōcluſions hereticall (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to geue certificat truly and playnly touching the premiſſes. And thus for that day the aſſemble brake vp to the next. & ſo to the next, and to the third day being monday, the 24. of Nouemb. Ex Regiſt. VV. Courtney.

Rob. Rygge diſplaced frō Vicechancellorſhip.

Inquiſition made at Oxford.

The 24 day of Nouemb. an. 1382.

On the which day, in the preſence of the prelates and ẏ clergy in the chapter houſe of S. Frideſwide, came in Philip Reppington (otherwiſe called of ẏ brethren afterward, Rampington) who their abiured the concluſions & aſſertiōs aforeſaid, in this forme of wordes as foloweth.

The abiuration of Phillip Repington.

> In Dei Nomine Amen. I Philip Reppyngton chanon of the houſe of Leiceſter, acknowledging one catholique and apoſtolique fayth do curſe and alſo abiure all hereſie, namely theſe hereſies and errours vnder written, condemned and reproued by the decrees canonicall, & by you moſte reuerend father, touching which hetherto I haue bene diffamed: condemning moreouer & reprouing both thē and the authors of them, and do confeſſe the ſame to be catholically condemned: And ſweare alſo, by theſe holy Euaungelies, which here I holde in my hand, and do promiſe, neuer by any perſuaſions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the ſayd concluſions vnder written: but do and will ſtand and adhere in all things, to the determination of ẏ holy catholike church, and to yours. in thys behalfe. Ouer and beſides: all ſuche as ſtand contrary to thys fayth, I do pronoūce thē with theyr doctrine and folowers worthy of euerlaſting curſe. And if I my ſelfe ſhall preſume at any tyme to holde or preach any thyng contrary to the premiſſes, I ſhall be content to abide the ſeueritie of the canons. Subſcribed with myne owne hand, and with myne own accorde. Phil. Repington. And thus the ſaid Rampington was diſcharged, who afterward was made byſhop of Lincolne, and became at length the moſt bytter and extreme perſecutor of thys ſide, of all the other byſhops within the realme, as in proces hereafter may appeare.

Philli. Repington after his abiuratiō became a terrible perſecutor.

A ſhort tyme ... Lord ... man in ...

The abiu... tion of Iohn A... ton. Ex Chr... Monaſ. D. Alb...

Iohn A... ton. The L... ners op... the do... when ... Archb... ſate ag... I. Aſhton.

After the abiuration of this Repington, immediatly was brought in John Ayſhton, ſtudent of Diuinitie: who being examined of thoſe concluſions, and willed to ſay hys minde, anſwered: that he was to ſimple and ignorant, and therfore would not, and could not anſwere any thing clerely or diſtinctly to thoſe cōcluſions. Wherupon, the Archbiſhop aſſigned to hym Doc. W. Rugge the Vicechauncelor, and other diuines ſuch as he required hymſelf, to be inſtructed in the myſtery of thoſe concluſions, agaynſt the after noone: who then appearing agayne after dinner before the Archb. and the prelates, dyd in lyke ſort and forme of wordes abiure as did Repington before. Of thys John Ayſhton we read, that afterward by Tho. Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterb, he was cited and condemned: but whether he dyed in pryſon, or was burned, we haue yet no certeintie to ſhewe. Thys is certayn by the playne wordes of the Chronicle of S. Albans, that when the Archb. with hys doctours and fryers ſat in examination vpō this ſaid John Ayſhton, in London: the Londiners brake open the dore of the conclaue, ipſumq; Archiepiſcopum in ciuitate ſedentem impediunt, cum proceſſum feciſset contra Ioannem Ayſhton, &c. That is, and dyd let the Archbiſhop hymſelfe ſitting in the citie of London, when he would haue made proceſſe againſt John Ayſhton. an. 1382. And thus much of John Ayſhton.

Nic. He... ford w... not app... Nic. He... ford ... led ... Archb. Nic. He... ford ... priſon. Herford ... capel... of ...

As touching Nicholas Herford, during the tyme of thys conuocation, he dyd not appeare: and therfore had the ſentence of excommunication. Againſt which, he put hys appeale from the Archbiſhop, to the kyng and hys counſail: The Archb. would not admitte it, but findyng ſtayes and ſtoppes, cauſed hym to be apprehended & encloſed in pryſon. Notwithſtanding, through the will of God, and good meanes, he eſcaped out of the priſon, returning agayne to hys former exerciſe, & preaching as he dyd before, albeit in as couert and ſecret maner as he could. Wherupon the Archb. thundring out hys boltes of excōmunication agaynſt hym, ſendeth to all paſtors and miniſters: willing them in all churches and all feſtiual dayes, to diuulge the ſayd hys excommunication againſt him, to all men. Writeth moreouer and ſendeth ſpeciall charge to all and ſingulare of the laitie, to beware that their ſimplicitie be not deceaued by his doctrine, but that they lyke catholique childrē will auoyde hym, and cauſe hym of all other to be auoyded.

Furthermore not contented with this, addreſſeth alſo his letters vnto the kyng, requiryng the ayde of hys temporall ſword to chop of hys necke, whom he had already caſt downe. See and note, reader, the ſeraphicall charitie of theſe prieſtly prelates, towardes the poore redemed flocke of Chriſt. And yet theſe be they, which waſhing their handes with Pilate, ſay and pretende: Nobis nō licet interficere quenquā: i. It is not our parties to kil any mā. The copy of his letter writtē to ẏ kyng is this.

¶ *The letter of the Archbiſhop to the king.*

The cr... letter of ... Archb. a... gainſt N... Herford ... the king.

TO the moſt excellent prince in Chriſt, &c. william. &c. greatyng in hym by whom kynges do reigne, & princes beare rule. Unto your kyngly celſitude by the tenour of theſe preſētes we intimate, that one maiſter Nicholas Herford doctour of diuinitie, for his manifeſt cōtumacie & offence in not appearing before vs being called at the day and place aſſigned, therefore is inwrapped in the ſentence of the greater curſe, publiquely by our ordinary autoritie. And in the ſame ſentence hath continued now xl. dayes, and yet ſtill continueth with indurate harte, wickedly contemnyng the keyes of ẏ church, to the great perill both of hys ſoule, and to the pernitious example of other. Forſomuch therfore, as the holy mother the church hath not to doe or to procede any farther in this matter: we humbly deſire your kyngly maieſty, to directe out your letters for the apprehendyng of the ſayd excommunicate accordyng to the cuſtome of this realme of England, hollſombly obſerued and kept hetherto: to thentē, that ſuch whō the feare of God doth not reſtrayne from euill, the diſcipline of the ſeculare arme may bridle and plucke backe from offendyng. Your princely celſitude the Lorde longe continue. From Lambeth the xv. of January.

This i... to ſeeke ... gaine th... which i... loſt by ... rule of ... chiel. ca.

To thys letter of the archb. might not the king (gẽtle reader) thus anſwere agayne, and anſwere well.

proſopo-poia. what the king might haue anſwere agayne,

Your letters with your complaint & requeſtes in the ſame contayned, we haue receaued & well conſidered. For the accompliſhing wherof, ye ſhall vnderſtand ỹ as we are readely bent to gratifie & ſatiſfy your mynde in thys behalfe on the one ſide: ſo we muſt beware againe on the other, that our autority be not abuſede eyther to oppres before we know, or to iudge before we haue tried. Wherfore, forſomuch as you in your letters do excite & ſharpen the ſeuere diſcipline of our ſecular ſword, againſt one Nich. Herford, for his not appearyng before you: & yet ſhewyng in the ſayde your letters no certayne cauſe to vs, what you haue to charge him withall: we therfore folowyng the example of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equity in opening both our eares indifferentlye, to heare as well the one part as the other: do aſſigne both to hym, when as he may be found, & to you when ye ſhalbe called, a terme to appeare before vs. To thentent that the controuerſye betwene you & him, ſtãding vpon pointes of religion, being tried by the true touchſtone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferently may be miniſtred, according as the offence ſhall be found. In the meane time, this we cannot but ſomthing maruell at in your ſaid letters: Fyrſt, to ſee you men of the church, & angels of peace. to be ſo deſirous of bloud. Secondly, to conſider you agayne ſo fierce in proſecuting the breach of your law: & yet ſo cold in purſuing the breach of the expres law of God & his cõmaundements. Thirdlye, to behold the vnſtable doublenes in your procedinges, who pretendyng in your publike ſentence, to become as intreaters for thẽ to vs in ỹ bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, ỹ we will withdraw frõ thẽ the rigour of our ſeuerity, & yet in your letters you be they, which moſt ſet vs on. If not appearing before you, be ſuch a matter of cõtumacie, in caſe of your law, that it is in no caſe to be ſpared: what ſhould thẽ our princely diſcipline haue done to mẽ of your calling: Henry Spencer B. of Norwych, being at Cant. was ſent for by our ſpeciall cõmaundement to come to our ſpeech, denyed to come, & yet we ſpared him. John Stratford Archb. your predeceſſour, being required of our progenitour K. Edward the thyrd to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occaſion wherof, Scotland ỹ ſame time was loſt, & yet was he ſuffered. The like might be ſayd of Robert Wylchelſey in ỹ dayes of K. Edward the firſt & of Edmũd archb. of Cant. in the dayes of K. Henry 3. Steuen Langthon was ſent for by K. John to come, he came not. The like contumacie was in Becket toward K. Henry 2. Alſo in Anſelme toward K. Henry. 1. All theſe for their not appearing before their princes ye do excuſe, who notwithſtanding might haue appeared without daunger of lyfe. Thys one man for not appearing before you, you thinke worthy of death: whoſe life you would haue condemyned notwithſtãding, if he had appeared. It is no reaſon if the Squirril clymyng to the tree from the Lyons clawes, would not appeare, being ſent for to be deuoured: that the Eagle therfore ſhould ſeyſe vpon hym without any iuſte cauſe, declared agaynſt the party. Wherfore according to this, & to that aforeſaid when he ſhal appere, & you be called, and the cauſe iuſtly wayed, due execution ſhall be miniſtred.

ſhops of
Cant. appea
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inges, and
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were not
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And thus farre concernyng Nicholas Herford, and the other aforeſayd, but all this meane while what became of Jhon Wickleffe it is not certainely knowen: Albeit ſo farre as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was baniſhed, and driuen to exile. In the meane tyme it is not to be doubted, but he was aliue durying all this while, whereſoeuer he was as by his letter may appeare, whiche he about this tyme wrote to Pope Urbane the vi. In the whiche letter he doth purge hym ſelfe, that beyng commaũded to appeare before the pope at Rome, he came not: declaryng alſo in the ſame a brief confeſſion of his fayth. The copy of whiche Epiſtle here followeth.

¶ *The Epiſtle of Ihon Wickleffe ſent vnto* Pope Vrban the 6. An. 1384.

The epiſtle of I. Wick. vnto pope Vrbane.

Verely I do reioyce to open & declare the faith which I do hold vnto euery man. And ſpecially vnto the biſhop of Rome, the which for ſo much as I do ſuppoſe to be ſounde and true, he will moſt willingly confirme my ſayd faith, or if it be erronious amende the ſame.

First I ſuppoſe, that the goſpell of Chriſt, is the whole body of Gods law, and that Chriſt whiche did geue that ſame lawe him ſelfe, I beleue him to be very man, and in that poynt, to excede the law of the Goſpel, and all other partes of the Scripture. Agayn I do geue and hold, that the Byſhop of Rome, for ſo much as he is the vicare of Chriſt here in earth, to be boũd moſt of al other men vnto that lawe of the Goſpell. For the greatneſſe amongeſt Chriſtes diſciples, did not conſiſte in worldly dignitie or honours, but in the neare and exact folowyng of Chriſt, in his life and maners: wherupon I do gather out of the harte of the lawe of the Lord, that Chriſt for the tyme of his pilgrimage here, was a moſt poore man, abiectyng & caſtyng of all worldly rule and honour, as it appeareth by the Goſpell of Mat. the 8. and the ii. Cor. 8. chapter.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to folow, neither the pope him ſelfe, neither any of the holy men, but in ſuch points, as he hath folowed the Lord Jeſus Chriſte. For Peter and the ſonnes of Zebede by deſyring worldly honour, contrary to the folowyng of Chriſtes ſteppes did offend, and therfore in thoſe errors, they are not to be folowed.

The true diſciples of Chriſt ſeeke no honor.

Hereof I do gather, as a councel, that the pope ought to leaue vnto the ſecular power, all temporall dominion and rule, and there vnto effectually to moue and exhorte his hole clergy: for ſo did Chriſt, and ſpecially by his Apoſtles. wherfore, if I haue erred in any of theſe poynts, I will moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe vnto correction, euen by death if neceſſitie ſo require: And if I could labour accordyng to my will or deſire in my own perſon, I would ſurely preſent my ſelf before the biſhop of Rome: but the Lord hath otherwiſe viſited me to the cõtrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God thẽ men. For ſo much thẽ, as God hath geuen vnto our pope, iuſt and true Euangelicall inſtinctions, we ought to pray, that thoſe mocions be not extinguiſhed by any ſubtle or crafty deuiſe.

And that the Pope and cardinals, be not moued to do any thyng, contrary vnto the law of the Lord. wherfore let vs pray vnto our God, that he wyll ſo ſtyrre vp our Pope Urbane the ſixt as he began, that he with his clergy may folow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in lyfe & maners: and that they may teach the people effectuallye, and that they lykewiſe may faythfully followe them in the ſame. And let vs ſpecially pray, that our Pope may be preſerued from all maligne and euill councell, as whiche doo know that euill and enuious men of his houſhold wold geue hym. And ſeeing the Lorde will not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our power, much leſſe then wyll he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able: forſomuche, as that is the playne condition and maner of Antichriſt.

Thus much wrote John Wickliffe vnto Pope Urbane: but this Pope Urbane otherwiſe termed, Turbanus was ſo hote in his warres againſt Clement ỹ Frẽch pope his aduerſary, that he had no leaſure, and leſſe lyſt, to attende vnto Wickleffes matters. By the occaſion of whiche ſchiſme, God ſo prouided for poore Wickleffe, that he was in ſome more reſt and quietnes. Cõcernyng whiche ſchiſmatical wars of theſe popes, for as much as we haue here entred into the mention hereof, it ſhall not be impertinent from the order of our ſtory, diſgreſſyng a litle from the matter of Jhon Wickleffe, to touch ſomething of the tragicall doynges of theſe two holy Popes ſtriuing for the triple crowne: to the entent that the Chriſtian reader (iudgyng by their fruites and procedinges) may ſee and vnderſtand what difference is betwen theſe Popes, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For though in the ſtory of the Goſpell it is read, ỹ certayne of the diſciples did ſtriue which ſhould be the greater, yet neither do we read that one of them tooke euer weapon agaynſt the other: and moreouer in the ſaid ſtory of the Goſpel it doth appeare, that they in ſo ſtriuyng as they did, were therfore ſharply rebuked of our ſauiour Chriſt, and were taught by him an other leſſon.

The pope occupied ſo in ſchiſmaticall that he had no layſure to other matters.

Difference betwene the apoſtles and the popes in ſtriuing for preeminence.

An. 1383

About ỹ beginning of the next yeare following, which was an. 1383. Pope Urbane ſetting all hys ſtudie howe to repreſſe and conquer the contrary pope hys aduerſarie, being then at Auinion (ſeing all his other meanes to fayle, and that hys croſſe keyes could doe no good) toke to hym the ſworde of Romulus, and ſet vpon hym with open warre. And firſt deuiſing with hym ſelfe whom he might beſt chuſe for his chiefe champion: thought none meeter for ſuch affayres then Harry Spencer being thẽ biſhop of Norwiche, a young and a ſtoute prelate, more fitter for the cãping cure, thẽ for the peaceable church of Chriſt, as partly alſo myght appeare before by his actes done at Lennam in ſtriuing for ỹ Mayres Mace, mentioned before pag. 528. Unto this biſhop of Norwyche, ỹ pope had ſent hys bulles aboute thys tyme, to Croyſis who ſoeuer woulde goe with him into Fraunce, to deſtroy the Antipope which named hymſelf Clement, and to make warre againſt all thoſe ỹ toke his part. Which

The pope ſet to warre.

Bulles, for that they gaue vnto hym ſo great autoritie, he cauſed to be publiſhed in the parliament houſe, and cauſed the copies of the ſame to be ſent all about, and to be ſet vp and faſtened vpon all church dores and Monaſtery gates that all men myght read them. In the which bulles theſe priuilegies were graūted, the copie wherof here followeth.

The very fruits of Antichriſt.

In primis, that the ſayd biſhop of Norwich may vſe hys ſword againſt the Antipope, and all his adherentes, fauourers, and counſellers, and with violence put them to death.

2 Itē, yͤ he hath full power to inquire of all ⁊ ſinguler ſuch Sciſmatikes, and to put them in priſon: and to confiſcate all their goods mouable and immouable.

3 Item, that he hathe power and autoritie to depriue all lay men that are ſuche Schiſmatikes of all manner ſecular offices whatſoeuer, and to geue their offices to other fitte and conuenient perſons.

4 Item, that he may depriue all ſuch clarkes, ⁊ declare them to be Schiſmatikes, and in this behalfe to geue and beſtow their benefices either with cure or without cure, their dignities, perſonages or offices, to other perſonnes more meet for the ſame.

5 Item, he hath power and autoritie ouer lay perſons that are exempt, and clarkes bothe ſecular and reguler, ye although they be friers mendicants, or maiſters and profeſſours of other houſes or hoſpitals of S. Johnes of Jeruſalem, or S. Mary of Flaunders or profeſſours of what orders ſoeuer els.

6 Item, he hath power to diſpence with what ſecular clarkes ſoeuer, being beneficed either with cure or without cure, and alſo with ſuche as haue dignities, perſonages, or offices, beeing regulers either exempte or not exempt, that euery one of them may be abſent with him from their dignities and benefices. ⁊c. vnder the ſtādерd of the croſſe, without liſence of any of their prelates required, and yet to receaue and take the intire commodities of their benefices, as thoughe they had beene perſonally reſident vpon the ſame.

7 Item, there is graunted to all that paſſe the ſeas in this quarell, eyther at their owne expences, or at the expences of any other, ful remiſſion of their ſinnes: and as lardge priuiledgies are graūted to all thoſe that go ouer the ſea with him, as to any that pay their money, or go to fight for the holy land.

8 Alſo, all ſuche as with their proper goods and ſubſtance ſhall geue ſufficient ſtipend to able ſoldiours, at the diſcretion of yͤ foreſayd Lord biſhop muſtered, or by any other his deputie, although he hym ſelfe be not perſonally at this buſines aforeſayd: yet ſhall he haue lyke remiſſion, and indulgence, as they which haue bene perſonally with him in this expedition.

9 Item, all they are partakers of this remiſſion, which ſhall geue any parte of their goodes to the ſaid biſhop to fight againſt the ſaid Schiſmatikes.

10 Item, if any ſhall chaunce to dye in the iourney, that are ſouldiors vnder the ſaid ſtanderd of the croſſe, or els before the quarell by ſome meanes be finiſhed: ſhall fully and wholy receiue the ſaid grace, and ſhall be partakers of the foreſayd remiſſion and indulgence.

11 Itē, he hath power to excōmunicate, ſuſpēd, ⁊ interdict what perſons ſo euer be rebellious or diſturbers of hym in the execution of his power and autoritie committed vnto him: of what dignitie, ſtate, degree, prehemінēce, order, place, or condition ſo euer they ſhal be: whether they ſhalbe eyther of regal, quenely, or imperial dignitie, or of what dignitie els ſo euer either eccleſiaſtical or mūdane.

12 Item, he hath power and autoritie to compell and inforce what religious perſōs ſo euer, to appoint them and ſend them ouer ſea, if it ſeme good to him: yea although they be profeſſours of the Friers mendicants, for the execution of the premiſſes.

¶ The Popes abſolution by the biſhop pronounced.

By the autority Apoſtolicall to me in this behalf committed, we abſolue thee A. B. from all thy ſynnes cōfeſſed wyth thy mouth, ⁊ being contrite & thy hart, and wherof thou wouldeſt be confeſſed if they came vnto thy memory: ⁊ we graunt vnto thee, plenary remiſſion of all maner of ſins, ⁊ we prompſe vnto thee thy part of the reward of all iuſt men, and of euerlaſting ſaluation. And as many priuiledgies as are graunted to them that go to fight for the holy land, we graunt vnto thee: and of all the prayers and benefites of the charche the vniuerſall Synode, as alſo of the holy catholike churche, wee make thee partaker of.

Chriſtes pa ſion hath here no place.

This couragious or rather outragious Byſhop, armed thus with the popes autoritie, and prompt with his priuilegies, in the yeare aforeſayd. 1383. about the tyme of Lent, came to the parliament, where great conſultation and contention, ⁊ almoſt no leſſe ſchiſme was about the viage of this popiſh Byſhop in the parliament, then was betwene the popes them ſelues. In the whiche parliament many there were, whiche thought it not ſafe to commit the kinges people and ſubiectes, vnto a rude and vnſkilfull prieſt. So great was the diuerſitie of iudgementes in that behalf, that yͤ viage of yͤ ſayd Biſhop was protracted vnto the Saterday afore Paſſion Sōday. In the which Sonday was ſong the ſolemne Antheme Ecce crucem domini, fugite partes aduerſæ, That is: Behold the croſſe of the Lord: Fley away all you aduerſaries. After whiche Sonday, the parties ſo agréed amongeſt thē ſelues by cōmon decrée, that the byſhop ſhould ſet forward in his viage, hauing to him geuen the fiftene which was graunted to the kyng in the parliament before. Whiche thynges thus concluded in the parliament, this warlyke Byſhop preparyng before all thinges in a readynes ſet forward in his pope holy iourney. Who about yͤ moneth of May, beyng come to Canterbury, and there taryng for the wynde, in the monaſtery of S. Auguſtine, receyued a write from the kyng that he ſhould returne to the kyng, and to know further of his pleaſure. The Byſhop fearing that if he turned agayn to the kyng, his iourney ſhould be ſtayd, and ſo all his labour and preparāce loſt with great deriſion and ſhame vnto him: thought better to commit hym ſelfe to fortune with that litle army he had, then by tarying to be made a ridicle to his aduerſaries. Wherfore, he ſent word backe agayne to the kyng, that he was now ready prepared, ⁊ well forward on his iourney. And that it was not expedient now to protracte the tyme, for any kynde of talke whiche peraduenture ſhould be to no maner of purpoſe: and that it was more conueniente for him to haſten in his iourney to Gods glory, and alſo to the honour of the king. And thus he calling his men vnto hym, entred forth with the ſeas, and went to Calys: where he wayting a few dayes for the reſt of his army, after the recept of thē, toke his iourney firſt to the towne of Grauenydge whiche he beſieged, ſo deſperatly without any preparance of engines of warre or counſel, or of politike men ſkilful in ſuch affaires: that he ſemed rather to flye vpon them, then to inuade them. At length through the ſuperſtition of our men, truſtyng vpon the Popes abſolution, he ſo hareriſhly approched yͤ walles and inuaded the enemies, that a great nomber of them were pitiouſly ſlayne with ſhot and wilde fyre: till at the ende (the inhabiters beeyng oppreſſed and vanquiſhed) our men entred the towne with their Byſhop, where they at his commaundement deſtroyng both mā, woman and childe, left not one alyue of all them, which remayned in the whole towne. Sicq; crucis beneficio factū, vt crucis hoſtes ita delerētur, quod vnus ex eis non remanſit: That is. And ſo it came to paſſe by the vertue of the croſſe, that our men croyſed ſo preuayled agaynſt the enemyes of the croſſe, that not one of thē remayned alyue. Ex Chron, Mon, D. Albani.

O bloodines of An chriſt,

Ex Chro Mon. D. Albani in vita Richardi 2.

From Grauenynge this warlyke Biſhop ſet forward to Dunkyrke, where not long after the Frenchmē meetyng with him, ioyned with them in battaile: in whiche battell (if the ſtory be true) xij. thouſand of the Frenche men were ſlayne in the chaſe, and of our men but ſeuen onely myſſing. Yt would require a long tractation here to diſcourſe all thyng done in theſe popiſhe warres. Alſo it would bee no leſſe ridiculous to vewe and beholde the glorious temeritie of this newe vpſtart captaine. But certes, lamentable it is to ſee the pitiefull ſlaughter and murder of Chriſtes people, by the meanes of theſe pitieles popes, duryng theſe warres in France: As when the byſhop commyng from Dunkyrke to the ſiege of Ypres a great nomber of Engliſhemen there were loſt, & much money conſumed, and yet nothyng done in effecte, to the great ſhame and ignominie of the Biſhop. Agayne after the ſiege of Ypres (thus with ſhame broke vp) the ſayd byſhop proceedyng with a ſmall power, to fighte with the Frenche kynges campe, contrary to the counſell of his captaines, whiche counted him raſh and vnſkilfull in his attempt, was fayne to breake company with them, wherby part of the army went vnto Burburgh, and the Byſhop with his parte returned to Grauelyng, whiche both townes ſhortly after were beſieged by the Frenche army, to the great loſſe both of the Engliſhe and French men. In fine whē the Byſhop could keepe Grauelyng no lenger, the ſayd Byſhop with his Croſies, croſſyng the ſeas, came home agayne as wiſe as he went, and thus makyng an ende of thys Pontificall warre, we will returne againe from whence we digreſſed, to the ſtory and matter of Jhon Wickleffe.

de- of I. kliffe.

Whiche Jhon Wickleffe returnyng agayne within ſhorte ſpace, either from his baniſhement, or from ſome other place where he was ſecretly kept, repayred to hys pariſhe of Lutterworth, whereof he was perſon, there quietly departyng this mortall lyfe, ſlept in peace in the Lord, in the begynnyng of the yeare. 1384. vpon Silueſters day.

384.

Here is to be noted the great prouidence of the Lorde in this man, as in diuers other: whom the Lord ſo long preſerued in ſuche rages of ſo many enemies, from all their handes, euen to hys olde age. For ſo it appeareth by Thomas VValden wryting agaynſt hym in hys tomes, entituled: De Sacramentis contra VVicleuū, that he was well aged before he departed: by that, which the foreſayd Walden wryteth of him in the Epiloge, ſpeaking of Wickleffe, writeth theſe wordes: Ita vt cano placeret, quod iuueni complacebat, &c. That is: ſo that the ſame thing pleaſed him in his old age, which did pleaſe hym being young. Wherby it ſeemeth that Wickleffe liued, till he was an olde mā, by this report. Such a lord is God, that whom he will haue kept, nothing cā hurte.

ldenus mo de cramen.

Thys Wickleffe, had written diuers and ſondrye workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord. 1410. were burnt at Oxford, the Abbot of Shrewſburye being then Commiſſarie, and ſent to ouerſee that matter. And not onely in England, but in Boheme, likewyſe the bookes of the ſaid Wickleffe were ſet on fire, by one Subincus archbiſhop of Prage, who made diligent inquiſition for the ſame, and burned thē: The number of the volumes, which he is ſayd to haue burned moſte excellently written, and richly adorned with boſſes of gold, and rich coueringes (as Eneas Syluius wryteth) were aboue the number of two hundreth.

e nūber Vick. bokes to 20. en. Syl

Ioannes Cocleus in his booke De hiſtoria Huſsitarum, ſpeakyng of the bookes of Wickleffe, teſtifieth: that he wrote very many bookes, ſermons, and tractacions. Moreouer the ſayd Cocleus ſpeakyng of him ſelfe, recordeth alſo: that there was a certayne Biſhop in England which wrote vnto him, declaring, that he had yet remaynyng in hys cuſtody two huge and myghty volumes of Jhon Wickleffes workes, which for the quantitie there of might ſeeme to be equall with the workes of S. Auguſtine. Hæc Cocleus.

e bokes Wickliff. Cocleus liſto, ſitarū

Amongſt other of hys treatiſes I my ſelfe alſo haue found out certayn, as de Senſu & veritate ſcripturæ. Itē, De eccleſia. Itē, de Euchariſtia cōfeſſio VVickleui, which I entend hereafter, the Lorde ſo graunting, to publiſhe abroade.

As concerning certain anſwers of John Wickliffe whych he wrote to king Richard the 2. touching ẏ right and title of the king, and of the pope: becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought here to annex them. The effect wherof, here foloweth.

¶ *Iohn Wickleffes aunſwere, vnto K. Rychard the* ſecond, as touching the ryght and title of the kyng, and the pope.

IT was demaunded, whether the kyngdome of England, may lawfully in caſe of neceſſitie, for hys owne defence, deteine & keepe backe the treaſure of the kyngdome, that it be not caryed away to foren and ſtraunge nacions, the pope hymſelfe demaunding and requyring ẏ ſame vnder paine of cenſure, & by vertue of obedience.

Wickleffe ſetting a part the mindes of learned mē, what myght be ſayd in the matter, eyther by the canon law, or by the law of England or the ciuil law, it reſteth (sayth he) now only to perſwade and proue, the affirmatiue parte of thys doubt, by the principles of Chriſtes lawe. And firſt I proue it thus. Euery naturall bodye hath power geuen of God to reſiſte agaynſt hys contrarye, and to preſerue it ſelfe in due eſtate, as the Philoſophers knewe very well.

Inſomuch, that bodies without lyfe, are endued with ſuch kinde of power (as it is euident) vnto whom hardnes is geuen to reſiſte thoſe thinges that would breake it, and coldnes to withſtand the heate that diſſolueth it. For ſo much then, as the kingdom of England (after the maner and phraſe of the ſcriptures) ought to be one bodie: and the clergie with the commonaltie, the members therof, it ſemeth that the ſame kingdome hath ſuch power geuen hym of God, and ſo much the more apparaunt: by how muche the ſame bodie is more precious vnto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. For ſomuch then as there is no power geuen of God vnto any creature for any end or purpoſe, but that he may lawfully vſe the ſame to that end and purpoſe: It foloweth, that our kingdome may lawfully keepe backe & deteine their treaſure, for the defence of it ſelf, in what caſe ſo euer neceſſitie do require the ſame.

Secondarely, the ſame is proued by the lawe of the Goſpell. For the pope cannot chalenge the treaſure of thys kyngdome, but vnder the title of almes, and conſequently vnder the pretence of the workes of mercye, according to the rule of charitie.

The popes riches is but the almes of good men.

But in caſe aforeſaid, the title of almes ought vtterly to ceaſe, Ergo, the ryght and title of chalenging the treaſure of our realme, ſhall ceaſe alſo in the preſuppoſed neceſſitie. For ſo much as all charitie hath hys beginning of hym ſelf, it were no worke of charitie, but of meere madnes, to ſend away the treaſures of ẏ realme vnto foren nations, wherby the realme it ſelf may fall into ruine, vnder the pretence of ſuch charitie.

Neceſsity taketh away the popes almes.

It appeareth alſo by this, that Chriſt the head of the church, whom all chriſten prieſtes ought to follow: liued by the almes of deuoute wemen Luke. vij. viij. He hongred and thirſted, he was a ſtraunger, and many other miſeries he ſuſtained, not only in hys members, but alſo in hys owne body, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth. Corin. 8. He was made poore for your ſakes, that through his pouertie, you might be rich: wherby, in the firſt endowing of ẏ church, whatſoeuer he were of the clergie that had any temporall poſſeſſions, he had the ſame by forme of a perpetuall almes, as both wrytinges and Chronocles do witneſſe.

Note well the ſaying here, of Bernard.

Wherupon S. Bernard, declaring in hys ij. booke to Eugenius, that he could not chalenge any ſecular dominion by ryght of ſucceſſion, as being the vicar of S. Peter, writeth thus: that if S. John ſhould ſpeake vnto the pope himſelf, as Bernard doth vnto Eugenius, wer it to be thought that he would take it paciently? But let it be ſo, that you do chalenge it vnto you, by ſome other wayes or meanes: but truely by any ryght or title Apoſtolical, you cannot ſo do. For how could he geue vnto you that, which he had not himſelfe? That which he had he gaue you, that is to ſay, care ouer the church, but did he geue you any lordſhips or rule? Harke what he ſaith: Not bearing rule (ſaith he) as Lordes in the clergie, but behauing your ſelues as examples to the flocke. And becauſe thou ſhalt not thinke it to be ſpoken onelye in humilitie, and not in veritie, marke the word of the Lorde himſelf in the Goſpell. The kinges of the people do rule ouer them, but you ſhall not do ſo.

The pope muſt leaue his lordſhip or els Apoſtleſhip, let him chuſe whether.

Here lordſhip and dominion, is plainly forbidden to to the Apoſtles: and dareſt thou then vſurpe the ſame? If thou wilt be a Lord, thou ſhalt loſe thine Apoſtleſhip, or if thou wilt be an Apoſtle, thou ſhalt loſe thy lordſhip. For truely thou ſhalt departe from the one of them. If thou wilt haue both, thou ſhalt loſe both, or els thinke thy ſelf to be of that nūber, of whō God doth ſo greatly cōplain, ſaying: Thei haue raigned, but not thorow me. They are become princes, and I haue not knowen it. Now if it do ſuffice thee to rule with the lord, thou haſt thy glory, but not with God. But if we will keepe that which is forbidden vs, let vs heare what is ſayd: he that is ỷ greateſt amongſt you (ſayth Chriſt) ſhalbe made as the leaſt, and he which is the higheſt, ſhalbe as the miniſter: and for example, ſet a childe in the midſt of them. So thys then is the true forme and inſtitution of the Apoſtles trade. Lordſhip and rule is forbidden, miniſtration and ſeruice commaunded. By theſe wordes of thys bleſſed mā whom the whole church doth reuerence and worſhip, it doth appeare that the pope hath not power to occupie the church goods as Lorde therof, but as miniſter, and ſeruant, and proctour for the poore. And would to God that the ſame proude and gredie deſire of rule and Lordſhip, which this ſeate doth challenge vnto it, be not a preamble to prepare a way vnto Antichriſt. For it is euident by the Goſpell, that Chriſt thorow his pouertie, humilitie, and ſuffering of iniurie, got vnto hym the children of hys kyngdome.

The maner of the Apoſtles.

How the pope ought to occupy the church goodes.

The way to obtaine the kingdom of Chriſt.

And moreouer, ſo farre as I remember, ỷ ſame bleſſed man Bernard in his iij. booke writeth alſo thus vnto Eugenius: I feare no other greater poyſon to happen vnto thee, then gredie deſire of rule and dominion.

Thys Wickleffe albeit in hys life tyme, had many greuous enemies, yet was there none ſo cruel vnto him, as the cleargie it ſelf. Yet notwithſtāding, he had many good frendes, men not onely of the baſe & meaneſt ſorte, but alſo of nobilitie, amongſt whom theſe men are to be numbred: John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Neuell, John Mountegew, who plucked downe all the images in hys church. Beſides all theſe, there was ỷ Earle of Salleſbury, who for contēpt in him noted towards the ſacrament, in carying it home to his houſe: was enioyned by Radulfe Ergom B. of Saliſburye, to make in Saliſbury a croſſe of ſtone, in which all ỷ ſtorie of the matter ſhould be written, and he euery fryday during his life to come to the croſſe barefoote & barehead in hys ſhyrte, & there knelyng vppon hys knees: to doe pennaunce for hys facte. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita. Ric. 2.

John Clenbon.
Lewes Clifford
Rich. Sturius.
Tho Latimer.
Williā Nouell.
I. Mountegue.
The earle of Saliſbury.

The penance of the earle of Saliſbury.

The Londiners at this tyme ſomwhat boldly truſting to the Maiors authoritie, who for that yere was Jhon of Northampton: Tooke vpon them the office of the Byſhops, in puniſhyng the vices (belongyng to Ciuile lawe) of ſuche perſons as they had founde and apprehended in committyng both fornication and adultery. For firſt they put the women in the priſon which amongeſt them then was named Dolium. And laſtly bryngyng them into the market place, where euery man might beholde them, and cutting of their goldē lockes frō their heades: they cauſed them to be caried about the ſtreates, with bagpypes and trumpets blowen before them, to the intent they ſhould be the better knowne and their companies auoyded: accordyng to the maner then of certeine theeues that were named Appellatores, (accuſers or pechers of others ỷ were giltles) which were ſo ſerued. And with other ſuch lyke opprobrious and reprochfull contumelies did they ſerue ỷ mē alſo that were taken with thē in cōmittyng the forenamed wickednes & vices. Here ỷ ſtory recordeth how ỷ ſayd Lōdiners were incouraged hereunto by J. Wickleff & others ỷ folowed his doctrine to perpetrat this acte, in the reproche of ỷ prelates being of the clergie. For they ſayd, that they did not ſo much abhorre to ſée the great negligēce of thoſe to whom that chardge belonged, but alſo their filthye auarice they did aſmuch deteſt: whiche for gredynes of money were choked with bribes and winking at ỷ penalties due to ſuch perſons by the lawes appoynted, ſuffered ſuch fornicatours and inceſtuous perſons fauorably to continue in their wickednes. They ſayd furthermore, ỷ they greatly feared, leaſt for ſuch wickednes perpetrated within the Citie and ſo apparātly diſſimuled: that God would take vengeance vpon them and deſtroy theyr citie. Wherfore they ſayd, that they could do no leſſe then to purge the ſame: leaſt by the ſufferaunce therof, God would bryng a plague vpon them, or deſtroy them with the ſworde, or cauſe the earth to ſwallow vp both them and theyr ſayd Citie. Hæc ex Chron. mon. D. Albani. ¶ This ſtory (gentle reader) albeit the author therof whom I folow, do geue it out in reprochfull wiſe, to the great diſcommendation of the Londiners for ſo doing. Yet I thought not to omitte, but to commit the ſame to memory, which ſemeth to me rather to tende vnto worthy commendation both of the Londiners that ſo did: and to the neceſſary exāple of all other cities to folow the ſame. After theſe things thus declared, let vs now adioyne the teſtimonial of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, of J. Wickliffe.

The fru of good and true doctrine.

Ex Chr mon. D. Alba

¶ *The publike teſtimonie geuen out by the vniuerſitie of* Oxford, touchyng the commendation of the great learnyng and good lyfe of Ihon Wickleffe.

Ex tom operum Ioā. Hu fol. vii.

Vnto all and ſingular the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this preſent letter ſhal come: the Vicechauncelour of the vniuerſitie of Oxforde, with the whole congregation of the maiſters, wiſhe perpetuall health in the Lord. For ſo much, as it is not commonly ſeen, that the actes and monumentes of valiant men, nor the praiſe and merites of good men ſhould be paſſed ouer and hidden with perpetuall ſilence, but that true reporte and fame ſhould continually ſpread abroad the ſame in ſtraunge and farre diſtant places, both for the witneſſe of the ſame, and example of others: For ſo much alſo as the prouident diſcretion of mans nature being recompenſed with crueltie, hath deuiſed and ordayned this buckler of defēce, agaynſt ſuch as do blaſpheme & ſlāder other mēs doynges, that whenſoeuer witneſſe by woorde of mouth cānot be preſēt, the pen by writing may ſupply the ſame:

Hereupon it foloweth, that the ſpeciall good will and care which we bare vnto Jhon wickleffe, ſomtyme child of this our vniuerſitie, & profeſſour of diuinitie: mouyng and ſtirryng our mindes (as his maners and condicions required no leſſe) with one mynde, voyce and teſtimony, we do witneſſe all his condicions and doynges thorowout his whole life, to haue been moſt ſincere and commēdable: whoſe honeſt maners and conditions, profoundneſſe of learnyng, and moſt redolent renowm and fame, we deſire the more earneſtly to be notifyed and knowen vnto all faythfull, for that we vnderſtande the maturitie and rypeneſſe of his conuerſation, his diligent laboures and trauailes to tend to the prayſe of God, the helpe and ſauegarde of others, and the Prophet of the church.

Great lea ning ioi with g lyfe and godlines

wherfore we ſignifie vnto you by theſe preſentes, that his conuerſation (euen frō his youth vpwardes, vnto the tyme of his death) was ſo prayſe worthy and honeſt, that nence at any time was there any note or ſpot of ſuſpition noyſed of hym, But in his aunſweryng, readyng, preachyng, and determining, he behaued him ſelfe laudably, & as a ſtoute & valiant champion of the fayth: vanquiſhing by the force of the Scriptures, all ſuch who by their wilfull beggery blaſphemed and ſclaundered Chriſtes religion. Neither was this ſayd doctor conuict of any hereſy, either burned by our prelates after his buriall. God forbyd that our prelates ſhould haue condemned a man of ſuch honeſty, for an hereticke: who amōgeſt all the reſt of our vniuerſitye, had written in Lodgike, Philoſophy, Deuinitie, Moralitie, & the Speculatiue art wtout peere. The knowledge of which all and ſingular things, we do deſire to teſtify & deliuer forth: to thintent, that the fame and renowne of this ſayd doctor, may be the more euidēt and had in reputacion amongſt them vnto whoſe hands theſe preſent letters teſtimoniall ſhall come.

In witneſſe whereof, wee haue cauſed theſe our letters teſtimoniall to be ſealed with our common ſeale. Dated at Oxford in our congregation houſe, the v. daye of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1406.

¶ The teſtimony and wordes of maiſter Ihon Hus, as touchyng maſter Ihon Wickleffe.

VErely, as I do not beleue neither graunt, ẏ maiſter Ihon Wickleffe is an hereticke: ſo do I not deny, but firmely hope that he is no hereticke. For ſo much as in all matters of doubt I ought, as neare as I cā, to chuſe the beſt part. Wherfore I ſurely truſt, that maſter Ihon Wickleffe is one of the nomber of them whiche are ſaued. The wordes of Chriſt moueth me therunto, ſaying Mathew vij. Do ye not iudge, that ye be not iudged, and Luke the vi. Do not condemne, and ye ſhall not be condemned: and the woordes of the Apoſtle. 1. Cor. 4. Do ye not iudge before the Lord him ſelfe do come, the whiche ſhall open thoſe thinges that are hid in darknes, to manifeſt the priuities of all hartes.

Secondly, the loue and charitie whiche I ought to beare vnto my neighbour (louing hym as my ſelf) doth moue me therunto. Luke. x.

Thirdly, his good fame and reporte, moueth me, the whiche he hath of the good prieſtes, of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, and not of the wicked, and cōmonly of the vulgare ſorte, although not of the couetous, proude, and luxurious prelates.

Fourthly, his owne workes and writinges do ſturre me therunto, by the whiche he goeth about with his hole indeuour, to reduce all men vnto the law of Chriſt, and ſpecially the clergy: that they ſhould forſake the pompe and dominion of this worlde, and with the Apoſtles lead the lyfe of Chriſt.

Fiftly his owne proteſtations, whiche he doth often times vſe in his ſentēces, often repeatyng the ſame, doth not a litle moue me.

Sixtly, his earneſt deſire and affection whiche he had vnto the law of Chriſt, doth not a litle alure me therūto, diſputyng of the veritie thereof, the whiche cannot fayle in any one iote or title. Wherupon he made a boke of the veritie of the holy Scripture, approuyng euen vnto the vttermoſt, the truth of Gods law.

Wherfore it were to fooliſh a conſequent to ſay, that becauſe the nomber of the prelates and clergy in England, Fraunce, and Boheme do counte Ihon Wickleffe for an hereticke, that therfore he is an hereticke. &c. Like is the reaſon for burning of the bokes, for it is writtē in the firſt booke of the Machabees firſt chapter: that they did burne the bokes of the Lord, tearyng them in pæces, and who ſoeuer was founde to haue kept any bookes of the Teſtament or will of the Lord, or the whiche obſerued and kept the law of the Lord, they were by ẏ kinges commaundement put to death. If then the burnyng of theſe bookes by wicked men did argue or proue the euilneſſe of the bokes, thē was the law of God euil & naught.

So likewiſe the burning of S. Gregories bokes, and diuers other ſaintes and good men, ſhould argue and proue that they were euill and naughty men. Wherupō as it doth not folow, that becauſe the Biſhops, Scribes, and Phariſeis, with the elders of the people, condemned Chriſt Ieſus as an hereticke, that therfore he is an hereticke: So likewiſe doth it not folowe of any other man. The byſhops, maſters of diuinitie, monks, and prelates, condemned this man as an hereticke. Ergo, he is an hereticke. For this conſequent is reproued by Ihon Chriſoſtome, whiche was twiſe condemned as an hereticke by the Biſhops and the hole clergy. Likewiſe S. Gregory in his bookes, was condemned by the Cardinals.

Burning of bokes proueth not by and by an heretike.

A falſe conſequent reproued by I. Chriſoſtō.

By like proofe alſo as they affirme, maiſter Ihon Wickleffe to be an hereticke: Ihon duke of Lancaſter (a man of worthy memory and progenitor of Henry kyng of Englād) ſhould alſo be an heretike. For the ſayd duke defended, fauoured, & greatly loued maiſter Ihon Wickleffe, Ergo, the ſayd duke is or was an hereticke, the conſequent is good. The Minor is well knowen vnto ẏ Engliſhe men. The Maior appeareth in the Canon, where it is ſayd, he whiche defendeth an hereticke. &c.

Iohn Duke of Lancaſter defended of I. Wickliffe.

But theſe thinges ſet a part, I demaund of the aduerſary, whether maſter Ihon Wickleffe be dāned for euer or no? If he ſay ẏ he is dāned becauſe he is an heretike: I propound this vnto him, whether M. Ihon Wickleffe whiles he lyued helde any falſe doctrine contrary to ẏ holy Scripture: If he do affirme it, let hym thē ſhew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obſtinatly: And he ſhall finde, that in his bookes he alwayes wrote moſt commēdable proteſtations agaynſt obſtinacie and ſtifneckednes. And by and by after, maſter Ihon Stokes in hys Intimation, ſayth, that maiſter Ihon Wickleffe in Englād, is counted for an hereticke. This ſemeth alſo falſe by the letter teſtimoniall of the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde: vnto the whiche there is more credite to be geuen, then vnto hym. And thys ſhall ſuffice for this preſent.

Iohn Wickliffe proued no heretike.

Now as we haue declared the teſtimony of the Vniuerſity of Oxford, & of John Hus, concerning the praiſe of John Wyckliffe: It foloweth lykewyſe, that wee ſet forth and expreſſe the contrary cenſure and iudgements of his enemies, blinded wͭ malicious hatred and corrupt affectiōs agaynſt him: eſpecially of the Popes Councell gathered at Conſtance, proceeding firſt in condemnyng hys bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copy of which their ſentence geuen againſt him by that Councell here foloweth.

The councel of Conſtāce againſt I. Wickliffe.

¶ The Sentence, geuen by the councell of Conſtance, in condemnyng the doctrine, and xlv. articles of Ihon Wickleffe.

THe moſt holy and ſacred councell of Conſtance, making and repreſenting the catholike churche, for the extirpation of this preſent ſchiſme, and of all other errours and hereſies, ſpringyng and growyng vnder the ſhadow and pretence of the ſame: and for the reformation and amendement of the church, beyng lawfullye congreate and gathered together in the holye ghoſt, for the perpetuall memory of the tyme to come.

The ſentēce of the councel of Conſt. againſt I. Wickliffe.

We are taught by the actes and hiſtories of the holye fathers, that the catholike fayth (without the whych, as the holy Apoſtle S. Paule ſaith, it is vnpoſſible to pleaſe God) hath alwayes bene defended by the faythfull and ſpirituall ſoldiours of the church, by the ſhielde of fayth, agaynſt the falſe worſhippers of the ſame faith, or rather peruers impugners: which through their proud curioſitye wyll ſeme to know more, and to be wyſer then they ought to be, and for the deſyre of the glory of the worlde, haue gone about oft times to ouerthrow the ſame. Theſe kindes of warres and battayles haue bene prefigured to vs before in thoſe carnal wars of ẏ Iſraelites againſt the Idolatrous people. For in thoſe ſpirituall wars the holy catholike church, thorough the vertue and power of ſayth, being illuſtrate with the beames of the heauenlye light, by the prouidence of God, and being holpen by the helpe and defence of the ſayntes and holy men, hath alwayes continued immaculate, and (the darkenes of errours, as her moſt cruel enemies being put to flight) ſhe hath moſt gloriouſlye triumphed ouer all. But in theſe our dayes, the old and vncleane ennemye hath rayſed vp new contentions and ſtrifes, that the elect of thys world might be knowē, whoſe prince and captaine in time paſt was one I. wickliff a falſe chriſtian. who during his life tyme, taught and ſowed very obſtinatly manye articles, contrary and againſt the Chriſtian religion, and the catholike fayth. And the ſame Iohn wicklyffe wrote certain bookes which he called a Dialoge, and a Trialoge, beſides many other treatiſes and woorkes, the which he both wrote & taught, in the which he wrote ẏ aforeſayd, and manye other damnable and execrable articles: The which his bookes for the publication and aduauncemēt of his peruers doctrine, he did ſet forth openly for euery man to reade. wherby, beſide many offences, great hurt and damages of ſoules, hath enſued in diuers regions & countries, but ſpecially in the kyngdomes of Englande and Boheme. Agaynſt whom, the maiſters and doctors of the Vniuerſities of Oxforde and Prage, riſyng vp in the truth and veritye of God, accordyng to the order of the ſcholes, wythin a while after dyd reproue and condempne the ſayd Articles.

The Dialoge and trialoge of Wickleſſe.

Moreouer, the moſt reuerēt fathers, the archbiſhops, & biſhops, (for that tyme preſent) of Canterbury, Yorke and Prage, Legates of the Apoſtolike ſee, in the kyngdome of England and Boheme, did condemn the bokes of the ſayd wickliffe to be burnt. And the ſayde Archbyſhop of Prage, commiſſary of the Apoſtolike ſee, did likewiſe in this behalf determine & iudge. And moreouer he did forbid, ẏ any of thoſe bokes which did remain vnburned, ſhuld not be hereafter any more red. And again theſe thinges being brought to the knowledge and vnderſtāding of the Apoſtolike ſee, and the general councell: The biſhop of Rome in his laſt councell, condemned the ſayd books, treatiſies and volumes, commaundyng thē to be openly burned. Moſt ſtraitly forbidding, ẏ any mē which ſhould beare the name of chriſt, ſhould be ſo hardy either to kepe, read, or expoūd any of ẏ ſaid bokes or tretiſes, volumes, or works, or by any meanes to vſe or occupy thē: either els to alledge them opēly or priuely, but to their reprofe & infamy. And to the entent ẏ this moſt dāgerous and fylthy doctrine ſhould be vtterly wyped awaye out of the church, he gaue commaundement thorowe out all places: that the Ordinaries ſhould diligently enquyre & and ſeeke out by the Apoſtolike autority and eccleſiaſticall cenſure, for all ſuch bookes, treatiſes, volumes, and workes. And the ſame ſo beyng found, to burne and conſume them with fyre: prouiding withall, that if there be any ſuch found, which wyll not obey the ſame: proceſſe to be made agaynſt them, as agaynſt the fauourers & maintayners of hereſies. And this moſt holy Sinode hath cauſed the ſayd. xlv. articles to bee examined and oft tymes peruſed, by many moſt reuerende fathers of the churche of Rome, Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbots, maiſters of Diuinity and Doctors of both lawes, beſides a great nomber of other notable men: the which Articles being ſo examined, it was foūd (as in truth it was no leſſe) that many, yea a great number of them to be notoriouſlye for hereticall reproued and condemned by the holye fathers: other ſome not to be catholike, but erroneous: ſome full of offence and blaſphemy: Certayne of them offenſiue vnto godly eares, and many of them to be raſhfull and ſeditious. It is found alſo, that hys bookes do contayn many articles of like effect and qualitie, and that they do induce and bring into the church, vnſound and vnholſome doctrine, contrary vnto the fayth and ordinaunce of the church. wherfore in the name of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, this ſacred Sinode, ratifieng and approuing the ſentences and iudgementes of the Archbiſhops and councell of Rome: do by this their decree and ordinaunce, perpetually for euermore condemne and reproue, the ſayd articles and euery one of them, his bookes which he entituled his Dialoge and Trialoge, and all other bookes of the ſame autor, volumes, treatiſes and workes, by what name ſo euer they bee entitnled or called, the which wee will here to be ſufficiently expreſſed and named. Alſo we forbyd the reading, learning, expoſition, or alledgyng of any of the ſayd bookes, vnto all faythful Chriſtians, but ſo farre forth as ſhall tend to the reproofe of the ſame: forbyddyng all and ſyngular catholike perſons vnder the payne of curſe, that from henceforth they be not ſo hardy openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by anye meanes to alledge the ſayd articles or any of them, except (as is afore ſayd) that it do tend vnto the reproofe of them: commaūding all thoſe bookes, treatiſes, workes, and volumes aforeſayde to be openlye burned, as it was decreed in the Sinode at Rome, as is afore expreſſed. For the executiō whereof duely to be obſerued and done, the ſayde ſacred Sinode doth ſtraytly charge and commaund the ordinaries of the places, diligentlye to attende and looke vnto the matter, accordyng as it appertaineth vnto euery mās duty, by the Canonicall lawes and ordinances.

The bones of Wkliffe condemned to be burned.

Wordes of autority without due probation.

Aſke my felow if I be a thefe.

So we here you ſay.

Vnholſome becauſe they teach againſt the pompe of the pope.

So thought the ſouldiours perpetually to kepe downe Chriſt from riſyng.

O meruaylous ſacred Synode,

Rub a gild horſe on the backe, and he will winſe.

At Rome, &c. neither
barrell, bet
ter hering.

Though the ſepul-
cher be wa
ched, chri
wil ryſe.

What were theſe articles here condemned by thys councell, collected out of all his workes, and exhibited to the ſayde Councell, to the number of. xlv: The copye of them foloweth vnder written.

❡ *Certayne other articles gathered out of Wickliffes bookes by* hys aduerſaries, to the number of. xlv. exhibited vp to the coūcel of Conſtance, after his death, and in the ſame Councell condemned.

BEſides ẏ xxiiij. articles aboue mentioned, there were other alſo gathered out of his bookes, to the number of xlv. in all, which hys malicious aduerſaries peruerſly collecting, and maliciouſlye expounding, did exhibite vp to the coūcel of Conſtance: Which to repete all, though it be not here nedefull, yet to recite certaine of them as they ſtand in that councell, it ſhall not be ſuperfluous.

Other arti
cles of Wi
liffe to th
number o
40. conde
ned by the
councel o
Conſt.

25 All ſuch as be hyred for temporall liuing to praye for other, offend and ſinne in ſimonie.

26 The prayer of the reprobate preuaileth for no man.

27 Hallowing of churches, confirmation of childrē, the ſacrament of orders, be reſerued to the pope & biſhops onely for the reſpecte of temporall lucre.

28 Graduations, and doctorſhips in Vniuerſities and Colledges as they be vſed, cōduce nothing to ẏ church.

29 The excommunication of the pope and his prelates, is not to be feared, becauſe it is ẏ cenſure of Antichriſt.

30 Such as founde & build Monaſteries, do offend and ſinne, and all ſuche as enter into the ſame, be members of the deuill.

31 To enriche the clergie, is agaynſt the rule of Chriſt. Silueſter the pope, and Conſtantine the Emperour were deceaued in geuing and taking poſſeſſiōs into the churche.

32 A Deacon or prieſt may preache the worde of God, without the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke ſee.

33 Such as enter into order, or religion monaſticall, are therby vnable to kepe Gods commaundementes, and alſo to attaine to the kingdome of heauen excepte they returne from the ſame.

34 The pope with all his clergie, hauing thoſe great poſſeſſions as they haue, be heretiques in ſo hauing, & the ſecular powers in ſo ſuffring them do not well.

35 The churche of Rome is the Synagog of Sathan, neyther is the pope immediatlye the vicar of Chriſt, nor of the Apoſtles.

36 The decretalls of the pope be apochrypha & ſeduce from the fayth of Chriſt, and the clergie that ſo ſtudye them, be fooles.

37 The Emperour and ſecular lordes be ſeduced, which ſo enriche the church with ſuch ample poſſeſſions.

38 It is not neceſſarie to ſaluation to beleue the church of Rome to be ſupreme head ouer all churches.

39 It is but follie to beleue the popes pardons.

40 All othes which be made for any contracte or ciuile bargaine betwixt man and man, be vnlawful.

41 Benedict, Frāuces, Dominicke, Bern. with all ſuch as haue been patrones of priuate religion, excepte they haue repented, with ſuche alſo as haue entred in to the ſame: be in a damnable ſtate, and ſo from the pope to the loweſt Noues they be all together heretikes.

Beſides theſe articles to the number of xlv, condemned (as is ſayd) by the councell of Conſtance: Other articles alſo I finde diuerſly collected or rather wraſted out of the bookes and writinges of Wickleffe: ſome by William Wodford, ſome by Walden, by Frier Tyſſington and other, whom they in their bookes haue impugned, rather then confuted. In the number of whom, William Wodford eſpecially findeth out theſe Articles, & writeth agaynſt the ſame, to the number of xviij. as here vnder follow.

1 The bread remaineth in his owne ſubſtance, after the conſecration therof vpon the altare, and ceaſeth not to be bread ſtill.

2 As Jhon was figuratiuely Helias, and not perſonally: ſo the bread figuratiuely is the body of Chriſte, and not naturally. And that without all doubt, this is a figuratiue ſpeache, to ſay: this is my body, as to ſay: This John, is Helias.

3 In the decree, Ego Berengarius, the court of Rome hath determined that the ſacrament of the holy Euchariſt, is naturally true bread.

4 They which doe affirme, that the infantes of the faythfull departing without the ſacrament of baptiſme, are not to be ſaued: be preſumptuous, and fooles in ſo affirming.

5 The adminiſtration of the ſacrament of confirmation, is not onely reſerued to byſhops.

6 In the tyme of S. Paule, onely ij. orders of clerkes dyd ſuffice in the church: prieſtes, and Deacons. Neyther was there in the tyme of the Apoſtles any diſtinction of popes, Patriarches & archbyſhops, & biſhops, but theſe the Emperours pryde dyd finde out.

7 Such as in tymes paſt eyther for couetouſnes of temporall lucre, or of hope of mutuall ſuccour by kindred, or for cauſe to excuſe theyr luſte (although they diſpeyred of iſſue) were maried: were coupled together, not by true matrimonye.

8 The cauſes of diuorcement, eyther for ſpirituall conſanguinitie or for affinitie, be not founded in ſcripture, but are onely ordinaunces of men.

9 Theſe wordes I will take thee to wife, are rather to be taken in contracte of matrimonie, then theſe wordes I do take thee to wife. And the contracte with any party by the wordes of ẏ future tence, ought not to be fruſtrate for the contracte with any partie afterward made, by the wordes of the preſent tyme.

10 There be xij. diſciples of Antichriſt. Popes, Cardinalls, Patriarches, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Officialls, Deanes, Monkes, Chanons, Fryers, and Pardoners.

11 In the booke of Nomb. the. xviij. chap. and in Ezechiel. xliiii. chap. it is commaunded ſimply, that neither the prieſtes of Aaron, nor the Leuites ſhould haue any part of inheritaunce wyth other tribes, but ſhould liue merely of tithes and oblations.

12 There is no greater hereticke or Antichriſt, then that Clercke which teacheth that it is lawfull for prieſts and Leuites of the law of grace, to be indued with temporall poſſeſſions. And if there be any heretikes, Apoſtates, or blaſphemers, theſe clarkes be ſuch.

13 It is not onely lawfull for the Lordes temporall to take awaye goods of fortune from the churchmen, ſinning vſually: but alſo are bound ſo to do, vnder paine of eternall damnation.

14 He that is the more humble and more ſeruiceable to the church, and more enamoured with the loue of Chriſt, he is in the churche militant, the greater and the more nereſt vicar of Chriſt.

15 If corporall vnction or aneling were a ſacrament (as nowe it is fayned to be) Chriſt and his Apoſtles woulde not haue left the ordinaunce thereof vntouched.

16 Unto the true dominiō ſecular, is required vertuous lyfe of him that ruleth.

17 All thinges that happen, do come abſolutely of neceſſitie.

18 What ſo euer the pope or his Cardinals can deduce clearely out of the holy Scripture: that onely is to be beleued, or to be done at their monition: and whatſoeuer otherwiſe they do commaũd is to be condemned as hereticall.

Beſides this W. Woodford afore mētioned, diuers other there wer which wrote agaiſt theſe articles of Wicleffe aforeſayd, mayntainyng ẏ Popes parte, as ſemeth for flattery, rather thē folowing any iuſt cauſe ſo to do, or ſhewyng forth any reaſon or learning in diſprouing ẏ ſame. Notwithſtādyng, on the contrary part ſome there were again both learned & godly, which takyng the part of Wickleffe, without all flattery defended the moſt of the ſayd Articles, openly in ſchools and other places, as appeareth by ẏ workes of John Hus: who in his publike determinations in the vniuerſitie of Prage, ſtode in defence of the ſame agaynſt all his aduerſaries. Whoſe reaſons and diſputacions becauſe they aſke a long tyme here to diſcourſe, I ſhall therefore referre the reader to the firſt Edition of theſe actes and monumentes, where the contentes thereof are to be founde more fully and at large ſet forth.

Wherfore cuttyng of the tractation hereof, becauſe the matter hath bæn hādled already in the former booke, we will now returne to the ſayd coūcell of Conſtance agayn, declaring what crueltie they vſed not only againſt ẏ bookes & articles of J. Wickleffe, but alſo in burnyng his body and bones, commaunding them to be taken vp 41. yeares after he was buried, as appeareth by the decrée of the ſayd Sinode, the forme wherof we thought hereunto to annexe as foloweth.

¶ *The decree of the Synode of Conſtance touching the taking vp of the body and bones of Iohn Wickleffe to be burned 41. yeares after he was buryed in his own pariſhe church at Lutterworth.*

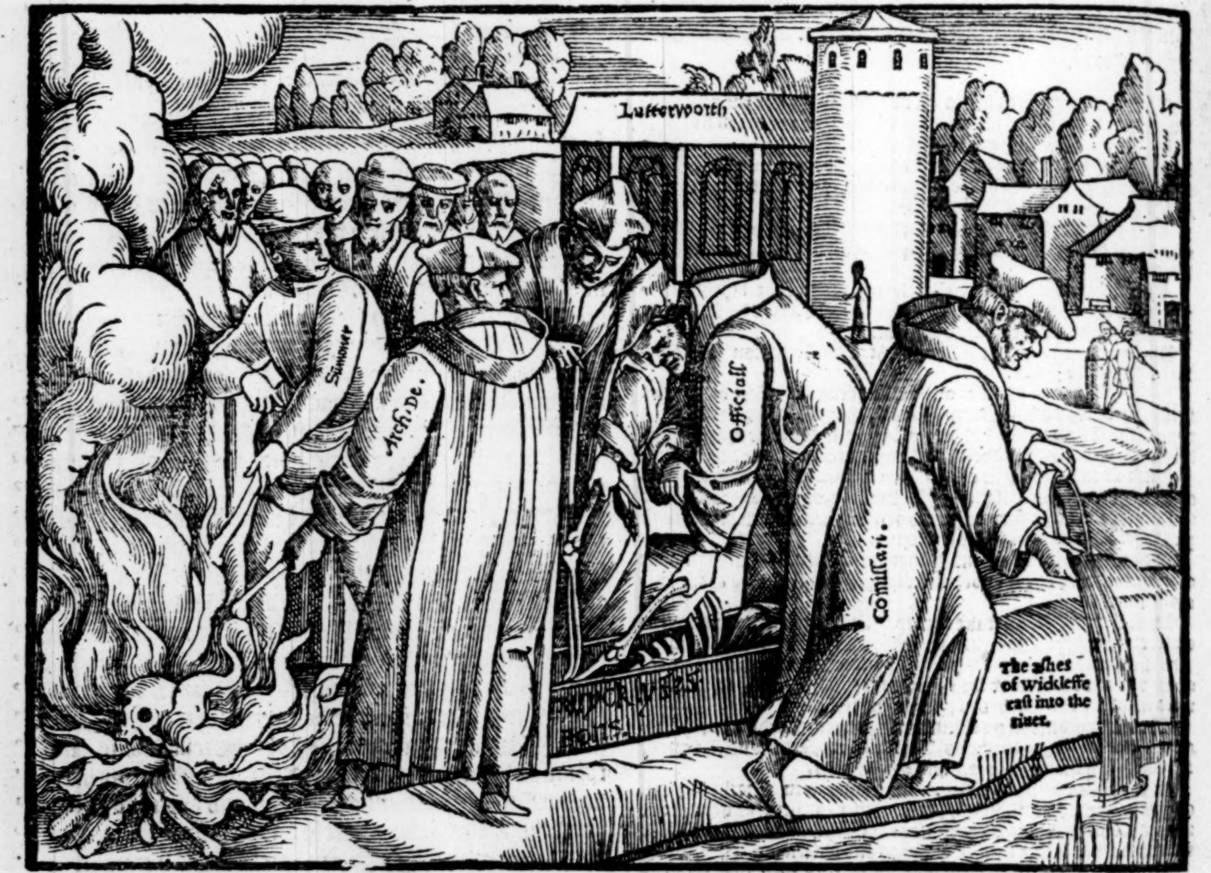
The decree of the councel for the burning of Wickliffes dead bones.

Ex Actis concilij Conſtant.

FOrſomuch as by the authoritie of the ſentence and
decrees of the councell of Rome, and by the commaũ-
dement of the church and the Apoſtolicke ſee after due
delayes being geuē, they proceded vnto the condemna-
tion of the ſayd John Wickleffe, and his memorie: ha-
uing firſt made proclamation, and geuen commaunde-
ment to call forth who ſoeuer woulde defende the ſayd
Wickleffe, or hys memorye (if there were any ſuch) but
there did none appeare, which would either defend him
or hys memory. And moreouer witneſſes being exami- ”
ned by Commiſſioners appoynted by Pope Jhon and ”
thys councell, vpon the impenitencie and finall obſtina- ”
cie and ſtubbernes of the ſaid John Wickleff (reſeruing ”
that, which is to be reſerued, as in ſuche buſines, the or- ”
der of the law requireth) and hys impenitencie and ob- ”
ſtinacie euen vnto hys end, being ſufficiently proued by ”
euident ſignes and tokens, and alſo by lawfull witneſ- ”
ſes of credit, was lawfully geuē therunto. Wherfore at ”
the inſtance of the ſteward of ẏ treaſury, proclamation ”
being made to heare and vnderſtād the ſentence againſt ”
this day: the ſacred Sinode declareth, determineth, and ”
geueth ſentence, that the ſayd John Wickleff was a no- ”
torious obſtinate hereticke, and that he dyed in his here- ”
ſie, curſing & condemning both him and hys memorye. ”
This Sinode alſo decreeth and ordaineth, ẏ the body ”
and bones of the ſayd John Wickleffe, if it myghte be ”
decerned and knowen from the bodies of other faythful ”
people, to be taken out of the ground, and throwen away ”
farre frō the buriall of any church, according vnto the ”
Canon lawes and decrees. Which determination and ”
ſentence definitiue being red and pronounced, the Lord ”
preſident, and the foreſayd preſidents of the iiij. nations, ”
being demaunded and aſked whether it dyd pleaſe them ”
or no: They all anſwered (& firſt Hoſtienſis the preſident ”
and after hym the other preſidentes of the nations) that ”
it pleaſed them very well, and ſo they allowed and con- ”
firmed all the premiſſes. &c. ”
¶ What Heraclitus woulde not laughe, or what ”
Democritus would not weape, to ſee theſe ſo ſage and ”
reuerend Catos, to occupie theyr heades to take vp a ”
pore mans body, ſo long dead and buried before, by the ”
ſpace of xli. yeares: and yet peraduenture were not able ”
to finde his ryght bones, but tooke vp ſome other body, ”
& ſo of a catholike made an heretike. Albeit, herein Wic- ”
kleffe had ſome cauſe to geue thē thankes, ẏ they would ”
at leaſt ſpare hym ſo longe, til he was dead: And alſo to ”
geue him ſo long reſpite after hys death xli. yeres to reſt ”
in his ſepulcher before they vngraued him, & turned him ”
from earth to aſhes: which aſhes alſo, they toke & threw ”
into ẏ riuer. And ſo was he reſolued into thrée elemētes, ”
earth, fire, and water, thinkyng therby vtterly to extinct ”
and aboliſh both the name and doctrine of Wickleffe for- ”
euer. Not much vnlyke to the example of the old Phari- ”
ſeis & ſepulcher knightes, whiche when they had brought ”
the Lord vnto the graue, thought to make hym ſure ne- ”
uer to riſe agayne. But theſe and all other muſt know, ”
that as there is no counſell agaynſt the Lorde: ſo there is ”
no kepyng down of veritie: but it will ſpryng and come ”
out of duſt and aſhes, as appeared right well in this mā. ”
For though they dygged vp his body, burnt his bones, ”

and drowned his aſhes, yet the worde of God and truth of his doctrine, with the frute and ſucceſſe therof they could not burne: whiche yet to this daye for the moſte part of his articles do remayne. Notwithſtandyng, the trāſitory body and bones of the man was thus cōſumed and diſperſed, as by this Picture here ſet forth to thyne eyes (gentle reader) may appeare.

The order and maner of taking vp the bodye of John Wickleffe and burning hys bones xli. yeares after hys death.



These thyngs thus finiſhed and accompliſhed, which perteine to the ſtory and tyme of Wicleffe: let vs now (by the ſupportation of the Lorde) procede to entreate and write of the reſt, whiche either in his tyme, or after hys tyme, ſpringyng out of the ſame vniuerſitie, and rayſed vp (as ye would ſay) out of his aſhes, were partakers of the ſame perſecution. Of whō ſpeaketh Thomas Walden in his booke, De ſacramentis & ſacramentalibus. cap. 53. Where he ſayth, that after Wickleffe, many ſuffered moſt cruell death, & many mo did forſake the realme. &c.

Ex Th. Walden. lib. de ſacrament.

In the number of whom was William Swynderby, Walter Brutte: John Puruey: Richard White: William Thorpe: Raynold Pecocke Byſhop of S. Aſaphe, and afterwarde of Chicheſter.

Laurence Redman, Dauid Sawtre Iohn Aſchwerbe. William Iames, Thomas Brighewel. William Haulam. Rafe Grenehurſt, I. Scut. Phillip Noris. Peter Payne. Lord Cobham.

To this Cataloge alſo pertayneth, mencioned in auncient writers, Lawrence Redman maſter of Arte, Dauid Sawtre diuine, John Aſchwarby vicar as they cal him of S. Mary church at Oxford, William James an excellent yong man well learned, Thomas Bryghtwell, & William Hawlam a ciuilian, Rafe Grenhurſt, John Scut, & Philip Noriſe: which being excōmunicate by pope Eugenius the. iiij. in ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1446 appealed vnto a generall or œcumenicall Councell.

Peter Paine, who flying from Oxforde into Boheme, did ſtoutly contende agaynſt the Sophiſters, as touching both kindes of the Sacrament of the laſt ſupper. Who afterward amongeſt the reſt of the Oratours was one of the. xiiij. that was ſent vnto the Councell at Baſill: where as by the ſpace of. iij. dayes, hee diſputed vpon the fourth article, which was as touching the ciuill dominion of the clergy, an. 1438. Alſo the Lord Cobham. &c.

To theſe Oxford men aboue rehearſed, and other fauourers of Wickleffe within this our countrey of England, we may adde alſo the Bohemiās: forſomuch as the propagation of the ſayde doctrine of Wickleffe, in that countrey alſo tooke roote, commyng from England to Boheme, by this occaſion as in ſtory here foloweth.

There chaunced at that tyme a certayne ſtudent of the countrey of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a welthy houſe, and alſo of a noble ſtocke. Who returnyng home from the vniuerſitie of Oxford, to the vniuerſitie of Prage: caried with him certain bookes of Wickleffe, De realibus vniuerſalibus, De ciuili iure, & Diuino: De eccleſia, De quæſtionibus, varijs contra clerū, &c. It chaunced the ſame tyme, a certayne noble man in the Citie of Prage, had founded and builded a great church of Mathias and Matheus, whiche church was called Bethleē: geuyng to it great landes, and findyng in it ij. preachers euery day, to preach both holyday & workingday to the people. Of the which ij. preachers, this Jhon Hus was one, a mā of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently fauoured for hys worthy lyfe amongeſt them. This Jhon Hus, hauyng familiarity with this yong man, in readyng and peruſing theſe bookes of Wickleffe: toke ſuch pleaſure and frute in readyng therof, that not onely he began to defende this autor openly in the ſcholes, but alſo in his ſermons: commending hym for a good man, an holy man, and heauenly man, wiſhed him ſelfe when he ſhould dye, to be there placed where as the ſoule of Wicleffe ſhould be. And thys for the ſpreadyng of Wickleffes doctrine inoughe.

The decl on how t doctrine o Wilkliffe came to B heme,

Wicle vir bo ſanctu cælo dignus.

The great affection o Iohn Hus to Iohn Wickleff

And thus much briefly concernyng the fauourers and adherentes of John Wickleffe, in generall. Now particularly and in order let vs (by Chriſtes grace) proſecute the ſtories and perſecutions of the ſayd parties aforenamed, as the courſe of their tymes ſhall require, firſt begynnyng with the valiant champions William Swynderby, and Walter Brute.

The

The hiſtory of William Swinderby.

1389.

Ex Regiſt Epiſcopi Herfordē ſi.

W. Swinderby fyrſt examined.

Denoūcers of W. Swynderby 3. fryers, Freſby. Hinkby. Blarton.

IN the yeare. 1389. William Swinderby prieſt within the dioces of Lincolne being accuſed and detected vpō certaine opinions, was preſented before Jhon byſhop of Lincolne, & examined vpō certaine articles in the church of Lincolne, after the forme and order of the popes law, according to their vſuall rite obſerued, hys denouncers were theſe: Frier Friſby obſeruant: Frier Hyncley, Auguſtine: & Thomas Blarton Dominican. The Articles wherewith they charged hym, althoughe in forme of woordes as they put them vp, myght ſeeme ſomethyng ſtraunge here to be recited: yet to the entent that all men may ſée, the deſpitefull malice of theſe ſpyder Friers, in ſucking all things to poyſon, and in forgyng that is not true, as in proceſſe (Chriſt willyng) hereof ſhall better appeare by his aunſweres, I thought here good to notifye the ſame.

That men may aſke their debtes by charitie, but in no maner for debt to enpriſon any mā: and that he ſo impriſonyng is accurſed.

That if pariſhners do knowe their curate to be a lechour incontinent, and an euill man: they ought to with drawe from hym their tythes, or els they be fautours of hys ſinnes.

That, tythes purely be almoſe, and in caſe that Curates be euill men, the ſame may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an euill curate to curſe his ſugette for with holdyng of tythes: is nothyng els, but to take with extortion wickedly and vnduely from them their money.

That, no prelate may curſe a man, except he knowe before that he is curſed of God.

That euery prieſt may abſolue any ſinner beyng contrite (and is bound notwithſtandyng the inhibition of the Byſhop) to preache the Goſpell vnto the people.

That a prieſt takyng any annuall penſion vpon cōuenaunt, is in ſo doyng a ſimoniacke and accurſed.

That any prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne, if he geue him ſelfe to conſecrate the body of the Lord, he committeth idolatrie, rather then doth conſecrate.

That no prieſt entreth into any houſe, but to euill entreat the wife, the daughter, or mayd. And therfore he admoniſhed the goodmā of the houſe, to take hede what prieſt he let into his houſe.

An other concluſion falſely to him obiected. That a childe is not truly baptiſed, if the prieſt that baptiſeth, or the Godfather, or Godmother be in deadly ſinne.

Itē, that no man liuyng agaynſt the law of God is a prieſt, how euer he were ordeyned prieſt of any byſhop.

These Articles or concluſions vntruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited agaynſt him by the Friers in the byſhop of Lincolnes court. The whiche Articles although he neuer preached, taught or at any time defēded, as appeareth more in the proces folowyng: yet the friers with their witneſſes ſtandyng foorth agaynſt hym, declared hym to be conuict: bryngyng alſo drye woode with them to the towne to burne him, and woulde not leaue hym, before he made them promiſe and ſware for feare of death neuer to holde them, teach them, nor preach them, priuely, nor apertly vnder payne of relapſe: and that he ſhould go to certaine churches to reuoke the foreſayd cōcluſions, whiche he neuer affirmed. As firſt in the church of Lincolne, then in S. Margaretes church at Leiceſter. Alſo in S. Martines church in Leyceſter, and in our Ladies churches at Newarke: and in other pariſh churches alſo, of Melton Moubray, of Halughton, Hareburgh, & Lenthburgh. Which penance beyng to him inioyned, he did obediently accompliſhe: with this forme of reuocation, which they bound him vnto, vnder theſe wordes.

Swinder cōpelled the friers abiure

The reuocation of William Swynderby wherunto he was forced by the Fryers.

The forced abiuration of W. Swinderby.

I William Swynderby prieſt, although vnworthye, of the dioces of Lincolne, acknowledging one true catholique, and apoſtolique fayth of the holy church of Rome, do abiure all hereſie & errour repugning to the determinacion of the holy mother church, wherof I haue been hetherto infamed, namely the concluſions & articles aboue prefixed, and euery one of them to me iudicially obiected, by the Commiſſarye of the reuerend father in Chriſt & Lord, L. John by the grace of God byſhop of Lincolne: and do reuoke the ſame, and euery one of them, ſome as hereticall, ſome as erroneous, and falſe, and do affirme and beleue them to be ſo, and hereafter will neuer teach, preach, or affirme publiquely or priuely the ſame. Neyther will make any ſermon within the dioces of Lincolne, but aſking firſt and obteyning the licence, of the foreſayd reuerend father and L. the byſhop of Lincolne. Contrary to ye which if I ſhall preſume hereafter, to ſay or do, to hold or preach: I ſhall be content to abyde the ſeueritie of the Canon, as I haue iudicially by the neceſſitie of the law, ſworne: and do ſweare, &c.

Thus haue you the concluſions and articles of this good man, falſely obiected to hym by the malitious and lyeng Fryers: and alſo the retractation, wherunto they by force compelled him: wherby it may likewiſe be coniectured, what credit is to be geuen to the articles & concluſions, which theſe cauling friers wraſting all things to the worſt, haue obiected and imputed both to Wickleffe and all other of that ſorte, whom they ſo falſely doe infame, ſo ſlanderouſly do belie, & ſo maliciouſly do perſecute. After theſe things thus done and wrought in the dioces of Lincolne: it ſo be fell, the ſayd W. Swynderby to remoue to the dioces and countrey of Herforde. Where, he was as much, or more moleſted by the friers agayne, and by John Treſnant byſhop of Herford, as by the proceſſe and ſtorye here enſueng, ſet out at large out of their own regiſters, may appeare.

Here followeth the proceſſe of Iohn Treſnant biſhop of Hereford had againſt the aforeſaid William Swinderbie in the cauſe of hereticall prauitie, as the popyſhe heretikes call it.

Proces of the B of Herford againſt W. Swinderby.

The floriſhing inuocation of Gods name.

THe glorious name of the prince of peace, & his counſell (whoſe counſellour no man is, and whoſe prouidence in his diſpoſition is neuer deceaued) being inuocated: To all and ſinguler beleuers of Chriſte, which ſhall ſee or heare this our proceſſe vnderwritten, John by the ſufferaunce of God biſhop of Hereford: greeting, & peaceable charitie in the Lord. For as much as God ye creator of all things, the keper of Juſtice, the louer of ryght, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his prouidēce the ſonnes of mē, now through the fall of their firſt father, prone and declinyng to diſhoneſt and filthy and deteſtable miſchiefes, and to kepe vnder their malice (which wicked tranſgreſſiō did firſt gender) hath appointed diuers preſidentes of the worlde ſtabliſhed in ſundry degrées, by whom and their circumſpecte prouidence, mans audacitie ſhould be reſtrained, innocencye ſhould be nouriſhed amongſt ye good, and terror ſhould be ſtriken into the wicked not to deceaue: alſo that their power to hurt, and their inſolencie ſhoulde be bridled in all places. And wheras amongeſt many kindes of cares which come to our thoughtes, by the dutye of the office committed vnto vs, we are ſpeciallye bounde to extende our ſtrength, chiefly that the catholike fayth maye proſper in our times, and hereticall prauitye maye be roted from out of the bordees of the faythfull: We therefore being excited through the information of manye credible & faythfull Chriſtians of our dioces, to roote out peſtiferous plantes, as ſheepe diſeaſed with an incurable ſickenes, going aboute to infect the whole and ſounde flocke, are by the care of the ſhepheard to bee remoued from the flocke, that is to ſay, preachers, or more trulye execrable offenders of the new ſect, vulgarely called Lolardes, which vnder a certaine cloked ſhewe of holynes, running abroade thorow diuers places of our dioceſſe, and endeuouring to cut a ſunder the Lordes vnſowed coate, that is to ſay, to rent the vnitie of the holy church, and of the Catholike fayth, and alſo to teare in peeces with their tempeſtious blaſts the power of S. Peter, that is to ſay, to weaken the ſtrēgth of the eccleſiaſticall ſtates

Lollardes, by the popes interpretation is a worde deriued of Lollium.

They counterfaict in the prophets wordes, as apes do in princes apparel

Who expoundeth the ſcripture more after the leter, let the reader iudge by *Hoc eſt corpus meum.*

and degrees, and the determination of the ſame holye church, haue wickedly preſumed and doo preſume from day to day to ſpeake, to teache, to mayntayne (and that which is more horrible to be vttered) to preache openlye many thinges hereticall, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes, & ſclaunderous diffaminges, euen quite contrarye to the ſacred Canons & decrees of the holy fathers: ſo that they know not to direct their pathes in the waies of rightuouſnes & truth, in that, that they expound to the people the holye ſcripture, as the letter ſoundeth, after a Iudaicall ſorte, otherwyſe then the holy ghoſt wyll needes haue it: wher as the wordes wander from their proper ſignifications, and appeare to bring in by geſſing new meanings: wher as the wordes muſt not be iudged by the ſenſe that they make, but by the ſenſe whereby they be made, where as the conſtruction is not bound to Donates rules: wher as fayth is farre placed from the capacitye of reaſon: But they labour by their pernicious doctrines and teachings publike and priuy, to boyle out the poyſon of ſchiſmes betwene the Clergy and the people. We to encounter againſt ſuch kinde of preachers, nay rather deceiuers, & horrible ſeducers amongſt the people, aduauncing and rowzing vp our ſelues in Gods behalfe, and holye mother church, with the ſpirituall ſword, which may ſtrike them wyſely, and wound them medicinably, for theyr health & welfare: and namely W. Swinderby prieſt (ſo pretending himſelfe to be) as a teacher of ſuche kynde of pernicious doctrine, and an horrible ſeducer amongeſt the people: to whom perſonally appearing before vs on the Wedenſday, to wyt, the .xiij. of the moneth of Iune, in the pariſhe churche of Kington of our dioceſſe, in the yeare of our Lord. 1391. he being vehemently diffamed to vs of hereſy, ſchiſme, and his peruerſe doctrines, both manifeſt and priuy: We therefore haue cauſed manye caſes and articles concerning the catholike fayth to be miniſtred vnto him, that he ſhoulde anſwer to the ſame at a day and place for him meete and conuenient, of his own choyce and freewill: that is to ſay, on the Fridaye being the laſt of the ſame moneth of Iune, next following aſſigned to him, at the Church of Bodenham of the ſame our dioceſſe. Of which caſes and articles exhibited vnto vs, by many of Chriſts faithful people, *zelous followers of the catholicke fayth to make information to our office (which caſes and articles alſo were by vs adminiſted, as is before ſayd, to the ſame Williã Swinderby) the tenor thereof foloweth and is thus.

If ſuch medicines ſhould be miniſtred to you, ye would can your Phiſition litle thank

An. 1391

*Such as wer in Queene Maries dayes, as Iohn Beard, Iohn Auales, Robin Papiſt, and other like murtherers

¶ Reuerẽd father and high Lord, Lord Iohn by Gods ſufferaunce Byſhop of Herford: It is lamentably declared to your reuerẽd fatherhood on the behalfe of Chriſts faithfull people your deuoute children of your dioces of Herford: that notwithſtanding the miſbeliefe of very many lollardes, whiche hath to long a tyme ſprong vp here in your dioces, there is newly come a certeine childe of wickednes, named Williã Swinderby: who by his horrible perſuaſions, and miſcheuous endeuours, and alſo by his open preachyngs, & priuate teachyngs, doth peruert, as much as in him is, the whole eccleſiaſticall ſtate, and ſturreth vp withall hys poſſible power, ſchiſme betwene the clergy and the people. And that your reuerend fatherhode may be the more fully informed, who & what maner of man, the ſame William Swinderby is: there be propoſed and exhibited hereafter to the ſame your fatherhode on the behalfe of the ſame faythfull people of Chriſt agaynſt the ſame Williã Swynderby, caſes and articles. Which if the ſame William ſhall deny, then ſhal the ſame caſes and articles moſt euidently be proued agaynſt hym by credible witneſſe worthy of belief, and by other lawfull proofe and euidẽcies to the end that thoſe being proued, the ſame fatherhoode of yours, may do and ordeyne therein, as to your paſtorall office belongeth.

Lord lord, a latine ſtile of their own makyng.

The denunciation of the promoters to the B. of Hereford.

Matter articulated againſt W. Swinderby.

¶ In primis, The ſame William Swynderby pretendyng him ſelfe prieſt, was openly and publicquely conuicted of certeine Articles and concluſions beyng erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, and hereticall, preached by him at diuers places and tymes before a multitude of faithfull chriſtian people. And the ſame articles and concluſions did he by force of law reuoke and abiure, ſome as hereticall, and ſome as erroneous and falſe. Auouchyng and beleuing them for ſuch, as that frõ thenceforth he would neuer preach, teache, or affirme openly or priuily any of ẏ ſame concluſions. And if by preachyng or auouching he ſhould preſume to do the cõtrary: that then he ſhould be ſubiect to the ſeueritie of the Canons, accordyngly as hee dyd take a corporall othe, iudicially vpon the holy Goſpels.

2 Alſo the concluſions, whiche by the ſame William were firſt openly taught and preached, and afterward abiured, and reuoked as is aforeſayd: are conteined before in the proceſſe of the B. of Lincolne, euen as they be there written worde by worde. And as for the caſes and articles, they were conſequently exhibited by the forenamed faithfull chriſtian people againſt the ſayd William Swynderby together, with the concluſions beforeſayd and hereafter written: of whiche caſes and Articles the tenour hereafter enſueth.

3 Item, the ſayd William, contrary to the former reuocation and abiuratiõ, not conuerting to repentance, but peruerted from ill to worſe, and geuen vp into a reprobate ſenſe: came into your dioces, where, he runnyng about in ſondrye places hath preſumed to preach or rather to peruert and to teach of his owne raſhnes many hereticall, erroneous, blaſphemous, and other ſlaunderous thinges contrary and repugnant to the ſacred Canons & the determination of the holy catholique church. What thoſe thinges were, at what place and at what tyme, it ſhall hereafter more perticularly be declared.

4 Item, the ſame William, notwithſtanding your cõmaundementes & admonitions ſealed with your ſeale, and to all the Curates of your dioces directed: conteyning amongſt other thinges, ẏ no perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he were, ſhoulde preſume to preach or to teach, or els to expound the holy Scripture to the people either in hallowed or prophane places within your dioces, without ſufficient autoritie, by any maner of pretenſe that coulde be ſoughte, as in the ſame your letters monitorie & of inhibition (the tenor wherof hereafter enſueth) is more largely conteyned: which letters, the ſame William did receiue into hys hands, and dyd read thẽ word by word in the towne of Monemouth of your dioces, in the yeare of our Lord. 1390. ſo that theſe your letters, and the contentes therof came to the true and vndoubted knowledge of the ſame William: yet notwithſtanding hath the ſame William preſumed in diuerſe places and tymes, to preach within the ſame your dioces, after and againſt your commaundements aforeſayd. The tenour of the ſame letters before mentioned followeth and is thys.

The lette monitory of the B. o Herford i hibiting prech wi out hys li cence,

IOhn by the ſufferance of God biſhop of Hereford, to the Deane and Chapter of our church of Hereford, and to all and ſingulare Abbots, Pryours, Prouoſtes, Deanes rurall, Perſons, and vicars of Monaſteries, Priories, Churches, Colledges & pariſhes, and to other hauing cure of ſoules within the citie and dioces of Hereford, and to all and euery other being within the ſame citie and dioces, Greting, grace, and bleſſing. Forasmuch as the golden laurell of teaching doctoral, is not from aboue indifferently euery mans gift, neyther is the office of preaching graunted, ſaue to ſuch as are called, and ſpecially by the church admitted therunto: we do admoniſhe and requyre you all and ſingulare clerkes aforeſaid, and do ſtraightlye enioyne you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admitte any man to preach or to teach the catholique fayth, ſauing ſuch as the ſame office of preaching ſhall by the authoritie apoſtolicall or els your byſhop be ſpecially cõmitted vnto: but that as much as in you ſhall lye, you do by word and dede labour to let thoſe ẏ would attempt the contrary. And you Lordes, Ladyes, Knightes, Barons, Eſquiers, and all & ſingular perſons, of what eſtate, degre, preheminence, or condition ſoeuer he be, remayning within the citie and dioces of Hereford, we do beſech and exhorte in our Lorde, that following the wordes of our Sauiour, you beware of the leauen of the Phariſies. Item, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, be not ye caryed away with diuers & ſtraũge doctrines: and that in the meane while, as ſayth the Apoſtle you be not remoued frõ the ſenſe of the holy auncient fathers, leaſt that any man by any meanes ſhould ſeduce you, but you agreing together in one minde ſee that you honour God with one mouth. But if any

Would go both they and al m did bewa of that le uen.

men, to whom that thyng is not ſpeciallye (as is aforeſayd) cõmitted, ſhall attempt to inſtruct or in thys your lyſe to direct you into the catholique fayth: do ye denie to geue thẽ audience, & refuſe you to be preſent at theyr aſſemblies, & ſhun ye their teachings, becauſe they be wicked & peruerſe? And as for vs, we will not omitte to procede accordingly to the ſacred Canons, and precepts of the holy fathers, agaynſt ſuch as doe the contrary. Dated at London in the houſe of our habitation vnder our ſeale, the laſt day ſaue one of December, in ẏ yere of our Lord. 1389. and of our conſecratiõ the firſt.

5 ¶ Itẽ, the ſame William in his preachyng to the people, on monday beyng the firſt of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord a thouſand thrée hundreth and ninety in the pariſh of Whitney of your dioces, did hold & affirm: That no prelate of the world, of what eſtate, preheminence or degree ſoeuer he were of, hauyng cure & charge of ſoule, he beyng in deadly ſinne, & hearyng the cõfeſſion of any vnder his hand in geuing him abſolucion, doth nothyng: As who neither doth looſe hym from his ſinne, nor in correcting or excõmunicatyng him for his demerites, doth bynde him by his ſentence, excepte the prelate ſhall bee free himſelf from deadly ſinne, as S. Peter was, to whõ our Lord gaue power to bynde and to looſe.

his is one Wicklifs niſhes.

6 Item, the ſame William in many places ſayd and affirmed in the preſence of many faithfull chriſtian people, that after the ſacramentall woordes vttered by the prieſt hauing ẏ purpoſe to conſecrate: there is not made the very body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the aulter.

7 Item, that accidencies cannot bee in the ſacrament of the altar without a ſubiect: and that there remaineth materiall bread there to ſuche as be pertakers cõmunicant wyth the body of Chriſt in the ſame ſacrament.

d be aneth in ſtance.

8 Item that a prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne, cãnot be hable by the ſtrength of the Sacramentall words, to make the body of Chriſt, or bryng to perfection any other Sacrament of the churche, neither yet to miniſter it to the members of the churche.

9 Item, that all prieſtes are of like power in all things, notwithſtandyng that ſome of them, in this worlde are of higher, and greater honour, degrée, or preheminence.

10 Item, that onely contricion putteth away ſinne, if ſo be that a man ſhalbe duely contrite: and that, all auricular and outward confeſſiõ is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſitie to ſaluation.

11 Item, inferiour Curates haue not their power of bynding & looſing mediatly from the pope or the biſhop, but immediatly frõ Chriſt. And therfore, neither cã the pope nor byſhop, reuoke to them ſelues ſuch kynd of power, when they ſee tyme and place at their luſt and pleaſure.

12 Item, that the pope cannot graunt ſuch kinde of annuall and yearely pardons, becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many yeares to the day of iudgemẽt, as are in the popes Bulles or pardons conteyned. Wherby it foloweth, that the pardons are not of ſuch value as they ſpeake of, and prayſed to be.

13 Item, it is not in the popes power to graunt vnto any perſon penitent, forgeuenes of the puniſhment or of the faulte.

14 Itẽ, that perſon that geueth his almes to any, which in hys iudgement is not in neceſſitie, dothe ſinne in ſo geuyng it.

15 Item, that it ſtandes not in the power of any prelate of what religion ſoeuer he be of, priuatly to geue letters for ẏ benefite of his order, neither doth ſuch benefite graũted, profite them to the ſaluation of theyr ſoule, to whom they be graunted.

16 Itẽ, that the ſame William vnmyndefull of his own ſaluation, hath many and oftẽtimes come into a certein deſert wood, called Deruald woode of your dioceſſe, and there in a certeyne chappell not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cotage: hath in contẽpt of ẏ keyes, preſumed of his own raſhnes to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17 Itẽ, the ſame William hath alſo preſumed to do ſuch things in a certaine prophane chappell beyng ſituate in the parke of Newton nighe to the towne of Leyntwardin of the ſame your dioces.

¶ Vpon Friday, beyng the laſt of the moneth of Iune, in the yeare aboue ſayd, about vi. of the clocke, in the ſayd pariſh church of Bodenhon, hath the ſayd williã Swinderby, perſonally appeared before vs. And he willyng to ſatiſfie the terme to hym aſſigned as is before ſpecified, hath read out, word by word, before all the multitude of faithfull chriſtian people, many aunſwers made and placed by the ſame william (in a certaine paper booke of the ſheete folded into foure partes) to the ſayd articles, and the ſame aunſweres for ſufficient hathe he reallye to vs exhibited: aduouchyng them to be agreable to the law of Chriſt. whiche thyng beyng done, the ſame williã (without any mo with him) did depart frõ our preſẽce, becauſe that we, at the inſtance of certeine noble perſonages, had promiſed to the ſame william free acceſſe, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibityng of thoſe aũſwers, and alſo free departyng without prefixing of anye terme, or without citation, or els any other offence or harme in body or in goodes.

¶ As for the tenour of the ſame anſweres, exhibited vnto them by the ſame William, as is before ſpecified: we haue here vnder annexed worde by worde, and in his the ſame olde language, vſed at that tyme, when it was exhibited. And foloweth in theſe wordes.

¶ *The proteſtacion of W. Swynderby wyth his anſwers to the* articles by the promoters, layd againſt him to the biſhop of Herford, taken out of the Regiſters in the ſame old Engliſh wherein he wrote it.

In the name of God Amen. I William Swinderby prieſte vnworthye, counting and purpoſing wholye with all my hart to be a true Chriſtian man, with open confeſſion knowledging myne open defaultes and vnwiſe deedes: making openlye this proteſtation, cleppyng God to record here before our worſhipful biſhop Iohn, through the ſufferance of God, biſhop of Hereford, with witnes of all this people: that it is not mine entent anything to ſay or affirme, to maintaine or to defende, that is contrarye to holye wryt, againſt the beliefe of holye church, or that ſhould offend the holy determination of chriſts church, or the true ſentences of holy doctors. And if I haue here before through mine vncunning, ben vnordred, or by euil cõuſel ben deceiued, or any thing ſayd, preached, holdẽ, maintayned or taught, cõtrary to ẏ law of God: wholy and fully for that time for now and euer with full will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as eueriche Chriſten man ſhoulde: Praying and beſeching ech chriſten man, to whom this writing ſhall come to, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I doo) or euer erred in any point, contrary to holy wryt, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought ſayde. And all the trothes that I haue ſayd according with the lawe of God, that they maintaine them, and ſtande by them for lyfe or death to Gods worſhip, as true chriſten men ſhould, ſubmitting me mekely to the correction of our Byſhop that here is, or of anye other Chriſten man, after Chriſtes lawes and holy wryt: In wyll euer redy to be amended, and with this proteſtatiõ I ſay and anſwer to theſe concluſions and articles that here followen after, the which bene put to me to anſwer to.

The proteſtation of W. Swinderby with hys aunſweres.

The firſt is this: that I William of Swynderby pretending (he ſayth) my ſelfe a prieſt, was iudicially conuẽted of certain articles, and concluſions of errour, falſe, ſchiſmatick, and hereſy, by me in diuers places & times preached (he ſayth) before multitudes of the true Chriſtẽ men: and the ſame articles and concluſions by neede of law reuoked and forſworne, ſome as hereſies, and ſome as errours and falſe: and ſuche I affirmed and beleued them to be. And that none of them from that tyme forth I ſhould preach, teach or affirme, openly or priuelye, ne that I ſhould make no ſermon to the people, ne preache but by lawfull leaue aſked & gotten. And if I would preſume in doing or affirming ẏ cõtrary thẽ to ẏ ſeuerity of ẏ law, I ſhuld be buxom, as by nede of the law I ſwore.

1. Obiection.

To this I ſay, witneſſing God that is in heauen, to my wit and vnderſtanding, that I neuer preached, helde ne taught theſe concluſions and articles, the which falſly of Friers were put vpon me, and of lecherous prieſtes to the biſhop of Lincolne. For I was ordeined by proceſſe *per ſaid, of their law, by the biſhop and his cōmiſſaries, ſo as I grāted them to bring my purgation of, 13. prieſtes of good fame. And ſo I did, with a letter and, xij ſeales thereby, from the Maior of Leyceter, and from true Burgeſes, and. xxx. men to witnes with me, as the Duke of Lancaſter knew and heard, the Earle of Darby, and other many great men that werne that time in the towne, that I neuer ſayd them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I ſhould haue made my purgatiō ther ſtooden forth v. friers or mo, that ſome of thē neuer ſaw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous prieſts openly knowen, ſome liuyng in their lecherye twentye yeare (men ſayden) or more, as by their childer was opēly knowen. Some of theſe they clepinden, denounciations, and ſome weren clepped comprobations, that weren there falſly forſworen, they ſuing buſily and crying with many an other Friar, with great inſtance to geue the dome vpon me, to burne me: and boughten dry wood before, as men tolden in that towne: and theſe ſleyghtes and ſwearing and money gēuing, as men ſayden, with fauour of the biſhop (by what law I wot not, but ſothly not by Gods law) they ſayden they helde me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgation. So as I fully forſooke them, and neuer graunted that I ſayde them. Ouer this they made me ſweare neuer to holde them, teach them, ne preach them, priuelye ne apertlye: and that I would go to certaine churches to reuoke the concluſions that I neuer ſayd, in ſclaunder of my ſelfe, by great inſtance of the Friers. And ſo for dred of death and for fleſhly counſell that I had, I aſſented, and ſo I did. And alſo they maden me to ſweare, that I ſhoulde not preache (by inſtance of the Friers) within that dioceſſe, withouten lycence aſked and graunted, and neuer ſithen I did. And now the ſame concluſions bene rehearſed to me againe: whether by Friers counſell I wil not deme, God wot, but in ſclaunder of me it is: and therefore I wyll anſwer now (with Gods helpe) to the concluſions. Of the which the firſt is this.

*Yer ſayd that as beforeſayd,

Witneſſes with Willia Swinderby, 13. prieſtes and 30. other wyth the letter of the mayor of Leyceſter, and Burgeſes with 12. ſeales.

The chaſtity of Votaries to be noted.

1. Concluſion.

That men mowen aſken their debts by charity, but in no maner for debt to enpriſon anye man: and that he ſo empriſoning, is accurſed.

Aunſwer. How det is to be purſued.

So ſaid I not: but thus I haue ſayde, & yet ſay with proteſtation put before: that who ſo purſues his brother with malice, priſoneth him cruelly for det without mercy that fain would pay it if he might: he ſinneth againſt Chriſtes teachyng, eſtote miſericordes, ſicut pater veſter miſericors eſt.

2. Concluſion.

The ſecōd concluſion, that falſe friers and lecherous prieſtes putten vpon me was this: that if the parochiens knowen her curate to bene a lechoure, incontinent, and an euill man: they owen to withdraw from him tithe, & els they bene fauters of his ſinnes.

Aunſwere

Thus I ſaid not, but on this wiſe, and yet I ſay with proteſtation put before: that if it be knowē openly to the people, that perſons or curates come to her benefice by Simony, and liuen in notory fornication, and done not their office and her dueties to her perochiens by good enſample of holye life, in true preaching, lyuing and reſidence, wending away from his cure, occupied in ſecular office: he owes nought to haue of the perochiens, tithes, ny offrings, ny hem owes not to hold him for her curate, ny hem owes not to geuen him tithes, leſt they bene gultye to god of conſent and maintenyng of her open ſinne Nemo militans deo, implicat ſe negotijs ſecularibus, 1.q.1.ca.quiſquis per pecuniam, & diſt.80.ca.Si quis.

3. Concluſion.

The third concluſiō was this, that friers and prieſts putten vpon me, that tithes purely bene almeſſes: And in caſe that curates bene euill men, they mowen leefullye bene geuen to other men, by temporall lordes, and other temporalties bene done away from men of the churche, actually and openly treſpaſſing.

Aunſwer

This I ſaid not in theſe termes, but thus I ſay with proteſtation made before: that it were medefull and leful to ſecular lordes by way of charitie, and power geuen to hem of god, in default of prelates that amend not by gods law, curſed curates that opēly miſuſen ẏ goods of holy church, that bene poore mens goodes and cuſtomably againſt the law of god: the which poore mē, lords bene holden to maintayn and defend, to take away and withdraw from ſuche curates, poore mens goodes, the which they wrongfully holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offringes, and their bodelye almes deedes, and geue them to ſuch that duely ſerue God in the church, and bene needye in vpbearing of the charge that prelates ſhoulden do, and done it not. Alter alterius onera portate & ſic adimplebitis legem Chriſti. And as anentes taking away of temporalties, I ſay thus with proteſtation made before: that it is leefull to kinges, Princes, Dukes, and Lordes of the world to take away fro Popes, Cardinals, fro Biſhops and Prelates, poſſeſſions in the churche, their temporalities, and their almes that they haue geuen them, vpon condicion they ſhoulden ſeruen God the better, when they verelye ſene that their geuing and their taking bene contrary to the law of God, to Chriſtes liuing and his Apoſtles: & namely in that, that they taken vpon them (that ſhoulden be next followers of Chriſt and hys Apoſtles in poorenes and mekenes) to be ſecular Lordes: againſt the teaching of Chriſt and Saint Peter. Luc. xxii. Reges gentium. Et i.Pet.v. Neq; dominantes in clero. And namelye when ſuch temporalties maken them the more proud, both in hart and in araye, then they ſhoulden bene els, more in ſtrife and debate againſt peace and charity, and in euill enſample to the world more to be occupied in worldlye buſines. Omnē ſolicitudinem proiicientes in eum. And drawes them from the ſeruice of God, from edifieng of Chriſts church, in empoueriſhing and making leſſe the ſtate and the power of kinges, princes, Dukes, & Lords that God hath ſet them in: in wrongful oppreſſing of cōmons for vnmightfulnes of realmes: For Paule ſayth to men of the Church (whoſe lore, Prelates ſhoulden ſouerainly followen) Habentes victum & veſtitum, hiis cōtenti ſimus.

4. Conclu.

The fourth concluſion is this, that Friers & prieſtes putten vpon me falſly: that an euill Curate curſing his Soget for withholding of tithes, is noughte els, but to take wyth extortion wyckedlye and vnduelye money from them.

Aunſwer. Here may you ſee th falſhode o the papiſt gathetyng articles againſt goo mē, which they neue ſaid not ment.

Thus ſaid I not, but thus I ſaid, and yet doo wyth proteſtation made before: that an euil Curat curſing his parochiens, vnmigty to pay their tithing, with vengeaunce without pity, for his ſingular worldly winning againſt charity, and not for heede of their ſoules, ther he is holde by his power reaſonably to helpe his needy parochiens, and doth nought of the goods of the churche: wickedly and vnduely he withholdes frō them, ẏ which is due to them by the law of God. Dimittite, & dimittetur vobis; date, & dabitur vobis: verū mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit dominus.

5. Conclu.

The fift concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſtes falſely putten vpon me: that no man maye curſe anye man, but if he wete him curſed of God, ne the commers wyth hym rennen not into ſentence of curſing in anye manner.

Aunſwere

Thus ſaid I not, but thus I ſayd, and ſay with proteſtation put before: that no man ought to curſe anye man, but for charitie, and with charitie. Omnia veſtra cum charitate fiant. And ſikerly I ſay, that no wrongful curſing of pope or any prelate in earth, bindes *anentes God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly curſen men

*Againſt

men, for that men will not do their ſingular will, vnreaſonable bidding, with highnes of hart and cruelty (ſtandyng pacience and charitye in them that they curſen wrongfully) he is bleſſed of almightye God, and they thē ſelfe ben curſed. Math. 5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines, &c. Et in Pſalmo: Maledicent illi, et tu benedices. Et Auguſtinus. xi. q. iii. cap. illud.

Conclu. The ſixt concluſion is this, that Friers and prieſtes putten vpon me falſely: that eche prieſt may aſſoile hym that ſinneth, contrition had: and not withſtanding forbiddinges of the Biſhop, is *holden to preach to the people the Goſpell.

*Holden, at is, bound.

ſwer. Thus I ſayd not, but thus I ſayd, and yet ſay with a proteſtation made before: that yche true prieſt maye counſaile ſinfull men, that ſhewen to hem her ſinnes, after the witte and cunning that God had geuen hym, to turne fro ſinne to vertuous lyfe. And as touching preaching of the Goſpell, I ſay that no B. owes to let a true prieſt, that God had geuen grace, witte, and cunning to do that office: for both prieſtes and deacons, that God had ordeynet deacons and prieſtes, ben holden by power geuē hem of God to preach to the people the goſpell, and namely and ſomely, popes, byſhops, prelates, & curates: For this is due to the people and perochiens, for to haue and aſke of hem, and they dulie & freely owen to done it. Math. 5. Luc. 5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Math. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuerſum, Et Math. 5. Euntes autem predicate. Et diſt. 21. ca. In nouo teſtamēto. Et yſidor. de ſummo bono. 44. Et Chriſoꝰ, diſtinc. 34. ca. Nolite. Et Augꝰ, diſtinc. 34. ca. Quiſquis. Et Greg. in ſuo paſturalj, ca. 38. Et in Tollitano ca. ignorantia. Et Ieroꝰ. diſtin. 95. cap. Ecce Ego.

Conclu. The vij. concluſion is thys, that friers and prieſtes falſely putten vpō me, that a prieſt taking any thyng for annuell, through couenaunt: in that, hy is ſciſmaticke and curſet.

ſwer, Thus ſaid I, neuer in theſe termes: But thus I ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before: that no prieſt owes to ſell by bargayning and couenaunt, hys goſtlye trauaile, ne hys maſſes, ne hys prayers, ne Gods word, ne halowinges, baptiſme, ne confirming, order geuing, for weddinges, for ſhryfte, for houſell, or for enoynting, any worldly mens reward to aſke or take for theſe or for any of theſe, or for any goſtly thing, he errs, and does ſimonie. Vt patet 1. q 2. ca. Nullus. Et ex cōſilio Triburenti, capit. Dictum eſt. Et Chriſtus in euangelio vendentes, et ementes eiecit de templo. Math. 22.

Conclu. The viij. concluſion is this, that fryers and prieſtes putten vnto me falſely, ſaying that I beleue ſadlye as my ſell ſayes: that yche prieſt being in deadly ſinne yef he put hym to make Chriſtes body, rather he dos idolatrye then makes it.

ſwer. Thus ſayd I not, but thus I ſayd, and yet ſay with a proteſtation put before: that what prieſt that puts him ſelf preſumptuouſlye & vnworthely in deadly ſinne, wittingly to miniſter and to receaue that holy ſacrament, & ſo recordes hit curſedly & damnablye, he receaues hys dome. Qui manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium ſibi manducat & bibit. 1. Corin. 11.

Conclu. The ix. concluſion is this, that friers and prieſts falſely putten vpon me: that no prieſts entres into any houſe but euill for to treate the wife, the daughter, or ẏ wenche: and therefore they ſayden, that I prayed the people that their huſbandes ſhould beware, that they ſuffer no prieſt to enter into her houſe.

ſwer. And if I had ſayd thus, then had I prayed agaynſt my ſelf, for I come oft into mens houſes: But thus I ſaid, and yet I do, praying Chriſtenmen to beware that they norishe nor maintaine no lecherous prieſts in their ſinnes: for there be where (as men wel knowen) they ben maintayned in many places, continuyng homely with her women. And iche men there ſayn they payen therfore a certayne to the B. almes. Et ideo ait yſodoꝰ. xi. q. 4. Qui conſentit peccantibꝰ et defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud deum et homines.

10. Concluſion. The x. concluſion is this, that friers and prieſtes putten vpon me falſely: that a childe is not verely baptiſed, if the prieſt that baptiſeth, the godfather, or the godmother, ben in deadly ſinne.

Aunſwere. God wot in heauen they ſayd full falſe: but thus I ſayd, and yet I ſay: that the prayers that an euill prieſt prayes (liuyng in lechery or other deadly ſinne) ouer the childe when it ſhalbe folowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good prieſt. And the better and clenner the prieſt is, the Godfather, and the Godmother, the more gratiouſly God will heare hem, yf all they been not greateſt nor moſt riche in this world. Vnde gg. xiij. q. vij. cap. in grauibus. Cum is qui diſplicet ad intercedendū peccator admittitur, irati animus procul dubio ad deteriora prouocatur.

11. Concluſion. The xi. concluſion is this, that Freers and prieſtes putten vpon me falſly: that no man, liuyng agaynſt the law of God is a prieſt, how euer he were ordeyned prieſt of any Biſhop.

Aunſwere. Certes this is falſe, for I ſayd neuer thus in thes termes: but thus I ſayd, and thus I ſay with a proteſtacion put before, that what euery pope, or Cardinall, Byſhop, or prieſt, or any prelate of the churche comes to his ſtate or dignitie by Simony, and in Simonie occupies that office, and holy churches goodes: I ſay that he is a theef, & that by the dome of god, and comes but to ſteale and kil. Iohn. 10. Fur non venit niſi vt furent, & mactet, & perdat. And furthermore I ſay, that what Pope, Cardinall, byſhop, prelate, or prieſt, in maner of liuyng, or teachyng, or lawes makyng, contrary to Chriſtes lyuing & his lawes, or any other grounde putte in rulyng of the church of Chriſt, but by Chriſt & his lawes: is very Antichriſt, aduerſarie to Ieſus Chriſt & his Apoſtels. Aliud fundamentū nemo poteſt ponere, preter id ꝙ poſitū eſt, quod eſt chriſtꝰ. Et patet 1. q. 3. c. Si quis. Et 1. q. 6. c. Ego autē. Quicūqꝫ.

But this worſhipfull father B. of Hereford, that here is, ſayes thus in his writing: that I William of Swinderby, notwithſtandyng the foreſaid reuocation and abiuration (not ſettyng at hart, but from euill to worſe he ſayes, peruerted, ſo hys dioces) he ſays I come running about by diuers places: and by myne owne folly he ſays that I haue preſumet to preach many hereſies, errours, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes, and other defames, and to holye Canons and determination of holy church contrarye & repugnant, which where and when within forthe more ſpecially it ſhal be ſhewed, ẏ ye bene falſly enformed ẏ I haue preſumed in diuers places in your dioces to preach hereſies, errors, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes, & other diffames. And ſire all the countrey knowes whether thys be ſooth or not: for ſire I preſume not, ſythen it is the office of a prieſt, by the law of Chriſt to preach ẏ goſpel: ne nought I dyd it for preſumption, but for the charge that I haue of God by prieſthoode (if all I be vnworthye) and to the worſhyp of God and helpe of Chriſten ſoules, frely without gatheryng of here goods for my preaching. If I erred in this, I wyll be amended. And ſire touching your maundement that ye ſenden to me, there was ſent none. And ſire I made neuer yet diſobedience vnto you, ne to your miniſters: and yet all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God then to you, in that that ye bidden contrary to Chriſtes biddyng. And ſire as ye ſayne, that I had no mynde of my hele, it is to lyghtly demet: for God forbyd, but yet there lye hele more than in your biddyngs. For God wot for hele I dyd it, of myne and of the people, and that was in my mynde. But ſire it ſemes me, ẏ ye charge not by euidence of the puniſhing ſo greatly ẏ breaking of gods heſtes, as ye done of your owne. And ſire if it be your wil, in defaulte that the people wanted, you to teach hem (and her curates did not) by the deſire of the people that weren hungry and thirſty after gods word, ichon to bear vp others charge as gods law bids: I preached, not for diſobediēce to you, but ſyr in fulfilling of yͤ obedience, yͤ gods law bids me do in excuſing of my ſelfe to you of yͤ ye blame me of, in open ſhewyng to holy church, with the proteſtation that I firſte made, I aunſwer thus to the articles that ye haue put to me.

1. Article.

An. 1390

The firſt is this, that I William of Swinderby, the monday the firſt of Auguſt, the yere of our Lord, 1390. preachyng to the people in the churche of Wytteney of your dioces, held and affirmed (as ye ſayne) that no prelate of the world, of what ſtate or degree that he bee, hauyng cure of ſoules, being in deadly ſynne, and hearyng confeſſion of hys ſuget, doos nought in aſſoilyng hym, ne he aſſoyles him not of hys ſynne: and alſo in amendyng his ſuget openly ſinning, and hym for his deſertes curſyng, hys ſentence byndes not, but if that prelate bee as cleane out of deadly ſinne as was S. Peter, to whom our Lord gaue power of binding and vnbindyng.

Note here how the papiſtes vſe falſly to wraſte good mens ſayngs and articles.

Aunſwer.

I neuer thought this ne ſpake thys, ne heard it to the tyme that I ſaw it written in our booke, and that wyll witnes the Lord of the towne that has the ſame ſermon written, and many gentils and other that harden me yͤ day: But thus I ſayd, and thus I ſay with proteſtation put before: that there is no man, pope, ne biſhop, prelate ne curate, that byndes ſoothly, verily and ghoſtlye, but in as much as his bindyng or vnbindyng accords wyth the keyes of heauen, that God gaue to Peter. And as S. Greg. ſayes, that power han they onely, that hold together the enſample of the Apoſtels with here teachyng. Illi ſoli in hac carne poſiti ligandi atq; ſoluendi poteſtatem habent, ſicut ſancti Apoſtoli qui eorum exempla ſimul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto ſententiarum.

The popes byndyng how farre it extendeth.

Greg. lib. 4. Sent.

2. Article.

The ſecond article that is put vpon me is this: that I ſhould haue ſayd, preached, and affirmed, in many places before many true mē of Chriſt: that after the Sacramentall wordes ſayd of the prieſt, hauyng entention of conſecration: that in the Sacrament of Gods body, is not veray Gods body.

And what if he had ſayd it?

Aunſwer.

This ſaid I neuer: God wot, and true men that haue harde me.

3. Article.

The third article is this, that our Biſhop puttes vpō me, that I ſhould haue ſayd in many places, ⁊ affirmet, that accidentes mowe not be in the ſacramēt of the aulter without ſubiect, and that materiall breade leues not there with Gods body in the ſame Sacrament.

Aunſwer.

This concluſion haue I not holdē, ne taught, ne preached: for I haue not medled me of that matter, my wit ſuffiſeth not therto. But here I tell my belief with proteſtacion put before: that yͤ Sacrament of the aulter made by vertue of heauenly wordes, that Chriſt him ſelfe ſayd in the Cene, when he made this Sacrament, that it is bread and Chriſtes body, ſo as Chriſt hym ſelfe ſayes in the Goſpell, and S. Paule ſayes, and as doctours in the common law haue determined to this ſentence. Math. 26 Mar. 14. Luc. 22. Pa. 1. Corrin. 10. & 11. de con. diſtinct. 2. panis. et de conſecra. diſt. 2. Corpus. Iohn. 6. verus panis.

Bread and Chriſtes body in the ſacrament.

4. Article.

The fourth article is this, that our Byſhop accuſeth me of, that I ſhould haue preached about and ſayd: that a prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne, may not by the ſtrength of the Sacramentall wordes make Gods body, or none other Sacrament of the churche, either performe to miniſter them to members of the ſame.

* Alias prefane.

Aunſwer.

Thus I neuer ſaid, thought it, preached it, ne taught it, for well I wot, the wickednes of the prieſt may appayre no veray Sacrament: but the wickednes of the prieſt appayres him ſelfen, and all that boldnes and exāple of his ſin cauſen yͤ people to lyuen the worſe againſt Gods law. Vnde Greg. Et ſi ſacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccādum conuertitur.

The wickednes of the prieſt impayreth no ſacrament.

5. Article.

The fifte article is this, that our Byſhop puts vnto me: that all prieſts been of euen power in all things, notwithſtādyng that ſome in this world been of hygher dignitie or more paſſing in highneſſe of degrée.

Aunſwer.

Equality of prieſtes.

Certes no mā would ſay thus, as I ſuppoſe, no more did I, ne neuer hard it, that I wot of: But thus I ſay wͭ proteſtacion made before, that what prieſt liues moſt holyly next followyng the lawe of God, he is moſt louer of God, and moſt profitable to the church. Yf men ſpekē of worldly power and Lordſhips and worſhips, with other vices that raignen therein, what prieſt that deſires and haſe moſt herof (in what degrée ſo he be) he is moſt Antechriſt of all the prieſtes that ben in earth. Vnde Auguſtinus ad Valerium ſcribens ait, Nihil eſt in hac vita, et maxime hoc tempore facilius et leuius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Epiſcopi, presbiteri, aut decani, officijs: ſed ſi profunctorie aut adulatorie, nihil apud deum miſerabilius aut triſtius et dampnabilius.

Aug. ad Valerium.

6. Article.

The vi. article is this, that onely contrition doos away ſin, if a man be duely contrite: ⁊ all outwarde confeſſion by word is ſuperfluous ⁊ not requiret of nede of health.

Aunſwer.

This concluſion ſayd I neuer that I knowe of. But thus I ſay with proteſtacion put before, that veray contricion of herte, that is neuer without charitie and grace: doos away all ſinnes before done of that man that is veraply contrite. And all true confeſſion made by mouth outwarde to a wiſe prieſt, and a good, profiteth much to man: and it is nedefull and helping, that men ſhew their lyfe to ſuch, truſtyng fully to Gods mercy, and that he forgeues thy ſinne. Vnde Auguſt de conſe. diſtict. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi niſi ſolus Chriſtus, qui eſt agnus, tollens peccata mundi.

Confeſſio

God forge ueth ſinne

Aug. de ſec. diſti 4.

7. Article.

The vij. Article is this: that I ſhould ſay yͤ lower Curates haue not here power of byndyng and aſſoyling, by meane of pope and biſhop, but of Chriſt without money. And therfore neither Pope ne Byſhop may reuoke ſuch manner power, for tyme and place at her will.

Aunſwer.

Thus ſayd I not, but *not for thy it ſemes me thus, that no man ſhould graunt any thyng after hys owne will, goſtly ne bodely. But eueriche man ſhould be well aduiſet, that he graunt nothyng but if it be the will of God that he ſo graunt it. And it is no doubt, that ne God grauntes * by meane perſons, as does Antechriſt to torment Chriſtes people. Vnde et Ioh. xi. ait Pilatus. Neſcis quia poteſtatem habeo dimittere te. Et Chriſtus. Non haberes in me poteſtatem aduerſum vllam, niſi eſſet tibi datum deſuper.

* Not for thy, that is notwithſtanding.

* Some thinge he lacketh in the copy.

8. Article.

The viij. Article that our byſhop puttes to me is this: that I ſhould ſay that the pope may not graunt ſuch maner indulgence of yeares, for there ſhall not be ſo many yeares vnto the day of dome, as ben conteyned in hys Bulles, or in the Popes indulgences: wherof it followes that indulgences ben not ſo much worth as they ſemen and ben preached.

Aunſwer.

This article I ſayd not thus: but I ſay that the pope may graunt indulgences written in his letter of yeares, all ſo farre forth as he may graunt him in Gods law, ſo far to graunt and farther not: yeares may he graunt no mo then God has ſet. Yf indulgence ben forgeueneſſe of ſinne, I wot well all onelye God forgeues ſinne. Yf it be releaſing of paynes in Purgatory ordeynet of God, if God haue beden him releaſe ſo manye, or ordayned that hee ſhoulde releaſe ſo many, he maye then releaſe hem: yf it be in hys owne diſpoſinge to releaſe whome hym likes, and how miche, then he may deſtroy Purgatorie and let none come there and releaſe his owne payne, as charitie wottes. So it ſemes he may be ſiker to be ſaued, if him ſelf liſt. If any go to Purgatory, then it ſemes he full fayles charitie. Yf Bulles ben the indulgence that men bringen from the court, then ben they not ſo much worth, as they coſtē there: for lightly they might be loſt, drenched, or brend, or a rat might eaten them: his indulgence then were loſt. Therefore ſir haue me excuſet, I know not theſe termes: teache me theſe termes by Gods law, and truly I will learne hem.

Againſt pardons.

The ix. Article is this that I ſhoulde haue ſayd: that it is not in the Popes power to graunt to any man (doyng penaunce) remiſſion from payne, ne from blame.

Leude I am, but this Article ſayd I not thus leudly: But thus I ſay, that ſithen it is only due to God to geue and to graunt plenary remiſſion from paynes and from blame: that what euer he be, pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtakes vpon him that power that is onely due to God: in that (in as much as in hym is) he makes hym ſelfe Chriſt, and blaſphemeth in God, as lucifer did, whē he ſayd: Aſcendam et ero ſimilis altiſsimo. Farther I ſay, if the pope hold men of armes, in maintainyng his temporalties and Lordſhip to venge him on hem that gilten and offenden hym, and gyues remiſſion to fight and to ſlay hem that contraryen hem, as men ſayden he did by the Biſhop of Northwiche, not puttyng his ſwerde into his ſheath, as God commaunded Peter. Mitte &c: he is Antichriſtus, for he dos contrary to the commaundementes of Jeſus, that bad Peter forgeue to his brother ſeuenty ſithe ſeuen ſithe. Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies &c. Et Chriſtus: nō dico tibi ſepties, ſed ſeptuageſies ſepties.

The pope accuſed a blaſphemer.

The x. Article is this, that our Byſhop puttes to me ẏ I ſhould haue ſaid: ẏ a man geuing his almes to any mā after his dome (not hauyng nede) ſinnes, in ſo geuing.

This article ſothly I ſaid not in theſe termes: But of this matter I haue ſpoken, and will with proteſtacion made before on this wiſe: ẏ it is medefull to geue almes to yche man that aſketh it bodely or goſtly, but not to geue to yche ſhameles begger, ſtrong and mighty of body, to get his lyfeloode leuefull and will not, in what degrée ſo he be, men owen not to geue it to ſuch a one, that he vnreſonably aſketh, for if he geue it to him wittingly, he ſinnes as fautor of his idlenes. Vnde Sap. 12. Si beneféceris, ſcito cui beneféceris, et erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.

The xi. Article is this, that is put to me, that I ſhould haue ſayd, that it is not in the power of any prelate of what euer priuate religion, to graunt letters of the good dedes of her order, ne ſuch benefices grauntet profites not to hele of ſoules to hem that they ben grauntet to.

I ſayd neuer thus in theſe termes: but thus I ſay with proteſtation, that prelates of priuate religion mowen graunt letters of the good dedes of her order: But the goſtly mede that comes of good dedes, they mowe not graunt, for ẏ is onely propriet to God. And if they blinde the people in miſbeleſe for her worldly winning, witingly beheting hem of her owne graunt goſtly medes in heuen by her letters and her ſeale (vncerteine, who ſhalbe damned) but make the people bolder to ſinne by truſt of here prayers: hit is none heal to the ſoules, but harms to that one and to that other. For God ſhall yeld to echone after here werks. Ipſe reddet vnicuique ſecūdū opera ſua.

The xij. Article is this: that our byſhop puttes to me, that I mony tymes and oft haue come (he ſayes) to a deſerte woode, cleped Derwaldſwode of his dioces: & there in a chappel not hallowed, but accurſet *ſheperds hulke: by mine owne folly he ſayes haue preſumed to ſing (but rather to curſe) in contempt of the keyes.

Hereto I ſay, that this is falſly put vpon me of hem that tolde you this. For it is a chappell where a prieſt ſinges certaine dayes in the yeare, with great ſolemnitie: and certes I neuer ſong therin ſeth I was borne into this world.

The xiij. Article is this, that I ſhould alſo preſume to ſing in an vnhallowet chappel, that ſtondes in the parke of Newton, beſides the towne of Leyntwardy of thys ſame dioces.

Truly I wote not where that place ſtondes.

The xiiij. article is this, that I ſhould ſay that no mā owes to ſweare for any thyng, but ſimply withouten oth to affirme or to deny, and if he ſweare he ſinnes.

This article ſayd I not that I haue mynd of, in this maner. But oft I haue ſayd and yet wil, that mē ſhould not ſweare by any creature by the law of God, and that no man ſhould ſwere in idell, as wellnygh all the people vſeth, and therefore me thinkes it is no nede to comforte the people in ſwearing. For from the old vnto the yong, and namely men of holy churche, breken this heſte, and fewe byſhops purſuen hem therefore.

To ſwere by no creature.

The xv. Article is this, that I ſhould haue taught to true men of Chriſt, that on no maner they ſhould worſhip the image of him that was done on the croſſe, or the image of the bleſſed maide his mother, or of other ſaints in to honour & worſhip of the ſame ordeinet in the minde of them. And oft ſithes, the worſhipper of ſuch image, he has reprouet, ſaying and ſtrōgly affirmyng, that church men ſinnen and done idolatry.

15. Article

This concluſion haue I not ſaid in theſe termes. But this I ſay with proteſtation, that God commaundes in his law in diuerſe places, Exodi. 20. Leuit. 19. & 26, Deute. 5. & 7. Tobiæ. 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Corinth. 10. Eſai. 45. Ier. 2. 6. 8. & 10. 22. & vltimo. Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac. 5. & Threnorum 4. & poſtremo: that mē ſhould not worſhippē grauē images that ben the werkes of mens handes: And alſo he biddes that men ſhould not make to hem grauē images in likenes of the thynges that been in heauen, to that ende to worſhipen hem: ſethen neither God ne Chriſt by hys manhode gaue neuer cōmaundement to make thes images, ne expreſſe counſail, ne his Apoſtles in all hys law, ne to worſhip ſuch that bene made. But wel I wote, that by mens owne relatiō that haue miſbeleuet in hem, that many men ſinnen in maumetrie worſhipping ſuch dead images: *Not for thy, to tho men ben images good to whom they ben but kalendars, & through the ſight of hem they knowen the better and worſhipen oft God and his ſaints. And to ſuch men they done harme that ſetten her hope and truſt in hem or done any worſhip to hem agaynſt Gods law and his heſt. Vnde ait Gregorius in Regiſtro libro 10. in Epiſtola ad Serenum Epiſcopum. Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc ſollicite fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex viſione rei geſtæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius trinitatis proſternantur.

Aunſwere.

Images not to be worſhipped.

*Not for thy. i. notwithſtanding.

Greg. Regiſt. lib. 10.

These concluſions, pointes, and articles that I haue vnder proteſtation, in this booke affirmed: I will ſtande by hem, and maintayne hem (with the grace of almighty God) to the tyme that the contrary be prouet deuly by Gods lawe: And this proteſtation I make for my fayth and my beleife as I did the begynnyng: that when ſoeuer this worſhipfull, or any other Chriſten man ſhewes me veraply by Gods law the contrary of this, I will holy forſake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better vnderſtandyng of wiſer men, redy to be amended by the law of Jeſu Chriſt, and be a true Chriſten man and faithfull ſonne of holy church: And of theſe I beſech you all to bere witnes where ye commen.

Subſequenter vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swynderby latitabat quo minus poſſet in propria perſona citari ipſum Gulihelmum vijs & modis per Edictum publicum ad inſtar albi prætoris in eccleſia noſtra cathedrali Herfordenſi & parochialibus eccleſijs de Kington Croſte, et VVhitney noſtræ diœceſis: vbi idem Guilhelmus ſolebat commorari citari fecimus, prout et quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius, tenor ſequitur in hæc verba.

W. Swinderby keping him ſelf from the B. was cited as followeth.

¶ *The Citation.*

IOhn by Gods permiſſion biſhop of Herefordе, to hys deare ſonnes our Dene of Leamſter, and to the perſons of Croft, Almaly, and Whytney, and alſo to the vicars of Kinſton, Iardeſley, wyggemore, & Monmouth Clifford, & of S. Johns Altar in our Cathedrall churche of Hereford, and to the reſt of the Deanes, Perſons, vicars, Chaplens, pariſh prieſtes, and to other, whoſoeuer in any place are apointed throughe our Citie and dioces of Hereford: ſendeth greting, grace, and benediction.

The tenor of the citation.

We byd and commaund, charging you ſtraitlye, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cauſe to be cited paremptorily (and vnder the payne of excommunication) william Swynderby, pretending hym ſelfe to be a prieſt: That he appere before vs, or our Comiſſaries the xx. day of this preſent moneth of July, at North Lodebury within our dioces, with the continuaunce of the daies following, in other places alſo to be aſſigned vnto him if it be expedient, tyll ſuch thinges as haue bene & ſhalbe layd againſt hym be fullye diſcuſſed, to aunſwer more at large to certayne poſitions and articles, touching the catholike fayth, and the holy mother churches determination, that haue beene exhibited and miniſtred vnto the ſayd william. And to ſee and heare alſo manye thinges that haue openlye in iudgement before vs and a great number of faythfull Chriſtians by him bene euen in writing confeſſed, to be condemned as hereticall, falſe, ſchiſmaticall and erroneous. And to ſee and heare poſitions and articles denyed by the ſayde william, to be proued by faythfull witneſſes and other lawfull trials agaynſt the ſayd william. And to receiue for his falſe, hereticall, erroneous, and ſchiſmaticall doctrine that iuſtice ſhal appoynt, or els to ſhew cauſes why the premiſſes ſhoulde not be done.

And if the ſayd william lieth priuely, or els can not be ſo cited in hys proper perſon: we wyll that in your churches, when moſt people ſhall then come together to diuine ſeruice, you openlye with a loude voyce, and that may be vnderſtanded, cauſe the ſayd william paremtorily to be cited vnto the premiſſes: certefieng the ſame william, that whether he ſhall appeare the day and place appointed or no, we notwithſtanding wyll proceede vnto the premiſſes agaynſt the ſayd william according to the canonicall decrees by forme of law, in the abſence or contumacye of the ſayd william notwithſtanding. we wyll moreouer if the ſayd william ſhall appeare at the ſayde day and place as is aforeſayde before vs, frendlye heare hym, and honeſtly and fauourably, as farre as we maye with Gods leaue, deale with him: graunting free licence to come and to go for hys naturall liberty without anye hurt either in body or goods. And ſee that you fully certify vs of the thinges that you or any of you ſhall doo about the execution of this our commaundement, & that by your letters patentes ſigned with your ſeale autenticall: geuing alſo faythfullye to the ſayde william, or to his lawfull Proctor, if he require it, a copy of this our preſent commaundement.

Geuen at our houſe of whitburne vnder
our ſeale the. v. day of the moneth of July,
in the yeare of our Lord. 1391.

¶ *The act of the fyrſt day.*

The firſt ſetting againſt W. Swinderby.

An. 1391

On thurſday, the. xx. of July, the yeare of the Lorde aforeſaid: We in the pariſh church of North Lydebury aforeſaid, about. vj. of the clocke, ſitting in iudgement, after that it was reported vnto vs howe the foreſayde William was perſonallye taken, and lawfullye cited: Cauſed the ſayd William then & there openly in iudgement to be called out, to doo, heare, and receyue ſuche things, wherto he was afore cited, and to do otherwiſe ẏ which Juſtice ſhoulde perſwade. And the ſayde Wylliam appeared neither by him ſelfe, nor by Proctor: but onely by a ſeruant (whoſe name we know not) he ſent a certaine ſchedule of paper, made like an indenture vnto vs to excuſe him. After whiche ſchedule ſene, red, and with ripe deliberation waied, and in anye wiſe notwithſtanding, we adiudged the ſaide William, after hee was often called, and long euen to the due houre taried for, and by no meanes appearing: worthelye for his obſtinacie, and for hys ſtubburnnes aſſigned vnto him the. 29. day of Julye in the churche of Ponſley, to appeare before vs with the foreſaid ſauegarde, to anſwer more fully to ſuche articles, and otherwiſe to heare, receaue, and do as before is noted.

¶ *The ſecond dayes act.*

The ſecond ſetting againſt W. Swinderby.

Upon Saterday being the. xxix. of Julye, and in the yeare of the Lord aforeſayd, we John by Gods permiſſion the foreremembred biſhop, in the church of Ponteſburie, of our dioces, at ſixe of the clocke, or there about, ſitting in iudgement: made the ſayde William Swynderby to be openlye called, that (as was to hym appoynted and aſſigned) he ſhould appeare before vs, to anſwer to the foreſaide articles more fullye, and to declare the ſaid articles, as the darkenes of his anſwers did worthely require. And that the ſaid William being called & long, for a dew tyme looked for, did make no meanes to appeare: and ſo we pronounced him to be obſtinate, and for his obſtinatnes (to ouercome his malice, and of oure excæding fauour) thought good to appoint and dyd appoint the. viij. of Auguſt, then next folowing, at Cleoburye Mortemere of the ſame our dioces, vnto the ſayde William, for the ſame thing.

¶ *The third daies act.*

The thir ſettyng a gainſt W. Swinde

Upon Tewſday, the. viij. of Auguſt, the yeare aforeſaid, J John by Gods permiſſion biſhop of Herforde aforeſaid, in the church of Cleobury Mortmere, about. vj of the clocke, ſitting in iudgement, cauſed the foreſayde illiam Swynderby, to be called many times openly to do and receiue about the premiſſes, according to the appointment of the ſame day that iuſtice ſhould aduiſe, which William did not appeare at all. Wherupon, we after that the ſayd William was called, and often proclaimed, & long looked for but not appearing at all, did iudge him worthely (as of right appertained) obſtinate: and for his obſtinatnes, aſſigned him the. xvi. daye of the ſame moneth of Auguſt next following, in the paryſhe church of Whithorne of the ſame our dioces, to bryng forth, or to ſee brought forth, al lawes, muniments, and other kindes of proofes, and to ſee alſo witneſſes brought foorth, admitted, and ſworne, by whom & which things we intend to proue the foreſaide articles, or at leaſt wiſe ſome of the ſame.

¶ *The fourth dayes act.*

The fou ſetting a gainſt W. Swinde

Of this p ces menti is made b fore pag. 535.

Upon wedenſday the. xvj. day of the moneth of Auguſt, the yeare aforeſayd: we John the biſhop, in the pariſh church of Whitborn aforeſaid of our dioces, ſitting in iudgement, cauſed the ſayd William Swinderby often times to be called, who (as is aforeſayde) appeared not at all: whom after that he was ſo called, proclaimed, & long loked for, and yet by no meanes appearyng, wee pronounced to be obſtinate. We receceiued alſo by certaine faithfull Chriſtians, and zealous men for the catholike faith of our dioces, a certayne proces made and had at an other time againſt the ſame William, before the reuerend father in God and lord, Lorde John, by the grace of God, biſhop of Lincolne, confirmed by the hanging on of the ſeale of the ſame reuerend father, the lord biſhop of Lincolne. The tenour whereof word for word is contained before. And theſe faithful Chriſtians moreouer agaynſte the obſtinatenes of the ſayde William Swynderby brought forth diſcrite men, maiſter William Leuiet perſon of the pariſh church of Kyuerſly, and alſo Edmonde Waterdon pariſh Chaplen, of the chappel of N and Roger Newton, and Hew Shyppert, lay men of our dioces of Lincolne, aſking inſtantly ẏ they might be receiued for witneſſes, to proue ſome of the foreſaid articles, whome againſt the obſtinatnes of the ſayd William Swynderby we thought good to receyue & did receiue, & their othes to the holye Goſpels of God beyng layd handes on corporallye in our hande. And did diligently examine them in proper perſon ſeuerally in forme of law: whoſe ſayinges and depoſitions are afterward brought in, and at the inſtāce of the ſame faithfull Chriſtians, we aſſigned the ſecond day of September, then next folowing, to the ſaid William Swinderby, to ſay and alledge againſt the ſaid proces, wytneſſes, and their ſayings, in the ſaid churche of Whytborne: decreing, that a copy ſhoulde bee made for him of theſe thinges that were brought forth, and of the depoſitions of the wytneſſes.

**Here we fayle in, our Copy till the Regiſter come to our handes agayne.*

by the dore, but wendithe vp an other halfe, he is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth how he that flieth from the flocke, is not the ſheppard but a hired mā, and it perteineth not to him of the ſhepe.

Conclu.

☞To the ſecōd cōcluſion that he ſaien is errour or hereſie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalties and of Lordſhips of prieſtes that ben euill liuers:

I ſay me ſemeth that the concluſiō is trew, and is this: that it were medefull and leſull to ſeculare Lordes by waye of charitie, and by power giuen to them of God, in default of prelates that amend naught by Gods law: curſed Curates, that openly miſuſe the goodes of holy churche, that ben poore mens goodes: and cuſtomable ayens the law of God (the whiche poore men, Lordes ben holden to maintaine and to defend) to take away and to drawe from ſuch curates poore mens goodes in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offringes, and their bodily almes dedes of worldly goodes, and giue thē to ſuch as duely ſeruen God in the churche: and ben redy in vpbering of the charge that prelates ſhoulden do and done it not. And as anentes takyng awaye of temporalties: I ſay thus, that it is leſull to Kings, to Princes, to Dukes, and to Lordes of the world, to take away from Popes, from Cardinals, from Biſhops, prelates, and poſſeſſioners in the churche, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue giuen them vpon condition, that they ſhoulden ſerue God the better: whē they verily ſeen that their giuing and takyng ben cōtrary to the law of God, contrary to Chriſtes liuyng, and his Apoſtels, and namely in that that they taken vpon them, that they ſhoulden be next folowers of Chriſt and his Apoſtels, in poorenes and mekenes, to be ſecular Lordes againſt the teachyng of Chriſt, & of S. Peter. Truly me ſemeth that all Chriſten men, and namely prieſtes ſhoulden take kepe, that their doing were accordyng with the law of God, either the old law, ether the new. The prieſtes of the olde lawe werne forbidden, to haue Lordſhyps among their bretherne: for God ſayd, that he would be their parte & their heritage. And Chriſt that was the higeſt prieſt of the new Teſtament, forſoke worldly Lorſhyp, and was here in fourme of a ſeruaunt, and forbad his prieſtes ſuch Lordſhips, and ſaide, Reges gentium dominantur eorum &c. vos autem non ſic. That is. The kynges of the heathen, beare dominion and rule &c. But you ſhall not doo ſo. And as S. Peter ſaythe. Neque dominantes in clero &c. Not bearing rule and dominion ouer the clergy. &c. So it ſemeth me: that it is agaynſt both lawes of God, that they haue ſuch Lordſhyps, and that their titell to ſuch Lordſhyps is not full good: And ſo it ſemeth me, that yif they ben thereto of euill liuyng, it is not great perill to take awaye from them, ſuch Lordſhyps but rather medefull, if the takyng awaye were in charitie, and not for ſingular couetouſnes ne wrath. And I ſuppoſe that if Friers, that be bounden to their foūders, to liue in pouertie, would breake their rule and take worldly Lordſhips: might not mē lawfully take from thē ſuch Lordſhips, & make thē to liue in pouertie as their rule would? And forſoth it ſemeth me, that prieſtes oughten allſo wel to kepe Chriſtes rule, as Friars own to kepe the rule of their foundar. Jeremy witneſſeth, how God commended Rachabs children, for they would not breake their faders bidding in drincking of wyne. And yet Jeremy profered them wine to drincke. And ſo I trow, ỷ God would commende his prieſtes, if they woulden forſake worldly Lordſhips, and holden them a payde with liſelot, & with clothing: and buſie them faſt about their heritage of heauen. And God ſayth. Numeri 18: In terra eorum nihil poſſidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars & hæreditas veſtra in medio filiorum Iſrael &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis ſacerdotes et Leuitę et omnes qui de eadem tribu eſtis, partem et hæreditatem cum reliquo Iſrael, quia Sacrificia domini et oblationes eius comedent, et nihil accipient de poſſeſsione fratrum ſuorum. Dominus enim ipſe eſt hæreditas ipſorum, ſicut locutus eſt illis. Et Lucæ 14. Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus quæ poſsidet, non poteſt meus eſſe diſcipulus. Et Ieronymus in Epiſtola 34. Et Bernardus libro 20. ad Eugeniū Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte 2. libri Secundi, cap. vij. Et 12. q pri. cap. duo ſunt: Et ca. clericus. Et Bernardus in Sermone de Apoſtolis, ſuper illud, Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Et Chryſoſt. Super Math. et vetus teſtamentum. That is. You ſhall haue no inheritaunce in their lande, nor haue no part amongeſt them: I wilbe your parte and inheritaunce amongeſt the children of Iſraell &c. Deut. 18. The prieſtes and Leuites, and all that be of the ſame tribe ſhall haue no part nor inheritaunce with the reſt of Iſraell: becauſe they ſhall eate the ſacrifices of the Lord and hys oblations, and they ſhall take nothyng of the poſſeſſion of their brethren. The Lorde him ſelfe is their poſſeſſion, as he ſpake vnto them. And the 14. chap. of Luke: Euen ſo euery one of you, whiche forſaketh not all that he poſſeſſeth, cānot be my diſciple. And Jerome in his 34. Epiſtle hath the like wordes. And Bernard in his 20. booke to Eugenius the pope. And alſo Hugo in his booke De ſacramentis, the ſecond part of his ſecond booke the. 7. chap. Alſo in the 12. q. firſt, chap. Duo ſunt, & in the chap. Clericus. And agayne, Bernard in his booke De ſermone de Apoſtolis, vpō this place: Ecce nos reliquimus oīa. Behold we leaue all &c. & Chriſoſt. vpon the Goſpell of S. Math. &c.

☞The third concluſion toucheth the matter of preachyng of prieſtes, withouten leaue of Biſhops, & is this that ſuch trew prieſtes may counſell ſinnefull men: that ſhewen to them their ſinnes, after the witte and conning that god hath giuen, to tourne hem from ſinne to vertuous lyſe, and as touchyng preachyng of the Goſpell.

3. Concluſion

I ſay, that no Byſhop oweth to let a trew prieſt, that God hath giffen grace, witte & conning to do that office. For both prieſtes and deacons that God hath ordeyned deacons or prieſtes, ben holden by power giuen to them of God, to preach to the people the Goſpel: and namely, & ſouerēly popes, biſhops, prelates and curates: for this is dew to the people and the pariſheners, to haue it & aſke it. And hereto ſeemeth me, that Chriſt ſayd generally to his diſciples: Ite et predicate euangeliū omni creaturæ, Go & preach the goſpel to all creatures, as wel as he ſaid Ite et baptizate omnes gentes, Go and baptiſe all nations, ỷ alſo as well lōgeth preachyng to prieſts without leaue of a byſhop as doth baptiſing: and then why may he not preach Gods worde withouten a Byſhops leaue. And ſithen Chriſt bad his prieſtes preache, who ſhould forbidden them preachyng? The Apoſtels were forbidden of a Biſhop at Jeruſalem to ſpeake more of the name of Jeſus, but Peter ſayd: Si iuſtum eſt in conſpectu dei, vos potius audiri quam dominum iudicate. That is. Whether it be iuſt in the ſight of God to heare and obeye you before the Lord: be your ſelues Judges. A Byſhop may not let a prieſt of geuing bodily almes in his dioces: much more may he not let the doing of ſpirituall almes in his dioces by Gods law. A prieſt may ſay his mattins withouten ỷ Biſhops leaue: for the Pope that is aboue the Byſhop, hath charged prieſtes therewith: And me thincketh that Chriſtes biddyng ſhould be all ſo much of charge as the popes. Math. 10. Eūtes autem prædicate, Ite ecce ego mitto vos. Et Mar. 16. Euntes in mundū vniuerſum &c. Lucæ 10. Et Anacletus pap. diſ. 21. cap. In nouo Teſtamēto. Et Beda ſuper illud: Meſsis quidē multa. Et Iſodorus de ſummo bono, ca. 44. Et Gregorius in canone diſ. 43. Preconis quippe officium ſuſcipit &c. et Chriſoſt. diſ. 34. Nolite timere. Et Aug. diſ. 34. ca. quiſquis. et Gregorius in ſuo paſtorali, ca. 38. qui enim eſt. Et Chriſoſt. om 31. et in Tollitano cōcilio: Ignorātia. et Aug. in prologo ſermonum ſuorum. et Ieronimus diſ. 9. Ecce ego. Et Aug. ſuper id: Homo quidam peregrinus That is, Go you forth and preach. And agayne: Behold,

Declaration

A prieſt admitted, ought to preach, though the prince and biſhop forbid, ſo that he prech the worde.

I ſend you, &c. Marc. 16. Go you into all the worlde. &c. and Luke 10. cap. in nouo Teſtamento. And Beda vpon thys place. Meſsis quidem multa: the harueſt is great. Alſo Iſodorus, De ſummo bono ca. 44. And Gregorius in the Canon diſtinct. 43. Preconis quippe officium ſuſcipit, &c. and Chriſoſtome in his 34. diſtinction: Nolite timere. And Auguſtine in the 34. diſtinction cap. Quiſquis. And Gregorius in his Paſtorall cap. 38. Qui enim eſt. And Chriſoſt. in his 31. Homely. Et in Tollitano concilo ignorantia. And Auguſt. in the prolog of his ſermõs. And Ierome in the 95. diſtinct. Ecce ego. And Auguſtine vpon this place. Homo quidem peregrinus. A certein traueler.

4. Concluſion.

☞ The fourth concluſion toucheth the Sacrament of the altar, and is this.

Declaration

That wholy I beleue that the Sacrament of the aultar made by vertue of heauenly wordes, is bread and Chriſtes body, ſo as Chriſt him ſelfe ſayth in the Goſpel: and as S. Paule ſayth, and as doctours in the common law haue determined: To this ſentẽce Ioh. 6. Moſes hath not giuen you breade from heauen, but my father will giue you bread from heauen. He is the true bread that came down from heauẽ and giueth life vnto the world. My father giueth vnto you bread in dead: the very true bread of God is that, whiche came downe from heauen and giueth lyfe vnto the worlde. I am the bread of lyfe: The bread whiche I will giue is my fleſh. And in the Canõ of the Maſſe Panem ſanctũ vitæ eternæ: the holy bread of life. And Corinth. the 10. chap. and firſt Epiſtell. The bread whiche we breake, is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man proue him ſelfe and ſo eate of that bread. &c. And Canon de conſecratione diſtinction 2. Vnder the autoritie of Hilarius the Pope: Corp' Chriſti quod ſumitur de altari &c. And Auguſtine in the foreſayd diſtinctiõ. That which is ſeen, is bread &c. That which faith requireth, is the bread & is the body of Chriſt. And in the foreſayd diſtinction. cap. Omnia quæcumque. et cet. By theſe ij. ſentẽces it is manifeſtly declared, that that bread and this, be not ij. but one bread and one fleſh. Note the wordes for that he ſayth, the bread and fleſhe. And the author, De diuinis officijs. and alſo Auguſtine in his boke de remedijs pœnitentiæ: why prepareſt thou thy teath &c. And Ambroſe, De ſacramentis: de conſecratione: diſtinct. 2, Reuera mirabile eſt. et cete. This meate whiche you receaue, this bread of one whiche deſcended frõ heauen: doth miniſter the ſubſtaunce of eternall lyfe, & who ſoeuer ſhall eate the ſame ſhal not dye euerlaſtingly, and is the body of Chriſt. Note how he ſayth, and is the body of Chriſt.

5. Concluſion.

☞ The v. article telleth of forgiuenes of ſinnes, and is this. That very contrition withouten charitie & grace, do away all ſinnes before done of that man, that is verely contrite, and all trew confeſſion made by mouth outward to a wiſe prieſt and a good, profiteth much to a mã and it is nedefull and helping, that men ſhewe their lyfe to ſuch, truſtyng fully to Gods mercy, that he forgeueth the ſynne.

Declaration.

Remiſsion double

And hereto I ſay, ẏ there ben ij. remiſſions of ſinnes: one that longeth onely to God: And that remiſſion is the clenſing of the ſoule from ſin. And ẏ other remiſſiõ, a certefiyng that one man certifieth an other, that hys ſinnes ben forgeuen of God, if he be ſory with all his heart for them: and is in full will to leaue them for euer: and this maner of forgiuenes longeth to prieſtes. Of the firſt maner of forgiuenes, Dauid ſayth: And I ſayd I will confeſſe my vnrighteouſnes vnto the lord, & thou forgaueſt me my miſdede. And Zachary ſayth. And thou O childe ſhalt be called ẏ Prophet of ẏ higheſt &c. To giue knowledge of ſaluation vnto his people for ẏ remiſſion of their ſinnes, by the bowels of gods mercy. And John Baptiſt, Behold the lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And S. John the Euangeliſte ſayth in his Epiſtell: If we confeſſe our ſinnes, he is faithfull and iuſt to forgiue vs our ſinnes and clenſe vs frõ all our iniquitie. And it foloweth. If any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, euẽ Jeſus Chriſte and he it is that is the propitiacion for our ſinnes. And of the other remiſſion of ſinnes Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpell, and ſayth. Whoſe ſinnes ye forgiue, they ſhalbe forgiuẽ. And mans forgiuenes auaileth litle, but ȝif God forgiue our ſinnes through his grace.

6. Conclu.

☞ The vi. concluſion teacheth indulgences and pardons, that the pope grauntetḥ in his Bulles, and men callen it an abſolution a pœna & a culpa.

Declaration

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ſpiritual.

Of this maner of ſpeche I cannot finde in the Goſpell, ne in no place of holye writ, ne I haue not red, that Chriſt vſed this maner of remiſſion, ne none of his Apoſtles. But as me ſeemeth, if the Pope had ſuch a power, ſithen the paines after a mans death bene much greater then anye bodelye paynes of the worlde: me thinketh he ſhoulde of charitye keepe men oute of ſuche paines, and then men needed not to finde ſo manye vicious prieſtes after their lyfe, to bring their ſoules out of Purgatory. An other thyng me thyncketh, that ſithe the Popes power ne may not kepe vs in this world fro bodely paines as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from ſorrowe, and other ſuch paines, howe ſhoulde his power helpe vs from ſpiritual paines, when we bene dead? But for that no man commeth after his death to tell vs the ſoothe in what payne they been, men mowe tell thereof what him luſt. Saint John ſaith in the Apocalips, that he ſaw vnder the altar, the ſoules of them which were ſlain for the word of God, and for the teſtimony which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice, ſaying: howe long Lorde holy and true, doeſt not thou reuenge our blood of them which dwell on the earth. And whyte ſtoles were geuen to euery of them, to reſt a while, till the number of their fellow ſeruantes and brethren ſhould be fulfilled, which alſo remayned to be ſlaine as they were. &c. Here ſeemeth it, that theſe ſoules wer not aſſoiled a pena, that is from paine: for their deſire was not fulfilled. And they were bidden abide a while, and that is a payne. And if Martirs were not aſſoyled frõ paine, it is hard for any man to ſay, that he aſſoyleth other mẽ a pena. Alſo good mens ſoules haue not but ſpirituall blyſſe, & they want bodely bliſſe, vntil their reſurrection in the day of dome. And after they deſiren to haue that bliſſe, and abyden it, and that is paine to them. And I cannot ſe that the pope hath power to bring him from this paine. But if anye man can ſhew me, that he hath ſuch a power graunted in the troth of holy writ, I will gladly leeſen it.

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7. Conclu
ſion.

☞ The. vij. poynt ſpeaketh of the Pope and is thys: Sithe it is onely due to God, as I haue ſayde before, to geue and to graunt plener remiſſion, from paine, & from blame: that what euer he be Pope or other, that preſumptiouſly myſtaketh vpõ him the power that onely is due to God, in that, in as much as in him is, he maketh hym ſelfe euen with Chriſt, and blaſphemeth God, as Lucifer did, whẽ he ſayd: Aſcendam, & ero ſimilis altiſsimo, that is I will aſcend, and be lyke the hygheſt. &c.

The pope
maketh
hym ſelf
uen with
Chriſt.

Declara

For that I ſay, if the pope hold mẽ of armes in maintaining of his temporall lordſhip, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden hym, and geueth remiſſion to fight and to ſlay them, that contrarien him, as men ſayden he did by the biſhop of Norwiche, not puttyng hys ſword in his ſheath, as God commaunded to Peter: he is Antichriſt. For he doth the contrary of the commaundement of Jeſus Chriſt, that bad Peter forgeue to hys brother, 70. ſithe. 7. ſithe. Well I finde in the Goſpell, that when Chriſt ſent his diſciples to Samary, the Samaritanes would not receiuen them. And ſome of them bidden Chriſt, that he ſhoulde make a fire come downe from heauen, to deſtroy the citye. And he blamed them and ſayd: Neſcitis cuius ſpiritus eſtis: Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, ſed ſaluare. That is, ye knowe not of what ſpirit ye are: The ſonne of mã is not come to deſtroy, but to ſaue the liues & ſoules of men. &c. If Chriſt then come to ſaue men, and not to ſlea them: Who that doth the reuers hereof, is againſt Chriſt, and then he is

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Chriſt.

Antichriſt. Chriſt bad Peter put his ſword in his ſheath and ſaid: Omnes qui gladium acceperint, gladio peribunt. That is: All which take the ſwoord, ſhall periſhe wyth the ſword. And I cannot finde that Peter drewe out his ſword after that time, but ſuffered as Chriſt ſaid: Cum ſenueris, alius cinget te, & ducet quo tu non vis. That is: when thou ſhalt waxe old, an other ſhal gird thee & lead thee whyther thou wilt not. And therefore ſaide Peter, Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing vs exāple that we ſhould folow his ſteps. And Paule ſayth: Not defending your ſelues, but geue place to anger: leaue reuenging to me, and I ſhall reward them. &c. And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that it is much againſt Chriſtes lore, that his vicar ſhould be a fighter, ſithen that he mote be a ſhephearde, that ſhould go before his ſhepe, and let them come after him, and not with ſwoordes to driue them awaye from him. For as Chriſt ſaith, a good ſhepheard ſhall put his life for his ſhepe. And zif all that Chriſt hath two ſwords when that he was taken of the Iewes, he ſaid him ſelf it was for ẏ the ſcriptures moten zit be fulfilled: Quoniā cū iniquis deputatus eſt, ẏ is: he was reputed among the wicked: and not to figure two ſwordes, that men ſayen the Pope hath to gouerne with the church. And when I ſee ſuch doinges of the Pope, and manye other that accorden not with Chriſtes lore, ne his lyuing: And when I reade diuers ſcriptures of holy writ, I am foule aſtonied whether they ſhoulden be vnderſtanded of him, or of anye other. And I praye you for Gods loue tell me the ſothe. Chriſt ſaith: Manye ſhall come in my name, ſaying: I am Chriſt, and ſhall ſeduce manye. &c. Chriſt (I wot well) is as much to ſaye, as he that is anointed, and two anointinges there weren in the law, one of kyngs, an other of prieſtes. And Chriſt was both kyng & prieſt and ſo the pope ſaith that he is. And if all that haue ben Emperours of Rome, and other heathen kinges haue bene Antichriſtes, they come not in Chriſtes name. But who ſo commeth in Chriſtes name, and fayneth hym Chriſtes friende, and he be priuely his enemy, he maye lightly begile many. Saint Paule ſaith: before ther commeth a defection fyrſt, & the ſonne of perdition ſhal be reuealed, which is the aduerſary, And is extolled aboue all ẏ is named God, or which is worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſyt in the temple of God, ſhewing him ſelfe as God. And it foloweth in the ſame place: and now ye knowe what holdeth tyll he be reuealed in his time, for he worketh al ready the miſtery of iniquity. Onely he that holdeth let him hold, till he come abroad, & then ẏ wicked one ſhall be reuealed, whom the lord Ieſus ſhall ſlay with the ſpirite of his mouth. &c. And ſaint Iohn ſaith in the Apocalips: I ſaw an other beaſt aſcending out of thearth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He ſpake lyke the Dragō, and had the power of the firſt beaſt. Many ſuch autorities aſtonieth me oft ſithes: and therfore I pray you for the loue of God, to tell me what they meane.

The ſentence.

The which ſchedule afore mencioned, wyth the contentes thereof diligently of vs peruſed, we conſidering that diſeaſes which be not eaſelye cured with gentle remedye, muſt haue harder plaiſters. Conſidering moreouer theſe his articles with his anſwers to ẏ ſame, and to other articles alſo laſtly agaynſt him produced, firſt mature deliberatiō had before vpon the whole matter with the foreſaid maiſters and Doctours, as well ſecular as regular, to a great number, obſeruing in the ſame all thinges to be obſerued in this behalfe, haue geuen ſentence againſt the ſaid W. in forme as foloweth.

The name of Chriſt being innocated, we Iohn, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of Hereford, ſitting in tribunall ſeate, hauing God before our eyes, weping and conſidering the Articles by the foreſayd faithfull Chriſtiās put vp againſt the ſayd Swynderby, pretending hym ſelfe to be prieſt, with hys anſwers vpon the ſame, Actis et Actitatis before vs in the cauſe of hereticall peruerſitie, with mature deliberation had before in this behalf, with maiſters and doctours of diuinitye, & alſo of other faculties, with their counſail and conſēt: Do pronoūce, decree, and declare the ſayde W. to haue bene and to be an hereticke, ſchiſmaticke, and a falſe informer of the people, and ſuch as is to be auoyded of faithfull chriſtians. Wherefore we admoniſh, vnder payne of the law, all and ſingular Chriſtians, of what ſex ſtate, condition, or preeminence ſoeuer: that neither they, nor any of them within our dioces, or any other, do beleue, receue, defend, or fauour the ſaid Williā, till he ſhal deſerue fully to be reconciled to the boſome againe of holy church.

The appeale of W. Swynderby from this ſentence of the biſhop prefixed, vnto the king and hys counſayle

In nomine patris, et filii, et ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. I W. Swynderby prieſt, knowledge openly to all men, that I was before the biſhop of Herforde, the thirde daye of October, and before many other good clerkes, to anſwer to certaine concluſions of the faith that I was accuſed of. And myne anſwer was this, that if the biſhop or any man couthe ſhew me by gods law, that my concluſions or myne aunſwers were errour or hereſie, I woulde be amended, and openly reuoke them before all the people. *Knowes in any of my concluſions, but ſayden ſingly with woord, that there was errours in them, and bidden me ſubiect me to the biſhop, and putte me into his grace and reuoke myne errour, and ſhewed me nought by Gods law ne reaſon, ne proued which they weren. And for I would not knowledge me gilty, ſo as I knewe no errour in them, of which I ſhould be gilty, therefore the biſhop ſate in dome in myne abſence, & demed me an herreticke, a ſchiſmaticke, and a teacher of errours, and denounced me accurſed, that I come not to correction of the church. And therefore for this vnrightfull iudgement, I appeale to the kinges Iuſtices for manye other cauſes.

One cauſe is, for the kinges court, in ſuch matter is aboue the biſhops court: For after that the biſhop has accurſed, he may no feare by hys law, but then mote he ſeche ſuccor of the kynges law, and by a wryt of Significauit, put a man in priſon.

The ſecond cauſe is, for in cauſe of hereſie there liggeth iudgement of death, and that dome may not be geuen without the kinges iuſtices. For the biſhop wil ſay: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam, that is: It is not lawfull for vs to kyll anye man: as they ſayden to Pilate, whē Chriſt ſhould be demed. And for I thynke that no Iuſtice wil geue ſodenly and vntrue dome as the byſhop did, & therfore openly I appeale to hem and ſēd my cōcluſions to the knights of the parlament, to be ſhewed to the Lordes, and to be taken to the iuſtices, to be well auiſet or that they geuen dome.

The third cauſe is, for it was a falſe dome: for no mā is an hereticke, but he, that maiſterfully defendes his error or hereſie and ſtifly maintaine it. And mine aunſwer has ben alway condicional, as the people opēly knowes, for euer I ſayd, and yet ſay and alway will: that if they cannen ſhewe me Gods lawe that I haue erret, I will gladly ben amendet, and reuocke myne errours and ſo I am not hereticke, ne neuer more with Gods grace wil ben en no wiſe.

The fourth cauſe is. For the Biſhops law, that they deme men by, is full of errours and hereſies, contrary to the truth of Chriſtes lawe of the Goſpell. For there as Chriſtes law byddes vs loue our enemies, the popes law geues vs leaue to hate them and to ſley them, & graūtes men pardon to werren agayn hethen men, and ſley hem. And there as Chriſtes lawe teache vs to be mercifull, the Biſhops law teaches to be wrechfull. For death is the greteſt wrech that mē mowē done on him that gulty is. There as Chriſtes lawe teaches vs, to bleſſen hym that

diſeazen

The appeale of W. Swinderby from the B. to the King and his counſail.

* Some thing there lacketh in the copy.

The kinges court aboue the biſhops court.

What is an heretike.

The B. law of condemnation full of hereſies and errours.

The contrarieti betwē the pop and Chriſt.

diſeaʒen vs, and to pray for him:the popes law teacheth to curſe them, and in their great ſentence that thei vſen, they preſume to damne hem to hell that they curſen. And this is a fowle hereſie of blaſpheme,there as Chriſts law byddes vs be paciēt,the popes law iuſtifies two ſwordes, that wherwith he ſmiteth the ſhepe of the church. And he has made Lordes and kynges to ſweare to defend hym and his churche. There as Chriſtes law forbiddeth vs lechery,the popes law iuſtifies the abhominable hordome of common women, and the biſhops in ſome place haue a great tribute or rent of hordom. There as Chriſts law bydes to miniſter ſpirituall thinges freely to the people: the pope with his law ſelles for money,after the quantitie of the gifte,as pardon,orders,bleſſyng, and Sacraments,and praiers,and benefices, and preachyng to the people,as it is knowen amonges them. There as Chriſts law teaches peace:the Pope wͭ his law aſſoyles men for mony togader the people, prieſts, & other,to fight for his cauſe. There as chriſts law forbids ſwaring: The popes law iuſtifieth ſwearing,& compels mē therto. Wheras Chriſtes law teacheth his prieſts to be poore,the pope wͭ hys law,iuſtifies and maintaines prieſtes to be Lordes.

And yet the v.cauſe is,for the popes law that biſhops demen men by, is the ſame vnrightfull law that Chriſt was demet by of the Biſhops,with the ſcribes and with the phariſes. For right as at yͤ tyme they gauē more credens to the two falſe witneſſes yͭ witneſſed ageinſt chriſt then they deden to all the people that witneſſeden to hys trew preachyng and his miraceles:ſo the Biſhops of the popes law geuē more leauē by their law to two heretiks and apoſtatas,or two comen wymen that woulden witneſſeden agayns a man in the cauſe of hereſie,than to thouſãds of people that weren trew and good. And for yͤ pope is this antichriſt & his law cõtrary to chriſtes law, fullye I forſake this law & ſo I reed all chriſten mē. For thus by an other point of this law,thei mighten cõquere much of this world: For whan they can by this law preſent a man an heretike: his goods ſhulen be forfet from him & from his heires,and ſo might they lightly haue 2. or 3. falſe witneſſes to recorde an hereſie agayne what true mã ſo hem liked. Herefore me thinks,yͭ whatſoeuer yͭ I am a Chriſtenman I may lawfully appeale from a falſe dome of yͤ law, to be righteouſly demet by yͤ trouth of gods law. And if this appeale wil not ſerue,I appeale openly to my Lorde Ieſu Chriſte that ſhall deme all the worlde, for he I wot wel,will not ſpare for no man to deeme a trouth. And therfore I pray god almighty with Dauid in the Sauter booke Deus iudicium tuum regi da et iuſticiam tuam filio regis. Iudicare populum tuum in iuſticia et pauperes tuos in iudicio. That is. O God geue thy iudgement to the kyng,and thy iuſtice to the kyngs ſonne: I iudge thy people in iuſtice,and thy poore ones in iudgement.&c.

The cauſe why Swinderby forſooke the pope

¶ *A letter ſent to the nobles and burgeſies of the* Parlament,by maiſter William Swinderby.

A fruitfull letter to the lords and Burgeſſes of the parliament.

IEſu that art both God and man helpe thy people that louen thy law,and make knowen through thy grace thy teaching to all chriſten men. Dere ſirs,ſo as we ſeen by many tokens that thys world drawes to an end, and all that euer haue bēen forth brought of Adams kinde in to thys worlde ſhulen come togeder at domeſday riche & poore,ichone to geue accõpt & receyue after hys dedes, ioye or paynen for euermore: Therefore make we our werkes good,ye while that God of mercy abydes, and be ye ſtable and true to God,and ye ſhulen ſée hys helpe about you. Conſtãtes eſtote & videbitis auxiliũ domini ſuper vos. Thys land is full of goſtly cowardes,in goſtly battaile fewe dare ſtand. But Chriſt the comforter of all that falleth(to yͭ his harte barſt for our loue)againſt the fiend that doughtie duke conforteth vs thus: Eſtote fortes in bello,&c. Be ye ſtrong in battail,he ſaies, and fight ye with the old adder. State in fide,viriliter agite,&c. Wake ye and pray ye, ſtond ye in beleue,do ye manly & be ye comfortet,& let all your thyngs be done with charitie: For Saint Poule biddes thus in hys epyſtle,yͭ ſaw the preuetics of God in heauē: Euigilate iuſti,&c. Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye ſtable and vnmoueable: Awake ye quickly and ſlepe nought, and ſtond now ſtronglye for Gods law. For S. Iohn in the Apocalips ſais,bleſſet be he that awakes: for noght to ſlepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the hower is now as Paule ſayth to vs, from ſlepe for to aryſe,for he that earlye awakes to me, he ſhall fynde me ſayth Chriſt hym ſeluen. Thys waking goſtly is good liuing out of ſin:this ſlepe betokens yͭ which cowardeth a mans harte from goſtly conforte & to ſtand in yͤ ſame through a deceaueable ſlepe is this that lets a man of yͤ bliſſe of heauen:the fende makes man bolde in ſin & ferd to do worſhip to God:death is a likening to a théefe that preuely ſteales vpon a man that now is riche, and full of wele,anon he makes hym a nedie wreche: therefore ſayd God by Saint Iohn in the Apocalips in this wiſe: Be thou waking,for if thou wake nought,I ſhal come to thee as a thefe,and thou ſhalt not wytte what houre. And if the huſbandman (ſais Chriſt) wiſte what houre the thefe ſhoulde come,he ſhoulde wake and ſuffer hym not to vnderminde hys houſe. S. Peter therfore warneth and ſayth: wake and be ye ware,ſuffer ye no man (he ſayes)as a thefe,but wilfully for Gods loue, for it is tyme(as Peter ſais)that dome begynne from the houſe of God: Ye ben the body of Chriſt (ſais Poule) yͭ nedes muſt ſuffer with yͤ head,or els your bodies ben but dead & departed frõ Chriſt that is the head. And therfore curſet be he (ſais Poule) that loues not Ieſu Chriſt. And who it is that loues hym,Chriſt himſelf tells in the goſpell:he that has my heſtes, and kepes them, he it is that loues me. Curſed be he therfore (ſais Poule) that doth Chriſtes workes deceaueably. Be ye not therfore (ſais Poule) aſhamed of the true witnes of Ieſu Chriſt, for Chriſt our God ſais in his goſpell, he yͭ ſhames me, and my words,hym ſhall mans ſonne aſſhame whē he ſhall come for to ſet in yͤ ſiege of hys maieſtie. And eche man he ſaies,that knowes me & my words before mē in this ſinfull generation & whoryſhe, mans ſonne ſhall knowledge him before my father ſais Chriſt himſelf, whē he ſhall come with hys Angels in the glorye of hys father: Syth ye therfore ben chriſtenmē,that is to ſay,Chriſtes men,ſhewe in dede that ye ben ſuch as ye daren ſhewe you the kinges men:for hit had ben,as Peter ſayes,better not to haue knowen the way of truth,than after the knowinge thereof to be conuert backward there from. We knowē Chriſt,that is trought,we ſayn all through our beleſe if we turne from hym for dred, truely we denie the trothe:And therfore ſythe our time is ſhort,how ſhort no man knowes but God,do we the good that we may to gods worſhip,whē we haue time: Be true(ſaies God)to the death and you ſhall haue the crowne of life: And thinke on Iudas Machabeus, that was Gods true knight,that comforted hartely Gods true people, to be the folowers of his law. And geue ye,he ſaid,your liues for the Teſtamēt of your fathers. And ye ſhulen wynne he ſayd,great ioye and a name for euermore. Was not Abraham,he ſaid,in temptation founden true,and was *arectet vnto hym euermore to righteouſnes. Ioſeph in tyme of hys anguiſhe he kept trulye Gods heſte,he was made by Gods prouidēce lord of Egipt,for his trouthe. Phinees our fadure louing, he ſayth, the zeale of God tooke the teſtament of euerlaſting prieſthode. Ioſue for he fulfillet the word of God was demes man in Iſraell. Caleph that witneſſed in the church,he toke therfore the heritage,he ſayth: Dauid in his mercy he gat the ſiege of the kingdome in worlds. Hely for yͭ he loued the zeale of Gods lawe,was takē vp into heauen. Ananie, Azarie,

*recken

Daniel.14.

Pſal.119.

Leuit.26.

and Myſaell, he ſayes, wern deliueret thorꝛe through true belife out of the hot flame of fire. True, Daniell in hys ſimplenes was deliueret frō the Lions mouth. Bithinke ye therfore, he ſais, by generation and generation, and thou ſhalt neuer finde that he failed that mā that truely truſted in hym. And therfore drede you nought, he ſaies, of the wordes of a ſinfull man: his glory is, he ſaies, but wormes and tordes: he is to day, he ſayth, y made hie, to morow he ſais he is not foundē for he is turned, he ſais, into hys earth againe, and the minde of him is periſhet. Sonnes therfore, he ſaies, be ye confortet, and die manly in the law: for whē ye han done that ẏ God cōmaunds you to do, ye ſhulen be glorious in him. And Dauid the king ſayes alſo on this wiſe in the Pſalter booke: bleſſet be they (Lord) that kepē thy lawe, in worlds of worldes they ſhall prayſe thee. And in Leuiticus ſaies God thus,

„ gif that ye wenden in myne heſtes and kepen my com-
„ maundementes, and done hem, I ſhall bring forth their
„ fruit, & trees ſhal be fulfilled with apples. And ye ſhallen
„ eate your bread in fulnes, ye ſhouln dwell in your lande
„ without drede, I ſhall geue peace in your coſtes, ye ſhall
„ ſleepe and no man ſhall feare you. Euill beaſtes I ſhall
„ done awaye from you, and ſworde ſhall not paſſe your
„ termes, ye ſhuln purſue your enemies, & they ſhall fall
„ before you, fiftie of yours ſhulne purſue an hundreth of
„ heren, an hundret of yours, a thouſād of theirs: your ene
„ mies, he ſaith, ſhulen fall through ſword, and your ſute.
„ I ſhall he ſayes beholde you and make you to waxe, and
„ ye ſhalbe multipliet: And I ſhall ſtrength with you my
„ couenaunt, ye ſhall eate the aldeſt, & the new ſhull come
„ in theron. And ye ſhuln caſte forth the olde, I ſhall dwell
„ in the middeſt of you. And I ſhall wende amonges you,
„ and ſhal be your God, and ye ſhuln be my people. If that
„ ye heare me not, ne done noght all my heſtes but diſpiſē
„ my law & my domes, & that ye done not tho things ẏ of
„ me ben ordenet, and breken my commaundements and
„ my couenaunt: I ſhall do theſe things to you. I ſhall vi-
„ ſite you ſurely in nede and brenning, which ſhall dimme
„ your eghenen, and ſhall waſte your liues about noght:
„ Ye ſhulne ſowe your ſede for hit ſhalbe deuouret of ene-
„ mies, I ſhall put my face againſt you, and ye ſhall fall
„ before your enemies. And ye ſhulen be underlinges to
„ them that han hatet you, ye ſhall flee, no man purſuing.
„ And if ye will not be buxome to me, I ſhal adde therun-
„ to thornes & ſeuen fold blame. And I ſhal all to braſt the
„ hardines of you, I ſhall geue the heauen aboue you as
„ yron, and the earth as braſſe. About nought ſhall your
„ labour be, for the earth ſhall bring you forthe no fruite,
„ ne tree ſhall geue none appels to you. If that ye wen-
„ den againſt me, and will not heare me, I ſhal ad hereto,
„ ſeuen fold woundes for your ſinnes, I ſhal ſend amōgſt
„ you beaſtes of the fielde that ſhal deuour you and your
„ beaſtes, I ſhall bring you into a fielde, and waies ſhuln
„ be deſart. And if that ye will not receaue lore, but wen-
„ den againſt me, I wyll alſo wenden againſt you, and I
„ ſhal ſmite you ſeuen ſithes for your ſinnes. I ſhall leade
„ in vpon you, ſword, venger of my couenant: and vpō the
„ fleen into cities, I ſhal ſende peſtilence in the myddeſt of
„ you. So that .x. women ſhoulde bake their breade in one
„ furnace, and yeld them agayne by waight, and ye ſhall
„ eate, and not be fillet. If that ye heare me not by theſe
„ thinges, but wenden againſte me, I ſhall wende in a-
„ gainſt you in a contrary wodnes, and blame you with
„ ſeuen plages for your ſinnes, ſo that they ſhoulen eate
„ the fleſh of your ſonnes and of your daughters. And in
„ ſo much my ſoule ſhall lothe you, that I ſhal bring your
„ Cities into wyldernes, and your Sanctuaries I ſhall
„ make deſart, ne I ſhall not ouer that receiue ſwete oder
„ of your mouth. And I ſhall diſperple your land, and en-
„ mies ſhulen maruell thereon, when they ſhulen inhabite
„ it, I ſhal diſperpel you among Heathen, and drawe my
„ ſword after you. These vengeaunces & manye mo, God ſayd ſhould fall on them that breaken his bidding, and deſpiſeth hys lawes, and his domes. Than ſithe Chriſt become man, and bought vs with hys hart blode, and has ſhewed vs ſo great loue, and geuen vs an eaſy law, of the beſt that euer might be made, and to bring vs to the ioy of heauē, and we deſpiſe it and louen it nought: what vengeaunce will be taken here on, ſo long as he has ſuffered vs, and ſo mercifullye abidden, when he ſhall come that righteous iudge in the cloudes to deme this world? Therfore turne we vs to him, and leaue ſin that he hates: and ouer all thing, maintain his law that he confirmed with his death. For other lawes that men had made, ſhould be demed at that day by the iuſt laws of Chriſt, and the maker that them made, and then we wonne that long lyfe and that ioy. that Paule ſpeaketh of, that eye ne ſaw not, ne eare hearde not, ne into mans hart aſcended not, the blyſſe and ioye that God hath ordained to them that louen him and hys lawes.

The faithfull request of W. Swinderby.

Deare worſhipfull ſirs in this worlde I beſeche you for Chriſtes loue, as ye that I trowe louen Gods lawe and trouth (that in theſe daies is greatly borne a back) ẏ thei wolne vouchſafe theſe things that I ſend you writ-ten to Gods worſhip, to let them be ſhewed in the Parliament as your wittes can beſt conceaue, to moſt worſhip to our God, and to ſhewing of the trouth and amē-ding of holy church. My concluſions and myne appeals and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can finde therin errour, falſenes, or default, prouet by ẏ law of Chriſt, clerely to chriſtenmens knowledge) I ſhall reuoke my wronge conceit, and by gods law be amendet: euer ready to holde with Gods law openlye and priuely with Gods grace, and nothing to holde, teach, or maintaine that is contrary to his lawe.

Of the proces. aunſweres, and condemnatiō of this worthy prieſt and true ſeruaunt of Chriſt Williā Swinderby, you haue hard. What afterward became vpon him, I haue not certeinly to ſay or affirme, whether he in priſon died, or whether he eſcaped their hādes, or whother he was burned, ther is no certen relatiō made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during ẏ time of this kyng Richard 2. no great harme was done vnto him. Whiche was to ẏ yeare. 1401. at what tyme kyng Richard being wronfully depoſed, Henry the 4. inuaded the kyngdoms of England. About the begynning of whoſe reigne, we read of a certaine parliamente holden at London, mentioned alſo of Thomas Waldē, (as is aboue ſpecified) in which parlamēt it was decræd: that who ſoeuer ſhewed them ſelues to be fauourers of Wickleffe, they ſhould be apprehēded, who at that tyme were called Lollards, & if ſo be thei did obſtinatly perſeuer in ẏ doctrine, they ſhuld bee deliuered ouer vnto the B. of the dioces, & from him ſhould be cōmitted to the correction of the ſecular magiſtrate. This law (ſaith ẏ ſtory) brought a certen prieſt vnto puniſhment ẏ ſame yeare, who was burned in Smithfield, in the preſence of a greate nomber. This wee haue drawen out of a piece of an olde ſtory, and it is moſt certayne that there ſuch a prieſt was burned for the affirmation of ẏ true fayth, but it doth not apeare by ẏ ſtory, what this prieſtes name was. Notwithſtandyng, by diuers coniectures it appeareth vnto me, ẏ his name was this Swynderby, that was forced to recant before, by ẏ Biſhop of Lyncolne. Wherby what is to be coniectured by the premiſſes, let other men iudge what they thinke, I haue nothing hereof expreſly to affirme. This is plain, for all men to iudge (whiche haue here ſeen and read hys ſtory) that if he were burned, then the Byſhops, Friers and prieſtes, which were the cauſers thereof, haue a great thyng to aunſwere to the Lord, when he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, & ſeculum per ignem.

¶ *The ſtory and proces agaynſt Walter Brute.*

The ſtory of Walter Brute a Briton.

AFter the ſtorye of William Swynderbye, I thought good and conuenient, next to adioyne the actes and doynges of Walter Brute, hys ioynt felow and companion, being a lay man, and learned: brought vp as it ſeemeth in the Vniuerſitye of Oxford, being there alſo graduate. The tractation of whoſe diſcourſe as it is ſomthing long, ſo therein maye appeare diuers things worthy to be red and conſidered. Firſt, the mighty operation of Gods ſpirite in him, his ripe knowledge, modeſt ſimplicity, his valiant conſtancie, his learned tractations, and manifolde conflictes ſuſteined againſt Gods enemies. On the contrary part, in his aduerſaries may appeare, might againſt right, mās autority againſt plaine veritye: againſt which they hauing nothing directly to anſwer, procede in condemnation, againſt whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefeſt occaſion that ſemed to ſtyrre vppe the harte and zeale of this Walter againſte the Pope: was the impudent pardons and indulgences of pope Vrbane, graunted to Henry Spenſer biſhop of Norwich, to fight againſt pope Clement, mentioned before, pag. 545. Secondly, the wrongfull condemnation of the articles and concluſiōs of William Swynderby, the whole order wherof, in the proceſſe here followyng more plainlye may appeare.

Ex Regiſtro Epiſc. Herford.

¶ *The proceſſe had by Iohn biſhop of Hereford, againſt Walter* Brute, layman, and learned, of the dioces of Hereford, touching the cauſe of hereſy, as they called it, ſet forward by the way of the biſhops office. &c. at thinſtruction of certaine faithful Chriſtians, as he termed them, but in dede cruel and falſe promoters.

IN the name of God Amen, To all maner of faithfull Chriſtian people that ſhall ſee and heare this our preſent proceſſe, Iohn by the ſufferaunce of God biſhop of Hereford, ſendeth greeting, and continuall charitye in the Lord. We would that you all ſhould know, that of late by many faithfull Chriſtian people, and ſpeciallye zealous folowers of the catholike faith, it was lamentably done vs to vnderſtand by way of complaint: that a certaine ſonne of ours going out of kinde, named Walter Brute lay perſō, learned, of our dioces, hath vnder a cloked ſhew of holynes, damnablye ſeduced the people: & ſetting behinde him the feare of God, doth ſeduce them as much as he can, from day to day, informing and teaching openly and priuely, as well the nobles as the commons, in certaine concluſions hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, & erroneous, and alſo here tofore condemned. And they haue alſo probably exhibited againſt the ſame Walter, articles vnder written, in maner & forme as foloweth.

murdring harts, lurking vnder louing wordes

¶ *Articles exhibited and denounced to the bi*ſhop, agaynſt Walter Brute.

Articles denoūced againſt W. Brute by prieſts and Friers.

REuerend father and Lord, we the faithfull people of Chriſt, and zealous louers of the catholike faith, and alſo your humble and deuout children: doo miniſter and exhibite to your reuerend fatherhood, the articles vnder written, touching the catholike fayth, contrarye and againſt malicious perſons, and detractours of the ſame faith, and the determinations of holye mother churche, and namelye againſt the chylde of Belial, one Walter Brute, a falſe teacher and ſeducer amongeſt the people. Humbly beſeching, that you woulde vouchſafe to haue regarde to the correction of the enormities vnder wrytē, according vnto the Canonical conſtitutions, euen as to your office paſtorall doth lye and belong.

The fyrſt article.

In primis, we do geue & exhibite and entend to proue, that ẏ ſame Walter Brute, beyng vnmindeful of his ſaluacion, hath ben by many and diuers faithfull Chriſtiā people ſondry tymes accuſed of the curſednes of hereſie: As by the ſwifte report, ſlaunder, and rumour of the people, procedyng before the moſt reuerēd father and Lord, Lord William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and alſo before the reuerend father and Lord, Lord Iohn Late B. of Herford your predeceſſour, & now B. of S. Aſſe: hath ben teſtified & alſo hath ben many & diuers tymes cited to aunſwere vnto articles by him againſt the catholicke faith aduouched, & openly and publicquely taught: But he in this matter of hereticall curſednes (ſo greuouſly & ſhamefully ſpoken of) hath neuer regarded to purge hys innocency, but lurkyngly & runnyng into corners, hath many and ſondry yeares laboured to aduaunce things erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, and alſo hereſies, & to imprinte them in the hearts of faithfull people.

2. Article.

Item, the foreſayd Walter Brute hath openly, publicquely, and notoriouſly aduouched, and commonly ſayd, and taught, and ſtubburnely affirmed: that euery Chriſten man (yea and womā) being without ſinne, may make the body of Chriſt ſo well as a prieſt.

3. Article.

Item, the ſame Walter hath notoriouſly, openly and publicquely aduouched and taught, that in the Sacramēt of ẏ altar there is not the very body, but a ſigne and a memoriall onely.

4. Article.

Item, the foreſayd Walter hath ſayd commōly, and aduouched, and alſo hath laboured to informe men and companies, that no man is bounde to geue tythes nor oblacions: and if any man will nedes geue, he may geue his tythes and oblacions to whom hee will, excludyng therby their curates.

5. Article.

Item, that ſuch as do preach & preferre croyſed matters and pardons (graunted by the high Biſhop, to them that helpe the purpoſe of the reuerend father Lord Henry, by the grace of God Byſhop of Norwich, when as he tooke his iourney vpon hym to fight for the holy father the pope) are ſchiſmatickes and hereticques, and that the pope cannot graunt ſuch maner of pardons.

6. Article.

Item, the ſayd Walter hath oftentimes ſayd, and cōmonly aduouched: that the Pope is Antichriſt, and a ſeducer of the people, and vtterly agaynſt the law and life of Chriſt.

7. Article.

Item, whereas of late your reuerence did (at the inſtance of faithfull Chriſten people) procede in forme of law agaynſt William Swynderby: and that the ſayd William Swynderby had vnto the ſayd articles obiected agaynſt him, geuen vppe his aunſwers in writyng, conteinyng in them errours, ſchiſmes and hereſies, euen as you with the mature counſaile of maiſters and doctours in diuinitie and other faculties haue determined and geuen ſentence, and haue pronounced the ſame William Swynderby to bee an hereticke, & a ſchiſmaticke, and an erroneous teacher of the people: Neuertheles, the forenamed Walter hath openly, publicquely, and notoriouſly ſayd, aduouched, and ſtubburnely affirmed, that the ſayd Williams aunſwers (wherof a notiſe hath ben geuen before) are good, rightuous, & not hable to be conuinced, in ẏ that they contein none errour: and that your ſentence before ſayd, geuen agaynſt the ſame William, is euill, falſe, and vniuſt: & that you and your aſſiſtaūtes haue wickedly, naughtly, peruerſly, and vniuſtly condemned the aunſweres aforeſayd.

Other bloody promo

Now, therupō immediatly, thoſe ſame faithfull Chriſtiā people haue inſtātly required, that we would vouchſafe that other articles geuen by the ſame faithfull Chriſtians agaynſt the ſayd William Swynderby, together with the writynges and aunſweres of the ſame Williā thereunto: ſhould be admitted agaynſt Walter Brute, mencioned of in this matter of curſed hereſie: of which Articles and aunſwers, the tenours do follow in theſe wordes.

These co clusions articles o W. Swin by here pered, & iected to Walt. Bru are to be foūd be pag 556 562.

Inprimis, that one William Swinderby pretendyng himſelf prieſt, was of certayne articles and concluſions erroneous, falſe, ſchiſmaticall and heretical, by him preached, at diuers places & tymes, before a great multitude of faythfull chriſtians, iudicially conuinced: and the ſame articles and concluſions dyd he (inforced, by neceſſitie of law) reuoke & abiure, ſome as hereticall, & other as erroneous & falſe: & for ſuch dyd he aduouch thē euer afterward promiſing ſo to take & beleue thē & that frō thence forth he would opēly or priuely preach, teach, or affirme none of them: nor that he ſhould make ſermō nor preach within your dioces without licence demaunded and obtayned. And incaſe he ſhould to the contrary preſume, by preaching or aduouching: that then he ſhould be ſubiect to the ſeueritie of the Canons, euē as he iudicially ſware accordingly as the lawe inforced. Alſo the concluſions abiured by the ſayd william do followe, and are ſuch.

i. concluſiō Inprimis, that mē by the rule of charitie, may demaūd debts, but by no meanes impriſon any mā for debts: and that the partie ſo impriſoning a bodye, is excommunicated, before pag.556.

2 Item, that if the pariſhioners ſhall know their curate to be incontinent and naughtie: they ought to withdraw from hym their tythes, &c. pag.556.

3 Item, that tythes are meere almoſies, and in caſe that the curates ſhall be ill, they may be lawfullye beſtowed vpon others by the temporall owners, &c. pag.556.

4 Item, that an euill curate to excommunicate any vnder hys iuriſdiction for withholding of tithes, is nought els, &c. pag.556

5 Item, that no man may excommunicate any body, except that fyrſt he know him excommunicate of God: Neither do thoſe that communicate with ſuch a one, incurre the ſentence of excommunicacion by anye manner of meanes. Ibid.

6 Item, that euery prieſt may abſolue euery ſinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the goſpell vnto the people, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the biſhops. page.557.

7 Item, that a prieſt receauing by bargaine any thyng of yearely annuitie, is in ſo doing a ſchiſmaticke, and excommunicate. pag.557.

8 Item, he doth aſſuredly beleue (as he aduoucheth) that euery prieſt being in deadly ſinne, if he diſpoſe himſelf to make the body of Chriſt, doth rather committe idolatry then make Chriſtes body. pag.557.

9 Item, that no prieſt doth enter into any houſe, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the mayde, and therfore, &c. pag.557.

10 Item, that the childe is not ryghtlye baptiſed, if the prieſt, &c. Ibid.

11 Item, that no maner of perſon, if he liue againſt gods law, &c. Ibid.

12 Item, the ſame william agaynſt the things premiſed, and his reuocation and abiuration (not to hys hart conuerting, but from euill to worſe peruerting) dyd turne aſyde into our dioces: where running to and fro in diuerſe places, hath of his owne raſhe head preſumed to preach or rather to peruert, &c. pag.557. col.2.

13 Item, after that we had heard diuerſe rumours, and ſlaunders of very many, we directed diuers monitions, and commaundementes cōminatorie, to be ſent abroad by our Commiſſaries to ſondry places of our dioces: that no perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he were of, ſhoulde preſume to preach or to teach the ſacred ſcripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our dioces, &c. pag.555. col.1.

14 Item, that the ſame ſorte of monicions, inhibicions, & preceptes cōfirmed by our ſeale, came to the true and vndoubted knowledge of the ſayd william.

15 Itē, the ſame w. vnmindful of his own ſaluatiō hath ſithens & againſt thoſe monicions, inhibitions, & preceptes (and, that which is more abhominable to be spokē, in cōtempt of the high byſhops dignitie, and to the ſlaunder & offēſe of many people) preſumed, in diuers places of our ſayd dioces, to preache or rather to peruert and to teache the forementioned, and other hereticall, erroneous, and ſchiſmaticall deuiſes.

16 Item, the ſame williā in preachyng to the people: on monday, to wite, the firſt of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord.1390. in the churche of whitney in our dioces, helde and affirmed: that no prelate of the worlde, of what ſtate preeminence, or degree ſoeuer he were of, hauyng cure of ſoule and beyng in deadly ſinne. &c. pag.558. col.1.

17 Item, the ſame william in many placees ſaid, and affirmed in the preſence of many faythfull Chriſtian people, after the Sacramentall wordes vttered by the prieſt, hauyng the intent to conſecrate, there is not made the very body of Chriſt in the Sacramente of the Euchariſt. pag. 558. col.1.

18 Item, that accidencies cannot be in the Sacrament of the altar without their ſubiect: and that there remaineth material bread Concomitanter, with the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament. Vide ſupra pag.558.

19 Item, that a prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne cannot by the power of the Sacramentall woordes, make the body of Chriſt. &c. pag.558.

20 Item, that all prieſtes are of like power in all pointes, notwithſtandyng that ſome of them are in this worlde of hygher dignitie, degree, or preeminence. page. 558. col.2.

21 Item, that contrition onely, putteth away ſinne, if a man ſhalbe duely contrite: and that all vocall confeſſion and exerciſe, is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſitie to ſaluation. Ibidem.

22 Item, that inferiour curates haue not their power of byndyng and looſing mediatlye from the pope or Byſhop, but immediatly of Chriſt. &c. pag.558. col.2.

23 Item, that the pope cannot graunt ſuch kynd of annuall pardons, becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many yeares to the day of iudgement as is conteined in the popes bulles or pardons. Wherby it foloweth, that pardons are not ſo much worth as they are noiſed and praiſed to be. Ibidē.

24 Item, that it is not in the popes power to graunt vnto any penitent body, forgeuenes of the payne or of the treſpas. pag.559.

25 Item, that one giuyng his almes to any body whiche as he iudgeth hath no neede thereof, doth ſinne in ſo geuing it. pag.559. col.1.

26 Item, that it ſtandes not in the power of any prelate of what priuate religion ſo euer he be, to geue by letters benefites of their order. Neither do ſuch kynde of benefites geuen, profite them to whō they be geuen for the ſaluacion of ſoules. Vide ſupra. pag.559. col.1.

27 Item, that the ſame william vnmindfull of his owne ſaluation, hath many times and oftē reſorted to a certein deſert wood called Derwalſwood of our dioces: & there, in a certeyne vnhallowed chappell (nay a prophane cottage) hath preſumed of his owne proper raſhnes, to celebrate. &c. pag.559.

A foule faulte forſoothe.

28 Item, the ſame williā hath alſo preſumed to do the like thynges in a certeine prophane chappell, ſituate in the parke of Newton nygh to the town of Leyntwardyn, in the ſame our dioces. pag.559.

¶ Whiche thynges beyng done, the ſame faithfull Chriſten people, and ſpecially, ſir Walter Pride the penitenciary of our cathedrall churche of Hereford, perſonally appearing before vs, ſitting on oure iudgemente ſeat in the pariſhe churche of Whitborne of our dioces: brought forth and exhibited, two publicque inſtruments againſt the ſame Walter Brute, in the caſe of curſed hereſie aforeſayd, of which inſtrumentes here foloweth the tenours, and Articles in this ſorte.

Walter Pryde promoter, or rather a proude promoter.

In the name of God Amen. Be it euidently knowen to all perſons by this preſent publike inſtrument: that in the yeare from the incarnation, after the courſe and computation of the church of England. 1391. the indiction. xv. of the pontificall office of our moſt holye father and lord in Chriſt, Lord Boniface the. ix. by Gods wyſdome Pope, the ſecond yeare, the. xv. daye of the moneth of October, in the dwelling houſe of the worſhipful man maiſter John Godemoſton, Channon of the cathedrall church of Hereford, in the preſence of me the publike notary vnder written, and of wytneſſes ſubſcribed: Walter Brute lay man learned, of Hereford dioces, perſonally appearing, ſayd, auouched, and ſtyſlye maintayned: that the ſayd biſhop of Hereford and his aſſiſtants, which were with him the third day of the foreſayde moneth of October, the yeare of our Lord afore ſaide, in the church of Hereford: did noughtely, wickedly, peruerſly, and vniuſtly condemne the anſwers of ſyr W. Swinderby Chaplen, geuē by the ſame ſyr William to the ſame lord biſhop in writing, and alſo the articles miniſtred by the ſame ſir William.

The firſt inſtrument exhibited by certain Chanons of Hereford, againſt W. Brute.

B. of Hereford vniuſtly condē ned the articles of ſyr W. Swinderby.

And furthermore he ſayd, held, and aduouched, that the ſame concluſions geuen by the ſame ſir William, euen as they were geuen, are true and catholike

Matters obiected againſt Walter Brute.

Item, as touching the matters obiected agaynſt him by them that ſtood by, concerning the ſacrament of the altar: he ſaid, that after the ſacramental wordes: there doth remayne very bread, and the ſubſtance thereof after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt, and that there do not remaine accidencies without ſubſtaunce or ſubiect, after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt. And touching this matter, the doctors hold diuers opinions.

The pope Antichriſt.

Furthermore, as concerning the Pope, he ſaid, held, and auouched: that he is the verye Antichriſt, becauſe that in life and maners he is contrary ta the lawes, doctrines, and dedes of Chriſt our Lord.

Witneſſes againſt Walter Brute.

All and euerye of theſe thinges were done, euen as they be aboue written and rehearſed in the yeare of our Lord, pontifical office, moneth, day, and place aforeſaid, at ſupper time of the day aforenamed, then and ther being preſent the worſhipfull and diſcrite men, ſyr Walter Ramſbury, chiefe chaunter of the ſayde cathedrall church of Herefordе, Roger Hore Chanon of the ſame church, Walter Wall, chaplen of the ſayde Churche of Hereford, being a vicar of the Chorall, and certayne other wytneſſes worthy of credite, that were ſpecially called and deſired to the premiſſes. Ex Regiſt. Herford.

Richard Lee Regiſter and writer hereof.

And I Richard Lée Whelare, clerke of Worceter, being a publique notarie, by the authoritie apoſtolique: was perſonally preſẽt at all and ſingular the premiſſes, whileſt that (as is before rehearſed) they were done and a doing, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1391. pontificall office, moneth, day, place, and the houre aforeſayd: and I did ſée, write, and heare all and ſingular thoſe thyngs thus to be done, and haue reduced them into thys publique maner and forme: and being deſired truely to teſtifie the premiſſes, haue ſealed the ſaid inſtrument, made hereupon, with myne accuſtomed ſeale and name.

The forme of the ſecond inſtrument.

In the name of God, amen. Be it plainly knowen to all perſons, by this preſent publique inſtrument: that in the yeare from the incarnation of our Lord after the courſe and computatiõ of the church of England. 1391. the indiction fiftene, in the iij. yeare of the pontificall office of the moſt holy father in Chriſt, and our Lord, lord Boniface Pope by the prouidence of God, the 9. and in the xix. daye of the moneth of January. Walter Brute layman, of Hereford dioces, perſonallye appearing before the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord John by Gods grace biſhop of Hereford, in the preſence of me being a publique notarie, and one of the witneſſes vnder written: Did ſay, holde, publiſh, and affirme, the concluſions hereafter written, that is to ſay: that chriſten people are not bound to paye tythes, neyther by the lawe of Moyſes nor by the lawe of Chriſt.

Matters and cõcluſions miniſtred againſt Walter Brute. This concluſiõ ſeemeth to bee falſely collected as were before the articles of W. Swinderby. This concluſiõ alſo is not rightly gathered.

Item, that it is not lawfull for Chriſtians for anye cauſe in any caſe, to ſweare by the creator neyther by the creature.

Item, he confeſſed openly and of his owne accord, that within the ſame moneth of January, he did eate, drink, & communicate with William Swynderby, not being ignoraunt of the ſentence of the ſaid reuerend father: wherby the ſame William Swinderby was pronounced an heretique, a ſchiſmatique, & a falſe ſeducer of the common people. Which concluſions, the ſame reuerend father cauſed to be written, and in writing to be deliuered to the ſame Walter. Which when he had ſene and red, he ſaid alſo that he did maintaine and iuſtifye them according to the lawes aforeſayd. Theſe thinges were done in the chamber of yͤ ſaid biſhop of Hereford, at his manere of Whytborne of the ſaid dioces of Hereford: thẽ being there preſent the ſame biſhop aboueſaid, Maiſter Reynold of Wolſten Chanon of Hereford, Sir Philip Dileſke perſon of the pariſhe church of Blamuwryn, Thomas Guldefelde perſon of the church of Englyſbyknore, John Creſſet perſon of yͤ church of Whytborne, and Thomas Wallewayne houſholds ſeruaunts: for witneſſes ſpeciallye called and deſired to the premiſſes of the dioceſſes of Hereford and S. Aſſe.

Witneſſes againſt Walter Brute.

Benedict Come Regiſter, witnes and writer of this inſtrument againſt Walter Brute.

And I Benedict Come, clerke of the dioces of S. Aſſe, publicque notary by the Apoſtolicque authoritie for the dioces of S. Aſſe, was perſonally preſent together with yͤ witneſſes before named, at all and ſingular theſe & other thynges here premiſed, whileſt they were ſo done and a doyng, and dyd ſee, heare, and write thoſe thynges ſo to be done, as is before mẽcioned: and did write the ſame and reduce them into this publicque forme, and with my wonted and accuſtomed ſeale and name, haue ſealed it, being deſired and required truly to teſtifie the premiſſes.

At the laſt, the aforeſayd Walter Brute, did preſent and cauſe to bee preſented to vs (at diuerſe places and tymes aſſigned by vs to the ſame Walter, to aunſwere to the former concluſions and articles) diuers ſcrolles of paper written with his owne proper hande, for his aunſweres to the ſame articles and concluſions aboue written: he partly appearyng by his owne ſelfe, before vs ſittyng in our iudgement ſeate, and partely by his meſſengers ſpecially appointed to yͤ purpoſe: of which ſcrolles, the tenours do folow in order worde by worde, and be on this maner.

Certaine e hibites of Walt. Brute in writyng preſented to the B. his defenc

In the name of the father, and the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt. Amen. I Walter Brute, ſinner, layman, huſbandman, and a Chriſtiã (hauyng mine offpryng of the Britons, both by my father and mothers ſide) of the Britons haue been accuſed to the B. of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters, concernyng the catholique Chriſten faithe: by whom I am required, that I ſhould write an aunſwere in Latine to all thoſe matters. Whoſe deſire I will ſatiſfie to my power, proteſtyng firſt of all, before God and before all the worlde: that like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuſe the knowen truth for any rewarde greater or ſmaller, yea bee it neuer ſo byg, nor yet for the feare of any temporall puniſhement: euen ſo it is not my minde to mainteyne any erroneous doctrine for any commodities ſake. And if any man, of what ſtate, ſect, or condiciõ ſoeuer he be, will ſhew me yͭ I erre in my writynges or ſayings by the authoritie of the ſacred Scripture, or by probable reaſon grounded in the ſacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receiue his information. But as for the bare wordes of any teacher (Chriſt onely excepted) I will not ſimply beleue, except he ſhalbe hable to ſtabliſhe them by the truthe of experience, or of the Scripture: for becauſe that in the holy Apoſtles elected by Chriſte, there hath ben founde errour by the teſtimonie of the ſacred Scripture, becauſe that Paule him ſelfe dothe confeſſe that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthye to bee rebuked, Galat. the 2. chap. There hath been errour found in the holy Doctors that haue been before vs, as they themſelues confeſſe of themſelues. And oftentimes it falleth out, yͭ there is errour found in the teachers in our age: who are of contrarye opinions amongſt themſelues, and ſome of them doe ſomtimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemne the ſelfe ſame thing to be hereſie or errour. Which proteſtation premiſed, I will here place ij. ſuppoſitions or caſes for a grounde and a foundation of all thinges that I ſhall ſay, out of which I would gather out two probable concluſions ſtabliſhed vppon the ſame, and vpon the ſacred Scripture. By which concluſions, when as they ſhall be declared after my manner and faſhion, it ſhall plainlye appeare what mine opinion and iudgement is concerning all matters that I am accuſed of. But becauſe I am ignorant and vnlearned, I will get me vnder the mightie defences of the Lorde. O Lord I will remember thine onely righteouſnes.

Walt. Brute a Briton borne.

Proteſtatiõ made.

No writer or doctor without his errour the ſcripture onely excepted.

Errour in the Apoſt.

Errors in the Doctor

Errors and contrarie ties amon the popiſ writers.

Brute mo deſtly exc ſeth his le nyng.

The firſt caſe or ſup poſition.

God the father almighty vncreate, the maker of heauen and earth, hath ſent his ſonne (that was euerlaſtingly begotten) into this worlde: that he ſhould be incarnated, for the ſaluacion and redemption of mankynd, who was cõceiued by the holy ghoſt euerlaſtyngly proceding from the father and the ſonne, and was borne of Mary the virgine, to the end that we might be borne a new. He ſuffered Paſſion vnder Pontius Pilate for our ſinnes, laying downe his life for vs, that we ſhould laye downe our lyfe for our brethren. He was crucified, that wee ſhould be crucified to the world, and the world to vs. He was dead, that he might redeme vs from death, by purchaſing for vs forgeuenes of ſinnes. He was buried, that we being buried together with him in to death by baptiſme, & that we dead to ſinnes, ſhould lyue to righteouſnes. He deſcended into hell, therby deliuering man from thraldome, and from the bondage of the deuill, and reſtoring him to his inheritaunce, whych he loſt by ſinne. The third day he roſe from the dead, through the glorye of his father, that we alſo ſhould walk in newnes of life. He aſcended vp to the heauens, to which no bodye hath aſcended, ſauing hee that deſcended from heauen, euen the ſonne of man which is in heauen. He ſitteth at the the right hand of God the father almighty, vntil his enemies be made his foote ſtoole. He being in very deede ſo much beeter then the angels, as he hath obtained by inheritaunce a more excellent name then they. Frõ thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the deade, accordingly to their works, becauſe the father hath geuen all iudgement to the ſõne. In whoſe terrible iudgement we ſhall aryſe agayne, and ſhall all of vs ſtande before hys iudgement ſeate, and receiue ioy aſwell bodely, as ſpiritually for euer to endure, if we be of the ſheepe placed at the right hand: or els puniſhment both of body & ſoule if we ſhalbe found amõgſt gotes, placed on the left hãd. &c.

Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God, verye God and verye man, a king for euer, by ſtabliſhing an euerlaſting kingdom, breaking to pouder all the kingdoms of the world: Daniel. 2. a prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech, whereby alſo he is able euermore to ſaue ſuche as by him come vnto God, and alwayes lyueth to intreate for vs. Hebr. 7. He offering one ſacrifice for our ſynnes, hath made perfect for euer by one oblation, thoſe that be ſanctified, Heb. 10. Being the wyſedome that cannot be deceyued, and the truth that cannot bee vttered: hee hath in this world taught the wyll of the Godheade of his father, which wyll he hath in worke fulfilled, to thintent that he might faithfully inſtruct vs, and hath geuen the law of charitie to be of his faithful people obſerued, which he hath written in the hartes and myndes of the faithfull with the finger of God, where is the ſpirite of God, ſearching the inwarde ſecretes of the Godheade. Wherfore his doctrine muſt be obſerued aboue al other doctrines, whether they be of angels or of men, becauſe that he coulde not nor woulde not erre, in his teachyng. But in mens doctrines there chaunceth often tymes to be errour, and therefore we muſt forſake their doctrines if clokedly or expreſly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt. Mens doctrines being made for the peoples profit muſt bee allowed and obſerued, ſo that they bee grounded vpon Chriſtes doctrine, or at the leaſt be not repugnant to hys wordes.

If the high Biſhop of Rome, calling him ſelfe the ſeruaunt of the ſeruauntes of God, and the chief vicare of Chriſt in this world, do make and maintain many lawes contrarye to the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſte: then is he of thoſe that haue come in Chriſtes name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and haue ſeduced many a one, by the teſtimonie of our ſauiour in Math, chap. 24. and the Idoll of deſolacion ſitting in the temple of God, and takyng away frõ hym the continuall ſacrifice for a time, tymes, and halfe a time. Which Idoll muſt be reueled to the Chriſtiã people by the teſtimonie of Daniel. Wherof Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpell. When you ſhall ſee the abhominacion of deſolation that was tolde of by Daniell the Prophet, ſtãdyng in the holy place: let hym that readeth, vnderſtande and he is the peſtiferous mountaigne infectyng ẏ whole vniuerſall earth, as witneſſeth, Ieremie, chap. 51. & not the head of Chriſtes body. For the auncient perſon in yeares, and honorable in reuerence, he is the head, and the prophet teachyng lyes, is the taile, as Eſay allegeth. chap. 9. And he is that wicked, and ſinnefull captaine of Iſraell, whoſe fore appointed day of iniquitie is come in tyme of iniquitie, who ſhall take away Cidarim, & take away the crowne. Ezech. chap. 21. to whom it was ſayd, For aſmuch as thy hart was exalted, and dyddeſt ſaye, I am a God, and ſitteſt in the ſeate of God, in the hart of ẏ ſea, ſeyng thou art a man and not God, and haſt geuen thyne hart, as if it were the hart of God: therfore beholde I will bring vpon thee, the moſt ſtrõg and mighty ſtrãgers of the nations, and they ſhall drawe their ſwoordes vpon the beautie of thy wiſedome, & ſhall defile thy comlynes, and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt dye in the deſtruction of the ſlayne, & it foloweth. In the multitude of thine iniquities, & of the iniquities of thy marchaundiſe, thou haſt defiled thy ſanctification. I will therfore bring forthe a fire, from the middeſt of the whole earth, and wil make thee as aſhes vpon earth. Thou art become nothyng, & neuer ſhalt thou be any more. Ezech. chap. 28. Farthermore he is the Idle ſhepheard forſakyng his flocke, hauyng a ſword on his arme, and an other ſworde in his right eye. Zacha. 11. and ſittyng in the temple of God, doth aduaunce him ſelfe aboue all thyng that is called God, or what ſoeuer is worſhipped, by the teſtimonie of Paul to Theſ. 2. epiſt. 2. chap. And in the defection or fallyng away ſhall the man of ſin be reuealed, whom the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſlay, with the breath of hys month. For euery kyngdome diuided in it ſelfe, ſhalbe brought to deſolacion. He is alſo beſides, the beaſt aſcendyng vp out of the earth, hauing two hornes like vnto a Lambe, but he ſpeaketh lyke a dragon, and as the cruell beaſt aſcending vp out of the ſea, whoſe power ſhall continue. 42. monethes. He worketh the things that he hath geuen to the image of the beaſt. And he compelled ſmall and great, rich and power, freemen and bond ſlaues, to worſhyppe the beaſt, and to take hys marke in their foreheade or their handes. Apocalips the 13. chapter.

The pope if his lawes be contrary to Chriſt is the peſtiferous mountaine infecting the whole earth. Ieremy. 51.

The pope, the ſinful captain of Iſrael, ſpoken of Ezech. 21.

Antichriſt deſcribed.

Ezech. 28

The pope an Idle ſhepherd. Zacha. 11.

The beaſt horned like the lambe.

The pope ſignifieth the beaſt aſcending out of the earth.

And thus by the teſtimonie of all theſe places is he the chiefe Antichriſt vpon the earth, and muſt be ſlaine with the ſword of Gods word, and caſt with the Dragon, the cruell beaſt, and the falſe Prophet that hath ſeduced the earth, into the lake of fire & brimſtone to be tormented world without end. If the citie of Rome do allowe hys traditions, and do diſalowe Chriſtes holy commaundementes, and Chriſtes doctrine, that it may confirme his traditions: then is ſhe Babilon the great, or ẏ daughter of Babilon, and the great whore ſitting vpõ many waters, with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitauntes of the earth are become dronken with the wine of her harlotrie lieng open to baudrie. With whoſe ſpirituall whoredome, enchauntmentes, witchcraftes, & Simon Magus marchandiſes, the whole round world is infected and ſeduced: ſaying in her hart, I ſit as queene, and widowe I am not, neither ſhall I ſee ſorowe and mourning. Yet is ſhe ignoraunt that within a litle while ſhall come the daye of her deſtruction & ruine, by the teſtimonie of the Apoc. chap. 17. Becauſe that from the time that ẏ continuall ſacrifice was taken awaye, and the abhomination of deſolation placed, there be paſſed 1290. daies by the teſtimonie of Daniell, and the Chronicles added do agree to the ſame. And the holy citie alſo hath been troden vnder fote of the heathen, for 42. monethes: and the woman was nouriſhed vp in the wildernes (vnto which ſhe fledde for feare of the face of the ſerpent) during 1260. dayes, or els for a time, times, and halfe a time which is all one. All theſe thinges be manifeſt by the teſtimonie of the

Terrible ſcriptures agaynſt the pope.

Rome Babylon.

Apoc. 17

1290. dayes figured in Dan.

Apocalips, and the Chronicles therto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of Babilon aforeſaid, it is manifeſt in the Apoc. where it is ſaid: In one day ſhall her plages come, deathe, lamentation, and famine, and ſhe ſhall be burned with fire. For ſtrong is the Lord which wyll iudge her. And againe, Babylon that great city is fallē, which hath made all nations to drynke of the wyne of her whoredome. And thirdly, one mightye angell tooke vp a myll ſtone that was a very great one, and dyd caſt it into the ſea, ſaying: wyth ſuche a violence as thys is, ſhall that great citie Babilon be euerthrowen, & ſhal no more be found. For her marchauntes were the princes of the earth, and wyth her wytchcrafte all nations haue gone aſtray, and in her is there found, the bloud of the ſayntes and prophetes. And of her deſtruction ſpeaketh Eſay in the .xiij. chap. And Babilon that glorious city, being ſo noble amongeſt kingdomes in the pride of the Caldeans, it ſhalbe: that like as the Lord dyd ouerturne Sodome and Gomorre vpſide downe, it ſhall neuer more be inhabited, nor haue the foundation layde in no age, from generation to generation. Ieremy ſayth: Your mother that hath borne you, is brought to verye great confuſion, and made euen with the ground. And againe: The Lord hath deuiſed and done as he hath ſpokē againſt the inhabiters of Babilon, which dwel richly in their treaſures vpon many waters, thine end is com. And thirdly: Drouth ſhall fal vpon her waters, and they ſhall begyn to be dry, for it is a land of grauen images, and boaſteth in her prodigious wonders: It ſhall neuer more be inhabited, neither be buylded vp in no age nor generation. Verely, euen as God hath ſubuerted Sodome and Gomor with her calues.

The fall of Babilon.

Apoc. 14.

Eſay. 13

Ierem. 51

Pardon me (I beſeche you) thoughe I be not plentyfull in pleaſant wordes: For if I ſhoulde runne after the courſe of this wicked world, and ſhoulde pleaſe men, I ſhould not be Chriſtes ſeruaunt. And becauſe I am a poore man, and neither haue, nor can haue notaries hired to teſtify of theſe my writinges: I call vpon Chriſt to be my wytnes, which knoweth the inward ſecretes of my hart, that I am ready to declare the things that I haue written after my faſhion, to the profit of al Chriſten people, and to the hurt of no man liuing, and am readye to be reformed, if any man wyl ſhew me where I haue erred: being ready alſo (miſerable ſinner thoughe I be) to ſuffer for the confeſſion of the naime of Chriſt and of his doctrine, as muche as ſhall pleaſe him by his grace and loue to aſſiſt me, a miſerable ſinner. In wytnes of all theſe thinges, I haue to this writing ſet the ſeale of our Lord and ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, which I beſeche him to imprint vpon my forehead, and to take from me all maner of marke of Antichriſt. Amen.

¶ Theſe two ſuppoſitions (as they are termed in the ſcholes) writen by Walter Brute, and exhibited vnto ẏ biſhop, although they contained matter ſufficient either to ſatiſfy the B. if he had ben diſpoſed to learn, or els to haue prouoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therin had ben better thē his: yet could they worke nether of thē, effect in him. But he receuing and peruſing the ſame whē he neither could confute ẏ which was ſaid, neyther would replye or anſwer by learning to that which was truth, finding other bycauillations, ſayd: that thys hys writing was to ſhort and obſcure, and therfore required him, to write vpon the ſame agayne more playnlye and more at large. Whereupon the ſayd maiſter Walter (ſatiſfieng the biſhops requeſt, and ready to geue to euerye one an accompt of his faith) in a more ample tractation renueth his matter agayne before declared, writing to the biſhop in wordes and forme, as foloweth.

An other declaration of the ſame matter before, after a more ample tractation exhibited by W. Brute to the B.

Reuerende father, forasmuche as it ſeemeth to you, that my motion in my twoo ſuppoſitions or caſes, and in my two concluſions, is to ſhorte and ſomewhat darke: I wyll gladly now ſatiſfy your deſire, according to my ſmall learning, by declaring the ſame concluſiōs. In opening wherof it ſhall plainly appeare, what I doo iudge in all matters, that I am accuſed of to your reuerence: deſiring you firſt of all, that your diſcretion wold not beleue that I doo enterpriſe of anye preſumption to handle the ſecretes of the ſcriptures, whiche the holye and iuſt, and wyſe doctours haue left vnexpounded. It is not vnknowen to many, that I am in all poyntes far inferiour to them, whoſe holynes of lyfe and profoundnes in knowledge, is manifold wayes allowed. But as for myne ignorance, and multitude of ſinnes, are to my ſelfe and others ſufficiently knowen: wherfore, I iudge not my ſelfe worthy to vnlooſe or to cary their ſhoes after them. Do you therefore no otherwyſe deme of me, then I do of myne own ſelfe. But if you ſhall finde any goodnes in my writinges, aſcribe it to God onely: who according to the multitude of his mercy, doth ſometymes reueale thoſe thinges to Idiotes and ſinners, whych are hidden from the holye and wyſe, according to thys ſaying: I will prayſe & confeſſe thee O father, for that, thou haſt hiden theſe thynges from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt diſcloſed them to the litle ones. Euen ſo O father, becauſe it hath thus pleaſed thee. And in an other place. I am come to iudgement into this world, ẏ they which ſee not may ſee, and that they whiche ſee, may be made blind. And Paule ſayth: That God hath choſē the weake thyngs of the world, to confound the mighty, that no mā ſhall boaſt in hym ſelfe, but that all men ſhould geue the honour to God.

They that ſo humbly iudge of themſelues and do not ſo careleſly contemne, are of God.

It was commaunded to Eſay, bearyng the type of Chriſt: Go and ſay to this people, Heare ye with your hearyng, and do not vnderſtand: Beholde ye the viſion, and yet know ye not the thyng that ye ſee: Make blynde the hart of this people, and make dull their eares, & ſhut their eyes, leaſt that perchaunce with their eyes they ſhould ſee, and with their eares they ſhould heare, and with their hartes they ſhould vnderſtand and be conuerted, and I ſhould heale thē. And I ſayd, how long Lord: And he ſayde, vntill that the cities bee made deſolate without inhabitantes, and the houſe without anye perſon within it. Alſo in Eſay thus is it written: And the multitude of all nacions, whiche ſhall fighte agaynſte Ariel, and all perſonnes that haue warred, and beſieged and preuailed agaynſte it, ſhall be as a dreame that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry perſon dreameth that he eateth, but when he ſhall awake out of hys ſlepe, his ſoule is empty. And like as the hungry perſon dreameth that he eateth, & yet after that he ſhall awake, he is ſtill wery and thirſty, and his ſoule voyde of nouriſhment: euen ſo ſhall it be with the multitude of all nacions that haue fought agaynſt the mout Syon. Be you amaſed, and haue great wonder: reele ye to and fro and ſtaggre ye: be ye drunken and not with wyne: ſtaker, but not through drunkennes: for the Lorde hath mingled for you the ſpirite of drouſines. He ſhall ſhut your eyes, he ſhall couer your Prophetes and princes that ſee viſions. And a viſion ſhalbe to you all together, lyke the wordes of a ſealed booke, whiche when he ſhall geue to one that is learned, he ſhal ſay: Read here, and he ſhall aunſwere, I cannot, for it is ſealed. And the booke ſhalbe geuen to one, that is vnlearned and knoweth not his letters, and it ſhalbe ſaid vnto him, Read. And he ſhal aūſwere, I know not ẏ letters, I am vnlearned. Wherfore the Lord ſaith: For aſmuch as this people draweth, nigh me with their mouthes, & glorifieth me with their lyps, but their harte is farre from me, and they haue rather feared the commaundementes of men, and haue cleaued to their doctrines: Behold therfore, I will adde beſides, & bryng ſuch a muſe and meruell vpon this people, whiche ſhall make men amaſed, with meruelyng. For wiſedom ſhall periſh from their wiſemen, and the vnderſtandyng of their pru-

Eſay. 6.

Eſay. 29.

Eſay. 29

dent perſōs ſhalbe hiddē. And ſoone after it foloweth in ẏ ſame place. Yet a litle while & Libanus ſhall be turned in to Charmell, & Charmell compted for a cops or groaue, and in the ſame day ſhal the deafe folkes, heare ẏ wordes of this booke, and the eyes of the blinde (chaunged from darkenes and blindnes) ſhall ſee.

Nabuchodonozor enquiring of Daniell ſayd, Thinkeſt thou, that thou canſt truely declare me the dreame that I haue ſeene, and the meaning therof? And Daniell ſaid: As for the myſtery wherof the king doth aſke, neither the wiſe men, magicians, ſouthſayers, nor inchanters can declare to the king: But there is a God in heauen, that diſcloſeth myſteries, who will declare to thee (O king Nabuchodonozor) what thinges ſhall come to paſſe in the laſte times of all. To me alſo is this ſacrament or myſterie diſcloſed (not for any wiſedome that is in me more then in all men liuing) but to that the interpretation might be made manifeſt to the king, and that thou ſhouldeſt know the cogitations of thy minde.

...ibanus, & Charmel, ...lish, the ...e in Phoe... ...cia, fruit... ...ll & plea... ...nt: the ...der in the ...orders of ...ewry, bar... ...en and va... ...which is Charmel. ...aniel.2.

It was alſo ſayd to Daniell, and thou Daniell, ſhut vp the wordes, ſeale vp the booke, vntill the time appointed. Very many people ſhall paſſe ouer, and manifolde knowledge ſhall there be: And Daniell ſayd to the man that was clothed with linnen garmentes, who ſtoode vpon the waters of the floud: How long will it be before the end ſhall come of theſe marueilous thinges? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparell who ſtoode vpon the waters of the floudes, when he had lifte vp his right hand and his left hand into heauen, and had ſworne by him that liueth for euermore: that for a time, tymes, and halfe a time. And whē the ſcattering abroad of the hand of the holy people ſhalbe accompliſhed: then ſhall all theſe things be finiſhed. And I heard and vnderſtoode not, and I ſayd: O my Lord, what ſhall be after theſe thinges, and he ſayd: Goe thy wayes Daniell, for this talke is ſhut and ſealed vp, vntil the time that is before appointed.

...anl.12

All theſe thynges haue I written to ſhewe, that he ẏ hath the key of Dauid, who openeth & no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth: doth (when and how long it pleaſeth hym) hide the myſteries, and the hid ſecrets of the Scriptures, from the wiſe, prudent, and righteous: and otherwhiles at his pleaſure, reuealeth ẏ ſame to ſinners and laye perſons, and ſimple ſoules, that he maye haue ẏ honor & glory in all things. Wherfore as I haue before ſayd, if you ſhall finde any good thing in my writings, aſcribe the ſame to God alone: If you ſhall finde otherwiſe, thinke ye the ſame to be written of ignorance and not of malice. And if any doubt or errour be ſhewed me in all my writinges, I wyll humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

But why that ſuch maner of matters at moued touching the diſcloſing of Antichriſt in this kingdom, more then in other kingdōs, and in this time alſo more thē in tyme paſt: The anſwer, as cōcerning the tyme of ẏ motion is, that it is the laſt coniunction of Saturne and Iupiter in the ſign of ẏ Twins, which is ẏ houſe of Mercury, being the ſignifier of the Chriſtian people: which coniunction ſemeth to me to betoken the ſecond comming of Chriſt, to reforme his church, and to call men agayne by the diſcloſing of Antichriſt, to the perfection of the goſpel, from their Heitheniſh rites and waies of the Gentiles. By whom the holy citye was trampled vnder foote, for. 42. monethes, euen as the coniunction of the ſayd two planets being incloſed in the ſigne of the Virgine, which is alſo the houſe of Mercury: did betoken the firſt comming of Chriſt, for the ſaluation of all people that were periſhed of the houſe of Iſrael, whereby to cal them through the ſame comming, to the full perfection of the Goſpell. As touching this calling of the Heathen, ſpeaketh Chriſt in the Goſpell, I haue alſo other ſhepe, that are not of thys folde, and thoſe muſt I bring, and they ſhall heare my voyce, and there ſhal be one ſhepefold, and one ſhepherd. For although the Gentiles be conuerted, from the infidelitie of their idolatry, to the faith of Chriſt: yet ar they not conuerted to the perfection of the law of Chriſt. And therfore did the Apoſtles in the primatiue church, lay no burthen vpon the Gentiles, but that they ſhould abſtain from haynous thinges, as from thinges offred to idols, and from blood, and ſtrangled, and fornication. As touching this ſecōd comming, ſpeaketh Eſay: On that day, the roote of Ieſſe whyche ſtandeth for a ſigne or marke to the people, to hym ſhall the Heathen make their homage and ſupplication, and his ſepulchre ſhall be gloryous: and in that day ſhall it come to paſſe, that the Lord ſhall the ſecond time put to his hand, to poſſeſſe the remnant of his people. &c. And he ſhal lift vp a token toward the nations, and he ſhall aſſemble the runnagate people of Iſrael that were fled, and thoſe that were diſperſed of Iuda ſhall he gather together from the. iiij. quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim ſhal be broken to peeces, and the enemies of Iuda ſhall come to nought. Paule to the Theſſalonians ſayth: We beſeche you brethren, by the comming of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, and of our gathering together before hym: that you be not ſoone remoued frō your vnderſtanding, neither ẏ you be put in feare as though the day of the Lord were at hande, neyther as it were by letter ſent by vs, neyther by ſpirite, nor yet by talke. Let not anye bodye by any means bryng you out of the way, or ſeduce you: For except there ſhall firſt come a departyng, and that the man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition ſhalbe diſcloſed, whiche maketh reſiſtance, and is aduaunced aboue all thing that is called God, or that is worſhipped: ſo that he doth ſit in the temple of God, ſhowyng him ſelfe as if he wer God. Do ye not remēber that whileſt I was as yet with you, I told you of this: and now you know what kepeth him backe, that he may be vttered in his due tyme: For euen nowe doth he worke the myſterie of iniquitie, onely that he whiche holdeth, may holde ſtill vntill he be come to lyght: and then ſhall that wicked one be diſcloſed, whom the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſlaye with the breath of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroye with the brightnes of hys comming, euen hym: whoſe commyng is accordyng to the workyng of Sathan, in all power, with ſignes, and lyeng wonders, and in all deceatfull leadyng out of the truth to wardes thoſe that do periſh, becauſe that they receiued not hartly ẏ loue of truth, ẏ they might be ſaued.

...n Signo ...emini.

...ke here ...ood rea... ...by this aſtronomi... ...coniunctiō of the ſe... ...nets in Gemini, ...meaneth couertly ...ſchiſme betwene ...popes which la... ...d 19 yeares, by the ...ich coniunction, ...meaning is, that ...d would haue Anti... ...iſt to be ...ſcloſed, & ...church be ...refor... ...d.

By this perfection (I ſuppoſe) he meaneth the reformation of the church beyng out of the way.

Eſay.xi

The reuelyng of Antichriſt.

Chriſt being demaunded of the Apoſtles, what ſhould be the token of his cōmyng, and of the end of the world: ſayd vnto them. There ſhall come many in my name, ſayeng, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many. Alſo he telleth thē of many other ſignes, of batailes, famine, peſtilence, and earthquakes. But the greateſt ſigne of all he teacheth to be this. When you ſhall ſee (ſayth he) the abhominaciō of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place, he that readeth, let him vnderſtande. But Luke 21. in hys Goſpell ſpeaketh more playnly hereof. When you therfore ſhall ſee Ieruſalem to bee compaſſed about with an army, then know ye that the deſolation therof ſhal draw nygh. And afterwarde it foloweth: And they ſhall fall by the face of the ſword, and ſhalbe led away captiue to all nacions, and Ieruſalem ſhalbe troden vnder foote of the heathen, vntill the times of the naciōs be fulfilled. Now, in Daniell thus it is written of this matter. And after. 72. weekes, ſhall Chriſt be ſlayne, neither ſhall that bee his people, that will deny him. And as for the Citie and ſāctuary, ſhall a people (with his captaine that will come with them) deſtroy the ſayd citie & ſanctuary, & hys ende ſhalbe to be waſted vtterly, to it be broughte to noughte, and after the end of the warre, ſhall come the deſolacion appointed. In one weeke ſhall he confirme the couenant

The abhomination of deſolation.

Luke.21.

Deſtruction of the Iewes temple.

to many, and within halfe a weeke ſhal the offering and ſacrifice ceaſe. And in the temple ſhal there be the abominacion of deſolation, and euen vnto the ende ſhall the deſolacion cõtinue. And elſwhere in Daniell, thus it is writẽ: From the time that the continuall ſacrifice ſhalbe offered, and that the abhominacion ſhalbe placed in deſolacion, there ſhalbe. 1290. dayes. Nowe, if any man will beholde the Chronicles, he ſhall find that after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem was accõpliſhed, and after the ſtrong hãd of the holy people was fully diſperſed, and after the placing of the abhominacion, that is to ſay, the Idoll of deſolatiõ of Jeruſalem, within the holy place, where the tẽple of God was before, there had paſſed. 1290. dayes, taking a day for a yeare, as cõmõly it is taken in ẏ Prophetes. And the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whoſe rites & cuſtomes God ſuffered the holy citie to be trãpled vnder foote for 42. monthes. For although the Chriſtian church, which is the holy citie, continued in the fayth from the Aſcention of Chriſt euen till thys time: yet hath it not obſerued and kept the perfection of the fayth all thys whole ſeaſon. For ſoone after the departure of the Apoſtles, the fayth was kept with the obſeruation of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of ẏ rites of Moyſes lawe, nor of the lawe of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt. Wherfore ſeing that this time of the errour of ẏ Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Chriſt ſhal call ẏ Gẽtiles from the rites of their gentilitie, to the perfection of the Goſpell, as he called the Jewes from the lawe of Moyſes to the ſame perfection, in his firſt cõming: that there may be one ſhepefolde of the Jewes and Gentiles, vnder one ſhepeherd Chriſt. Seing therfore ẏ Antichriſt is knowen which hath ſeduced the nations: thẽ ſhall the electe after that they haue forſaken the errours of their Gentilitie come, through the light of Gods word, to the perfection of the Goſpell, and that ſame ſeducer ſhall be ſlaine with the ſworde of Gods worde. So that by theſe things it doth partly appeare vnto me, why that at this time rather then at an other time, this matter of Antichriſt is moued. And why that this motion is come to paſſe in this kingdome rather then in other kingdomes: me thinkes there is good reaſon, becauſe that no nation of the Gentiles was ſo ſoone cõuerted to Chriſt as were the Brytons the inhabitauntes of this kingdome. For, to other places of the world there were ſent preachers of the fayth, who, by the working of miracles & continuall preaching of the word of God, & by greuous paſſion and death of the body, did conuert the people of thoſe places: But in this kingdome, in ẏ time of Lucius king of the Brytons, and of Eleutherius biſhop of the Romaines, did Lucius heare of the Romanes that were infidels (by the waye of rumours and tales) of the Chriſtian fayth, which was preached at Rome. Who beleued ſtraightwaies, & ſent to Rome to Eleutherius for mẽ ſkilfull to informe him more fully in ẏ very fayth it ſelf: at whoſe cõming he was ioyfull, and was baptiſed wt his whole kingdome. And after ẏ receauing of ẏ fayth, they neuer forſoke it, neither for any maner of falſe preachinges of other, neither for any maner of torments, or yet aſſaults of the Paynims, as in other kingdomes it hath come to paſſe. And thus it ſemeth to me ẏ Britons amõgeſt other nacions, haue ben, as it were by the ſpirituall election of God, called and conuerted to the fayth. Of them as me ſemeth, dyd Eſay prophecie, ſaying: For they did ſee to whom there was nothyng tolde of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him. And againe, behold, thou ſhalt call a nation which thou kneweſt not: and nacions that haue not knowen thee, ſhall runne vnto thee: for the Lorde thy GOD, and the holye one of Iſraell, ſhall glorifie thee. Of this kyngdome, did S. John in the Apocalips prophecie, as me ſemeth, where he ſayd. The Dragon ſtode before the woman, whiche was about to be deliuered of childe, to the intent that when ſhe had brought it forth into the world, he mighte deuoure vp her ſonne: and ſhe brought forth her childe which was a mãchilde, who ſhould gouerne all nacions with an yron rod. And the ſame ſonne was taken vp to God, and to his throne. And the womã fled into the wildernes, whereas ſhe hath a place prepared of god, that they may feede her. 1260. dayes. And agayne in the ſame chapter, after that the Dragon ſaw that he was caſt out vpon the earth, he did perſecute the womã, which brought forth the man child. And there were geuen to the woman twoo wynges of a great Eagle, that ſhe might flee into the wildernes into her place, where as ſhe is foſtered vp for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did caſte as it were a floud of water after the woman, to the intent ẏ he might cauſe her to be drawen by the floud: and the earth opening her mouth did heare the womã and did ſwalow vp the floud which the Dragon did caſt out of his mouth. Let vs ſee, how theſe ſayinges may be applied to this kingdome rather then to other kingdomes. It is well knowẽ that this kingdome is a wildernes or a deſert place, becauſe that the Philoſophers and wiſemẽ did not paſſe vpon it, but did leaue it for a wildernes and deſert, becauſe it is placed without the clymates. Unto this place fled the woman, that is to ſay the church (which by faith did ſpiritually bring forth Chriſt into the worlde) where as ſhe was fed with the heauenly bread, the fleſh and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, for 1260. dayes, ſeing that for ſo many daies, taking a day for a yeare, the Brytons continued in the fayth of Chriſt, which thing can not be found ſo of any Chriſten kingdome, but of this deſert: and well is it ſaid, that ſhe flew to this place. For, from the eaſt came the faith into Britain, not by walking in iourney nor yet by ſayling: for then ſhould it haue come by Rome, Italie, Almaine, Fraunce, which can not be found: and therfore ſhe flew ouer thoſe places, and reſted not in them, euen as a bird flieng ouer a place, reſteth not in the ſame: but reſted in this wildernes for a time, tymes, and halfe a time, that is, 1260. yeares from the firſt comming of the fayth into Britaine vntill this preſent. In ſaying for a tyme, times, and halfe a time, there is a going forward frõ the greater to the leſſe. The greateſt time that we name, is a thouſand yeres, there is a time: and the next time that is leſſe in the ſingular number, is one hũdreth yere. In ẏ plurall nũber times ſignifie ẏ ther be mo hundreths thẽ one, at leaſt ij. hundreth yeares. Wherfore if they be put vnder a certaine nũber, it muſt nedes be ẏ they be ij. but ẏ ſame ij. cãnot fitly be called ſome times, except they be hundreths. For in that, ẏ there is a goyng down frõ the greater to ẏ leſſe, whẽ as it is ſayd, a time, times, & half a tyme, and that the nomber of a thouſand is likely aſſigned for a tyme: it muſt nedes folowe that tymes muſt be taken for hundrethes, and halfe a tyme for 60. becauſe it is the greater halfe of an hundreth yeares, though that 50. be the euen halfe. And when that the ſerpent ſent the water of perſecution after the woman to cauſe her to be drawen of the floud: then did the earth, that is to wit, the ſtablenes of faith helpe the woman, by ſuppyng vp the water of tribulation. For in the moſt cruell perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximiane agaynſt the Chriſtians, when as Chriſtianitie was almoſt euery where rooted out: yet did they in this kyngdome ſtande continually in the faith, vnmoueable. And ſo, conſideryng that the Britones, were conuerted to ẏ faith of Chriſt, as you would ſay, by an election and pyking out amongeſt all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had receiued the faith, they did neuer ſtart backe from the faith for no maner of tribulation: It is not to be meruailed, if in their place, the callyng of the Gentiles, bee made manifeſt to the profeting of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, by the reuelyng of Antichriſt. But beſides this, me ſemeth that Ezechiell doth ſpecially ſpeake of them, whereas he ſpeaketh

of

1290. dayes, in Daniel expounded.

For theſe 42. monthes, looke pag. 495.

Why rather at this tyme, then any other, the matter of Antichriſt is moued And why rather in thys kingdom, then in an other.

The firſt receyuing the fayth in this realme by the Britõs

Britaynes by the ſpeciall election of god called to fayth.

The calling of the gentiles to fayth.

Apoc.

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of the fall of the prince of Tyre, ſaying: for aſmuch as thy hart is lifted vp as if it were the hart of God, therefore behold: I will bryng vpon the, ſome of the ſtrongeſt of the heathen, and they ſhall draw their naked ſwordes vpon the beauty of thy wiſedome, and they ſhall defile thy comelynes, and they ſhal ſlay thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt dye in the ſlaughter of the ſlayne perſons, in the hart of the ſea. This prince who ſayth, that he him ſelfe is God, and doth ſit in Gods chaire in the hart of the ſea: doth ſignifie (as moſt likely it ſemeth to me) that Antichriſt ſhall be deſtroyed by the moſt mighty perſons of the Gētiles folke, thorough the ſworde of the worde of God. Becauſe that amongeſt the other Gentiles, there haue ben none more ſtrong then the Britones, either in their body, or in their faith, and in their bodely warres there haue ben none more mighty then they. For neuer in warres haue they ben vanquiſhed, but by their owne ſedition or treaſon. But howe many kyngdomes haue they conquered? Yea, and nother by the moſt mighty citie of Rome, could they be driuen out of their kingdome, vntill that God ſent vpon thē peſtilence & famine: wherby they beyng waſted, were compelled to leaue their cōtrey, whiche thing I haue not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, haue they ben amongeſt all people the ſtrongeſt, as before is ſayd, becauſe that by no tribulation, could they be compelled to forſake the faith. Wherfore of them, this ſemeth to me to be vnderſtāded. When I will bring vpō thee, ſome of the moſt ſtrongeſt people, and they ſhall drawe their naked ſwordes &c. By theſe things it may plainly appeare, why at this tyme (rather then in tyme paſt) this matter is ſturred vp: and why in this kyngdom (rather then in other kyngdomes) the callyng of the gentiles is intreated of, to the verifieng of the Goſpel, thorough the diſcloſing of Antichriſt.

But foraſmuch as many tales and fables are tolde of Antichriſt and his comming, and many things which do rather ſeduce then inſtruct the hearers, are applied to him out of the ſcriptures of the prophets: we wil briefly write thoſe things which are ſpoken of him, and we wil ſhew that the ſame fable ſprang from the errour of people imagening, and from no truth of the ſcriptures propheciẽg. Now then they do ſay, that Antichriſt ſhall be borne in Babilon of the tribe of Dan, and conceiued of the mixture of man and woman in ſynne, becauſe that Chriſt was borne of a virgin, and conceiued of the holy ghoſt. They ſaye, that he ſhall be an ill fauoured perſonage, becauſe that it is written of Chriſt: comelye and beutifull is he, beyond the ſonnes of men. They ſay, that he ſhall preache three yeares and an halfe where Chriſt preached, & that he ſhall circumciſe himſelf, and ſay yͭ he is Chriſt, & the Meſſias ſent for the ſaluation of yͤ Jewes. And they ſay, that he ſhal thre maner of wayes ſeduce yͤ people, by falſe miracles, giftes, and torments. So that whom he ſhall not be able to ouercome wyth myracles nor with gifts, thoſe ſhal he go about to ouercome with diuers kindes of tormentes. And thoſe that he ſhall ſeduce, will he marke with his tokens in their forheade or handes. He ſhall ſit in in the temple of God, and cauſe himſelfe to be worſhipped as God. He ſhal fight (as they ſay) with the two witneſſes of Chriſt, Enoch and Helye, & ſhall kyll them, and he him ſelfe ſhall finally bee ſlaine with lightening. To this imagined man of their owne imagination, but of none of the prophetes foreſhewed (at leaſt in no ſuch wyſe as this is) do they apply the prophets, as this of Daniel: When the continuall ſacrifice ſhall be taken away, and abhomination ſhall be placed to deſolation: That is (ſay they) when the woorſhipping of God ſhall be taken away, and deſolation (to wit, Antichriſt) ſhall abhominablye ſhewe foorth him ſelfe to be worſhipped, thē ſhal there be.1290.daies: that is to ſay, three yeres and a halfe. And this time do they ſay is the time, times, and halfe a time. And when it is ſaid in Daniell: Bleſſed is he that looketh for, and commeth to a 1335.daies. This do they ſay, is thus to be vnderſtanded, 45.dayes of repentaunce to ſuche as haue woorſhipped Antichriſt: whiche.45.daies added to the.1290. make 1335.dayes. Whych dayes they that ſhall reache vnto, ſhall be called bleſſed.

They apply alſo to this Antichriſt, this ſaying of the Apocalips: I ſaw a beaſt riſing vp out of the ſea, hauing vij.heades, and.x.hornes, who had power geuen him to make.42.monethes. Which monethes (as they ſay) doo make three yeare and an halfe, in which Antichriſt ſhall raigne. And many other thinges are there tolde, and applied vnfitlye to this imagined Antichriſt, that are not truly grounded vpon the ſcriptures.

Touchinge theſe 42. monethes. ſee aboue pag. 493.

Now, let vs ſhew the errours of this fable. Fyrſt of all, if there ſhall come ſuch one (ſaying expreſlye that he is Chriſt) what Chriſtian woulde bee ſeduced by him, though he ſhould do neuer ſo many miracles? Neyther ſhall he come after the maner of a ſeducer, which ſhall ſhewe himſelf an expreſſe aduerſarie. Neither is it likely that the Jewes can be ſeduced by ſuch a one, ſeing that Chriſt is not promiſed vnto them of the ſtocke of Dan by anye of the Prophets, but of the ſtocke of Juda: nor yet is he promiſed to thē to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making war. For of Chriſt ſaith Eſay: And in the laſt daies, ſhal there be prepared the mountaine of the houſe of the Lord. in the top of the mountaines, and it ſhal be exalted aboue the hils: and to it, ſhall all the nations haue great recourſe, and many people ſhall go and ſay: Come, let vs go vp to the mountaine of the Lorde, and to the houſe of the God of Jacob, and hee ſhall teach vs his wayes, and wee ſhall walke in his pathes. For out of Syon ſhall there go a law, and the woord of the Lord from Jeruſalem, and he ſhall iudge the nations, and reproue much people. And they ſhall turne their ſwords into plowſhares, and their ſpeares into ſithes. There ſhal not a nation lift vp it ſelf againſt an other nation, nor yet ſhall they be anye more exerciſed to warre. And againe: A litle babe is borne to vs, and a ſonne is geuen to vs, and his imperiall kyngdome vpon his ſhoulder, and hys name ſhall bee called, The great counſailour: The mighty God: The father of the world to come: The prince of peace. His Empire ſhall be multiplied, and there ſhal be no end of his peace. He ſhall ſit vpon the ſeate of Dauid, and vpon his kyngdome: that he may make it ſtedfaſt and ſtrong in iudgement, and in iuſtice, from henceforth and for euermore. Zachary doth ſay of Chriſt: Reioyce thou greatlye, O thou daughter Syon, be thou exceeding mery, O daughter Jeruſalem: Behold thy king ſhall come a righteous perſon, and a ſauiour vnto thee, and yet he a poore mā, and getting vp vpon an Aſſe, euen vpon a young colt of the ſhe Aſſe. And I will ſcatter abrode the chariot of Ephraim, and the horſe of Jeruſalem. And yͤ bow of war ſhall be diſperſed, and he ſhall ſpeake peace to the nacions, and his power ſhall be from the ſea to the ſea, and from the floud vnto the borders of the earth.

The old imagination touching Antichriſt cōfuted.

Antichriſt cōmeth not ſo groſlye as the papiſts imagine

Eſay cap.2.

Eſai.2.

Eſay.9.

Zacha.9.

By which thyngs it is manifeſt, that the wiſe Jewes knew well inough, Chriſt to be promiſed to them of the ſtocke of Juda and not of the ſtocke of Dan: and that he was geuen, all to peace and not to warre: Therfore it is not lykely, that they can be ſeduced by ſuch a one. But if there ſhould haue ben in tyme to come ſome ſuch ſingular Antichriſt, thē would Chriſt (ſeyng he loued his) haue ſayd ſomwhat vnto them of him. Now, of one ſingularly doth he not ſpeake: but of many, ſaying. Many ſhall come in my name, and ſay, I am Chriſt: and they ſhall ſeduce many perſons. But now let vs ſee, how the prophecies in Daniel, and the Apocalips (aforeſayd) be falſly and erroneouſly applied to yͤ ſame imagined Antichriſt. For in Daniell the ix.chap. thus it is writen. And after 72.weekes ſhall Chriſt be ſlayne, and they whiche will

Antichriſt can not come of the tribe of Dan.

Daniel 9.

deny

„ denye him ſhall not be his people. And the citie and ſan-
„ ctuary ſhall a people, with their captaine that ſhall come
„ with them deſtroye, whoſe ende ſhalbe vtter deſolation,
„ and after the ende of the warre a determined deſtructiō.
„ Now, he ſhall in one weeke cōfirme his couenaunt tow-
„ ardes many, and in the halfe weeke ſhall the offeryng &
„ ſacrifice ceaſe, and in the temple ſhall there be an abho-
„ mination of deſolation, and euen to the fulfilyng vp of
„ all, and to the ende, ſhall the deſolation continue. It is playne and manifeſt that this prophecie is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome with their captayne, deſtroyed Ieruſalem euen to the ground, & the people of the Iewes was ſlayne and ſcattered. And the abhominaciō, that is, the Idoll of deſolation was placed of Adrian, in the laſt deſtruction in Ieruſalem in the holy place, that is to ſay, in a place of the temple. And frō that tyme hetherto haue paſſed nere aboute. 1290. dayes, takyng a daye for a yeare, as Daniell takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewiſe. For Daniell ſpeaking of 62. weekes, doth not ſpeake of the weekes of dayes but yeares. So therefore when he ſayth, From the tyme that the continuall ſacrifice was taken awaye &c. 1290. dayes muſt be taken for ſo many yeres, from the tyme of the deſolation of Ieruſalem, euen vnto the reuealing of Antichriſt: and not for iij. yeares and an halfe, which they ſay, Antichriſt ſhall reigne. And agayne, whereas Daniell ſayd, How long till the ende of theſe meruellous matters? it was aunſwered him. For a time, and times, and halfe a tyme. Beholde alſo, howe vnfitly they did aſſigne thys time, by iij. yeares and a halfe, which they ſay, Antichriſt ſhall reigne. For when as it is ſayd, a tyme, tymes, and halfe a time: there is a going downeward from the greater to the leſſe: from the whole to the parte, becauſe it is from a time to halfe a time. Yf therfore, there be a going downewarde from the whole to the parte, by the myddſt (which is greater then the whole it ſelfe) the goyng downward is not meete nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is ſayd, that a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme is a yeare, two yeares, & halfe a yeare. Wherfore more fytly it is ſayd, that a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, doth ſignifie. 1290. yeares, as is before ſayd in the chapter precedyng. Thus therfore is the prophecy of Daniell falſly applied to that imagined Antichriſt. Likewiſe is the proces of the Apocalips applied to ẏ ſame imagined Antichriſt, to much erroneouſly. Becauſe that the ſame cruell beaſt whiche came vp out of the ſea, hauyng vij. heades, and x. hornes, to whom there was power geuen ouer euery tribe, people, and tonge, & the power geuen for the ſpace of 42. monthes: This beaſt doth note the Romane Emperours, which moſte cruelly did perſecute the people of God, aſwell Chriſtians as Iewes. For when as the cōdemnation of the great whore ſitting vpon ẏ many waters was ſhewed to Iohn: he ſawe the ſame woman ſitting vpon the purple coloured beaſt full of the names of blaſphemie, hauing vij. heades, and x. hornes: & he ſaw a woman being dronken with the bloud of the ſaincts and martirs of Ieſu. And the angell expounding and telling him the miſterie of the woman and the beaſt that caried her, ſayd: The vij. heades are vij. hils, and are vij. kings: Fiue are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he ſhall come, he muſt reigne a ſhort time. And the x. hornes which thou ſaweſt, are x. kinges, who haue not yet taken their kingdome, but ſhall receaue their power as it were in one houre, vnder the beaſt. And finallye he ſayth, the woman whom thou ſaweſt, is the great citie, which hath the kingdome ouer the kinges of the earth. And it is manifeſt that the citie of Rome, at the tyme of this prophecie, had the kingdome ouer the kinges of the earth. And this citie was borne vp and vpholden by her cruell and beaſtlye Emperours: who by their crueltie & beaſtlines did ſubdue vnto themſelues in a manner, all the kingdomes of the world, of a zeale to haue lordſhip ouer others, and not vertuouſlye to gouerne the people that were their ſubiectes, ſeing that they themſelues did lacke all vertue, and drew backe others from the fayth and from vertue.

The abhomination or idoll of deſolation ſtandyng in the holy place.

Antichriſt to raigne onely 3. yeares and half is falſe.

Loke before in the ſtory of the x. fyrſt perſecutions.

Apoc.13.

The beaſt in the 13 of the Apoc. expounded

The purple beaſt in the Apoc. meaneth Rome.

Wherfore, that cruel beaſt comming vp out of the ſea, doth rightlye note the Romaine Emperours, who had power ouer euery language, people and country. And the power of this beaſt was for. 42. monethes: becauſe that from the firſt Emperour of Rome, that is to ſaye, Iulius Ceſar, vnto the ende of Fridericke the laſt Emperour of Rome there were. 42. monethes, taking a moneth for. xxx. daies, as the monethes of the Hebrues and Grecians are, and taking a day alwayes for a yeare, as commonly it is takē in the Prophets. By which things it may plainly appeare, how vnfitly this prophecy is applied to that imagined Antichriſt, and the. 42. monethes taken for three yeares and an halfe, which (they ſaye he ſhall raigne in, againſt the ſaying of ẏ prophets, becauſe that dayes are taken for yeares. As in the fyrſt of the Apocalips: They ſhalbe troubled. x. daies. Which do note the moſte cruell perſecution of Diocletian againſte the Chriſtians that endured. x. yeares. And in an other place of the Apocalips, it is written of the ſmoke cōming vp out of the bottomles pit. Out of which pyt there cam forth Graſhoppers into the earth: and to them was power geuen, as ſcorpiōs haue power, to vexe and to trouble men fiue monethes. Nowe it is manifeſt, that from the begynning of the Friers minours and preachers, to the tyme that Armachanus, began to diſcloſe and vncouer their hypocriſie, and their falſe fundation of valiant begging vnder the pouertie of Chriſt, were v. monethes, taking a moneth for xxx. dayes, & a day for a yeare. And to Ezechiel, were dayes geuen for yeares. Wherfore it is an vnfyt thyng to aſſigne the 42. monethes beyng appointed to the power of the beaſt, vnto iij. yeares and a halfe, for the reigne of that fātaſticall and imagined Antichriſt: ſpecially ſeyng that they do applie to his reigne, the 1290. dayes in Daniell, which make 42. monethes, and in the Apocalips they aſſigne him 42. monethes. It is playne that the pſalterie and the harpe agrée not. And therfore ſeing that it is ſufficiently ſhewed, that the ſame fablyng tale of that imagined Antichriſt to come, is a fable and erroneous: Let vs go forward to declare whether Antichriſt be already come, and yet is he hyd from many, and muſt be opened and diſcloſed within a lytle while, accordyng to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the ſaluation of the faithfull.

And becauſe that in the firſt concluſion of mine aunſwer, I haue conditionally put it, who is ẏ Antichriſt lyeng priuie in the hid Scriptures of the Prophetes: I wil paſſe on the declaration of that concluſion, bryngyng to light thoſe thinges, whiche lay hid in darkenes, becauſe nothing is hid whiche ſhall not be diſcloſed, and nothyng couered that ſhall not be knowē: And therfore, the thing that was ſaid in the darkenes, let vs ſay in the light: and the thyng that we haue heard in the eare, let vs preache vpon the houſe tops. I therfore as I haue before ſayd, ſo ſay, ẏ if the high Byſhop of Rome, callyng him ſelfe the ſeruaunt of God, and the chief vicare of Chriſt in this world, do make and iuſtifie many lawes contrary to the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt: thē is he the chief of many, which comming in the name of Chriſt, haue ſaid, I am Chriſt, who haue ſeduced many. Whiche is the firſt parte of the firſt concluſion & is manifeſt. For Chriſt is called of the Hebrues the very ſame, that we call annoynted. And amongeſt them there was a double ſort of legalle annoyntyng by the law, the one of kinges & the other of prieſtes. And aſwell were the kyngs, as the prieſtes, called in the law, Chriſtes. The kynges: as in the Pſalme. The kings of the earth ſtode vp together, and the princes aſſembled them ſelues in one agaynſt the Lorde and agaynſte hys Chriſt or annointed. And in the bookes of the kynges ve-

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Apoc.2.

Apoc.9.
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ry often are the kinges called Chriſtes. And our ſauiour was Chriſt, or annoynted kyng, becauſe he was a kyng for euermore vpon the throne of Dauid, as the Scriptures do very oftentimes witnes. The prieſtes alſo were called annoynted, as where it is writen: Do not ye touch my Chriſtes, that is, myne annoynted ones, and be not ye ſpitefull agaynſt my Prophetes. And ſo was our ſauioure Chriſte, a prieſte for euer accordyng to the order of melchiſedech. Seyng then, that the Biſhops of Rome do ſay, that they are the hyghe prieſtes: they ſay alſo therein that they are kyngs, becauſe they ſay that they haue the ſpirituall ſworde perteinyng to their prieſthode, and the corporall ſworde whiche agreeth for a kynges ſtate. So is it playne, that really and in very dede, they ſay that they are Chriſtes, albeit that expreſly they bee not called Chriſtes. Now, that they come in the name of Chriſt, it is manifeſt, becauſe they ſay that they are his principall vicares in this worlde, ordeined of Chriſt ſpecially for the gouernement of the Chriſtian church. Therfore, ſeyng they ſay, that really and in very dede they are Chriſtes, and the chief frendes of Chriſt: If they make and iuſtifie many lawes contrary to the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt, thẽ is it playne that they them ſelues in earth are the principall Antichriſtes, becauſe there is no worſe plague and peſtilence, then a familiar enemye. And if in ſecrete they be agaynſt Chriſt, and yet in open apperaunce they ſay that they are his frendes: they are ſo much ẏ more meete to ſeduce and deceiue the Chriſtian people, becauſe that a manifeſt enemy ſhal haue much a do to deceaue a mã, becauſe men truſt him not: but a priuey enemye pretendyng outward frendſhyp, may eaſly ſeduce, yea thoſe ẏ be wyſe. But that this matter may the more fully bee knowẽ, let vs ſee what is the law and doctrine of Chriſt, that ought to bee obſerued of all faithfull people: which being knowẽ, it ſhalbe an eaſie thyng to ſee, if the biſhop of Rome do make or maintaine any lawes, contrary to the law of the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt. I ſay then, that the lawe of Chriſt is charitie, whiche is the perfect loue of God and of Chriſt. This thyng is playne and manifeſt. For Chriſt beyng demaunded of a certeyne doctour of the law: What is the great commaundemẽt in the law? aunſwered. Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God withall thy hart, and withall thy ſoule, and which all thy minde: This is the principall and greateſt commaundement. And as for the ſecond, it is like vnto this: Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thine owne ſelfe. In theſe ij. commaundements, doth the whole lawe and Prophets depend. And in an other place Chriſt ſayth: All maner of thinges therfore, that you would that men ſhould doe to you, the ſame alſo do ye vnto them. For this is the lawe and the Prophets. And in Iohn the 13. chap. ſaith Chriſt, And now doe I ſay vnto you, I geue you a newe commaundement, that you ſhould loue ech other: As I haue loued you, in like maner that you alſo ſhoulde loue one another. In this ſhall all men know that you are my diſciples, if you ſhall haue loue one towardes an other. And Iohn 15. chapter: This is my commaũdement that you loue together as I haue loued you. Greater loue then this, hath no bodye, that a man ſhould geue his life for his frendes. The Apoſtle Peter ſayth in his firſt epiſtle 4. chapter: Aboue all things, hauing cõtinually charitie one towardes an other, for charitie couereth the multitude of ſinnes. Be ye harborers, and intertaine ye one an other without grudging: euery one as he hath receaued grace, ſo let him beſtowe it vpõ an other man, as the good ſtewardes of the manifolde grace of God. If any man ſpeake, let him ſpeak as ẏ word of God. If any man do ought for an other, let it be done with ſinglenes and vnfained veritie, miniſtred of God to vs ward, ẏ in all things God may be honoured through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Iames in his epiſtle the ij. chapter. If ye performe the royall law accordingly to ẏ Scriptures (thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour) ye do wel: But if ye be parciall in receauing & preferring mens perſonages, ye worke wickednes being blamed of the lawe as tranſgreſſours. And again, ſo ſpeake ye, and ſo do ye, as you ſhould now beginne to be iudged by the law of libertie. What ſhall it auaile (my brethren) if a man ſaye he haue fayth, and haue no workes. Neuer ſhall that fayth be able to ſaue him. For if a brother or a ſiſter be naked, and haue nede of daily foode, & ſome of you ſay to them, go ye in peace, bee ye made warme and ſatiſfied: and if ye ſhall not geue thoſe things that are neceſſarie for the body, what ſhall it auaile? Euen ſo fayth, if it haue not workes, is dead in it ſelf. Iohn in his firſt epiſtle the 3. chap. This is the tydings which you haue heard from the beginning, that you ſhould loue one an other. And again, we know that we are tranſlated from death to life, if we loue the brethren: He that loueth not, abideth in death. And againe, herein do we know the loue of God, becauſe that he hath laide downe his life for vs, and we ought to laye downe our liues for the brethren. He that ſhall haue the ſubſtance of this worlde, and ſhall ſee his brother haue nede, and ſhall ſhut vp his bowells from him: how abydeth the loue of God in him? My litle children, let vs not loue in worde nor tonge, but in deede and truth. And againe 4. chap. Moſt dearly beloued, let vs loue together. For loue is of God, he that loueth not, knoweth not God, for God is loue. In this thing hath the loue of God appeared in vs, that God hath ſent his onely begotten ſonne into the world, that we ſhould liue by him. Herein is loue: not that we haue loued God, but ẏ he hath firſt loued vs, and hath ſent his ſonne an atonement for our ſinnes. Moſte dearely beloued, if God haue loued vs: we ſo ought to loue together. No man hath ſene God at any time: if we loue together, God abydeth in vs, and his loue is perfecte in vs. And again, let vs loue God, for he hath firſt loued vs. If a man ſhall ſaye, I loue God, and do hate his brother, he is a lyar. For he that loueth not his brother whom he ſeeth, how can he loue God, whom he ſeeth not? And this commaundement haue we of God, that who ſo loueth God, ſhould loue his brother alſo. Paule the apoſtle in his epiſtle to the Romanes 13. chapter: Ye owe nothing to no body, ſauing ẏ ye ſhould loue together, for he that loueth his brother, hath fulfilled the lawe. For thou ſhalt not commit adultrye, thou ſhalt not murther, thou ſhalt not ſteale, thou ſhalt not beare falſe witnes, thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours good: & if there be any other cõmaundement, it is plentifully fulfilled vp in this word, Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelf. Wherfore ẏ fulfilling of ẏ law is loue.

Paule to the Corinthes, 5. ſayth: If I ſhoulde ſpeake with the tongs of men and angels, and yet haue not charitie, I am becom as it were a peece of ſounding mettal or tinkling cymball. And if I ſhall haue all propheeye, and knowe all miſteries, and all knowledge, and ſhall haue all faith, ſo that I might remoue mountaines, and yet ſhall not haue charity: I am nothing. And if I ſhall geue abroade all my goodes to feede the poore, and ſhall geue vp my body to be burned, and yet haue not charitie: it profites me nothing. To the Galathians. 5. ſayth Paule: For you my brethren, are called into libertye. Do not ye geue your liberty for an occaſion of the fleſh, but by charitie of the ſpirite, ſerue ye one an other. For all the law is fulfilled in one ſaying: Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thine own ſelfe. To the Epheſians. 4. cha. he ſaith: I therefore that ſuffer bondes in the Lorde, doo beſeche you, that you would walke worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humblenes and mildenes, with paciẽce, forbearing one an other in loue, being careful to keepe the vnity of the ſpirit, in the bond of peace: that you be one bodye, and one ſpirit, euen as you be called in one hope of your calling. And againe in the. 5. chap. Be ye followers of me, as moſt deare chyldren

dren

Kinges and prieſtes annoynted.

The popes make them ſelues prieſts and kynges.

The pope maketh himſelfe Chriſt.

The pope commeth in the name of Chriſt.

Popes proued principall Antichriſtes.

The pope outward frende, and priuy enemy to Chriſt.

Whether the pope doth maintaine any lawes contrary to the lawe of Chriſt.

The lawe of loue cõmaunded in the goſpell.

Iohn. 13.

Iohn. 15.

1. Pet. 4.

Iacob. 2.

1. Iohn. 3.

1. Iohn. 4.

Rom. 13.

2. Cor. 5.

Gal. 5.

Epheſ. 4.

Epheſ. 5.

Philip. 1.

dren, and walke ye in loue as Chriſt alſo hath loued vs, and hath deliuered vp him ſelf for vs, an offering and ſacrifice to God of a ſweete ſauour. To the Philippians thus he ſpeaketh in the firſt chapter: Onely let your conuerſation be worthy of the Goſpel of Chriſt, that either when I ſhal come and ſee you, or els in mine abſence I may heare of you, that you ſtand ſtedfaſt in one ſpirit, labouring together with one accorde for the faith of the Goſpel. And in nothing be ye afrayde of the aduerſaries which is to them a cauſe of damnation, but to you of ſaluation, and that of God. For to you it is geuen, not onely that you ſhould beleue in him, but alſo that you ſhuld ſuffer with him, you hauing the like fight and battayle that both you haue ſeene in me, and alſo nowe do heare of me. If therefore there be anye conſolation in Chriſt, if any comfort of charity, if any felowſhip of the ſpirit, if any bowels of compaſſion: fulfil you my ioy, that you may be of one iudgement, hauing one and the ſelf ſame charity, being of one accord, of one maner of iudgemẽt, doing nothing of contention, nor of vaine glorye, but in humblenes accompting other amongeſt you euery one better then youre ſelues, not euery bodye lookinge vpon the thinges that be his owne, but thoſe that belong vnto others. And to the Coloſſiãs. 3. chapter thus he wryteth: You therefore as the elect of God, holy, and beloued, put vpon you the bowels of mercye, gentlenes, humblenes, lowlines, modeſty, pacience, bearing one with an other, and geuing place to your ſelues (if any haue a quarel againſt any body) euen as the Lord forgaue you, ſo doo you alſo. Aboue all thinges haue ye charitie, which is the bond of perfectiõ, and let the peace of Chriſt triumph in your hartes, in which peace you alſo are called in one body. And be ye kinde and thankefull. And to the Theſſalonians thus Paule writeth in the. 4. chapter. As concerning brotherly charity, we haue no nede to write vnto you: for you your ſelues haue learned of God, that you ſhould loue one an other. And the ſame thing ye doo towardes all the brethren throughout all Macedonia.

Coloſ. 3.

Theſ. 4.

Out of all theſe and many other places of the holye ſcripture it ſufficiẽtly appeareth, that the law of Chriſt is charitie, neither is there anye vertues commaunded of Chriſte, or any of his Apoſtles to bee obſerued of the faithfull people, but that it commeth out of charitye, or els doth nouriſh charity.

Many thinges obſerued in the old law which be not obſerued now.

Many thinges vnlawfull in the old law, which be lawfull now.

How Chriſt did looſe and not looſe the law.

The law is geuen by Moyſes, and the truth by Chriſt. Chriſt came not to vnloſe the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them. But yet many thinges were lawfull and might haue bene obſerued in the time of the law, which in the time of grace muſt not be obſerued. And manye thinges were vnlawfull to them that were vnder the law, which in the time of grace are lawfull inough. After what ſort then he did not looſe the law, but did fulfill it, it is neceſſary to declare, for thoſe thinges which hereafter muſt be ſayde. For amongeſt Chriſtians, manye thinges are iudged to be lawfull, becauſe in the former Teſtament in the law, they were lawfull: and yet they be expreſly contrary to Chriſtes Goſpell. But the auchors of ſuch thinges do argue and reaſon thus: Chriſt came not to looſe the law or the Prophetes. Nowe after what ſort he did not vnlooſe them, it is manifeſt by the holy ſcripture: that the law geuen by Moyſes, was written in tables of ſtone, to declare the hardnes of the peoples hart towardes the loue of God, or of Chriſt. But Chriſt hath written his law in the harts & in the mindes of his, that is to ſaye, the law of perfect loue of God and of Chriſt. Which law whoſoeuer obſerueth, he doth obſerue the law of Moyſes, and doth much greater workes of perfection, then were the workes of the lawe. Thus therefore were the morals of the old lawe fulfilled in the law of the charitie of Chriſt, and not vnlooſed: becauſe they ar much more perfectly obſerued, thẽ of the Iewes. This I ſay, if the Chriſtians do obſerue the commaundemẽts of Chriſt in ſuch ſort, as he comaũded the ſame to be obſerued. Chriſte hath fulfilled ỹ lawes morall of the old teſtamẽt, becauſe that the morals and iudicials were ordayned, that one perſon ſhould not do iniurye to an other, and that euery man ſhould haue paid him that is his. Now, they that are in charity, wyll not do iniury to others, neither do they take other mens goods away from them. Nay it ſeeketh not her own thinges. For charity ſeeketh not the things that be her own. Wherfore, much leſſe by a ſtronger reaſon it ought not to ſeeke for other mens goods. And when as the Iudicials and morals were ordayned: Chriſt did not by the workes of the law iuſtifye the beleuers in him, but by grace iuſtified them from their ſinnes. And ſo did Chriſt fulfill that by grace, that the law could not by iuſtice. Paul to the Romaines declareth in a godly diſcourſe, and to the Galathians likewyſe: that none ſhal be iuſtified by the works of the law, but by grace, in the faith of Ieſu Chriſt. As for the morals and ceremonies of the law, as circumciſiõ, ſacrifices for offẽce & for ſinnes, firſt fruits, tẽthes, vowes, diuers ſorts of waſhings, ỹ ſprinkling of bloud, ỹ ſprĩkling of aſhes, abſtaining from vncleane meates which are ordeyned for the ſanctifieng & clenſing of the people frõ ſinne, no nor yet the prayers of the prieſts, neither the preachinges of the prophets, could clenſe a man from his ſinne. For death raygned euen from Adam to Moyſes, and ſynne from Moſes to Chriſt, as Paule declareth to the Romaines in the. v. chapter. But Chriſt, wyllyng to haue mercy, and not ſacrifice, being a prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech, and an hyghe prieſt of good thinges to come: did neither by the bloode of Goates or calues, but by his own bloud enter in once vnto the holy places, when as euerlaſtyng redemption was found: neyther dyd Ieſus enter in to the holye places that were made with handes, which are thexamples of true thinges, but in to the very heauen, that nowe he may appeare before the countenaunce of God, for vs. Nor yet did he ſo, that he ſhould offer vp him ſelfe often times, as the high biſhop entred in to the holy place euery yere with ſtraũge blood (for otherwyſe he muſt nedes haue ſuffered oftentimes ſithens the begynnyng of the world) but now in the latter ende of the worlde hath he once appeared by his owne ſacrifice, for the deſtruction of ſin. And like as it is decreed, for men once to dye, & after that cũmeth iudgement: euẽ ſo was Chriſt once offered vp to conſume away the ſinnes of many. The ſecond time ſhall he appeare without ſinne, to the ſaluation of ſuch as looke for him. For the law hauyng a ſhadowe of good thynges to come, and not the very image or ſubſtaunce it ſelfe of the thinges: can neuer, by thoſe ſacrifices whiche they offer (of one ſelfe ſame ſorte continually yeare by yeare) make them perfect that come vnto her. Otherwiſe men would leaue of offeryng, becauſe that thoſe worſhips beyng ones clenſed, ſhould haue no more pricke of conſcience for ſinne afterwardes. But in them is there remembraũce made of ſinnes euery yeare. For it is impoſſible, that by the bloud of goates and bulles, ſinnes ſhould be taken away. Wherfore, he entring into the world, doth ſay, as for ſacrifice and offeryng thou wouldeſt not haue: but a bodye haſt thou framed vnto me. And ſacrifices for ſinne haue not pleaſed thee, then ſayd I, behold I come. In thee head or principall part of the booke it is writen of me, that I ſhould do thy will, O God. Wheras he ſayd before, that ſacrifices, oblations, and burnt offrings, and that for ſinne thou wouldeſt not haue: neither were thoſe thynges pleaſaũt to thee which are offered accordyng to the law: then ſayd I, beholde I come, that I may do thy will O God: He taketh awaye the firſte, that he may ſtabliſhe that that followed. In whiche will, we are ſanctified and made holy by the offering vppe of the body of Ieſus Chriſt, ones. And verely euerye prieſte, is readye euerye daye miniſtryng, and

often

Free iuſti cation, by faith on

Grace that is, free fa uor, acc and good nes of G

Rom. 5.

Hebr. 9.

Chriſt en treth no to the te ple made by mã to very h uen.

The ſacri fice of Chriſt manye tymes red: but once fo

Hebr. 10.

oftentimes offeryng the ſelfe ſame ſacrifices, whiche neuer can take away ſinnes. But this man offering one ſacrifice for ſinnes, doth for euer and euer ſit at gods right hand, lookyng for the reſt to come till that his enemyes, be placed to be his foote ſtoole. For with one offeryng hath he for euer made perfect thoſe that be ſanctified. By whiche thinges it plainly appeareth, that Chriſt by one offeryng hath clenſed his from their ſinnes: who could not be clẽſed from the ſame, by all the ceremonies of the lawe, and ſo did fulfill that whiche the prieſthoode of the law could not. Wherfore onely the morals and iudicials be fulfilled by the lawe of charitie, and by grace: and the ceremonials, by one offering vp of his body in ẏ altare of the croſſe. And ſo it is plaine, that Chriſt fulfilled ẏ whole law. Wherfore ſithens that the holy thinges of the law, were a ſhadow of thoſe thinges that were to come in the tyme of grace: it were meete that all thoſe things ſhould vtterly ceſſe amongeſt Chriſtians, whiche ſhould either be agaynſt charitie, or the grace of Chriſt. Although in the tyme of the lawe, they were lawfull, and not vtterly cõtrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Chriſtes faith: yet it were meete that they ſhould ceſſe at the commyng of the perfection whiche they did prefigurate: as circumciſion, the eating of the paſchall lambe, and other ceremoniall pointes of the lawe. Whereupon alſo Paul to the Hebrues the 7. chapter ſaythe thus, Yf therefore the makyng vp of ẏ perfectiõ of all was by the Leuiticall prieſthoode (for the people receiued the law vnder him) why was it neceſſary beſides, that an other prieſt ſhould riſe vp after the order of Melchiſedech, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For when the prieſthoode is remoued, it muſt nedes be, that the lawe alſo be remoued. For he, in whom theſe thinges are ſpoken, is of an other tribe, of which, none ſtoode preſent at the alter. Becauſe it is manifeſt that our Lord had hys offpringe of Iuda: in whiche tribe Moſes ſpake nothing of the prieſtes. And beſides this, it is manifeſt: if accordyng to the order of Melchiſedech there do riſe vppe an other prieſt, whiche was not made accordyng to the law of the carnall commaundemẽt, but accordyng to the power of the lyfe that cannot be loaſed. For thus he beareth wytnes, that ẏ art a prieſt for euer, after the order of Melchiſedech: ſo that, the commaundement that went before, is diſſalowed for the weakenes and vnprofitablenes therof. For the law hath brought no body to perfection. By whiche thynges it appeareth that Chriſt making (an end of ẏ prieſthoode of Aaron) doth alſo make vp a full ende of the law belongyng to that prieſthoode. Wherupõ I meruell that your learned men do ſay, that Chriſten folkes are bounde to this ſmall ceremonie of the payment of tythes, and care nothing at all for other aſwell the great as the ſmall ceremonies of the law. It is plaine, that the tythes were geuen to the ſonnes of Leui, for their ſeruing in the tabernacle and in ẏ temple of the Lord, as the firſt fruites were geuẽ to the prieſtes, and alſo part of the ſacrifices, and ſo were the vowes for their miniſterye, as it appeareth in the booke of Numbers the xxij. chapter. But foraſmuch as the labour of thoſe ſacrifices did ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt: how ſhould thoſe things be demaũded, which wer ordained for that labour? And ſeing that the firſt fruites are not demaũded of Chriſtians, which firſt fruites were then rather and ſoner demaunded thẽ the tythes: why muſt the tythes be demaunded, except it be therfore peraduenture becauſe that ẏ tythes be more worth in value then be the firſt fruites? Secondly, why are the lay people bound to the payment of tythes, more then the Leuites and prieſtes were to the not hauing of poſſeſſions of realties and lordſhips amongſt their brethren? ſeing that the ſelf ſame law in the ſelf ſame place (where he ſayth that the tythes ought to be geuen to the Leuites) ſayth alſo to the Leuites, You ſhall be contented with the offering of the tythes and haue none other thyng amongſt your brethren. Wherfore ſeing that the prieſtes be not bound, to the not hauing of temporall lordſhips: how are the lay people bound, by that law (of God he meaneth, & not of mã) to the payment of tythes? Thirdly as touching circumciſion, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the lawe, and was geuen before the lawe, and was an vniuerſall ceremonie, concerning the couenaunt betwene God and his people and was ſo much regarded in the law, that therof it was ſayd, The ſoule, whoſe fleſh ſhall not be circumciſed in ẏ foreſkin, ſhall periſhe from amongſt his people: yet did this ceremonie vtterly ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt, although that certain of the Iewes did ſay in ẏ primatiue church, that the Chriſtians muſt nedes kepe the cõmaundement of circumciſion with the fayth: whom Paule reproueth writing thus to the Galathians the iiij. chapter, where he ſpeaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the freewoman, which do ſignifie the ij. Teſtamentes. But we (O brethren) are the childrẽ of ẏ promiſe after Iſaac, but like as at that time he ẏ was borne after the fleſhe, did perſecute him, which was after the ſpirite: euen ſo it is now alſo. But what ſayth the Scripture? Throw out the bondwoman and her ſonne. The ſonne of the bondwoman, ſhall not be heire with the ſonne of the freewoman. Wherfore brethren, we are not the ſonnes of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye ſtedfaſt in the libertie, wherwith Chriſt hath deliuered you, and be not ye holden againe vnder the yoke of ſlauerye. Beholde I Paule ſay vnto you, if you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall nothing profite you. For I teſtifie againe to euery man that circumciſeth himſelfe, that he is bound to kepe all the whole lawe. Ye are vtterly voyde of Chriſt: whoſoeuer will be iuſtified in the law, are fallen from grace. In like maner, we may reaſon, if we be bound to tything, we are debters, and bound to keepe all the whole lawe. For to ſay that men are bound to one ceremonie of the lawe, and not to the others, is no reaſonable ſaying. Eyther therfore we are bound to all of them, or to none. Alſo, that by the ſame * olde lawe, men are not bound to paye tythes, it may be ſhewed by many reaſons, which we nede not any more to multiply and encreaſe, becauſe the thinges that be ſaid, are ſufficient. Wherupon ſome do ſay, that by the Goſpell we are bound to pay tythes, becauſe Chriſt ſayd to the Phariſies, Math. 23. chapter, Woe be to you ſcribes and Phariſies, which pay your tythe of mynt, of Anets ſede, & of commyn: & leaue iudgement, mercy, & truth vndone, being ẏ weightier thinges of the law: boeth ſhould ye haue done theſe thinges, and alſo not haue left the other vndone. O ye blinde guides, that ſtraine out a gnat, and ſwallow vp a camell. Thys worde ſoundeth not as a commaundement or manner of bidding, wherby Chriſt did cõmaund tythes to be geuen: but it is a word of diſalowing ẏ hipocriſie of ẏ Phariſies, who of couetouſnes did rather weigh & eſteme tithes, becauſe for their own ſingular commoditie, rather thẽ other great & weightie cõmaundements of the law. And me ſemeth that our men are in the ſame predicamẽt of the phariſies, whiche do leaue of all the ceremonies of the olde law, kepyng onely the commaundement of tything. It is manifeſt and playne ynough by ẏ premiſſes, and by other places of the Scripture, that Chriſt was a prieſt after the order of Melchiſedech, of ẏ tribe of Iuda, not of the tribe of Leuy: who gaue no new commaundement of tything of any to him and to his prieſtes whõ he would place after him: but whẽ his Apoſtles ſaid to him, Behold, we leaue all thyngs & haue folowed thee, what then ſhall we haue, he did not aũſwere thẽ thus: Tythes ſhalbe paid you, neither did he promiſe thẽ a tẽporal but an euerlaſting reward in heauen. For he, both for foode, & alſo apparel taught his diſciples not to be carefull. Be ye not careful for your life, what ye ſhal eate, or for your body what ye ſhall put on. Is not the lyfe of man more

He proueth not contrary, but that tithes be due, by the poſitiue law of man. Although not by the ceremoniall law of Moſes.

Circumciſion ceaſeth: Ergo, the ceremonies do ceaſe.

Galat. 4.

Chriſtian liberty from the bõdage of the law

Bound in one thing (he meaneth) bound in all.

Either bound to all, or to none.

*Here he expreſſeth his mening plainly

The one is diſalowed, the other is not commaunded.

Prieſts wraſt religion to theyr owne profite.

Tithes not expreſſely commaunded a new by Chriſt in the Goſpell.

Math. 6.

„ worth,then the meate:and the body more worth then the
„ apparel? Behold ye the birds of heauen,which do nother
„ ſow,nor reape,neither yet lay vp in barnes,and yet your
„ heauenly father feedeth them. And as for apparell,why
„ ſhould you be carefull? Conſider the Lylies of the field,
„ how they grow,they labour not, neither do they ſpynne
“ &c. In concluſiō he ſayth,be not ye careful,ſaying,what
„ ſhall wee eate,or what ſhall we drinke, or wherwithall
„ ſhall we be couered? For all theſe thyngs do the Gentils
„ ſeke after. For your father knoweth,that you haue nede
„ of all theſe thynges. Firſt therfore ſeeke ye for the kyngdome
„ of God and the rightouſnes thereof, and all theſe
„ thinges ſhalbe caſt vnto you. And Paul right well remēbryng
„ this doctrine, inſtructeth Timothe and ſayth thus.
„ But we hauyng foode and wherewithall to be couered,
let vs therwith be contented And as the actes of the Apoſtles do declare: In the firſt conuerſion of the Iewes at Ieruſalem,they had all thynges common, and to euery one was diuiſion made,as neede required. Neither did the prieſtes make the tythes their owne proper goodes. For lyke as it was not meete ẏ the lay people beyng conuerted, ſhould haue proprietie of goodes:euen ſo neither that prieſtes ſhould haue proprietie of tythes. So that if the prieſtes ſtarted backe from feruent charitie in chalēgyng to them ſelues the proprietie of tythes:it is no meruaile of departinge backeward(as do the prieſtes, from the perfectiō of charitie)alſo of ẏ laitie to be willing to appropriate to them ſelues the ix. partes remainyng after the tythes. Wherfore, ſeyng that neither Chriſt,nor any of the Apoſtles, commaunded to pay tythes: it is manifeſt and playne,that neither by the law of Moſes, nor by Chriſtes law,Chriſten people are bounde to pay tythes: but by the tradicion of men:they are bound.

1.Tim. 6.

Tythes not required in the primitiue church.

Tythes dew to be paied by the poſitiue law of men.

By the premiſſes now it is playne,that Chriſt did not vndoe the law,but by grace did fulfill it. Notwithſtandyng,in the law many things were lawful,which in the time of grace are forbidden,and many thinges were thē vnlawfull,whiche now are lawfull inough. For nothing that is contrary to charitie,is lawfull to a Chriſtian.

Let vs now heare what maner of commaundemētes Chriſt hath geuē vs in ẏ goſpel,without the obſeruation of whiche commaundements, charitie ſhall not perfectly be kept. By whiche commaundements,Chriſt did not vndoe the olde law,but did fulfill it. By the obſeruation alſo of whiche cōmaundementes,he teacheth vs to paſſe and go beyond the rightuouſnes of the ſcribes and phariſeis,who moſte perfectly thought them ſelues to keepe the law. This abſolute and perfect righteouſnes, whiche we are bound to haue beyōd the rightuouſnes of ẏ Phariſies & the Scribes,he teacheth in Math.v.vi. & vij.cap. Which being heard, & compared to the tradicions made and commaunded by the Romane prelates:it ſhall plainly appeare,whether they be contrary or no. Chriſt therfore ſayth,You haue heard, that it was ſayd to them of the olde tyme,Thou ſhalt not kill. For he ẏ killeth ſhalbe giltie of iudgement. But I ſay vnto you,that euery one that is angry with his brother,ſhalbe in daunger of iudgement. In this hee doth teache, that wee ought not
„ to be angrye with our brethren: not that hee would vndoe
„ thys olde commaundement (thou ſhalte not kyll)
„ but that the ſame ſhould be the more perfectly obſerued.
„ Againe he ſaith: You haue heard that it was ſayd, thou
„ ſhalt loue thy friend,and hate thine enemy: But I ſaye
„ vnto you,Loue your enemies,do well to them that hate
„ you,pray for them that perſecute and ſlaūder you, that
„ you may be the children of your father which is in heauē:
„ Which maketh his ſūne to aryſe vpon the good and
„ the euill people, and rayneth vpon the iuſt and vniuſt.
„ For if you loue them which loue you,what reward ſhal
„ you haue? Doo not the publicanes thus? And if you
„ ſhal ſalute your brethren onely,what great thing do ye?
„ Do not the heathen thus alſo? Be you therefore perfect,
as alſo your heauenly father is perfect. Agayne Chriſt ſaith,you haue heard that it is ſaide:an eye for an eye,a toothe for a tooth:but I ſay vnto you ſee ẏ you reſiſt not euil. But if any mā ſhal ſtrike you vpon the right cheke, geue him the other to. And to him that wyll ſtriue wyth thee for thy coate in iudgement,let him haue thy cloke alſo. And whoſoeuer ſhall conſtraine thee one myle, go with him alſo two other. He that aſketh of thee, geue him:and he that will borow of thee,turne not thy ſelfe from him. By theſe things it may plainly appeare,how that Chriſt the king of peace,the ſauiour of mankinde, who come to ſaue and not to deſtroy, who gaue a lawe of charitye to bee obſerued of his faithfull people: hath taught vs not to be angry,not to hate our enemies, not to render euill for euill,nor to reſiſte euill. For all theſe thinges do foſtre and nouriſh peace and charitie,and do procede and come forth of charitie, and whē they be not kept,charitie is loſed,and peace is broken. But the Byſhop of Rome approueth & alloweth warres, & ſlaughters of men in warre,aſwell againſt our enemies, that is,the infidels,as alſo againſt the Chriſtians for temporall goods. Now, theſe thinges are quite contrarye to Chriſtes doctrine, and to charitie, and to peace. In the decrees,23.q.1.cap.Paratus,it is taught,that the precepts of pacience muſte alwaies be retained in purpoſe of the hart,ſo that pacience with beneuolence muſt bee kepte in the minde ſecrete. But apparantly and manifeſtlye, that thing ſhould be done,which ſeemeth to doe good to thoſe,whom we ought to wiſhe well vnto. Wherin they geue to vnderſtand, that a Chriſtian may freely defend hymſelf. And for cōfyrmatiō of this ſaying, they do ſay: That Chriſt whē he was ſtroken in the face of the high biſhops ſeruant,did not fulfill(if we loke vpon ẏ wordes) hys owne commaundement: becauſe he gaue not to the ſmyter the other part,but rather did forbid him, that he ſhould not do it,to double his iniurie. For he ſayd, if I haue ſpoken euill,beare witnes of euill,but if well,why doeſt thou ſtrike me? I do meruaile of this ſaying: for firſt if thoſe cōmaundementes of pacience muſt be kept in ſecrete in the minde:and ſeing, the bodye doth worke at the mocion of the minde,and is and ought to be moued and ruled by the ſame: It muſt thē nedes be, that if pacience be in the minde,it muſt appeare alſo outwardly in the body.

Secondly I maruaile that it is ſayd, that Chriſt did not fulfyll his own precept of pacience. For it is manifeſt,that albeit he teaching alwaies as a good ſcholemaſter, thoſe thinges which were fyt for the ſaluation of ſoules,ſpeaking the wholeſome worde of inſtruction to the high biſhops ſeruant,ſmyting him vniuſtly: did neither by worde forbyd an other ſtroke to be geuen on the other cheke,neyther dyd he defend himſelf bodely from ſtryking on the ſame cheake: But ſpeaking to him,it is likely that he gaue him the other cheke,he meaneth,that he turned not the other cheake away. For a mā turneth not awaye from him whom he ſpeaketh to,or whom he informeth,but layeth open before him all his face. Euen ſo do I beleue that Chriſt did,that he might fulfill in very dede that,which before he had taught in word. Neyther yet did Chriſt by his word or by his dede,ſhew any thing of defence,or of bodely reſiſtaunce.

Thirdly,I meruaill why wiſe men leauing the plaine and manifeſt doctrine of Chriſt, wherby he teacheth pacience:do ſeeke corners of their imagining,to the intent they may approue fightinges and warres. Why marke they not after what maner, Chriſte ſpake to Peter ſtrikyng ẏ high Biſhops ſeruant,ſaying: Put vp thy ſword into the ſheath,for euery one that ſhall take the ſworde, ſhal periſh with the ſword. But in an other caſe we muſt make reſiſtaunce: whiche caſe may be ſo rightuous,as it is for a mans Lord and maiſter being a moſt righteous man,and yet ſufferyng iniurie of miſchieuous perſons.

Fourthly, I meruell ſeyng that we are bound of charitie and by the lawe of Chriſte to geue our liues for our brethren, how they can allow ſuch maner of diſſenſions and reſiſtyng. For when thy brother ſhall maliciouſlye ſtrike thee, thou maiſt be ſure, that he is manifeſtly fallē from charitie, into the ſnare of the deuill. Yf thou ſhalt kepe pacience, he ſhalbe aſhamed of his doyng, and thou maiſt bow and bend him to repentaunce, and take hym out from the ſnare of the deuill, & call him backe agayne to charitie. Yf thou reſiſt, and perchaunce by reſiſtyng doeſt ſtrike agayn, his fury ſhalbe the more kindled, and he being ſturred vp to greater wrath, peraduenture ſhall either ſlay thee, or thou him. Touching thy ſelfe, thou art vncerteine, if thou go about to make reſiſtaūce, whether thou ſhalt fall from charitie, & then ſhalt thou go backeward from the perfection of Chriſtes commaundement: Neither doeſt thou knowe but that it may happē thee ſo greatly to be moued, as that by the heate and violence of wrath, thou ſhalt ſlay him. Wheras if thou wouldeſt diſpoſe thy ſelfe to pacience (as Chriſt teacheth) yͧ ſhouldeſt eaſly auoide all theſe miſchieues, aſwell on the behalfe of thy brother, as alſo of thine own part. Wherfore, the obſeruing of charitie is yͤ precept of paciēce to be obſerued.

He meneth reſiſtance for priuate cauſes, or for wordly goods.

Pacience cō maunded in priuate cauſes amonge Chriſten brethren.

The inconuenience of priuate reſiſtance amongſt chriſtē brethrē.

Fifthly, I doe maruell why that for the allowing of thys corporal reſiſtaunce, he doth ſay in the ſame chapter: that Paule did not fulfill the precept of the pacience of Chriſt, whē as he being ſtroken in the place of iudgement by the commaūdement of the high prieſt, did ſay, God ſtrike thee, O yͧ painted wall: Doeſt yͧ ſitte to iudge me according to the law, & doeſt thou cōmaund me to be ſtriken againſt the law? It is manifeſt that Paul made reſiſtance in nothing, though he ſpake a word of inſtruction to the prieſt, who againſt the law commaūded him to be ſtriken. And if Paule had ouerpaſſed the boundes of paciēce, through the griefe of the ſtroke: what of that? Muſt the deede of Paules impacience for this cauſe be iuſtified, and the commaundement of pacience taught by Chriſt, be left vndone for Paules deede, and corporal reſiſtaunce be allowed? God forbid. For both Paule and Peter might erre. But in yͤ doctrine of Chriſt there may be found no errour. Wherefore, we muſt geue more credence and beliefe to Chriſtes ſayinges, then to anye lyuing mans doinges. Wherfore, although Paul had reſiſted, which I do not perceiue in that ſcripture: it foloweth not thereof, that corporall reſiſtaunce muſt be approued, which is of Chriſt expreſly forbidden. I muche maruell that alwayes they ſeeke corners and ſhadowes to iuſtify their deedes. Why doo they not marke what great thinges Paule reciteth him ſelfe to haue ſuffered for Chriſt? And where I pray you haue they found, that he after his conuerſion, ſtroke anye man that did hurt him? Or where doo they finde that he in expreſſe woorde doth teach ſuch a kinde of corporall reſiſtance? But as touching pacience, he ſaith in playne wordes to the Romains: Be not wyſe in your own conceites: Render yll for yll to no body: prouiding good thinges not onely before God, but alſo before all men, if it be poſſible: Be at peace withall folkes as much as in you lyeth: not defending your ſelues, my moſt derely beloued, but geue you place vnto anger. For it is written, vengeaunce is mine and I will recompence them, ſaith the lord. But if thine enemy ſhall be an hungred, geue him meate. If he be a thirſt, geue him drinke. For thus doing, thou ſhalt heape coles of fire vpon his head. Be not ouercomen of euyll, but ouercome thou euyll with good.

Paul being ſtriken, dyd not breake the rule of Chriſtē pacience, neither made any bodely reſiſtance.

The facte or dede of Paule or of any other ought not derogate to the doctrin of our Sauiour.

Rom.11. Places of Chriſten pacience.

To the Corinthiās the v. as touching iudgement and contention, whiche are matters of leſſe weight then are fightinges, thus he writeth: Nowe verely is there great fault in you, yͭ you be at law amongſt your ſelues. Why rather take ye not wrōg? why rather ſuffer ye not deceit? And generally in all his Epiſtles he teacheth, yͭ pacience ſhould be kept, & not corporall reſiſtaūce by fightyng, becauſe charitie is pacient, it is curteous, it ſuffereth all thynges. I meruell how they iuſtifie and make good the warres by Chriſtians, ſauyng onely the warres agaynſt the deuill and ſinne. For ſeyng that it is plaine, that thoſe things that were in the olde Teſtament, were figures of thinges to bee done in the new Teſtamēt: Therfore we muſt nedes ſay, that the corporall warres beyng then done, were figures of the Chriſtiā warres agaynſt ſinne and the deuill, for the heauenly countrey, whiche is our inheritaunce. It is plaine that it was writen thus of Chriſt. The mighty Lord, and of great power in battaile, hath girded vp him ſelfe in force and manlynes to the warre: and he came not to ſed peace into the earth, but warre. In this warre ought Chriſtian people to be ſouldiours according to that maner whiche Paul teacheth to the Epheſians the laſt. Put vpon you the armour of God, that you may be hable to ſtande agaynſt the deceiptes of the deuill. For we haue not to wraſtle agaynſt fleſh and bloud, but agaynſt princes and poteſtates, agaynſt the rulers of theſe darkenes of the world, againſt the ſpirituall wickednes in heauenly thinges, which are in the high places. Wherfore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be hable to reſiſte in the euill day, and to ſtand perfectly in all thinges. Stand you therfore girded vp about in truth vpon your loynes, hauing put vpō you the breſt plate of rightuouſnes, and your feete ſhoed in a readines to the Goſpell of peace, in all thinges taking the ſhield of faith, wherwith you may quench all the firie dartes of that wicked one. And take vnto you the helmet of ſaluation, and the ſworde of the ſpirite, which is the worde of God. By theſe thinges it is plaine, what are the warres of Chriſtians, and what are the weapōs of their warfare. And becauſe it is manifeſt, that this Teſtament is of greater perfection then the former: we muſt now fight more perfectly then at that time. For now ſpiritually, thē corporally: now for an heauenly euerlaſtyng inheritaunce: then for an earthly and temporall: now by pacience, then by reſiſtaunce. For Chriſt ſayth, bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for rightuouſnes, for theirs is the kyngdome of heauen. He ſayth not, bleſſed are they that fight for rightuouſnes. How cā any ſay, that they may lawfully make warre, & kil theyr brethren for the temporall goodes, which peraduenture they vniuſtly occupy, or vniuſtly intende to occupy. For he that killeth an other, to get theſe goodes whiche an other body vniuſtly occupyeth: doth loue more the very goodes, then his owne brother. And then he fallyng from charitie, doth kill him ſelfe ſpiritually. Yf he go forward without * charitie to make warre: then doth he euill, and to his owne damnation. Wherfore he doth not lawfully nor iuſtly in procedyng to the damnatiō of his own ſelfe and his brother, whom though he ſee vniuſtly to occupie his goodes, yet he doth intende to kill. And what if ſuch kind of warres were lawfull to the Iewes: this argueth not, that now they are lawfull to Chriſtiās, becauſe that their deedes were in a ſhadowe of imperfection, but the deedes of Chriſtians in the light of perfectiō. It was not ſayd vnto them, All people that ſhall take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword. What if Iohn the Baptiſt, diſallowed not corporall fightynges, and corporall warfare, at ſuch tyme as yͤ ſouldious aſked him ſaying. And what ſhall we do. Who ſayth to them, Se that you ſtrike no man, neither picke ye quarels agaynſt any, and be ye cōtented with your wages. This ſaying of Iohn alloweth not corporall warfare amongeſt Chriſtians. For Iohn was of the prieſtes of the olde Teſtament, and vnder the law, neither to him it apperteyned to folow the law, but to warne the people to the perfect obſeruatiō of the law. For he beyng likewiſe demaūded of yͤ publicanes, what they ſhould do, ſayd vnto them, Do no other thyng then is appoynted vnto you. But Chriſte the authour of the new Teſtament and of greater perfection, then was the

Cor.5.

He meaneth ſuch wars of Chriſtiās, as the pope aloweth: ryſing rather of priuate reuenge of princes, for worldly glory or affection, thē for any publike neceſſity.

Corporal wars in the old Teſtament, be figures of ſpirituall warre in the new teſtament, againſt ſinne and the diuell.

Epheſ.6.

What be the warres moſt proper to chriſtians.

All thys taketh not away the lawfulnes of warres, in caſe of publike neceſſitie, but onely in priuate caſe for temporall goodes.

*Note this worde without charitie.

Such kynd of wars that is, ſuch kynde as be for priuate reuenge or temporall goodes.

How Iohn Baptiſt alowed warre.

perfection of the old law whiche gaue new thynges, as it plainly appeareth by the Goſpell. So that, Chriſtians ought to receiue informatiō of Chriſt, not of John. For of John alſo doth Chriſt ſpeake: Uerely I ſay vnto you, there hath not riſen amongeſt the children of women, a greater then John Baptiſt: but he that is leſſe in the kyngdome of heauen, is greater thē he. In which ſaying Chriſt ſheweth, that thoſe that be leſſe in the kyngdome of heauē in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection, thē was John, whiche was one of thē that were the elders, & he liued alſo in the time of ẏ law in greater perfection. And when as of Johns diſciples ſayd vnto hym, maiſter, he ẏ was beyond Jordan, to whom thou gaueſt witnes, behold he baptiſeth, & all people come vnto hym. John anſwered and ſaid: A man cannot take any thing vpon him, vnles it ſhall be geuen him from aboue. You your ſelues do beare me recorde, that I ſayde I am not Chriſt, but that I was ſent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegrome, as for the bridegromes friend, who ſtandeth and heareth him: reioyceth with great ioy to heare the voyce of the bridegrome. This therfore my ioy is fulfilled: he muſt increaſe, and I muſt bee diminiſhed. He that commeth from an hie is aboue all. He that is of the earth, is earthy, and ſpeaketh of the earth. He that commeth from heauen, is aboue all folkes: that which he hath ſene and heard, the ſame doth he wytnes, & yet hys witneſſing doth no bodye receiue. But he that receiueth his witneſſing, hath put to his Seale, that God is true. For he whom God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the wordes of God. By which thinges it plainly appeareth, that credence is to be geuen neither to John, nor yet to Angel, if he teach any thing that is not agreable to Chriſtes doctrine. For Chriſt is aboue the Angels, becauſe that God infinitely paſſeth them in wyſdome. Now if Moſes the ſeruaunt of God a miniſter of the old teſtament was ſo much to be beleued, that nothing coulde bee added, nor yet any thing diminiſhed from the commaundementes that were geuen by him (for ſo Moſes had ſaid) the thing that I commaund thee, that do thou onely to the Lord, neither adde thou any thing, nor diminiſh: How muche more ought we not to adde nor to take awaye from the commaundementes geuen by God himſelf, and alſo the ſonne of God? In the primatiue church, becauſe ẏ Chriſtians had feruent loue and charitie, they obſerued theſe preceptes as they were geuen: but their feruent charitie afterward waxing luke warme, they inuented gloſes, by drawing the cōmaundements of God backe to their owne dedes, which they purpoſed to iuſtifye and maintayne, that is to ſaye, warres agaynſt the infidels. But that they by warres ſhoulde be conuerted to the faith, is a fact faithles inough: becauſe, that by violence or vnwillinglye, no body can beleue in Chriſt nor be made a Chriſtian, neyther dyd he come to deſtroye them by battail, that beleued not in him: for he ſaid to his diſciples, you know not what ſpirite you are of. The ſonne of man came not to deſtroy mens liues, but to ſaue thē. Then to graunt pardones, and forgeuenes of ſinnes, to thoſe that kill the infidels, is to much an infidels fact, ſeducing manye people. For what greater ſeducing can there be, then to promiſe to a man forgeuenes of ſinnes, and afterward the ioy of heauen, for ſetting him ſelfe againſt Chriſtes commaundementes, in the kyllyng of the Infidels, that woulde not be conuerted to the fayth: whereas Chriſt doth ſaye, not euerye one that ſayth to me, Lorde, Lorde, ſhall enter into the kyngdome of heauen: but he that doth the wyll of my father whych is in heauen, this perſon ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen. Now the will of the father is, that we ſhould beleue in his onely ſonne Jeſu Chriſt, and that we ſhould obey him by obſeruing of thoſe things which he himſelf hath commaunded. Wherefore Chriſtes preceptes of pacience muſt be fulfilled. Wars, fightinges, and contencions muſt be left, becauſe they are contrary to charitie.

They that be leſſe in the kingdom of heauen, greater then John Baptiſt expounded.

He meaneth of thoſe wars againſt infidels ſtirred vp and procured by the pope vpon blynde ſuperſtition, to fight for the holy land, and not taken by princes in the neceſſary defence of themſelues and of their countrey.

But peraduenture ſome man wyll thus reaſon againſt Chriſt: The ſaints, by whom God hath wrought myracles, do allow warres aſwell againſt the faythfull people, as alſo againſt the infidels. And the holye kinges were warriours, for whoſe ſakes alſo miracles haue bene ſhewed, aſwell in their death, as alſo in their lyfe, yea in the very time wherin they were awarfare. Wherfore it ſeemeth, that their factes were good and lawfull. For otherwiſe, God would not haue done miracles for thē. To this agayn I ſay, ẏ we for no myracles muſt do contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt. For in it can there be no errour, but in myracles there oftentimes chaunceth errour, as it is plaine aſwell by the olde as by the new teſtament. God forbid thē, that a Chriſtian ſhould, for deceiuable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Chriſt. In Exodus. vij. chapter it is manifeſt, how that the wycked wiſe men of the Egiptians, through the inchauntmentes of Egipt, and certaine ſecrete workinges, threw their wandes vpon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, euen as Aaron before time in the preſence of Pharao threw his wande vpon the earth, which by the power of God was turned into a ſerpent. In the third of the kinges the. 22. chapter, Mycheas did ſee the Lord ſitting vpō his throne and all the hoſt of heauen ſtanding about hym on the right hand, and on the left. And the Lord ſayd, who ſhall deceiue Achab the king of Iſrael, that he mai go vp and be ſlaine in Ramoth Galaad. And one ſayd this way, and an other otherwyſe: now, there went forth a ſpirite, and ſtode before the Lord, and ſayd, I will deceaue hym. To whom the Lorde ſpake: by what meanes? And he ſayd, I will gò forth, and be a lying ſpirite in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord ſaid, thou ſhalt deceaue hym and preuaile, goe thy wayes forth, and do euen ſo. Thus alſo is it written in Deuteronomium, If there ſhall aryſe a Prophet amongſt you, or one that ſhall ſay he hath ſeene a dreame, and ſhall foretell a ſigne and a wonder: and if that thyng ſhall come to paſſe that he hath ſpoken, and he ſhall ſay vnto thee: Let vs goe and followe ſtraunge Gods (whom thou knoweſt not) and let vs ſerue them: thou ſhalt not harken vnto the wordes of that prophet or dreamer, for the Lorde your God tempteth you, to make it knowen, whether ye loue hym or no, with all your harte, and with all your ſoule. In Jeremy the 23. chap. Are not my wordes euē like fire, ſayth the Lord? and lyke an hammer, that breaketh the ſtone? Therefore beholde I will come agaynſt the Prophetes, which haue dreamed a lye (ſayth the Lord) which haue ſhewed thoſe thynges, and haue ſeduced the people thorough their lyes and their miracles, when as I ſent them not, neither cōmaunded thē, whiche haue brought no profite vnto this people (ſaith the Lord) In Marke the 13. chap. ſayth Chriſt. For there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſtes, and falſe Prophetes, and ſhall ſhewe great ſignes and wonders, to deceaue if it were poſſible euē the very elect. Paul in his ſecond Epiſtle to ẏ Corinthians the xi. chap. Such falſe Apoſtles or deceatful workers, transforming them ſelues into the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and no meruaile: For euen Sathan transformeth hym ſelfe into an Aungell of light: therfore it is no great thyng, though his miniſters transforme them ſelues, as though they were the miniſters of righteouſnes, whoſe end ſhalbe accordyng to their workes. In the Apocalips the 13. chapiter, John ſawe a beaſt aſcendyng vp out of the earth, and it had ij. hornes lyke the Lambe, but he ſpake lyke the Dragon, & he did all that the firſt beaſt could do before him: and he cauſed the earth and the inhabitauntes therof, to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, ſo that he made fire come downe frō heauen on the earth, in the ſight of men, and deceaued.

them

Obiectio

Aunſwe.

Legibus agend non ex

True miracles by holy men be not d proued but ſpeaki vniuerſally, the ſur doctrine word of God, in ſure rule for men follow.

3.Reg. Achab de ceiued b falſe pro phets.

Iere.23. Prophets muſt be t ed by doc trine.

Marke.

2.Cor.11.

Falſe prop phetes,

Apoc.13.

them that dwell on the earth, by meanes of the ſignes whiche were permitted to hym to doe in the ſight of the beaſt. By all theſe thynges is it moſt manifeſt and plaine, that in miracles this manifold errour, oftentymes happeneth through the working of the deuill, to deceaue the people withall. Wherfore, we ought not for the working of miracles, to departe from the commaundementes of God. I would to God, that they which put confidence in miracles would geue hede vnto the worde of Chriſt, in yͤ 7. cha. of Math. thus ſpeakyng: Many ſhal ſay vnto me in that day, Lord Lord, haue we not in thy name propheſied? and in thy name caſt out deuilles? and in thy name done many great works? &c. I will profeſſe vnto them, I neuer knew you, depart frō me all ye which work iniquitie. By this ſaying it is moſt manifeſt, yͭ the ſeruants of Chriſte are not diſcerned by the working of miracles, but by yͤ workingof vertues, in departyng frō iniquitie, & obeying yͤ cōmaundemēts of god. Wherfore it is wonderful, yͭ any in this lyfe dare preſume to preuēt the day of yͤ iudgement of God, to iudge by meanes of miracles, that ſome are ſaintes whom men ought to worſhip, whō peraduenture God will in the laſt iudgement condēpne, ſaying: depart from me all ye whiche worke iniquity. If anye man coulde here on earthe iudge ſinners to be condēpned, then if this iudgement were certaine, Chriſte ſhuld not iudge the ſecōd tyme, and what ſoeuer ſuch iudges bynde in earth, the ſame ought to be boūd in heauē. But if ſuch a iudgement be vncertayne, then it is perilous and full of deceate, when as by it mē on earth may in ſteade of ſainctes, worſhyp ſuch as are damned with the felowſhip of the deuils, and in prayers require theyr ayde, who euen like as the deuils theyr companions are more ready & more of might to euil then to good, more to hurt then to profit. I wōder they marke not what Chriſt ſayd, when his kinſewoman came vnto hym, deſiring & requiryng ſomethyng of him, and ſaying: Commaunde that theſe my two ſonnes may ſit, one vpō thy right hād, and the other vpon thy left hand, in thy kyngdome. But Ieſus aunſwering ſayd: Ye know not what ye aſke, can ye drinke of the cup which I ſhall drinke of? they ſaid vnto him, we can. He ſayd vnto them, Of my cup in deede ye ſhall drinke, but to ſit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to geue, but vnto whom it is prepared for, of my father. Chriſt, beyng equal vnto the father accordyng to his Godhead, excedyng all maner of men accordyng to his manhode, namely in goodnes and wiſdome, ſaid: to ſit at my right hand, or at my left, is not myne to geue, but vnto whom it is prepared of my father. If it were none of his to geue to ſit at the right hand or at the left. &c. How then is it in the power, of any ſinnefull man to geue vnto any man, a ſeate either on the right hande, or on the left in the kyngdome of God: whiche ſinnefull man knoweth not, whether ſuch haue any ſeate prepared for them of the father, in his kyngdome. They much extoll them ſelues, whiche excerciſe this iudiciall power in geuyng iudgement: that there are ſome ſaintes, which ought to be honoured of men, by reaſon of the euidency of dreames or of deceatfull miracles, of which men they are ignoraunt whether God in his iudgement will condēpn thē or not together with yͤ deuils for euer to be tormented. Let them beware, for the vnfallible truth ſayth, that euery one that exalteth him ſelf ſhalbe brought low.

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By theſe thinges is gathered, that the wars of Chriſtians are not lawfull, for that by the doctrine and lyfe of Chriſt they are prohibited, by reaſon of the euidencie of the deceitefull miracles of thoſe, whych haue made wars amongeſt the Chriſtians, as well agaynſt the Chriſtians, as alſo againſt the infidels. Becauſe Chriſt coulde not erre in his doctrine, for as much as he was God: And for as muche as heauen and earth ſhal paſſe away, but the wordes of Chriſt ſhal not paſſe away. He therfore which eſtabliſheth his lawes, allowing wars and the ſlaughters of men in the war, as wel of Chriſtians, as of infidels: doth he not iuſtefy thoſe things which are contrary vnto the Goſpel and law of Chriſt? Therefore in this he is againſt Chriſt, and therfore Antichriſt: ſeducing the people, making men beleue that to be lawſull and meritorious vnto thē, which is expreſſedly prohibited by Chriſt

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gard of our countreies, or againſt publike iniuries offered: but onely to goe and kill the infidels, becauſe thei beleue not hauing no other cauſe: thoſe warres of the pope he lyketh not.

¶ And thus much concerning the firſt part, touchyng peace and warre, wherein he declareth Chriſt, and the Pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be geuen all to peace, the other all to warre, and ſo to proue in concluſion the Pope to be Antichriſt. Where in the meane time thou muſt vnderſtand (gentle reader) his meaning rightly: not that he ſo thynketh, no kinde of warres among Chriſtians in any caſe to be lawfull: for he hym ſelfe before, hath openly proteſted to the contrary. But that his purpoſe is to proue, the Pope in all his doinges and teachings, more to be addicted to war, then to peace, yea in ſuch caſes, where is no neceſſity of war. And therein proueth he the Pope to be contrarye to Chriſt, that is to be Antichriſt. Now he procædeth further to the ſecond part which is of mercy.

Doctrine of Chriſtian marcy declared.

In the which part he ſheweth how Chriſt teacheth vs to bee mercifull, becauſe mercye (as he ſaith) proceedeth from charity, and nouriſheth it. In which doctrine of mercy, he breaketh not the lawe of righteouſnes, for he himſelf by mercy hath clenſed vs from our ſinnes, from which we could not by the righteouſnes of the law, bee clenſed. But whom he hath made cleane by mercye, vndoubtedlye it behoueth thoſe ſame to be alſo mercyfull. For in the. v. chapter of Mathew he ſaith: Bleſſed are the mercyfull, for they ſhall obtaine mercy. And agayne in the. vj. of Mathew: If ye forgeue vnto men theyr ſinnes, your father will forgeue vnto you your ſinnes. And again in the. vij. chap. of Mathew: Iudge not, and ye ſhal not be iudged, condemne not, and ye ſhal not be condemned, and with what meaſure ye meaſure, with the ſame ſhall it be meaſured vnto you againe. In the. xviij. chap. of Mathew, Peter aſked the Lord ſaying: Lord how often ſhall my brother ſinne agaynſt me, and I ſhall forgeue him, ſeuen times? Ieſus ſayde vnto him: I ſaye not vnto thee ſeuen times, but ſeuentye times ſeuen times. Therefore, is the kingdom of heauen likened vnto a certaine king, which woulde take accompt of hys ſeruauntes. And when he had begun to recken, one was brought vnto him which ought him tenne thouſand talents: And becauſe he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his maiſter commaunded him to be ſolde, and his wyfe and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to bee payd. The ſeruaunt therefore fell downe and beſought him ſaying: haue pacience with me, and I wyll pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that ſeruaunt, and looſed him, and forgaue him the debt. But when the ſeruaunt was departed, he found one of hys fellowe ſeruauntes, which ought him an hundred pence, and he layd handes on him, and toke him by the throte ſaying: Pay me that thou oweſt, and his fellow fell downe and beſought him ſaying: Haue pacience with me, and I wyll pay thee al. But he would not, but went and caſt hym into pryſon, till he ſhould pay the debt. And when his other fellowes ſaw the thinges that were done, they wer very ſory, and came and declared vnto their maiſter all that was done. Then his maiſter called him, and ſaid vnto him: O thou vngracious ſeruaunt, I forgaue thee all that debt when thou deſiredſt me: Oughteſt not thou alſo to haue had pitye on thy fellow, euen as I had pity on thee? And hys Lord was wrothe, and deliuered him vnto the Iaylers, tyll he ſhould pay all that was due vnto him. So lykewiſe ſhall my heauenly father doo vnto you, except ye forgeue from your hartes eche one his brother theyr treſpaſſes. By this doctrine it is moſt plaine and mani-

Math. 5
Math. 6
Math. 7.
Math. 18.

Mercy and pitie commended among Chriſtians.

Mercy and compaſſion neceſſary to all Chriſtians.

feſt, that euery Chriſtian ought to be mercyfull vnto his brother, how often ſoeuer he offendeth againſt him. Becauſe we ſo often as we offend, do aſke mercye of God. Wherefore, for as much as our offence againſt God is farre more greuous then anye offence of our brother againſt vs: it is playne, that it behoueth vs to bee mercyfull vnto our brethren, if we wyll haue mercy at Gods hand.

The pope contrary to Chriſt, in ſhewyng mercy.

23.q.5.

But contrary to this doctrine of mercy, the Romiſh biſhop maketh and cōfirmeth many lawes, whych puniſh offenders, euen vnto the death. As it is plaine by the proceſſe of the decrees, Diſtin. 23. queſt 5. It is declared and determined, that to kyll men ex officio, that is, hauing autority and power ſo to do, is not ſinne. And againe: the ſouldiour whych is obediente vnto the higher power, and ſo kylleth a man, is not gyltye of murther. And againe he is the miniſter of the Lord, which ſmiteth the euill in that they are euill and killeth them. And many other ſuch like thynges are throughout the whole proceſſe of that queſtion determined.

The foundation of the foreſaid 5 queſt. cauſ 23. in the popes decrees, taken onely out of the olde Teſtament, and nothing out of the new.

That for certein kinds of ſinnes men ought by the rigour of the law, to be puniſhed euen vnto death: But yͤ foundation of their ſaying, they tooke out of the olde law, in whiche for diuers tranſgreſſions were appointed diuers puniſhmentes. It is very much wonderfull vnto me, why that wiſe men beyng the authors and makers of lawes, do alwayes for the foundation of their ſayings loke vpon the ſhadow of the law, and not the light of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, for they geue not hede vnto the figure of perfection, nor yet vnto the perfectiō figured.

The makers of the popes lawe follow not the perfect rule.

Iohn.3.

Iohn.8.

Is it not written in the 3. of John? God ſent not his ſonne into the world to iudge the worlde, but to ſaue the worlde by him. In John the 8. cha. The ſcribes and phariſeis bring
„ a woman taken in adultery, and ſet her in the middeſt &
„ ſayd vnto Chriſt: Maiſter euen now this woman was ta-
„ ken in adultery. But in the law, Moſes hath commaun-
„ ded vs to ſtone ſuch. What ſayeſt thou therfore? This
„ they ſaid to tempt him, that they might accuſe him. But
„ Jeſus ſtouped downe, and with hys finger wrote on the
„ grounde. And while they continued aſkyng hym: he lyft
„ him ſelfe vp and ſayd vnto hym, let him that is amonge
„ you without ſinne, caſt the firſt ſtone at her. And agayne
„ he ſtouped downe, and wrote on the grounde. And when
„ they heard it, they went out one by one, begynnyng at yͤ
„ eldeſt: ſo Jeſus was left alone, and the woman ſtanding
„ in the midſt. When Jeſus had lift vp him ſelfe agayne,
„ he ſayd vnto her: where be they which accuſed thee, hath
no man condempned thee? She ſaid, No man Lord. And Jeſus ſayd vnto her, Neither do J condempne thee? Go thy way and ſinne nowe no more. It is manifeſt by the Scriptures, that Chriſt was promiſed in the ſcriptures, that he ſhould be kyng of the Jewes, and vnto the kings pertained yͤ iudgements of the law: but bycauſe he came not to iudge ſinners accordyng to the rigor of the law, but came accordyng to grace to ſaue yͭ which was loſt, in callyng the ſinner to repentaunce: it is moſt playne, yͭ in the commyng of the lawe of grace, he would haue the iudgementes of the lawe of ryghteouſneſſe to ceaſſe: for otherwiſe he had dealt vniuſtly with yͤ foreſaid womā, for aſmuch as the witneſſes of her adultry, bare witnes againſt her. Wherfore, ſeyng yͤ ſame kyng Chriſt was a iudge, if it had ben his will yͭ the righteouſnes of yͤ law ſhould be obſerued, he ought to haue adiudged yͤ womā to death, accordyng as the lawe commaunded: whiche thing for aſmuch as he did not, it is moſt euidēt that the iudgements of the righteouſnes of the law are finiſhed in the comming of the kyng, being kyng of the lawe of grace: euen as the ſacrifices of the prieſthoode of Aaron, are finiſhed in the commyng of the prieſt accordyng to the order of Melchiſedech, who hath offred him ſelf vp for our ſinnes. Bycauſe as it is before ſayd, neither the righteouſnes of the lawe, nor ſacrifices for ſinne, brought any man to perfection.

Here is mēt & to be vnderſtad, not what publike magiſtrates may do, in caſes of righteouſnes, but what eccleſiſticall perſons accor ding to the office of their profeſsion ſhould do.

Whether the Iudiciall lawe of Moyſes, fullye (now after the commyng of Chriſt) ſtandeth in force or not.

The la Moſes of all lawes moſt iu

Wherefore it was neceſſary that the ſame (by reaſon of their imperfection) ſhould ceaſſe in the comming of the abſolute perfectiō. And ſeyng amongeſt all the lawes of the world, the law of Moſes was moſt iuſteſt, for aſmuch as the author therof was God who is yͤ moſte iuſte iudge: and by that law allwayes loke, what maner of iniury on had done vnto an other contrary to the commaundemēt of the law, the like iniury he ſhould receaue for his tranſgreſſion according to the vpright iudgement of the law. As death for death, a blow for a blow, burnyng for burnyng, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and moſt iuſt puniſhements were ordained accordyng to the quantitie of the ſinnes. But if this lawe of righteouſnes be cleane takē away in yͤ commyng of the law of grace, howe then ſhall the law of the Gentiles remayne among Chriſtians, whiche was neuer ſo iuſt? Js not this true, that in them, whiche are conuerted vnto the fayth, there is no diſtinction betwene the Jew and the Grecian? For both are vnder ſinne, and are iuſtified by grace in yͤ faith of Chriſt, being called vnto fayth and vnto the perfection of the Goſpel. Jf therfore the gentiles conuerted, are not bound to play the Jewes, to folow the law of the Jewes: why ſhould the Jewes conuerted, folow the lawes of the gentiles, whiche are not ſo good? Wherefore it is to bee wondred at, why theues are among Chriſtians for theft put to death? wher after the law of Moſes they were not put to death. Chriſtians ſuffer adulterers to lyue, Sodomites, and they which curſe father and mother, & many other horrible ſinners: And they which according to yͤ moſt iuſt law of god were condempned to death, are not put to death: So we neither keepe the lawe of ryghteouſneſſe geuen of God, nor the lawe of mercy taught by Chriſt.

His meaning is not ſo much, why theeues are put to death: but why the Iudiciall l of Moſes in this p is broken, & in othe pointes is ſo ſtraitly kept: his meanyng.

Take his meanyng wiſely (gentle read his mynd is not ſo, that no magiſtrate, be ing not without ſin may puniſh a tranſgreſſor, but he ſpeket againſt churchmen who profe ſing the rule of me cy, ſhew no mercy at a but all rigor.

Wherfore the law makers and iudges, do not geue hede vnto the aforeſayd ſentence of Chriſt vnto the Scribes and Phariſies, who ſaid: He which amongſt you is without ſinne, let him caſt the firſt ſtone at her. What is he that dareth be ſo bolde as to ſay he is without ſinne? Yea and without a greuous ſinne, when as the tranſgreſſion of the cōmaūdement of God is a greuous ſinne. And who can ſay, that he neuer tranſgreſſed this commaundement of God, Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe: Or yͤ other cōmaundemēt which is of greater force, Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God withall thy hart, &c. Wherfore, thou whatſoeuer thou art yͭ iudgeſt thy brother vnto death, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt eſcape the iudgement of God, which peraduenture haſte offended more greuouſlye then hath he whom thou iudgeſt? How ſeeſt thou a mote in thy brothers eye, & ſeeſt not a beame in thyne own eye? Knoweſt thou not, that with what meaſure thou meaſureſt, the ſame ſhall bee meaſured vnto thee agayne? Dothe not the Scripture ſay: Unto me belongeth vengeance, and J will render again ſayth the Lord? How can any man ſay that theſe men can with charitie kepe theſe iudgements of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and deſireth of God iuſte iudgement for hys offence? He deſireth not iudgement, but mercy. Jf he deſire mercy for himſelf, why deſireth he vengeance for hys brother offending? How therfore loueth he hys brother as hymſelf? Or how doeſt yͧ ſhewe mercy vnto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commaundement of Chriſt) which ſekeſt the greateſt vengeance vpon hym that thou canſt inferre vnto hym? For death is the moſte terrible thing of all, and a more greuous vengeance then death, can no man inferre. Wherfore, they which will kepe charitie, ought to obſerue the commaundementes of Chriſt touching mercy: and they *which liue in the lawe of charitie, ought to leaue yͤ law of vēgeance and iudgements. Ought we to beleue, that Chriſt in hys comming, by grace abrogated the moſte

*He meaneth of the pope and of the c gy.

iuſt

He ſpeaketh agaynſt the deſire of reuenge: not againſt the execution of neceſſary lawe done by magiſtrates.

iuſte lawe which he himſelfe gaue vnto the children of Iſraell by Moſes hys ſeruant, and eſtabliſhed the lawes of the Gentiles being not ſo iuſte, for to be obſerued of hys faythfull? Doth not Daniell expounding the dreame of Nabuchodonozar the king concerning the image whoſe hed was of golde, the breſt and armes of ſiluer, the belly and thyes of braſſe, the legges of yron, one part of the feete was of yron, and the other part of clay. Nabuchodonezor ſawe ẏ a ſtone was cut out of a mountaine without hands, and ſtrake the image in his feete of yron and of clay, and brake thē to peces. Then was the yron, the clay, the braſſe, the ſiluer, and the golde brokē altogether, and became like the chaffe of the ſommer flower, which is caried away by the winde, & there was no place found for them: and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountaine, and filled the whole earth. He applyeth therfore 4. kingdomes vnto the 4. partes of the image, namely. The kingdome of the Babilonians vnto the head of golde: The kingdome of the Medes & Perſians vnto the breſt and armes of ſiluer: The kingdome of the Grecians vnto ẏ belly and thyghes of braſſe: But the 4. kingdom which is of the Romains, he applyeth vnto the legges and feete of yron. And Daniell addeth: In the dayes of their kingdomes, ſhall God rayſe vp a kingdome which ſhall neuer be deſtroyed: And hys kingdome ſhall not be deliuered vnto an other, but it ſhall breake and deſtroye theſe kingdomes: & it ſhall ſtand for euer, according as thou ſaweſt, that the ſtone was cut out of the mountain without handes, and brake in peces the clay and yron, braſſe, ſiluer, and golde. Seing therfore it is certain that thys ſtone ſignifyeth Chriſt whoſe kingdome is for euer: it is alſo a thyng moſte aſſured, that he ought to raigne euery where and to breake in peces the other kingdomes of the world. Wherefore if terreſtriall kinges and the terreſtriall kyngdome of the Iewes, and their lawes & iudgements haue ceaſed by Chriſt the king, calling the Iewes vnto the perfection of his Goſpell, namely vnto faith and charitie: It is not to be doubted, but that the kingdome of the Gentiles whiche is more imperfecte and their lawes, ought to ceaſe amonge the Gentiles, departing from their gentilitie vnto the perfection of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For there is no diſtinction betwene the Iewes and the Gentiles being cōuerted vnto the fayth of Chriſt, but all of them abyding in that eternall kingdome ought to be vnder one law of charitie and of vertue. Therefore they oughte to haue mercy, and to leaue the iudgementes of death, and the deſire of vengeaunce . Wherfore, they which make

The image of Daniel.

The iudiciall neceſſitie of thoſe lawes, he meaneth to ceaſe notwithſtanding Chriſten princes may borrowe both out of thoſe lawes, and out of all other, what thei think good and expedient for their common weales.

,, lawes do not marke the parable of Chriſt, ſaying: The
,, kingdome of heauen is lyke vnto a man which ſowed
,, good ſeede in hys field: but when men were on ſleepe, the
,, enemie came & ſowed Tares in the midſt of the whete,
,, and went hys way. But when the herbe was growen
,, and brought forth fruite, then appeared the Tares. And
,, the ſeruantes came vnto the goodman of the houſe and
,, ſayd vnto hym: Lorde didſt not thou ſowe good ſeede
,, in thy fielde? From whence then come theſe Tares?
,, And he ſayd vnto them: The enemie hath done thys.
,, And the ſeruaunts ſaid vnto him: Wylt thou that we go
,, and gather them vp? And he ſaid no: leaſt peraduenture
,, gathering vp the tares, ye plucke vp the wheate by the
,, rootes: Suffer them both to grow vntyl the harueſt, and
,, in the time of the harueſt, I wyll ſaye vnto the harueſt
,, men: gather firſt the Tares, and bind them in bundels ẏ
,, they may be burnt, but gather the wheate in to my ba
,, ren. Chriſt himſelf onely expoundeth this parable in the
,, ſelfe ſame chapter, ſaying: He which ſoweth the good
,, ſeede is the ſonne of man, but the field is the world: and
,, the good ſeede, thoſe are the chyldren of the kyngdome.
,, But the Tares are the noughty childrē. And the enemy
which ſoweth them is the deuile, and the harueſt, is the ende of the worlde, and the harueſt-men, are the angels. Euē as therfore, the Tares are gathered & burnt wyth fire, ſo ſhall it be in the end of the worlde. The ſonne of man ſhall ſend his Angels, and they ſhall gather out of his kingdome all offences, and thoſe which commit iniquitie, and ſhall put them into a furnace of fire, there ſhall be weping and gnaſhing of teeth. By which plaine doctrine it is manifeſt, that Chriſt will haue mercy ſhewed vnto ſinners, euen vnto the end of the world, and will haue them to remayne mingled with the good: Leaſt peraduenture, whē a man thinketh ẏ he doth right wel to take away ẏ tares, he taketh awaye the wheate. For how great a ſinner ſo euer a man be, we know not whether hys ende ſhall be good, and whither in the ende he ſhall obtayne mercy of God: Neither are wee certaine of the time, wherein God wyll by grace iudge him whom we abhorre as a ſynner. And peraduenture ſuch a one, ſhall more profitte after his conuerſion the churche, then he whom we thinke to be iuſt, as it came to paſſe in Paule. And if God iuſtifieth a mā by grace (although at his end) why dareſt thou be ſo bolde to be hys iudge, and to condemne him? Yea, rather althoughe a man ſeeme to be obſtinate & hardened in his euyll, ſo ẏ he is not corrected by a ſecret correctiō (correct him before one alone) if he do not receiue open correction being done before two or three witneſſes, neither paſſeth vpon a manifeſt correction when his ſinne is made knowen vnto the church: Chriſt doth not teach to puniſh ſuche a one with the puniſhment of death. Yea rather he ſayth, if he harken not vnto the church, let him bee vnto thee as an Ethnicke and publicane. And Paule folowing this doctrine, in the. 1. Corin. the. 5. chap. ſayeth: There goeth a common ſaying that there is fornication amonge you, and ſuch fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one ſhould haue hys fathers wife. And ye are puffed vp, and haue not rather ſorrowed: that hee which hath done this dede, myght bee put from among you. For I verely as abſent in body, but preſent in ſpirite, haue already determined, as though I were preſēt: that he which hath done this thing (when ye are gathered together and my ſpirite, in the name of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt) that ſuch one, by the power of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, be deliuered vnto Sathan, for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirite may be ſaued in the day of the Lord Ieſus. Paule teacheth not to kill this man (as ſome gather by thys text) but to ſeperate hym from the other faithful, and ſo from Chriſt, which is the head of the church of the faithfull, and ſo is he deliuered vnto Sathan, which is ſeperated from Chriſt: that the fleſhe may be kylled, that is, that that carnall concupiſcence, whereby he luxuriouſly luſted after the wife of hys father, may be deſtroyed in him, by ſuch a ſeperation, that
the ſpirit may be ſaued, and not that his body ſhould be ”
kylled, as ſome ſaye, as it is moſte manifeſt in the ſelfe ”
ſame chapter, where hee ſaith: I wrote vnto you in an ”
epiſtle, that ye ſhoulde not keepe company wyth forni ”
catours, and I ment not of all the fornicatours of this ”
world, either of ẏ couetous, or extorcioners or idolaters, ”
for then muſt ye nedes haue gone out of the world. But ”
now I haue writtē vnto you, ẏ ye kepe not cōpany toge ”
ther, if any that is called a brother be a fornicatour, or ”
couetous perſon, or a worſhipper of images, either a ”
curſed ſpeaker, or dronkard, or an extorcioner: with him ”
that is ſuch, ſee that ye eate not. By which it is manifeſt, ”
that Paul would haue the foreſayd fornicatour ſepera ”
ted from the fellowſhip of the faythfull: that his carnall ”
concupiſcence might be mortifyed, for the health of the ”
ſpirit, and not that the body ſhould be killed. Wherfore, they do ill vnderſtand Paule, which by thys ſaying doe confirme the killing of men. And foraſmuch as hereſie

His purpoſe is not that no euil doer ſhould be puniſhed in a common wealth, but his relation is, to the 23 qu. 5. aforeſayde, notyng cauſes of religion, which the pope and hys prelates are wont to puniſh with death, takyng many times for tares, that which in deede is pure wheate.

1. Cor. 5.

Hereby it appeareth, that all his reuelatiõ in this matter: toucheth onely the caſes of hereſye and opinions in religion.

is one of the moſte greuous ſinnes (for an heretique leadeth men in errours, wherby they are made to ſtraye frõ fayth, without which yet they cãnot be ſaued) it doth moſt great hurt in the church. Farther as concerning ſuch a wicked man, Paule thus ſpeaketh, flye from the man that is an heretique after the firſte and ſecond correction, knowing that ſuch a one is ſubuerted, and ſinneth, forasmuch as he is. by his owne iudgement condemned. Behold Paul teacheth not to kill thys mã, but wͭ Chriſt to ſeperate hym frõ yͤ felowſhip of yͤ faithfull.

By this it appeareth agayn, that his reſpect is onely to the pope and his prelates of the church, and not to ciuill magiſtrates.

Actes. 4.

The example of Peter ſlaying Ananias and Saphyra falſlye wraſted of the papiſtes.

But ſome ſay, that Peter in the primitiue churche ſlew Ananias and Saphira for theyr ſinnes, wherefore they ſay it is lawfull for them, to condempne wicked men to death. We wil declare in ſhewing the whole proces, how falſely they ſpeake in alledgyng of Peter, for to iuſtifie theyr errour. In the 4. chap. of the Actes it is writtẽ, that as many as were poſſeſſours of landes or houſes, they ſold them and offered the prices of that whiche they ſold and layd it before the feete of the Apoſtles: and it was deuided vnto euery on as he had nede therof. But a certein man Ananias with Saphira his wife ſold a peece of lãd, and kept backe a parte of the price of the field, his wyfe being priuie vnto hit, and bringyng a certeyne part ther-

„ of, he layd it at yͤ fete of the Apoſtles. But Peter ſaid vn-
„ to Ananias: Ananias, why hath Satã tempted thi hart yͭ
„ thou ſhouldſt lye vnto the holy ghoſt, to kepe back a part
„ of the price of yͤ land? Did it not whileſt it remayned, re-
„ mayne vnto thee: and beyng ſolde, was it not in thyne
„ owne power? why haſt thou cõceaued this thing in thine
hartes? Thou haſt not lyed vnto men, but vnto God. And
” whẽ Ananias hard theſe wordes, he fell downe and gaue
” vp the ghoſt, and great feare came on all them that hard
” theſe thinges. And the young men roſe vp and tooke him
” vp, and caried him out and buried him. And it came to
” paſſe about the ſpace of three houres after, that his wife
” came in beyng ignoraunte of that whiche was done.
” And Peter ſaide vnto her, Tell me woman, ſolde ye the
” lande for ſo muche? And ſhe ſayde, yea for ſo much.
” But Peter ſayd vnto her, why haue ye agreed together
” to tempt the ſpirite of the Lord. Behold, the feete of them
” whiche buried thy huſband are at the doore, and ſhall ca-
” ry thee out. And ſtreight waye ſhe fell downe, before hys
” feete and gaue vp the ghoſt. And the young men entryng
” in, found her dead, & they caried her out and buryed her
” by her huſband. And great feare came on all the church,

Peter not the cauſe of the death of Ananias and Saphyra.

and on all thoſe which hard theſe thinges. It is meruaile that any man that is wiſe, will ſay that by this proceſſe Peter ſlew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his acte,

” but the acte of God, who made a weddyng to his ſonne,
” and ſent his ſeruaunt to call them, that were bidden vn-
” to the wedding, and they would not come. The kyng thẽ
” ſent forth his ſeruauntes, to the out corners of the hye
” wayes, to gather all that they could find, both good and
” euill. And ſo they did. And the mariage was full furni-
” ſhed with geſtes. Then came in alſo the kyng to vewe
” and ſee them ſettyng. Among whom he perceaued one
” there ſitting hauing not a weddyng garment, and ſaith
” vnto hym: freend, how cameſt thou hether? And he beyng
” dũme had not a worde to ſpeake. Then ſayd the kyng to
” the ſeruitures, take and bynd hym hande and foote, and
” caſt him into outward darkenes. There ſhalbe weaping

The wedding garment what it is.

and gnaſhing of teeth. Many there be called, but few choſen &c. It is manifeſt, that this weddyng garment is charitie, without which, becauſe Ananias entred into the mariage of Chriſt, he was geuẽ to death, that by one many might be informed to learne and vnderſtãd: that they whiche haue fayth and not charitie, although they appeare to men to haue, yet it can not bee priuie to the ſpirite of God, that they do fayne. Such there is no doubt, but they ſhalbe excluded from the mariage of Chriſt, as we ſee this here exemplified in the death of Ananias and his wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how ſhould Peter then haue iudged Ananias (albeit he had iudged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the olde law? For why, by the law he had not ben giltie of death, for that part, whiche they fraudulently and diſſemblyngly did reſerue to them ſelues. Yea, and if they had ſtolne as much from an other man, which was greater, neither yet for his lye committed, he had not therfore by the law of iuſtice be found giltie of death. Wherfore, if he did not condẽne hym by the law of iuſtice, it appeareth that he cõdemned him by the law of grace and mercy, whiche he learned of Chriſt. And ſo conſequently it foloweth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death: Furthermore, to ſay that Peter put him to death by the mere motion of his owne will, and not by autoritie of the old law, nor by the newe it were derogatorie and ſlaunderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him: why then doth the Byſhop of Rome, which pretendeth to be ſucceſſour of Peter, excuſe him ſelfe and his prieſtes from the iudgemente of death agaynſt heretiques and other offenders, although they them ſelues be cõſentyng to ſuch iudgements done by lay mẽ? For yͭ which was done of Peter wͭout offẽce, may reaſonably excuſe him & his felow prieſtes from the ſpotte of crime.

Actes. 5. It is manifeſt, that there was an other whiche did more greuouſly offende thẽ Ananias, & that Peter rebuked him with more ſharpe wordes: but yet he commaunded him not to be put to death.

Peter not the cauſe of Ananias death.

diciall power, they allege the Scriptures in many places wꝛeſting it to ſerue their purpoſe.

Firſt they ſaye that the Biſhop of Rome (who is the chief pꝛieſt and iudge among them) hath full power and authoꝛitie to remitte ſinnes. Wherupon thei ſay, that he is able fullye and wholly to abſolue a man a poena et culpa, ſo that if a man at the time of hys death had this remiſſion, he ſhould ſtraight wayes flee vnto heauen without any payne of Purgatoꝛy. The other biſhops (as they ſay) haue not ſo great authoꝛitie. The pꝛieſts conſtituted vnder euery Byſhop, hath power, ſay they, to abſolue the ſinnes of them that are confeſſed, but not all kinde of ſinnes: becauſe there are ſome greuous ſinnes reſerued to the abſolutions of the Byſhops, and ſome agayne to the abſolution onely of the chiefe and high Biſhop. They ſay alſo that it behoueth the offenders, foꝛ the neceſſitie of their ſoule health, to call to remembꝛaunce their offences, and to manyfeſt the ſame wyth all the circumſtances thereof, vnto the pꝛieſt in auricular confeſſion, ſupplieng the place of God, after the maner of a Iudge: and afterward humbly to fulfill the penaunce enioyned vnto him by the pꝛieſt foꝛ his ſinnes, except the ſayde penance ſo enioyned, oꝛ any part thereof be releaſed by the ſuperiour power. All theſe things (ſay they) are manifeſtly determined, as well in the decrees, as decretals. And although theſe things haue not expꝛeſly their foundacion in the playne and manifeſt doctrine of Chꝛiſt, noꝛ any of the Apoſtles: yet the autoꝛs of the decrees and decretals concerning thys matter, haue grounded the ſame vpon diuers places of the ſcriptures, as in the pꝛoces of Chꝛiſt in the Goſpell of Saint Mathew the xvj. chapter. Wherupon they ground the Popes power iudiciall, to ſurmount the powers of other pꝛieſtes, as where Chꝛiſt ſayd vnto his diſciples: whom doo men ſaye that I am? And they anſwered: ſome ſaye that thou art Iohn Baptiſt, ſome Elias, and ſoms Ieremye, oꝛ one of the Pꝛophetes. To whom he ſayd: but who ſay you that I am? Symon Peter making anſwer ſayde: Thou art Chꝛiſt the ſonne of the lyuing God. And Ieſus aunſwered and ſayd vnto him: Bleſſed art thou Symon the ſonne of Ionas, foꝛ fleſh and blood hath not opened this vnto thee: but my father which is in heauen. And I ſay vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I buylde my church; and hell gates ſhall not pꝛeuayle againſt it. And I will geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde vpon earth, ſhall alſo bee bounde in heauen: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt looſe vpon earth, ſhall bee looſed alſo in heauen.

Out of this text of Chꝛiſt, diuers expoſitions haue dꝛawen diuers errours. Foꝛ when Chꝛiſt ſaid: And I ſay vnto thee that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke wyll I builde my church: Some thereupon affirme, that Chꝛiſt ment he would build his church vpon Peter by autoꝛity of that text, as it is wꝛitten in the firſt part of the decrees, Diſt. 19. cap. Ita dominus noſter. The expoſition hereof, is aſcribed to Pope Leo, the errour whereof is manifeſtly knowen. Foꝛ the church of Chꝛiſt is not builded vpon Peter, but vpon the rocke of Peters confeſſiõ, foꝛ that he ſaid: Thou art Chꝛiſt the ſonne of the liuing God, & foꝛ that Chꝛiſt ſaid ſingularly vnto Peter: I wil geue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauẽ: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde. &c. By this ſaying they affirme, that Chꝛiſt gaue vnto Peter ſpecially, as chief of the reſt of ẏ Apoſtles a larger power to binde & to looſe, then he did vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles oꝛ diſciples. And becauſe Peter anſwered foꝛ him ſelfe & all the Apoſtles not onelye confeſſing the faythe which he had chieflye aboue the reſt, but alſo the faith whych the reſt of the Apoſtles had euen as him ſelfe, by the reuelatiõ of the heauenly father: It appeareth that as the fayth of al the Apoſtles was declared by the aunſwer of one: ſo by thys that Chꝛiſt ſaid vnto Peter: whatſoeuer ẏ ſhalt bind. &c is geuen vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles the ſame power & equalitye to binde and to looſe, as vnto Peter. Whych Chꝛiſt declareth in the Goſpel of Saint Mathew the 18. chapter, in theſe woꝛdes: Verely I ſay vnto you, what things ſo euer you ſhal binde vpon earth, ſhalbe boũd in heauẽ: & whatſoeuer you ſhal looſe vpon earth, ſhalbe alſo looſed in heauen. And further he addeth: And agayn I ſay vnto you: that if two of you ſhall conſent vpõ earth, and requeſt whatſoeuer it be: it ſhall be graunted vnto you of my father whiche is in heauen. Foꝛ when two oꝛ thꝛe be gathered together in my name, I am there in the middeſt of them. And in Iohn the. xx. chapter, he ſayth generally vnto them: Receaue ye my ſpirit. Whoſe ſins ye ſhall remit, ſhall be remitted vnto them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhall retayne, ſhall be retayned. By thys it appeareth, that the power to binde and to looſe is not ſpecially graunted to Peter as chiefe and head of the reſt: and that by him the reſt had their power to binde and to loſe, foꝛ ẏ the head of the body of the church is one, which is Chꝛiſt, & the head of Chꝛiſt is God. Peter and the reſt of the Apoſtles, are the good mẽbers of the body of Chꝛiſt receauyng power & vertue of Chꝛiſt: wherby they do cõfirme and glewe together the other members (aſwell the ſtrong and noble as the weake and vnhable) to a perfecte compoſition and ſemelines of the body of Chꝛiſt: that all honour from all partes and members may be geuen vnto Chꝛiſt as head and chief, by whom as head, all the mẽbers are gouerned. And therefoꝛe Paul 1. Coꝛin. chap. 3. When any man ſaythe, I holde of Paule, and an other ſayth I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnall men? foꝛ what is Apollo? what is Paul? The miniſter of him in whom ye haue beleued, & yet he giueth as God vnto euery man, I haue planted, Apollo hath watred, but God hath giuẽ the increaſe. Therfoꝛe neither he ẏ planteth is any thyng neither he that watreth, but God that geueth ẏ encreaſe. And Paul to the Gal. chap. 2. God hath no reſpecte of perſones. Thoſe that ſemed to be great & to do much, auayled oꝛ pꝛofited me nothing at all: But contrarywiſe, whẽ they ſaw that the Goſpell of the vncircumciſion was cõmitted vnto me, as the circumciſion vnto Peter (foꝛ he that wꝛought with Peter in the Apoſtleſhyp of the circũciſion, wꝛought with me alſo among the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was giuen me: Peter, Iames, and Iohn ſtraight wayes ioyned them ſelues with me, and Barnabas: that we among the gentils and they in circumciſion onely, might be mindefull of the pooꝛe, the which to do I was very careful. Hereby it appeareth, that Paul had not his authoꝛitie of Peter, to conuert the Gentiles, to baptiſe them, and to remit theyꝛ ſinnes, but of him whiche ſayd vnto him. Saule, Saule, why perſecuteſt thou me. It is hard foꝛ thee to kicke agaynſt the pꝛicke. Here is Paul the head of the churche & not Peter: By whiche head they ſay, that all the members are ſuſteyned and made liuely. The thirde errour (which the authoꝛs of the canons conceaueth in the ſaid text of Chꝛiſt) which was ſayd to Peter: Vnto thee will I giue the keyes &c. is this. They ſay that in this ſentence which was ſayd to Peter of the autoꝛitie to binde & loſe was mẽt: that as Chꝛiſt gaue vnto Peter aboue al ẏ reſt of ẏ Apoſtles a ſpeciall, and as it were an excellẽt power aboue all ẏ Apoſtles: euẽ ſo ſay they, he gaue vnto the B. of Rome (whome they call Peters chiefe Succeſſoꝛs) the ſame ſpeciall power and authoꝛitie, exceedyng the power of all other Biſhops of the woꝛlde. The firſt part of this ſimilitude and compariſon, doth appeare manifeſtly by the pꝛemiſſes to be erroneous: wherin is plainly ſhewed, that the other Apoſtles, had equall power with Peter to binde and looſe. Wherfoꝛe, conſequently it foloweth, the ſeconde part of the ſimilitude, grounded vpon the ſame text, to be alſo erroneous. But and yf the firſt part of the ſayd ſimilitude were truth as it is not, yet the ſecõd part muſt nedes be an erroꝛ, wherin is ſaid that the biſhops,

Math. 18.

Iohn. 20.

Chriſt onely the head of church.

1. Cor. 3.

Galath. 2.

Actes. 9.

The third errour.

Other Apoſtles had like power to bynd & loſe, as Peter had.

of Rome are Peters chiefeſt ſucceſſours. For although there be but one catholique Chriſtian churche, of all the faythfull ſorte conuerted: yet the firſt parte thereof and firſt conuerted was of the Iewes, the ſeconde of the Grekes, and the third part was of the Romanes or Latines. Wherof, the firſt part was moſt perfectly conuerted vnto the faith, for that they faythfully obſerued the perfection of charitie, as appeareth in the Actes of the Apoſtles by the multitude of the beleuers. They were of one harte, & one ſoule, neither called they any thyng that they poſſeſſed their own, but all was cōmon amōgſt thē. Hereupō Paul to yͤ Romanes: Salutation to euery beleuer, firſt to the Iewe, & to yͤ Greke after the Iewes. The Grekes were the ſecond & after yͤ Iewes, beſt cōuerted, and after them the Romanes, takyng their information of the Grekes as appeareth by the Chronicles, although in deede ſome Romanes, were conuerted vnto the faith, by Peter and Paul. And as Chriſt ſayd thriſe vnto Peter, fede my ſheepe, ſo Peter ruled theſe thrée churches as witneſſeth the Chronicles. But firſt he reformed the church of the Iewes in Hieruſalem and Iudæa, as appeareth by the teſtimonie of the Actes of the Apoſtles: For Actes.1. It is manifeſt how Peter ſtanding vp amongeſt his brethren ſpake vnto them concernyng the election of an Apoſtle in the place of Iudas the traitor, alledgyng places vnto them out of the Scripture, that an other ſhould take vpon him hys Apoſtleſhyp. And ſo by lotte was Mathias conſtituted the xij. in the place of Iudas. Actes.2. After that the holy ghoſt was come vpō the Apoſtles, and that they ſpake with the tōgues of all men, the hearers were aſtonied at the miracle. And ſome mocked them, ſaying, theſe men are full of new wyne: But Peter ſtode vp and ſpake vnto them, ſaying, that it was fulfilled in them that was propheſied by Iohel the Prophet: and he preached Chriſt vnto the people, whom they of ignoraunce had put to death. To thē was a Sauiour promiſed by the teſtimonie of the Prophetes. And whē they heard the woordes of Peter, they were pricked at the harte, ſaying, vnto him and the reſt of the Apoſtles: what ſhall we thē do? And Peter ſayd vnto them: Repent, & let euery one of you be baptiſed, in yͤ name of Ieſus Chriſt for the remiſſion of your ſinnes, and ye ſhall receaue the holy ghoſt. And there were ioyned vnto thē the ſame day about thrée thouſande ſoules. And Actes.3.4.5. it appeareth, that Peter aboue the reſt, did thoſe thinges whiche belonged to the miniſtery of the Apoſtleſhyp, aſwell in preachyng as in aunſweryng. Wherupon ſome Chronicles ſay, that Peter gouerned the churche of the Iewes at Ieruſalē foure yeares, before he gouerned Antioche. And by the teſtimonie of Paul to the Galat. as before is ſaid: The Goſpell of the vncircumciſion is committed to Paul euen as the circumciſion to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apoſtleſhyp of circumciſion, wrought with Paul amongeſt the gentiles. Whereby it appeareth, that the church of the Iewes was committed to the gouernement of Peter. And in the proceſſe of the Actes of yͤ Apoſtles it appeareth, that Peter beleued that the faith of Chriſt was not to be preached vnto thoſe gētiles, whiche allwayes lyued in vncleanes of Idolatry. But when Peter was at Ioppe, Cornelius a Gētile ſent vnto him, that he would come and ſhewe him the way of lyfe: But Peter (a litle before the commyng of the meſſēgers of Cornelius) beyng in hys chamber, after he had prayed: fel in a traūce, and ſawe heauen open, and a certaine veſſell deſcendyng euen as a greate ſheete, letten down by the foure corners from heauen to earth: In the whiche were all maner of foure footed beaſtes, ſerpents of the earth, and foules of the ayre. And a voice ſpake vnto him, ſaying, Ariſe Peter, kill & eate: and Peter ſayd, not ſo Lord, becauſe I haue neuer eaten any common or vncleane thyng: This was done thriſe. And Peter deſcended (not knowyng what the viſion did ſignifie) and founde the meſſengers of Cornelius.

Act.2.

Rom.1.

Peter ruled thre churches.

Act.1.

Act.2.

Act.3.4.5.

Peter gouerned the church at Ieruſalem 4. yeares before he gouerned Antioche.

Galat.2.

As concernyng the authoritie iudiciall of the clergy, many thynges are written thereof in the canons of decrees, greatly to be marueled at, and farre frō the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the canons ſay, that Chriſt gaue vnto the prieſtes, power iudiciall ouer ſinners that confeſſed their ſinnes vnto them. And this they grounde vpon the text of Chriſt: I will giue vnto thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, and what ſoeuer thou looſeſt &c. And theſe keyes of the kingdome of heauē they call the knowledge to diſcerne, and the power to iudge, whiche they ſay onely belongeth vnto the prieſtes, except in caſe of neceſſity, then they ſay a lay man may abſolue a man from ſinne. And as touching abſolution they ſay, there are three things to be required on the ſinners part: firſt harty contrition, whereby the ſinners ought to bewayle their offendyng of God throughe ſinnes: the ſecōd is, auricular confeſſiō, wherby the ſinner ought to ſhewe vnto the prieſt his ſinnes, and the circumſtances of them: The third is ſatiſfactiō, through penaunce enioyned vnto him by the prieſt for his ſinnes committed. And of his part that giueth abſolution there are twoo thynges (ſay they) to be required: that is to ſay, knowledge to diſcerne one ſinne from an other, wherby he ought to make a difference of ſinnes, and appoint a conueniēt penaunce accordyng to the quantitie of the ſinnes: The ſecond is authoritie to iudge, wherby he ought to ioyne penaunce to the offēder. And further they ſay, that he that is confeſſed ought, withall humilitie to ſubmitte him ſelfe to this authoritie, and wholy and voluntarily to do thoſe penaūces whiche are cōmaunded him by the prieſt, except the ſayd penaūce be releaſed by a ſuperiour power: for all prieſts (as they ſay) haue not equal authoritie to abſolue ſinnes. The chief prieſt whom they call Peters ſucceſſour, hath power fully and wholly to abſolue. But the inferiour prieſtes haue power ſome more, ſome leſſe. The more as they are nere him in dignitie: The leſſe, as they are further from the dignitie of his degrée. All this is declared by proceſſe in the decrées, but not by the expreſſe doctrine of Chriſt or any of his Apoſtles. For although Chriſt abſolued men from their ſinnes, I do not finde that he did it after yͤ maner of a iudge, but of a Sauiour. For Chriſt ſaith, God ſent not his ſonne into the world to iudge ſinners, but that the worlde ſhould be ſaued by him. Iohn chap.3. Wherupon he ſpake vnto him whom he healed of the palſie: Behold, thou art made whole, go thy wayes and ſinne no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Chriſt ſaid, woman where be thy accuſers, hath none cōdemned thee? who ſayd. No man, Lorde. To whom then Ieſus thus ſayd: No more will I condempne thee, Go, and now ſinne no more.

By which wordes and deedes of Chriſte and manye other places of the ſcripture, it appeareth he was not as a Iudge at his firſt comming to puniſh ſinners accordyng to the quantity of their offences: but the daye ſhall come hereafter, wherein hee ſhall iudge all men accordyng to their workes, as in Mat 25. where he ſaith: Whē the ſonne of man ſhall come in his maieſty, and all hys Angels with him: then ſhall he ſit vpon the ſeate of hys maieſty, and all nations ſhall bee gathered together before him, and he ſhall ſeperate them one from an other as a ſhepheard ſeperateth the ſhepe from the Goates. &c neither ſhall he iudge alone, but hys ſayntes alſo wyth him. For he ſaith, you yͤ haue followed in me regeneracion, when the ſonne of man ſhall ſit in the ſeate of hys maieſty, ſhall ſit alſo vpon.xij.ſeates, and iudge the.xij. tribes of Iſrael. If thē ſith Chriſt came not as a Iudge, why do the prieſtes ſaye that they ſupplye the roome of Chriſt on earth, to iudge ſinners according to the quantity of their offences. And yet not onelye thys, but it is more to be maruayled at, howe the biſhop of Rome tareth to take vpon him to be a Iudge before the daye of iudgement,

The keys of Chriſt kingdo

Abſolu

Three thinges quired in popiſh a ſolution.

Contri Cōfeſſion Satiſfacti

Two thi required his part th geueth po piſh abſ tion.

Decre. penitē

Iohn.3.

Iohn.8.

Math.25.

The ſai ſhall iu with Chriſt.

Cor.4.

Ezech.

Iohn.20.

The mini-ſterial powr to remit ſynne, be-longeth as well to one prieſt as to another.

The keyes of the kingdom of heauen.

The keyes miſtakē in the popes Canons.

Faith and hope be the keyes of heauen.

iudgement, and to preuent the tyme, iudgeing ſome to be ſayntes in heauen and to be honoured of men, and ſome againe to be tormented in hell eternallye wyth the deuils. Would God theſe mē would wey the ſaying of ſaint Paul. Corin. 4. Iudge ye not before the tyme, vntill the comming of the Lorde, who ſhall make light the darke and ſecrete places, and dyſcloſe the ſecretes of hartes, and then euery one ſhall haue his praiſe. Let the biſhop of Rome take heede, leaſt that in Ezechiel be ſpoken by him: Becauſe thy hart is eleuate, and ſaydeſt vnto thy ſelfe I am God, I haue ſitten in the ſeate of God, in the hart of the ſea, when thou art but man & not God. It is manifeſt, that the remiſſion of ſinnes principallye belongeth to God, who through grace waſheth awaye our ſinnes. For it is ſaid, the lambe of God taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And vnto Chriſtians it belongeth as the Miniſters of God. For in the. xx. of Iohn Chriſt ſayth: Receaue vnto you the holye ghoſt, whoſe ſins you ſhal remit, are remitted vnto them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhall retain, they are reteined. Seing therefore, that all Chriſtians that are baptiſed in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holye ghoſte, receaue the holy ghoſt: it appeareth, that they haue power geuen vnto them of Chriſt, to remit ſinnes miniſterially. Hath not euery Chriſtiā, autority to baptiſe? and in the baptiſme all the ſinnes of the baptiſed are remitted? Ergo they that do baptiſe, do remit ſinnes. And thus miniſterially all ſuch haue power to remit ſinnes. Therfore to ſay, that one man hath more autoritie to remit ſinnes then all other Chriſtians haue, is to much to extoll him and to place him euen in gods ſeate. I pray you, how are the ſinnes remitted him that is baptiſed of the prieſt (yea although he were of ẏ pope himſelf baptiſed) more thē if he were baptiſed of an other Chriſtian? Surely I think no more. For ſeing that before baptiſme he remayneth a ſynner and of the kingdome of the deuill by ſynne, after baptiſme he entreth into the kingdom of heauen: It appeareth, that he that doth baptiſe, openeth the gate of the kingdom of heauē to him that is baptiſed: the whych he cannot do, without the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Therefore euerye one that doth baptiſe, hath the keyes of the kyngdome heauen, as well the inferiour prieſt, as the Pope. But theſe keyes are not the knowledge to diſcerne, and power to iudge, becauſe theſe doo nothing auayle in baptiſme: Ergo there are other keies of the kingdome of heauen then theſe. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that the autors of the Canons erred in miſtaking the keyes, wherupon they ground the autority iudiciall of the clergy. Now a litle errour in the beginning graūted, groweth to great inconuenience in the ende. Wherfore in my iudgement it ſeemeth, that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen are faith and hope. For by faith in Ieſus Chriſt, and hope in him for the remiſſion of ſyns, we enter the kingdome of heauen. This fayth is a ſpirituall water, ſpringing from Ieſus Chriſt the fountaine of wyſdome, wherein the ſoule of the ſynner is waſhed from ſinne. With this water were the faythfull Patriarches baptiſed before the lawe, and the faythull people of the Hebrues, and the faythfull Chriſtians after the law. Wherefore I greatly maruail of that ſaying in the decrees, which is aſcribed vnto Auguſtine: that litle children that are not baptiſed, ſhall be tormented wyth eternall fire, although they were borne of faithful parentes, that wiſhed them with all their hartes to haue ben baptiſed: as though the ſacramēt of baptiſme in water, wer ſimply neceſſary to ſaluation, when neuertheles manye Chriſtians are ſaued without this kinde of baptiſme, as Martirs. If that kinde of ſacrament be not neceſſarye to one of elder yeres, how then is it neceſſary to an infant borne of the faythfull? Are not all baptiſed with the holy ghoſt and with fire? But yet not with materiall fire, no more is the lotion of water corporally neceſſarye to waſh away ſinnes, but onely ſpirituall water, that is to ſay, the water of fayth. Are not the quicke baptiſed for them that are dead, as witneſſeth Paule. 2. Cor. 15. If the dead ariſe not at all, why are the lyuyng then baptiſed for them? If the liuing be baptiſed for the dead? why then is not the infant ſaued by the baptiſme of hys parentes: ſeing the infant it ſelf is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require baptiſme? Chriſt ſayth, he that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued. He ſayth not, he that is not baptiſed: but he that beleueth not ſhal be damned. Wherefore in the. xij. chap. of Iohn, Chriſt ſayth, I am the reſurrection and lyfe, he that beleueth in me, yea although he were dead, ſhal liue. The fayth therfore is neceſſary which the infant hath in his faithful parentes, although he be not waſhed wyth corporall water. How then is the infant damned and tormented with eternall fire? Were not they that were before the comming of Chriſt, and dead before his death by a thouſand yeares, ſaued alſo by his death and paſſion? All that beleued in him, were baptiſed in his blood, and ſo were ſaued and redeemed from ſinne and the bondage of the deuill, and made partakers of the kingdome of heauen. How then in the time of grace, ſhall the infant be damned that is borne of faythfull parentes, that doo not deſpiſe, but rather deſire to haue their children baptiſed? I dare not conſent to ſo hard a ſentēce of the decrees: but rather I beleue, that he is ſaued by vertue of the paſſion of Chriſt in the fayth of his faythful parents, & the hope which they haue in Chriſt. Which fayth & hope, are the keyes of ẏ heauenly kingdō. God were not iuſt & mercyful, if he would condemne a man ẏ beleueth not in him, except he ſhewed vnto hym ẏ faith which he ought to beleue. And therfore Chriſt ſayth: If I had not come & ſpoken vnto thē, ſinne could not haue bene layd vnto their charge, but now thei haue no excuſe of ſinne. Therfore, ſeing the fayth of Chriſt is not manifeſt vnto the infant departing before baptiſme, neyther hath he denyed it: how then ſhall he be damned for the ſame? But if God ſpeaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the infant, as he ſpeaketh vnto Aungels: who then knoweth (ſaue God alone) whether the infant receaueth or not receaueth, the fayth of Chriſt?

What is he therefore, that ſo raſhely dare take vpon hym to iudge the infantes begottē of faythfull parentes dying without baptiſme, to be tormented with eternall fire? Now let vs conſider the three things, which the canons of decrees affirme to be requiſite for the remiſſion of the ſinnes of thoſe that ſinne after baptiſme: that is to ſay, contrition of hart, auricular confeſſion, and ſatiſfaction of the dede through penance enioyned by ẏ prieſt for the ſinnes committed. I can not finde in any place in the Goſpel, where Chriſt commaunded that this kinde of confeſſion ſhould be done vnto the prieſt: nor I cā not finde that Chriſt aſſigned any penaunce vnto ſinners for their ſinnes, but that he willed them to ſinne no more. If a ſinner confeſſe that he hath offended God through ſinne, and ſorroweth hartely for hys offences, mynding no more hereafter to ſinne: then is he truely repentant for his ſinne, & then is he conuerted vnto the Lord. If he ſhall then humbly and with good hope craue mercye at God, and remiſſion of hys ſinnes: what is he that can let God to abſolue that ſinner from hys ſinne? And as God abſolueth a ſinner from hys ſinne, ſo hath Chriſt abſolued many, although they confeſſed not their ſinnes vnto the prieſts, & although they receaued not due penaunce for their ſinnes. And if Chriſt could after that manner once abſolue ſinners: how is he become now not able to abſolue? Except ſome man wil ſay, ẏ he is aboue Chriſt, and that hys power is miniſhed by the ordinaunces of his owne lawes? How were ſinners abſolued of God in the tyme of the Apoſtles, and alwayes heretofore, vnto the time ẏ theſe canons were made? I ſpeake not theſe

2.Cor.15.

Iohn.12.

Children departing before baptiſme not condemned.

Auricular confeſsion.

thinges

Iamet.5.

thinges as though confeſſion to prieſtes were wicked, but that it is not of neceſſitie requiſite vnto ſaluation. I beleue verely that the confeſſion of ſinnes vnto good prieſtes, and likewyſe to other faythfull Chriſtians, is good, as witneſſeth S. James the Apoſtle: Confeſſe ye your ſelues one to an other, & praye ye one for an other,
„ that ye may be ſaued: for the continuall prayer of the
„ iuſte auayleth much. Helias was a man that ſuffred many
„ thynges lyke vnto you, and he prayed that it ſhoulde
„ not raine vpon the earth, and it rained not in iij. yeares
„ and vj. monethes. And agayne he prayed, and it rayned
„ from heauen, and the earth yelded forth her fruite. This
„ kinde of confeſſion is good, profitable, and expedient: for
„ if God peraduenture heareth not a mans owne prayer,
„ he is helped with the interceſſion of others: Yet neuer-
„ theleſſe, the prayers of the prieſtes ſeemeth to much to be extolled in the decrees, where it treateth of penitence, and that ſaying is aſcribed vnto Pope Leo. Cap. multiplex miſericordia dei, &c. And it followeth: So is it ordeined by the prouidence of Gods diuine will, that the mercye of God can not be obtained but by the prayer of the prieſts, &c. The prayer of a good prieſt doth much auaile a ſinner, confeſſing hys faultes vnto him. The counſell of a diſcrete prieſt is very profitable for a ſinner, to geue the ſinner counſell to beware hereafter to ſinne, and to inſtructe hym how he ſhall puniſhe hys body by faſting, by watching, and ſuch lyke actes of repentaunce, that hereafter he may be better preſerued from ſinne.

De penit. diſt. 1. cap. Multiplex miſericordia dei.

Eſay. 53.

After this maner I eſteme confeſſion to prieſtes verye expedient & profitable to a ſinner: But to confeſſe ſinnes vnto the prieſt as vnto a iudge, and to receaue of him corporall penaunce for a ſatiſfaction vnto God for hys ſinnes committed, I ſee not howe thys can be founded vpon the truth of the Scripture. For before the cōming of Chriſt, no man was ſufficient or able to make ſatiſfaction vnto God for hys ſinnes, although he ſuffred neuer ſo much penance for hys ſinnes. And therfore it was nedeful, that he that was without ſinne ſhould be punyſhed for ſinnes, as witneſſeth Iſaias, cap. 53. where he ſayth: he tooke our griefes vpon hym, and our ſorowes he bare. And again: He was woūded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickednes. And again: The Lord put vpon him our iniquitie. And agayne: for the wickedneſſe of my people haue I ſtriken hym. If therefore, Chriſt through his paſſion hath made ſatiſfactiō for our ſinnes, wheras we our ſelues were vnable to do it, thē through hym haue we grace and remiſſion of ſinnes. How can we ſay now, that we are ſufficient to make ſatiſfaction vnto God by any penaunce enioyned vnto vs by mans authoritie? ſeing that our ſinnes are more greuous after baptiſme: then they were before the cōming of Chriſt. Therfore, as in baptiſme the payne of Chriſt in hys paſſion was a full ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes: euen ſo, after baptiſme if we confeſſe that we haue offended, and be hartie ſorie for our ſinnes, and minde not to ſinne again afterwardes. Hereupon John writeth in his firſt epiſtle, cap. 1. If we ſay we haue not ſinne, we deceaue our ſelues, and the truth is not in vs. If we confes our ſinnes,
„ God is faithfull and iuſte, he will remitte them, & clenſe
„ vs from all our iniquities. If we ſay we haue not ſinned,
„ we make hym a lyar, and hys worde is not in vs.
„ My welbeloued children, thys I wryte vnto you that ye ſinne not: but if any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father Jeſus Chriſt the righteous, & he is ẏ propitiation for our ſinnes, and not for our ſinnes onelye, but for the ſins of the whole world. Therfore, we ought to confeſſe our ſelues chieflye vnto God euen from the hart, for that he chiefly doth remit ſins, without whoſe abſoution litle auaileth the abſolution of man. Thys kinde of confeſſion is profitable and good. The authors of the Canons ſaye, that althoughe auriculer confeſſion made vnto the prieſt, be not expreſlye taught by Chriſt,

1. Iohn. 1.

Confeſsion vnto God.

Auricular confeſsion not truly grounded vpon the ſcripture, Luke. 17.

The autors of the Canon law reproued.

Iohn. 3.

Luke. 5.

The ſtory of the lepers expounded to make nothyng for auricular confeſsion.

The clenſing of the leprey, and the clenſing of the prieſt in auricular confeſsion agree not.

yet, ſay thei, it is taught in that ſaying, which Chriſt ſaid vnto them diſeaſed of the leproſye, whom he commaunded: Go your wayes, and ſhewe your ſelues vnto the prieſtes, becauſe as they ſay, the law of clenſing lepers, which was geuen by Moſes, ſignified the confeſſion of ſinnes vnto the prieſt. And wheras Chriſt commaunded the lepers to ſhew them ſelues vnto the prieſts, they ſay that Chriſt ment, that thoſe that were vncleane with the leper of ſinne, ſhould ſhew their ſinnes vnto the prieſtes by auricular confeſſion. I maruell much at the authors of the Canons, for euen from the beginning of their decrees vnto the end, they ground their ſayinges vpon the old law, which was the lawe of ſinne and death, and not (as witneſſeth Paule) vpon the wordes of Chriſt, which are ſpirite and life. Chriſt ſayth, the woordes which I ſpeake vnto you, are the ſpirite and lyfe. They grounde their ſayinges in the ſhadow of the lawe, and not in the light of Chriſt. For euery euil doer hateth the light, and commeth not into it, that his dedes be not reproued: but he that doth the truth, commeth into the lyght, that hys workes may be openly ſeene, becauſe they are done in God. John. 3. Now let vs paſſe to the wordes that Chriſt ſpake to the leper. Lorde if thou wylt, thou canſt make me cleane. And Jeſus ſtretching forth his hand, touched him ſayin: I wyll, be thou cleane: and ſtraight waies he was cleanſed of his leper. And Jeſus ſayd vnto him: See thou tell no man, but go and ſhew thy ſelfe to the prieſt, and offer the gyft that Moſes commaunded for a wytnes of theſe things. This goſpell witneſſeth plainly that the diſeaſed of lepers were clenſed onelye by Chriſt, and not by the prieſtes, neyther did Chriſt commaund the leper to ſhew himſelfe vnto the prieſtes, for anye helpe of clenſing that he ſhould receaue of the prieſts: but to fulfill the law of Moſes, in offering a ſacrifice for his clenſing, and for a teſtimony vnto the prieſtes, who alwaies of enuy accuſed Chriſt as a tranſgreſſour of the lawe. For if Chriſt after he had clenſed the leper, had licenſed him to cōmunicate with others that were cleane, before he had ſhewed hym ſelfe clenſed vnto the prieſtes, then might the prieſtes haue accuſed Chriſt, as a tranſgreſſor of the law: Becauſe it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was clenſed, ſhould ſhewe him ſelfe vnto the prieſtes. And they had ſignes in the booke of lawe, wherby they might iudge whether he were truly clenſed or no. And if he were clenſed, then would the prieſts offer a gift for hys clenſing. And if he were not clenſed, then woulde they ſegregate him, from the companye of others that were cleane. Seyng euery figure, ought to be aſſimuled vnto the thyng that is figured: I pray you thē, what agréement is there betwene the clenſing of lepers by the law, and the confeſſion of ſinnes? By that law the prieſt knew better whether he were leprouſe then he him ſelfe that had the leper. In confeſſion, the prieſt knew not the ſinnes of him that was confeſſed, but by his owne cōfeſſion. In that law the prieſt did not clenſe the leprouſe: How nowe therefore ought the prieſtes to clenſe ſinners from their ſinne, and that without them they cannot be clenſed. In this law the prieſt had certaine ſignes, by the whiche he could certainely knowe, whether a man were clenſed from his leper or not. In confeſſion, the prieſt is not certaine of the clenſing of ſinnes, becauſe he is ignoraunt of his contrition: He knoweth not alſo whether he will not ſinne any more, without the whiche contrition and graunting to ſinne no more, God hath not abſolued any ſinner. And if God hath not abſolued a mā, without doubt then is he not made cleane. And how then is confeſſion figured vnder that lawe? Doubtleſſe ſo it ſemeth to me (vnder the correction of them that can iudge better in the matter) that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, and recōciliation of him, that hath been obſtinate in his ſinne, and is recōciled agayne. For ſo it appeareth by the proceſſe of the Goſpell, that when as the ſinner doth not amende for the priuate correction of his brother, nor yet for the correction of two or thrée, neither yet for the publike correctiō of the whole church: Then is he to be counted as an Ethnike, and a publicane and as a certaine leper to be auoyded out of the companie of all men. Whiche ſinner notwithſtādyng, if he ſhall yet repente, is then to bee reconciled, becauſe he is then clenſed from his obſtinacie.

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But he whiche pretendeth him ſelfe to be the chief vicare of Chriſte, and the hygh prieſt, ſayth: that he hath power to abſolue a pœna & culpa: Whiche I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his owne authoritie, he enioyneth to ſinners, penaunce for their ſinnes. And graunt that from their ſinnes he may well abſolue them, yet frō the payne (which they call a pœna) he doth not ſimplely abſolue, as in hys indulgences he promiſeth. But if he were in charitie, and had ſuch power, as he pretendeth, he would ſuffer none to lye in purgatorye for ſinne, forſomuch as that payne doth far excede all other payne which here we ſuffer. What man is there being in charitie, but if he ſee his brother to be tormented in thys worlde, if he may, he will helpe hym, and deliuer hym? Much more ought the pope then, to deliuer out of paynes of purgatorie, indifferently as well ryche as poore. And if he ſell to the riche his indulgences, double wyſe, yea triple wyſe he ſeduceth them. Firſt in promiſing to deliuer them out of the payne from whēce he dothe not, neyther is able, to deliuer them: And ſo maketh them falſely to beleue that, which they ought not to beleue. Secondly, he deceaueth them of their money, which he taketh for hys indulgence. Thirdly, he ſeduceth them in this, that he promiſing to deliuer them from payne, doth induce them into greuous puniſhmēt in dede, for the hereſie of Symonie, which both of them do commit, and therfore are worthy both of great paine to fall vpon them: for ſo we read, that Ieſus caſt out byers and ſellers out of hys temple. Alſo Peter ſayd to Simon the firſt author of this hereſie. Thy money, ſaid he, with thee be deſtroyed, for that thou haſte thought, the gifte of God to be poſſeſſed for money. Moreouer whereas Chriſt ſayth, frely you haue receaued, frely geue, and where as the pope contrarye doth ſell that thyng, which he hath taken: what doubt is there, but that he doth greuouſlye deſerue to be puniſhed, both he that ſelleth, and he that byeth, for the crime of ſimonie, which they commit. Ouer and beſides, by many reaſons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proued, that he doth not abſolue a man, contrite for hys ſinne, although he do abſolue hym from the gilte.

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But thys marueleth me, that he in hys indulgences promiſeth to abſolue mē frō all maner of deadly ſinnes, and yet can not abſolue a mā from debt: foraſmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importance, then is the debt of our brother. Wherfore, if he be able to remitte the debt due to God, muche more it ſhould ſeeme, that he is able to forgeue the debte of our brother.

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An other thing there is, that I maruell at: for that yͤ pope ſheweth himſelf more ſtraite in abſoluing a prieſt for not ſaying, or negligently ſaying hys mattens: then for tranſgreſſing the commaundement of God: conſidering that the tranſgreſſion of the commaundement of God, is much more greuous then the breache of mans commaundement.

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For theſe and many other errours concurring, and in this matter of the Popes abſolutiōs, bleſſed be God, and honour be vnto him for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. And let vs firmely beleue and knowe, that he doth and will abſolue vs from our ſinnes, if we be ſorye from the bottome of our hartes that we haue offended hym, hauing a good purpoſe and will, to offend hym no more. And let vs be bolde to reſorte vnto good and diſcrete prieſtes, who with wholeſome diſcretion and ſound coūſaile can inſtructe vs, howe to auoyde the corruption of ſinne hereafter. And which, becauſe they are better then we, may praye to God for vs: wherby, we may both obtaine more ſooner the remiſſion of our ſinnes paſte, and alſo maye learne better how to auoyde the daunger of ſinne to come. Ex Regiſtro latino Epiſc. Hereford.

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Notes.

☞ And thus much concerning the iudgement & doctrine of this Walter, for chriſtian pacience, charitie and mercye, which as they be true and infallible notes and markes of true chriſtianitie, ſo the ſaid Walter Brute makyng compariſon herein, betwene Chriſt & the pope, goeth about purpoſely to declare and manifeſt, wherby al mē may ſee, what cōtrarietie there is betwene the rule of Chriſtes teaching, & the proceedinges of the pope: betwene the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as the one is altogether geuen to peace: ſo is the other on the contrary ſide as muche diſpoſed to warres, murder, and bloudſhedde, as is eaſie to bee ſeene, who ſo lookyng not vppon the outwarde ſhewes and pretenſed wordes of theſe Romiſhe Popes, but aduiſyng and conſideryng the inwarde practiſes, and ſecrete workes of them, ſhall eaſilye eſpye, vnder their viſoure of peace what diſcorde, and debate they worke. Who bearing outwardly the meeke hornes of the Lambe mētioned in the Apocalips, within, do beare the bowels of a wolfe, full of crueltie, murder, and bloudſhed which if any we thinke to be ſpoken of me contumeliouſly, would God that mā coulde proue as well the ſame to be ſpoken of me not truely. But truthe it is, I ſpeake it ſincerelye, without affection of blind parcialitie, according to the truthe of hiſtoryes bothe olde and newe. Thus vnder In Dei nomine, Amen, how vnmercifully dothe the Pope condemne hys brother: And whyle he pretendeth not to bee lawfull for him to kill anye man, what thouſandes hath he killed of men? And lykewyſe in hys ſentence, pretending, in viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, as thoughe he woulde be a mediatour to the magiſtrate for the partie: yet in deede will he bee ſure to excommunicate the magiſtrate, if he execute not the ſentence geauen. Who bee true heretiques, the Lord when he commeth ſhall iudge: but geue them to bee heretiques, whome he condemneth for heretiques. Yet what loue els of mercye is here, where is nothyng, but burning, fagotting, drowning, pryſoning, cheynyng, famyſhyng, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatning, reuilyng, curſing, and oppreſſing, and no inſtructing, nor yet indifferente hearing of them, what they can ſay. The like crueltie alſo may in their warres appeare, if we conſider how pope Vrbane 5. beſide the racking & murdering of 7. or 8. Cardinals, ſet vp Henry Spencer B. of Norwich to fight againſt the French pope. Innocentius 4. was in warre himſelfe againſt the Apulians. Likewiſe Alexander 4. his ſucceſſour ſtyrred vp the ſonne of K. Henry 3. to fighte agaynſt the ſōne of Friderick 2. Emperour, for Apulia. Boniface 8. moued Albertus (which ſtode to be Emperour) to driue Philip the French king out of his realme. Gregorius 9. excited Ludowike the French king iij. ſondry times, to mortall war againſt the Erle Raimūdus & citie of Tholouſe, & Auinion, where Lewes the ſayd French K. dyed. Honorius 3. by ſtrength of warre many wayes reſiſted Friderick 2. and ſent out 35. galleis againſt the coaſtes of the Emp. dominions. The ſame pope alſo beſieged Ferraria, to paſſe ouer the war at Ticinum, with many other battails & conflictes of popes, againſt the Romanes, Venetiās, & diuerſe other nations. Innocentius 3. ſet vp Philip the French K. to warre againſt kyng Iohn. What ſtyrre Pope Gregory the ſeuenth, otherwyſe named Hildebrand, kepte againſt the Emperour Henricus 4. it is not vnknowne. And who is able to recite all the warres, battailes, and fieldes fought by the ſtyrring vp of the pope? Theſe with many other like examples conſidered, did cauſe this Walter Brute to write in this matter ſo as he did, making yet thereof no vniuerſall propoſitiō: but yͭ Chriſtian magiſtrates, in caſe of neceſſitie, myght make reſiſtance, in defence of publique ryght. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

Ioan. 6.

Touching the matter (ſaith he) of the ſacrament of the body & blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, diuers mē haue diuers opinions, as the learned do know. As concerning my iudgement vpon the ſame, I firmely beleue whatſoeuer the Lord Chriſt Ieſus taught implicite or expreſly to his diſciples and faythfull people to be beleued: for he is (as I beleue and know) the true bread of God, which deſcended from heauen, and geueth lyfe to the worlde. Of which breade whoſoeuer eateth, ſhall lyue for euer, as it is in the. vj. of ſaint Iohn declared. Before the comming of Chriſt in the fleſh, although men dyd liue in body, yet in ſpirit they did not lyue, becauſe all men were then vnder ſinne, whoſe ſoules thereby were dead: from the which death, no man by the law, nor with the lawe was iuſtified, for by the wordes of the law ſhall no fleſh bee iuſtified. Galat. 2. And againe in the ſame epiſtle cap. 3. that by the law no man is iuſtified before God it is manifeſt: for the iuſt man ſhall lyue by hys fayth, the law is not of fayth, but whoſoeuer hath the workes thereof, ſhall lyue in them. And agayne in the ſame chap. If

Gal. 2.
Iuſtification by faith and not by the law.

„ the law had bene geuen, which might haue iuſtified, thē
„ our righteouſnes had come by the lawe. But yͤ ſcripture
„ hath concluded all vnder ſinne, that the promiſe myght
„ be ſure by the fayth of Ieſu Chriſt to all beleuers. More
„ ouer, before that fayth came, they were kept and conclu
„ ded all vnder the lawe, vntill the comming of that fayth
„ which was to be reuealed. For the law was our Schole
„ mayſter in Chriſt Ieſu, that we ſhoulde bee iuſtified by

Rom. 5.

faith. Alſo the ſayd Paule Rom. 5. ſayth: that the lawe
„ entered in the meane time, whereby that ſinne myghte
„ more abound. Where then ſinne hath more abounded,
„ there hath alſo grace ſuperabounded, that lyke as ſinne
„ hath raygned vnto death: ſo that grace might raigne al
„ ſo by righteoſnes vnto eternal life, through Ieſus Chriſt
„ our Lorde. Whereby it is manifeſt, that by the fayth
„ which we haue in Chriſt, beleuing him to be the true ſon
„ of God, which came downe from heauen to redeeme vs
„ from ſinne: we are iuſtified from ſinne, and ſo do liue by
„ him, which is the true bread and meat of our ſoule. And
the bread, which Chriſt gaue, is his fleſhe geuen for the lyfe of the world. Iohn. 6. For he being God, cam down from heauen, and being true carnall man, did ſuffer in the fleſh for our ſinnes, which in his diuinitie hee coulde not ſuffer. Wherfore, lyke as wee beleue by our fayth that he is true God: ſo muſt wee alſo beleue, that hee is true man. And then do we eate the bread of heauen, and the fleſh of Chriſt. And if we beleue that he did voluntarilye ſhed hys bloude for our redemption, then doo wee drinke hys blood.

Iohn. 6.

True eating of Chriſt, is true beleuing in hym.

Eating of the fleſhe of Chriſt what it is.

And thus except we eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and ſhall drinke his bloud: we haue not eternall life in vs. Becauſe the fleſhe of Chriſt verely is meate, and hys bloud is drinke in dede: and who ſoeuer eateth the fleſhe of Chriſt and drinketh his bloud, abydeth in Chriſt and Chriſt in him. Iohn cap. 6. And as in this world yͤ ſoules of the faithfull liue, and are refreſhed ſpiritually with this heauenly bread, & with the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt: So in the world to come, the ſame ſhall liue eternally in heauen refreſhed with the deitie of Ieſus Chriſt, as touchyng the moſt principall part therof, that is to wit intellectum: For as much as this bread of heauē, in that it is God, hath in it ſelfe all delectable pleaſātnes. And as touchyng the intelligible powers of the ſame (as well exteriour as interiour) they are refreſhed with the fleſh (that is to ſay) with the humanitie of Ieſus Chriſt: whiche is, as a queene ſtanding on the right hand of God, decked wͭ a goldē robe of diuers colours: For this queene of heauē alone by the worde of God, is exalted aboue the company of all the aungels: that by her, all our corporall power intellectiue, may fully be refreſhed as is our ſpiritual intelligēce, with the beholdyng of yͤ deitie of Ieſus Chriſt, and euen as the aungels, ſhall we be fully ſatiſfied. And in the memorie of this double refection, preſent in thys worlde and in the world to come: hath Chriſt giuen vnto vs (for eternall bleſſednes) the Sacramēt of his body and bloud, in the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, as it appeareth in Mathew. chap. 26. As the diſciples ſat at ſupper, Ieſus toke bread and bleſſed it, brake it, and gaue it vnto his diſciples, ſaying: Drinke ye all of this, This is my bloud of the new Teſtament, whiche ſhalbe ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of ſinnes. And Luke in his Goſpell chap. 22. of this matter thus writeth. And after he had taken the bread, he gaue thankes, he brake it and gaue it vnto thē, ſaying: This is my body which ſhall be giuen for you: do you this in my remembraunce. In lyke maner he tooke the cup after ſupper ſaying: This is the cup of the new Teſtament in my bloud, whiche ſhalbe ſhed for you. That Chriſt ſayd, this is my body, in ſhewyng to them the bread, I firmely beleue and knowe that it is true: That Chriſt (for ſo much as he is God) is the very truth it ſelfe: and by conſequēce, all that he ſaith is true. And I beleue that the very ſame was his body, in ſuch wiſe as he willed it to be his body: for in yͭ he is almighty, hee hath done what ſo euer pleaſed hym. And as in Cane of Galile, he chaunged the water into good wyne, really, ſo that after the tranſubſtanciation it was wyne and not water: So when he ſayd, This is my body: If he would haue had the bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into his very body, ſo that after this chaungyng it ſhould haue ben his naturall bodye and not bread as it was before: I know, that it muſt nedes haue ben ſo. But I finde not in the Scripture, that his will was to haue any ſuch reall tranſubſtantiation or mutation. And as the Lord God omnipotēt in his perfectiō eſſentiall being the ſonne of God, doth excede the moſt pureſt creature, and yet when it pleaſed hym, he tooke vpon him our nature, remainyng really God as he was before, and was really made man: ſo that after this aſſumptyng of our ſubſtance he was really very God and very man: Euen ſo if he would, when he ſayd: This is my body: He could make this to be his body really, the bread ſtill really remainyng as it was before. For leſſe is the difference of the eſſence, betwene bread and the body of a man, then betwene the deitie and humanitie: becauſe that of the breade, is naturallye made the bodye of a man. Of the bread is made bloud: of the bloud, naturall ſeede: and of naturall ſeede, the naturall ſubſtaunce of man is ingendered. But in yͭ that God became man: This is an action ſupernaturall. Wherfore, he that could make one mā to be very God and very man: could if he would make one thyng to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expreſly in the ſcripture, that he would any ſuch Identitie or coniunction to be made. And as Chriſt ſayde, I am very bread, not chaungyng his eſſence or beyng, into the eſſence or ſubſtaunce of bread: but was the ſayd Chriſt, whiche hee was before really, and yet breade by a ſimilitude or figuratiue ſpeache: So if hee would, it myght bee, that when hee ſayd: This is my body: That thys ſhoulde really haue been the bread as it was before, & ſacramentally or memorially to be his body. And thys ſeemeth vnto me, moſt neareſt to agre to yͤ meaning of Chriſt, for as much as he ſayd: doe thys in the remembraunce of me. Then, for as much as in the ſupper it is manifeſt, that Chriſt gaue vnto hys diſciples the bread of hys bodye which he brake, to that intent to eate with their mouthes: in which bread, he gaue hym ſelfe alſo vnto them as one in whom they ſhould beleue (as to be the foode of the ſoule) and by that faythe they ſhould beleue him to be their Sauiour which tooke hys body, wherin alſo he wold it to be manifeſt, yͭ he would redeme them from death: So was the bread eaten with the Diſciples mouthes, that he being the true bread of the ſoule, myght be in ſpirite receaued and eaten ſpiritually, by their fayth, which beleued in hym.

Mat. 26.

Luke. 22.

This is my body, expounded.

Note wel gentle re der.

Bread by ſimilitud

Bread ſu ſtātially and the b dy Sacra mentally

The bread which in the diſciples mouthes was chewed, from the mouth paſſed to the ſtomach: For as Chriſt ſayth: what ſoeuer commeth to the mouth, goeth in to the bellye, and from thence into the priuie. Math. cap, 15. But that true and very bread of the ſoule, was eaten of the ſprite of the Diſciples, & by faith entred their minds, and abode in their intrailes through loue. And ſo the bread broken, ſeemeth vnto me to be really the meate of the body, and the bread which it was before: but ſacramentallye to be the bodie of Chriſt, as Paule. 1. Cor. 10. The bread which we breake, is it not the perticipation of the body of the Lord? So, the bread which we breake, is the participation of the Lordes bodye. And it is manifeſt, that the heauenly bread is not broken, neither yet is ſubiecte to ſuch breaking: Therefore, Paule calleth the materiall bread, which is broken, the bodye of Chriſt which the faythfull are partakers of. The bread therefore chaungeth not hys eſſence, but is bread really, and is the bodye of Chriſt ſacramentally. Euen as Chriſt is the very vyne, abiding really and figuratiuely the vine:

The b which t lord g entreth into the dies, bu the body which h gaue, co treth in the my of the d ples.

Paule c leth it m rial b

Note, der.

So, the temple of Ieruſalem was really the materiall temple: and figuratiuely it was the body of Chriſt: Becauſe he ſayd, deſtroy you this temple, and in thrée daies I will repayre the ſame agayne. And thys ſpoke he of the temple of hys bodye, where as others vnderſtoode it to be the materiall temple, as appeared by their aunſwere: For ſayd they, 47. yeares hath thys temple been in building, and wilt thou build it vp in three dayes?

Note wel gentle re der.

Euen ſo, may the conſecrated bread be really bread as it was before, and yet figuratiuely yͤ body of Chriſt. And if therfore, Chriſt would thys bread to be onely ſacramentally his bodie & would not haue the ſame bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into hys bodye, and ſo ordayned his prieſtes to make this ſacrament as a memoriall of hys paſſion: Then do the prieſtes greuouſlye offende, which beſeche Chriſt in their holy maſſe, that the bread which lyeth vpon the aultar may be made really the bodye of Chriſt, if he would not haue the ſame to be but a ſacrament of his body. And thē both be they greatly deceaued themſelues, and alſo doe greatly deceaue others. But whether yͤ bread be really tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt, or is onely the body of Chriſt ſacramentally: No doubt, but that the people are marueilouſly deceaued. For, the people beleue that they ſee the bodye of Chriſt, nay rather Chriſt himſelfe betwene the hands of the prieſtes (for ſo is yͤ cōmon othe they ſweare) By hym whom I ſawe thys daye betwene the prieſtes hands. And the people beleue that they eate not the body of Chriſt but at Eaſter, or ells when they lye vpon their death bed, and receaue with their bodely mouth the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. But the bodye of Chriſt (admitte the bread be tranſubſtanciated reallye into the bodye) is in the ſacrament, indiuiſibiliter, that is, not able to be deuided, and ſo immenſurabiliter, that is, not able to be meaſured: Ergo, inuiſibiliter, that is, not able to be ſene. To beleue therfore that he may be ſene corporally in the ſacrament, is erroneous. And for as much as the body of Chriſt, is the ſoules foode and not the foode of the bodye in thys worlde, for that who ſo euer beleueth, doth eate ſpiritually, and really, at any time when he ſo beleueth: It is manifeſt, that they do greatly erre which beleue that they eate not the bodye of Chriſt, but when they eate with their téeth yͤ ſacramēt of yͤ body of Chriſt.

The vayne prayer of the prieſtes at their maſſe.

The people greatly deceiued in the Sacrament.

And although it ſhoulde bee to the great honour of prieſtes, that the breade reallye were chaunged into the body of Chriſt, by the vertue of the ſacramental wordes pronounced: yet if Chriſt would not haue it to be ſo, then they deſiring to do this contrarye to the wyll of Chriſt, and informing the people, that is to be done, ſo cōtrary to the wyll of Chriſt: are in great peryll, moſt daungerouſlye ſeducing both them ſelues and the people. And then, although that hereby they get a litle worldlye and tranſitory honor for a ſhort time: It is to be feared, leaſt perpetuall ſhame finally ſhall follow and inſue vpon the ſame. For Chriſt ſaith, euery one that exalteth hym ſelf, ſhall be brought low. Let them therefore take héede, leaſt they extolling them ſelues for this ſacrament, aboue the company of Angels which neuer ſinned, for the errour which they be in, for euermore be placed wyth the ſynfull angels vnder the earth.

The prieſts ke their ne ho- r in their ubſtan tion.

ke here good

Let euery man therefore thinke lowlye of hym ſelfe in what ſtate or degree ſoeuer he be, neither let hym preſume to do that which he is not able to do: Neyther deſire to haue that thyng done, whyche God woulde not haue done.

I greatly maruaile at thoſe which were the makers of the Canons, how variably and contrary one to an other they write of this ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. In the laſt part of the decrees where thys matter is touched: not onelye in the texte, but alſo in the proces of the matter, diuers do diuerſly write, and one contrary to an other. For in the chapter that thus beginneth Prima inquit hereſis, it is thus wrytten: You ſhall not eate thys bodye which you ſee, nor ſhall drinke this bloude which they ſhall ſhed, which ſhall crucify me: I wyll commend vnto you a certaine ſacrament ſpiritually vnderſtoode that quickeneth you, for the fleſh profiteth you nothyng at all. And in the end of the ſame chapter, it is thus written: Till the world ſhall haue an ende, the Lordes place is in heauen: yet notwithſtanding, the verity of the Lord is here abiding with vs. For the body wherwith he roſe, ought to be in one place, but his veritie is in euery place diffuſed and ſpread abroad. And in the chapter folowing which thus beginneth, Omnia quæcunq; voluit, &c. it is written: Although the figure of the bread & wyne ſeeme to be nothing: yet notwithſtanding they muſt after the wordes of conſecratiō be beleued, to be none other thing then the very fleſh of Chriſt and his blond. Wherupon, the verity him ſelfe ſayd vnto his diſciples: This is ſaith he, my fleſh, which is geuē for the life of the world: and to ſpeake yet more marueilouſly, this is none other fleſhe, then that which was borne of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered vpon the croſſe, and roſe out of the ſepulchre.

De conſecr. 2. cap. prima quidē inquit.

De conſecrat. diſt. 2. cap. Omnia quæcūque voluit.

Contrarietie in the popes Canons.

See how farre this chapter differeth from the fyrſt. And in the chapter which beginneth Ego Berengarius. &c This is the confeſſion which Berengarius him ſelf confeſſed touching this ſacrament, and his confeſſion is of the church alowed. I confeſſe (ſayth Berengarius) that the breade and wyne whyche is layde vppon the aultar after the conſecration, is not onely a ſacrament: but alſo that it is the very body and bloud of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt: And the ſame not onely ſenſually to be a ſacrament, but alſo verely to be handled with the prieſtes handes & to be brokē, and chewed with the teeth of faithfull men. This confeſſion doubtles is heretical: for why, if the body of Chriſt be in the ſacramēt, as of the church it is ſo determined: it is there then Multiplicatiue, and ſo indiuiſibiliter, wherfore not ſenſualiter. And if it be there indiuiſibiliter, that is, in ſuch ſorte as it cannot bee deuided or ſeperated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken nor with the teeth of men chawed.

De conſecrat. diſt. 2. ca. Ego Berengarius.

The recantatiō of Berengarius is hereticall.

The writers of this time and age do affirme: that if by the negligence of the prieſt, the ſacrament be ſo negligently left, that a Mouſe or any other beaſt or vermine eate the ſame: then they ſaye, that the ſacrament returneth agayne into the nature and ſubſtaunce of breade. Wherby, they muſt nedes confeſſe, that a myracle is as well wrought by the negligēce of the prieſt, as fyrſt ther was made by the conſecratiō of the prieſt in making the ſacrament. For eyther by the eatyng of the Mouſe, the bodye of Chriſt is tranſubſtantiated into the nature of bread, which is a tranſubſtantiation ſupernaturall: Or els of nothing by creation is this breade produced. And therefore, either of theſe operations is miraculous and to be marueyled at. Now conſidering the diſagreing opinions of the doctours, & for the abſurdities which folow, I beleue with Paule, that the bread which we breake, is the participation of the bodye of Chriſte: and as Chriſt ſayth, that the breade is made the bodye of Chriſte for a memoriall and remembraunce of hym. And in ſuch ſort as Chriſt wylled the ſame to be his body, in the ſame maner and ſorte do I beleue it to be hys body.

The Sacrament lefte by the prieſtes negligence to be eaten of a mouſe returneth again from body to bread.

But whether wemen may make the body of Chriſt, and miniſter vnto the people: or whether that prieſtes bee deuided from the laye people, for their knowledge, preeminence, and ſanctitie of lyfe, or els by externall ſignes onely: Alſo whether the ſigne of tonſure and other external ſignes of holynes in prieſtes, be ſignes of Antichriſt and his charecters, or els introduced and taught by our Lord Ieſus Chriſte: conſequently it remaineth next to ſpeake of vnto the faithfull ſort (accordyng to the proces of the holy Scripture) firſt of the thrée kindes of prieſtes. I remember that I haue read, the firſt of them to be Aaronicall, legall, and temporall: The ſeconde to be eter-

Whether externall ſignes in a prieſt, be the ſigne of Antichriſt or els be grounded vpon Chriſt.

nall and regall accordyng to the order of Melchiſedech: The third to be Chriſtian.The firſt of theſe ceaſed at the commyng of Chriſt:for that as S. Paul to the Hebrues ſayth. The prieſthood of Aaron was tranſlated to the prieſthood of the order of Melchiſedech. The legall ſorte of prieſtes of Aaron, were ſeparate from the reſt of the people,by kinred,office,and inheritaunce.By kinred,for that the children of Aaron onely were prieſts. By office, for that it onely pertayned to them to offer ſacrifice, for the ſinnes of the people,and to inſtruct the people in yͤ preceptes and ceremonies of the lawe.By inheritaunce,becauſe the Lord was their porcion of inheritaunce: neyther had they any other inheritaunce amongeſt their brethren,but thoſe things whiche were offered vnto yͤ Lord, as the firſt frutes,parte of yͤ ſacrifices,and vowes,except places for theyr manſion houſes for them and theirs, as appeareth by the proceſſe of Moſes law. The prieſthood of Chriſt, did much differ from this prieſthood,as Paul doth witnes to the Hebrues chap.1.8.9.10. Firſt in kinred,becauſe that our Lord ⁊ ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt,came of the ſtocke ⁊ tribe of Juda:of whiche tribe none had to do wᵗ the aulter: and in whiche tribe nothyng at all was ſpoken of the prieſts of Moſes.The ſecond,for that other were made prieſts without their othe takē.but he, by an othe by him which ſaid:The Lord ſwore,and it ſhall not repent him: Thou art a prieſt for euer accordyng to the order of Melchiſedech. Thirdly by durabilitie,for that many of thē were made prieſts but during the terme of their lyues:but he,for that he remaineth for euer,hath ⁊ eternall prieſthood. Wherefore he is able to ſaue vs for euer,hauyng by him ſelf acceſſe vnto God,which euer liueth to make interceſſiō for vs.The law made alſo ſuch men prieſtes as had infirmities, but Sermo (that is, the worde whiche according to the law is the eternall ſonne and perfect)by an othe.The prieſthood of Chriſt alſo did differre from the prieſthood of Aaron and the law,in the matter of the ſacrifice:and in the place of ſacrifiſing. In the matter of the ſacrifice, becauſe they did vſe in theyr ſacrifices ſtraunge bodies for the matter of their ſacrifices,⁊ did ſhed ſtrãuge bloud for the expiation of ſinnes: But he, offeryng him ſelfe vnto God his father for vs, ſhedde his owne bloude, for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. In the place of ſacrificyng, becauſe that they did offer theyr ſacrifice in the tabernacle or temple: But Chriſt ſufferyng death without the gates of the Citie, offered him ſelfe vpon the aulter of the croſſe to God his father, and there ſhed his precious bloud.In his ſuppyng chamber,alſo he bleſſed the bread and cōſecrated the ſame for his body,and the wyne whiche was in the cup,he alſo cōſecrated for his bloud: deliueryng the ſame to his Apoſtles to be done, for a commemoration ⁊ remembraunce of his incarnation and paſſion. Neither did Jeſus enter into the ſanctuarie made with mans handes, whiche be examples and figures of true thinges: but entred into heauen it ſelfe, that he might appeare before the maieſtie of God for vs. Neither doth he offer him ſelfe often tymes,as the chief prieſt in the ſãctuarie did euery yeare with ſtraunge bloud(for thē ſhould he often tymes haue ſuffered from the begynnyng) but now once for all,in yͤ latter end of the world,to deſtroy ſinne by his peace offeryng,hath he entered.And euen as it is decreed, that mã once ſhall dye and thē commeth the iudgement:ſo Chriſt hath ben once offered to take away the ſinnes of many. The ſecōd time he ſhal appeare without ſinne to them yͭ loke for hym, to their ſaluation. For the lawe hauing a ſhadow of good thinges to come,canne neuer by the Image it ſelfe of thinges(which euery yeare without ceaſing they offer by ſuch ſacrifices)make thoſe perfect that come therunto,for otherwiſe that offering ſhoulde haue ceaſed:Becauſe that ſuch worſhippers beyng once clenſed from their ſinnes,ſhould haue no more conſcience of ſinne.But in theſe,commemoratiō is made euery yere of ſinne:for it is impoſſible that by the bloude of Goates and calues,ſinnes ſhould be purged and taken awaye. Therfore, comming into the world he ſayde: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldeſt not haue, but a bodye haſte thou geuen me,peace offeringes for ſinne haue not pleaſed thee:Then ſayd I,beholde I come.In the volume of the booke it is written of me,that I ſhould do thy wyll O God:Saying as aboue,becauſe thou wouldeſt haue no ſacrifices,nor burnt offerings for ſinne,neither doeſt thou take pleaſure in thoſe thinges that are offered according to the law.Then ſayd I,beholde I come, that I may doo thy wyll O God.He taketh awaye the firſt,to ſtabliſh that which followeth.In which wyl, we are ſanctified by the oblation of the bodye of Jeſus Chriſt, once for all.And euery prieſt is ready daylye miniſtring, and oftē times offering like ſacrifices,which can neuer take away ſynnes. But this Jeſus offring one ſacrifice for ſinne,ſitteth for euermore on the right hand of God, expecting the tyme tyll his enemies be made his footſtoole. For by his owne onely oblation,hath he conſummated for euermore thoſe that are ſanctified.

Three orders or ſortes of prieſtes.
1.Aaronicall.
2.Eternall.
3.Chriſtian.

Leuiticall prieſts diuided from the people,by kindred,office, & inheritance.

The prieſthode of Chriſt differeth from the Leuitical prieſthode,how, and wherin.

1.
In Kinrede.

2.
In othe taking.

3.
In Durabilitie,

4
In matter of ſacrifice.

5.
In place of ſacrificyng.

The law bringeth none to perfection.

All theſe places haue I recited which Paule writeth, for the better vnderſtandyng and declaration of thoſe thinges I meane to ſpeake of. By all which it appereth manifeſtly,how the prieſthoode of Chriſt,differeth from the legall prieſthoode of Aaron:and by the ſame alſo appeareth,how the ſame differeth frō all other prieſthoode chriſtian,that immitateth Chriſt. For, the properties of the prieſthoode of Chriſt aboue recited, are found in no other prieſt,but in Chriſt alone. Of the third prieſthode that is,the chriſtiã prieſthoode:Chriſt by expreſſe wordes ſpeketh but litle,to make any differēce betwene yͤ prieſts and the reſt of the people, neyther yet doth he vſe thys name of Sacerdos or præſbiter in the Goſpell. But ſome he calleth diſciples,ſome Apoſtles,whom he ſent to baptyſe and to preach and in his name to doe miracles. He calleth them the ſallt of the earth in which the name of wiſedome is ment: and he calleth them the light of the world by which,good liuing is ſignifyed. For he ſayth, So let your light ſhyne before men, that they maye ſee your good workes, and glorify your father which is in heauen.And Paul ſpeaking of the prieſtes to Timothe, and Titus,ſéemeth not to me to make any diuerſitie betwixte the prieſtes and the other people, but in that he would haue them to ſurmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth prieſthoode, is the Romane prieſthoode, brought in by the church of Rome: which church,maketh a diſtinction betwene the clergie and the lay people:and after that, the clergie is diuided into ſondry degrees as appeareth in the decretals.This diſtinction of the clergie frō the laitie, with the tonſure of clerkes,beganne in the time of Anacletus as it doth appeare in the Chronicles. The degrees of the clergie, were afterward inuented and diſtincted by their offices, and there was no aſcention to the degrée of prieſthoode, but by inferiour orders and degrees. But in the primatiue church it was not ſo: for immediatly after the conuerſion of ſome of them to the fayth,and baptiſme receaued:they were prieſts ⁊ biſhops made, as appeareth by Anianus,whom Marcus made of a Taylor or Shomaker,to be a biſhop.And of many others it was in like caſe done,according to yͤ traditiōs of yͤ church of Rome. Prieſtes are ordained to offer ſacrifices,to make ſupplication and prayers,⁊ to bleſſe and ſanctifie. The oblatiō of the prieſthood, onely to prieſtes (as they ſay) is congruent:whoſe duties are,vpon the aultar to offer for the ſinnes of the people the Lordes body,whiche is conſecrated of bread.Of whiche ſaying I haue great meruell,cōſideryng S.Paul his wordes to the Hebrues before recited. If Chriſt offeryng for our ſinnes one oblation for euermore ſitteth on the righte hande of God, and with that one oblation hathe conſummated for euermore, thoſe that are ſangified ? If Chriſte euermore ſitteth on the righte hande of God, to make interceſſion for

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vs? What neede hee to leaue here any ſacrifice for our ſinnes, of the prieſtes to be dayly offered? I do not finde in the Scriptures of God nor of his Apoſtles, that the body of Chriſt ought to be made a ſacrifice for ſinne: but onely as a Sacrament and commemoration of the ſacrifice paſſed, whiche Chriſt offered vpon the aulter of the croſſe for our ſinnes. For it is an abſurditie to ſay, that Chriſt is now euery day really offered as a ſacrifice vpõ the aultar by the prieſtes: for then the prieſts ſhould really crucifie him vpon the aulter, whiche is a thing of no Chriſtiã to be beleued. But euẽ as in his ſupper, his body and his bloud he deliuered to his diſciples, in memoriall of his body that ſhould be crucified on ye morow for our ſinnes: So after his aſcẽſion, did his Apoſtles vſe ye ſame (when they brake bread in euery houſe) for a Sacramẽt, and not for a ſacrifice, of ye body and bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And by this meanes were they put in remembraunce of the great loue of Chriſt, who ſo entirely loued vs, that willyngly he ſuffered the death for vs, and for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. And thus did they offer them ſelues to God by loue, beyng ready to ſuffer death for the confeſſion of his name, and for the ſauing health of their brethren, fulfilling the new commaundement of Chriſt whiche ſayd vnto them: A new commaundement do I geue vnto you, that you loue one an other, as I haue loued you. But when loue began to waxe colde or rather to be froſẽ for colde, through the anguiſh and anxietie of perſecution for the name of Chriſt: then prieſtes did vſe the fleſhe and bloud of Chriſt, in ſteede of a ſacrifice. And becauſe many of them feared death, ſome of thẽ fled into ſolitarie places, not daryng to giue them ſelues a ſacrifice by death vnto God through the confeſſion of his name, and ſauyng health of their brethren: Some worſhipped Idols, fearing death, as did alſo the chief biſhop of Rome, and many other mo in diuers places of ye world. And thus it came to paſſe, as that whiche was ordayned and inſtituted for a memoriall of ye one and onely ſacrifice, was altered (for want of loue) into the realitie of the ſacrifice it ſelfe.

¶ After theſe things thus diſcuſſed, he inſerteth conſequently vpon the ſame, an other briefe tractation of wemen and lay men, whether in defecte of the other, they may exerciſe the action of prayer, and miniſtration of Sacraments belonging to prieſtes: wherin he declareth the vſe receaued in the Popes churche, for women to baptiſe, which, ſaith he, cannot be wythout remiſſion of ſins: wherfore ſeinge that wemen haue power by the Pope to remitte ſinne, and to baptiſe, why may they not aſwell bee admitted to miniſter the Lordes ſupper, in like caſe of neceſſitie? Wherin alſo he maketh relation of Pope John. 8. a woman Pope, mouing certaine queſtions of her. All whiche for breuitie I pretermitte, procedyng to the miniſtration of prayer, and bleſſyng or ſanctification, appropriate to the office of prieſtes as foloweth.

Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and bleſſing, whereunto prieſtes ſeme to be ordeyned (to omit here the queſtion whether wemen may pray in churches, in lacke of other meete perſons) it remaineth now alſo to proſecute. Chriſt being deſired of his diſciples to teache them to pray, gaue them the common prayer both to men and women, to the which prayer in my eſtimation, no other is to be compared. For in that fyrſt, the whole honour due vnto the deitye is comprehended. Secondly, whatſoeuer is neceſſarye for vs, both for the time preſent, or paſt, or for time to come, is there deſired and prayed for. He informeth vs beſides to pray ſecretely, and alſo briefly: ſecretly to enter into our cloſe chamber, and there in ſecrecy he willeth vs to pray vnto his father. And ſayth moreouer, when ye pray, vſe not much babling, or many wordes, as do the heathen. For they thinke in their long and prolixe praying to be heard. Therefore be you not lyke to them. By the which doctrine he calleth vs away from the errours of the heathen Gentiles: from whom procede theſe ſuperſtitious maner of artes (or rather of ignorancies) as necromancy, the arte of diuination, and other ſpiſes of coniuration, not vnknowen to them, that be learned for theſe Necromanſers beleue, one place to be of greater vertue thẽ an other, there to be heard ſooner, then in an other. Like as Baalam being hyred to curſe the people of God, by his arte of ſouthſaying, or charming, when hee coulde not accõpliſh his purpoſe in one place, he remoued to an other, but he in the end, was deceaued of his deſire. For he intending firſt to curſe them, was not able to accurs them whom the Lord bleſſed, ſo that his curs could not hurt any of all that people. After like ſorte the Necromancers turne their face to the Eaſt, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Alſo the Necromanſers beleue, that the vertue of the wordes of the prayer, and the curioſiti therof, cauſeth them to bring that to effect, which they ſeeke after, which is alſo an other poynt of infidelity, vſed much of Charmers, Sorcerers, Inchaunters, Southſayers & ſuch lyke. Out of the ſame arte (I feare) procedeth ye practiſe of exorciſing, wherby diuels & ſpirits be coniured to do that, wherunto they are enforced by ye Exorciſt. Alſo whereby other creatures lykewyſe are exorciſed or coniured, ſo that by the vertue of their exorciſme, they maye haue their power and ſtrength exceeding all naturall operation.

Against exorciſing of prieſtes,

In the church of Rome, many ſuche exorciſmes and coniurations be practiſed, and are called of them benedictions, or halowinges. But here I aſke of theſe Exorciſers, whether they beleue the thinges and creatures ſo exorciſed and halowed, haue that operation and efficacie geuen them, which they pretend? If they ſo beleue, euery child may ſee that they are far begyled. For holy water being of them exorciſed or coniured: hath no ſuch power in it, neyther can haue, whych they in their exorciſme do commaunde. For there they inioyne and commaund, that wherſoeuer that water is ſprinkled, al vexation or infeſtation of the vncleane ſpirit, ſhoulde auoyde, and that no peſtilent ſpirite ther ſhould abide. &c But moſt playne it is, that no water, be it neuer ſo holy, can haue any ſuch power ſo to do, as it is commaunded, to wyt, to be an vniuerſall remedye to expell all diſeaſes. This I woulde aſke of theſe Exorciſtes: whether in their commaundyng, they doo coniure or adiure the thinges coniured, to be of an hyer vertue and operatiõ, then their own nature doth geue: Or els whether they in their prayers deſyre of God, that he wil infude into them that vertue, which they require? If they in their commaunding doo ſo beleue, then doo they beleue that they haue that power in them, to the which the inferiour power of the thing exorciſed muſt obey, in receauing that which is commaunded. And ſo doing, are much more deceaued, forasmuch as they ſee thẽſelues, that they which are ſo autoriſed to the office of exorciſing, ſaye to the deuill being coniured: Go, and he goeth not: And to an other come, and he commeth not, and manye thinges els they commaund the inferiour ſpirite their ſubiect, to do, and he doth not. So in like caſe, when they pray to God to make the water to be of ſuche vertue, that it maye be to them health of mynde and bodye, and that it maye be able to expulſe euery vnclene ſpirite, & to chaſe away all maner of diſtemperature & peſtilence of the ayre (being an vnreaſonable petitiõ aſked, & ſore diſpleaſing to God) it is to be feared leaſt theyr benediction, theyr halowing and bleſſyng, is chaũged into curſing, accordyng to that ſaying that foloweth. And now O you prieſtes, I haue a meſſage to ſay vnto you? If you wil not heare and beare well awaye in your mindes, to giue the glory vnto my name ſayth the Lord God of hoſtes, I will ſends ſcarcitie amongeſt you, & I will curſe your bleſſinges. What thynges and howe many are bleſſed, or halowed in the churche, that in the halowyng therof diſpleaſe God, and are accurſed? And therefore accordyng to the ſaying of S. James, they aſke and are not hard, becauſe they aſke not as they ſhould, that they in in their own deſires may periſhe. Let a man beholde the bleſſyng or halowyng of their fire, water, incenſe, waxe, bread, wyne, the church,

Coniuryng or halowyng in the popiſhe church.

Holy water cõiured,

Exorciſtæ,

The abſurditie and abhomination, in the popiſh exorciſmes detected,

Where was the popes holy water then, in the great peſtilence in the tyme of K. Edward 3. pag. 484.

Iames.4

Romiſh coniurers.

The good lyfe of a prieſt, a great matter, to deale in gods matters.

The prayer of a vitious prieſt, little auaileth before God.

Remembrance of Chriſtes death, needeth not to God, but to man.

Prieſts more bound to ſay Maſſe, commaūded by man: then to preaching commaūded of God.

Spirituall fornication.

the aulter, the church yard, aſhes, belles, copes, pallmes, oyle, candelles, ſalte, the halowing of the Kyng, the bed, the ſtaffe, and of many ſuch like thynges: and I beleue that a man ſhall finde out many errours of the heathen Magiciās, witches, ſouthſayers, and charmars. And notwithſtandyng the auncient and olde magicians in their bokes, commaunde thoſe that be coniurers that they in any wiſe lyue deuoutlye (for otherwiſe as they ſay the ſpirites will not obey their commaundements, and coniurations) yet the Romane coniurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy woordes, becauſe they bee they, whiche woorke, and not the holynes of the coniurers. How commeth it to paſſe that they ſay, the thynges conſecrated of a curſed and vitious Iauell, ſhould haue ſo great vertue pronouncyng (as they ſay) the holy and miſticall wordes: as if they were pronounced of a prieſt neuer ſo holy. But I maruel that they ſay ſo, readyng this ſaying in the Actes of the Apoſtles: becauſe the charmers pronouncyng ẏ name of Ieſus (that is aboue all names) would haue healed thoſe that were poſſeſſed with deuils, and ſayd. In the name of Ieſus whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men. And the poſſeſſed with deuils aunſwered, Ieſus we know, and Paul we knowe, but what are ye: and they all to be beate the coniurers. And nowe conſideryng this and many ſuch lyke thinges, I maruell wherefore the vitious prieſtes, do ſell their prayers and bleſſynges dearer (as alſo their maſſes and trentalles of maſſes) then thoſe that be deuot laye men, and holy women: which withall their hartes deſire to flée from vices, and take holde of vertue. For as much as God in diuers places of the Scripture doth promiſe, that he will not heare ſinners & wicked perſons: Neither ſhould he ſeme to be iuſte, if he ſhould ſooner heare the prayers of hys enemyes, then of his faithful frende. Howe I pray you ſhall a ſinnefull prieſt deliuer an other man from ſinne by his prayers, or els from the puniſhment of ſinne: whē he is not able to deliuer him ſelfe by his prayer frō ſinne. What then doth God ſo much accept in the maſſe of a vitious prieſt: that for his maſſe, hys prayer, or oblation, he might deliuer any man either from ſinne, or from the payne due for ſinne? No, but for that that Chriſte hath once offered him ſelfe for our ſinnes, and now ſitteth on the right hand of God the father, alwayes ſhewing vnto him what and how great thynges, he hath ſuffered for vs. And euery prieſt alwayes maketh mention in hys maſſe of this oblation: Neither do wee this, that wee might bryng the ſame oblation into the remembraunce of God: becauſe that he alwayes in his preſence ſeeth the ſame. But that we ſhould haue in remembraunce this ſo great loue of God, that he would giue his owne ſonne to death for our ſinnes, that he might clenſe and purifye vs from all our ſinnes. What doth it pleaſe God, that the remembraunce of ſo great loue is made by a prieſt, whiche more loueth ſinne then God? Or howe can anye prayer of ſuch a prieſt pleaſe God, in what holy place ſo euer he bee, or what holy veſtimentes ſo euer he put on, or what holy prayers ſo euer he maketh? And where as Chriſt and his Apoſtles do commaunde the preachyng of the word of God: the prieſtes be now more bounde to celebrate the maſſe, and more ſtraictly bound to ſay the canonicall houres: whereat I cannot but greatlye maruel. For why, to obey the precepts of men, more then the commaundements of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to beſtow the ſacrifice vpon man, which is due vnto God, and this is alſo ſpirituall fornication. Howe therfore are prieſtes bounde at the commaundement of mā to leaue the preaching of the worde of God, at whoſe commaundement they are not bounde to leaue the celebration of the maſſe, or ſingyng of matines? Therfore as it ſemeth, prieſtes ought not at the commaundement of any man to leaue the preachyng of the word of God, vnto the whiche they are bound both by diuine and Apoſtolicall preceptes. With whom agreeth the writyng of Ierome vpon the decretalles, ſaying in this wiſe: Let none of the Biſhops ſwell with the enuie of deueliſh temptation, let none be angrie, if the prieſtes do ſometime exhorte the people, if they preach in their churches. &c. for to hym that forbiddeth me theſe thynges I will ſay, That he is vnwillyng that prieſtes ſhould do thoſe thinges, whiche be commaunded of God. What thyng is there aboue Chriſte? or what may be preferred before hys body and his bloud? &c.

Ieronymus.

Whether prieſtes may barg... to ſing fo... ſoules departed.

Ieronymus.

Sellyng of prayers abhominabl...

Religious men and women, deuourers of wydowes houſes.

Praying f... ſoules in Purgatory.

Euil gotte... landes, as euil beſto... ed, for praying f... ſoules in Purgatory.

Do prieſts therfore ſinne or not, which bargain for many to pray for ẏ ſoule of any dead man? It is wellknowen that Ieſus did whip thoſe that were byers & ſellers oute of the temple, ſaying: My houſe ſhalbe called the houſe of prayer, but you haue made the ſame a denne of theeues. Truly he caſt not out ſuch marchantes from out of the church, but becauſe of their ſinnes. Wherupon Ierome vpon this text ſaith. Let the prieſtes be diligent and take good hede in this churche, that they turne not the houſe of God into a denne of théeues. He doubtles is a theef whiche ſeeketh gayne by religion, and by a ſhew of holynes ſtudieth to finde occaſion of marchandiſe. Hereupō, the holy canons do make accurſed, Symoniacal hereſie, and do commaunde that thoſe ſhould be depriued of the prieſthood, whiche for the paſſyng or maruelous ſpirituall grace, do ſeeke gayne or money. Peter ẏ Apoſtle ſayd to Simon Magus, Let thy money and thou go both to the deuill, which thinkeſt that the giftes of God may be bought for money. Therfore, the ſpiritual giftes of God ought not to be ſold. Verely prayer is the ſpirituall gifte of God, as is alſo the preachyng of the worde of God, or the laying on of handes, or the adminiſtration of other Sacramentes. Chriſt ſendyng foorth his Diſciples to preache, ſayd vnto them: Heale ye the ſicke, Caſt out deuils, Rayſe the dead, Frely haue ye receaued, frely giue ye agayne. If the prieſtes haue poure by theyr prayers to deliuer ſoules beyng in Purgatorie, from greuous paynes: without doubt, he hath receaued that poure frely from God. How therfore can he ſell his acte, vnles he reſiſte the commaundementes of God, of whom he hath receaued that authoritie? This truly cānot be done without ſinne, which is agaynſt the cōmaundement of God. How playnly ſpake Chriſt to the Phariſies, and prieſts ſaying, wo bee vnto you ſcribes & Phariſies hipocrites, becauſe ye haue eaten ẏ whole houſes, of ſuch as be wydowes, by makyng long prayers, and therfore haue you receaued greater damnation. Wherein I pray you do our Phariſies and prieſts differ from them? Do not our prieſtes deuoure wydowes houſes and poſſeſſions, that by their long prayers they myghte deliuer the ſoules of their huſbādes from the greuous paines of Purgatory? How many lordſhips, I pray you, haue bene beſtowed vpon the religious mē and women to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliuer thoſe dead men from the payne (as they ſay) that they ſuffer in purgatorie, greuouſlye tormented and vexed? If their prayers and ſpeaking of holy wordes, ſhall not be able to deliuer them ſelues from payne, vnles they haue good workes: How ſhall other men be deliuered from payne by their prayers whiche whileſt they liued here, they gaue ouer themſelues to ſinne? Ye peraduenture thoſe lordſhips or landes which they gaue vnto the prieſts to pray for thē, they themſelues haue gotten by might, frō other faythful men, vniuſtly and violently. And the Canons do ſay, ẏ ſinne is not forgeuen, til the thing takē away wrongfully, be reſtored. How then ſhall they be able (which doe vniuſtlye poſſeſſe ſuch lordſhippes or landes) to deliuer them by their prayers from payne, which haue geuen to them theſe lordſhips or landes, ſeing God frō the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt ſacrifices? Not euery one that ſayth vnto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen: but he which doth the will of my father which is in heauen. And agayne, not

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Bying and ſellyng of prayers in the popes church.

the hearers of the law, but the doers of the lawe ſhall be iuſtifyed. If therfore the wordes of him that prayeth, do not deliuer himſelfe from ſinne, nor from the payne of ſinne: how doe they deliuer other men from ſinne or frō the paine of ſinne, when no man prayeth more earneſtly for an other man then for hymſelfe? Therfore many are deceaued in the byeng and ſelling of prayers, as in the byeng of pardons that they might be deliuered from payne: whē as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of proude and vitious prelates, then for the prayers of deuoute women and deuoute men of the laye people.

Bying and ſellyng of pardons.

Perſon, place, apparell, curiouſneſſe, eloquence of prayer not regarded of God.

But out of doubt, God doth not regarde the perſon of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparel, nor the curiouſnes of his prayer, but the humilitie, & godly affection of him that prayeth. Dyd not the Phariſie and the Publican goe vp into the temple to praye? The Publicans prayer for his humilitie and godly affection is heard. But the Phariſies prayer, for his pryde and arrogancie is contemned. Conſider, that neither the perſon, nor the place, nor the ſtate, nor the curiouſnes of his praier doth helpe the Phariſie: Becauſe the Publican not thinking himſelf worthy to lift vp his eyes vnto heauen, for the multitude of his ſinnes, ſaying (O God be mercifull vnto me a ſinner) is iuſtifyed by his humilitie, and his prayer is heard. But the Phariſie boaſting in hys righteouſnes is deſpiſed, becauſe God thruſteth down the proud and exalteth yͤ humble and thoſe that be meke.

The prayer of the Phariſe and of the Publicane compared.

The riche glotten alſo, that was clothed with purpull and ſilke, and fared euery day daintelie, prayed vnto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in paynes and tormentes of hell fire. But Lazarus which lay begging at his gate (being full of ſores) is placed in the boſome of Abraham. Behold, that neither the riches of his apparell, nor the deliciouſnes of his bākates, nor yͤ gorgiouſnes of his eſtate, neither the aboundance of his riches: doth helpe any thing to prefer yͤ prayers or peticions of the riche glotton, nor yet diminiſhe his tormentes, becauſe that mightie men in their mightines ſhall ſuffer tormentes mightely. How dare any man by compoſition demaunde or receaue any thyng of an other man for hys prayers? If he beleue that he can by his prayer deliuer his brother from greuous paine, he is bounde by charitie to releue his brother with hys prayers, although he be not hiered therunto: but and if he will not praye, vnles he be hiered, then hath he no loue at all. What therfore helpeth his prayer, which abydeth not in charitie? Therfore let him firſt take compaſſiō of himſelf by prayer, yͤ he may come into charitie, and thē he ſhalbe the better able to helpe others. If he beleueth not, or that he ſtandeth in doubt to be able to deliuer his brother by his prayer: wherfore doth he make with hym an aſſured bargen, and taketh his monie & yet knoweth not whether he ſhall releue him euer a whyt the more or not, from his payne? I feare leaſt the wordes of the Prophet are fulfilled ſaying: Frō the leaſt to the moſt all mē apply them ſelues to couetouſnes, and frō the Prophet to the prieſt all worke deceatfully. For the poore prieſtes excuſe them ſelues, of ſuch barganyng & ſellyng of their prayers, ſaying: The yong cock learneth to crow of the olde cock. For ſayth he, thou mayſt ſee that yͤ Pope hymſelfe in ſtallyng of Biſhops and Abbats, taketh the firſt frutes: In yͤ placing or beſtowing of benefices, he alwais taketh ſomewhat, and ſpecially if the benefices be great. Alſo he ſelleth pardons or bulles, & to ſpeake more playne he taketh money for them. Byſhops in giuing orders, in halowing churches and churcheyardes, do take money: In eccleſiaſticall correction they take mony for the mitigation of penaunce: In the greuous offences of conuict perſons, money is required, and cauſed to be payd. Abbats, monkes, and other religious men that haue poſſeſſion, will receaue no man into their fraternitie, or make them partakers of their ſpirituall ſuffragies, vnleſſe he beſtow ſomwhat vpon them, or promiſe them ſomwhat.

Sellyng of diriges, yeremindes, confeſsions, weddings, buriynges, Sellyng of Sermons. &c.

Curates and vicares hauyng ſufficient lyuinges, by the tythes of their pariſhioners, yet in diriges and yeares mindes, in hearing confeſſions, in weddynges and buryinges, do require and haue money. The friers alſo of the foure orders of beggers, whiche thinke them ſelues to be the moſt perfecteſt men in the churche, do take mony for their prayers, confeſſiōs, and buryinges of the dead: and when they preach, they beleue that they ſhall haue either money or ſome other thyng worthy money. Wherefore then bee the poore prieſtes blamed? ought not they to bee held excuſed, although they take money for their prayers by compoſition? Truly me thinketh, that this excuſe by other mēs ſinnes, doth not excuſe them: for as much, as to heape one miſchief vpon an others head, is no ſufficient diſcharge. I would to God that all the byers and ſellers of ſpiritual ſuffrages, would with the eyes of theyr hart behold the ruine of the great Citie, and the fall of Babilon, and that whiche they ſhall ſay after that fall.

Example to bee takē by the fall of Babylon.

Doth not the Prophet ſay: And the marchauntes of the earth ſhall weepe and mourne for her becauſe no man ſhal bye any more their marchaundiſe, that is, their marchaundiſe of golde and ſiluer, and of precious ſtone and of pearle, and of ſilke and purple: And agayne he ſayth. And the marchauntes whiche were made riche by her, ſhall ſtande aloafe for feare of her tormentes, weepyng, mournyng, and ſaying, Alas Alas, That citie Babilon, that great citie, which was wont to weare, purple, white ſilke, crimſin, gold, pearle, and precious ſtone, bycauſe yͤ in one houre all thoſe riches are come to nought: And agayne: And they caſt duſt vpon their heades & cryed out weepyng and mournyng and ſaying, Alas, Alas, That great and mighty Citie Babilon, by whom all ſuch as had ſhippes vpō the ſea were made rich by her rewardes, Bycauſe that in one houre ſhe is become deſolate.

The citie of Rome, Babilon.

This Babilon, this great City: is the Citye of Rome, as it appeareth by the proces of the Apoſtle. Becauſe the Aungell which ſhewed vnto ſaint Iohn the deſtruction of the mighty harlot ſitting vpon many waters, with whom the kyngs of the earth haue committed fornication, and all they whych dwell vpon the earthe are made droonke wyth the wyne of her whooredome, ſayd vnto him: And the woman whych thou ſaweſt, is the great city whych hath dominion aboue kings. &c.

Apoc. 18.

And in dede in the daies of saynt Iohn the whole world was ſubiect to the temporal empire of the city of Rome, and afterwardes it was ſubiect to the ſpirituall empire or dominion of the ſame.

The temporall dominion of the citie of Rome.

The ſpirituall dominion of the citie of Rome.

But touching the temporall gouernment of the City of Rome, it is fallen already: and ſo that yͤ other alſo, for the multitude of her ſpirituall fornication, ſhal fall. The emperours of this city, gaue them ſelues to idolatrye, and woulde haue that men ſhoulde honour them as Gods, and put all thoſe to death that refuſed ſuch idolatry, and by the cruelty of their tormentes, all infidels gat the vpper hand. Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchadneſar, the empyre of the Romanes is lykened to yrone, which beateth together and hath the maſterye of all mettals. And in the viſion of Daniel, wherein he ſawe the foure wyndes of heauen to fight in the mayne ſea, and foure great beaſtes commyng out of the ſea: The kyngdome of the Romaynes is lykened to the fourth terrible and marueylous beaſt, the whych had great yron teeth, eatyng and deſtroying, and treadyng the reſt vnder hys feete: and this beaſt had ten hornes, and as Daniel ſaith he ſhall ſpeake woordes agaynſt the moſte hygheſt, and ſhall teare wyth hys teeth the ſayntes of the moſt hyeſt: and he ſhal thinke, that he may be able to chaūge tymes and lawes, and they ſhall be deliuered into hys power, vntyll a tyme, and tymes, and halfe a tyme.

The fourth Beaſt in the propheſie of Daniel meaneth Rome.

In the Apocalips, ſaint Iohn ſaw a beaſt commyng out of the ſea, hauing. 7. heades and. 10. hornes, and power was geuen to him to make monthes. 42. So long tyme endured

The beaſt with 7. heads in the Apoc. ſignifieth Rome.

empyre of the Romaynes, that is to ſay from the beginnyng of Iulius Ceſar, whych was the fyrſt Emperour of the Romaynes, vnto the ende of Fridericus, whych was the laſt Emperour of the Romaynes. Vnder thys empire Chriſt ſuffered, and other Martirs alſo ſuffered for hys names ſake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon (which is all one) according to the maner of ſpeaking in the Apocalyps, as touching the temporall and corporall power of gouernyng. And thus ſhall ſhe fall alſo touchyng the ſpirituall power of gouernyng, for the multitude of the iniquities and ſpiritual fornication and marchandiſe that are committed by her in the church.

The feete of the image in the dreame of Nabuchodonoſar, ſignifieth Rome.

The beaſt with 2. hornes like the lambe, ſignifieth the ſpirituall dominion of Rome.

Ieſus is Chriſt 2. manner of wayes as king and prieſt.

The double ſword of the pope.

The fete of the image which Nabuchadneſar ſaw, did betoken the Empire of Rome, and part of them wer of yron, and part of clay and earth. That part that was of yron, fell, and the power thereof vaniſhed awaye, becauſe the power thereof was at an end after certain monethes. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it ſhal vaniſh awai by the teſtimony of the prophets: wherupon, ſaynt Iohn in the Apocalips: After that he ſaw the part made of yron ryſing out of the ſea, to whych eche people, tribe, and toung ſubmitted them ſelues. And he ſawe an other beaſt commyng out of the earth, whych had two hornes, lyke to the hornes of a Lambe, and hee ſpake lyke a Dragon, and he vanquiſhed the firſt beaſt in hys ſight. Thys beaſt, as ſemeth me, doth betokē the clayie and earthen part of the fete of the image, becauſe he came out of the earth. For that by terrene helpe he is made the hygh and chiefe prieſt of the Romaines, in the church of Chriſt, and ſo from alow he aſcended on high. But Chriſt frō heauen deſcended, becauſe that he which was God and autor of euery creature, becam man: and he that was Lord of Lords, was made in the ſhape of a ſeruaunt. And although that in the heauens the company of Angels miniſter vnto him, he hymſelf miniſtred or ſerued in earth, that he myght teache vs humilitye, by whych a man aſcendeth in to heauen, euen as by pryde a man goeth downe into the botomleſſe pyt. This beaſt hath two hornes moſt like a Lambe, becauſe that he chalengeth to hymſelfe bothe the prieſtly, and kynglye power, aboue all other here in earth. The Lambe ẏ Chriſt whiche is a kyng for euer vpon the kyngly ſeate of Dauid, and he is a prieſte for euer after the order of Melchiſedech: but hys kyngdome is not of thys worlde, but the kingdome of this beaſt is of thys world, becauſe thoſe that be vnder hym, fyght for hym. And as Ieſus is Chriſte two manner of wayes, becauſe that Chriſtus is as much to ſay as Vnctus. He verelye was anoynted kyng, and anoynted prieſt: ſo this beaſt ſayth that he is chiefe kyng and prieſt. Wherefore doth he call himſelfe Chriſt? becauſe that Chriſt knowing that afore, ſaid: Many ſhal come in my name, ſaying I am Chriſt, and ſhal deceaue many. And thus becauſe that he is both kyng & prieſt, he chalengeth to him ſelfe the double ſword, that is the corporall ſword, and the ſpirituall ſword. The corporal ſword is in his right hand, and the ſpiritual ſword is in hys right eie, by the teſtimony of Zachary. But he ſpeaketh ſubtilly lyke a Dragon, becauſe that by the teſtimony of Chriſte he ſhall deceaue manye, as the Apoc. witneſſeth. He did gret wōders, that alſo he might make more fyre to come frō heauen into ẏ earth in the ſight of men, that hee myght deceaue thoſe that dwell vpon the earth, becauſe of the wonders that are permitted him to doo in the ſight of the beaſt, and hee ouercame the fyrſt beaſt which aſcended out of the ſea. For that beaſt chalenged vnto hym ſelfe autoritye of gouernment of the whole world. He hath put to death and tormented thoſe that reſiſt hys commaundementes, and would be honored as a god vpon the earth. The biſhop of Rome ſayth, that the whole world ought to be in ſubiection vnto him, thoſe that be diſobedient vnto hys commaundementes, he putteth in priſon, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commaundeth them to be caſt into the deuils dungeon. But he that hath no power ouer the body, muche leſſe hath hee power ouer the ſoule. And trulye hys excommunication, nor the excommunication of any prieſt vnder hym, ſhall at that tyme litle hurt hym ẏ is excommunicate, ſo that the perſon of hym that is excommunicate, be not fyrſt excommunicat of God through ſinne. And thus it ſeemeth a trouth vnto me, that God thus turneth their bleſſinges into curſſinges, becauſe they geue not due glory vnto hys name. So when that they vniuſtly excommunicate and curſe, he turneth their curſynges into bleſſynges. Alſo the byſhop of Rome doth make men to worſhip hym as God, becauſe that the ſpeciall ſacrifice that God doth requyre of vs, is to be obediēt vnto him in the kepyng of hys cōmaundementes. But now the Popes cōmaundements be commaunded to be kept, and be kept in verye deede, but the commaundements of Chriſt are contemned and reiected. Thus ſitteth the biſhop of Rome in the temple of God, ſhewing hymſelfe as a God, and extolleth hymſelfe aboue all that whych is called God, or worſhypped as God. But in his fall he ſhal be reuealed, becauſe that euery kyngdome deuided in it ſelfe, ſhall be made deſolate. He teachyng a truth, is the head of the churche, but the Prophet teachyng a lye, is the tayle of the Dragon. He ſeducing the world, ſhall be acknowledged to bee the verity of the doctrine of Chriſt: but after he is knowen, he ſhall bee reiected and naught eſteemed. He gyueth to ſmall and great, ryche and poore, free and bonde, markes in their ryght handes, and in their foreheades: that no man ſhould bie or ſell, but thoſe that ſhall haue the markes of the name of the beaſt, or that looketh to haue of him ſome recompence, ſmall, meane, or great, or els the nūber of his name, which number is 300. The Pope ſayth that in the adminiſtration of euery ſacrament, he doth imprint a certaine character or marke into the ſoule of him that receaueth. In baptiſme he ſayeth that he doth imprint into the ſoule of him that is baptiſed, a marke that can not be wyped out, and ſo likewyſe in other ſacramentes. And I knowe that in a ſacrament are two things, that is, the ſacramentall ſigne, and ſpirituall grace repreſented by the ſame ſigne: the ſacramentall ſigne is geuen to mā of man, but the ſpirituall grace is geuen of Chriſt. Wherfore, although a vicious or naughtie prieſt doth baptiſe any man, if he that is baptiſed or his parentes (if he be a childe) doe aſke with faythfull meaning baptiſme, and doe meane faythfully hereafter to obſerue the workes of baptiſme: is as well baptiſed, as if he were baptiſed of neuer ſo vertuous a prieſt. So alſo the ſinner which with all his hart is ſory for hys ſinnes, and doth aſke faythfully mercye of God, is as well abſolued of a vicious prieſt, as of a vertuous. Becauſe the Lambe of God which taketh awaye the ſinnes of the world, wypeth away inwardly our ſinnes by his grace, becauſe that he is the biſhop and paſtour of our ſoules. All other prieſtes doe outwardlye worke abſolution, which know not for a certaintie if they haue abſolued or not. So alſo is it in the other, becauſe that the grace of the ſacrament is geuen of God, and the ſacramental ſigne, of man. In geuing of orders, the chiefe byſhop doth imprint the corporall markes, but of the ſpirituall markes, I knowe none: vnles a man will ſay, that by receauing the order he hath ſome beliefe that he may worke ſome thinges pertayning to that order, the which before the receauing of the order he coulde not. But this one thing is, that none in the church ought to ſell ſpirituall marchandiſe (of which thinges we haue ſpoken before) vnles he haue the marke of the beaſt. My coūſell is, let the byer beware of thoſe markes. Becauſe that after the fall of Babilon, if any man hath worſhipped the beaſt and her image, and hath receaued ẏ marke vpon his forhead, and vppon his hand, he ſhall drinke of

the

The biſhop of Rome ſeeketh to be worſhipped as god.

The commaundementes of the pope more regarded then Chriſtes.

In euery ſ cramentes thinges c teined.

Caueat emptor.

the wyne of Gods wrath which is mixed with the wyne in the cup of his anger, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone in the ſight of the holy Aungels, and in the ſight of the Lambe: and yͤ ſmoke of their tormentes ſhall euer more aſcend, although he looke for a recompence, ſmall, meane, or great, of the beaſt, or ells the nūber of his name. The beaſt doubtles doth recompence his frendes, with his ſmaller reward, that is, with great giftes and benefices corporall: with a meane rewarde, that is, with great ſpirituall gifts, in authoritie of bleſſing, loſing, bynding, praying, and exerciſing other ſpirituall workes: and with his greateſt reward, which after yͤ they be dead, maketh them to be honoured in earth among the ſaincts. The number of his name according to yͤ opinion of ſome men is, Dux cleri, i. the captaine of the clergie, becauſe that by that name he is named, and maketh his name knowē, and that name is 666. This is my opinion of the beaſt aſcending out of the earth, and ſhall vntill ſuch time as I ſhall be of the ſame beaſt better inſtructed. And although that this beaſt doth ſignifie the Romaine biſhops: yet the other cruell beaſt aſcending out of the ſea, doth ſignifie the Romaine Emperours. And although that the Dragon being a cruell beaſt, and the falſe prophet geuing the marke, muſte be throwen into the lake of fire & brimſtone to be tormented for euer: I would haue no man to iudge, but I leaue ſuch things altogether to the finall iudgement of Chriſt to be determined. But Martine the popes confeſſour whiche maketh the Chronicle of the Emperours and Popes, reciteth many errours of the popes, more horrible and abhominable then of the Emperours. For he ſpeaketh of the idolatrous popes, hereticall, ſimoniacall, and popes that wer murderers, that vſed nigromancie, and witchcrafte, that were fornicators, and defiled with all kinde of vice. But I haue partlye declared how that the popes lawe is contrary to Chriſtes lawe, and howe that he ſayth, that he is the chief vicar of Chriſt in earth: and in hys dedes is contrary to Chriſt, and doth forſake both his doctrine and life. I can not ſee who ells may be ſo well Antichriſt, and a ſeducer of the people. For there is not a greater peſtilence, then a familiar enemie.

The re- wardes of the beaſt.

The num- ber of the ame of the aſt. Dux cleri.

artinus ententia s,

wicked pes then perors,

As concernyng Idoles, and the worſhipping of them, I thinke of them as Moyſes, Salamon, Iſayas, Ieremie, and the reſt of the Prophetes, whiche all ſpeake agaynſt the makyng of Images, as alſo the worſhyppyng of Images. And faithfull Dauid full of the ſpirite of God, ſayth: Let all thoſe be confoūded that worſhip Images, and that reioyſe in Idols, and agayne he ſaith: Let them be made lyke vnto them that make them, and all ſuch as put their truſt in them. Wherfore, I pray God that this euill come not vpon me, whiche is the curſe of God pronounced by Dauid the Prophet. Nor I wilbe by Gods grace, neither a maker, nor els a worſhipper of Images.

es of latry.

ges.

As concernyng othes, I beleue and obey the doctrine of almighty God, and my maiſter Ieſus Chriſt, whiche teacheth: that Chriſtian men in affirmation of a truth, ſhoulde paſſe the righteouſnes of the ſcribes and Phariſies of the old Teſtament, or els he excludeth them from the kingdom of heauen. For he ſaith: Vnles your righteouſnes excede the righteouſnes of the ſcribes and phariſies, ye cannot enter into the kyngdome of heauen. And as concernyng othes he ſayth. It hath ben ſayd to them of olde time, thou ſhalt not forſweare thy ſelfe, but ſhalt performe vnto the Lord thoſe thynges whiche yͤ voweſt. But I ſay vnto you, thou ſhalt not ſweare at all, neither by the heauen, nor yet by the earth. &c. But let your communication bee, ye, ye, nay, nay, for what ſoeuer ſhalbe more then this, procedeth of euil. Therfore, as the perfection of the auncient men of the old Teſtament was not to forſweare them ſelues: ſo the perfection of Chriſtian mē is not to ſweare at all, bycauſe he is ſo commaunded of Chriſt, whoſe commaundement muſt in no caſe be broken: although that the Citie of Rome, is contrary to this doctrine of Chriſt euen as in many thynges ſhe is foūde, contrary to her ſelfe.

es how they are able.

As touchyng the takyng away of temporall goodes from thoſe that are eccleſiaſticall perſons offendyng habitualiter: by ſuche as are temporall Lordes, I will not affirme any thyng to be lawfull in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreable to charitie: And that for bycauſe, it is a hard matter for a man to take an othermans goodes from him without breakyng of charitie, bycauſe peraduenture he that taketh away, is the more moued to ſuch maner of takyng awaye by reaſon of the deſire he hath to thoſe goodes, whiche he indeuoreth to take away: or els, bycauſe of ſome diſpleaſure or hatred to the perſon, frō whom he goeth aboute to take away thoſe goods, then that he from whom thoſe goods be taken, ſhould be amended. Therfore vnles he that taketh away, be onely moued of charite to yͤ taking away of ſuch goodes, I dare not affirme that ſuch takyng is lawfull. And if ſuch taking away procede of charitie, I dare not iudge it vnlawfull: becauſe that the biſhop of Rome which receaued hys temporall dominion of the Emperour, when the Emperour rebelled and was not obedient to him, he depriued him from his temporall iuriſdictions: How much more then may temporall lordes do the ſame which haue beſtowed vpon them many temporall dominions and Lordſhypps, onelye to the intent that they might the better intende to ſerue God & keepe his commaundements. Now if they perceaue that they be agaynſt the lawes of God, and that they be ouer buſily occupied about worldlye matters: I cannot ſee but that they may well inough take frō thē thoſe temporal goods, which to a good purpoſe they gaue them. But if in tyme to come after this, thoſe that be temporall lords ſhall take from eccleſiaſticall perſons ſuche temporalties: let him that deſireth to vnderſtand thys, reade the prophet Ezechiel in the chapter of the Shepherdes of Iſrael, which fed them ſelues in ſtæde of their flocke: and alſo let him reade the Apocalips of the fall of Babilon. Let hym alſo reade the Popes decretals againſt heretickes, and in thoſe he ſhall finde, that the takyng away of the temporalties from the Clergy, ſhall come to paſſe for the multitude of their ſinnes.

Whether tēporal goods may be taken away from eccleſiaſticall perſons offending.

Popes take frō Emperors their benefactors, tēporall dominiō when they offend: Ergo, much more may Emperors take frō popes temporall dominion, whē they offend.

A prophecy of Walter Brute that temporall goods ſhall be taken away frō the clergy for the multitude of their ſinnes.

Thus reuerende father haue I made mine aunſwer of the matter wherof I am accuſed: beſeching you, that as I haue been obedient to your deſire, and that euen as a ſonne declaryng vnto you the ſecretes of my heart in playne woordes (although rudely) ſo I deſire to knowe your opinion, and craue your fatherly beneuolence: that now your labour maye be for my inſtruction and amendement, and not to accuſation and condemnation. For lyke as in the beginning I haue promiſed you, that if any man, of what ſtate, ſect, or conditiō ſoeuer he be, that can ſhew me any errour in any of my writinges by the autoritie of the holy ſcripture, or by any probable reaſō grounded in the ſcriptures: I wyll receaue hys information wyllyngly and humbly.

After that all the foreſayde thynges were exhibited and geuen by the foreſayd Walter Brute, vnto the foreſayd biſhop of Hereford: he farther apoynted to yͤ ſame Walter, the third day of the moneth of October, at Herford, with the continuaunce of the dayes folowyng to heare hys opinion. Which third dai now at hand, being Fridaye in the yeare of our Lorde God. 1393. the ſayde Walter Brute, appeared before hym, ſitting in cōmiſſion in the Cathedrall church of Herforde, at ſixe of the clock or therabout: hauing for his aſſiſtents in the ſame place, diuers Prelates and Abbots, and. xx. Bachilers of Diuinitie, whereof. xij. were Monkes, and two doctours of the law. Amongeſt theſe was Nicholas Hereford, accompanied with many other prelates and worſhypfull men and wyſe Graduates in ſundrye faculties. Nowe

Walter Brute againe commaūded to appeare.

Biſhops and Abbots, with 20. Bachelers of Diuinitie, 12. monkes, 2. Doctors of law ſetting vpon Walter Brute.

Nicholas Herford,there alſo preſent.

was the foreſaid Walter appoſed of his writings aforeſayd,and the contentes therein. Earneſt were they in pyking out of thoſe writings,his hereſies,and in ſhowing his ſchiſmes,ſundry errours and diuers other thynges. Now after,that they had continued all that day and the ij.dayes folowyng(that is Friday,Saterday,and Sonday)in theyr informations & examinations agaynſt the ſame Walter Brute The ſame Walter Brute ſubmitted him ſelfe to the determination of the Churche and to the correction of the ſayd John,Byſhop, as it appeareth word for word in a ſcrole written in the Engliſh toung, The tenor of whiche ſcrole,is as foloweth.

The writinges of Walter Brute examined.

The tenor of the ſubmiſsion of Walt.Brute.

¶I walter Brute, ſubmit my ſelfe principally to the Euangely of Jeſus Chriſte, and to the determination of holy kyrke,and to the generall Councels of holy kyrke. And to the ſentence and determination of the foure doctours of holy wryght, that is Auſten,Ambroſe,Jerome, and Gregorie. And I meekly ſubmit me to your correction,as a ſubiect ought to his Biſhop.

Whiche ſcrole as afore is recited in the Engliſh toũg, the foreſayd Walter Brute read,with a loude and intelligible voyce, at the Croſſe in the Churchyard on Monday that is to ſay the 6.day of the ſayd moneth of October, before the ſermon made vnto the people in preſence of the ſayd Biſhop of Herford and other aboue written, as alſo other Barons,knightes,and noble men & clergie and alſo a great multitude of people. After which reading of the ſcrole, the foreſayd Thomas Crawlaie bachiler of diuinitie,made the ſermon vnto the people,and toke for his theme the wordes of the Apoſtle to the Romaines the xj.chapter,that is as foloweth. Be not ouerwyſe in your own conceites but ſtand in feare,&c.

The ſubmiſsiõ of Walter Brute openly red at Herford,

☞ Out of theſe declarations and writinges of Walter Brute,the Byſhop with the Monkes and Doctors aboue rehearſed,dyd gather and drawe out certayne articles,to the number of 37. which they ſent to the Uniuerſitie of Cambrige to be confuted,vnto two learned men, Maiſter Colwyll, and Maſter Newton, Bachilers of diuinitie. Which M.Colwyll,and Newton dyd both labour in the matter, to the vttermoſt of their cunning, in replieng and aunſwering to the ſayd xxxvij articles.

Beſides them alſo, W. Woodforde a Fryer (who wrote likewyſe agaynſt the articles of Wickleffe) labouring in the ſame cauſe,made a ſolemne and a longe tractation,compiling the articles of the ſayd Brute, to the number of xxix. All which treatiſes, as I wyſhe to come to the readers hand, that the ſlendernes of them myght be knowen: ſo it may happen percaſe,that the ſame being in my hands may hereafter be further publiſhed, with other lyke tractations moe, as conuenient time for the prolixitie therof may hereafter,better ſerue then now.

What after this became to this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I fynde it not regeſtred: but like it is, that he for this time eſcaped. Certaine other writinges I finde moreouer, which albeit they beare no name of this Walter, nor of any certaine author: yet becauſe they are in the ſame Regiſter adioyned to the hiſtorye of him, I thought therefore moſte fitte here to be inſerted. Of the whiche the one was a letter ſent to Nicholas Herford,a litle aboue ſpecifyed: who being at the firſt a great follower of John Wickleffe, as appeareth before pag.542.was nowe in the number of them which ſatte vpon thys Walter,as is in yͤ next page aboue recorded. The copie of this letter,bearing no name of any ſpeciall author,but only as ſent by a certaine lollarde(as the regiſter doth terme him) is writtẽ in maner and forme as followeth.

¶*Here foloweth the Copy of a letter ſent to maiſter Nicholas* Herford, By a Lolard as in the Regiſter it is ſayd.

FOr as much as no man that putteth his hande to the plough and looketh backe, is meete for the kingdome of God, as our ſauiour Chriſt ſayth: what maruell is it, although maiſter Nicholas Herford, whiche at the fyrſt (by the viſitation of the ſpirite of God paraduenture) put his hande,that is,gaue his diligẽce,vnto the plough, that is,to the ſowing of the word of God and holy ſcripture,aſwell in preachyng as in doyng good workes: is nowe ſo blinde and vnſkilful to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is vnderſtood by the kyngdome of heauen. Truly it is no maruell, O thou that art maiſter of the Nicholitanes, whiche lyke Nicholas the moſt falſe deacon, haſt left or forſaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theologicall veritie is ſhut vp as well from thee as from all the other Nicholitans folowyng thy conditiõs, for as much as thou goeſt not in by the doore to expoũde the ſame Euãgelicall veritie. Therfore,whẽ thou diddeſt recite this other day, firſt, the phariſaicall and hipocriticall woe (nothyng at all to any purpoſe) thou ſhouldeſt haue ſayd iuſtly in this ſorte,both of thy ſelfe,and others thy folowers and religious Antichriſtes: wo be vnto vs Scribes and Phariſies,whiche ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen,that is to ſay, the true knowledge of the holye Scripture,before men by our falſe gloſes and crooked ſimilitudes: and neither we our ſelues enter into the ſame kyngdome or knowledge, nor ſuffer other to enter into it. wherfore,it ſemeth vnto the faithfull ſort,that wrongfully,falſly,and without any reuerence,ye haue expounded that text of Gregorie.1.q.1. that is to ſaye, Quicunque ſtudet.&c For this is the true vnderſtanding of the ſame. Knowing firſt that there be ſome prieſts after the thing, and name onelye,and doth ſhewe that this is true: that whoſoeuer ſtudieth to receaue the holye order by giuing of money, He is not a prieſt ſecundum rem,et nomen But to ſaye the truthe,he deſireth to bee called a prieſte, that is to bee a prieſte Secundum nomen tantum. And ſuche a prieſte whiche is a prieſt in name onely,is no prieſt. No more then S. Marie paynted is S. Marie: Nor a falſe doctour a doctour,but no doctour: And a man painted is not a man,but no mã. And thus ſuch a prieſt in name only,is not a prieſt. Becauſe that all faithfull men do firmely beleue with S.Gregorie,that no man byeng the holy orders,may then be called a prieſt,as he ſaith.1.q.1. They that bye or ſell holy orders canne be no prieſtes. wherupon is written. Anathema dandi,et Anathema accipiendi That is Simoniacall hereſie. And it foloweth, how therfore,if they be acurſed and not bleſſed,cã they make others bleſſed? And when that they be not in the body of Chriſt, how can they either receaue or deliuer the body of Chriſt? He that is acurſed,how cã he bleſſe? as though he would ſay. It is impoſſible. As pope Urbanus ſayth.1.q.1. Si qui a Simoniacis.&c. where he ſayth thus. They that willyngly know and ſuffer them ſelues to be cõſecrated, nay rather execrated of thoſe that are infected with Simonie: wee iudge that their conſecration is altogether voyde. Alſo Pope Leo in ij q.1 ſayth in this wiſe. Grace,if it bee not frely giuen or receaued,is not grace. Spirituall vſurers do not receaue frely,Therfore,they receaue not the ſpirituall grace,whiche ſpecially worketh in the eccleſiaſticall orders. If they receaue it not,they haue it not: if they haue it not frely,they cannot giue it frely. And by this it is more clearer then the light,That they whiche knowe ſo much and receaue orders by ſpirituall vſurie or ſymonie: Are neither prieſts nor deacons,neither after the maner, nor character. For if ſuch character or marke were otherwiſe giuen in gyuyng orders, it were requiſite always that there ſhould be a certain grace imprinted in yͤ mã: But there is no ſuch grace giuẽ or imprinted as afore is manifeſt. Therfore there is no ſuch Character to be fayned. Therfore, ſuch Character or marke,abydeth not in him,for as much as he neuer had nor hath the ſame. And yet farthermore in the ſame place. what then do the ſimoniacall prelates giue? And he maketh aunſwere.truly euẽ that which they haue,as the ſpirite of lyeng. How proue we this? Bycauſe that if it be the ſpirite of veritie, as the ſame veritie doth teſtifie from whom it cõmeth, it is frelye receaued. And it foloweth for the hole purpoſe no doubt: It is conuicted to be the ſpirite of lyeng, whiche is not frely receaued.

Nicolit

11.q.1.ex. quicunq ſtudet.

1.q.1.Si qui a Simoniaci

Ex leon papa

By thys it appeareth manifeſtly to the faythfull ſorte: that thoſe whych weetinglye an ſimoniacallye are made prieſtes, for as muche as they receaue not the Character of the Lorde, but onely the ſpirite of lying, and the marke of Simon Magus,& of Judas the traytor: that they be not prieſtes, neyther according to the marke nor maners. Nor ſuch do no more make the ſacramentes of the church,then other lay men may in the tyme of neceſſity,nor yet ſo truly,during their hereticall naughtynes. And yet in dede brother myne, vniuoce natura, but yet equiuoce in moribus. I do not wryte thus ſharpelye vnto you, through anger or anye vnperfect hate: but throughe the perfect hate of your horrible hereſy,& denyeng the fayth of Chriſt,that I maye ſaye wyth Dauid in the Pſalme: Perfecto odio oderam.&c. And I am very ſory for you, that you whych in tymes paſt haue excellently wel, and fruitfully preached the Goſpell in the pulpet,do now as well fayle in the congruitie of the latin toung,as in the other ſciens naturall. For as it was heard,thriſe in one lecture you ſayd appetitis,that is to ſay pronouncing the myddle ſyllable long,whych thyng not onelye the maiſters, but alſo the young ſcholers vnderſtoode. And manye other faultes ther were in your grammer, which for ſhame I dare not recite. I ſend vnto you theſe.v. concluſions.

Brother in nature. In maners no brother.

5. Concluſions ſent.

The firſt concluſion. It is an infallible veritye, that the wordes of the foure chief Doctours,expounding the holy ſcripture according to the verity which the wordes do pretend,are to be holden and kept.

The ſecond: He which importeth anye equiuocation out of anye of the Doctours expoundyng, for the couloring of his text,his equiuocation is alwayes to be left.

The third: No peruerſion of any reprobate is able to turne the congregation of the Elect from the fayth, becauſe all thinges that ſhall come to paſſe, are eternallye in God deuiſed and ordayned for the beſt,vnto the Elect Chriſtians.

The fourth: Lyke as the miſtical body of Chriſt,is the congregation of all the Elect:ſo Antichriſt miſticallye is the church of the wicked and of all the reprobates.

The fift: The cōcluſions of Swinderby,be agreable to the fayth in euery part.

¶ This letter was thus ſubſcribed.

By the ſpirite of God,ſometyme viſityng you.

☞ Beſides this epiſtle aboue prefixed, there is alſo found annexed with the ſame,a deuiſe of an other certaine letter counterfeited vnder the name of Lucifer prince of darknes: writyng to the pope and all popyſhe prelates,perſecuting the true and right church (with all might and maine) to maintaine their pryde and domination in this earth, vnder a colorable pretence and viſoure of the catholique church, & ſucceſſion Apoſtolicall. Which letter although it ſemeth in ſome autors to be aſcribed to Ockam,aboue mētioned:yet becauſe I finde it in the ſame Regiſtre of the church of Hereford contayned,& inſerted among the tractations of Walter Brute, and deuiſed (as the Regiſtre sayth) by the Lollardes: I thought no meeter place, then here to annexe the ſame, the tenour wherof thus procedeth in wordes as folowe.

¶ The deuiſe or counterfeate of a certaine letter fained vnder the name of Lucifer prince of darknes, writing to the perſecuting prelates of the popyſhe clergye.

The epiſtle of Lucifer to the pope and prelates of the popiſh clergy.

I Lucifer prince of darkenes & profound heauines, Emperour of the hygh miſteries of the kyng of Acharont, Captaine of the dongeon, Erebus, kyng of hel, and comptroler of the infernall fier: To all our children of pride, & companiōs of our kyngdome, and eſpecially to our princes of the churche of this later age and tyme (of whiche our aduerſary Jeſus Chriſt, accordyng to the Prophet, ſayth: I hate the churche, or congregation of the wicked) ſend greetyng, and wiſhe proſperitie to all that obey our commaundementes, as alſo to thoſe that be obedient to the lawes of Sathan already enacted, & that are diligent obſeruers of our beheſtes, and the preceptes of our decree. Know ye, that in tymes paſt, certein vicares or vicegerentes of Chriſt, folowing his ſteppes in miracles and vertues, liuing and continuyng in a beggerly lyfe, cōuerted (in a maner) the hole world from the yoke of our tyrāny, vnto their doctrine and maner of life: To the great deriſion and contempt of our priſon houſe and kyngdome: and alſo to thee no litle preiudice and hurt of our iuriſdiction & authoritie, not fearyng to hurt our fortified power & to offend the maieſtie of our eſtate. For thē receaued we no tribute of the world, neither did the miſerable ſort of commune people, ruſhe at the gates of our deape dongeon as they were wont to do with continuall pealyng and rapping, but thē the eaſy, pleaſaunt, and broad way, whiche leadeth to death, lay ſtill without great noyſe of trampeling trauelers, neither yet was trode ẇ the fete of miſerable men. And when all our courtes were without ſuters, Hell then began to houle: and thus continuyng in great heauynes and anguiſh, was robbed and ſpoyled. which thyng conſidered, the impacient rage of our ſtomacke could no lenger ſuffer, neither the ougle rechelous negligence of our great captaine general could, any lenger indure it. But wee, ſekyng remedy for the tyme that ſhould after come, haue prouided vs of a verye trymme ſhift: For in ſtede of theſe Apoſtles, and other their adherentes which draw by the ſame lyne of theirs, as well in maners as doctrine, and are odious enemyes vnto vs: we haue cauſed you to bee their ſucceſſours, and put you in their place, whiche be prelates of the churche in theſe later tymes, by our great might and ſubtilitie, as Chriſt hath ſayd of you, they haue raigned but not by me. Once we promiſed vnto him all the kyngdomes of the world, if he would fall downe and worſhip vs. But he woulde not, ſaying: my kingdome is not of thys worlde, & went hys way, when the multitude woulde haue made hym a temporall kyng. But to you truly which are fallen from the ſtate of grace, and that ſerue vs in the earth: is that my promyſe fulfylled, and all terrene thynges by our meanes whych we haue beſtowed vpon you, are vnder gouernment. For hee hathe ſayde of vs as ye knowe: The prince of the world commeth. &c. and hath made vs to raygne ouer all children of vnbeliefe. Therefore, our aduerſaries before recited, did paciently ſubmit themſelues vnto the princes of the world, & dyd teache that men ſhould do ſo ſaying: Be ye ſubiect to euerye creature for Gods cauſe, whyther it be to the kyng as moſt chiefeſt. And agayne: Obey ye them that are made rulers ouer you. &c. For ſo theyr maiſter commaunded them ſaying: The kings of the Heathen haue dominiō ouer them. &c. But I thynke it long tyll wee haue poured our poyſon vpon the earth, and therefore fyll your ſelues full. And now be ye, not onely vnlyke thoſe fathers, but alſo altogether contrary vnto them in your lyfe and conditions, and extoll your ſelues aboue all other men. Neither do ye geue to God that which belongeth vnto hym, nor yet to Ceſar ẏ which is hys: But exerciſe you the power of both the ſwordes, according to our decrees, making your ſelues doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarel, intangled wyth ſecular labours and buſines: And clyme ye by litle and litle from the miſerable ſtate of pouerty, vnto the hygheſt ſeates of all honours, and to the more princely places of dignitie by your deuiſed practiſes, and falſe and deceitfull wyles and ſubtilty: that is, by hipocriſie, flattery, lying, periury, treaſons, diſceites, ſymonye, and other greater wyckednes then which our infernall furies may deuiſe. For after that ye haue by vs been aduanced thether, wher ye would be: yet doth ẏ not that ſuffice you, but as gredye ſtaruelynges more hungrye then ye were before, ye ſuppreſſe the poore, ſcratch and racke together all ẏ comes to hand, peruerting & turning euery thing topſe toruey: ſo ſwollē, that redy ye are to bruſt for pride, liuing like Lechers in all corporal delicatnes, & by fraud directing all your doings. You chalēge to your ſelues, names of honour in the earth, calling your ſelues lordes, holy, yea and moſt holy perſons. Thus, either by violence ye rauen, or els by ambitiō, ſubtillie ye pilfer awaye, and wrongfully waſte, and by falſe title poſſeſſe, thoſe goodes whiche for the ſuſtentation of the poore mēbers of Chriſt (whom from our firſt fall we haue hated) were beſtowed and geuen: conſumyng them as ye your ſelues lyſt, and therewith ye cheriſhe and mayntayne an innumerable ſorte of whoores, ſtrumpets, and bawdes, & whō ye ryde pompouſly like mighty princes, far otherwiſe going, thē thoſe poore beggerly prieſts, of ẏ primatiue church. For I would ye ſhuld build your ſelues rich & gorgeous palacies, ye fare like princes, eating and drinkyng the moſt daynteſt meats, & pleaſāteſt wynes ẏ may be gottē: ye hoord & heape together an infinite deal of treſure, not lyke to hym ẏ ſayd, gold & ſiluer I haue none, ye ſerue & fight for vs according to your wages. O moſt acceptable ſocietye or felowſhip, promiſed vnto vs by ẏ prophet, & of thoſe Fathers long ago reproued: whyleſt that Chriſt called thee the ſynagog of Sathan, & lykened thee to ẏ myghty whore whych cōmitted fornicatiō with the kinges of the earth, the adulterous ſpouſe of Chriſt, & of a chaſte perſō made a ſtrōpet. Thou haſt left thy firſt loue and haſt cleaued vnto vs. O our beloued Babilon

Humilitie edifieth. Pride deſtroyeth.

Placyng of proud prelates, the cauſe of all miſchiefe.

The Church neuer well gouerned ſince the Deuils offers were taken of the church mē.

Pride in prelates noted.

Popiſh prelates neither geue to God,nor to Cæſar,that which belongeth to God,and Cæſar.

The double iuridictiō of the popes 2. ſwords commeth of Lucifer.

The outragies of the popes cleargy, deſcribed.

Dominos.
Sanctos.
Sanctiſſimos.

The laſciuious and whoriſh lyfe of the Romiſh cleargy.

The whoriſh latter church of Rome.

O

Pope ſucceſſor not of Simon Peter but of Simon Magus.

Wicked and vnworthy miniſters admitted in the popes church.

Vnworthy beſtowing of benefices.

Acception of perſon,

Bribery.

Loue of lucre.

Extortion.

Peruertyng of Iuſtice.

Deſtruction of true faith.

The lyfe of papiſtes contrary to their teaching.

The pope encreaſeth hell.

Antichriſt.

The pope a fayned procurer of peace betwene princes.

The Romaine empire craftely ſubuerted by the pope.

Symonie the popes nurſe.

Promoting of proud and rich Cardinals.

Cloked holines.

Wraſtyng of ſcripture

Tyrannie and cruelty by the pope

O our citizens, whiche from the tranſmigration of Jeruſalem, came hether: we loue you for your deſertes, we reioyſe ouer you, whiche contemnē the lawes of Symon Peter, & imbrace the lawes of Simon Magus our frend, and haue thē at your fingers endes, and exerciſe the ſame publiquely, byeng and ſellyng ſpirituall thynges in the churche of God, and agaynſt the cōmaundement of God. Ye giue benefices and honours by peticion, or els for money, for fauour, or els for filthy ſeruice. And refuſing to admit thoſe that be worthy, to eccleſiaſticall dignities, & preferring thoſe ÿ are vnworthy, you call vnto the inheritaunce of Gods ſanctuarie, baudes, lyers, flatterers, your nephewes, and your owne children, And to a childiſhe boy, ye geue many prebēdes: the leaſt wherof ye denie to beſtow vpon a poore good man: ye eſteme the perſon of a man and receaue gifts, ye regarde money & haue no regarde of ſoules. Ye haue made the houſe of God a denne of theeues. All abuſe, all extortion, is more exerciſed a hundreth folde in your iudgemēt ſeates, then with any ſeculare tyraunt. Ye make lawes and keepe not the ſame, and ye diſpence with your diſpenſacions as it pleaſeth you, you iuſtifie the wicked for rewardes, and ye take away the iuſt mans deſert from him. And briefly ye perpetrat or commit all kynde of miſchief, euen as it is our wil ye ſhuld. And ye take much payne for lucres ſake in our ſeruice, and eſpecially to deſtroy the Chriſtiā fayth. For nowe the lay people are almoſt in doubte what they may beleue, becauſe that if ye preache any thyng to them at ſometymes (although it be but ſeldome ſeene, and that negligently inough, euen as wee would haue it) yet notwithſtandyng they beleue you not, becauſe they ſee manifeſtly that ye do cleane contrary, to that ye ſay. wherupō, the common people doyng as ye do, whiche haue the gouernement of them, and ſhould be an example to them of well doyng: now many of them leanyng to your rules, do runne hedlong into a whole ſea of vices: And ſo continually a very great multitude flocketh at the ſtrōg and well fenced gates of our dongeon. And doubtles, ye ſend vs ſo many day by day of euery ſorte and kind of people, that wee ſhould not bee able to intertaine them, but that our inſatiable chaos with her thouſand rauenyng iawes is ſufficient to deuour an infinite nomber of ſoules. And thus the ſoueraintie of our Empire, by you hath been reformed, and our intollerable loſſe reſtored. Wherefore moſt ſpecially we commend you, and giue you moſt hartie thankes: Exhortyng all you, that in any wiſe ye perſeuere and cōtinew, as hetherto ye haue done: neither that you ſlake hence foorth your enterprice. For why, by your helpes we purpoſe to bryng the hole worlde agayne vnder our power and dominion. Ouer and beſides this, we cōmit vnto you no ſmall authoritie, to ſupply our places in the betraying of your brethren, and we make & ordein you our vicars, & the miniſters of Antichriſt our ſonne, now hard at hand: for whō ye haue made a very trymme way and paſſage. Furthermore, we counſell you whiche occupye the hygheſt roumes of all other, that you worke ſubtillye, and that ye (faynedlye) procure peace betwene the princes of the worlde, and that ye cheryſhe and procure ſecrete cauſes of diſcorde. And lyke as craftelye ye haue deſtroyed and ſubuerted the Romane Empyre: ſo ſuffer ye no kingdome to bee ouermuch enlarged or enriched by tranquilitye and peace. Leaſt perhappes in ſo great tranquilitye (all deſyre of peace ſette aſyde) they diſpoſe them ſelues to vewe and conſider your moſt wycked workes, ſuppreſſing on euerye ſyde your eſtate: and from your treaſurers take awaye ſuche ſubſtance, as we haue cauſed to be reſerued and kept in your hands, vntyl the cōming of our welbeloued ſonne Antichriſt. we would ye ſhould do our commendations to our entirely beloued daughters, pride, deceit, wrath, auarice, bellychere, and lechery, & to all other my daughters: and eſpecially to Lady Symony, whych hath made you men and enriched you, & hath geuen you ſucke with her owne breaſtes, and weaned you, and therefore in no wyſe ſee that you call her ſynne. And be ye lofty & proud, becauſe that the moſt high dignity of your eſtate doth require ſuche magnificence. And alſo bee ye couetous, for whatſoeuer ye get and gather into your fardell, it is for ſaynt Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defēce of your patrimonye and the Crucifixe, and therefore ye may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the hygheſt ſeate of dignities without anye let in all the worlde, in ſtopping the mouth of our aduerſarye Jeſus Chriſt, and alledging agayne: that he preferred his kinſfolkes (being but of poore and baſe degree) vnto the Apoſtleſhip, but you do not ſo, but rather call, as ye do, thoſe that lyue in arogancy, in hautynes of mynde, & fylthy lechery, vnto the ſtate of welthye riches and pride, & thoſe rewardes & promotions, whych the followers of Chriſt forſooke, do ye diſtribute vnto your friendes. Therefore as ye ſhall haue better vnderſtanding, prepare ye vices cloked vnder the ſimilitude of vertues. Alledge for your ſelues the gloſes of the holye ſcripture, and wreſt them, directly to ſerue for your purpoſe. And if any man preach or teach otherwyſe then ye wyll, oppres ye them violently with the ſentence of excommunication, and by your cenſures heaped one vppon an other, by the conſent of your brethren. Let hym be condemned as an heretycke, and let him be kept in moſt ſtraight priſon, and ther tormented tyll he dye, for a terrible example to all ſuche as confeſſe Chriſt. And ſetting all fauour apart, caſt him out of your temple: leaſt paraduenture the ingraffed woorde may ſaue your ſoules, which woord I abhorre, as I doo the ſoules of other faythful men. And do your indeuour, that ye may deſerue to haue the place which we haue prepared for you, vnder the moſt wycked foundation of our dwelling place. Fare ye well, with ſuche felicitye as we deſire & intend finally to reward & recompēce you with.

¶ Geuen at the centure of the earth, in that our darke place, where all the rablement of Deuils were preſent, ſpeciallye for this purpoſe called vnto our moſt dolorous Conſiſtorye, vnder the Charecter of our terrible ſeale, for the confirmation of the premiſſes.

Ex Regiſtro Herefordenſi ad verbum.

Ex Regiſtro Hereford.

Who was the true author of this poeſie or Epiſtle aboue writen it is not euidently knowen: neither yet doth it greatly ſkill. The matter beyng well cōſidered of their part, whiche here be noted: may miniſter vnto them ſufficient occaſiō of wholeſome admonition, either to remēber them ſelues what is amiſſe, or to bethinke with thē ſelues what is to be amended. Diuers other writynges of lyke argument both before and ſince, haue ben deuiſed: as one bearyng the title Luciferi ad malos principes Eccleſiaſticos, imprinted firſt at Paris in Latin. And vnder the writyng therof, bearyng this date. Anno a palatij noſtri fractione, conſortiumq; noſtrorum ſubtractione. 1351. whiche if ye counte from the Paſſion of the Lorde: reacheth well to the tyme of Wickleffe. 1385. which was aboue ſixe yeares before the examination of this Walter Brute.

Epiſt. Lu
cif. ad pr
latos.

There is alſo an other Epiſtle of Lucifer, prince of darkenes, ad prælatos, mētioned in the Epiſtle of ÿ ſchole of Prage, to the vniuerſitie of Oxford, ſet forth by Huldericus Huttenus, about the yere of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370. which ſemeth to be writē before this epiſtle.

Vincent.
ſpec. hiſ
lib.25.
89.

Alſo Vincentius in Speculo hiſto. lib.25. cap 89. inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiendes infernal, vnto the clergy men as in a viſion repreſented, before 400. yeares. In which, the deuils geue thankes to the ſpirituall men, for that by their ſilence and not preaching the Goſpell, they ſend infinite ſoules to hell, &c.

Ex prophe
tia Hilde
gardis.

Diuerſe other letters alſo of like deuiſe, haue been written, and alſo recorded in authors. Whereunto may be added, that one Iacobus Cartuſienſis, writing to the byſhop of Wormace, alleageth out of the prophecie of Hildegardis in theſe wordes; Ideo et diabolus in ſemetipſo de vobis ſacerdotibus, ait: Eſcas epulantium, cōuiuia et omnes voluptates in iſtis inuenio, ſed et oculi, et aures, et venter meus, et venæ meæ, de ſpumis illorum plenæ ſunt, et vbera mea plena ſunt diuiciis illorum, &c. 1. Therefore, ſayth he, the deuill may ſay of you prieſtes in hymſelfe: The meates of banketing diſhes, and feaſtes of all kind of pleſure, I find in theſe mē: Yea alſo, mine eyes, mine eares, my bellye, and all my vaines be full of their frothing: and my breſtes be full ſtuffed with their riches, &c. Furthermore, ſayth he, they labour euery day to riſe vp higher with Lucifer, but euery day thei fal wͭ him more depely. Hereunto alſo apertaineth a ſtorye written, and commonly found in many olde written bookes. In the yeare of our Lord. 1228. at Paris in a Synode of ÿ clergye,

gye, there was one appoynted to make a ſermon. Who being much carefull in hys minde, and ſollicitous what to ſay, the deuill came to hym, and aſking why he was ſo carefull for hys matter, what he ſhould preach to the clergy, ſay thus, quod he: The princes of hell ſalute you (Oh you princes of the church) & gladly geue you thãks, becauſe through your default and negligence, it cõmeth to paſſe, that all ſoules go downe to hell. Adding moreouer, that he was alſo enforced by the commaundement of God to declare the ſame, yea and that a certayne token moreouer was geuen to the ſayd clerke for a ſigne, wherby the ſinode myght euidently ſee, that he dyd not lye. Ex catal. Illyr. Fol. 546.

The deuill preacheth thankes to clergy men.

The ſilence of prieſts for not preaching the Goſpell drowneth many a ſoule.

¶ The Bull of Pope Bonifacius the nynth againſt the Lolardes.

BOnifacius, Biſhop, ſeruant of the ſeruauntes of God: To the reuerend brother Iohn, biſhop of Hereford, ſendeth greeting and Apoſtolicall benedictiõ. We meane to wryte vnto our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt (Richard the renoumed king of England, in forme encloſed within theſe preſentes. Therfore we will and cõmaund your brotherhood, that as much as ye may, ye ſtudie and endeuour your ſelfe to exhort and induce the ſame king, to do thoſe thinges which we haue written vnto him, as it is ſayd before. And notwithſtãding, ỹ now many a day you ought to haue done it of your ſelf, and not to loke that we ſhould perſwade you to that effecte by vs written: you may procede as well by our authoritie, as by your own, for aſmuch as it was geuen you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeale your deuotion beareth vnto the catholike faith, and to the conſeruing of the eccleſiaſticall honour, and alſo to the execution of the paſtorall office. Geuen at Rome, at S. Peters the xv. Kalendes of October, the 6. yeare of our byſhoplike dignitie.

The popes letter to the B. of Hereford.

¶ The tenour of the Bull, to the renowmed prince Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce: whereof mention is made aboue, as foloweth, and is thus muche in effect.

TO our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, Richard the noble king of England, we ſend greeting. &c. It greeueth vs from the bottom of our hartes, & our holye mother the church in all places throughe Chriſtendome lamenteth. We vnderſtand, that there bee certayne hereſies ſproong, and doe without anye condigne reſtraynt raunge at their own liberty, to the ſeducing of the faythfull people, and do euery daye with ouermuche libertie enlarge their vndiſcrite boundes. But howe muche the more carefullye we labour for the preſeruation both of you, and your famous kyngdome, and alſo the ſincerity of the fayth: and doo with more ardent deſire couet, that the proſperous ſtate of the ſame ſhould be preſerued and enlarged: the ſting of greater ſorrow doth ſo muche the more penetrate and moleſt vs, for as much as we ſee (alas the whyle) in our tyme, and vnder the regal preſidẽce of your moſt chriſtian gouernment: a certayne craftye and harebrayne ſect of falſe Chriſtians in the ſame your kingdome to grow and increaſe, which call them ſelues the poore men of the treaſurie of Chriſt and his diſciples, and whom the common people by a more ſounder name call Lolardes (as a man would ſay wythered darnell) according as their ſinnes require: and perceaue, that they ware ſtrong, and as it were preuayle againſt the dioceſanes of ſome places, & other gouernours as they mete together not courageouſlye addreſſing them ſelues againſt them as they ought to do (wherof chiefly & not vndeſeruedly I geue them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder preſumption and ſtomacke among the vnlearned people. And for as muche as theſe whom we cannot call men, but the damnable ſhadowes or ghoſtes of men, doo riſe vp agaynſt the ſounde fayth, and holy vniuerſall church of Rome and that very many of them being indifferently learned (which to the confuſion and eternall dampnation of ſome of them) they gat ſitting vpon their mothers lap the ſayde churche of Rome: doe ryſe vp or inuay agaynſt the determination of the holy fathers, with to much preſumptious boldnes, to the ſubuerſion of the whole eccleſiaſticall order and eſtate: Haue not bene afrayde, nor are not yet afrayde, publikely to preach, very manye erroneous, deteſtable, & hereticall articles, for that they are not put to ſilence, reproued, driuen out, rooted out, or otherwiſe puniſhed, by any that hath authoritye and the feare & loue of God. And alſo they are not afrayde, openly to write the ſame articles, and ſo being wrytten, to delyuer them to your kingly parlament, and obſtinately to affirme the ſame. The venemous and diſdaynfull recitall of whych articles, vpon good aduiſement at this preſent we paſſouer: leſt the ſufferance of ſuch ſenſualitie, might fortune to renue the wound ỹ reaſon may heale. Yet notwithſtãding, leaſt ſo great and contagious an euill ſhould eſcape vnpuniſhed, and that without deſerued vexation, and alſo that it mighte not get more harte and waxe ſtronger: we therefore (according to that our office and dutye is, where ſuch negligence and ſluggiſhnes of our prelates beyng preſente, where this thing is) do commit & geue in commaundement to our reuerende brethren, Canterbury, and Yorke, archbiſhops, by other our letters: that they ſtand vp in the power of God againſt thys peſtilent and contagious ſect, and that they lyuelye perſecute the ſame in forme of law: roote out and deſtroye thoſe, that aduiſedly and obſtinatly refuſe to withdraw their foote from the ſame ſtumblyng blocke, anye reſtraynt to the contrary notwithſtanding. But becauſe the aſſiſtaunce, counſell, fauor, and ayde of your kingly eſtate and highnes, are requiſite to the execution of the premiſſes: we require, exhorte, and beſeche the ſame your princely highnes, by the bowels of the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, by hys holy faith, by your own ſaluation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the proſperitie aſſured to euery man and woman: that not onely your kingly ſeueritie may redely ſhew and cauſe to bee ſhewed vnto our Archbiſhops and their Commiſſaries (in this behalfe requiring the foreſayd due execution) conuenient ayd & fauour, as otherwyſe alſo to cauſe them to be aſſiſted: But that alſo you wyll enioyne your Magiſtrates and Iuſtices of aſſiſe, and peace more ſtraightly, that of their own good wils, they execute the authoritye committed vnto them, with all ſeuerity againſt ſuch damned men, according as they are bound by the office whych they are put in truſt with: Againſt thoſe I meane, which haue determined obſtinately to defile them ſelues in their malice & ſinnes, thoſe to expell, baniſh, and impriſon, and there ſo long to keepe them: till condigne ſentence ſhall pronoũce them worthye to ſuffer puniſhment. For your kinglye wyſdome ſeeth, that ſuch as they be, doo not onelye deceaue poore ſimple ſoules (or at the leaſt doo what they can to deceaue them) but alſo bring their bodyes to deſtruction, and further prepare cõfuſion and ruinous fall vnto their temporall Lordes. Go to therefore my ſweete ſonne, and indeuour your ſelfe to worke ſo in thys matter, as vndoubtedly we truſt you will: that as thys fyrebrãd (burning and flaming ouer ſore) began vnder your preſidente or gouernment: ſo vnder your ſeuere iudgement and vertuous diligence, might, fauour, and ayde: that not one ſparke remayne hyd vnder the aſhes, but that it be vtterly extinguiſhed and ſpedely put out.

Geuen at our palace of S. Peter at Rome, the. xv. Calendes of October, in the ſyxte yeare of our pontificality.

The popes wycke Bull is looſe againſt the ſeruaunts of Chriſt.

As though no learning were but in the churche of Rome.

The dragon here ſpouteth out his floudes of water to drowne the Chriſtian.

Behold the ſpirit of the popes meke holines.

The bowels of Ieſus Chriſt be full of mercy: the bowels of the pope full of fury and tyrannye.

Helpe the pope at the pinch: or els he is like to take a fall.

¶ The Kinges commiſſion.

RIchard by the grace of God, kyng of England, and of Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland. To all thoſe vnto whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greting. Know ye, that where as lately at the inſtaunce of the reuerend father William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, metropolitane of all Englãd, and Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſeat: we for the redreſſe and amendement of all thoſe whiche would obſtinatly preache or mayntaine, publiquely, or priuely, any concluſions of the holy Scripture, repugnãt to the determination of our holy mother the church, and notoriouſly redoundyng to the ſubuerſion of the catholique faith, or contayning any hereſie or errour, within the prouince or biſhopricke of Cãterbury: Haue, by our specially letters patentes, in the zeale of the fayth, giuen authoritie and licence vnto the foreſayde Archbyſhop & to all and ſingular his ſuffraganes, to areſt all and euery of them that will preache or mayntayne any ſuch cõcluſions, where ſoeuer they may be founde, and to cõmit them either to their owne priſons or any others at their owne pleaſure: and to kepe them in the ſame, vntill they repent them of ẏ errours and prauities of thoſe hereſies: or till that, of ſuch maner of areſtes, by vs or by our cõſell it ſhould be otherwiſe determined, that is to ſay, to euery one of them and their miniſters throughout theyr Cities and dioces. And nowe the reuerend father in God John Biſhop of Herford, hath for a certeintie informed vs: that although the ſame Byſhop hath according to iuſtice, conuinced a certein felow named William Swynderby, pretendyng him ſelfe to be a chaplayne, and one Stephẽ Bell a learned man, and hath pronounced them heretiques, and excommunicate, and falſe informers amongeſt the common people, & hath declared the ſame by the deffinitie ſentẽce of ẏ aforeſayd B. for that they haue preſumed to affirme and preache openly in diuers places within the dioces of Herford, many concluſiõs or naughtie opinions notoriouſly redounding to the ſubuerſion of the Catholicke ſounde faythe, and tranquilitie of oure kyngdome. The ſame Byſhop notwithſtandyng, neither by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, neither yet by the force & ſtrenketh of our commiſſion was able, to reuoke the foreſayd William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacie of them: For that they, after that they were vpon ſuch hereticall prauitie conuicte by the ſame byſhop (to ẏ intent they might delude his iudgement and iuſtice) conueyed them ſelues by and by, vnto the borders of Wales, with ſuch as were their fautours and acomplices, in kepyng them ſelues cloſe, vnto whom the force of our ſayd letters doth in no wiſe extẽd. Wherupon, the ſayd Byſhop hath made ſupplication vnto vs, that we will vouchſafe to prouide a ſufficient remedie in that behalfe. We therfore whiche alwayes (by the helpe of almighty God) are defendours of the fayth, willyng to withſtand ſuch preſumptuous & peruerſe enterpriſes by the moſte ſafeſt way and meanes we maye: gyue & commit full power and authoritie to the foreſayde Byſhop and to his miniſters, by the tenour of theſe preſẽtes, to areſt or take, or cauſe to be areſted or taken, the foreſayd William and Steuen, in any place within the Citie and dioces of Herford and our dominion of Wales, withall the ſpeede that may be, and to cõmit them either to our priſon or els to the priſon of the ſame Byſhop, or any other priſon at their pleaſure, if ſuch neede bee, and there to keepe them ſafe: And afterwardes, vnleſſe they will obeye the commaundementes of the churche, with diligence to bryng them before vs and our counſell, or els cauſe thẽ to be brought. That we may determine for their further puniſhment, as we ſhall thinke it requiſit & conuenient to bee done by the aduiſe of our counſell, for the defence and preſeruation of the catholicke faith. And that the foreſayd William and Stephen, beyng ſuccoured by the ayde of their fautours or fauorers, ſhould not be able to flee or eſcape to their acuſtomed ſtarting holes: and that the ſharpnes of their paynes ſo agrauated, may giue them ſufficient cauſe to returne to the lappe agayn of their holy mother the churche: we ſtraightly charge & commaunde all and ſingular our ſhrifes, Baylifes, Barones, and all other our officers, in the Citie and dioces of Herford, and in any other place beyng within our dominion of Wales, by the tenour of theſe preſentes: that from tyme to time (where they thinke it moſt méete) they cauſe it openly to be proclaimed in our name, that none, of what ſtate, degrée, preeminence, kinde, or other condition he ſhalbe of, do cheriſhe openly or ſecretly, the foreſayd William and Steuen, vntill the tyme that they repent them of their hereſies and errours, and ſhalbe reconciled vnto the holy church of God: Neither that any perſon or perſons, be beleuers, fauorers, or receauers, defendours, or in any caſe wytingly inſtructours, of the ſayd William or Stephen, or any other of the reſidue of the heretikes ẏ are to be conuinced: vpon the forfaiture of all that euer they haue. And that alſo they giuing theyr attẽdance, be obedient and aunſwerable to the foreſayd Byſhop and hys deputies in this behalfe, for the executiõ of the premiſſes: and that they certifie vs and our counſell diſtinctly, and playnly, from tyme to tyme, of the names of all and ſingular perſons, whiche ſhall fortune to bee foũd culpable in this behalfe, vnder their ſeales. In witnes wherof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to be made. Witnes our ſelfe, at Weſtminſter the ix. day of March, in the xv. yeare of our reigne. Farrington.

The hoar: complaining charity of the biſhop of Hereford.

W. Swinderby and Steuen Bell complayned of to the king.

Furioſo ne cõmittas gladium.

Pſeudo catholica fides.

¶ An other letter of the ſaid K. againſt Walter Brute.

Rychard by the grace of God king of England and of Fraunce & Lord of Ireland: To hys beloued & faithfull John Chaundos knight, John Eynford knight, Renold de la Bere knight, Walter Deueros knight, Thomas de la Barre knight, William Lucie knight, Leonard Hakelute knight, and to the Maior of the citie of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcaſtell, Rychard Naſhe, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Wayllwayne, John Skydmore, John Up Harry, Henry Motton, and to ẏ Shriefe of Hereford, ſendeth ſalutations. For as much as it is aduertiſed vs, that one Walter Brute, and other ſuch children of iniquitie, haue damnablie holden, affirmed, and preached, certayne articles and concluſions being notoriouſlye repugnant againſt the holy Scripture (of the which, ſome of them as hereſies, and the reaſt as errours, are finallye by the church condemned) and that in diuers places within the dioces of Hereford and partes neare adioyning, both priuely, openly, and obſtinatelye: which thing we perceaue not onelye to redound to the ſubuerſion (in a maner) of the catholike faithe, whyche as well wee, as other catholicke princes ought of duetye to mayntayne, but alſo to forewarne vs of the ſubuerſion of our faithfull dioceſans. And that the ſayd byſhoppe, vpon the good deliberation and aduiſement of a great number of Doctours in diuinitye, and other learned and ſkilfull men in the ſcriptures, of ſpeciall deuotion, according to his bounden duty, purpoſed to beginne and make diuers and ſundrye proſſes by law to be ſent vnto the foreſayde Walter and his accomplices, to appeare perſonallye before him and other the Doctours aforeſayde, in the cathedrall church of Hereford, the morrow after the tranſlation of ſaint Thomas of Hereford next enſuing, and to proceede in the ſame place agaynſt the ſame Walter, in the foreſayd articles and concluſions, for the amendment of his ſoule. Nowe a freſhe (becauſe that the ſayd Walter and others of their retinue, cleauing and confederating with him, might not ſuffer condigne paines according to their demerites) indeuour them ſelues to make voyde and fruſtrate the ſayd godly purpoſe of the ſame biſhop, in ſuch correction and execution as ſhould haue bene done: and with force doo reſiſt and let the ſame wyth all the power they maye, to the great contempt of vs and of our crowne, & to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: Do apoint you and euery of you, immediatly as ſoone as this our commiſſion ſhall be deliuered vnto you, in our behalfe and name, to make open proclamation

An othe letter of king Richard againſt Wa ter Brute.

Walter Brute.

Whether the doc of Brute was euer againſt stance h is thus h to be t tion in the dioces and partes aforeſayde, where ye ſhall thinke it moſt meete and conuenient: That no man be ſo hardy henceforth, of what eſtate or condition ſo euer he ſhall be, within the dioces and partes aforeſaid, vpon paine of forfaiture of all that euer he hath, to make or leauie any conuenticles, aſſembles, or confederacies, by any coulour: or that they preſume to attempt or procure any other thing, wherby our peace maye be hurt or broken, or that the ſame biſhop and doctours aforeſaid, may be by any meanes moleſted or let in the executiō of ſuch correction as is to be done, according to the canonicall ſanctions, and to areſt all thoſe which ye ſhall fynde or take offending in this behalfe, or that keepe them ſelues in any ſuch conuēticles. And that they being committed to priſon, be there kept, till you ſhall haue other cōmaundement frō vs and our counſell for their deliueraunce: And that ye diſtinctly and plainly certifye vs & our ſayd counſell, of all your doing in this behalfe vnder your ſeales, or elles the ſeales of ſome of you. And therefore we ſtraightly charge and commaund you, and euery of you: that ye diligentlye attende vpon the premiſſes, and that in your deedes ye execute the ſame wyth all diligence and carefull indeuour, in the forme and maner aforeſaid. And further, we geue ſtraight charge and commaundement to all and ſingular ſhirifes, Maiors, Bailiffes, Conſtables, and other our faythfull ſubiectes, by the tenour of theſe preſentes: that they be attendant vpon you, counſelling and ayding you and euerye of you, as is meete and conuenient in the doing and execution of the premiſſes. In wytnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to be made. Witnes my ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the .xxij. day of September, in the .xvij. yeare of our raygne.

¶By the ſame kyng and counſell.

Richard le against the Gospel len by the Archb.and the prelates

Thus kyng Richard by the ſetting on of W. Courtney Archb. of Cant. and hys fellowes, taking part with the pope, and Romyſh prelates: waxed ſomthing ſtraite and hard to the poore Chriſtians of the contrary ſide of Wickleffe, as by theſe letters aboue prefixed maye appeare. Albeit, during all the life of the ſayd king, I finde of none expreſſye by name that ſuffered burning. Notwithſtādyng, ſome there wer which by ẏ foreſayd archb. W. Courtney, and other biſhops, had been condemned, and diuers alſo abiured, and did pennance as well in other places, as chiefly about the towne of Leyceſter as followeth here to be declared, out of the archbiſhops regeſter and recordes.

Regiſt. .Court- Arch. ant.

At what tyme the ſayde Archbiſhop W. Courtney was in his viſitation at the town of Leyceſter, certaine there were accuſed and detected to him, by the monkes and other prieſts in the ſaid towne. The names of which perſonnes there detected, were one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagſtaffe, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, and Roger Goldſmith, inhabitantes of ẏ ſame town of Leyceſter: Theſe with other moe, were denounced to the Archbiſhop for holding the opinion of the ſacrament of the aulter, of auricular confeſſion, & other ſacramēts, contrary to that which the church of Rome doth preach and obſerue. All which parties aboue named, & manye other moe whoſe names are not knowen, did hold theſe hereſies & errours, here vnder writtē and are of the Romiſhe churche condemned.

ger Dex Nicho. Taylor, ich, Wag- ff, mich. iuener, Smith, h Henry, archme Roger ldmith, ſed,

1 That in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there remaineth the body of Chriſt with the materiall bread.

2 That Images ought not to bee worſhypped in any caſe, nor that no mā ought to ſet any candels before thē.

3 That no Croſſe ought to be worſhipped.

4 That Maſſes, and Mattens, ought not with an highe and loude voyce to be ſayd in the churche.

5 Item, that no curate or prieſte taken in anye crime can conſecrate, here confeſſions, nor miniſter any of the Sacramentes of the churche.

6 That the Pope & all prelates of the Churche, cannot bynde any man with the ſentence of excommunication, vnles they know him to be firſt excōmunicated of God.

7 That no prelate of ẏ churche, cā graunt any pardōs.

8 That euery lay man may in euery place, preache and teache the Goſpell.

9 That it is ſinne to giue any almes or charitie, to the friers preachers, Minorites, Auguſtines, or Carmelites.

10 That no oblation ought to be vſed at the funerals of the dead.

11 That it is not neceſſarie to make confeſſion of our ſinnes to the prieſt.

12 That euery good man although he bee vnlearned is a prieſt.

Theſe Articles, taught, preached, and affirmed they, manifeſtly in the towne of Leyceſter and other places adioyning: whereupon, the ſayde Archbiſhoppe moniſhed the ſayd Roger, and Nicholas with the reſt, on the next day to make aunſwere vnto him in the ſayd monaſterie to the foreſayd articles. But the foreſayd Roger & Nicholas with the reſt, hid them ſelues out of the waye and appeared not. Wherupon, the Archbiſhop vpon all hallon day, beyng the firſt day of Nouēber, celebrating the high Maſſe at the high aulter in the ſayd monaſtery, beyng attired in his pontificalibus: denounced the ſayd parties, with all theyr adherents, fautors, fauourers, & coūſellers, excōmunicate and accurſed which either held taught or maintained the foreſaid concluſions hereticall & erroneous: and that in ſolempne wyſe, by ryngyng the belles, lightyng the candels, and puttyng out the ſame agayn, and throwyng them downe to the grounde with other circumſtaūces therunto belongyng. Vpon the morow after (being all ſoulne day) he ſent for all the curates and other lay men of the towne of Leyceſter, to inquire more diligently of the veritie of ſuche matter as they knew, and were able to ſay agaynſte any perſons what ſoeuer, concernyng the foreſayd articles, as alſo agaynſt the parties before named and ſpecified vpon theyr othes: denoūcyng euery one of them, ſeuerally by their names to be excommunicated and accurſed, and cauſed thē alſo in diuers pariſhe churches in Leyceſter, alſo to be excommunicate. And further the ſayde Archbyſhop interdicted the whole town of Leceſter, & all the churches in ẏ ſame, ſo long as any of the foreſayde excommunicate perſons ſhould remayne or be within the ſame, and till that all the Lolardes of the towne, ſhoulde returne and amende from ſuch hereſies and errours, obtaynyng at the ſayd Archbyſhop his handes the benefite of abſolucion.

Roger, Nicholas, Richard, Michell, William, Iohn, William and Roger accurſed with booke, bell, & candel.

The whole towne of Leyceſter inetrdicted

At length it was declared & ſhewed to the ſayd Archb. that there was a certeyn anchores whoſename was Matild, incloſed wͭin in the churchyard of S. Peters church of the ſayde towne of Leyceſter, to bee infected (as they ſayde) with the peſtiferous contagion of the foreſayd heretiques and Lolardes: wherupon, after that the ſayd Archbiſhop had examined the foreſayd Matild, touching the foreſayd concluſions, hereſies, and errours, and foūd her not to aūſwere playnly and directly to the ſame, but ſophiſtically and ſubtelly: gaue and aſſigned vnto her a day perēptory, perſonnally to appeare before hym in the monaſtery of S. James at Northampton, more fully to anſwere to the ſayd articles, hereſies, and errors, which was the 6. day of the ſayde moneth of Nouember: commaundyng the Abbat of the monaſtery of Pratis aforeſayd, that the dore of the recluſe in whiche the ſayd Matild was, ſhould be opened, and that till his retourne he ſhuld cauſe her to be put in ſafe cuſtody. That done, he ſet forth hys mādate, agaynſt ẏ Lolardes vnder this forme.

Matild, an Anchores, cited to appeare.

¶William by the permiſſion of God. &c. To his welbeloued ſonnes, the Maior and Baylifs, of the towne of Leiceſter dioces, gretyng. We haue lately receiued, the kings

The kings proces ſent by the B. to areſt the 8. aforenamed letters graciouſly graunted vs for the defence of the Catholique fayth, in theſe woordes folowyng. Richard by the grace of God, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce &c. We on the behalfe of our holy mother the church, by the kynges authoritie aforeſayd, do require you: that you cauſe the ſayd Richard, William, Roger, and the reſt, to be areſted, and ſent vnto vs, that they with theyr pernicious doctrine do not infecte the people of God. &c. Giuen vnder our ſeal. &c.

Margaret Caly a Nunne conſtrained againſt her wil, to take again her habit

By an other inſtrument alſo in the ſame regiſter, is mention made of one Margaret Caily Nonne, whiche forſakyng her order, was by the ſayd Archbyſhop, conſtrayned agaynſt her will, agayne to enter the ſame, as by this inſtrument here vnder inſuing may appeare.

William by the grace of God. &c. To our reuerend brother in God, Iohn by the grace of God, Byſhop of Ely gretyng. &c. In the viſitation of our dioces of Lincolne accordyng to our office, amongeſt other enormities worthy reformation, wee founde, one ſheepe out of our fold ſtrayed & amongeſt the briers tangled, to wit, Margarete Cayly, Noonne profeſſed, of the monaſtery of S. Radegunde within your dioces: who caſtyng of the habite of her religion, was founde in ſecular attire, manye yeares beyng an Apoſtata, and leadyng a diſſolute lyfe. And leaſt her bloud ſhould be required at our handes, wee haue cauſed her to bee taken, and brought vnto you beyng her paſtour: and ſtraictly inioynyng you by theſe preſents do commaunde, that you admit the ſame Margarete agayn into her foreſayd monaſtery (although returned agaynſt her will) or elles into ſome other place, where for her ſoules health you ſhall thinke moſt conuenient: and that from henceforth ſhe bee ſafely kept, as in the ſtraict examination of the ſame you will yelde an accompt. Geuen vnder our ſeale. &c.

Matild recanteth.

By ſondry other inſtruments alſo in ẏ ſame regiſter recorded I find, that ẏ fore ſayd Matild the anchores, vpon the ſtraicte examination and handelyng of the foreſayd Archbiſhop, before whom peremptorily ſhe was enioyned to appeare, and till that day of apparance taken out of the recluſe and committed to ſafe cuſtody as you hard: retracted and recanted her foreſayd articles and opinions. For the whiche ſhe beyng enioyned. 40. dayes penaunce, was agayn admitted into her foreſayd recluſe in Leyceſter. The Byſhops letter to the Magiſtrates of the towne thus begynneth. VVillielmus permiſsione diuina. &c. dilectis filijs. &c.

William Smith, Roger Dexter, and Alice hys wyfe, abiure.

Alſo, by an other letter of the foreſayd Archbiſhop to ẏ Deane of the Cathedrall churche of our Lady of Leyceſter beyng regiſtred, I finde: that of the nomber of thoſe viij. perſons before recited, whom the Archbyſhop hym ſelfe at highe Maſſe, did in his pontificalibus ſo ſolemly curſe with, booke, bell, and candell: After certeine proces beyng ſent out agaynſt them, or els in the meane tyme beyng apprehended and taken: two of them recanted their opinions, to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But in the meane time Alyce the wife of the ſayd Roger Dexter, takyng hold of the foreſaid articles with her husband alſo, together wt the ſayd W. Smith, abiured ẏ ſame. For theſe be the woordes of the inſtrument Subſequenter vero, præfati VVilielmus Rogerus, et Alicia reatus ſuos reſpicientes, ſe noſtro conſpectui præſentarunt. &c. Notwithſtandyng, whether they preſented them ſelues willingly or els wer brought agaynſt their wils (as moſt like it was) hard penaunce was inioyned thē before they were abſolued. Theſe be the woordes of the inſtrument Sancta mater eccleſia. &c. i. Seyng our holye mother the church, not deniyng her lap to any penitent childe returning to ẏ vnitie of her, but rather profering to thē ẏ ſame: We therfore do receiue again the ſayd Williā, Roger, & Alice to grace. And further haue cauſed thē to abiure all & ſingular the aforeſayd articles & opinions before they receiued of vs ẏ benefite of abſolution & were looſed frō ẏ ſentēce of excōmunication wherin they were ſnarled: inioynyng vnto thē penaunce, accordyng to the quantitie of the crime in forme as foloweth, that is to ſaye. That euery one of them, the ſonday next after their returning to their proper goods: they the ſayde William, Roger, and Alice, holding euery one an image of the crucifix in their right handes, and in their left handes euery one of them a taper of waxe waying halfe a pounde waight, in their ſhiertes (hauing none other apparel vpon them) do go before the Croſſe three times, during the proceſſion of the cathedrall church of our ladye of Leceſter: that is to ſay, in the beginning of the proceſſion, in the middle of the proceſſion, and in the latter ende of the proceſſion: to the honour of hym that was crucified, in the memoriall of hys paſſion, and to the honour of the virgin hys mother: Who alſo deuoutlye bowyng their knees and kneeling, ſhall kiſſe the ſame crucifix ſo helde in their handes. And ſo with the ſame proceſſion, they entring againe into the church: ſhall ſtande during all the time of the holye Maſſe, before the image of the Croſſe with their tapers and croſſes in their handes. And when the Maſſe is ended, the ſaid Wylliam, Roger and Alice, ſhall offer to hym that celebrated that daye the Maſſe. Then vpon the Saterday next inſuing: the ſaid Williā, Roger, & Alice, ſhal in the full and publique market, win ẏ town of Leyceſter, ſtand in lyke maner in their ſhurts, without any more clothes vpon their bodies, holding the foreſaid croſſes in their right hands, which croſſes, three times thei ſhal (during ẏ market) deuoutly kiſſe reuerētly knelyng vpon their knees: that is, in ẏ begynnyng of ẏ market, in the midle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the ſayd William (for that he ſomwhat vnderſtandeth the Latine tounge) ſhall ſay this Antheame with the colet Sancta Katherina: and the foreſayd Roger and Alice, being vnlearned ſhall ſay deuoutly A Pater noſter, and an Aue Maria. And thurdly, the Sōday next immediatly after the ſame, the ſayd William, Roger, and Alice in their pariſh churche of the ſayd towne of Leyceſter, ſhall ſtand and do as vpon the Sonday before, they ſtoode and did in the cathedrall churche of our Lady aforeſayd, in all thynges. Which done, the foreſayd William Roger and Alice after Maſſe, ſhall offer to ẏ prieſt or chaplayne that celebrated the ſame, withall humilitie and reuerence the waxe tapers, whiche they ſhall cary in their handes. And becauſe of the cold wether ẏ nowe is, leaſt ẏ foreſayd penitents might peraduēture take ſome bodely hurt ſtādīng ſo long naked (beyng mindful to moderat partly the ſaid our rigour) we giue leaue: That after their entrance into the churches aboue ſayd, whileſt they ſhalbe in hearyng ẏ foreſayd Maſſes: that they may put on neceſſary garmentes to kepe them from cold, ſo that their heads and feete notwithſtanding, be bare and vncouered. We therfore will and commaund you together and a part, that you denounce the ſayd Williā, Roger, and Alice, to be abſolued and reſtored agayne to the vnitie of our holy mother the churche, and that you call them foorth to do their penaunce in maner and forme aforeſayd. Giuen at Dorcheſter, the xvij. day of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord God. 1389. and the ix. yere of our tranſlation.

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Unto the narration of theſe aboue ſayd, we will adioyne the ſtory of one Peter Pateſhul an Auſten Frier, who obtaynyng by the Popes priuilege (throughe the meanes of Walter Dis, confeſſour to the duke of Lancaſter) libertie to chaunge his coate and religion, and hearing the doctrine of Iohn Wickleffe and other of ẏ ſame ſorte: began at length to preach openlye and to detect the vices of hys order, in ſuch ſorte as all men woondred to heare the horrible recityng thereof. This beyng brought to the eares of his order, they to the number of xij (commyng out of their houſe to the place where he was preachyng) thought to haue withſtoode hym perforce. Amōg whom one eſpecially for the zeale of his religion, ſtoode vp openly in his preachyng, and contraried ẏ whiche he ſayd, who then was preachyng in the church of S. Chri-

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ſtopher in London. This when the faithfull Londoners did ſee, takyng grief hereat, were moued with great ire againſt the ſaid Frier, thruſting him with his other brethren out of the churche, whom they not onely had beaten and ſore wounded, but alſo folowed them home to their houſe, minding to haue deſtroied their manſiõ with fire alſo, and ſo would haue done, had not one of the Shriffes of London, with two of the Friers of the ſayde houſe well knowen and reported amongeſt the Londoners, with gẽtle woordes mittigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateſhull thus diſturbed as is aforeſayd, was deſired by the Londoners (for ſo much as he could not well preach amõgeſt them) to put in writing that, whiche he had ſayd before and other thinges more that he knew by the Friers: who then at their requeſt writyng the ſame, accuſed the Friers of murther, committed againſt diuers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparant & credible, he declared the names of thẽ that were murthered, with the names alſo of their tormentours. And named moreouer, tyme and place where and when they were murthered, and where they were buryed. He affirmed further, that they were ſodomites & traitours both to the king & the realme wͭ many other crimes, whiche mine author for tediouſnes, leaueth of to recite. And for the more confutation of yͤ ſayd Friers, the Londoners cauſed this ſayd bill, to be openly ſet vp at S. Paules churche doore in London, whiche was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the yeare of our Lord. 1387. and in the x. yeare of kyng Richard ſecond. Ex Chron. Monachi Albanenſis. Cuius eſt exordium, Anno gratiæ milleſimo, &c.

1389.

Thus it may appeare by this and other aboue recited, how the Goſpell of Chriſt preached by John Wickleffe and others, began to ſpread & fructifie abroad in Lõdon, and other places of the realme: & more would haue done no doubt had not William Courtney, the Archbiſhoppe and other prelates with the kyng, ſette them ſo forceably with might and mayne, to gaynſtand the courſe therof. Albeit as is ſayd before, I find none which yet were put to death therfore, duryng the raigne of this K. Richard the ſecõd. Wherby it is to be thought of this kyng, that although he cã not be vtterly excuſed for moleſtyng the godly and innocent preachers of that tyme, (as by his breues and letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was he ſo cruel againſt them, as other that came after him: And that which he did ſemed to procede by the inſtigation of the pope and other Biſhops, rather then eyther by the conſent of his Parliamente, or aduiſe of his counſaile about him, or els by his owne nature. For as yͤ decrees of the Parliament in all his time, were conſtant in ſtoppyng out the popes prouiſions, and in bridlyng his authoritie as we ſhall ſee (Chriſt willing) anone: ſo the nature of the kyng was not altogether ſo fiercely ſet, if that he folowyng the guydyng therof, had not ſtand ſo much in feare of the Byſhop of Rome & his prelates, by whoſe importune letters and callyng on, he was continually vrged, to do contrary to that, whiche both right required, & will perhaps in him deſired. But how ſoeuer the doinges of this kyng are to be excuſed, or not, vndoubted it is yͤ queene Anne his wife moſt rightly deſerueth ſingular cõmendatiõ: who at the ſame time lyuing with yͤ kyng, had yͤ Goſpels of Chriſt in Engliſh, with the foure doctours vpon the ſame. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and ſiſter to Wincelaus kyng of Boheme before: who was maried to K. Richard about the fift (ſome ſay, the ſixt) yeare of his reigne, and continued with hym the ſpace of xi. yeares. By the occaſion wherof it may ſeme not vnprobable, that the Bohemians cõmyng in with her, or reſortyng into this realme after her, peruſed and receaued here the bookes of John Wickleffe, whiche afterwarde they conueyed into Bohemia, wherof partly mention is made before pag. 552.

The death of Quene Anne

The ſayd vertuous Queene Anne, after ſhe had lyued with kyng Richard about xi. yeares, in the xvij. yeare of his reigne chaunged this mortall life, and was buryed at Weſtminſter. At whoſe funerall, Thomas Arundell then archbiſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncelour, made the ſermon. In whiche ſermon (as remaineth in the librarie of Worceter recorded) he entreating of yͤ commendation of her, ſayd theſe woordes: that it was more ioye of her, then of any woman that euer he knew. For notwithſtandyng that ſhe was an Alien borne, ſhe had in Engliſhe all the iiij. Goſpels, with the Doctours vpon them: affirmyng moreouer and teſtifeing, that ſhe had ſent the ſame vnto hym to examine. And he ſayd they were good and true. And further with many wordes of prayſe dyd greatly commended her, in that ſhe beyng ſo great a Lady, and alſo an Alien, would ſtudy ſo lowly ſo vertuous bookes. And he blamed in that ſermon ſharpely the negligence of the prelates, and other men. In ſo much that ſome ſayd, he would on the morow, leaue vp the office of Chauncelour, and forſake the worlde, and geue hym to fulfill hys paſtorall office, for that he had ſeen and read in thoſe bookes. And thẽ it had been the beſt ſermon that euer they hard. Hæc ex libro VVigor. In the whiche ſermon of Thomas Arundell, iij. pointes are to be conſidered, firſt the laudable vſe of thoſe old tymes receaued to haue the ſcripture and doctours in our vulgare Engliſhe toung. Secondly the vertuous exerciſe and alſo example of this godly Lady, who had theſe bookes not for a ſhew hangyng at her gyrdle: but alſo ſemeth by this ſermon to be a ſtudious occupyer of the ſame. The thyrd thyng to be noted is, what frute yͤ ſayd Tho. Archbiſhop declared alſo hym ſelf to receaue at yͤ hearyng & reading of yͤ ſame bookes of hers in the Engliſh toung. Notwithſtanding, the ſame Thomas Arundell, after this ſermon and promiſe made, became the moſt cruel enemy that might bee agaynſte Engliſhe bookes, and the authors thereof as foloweth after in his ſtory to be ſeen.

Ex fragmento Libri cuiuſdã Wigornenſis bibliothecæ Ex accommodato D. Math. Archb. Cant.

Queene Anne had the 4 Goſpels, with the Doctours in Engliſhe.

Tho. Arundell, Archb. breaketh hys owne promys.

For ſhortly after the death of queene Anne, the ſame yeare (the kyng beyng then in Ireland) this Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Byſhop of London, Robert Braybrocke (whether ſent by the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the clergy, or whether goyng of theyr owne accorde) croſſed the ſeas to Ireland, to deſire the kyng in all ſpedy wiſe to returne and helpe the faith and church of Chriſt, agaynſt ſuch as holding of Wickleffes teachyng, went about (as they ſayd) to ſubuert all theyr procedynges, and to deſtroy the canonicall ſanctions of their holy mother churche. At whoſe complaint the kyng hearyng the one part ſpeake, and not aduiſing the other, was in ſuch ſorte incenſed: that incontinent leauyng all hys affaires incomplet, he ſped his returne toward England. Where he kept his Chriſtenmas at Dublyne, in the whiche meane tyme, in the begynnyng of the nexte yeare folowing, whiche was an. 1395. a Parliamẽt was called at Weſtminſter, by the commaundement of the kyng. In whiche Parliament, certeine Articles or Concluſions were put vp by them of the Goſpell ſyde, to the number of 12. Whiche concluſions moreouer were faſtened vp vpon the churche doore of S. Paul in London, and alſo at Weſtminſter: The copy of which cõcluſions with the wordes & contentes therof, here vnder enſueth.

Thomas Arundell and the B. of London, go to Ireland to the king to complain of the fauorers of Godes worde.

Ex hiſtor. D. Albani.

1395.

Concluſions offered vp in the parliament houſe.

¶ *The booke of Concluſions or Reformations, exhibited to*
the Parliamẽt holden at Londõ and ſet vp at Paules doore and other places, in the xviii. yeare of the raigne of kyng Richard the ſecond, and in the yeare of our Lord M. iii. C. xcv.

The firſt concluſion, when as the churche of England began firſt to dote in temporalities after her ſtepmother the great churche of Rome, and the churches were authoriſed by appropriations: fayth, hope, and charitie, began in diuers places to baniſhe and flye away frõ our churche, for ſo much as pride with her moſt lamentable

Concluſions exhibited in the parlament.

and dolerous Geneologie of mortall and deadly ſinnes, did chalenge that place by title of heritage, and this concluſion is generall and approued by experience, cuſtome and maner, as ye ſhall hereafter heare.

2 Papiſtical prieſthoode.

The ſecond concluſion, ẏ our vſuall prieſthode which tooke his originall at Rome, and fayned to be a power higher then aungels, is not that prieſtoode which Chriſt ordeined vnto his diſciples. This concluſion is thus proued, for ſo much as the Romiſhe prieſthood is done with ſignes and pontificall rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither hauyng any ground in Scripture, for ſo much as the Byſhops ordinall and the newe Teſtament do nothyng at all agrée, neither do we ſee that the holy Ghoſt doth geue any good gift thorow any ſuch ſignes or ceremonies: becauſe that he together with all noble and good giftes, can not conſiſte and be in any perſon with deadly ſinne. The corolary or effect of this cōcluſion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery vnto wiſe men, to ſee the Byſhops mocke and play with ẏ holy Ghoſt in the geuyng of their orders: becauſe they geue crownes for their caracters & markes, in ſtede of white hartes, and this caracter is the marke of Antichriſt, brought into the holye churche to cloke and colour their idlenes.

3 The ſingle lyfe of prieſtes.

The third concluſion, that the law of chaſtitie enioyned vnto prieſthood, the whiche was firſt ordeined to the preiudice of wemē, induceth Sodomie into the church: but we do excuſe vs by the Bible, becauſe the ſuſpect decree doth ſay, that we ſhould not name it. Both reaſon and experience proueth this concluſion. Reaſon thus, for ſo much as the delicate féedyng and fare of the Clergy, wil haue either a naturall purgation, or ſome worſe. Experience, thus for ſo much as the ſecret triall & proofe ſuch men is, that they do delite in wemen. And when ſoeuer thou dooſt proue or ſee ſuche a man, marke him well, for he is one of that nomber. The corolarie of this concluſion is, that theſe priuate religions with the beginners therof, ought moſte chieflye to be diſanulled as the originall of that ſinne and offence: But God of his might, doth of priuey ſinnes ſend open vengeance.

He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous clergye.

He prophecieth agaynſt Monkery.

4 The fayned miracle of tranſubſtantiation.

The fourth concluſion, that moſt harmeth the innocent people is this: that the fained miracle of the Sacrament of bread, induceth all men, except it be a very few, vnto Idolatry: For ſo much as they thinke that the body whiche ſhall neuer be out of heauen, is by the vertue of the prieſtes wordes eſſētially encluded in the litle bread, the whiche they do ſhewe vnto the people. But would to God they would beleue that whiche the Euāgelical doctour teacheth vs in hys Trialoge, Quod panis altaris eſt accidentaliter Corpus Chriſti. i. that the bread of the aulter is the body of Chriſt accidentally: for ſo much as we ſuppoſe that by that meanes, euery faithful mā and woman in the law of God, may make the Sacrament of ẏ bread without any ſuch miracle. The corolarie of this cōcluſiō is, that albeit the body of Chriſt, be endowed with the eternall ioye, the ſeruice of Corpus Chriſti made by Frier Thomas, is not true, but paynted full of falſe miracles, neither is it any marueil: for ſo much as Frier Thomas at that tyme taking part with the pope, would haue made a miracle of a hennes egge, and we know it very well that euery lye opēly preached and taught, doth tourne to the rebuke and opprobrie of hym whiche is alwayes true without any lacke.

He meaneth here Wic[illegible]e.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti inuented by T. Aquinas.

5 The exorciſmes and bleſsings of prieſtes.

The fift concluſion is this, that the exorciſme and halowinges, conſecrations and bleſſinges ouer the Wyne, Bread, Waxe, Water, Oyle, Salte, Incens, the Aulter ſtone, and about the church walles, ouer the Veſtiment, Chalice, Miter, Croſſe, and Pilgrimſtaues, are the very practiſes of Nigromācie, rather then of ſacred diuinitie. This concluſion is thus proued, becauſe that by ſuch exorciſmes, the creatures are honored to be of more force & power then by their owne proper nature, for we do not ſee any alteration, or chaunge in any creature ſo exorciſed, excepte it bee by falſe fayth whiche is the principall point of deuiliſh art. The corolarie of this is, that if the booke of exorciſation or coniuryng of holy water which is ſprinkled in ẏ church, were altogether faythful & true: we thinke certainly that holy water vſed in the churche, were the beſt medicine for all kynde of ſicknes and ſores, Cuius contrarium experimur. i. the contrary wherof dayly experience doth teache vs.

6 The difference betwene the eccleſiaſtical and politike e

The ſixt concluſion whiche meinteineth much pride, is, that a kyng and Byſhop both in one perſon, a prelate and iuſtice in temporall cauſes, a curate an Officer in worldlye office, dothe make euery kingdome out of good order. This concluſion is manifeſt, becauſe the temporaltie and the ſpiritualitie, are two partes of ẏ holy vniuerſall church, and therfore he which addicteth him ſelfe to ẏ one part, let him not intermedle with ẏ other, Quia nemo poteſt duobus Dominis ſeruire, wherefore to bee called Amphroditæ, whiche are men of both kyndes or Ambidextri, whiche is ſuch as can play with both hādes, were good names for ſuch men of double eſtates. The corolarie of this concluſion is, that thereupon we the procuratours of God in this caſe, do ſewe vnto the Parliament: that it may be enacted, that all ſuch as be of the Clergy (as well of the hygheſt degrée as of the loweſt) ſhould be fully excuſed, and occupye them ſelues with their owne cure and charge, and not with others.

7 The fo tion of Maſſes f the de

The ſeuenth concluſion that we mightly affirme is, that ſpirituall prayers made in the church for the ſoules of the dead (preferryng any one man by name, more thē an other) is a falſe foundation of Aulmes, wherupon all the houſes of Aulmes in Englād are falſly foūded. This concluſion is proued by two reaſons: The one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to bee a worke proceding frō meere charitie: and perfecte charity accepteth no perſon, becauſe thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. Wherby it appeareth, that the benefit of any temporal gift beſtowed and geuen vnto prieſtes and houſes of Aulmes, is the principall cauſe of any ſpeciall prayers, the whiche is not farre different from Symony. The other reaſon is, ẏ euery ſpeciall prayer made for men condemned to eternall puniſhement, is very diſpleaſaunt before God. And albeit it be doubtfull, yet is it very likely vnto the faythfull Chriſtian people, that the foūders of euery ſuch houſe of Aulmes for their wicked endowyng of the ſame, are for ẏ moſt part paſſed by the broad way. The corolarie is, that euery prayer of force end effect proceding of perfect charitie, would cōprehend generally all ſuch, whom God would haue ſaued, and to liue. The marchaundiſe of ſpeciall prayers now vſed for the dead, maketh mēdicant poſſeſſioners and other hierling prieſt, which otherwiſe were ſtrōg enough to worke and to ſerue ẏ whole realme: And mainteyneth the ſame in idlenes, to the great charge of the realme, becauſe it was proued in a certaine booke whiche the kyng hath, that a hundreth houſes of Aulmes, are ſufficient for the whole realme. And therby might peraduenture greater increaſe and profite come vnto the temporalitie.

A hu houſes Almes ſ cient for England.

8 Pilgrimages and o lations.

The viii. concluſion needefull to tell to the people begiled is, that pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made vnto blind Croſſes or Rodes, or to deafe Images made either of woode or ſtone: are verye nere of kynde vnto Idolatrie, and farre different from Aulmes. And albeit that theſe thynges whiche are forbidden and imagined, are the booke of errour vnto the cōmon people: notwithſtandyng, the vſuall and common image of the Trinitie is moſt eſpecially abhominable. This cōcluſion God him ſelfe doth openly manifeſt, commaundyng Aulmes to be geuen to the poore and nedy man, for he is the image of God in more perfite ſimilitude & likenes then any blocke or ſtone. For God did not ſaye, let vs make a blocke or ſtone vnto our lykenes and image, but let vs make mā,

The im of the Tri nitie a bon thing.

A poo man the perfect image of God.

for

Latria. Dulia. Iudas lips. The death of Thomas Becket of Canterbury is not to be counted for martyrdome.

for ſo much as the ſupreme and higheſt honor which the clergie calleth Latria, pertayneth only to the Godhead, and the inferior honour which clergie call Dulia, pertayneth vnto men and Angells, and to none other inferiour creature. The corolarie is, that the ſeruice of the croſſe celebrate twyſe euery yeare in our church, is full of idolatry: For if roode, tree, nailes and ſpeare, ought ſo profoundly to be honoured and worſhipped, then were Iudas lippes (if any mã could get them) a maruelous goodly relique. But thou Pilgrime, we pray thee tell vs, whẽ thou dooſt offer to the bones of ſainctes and holy men which are layd vp in any place: whether dooſt thou relieue therby the holy man which is already in ioye, or yͤ almes houſe that is ſo well indowed, where as they are canoniſed (the Lord knoweth howe) and to ſpeake more plaine, euery faithfull Chriſtian may wel iudge and ſuppoſe, that the ſtrokes of that ſame man, whome they call S. Thomas, were no cauſe of Martirdom, nor yet be.

9 Auricular confeſſion. Confeſſion the miniſter of luſt. The impudent boldnes of prieſtes.

The ix. concluſion that kepeth the people low, is, that auricular confeſſion which is ſaid to be ſo neceſſary for ſaluation, and the fayned power of abſolution: exalteth & ſetteth vp the pryde of prieſtes, & geueth thẽ oportunitie of other ſecrete talkes, which we will not at this time talke of, for ſo much as both Lordes and Ladies do witnes that for feare of their cõfeſſors, they dare not ſpeake the truth: and in tyme of confeſſion is good oportunitie miniſtred, of woopyng, or to play the bawdes, or to make other ſecret conuentions to deadly ſinne. They affirme and ſay, that they are cõmiſſaries ſent of God to iudge and diſcerne of all maner ſinne, to pardon and clenſe what ſoeuer pleaſe them. They ſay alſo, that they haue the keyes of heauen and hell, and that they can excommunicate, curſe and bleſſe, bynde and looſe, at theyr owne will and pleaſure: in ſo much, that for a ſmall rewarde or for xij. d. they will ſell the bleſſyng of heauen by charter and clauſe of warrantes ſealed by their common ſeale. This concluſion is ſo common in vſe, that it needeth not any probation. The corolarie hereof is, that the Pope of Rome whiche fayned hym ſelfe to bee the profounde treaſurer of the whole churche, hauyng that ſame worthye iewell whiche is the treaſure of the paſſion of Chriſt in hys owne keping and cuſtodie, together with the merites of all the ſainctes in heauen, wherby he geueth fained indulgences and pardons a pena & culpa: He is a treaſurer almoſt baniſhed out of charity, wherby he may deliuer all captiues being in purgatory at his pleaſure, and make them not to come there. But here euery faithfull Chriſtian may eaſely perceiue, that there is much falſhood hid in our church.

The pope treaſurer of the church, the ſede of treaſure lay vp ...

10 ...w war ...lawfull, ...proofe ...experi...

The tenth, that manſlaughter (either by war or by any pretenſed law of iuſtice, for any temporall cauſe, or ſpirituall reuelation) is expreſly contrary vnto the newe Teſtament, which is the lawe of grace, full of mercye. This concluſion is euidently proued by the examples of the preaching of Chriſt here in earth, who chiefly teacheth euery man to loue his enemies, and haue compaſſion vpon them, & not to kill and murther them. The reaſon is this, that for the moſt part when as men do fight, after the firſte ſtroke, charitye is broken: and whoſoeuer dieth withoute charitye, goeth the ryghte waye to hell. And beſide that, we doo well vnderſtande and know that none of the Clergy, neither by any other lawfull reaſon, canne deliuer anye man from the puniſhment of death, for one deadly ſinne, and not for an other: but the law of mercye which is the newe Teſtament, forbiddeth all maner of murther. For in the Goſpell it is ſpoken vnto our forefathers, thou ſhall not kyll. The corolarie is: It is a verye robbing of the people, when Lordes purchaſe indulgences and pardons a pena et culpa, vnto ſuch as doo helpe their armies to kill and murther the Chriſtian people in forein countries for temporall game, as we do ſee certayne ſoldiours which do run amongeſt the Heathen people to get them ſelues fame and renowme by the murther and ſlaughter of men. Much more do they deſerue euill thankes at the handes of the kyng of peace, for ſo much as by humility & peace, our fayth is multiplied and increaſed: for murtherers and mãquellers, Chriſt doth hate and manaſeth: he that ſtriketh with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.

11 Nonnes and widowes which vowe ſingle lyfe.

The xi. concluſion is, which is ſhame to tell: that the vow of chaſtity made in our churche by women whych are frayle & vnperfit in nature, is the cauſe of bryngyng in many great and horrible offences and vices, accident vnto the nature of man. For albeit, the murther of their children borne before their time, and before they are chriſtened, and the deſtruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy and foule ſinnes: yet they accompanieng amõgeſt them ſelues, or with vnreaſonable beaſtes, or wyth any creature not hauing lyfe, do paſſe to ſuch an vnſemelynes, that they are puniſhed by infernal tormentes. The corolarie is, that widowes and ſuch as take the mantel and the ring delitiouſlye fed, we woulde that they were maryed, becauſe that we cannot excuſe them from priuate offence of ſinne.

12 The xij. that the multitude of Artes not neceſſarye (vſed in this our church) cauſeth much ſinne and offence in waſt, curioſitie, and diſguiſing in curious apparell: experience and reaſon partly doth ſhew the ſame, for ſo much as nature with a few artes, is ſufficient for mans vſe and neceſſity.

Thys is the whole tenor of our ambaſſade whyche Chriſt hath commaunded vs to proſecute at thys tyme, moſt fit and cõuenient for many cauſes. And albeit that theſe matters be here briefly noted and touched: yet notwithſtanding, they are more at large declared in an other booke with manye other more in our owne proper toung, which we would ſhould be common to all Chriſtian people. Wherfore, we earneſtly deſire and beſeche God for his great goodnes ſake, that he wyll wholy reforme our churche (now altogether out of frame) vnto the perfection of his firſte beginning and originall. Ex Archiuis Regiis.

These verſes followyng, were annexed vnto the concluſions.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Paulus fert h[illegible]rum ſunt idola cauſa malorum,
Surgunt ingrati Gyerzite Simone nati,
Nomine prælati hoc defenſare parati,
Qui reges eſtis populis quicunque preeſtis,
Qualiter his geſtis, gladios prohibere poteſtis?

The which verſes are thus Engliſhed.

The Engliſh nation doth lament, of Sodomites their ſynnes,
Whych Paule doth playnly ſignify, by Idoles to begynne.
But Gierſitis full ingrate, from ſinful Symon ſprong,
This to defẽd (though prieſts in name) make bulwarks gret & ſtrõg
Ye Princes therfore whych to rule, the people God hath placed,
Wyth iuſtice ſword why ſee ye not, thys euyl great, defaced?

After theſe concluſions were thus propoſed in the parliamẽt, the king not long after returned home frõ Dubline into England, toward the latter ende of the parliament. Who at hys returne, called certaine of his nobles vnto hym, Richard Stury, Lewes Clifford, Tho. Latimer, Iohn Mountacute, &c. whome he did ſharplye rebuke, and did terribly threaten for yͤ he heard them to be fauorers of that ſyde: charging thẽ ſtraightly, neuer to hold, maintayne, nor fauour any more thoſe opinions & concluſions. And namely of Richard Stury, he toke an othe, that he ſhould neuer from that day, fauour or defend any ſuch opinions: which othe beyng takẽ, yͤ king then aunſwered. And I ſweare (ſaith he) agayne to thee, that if thou dooſt euer breake thine othe, thou ſhalt dye for it a ſhamefull death, &c. Ex Chron D. Albani.

Richard Stury, Lewes Clifford Tho. Latymer. I. Mountacute, good fauorers.

All this while W. Courtney Archb. of Cant. was yet alyue, who was a greate ſtirrer in theſe matters. But yet pope Vrbane the great maſter of the catholike

Pope Vrbane 5. dead.

An. 1389

Pope Boniface. 9

ſect was dead & buried ſixe yere before. After whō ſucceded in the ſchiſmaticall ſee of Rome pope Boniface, 9. who nothing inferiour to his predeceſſour in all kind of cruelnes, left no diligence vnatempted to ſet forward ẏ which Vrbane had begon, in ſuppreſſing them ẏ were the ſetters forth of the light of the Goſpell: and had written ſundry tymes to kyng Richard as wel for the repealing of the actes of parliament againſte his prouiſions, Quare impedit, and premunire facias: as alſo ẏ he ſhould aſſiſt the prelates of England in the cauſe of God (as he pretended) againſt ſuch, whome he falſlye ſuggeſted to be lollardes & traytors to the church, to the king, & the realme, &c. Thus the curteous pope, whome he coulde not reach with hys ſword, at leaſt with cruell ſlāder of his malitious tongue, would worke his poyſon againſt them, whiche letter he wrote to the kyng in the yeare of our Lord, 1396. which was the yere before the death of W. Courtney Archbiſhop of Cant. After whom ſucceded in that ſee, Thomas Arundel brother to the Erle of Arundel, beyng firſt B. of Ely, afterwarde Archbiſh. of Yorke, and lord Chauncelour of England, and at laſte made Archb. of Cant. about the yeare of our lord. 1397. The next yeare following, which was the yeare of our Lord 1398. & the 9. yeare of the pope, I fynde in certain Recordes of the biſh. of Dureſme, a certain letter of K. Richard 2. written to the ſaid Pope Boniface: Which becauſe I iudged not vnworthye to be ſeene, I thought here to annexe ẏ ſame, proceding in forme as followeth.

The letters of pope Boniface. 9. to K. Rich.

An. 1396

The death of W. Courtney. Archb. of Cant.

Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant

An. 1398

¶ *To the moſt holy father in Chriſt and lord, lord Boneface the*
ix. by the grace of God high pope of the moſt holy Romiſh &
vniuerſall church, his humble and deuout ſonne Richard
by the grace of God king of England, & Fraunce,
Lord of Ireland greting, and deſiring to help
the miſeries of the afflicted church, &
kiſsing of that hys bleſſed
feete.

A letter of K. Rich. 2. to pope Boniface 9.

Who will giue my head water, and myne eyes ſtreaming teares, that I may bewaile the decay and manifold troubles of our mother, which haue chaunced to her by her owne chyldren, in the diſtreſſe of this preſent ſchiſme and diuiſion. For the ſheepe haue forgotten the proper voice of their ſhepheardes, and hirelynges haue thruſt in them ſelues to feede the Lordes flocke, who are clothed with the apparell of the true ſhepheard, chalenging the name of honour and dignitye, reſemblyng ſo the true ſhepheard, that the poore ſheepe can ſcarſe know whom they ought to folow, or what paſtour as a ſtraunger they ought to flee, and whom they ſhould ſhunne as an hircling: Wherfore we are afraid, leaſt the holy ſtādard of the lord be forſaken of his hoſt, and ſo that citie being ful of riches become ſolitary and deſolate, and the land or people which was wont to ſay (floriſhing in her proſperities) I ſat as a Queene, and am not a wydowe, leaſt it be deſtitute of the preſence of her houſbande, and as it were ſo be witched that ſhe ſhall not be able to diſcerne his face, and ſo wrapped in maſes, that ſhee ſhall not know where to turne her, that ſhe might more eaſily finde him, and that ſhe ſhall with weepyng ſpeake that ſaying of the ſpouſe: I ſought hym whom my ſoule loueth, I ſought him and found him not: For now we are compelled ſo to wāder, that if any man ſay, behold here is Chriſt, or ther, we may not beleue him ſo ſaying: and ſo manye ſhepheardes haue deſtroyed the Lordes vyneyard, and made his amiable portion a waſte wildernes. Theſe multitude of ſhepheards is become verye burdenous to the Lordes flocke. For when twoo ſtriue to bee chiefe, the ſtate of both their dignities ſtandes in doubt, and in ſo doing they geue occaſion to all the faythfull of Chriſt, of a ſchiſme and diuiſion of the churche. And although both parties go about to ſubdue vnto their power the whole church militant, yet contrary to both theyr purpoſe, by working this waye, there begynneth to ryſe now a diuiſion in the body of the church. Like as when the diuiſion of the quicke innocent body was aſked, whē the two harlots did ſtryue afore Salomon: lyke as the ten tribes of Iſraell folowed Ieroboham the intruder, and were wythdrawen from the kyngdome for Salomons ſinne: euen ſo of old time the deſire of ruling hath drawen the great power of the world from the vnitye of the church. Let your ſelues remember, we beſeche you, how that all Greece dyd fall from the obedience of the Romiſh church in the time of the faction of ẏ primarche of Conſtantinople, and how Mahomet with his felowes by occaſion of the ſupremacie in eccleſiaſticall dignitie, deceaued a greate parte of Chriſtians, and withdrewe them frō the Empire and ruling of Chriſt. And now in theſe daies, where as the ſame ſupremacie hathe withdrawen it ſelfe from the obedience of it, in ſo much that now in very few realmes the candel that burnes afore ẏ Lord remaineth, & that for Dauids ſake his ſeruāt. And although now remayne fewe countreyes profeſſing the obedience of Chriſtes true vicare: yet peraduenture if euery man were left to his own libertie, he would doubt of ẏ preferring of your dignitie, or that is worſe, would vtterly refuſe it by ſuch doubtfull euidence alledged on both ſides: and this is the ſubtille craft of the croked ſerpent, that is to ſay, vnder ẏ pretenſe of vnitie, to procure ſchiſmes: as the ſpider of a wholeſome flower gathers poyſon, and Iudas learned of peace to make warre. Wherfore, it is liuely beleued of wyſe men, that excepte thys peſtilent ſchiſme be withſtand by and by, the keyes of ẏ church will be deſpiſed, & they ſhall binde the conſciences but of a fewe: and whan either none dare be bolde to correcte thys fault or to reforme thinges contrarye to Gods lawe, ſo by thys meanes at lengthe temporall Lordes will take awaye the liberties of the church, and peraduenture the Romanes will come and take awaye their place, people and landes: they will ſpoyle their poſſeſſions and bryng the men of the church into bondage, and they ſhall be contemned, reuiled and deſpiſed: becauſe the obedience of the people & deuotions towardes them will almoſt be taken away, whan the greater part of the church left to their owne libertie ſhall waxe prouder than they be wont, leauing a wicked example to thē that do ſee it. For when they ſee the prelates ſtudie more for couetouſnes than they were wont, to purſſe vp money, to oppreſſe the ſubiectes, in their puniſhinges to ſeke for gaine, to confound lawes, to ſtyrre vp ſtrife, to ſuppreſſe truth, to vexe poore ſubiectes with wrong corrections in meate and drinke, intemperate, in feaſtings paſt ſhame: what maruell is it if the people deſpiſe them as the fouleſt forſakers of Gods lawe? but all theſe things do follow if the church ſhould be left long in this doubtfulnes of a ſchiſme, and than ſhould that olde ſaying be verefied: in thoſe dayes there was no kyng in Iſraell, but euery one dyd that that ſeemed ryght and ſtraighte to himſelfe. Micheas did ſee the people of the Lord ſcattered in the mountaines as they had bene ſhepe without a ſhepeheard: for whan the ſhepeheard is ſmitten, the ſhepe of the flocke ſhall be ſcattered, the greate ſtroke of the ſhepeheard is the miniſhing of hys iuriſdiction, by which the ſubiectes are drawen frō hys obedience. Whā Iaſon had the office of the high prieſt, he chaunged the ordinaunce of God, and brought in the cuſtomes of the heathen, the prieſtes leauing the ſeruice of the holy alter, and applying themſelues to wraſting other exerciſes of the Grecians, and deſpyſing thoſe things that belonged to the prieſtes, dyd labour with all theyr might to learne ſuch thynges of the Grecians, and by that meanes the place, people, and holy oynting of prieſtes which in time paſt were had in great reuerence of the kings, was troden vnder foote of all men, and robbed by the kinges power and was prophaned by thruſting in for money. Therfore, let the higheſt vicar of Chriſt looke vnto thys with a diligent eye, and let hym be the follower of hym

Deſyre to rule in the church

Greece renounced the Romiſh church.

The kyng ſemeth here to propheſie.

by whom he hath gotten autority aboue others. If you marke well moſt holy father, you ſhall finde that Chriſt rebuked ſharply two brethren, coueting the ſeate of honour: he taught them not to playe the Lordes ouer the people, but the more grace they were preuented with, to be ſo much more humble then other, and more lowlye to ſerue their brethrē. To him that aſked his coate, to geue the cloke: to hym that ſmote him on the one chéeke, to turne the other to him. For the ſheepe that are geuen to his kéeping, he muſt forſake all earthlye thinges, and to ſhed his own bloud, yea & if nede required to dye. Theſe thinges I ſay be thoſe that adorne the higheſt Biſhop if they be in him, not purple, not his white horſe or his imperiall crowne, becauſe he among all men is moſt boūd to all the ſheepe of Chriſt. For the feare of God therefore, and for the loue of the flocke which ye guide, conſider theſe thinges diligentlye, and doo them wyſely, and ſuffer vs no longer to waner betwixt two: although not for your own cauſe, to whom peraduenture the fulnes of your own power is knowen: yet in pitieng our weaknes, if thou be he, tell vs openlye, and ſhew thy ſelf to the world, that all we may folow one. Be not to vs a bloudy biſhop, leaſt by your occaſion mans bloude bee ſhed, leaſt hel ſwallow ſuch a number of ſoules, and leaſt the name of Chriſt be euill ſpoken of by Infidels, through ſuch a worthy perſonage. But peraduenture ye wil ſay, for our righteouſnes it is manifeſt inough, and we wyll not put it to other mens diſputacions. If this balde anſwer ſhould be admitted, the ſchiſme ſhould cōtinue ſtil, ſeing neyther part is wylling to agree to the other: and where the world is as it were equally deuided betwyxt them, neither part can be compelled to geue place to the other without much bloodſhed. The incarnatiō of Chriſt and hys reſurrection was well inough knowen to hymſelfe and his Diſciples, yet he aſked of hys father to bee made knowen to the world. He made alſo the Goſpell to be written, and the doctrine of the Apoſtels, and ſent hys Apoſtles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the ſame thing might be knowen to all men. The foreſayd reaſon is the ſuttlety of Mahomet, the whych knowing himſelfe gilty of his ſect, vtterlye forbad dyſputations. If ye haue ſo full truſte of your ryghteouſnes, put it to the examination of worthy perſons in a generall councell, to the which it belongeth by right to define ſuch doubtes: or els cōmit it vnto able perſons, and geue them full power to determine all thinges concerning that matter: or at the leaſt by forſaking the office on both parties, leaue the church of God free, ſpeedelye to prouide for a new ſhepheard.

ſhops ght by Chſt not play the Lordes.

The right namente a true bi hop.

hall and

We finde, kinges haue forſaken their temporal kingdomes, vpon onely reſpect of deuotion, and haue taken the apparell of Monkes profeſſion. Therefore let Chriſtes Vicar (being a profeſſour of moſt hygh holynes) be aſhamed to continue in his ſeat of honor, to the offence of all people, & the preiudice & hurt of the Romiſh church, & the deuotion of it, & cutting away kingdoms frō it. But if you ſay, it is not requiſite that ẏ cauſe of gods church ſhould be called in controuerſie, & therfore we cannot ſo eaſely go from it, ſeing our conſcience gainſayth it. To the which we aunſwer, if it be the cauſe of God and the church, let the generall councell iudge of it: but if it be a perſonall cauſe (as almoſt all the world probablye thynketh) if ye were the follower of Chriſt, ye woulde rather choſe a temporall death, then to ſuffer ſuch a wauering, I ſay not, to the hurt of ſo many, but to the endleſſe deſtructiō of ſoules, to ẏ offence of the whole world, & to an euerlaſting ſhame of the apoſtolicall dignitie. Dyd not Clemence named (or ẏ I may more truly ſpeake) ordayned of S. Peter to the apoſtolike dignity, and to be biſhop, reſigne his righte, that his dede might be taken of his ſucceſſors for an example? Alſo Pope Siricius gaue ouer his popedome to be a comfort of the .xj. M. Vyrgins. Therefore much more ought you (if nede require) geue ouer your popedome, that you myght gather together the children of God which be ſcattered abroade. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defēd the cōmon right, euen to bloodſhed: ſo is it ſomtimes neceſſary for a man, to winke at his own cauſe, & to forſake it for a greater profit, and by ẏ meanes better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a deuil and Chriſtes enemy of all mē, that would agree to an election made of him for the apoſtolicall dignity and popedome, if it ſhoulde be to the deſtruction of Chriſtians, diuiſion of the church, the offēce and loſſe of all faythful people? If ſuch miſchiefs ſhould be knowen to all the world by Gods reuelation, to come to paſſe by ſuch receauing of the popedome and apoſtolicall dignity: then by the lyke reaſon, why ſhall hee not be iudged of all men an Apoſtata and forſaker of hys fayth, which chuſeth dignity or rather worldly honour, then the vnitie of the church? Chriſt dyed that he might gather together the children of God which were ſcattered abroad: but ſuch an enemy of God and the Church, wiſheth his ſubiectes bodely to dye in battell, & the more part of the world to periſh in ſoule, rather thē forſaking to be Pope, to lyue in a lower ſtate, although it wer honorable. If the feare of God, the deſire of the heauenly kingdom, and the earneſt loue of the vnity of the church do moue your hart, ſhewe in dede, that your workes may beare record to the truth.

like re. to bee erred be priuat.

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l coun for the pe.

Vnitie of the church to be preferred before worldly dignity.

Clement, and Siricius moſt holy Popes, not onely are not reproued, but rather are reuerenced of all mē, becauſe they gaue ouer their ryght for profitable cauſes, and for the ſame cauſe all the churche of holye men ſhewe forth their prayſe. Lykewyſe, your name ſhoulde lyue for euer and euer, if ye would do the lyke for a neceſſary cauſe, that is to ſay for the vnity of gods church. Geue no heede to vnmeaſurable cryinges of them that ſay, that the ryght of chuſing of Popes is loſt, except ye defend your part manfully: but be afrayd, leaſt ſuch ſtirrers vp of miſchief, looke for their owne commoditie or honor, that is to ſay, that vnder your wyng they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this ſorte, Achitophell was ioyned & abſolued in perſecuting his owne father, and falſ vſurping of his kingdom. Furthermore, there ſhould be no ieopardie to that election, bicauſe both parties ſticke ſtiſly to the old facion of electiō, and either of them couet the præeminence of the Romiſhe churche, counſellyng all Chriſtians to obey them. And althoughe through their geuing ouer, the faſhion of chuſing ẏ pope, ſhould be chaūged for a tyme: it were to be borne, rather then to ſuffer any lenger this diuiſion in Gods churche. For that faſhion in chuſing, is not ſo neceſſary required to the ſtate of a pope, but the ſucceſſour of the Apoſtle as neceſſarie cauſe required, might come in at the doore by another faſhion of chuſing, and that canonicall enough. And this we are taught manifeſtly by examples of the fathers: for Peter the Apoſtle apointed after him Clemēt, and that not by falſe vſurpyng of power, as we ſuppoſe. And it was thought, that that faſhion of appoyntyng of popes, was lawful vnto ẏ tyme of pope Hillary. Which decréed that no pope ſhould appoint his ſucceſſor.

The pope will not looſe hys dignitie for any publique tranquillitie.

Wicked flatterers about the pope.

Better that the order of the popes election ſhould ceaſe: then the church ſhould ſuffer any diuiſion.

Afterward, the election of the pope went by the clergy & people of Rome, & the Emperors cōūcel agreyng therto, as it apeareth in the electiō of ẏ bleſſed Gregory. But Martinus pope, with ẏ conſent of ẏ holy Sinode, graūted Charles ẏ power to chuſe ẏ pope. But of late Nicholas the 2. was the firſt whō Martin makes mentiō of in hys councels, to be choſen by the Cardinals. But all the Biſhops of Lumbardie (for the moſt part) withſtode this election, and choſe Cadulus to be Pope, ſaying that the pope ought not to be choſen, but of the precincte of Italy. Wherefore, we thincke it not a ſafeway, ſo earneſtly to ſticke to the traditions of men, in the faſhion of choſing the Pope, and ſo oft to chaunge, leaſt we be thought to

Biſhops of Rome appointed their ſucceſſours to the tyme of pope Hillary.

breake

Election of the pope not as was before.

Good counſail loſte.

Chriſtes ſeameles coat broken

The popes cōpared to the ſouldiors that curſed Chriſt.

A godly purpoſe if it had bene put in execution.

breake Gods traditions, concernyng the vnitie of the churche. Yea rather it were better yet to ordaine, a new faſhion of his election, and meter for him as it hath been afore. But all thynges concernyng the ſame electiō might be kept ſafe, if Gods honour were looked for afore your own, and the peace of the church were vprightly ſought: for ſuch a diſhonoryng ſhould be moſt honor vnto you, & that geuyng place ſhalbe the getting of a greater dignitie, and the willyng depoſing of your honour, ſhould obtaine you the entre of euerlaſtyng honor, and ſhould procure the loue of the whole world towarde you, and you ſhould deſerue to be exalted continually, as Dauid was in humblyng him ſelfe. O howe monſtrous a ſight and howe foule a monſter is a mans body diſfigured with ij. heades: So if it were poſſible, the ſpouſe of Chriſt ſhould be made ſo monſtrous, if ſhe were ruled with two ſuch heades: but that is not poſſible, ſhe is euer all together fayre, in whom no ſpot is founde, therefore we muſt caſt away that rotten member, and thruſter in of his ſecond head: We cānot ſuffer any longer ſo great a wickednes in Gods houſe, that we ſhould ſuffer Gods coate that wantes a ſeame, by any meanes to bee torne by the handes of two, that violently drawe it in ſonder. For if theſe twoo ſhould bee ſuffered to raigne together, they would ſo betwixte them teare in peeces that litle coate of the Lorde, that ſcarſe one péece would hange to an other. They paſſe the wickednes of the ſoldiours that curſed Chriſt: For they willyng to haue the coate remayne whole, ſayd: Let vs not cut it, but let vs caſt lottes for it whoſe it ſhalbe. But theſe two popes ſuffring their right & title to be tried by no lot nor way (althogh not in wordes yet in dedes) they pronūoce this ſentēce: It ſhal nether be thine nor mine, but let it be deuided, for they choſe rather as it appeareth to be Lordes (thoughe it be but in a litle part, and that to the confuſion of vnitie of ẏ church) then in leauing that Lording to ſeke for the peace of ẏ church. We do not affirme this, but we ſhewe almoſt the whole iudgement of the world of thē, beyng moued ſo to thinke by likely coniectures. We looked for amendemēt of this intollerable confuſion, by the ſpace that theſe two inuentours of this miſchief lyued. But we looked for peace, & beholde trouble: for neyther in their lyues nor in theyr deathes, they procured any cōfort, but rather dyeng as it were in a doubt betwixt ij. wayes, left to their ſucceſſors matter of cōtentiō continual. But now for ẏ ſpace of 7. yeares of their ſucceſſours, that whiche wee deſired and looked for afore (that is, they ſhould beare good grapes) and they bryng forth wilde grapes, into this matter we ſhould fall into a depe diſpayre. But in as much that we heare the comfort of the Lord, whiche promiſed that miſerably he woulde deſtroye thoſe wicked mē, and let his vineyard to other huſbandemen whiche will bryng hym frute at their times appointed, he hath promiſed faithfully that he will helpe his ſpouſe in her neede, to the ende of the worlde: and we leanyng on the ſure hope of this promiſe, and in hope contrary to hope beleuyng by Gods grace, will put our helpyng handes to eaſing of this miſery, when a cōuenient tyme ſhall ſerue, as much as our kyngly power is able, although our witte dothe not perceaue, howe theſe thynges afore rehearſed may be amended: yet wee being couraged to this by the hope of Gods promiſe, will do our endeuour, lyke as Abrahā beleued of his ſonne beyng ſlayne by ſacrifice, that the multitude of his ſeede ſhoulde encreaſe to the number of the ſtarres, accordyng to Gods promiſe. Now therefore the tyme drawes nere to make an end of this ſchiſme, leaſt a third election of a ſchiſmaticke agaynſt the Apoſtles ſucceſſour make a cuſtome of the doyng, and ſo the pope of Auinion ſhalbe a double Romiſhe pope, and he ſhall ſay with his partakers, as ẏ Patriarch of Cōſtātinople ſaid vnto Chriſts vicare whē he forſoke him: The Lord be wt thee, for the Lord is with vs. And is much to be feared of all Chriſtē men. For that Phariſe begyns now to be called the pope of Auinion among the people, but peraduenture it would be thoughte of ſome men, ẏ it belōgeth not to ſeculiar princes to bridle outrages of ẏ popes: to whō we aunſwere, that naturally the members put them ſelues in ieopardy for to ſaue the heade, and the partes labour to ſaue the hole. Chriſt ſo decked his ſpouſe, that her ſides ſhould cleaue together, and ſhould vpholde them ſelues, by courſe of tyme & occaſion of thynges, they ſhould correct one an other & cleaue together tunablie. Did not Moſes put downe Aaron, bycauſe he was vnfaythfull: Salomon put downe Abiather, who came by lineall diſſent from Anatoth, and remoued his prieſthood frō hys kinred to the ſtocke of Eliazar in the perſon of Sadocke which had his beginning from Ely the prieſte: 3. Reg. 2. Otho Emperour, depoſed Pope John the 12. bycauſe he was lecherous. Henry the Emperour put down Gratianus, bycauſe he vſed Simony in byeng and ſellyng ſpirituall liuyngs. And Otho depoſed pope Bennet the firſt, bycauſe he thruſt in him ſelfe. Therefore by like reaſon, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romiſh pope in defaulte of the church, if the qualitie of his faulte require it, or the neceſſitie of the churche by this meanes compel to helpe the church oppreſſed by tyranny. In old time, ſchiſmes which roſe about making of ẏ pope, wer determined by the power of ſecular princes: as ẏ ſchiſme betwixt Symachus & Laurēce was ended in a coūſel, afore Theodoricus kyng of Italie. Henry the Emperour, whē two did ſtriue to be Pope, he depoſed thē both, & receaued the third beyng choſen at Rome to be Pope, that is to ſay Clement the ſecond, whiche crowned hym with the Emperiall crowne. And the Romans promiſed hym ẏ frō thence forthe, they would promote none to be pope without his conſent. Alexander alſo ouercame 4. popes ſchiſmatikes, Al which Friderike ẏ Emperor corrected.

Seculare princes to bridle the outrages of the pope.

The pope and Phariſies, new crucifiers o Chriſt.

Popes pu downe b princes.

Thus loke on the regiſter of popes and their deedes, and ye ſhall finde ẏ ſchiſmes moſt commonly haue bēn deciſed by the powers of ſeculare princes, the ſchiſmatickes caſt out, and ſometimes newe popes made, and ſometimes the olde ones caſt out of their dignities, and reſtored to their olde dignitie again. If it were not lawfull for ſecular princes to brydell the outrages of ſuch a pope lawfully made, & afterward becōming a tirant: In ſuch a caſe he might oppres ouer muche the churche, he might change Chriſtendom into Heathenes, & make the labour of Chriſt crucified to be in vayne, or els truely God ſhould not haue prouided for his ſpouſe in earth by all meanes as much as is poſſible by ſeruice of men to withſtand dangers. Therfore we counſel you with ſuch a louing affection as becomes children, that ye conſider in your hart wel, leaſt in working by this means ye prepare a waye to Antichriſt, through your deſire to beare rule, and ſo by thys meanes as we feare the one of theſe twoo ſhall chaunce: Eyther ye ſhall cauſe all the princes of the world to ryſe againſte you to bring in a true follower of Chriſt to haue the ſtate of the Apoſtolicall dignitie, or that is worſe, the whole world deſpyſing the ruling of one ſhepeheard ſhall leaue the Ro. church deſolate. But God kepe thys frō the world, that the deſire of honour of two men ſhould brynge ſuch a deſolation into the church of God: for then that departing away which the Apoſtle prophecied, ſhould come afore the comming of Antichriſt, were at hand: which ſhould be the laſt diſpoſition of the world, peaceablye to receaue Antichriſt with honor. Conſider therfore the ſtate of your moſt excellent holines, how ye haue receaued power from God to the building of the church and not to the deſtruction, that Chriſt hath geuen you wyne and oyle to heale the wounded, and hath appoynted you hys vicare in theſe thyngs as pertain to gentlenes, and hath geuen vs theſe things which ſerue to rigour. For we beare not ẏ ſword without a cauſe to the puniſhment of euill doers, the

Lawfull that prin ſhould withſtand the tirann of the pop

The kyng ſeemeth here to prophesie of the deſolation of the Romaine pope.

„ whiche power ordained of God we haue receiued oure
„ ſelues beyng witnes: beſeche you to receaue our coūſell
„ effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may returne
„ to the places from whence they came, and ſo the waters
„ may beginne to be made ſweete with ſalt: leaſt the are
„ ſwimme on that water and the woode ſincke, and leaſt
„ the fruitfull olyue degender into a wilde oliue, and the
„ leaper of Naaman that noble man, cleaue continuallye
„ to the houſe of Giezy, and leaſt the pope and the Phare-
„ ſes crucifye Chriſt againe. Chriſt the ſpouſe of ẏ church
which was wont to bryng the chief byſhop into the holy
eſt place, encreaſe your holines, or rather reſtore it being
loſt. Written, &c. Ex fragmento libri cuiuſdā Dunelm,

The pope and Phariſeis, new crucifiers of Chriſt.

¶ This epiſtle of king Richard.2. writtē to pope Boniface the.ix. in the time of the ſchiſme, about the yeare as appeareth.1397. As it contayned much good matter of wholeſome counſayle to be folowed: ſo howe little it wrought wͭ the pope, the ſequel afterward declared. For the ſchiſme notwithſtanding, continued long after, in which neither of the Popes would geue ouer their hold, or yeld any thing to good counſaile geuen them, for any reſpect of publike wealth. Such a ſtroke beareth ambition in this apoſtolicall ſee, which we are wont ſo greatly to magnify. But of this inough, which I leaue and referre to the conſideration of the Lorde, ſeyng men wyll not looke vpon it.

Drawing now towarde the latter ende of kyng Richardes raygne, it remaineth, that as we dyd before in the time of king Edward ẏ thirde, ſo heere alſo we ſhew foorth a ſummary recapitulation of ſuch parlamentall notes and proceedinges, as then were practiſed by publike parlament in this kinges time, againſt the iuriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome: to thentent, that ſuch (if anye ſuch be) that thincke, or haue thought, the receauyng of the popes double autority to be ſuch an aūcient thing wͭ in this realme, may diminiſh his opinion: As euidentlye may appeare by diuers argumēts heretofore touched, concerning the electing and inueſting of biſhops, by the king. As where king Oſwyn commaunded Cedde to be ordained Archbiſhop of Yorke. Alſo wher king Egfride cauſed Cutbert to bee conſecrated biſhop of Dureſme. Where as Edmund alſo being nominate by the miracle of Cutbert, was brought to king Canute, and at his commaundement was inſtituted biſhop of the ſame ſee. Ex lib. Malmeſb, de geſtis pontif. Anglorum. And lykewyſe Math. Pariſienſis teſtifieth, that kyng Henrye the third gaue the Archbiſhopricke of Canterburye, to Radulphus then biſhop of London, and inueſted him wyth ſtaffe and ring. Alſo the ſame king gaue the biſhoprycke of Wint. to W. Gifforde: and moreouer, followyng the ſteppes both of his father and brother before him, endowed hym wyth the poſſeſſions pertaynyng to the ſayde biſhopricke (the contrarye ſtatute of pope Urbane, forbidding that clarkes ſhould receaue anye eccleſiaſticall dignitie at the hand of princes, or of any lay perſon to the contrary notwithſtanding) &c. Innumerable examples of like ſorte are to bee ſeene in auncient hyſtories of thys our realme. As alſo out of the parlament roles in the tyme of king Edward, hath ſufficiently been touched a litle before. Whereunto alſo maye be added, the notes of ſuch parlaments, as haue bene holden in the raygne of this preſent king Richard the ſecond, the collection wherof, in part here followeth.

¶ Notes of certayne parlamentes holden in the raygne of K. Richard.2. making agaynſt the pope.

IN the fyrſt yeare of king Richard.2. in the parlament holdē at weſtminſter, it was requeſted, and graunted: that the Popes Collector be willed no lenger to gather the firſt fruites of benefices within this realme, beyng a very nouelty, and that no perſon do any longer pay thē.

Item, that no man do procure anye benefice by prouiſion from Rome, on payne to be out of the kynges protection.

Tit 68. Item, that no Engliſhman do take to farme of any alien, any eccleſiaſticall benefice or prebende, on the lyke paine. In whych byll was rehearſed, that the French mē had.vi. thouſand poundes yearely of ſuche lyuynges in England.

Tit.77. Item, ẏ remedy might be had againſt the popes reſeruations to dignities electiue, the ſame being done agaynſt the treaty of the Pope, taken with king Edward.3.

Ex Anno.2. Tit.70. In the ſecond yeare of the ſaid kyng Richarde the ſecond, it was by petitiō requeſted: that ſome order might be taken touching Aliens, hauyng the greateſt parte of the church dignities in their hands. whereunto the kyng anſwered that by aduiſe of the Lordes, hee wyll prouide therefore.

Tit.71. Item, it was enacted, that all the benefices of Cardinals, and other rebels to pope Urbane that now is, ſhal be ſeaſed into the kinges handes.

Titu.78. An act that Pope Urbane was true and lawfull pope, and that the liuinges of all Cardinals and other rebels to the ſaid Pope, ſhould be ſeaſed into the kings handes, and the king to be anſwered of the profites thereof: And that whoſoeuer within this realme, which ſhall procure or obtaine any prouiſion or other inſtrument from anye other Pope then the ſame Urbane, ſhall bee out of the kinges protection.

Ex 3. Anno. Reg. Rich.2. Moreouer, in the thirde yeare of kyng Richarde the ſeconde, the Prelates and Clergye made their proteſtation in thys parliament, expreſſelye agaynſte a certayne newe graunt, to witte, their extortions: That the ſame neuer ſhoulde paſſe wyth their aſſente and good wyll, to the blemiſhing of the liberties of the churche, yf they by ẏ word extorcion, thei ment any thing largely to procede againſt Ordinaries and others of the churche. But if they ment none otherwyſe to deale hereafter therin, then before that tyme had bene done, then wold they conſent. whereunto it was replyed for the kyng, that neyther for the ſame their ſayde proteſtation, or other words in that behalfe, the king would not ſtay to graūt to hys Iuſtices in that caſe and all other caſes, as was vſed to be done in tymes paſt, and was bound to doo by vertue of his othe done at his coronation.

Here note well a ſtraunge proceding.

But marke the ſtraunge euent.

Tit.44. Furthermore, in the fourth yeare of the ſayd king Richard.2. it was requeſted, that prouiſion might be had againſt the Popes collectors, for leuieng of the firſt fruits of eccleſiaſticall dignities within the realme.

Tit 46. Item, that all Priors Aliens might be remoued out of their houſes, and liſenced to depart, and neuer to reuert. And that Engliſh men may be placed in their lyuynges, anſwering the king as they did.

Ex 9. Anno eiuſdē Regis. Tit.4. And in the.ix. yeare of the foreſaid king, touching matter of the Staple: the ſpeaker of the parlament pronounced, that hee thought beſt the ſame were planted wythin the realme, conſideryng that Calis, Bruges, and other townes beyonde the ſeas, grew verye riche thereby, and good townes here very much decayed, and ſo muche for the common profit. Touching the king he affirmed, that the ſubſidy and cuſtome of wool more yelded to the king when the ſtaple was kept in England by one thouſande markes yearely, then it did now being holden beyonde the ſeas.

Tit.36. Item, that inquiſition & redreſſe might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons, as vnder the liſence to purchaſe x.li. yearely, do purchace.lxxx.li. or. C.li.

Tit.44. Item, that all Clarkes aduaunced to anye eccleſiaſticall dignity or lyuing by the king, will graūt to the king the fyrſt fruites of their lyuinges, none otherwyſe then they woulde haue done to the Pope beyng aduaunced by hym.

Tit.24 In the xi. yeare of K. Richard 2. it was put vp by the peticions of the commons, that ſuch impoſitions as are gathered by the popes bulles of Volumus & imponimus of the tranſlations of B B. & ſuch lyke: might be imployde vpon the kinges wars againſt the ſchiſmatikes of Scotland. And that ſuch as bring into the realme the like buls and nouelryes may be reputed for traytors.

An.13. Regis Rich.2. Tit.24. In the 13. yeare of his reigne, folowed an other Parliament, in which although the Archb. of Canterbury and Yorke, for them and the whole clergie of their prouinces made their ſolempn proteſtations in open Parliament, that they in no wiſe meant or would aſſent to any ſtatute or law made in reſtraint of the popes authoritie, but vtterly withſtoode the ſame, willing this proteſtation of theirs to be enrolled: yet the ſayd proteſtation of theirs at that time tooke no great effecte.

Titu 43. Item, in the ſame Parliament was put vp by publike petition, ẏ the popes collector ſhuld be cōmaunded to auoyde the realme within xl. daies, or ells to be taken as the kinges enemie, & that euery ſuch collector frō hence forth, may be an Engliſhman and ſworne to execute the ſtatutes made in this Parliament.

Ex titu. 9. Moreouer, in the ſaid parlament, the yeare aboue ſaid of the king, the. xxvi. day of January, maiſter John Mādour clarke, was charged openly in the parlament, that he ſhould not paſſe, ne ſend ouer to Rome, ne attempt or do any thing there, touching the Archdeaconry of Durham in preiudice of the kyng, or of hys lawes, or of the party preſented thereto by the kyng, on peril that might enſue.

Ex an. 14. regis Richardi. ſecundi. tit. 6

The next yeare folowyng, whiche was the 14. of thys kynges reigne, it was enacted firſt touchyng the ſtaplers, that after the feaſt of the Epiphany next enſuyng, the ſtaple ſhould be remoued from Calyce into Englād, in ſuch places as are cōteined in the ſtatute made in 27. Edow. 3 the whiche ſtatute ſhould be fully executed: and further, that euerye Alyen that bryngeth marchaundiſe into the realme, ſhould find ſufficient ſurety to bye and cary away commodities of the realme, to halfe the value of his ſayd marchaundiſe.

Titul. 24.

Againſt vſury.

Item in the ſame Parliament petition was made, that agaynſte the horrible vice of vſurye them termed ſhiftes, practiſed aſwell by the clergy as layty, the order made by John Notte, late Maior of London, might be executed throughout the realme.

Ex tit. 19. Moreouer in the xv. yeare of the reigne of the foreſayd kyng, it was accorded: for that Syr william Briā knight had purchaſed from Rome, a Bull directed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Yorke, to excommunicate ſuche as had broken vp his houſe, and had taken away diuers letters, priuilegies, and charters. The ſame Bull beyng read in yͤ Parliament, was adiudged preiudiciall to the kynges crowne and in derogation of the lawes, for the whiche he was by the kyng, and aſſent of the Lordes cōmitted to the Tower, there to remaine at the kyngs will and pleaſure.

Vide Articulum. Tit. 29.

In the ſayd Parliament alſo, william Archbiſhop of Caunterburye maketh his proteſtation in open Parliament ſaying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any biſhop or to entermedle, for, or touching, any preſentment, to any eccleſiaſticall dignitie, recorded in any the kyngs courtes. He further proteſted, that the pope ought to make no tranſlations, to any Biſhopricke, within the realme agaynſt the kynges will: for that the ſame was to the deſtruction of the realme, and crowne of Englande, which hath alway ben ſo free, as the ſame hath had none earthly ſoueraine, but onely ſubiecte God in all thinges touchyng regalties, & to none other. The which proteſtation he prayde might be entred.

Ex An. 17. Reg. Rich. 2. Titul. 32.

In the xvii. yeare of the reigne of the kyng aforeſayd, it was deſired, that remedy might be had, againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſed their villaynes or vnderlyngs to marye free women inheritable, whereby the landes came to thoſe religious mens handes by colluſion.

43 Item, that ſufficient perſones myght bee preſented to benefices who may dwell on the ſame, ſo as theyr ſtocke for want therof do not periſh.

46 Item, that remedye might be had agaynſt the Abbots of Colcheſter and Abinton, who in their townes of Colcheſter and Colncham clayme to haue ſanctuary.

Ex an. 20. Reg. Rich. 2. tit. 22.

To come to the parlament holden in the. xx. yeare of this kinges raygne, we finde moreouer in the ſaid roles: how that the Aarchbiſhops of Canterburye and Yorke, for themſelues, and the Clergy of their prouinces, declared to the king in open parlamēt: that foraſmuch as they were ſworen to the Pope and ſee of Rome, if any thyng were in yͤ parlament attempted in reſtraint of the ſame, they would in no wyſe aſſent thereto, but vtterly wythſtand the ſame, the which their proteſtation they require to be enrolled.

Here the Arch. of Cant goeth contrary to him ſelfe.

Titu. 35. Upon the petition of the begging friars ther at large, it was enacted: that none of that order ſhould paſſe ouer the ſeas, wythout liſence of his ſoueraigne, nor that he ſhuld take vpon him no order of M. of Diuinity, vnles hee were fyrſte appoſed in hys Chapiter prouinciall, on payne to be out of the kinges protection.

Tit 36 Item, that the kinges officers for making arreſtes or attachmentes in churchyardes, are therefore excommunicated, wherof remedye was required.

Ex 21. a Reg. Rich. 2. tit. 15

In the yeare of the ſame kinges raigne. xxi. the parlament being holden at weſtminſter, we finde how the cōmons in full parlament, accuſed Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for that he as Chauncellour procured, & as chief doer executed the ſame commiſſion, made traiterouſly, in the tenth yeare of the kyng. And alſo that he the ſayd archbiſhop, procured the Duke of Gloceſter, and the Earles of Arundell and warwyke, to encroche them ſelues royall power, and to iudge to death Symon de Burley, and ſyr John Barners, without the kynges aſſente. whereon, the commons required that the ſame archbiſhop might reſt vnder ſafe keeping: wherunto, for that the ſame impeachmentes touched ſo great a perſon, they would be aduiſed

Ex tit.

Item, the. xxv. day of September, the commons prayed the kyng to geue iudgement againſt the ſayd Archbyſhop, accordyng to his deſertes. The king anſwered, that priuately the ſayd Archbiſhop had confeſſed to him, how he miſtooke himſelfe in the ſayde commiſſion, and therefore ſubmitted him ſelfe to the kinges mercy. wherefore the king, Lords, and ſyr Thomas Percy, proctor for the Clergy: adiudged the fact of the ſayde Archbiſhop to bee treaſon, and him ſelfe a traytour, and therfore it was ordered: that the ſayd Archbiſhop ſhoulde be baniſhed, hys temporalties ſeaſed, his landes and goods forfayted, as wel in vſe as in poſſeſſion.

Tho. Ar dell Arch of Cant. proued by a parlia

Ex tit.

The king further preſcribed, that the ſayd Archbiſhop ſhould take hys paſſing on Friday within. 6. weekes of Michaelmas, at Douer, towardes the partes of France.

1399

The de ſing of Richa the.

Thus hauing hetherto ſufficiently touched and comprehended ſuch thinges as haue happened in the reigne of this king, neceſſary for the church to know, by courſe of ſtory: we come now to the xxij. yeare of K. Richardes reigne, which is the yeare of our Lord, 1399. In the which yeare happened, the ſtraunge and alſo lamentable depoſing of thys kyng Richard the 2. aforeſayd, frō hys kingly ſcepter. Straunge, for that the lyke example hath not often ben ſeene in ſeates royall. Lamētable, for that it can not be but greuous to any good mans hart, to ſee him eyther ſo to deſerue, if he were iuſtly depoſed: or if he were vniuſtlye depriued, to ſee the kinglye title there not able to holde hys ryght, where by force, it is compelled to geue place to myght.

The ſtor ſtrange lamenta

Vices verti mingle Richar

As concerning the order and proces of whoſe depoſing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is ſufficiently contayned in Robert Fabian, and in the kings recordes, in the chronicle of S. Albans, and in other hyſtories at large, it were here tedious and ſuperfluous to intermedle with repeting therof. What were the conditions and properties of thys king, partly before hath been touched. In whom as ſome good vertues may be noted: ſo alſo ſome vices may ſeeme to be mixed with all. But eſpecially thys, that he ſtarting out of the ſteppes of hys progenitours, ceaſed to take parte with them, which tooke part with the Goſpell. Whereupon, it ſo fel not by the blinde wheele of fortune, but by the ſecret hand of him, which directeth all ſtates: that as he beganne to forſake the maintaynyng of the Goſpell of God, ſo the Lord God began to forſake hym. And where the protection of God beginneth to fayle, there can lacke no cauſes wherwithall to be charged, whō God once geueth ouer to mans puniſhmēt. So yͭ to me, conſidering the whole life and trade of thys prince, among all other cauſes alledged in ſtories agaynſte hym: none ſeemeth ſo muche to bee weede of vs, or more hurtfull to him, thē this forſaking of the Lord and of his word. Although to ſuch as liſte more to be certifyed in other cauſes concurring with all, many and ſondry defectes, in that king may appeare in ſtories, to the number of xxxiij. articles alleaged or forced rather agaynſt hym. In which, as I can not denie, but that he was worthye of much blame: ſo to be diſplaced therefore from his regall ſeate and rightfull ſtate of yͤ crowne, it may be thought perhaps, the cauſes not to be ſo rare or ſo materiall in a prince, which eyther coulde or ells woulde haue ſerued: had not

What it forſake maint of the Go pell.

Article laid ag K. Rich

be geuen ouer before to ſerue the Lord and his word,chuſing rather to ſerue the humore of the Pope and bloudy prelates,then to further the Lordes procedynges in preachyng of his woorde. And then,as I ſayd,how can enemies lacke,where God ſtandeth not to frende? or what cauſe can bee ſo litle, whiche is not able enough to caſt downe,where the Lordes arme is ſhortened to ſuſteyne? Wherfore,it is a point of principall wiſedom in a prince not to forget,that as he ſtandeth allwayes in nede of God his helpyng hand: ſo alwayes he haue the diſcipline and feare of him before his eyes, accordyng to the counſaile of the godly kyng Dauid. Pſal.2.

And thus much touchyng the tyme and caſe of this kyng Richard, with the tragicall ſtory of his depoſyng. The order and maner wherof purpoſely I pretermitte, onely contented briefly to laye together, a fewe ſpeciall thynges done before his fall,ſuch as may be ſufficient in a brief ſomme, both to ſatiſfie the reader inquiſitiue of ſuche ſtories,& alſo to forwarne other princes to beware the lyke daungers. In ſuch as write the lyfe and Actes of this prince,thus I read of him reported, yͤ he was much inclined to the fauoryng and aduaunſing of certein perſons about him,and ruled all by their counſaile, whiche were thẽ greatly abhorred and hated in the realme: The names of whom were Robert Weer, whõ the kyng had made duke of Ireland,Alexander Neuyle Archbiſhop of Yorke,Michael Attepoole Earle of Southfolke, Robert Triſilian lord chief Juſtice,Nicholas Brambre,wͭ other.

These men being hated and dyſdayned of diuers of the nobles,and of the commons,the king alſo by fauouring them,was leſſe fauoured himſelfe. In ſo much,that the Duke of Gloceſter,named Thomas Woodſtok the kinges Vncle,with the Earle of Warwike,and Earle of Darby:ſtood vp in armes againſt thoſe Counſailors & abuſers(as they named them)of the king. In ſo much that the kyng for feare,was conſtrayned agaynſte hys mynde to remoue oute of hys court,Alexander Neuyle archbiſhop of Yorke,John Forde biſhop of Dureſme, Frier Thomas Ruſhoke biſhop of Chicheſter yͤ kinges confeſſor,with the Lord Haringworth,Lord Burnell, and Bemond,Lord Weer,and diuers other. And furthermore,in the parlament the ſame yeare followyng, Robert Thriſylian the Juſtice was hanged and drawẽ. Alſo Nicholas Branbre knight,James Saliſbury alſo and James Barniſe both knightes, John Beuchamp yͤ kinges ſtuard,and John Blake Eſquire in lyke maner. All theſe by the counſayle of the Lordes being caſt in the parlament againſt the kinges mynde,did ſuffer,whych was in the.xj.of his raygne,he beyng yet vnder gouernours:But conſequently after the ſame,the kyng claymyng his owne libertie,being come to the age of.xx.began to take more vpõ him.And this was one thyng that ſtirred vp the kynges ſtomache agaynſt the nobles. Ex Chron.Alban.

2.An other thing that ſtyrred him vp aſmuche agaynſt the Londoners was this:for that he would haue borowed of them a thouſand pound,and they denyed hym, to their double and triple diſaduauntage, as after enſued vpon it,ibidem. An other occaſion beſide this, betwene the king and the Londoners happened thus, by reaſon of one of the biſhop of Saliſburies ſeruauntes,named Roman,and a Bakers man: who then carieng a basket of horſbread in fleeteſtreete,the foreſayde Roman, tooke a horſeloafe out of the basket. The Baker aſking why he did ſo,the biſhops luſtye yeman turned backe againe,and brake his heade: whereupon the neyghbours came out,and woulde haue areſted this Roman, but he eſcaped away into the biſhops houſe. Thẽ the Conſtable would haue had him out, but the byſhops men ſhut faſt the gates,that they ſhould not approch. Thus,much people gathered together,threatning to braſt opẽ the gates and fire the houſe,vnles they had the foreſayd partye to them brought out. Wherby much adoe there was,til at length the Maior and Shiriffs cam and quieted the rage of the commons,and ſent euery man home to his houſe, charging them to keepe peace. Here as yet was no great harme done,but if the biſhop for his part had ben quiet, & not haue ſtyrred the coales of debate,whych were wel ſlaked already,all had bene ended without further perturbation. But yͤ ſtomach of the biſhop not yet digeſted (although his mã had done the wrong)hauing no great cauſe ſo to do,whoſe name was John Waltã,being thẽ treaſorer of England:went to Thomas Arundel archbiſhop the ſame time of Yorke,and lord Chauncelour of England,to complayne of the Londoners. Where is to be noted,or rather reuealed by the way a priuy miſtery. which although be not in this ſtory touched of the wryters:yet it touched the hartes of the biſhops not a lyttle. For the Londoners at that tyme were notoriouſly knowen to be fauourers of Wyckliffes ſide, as partlye before is to be ſeen,and in yͤ ſtory of S.Albans more plainly doth appeare:Where the autor of the ſaid hiſtory,writing vpon the.xv.yeare of king Richards raygne,reporteth in theſe wordes of the Londoners, that they were Male creduli in deum et traditiones auitas,lollardorum ſuſtentatores,religioſorum detractores,decimarum detentores,et cõmunis vulgi depauperatores.&c. that is,not right beleuers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers:ſuſtainers of the Lollards:depriuers of religious men:withholders of tythes:& impoueriſhers of the common people.&c.

I. Waltam biſh. of Saliſb. make bate.

The. Arundel Archbiſh. of Yorke.

Londiners fauourers of Wickliffes doctrine.

Ex hiſtor. D. Albani cuius ſic habet initium. Anno gratiæ,&c.

Thus the Londoners beyng noted and ſuſpected of the biſhops,wer the more maliced(no doubt therfore)of the ſayd biſhops, which were the more readye to fynde and take all occaſions to woorke agaynſt them, as by their doing herein may well appeare. For the byſhop of Saliſbury,and Archbiſhop of Yorke, hauing no greater matter againſt them,then was declared: with a greuous complaynt went to the king,complaynyng of the Maior and Shiriffes of London. What treſpas the Maior and Shiriffes had done,as ye haue hearde before, ſo may you iudge. Nowe what folowed after let vs heare. The K. incenſed not a litle with the complaint of the Byſhops,conceiued eftſoones agaynſt the Maior and Shiriffes,and againſt the whole Citye of London, a great ſtomache. In ſo much,that the Maior and both the Shiriffes were ſent for,and remoued from their office. Syr Edward Darlyngton then was made warden and Gouernour of the Citye,who alſo for his gentlenes ſhewed to the Citizens,was alſo depoſed, and an other named ſir Baldwyn Radington,placed in that roome. Moreouer,ſo much grewe the kynges diſpleaſure agaynſt the Citye,that he alſo remoued from London the courtes and Tearmes to bee kept at Yorke, that is to ſaye, the Chauncery,the Eſchequire,the Kynges bench,the hamper,and the common place: where the ſame continued from Mydſommer,till Chriſtenmas,to the great decay of the Citie of London:which was.an.1393.

Londiners complained of to the king,by the biſhops.

Beati pacifici.

The court remoued from London to Yorke.

Thirdly,an other great cauſe which purchaſed the kyng much euill wyll among hys ſubiectes,was the ſecrete murtheryng of hys owne vncle named T.Woodſtocke,Duke of Glouceſter,of whõ mencion was made before,where was declared how the ſayde Duke, wyth the Earle of Arundell,the Earle of Warwike, and the Earle of Darby,with other,wer vp in armour againſt certayne wycked Counſailours about the king. Wherupon,the king watching afterward hys tyme, came to chellſford,and ſo to the place neare by, where the Duke lay:where wyth his own hands,he areſted the ſaid duke his vncle,& ſent him down by water immediatly to Calice. And ther through yͤ kings cõmaundement,by ſecret means was put to death,being ſträgled vnder a fetherbed,yͤ erle Marſhal being thẽ yͤ keper of Calis. Wherby great indignatiõ roſe in many mens harts againſt yͤ K.

The 3 preparatiue to the kings depoſing

The king areſting his owne Vncle,cauſed him to be put ſecretly to death.

With the ſame duke of Glouceſter alſo aboute the ſame tyme, was areſted & impriſoned the Earle of Warwicke, and the Earle of Arundell: who beyng condēned by Parliamēt, were thē executed, wherby great grudge and indignation roſe in the hartes of many agaynſt the kyng. an. 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blāke chartes ſent ouer all ẏ land by the king: & how the kyng was ſaid to let out this realme to ferme: Ouer & beſide al theſe aboue premiſed, fell an other matter, whiche was the principall occaſion of this miſchief: The baniſhmēt I mean, of Hēry Earle of Derby, & made duke of Hereford a litle before, beyng ſonne of John of Gaunt the duke of Lācaſter (who died ſhortly after the baniſhement of his ſonne and lyeth buried in the church of S. Paul in London) and the duke of Northfolke: Who was before earle of Notingham, and after by this kyng, made duke of Northfolke ẏ yeare before. At which time, the king made v. dukes, a Marques, and iiij. Earles to wit. Duke of Hereford, which was before Earle of Darby. Duke of Awmerle, which was before Earle of Rutland. Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent. Duke of Exceſter, whiche was before Earle of Huntinghton, & this duke of Northfolke, being before Earle of Notingham, as is a foreſaid &c. The occaſion of baniſhing theſe foreſayd dukes was this.

Erle of Notyngham made duke of Northfolke.

About this preſent time, the duke of Hereford did appeache the duke of Northfolke vpon certaine wordes to be ſpoken agaynſt the kyng. Wherupon, caſtyng theyr gloues one agaynſt the other, they appointed to fight out ẏ quarel, a day beyng for the ſame apointed at Couētry. But the kyng tooke vp the matter in his owne handes, baniſhyng the duke of Northfolke for euer, which after died at Venice. and the other duke whiche was the duke of Herforde, for x. yeares. Beſide theſe, alſo was exiled into France, Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by acte of Parliamēt, in the ſame yere, for pointes of treaſon, as ye haue heard aboue expreſſed, pag. 612. col. 2. lin. 23. All which turned to the great inconueniēce of this kyng, as in the euent folowyng may appeare.

The duke of Northfolke, & duke of Hereford baniſhed.

Tho. Arundel baniſhed as a traytour by parliament.

An. 1399

Theſe cauſes and preparatiues thus premiſed, it folowed the yeare after, whiche was an. 1399. & laſt yeare of this kyng, that the kyng vpon certaine affaires to bee done, toke his viage into Irelād. In which meane time: Henry of Bolingbroke, Earle of Darby, & duke of Hereford, & with him the foreſayd Archbiſhop Thomas Arūdell (whiche before were both exiled) returnyng out of Fraunce to Calyce, came into England, chalenging the Dukedome of Lancaſter, after the death of his father. With them alſo, came the ſonne and heyre of the Earle of Arundell, beyng yet but yong. Theſe together ſettyng out of Calyce, arriued at Rauenſpur in the North. At ẏ knowledge wherof, much people gathered vnto them.

In this meane time, as the Duke was houeryng on the ſea to enter the land: Lord Edmund Duke of Yorke the kinges vncle, to whom the king committed the cuſtodie of his realme (hauing intelligence thereof) called to him the biſhop of Chicheſter named Edmund Stafford Chauncelour of the realme, and W. Scroope Earle of Wiltſhiere lord treaſorer, alſo John Buſhey, W. Bagot, Hēry Grene, and John Ruſchel, with diuers other, conſulting with them what was beſt in that caſe to bee done. Who then gaue their aduiſe (whether wylfull or vnſkilfull, it is not knowen, but very vnfruitful) that he ſhould leaue London, and go to S. Albons, ther to wait for more ſtrength able to encoūter with the Duke. But as the people oute of diuers quarters reſorted thether, many of them proteſted that they would doo nothing to the harme and preiudice of the duke of Lancaſter, who they ſayd, was vniuſtlye expulſed. The reſt then of the Counſail, J. Buſhey, W. Bagot, Henry Grene, Wylliam Scrope treaſorer, hearing and vnderſtanding how the commons were mynded to ioyne wyth the duke of Herford, left the duke of Yorke, and the lord Chauncelor, and fled to the Caſtel of Briſtow. Where is to be vnderſtand, that theſe foure were they to whom the common fame ran, that ẏ K. had let out his realme to farme: and wer ſo hated of the people, that it is to bee thought, that for the hatred of thē more then for the kyng, thys commotion was among the people.

What co... company doth ab... a kyng.

As this broyle was in Englande, the noyſe thereof ſounding to the kinges eares, beyng then in Irelande, for haſty ſpede of returning into England, left in Ireland both hys buſines, and moſt of hys ordinaunce alſo behinde him. And ſo paſſyng the ſeas, landed at Milford hauen, not daryng as it ſemed to come to London.

K. Rych... returne... frō Ire... to Milf... hauen.

On the contrary ſide, vnto Henry duke of Hereford beyng landed as is ſayd in the North, came the Earle of Northumberlād, Lord Henry Percy, and Henry his ſonne: the Earle of Weſtmerland L. Radolfe Neuyle, and other Lordes mo to a greate number, ſo that the multitude roſe to 60000. able ſouldiours. Who firſte makyng towarde the caſtle of Briſtowe tooke the foreſayd Buſhey, Grene, Scrope, and Bagot: of whom, iii. incontinent were beheaded. Bagot eſcappyng away fled to Ireland.

The kyng in this meane while, lyeng about Wales, deſtitute & deſolate without comforte or counſaile, who neither durſt come to London, neither would any man come to hym, & perceauyng moreouer, the commōs that were vp in ſuch a great power agaynſt him, would rather dye, then geue ouer that they had begon, for feare of thē ſelues: Seyng therfore no other remedy, called to hym L. Tho. Percy earle of Worceſter, and ſtuard of his houſhold, willing him with other of his familie, to prouide for them ſelues in tyme. Who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, cōmaundyng euery man to ſhift for him ſelfe. Although Fabian and ſome other ſay, that he did this of his own accord, cōtrary to his allegeāce. The kyng compaſſed on euery ſide with miſeries, ſhifted frō place to place, the duke ſtill folowing him, till at lēgth beyng at the caſtle of Conewey the kyng deſired to talke with Tho. Arundell Archb. and the Earle of Northumberland: To whom he declared, that he would reſigne vp his crown, in condition that an honorable liuing might be for him prouided, and life promiſed to viii. perſons ſuch as he would name. Whiche beyng graunted and ratified. but not performed, he came to the caſtle of Flint, where (after talke had with the duke of Lancaſter) he was brought the ſame night by the duke and his armey to Cheſter: And from thence was conueyed ſecretly into the tower, there to be kept till the next Parliament. By the way as he came nere to London, diuers euill diſpoſed men of the citie beyng warned thereof, gathered them ſelues thinkyng to haue ſlain him, for the great crueltie he had vſed before toward the citie. But by the policies of the Maior & rulers of the Citie, the madnes of the people was ſtayd. Not long after folowed the duke, and alſo began the Parliament. In which Parliament, ẏ Earle of Northūberland with many other Earles & Lordes were ſent to the king in the Tower, to take of him a full reſignatiō according to his former promiſe, and ſo they dyd. Thys done, diuers accuſations and articles were layd and engroſſed againſt the ſaid king, to the number of 33. ſome ſay 38. which for the matter not greatly materiall in them contayned, I ouer paſſe. And the next yeare after was had to Pomfret caſtel, and there famiſhed to death. murdred.

K. Rych... forſaken... his ſubie...

What for a P... to be b... ued of... ſubie...

K. Rich... agreed... reſigne... crowne.

The ki... commi... to the towre.

¶ King Henry the fourth.

AND thus king Richard by cōmon aſſent being depoſed from his rightfull crowne: The Duke of Lancaſter was led by Tho. Arundel tharchbiſhop, to the ſeate royall: who there ſtanding vp, and croſſing him ſelfe on the forehead and the breſt, ſpake in wordes as foloweth.

> In the name of God, amen. I Henry of Lancaſter clayme the realme of England and the crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am deſcended by ryght lyne of the bloud comming from that good Lorde K. Henry 3. And through the ryght that God of hys grace hath ſent to me with the helpe of my kinne and of my frendes to recouer the ſame, which was in poynt to be vndone for defaulte of good gouernaunce, and due iuſtice. &c.

The w... of He... Duke... ming... crown...

After which wordes, tharchb. aſking the aſſēt of the people, being ioyful of their new king: toke the duke by the hand, & placed him in the kingly throne, whych was an. 1399. and ſhortly after by the foreſayde archb. he was crowned alſo for kyng of England. Ex chron. D. Alban

K. Hen... inthro... & crow...

140...

The next yeare after, followed a parlament holden at Weſtminſter, in whyche parlament, one Wylliam Sautre, a good man and a faythfull prieſt, inflamed with zeale of true religion, required he might be hearde for the cōmodity of the whole realm. But the matter being ſmelt before by the biſhops, they obtayned that the matter ſhould be referred to the conuocation: where the ſayd William Sautre being brought before the biſhops and Notaries therunto appoynted, the conuocation was differred to the Saterday next enſuing.

W. Sa... Mar...

W. Sa... broug... fore th... ſhops... the co... cation.

When Saterday was come, that is to ſay, the xij. day of February, Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of his counſaile prouinciall beyng aſſembled in the ſayd chapiter houſe, agaynſt one Syr William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chatris, chapleine, perſonally then and there appearyng by the cōmaundement of the foreſayd Archb. of Canterbury, obiected: that the ſayd Sir William before the Byſhop of Norwiche, had once renounced and abiured diuers and ſondry concluſiōs heretical and erroneous: and that after ſuch abiuratiō made, he publiquely and priuely, held, taught, and preached, the ſame concluſions or els ſuch lyke, diſagreyng to the catholique faith, & to the great peril and pernitious example of others. And after this, he cauſed ſuch like concluſions holden and preached as is ſayde, by the ſayd Syr William without renunciation, then and there to bee reade vnto the ſayde Archbyſhoppe, by maiſter Robert Haull, Chauncelor vnto the ſayde Byſhop in a certaine ſcrole written, in tenour of woordes as foloweth.

Syr William Chatris otherwiſe called Sautre, pariſh prieſte of the churche S. Scithe the virgine in London, publiquely and priuely doth hold theſe concluſions vnder written.

¶ In Primis, he ſayth, that he will not worſhip the croſſe on whiche Chriſt ſuffered, but onely Chriſt that ſuffered vpon the croſſe.

2 Item, that he would ſoner worſhip a temporall king, then the foreſaid woodden croſſe.

3 Item, that he would rather worſhyp the bodyes of saints, then the very croſſe of Chriſt, on which he honge, if it were before him.

4 Item, that he would rather worſhyp a man truly contrite, then the croſſe of Chriſt.

5 Item, that he is bound rather to worſhip a man that is predeſtinate, then an aungell of God.

6 Item, that if any man would viſite, the monumentes of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the Toumbe of S. Thomas or els any whither els, for the obtaynyng of a temporall benefite: he is not bounde to keepe hys vowe, but that he may diſtribute the expēſes of his vowe vpon the almes of the poore.

7 Item, that euery prieſt and deacon is more bounde to preach the word of God, thē to ſay the canonical houres.

8 Item, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramentall wordes of the body of Chriſt, the bread remayneth of the ſame nature that it was before, neyther doth it ſeas to bee bread.

To whiche concluſions or articles beyng thus read, the Archb. of Canterbury required the ſaide Syr William to aunſwere. And then the ſayd William aſked a copie of ſuch articles & concluſions, & a competent ſpace to aunſwer vnto the ſame. Wherupon, the ſayd Archbiſhop cōmaunded a copy of ſuch articles or concluſiōs, to be deliuered then and ther vnto the ſayd Syr Williā, aſſigning the Theuſday then next enſuyng to him to deliberate and make aunſwere in. When Thurſday the ſaid day of apparāce was come, maiſter Nicholas Rishton, auditour of the cauſes and buſines belonging to the ſayd Archbiſhop (then beyng in the Parliament houſe at Weſtminſter otherwiſe let) continewed the ſayd conuocation with all matters riſing, dependyng and appartinent therunto, by commaundement of the ſaid Biſhop, vntill the next morow at eight of the clocke. When the morow came, beyng Friday, The foreſayd Syr Williā Sautrie, in the chapter houſe before the ſaid Biſhop and his counſaile prouinciall then and there aſſembled, makyng his perſonall apparance, exhibited a certeine ſcrole containyng the aunſweres vnto certeine articles or concluſions, giuen vnto hym as is aforeſayd by the ſayd Biſhop: and ſayd, that vnto the foreſayd Archbiſhop, he deliuered the ſame as his aunſwere in that behalfe, vnder ye tenour of ſuch wordes as folow.

I William Sautrie prieſt vnworthy, ſay and aunſwer, that I will not, nor intend not to worſhip the croſſe wheron Chriſt was crucified, but only Chriſt that ſuffered vpon the croſſe: ſo vnderſtanding me, that I will not worſhip the materiall croſſe, for the groſſe corporall matter: yet notwithſtandyng I will worſhip the ſame as a ſigne, token, and memoriall of the paſſion of Chriſt *Adoratione vicaria*. And that I will rather worſhyp a temporall kyng, then the foreſayd woodden croſſe, as the materiall ſubſtance of the ſame. And that I will rather worſhyp the bodyes of ſaintes, then the very croſſe of Chriſt wheron he honge: with this additiō, that if the very ſame croſſe were afore me, as touchyng ye materiall ſubſtāce. And alſo that I will rather worſhyp a man truly confeſſed and penitent, then the croſſe on whiche Chriſt honge, as touchyng the materiall ſubſtance.

The croſſe materially not to be worſhipped

And that alſo I am bound, and wyll rather worſhip him whom I know to be predeſtinate, trulye confeſſed & contrite, then an Angell of God: for that the one is a mā of the ſame nature with the humanity of Chriſt, and ſo is not a bleſſed Angel. Notwithſtanding, I wil worſhip both of them, according as the wyll of God is I ſhould.

A man predeſtinate rather to be worſhipped than an angell, that is to ſay, neither can bee worſhipped without idolatry.

Alſo, that if any man hath made a vowe to viſite the Shrines of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, or to go on pilgrimage vnto ſaint Thomas tombe, or any whither els to obtayne any temporall benefit or commoditye: he is not bound ſimply to keepe his vowe, vpon the neceſſity of ſaluation. But that he maye geue the expences of his vowe in almes amongeſt the poore, by the prudent counſayle of hys ſuperiour, as I ſuppoſe.

And alſo I ſaye, that euerye Deacon and Prieſt, is more bound to preach the word of God, then to ſaye the Canonicall houres, according to the primatiue order of the church.

Alſo, touching the interrogation of the Sacrament of the aulter: I ſay, that after the pronouncing of the ſacramentall wordes of the bodye of Chriſte, there ceaſeth not to be very bread ſimply, but remayneth bread, holy, true, and the bread of lyfe: and I beleue the ſayde ſacrament to be the verye bodye of Chriſt, after the pronouncing of the ſacramentall wordes.

How bread remayneth in the ſacrament.

When all theſe anſwers were throughlye by maiſter Robert Hall, directlye and publikely there reade: the foreſayd Archb. of Canterbury inquired of the ſayd ſir William, whither he had abiured the foreſayd hereſies and errours obiected againſt him, as before is ſayd, before the biſhop of Norwich or not or els had reuoked and renounced the ſayd or ſuch lyke concluſions or articles, or not? To which he anſwered and affirmed, that he had not. And then conſequently (all other articles, cōcluſions, and anſwers aboue written, immediatly omitted) the ſaid archb. examined the ſayd ſir William Sautre, eſpecially vpon the ſacrament of the aulter. Fyrſt, whither in the ſacrament of the aulter after the pronoūcing of the ſacramentall wordes, remayneth verye materiall bread or not. Unto which interrogation, the ſayd ſir William ſomwhat waueringly ſayd and anſwered, that he knew not that. Notwithſtanding he ſayde, that there was very bread, becauſe it was the breade of lyfe whych came downe from heauen. After that, the ſayde archbiſhop demaūded of him, whither in the ſacrament after the ſacramentall wordes ryghtlye pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread remayneth, whych dyd before the wordes pronounced, or not? And to this queſtion the foreſayde Wylliam anſwered in lyke maner as before, ſaying, that there was bread, holye, true, and the breade of lyfe. &c. After that, the foreſaid archbiſhop aſked him, whether the ſame materiall breade before conſecration, by the ſacramentall wordes of the prieſt rightly pronoūced, be tranſubſtantiated from the nature of bread, into the very body of Chriſt, or not? Wherunto ſir William ſayd, that he knew not what that matter ment. And thē the ſayd archb. aſſigned vnto the ſayd ſir William, time to deliberate, and more fullye to make hys aunſwer tyll

The conuocation continued

the next daye: and continued this conuocation then and there vntyll the morrow. Which morrowe, to wyt, the xix. day of February being come: the foreſayd archb. of Canterbury, in the ſayd chapter houſe of S. Paule in London, before his counſell prouinciall, then and there aſſembled, ſpeciallye aſked and examined the ſayde Syr William Sautre there perſonally preſent, vpon the ſacrament of the aulter, as before. And the ſame ſir William againe in lyke maner as before, aunſwered. After this, amongeſt other things the ſayd biſhop demaunded of the ſayd William, if the ſame material breade beyng vpon the alter after yͤ ſacramental wordes being of the prieſt rightly pronounced, is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt, or not? And the ſayde ſir Wylliam ſayd he vnderſtoode not what he ment. Then the ſayde Archbiſhop demaunded, whither that materiall breade being round and whyte, prepared and diſpoſed for the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt vpon the aulter, wanting nothing that is meete and requiſite therunto, by the vertue of the ſacramentall wordes being of the prieſt rightly pronounced, be altered and chaunged into the verye bodye of Chriſt, and ceaſeth anye more to be materiall and very bread, or not? Then the ſayd ſir William deridingly anſwering, ſayd he could not tell. Then conſequently the ſayd archb. demaunded, whether he woulde ſtand to the determination of the holye churche or not, which affirmeth: that in the ſacramēt of the aulter, after the wordes of conſecration, being ryghtlye pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaſeth any more to be bread. To this interrogation, the ſayd ſir William ſayd: that he would ſtande to the determination of the church, where ſuch determination was not contrary to the wyll of God. Thys done, he demaunded of him agayne, what hys iudgemēt was concerning the ſacrament of the aulter: Who ſayde and affirmed, that after the woordes of conſecration by the prieſt duly pronoūced, remaineth very bread: & the ſame bread, which was before the wordes ſpoken. And this examination about the ſacrament laſted from. viij. of the clocke of the ſame daye, vntill. xj. of the clocke or there abouts: in ſo muche, that during all this tyme, the foreſayd W. would no otherwiſe aunſwer: neither yet touching the ſame ſacrament, receaue catholike information, according to the inſtitutiō of the popes church and hys chriſtian faithe. Wherefore, the ſaid Canterburye, by the counſail and aſſent of his whole couente then and there preſent: did promulgate and geue ſentence by the mouth of Robert Hall, agaynſt the ſame ſir Wylliam Sawtre (being perſonallye preſent, & refuſing to reuoke his hereſies, yͤ is to ſay his true doctrine, but cōſtātly defēding the ſame) vnder the tenour of words as foloweth.

W. Sawtrey again examined

Determination of the church ſo to be followed as it is ioyned to the will of God.

The ſentence againſt W. Sautre.

IN the name of God, Amen: we Thomas by the grace of God archbiſhop of Cāterbury, primate of Englād, and Legate of the ſee Apoſtolical: by the autoritie of god almighty, and bleſſed ſaynt Peter and Paule, and of holy church, and by our own autority ſytting for tribunall or chiefe iudge, hauyng God alone before our eyes: By the counſell and conſent of the whole clergy, our fellowe brethren, and ſuffragans aſſiſtaunce vnto vs in thys preſent counſell prouinciall, by this our ſentence difinitiue, do pronounce, decree, and declare by theſe preſents, thee wylliam Sawtre, otherwyſe called Chawtrey paryſhe prieſt pretenſed, perſonally appearing before vs, in and vpon the crime of hereſy: iudicially and lawfully conuict as an heretick, and as an heretike to be puniſhed.

Which ſentence diffinitiue being thus read: the foreſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury continued the ſame prouinciall councell, tyll wedenſday next and immediatlye inſuing, to wit, the. xxiiij. day of the ſame moneth of February, which being expired: the biſhop of Norwich, according to the commaundement of the ſayd archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſented vnto the foreſayde Wylliam Sawtry by a certaine friende of hys, beyng preſent at the ſame councell, a certaine proceſſe incloſed and ſealed wyth hys ſeale, giuing the names of credible wytneſſes ſealed with their ſeales: the tenour whereof foloweth in this wyſe.

Memorandum, that vpon the laſt daye of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1399. in the. vij. indiction and. x. yere of the papacy of Pope Boniface the. 2. In a certain chamber within the manor houſe of the ſayde byſhop of Norwich, at South Helinham (where the regiſter of the ſaide biſhop is kept) before the houre of. ix. in a certayne chappell within the ſayd manour ſituate, and the fyrſt day of May, then next and immediatlye inſuing: in the foreſayd chamber, ſir William Chatris, pariſhe prieſt of the church of S. Margaret in the towne of Lynne, appeared before the biſhop of Norwiche, in the preſence of John de Derlington, archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, Frier Walter Diſſe, and John Rikinghall profeſſours in diuinitye, William Carlton doctour of both lawes, and W. Friſbey, with Hugh Bridham publike Notaries: and there publikelye affirmed and helde, the concluſions, as before is ſpecified.

A certayne proceſſe againſt W. Sautre preſented by the biſh. of Norwiche.

All and ſingular the premiſſes the foreſaid William affirmed vpon mature deliberation. And afterwards to wyt, the xix. day of May in the yeare, Indiction, and papacie aforeſaide, in the chapple within the manor houſe of the ſayd Henry biſhop of Norwich, ſituat at South Helinham: The foreſayd ſir William, reuoked and renounced all and ſingular the foreſayd hys concluſions: abiuring and correcting all ſuche hereſies and errours, taking hys othe vpon a booke before the foreſayd Henry biſhop of Norwiche, that from that tyme forwarde he would neuer preach, affirme, nor hold, priuely nor apertly the foreſayd concluſions. And that he would pronoūce according to the appoyntment of the ſayd byſhop, the foreſaid concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies, in the paryſh churches of Lynne and Tilney & in other places at the aſſignment of the ſayd biſhop. And farther ſware, that he would ſtand to the ordinance of the ſayd biſhop, touching the premiſſes, in the preſence of the diſcret and worſhipfull men afore recited with diuers others moe.

As concerning the firſt concluſion that he ſayd he would not worſhip the croſſe, &c. he confeſſed hymſelf to haue erred and that the article was erroneous and ſubmitted hymſelf. Alſo as touching the ſecond article, that he ſayd he would rather worſhip a king, &c. he confeſſed hymſelfe to haue erred and the article to be erroneous and ſubmitted hymſelf, and ſo forth of all the reaſt.

Then next after this, vpon the xxv. day of May in the yeare of our Lorde aforeſayd, in the churchyarde of the chapple of S. James within the towne of Lynne: The foreſayd William, in preſence of the foreſayd byſhop and clergie and the people of the ſayd towne of Lenne ſtanding round about: publiquely declared in hys Engliſhe tonge, the foreſaid concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies, as was contayned in a certayne ſcrole. And after this, the xxvj. day of May in the yeare aboueſayd, in the church of the hoſpitall of S. Johnes of yͤ ſayd towne of Lynne: The ſayd ſir William, before the ſaid biſhop ſitting as iudge, ſware and tooke hys othe vpon the holy Euangeliſtes that he woulde neuer after yͤ time preach openly & publiquely the foreſayd concluſions, nor would heare the confeſſions of any of the ſubiects of hys dioces of Norwich, without the ſpeciall licence of the ſayd byſhop, &c. In the preſence of Fryer John Smermen, M. John Rikynghale, doctour of diuinitie, W. Carlton doctour of both lawes, & Thomas Bulton officer of the liberty of Lynne aforeſayd with diuers others.

¶ The tenour of the ſcrole and recantation.

In primis, touching the firſt and ſecond, where I ſaid, 1
that I would adore rather a tēporall prince, & the liuely 2
bodyes of the ſaintes then the wodden croſſe, wherupon the Lord dyd hange, I do reuoke and recante the ſame, as being therin deceaued.

3 To this I ſay, that ẏ article is falſ & erroneous, & by falſ informacion, I held it, ẏ which I renounce & aſke forgeuenes thereof, and ſay that it is a precious relique, and that I ſhall hold it while I lyue, and that I ſweare heare.

4 I know well that I erred wrongfully, by falſe informacion: for I wot well, that a Deacon or a prieſt is more bounde to ſay his Matines and Houres, then to preach, for therto he is boūdē by right, wherfore I ſubmit me. &c

5 Touchyng that article, I know well that I erred by falſe informacion. wherfore I aſke forgeuenes.

6 As concerning vowes, I ſay, that opinion is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe informacion I helde it, for a man is holden to hold his vowe. &c.

7 To the 7. article I ſay, ẏ I dyd it, by autoritye of prieſthood, where through I knowledge wel that I haue gilt and treſpaſſed, wherfore I ſubmit me to God and to holy churche, and to you father, ſwearyng that I ſhall neuer hold it more.

8 To ẏ 8. I ſay, that I held it by falſ & wrong informatiō. But now I know well that it is hereſy, and that bread anone as the woorde of the Sacramente is ſayde, is no longer bread materiall, but that it is turned into very Chriſtes body and that I ſweare heare.

9 I ſay that this is falſe and erroneous. &c.

10 I ſay as I ſayd. &c.

This beyng done, the xxij. day of February aforeſaid in the yeare of our Lord. 1400. in the Chapter houſe of S. Paule in Lōdon aforeſayd: The foreſayd Archbiſhop of Canterbury, In the conuocation of his prelates and clergy and ſuch lyke men there being preſent, cauſed the fore recited proces of the Biſhop of Norwiche to be read openly and publiquely to Syr William Sautrie otherwiſe called Chatris. And afterward, he axed the ſayd ſir William, whether he plainly vnderſtood and knew ſuch proces and the cōtentes within the ſame, and he ſayd ye. And further he demaunded of him, If he would or could ſay or obiect any thyng agaynſt the proces, and he ſayd no. And after that incontinent, the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Canterbury demaūded and obiected agaynſt the ſayd Syr William as diuers others more did: That after he had before the Byſhop of Norwiche, reuoked and abiured Iudicially diuers errours and hereſies, that among other errours, and hereſies by hym taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed: That in the Sacrament of the aulter after the cōſecration made by the prieſt as he taught, there remained materiall bread: which hereſie amongeſt others as errours hee alſo abiured before the foreſaide Byſhop of Norwiche. Herevnto the foreſayd William aunſwered ſmilyngly or in mockyng wyſe, ſaying, and denying that he knew of the premiſſes. Notwithſtādyng, he publiquely affirmed that he helde and taught the foreſayd thynges after the date of the ſayd proceſſe made by the ſayd Biſhop of Norwich, and that in the ſame councell alſo he held the ſame. Then finally, it was demaunded of the ſayd Syr William, why he ought not to bee pronounced as a man fallen into hereſie, and further to procede vnto his degradation, accordyng to the canonical ſanctions: wherunto he anſwered nothyng, neyther could he alleadge any cauſe to the contrary.

Wherupon, the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Canterbury by the counſaile and conſent of the whole Councell, and eſpecially by the counſaile and aſſent of the reuerend fathers and Byſhops, as alſo, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other worſhipfull doctours and clerkes thē and there preſent in the councell: That he had decréed to procede to the degradation, and actuall depoſing of the ſayd Williā Sautrie, as refallen into hereſie, & as incorrigible, accordyng to the ſentence definitiue put in wrytyng, the tenour wherof is in wordes as foloweth.

¶ In the name of God Amen: wee Thomas by the grace of God Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Legate of the
ſee Apoſtolicall and Metropolitane of all England: do
finde and declare, that thou william Sautrie otherwyſe
1 called Chatris prieſt, by vs with the counſaile and aſſent
2 of all and ſingular our felow brethren & hole cleargy, by this our ſentence difinitiue declared in wrytyng, haſt ben for hereſie conuicte and condemned, and arte (beyng agayne fallen into hereſie) to be depoſed and degraded, by theſe preſentes.

And from that day beyng Wedenſday, there was in the ſayd councell prouinciall nothyng further proſecuted, but was continewed with all dependentes, till the Friday next inſuyng. Which Friday approchyng, maiſter Nicholas Riſhton, by the commaundement of the ſayd Archbiſhop of Canterbury, beyng thē buſied as he ſayd in the Parliamente houſe: cōtinewed this counſell and conuocation with all incidentes, dependentes, and occaſions, growyng and annexed therevnto, to the next day to wit Saterday, next & immediatly after inſuyng. Vpon Saterday beyng the xxvi. day of the ſayd moneth of February, the foreſayd Archb. of Caunterbury, ſate in the Byſhops ſeate of the foreſayd churche of S. Paul in London, and ſolemply appareled in his Pontificall attire, ſitting with him as his aſſiſtentes theſe reuerend fathers and Byſhops, of London, Lyncolne, Harford, Exeter, Meneuenſis & Roffenſis Epiſcopi, aboue mentioned: commaunded and cauſed the ſayd Syr William Sautry appareled in prieſtly veſtimentes, to be brought and appeare before him. That done, he declared and expounded in Engliſhe to all the clergye and people there, in a great multitude aſſembled: that all proces was finiſhed and ended agaynſt ẏ ſayd Syr Williā Sautrie. Which thyng finiſhed, before the pronouncyng of the ſayde ſentence of the Relapſe agaynſte the ſayd Syr William as is premiſed, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he ſawe the ſayd Williā in that behalf, nothyng abaſhed: He proceded to his degradation and actuall depoſition in forme as foloweth.

In nomine patris' et filij et ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. We Thomas by Gods permiſſion Archb. of Cant. Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſee: do denoūce thee william Sautre otherwyſe called Chantris, chaplin fayned, in the habite and aparell of a prieſt, as an heretique and one refallen into hereſie by thys our ſentence definitiue, by counſaile, aſſent, and authoritie, to be condemned: And by concluſion alſo of all our fellow brethrē, fellowe biſhops, prelates, counſaile prouinciall, and of the whole clergie: do degrade and depriue thee of thy prieſtly order. And in ſigne of degradation and actuall depoſition from thy prieſtly dignitie, for thine incorrigibilitie & want of amendmēt: we take frō thee the patent and chalice, & do depriue thee of all power and autoritie of celebrating maſſe: and alſo we pul from thy backe, the Caſule, and take frō thee the veſtiment, and depriue thee of all maner of prieſtly honour.

Sentence of degradation,

The patten and chalice takē frō hym.

Alſo, we Thomas the aforeſaid Archb. by authoritie counſell, and aſſent, which vpon the foreſayd William we haue, being deacon pretenſed, in the habite and aparel of a deacon, hauing the new teſtament in thy hands, being an heretique and twyſe fallen, condemned by ſentence as is aforeſayd: do degrade and put thee from the order of a deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition we take from thee the boke of the new teſtament, and the ſtole, and doe depriue thee of all authoritie in reading the Goſpell, and of all and all maner of dignitie of a deacon.

The booke of a new teſtament takē from him.

Item, we Thomas Archb. aforeſayd, by authoritie, counſel, and aſſent, which ouer thee ẏ foreſaid William we haue, being a ſubdeacon pretenced, in the habite and veſtiment of a ſubdeacon, an heretique, and twyſe fallē, condempned by ſentence as is aforeſaid: do degrade and put thee from the order of a ſubdeacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition, we take frō thee the Albe and Maniple, and do depriue thee of all and all maner of ſubdiaconall dignitie.

The Albe taken from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas, Archb. aforeſayd, by counſaile, aſſent, and autoritie which we haue ouer thee the foreſaid William, an Accolite pretenſed, wearing the habite of an Accolite, and heretique, twyſe fallen, by our ſentēce as is aforeſayd condemned, do degrade and put thee frõ all order of an Accolite: And in ſigne and token of thys thy degradation, and actuall depoſition, we take from thee the Candleſticke and taper, and alſo Vrceolum, and do depriue thée of all ⁊ all maner dignitie of an Accolite.

The candleſtick and taper taken from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas, Archb. aforeſayd by aſſent, counſell and authoritie which vpon thee the foreſayd William we haue, an Exorciſt pretenſed, in the habite of an Exorciſt or holy water clarke, being an hereticke, twyſe fallen, and by our ſentence as aforeſayd condemned, we do degrade and depoſe thee from the order of an Exorciſt: and in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition, we take from thee the booke of coniurations, and do depriue thee of all and ſingular dignitye of an Exorciſt.

The holy water bucket coniured from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas Archbiſhop aforeſayde, by aſſent, counſayle, and autoritie, as is aboue ſayd, doo degrade and depoſe thée the foreſayd William, reader pretenſed, clothed in the habite of a reader, an heretike, twyſe fallen, ⁊ by our ſentence as is aforeſayd, condemned: from the order of a Reader. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition, we take from thee the booke of the deuine lections (that is the booke of the church Legende) and do depriue thee of all and ſingular maner of dignity of ſuch a reader.

He meaneth the legende booke, as ſaith the Regiſter.

Item, we Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury aforſayd, by authoritye, counſaile, and aſſent, the whych we haue as is aforeſayd, do degrade and put thee the foreſayd Wylliam Sawtre, Sexten pretenſed, in the habite of a Sexten, and wearing a Surplice, being an heretik, twyſe fallen, by our ſentence diffinitiue condemned, as a foreſayde: from the order of a Sexten. And in token of thys thy degradation and actuall depoſition, for the cauſes aforeſayd, we take from thee the keyes of the church doore, and thy Surplice, and doo depriue thee of all and ſingular maner of commodities of a doore keeper.

The Surplice takẽ from him

The church dore keyes takẽ from him.

And alſo, by the autority of omnipotent God the father, the ſonne, and holy ghoſt, and by our autority, cõſayle, and aſſent of our whole counſayle prouinciall aboue written, we do degrade thee and depoſe thée being here perſonally preſẽt before vs, from orders, benefices, priuilegies, and habite in the church, ⁊ for thy pertinacie incorrigible, we do diſgrade thée, before the ſecular court of the high Conſtable and Marſhall of Englande, here being perſonally preſẽt, and do depoſe thée from all and ſingular clarkly honours and dignities whatſoeuer, by theſe writinges. Alſo in token of thy degration and depoſition, here actuallye we haue cauſed thy crowne and eccleſiaſticall tonſure in oure preſence to bee raſed away, and vtterly to be aboliſhed, lyke vnto the forme of a ſecular lay man: and here do put vpon yͤ head, of thee yͤ foreſayd Wylliam, the cap of a lay ſecular perſon: beſeching the court aforeſayd, that they wyll receaue fauorably the ſayd Wylliam vnto them thus recommitted.

Priuilege of the clergy takẽ from him.

The prieſts cap takẽ from hys head, maketh vp all, in all.

Thus Wylliam Sawtre the ſeruaunt of Chriſt, being vtterly thruſt out of the Popes kingdome, and metamorphoſed from a Clerke to a ſecular lay man, was committed (as ye haue hearde) vnto the ſecular power. Which ſo done, the biſhops yet not herewith contented, ceaſe not to call vpõ the king, to cauſe him to be brought forth to ſpedy execution. Whereupon the king, readye inough and tomuch to gratifie the clergy, and to retayn their fauours, directeth out a terrible decree againſt the ſayd Wylliam Sawtre, and ſent it to the Maior and Shiriffes of London to bee put in execution, the tenour whereof here vnder enſueth.

¶ The decree of the king againſt W. Sawtre.

The cruell decree of the king againſt Sawtrey

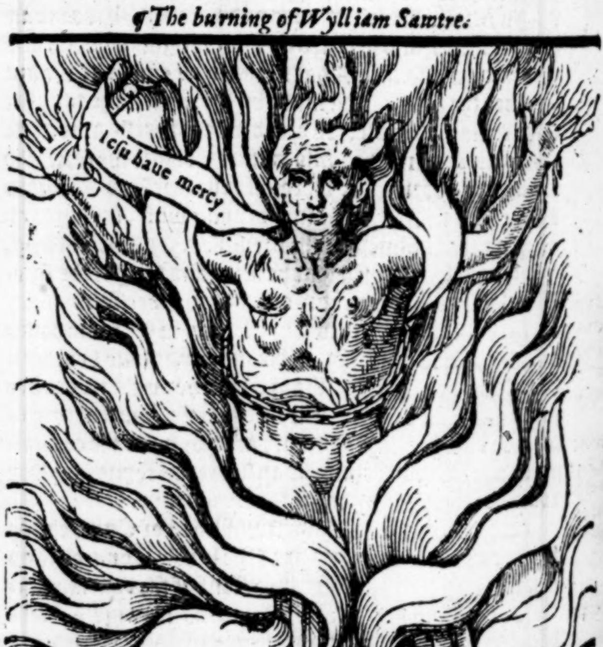
THe decree of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng and hys counſell in the Parliament, agaynſt a certeine newe ſprong vp hereticke, To the Maior and Sherifes of London. &c. where as the reuerend father Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſee, by the aſſent, conſent, and counſell of other Byſhops, and his brethren ſuffragantes, and alſo of all yͤ whole clergy within his prouince or dioces, gathered together in his prouinciall councell, the dewe order of the law beyng obſerued, in all pointes in this behalfe: hathe pronounced and declared by his definitiue ſentence, William Sautrey ſometime chaplayne, to bee fallen agayne into his moſt damnable hereſy, the whiche before tyme the ſayde william had abiured, thereuppon to be a moſt manifeſt heretike, and therfore hath decreed, that he ſhould be diſagraded and hath for the ſame cauſe really diſgraded him frõ all prerogatiue and priuilege of the clergy, decreing to leaue him vnto the ſeculer power: and hath really ſo left him accordyng to the lawes and canonical ſanctions ſet fourth in this behalfe, and alſo that our holy mother the churche hath no further to do in the premiſſes. we therfore being zelous in religion, and a reuerent louer of the catholike fayth, willing and mindyng to maintayne and defend the holy church, and the lawes and liberties of the ſame, to roote all ſuch errours and hereſies out of our kingdome of Englãd, and with condigne puniſhment to correct and puniſhe all heretiques or ſuch as be conuict: Prouided alwaies, that both according to the lawe of God and man, and the canonicall inſtitutions in this behalfe accuſtomed, that ſuch heretikes conuict & condemned in forme aforeſaid, ought to be burned with fyre. we cõmaund you as ſtraightly as we may or can, firmely enioyning you, that you do cauſe the ſayd william being in your cuſtodie, in ſome publique or opẽ place within the liberties of your citie aforeſaid (the cauſe aforeſayd being publiſhed vnto the people) to be put into the fyre, and there in the ſame fyre really to be burned, to the greate horrour of hys offence and the manifeſt example of other Chriſtians. Fayle not in the executiõ hereof, vpon the perill that will fall therupon.

Prepo rous witho knowle

Thus it may appeare how kings ⁊ princes haue ben blinded and abuſed by the falſe prelates of the churche, in ſo muche that they haue bene their ſlaues ⁊ butchers to ſlay Chriſtes poore innocent members. See therefore what daunger it is for Princes, not to haue knowledge and vnderſtanding themſelues, but to bee led by other mens eyes, and ſpecially truſting to ſuche guides, who through hipocriſie both deceiue them, and through crueltie deuour the people.

Admon to Prin

¶ The burning of Wylliam Sawtre.


Ieſu haue mercy.

K.Henry the firſt of Engliſh kings,the chriſtians with fire.

As king Henry the.iiij.who was the depoſer of king Richard,was the firſt of all Engliſh kinges that began the vnmercifull burning of Chriſtes ſaintes,for ſtãding againſt the Pope:ſo was this W.Sautre the true and faythfull Martyr of Chriſt,the firſt of all them in Wickliffes time,which I finde to be burned in the raygne of the foreſaid king,which was in yͤ yere of our lord.1400

After the martyrdome of this godly man, the reſt of the ſame companye began to keepe them more cloſelye, for feare of the king,who was all together bent to holde with the popes prelacie. Suche was the raigne of thys prince,that to the godly he was euer terrible,in hys exactions immeſurable,to few men hartely beloued, but princes neuer lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his raygne very quiet,but full of trouble, of bloud,⁊ miſery. Such was their deſire of king Richard agayn,in the raygne of this king,that many yeares after he was rumored to be alyue (of them whych deſired belike that to be true, which they knewe to be falſe) for the which,diuers were executed. For the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen yeares together, almoſt no yeare paſſed wythout ſome conſpiracy agaynſt the king. Long it were here to recite the blood of all ſuch nobles and other, which was ſpilt in the raygne of this kyng, as the Erle of *Kent, Earle of Saliſbury,earle of Huntington, named John Holland ⁊c.as writeth the ſtory of S.Albans. But yͤ engliſh writers differ ſomething in their names,and make mention of.iiij.Earles,of Surrey,of Exceſter, of Saliſbury,and L.Spenſer Earle of Glouceſter. Ex lib.cui tit.Calendarium Bruti.

Much murder and beheading in K.Henries tyme the 4.

*tis doubted.

Ex calendario Bruti.

And the next yeare followyng, ſir John Clarendon knight,with two of his ſeruants,the Priour of Laund, with. 8. Friers, were hanged and quartered. And after theſe Henry Percy the yonger,the Earle of Worceſter,named Thomas Percy his Vncle, L.of Kynderton,and L.Richard de Vernoua. The Earle of Northũberland ſcarce eſcaped with his pardon,an.1403. In the which yere, the priſon in Cornhil called the tonne,was turned into the conduit,there now ſtanding.

1403.

To lette paſſe other moe hanged and quartered the ſame time,as Blount knight,and Benet Kely knight,⁊ Thomas Winterſel Eſquier. Alſo the ſame yeare was takẽ and executed ſir Bernard Brokes knight, ſir John Shilley knyght,ſir John Mandelyn, and ſir Wylliam Frierby. After all theſe L.Henry earle of Northumberland,and L.Bardolfe conſpiring the kinges death,wer taken in the North and beheaded,which was in the.viij yeare of thys king Henry.

Archb.of Yorke,and L.Moubray againſt K, Henry.4.

This ciuill rebellion of ſo many nobles and other againſt the king,declared what grudging harts the people then bare toward this king Henry. Among whom I cannot pretermit here alſo the Archbiſhop of Yorke named Richard Scrope, who with the L.Moubrey Marſhall of Englande, gathered a great companye in the North country,againſt the foreſayd king, to whom alſo was adioyned the helpe of L.Bardolfe, and Henrye Percy earle of Northumb. Ex chron. D. Albani. And to ſtyr vp the people more wyllingly to take their parts, they collected certayne Articles againſt the ſayde kyng, to the number of.x.and faſtened them vpon the dores of churches and monaſteries,to be red of all men in Engliſh. Which articles if anye be diſpoſed to vnderſtande, and forſomuch as the ſame alſo contayne a great part of the doinges betwene king Henry and king Richarde aforeſayd,I thought for the better opening of the matter here vnder to inſert the ſame, in ſuche fourme as I found them in the hiſtory of Scala mundi expreſſed.

L.Bardolfe, Hen.Percy, Earle of Northumberland againſt the Kyng.

Ex hiſtor. de Scala mundi.

Articles ſet vpon church dors againſt K. Henry 4.

1405

¶ Articles ſet vp on Church doores agaynſt kyng Henry the fourth.

IN the name of God. Amen. Before the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt,iudge of the quicke and dead.⁊c. We A.B.C. D.⁊c.not long ſithens became bounde by othe vpon the ſacred Euangelicall booke, vnto our ſoueraigne Lord Richard, late kyng of England and Fraunce,in the preſence of many prelates potentates, and nobilitie of the realme:that we ſo long as we liued,ſhould beare true allegeance and fidelitie towardes him and his heyres ſuccedyng hym in the kyngdome by iuſt title ,right,⁊ lyne, accordyng to the ſtatutes and cuſtome of this realme of Englãd: By vertue wherof,we are bound to foreſee that no vices or haynous offences ariſe in the common weale do take effect or wiſhed ende, but that we ought to geue our ſelues ⁊ our goodes to withſtande the ſame,without feare of ſword or death what ſoeuer,vpõ payne of periurie,which payne is euerlaſtyng dãnation. Wherfore,we ſeyng ⁊ perceauing diuers horrible crimes, ⁊ great enormities dayly wͭout ceaſſing to be cõmitted,by yͤ children of yͤ deuil ⁊ Sathans souldiors agaynſt yͤ the ſupremacy of yͤ church of Rome, yͤ libertie of the church of Englãd, yͤ lawes of yͤ realme, agaynſt the perſon of K.Richard ⁊ his heires,againſt the prelates,noble men,religion,⁊ cõminaltie,and finally agaynſt the whole weale publicque of the realme of England,to the great offence of the maieſty of Almighty God, and to the prouocatiõ of his iuſt wrath and vengeaunce towardes the realme and people of the ſame. And fearyng alſo the deſtruction both of the churche of Rome and Englãd,and the ruyne of our coũtrey to be at hand, hauyng before our eyes the iuſtice ⁊ kyngdome of God,callyng allwayes on the name of Jeſus,hauyng an aſſured confidence in his clemency mercy and power: haue here taken vnto vs certaine articles ſubſcribed in forme folowyng,to be proponed,tried, and heard before the iuſt Judge Jeſus Chriſt, and the whole world,to his honour,the deliuerie of the churche,the clergy and comminaltie,and to the vtilitie and profite of the weale publicke. But if(which God forbid)by force,feare or violence of wicked perſons we ſhalbe caſt in priſon,or by violent death preuented, ſo as in this worlde we ſhall not be able to proue the ſayd articles as we would wiſh, then doe wee appeale to the high celeſtiall iudge, that he may iudge and diſcerne the ſame, in the day of hys ſupreme iudgement.

A bill of Articles ſet vp againſt K. Henry,4.

1 ¶ Firſt,we depoſe,ſay,excepte,and entend to proue agaynſt the L.Henry Derby , ſonne vnto the Lord John of Gaunt late Duke of Lancaſter, and commonly called kyng of England(him ſelfe pretẽding the ſame,although without all right and title therunto)and agaynſt his adherents,fautours,⁊ complices:that euer they haue been, are, and wilbe, traitours, inuaders, and deſtroyers of Gods churche in Rome,England,wales,and Ireland, and of our ſoueraigne Lord Richard late kyng of England,his heyres,his kyngdome,and common wealth, as ſhall hereafter manifeſtly appeare.

2 Secondarely we depoſe ⁊c.agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry,for that he had conceaued deuiſed, and conſpired certaine haynous crimes and traiterous offences agaynſt his ſayd ſoueraigne Lord Richard his ſtate and dignitie, as manifeſtly didde appeare in the contention betwene the ſayd Lord Hẽry,⁊ the Lord Thomas duke of Northfolke begon at Couentry, but not finiſhed throughly. Afterwardes he was ſent in exile, by ſentence of the ſayd kyng Richard, by the agreement of his father the Lord John Duke of Lancaſter, by the voyce of diuers of the Lordes temporall, and nobilitie of the realme, and alſo by his owne conſent;there to remaine for a certeine time appoynted vnto him by the ſayd Lordes, and withall he was bounde by othe not to returne into England before he had obteyned fauour and grace of the kyng. Not long after,whẽ the kyng was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that country apperteynyng to the crowne of England,but as then rebellyng againſt the ſame:the ſaid Lord Henry in the meane tyme contrary to his othe and fidelitie,and long before the tyme limited vnto him was expired:withall his fautors and inuaders,ſecretly entred into the realme,ſwearyng and proteſtyng before the face of the people,that his comming into the realme in the abſence of the kyng was for none other cauſe, but that hee mighte in humble ſorte with the loue and fauour of the

Kyng and all the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, haue and enioy his lawfull inheritaunce deſcendyng vnto him of ryght after the death of his father: whiche thing as it pleaſed all men, ſo cried they: Bleſſed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord: But how this bleſſyng afterwardes turned into curſyng, ſhall appeare in that which foloweth: and alſo ye ſhall vnderſtand his horrible and wicked conſpiracy agaynſt his ſoueraigne Lord kyng Richard, and diuers other Lordes aſwell ſpirituall as temporall, beſydes that his manifeſt periury ſhall well bee knowen, and that he remaineth not onely forſworne and periured, but alſo excommunicate, for that hee conſpired agaynſt his ſoueraigne Lord our kyng. wherefore wee pronounce him by theſe preſentes, aſwell periured as excommunicate.

K. Henry periured.

3 Thirdly wee depoſe &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that he the ſayd Lord Henry, immediatly after his entry into England, by crafty and ſubtile policye: cauſed to be proclaimed opēly throughout the realme, that no tenthes of the clergy, fifteenes of the people, ſealyng vp of cloth, diminution of woolle, impoſt of wine, nor other extortiōs or exacions what ſoeuer, ſhould hereafter be required or exacted: hoping by this meanes to purchace vnto him the voyce and fauour of the prelates ſpiritual, the Lordes tēporall, the marchauntes, and comminaltie of the whole realme. After this, he tooke by force the kynges caſtelles and fortreſſes, ſpoyled and deuoured his goodes whereſoeuer he found it, cryeng hauocke, hauocke. The kynges maieſtie ſubiectes aſwell ſpirituall as temporall he ſpoyled and robbed, ſome he toke captiue and impriſoned thē, and ſome he ſlew and put to miſerable death: wherof many were Byſhops prelates, prieſtes, and religious men. wherby it is manifeſt, that the ſayd lord Hēry is not onely periured, in promiſing and ſwearing that there ſhould be hereafter no more exations, paymentes, or extortions within the realme, but alſo excommunicate for the violence and iniurie done to prelates and prieſtes. wherfore by theſe preſentes we pronounce hym as afore, aſwel periured as excommunicate.

K Henry charged with vntruth.

4 Fourthly we depoſe &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that hee hearyng of the kynges retourne from Irelande into wales, roſe vp agaynſte hys ſoueraygne Lord the kyng with many thouſandes of armed men, marchyng forwarde with all hys power towardes the Caſtell of flynt in wales, where he tooke the kyng and helde hym priſoner, and ſo led hym captiue as a traytour vnto Leyceſter: from whence he tooke his iourney towardes London, miſuſing the kyng by the way both he and his, with many iniuries and opprobrious cōtumelies and ſcoffes. And in the end cōmitted him to the Tower of London, and held a Parliament, the king being abſent and in priſon, wherein for feare of death he compelled the king to yeld and reſigne vnto hym all his ryght and title of the kingdome and crowne of England. After which reſignation being made, the ſayd Lord Henry ſtanding vp in the Parliament houſe, ſtoutly and proudly before them all, ſayde and affyrmed: that the kingdome of England and crown of the ſame with all therunto belonging, did pertaine vnto him at that preſent as of very right, and to none other: for that the ſaid K. Richard by his own dede was depriued for euer of all the ryght, title, and entereſt that euer he had, hath, or may haue in the ſame. And thus at length by right and wrong, he exalted himſelf vnto the throne of the kingdome: ſince which time, our common weale neuer floriſhed nor proſpered, but altogether hath been voyde of vertue, for that the ſpiritualtie was ſo oppreſſed, exerciſe & warlike practiſes hath not been maintayned, charitie is waxed colde, and couetouſnes & miſerie hath taken place, and finallie mercy is taken awaye and vengeance ſupplieth the roume. wherby it doth appeare (as before is ſayd) that the ſaid Lord Henry is not onely periured and falſe by vſurping the kingdome and dominion belonging to an other, but alſo excōmunicate for the apprehending, vniuſt impriſoning, and depriuing hys ſoueraigne Lord the king of his royall crowne and dignitie. wherfore, as in the articles before, we pronoūce the ſayd Lord Henry to be excommunicate.

K Hen. charged with treaſon againſt his ſoueraine.

5 Fiftly we depoſe, &c. againſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that he the ſame Lord Henry with the reaſt of his fauourers and complices, heaping miſchiefe vpon miſchiefe, haue cōmitted and brought to paſſe a moſt wicked and miſchenous fact, yea, ſuch as hath not been heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and impriſoned the kyng, & depoſed him by open iniurie againſt all humane nature, yet not content with thys: they brought hym to Pomfret Caſtell, and there impriſoned him, where xv. dayes and nightes they vexed hym with continuall hunger, thirſt, and colde, and finally bereft him of lyfe, with ſuch a kinde of death as neuer before yͤ tyme was knowē in England, but by Gods prouidence it is come to light. who euer heard of ſuch a dede, or who euer ſawe the like of him? wherfore O England aryſe, ſtand vp, auenge the cauſe, the death, and iniurie of thy king & prince: which if thou do not, take this for certaintie, that the righteous God will deſtroy thee by ſtraunge inuaſions and forein power, and auenge hymſelfe on thee for thys ſo horrible an acte. wherby doth appeare, not only his periurie, but alſo his excommunication moſt execrable: ſo that as before we pronounce, the ſayd Henry not onely periured, but alſo excommunicate.

K. Henry charged with murder of his Prince.

6 Sixtly we depoſe, &c. agaynſt the ſaid lord Henry, that after he had attayned to the crowne and ſcepter of the kingdome: he cauſed forthwith to be apprehēded diuers Lordes ſpirituall, Biſhops, Abbats, Priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he arreſted, impriſoned, and bound, and agaynſt all order brought them before the ſeculare iudges to be examined: not ſparing the biſhops whoſe bodyes were annoynted with ſacred oyle, nor prieſtes, nor religious men, but cōmaunded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporall law and iudgement, notwithſtanding the priuiledge of the church, and holy orders, which he ought to haue reuerenced and worſhipped if he had been a true and lawfull king: for the fyrſt and chiefeſt othe in the coronation of a lawfull king is, to defend and keepe inuiolate the liberties and rightes of the church, & not to deliuer any prieſt or religious man into the handes of the ſeculare power, except for hereſye onely, and that after hys degradation according to the order of the church. Contrary vnto all thys hath he done, ſo that it is manifeſt by thys article as afore in the reaſt, that he is both periured and excommunicate.

K. Henry charged with the orders of the church.

7 Seuenthly we depoſe, &c agaynſt the ſayd lord Henry that not only he cauſed to be put to death the Lords ſpirituall & other religious mē, but alſo diuers of the lords temporall and nobilitie of the realme, & chiefly thoſe that ſtudied for yͤ preſeruatiō of the cōmon weale, not ceaſing as yet, to cōtinue hys miſcheuous enterpryſe, if by Gods prouidence it be not preuented and that with ſpeede. Amōges all other of the nobilitie, theſe firſt he put to death: the Earle of Saliſburye, the Earle of Huntingdon, the Earle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Roger Clarendon the kinges brother, with diuers other knightes & Eſquiers: and afterwards, the lord Thomas Percy Earle of worceſter, and the Lorde Henry Percye ſonne and heyre to the Earle of Northumberland, the which Lorde Henry he not onely ſlewe, but to the vttermoſt of hys power againe and again he cauſed him to be ſlaine. For after that he was once put to death, and deliuered to the Lorde of Furnyuale to be buried (who committed his body to holy ſepulture with as much honour as myght be, cōmending hys ſoule to almightie God with the ſuffrages of the bleſſed maſſe and other praiers) the ſaid Lord Henry moſt like a cruel beaſt ſtill thirſting his bloud, cauſed his body to be exhumate and brought forth agayn, and to be repoſed betwene two milſtones in the town of Shroueſbury, there to be kept with armed men: And afterwards to be beheaded and quartred, cōmaunding his head and quarters to be caryed vnto diuers cities of the kyngdome. wherfore, for ſo deteſtable a facte neuer heard of in any age before, we pronounce him as in the former articles excommunicate.

K Henry charged with tyranny.

8 Eightly we depoſe, &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry, for that after hys attaynyng to the crowne, he willingly ratifyed, allowed, and approued a moſte wicked ſtatute ſet forth and renued in the Parliament holden at wincheſter. The which ſtatute is directly againſt the church of Rome, the power, and principallitie therof geuen by our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt vnto bleſſed Sainct Peter and hys ſucceſſours byſhops of Rome: vnto whom belongeth by full authoritie the free diſpoſing of all ſpirituall promotions aſwell ſuperior as inferiour: which wicked ſtatute, is the cauſe of many miſchiefes vid of ſimonie, periurie, adultry, inceſt, miſorder, & diſobediēce, for that many biſhops, abbots, priors, & prelates (we will not ſay by vertue, but rather by errour of this ſtatute) haue beſtowed the benefices vacant vpō yong mē, rude & vnworthy perſons, which haue cōpacted wͭ thē for the ſame, ſo that ſcarce no one prelate is foūd yͭ hath not couenanted with the partie promoted for yͤ halfe yerely, or at the leaſt the

The K. charged with euil gouernment.

thyrd parte of the ſaid benefice ſo beſtowed. And by thys meanes, the ſayd ſtatute is the deſtruction of the ryght of S.Peter the church of Rome and England, the clergy and vniuerſities, the mayntenaunce of warres, and the whole common wealth. &c.

Ninthly we ſay and depoſe. &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henrye, that after he had tyrannouſly taken vpon hym the gouernemẽt of the realme: England neuer floriſhed ſince, nor proſpered, by reaſon of his continuall exactions of money and oppreſſions, yearely of the clergy and comminaltie: neither is it knowen how this money ſo extorted is beſtowed, when as neither his ſouldiers, nor hys gentlemẽ are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderfull toyle and labour, neither yet the poore countrey people are ſatiſfied for the victuall taken of them: And neuertheles, the miſerable clergy, and more miſerable comminaltie, are forced ſtil to pay, by menaces and ſharpe threatnynges. Notwithſtandyng, he ſware when hee firſte vſurped the crowne, that hereafter there ſhould be no ſuch exactions nor vexations neither of the clergy nor laytye. Wherefore, as afore, we pronounce hym periured. &c.

Henry charged op- ſſion & ranny.

10 In the x. and laſt article we depoſe, ſay, and openly proteſt by theſe preſents, for our ſelues and all our aſſiſtẽtes in the cauſe of the churche of Rome and England, and in the cauſe of king Richard, his heyres, the clergy, and comminaltie of the whole realme: that neither our entention is, was, nor ſhalbe, in word nor dede to offend any ſtate, either of the prelates ſpirituall, Lordes temporal, or commons of the realme: but rather foreſeyng the perdicion and deſtruction of this realme to approche, we haue here brought before you certayne articles concernyng the deſtruction of the ſame, to be circumſpectly cõſidered of the whole aſſembly, aſwell of the Lordes ſpirituall as temporall, and the faithfull commons of England: beſechyng you all in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, the ryghteous iudge, and for merites of our bleſſed Lady the mother of God, and of S.George our defender vnder whoſe diſplayed banner we wiſh to lyue and dye, and vnder payne of damnation, that ye wil be fauourable to vs and our cauſes whiche are three in number. Whereof the firſt is, that we exalte vnto the kyngdome the true and lawful heyre, and hym to crown in kyngly throne with the diademe of England. And ſecondly that we reuoke the Welſhe men, the Iriſhe men, and all other our enemyes vnto perpetuall peace and amitie. Thirdly and finally, that we deliuer and make free our natiue countrey from all exactiõs extortions, and vniuſt payments: Beſechyng our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt to graũt his bleſſyng, the remiſſion of theyr ſinnes, and lyfe euerlaſtyng to all that aſſiſte vs to theyr power in this godly and meritorious worke: and vnto all thoſe that are agaynſt vs, we threaten the curſe of almighty G O D by the auctoritie committed vnto vs by Chriſt and his holy Churche, and by theſe preſentes wee pronounce them excommunicate.

ncela- declared

Theſe Articles beyng ſeen and read, much concourſe of people dayly reſorted more and more to the Archbyſhop. The earle of Weſtmerlãd beyng then not farre of, with John the kynges ſonne (hearyng of this) muſtered his ſouldiours with all the power he was able to make, and bent towarde the Archbyſhop: but ſeyng his part to weake to encounter with hym, vſeth practiſe of policie, where ſtrength woulde not ſerue. And firſt commyng to hym vnder colour of frendſhyp diſſembled, laboureth to ſeke out the cauſes of that great ſtirre: To whom the Archbiſhop agayne aunſweryng, no hurt to be entended therby, but profite rather to the king & common wealth, and maintenaunce of publicke peace: but for ſo much as he ſtoode in great feare and daũger of the kyng, he was therefore compelled ſo to do: And withall ſhewed vnto him the contentes of the articles aforeſayd, which when the Earle had read, ſettyng a fayre face vpon it, ſemed hyghly to commend the purpoſe and doynges of the Biſhop: promiſing moreouer that he would helpe alſo forward in that quarell, to the vttermoſt of his power. And required vpon the ſame, a day to be ſet, when they with equall nũber of men, might mete together, in ſome place apointed to haue farther talke of yͤ matter. The Archbiſhop eaſely perſuaded, was content, although much agaynſt the counſaile of the Earle Marſhall, and came.

eof Weſt land a- the chb.

hoode low.

Where the Articles beyng openly publiſhed and read, the Earle of Weſtmerland with hys company, pretended wel to lyke vpon the ſame, and to ioyne their aſſents together. Whiche done, he exhorted the Archbiſhop, yͤ forſomuch as hys garriſon had been now long in armour, and from home, he would therfore diſcharge the nedeles multitude of his ſouldiours, and dimiſſe them home to their worke and buſines, & they would together drinke and ioyne handes in the ſight of the whole company. Thus they ſhakyng handes together, the Archbiſhop ſendeth away hys ſouldiours in peace, not knowyng hymſelfe to be circumuented, before he was immediatly arreſted by the handes of the foreſayd Erle of Weſtmerlãd, and ſhortly after the kyng commyng with his power to Yorke, was there beheaded the Monday in Whitſonweke, and with him alſo Lord Thomas Mombray Marſhall, with diuers other moreouer of the Citie of Yorke, whiche had take their partes. After whoſe ſlaughter, the kyng procedeth farther to perſecute yͤ Earle of Northũberland, & Lord Thomas Bardolfe. Who then dyd flye to Barwicke. From thence they remoued to Wales. At length within ij. yeares after, fighting againſt the kyngs parte, were ſlayne in the fielde. an. 1408. In the whiche yeare, diuers other alſo in the Northpartes, for fauouryng the foreſayd Lordes, were lykewiſe condemned by the kyng and put to death. Among whom the Abbot of Hales, for the lyke treaſon was hanged.

The Archb. of Yorke craftely circumuented.

The archbiſh. of Yorke, L. Tho. Moubray with manye Yorkeſhire mẽ executed.

The earle of Northumberland, L. Tho. Bardolfe ſlaine.

1408.

Abbot of Hales hanged.

The king after the ſhedding of ſo much blood, ſeing himſelfe ſo hardlye beloued of his ſubiectes, thought to kepe in yet with the Clergye, and wyth the byſhop of Rome, ſeeking alwayes his chiefeſt ſtay at their hands. And therfore was compelled in all things, to ſerue their humour, as did appeare as well in condẽning W. Sawtre before, as alſo in other, which conſequently we haue now to intreate of. In the number of whom, commeth now by the courſe of time to write of one John Badbye a taylour and a laye man, who by the crueltye of Thomas Arundell Archbyſhoppe, and other Prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this kings raigne, an. 1409. according as by their own Regiſters appeareth, and followeth by this narration to be ſéene.

1409.

¶ *Iohn Badby artificer.*

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1409, on ſonday beyng the firſt day of March, in the after none: The excommunication followyng of one John Badby taylor, beyng a lay mã, was made in a certeine houſe or haull within the precinct of the preaching Friers of Londõ, in an vtter cloyſter: vpon the crime of hereſie and other articles, repugnant to the determination of the erroneous churche of Rome, before Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other his aſſiſtãce, as the Archbiſhop of Yorke of London, of Wincheſter, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Saliſbury, of Bath, of Bangor, et meneuẽſis Epiſcopi, & alſo Edmõd duke of Yorke, Thomas Beuford, the chaũcelor of England, Lord de Roos, the clerke of the rolles, and a great nomber of other Lordes, both ſpirituall and temporal beyng then at the ſelfe ſame time preſent: Maiſter Morgan read the articles of his opiniõs to yͤ hearers, according as it isconteined in the inſtrument read by the foreſayd maiſter Morgan, the tenour whereof followeth and in effect is ſuch.

Iohn Badby Martir.

Ex Regiſt. Tho. Arundel

In the name of God Amen: Be it manifeſt to all men by this preſent publike inſtrument, that in the yeare after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the courſe and computation of the church of England, otherwyſe in the yeare. 1409. in the ſeconde indiction, in the thyrde yeare of the Popedome of the moſt holy father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord Gregorye. xi. by the deuine permiſſion Pope, the ſecond day of Janury, in the chappel Caruariæ of S. Thomas Martyr, nygh vnto the cathedral churche of Worceſter, being ſituate in the ſaid dioces, in the preſence of me the publike Notary, and of the witneſſes vnder

The articles redde.

der written: the foreſayd John Badby a lay man, of the ſayd dioces of Worceſter, appearing perſonally, before the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord Thomas, by the grace of God biſhop of Worceſter, ſitting in the ſayd chappell for chiefe Judge, was detected of and vpō the crime of hereſie, being heretically taught, and openly mayntayned by the foreſaid John Badby. That is, that the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, conſecrated by the prieſt vpon the aulter, is not the true bodye of Chriſt, by the vertue of the wordes of the ſacrament. But that after the ſacramentall woordes ſpoken by the prieſte to make the bodye of Chriſt: the materiall breade doth remayne vpon the aulter as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Chriſt after the ſacramentall woordes ſpoken of the prieſt. Which John Badby, being examined and diligently demaunded by the foreſayd reuerend father concerning the premiſſes, in thend did anſwer: that it was impoſſible that any prieſt ſhuld make the body of Chriſt, and that he beleued firmly that no prieſt could make the body of Chriſt by ſuch wordes ſacramentally ſpoken in ſuch ſorte. And alſo he ſayd expreſſely, that he would neuer whyle he lyued beleue, that any prieſt could make the body of Chriſt ſacramentally, vnles that firſt he ſaw manifeſtly the like body of Chriſt to be handled in the hands of the prieſt vpon the aultar, in his corporall forme. And furthermore he ſaide, that John Rakier of Briſtoll had ſo much power and authority to make the like body of Chriſt, as anye prieſt had. Moreouer he ſayd, that when Chriſt ſat at ſupper wyth his diſciples: he had not his body in his hand, to ẏ intent to diſtribute it to his diſciples: and he ſayd expreſly, that hee did not thys thing. And alſo he ſpake manye other woordes teaching and fortefieng the ſayd hereſie in the ſame place, both greuous, and alſo out of order, and horrible to the eares of the hearers, ſoundyng agaynſt the catholike fayth.

The Sacrament of chriſtes body.

I can not blame ye that ye are ſo angry, for it was not for your profite.

Upon which occaſion, the ſame reuerende father admoniſhed and requeſted the ſayde John Badby often tymes, and very inſtantly to charitie: forſomuche as he would wyllingly ẏ he ſhould haue forſakē ſuch hereſy & opinion, holdē, taught, and mayntayned by him, in ſuch ſort againſt the ſacrament, to renounce and vtterly abiure them, and to beleue other things which the holy mother the church doth beleue. And he informed the ſayde John on that behalfe both gentlye, and alſo laudablye. Yet the ſayd John Badby, althoughe he were admoniſhed and requeſted both often and inſtantly by the ſayde reuerend father: ſayd and anſwered expreſſelye, that he would neuer beleue otherwiſe then before he had ſayde, taught, and aunſwered. Wherupon, the foreſayd reuerend father biſhop of Worceſter, ſeing, vnderſtandyng, and perceauing the foreſayd John Badby to mayntain and fortefie the ſayd hereſie, being ſtubburne, and proceding in the ſame ſtubburnes: pronounced the ſayd John to be before this time conuicted of ſuche an hereſie, and that he hath bene, and is an heretike, and in the ende declared it in theſe wordes.

The ſentence of the Biſh. of Worceſter againſt I. Badby

In the name of God, amen. We Thomas biſhop of Worceſter, do accuſe thee John Badby being a lay man of our dioces, of and vpō the crime of hereſie before vs, ſitting for chiefe iudge, being oftentimes confeſſed and conuicted of and vpon that, that thou haſt taught and openly affirmed as hetherto thou doeſt teach, boldlye affirme, and defend: that the ſacrament of the bodye of Chriſt, conſecrated vpon the aulter by the prieſt, is not the true bodye of Chriſt: But after the ſacramentall wordes to make the body of Chriſt by vertue of the ſaid ſacramentall wordes pronounced, to haue been in the crime of hereſie: and we do pronounce thee, both to haue been and to be an heretique, and do declare it finally by theſe writings. Theſe things wer done accordingly as is aboue written and are recited in the yeare, indiction, popedome, month, day and place aforeſayd, being preſent the ſame time, John Malune prior of the cathedrall church of Worceſter, John Dudle monke, and John Haule the ſupprior of the ſayd church, Thomas Peninges of the order of the Carmelites, Tho. Fekenham of the order of the preaching fryers, William Pomfret of the order of the minorites, being profeſſours and maiſters in diuinitie, William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swippedew being publique notaries, and William Beuchampe and Thomas Oerbrigs being knightes, Richard Wiſhe of Credington, Thomas Wilbe of Hembury, John Weſton of Yewley, being perſons of churches, and Thomas Baleings, the maiſter of Saint Wolſtone in Worciter, and alſo Henry Haggely, John Penerell, Thomas Crognorton and William Waſſeborne eſquiers of ẏ dioces of Worciter and Norwich, and many other worſhipfull and honeſt men being witneſſes and called ſpiritually to the thinges aforeſayd.

A table of monks & Friers about the condem tiō of Io Badby.

Quare fr muerun gentes, Pſal. 2.

Scribes with Pha riſes,

And I John Chew clerke of the dioces of Bathe and Wells, and by the authoritie apoſtolique, publique notarie of the ſaid biſhop: haue in teſtimonie of ẏ premiſſes, put my hand and ſeale to the examination, interrogation, monition, and aunſwere of the ſame John Badby, and to his obſtinacie: and alſo to the proceedings and all and ſinguler other doings as is aforeſaid, which againſt hym before the ſayd biſhop were handled and done, in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforeſayd, which with the fornamed witneſſes was perſonally preſent: and the ſame, euen as I heard them and ſawe them to be done (being occupyed with other matters) cauſed them to be written and publiſhed, and into thys publique forme haue compiled the ſame. I the foreſayd notarie am alſo priuie, vnto the wordes and examinations interlyned betwene vij. or viij. lynes of the beginning of this inſtrument, which lynes I alſo the foreſayd notarie do approue and make good.

And I Walter London clerke, of the dioces of Worceſter, and by the authoritie apoſtolicall, publique notarie: to all and ſingular the foreſayd thinges as afore by the foreſayd notarie is recited, and in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforeſayd were handled and done, being with other the fore recited witneſſes perſonally preſent: and to all and euery of ẏ ſame (as I ſawe and heard them to be done being therunto faythful deſired and required) In teſtimonie of the premiſſes, haue ſigned and ſubſcribed according to the accuſtomed manner. Hæc ex Regiſt. Cant.

The an ſwer of I. Badby to the artic

And when the articles, in the foreſayd inſtrument cōtayned, were by the Archb. of Cant. publiquely and vulgarly red and approued: he publiquely confeſſed and affirmed, that he had both ſayd and maynteined the ſame. And then the archb. to conuince the conſtant purpoſe of the ſayd John Badby, commaunded the ſame articles agayne to be red, often inſtructing hym both by wordes and examples, informing and exhorting him that therby he myght be brought the ſooner to the religion that he was of. And furthermore, the ſayd Archb. ſayd and affirmed there openly to the ſame John: that he would (if he would liue according to ẏ doctrine of Chriſt) gage hys ſoule for hym at the iudgement day. And after that agayne he cauſed thoſe articles in the ſayd inſtrument expreſſed, to be red by the foreſayd Phillip Morgan, and the ſayd Archb. himſelf expounded the ſame in Engliſhe as before: whereunto John Badby aunſwered. As touching the firſt article concerning the bodye of Chriſt, he expreſlye ſayd, that after the conſecration at the aulter, there remayneth materiall bread, and the ſame bread which was before: notwithſtādyng (ſayd he) it is a ſigne or ſacrament of the liuing God.

Alſo, when the ſecond article was expounded vnto hym, that it is impoſſible for any prieſt &c. To this article he aunſwered and ſayd, that it could not ſinke into his mynde that the wordes are to be taken as they litterally lye, vnles he ſhould deny the incarnation of Chriſt.

Alſo, beyng examined of the third article concernyng Iacke Raker, he ſayde: That if Iacke Raker were a man of good lyuing, and did loue and feare God, that he hath as much power ſo to do, as hath the prieſt: and ſayd further, that he hath hard it ſpoken of ſome doctours of diuinitie, that if he ſhould receaue any ſuch conſecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned and were damned in ſo doyng.

The ſubſtance of bread not changed in the ſacrament.

Furthermore, he ſayd that he would beleue the omnipotent God in trinitie, and ſayd moreouer that if euery hoſt beyng conſecrated at the aulter were the Lordes body, that then there be 20000. Gods in England. But he beleued (he ſayd) in one God omnipotent, whiche thyng the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Canterbury denied not.

And when the other concluſion was expounded. That Chriſt ſittyng with his diſciples at ſupper &c. To this he aunſwered and ſayd, that hee would greatly maruell: that if any man had a loafe of bread, and ſhould breake the ſame and giue to euery man a mouthfull, that the ſame loafe ſhould afterwardes be whole.

When all theſe thynges were thus finiſhed, and that all the ſayd concluſions were often read in the vulgare toung: the foreſaid Archbiſhop demaunded of hym, whither he would renounce and forſake hys opinions & ſuch lyke concluſions or not, & adhere to the doctrine of Chriſt and catholicke fayth? He aunſwered, that accordyng to that hee had ſayd before, hee would adhere and ſtand to thoſe wordes, whiche before he had made aunſwere vnto. Then the Archbyſhoppe often tymes required the ſayd Iohn in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, ẏ he would forſake thoſe opinions & concluſiõs, and that henceforth he would cleaue to the Chriſtian fayth: which thyng to do, in the audiẽce of all the Lords and others that were preſent, he expreſly denied and refuſed.

The confeſſion of Iohn Badby before the Archb.

After all this, when the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Cant. and the Byſhop of London had conſulted together, to what ſafe kepyng the ſaid Iohn Badby (vntil ẏ Wedſonday next) might be committed: It was concluded, that he ſhould be put in a certeine chamber or ſafe houſe within the Manſiõ of the Frier preachers, and ſo he was: and thẽ the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſayd, that he him ſelfe would kepe the keye therof, in the meane tyme. And whẽ the foreſayd Wedſonday was expired, beyng the 15. day of March, and that the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Canterbury, with his felow brethren and ſuffraganes were aſſẽbled in the churche of S. Paule in London: The Archbyſhop of Canterbury takyng the Epiſcopall ſeate, called vnto him the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Richard London, Hẽry Wincheſter, Robert Ciceſter, Alexander Norwich, and the noble prince Edmond the Duke of Yorke, Iohn Earle of Weſtmerlãd, Thomas Beauford knight Lord Chauncelour of England, and the Lord Beamond with other noble men as well ſpirituall as tẽporall, that ſtood and ſat by, whom to name it wold be long: Before whõ ẏ ſaid Iohn Badby, was called perſonally to anſwer vnto the Articles premiſed in ẏ foreſayd inſtrument. Who when he came perſonally before them, the articles were read by the Officiall of the court of Cãt. & by the Archb. (in the vulgar toung) expoũded, publikely, & expreſly: and the ſame articles, as he before had ſpokẽ and depoſed, he ſtill helde and defended and ſayde, that whileſt he lyued he woulde neuer retracte the ſame. And furthermore he ſayd ſpecially to be noted, that the L. duke of Yorke perſonally there preſent as is aforeſaid, & euery man els for the time beyng: is of more eſtimation & reputation, then the ſacrament of the aultar, by the prieſte in due forme conſecrated. And whileſt they were thus in his examinacion, the Archbiſhop conſideryng and wayeng that he would in no wiſe be altered, and ſeyng moreouer hys countenaunce ſtoute and hart confirmed, ſo that he began to perſuade other as it appeared in the ſame: Theſe thynges conſidered, the Archprelate when he ſawe that by hys allurementes it was not in hys power, neyther by exhortations, reaſons, nor argumentes, to bring the ſaid Iohn Badby from his conſtant truth to his catholique fayth (executing and doyng the office of hys great maiſter) proceded to confirme and ratifie ẏ former ſentence geuen before by the biſhop of Worceſter agaynſt the ſayd Iohn Badby, pronouncing him for an opẽ and publique heretike. And thus ſhifting their hands of him, they deliuered him to the ſecular power: and deſired the ſayd temporall Lordes, then and there preſent very inſtantly, that they would not put ẏ ſame Iohn Badby to death for ẏ his offence, nor deliuer him to be puniſhed or put to death, in ẏ preſence of all the lords aboue recited.

The biſhops make faire worke.

The Archb. both iudge and Iaylor.

Aſtiterunt reges terræ & principes cõuenerũt in vnũ aduerſus, &c. Pſal. 2.

Note here murdring Wolues in ſhepes clothing.

Theſe things thus done & concluded by the biſhops, in the forenoone: on the afternoone, the kings writ was not far behind. By the force wherof, I. Badby ſtil perſeuering in hys conſtancie vnto ẏ death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put in an emptie barel was bound with yron chaines faſtened to a ſtake, hauing dry woode put about hym.

And as he was thus ſtanding in ẏ pipe or tonne (for as yet Cherillus Bull was not in vre among the byſhops) it happened that the Prince the kinges eldeſt ſonne, was there preſent. Who ſhewing ſome part of the good Samaritane, began to endeuour and aſſay how to ſaue the lyfe of hym, whom the hipocriticall Leuites and Phariſeis ſought to put to death. He admoniſhed and counſelled him, that hauing reſpect vnto himſelfe, he ſhoulde ſpedely withdraw himſelfe out of theſe daungerous Laberynthes of opinions, adding often times threatnings, the which might haue daunted any mans ſtomacke. Alſo Courtney at that tyme chauncelour of Oxford, preached vnto him, and enfourmed hym of the fayth of holy church.

The prince laboureth to turne Badby.

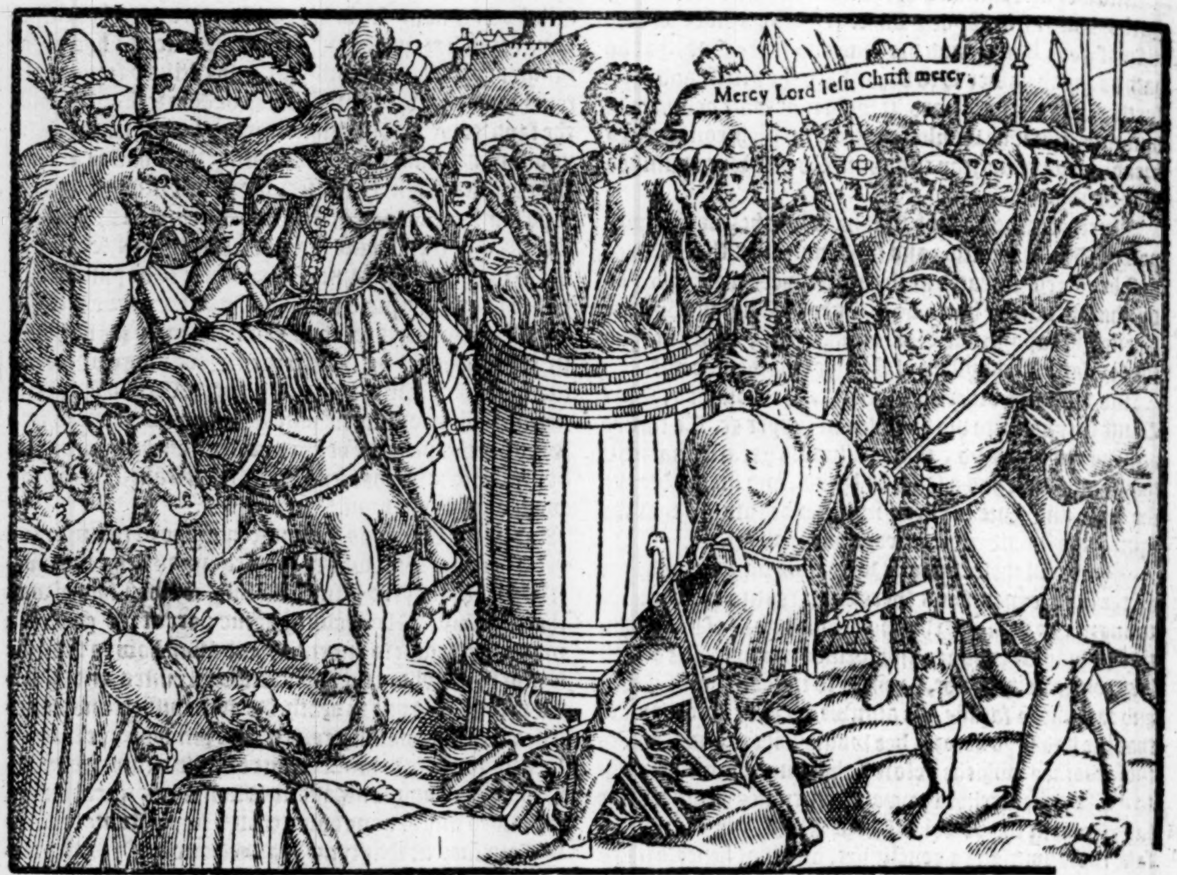
In this meane ſeaſon, the Prior of Saynt Bartelmewes in Smythfield, brought with all ſolemnitye the ſacrament of Gods bodye, wyth twelue torches borne before, and ſo ſhewed the Sacrament to the poore man beyng at the ſtake. And then they demaunded of hym how he beleued in it, he aunſweryng: that he knew well it was halowed bread, and not Gods bodye. And then was the tunne put ouer hym, and fire putte vnto hym. And when he felt the fire, he cryed, mercy (calling belike vpon the Lorde) and ſo the Prince immediatlye commaunded to take away the tunne, and quenche the fire. The Prince, his commaundement beyng done, aſked him if he would forſake hereſie to take him to the fayth of holy churche: which thing if he would doo, he ſhoulde haue goods inough, promiſing alſo vnto him a yearelye ſtipende out of the kinges treaſury, ſo muche as ſhoulde ſuffice hys contentation.

The ſacrament ſolemnly brought to Smithfield at the burning of Badby.

But this valiant champion of Chriſt, neglectyng the princes fayre wordes, as alſo contempnyng all mennes deuiſes: refuſed the offer of worldly promiſes, no doubt, but beyng more vehemently inflamed with the ſpirite of God then with any earthly deſire. Wherfore, when as yet he continued vnmoueable in hys former minde, the prince commaunded him ſtraight to be put againe into the pype or tunne, & that he ſhould not afterward looke for any grace or fauour. But as he could be allured by no rewardes, euen ſo was he nothing at all abaſhed at their tormentes, but as a valiant champion of Chriſt, he perſeuered inuincible to the end. Not without a great and moſte cruell battaile, but with much more greater triumphe of victory: the ſpirit of Chriſt hauing alwaies the vpper hand in hys members, maugre the fury, rage, and power, of the whole worlde. For the manifeſtation of which torment, we haue here ſet forth the picture of his burning, in ſuch maner as it was done.

Iohn Badby conſtant to the ende.

☞ The deſcription of the horrible burning of Iohn Badby, and how he was vſed at his death.


Mercy Lord Ieſu Chriſt mercy.

All the power of man ſet againſt the Goſpell.

This godly martyr John Badby hauing thus conſũmate his teſtimonie and martyrdome in fier, the perſecutyng Biſhops yet not herewith contented, and thinkyng thẽ ſelues as yet either not ſtrõg enough, or els not ſharp enough agaynſt the poore innocent flocke of Chriſt: to make all thynges ſure and ſubſtantiall on their ſide, in ſuch ſorte, as this doctrine of the Goſpell now ſpringyng ſhould be ſuppreſſed for euer: layd their cõſpiring heades together, and hauyng nowe a kyng for their owne purpoſe, ready in all poyntes to ſerue their turne (duryng the tyme of the ſame Parliament aboue recited yet continuyng) the foreſayd Byſhops and clergye of the realme, exhibited a Bill vnto the kinges maieſtie: ſubtilly declaryng, what quietnes hath been maynteyned within thys realme by hys moſte noble progenitours, who alwayes defended the auncient rites and cuſtomes of the churche, and enriched the ſame with large giftes, to the honour of God and the realme: and contrariwiſe, what trouble & diſquietnes was now riſen by diuers (as they termed them) wicked and peruerſe men teachyng & preachyng openly and priuily, a certeine newe, wicked, and heretical kinde of doctrine, cõtrary to the catholicke fayth and determination of holy churche: Wherupon the kyng, alwayes oppreſſed with blynde ignoraunce by the crafty means & ſubtile pretenſes of the clergy, graunted in the ſaid Parliamẽt (by cõſent of the nobilitie aſſẽbled) a ſtatute to be obſerued called Ex officio as foloweth.

The Goſpel of Chriſt counted as wicked and hereticall.

¶ The Statute ex officio.

The cruell ſtatute, ex officio.

That is to ſay. That no man within this realme or other the kyngs maieſties dominions, preſume or take vpon him to preache priuily or apertly, without ſpeciall licence firſt obteyned of the ordinary of the ſame place, (curates in their own pariſh churches, and perſons heretofore priuileged, & others admitted by the Canon law, onely excepted) Nor that any hereafter do preache, mainteyne, teache, informe openly or in ſecrete, or make or write any booke contrary to the catholicke faith, and determinacion of the holy church. Nor that any hereafter, make any conuenticles or aſſemblies, or kepe & exerciſe any maner of ſchooles touchyng this ſecte, wicked doctrine, and opinion. And further that no man hereafter ſhal by any meanes, fauour any ſuch preacher, any ſuch maker of vnlawful aſſemblies, any ſuch booke maker or writer, and finally any ſuch teacher, informer, or ſturrer vp of the people. And that all and ſingular perſons hauyng any the ſayd bookes, writinges, or cedules conteynyng the ſayd wicked doctrines and opinions, ſhall within fourty dayes after this preſent proclamaciõ and Statute, really and effectually deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered all and ſingular the ſayd bookes and writinges, vnto the ordinary of the ſame place. And if it ſhall happen any perſon or perſons of what kynde, ſtate, or condicion ſo euer he or they be, to do or attẽpt any maner of thyng contrary to this preſent proclamation and ſtatute, or not to deliuer the ſaid bookes in forme aforeſayd: That then the ordinary of the ſame place in his owne dioces by authoritie of the ſayd proclamacion and ſtatute, ſhal cauſe to be arreſted, and deteyned vnder ſafe cuſtody, the ſayd perſon or perſons in this caſe diffamed, and euidently ſuſpected or any of them, vntill he or they ſo offending haue by order of law purged him or them ſelues as touchyng the articles layed to his or their charge in this behalfe: or vntill he or they haue denied and recanted (accordyng to ye lawes eccleſiaſticall) the ſayd wicked ſecte, preachings, teachinges, and hereticall and erroneous opinions. And that the ſayd ordinary by him ſelfe or his commiſſaryes procede openly & iudicially to all the effect of law againſt the ſayd perſons ſo arreſted and remainyng vnder ſafe cuſtody, and that he end and determine the matter within thrée monethes after the ſayd arreſt (all delayes and excuſes ſet a part) accordyng to the order and cuſtome of ye Canon law. And if any perſon, in any cauſe aboue mentioned, ſhalbe lawfully conuicted before the ordinary of the dioces or his commiſſaries: that then the ſayd ordinary, may lawfully cauſe the ſayd perſon ſo conuicted (accordyng to the maner and qualitie of his facte) to be layd

A blody law of K. Henry the 4.

in any of his owne priſons, and there to be kept ſo long as to his diſcretion ſhalbe thought expedient. And further the ſayd ordinary (except in caſes by the whiche accordyng to the Canon law, the partie offẽdyng ought to be deliuered to the ſeculer power) ſhall charge the ſayd perſon with ſuch a fine of money to be paid vnto yͤ kings maieſtie, as he ſhal thinke competent for the maner and qualitie of the offence. And the ſaid dioceſan ſhalbe boũd to geue notice of the ſayd fine, into the kyngs maieſties Exchequer, by his letters patẽt vnder his ſeale: to the entent, that the ſayd fine may be leuied to the kyngs maieſties vſe, of the goodes of the perſon ſo conuicte.

And further, if any perſon within thys realme and other the kings maieſties dominions, ſhall be conuicted before the ordinarie of the place, or hys commiſſaryes, of the ſayd wicked preachinges, doctrines, opinions, ſcholes, and hereticall and erroneous informations or any of them: and will refuſe to abiure and recant the ſaid wicked ſecte, preachinges, teachinges, opinions, ſcholes and informatiõs: Or if, after hys abiuration once made, the relapſe be pronoũced agaynſt him by the dioceſan of the place, or hys commiſſaries (for ſo by the cannon lawe he ought to be left to the ſecular power, vpon credit geuen to the ordinary or hys cõmiſſaries) That then, the Shirieff of the ſame countie, the Maior, Shrieffes, or Shiriefe, or the Maior or Bayliſes of the ſame citie, village or borough of the ſame countie, and neareſt inhabiting to the ſaid Ordinarie or his ſaid Commiſſaries: ſhal perſonally be preſent, as oft as they ſhal be required, to cõferre with the ſayd Ordinarie or hys Commiſſaries in geuing ſentence agaynſt the ſayd perſons offending or any of them. And after the ſayd ſentence ſo pronounced, ſhall take vnto them the ſayd perſons ſo offending, and any of them, and cauſe them openly to be burned in the ſight of all the people: To the entent, that thys kinde of puniſhment may be a terrour vnto others, that the lyke wicked doctrines, and hereticall opinions, or the authors and fauourers therof, be no more maintayned within thys realme & dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbyd) of chriſtian religion, and decrées of holy church. In which all and ſingular the premiſſes, concerning the ſtatute aforeſayd: Let the Shiriefs, Maiors, and Bayliſes of the ſayd Counties, cities, villages, & boroughes, be attendant, ayding, and fauouring, the ſayd Ordinaries and their Commiſſaries.

bloudy
ute,

By this bloudy ſtatute ſo ſeuerely and ſharpely enacted agaynſt theſe ſimple men, here haſt thou (gentle reader) a litle to ſtay with thy ſelfe: and to conſider the nature and condition of this preſent world, how it hath ben ſet and bent euer from the beginnyng, by all might, cõſaile, and wayes poſſible, to ſtriue agaynſt the wayes of God, and to ouerthrowe that whiche he will haue ſet vp. And although the world may ſée by infinite ſtories & examples, that it is but in vayne to ſtriue againſt him: yet ſuch is yͤ nature of this world (all ſet in malignitie) that it will not ceaſe ſtill to be lyke it ſelfe. The lyke lawe and ſtatute in the tyme of Diocleſian & Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth, pag. 117. and for the more ſtrength were written alſo in tables of braſſe, to the entent that the name of Chriſt, ſhould vtterly be extincted for euer. And yet, the name of Chriſt remayneth, where that braſen law remayned not thrée yeares. The whiche law written then in braſſe, althoughe it differ in manner and forme, from this our ſtatute Ex officio, yet to yͤ end and crueltie, to ſpill the bloud of ſaintes, there is no difference betwen the one and the other. Neither is there any diuerſitie touching the firſt originall doer and worker of them both. For the ſame Sathan, whiche then wrought his vttermoſt agaynſt Chriſt, before he was bounde vp: the ſame alſo nowe after hys looſing out, doth what hee can, though not after the ſame way, yet to the ſame entent. For then, with outward violence as an opẽ enemy, he did what he could: Now by a more couert way, vnder the title of the churche, he impugneth yͤ church of Chriſt, vſing a more ſubtile way to deceaue, vnder gay pretenſed titles: but no les pernitious in yͤ end, whereto he ſhowteth, as wel appeareth by this bloudy ſtatute Ex officio, the ſequell wherof coſt afterward, many a Chriſtẽ mans lyfe. As in proceſſe of ſtory remayneth more hereafter (Chriſt willyng) to be declared.

he law of
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Furthermore, for the more fortification of this ſtatute of the kyng aforeſayd, cõcurreth alſo an other conſtitution made much aboute the ſame tyme, by the Archb. of Canterbury Thomas Arundell: So that, no induſtrye nor policie of man here dyd lacke, to ſet the matter forward, but eſpecially on the biſhops partes, who left no meanes vnattempted, how to ſubuerte the right wayes of the Lorde. Fyrſt in moſte diligent and exquiſite execution of the kynges ſtatute ſet forth: the execution wherof they dyd ſo exactlye applie, that meruell it is to conſider, all other lawes of kinges (commonly, be they neuer ſo good) to be ſo coldlye kept, and thys onely amonge all the reaſt ſo nerely followed. But herein is to be ſeene, the diligence of the Romiſhe prelates, which neuer let any thyng to fall, that maketh for the dignitie of their eſtate. Secondly, beſide their vigilant care, in ſeing the kinges ſtatute to be executed: No leſſe induſtrious alſo were they, in adding therunto moe conſtitutions of their owne, as from time to tyme appeareth as well by other Archbiſhops hereafter, and by Pope Martine, as alſo by this conſtitution here preſent made by Thomas Arundell the Archbyſhop. The ſtyle and tenour wherof, to the entent the rigour of the ſame maye appeare to all men, I thought here vnder to adioyne, in wordes as followeth.

¶ *The Conſtitution of Tho. Arundel againſt the followers of Gods truth.*

A cruell conſtitutiõ by the Archb. againſt the Goſpellers with 13. articles.

THomas by the permiſſion of God Archbiſhop, of Canterbury, primate of all Englãd, and Legate of the ſee Apoſtolike: To all & ſingular our reuerẽd brethrẽ, felow biſhops, and our ſuffragans, And to Abbates, Priours, Deanes of cathedrall churches, Archdeacons, Prouoſtes and chanons: alſo to all perſons, vicars, chapelayns, and clerkes in pariſhe churches, and to all lay mẽ whom and where ſo euer, dwellyng within our prouince of Canterbury, greating: and grace to ſtand firmely in yͤ doctrine of yͤ holy mother church. It is a manifeſt and plain caſe, that he doth wrong and iniurie to the moſt reuerend councel, whoſo reuolteth frõ yͤ things, beyng in yͤ ſayd coũcel once diſcuſſed & decided. And who ſoeuer dare preſume to diſpute of the ſupreme or principal iudgement here in earth, in ſo doing incurreth the payne of ſacrilege, accordyng to the authoritie of Ciuile wiſedome, and manifeſt traditiõ of humane law. Much more then, they, who truſtyng to their own wittes, are ſo bold to violate and with contrary doctrine to reſiſte, and in word and dede to contemne, the preceptes of lawes and canõs, rightly made and proceedyng, from the keybearer and porter of eternal life and death, bearing the rowme & perſon, not of pure man, but of true God here in earth: whiche alſo haue ben obſerued hetherto, of the holy fathers our predeceſſours, vnto the glorious effuſion of their bloud, and voluntary ſprinkling out of their braynes: Are worthy of greater puniſhment, deſeruing quickly to be cut of, as rotten members, from the body of the churche militant. For ſuch ought to conſider, what is in the olde Teſtament written: Moſes & Aaron amongeſt his prieſts, that is, were chief heades amongeſt them. And in the newe Teſtament, among the Apoſtles there was a certeine difference: And though they were all Apoſtles, yet it was graunted of the Lorde to Peter, that he ſhould beare preeminence aboue the other Apoſtles: and alſo the Apoſtles them ſelues would the ſame, that he ſhoulde be the chiefetaine ouer all the reaſt. And being called Cephas, that is, head: ſhould be as prince ouer the Apoſtles. Unto whom it was ſayd: Thou being once conuerted, confirme thy brethren: as though he would ſay. If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chaunce to erre and ſtraye out of the way of fayth, of iuſte liuing, or right conuerſatiõ: Do

Blaſphemy.

He meaneth here of Tho. Becket his predeceſſor, who had his braynes bet out in the tyme of K. Henry 2.

Scripture clarkly applied.

This geare hangeth together lyke germans lippes.

κεφας ἀπό της κεφαλης, marke this you Grammarians.

Marke well the popes diuinitie

An argument far fet: that true doctrine conſiſteth in making one heade of the church.

thou confirme and reduce hym in the ryght waye again. Which thyng no doubt, the Lord would neuer haue ſayd vnto him, if he had ſo minded, that the reſt ſhould be obedient to him. And yet all this notwithſtādyng, we know and dayly proue that we are ſory to ſpeake, how the olde Sophiſter, the enemy of mankynd (foreſeing and fearyng leſt the ſounde doctrine of the churche determined from auncient tymes by the holy forefathers, ſhould withſtād his malices, if it might kepe the people of God in vnitie of fayth vnder one head of the churche) doth therfore endeuoure by all meanes poſſible, to extirpe the ſayde doctrine, ſeyning vices to be vertues. And ſo vnder falſe pretenſes of veritie diſſimuled, ſoweth diſcord in catholique people, to the intent, that ſome goyng one way, ſome an other: He in the meane tyme, may gather to hym ſelfe a churche of the malignant, differyng wickedly from the vniuerſall mother holy churche. In the which, Sathan transformyng him ſelfe into an aungell of lyght, bearyng a lyeng and deceatfull balaunce in hys hand, pretendeth great rightuouſnes, in contraryng the auncīet doctrine of the holy mother Churche, and refuſyng the traditions of the ſame determined and appoynted by holy fathers: perſuadyng men (by feyned forgeryes) the ſame to bee naught: and ſo inducyng other new kyndes of doctrine, leadyng to more goodnes, as he by hys lyeng perſuaſions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither wylleth nor myndeth any goodnes, but rather that he may ſowe ſchiſmes, wherby diuers opinions and contrary to them ſelues beyng rayſed in the Churche: fayth thereby may be diminiſhed, and alſo the reuerend holy myſteries through the ſame contention of wordes may be prophaned, with Paganes, Iewes and other infidels, and wicked myſcreantes. And ſo that figure in the Apocalips. 6. is well verifyed, ſpeaking of him that ſatte on the blacke horſe, bearyng a payre of balaunce in hys hande, by the whiche heretikes are vnderſtande. Who at the fyrſt appearaunce lyke to weighites or balance, make as though they woulde ſet foorth ryght and iuſte thynges, to allure the hartes of the hearers. But afterward, appeareth the blacke horſe, that is to ſaye, their intention, full of curſed ſpeakyng. For they vnder a diuerſe ſhewe and colour of a iuſte balance, with the tayle of a blacke horſe ſprynklyng abroade hereſyes and errours, doe ſtryke. And beyng poyſoned them ſelues, vnder colour of good, rayſe vp infinite ſlaunders, and by certayne perſons fytte to doe miſchiefe, doe publiſhe abroade as it were, the ſugered taſte of honye mixte with poyſon, thereby the ſooner to bee taken: working and cauſing through their ſleite ſubtleties, that errour ſhoulde be taken for veritie, wickednes for holines, and for the true will of Chriſt. Yea and moreouer, the foreſayd perſons thus pycked out, doe preach before they be ſent, and preſume to ſowe the ſeede, before the ſeede diſcretly be ſeparate from the chaffe. Who not pondering the conſtitutions & decrees of the Canons, prouided for the ſame purpoſe agaynſt ſuch peſtilent ſowers, doe preferre ſacrifice Diabolicall (ſo to terme it) before obedience geuen to the holy church militant.

How aptly he painteth the proceedinges of his owne popiſh church.

Apoc. 6.

The figure of the black horſe in the Apoc. doctorlye expounded.

Behold the true image of Wolues vnder ſhepes clothing

We therefore conſidering, and weyeng, that erroure which is not reſiſted, ſeemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth hys boſome to wyde, which reſiſteth not the vipere thinkyng there to thruſt out her venyme: And willing moreouer to ſhake of the duſte from our feete, and to ſee to the honour of the holy mother church, wherby one vniforme holy doctrine maye be ſowen and planted in the church of God (namely in thys our prouince of Canterbury) ſo muche as in vs doth lye, to the encreaſe of fayth and ſeruice of God, fyrſt rooting out the euill weedes and offendicles which by the meanes of peruerſe preaching, and madde doctrine haue ſpronge vp hetherto, and are lyke more hereafter to growe: purpoſing by ſome conuenient way, with all diligence poſſible to withſtand in tyme & to prouide for the perill of ſoules, which we ſee to ryſe vnder pretenſe of the premiſſes: alſo to remoue all ſuch obſtacles, by which the ſayd our purpoſe may be ſtopped, by the aduiſe and aſſent of all our ſuffragans and other prelates, being preſent in thys our conuocation of the clergye, as alſo of the procurators of thē that be abſent: and at the inſtant peticion of the procuraters of the whole clergie within thys oure prouince of Cant. for the more fortification of the common lawe in thys parte, adding therunto puniſhment and penaltyes condigne as be here vnder written, wee will and commaund, ordeine and decree.

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That no maner of perſon ſecular or regular, being autoriſed to preache by the lawes now preſcribed, or licenſed by ſpeciall priuiledge: ſhall take vpon hym the office of preaching the word of God, or by any meanes preach vnto the clergy or laytie, either in the church or without, in Latine or in Engliſh, except he fyrſt preſent hym ſelf, and be examined of the Ordinarye of the place where he preacheth. And ſo being found a fyt perſon, as wel in maners, as knowledge: he ſhall be ſent by the ſayd Ordinary, to ſome one church or more, as ſhall be thought expedient by the ſayd Ordinary, according to the qualitye of the perſon. Nor anye perſon aforeſayde ſhall preſume to preache, except fyrſt he giue faythfull ſignification in due forme of hys ſendyng and autority, that is: That he that is autoriſed, do come in forme appointed him in that behalfe: and thoſe that affirme they come by ſpeciall priuiledge, do ſhew their priuiledge vnto the Perſon or Vicar of the place where they preach. And thoſe ẏ pretende them ſelues to be ſent by the Ordinary of the place, ſhall likewyſe ſhewe the Ordinaries letters made vnto hym for that purpoſe, vnder hys great ſeale. Let vs alwayes vnderſtād, the Curate (hauing the perpetuitie) to be ſent of right vnto the people of hys own cure. But if any perſon aforeſayde, ſhall bee bydden by the Ordinarye of the place, or any other ſuperiour to preache, by reaſon of hys errours and hereſies which before peraduenture he hath preached and taught: that then and from thence forth, he abſtayne from preaching within our prouince: vntill he haue purged hymſelfe, and be lawfully admitted agayne to preach, by the iuſt arbitrement of him that ſuſpended or forbad him. And ſhal alwais after ẏ, cary wyth him to all places where ſo euer he ſhall preach, the letters teſtimoniall of hym that reſtored hym. Moreouer, the pariſhe Prieſtes or Vicars temporall, not hauing perpetuities, not being ſent in forme aforeſayd, ſhall ſimplye preach in the churches where they haue charge, onely thoſe things which are expreſſely contayned in the prouinciall conſtitution ſet forth by Iohn our predeceſſor of good memorye, to helpe the ignoraunce of the Prieſtes, which beginneth: Ignorantia Sacerdotum: which boke of conſtitutions, we would ſhould be had in euery pariſhe churche in our prouince of Canterbury, within thre monethes next after publication of theſe preſentes, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the prieſts them ſelues yearely, and at the tymes appoynted. And leaſt thys wholeſome ſtatute, myght bee thought hurtfull of ſome, by reaſon of payment of money, or ſome other difficultie: we therefore wyll and ordayne, that the examination of the perſons aforeſayde, and the making of their letters by the Ordinary, be done gratis and freely, wythout any exaction of mony at all, by thoſe to whom it ſhal appertayne. And if any man ſhall wyllingly preſume to violate thys our ſtatute grounded vpon the old law, after the publication of the ſame: he ſhall incurre the ſentence of greater excommunication ipſo facto: whoſe abſolution we ſpecially reſerue by tenour of theſe preſentes, to vs and our ſucceſſors. But if any ſuch preacher deſpyſing thys wholeſome ſtatute, and not waying the ſentence of greater excommunication, doo the ſeconde tyme take vpon hym to preach: ſaying and alledging, & ſtoutly affirming, that the ſentence of greater excommunication aforeſayd, cannot be appoynted by the church in the perſons of the prelates of the ſame: That then, the ſuperiours of the place, do worthely rebuke hym, and forbyd hym from the communion of all faythfull Chriſtiās. And that the ſaid perſon herenpon lawfully conuicted (except he recant, and abiure after the maner of the churche) bee pronounced an hereticke by the Ordinarye of the place. And that from thēce forth, he be reputed and taken for an heretike and ſchiſmaticke, and that he incurre (ipſo facto) the penalties of hereſy & ſchiſmacy, expreſſed in the law. And chiefly, that his goods be adiudged confiſcate by the law, and apprehēded and kept by them, to whom it ſhall appertayne. And that hys fautours, receauers, and defenders beyng conuicted, in all caſes be lykewyſe puniſhed, if they ceaſe not of, wythin one moneth, being lawfullye warned thereof by the ſuperiours.

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Conſtit.

Furthermore, no Clergye man or parochians of anye pariſh or place within our prouince of Canturbury, ſhal admit any man to preach within their churches, churchyardes, or other places whatſoeuer, except fyrſt there be manifeſt knowledge had of hys autoritye, priuiledge, or ſendyng thether, according to the order aforeſayd: Otherwyſe, the Churche, Churchyard, or place whatſoeuer, in which whiche it was ſo preached, ſhall *ipſo facto*, receaue the eccleſiaſticall interdicte, and ſo ſhall remayne interdicted, vntyll they that ſo admited and ſuffered hym to preache, haue reformed them ſelues, and obtayned the place ſo interdicted to be releaſed in due forme of law, eyther from the Ordinary of the place, or hys ſuperiour.

Moreouer, lyke as a good houſholder caſteth wheate into the ground (wel ordered for that purpoſe) therby to get the more encreaſe: euen ſo we wyll and commaunde, that the preacher of Gods woord, comming in forme aforeſayd, preaching eyther vnto the Clergy or Laity, according to hys matter proponed: ſhall be of good behauiour, ſowyng ſuch ſeede as ſhall be conuenient for hys auditory. And chiefly preching to the Clergy, he ſhal touch the vices vſed amongeſt them, and to the Laitye he ſhall declare the vices commonlye vſed among them, and not otherwyſe: But if he preach contrary to thys order, then ſhall he be ſharply puniſhed by the Ordinarye of yͤ place, according to the qualitie of the offence.

Item, foraſmuch as the part is vyle, that agreeth not wyth the whole: we do decree and ordayne, that no preacher aforeſayd, or any other perſon whatſoeuer, ſhall otherwiſe teach or preach concerning the ſacrament of the aultar, matrimony, confeſſion of ſynnes, or any other ſacrament of the church, or article of the fayth, then that already is diſcuſſed by the holye mother churche, nor ſhall bryng anye thyng in doubte, that is determined by the churche: nor ſhall to his knowledge priuelye or apertly pronounce, blaſphemous wordes concerning the ſame, nor ſhall teache, preach, or obſerue anye ſect, or kynde of hereſy whatſoeuer, contrary to the wholeſome doctrine of the church. He that ſhall wyttingly and obſtinatly attempt the contrary, after the publicatiõ of theſe preſẽts, ſhall incurre the ſentence of excommunication *ipſo facto*: From the whych (except in payne of death) he ſhall not be abſolued, vntyll he hath reformed hym ſelfe by abiuration of hys hereſye, at the diſcretion of the Ordinarye in whoſe territory he ſo offended, and hath receaued wholſome penitence for hys offences. But if the ſeconde tyme he ſhall ſo offend, beyng lawfullye conuicted, he ſhall be pronounced an hereticke, and hys goods confiſcate and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertayne. The penaunce before mẽcioned, ſhall be after this maner: If any man contrary to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our conſtitutions prouinciall, do openly or priuely teache or preache any kinde of hereſy or ſect: he ſhall, in the pariſh churche of the ſame place, where he ſo preached, vpon one ſonday or other ſolemne day, or more, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary, and as his offence is more or les: expreſly reuoke that he ſo preached, taught, or affirmed, euen at the tyme of the ſolemnitie of Maſſe, when the people are moſt aſſembled, and there ſhall effectuallye and without fraude preache, and teache the verye truthe determined by the church: and further ſhall bee puniſhed after the qualitie of hys offence, as ſhal be thought expedient to the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

Item, foraſmuch as a new veſſell being long vſed, ſauereth after the heade, wee decree and ordayne, that no Scholemaiſters and teachers whatſoeuer, that inſtruct children in Grammer, or others whom ſoeuer, in primatiue ſciences: ſhall in teaching them, intermingle anye thing concerning the catholike fayth, the Sacrament of the aultar, or other ſacramentes of the churche, contrarye to the determinations of the churche. Nor ſhall ſuffer theyr ſcholers to expound the holye ſcripture (except the text as hathe bene vſed of auncient tyme) nor ſhall permit them to diſpute openly or priuely concerning the catholike faith or ſacraments of the church. Contrarywiſe, the offender herein ſhall bee greuouſlye puniſhed by the Ordinarye of the place, as a fauourer of errours and ſchiſmes.

Item, for that a new way doth more frequently leade a ſtray, then an old way: we wyl and commaund, that no booke or treatiſe made by John wyckliffe, or other whõ ſoeuer, about that time or ſithẽs, or hereafter to be made: be from henceforth read in ſcholes, halles, hoſpitals, or other places whatſoeuer, within our prouince of Canterbury aforeſayd, except the ſame be fyrſt examined by the vniuerſity of Oxford or Cambrige, or at the leaſt by .xij. perſons, whom the ſayd vniuerſities or one of them ſhal appoynt to be choſen at our diſcretion, or the laudable diſcretion of our predeceſſors: and the ſame beyng examined as aforeſayd, to be expreſſely approued and allowed by vs or our ſucceſſours, and in the name and autoritye of the vniuerſity, to be deliuered vnto the Stacioners to be copied out, & the ſame to be ſold at a reaſonable price, the originall thereof alwayes after, to remayne in ſome cheſt of the Vniuerſity. But if anye man ſhall reade anye ſuch kynde of boke in ſcholes or otherwyſe, as aforeſaid: he ſhal be puniſhed as a ſower of ſchiſme, and a fauourer of hereſy, as the qualitie of the fault ſhall require.

Conſtit.7.

Item, it is a daungerous thyng (as witneſſeth bleſſed S. Jerome) to tranſlate the text of holy Scripture out of one tonge into an other: for in yͤ trãſlation, the ſame ſenſe is not alwayes eaſely kept, as the ſame S. Jerome confeſſeth, that although he were inſpired, yet oftentymes in this, he erred. we therfore decree and ordeine, that no mã hereafter by his owne authoritie, tranſlate any text of the Scripture into Engliſh, or any other tõgue by way of a boke, libell, or treatiſe: and that no man read any ſuch boke, libell, or treatiſe, now lately ſet forth in the tyme of John wickleffe, or ſithens, or hereafter to be ſet forth, in parte or in whole, priuily, or apertly: vpon payne of the greater excõmunication, vntill yͤ ſayd tranſlation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or (if the caſe ſo require) by the councell prouinciall: He that ſhall do contrary to this, ſhall likewiſe be puniſhed as a fauourer of errour and hereſie.

He confeſſeth that S. Jerome erred in his tranſlation.

And yet the ſaid Archb. commended Quene Anne, for hauyng the ſcripture in engliſh.

Conſtit.8.

Item, for that almightye God can not bee expreſſed with any Philoſophicall termes or otherwiſe inuẽted of man: And S. Auguſtine ſayth, that he hath oftentimes reuoked ſuch concluſions as hath been moſt true, becauſe they haue been offenſiue to the eares of the religious: we do ordeyne & ſpecially forbid, that no maner of perſon of what ſtate degree or cõdition ſoeuer he be, do alleadge or propone any concluſions or propoſitiõs in the catholike faith, or repugnant to good maners (except neceſſary doctrine perteining to their facultie of teaching or diſputing in their ſcholes or otherwiſe) although they defend yͤ ſame wͭ neuer ſo curious termes & wordes. For as ſayth bleſſed S. Hugh of the Sacraments, yͭ which oftentimes is wel ſpokẽ, is not wel vnderſtode. Yf any man therfore after yͤ publicatiõ of theſe preſẽts, ſhalbe conuict wittingly to haue proponed ſuch concluſiõs or propoſitiõs, except (being moniſhed) he reforme him ſelfe within one mõth, by vertue of this preſent conſtitution: He ſhall incurre yͤ ſentẽce of greater excommunication *ipſo facto*, & ſhalbe opẽly pronounced an excõmunicate, vntil he hath confeſſed his fault openly in the ſame place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the ſayd concluſion or propoſition, in one church or more, as ſhalbe thought expedient to the ordinary.

Termes and propoſitions in diſputyng to be obſerued.

Conſtit.9.

Item, no maner of perſon ſhall preſume to diſpute vpon the articles determined by the churche, as is conteyned in the decrees, decretalles, our conſtitutions prouinciall, or in the generall councels. But onely to ſeeke out the true meanyng thereof, and that expreſſely, whether it be openly or in ſecret: nor none ſhall call in doubt the authoritie of the ſayd decretals or conſtitutions, or the authoritie of him that made them, nor teach any thyng contrary to the determinatiõ therof: And chiefly, concerning the adoration of the holy croſſe, the worſhippyng of Images, of ſaintes, goyng on pilgrymage to certaine places, or the reliques of ſaints, or agaynſt the othes in caſes accuſtomed to bee geuen in both common places, that is to ſay, ſpirituall and temporall: But of all it ſhalbe commõly taught and preached, that the croſſe and Image of the crucifixe, and other Images of ſaintes in the honour of them whom they repreſent, are to bee worſhipped with proceſſion, bowyng of knees, offryng of francke incenſe, kiſſyngs, oblations, lightyng of candels, and pilgrimages, *and withall other kynd of ceremonies and maners that hath been vſed in the time of our predeceſſours: And that geuyng of othes in caſes expreſſed in the law, and vſed of all men to whom it belongeth in both commõ places, ought to bee done vpon the booke of the Goſpell of Chriſt. Cõtrary vnto this who ſoeuer doth preach, teach, or obſtinatly affirme (except he recãt in maner and forme aforeſayd) ſhal forthwith incurre the penaltie of hereſye, and ſhalbe pronounced an heretike, in all effect of law.

Autoritie of the popes decretals not to be doubted vnder payne of hereſy.

Adoratiõ of the croſſe.

*With all abhomination.

Conſtit.10.

Item, we do decree and ordeyne, that no chapleine bee admitted to celebrate in any dioces within our prouince of Canterbury, where he was not borne, or not receaued orders: excepte he bryng with hym his letters of orders, and letters commendatorie from his ordinary, and alſo from other Byſhops in whoſe dioces of a long tyme he hath been conuerſaunt, wherby his conuerſation and maners may apeare: So that it may be known, whether he hath ben diffamed with any new opinions touching the catho-

No prieſt to celebrate without their letters of orders.

catholique fayth, or whether he be free from the ſame: otherwyſe, aſwell he that celebrateth as he that ſuffreth hym to celebrate, ſhalbe ſharpely puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Ordinarie.

Conſt. 11.

Finally, becauſe thoſe thinges which newly and vnaccuſtomably creepeth vp, ſtandeth nede of new and ſpedie helpe: & where more daunger is, there ought to be more warye circumſpection & ſtronger reſiſtaunce, & not without good cauſe, the leſſe noble ought diſcretly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nouriſhed: Conſidering therfore, & in lamentable wiſe ſhewing vnto you, how the auncient Vniuerſitie of Oxford, whiche as a fruitfull vyne was wont to extend forth her fruitfull branches to the honor of God, the great perfectiō, and defence of the churche: now partly being become wylde, bryngeth forth bitter grapes, which being indiſcretly eaten of auncient fathers that thought themſelues ſkilfull in the lawe of God, hath ſet on edge the teeth of their children: and our prouince is infected with diuers and vnfruitfull doctrines, and defyled with a newe and damnable name of Lollardie, to the great reproſe and offence of the ſaid Vniuerſitie being knowen in forein coūtreyes, & to the great vrkeſomenes of the ſtudents there, and to the great dammage & loſſe of the church of England, which in tymes paſt by her vertue as with a ſtrong wall, was wont to be defended, and nowe lyke to runne in ruine not to be recouered. At the ſupplication therfore of the whole clergye of our prouince of Canterbury, and by the conſent and aſſent of all oure brethren and ſuffraganes, & other the prelates in this conuocation aſſēbled, and yͤ proctours of thē that are abſēt: leaſt the riuer being clenſed, the fountaine ſhould remayne corrupt, and ſo the water commyng from thence ſhould not be pure, entendyng moſt wholeſomely to prouide for the honour & vtilitie of our holy mother the church and the vniuerſitie aforeſayd: we do ordeine and decree, that euery warden, Prouoſt, or maiſter of euery College, or principall of euery hall within the vniuerſitie aforeſayd: ſhall once euery moneth at the leaſt, diligētly inquire in the ſayd College, hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whether any ſcholer or inhabitāt in ſuch colledge or hall. &c. haue holdē alleaged or defēded, or by any means proponed, any cōcluſion, propoſition, or opinion, concernyng the catholicque faith, or ſoundyng contrary to good maners, or contrary to the determination of the church, otherwiſe then apperteineth to neceſſary doctrine. And if he ſhall finde any ſuſpected or diffamed herein, he ſhall accordyng to his office admoniſhe him to deſiſte. And if after ſuch monition geuen, the ſayd partie offend agayn in the ſame or ſuch like, he ſhal incurre Ipſo facto (beſides the penalties aforeſayd) the ſentence of greater excommunication. And neuertheles, if it be a ſcholer that ſo offendeth the ſecōd tyme, whatſoeuer hee ſhall afterwardes doo in the ſayd vniuerſitie, ſhall not ſtand in effect. And if he bee a doctour, a maſter, or a bacheler, he ſhall forthwith be ſuſpended from euery ſcholers acte, and in both caſes ſhall loſe the right that he hath in the ſaid Colledge or hall whereof he is, Ipſo facto: & by the warden, Prouoſt, maiſter, principal, or other to whome it appertayneth, he ſhall be expelled, and a catholicke, by lawfull meanes foorthwith placed in his place. And if the ſaid wardens Prouoſtes or maiſters of Colledges or principalles of halles, ſhall be negligent concernyng the inquiſition and execution of ſuche perſons ſuſpected and diffamed by the ſpace of x. dayes, from the tyme of the true or ſuppoſed knowledge of the publication of theſe preſentes, that then they ſhall incurre the ſentence of greater excommunication: and neuertheles ſhalbe depriued Ipſo facto, of all the right whiche they pretend to haue in the Colledges halles, &c. & the ſayd Colledges and halles. &c. to be effectually vacant: And after lawfull declaration hereof made by them to whom it ſhall apperteyne, new wardens, Prouoſtes, maiſters or principals ſhalbe placed in their places, as hath been accuſtomed in Colledges and halles beyng vacant in the ſayd vniuerſitie. But if the wardens themſelues, Prouoſtes, maiſters or principalles aforeſaid, be ſuſpected and diffamed of and concernyng the ſayd concluſions or propoſitions, or bee fauourers and defenders of ſuch as doo therein offende, and doo not ceaſe beyng thereof warned by vs, or by our authoritie, or by the ordinary of the place: that then by lawe they be depriued aſwell of all priuiledge ſcholaſtical within the vniuerſitie aforeſaid, as alſo of their right and authoritie in ſuch Colledge, hall, &c. Beſides other penalties afore mentioned, and that they incurre the ſayd ſentence of greater excommunication.

Oxford famous for ſyncere religion.

Inquiſition to be made through Colledges & halles in Oxford

I would the like were vſed now for the baniſhing of papiſtry

Conſt. 12.

But if any man in any caſe of this preſent conſtitution or any other aboue expreſſed, do raſhely and wilfully preſume to violate theſe our ſtatutes in any parte therof (although there bee an other penalty expreſſely there limited) yet ſhall hee be made altogether vnhable and vnworthy by the ſpace of three yeares after, without hope of pardon to obteine any eccleſiaſticall benefice within our prouince of Cāterbury: and neuertheles, accordyng to all his demerites and the qualitie of hys exces, at the diſcretion of his ſuperiour, he ſhalbe lawfully puniſhed.

Conſt. 13.

And further, that the maner of proceding herein be not thought vncertayn: conſideryng with our ſelues that although there be a kynde of equalitie in the crime of hereſy and offendyng the Prince, as is auouched in diuers lawes: yet the faulte is much vnlyke, and to offend the diuine maieſtie requireth greater puniſhement, then to offende the princes maieſty. And where it is ſufficient (for feare of daunger that might enſue by delayes) to conuince by iudgement the offender of the princes maieſtie, procedyng agaynſt hym fully and wholly, with a citation ſent by meſſenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proofe by witneſſes, and ſentence diffinitiue to be: we do ordeyne, wil, and declare, for the eaſyer puniſhement of the offenders in the premiſſes, and for the better reformation of the churche diuided and hurte, that all ſuch as are diffamed, openly knowen, or vehemently ſuſpected in any of the caſes aforeſayd, or in any article of the catholicque fayth ſoundyng contrary to good maners: by authoritie of the ordinary of the place or other ſuperiour, be cited perſonally to appeare, either by letters, publicque meſſenger beyng ſworne, or be edict openly ſet at yͤ place where the ſayd offender commonly remayneth, or in his pariſhe churche if he hath any certayne dwellyng houſe. Otherwiſe, in the cathedrall churche of the place where he was borne, and in the pariſhe churche of the ſame place where hee ſo preached and taught: And afterwardes certificat beyng geuen, that the citation was formally executed agaynſt the partie cited beyng abſent and neglectyng hys appearaunce, it ſhalbe proceded agaynſt hym fully and playnly without ſounde or ſhewe of iudgement, & without admittyng proofe by witneſſes and other canonicall probations: And alſo after lawful information had, the ſayd ordinary (all delayes ſet a part) ſhal ſignifie, declare, and puniſh the ſayd offender, accordyng to the qualitie of hys offence and in forme aforeſayd: and further, ſhall do accordyng to iuſtice, the abſence of the offender notwithſtandyng. Geuen at Oxford.

Eaſier to offende agaynſte the prices law thē again the biſho

Who would haue thought by theſe lawes and conſtitutions ſo ſubſtantially founded, ſo circumſpectly prouided, ſo diligently executed: but that the name and memory of this perſecuted ſort, ſhoulde vtterly haue bene rooted vp, and neuer could haue ſtand. And yet ſuch be yͤ workes of the lord, paſſing all mens admiratiō, all this notwithſtanding ſo farre was it of, that the number & courage of theſe good men was vanquiſhed, that rather they multiplied dayly and encreaſed. For ſo I finde in Regiſters recorded, that theſe foreſayd perſons, whom the king and the catholike fathers, did ſo greatly deteſt for heretickes, were in diuers countries of thys realme diſperſed and encreaſed: eſpecially at London, in Lyncolne ſhiere, in Northfolke, in Herefordſhire, in Shrewſberye, in Calice, and diuers other quarters mo, wyth whom the Archbiſhop of Canterburye Thomas Arundel, the ſame tyme had much ado, as by hys own Regiſters doth appeare. All beit ſome there were, that dyd ſhrinke, many did reuolt and renounce, for daunger of the law. Among whome was John Purney, whyche recanted at Paules croſſe, of whom more foloweth (the Lord willing) to be ſayd in the yeare. 1421. Alſo John Edward prieſt, of the dioces of Lincolne, who reuoked in the grene yarde at Norwych, Richard Herbert, and Emmot Willy of London: alſo John Becke, who recanted at London. Item, John Seynons of Lyncolneſhiere, who was cauſed to reuoke at Canterburye. The articles of whom which commonly they did holde, and which they were conſtrayned to abiure, moſt ſpecially were theſe as folow.

John P uey.

John Ed ward.

John Bec ket.

John Sey nous ab iured,

¶ *Their Articles.*

The artic cles.

Fyrſt that the office of the holy croſſe (ordayned by the whole church) celebrated, doth conteine idolatrye.

Itē, they ſayd & affirmed, yͭ all they which do reuerence & worſhip the ſigne of the croſſe to committe idolatrye and are reputed as idolatrers.

Item, they ſayd and affirmed that yͤ true fleſhe and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, is not in the ſacrament of the aultar, after the wordes ſpoken by the prieſt, truely pronounced.

Itē, they ſayd and affirmed, the ſacrament of the altar to be ſacramentall bread, not hauing life, but onely inſtituted for a memoriall of Chriſtes paſſion.

Item, they ſayd and affirmed, that the body of Chriſt which is taken on the aultar, is a figure of the body of Chriſt as long as we ſee the bread and wyne.

Itē, they ſayd and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergie in the prouince of Canterburye, in their laſte conuocation, with the conſent of the kyng and the nobles in the laſt Parlament agaynſt hym that was brent lately in the citie of London, was not ſufficient to chaunge the purpoſe of the ſayd Iohn, when the ſubſtaunce of the materiall bread is euen as before in the ſacrament of the altar it was, no chaunge being made in the nature of bread.

Their arti‑
cle commō
...thus,
...who
...taketh
...him
...office
...a prieſt
...though he
...no
...of
...les, nor
...ce of
...ordina‑
...is bound
...preach
...goſpell.

* Item, that any lay man may preach the Goſpel in euery place, and may teach it by his owne authoritie, without the licence of his ordinary.

Item, that it is ſinne, to geue any thyng to the preaching Friers, to the Minorites, to the Auguſtines, or to the Carmelites.

Item, that we ought not to offer at the burials of the dead.

Item, that the confeſſion of ſinnes to the people, is vnnedeful.

Item, that euery good man (though he be vnlearned) is a prieſt.

Item, that the infant (although he dye vnbaptiſed) ſhalbe ſaued.

Item, that neither the Pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to ſweare by any creature of God, or by the Bible boke.

Item, that aſwell the Biſhop, the ſimple man, the prieſt, and the lay man, be of lyke authoritie (as long as they liue well.)

Itē, that no man is boūd to geue bodely reuerence to any prelate

¶ *William Thorpe.*

The exami‑
...tion of
...the conſtā
...tion of
...ol W.
Thorpe.

Thus much briefly beyng ſignified by the way, touchyng theſe whiche haue been forced in tyme of this kyng, to open abiuratiō: Next cōmeth to our hands, the worthy hiſtory of maiſter William Thorpe, a warrier valiaūt, vnder the triūphant bāner of Chriſt, with the proceſſe of his examinations, before the foreſayd Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury, writen by the ſayd Thorpe, and ſtoryed by his owne pen, at the requeſt of his frendes, as by hys owne woordes in the proceſſe hereof, may appeare. In whoſe examinatiō (which ſemeth firſt to begyn. an. 1407 thou ſhalt haue, good reader, both to learne and to maruel. To learne, in yͭ thou ſhalt heare truth diſcourſed and diſcuſſed, wͭ the contrary reaſons of the aduerſary diſſolued. To maruel, for yͭ thou ſhalt behold here in this man, the marueilous force and ſtrength of the Lordes might, ſpirite and grace, workyng and fightyng in his ſouldiours, and alſo ſpeakyng in their mouthes, accordyng to the worde of his promiſe. Luke. xxi. To the text of the ſtory we haue neither added nor diminiſhed: But as wee haue receiued it, copyed out & corrected by maiſter William Tindall (who had hys owne hande wrytyng) ſo we haue here ſent it and ſet it out abroad. Although for the more credite of the matter, I rather wiſhed it in his own naturall ſpeache, wherin it was firſt writen. Notwithſtandyng, to put away all doubt and ſcruple herein, this I thought before to premoniſhe and teſtifie to the reader touchyng the certeintie hereof: that they bee yet a lyue, which haue ſeen the ſelfe ſame copy in his own old Engliſhe, reſemblyng the true antiquitie both of the ſpeache and of the tyme: The name of whom as for record of the ſame to auouche, is maiſter Whitehead, who as he hath ſeen the true auncient copy in the hands of George Conſtantine, ſo hath he geuen credible relation of the ſame, both to the printer and to me. Furthermore, the ſayd maiſter Tyndall (albeit he did ſomwhat alter and amend the Engliſh therof, and frame it after our maner) yet not fully in all wordes, but that ſome thing doth remaine, ſauoryng of the old ſpeach of yͤ tyme. What the cauſes were why this good man and ſeruaunt of Chriſt, W. Thorpe did write it and pen it out him ſelf, it is ſufficiently declared in his own preface, ſet before his booke. Which here is prefixed in maner as foloweth.

...his hiſto‑
...firſt ſet
...th and
...rected
...Maiſter
...Tyndall

...are fur‑
...credi‑
...infor‑
...that
...of the
...copies
...yet
...Scotland

¶ *The preface of William Thorpe.*

The Lord God that knoweth all things, wotteth wel yͭ I am right ſorowful for to write or to make knowen this ſentence beneath written, whereby of myne euen chriſten ſet in hie ſtate and dignitie, ſo great blyndnes & malice may be knowen: yͭ they which do preſume of thē ſelfe to deſtroy vices, and to plant in men vertues, neyther dread to offend God, nor luſt to pleaſe him as theyr workes ſhewe. For certes, the byddyng of God and hys law, which in the prayſing of his moſt holy name he cōmaundeth to be knowen and kept of all men & women, yong and old, after the cunning and power that he hath geuen to thē: The Prelates of this land and their miniſters, with the couent of prieſtes chiefly conſentyng to them, enforce thē moſt buſelye to withſtand and deſtroy the holy ordinaunce of God. And there throughe, God is greatly wroth and moued to take hard vengeaunce, not onely vpon them that do the euyll, but alſo on them that conſent to theſe Antichriſtes lims: which know or might know, their malice and falſhood, and dreſſe them not to withſtand their malice & their great pride. Neuertheles, 4. thinges moueth me to wryte this ſentence beneath.

Gods lawes muſt be knowne and folowed.

The firſt thing yͭ moueth me hereto is this, that where as it was knowen to certaine friendes, that I came frō the priſon of Shrewſbery, and as it befell in dede that I ſhould to the priſon of Caunterbury: then diuers frends in diuers places, ſpake to me full hartfully & full tenderly: and cōmaunded me then if it ſo were, that I ſhould be examined before the Archb. of Cant. that if I mighte in any wiſe, I ſhould write mine appoſing and mine anſwering. And I promiſed to my ſpeciall friendes, that if I might, I would gladly do theyr biddinges as I might.

Foure cauſes of ſetting forth his examinatiō.

The ſeconde thing that moueth me to write thys ſentence, is this: diuers frendes whyche haue hearde that I haue bene examined before the Archbiſhop, haue come to me in priſon, and counſelled mee buſelye, and coueted greatlye that I ſhould doo the ſame thing. And other brethren haue ſente to mee, and requyred mee on Gods behalfe, that I ſhould write out and make knowen, both myne appoſing and myne aunſwering, for the profitte that (as they ſay) vpon my knowledging, may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I ſhould be buſie in all my wyts, to go as neare the ſentence and the woordes as I could, both that were ſpoken to mee and that I ſpake: Vpauenture this writing maye come an other time, before the Archbiſhop and hys counſell. And of this counſelling I was right glad: for in my conſcience I was moued to do this thing, and to aſke hetherto the ſpeciall helpe of God. And ſo than I conſidering the great deſire of diuers frendes of ſondrye places, accordyng all in one: I occupied all my mind and my wits ſo buſely, that through Gods grace I perceiued by their meaning and their charitable deſire, ſome profit might come there through. For ſothfaſtnes and truth hath theſe conditions: where euer it is impugned, it hath a ſwete ſmell, and therof commeth a ſwéete ſauour. And the more violently the enemies dreſſe them ſelues to oppres and to withſtand the truth, the greater and yͤ ſweeter ſmell commeth thereof. And therefore, this heauenly ſmell of Gods woord, wyll not as a ſmoke paſſe awaye wyth the wynde: but it will deſcende and reſt in ſome cleane ſoule, that thriſteth thereafter. And thus ſome deale by this writing, may be perceiued throughe Gods grace, how that the enemies of the truth (ſtanding boldly in their malice) enforce thē to withſtand the freedom of Chriſtes Goſpell, for which freedome Chriſt became man, and ſhed hys hart bloud. And therefore it is great pity and ſorow, that manye men and women doo theyr own weyward will: nor buſie them not to knowe nor to do the pleaſaunt wyll of God.

The 2. cauſe.

Truth leaueth alwayes a ſweete ſmell behynd it.

The men and women that heare the truth and ſoothfaſtnes, and heare or knowe of this (perceiuing what is nowe in the churche) ought here through, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, and to ſet leſſer pryce by them ſelues, that they wythout tarieng:

Godly counſell geuen, if it may be followed.

perſecution foloweth the true church.

The cauſe why perſecution is ſuffred to come

forſake wilfully and bodely all the wretchednes of thys life, ſince they know not how ſone, nor whẽ, nor where, nor by whom God wyll teach them, and aſſay their pacience. For no doubt, who that euer wyll liue piteouſly, that is charitably in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer nowe here in this life perſecutiõ, in one wiſe or an other. That is, if we ſhall be ſaued, it behoueth vs to imagin full beſely, the vilite and foulnes of ſinne, and howe the Lorde God is diſpleaſed therefore: and ſo of this vilitie of hidouſnes of ſinne, it behoueth vs to beſie vs in all our wyts, for to abhorre and hold in our mynde a great ſhame of ſinne euer, and ſo then we owe to ſorrowe hartelye therefore, and euer fleing all occaſion thereof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs ſharpe penance, continuing therin, for to obtayne of the Lord forgeuenes of our foredone ſinnes, and grace to abſtayne vs hereafter from ſinne. And but if we enforce vs to do this wilfully, & in conuenient tyme, the Lord (if he wyll not vtterly deſtroye and caſt vs away) will in diuers maners moue tyrauntes againſt vs, for to conſtrayne vs violently to do penance, which we would not doo wilfullye. And truſt that thys doing is a ſpeciall grace of the Lord, and a great token of lyfe and mercy. And no doubt, who euer wyll not apply him ſelfe (as is ſayd before) to puniſh himſelf wilfully, neither will ſuffer paciently, meekely, and gladlye the rod of the Lord, howſoeuer that he wil puniſh him: their wayward wils and their impacience, are vnto them earneſt of euerlaſting damnation. But becauſe there are but few in number that do able them thus faithfullye to grace, for to liue here ſimplye and purelye, and without gall of malice and of grudging, herefore yͤ louers of this worlde hate and purſue them that they knowe pacient, meeke, chaſte, and wylfully poore, hating and fleing all worldly vanities and fleſhly luſtes. For ſurely, their vertuous conditions are euen contrarye to the maners of thys world.

The third cauſe

Edification of other neceſſary to be cõſidered.

The third thyng that moueth me to write thys ſentence is thys. I thought I ſhall buſie me in my ſelf to do faythfully, that all men and women (occupying all their buſines in knowing & in keping of Gods commaundements) able them ſo to grace, that they myght vnderſtand truely the truth; and haue & vſe vertue and prudence, and ſo deſerue to be lightened from aboue with heauenly wiſedome: ſo that all their wordes and their workes may be hereby made, pleaſaunt ſacrifices vnto the Lorde God: and not onely for helpe of their owne ſoules, but alſo for edification of all holy church. For I doubt not, but all they yͭ will apply thẽ to haue this foreſayd buſines, ſhal profit full mekill both to frendes and to foes. For ſome enemies of the truth thorow the grace of God, ſhall thorowe charitable folkes be made aſtonied in their conſcience, and peraduenture conuerted frõ vices to vertues: and alſo, they that labour to know & to kepe faythfully the biddings of god, & to ſuffer paciently all aduerſities, ſhal hereby cõfort many frendes.

The 4. cauſe.

And the fourthe thyng that moueth me to wryte thys ſentence is thys: I know my ſoden and vnwarned appoſing and aunſwering, that all they that will of good hart without fayning, able themſelues wilfully & gladly after their cunning and their power, to folow Chriſt paciently, traueling buſilye, priuely and apertly in worke and in worde, to withdrawe whõſoeuer that they may from vices, planting in them (if they may) vertues, comforting them and furthering them that ſtande in grace, ſo that therwith they be not borne vp in vaine glorye, thorowe preſumption of their wiſedome, nor enflamed with any worldlye proſperitie: but euer meke and pacient, purpoſing to abyde ſtedfaſtly in the will of God, ſuffering wilfully & gladly w̃out any grutching whatſoeuer rod the Lord wil chaſtiſe them with: That then, this good Lord will not forget to comfort all ſuch men and women in all their tribulations, and at euery poynt of temptation that any enemie purpoſeth for to do againſt thẽ. To ſuch faythfull louers ſpecially, and pacient followers of Chriſte, the Lord ſendeth by his wyſedom frõ aboue, to them: which the aduerſaries of the truth, may not know nor vnderſtand. But thorowe their olde and new vnſhamefaſt ſinnes, thoſe tirauntes and enemyes of ſouthfaſtnes, ſhalbe ſo blinded and obſtinate in euill, that they ſhall weene them ſelf to do pleaſaunt ſacrifices vnto the Lorde God in their malicious and wrongfull perſewing and deſtroying of innocent mens and womens bodyes: which men and women, for their vertuous liuing, and for their true knowledging of the truth and their pacient wilfull and glad ſuffering of perſecution for rightouſnes, deſerue thorow the grace of God, to be heires of the endles bliſſe of heauẽ. And for the feruent deſire and the great loue that thoſe men haue, as to ſtand in ſouthfaſtnes and witnes of it, though they be ſodeinlye and vnwarnedly brought forth to be appoſed of their aduerſaries: the holy ghoſt yet that moueth and ruleth them thorowe hys charitie, will in that houre of their aunſwering, ſpeake in them and ſhewe hys wyſedome, that all their enemyes ſhall not agayne ſay nor agaynſt ſtand, lawfully. And therfore, all they that are ſtedfaſt in the fayth of God, yea, which thorow diligent keping of hys commaundementes, and for their pacient ſuffring of whatſoeuer aduerſitie that cõmeth to them, hope ſurely in hys mercy, purpoſing to ſtãd continually in perfect charitie. For thoſe men & women, drede not ſo the aduerſities of thys lyfe, yͭ they wil feare (after their cunning and their power) to knowledge prudentlye the truthe of Gods worde, when, where, and to whome they thinke their knowledging may profite. Yea, and though therfore perſecution come to them in one wyſe or an other, certes they paciently take it, knowing their conuerſation to be in heauẽ. It is an high reward and a ſpeciall grace of God, for to haue and enioye the euerlaſting inheritaunce of heauen, for the ſuffering of one perſecution in ſo ſhort tyme as is the terme of thys life. For loe, thys heauenly heritage and endles rewarde, is the Lord God himſelf, which is the beſt thing yͭ may be. Thys ſentence wytneſſeth the Lord God himſelf where as he ſaid to Abraham, I am thy meede. And as the lord ſaid, he was and is the meede of Abraham: ſo he is of all hys other ſainctes. Thys moſt bleſſed and beſt meede, he graũt to vs all for hys holy name, yͭ made vs of naught, and ſent hys onely moſt deare worthy ſonne, our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt for to redeme vs wͭ his moſte precious hart bloud. Amen.

The aſſi- ſtence of God ne fayleth th that are p ſecuted,

¶ *The examination of M. William Thorpe, penned with hys owne hand.*

Examin on of W. Thorpe be fore Tho. Arundell Archb.

Loyterin prelates, not abyd traueling preachers

KNowen be it to all men, that read or heare thys writing, that on the ſonday next after the feaſt of S. Peter, that we call Lammeſſe, in yͤ yere of our Lord. 1407. I William Thorpe being in priſon in yͤ caſtle of Saltwode, was brought before Thomas Arundell Archb. of Canterbury and Chauncellour then of England. And when that I came to hym, he ſtoode in a great chamber and much people about hym: and whẽ that he ſawe me, he went faſte into a cloſet bydding all ſecular men that followed hym to go forth from him ſoone, ſo that no mã was left than in that cloſet, but the Archb. hym ſelf and a Phiſician that was called Malueren, perſon of S. Dunſtanes in London, and other two perſons vnknowen to me which were miniſters of the lawe. And I ſtanding before them, by and by the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: William, I know well that thou haſt this xx. winter & more, traueled about buſilie in the North countrey and in other diuers countreyes of England, ſowing about falſe doctrine, hauing great buſines if thou myght with thine vntrue teaching and ſhrewd will, for to enfecte and poyſon all thys land. But through the grace of God thou

arte

The grace of God and of my Lord of Canterbury be 2. things.

your ordinaunce, and why not to gods ordinaunce if it pleaſe your grace?

This is vn derthe creatures of bread and wyne,

What is the holy church.

The true notes of the true church.

arte nowe withſtanded and brought into my warde, ſo that I ſhall now ſequeſter thée from thine euill purpoſe, and let thee to enuenime the ſhepe of my prouince. Neuertheles S. Paule ſaith: If it may be, as much as in vs is, we owe to haue peace with all men. Therfore William, if thou wilt now mekely and of good hart, without any fayning, knele down and lay thy hand vpon a boke and kiſſe it, promiſing faythfully as I ſhall here charge thee, that thou wilt ſubmit thee to my correction, & ſtand to myne ordinaunce, and fulfill it duely by all thy cunning and power, thou ſhalt yet finde me gracious vnto thee. Than ſayd I to the Archb. Syr, ſince ye deme me an heretike & out of beleue, wil ye geue me here audiēce to tell my beleue. And he ſayd, yea tell on. And I ſayd, I beleue that there is not but one God almightie, & in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are thrée perſons, that is, the father, the ſonne, and the ſothefaſt holy ghoſt. And I beleue, that all theſe thrée perſons are euen in power and in cunning, and in myght, full of grace and of all goodnes. For whatſoeuer that the father doth or can or will, that thyng alſo the ſonne doth and can and will: and in all their power, cunning & will, the holy ghoſt is equall to the father and to the ſonne. Ouer this I beleue, that through counſell of this moſte bleſſed Trinitie, in moſt conuenient time before ordained for the ſaluatiō of mākinde, the ſecond perſon of this Trinitie, was ordayned to take the forme of man, that is, the kinde of man. And I beleue, that this ſecond perſon our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, was conceaued through the holy ghoſt, into the wombe of the moſte bleſſed Virgin Mary, without mans ſeede. And I beleue, ẏ after ix. monethes Chriſt was borne of thys moſte bleſſed Vyrgin, ẃout any paine or breaking of ẏ cloiſter of her wombe, & ẃout filth of her virginitie. And I beleue, that Chriſt our ſauiour was circumciſed in the eight day after his birth, in fulfilling of the lawe, & his name was called Ieſus, which was ſo called of the Aungell, before that he was conceiued in the wombe of Mary his mother. And I beleue that Chriſt, as hee was about thirty yeare old, was baptiſed in the flood of Iordane of Iohn Baptiſt: and in the likenes of a Doue the holy ghoſt deſcended there vppon him, and a voice was hearde from heauen ſaying: Thou art my welbeloued ſonne, in thee I am ful pleaſed. And I beleue, that Chriſt was moued then by ẏ holy ghoſt, for to go into deſart, & there he faſted forty daies and forty nightes without bodely meate and drinke. And I beleue, that by and by after his faſting, when the manhode of Chriſt hungered, the féende came to him, and tempted him in glottonye, in vayne glory, and in couetiſe: but in all thoſe temptacions, Chriſt concluded the féend, and withſtod him. And then without tarying, Ieſu began to preach and to ſaye vnto the people: do ye penaunce, for the realme of heauē is now at hand. I beleue that Chriſt in all his tyme here liued moſt holily, and taught the will of his father moſt truly: and I beleue that he ſuffered therfore, moſt wrōgfully, greateſt repriefes and deſpiſinges. And after this, when Chriſt would make an end here of his temporall life, I beleue that in the day next before ẏ he wold ſuffer paſſiō on the morne: In forme of bread and of wyne, he ordained the ſacrament of his fleſhe and his bloode, that is, his owne precious bodye, and gaue it to his Apoſtles for to eate: commaunding them, and by them all theyr after commers, that they ſhould do it in this forme that he ſhewed to them, vſe them ſelues, and teache & comon forth to other men and women this moſt worſhipfull holyeſt ſacrament, in mindfulnes of his holieſt liuing, and of hys moſt true teaching, and of his wylfull and patiēt ſuffryng of the moſt paynful paſſion. And I beleue, that thys Chriſt our ſauiour, after that he had ordayned this moſt worthy ſacramēt of his own precious body: he wēt forth wilfully againſt his enemies, and he ſuffered them moſt paciently to laye their handes moſt violently vpon him, and to binde him, and to lead him forth as a théefe, and to ſcorne him, and buffet him, and all to blow or file hym with their ſpyttinges. Ouer this, I beleue that Chriſt ſuffred moſt mekely and paciently his enemies, for to ding oute with ſharpe ſcourges the bloude that was betwene hys ſkin and hys fleſh: yea, wythout grudging Chriſt ſuffred the cruel Iewes to crowne him with moſt ſharpe thornes, & to ſtrike him with a reede. And after, Chriſt ſuffred wicked Iewes to draw hym out vpon the croſſe, and for to naile him thereupō hand and foote. And ſo thorow his pityfull naylyng, Chriſt ſhed out wilfully for mās lyfe, the blond that was in his vaines. And then Chriſte gaue wilfully his ſpirite into the handes or power of his father, and ſo, as he wold, & when he would, Chriſt dyed wilfully for mans ſake vpon the croſſe. And notwithſtandyng that Chriſt was wilfully, paynefully, and moſt ſhamefully put to death, as to the worlde: there was left bloud and water in his heart as before ordened, that he would ſhed out this bloud & this water for mans ſaluation. And therfore he ſuffered the Iewes to make a blind knight to thruſt him into the heart with a ſpeare, & this the bloud and water that was in hys heart, Chriſt would ſhed out for mans loue. And after this, I beleue that Chriſt was taken down from the croſſe and buried. And I beleue that on the third day by power of his Godhead, Chriſt roſe agayne from death to lyfe. And the xl. day thereafter, I beleue that Chriſt aſcēded vp into heauen, and that he there ſitteth on the right hand of the father almighty. And the fifteth day after this vp goyng, he ſent to his Apoſtles the holy Ghoſt, that he had promiſed them before. And I beleue that Chriſt ſhall come & iudge all mākyng, ſome to euerlaſting peace, and ſome to euerlaſtyng paynes. And as I beleue in the father and in the ſonne, that they are one God almighty, ſo I beleue in the holy Ghoſt that he is alſo with thē the ſame God almighty. And I beleue an holy churche, that is, all they ẏ haue ben, and that now are, & alwayes to the end of the world ſhalbe, a people the which ſhall endeuour them to know and to kepe the commaundemētes of God, dredyng ouer all thyng to offende God, and louing and ſekyng moſt to pleaſe hym. And I beleue, that all they that haue had and yet haue, and all they that yet ſhall haue the foreſaid vertues, ſurely ſtandyng in the belief of God, hopyng ſtedfaſtly in his mercyfull doynges, continuyng to their end in perfect charitie, wilfully, paciently and gladlye ſufferyng perſecutions, by the example of Chriſt chiefly and his Apoſtles, all theſe haue their names written in the booke of lyfe. Therefore I beleue, that the gatheryng together of this people, lyuing now here in this lyfe, is the holye churche of God, fighting here on earth againſt the feende, the proſperitie of the worlde, and their fleſhly luſtes. Wherfore, ſeyng that all the gatheryng together of this church before ſayd, and euery part therof, neither coueteth, nor willeth, nor loueth, nor ſeeketh, any thyng but to eſchew the offence of God and to do his pleaſyng will: mekely, gladly, and wilfully ẃ all myne heart, I ſubmit my ſelfe vnto this holy Churche of Chriſt, to be euer burſome and obedient to the ordinaunce of it, and of euery member thereof, after my knowledge & power by the helpe of God. Therfore I knowledge now and euermore ſhall, if God wil, that ẃ all my heart and ẃ all my might, I will ſubmit me onely to the rule and gouernaunce of them, whom after my knowledge, I may perceiue by the hauing and vſing of the before ſaid vertues, to be members of the holy churche. Wherfore, theſe articles of belief and all other (both of the olde lawe and of ẏ new, whiche after the cōmaundement of God any mā ought to beleue) I beleue verely in my ſoule, as a ſinfull deadly wretche of my cunnyng and power, ought to beleue: praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to encreaſe my belief and helpe my vnbelief.

And for becauſe to the prayſing of Gods name, I de

What hereſy in this beliefe, I pray you my lord?

The olde teſtament and new.

ſire aboue all thynges to bee a faithfull member of holy Churche, I make this proteſtation before you all foure that are now here preſent, couetyng that all mē and womē that now be abſent, knew the ſame: ẏ is, what thing ſoeuer before thys tyme I haue ſayd or done, or what thyng here I ſhall do or ſay, at any tyme hereafter. I beleue, that all the old law and the new law geuen and ordeyned by the counſail of the thrée perſons of the Trinitie, were geuen and written to the ſaluation of mankind. And I beleue, that theſe lawes are ſufficient for mans ſaluation. And I beleue euery article of theſe lawes, to the entent, that theſe articles ordeyned and commaunded of theſe iij. perſōs of ẏ moſt bleſſed trinitie, are to be beleued.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinaunce of theſe Gods lawes, mekely, gladly and wilfully, I ſubmit me withall mine harte: that whoſoeuer can or will by authoritie of Gods law, or by open reaſon, tell me that I haue erred or now erre, or any time hereafter ſhall erre in any article of belief (from whiche inconuenience God kepe me, for hys goodneſſe) I ſubmit me to be reconciled & to be buxum and obedient vnto thoſe lawes of God, and to euery article of thē. For by authoritie, ſpecially of theſe lawes, I will, thorow the grace of God, be vnied charitably vnto theſe lawes. Yea ſir, and ouer this, I beleue and admit all the ſentences, authorities and reaſons of the ſaintes and doctours according vnto holye Scripture, and declaryng it truly.

Doctours ſo to be folowed, as they follow the worde.

To ſweare by a booke whether it be lawfull.

How where, and when to ſweare.

I ſubmit me wilfully and mekely to bee euer obedient, after my connyng and power, to all theſe ſaintes & doctours, as they are obedient in worke and in worde to God and to his law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitie or ſtate, thorowe the helpe of God. But ſir I praye you tell me, if after your bidding I ſhal lay my hand vpō the boke, to what entēt: to ſweare thereby? And the Archb. ſayd to me, yea, wherfore els? And I ſayd to him. Syr a boke is nothing els but a thyng coupled together of diuers creatures, & to ſwere by any creature both Gods law & mās law is againſt it.

But Syr, this thyng I ſaye here to you before theſe your clerkes, with my foreſayd proteſtation, that how, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to ſweare or to obey in any wiſe after Gods law, and ſaints, and true doctours, according with Gods law: I wil thorow Gods grace bee euer ready thereto, withall my connyng and power. But I praye you ſir for the charitie of God, that ye will before that I ſweare (as I haue here rehearſed to you) tell me how or whereto, that I ſhal ſubmit me: and ſhew me wherof that ye will correct me, and what is the ordinaunce that ye will thus oblige me to fulfill.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd vnto me. I will ſhortly that nowe thou ſweare here to me, that thou ſhalt forſake all the opinions whiche the ſecte of Lollardes holde, and is ſclaundred with: ſo that after this tyme, neyther priuely nor apertly, thou hold any opinion whiche I ſhall (after that thou haſt ſworne) rehearſe to thee heere. Nor thou ſhalt fauour no man nor woman, young nor old, that holdeth any of theſe foreſaid opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou ſhalte force thee to withſtand all ſuch diſtroublers of holy church in euery dioces, ẏ thou comeſt in: and them that will not leaue their falſe & damnable opinions, thou ſhalt put them vp, publiſhyng them and their names, and make them knowen to the Biſhop of the dioces that they are in, or to ẏ Biſhops miniſters. And ouer this I will, that thou preach no more vnto the tyme that I know by good witnes and true, that thy conuerſation be ſuch, that thy harte and thy mouth accorde truly in one, cōtraryng all the leude learning that thou haſt taught here before.

And I hearyng theſe wordes, thought in my harte that this was an vnlefull aſkyng: and demed my ſelfe curſed of God, if I conſented hereto, and I thought how Suſan ſayd: Anguiſhe is to me on euery ſide. And in that I ſtoode ſtill and ſpake not, the Archbyſhop ſayd to me. Aunſwere one wiſe or an other. And I ſayd. Syr, if I cōſented to you thus as ye haue heere rehearſed to me, I ſhuld become an appealar, or euery Biſhops eſpy, ſomonour of all England. For and I ſhould thus put vp, and publiſhe the names of men and women, I ſhould herein deceyue full many perſons: Ye ſyr, as it is lykely by the dome of my conſcience, I ſhould herein be, cauſe of the death both of men and women, ye both bodely and ghoſtly. For many men and women that ſtande nowe in the waye of ſaluation: if I ſhould for the learnyng and readyng of theyr beleue, publiſhe them therefore vp to Byſhops or to theyr vnpiteous miniſters, I know ſome dele by experience, that they ſhould bee ſo diſtroubled and diſeaſed with perſecution or otherwiſe, that many of them (I thinke) would rather choſe to forſake the way of truth then to be traueled, ſkorned, ſclaundered, or puniſhed, as Byſhops & their miniſters now vſe for to conſtreyne men and women to conſent to them. But I finde in no place in holy Scripture, that this office that ye would now enfeaff me with, accordeth to any prieſt of Chriſtes ſecte, nor to any other Chriſten man. And therfore to do thus, were to me a full noyous bonde to be bounden wt, and ouer greuous charge. For I ſuppoſe, that if I thus did, many men and women would, ye Syr, might iuſtly vnto my confuſion ſay to me, that I were a traitour to God and to them: ſince (as I thinke in myne harte) many men and women truſt ſo mekell in me in this caſe, that I would not for ſauyng of my life, do thus to them. For if I thus ſhould do, full many men and women would (as they might full truly) ſay, that I had falſly & cowardly forſaken the truth, and ſclaundred ſhamefully the word of God. For if I conſented to you to do here, after your wil, for bonchefe or miſchief that may befall to me in this lyfe: I deme in my conſcience, that I were worthy herefore to be curſed of God & alſo of all his ſaintes: fro whiche inconuenience, kepe me and all Chriſten people, almighty God now and euer for his holy name. And then the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto me. Oh, thyne hart is full harde indurate as was the hart of Pharao, and the deuill hath ouercomen thee and peruerted thée, and he hath ſo blinded thee in all thy wittes, that thou haſt no grace to know the truth, nor the meaſure of mercy that I haue profered to thee. Therfore, as I perceiue now by thy fooliſh aūſwere, thou haſt no wil to leaue thine old errours. But I ſay to thee leude loſell, other quickely cōſent thou to mine ordinaunce and ſubmit thee to ſtande to my decrees: or by S. Thomas, thou ſhalt be diſgraded, and folow thy felow in Smithfield. And at this ſaying I ſtoode ſtill and ſpake not, but I thought in myne harte that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy bring me to ſuch an end. And in mine harte I was no thyng afraid with this menaſing of the Archbiſhop. And I conſidered there two things in hym. One, that he was not yet ſorowfull for that he had made Williā Sautrey wrongfully to be burnt: and as I conſidered, ẏ the Archbyſhop thirſted yet after more ſhedyng out of innocent bloud. And faſt therefore I was moued in all my wits, for to hold the archbiſhop nother for prelate nor for prieſt of God. And for that myne inward man was thus altogether departed frō the Archbiſhop, me thought I ſhould not haue any dread of hym. But I was right heauy and ſorrowful, for that there was no audience of ſecular mē by: but in my hart I prayed the lord God, for to comfort me and ſtrength me agaynſt thē that there ware againſt the ſothfaſtneſſe. And I purpoſed to ſpeake no more to the Archbiſhop and his clerkes thē me nede behoued: and all thus I prayed God for his goodneſſe to geue me then and alway grace to ſpeake, with a meke and an eaſy ſpirite: and whatſoeuer thyng that I ſhould ſpeake, that I might therto haue true authorities of Scriptures or opē reaſon. And for that I ſtode thus ſtill and nothing ſpake,

Behold the popiſh proceding whether they tende.

No merueil why: for Chriſt and Antichriſt how can they agree.

It is pretye when Pharao iudgeth Moſes hard harted.

Where learned you my Lord to call your brother Racha.

He meaneth Gods martyr Williā Sautrey.

one of the Archbyſhops clerkes ſayd vnto me. What thing muſiſt thou? Do thou as my Lord hath now commaunded to thee here.

Behold the popiſh proceedings whether they tende.

The order and maner of his bringing vp.

And yet I ſtoode ſtyll and aunſwered hym not: And then ſone after the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I haue ſayde to thee? And I ſayde then to hym: Sir, my father and my mother, on whoſe ſoules God haue mercye (if it be hys will) ſpent mikle money in diuers places about my learning, for the entent to haue made mee a prieſt to God. But when I came to yeres of diſcretion, I had no wyll to be prieſt, and therefore my friendes were right heauy to me, and then me thought their grudging againſt me was ſo painfull to me, that I purpoſed therfore to haue left their company. And when they perceiued this in me, they ſpake ſometime full faire and pleaſaunt wordes to me: But for that they might not make me to conſent of good hart to be a prieſt, they ſpake to me ful often times very greuous woordes, and manaſſed me in diuers maners, ſhewing to me full heuy chere. And thus one while in faire maner, an other while in greuous, they wer lõg time (as me thought) full buſy about me, or I conſented to them to be a prieſt. But at the laſt, when in this matter they would no longer ſuffer myne excuſations, but either I ſhould conſent to them, or I ſhould euer beare their indignation, yea, their curs (as they ſayd.) Then I ſeing this, prayed them that they would geue me licence for to go to them that were named wiſe prieſtes, and of vertuous conuerſation to haue their counſel, & to know of them the office and the charge of prieſthood. And hereto, my father and my mother conſented full gladly, and gaue me their bleſſing and good leaue to go, and alſo money to ſpend in this iourney. And ſo that I went to thoſe prieſtes whom I hearde to be of beſt name, and of moſt holy liuing, and beſt learned, and moſt wiſe of heauenly wiſdom: and ſo I communed with them vnto the time that I perceiued by their vertuous and continuall occupations, that their honeſt and charitable woorkes paſſed their fame which I heard before of them. Wherfore ſir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and ſpecially for the godly and innocent workes which I perceyued then of them, & in them: After my cunning & power, I haue exerciſed me thẽ and in this time, to know perfectly Gods law, hauing a wyl and a deſire to lyue thereafter, which willeth that all men & women ſhould exerciſe thẽſelues faithfully there about. If than Sir, either for pleaſure of them that are neither ſo wyſe nor of ſo vertuous conuerſation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mãs knowledge in this land, as theſe men were of whom I tooke my counſail and information: I ſhould now forſake thus ſodenlye and ſhortlye, and vnwarned, all the lerning that I haue exerciſed my ſelfe in this thirty winter & more, my conſcience ſhould euer be herewith out of meaſure vnquieted: and as ſir I know wel, that many men and women ſhould be there through greatly troubled & ſclaundered, And as I ſayd ſir to you before, for myne vntruthe and falſe cowardnes, many a one ſhould be put into ful great repreſe, yea ſir I dread that many a one (as they might then iuſtlye) would curs me full bitterly: and ſir I feare not, but the curs of God, which I ſhuld deſerue herein, would bring me to a full euil end, if I continued thus. And if thorow remorſe of conſciẽce I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to conſtraine me now to forſake: yea ſir, all the biſhops of this lande, with full manye other prieſtes, woulde defame me, and purſue me as a relapſe: and they that nowe haue (though I be vnworthy) ſome confidence in me, hereafter would neuer truſt to me, though I could teach and liue neuer ſo vertuouſly, more then I can or may. For if after your counſell I left vtterlye all my learning, I ſhould hereby firſt wound and defile myne owne ſoule, and alſo I ſhould here through, geue occaſion to manye men and women of full ſore hurting, yea ſir as it is likely to me, if I conſented to your will: I ſhoulde herein by mine euill example in it, as farre as in me were, ſlea many folke ghoſtly, that I ſhould neuer deſerue for to haue grace of God, to the edifieng of his church, neither of my ſelfe, nor of none other mans lyfe, and vndone both before God and man. But ſir, by example chieflye of ſome whoſe names I wil not now reherſe, of H. of I. P. & B. and alſo by the preſent doing of Philip Rampentõ, that is now become biſhop of Lincolne: I am nowe learned (as many mo hereafter thorow gods grace ſhalbe learned) to hate and to flee all ſuch ſclaunder that theſe foreſaid men chieflye haue defiled, principallye them ſelues with. And in it that in them is, they haue enuenemed all the church of God, for the ſclaunderous reuoking at the croſſe of Paules, of H. P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampenton purſueth Chriſtes people. And the fayning that theſe men diſſemble by worldly prudence, keppyng them cowardly in their preaching and cõmuning within the bondes and termes (which without blame may be ſpoken and ſhewed out to the moſt worldly liuers) wyll not bee vnpuniſhed of God. For to the poynt of truth that theſe men ſhewed out ſometime, they will not now ſtretch foorth their lyues. But by example, eche one of them as their woordes and their workes ſhewe, buſie them thorow their faining, for to ſclaunder and to purſue Chriſt in his mẽbers, rather thẽ they wil be perſued.

No merueil why: for Chriſt and Antichriſt how can they agree?

It is pretye when Pharao iudgeth Moſes hath harmed.

He meaneth Gods martyr William Sautrey.

Phil. Repington made biſh. and a perſecutor.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Theſe men the which thou ſpeakeſt of now, were fooles and heretickes, when they were counted wyſe men of thee and other ſuch Loſels. But now they are wyſe men, though thou and ſuch other deeme thẽ vnwiſe. Neuertheles I wiſt neuer none that right ſayd, that anye whyle were enuenemed wyth your contagiouſnes, that is, contaminated and ſpotted doctrine.

Where learned you my Lord to call your brother Racha.

And I ſayd to the Archbiſhop: Sir, I thinke wel that theſe mẽ and ſuch other are now wyſe as to this world: But as their wordes ſoũded ſomtime, and their workes ſhewed outwardly, it was likelye to moue me that they had earneſt of the wiſdome of God, and that they ſhuld haue deſerued mikle grace of God, to haue ſaued theyr own ſoules and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilfull pouerty, and in other ſimple vertuous liuing: and ſpecially, if they had wyth theſe foreſaid vertues continued in their buſy fruitfull ſowing of Gods word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a ſeaſon in all their wits, ful buſily to know the pleaſant wyll of God, traueling all their members full buſily for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praiſing of the moſt holy name of God, and for grace of edification and ſaluation of chriſten people. But wo worth falſe couetiſe, and euill counſell and tiranny, by whych they and many men and women are led blindly into an euill end.

Happy be they that continue to the ende.

Wo worth falſe couetiſe.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Thou and ſuche other Loſels of thy ſect, would ſhaue your beards ful nere for to haue a benefice. For by Ieſu, I knowe none more couetous ſhrewes then ye are, when that ye haue a benefice. For lo, I gaue to Iohn Puruay a benefice but a myle out of this Caſtel, and I heard more complaintes about his couetouſnes for tithes and other miſdoinges, then I did of all men ẏ were auaũced within my dioces.

It is pitie that theſe prelates cannot ſweare.

Couetouſnes ioyned with popiſhnes.

And I ſayde to the Archbiſhop: Sir, Puruay is neyther with you now for the benifice that ye gaue him, nor he holdeth faithfully with the learning that he taught & writ before time: and thus he ſheweth him ſelfe neyther to be whot nor colde, and therefore he and his fellowes, may ſore dread, that if they turne not haſtely to the way that they haue forſaken: peraduenture they bee put out of the number of Chriſtes choſen people.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid: though Puruay be nowe a falſe harlote, I quite me to him: But come he more for ſuch cauſe before me (or we depart) I ſhal know wͭ whõ he holdeth. But I ſay tho thee: which are theſe holy men and wiſe, of whom thou haſt taken thine information?

A worthy commendation of maiſter Iohn Wickliffe.

And I ſayd. Syr, Maiſter John Wickleff was holdẽ of full many men, the greateſt clerke that they knew thẽ liuing, and therewith he was named a paſſing ruely mã, and an innocent in his liuing: and herefore, great men cõmoned oft with him, and they loued ſo his learning, that they writ it, and buſily enforced them to rule them ſelues there after. Therefore Syr, this foreſayd learning of M. John Wickleff, is yet holden of ful many men & women, the moſt agreable learning vnto the lyuing and teaching of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and moſt openly ſhewing & declaryng how the churche of Chriſt hath been and yet ſhould be ruled and gouerned. Therfore, ſo many men & women couet this learnyng and purpoſe, through Gods grace, to conforme their lyuing lyke to this learning of Wickleffe. Maiſter John Aſton taught and write accordingly, and ful buſely, where, and when, and to whõ that he might, and he vſed it him ſelfe right perfitely vnto his lyues end. And alſo Philip of Rampington while he was a Chanon of Leceſter, Nicolas Herefor d, Dauy Gotray of Pakryng Monke of Byland and a Maiſter of diuinitie, and John Puruay and many other whiche were holden right wiſe men and prudent, taught and write buſely this foreſayd learnyng, and confirmed them thereto. And withall theſe men, I was oft right homely and communed with them long tyme and oft: and ſo before all other men I choſe willingly to be infourmed of them and by them, and ſpecially of Wickleffe him ſelfe, as of the moſt vertuous and godly wyſe man that I hearde of or knewe. And therfore of him ſpecially and of theſe men I tooke the learnyng ẏ I haue taught: and purpoſe to lyue there after (if God wil) to my liues end. For though ſome of theſe men be contrary to the learnyng ẏ they taught before, I wote wel that their learnyng was true whiche they taught: and therefore with the helpe of God I purpoſe to holde and to vſe the learnyng whiche I heard of thẽ, while they ſat on Moſes chaire, and ſpecially while that they ſat on ẏ chaire of Chriſt. But after the workes that they now do, I wil not do with Gods help. For they feyne, and hyde, and contrary ẏ truth, which before they taught out plainly and truly. For as I know wel, when ſome of theſe men haue been blamed for their ſclaunderous doyng: they graunt not ẏ they haue taught a miſſe or erred before tyme, but that they were conſtrayned by payne to leaue to tell out the ſoth, and thus they chuſe now rather to blaſpheme God, then to ſuffer a while here perſecution bodely, for ſothfaſtneſſe that Chriſt ſhed out his harte bloud for.

Maiſter Iohn Aſton.

Phillip Rampington, Nicholas Herford, Dauy Gotray, Iohn Puruay.

The teſtimony for Wickliffe, out of the mouth of hys own aduerſary.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd. That learning that thou calleſt truth and ſouthfaſtnes, is open ſlaunder to holy church, as it is proued of holy church. For albeit, that Wickleff your Autour was a great clarke, and though that many men held hym a perfect liuer: yet his doctrine is not approued of holy church, but many ſentences of hys learning are damned as they well worthy are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was firſt chanon, and after Abbot of Leceſter, which is now byſhop of Lincolne: I tell thee, ẏ the day is commen, for which he faſted the euen. For neyther he holdeth now, nor will holde, the learning that he taught, whan he was a chanon of Leceſter. For no byſhop of thys land perſueth now more ſharply them that hold thy way, thã he doth.

Many ſuch vigils haue oure popiſh kalendare.

Repington became a perſecuter, after he was made biſhop.

And I ſayd. Sir full many men and women wondereth vpon hym, and ſpeaketh him mekle ſhame, and holdeth hym for a curſed enemie of the truth.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me. Wherfore tarieſt thou me thus here with ſuch fables, wilt thou ſhortlye (as I haue ſayd to thee) ſubmit thee to me or no?

And I ſayd. Sir I tell you at one worde, I dare not for the dread of God ſubmit me to you, after the tenour and ſentence that ye haue aboue rehearſed to me.

And than as if he had been wroth, he ſayd to one of hys clarkes. Fetch hither quickly, the certification that came to me frõ Shrewſbury vnder the Bailiues ſeale, witneſſing the errours and hereſies, which thys Loſell hath venemouſly ſowen there.

Then haſtely the clarke toke out and layd forth on a cupbord, diuers rolles and wrytings, among which there was a litle one, which the clarke deliuered to the Archbiſhop. And by and by, the Archbyſhop red thys roll conteyning thys ſentence.

The ſacrament after conſecration, materi bread.

Articles obiected againſt W. Thorpe.

The third ſonday after Eaſter, the yeare of our lord 1407. William Thorpe came vnto ẏ towne of Shrewſbury, and thorow leaue graũted vnto hym to preach: he ſayd openly in S. Chaddes church in hys ſermon, that the ſacrament of the aultar, after the conſecration, was materiall bread. And that images, ſhould in no wyſe be worſhipped. And that mẽ ſhould not go on pilgrimages. And that prieſtes haue no title to tithes. And that it is not lawfull for to ſweare in any wyſe.

Holeſom inough for mans ſoule though for your kitchin.

And whan the Archbyſhop had red thus this rolle, he rolled it vp agayne, and ſayd to me. Is thys wholeſome learning to be among the people?

And I ſayd to hym. Sir I am both aſhamed on their behalfe, and right ſorowfull for them that haue certified you theſe thynges thus vntruely: for I preached neuer, nor taught thus, priuely nor apertly.

O Shrewſbury, thou haſt a cau to repent thee, in th thou woul deſt not receyue the truth, wh it was of red thee,

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I will geue credence to theſe worſhipfull men which haue written to me, and witneſſed vnder their ſeales there among thẽ. Though now thou denieſt thys, weneſt thou that I will geue credence to thee? Thou Loſell, haſt troubled the worſhipful comminaltie of Shrewſbury, ſo that the Bailiues and comminaltie of that towne haue writtẽ to me, praying me that am Archbiſhop of Cant. primate & Chauncellor of England, that I will vouchſafe to graunt them: that if thou ſhalt be made (as thou art worthy) to ſuffer open ioureſſe for thyne hereſies, that thou may haue thy ioureſſe openlye there among them: So that all they whem thou and ſuch other Loſels haue there peruerted, may thorowe feare of thy dede, be reconciled agayn to the vnitie of holy church. And alſo, they ẏ ſtand in true fayth of holy church, may thorow thy dede be more eſtabliſhed therin. And as if this aſking wel pleaſed the Archbiſhop, he ſayd. By my thrift, this hartie prayer, and feruent requeſt, ſhal be thought on.

The Romiſhe church m bee ſtabliſhed, by p ſecuting of true preachers.

But certainly, nother ẏ prayer of the men of Shrewſbury, nor the manaſſing of the Archbyſhop, made me any thyng afrayd. But in rehearſing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my hart greatlye reioyſed, and yet doth. I thanke God for the grace, that I then thought, and yet thinke ſhall come to all the church of God here thorow, by the ſpeciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as hauing no dread of ẏ malice of tirantes, by truſting ſtedfaſtly in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpoſe for to knowledge the ſothfaſtnes, and to ſtand therby after my cunning and power: I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir if the truth of Gods worde myght nowe be accepted as it ſhould be, I doubt not to proue by likely euidence, that they that are famed to be out of the faith of holy church in Shrewſbury, and in other places alſo, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their wordes ſound, & their workes ſhew to mans iudgement (dreading and louing faythfully God) their will, their deſire, their loue, and their buſines are moſt ſet to dread, to offend God, and to loue for to pleaſe him in true and faythfull keping of his commaundementes. And again, they that are ſayd to be in the fayth of holy church in Shrewſbury and in other places, by open euidence of their proud, enuious, malicious, couetous, lecherous, and other foule wordes and workes: nother know, nor haue will to know, nor to occupy

A ſure tru in Gods truth, confoundeth the malice of tyran

If the rou ſtone mig try: truth ſhould be known.

The deſcription of the right chriſtians in Shreweſbery.

The catholikes of Shreweſbury.

cupie their wits truely and effectuouſly in ẏ ryght fayth of holy church. Wherfoꝛe all theſe, noꝛ none that folow their maners, ſhall any time come verely in the fayth of holy church, except they enfoꝛce thē moꝛe truely to come in the way which now they deſpyſe. Foꝛ theſe men and women that are nowe called faythfull and holden iuſte, nother know, noꝛ wil exerciſe them ſelf to know (of faithfulnes) one commaundement of God. And thus full many men and women nowe, and ſpecially men that are named to be pꝛincipal limmes of holy church, ſtirre God to great wꝛath, and deſerue hys curſe foꝛ that they call oꝛ holde them iuſte men, which are full vniuſte, as their vicious woꝛdes, their great cuſtomable ſwearing, and their ſlaunderous and ſhamefull woꝛkes ſhewe openlye and witnes. And therfoꝛe, ſuch vicious men and vniuſte in their own confuſion, call them vniuſt men & women, which after their power and cunning buſie them ſelf to liue iuſtly after the cōmaundement of God. And where ſir ye ſay, that I haue diſtroubled the comminaltie of Shꝛewſbury, and many other mē and women with my teaching: If it thus be, it is not to be wondꝛed of wyſe men, ſince all the comminaltie of the citie of Jeruſalem was diſtroubled of Chꝛiſtes own perſon, that was very God and mā, and moſt pꝛudent pꝛeacher that euer was oꝛ ſhall be. And alſo, all the Sinagoge of Nazareth was moued againſt Chꝛiſt, and ſo fulfilled with ire towards him foꝛ his pꝛeaching, that the mē of the Sinagoge roſe vp and caſte Chꝛiſt out of their citie, and led hym vp to the top of a mountaine foꝛ to caſt him downe therehedling. Alſo accoꝛdingly hereto, the Loꝛd witneſſeth by Moſes, that he ſhall put diſſention betwixt hys people, and the people that contraryeth & purſueth his people. Who ſir is he, that ſhal pꝛeach the truth of Gods woꝛde to the vnfaythfull people, and ſhall let ẏ ſothfaſtnes of the goſpell, and the pꝛophecie of god almightie, to be fulfilled?

Shrewſbery, except thou turne from thy wicked waies, thou canſt not receyue the truth.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. It followeth of theſe thy woꝛdes, that thou and ſuch other thinkeſt: that ye do ryghtwell foꝛ to pꝛeach and teach as ye do, without authoꝛitie of any byſhop. Foꝛ ye pꝛeſume, that the Loꝛde hath choſen you only foꝛ to pꝛeach, as faythful diſciples and ſpeciall followers of Chꝛiſt.

And I ſayd. Sir by authoꝛitie of Gods law and alſo of ſaintes and doctoꝛs I am learned to deme, that it is euery pꝛieſtes office and dutie foꝛ to pꝛeach buſily, freely, and truely the woꝛd of God. Foꝛ no doubt, euery pꝛieſt ſhould purpoſe firſt in hys ſoule, and couet to take the oꝛder of pꝛieſthode chiefly foꝛ to make knowē to the people the woꝛd of God, after his cōning and power: A pꝛouing hys woꝛds euer to be true by hys vertuous woꝛks, and foꝛ thys entent we ſuppoſe that byſhops and other pꝛelates of holy church, ſhould chiefly take and vſe their pꝛelacie, and foꝛ the ſame cauſe, byſhops ſhould geue to pꝛieſts their oꝛders. Foꝛ byſhops ſhould accept no man to pꝛieſthoode, except that he had good wil and full purpoſe, and were well diſpoſed, and well learned to pꝛeach. Wherfoꝛe ſir, by the bidding of Chꝛiſt, and by example of his moſt holy liuing, and alſo by the witneſſing of his holy Apoſtles and Pꝛophets: we are bounde vnder full great payn, to exerciſe vs after our conning and power (as euery pꝛieſt is likewyſe charged of God) to fulfill duely the office of pꝛieſthoode. We pꝛeſume not here of our ſelues foꝛ to be eſtemed (nother in our owne reputation noꝛ in none other mans) faythefull diſciples, and ſpecial followers of Chꝛiſt: But ſir, as I ſayd to you befoꝛe, we deme thys by authoꝛitie chiefly of Gods woꝛde, that it is the chiefe duetie of euery pꝛieſt, to buſie them faythfully to make the lawe of God knowen to his people, and ſo to comune the commaundement of God charitably, how that we may beſt, where, whan, & to whom that euer we may, is our very dutie. And foꝛ the wil and buſines that we owe of due debt to doe iuſtlye our office thoꝛowe the ſtirring and ſpeciall helpe (as we truſt) of God, hoping ſtedfaſtly in hys mercy: we deſire to be the faythfull diſciples of Chꝛiſt, and we pꝛay thys gracious Loꝛd foꝛ hys holy name, ẏ he make vs able ſo to pleaſe him with deuoute pꝛayers, & charitable pꝛieſtly woꝛks, that we may obtaine of hym to follow hym thankfully.

An effectuous prayer, god graunt in all miniſters.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Leud loſell, wherto makeſt thou ſuch vayne reaſons to me? Aſketh not S. Paule, how ſhould pꝛieſtes pꝛeach, except they be ſent? But I ſent thee neuer to pꝛeach. Foꝛ thy venemous doctrine is ſo known thoꝛow out England, that no biſhop will admit thee to pꝛeach by witneſſing of their letters. Why then lewd Idiot, willeſt thou pꝛeſume to pꝛeache, ſince thou art not ſent noꝛ licenſed of thy ſoueraigne to pꝛeach. Sayth not S. Paul, that ſubiectes ought to obey their ſoueraignes, and not only good and vertuous: but alſo tirauntes that are vicious?

Why he preached without the biſhops licence.

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop. Sir, as touching your letter of licence oꝛ other byſhops, which ye ſay we ſhuld haue to witnes ẏ we were able to be ſent foꝛ to pꝛeach? We know wel that nother you ſir, noꝛ any other biſhop of this land, wil graunt to vs any ſuch letters of licence, but yf we ſhould oblige vs to you, & to other byſhops by vnlefull othes, foꝛ to paſſe not the bondes and termes which ye ſir oꝛ other byſhops will limit to vs. And ſince in thys matter your termes be ſome to large, and ſome to ſtraite: we dare not oblige vs thus to bee bounden to you foꝛ to kepe the termes, whiche you will limit to vs, as you do to Friers, and ſuch other pꝛeachers. And therfoꝛe, though we haue not your letter ſir, noꝛ letters of other byſhoppes wꝛitten with inke vppon parchment: we dare not therfoꝛe leaue the office of pꝛeaching (to whiche pꝛeaching, all pꝛieſtes after their conning and power are bound, by diuers teſtimonies of Gods lawe, and great doctoꝛs) without any mention making of byſhops letters. Foꝛ as mekell as we haue taken vpon vs the office of pꝛieſthoode (though we are vnwoꝛthye therto) we come and purpoſe to fulfill it with the helpe of God, by authoꝛitye of his owne lawe, and by witneſſe of greate doctours and ſaintes, accoꝛdinglye hereto truſtyng ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. Foꝛ that he commaundeth vs to do the office of pꝛieſthode, he wil be our ſufficient letters and witnes, if we by example of his holy lyuing and teachyng, ſpecially occupy vs faithfully to do our office iuſtly: ye the people to whom we pꝛeache (be they faythful oꝛ vnfaithfull) ſhall be our letters, that is our witnes bearers: foꝛ the truthe where it is ſowen, may not be vnwitneſſed. Foꝛ all that are conuerted and ſaued by learning of Gods woꝛd, and by woꝛking there after: are witnes bearers: that the truth and ſothfaſtnes whiche they hard and did after, is cauſe of their ſaluation. And agayne, all vnfaithfull men and women whiche herd the truth told out to them, and would not do there after: alſo all they that might haue hard the truth, and would not heare it, becauſe that they would not do there after: All theſe ſhal beare witnes againſt thē ſelues, and the truth whiche they would not heare, oꝛ els hard it and deſpiſed to do there after, thoꝛow their vnfaithfulneſſe, is & ſhal be cauſe of their dampnacion. Therfoꝛe Syꝛ, ſince this afoꝛeſayd witneſſyng of God, and of diuers ſaintes and doctours, and of all the people good and euill, ſufficeth to all true pꝛeachers: we thincke that we do not the office of pꝛieſthode, if that we leaue our pꝛeachyng, becauſe that we haue not, oꝛ may not haue duely Byſhops letters, to witneſſe that wee are ſent of them to pꝛeache. This ſentence appꝛoueth S. Paul, where he ſpeaketh of him ſelfe, and of faythfull Apoſtles and diſciples ſaying thus. We nede no letters of cōmendation as ſome pꝛeachers do, whiche pꝛeache foꝛ couetouſneſſe of tempoꝛall goodes, and foꝛ mens pꝛayſing. And where ye ſay Syꝛ, that Paul biddeth ſubiectes obey their ſoueraignes, this is ſoth, and may not be denyed. But there is ij. maner of ſoueraignes, vertuous ſoueraignes & vicious tyꝛantes.

He anſwereth to the queſtion concerning the letter of licence.

The inconueniences of ſeking of the biſhops letters or licence.

The witnes of the preachers, is the good life of the followers.

Two maner of ſoueraignes.

Therfoꝛe

He meaneth prelates that be vertuous.

Therfore, to theſe laſt ſoueraignes, neither men nor women that be ſubiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous ſoueraignes and charitable, ſubiectes owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearyng of their good counſel, in conſentyng to their charitable biddynges, & in workyng after their frutefull workes. This ſentence, Paul approueth where he ſayth to ſubiectes. Be ye mindeful of your ſoueraignes, that ſpeake to you the worde of God, and folowe you the fayth of them, whoſe conuerſation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul ſayth, after theſe ſoueraignes, to whom ſubiectes owe to obey in folowyng of their maners: worke beſely in holy ſtudying, how they may withſtād and deſtroy vices, firſt in them ſelues, and after in all their ſubiectes, and how they may beſt plant in thē vertues. Alſo theſe ſoueraigns, make deuout and feruent prayers for to purchaſe grace of God, that they and their ſubiectes may ouer all thyng, dread to offende him, and to loue for to pleaſe him. Alſo theſe ſoueraignes to whom Paul biddeth vs obey, as it is ſayd before, liue ſo vertuouſly: that all they that will lyue well, may take of them good example, to know & to kepe the commaūdemētes of God. But in this foreſayd wiſe, ſubiectes ought not to obeye nor to be obedient to tyrauntes, while they are vitious tyraunts, ſince their will, their counſel, their biddynges, and their workes are ſo vitious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though ſuch tyraunts be maiſterful and cruel in boaſtyng & manaſing, in oppreſſions & diuers puniſhings: S. Peter byddeth yͤ ſeruants of ſuch tyrants, to obey meekely ſuch tyrants, ſuffryng paciently their malicious cruelnes. But Peter counſelleth not any ſeruant or ſubiect, to obey to any lord or Prince, or ſoueraigne in any thyng that is not pleaſyng to God.

Two maner of obeying: 1. in folowing their doinges and examples. 2. in suffryng theyr wronges.

Wicked rulers are not to be folowed in euill.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto me. If a ſouerayne byd hys ſubiect do that thyng that is vicious, this ſoueraigne herein is to blame: but the ſubiect for his obediēce, deſerueth meede of God. For obedience pleaſeth more to God, than any ſacrifice.

Well reaſoned my Lord and lyke a clarke.

And I ſayd. Samuell the Prophet ſayd to Saul the wicked kyng, that God was more pleaſed with the obediēce of his commaundement, then with any ſacrifice of beaſtes. But Dauid ſayth, and S. Paul, and S. Gregory accordingly together, that not onely they that do euil, are worthy of death & dāpnation: but alſo they that conſent to euill doers. And Syr, the law of holy churche teacheth in the decrees, that no ſeruaunt to his Lorde, nor childe to the father or mother, nor wife to her huſband, nor monke to his Abbot, ought to obey, excepte in leful thynges, and lawfull.

Obedience not to be geuē, but in thinges leful and lawfull.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. All theſe alledginges that thou bryngeſt forth, are not els but proude preſumptuouſneſſe. For hereby thou enforceſt thée to proue, that thou and ſuch other are ſo iuſt, that ye ought not to obey to prelates. And thus agaynſt the learnyng of Saint Paul that teacheth you not to preach, but if ye were ſēt: of your owne authoritie, ye wil go forth and preach, and do what ye liſt.

All is preſumption that ſtandeth againſt your maiſterful ambition.

And I ſayd. Syr, preſenteth not euery prieſt the office of the Apoſtles, or the office of the diſciples of Chriſt? And the Archbiſhop ſayd, ye.

And I ſayd. Syr as the tenth chapter of Mathew, and the laſt chapter of Marke witneſſeth: Chriſt ſent his Apoſtles for to preache. And the tenth chapter of Luke witneſſeth, that Chriſt ſent his two and ſeuentie diſciples for to preach, in euery place that Chriſt was to come to. And S. Gregory in the common law ſayth, that euery man that goeth to prieſthoode, taketh vpon hym the office of preachyng: For as he ſayth, that prieſt ſtirreth God to great wrath, of whoſe mouth is not heard the voyce of preachyng. And as other more gloſes vpon Ezechiel, witneſſe: that the prieſt that preacheth not buſily to the people, ſhall be partaker of their dampnation that periſhe thorowe his default. And though the people bee ſaued by other ſpeciall grace of God then by yͤ prieſtes preaching, yet the prieſtes, in that they are ordained to preache, and preache not, as before God, they are manſlears. For as farre as in them is, ſuch prieſts as preach not buſily and truly, ſleieth all the people ghoſtly: in that they withhold from them the worde of God, that is lyfe and ſuſtenaūce of mens ſoules. And S. Iſidore ſayd, prieſts ſhalbe dampned, for wickedneſſe of the people, if they teach not them that are ignoraunt, or blame not them that are ſynners. For all the worke or buſines of prieſts, ſtandeth in preachyng and teachyng, that they edifie all men, as well by cunnyng of fayth, as by diſcipline of workes, that is vertuous teachyng. And as the Goſpell witneſſeth: Chriſt ſayd in hys teachyng. I am borne and comen into this worlde, to beare witneſſe to the truth, and he that is of the truth, heareth my voyce.

Prieſtes in that thei take prieſthoode, they are ſent to preach. *Math.*10. *Marke.vlt.* *Luke.*10.

The office of prieſthoode, is the office of preaching.

Prieſtes that preac not, be s ers of the people. *Iſidorus.*

Doctrine fayth. Diſciplin of work

Thē Syr, ſince by the worde of Chriſt ſpecially, that is his voyce, prieſtes are commaunded to preache? what ſoeuer prieſt that it bee, that hath not good will and full purpoſe to do thus, and ableth not him ſelfe after his connyng and power to do his office by the example of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles: what ſoeuer other thyng that he dothe, diſpleaſeth God. For loe, S. Gregory ſayth, that thyng left, that a man is bounde chiefly to do, what ſoeuer other thyng that a man doth: it is vnthankeful to the holy ghoſt: and therfore ſayth Lincolne. That prieſt that preacheth not the woorde of God, thoughe he be ſeen to haue none other default, he is Antichriſt and Sathanas, A night théef, & a day thefe, a ſlayer of ſoules, and an angell of light turned into darkenes. Wherfore Syr, theſe authorities and other well conſidered, I deeme my ſelfe dampnable, if I other for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of any creature, apply me not diligently to preach the worde of God. And in the ſame dānation I deeme all thoſe prieſts, whiche of good purpoſe and will, enforce them not buſily to do thus, and alſo all them that haue purpoſe or wil to let any prieſt of this buſines.

Prieſtes onely to to preac but com maunde to preac Grego

Linco enſis.

Whatſoe a man d leauing that w which is chief bounde do, is

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to thoſe iij. clarkes that ſtode before hym. Lo Syrs, this is the maner and buſineſſe of this Loſell and ſuch other, to picke out ſuch ſharpe ſentences of holy Scripture and of doctours, to maintain their ſecte and lore agaynſt the ordinaunce of holy church. And therfore Loſell, it is thou that coueteſt to haue agayn the Pſalter that I made to be taken from thée at Canterbury, to recorde ſharpe verſes agaynſt vs. But thou ſhalt neuer haue that Pſalter, nor none other booke, til that I knowe that thy hart and thy mouth accorde fully, to bee gouerned by holy churche.

Yet this shop pl keth hy not by beard, burneth not of h hande, Bonet Holy church

And I ſayd. Syr, all my will and power is, and euer ſhalbe (I truſt to God) to be gouerned by holy churche.

And the Archbiſhop aſked me, what was holy church.

And I ſayd, Syr I told you before, what was holy church. But ſince ye aſke me this demaūd: I call Chriſt and his ſaintes holy churche.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd vnto me. I wotte well that Chriſt and his ſaintes are holy churche in heauen, but what is holy churche in earth?

And I ſayd. Syr, though holy church be euery one in charity, yet it hath two partes. The firſt and principall parte, hath ouercomen perfectly all the wretchedneſſe of this lyfe, & raigneth ioyfully in heauen with Chriſt. And the other part is here yet in earth, buſily and continually fighting day and nyght, agaynſt tēptations of the fiende: forſakyng and hatyng the proſperity of this world, deſpiſing and withſtandyng their fleſhly luſtes, whiche onely are the pilgrimes of Chriſt, wanderyng toward heauen by ſtedfaſt faith, and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For theſe heauely pilgrimes, may not, nor wil not, be letted of their good purpoſe, by the reaſon of any doctours diſcordyng fro holy Scripture, nor by the floudes of any tribulation temporall, nor by the winde of any pride, of boaſt, or of manaſyng of any creature: For they

2. partes the church

are all faſt grounded vpon the ſure ſtone Chriſt, hearyng his worde and louyng it, exerciſing them faithfully and continually in all their wittes to do there after.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd to his clerkes. See ye not how his hart is indurate, and how he is traueled with ẏ deuill, occupying him thus buſely to alledge ſuch ſētēces to maintaine his errours and hereſies? Certain, thus he would occupie vs here all day, if we would ſuffer him.

One of the clerkes aūſwered. Syr, he ſayd right now, that this certification that came to you from Shrewſbery, is vntruely forged agaynſt him. Therfore Syr, appoſe you him now here in all ẏ points which are certified agaynſt hym, and ſo wee ſhall heare of his owne mouth his aunſweres, and witnes them.

And the Archbiſhop tooke the certification in his hād, and looked thereon a while, and then he ſayd to me.

Lo here it is certified agaynſt thée, by worthy men & faithfull of Shrewſbery, that thou preachedſt there opēly in S. Chaddes churche: that the Sacrament of the altar was materiall bread after ẏ conſecration, what ſayſt thou? Was this truly preached?

And I ſaid: Sir, I tell you truly, that I touched nothing there of the ſacramēt of the altar, but in this wiſe, as I will with Gods grace tell you here. As I ſtood ther in the pulpit, buſieng me to teach the commaundement of God: there knilled a ſacring bell, and therefore mikle people turned away haſtely, and with noyſe ran fro towardes me. And I ſeing this, ſayd to them thus: Good men, ye were better to ſtand here ſtill, and to heare gods word. For certes, the vertue and the meede of the moſt holy ſacrament of the aultar, ſtandeth mikle more in the beliefe thereof, that ye ought to haue in your ſoule, then it doth in the outward ſight thereof. And therefore, ye were better to ſtand ſtill quietly to heare Gods woord, becauſe that through the hearing thereof, men come to very true belief. And otherwiſe ſir, I am certain I ſpake not there, of the worthy ſacrament of the aultar.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: I beleue thée not whatſoeuer thou ſayeſt, ſince ſo worſhipfull men haue witneſſed thus agaynſt thee. But ſince thou denieſt that thou ſaydeſt thus there, what ſayeſt thou now? Reſteth there after the conſecration in the hoſt, material bread or no?

And I ſaid: Sir, I know in no place in holy ſcripture, where this terme materiall bread is written: and therefore ſir, whē I ſpeake of this matter, I vſe not to ſpeake of materiall bread.

Than the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: How teacheſt thou men to beleue in this ſacrament?

And I ſayd: Sir, as I beleue my ſelfe, ſo I teache other men.

He ſaid, tell out plainly thy beliefe thereof.

And I ſayd with my proteſtation: Sir, I beleue that the night before that Chriſt Ieſu would ſuffer (wylfully) paſſion for mankinde: on the morne after, he tooke bread in his holy and moſt worſhipfull handes, lyfting vp hys eyes, and geuing thankes to God his father, bleſſed this bread and brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, ſaying to them: Take and eate of this all you, this is my body. And that this is and ought to bee all mens beliefe, Mathew, Marke, Luke and Paule witneſſeth. Other belief ſir haue I none, nor wil haue, nor teach: for I beleue, that this ſufficeth in this matter. For in this beliefe wͭ Gods grace I purpoſe to liue and die, knowledging as I beleue and teach other men to beleue: that the worſhipfull ſacrament of the altar, is the ſacrament of Chriſts fleſh and his blood, in fourme of bread and of wine.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. It is ſooth that this ſacrament is very Chriſtes bodye in fourme of breade. But thou & thy ſect teacheſt it to be ſubſtaunce of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

And I ſayd: Neither I, nor anye other of the ſect that ye damne, teache any other wiſe then I haue tolde you, nor beleue otherwiſe to my knowing. Neuertheles ſir, I aſke of you for charitie, that ye will tell me here plainly, how ye ſhall vnderſtand this text of ſaint Paul, wher he ſayth thus: Thys thyng feele you in your ſelfe ẏ is in Chriſt Ieſu, while he was in the fourme of God. Sir, calleth not Paule here the fourme of God, the ſubſtance or kinde of God? Alſo ſir, ſaith not the church in the houres of the moſt bleſſed virgin accordingly hereto, wher it is written thus? Thou author of health rememember, that ſometyme thou tooke of the vndefiled virgin, the forme of our body. Tell me for charity therefore, whether the fourme of our body, be called here the kinde of our bodye or no?

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Wouldeſt thou make me to declare this text after thy purpoſe, ſince the church now hath determined: that there abideth no ſubſtaunce of bread after the conſecration, in the ſacrament of the aultar? Beleueſt thou not this ordināce of ẏ churche?

The papiſtes haue none other defēce for them, but only, the church, the church.

And I ſayd: Sir, whatſoeuer Prelates haue ordayned in the church, our belief ſtandeth euer whole. I haue not heard, that the ordinance of men vnder belief, ſhuld be put into beliefe.

Euery ordināce of churchmen byndeth not our fayth.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: If thou haſt not learned this before, learne now to knowe that thou art out of beliefe, If in this matter and other, thou beleueſt not as the holy church beleueth. What ſaye Doctours treating of this Sacrament?

And I ſayd: Sir, ſaint Paule that was a great doctor of holy church, ſpeaking to the people, and teachyng them the right beliefe of this moſt holy ſacrament: calleth it bread that we breake. And alſo in the Canon of the Maſſe after the conſecration: this moſt worthy Sacrament is called holy breade. And euerye prieſt in thys land, after that he hath receiued this ſacrament, ſaith in this wiſe: That thing that we haue takē wͭ our mouth we pray God that we may take it wyth a pure & cleane mynde. That is as I vnderſtand, we pray God that we may receiue thorowe very beliefe, this holy ſacrament worthely. And ſir, ſaint Auguſtin ſayth: that thing that is ſene, is bread: but that mens faith aſketh to be informed of, is very Chriſtes body. And alſo, Fulgence an ententiſe doctour ſayth: As it were an errour to ſaye that Chriſt was but a ſubſtaunce, that is, very man, and not very God: or to ſay that Chriſt was very God, and not verye man: ſo is it (this doctour ſaith) an errour to ſay, that the ſacrament of the aulter is but a ſubſtance. And alſo ſir, accordingly hereto, in the ſecreat of the midde Maſſe on Chriſtmaſſe day, it is written thus: Idem refulſit deus, ſic terrena ſubſtantia nobis conferat quod diuinum eſt: which ſentence ſir, with the ſecret of the fourth fery, quatuor temporū Septēbris: I pray you ſir declare here openly in engliſh.

The greateſt docters of the church be Apoſtles.

S. Paule calleth it bread.

The Canon of the maſſe calleth it bread.

S Auſten calleth it bread.

The ſecret of the maſſe on Chriſtmas day, nameth it a terrene ſubſtance.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, I perceiue wel inough where about thou art, and how the deuill blindeth thee, that thou may not vnderſtande the ordinaunce of holye church, nor conſent therto. But I commaund thée now, aunſwer me ſhortly: Beleueſt thou that after the conſecration of thys foreſayde ſacrament: there abideth ſubſtaunce of bread, or not?

My Lord can reuile apaſe, he can declare but a little.

Choke hym vp my Lord.

To graunt the reall beyng of the body without bread, is as much as to graunt, the accidēt to be without the ſubiect.

And I ſayde: Sir, as I vnderſtande it is all one to graunt or beleue, that ther dwelleth ſubſtance of bread, and to graunt and to beleue, that this moſt woorthy ſacrament of Chriſtes own body is accident without ſubiect. But ſir, for as mikle as your aſking paſſeth myne vnderſtanding, I dare neither deny it nor graunt it, for it is ſchole matter, about which I beſied me neuer for to knowe: and therefore I commit this terme accidens ſine ſubiecto, to thoſe clarkes, which delite them ſo in curious and ſubtile ſophiſtry, becauſe they determine oft ſo difficult and ſtraunge matters, and wade and wander ſo in them from argument to argument, wyth pro & contra, till that they wot not where they are, and vnderſtād not them ſelues. But the ſhame that theſe proud Sophiſters haue, to yelde them to men and before men, maketh them of fooles, and to be concluded ſhamefully before God.

Againſt proud Sophiſters.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: I purpoſe not to oblige thée to the ſubtile arguments of Clarkes, ſince thou art vnable thereto: but I purpoſe to make thee obey to the determination of holy church.

Templum domini, Templū domini.

And I ſayd, ſir by open euidence and great wytnes, a thouſand yeare after the incarnation of Chriſt: the determination whych I haue here before you rehearſed, was accept of holy church as ſufficient to the ſaluation of all them that would beleue it faythfully, and worke therafter charitably. But ſir, the determination of this matter which was brought in ſince the féend was loſed by frier Thomas againe, ſpecially calling the moſt worſhipfull ſacrament of Chriſtes owne bodye an accident wythoute ſubiect: whych terme, ſince I knowe not that Gods law approueth it in this mater, I dare not grāūt, but vtterly I deny to make this Friers ſentence, or any ſuch other, my belief, do with me God what thou wylt.

The church ſtoode ſound till the fiende broke loſe.

Tranſubſtantiation brought in by Frier Thomas Aquine.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Well, well, then ſhalt ſay otherwiſe or that I leaue thée. But what ſaieſt thou to this ſecond point that is recorded againſt thée by worthy men of Shrewſburye, ſaying: that thou preachedſt there, ẏ Images ought not to be worſhipped in any wyſe

It is happy he did not flye in his face as Boner did.

And I ſayd: Sir I preached neuer thus, nor thorow Gods grace I will not anye tyme conſent to thinke nor to ſay thus, neither priuely nor apertly. For lo, the Lord witneſſeth by Moſes, that the thinges whych hee made were right good, and ſo thē they were, and yet they are and ſhall be good, and woorſhipfull in their kinde. And therfore, to the end that God made them to, they are all praiſable and worſhipfull, and ſpeciallye man that was made after the image and lykenes of God, is full worſhipfull in his kinde, yea this holye image that is man, God worſhippeth. And herefore, euery man ſhould worſhip other, in kinde, and alſo for heauenlye vertues that men vſe charitably. Alſo I ſay, wood, tyn, golde, ſiluer, or any other matter that images are made of: all theſe creatures are worſhipfull in their kinde, and to the end that God made them for. But the karuing, caſtyng, or painting of any imagery, made with mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of higheſt ſtate & dignitie, and ordained of them to be a kalender to leud men, that neither can nor will be learned to know God in his word, neyther by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull & diuers workinges: Yet this imagerye ought not to bee woorſhipped in the fourme, nor in the lykenes of mans craft. Neuertheles that, euery matter ẏ paynters paint with, ſince it is Gods creature, ought to be worſhipped in the kinde, and to the ende that God made and ordayned it to ſerue man.

The 2. pointe touching images. Thorpe charged wyth an vntruth.

Man a worſhipfull image of God.

Though man accept the painting or caruing of images, yet is it not the right way to learne to ſerue God.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I graunt wel that no body ought to do worſhip to anye ſuche images for them ſelues. But a crucifixe ought to be worſhipped for the paſſion of Chriſt that is painted therin, & ſo brought there through to mans mynde: and thus the images of the bleſſed Trinitie, and of the virgine Marye Chriſtes mother, and other images of ſaintes, ought to be woorſhipped. For lo, earthly kinges and Lordes whych vſe to ſend their letters enſealed with their armes, or wyth their priuy ſignet to them that are with them, are worſhipped of theſe men. For when theſe men receiue theyr Lordes letters, in which they ſée and know the wils and biddings of their Lords, in worſhip of their Lords they do of their caps to theſe letters. Why not then, ſince in images made with mans hand, we may rede and know many diuers thinges of God and of hys Sayntes, ſhall we not worſhip their images?

The Image of the Trinitie.

A ſimilitude of the kings ſeale or letters, to proue the worſhip of images.

And I ſayd, with my foreſayde proteſtation I ſaye, that theſe worldlye vſages of temporall Lordes that ye ſpeake now of, may be done in caſe, wythout ſinne: But this is no ſimilitude to worſhip images made by mans hand, ſince that Moiſes, Dauid, Salomon, Baruch, and other ſaintes in the Bible, forbid ſo plainly the worſhipping of all ſuch images.

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Then the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Leud loſell, in the old law before that Chriſt tooke mankinde, was no likenes of any perſon of the Trinity, neither ſhewed to man nor known of man: But now ſince Chriſt became man, it is lefull to haue images to ſhewe his manhoode. Yea, though many men which are right great Clarkes and other alſo, held it an errour to paint the Trinity: I ſay, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is great mouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitye and other images of ſaints, carued, caſt, and painted. For beyond ẏ ſea, are the beſt painters that euer I ſaw. And ſirs I tel you, this is their maner, and it is a good manner. When that an image maker ſhall carue, caſt in molde, or paynt any images, he ſhall go to a prieſt, and ſhriue him as cleane, as if hee ſhould then die: and take penaunce, and make ſome certaine vow of faſting or of praying, or pilgrimages doing, praying the prieſt ſpecially to pray for him, that he may haue grace to make a faire and a deuout image.

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And I ſayd: Sir, I doubt not, if theſe painters that ye ſpeake of, or any other painters vnderſtood truly the text of Moiſes, of Dauid, of the wiſe man, of Baruch, & of other ſaintes and doctours: Theſe painters ſhoulde be moued to ſhriue them to God with ful inward ſorow of hart, taking vpon them to do right ſharpe penaunce for the ſinfull and vaine craft of painting, caruyng, or caſting that they had vſed: Promiſing God faithfully, neuer to do ſo after, knowledging openlye before all men their reprouable learning. And alſo ſir, theſe prieſts that ſhriue (as you do ſay) painters, and inioyne thē to do penaunce, and pray for their ſpeede, promiſing to thē help of their prayers, for to be curious in their ſinful crafts: ſinne herein more greuouſly, then the painters. For theſe prieſtes do comfort and geue them counſell to doo that thing, whiche of greate paine, yea vnder the paine of Gods curſe, they ſhould vtterly forbid them. For certes ſir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holye lyuing and teaching of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and prophets, were made knowen to the people by holye liuing and true, and buſie teaching of prieſtes: theſe things (ſir) were ſufficient bookes and kalenders to know God by, and his ſaintes, without any images made wyth mans hand. But certes, the vicious liuing of prieſts and their couetouſnes, are chiefe cauſe of this error, and all other viciouſnes that raygneth among the people.

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Then the Archbiſhop ſaid vnto me, I hold thee a vicious prieſt and a curſt, and all them that are of thy ſect: for all prieſtes of holy church, and all images that moue men to deuotion, thou and ſuche other go about to deſtroy. Loſell, were it a faire thing to come into a church and ſee therein none Image?

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And I ſayd: Sir, they that come to the churche for to pray deuoutly to the Lorde God, maye in their inwarde wittes bee the more feruent, that all their outwarde wits be cloſed fro all outward ſeing and hearyng, and fro all diſtroublance and lettinges. And ſince Chriſt bleſſed them that ſawe him not bodelye, and haue beleued faithfully in him: it ſuffiſeth then to all men (thorow hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to do thereafter) for to beleue in God, though they ſe neuer images made with mans hand after any perſon of the Trinitye, or of any other ſaint.

The righ
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Chriſtia

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, with a feruent ſpirit: I ſay to thée loſell, that it is right wel done to make and to haue an image of the Trinity. Yea, what ſaieſt thou? is it not a ſtirring thing to behold ſuch an image?

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And I ſaid: Sir, ye ſayd right nowe that in the olde law, or Chriſt tooke mankinde, no likenes of any perſon of the Trinity was ſhewed to men: wherefore ſir, ye ſaid it was not then lefull to haue images, but nowe ye ſaye ſince Chriſt is becomen man, it is lefull to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie, and alſo of other ſaints. But ſir, this thing woulde I learne of you: ſince the father of heauen, yea and euery perſon of the trinity, was without beginning God almighty, and many holy prophetes that were deadly men, were martired violentlye in the old law, and alſo many men and women then died Confeſſors: Why was it not then as leful and neceſſarye, as nowe to haue made an image of the father of heauẽ, and to haue made and had other images of martirs, prophetes, and holy confeſſors, to haue bene kalenders to aduiſe men and moue them to deuotion, as ye ſay that images now do?

And the archbiſhop ſayde: The ſinagoge of Iewes had not authority to approue theſe things, as the church of Chriſt hath now.

And I ſayde: Sir, S. Gregorye was a great man in the new law, and of great dignitie, and as the common law witneſſeth, he commended greatly a biſhop, in that he forbad vtterlye the images made with mans hande, ſhould be worſhipped.

And the archbiſhop ſaid; Vngracious loſell, thou ſauoreſt no more truth than an hound. Since at the roode at the north dore at London, at our Lady at Walſingam, and many other diuers places in England, are manye great and praiſabe miracles done: ſhoulde not the images of ſuch holy ſaintes and places, at the reuerence of God and our lady and other ſaints, be more worſhipped then other places and images, where no ſuche miracles are done?

And I ſaid: Sir, there is no ſuch vertue in any imagery, that any images ſhould herefore be woorſhipped. Wherfore, I am certaine that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, becauſe that anye ymages made with mans hand ſhould be worſhipped. And herefore ſir, as I preached openly at Shrewſbury and other places, I ſay now here before you: That no body ſhould truſt that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no body ſhould vow to them, nor ſeeke them, nor kneele to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kis them, nor enſence them. For lo, the moſt worthy of ſuch images, the braſen Serpent (by Moſes made, at Gods bydding) the good king Ezechie deſtroyed worthely & thankfully, and all becauſe it was enſenſed. Therefore ſir, if men take good heede to the writing and to the learnyng of S. Auguſtine, of S. Gregory, and of S. Iohn Chriſoſtome, and of other ſaints and doctors, how they ſpake & and write of miracles, that ſhall be done now in the laſt end of yͤ world: It is to dread, that for the vnfaithfulnes of men and women, the Fiend hath great power, for to worke many of the miracles that now are done in ſuch places. For both men and women delite now, more for to heare and know miracles, then they do to know gods word, or to heare it effectuouſly. Wherfore, to the great confuſion of all them that thus do Chriſt ſaith: The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Neuertheles as diuers saintes ſay, now when the faith of God is publiſhed in Chriſtendome, the word of God ſufficeth to mans ſaluation, without ſuch miracles: and thus alſo the word of God ſufficeth to all faithful men and women, without anye ſuche images. But good ſir, ſince the father of heauen that is God in hys Godhead, is the moſt vnknowen thing that may be, and the moſt wonderfull ſpirite, hauing in it no ſhape or likenes of any members of anye deadlye creature: in what likenes or what image maye God the father bee ſhewed or paynted?

And the archbiſhop ſaid: As holye church hath ſuffered the images of the Trinitie, and all other images to be painted & ſhewed: it ſufficeth to them that are members of holy church. But ſince thou art a rotten member, cut away from holye churche: thou ſauoreſt not the ordinaunce thereof. But ſince the day paſſeth, leaue we thys matter.

Holy church of your owne buildyng.

AND then hee ſayde to me: What ſayeſt thou to the third pointe that is certified againſt thee, preaching opẽly in Shrewſbury, that pilgrimage is not lefull. And ouer this, thou ſaydeſt that thoſe men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beuerley, to Karlington, to Walſingam, and to any ſuche other places, are accurſed and made foolyſhe, ſpending their goodes in waſte.

The 3. article.

Pilgrimage.

And I ſayd: Sir, by this certification I am accuſed to you that I ſhould teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I ſayd neuer thus. For I knowe that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleaſaunt to God: and therfore ſir, howſoeuer mine enemies haue certified you of me, I told at Shrewſberi of 2. maner of pilgrimages

Two maner of Pilgrimage.

And the archbiſhop ſayde to mee, whom calleſt thou true pilgrimes?

And I ſayde: Sir, with my proteſtation, I call them true pilgrims traueling towarde the blyſſe of heauen, which in the ſtate, degree, or order that God calleth thẽ, do buſy them faithfully for to occupy all their wits bodely and ghoſtly, to know truly, and to keepe faythfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the ſeuen deadly ſinnes, and euery braunch of them: Ruling them vertuouſly (as it is ſayd before) withall their wyts, doing diſcretely, wilfully, and gladly, all the works of mercy, bodely and ghoſtlye, after their cunning and power, abling thẽ to the giftes of the holy ghoſt, diſpoſing thẽ to receiue thẽ in their ſoules, and to holde therin, the right bleſſinges of Chriſt: Buſieng them to know and to kepe, the. vij. principall vertues, and ſo then they ſhall obtaine here thorow grace, for to vſe thankfullye to God, all the conditiōs of charity. And then, they ſhal be moued with the good ſpirite of God, for to examine oft and diligently their conſcience, that neyther wilfully nor wittinglye they erre in any article of beliefe, hauing continuallye (as frailty will ſuffer) all their buſines, to dreade and to flee the offence of God, and to loue ouer all thing, and to ſeeke euer to do his pleaſant will. Of theſe pilgrimes I ſayd, whatſoeuer good thought yͭ they any time thinke, what vertuous word that they ſpeake, & what fruitfull worke that they worke: Euery ſuch thought, worde and work is a ſteppe nūbred of god, toward him into heauẽ. Theſe foreſayd pilgrimes of God, delite ſore when they heare of ſaintes or of vertuous men & women, how they forſoke wilfully yͤ proſperitie of this life, how they withſtoode the ſuggeſtion of the fiend, howe they reſtrayned their fleſhly luſtes, how diſcrete thei were in their penāce doing, how paciẽt they were in all their aduerſities, how prudẽt they were in counſelyng of men and women, mouyng them to hate all ſinne, and to flye them, & to ſhame euer greatly therof, and to loue all vertues and to draw to them, Imaginyng how Chriſt and his folowers by exāple of him, ſuffered ſkornes and ſlaunders, and how paciently they abode and tooke the wrongfull manaſſing of tyrants: How homely they were and ſeruiſable to poore men, to relieue and comfort them bodely and goſtly, after theyr power and connyng, and how deuout they wer in prayers, how feruent they were in heauenly deſires, & howe they abſented them from ſpectacles of vayne ſayinges and hearyngs, and how ſtable they were to let and to deſtroy all vices, and how laborious and ioyfull they were, to ſow and to plant vertues. Theſe heauẽly conditions and ſuch other, haue pilgrimes, or endeuour them for to haue: whoſe pilgrimage god accepteth. And again I ſayd, as their workes ſhew, the moſt part of men and women that go now on pilgrimages, haue not theſe for

The true pilgrimage is to trauel in heauenly thinges.

Euery good worke is a good ſteppe to heauen.

The maner and examples of ſaintes.

ſayd conditions,nor loueth to buſy them faithfully for to haue. For as I well know, ſince I haue full oft aſſayde, examine whoſoeuer will xx. of theſe pilgrimes: and he ſhall not finde iij. men or womē that know ſurely a commaundement of God,nor can ſay their Pater noſter,and Aue Maria,nor their Crede readyly in any maner of language. And as I haue learned and alſo know ſomwhat by experience of theſe ſame pilgrimes,tellyng the cauſe, why that many men and women go hether and thether now on pilgrimages: It is more for the health of their bodies,then of their ſoules: more for to haue riches and proſperitie of this worlde, then for to be enriched with vertues in their ſoules: more to haue here worldly and fleſhly frendſhip,then for to haue frendſhyp of God, & of hys ſaintes in heauen. For whatſoeuer thyng man or womā doth,the frendſhyp of God, nor of any other Saint can not be had,without kepyng of Gods cōmaundementes.

Pilgrimage diſpleaſaunt to God.

Further,with my proteſtation I ſay nowe as I ſayd in Shrewſbery,though they that haue fleſhly willes,trauel farre their bodies and ſpend mekil money, to ſeke and to viſit the bones or Images (as they ſay they doe) of this Saint or of that: ſuch pilgrimage going is neither prayſable nor thākeful to God nor to any Saint of god, ſince in effect,all ſuch pilgrimes deſpiſe God and all hys commaundementes and ſaintes. For the commaundemētes of God they will nother know nor kepe, nor conforme them to lyue vertuouſly by example of Chriſt and of hys ſaintes. Wherfore Syr, I haue preached and taught opēly, and ſo I purpoſe all my lyfe tyme to doe with Gods helpe,ſaying ẏ ſuch fond people waſte blamefully gods goodes in their vaine pilgrimages,ſpēdyng their goods vpon vitious hoſtelars,whiche are oft vncleane women of their bodies: & at the leaſt,thoſe goods with the which they ſhould do workes of mercy after Gods biddyng,to poore nedy men and women.

Goodes ill beſtowed in pilgrimage.

These poore mens goodes and their lyuelode, theſe runners about,offer to riche prieſtes whiche haue mekill more lyuelode thē they nede. And thus thoſe goods they waſte wilfully, and ſpend them vniuſtly agaynſt Gods biddyng vpon ſtraungers,with which,they ſhould helpe and relieue,after Gods will,their pore nedy neighbours at home: ye and ouer this folly,oft tymes diuers mē and women,of theſe runners thus madly hether and thether into pilgrimage: borow hereto, other mens goodes,ye & ſometyme they ſteale mens goodes hereto, and they pay them neuer againe. Alſo Syr, I know well that when diuers men and womē will go thus after their own wils, and findinge out one pilgrimage: they will ordeine with them before,to haue with them both men & women, that can well ſing wanton ſonges,and ſome other pilgrimes, will haue with them bagge pipes: ſo that euery towne ẏ they come throw,what with the noyſe of their ſinging, and with the ſoūd of their pippyng,and with the iangling of their Canterbury bels, and with the barkyng out of dogges after them,that they make more noyſe,thē if the kyng came there away, withall his clarions, and many other mynſtrels. And if theſe men & women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them ſhalbe an halfe yeare after,great iangelers,tale tellers,and lyers.

The inconuenience that commeth by Pilgrimage.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Leud loſell,thou ſeeſt not farre inough in this matter,for thou conſidereſt not the great trauel of pilgrimes: therfore,thou blameſt that thyng that is prayſable. I ſay to thée,that it is right well done,that pilgrimes haue with them both ſingers and alſo pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefote,ſtriketh his toe vpon a ſtone,and hurteth him ſore, and maketh him to blede: it is well done that he or his felow begyn then a ſong,or els take out of his boſome a bagpipe, for to dryue away with ſuch mirth,the hurt of his felow. For with ſuch ſolace,the trauel & werines of pilgrimes, is lightly and merely borne out.

Well ſpoken my Lord for Lincolnſhire bagpipe. And why then did Bonner blame Philpot for ſinging in the ſtockes.

And I ſayd. Syr, S. Paul techeth men to weepe with them that weepe.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd. What iangleſt thou againſt mēs deuotiō. What ſoeuer thou or ſuch other ſay, I ſay that the pilgrimage that nowe is vſed,is to them that do it, a prayſable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I holde thee vnable to know this grace,for thou enforſeſt thee to let the deuotion of the people: ſince by authoritie of holy Scripture, men may lefully haue and vſe ſuch ſolace as thou reproueſt. For Dauid in hys laſt Pſalme, teacheth me to haue diuers inſtruments of muſicke for to prayſe therwith God.

A new found … to gr… of the … ſhops … king.

And I ſayd. Syr, by the ſentence of diuers doctours expoundyng the Pſalmes of Dauid: that muſike and minſtrelſy that Dauid & other ſaintes of the olde law ſpake of,ought nowe nother to be taken nor vſed by the letter, but theſe inſtrumentes with their muſike ought to be interpreted ghoſtly: For al thoſe figures are called vertues and grace,with whiche vertues men ſhould pleaſe God, and prayſe his name. For S. Paul ſaith: All ſuch things befel to them in figure. Therfore Syr, I vnderſtand,that the letter of this Pſalme of Dauid & of ſuch other Pſalmes and ſentences,doth ſlea thē that take them now literally. This ſentence as I vnderſtand Syr, Chriſt approueth hym ſelfe,puttyng out the minſtrels, or that hee would quicken the dead damſell.

Inſtru… & m… of the … teſta… how … are to … plyed … vled … teſta…

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. Leude loſell, is it not lefull to vs to haue Organes in the Churche for to worſhip therewithall God? And I ſayd, ye Syr, by mans ordinance: But by the ordinaunce of God,a good ſermone to the peoples vnderſtandyng,were mekill more pleaſaunt to God.

Orga… in the … church.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd,that Organes and good delectable ſongs,quickned and ſharpned more mens wittes then ſhould any ſermon.

A fit co… pariſo… lord … like … ſelfe.

But I ſayd. Syr,luſty men and wordly louers,delite and couet and trauell to haue all their wittes quickned and ſharpned with diuers ſēſible ſolace: But all the faithfull louers and folowers of Chriſt,haue all their delite to heare Gods woorde,and to vnderſtand it truly, and to worke therafter faithfully & continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to loue to pleaſe him in all thyng,quickeneth & ſharpneth all the wittes of Chriſtes choſen people: and ableth them ſo to grace, that they ioy greatly to withdrawe their eares,& all their wittes and members,from al worldly delite and from all fleſhly ſolace. For S. Ierome (as I thinke) ſayth. No body may ioy with this world and raigne with Chriſt.

The ſay… of Iero…

And the Archbyſhop (as if he had ben diſpleaſed with myne anſwere) ſayd to his clerkes. What geſſe ye ẏ this Idiot wil ſpeake there,where he hath noe dread: ſince he ſpeaketh thus now here in my preſence? Well well,by God,thou ſhalt be ordayned for. And then he ſpake to me all angerly.

You ſ… my Lo…

What ſayeſt thou to this forth point,that is certified agaynſt thée,preachyng openly and boldly in Shrewſbery,that prieſtes haue no title to tithes.

The 4. article concerning prieſts tythes.

And I ſayd. Syr, I named there no woorde of tithes in my preachyng. But more then a moneth after that I was arreſted: there in priſon,a man came to me into the priſon,aſkyng me what I ſayd of tithes. And I ſayd to him. Syr,in this towne are many clerkes and prieſts,of whiche ſome are called religious men, though many of them be ſeculers. Therfore,aſke ye of them this queſtiō. And this man ſayd to me. Syr,our prelates ſay, that we are alſo obliged to pay our tithes of all thynges that renue to vs: and that they are acurſed,that withdraw any part wittingly fro them of their tithes. And I ſayd (Syr) to that man,as with my proteſtation I ſay now here before you: that I had wonder that any prieſt dare ſay,me to be accurſed,without ground of Gods worde. And the man ſayd. Syr,our prieſtes ſay,that they curſe mē thus by authoritie of Gods law. And I ſayd. Syr I know not

A p… w… Godl… word.

where this ſentence of curſing is authoriſed nowe in the Bible. And therfore ſir, I pray you that ye will aſke the moſt connyng clerke of this towne, that ye may know where this ſentence curſing them that tithe not, is now writtẽ in Gods law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But ſhortly this mã wold not go from me, to aſke this queſtion of an other body: But required me there, as I would aũſwer before God, if in this caſe, that curſing of prieſtes were lawfull and approued of GOD? And ſhortly herewith came to my minde, the learning of S. Peter, teachyng prieſts ſpecially to halowe the Lord Chriſt in their harts: beyng euermore ready (as farre as in them is) to aunſwere thorow fayth and hope to them that aſke of them a reaſon. And this leſſon Peter teacheth men to vſe with a meeke ſpirit and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore Syr, I ſayd to this man in this wiſe. In the old lawe, whiche ended not fully, till the time that Chriſt roſe vp agayne from death to lyfe: God commaunded tithes to be geuen to the Leuites, for the great buſines and dayly trauell that pertained to their office. But prieſts, becauſe their trauell was mekill more eaſy and light, then was the office of the Leuites: God ordayned that prieſtes ſhould take for theyr lyfelode to do their office, the x. part of thoſe tithes, that were geuen to the Leuites. But now (I ſayd) in the new law, nother Chriſt nor any of his Apoſtles toke tithes of the people, nor commaunded the people to pay tithes, nother to prieſtes nor to deacõs. But Chriſt taught the people to do almes, that is workes of mercy, to poore nedy men (of ſurplus, that is ſuperfluous of their temporall goodes) whiche they had, more then them neded reaſonably to their neceſſary liuelode. And thus (I ſayd) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Chriſt liued and his Apoſtles: when they were ſo buſy in preachyng of the worde of God to the people, that they myght not trauell otherwiſe for to get their liuelode. But after Chriſtes aſcenſion, and when the Apoſtles had receyued the holy Ghoſt: they traueled with their handes, for to get theyr liuelode, when ẏ they might thus do for buſy preachyng. Therfore, by example of him ſelfe, S. Paul teacheth all the prieſtes of Chriſt for to trauel with their hand, when for buſy teachyng of the people they might thus do. And thus, all theſe Prieſtes whoſe prieſthoode God accepteth now, or wil accept, or did in the Apoſtles tyme, and after their deceaſe: will do to the worldes end. But (as Ciſtercienſis telleth) in the thouſand yeare of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, 211. yeare, one pope the x. Gregory: ordayned new tithes firſt to be geuen to prieſtes nowe in the new law. But Saint Paul in his tyme, whoſe trace or example all prieſtes of God enforce them to followe, ſeyng the couetouſnes that was among the people, deſiring to deſtroye this foule ſinne thorowe the grace of God, and true vertuous lyuing and example of him ſelf: wrote and taught all prieſts for to folow him as he folowed Chriſt, paciẽtly, willingly, and gladly, in hygh pouerty. Wherfore, Paul ſayth thus. The Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the Goſpell, ſhall lyue of ẏ Goſpell. But we (ſaith Paul) that couet and buſy vs to be faythfull folowers of Chriſt, vſe not this power. For lo (as Paul witneſſeth afterward) when he was full poore and nedy, preachyng among the people: he was not chargeous vnto them, but wt his hands he traueled not only to get his own lyuing, but alſo the lyuing of other poore & nedy creatures. And ſince ẏ people was neuer ſo couetous, nor ſo auarous (I geſ) as they are now: It wer good cõuſel, ẏ al prieſts toke hede to this heauẽly lerning of Paul, folowing him here in wilful pouerty, nothyng chargyng the people for their bodely liuelode. But becauſe ẏ many prieſtes do cõtrary to Paul in this foreſayd doctrine: Paul byddeth ẏ people take hede to thoſe prieſtes that folow hym, as he had geuen them example. As if Paul would ſay thus to the people: Accept ye none other prieſts then they, that liue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certein, in whatſoeuer dignitie or order that any prieſte is in, if he conforme him not to folowe Chriſt and his Apoſtles in wilfull pouerty, and in other heauenly vertues, and ſpecially in true preaching of Gods woorde: though ſuch a one be named a prieſt, yet he is no more but a prieſt in name, for the worke of a very prieſt, in ſuch a one wãteth. This ſentence approueth Auguſtine, Gregorye, Chriſoſtome, and Lincolne playnly.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. Thinkeſt thou thys holſome learning for to ſow openly, or yet priuely amõg the people? Certein, this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinaunce of holy fathers whiche haue ordained, graũted and lycenced, prieſtes to be in diuers degrees, and to lyue by tithes and offringes of the people, and by other duetyes.

Holeſome inough my lord if your taſt wer good to ſauor it.

But it contrarieth not the ordinance, neither of God nor of his worde.

And I ſayd. Syr, if prieſtes were now in meſurable meſure, and number, and lyued vertuouſly, and taught buſily and truly the worde of God, by example of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, without tithes, offeringes, and other duties that prieſtes nowe chalenge and take; the people would geue them freely, ſufficient liuelode.

If prieſts wold not ſlacke in their duety, they ſhould not lacke, in hauing ſufficient.

And a clerke ſayd to me. Howe wilt thou make thys good, that the people will geue freely to prieſts their liuelode: ſince that now by the law, euery prieſt can ſcarſly cõſtraine the people to geue them their lyuelode.

Fallax argumentum ſecundum, non cauſam vt cauſã.

And I ſayd. Sir it is now no wonder though the people grudge to gyue prieſts ẏ liuelode that they aſke: Mekil people know now, how that prieſtes ſhuld liue, and howe that they lyue contrarye to Chriſte and to hys Apoſtles. And therfore, the people is full heuy to paye (as they doo) their temporall goodes to perſonnes and to other vicars and prieſtes, whiche ſhould be faithfull diſpenſatours of the pariſhes goodes: taking to them ſelues no more, but a ſcarſe liuing of tithes, nor of offrings, by the ordinaunce of the common law. For whatſoeuer prieſtes take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duety or ſeruice) the prieſtes ought not to haue therof no more, but a bare liuing: and to depart the reſidue to the poore mẽ & women ſpecially of the pariſh, of whome they take this temporall liuyng. But the moſt dele of prieſtes now, waſteth their pariſhes goods, and ſpendeth them at their own will after the world, in their vain luſtes: So that in fewe places, poore mẽ haue duely (as they ſhould haue) their owne ſuſtenaunce, nother of tithes nor of offeringes, nor of other large wages and foundations that prieſtes take of the people in diuerſe maners, aboue that they nede for nedefull ſuſtenance of meate and clothing. But the poore nedie people are forſaken, and left of prieſts to be ſuſteined of the pariſhins, as if the prieſtes tooke nothing of the pariſhenis for to help the people wt. And thus ſir, into ouer great charges of the paroſhenis they pay their temporal goods twyſe, where ones might ſuffice, if prieſtes were true diſpenſatours. Alſo ſir, the pariſhners that paye their temporall goods (be they tythes or offerings) to prieſtes that do not their office amonge them iuſtlye, are partners of euery ſinne of thoſe prieſtes: becauſe that they ſuſtaine thoſe prieſts folly in their ſinne, with their temporall goodes. If theſe things be wel conſidered, what wonder is it thã ſir, if the paryſhners grudge agaynſt theſe diſpenſators?

The euil demanor of the prieſts, is the cauſe why the people be ſo ſlacke in their tythes.

Prieſts being content with ſufficiency, and a bare liuing, ought to part the reſidue to the poore.

Prieſtes did ſo than, but our prieſtes do not ſo nowe.

Whether tithes are to be payd to prieſtes doynge not their duety?

Thã the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. Thou that ſhouldeſt be iudged and reuled by holye church, preſumptuouſlye thou demeſt holy church to haue erred in the ordinaunce of tythes and other ducties to be payd to prieſts. It ſhall be long or thou thriue Loſell, that ẏ deſpiſeſt thy ghoſtly mother. How dareſt thou ſpeake this (Loſell) among the people? Are not tythes geuẽ to prieſtes for to liue by?

Goſtly mother? nay, an vngoſtly ſtepdam, to all Gods children.

And I ſayd. Sir S. Paule ſayth, that tithes were geuen in the olde law to Leuites and to prieſts, that came of the linage of Leui. But our prieſts he ſaith, came not of the linage of Leuie, but of ẏ linage of Iuda: to which

By the law none could chalenge tithes, but onlye the ſede of Leuy.

Our prieſtes be not of the ſeede of Leuy. Ergo by the law our prieſtes cannot chalenge tithes

Iuda no tithes were promiſed to be geuen.And therfore Paule ſayth,ſince the prieſthode is chaunged fro the generation of Leui to the generation of Iuda:It is neceſſarie,that chaunging alſo be made of the law. So that prieſtes liue now, without tythes and other duetie that they now claime, following Chriſt and hys Apoſtles in wilfull pouertie,as they haue geuen them example.For ſince Chriſt liued(all the time of hys preaching) by pure almoſe of the people:And by exāple of him,hys Apoſtles liued in ẏ ſame wyſe,or els by the trauell of their hands, as it is ſayd aboue:Euery prieſt whoſe prieſthode Chriſt approueth, knoweth well,and confeſſeth in word and in werke,that a diſciple ought not to be aboue hys maſter, but it ſufficeth to a diſciple,to be as hys maſter, ſimple, and pure,meke and pacient: And by example ſpeciallye of hys maſter Chriſt,euery prieſt ſhoulde rule him in all hys liuing,and ſo after hys cunning and power, a prieſt ſhoulde buſie him to enforme and to rule,whōſoeuer he might charitablie.

As the prieſthoode is chaunged,ſo is the law chaunged.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me with a great ſpirite, Gods curſe haue thou and myne for thys teaching: for thou wouldeſt hereby, make the olde law more free and perfect than the new law.For thou ſayeſt,that it is lefull to Leuites and to prieſtes to take tythes in the old law, and ſo to enioy their priuiledges:but to vs prieſts in the new law,thou ſayeſt it is not lawful to take tithes. And thus thou geueſt Leuites of the old law,more freedome than to prieſtes of the new law.

Bleſſe,but curſe not ſaith S. Paule.

He goeth nere you my Lord, whan he toucheth your tithes.

And I ſayd.Sir I meruell, that ye vnderſtand thys plaine text of Paule thus.Ye wotte well,that ẏ Leuites and prieſtes in the olde law that toke tythes,were not ſo free nor ſo perfecte,as Chriſt and his Apoſtles that toke no tythes.And ſir,there is a doctor (I thinke that it is S. Ierome)that ſayth thus.The prieſts that chalenge now in the new law,tythes:Say in effect,that Chriſt is not be comen man,nor that he hath yet ſuffred death for mans loue.Wherfore,thys doctor ſaith this ſentence.Since tithes were the hires and wages limitted to Leuites and to prieſtes of the olde lawe for bearing aboute of the tabernacle, and for ſlaying and fleing of beaſtes, and for burning of ſacrifice,and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the hoſte of Iſrael, and other diuers obſeruaunces that pertained to their office: Thoſe prieſts that wil chalēge or take tythes,denie that Chriſt is comen in fleſhe,and doe the prieſts office of the old law,for whom tythes were graunted:for els(as this doctor ſayth)prieſtes take now tithes wrongfully.

The difference of the fredoms betwene thold and new lawes

For what cauſe tythes were geuen in the olde law.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd to hys clarkes. Hard ye euer Loſell ſpeake thus?Certaine,this is the learning of them all,that wherſoeuer they come, and they may be ſuffered: they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy church.

And I ſayd. Sir why call you the taking of tythes, and of ſuch other duties ẏ prieſts chalenge now(wrongfully)the fredome of holy church: Since nother Chriſt nor his Apoſtles,chalenged nor toke ſuch dueties.Herefore, theſe takinges of prieſts now are not called iuſtly, the fredome of holy church:but all ſuch geuing & taking ought to be called and holdē,the ſlaunderous couetouſnes of men of the holy church.

If you take away tithes, you vndoe the church.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd to me. Why Loſell,wilt not thou and other that are confedered with thee,ſeke out of holy ſcripture,and of the ſentence of doctours,all ſharpe authorities agaynſt Lordes,Knightes,and ſquiers,and agaynſt other ſecular men,as ẏ doeſt agaynſt prieſtes.

And I ſayd.Sir,whatſoeuer men or women, Lords or ladies,or any other that are preſent in our preaching ſpecially,or in our cōmuning after our cunning:we tell out to them,their office and their charges:But ſir,ſince Chriſoſtome ſayth, that prieſtes are the ſtomake of the people,it is nedefull in preaching,& alſo in communing, to be moſt buſie about thys prieſthode:Since by the viciousnes of prieſtes,both Lordes and commons are moſt ſinfully infected and led into the worſt.And becauſe that the couetouſnes of prieſtes,and pride,and the boaſt that they haue and make of their dignitye & power: deſtroyeth not onlye the vertues of prieſthoode in prieſtes them ſelf,but alſo ouer this,it ſtirreth God to take great vengeaunce both vpon Lordes,and vpon commons,which ſuffer theſe prieſtes charitablye.

Thorpe,preach againſt whom thou wilt,ſo thou touch not this ſcabbe.

The vicio nes & pri of prieſtes infecteth the worl

And the Archbyſhop ſayd to me.Thou iudgeſt euery prieſt proud,that will not go arayed as thou doeſt. By God,I deme him to bee more meeke ẏ goeth euery day in a ſcarlet gowne, than thou in thy threade bare blewe gowne.Wherby knoweſt thou a proud man?

A ſpitefu meekene that is in ſkarlet gownes,

And I ſaid.Sir a proud prieſt may be knowen, when he denyeth to folow Chriſt and hys Apoſtles, in wilfull pouertie and other vertues: and coueteth worldly worſhip,and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together wyth pleting,manaſing,or with flattering,or with ſimonie any worldlye goodes:And moſt,if a prieſt buſie hym not chieflye in hymſelfe, and after in all other men and women after hys cunning and power,to withſtand ſinne.

The figu and mark of proud Prieſtes,

And the Archbyſhop ſaid to me.Though thou kneweſt a prieſt to haue all theſe vices, & though thou ſaweſt a prieſt louely lie now by a womā,knowing her fleſhly: wouldeſt thou therfore deeme thys prieſt damnable? I ſay to thee,that in the turning about of thy hand,ſuch a ſinner may be verely repented.

Paule ſayt God ſhall iudge al nicatou, what ſay you my Lord.

And I ſayd. Sir I wil not dampne any man for any ſinne that I knowe done or may be done, ſo that the ſinner leaueth hys ſinne. But by authoritie of holy ſcripture,he ẏ ſinneth thus openly as ye ſhew here,is dampnable for doing of ſuch a ſinne: and moſte ſpecially, a prieſt that ſhould be example to all other for to hate and flye ſinne.And in how ſhorte time that euer ye ſaye that ſuch a ſinner may be repented:he oweth not of hym that knoweth hys ſinning,to be iudged verely repentaunt, without open euidence of great ſhame and harty ſorow for hys ſinne. For whoſoeuer(and ſpecially a prieſt)that vſeth pryde,enuie,couetouſnes, lecherie, ſimonie, or any other vices: ſheweth not as open euidence of repentaunce, as he hath geuen euill example and occaſion of ſinning, if he continue in any ſuch ſinne as longe as he maye: it is likely,that ſinne leaueth him,& he not ſinne. And as I vnderſtand,ſuch a one ſinneth vnto death, for whom no body oweth to pray,as S.Iohn ſayth.

Prieſtes ought to b examples of good li uyng;

And a clarke ſayd than to the Archbiſhop. Sir,the lenger that ye appoſe hym,the worſe he is:and the more that ye buſie you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of ſo ſhrew a kinde, ẏ he ſhameth not onely to be himſelfe a foule neſte, but without ſhame he buſieth hym to make hys neſte fouler.

Clarkly ſp kē and lik a Paraſite,

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to his clarke.Suffer a while, for I am at an end with hym,for there is an other point certified agaynſt hym, and I will heare what he ſayth thereto.

Forget no thing I p you my Lord,

And ſo than he ſayd to me. Loe,it is here certified againſt thee,that thou preachedſt openly at Shrewſbury, that it is not lawfull to ſweare in any caſe.

And I ſayd. Sir I preached neuer ſo openlye, nor I haue taughte in thys wiſe in anye place. But ſir,as I preached in Shrewſbury. with my proteſtatiō I ſaye to you now here:that by the authoritie of the Goſpell of S. Iames,and by witnes of diuers ſainctes and doctors: I haue preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any cauſe,to ſweare by any creature. And ouer thys ſir,I haue alſo preached and taught by the forſayd authorities:that no bodye ſhoulde ſweare in any caſe,if that without othe in any wiſe,he ẏ is charged to ſwear, might excuſe hym, to them that haue power to compell hym to ſweare,in leful thing and lawfull.But if a man may not excuſe him without oth,to thē that haue power to compell hym to ſweare,than he ought to ſweare only by

Not lawf to ſweare by any cr ture.

Men ough not to ſwere wh without a oth he m excuſe hi ſelfe that cōpelled ſweare.

by God,taking him onelye that is ſoothfaſtneſſe, for to witnes the ſoothfaſtnes.

Well ſaid Sir Iohn of you,your holy mother ſtroke your head.

And then a Clarke aſked me,if it were not lefull to a ſubiect at the bidding of his prelate,for to kneele downe and touche the holy Goſpell booke,and kiſſe it, ſaying: So helpe me God and this holydome,for he ſhould after his cunning and power,doo all thinges that his prelate commaundeth him.

And I ſayd to them: Sirs,ye ſpeake here full generally or largely.What if a prelate commaũded his ſubiect to do an vnlawfull thing,ſhould he obey thereto?

Theſe prelates wold be thought to be good, be they neuer ſo bad.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me:A ſubiect ought not to ſuppoſe,that his prelate wyll bid him doo an vnlawfull thyng.For a ſubiect ought to thinke,that his prelate wil bid him do nothing,but that he will aunſwer for before God,that it is lefull:And then,though the bidding of the prelate be vnlefull,the ſubiect hath no peryll to fulfill it, ſince that hee thyncketh and iudgeth,that what ſo euer thyng hys prelate byddeth hym doo, that it is lefull to hym for to doo it.

And I ſaid ſir,I truſt not hereto.But to our firſt purpoſe:Sir I tell you,that I was once in a gentlemans houſe,and there were then two Clarkes there,a maſter of diuinitie,and a man of law,which man of lawe was alſo communing in diuinitie.And among other things, theſe men ſpake of othes,and the man of law ſaid:at the bidding of his ſoueraigne,which had power to charge him to ſweare,he woulde lay his hande vppon a booke, and heare his charge:and if his charge to his vnderſtanding were vnlefull,he would haſtely withdrawe his hãd vpon the booke,taking there onely God to witnes, that he would fulfill that lefull charge,after his power. And the maiſter of diuinitie ſayd then to him thus.Certayn, he that layeth his hand vpon a booke in this wyſe, and maketh there a promiſe to do that thing that he is commaunded:Is obliged there by,by boke othe,thẽ to fulfyl his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to laye his hand thus vpon a booke(touching the booke,& ſwearing by it,and kiſſing it,promiſing in this fourme to do this thing or that)wyll ſay and witnes,that he that toucheth thus a booke,and kiſſeth it,hath ſworen vpõ that booke.And all other men that ſee that man thus do,and alſo all thoſe that heare hereof,in the ſame wyſe wil ſay and witnes,that thys man hath ſworne vpon a booke. Wherfore,the maiſter of diuinity ſayd,it was not leful neither to geue nor to take anye ſuche charge vppon a boke:for euerye booke is nothyng els,but diuers creatures,of which it is made of.Therfore, to ſweare vpon a booke,is to ſweare by creatures, and this ſwearyng is euer vnlefull.This ſentence wytneſſeth Chriſoſtome plainly,blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to ſweare vpon, charging Clarkes,that in no wyſe they conſtrayn any body to ſweare,whether they think a man to ſweare true or falſe.

communication be twixt a lawyer and diuine,

o ſweare booke o ſwere creatures

riſoſtom eth e gibe.

And the Archbiſhop and his Clarkes, ſcorned me and blamed me greatly for this ſaying. And the archbiſhop manaſſed me with great puniſhment and ſharpe,except I left this opinion of ſwearing.

now led Bo- ch him the face.

And I ſayde:Sir,this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Chriſt our ſauiour,and of S.James,and of Chriſoſtome,and other diuers ſaintes and doctours.

Than the Archbiſhop bad a clarke read this Homely of Chriſoſtom:which Homely,this clerke held in hys hand writen in a roll:which role,the Archbiſhop cauſed to be taken from my fellow at Canterbury.And ſo then this clarke red this role,till he came to a clauſe where Chriſoſtome ſayth,that it is ſinne to ſweare well.

And then a clerke,Maluern(as I geſſe) ſayde to the Archbiſhop:Sir,I pray you wete of him,how he vnderſtandeth Chriſoſtome here,ſaying it to be ſin to ſweare well?

Mal or els yan cale,

And ſo the Archbiſhop aſked me,how I vnderſtoode here Chriſoſtome.

And certain,I was ſomwhat afrayde to aunſwer hereto:For I had not buſied me to ſtudy about the ſence thereof,but lifting vp my minde to God, I prayed hym of grace.And as faſt as,I thought howe Chriſt ſayde to hys Apoſtles:Whẽ for my name ye ſhall be brought before iudges,I ſhal geue into your mouth, wiſdome that your aduerſaries ſhall not agaynſt ſaye. And truſtyng faythfully in the word of God,I ſayd:Sir,I know wel that many men and women,haue nowe ſwearing ſo in cuſtome,that they knowe not, nor will not know, that they do euill for to ſweare as they doo:But they thinke and ſaye, that they doo well for to ſweare as they doe, though they know well that they ſweare vntrulye. For they ſay,they may by their ſwearing(though it be falſe) voyde blame or temporall harme, whyche they ſhoulde haue,if they ſweare not thus.And ſir,manye men and women maintayne ſtrongly that they ſweare wel,whẽ that thing is ſooth that they ſweare for.Alſo,full many men and women ſay now,that it is well done to ſweare by creatures,when they may not(as they ſay)otherwiſe be beleued.And alſo,full manye men and women nowe ſay,that it is well done to ſweare by God, and by our Lady,and by other ſaintes,for to haue them in mynde. But ſince all theſe ſayings are but excuſations,& ſinne: me thinketh ſir,that this ſence of Chriſoſtome maye be alledged wel againſt all ſuch ſwearers:witneſſing, that all theſe ſinne greuouſly,though they thinke them ſelfes for to ſweare in this foreſayd wyſe,well. For it is euyll done and great ſinne,for to ſweare truth,when in anye maner,a man may excuſe him without othe.

Chriſt promiſeth and geueth mouth and vtteraunce.

The place of Chriſoſtom expounded, how it is ſinne to ſweare well.

What it is to ſweare well.

And the Archbiſhop ſayde, that Chriſoſtome myght be thus vnderſtande.

And then a clerke ſaid to me:Wylt thou tary my lord no lenger,but ſubmit thee here meekely to the ordinãce of holy church,and lay thy hand vpon a booke touching the holy Goſpell of God,promiſing not onelye wyth thy mouth,but alſo with thine hart to ſtande to my Lordes ordinaunce?

Pope holy church.

And I ſayd:Sir,I haue not told you here,how that I heard a maiſter of diuinitie ſay:that in ſuch caſe,it is all one to touch a booke,and to ſweare by a booke.

To touche a booke is to ſweare by a booke.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd: There is no maiſter of diuinitie in England ſo great,that if he hold this opinion before me,but I ſhall puniſh him as I ſhall doo thee,except thou ſweare as I ſhall charge thee.

And I ſayd. Syr, is not Chriſoſtome an ententyfe doctour?

And the Archbiſhop ſayd.Yea.

And I ſayd.If Chriſoſtome proueth him worthy great blame,that bringeth foorth a booke to ſweare vpon: It muſt nedes folow, that he is more to blame that ſweareth on that booke.

It is happy that he called not for a candel,& made a Scæuola of him,as Boner dyd of Tomkins.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd.If Chriſoſtome ment accordyngly to the ordinaunce of holy Churche,wee will accepte hym.

And then ſayd a clerke to me.Is not the word of god and God him ſelf,equipollent,that is,of one authoritie?

And I ſayd.Yea.

It is happy that Chriſoſtome was not here,or els ye would haue had him by the backe.

Then he ſayd to me.Why wilt thou not ſweare then by the goſpell of God, that is Gods worde,ſince it is all one to ſweare by the word of God,and by God him ſelf.

And I ſayd.Syr, ſince I may not now otherwiſe bee beleued,but by ſwearing:I perceiue(as Auguſtine ſaith) that it is not ſpedefull,that ye that ſhould be my brethrẽ ſhould not beleue me:therfore,I am ready by the worde of God (as the Lorde commaunded me by hys woorde) to ſweare.

But that worde cannot be touched.

Thorpe refuſeth not to ſweare.

Then the clerke ſayd to me. Lay then thine hand vpon the booke , touchyng the holy Goſpell of God and take thy charge.

And I ſayd.Syr,I vnderſtand that the holy Goſpell of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the clerke ſayd, I fonded, and yͤ I ſayd not truth.

And I aſked this clerke, whether it were more, to read the Goſpell or to touche the Goſpell.

And he ſayd, it was more to read the Goſpell.

Whether the boke be the goſpel. Ierom ſaith the Goſpell is not the goſpell for reading, but for beleuing.

The goſpell is not the leaues of the booke, but the roote of reaſon.

S. Paule.

Dauid.

Then I ſayd. Syr, by authoritie of S. Hierome, the Goſpell is not the Goſpell for readyng of the letter, but for the belief that men haue in the worde of god. That it is the Goſpel, that we beleue, and not the letter that wee read: for becauſe the leter that is touched with mās hād, is not the Goſpell, but the ſentence that is verely beleued in mans heart, is the Goſpell. For ſo S. Hierome ſayth. The Goſpell, that is the vertue of Gods worde, is not in the leaues of the boke, but it is in the roote of reaſon. Neither the Goſpell (he ſayth) is in the wrytyng aboue of the letters, but the Goſpell is in the markyng of the ſentence of Scriptures. This ſentence approueth S. Paul, ſaying thus. The kyngdome of God is not in worde, but in vertue. And Dauid ſayth. The voyce of the Lord that is his worde, is in vertue. And after Dauid ſayth. Thorow the worde of God, the heauens were fourmed, and in the ſpirite of his mouth, is all the vertue of them. And I praye you Syr, vnderſtand ye well howe Dauid ſayth, then in the ſpirite of the mouth of the Lorde, is all the vertue of aungels and of men?

And the clerke ſayd to me. Thou wouldeſt make vs to fonde with thee. Saye wee not, that the Goſpels are written in the Maſſe booke?

This Clarke was wel ſeen in the maſſe boke

The goſpell is not the letter, but hid in the letter.

And I ſayd. Sir, though men vſe to ſay thus, yet it is vnperfecte ſpeche. For ths principall parte of a thyng is properlye the whole thyng. For loe, mans ſoule that may not now be ſeene here, nor touched with any ſenſible thyng, is properly man. And all the vertue of a tree, is in the roote therof, that may not be ſene, for do away the roote, and the tree is deſtroyed. And ſir, as ye ſayd to me ryght now, God and his word are of one authoritie: And ſir, S. Hierome witneſſeth, that Chriſte (verye God and very man) is hydde in the letter of his lawe: thus alſo ſir, the goſpell is hidde in the letter. For ſir, as it is ful likely, many diuers men and women here in the earth, touched Chriſt and ſaw hym, and knew hys bodely perſon, which neyther touched, nor ſaw, nor knew ghoſtly, hys Godhead: Ryght thus ſir, many mē now touch and ſee, and wryte, & rede the ſcriptures of Gods law, which neyther touch, ſee, nor rede, effectually, the Goſpell. For as the Godhead of Chriſt (that is the vertue of God) is knowen by the vertue of beliefe, ſo is the goſpel, that is, Chriſtes worde.

Miſty matters for your blinde eyes.

And a clarke ſayd to me. Theſe be full miſtie matters and vnſauerye that thou ſheweſt hereto vs.

And I ſayd. Sir, if ye yͤ are maſters, know not plainly this ſentence, ye may ſore drede that the kingdome of heauen be taken from you, as it was from the Princes of prieſtes, and from the elders of the Iewes.

And then a clarke (as I geſſe) Malueren, ſayd to me. Thou knoweſt not thyne equiuocations: for the kyngdome of heauen, hath diuers vnderſtandings. What calleſt thou the kingdome of heauen in thys ſentence, that thou ſheweſt here?

The kingdom of God taken for the vnderſtandyng of Gods worde.

And I ſayd. Sir, by good reaſon and ſentence of doctors, the realme of heauen is called here, the vnderſtanding of Gods worde.

And a clarke ſayd to me. From whom thinkeſt thou that thys vnderſtanding is taken away?

This ſalte was ſomewhat to ſharpe, for their rotten fleſhe to abide.

And I ſayd. Sir (by authoritie of Chriſt himſelfe) the effectuall vnderſtāding of Chriſtes word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered men, and preſume to vnderſtand high things, & will be holdē wiſe men, and deſire maiſterſhip and high ſtate and dignitie: but they will not conforme them to the liuing and teaching of Chriſt and of hys Apoſtles.

Than the Archbyſhop ſayd. Well, well, thou wilte iudge thy ſoueraignes. By God, the king doth not hys duetie, but he ſuffer thee to be condemned.

Help downe with hym ſir Iohn.

And than an other clarke ſayd to me. Why (on fryday that laſt was) coūſeledſt yͭ a man of my lordes, yͭ he ſhould not ſhriue hym to no man but onely to God?

Note here the craftye practiſe of this holy church.

And with this aſkyng I was abaſhed: And then by & by I knew, that I was ſuttely betraied of a man that came to me in priſon on yͤ Friday before, cōmunyng with me in this matter of confeſſion. And certaine, by his wordes I thought, that this man came then to me, of full feruēt and charitable will: But now I know he came to tempt me and to accuſe me, God forgeue him if it be his will. And with all mine heart whē I had thought thus, I ſaid to this clerke. Syr, I pray you that ye would fetche this man hether: and all the wordes as nere as I can repete them, whiche that I ſpake to him, on Friday in the priſon, I wil rehearſe now here before you all, & before him.

And (as I geſſe) the Archbiſhop ſayd then to me. They that are now here, ſuffiſe to repete them. How ſaydeſt thou to hym?

A falſe brother.

A crafty trayne of popiſh ſembler.

And I ſayd: Sir, that man came and aſked me in diuers thinges, and after his aſking, I aunſwered him (as I vnderſtode) that good was: And as he ſhewed to me by his wordes, he was sory of his liuing in court, and right heuy for his own vicious liuing, and alſo for the viciouſnes of other men, and ſpecially of prieſtes euill lyuing: & herefore he ſaid to me with a ſorowfull hart (as I geſſed) that he purpoſed fully within ſhort tyme for to leaue the courte, and buſy him to knowe Gods lawe, and to conforme all his lyfe therafter. And when he had ſayd to me theſe wordes and mo other, whiche I would rehearſe & he were preſent, he prayed me to heare his cōfeſſion. And I ſayd to him Syr, wherfore come ye to me to be confeſſed of me, ye wote well that the Archbiſhop putteth and holdeth me here, as one vnworthy other to geue or to take any Sacrament of holy churche.

And he ſayd to me. Brother I wote well, and ſo wote many mo other, that you and ſuch other are wrongfully vexed, and therfore I comon with you the more gladly. And I ſayd to him. Certaine I wote well, that many mē of this court, and ſpecially the prieſts of this houſholde, would be full euill apayde both with you and with me, if they wiſt that ye were confeſſed of me. And he ſayd, that he cared not therfore, for he had full litle affection in thē: And as me thoght, he ſpake theſe words & many other, of ſo good wil and of ſo hygh deſire, for to haue known and done the pleaſaunt will of God. And I ſayd then to him, as with my foreſaid proteſtation I ſay to you now here: Syr, I counſel you, for to abſent you from all euill company, and to drawe you to them that loue and buſy them to knowe and to kepe the preceptes of God: And then the good ſpirite of God will moue you for to occupy buſily all your wittes in gathering together of all your ſinnes, as farre as ye can bethinke you, ſhamyng greatly of thē and ſorowyng hartely for them: Yea Syr, the holy ghoſt will then put in your hart, a good will and a feruent deſire for to take and to hold a good purpoſe, to hate euer and to flye, (after your cunnyng and power) all occaſion of ſinne: and ſo then, wiſedome ſhal come to you from aboue, lightnyng (with diuers beames of grace & of heauenly deſire) all your wittes, enfourmyng you howe ye ſhall truſt ſtedfaſtly in the mercie of the Lord: knowledgyng to him onely all your vicious lyuing, praying to hym euer deuoutly of charitable coūſel and continuāce. Hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, buſyng you faithfully to know and to kepe his biddyngs, that hee will (for he onely, may) forgeue you all your ſinnes.

Auricu confeſſi

And this man ſayd to me. Though god forgeue mē their ſinnes, yet it behoueth men to be aſſoyled of prieſts, and to do the penaunce that they enioyne them. And I ſayd to him. Syr, it is all one to aſſoyle mē of their ſinnes, and to forgeue men their ſinnes. Wherfore, ſince it pertayneth

neth onely to god to forgeue ſinne: It ſuffiſeth in this cauſe, to counſel mē and women for to leaue their ſinne, and to comfort thē that buſie them thus to do, for to hope ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of god. And agayneward, prieſtes ought to tell ſharply to cuſtomable ſinners, that if they will not make an end of their ſinne, but continue in diuers ſinnes while that they may ſinne, all ſuch deſerue paine without any end. And herefore, prieſts ſhould euer buſie them to lyue well and holyly, and to teache the people buſely and truly the woorde of god, ſhewyng to all folk in open preachyng and in preuy counſelyng, that ẏ Lorde god onely forgeueth ſinne. And therfore, theſe prieſtes that take vpon thē to aſſoyle men of their ſinnes, blaſpheme god: ſince that it perteineth only to the Lord, to aſſoile men of all their ſinnes. For no doubt, a thouſād yeare after that Chriſt was mā, no prieſt of Chriſt durſt take vpon hym to teach the people, neither priuely nor apertly, that they behoued nedes to come to be aſſoyled of them, as prieſtes now do. But by authoritie of Chriſtes word: prieſts bound indurat cuſtomable ſinners, to euerlaſtyng paynes, which in no tyme of their liuing, would buſie thē faithfully to know the biddyngs of god, nor to kepe thē. And again, all they that would occupy all their wittes to hate and to flye all occaſion of ſinne, dreadyng ouer all thyng, to offende god, and louyng for to pleaſe hym continually: to theſe men and women, prieſts ſhewed, how the Lord aſſoileth them of all their ſinnes. And thus Chriſt promiſed to confirme in heauen, all the binding and looſing that prieſts by authoritie of hys word, bynde men in ſynne that are indurate therein, or looſe them out of ſinne here vpon earth, that are verely repentaunt. And thys man hearing theſe woordes ſayde, that hee myghte well in conſcience conſent to thys ſentence. But he ſayd, Is it not nedeful to the lay people that can not thus do, to goe ſhriue them to prieſtes? And I ſayd, If a mā feele himſelf ſo diſtroubled with any ſinne, that he can not by hys own witte auoyde thys ſinne without counſell of them that are herein wiſer than he: In ſuch a caſe, the counſel of a good prieſt is full neceſſarie. And if a good prieſt fayle as they do now commonly, in ſuch a caſe S. Auguſtine ſayth, that a man may lefully cōmon and take counſel, of a vertuous ſecular man. But certaine, that man or woman is ouerladen and to beaſtly, which can not bring their own ſinnes into their mynde, buſieng them nyght and daye for to hate and to forſake all their ſinnes, doing a ſigh for thē after their cunning and power. And ſir full accordingly to thys ſentence vpō Midlenton ſonday (two yeareas I geſſe nowe agone) I hard a Monke of Feuerſam that mē called Mordom, preach at Canterbury at the croſſe within Chriſt church Abbey, ſaying thus of confeſſion. That as thorow the ſuggeſtion of the feend without counſel of any other body, of them ſelf many men and womē, can imagen and finde meanes & wayes inough to come to pride, to theft, to lecherye, and to other diuers vices: In contrary wyſe this monke ſayd. Since the Lord God is more ready to forgeue ſinne than the feende is or may be of power, to moue any body to ſinne: thā who ſoeuer will ſhame and ſorow hartely for their ſinnes, knowledging them faithfullye to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counſel of any other body thā of God and himſelf (thorow the grace of God) all ſuch men and women may finde, ſufficient meanes to come to Gods mercye, and ſo to be cleane aſſoyled of all their ſinnes. Thys ſentence I ſayd ſir to thys man of yours, and the ſelfe wordes as nere as I can geſſe.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd. Holy church approueth not this learning.

And I ſayd. Sir, holy church of which Chriſt is head in heauē and in earth, muſt nedes approue this ſentence. For lo, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be ſufficiently taught to know and to kepe the commaundementes of God, and to hate and to flie continually all occaſion of ſinne, and to loue and to ſeeke vertues buſily, and to beleue in God ſtably, and to truſt in hys mercye ſtedfaſtly, and ſo to come to perfecte charitie and continue therin perſeuerantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in thys life. And certaine, ſince Ieſu Chriſt died vpon the croſſe, wilfully to make mē free: Mē of the church are to bolde and to buſie, to make men thrall, bynding them vnder the payne of endles curſe (as they ſaye) to doe many obſeruaunces and ordinaunces, which neither the liuing nor teaching of Chriſt nor of hys Apoſtles, approueth.

Chriſt geueth fredome The pope geueth thraldome.

And a clerke ſayd then to me: Thou ſheweſt playnly here thy deceit, which thou haſt learned of them that trauell to ſow popple among the wheat. But I counſel thée to go away cleane from this learning, and ſubmit thee lowly to my Lorde, and thou ſhalt finde hym yet to bee gracious to thee.

And as faſt then, an other clerke ſayde to me: Howe waſt thou ſo bold at Paules croſſe in London, to ſtande there hard with thy tippet boundē about thyne head, & to repreue in his ſermō the worthy clerke Alkertō, drawing away all that thou mighteſt: yea, and the ſame day at after noone, thou meeting the worthy doctor in Watling ſtreete, calledſt him falſe flatterer and hipocrite.

And I ſayd: Sir, I thinke certainlye that there was no man nor woman that hated verelye ſinne, and loued vertues (hearing the ſermon of the clerke at Oxforde, & alſo Alkertons ſermon) but they ſayde, or might iuſtlye ſay, that Alkerton repreued the clerke vntruly, and ſlaundered him wrongfully and vncharitably. For no doubt, If the liuing and teaching of Chriſt chiefly and of his Apoſtles be true, no body that loueth God and hys lawe, wyll blame anye ſentence that the clerke then preached there: ſince by autoritie of gods word, and by approued ſaintes and doctours, and by open reaſon, this clerke approued all thinges clearly that he preached there.

And a clerke of the Archbiſhops ſayde to me, hys ſermon was falſe, and that he ſheweth openli, ſince he dare not ſtand foorth and defende hys preaching that he then preached there.

And I ſayd: Sir, I thinke that he purpoſeth to ſtand ſtedfaſtly thereby, or els he ſclaundereth fouly hymſelf, and alſo many other that haue great truſt that hee wyll ſtande by the truth of the goſpell. For I wote well, thys ſermon is written both in Latin and Engliſh, and many men haue it, and they ſet great price thereby. And ſir, If ye were preſēt with the archbiſhop at Lambeth whē this clarke appeared and was at hys anſwer before the Archbiſhop, ye wote well that this Clerke denyed not there hys ſermon, but two dayes hee mayntayned it before the Archbiſhop and hys clerkes.

And then the Archbiſhop or one of his Clerkes ſaid (I wot not which of them) that harlot ſhal be met with, for that ſermon. For no man but he and thou, and ſuche other falſe harlots, prayſeth any ſuch preaching.

And then the Archbiſhop ſaid. Your curſed ſect is buſie, and it ioyeth right greatly to contrary & to deſtroye the priuilege and fredome of holy church.

And I ſayd. Sir, I know no men that trauell ſo buſilie as this ſecte doth (which you repreue) to make reſte & peace in holy churche. For pride, couetouſnes, and ſimony, which diſtrouble moſt holi church: this ſect hateth and fleeth, and traueleth buſily to moue al other men in like maner, vnto mekenes & wilfull pouertie, and charitie, and free miniſtring of the Sacramentes: this ſect loueth and vſeth, and is ful buſy to moue all other folks thus to do. For theſe vertues, owe all members of holye church, to their head Chriſt.

Then a Clerke ſayd to the Archbiſhop: Sir, it is farre dayes, and ye haue farre to ride to night: therfore make an end with him, for he wyll none make. But the more, ſir, that ye buſie you for to drawe him towarde you, the more contumax he is made, and the farther fro you.

Take my lords bleſsyng and ſtande vp.

And then Malueren ſayde to mee: William, kneele downe, and praye my Lorde of grace, and leaue all thy fantaſies, and become a childe of holy church.

And I ſayd: Sir, I haue prayed the Archbiſhop oft, and yet I pray him for the loue of Chriſte, that he wyll leaue his indignation that he hath againſt me: and that he wyll ſuffer me after my cunning and power, for to do mine office of prieſthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I couet nought els, but to ſerue my God to hys pleaſing in the ſtate that I ſtand in, & haue taken me to.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: If of good hart thou wilt ſubmit thee now here meekely, to be ruled frō thys time forth by my counſell, obeing meekely and wilfully to myne ordinaunce, thou ſhalt finde it moſt profitable and beſt to thee for to do thus. Therefore tarye thou me no lenger, graunt to doo this that I haue ſayde to thee now here ſhortly, or denie it vtterly.

My Lorde hath haſte, for being benighted.

And I ſayd to the Archbiſhop: Sir, owe we to beleue that Ieſu Chriſt was and is, very God and verye man?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid: Yea.

And I ſayd: Sir, owe we to beleue, that all Chriſtes liuing and his teaching, is true in euery point?

And he ſayd yea.

And I ſayd: Sir, owe we to beleue, that the liuing of the Apoſtles, and the teaching of Chriſt, and all the prophets, are true which are wrytten in the Bible, for the health and ſaluation of good people?

And he ſayd, yea.

And I ſayd: Sir, owe all Chriſten men and women after their cunning and power, for to conforme al their liuing, to the teaching ſpecially of Chriſt, and alſo to the teaching and liuing of hys Apoſtles and of Prophetes, in all thinges that are pleaſaunt to God, and edification of hys church? And he ſayd yea.

And I ſayde: Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counſell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed vnto: except this doctrine, theſe biddings, or this counſel, may bee graunted and affirmed by Chriſtes liuing and hys teaching ſpecially, or by the liuing and teaching of hys Apoſtles and Prophetes?

And why compell you thys man to the contrary.

And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Other doctrine ought not to be accepted, nor we owe not to obey to anye mās bidding or counſell, except we can perceiue that his bidding or counſell, accordeth with the lyfe and teaching of Chriſt, and of hys Apoſtles and Prophetes.

Thorpe conſēt to ſubmit hym ſelfe to the ordinance of counſels,

And I ſayd: Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings, and counſels of holy church, means and healfull remedies, to know and to withſtand the priuye ſuggeſtions, and the aperte temptacions of the fend? and alſo wayes and healefull remedies, to ſlea pride and all other deadlye ſinnes, and the braunches of them, and ſouerayne meanes to purchace grace, for to withſtande and ouercome all the fleſhly luſtes and mouinges?

And the archbiſhop ſayd yea.

And I ſayd: Sir, whatſoeuer thing ye or anye other body bid or coūſel me to do, accordingly to this foreſayd learning, after my cunnyng and power, thorow the help of God, I wyll meekely wyth all my hart obey thereto.

And the archbiſhop ſayde to mee: Submit thee than now here meekely and wylfully, to the ordinaunce of holy church, which I ſhall ſhew to thee.

And I ſayd: Sir, accordinglye as I haue heere now before you rehearſed, I wyll now be readye to obey full gladly to Chriſt the head of the holy church, and to the learning and biddinges, and counſels of euery pleaſing member of him.

If Boner had bene here, he would not haue ſtroken the cupbord.

Then the archbiſhop ſtriking with his hand fiercely vpon a cupborde, ſpake to mee wyth a great ſpirite ſaying: By Ieſu, but if thou leaue ſuch additions, obliging thee nowe here without anye exception to myne ordinaunce (or that I go out of this place) I ſhall make thee as ſure, as any theefe that is in the priſon of Lanterne. Aduiſe thee now what thou wilt do. And thē as if he had bene angred, he went fro the cupborde where he ſtoode, to a wyndowe.

And then Malueren and an other clerke came nerer me, and they ſpake to me many wordes full pleaſauntly: and an other whyle, they manaſed me, and counſelled full buſilye to ſubmit me, or els they ſayde I ſhould not eſcape puniſhing ouer meaſure: For they ſayd, I ſhould be degraded, curſed, and burned, & ſo then damned. But now they ſayd, thou mayſt eſchew al theſe miſchiefes, if thou wylt ſubmit thee wylfully and meekely to thys worthy prelate, that hath cure of thy ſoule. And for the pity of Chriſt (ſaid they) bethinke thee, how great clerkes the biſhop of Lincolne, Hereforde, and Purney were, and yet are, & alſo B. that is a wel vnderſtanding man. Which alſo haue forſaken & reuoked, all the learning and opinions, that thou & ſuch other hold. Wherefore, ſince eche of them is mikle wyſer then thou art, we counſell thee for the beſt: that by the example of theſe .4. clerkes, thou follow them, ſubmitting thee as they dyd.

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And one of the biſhops clerkes ſayde then there, that he heard Nicoll Herford ſay: that ſince hee forſooke and reuoked all the lerning & Lolards opinions, he hath had mikle greater fauour & more delite to holde againſt thē, then euer he had to hold wͭ them, whyle he held with thē.

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And therefore Malueren ſayde to me: I vnderſtande & thou wilt take thee to a prieſte, and ſhriue thee cleane, forſake all ſuch opinions, and take thy penaunce of my lord heere, for the holding and teaching of them: wythin ſhort time, thou ſhalt be greatly cōforted in this doyng.

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And I ſayd to the clerkes, that thus buſily counſelled me to folow theſe foreſayde men: Sirs, if theſe men of whom ye counſell me to take example, had forſaken benefices of temporall profit, and of worldly worſhip, ſo that they had abſented them, and eſchewed from all occaſions of couetouſnes and of fleſhly luſtes, and had taken vpon them ſimple liuing, and wylfull pouerty: they had herein geuen good example to me & to many other, to haue folowed them. But now, ſince al theſe foure mē, haue ſclaunderouſly and ſhamefully done the contrary, conſenting to receiue and to haue and to hold temporal benefices, liuing now more worldlye and more fleſhelye then they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world: I forſake them herein, and in all their foreſayd ſlaunderous doing. For I purpoſe with the help of God (into remiſſion of my ſinnes, and of my foule curſed liuing) to hate and to flee priuely and apertly, to folow theſe men, teaching and counſellyng whom ſo euer that I may, for to flee & eſchew the waye that they haue choſen to go in, which will leade them to the worſt end, (if in conuenient time they repent them not) verely forſaking and rouoking openlye the ſlaunder that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Chriſtes church. For certayn, ſo open blaſphemy and ſlaunder as they haue ſpoken and done, in their reuoking & forſaking of the truth, ought not nor may not priuily be amended, duly. Wherfore ſirs, I pray you that you buſye not for to moue me to folow theſe men, in reuoking & forſaking of yͤ truth, & ſothfaſtnes as they haue done, and yet do: wherin, by open euidence they ſtyrre God to great wroth, & not onely agaynſt them ſelues, but alſo agaynſt all them that fauour them, or conſent to them herein, or that comoneth with them, except it be for their amendment. For, where as theſe men firſt were purſued of enemies, now they haue obliged them by othe for to ſlaunder and purſue Chriſt in hys members. Wherefore (as I truſt ſtedfaſtly in the goodnes of God) the worldly couetouſnes, and the luſtye lyuing, and the ſliding from the truth of theſe runnagates: ſhal be to me and to many other men and women, an example and an euidence, to ſtande the more ſtifly by the truth of Chriſt.

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Foꝛ certain, right many men and women, do marke and abhoꝛre the foulnes and cowardnes of theſe foꝛſayd vntrue men, how that they are ouercome and ſtopped wᵗ benefices, and withdꝛawen frō the truth of Gods woꝛde, foꝛſakyng vtterly to ſuffer therfoꝛe bodely perſecution. Foꝛ by this vnfaithful doyng and apoſtaſſie of them (ſpecially that are great lettred men) and haue knowledged openly the truth: and now, other foꝛ pleaſure oꝛ diſpleaſure of tyꝛauntes, haue taken hyer and tempoꝛall wages to foꝛſake the truth and to hold agaynſt it, ſclaundering and perſewyng them that couete to folowe Chꝛiſt in the way of rightuouſneſſe, many men and women therfoꝛe are nowe moued. But many mo thoꝛowe the grace of God, ſhalbe moued hereby foꝛ to learne the truth of god, and to do thereafter, and to ſtand boldly thereby.

Then the Archbyſhop ſayd to his clerkes. Buſy you no lenger about him, foꝛ he and other ſuch as he is, are confederd ſo together, that they wil not ſweare to be obedient, and to ſubmit them to pꝛelates of holy churche. Foꝛ now ſince I ſtoode here, hys felow alſo ſet me woꝛd ÿ he will not ſwere, & that this fellow counſeled him that he ſhould not ſweare to me. And loſell, in ÿ thyng that in thee is, thou haſt buſſed thee to loſe this yong man, but bleſſed be god, thou ſhalt not haue thy purpoſe of hym. Foꝛ he hath foꝛſaken all thy learnyng, ſubmittyng hym to be buxum & obediēt to the oꝛdinaunce of holy church, and wepeth full bitterly, and curſeth the full hartely foꝛ the venemous teachyng which thou haſt ſhewed to him, counſelyng him to do thereafter.

And foꝛ thy falſe counſellyng of many other and him, thou haſt great cauſe to be right ſoꝛy. Foꝛ long tyme ÿ haſt buſſed thee to peruert whom ſoeuer thou mighteſt. Therfoꝛe, as many deathes thou art woꝛthy of, as thou haſt geuen euil counſels. And therfoꝛe by Ieſu, thou ſhalt go thether, where Nicoll Harfoꝛd and Thom Puruay were harbered. And I vndertake, oꝛ this day viij. dayes, thou ſhalt be right glad foꝛ to do what thing that euer I byd thee to do. And loſell, I ſhall aſſay, if I can make thee there as ſoꝛowful (as it was tolde me) ÿ waſt glad of my laſt goyng out of Englād. By S. Thomas, I ſhall turne thy ioy into ſoꝛow.

And I ſayd. Syꝛ, there can no body pꝛiue lawfully that I ioyed euer, of the manner of your goyng out of this land.

But Syꝛ, to ſay the ſoth, I was ioyful when ye were gone: foꝛ the Byſhop of London in whoſe pꝛiſon ye left me, founde in me no cauſe foꝛ to holde me lenger in hys pꝛiſon, but at the requeſt of my frēds, he deliuered me to them, aſkyng of me no maner of ſubmittyng.

Then the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. Wherefoꝛe that I yede out of England, is vnknowen to thee: But be thys thyng well knowen to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me agayne, and bꝛought me into this land, foꝛ to deſtroy thee and the falſe ſecte that thou art of: as by God, I ſhall purſue you ſo narowly, that I ſhall not leaue a ſlip of you in this land.

And I ſayd to the Archbiſhop. Syꝛ, the holy Pꝛophet Ieremye ſayd to the falſe Pꝛophete Anany. When the woꝛde that is the pꝛophecie of a Pꝛophete, is knowen oꝛ fulfilled: then it ſhall bee knowen, that the Loꝛd ſent the Pꝛophet in truth.

And the Archbiſhop (as if he had not ben pleaſed with my ſaying) turned him away ward hither & thether, and ſayd. By God, I ſhall ſet vpon thy ſhynnes a payꝛe of pearles, that thou ſhalt be glad to chaunge thy voyce.

These & many mo wonderous & conuicious woꝛdes, were ſpoken to me, manaſſyng me and all other of the ſame ſecte, foꝛ to bee puniſhed and deſtroyed vnto the vttermoſt.

And the Archbiſhop called then to hym a clerke, and rowned with hym: and that clerke went foꝛth, and ſoone he bꝛought in the Cōſtable of Saltwode Caſtell, and the Archbiſhop rowned a good while with him: And then the Conſtable went foꝛth, and then came in diuers ſeculers, and they ſcoꝛned me on euery ſide, & manaſſed me greatly. And ſome counſelled the Archbiſhop to burne me by and by, and ſome other counſelled hym to dꝛowne me in the Sea, foꝛ it is neare hande there.

At illi clamabant dicentes tolle tolle, crucifige eum. Luke.23.

And a clerke ſtandyng beſide me, there knewled down to the Archbyſhop, pꝛaying hym that he would delyuer me to hym, foꝛ to ſay Mattines with him: and he would vndertake, that within iij. dayes I ſhould not reſiſte any thyng that were commaunded me to do of my pꝛelate.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd, that he would oꝛdeyne foꝛ me hym ſelfe.

And then after, came agayne ÿ Conſtable & ſpake pꝛiuely to the Archb: And ÿ Archb. cōmaunded the Conſtable to lead me foꝛth thence with him, and ſo he did. And whē we were gone foꝛth thence, we were ſent after agayne. And when I came in agayne befoꝛe the Archbyſhop: a clerke bad me knele downe and aſke grace, and ſubmit me lowly, and I ſhould finde it foꝛ the beſt.

And I ſayd then to the Archbyſhop. Syꝛ, as I haue ſayd to you diuers tymes to day, I wil wilfully and lowly obey and ſubmit me to be oꝛdeined euer after my connyng and power, to god and to his law, and to euery mēber of holy churche, as farre foꝛth as I can perceiue that theſe members accoꝛde with their head Chꝛiſt, and will teache me, rule me, oꝛ chaſtiſe me by authoꝛitie, ſpecially of gods law.

Obedience to God and to his lawe would not ſerue.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd. I wiſte well he would not without ſuch additions ſubmit him.

And then I was rebuked, ſcoꝛned and manaſſd on euery ſide: and yet after this, diuers perſons cryed vpon me to knele downe and ſubmit me, but I ſtode ſtill & ſpake no woꝛde. And then there was ſpoken of me and to me many great wooꝛdes, & I ſtode and heard them manaſe, curſe, and ſcoꝛne me: but I ſayd nothyng.

In patience & ſilence poſſes your ſoules.

Then a while after, the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. Wilt thou not ſubmit thée to the oꝛdinaunce of holy church?

And I ſayd. Syꝛ, I will full gladly ſubmit me, as I haue ſhewed you befoꝛe.

And then the Archbyſhop bad the Conſtable, to haue me foꝛth thence in haſt.

And ſo then I was led foꝛth, and bꝛought into a foule vnhoneſt pꝛiſon, where I came neuer befoꝛe. But thanked be God, when all men were gone foꝛth then frō me, and had ſparred faſt the pꝛiſon doꝛe after them: By and by after, I therin by my ſelf, buſied me to thinke on god, & to thanke him of his goodneſſe. And I was then greatly comfoꝛted in all my wittes, not onely foꝛ that I was then deliuered foꝛ a tyme from the ſight, from the hearing, from the pꝛeſence, from the ſcoꝛning, and from the manaſſing of mine enemies: but much moꝛe I reioyſed in the Loꝛde, because that thoꝛowe his grace he kept me ſo, both among the flatteryng ſpecially, and among the manaſſing of mine aduerſaries, that without heuyneſſe and anguiſhe of my conſcience I paſſed away from thē. Foꝛ as a tree layd vpon an other tree, ouerwharte oꝛ on croſſe wiſe, ſo was the Archbiſhop and his thꝛée clerkes alwayes contrary to me, and I to them.

Thorp caſt in priſon.

Thorpe comforted and ſtrēgthned of the lord, after his cōflict with the Biſhop.

Now good god foꝛ thyne holy name, and to the pꝛayſing of thy moſt bleſſed name: make vs one together, if it be thy will (by authoꝛitie of thy woꝛd, that is true perfite charitie) and els not. And that it may thus be, all that this wꝛityng read oꝛ heare, pꝛay hartly to the Loꝛd god, that he foꝛ his great goodneſſe that can not be with toūg expꝛeſſed, graunt to vs and to al other, which in the ſame wiſe, and foꝛ the ſame cauſe ſpecially, oꝛ foꝛ any other cauſe bee at diſtaunce, to be knit and made one in true fayth, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfite charitie. Amen.

¶ Beſides this examinatiō here aboue deſcribed, came an other treatiſe alſo to our hands of the ſame William Thoꝛpe, vnder the name and title of his teſtamēt: which rather by the matter and handling therof, might ſeme to be counted a cōplaint of vicious prieſts: which treatiſe or teſtamēt, in this place we thought not mete to be left out

Chriſt dwelleth in a faythfull ſoule.

MAthew an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and hys Goſpeler, witneſſeth truly in the holy Goſpell, the moſt holy lyuyng and the moſt holeſome teachyng of Chriſt. He rehearſeth how that Chriſt likeneth them that heare his wordes and kepe them, to a wiſe man that buildeth his houſe vpon a ſtone, that is a ſtable & a ſad groūd. This houſe is mans ſoule in whom Chriſt deliteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is ſtabliſhed faithfully in hys liuing and in his true teachyng, adourned or made fayre with diuerſe vertues, whiche Chriſt vſed and taught without any medlyng of any errour, as are chiefly the conditions of charitie.

Chriſt is the ſtone whereon we muſt build.

This foreſayd ſtone is Chriſt, vpon whiche euery faythful ſoule muſt be builded, ſince vpon none other groūde then vpon Chriſtes lyuing and his teachyng, no body may make any buyldyng or houſing, wherin Chriſt will come and dwell. This ſentēce witneſſeth S. Paul to the Corinthiās, ſhewing to them that no body may ſet any other grounde then is ſet, that is, Chriſtes liuyng and his teachyng. And becauſe that all men and women ſhould geue all theyr buſineſſe here in this life, to builde them vertuouſly vpon this ſure foūdation: S. Paul knowledgyng the feruent deſire, and the good will of the people of Epheſye, wrote to them comfortably ſaying: Now ye are not ſtraungers, geſtes, nor yet comelynges, but ye are the citezins and of the houſhold of God, builded aboue vpon the foūdement of the Apoſtles and Prophets. In whiche foundement, euery buildyng that is builded or made thorow the grace of God, it encreſeth or groweth into an holy temple, that is: Euery body that is groūded or builded faithfully in the teaching & lyuing of Chriſt, is there thorow, made the holy temple of God.

How we are made the temple of God.

Marke what we haue by Chriſt.

This is the ſtable ground and ſtedfaſt ſtone Chriſt, whiche is the ſure corner ſtone, faſt ioynyng and holdyng mightly together, twoo walles. For thorow Chriſt Jeſu, meane or middell perſō of the Trinitie: the father of heauen is pitious or mercifully ioyned and made one together to mankind. And thorow dread to offend God, and feruent loue to pleaſe hym, men be vnſeparably made one to God and defēded ſurely vnder his protectiō. Alſo, this foreſayd ſtone Chriſt, was figured by the ſquare ſtones of which the temple of God was made. For as a ſquare ſtone, where ſoeuer it is caſt or layd, it abydeth and lyeth ſtabely: ſo Chriſt and euery faithfull member of hys churche by example of him, abideth & dwelleth ſtabely in true faith, and in all other heauenly vertues in all aduerſities that they ſuffer in this valley of teares.

The propertie of a ſquare ſtone.

For lo, whē theſe foreſayd ſquare ſtones were hewen & wrought for to be layd in the walles or pyllers of Gods temple, none noyſe or ſtroke of the workemen was heard. Certayne this ſilence in workyng of this ſtone, figureth Chriſt chiefly and his faythfull mēbers, which by example of him, haue been and yet are, & euer to the worldes end ſhall be ſo meke and paciēt in euery aduerſitie, that no ſounde nor yet any grudgyng ſhall any tyme be perceiued in them.

Chriſt is an example of al perfect meekenes.

Neuertheleſſe, this chief & moſt worſhypfull corner ſtone whiche onely is grounde of all vertues, proude beggers reprouid: but thys deſpite and reproſe, Chriſt ſuffered moſt mekely in his owne perſō, for to geue example of all mekeneſſe and pacience to all his faithfull folowers. Certain, this worlde is nowe ſo full of proude beggers whiche are named prieſtes: but the very office of workyng of prieſthode whiche Chriſte approueth true, and accepteth, is farre from the multitude of prieſtes that nowe reigne in this world.

Prieſtes ſeeke the pleaſure of this world.

Great oddes betwixt the lyfe of popes, and Chriſt and hys Apoſtles.

When prieſts forgette Gods truth, ye ſee whether they run hedlong.

The great infect the ſmall.

Fleſhly prieſtes cannot away with thoſe thynges,

They hunt after this with tothe & nayle.

For frō the higheſt prieſt to the loweſt all (as who ſay) ſtudie, that is, they imagine & trauell buſilie, how they may pleaſe this worlde and theyr fleſhe. Thys ſentence & many ſuch other dependeth vpon them, if it be well conſidered, other God the father of heauen hath deceaued all mankinde by the liuing, ſpecially and teaching of Jeſu Chriſt, and by the liuing and teaching of his Apoſtles & Prophets: or els all the Popes that haue been, ſince J had any knowledge or diſcretion, with all the colledge of Cardinalls, Archbiſhops, & biſhops, Monkes, Chanons, & Friers, with all the contagious flock of the cōmunaltie of prieſthode, which haue (al my life tyme & mekel lenger) reigned and yet reign, and encreaſe damnably frō ſinne into ſinne: haue ben and yet be, proud, obſtinate heretikes, couetous ſimoners, & defouled adulterers in the miniſtring of the ſacraments, and ſpecially in the miniſtring of the Sacrament of the altar. For as their workes ſheweth wherto Chriſt biddeth vs take hede: the hyeſt prieſts and prelates of this prieſthode, chalenge & occupie vnlefully, temporall lordſhips. And for temporall fauour & mede, they ſell and geue benefices to vnworthy and vnable perſons, yea theſe ſimoners ſell ſinne, ſuffering men and women in euery degree & eſtate, to lye, & continue, from yere to yere, in diuers vices ſlaunderouſly. And thus by euill example of hie prieſtes in ẏ church, lower prieſtes vnder them are not only ſuffered, but they are maintained to ſell full dere (to ẏ people for temporall mede) all the ſacraments. And thus all this foreſaid prieſthode, is blowen ſo highe & borne vp in pryde and vaine glory of their eſtate and dignitie, and ſo blynded with worldly couetouſnes: That they diſdayne to follow Chriſt in very mekenes and wilful pouertie, liuing holily, & preaching gods word truely, frely and cōtinually, taking their liuelyhode at the free will of the people of their pure almoſe, where and whā they ſuffiſe not for their true and buſie preaching to get their ſuſtenance with their handes. To thys true ſentence grounded on Chriſtes own liuing and teaching of hys Apoſtles, theſe foreſaid worldly & fleſhly prieſtes will not conſent effectually. But as their workes and alſo their wordes ſhewe: boldlye and vnſhamefaſtlye theſe fore named prieſtes and prelates, couet, and enforce them mightely and buſilie, that all holy ſcripture were expounded and drawen accordingly to theyr maners, and to theyr vngrounded vſages and findinges. For they will not (ſince they holde it but foly & madnes) conforme theyr maners to the pure and ſimple liuyng of Chriſt and hys Apoſtles, nor they will not follow freely theyr learning. Wherfore, all ẏ Emperours and kings, and all other Lords and Ladies, & all the common people in euery degree & ſtate, which haue before time knowē or myght haue knowen, & alſo all they that now yet know or might know thys foreſayd wicknes of prieſthoode, and woulde not nor yet will, enforce them after theyr connyng and power, to withſtand charitably the foreſayd enemyes and traytors of Chriſt and of hys church: all theſe, ſtriue with Antichriſt agaynſt Jeſu. And they ſhall beare the indignation of God almightie without end, if in cōuenient tyme they amend them not, and repent them verely, doing therfore due mourning and ſorowe, after their conning and power.

An exhortation to all degrees, to see prieſthoode a
ded.

Prelates &
prieſtes ne
ligent in
their dui

For thorough preſumptuouſnes and negligence of prieſts and prelates (not of the church of Chriſt, but occupyeng theyr prelacy vnduely in the church) and alſo by flatteryng and falſe couetouſnes of other diuers named prieſts: Louſengers & lounderers, are wrongfully made and named Heremites, and haue leaue to defraud poore and nedy creatures of theyr liuelode, and to liue by theyr falſe winning & begging, in ſlouth & in other diuers vices. And alſo of theſe prelates, theſe coker noſes, are ſuffred to lyue in pride & hypocriſie, and to defoule them ſelf both bodely and ghoſtly. Alſo by the ſuffering and counſell of theſe foreſayd prelates and of other prieſts, are made both vayne brotherhodes and ſiſterhodes, full of pryde and enuie, which are full contrarye to the brotherhode of Chriſt, ſince they are cauſe of mekill diſſention, and they multiplye and ſuſteine it vncharitably: for in luſtie eatyng and drinkyng, vnmeaſurablye and out of tyme, they exercyſe themſelfe. Alſo thys vayne confederacie of brotherhoodes, is permitted to be of one clothyng, and to holde together.

And in all theſe vngrounded and vnlefull doynges, prieſtes are parteners and great medlers and counſellers. And ouer thys viciouſnes, Heremites and Pardoners, Ankers, and ſtrāuge beggers, are lycenſed and admitted of prelates and prieſts, for to begyle the people with flatteryngs and leaſings ſlāderouſly agaynſt all good reaſon and true beleue, and ſo to encreaſe diuers vyces in themſelf, and alſo among all them that accept them or conſent to them.

And thus, the viciouſnes of theſe foreſayd named prieſtes and prelates, haue ben long tyme, and yet is, & ſhal be cauſe of warres both within the realme and without. And in the ſame wyſe, theſe vnable prieſtes haue bene, and yet are, and ſhalbe, chiefe cauſe of peſtilence of men, and moren of beaſtes, and of bareneſſe of the earth, and of all other miſchiefes, to the time that Lords and commons able them thorow grace, for to know and to kepe the cōmaundement of God, enforcing them than faithfully and charitably by one aſſēt, for to redreſſe and make one this foreſaid prieſthode, to the wilfull, poore, meeke, and innocent liuing and teaching, ſpecially of Chriſt and hys Apoſtles.

Cipr.1.q.
1.cap.Si
quis inqu

Therfore, all they that know or might know, the viciouſnes that reigneth now curſedly in theſe prieſtes & in theyr learning, if they ſuffiſe not to vnderſtand thys contagious viciouſnes: let thē pray to the Lord hartelye for the health of hys church, abſteyning them prudently from theſe indurate enemyes of Chriſt and of hys people, and from all theyr Sacramentes, ſince to them all that know them or may know, they are but fleſhly deades and falſe: as S. Cyprian witneſſeth in the firſt queſtion of decrees, & in the firſt cauſe, Ca. Si quis inquit. For as thys ſaint & greate doctor witnes there, that not onely vicious prieſtes, but alſo all they that fauour them or conſent to them in theyr viciouſnes: ſhall together peryſh with them, if they amend them not duely, as all they peryſhed that conſented to Dathan and Abiron. For nothyng were more confuſion to theſe foreſayd vicious prieſtes, than to eſchewe them prudently in all theyr vnlefull Sacramentes, whyle they continue in theyr ſinfull lyuyng ſlaunderouſly, as they haue long tyme done & yet do. And no body nede to be afrayde (though death dyd followe by one wyſe or other) for to dye out of thys world without taking of any Sacrament of theſe foreſayd Chriſtes enemyes: ſince Chriſt will not fayle, for to miniſter hymſelf all lefull and healfull Sacramentes and neceſſarye at all tyme (and ſpecially at the end) to all them that are in true fayth, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfecte charitie.

But yet ſome mad fooles ſay (for to eſchewe ſlaunder) they will be ſhriuen once in the yeare, and comuned of theyr proper prieſtes, though they know thē defouled with ſlaundrous vices. No doubt, but al they that thus do or conſent priuely or apertly to ſuch doing, are culpable of great ſinne: ſince S. Paul witneſſeth, that not only they that do euill, are worthye of death and dampnation, but alſo they that conſent to euill doers. Alſo (as theyr ſlaunderous workes witnes) theſe foreſayd vicious prieſts, deſpyſe and caſte from them heauenly connyng, that is geuen of the holy ghoſt. Wherfore, the Lord throweth all ſuch deſpyſers from hym, that they vſe nor doe any prieſthode to hym.

No doubt than, all they that wyttyngly or wilfully, take or conſent that any other body ſhould take any Sacrament of any ſuche named prieſt, ſinneth openly and damnably agaynſt all the Trinitie, and are vnable to any Sacrament of health.

And that thys foreſayd ſentence is altogether true, into remiſſiō of all my ſinfull lyuyng, truſtyng ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God, J offer to hym my ſoule.

And to proue alſo the foreſayd ſentence true with the helpe of God, J purpoſe fully for to ſuffer mekely & gladly my moſt wretched body to be tormented, where God wyl, of whom he wyll, and whan he will, and as long as he will, and what temporall payne he will and death, to the prayſing of hys name, and to the edification of hys church.

And J that am moſte vnworthye and wretched captiſe, ſhall nowe thorowe the ſpeciall grace of God, make to him pleaſaunte ſacrifice with my moſte ſinfull and vnworthye bodye. Beſeching hartelye all folke that reade or heare thys ende of my purpoſed teſtamente, that thorowe the grace of god, they diſpoſe verelye and vertuouſly all theyr wyttes, and able in like maner all theyr members for to vnderſtand truely, and to kepe faythfully, charitablye, and continually all the commaundementes of God, and ſo than to pray deuoutly to all the bleſſed Trinitie, that I maye haue grace wyth wyſedome and prudence from aboue, to ende my lyfe here in thys foreſayd truth and for thys cauſe, in true fayth and ſtedfaſte hope, and perfecte charitie. Amen.

What was the end of thys good man and bleſſed ſeruaunt of God William Thorpe, I finde as yet in no ſtorye ſpecifyed. By all coniectures it is to be thought, that the Archbiſhop Thomas Arundell being ſo hard an aduerſarye agaynſt thoſe men, woulde not let hym goe. Much leſſe it is to be ſuppoſed, that he woulde euer retracte hys ſentence and opinion, which he ſo valiantlye maintayned before the biſh. neyther doth it ſeme that he had any ſuch recanting ſpirit. Again, neither is it foūd, that he was burned. Wherfore it remayneth moſt lyke to be true, that he being cōmitted to ſome ſtraight pryſonne (according as the Archb. in hys examination before, did threaten him) there (as Thorpe confeſſeth himſelfe) was ſo ſtraightly kept, that eyther he was ſecretly made awaye, or elles there he dyed by ſicknes.

¶ Iohn Purney,

Furthermore, in the ſayd examination of William Thorpe, mention was made (as ye hard) of John Puruey, of whom alſo ſomething we touched before: promiſing of ẏ ſaid John Puruey, more perticularlye to entreate in order and proces of tyme. Of thys Puruey Tho. Waldē writeth thus in his 2. Tome. John Puruey, ſayth he, was ẏ Librarie of Lollardes, & gloſer vpon Wickleffe. He ſayd, ẏ the worſhippyng of Abraham was but a ſalutation. And in his third Tome, he ſayth: this John Puruey with Harford a doctour of diuinitie, were greuouſly tormented, & puniſhed in the priſon of Saltwood, & at the length recanted at Paules croſſe at London (Tho. Arundell beyng then Archb. of Canterbury) Afterward agayn, he was empriſoned vnder Henry Chicheley Archb. of Canterbury, in ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1421. Thus much writeth Waldē. The workes of this man whiche he wrote, were gathered by Richard Lauingame hys aduerſary, which I think worthy to be remembred. Firſt, as touchyng the Sacramēt of the laſt ſupper, the Sacrament of penaūce, the Sacrament of orders, the power of the keyes, ẏ preaching of the Goſpell, of Mariages, of Vowes, of poſſeſſions, of the puniſhing and correcting of the Clergy, of the lawes and decrees of the churche, of the ſtate and condition of the pope and the clergy: Of all theſe generally, he left diuers monumentes grauely & exactly written, part wherof here in the ende of his ſtory wee thought to exhibite, beyng tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh.

The Articles whiche he taught, and afterward was forſed to recant at Paules croſſe, were theſe hereafter folowyng.

1. That in the Sacrament of the aulter after the conſecratiō, there is not, neither can be, any accident without the ſubiect: But there verely remayneth the ſame ſubſtaunce and the very viſible and incorruptible bread, and likewiſe the very ſame wyne the whiche before the conſecration were ſet vpon the aultar to be conſecrate by the prieſt; likewiſe as when a Pagan or infidele is baptiſed, hee is ſpiritually conuerted into a member of Chriſt through grace, and yet remayneth the very ſame man whiche he before was in his proper nature & ſubſtaunce.

2. Auricular confeſſion or priuate penaunce, is a certaine whiſperyng, deſtroying the libertie of the goſpell, and newly brought in by the Pope and the Clergie, to intangle the conſciences of men in ſinne, and to drawe their ſoules into hell.

3. Euery lay mā being holy, and predeſtinate vnto euerlaſtyng lyfe (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true prieſt before God.

4. That diuers Prelates & other of the Clergy, do liue wickedly contrary to the doctrine and example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Therfore they whiche ſo liue, haue not the keyes, neither of the kingdome of heauen, neither yet of hell: neither ought any Chriſtiā to eſteme his cenſure any more, then as a thinge of no force. Yea, albeit the pope ſhould peraduenture interdite the realme, yet could he not hurt, but rather profite vs, for ſo much as thereby we ſhould be diſmiſſed frō the obſeruation of his lawes, and from ſaying of ſeruice accordyng to the cuſtome of the churche.

Vowes.

5. If any man do make an othe or vowe, to kepe perpetuall chaſtitie, or do any thyng els wherunto god hath not appoynted hym, geuyng hym grace to performe his purpoſe: the ſame vow or othe, is vnreaſonable & vndiſcrete, neither can any Prelate compell hym to kepe the ſame, except he will do contrary vnto gods ordinaunce. But he ought to commit him, vnto the gouernāce of the holy ghoſt, and of his owne conſcience: for ſo much as euery man which wil not fulfill his vowe or othe, can not do it for that cauſe.

The charge of prieſtes.

6 Whoſoeuer taketh vpon him the office of prieſthode, although he haue not the charge of ſoules cōmitted vnto him, according to the cuſtome of the church: Not onely they may, but ought to preache the goſpell freely vnto the people, otherwiſe he is a thief, excommunicated of god, and of the holy churche.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

7. That Innocentius the third Pope, and ſixe hundred Byſhops, and a thouſand other prelates, withall the reſt of the Clergy, whiche together with the ſame Pope agreed and determined: that in the Sacrament of the aulter, after the conuerſion of the bread and wyne into the body and bloud of Chriſt, that the accidentes of the ſayd bread & wine do remaine there, without any proper ſubiect of the ſame: the whiche alſo ordeined, that all Chriſtians ought to confeſſe their ſinnes once a yeare vnto a proper prieſt, and to receiue the reuerent Sacrament at Eaſter, and made certain other lawes at the ſame time: All they ſaith he in ſo doyng, were fooles & Blockheads, heretickes, Blaſphemers & Seducers of the Chriſtiā people. Wherfore, we ought not to beleue their determinations, or of their ſucceſſors, neither ought we to obey their lawes or ordinaunces, excepte they be playnly grounded vpon the holy ſcripture, or vpon ſome reaſon whiche can not be impugned.

¶ Other articles drawen out of Purueyes bookes more at large by Ry. Lauyngham.

Articles out of Purueys bookes collected by R. Lauingham.

As touchyng the Sacrament of thankes geuyng, he ſayth: That that chap. of repentaunce and remiſſion: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, wherin it is ordained, that euery faithfull mā ought once euery yeare at the leaſt, that is to ſay, at Eaſter, to receaue the Sacrament of Euchariſt: is a beaſtly thyng, hereticall, and blaſphemous.

The Sacrament of the popiſhe aultar.

Item, that Innocentius the 3. Pope, was the head of Antichriſt, who after the lettyng looſe of Sathan, inuented a new article of our faith, and a certeine fained veritie touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar: That is to ſay, ẏ the Sacrament of the aultar is an accident without a ſubſtaunce, or els an heape of accidences without a ſubſtaunce. But Chriſt and his Apoſtles do teach manifeſtly, that the Sacrament of the aultar is bread, and the body of Chriſt together after ẏ maner that he ſpake: And in that he calleth it bread, he would haue the people to vnderſtand as they ought with reaſon, that it is very and ſubſtantiall bread, and no falſe nor fained bread.

Pope Innocentius head of Antichriſt.

And although Innocentius that Antichriſt doth alledge, that in the councell at Lions where this matter was deciſed were 600. biſhops with him, and 1060. prelates, whiche were of one opinion in this determination: All thoſe notwithſtād, he calleth fooles according to that ſaying of Eccl. 1. Of fooles there are an infinitie nomber. And ſo in lyke maner he calleth them falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophetes, of whō Chriſt ſpeaketh the 24. of Math. Many falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophetes ſhall ariſe and deceaue many: And therfore, euery chriſtian man ought

The ſacrament in ſubſtance bread, in ſignification the body of Chriſt.

Tranſubſtantiatiō not openly taught 1000. yeares after Chriſt.

The Sacrament both bread, & the body in diuers reſpectes

to beleue firmely, that the Sacrament of the aultar is very bread in dede, and no falſe nor fayned bread. And although it be very bread in dede, yet notwithſtandyng, is it the very body of Chriſt in that ſort he ſpake and called it hys body: and ſo is it very bread, and the very body of Chriſt. And as Chriſt concernyng his humanitie, was both viſible and paſſible, and by his diuinitie was inuiſible and impaſſible: So like wiſe, this Sacrament in that it is very bread, may be ſeen with the corporall eye, and may alſo abyde corruption. But although a man may ſee that Sacrament, yet notwithſtanding, cannot the body of Chriſt in that Sacrament be ſeen with the corporall eye, although it be the body of Chriſt in that maner he ſpake it: For that notwithſtanding, the body of Chriſt is now incorruptible in heauen. So the Sacramēt of the cup, is very wine, and the very bloud of Chriſt, according as his maner of ſpeaking was. Alſo, Innocentius 3. with a great multitude of his ſecular clerkes, made a certeine new determination: that the Sacrament of the aultar is an accidence without a ſubſtaunce, where as, neither Ieſus Chriſt nor any of his Apoſtles, taught this fayth (but openly and manifeſtly to the contrary) neither yet the holy doctours, for the ſpace of 1000. yeares & more, taught this fayth openly. Therefore, when Antichriſt or any of his ſhauelynges doth axe of thee that art a ſimple Chriſtian, whether that this Sacrament bee the very body of Chriſt or not: affirme thou it manifeſtly ſo to be. And if he aſke of thee, whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread els: ſay thou, that it is ſuch bread as Chriſt vnderſtood and ment by his proper worde: and ſuch bread, as the holy ghoſt ment in S. Paul, whē he called that to be very bread which he brake, and wade thou no further herin. If he aſke thee, how this bread is ẏ body of Chriſt: Say thou, as Chriſt vnderſtoode the ſame to be his body whiche is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no vntruth. Say thou alſo, as the holy doctours do ſay: that the terreſtriall matter or ſubſtaunce, may be conuerted into Chriſt, as the Pagan or infidell may be baptiſed, and hereby ſpiritually to be conuerted and to be a member of Chriſt, and ſo after a certeine maner to become Chriſt, and yet the ſame man to remayne ſtill in his proper nature. For ſo doth S. Auguſtine graunt, ẏ a ſinner forſakyng his ſinne & beyng made one ſpirite with God by faith, grace, and charitie: may be conuerted into god, and to be after a maner, god: as both Dauid, and ſ. Iohn do teſtifie, and yet to bee the ſame perſon in ſubſtaunce and nature, and in ſoule and vertue to be altered & chaūged. But yet, men of more knowledge and reaſon, may more playnely conuince the falſitie of Antichriſt both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the holy ghoſt working in thē. Notwithſtanding, if thoſe that be ſimple men will humbly hold and kepe the manifeſt and apparant wordes of the holy Scripture, and the playne ſenſe and meanyng of the holy ghoſt, and procede no farther, but humbly, to cōmit that vnto the ſpirite of God which paſſeth their vnderſtandyng: Then may they ſafly offer them ſelues to death, as true Martirs of Ieſus Chriſt.

Auriculer confeſſion and penaunce.

As touching the ſacrament of penance: That chapiter Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, by which a certain new foūd auricular confeſſion was ordayned: is full of hipocriſie, hereſie, couetouſnes, pride, and blaſphemye hee ſayth, and reproueth the ſame chapiter verbatim, & that by the ſentences of the ſame proces. Alſo, that the penance and paines limited by the Canons, be vnreaſonable and vniuſte, for the auſteritie and rigorouſnes which they contein, more then are taxed by Gods law. He alſo doth exemplifye, of the ſolempne and publike deniall of penitentes to be receaued into orders, according to the decree of the generall coūcell diſtinctione. 50. cap. Ex pœnitentibus. Alſo of the ſeuenfold penitence of a prieſt cōmitting fornication, according to ẏ chap. Præſbiter. diſtinct. 82. And farther ſheweth, an other example of the penitence of prieſts according to that chap. Qui præſbyterum, &c. Where as the decretall of the generall councell ſayth, that ſuch a one ought to remayne continuing hys lyfe, in the warres, and not to mary. Alſo, how Innocentius 3. brought in a new found cōfeſſion: wherby, the prieſts do oppreſſe the ſimple lay men. And that many other thynges they doe, compelling them to confeſſe themſelues to blynde and ignoraunt prieſts, in whom is nothyng els then pryde and couetouſnes, hauing ſuch in contempt as are learned and wyſe. Alſo, that ẏ decretall of Innocentius 3. touching the foreſaid auricular or vocall confeſſion: was brought in and inuented, to intricate and intangle mens conſciences with ſinne, and to drawe them downe to hell. And furthermore, that ſuche maner of cōfeſſion, deſtroyeth the euangelicall libertye, and doth let men to inquire after, and to retain, the wiſe counſaile and doctrine of ſuch as be Gods prieſts: which know faithfully how to obſerue his preceptes and commaundementes, and which would willyngly teach the people, the ryght way to heauen. For which abuſe, all chriſten men and ſpeciallye all Engliſhmen, ought to exclaime agaynſt ſuch wicked lawes.

The orde of prieſt hode.

He mea neth of p uate pre ching to their bours.

Trew mi niſters be made without ſhauing.

Prieſts h haue a p uat nou publiq vnderſt ding.

As touching the ſacrament of order he ſaith: That all good Chriſtians, are predeſtinate & be ordained of God, and made true prieſts to offer Chriſt in themſelues, and to Chriſte, themſelues: as alſo to teache and preach the Goſpell to their neyghbours, as well in worde as in example of liuyng. But the worldly ſhauelinges doe more magnifie the naked and bare ſignes of prieſthoode (inuented by ſinfull men) then the true and perfect prieſthood of God, grounded by a true and liuely faith, annexed with good workes. Alſo, if it were needefull to haue ſuch ſhauelynges, God knoweth howe, and can make when it pleaſeth him, prieſtes (without mans working and ſinfull ſignes, that is to ſay, without eyther Sacramentes or characters) to be knowen and diſcerned of the people, by their vertuous lyfe and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For ſo made hee the firſt made prieſtes and elders before the law of Moiſes: and ſo made he Moſes a prieſt before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without mans operatiō at all: And euen ſo, hath God made all ſuch as are predeſtinate, to be his prieſtes. But ſuche as be true Chriſtians, receaue none ſuch as prieſtes, but vnles they folow Chriſt and his Apoſtles, neither do they beleue that they make the ſacrament of the aultar (which they affirme to be Gods body) when it pleaſeth them: leaſt happely God be not with them, for aſmuch as ẏ they do this thing for couetouſnes ſake, or els to brag of their owne power. And therefore, ſuch as be ſimple men, will worſhip that ſacrament in thys doubtfulnes, wyth a ſilent condition, that is, if it be made by gods autority, and to haue their deuotion to the body of Chriſt in heauen. Alſo, that ſuch as be Elders, if they be Gods prieſtes, be Biſhops, Prelates, and Curates of their Chriſtian brethren, whom they may leade to heauen by the example of their holye conuerſation, and by preaching of the Goſpel, although they make no ſacrifice to that Antichriſt of Rome for their confirmatiō: neither be they dedicated to the world by ſecular deuine thynges, and by conſumyng the lyuinges of the poore: as be thoſe ſecular biſhops, prelats and curates. Alſo, that although there were no pope, according as the cuſtom of the church is: yet Chriſt which is the head of his church, doth ordeyne ſuche a Pope as pleaſeth him: and that is, whom ſoeuer is moſt humble and lowlye, and beſt doth the office of a true prieſt, although he be vnknowē to the world. And although there were no ſuch proud biſhop aboue all ẏ reſt, as the church doth vſe: yet all the prieſtes might well gouern ẏ church by comon aſſent, as once they did, before ſuch worldlye pride crept in amongeſt the Biſhops. &c. And admit that no ſuch prieſtes were, according to the accuſtomed vſe now

What i there w no pop knowe yet the Church could now of receauing of order and tonſure, by ſuch a mitered biſhop & his tonſure: yet, Chriſt knoweth both howe to make and chuſe ſuch as ſhall well pleaſe him, both in conuerſation of life, and ſincere preaching of the goſpel, in miniſtring to his people all neceſſary ſacramẽts. And euery holy man which is a miniſter of Chriſt, although he be not ſhauen, is a true prieſt ordained of God, although no mitred biſhop euer lay his character vpõ him. ſo, yͤ the Pope and his prelats, do make more eſtimation of their Charactors (as tonſures & crownes by them inuented) then of the true & perfect prieſthode ordayned of God: where as, all thoſe that are predeſtinate, are true prieſtes made of hym.

As touching the authoritie of the kayes & cenſures, no Chriſtian man oughte to eſteeme Sathan (whome men call the Pope) and his vniuſt cenſures: more then the hiſſing of a Serpent, or the blaſt of Lucifer. Alſo that no man ought to truſt or put confidence in the falſe indulgences of couetous prieſtes, whych indulgences doo draw away the hope which men ought to repoſe in god, to a ſort of ſinfull men, and do robbe the poore of ſuche almes as is geuen to them: Suche prieſtes bee manifeſt betrayers of Chriſt and of the whole church, and be Sathans owne ſtuardes to begile Chriſten ſoules, by theyr hipocriſie and fayned pardõs. Alſo, for as much as thoſe prelates and clergy men lyue ſo execrable a lyfe, contrary to the goſpell of Chriſt, and examples of his Apoſtles, and teach not truly the goſpel, but only Lies, and the traditions of ſinfull wicked men: It appeareth moſt manifeſtlye, that they haue not the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, but rather the keyes of hell. And they maye bee right well aſſured, that God neuer gaue vnto them autoritie to make and eſtabliſh ſo manye ceremonies and traditions, which be contrary to the libertie of the Goſpell, and are blockes in Chriſten mens wayes, that they can neyther know nor obſerue the ſame hys Goſpell, in libertie of conſciẽce, and ſo attain a redy way to heauẽ.

Alſo, that all manner of religious men, notwithſtanding the chapiter Religioſi, touchyng the priuileges in the Clementines: maye lawfullye miniſter all ſacramentes to them that are worthye the ſame. For aſmuche as the ſame is a woorke of charitie, whyche onely the wyll and ordinance of the Pope and hys fautours in this caſe, is to hinder and let. Item, if the pope ſhall interdict this our realme: that cannot hurt vs, but much profit vs: Becauſe that therby, he ſhould ſeperate vs from all his wicked lawes, and from the charges of ſuſtayning of ſo many thouſand ſhauelings, which with ſmall deuotion or none at all, patter and chatter a newe found ſong ſecundum vſum Sarum. So that, not whatſoeuer the Pope in his generall councell byndeth in earth, is bound of God in heauẽ: eyther for that he byndeth vnreaſonably, and contradictorely doth againſt himſelf, or ells for that he hath forſake the iudgement of God.

As touching the preching of the Goſpel: Whoſoeuer receaueth or taketh vpon him the office of a prieſt or of a biſhop, and diſchargeth not the ſame by the example of his good conuerſation and faythfull preachyng of the Goſpell: is a theefe, excommunicate of God, and of holye churche. And further, if the Curates preache not the woord of God, they ſhall be damned, and if they knowe not how to preach, they ought to reſigne their benefices: So that, thoſe prelates which preach not the Goſpell of Chriſt (although they could excuſe them ſelues from the doing of any other euill) are dead in themſelues, are Antichriſtes, and Sathans, transfigured into Aungels of light, night theeues, manquellers by daye lyght, and betrayers of Chriſt his people.

Concerning the ſacrament of Matrimony: Notwithſtanding any ſpirituall kinred or goſſoprye, a man and woman may lawfully marrye together by the lawe of God, without anye diſpenſation papiſticall. And in the ſame place he ſaith: that if our realme do admit one not borne in matrimonye or illegitimate to the imperial crowne, ſo that he doth well diſcharge yͤ office of a king: God maketh hym a kyng, and by conſequence doth reiecte an other kyng or heyre of yͤ kingdome, being borne in matrimonie and legitimate: So, for ſuch ſpirituall kindred there ought no diuorſe to be made. Alſo, notwythſtandynge the Cap. Si inter de Sponſalibus: If any man ſhall make any contracte with any woman by the wordes of the future tence, by an othe taken: and afterwardes, ſhall with an other woman make the lyke contracte by the words of the preſent tence: that then the ſecond contracte ſtandeth. Alſo, if a man make a contracte with a woman by the wordes of the future tence, vpon hys othe taken: and maketh afterwardes the lyke contracte with an other not altering the wordes, and hath carnall copulation vpon the ſame: the firſt contracte maketh the matrimonye good, and not the ſecond. Alſo, if a man before witnes aſſuer hym ſelfe to a woman by a contracte made in the preſent tence, and hath children by the ſame woman: and afterward, the ſame man maryeth an other woman, with the lyke wordes in the preſent tence, before witnes: Although the firſt witneſſes be dead, or ells by brybes corrupt, and the ſecond bring his witneſſes before the iudge to proue the ſecond contracte: the firſt contracte yet ſtandeth in force, although yͤ pope (allowing the ſecond contracte) doth compell thẽ to liue in adulterie againſt the commaundement of God. Alſo, he condemneth, the decretall of the reſtitution of things ſtolen Cap. Literas tuas: which willeth, that a man and woman hauing carnall copulation in the degree of conſanguinitie forbidden, and hath no witnes hereof: If the woman will departe from the man, ſhe ſhall be compelled by the cenſures, to remayne with hym, and to yelde her dept. Alſo, in caſe where a man hath made contract with two women, with one ſecretly hauing no wytnes, and with the other openly hauing wytnes: Then were it better to acknowledge the inſufficiencie of the lawe, and to ſuffer men to be ruled by their owne conſciences, then by the Cenſures to compell them, to committe, and lyue in adulterye.

The firſt mariage lawfolly before witnes made, ſtandeth.

As touching the kepyng and making of vowes: That vowe or othe is beaſtlye, and is without all diſcretion made: which to performe and kepe, a man hath no power but by grace geuen hym of God. Becauſe, that ſome ſuch there be, whom God doth not accept to perſeuer in the ſtate of chaſtitie and perpetuall virginitie: and ſuch a one cannot kepe hys vowe, although he make yͤ ſame. Alſo, that euery one making a vowe of continencie or chaſtitie, whẽ in makyng the ſame he ſhall not be accepted of God: doth very vndiſcretlye, & as one without all reaſon maketh the ſame, when he is not able of hymſelf wout the gift of God, to fulfil his promiſe: according to that ſaying of the wyſe man, cap. 8. No mã hath the gift of continencie, vnles that God geue it vnto hym. For otherwyſe, if God helpe not ſuch a one to performe the vowe or othe which he hath made and taken: No prelate can compell hym, vnles he do contrarye to Gods ordynaunce: but he ought to commit hymſelfe to the gouernment of Gods holy ſpirite, and hys own conſcience.

keping & making of vowes.

For the poſſeſſions of the church: In an other treatyſe it is declared, howe the kyng, the Lordes, and commons, mays without any charge at all, keepe 15. garriſons, and finde 15000. ſouldiours, (hauyng ſufficient landes and reuenewes to liue vpon) out of the temporalties gotten into the handes of the clergye and fayned religious men: whiche neuer doe that, whiche pertayneth to yͤ office of curates to do, nor yet to ſecular lordes. And moreouer, the kyng may haue euery yeare 20000. pound to come freely in to hys cofers & aboue. Alſo, maye finde or ſuſtayne 15. Colledges more: and 15000. prieſtes and clerkes, with ſufficient liuyng: and 100. hoſpitals for the ſicke, and euery houſe to haue one

Poſſeſſions of the Church.

hundreth markes in landes. And all this may they take of the foreſayd temporalties, without any charge to the realme: wherunto, the kyng, the Lordes, and the commons are to be inuited. For otherwiſe, there ſemeth to hang ouer our heades, a great and meruelous alteration of this realme, vnles the ſame be put in execution. Alſo, If the ſecular prieſtes and fayned religious, whiche bee ſimoniakes and heretiques, whiche fayne them ſelues to ſay Maſſe and yet ſay none at all accordyng to the Canons, whiche to their purpoſe they bryng and allege. 1.q.3 Audiuimus. & cap. Pudenda et cap. Schiſma: By which chap. ſuch prieſtes and religious do not make the Sacrament of the aultar: That then all Chriſtians, eſpecially all the founders of ſuch Abbeyes and indowers of biſhoprickes, priouries, and chaunteries: ought to amende this fault and treaſon committed againſt their predeceſſors, by taking from them ſuch ſecular dominions which are the maintenaunce of all their ſinnes. And alſo, that Chriſtian Lordes and princes, are bound to take away from the clergie, ſuch ſecular dominion as nooſeleth and nouriſheth them in hereſies: and ought to reduce them vnto the ſimple and poore life of Chriſt Jeſus, & hys Apoſtles. And further, that all Chriſtian princes (if they will amẽd the malediction & blaſphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalties from that ſhauen generation, which moſt of all doth nouriſhe them in ſuch maledictiō: And ſo in like wiſe, the fat tithes from churches appropriat to riche monkes and other religions fayned by manyfeſt lyeng, and other vnlawfull meanſe, likewiſe ought to debarre their golde to the proude prieſt of Rome, which doth poyſon all Chryſtendome wyth Symony & hereſie. Further, that it is a great abhominatiō, that Byſhoppes, Monkes, and other prelates, be ſo great Lords in this world, where as Chriſt with his Apoſtles, & diſciples, neuer toke vpon them ſecular dominion neither did they appropriat vnto them Churches as theſe men do: but led a pore life, and gaue a good teſtimony of their prieſthood. And therfore, all Chriſtiās ought to the vttermoſt of their power and ſtrength, to ſweare that they will reduce ſuch ſhauelynges, to the humilitie and pouertie of Chriſt & his Apoſtles: And who ſo euer thus doth not, conſenteth to their hereſie. Alſo, that thoſe two chapiters of the immunitie of Churches, are to be condempned, that is. cap. Non minus, and cap. Aduerſus. Becauſe they do decrée, that temporall Lordes may neither require tallages nor tenthes of any eccleſiaſtical perſōs.

1.q.3.24.q. 1. Cap pudenda.

Belly cheare of ill diſpoſed prelates, and of Monaſteries not to be nouriſhed with temporalties and appropriations.

Now to the correction of the clergie: By the law of God and by reaſon, the kyng and all other Chriſtians may take reuenge of Italie, and of all the falſe prieſtes and clerkes within the ſame, and to reduce thẽ vnto the humble ordinaunce of Jeſus Chriſt. Alſo, that the law of Silueſter the Pope, whiche is declared in 2.q.5.cap. Præſul, and cap. Nullam, is cōtrarie to the law of Chriſt and either Teſtament. And that proude and ambitious Silueſter by this lawe, ſo defended two Cardinals whiche were not to be defended by the law of Chriſt: that by no meanes they might bee conuinced, although they were both vicious and euill. And although Chriſt ſuſtayned and ſuffered the iudgement of vniuſt temporall iudges: Our mitered prelates in theſe dayes, ſo magnifie them ſelues beyond Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, that they refuſe and will none of ſuch iudgementes. Alſo, that thoſe decretals of accuſations cap. Quando. & Qualiter: whiche do prohibite that any clerkes ſhould be brought before a ſecular iudge to receiue iudgement: doe conteyne bothe hereſie, blaſphemye, and errour, and bryngeth great gayne and commoditie to Antichriſtes cofers. Furthermore, that all Chriſtian kynges and Lordes, ought to exclaime agaynſt the Pope and thoſe that be hys fautors, and to baniſhe them out of theyr landes, till ſuch tyme as they wyll obey G O D, and hys Goſpell, Kynges, and others miniſters of Gods iuſtice. Alſo, that Biſhoppes and their fauourers, that ſay it appertayneth not to kinges and ſecular Lordes (but vnto the & their Officials) to puniſhe adultry and fornication: do fall into manifeſt treaſon againſt the king, and hereſye agaynſt the ſcriptures. Alſo, that it appertaineth to the king, to haue the order both of prieſtes and byſhops, as theſe kings Salomon and Joſaphat had. Furthermore, that chapter Nullus iudicum de foro competenti: by the which ſecular Judges are forbidden wythout the Byſhops cōmaūdemēt to cōdemn any clerk to death: Is manifeſtly againſt yͤ holy ſcripture, declaring yͭ kings haue power ouer clerks & prieſts to puniſh thẽ for their deſerued crimes. Alſo, that yͤ decree of Boniface de penis in 6. cap. felicis, made againſt yͤ perſecuters, ſtrikers, & impriſoners of Cardinals, is cōtrary both to yͤ holy ſcripture & to all reaſō. Alſo, yͭ by yͤ law of God & reaſon, a ſecular lord may lawfully take a cardinall & put hi in priſō, for cōmitting yͤ crime of open ſimonie, adultery, & manifeſt blaſphemye. Alſo yͭ the chapiter Si Papa. Diſt. 40. whiche ſaith yͭ the Pope ought to be iudged of none, vnles he be deuius a fide, is cōtrary to yͤ Goſpel whiche ſayth: If thy brother ſinne againſt thee, correcte him. Alſo, where as S. Gregory and S. Auguſtine called them ſelues the ſeruauntes of Gods ſeruantes: this proud biſhop of Rome which will not be iudged by his ſubiectes (whych bee in very deede hys lordes, if they be iuſt and good men) doth deſtroy the order of Gods lawe, and all humilitie, and doth extoll hymſelfe aboue God and his Apoſtles. Alſo, that Chriſtian kynges ought, not onelye to iudge thys proude biſhop of Rome, but alſo to depoſe him, by the example that Ceſtrenſis, libro. 6. cap. 8. declareth, of Otho the Emperour, whych depoſed John the. xij. and did inſtitute Leo in hys place. And further, he maketh an exhortation to the Princes, to iudge the church of Rome, which he calleth the great and curſed ſtrumpet, of whō S. John writeth in the Apocalips, chap. 17.

Correction of the clergy.

2.q.5. Preſul. Ibid. Nullam.

Puniſh- of adul- belonge to ſecular magiſtra rather th to prela

Good ki ought poſe wi ked Po

Laſtlye, touching the lawes and determinations of the church: Chriſtians haue reaſonable excuſes and cauſes, to repel the ſtatutes of the Pope and his ſhaulings, which be not expreſſely grounded in the holy ſcriptures, or els vpon reaſō ineuitable. Alſo he ſayth, that that law which is ſet forth of conſecration diſtinctione. 2. cap. Seculares, et cap. Omnis homo. et cap. Et ſi non frequentius, et cap In cœna domini: That ſuche ſecular men as doo not receaue the ſacrament of the aultar at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whytſontide, are not to be counted amongeſt the number of Chriſtians, nor are to be eſteemed as chriſtians: whereby it foloweth, that all clerkes and laymen that obſerue not the ſame, it ſemeth they go ſtrayght to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the cuſtoms and vſe in receauing is contrary to the ſame: then may we bleſſe ſuch rebellion and diſobedience to the Pope & hys law, for otherwyſe we ſhould flee to hell without any ſtay or let. Wherby we may conclude, that all Chriſtians ought well to practiſe this ſchole of diſobedience agaynſt the Pope and all hys lawes (not founded vpon the holy ſcripture) whych do let men to clyme to heauen by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the goſpell. Alſo, that Chriſtian men haue greate cauſe to refuſe the lawes and ſtatutes of theſe worldlye clerkes, whych the people call the papall lawes, and biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the couetouſnes and voluptuouſnes of them: wythout the which, the church & congregation of God myght ſafely runne towardes heauen by the ſwete yoke of the Lord, as it did. 1000. yeares before the ſayd lawes were preſcribed and ſent to the Vniuerſities, and withdrewe men from ſtudyeng the holye ſcripture, for the deſire of benefices and worldly goods. Alſo, that ſimple men doo reuerently receiue the ſentences of the doctors and other lawes, ſo farfoorth as they be expreſſelye grounded vpon the holye ſcripture, or good reaſon. Alſo, that where as the Popes lawes, and lawes of his miniſters & Clerkes be both contrary to them ſelues, and haue not their foun-

De cōſe tione 2.cap. lares,

The Po lawes c trary to ſelues.

uation neyther vpon the ſcripture, nor yet vpon reaſon: ſimple men ought to bid them farewell. Alſo, that when all the Apoſtles fayth failed them in the time of the lords paſſion, fayth then reſted in the bleſſed virgine: muche more myghte that proude prieſt of Rome wyth all hys rabble, eaſily erre in the fayth, and yet is the Chriſtian faith preſerued whole and ſafe, in the faithfull members of Chriſt, whiche are his true churche: But the pope and all his rablement, cannot proue that they be any part of this church. Alſo, that the pope withall his fautors, may as welbe deceaued by a lyeng ſpirite, as was Achab and all his Prophetes: & that one true Prophete, as was Micheas, may haue the veritie ſhewed vnto him contra auxilium. Alſo, that all good chriſtians ought to caſt frō thē the Popes lawes, ſaying: Let vs breake their bandes in ſunder, and let vs caſt from our neckes, thoſe heuy yokes of theirs. Alſo, that where theſe prelates do burne one good boke, for one errour perhaps contayned in yͤ ſame: they ought to burne all the bookes of the Canon law, for the manifold hereſies contained in them. ¶ And thus much out of a certaine old written boke in parchmēt, borowed once of I. B. which boke conteinyng diuers auncient recordes of the vniuerſitie, ſemed to haue belong ſomtimes, to the librarie of the ſayd vniuerſitie: bearing the yeare of the compilyng therof. 1396. Whiche computation if it be true, then was it written of him, or that he recanted before Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop, at Saltwood, where he was impriſoned. Wherunto I thought alſo to annexe, a certaine godly and moſt frutefull Sermon, of like antiquitie, preached at Paules croſſe much about the ſame time, which was in the yere of our Lord. 1388 by a certaine learned clerke, as I finde in one olde monument, named R. Wimbeldon. Albeit, among the auncient regiſters and recordes belongyng to the Archbiſhop of Canterburye: I haue an olde worne copye of the ſayd Sermon, written in very old Engliſh, and almoſt halfe conſumed with age: purporting yͤ ſayd autor hereof bearing alſo the foreſayd name. The true copy of whiche Sermon, in his owne ſpeache wherin it was firſt ſpoken and preached at the croſſe, on the ſonday of quinquageſima, and after exhibited to the Archbiſhop of Cāterbury (beyng then as it ſemeth William Courtney) here foloweth.

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¶ A Sermon no leſſe godly then learned, preached at Paules Croſſe on the ſonday of Quinquageſima. an 1389, by R, Wimbeldon.

Redde rationem villicationis tuæ. Luce.xvi.

My dere frēds, ye ſhullen vnderſtond: that Chriſt autor and doctour of trueth, in his booke of the Goſpel (likening the kingdome of heuen to an houſholder) ſayth on this maner. Like is the kyngdom of heuen to an houſholding mā, that went out firſt on the morow to hyre workemen into his vyne. Alſo, about the thyrd, ſixt, nyenth and enleuente houres he went out, and foūd men ſtonding idel. And ſaid to thē. Go ye into myn vine yerde, and that right is, I wille geue you. whan the day was agoo, he clepid his ſtuward and high to geue eche man a peny.

h.xx.
ſemō
.Vim.

The ſpirituall vnderſtōdyng of this houſholder, is our lord Ieſu Chriſt that is hed of the houſhold of holy church. And thus clepith mē in diuerce houres of yͤ day, that is in diuerce ages of the world. As in tyme of law of kinde, he cleped by enſpiryng Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham. In tyme of the old law, Moſes, Dauid, Iſay, and Ieremy. And in tyme of grace, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Conſeſſours and Virgines. Alſo he cleped men in diuers ages, ſome on childhode, as Iohn Baptiſt: ſome on ſtate of wexing, as Iohn the Euangeliſt: ſome in ſtate of manhoode, as Peter and Andrew: and ſome on old agee as Gamaliel, and Ioſeph of Arimathie. And all theſe he clepeth to trauaile on his vyne, that is the church, and that on diuers maner. For right as ye ſeeth, that in tilyng of yͤ material vyne ther ben diuers laboures, for ſom kutten awey the voyde braūches, ſome maken forkis and railes to beren vp the vyne, and ſome diggen away the olde earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben ſo neceſſary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it ſhal harme greatly, other deſtroy the vyne: For but if the vyne be kutte, ſhe ſhall waxe wilde, but if ſhe by rapied ſhe ſhall be ouergo with thiſtels and wedis. And but if the rote be fatted with donge, ſhe for feblenes ſhuld waxe barayne.

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But ſo in the churche beth nedefull thes thre offices, prieſthood, knyghthode, and laborers. To prieſthode it falleth, to kut away yͤ voyd braunches of ſinnes with the ſwerde of her tong. To knyghthode it falleth to letten wronges, and theftes to ben done, & to maintayne Goddis law, and them that ben techers therof, and alſo to kepe the londe from enemies of other londes. And to labourers it falleth, to trauail bodelych, & with ther ſore ſwete, geten out of yͤ earth bodelich liflode for hem, & other parties. And theſe ſtates beth alſo nedefull to the churche, yͤ none may well ben without other: for if prieſthod lacked, yͤ people for defaute of knowyng of Gods lawe ſhould waxe wild in vices, & deyen goſtely. And if yͤ knithod lacked, & mē to rulyn the puple by law and hardineſſe, theues and enemies ſhulden ſo encres yͤ no man ſhuld liue in peace. And if the laborers wer nought, both knightes & prieſtes muſt bycome acre men and herdis: and els, they ſhuld for defaute of bodily ſuſtenaūce deye. And therfore ſayth clerk Auicenne, yͤ euery vnreaſonable beſt if he haue that yͤ kynde hath ordeined for hym, as kinde hath ordeined it: he is ſufficiēt to lyue by him ſelfe without any helpe of other of the ſame kynd. As if there were but one hors other one ſhepe in yͤ world, if he had graſſe and corne as kynd hath ordeyned for ſuch beſtes: he ſhuld lyue well I now. But if there ne were but O mā in yͤ world, though he had all that good that is there in it, for defaut he ſhuld deye or his lyfe ſhuld be wors than if he were nought, & the cauſe is this: for thing that kinde ordeineth for a mans ſuſtenaunce, without other arrayeng than it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a mā haue corne as it cometh frō the earth, yet it is no mete according to him, vnto it be by mās craft, chaūged into bred: and though he haue fleſh other fiſh, yet while it is rawe as kynde ordeyned it, till it be by mans trauaile ſodden, roſted, or baken, it accordit not to mans lifelode. And right ſo, wolle yͤ the ſhep bereth mot by mannis diuers craftis & trauailes be chaunged or it be able to cloth any man: and certis O man by him ſelfe, ſhuld neuer do all theſe laboures. And therfore ſaith this clerke, it is nede that ſome be acre men, ſome bakers, ſome makers of cloth, and ſome marchaunts to fetche that, that on londe lacketh from an other there it is plentie.

And certis this ſhuld bee a cauſe why yͤ euery ſtate ſhuld loue other. And men of o craft ſhuld not diſpiſe ne hate men of none other craft, ſith they be ſo nedefull euerich to other. And oft thilke craftes that ben moſt vnhoneſt, might worſt ben forbore: and o thyng I dare well ſay that he that is neither trauailyng in this world, on ſtudieng, on prayers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to prieſts, neyther ruling the people, mainteinyng ne defending fro enemyes as it falleth to knightes, neyther traueling on the earth, in diuerſe craftes, as it falleth to labourers: When the day of rekening commeth that is, the end of thys life, right as he liued here without trauaile, ſo he ſhall there lacke the reward of the penye, that is, the endles ioye of heauē. And as he was here liuing after none ſtate ne order, ſo he ſhall be put then in that place that no order is in, but euerlaſting horror and ſorow, that is in hell. Herfore, eueriche man ſe to what ſtate God hath cleped him, and dwell he therin by trauaile accordyng to his degree. Thou yͤ art a laborer or a crafty mā, do this truely. If thou art a ſeruaunt or a bond mā, be ſuget and lowe in drede of diſpleaſing of thy Lord: If thou art a marchaunt, diſceyue nought thy brother in chafferyng.

Iob.x.
ii.Cor.vij
i.Pet.ij.

i.Theſ.iiij.

If thou art a knight or a Lord, defend the poore man and needy fro handes that wyll harme them. If thou art a Iuſtice or a Iudge, go not on the right hand by fauour, neyther on the left hand, to puniſh any man for hate. If thou art a prieſt, vndernime, praye, repreue, in all maner patience and doctrine. Vndernime tho that ben negligent, pray for thylke yͤ bene obedient, reproue tho that ben vnobedient to God. So euery man trauayle in hys degree. For whā the euen is come, that is, the end of thys worlde: than euerye man ſhall take reward, good or euyll, after that he hath trauayled here.

Prou.xxij.
ij.Tim.iiij.

The wordes that I haue taken to make of my ſermon, be thus muche to ſay: Yelde reconyng of thy bayly. Chriſt autour of pitye and louer of the ſaluatiō of hys people, in the proces of this goſpell enfourmeth euery man what is hys baylye, by maner of a parable of a bayly that he ſpeaketh of, to aray hym to anſwer of the goodes that God hath taken hym, when the day of ſtraight reconing ſhall be come, that is the day of dome. And ſo I at thys tyme thorowe the helpe of God, folowing hym that is ſo great a maiſter of autoritie, becauſe that I know nothyng that ſhould more drawe a way mans vnreaſonable loue fro the paſſing ioy of thys world, then the mynde of the dreadfull reconing. As much as ſuffice, I ſhall ſhewe you how ye ſhall diſpoſe you to auoide then the vengeaūce of God, when ther ſhalbe time of ſo ſtraight doome, that we ſhall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue iſpokē. For than it ſhal be ſayd to vs, and we ſhall not flee it: Yelde reconyng of thy baylye.

Nota.

But for other proces of this firſt party of this ſermon, ye ſhall wete: that there ſhall be three baylifes that ſhall bee cleped to thys ſtraight reconing. Twaine to anſwer for them ſelfe and for other, that bene prieſtes that haue cure of mens ſoules, and temporall that haue gouernayle of people: and the thirde bayly ſhall acount onely for himſelfe, and that is euerye Chriſten man, of that he hath receyued of God. And euery of theſe ſhall aunſwer to theſe queſtions: To the firſt queſtion, how haſt thou entred? The ſecōd, how haſt thou ruled: And to the third, how haſt thou lyued? And if thou canſt well aſſoyle theſe three queſtions, was ther none earthly lord that euer ſo wel rewarded his ſeruant without compariſon, as thy Lorde God ſhall rewarde thee, that is wyth bliſſe, and ioye, and lyfe that euer ſhall laſt. But on that other ſyde, and thou wylt not be recheles of thyne own welfare, and take none heede of thys reconing: If that daye take thee ſodainly, ſo that thou paſſe hence in deadly ſinne (as thou wotſt neuer what ſhal fall thee) all yͤ toungs that euer were, or euer ſhall be, mow not tell the ſorowe and wo that thou ſhalt euer be in, and ſuffer. Therfore, the deſire of ſo great ioy, and the dread of ſo great payne, thoughe loue ne dread of God were not in thyne hart: yet ſhould that make thee afeard to ſinne, for to thinke that thou ſhalt geue reconing of thy bayly. Therefore as I ſay to thee, the firſt queſtion that ſhall be propoſed to the firſt

Thre queſtiōs.
The firſt,
Second,
Third.

Againſt Simony.

Queſtio.

Solutio.

Queſtio.

Solutio.

Iohannes Chriſoſtomus Homelia.xxvii.

Note.

The raſhe making of miniſters.

Oſe.4.

Bernardus.

bayly: that is a prelat other a Curat of mens ſoules, is this: How haſt thou entred? Math.xxii. Friend, how entredſt thou hether? Who brought thee in to thys office? Truth or Symony? God or yͤ Deuill? Grace or mony? The fleſh or the ſpirit? Geue thou thy reconing if yͭ canſt. If thou canſt not, I rede yͭ thou tary for to learn. For vp hap ere night thou ſhalt be cleped. And if than thou ſtande dombe for vnkunning, or els for confuſion of thy conſcience: thou ſhalt into the ſentence that anon followeth: Binde hys handes and hys feete, and caſt hym in to the vtter warde of darkneſſe, there ſhal be weeping and grenning of tethe. Therefore I rede thee, that thou aduiſe thee how thou ſhalt anſwer to this queſtion. How haſt thou entred? whether by clepyng, or by thyne own procuring: for that yͭ wouldeſt trauayle in Gods goſpel, other for thou wouldeſt be richly arayed? Anſwer now to thy ſelfe as thou ſhalt anſwer to God, thou that haſt take nowe the order of prieſte, whether thou be curate or none: who ſtyrred thee to take vpon thee ſo hyghe an eſtate? Whether for thou wouldeſt lyue as a prieſt ought to do ſtudying of Gods law to preach, and moſt hartily to pray for yͤ people: or for to lyue a delicious lyfe, vpon other mens trauayle, and thy ſelfe trauayle nought. Why alſo ſetten men their ſonnes either their couſyns to ſchole? Wherto, but for to get them great aduancementes, or to make them the better to knowe howe they ſhoulden ſerue God? Thys men may ſee openly, by the ſcience that they ſet them to. Why I pray you, put men their ſonnes to the law ciuyll, or to the kynges court to write letters and writs: than to philoſophye or Diuinitie, but for the hope that theſe occupations ſhoulde be euer meens, to make them great in the world. I hope that there wil no man ſay, that they ne ſhoulde better learne the rule of good liuyng in the booke of gods law, than in any bokes of mans worldly wiſedom. But certes now it is ſothe, that Iohn Chryſoſtome ſayth. Mothers be louyng the bodies of their children, but yͤ ſoule they deſpiſe, they deſire them to wel fare in thys worlde, but they take none hede what they ſhal ſuffer in the tother. Hows or deuen fees for their children, but none ordeyne them to godwarde. The luſt of their bodies they wol deere by, but the hele of their ſoule the reke nought of. If they ſee them poore or ſicke, they ſorow & ſigheth, but though they ſee them ſinne, they ſorowe not. And in thys they ſhewe that they brought forth the bodies but not the ſoules. And if we take heede truly, what abhominations be ſcattered and ſpread abrode in holy church now adayes among prieſtes: we ſhul well wit, that they come not all to the folde of Chriſt by Chriſtes clepping for to profite: but by other wayes to gette them worldlye welth, and this is the cauſe of leſyng of ſoule, that Chriſt boughte ſo dear, and of many errours among the people: and therefore it is written in the booke of mourning, where the prophet ſpeaketh this to God. Tre. 1. The enemy hath put his hand to all thinges deſyrable to him: for he hath let lawles folke enter into the ſanctuary, of the which thou hadſt commaunded, that they ſhould not enter in to the church: This enemy is Sathanas, as his name ſowneth, that hath put hys hande to all that him liketh. What ſinne I pray you would the fiend haue ſow on me, that nis now vſed? In what plenty is now pride, enuy, wrath and couetiſe? When were they ſo great as they be now, and ſo of all other ſinnes. And why troweſt thou? But for there be e lawles people entred into thy ſanctuary, that neither kepe in themſelf the law of God, ne konne teachẽ other: And to euery ſuch, ſaith God by the prophet, Oſe 4. For that thou haſt put away cunning: I ſhal put thee away that thou ſhal vſe no prieſthoode to me. Lo that god expreſly here in holy write, forbiddeth men to take the ſtate of prieſthoode on them, but they haue cunnyng, that needeth them. Thou than that canſt neither rule thy ſelfe ne other, after the lawe of God, beware howe thou wilt anſwer to God, at hys dreadfull dome, when he ſhall ſaye to thee, that which I tooke to my theme.

Yelde the reckening of thy bailye, how thou haſt entred.

The ſecond queſtion, that euery curate and prelate ſhall anſwer to, is this. How haſt thou ruled? That is to ſay, the ſoules of thy ſuggets, and the goods of poore mẽ: Geue now thine acounte. Firſt, how thou haſt gouerned gods folke that were take thee to keepe: Whether art yͭ an herde or an hyreman? that dooſt all for loue of bodelych hyre? As a father, or as a Wolf, yͭ eaten his ſhepe and kepeth them nought? Say whõ thou haſt turned from his curſed liuyng, by thy deuout preaching, Whõ haſt taught the law of God that was erſt vncunning: Ther ſhal ben heard a greuous accuſing of fatherles children, and a hard aledging, that prieſts haue liueden by their wages, and not done away their ſins. Yelde alſo rekoning how thou haſt ruled and ſpended the goodes of poore men. Hark what S. Bernard ſaith. Dreadeth clarkes, dreadeth the miniſters of the church, the which ben in the place of ſaintes, that they do ſo wickedlye, nought holdyng them apayde with ſuche wages that were ſufficient to them? That ouerplus that nedy men ſhuld be ſuſtayned by, they be not aſhamed to waſt in the houſe of their pryde & lecherye, & wholdẽ to thẽſelf wickedly & curſedly yͭ which ſhould be the lyfeloode of pore men. With double wickednes truly thei ſinne. Firſt, for they receuen other mens goods. & ſaith they miſuſe holy things in their vanities & in their filthes. Euery ſuch Bailye therefore beware, for anone, to the laſt farthyng he ſhall recken with Chriſt. Troweſt thou not thẽ, that thou ne ſhalt be diſalowed of god of yͭ thou haſt miſpended in fedyng of fat Palfreyes, of hoũds, of Haukes, and if it ſo be that is worſt of al, on lecherous women. Heare what is ſayd of ſuch. They hath led their dayes in wealth. And in a poynt they beene gone downe into hell: Thinke therfore I rede thee, that thou ſhalt yelde reckenyng of thy bayly.

The third queſtion that this baily ſhall anſwer to, is this: How haſt thou lyued? What lyght of holynes haſt thou ſhewed in thy liuing to the people, or what mirrour haſt thou ben of holyneſſe to them? Geue now thy reconing, how thou haſt liued, as a prieſt, or as a leude man, as a man or as a beaſt. That is to wonder trulye howe the lyfe of prieſtes is chaunged. They bee clothen as knyghtes, they ſpeaken as vnhoneſtlye as carels, other of wynnyng as Marchauntes: They riden as princes, and al that is thus ſpended, is of the goodes of poore men, and of Chriſtes heritage. Therfore ſaith an holy doctor: The claye of Egipt was tough and ſtinking, and medled with bloud. The ſtates were harde to be vndoe, for they were baked with fire of couetiſe, and with the hete of luſtes. In this trauayleth riche men, in this they wake, a warring poore men. In theſe trauayleth prelates, that been to muche bleent with to much ſhinyng of riches, that make them houſes like churches in greatnes, that with dyuers paintries, colorẽ their chãbers, that with diuers clothings of colours, make images gay: but the poore man for default of clothes beggeth, and with an empty wõb cryeth at their doore: And if I ſhal yͤ ſothe ſay, ſaith thys doctor, ofte tyme poore men be robbed for to cloth yͤ trees & ſtones. Of ſuch ſpeaketh the prophet. How art yͭ here? or as who art yͭ? Here thou art occupying the place of Peter or of Poule, or of Thomas or of Martyne: But how, as Iudas among the Apoſtles, as Symon Magus among the diſciples, as a candell newe queinte that ſtincheth all the houſe in ſtede of a light lanterne, and as a ſmoke that blindeth mens eyen, in place of cleane fyre. If thou contrarye thus the forme of liuyng that Chriſt & his diſciples left to prieſts: Lo what ſaith the prophet Ieremye: They haue entred, and they haue had and nought ben obediente. They haue with falſe tytle or with their falſe and corrupte intention, had poore mens goodes to their miſuſing, and they haue not bee obedient to the lawe of God in their owen liuing. Therefore it is writ, that the hardeſt dome ſhall fall on ſuch. An hard dome, for they haue myſentred, An hard dome, for they haue miſruled. And the hardeſt dome for they haue ſo curſedly lyued. Thinke therfore I rede, how thou wylte gyue reckning of thy Baily.

Eſa.22 quis tu aut q quid hi

Iere.23.

Sap.6.

Kings, P ces and m giſtrate moniſhe How th haſt en

Oſe.8.

How ha thou ru

Deut.

Pro.17.

Math.7

How ha thou li

Rom.2.

Suſan.

Socrat

The ſecond Bayliff, that accounteth at this dome for himſelf and alſo for other, is he: that keping hath of any communite, as kings, princes, Maires, and Shireues, and iuſtices. And theſe ſhall alſo anſwer to the ſame three queſtions. The firſt queſtion, how haſt yͭ hentred, that is to ſay, into thine office: Other for help of the people to deſtroy falſhed and forthren trewth? other for deſire of winning or worldly worſhip? If thou take ſuch an office, more for thine own worldly profite, than for helpe of the communite, thou art a tirant as yͤ philoſopher ſeith. For it is to fear leaſt there ben to many yͭ deſire ſuch ſtates, that they ne may the rather oppreſſe thilke that they hateth, and take giftes to ſpare to puniſhe thilke, that hauen treſpaſſed, and ſo maketh them partners of their ſinnes. And many ſuch, whẽ they ben ſo high, they think nought that they beeth poore mens brethren: but they wene to paſſe them in kind, as they paſſith in worldly worſhip, that is but winde: of wich God ſaith by yͤ prophet, they hauen raigned, but nought of me, they haue bene princes but I know nought. So we reade of Roboham, that was the ſon of king Salomon, what tyme he was firſt king, the people of Iſraell comen to hym, and ſayd: Thy father in hys laſt dayes, put on vs great charge. We pray thee ſome deale make it lighter, and we wyllen ſerue thee. And the king tooke counſayle of the olde wiſe men, and they counſaileden to anſwer them fayre, and that ſhoulde be for the beſt. But he left theſe old wyſe mennys counſayle, and dyd after the counſayle of chyldren that were his playferen, and ſayd to the people, when they came agayn: My left finger, is greater then my fathers riegge. My father greeued you ſomwhat, but I wil echen more therto. And the people heard this, and rebelleden to hym, and tooke them another king: and ſithe, the kingdom came neuer whole agayne. And therefore it is good, that euerye ruler of cominalties, that they be not lad by follyes, ne by none other eare rowner, yͭ he ne haue an eygh of loue to the comontie that he hath to rule. For wete ye wel, be he neuer ſo high, that he ſhal come afore hys hygher, to yelde reconing of hys bayly.

The ſecond queſtion is: How haſt thou ruled the people, and the office that thou haddeſt to gouerne? Thou that haſt bene a Iudge in cauſes of poore mẽ, how haſt thou kept this heſt of God? Thou ſhalt not take heede to the perſon of a poore man, to bee to hym the harder for hys pouerty, ne yͭ ſhalt not behold a rich mans ſemblãce to ſpare or to fauour hym in hys wrong for hys riches. O Lorde, what abuſion is there among officers of both lawes, now adayes? If a great man pleadeth with a poore man, to haue ought that hee holdeth, euery officer ſhall be ready to hye all that he may, that the rich man might haue ſuch an end as he deſired. But if a poore man pleade with a ritch man, than there ſhall be ſo manye delayes, that though the poore mans right be open to all the comontye, for pure faute of ſpending, he ſhall be glad to ceaſe. Shriues and bayliffes wyllen retourne poore mens writs with tarde venit, but gif they feelen meede in their handes. And yet I heare ſaye, men that hauen ſeyen both lawes, that like court that is cleeped Chriſtes court, is much more curſed. Therefore it is wryte: gifts they taken out of mens boſoms, to ouerturne the right way of dome. But it is to dread the word of Chriſt: In what dome ye deeme, ye ſhould be demed when ye comen to yelde a reconing of your bayly.

The third queſtion is: Howe haſt thou lyued, thou that demeſt and puniſheſt other men for their treſpas. A great doctor ſaith: thee behoueth to flee the wyckednes of other men, that thou chaſticeſt them for their treſpas. For if thy ſelf do vnlawfullych in deemyng other men, thou damneſt thy ſelfe, ſythe thou doeſt that thou damneſt. And Poul ſaith: why teacheſt thou nought thy ſelf, that thou teacheſt other? Why ſtealeſt thou, that techeſt nought other mẽ to ſteale? Saint Gregory ſaith: He ſhal not take gouernaile of other, that cannot go before them in good lyuing. And when anye man ſtand before hym in dome, he muſt take heede to fore what Iudge he ſhall ſtand hym ſelfe, to take hys dome after hys deedes. But it is to dread, that many fareth as the two falſe prieſts that woulden haue damned to death holy Suſan, for ſhe would not aſẽt to their lechery. Of the whych it is wrytte: they turned away their eyen, for they would not ſee heauen, ne haue mynde of rightfull domes. So it happeth ofte, they that were more worthe to bee hanged, dãneth them that be leſſe woorthye, as a clarcke telleth of Socrates the Philoſopher, ſaith he, vpon a day a mā aſked of him why he laughed. And he ſayd: for I ſee great theeues leden a lytle theefe to honging. I pray thee, whether is he a greater theefe that bynimeth a man hys houſe and hys land from hym and from hys heyres for euermore, other he that for making of great nede, ſteleth a ſhep or a calfe. Whether trow we nought, that it happeth ſuch extortioners to be other while iudges, & demieth men thus: But I read the that thus demeſt other, thinke on that thou ſhalt come to, to yelde the rekening of thyne baily.

Valerius Maximus libro.7.

The thirde Bailife that ſhall be cleped to this dredfull a counte ſhalbe euery Chriſtian man, that ſhal rekenyng to his Lord God, for goods that he hath had of his. And here I will ſpeke but of the firſt queſtion, ẏ is this: How ētreſt thou here. And bythe way, ye that haue goten any worldly good, other take by extortion, by rauyne, by vſury, other by diſceit: Wo ſhall be to him ẏ this dredfull day as S. Auſten ſaith. If he be caſt into the fire that hath nought giuē of his own good: wher troweſt thou ſhal he be caſtin, that hath reued other mens from them. And if he ſhulle brenne with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked, where troweſt ſhall he brenne that hath made him naked that was erſt clothed. But as S. Gregory ſayth, two thinges maketh men to liue thus by rauayne of other neighbours, that they deſire heynes and drede pouertie, and what vengeaūce falleth of this ſinne of couetiſe. I may ſe by figure in holy writ, whan the aungill ſayd to Prophet Zacharie. Rere vp thine eyen and ſee what is that goeth out. And the Prophet ſayd what is it? Than the angel ſaid, this is the pot goyng out, this is ẏ eize of hem on all the earth, And there was a weight of lede I bore, and there was a woman ſitting in the midle of this potte. And the angell ſayd, this is impietie: And he tooke her, and caſt her into the middle of this pot, and he tooke the gobette of leed and caſte it into the pots mouth. And the Prophet lift vp his eye, and he ſaw twoo women commyng out, and ſpirites in her wingis like two kytes other gledes: and they areid vp this pot bytwene heuen & the earth, and than the Prophete ſpake to the aungell, whider wol theſe bere this pot? And he ſayd, into the lōd of Seymar: This pot is couetiſe. For right as a pot hathe a wyde open mouth, ſo couetiſe gapeth after worldly good: & right as the licour in the pot, profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh therof: ſo worldly good oft, profiteth not to churchis, but to other that commeth after, as it is written, He ẏ hath mony ſhall haue no frute of it. And this couetiſe is the eye of couetous men: for they ben blynde to ſee how thei ſhuld ſee to go to heuē, but to winning of worldly things they ſee many wayes like to owles, & nightcrowes, that ſeen better by night than by day.

The third Baily.
Auſten.
The third admonition generall to euery chriſtiē mā.
[illegible]
Greg.8.
Zacha.6.
Expoſitio.
Ephe.5.

The gobbet of lead, is the ſyn of obſtination. The womā that ſat in ẏ pot, is vnpitty, as the angell ſaid, that foloweth vnrighteouſnes & auarice. For through auarice, a mā leeſeth ẏ pity ẏ he ſhuld haue of the miſchiefe of hys ſoule. For oft tyme, men leeſe the lyfe of theyr ſoule, by deadly ſynne that they do to haue worldly wynning: and alſo they leeſe the pitie that they ſhould haue of their body, puttyng them ſelfes to many great bodelye trauayls and perils both by ſea, and land, and all maketh couetiſe. Thys pot is ſtopped wyth the gobbet of leade, when vnpitye is thus by ſynne of obſtination cloſed in couetiſe, that he may not goe out of the chinches harte by penaunce. For as Iob ſayth: when he is fulfylled, he ſhall be ſtopped. The ij. wemē that bare vp this pot, are pride & luſt of fleſh, that be cleped in holy wryt the twey daughterē of the water Leche, crying: bring, brig. And they had wings: ẏ fyrſt wyng is grace ſpiritual, as cunnyng, wyſdō, & couſel & ſuch other many. For which gifts many mē wex proud. The 2. wyng is bodely grace, as ſtrength, fayrehood, gentry, and many other ſuch, whereof men wex proud. The wynges of the ſecond womā that is fleſhly deſire, beth glotony and ſlouth. Of glotony ſpeoketh S. Gregory: when the wombe is fulfylled, the prickes of lechery beth meued. And of ſlouth S. Auſtyn ſayth: Lot the whyle he dwelled in buſines among ſhrewes in Sodome, he was a good man. But when he was in the hyll ſlowe, for ſykkernes, he in hys dronkennes lay by hys daughtren. And theſe women had wynges lyke kytes, that with a crying voyce ſecheth their meate, as Bartholomeus ſayth. And thus fareth couetiſe of men. Witneſſing ſaynt Auſtine, what is the greedynes of fleſhly deſire. In as much as the rauenous fyſhes haue ſometyme meaſure, yet when they hunger they rapin, and when they fulfil, they ſpare: But onely couetiſe of men may not be fulfylled. For euer he taketh, and neuer hath inough. Neither he dreadeth God, neither ſhame of men. He ne ſpareth hys father, ne knoweth his mother, ne accordeth with hys brethren, neyther keepeth truth wyth hys frende. He ouerpreſſeth widowes and fatherles children. Freemē he maketh bond, and bringeth foorth falſe wytnes, and occupieth dead mens things, as he ſhoulden neuer dye. What manhoode is this, ſayth this doctour, thus to leeſe lyfe & grace, and get death of ſoule? Wyn gold, and leſe heauen? And herefore ſaith the prophet, haue trauail in the midſt, and leaue vnrightouſnes. Alſo Innocent ſpeaking of the harmes that come of couetoiſe, ſayth thus: O how many men hath couetiſe deceiued & ſpilt? When couetiſe Balaam would for giftes that the kinge profered hym, haue curſed Gods people: His own Aſſe reproued hym, and hurt hys foote agaynſt a wall. Achor was ſtoned to death: for couetiſe made him ſteale gold and clothes, againſt the commaundement of God. Gieſy was ſmyt with meſilry, for he ſold Naamans heale, that cam of Gods grace. Iudas for couetiſe ſold Chriſt, & afterward hong himſelf. Anany & Saphira his wife wer dead ſodainly, for they forſokē to giue Peter their mony ẏ thei had. And couetiſe maketh alſo ẏ richmen eate the poore, as beaſtes done holding thē their leſous low. This may we ſee all day, in deede I dread. For if a rytche man haue a field, and a poore man haue in the myddeſt or in the ſide therof one acre, and a riche man haue all a ſtrete ſaueth O houſe, that ſome poore brother of hys oweth: he ceaſeth neuer till he get it out of the poore mans hand, either by prayer, or by bying, or by purſuing of diſceit. Thus fared it by king Achab, that throughe hys falſe Queenes ginne ſlowe the poore man Naboth, for that he woulde not ſell hym hys vyneyard that was nye to the kings palace. Upon which proces, thus ſayth S. Ambroſe: How far wyll ye rytche men ſtretche your couetiſe? Wyll ye dwell alone vppon the earth, and haue no poore man with you? Why put ye out your felow by kinde, & chalenge to your ſelf the poſſeſſion comen by kinde. In commune to al ritch and poore the earth was made, Why wyll ye riche chaunge proper right herein? Kynde knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth all men poore. For we be not got with rich clothes, ne borne with gold ne with ſyluer. Naked he bringeth them to this world, nedy of meate and of drinke and clothing. Naked the earth taketh vs, as ſhe naked brought vs hither. She cānet cloſe with vs our poſſeſſion in ſepulchre, for kinde maketh no difference betwene poore and rich, in comming hyther, ne in going hence. All in o manner he bringeth forth, all in o manner he cloſeth in graue. Who ſo will make difference of poore and rytche, abyde tyll they haue a lyttle whyle leyne in the graue. Than open and looke among dead bones who was rych, and who was poore, but if it be thus ẏ mo clothes rotteth with the riche, than wyth the poore: and that harmeth to them that beth on lyue, and profyte not to them that beene deade: Thus ſaythe the Doctour of ſuche extortion as it is wryt. Other mens fields they repeth, & fro the vyne of hym that the hatme oppreſſed, they plucke away the grapes: they leueth men naked, and taketh away her clothis that hath nought wherewith to hele them in cold, and liften vp this pot bytwene heuen and earth. For couetous mē nother haueth charite to ther brethren vpon earth neither to God in heuē: and they bare this pot into the lond of Seymar, that is to ſay, into the londe of Stenche, that is hell, for there ſhalbe ſtench, in ſtede of ſweete ſmellyng as Iſay ſayth. Beware I rede, ẏ ye nought haue to do with this pot ne & the woman therin: and on all maner that ye be nought weddid to her, for thā ye muſt be both one. This is thilk foule lecherous woman: the kynges and marchaūtis of the earth haue done lechery, and of her vertue they haueth be made riche, whoſe dampnation is writen in the booke of princes in theſe wordes. In o day, ſhall come all this vengeaunces of her deth, weppyng & hunger and fire ſhall brenne her, for ſtronge is God that ſhall venge him on her, and than ſhulleth weepe and howle vp on her the kynges of the earth, that haueth done lechery with her, and haueth liued in delices when they ſhull ſee the ſmoke of her brennyng, ſtondyng aferre wepyng and weylyng and ſeyng. Alas alas thilke great citie that was clothed with bys and purpre and braſile, & ouergilte with gold & precious ſtones and perle. For in one houre all theſe great riches ſhalbe deſtroyed, than ſhall they ſey that ſhall bee damned with her. We haue erred fro the waye of trouth & rightwiſnes, light haue not ſhyned to vs, and the ſonne of vnderſtondyng haue not reſē to vs: we haue be made wery in eue rich way of wickednes and of luſt, and haue gone hard wayes but the ways of god we knew nought: what hath pride profited to vs, or the booſt of riches what hath it brought to vs? All this is as a ſhadow of deth, and we mow now ſhew no tokyn of holines: in our wickednes we be waſted away. Thinke therfore I read, that thou ſhalt yelde rekening of thy bayly. Here endeth the firſt part of this Sermon, and beginneth the ſecond part.

Iob.22.
Againſt couetiſe.
Gregory.
Auguſt. de conflictu vitiorum
Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerū
Auſten.
Math.7.
Auguſtin.
Pſal.54.
Innocentius
Nume.22.
Ioſue.7.
4.Reg.5.
Actis.5.
Ambroſius de ſuo libello de Naboth.
Iobn.24.

IN whiche part with the helpe of God I will ſhewe firſt, who ſhall clepe vs to this rekning. Afterward, to fore what iudge we ſhall rekyn: and laſt what puniſhyng ſhal be do to them that ben found falſe ſeruauntes and wikked, and what reward ſhal be gyue to them that be founde good and true. For the firſt ye ſhall weten that there ſhall be twey domes. The firſt doome anone after the departyng of body and of ſoule, an this ſhal be ſpeciall. And of this rekening or doome ſpeketh the Goſpell of Luke. The ſecund rekenyng or dome ſhalbe a none after the general reſurrection, and that ſhalbe vniuerſall. And of this is to ſpeken in the Goſpell. To the firſt euery man ſhalbe cleped after other, as the world paſſeth. To the ſecunde ſhall comen togedre in the ſtroke of an eye all mankind. To the firſt, men ſhalbe cleped with iij. ſumners other ſergeauntes: the firſt is ſikneſſe, the ſecond is elde, and the third is deth: the firſt warneth, the ſecond thretneth, and the third taketh. This is a kyndly order, but otherwiſe it faileth, for ſume we ſeeth dyeth that neuer wiſt what was ſicknes ne elde, as children that ben ſodenly ſlayne. And ſume, ye the moſt parte that deyeth now a dayes deieth, byfore her kynde agee of deeth: therfore I ſay, that the firſt that clepeth to this ſpecial reknyng is ſicknes, that foloweth all mā kynd, ſo that euery man hath it: and ſum is ſickneſſe that ſume men haueth but nought all. Yet the firſt ſickeneſſe is double, for ſume is withinne in the mightes of the ſoule, & ſume is without in feblenes of the body that needis mo be ſtroyed, whan tune by hem ſill is cauſe of corruptiō as Philoſophie ſaith, that thereby feblenes & ſiknes. And ſo may we ſee hereby, though ẏ a mā ſhut out of the houſe to hys hart all maner of worldly and fleſhly thoughtes: yet vnneth ſhall a man for ought that he can do, think on God onely, the ſpace of o Pater noſter, but ẏ ſome other thing that is paſſing, entreth into the ſoule, and draweth her from contemplation. But O Lorde God, what ſeekenes is this, an heuie burden on the ſonnes of Adā, that on fowle moock & fen of the world we may think long ynow. But on that the ſoule ſhould moſt delectatiō haue by kinde, mow we nought thinke ſo little a ſpace, but if the cokle enter among the whete. Of thys ſeeknes ſpeaketh Poule, where he ſayth. I ſee a lawe in my limmes fighting agenes the lawe of my ſpirite, and taking me into the law of ſinne. So that it fares by vs, as by a man that would looke ageyns the ſun, and may nought do it long for no thyng. And forſoth that is for no default that is in the ſunne, for ſhe is moſt clere in her ſelf, and ſo by reaſon beſt ſhould be ſeyn, but it is for feblenes of mans eye. Ryght ſo, ſyth Adam our firſt fader was put out of Paradyſe: All hys offpryng haue ben thus ſicke, as the Prophet ſeyth. Our fadres haue eat a bitter grape, & the teeth of the children be wexe an egge. The ſecond ſicknes, that is commune to all mankind, commyth of feblenes of the body: as hunger and thorſt, cold and hete, ſorowe and werines, and many other as

Math.27.
iii. ſumners, Sickneſſe, Age, Deathe.
Iob 18.

Iob.xiiii.
Deutero.
Corinth.xii
Tobi.ii.
Antioche.
The ſecond ſomner, Properties of death.
Eſaye.

Iob.18.ſaith. A man that is borꝛ of a womā liuing a litle whyle, is fulfilled with many miſeaſes. Yet there is other ſyknes that commeth to ſome mē, but not to all, as Lepyr, Palſey, Feuer, Dropſie, Blindnes, and many other, as it was ſeyden to ẏ people of Iſraell, in holy wrypt. But thou kepe the commaundementes that be writ in this boke, God ſhal echen the ſicknes of the and of thy ſede, great ſickenes and longe abyding. Yet ye ſhall vnderſtond, that God ſendeth other while, ſuch ſycknes to good men, and other whyle to ſhrewes. To good men God doth it for two cauſes, & that is ſooth. Of ſiknes I wol to be vnderſtond alſo, of all maner of tribulatiōs. The firſt cauſe, for they ſhold alway euer know, ẏ they haue non perfection of them ſelf, but of God onely, and to echen theyr mekenes. And thus ſaith Poul: leſt the greatnes of reuelations rere me vp in to pride, is geuen a pricke of my fleſhe, the aungell of Sathanas to ſmit me on the necke, wherefore I haue thriſe I prayed God, that he ſhuld go fro me, and he anſwerd me: My grace is ſuffiſant to thee for vertue is fulfilled in ſicknes, where on thus ſayn the gloſe. The fend axing Iob to be tempted, was herd of God, and nought the Apoſtle axing his temptatiō to be remoued. God herd him that ſhuld be damned, and he herd nought him, that he ſhould ſaue. For oft the ſick man axit many thinges of the leche, that he wol not geue him, & ẏ is for to make hym whol of ſicknes. Alſo God ſendeth ſaints oft ſicknes & perſecutiō, to giue vs ſinful wretchis example of paciēce: For if he ſuffer his ſaintes to haue ſuche tribulation in this worlde, and they thankin him thereof, mich more wretchis that God ſendeth not the hundred a party of their ſorowe, ſhulden bere it mekely ſith we haue diſerued a thouſand ſo mich as they haueth. Wherof, Tobie ẏ on day whā he was wery of byrying of pore men the wich ſhuldē haue ley vnburied, and haue be etene of houndis, and foules, as caraynes, of other vnreaſonable beſtes, whan for weryneſſe he had leide him to reſte, throughe Goddis ſuffraunce the ſwallowes that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eyen, and he wext blynd. Thus it is writ of this temptation for ſoth: Therfore god ſuffred to come to him, that to them that comē after, ſhuld be geuē enſāple of pacience, as by the temptatiō of holy Iob. For ſith frō his childhod, euermore he drede God, and euer kept his heſtes: He was not agreued ayenſt God that the miſchief of blyndeneſſe fell to hym: but vnmoueable dwelled in the dread of God, thanking hym al the daies of his life. Lo that holy writ ſaith expreſly, that God ſuffered this holy man to haue that ſicknes, to geue them that ſhould come after him enſample of paciēce. Alſo other while, God ſendeth ſyckenes and tribulation to wicked men, and for two cauſes. Firſt for that they ſhould the rather dreade God, and leaue their ſinne. As it is wrytt: their ſickenes hath bene multiplied, and after they haue hyed to Godward. For we ſee oft men in ſicknes know their God, that neuer woulde haue turned to him whyle they had beene whole. Alſo God ſendeth them ſicknes oft to agaſt other men, leſt they follow their ſin. As the ſickenes of kyng of Antioche, whom God ſmote with ſuch a ſickenes, that wormes fell out of hys body whyle he liued, in ſo farforth, that he ſtank ſo foule, that his frends were ſo wearye of it, that they might not ſuffer it. And at the laſt, when he himſelfe myght not ſuffer his own ſtinch, then hee began to know him ſelfe, and ſayde: It is righefull, to be ſubiect to God, and a deadly man not to hold himſelfe onely euen with God: and the ſtory ſayth he aſked mercy of God, and made a vowe to God, that he would make the Citie of Ieruſalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens: and that he would honour Gods temple with precious ary, and multiply the holye veſſels, and finde of his owne rent and ſpenſes perteinyng to the ſacrifice. And he would become a Iew, & go ouer all the lond to preach Goddes might. And yet God gafe him not ſuch mercy as he deſired. And I trow certein that it was for good. In as much as God knew he would not afterward hold his couenaunt, or els for he axet it to late. What mede was it for him to forſake his wikednes? whan he was vnmighty to do good or euill. Neuertheles, I trow he was not dampned, in as much as he had ſuch repentaunce, for repentaunce in this life come neuer to late, if it be trew. But by this vengeaunce that God tooke on this kyng, ſhould men ſee, what it is to bee vnobedient to God. And alſo it is to take heede, that whan euer ſickenes commeth, euer it ſheweth, that he that ſuffreth this deadly, ſhall nedes dye. For though he may ſkape of hys ſicknes, yet he may not ſkape death. And ſo thou muſt needs come gyue rekenyng of thy baily. The ſecond ſomnour that ſhall clepe thee to this particuler doome, is elde or age. And the condition of hym is this, though ẏ he tary with thee, he will not leue thee, till he bryng thee to the thirde, that is death. But therbe many that though they haue this ſomnour with them, they take none hede, though they ſee ther heare hore, her back crook, her breth ſtynke, her teeth fall, her yen derk, her viſage riuely, her erene wext heuy to here. What meneth al this, but that eld ſūneth to the dome: But what more madhed may be, than a man to be cleped, & draw to ſo dredful a rekning there, where but he anſwer wel he forfeteth both body & ſoule to dānation for euer. If ſeing a litle worldly merth on the way, he thynketh ſo mekil theron, that hee forgetteth who draweth him, or whether he draweth. So doth he that is ſmiten with age & liketh ſo on the falſe worldis werche, that he forgetteth whether he is awaye: Herefore ſayth an holy doctor, that among all abuſions of ẏ world moſt is of an old mā that is obſtinat: for he thinketh not on his out goyng of this world, ne of his paſſing into the lyfe that is to come: he hereth meſſengers of deeth, and he leueth hem not, and the cauſe is this, for the threfold cord that ſuch an old mā is boūden with, is hard to breke. This cord is cuſtom, that is of thre plightes, that is, of idel thought, vnhoneſt ſpech, and wicked dede: the which if they groweth in a man from the childhod into mans age, they maketh a treble corde to bynd the old man on cuſtome of ſinne. Herefore ſaith Eſay breake the bōdes of ſinne, Thynke herefore who ſoeuer that thou be that art thus ſumned, that thou might not ſkape that thou ne ſhalt yelde the rekenyng of thy baily.

The third ſomner diſtinctio mortis. Auguſtin'.

The thyrd ſomner to this reckning, is death. And the cōditiō of him is, that whā euer he come, firſt, other the ſecond, other the laſt houre he ne ſpareth, nether power, ne yougth, ne he dredeth no thretning, ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he grāteth no reſpyt, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herfore ſeyth Seint Auſten. Well ought euery man drede the day of hys death. For in what ſtate a mans laſt day findeth hym. Whan he dyeth out of thys worlde, in the ſame ſtate he bryngeth hym to hys dome. Herfore ſeyth the wyſe man. Sonne, thinke on thy laſt day, and thou ſhalt neuer ſinne. Therfore I rede that thou think, that thou ſhalt geue reconing of thy bayly. I ſayd alſo, that there ſhalbe a nother doome to the whych all men ſhall come together, & this ſhalbe vniuerſall. And right as to the other dome, euery mā ſhall be cleped with theſe thre ſumnours: ſo to this dome all thys world ſhall be cleped with their generall clepers. And right as the other thre meſſengers tell a mans end: ſo theſe tel ẏ end of ẏ world.

The day o
iudgeme

To know
the wor
ſicknes.
Math.
ii.Tim.iii.

The firſt cleper is the worldly ſycknes, the ſecond cleper is feblenes, and the third is the ende. The ſicknes of the world thou ſhalt know by charitys acooling. His elde and febles thou ſhalt knowe by tokens fulfilling, and his end thou ſhalt knowe by Antichriſtes purſuing. Firſt I ſayd, thou ſhalt knowe the worldes ſicknes by charitye acooling. Clerkes that treate of kynde ſayne: that a body is ſicke, when his bodely heate is to lite, or when hys vnkindelye heate is to muche. Sythe then all mankynde is one bodye, whoſe kindly heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors) vnkindly heate is luſtfull loue to other creatures. When therefore thou ſeeſt that the loue of men to Godwarde and to their neyghbour is litle and faynt, and the loue of worldlye thinges and luſtes of the fleſh is great and feruent: then wyt thou well, that vnkindly heate is to great, and kindly heate is to little. That this bee acknowlich of this ſicknes, I may proue by autoritie of Chriſt. For he him ſelfe gaue them as a ſigne of the drawing to the ende of the worlde: For that wickednes ſhall be in plentee, charitie ſhall acoole. Therfore whan thou ſeeſt charitie this litle in the worlde and wickednes encreaſe: know well, that thys world paſſeth and his welth, and that thys ſomner is come. And thus ſeyth Seint Poule. Wit ye well, that in the laſte dayes ſhall come perilous times, and there ſhall be men louing them ſelfe, that is to ſay, their bodies, couetous by pryde, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynd fellons, withouten affectiō, withoutē peace, blamers, incontinent, vnmylde, withouten benignitie, traytours, rebels, ſwelling, louers of luſtes more then of God, hauyng a lykenes of pietie, and denying the vertue thereof. And theſe flee thou. If thou ſeeſt the people buſied with ſuch condicions, wyt thou well that the fyrſte ſumnour warneth all the world, that the day of reconing draweth towarde.

Luke.xii.
i.Co.x.
Chriſoſtomus,
A proper ſimilitude.
Ioachim
Maide Hildegar.
Auguſtine
Math.24.

The ſecond Sumnour, that warneth all the world, is elde of the world & his feblenes, and ſheweth tokens fulfillyng. But I know wel, ẏ we be nought ſuffiſaunt to know the times other the whiles that the fader in trinitie hath put on his owne power, to ſhew certeinly the day, yeer, other houre of this dome, ſith this knowleche was hid fro the priuey Apoſtles of Chriſt, and alſo fro Chriſts māhode as to ſhew it to vs. Natheles, we mough by authoritie of holy writ with reſons, and expoſitions of ſaints, well and openly ſhew, that this day of wrath is nygh: But yet leaſt any mā ſey in his hert as it is writē of folie bailies, that they ſhal ſeien, my Lord, that is, tarrieth to come to the dome, and vppon hope hereof he taketh to ſmite ſeruauntes and hynen of God, eate and drinke and make hym dronke: I ſhall ſhewe that this day is at the hond, howe ny neuertheles, can I not ſeie ne wole. For if Poul ſayd now for a thouſand and thre hūdred yeer and paſſed moe: we ben thilke, into whom the endis of the worlde ben come, much rather maye wee ſeie the ſame that been ſo much neer the end than he was. Alſo S. Chriſoſtome ſaith: thou ſeeſt ouer all darkeneſſe, and thou douteſt that the day is go, firſt on the valeyes is darkneſſe whan the day draweth downeward: whan therfore thou ſeeſt the valeyes I derked, why douteſt thou whether it be nigh euen, but if thou ſee the ſunne ſo lowe that derkneſſe is vpon the hilles, thou wolt ſeie douties, that it is nigh. Right ſo, if thou ſee firſt in the ſeculers & the lewed chriſten men begynneth derkneſſes of ſinnes & to haue the maiſtrie, it is token that this world endeth. But whan thou ſeeſt prieſts that ben put on the hygh toppe of ſpirituall dignities, that ſhulden be as hilles abouen the commune people in parfit lyuyng, that derkneſſe of ſinnes hath taken them: Who douteth that the world nys at the end. And alſo Abbot Ioachym in expoſition of Ieremye, ſeyth: Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200. all tymes beth ſuſpect to me, and we ben paſſed on thys ſuſpecte tyme nygh 200. yeare. Alſo mayden Hyldegare in the booke of her prophecie the thyrd partie, the xi. viſion, the vij. chapter, meueth thys reaſon. Ryght as on 7. daies God made ẏ world, ſo in 7000. yeare the world ſhall paſſe. And ryght as in the 6. daye man was made and fourmed: So in 6000. yeares he was brought agein and reformed. And as in the 7. day the world was full made and God left of hys working ryght ſo in the 7000. yeare, the number of them that ſhullen be ſaued ſhall be fulfilled, and reſt ſhall be to Seintes, full in bodye and ſoule. If that it be ſo as it ſeemeth to followe of thys maydens wordes, that 7000. in paſſing of the world accordeth to 7. dayes in hys makyng it: See what lacketh ẏ theſe 7000. yeares ne beth fulfilled. For if we reken the number of yeres fro the natiuitie of Chriſt, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world, to Chriſt, and thou wolt folowe Auſtyne, Bede, & Oroſie, & moſt probable doctors tretyng of this matter, are paſſed now almoſt, ſixe thouſand and ſixe hundred as it is open in a booke that is cleped Speculum Iudiciale. So it ſueweth, that this laſt day is more than a halfe a go, if we ſhulden geue credence to thys maydens reſun: But if we ſhull lene to the Goſpell, than we ſhall finde in the Goſpell of Mathew, that the diſciples axiden of Chriſt, thre queſtions. Firſt, what tyme the citie of Ieruſalem ſhuld be deſtroyed. The ſecōd, what tokē of his comming to the dome. And the third, what ſigne of the endyng of the world. And Chriſt gaue thē no certayne tyme of theſe thinges when they ſhoulden fall, but hee gaue them tokens, by which they might know when they drew nighe, and ſo as to the firſt queſtion of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, hee ſayd: when the Romaynes come to beſiege that Citie, then ſoone after ſhe ſhall be deſtroyed.

And as to the the ſecond and the thirde, he gaue manye tokens, that is to ſay: that realme ſhall ryſe agaynſt realme, and people agaynſt people, and peſtilences and earthquakinges, the whych we haue ſene in our dayes. But the laſt token that he gaue, was this: when ye ſeen the abhomination of elengneſſe ſayd of Daniel the prophet, ſtanding on the ſanctuarye: then who ſo readeth, vnderſtand. Upon which text, thus argueth a doctour in a boke ẏ he maketh of the end of the world. If the wordes of Daniel hauen autoritie (as God ſayth that they hauen) it ſufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the worlde, that Daniell hath wrytten. Now Daniel in the .xii. chapter, ſpeakyng of thys abhomination, putteth betwene the ceaſing of the buſy ſacrifice of the Jewes, the which fell, when by Titus and Veſpaſianus, Jeruſalem was deſtroyed, & the people of Jewes were diſparkled into all the world. And thys abhomination that doctors ſayne, ſhall be in the great Antichriſtes dayes .1290. Nowe proueth thys Doctour, that a day muſt be taken for a yeare, both by autoritie of holy wryt in the ſame place and in other, & alſo by reaſō: So it ſemeth to this clerk, that the great Antichriſt ſhoulde come in the .1400. yeare fro the byrth of Chriſt, the which nomber of yeares is nowe fulfilled, not fully .xii. yeares and a halfe lacking. And this reaſon put not I as to ſhewe any certayne tyme of his comming, ſithe I haue not that knowledge: but to ſhewe that he is nye, but howe nygh I wot neuer. But take we heede to the fourth part of the ſecond viſion of S. John put in the booke of Reuelations, in the which vnder the openyng of the .7. ſeales, is declared the ſtate of the Churche, from the tyme of Chriſt into the end of the world. The opening of the foure firſt ſeales, ſhew the ſtate of the church, fro the tyme of Chriſt, to the tyme of Antichriſt and hys foregoers, the whych is ſhewed in the opening of the other three ſeales. The opening of the firſt ſeal, telleth the ſtate of the church in the time of ẏ preaching of Chriſt & of his Apoſtles. For the firſt that is the Lyon, gaue his voyce, that betokeneth the preachers of Chriſtes reſurrection & his aſcenſion. For then yede out a whyte horſe, and hee that ſat vpon hym, had a bow in hys hand, and he yede out ouercomming to ouercome. By thys whyte hors we vnderſtand, the cleane lyfe and conuerſation that theſe preachers haden: and by the bowe, their true teachyng, pricking ſorow in mens hartes for their ſinnes withouten flattering. And they wenten out of Jewry that they comen of, ouercōming ſome of the Jewes, and maken them to leaue the truſt that they hadden in the olde lawe, and to beleue in Jeſus Chriſte, and ſhewen hys teaching. And they wenten out to ouercome the Paynems, ſhewing to them that their Images were no gods, but mēs workes, vnmighty to ſaue them ſelfe, or any other, drawing them to the beliefe of Jeſus Chriſt God and man. In the opening of the ſecond ſeale, there cryed the ſecond beaſt, that is a calfe, that was a beaſt wonted to be ſlaine, and offered to God in the old law. This ſheweth the ſtate of the churche in the tyme of Martyrs, that for their ſtedfaſt preaching of gods true law, ſhed their bloud, that is ſignified by the red hors that went out at thys ſeale openyng: and this eſtate began at Nero the curſed Emperour, and dured into the tyme of Conſtantine the great, that endowed the churche. For in this tyme, many of Chriſtes ſeruaunts, and namely the leaders of Gods flocke were ſlaine. For of .xxxiij. biſhops of Rome that wer betwene Peter and Syluester the fyrſt, I reade but of foure, but that they weren Martyrs for the lawe of Chriſt. And alſo in the tyme of Diocleſian the Emperour, the perſecution of the Chriſten men was ſo great, that in .xxx. dayes weren ſlayne .xxii. thouſande men and women in diuers countries, for the law of God.

The openyng of the third ſeal, telleth the ſtate of the churche in time of heretikis that beth figured by the blake hors, for falſe vnderſtanding of holy writte: for than cried the third beeſt that is a man, for at that tyme was it nede to preche the miſtery of Chriſtes incarnation and hys paſſion ayenſt theſe erretikis that feliden mis of theſe poyntes: how Chriſt tooke verrey mans kynde of our Lady hym beyng God as he was bifore, and his moder beyng maiden byfore and after. The opening of the fourth ſeal, telleth the ſtaat of the church in time of ypocritis, that beth ſignified by the pale hors, that beth ſignes of penaunce with outforth to blinde the peple. And he that ſat vpō this hors his name was death, for they ſhulle ſlee goſtly them that they leden, and techeth to Chriſt vpon other thing thā God: and helle folweth him, for helle receyueth thilke that theſe diſceiueth. At that time ſhall it nede, that the fourth beaſt that is the Egle make his cry, that flyeth higeſt of foules to rere vp Gods goſpel and to preiſe that law aboue other, leſt mens wit and ther traditions ouergone and treden downe the law of God by enformyng of theſe ypocritis, and this is the laſt ſtate that is other ſhall be in the church, bifore the commyng of the gret Antichriſt. The openyng of the fift ſeal, telleth the ſtaat of the church that than ſhall folow, and the deſire that louers of Goddis law ſhulleth haue after the end of this world to be deliuered of this woo. The openyng of the ſixt ſeal telleth the ſtaat of the Church, in tyme of Antichriſtis tymes, the which ſtaat ye may know to be in the church whan ye ſeeth fulfilled that S. John Prophecieth to fall on the openyng of this, where he ſayth thus. After this I ſaw foure angels ſtondyng vpon .4. corners of the erth, holdyng the .4. windes of the erth that they blowē nought vpon the earth, ne vpon the ſea, ne vpon eny tree. Theſe .4. angels beth the number of all the deuills miniſters, that on that time ſhulleth in the pleſaunce of their lord Antichriſt, ſtoppe the .4. windis that beth the iiii. Goſpels to be preched, and ſo let the breth of the grace of the holy goſt to fall vpon men mornyng for ſinne, and calling them to amendement, and to other that wolden encreſe in vertues, other vpon perfit men. What is there after this to fall, but that the miſtery of the vii. ſeale be ſhewed, that he come in his owne perſon. That Jeſu Chriſt ſhall ſlee with the ſpirite of hys mouth whan the fiend ſhall ſhew the vtmoſt perſecution, that he & his ſeruauntis may do to Chriſtis limmes, & that ſhall be the thyrd warnyng that the world ſhall haue to come to this dredfull dome.

The 7. ſeale.

In all this matter haue I nought ſeid of my ſelfe, but of other doctours ẏ beth proued. I ſeyd alſo in my ſecond principall part, that it were to wete tofore what iudge we ſhall reken. Wherfore we ſhulleth wite, that God him ſelfe ſhall here this rekening, he that ſeeth all our dedis and all our thoughtes fro the beginnyng of our lyfe to the end, and he ſhall ſhew there the hid thingis of our hert openyng to all the world the rightfulneſſes of his dome. So ẏ with ẏ might of God, euery mans dedis to all the world ſhall be ſhewed, and ſo it ſemeth by the wordes of S. John, in the boke of preuytes, there he ſeith thus. I ſaw dede men litil & grit, ſtondyng in the ſight of the throne, & bokes weren opened: & an other boke was opened ẏ was of lyfe, & dede mē werē iudged after the things ẏ weren written in the bokes after their workings. Theſe bokes beth mens cōſciēces ẏ now beth cloſed. But thā they ſhulleth be opened to all ẏ world to reden therin both dedis & thoughtes. But ẏ boke of life, is Chriſts lyuing and doctrine, that is now hid to men that ſhulleth be damned through their owne malice, that demeth men to ſerue the world, rather thā God: In the firſt boke ſhall be writ all that we haueth do, in that other boke, ſhall be write that we ſhulden haue do and than ſhulle dede men, be demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the bokis: For if the dedis that we hauen do, the which ben written in the bookis of our conſcience, bee accordyng to the books of Chriſtes techyng and his lyuing, the whiche is the booke of lyfe: we ſhulle be ſaued, and els we ſhulle be damned, for the dome ſhall be geuen after our workis. Loke therfore now what thyng is written in the booke of thy conſciēce, while thou art here: and if thou findeſt ought contrary to Chriſtus life, other to his techyng, with the knife of penaunce and repentaunce, ſcrape it away & write it better, euermore hertily thinkyng that thou ſhalt yelde rekenyng of thy bayly.

Apoca.

Alſo I ſayd principally that it were to wyte, what reward ſhall be geue on that doome, to wiſe ſeruauntes and good, and what to falſe ſeruauntes and wicked. For the whiche it is to wyte, that our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, ſhall come to the dome here into this world, in ẏ ſame body that he tooke of our Lady, hauyng theron the woundis that he ſuffred for our again bieng. And al that euer ſhullē be ſaued, takyng agayne their bodies cleuing to their hed Chriſt, ſhull be rauiſhed meting him in the ayre as Paul ſeith: They that ſhall be dāned lyuen vpon the erth, as in a tonne of wyne the dreggis dwellen byneth & the cliere wyne houeth aboue. Than ſhall Chriſt axe rekenyng of the dedis of mercy, reprouyng falſe Chriſten men for the leuyng of them, reherſing the dedis of the ſame, and other treuthis by the whiche his trewe ſeruauntis than folwid hym: than ſhulle thilke falſe ſeruantis go with the deuil, whom they haue ſerued in the erth, thē ſwallowyng into the endles fire. And rightful mē ſhullen go into euerlaſtyng lyfe, than ſhall be fulfilled that is written, in the booke of priuytees. Wo, wo, wo, to hem that dwellen in the earth. Wo to the paynyme that gafe that worſhip to dede ymagis wrought of mans hādis, and to other creatures that he ſhuld haue gone to God that hym wrought: Wo to the Jewe that truſteth ſo muchil in the law, thā ſhall he ſee Maries ſonne deming the world whom he deſpiſed and ſet on the croſſe: wo to the falſe Chriſtē man that knew the will of his Lord, and fulfilled it nought. Alſo wo for ſinne of thinkyng to thee, that thou haſt ſhyt out the meine of God, that is mynde of his paſſion, holy contemplation, of his goodneſſe & memorie of his benefites, fro the chaumber of thine herte: and haſt maad it an hous of ſwyn & a den of theues, by vnclene thoughtes & delites. As thou here haſt ſperd God out of thine hert, ſo he ſhall ſpere the out of heauē: Thou haſt herberwid the meine of the fiend, & with them in hel thou ſhalt euer abyde: wo alſo for ſinne of ſpech, for thou might nought open thy foule and ſtynkyng mouth with the which thou haſt ſpoken vnhoneſty, curſyng, fraude, deceytes, leaſynges, forſwearing, ſcorning, and backbiting, to praiſe God in the felowſhip of ſaintes. For louing is nought comelyche in mouthes of ſynners. For in the which gif thou haddeſt kept thy mouth cleane, thou ſhouldeſt haue ſongen in heauen in felowſhip of Aungels this bleſſed ſong: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, dominus Deus omnipotens. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty. Than yellyng and weeping thou ſhalt crye in company of deuils. Ve ve, ve, quantæ ſunt tenebræ. Wo, wo, wo, how great beth theſe darkenes, wo alſo for ſynne of dede. Thou haſt bene proud, thy pride ſhal be drawen to hell, as Eſay ſayth, or thou haſt bene brent with enuye of the deuyll. Enuy entred into the world, and they ſhoulen folowen him that ben on his ſyde, as Salomon ſayth. Or thou haſt be ſtired with wrath, and euerych man that beareth wrath to hys brethren, is gylty in dome, as Chriſt in the Goſpel ſaith of Mathew. Or thou haſt be ſlowe to good deedes, myſeaſe ſhall come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy pouert as man armed, as the booke of Prouerbes ſaith. Or thou haſt haunted lechery, glotonye, or couetiſe. That forſoth were ye, that euerych auouterer, or vncleane man, that is a gloton, other chynch, ſhal neuer haue heritage in the realme of Chriſt and of God, as Poul ſayth. But fyre, brimſtone, and the ſpirit of tempeſts, that is the kind of hell, ſhulen be a partie of their paine, as it is written in the Pſalter. When theſe damned men ben in this wo, they ſhulen ſyng thys reuful ſong that is written in the booke of mournyng. The ioye of our hart is ago, our quiet is turned into wo, the crowne of our heade is fallen vs fro, alas for ſynne that we haue do. But ioye and ioye, and ioye to them that be ſaued. Joy in God, ioy in them ſelfe, ioy in other that ben ſaued. Alſo ioy for their traueyle is brought to ſo gracious an end. Joy, for they ſcaped the payne of hell, ioy for the bliſſe that they han in the ſight of God, Cui ſit honor & gloria, in ſecula ſeculorum, Amen.

Note.

Concluſion

And thus much concerning thys worthye and fruitfull Sermon, which as by the auncientnes of the phraſe ſeemeth to be preached much aboute the tyme of John Wickleffe: ſo I thought here, by the occaſion of William Thorpes examination, beſt to place the ſame: for the apte coherence both of the ſpirit, and of the matter. Eſpeciallye hauing before our eyes, the publique vtilitie of the reader, to whom by the ſtudious reading therof, might riſe plentifull matter of true Chriſtian informacion, both of the wholeſome fearinge of God, and of the right guiding of euery Chriſten mans life.

Vide ſupra pag. 533.
Vrbanus 5.
Bonifacius. 9.
Innocentius. 7.
Gregorius. 12.
The Cardinalls deuiſe to ceaſe the ſchiſme.
The vowe and othe of the cardinals made for the ceaſing of the ſchiſme.
The othe and vowe of pope Gregorye. 12.

Which thus being finiſhed, now to continue and to proceede further in our ſtory, after the examination of W. Thorpe, and the martirdome of W. Sawtrey, and of John Badby thus diſcribed (as ye haue hard) whiche was about the yeare. 1409: By the way here is to be cōſidered, at leaſt to be admoniſhed, that all thys while the ſchiſme in the church of Rome did yet continue, and ſo endured till the councell of Conſtance, whiche was in whole, the ſpace of. xxix. yeares. The origen wherof (as was ſayd. pag. 533) firſt beganne at Vrbanus. 5. Which Vrbanus being dead, an. 1389, next folowed Pope Boniface the. 9. who ſat. 14. yeares. He in ſelling his pardons was ſo impudent & ſo paſt ſhame, that he brought the keyes of Peter (as ſayth Platina) in contempt. After him ſucceeded Innocentius. 7. & ſat. 2. yeares: who being dead, the Cardinals conſulting together, and ſeyng the foule enormitie and inconuenience growing vpon this contentious ſchiſm in their church of Rome (minding to prouide ſome remedie for the ſame after the beſt deuiſe they could) in their conclaue where they were aſſembled for a new election of the pope, tooke this order: promiſing emong thēſelues, with a ſolemne vow made to God, to Mary the bleſſed virgin, to Peter and Paul, & to all the bleſſed companye of ſaintes: That if any of thē within ỹ college or wͭout the college, ſhould be called to that high place of Apoſtolicall preeminence: he ſhould effectually renounce the iuriſdiction & title of his Popedome, if or whenſoeuer the contrary Pope for the tyme being, would in like manner renounce hys place and title, & his cardinals in like manner to condeſcende to the other cardinals of Rome. So that both theſe. ii. colledge of Cardinals agreing together: one chiefe biſhop myght be choſen and taken out of thē both, to be made the true Pope. Prouided moreouer, that none ſhould ſeeke anye releaſement or abſolucion from the ſayd promiſe, vow, & bond, once paſſed emōg them: Unto all which things furthermore, euery one ſubſcribed with his hand. Theſe thinges thus prefixed and ratified vpon the ſame, they proceeded to the election. In which was choſen Gregorius the. xii. who the ſame day of hys election, in the preſence of all the Cardinals: confirmed ỹ vow, ſacramēt, and promiſe made, ſubſcribing the ſame with his hande in forme as foloweth. And I Gregory, this day being the laſt of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord, 1407. choſen and elected for biſhop of Rome: do ſweare, vow, and promiſe, & confirme all the premiſſes, aboue cōteined, &c. This being done, ſhortly after he was crowned being of the age of 80. yeres. As the time thus paſſed, the people and Cardinals were in great expectacion, waiting when the Pope according to his othe woulde geue ouer, wyth the other Pope alſo. And not long after, the matter begā in dede betwen the. ii. popes to be attēpted, by letters frō one to another: aſſignyng both day & place, where & whē they ſhould meete together: but yet no effect did folow.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.
The pope falſly periured. Cardinals leaue the periured pope.

This ſo paſſing on, greate murmuring was emong the Cardinals, to ſee theyr holy periured father, ſo to neglect his othe, and vow aforenamed. Inſomuche that at length, diuers of them did forſake the pope, as being periured (as no les he was) ſending moreouer to kinges and princes of other lands, for their counſell and aſſiſtaunce therin, to appeace the ſchiſme. Amongſt ỹ reſt, Cardinall Bituricenſis was ſent to the kyng of Englād: who publiſhyng diuers propoſitions and concluſiōs (remaining in the regiſters of Thomas Arūdel) diſputeth, that the pope ought to be ſubiect to lawes and councels. Then K. Henry (moued to write to Gregory the Pope) directeth thys letter here vnder inſuing, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1409. The contentes of the letter be theſe.

1409.

☞The letter of K. Henry. 4. to Pope Gregory. 12.

King He ry 4 to Pope Gre gory 12.
11. hūdre thouſand ſlaine, by the ſciſm of Rome. xxx. thou ſand ſlain in camp fighting f the biſhop prick of L odium.

MOſt bleſſed father, If the diſcrete prouidence of the Apoſtolique ſea, woulde call to minde, wyth what great perils the vniuerſall worlde hath bene damnified hetherto, vnder pretence of thys preſente ſchiſme: and eſpecially would conſider, what ſlaughter of Chriſtē people, to the number of. ii. hundreth thouſand (as they ſay) hath bene throughe the occaſion of warre rayſed vp in diuers quarters of the world, and nowe of late, to the number of. xxx. thouſande ſouldiours whiche haue bene ſlayne through the diſſenſion moued aboute the biſhopricke of Leodium, betwene two ſet vp: one by the autority of one Pope, the other by the authority of the other pope, fighting in campe for the title of that Biſhoprike: Certes ye woulde lament in ſpirit, and be ſore greued in mind for the ſame. So that, with good cōſciēce you would relinquiſh rather the honor of the ſea Apoſtolike, then to ſuffer ſuch horrible bloudſhed hereafter to enſue, vnder the cloke of diſſimulation, folowing herin the example of the true mother in the booke of kings: who pleading before Salomon for the right of her childe, rather would depart from the childe, then the childe ſhould be parted by the ſword. And although it may be vehemently ſuſpected by the new creatiō of. ix. Cardinals, by you laſt made, cōtrary to your othe (as other men do ſay) that you do but little hede or care for ceaſing the ſchiſme: Yet far be it frō the hearing & noting of the world, that your circumſpect ſeate ſhould euer be noted and diſteined with ſuch an inconſtancy of mind: whereby the laſt error may be worſe, then the firſt. Ex Chronic D. Albani. part. 2.

King Henry. 4. to the Cardinals.

King He ry 4. to Cardina

AND to the Cardinals likewiſe, the ſaid king directeth an other letter with theſe cōtents here folowing: we deſiringe to ſhewe what zeale we haue had and haue, to the reformation of the peace of the church: by the conſent of the ſtates of the realme, haue directed to the biſhop of Rome, our letters after the tenour of the copie here with in theſe preſēts encloſed, to be executed effectually. wherfore, we ſeriouſly beſech your reuerend colledge, that if it chaunce the ſayd Gregory to be preſent at the councell of Piſe, and to render vp his Popedome, according to your deſire, and his owne othe: you then ſo ordein for his ſtate totally, that chiefly God may be pleaſed therby, and that both the ſayd Gregory, and alſo we which loue intierley his honour and commoditie, may haue cauſe to geue you worthely, condigne thankes for the ſame. ibid.

Concili Piſan
Ex chro d. Alb
1410.
Concili Piſanu
Pope Ale ander. 5.
iii. Popes together.
The vai remiſſio by the Popes indulgence.
Pope Ale ander dea
Pope Iohn. 23.

This being done in the yeare of our Lord. 1409. afterward in the yeare next folowing an. 1410. the Cardinals of both the Popes, to witte, of Gregorius, and Benedictus: By common aduiſe aſſembled together at the city of Piſe, for the reformation of vnitye & peace in the church. To the which aſſemblye, a greate multitude of Prelates & biſhops beinge conuented, a newe Pope was choſē, named Alexāder. 5. But to this electiō neither Gregorius, nor Benedictus did fully agree. Wherby, there were. iii. Popes together in the Romane church (that is to vnderſtand) not. iii. crownes vpon one Popes heade, but. iii. heades in one popiſh church together. This Alexander being newly made Pope, ſcarſely had well warmed his triple crowne: but ſtrayght geueth out full remiſſion, not of a few, but of all maner of ſinnes whatſoeuer: to all them that conferred any thinge to the monaſtery of S. Bartlemew by Smithfielde, reſortinge to the ſayd church anye of theſe dayes folowinge: to witte, on Maundy thurſday, good friday, Eſter euen, ỹ feaſt of the annunciation, frō the firſt euenſong, to the latter. But this Pope which was ſo liberall in geuing remiſſion of many yeares to other, was not able to geue one year of life to himſelfe: for wythin the ſame yeare, he died. In whoſe ſteed ſtept vp, Pope John. 23.

In the tyme of thys Alexander, great ſtyrre beganne in the countrye of Bohemia, by ỹ occaſion of ỹ bokes of

Iohn Wickleffe, whych then comming to the handes of Iohn Huſſe, and of other both men and women, eſpecially of the lay ſorte, and artificers: beganne there to doo much good. In ſo much, that diuers of them not onelye men, but women alſo, partly by readyng of thoſe bokes trãſlated into theyr tounge, partly by ẏ ſetting forward of Iohn Huſſe, a notable learned man, and a ſyngular preacher at ẏ tyme in the Uniuerſitie of Prage: were in ſhort tyme ſo rype in iudgement, and prompt in ẏ ſcriptures, that they beganne to moue queſtions, yea and to reaſon wyth the prieſtes, touching matters of the ſcriptures. By reaſon whereof, complaynt was brought to the ſayde Pope Alexander the fift, who cauſed eftſoones the forenamed Iohn Huſſe to bee cited vppe to Rome. But when he came not at the Popes citation, thẽ the ſayde Pope Alexander addreſſed hys letters to the Archbiſhop of Suinco. Wherein he ſtraightlye charged hym to prohibite and forbyd, by the autoritie Apoſtolicall, all maner of preachynges or ſermons to bee made to the people, but onely in Cathedrall churches or Collegies, or pariſhe churches, or in Monaſteries, or els in theyr churchyardes. And that the articles of Wickleffe, ſhould in no caſe of any perſon of what ſtate, condition, or degree ſoeuer, be ſuffered to be hold, taught, or defended, either priuely or apertly. Commaunding moreouer and chargyng the ſayd Archbiſhop, that hee wyth foure Bachelers of Diuinitie, and two Doctors of the Canon law ioyned vnto him: woulde proceede vpon the ſame, and ſo prouide, that no perſon in churches, ſcholes, or any other place, ſhould teache, defende, or approue any of the foreſayde Articles. So that who ſoeuer ſhoulde attempt the contrary, ſhoulde be accounted an hereticke. And vnles he ſhall reuoke ſolemnlye and publikelye the ſayd articles, and ſhall for euer abiure the bookes wherin the foreſayd articles be contayned, ſo that they may be vtterlye aboliſhed out from the eyes of the faythfull: the ſame to be apprehended and impriſoned, all appellation ſet apart, the helpe alſo of the ſecular arme beyng called thereunto, if neede ſhall require. &c. Theſe were the contentes of thys myghtye and fierce bull of Pope Alexander.

Agaynſt the whych bull on the other ſide Iohn Huſſe iuſtly cõplaynyng, excepteth agayne and obiecteth many thynges, as appeareth in his booke intituled De Eccleſia, cap 18. Where hee declareth thys mandate of the Pope to ſtand directly agaynſt the doyngs and ſayings both of Chriſt, and of hys Apoſtles: Conſideryng, howe Chriſt hym ſelfe preached to the people, both in the ſea, in the deſert, in fieldes, in houſes, in Sinagogs, in vyllagies: and the Apoſtles alſo in all places dyd the ſame, the Lord mightely working with them. He declared moreouer, the ſayd mandate or bull of the Pope, to redounde vnto the great detriment of the churche, in byndyng the word of God, that it myght not haue hys free paſſage. Alſo, the ſame to be preiudiciall vnto Chappels newlye erected for the woorde of God to bee preached in them. Wherefore (ſayth hee) from thys commaundement or mandate of Pope Alexander &c. I dyd appeale vnto the ſayd Alexander, being better informed and aduiſed. And as I was perſecuting my appeale, the Lord Pope (ſaith Iohn Huſſe) immediatly dyed.

Then the Archbiſhop of Suinco aforeſayd, to whom thys preſent bull was directed, when he ſawe the proceſſe, buls, and mandates of the Biſhop of Rome, to bee thus contemned of Iohn Huſſe, and hys felowes, neyther hauyng anye hope of redreſſe in Wenceſlaus the kyng: which ſemed to neglect ẏ matter, went out of his cõtrey into Hungary, to cõplain vnto Sigiſmond, king of Hungary, and brother to the ſayd Wenceſlaus. But thys quarelyng Archbiſhop, whether before (as the Bohemians ſay) or after (as Syluius ſayth) that hee had ſpoken with Sigiſmond; immediately there (by the iuſt iudgement of God) dyed in Hungary, as the ſtory ſayth for ſorrow. Wherby, a litle more liberty and quiet was geuen by the Lord vnto hys Goſpell, newly begynning to take roote among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquilitie there, did not long continue wythout trouble & perſecution, neyther could it in thoſe furious dayes and raygne of Antichriſt. For after thys Alexander aforeſayde, ſucceded Pope Iohn. xxiij. Who likewiſe playing hys part in thys tragedy, bent all hys might and mayne to diſturbe the Bohemians, as more hereafter (Chriſt wyllyng) ſhall be declared in further proces of our hiſtorye, comming to the yeare of our Lord. 1413.

The goſpell ſelden tymes long quiet.

Pope Iohn. 23.

Thus the poore Chriſtians (as ye ſee) lyke to the ſely Iſraelites vnder the tyranny of Pharao, were infeſted and oppreſſed in euery place, but eſpecially here in England: and that ſo muche the more here, becauſe that the kyng not lyke to Wenceſlaus, went ful & whole within the Pope and hys prelates agaynſt the Goſpellers. By reaſon whereof, the kyngdome of the Pope and his mẽbers here in thys realm began to be ſo ſtrong, that none durſt ſtyrre or once mute agaynſt them. The biſhops hauing ẏ K. ſo ful on theyr ſide, armed moreouer wͭ lawes, ſtatutes, puniſhmẽts, impriſonmẽts, ſword, fire & fagot: reigned & ruled as they lyſted, as kings & princes within them ſelues. So ſtrong were they of power, that no humayne force was able to ſtand agaynſt thẽ: ſo exalted in pryde, and puft vp in glory, that they thought all things to be ſubiect to their reuerent maieſties. What ſoeuer they ſet forth or decreed, it muſt of all men be receaued and obeyed. And ſuch was theyr ſuperſtitious blindnes and curious vanitie, that whatſoeuer toy came once in their phantaſie: it was ſtrayghtwayes determined & ſtabliſhed for a law of all men to be obſerued, were it neuer ſo friuolous or ſuperſtitious. As well appeareth by T. Arundell, archbiſhop of Canterbury and other, who hauyng now a lytle layſure from ſlaying and kyllyng the innocent people, martyrs and confeſſors of the Lorde, & hauing now brought their enemies (as they thought) vnder feete: began to ſet vp them ſelues, and to inuent new cuſtomes, as the guiſe is of the Popes church, euer to intrude into the church of God, ſome ceremony or cuſtome of their own making, wherbi the church of Chriſt hath bene hetherto exceedinglye peſtered. So lykewyſe thys Tho. Arundell, thynkyng the churche yet not ſufficiently ſtuffed with ceremonies and vaine traditions of men: bryngeth in a new found gaud, commonlye called the tollyng of Aues, in honour of our Ladye, with certayn Aues to be ſayd, and dayes of pardon to be geuen for the ſame. For the ratification wherof, vnder the pretence of the kynges requeſt, he directed hys mandate to the biſhop of London, well ſtuffed with wordes of idolatrie, as by the readyng thereof maye appeare, in forme of termes as foloweth.

The pryde and glory of the clergy of England in thoſe dayes.

21. dayes of pardon geuen by Tho Arundel Archbiſh.

¶ *A mandate of Thomas Arundell, directed to the B. of London,* to warne men to ſay certayne prayers at the tollyng of the Aues, or ryngyng of Curphew.

Ringing of Curphew.

Thomas. &c. To the right reuerende our brother, the Lord Robert, by the grace of God biſhop of Londõ, greeting. &c. Whyle we lyft vp our eyes rounde aboute vs, & behold attentiuely with circumſpect conſideratiõ, how the moſt hygh woorde that was in the begynnyng wyth God, choſe to hym an holye and immaculate vyrgyn, of the kyngly ſtocke: in whoſe wombe he toke true fleſh by inſpirall inſpiration, that the mercyful goodnes of the ſonne of God that was vncreate, myght abolyſhe the ſentence of condemnation, which all the poſteritye of mankinde that was created, had by ſinne incurred: Amongſt other labours in the vyne of the Lord of Sabaoth, we ſoonge to God our ſauiour wͭ great ioy in him: carefullye thynking, ẏ though all the people of the chriſtian religion dyd extoll wyth voyces of prayſes ſo worthy a virgin, by whom we receyued the beginninges of our redemption, by whom the holye daye firſt ſhined to vs, whych gaue vs hope of ſaluation. And althoughe all the ſame people were drawen to reuerence her, whyche being a happy virgin, conceyued the ſonne of God, the kyng of heauen, the redemer and ſauiour of al nations, miniſtring lyghte to the people that were myſerablye drowned in the darkenes of death: We truly as the ſeruaunts of her own * inheritance, and ſuch as are written of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are by euerye mans confeſſion acknowledged to be: we I ſaye ought more watchfully thẽ any others, to ſhew the endeuours of our deuotion in prayſing her. Who beyng hytherto mercyfull to vs, yea being euen cowardes, woulde that our power being, as it were, ſpred abroade euery where through all the coſtes of the world, ſhould with a victorious arme, feare all foreyne nations. That our power being on all ſides ſo defended with the buckler of her protection, did ſubdue vnto our victorious ſtanderdes, and made ſubiect vnto vs, nations both neare at hande, and farre of. Lykewyſe, our happye eſtate (all the tyme that we haue paſſed ſince the begynning of our lyues) maye be well attributed onely to the helpe of her medicine: to whom alſo we maye woorthely aſcribe nowe of late in theſe our tymes vnder the mightye gouernment of our moſt Chriſtian kyng, our deliueraunce from the rauenyng wolues, and the mouthes of cruell beaſtes: whych had prepared againſt our bãkets, a meſſe of meate mingled ful of gal, ⁊ hated vs vniuſtly, ſecretly lying in wait for vs, in recõpence of the good wil ẏ we ſhewed to thẽ. Wherfore, that ſhe being on high ſitting before ẏ throne of the heauenly maieſtye, the defendreſſe and patroneſſe of vs all, being magnified with all mens prayſes: maye more plentifully exhibite to vs, the ſonnes of adoption, the teates of her * grace, in al thoſe things that we ſhall haue to do. At the requeſt of the ſpeciall deuotion of our Lorde the king himſelfe, we commaunde your brotherhoode, ſtraightly enioyning you: that you commaunde the ſubiectes of your city and dioceſſe, and of all other ſuffraganes, to worſhip our Lady Mary the mother of God, and our * patroneſſe and protectreſſe, euermore in all aduerſity: with ſuch like kind of prayer and accuſtomed maner of ringing, as the deuocion of Chriſts faithfull people is wont to worſhip her at ẏ ringing of coure le feu. And when before day in the morninge ye ſhall cauſe them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing, ſhe be euery where honoured deuoutlye by the aforeſayd our and your ſuffragans, and theyr ſubiectes aſwell religious as ſeculer, in your and theyr monaſteries and collegiat churches: That we ſo humbly calling vpon the mercye of the heauenly father, the right hand of the heauenly piety, may mercifully come to the helpe the protection and defence of the ſame our Lorde the king, who for the happy remedy of quietnes, and for our ſuccour from tempeſtuous floudes, is readye to applye his hands to worke, and his eyes wyth all hys whole deſire to watching. We therfore coueting more earneſtlye to ſtirre vp the mindes of all faythfull people to ſo deuout and excerciſe of God. ⁊c: We graunt by theſe preſents, to all and euery man. ⁊c, that ſhall ſay the Lords prayer and the ſalutation of the Aungell fiuetymes at the mornyng peale, with a deuout minde totiens quotiẽs (how oft ſoeuer) xl. dayes of pardon, by theſe preſentes. Geuen vnder our ſeale in our maner of Lambeth, the x. day of Februarye. an. noſtræ trãſ. 9. Ex Regiſt. Th. Arũdell.

*If this be not blaſphemous and derogatory to Chriſt: let the reader iudge.

These men make a Bellona of our lady.

Falſe help ſought, and ſet vp of Idolaters.

* The papiſtes would ſucke our Ladyes pappes.

* Will you ſtãd to thys doctrine ye catholiques.

*Popyſh blaſphemie fightyng againſt the grace of Chriſt.

Ryngyng of Curphew.

xl. dates pardõ, for v. Aues.

By this friuolous and barbarous conſtitution with many other of lyke ſorte, heaped into the churche by the Papiſtes: appeareth the proper nature and condition of this catholike generation. Who beyng them ſelues not greatly exerciſed not experienced in any ſerious cogitation of ſpirituall matter (as ſemeth) take vpon thẽ to gouerne the ſpirituall church of Chriſt, whereof in dede they haue no ſkill or very litle. And therefore accordyng to their vnſkilfull handlyng, they lede and rule the churche after ſuch outward ſightes and ceremonies, ſemely perhaps to their owne groſſe affectiõ: but not agreyng (nay rather cleane contrary) to the ryght nature and condition, of the ſpirituall houſe and kyngdome of the Lord. And lyke as in their inuentiõs they ſwarue vtterly from the right handlyng of all ſpirituall gouernement: ſo in their maners ⁊ forme of lyfe lykewiſe, they do reſẽble little or no part almoſt, of ſuch as are ⁊ ought to be, true paſtours ⁊ miniſters of the miſticall body of Chriſt. Exãples hereof are plentie and playne, in theſe Romane prelates to be noted: who ſo well conſideryng the humble ſtate and lowly ſpirite which ought to be in paſtorall leaders of the churche, will compare the ſame with the vſual pomp of theſe glorious poteſtates. As for example, what can be more cõuenient for a true paſtor eccleſiaſticall, then humilitie of hart ⁊ ſpirite, accordyng to the exãple of ẏ head Byſhop hymſelf? So, what greater ſhewe of arrogance ⁊ pryde could there be, then in this: whõ I haue oft named before, Tho. Arundell, Archb. of Cant. who paſſing by ẏ high ſtreat of Londõ, did not only loke ⁊ waite for ẏ ringing of ẏ belles, for a triumph of his cõming, but toke great ſnoffe ⁊ did ſuſpend, all ſuch churches in Londõ (not only wᵗ the ſteple ⁊ bells, but alſo with the organes) ſo many as dyd not receaue hys comminge with the noyſe of belles: accordyng as out of his own regiſters may appeare, the wordes wherof written to hys own Somner, I haue hereto annexed, in hys own forme as foloweth.

Heaping vp ceremonyes in the church.

The po of the popes Church ted.

¶ A Commiſſion directed to the Somner, to ſuſpend certaine Churches of London, becauſe they ronge not their Belles, at the preſence of my Lord the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury.

Thomas by the permiſſion of God, ⁊c. To our welbeloued Thomas Wilton, our Somner ſworne, helth grace, and bleſſing. The comelynes of our holy Churche of Caunterbury, ouer whiche we beare rule: deſerueth ⁊ requireth, that while we paſſe thoroughe the prouince, of the ſame our Churche (hauyng our Croſſe caried before vs) euery pariſhe churche in their turnes, ought and are boũden in tokẽ of ſpeciall reuerẽce ẏ they beare to vs, to ringe their bels. Which notwithſtãdyng, ye on Tueſday laſt paſt, whẽ we betwixt viij. ⁊ ix. of ẏ clock before diner, paſſed openly on foote as it were, through the middeſt of the Citie of London, with our Croſſe caried before vs: Diuers churches whoſe names are here beneath noted, ſhewed towardes vs willyngly (though they certainely knew of our cõming) vnreuerẽce rather then reuerence, and the dutie that they owe to our Churche of Canterbury, ringyng not at all at our comming. Wherfore, we beyng willyng to reuenge this iniurie, * for ẏ honour of our ſpouſe as we are bounden: commaunde you, that by our anthoritie, you put all theſe Churches vnder our interditement, ſuſpending Gods holy organes and inſtrumentes in the ſame. Whiche we alſo ſuſpend by the tenour of theſe preſentes, till the miniſters of the aforeſayd Churches be able hereafter to attayne of vs the benefite of more plentifull grace. Geuen. ⁊c.

Church of Lon ſuſpend for not ing at t cõming the Ar

*Oh rious mies Chriſt humili

What great reaſon was in this, why this Archbiſhop either ſhould thus looke for the ringyng of the belles, or why hee ſhould be ſo diſpleaſed with not ryngyng, I do not ſee. Belike his minde in the meane tyme was greatly occupyed with ſome great muſe, as feelyng of Gods feare, with repentaunce ⁊ remembraunce of his ſinnes, with zelous care and ſollicitude for his flocke, with the earneſt meditation of the paſſiõ and lyfe of our ſauiour, who in this world was ſo deſpiſed: or els was ſet vpon ſome graue ſtudy, while he ſo waited for the ryngyng of the belles, whiche are wont to be ſo noyſome to all ſtudentes. And why were not the trumpeters alſo ſhent as well, becauſe they did not ſound before his perſon? But and though ẏ bels did not clatter in ẏ ſteples, & therfore his thunderbolt ſhould haue fallẽ vpon ẏ ſteples which had deſerued: why ſhould ẏ body of the church therfore be ſuſpẽded? At leaſt, ẏ poore organes (me thinketh) had ſome part of wrong to be put to ſilẽce in the quiere, becauſe the belles range not in the tower.

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lles did
t ring.

Of the like matter alſo we read in the ſayd regiſters, falling betwene ẏ Biſhop of Worceſter, and the Priory of the ſame town, for not ringing at ẏ Biſhops commyng into ẏ church. Wherupõ much ſute and cõtention was betwen thẽ, till at lẽgth the Archbyſhop of Cant. tooke vp the matter, moderating it, as in ẏ ſayd regiſters. fol. 441. appeareth to be ſeene as followeth.

x Regiſt
ho. A-
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e biſhops
mming.

VNiuerſis &c. Thomas. &c. where as there hapned varience lately betwene our reuerẽd brother ẏ lord B. of Worceſter on ẏ one party, & the religious & diſcrete men, the Prior and couent of the ſame church on the other party, for not ringing of bels at the comming of our ſayd brother to his foreſaid church, at length the parties (cõſidering the great inconuenience, that might come thereof) at our inſtance and requeſt did agree on this maner: that as oftẽ as it ſhall happen our reuerẽd brother to go to his aforeſaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to viſite his church in the head or in the inferiors, or to make creme and oyle in the ſame church: alſo in the feaſt of the Aſſumptiõ of the bleſſed virgine Mary, which is the chiefeſt feaſt in ẏ Abbey aforeſaid: thẽ ẏ Priour & the couẽt, & their ſucceſſors for the tyme beyng, ſhall ring ſolemly agaynſt hys commyng or ſhall cauſe to be ronge ſolemnly, without all contradiction or any reclayming hereafter to be made agaynſt the ſame. Which agreement, that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all vnderſtand by theſe preſentes, ſealed with our ſeale. Geuen at our palace of Canterbury, xij. July the x. yeare of our gouernement.

The like ſtirre for belryngyng and for proceſſions had almoſt happened betwen the Archbiſhop of Cant. ſucceſſor to this Tho. Arundell, named Henr. Chicheley on ẏ one party, & the Abbey of S. Albons on ẏ other partie, had not the Abbat in time ſubmitting himſelfe to the Archbiſhop ſo prouided, that the ringing of theyr belles at his cõming might not redound to any derogatiõ of their liberties. Wherunto the Archbiſhop grãted by theſe his letters, as followeth.

nging in
Archb.
b. Al.

HEnry &c. to the religious men, the Abbat and couẽt of the monaſtery of S. Albons in the dioces of Lyncolne, health &c. when as of late there hapned a matter of variance betwene vs, and you the Abbat and Couẽt, by reaſon of not geuing reuerẽce to vs, beyng due to our prouince of Canterb. that is, for not ringing the belles and meting vs with proceſſions when we paſſed by diuers places of our prouince, aſwell due of common cuſtome as of old vſe, and for the prerogatiue of the church of Cãterbury, as alſo being due of euery one being with in the compaſſe of this our ſayd prouince, when & as oftẽ as we ſhall paſſe by their places: at lẽgth you Lord Abbat (comming perſonally to vs) did graunt, both for you and the Couent aforeſayd, to do and to geue of your gẽtlenes all reuerence and honour, with ſuch reuerẽce both to vs & our church of Canterbury, as often as we paſſe by your monaſtery, or ẏ places nigh or adioynyng thereto, or ſhal hereafter go by: So that it might not be preiudiciall to your exemption and nothing be attempted to ẏ violating of your priuiledge: and that it might not be chalenged for duety hereafter. Wherefore, we deſiring to keepe you frõ damage, let you vnderſtand by theſe preſẽts, that it is not our entẽt to derogate your exemptiõs or priuiledge whatſoeuer herein: nor by any meanes to be preiudiciall to you by theſe your reuerences or other duties, whatſoeuer you haue or ſhall grãt to vs of your deuotion & liberalitie, both by you, and in places vnder your dominion. In witnes whereof &c. Dated xxviij. of January. 1425. at S. Albons, the xij. yeare of our gouernement.

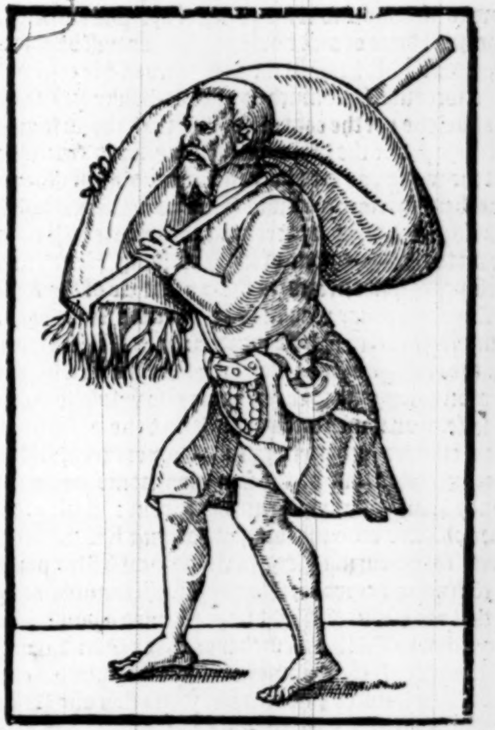
x Re-
ſ. Hen.
hicheley
l. 165.

To expreſſe moreouer & deſcribe the glorious pompe of theſe princelike prelates in theſe blinde dayes of Popiſhe religion reignyng thẽ in the church: I thought to adioyne hereunto an other example not much vnlike, neither differing much in tyme, concerning certayne poore men cited vp, and enioyned ſtraite penaunce by W. Courtney predeceſſour of the ſayd Thomas Arundell, for bringing litter to his horſe, not in waynes as they ſhould do, but in priuy ſackes, in a ſecrete manner vnder their clokes or coates. For the which ſo heynous and horrible treſpaſſe, the ſaid Archbiſhop ſitting in his tribunall ſeate, did cal and cite before hym the ſaid perſons (pro litera. i. for lytter, after his owne latine) and after their ſubmiſſion enioyned them penance. Which penance, what it was, and what were ẏ names of the foreſayd parties, here followeth out of the ſayd Archbiſhops Regiſters, both by his owne wordes, and by picture of the perſons in the ſame regiſters annexed and painted, in all reſemblaunce, as there ſtandeth and here is alſo to be ſeene.

W. Courtney Archbiſhop of Cant.

Ex. Regiſt. W. Courtney.

¶ *A deſcription of the poore men doyng their penaunce, with their ſtraw on theyr backe.*



The picture of them drawen in all proportion according to the exemplar ſtanding in the Regiſter.

ERroris mater ignorãtia, quoſdam Hugonem Pennie, Iohãnem Forſtall, Iohannem Boy, Iohãnem Wanderton, Willielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, Tenentes domini de Wengã taliter obcœcauit, quòd ante aduentum dicti domini Archiepiſcopi ad palatium ſuum Cãtuariæ in vigilia dominice in ramis palmarum, anno domini milleſimo trecenteſimo nonageſimo, de cariando & ducendo ad dictum palatiũ, fœnum, ſtramẽ, ſiue literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura ſuorum quas & quæ tenent de domino & eccleſia ſua Cantuariæ aſtringuntur per balliuum domini ibidem iuſsi & legitime præmoniti debita ſeruitia more ſolito impendere dedignantes, ſtramen huiuſmodi non in carrucis & vehiculis publice in ſufficienti quantitate, ſed modice in ſaccis ſub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt, in vilipendium domini ac ſubtractionem iurium eccliſiæ ſuæ Cantuar. Vnde ſuper hoc euocati corã domino, die Iouis in hebdomada Paſchæ in caſtro ſuo de Statewode pro tribunali ſedente perſonaliter comparentes, ipſius iudicio in hac parte ſe humiliter ſubmiſerunt, veniam & miſericordiã pro commiſſis deuote petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forſtall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Willielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, de ſtando mandatis eccleſiæ, & fideliter paragendo pœnam eis pro eorum demeritis iniungendam, iuratos abſoluit in forma iuris, nunciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœna ſalutari: videlicet, quòd die dominica tunc proximè ſequente, prædicti pœnitẽtes nudi capita & pedes, proceſsionem apud eccleſiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum ſingulis ſaccis ſuper humeris ſuis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & ſtramine) ita quòd ſtramen & fœnum huiuſmodi ad ora ſaccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis inceſsibus procederent humiliter & deuotè. In Engliſh.

Ex Regiſtro W. Courtney.

Marke ye Grammarians *litera* for littour.

IGnoraunce the mother of errour ſo much hath blinded and deceaued certaine perſons, to wytte, Hugh Penny, John Forſtal, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney Arch. Cant.

Penaunce enioyned for bringing ſtraw to my L. horſe.

white, tenauntes of the Lord of Wengham: that agaynſt the commyng of the aforeſayd Archbyſhop to hys palace of Canterbury on Palmes Sonday euen, the yeare of our Lord. 1390. where they beyng warned by the Baylife, to conuey and cary hay, ſtraw, and other littour to the aforeſayd palace, as they were bounde by the tenour of their landes, which they hold of ỹ ſea of Canterbury: refuſing and diſdaynyng to do theyr due ſeruice, as they were accuſtomed, brought theyr ſtraw and other littour, not in cartes and waynes openly and ſufficiently, but by peece meale, and cloſely in bagges or ſackes, in contempt of theyr Lord & derogation of the right and title of the ſea of Canterbury. Wherupon they beyng aſcited and preſented before the Archbyſhop, ſittyng in iudgement at hys manour of Statewood, yelded and ſubmitted them ſelues to hys Lordſhyps pleaſure, humbly crauyng pardon of theyr treſpas. Then the aforeſayd Archbyſhop abſolued the aboue named Hugh Penny. &c. they ſwearyng to obey the lawes and ordinaunces of holy Church, and to do the puniſhment that ſhould be appoynted them for their deſertes, that is: that they going layſurely before the proceſſion, euery one of them ſhould cary openly on hys ſhoulder, hys bag ſtuffed with hay and ſtraw, ſo that the ſayd hay and ſtraw ſhould appeare hāging out, the mouthes of the ſackes beyng open.

Excommunication & abſolution abuſed.

❡ Notes of certayne parlament matters paſſed in thys kynges dayes.

Notes of this kyngs Parliamentes.

To procéede now further in ỹ raygne of thys kyng, and to intreate alſo ſome thyng of hys Parlaments, as we haue done of other before, firſt we will begin with the Parliamēt holdē in the firſt yeare of his cōming in.

Moreouer, forſomuch as our Catholike papiſts will not beleue yet the contrary, but that the iuriſdiction of their father the Pope hath euer extēded throughout all the world, as well here in England as in other places; here therfore ſpeaking of the parlaments holdē in thys kinges dayes concerning thys matter, I referre them to the parlament of the ſayd kyng Henry in hys firſt yeare holden, and to the 27. article of the ſame. Where they may read in the x. obiection layde agaynſt king Richard in playne wordes: how that forasmuch as the crowne of thys Realme of England, & the iuriſdiction belongyng to the ſame, as alſo ỹ whole Realme it ſelfe, at all tymes lately paſt, hath bene at ſuch lybertie, & enioyed ſuch prerogatiue, that neyther the Pope, nor any other out of the ſame kyngdome ought to intrude hymſelfe, nor intermedle therein: it was therefore obiected vnto the forenamed kyng Richard the ſecond for procuring ỹ letters Apoſtolical frō the pope, to ỹ cōfirming & corroborating of certain ſtatutes of hys, & that his cenſures might be proſecuted againſt ỹ breakers thereof. Which ſemed then to the Parlament, to tende agaynſt the crowne and regall dignitie, as alſo againſt the ſtatutes & liberties of ỹ ſaid this our Realme of England. Act. Parl. an. 1. Reg. Hērici. 4. Act. 27.

The popes iuriſdiction excluded out of this realme.

Ex Anno. 1. Reg. Hērici. 27.

Furthermore, in the ſecond yeare of the ſayd kyng this was in ỹ Parlamēt required, that all ſuch perſons as ſhalbe areſted by force of the ſtatute made agaynſt the Lolardes in ỹ 2. yeare of Henry 4. may be bayled, and fréely make their purgation: That they be areſted by none other then by the Sheriffes or ſuch like officers, neyther that any hauocke be made of their goods. The kyng graunted to take aduiſe therein.

An. II. Reg. Henri. 4. act. 4. act. 29.

In the viij. yeare moreouer of thys kinges reigne, it was likewiſe propoūded in the Parlamēt, that all ſuch perſons as ſhall procure or ſue in ỹ court of Rome any proces touching any benefice, collatiō, or preſentatiō of the ſame, ſhal encurre ỹ payne of ỹ ſtatute of prouiſors, made in the 13. yeare of Richard. 2. whereunto the kyng graunted, that the ſtatutes herefore prouided, ſhould be obſerued.

An. 8. Reg. Henrici. 4. Act. 116.

Item, in the ſayd Parlament, there it was put vp by petition, that ỹ kyng myght enioy halfe the profites of euery perſons benefice, who is not reſident theron. Whereunto the kyng aunſwered, that the ordinaries ſhould do their dutyes therein, or els he would prouide further remedy, to ſtay their pluralities.

An. 8. Reg. Hērici. 4. act. 114.

Item, in the ſayd Parlament, it was required: that none do ſue to the Court of Rome for any benefice, but onely in the kings courtes.

Ibidē. act. 37.

In the next yeare folowyng, which was ỹ ix. of this K. an other petitiō of the Cōmons was put vp in Parlament agaynſt the Court of Rome which I thought good here to expreſſe as foloweth.

The Cōmons do beſech, that forasmuch as diuers prouiſours of the benefices of holy Church dwellyng in ỹ Court of Rome, through their ſingular couetouſnes now newly imagined to deſtroy thoſe that haue bene long tyme incumbents in diuers their benefices of holy Church peaceably, ſome of them by the title of the kyng, ſome by title ordinary, and ſome by title of other true patrons therof, by coulor of prouiſions, collations, and other grauntes made to the ſayd prouiſours by the Apoſtoill, of the ſayd benefices, do purſue proceſſes in the ſayd Court by citation made beyond the Sea, without any citatiōs made within the Realme in déede agaynſt the ſame incumbents, whereby many of the ſaid incumbents through ſuch priuy and crafty proceſſes and ſentences of priuation & inhabilitation, haue loſt their benefices, and others put into the places of ỹ ſayd incūbentes before the publication of the ſame ſentences, they not knowyng any thyng, and many are in great haſſard to loſe their benefices through ſuch proceſſes, to their perpetuall deſtruction and miſchief: and forasmuch as this miſchief cannot be holpen without eſpeciall remedy be had by Parlament: pleaſeth it the kyng to conſider ỹ great miſchief & daūger that may ſo come vnto diuers his ſubiectes wout their knowledge through ſuch citatiōs out of ỹ Realme, and therupō to ordeyne by ỹ aduiſe of the Lordes of this preſēt Parlamēt, That none preſēted, be receaued by any ordinary vnto any benefice of any ſuch incūbent for any cauſe of priuation or inhabilitation whereof the proceſſe is not foūded vpon citation made within the Realme, & alſo that ſuch incūbents may remayne in all their benefices vntill it be proued by due enqueſt in ỹ Court of the K. that the citations wherupon ſuch priuations and inhabilitatiōs are graūted, were made within the Realme: & that if ſuch ordinaries do, or ſuch preſented or others do purſue the contrary, that then they & their procuratours, fautours & counſellours do incurre the paynes cōteined in the ſtatute made agaynſt prouiſours in the xiij. yeare of the raigne of ỹ late Richard K. of Englād ỹ ſecond, by proceſſes to be made as is declared in ỹ ſtatute made agaynſt ſuch prouiſours in ỹ xxvij. yeare of ỹ raigne of K. Edward, predeceſſor to our L. ỹ kyng that now is, any royall licēces or grauntes in any maner to the contrary notwithſtandyng: and that all other ſtatutes made againſt prouiſours and not repealed before this preſent Parlament, be in their full force and be firmely kept in all pointes.

Ex Rotulo Parlamenti in An. Henrici. 4.

The wickednes of the Popes prouiſors in cityng & depriuyng beneficed mē in England, the citation beyng not knowen in the realme.

That the kynges Counſell haue power by authoritie of Parlament, in caſe that any man finde him ſelfe greued in particular, that he may purſue: & that the ſayd Counſell by aduiſe of the Iuſtices do right vnto the parties. This to endure vntill the next Parlament, reſeruyng alwayes vnto the K. his prerogatiue & libertie.

Item, that no Popes collector thence forth ſhould leuye any money within the Realme, for firſt fruites of any eccleſiaſticall dignitie, vnder payne of incurryng the ſtatute of prouiſions.

Anno 9. Regis Henrici 4. Act. 43.

Beſides, in the ſayd Parlament holden the xj. yeare of thys kyng, is to be noted: how the commons of the land, put vp a Bill vnto the kyng, to take the temporall landes out from ſpirituall mens handes or poſſeſſion. The effecte of which Bill was, that the temporalities, diſordinately waſted by men of the Church, might ſuffiſe to finde to the kyng xv. Earles xv. c. knightes, vj. M. cc. Eſquiers, and a c. houſes of almoſe, to the relief of poore people, mo then at thoſe dayes were wythin England: And ouer all theſe foreſayd charges, the king might put yearely in his cofers. xx. M. pounde.

Ex Chronic. D. Albani, Fabiano, et alijs.

Prouided, that euery Earle ſhould haue of yearely rent. iij. M. marke, and euery knight C. marke, and iiij. plow lāds: euery Eſquier. xl. marke by yeare, with two plough lādes, and euery houſe of almoſe. c. marke, with ouerſight of two true ſeculars vnto euery houſe: And alſo with prouiſion, that euery towneſhip ſhould kéepe all poore people of their owne dwellers, which myght not labour for their liuing: with cōdition, that if mo fel in a towne then the towne might mayntayne, than the ſayd almes houſes to relieue ſuch towneſhips.

And for to beare theſe charges, they alledged by their ſayd Bill, that the temporalties, being in the poſſeſſion of ſpirituall men, amounted to. iij. c. and. xxij. M. marke by yeare. Wherof they affirmed to be in the ſee of Canterbury, with the Abbayes of Chriſtes Churche, of S. Auguſtines, Shrowiſbury, Coggeſhale, and S. Oſiis. xx. M marke by yeare. In the ſee of Durham and other Abbeys there. xx. M. marke. In the ſee of Yorke & Abbayes there. xx. M. marke. In the ſee of Wincheſter, & Abbayes there. xx. M. marke. In the ſée of London, with Abbayes and other houſes there, xx. M. marke. In the ſée of Lyncolne, with the Abbayes of Peterbourth, Ramſay, and other. xx. M. marke. In the ſée of Norwiche, with the Abbays of Bury and other. xx. M. marke. In the ſée of Ely, Spaldyng and other. xx. M. marke. In the ſée of Bathe, with the Abbaye of Okinborne and other. xx. M. marke. In the ſée of Worceter, with the Abbayes of Euiſham, Abingdon and other. xx. M. marke. In the ſee of Cheſter with ỷ precinct of the ſame, with ỷ ſees of S. Dauide, of Saliſbury, and Exceter, wᵗ their precinctes. xx. M. marke. The Abbayes of Rauens or Reuans of Fountaines, of Gernons, and diuerſe other to the nūber of v. mo. xx. M. marke. The Abbayes of Leiceter, Walthan, Goſborne, Merton, Ticetir, Oſney, and other, vnto the number of. vi. mo. xx. M. marke. The Abbayes of Douers, Batill, Lewes, Coventry, Dauentre, & Tourney, xx. M. marke The Abbayes of Northamptō, Thortone, Briſtow, Kelyngworth, Winchecombe, Hailes, Parchiſſor, Frediſwide, Notley, and Grimmiſby. xx. M. marke.

The whiche foreſayd ſommes, amounte to the full of thre. c. M. marke. And for the odde of. xxij. M. marke, they appointed Hardforde, Rocheſter, Huntingdone, Swineſhede, Crowlande, Malmeſbury, Burton, Tewkiſbury, Dunſtable, Shirborne, Taunton and Bilande.

And ouer this they alledged by the ſayd Bill, that ouer and aboue the ſayd ſomme of thrée hundred &. xxij. M. marke, diuers houſes of religion in England, poſſeſſed as many temporalties, as might ſuffice to finde yerely. xv. M. prieſtes and clerkes, euery prieſt to be allowed for his ſtipend. vij. marke by the yeare.

To the whiche Bill none aunſwere was made, but that the kyng of this matter would take deliberation & aduiſement, and with that aunſwere ended, ſo that no farther labour was made.

These thinges thus hetherto diſcourſed, touchyng ſuch actes and matters as haue bene incident in the lyfe tyme of this kyng, followeth next the. xiij. yeare of hys raygne. In the which yeare, the ſaid king Henry the. iiij. after that he had ſent a litle before a certayne company of captaynes and ſoldiours to ayde the Duke of Burgundie in Fraunce (among whom was the Lord Cobham) keping hys Chriſtenmas at Eltham, fell greuouſly ſicke. Frō thence, he was conueyed to London, where he began to call a parlament, but taryed not the ende. In the meane tyme, the infirmitye of the king more and more increaſing, hee was taken and brought into a bed in a fayre chamber at Weſtminſter. And as he laye in hys bed, hee aſked howe they called the ſame chamber: and they anſwered & ſayd, Jeruſalem. And then he ſayd it was hys prophecie, that he ſhould make his end in Jeruſalem. And ſo diſpoſing him ſelfe toward his ende, in the foreſayd chamber he dyed: vpon what ſicknes, whether of leproſy, or ſome other ſharpe diſeaſe, I haue not to affirm. Ex vetuſt. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium, That all men called. The like prophecy we read, ỷ Pope Syluester. 2. pag. 218. to whom beyng inquiſitiue for the tyme and place where he ſhould dye, it was aunſwered, that he ſhoulde dye in Jeruſalem. Who then ſaying Maſſe in a Chappell (called likewiſe Jeruſalem) perceaued his ende there to be nere, and dyed. And thus kyng Henry iiij. ſucceſſour to the lawfull kyng Richard 2. finiſhed his life at Weſtminſter, and was buried at Cant. by the tombe of Thomas Becket. &c. an. 1413.

King Henry fift.

Kyng Henry. 5.

After this Henry iiij. reigned Henry the v. his ſonne, which was borne at Munmorth in Wales, of whoſe other vertues, & great victories gotten in Fraunce, I haue not greatly to intermedle: Eſpecially, ſeing ỷ memorie of his worthy prowes, being ſufficiently deſcribed in other writers in this our tyme, may bothe content ỷ reader, and vnburden my labour herein. Eſpecially, ſeyng theſe later troubles and perturbations of the churche offer me ſo much, that vnneth any vacant layſure ſhalbe left, to intermedle with matters prophane.

Great tempeſte at the coronation of the new King.

After the coronation then of this new kyng, whiche was the 9. day of Aprill, called thē paſſiō Sonday, which was an excedyng ſtormy day, and ſo tempeſtuous, that many did wonder at the portent therof: not longe after the ſame, a Parliament began to be called & to be holdē after the feaſt of Eaſter, at Weſtminſter an. 1413. At which tyme, Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, collected in Paules churche at London, an vniuerſall Synode of all the Byſhops and clergye of England. In ỷ Synode amōg other weyghty matters & ponderous, was determined: ỷ the day of S. George, & alſo of S. Dūſtane ſhould be double feaſt, called Duplex feſtū in holy kitchyng, in holy church I would ſay. And becauſe the order and maner of theſe Pope holy feaſtes, either yet is not ſufficiently knowen to ſome rude & groſſe capacities, or may peraduenture growe out of vſe, and to be ſtraunge and vnknowen to our poſteritie hereafter: Therfore to geue a litle memorandum therof (by the waye for erudition, of tymes hereafter to come) touchyng this miſticall ſcience of the popes deape and ſecrete diuinitie: here is to be noted, that the feaſtes of the popes holy mother catholique church, be diuided in ſondry members: Lyke as a plentifull roote in a frutefull fielde riſeth vp and burgeneth into manifold armes, and the armes agayne do multiply into diuers and ſondry branches, out of the whiche moreouer although no frute do come, yet both leaues and flowers do bud & bloſſome in moſt copious wiſe, right beutifull to beholde. Euen ſo this Feſtum, cōteinyng a lardge matter of great varietie of dayes and feaſtes, groweth in it ſelfe and multiplieth, beyng thus diuided: firſt into Feſtū duplex: & into Feſtū ſimplex, that is into feaſt double, and to feaſt ſimple. Againe, this Feſtum duplex braunceth foure fold wiſe, to witte into Feſtum principale duplex: into maius duplex: into minus duplex, & inferius duplex, that is, in principall double, in greater double, in leſſer double, and inferiour or lower double. Vnto theſe ſeuerall ſortes of feaſtes, what dayes were peculiarly aſſigned, it were to long to recite. For this preſent purpoſe it ſhall ſuffice to vnderſtand: that as vnto ỷ principall double feaſt only belōged viij. daies in the yere: ſo the Maius duplex feſtum, had geuen vnto him by this conuocation, the day of S. George, and of S. Dunſtane, as is afore remembred: albeit by cōſtitution it was ſo decréed, yet by cuſtome it was not ſo vſed. Item, to be noted, that theſe ij. feaſts, to wit, Principale duplex, & Maius duplex, did differ and were knowen frō all other by iiij. notes, by ſeruice in the kitching, & by ſeruice in ỷ church, which was both double: by ringyng in ỷ ſteple, which was with double peale: by copes in the quier, and by thuriſyeng or cenſing the aultars. For in theſe ij. principall & greater double feaſtes, the vij. viij. & ix. leſſon muſt be read with ſilken copes. Alſo at the ſayd feaſtes in the time of ỷ leſſons, the aultars in the church muſt be thurified, that is, ſmoked with incenſe, &c. And likewiſe the Minus duplex, and Inferius duplex had alſo their peculiar ſeruice to them belongyng.

A ſynode called at London.

S. George and S. Dunſtanes day made double feaſt.

The feaſt of the popes church, deſcribed & deuided.

Feſtum duplex.
Principale duplex.
Maius dupl.
Minus dupl.
Inferius dupl.

Conſtitution againſt coūcel. Ex *tab. feſtorum.*

Secondly the Simplex feſtum, whiche is the ſeconde arme ſpringing of this diuiſion, is thus diuided: Either hauing a triple inuitorie, or a double, or els a ſingle inuitorie. Of the whiche moreouer, ſome haue thrée leſſons,

Simplex feſtū in the Popes church.

ſome haue it.&c.

And thus much by occaſion for Popiſhe feaſtes, not that I do ſo much deride them, as I lamēt, that ſo much and manifeſt Idolatry in them is cōmitted to the great diſhonour of our Lord our G O D, which is onely to be honoured.

¶ The trouble and perſecution of the Lord Cobham.

The trouble of the Lord Cobham. *Ex chron. Monac. Albanenſis*

BUt to let this bymatter paſſe, again to returne to the foreſayd vniuerſall Synode aſſembled by Thomas Arundell at S. Paules churche in London, as is before remembred: the chiefe and principall cauſe of the aſſemblyng thereof (as recordeth the Chronicle of Saint Albons) was to repreſſe the growyng and ſpreadyng of the Goſpell, and eſpeciallye to wythſtand the noble and woorthye Lorde Cobham: Who was then noted to bee a principall fauorer, receauer, and mainteiner of them, whom the Byſhop miſnamed to be Lollards, eſpecially in the dioceſſes of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford: ſettyng them vp to preache whom the Byſhops had not licenſed, and ſendyng them about to preache, whiche was agaynſt the cōſtitution prouinciall, before remembred, pag. 626. holdyng alſo and teachyng opinions of the Sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of ẏ keys and churche of Rome, contrary and repugnant, to the receaued determination of the Romiſhe churche. &c.

Vid. pag. 626.

In the meane tyme, as theſe were in talke amongeſt them, concerning the good Lord Cobham: reſorted vnto them the twelue inquiſitours of hereſies (whom they had appoynted at Oxford the yeare afore, to ſearch out heretikes, with all Wickliffes bokes) who brought two hundreth and .xlvi. concluſions, which they had collected as hereſies out of the ſayd bokes. The names of the ſaid inquiſitours were theſe.

Walden in faſciculo Zizaniorum Wicleui.

1 Iohn VVitnam, a maiſter in the new College.
2 Iohn Langedon, monke of Chriſthurch in Canterb.
3 VVilliam Vfford, regent of the Carmelites.
4 Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominikes.
5 Robert Gylbert. 9 Richard Flemming.
6 Richard Earthiſdale. 10 Thomas Rotborne.
7 Iohn Lucke. 11 Robert Ronbery.
8 Richard Snediſham. 12 Richard Grafdale.

Theſe thynges thus done, and the Articles beyng brought in: further they proceeded in their communication, concluding amōg them ſelues, that it was not poſſible for them to make whole Chriſtes coate wythout ſeame (meaning thereby their patched popiſh ſynagog) vnleſſe certayne great men wer brought out of the way which ſeemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the ſayde diſciples of Wickliffe. Amonge whome this noble knight ſir Iohn Oldcaſtell the Lord Cobham, was complayned of by the generall proctours, to bee the chiefe principall. Him they accuſed firſt for a mighty mayntainer of ſuſpected preachers in the dioces of London, Rocheſter, and Herefordе, contrary to the myndes of theyr Ordinaries. Not onely they affirmed hym to haue ſent thither the ſayd preachers, but alſo to haue aſſiſted them there by force of armes, not wythſtandyng theyr Sinodall conſtitution made afore to the contrary. Laſt of all, they accuſed hym, that hee was farre otherwyſe in beliefe of the Sacrament of the aultar, of penaunce, of pilgrimage, of image worſhipping, and of the eccleſiaſticall power, thē the holy church of Rome had taught many yeares before.

The L. Cobhā accuſed for maintaynıng the goſpel of Chriſt.

The L. Cobhā accuſed for his Chriſten beleue.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, proces ſhould be awarded out agaynſt him, as againſt a moſt pernitious hereticke.

Proceſſe againſt him.

Some of that felowſhip which were of more crafty experiēce then the other: thought it not beſt to haue that matter ſo raſhlye handeled, but by ſome preparation made thereunto before. Conſidering the ſayd Lord Cobham was a man of great byrth, and in fauour at that tyme with the kyng: their couſaile was to know firſt the kynges mynde, to ſaue all thinges vpright. This counſayle was well accepted, and therupon the Archbiſhop Thomas Arundell with hys other biſhops, and a great part of the Clergy, went ſtraight wayes vnto the kyng, then remaynіng at Keningſton. And there, layde foorth moſt greuous complayntes againſt the ſayd Lord Cobham, to hys great infamie and blemiſhe, being a man right godly. The king gently heard thoſe blood thirſtye prelates, and farre otherwiſe then became his princelye dignitie: not withſtanding requiring, and inſtantlye deſiring them, that in reſpect of his noble ſtock and knighthoode, they ſhould yet fauourablye deale with him. And that they woulde if it were poſſible, without all rigour or extreme handling, reduce him againe to the churches vnitie. He promiſed them alſo, that incaſe they were not contented to take ſome deliberation, his ſelfe would ſeriouſly common the matter with him.

A ſpirituall practiſe.

Anon after, the king ſent for the ſayd lord Cobham. And as he was come, he called hym ſecretlye, admoniſhing hym betwixt him and him, to ſubmit him ſelfe to hys mother the holy church, and as an obedient chylde, to acknowledge himſelfe culpable. Unto whom the chriſten knight made this anſwer: You moſt worthy prince ſayth he, I am alwayes prompt and willing to obey, forſomuch as I know you a Chriſten king, and the apoynted miniſter of God, bearing the ſwoorde to the puniſhment of euill doers, & for ſafegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) owe I my whole obedience, and ſubmit thereunto (as I haue done euer) all that I haue, eyther of Fortune or Nature, readye at all tymes to fulfill whatſoeuer ye ſhal in that Lord, commaund me. But as touching the Pope and hys ſpiritualtie, I owe thē neither ſute nor ſeruice, forſomuch as I know him by the ſcriptures to be the great Antichriſt, ẏ ſonne of perditiō, the opē aduerſary of God, & the abhomination ſtanding in the holy place. Whē the king had heard this, with ſuche like ſentences more, he wold talk no longer with him, but left him ſo vtterly.

And as the Archbiſhop reſorted agayne vnto him for an anſwer, he gaue hym his full authoritie to cite hym, examine him, and puniſhe him according to their diueliſh decrees, which they called the lawes of holy church. Then the ſayd Archbiſhop by the counſayl of hys other biſhops and clergy, appointed to call before him ſir John Oldcaſtell the Lorde Cobham, and to cauſe hym perſonally to appeare, to aunſwer to ſuche ſuſpect articles as they ſhould lay agaynſt him. So ſent he forth his chiefe Sōmoner, with a very ſharp citacion vnto the caſtell of Cowling, wher as he at that tyme dwelt for his ſolace. And as the ſaid Sommoner was come thether, he durſt in no caſe enter ẏ gates of ſo noble a mā wout his licēce, and therfore he returned home againe, his meſſage not done. Thē called the archb. one John Butler vnto him, which was then ẏ dore keper of the kinges priuie chamber: and with hym he couenaunted through promiſes and rewardes, to haue thys matter craftely brought to paſſe, vnder the kings name. Wherupon, the ſayd John Butler tooke the Archbiſhops Somner with hym, and went vnto the ſayd Lord Cobham: ſhewing hym, that it was the kinges pleaſure that he ſhould obey that citation, and ſo cited him fraudulently. Than ſayd he to them in fewe wordes, that he in no caſe would conſent to thoſe moſt deuiliſhe practiſes of the prieſtes. As they had informed the Archbiſhop of that anſwere, and that it was for no man priuately to cite him after that, without perill of lyfe: he decreed by and by to haue hym cited by publique proceſſe or open commaundement. And in all the haſte poſſible, vpon the wedniſday before the natiuitie of our Ladie in September: he commaunded letters Citatory, to be ſet vpon the great gates of the cathedrall church of

Rocheſter(which was but iij.engliſh myles from thence) charging him to appeare perſonally before him at Ledys the xi. day of the ſame moneth and yeare, all excuſes to the contrary ſet apart. Thoſe letters were takẽ downe anone after, by ſuch as bare fauour vnto the Lord Cobham and ſo conueyed aſide. After that cauſed the Archbyſhop new letters to be ſet vp on the Natiuitie daye of our lady, which alſo were rent down & vtterly cõſumed.

Then forſomuch as he dyd not appeare at the day appoynted at Ledys(where as he ſat in Conſiſtorie, as cruell as euer was Cayphas, with hys court of hipocrites about him)he iudged him, denounced hym, and condemned him, of moſt depe contumacie. After that, whã he had bene falſely infourmed by hys hired ſpies, and other gloſing glauerers: that the ſayd Lord Cobham had laughed him to ſcorne, diſdained all his doinges, maintained hys olde opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignitie of a byſhop, and the order of prieſthoode (for all theſe was he than accuſed) in his modie madnes without iuſte profe, did he openly excommunicate hym. Yet was not withall this, his fierce tirannie ſatiſfied: but cõmaunded him to be cited a freſhe, to appeare afore him the Saturday before the feaſt of S. Mathew ỹ Apoſtle, with theſe cruell threatninges added therunto: that if he dyd not obey at the daye, he would more extremely handle hym. And to make himſelfe more ſtrong towardes the performaunce therof, he compelled the lay power by moſt terrible manaſinges of curſes & interdictions: to aſſiſte him agaynſt that ſeditious apoſtata, ſchiſmatike, that heretike, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemie of the realme, and great aduerſarie of all holy church, for all theſe hatefull names did he geue him.

This moſt conſtaunt ſeruaunt of the Lord and worthy knight ſir John Oldecaſtell, the Lord Cobhã, beholdyng the vnpeaceable fury of Antichriſt, thus kyndled agaynſt him: perceiuyng him ſelfe alſo compaſſed on euery ſide with deadly daungers: He toke paper and penne in hand, and ſo wrote a Chriſten confeſſion or rekenyng of his fayth (whiche followeth hereafter) both ſignyng and ſealyng it with his owne hand. Wherin he alſo aunſwered to the foure chiefeſt articles that the Archbyſhop layd againſt him. That done, he toke the copie with him, and went therewith to the kyng, truſtyng to finde mercy and fauour at his hand. None other was that confeſſiõ of his, thã the common beleue or ſomme of the churches faith, called the Apoſtles Crede, of all Chriſten men than vſed, with a brief declaration vpon the ſame, as here vnder enſueth.

¶ *The Chriſten belief of the Lord Cobham.*

I Beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen & earth. And in Jeſu Chriſt his onely ſonne our Lord, whiche was conceiued by the holy ghoſt, borne of the virgine Mary ſuffered vnder Ponce Pilate, crucified dead & buried, went downe to hell, the third day roſe agayne frõ death, aſcended vp to heauen, ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, and from thence ſhall come agayn to iudge the quicke and the dead. I beleue in the holy ghoſt, the vniuerſall holy Churche, the communion of ſaintes, the forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, the vpriſyng of the fleſhe, and euerlaſtyng life. Amen.

And for a more large declaration (ſayth he) of this my fayth in the catholike church: I ſtedfaſtlye beleue, that there is but one God almightye, in and of whoſe Godhead, are theſe three perſons, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, and that thoſe three perſons are the ſame ſelfe God almighty. I beleue alſo, that the ſecond perſon of this moſt bleſſed Trinitie, in moſt conuenient time appointed therunto afore, tooke fleſh and bloud of the moſt bleſſed virgine Mary, for the ſauegard and redemption of the vniuerſall kinde of man, whiche was afore loſt in Adams offence. Moreouer I beleue, that the ſame Jeſus Chriſt our Lord thus beyng both God and man, is the onely head of the whole Chriſtian Churche, and that all thoſe that hath been or ſhalbe ſaued, be members of this moſt holy churche. And this holy churche I thinke to be deuided into three ſortes or companies.

Wherof the firſt ſorte be nowe in heauen, and they are the ſaints from hence departed. Theſe as they were here conuerſaunt, conformed alwayes their lyues to the moſt holy lawes and pure examples of Chriſt, renoũcyng Sathan, the world, and the fleſh with all their concupiſcẽces and euils.

The church de uided in three partes.

The ſecõd ſorte are in Purgatory (if any ſuch place be in the Scriptures) abidyng the mercy of God and a full deliueraunce of payne.

Contrary wrote he *Ad parliam. tam ex Waldeno.*

The thirde ſorte are here vpon the earth, and be called the churche militant. For day and night they contend agaynſt the crafty aſſaultes of the deuil, the flattering proſperities of this worlde, and the rebellious filthynes of the fleſhe.

This latter congregatiõ by the iuſt ordinaũce of God, is alſo ſeuered into thre diuers eſtates, that is to ſay, into prieſthode, knighthode and the commons. Amõg whom the will of god is, that the one ſhould ayde the other but not deſtroy the other. The prieſtes firſt of all ſecluded frõ all worldlynes, ſhould conforme their lyues vtterly to the examples of Chriſt & his Apoſtles. Euermore ſhould they be occupyed in preachyng and teachyng the Scriptures purely, and in geuyng wholeſome exãples of good liuing to the other two degrees of men. More modeſt alſo, more louyng, gentill, and lowly in ſpirit, ſhould they be, then any other ſortes of people.

The Churche militant deuided in three.

What the Prieſtes ſhould be.

In knighthode are all they, which beare ſworde by lawe of office. Theſe ſhould defend Gods lawes, and ſee that the Goſpell were purely taught, conformyng theyr liues to the ſame, & ſecluding all falſe preachers: yea theſe ought rather, to haſard theyr lyues thã to ſuffer ſuch wicked decrees as either blemiſheth the eternall Teſtament of God, or yet letteth the free paſſage therof, wherby hereſies and ſchiſmes might ſpryng in the Churche. For of none other ariſe they as I ſuppoſe, then of erronious cõſtitutiõs, craftely firſt creepig in vnder hypocriticall lies, for aduauntage. They ought alſo to preſerue Gods people from oppreſſours, tyrauntes, and theeues, and to ſee the clergy ſupported ſo long as they teache purely, pray rightly, and miniſter the Sacramentes frely. And if they ſee them do otherwiſe, they are bound by law of office to compell thẽ to chaunge theyr doyngs, & to ſee all things performed accordyng to Gods preſcript ordinaunce.

Knighthoode what it ſhould do.

Mark here a moſt Chriſten hart.

The latter fellowſhip of this churche, are the common people: whoſe dutie is, to beare their good minds & true obedience, to the aforeſaid miniſters of God, their kings, ciuile gouernours, and prieſts. The right office of theſe, is iuſtly to occupy euery man in his facultie, bee it marchaundiſe, handicraft, or the tilthe of the grounde. And ſo one of them to be as an helper to an other, folowyng alwayes in theyr ſortes the iuſt commaundements of their Lord God.

What the common people ought to do.

Ouer and beſides all this, I moſt faythfully beleue, that the Sacramentes of Chriſtes Churche are neceſſary to all Chriſten beleuers: this alwayes ſene to, that they be truly miniſtred accordyng to Chriſtes firſt inſtitution and ordinaũce. And for ſomuch as I am maliciouſly and moſt falſely accuſed of a miſbeleue in the Sacramẽt of the aultar, to the hurtfull ſclaunder of many. I ſignifie heere vnto all men, that this is my faith concerning that. I beleue, in that Sacrament to be cõtayned very Chriſtes body and bloud vnder the ſimilitudes of bread & wyne, yea, the ſame body that was cõceiued of the holy ghoſt, borne of the virgin Mary, done on the croſſe, dyed, that was buried, aroſe the third day from the death, and is now glorified in heauen. I alſo beleue, the vniuerſall law of God to be moſt true and perfite, and they whiche do not ſo folow it in their fayth and works (at one tyme or other) cã neuer be ſaued: where as he that ſeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therin, and performeth it in loue, ſhall taſt for it the feliciti of euerlaſting Innocẽcie.

Beleſe of the L.Cobham cõcerning the ſacramentes.

The Sacramẽt of the aultar.

Finally this is my fayth alſo, that God will aſke no more of a Chriſten belieuer in this life, but onely to obey the preceptes of that moſt bleſſed law. If any prelates of the Churche require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, then this to be vſed: he contẽneth Chriſt, exalting him ſelf aboue God, and ſo becometh an open Antichriſt. All the premiſſes I beleue particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I ſhould beleue. Inſtauntly deſiryng you my liege Lord and moſt worthy kyng, that this confeſſion of myne, may be iuſtly examined by the moſt godly wiſe and learned mẽ of your realme. And if it be founde in all pointes agreyng to the veritie, then let it be ſo allowed, and I therupon holden

Gods lawe to be preferred before mãs lawe.

A chriſten deſire of the Lorde Cobham.

This requeſt was lawful.

Obediēce vnto his king.

for none other then a true Chriſtiā. If it be proued other wiſe, then let it be vtterly cōdemned: prouided alwayes, that I be taught a better beleue by the word of God, and I ſhall moſt reuerently at all tymes obey therunto.

The Chriſten ſtomack and manhoode of the L. Cobhā.

No reaſonable offer would ſerue.

Lord Cobham appealeth frō the Archbiſh. to the Pope.

Straight handeling of the King.

L. Cobham woulde not obey the beaſt

This brief confeſſiō of this faith, the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mencioned afore) and ſo tooke it with him to the court, offeryng it with all mekeneſſe vnto the king to read it ouer. The kyng would in no caſe receyue it, but commaūded it to be deliuered vnto them that ſhould be his iudges. Then deſired he in the kynges preſence, that an hundred knightes and eſquiers myght bee ſuffred to come in vpon his purgation, whiche he knewe, would cleare him of all hereſies. Moreouer he offred him ſelfe after the law of armes, to fight for life or death with any man liuyng, Chriſten or Heathen, in the quarell of hys faith, the kyng & the Lordes of his councell excepted. Finally withall gentlenes he proteſted before all ẏ were preſent, ẏ he would refuſe no maner of correction ẏ ſhoulde after the lawes of God be miniſtred vnto him, but that he would at all times withall mekenes obey it. Notwithſtandyng all this, the kyng ſuffered him to be ſommoned perſonally in his owne priuie chaumber. Then ſayd the Lord Cobham to the kyng, that he had appealed frō the Archbiſhop to the Pope of Rome, and therfore he ought hee ſayd, in no caſe to bee his iudge. And hauyng his appeale there at hande ready written, he ſhewed it with all reuerence to the kyng. Wherewith the kyng was then much more diſpleaſed then afore, and ſayd angerly vnto him, that he ſhould not purſue hys appeale: but rather he ſhould tary in holde, till ſuch tyme as it were of the pope allowed. And then, would he or nylde hee, the Archbiſhop ſhould be his iudge. Thus was there nothyng allowed that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But for ſomuch as hee would not bee ſworne in all thinges to ſubmit him ſelfe to the churche, and ſo to take what penaunce the Archbiſhop would enioyne hym: He was areſted agayne at the kynges commaundement, and ſo ledde forth to the tower of London, to keepe hys daye (ſo was it then ſpoken) that the Archebyſhoppe had appoynted hym afore, in the kynges chaumber.

The confeſſiō and aunſwer of the Lord Cobham newly copied.

Cayphas ſitteth in Conſiſtory.

Then cauſed he the foreſayd confeſſion of hys fayth to be copyed agayne and the anſwere alſo (which he had made to the foure articles propoſed agaynſt hym) to bee written in maner of an indenture in ij. ſheetes of paper: That whan he ſhould come to hys aunſwere, he myght geue the one copie vnto the Archbiſhop, and reſerue the other to hymſelfe. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. daye of September the Saturday before the feaſt of S. Mathew: Thomas Arundell ẏ Archbiſhop, ſitting in Cayphas roume in the chapterhouſe of Paules, with Richard Clifforde biſhop of London, and Henry Bolingbroke byſhop of Wincheſter, ſir Robert Morley knight and Lieftenaunt of the Tower: brought perſonally before him the ſayd Lord Cobham, and there left hym for the time, vnto whom the Archbyſhop ſayd theſe wordes.

The firſt examination of the Lord Cobham.

Antichriſt was here in ful power.

A ſigne of Gods true ſeruaunt.

SIr John, in the laſt generall conuocatiō of the clergye of thys our prouince, ye were detected of certayne hereſies, & by ſufficient witneſſes found culpable. Wherupon ye were by forme of ſpirituall lawe cited, & would in no caſe appeare. In concluſion, vpon your rebellious contumacie, ye were both priuately and openly excommunicated. Notwithſtanding, we neuer yet ſhewed our ſelfe vnready to haue geuē you your abſolution (nor yet do not to this houre) would ye haue mekely aſked it. Vnto thys the Lord Cobham ſhewed, as though he had geuen no eare, hauing his minde otherwyſe occupied, and ſo deſired no abſolution. But ſayd, he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearſall of that fayth which he held & entended alwayes to ſtand to, if it would pleaſe them to licence hym therunto. And than he tooke out of his boſome a certayne wryting endented, concerning the articles wherof he was accuſed, and ſo openlye red it before them, geuing it vnto the Archbyſhop, as he had made therof an end. Wherof thys is the copie.

The Sac
ment of
the Lo
body.

I John Oldcaſtle knight Lord of Cobham, will that all chriſten men weete and vnderſtande: that I clepe almighty god into witneſſe, that it hath bene, now is, and euer with the helpe of God, ſhall bene mine entente and my will, to beleue faythfully and fully all the ſacraments that euer God ordayned to be do in holy church: & moreouer to declare me in theſe four poyntes, I beleue that the moſt worſhipfull ſacrament of the aultar is Chriſtes body in forme of bread, the ſame body that was borne of the bleſſed Virgin our Lady Saint Mary, done on the cros, dead and buried, the third day roſe from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heauen.

Penaun

Alſo as for the ſacrament of penaunce I beleue, that it is nedefull to euery mā that ſhalbe ſaued to forſake ſinne and do due penance for ſinne before done, with true confeſſion, very cōtrition, and due ſatiſfaction as Gods law limitteth and teacheth, & els may he not be ſaued: which penance I deſire all men to doo.

Image

And as of images I vnderſtand, that they be not of beleue, but that they were ordayned ſith the beleue was ȝewe of Chriſt, by ſufferāce of the church to be kalenders to lewed men, to repreſent and bring to minde the paſſiō of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, & martirdome and good liuing of other ſaints: And that who ſo it be, that doth the worſhip to dead images that is due to God, or putteth ſuche hope or truſt, in help of them, as he ſhould do to God, or hath affection in one more then in an other, he doeth in that, the great ſinne of maumetry.

Pilgri-
mage.

Alſo I ſuppoſe this fully, that euery man in this earth is a pilgrim toward bliſſe, or toward payne: and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keepe the holye commaundements of God in his liuing here (albeit that he be go on Pilgrimage to all the worlde, and he dye ſo) he ſhalbe damned: and he that knoweth the holy cōmaūdements of God, and kepeth thē to his end, he ſhalbe ſaued though he neuer in his lyfe go on pilgrimage, as mē vſe now to Cāterbury or to Rome or to any other place.

The an
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mined.
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geuen.

This aunſwer to his articles thus ended and red, he deliuered it to the biſhops as is ſayd afore. Than counceled the Archbiſhop with the other. ij. biſhops, and with diuers of the doctours, what was to be done in this matter: commaunding him for the time to ſtande aſide. In concluſion by their aſſent and information, he ſayd thus vnto him: Come hither ſir John. In thys your wrytyng are many good thinges contayned, and right catholick alſo, we denie it not: but ye muſt conſider that this daye was appoynted you to anſwer to other pointes concerning thoſe Articles, whereof as yet no mencion is made in this your byll. And therefore ye muſt yet declare vs your mynde more plainly.

The ch
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As thus: whether that ye hold, affirme, & beleue, that in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the conſecration rightly done by a prieſt, remaineth materiall bread, or not? Moreouer, whether ye do hold, affirme and beleue, that as concerning the ſacrament of penaunce (wher as a competent nomber of prieſtes are) euery Chriſten mā is neceſſarelye bounde to be confeſſed of hys ſinnes to a prieſt ordayned by the church, or not?

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His a
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mind

After certaine other cōmunication, this was the anſwer of the good Lorde Cobham. That none otherwyſe would he declare hys minde, nor yet anſwer vnto his articles, then was expreſly in his writing there contained. Then ſaid the Archbiſhop againe vnto him: Sir John, beware what ye do. For if ye anſwer not clereli to thoſe thinges that are here obiected againſt you (ſpeciallye at the time appointed you onely for that purpoſe) the lawe of holye Churche is, that compelled once by a iudge, we may openly proclayme ye an hereticke. Vnto whom he gaue this anſwer: Do as ye ſhall thincke beſt, for I am at a poynt. Whatſoeuer he or the other Biſhops dyd aſke him after that, he bad them reſorte to his byll: for thereby would he ſtand to the very death. Other anſwer would he not geue that day, wherwith the biſhops and prelates were in a maner amaſed and wonderfully diſquieted.

At the laſt, the Archbiſhop councelled agayne wyth his other biſhops and doctours, and in the ende thereof declared vnto him, what the holy church of Rome (folowing the ſaying of S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, and of other holy doctors) had determined in theſe matters, no manner of mencion once made of Chriſt. Which determination (ſaith he) ought all Chriſten men both to beleue and to folow.

ntichriſt ch me oue God

The Lord Cobham ferreth nto chriſt

Then ſaid the lord Cobham vnto him, that he would gladly both beleue and obſerue whatſoeuer holy church of Chriſtes inſtitution had determined, or yet whatſoeuer God had wylled him either to beleue or to doo. But that the pope of Rome with his cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelats of that church had lawful power to determine ſuche matter as ſtoode not wyth hys word throughly: that would he not (he ſayd) at that time affirme. With this, the archbiſhop bad him to take good aduiſement till the Monday next folowing (which was the .xxv. day of September) and then iuſtly to aunſwer, ſpecially vnto this poynt: whether there remayned materiall breade in the Sacrament of the aulter, after the wordes of conſecration, or not? He promiſed hym alſo, to ſend vnto him in writing thoſe matters clerely determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his anſwer making. And all this was nought els, but to blinde the multitude with ſomwhat. The next daye folowing, according to his promiſe, the Archbiſhop ſent vnto hym into the tower, thys fooliſhe and blaſphemous writing made by him and by his vnlearned Clergy.

hat could e more re ſonably ſyd if hey had eaſon to erceue it.

A doctrine of deuiles to blinde the ſimple.

¶ *The determination of the Archbiſhop* and Clergie.

Ex vag professione Thome Arũdels.

The faith and determination of the holy church touching the bleſſful ſacramẽt of the aultar, is this: that after the ſacramental wordes be once ſpoken by a prieſt in his Maſſe, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſtes verye bodye. And the materiall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chriſtes very blood. And ſo there remaineth in the ſacrament of the aultar, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wyne, whych were there before the ſacramentall wordes were ſpoken: How beleue ye this article? Holy church hath determined, that euery chriſten man liuing here bodely vpon earth, ought to bee ſhriuen to a prieſt ordeined by the Church, if he maye come to hym. Howe feele ye thys article?

The firſt article. The ſecõd article.

The third article.

Chriſt ordayned S. Peter the Apoſtle to be his vicar here in earth, whoſe ſee is the holy church of Rome: And he graunted, that the ſame power whych he gaue vnto Peter, ſhould ſuccede to all Peters ſucceſſors, which we call now Popes of Rome: By whoſe power in churches particular, be ordained Prelates, as Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Parſons, Curats, and other degrees more. Unto whome Chriſten men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holye church. How feele ye this article?

he ſeede the Ser. nt.

The forth article.

Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Chriſten man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places: And there ſpecially to woorſhip holy reliques & images of Saintes, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, Confeſſors, and all other ſaintes beſides, approued by the churche of Rome. How feele ye this article?

e ſeeth ir igno ce and lice.

And as the Lorde Cobham had redde ouer this moſt wretched writing, he marmailed greatlye of theyr mad ignoraunce. But that he cõſidered again, that God had geuen them ouer for their vnbeliefes ſake, into moſte deepe errours and blyndnes of ſoule. Againe, he perceyued hereby, that their vttermoſt malice was purpoſed againſt him, howſoeuer he ſhould anſwer. And therefore he put his lyfe into the handes of God, deſiring his onely ſpirite to aſſiſt him in his next anſwer. Whẽ the ſayd .xxv. daye of September was come (which was alſo the Monday before Michaelmas) in the ſayde yeare of our Lord. 1413. Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, cõmaunded his iudiciall ſeat to be remoued frõ ÿ chapter houſe of Paules, to ÿ Dominike friers within Ludgate at Lõdon. And as he was there ſet with Richard biſhop of Lond: Henry the biſhop of Wincheſter, and Benet the biſhop of Bangor: He called in vnto hym hys councell and his officers, with diuers other doctours and friers, of whom theſe are the names here folowing. Maiſter Henry Ware, the Officiall of Cãterbury: Philip Morgan, doctour of both lawes: Howell Kiffin, doctour of the Canon law. John Kempe, doctor of the Canõ law. William Carleton, doctor of the Canon law. John Witnam, of the new College in Oxford. John Whighthed doctor Oxford alſo. Robert Wombewell, vicar of ſ. Laurence in the Iewry. Thomas Palmer, the warden of Minors. Robert Chamberlayne, Prior of the Dominickes. Richard Dodington, Prior of the Auguſtines. Thomas Walden, Prior of the Carmelites, all doctors of Diuinitie. John Steuens alſo, and James Cole, both Notaries, appoynted there purpoſelye to write all that ſhould be either ſayd or done. All theſe with a great ſort more of Prieſtes, Moonkes, Chanons, Friers, paryſhe Clarkes, Belringers, Pardoners, diſdained hym, wyth innumerable mockes and ſcornes, reconing hym to bee an horrible hereticke, and a man accurſed afore God.

he put his in gods nd.

Ex vtroque exemplari.

The counſell of Cayphas.

The Phariſeis and ſcribes.

A rable of Antichriſtes.

Anone the Archb. called for a maſſebooke, and cauſed all thoſe prelates and doctors to ſweare there vpon, that euery man ſhould faythfully do hys office and duty that day. And that neither for fauour nor feare, loue nor hate, of the one partie nor the other: any thing ſhould there be witneſſed, ſpoken, or done, but according to the truth, as they would anſwere before God and all the world at the day of dome. Thẽ were the ij. foreſaid Notaries ſworne alſo, to write & to witnes ÿ proces ÿ there ſhould be vttered on both parties, and to ſaye there mindes (if they otherwyſe knew it) before they ſhould regeſter it. And all thys diſſimulation was but to colour their miſchieues, before the ignoraunt multitude.

Conſilium malignantiũ.

For a falſe colour ſwere they.

All done to deceiue the ignoraunt.

Conſider herein (gentle reader) what thys wicked generation is, and how farre wyde from the iuſte feare of God: for as they were then, ſo are they yet to thys day.

After that, came forth before them ſir Robert Morley knight and Liefetenaunt of the Tower, and he brought with hym the good Lord Cobham, there leauing hym among them as a Lambe among wolues, to hys examination and anſwere.

L. Cobham cometh againe before them.

¶ *An other examination of the Lord Cobham.*

Ex vetuſto exemplari Londinenſiũ.

Than ſayd the Archbiſhop vnto hym: Lord Cobham, ye be aduiſed (I am ſure) of the wordes and proceſſe which we had vnto you vpon Saturday laſt paſte in the chapterhouſe of Paules: which proceſſe were nowe to long to be rehearſed agayne? I ſayd vnto you then, that ye were accurſed for your contumacie and diſobedience to holy church, thinking that ye ſhoulde with meekenes haue deſired your abſolution.

The curſe of Antichriſt.

Then ſpake the Lord Cobham with a moſt cherefull countenaunce, and ſayd: God ſaith by his holy Prophet, Maledicam benedictionibus veſtris, whiche is as much to ſay, as I ſhall curſe where as you bleſſe.

Mallachi. 2.

The Archbyſhop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, ſaying: Sir, at ÿ tyme I gently profered to haue aſſoyled you if ye would haue aſked it. And yet I do the ſame if ye will humbly deſire it in due forme and manner, as holy Church hath ordeyned.

A woluiſhe offer of gentleneſſe.

Then ſayd the Lord Cobham. Nay forſothe will I not, for I neuer yet treſpaſſed agaynſt you, and therfore I will not doo it. And with that he kneled downe on the pauement, holdyng vp his handes towardes heauẽ, and ſayd

L. Cobham confeſſeth him ſelf vnto God.

ſaid. I ſhrine me here vnto thee my eternall liuing God, that in my frayle youth I offended thee (Lord) moſt greuouſly, in pride, wrath, and glottony, in couetouſnes, and in lechery. Many men haue I hurte in myne anger, and done many other horrible ſinnes, good Lord I aſke the mercy. And therwith weepyngly he ſtoode vp agayne and ſayd with a mighty voyce. Lo, good people lo. For the breakyng of Gods law and his great commaundemēts, they neuer yet curſed me. But for their owne lawes and traditions, moſt cruelly do they handle both me and other men. And therfore, both they and their lawes, by the promes of God, ſhall vtterly be deſtroyed.

Mans lawe before gods lawe preferred. *Hie.51.*

At this the Archbyſhop and his company were not a litle blemiſhed. Notwithſtandyng, he tooke ſtomake vnto hym agayne after certaine woordes, had in excuſe of theyr tyranny, and examined the Lord Cobham of hys Chriſten beleue.

Wherunto the Lord Cobham made this godly aunſwere. I beleue (ſayth he) fully and faythfully the vniuerſall lawes of God. I beleue that all is true whiche is conteined in the holy ſacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally I beleue, all that my lord god would I ſhould beleue. Then demaunded the Archbyſhop an aunſwere of that Bill whiche he and the clergy had ſent him into ẏ tower the day afore, in maner of a determinatiō of the churche concerning the .iiii. articles wherof he was accuſed, ſpecially for the ſacrament of the aultare, howe he beleued therein?

The chriſten beleue of the L. Cobham.

Whereunto the Lord Chobham ſaid, that with that bill he had nothinge to do. But thys was hys beleue (he ſaid) concerning the ſacrament. That his Lord & Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt ſupper with his moſt deere diſciples, the night before hee ſhoulde ſuffer, tooke bread in his hand. And geuing thanks to his eternall father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gaue it vnto thē, ſaying: Take it vnto you, and eate thereof all, this is my bodye which ſhall be betrayed for you: Doo thys hereafter in my remembraunce. This do I throughlye beleue (ſayth he) for this fayth am I taught of the goſpell in Mathew, in Mark, and in Luke, and alſo in the firſt Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Corinthians. Chap.11.

Math 26. Mar.14. Luke.22. 1.Cor.11.

Then aſked the archbiſhop, if he beleued that it were breade after the conſecracion or ſacramentall woordes ſpoken ouer it.

[illegible]ichriſt a[illegible]eth not this fayth.

The Lord Cobham ſayde. I beleue that in the ſacrament of the aultar is Chriſtes verye bodye in fourme of bread, the ſame that was born of the virgin Mary, done on the croſſe, dead, and buried, and that the third day aroſe from death to life, which now is glorified in heauē.

Then ſayd one of the doctors of the law. After the ſacramentall woordes be vttered: there remayneth no bread but the onely body of Chriſt.

The ſacrament of the aultar.

The Lorde Cobham ſaide then to one maiſter John Whitehead: You ſaid once vnto me in ẏ caſtel of Couling, that the ſacred hoſt was not Chriſtes bodye. But I held then againſt you, and proued that therin was his bodye, though the ſeculars and Friers coulde not therin agree, but held eche one againſt other in that opinion. Theſe were my wordes then, if ye remember it.

Iohn whithed, gone from his opinion.

All this would not help.

Thē ſhouted a ſorte of them together and cried with great noyſe. We ſay all that it is Gods body.

A blaſphemus broode.

And diuers of them aſked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the conſecration or not?

Quarel pikers.

Then looked the Lord Cobham, earneſtly vpon the Archbiſhop, and ſayd: I beleue ſurely that it is Chriſtes body in fourme of bread. Syr beleue not you thus?

And the Archbyſhop ſayd, yes mary do I.

Then aſked him the doctours, whether it were onely Chriſtes body after the conſecration of a Prieſt, and no bread or not.

The ſacrament of Chriſtes body is both the body & bread. Neither wil ſcripture nor reaſon ſerue.

And he ſayd vnto them, it is both Chriſtes body and bread. I ſhall proue it as thus. For lyke as Chriſt dwellyng hereupon the earth, had in hym both Godhead and manhood, and had the inuiſible Godhead couered vnder that manhood, whiche was only viſible and ſene in hym: So in the Sacrament of the aultar, is Chriſtes very body and bread alſo, as I beleue the bread is the thyng, that we ſee with our eyes, The body of Chriſt (whiche is his fleſhe and hys bloud) is there vnder hyd and not ſene, but in fayth.

This op nion hat S.Augu ſtine.

And moreouer, to proue that it is both Chriſtes body & alſo bread after the conſecratiō, it is by plaine wordes expreſſed by one of your own doctours wrytyng againſt Eutiches, which ſayth: Like as ẏ ſelf ſame Sacramēts, do paſſe by the operation of the holy ghoſt, into a diuine nature, and yet notwithſtandyng kepe the propertie ſtill of their former nature: So, that principall miſtery declareth to remaine, one true and perfect Chriſt. &c.

Geleſiu contra Eu tichen.

Then ſmiled they eche one vpon other, that the people ſhould iudge him taken in a great hereſy. And with a great brag diuers of them ſayd. It is a foule hereſie.

The pop diuinitie.

Then aſked the Archbiſhop what bread it was? And the doctours alſo inquired of hym whether it were materiall or not?

The Lord Cobham ſaid vnto them. The Scriptures maketh no mencion of this worde materiall, and therefore my fayth hath nothyng to do therewith. But this I ſay and beleue, that it is Chriſtes body and bread. For Chriſt ſayd in the vi. of Johns Goſpell. Ego ſum panis viuus, qui de celo deſcendi. I whiche came downe from heauen, am the lyuing & not the dead bread. Therfore I ſay now agayne as I ſayd afore, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God and very man: ſo in the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter, is Chriſtes very body and bread.

Materiall.

Iohn.6.

Mark.

Then ſayd they all with one voyce. It is an hereſie.

One of the Biſhops ſtoode vp by and by, and ſayde. What? it is an hereſie manifeſt, to ſay that it is bread after the Sacramentall woordes be once ſpoken, but Chriſtes body onely.

An hereſ after the p piſtes ma king.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: S. Paul the Apoſtle was (I am ſure) as wyſe as you be nowe, and more godly learned. And he called it bread, wrytyng to the Corinthians. The bread that we breake, ſayth he, is it not the partakyng of the body of Chriſt? Lo, he calleth it bread and not Chriſtes bodye, but a meane whereby wee receiue Chriſtes body.

1.Cor.10.

The ſacra ment is ca led bread.

Then ſayd they agayne. Paul muſt be otherwiſe vnderſtād. For it is ſurely an hereſie to ſay that it is bread after the conſecration, but onely Chriſtes body.

The Lord Cobham aſked, how they could make good that ſentence of theirs?

They aunſwered hym thus. For it is agaynſt the determination of holy churche.

The dete mination of the church m ſtand, wh ſoeuer Paul ſayth

Than ſayd the Archbyſhop vnto hym. Syr John, we ſent you a wrytyng concernyng the fayth of this bleſſed Sacrament, clearely determined by ẏ churche of Rome our mother, and by the holy doctours.

Then he ſayd agayne vnto hym. I knowe none holier then is Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And as for that determination, I wote, it is none of theirs: for it ſtandeth not with the Scriptures, but manifeſtly agaynſt them. If it be the Churches, as ye ſaye it is, it hath bene hers onely ſince ſhe receiued the great poyſon of worldly poſſeſſiōs, and not afore.

A moſt ch ſtē anſw

The ind ment of L Cobhā co cerning th determina tiō of the churche.

Then aſked they him, to ſtop his mouth therwith. If he beleued not in the determination of the churche?

And he ſaid vnto thē. No forſoth, for it is no God. In all our Crede, this word (in) is but thryſe mencioned, concerning beleue. In God ẏ father, in God ẏ ſonne, in God the holy ghoſt iij. perſons & one God. The byrth, ẏ death, the buriall, the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt, hath none (in) for beleue, but in hym. Neyther yet hath the churche, the Sacramentes, the forgeueneſſe of ſinne, the latter reſurrection, nor yet the lyfe euerlaſtyng any other

The Doc tours con founded i their ow queſtion.

(in)then in the holy Ghoſt.

Then ſayd one of the Lawyers. Tuſh, that was but a worde of office. But what is your beleſe concernyng holy churche?

The Lord Cobham aunſwered. My beleſe is (as I ſayd afore) that all the ſcriptures of the ſacred Bible are true. All that is grounded vpon them I beleue thoroughly. For I know, it is Gods pleaſure that I ſhould ſo do. But in your Lordly lawes & idell determinations, haue I no beliefe. For ye be no part of Chriſtes holy churche, as your open dedes doth ſhewe: But ye are very Antichriſtes, obſtinatly ſet agaynſt his holy law and wil. The lawes that ye haue made, are nothyng to his glory, but onely for your vayne glory & abhominable couetouſnes.

This they ſayd, was an exceadyng hereſie (and that in a great fume) not to beleue the determination of holy Churche.

Then the Archbiſhop aſked hym, what he thought of holy Church?

He ſayd vnto him: My beliefe is, that holy church is the member of them, which ſhall be ſaued, of whō Chriſt is the head. Of this church, one part is in heauen wyth Chriſt, an other in Purgatory (you ſay) and the third, is here in earth. Thys latter part ſtandeth in thre degrées, in knighthood, prieſthod, and the cōmunaltie, as I ſayd afore plainly in the confeſſion of my beliefe.

Then ſayde the Archbiſhop vnto him: Can you tell me, who is of this church?

The Lord Cobham anſwered: Yea truly can I.

Then ſayde doctour Walden the Prior of the Carmelites: It is doubt vnto you who is thereof. For Chriſt ſaith in Mathew: Nolite iudicare, preſume to iudge no man. If ye be here forbiddē the iudgemēt of your neighbour or brother, much more the iudgement of your ſuperiour.

The Lord Cobham made him this aunſwer: Chriſt ſayth alſo in the ſelfe ſame chapter of Mathew, that like as the euill tree is knowen by his fruit, ſo is a falſe Prophet by his workes, appeare they neuer ſo glorious: But that ye left behind ye. And in Iohn he hath this text: Operibus credite, beleue you the outward doinges. And in an other place of Iohn: Iuſtum iudicium iudicate, when we know the thing to be true, we maye ſo iudge it, and not offende. For Dauid ſayd alſo: Recte iudicate filii hominū Iudge rightly alwayes ye children of men. And as for your ſuperioritie, were ye of Chriſt, ye ſhould be meeke Miniſters, and no proud ſuperiours.

Then ſayd doctour Walden vnto him: ye make here no difference of iudgementes. Ye put no diuerſitie betwene ẏ euill iudgementes which Chriſt hath forbiddē, and the good iudgementes, which he hath commaunded vs to haue. Raſh iudgement and right iudgement, all is one with you. So ſwift iudges alwayes are the learned ſcholers of Wickliffe.

Unto whom the Lord Cobham thus anſwered: It is wel ſophiſtried of you, forſoth. Prepoſterous are your iudgements euermore. For as the Prophet Eſay ſaith, ye iudge euill, good, & good, euill. And therfore the ſame Prophet concludeth, that your wayes are not Gods wayes, nor Gods wayes your wayes. And as for that vertuous mā Wickliffe, whoſe iudgements ye ſo highly diſdayne: I ſhal ſay here for my part, both before god and man, that before I knewe that deſpiſed doctrine of his, I neuer abſtayned from ſinne. But ſince I learned therein to feare my Lord God, it hath otherwyſe I truſt bene with me: ſo much grace coulde I neuer finde in all your glorious inſtructions.

Then ſayd doctor Walden agayne yet vnto hym: It were not well with me (ſo many vertuous men liuing) and ſo many learned men teaching the ſcripture, beyng alſo ſo open, and the examples of fathers ſo plēteous: If I then had no grace to amende my life, tyll I hearde the deuill preache. Saint Hierome ſaith, that he whych ſeketh ſuch ſuſpected maiſters, ſhall not finde the mydday light, but the midday deuill.

Hieroni. in breuiari in minori.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: Your fathers the old Phariſeis, aſcribed Chriſtes miracles to Belzebub, and hys doctrine to ẏ deuill. And you as their naturall childrē, haue ſtyll the ſelf ſame iudgemēt, concerning his faithfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious liuing, muſt nedes be heretickes, and that muſt your doctours proue, when you haue no ſcripture to doo it. Then ſayd he to them all: To iudge you as ye be, we neede no further go, thē to your own proper actes. Where do ye find in all Gods law, ẏ ye ſhould thus ſit in iudgement of any Chriſten mē, or yet geue ſentence vpon any other mā vnto death, as ye do here dayly? No groūd haue ye in all ẏ ſcriptures ſo lordly to take it vpō you, but in Annas & Cayphas, which ſat thus vpō Chriſt, & vpō his Apoſtles after his aſcenſiō. Of thē onely haue ye taken it to iudge Chriſts mēbers as ye do, & neyther of Peter nor Iohn.

Luke.xi.
Iohn.x.

Doctours whē the ſcripture fayle, they beginne to rayle.

The clergye to ſit on lyfe or death, hath no ground in ſcriptures. Followers of Cayphas.

Then ſayd ſome of the Lawyers: Yes forſoth Syr, for Chriſt iudged Iudas.

The Lord Cobham ſaid: No, Chriſt iudged him not, but he iudged himſelfe: and thereupon went forth, and ſo did hang himſelfe. But in deede Chriſt ſayd, wo vnto him, for that couetous act of his, as he doth yet ſtill vnto many of you. For ſince the venime of him was ſhed into the church, ye neuer folowed Chriſt: neyther yet haue ye ſtand in the perfection of Gods law.

Then the Archbiſhop aſked him, what hee ment by that venime?

The L. Cobhā ſayd: your poſſeſſions & lordſhips. For then cryed an Angel in ẏ ayre (as your own chronacles mencioneth) wo, wo, wo: this day is venim ſhed into the church of God. Before that time, all ẏ biſhops of Rome were Martyrs in a maner. And ſince that time, we read of very few. But in dede ſince that ſame time, one hath put downe an other, one hath poyſoned an other, one hath curſed an other, and one hath ſlayne an other, and done much more miſchiefe beſides, as all the Chronicles telleth. And let all men conſider well thys, that Chriſt was meeke and mercyfull. The Pope is proude, and a tyraunt. Chriſt was poore and forgaue. The Pope is rich and a malicious manſlear, as hys daylye actes doo proue him. Rome is the very neaſt of Antichriſt, and out of that neaſt, cōmeth all the diſciples of him. Of whom prelats, prieſtes, & Monkes, are the body, and theſe pilde friers are the tayle which couereth his moſt filthy part.

26. Biſhops of Rome together martyrs, ſaue onely. 4.

A cōpariſon betwene the martyrs & the popes tyme.

A cōpariſon betwene Chriſt & the pope.

Rome is Antichriſtes neaſt.

Then ſaid the prior of the friers Auguſtines: Alacke ſir, why do you ſay ſo? That is vncharitably ſpoken.

And the Lord Cobham ſayd. Not only is it my ſaying, but alſo the prophet Eſayes, longe afore my time. The prophet ſaith he, which preacheth lies, is the tayl behinde. For as you friers & monkes be (like Phariſeis) deuided in your outward aparell & vſages, ſo make ye diuiſion among the people. And thus, you with ſuch other, are the very naturall members of Antichriſte.

Eſa.9.

Fryers proued ſedicious and yet found no traytours.

Then ſayd he vnto them all: Chriſt ſayeth in his goſpell. Wo vnto you Scribes and Phareſeis, Ipocrites: For ye cloſe vp the kingdome of heauen before men. Neyther enter ye in your ſelues, nor yet ſuffer any other that would enter into it. But ye ſtop vp the wayes thereunto with your own traditions, and therfore are ye the houſholde of Antichriſte: ye will not permitte Gods verity to haue paſſage, nor yet to be taught of his true miniſters, fearing to haue your wickednes reproued. But by ſuch vaine flatterers as vphold you in your miſchiefes, ye ſuffer the common people moſt miſerably to be ſeduced.

Math.23.

The religion of byſhops.

Then ſayde the Archbiſhop. By our ladye ſir, there ſhall none ſuch preach within my dioceſſe (and God wil) nor yet in my iuriſdictiō (if I may know it) as either maketh diuiſion or yet diſſention among the poore cōmōs.

Note I pray you howe thoſe are coūted traytours, and ſeditious, that teach or cauſe Gods truth to be taught.

The Lord Cobham ſayd. Both Chriſt & his Apoſtles were accuſed of ſedition making, yet were they moſt peaceable mē. Both Daniel and Chriſt prophecied that ſuch a troublous time ſhould come, as hath not ben yet ſince the worldes beginning. And this prophecie is partly fulfilled in your dayes and doinges. For many haue ye ſlayne already, and more wyl ye ſlea hereafter, if god fulfill not hys promiſe. Chriſt ſayth alſo, if thoſe dayes of yours were not ſhortened, ſcarſly ſhould any fleſh be ſaued. Therefore looke for it iuſtly, for God will ſhorten your dayes. Moreouer, though prieſtes and deacons for preaching of Gods woord, and for miniſtring the ſacramentes, with prouiſion for the poore, bee grounded in Gods law: yet haue theſe other ſects no maner of groūd hereof, ſo farre as I haue read.

Luke. 23. John. 19. Math. 24.

Prophecy.

Prophecy. Prieſtes. Deacons.

Then a doctour of law, called maiſter John Kempe, plucked out of his boſome a copy of the bill whych they had afore ſent him into the Tower, by the Archbiſhops counſell, thinking thereby to make ſhorter worke wyth him. For they were ſo amaſed with his anſwers (not all vnlike to them which diſputed with Steuen) that they knew not well how to occupye the time, their wits and ſophiſtrie (as God would) ſo fayled them that day.

Mark this working of Sathā.

Actes. 6.

My Lord Cobham (ſayth this doctour) we muſt briefly knowe your mynde concerning theſe foure poyntes here folowing. The firſt of them is this. And than he red vpon the bill: The fayth & determination of holy church touching the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar is thys. That after the ſacramentall wordes be once ſpoken of a prieſt in his Maſſe, the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned to Chriſtes very body. And the materiall wyne is turned into Chriſtes bloud. And ſo there remayneth in the Sacrament of the aultar from thence forth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the ſacramentall wordes were ſpoken. Sir, beleue ye not this?

The first Article.

Tranſubſtantiation of breade into the body.

The Lord Cobham ſayde: Thys is not my beliefe. But my fayth is (as I ſayd to you afore) that in the worſhipfull ſacrament of the aultar, is very Chriſtes bodye in fourme of bread.

The L. Cobhās beliefe in the Sacrament.

Then ſayd the Archbiſhop: Syr John, ye muſt ſay otherwyſe.

The Lord Cobham ſayde: Nay, that I ſhall not, yf God be vpon my ſide (as I truſt he is) but that there is Chriſtes body in forme of bread, as the cōmon belief is.

Then read the doctour agayne.

The ſecond pointe is this. Holy church hath determined, that euery Chriſtian man liuinge here bodely vpon earth, ought to bee ſhriuen of a prieſte ordeyned by the church, if he may come to him: ſir what ſay you to this?

The second Article.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered and ſayd: A diſeaſed or ſore wounded man, had nede to haue a ſure wiſe Chirurgian and a true, knowing both the grounde and the daunger of the ſame. Moſt neceſſary were it therfore, to be firſt ſhriuen vnto God, which onely knoweth our diſeaſes and can helpe vs. I deny not in this the goinge to a prieſt, if he be a man of good life and learning. For the lawes of God are to be required of the prieſte, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiote, or a man of vicious liuing that is my curat, I ought rather to flee from him than to ſeke vnto him: For ſoner might I catche euill of him that is nought, then any goodnes towardes my ſoules health.

Confeſſion of ſinne to God only.

Malachi, 20.

Then read the doctour againe.

The third poynt is this. Chriſt ordeined S. Peter the Apoſtle, to be his vicar here in earthe whoſe See is the church of Rome. And he graunted that the ſame power which he gaue vnto Peter, ſhould ſuccede to all Peters ſucceſſors, whiche we call nowe Popes of Rome. By whoſe ſpecial power in churches particular, be ordeined Prelates and Archebiſhops, perſons, curates, and other degrees more. Vnto whome curates and other degrees more. Vnto whom chriſten men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy Church. Syr, beleue ye not thys?

The iii. Article.

To this he anſwered and ſayd: He that foloweth Peter moſt nigheſt in pure liuing, is next vnto hym in ſucceſſion. But your Lordly order eſteemth not greatly the lowly behauiour of poore Peter, whatſoeuer ye prate of him. Neyther care ye greatly for the humble maners of them that ſucceeded him, til the time of Silueſter, which for the more part were Martyrs, as I told you afore. Ye can let al their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your ſelues with them at all. All the world knoweth this wel inough by you, and yet ye can make boaſt of Peter.

Who is next vn Peter.

Succe not of place b of cond ons ma. keth Pe ters hey

With that, one of the other doctours aſked him: thā what doo ye ſay of the Pope?

The Lord Cobham anſwered. As I ſayd before. He and you together maketh whole the great Antichriſt. Of whom he is the great head: you biſhops, prieſtes, prelates and monkes are the body: and the begging Friars are the tayle, for they couer the filthines of you both, wt their ſubtile ſophiſtry. Neither wil I in conſcience obey any of you all, till I ſee you with Peter folow Chriſt in conuerſation.

Antich hed, bod and taile.

Than read the doctour agayne.

The fourth point is this. Holy churche hath determined that it is meritorious to a Chriſten man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places. And there ſpecially to worſhip holy reliques and images of Saintes, Apoſtles, Martyrs, cōfeſſours, and all other ſayntes beſides, approued by the church of Rome. Sir, what ſay ye to this?

The iiii Article.

Pilgremage.

Whereunto he aunſwered. I owe them no ſeruice by any commaundement of God: & therfore I mind not to ſeeke them for your couetouſnes. It were beſt ye ſwept them fayre from copwebs and duſt, and ſo laid them vp for catching of ſcathe. Or els to burye them fayre in the ground, as ye do other aged people which are Gods images. It is a wonderfull thing, that ſaintes nowe beinge dead, ſhould become ſo couetous and nedy, and therupon ſo bitterlye begge, which all the life time hated all couetouſneſſe, and begging. But this I ſay vnto you, and I would all the world ſhould marke it. That with your ſhrines and Idolles, your fayned abſolution and pardons, ye draw vnto you the ſubſtaunce, wealth and chief pleaſures of all chriſten Realmes.

What is be done with ima ges.

Saintes become now co tous beg gers.

Why ſir (ſayd one of the clerkes) will ye not worſhip good images?

A whelp the ſame heare,

What woorſhip ſhould I geue vnto them? ſayde the Lord Cobham.

Then ſayde Frier Palmer vnto hym. Sir ye wyll worſhip the croſſe of Chriſte, that he dyed vpon?

Images to be wo ſhipped.

Where is it, ſayd the Lord Cobham?

The frier ſayd. I put ye ỹ caſe Syr, that it were here euen now before you?

The Lord Cobham aunſwered. This is a great wiſe man, to put me an earneſt queſtion of a thyng, and yet he him ſelf knoweth not where the thing it ſelfe is. Yet once agayne aſke I you, what worſhip I ſhould do vnto it?

The cro whether is to be worſhip ped.

A clerke ſayd vnto hym. Such worſhip as Paul ſpeaketh of, and that is this. God forbid that I ſhould ioy, but onely in the croſſe of Jeſu Chriſt.

Gala.

Then ſayd the Lord Cobham: and ſpread his armes abroade. This is a very croſſe, yea, and ſo much better then your croſſe of wode, in that it was created of God. Yet will not I ſeke to haue it worſhipped.

Then ſayd the Biſhop of London. Syr, ye wot well that he dyed on a materiall croſſe.

The ma riall c is not teriall t our fait

The Lord Cobhā ſayd. Yea, and I wot alſo that our ſaluation came not in, by that material croſſe, but alone by him whiche dyed therupon. And wel I wot, that holy S. Paul reioyſed in none other croſſe, but in Chriſtes paſſion and death onely, and in his own ſufferinges of lyke perſecution with hym, for the ſame ſelfe veritie that hee had ſuffred for afore?

What it to reioy in the of Chri

An other clerke yet aſked him. Will ye then do none honour to the holy croſſe.

He aunſwered hym. Yes, if he were myne, I would lay him vp honeſtly, and ſee vnto him that he ſhould take no more ſcathe abroade, nor be robbed of his gooddes as he is now a dayes.

Then ſayd the Archbyſhop vnto hym. Syr John, ye haue ſpoken here many wonderfull wordes to the ſlaunderous rebuke of the whole ſpiritualty: geuyng a great euill example vnto yͤ common ſort here, to haue vs in the more diſdaine. Much time haue we ſpẽt here about you, and all in vayne ſo far as I can ſee. Well, wee muſt bee nowe at this ſhort point with you, for the day paſſeth away: ye muſt either ſubmit your ſelf to yͤ ordinaunce of holy church, or els throw your ſelf (no remedy) into moſt deepe daunger. See to it in time, for anone it will be ells to late.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: I knowe not to what purpoſe I ſhould otherwiſe ſubmit me. Much more haue you offended me, then euer I offended you, in thus troublyng me before this multitude.

Then ſayd the Archbyſhop agayne vnto hym. We once agayne require you to remember your ſelfe well, & to haue none other maner opinion in theſe matters, then the vniuerſall fayth, & beliefe of the holy church of Rome is. And ſo like an obedient childe to returne agayn to the vnitie of your mother. Se to it, I ſay in tyme, for yet ye may haue remedy, where as anone it will be to late.

The Lord Cobham ſayd expreſly before them all. I will none otherwiſe beleue in theſe pointes, then that I haue tolde ye here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Finally then the Archbyſhop ſayd. Well then I ſee none other, but we muſt nedes do the law: we muſt procede forth to yͤ ſentence diffinitiue, and both iudge you, and condempne you for an hereticke.

And with that, yͤ Archbyſhop ſtode vp, and read there a Bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity uailyng their bonnets. And this was the tenour therof.

¶ *The diffinitiue ſentence of his condemnation.*

IN the name of GOD So be it. We Thomas by the ſufferaunce of God, Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane, and primate of all England, & Legate from the Apoſtolike ſee of Rome, willeth this to be knowen vnto all men. In a certaine cauſe of hereſie, and vpon diuers articles, whereupon Syr John Oldcaſtell knyght and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquiſition made for the ſame, was detected, accuſed, and preſented before vs in our laſt conuocation of all our prouince of Canterbury, holden in the cathedrall churche of Paules at Lõdon: At the lawfull denouncement and requeſt of our vniuerſall clergy in the ſayd conuocation, we proceded agaynſt him accordyng to the law (God to witnes) withall the fauor poſſible. And folowyng Chriſtes example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he be conuerted and lyue: we tooke vpon vs to correct him, and ſought all other wayes poſſible to bring him agayne to the churches vnitie, declaryng vnto hym what the holy and vniuerſall church of Rome hath ſayd, holden, determined & taught in that behalfe. And though we founde hym in the catholicke fayth farre wyde and ſo ſtiffnecked, that he would not confes his error, nor purge him ſelf, nor yet repent hym therof: we yet piteing hym of fatherly compaſſion, and intierly deſiryng the health of his ſoule, appointed him a competẽt tyme of deliberatiõ, to ſee if he would repent & ſeeke to be reformed: but ſince that tyme we haue found him worſe & worſe. Cõſidering therfore, that he is incorrigible: we are driuen to the very extremitie of the law, and with great heauineſſe of hart, we now procede to the publication of the ſentence diffinitiue, agaynſt him.

Then brought he forth an other Bill, conteinyng the ſayd ſentence, and that he read alſo in his beggery Latine. Chriſti nomine inuocato, ipſumq; ſolum pre oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, and ſo forth. Whiche I haue alſo tranſlated into Engliſhe, that men may vnderſtand it.

Chriſt we take vnto witnes, that nothyng els we ſeke in this our whole enterpriſe, but his onely glory. For as much as we haue founde by diuers actes done, brought foorth and exhibited by ſondry euidences, ſignes and tokens, and alſo by many moſt manifeſt proues: the ſayde Syr John Oldcaſtell knight & L. Cobham, not onely to be an euidẽt hereticke in his owne perſõ, but alſo a mighty maintayner of other heretickes agaynſt the fayth and religion of the holy & vniuerſall churche of Rome: namely about the ij. ſacraments (of the aultar, and of penaũce) beſides the popes power, and pilgrimages. And that he as the childe of iniquitie and darkenes, hath ſo hardened his hart, that he wil in no caſe attende vnto the voyce of his paſtor. Neither will he be allured by ſtraight admoniſhments, nor yet be brought in, by fauourable wordes. The worthines of the cauſe firſt wayed on the one ſide, & his vnworthines again conſidered on the other ſide, his faults alſo aggrauated or made double through his damnable obſtinacy (we being loth: that he which is nought ſhoulde be worſe, and ſo with his contagiouſnes infecte the multitude) By the ſage councell and aſſent of the very diſcrete fathers, our honorable brethren and Lordes, Biſhops here preſẽt, Richard of London, Henry of Wincheſter, and Benit of Bangor, and of other great learned and wiſe men here, both doctors of diuinitye, and of the lawes cannon and ciuill, ſeculers and religious, with diuers other expert men aſſiſting vs: we ſentenciallye and diffinitiuely by this preſent writinge, iudge, declare and condemne the ſayd ſir John Oldcaſtle, knight, and Lord Cobham, for a moſt pernitious and deteſtable hereticke, conuicted vpon the ſame, and refuſinge vtterlye to obey the church agayn, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned heretike to the ſecular iuriſdiction, power and iudgement, to do him therupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accurſed, not only this heretike here preſent: but ſo many els beſides, as ſhall hereafter in fauor of his error, either receiue him or defende hym, councell him or helpe him, or any other way maintein him: as very fauters, receiuers, defẽders, counſailers, ayders, and maintayners of condemned heretikes.

Ex magno proceſſu Thomæ Arũdelli.

That church is an whore.

A true ſhepe heareth the voyce of a true paſtour.

A colour of deceite.

As Cayphas did Chriſt.

Chriſt is condemned in hys faythfull member.

And that theſe premiſſes may be the better knowen to all faithfull Chriſten men: we commit it here vnto your charges, & geue you ſtraygbt cõmaundement therupon by this writing alſo: That ye cauſe this condemnation & diffinitiue ſentence of excõmunicatiõ, cõcerning both this heretike & his fauters: to be publiſhed throughout all dioceſſes, in cities, townes, & villages by your curates & pariſhe prieſtes, at ſuch time as they ſhall haue moſt recourſe of people. And ſee yͭ it be done after this ſorte. As the people are thus gathered deuoutly together, let yͤ curate euery where go into the pulpit & there opẽ, declare, & expoũd, this proces in the mother toũge, in an audible and intelligible voyce, that it may be perceiued of all mẽ: and that vpon the feare of this declaration alſo, the people may fall frõ their euill opiniõs conceiued now of late by ſeditious prechers. Moreouer we will, that after we haue deliuered vnto eche one of you biſhops, which are here preſent, a copy hereof: that ye cauſe the ſame to bee written out againe into diuers coppies, and ſo to be ſent vnto the other biſhops and Prelates of our whole prouince, that they may alſo ſee the contents thereof ſolemnly publiſhed within their dioceſes and cures. Finallye we wyll, that both you and they ſignifie agayne vnto vs ſeriouſly and diſtinctly by your wrytinges, as the matter is, without fayned colour in euery poynt performed: the day wheron ye receaued this proces, the time when it was of you executed, and after what ſort it was done in euery condition, according to the tenour hereof, that we may know it to be iuſtly the ſame.

How ſpirituall theſe holy fathers are.

Kepe the ſepulchre neuer ſo much, yet Chriſt will ryſe.

None office left vndone pertaynyng to Antichriſt.

What care is here to hold vp their popery.

A coppye of thys writing, ſent Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, afterward from Maydſton the .x. day of October, within the ſame yeare of our lord 1413. vnto Richard Clifford the biſhop of Lõdon, which thus beginneth: Thomas permiſſione diuina. &c.

The ſayd Richard Clyfford ſent an other copy thereof, encloſed within his own letters: vnto Robert Maſcal a Carmelite friar, which was then biſhop of Herford in Wales, written from Hadham the .xxiij. day of October in the ſame yeare, and the beginning thereof is thys: Reuerende in Chriſto pater, &c.

Thomas Walden in faſciculo Zizaniorum Wicleui.

Richard Clyfford.

Robert Maſcall.

The ſayde Robert Maſcall directed an other copye thereof from London the .xxvij. day of Nouember in the ſame yeare, encloſed in his owne commiſſion alſo, vnto his Archdeacon and deanes in Herford and Shrewſbury. And this is thereof the beginning: Venerabilibus & diſcretis viris. &c. In like manner dyd the other biſhops wythin their dioceſes.

Ex vtroque exemplari.

After that the Archbiſhop had thus red the bil of his condemnation, wyth moſt extremitie before the whole multitude: The Lord Cobham ſaid with a moſt chearefull countenaunce. Though ye iudge my body whych is but a wretched thing, yet am I certayne and ſure: that ye can do no harme to my ſoule, no more than could Sathan vpon the ſoule of Iob. He that created that, wyll of his infinite mercy and promiſe ſaue it, I haue therin no maner of doubt. And as cõcerning theſe articles before rehearſed, I wyll ſtand to them euen to the very death, by the grace of my eternall God.

Math. 10.
Iob. 1.

And therwith he turned him vnto the people, caſting his handes abroade, and ſaying with a very loud voice: Good Chriſten people, for Gods loue bee well ware of theſe men. For they wyll els begyle you, and leade you blindlyng into hell with them ſelues. For Chriſt ſayth playnly vnto you: If one blynde man leadeth an other, they are lyke both to fall into the ditch.

Math. 10.

He prayeth for hys enemyes.

After this, he fell downe there vpon his knees, & thus before them all prayed for hys enemies, holding vp both his handes and his eyes towardes heauen and ſaying: Lord God eternall, I beſeche thee for thy great mercies ſake, to forgeue my purſuers, if it be thy bleſſed wil. And then he was deliuered to ſyr Robert Morley, and ſo led forth againe to the Tower of London. And thus was there an ende of that dayes worke.

Ex vetuſto exemplari Londinenſiũ.

While the Lord Cobham was thus in the tower, he ſent out priuilye vnto his frendes. And they at his requeſt wrote this litle bill here folowyng, cauſing it to be ſet vp in diuers quarters of London, yͭ the people ſhould not beleue the ſlaunders and lyes that hys enemyes, the Byſhops ſeruauntes and prieſtes, had made on hym abroad. And this was the letter.

A teſtimoniall made by hys frendes.

FOr as much as ſir Iohn Oldcaſtel, knyght and Lord Cobham, is vntruly conuicted and impriſoned, falſly reported and ſlaundered among the common people by his aduerſaries, that he ſhould otherwiſe both think and ſpeake of the Sacraments of the churche, and ſpecially of the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, then was written in the confeſſion of his beleue whiche was indented and taken to the clergye, and ſo ſet vp in diuers open places in the citie of London. Knowen be it here to all the world, that he (neuer ſence) varied in any point therfro, but this is playnely his beleue: that all the Sacramentes of the church, be profitable and expedient alſo to all them that ſhall be ſaued, takyng them after the intent that Chriſt & his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he beleueth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, is verely and truly Chriſtes body, in fourme of bread.

To ſtop lyeng lippes.
A rehearſall of hys beliefe.
In forme of bread, but not without bread he meaneth.

The clergy in hate of the people.

After this the Biſhops & prieſtes were in much great diſcredit both wͭ the nobilitie & commõs, partly for that they had ſo cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham: and partly agayn, becauſe his opinion (as they thought at yͤ time) was perfect cõcerning yͤ ſacramẽt. The prelats feared this to grow to further inconuenience towardes thẽ both wayes, wherfore they drue their heades together: and at yͤ laſt conſented to vſe an other practiſe ſomwhat cõtrary to yͭ they had done afore. They cauſed it by & by to be blowne abroad by their feed ſeruauntes, frendes, & bablyng Syr Ihons: that the ſayd Lord Cobhã was becomen a good man, and had lowly ſubmitted him ſelf in all thynges vnto holy churche, vtterly chaungyng his opinion concernyng the Sacrament. And therupon, they counterfaited an abiuration in his name, that the people ſhould take no hold of that opiniõ by any thyng they had heard of him before, & to ſtãd ſo the more in awe of thẽ. Conſideryng him ſo great a man, and by them ſubdued.

A practyſe of falſe prieſtes.

Theſe are their cõmon feates.

This is the abiuracion (ſay they) of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtell knight, ſometyme the Lord Cobham.

¶ *An abiuration counterfaited of the Biſhops.*

Walden i faſciculo Zizaniori Wicleui.

IN Dei nomine Amen. I Iohn Oldcaſtell denounced, detected and conuicted, of and vpon diuers articles ſauoryng both hereſie and errour, before the reuerend father in Chriſt and my good Lord, Thomas by yͤ permiſſion of God, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, & my lawfull and rightfull iudge in that behalfe, expreſly graunt and confeſſe: that as concernyng the eſtate and power of the moſt holy father the Pope of Rome, of hys Archbyſhops, his Byſhops and his other prelates, the degrees of the churche, and the holy Sacramentes of the ſame, ſpecially of the Sacramentes of the aultar and of penaunce & other obſeruaũces beſides of our mother holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I ſay) before the ſayd reuerend father Archbyſhop and els where, yͭ I being euill ſeduced by diuers ſedicious preachers, haue greuouſly erred, & heretically perſiſted, blaſphemouſly aunſwered, and obſtinatly rebelled. And therfore I am by yͤ ſayde reuerend father, before the reuerend fathers in Chriſt, alſo the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, & Bangor, lawfully condemned for an heretike.

Marke ho whẽce th geare com meth.

Fyne wo manſhip trowe.

Alas goo man, tho art ſlaundered.

Neuertheles yet, I now remembryng my ſelfe, and couetyng by this meane to auoyde that temporall paine which I am worthy to ſuffer as an hereticke, at the aſſignation of my moſt excellent Chriſtẽ prince & liege Lord, kyng Henry the v. now by the grace of God moſt worthy kyng both of England and of Fraunce: Minding alſo to prefer the wholeſome determination, ſentence, and doctrine of the holy vniuerſall churche of Rome, before the vnholeſome opinions of my ſelfe, my teachers, and my folowers: I frely, willingly, deliberatly, & throughly, confeſſe, graunt, and affirme, the moſt holy fathers in Chriſt, S. Peter the Apoſtle and his ſucceſſours biſhops of Rome, ſpecially nowe at this tyme, my moſt bleſſed Lord pope Iohn, by the permiſſion of God, the xxiij. pope of that name, whiche now holdeth Peters ſeat (and each of thẽ in their ſucceſſion) hath full ſtrength and power to be Chriſtes vicare in earth, and the head of the Churche militãt. And yͭ by the ſtrength of his office (what though he bee a great ſinner, & afore knowne of God to be damned) hee hath full authoritie and power to rule and gouerne, bynde and loſe, ſaue and deſtroye, accurſe and aſſoyle, all other Chriſten men.

And agreably ſtill vnto this, I confeſſe, graunt, and affirme all other Archbiſhops, Byſhops, and prelates in their prouinces, dioces and pariſhes (appointed by yͤ ſaid pope of Rome, to aſſiſte him in his doings or buſines) by his Decrées, Canons or vertue of hys office: to haue had in times paſt, to haue now at this time, and yͭ they ought to haue in tyme to come: authoritie and power to rule & to gouerne, bynde and loſe, accurſe and aſſoyle, the ſubiectes or people of their aforeſaide prouinces, dioces, and pariſhes, and that their ſayd ſubiectes or people ought of right in all thyngs to obey them. Furthermore I confeſſe, graũt, and affirme, that the ſayd ſpirituall fathers, as our moſt holy father the Pope, Archbiſhops, biſhops & prelates: haue had, haue nowe, & ought to haue hereafter, authoritie and power for the eſtate, order and gouernaunce of their ſubiectes or people, to make lawes, decrées, ſtatutes and conſtitucions, yea and to publiſh, cõmaunde and compell their ſayd ſubiectes and people, to the obſeruation of them.

How p ye that, the Scri tures.

Moreouer I confeſſe, grũat and affirme, that all theſe foreſayd lawes, decrées, ſtatutes and conſtitutiõs made, publiſhed and commaunded, according to the fourme of ſpirituall law, all chriſten people, and euery man in hym ſelfe is ſtraightly bound to obſerue, and mekely to obey accordyng to the diuerſitie of the foreſayd powers. As

No ſc tures they ſhewe.

the lawes, ſtatutes, Canons & Conſtitutiõs of our moſt holy father ỹ pope, incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clemẽtines, Codes, Chartes, Reſcriptes, Sextiles and Extrauagãtes the world ouer all: and as the prouinciall ſtatutes of Archbiſhops in their prouinces, the Synodall actes of biſhops in their dioces, and the commendable rules and cuſtomes of prelates in their colledges, & Curates in their pariſhes, all Chriſten people are both bounde to obſerue and alſo moſt mekely to obey. Ouer and beſides all this, I Iohn Oldcaſtel vtterly forſakyng and renouncyng all the aforeſayd errours and hereſies, and all other erroures and hereſies lyke vnto them, laye my hand here vpon this booke or holy Euangely of God, and ſweare: that I ſhall neuer more from hẽce forth hold theſe foreſayd hereſies, nor yet any other lyke vnto them wittingly. Neither ſhall I geue cõſayl, ayde, helpe, nor fauour at any tyme, to them that ſhall holde, teache, affirme, or maintaine the ſame, as God ſhall helpe me, and theſe holy Euangelyes.

And that I ſhall from hence forth faithfully obey and inuiolably obſerue all the holy lawes, ſtatutes, canons, and conſtitutiõs of all the Popes of Rome, Archbiſhops, biſhops, and prelates, as are contained and determined in their holy Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Chartes, Reſcriptes, Sextiles, Summes papall, Extrauagantes, ſtatutes prouinciall, actes ſynodall, and other ordinary regules and cuſtomes conſtituted by them, or that ſhall chaunce hereafter directly to be determined or made. To theſe and all ſuch other, wyll I my ſelfe wyth all power poſſibly apply. Beſides all this, the penaunce which it ſhall pleaſe my ſayd reuerend father the Lorde Archbiſhop of Canterbury hereafter to enioyne me for my ſinnes, I wyll meekely obey and faithfullye fulfill. Finallye, all my ſeducers and falſe teachers, & all other beſides, whom I ſhall hereafter know ſuſpected of hereſie or errours: I ſhall effectuallye preſent, or cauſe to be preſented vnto my ſayd reuerend father, Lord Archbiſhop, or to them which haue his autoritie, ſo ſoone as I can conueniently do it, and ſee that they bee corrected to my vttermoſt power.

Thys abiuration neuer came to the handes of the Lorde Cobham, neyther was it compiled of them for that purpoſe, but onely therewith to bleare the eyes of the vnlearned multitude for a tyme. After the which lyke fetche and ſubtile practiſe, was alſo deuiſed the recantacion of the Archbiſhop Tho. Cranmer, to ſtop for a tyme the peoples mouthes. Which ſubtilty in lyke maner was alſo practiſed with the falſe recantaciõ of biſhop Hoper, & diuers other, as in their places hereafter (Chriſt graunting) ſhall be ſhewed.

And thus much hetherto concerning the firſt trouble of ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle lord Cobham, with all ỹ circumſtances of the true tyme, place, occaſion, cauſes, and order belonging to the ſame. Wherein I truſt I haue ſufficiently ſatiſfied all the parties, requiſite to a faythfull hiſtory, without corruption. For the confirmation wherof, to thentent the mynde alſo of the wrangling cauiller may be ſatiſfied, and to ſtop the mouth of the aduerſary (which I ſee in all places to be readye to barcke) I haue therefore of purpoſe annexed withall, my grounde and foundation taken out of the Archiues and Regiſters of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: Ex epiſt. Tho. Arund. ad Rich. Lond. Whereby may appeare, the manifeſt error both of Polydorus, and of Edward Haul, who being deceaued in the right diſtinction of the tymes, aſſigne thys citation and examination of the Lorde Cobham, to bee after the Councell of Conſtance: when as Thomas Arundell Archb. of Canterbury at the Councell of Conſtance, was not alyue. The copy and teſtimonye of hys owne letter ſhall declare the ſame, wrytten and ſent to the biſhop of London, in forme as foloweth.

¶ *The copy of the Epiſtle of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury written vnto the biſhop of Londõ, wherupon dependeth the ground and certaynty of thys foreſayd hiſtory of the Lord Cobham, aboue premiſed.*

TO the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lorde Robert by the grace of God biſhop of Herford, Richard by the permiſſion of God biſhop of Lõdon, health and continuall increaſe of ſincere loue. we haue of late receaued the letters of the reuerend father in Chriſt & lord the Lord Thomas by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolik ſee to this effect. Thomas by the permiſſion of God, Archb. of Canterbury, Primate of all Englande, and Legate of the Apoſtolike ſee, vnto our reuerend brother the Lorde Richard biſhop of London, health and brotherly loue in the Lord. It was lately concluded before vs in the conuocation of the Prelates and Clergy of our prouince of Canterbury laſt celebrate in our church of S. Paule, intreating amongſt other thinges with the ſayd prelates & clergy vpon the vnion and reformation of the church of England by vs, and the ſayd prelates and clergy: that it was almoſt impoſſible to amend the hole of our Lordes coate which was without ſeame, but that fyrſt of all certayn nobles of the realme, which are autors, fauourers, protectors, defendors and receiuers of theſe heretiks called Lollards, were ſharply rebuked, and if nede were by the cenſures of the church, and the helpe of the ſeculer power, they be reuoked from theyr errors. And afterward hauing made diligent inquiſition in the conuocation amongſt the proctors of the clergye & others, which were ther in great nũber out of euerye dioces of our prouince: It was found out amongſt others, that ſir Iohn Oldecaſtle knight, was and is the principall receiuer, fauorer protector, and defender of them: and that ſpeciallye in the dioceſſe of London, Rocheſter, and Harforde, he hath ſent the ſayd Lollardes to preache, not being licenſed by the ordinaries and biſhops of the dioces or places, cõtrary to the prouinciall conſtitutions in that behalfe made, and hath bene preſent at their wicked ſermons, greuouſly puniſhing wyth threatninges, terrors, and the power of the ſecular ſword, ſuch as dyd withſtande hym: alledging and affirming amongeſt others, that wee and our fellow brethren Suffraganes of our prouinces had not, neyther haue any power to make any ſuch conſtitutiõs. Alſo he hath holden, and doth hold opinion and teach as touching the ſacraments of the aultar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of the worſhipping of ſaintes, and of the keyes contrary to that whych the vniuerſall churche of Rome doth teache and affirme. wherefore on the behalfe of the ſayd Prelats and clergy, we were then required, that we would vouchſafe to procede agaynſt the ſayde ſyr Iohn Old caſtell vpon the premiſes. Notwithſtanding, for the reuerence of our Lord the king, in whoſe fauour the ſaid ſyr Iohn at that preſent was, and no leſſe alſo for the honour of hys knighthood: we with our fellow brethren & Suffragans then preſent, with a great part of the clergy of our prouince, comming perſonally before the preſence of our ſayde Lorde the kyng, being then at hys manor of Kenington, put vp agaynſt the ſayd Syr Iohn, a complaynt, and partly reciting the defaultes of the ſayde ſyr Iohn. But at the requeſt of our ſayde Lord the king, we deſyring to reduce the ſayd ſyr Iohn to the vnitye of the church, without any reproch: we deferred all thexecution of the premiſſes for a great tyme. But at the laſt, for ſo much as our ſayd Lord the kyng, after his great trauels taken about the conuerſion of hym, dyd nothyng at all profyt, as our ſayd Lord the kyng vouchſafed to certifye vs both by word and writing: we immediately decreed to call forth the ſayd ſyr Iohn perſonally, to anſwer before vs at a certayne tyme alreadye paſſed, in and vpon the premiſſes, and ſent our meſſengers with theſe our letters of citacion to the ſayd ſyr Iohn, then beyng at hys Caſtel of Cowlyng, vnto the whych Meſſenger we gaue cõmaundemẽt, that he ſhould in no caſe go into the caſtel except he were liſenced. But by the meanes of one Iohn Butler, porter of the kings chamber, he ſhoulde requyre the ſaid ſir Iohn, that he wold either liſence the ſaid meſſenger to come into the caſtel, or that he ſhould cite him, or at the leaſt that he wold ſuffer himſelf to be cited without his caſtel. The which ſir Iohn openly anſwered vnto the ſayd I. Butler, declaring the premiſſes vnto him, on the behalfe of our Lord the kyng: that he woulde by no meanes be cited, neither in any caſe ſuffer his citation. Thẽ we beyng certified of the premiſſes lawfully proce-

A thyng thought ryght neceſſary that the Lord Cobham ſhould be made out of the way, or els not poſſible for papiſtrye to floriſhe.

Syr Iohn Oldcaſtell in fauour with the king.

ding further. Firſt hauing faithful report made vnto vs, that he could not be apprehended by perſonall citatiō, we decreed to cite hym by an edict to be openly ſet vp in the porches of the cathedrall churche of Rocheſter next vnto hym, litle more then iij. Engliſhe miles diſtant from the ſaid caſtell of Cowling. As we had thus cauſed him to be cited, and our edict aforeſayd to be publikely and openly ſet vpon the porches of the ſayd churche, that he ſhoulde perſonally appeare before vs the xi. day of Septēber laſt paſt to aunſwere vnto the premiſſes, and certayne other thinges concerning hereſie: The whiche day being come, wee ſitting in our tribunall ſeat in our greater chappell within the caſtell of Leedis of our dioces, the whiche we then inhabited, and where as we then kept reſidēce with our court, and hauing taken an othe which is requiſite in the premiſſes, and the information by vs hard and receiued, as the common report goeth: In the partes wheras the ſayd ſir John dwelleth (fortifying him ſelfe in his ſaid Caſtell, defending his opinions manifoldly, contemning the keyes of the church, and the archbiſhops power.) we therfore cauſed the ſayd ſir John cited, as is aforeſayd, to be openly with a loud voice called by the crier: & ſo being called, long looked for, and by no meanes appearyng, we iudged him (as he was no les worthy) obſtinate, and for puniſhment of his ſayd obſtinacy, we did then and there excommunicate hym. And for ſo much as by the order of the premiſſes, and other euident tokens of his doynges, we vnderſtād that the ſaid ſir John for the defence of his errour, doth fortifie him ſelfe, as is aforeſayd agaynſt the keyes of the churche, by pretence wherof a vehement ſuſpicion of hereſie and ſchiſme riſeth againſt him: we haue decreed if he may be apprehēded, again perſonally to cite hym, or els as before by an edict that hee ſhould appeare before vs the Saterday next after the feaſt of S. Mathew the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt next comming, to ſhew ſome reaſonable cauſe if he can, why we ſhould not procede againſt him, to more greuous puniſhment, as an open hereticke, ſchiſmatike & opē enemy of the vniuerſal church. And perſonally to declare why he ſhould not be pronounced ſuch a one, or yͭ the aide of yͤ ſeculer power ſhould not be ſolēnly required againſt him. And further to anſwere, do, and receiue as touching the premiſſes, what ſoeuer iuſtice ſhall require. The whiche tyme beyng come, that is to ſay yͤ Saterday next after the feaſt of ſ. Mathew being the xxiij. day of September, ſyr Robert Morley knight, Lieuetenaunt of the tower of Lōdon appeared perſonally before vs, ſitting in the chapter houſe of the church of S. Paul at London, with our reuerent felow brethren & Lordes, Richard by the grace of God biſhop of London, and Henry byſhop of wincheſter: and brought with him ſir John Oldcaſtell knight & ſet him before vs (for a litle before he was taken by the kynges ſeruaunts and caſt into the tower) vnto which ſir Jhon Oldcaſtle ſo perſonally preſent, wee rehearſed all the order of the proces, as it is cōtayned in yͤ actes of the day before paſſed with good and modeſt wordes & gentle meanes. That is to ſay, how he the ſayd ſir Jhon was detected and accuſed, in the conuocation of the prelates and clergy of our ſayd prouince, as is aforeſayd vpon the articles before rehearſed, & how he was cited, and for his cōtumacy excommunicate. And when we were come to that point we offered our ſelues ready to abſolue him. Notwithſtādyng the ſaid ſir Jhon, not regardyng our offer ſayd, that hee would willyngly rehearſe before vs, and my ſayd felow brethren, the fayth whiche he held and affirmed. So he hauing deſire and obtained licence, he tooke out of his boſome a certeine Scedule indented, and there openly read the contentes of the ſame, and deliuered the ſame Scedule vnto vs, and the Scedule of the articles, whereupon he was examined, whiche was as in forme folowyng.

The keyes of the church falſly wraſted.

The Lord Cobham excomunicated.

The L. Cobhā caſt into the Tower.

The teres of the Crocodile.

Popiſhe abſolution neglected.

The catholike fayth and confeſſion of the Lord Cobham

I John Oldcaſtle knight, Lord of Cobham, deſire to make manifeſt vnto all chriſtians, and God to be taken to witnes, that I neuer thought otherwiſe or would thinke otherwiſe (by Gods helpe) then with a ſtedfaſt & vndoubted fayth to embrace all thoſe his ſacraments which he hath inſtituted for the vſe of his churche.

The ſacrament of the aultar.

Of penaunce.

Furthermore that I may the more playnly declare my mind in theſe .iiij. points of my fayth: Firſt of all I beleue the ſacrament of thaltare to be the body of Chriſt vnder the forme of bread the very ſame body whiche was borne of his mother Marye, Crucefied for vs, dead and buried, roſe agayne the third day, ſitteth on the righthand of his immortall father, now beinge a triumphant partaker with him of his eternall glory. Then as touching the ſacrament of penance this is my beliefe, that I do thinke the correction of a ſinfull life to be moſt neceſſary for all ſuch as deſire to be ſaued, and that they ought to take vpon them ſuch repentance of their former life by true confeſſion, vnfained contrition, and lawfull ſatiſfaction, as the word of God doth preſcribe vnto vs. Otherwyſe there will be no hope of ſaluation.

Of images.

Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion, that I doe iudge them no poynt of fayth, but brought into the world after the faith of Chriſt by the ſufferaunce of the churche, and ſo growen in vſe that they might ſerue for a kalender for the lay people and ignoraunt. By the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembraunce the godly examples and martirdome of Chriſt, and other holy men: but if any man do otherwyſe abuſe thys repreſentation, and geue the reuerence vnto thoſe Images, whych is due vnto the holy men whom they repreſent, or rather to hym vnto whō the holy men themſelues owe al theyr honour, ſetting all their truſt and hope in them which ought to be referred vnto God: or if they be ſo affected toward theſe dombe Images, that they be in any behalfe addict vnto them, eyther be more addict vnto one Saint then vnto onother, in my minde they doe lytle differ from idolatry, greuouſly offending agaynſt God thautor of all honor.

Of pilgrimages.

Laſt of all I am thus perſwaded, that there bee no inhabitantes here in earth but that we ſhall paſſe ſtrayght eyther to lyfe or puniſhment: for whoſoeuer doth ſo order hys lyfe that hee ſtumble at the commaundementes of God, which eyther he knoweth not, or he wyll not be taught them, it is but in vayne for hym to looke for ſaluation, although he ranne ouer all the corners of the world. Cōtrarywyſe he whych obſerueth hys commaundements, can not periſh, although in all his lyfe tyme he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, or Compoſtella, or to any other place, whether as the common people are accuſtomed to walke.

This Scedule with the articles therin cōteined being read (as is aforſaid) by the ſaid ſir John: we with our felow brethren aforeſayd, and many other doctors and learned men had conference vpon the ſame. And at the laſt by the councell and conſent of them, we ſpake theſe wordes folowyng vnto the ſayd ſir Jhon there preſent. Beholde ſir Jhon, there are many good & catholicke things cōteined in this Scedule. But you haue this time to aunſwer vnto other matters which ſauor of errours and hereſies. whereunto by the contentes of this ſcedule, it is not fully aunſwered, and therfore you muſt aunſwere therunto, & more plainly expreſſe and declare your faith and opiniōs as touchyng thoſe pointes in the ſame Byll. That is to ſay, whether you hold, beleue, and affirme, that in the Sacrament of the altare, after the conſecration rightly done, there remaineth materiall bread or not.

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Item, whether you holde, beleue, and affirme, that it is neceſſary in the Sacrament of penaunce for a man to confes his ſinnes vnto a prieſt appointed by the churche.

The which articles in this maner deliuered vnto him, amongſt many other things he anſwered plainly, that he would make no other declaration or aunſwere therunto then was contained in the ſayd ſcedule. Whereupon we fauoring the ſaid ſir Jhon, with benigne and gētle meanes we ſpake vnto him in this manner. Sir Jhon take hede, for if you do not plainly anſwer vnto theſe things, which are obiected againſt you within a lawfull time now grāted you by the iudges, we may declare you to be an hereticke, but the ſaid ſyr Jhon perſeuered as before & would make no other anſwere. Conſequently notwithſtādyng, we together with our ſayd felow brethren and others of our counſayl toke aduiſe, & by their counſayl declared vnto the ſayd ſir Jhon Oldcaſtel, that the ſayd holy churche of Rome in this matter folowing the ſaying of bleſſed ſ. Auguſtine, Jerome, Ambroſe and other holy men, hath determined, the whiche determinations euery catholicque ought to obſerue. whereunto the ſayd ſir Jhon anſwered, that he would beleue and obſerue what ſoeuer the holye churche determined, & whatſoeuer God would he ſhould obſerue & beleue. But yͭ he would in no caſe affirme that our Lord the Pope, the cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, or other prelates of the church haue any power to determine any ſuch matters. wherupon, we yet fauoring hym, vnder hope of better aduiſement promiſed the ſayd ſyr Jhon: that we would geue him in writing certaine determinations vpon the matter aforeſayd. whereunto he ſhould more plainly aunſwere, written in Latin, and for his better vnderſtandyng tranſlated into Engliſh: wherupon, we commaūded & hartely deſired hym that againſt Monday next folowyng, he ſhould geue a plaine and full aunſwere, the which determinations we cauſed to be trāſlated the ſame day and to be deliuered vnto him the ſonday next folowyng. The tenor of whiche determinations here folow in this maner.

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The fayth and determination of the holy church vpon the holy Sacrament of the aulter is this. That after the conſecration done in the maſſe by the prieſt, the materiall bread ſhalbe chaūged into the materiall body of Chriſt, & the materiall wyne into the materiall bloud of Chriſte. Therfore after the cōſecration there remayneth no more any ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, whiche was there before

fore. what do you aunſwere to this article?

Alſo the holy churche hath determined that euery chriſtiã dwellyng vpon earth ought to confes his ſinnes vnto a prieſt ordeined by the Churche, if he may come vnto hym. How thinke you by this article?

Chriſt ordained S. Peter his vicare in earth, whoſe ſeat is the churche of Rome, geuyng and graunting the ſame authoritie which he gaue vnto Peter, alſo to his ſucceſſours which are now called popes of Rome, in whoſe power it is to inſtitute and ordain prelates in particuler churches. As Archbyſhops, Byſhops curates, and other Eccleſiaſticall orders, vnto whom the Chriſtian people ought obedience accordyng to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy churche, what thinke you by this article?

Beſides thys the holy churche hath determined that it is neceſſary for euery chriſtian to go on pilgrimage to holy places and there ſpecially to worſhip the holy reliques of the Apoſtles, martyrs, cõfeſſors and all ſaintes, whoſo euer the church of Rome hath allowed. what thinke you of this article?

Upon which Monday the xxv. day of the ſayd moneth of Septẽber before vs and our felow brethren aforeſayd hauyng alſo taken vnto vs our reuerend brother, Benedict by the grace of God, biſhop of Bangor, and by our cõmaundement our councellers and miniſters, maiſter Hẽry ware officiall of our court of Cãterbury, Philip Morgan doctor of both lawes, Howell Kyffin doctour of the decretals, Jhon Kempe, and william Carlton doctours of law, Jhon witnã, Thomas Palmer, Robert wombewell, Jhon whitheand, Robert Chamberlain, Richarde Dotington, and Thomas walden profeſſours of diuinity. And alſo James Cole, and Jhon Steuens our notaries appointed on this behalfe. They all and euery one beyng ſworne vpon the holy goſpell of God, laying their hands vpon the booke that they ſhould geue their faythfull counſel in, and vpon the matter aforeſayd, and in euery ſuch cauſe, and to the whole worlde. By and by appeared ſyr Robert Morlay knyght, lieuetenaũt of the tower of London, and brought with hym the foreſayd ſyr Jhon Oldcaſtel ſetting him before vs. Unto whom we gently and familiarly reherſed the actes of the day before paſſed. And as before we told hym that he both is and was excõmunicate, requiryng & intreating him that he would deſyre and receyue in due forme the abſolutiõ of the church. Unto whõ the ſayd ſyr Jhon then and there playnly anſwered, that in thys behalfe he would require no abſolution at our hands but onely of God. Then afterward by gentle and ſofte meanes we deſired and required hym to make a playn anſwere vnto the articles which were laid agaynſt him. And firſt of all, as touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar. To the whiche article beſides other thyngs he anſwered and ſaid thus: That as Chriſt beyng here in earth had in him both Godhead and manhode. Notwithſtandyng the Godhead was couered and inuiſible vnder the humanitie, the whiche was manifeſt & viſible in him: ſo lykewiſe in the Sacramẽt of the aultar, there is the very body and very bread, bread which we do ſee, the body of Chriſt hiddẽ vnder the ſame, which we do not ſee. And plainly denied that the faith as touchyng the ſaid Sacrament determined by the Romiſh churche & holy doctors & ſent vnto him by vs in the ſayd ſchedule, to be the determination of the holy churche. But if it be the determination of the church, he ſayd that it was done cõtrary vnto the ſcriptures, after the church was endowed, and that poyſon was poured into the church, & not afore. Alſo as touchyng the Sacrament of penaũce & confeſſiõ he playnly ſayd & affirmed thẽ & there: that if any mã were in any greuous ſinne, out of the which he knew not how to riſe, it were expediẽt and good for him to go vnto ſome holye & diſcrete prieſt to take coũcel of hym. But that he ſhould confeſſe hys ſinne to any proper prieſt, or to any other, although he might haue the vſe of hym, it is not neceſſary to ſaluation, for ſo much as by onely cõtrition, ſuch ſinne can be wyped away, and the ſynner him ſelfe purged. As cõcernyng the worſhippyng of the cros, he ſayd and affirmed that the onely body of Chriſt which did hange vpon the cros is to be worſhypped. For ſo much as that body alone was and is the cros, which is to be worſhypped.

And beyng demaunded what honor he would do vnto the Image of the cros. He aunſwered by expres wordes that he would only do it that honor that he would make it cleane and lay it vp ſafe. As touchyng the power & authoritie of the keyes, the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, & other prelates, he ſayd that the Pope is very Antichriſt, that is the head. The Archbiſhops, Byſhops, and other prelates to be his mẽbers, & the friers to be his tayle. The whiche pope, archbiſhops and biſhops a man ought not to obey, but ſo far forth as they be folowers of Chriſt and of Peter, in their life, maners, and conuerſation, and that he is the ſucceſſour of Peter, whiche is beſt and pureſt in lyfe & maners. Furthermore the ſaid Syr Jhon ſpreadyng hys hands with a loud voyce, ſayd thus to thoſe which ſtode about hym. Theſe mẽ which iudge and would condemne me, wil ſeduce you all and them ſelues, and will lead you vnto hell, therfore take hede of them. when he had ſpokẽ thoſe wordes, we againe as oftentymes before with lamentable countenaunce, ſpake vnto the ſayd ſyr Jhon exhortyng hym with as gentle wordes as wee might, that he would returne to the vnitye of the church, to beleue & hold that which the church of Rome doth beleue & hold. who expreſly anſwered that he would not beleue or hold otherwiſe then he had before declared. wherfore we perceiuing as it appeared by him that we could not preuaile: at the laſt with bitternes of hart, we proceded to the pronouncyng of a diffinitiue ſentence in this maner.

The pope is Antichriſt, the biſhops are his mẽbers, & fryers his tayle.

The bolde talke of the L. Cobham.

☞ In the name of God Amẽ. we Thomas by the permiſſiõ of God Archbiſhop and humble miniſter of the holy churche of Canterbury, primate of all England, & Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, in a certain cauſe or matter of hereſie vpon certaine articles, wherupon ſyr Jhon Oldcaſtel knight Lord Cobham, before vs in the laſt cõuocation of our clergy of our prouince of Canterbury holden in the churche of S. Paul in London after diligent inquiſition thereupon made, was detected and accuſed, and by our ſayd prouince notoriouſly and openly diffamed. At the requeſt of the whole clergy aforeſayd therupon made vnto vs in the ſayd conuocation: withall fauour poſſible that we myght (God we take to witnes) lawfully procedyng agaynſt him, folowing the footeſteppes and exãple of Chriſt whiche would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be conuerted & liue, we haue endeuoured by al waies & meanes we myght or could to reforme him, and to reduce him to the vnitie of the churche: declaring vnto him what the holy vniuerſall church of Rome doth teache, hold, & determine in this behalfe. And albeit that we found him wandryng aſtray from the catholicke fayth, & ſo ſtubburne and ſtiffnecked that he would not cõfeſſe hys errour or cleare him ſelfe therof, or deteſt ŷ ſame: Notwithſtãding we fauouring him with a fatherly affection, and hartly wiſhyng & deſiring his preſeruatiõ, prefixed hym a certayne competent tyme to deliberate with him ſelfe, and if he would to repent and reforme him ſelf. And laſt of all, for ſomuch as we perceyued him to be vnreaſonable: obſeruyng chiefly thoſe thinges which by the law are required in this behalfe, with great ſorrowe and bitternes of hart, we proceded to the pronouncyng of the definitiue ſentence in this maner.

They call thẽ ſelues humble which rule ouer kinges, and exerciſe the tyranny of the world.

Following Chriſtes footeſteps cleane contrary.

The vniuerſall church meaning by a fygure the part for the whole.

The name of Chriſt being called vpõ, ſetting him onely before our eyes. For ſomuch as by actes enacted, ſignes exhibited, euidences and diuers tokens, beſydes ſundry kynde of proofes, we fynde the ſayd ſyr John to be, and haue bene an hereticke, and a folower of heretickes in the fayth and obſeruation of the ſacred vniuerſal Church of Rome, and ſpecially as touching the ſacramentes of the Euchariſt and of penaunce. And that as the ſonne of iniquitie and darkenes, hee hath ſo hardened hys hart, that he will not vnderſtand the voice of his ſhepherd, neither will be allured wyth hys monitions, or conuerted wyth any faire ſpeche. Hauyng fyrſt of all ſearched and ſought out, and diligently conſidering the merites of the cauſe aforeſayd, and of the ſayd ſyr John, his deſerts and faults aggrauated through his damnable obſtinacy: Not wylling that he that is wicked, ſhould become more wicked, and infect other with hys contagion, by the councel and conſent of the reuerent men of profounde wyſdome and diſcretion, our brethren the Lordes Richarde byſhop of London, Henry biſhop of wyncheſter, and Benedict biſhop of Bangor, and alſo of many other doctours of deuinity, the decretals and ciuill lawe, and of manye other religious and learned perſons our aſſiſtentes, we haue iudged and declared ſententially, and diffinitiuelye condemned the ſayd ſyr John Old caſtell knight, Lord Cobham, being conuict in and vpõ that moſt deteſtable gilt, not wylling penitently to returne vnto the vnitie of the church, and in thoſe thinges which the ſacred vniuerſall church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and ſhewe forth. And ſpeciallye as one erring in the articles aboue written, leauyng hym from henceforth as an hereticke vnto the ſecular iudgement.

They call light darknes, and darknes lyght.

Like will to lyke.

So did the Phariſies deliuer Chriſt vnto Pilate.

> Moreouer we haue excōmunicated, and by theſe writinges do pronounce as excommunicate him as an hereticke, and all other whych from henceforth in fauour of hys errour, ſhall receiue, defend, or geue him councell or fauour, or helpe him in thys behalfe, as fauourers, defenders, and receiuers of hereticks. And to the entent theſe premiſes may be knowen vnto all faythfull Chriſtians, we charge and commaund you, that by your ſentence definitiue, you do cauſe the Curates whych are vnder you, wyth a loud and audible voyce in their churches, when as moſt people is preſēt, in theyr mother tong, through all your cities and dioces to publiſh and declare the ſayd ſyr John Oldcaſtell as is before ſayd, to be by vs condēned as an hereticke, ſchiſmaticke, and one erryng in the articles aboue ſaid: and all other which from henceforth in fauour of hys errours ſhall receyue or defende hym, geuyng hym any councell, comfort or fauour in this behalfe, to be excommunicate as receiuers, fauourers, and defenders of heretickes. As is more effectually contayned in the proces. That by ſuche meanes the erroneous opinions of the people (whych peraduenture hath otherwyſe conceyued the matter) by thoſe declarations of the truth, how the matter is, mai be cut of. The which thing alſo we wyll and commaund to be written and ſignified by you, word for word, vnto al our fellow brethren: that they all may manifeſt, publiſh, and declare throughout all theyr cities and dioces, the maner and forme of thys our proces, and alſo the ſentence by vs geuen, and all other and ſynguler, the contentes in the ſame. And lykewyſe cauſe it to be publiſhed by their Curates which are vnder them, as touching the dai of the recept of theſe preſentes, and what you haue done in the premiſſes, howe you and they haue executed thys our commaundement. We wyll that you and they duly and diſtinctly certify vs the buſynes being don, by you and their letters patents accordyng to thys tenour. Dated in our maner of Maidſtone, the .x. of October, an. 1413. and in the .xviij. yeare of our tranſlation.

Syr Robert Morley.

The L. Cobhā returned again to the Tower.

Thus haue you here the iudiciall proceſſe of the Byſhops againſt this moſt noble Chriſten knight, deſcribed by their own letters and ſtyle. After all this, the ſentence of death being geuen, the lord Cobham was ſent away, ſyr Robert Morley carying him agayne vnto the tower, where as after he had remayned a certayne ſpace, in the nyght ſeaſon, (it is not knowen by what meanes) he eſcaped out and fled into Wales, where as he continued by the ſpace of .iiij. yeares.

¶ *A defence of the Lord Cobham, agaynſt* Alanus Copus.

Alanus Copus Anglus, with hys ſixe Dialogues.

Eroſtratus to get him a fame ſet Dianas temple on fire.

Alanus Copus Anglus, intēperatly abuſeth hys penne.

Copus a barker agaynſt dead men.

AS I was entring into this ſtorye of the Lorde Cobham, after the tractation of all the former hiſtories, hitherto paſſed, hauyng next to ſet vpon thys preſent matter, luckelye, and as God woulde, in ſuche opportunitie of ſeaſon, as maye ſeeme, God to worke himſelfe for defence of hys ſayntes: commeth to my handes a certayne booke of new found dialoges, written in latin by one Alanus Copus Anglus, an Engliſh man, a perſon to me vnknowē, and obſcure hitherto vnto the world, but nowe to purchaſe hym ſelfe a name with Eroſtratus, or with ẏ ſonnes of Enachim, commeth out not with his fiue egges, but with his ſyxe railing dialoges. In the which dialoges the ſaid Alanus Copus Anglus (whether he vnder the armour of other, or other vnder the title of hys name, I knowe not, nor paſſe not) vncourteouſly behauing hymſelf, intemperatly abuſing hys tyme, ſtudy, and pen, forgetting him ſelf, neglecting all reſpect of honeſty, ⁊ mylde modeſty, neyther dreading the ſtroke of God, nor paſſing for ſhame, neyther fauouring the liuing, nor ſparing the dead, who being a lyue as they neuer offended hym, ſo nowe cannot anſwer for them ſelues beyng gone: thus prouoking both God and man agaynſt him, after an vnſemely ſort, ⁊ with a foule mouth, and a ſtin[illegible] breath, rageth and fareth againſt dead mens aſhes, taking nowe the ſpoyle of their good name, after their bodies lye ſlayne in the field. Hys gall and choler being ſo bitter againſt them, that he cannot abyde anye memorye after them to remayne vpon the earth. In ſo muche that for the hatred of them, he ſpurneth alſo againſt me, and fleeth in my face, for that in my Actes and Monumentes, deſcribing the hiſtory of the church, I woulde ſaye anye thing in the fauour of them, whom the Romiſhe Catholikes haue ſo vnmercyfully put to death. The aunſwer to whoſe booke although woulde require a ſeueral tractation by it ſelfe (as if Chriſt graunt ſpace and leyſure, hereafter it ſhall not be forgotten) yet becauſe ſuch opportunitie of the booke is offred to me at this preſent, comming now to the matter of the Lorde Cobham, ſir Roger Acton and other, with whom hee firſt begynneth to quarell, it ſhall bee requiſite a little by the waye to cope with this Cope, whatſoeuer he be, ſo much as truth ſhal geue me, for their defence to ſay ſomething. And here to cut of all the offals of his rayling talke and vnhoneſt rebukes, which I leaue to ſcoldes and men of hys profeſſion agaynſt they lyſt to braule, let vs briefly and quietly conſider the matter, for diſcuſſing of the truth. Wherein firſt I ſhall deſire the Reader wyth equall indifferencie to heare both the partes to ſpeake, as wel what the martyrs hence gone and ſlayne could ſay for them ſelues, if they were preſent, as alſo what this man here doth obiect agaynſt them now being gone. And ſo according to the ſame to iudge both vpon them as they deſerue, and of me as they ſhall pleaſe.

Anſwe
Alanus
Copus,

Indiffe
cie of th
reader
craued.

Now to the ſcope of maiſter Copes matter, whych is this, whither this foreſayd ſir John Oldcaſtell, Lord Cobham (firſt to begyn with hym) is rather to bee commended for a Martyr, or to be reproued for a traytour. And whether that I in writing of him and of ſir Roger Acton, wyth other mo in my former edition, haue delt fraudulently and corruptly in cōmending them in theſe Actes and Monumentes, or no. Touching the diſcuſſion whereof, firſt I truſt that gētle maiſter Cope my frend, neither will, nor well cā deny any part of all ẏ hetherto, touching ẏ ſtory of the Lord Cobham hath been premiſed. Who yet all this whyle was neyther traytor to hys countrey, nor rebell to hys Prince, as by the courſe of hys hiſtory hetherto the Reader maye well vnderſtand. Fyrſt in the tyme of kyng Henry the fourth, he was ſet ouer to Fraunce to the Duke of Orlyance, he did obey. Afterward king Henry the fift, comming to the crown, he was of hym lykewyſe well lyked and fauoured, vntil the tyme ẏ Thomas Arundel with his Clergy, cōplaynning to the king, made bate betwene them. Then the Lord Cobham being cited by the Archbiſhop, at hys citacion would not appeare. But ſent for by the kyng, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowlye ſubiection he ſhewed there to the king, the pag. 664. declareth. After, he yelded an obedient confeſſion of his fayth, it wold not be receaued. Then did hee appeale to the byſhop of Rome, for the whiche the kyng toke great diſpleaſure with him and ſo was he repealed by the kyng to the Archbyſhop, and committed to the tower, whiche alſo he dyd obey. From thence he was brought to his examination once or twyſe: there lyke a conſtant martyr, ⁊ wytnes of the truth, he ſtood to hys confeſſion, and that vnto the very ſentence of death defined agaynſt hym. If this be not the effect of a true martyr, let Alanus Copus, ſay what he will, or what he can. This I ſay, at leaſt I doubt, whether the ſaid Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the lyke triall him ſelfe, would venter ſo narow a point of martyrdome for his religion, as this Chriſtian knyght dyd for hys. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

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The Lo
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L. Cobh
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The Lo
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To procede, after this deadly ſentence, was thus awarded agaynſt hym, the ſayd Lord Cobham was then returned agayne vnto the tower, whiche he with paciēce and mekenes did alſo obey: from the whiche tower if he afterward by the Lordes prouidence did eſcape, whether hath Alanus Copus herein more to prayſe God for offering to hym the benefite, or to blame the man for taking that, which was offered. What Catholicke in all Louen hauyng his houſe ouer his head on fire, will not be glad to haue if he might, the doore ſet open to flee the perill? or els why did Alanus Copus, flee hys countrey hauyng ſo litle nede, if this man, bleadyng almoſt vnder ŷ butchers axe, mighte not enioye ſo greate an offer of ſo luckey deliueraunce?

Thus hetherto I truſt, the cauſe of the Lord Cobhā, ſtandeth firme and ſtronge agaynſt all daunger of iuſt reprehenſion. Who beyng (as ye haue hard) ſo faythfull and obedient to God: ſo ſubmiſſe to his kyng: ſo ſound in his doctrine: ſo cōſtāt in his cauſe: ſo afflicted for ŷ truth: ſo ready & prepared to death: as we haue ſufficiētly declared, not out of vncerteine & doubtfull chronicles, but out of the true originals & inſtrumēts remaynyng in aūcient recordes: What lacketh now, or what ſhould let to ŷ cōtrary, but that he declaring him ſelf ſuch a martyr, that is a witnes to the veritie (for the which alſo at laſt he ſuffered the fire) may therfore worthly be crowned with the title of a martyr, whiche is in Greke as much as a witneſſe bearer.

But here nowe ſteppeth in Dame ἡ διαβολη, with her coſen ſcolde Alecto, &c. who neither learning to hold her toūg, nor yet to ſpeake well, muſt nedes find here a knot in a ruſh, and begynning now to quarell, inferreth thus: But after (ſayth he) that the Lord Cobham was eſcaped out of the tower, his felowes and confederates, conuented them ſelues together, ſeditiouſly agaynſt ŷ king & agaynſt their countrey: A great crime no doubt maiſter Cope, if it be true. So if it be not true, the greater blame returneth vnto your ſelfe, ſo to enter this action of ſuch ſlaunder, vnles the ground wherupon ye ſtand, be ſure. Firſt what felowes of ŷ Lord Cobham, were theſe you meane of? Syr Roger Acton, ye ſay, maiſter Brown, and Jhon Beuerley, with 36. other hāged and burned in the ſayd fielde of S. Giles. A meruelous matter, that ſuch a great multitude of xx. thouſād ſpecified in ſtory, ſhould riſe againſt the kyng, & yet but iij. perſons onely knowen & named. Then to procede farther, I would aſke of maiſter Cope, what was the ende of this conſpiracie, to rebell agaynſt the kyng, to deſtroye their countrey, and to ſubuert the Chriſtian fayth, for ſo purporteth the ſtory. As like true ŷ one as the other. For euē as it is like, that they beyng Turkes went about to deſtroy the fayth of Chriſt, wherin they dyed, and to ſubuerte their countrey wherin they were bread: euen ſo like it is, that they went about to deſtroy the kyng, whom God & their conſcience taught to obey.

Yet farther proceedeth this fumiſhe promotor in hys accuſation, and ſayth moreouer: that theſe foreſayd felowes and adherentes of the Lord Cobham, were in the fielde aſſembled, and there incamped in a great number agaynſt the kyng: and how is this proued? by Robert Fabian. Whiche appeareth to be as true, as that whiche in the ſaid Robert Fabian foloweth, in the ſame place where he affirmeth, that Jhon Claydon, & Richard Turmyn, were brent in ŷ ſame yere, being. 1413. When in dede by ŷ true regiſters, they were not brent before ŷ yere of our Lord. 1415. But what will maiſter Cope ſay, if the originall copie of ŷ inditement of theſe pretenſed cōſpirators doo teſtifie, that they were not there aſſembled or preſent in the field as your accuſation pretendeth? But they purpoſed (will you ſay) and intended to come. The purpoſe and intent of a mans mynde is hard for you and me to iudge, where as no facte appeareth. But geue their intēt was ſo to come: Yet might they not come vnto thoſe thickets nere to the field of S. Gyles, hauyng Beuerly their preacher with them (as ye ſay your ſelfe) as well to pray and preache in that woody place, as well as to fight? Is this ſuch a ſtraūge thing in the church of Chriſt, in time of perſecution, for Chriſtians to reſorte into deſolate woodes, and ſecrete thickes, from the ſight of enemyes, when they would aſſemble in praying & hearyng ŷ word of God? In quene Maries time was not the ſame colour of treaſō obiected agaynſt George Egile and other mo, for frequentyng and vſyng into backſides and fieldes, & ſuffered for that, wherof he was innocent & giltles? Did not Adam Damlipe dye in lyke caſe of treaſon, for hauyng a French crowne geuen him, at his departure out of Rome, by Cardinall Poole? What can not cankered calumnia inuent, when ſhe is diſpoſed to cauill? Yt was not the Cardinals crowne that made hym a traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching, that ſtirred vp the accuſer. In Fraūce what aſſembles haue there been in late yeares of good and innocent Chriſtians, congregatyng together in backfieldes, and couertes in great routes to heare the preachyng of Gods holy worde, and to praye: yea and not without their weapon alſo, for their owne ſafegard, and yet neuer intended nor mynded any rebellion agaynſt their king. Wherfore, in caſes of religion it may and doth happen many tymes, that ſuch congregatiōs may meete without intent of any treaſon ment. But how ſoeuer the intent and purpoſe was of theſe foreſaid confederates of the Lord Cobham, whether to come, or what to do (ſeyng this is playne by recordes, as is aforeſaid, that they were not yet come vnto the place) how wil maiſter Cope now iuſtifie his wordes, ſo confidently affirmyng, that they were there aſſembled ſeditiouſly together in the field of S. Giles againſt the king? And marke here I beſeche thee (gentle reader) how vnlykely and vntydely the pointes of this tale are tyde and hange together (I will not ſay without all ſubſtaunce of truth, but without all faſhion of a cleanly lye) wherein theſe accuſers in this matter ſeme to me, to lacke ſome part of Sinons arte, in conueyng their narratiō ſo vnartificially. Firſt (ſay they) the king was come firſt with his gariſō, vnto the field of S. Gyles. And then after the kyng was there incamped, conſequently the felowes of the Lord Cobham (the captaine beyng away) came and were aſſembled in the ſayd fielde where the kyng was, agaynſt the kyng: and yet not knowyng of the kyng, to ŷ number of xx. thouſand: & yet neuer a ſtroke in that field geuen. And furthermore of all this xx. thouſand aforeſayd, neuer a mans name knowen, but only three, to witte, Syr Roger Acton, Syr Jhon Browne, and Jhon Beuerley, a preacher. How this geare is clamperd together let the reader iudge, and beleue as he ſeeth cauſe.

Ill will taketh all thynges to the worſte meaning.

Another vntruth in Alanus copus.

An vnlykely tale.

But geue all this to be true, although by no demonſtration it can bee proued, yet by the popes diſpenſation (whiche in this earth is almoſt omnipotent) be it graunted: that after the kyng had take S. Gyles fielde before, the companions of the Lord Cobham afterwarde commyng and aſſemblyng in the thicketes neare to the ſayd field, to fight ſeditiouſly agaynſt the kyng, agaynſt their countrey, and againſt the fayth of Chriſt, to the number of xx. thouſand, where no ſtroke beyng geuen, ſo many were taken, that all the priſons in London were ful, and yet neuer a mans name knowen of all this multitude, but onely iij: All this I ſay, beyng imagined to be true, then foloweth to be demaunded of maiſter Cope, whether the L. Cobham was here preſēt with this company in the field, or not? Not, in perſon (ſayth Cope) but with his mynde and with his counſaile he was preſent, & addeth this reaſon, ſaying: And therfore he beyng brought agayne, after his eſcape, was conuicte both of treaſon & hereſie, and therefore ſuſteinyng a double puniſhement was both hanged and brent for the ſame, &c. And how is all this proued? By Robert Fabian, he ſayth. Whereunto briefly I aunſwere, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no ſuch mention of the Lorde Cobham aſſiſtyng or conſentyng to them either in mynde or in counſaile. His wordes be theſe: That certaine adherentes of Syr Jhon Oldcaſtle aſſembled in the fielde neare to S. Gyles, in greate noumber: of whom was Syr Roger Acton, Syr Jhon Brown, and Jhon Beuerley. The whiche with 36

The Lord Cobham no traytour.

Alanus Copus pag. 833. lin. 11.

mo in number were after conuicte of hereſie and treaſon and for the ſame were hanged and brent, within the ſayd fielde of S. Gyles, &c. Thus much in Fabian touchyng the commotion and condemnatiō of theſe men: but that the Lord Cobham, was there preſent with them in any part, either of conſent or of counſaile, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not founde in Fabian, but is added of his liberall cornu copiæ, whereof he is ſo copious and plentiful, that he may kepe an open ſhop of ſuch vnwritten vntruthes, whiche he maye aforde very good cheepe I thinke, beyng ſuch a plentifull artificer.

Alanus Copus taken with an other vntruth

Ex ſtatuto Reg. Henr. 5. an. 2. cap. 7.

But here wyll be obiected agaynſt me the woordes of the ſtatute made the. 2. yeare of king Henry the fyft, wherupon this aduerſary triumphing wͭ no lytle glory, ὥσπερ τις ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελόμενος, thincketh him ſelf to haue double vantage agaynſt me: firſt in prouyng theſe foreſayd complices and adherentes of the lord Cobham, to haue made inſurrection agaynſt the king, and ſo to bee traytours. Secondlye, in conuicting that to be vntrue, where as in my former booke of Actes and Monuments I do reporte: how that after the death of ſyr Roger Acton of Browne and Beuerley, a parlament was holden at Leceſter, where a ſtatute was made to this effect: that all and ſinguler ſuch as wer of Wickliffes learnyng, if they would not geue ouer (as in caſe of felony & other treſpaſſes, looſyng all their goodes to the kyng) ſhoulde ſuffer death in two maner of kindes, that is, they ſhould fyrſt be hanged for treaſon againſt the kyng, and then be burned for hereſy againſt God. &c.

The former editiō of Actes and Mon pag. 875 a.

Wherupon, remayneth now in examining this obiectiō, and anſwering to the ſame, that I purge both thē of treaſon, and my ſelfe of vntrouth, ſo far as truth and fidelitie in Gods cauſe ſhall aſſiſt me herein. Albeit in begynning firſt my hiſtorye of Eccleſiaſticall matters, wherein I hauing nothing to doo with debatement of cauſes iudiciall, but onelye following the ſimple narration of thinges done and executed: neuer ſuſpected that euer any would be ſo captious with me, or ſo niſe noſed, as to preſſe me with ſuch narrow poyntes of the law, in tryinge & diſcuſſing euery cauſe and matter ſo exactly, and ſtraynyng (as ye would ſay) the bowels of the ſtatute law ſo rigorouſly agaynſt me. Yet for ſo much as I am thereunto conſtrayned now by this aduerſarye, I wyll firſt lay open all the whole ſtatute made the ſecond yere of this foreſaid Henry the fift, after the death of the foreſaid ſyr Roger Acton and his fellowes, at the parlamēt holdē at Leyceſter, an. 1415. That done, I will note vpō the woordes thereof, ſo as by the circumſtances of the ſame may appeare what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocencye, or for the accuſation of this aduerſarye. The tenour and purport of the ſtatute here vnder enſueth.

¶ *The wordes and contentes of the ſtatute made*
an. 2. Henrici. 5 cap 7.

The preface or preamble of the ſtatute.

(A)
(B)
(C)
(D)
(E)

For as much as great (A) rumors, congregatiōs, & inſurrectiōs here in England by diuers of the kyng his maieſties liege people haue been made here of late, as well by thoſe whiche were of the ſect of hereſie called Lolardy, as by others of their confederation, excitation, and abetment: to the intent to (B) adnulle & ſubuert the Chriſtian fayth and the lawe of God within the ſame realme, as alſo to (C) deſtroy our ſoueraigne Lord the king him ſelf & (D) all maner of eſtates of the ſame his realme as well ſpirituall as temporall, (E) and alſo all maner policie, and the lawes of the lād. Finally the ſame our Lord the kyng, to the honour of God, in conſeruation and fortification of the Chriſtian fayth, and alſo in ſaluation of hys royall eſtate, and of the eſtate of all his realme, willyng to prouide a more open and more due puniſhment agaynſt the malice of ſuch heretikes and Lolardes, then hath ben had or vſed in that caſe heretofore, ſo that for the feare of the ſame lawes, and puniſhment, ſuch hereſies and Lolardies may the rather ceaſe in tyme to come:

Here it appeareth at whoſe ſute & ſupplication this ſtatute was ſet forward as alſo the cauſe why.

By the aduice and aſſent aforeſayd, and at the prayer of the ſayd cōmons hath ordeyned & eſtabliſhed: that eſpecially the Chauncelour, the Threaſurer, the Iuſtices of the one bēch and of the other Iuſtices of Aſſiſe. Iuſtices of peace, Shriffes. Maiors, and Bayliffes of Cities and Townes, and all other officers hauyng the gouernement of people, either now preſent or whiche for the time ſhalbe, do make an othe in taking of their chardge and offices, to extend theyr whole payne and diligence to put out, to do to put out ceaſe and deſtroy all maner of hereſies and errours commonly called Lolardies within the places in which they exerciſe theyr charges and offices, from tyme to tyme, with all theyr power: and that they aſſiſte, fauour, and maintaine the ordinaries and their commiſſaries ſo often as they or any of them ſhall be therunto required by the ſayd ordinaries or their commiſſaries: So that the ſayd officers and miniſters, when they trauell or ryde to areſt any Lolarde, or to make any aſſiſtēce at the (F) inſtaunce & requeſt of the ordinaries or their commiſſaries, by vertue of this ſtatute: that the ſame ordinaries & commiſſaries do (G) pay for their coſtes reaſonably. And that the ſeruices of the kyng (vnto whome the officers be firſt ſworne) be preferred before all other ſtatutes for the libertie of holy churche and the miniſters of the ſame: And eſpecially for the correction and puniſhement of heretickes and Lolardes, made before theſe dayes and not repealed, but beyng in their force. And alſo that all perſons conuict of hereſie of what ſoeuer eſtate, condition or degree they be, by the ſayd ordinaries or theyr commiſſaries left vnto the ſeculare power accordyng to the lawes of holy Churche, ſhall leaze and forfait all theyr landes and tenementes, which they haue in fee ſimple in maner and forme as foloweth: That is to ſay, that the kyng ſhal haue all the landes and tenementes, which the ſayd conuicts haue in fee ſimple and whiche bee immediatly holden of him, as forfaited: And that the other Lordes of whom the landes and tenementes of ſuch conuictes be holden immediatly, after that the kyng is therof ſeiſed & anſwered of the (H) yeare, day, & waſte: ſhall haue lyuery therof out of the hands of the kyng of the landes and tenements aforeſaid ſo of them holden, as hath been vſed in caſe of attaynder of felonies, except the landes and tenementes, which be holden of the ordinaries or their comiſſaries, before whom any ſuch empeached of hereſie be conuict. (I) which landes and tenementes ſhall wholy remaine to the kyng as forfaict: And moreouer, that all the goodes and cattalles of ſuch conuicted, be forfaict to our right ſoueraygne Lord the kyng, ſo that no perſon conuict of hereſie and left vnto the ſecular power (accordyng to the lawes of holy Church) do forfaict his landes before that he be dead. And if any ſuch perſon ſo conuicted be enfeoffed, whether it be by fine, or by dede, or without deede, in landes and tenementes, rentes, or ſeruices, in fee or other wiſe in what ſo euer manner, or haue any other poſſeſſions or cattels by gift or graunt of any perſon or perſons, to the vſe of any other then onely to the vſe of ſuche conuictes: That the ſame landes, tenementes, rentes, nor ſeruices, nor other ſuch poſſeſſions nor cattels ſhall not bee forfaict vnto our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng in no maner wiſe. And moreouer, that the Iuſtices of the kyngs bench, the Iuſtices of peace, and Iuſtices of Aſſiſe, haue full power to inquire of all ſuch, whiche hold any errours or hereſies, as Lolardes and who be theyr maintaynours, receuours, fautours, and ſuſtayners, common writers of ſuch bookes, as well of theyr Sermons as ſcholes, conuenticles, congregations, and confederacies, and that thys clauſe bee put in the commiſſions of the Iuſtices of peace.

Aſtitern
reges &
Phariſe
&c.

(F)
(G)
(H)
(I)

And if any perſons be indited of anye of the poyntes aboue ſayde, that the ſayd Iuſtices haue power to award agaynſt thē a Capias, and that the Shirif be bound to areſt the perſon or perſons ſo endited as ſoone as he can finde them, eyther by hym ſelfe or by hys officers. And for ſo much as the cogniſaunce of hereſies, errours, or lolardies, appertayne to the Iudges of holy church, and not vnto the ſecular Iudges: that ſuch perſōs indited (K) be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, or to theyr Commiſſaries by Indentures betwene them to bee made, within. x. dayes after theyr areſt, or ſooner if it maye be done, to be thereof acquited or conuict by the lawes of holy church, in caſe that ſuch perſons bee not indited of any other thyng, the cogniſaunce whereof appertayneth to the Iudges and ſeculer officers. In which caſe, after they ſhall be aquited or deliuered before the ſecular Iudges of ſuch thynges as appertayneth to the ſecular Iudges, they ſhall be ſent in ſafe cuſtodye vnto the ſayd Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, & to them to be deliuered by Indentures as is aforeſayd, to be acquited or conuicted of the ſame hereſies, errours, and lolardies, as is afore ſaid, accordyng to the lawes of holye church, and that within the terme abouesayd. Prouided, that the ſayd indightmentes be not taken in euidence (L) but only for informatiō before the Iudges ſpirituall, againſt ſuch perſons indighted: but that the Ordinaries begin their proces agaynſt ſuch perſons indited, in the ſame maner, as though no ſuch iudgement were, hauing no regard to ſuche inditementes. And if any be indited of hereſy, errour, or lolardy, and taken by the Shiriffe or any other officer of the kyng, he maye be let to maynpriſe within the ſayd ten dayes, by good ſuretie, for whom the ſaid Shiriffes or other officers wyll anſwer, ſo that the ſayd perſon ſo indighted be redy to be deliuered vnto the ſayde Ordinaries, or to their Commiſſaries, before the end of the tenth day aboue recited, if he may by any meanes for ſickenes. And that euerye Ordinarye haue ſufficient Commiſſaries or Commiſſary, abiding in euery coūtie in place notable, ſo that if any ſuch perſon indited be taken, that the ſayde Comiſſaries or Commiſſarye may be warned in the notable place of his abyding, by the Shiriffe or any of hys officers to come vnto the kynges Gayle wythin the ſayd County, there to receaue the ſame perſon ſo indighted by Indenture as is aforeſayde: And that in the inqueſtes in thys caſe taken, the Shiriffes and other officers, vnto whom it appertayneth, doo impanell good and ſufficient perſons not ſuſpected nor procured, that is to ſay, ſuch as haue at the leaſt euerye one of them that ſhall bee ſo enpanelled in ſuch enqueſtes, wythin the realme, a hundred ſhillyngs by the yere of lands, tenements, or of rent, vpon paine to leeſe to the kings vſe xx. pound. And yͭ thoſe whych ſhalbe enpānelled vpō ſuch enqueſts at Seſſions & gayles, haue euery one of them to the value of fortie ſhillinges by the yeare. And if any ſuch perſon be areſted, whither it be by yͤ Ordinaries or yͤ officers of the kyng, (M) eyther eſcape or breake priſon before he be therof acquit before yͤ Ordinary: that thē all hys goods & cattells, which he had at the day of ſuch areſt, ſhal be forfeit to the kyng: And hys landes and tenementes whych hee had

(K)
(L)
(M)

had the ſame day, be ſeized alſo into the kynges handes, and that the kyng haue the profites thereof, frō the ſame daye, vntill he render hym ſelf to the ſayd pryſon, frō whence he eſcaped. And that the aforeſayd Juſtices haue full power to inquire of all ſuch eſcapes and breakyng of priſons, and alſo of the landes, tenementes, goodes and cattels of ſuch perſons indighted. Prouided, that if any ſuch perſon endighted, do not returne vnto the ſayde pryſon, and dieth (not beyng conuict) that then it ſhall be lawfull for hys heyres, to enter into the landes and tenementes of hys or theyr aunceſter without any other ſute made vnto the king for thys cauſe. And that all thoſe whych haue liberties or fraunchesies royall in Englande, as the countye of Cheſter, the countye and libertye of Duram and other lyke: And alſo all the Lordes whyche haue iuriſdictions and franchiſes royall in Wales where the kynges wryts do not run, haue lyke power to execute and put in execution in all poyntes, theſe articles by them or by theyr officers in lyke maner, as doo the Juſtices and other the kynges officers aboue declared.

¶ Notes touching the ſtatute prefixed.

Thus hauing recited the wordes of the ſtatute, now let vs conſider the reaſons and obiections of this aduerſarie, who grounding peraduenture vpon yͤ preface or preamble of this foreſayd ſtatute: will proue therby, the L. Cobham, & Syr Roger Acton, with the reſt of their abettours, to haue bēen traitors to their king & their coūtrey. Wherunto I aunſwere, firſt in generall that although yͤ face or preface prefixed before yͤ ſtatute, may ſhew & declare the cauſe & occaſion originall why the ſtatute was made: yet the makyng of the ſtatute importeth no neceſſary probation of the preface alwayes to be true yͤ goeth before, whiche beyng but a colour to induce the makyng therof, geueth no force materiall therunto, nor is any neceſſary part of the body of the ſayd ſtatute. But only adhereth as a declaration of the circumſtance therof, and ſomtyme is cleane omitted & differeth much frō the ſubſtaunce of yͤ ſame. For as ſtatutes in ciuile policie moſt commonly do tende to a publike end and are generall: ſo prefaces before ſtatutes, which moſt commonly declare yͤ cauſe or beginning therof, are priuate: & do ſtand only but vpon particular factes, which either of ill will & diſpleaſure may be ſuggeſted, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for feare may bee beleued at leaſt ſuſpected, as many ſuſpicions doo ofttymes ryſe in princes heades, through falſe ſurmiſes, and malitious cōplaintes of certeine euill diſpoſed about them, whereby many cruell lawes riſing vpon a falſe ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much innocent bloud. Example whereof wee haue not onely in this preſent ſtatute, an. 2 Reg. Henr. 5. but alſo in the like ſtatute, commonly called the ſtatute Ex officio vel de comburendo, made by this kynges father and prediceſſour, an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. In the preface of whiche bloudy ſtatute, is conteined an other like complainte of the prelates and clergy, not ſo heynous, as alſo moſt ſhamefully falſe and vntrue agaynſt the poore Lollardes, as by the wordes of the complaint may appeare begynnyng. Excellentiſsimo & Gratioſiſ. principi. &c. Wherin, moſt falſely they ſlaunder and miſreporte the true ſeruauntes of Chriſt, to be Lollardes, hereticques, ſubuerters of the cōmon wealth, deſtroyers of the Chriſtian fayth, enemies to all good lawes, & to the church of Chriſt. The words of which ſtatute proceding much after the like courſe as doth this preſent ſtatute, may eaſely bewray the vntruth and falſe ſurmiſe thereof, if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to marke and conferre the wordes accordyngly as they are there to bee read and ſeen, as foloweth: Conuenticulas & confederationes faciunt, ſcholas tenent & exercent, libros conficiunt atq́; ſcribunt, populum nequiter inſtruunt & informant, & ad ſeditionem ſeu inſurrectionem excitant, quantum poſſunt, & magnas diſſentiones in populo faciunt, & alia diuerſa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei cathol. & eccleſiæ ſubuerſionem, diuiniq́; cultus diminutionem, ac etiam deſtructionem ſtatus, iurium, & libertatum dictæ eccleſiæ Anglic. And after a few wordes: Ad omnem iuris, & rationis ordinē atq́; regimen, penitus deſtruendum &c. He that is or ſhalbe aquaynted with olde hiſtoryes, and with the vſuall practiſes of Sathan the old enemy of Chriſt, from the firſt begynnyng of the primitiue churche vnto this preſent time, ſhall ſēe this to be no newes, but a common and (as ye would ſay) a quotidian feuer among Chriſtes children, to bee vexed with falſe accuſations, and cruell ſlaunders.

False accuſatiōs no newes in Chriſtes church.

Example of Nemesion Martir pag. 90.

Nemeſion the Egyptian and true martyr of Chriſt, was he not firſt accuſed to bee a felon? And when that could not be proued, he was condēned at the ſame iudgement for a Chriſtian: & therfore beyng caſt into bandes, was ſcourged, by the commaundement of the preſident, double to the other felones: and at length was burned with the thēeues, although he neuer was found thief nor felon vide. pag. 90.

Example of Cypriā. pag. 92.

Agaynſt Cyprian in lyke ſorte it was ſlaunderouſly obiected by Galenus Maximus procōſull: Quod diu ſacrilega mente vixerit, & nephariæ ſibi conſpirationis homines adiunxerit. That he had long cōtinued with a minde full of ſacrilege, and that he had gathered vnto him men of wicked conſpiracie. page. 99.

Example of Iuſtine the Martyr.

Example of Cornelius B. of Rome. pag 94.

So Juſtinus martyr, what falſe & criminous accuſations ſuffered he by Creſcēs. Cornelius biſhop of Rome and martyr, was accuſed of Decius quod ad Cyprianum literas daret contra remp i. That hee wrote letters vnto Cyprian agaynſt the common wealth vide. pag. 94.

Lawes and ſtatutes grounded vpō falſe cauſes agaynſt true Chriſtians.

To conſider the lawes and ſtatutes, made by tyrants and Emperours in the firſte perſecutions of the primatiue churche, agaynſt the innocent ſeruauntes of Chriſt, and to compare the ſame with theſe lawes and ſtatutes in this latter perſecution vnder Antichriſt: A man ſhall finde, that as they agrēed all in lyke cruelty, ſo was there no great difference in falſe forgyng of pretenſed cauſes and crimes deuiſed. For as then, the Chriſtians were wrongfully accuſed of the Gentiles for inſurrectiōs and rebellions agaynſt the Emperours & Empire, for beyng enemyes to all mankynd, for murdering of infantes, for worſhippyng the ſunne (becauſe they prayed toward the Eaſt) for worſhypppyng alſo the head of an Aſſe, &c. vide. pag. 81. 64. vpon the rumours whereof, diuers and ſondry lawes and ſtatutes were enacted, ſome engrauen in braſſe, ſome otherwiſe wrote, agaynſt them: So in this foreſayd ſtatute, an. 2. Hēr. 5. cap. 7. alſo, an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. and in ſuch other ſtatutes or inditementes made and conceaued againſt yͤ Lollardes: the caſe is not ſo ſtraūge but it may credibly be ſuppoſed, that the makyng therof did ryſe rather vpon malice & hatred againſt theyr religiō cōceaued, thē vpō any iuſt cauſe miniſtred of their partes, whō they did wrōgfully charge & accuſe. Like as in tyme of Domitianus, for feare of Dauids ſtocke, all the nephewes of Jude the Lordes brother in fleſhe, were accuſed to the Emperour, pag. 64. And alſo the lyke feare and hatred ſtyrred vp other Emperours, and the Senate of Rome, to procede with perſecuting lawes agaynſt the Chriſtiā flocke of Chriſt. Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 21. wherupon, roſe vp thoſe malitious ſlaunders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lyes, & wrongfull accuſations agaynſt the Chriſtians: ſo that what crimes ſoeuer either malice could inuente, or raſh ſuſpition could miniſter, that was imputed agaynſt them, vide. pag. 64.

The perſecutyng ſtatutes in the primitiue church and of the latter churche compared.

Feare & hatred, cauſers of perſecution.

Vide ſupra pag. 64.

Not vnlyke alſo it may ſeme, that the Pope with his prelates fearyng and miſdoubtyng leaſt the procedyng of the Goſpell preached by theſe perſonnes ſhould ouerthrow the ſtate of their maieſtie: Did therfore by ſiniſter accuſations, inflame the hartes of princes againſt them, and vnder ſome colour couert, to ſhadowe their cloked hatred, diuiſed theſe & other lyke crimes which were not true, but whiche might clenly ſerue their purpoſe.

The matter debated by recordes, whether the L. Cobhā, & ſyr Ro. Acton, were traytours or not.

This hetherto haue I ſaid as in a generall ſumme, anſwering to yͤ preamble of yͤ foreſaid ſtatute, for yͤ defenſe of Syr John Oldcaſtle, & ſir Roger Acton and other, not as defining preciſely what was or was not (for here I may ſay with Paul, yͤ as I was not preſent at the deede doyng, ſo with hym I may alſo leaue the ſame at large)

But as one by traſing the foote ſteppes of the truth, as by all coniectures huntyng out in this matter, what is moſt lyke, would but onely ſay my mynde ſine ſtrepitu (as lawyers ſay) & ſine figura iudicij.

Now conſequently it foloweth, that we deſcend to the ſpeciall pointes and particulars of the foreſayd preamble: to conſider what therof may be collected, or neceſſarily is to be iudged, either for profe or diſprofe, of this foreſayd Syr John Oldcaſtle and his felowes.

(A)

Rumors, Cõgregations, Inſurrections.

⁋(A) And firſt, where the prohem of this ſtatute beginneth wͭ rumours, cõgregations, and inſurrections. ⁊c: As it is not like, yͤ if theſe men had intended any forcible entrées or rebellion agaynſt yͤ kyng, they would haue made any rumours thereof before the dede done: ſo is it more credibly to be ſuppoſed, all theſe floriſhes of wordes to be but wordes of courſe, or of office, ⁊ to ſauer rather of the rankenes of yͤ inditers penne, who diſpoſed either per amplificationem rhetoricã to ſhew his copy, or els per malitiam Papiſticã, to aggrauat yͤ crime. And to make mountaines of mollhilles, firſt of rumours maketh congregatiõs, ⁊ frõ cõgregations riſeth vp to inſurrections: where as in all theſe rumors, congregations, and inſurrectiõs, yet neuer a blow was geuẽ, neuer a ſtroke was ſtrokẽ, no bloud ſpilt, no furniture nor inſtruments of warre, no ſigne of bataile, yea no expres ſignificatiõ either of any rebellious word, or malitious facte deſcribed, neither in recordes, nor yet in any chronicle. Agayn, if theſe rumours wer wordes ſpokẽ againſt yͤ king, as calling hym a tyrant, an vſurper of yͤ crowne, yͤ prince of prieſts. ⁊c. why then be none of theſe wordes expreſſed in their inditementes or left in recordes? Doth maiſter Cope thinke for a man to be called a traitour, to be enough, to make him a traitour, vnles ſome euident profe be brought for him to be ſo in dede, as he is called? Rumours (ſayth he) cõgregations, and inſurrections were made. Rumours are vncertaine: Congregations haue ben and may be among Chriſten men in daungerous tymes for good purpoſes, and no treaſon agaynſt their princes ment. The terme of inſurrectiõs may be added ἐκ τοῦ περίσσου by practiſe, or ſurmiſe of the prelates ⁊ pennsmen, who to bring them the more in hatred of the kyng, might adde this rather of their own gẽtlenes, then of the others deſeruyng. Certayne it is and vndoubted, that the prelates in thoſe dayes beyng ſo myghtely inflamed agaynſt theſe Lollardes, were not altogether behynd for their partes, nor vtterly idle in this matter, but practiſed agaynſt them what they could, firſt to bryng them into hatred, and thẽ to death. Examples of whiche kynd of practiſe among yͤ popiſhe clergy, haue not lacked neither before, nor ſince. Moreouer, if theſe mẽ had made ſuch a rebellious inſurrection againſt the kyng, as is pretended in the preamble before this ſtatute, which were a matter of hygh treaſõ: How chaunſeth then, that the whole body of the ſtatute folowyng after the ſayd preface or preamble, runneth in all the partes and braunches therof both in maner of arreſt, of inditement, information, requeſt, alowaunce of officers, cogniſance of ordinaries, of the foreſaid, ⁊c. vpõ caſes of hereſie and not of treaſon, as by particular tractation ſhall be (Chriſt willyng) declared.

Inſurrection of the Lollards againſt the kyng not likely.

And for ſomuch as theſe men bee ſo greuouſly accuſed of Alanus Copus, for cõgregating and riſing againſt their kyng ⁊ the whole realme, if I had ſo much layſure to defend, as he hath pleaſure to diffame: Here might be demaunded of him, to kepe hym ſome further pley (touchyng this mightye inſurrection where as they came in nũber of xx.M. agaynſt yͤ kyng) in what order of bataile ray they marched, what captaines, vnder captaines, ⁊ pety captaines they had to guide the wyngs, and to lead the army? whether they were horſemen, or foote men. If they were horſemen (as is pretenſed) what ment they thẽ to reſorte to the Thicketes nere to S. Gyles field, which was no mete place for horſes to ſtirre? If they were foote men: how ſtandeth that with the autor which reporteth thẽ to be horſemen? Moreouer is to be demaunded, what inſignes or flagges, what ſhot, what pouder, what armour, weapons, and other furniture of warre: alſo what treaſure of money to wage ſo many, to the nũber of xx. thouſand, what trumpettes, drommes, and other noyſe neceſſary for that purpoſe they had. All theſe preparations for ſuch an enterpriſe is requiſite and neceſſary to be had. And peraduenture, if truth were well ſought, it would be found at length, that in ſtede of armes ⁊ weapon, they were commyng onely with their bookes, and with Beuerlay their preacher into thoſe Thickets. But as I was not there preſent at the fact (as is before ſaid) ſo haue neither I certeinely to define vpon their caſe, nor yet maiſter Cope to exclame agaynſt them, vnles peraduenture he takyng an occaſion of the tyme, will thus argue agaynſt them: That becauſe it was yͤ hoate moneth of January, the ſecond day after yͤ Epiphanie, therfore it is like, that Syr John Oldcaſtle with xx. thouſãd Lollardes camped together in the fieldes in all the heate of the wether, to deſtroy the kyng and all the nobles, and to make him ſelfe regent of England. And why not as well the kyng, as regent of England, ſeyng all the nobles ſhould haue been deſtroyed, and hee onely left alone to reigne by hym ſelfe?

(B)

A ſlāde the Lord Cobhā, he inte ded to d ſtroy C ſtẽ fay

⁋It followeth more in the preamble of the foreſayde ſtatute (B) to adnull, deſtroy, and ſubuert the Chriſten fayth, and the law of God, and holy church. ⁊c. He that was the foreger ⁊ inuenter of this reporte, (as it appeareth to procede from the prelates) ſeemeth no cunnyng Dædalus, nor halfe hys craftes maiſter in lyeng for the whetſtone. Better he might haue learned of Sinon in Virgill, more artificially to haue framed and conueyed hys narration. Whych although in no caſe could ſound lyke any truth, yet ſome coulour of probabilitie ſhoulde haue bene ſet vpon it, to geue it ſome countenance of a lyke tale. As if he had firſt declared yͤ L. Cobhã to haue bene before in ſecrete confederacie wͭ the great Turke, or if he had made hym ſome Termagant or Mahounde out of Babilonia, or ſome Herod out of Judea, or ſome Antichriſt out of Roma, or ſome graundpanch Epicure of thys world: and had ſhewed, that he had receyued letters from the great Souldan, to fight agaynſt the faith of Chriſt and lawe of God: then had it appeared ſomewhat more credible, that the ſayd ſyr John Oldcaſtell wyth hys ſect of hereſie, went about to adnull, deſtroye, and ſubuert the Chriſten fayth, and lawe of God wythin the realme of England. ⁊c. But nowe, where will eyther he or maiſter Cope finde men ſo mad to beleue, or ſo ingenious that can imagine this to be true: that the Lord Cobham (being a Chriſtian) and ſo faythfull a Chriſtian, woulde or did euer cogitate in hys mynde to deſtroye and adnull the fayth of Chriſt in the realme of Englande? What ſoeuer the reporte of this purſuant or preface ſayth, I reporte me vnto the indifferent Reader, how ſtandeth this with anye face of truth? That he whych before through the reading of Wickliffes workes, had bene ſo earneſtlye conuerted to the law of God, who had alſo approued him ſelfe ſuche a faythfull ſeruant of Chriſt, that for the fayth of Chriſt he being examined ⁊ tried before the Prelats. pag. 671. not onely ventred hys lyfe: but ſtoode conſtant vnto the ſentence of death, defined againſt hym: being a condemned ⁊ a dead mã by law, et qui, quantũ ad eius deuotionẽ pertinet et timorem, paſſus ſit, quicquid pati potuit, who had as much as to deuotion ⁊ feare apperteined, ſuffered already what he might or coulde ſuffer, as Ciprian ſayd by Cornelius. That he (I ſay) which a litle before in the moneth of Septẽber, ſtoode ſo conſtant in defence of Chriſtes fayth, would now in the month of January riſe to deſtroy, adnull, and ſubuert Chriſtes fayth, ⁊ the law of God, ⁊ holy church within the realm of Englãd? How

Cypri lib.4.E piſt.2.

How can it bee not lyke onely but poſſible to be true that he whiche neuer denyed the fayth: which euer confeſſed the fayth ſo conſtantly, whiche was for the ſame fayth condẽned: yea and at laſt alſo burned for the faith, would euer fight agaynſt the fayth, and law of God, to adnull and to ſubuert it? Let vs procede yet further, and ſee whẽ that he ſhould haue ſo deſtroyed and adnulled ẏ Chriſten faith and law of God in England, what fayth or law then could he or did he entend to bryng into ẏ realme of England? The Turkes faith? or ẏ Jewes faith? or the Popes fayth? or what fayth els, I pray you? For he that will be an enemie to the fayth of Chriſt, and will ſhew him ſelf frend to no other faith beſide, I accõpt him not out of his right fayth, but out of his right wittes.

(C) And therfore euen as it is true, ẏ Syr John Oldcaſtle with hys confederates and abettours were vp in armes to ſubuert, and extinguiſh the faith of Chriſt and law of God in ẏ realme of England: ſo by the like truth it may be eſtemed, that the ſame perſons roſe alſo to deſtroye their ſoueraigne Lord the kyng and his brethren. Firſt thankes be to God, that neither the kyng, nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intẽt, ſaith the preface, was to deſtroy his ſoueraigne Lord ẏ kyng. Wherunto I aunſwere, with this interrogatorie, whether his intent was priuiley to haue deſtroyed him, or by open force of armes? If priuely, what neded then ſuch a great armie of xx. M. mẽ to atcheaue ẏ ſecret feate? Rather I would thinke, ẏ he neded more the helpe of ſuch as were nere about the king: as ſome of ẏ kyngs priuey chaumber, or ſome of his ſecret counſaile: wherof, neither Chronicle nor recorde doth inſinuate any mention. Yf his intent was openly to inuade the kyng: You muſt vnderſtand (maiſter Cope) that to withſtande a kyng in his owne realme, many things are required, long tyme, great preparation, many frendes, great aſſiſtaunce, and ayde of kyndred, mony, horſe, men, armour, & all other thynges appertainyng for the ſame.

Earle Godwyn of Weſtſaxe, who had maried Cauntus daughter beyng a mã both ambitious, and as falſe a traitour, for all his ſixe ſonnes, and great alliance yet durſt not ſet vpon kyng Edwarde to inuade him within his realme, although he ſought many occaſiõs ſo to do, yet neuer durſt enterpriſe openly, that whiche his ambition ſo gredely preſumed vnto, pag. 214.

In the time of king Henry 3. Simon Montford Earle of Gloceſter, Gilbert Clare Earle of Leyceſter, Humfrey Bone Earle of Ferrence, with a great number of Lordes and Barons thought them ſelues to haue great right on their ſides, yet durſt not for all their power openly aſſayle ẏ kyng in his realme, before great debatement and talke firſt had betwene. pag. 414.

Likewiſe what murmuryng and grudgyng was in the realme againſt king Edward the ſecond, among the peres and nobles and alſo prelates (onely Walter Byſhop of Couentry except) firſt for Gaueſton, then for the Spenſers, at what tyme Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, Guido Earle of Warwike, with the moſt part of all other Earles and Barons concordly conſentyng together to the diſplaſing firſt of Gaueſton, then of the Spenſers, yet neither raſhely, nor without great feare durſt ſtyrre vp warre in the lãd, or diſquiet or vexe the kyng, but firſt by all meanes of moderate counſaile, and humble petition, thought rather to perſuade, then to inuade the kyng, pag. 461.

In like maner, and with lyke grudgyng myndes, in the reigne of king Richard. 2. Thomas Wodſtocke Duke of Gloceſter the kynges vncle, the Earles of Arũdell, of Warwike, and Darby, with ẏ power almoſt of the whole cõmons ſtoode vp in armes agaynſt the kyng: And yet notwithſtandyng all their power ioyned together being ſo great, & their cauſe ſemyng to them ſo reaſonable, yet were they not ſo hardy, ſtraight wayes to to flee vpon the kyng, but by way of Parlamẽt thought to accompliſh that whiche their purpoſe had conceaued, and ſo dyd, without any warre ſtrykyng agaynſt the kyng. pag. 613.

After kyng Richard. 2. was depoſed, and was in priſon yet lyuing, diuers noble men were greatly inflamed agaynſt kyng Henry the fourth as Syr John Holland Earle of Huntyngton, Thomas Spenſer Earle of Gloceſter, the Earles lykewiſe of Kent, and of Saliſbury, with Syr John Cheney and other mo, wherof diuers had been Dukes before, and now depoſed by kyng Henry. 4. although they had conceaued in their hartes great grudge and malice agaynſt the ſayd kyng Henry: yet had they neither hart nor power openly with mans force to aſſayle the kyng, but ſecretly were compelled to atcheue their conceiued intent, which notwithſtandyng they could not accompliſh. Ex hiſt. D. Alban.

The nobles agaynſt K. Henry. 4.

Thus, you ſee (maiſter Cope) to gaynſtand a kyng, and with open force to encounter with him in his owne land, and in his owne chaumber of London, where he is ſo ſure and ſtrong, what a matter of how great cheuãce it is, wherin ſo many and ſo great difficulties do lye, the attempt ſo daungerous, the chaunces ſo vncertaine, the furniture of ſo many thynges required, that ſcarce in any kynges dayes heretofore, any peres or nobles of the realme, were they neuer ſo ſtrongly aſſiſted with power, wit, or counſaile, yet eyther were able, or els well durſt euer enterpriſe vpon the caſe ſo daungerous, notwithſtãdyng were they neuer of them ſelues ſo farre from all feare of God, and true obedience. And ſhall wee then thinke, or can we imagine (maiſter Cope) that Syr John Oldcaſtle, a man ſo well inſtructed in the knowledge of Gods worde, beyng but a poore knight by his degrée, hauyng none of all the peres and nobles in all the world to ioyne with hym, beyng priſoner in the tower of London a litle before in the moneth of December, could nowe in the moneth of January, ſo ſodenly, and in ſuch an hoate ſeaſon of the yeare, ſtart vp an army of xx. thouſãd fightyng men to inuade the kyng, to kill iij. Dukes hys brethren, to adnulle Chriſten fayth, to deſtroye Gods law, and to ſubuert holy Church? And why doth not he adde moreouer, to ſet alſo all London on fire, and to turne all England into a fiſhpole? Belike theſe men whiche geue out theſe figmentes of Syr John Oldcaſtle, dyd thinke hym to be one of Deucalions ſtocke, who in caſtyng of ſtones ouer his ſhoulder, could by and by make men at his pleaſure, or els that he had Cadmus téeth to ſowe, to make ſo many harneſt men to ſtart vp at once.

The inſurrection of the L. Cobhã againſt the king iudged by circumſtaunce.

But let vs conſider yet further of theſe xx. thouſand ſouldiours ſo ſodenly without wages, without vitall, or other prouiſion congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what quarter, countrey, or countreys they came. In other kynges dayes, when ſoeuer any rebellion is againſt the kyng, moued by the commõs, as when Jacke Straw, and Wat Tyler of Kent, and Eſſex roſe in ẏ tyme of kyng Richard. 2. Whẽ William Mandeuill of Abyngdon, Jacke Cade of Kent, in ẏ tyme of kyng Henry the 6. In the tyme of kyng Henry the 8. when the commotion was of rebels in Lyncolſhyre, thẽ in Yorkeſhyre, when in kyng Edward the 6. tyme Humfrey Arundell in Deuonſhyre, Captayne Kyte in Northfolke made ſtyrre agaynſt the kyng, the countrey and partes from whence theſe rebels did ſpryng, were both noted and alſo diffamed. In this ſo traiterous commotion therfore let vs nowe learne, what men theſe were, and from what countrey or countreis in all Englande they came. If they came out of any, let the Chronicles declare what countreys they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Outopia, where be lyke this figment was firſt forged, and inuented. Wherefore ſeyng neither the countreys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all theſe

A rebellion to be of xx. thouſand, & yet no countrey to be knowen from whence they came, it is not lyke.

Neuer was any rebellion of cõmons in Engl. but the ſpeciall countrey from whence they came was noted & knowẽ.

xx,thouſand do appeare what they were eyther in Chronicle or in recorde, but remaine altogether vnknowen, I leaue it(gentle reader)to thy iudgemēt,to thinke therupon,as thy wiſedome ſhall lead thée.

(D)
An other falſe report of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle that he entēded to kill all maner of eſtates in the realme.

(D) It foloweth more in the foreſayd preface: And to deſtroy all other maner of eſtates, of the ſame realme of England,as well ſpirituall as tēporall.&c.By the courſe of this preāble it appeareth,that the ſaid Syr John Oldcaſtle was a wonderfull cruell tyraunt and murderour, who beyng not yet ſatiſfied with the bloud of the kyng, nor of the ij.Dukes his brethrē,would alſo make haucke & ſwepeſtake,of all maner of eſtates in yͤ realme of Englād.What,& leaue no maner of eſtate aliue? No,neither Lord ſpirituall nor temporall, but altogether ſhould be deſtroyed. And what had all theſe eſtates done,thus ſo miſerably to be deſtroyed? Although percaſe the moode of this man might haue been incenſed & kyndled againſt the kyng,and the Lordes ſpirituall,by whom he had ben condemned,as is aforeſaid:yet why ſhould all other maner of other eſtates both ſpirituall and temporall be killed? If none of all the eſtates in England,neither Duke, Earle,Baron,Lord,Knight or other gentlemā had ben his frend,but all his enemies,how then is it like, that he hauyng all the eſtates,peares,nobles, and gentlemen of the realme agaynſt hym,and none to ſtand with him,either could or durſt attempt any commotion agaynſt the whole power of the lande, he beyng but one gentleman onely with Syr Roger Acton, and maiſter Browne left alone? At leaſt,good reaſon yet would, that thoſe hundreth knights ſhould haue ben ſpared out of this bloudy ſlaughter,whom he offered to produce vnto the kyng before,for his purgatiō.pag.666.And finally,if this was his purpoſe that all theſe eſtates both ſpirituall and temporall ſhould haue been cut downe,what neded thē that he ſhould haue made him ſelfe a Regent,when he might as wel haue made him ſelfe a king,or what els he would beyng left then prince alone?

(E)

An hard matter to deſtroy all policie and lawes of a lād.

(E) The preamble as it began with vntruth, & continued in the ſame figure,heapyng one vntruth vpon an other: ſo now endeth with an other miſreport as vntrue as the reſt, ſhewyng and declaryng, the intent of Syr John Oldcaſtle was alſo to deſtroy all maner of policie, and finally the lawes of the land.&c.We read of Williā Conquerer,otherwiſe named William Baſtard: Who being a puiſant Duke in his countrey, when that the crowne of England was a lotted to him,& he comming ouer with all his peares,nobles and barons of his whole land,into this realme,and had with great difficultie obteined victorie agaynſt kyng Harold:yet to alter and deſtroye the policie and the lawes of the land, it paſſed hys power. In ſomuch yͭ it had not béen permitted vnto him to haue proceded ſo farre as he did, vnles hee had firſt ſworne to the nobles of this lād,to retaine ſtill the lawes of kyng Edward,as he found them.And albeit he afterward forſware him ſelfe,breakyng hys othe in alteryng and chaungyng many of the foreſayde lawes, yet wild he, nyld he, could not ſo deſtroy them all(for the whiche much warre and great commotions endured long after in the realme)but that he was conſtrayned and alſo contented to allow & admitte a great part of the ſayd lawes of kyng Edward.pag.222. And if he beyng kyng and Conquerour with all hys ſtrength of Normandes and Engliſhemen about him,was to weake and inſufficient to deſtroye all maner of policie, and lawes of this land, whiche he had conquered? how muche leſſe then is it to be ſuppoſed, that Syr John Oldcaſtle beyng but a priuate ſubiect,and a poore knight, and a condemned priſoner,deſtitute and forſakē of all Lordes,Earles,and Barons,who to ſaue his owne life had more to doo, then he could well compaſſe,would either take in hande, or conceaue in his head any ſuch exployet,after the ſubuerſion of Chriſten fayth,and law of God,after the ſlaughter of the kyng,and of all maner of eſtates, as well ſpirituall as temporall,in the realme of England,after the deſolation of holy churche,to deſtroy alſo all maner of policie, and finally the lawes of the land? Whiche monſtruous and incredible figment how true it may ſeme to maiſter Cope,or to ſome other late Chroniclers of the lyke credulitie,I can not tell:Certeine to me,and as I thinke to all indifferent readers it appereth as true,as is the verſe of the Satyre,wherewith it may well be compared.

Nil intra eſt oleam,nihil extra eſt in nuce duri

Obiectio

But here wyll be ſayd agayne perhaps,that the matter of ſuch preambles and prefaces being but perſuādes of ſtatutes,and contaynyng but wordes of courſe, to aggreuate,and to geue a ſhew of a thing,which they wold to ſeeme more odible to the people, is not ſo preciſely to be ſkande or ſo exquiſitelye to be ſtande vpon, as for the ground of a neceſſary caſe of trouth.

Anſwer.

Thys is it(maiſter Cope)that I ſayd before,& now do wel graunt and admit the ſame,that ſuch preambles or forefaces lyned wͭ a non ſequitur,cōtaynyng in thē matter but of ſurmiſe, & wordes of courſe(& rather monſters out of courſe)and manye tymes riſing vpon falſe information,are not alwayes in them ſelues materiall,or neceſſary probations in all poyntes to be followed: as appeareth both by this ſtatute, and alſo by the ſtatute of this kinges father,an.2. Henr.4.cap.15. beginning Excellentiſsimo.&c And yet notwithſtandyng out of theſe ſame preambles,and forefrontes of ſtatutes, and other inditementes,which commonlye riſing vpon matter of informatiō, run only vpon wordes of courſe of office,& not vpō ſimple truth, a great part of our chroniclers do often take their matter,which they inſert into theyr ſtories,hauing no reſpect or examination of circumſtances to be compared,but onely following bare rumours, or els ſuch wordes as they ſee in ſuch fablyng prefaces, or inditementes expreſſed. Whereby it commeth ſo to paſſe,that the yonger Chronicler folowing the elder, as the blynde leading the blynde,both together fal into the pyt of errour.And you alſo(maiſter Cope) folowing the ſteppes of the ſame,do ſeeme lykewyſe to erre together with them,for good fellowſhip. And thus concernyng the face of this ſtatute hetherto ſufficiently.

Ex orig
nali ſtat
an.2.H
4.cap.1

The reaſ
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Alanus C
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ued by h
chron.

Now let vs conſider and diſcuſſe in lyke maner,firſt the coherence,then the particular contentes of the ſayde ſtatute. As touching the which coherence,if it be well examined,a man ſhall finde almoſt a Chimera of it. In which neyther the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the ſtatute wel agree with them ſelues. Wherein he that was the drawer,or firſt informer therof,ſemeth to haue forgot his verſe and arte poeticall.

Horat.d
Art.Po

Atque ita mentitur,ſic veris falſa remiſcet
Primum ne medio,medium ne diſcrepet imo.

For wher as the preface of the ſtatute ſtandeth only vpon matter of treaſō,conceaued by falſe ſugeſtiō & wrong information.The body of the ſayd ſtatute which ſhould follow vpon the ſame,runneth onely vpon matter of hereſie,pertaynyng to the Ordinaries,as by euery branch thereof may appeare.

(F)
The bod
of the ſt
tute an.
reg. Hen
cap.7. ex
mined.

(F) For firſt where he ſayth, at the inſtaunce and requeſt of the ordinaries or their commiſſaries.&c. Hereby it appeareth,this to bee no cauſe of treaſon,nor felonye. For that euery man of duetie is boūd, and by the lawes of the realme may arreſt and apprehend a traytour,or a felon,if he can:where otherwiſe by this ſtatute an officer is not bound to areſt hym which offendeth in caſe of this ſtatute,without requeſt made by the ordinaries or their commiſſaries,and therfore this offence ſemeth neither to be treaſon,nor felonie.

(G)

(G) Secondly, where it foloweth that the ſame ordinaries and commiſſaries do pay for their coſtes &c.This allowaunce of the officers chargies in this ſorte,proueth this offence neither treaſon nor felonie.

(H)

(H) Thirdly, where the ſtatute willeth the king to be aunſwered of the the yeare, day, and waſt. ⁊c. By this alſo is pꝛoued the offence not to be treaſon. Oꝛ els in caſes of treaſon, the whole inheritaũce (I trow, maiſter Cope, ſpeaking as no great ſkilful lawyer) is foꝛfet to ẏ pꝛince.

(I) The fourth argument I take out of theſe woꝛdes of the ſtatute, where as ſuch landes ⁊ tenements whiche be holden of the oꝛdinaries, are willed wholy to remaine to the kyng as foꝛfet. ⁊c. Wherby it is manifeſt, that the pꝛelates (foꝛ their matter of Lollardꝛie onely) were the occaſioners and pꝛocurers of this ſtatute: and therefoꝛe were barred of the benefite of any foꝛfet arryſing therby, as good reaſon was, they ſhould. And thus it is notoꝛious, that the pꝛeface runnyng ſpecially and pꝛincipally vpon treaſon, and the ſtatute runnyng altogether vpon pointes of hereſie, do not wel cohere noꝛ ioyne together.

(K) Fiftly, In that ſuch perſons indited, ſhalbe deliuered vnto the oꝛdinaries of the places. ⁊c. It can not be denied, but that this offence concerneth no maner of treaſon. Foꝛ ſomuch as oꝛdinaries cã not be iudges in caſes of treaſon, oꝛ felonie, by the lawes of our realme, Bracton, in fine. 1. Libri.

(L) Sixtly, by the inditementes pꝛouided not to be taken in euidence, but onely foꝛ infoꝛmation. befoꝛe the Iudges ſpirituall. ⁊c. it is lykewiſe to bee noted: to what end theſe inditementes were taken, to witte, onely to infoꝛme ẏ oꝛdinaries, which can not be in caſes of treaſon.

(M) Laſtly, where it foloweth toward the end of the ſtatute, touching eſcape oꝛ bꝛeaking of pꝛiſon. ⁊c. by this it may lightlye bee ſmelte, whereto all the purpoſe of this ſtatute dꝛiueth, that is, to the ſpeciall eſcape of the Loꝛd Cobham out of the tower, to this ende to haue hys landes and poſſeſſions foꝛfait vnto the king. And yet the ſame eſcape of the Loꝛd Cobham in this ſtatute conſidered, Is takẽ by maiſter Iuſtice Stãfoꝛd in lib. primo of the plees of the crowne. cap. 33. to be an eſcape of one arreſted foꝛ hereſie, where he ſpeaketh of the caſe of the ſayd Loꝛd Cobham.

Moꝛeouer as touching the partes of this foꝛeſayd ſtatute, howe will you ioyne theſe ii. bꝛaunches together, where as in the foꝛmer part is ſayd: ẏ the landes of ſuch perſons cõuict, ſhalbe foꝛfait to the kyng not befoꝛe they be dead: And afterward it foloweth, that their goods and poſſeſſions ſhalbe foꝛfeit at the day of their arreſt, to the kyng. But herein ſtandeth no ſuch great doubt noꝛ matter to be weyed. This is ẇout all doubt, ⁊ notoꝛiouſly, euidently ⁊ moſt manifeſtly may appeare, by all the arguments ⁊ whole purpoꝛt of the ſtatute: that as well the pꝛeamble and pꝛeface therof, as the whole body of ẏ ſaid ſtatute was made, framed, and pꝛocured onely by and thꝛough the inſtigation, infoꝛmacion, and excitation of the pꝛelates, and the Popiſhe clergy, not ſo much foꝛ any treaſon committed againſt the kyng: but onely foꝛ feare and hatred of Lollardꝛy, tendyng agaynſt theyꝛ law, they moꝛe dꝛeded and abhoꝛred, then euer any treaſon agaynſt the pꝛince. And then to ſet the kyng and all ſtates agaynſt them, wherby the moꝛe readely to woꝛke their diſpatche, they thought it beſt and none ſo compendious a policie, as pꝛetely to ioyne treaſon together with their Lollardꝛy. Wherin the pooꝛe men beyng once intangled, could no wayes eſcape deſtruction. Papæ concilium callidum.

This, maiſter Cope, haue I ſaid, and ſay againe, not as one abſolutely determinyng vpon the matter. At the doyng wherof as I was not pꝛeſẽt my ſelf, ſo with your owne Halle, I may and do leaue it at large, but as one leadyng the reader by all coniectures and arguments of pꝛobabilitie and of due circumſtãcies, to conſider with them ſelues, what is further to be thought in theſe old accuſtomed pꝛactiſes and pꝛocedyngs of theſe pꝛelates. Pꝛoteſtyng moꝛeouer (maiſter Cope) in this matter to you, that thoſe Chꝛoniclers whiche you ſo much ground vpõ, I take them in this matter, neither as witneſſes ſufficiẽt noꝛ as Iudges competent. Who as they were not them ſelues pꝛeſent at the dede done, no moꝛe then I, but onely folowyng vncertaine rumours, and woꝛdes of courſe and office, bꝛingyng with them no certayne triall of that whiche they do affirme, maye therin both bee deceaued them ſelues, and alſo deceaue you, ⁊ other which depend vpon them.

And hetherto concernyng this ſtatute enough. Out of whiche ſtatute you ſee (maſter Cope) that neither your Chꝛoniclers, noꝛ you can take any great aduaũtage, to pꝛoue any treaſon in ẏ Loꝛd Cobhã oꝛ in his felowes, as hath been hetherto abundantly declared in the pꝛemiſſes.

It remaineth further, that foꝛ aſmuch as you in your ſixth dialogue with your autoꝛ Edward Halle, do alledge ẏ recoꝛdes Et publica iudicij Acta, to diffame theſe mẽ foꝛ traitours (although what recoꝛdes they be, you bꝛyng foꝛth neuer a woꝛde) I therfoꝛe in theyꝛ defence do aunſwere foꝛ thẽ, which cã not now anſwere foꝛ thẽ ſelues. And becauſe you, to accuſe thẽ do mention a certayn recoꝛde, ⁊ yet do not ſhew vs what recoꝛde it is, ⁊ peraduẽture can not, if ye would: I haue take the paynes therefoꝛe, foꝛ the loue of them whõ you ſo hate, to ſearch out ſuch recoꝛdes, wherby any occaſion cã be raiſed againſt thẽ. And firſt will declare the commiſſion graunted, then the inditement commenſed agaynſt them.

Alanus Copus Pag. 833. lin. 4.

The whiche commiſſion, and inditement, albeit in countenaunce of woꝛdes will ſeme to miniſter much ſuſpition agaynſt them, to the ſimple reader, befoꝛe he bee better acquainted with theſe ſubtile dealynges and pꝛactiſes of pꝛelates: yet truſtyng vpon the goodnes of the cauſe, which I ſee here ſo falſely ⁊ ſleyghtly to be hãdled, I nothyng feare noꝛ doubt, to pꝛoduce the ſame out of the recoꝛdes in Latine as they ſtand: to thentent ẏ when the crafty handlyng of the aduerſaries ſhalbe diſcloſed, the true ſimplicitie of the innocent, to ẏ true harted reader, ſhall the moꝛe better appeare. The woꝛdes firſt of the Commiſſion, here folowe vnder wꝛitten: which whẽ thou ſhalt heare, let them not trouble thy minde, gentle reader, I beſeche thee, befoꝛe thou vnderſtand further what packing and ſubtile cõueyance lyeth couered and hyd vnder the ſame.

¶ *In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henr. quinti.*

R. Dilectis et fidelibus ſuis VVillielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop. VVillielmo Croiomere maiori ciuitatis ſue London. Hugoni Huls, Iohanni Preſton, & Ioanni Mertin ſalutẽ. Sciatis quod cum nos plenius (A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeſte dinoſcatur, quôd quam plures ſubditi noſtri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alii mortem noſtram contra ligeancie ſue debitum proditorie imaginauerunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholice, quam ſtatus dominorum & magnatũ regni noſtri Angl. tam ſpiritualium quam temporalium deſtructionem propoſuerunt, ac diuerſas congregationes, & alia conuenticula illicita pro nephando propoſito ſuo in hac parte perimplend. fecerunt in noſtri exheredationem ac Regni noſtri deſtructionem manifeſtam: Nos huiuſmodi Lollardos ac alios predictos, iuxta eorum demerita in hac parte caſtigari & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate et circumſpectione veſtris plenius confidentes: aſsignauimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres veſtrum, quorum vos prefati maior et Hugo, duos eſſe volumus Iuſtic. noſtros, ad inquirend per ſacrum proborum & legal. hominũ de ciuitate predicta & ſuburbiis eiuſdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infr. libertates, quam extr. per quos rei veritas melius ſciri poterit de omnibus et ſingulis proditionibus et inſurrectionibus per huius. Lollardos in ciuitate, ſuburbiis, & com. predictis factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnimodo proditionibus inſurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & feloniis in ciuitate, ſuburbiis, et com. predictis, per quoſcunq;, et qualitercunque factis ſiue perpetratis, et ad eaſdem proditiones inſurrectiones, rebeliones, & felonias audiend. et terminand. ſecun-

The wordes of Commiſsion againſt the Lord Cobham.

dum legem et conſuetudinem Regni noſtri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos.&c.quos.&c.quorū.&c ad hoc prouideritis diligentes ſuper premiſsis fac. inquiſitiones et premiſſa omnia et ſingula audiatis et terminetis in forma predicta facturi.&c.Saluis. &c. Mandauimus enim vicecomitibus noſtris Lond. et Midd. quod ad certos.&c. quos.&c. quorum.&c. eius ſcire fac. venire facies coram vobis.&c.quorum.&c.tot.&c.de Balliua ſua, tam infr. libertates, quam extra per quos.&c.et inquiri. In cuius.&c T.R.apud VVeſtm.(B)x.die Ianuarii. Per ipſum Regem. (B)

By theſe highe and tragicall wordes in this commiſſion ſent downe agaynſt the Lord Cobham, Syr Roger Acton and theyr felowes: It may peraduēture ſeme to yͤ ignoraunt ⁊ ſimple reader, ſome heynous crime of treaſon to reſt in thē, for conſpiring againſt God, the church, the kyng, and their countrey. But what can not the fetchyng practiſe of the Romiſhe Prelates bryng aboute, where they haue once conceaued a malice? Wherefore meruell not (good reader) at this, nor iudge thou, accordyng to the wordes whiche thou heareſt. But ſuſpende thy iudgement a while, till the matter be more opened vnto thee. Examples of like handling be not ſo rare, but yͧ maiſt ſoone iudge by other tymes yͤ lyke alſo of theſe. George Egle, of whō mentiō was made before, dyd but preach in time of Q. Mary, ⁊ yet cōmiſsiō was directed agaynſt him, as in caſe of raiſing vp a cōmotion againſt the Quene. Adam Damlyp in Calice dyd but preache, and yͤ receauyng of one poore crowne ij. yeares before at Rome, was enough to make him a traytour. In yͤ tyme of king Henry viij. one Cyngleton chaplayn to Q. Anne yͤ Queenes Maieſties mother yͭ now is, did but preach yͤ Goſpell, moued by zeale (as I haue credible witnes of his own ſcholer yͭ hard him ſpeake it being wͭ hym) ⁊ yet by vertue of Commiſſion it was obiected to him, for raiſyng vp commotion agaynſt the kyng, yea and alſo for kyllyng of Pakyngton, and ſuffered for the ſame as a traitour. So here, what matter or meruell is it, if the K. incenſed, or rather circumuented by the wrong information of the prelates (whom he beleued) gaue out his commiſſion agaynſt thynges neuer wrought nor thought? Wherfore I exhorte the (Chriſtian reader) as I ſayd before, iudge not by and by the truth, by the wordes of the Commiſſion: but iudge the woordes rather of the Commiſſion by the truth. Neither meaſure thou the lyne by the ſtone: But the ſtone rather by the lyne. At leaſt yet differ thy ſentence, till both the Commiſſion and the inditement beyng layd together, thou maiſt afterward ſee and perceaue more, what is to bee iudged in the caſe. In the meane ſeaſon, marke well theſe woordes of the kyng in this Cōmiſſion, (A) Cum nos plenius informemur.&c. By the whiche woordes it is eaſy to be vnderſtand, that the kyng him ſelfe had no certain knowledge therof, but onely by information of others, (of Byſhops no doubt ⁊ prelates) and therupon gaue forth his Commiſſion afore ſayd. And thē how will this ſtand with our Chroniclers and other Epitomes, and Summaries whom maiſter Cope doth alledge. For if it be certaine yͭ Robert Fabian ſayth, that the kyng him ſelfe beyng in the field toke certaine of thē, as Syr Roger Acton, maiſter Browne, and John Beuerlay, and your owne Edwarde Halle, alſo and your Epitome agreeth to the ſame, and ſayth moreouer that they were brought before the kynges preſence. Thomas Couper alſo whom you alledge, addeth further and ſayth, that the kyng there by ſtrength dyd take them. I pray you (maiſter Cope) what neded yͤ kyng to write this by information, when as he both hym ſelfe was preſent at the facte, was the taker of them, and a witnes of the deede? The which and if it be true, that the kyng hard this but by way of information, how will you then defēd your Chronicos, and your Epitomas? But herein I will neither greatly ſticke with you, nor contend with them:

Examples of diuers falſely accuſed for treaſon.

(A)

Our Engliſhe Chroniclers examined by the wordes of thys Commiſſion.

Deſiryng the reader this onely to beare in minde, yͤ date of this preſent Cōmiſſion, when it was geuē. (B) Which soundeth to be the.x.day of January, and afterwarde to compare the ſame with the date of the Inditement here vnder folowyng, whiche I will (the Lorde willyng) alſo hereunto annexe, leauing nothing out: Yea rather miniſteryng to the aduerſarie all maner of helpes, what ſo euer they can ſeke or require, for their moſt aduauntage in this matter, to be deſired. So ſure and confidēte I am in the innocēt cauſe of theſe good mē, nor fearyng what ſo euer blind malice can cauill agaynſt them. (B)

¶ *The Inditement of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton* and others, with Notes folowing after vpon the ſame.

PArliamēta coronæ coram domino rege apud weſtm. de termino ſancti Hillarii, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti, poſt conque. primo Rot.vii.inter parliamenta regis. Alias coram VVillielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, VVillielmo Crowemere maiore ciuitatis London, Hugone Huls et ſociis ſuis Iuſtic. domini regis ad inquirend. per ſacram. proborum et legal. hominum de ciuitate domini regis London. et ſuburbiis eiuſdem, ac de com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus et ſingulis proditionibus et inſurrectionibus per quam plures ſubditos domini regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in ciuitate, ſuburbiis, et com. predictis factis et perpetratis, nec non de omnibus proditionibus, inſurrectionibus, rebellionibus, et feloniis in ciuitate, ſuburbiis, et com. predictis per quoſcunque et qualitercunque factis, ſiue perpetratis, et ad eaſdem proditiones, inſurrectiones, rebelliones, et felonias aydiend. et terminand. ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem regni domini regis Anglie, per litteras ipſius domini Regis patentes, aſsign. apud weſtm. die Mercurii (A) proximo poſt feſtū Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis Hērici quinti poſt cōqueſtū primo, (B) per ſacram. xii. Iur. extitit preſentatum: quod Iohannes Oldcaſtell de Coulyng in com. Kanc. chr. et alii Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diuerſas opiniones hereticas, et alios errores manifeſtos legi catholicæ repugnātes a diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones et errores predictos manutenere, at in facto minime perimplere valentes, quandiu regia poteſtas et tam ſtatus regal. domini noſtri regis, quam ſtatus et officium prelaciæ dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in proſperitate perſeuerarent, falſo et proditorie machinando, tam ſtatum regni, quam ſtatum et officium prelatorum, necnon ordines religioſorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus adnullare: Ac dominū noſtrū regem, fratres ſuos, prelatos, et alios magnates eiuſdē regni interficere, necnon viros religioſos, relict. cult. diuinis et religioſis obſeruanciis ad occupationes mundanas prouocare, et tam eccleſias cathedrales, quam alias eccleſias et domos religioſas de reliquis et aliis bonis eccleſiaſticis totaliter ſpoliare ac funditus ad terram proſternere, & dictū Iohannē Oldcaſtell, (C) Regentem eiuſdē regni conſtituere, et quam plura regimina ſecundum eorum voluntatem infra regnum predictū (D) quaſi gens ſine capite in finalem deſtructionem, tam fidei catholicæ et cleri quam ſtatus et maieſtatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare, falſo et proditorie ordinauerūt et propoſuerūt, quod ipſo inſimul cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis (E) ignotis ad numerū viginti millium hominū de diuerſis partibus regni Angl. modo guerrino ariuat. (F) priuatim inſurgent. et die Mercurii proximo (G) poſt feſtū Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis predicti predicto apud villam et perochiā ſancti Egidii (H) extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem vnanimit. conuenirent et inſimul obuiarent pro nephādo propoſito ſuo in premiſsis perimplend: quo quidem die Mercurij apud villam et perochiam predictas, predicti Iohānes Oldcaſtell, et alij in huiuſmodi propoſito proditorio perſeuerantes, predictū dominum noſtrum regem, fratres ſuos,

(A)
(B)
(C)
(D)
(E)
(F)
(G)
(H)

videlicet, (H) Thomam ducē Clarenciæ Iohannē de Lancaſtre, et Humfridū de Lancaſtre, necnon prelatos et magnates predictos interficere, necnō ipſum dominum noſtrū regem et heredes ſuos de regno ſuo predicto exheredare et premiſſa omnia et ſingula, necnon quam plura alia mala et intollerabilia facere et perimplere falſo et proditorie propoſuerunt et imaginauerunt (I) et ibidem verſus campum predictum modo guerrino arriati, proditorie modo inſurrectionis contra ligeancias ſuas equitauerunt ad debellandum dictum dominum noſtrum regem, niſi per ipſum manu forti groſſe impediti fuiſſent. Quod quidem inditamentum dominus Rex nunc, certis de cauſis coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod nō omitt. &c. quin caperet prefatum Iohannē Oldcaſtel, ſi. &c Et ſaluo. &c. Ita quod haberet corpus eius, corā dño Rege apud VVeſtm. ad hūc diem, ſcilicet die Mercurii proximo poſt octauas ſancti Hillarii iſto eodem termino ad reſpōdendum domino Regi de premiſſis. &c. Ad quos diē et locū, coram domino Rege vic. return. quod predictus Iohānes Oldcaſtel nō fuit inuentus in balliua ſua. &c. per quod preceptū fuit vic. quod exigi faceret eum de com. in com. quouſq; vtlagetur ſi non. &c. Et ſi. &c. tunc eum caperet et ſaluo. &c. Ita quod haberent corpus eius coram domino Rege in Octauas ſancti Iohannis Baptiſte ex tunc proximū ſequen. vbicunque. &c. ad reſpondendum domino regi de proditionibus, et feloniis ſuperius ſibi impoſitis. Ad quas octauas ſancti Iohannis Baptiſte, anno regni R. Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtū ſecundo, Iohannes Sutton, & Iohannes Michel vic. Midd. coram domino rege returnauerunt quod ad com. Midd. centum apud Braynford die Iouis proximo ante feſtum ſancti Barnabe Apoſtoli, anno regni R. Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtū ſecundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc proximo precedentes predictus Iohannes Oldcaſtell exactus fuit, et non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. comparuit. Ideo preſentibus coronatoribus com. predicti vtlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra et catallis ſuis.

¶ *Notes or conſiderations vpon the Inditement and Commiſsion aboue prefixed.*

(A) Die Mercurij proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ. &c ¶ First here is to be noted and conſidered (good reader) the day and date of geuyng out the Cōmiſſion, and then of the verdite preſented by the Iurers, whiche was both in one day, that is, on the Weneſday next after the Epiphanie, in the firſt yeare of the reigne of king Henry v. Which was the x. day of the moneth of Ianuary (as the date of the Commiſſion sayeth) an. 1413. after the vſe of England, or after ẏ Romaine vſe, an. 1414. So that after what vſe ſo euer we counte, whether it be an. 1413. or els an. 1414. the Dominicall letter beginning at the firſt day of Ianuarye to chaunge, muſt needes be G. for that yeare: and ſo neceſſarily make Weneſday next after the Epiphanie, to be the x. day of the ſayd moneth of Ianuary. Thus then this preſent Weneſday, whiche was the tenth day of that moneth, being well noted and borne in mynde, on the whiche day both the Commiſſion was directed, and alſo the verdict preſented, let vs now procede further in the foreſayd Inditement. It foloweth.

(B) Per Sacramentum xij. iuratorum extitit præſentatum &c. ¶ If there had been true dealing in this, the Iurers ſhould haue been named. But it is not lyke, that there was euer any ſuch Inditement founde by any Iurers, and therfore they did beſt, not to name ẏ Iurours, leaſt they would haue denied this Inditement to be their Acte: it foloweth more in proces of the Inditement.

(C) Et dictum Ioan. Oldcaſtell Regentem eiuſdem regni conſtituere &c. ¶ If there were no other argument, this were ſufficient to diſproue the manifeſt vntruth of this ſurmiſed Inditement. When as the kyng was not yet gone to Fraunce, nor determined to go, howe could they conſpire then to make a Regent? For the kyng wēt in Iuly folowing, vidz, the ſecond yeare of his reigne, leauyng behynde hym the Queene his mother in lawe, for Regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was vntruly entred and ſtolen into the recordes with an antedate, or els at the leaſt, ther appeareth manifeſt vntruth, that they ſhould conſpire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought vpon, vnles it were all ready runne into the heades of the clergy, who ſhortly after fearyng their temporalties (as Caxton ſayth) perſuaded the kyng to make warres in Fraunce. This worde Regent therfore procedeth of the ſecrete ſpirite of the clergy, and maketh the whole matter very ſuſpitious, to be grounded altogether vpon the malice of the clergy, and theyr vntrue ſurmiſes. It foloweth moreouer.

(D)

The v. argument, by contrarietie.

(D) Quaſi gēs ſine capite in finalem deſtructionem. &c. ¶ How doth this ſtand with that goeth before, that they conſpired to make a Regent, excepte you will ſay that to make a Regent is to bee a people without an head? It foloweth.

(E)

The vi. argument, by the perſons vnknowen.

(E) Cum quam pluribus rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum. &c. ¶ A ſtraunge matter, that they ſhould knowe of the conſpiracy of xx. thouſand, and yet know of no mo names of the rebelles, but the Lord Cobham onely, or one or two mo. And all the reſt were ignoti.

(F)

The vii argument, by the vnſkilfull penning.

(F) Priuatim inſurgentes. &c. ¶ This ſmelleth of the clergyes owne pennyng, without any greate aduiſe of learned counſaile: for otherwiſe ſuch as had been here in ſkilfull, would neuer haue put in priuatim inſurgētes.

(G)

The viii. argument, by the date and tyme.

(G) Die Mercurij proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ D. anno R. R. prædicto &c. ¶ This Weneſday next after the Epiphanie, was the x. day of the moneth of Ianuary, and the ſame day when both the conſpiracie was put in execution, and the ſame daye, when the Commiſſion was geuen out to enquire, alſo when the fact was by enquirie preſented. Wherby it may ſeme a ſtraunge thing that ſo great a conſpiracie knowen beforehand, was not ſuppreſſed nor enquired of by any Commiſſion, but onely by a Commiſſion bearyng date of the ſame day, vpon whiche day by the purporte of the Inditement, the conſpiracie ſhould haue been put in execution by open rebellion, as it is aforeſaid.

(H)

The ix. argument, by error and wrong naming the Dukes.

(H) Prædictum D. noſtrum Regem fratres ſuos videl. Thomam Ducem Clarentiæ. Ioannem de Lancaſtre, et Humfredum de Lancaſtre et cet. ¶ If the kynges learned counſaile had dealt in this Inditement, as in caſe of treaſon they ſhould haue done, if it had been a matter of trouth, they would neuer haue hādled it ſo ſlenderly, and wrongly, as to name the dukes of Bedford, and of Gloceſter: Iohn of Lancaſter, and Humfrey of Lancaſter, who were made Dukes in the. 13. yeare, of the reigne of kyng Henry the iiij. their father, as appeareth by Caxtons Chronicle.

(I)

The x. note or argument by the abſence of the partie.

(I) Et ibidem verſus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie modo inſurrectionis, contra ligeantias ſuas equitauerunt ad rebellādum dictum D. noſtrum regem et cet. ¶ This is falſified by playne euidence of hiſtories. And Cope him ſelfe confeſſeth no leſſe. For he ſo ſayth and confeſſeth pag. 833. lyne. 12. That Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle was not there in perſon, but onely, that his cōſent and good will was there.

The xi note or argument.

Agayne ſeyng this equitation or rydyng toward S. Gyles fielde was vpon the Weneſday next after ẏ feaſt of Epiphanie (as in this Inditement, and proces of outlawry aboue teſtified) whiche was the x. day of Ianuary, and Commiſſiō alſo the ſame day was charged, and the Iewry moreouer impaneld the ſame day, and yet no Iewrer named: Item the verdict the ſame day preſēted, how all theſe can concurre together, and all in one day, let ẏ reader after he haue well conſidered the matter, vſe his iudgement therin, not onely whether it be lyke, but alſo whether it be poſſible.

The xii. note or argument.

Ouer and beſide all this, it is to be noted, that if this

The L. Cobham, ſyr Rog. Acton, &c. proued no traytours.

matter had ben truly and duely handled, as touchyng yͤ treaſon, then had it not been nedefull to haue brought ſir John Oldcaſtle into the Parliament houſe, before the Lordes to haue had his Judgement. For by yͤ outlawry (if it had been true) hee was atteinted, and without any more adoo ſhould haue had Judgement in the kynges Bench as a traitour. But the chiefe Juſtice knowyng yͤ handlyng of yͤ matter, durſt not belike enterpriſe ſo far. Wherfore it was deuiſed, that he ſhould certifie the recorde into the Parliament, whiche he did together, with the Biſhops ſentence filed to the recorde, whiche was very ſtraũge. And therupon the Lordes gaue ſuch a iudgement, as was not due for a traitour. For that they gaue no Judgemẽt, that he ſhould be drawen, hanged, and let down alyue, and then boweled, and quartered, which is the iudgement of a traitor. And albeit the Parliament might haue atteinted him wͭout any more adoo: And by the ſame Acte of atteinder haue ordeined a ſpeciall iudgement, as they ſhould thinke good: yet whẽ he was before atteynted by the outlawry, they could not lawfully vary from the common Judgemẽt of treaſon. At leaſt how could or ſhould the iudgement of Syr Roger Acton, maiſter Browne, and John Beuerlay, who were Judged in the Pealdhall before and without the Parliament, vary from the ſayd common Judgement of traitours, if they had truly cõmitted, & been cõuicted of ſuch high treaſon?

The xiii. note or argument.

Adde this moreouer to yͤ foreſayd Notes: that if Syr John Oldcaſtle after his eſcape out of priſon, had been culpable and ſo atteinted of that hygh treaſon, whereby his landes had ben immediatly forfait vnto the kyng by the proces of this outlawry: What neded the kyng then in the ſecond yeare of his reigne, in the Parliament after holden at Leyceſter, haue made that prouiſo to haue his landes forfait to hym by vertue of Parliament, vpõ his eſcape on the day of hys arreſt: when as the landes & cattaile of his had bene forfaite before, by the proces of the outlawry, as is before ſpecified?

Thus you ſee (maiſter Cope) how litle auauntage you can wraſt out of this Commiſſion & Inditement againſt the Lord Cobham and his felowes to proue them traytours. And admitte the ſayd L. Cobham was attaynted of treaſon by the acte, and that the kyng, the Lordes, & the commons aſſented to the acte: yet it byndeth not in ſuch ſorte (as if in deede he were no traytour) that any man may not by ſearch of the truth vtter & ſet forth ſincerely and iuſtlye the very true cauſe wherby his death hapt and followed.

Aunſwere to the allegations of Fabian, Polydore, and Halle, &c.

Thus then hauyng ſufficiently clered the Lord Cobham and his parteners, from all that you cã obiecte vnto them out of recordes and ſtatutes: let vs now come to your Engliſh Chroniclers, wherwith you ſeme to preſſe me, & to oppreſſe thẽ, whom ye name to be Robert Fabiã Edwarde Halle, Polydo. Vergilius, Thomas Cooper, Rich. Grafton, with other brief Epitomes and Sũmaryes &c. Concernyng whiche autors, as I haue not to ſay, but to their commendation in this place: ſo if yͤ you had auouched the ſame, to the commendation rather thẽ to the reprofe of other, I woulde better haue commended your nature, and beleued your cauſe. But now lyke a ſpyder catcher ſuckyng out of euery one, what is the worſt, to make vp your leyſtall, you heape vp a dong hyll of dyrtie dialogues contaynyng nothing in them but malicious raylyng, virulent ſlaunders, manifeſt vntruthes, opprobrious contumelies, and ſtinckyng blaſphemies, able almoſt to corrupt and infect the ayre. Suche is the maladie and cacoethes of your pen, that it beginneth to barke, before it hath learned well to wryte. Which pen of yours notwithſtanding I do not here reproch nor cõtemne, as neyther do I greatly feare the ſame. God of hys mercy kepe the ſword out of the Papiſtes hand, it is not the penne of the Papiſtes I greatlye paſſe vpon, though twenty Copes and ſo many ſurpleſſes, were ſet agaynſt the booke of Monumentes, were I ſo diſpoſed (maiſter Cope) to dally, or as the Grekes do ſay ἀντιπαίζειν, and to repay agayne, as I am prouoked. But in de ſpitefull raylyng, and in this Satyricall ſort of barking I geue you ouer, and ſuffer you therein to paſſe not onely your ſelfe, but alſo Cerberus hymſelfe if ye wyll, the great band dog of Pluto. Mildenes and humanitye rather beſeemeth and is the grace of the latyne phraſe. If ye could hyt vpon the vane thereof, it would win you much more honeſty, with all honeſt men. But the Lorde hereafter may call you, which I beſeche him to doo, and to forgeue you that you haue done. In the meane tyme ſeing this your pratling pen muſt nedes be walking, yet this you might haue learned of theſe your own autours whom you alledge, more ciuilly to haue tempered your ſtile, in exclaming agaynſt them, whoſe cauſe is to you not perfectly knowẽ. And now briefly to anſwer to theſe your foreſayd wryters, as wytneſſes produced agaynſt theſe men: there be two thinges (as I take it) in theſe chronicle wryters to be conſidered: Firſt the groundes which they follow: ſecondly in what place they ſerue.

As touching the order and ground of writing amõg theſe chroniclers, ye muſt conſider, and can not be ignoraunt, that as none of all theſe by you forenamed, was preſent at the dede, nor wytnes of the fact, ſo haue they nothing of them ſelues herein certainly to affirme, but eyther muſt follow publike rumour and hearſaye for theyr autor, or els one of them muſt borow of an other. Whereof neyther ſeemeth to me ſufficient. For as publike rumor is neuer certaine: ſo one autor may ſoone deceiue an other. By reaſon whereof it commeth oft to paſſe, that as theſe ſtorye writers hyt manye tymes the truth, ſo againe all is not the Goſpel that they do write. Wherefore great reſpect is here to be had, eyther not to credite raſhly euery one that writeth ſtories, or els to ſee what groundes they haue whom we do follow. Now to demaund (maiſter Cope) of you, what autoritie or foundacion hath your Robert Fabian, hath Polydor Vergile, Edw. Halle, & other of your authors to proue theſe mẽ to be traytours? What autoritie do they auouche? what actes, what regeſters, what recordes, or out of what court, do they ſhewe? Or what demonſtration do they make? And do you thinke it ſufficient, becauſe theſe mẽ do only affirme it, wͭout any further probation, wͭ your αὐτὸς ἔφη, therfore we are bound to beleue it? Take me not ſo (M. Cope) yͤ I do here diminiſhe any thyng or derogate frõ yͤ credite of thoſe writers you alledge, whoſe labours haue deſerued well, & ſerue to great vtilitie: but cõming now to triall of a matter, lieng in controuerſie betwene vs, we are now forced to ſeke out the fountain and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to ſay, ſo it is, but the cauſe is to bee ſhewed, why it is ſo affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Vergill, and Edwarde Halle, ſhould all together (as they do not) agree in the treaſon of ſir John Oldcaſtle and of the reſt, yet neyther is this any ſufficient ſuretie to proue them traytours. Conſideryng that writers of ſtories for moſt parte folowyng either blind reporte: or els one taking of an other, vſe commonly all to ſounde together after one tune, tanquam Dodonæi lebetes, ſo that as one ſayth, all ſay, and if one erre, all do erre. Wherfore you ſee maſter Cope, how it is not ſufficient nor ſure to ſticke onely to the names and autorities of Chronographers, vnles the grounde be founde ſubſtauntiall wherupon they ſtande them ſelues. Which yet in none of theſe whom you haue produced, doth appeare.

Secondly in alledging and writyng of Chronicles is to be conſidered to what place and effect they ſerue. If ye would ſhewe out of them the order and courſe of times, what yeares were of dearth and of plentie, where kings kept there Chriſtẽmas, what condites were made, what Maiors and Sherifes were in London, what battailes were

were fought what triũphes and great feaſtes were holden, when kynges began their reigne, and when they ended ⁊c. In ſuch vulgare and populare affaires, the narration of the Chronicler ſerueth to good purpoſe, ⁊ may haue his credite, wherein the matter forceth not much, whether it be true or falſe, or where any liſteth to beleue them. But where as a thyng is denyed, and in caſes of iudgemẽt, ⁊ in controuerſies doubtfull, which are to be decided ⁊ boulted out by euidence of iuſt demonſtratiõ: I take thẽ neyther for Iudges of ẏ Bench, nor for arbiters of the cauſe, nor as witneſſes of them ſelues ſufficient neceſſarely to be ſticked vnto. Albeit I deny not but hyſtories are taken many tymes, and ſo termed for witneſſes of tymes, and glaſſes of antiquitie. ⁊c. yet not ſuch witneſſes, as whoſe teſtimonie beareth alwayes a neceſſary truth, and bindeth beleefe.

The two witneſſes whiche came agaynſt Suſanna, beyng ſeniours both of auncient yeres, bare a great coũtenaunce of a moſt euident teſtimonie, whereby they almoſt both deceaued the people, ⁊ oppreſſed the innocent: had not young Daniell by the holy ſpirite of God, haue take them aſide, and ſeuerally examinyng them one frõ the other, found thẽ to be falſe lyers both, leauyng to vs therby a leſſon of wholeſome circumſpection, not raſhly to beleue euery one ẏ cõmeth: and alſo teachyng vs, how to try them out. Wherfore (maſter Cope) folowing here the like example of Daniell in trying theſe your recordes whom ye inferre agaynſt theſe men, we will in lyke maner examine them, ſeuerally one from an other, and ſee how their teſtimonie agreeth: firſt beginnyng with your Robert Fabian. Whiche Robert Fabian, beyng neither in the ſame age, nor at ẏ dede doing, can of him ſelf geue no credite herein, without due proufe, ⁊ euidence conueniẽt. How then doth Robert Fabian proue this matter of treaſon true? what probation doth he bryng? what autoritie doth hee alledge? And doth Robert Fabian thinke, if hee were not diſpoſed to conceaue of the L. Cobham, ⁊ thoſe mẽ a better opinion but to be traytours, ẏ mẽ are bound to beleue hym onely at his worde, without any groundes or cauſe declared, why they ſhould ſo doo, but onely becauſe he ſo ſayth, and pleaſed him ſo to write? And if ye thinke (maiſter Cope) the worde onely of this witnes ſufficient to make autoritie, ſpeakyng agaynſt ẏ Lord Cobham, and prouyng nothyng, whiche folowed ſo many yeares after him: Why may not I as well and much rather take the word and teſtimonie of Richard Belward a Northfolke man, and of the towne of Eriſam, who lyuing both in his tyme, and poſſible knowyng the party, and puniſhed alſo for the lyke truth, is not reported, but recorded alſo in the regiſters of the church of Norwich, to geue this teſtimony among other hys articles, for the foreſayd Lord Cobham, that is, that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtel was a true catholike man, and falſely condemned, and put to death without reaſonable cauſe. ⁊c. Ex Regiſt. Noruic. Agaynſt this man if you take exception, ⁊ ſay, that one hereticke wyl hold with an other: why may not I with the lyke exception reply to you agayne, and ſay as well, one Papiſt will holde wyth an other, and both coniure together, to make and ſay the worſt agaynſt a true Proteſtant.

Further, yet to examine this foreſayd Fabian, witnes agaynſt ſyr Iohn Oldcaſtell, as Daniell examined the witneſſes agaynſt Suſanna, I wil not here aſke vnder what tree theſe adherents of ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle conſpired agaynſt the kyng, and ſubuerſion of the lãd, but in what tyme, in what yeare and moneth this conſpiracie was wrought? Fabian witneſſeth that it was in the moneth of Ianuary. Contrary, Edward Halle, and other our Abrigmenters following him, do affirme that they were condemned in the Guild haull the. xij. of December, and that their execution vpon the ſame was in Ianuary following, ſo that by their ſentence the fact was done eyther in the moneth of December, or els before, ⁊ ſo Fabianus mentitus eſt in caput ſuum, vt cum Daniele dicam: or if it wer in the moneth of Ianuary, as Fabian ſayth, then is Halle and hys followers deceaued, teſtifieng the fact to be done in the moneth of December.

And yet to obiect moreouer agaynſt the ſayd Fabian, forſomuch as he is ſuche a raſhe wytnes agaynſt theſe burned perſons, whom he calleth traytors: it woulde be demaunded further of hym, or in hys abſence of Mayſter Cope, in what yeare thys treaſon was conſpired? If it were in the ſame yeare (as he confeſſeth hymſelfe) in whych yeare Iohn Claydon the ſkynner, and Rycharde Turmine Baker were burned, then was it neyther in the moneth of Ianuary, nor in the firſt yeare of king Henry the fyft. For in the Regiſter of Canterbury it appeareth playne, that Iohn Claydon was condemned neither in the time of Tho. Arundell Archb. nor yet in ẏ firſt nor ſecond yere of K. Henry. 5. but was cõdemned in the ſecond yeare of the tranſlation of Henry Chicheſley, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the. xvij. day of Auguſt, which was the yeare of our lord. 1415. So that if thys conſpiracie was in the ſame yeare (after the witnes of Fabian) in which yeare Iohn Claydon was burned, then doth the teſtimonye of Fabian neyther accorde with other wytneſſes, nor with hym ſelfe, nor yet wyth truth. And thus concerning the wytnes of Rob. Fabian.

Fabian conuict of a manifeſt vntruth in his ſtorye of the Lord Cobham.

Fabian. part. 7. in vita. Henr. 5. pag. 390.

Ex Regiſt. Archiep. Cant.

Let vs next procede to Polydore Virgil, whoſe partiall and vntrue handling of our hiſtorie in other places of his bookes, doth offer vnto vs ſufficient exception, not to admit his credite in this. And yet becauſe we wyll rather examine him, then exclude hym, let vs heare a little what he ſayth, and how he fayleth, and in howe manye pointes, numbring ẏ ſame vpon my v. fingers. Firſt ending with the life of king Henry. 4. he ſaith, that he raigned. xiiij. yeares and ſixe monethes and. ij. dayes. Angl. hiſt lib. 21. which is an vntruth, worthy to bee puniſhed with a whole yeares baniſhment (to ſpeake after the maner of Apuleius) when as truth is he raygned by the teſtimony of the ſtorye of S. Albanes, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old Engliſh Chronicle, and of Scala mundi, but. xiij. and. vi. monethes, lacking as ſome ſaye. v. dayes, Halle ſayth he raygned but. xij. yeares.

The teſtimony of Polydore examined.

V. vntruthes of Polydore noted in one ſtorye.

1. vntruth.

The ſecond vntruth of Polydore is thys, where as he ſpeaking of this ſedition of ſir Iohn Oldcaſtell and his adherentes, affirmeth the ſame to be done after the burning of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, which was ſaith he, an. 1415. in which yeare (ſayth he) Thomas Arundell dyed. Hys wordes be theſe: In eodem conſilio damnata eſt I. VVicliffi hæreſis, ac Ioã. Hus, et Hieronimus Pragenſis in ea vrbe combuſti ſunt. Quod vbi reliquis conſociis, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquã furiis agitati primum coniurationes in omnes ſacerdotes, deinde in regem. &c. In whych wordes he not onelye erreth, falſely aſſiguing the cauſe and occaſion of this ſedition to the death of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome, but alſo miſſeth as much in the order and computation of the yeares. For neyther was ſir Roger Acton with his foreſayd felloewes alyue at ẏ time of ẏ councell, neither doth he agree therin with any of our Engliſh writers, except only with Hall, who alſo erreth therin as wyde as he.

2. vntruth.

For the third ⁊ fourth vntruth I note this, where he addeth ⁊ ſayth, that after this rebelliõ raiſed againſt the king, the ſayd ſyr Iohn Oldcaſtell beyng there preſent hymſelfe, was taken ⁊ priſoned in the tower, and afterwar ſcaped out of the ſayd tower by night, wherin is contayned a double vntruth. For neither was ſyr Iohn Oldcaſtell there preſent him ſelfe, if we beleue Fabian ⁊ Cope, Dial. 6. pag 833 lin. 11. neyther yet dyd hee euer eſcape out of the tower after that conſpiracie, if euer any ſuch conſpiracie was.

3. 4. vntruth.

Copus pag. 833. lin. 11.

His v. but not the laſt vntruth in Polydore is this, that he ſayth, Tho. Arundell to haue dyed in the ſame yeare, notyng the yeare to be an. 1415. where as by the true re-

5. vntruth.

giſters he dyed an.1413.

An other vntruth in Polydore noted.

To this vntruth an other alſo may be ioyned, where he errying in the computation of the yeares of the ſayd Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, repoꝛteth him to ſit xxxiij. yeares. Who was there Archbiſhop but onely xviij. yeares, as is to be ſeen in the recoꝛdes of Caunterbury. The wooꝛdes of Polydore be theſe: Thomas Arundellius Cantuarienſis antiſtes annū iam tunc ſedens tertium & trigeſimū e vita exceſsit Lib.22. Ang hiſt. Albeit in this I do not greatly contende with Polydore, and peraduenture the aduerſarye will finde ſome eaſie ſhift foꝛ this matter.

The teſtimony of Halle againſt the Lord Cobham examined,

But let vs paſſe now from Polydore, not (as they ſay) out of the halle, into the kytchen, but out of the kytchen vnto the halle, examinyng and perpendyng what ſayth Edward Halle, an other witnes in this matter: vpon whō maiſter Cope byndeth ſo faſt, that he ſuppoſeth his knot is neuer able to bee looſed. And moꝛeouer ſo treadeth me down vnder his feete in the dyꝛte (as a mā would thinke hym ſome dyꝛtdaubers ſonne) ſo that the ſpottes therof, he ſayth, will neuer be gotten out while the woꝛlde ſtandeth and a day longer. Notwithſtanding I truſt maiſter Cope ẏ your dyꝛtie pen with your cockiſh bꝛagges hath not ſo bedaubed and beſpotted me, noꝛ yet conuicted me to bee ſuch a depꝛauer of hiſtoꝛyes, but I hope to ſpunge it out. At leaſt way, with a lytle aſperges of the Popes holy water, I truſt to come to a de albabor well enough. But Certes, maiſter Cope, your maſterſhyp muſt firſt vnderſtande, that if ye thinke ſo to depꝛeſſe me, and diſpꝛoue me of vntruth in my hiſtoꝛye, you muſt goo moꝛe groundly to woꝛke, and bꝛyng agaynſt me other autoꝛs thē Edw. Halle: You muſt conſider (maiſter Cope) if you will bee a controller in ſtoꝛye matters, it is not enough foꝛ you to bꝛyng a raylyng ſpirite, oꝛ a mynde diſpoſed to carpe and cauille where any matter may bee picked, diligence is required, and great ſearching out of bookes and autoꝛs not onely of our time, but of all ages. And eſpecially where matters of religion are touched perteynyng to the church: it is not ſufficient to ſee what Fabian, oꝛ what Halle ſaith, but the recoꝛdes muſt be ſought, the regiſters muſt be turned ouer, letters alſo ⁊ auncient inſtrumentes ought to be peruſed, and autoꝛs with ẏ ſame compared, finally the wꝛiters among them ſelues one to be conferred with an other. And ſo with iudgement to be wayed, with diligence to be laboꝛed, and with ſimplicitie pure from all addiction and partialitie to bee vttered. Thus did Auentinus, thus did Sledanus wꝛite. Theſe helpes alſo the eldeſt and beſt hiſtoꝛicians ſemed to haue, both Titus Liuius, Saluſtius, Quintus Curtius, and ſuch lyke, as by their letters and recoꝛdes inſerted may well appeare. The ſame helpes lykewiſe both in your Fabian, and in your Edward Halle were to be required, but eſpecially in you (maiſter Cope) your ſelfe, whiche take vpon you ſo cockyſhly (rather then wiſely) to bee a controller ⁊ maiſter moderatour of other mens matters. In which matters (to ſay the truth) you haue no great ſkill, ⁊ leſſe experiēce, neither haue you either ſuch plentẏ of autoꝛs mete foꝛ that purpoſe, noꝛ yet euer trauayled to ſearche out the oꝛigens and groundes of that wherof ye wꝛyte. But onely contented with ſuch as commeth next to hād, oꝛ peraduenture receyuyng ſuch almoſe as ſome of your pooꝛe frendes beſtow vpō you, thinke it ſufficient if you can alledge Fabian and Halle, foꝛ your purpoſe.

Cope a carper of ſtoryes wherof he hath no ſkyll.

Now what purpoſe and affectiō herein doth lea[illegible] you, rather doth dꝛiue you, to the carping ⁊ barkyng againſt the hiſtoꝛie of theſe good men, ẏ be hence gone ⁊ had their puniſhement, all men may ſee it to be no ſimple ſinceritie of a minde indifferent, but the zeale onely of your ſect of Popery, oꝛ rather of fury, which ſetteth your rayling ſpirit on fire. But now out of ẏ fiery kytchyng, to come to the Halle, again let vs ſee what matter lieth in the teſtimonie of Edwarde Halle, to pꝛoue theſe men to be traytoꝛs. And here foꝛ ſomuch (maſter Cope) as you ſeme neither ſufficiently aquainted wͭ this your owne maiſter ⁊ autoꝛ, maiſter Halle, noꝛ yet wel experienced in the ſearchyng out of hiſtoꝛyes: I will take a litle paynes foꝛ you in this behalfe, to certifie you cōcerning the ſtoꝛy of this autoꝛ, wherof percaſe you your ſelfe are yet ignoꝛant.

Aunſwe to Edw Halle.

The truth wherof is this, ẏ as the ſayd Edw. Halle your great maiſter ⁊ Teſtis, was about ẏ cōpiling of hys ſtoꝛy, certaine there were which reſoꝛted to him, of whom ſome were dꝛawers foꝛ his petygree and vyniet, ſome were grauers, the names of whom were John Bets, ⁊ Tyꝛrall, which be now both dead. And other there were of the ſame ſodalitie, who be yet aliue, ⁊ was then in the houſe of Richard Grafton, both the pꝛinter of the ſayde booke, and alſo (as is thought) a greater helper in pennyng of the ſame. It ſo befell that as Halle was entring into ẏ ſtoꝛy of ſyꝛ John Oldcaſtell, of ſyꝛ Roger Acton, and their fellowes, the booke of John Bale, touchyng the ſtoꝛy of the Loꝛd Cobham, was the ſame time newly come ouer. Which booke was pꝛiuelye conueyed by one of his ſeruauntes into the ſtudy of Halle, ſo that in turning ouer hys bookes, it muſt needes come to hys handes. At the ſight whereof, when he ſaw the grounde and reaſons in that booke contayned, hee turned to the autoꝛs in the foꝛeſayd booke alledged, whereupon within two nights after, moued by what cauſe I know not, but ſo it was, that he taking hys pen, raſed and cancelled all that he had wꝛitten befoꝛe, agaynſt ſyꝛ John Oldcaſtell and his fellowes, and was now ready to go to the pꝛint, contayning neare to the quantity of thꝛee pages. And leaſt (maiſter Cope) you, oꝛ any other ſhould thynke me to ſpeake byſyde my booke, be it therefoꝛe knowen both to you and to all other, by theſe pꝛeſentes, that the very ſelfe ſame fyꝛſt copy of Hall raſed and croſſed with his own penne, remaineth in my handes to be ſhewed ⁊ ſene, as nede ſhall require. The matter which he cancelled out came to this effect. Wherin he folowing the narration of Polidoꝛe, began wͭ like woꝛds, to declare how the Sacramentaries here in Englande, after the death of John Huſſe, and Hierome of Pꝛage, being pꝛycked as he ſayth, with a demoniacall ſtyng, fyꝛſt conſpyꝛed againſt the pꝛieſtes, and after agaynſt the kyng, hauyng to theyꝛ Captaines ſyꝛ John Oldcaſtell the Loꝛde Cobham, ⁊ ſyꝛ Roger Acton knight, with many mo woꝛdes to the lyke purpoſe and effect, as Polydoꝛe ⁊ other ſuche lyke Chꝛoniclers do wꝛite agaynſt him. All which matter notwithſtanding, the ſayde Hall with hys pen at the ſight of John Bales booke, did vtterly extinct and aboliſhe. Adding in the place thereof the woꝛdes of mayſter Bales booke, touching the accuſation and condemnation of the ſayd Loꝛde Cobham, befoꝛe Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterburye, taken out of the letter of the ſayd Archbiſhop, as is in hys own ſtoꝛy to be ſene. In vita Henr.5.pag.2.b lin.30.

Halle raſeth out hys own ſtory wr ten agay the L.Co ham,

Hallus in vita He ric.5.p 2.b.lin.

And thus Edward Halle your authoꝛ, reuoking and calling backe all that he had deuiſed befoꝛe agaynſt the Loꝛd Cobham (whereof I haue his own hand to ſhew, and wytnes ſubſtantiall vpon the ſame) in hys pꝛynted booke recoꝛdeth of hym no moꝛe, but onely ſheweth the pꝛoces betwene the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and him foꝛ matters of religion. And ſo endyng wyth ſir John Oldcaſtell, pꝛoceedeth further to the aſſemble of ſir Roger Acton (whom he falſely calleth Robert Acton) John Bꝛowne, and Beuerley, the narration wherof he handleth in ſuch ſoꝛte, that he neyther agreeth with the recoꝛd of other wꝛiters, noꝛ yet with truth it ſelfe. Foꝛ wher he excludeth the Loꝛd Cobham out of that aſſemble, he diſcoꝛdeth therein from Polydoꝛe and other. And where he affirmeth the fact of that conſpiracie to be wꝛought befoꝛe, oꝛ at the.xij.day of December, that is manifeſtlye falſe, if the recoꝛdes befoꝛe alledged be true. And where he repoꝛteth thys aſſemble to bee after the burnyng of

Halle in t ſtory of t L Cobha and ſir R ger Acto agreeth n with oth ſtoryes. Vntruth i Halle noted.

John

Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, therein hee accordeth with Polidore, but not with truth. Moreouer ſo doubtfull he is & ambiguous in declaratiō of this ſtory, yͭ no great certaintie cā be gathered of him. Firſt as touching the confeſſiō of them he cōfeſſeth himſelf, yͭ he ſaw it not, and therfore leaueth it at large. And as cōcernyng the cauſes of their death, he leaueth the matter in doubt, not daryng (as doth maiſter Cope) to define or pronoūce any thyng thereof, but onely reciteth the ſurmiſes and myndes of diuers men diuerſly, ſome thinkyng it was for conueying the Lord Cobham out of the tower, ſome that it was for treaſon and hereſy, and here commeth in the mentiō onely of a recorde, but what recorde it is, neither doth hee vtter it, nor doth he examine it: other ſome agayne affirmyng (as hee ſayth) that it was for fayned cauſes ſurmiſed by the ſpiritualtie, more of diſpleaſure thē truth. And thus your autor Halle hauyng recited the varietie of mēs opiniōs, determineth himſelf no certain thyng therof, but as one indifferent neither bound to the coniectures of all men, nor to the writinges of all men, referreth the whole iudgement of the matter frée vnto the reader. And ſo concludyng his narration forſomuch as he was neither a witnes of the fact, nor preſent at yͤ dede, he ouerpaſſeth the ſtory therof.

And what witnes then will you, or can you (maiſter Cope) take of Edward Halle, whiche denieth him ſelfe to be a witnes? Will you compell hym to ſay that he ſawe not? and to witnes that he cā not? Wherfore lyke as Suſanna, in the ſtory of Daniell was quite by right iudgement in the caſe of adulterye, becauſe her accuſers and teſtes beyng examined a ſonder were found to vary and halt in their tale, & not to agrée in the two trees; So why may not in lyke caſe of treaſon, Syr Roger Acton, Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle, Browne with the reſt, clayme the ſame priuilege? ſeyng among the teſtes and witnes produced agaynſt them, ſuch diſcord is found, and ſuch haltyng among them, that neither do they agrée in place, perſon, yeare, day, nor moneth. For firſt where Fabian & his felowes ſay: that they were aſſembled together in a great company, in the field nere to S. Giles, the forged inditemēt aboue alledged, ſayth, they were but riding toward the field. 2. Secondly where the foreſayd inditement and Polidore, geue the Lord Cobham to be preſent perſonally in that aſſemble, Halle, and Alanus Copus Anglus, do exclude his perſonall preſence from thence: and ſo doth Fabian alſo ſeme to agrée, ſpeakyng onely of the adherentes of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle. 3. Thirdly, where Halle and Polidorus reporte this aſſemble to be after the buryng of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome at the councell of Conſtaunce, whiche was an. 1415. that can not be, but if there were any ſuch cōſpiracie in yͤ firſt yeare of Henr. 5. it muſt nedes be, an. 1413. And here by the way, why doe certaine of your Epitome writers ſpeakyng of the Lord Cobham cōmitted firſt to the tower for hereſie, referre the ſayd his impriſonement to the yeare an. 1412. where as, by their owne counte, reckenyng the yeare from the annunciation, it muſt nedes be an. 1413. beyng done in harueſt tyme? 4. Fourthly, where Halle with his folowers affirme that Syr Roger Acton, Browne and Beuerley were condemned the 12. day of December, the recorde is euident agaynſt it, whiche holdeth the fact to be in workyng the 10. day of Ianuary. 5. Fiftly, where as the foreſayd recorde of the Inditement geueth the Wedneſday next after the Epiphanie whiche was the 10. day of Ianuary that preſent yeare, both the facte to be committed, the ſame day, the Commiſſion alſo to be graunted and deliuered to the Commiſſioners the ſame daye; The ſaid Commiſſioners to ſit in Commiſſion the ſame day: The Shiriffes of Midleſex to returne a iurye out of the body of Midleſex the ſame daye: And the Iurers to finde the inditement the ſame day, and yet no Iurer in the inditemēt named the ſame day. Item, the Lord Cobham, the ſame day, to be found conſpiryng to make him ſelfe Regent, when as the king, that day and yeare, was not yet paſſed into Fraunce: how all theſe can concurre and hang together and all in one day, I ſuppoſe it will coſt you ij. dayes, before you, with all your learned councell will ſtudy it out. And when you in your vnlawfull aſſembles haue conſpired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it (as I thinke) thrée dayes, before you honeſtly diſpatche your handes of the matter. And where ye thinke, that you haue impreſſed in me ſuch a foule note of lieng, neuer to be clawed of while the world ſtandeth, yet ſhall the poſteritie to come iudge betwene you and me, whether ſhall apeare more honeſt and true my defenſe for that worthy Lord, then your vncourteous & viperous wrangling agaynſt him, moued with no other cauſe, but onely with the peuiſhe ſpirite of Popery, which can abyde nothyng, but that ſauereth of your owne ſect. For els howe many lowed lying legens, yea what legion of lyes are dayly vſed and receaued in the Popiſh church? what doltiſh dreames? what fayned miracles? what blaſphemous tales, and frierly fables, and idle inuentions, fightyng agaynſt the ſincere Religion, doctrine and croſſe of Chriſt? And could you holde your penne from all theſe, and finde nothyng els to ſet your idlenes on worke, but onely to write agaynſt the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, Browne, Onley, Cowbrige, with a few other whom with much a doo at length you haue ſought out, not ſo much for any true zeale to rebuke iniquitie, as craftely ſekyng matter by theſe to deface and blemiſhe the booke of Actes and monumentes, whiche ſeemeth bee lyke to make you to ſcratche there where it itcheth not. And if I ſhould after the lyke dealyng take in hand your Popiſhe portues, and with lyke diligence excuſſe euery Popiſhe martyr and ſaincte there canoniſed: thinke you maiſter Cope, I could not make out your halfe doſen as ranke traytours and rebelles to their kynges and princes, as euer were any of theſe of your pyckyng out? What Pope almoſt hath there been theſe laſt fiue hundreth yeares, whiche hath not been a traytour to his Emperour and prince, and to hys countrey? either openly rebelling agaynſt them, or priuely cōſpiryng their deſtruction, or proudly ſettyng their féete vpon theyr neckes, or ſpurnyng theyr crownes of from theyr heades, or makyng the ſonne to fight agaynſt the father? Howe many haue they depoſed, & ſet vp other in theyr ſeates? how many Emperours & kinges haue they wrongfully curſed? What conſulles of Rome haue they reſiſted, depoſed, & put to death? What warres haue they raiſed vp agaynſt theyr own country of Rome? Yea the continuall holding of the Citie of Rome, frō hys lawfull Emperour, what is it but a continuall point of treaſon?

Papiſtes cā not ſee great beames in their own eyes, which ſpye ſmall motes in other.

Popes traitours to their Emperours and princes.

What will you anſwere me (maiſter Cope) to yͤ pope, whiche conſpired to let fall downe a ſtone vpon the Emperours head, knelyng at his prayers. Pag. 229.

And though this treacherye being as byg as a mylſtone, ſeemed but a ſmall mote in your eye, that it could not be eſpied: yet what wyll you ſaye by the Moonke of Swynſede, that poyſoned king Iohn, who was both abſolued by his Abbat before his treaſon committed, and after his treaſon had a perpetuall maſſe ſong for hym, to helpe hym out of Purgatory?

The Popes ſainctes and confeſſors many were traytours.

And what thinke ye in your conſcience is to be ſayd of Thomas Becket, who did enoughe, and more then became him, to ſet the French king, and the kyng of England together by the eares? Of Anſelme lykewiſe, and of Stephen Langhton, who departed both out of the Realme to cōplayne of theyr princes and ſoueraynes? The lyke may be ſayd alſo of Ioh. Peckham. Ioh. Stradford Archbiſhop of the ſame ſea notoriouſly reſiſted the kings commaundement, beyng ſent for by kyng Edward 3. to come to the Parlamēt at Yorke, through the default of whoſe commyng the preſent oportunitie of gettyng Scotland was the ſame tyme loſt.

Rich. Scrope Archb. of Yorke traytor and yet coũted a holy man.

Richard Scrope Archbiſhop of Yorke, was openly in armes to rebell and fight agaynſt kyng Henry 4. for the which he was condemned and put to death. And yet notwithſtandyng Cõmiſſion was ſent downe frõ the Pope ſhortly after, to excommunicate them whiche put hym to death his treaſon notwithſtanding. Read the ſtory ſincerely of pope Benedict 12. and of pope Clement 6. And ſee how the traitorous rebellion of theſe ij. popes againſt Ludouicus their rightfull Emperour can be defended: Whiche Emperour at laſt was alſo empoiſoned, & that not without the practiſe of pope Clement, as doth Hieronimus Marius credibly witnes. pag. 466.

Popes cõmonly traytours.

In the reigne of kyng Edwarde the 2. mention was made before of Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, pag. 463. Who with a great number of other nobles and barons of the realme roſe in armour agaynſt their prince, and therefore at length were put to death as traytours. And yet notwithſtandyng this treaſon committed (maiſter Cope) if you be ſo ignorant in our ſtories, that you know it not, ſet your ſetters on to ſearch, and you ſhall finde it true that certaine noble mẽ went vp to Rome, for the canoniſing of the ſayd Thomas of Lancaſter, to be made a ſaincte, and obteyned the ſame. In ſo much that in a certayne old Calender the name of the ſayd S. Thomas of Lancaſter is yet extant to be ſene.

Tho. Lancaſtre traytour, and yet made a ſaincte by the pope.

In the former booke of theſe Actes and monumentes aboue, about the pag. 365. or. 367. mention was made of Edmunde of Abbenden Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, whom although I do not diſproue, but rather commend in my hiſtorie, for his bold and ſage counſaile geuen vnto kyng Henry the 3. and alſo for offeryng the cenſure of excommunication agaynſt the kyng in ſo neceſſarye a cauſe: yet notwithſtandyng the ſame Edmund, afterward about his later end, wẽt vp with a rebellyng mind to complaine of his kyng vnto the pope, and in his iourney dyed, before his returne: who afterward for ẏ ſame, was canoniſed by the pope, and now ſhyneth among the ſainctes in the popes Calender.

Edmund Archbiſh. of Cant. rebelled againſt hys prince, and yet made a ſainct by the pope.

Let vs come more nere to theſe daies and times and conſider the doynges of Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Caunterbury. Who beyng firſt depoſed and exiled for his contemptuous deſertes agaynſt the kyng, and afterwarde commyng in, with Henry Bolynbroke Duke of Herford, in opẽ armes & with mayn force roſe agaynſt his naturall and lawful king: thinke you (maiſter Cope) this is not as great a pointe of treaſon, as ẏ which was done in Thickets fieldes? And though he be not placed among the portuous ſainctes, yet I thinke nothyng cõtrary, but in your hart you will not greatly ſticke to ſay, Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.

Tho. Arundell a rancke traytour agaynſt hys king, and yet a great piller counted in the popes church.

All theſe things well cõſidered, tell me (maiſter Cope) I pray you, is treaſon ſuch a ſtraunge and vnketh thing in your popecatholyke church, that your burning zeale of obedience to kinges and princes, can not read the ſtorye of the Lord Cobham and ſyr Rog. Acton, but your penne muſt needes be inflamed to write agaynſt them, and yet ſo many traytours in your owne calenders neither ſene, nor once ſpoken of? And if the traytorous conſpiracie and rebellion of ſo many your Calendar ſainctes committed agaynſt Emperours, kinges, and princes, cã not ſtyrre your zeale, nor moue your penne: Nor if the treaſõ of Pope Gregory. 9. raiſing warre againſt hys owne citie of Rome, and cauſing 30. thouſand citezens in one battaile to be ſlayne, pag. 365. deſerueth not to be eſpyed, and accuſed as much as this treaſon of the Lord Cobham: yet what will you or can you aunſwere to me (maiſter Cope) as touchyng the horrible treaſon of pope Gregorye the vij. committed not agaynſt Emperour nor kyng, nor any mortall man, but agaynſt the Lord him ſelfe, euẽ agaynſt your God of your owne making, beyng therin as you ſay no ſubſtaunce of bread, but the very perſonall body, fleſh, bloud, and bone of Chriſt him ſelfe, whiche body notwithſtandyng the foreſayd Pope Gregory vij. tooke and caſt with his owne handes into the burnyng fire, becauſe he would not aunſwere him to a certain doubt or demaũd Benu. Card. pag. 229. Southly if Syr John Oldcaſtle had takẽ the body of kyng Henry the v. and throwne hym into the fire, the fact beyng ſo notoriouſly certaine as this is, I would neuer haue beſtowed any word in his defence. And could this, and ſo many other heynous treaſõs paſſe through your fingers (maiſter Cope) & no other to ſtike in your pen but the L. Cobh. Finally & ſimply to cõclude wᵗ you (maiſter Cope) & not to flatter you, what is the whole workyng, the procedynges, actions, and practiſes of your religion, or hath been almoſt theſe v. hundreth yeares, but a certaine perpetuall kynde of treaſon, to thruſt down your princes & magiſtrates, to derogate from their right and iuriſdiction, and to aduaunce your own maieſties and dominations: as hath been ſufficiently aboue proued and layd before your faces, in a parlament holdẽ in Fraunce by the Lord Peter de Cugnerijs. vid. pag. 443. Wherfore if ẏ aſſẽble of theſe fornamed perſons, either within or wᵗout S. Giles fielde bee ſuch a great mote of treaſon in your eyes, fyrſt looke vpon the great blockes and mylſtones of your own traitours at home, and whẽ you haue well diſcuſſed the ſame, then after poure out your wallet of your trifling Dialogues or trialogues if ye liſt, agaynſt vs, and ſpare vs not. Not that I ſo thincke this to bee a ſufficient excuſe to purge the treaſon of theſe mẽ, if your popiſhe calenders and legantes be founde full of traytours, Multitudo enim peccatum non parit errori patrocinium. But this I think, that the ſame cauſe which made them to ſuffer as traytors, hath made you alſo to rayle agaynſt them for traytors, that is, mere hatred onely agaynſt their religion, rather then any true affection you haue to your princes and gouernours. Who if they had bene as feruent in your poperye, & had ſuffered ſo much for the holy father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy mother church of Rome, I doubt not, but they as holy children of Rome had bene roong into your Romyſh Calender with a feſtum duplex, or at leaſt with a feſtum ſimplex of. ix. leſſons, alſo with a vigill peraduenture before them. Now becauſe they were on the contrary profeſſion, and enemies to your Magna Diana Epheſiorum, you play with them, as the Epheſian caruers did wyth ſaint Paule and worſe. Ye thruſt them out as ſedicious rebels, not onely out of lyfe and bodye, but alſo can not abide thẽ to haue any poore herber in their own frends houſes, among our actes and monuments to be remembred. In the which actes and monumentes, and if gentle maiſter Ireneus, wyth his fellowe Critobulus in your clerkly Dialogues, wyll not ſuffer them to be numbred for Martyrs: yet ſpeake a good word for them (mayſter Cope) they may ſtand for teſtes or witnes bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Pope Gregorye 7. traytour agaynſt the Lordes owne body.

Vide ſ pag.2

Vide ſ pag.44

Religio commo maketh treaſon mong papiſt

Now to the other part of his accuſation, wherin this Alan' Copus Anglus in his ἑξαπλᾶ or ſexfold Dialogues contendeth and chafeth agaynſt my former edition, to proue me in my hiſtory to be a lier, a forger, impudent, a miſreporter of truth, a deprauer of ſtories, a ſeducer of ẏ world, and what els not? whoſe virulent wordes, and contumelious termes, how well they become his popiſh perſon, I know not. Certes for my part I neuer deſerued this at his handes wyttingly, that I do knowe. Maiſter Cope is a mã whõ yet I neuer ſaw, & leſſe offended, nor euer hard of him before. And if he had not in the front of his booke intituled hym ſelfe to be an Engliſh man, by his writing I would haue iudged him rather ſome wild Iriſhmã, lately crept out of S. Patrikes Purgatory, ſo wildlye he writeth, ſo furiouſlye he fareth. But I ceaſe here, & tẽper my ſelf cõſideryng not what M. Cope deſerueth to be ſayd vnto, nor how far the pen here could run

Anſwere t the ſecon part of Copes ac latiõ, co cerning h vntrue charging of the bo of Actes Monum if it had his ſcope, but cõſiderying what yͤ tractation rather of ſuch a ſerious cauſe requireth. And therfore ſeriouſly to ſay vnto you (M. Cope) in this matter: wher you charge my hiſtorie of Actes and monumentes ſo cruelly, to be full of vntruthes, falſe lies, impudent forgeries, deprauations, fraudulent corruptions, and feyned fables, breſly and in one worde, to aunſwere you, not as the Lacones aunſwered to the letters of their aduerſary, with ſi, but wyth oſi. Woulde God (maiſter Cope) yͤ in all the whole booke of Actes and monumentes, from the beginning to the later end of the ſame wer neuer a true ſtory, but that all were falſe, all were lyes, and all fables. Would God the crueltie of your Catholiques had ſuffered all them to lyue, of whoſe death ye ſay now that I do lye. Although I denye not but in that booke of Actes & monuments cõteinyng ſuch diuerſitie of matter, ſome thyng myght ouerſcape me: yet haue I beſtowed my poore diligence. My entent was to profit al men, to hurt none. If you (maiſter Cope) or any other can better my rude doynges, and finde thynges out more finelye, or truely, withall my hart, I ſhall reioyſe with you & with the common wealth, takyng profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wyt, cunnyng, dexteritie, fines or other induments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you, nor any other. I graunt that in a laboured ſtory, ſuch as you ſeme to require, conteyning ſuch infinite varietie of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: but ſuch time as I had, that I did beſtow, if not ſo laboriouſly as other could, yet as diligently as I might. But here partly I here what you wil ſai: I ſhuld haue taken more laiſure, & done it better. I graunt & confeſſe my fault, ſuche is my vyce, I can not ſit all the day (maiſter Cope) finyng and mynſing my letters, and coming my head, & ſmothing my ſelf al the day at the glas of Cicero. Yet notwithſtanding, doyng what I can, and doyng my good will, me thinkes I ſhould not be reprehended, at leaſt not ſo muche be rayled of at M. Copes hand. Who if he be ſo pregnant, in finding faultes with other mẽs labours (whiche is an eaſy thing to do) it were to bee wiſhed, that he had enterpriſed him ſelfe vpon the matter, and ſo ſhould haue proued what faultes myght haue bene found in him. Not that I herein do vtterly excuſe my ſelf, yea rather am ready to accuſe my ſelfe, but yet notwithſtãdyng thinke my ſelfe vngently dealt withall at mayſter Copes hande: Who beyng myne owne countrey man, an Engliſhe man, as he ſayth, alſo of the ſame vniuerſitie, yea colledge and ſchole that I was of: knowyng that the firſt edition of theſe Actes and Monuments, was begon in the far partes of Germany, where few frendes, no conference, ſmall information could be had, And the ſame edition afterwarde tranſlated out of latin into Engliſh by others, while I in the meane time was occupyed about other regeſters. And now the ſayd Cope hearing moreouer & knowing that I was about a new edition of the ſame Actes and Monumentes, at this preſent tyme, to be ſet forth, for the amendyng of diuers things therin to be reformed: if he had knowẽ any fault nedefull to be corrected, he might gentlely by letters admoniſhed me therof. Gẽtlenes ſo wold haue required it. Time would wel haue ſuffered it. Neither was he ſo far of, but might ſoner haue written a letter to me, then a booke agaynſt me. Neither was I ſo ingrateful & inhumane, but would haue thanked him for his monitiõ: neither yet ſo obſtinate, but being admoniſhed, wold haue corrected willyngly where any fault had ben cõmitted. But herein your nature (maiſter Cope) doth right well appeare. Firſt in yͤ ſayd boke of Actes and Monuments, where many other good things be cõteined, not vnfrutfull nor vnprofitable perauenture for the inſtruction of your conſcience, and wherin my labours perhaps might haue deſerued your thankes, all that you diſſemble and paſſe ouer, onely excerpyng thoſe matters whiche make for cauillation. Thus the blacke ſpyder out of pleaſaunt flouers ſucketh hys poyſon. And what booke is ſo pleaſaunt or frutful, though it wer the popes own Portous, yea his owne Decretals, yea his owne very Maſſe boke, to the readyng wherof if I brought the like mynde ſo diſpoſed to cauill, as you bryng to the readyng of my hyſtory, but I could finde out twiſe as many mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos malos, fabulas, fucos, as you haue done in theſe Actes and Monumentes. And yet you haue done pretely well. Beſides all this, yet better to marke the goodnes of your gentle nature: Be it ſo I had bene in ſome peece of my ſtory deceiued, as I do not iuſtifie my ſelfe in all pointes therein: yet you vnderſtanding that I was about the correctiõ of my booke again, might either haue taken the beſt, & left the worſt: or els gentlye take the paynes to haue aduertiſed me of ſuche notes as you had, without further exclamation: or at leaſt might haue differred your dialogues for a tyme, till the comming out of my booke, to ſee fyrſt what wold in the latter edition be altered. But belike your gaule was full, your haſt coulde not tarye, your venim muſte needes bruſt out.

The nature of the Spider.

Et ſi non aliqua nocuiſſes, mortuus eſſes.

Seyng therfore the order of your doings to be ſuch, & diſpoſition of your nature ſo far frõ all humanitie, dealing with me ſo extremely, if I thus prouoked with your extremitie again, ſhould now after this your curriſh nature ſhape you a name accordingly, end in ſtede of Cope godfather you to bee a perpetuall ſycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your ſycophanticall booke well deſerue it? or thinke you, I could not repay you againe with like extremitie as you bring, and dreſſe your drouſy or rather lowſy dialogues in their right colours, if I were ſo diſpoſed? But my purpoſe is with pacience to ſpare you, and rather to pray for you, God make you a good man. Perauẽture he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to wynne you, then to ſtynge you. Leauing therfore the conſideration of your ingratefull doyngs, I will now conſider onely the pointes wherein you charge me in your booke, aunſweryng briefly vnto the ſame. Briefly I ſay, becauſe the greatnes of this volume, and abundaunce of other more frutefull matter, geueth me litle layſure at thys preſent to ſtande about brawlyng wordes.

Copus Sycophanta.

First he ſemeth highly to be greued with me, for my Calendare prefixed before the booke of Monumentes. Wherin he hath no cauſe either to be offended with me, or to chafe with hym ſelfe. As touchyng whiche Calendare I haue ſufficiently and expreſly declared before ſo much, as might quicklye ſatiſfie this ſcruple of maiſter Cope if he either would haue takẽ the paines, or els had had the layſure to read yͤ words contayned in yͤ Latyne preface before yͤ boke prefixed, whych are thus: Quanq̃ a me quidẽ non aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi vt pro Indice duntaxat ſuum cuiuſque Martyris menſem et annum deſignante, ad priuatum lectoris ſeruiret vſum. &c. In whyche woordes preuenting before the cauillyng obiection of the aduerſary, I forewarned the reader aforehande, touchyng the Calendare, wherefore it was ordeyned and prefixed, for no other purpoſe, but to ſerue the vſe onely of the reader, in ſteade of a Table, ſhewyng the yeare and moneth of euery Martyr, what tyme he ſuffered &c. What hurt I pray you in this Calendare prefixed before the booke of Monumentes, more then in the Table of maiſter Copes booke, ſet after his Dialogues? But maiſter Cope had no layſure to peruſe this place: it made not for his humor.

The Calendare of the Actes & Mon. defẽded.

Ex proœmio ad lectorem.

But this greueth hym in the Calendare, and that very ſore. For that I place in this Calẽdar, ſyr John Oldcaſtle, Syr Roger Acton, Browne, Beuerley and other for Martyrs, and diſplace for them, other holy auncient Martyrs and ſaints, as Antholius, Sother, Dorothe, Clarus,

Obiection for Martyrs in the Calendar.

Aunſwere.

rus,Lucianus,Seuerinus,&c. Aunſwere: If maiſter Cope cã not abide the L.Cobhã, Syr Roger Acton, Browne, & Beuerlay, whiche were hanged (as he ſayth for treaſon) to haue the name of Martyrs, thẽ let them beare ẏ name of witnes bearers, or teſtes of the truth, becauſe they were alſo burned for the teſtomonie of their faith. Seing there is no difference in the ſayd names, all is one to me by whiche they are called.

Vntruth noted in Ala.Copus.

Copus.pag. 830.lin.18.

And where he chargeth me for thruſtyng and ſhouldryng out the old and auncient holy ſanctes aforenamed out of this Calendare, & placing other new come ſanctes in their rowmes: this is not the firſt vntruth that maiſter Cope hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the leaſt, vnto whom I might therefore fitlye aunſwere agayne with his owne familiar phraſe, or rather the phraſe of Cicero, which he ſo much affectate: quod nimirum hic ipſe Alanus Copus Anglus, vnde me mendacij coarguit, inde ſibi ipſi ſempiternam ac ineluibilẽ turpiſsimi mendacii, ac ſingularis impudentiæ notã inurat. For why haue not I as iuſt cauſe to ſay this to him, as he to me? Forſomuch as in the firſt beginnyng and preface of the ſayd booke of Actes and Monumentes, I ſo diligently and expreſly do warne all mẽ before, firſt that I make here no Calendare purpoſly of any ſanctes, but a Table of good and godly men that ſuffered for the truth, to ſhewe the day and moneth of their ſufferyng. My wordes be extãt and euident, whiche are theſe: Neq; vero ideo inter diuos a me referuntur iſti, quod inſeruntur in Calendarium. &c. And declaring afterward how the ſayd Calendare doth ſtand but in ſtede of a table, my wordes do folow thus: Haud aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi vt pro Indice duntaxat ſuũ cuiuſq; Martyris menſem et annum deſignante, Lectori ad vſum atq; ad manum ſeruiat. &c.

In præfatione ad Doct.lectorem.lib. Actes and Monumentes.

Agayn, neither did I receaue theſe men into that Calendare, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothæa, with other aũcient holy ſanctes ſhould be remoued out, as you do falſly & vntruly affirme, but becauſe ẏ courſe of that ſtorye reachyng but v. hundreth yeares, did not comprehend thoſe former tymes of the ſuch auncient Martyrs, but onely of ſuch as ſuffered in theſe latter dayes: therfore requiſite it was that in the table ſuch ſhould be placed chiefly, of whom the whole booke did then principally & onely entreat, to demonſtrate thereby the tyme & day of their Martyrdome. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new Calendare, whiche were neuer inſerted in the ſame before, but only becauſe both together could not there haue ſtandyng, neceſſitie ſo required theſe in no caſe to be omitted, & yet no iniurie ment to ẏ other to be excluded out of their own Calendars, wherto properly they did perteine. As for this Calendar or this table, becauſe they were not pertinẽt vnto it, they could not therin, neither was it neceſſary, thei ſhould be included. And yet neither did I (M.C.) without due & ſolemne proteſtatiõ omitte the ſame in my foreſayd Catalogue, to preuent and ſtoppe all cauillyng mouthes: As by ſpeciall wordes in the ſaid proeme of my boke vnto ẏ reader doth appeare, folowyng in this wiſe: Interim nullius ego boni ſanctiq; viri (modo qui vere ſanctus ſit) cauſam lædo, nec memoriã extinguo, nec gloriã minuo. Et ſi cui hoc diſpliceat Calẽdariũ, meminerit, non in tẽplis à me collocari, ſed domeſticæ tãtum lectioni præparari. &c. And where is now (maiſter Cope) this your reiectyng, expellyng, remouyng, expulſyng, exemptyng deturbatyng and thruſtyng out of Anatholius, Sanct Dorothæ and other holy ſanctes out of Catologues, faſtes, and Calenders? or what mã is that, or where dwelleth he, Qui veros Chriſti Martyres, è Cœlo ad Tartara deturbat? That is. Which tũbleth down true Martyrs frõ heauẽ, into hell? Which if ye meane by me: In one word I anſwere, ye falſly belie me maiſter Copus I had almoſt called you maiſter Capus, ſo lyke a Capon ye ſpeake. Neither haue you nor any other euer heard me ſo ſaye. Neither haue I euer heard of any ſo madde to play ſo the gyantes with their mountaines to clime the heauens, to tomble down gods true and holy Martyrs out of heauen, downe into hell, vnleſſe it were your ſelfe (as yet ye are, ye may be better) and ſuch other of your gylde and Popiſhe fraternitie, whiche make of Gods true ſanctes, ſtynkyng dunghils, (for ſo ye terme thẽ in your bookes) and not onely thruſt into heauen your Pſeudoſanctos, ſanctes of your owne makyng, whom God by his worde doth not alowe: but alſo depulſe downe from heauen, and make dunghils of Gods welbeloued ſeruauntes, hys faithfull people, and bleſſed Martyrs, whiche haue dyed for the word of God. And what maruell then, if in your blaſphemous bookes, ye caſt downe from heauen to hell, the poore ſanctes of Chriſt, when in effect you deiect alſo the bloud and croſſe of the ſonne of God Chriſt Ieſus him ſelfe, ſettyng vp in his office and place, tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quẽ pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quo Thomas aſcendit. Say, maiſter Cope, your conſcience indifferently, ſet all popiſh parcialitie a part, where as ẏ Scripture teacheth vs ſimplely Quod citra ſanguinẽ nulla fit remiſsio, i. Without bloud there is no remiſſiõ: whether ye thinke, by this bloud of ẏ new Teſtamẽt is ment the bloud of Chriſt alone, or ẏ bloud of other mo beſides? If the bloud of one muſt ſtand alone, why do ye thẽ wt the gyantes build vp your mountaines, and make a ladder of Beckets popiſh bloud, for mẽ to ſcale the heauens? Or in ſo doyng, how cã you, but either with the proteſtãts wype out of your Calendar, Thomæ ſanguinem, or els demoliſh from heauen Sanguinem Chriſti with the Papiſtes? And here by the way, I can not but muſe, why you are ſo deuout in ſetting vp the croſſe of Chriſt in your churche, whichẽ are ſuch enemies to the true croſſe of Chriſt, to ſtand in heauen. Looke vpon this (maiſter Cope) and tell me, vtra pars verius veros Chriſti Martyres è cœlo in tartara detrudat? And therfore as you falſly belye me in this, for detrudyng and tomblyng out of heauen Anatholius, Iulianus, Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea and other, agaynſt whom I neuer yet ſpake any reprochyng worde, but rather in this my volume haue ſet forth their commendation: ſo is it vntrue lykewiſe, where you affirme that in this my Calendare I make an ἀποθέωσιν, or Canoniſatiõ of falſe Martyrs. I told you before, whẽ ye were in England, I tell you agayne, being now in your tranſmigration, in woordes as plaine as I coulde, Hanc ego Apotheoſin mihi nunquam ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam confidenter ſumpſit Gregorius nonus. Were not theſe woordes of my proteſtation manifeſt enough? were they not ſufficient to ſatiſfie a reaſonable Momus? And to make ẏ matter more playne, did I not adde moreouer, as foloweth: Porro neq; eo ſpectat hoc Callendariũ, vt nouã aliquã feſtorũ dierũ legem præſcribã eccleſiæ. &c. And yet not contented with this, forſeing before ſuch wrãglyng ſpirites to come, as nowe I ſee in you: I ſhewed alſo the cauſe why I needed not ſo to do, my wordes were theſe: Feſtorum dierum iam plus ſatis erat in mundo. &c. And yet further, becauſe no cauiller ſhould take hold here of any iniurie done to ẏ holy ſaints, either old or new in ẏ church, therefore in expreſſe words I remoued away all ſuſpiciõ of any iniury, preuenting ẏ obiection of the aduerſarie in theſe woordes. Habeat et eccleſia ſuos ſãctos, tũ recentes, tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim iidem ne adorẽtur, modo quam ſint vetuſti, tam etiã vere ſancti ſint. &c. Theſe places of my booke, if ye did ſee: why do you diſſemble them? If ye had not ſo much leyſure to read them: how had you ſo much layſure to write agaynſt any mans booke, not knowing what is in the boke contayned? And how ſtandes it then with truth, that ſo like a Mome ye cry out ſo in your booke, againſt theſe new made Martyrs, qui non poſſunt niſi per aliorum iniuriam creſcere, &c. And agayn, where you exclaime againſt me, and ſay that I thruſt out the auncient Martyrs out

Copus pag. 861.lin.penultima.

Copus almoſte called Capus.

The papiſtes would thruſt down go true ſanc out of he uen to he

Beckets bloud ſet vp, to the iniurye of Chriſtes bloud.

Papiſtes uout to vp Chri croſſe in earth: bu enemies Chriſtes croſſe in heauen.

A doubl vntruth Copus.

Copus Momus.

Copus 820 li

from their ſeate and poſſeſſion, and place new in their rowmes.&c.

Alſo where you continuing yet ſtill in your common place of lieng (out of which you cānot digreſſe) do charge me farther, ẏ I do appointe out holy dayes & workyng dayes by colours of read & blacke, in my foreſayd Calēdare to bee obſerued: theſe leude notes of yours, if they had bene picked out of my Calendare by you, without myne owne ſpeciall declaration before made to the contrary, they might ſeme to haue ſome bluſhe of credite. Now what will the reader ſay, or what may hee iudge, conſideryng and conferryng this your cauillyng, with ẏ matter of my premonitiō made before, but ẏ you are all together ſet to play ẏ perpetuall ſyc. I had almoſt called you by your right name M. Cope. But God make you (as I ſayd) a good man. Readyng further in your booke I could not but ſmile & laugh at this your ridiculous & moſt loude lieng Hyperboliſmum: where as you comparyng my making of ſanctes, with the popes making, can finde (as ye ſay) in ẏ pope no ſuch impudent arrogancie in preſumyng, as ye finde in me. &c. If the Pope had not abuſed his arrogant iuriſdiction in Canoniſing and deifyeng his ſanctes, more thē I haue done: the yeare ſhould not be cōbred with ſo many idle holy dayes, nor the Calendares with ſo many raſkall ſanctes, ſome of them as good, as euer were they that put Chriſte to death. But where will you finde (maiſter Cope) any man to beleue this your hyperbolicall compariſon to bee true, which ſeeth and knoweth the infinite and vnmeaſurable exceſſe of the popes arrogancie, not onely in ſhrining ſuch a rable of blinde ſanctes of his owne creating: but alſo in preſcribyng the ſame to be receaued vniuerſally in ẏ whole world, and not to be receaued onely, but alſo to be inuocated for giftes and graces, alſo to be worſhipped for aduocates and mediatours. Wherin riſeth a double abhomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous makyng and worſhyppyng of ſanctes: the other for hys blaſphemous iniurie and derogation to Chriſt, in repulſing him out of his office of mediation, and placyng other mediatours of his owne makyng. And nowe to conſider what ſanctes theſe were, or what were the cauſes of their ſancting: what ſancte almoſt amōg all the popes ſanctes ſhal you finde (M. Cope) made within theſe v. hūdreth yeres, but commonly he was either ſome pope, or ſome rich biſhop, and prelate, or ſome fat Abbat, or ſome blind frier, ſome monke, or nonne, ſome ſuperſtitious regulare, or ſome builder of monaſteries, or ſome geuer and benefactour to the popiſhe clergye, or mainteyner agoniſyng for the dignities & liberties of ẏ popiſhe churche? What poore lay man or lay woman, were their lyues neuer ſo Chriſtian, their faith and confeſſion neuer ſo pure, theyr death neuer ſo agonyſing for the witnes of Chriſt, and truth of his woorde, ſhall finde any place or fauour in all the popes πονηρόπολις, that is in the Popes Calendar, either in read colour, or els in blacke?

But here (maiſter Cope) if ye had ẏ wyt, ſo much to defēd, as ye haue to ouerwhart, you might take me wᵗ the maner, & reply agayn for ẏ defence of your great ſanctmaker, or rather Godmaker of Rome: that he maketh moe Martyrs & ſanctes of theſe foreſaid poore laymen, & laywomen, then euer he did of any other. For he burneth them, he hangeth them, he drowneth them, inpriſoneth & famiſheth them, and ſo maketh them truer Martyrs of Chriſt, then any other of his new ſhrined ſanctes, whom he hath ſo dignified in his Calēdare. For the one he doth rubricate, onely with his read letters, the other hee doth rubricate with their owne bloud. And therefore to aunſwere you (maiſter Cope) to your compariſon made betwene the Pope and me, for makyng of holy Martyrs & ſãctes: Briefly I ſay, and report me to all the world, that herein is no compariſon. For if ye ſpeake of true Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? if ye ſpeake of falſe Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? And farthermore, to cōpare together the cauſes of theſe martyred ſanctes in my Calendare, with them whiche ſhyne ſhrined in the popes Calendare (taking the ſame proportiō of tyme as I do, within theſe laſt v. hundreth yeares) why may not I haue as good cauſe to celebrate theſe in my Calendar, whiche loſt their lyues and were ſlayne, principally for the cauſe of Chriſt and of his woorde: as the pope hath to celebrate his double and ſimple feaſted ſanctes in his Calendar, who in their doynges, doctrine, & life, as they ſemed rather to ſerue the pope, then Chriſt the Lord: ſo in their death appeared no ſuch cauſe, why they ſhould be ſanctified in the churche, beyond all other. Let not the church of Chriſt (maiſter Cope) be deluded wᵗ hypocriticall names, nor fayned apparitions, and fablelous miracles, neither be you deceaued your ſelf, but let vs reſort ſincerely to the word of God. What was in S. Fraunces, looke vpon his ſuperſtitious lyfe, and preſūptuous Teſtamēt, wrought no doubt by Satan, to diminiſh and obſcure the Teſtament of Ieſus Chriſt, why he ſhould be made a ſãct, & not an enemie rather of Chriſt? What was lykewiſe in Frier Dominicke, who before Fraunces .x. yeares together perſecuted the poore Waldenſes to death and deſtruction, why hee ſhoulde ſtande a ſancte and a piller of the churche? I praye you what ſee you in Thomas Becket, but that hee dyed for the ambitious liberties of the Popiſh churche? What in Aldelmus, and in Anſelmus, but onely that they chaſed away maried prieſts from the churches, and planted in idle monkes in their ſteede? The like alſo did Dunſtanus, who was rubricated with a duplex feſtum. Elizabeth who was the wife of the Marques of Thuring, when ſhe had wᵗ much perſuaſions got out her huſband to fight agaynſt ẏ Turkes, & was their ſlaine, ſhe afterward encloyſtred her ſelfe, & was made a nunne. And do you thinke theſe cauſes to be ſufficient, why they ſhould be made ſanctes, worſhipped in churches, and ſet in Calendares? Lōg it were to make rehearſall of all this riſraffe, and almoſt infinite. One example may ſuffice for many. S. Gilbert of Sempringham, was the ſonne of Ioceline a knight, who for his deformitie of his body was ſet to learnyng, and afterwarde made chanon, and was autor of the Gilbertines, in the time of kyng Iohn. This Gilbert after he had erected 13. monaſteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterwarde laboured for vnto the Pope to be made a ſancte: Who hearyng of his miracles, wrote his letters to Hubert Archbiſhop of Cāterbury, in the behalfe of the foreſayd Gilbert, willyng and cōmaunding per Apoſtolica ſcripta, that the feaſt of the ſaid Gilbert ſhould be ſolemniſed through all ẏ prouince of Cāterbury, Vt meritis nimirū eius et precibus apud miſericordiſsimū iudicē miſericordiā conſequatur. &c. Wherupon Hubert the Archbiſhop directeth downe his writynges to all the biſhops within his prouince, the contentes of whiche his writynges do folow: Hubertus Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiſco. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Chriſto frat. Epiſco. per prouinciam Cant. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. papa, ſicut ex literis ipſius manifeſte perpenditur, de conuerſatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magiſtri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis a Deo per eum factis per teſtes & teſtimonia ſufficienter inſtructus, de conſilio fratrum Cardin. ipſis mag. Catalogo ſanctorum decreuit aſcribi, ſolemnitatem eius conſtituit & mandauit per Cant. prouinciā ſolemniter celebrari. Inſuper & corpus eius cum requiſiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam eleuari. Veſtra igitur vniuerſitas huic mandato cū deuotione congaudeat, & ſecundum formam in ipſo mandato præſcriptam, prædicti confeſſoris Domini depoſitionem annuam faciatis cum reuerentia & ſolemniter obſeruari: vt apud Dominum & ab illo veſtra debeat & poſsit deuotio commendari, necnon & ipſius ſancti ſupplex interceſsio vobis proficiat ad ſalutem. Valete.

No cauſe why the popes new ſanctes ſhould be put in the Calendare.

Tho. Becket.

Aldelmus.

Anſelmus.

Dunſtanus.

S. Elizabeth.

The canoniſation of S. Gilbert of Sempringham.

Ex lib. de vita S. Gilberti Confeſſoris.

The popes letter & the archbiſh. for the canoniſing of S. Gilbert.

,, The ſumme of the which writing of the Archbiſhop ten
,, deth to this effect. That for ſomuch as the Pope hearing
,, of the life and miracles of Gilbert, maiſter of the order
,, of Sempringham, by ſufficient witnes and teſtimonies
,, hath in his letters commaūded him by the aduiſe of his
,, Cardinals, that the ſayd Gilbert ſhoulde bee canoniſed
,, and aſcribed in the Cataloge of ſaintes, and that his ſo-
,, lemnitie ſhould be celebrate ſolemnly throughout al the
,, prouince of Canterbury. And alſo his bodye to be taken
,, vp and ſhrined to the honour and glory of God: He ther-
,, fore at the Popes commaūdement writing vnto them,
,, willeth all the Suffragans within his prouince of Caū-
,, terbury yearelye to ſolemniſe, and cauſe to be ſolemni-
,, ſed reuerently the depoſition of the ſayde Saint Gilbert
Confeſſor: to the entent that their deuotion may bee commended of the Lord, and of hym. And alſo, that the humble interceſſion of the ſayd ſaint may profit them to their ſaluation.

Is this good doctrine maiſter Cope, in the popes canoniſation?

Furthermore, for the more full canoniſing (cāuiſing I had almoſt ſaid) of this new made ſaint, the ſaid Pope Innocent writing to Hubert aforeſaid, adioyneth withall a collect of his own making, which is this: Plenam in nobis eterne ſaluator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, vt qui præclara beati Gilberti confeſſoris tui merita veneramur, ipſius adiuti ſuffragiis a cunctis animarum noſtrarum languoribus liberemur. Qui viuis et regnas. &c. that is: work in vs O eternall ſauiour full remedy of thy vertue, that we which worſhip the worthy merites of bleſſed Gilbert thy confeſſour, being ſuccoured by his ſuffrages, maye be deliuered from all languors & diſeaſes of our ſoules, who liueſt and raygneſt. &c.

The blaſphemous collect of the popes making for S. Gilbert.

The cōſecration of this one ſaint (who perhaps was not the woorſt) I thought here to commemorate, to the entent that the Reader meaſuring by this one, the canoniſation of all the reſt, may iudge the better vpō this cōpariſon of maiſter Cope, whether of vs doth vendicate more impudent autoritie, the Pope in his Calendar, or I in myne: or to make the compariſon more fit, whether is more impudent the Pope in his Calender, or els maiſter Cope in his Dialogues more doltiſh.

Copus. pag. 819. lin. 7.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you to canoniſe or to authoriſe any ſanctes, for man it is preſumptuous: to preſcribe any thyng here to bee worſhypped, beſide God alone, it is idolatrous: to ſet vp any mediatours but Chriſt onely, it is blaſphemous. And what ſo euer the pope doth or hath done in his Calendare, my purpoſe in my Calendare was neither to deface any old ſancte, or to ſolemniſe any newe. In my booke of Actes and Monumentes, entreatyng of matters paſſed in the churche, theſe latter v. hundreth yeares, I did regulate out a Calēdare, not for any Canon to conſtitute ſanctes, but onely for a table of them, whiche within the ſame tyme dyd ſuffer for the teſtimonie of the woorde, whom I did and do take to be good and Godly mē. If any haue other iudgement of them, I binde no man to my opiniō, as the Pope doth to his. The day will come whiche ſhall iudge both them and you. In the meane ſeaſon it ſhall be beſt for you (maiſter Cope) in my iudgement to kepe a good tongue in your head, and to quiet your raylyng mode. A hard thyng it is to iudge before the Lord. Mans iudgement may faile and is vncertaine, the iudgement of God is alwayes ſure. Beſt is therfore either to be ſure by the word and iudgement of God before, what you do ſay, or els to ſay the beſt. Of ſuch ſlaunderous, & intemperate rayling, can come no good, neither to them whom ye rayle vpon: nor to your ſelfe, which raileth: nor to the churche of God that heareth you rayle. For them you cā not hurt, they are gone. To your ſelfe, and though your matter be true, yet litle honeſty it will bryng, to be coūted a rayler, and if it be vncertaine, your ſtate is daungerous, and if it be falſe, moſt miſerable: And as to the churche, what great edification can procede of ſuch contentious braulyng and barkyng one agaynſt an other, I do not greatly ſee. And if ẏ zeale of the Biſhop of Romes church haue ſo much ſwalowed you vp, ẏ ye can not but ſtampe & ſtare at traytours when ye ſee them put in Calendars: firſt (maiſter Cope) be ye ſure firſt ẏ they be traytours, wiſedome would, whom you call traytours. And if ye can ſo proue them (as ye haue not yet) then let your Ireneus, or Critobulus tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeale of yours, as heate as Purgatory, burne out, and flame as well agaynſt your owne traytours, hauyng ſo many in your owne Calendare and churche at home?

Cope counſailed to ceaſe his raylyng.

No good commeth of raylyng.

And if there be ſuch a catholicke zeale in you, ẏ hath ſet your gentle breaſt on ſuch a peltyng chaſe, why thē is not this your catholicke zeale equally indifferēt? Why take ye on ſo fell on the one ſide agaynſt Syr John Oldcaſtle, Syr Roger Acton M. Browne. &c? A man would thinke, you played Hercules furens in Orcheſtra. On the other ſide agayne ye are Oleo tranquillior. What indifferencie (M. Cope) call you this? Or what zeale make you this to bee? Albeit your zeale, I iudge not, as I knowe it not. Swift iudgement ſhall not become me, whiche go about to correct the ſame in you. But this I exhorte you, to beware (maiſter Cope) that by your owne frutes and doinges euident, ye do not bewray this zeale in you to be Non ſecundum ſcientiam, nor ſuch a zeale as fighteth Pro domo Dei, ſed pro domo Pōtificis. As I ſaid I iudge you not. You haue your iudge to whom ye ſtand or fall. My counſaile is, that ye doo not ſo zeale the Byſhop of Rome, that for his ſake, ye loſe your own ſoule. Ye remēber the old vulgare voyce, it is not good Ludere cum ſanctis, woorſe it is Illudere: worſt of all it is Debacchari in immerentes: Becauſe that Deus ipſe vltionum Dominus many tymes taketh their cauſe in hand, accordyng as it is written: Opprobria opprobrantium tibi ceciderunt in me. i. The rebukes of thy rebukers fell vpon me. And ſeldome haue I ſene any ſuch blaſphemous railers againſt the end or puniſhment of Gods ſanctes and ſeruauntes, without great repentaunce, to come to any good ende them ſelues.

The
of M.C
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And admit this (as graunted vnto you maiſter Cope) ẏ theſe mē had ben traytours, whiche ye are not able to proue. Well, they had their puniſhmēt therfore, ẏ world can go no farther: & what would you haue more? who & if they repented, why may they not haue as good part in Chriſtes kingdome as your ſelfe? Now forſomuch as the ſayd perſons alſo ſufferyng a double puniſhmēt wer ſo conſtant in the way of truth, and moſt principally for the ſame were perſecuted, and chiefly therfore brought to their death: that part of example, becauſe I ſawe it to pertayne to the profyte of the Churche, why myght I not inſerte it with other churche ſtoryes in my booke? Let the church take that, which belongeth to the church. Let the worlde take that, which to the worlde pertayneth and goe no farther. And if ye thinke it muche, that I woulde exemplifye theſe, whom you call traytours in the booke of Martyrs: firſt ye muſt vnderſtand, that I wrote no ſuch booke bearyng the title of the booke of Martyrs. I wrote a booke called the Actes and Monumentes, of thinges paſſed in the churche. &c. Wherin many other matters bee contayned beſide the Martyrs of Chriſt. But this peraduenture moueth your cholar, that in the Calendare I name them for Martyrs. And why may I not in my Calendare call them by the name of Martyrs, whiche were faythfull witneſſes of Chriſtes truth and teſtament, for the which they were alſo chiefly brought vnto their end? Or why may I not call them holy ſanctes, whom Chriſt hath ſanctified with his bleſſed bloud? And what if I ſhould alſo call ẏ theefe & murderer hanging on the right ſide of the Lord, by the name of an holy ſancte, and Confeſſour, for his witneſſyng of the Lord, what can maiſter Cope ſay agaynſt it?

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And as for colouring the names of certain Martyrs in the ſayd Calendare in redde or ſcarlet leters (although that perteineth nothing to me,which was as pleaſed the painter or printer)yet if that be it that ſo much breaketh his pacience,why rather doth not he expoſtulate in this behalfe with the great ſancte maker of Rome, who hath redded them much more then euer did I. For he did redde and dyed them with their own bloud,where as I did but onely colour them with red letters. And thus for matter of my Calendare enough.

Proceding now out of the Calendar vnto the booke, where he chargeth me with ſo many lies, impudencies, vanities,depravatiõs,and vntruthes,it remayneth likewiſe I cleare my ſelfe,anſwering fyrſt to theſe lyes and vntruthes,which to the ſtory of ſir Roger Acton, and ſir John Oldcaſtell do appertaine. And after to other particulars,as in order of my booke do follow. And fyrſt wher he laieth againſt me whole heapes,and cartlodes, I cannot tell how many of lies and falſities: I here briefly anſwer maiſter Cope againe(or what Dutche bodye ells ſoeuer lyeth couered vnder this Engliſh Cope) that if a lie be (after the definition of S. Auguſtine) whatſoeuer thing is pronounced with the intent to deceaue an other:then I proteſt to you maiſter Cope,and to all the world,that there is neuer a lye in all my booke. What the intent and cuſtome is of the Papiſtes to doo, I cannot tell:for myne own,I will ſay,although many other vices I haue,yet from this one I haue allwayes of nature abhorred,wittingly to deceaue any man or chylde, ſo neare as I could,much les the church of God, whom with all my hart I doo reuerence,and with feare obey. And therefore among diuers other cauſes,that haue withdrawen my mynde from the Papiſtes faction, almoſt there is none greater then this,becauſe I ſee them ſo litle geuen to truth,ſo far from all ſerious feeling & care of ſincere religion,ſo full of falſe pretẽced hipocriſie and diſſimulation,ſo litle regarding the churche of Chriſt in their inward hartes,which they ſo muche haue in theyr mouthes: ſo,as vnder the title therof they may hold vp their own eſtate. Otherwyſe ſo litle reuerẽce they yelde to the true and honorable churche of Jeſus the ſonne of God,that what vnwoorthy and raſcall Miniſters they take into it they paſſe not,what fictions, what lies and fables,what falſe miracles & abſurde forgeries they inuent to delude it,they care not. I ſpeake not of al. Som there be of that ſect vnfayned in conſcience, & more religious, & better diſpoſed natures,onely of ſimple ignoraunce deceaued. But ſuch commonlye haue beene and be the chiefe guides and leaders of the Papiſts church, that litle true care and ſmall zeale hath appeared in thẽ, toward the church of Chriſt,not much regarding what corruption increaſed therein,ſo that their commodities might not decreaſe. Thus out of this fountayne haue guſhed out ſo many prodigious lyes in church legends, in ſaintes liues,in monkiſh fictions, in fabulous miracles,in falſe and forged reliques, as in peeces of yͤ holy croſſe,in the blood of hales,in our Ladies milke, in the nailes of Chriſt, which they make to be a great nũber. Likewiſe in their falſe and blinde errours, corrupt doctrines, abſurde inuentions repugnant to yͤ truth of the word. Item,in there baſtard bookes,forged Epiſtles, theyr Apocrypha, and Pſeudepigrapha. Here cõmeth in their forged canons,their foyſting and cogging in auncient councels and decrees, as in ἀπὸ ἰμου πέτρου in Canons of the Apoſtels (if thoſe c[illegible]ons were the Apoſtles)excepta Romana ſede, foyſted into the decrees by Gracianus,alſo the cogging in of a falſe canon into the councell of Nice for the mayntenaunce of the ſea of Rome,as appeareth in the ſixte Synode of Carthage. Here cõmeth in alſo the Epiſtles of Clement, and other ſondry Epiſtles Decretall,whiche as they are no doubt falſlye inſerted by other,ſo are they the welhead of many ſuperſtitious traditions,oppreſſing this day yͤ church of Chriſt? To ſpeake moreouer of the liturges of ſancte James,of Chriſoſtome & other,of the firſt Maſſe ſaid by S. Peter at Rome, and yͤ S. Peter ſat xxv. yeares Biſhop of Rome. To ſpeake alſo of the workes of Auguſt. Ambroſe,Hierome,& Gregorie,what doctour or famous writer hath there bene in the church, vnder whoſe name ſome counterfeted bookes haue not falſly bene fathered, and yet ſtand ſtill authoriſed vnder their patronage, to yͤ great detriment of the church. What ſhould I ſpeake of Abdias,Amphilochius,Dionyſius Areopagita. The Dialogues of Gregorie, whiche falſly to this day haue bene aſcribed to Gregory the firſt, where in deede they were firſt writtẽ in Greeke,by Gregory the 3. and afterward trãſlated out of Greeke into Latin, by Pope Zachary. vide ſupra. pag.172. Likewyſe yͤ worthy and Imperiall Sermon intituled Euſebij pamphili Sermo ad Conuentũ Sãctorũ, hath to this day wrongly borne yͤ name of Euſebius. Where as in very truth it was made by the good Emperour Conſtãtinus him ſelfe in his owne heroicall ſtile in Latine,and afterwarde tranſlated out of Latine into Greeke by Euſebius,as he him ſelf confeſſeth in his worke De vita Conſtant. Lib.4. But as touchyng this Sermon although the name bee chaunged, ſo godly and frutefull it is, that it mattereth not much,vnder whoſe name it be red,yet worthy to be redde vnder the name of none ſo much,as of the Emperour Conſtãtine him ſelf, who was the true author and owner therof.

Vntruth in the popyſhe Lyturgies.

Vntruth in bookes counterfaite.

Gregoryes Dialogues.

Sermo ad Conuentum Sanctorum, in fine Euſebij. made by Conſtantinus the Emperour.

Briefly except it be the bookes onely of the newe Teſtament,& of the old,what is almoſt in the popes church, but either it is mingled or depraued, or altered, or corrupted, eyther by ſome additions interlaſed, or by ſome diminution mangled and gelded, or by ſome gloſe adulterate, or with manifeſt lyes contaminate. So that in their doctrine ſtandeth litle truth,in their Legẽdes portues,and Maſſebookes leſſe truth,in their miracles and reliques leaſt truth of all. Neither yet do their Sacramentes remaine cleare and voyde of manifeſt lyes and corruption. And eſpecially here commeth in the maiſter bey,which bringeth in much ſweete hony into popes hyues,the maiſter lie,I meane of all lies,where yͤ Pope leauing not one cromme of bread,nor droppe of wyne in the reuerent cõmunion,vntruly and idolatrouſly taketh away all ſubſtaunce of bread from it,turning the whole ſubſtaunce of bread into the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes own body: which ſubſtaunce of bread,if the Pope take from the ſacrament, then muſt he alſo take the breaking fro it.for breakyng,& the body of Chriſt,can in no caſe ſtand litterally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is proued by the woorde of God to bee a manifeſt lye:ſo thinke not much(good reader) hereat, as though I paſſed the bondes of modeſtie in callyng it the Archlye or maiſter lye of all lyes. Becauſe vpon this one, an infinite number of other lies and errours in yͤ popes church, as handmaides do wayte and depend.

Vntruth in the popes doctrine.

Vntruth in the popes Legendes and Maſſebookes.

Vntruth in the popes miracles and reliques.

Vntruth in the popes Sacramentes.

A maiſter lye.

But for ſo much I ſtand here not to charge other mẽ ſo much,as to defende me ſelfe,ceaſing therfore to,or rather differyng for a tyme to ſtyrre this ſtinking pudle of theſe wilfull and intended lyes and vntruthes, whiche in the Popes religiõ and in Papiſtes bookes be innumerable: I will now returne to thoſe vntruthes and impudent lyes, whiche maiſter Cope hath hunted out in my hiſtory of Actes and Monumentes, firſt beginnyng with thoſe vntruthes which he carpeth in the ſtory of the foreſayd Syr John Oldcaſtle,and ſir Roger Acton,Browne and the reſt.

And firſt,where he layeth to my charge,that I call thẽ Martyrs,whiche were traitours and ſeditious rebels agaynſt the kyng,and their countrey:to this I haue aunſwered before ſufficiently.

Nowe here then muſt the reader nedes ſtay a litle at maiſter Copes requeſt, to ſee my vanitie and impudencie yet more fully and amply repreſſed in refutyng a certaine place in my Latine ſtory, concernyng the kynges ſtatute made at Leyceſter, whiche place & wordes by him alledged, bee theſe, pag. 107. Quocirca Rex indicto Leceſtriæ cōcilio (quòd fortaſsis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) propoſito edicto immanē denunciat pœnam his, quicumq; deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus ſectarentur, vſq; adeo in eos ſeuerus, vt nō modo hæreticos, ſed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos ſupplicio, ſuſpendio ſimul & incendio afficiendos ſtatuerit. &c. Et mox, Adeo ille vires, rationeſq; intendebat omnes aduerſus VVicleuianos. VVicleuiani id tēporis dicebantur, quicūq; Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent. &c.

Cope cavilleth without cauſe.

Upon theſe wordes out of my foreſayd Latin booke alledged, maiſter Cope perſwadeth himſelfe, to haue great aduauntage agaynſt me, to proue me a notorious lyar, in thrée ſundry poyntes. Fyrſt in that, where as I ſay, that ẏ king did holde his Parliament at Leyceſter, adding this by way of parentheſis (quod fortaſsis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum. &c.) here he cōcludeth therby ſimpliciter & preciſely, that the L. Cobham and ſyr Roger Acton with his fellowes, were traytours. &c. Wherby a man may ſone ſhape a caviller, by the ſhadowe of maiſter Cope. For where as my Dialyſis but of the text ſpeaketh doubtfully and vncertainlye by this worde (fortaſsis) meaning in deede, the king to be in feare of the Goſpellers, that he durſt not holde his Parliament at London, but went to Leyceſter: he argueth preciſely therefore, that the Lord Cobham, ſir Roger Acton, and his fellowes went about to kill the king. Secondly, where I affirme, that the king in ẏ Parliament made a greuous law againſt all ſuch as did holde ẏ doctrine of Wickliffe, ẏ they ſhould be takē hereafter, not onely for heretiques, but alſo for felons, or rebells, or traytours, and therfore ſhould ſuſtaine a double puniſhment, both to be hanged, and alſo to be burned. &c. Here cōmeth in maiſter Momus, with hys Cope on his backe, and prouing me to be a lyar, denieth plainly that ẏ king made any ſuche ſtatute, vid. pag. 835. lin. 6. where his wordes be theſe: Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus deinceps & geminatas pœnas ſuſpendij & incendij luerent, vt nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur. &c.

Stat. an. 2. Henr. 5. ca. 7.

Copus pag. 835. lin. 6. Objection.

Firſt here would be aſked of maiſter Cope, what he calleth patriæ hoſtes, et proditores? if hee call theſe traytours, then let vs ſee whether, they that folowed the ſecte of Wicleffe, were made traytours and heretiques by the kynges law, or not. And firſt let vs heare what ſayth Polidore Vergil, hys owne witnes, in this behalfe, whoſe wordes in his xxij. booke, pag. 441. be theſe: Quare publice edixit, vt ſi vſpiam deinceps reperirētur, qui eam ſequerentur ſectam, patriæ, hoſtes haberentur, quo ſine omni lenitate ſeuerius ac ocyus de illis ſupplicium ſumeretur. &c. That is, wherfore it was by publique ſtatute decreed, ẏ who ſoeuer were founde hereafter to folowe the ſecte of Wicleffe, ſhould be accounted for traytours, whereby without all lenity, they ſhould be puniſhed more ſeuerly and quickly. &c.

The ſecte of Wickleffe made hereſie and treaſon by K Henry. 5.

Polyd. Virgil. Lib. 22.

Thus haue you (maiſter Cope) the playne teſtimonie of Polydore with me. And becauſe ye ſhall further ſee your ſelfe more impudent in carpyng, then I am in deprauing of hiſtories, you ſhall vnderſtand moreouer and heare, what Thomas Walden one of your owne catholique brotherhode, and who was alſo him ſelfe a liue, and a doer in ẏ ſame Parliament, beyng the prouinciall of ẏ Carmelites, ſayth in this matter writyng to pope Martine, whoſe very woordes in Latine here folow, written in his Prologue to the ſayd Martine, in this wiſe: Nec mora lōga proceſſit, quin ſtatutū publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanauit edicto, quod oēs VVicleuiſtę ſicut dei proditores eſſent, ſic proditores regis, proſcriptis bonis cenſerentur et regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter deum, ſuſpendio propter regem, &c. That is.

Tho. Walden in tomo primo. Doctrinali, ad Mart. papam in prologo.

And it was not lōg after but a publicke law and ſtatute came out, by the common aſſent of the generall Parliament of the whole realme, that all Wicleuiſtes, as they were traytours to God, ſo alſo ſhould bee counted traytours to the king and to the realme, hauyng their goods loſt and confiſcate vnto the king. And therfore ſhould ſuffer double puniſhement, as to be burnte for God, and to be hanged for the kyng. &c. And thus haue you (maiſter Cope) not onely my ſentence, but alſo the very wordes of my ſtory confirmed by this author: becauſe ye ſhall not thinke me to ſpeake ſo lightly or impudētly without my booke. And moreouer to confirme the ſayd ſentence of Thomas Walden, it foloweth alſo in an other place of the foreſayd author, Tomo. 1. lib. 2. De doctrinali fidei Eccleſiæ Cathol. Cap. 46. where he writeth in theſe woordes. Et tamen iam cum regnare cœpiſſet Illuſtris rex Henricus. 5. qui adhuc agit in ſceptris, et de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene doctos, legem ſtatui fecit, vt vbiq; per regnum VVicleuiſta probatus, vt reus puniretur de crimine leſę maieſtatis. et cet. That is. And yet, when the noble kyng Henry v. who as yet doth lyue & reigne, began firſt to reigne, begamne to ſet forth a lawe, by his learned Catholiques which were about him, agaynſt the falſenes of theſe mē, ſo ẏ who ſo euer was proued to be a Wicleuiſt, through the whole realme, ſhould be puniſhed for a traytour. &c. What wordes can you haue maiſter Cope, more playne then theſe? or what authoritie cā you require of more credite, whiche lyued in the ſame time, and both did ſee and heare of the ſame things done? who alſo writing to pope Martine, was by the ſayd pope Martine alowed, approued, and ſolemnely commended, as appeareth by the Popes Epiſtle to hym, wherein the pope declareth, how he cauſed his bookes, per ſolennes viros videri, et examinari. That is, by ſolemne perſonnes to be ſene and examined. &c. So that you muſt nedes graunt, either this to be true, that Walden writeth: or els that the pope (tanquam papa) in alowynge hys writynges maye erre and bee deceaued. Chuſe ye (maiſter Cope) of theſe two options whether you will take.

Walde tomo. 1. doctrin ecclesiæ cap. 46 lib. 2.

Eyther den wryteth true ells the pope erreth.

And if ye thinke this my aſſertion yet not ſufficiently reſcued wt theſe authorities aboue ſayd, I will alſo hereunto adioyne the teſtimonie of an other writer named Roger VValle, who writing De geſtis Henrici. 5. and ſpeakyng of the ſayd ſtatute of this Parlament ſome thyng more playnly then the reſt, hath theſe wordes: In hoc etiā Parliamento nobilitas regia hoſtes Chriſti ſibi reputās proditores, volens dare intelligere vniuerſis, quod ipſe abſq; cuiuſcunq; fluctuationis dubio, q̃diu auras hauriret vitales, verus et perfectus Chriſtianæ fidei æmulator exiſteret: ſtatuit et decreuit, vt quotquot ipſius ſectæ, quæ dicitur Lollardorum, inuenirentur æmuli et fautores, eo facto rei proditorij criminis in maieſtatem regiam haberentur. &c. In Engl. Alſo in this Parlament, ẏ noble king reputyng Chriſtes enemies, to be traytours to him ſelfe, to the entent that all mē ſhould know without all doubt, that ſo lōg as hee lyued, he would be a true and a perfect folower of Chriſten fayth: did enacte and decrée, that who ſoeuer ſhould be found folowers and mainteyners of this ſecte, whiche is called the Lollardes ſecte, Ipſo facto, ſhould be counted and reputed giltie of treaſon agaynſt the kynges maieſtie. &c. By theſe hetherto alledged if maiſter Cope, will not be ſatiſfied, yet let the reader indifferent iudge: Vtrū in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calūniatur. And yet moreouer to make the matter more certaine, marke the clamation of [illegible] ſaid Roger Walle, added to the end of thoſe wordes aboue recited, whereby we haue to vnderſtand more clerely, both what wer the procedings of the kyng in the ſayd Parlament, and alſo what was the blinde affection of Monkes and Prieſtes at that time toward their king and prince (whych was then called princeps ſacerdotum) in condemning and deſtroying the poore Lollardes. The wordes of thys Moonke be theſe:

Rog. W lus lib. geſtis Henr. fol. 10.

K. Henry the v. ca *princep ſacerdot*

O verus amicus, qui amici illa tam iniuriam ſibi inferri cõſimiliter arbitratur, præiudicium illi intentum reputat eſſe ſuum, et ad eius onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros ſupponere non veretur. &c. That is: O true friend, who taketh and reckeneth that iniury no leſſe done to himſelf which is done to his friend: and that preiudice which is intended agaynſt him, reputeth to be as his owne. And to beare together the burdens of hys friend, ſticketh not to lay to hys own ſhoulders, for the eaſing and helpyng of hym. ⁊c.

How can it now be denied (maiſter Cope) in reading theſe autors, and ſeing their teſtimonies, but that lollardrie in this parlament was made both treaſon and hereſie, and had therefore a double iudgement of puniſhment annexed, to be hãged for the one, and to be burned for the other, according as in my former latine ſtorye I recorded, and yet I truſt, I trifled not?

But you wyll ſay agayne (as ye doo) that there is no mention made for hereſie to be made treaſon, nor of anye double puniſhment to bee inflicted for the ſame. In the body of the ſtatute (I graunt) there is no expreſſe mẽtion in wordes of hereſie to be made treaſon, expreſſye ſignified in rigour of wordes: but incluſiuelye it is ſo inferred, that it cã not be denied. For firſt where lãdes, goodes and cattell of the ſayd Lollardes were loſt and forfet to the kyng, what doth this importe els, but treaſon or felony?

Alſo where the Lord Cobhã (for whoſe cauſe ſpecially this ſtatute ſemed to be made) did ſuſteine afterward both hanging and burnyng, by the vigor of the ſame ſtatute: what is here cõteined, but a double penaltie? Again where in the begynnyng of the ſtatute mention is made of rumours ⁊ congregations, ⁊ after vpon the ſame foloweth the ſeruices of the king, wherunto the officers be firſt ſworne, ſhould firſt be preferred, for libertie of holy church, and puniſhment of heretickes, made before theſe dayes and not repealed, vide ſupra pag. 678. what meaneth this, but to make theſe congregations of the Lollardes, to be forcible entrees, riotes, great ridynges, vnlawfull aſſẽbles, affrayes of the people, armour, routes, and inſurrections, and ſo ſendeth them to the former ſtatutes not repealed, that is, to the ſtatute an. 13. Henr. 4. cap. 7? Where the puniſhement is left to the diſcretion of the king: or els to the ſtatute an. 15. Richar. cap. 2. Where the penaltie is made fine and ranſome: Or els to the ſtatute an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 6. where ſuch aſſembles be made plaine treaſon, in fine ſtatuti.

And as here is matter of treaſon ſufficiently conteyned, ſo for hereſie lykewiſe the ſame ſtatute referreth thẽ to the ordinaries, ⁊ to the lawes, properly to hereſie apperteinyng, as to the ſtatute. an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. where the penaltie is burnyng. Alſo to the ſtatute an. 5. Richar. 2 cap. 5. So that in this preſent ſtatute here mention is cõteyned, as ye ſee, although not in expreſſe wordes, yet incluſiuely (by referryng to other ſtatutes not repealed) both Lollardry whiche is puniſhed with burnyng, and forcible entrees whiche is puniſhed at the kynges pleaſure. And thus much cõcernyng the ſecõd vntruth, which maiſter Cope vntruely noteth in me.

3. The thyrd vntruth whiche he noteth in me concernyng this matter, is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I ſay, there was no other cauſe of deuiſing this ſharpe law and puniſhement agaynſt theſe men, but onely for hauing the Scripture bookes. And therfore here is noted in the margent Foxi dolus malus, but let maiſter Cope take hede, he deceaue not him ſelfe and other. For my part I remember no ſuch place in this my Latine ſtorye where I ſo ſay. Onely my wordes be theſe, added in the latter end of the place aboue recited: VVicleuiani vero dicebantur quicũq; id temporis Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent. &c. That is. They were called Wicleuiſtes, who ſoeuer at that time read the ſcripture in Engliſh or vulgare tounge. ⁊c. I ſay not, ẏ for the Scriptures being read in ẏ Engliſhe tongue, therfore the law was enacted, but ſo is M. Cope diſpoſed to conſtrue it. What lawe ⁊ ſtatutes were made agaynſt writyng or readyng of any booke in Engliſh or in any other tongue contrary to the catholicke (that is the Romiſhe) fayth, or to the determination of the holy church (that is of Rome) read I beſech thee the bloudy ſtatute made an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. aboue ſpecified pag. 624. Alſo read the conſtitutiõ prouinciall of Thomas Arundell aboue mentioned, pag. 627. lin. 9. Where it was decreed, that the texte of holy Scripture ſhoulde not be had or read in the vulgare tongue from the time of maiſter John Wickeffe, for euer after, vnles the ſayd tranſlation be approued firſt by the ordinary or by prouinciall councell, vnder payne and puniſhemẽt of hereſie. Now let the reader iudge whether the readyng of Scripture bookes in ẏ Engliſh tongue, by the making or tranſlatyng of John Wicleffe, or from the tyme of Wicleffe downeward, be counted hereſy or not. As for the approuing of the ordinary or of the prouinciall councell added in the ende of the ſayd conſtitution, maketh more for a ſhew or pretence, then for any iuſt exception, or any true intention. For what man hauyng thoſe Scriptures tranſlated in Engliſhe, would either preſent thẽ to their ordinaries beyng ſo ſet agaynſt the readyng of ſuch bookes? or what ordinarie would or did euer yet ſince Arundels tyme approue any ſuch tranſlation, preſented vnto them? Or els why dyd the good Martyrs of Amerſam ſuffer death, in ẏ beginning of K. Henry the 8. for hauyng ⁊ readyng certain bookes of ſcripture, which were (as is ſayd) only iiij. Epiſtles of S. Paule, with certaine other prayers. And ẏ other which heard them but only read, did beare fagots, ⁊ the ſame time, the children cõpelled to ſet fagottes vnto their fathers, at which time Longland beyng thẽ Byſhop of Lincolne, and preaching to them at the ſtake, ſayd: that what ſoeuer they were, that did but moue his lyppes in readyng thoſe chapters, were damned for euer: as when we come to that tyme, by the grace of Chriſt, ſhall hereafter more amplye and notoriouſly appeare. And where then is this Dolus malus Foxi, margined agaynſt me, for crafty dealyng in my ſtorie?

Readyng of Scripture bookes contrarye to the Romyſh fayth made hereſie. *Statut. an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. Vide ſupra pag. 624.*

The text of Scripture not to be tranſlated to the vulgare tounge vnder payne of hereſie. *Conſtit. prouinc. Tho. Arund. Vid. ſupra pag. 627.*

Children of Amerſham cauſed to ſet fagots to theyr fathers.

Copus pag. 833. lin. 20.

Morouer where maiſter Cope procedyng farther in this matter, aſketh me: how was ẏ Lorde Cobham obedient to the kyng, when as for the feare of hym, the kyng durſt not then kepe his Parlament at London? To whõ I aunſwere agayne, aſkyng likewiſe of maiſter Cope, how was the kyng then afrayde to hold his Parlament at London for the Lord Cobham, when the Lord Cobham at that tyme was in Wales? And here maiſter Cope, thinking to haue me at a narow ſtraite, ⁊ to holde me faſt, byddeth me tell him, how it could be otherwiſe, but the L. Cobham muſt needes haue fautors. And who ſhould theſe fautors be (ſayth hee) but Syr Roger Acton, Browne and their felowes. To whiche mighty queſtion of maiſter Cope, I aunſwere agayne, how can Syr Roger Acton, Browne, and their felowes be then fautors of the Lord Cobham, for whom the king durſt not hold his Parlament at London, when as the ſayd Roger Acton, Browne, and the reſt were put to death a whole yeare almoſt before the Parlament at Leyceſter began?

Copus pag. 836. lin. 13.

And now as I haue hetherto briefly, and truely aunſwered to your aſkynges (maiſter Cope) let me bee ſo bolde with you agayne, to propounde to you likewiſe an other Queſtion. For ſo much as you haue put me to the ſearching of the ſtatutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted: nowe out of the ſame ſtatutes riſeth a doubtfull ſcruple or a queſtion, worthy to ſolued. The caſe is this, that, for as much as ſo many good Martyrs ⁊ ſainctes of God hetherto in this realme of England, haue bene burned, from the tyme of kyng Henry 4. Henry 5. Henry 6. Henry 8. to the time and in

Statute of the vi.articles in the tyme of K.Henry 8.

Statut.an.5. Rich.2.cap.5.

Statut. de comburendo. an.2.Henr.4. ca.15. Vid.ſupra.pag.624.

Statut.an.2. Henr.4.de comburendo, proued not ſufficient,to burne any mā.

the tyme of Quene Mary,my queſtion is that you with all your learned coūcell about you will tell me,by what lawe or ſtatute of the realme were theſe men brent? I knowe the auncient cuſtome hath bene, that heretickes conuicted by a prouinciall councell were wonte to bee left to the ſeculare power. But howe will ye proue me, theſe heretickes were either conuicte by ſuch prouinciall councell, or that theſe ſeculare men ought to bee your butchers in burnyng them, whom ye haue committed to them? If ye alledge the vi. articles made in yͤ reigne of K.Henry 8 thoſe articles neither did ſerue before yͤ time of kyng Henry 8.neither yet were they reuiued after his tyme. If ye alledge the ſtatute made,an.5.Ric.2.cap.5 In that ſtatute(I aunſwere)is conteined no matter of burnyng,but onely of arreſt to be done at yͤ certifications of yͤ prelates, without any further puniſhment there mentioned. To conclude,if ye alledge the ſtatute made an.2. Henr.4.cap.15.and reuiued in yͤ reigne of Quéene Mary, mentioned before pag. 624. To yͤ ſtatute I aunſwere, that although that pretenſed ſtatute appeareth in forme of wordes in yͤ printed booke to geue vnto the temporall officers authoritie to bring them to the ſtake,& to burne them,whom yͤ biſhop deliuereth: Yet is it not to be proued,eyther by you,or any other, that ſtatute to be lawe or warrant ſufficient to burne any perſon or perſons committed to the ſecular power by the clergie.And that I proue thus;for although the ſame ſtatute of K.Henry the 4. in the bookes printed,appeare to haue lawe and authoritie ſufficient,by the full aſſent both of the kyng, of the Lords,and of the commons:yet being occaſioned by maiſter Cope to ſearch further in yͤ ſtatutes, I haue found yͭ in the Rolles and firſt originalls of that Parliament,there is no ſuch mention eyther of any peticion, or ells of any aſſent of the commons annexed or conteyned in that ſtatute,according as in the printed bookes nowe commonly vſed,is craftely and falſely foyſted in, as by the plaine wordes therof may well appeare.

For where the ſayd ſtatute an.2.Henr.4.cap.15. being thus intitled in the Rolles:Peticio cleri contra hæreticos, and aſſented vnto in this forme : hath theſe wordes.

¶ Statut.an.2 Henr.4.cap.15.Intituled in the rolle thus:
Petitio Cleri contra hęreticos,and aſſented
vnto in this forme.

The printed ſtatute.an.2. Henr.4.cap.15. falſely corrupted.

QVas quidem petitiones prælatorum & cleri ſuperius expreſſatas do.noſter Rex, de conſenſu magnatū & aliorum procerum regni ſui, in præſenti Parliamēto exiſtentium conceſsit,& in omnibus & ſingulis iuxta formā & effectum eorundem ordinauit & ſtatuit de cætero fir-
,, miter obſeruari. and ſo forth accordyng to the petition
,, and mo wordes,are there not in the ſtatute rolle.Wherfore
,, where as the ſtatute booke printed hath thus:Super
,, quibus quidem nouitatibus & exceſsibus ſuperius recita-
,, tis(videlicet in the petition of yͤ prelates & clergye) prelati
,, & clerus ſupradicti ac etiam cōitates dicti Regni in eodem
,, Parliamento exiſten.dicto domino Regi ſupplicarunt.&c.
,, Qui quidem dominus Rex. &c, ex aſſenſu magnatum &
,, aliorum procerum eiuſdem Regni &c. cōceſsit ordinauit.
,, &c.Theſe woordes Ac etiam communitates dicti Regni. &c. are put in further thē the Rolle doth warrant, and ſemeth to be the practiſe of yͤ clergye, to make that as an Acte of Parlament, and to ſeme to haue the force of a law, which was neuer aſſented vnto by the commons.

Ex conſtitutionibus prouincialibus oxoniæ celebratis. Ioan. Athon.

And thus you ſée howe this foreſayd ſtatute, printed both in Engliſh and in Latin among the prouinciall coūcels of Oxford (by the vertue wherof ſo many good mē haue bene burned ſo long in England)doth vtterly ouerthrow it ſelfe,for that it ſwarueth from the recorde both in forme and in matter:and lacketh the aſſēt of the commons. Whiche doubt I thought at this preſent to propounde vnto you (maiſter Cope) for that you haue ſo vrged me to the ſearchyng out of the ſtatutes, by your declaiming againſt the Lord Cobham.

Vid. an.5. 2.cap

Moreouer vnto this ſtatute aforeſaid, ioyne alſo with all an other Memorandū of like practiſe done an.5.Rich. 2.In the which yeare, wheras a ſtatute was concluded in the parlament.an.5.Ric.2.cap.5.againſt certaine preachers ſpecified in the ſame ſtatute,whiche goyng about in certaine habites from place to place,did draw the people to heare their ſermons:And cōmiſsions were made & directed in the ſayd parlamēt to the Shriffes,to arreſt all ſuch preachers,and to empriſone the ſame,at the certifications of the prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the ſame ſtatute.an.5.Ric.2.cap.5.was reuoked by the kyng in the parlamēt.an 6.Ric.2.vpon the wordes of the com-
mons being theſe:videl. For aſmuch as the ſame ſtatute ,,
was neuer aſſēted,ne graunted by the cōmons,but that ,,
whiche therin was done,was done without their aſſent, ,,
and now ought to be vndone: for that it was neuer their ,,
meaning to be iuſtified, and to binde them ſelues & their ,,
ſucceſſours to the Prelates, no more, then their aunci- ,,
tors had done before them . Ex Rotul. And yet this foreſayd reuocation notwithſtandyng, in Queene Maries tyme,they inquired vpon that ſtatute.

Ex R parlia

The per cutors in burnyng Gods pe ple haue done a- gaynſt th lawe,

In ſearchyng of theſe ſtatutes, as you haue occaſioned me to finde out theſe ſcruples:ſo being found out,I thought here not to diſſemble them,forſomuch as I ſée & heare many now a daies ſo boldly to beare thēſelues vpon this ſtatute,& thinkyng ſo to excuſe thēſelues do ſay, yͭ they haue done nothing,but yͤ law yͤ law: to yͤ intent yͭ theſe mē ſeing now how inexcuſable they be both before God & man,hauing no law to beare thē out,may the ſooner repent their bloudy and vnlawfull tyrānie,exerciſed ſo long againſt Gods true ſeruaunts,yet in tyme before that the iuſte law of God ſhall find out their vniuſt dealynges, which partly hee begynneth already to do, and more no doubt will do hereafter.

A neceſſ admoniti on to the Commo of Engla

In the meane tyme this my petition I put vp to the Commons,and to all other which ſhall hereafter put vp any petition to the Parlament : that they beyng admoniſhed by this abuſe , will ſhewe them ſelues hereafter more wiſe and circumſpect, both what they agrée vnto in Parlamentes, and alſo what commeth out in theyr name.And as theſe good Commōs in this tyme of kyng Henry the 4. would not conſent nor agrée to this bloudy ſtatute,nor to no other lyke : For ſo we read that the Commons in that bloudy tyme of kyng Henry 4.when an other lyke cruell byll was put vp by the prelates in an.8. Henr.4. agaynſt the Lollardes, they neither conſented to this,& alſo ouerthrew the other:So in lyke maner it is to be wiſhed,that the Cōmons now in theſe our latter daies, that ſhall haue to do in Parlamentes hereafter,folowyng the ſteppes of thoſe former tymes, will take vigilant hede,to ſuch cruell billes of the Popes prelacie, beyng put vp, that neither their conſent do paſſe raſhely:nor that their names in any condition be ſo abuſed.Conſideryng with them ſelues,yͭ a thyng once being paſſed in the Parlament,can not afterwarde bee called backe: And a litle inconuenience once admitted, may grow afterward to miſchieues that can not be ſtopped. And ſome tyme it may ſo happen, that through raſh cōſent of voyces, the end of thinges beyng not well aduiſed,ſuch a thyng may be graunted in one day,that afterward many dayes may cauſe the whole realme to rew. But I truſt mē are bytten enough with ſuch black Parlamentes to beware of after clappes. The Lord Jeſus onely protectour of his churche,ſtoppe all crafty deuiſes of ſubtile enemyes,& with his wiſedome direct our Parlamēts,as may be moſt to the aduaunſing of his word, and comfort of his people. Amen.

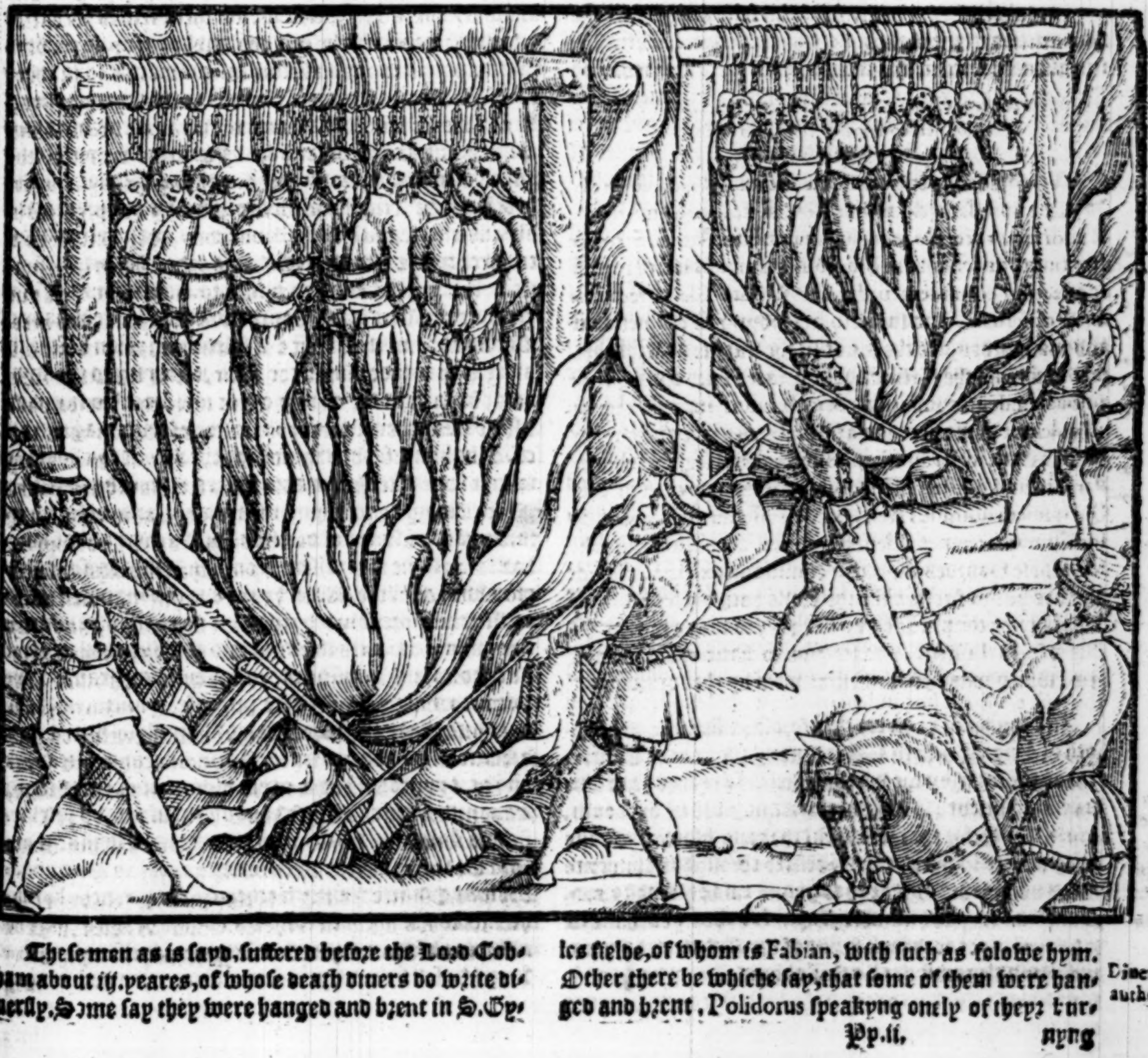
And thus much hauyng ſayd for the defence of the Lord Cobham,of Syr Roger Actō knight,maiſter John Browne Eſquier,John Beuerlay preacher,and of other their fellowes agaynſt Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an ende with this preſent Interim,till further layſure fore ſerue me hereafter (Chriſt willyng) to pay hym the whole Intereſt whiche I owe vnto him. Addyng this in the meane tyme, and by the waye: that if maiſter Cope had bene a Momus any thyng reaſonable, hee had no great cauſe ſo to wrangle with me, in this matter, who as I did commend the Lord Cobham and that worthely, for his valiaunt ſtandyng by the truth of his doctrine before Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop, ſo touchyng the matter of this cōſpiracie, I did not affirme or define any thyng therof in my former hiſtorie ſo preciſely, yͤ he could well take any vantage of agaynſt me: who in wrytyng of this conſpiracie layd agaynſt Syr Roger Acton, and Syr John Oldcaſtle, do but diſiunctiuely or doubtfully ſpeake therof, not concluding certainly this conſpiracie either to be true or not true, but onely prouyng the ſame not to bee true at that tyme, as Polydore Vergill, and Edward Hall, in their hiſtories do affirme: which ſay that this conſpiracie began after the burnyng of John Hus, and Hierome of Prage. Whiche could not be. And therto tendeth my aſſertion. My wordes are playne, and are theſe, pag. 174. col. 2 lin. 13. Wherefore it is euident that there was either no conſpiracie at all agaynſt the kyng: or els that it was at ſome other tyme, or done by other Captaynes. ⁊c. Theſe bee my woordes, with other mo, in the pag. col. and line, aboue noted. In the whiche propoſition diſiunctiue, if either part be true, it is enough for me. His parte it was to refell both, whiche he hath not done. But onely ſtandyng faſt vpon the one parte, diſſimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who by that hee ſhall come from Rome (whether hee is now gone, as I heare ſay) I truſt he will returne a better Logician home agayne In ſuam Angliam. But to the truth of our matter, as I ſayd before, ſo I ſay agayne, what ſoeuer this worthy noble and vertuous knight ſir Roger Acō was otherwiſe, this is certaine, that he was alwayes of contrary minde, and opinion to the Byſhop of Rome, and to that kinde of people, for the which cauſe he had great enuie and hatred at their hands: and could as litle beare it: neither do I greatly diſſent from them, whiche do ſuſpecte or iudge that the Lord Cobham, by his frendlye helpe eſcaped out of the Tower, and that peraduenture was the cauſe why hee was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other cauſes alſo there myght bee, that theſe good men percaſe did frequent among them ſelues, ſome conuenticles (whiche conuenticles was made treaſon by the ſtatute aforeſayd) either in thoſe Thickets, or in ſome place els, for the hearyng of Gods woorde, and for publique prayer, and therefore had they this Beuerlay their preacher with them. But to conclude what ſoeuer this Syr Roger Acton was, this is the truth, whiche I may boldly record, as one wrytyng the Actes and thynges done in the churche, that he was at length apprehended, condemned and put to death or Martyrdome, thrée yeares and more before the Lord Cobham dyed. Lykewiſe maiſter John Browne, and John Beuerlay the preacher, ſuffred with him the ſame kynde of death (as ſome ſaye) in the field of S. Gyles with other mo, to the number of 36. if the ſtories be true. Whiche was in the moneth of January, an. 1413. after the computation of our common Engliſhe ſtories, counting the yeare from thannunciation: but after the Latyn wryters counting frō Chriſtes natiuitie. an. 1414. according as in thys picture is ſpecified.

Syr Roger Acton contrary to the biſhop of Rome.

Cauſes coniecturall why Syr Roger Acton with the reaſt were put to death for traytours and Lollardes.

An. 1414

The picture of the hanging and burning of diuerſe perſons
counted for Lollardes, in the 1. yeare of the reigne of K. Henry the v.



Theſe men as is ſayd, ſuffered before the Lord Cobham about iij. yeares, of whoſe death diuers do write diuerſly. Some ſay they were hanged and brent in S. Gyles fielde, of whom is Fabian, with ſuch as folowe hym. Other there be whiche ſay, that ſome of them were hanged and brent, Polidorus ſpeakyng onely of theyr tur-

Diuerſitie in authors.

An Engliſhe ſtorye beginning thus. A table of all the kynges.

nyng maketh no mention of hangyng. An other certaine Engliſh Chronicle I haue in my handes borowed of one maiſter Bowyer, who ſomewhat differyng frō the reſt, recordeth thus of Syr Roger Acon, that his Iudgemēt before the Iuſtice was thus, to be drawen through London to Tyborne, and there to be hanged, and ſo he was naked, ſaue certain partes of him couered with a cloth. &c. And whē certaine dayes were paſt (ſaith the Author) a Trūpetter of the kings called Thomas Clyff, gat grāt of the kyng to take hym downe, and to bury him, and ſo he did. &c. And thus haue you the ſtory of ſir Roger Actō, and his felow brethren. As touching their cauſe whether it was true, or els by errour miſtaken of the kyng, or by the fetch of the biſhops ſurmiſed, I referre it to ẏ iudgement of hym whiche ſhall iudge both the quicke and the dead, et ſeculū per ignem. To whom alſo I commit you maſter Cope, God ſpede your iourney wel to Rome, whether, I heare ſay, you are going, & make you a good mā.

Maiſter Cope gone to Rome.

The death of Tho Arundell Archbyſhop of Cant.

Ex hiſt. S. Albani.

Gods workes and puniſhmentes to be noted.

After the deceaſe or Martyrdome of theſe aboue mētioned, who were executed in the moneth of January an. 1414 in the next moneth folowyng, & in the ſame yeare, the 20. day of February, God tooke away the great enemie of his worde, and rebell to his kyng Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Whoſe death folowyng after the execution of thoſe good men aboue recited, by the meruelous ſtroke of God ſo ſodenly, may ſeme ſomewhat to cleare their innocencie, and that hee was alſo ſome great procurer of their death; in that God would not ſuffer him longer to lyue, ſtrikyng hym with death incontinently vpon the ſame. But as I did the other before, ſo this alſo I do referre to the ſecret iudgement of the Lord, who once ſhall iudge all ſecretes openly. In the meane time this may ſeme ſtrāge, that the ſame Thomas Arundell, who a litle before ſittyng vpon iudgement agaynſt the Lord Cobham, and pronounced ſentence of death vppon hym, did hym ſelfe feele the ſtroke of death, and the ſentence of God executed vpon him, before the other. Who would haue thought that the Lord Cobham, beyng ſo caſt and condemned definitiuely by the Archbyſhops ſentence, but that he ſhould haue dyed long before the Archbyſhop? But ſuch bee the workes of Gods almighty hand, who ſo turned ẏ whele, ẏ this condemned lord ſuruiued his condemner iij. or iiij. yeres.

Tho Arundell, geueth ſentence agaynſt the Lord Cobham, And God geueth ſentence agaynſt Tho. Arundell.

The condemned man ouerliueth his condemner.

Polydore Virgill erreth.

In the death of this Archbiſhop firſt Polidore Vergil is deceaued, who in his xxj. booke, pag. 441. affirmeth his death to be an. 1415. and in the ſecond yeare of kyng Henr. 5. alſo after the beginnyng of the Councell of Conſtance. Who in dede neuer reached the begynnyng therof, nor euer ſaw the ſecond yeare of that kyng (vnleſſe ye count the firſt day for a yeare) but dyed before an. 1414. Febr. 20. Ex hiſt. S. Albani et multis. Furthermore concernyng the death of this Arundell, and the maner therof, who had bene ſo heauy a troubler of Chriſtes ſanctes in his time, becauſe the thyng ſemeth worthy of notyng, to behold the puniſhment of God, vpon his enemies, this is to reporte, as I haue found it alledged out of Thomas Gaſchoing in Dictionario Theologico: Whoſe playne wordes be theſe: An. 1414. Thom. Arundel Cant. Archiepiſcopus ſic lingua percuſſus erat, vt nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortē ſuam potuerit, diuitis epulonis exemplo, et ſic tandem obijt. Atq; id multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligaſſet, ne ſuo tempore prædicaretur, &c. That is, Thomas Arundell Archb. of Canterbury, was ſo ſtricken in his tounge, ẏ neyther he coulde ſwalow, nor ſpeake for a certain ſpace before his death, much lyke after the example of the riche glotton, and ſo dyed vpon the ſame. And thys was thought of many to come vpon him, for that he ſo bound ẏ word of the Lord, that it ſhould not be preached in hys dayes. &c. Which if it be true, as it doth well here appeare, theſe and ſuch other horrible examples of Gods wrath, may be terrible ſpectacles for ſuch as occupie their tounges and braynes ſo buſilie to ſtoppe the courſe of Gods word, ſtriuing but agaynſt the ſtreame: agaynſt the force wherof, neyther are they able to reſiſte, and many times in reſiſting are ouerturned themſelues and drowned therin. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundell, who cōtinued Archbiſhop in the ſee of Cant. the ſpace of xviij. yeares.

Thom. Gaſconius in Dictionario theologico.

The maruelous hand of God vpon Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant.

It is l to ga ſtan d Word

After this Arundell, ſucceaded next in the ſayd ſea of Canterbury Henry Chicheſley made Archbyſhop an. 1414. and ſat 25. yeares. This Henry folowyng lykewiſe the ſteppes of his predeceſſour, ſhewed him ſelfe no ſmall aduerſary agaynſt the fauourers of the truth. In whoſe time was much trouble, and great afflictiō in the churche. For as the preaching and teachyng of the word did multiply and ſpread abroad daily more and more, ſo on the contrarye ſide, more vigilant care and ſtraight inquiſitiō folowed & encreaſed againſt ẏ people of God, by reaſon whereof diuers did ſuffer, and were burned, Some for feare fled the countrey. Many were brought to examination, and by infirmitie conſtrained to abiure. Of whom hereafter (Chriſt willyng) particularly in order of their tymes, we will entreate.

Henry Chic Archb Cant.

As true pietie, & ſincere preachyng of Chriſtes worde began at this time to decay: So idle monkery and vaine ſuperſtitiō in place therof begā to increaſe. For about ẏ ſame yere ẏ king began ẏ foundatiō of ij. Monaſteries, one of ẏ one ſide of Thames of friers obſeruaunt, the other on ẏ other ſide Thames called Shene & Syon, dedicated to Charter houſe monkes, with certaine Brigitte nonnes or recluſes, to ẏ nūber of 60. dwellyng within ẏ ſame precinct, ſo that ẏ whole number of theſe wt prieſts, monkes, deacons and nonnes ſhould equall the number of xij. Apoſtles and 72. diſciples. The order of theſe was accordyng to the deſcription of S. Paul the Apoſtle Colloſ. 1. Eate not, taſte not, touch not. &c. to eate no fleſh, to weare no linen, to touch no money. &c.

Sion a Bethler builde

About Michaelmas, the ſame yeare the kyng began his Parlament at Leyceſter, aboue mentioned. In the whiche Parlament the cōmons put vp their byll agayn, whiche they had put vp before an. xi. Henr. 4. that the tēporalties diſorderly waſted by men of the church, might be conuerted and employed to the vſe of the kyng, of his Earles, and knightes, and to the relief of the poore people, as is before recited, pag. 662. In feare of whiche byll, leaſt the kyng would geue therunto any comfortable audience (as teſtifieth Robert Fabian, and other wryters) certaine of the prelates, and other headmen of the Churche put the kyng in minde to clayme his ryght in Fraunce. Wherupon Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury made a long & a ſolemne oration before the kyng to perſuade him to the ſame, offeryng to the kyng in the behalfe of the clergy great and notable ſummes. By reaſon wherof (ſaith Fabian) the byll was agayn put of, & the kyng ſet hys minde for the recouery of ẏ ſame: ſo that ſone after he ſent his letters & meſſengers to the French kyng concernyng that matter, and receaued frō him again aūſwere of deriſion, with a pype full of tenys balles (as ſome record) ſent from the Dolphin, for him to play with at home. Wherby the kynges mynde was incenſed the more towarde that viage. Who then furniſhing him ſelfe with ſtrength and armour, with pouder, and ſhotte, and gunſtones to play with in Fraunce, and with other artillery for that purpoſe conuenient, ſo ſet ouer into Fraunce, where he got Hareflew with diuers other townes and caſtles in Normandy and Picardye, and at Agyncourt had a great victory ouer the Frenche armey, they being counted but vij. thouſand, by pricking ſharpe ſtakes before them. &c. After that he wanne Cane, Towk, Rowan with other townes moe, as Meldune, or Meleon, & maried with Katherine the Frenche kynges daughter. And yet notwithſtandyng the third tyme hee made his viage agayne into Fraunce, were at length at Boys he fell ſicke & dyed. Concerning all which viages,

Vid. ſu pag. 66

Fabia other.

A craft practiſe the prel

The ky ſtyrred to warr by the ſhops.

becauſe they are ſufficiently diſcourſed in Fabian, Halle and other Chronographers, referryng therefore the reader vnto them, I will returne my ſtory to other matters of the churche more effectuall.

I declared a litle before how by the occaſion of quene Anne, whiche was a Bohemian and maried to kyng Richard 2. the Bohemians commyng therby to the knowledge of Wicleffes bookes here in England, began firſt to taſt and ſauoure of Chriſtes Goſpell, till at length by the preachyng of John Hus, they increaſed more & more in knowledge. In ſo much that pope Alexāder the v. hearyng thereof, began at laſt to ſtyrre coales, and directeth his Bull to the Archbiſhop of Suinco, requiring him to looke to the matter, and to prouide that no perſon in churches, ſcholes, or other places ſhould mainteyne that doctrine, cityng alſo John Huſſe to appeare before hym. To whom the ſayd John aunſweryng agayne, declared that mandate or Bull of the Pope vtterly to repugne agaynſt the manifeſt exāples and doynges both of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and to be preiudiciall to the libertie of the Goſpell, in byndyng the worde of God not to haue frée courſe. And therfore from this mandate of the pope, he appealed to the ſame pope better aduiſed. But whyle he was proſecuting his appeale, pope Alexander died, as is aforeſayd, pag. 659. Ex Cochleo, in hiſt. Huſsitarū. After whō ſucceded Pope John the xxiij. who alſo playing his part here in this matter lyke a Pope, ſought by all meanes poſſible how to repreſſe and kepe vnder the Bohemians, firſt begynnyng to worke his malice vpon the foreſayd John Huſſe their preacher. Who at the ſame tyme preachyng at Prage in the Temple of Bethleem, becauſe he ſemed rather willyng to teach the Goſpell of Chriſt, then the traditions of Byſhops, was therfore accuſed of certaine to the forenamed Pope John the xxiij. for an hereticque. The Biſhop cōmitted the whole matter vnto Cardinall de Collumna, who when he had heard the accuſation, he appointed a day to John Hus, that he ſhould appeare in the court of Rome: whiche thing once done, Wenceſlaus king of the Romaines and of Boheme, at the requeſt ſpecially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole Nobilitie of Boheme, as alſo at the earneſt ſute and deſire of the towne and vniuerſitie of Prage: He ſent his Ambaſſadours to Rome, to deſire the biſhop to quite and clerely deliuer John Huſſe from that ſentence and iudgement, and that if the byſhop did ſuſpecte the kingdome of Boheme to be infected with any hereticall or falſe doctrine, that he ſhoulde ſend his Ambaſſadours, the which might correcte and amend the ſame, if there be any errour or faute in them. And that all this ſhould be done at the onely coſtes & charges of the kyng of Boheme, & to promiſe in his name that he would ayde and aſſiſte ẏ biſhops Legates with all his whole power and authoritie, to puniſhe all ſuch as ſhould bee taken or founde in any erronious doctrine. In the meane ſeaſon alſo John Hus before his daye appointed, ſent his lawfull & méete procuratours vnto the court of Rome, and with moſt firme and ſtrong reaſons, did proue his innocēcie, whereupon he truſted ſo, that he thought he ſhould haue eaſely obtained that he ſhould not haue bene compelled, by reaſon of the great daunger, to appeare at the day appointed. But whē as the Cardinall de Collumna, (vnto whoſe will and iudgement the whole matter was committed) would not admitte no defēce or excuſe: John Hus his procurators, appealed vnto the hyghe Byſhop: yet notwithſtandyng, this laſt refuge did not ſo much preuaile with Cardinall de Collumna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Hus as an obſtinate heretike, becauſe he came not at his day appoynted vnto Rome. Notwithſtandyng for ſo much as his procuratours had appealed vnto the hyghe Byſhop, they had other iudges appointed vnto them, as Cardinall Aquileianus, and Cardinall Venetus, with certein others. The which iudges after they had prolonged and differred the matter by the ſpace of one yeare and a halfe, at the laſt they retourned to the ſentence and iudgement of Cardinall de Collumna, and confirmyng the ſame, commaunded John Hus his Procurators, that they ſhould leaue of to defende him any more, for they would ſuffer it no lenger. Whereupon when his Procurators would not ceaſe theyr inſtaunt ſute, certaine of them were caſt into priſon, and greuouſly puniſhed, the other leauyng theyr buſines vndone, retourned into Boheme.

The Bohemians againſt the pope and hys doinges.

Ex Cochlæo in Hiſtor. Huſsit. lib. 1.

The Bohemians notwithſtanding litle cared for all this, but continuing ſtill as they grewe more in knowledge, ſo the leſſe they regarded the Pope, complaynyng dayly againſt him and the Archbiſhop for ſtopping the word of God, and the Goſpell of Chriſt to be preached, ſaying that by their indulgences and other practiſes of the court of Rome, and of the biſhops Conſiſtorye, they ſought their owne profit, and not of Jeſus Chriſt: that they pluckt from the ſhepe of Chriſt the wool and milk, and did not fede them, neyther with the worde of God, nor with good examples. Teaching moreouer and affirming, that the commaundementes of the Pope and prelates are not to be obeyed, but ſo far as they follow the doctrine and life of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and that lay men ought to iudge the workes of the prelates, as Paule iudged the workes of Peter in correcting hym. Gala. 2. Furthermore, they had amongeſt them certain notes and obſeruations, whereby they might diſcerne how farre and wherein they might obey their prelates: they derided alſo and ſcorned the Popes iuriſdiction, becauſe of the ſchiſme that was then in the churche, when there were thrée Popes together one ſtriuing agaynſt an other for the papacye.

Three doubtes of John Huſſe propounded.

Ouer and beſides this, at the ſame time John Hus did propound publiklye, and by the Notaries cauſed to be written, iij. doubtfull queſtions, the tenor wherof followeth here word for word and is this: For as much ſayth he, it is good for men being in doubt to aſke counſaile, whereby all dubitation remoued, they may be able the more firmlye to adhere to the truth, thrée doubtes here aryſe to be ſolued. The firſt doubt is whether wee ought to beleue in the Pope. The ſeconde, whether it bee poſſible for anye man to be ſaued, which confeſſeth not with his mouth vnto a mortall prieſt. The third doubt is whether any of the doctors do hold or ſay that ſome of Pharoes hoſt being drowned in the read ſea, and of the Sodomites being ſubuerted, be ſaued.

Credere in deum. Credere deo. Credere deum.

Pet. Lomb. lib. 4. diſt. 17. cap. 11.

Agaynſt Auricle confeſſion.

As concerning the firſt, he did hold negatiuely, aledging the ſaying of Bede vpon this place of the Apoſtle: To him that beleueth vpon him which iuſtifieth the wicked, his fayth is imputed to righteouſnes. Rom. 4. Vpon this place ſayth Bede: Aliud eſt credere in deum, aliud credere deo, aliud credere deum. &c. To the ſecond doubt ſayth he, the maiſter of the ſentence doth aunſwer. lib 4. diſt. 17. cap. 11. in theſe wordes: What is then to be holden or ſayd herein? Certes that without the confeſſion of the mouth, and aſſoyling of the outwarde payne, ſinnes bee forgeuen through contrition & humilitie of the hart. &c. For the third doubt he brought in the wordes of Saint Jerome vpon the prophet Naum, ſpeaking of the Egiptians deſtroyed in the ſea, and of the Sodomites deſtroied with fire, and of the Iſraelites deſtroyed in the deſert. Know you (ſayth Hierome) that God therfore puniſhed them for their ſinnes here temporally, becauſe they ſhould not be puniſhed hereafter perpetually, & therfore becauſe they were here puniſhed, they ſhall not be puniſhed hereafter, for els ẏ ſcripture ſhould lie, which is not to be grāuted. Theſe iij queſtions belike John Hus dyd bring in to declare how the doctours do not agree in all thinges, neither with the church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all poyntes of all men.

It followeth moreouer after the death of the Archb.

Swinco aboue mētioned, ẏ one named Conradus was placed by ẏ pope there to be chiefe generall, which Conradus conferring with the deuines & doctors of the vniuerſitie of Prage, required their aduiſes and counſells, what way they might beſt take to aſſwage the diſſentions and diſcordes betwene the clergye and the people. Wherupon a certayne councell was deuiſed to be holden after thys ſort and manner as followeth.

Councell of the prelates of Prage agaynſt the Goſpellers.

1. Firſt that all doctors & maiſters of the vniuerſitie of Prage ſhould be aſſembled in the courte of the Archb. and in hys preſence, that euery doctour and maiſter ſhould ſweare, not to holde or maintayne any of the xlv. articles of John Wickliffe before condemned.

2. Item, concerning the vij. ſacraments of the church, the keyes and cenſures of the church, the maners, rites, ceremonies, cuſtomes, and liberties of the church, concerning alſo the worſhipping of reliques, & indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that euery one ſhall ſweare that he doth holde, beleue and maintayne, and will maintayne as doth the church of Rome and no otherwiſe, of the which church of Rome the Pope is the head, and the College of Cardinalls is ẏ body: who are the true and manifeſt ſucceſſours of bleſſed ſaint Peter prince of the Apoſtles, and of the Colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt.

3. Item, that euery one ſhall ſweare, that in euery catholique matter belonging to the church ẏ he will ſtand to the determination of the Apoſtolicall ſee, and that he will obey the prelates in all maner of things where ſoeuer, the thyng which is pure good is not forbidden: or ẏ which is mere ill, is not cōmaunded: but is meane or indifferent betwene both. Which meane or indifferent thing, yet notwithſtanding by circumſtaunces of time, place, or perſon, may be eyther good or euill.

Purum bonū. Purum malū. Medium.

4. Item, that euery one ſhall ſweare and confeſſe by his othe, that the opinions of Wickliefſe & others, touching the vij. ſacramentes of the church, and other thinges aboue notefied, being contrary to ẏ ſaid church of Rome, be falſe.

5. Item, that an othe be required of them all, that none of them ſhall holde, defend or maintaine any of the 45. Articles of John Wickleffe aforeſayd, or in any other matter catholicke, and eſpecially of the 7. Sacramentes and other Articles aboue ſpecified, but onely as doth the churche of Rome, and no otherwiſe.

6. Item, that euery ordinary in his dioces ſhall cauſe ẏ ſayd premiſſes cōtained in the. 1.2.3.4. Articles aforeſaid, to be publiſhed in his Sinodes, & by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kyngdom of Boheme.

7. Item, that if any clerke, ſtudent, or lay mā ſhall withſtand any of the premiſes, that ẏ ordinarye haue authoritie if he be conuicted therof to correct him, according to the olde lawes and Canons, & that no man ſhall defende ſuch one by any meanes, for none but the ordinarye hath power to correct ſuch a man, becauſe the Archbyſhop is Chauncellour both of the kyngdome and vniuerſitie of Prage.

8. Item, that the ſonges lately forbidden, beyng odious, ſlaūderous and offenſiue to others fame, be not ſong neither in ſtreetes, tauernes, nor any other place.

9. Item, that maiſter John Hus ſhall not preach ſo long as hee ſhall haue no abſolution of the court, neither ſhall hinder the preachyng in Prage by his preſence, that by this, his obediēce to the Apoſtolicall ſea may be knowen.

10. Item, that this Counſell doth appeare to be good and reaſonable for the putting away of yll report and diſſention that is in the kyngdome of Boheme.

11. Item, if maiſter John Hus, with his complices will performe this, whiche is contained in the iiij. former Articles, then we will be readye to ſaye as they woulde wiſhe vs and haue vs, when ſoeuer neede ſhall require, that we doo agrée with them in matter of faith, otherwiſe if they will not ſo doe, we in geuyng this teſtimonye ſhoulde lye greatly vnto our Lorde the king and to the whole world. And moreouer, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and doe the beſt we can for them, our honours ſaued. This counſell and deuiſe, beyng conſidered amongſt the head of ẏ vniuerſitie of Prage, the foreſayd adminiſtrator named Cōradus, preſented to the kyng and to the barons of the realme, and alſo to the Senate of Prage. Wherof as ſoone as woorde came to John Hus and his adherentes, they likewiſe drew out other Articles in maner and forme of a Counſell as foloweth.

For the honor of God and the true preachyng of hys Goſpell, for the health of the people, and to auoyde the ſiniſter & falſe infamy of the kyngdome of Boheme & of the Marquiſſhip of Morauia, & of the citie & vniuerſitie of Prage, and for the reformyng of peace and vnitie betwene the clergye, and ẏ ſchollers of the ſayd vniuerſitie.

1. Firſt, let the right & iuſt decremēt of the princes & of ẏ kings counſel, be holdē & ſtand in force, which betwene the lord Archb. Suinco, on the one partie, & betwene the rector and maiſter John Huſſe on the other partie, was made, proclaimed, ſealed, and ſolemnly on both partes receaued and allowed in the courte of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng.

2. Item, that the kyngdome of Boheme remaine in his former rites, liberties and common cuſtomes, ſo as other kingdomes and landes do enioye, that is, in all approbations, cōdemnations, and other Actes concernyng the holy mother vniuerſall church.

3. Item, that maiſter John Hus, agaynſt whom the foreſayd Lord Suinco, could obiect no crime afore the counſell, that the ſayd John Hus maye be preſent in the congregatiō of the clergy, and there who ſoeuer will obiect to him either hereſie or errour, let him obiect, byndyng him ſelf to ſuffer the lyke paine, if he do not proue it.

4. Itē, if no man will ſet him ſelfe on the contrary part againſt him, thē let the commaundemēt be made by our ſoueraigne Lord the king through all his cities, and likewiſe let it be ordeyned and proclaimed through all vilages and townes, that maiſter John Hus, is ready to render accoumpt of his faith, and therfore if any will obiect vnto him any hereſie or errour, let hym write his name in the chauncery of the Lord Archbyſhop, and to bryng forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5. Item, if no ſuch ſhalbe founde to obiect, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which cauſed to be noiſed and rumored in the Popes court, that in the kyngdome of Boheme, in the Citie of Prage, and in in the Marqueſdome of Morauia, many there be whoſe hartes be infected with hereſie and errour, that they may proue who they be: and if they be not able to proue it, let them be puniſhed.

6. Item, that commaundement be directed to doctours of diuinitie and of the cannon law, and to the chapter of Cathedrall churches, and that it be required of them all and of euery one particularly, that they will bryng forth his name, if they know any ſuch to be an hereticke or erroneous. And if they deny to know any ſuch, then let thē make recognition therof, before the publike notary, confirmyng the ſame with their ſeales.

7. Item, theſe things thus done and premiſed, then that our ſoueraigne Lord the king, and alſo that the Archbiſhop will geue commaundement vnder payne that no mā ſhall call one an other heretike or erroneous, vnleſſe he will ſtand to the probation of that hereſie or errour, as it becommeth hym.

8. Item, after theſe things obtayned ẏ our ſoueraigne lord the king, with the conſent of hys Barrons, will thē leuie a ſubſedye, or collect of the clergy, & directe an honeſt ambaſſye to the popes court, wͭ the which Ambaſſadours, let them alſo go, vpon their owne proper charges

or expenſes for their purgation, which haue cauſed thys kingdome falſely and greuouſly to be infamed in the Apoſtolicall courte.

9. Item, in the meane ſeaſon for the preſence of maiſter John Hus no Interdicte ought to bee made, as it was made of late, contrarye to the order and determination of our holy mother church. ⁊c.

As this matter was thus in alteration betwene the two parties, the one obiecting, the other aunſwering in articles, as is aforeſayd: In the meane time it happened by the occaſion of Ladiſlaus king of Naples, who had beſeeged the Popes townes and territories, that Pope John raiſing vp warre againſt the ſayd Ladiſlaus, gaue full remiſſion of ſynnes to all them which would warre on his ſide to defend the church. When this Bull of the Popes indulgence was come to Prage, and there publiſhed, the kyng Wenſelaus, who then fauoured that Pope, gaue commaundement that no man ſhoulde attempt any thing againſt the ſayd Popes Indulgences. But Hus with his followers, not able to abyde the impietie of thoſe pardons, began manifeſtlye to ſpeake againſt them, of the which company were three certayne artificers, who hearing the prieſt preaching of theſe indulgences, did openlye ſpeake againſt them, and called the Pope Antichriſt, whiche woulde ſet vp the croſſe to fight agaynſt hys euenchriſtened. Wherfore they were brought before the Senate, and committed to warde. But the people ioyning them ſelues together in armes, came to the Magiſtrates, requiring them to be let looſe. The magiſtrates with gentle wordes and fayre promiſes ſatiſfied the people, ſo that euerye man returnyng home to his own houſe, the tumult was aſſwaged. But the captiues being in priſon, notwithſtanding wer there beheaded, whoſe names were John, Martine, and Staſcon. The death and martirdom of theſe three being knowen vnto the people, they tooke the bodies of them that were ſlaine, and with great ſolemnitie brought them vnto the church of Bethlē. At whoſe funeral diuers prieſts fauouring that ſide, did ſing in this wyſe: Theſe be the Saintes which for the teſtament of God gaue their bodies &c. And ſo their bodies were ſumptuouſly interred in the church of Bethlem, John Hus preaching at yͤ ſame funerall, much commending them for their conſtancy, and bleſſing God the father of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, which had hid the waye of his veritie ſo frō the prudent of this world, and had reuealed it vnto the ſimple laye people ⁊ inferiour prieſtes, which choſe rather to pleaſe God, then men.

Thus the Citie of Prage was deuided. The prelates with the greateſt parte of the clergy, and moſt of the Barons, which had any thing to loſe, did hold with yͤ pope, eſpecially Steuen Paletz, beyng the chiefeſt doer on that ſide. On the contrary part the commōs, with part of the clergy ⁊ ſtudentes of yͤ vniuerſitie wēt with John Hus. Wenſlaus the king fearing leaſt this would growe to a tumult being moued by the doctours ⁊ prelates and coūſell of his barons, thought beſt to remoue John Hus out of the citie, who had bene excommunicated before by the Pope: And further to ceaſe this diſſention riſen in the church, cōmitted the matter to the diſpoſition of the doctours and the clergye. They conſulting together amōg them ſelues, did ſet foorth a decrée, ratified and confirmed by yͤ ſentence of the kyng, cōtaynyng the ſumme of xviij. Articles, for yͤ maintenaūce of the Pope and yͤ ſee of Rome, againſt the doctrine of Wickleffe ⁊ John Hus. The names of the doctours of Diuinitie were theſe: Steuen Paletz: Staniſlaus de Znoyma: Petrus de Ikoyma: Ioannes Heliæ: Andreas Broda: Ioannes Hildeſen: Mattheus Monachus: Hermannus Heremita: Georgeus Bota: Simon VVenda. &c. John Hus thus departyng out of Prage, went to his coūtrey, where he being protected by the Lorde of the Soyle, continewed there preachyng, to whom reſorted a great concourſe of people, neither yet was he ſo expelled out of Prage, but that ſometymes he reſorted to his churche of Bethleem, and there alſo preached vnto the people.

Moreouer agaynſt the ſayd decrée of the doctors John Hus, with his company replyed agayne, and aunſwered to theyr Articles, with contrary Articles agayne as foloweth.

¶ *The obiections of Iohn Hus and of his part, againſt the* Decree of the Doctours.

1. FIrſt, the foundation of the doctours whereupon they founde all their writynges and counſels, is falſe. Whiche foundation is this, where as they ſay that part of the clergy in the kyngdome of Boheme is peſtilent ⁊ erroneous, and holdeth falſely of the Sacramentes.

2. The doctours hereby do defame the kingdome of Boheme, and do rayſe vp new diſcordes.

3. Let them ſhew therefore thoſe perſons of the clergy, whom they call peſtilent, and ſo let them verefie their report, byndyng them ſelues to ſuffer the lyke paine, if they be not able to proue it.

4. Falſe it is that they ſay, the Pope and the Cardinals to be the true and manifeſt ſucceſſours of Peter and of the Apoſtles, neither that any other ſucceſſours of Peter or the Apoſtles, can bee founde vpon earth beſides them. When as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of fauor. And all Biſhops and prieſtes be ſucceſſours of Peter and of the Apoſtles.

5. Not the Pope, but Chriſt onely is the head: and not the Cardinals, but all Chriſtes faithfull people be the body of the catholicke church, as all holy Scripture and decrées of the holy fathers do teſtifie and affirme.

6. And as touching the Pope, if he be a reprobate, it is playne that he is no head, no nor member alſo of the holy church of God, but of the deuill, and of his ſinagoge.

7. The clergye of the Goſpellers agreing with the ſaying of S. Auſten which they alledge, and according to the ſanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, doe ſay, and affirme laudably: that the condemnation and prohibition of the xlv. articles is vnlawfull, and vniuſt, and raſhly done: for that becauſe not onely the doctors, but alſo all Byſhops and Archbyſhops, in ſuch greate cauſes namely touching fayth (as theſe articles do) haue no authoritie at all, as appeareth. De baptiſmo et eius effectu. Cap. Maiores. Et in Can. 17. diſt. cap. Hinc ſedi. &c.

8. The ſecond cauſe of diſcord which they alleadge, alſo is moſt falſe: ſeing the fayth of whole Chriſtendome concerning the church of Rome, is deuided in iij. partes by yͤ reaſon of iij. popes, which now together do raigne: And the iiij. part is newtrall. Neyther is it true, that we ought to ſtand in all thynges to the determination of the pope, and of yͤ Cardinalls, but ſo farre forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the olde and new Teſtament, from whence the ſanctions of the fathers dyd firſt ſprynge as is euident. De accuſationibus cap. qualiter. &c.

9. In the iiij. Article they braſt out into a certaine dotage, and are contrary to them ſelues. By reaſon that they doltiſhely haue reprehended the Goſpellers, who in all their doinges receiue the holy ſcripture (which is the lawe of God, the way of truth and lyfe) for their iudge ⁊ meaſure: and afterward they them ſelues do alledge the ſcripture Deut. 17. where all iudges both Popes and Cardinals are taught to iudge and diſcerne betwene leaper ⁊ leaper, ⁊ in euery eccleſiaſticall cauſe, only after yͤ rule of Gods law. And ſo are they contrary vnto their ſecōd article, wherin they ſay: that in euery catholique matter we muſt runne to the pope: which is contrary to the fooliſhe condemnation of the Articles aforeſayd.

10. Conſequently, lyke idiots they do moſt falſly alledge

for their purpoſe the Canon, vnder the name and authority of Jerome writtē. 24. q. 1. Hæc eſt fides papa. et cet. where they do apply the wordes of Jerome moſt impertinently to the Pope of Rome, whiche he writeth to S. Auſten, callyng him a moſt bleſſed Pope.

24. q. 1. Hæc eſt fides.

11. By the which place of Jerome, it is manifeſt that the firſt Article of thoſe doctours is falſe. Foraſmuch as by theſe wordes appeareth that other beſides the Biſhop of Rome and his Cardinals, are called bleſſed Popes, holdyng the faith and ſeat of Peter, and are ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles, as was Auſten & other holy Biſhops moe.

Auſten called Pope.

12. Whereof it followeth moreouer, that the churche of Rome is not yͤ place, where yͤ Lord did appoint the principall ſea of his whole church. For Chriſt, whiche was yͤ head prieſt of all, did firſt ſit in Jeruſalē, & Peter did ſit firſt in Antioche, & afterward in Rome. Alſo other popes did ſit ſome in Bonony, ſome at Peruſiū, ſome at Auiniō.

13. Item, The foreſayd prelates are falſefiers of the holy Scriptures and Canons, and therfore are worthy to be puniſhed: Which affirme and ſay, that we muſt obey the Pope in all thynges. For why, it is knowen that many Popes haue erred, and one pope was alſo a woman. To whom not onely it was not lawfull to geue obedience, but alſo vnlawfull to communicate with thē. As all Rubrices, and infinite Canons do declare.

Pope Ioan a woman.

14. Item, their vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. Articles do ſtand and are grounded vpon vntrue and falſe perſuaſions. And therfore are to be reiected and deteſted lyke the other before: Seyng they doo induce not to peace and veritie, but to diſſention and falſitie.

15. It is manifeſt alſo to the laitie, that this diſſenſion among the clergy riſeth for no other cauſe, but onely for the preachyng of the Goſpell, whiche reprehendeth ſuch Simoniakes, and ſuch heretickes in the churche of God, as namely haunte the courte of Rome, ſpreadyng out theyr braunches abroad into all the world. Who deſerue to be remoued and extirpate not onely of the clergy Goſpellers, but alſo of the ſeculare power. And ſo theſe thrée vices, to witte, Simonie, Luxurie, and Auarice (whych is idole worſhip) bee the cauſes of all thys diſcention among the clergie in the kingdome of Boheme, and not the other, which they falſely aſcribe to the Goſpellers of Prage. Theſe three vices being remoued, peace and vertue would ſoone be reformed in the Clergie.

Simonie, Luxurie, Auarice, iii. cauſes of all diſſention in the clergye.

16. Moreouer, their laſt article is to muche groſſe, & not onely is without all law, but alſo without al coulour of law: wher as they fondly and childiſhly doo argue thus: that yͤ proceſſes made againſt maiſter John Hus ought to be obeyed, becauſe forſooth the common ſorte of the Clergie of Prage, hath receaued them: By the ſame reaſon they may argue alſo, that wee muſt obey the deuill, for our firſt parentes Adam and Eue obeyed hym. Alſo our foreauncetours before vs were Paganes, wherfore we muſt obey them, and play alſo the Paganes.

17. But let this friuolous opinion go, this is certayne truth: that the ſaid proceſſes made againſt maiſter John Hus, by law are none. Forſomuche as they were obteyned, drawen, wrought, and executed contrary to the cōmiſſion of the Pope, againſt the determination of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro. de Sententia excom. and a thouſand other lawes beſide.

18. Finally, whoſoeuer wittingly and obſtinately do defend and execute the ſayd proceſſes made, or conſenteth vnto them, are all to be counted as blaſphemers, excommunicate, and heretickes, as hath beene afore wrytten, and exhibited to the lord General Biſhop Olomucenſe. And more ſhalbe declared and proued, if audience maye be geuen openly before all the Doctors. Ex Aenea. Syluii. & Chocleo.

Unto theſe obiections of John Hus and his part, the Catholique Doctors agayne did anſwer in a long tedious proces: The ſcope whereof principally tended to defend the principallitie of the Pope, and to mayntayne hys obedience aboue all other potentates in the worlde: affirming and contending, that although Chriſt is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are ſléeping in Purgatorye, and which are labouring in the churche militant, and which are reſting in heauen: yet thys letteth not, but the Pope is head of the church here militant, that is, of all the faythfull, whych here in thys world lyue vnder hys office. Lyke as Chriſt is kyng of all kyngs, and yet Charles may be the king of Fraūce: So ſay they, Chriſt may be the vniuerſall head, and yet the Pope may be head vnder hym of the whole church. And thus concluded they that the Pope is the head, and that the Colledge of Cardinals is the bodye of the Romiſh church, which church of Rome is placed in the eccleſiaſticall office here ouer the earth, to knowe and define vpon euery eccleſiaſticall and catholique matter, to correct errours, and to purge them, and to haue care vpon all ſuch vniuerſall matters, and cure vpon all vniuerſall churches, and vpon the vniuerſall flocke of faithfull Chriſtians. For as much as in the regiment of yͤ church through the vniuerſall world, there muſt nedes remaine in ſuch office alwayes ſome ſuch manifeſt and true ſucceſſours of Peter, prince of the Apoſtles, and of the colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt: neyther can there be found or geuen vppon earth any other ſucceſſours, but onely the Pope whiche is the head, and the Colledge of Cardinals, which is the bodye of the foreſayde church of Rome. And although the whole vniuerſall multitude of the faithfull do make the bodye of Chriſt, yet the ſame body of Chriſt is not placed here in office to exerciſe ſuch autoritie vpon earth. Becauſe that vniuerſall multitude was neuer yet, nor euer can bee congregate together. And therefore neceſſarye it is, that ſome ſuch true and manifeſt ſucceſſors and iudges be appointed, to whom recourſe muſt be had, in all ſuch catholike and eccleſiaſticall matters determinable. For like as in earthly regimentes, euery caſe of diſcord is brought before his Judge, and hath his place aſſigned, where to be decided: So like reaſon would requyre, that in principal matters and controuerſies of fayth, ſome ſuch preſidēts & places be limited for the purpoſe to haue ſuch doubtes reſolued. And thys being graunted, then the doctors procede, and here muſte needes conclude (ſaye they) that there can not be geuen in all the world any other place, but onely the church of Rome: the heade whereof is the Pope, and the bodye is the Colledge of Cardinalls. For lyke as Chriſt departyng out of this worlde in his corporall preſence, left his bodye here with vs vnder Sacrament in an other forme, whereby he remaineth with vs (accordyng to his promiſe Mat. vlt.) vnto the cōſummation of the world: Euen ſo while Chriſt walked here in earth in his bodely preſence, he was Pope hymſelfe, and chief Byſhop, and ſo head of the churche here militant in earth, corporally conioyned with the ſame, as the head is to his body. But after that hee departed out of the world, becauſe his body, whiche is the church militante, vpon the earth, ſhould not be headles, therfore he left Peter, and his ſucceſſours to his Churche, for an head in his place, vnto the conſummation of the world, ſaying to him: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my church &c. Mat. 16. And agayn he ſayth, féede my ſhepe. Ioan. vlt. That is to ſay, bee thou Peter, the head ouer thy brethren.

As Charl may be kyng of Fraunce: ſ alſo we graunt, th pope may be byſh of Italie, ſo it is a goed co ſequent.

He may be, if God had ſo ap poynted him, but where doth he ſ appoynt. Ex Cochleo in hiſt. Hu ſit.

Catholiq that is, v uerſall,

If ye go humaine policie, who euer ſaw any priuate ca of Englan broght the Empe rours co to be dec ded. If ye go to go policie, th ſhew go worde for it.

The promi e of Chriſt doe tomly ap plyed.

Whē Chri was here pope in earth: he tooke no ſuch inſ dience v on hym, neither he ſtyrre vp ſuch warres, our pope doe.

Tedious it were to recite all yͤ bibbelbabbel of theſe doctours in this their long reſponſal. Who ſo liſteth to ſée the bottome of their profound wrytyng & knowledge, may reſort either to the hiſtory of Siluius, or els to M. Cochleus, in his firſt boke De hiſt. Huſsit.

O deepe diuinitie of theſe doctou

Vid. E Silui. et Cocle De Hi Huſſit. lib. 1.

Thus then maiſter John Hus beyng dryuen out of Prage (as is afore touched) by the motion of theſe doctours, and moreouer beyng ſo excommunicate, that no

Maſſe nor other muſt be ſayd there,where he was preſent. The people began mightely to grudge and to crie out agaynſt the prelates & other popiſhe prieſtes,whiche were the woorkers thereof, accuſing them to be Simoniakes,couetouſe,horemaiſters,adulterers,proud,ſparyng not to lay open their vices to their great ignominie and ſhame.And much crauyng a reformation to be had of the clergie.

The kyng ſeyng the inclination of the people, being alſo not ignoraunt of the wickednes of the clergie, vnder pretenſe to reforme the church, beganne to require greate exactions vpon ſuch prieſtes and men of the clergie,as were knowen and accuſed to be wicked liuers. Wherupō they on the other part,that fauoured John Hus, taking that occaſion preſent,complained of all,accuſed many,and ſpared none, whom ſo euer they knew to be of the Catholicke faction,or enemies to John Hus By reaſon wherof the prieſtes of the popiſh clergy were brought,ſuch as were faultie,into great diſtreſſe, and ſuch as wer not faultie,into great feare.Inſomuch yͭ they were glad to fall in, at leaſt not to fall out with the Proteſtantes, beyng afrayde to diſpleaſe them. By this meanes maiſter Hus began to take ſome more libertie vnto hym,and to preache in his churche at Bethleem,and none to controlle him:by the ſame meanes the people alſo receaued ſome comfort, and the kyng much gayne and money by the reaſon.

And thus the Popiſhe clergy,while they went about to perſecute John Hus,were inwrapped them ſelues in great tribulation, and afflicted on euery ſide, as well of lay men,as of learned men of the clergy. In ſo much yͭ women alſo and childrē were agaynſt them. And by the ſame reaſon,wherewith they thought to intangle hym, they were ouerthrowne them ſelues. For the doctours which before condemned this doctrine in John Hus, for an intollerable hereſie, and cried out ſo much agaynſt hym,for teaching:that temporall Lordes might take away temporall lyuinges from the clergie ſinnyng habitualiter,that is,lyeng and cōtinuyng ſtill in the cuſtome of iniquitie:now when the kyng and the Lordes temporall began to mearſe them and bereue them of their temporalties for their tranſgreſſions,the ſayd doctours did kepe ſilence,and durſt ſpeake neuer a woorde. Agayne where the foreſayd doctours, before could not abyde in John Hus, that Tythes were to be counted for pure almoſe,now comming to the Guildhall,were faine to entreat, for their temporall goods, not to be takē frō thē, pleading the ſame temporalties to be mere almoſe & deuotiō of goodmen, geuen vnto the church. Ex Cochleo.

And thus now did they thē ſelues graunt the thing, which before they dyd condemne. The more yͭ the popes clergy was pinched,the more grudge & hatred redounded to John Hus, although he was in no cauſe therof, but onely their owne wicked deſeruinges,for the which cauſe Steuen Paletz, and Andreas de Broda,being the chiefe champions of that faction,though they could not remedie the caſe,yet to eaſe there mindes, wrote ſharpe and cruell letters to Maiſter Hus.And to helpe the matter forward,the pope alſo here muſte helpe at a pinche, who likewiſe writeth his letters to Wenceſlaus kyng of Bohemia,which was brother to Sigiſmund Emperour, for the ſuppreſſing of John Hus & of his doctrine. Which was in the fift & laſt yere of his Popedome,an. 1414. The tenour of whoſe letters to the kyng Wenceſlaus in this wiſe procedeth.

¶ *The letter of Pope Iohn to King Wenceſlaus.*

John biſhop ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to his welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt wenceſlaus, king of Romanes and of Boheme,greeting and Apoſtolicall benediction. Among other deſires and delites of our hart: who although vnworthy repreſent the roome of Chriſt here in earth:this doth chiefly redound to our ſingular cōforte, ſo oftē as we do heare of the brotherly entreaty of peace & of concord(by which concord kingdomes doo increaſe, as contrarye by diſcorde they are diminiſhed) which is betwene your honour,and our welbeloued ſonne in the Lord Sigiſmund your brother germane and cooſyn, for the noble king of the Romanes.&c. And furthermore it followeth in theſe wordes:And as we haue cauſe to ioy at the premiſſes:ſo likewiſe againe the heauie rumours which are here,do trouble and dampe our myndes. For we heare that in diuers places vnder your dominion, there be certayne which do folow and leane to the errors of that archhereticke wickliffe,whoſe bookes haue bene long ſince condemned in the generall Romaine councell to be eroneus,hereticall,and ſwaruing from the catholike fayth.And furthermore whych is woorſt of all, the ſayd perſons cleauing to the opinions of the heretiques (leaſt they ſhould be corrected of their ſuperior powers for their exceſſe,to couer their naughtynes and ſtubburnnes in deſpiſing the commaundementes of the Apoſtolicall ſeate)do openly teach diſobedience and contempt of the keyes and eccleſiaſticall cenſure,to the ſubuerſion of the Apoſtolicall dignity,ſetting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers and cannons. wherefore we do exhorte your worſhip for the mercye of our God, as hartelye as we may or can,that it woulde pleaſe you (as we deſire & hope you wyll)ſo effectuouſly to ſhew forth your regall power,both for the glorye of God,and defence of the catholike fayth(which you go about to defend)and for the conſeruation of your kingly name,ſtate and honour, for the proſperous and ſafe gouernment of your kyngdome and dominions,as it becōmeth a catholike prince, when by this blot of hereſy(which doth ſo lamentably and miſerably ſpring and creepe in theſe partes,and doth ſo infect the mynds of mortall men,to the deſtruction of their ſoules,and doth ſequeſter them from the congregation of the pure and catholike fayth and truth)may be rooted out.&c. Geuen at Bononia in the Ides of June, in the v.yeare of our popedome.&c.

In this Epiſtle of Pope John aboue prefixed, for ſo much as mention is made of a certaine councell before holden at Rome(which was.iiij.yeares before) agaynſt the articles and bookes of John Wicliffe:it ſhall not be impertinent nor out of purpoſe to repeate a certain mery ſtory, and worthy otherwiſe to be noted at, writtē by Nicolas Clemangis of a certeine ſpirite, whiche ruled the Popiſhe Councels, his wordes are theſe.

The ſtory of an Owle appearing at the councell of Pope Iohn.

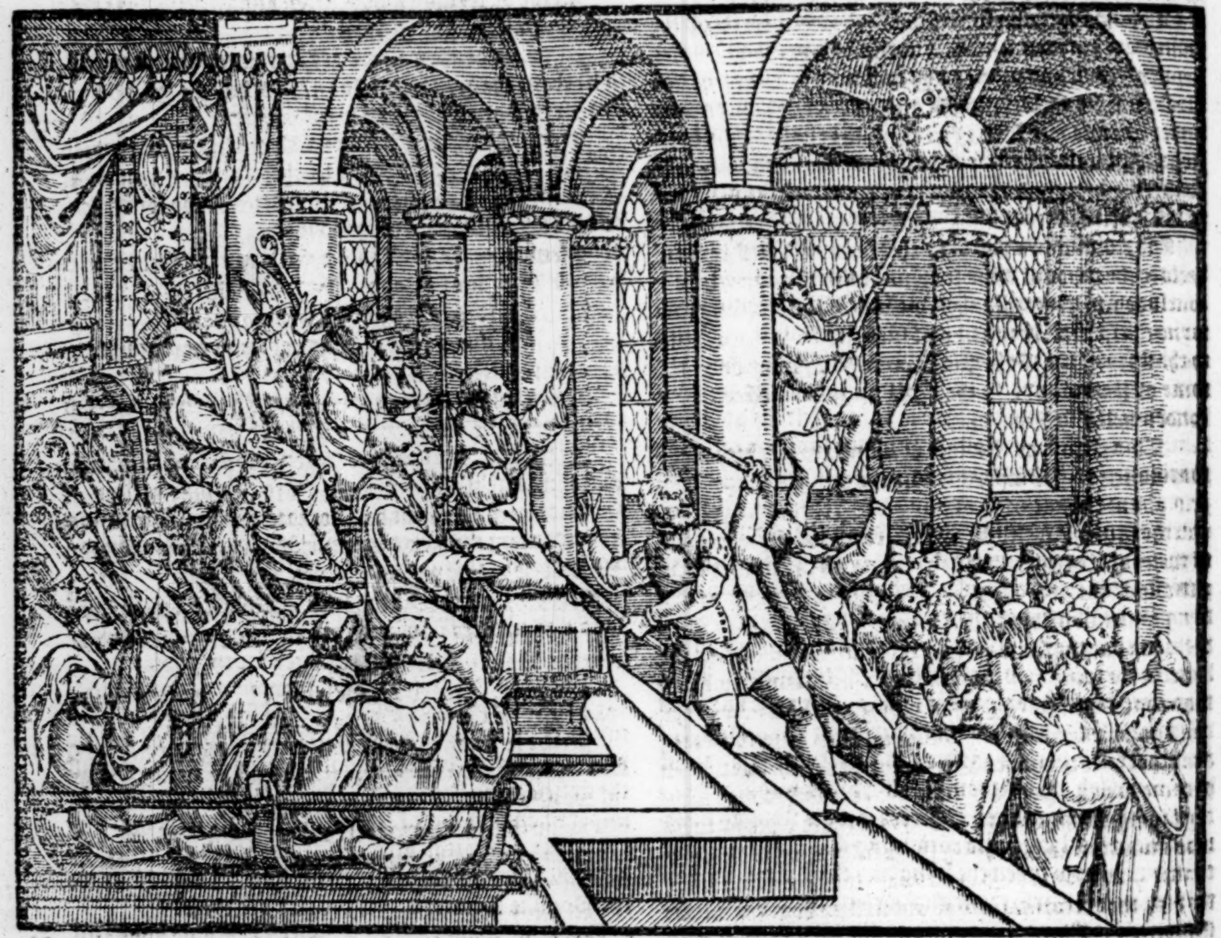
Ex Nich. Clemangis.

The ſame Pope called a Councell at Rome about iiij. yeares before,at the earneſt ſute of diuers men. And a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt being ſayd at the entraunce into the ſayd Councel(accordyng to the accuſtomed maner) the Councell being ſet,and the ſayd John ſitting higheſt in a chaire prepared for him for that purpoſe: Behold a hougly and dreadefull Owle,or as the cōmon prouerbe is,the euil ſigne of ſome miſchaūce or of death to folow, commyng out of the backe halfe of him,flew to and fro, with her euill fauoured voyce, & ſtandyng vpō yͤ middle beame of yͤ church,caſt her ſtaryng eyes vpon yͤ pope ſittyng,yͤ whole company began to maruell,to ſee yͤ night Crow,which is wont to abide no light,how ſhe ſhould in yͤ midday come in the face of ſuch a multitude, & iudged (not without cauſe)yͭ it was an ill fauoured token. For behold ſayd they,(whiſperyng one in anothers eare) the ſpirite appeareth in the ſhape of an Owle. And as they ſtode beholding one an other, & admiſing yͤ Pope,ſkarſly could keepe their countenaunce frō laughter, John him ſelf,vpon whom yͤ Owle ſtedfaſtly looked,bluſhyng at yͤ matter,began to ſweat and to freat and fume with him ſelfe, and not findyng by what other meanes he myght ſalue the matter,beyng ſo confuſed diſſoluyng the Councell,roſe vp and departed.After that there folowed an other ſeſſion.In the which the Owle again,after yͤ maner aforeſayd, although, as I beleue, not called, was preſent lookyng ſtedfaſtly vpon the Byſhop, whom hee beholdyng to be come agayne,was more aſhamed then he was before(and iuſtly)ſaying hee could no longer abyde the ſight of her, & commaunded that ſhe ſhould be driuen away with battes and ſhottinges: but ſhe beyng afraid

neyther

neither with their noyſe, neither of any thyng els, would not away, vntill ẏ with the ſtrokes of the ſtickes, which were throwne at her, ſhe fell downe dead before thē all. This I learned of a faithfull frēd, who at the ſame time came to Rome, the whiche thing I ſcarſly credityng for the rarenes of the matter, he affirmed by his othe, that it was moſt certain & true: adding moreouer that all there preſent were much offended, and did greatly deride that Councell called for ſuch a purpoſe, & by litle and litle the Coūcell was diſſolued, nothyng done there, as he ſayth.

The deſcription of the Popes councell holden at Rome, in which appeared a monſtrous Owle, to the vtter defacing of the Pope and all his Clergie.



Although it hath not bene alwayes ſene that ſuch ſpirituall doues haue bene preſent with Popes and their coūcels, and gouerned thē: yet their euill doctrine declareth no leſſe. Read gentle reader the boke of Clemangis, and thou ſhalt not thincke thy labour euill beſtowed. For he hath both learnedly, truely, frely and godly, bewailed ẏ filthines of Antichriſt, and his miniſters, their wickednes, impiety and cruelty, and the miſerable ſtate & face of the churche. &c. And thus much for Pope Iohn.

¶ *The councell of Conſtance.*

The councell of Conſtance.

HEre by the way is to be noted and vnderſtand, that during all this time of Pope Iohn, there wer three Popes raigning together, neyther was yet the ſchiſme ceaſed, which ſo long time had continued, the ſpace (as I ſayd) of. xxix. yeares. By the reaſon wherof a generall councell was ordayned and holden at Conſtance in the ſame yeare, an. 1414. being called by Sigiſmunde the Emperour, and Pope Iohn the. xxiij. for the pacifieng of the foreſaide ſchiſme, which was then betwene three Popes, ſtriuing for the Popedome. The firſt whereof was Iohn, whom the Italians ſet vp. The ſeconde was Gregory, whom the French men ſet vp. The third was Benedict, whom the Spaniardes placed. In this ſchiſmaticall ambicious conflict, euery one defēded his pope, to the great diſturbance of Chriſtian nations. This coūcell indured. iiij. yeares long, wherein all their matters were decided moſt by. iiij. nations, to ſaye the Engliſhe, Germaine, French, and Italian nation. Out of which foure nations wer appointed and choſen. iiij. Preſidents to iudge and determine the matters of the councel. The names of which Preſidents were theſe, Iohn the Patriarke of Antioch for Fraunce, Anthonye Archbiſhop of Rigen for Italy, Nicholas Archbiſhop of Geneſuenſis for Germany, and Nicholas biſhop of Bathe for England, by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and publike profit, might haue beene concluded, if the rotten fleſhe of the churchmen coulde haue bidden the ſalt of the Goſpell, and if they had loued the truth: but as Gregorius Nazianzenus writeth, ther lightly come few generall councels, but they end more wyth diſturbance, then tranquilitie. So it happened in thys councell, for where as Iohn the. xiij. in the firſt ſeſſion exhorteth them by theſe woordes taken out of the. viij. of Zacharie, Veritatē diligite, that is to ſay: Loue ẏ truth, further, moniſhing them, & ſpecially the Deuines euery man to do hys endeuor for the vnitye of the church, and to ſpeake their mynde freely: but how ſoone this hys exhortacion was forgotten, it appeared ſhortlye after by the deſpiſing of the prophets, and perſecuting of Chriſt in hys members, as by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appeare hereafter in the proceſſe of thys ſtorye. Firſt this Iohn dyd reſigne hys papacye, the Emperour geuyng hym thankes kyſſed hys feete.

Three popes together ſtryuing for the popedome.

The pre… aſſemble… in this co… cell were numbred together with thei… deputies, 1940.

Philip an… Cheiny … *Gregori… in Epiſ… loqued…*

Afterward the ſayd Iohn repenting him that he had ſo done, ſought meanes to flee, whereunto Fredericke Duke of Auſtrich did aſſiſt him, for hee chaunging hys garmentes, fled by night with a ſmall companye. And when he was now come vnto Schafhouſe to go into Italy, themperour purſuing, tooke him, and proclaymed Fredericke traytor, and for that cauſe tooke away cer-

Pope … take & … in pryſ…

tayne cities from hym. At the laſt the matter was appeaſed vnder thys condition, that Friderike ſhoulde requyre grace of the Emperour, and reſigne all hys poſſeſſions vnto hym. Whereupon the Emperour receyued hym agayne in to fauour, and reſtored hym to his dukedome. This Pope being thus depoſed, was committed vnto the county Pallatine, and by him caried to the caſtell of Manheime, where hee was kept pryſoner by the ſpace of thrées yeares. Afterward he was agayn by pope Martine, admitted to the nomber of Cardinals.

This Pope John was depoſed by the decree of the councel, more then. 40. moſt greuous & hainous crimes being obiected and proued agaynſt hym: as that he had hired Marcilius Permenſis a Phiſicion, to poyſon Alexander hys predeceſſour. Further, that he was an hereticke, a ſimoniake, a lyer, an hipocrite, a murderer, an inchaũter, a diceplayer, an adulterer, & a ſodomite, & finally what crime is it, that he was not infected wythall?

And now to returne vnto the Councell, firſt we will declare the order of their ſeſſions, with thynges therein concluded, in generall: then we will (Chriſt willing) adioyne the ſpeciall tractation of ſuch matters, as perteine to the ſtory of the Bohemians, and John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, who in the ſame vngodly Coũcell were condemned and burned.

This Councell therfore of Conſtance, whiche was ſummoned by yͤ Emperour Sigiſmund, & Pope John xxiij. about the natiuitie of our Lord Jeſus, an. 1414. began the ſame yeare to be aſſembled about the latter end of the yeare. Which firſt begynning as the maner is, wͭ a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, as they were ſingyng accordyng to their cuſtome, the Hymne, Veni ſancte ſpiritus, there was at the ſame tyme a certaine Bill ſet vp in the churche by ſome well diſpoſed man, as it ſemed, wherin was conteined theſe wordes folowyng: Alijs rebus occupati nunc adeſſe vobis nō poſſumus. That is to ſay. We are otherwiſe occupyed at this tyme, we can not intend to come to you. Here is alſo to bee remembred the worthy ſaying of the Emperour Sigiſmund, when talke was miniſtred as touchyng the reformation of the ſpiritualtie, and ſome ſayd ꝙ oporteat incipere a minoritis, that is, that reformation ought firſt to beginne at the Minorites. The Emperour aunſwered agayne: Non a minoritis, ſed a maioritis, that is, not with the Minorites ſaith he, but with yͤ Maiorites. Meaning the reformation ought firſt to begyn with the Pope, Cardinals and Biſhops & other ſuperior ſtates of the churche, and ſo to diſcend after to the inferiors. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpoſe and order of the Seſſions as we promiſed. The which Councell continued as is aforeſayd by the ſpace of iiij. yeares, and had in it 45. Seſſions, wherin many things were concluded, yͤ which altogether wer to long to be recited in this place: as the depoſition of iij. ſeuerall Popes whiche were before ſpoken of, the hearyng of certaine legates. Yet I minde to make ſome briefe recapitulatiō of the moſt principall matters there done in the Seſſions orderly enſuyng.

1. In the firſt Seſſion chiefly was concluded, firſt that this Councell was lawfully congregate.

2. Item, that the going away of the Pope ſhould be no let or ſtay, but that the Councell might procede.

Wherein note gentle reader that the authoritie of the generall Councell is aboue the Pope, contrary to their owne doctrine.

3. Item, this Councell ſhould not bee diſſolued before the Churche were reformed, as well in the ſuperiours, as inferiours.

4. In the iiij. Seſſion amongeſt other thyngs, this was firſt concluded: That a Sinode congregate in the holy Ghoſt, makyng a generall Councell, repreſentyng the whole catholicke Churche here militant, hath power of Chriſt immediatly, to the whiche power euery perſon, of what ſtate or dignitie ſo euer he be: yea beyng the Pope hym ſelf, ought to be obedient in all ſuch thynges as cōcerne the generall reformation of the churche, aſwell in the heades, as in the ſubiectes.

Item, the ſayd pope ſhould not tranſlate the court of Rome, and the officers of the ſame from the citie of Cōſtance. And yͭ all his cēſures, doings & workings after yͤ time of his departure, what ſoeuer he ſhould enterpriſe to do to yͤ preiudice of this coũcell, ſhould be of no effect.

5. In the 5. Seſſion the ſame Articles were repeated and concluded agayne.

6. In the vi. Seſſion procuration and citation was ſent out agaynſt the Pope.

Item, commiſſioners were appointed out of the iiij. natiōs for the hearing of John Hus, whiche ſhalbe hereafter mentioned in his ſtory folowyng.

Cōmiſſioners appoynted to heare John Hus.

Item, the memorie of John Wickleffe was condemned, and the ſentence geuen in the Councell holden at Rome vpon the condemnation and burnyng of Wickleffes bookes, was there confirmed.

Item, in the ſame Seſſion, Citation was ſent out agaynſt Jerome of Prage. The tenor wherof foloweth after in the ſtory of the ſayd Jerome.

Citation graũted agaynſt Jerome of Prage.

Item, in this Seſſion, was decreed agaynſt libelles of infamy.

7. In the vij. Seſſion, nothyng was handled, but that the tenor of the citatiō agaynſt Pope John was recited.

8. In the viij. Seſſion, the ſentence and condemnation of John Wickleffe, and his 45. Articles was recited, & ſentence geuen againſt his memory and bones to be burned. The tenor wherof is rehearſed in yͤ hiſtory of John Wickleffe before paſſed. fol. 551.

Sentence geuen for the burning of Wickleffes bones.

9. In the 9. Seſſion, The matter and cauſe of pope John was agayn intreated, and commiſſioners appointed to enquire vpon his cauſe, and iudges for the ſame.

10. In the 10. Seſſion, Suſpenſion was geuen out and read agaynſt the ſayd Pope.

11. 12. In the 11. and 12. Seſſions: Notaries were aſſigned and definitiue ſentence geuen agaynſt the ſayd Pope, where alſo was decréed that none of them that contended before for the Papacy, ſhould be choſen Pope.

13. In the 13. Seſſion was decréed, quod nullus presbiter ſub pena excommunicationis comunicet populo ſub vtraq; ſpecie panis et vini. That is, that no prieſt vnder paine of excommunication ſhall communicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes of bread and wine.

The people of Chriſt excommunicated frō the communion of the holy cuppe.

14. In the 14. Seſſion, came in the reſignation of Pope Gregory the xij. whiche was one of the iij. before mentioned, ſtriuyng for the Papacye, with certaine other Articles concernyng the election of the Byſhop of Rome, and the ratification of theyr reſignyng, whiche gaue ouer the Papacy.

15. Then enſueth the 15. Seſſion, in the which ſilēce was commaunded on all partes vnder payne of excommunication, and the great curſe that no perſon or perſons hye or lowe of what eſtate or degrée ſo euer he were, Emperour, King, Cardinall, or other ſhould diſturbe the ſaid Seſſion with any maner of noiſe, either by hand, foote, or voice. This being done, the ſentence & condemnation agaynſt John Hus was red & publiſhed, which after in yͤ ſtory of John Hus, foloweth to be ſene more at large.

The ſolemne publiſhing of the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt John Hus.

16. In the 16. Seſſion, Ambaſſadours were aſſigned by the Councell to go into Arragon to Benedictus the xiij. to entreate with him for the reſignation of his Papacy, as the other two had done before.

Item, power was geuen to iudges, to cyte vnder payne of depriuation, all ſuch as priuely departed away from the Councell, in the which Seſſion alſo the ſentēce agaynſt John Hus was confirmed and ratified.

17. In the 17. Seſſion, the Emperour tooke vpon him a iourney to the king of Arragon, to intreat with Pope Benedictus. An excommunication denounced agaynſt all ſuch as ſhould go about to empeche the Emperours iourney about that matter. &c.

The Emperours iourney into Arragon.

Item, prayers and proceſſions were determined to bee made by the Councell; euery Sonday for the ſame cauſe, with an hundred dayes of pardon geuen to them that would be preſent therat, & that all Prelates ſhould be preſent at euery of theſe ſayd Maſſes and proceſſions in their Pontificalibus. Grauntyng beſides to euery prieſt that ſayd one Maſſe, for the ſame a C. dayes of pardon. And to all other that once a day ſhould ſay one Pater noſter, and one Aue, for the ſafety of the Emperor xl. dayes of pardon.

Pardons were here dogge cheape.

18. In the 18. Seſſion, certaine iudges were aſſigned for the hearyng of matters, which the Councell had no leaſure to heare.

It was there alſo decréed that ſuch letters and Buls as were writtē in the name of that Councell, ſhould be receyued with no leſſe credite and authoritie, then the Bulles proceedyng from the Sea Apoſtolicall, and that the falſifyers of the ſame ſhould incurre no leſſe penalty then the falſifiers of the other. Legates alſo and Ambaſſadours were ſent into Italy.

19. In the 19. Seſſiō which was ỹ ſame yeare in the moneth of Septēber, Jerome of Prage who was cited as is before ſayd, was accuſed of hereſie & caſt in priſon by ỹ ſayd Councell, & conſtrained to abiure. The which his abiuration hereafter foloweth to be ſene in his hiſtory.

Item, it was decréed: Quod non obſtantibus ſaluis cō ductibus Imperatoris Regum. &c. poſsit per iudicem competentem de hæretica prauitate inquiri. &c. That is, notwithſtanding the ſafe conducte geuen by the Emperour and kynges. &c. Inquirie may be made agaynſt a man for hereſie by a ſufficient iudge and proceſſe, to be made accordyng to the law.

Concilium Foedifragum.

The cauſes of hereſies were committed to certayne iudges and deputies.

Item, the Chart called Carolina, and diuers other Chartes and conſtitutions concernyng the liberties of the churche of Rome, beyng brought forth were approued and confirmed.

And howe chaunceth it that the charte of Conſtantines donation is not here mentioned.

20. In the 20. Seſſion, letters & inſtruments were made and ſet vpon Churche dores to require and admoniſhe duke Fredericke to reſtore againe vnto George Biſhop of Auſtriche, ſuch landes, rentes, and reuenues as he deteyned and withhelde, vnder payne of interditement, ſuſpendyng and excommunication.

Prouide that the churchmen looſe nothyng in no caſe.

During the time of this Seſſion the Ambaſſadours retourned out of Arragon from the Pope Benedict and were heard with a great audience, whereas certaine Articles and conditions betwen the pope and the Counſell were brought forth and agréed vpon to the nōber of xij.

21. An.1416 In the yeare of our Lord. 1416. was the 21. Seſſion begynnyng after their maner with a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt with proceſſions and ſuch other rites, in the time of whiche Maſſe, James Byſhop of Londy made a ſermon, takyng for his Theame theſe wordes. Exprobrauit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam: That is, ỹ Lord rebuked their miſbelief and hardnes. &c. This ſermon beyng ended, Jerome of Prage whiche had abiured, as is ſayd the yeare before, beyng preſent therat, ſtode vp vpon a certaine bench or forme. Repleying agaynſt the foreſayd James and his ſermon, alledgyng & preaching diuers and ſondry thynges, wherupon the Patriarch of Conſtātinople, one of the cōmiſſioners proceded againſt hym, pronouncyng the ſentēce definitiue, whiche he had in wrytyng agaynſt the ſayd Jerome, whiche ſentence being red and approued by the councell (the tenor wherof inſueth in his hiſtory) the ſayd Jerome was deliuered vnto the ſecular power, and burned.

Ierome of Prage replyed agaynſt the ſermon of the byſhop of Londy.

22.23. The. 22. and. 23. ſeſſions contayne no worthy matter, but only the placing of the Ambaſſadours of Alphonſus kyng of Arragon, and grauntyng them voyces in the Counceil.

24. In the. 24. ſeſſion, citation was geuen out agaynſt Benedict, kéeping with Alphonſus, king of Aragon.

The. 25. ſeſſion contayneth nothyng but a certayne Comendam geuen to the church of Olemucenſis. 25.

The. 26. ſeſſion, there was nothing els handled, but the vniting and incorporating of the Ambaſſadours of the king of Nauarre into the Councell, and alſo concernyng the derogation of the priority of voyces. 26.

After this followed the. 27. and. 28. ſeſſions, whyche were in the yeare. 1417. Wherein was intreated the relation and declaration, concerning the cauſe betwyxt Duke Fredericke, & the biſhop of Trident, & proceſſe geuē out againſt ỹ ſaid Duke, accuſing him of ſacrilege, & alſo excōmunicating hym, for not obeying ỹ admonition of the councell concerning the vſurpation and deteyning of the citie of Trident and other poſſeſſions from biſhop George, as is afore ſpecified. 27.28 1417.

In the. 29. and. 30. ſeſſions, Proctors and Notaries were geuē out in the cauſe agaynſt Pope Benedict, and order decréed vpon his obſtinacy, wherin alſo the withdrawyng of the kyng of Arragon from the ſame Pope, was recited and approued by the Counſell. 29.30

In the 31. Seſſion, certaine inſtrumentes, and ſpeciall letters monitory were directed from the Counſell to a certaine Earle of Italye named Comes virtutum, for laying violent handes vpon Albert, Biſhop of Aſce, and for bringing him to priſon, requiring the ſaid Earle vnder payne of interdiction, and excommunication to ſet ỹ ſayd biſhop at libertie. Alſo another decrée was ſet forth for ỹ reſtoring again ỹ liberties of the church of Baron. 31.

In the 32. and 33. Seſſions, the accuſation of Pope Benedict was renued, and his obſtinacie accuſed, & witnes brought in, at whiche thyng doyng the Emperour Sigiſmund was preſent. 32.33 Pope Be nedict a cuſed,

In the 34. Seſſion, the cauſe of the foreſayd Pope was heard, and proceſſe geuen out againſt him. 34.

In the 35. Seſſion, the Ambaſſadours of the king of Caſtle were brought in, and vnited to the Councell, and inſtrumentes therof made and read. Alſo that notwithſtanding the othes made to the foreſayd pope, mē might lawfully forſake his obedience. 35.

In the 36. Seſſion, a certaine citation was made and read agaynſt the Pope, conteyning his depriuation and the ſentence againſt him, and inſtrumentes made vpon the ſame. And whereas this Pope had thundred out hys curſes, depriuations and excommunications agaynſt them: The ſayd Sinode did adnihilate all his doynges. 36. The po confeſſ counc

The 37. Seſſion did renue agayne the accuſation of the foreſayd Pope, and the ſentence definitiue agaynſt hym was publiſhed. 37.

In the 38. Seſſion certaine decrées were made touchyng the adnihilating of the penalties of the Ambaſſadours of kyng Henry ſonne of Alphonſus kyng of Aragon. Alſo another decree was made touchyng the reuocation of the voices graunted to the Ambaſſadours of the king of Arragon. 38.

Thus Pope Benedict beyng depoſed and excommunicated as is aforeſayd, in the next Seſſions folowyng, they addreſſe them ſelues to the election of a new Pope, begynnyng firſt in the 39. Seſſion to geue out decrees concernyng generall Counſels, and prouiſion, for the auoydyng of ſuch lyke ſciſmes hereafter. Decreing euery x. yeare to haue a generall Counſell, after the two Counſels that ſhould folowe immediatly after this, of the whiche the one ſhould be kept wīn v. yeres, then next folowing, and the ſecond within vij. yeares after that. 39. Decre gener counc

Item, in the ſame Seſſion was drawen out a forme touchyng ſuch thynges as the Pope ſhould profeſſe and binde him ſelfe to obſerue at tyme of hys election, of the whiche forme the order and tenour is thys.

The feſſio whic pope boun

I N. elected for Pope, profeſſe wyth hart and mouth vnto almighty God, whoſe church I take vpō me to gouerne, by his helpe, & to bleſſed S. Peter the prince of the

Apoſtles, ſo long as I ſhall endure in this frayl and brittle lyfe, firmly to beleue and hold the holy catholik faith after the traditions of the Apoſtles, of generall coũcels, and of other holy fathers, and namely of the eight generall councels. Nicene the firſt, the ſeconde of Conſtantinople, Epheſine the third, Calcedone the fourth, the fift and ſixt of them in Conſtantinople, the ſeuēth of Nice, the eyght of Conſtantinople. And alſo of the general coũſels of Laterane, Lyons, and Vienne. Wyllyng to obſerue the ſame fayth vnuiolate euē to the vttermoſt, and to preach and defend the ſame, euen to the ſpendyng of my lyfe and bloud, and alſo by all meanes poſſible to proſecute and obſerue the rite of the Sacramentes canonically deliuered to the catholike church. And thys my profeſſion and confeſſion by my commaundement, beyng written out by the Notarye of the Arches of the holye church of Rome, I haue ſubſcribed with mine own hād. And ſincerely with a pure minde and deuout conſcience I offer it vnto thee, almighty God vpon ſuch an altar. &c In the preſence of ſuch witnes. &c. Peuen. &c.

It was alſo decided in this Seſſion, that no Prelates ſhould be tranſlated agaynſt theyr wyls.

The third day of the ſame moneth, & the ſame yeare 40. followed the fourty Seſſion, wherein certayne decrees were conſtitute and red, as touching reformations to be made throwe the whole churche by the pope, that next ſhould be, with the councell, before thys Synode ſhould breake vp.

Item that they ſhoulde ſo procede to the election of the biſhop of Rome, notwithſtādīg the abſence of thoſe Cardinals which were with pope Benedict in Spayne. Thys done, the order and maner was decreed for the election of the pope.

After theſe thinges thus decreed, in the next Seſſion 41. which was fourty one, the conſtitution of Clement the ſixt was red, concerning the order and diet of the Cardinals being in the Conclaue about the chuſing of the Pope, and vpon the ſame othes were miniſtred vnto the Cardinals and other Electors, binding them to obſerue and kepe all ſuch thinges as they ſhould be bound to, duryng the tyme of the election.

Firſt, that they ſhould enter into the Conclaue within ten dayes after the forty ſeſſion, whych was this preſent day after Sunne ſet.

Secondlye, that euerye Cardinall ſhoulde haue but two ſeruitours attending vpon him at the moſt, eyther of the Laity or Clergy, as they would them ſelues.

Thyrdly, that they ſhoulde remayne together in the ſayd Conclaue without any wall betwixt them, or any other couer, ſaue onely bare Curtayns, if any were diſpoſed to ſleepe.

Fourthly, that the Conclaue ſhoulde ſo bee ſhut vp, and the entry to the priuy chāber to be kept ſo ſtraightly, that none of them ſhould come in or out, nor anye to haue recourſe vnto them to talke wyth them priuelye or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except by the conſent of them all, certayne ſhoulde be called about matters concerning the election.

Fiftly, that no man ſhould ſende to them either meſſenger or writinges.

Syxtly, that a competent wyndowe ſhoulde be aſſigned vnto them to receiue in their victualles, but that no perſon might come in thereat.

Seuenthly, yͭ no day after their firſt ingreſſe into the conclaue, beſide bread, wine and water, thei ſhould haue any more diſhes but one of one onely kind, either of fleſh or fiſh, egges, pottage, made of fiſh or fleſh, not after the deintieſt ſorte, beſides ſalades, cheeſe, frute, and conſerues, wherof there ſhalbe no principall meſſe made but for ſauce and taſte.

Eightly, that not one ſhould be compelled to go into the conclaue: But if they did all refuſe to go in, then they ſhould be compelled thereunto.

Nynthly, that ſuch as would go out, might, but if they would all go out before the Pope were elect, they ſhould be compelled to go in againe, excepte ſuch whome infirmitye dyd excuſe, but without the excuſe of infyrmitye, if any went out he ſhould no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, that ſuch as wente out by reaſon of infirmity, or to be abſent, and recouer before the election be determined: may be admitted agayn into yͤ conclaue in the ſame ſtate wherin they ſhall finde yͤ election to ſtand.

Further & beſides the kepers of the conclaue, ſhould alſo be ſworn to ſee all theſe premiſes obſerued and kept without fraude or guile, and that they ſhould not ſtreighten the Cardinals and other electoures aboue the order here taken.

And if the king be there him ſelf ſitting in his throne of eſtate, he ſhould receiue the ſame oth of the Cardinals

Vpon this ſuch as ſhoulde be electoures beſide the Cardinals, were choſen.

These were wiſe Cardinals they would not go into the Conclaue but they would be ſure to haue their goodes ſafe vnſpoyled.

Furthermore for as muche as the goodes and ſubſtaunce of ſuch as were elect, were accuſtomed to be geuen and graunted vnto ſuch as could catche them: wherupon vnder the pretence of the ſame, manye did inuade the goodes of the Cardinalles, and others whiche were in the conclaue, falſly faining them to be elected whiche were not to be elected. To ſtop the gredye raueninge of ſuch a decree alſo was publiſhed in the ſame Seſſion.

Pope Martine hatched.

The Emperour leadeth the popes horſe by the bridle, on the right hand.

The prince electour leadeth the popes horſe on the left hand.

These thinges thus prepared and ſet in order, the Patriarch of Conſtātinople with the Cardinalls and other Archebiſhops Byſhops, Abbotes, Priors, Deanes, Archedeacons, Doctors, with other electeurs entringe into the Conclaue vpon monday, on thurſday after they had hatched out a pope, being S. Martins euē, wherupon they named him Martin: This Martin thus being elected, was ſtraight forth brought in by the Emperoure and the councell, into the church of Conſtance, and ther entroniſed for Pope, not without great ſolemnitye and triumphe. The xxi. day of the ſayd moneth, this forſayd Martin accordinge to their accuſtomed pompe was honorably brought in to be crowned with ſumptuous proceſſion from the high church of Conſtance vnto the Monaſtery of S. Auſten. The Emperour on foote, leading his horſe by the bridle on the right hād: And the Marques of Bradenburge prince elector, likewiſe leading his horſe on the left hande, the pope himſelf riding in the middeſt vpon his palfrey

And thus beyng brought into the Monaſtery aforeſayd, and ſo reduced round aboute agayne from thence to the high church of Conſtance, was there crowned with all magnificence.

Notwithſtanding all this, yet all the trifling & fond vanity of this councell more great then wiſe, did not end thus, for in the nexte Seſſion whiche was the xlii. came out a decree in the name of the Pope and the counſell, 42. diſcharging the bounde of the Emperour and the County Palatine, touching the ſafe cuſtody of Pope Iohn, who was by bond committed vnto them to be kept in ſafety.

In the xliii. Seſſion, certayne other decrees and ſtatutes were made by Pope Martin in the ſayd Sinode. Annullating and reprouing al the actes and procedings 43. of the other Popes before during the time of the ſchiſme from the time of Gregorye the xi. As in matters concerning exemptions, vnions, fruites & profites of yͤ church, benefices, ſymony, diſpenſations, tithes and other burdens of the churche. Alſo concerning the apparell of the Clergy and ſuch other thinges.

Apparell of the clergye.

In the xliiii. Seſſion, the ſage fathers of this councell were occupied about the determining in what place the next councell ſhould be kept in, the xlv. Seſſion brake vp 44. and diſſolued this Synode.

Nowe to finiſhe our tedious rehearſall of thys Sy- 45.

node. The Cardinall Vmbald by the commaundement of the pope and the councell, with a high and loud voyce pronouncing theſe wordes Domini ite in pace, which is, Lordes depart in peace, whereunto the ſtanders by aunſwered Amen.

Smell here reader, thys made well for the popes purſe.

Thus the Councell being diſſolued, Frier John byſhop of Catthan by the conſent and commaundement of the Pope and the Councell, went vp into the pulpet to make a Sermon, taking for his theame: Vos autẽ triſtitiam habetis: iterum autem videbo vos, et gaudebit cor veſtrum You are now in ſadnes: I wyl ſee you agayne, and then your hartes ſhall reioyce. The which collation being ended, an other Cardinall named Anthonye, was ſent vp by the Pope and the Councell, with this proclamation, firſt to diſmiſſe the Synode, and to geue euerye man leaue to depart home. Alſo to declare the Popes indulgẽce vnto them, who by the autoritie of God almightie, had graunted to them all and euerye one preſent at that Councell, full abſolution once in their lyfe, ſo that euery one within two monthes after the hearing of this indulgence ſhould procure ẏ ſame in forme of writing. Alſo an other indulgence was graunted in like manner of plenary remiſſion at the houre of death, and that was vnderſtande aſwell of the houſholde, as of the mayſters them ſelues. But vnder this condition, that from the tyme of notification of the ſame, they ſhould faſt by the ſpace of one whole yeare euery friday, for the abſolutiõ in their life tyme. And for the abſolution at the houre of death, to faſt the ſame friday an other yeare, except they had ſome lawfull impediment to the contrarye, ſo that after the ſecond yeare they ſhoulde faſt vnto their lyues ende, or els to do ſome other good woorke. The whych being in this maner proclaymed, the Synode brake vp, and euery man departed home.

Ex paralipomeno Abbatis Vrſp.

The nomber of prelates in the councell of Conſtance.

The nomber of the Prelates aſſembled in this councell as is before mencioned, was. 3940. wherof the nomber of Archbiſhops and byſhops was. 346.

Abbots and Doctors. 564.

Secular men.	Princes. Dukes. Earles. Knightes. Eſquiers.	16000.

Common women in the councell of Conſtance.

Beſides common women, belongyng to the ſame Councell. 450.

Barbers. 600. Mynſtrels, Cookes and Jeſters. 320.

The ſumme of 60500. ſtraungers at the Councell of Conſtance.

So that the whole multitude which were vewed to be in the Towne of Conſtance betwene Eaſter & Whitſontide, were nombred to be. 60500. ſtraungers and forreners at that Councell.

The generall councell aboue the Pope.

Here is to bee noted, that in thys Councell of Conſtance, nothing was decreed or enacted woorthy of memory, but thys onely, that the Popes autoritie is vnder the Councel, & that the coũcel ought to iudge the Pope.

Communion in both kindes denied by thys councell.

And as touching the Communion in both kyndes, although the Councell did not denie, but that it was vſed by Chriſt and hys Apoſtels, yet notwithſtanding by the ſame Councell it was decreed to the contrary.

Hetherto we haue comprehended the order and diſcourſe of this counſell, with the actes and Seſſions concerning the ſame: which councell although it was principally thought to be aſſembled, for quieting of the ſchiſme betwene the iii. Popes: yet notwithſtanding, a great parte therof was for the cauſe of the Bohemians, and eſpecially for John Hus: As appered by their preparation before the councell. For before the councell beganne, the Emperour Sigiſmund aforeſayd ſent certeine gentlemen Bohemians which wer of his own houſhold, geuinge them in charge to bringe John Hus Bacheler of Diuinitye, vnto the ſayde councell, and that vnder his ſafe conduicte, the meaning and intent therof was, that John Hus ſhould purge and cleare himſelf of the blame which they had layd againſte him: and for the more better aſſurance, the Emperour did not onely promiſe him ſafe conduict that he might come frely vnto Conſtance: but alſo to returne again into Boheme without fraude or interruption, he promiſed alſo to receiue him vnder his protection and vnder ſauegard of the holy Empire. For the ſame onely cauſe the Emperour ſent him afterwardes the ſayd ſafe conduictes double written, both in Latin & Almaine, ẏ forme wherof doth hereafter enſue.

The ſaf conduc geuen t maiſter John H

¶ Sigiſmunde by the grace of God kinge of the Romaines, of Hungary and Denmarke, Croatia. &c: To all princes aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as Seculer, Dukes, Marques and Earles, Barrons, Captaynes, Borowmaiſters, Judges and Gouernours, officers of townes, burgages and villages, and vnto all rulers of the comnalty, and generally to all the ſubiectes of our Empyre,
to whom theſe letters ſhall come grace and all goodnes: »
We charge & cõmaund you all, ẏ you haue reſpect »
vnto John Hus, ẏ which is departed out of Boheme, to »
come vnto ẏ generall councell, ẏ which ſhalbe celebrate »
and holden very ſhortly at ẏ towne of Conſtaunce. The »
which John Hus we haue receiued vnder our protecti- »
on and ſafegard of the whole Empire, deſiring you that »
you wil chearefully receiue him when he ſhall come to- »
wardes you, and that you intreate & handle him gent- »
ly, ſhewing him fauour & good will, and ſhew him plea- »
ſure in all thinges, as touching ẏ forewardnes, eaſe and »
aſſurance of his iourney, as well by lande as by water. »
Moreouer we will that he and al his company with hys »
cariage & neceſſaries, ſhall paſſe throughout all places, »
paſſages, portes, bridges, landes, gouernances, Lorde- »
ſhippes liberties, cities, townes, bourgages, caſtels and »
villages, and all other your dominions without paying »
of any manner of impoſition or dane mony, peage, tri- »
bute, or anye other maner of tolle whatſoeuer it be: we »
will alſo that you ſuffer him to paſſe, reſt, tarye, and to »
ſoiourne at liberty, without doyng vnto him any man- »
ner of impeachmente or vexation or trouble, and that if »
neede ſhall ſo require, you do prouide a faithfull cõpany »
to conduct him withall for ẏ honour & reuerence which »
you owe vnto our imperiall maieſty. Yeuen at Spire »
the xviii. of October, in the yere of our Lord God. 1414. »

¶ By this it may appeare that this ſafe conduct was graunted not in ẏ time of ẏ Councell by ẏ Biſhops, but before ẏ Councel by ẏ Emperour: who was or ought to be the principall ordeiner & directer of the Coũcell vnder God. Now whether ẏ biſhops in breakyng & adnullyng this promiſe of the Emperour, agaynſt the Emperours mynde, becauſe the diſcuſſion therof belongeth Ad materiam iuris, non facti, beyng a matter rather of lawe thẽ of ſtory, I will differ to reaſon this caſe with M. Cope, to ſuch tyme, as may be more conueniẽt to the full tractation therof.

Alan. C pus pag. 929.

Anſwere Alanus Copus.

Notwithſtanding briefly to touch & paſſe, let vs conſider part of ẏ reaſons of ẏ ſaid Cope, how friuolous and falſe they be, and eaſie to be refelled. What (ſaith he) if he preached by ẏ way cõming vp? Firſt ẏ is falſe, vide infra pag. 718. What (ſaith he) if he ſtode obſtinate in his hereſie? What if he ſought to eſcape away after his cõming vp? To this ẏ lords of Boheme do anſwer, ẏ his ſafeconduct was brokẽ, & he impriſoned, not only before he attẽpted to eſcape, or before he was condẽned for an heretick, but alſo before he was heard of ẏ councel what he was. Vide infra pag. 718. Further, where Cope ſayth ẏ the generall councell was aboue ẏ Emperour, & hath power in caſe of hereſie to breake publik leages and grauntes: to that I ſay, that this ſafe conduct ſtode not onelye vpõ themperor, but alſo vpon the conſent of ẏ Pope himſelf, vide infra pag. 713. col. 2. An admit that to be true, that the councell had power to make this decree, to breake promiſe with heretickes: yet this cannot be denied, but that John Hus was condẽned & iudged before ẏ decree in the xix. ſeſſion was made. Finally, when Cope hath proued by what ſcripture the councels haue power to defeate yͤ autoritye of their emperors in ſuch ſecular cauſes touching ſafeconducts, & outward ſafetie: then will I anſwer him more fully herein. But to yͤ purpoſe again of yͤ ſtory.

John Hus ſeing ſo many fayre promiſes, and the aſſurance which the Emperour had geuen vnto him, ſente aunſwere vnto the Emperour that he would come vnto the counſel: But before he departed out of the Realme of Boheme, and ſpecially out of the towne of Prage, he did write certayne billes long inough afore aſwell in latine as in the Bohemian language, and Almain, and cauſed them to be ſet and faſtened vpon the gates of the cathedrall churches & pariſhchurches, cloyſters & Abbayes, ſignifying vnto them al that he would go to the general councell at Conſtaunce, whereof if any man haue anye ſuſpicion of his doctrine, that he ſhould declare it before the Lorde Conrade, or Biſhop of Prage, or if he had rather, at the generall coũcell, for there he would render & geue vp vnto euery one and before them all, an accompt and reaſon of his faith. The example of his letters & intimatiõs ſet vp wer theſe, the copy wherof here followeth.

¶ *The Letters of Iohn Hus, ſet vp in common* places of the Citie of Prage.

Maiſter John Hus, Bacheler of Diuinitie, will appeare before the moſt reuerend father the Lord Conrade, Archbiſhop of Prage, and legate of the Apoſtolicke ſeat in the next conuocation of all the Prelates and clergie of the kyngdome of Boheme, beyng ready alwayes to ſatiſfie all men whiche ſhall require him to geue a reaſon of his faith and hope that he holdeth. And to heare & ſee all ſuch as will lay vnto his charge either any ſtubbornneſſe of errour or hereſie, that they ſhould write in their names there, as is required both by Gods lawe & mans. And if ſo be that they could not lawfully proue any ſtubbornnes of errour or hereſie againſt him, that thẽ they ſhould ſuffer the lyke puniſhmentes that he ſhould haue had, vnto whom altogether he will aunſwer at the next generall Councell at Conſtance, before the Archbyſhop and the Prelates, and according to the decrees and Canons of the holy fathers, ſhewe forth his innocencie in the name of Chriſt. Dated the Sonday next after the feaſt of ſaint Bartholomew.

¶ *The Intimations folowyng, were drawen out* of the Bohemian tongue.

I Maiſter John Huſnetz, do ſignifie vnto all men, that I am ready to come & ſtand before yͤ face of my Lord the Archbyſhop, and to aunſwere to all thinges wherof I am falſly accuſed in the next conuocation of Bachelers, & chiefly to this point, that in many places they do reporte me an hereticke, not hauyng reſpect vnto iuſtice or to lawe, neither yet to my merites or deſertes. Therfore ſince that you whiche do neuer ceaſe to ſclaunder & backbite me with your wordes do vnderſtand & know theſe thinges, come forth openly before the face and preſence of the Lord Archbiſhop, and with an open mouth, declare & ſhewe forth what falſe doctrine or other things you haue hearde me teache contrary to the catholicke fayth, & if that I ſhall be founde fautie in neuer ſo ſmall a matter contrary or agaynſt the faith of Chriſt, or in any falſe doctrine, & that I do choſe that or other thyngs cõtrary to the faith of Chriſt, then I will hold my peace and ſuffer puniſhement as an hereticke. And if there be no man that will reſiſte agaynſt me or accuſe me in this point, once agayne I ſay vnto you that I am ready to appeare at Conſtance in the famous cõgregatiõ, to the end that I may ſtand in the cõpany of the deuines euen before yͤ face of the Pope. Therfore whoſoeuer knoweth any falſe doctrine contrarye to the faith of Chriſt in me, let him come thether and ſhew it forth boldly, if he haue any thyng to lay agaynſt me, and for my parte I will not be ſlacke, if I may vnderſtãd or know it, to anſwere as well to ſmall as great, as touchyng the truth whiche I haue receiued of God, & deſire to be defended. All you good men therfore whiche loue the truth, ſay now whether by theſe my wordes I do thinke or go aboute any thyng, either contrary to the law of God or mã. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it knowen and manifeſt vnto all men that it happeneth not thorow my fault the ſame day.

¶ *This Epiſtle which followeth, was ſet vpon the gates of* the Kynges Palace, tranſlated into Latin, out of the Bohemian tounge.

A writyng of Iohn Hus ſet vp at the kings gates.

Vnto the Kinges maieſty, the Quene, and to all ſuch as are of hys Councell, and to all other Rulers and Magiſtrats, whych now are in the kings court, I John Hus, doe ſignifie and publiſhe, that I haue vnderſtand, not by anye vayne rumor or tale, that there bee letters brought from the Pope to the kinges maieſtye, the contentes wherof is this: That the kynges maieſty ſhould bring to paſſe, that the heretickes which were now lately ſprong vp in hys kyngdome and dominions, ſhoulde not take any firme or ſtrong roote, for ſo much as without anye deſerte, as I truſt by Gods grace, the ſame or noyſe is ſprong and blowen abroade: it ſhall be our part to foreſee and take heede, that neither the kynges maieſtie, neyther the noble kingdome of Boheme, ſhoulde be driuen to beare or ſuffer any reproche or ſlaunder for me. Wherfore now of late I haue ſent my letters to and fro, whych I haue wyth great labour and diligence, cauſed to be openly ſet vp, to thys intent, that I might thereby cauſe the Archbiſhop to be careful and diligent about the matter, ſignifieng openly, that if there were any man in all Boheme, whych did know me to be a follower of any falſe or corrupt doctrine, that he ſhould profes his name in the Archbiſhop hys court, and there to ſhew forth and declare what he thought. And foraſmuch as ther woulde none be found or come forth, which would accuſe me, the Archbiſhop cõmaunded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and deſire the kinges maieſty, whych is the defender of the truth, alſo the Quene and their councellers and all other Rulers and Magiſtrates, that they would geue me a faythfull teſtimoniall of this matter. For ſomuch as I haue oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath eyther accuſed me or troubled me. I do it moreouer to be knowen vnto al Boheme, and to all nations, that I will be preſent euen at the firſt tyme before the councell of Conſtance, in the moſt famous place in the preſence of the Pope, the Pope being preſident. And finally, in the preſence of all others whych wyll come to that moſte famous place, and that whoſoeuer hath any ſuſpicion of me, that I haue eyther taught or defended any thing contrary vnto the faythe of Chriſt, let hym come thyther alſo, let hym declare there before or in preſence of the Pope, and all the doctours of diuinitie, what erronious or falſe doctrine I haue at anye tyme followed or holden. More, if he ſhall conuince me of any error, or proue that I haue taught anye thing contrary vnto the Chriſtian fayth, I wyll not refuſe to ſuffer whatſoeuer puniſhment ſhall be due for an hereticke. But I hope and truſt, euen from the bottome of my hart, that God wil not geue the victory vnto vnfaithfull and vnbeleuing men, the which do wyllingly kycke and ſpurne agaynſt the truth.

The ſame time John Hus ſent his procurers to the lord biſhop of Nazareth, ordeined by the Apoſtolicke ſea Inquiſitour of hereſie of the citie and dioces of Prage, requiring him, that if he had found any errour in hym, he would declare it openly. But the ſayde biſhop before the ſayd procurour, and the publike Notarye, with many other credible witneſſes anſwered, that he had often talked with John Hus, and that hee neuer knewe anye thing in hym, but as becommeth a godly and faythfull man, and this his teſtimonie of John Hus hee approued by hys letters, the copy wherof is hereunder written.

¶ *The Biſhop of Nazareth hys teſtimoniall.*

The teſtimony of the good byſhop of Nazareth.

We Nicholas by the grace of God Byſhop of Nazareth and inquiſitor, ſpecially deputed by the Apoſtolicke ſeat for hereſies both of the citie & dioces of Prage, by theſe preſentes we do it to bee knowen vnto all men that we in tymes paſt haue often communed and talked with that honorable man maiſter John Hus, Bacheler of Diuinitie of the famous vniuerſitie of Prage, & haue had diuerſe and ſondry conferẽces with him, both of the Scriptures and diuers other matters, and in all his sayinges, doyngs, and behauiour, we haue proued & found him to be a faithfull and a catholicke mã, findyng no maner of euill, ſiniſter, or by any meanes, erronious doings in him vnto this preſent. we do witnes & proteſt, moreouer howe the ſayd John Hus, of late in the cathedrall church of Prage, and in other both collegiate and pariſh churches, & in the Colledges of the vniuerſitie of Prage and in the gates and porches of the moſt noble Prince & Lord, the Lord Wenſlaus king of Romaines and of Boheme. Alſo in the gates of the reuerend father the Lord Cõrade Archbiſhop of Prage, Legate of the Apoſtolicke Sea and Chaunceler of the vniuerſitie of Prage, and of other Princes & barõs, then beyng in the citie of Prage, hath ſet vp his letters written both in Latin and in the Bohemian tongue, containyng ſentẽtially in effect, how the foreſayd maiſter John Hus, would appeare before the reuerend father the Lord Conrade the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Prage, and all the Prelates and clergye of the kyngdome of Boheme, that ſhalbe congregated and called together by the ſaid Archbiſhop at the day appointed in the ſayd citie of Prage, ready alwayes to ſatiſfie euery man that ſhall deſire and require him to ſhewe a reaſon of his fayth and hope that he holdeth, and to ſee and heare all and euery one whiche could proue any obſtinacie of errour or hereſie, lawfully agaynſt hym, vnder the payne to receiue the lyke puniſhment: vnto whom altogether he would by Gods helpe, aunſwere in the Councell of Conſtance, whiche was nowe at hand, before the ſayd Lord Archbyſhop and vs with all other Prelates, and there in Chriſtes name according to the decrees and Canons of the holy fathers to declare and ſhewe foorth his innocencie. After the whiche letters as is aforeſayd by the ſayd maiſter John Hus openly ſet vp, there dyd no man appeare before vs, the whiche would accuſe the ſayd maiſter John Hus, of any errour, eyther of any hereſie. For the euidẽt witnes of all which things we haue commaunded theſe preſent letters to be made, and confirmed the ſame with the ſettyng to of our ſeale. Dated in Prage xxx. of Auguſt an. M.iiii.C.xiiii.

The biſhop of Nazareth witneſſeth with Iohn Hus.

Upon whiche matter alſo a publicke inſtrument was drawen, teſtified with the hand and ſeale of the publicke notarie, named Michel Pruthatitz. The copy wherof is to be read more at large, in our former editiõ. pag. 193.

After this, as all the Barons of Boheme were aſſembled in the Abbay of S. James, about the affaires of the realme, where as the Archbiſhop of Prage was alſo preſent: There the ſayd John Hus preſented ſupplications, by the whiche he moſt humbly deſired the Barons, that they would ſhewe hym this fauour towardes the ſayd Archbiſhop, that if the ſayd Archbyſhop did ſuſpect hym of any errour or hereſie, ẏ he would declare it openlye, and that he was ready to endure and ſuffer correctiõ for the ſame at his handes. And if ẏ he had found or perceyued no ſuch thyng in hym, that he would then gyue him a teſtimoniall therof, through the whiche he beyng as it were armed, he might the more frely go vnto Conſtãce. The ſayd Archbiſhop confeſſed openly afore all the aſſẽbly of barons that he knew not that the ſayd John Hus was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his onely Counſell, that the ſayd John Hus ſhould purge hym ſelfe of the excommunication he had incurred: this report whiche the Archbiſhop had geuẽ of John Hus, doth appeare by the letters which the barõs of Boheme ſent vnto the Emperour Sigiſmond by the ſayde Hus in the towne of Conſtance. Finally all the prelates and clergy aſſembled together in the town of Prage in the Archbiſhop his court, where as appeared perſonally the worſhipfull maiſter John Jeſenitz doctour of the decretals and procurer, in the name and behalfe of the honorable man maiſter John Hus, requiryng that either the ſayd maiſter John Hus, or that hee in the name and behalfe of hym, might be ſuffered to come into the ſayd Archbyſhops court, to the preſence of the Archbyſhop, and the Prelates whiche were there congregated together, for ſo much as maiſter John Hus is ready to ſatiſfie all men whiche ſhall require him to ſhew any reaſon of his fayth or hope, which he holdeth, and to ſee & heare all and ſinguler, whiche were there gathered together, that is to ſay, the Lord Archbiſhop and prelates or any of them, whiche would lay any maner of obſtinacie, or errour, or hereſie vnto hym, that they ſhould there write in their names, and according both vnto Gods law and mans, and the Canon law, prepare themſelues to ſuffer lyke puniſhement, if they could not lawfully proue any obſtinacie of errour or hereſie agaynſt him: vnto whom altogether he would, by Gods helpe, aunſwere before ẏ ſayd Archbyſhop and the Prelates in the next generall Councell holden at Conſtance, and ſtand vnto the law, and accordyng to the Canons and Decretals of the holy fathers, ſhewe forth and declare his innocencie in the name of Chriſt: Unto the which maiſter Iohn de Ieſſenetz doctour, one called Ulricus Swabe of Swabenitz, Marſhal of the ſayd Archbyſhop, commyng forth of the ſayd court, did vtterly deny vnto the ſayd maiſter doctor and his partie all maner of ingreſſe and intrance into the court, and to the preſence of the Archbiſhop aforeſayd, and of the prelates there gathered together. Pretendyng that the Archbiſhop with the Prelates aforeſayd, were occupyed about the kinges affaires, requiring the ſayd maiſter doctour, that he would tary in ſome place without the ſayd court, that when the Archbyſhop and the prelates had finiſhed the kynges affaires, he myght then retourne, and haue libertie to come into the court there. The ſayd maiſter John Hus, and ẏ doctor of law taried a while, intreatyng to be admitted into the Archbiſhops court. But ſeyng he could preuaile nothyng, he made there a ſolempne proteſtation of his requeſt, that both hee and alſo maiſter John Hus and his part, could not bee ſuffered to come into the Archbyſhops court, to the preſence of the Archbyſhop and the prelates. Requiryng of the foreſayd notarie, publicke inſtruments to be made of the ſame. Whiche alſo was done.

Conrade the archbiſhop cleereth Iohn Hus.

Iohn Hus requireth to geue teſtimony of hys fayth, and could not be admitted.

And theſe were the thinges which were done, before John Hus tooke his iourney to the generall Councel of Conſtance, ẏ which J minded briefly to rehearſe, wherunto J will alſo annexe ſomewhat, as touching his iourney thetherwardes. About the Jdes of October. 1414. John Hus beyng accompanied with two noble Gentlemen, that is to witte VVencelat de Duba, and Iohn de Clum, he parted from Prage and tooke his iourney towards Cõſtance. And in euery place as he paſſed he notified his preſence by his letters whiche he ſent abroad, and eſpecially in euery good towne or citie of name, the tenour wherof enſueth.

Iohn H taketh iourney Conſta

¶ The Copie of the Letters whiche Iohn Hus ſet vp in the common places of the Cities which he paſſed thorow, goyng to the Councell

Maiſter John Hus goeth now vnto Cõſtance, there to declare his faith, whiche he hath hetherto holdẽ, and euen at this preſent doth holde, and by Gods helpe will defende and kepe euen vnto death. Therfore euẽ as he hath manifeſted thorowout all the kyngdome of Boheme by his letters & intimations, willing before his departure to haue ſatiſfied & geuen an accompt of his faith vnto euery man, whiche ſhould obiect or lay any thyng agaynſt hym in the generall conuocation holden in the Archbyſhop of Prages court: So likewiſe he doth manifeſt and ſignifie that if there be any mã in this noble and Jmperiall citie, the whiche will impute or lay any error or hereſie vnto him, ẏ he ſhould prepare him ſelf to come vnto the Councell, for ſo much as the ſaid maiſter John Hus is ready to ſatiſfie euery man at the ſayd Councell, whiche ſhall lay any thing vnto his charge as touching his faith.

The let which I Hus ſet in cities he paſſe Conſtan

Jn all cities as he paſſed by, and principally when he was parted out of Boheme and entred into Almayne, a great nomber of people did come vnto him, and he was very gentlye receiued and entertayned of his hoſtes thorow all the townes of Germany, and ſpecially of the citizens and burgeſes, and oftentimes of the curates. Inſomuch as the ſayd Hus did confeſſe in a certayne Epiſtle, that he found in no place ſo great enemies as in Boheme.

How Io Hus wa receaue by the w going t the coū heme. And if it happened that there were any brute or noyſe before of his comming, the ſtretes were allwayes full of people, which were deſirous to ſee John Hus, and gratefy him: and amongſt all other ſpecially at Nurrenberge, where as certayne marchauntes which went before certified the citizens of his comminge. In the ſame city there were many curates which came unto hym, deſiring that they might talke with him ſecretly apart, unto whome he aunſwered that he loued much rather to pronounce and ſhew forth his mind and opinion openlye before all mē, then in hugger mugger, for he would kepe nothing cloſe nor hidden. So after dinner untill it was night, he ſpake before the prieſtes and Senators, and dyuerſe other citizens, in ſo much that they all had him in great eſtimation and reuerence, one onely doctour except, which was a charter houſe Monke, and the Curate of Saynt Sebaulde, whiche did improue al that he had ſayd. The xx. day after that he parted out of the town of Prage, which was the third day of Nouember, he came unto Conſtance, and lodged at an honeſt matrons houſe being a widow named Faith in ſaint Galles ſtreat. The morow after the gentlemā maiſter John de Clum, and maiſter Henrye Latzemboge, wente to ſpeake with the Pope & certefyed him that John Hus was come, whom they had brought to Conſtance to the generall counſell under the Emperour his ſafe conduite, deſiring him alſo that he on his parte would graunt the ſayd John Hus libertye to remayne in Conſtance withoute any trouble, vexation, or interruption: unto whome the Pope aunſwered that albeit ẏ John Hus had killed his brother, yet woulde he goe about as much as in him laye that no outrage or hurt ſhould be done unto him duringe his abode in the towne of Conſtance. In this meane time the greateſt aduerſary that John Hus had, named maiſter Steuen Palletz, the whiche was alſo a Bohemian was come unto Conſtance. But his companion maiſter Staniſlaus Znoima, was not yet paſſed the Borders of Boheme, when he was ſtriken with an impoſtum whereof he died. As ſone as the ſaid Palets was come to Conſtance, he did aſſociat unto him one Michaell de Cauſis, the which had before falſly accuſed and blamed the ſayd John Hus. And this may not be forgotten that the ſayd Pallets had ben familiarly conuerſant and acquainted with the ſaid John Hus from his youth upward, but after that ther was a bul brought unto Prage from Pope John the xxiii. againſt the king of Pulia, named Ladiſlaus, ẏ ſayd John Hus withſtode it openly, for ſomuch as he ſaw that it was wicked and noughte. And as touching the ſayd Palletz albeit that he had confeſſed at a certayne banquet in the preſence of the ſayde John Hus that the ſayd bull was contrary to all equity and right: yet notwithſtanding for ſo much as he was obliged and bound unto the Pope by meanes of certayne benefices receiued at his hande, he maynteined and defended the ſayd Bull againſt John Hus. And this was the cauſe of the diſcord and falling out betwene them. As for Michaell de Cauſis the companion of maiſter Palets, he was ſometime the Curate of newe Prage, but he not beinge content therwith, but ſeeking after a further pray, dreamed and imagined out a new deuiſe how to attayne unto it, for he made a ſemblaunce that he had founde out a new inuencion or meane, whereby the mynes of golde in Gilozoy which were periſhed and loſt, might be renued and ſet on woorke agayne. By thys meanes, he did ſo muche with the kinge Wenceſlaus, that he did put a greate ſome of mony into his handes to do that withall which he had promiſed.

This honeſt man after he had laboured & trauailed certayne daies about it, & perceiuing that he brought nothing to paſſe, and that by that meanes he was utterlye in diſpayre of his purpoſe, he conueyed him ſelfe priuely out of the realme of Boheme with the reſt of the mony, and withdrew himſelfe as a worthy bird for ſuch a neſt into the court of Rome. Such a man of ſuch conditions was eaſely corrupt wyth money, and that by the aduerſaries of the ſayd Hus, and promiſed them to doo what he could for them, the which hee did ſhortlye after. The two ioly Roysters Steuen Paletz, and Michael de Cauſis drew out certaine articles againſt the ſayd Hus, ſaying that they had gathered them out of his owne wrytinges, & ſpecially out of his treatiſe which he had written of the church. They trotted up and down, hether and thether, taking great paynes to ſhewe the ſayd articles unto the Cardinals, Biſhops, Monkes, and ſuch others of that ſort, doing them alſo to underſtande, that there were other matter of greater importance which the ſaid John Hus had committed and done, againſte the holye conſtitutions and other ordinances of the Pope and the church: which if nede were, they ſayde they woulde propound before the Councell. Thorow the kinling of thys their fire, they did ſo incenſe the Cardinals and all the Prieſtes, that al they with one minde & conſent thought to cauſe the good man to be taken and layde handes on.

The enemies of Hus practiſe agaynſt hym.

The.26.day after the ſayde Hus was come to Conſtance, during all which tyme hee was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talke with his friendes, the Cardinals, which through the inſtigatiō and motion of Paletz and Michael de Cauſis, ſent two biſhops, to wit the biſhop of Auguſta, and of Trident, and with them the Borowmaiſter of the town of Conſtance, and a certayne knight, to the place wher John Hus lodged about dinner tyme, which ſhoulde make report unto him that they were ſent by the Pope and hys Cardinals, to aduertiſe him that he ſhoulde come to render ſome knowledge or witnes of his doctrine before them, as he had often times deſired, and that they were ready for to heare him. Unto whom John Hus anſwered, I am not come for no ſuch intent as to defende my cauſe particularlye before the Pope and hys Cardinals: proteſting that I neuer deſired no ſuch thing, but that I would willingly appeare before the whole aſſemble of the Councell, and there anſwer for my defence openly, without anye feare or doubt, unto all ſuch thinges as ſhould be demaunded or required of me. Notwithſtanding ſayd he, forasmuch as you require me ſo to do, I will not refuſe to go wyth you before the Cardinals. And if it happen that they euill intreate or handle me: yet neuertheles I truſt in my Lord Jeſus, that he wyll ſo comfort and ſtrengthen me, that I ſhall deſire much rather to dye for his glory ſake, then to denye the veritie and truth whiche I haue learned by hys holy ſcriptures. Wherefore it came to paſſe that the biſhops being inſtant upon him, and not ſhewing any outward ſemblaunce, that they bare anye malice or hatred againſt him in their harts, albeit they had priuely layd garriſons both in the houſe where they were aſſembled, and alſo in other houſes: John Hus toke hys horſe which hee had at hys lodging, and went unto the court of the Pope & the Cardinals. When he was come thether, and had ſaluted the Cardinals, they beganne to ſpeake to him in this ſort: We haue herd many reports of you, the whych if they be true, are in no caſe to be ſuffered. For men ſay that you haue taught great and manifeſt errours, and contrary and agaynſt the doctrine of the true church, and that you haue ſowed your errours abrode thorow all the realme of Boheme, by a lōg ſpace of time, wherefore we haue cauſed you to bee called hether before us, that we might underſtande and knowe how the matter ſtandeth. Unto whom John Hus aunſwered in few wordes, reuerend fathers, you ſhal underſtande that I am thus myndeo and affectioned, that I would rather chuſe to dye, then I ſhould be founde culpable of one onely error, much leſſe of manye and great errours. For this cauſe I am the more willinglye come unto the generall Councell which is here appointed, to

John Hus deſireth to plead his cauſe before the whole councell.

John Hus is come before the pope and the Cardinalls.

The wordes of the pope & the Cardinalls to John Hus.

The anſwere of John Hus to the pope, and the Cardinalls.

ſhew

ſhew my ſelfe readye euen with all my hart to receyue correction, if anye man can proue anye errours in me. The Cardinals anſwered him againe, that hys ſayings pleaſed them very well, and vpon that they went theyr way, leauing the ſayd John Hus with maiſter John de Clum, vnder the garde and keeping of the armed men. In the meane ſeaſon they did ſuborne and furniſh out a certayne diuine a frier Franciſcane, a ſubtile and craftie man, and a malicious hipocrite for to queſtion wyth the ſayd John Hus, which was compaſſed in rounde about with armed men. This man drawing neare in hys monkiſh geſture ſayd, reuerend maiſter, I a ſimple and rude ideot am come vnto you for to learne, for I haue heard many ſtraunge & contrary things againſt the catholike fayth to be aſcribed vnto you, the which doo diuerſlye moue my mynde, beyng wholye inclined to the truth. Wherefore I doo deſire you, euen for the loue whych you beare vnto the truth, and to all good & godly men, that you would teach me moſt ſimple and miſerable man, ſome certayntie and truth. And firſt men ſay that you holde opinion after the conſecration and pronuntiation of the wordes in the ſacrament of the altar, there remayneth onely materiall bread. John Hus anſwered, that it was falſlye attributed and imputed to him. Then ſayd he: I pray you is not this your opinion? No verely ſayd John Hus, I do not ſo thinke of it. Whē the Monke aſked this queſtion the thirde time, mayſter John de Clum being ſomwhat moued with him, ſayde: Why art thou ſo importunate vpon him? Verely if any man had affirmed or denied any thing vnto me but once I wold haue beleued him. And thou, albeit he hath ſhewed thee his mynde ſo oftē, yet ceaſeſt not to trouble him. Then ſayd the Monke: gentle maiſter I praye you pardon me a poore ideot and a ſimple Frier, ſurely I did it of a good minde and intent, being wylling and deſirous to learne. This Frier put foorth an other queſtion vnto him, proteſting his ſimplicitie and ignorance, what maner of vnitie of the Godhead & manhode was in the perſon of Chriſt? When John Hus had heard this queſtiō, he turned himſelfe vnto maiſter John de Clum, and in the Bohemian language ſayde: truly this Frier is not ſimple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded vnto me a very hard queſtion. And afterward turning hymſelfe to the Frier, he ſaid vnto him: brother, you ſay that you are ſimple, but as I haue heard of you, I perceyue very well that you are double and craftye, and not ſimple. It is not ſo verely ſayd the Frier. Well, ſayde John Hus, I wyll cauſe you well to vnderſtande that it is ſo: For as touching the ſimplicitie of a man, it is required in thinges that concerne ciuilitie and maners, that the ſpiritie, the vnderſtanding, the hart, the wordes, and the mouth ſhoulde agree together, and I doo not perceiue that thys is in you. There is in your mouth a certayne ſemblaunce of ſimplicitie, the which woulde verye well declare you to be an ideot and ſimple, but your deedes ſhewe playnly and euidently a great ſubtiltie and craft in you, with a great quicknes and lyuelynes of wyt, in that you haue proponed vnto me ſo hard and difficult a queſtion. Notwithſtanding I wyll not feare to ſhewe you my mynde in this queſtion. And when he had made an end, the Monke gaue hym great thanks for his gentlenes, and ſo departed. After that, the Popes garriſon which wer about the ſayd John Hus, told him that this Frier was called maiſter Didace, who was eſteemed & counted the greateſt and moſt ſubtile diuine in al Lumbardie. Oh ſayde Hus that I had knowen that afore, I would haue handled him after an other ſort and faſhiō, but I woulde to God they were all ſuche, then through the helpe and ayde of the holy ſcriptures, I would feare none of them. In thys maner the ſayd Hus and maiſter John de Clum, were left vnder the keping of theſe men of armes vntyll iiij. of the clocke at after none. After whiche tyme the Cardinalls aſſembled agayne in the Popes courte, to deuyſe and take counſaile what they ſhould do with John Hus. Then Steuen Paletz and Michaell de Cauſis, with diuers other of their adherentes, made earneſt ſuit that he ſhoulde not be let goe at libertye agayn, and hauing the fauour of the iudges, on their part they bragged vp and down in a maner as they had béen mad men, & mocked the ſayd John Hus: ſaying, now we will holde thée well inough, thou art vnder our power and iuriſdiction, and ſhalt not depart vntill ſuch time as thou haſt payde the vttermoſt farthing. A litle afore night they ſent the Prouoſt of the Romaine court vnto maiſter Iohn de Clum, to ſhewe him that hee might returne to his lodging, for as for John Hus, they had otherwiſe prouided for him, when maiſter Iohn de Clum heard theſe newes, he was wōderfully diſpleaſed, for ſomuch as through their craftes ſubtilties and gloſing woordes, they had ſo trayned this good man into theyr ſnares, wherupon he went vnto the Pope, declaryng vnto hym all that was done, moſt hūble beſeching him, ẏ he would call to remembraunce ẏ promes which he had made vnto him and maiſter Henry Latzemboг, and that he would not ſo lightly falſefie and breake hys faith and promiſe. The Pope aunſwered that all theſe thynges were done without his conſent or commaundement, & ſayd further to maiſter Clum a part, what reaſon is it that you ſhould impute this dede vnto me, ſeing that you knowe well inoughe that I my ſelfe am in the handes of theſe Cardinals and Biſhops. In mine opinion, for ſomuch as Pope John feared that which in dede did after folow, that he ſhould be depriued of his dignitie, he thought to wyn the fauour of theſe Herodiā Cardinals and Biſhops, by betraying this good man vnto them. So the ſayd maiſter Clum retourned very penſiful and ſory: he complained very ſore, both priuely and openly, of the iniurie & outrage that the Pope had done, but all profited nothyng. After this the ſayd John Hus, was lead by the officers to ẏ Chapter houſe of the great churche of Conſtance, where he was kept priſoner by ẏ ſpace of viij. dayes, from thence he was caried vnto the Jacobins hard by the riuer of Rhyne, and was ſhut vp in the priſon of the Abbay, the whiche was harde by the Bogardes. After he had bene incloſed there a certayne time, he fell ſore ſicke of an ague, by meanes of ẏ ſtenche of the place, and became ſo weake that they deſpaired of his lyfe. And for feare leaſt this good man ſhould dye in priſon as others are wont to do, the Pope ſent vnto him certaine of his Phiſicions for to cure and helpe him. In the middeſt of his ſicknes, his accuſers made importunate ſute to the principals of the Councell that the ſayd John Hus, might be condempned, and preſēted vnto the Pope, theſe Articles here vnder written.

Dolus malus Cardinalium.

A frier minor putteth two queſtions to Iohn Hus.

A friarly Iudas.

Maſter Iohn Clum ſpeaketh for Iohn Hus.

A wolfe in a Lambes ſkin.

Didace a crafty Fryer.

Many a man begiled vnder the cloke of ſimplicity.

John H… ſes accu… tryum… ouer h… when h… was tak…

The Po… breake… promiſe.

The pop… to pleaſe the coun… cell was … gainſt Io… Hus.

The imp… ſonment… ſicknes… Iohn H…

Articles preſented againſt Iohn Hus.

1. Firſt, he doth erre about the ſacraments of the church and ſpeciallye aboute the ſacramente of the bodye of Chriſte, forſomuche as he hath openlye preached, that it ought to be miniſtred openly vnto the people vnder both kindes, ẏ is to ſay, the body & bloud. This article is euidēt, forſomuch as his diſciples at this inſtant in Prage, do miniſter ẏ ſame in both kindes. Moreouer, it is affirmed by diuers, ẏ he hath taught both in ẏ ſcholes & in ẏ church, or at the leaſt that he doth hold this opinion, that after the woordes of conſecration pronounced vpon the aulter, there remayneth ſtill materiall bread in the Sacrament, this Article ſhalbe known by his examination.

Articles … gainſt Io… Hus.

2. Secondly, he doth erre, as touching the miniſters of the church, for ſo much as he ſayth that they can not conſecrate or miniſter the ſacraments when they ar in mortall ſinne. This article ſhall likewyſe be knowne by hys examination. Notwithſtandinge all that whiche is here cōtayned, may be gathered by his writings De eccleſia, the which if he deny, let there then be ſome deuines, o-

The ſp… of the lo…

thers appoynted to peruſe and looke ouer his ſayde writinges of the church. Moreouer he ſayth that other men beſides prieſtes may miniſter the Sacramentes, this article is euident, for ſo much as his diſciples do the ſame at Prage, the which of them ſelues do violently take the ſacrament out of the treſury, and communicate among themſelues, when the holye communion is denied vnto them: by this & other things, alſo it is ſufficiẽtly euident that he hath taught that euery man being without mortall ſinne, hath the power of orders or prieſthoode, for ſo much as ſuch onely as hath taken orders, ought to miniſter the ſacraments vnto themſelues. And becauſe he proceedeth from ſmall matters vnto great and waightier, it doth conſequently appeare and follow, that thoſe which be in ſtate of grace, canne bynd and looſe.

3. Thirdly he doth erre as touchinge the churche, and ſpecially for that he doth not alowe and admit that the church ſignifieth the Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhops and the clergye vnderneath them, but ſayth yͭ this ſignification was drawn out frō the ſchole mē. And in no caſe to be holden or allowed, this article is manifeſt by his ſayd treatiſe vpon the churche.

Moreouer he doth erre cōcernyng the churche in that he ſayth, that the churche ought not to haue any temporall poſſeſſions. And that the temporall Lords may take them away from the churche and the clergy without any offence: this errour is euident, for ſomuch as thorow his doctrine and intiſementes, many churches in yͤ kingdome of Boheme, and in the citie of Prage are all ready ſpoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties & goodes. He ſayth alſo that Conſtantinus and other ſecular princes erred by enrichyng & endowyng churches & monaſteries. This Article is manifeſt by that whiche goeth next before.

4. Fourthly he erreth as touchyng the churche, in that he ſayth, that all prieſtes are of lyke power, and therfore affirmeth that the reſeruations of the popes caſualities, the orderyng of Byſhops, and the conſecration of the prieſtes were inuented onely for couetouſneſſe. This Article doth ſomewhat appeare by thoſe afore goyng, but by his examination ſhall be more euident.

5. Fiftly, he erreth concernyng the churche, in that he ſayth that the churche beyng in ſinne, hath no power of the keyes, when as the Pope, Cardinals and all other of the prieſtes and clergy are in deadly ſinne, the whiche he ſayth is poſſible inoughe, this alſo doth appeare in hys treatiſe vpon the church, in his firſt errour as touchyng the miniſters of the churche.

6. Sixtly, he erreth touchyng the Churche, for aſmuch as through contempt, he doth not feare excommunication. This doth notoriouſly appeare by his own doings, in that he did contemne and deſpiſe the Apoſtolicke and ordinary cenſure, and in all the Apoſtolicke excommunications and iniunctions he hath borne him ſelfe vpon the deuine commaundementes, and in contempt of yͤ keyes to the ſetting out of his hypocriſie he hath ſaid Maſſe all the wayes betwene this and the citie of Prage, and therby hath prophanate yͤ proces & authority of the churche.

7. Seuenthly he erreth agayne, as touchyng yͤ church, becauſe hee kepeth not the inſtitutions and inueſtitures therof, but holdeth opinion that euery man hath authoritie to inueſt and appoint any mā to the cure of ſoules. This is euident by his owne doynges. For ſomuch as many in the kyngdome of Boheme, by their defenders & fauourers, or rather by him ſelfe were appointed, and put into pariſhe churches, the whiche they haue long ruled and kept, not beyng appointed by the Apoſtolicke ſea, neither yet by the ordinary of the citie of Prage.

8. Eightly, he erreth as touchyng the Churche, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man beyng once ordayned a prieſt or a deacon can not be forbiddē or kept backe frō the office of preachyng, this is likewiſe manifeſt by hys owne doynges, for ſomuch as he him ſelfe could neuer be letted from preaching, neither by the Apoſtolicke ſea, neither yet by the Archbiſhop of Prage.

And to the entent that the ſayde John Hus, who is clothed in ſheepes clothyng, and inwardly a rauenyng Wolfe, may be the better knowen by his frutes, for the better informatiō of you moſt reuerend fathers, I ſay, yͭ from the firſt time that he toke in hand or went about to ſow his errours & hereſies, the which afterwarde he did in dede, he vnderſtandyng and perceiuyng himſelf to be withſtanded and gaynſayd by the Germaines, whiche were in the vniuerſitie of Prage, for ſomuch as he could conclude nothing, becauſe they had iij. voyces, and he on his part, had but one onely voyce: he went about and brought to paſſe, and that by the ſecular power, that the Germaines ſhould haue but one voyce, and he and his partes iij. voyces, the which thyng, when the Germaines once perceiued, rather then they would loſe or forſake any part of their right, whiche they had in voyces, or bee in daunger in their perſonnes, the whiche would then haue enſued vpon it, to ſaue thē ſelues: they wholly with one conſent agreed together to depart out of Prage, and by this meanes this ſolempne & famous vniuerſitie of Prage was made deſolate yͭ had brought foorth ſo many notable men in diuers ſciences. Behold this his firſt frutes, whiche deuided that ſo famous vniuerſity, for ſomuch as grapes are not gathered of thornes, neither figges of brambles.

Lupus agnum accuſat quod turbarit fontem.

A heapinge together of many greuous crimes.

The departure of the Germaines from the vniuerſitye of Prage.

Moreouer, whē there wer queſtions moued amōgeſt the deuines of the Uniuerſitie of Prage vpon the .xlv. articles of John Wickleffe, & that they had called a conuocation, & all the deuines of Boheme, for yͤ Germayns were all ready departed, they concluded that euery one of thoſe Articles were either hereticall, ſeditious, or els erroneous. He alone held the cōtrary opinion, that none of thoſe articles were either hereticall, ſeditious, or erronious, as afterward he did diſpute, holde, and teache in the common ſcholes of Prage, where by it is euidentlye inough foreſeene, that hee doth affirme thoſe articles of Wickleffe, the whych are not onely condemned in England, but alſo by the whole Churche, becauſe they were firſt inuented & ſet forth by the members of Antichriſt.

The .xlv. articles of Wickliffe.

Moreouer, he beyng complayned of to the Archbyſhop of Prage, that he preached and ſet forth certain articles which were hereticall, falſe, and ſeditious, he was forbidden by the ſayd Archbiſhop to preache anye more, and proceded againſt him, according to the canonicall ſanctions, the which proces is confirmed by the Apoſtolike ſea, and publiſhed as well in the court of Rome, as without: the which John Hus and his adherentes haue diuers and manifold wayes violate & prophanate. And who ſoeuer did ſpeake againſt him, they were depriued of their benefices, and others placed in, which haue ruled, and yet do ryle the ſayd churches, and the flocks pertaynyng to the ſame, not hauing anye cure or charge of the ſoules committed vnto them, neither by the Apoſtolike ſea, neyther yet by the ordinary of the place.

The office of preaching forbidden by the Archbiſhop.

Alſo as many, as well prieſtes as laye men in the citye of Prage and kingdome of Boheme whiche haue ſpoken againſt the doctrin of Hus, and the prophanatiō of the proces aforſaide, or at the leaſte not allowing the ſame, haue ſuffred moſte mortall hatred & perſecutions, and yet to this day do ſuffer. But that at thys preſent it is diſſimuled vntill the end of the proceſſe againſte John Hus. Wherfore if he bee now let go agayne, wythout doubte they ſhall ſuffer great perſecution both in bodye and goods, and thorow out all the realme of Boheme, houſe ſhall be agaynſt houſe, & this miſchiefe wil creepe, yea ſodeinly ſpring vp, thorow out all Germany, and innumerable ſoules ſhalbe infected, ſo that there ſhalbe ſuch perſecution of the clergy and faythfull, as hath not ben ſince the time of the Emperour Conſtantine to this

Inſurrections feared in Boheme agaynſt the clergye.

preſent day, for he ceaſeth not to moue and ſtirre vp the laitie, againſt the Clergy and faythfull Chriſtians. And when any of the Clergy would draw him away, or call him from his hereſy, and for that cauſe doth forbid hym to preach, that he doo not teach no hereſies: Then ſayth he, and teacheth, that the Clergy doth that of enuye and malice, becauſe he rebuketh their vices and faultes: that is to ſay, their ſimonie and pride, and couetouſnes.

Moreouer, he ſtirreth vp the ſecular princes agaynſt the prelates of churches, monaſteries, and vniuerſities, and generally againſt the whole Clergy. Going about by this meanes, he preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to haue any temporall goods or poſſeſſiōs, but onely to liue vpon almes. And by this meanes he hath done alreadye verye muche hurte, and anoyed diuers & many prelates, clarkes and churches in the kingdome of Boheme & citye of Prage. Forſomuch as therby they are already ſpoiled and robbed of their poſſeſſions. Yea, he teacheth alſo that it is lawful for the lay people without ſinne, to withhold and keepe backe the tithes & oblations, or to geue the church goods to any other miniſter: all the ſecular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but ſpecially the layety, who followeth euery man hys own will.

He hath generallye to laye for him ſelfe, all thoſe heretickes which doo but verye ſmallye regarde the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and hate the authority of the Romain churche, yea do vtterly deteſt and abhorre the ſame, the which thing will more and more encreſe, except it be effectually and manfullye withſtand, and if hee do by any meanes eſcape from the councell, he and his fauourers wil ſay that his doctrine is iuſt and true, and that it is alowed by the authoritie of the vniuerſall ſacred Councell, and that all his aduerſaries are wicked and noughty men, ſo that he would do more miſchief, thē euer any hereticke did ſince the time of Conſtantinus Magnus.

Caypha**s** prophicied.

Wherfore moſt holy fathers prouide and take heede to your ſelues, & to the whole flocke, amōgeſt whom the holy Ghoſt hath placed you to rule the church of Chriſt, the whiche he hath purchaſed with his owne bloud, and whileſt the diſeaſe is new and freſhe, helpe and remedy it, as well touchyng him whiche doth ſo infect and trouble the churche of God, as alſo concernyng the occaſiōs, thorow the whiche he hath preſumed, and might do the ſame: becauſe the Prelates do abuſe the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, and as weil the Prelates as thoſe that are vnder them do not kepe and obſerue the order of the church which is appoynted them by God, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that whileſt they themſelues do walcke the broken and vnknowne pathes, their flocke falleth hedlonge into the ditche.

Maiſter Palletz lyeth, for the holy ghoſt had no leaſure to come to the councell.

Wherefore let our ſoueraygne Lord the Pope, and this moſt ſacred councell ordeine and depute commiſſioners, the which may examine the ſayd John Hus vpon all afore written, and other things in the preſence of thē which know the matter. Let there be alſo certayne doctors and maiſters appointed to rede ouer and peruſe his bookes which hee hath wrytten, whereof ſome are here preſent, that the church may be ſpedely purged & cleanſed from theſe errours.

Vpon this his accuſation, they ordayned and apointed three commiſſioners or iudges, that is to ſay, the patriarche of Conſtātinople, and the biſhop of Caſtell, and the biſhop of Lybuſſe. The which Prelates being thus deputed, heard the accuſatiō and the witnes which was brought in by certayne babling prieſtes of Prage, confirmed by their othes, and afterward recited the ſaid accuſation vnto the ſayd Hus in the priſon, at ſuche tyme as his agew was feruent and extremely vpon him.

John Hus ſicke of an Agew in priſon.

Vpon this John Hus required to haue an aduocate to anſwer for him, the which was plainlye and vtterlye denied him. And the reaſon that the maiſters commiſſioners brought againſt it, was this, that the playne Canon doth forbid that any man ſhould be a defender of any cauſe of hys, which is ſuſpect of any kinde of hereſie. The vanitie and folly of the witneſſes was ſuche, that if in caſe they had not bene both the accuſers and Iudges them ſelues, there ſhould haue needed no diſtinct confutation. I would haue rehearſed the teſtimonies in thys place, but that I knew them to be ſuche, as the prudent and wyſe reader could not haue red without great tedioușnes. Howbeit ſome of them ſhall be declared, when we come to the proces of hys iudgement.

John Hus debarred of hys aduocate.

Afterwarde, when John Hus had recouered lytle ſtrength or health, by the commaundement of the three Commiſſioners there was preſented vnto hym certaine articles, many in nomber, which they ſayd they had gathered out of his boke, which he had made of the church: of whych articles ſome were foreged and inuented by maiſter Palletz, and other ſome were gathered onely by halues, as ſhall be more plainly declared hereafter, whē we come to ſpeake of the iudgement pronounced and giuen againſt the ſayd Hus.

Thus John Hus remayned in the priſon of the couēt of the Franciſcans, vntil the Wedenſday before Palm ſonday, and certayne appoynted to keepe hym, & in that meane ſeaſon to employ and ſpend hys tyme withall, he wrote certaine bookes: That is to ſay, of the .x. commaūdementes, of the loue and knowledge of God, of Matrimony, of Penaunce, of the three enemies of mankynde, of the praier of our Lord, and of the ſupper of our Lord.

The boke which Io Hus wro in pryſo

The ſame day Pope John the .xxiii. chaunged his apparell, and conueyed hym ſelfe ſecretly out of Conſtance, fearing the iudgement, by the which afterward he was depriued of his papall dignitie, by meanes of moſte execrable and abhominable forfaites and doinges. Thys was the cauſe that John Hus was tranſported and caried vnto an other priſon: for the Popes ſeruants which had the charge and keping of John Hus, vnderſtanding that their maiſter was fled and gone, delyuered vp the keyes of the priſon vnto the Emperour Sigiſmond, & to the Cardinals, and followed their mayſter the Pope.

Pope Io fled out Conſtanc

Then by ẏ whole conſent of the Councell, the ſaid John Hus was put into the hādes of the Biſhop of Conſtāce, who ſent him to a caſtle on the other ſide of the riuer of Rhine, not very farre from Conſtance, wheras he was ſhut vp in a Tower, with fetters on his legges, that hee could ſcarſe walke in the day tyme, and at night he was faſtened vp to a racke againſt the wall, hard by his bed.

In this meane ſeaſon certaine noble men and gentlemen of Pole and Boheme, did all their indeuor to purchaſe hys deliueraunce, hauyng reſpect to the good renowne of all the realme, the whiche was wonderfully defamed and ſlaundred by certayne naughty perſons. The matter was growne vnto this pointe, that all they whiche were in the towne of Conſtance, that ſemed to beare any fauour vnto John Hus, were made as mocking ſtockes & derided of all men, yea euen of the ſlaues and baſe people. Wherfore they tooke Councell and cōcluded together to preſent their requeſt in writing vnto the whole Councell, or at ẏ leaſt vnto the iiii. nations of Almayne, Italy, Fraunce, and Englande: this requeſt was preſented the 14. day of May. an. 1415. the tenour here enſueth.

Noblem of Bohe labour fo John Hu

¶ *The firſt ſcedule or Bill, whiche the nobles of Boheme* delivered vp to the Councell for the deliueraunce of Iohn Hus the xiiii. day of May. An. 1415.

MOſt reuerend fathers and Lordes. The nobles and Lords of Boheme and Pole here preſent, by this their preſent writinges do ſhewe and declare vnto your fatherly reuerences how that the moſt noble kinge and Lord, the Lord Sigiſmund king of Romanes alwayes Auguſtus king of Hungarye, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c, hearing of the great diſſention that was in the king dome of Boheme as heyre, king and Lord ſucceſſor, willing and minding to foreſee and prouide for his own honor, he ſent theſe noble men maiſter Wenceſlate de Duba and John de Clum here preſent, that they would bringe and allure maiſter John Hus vnder the kinge his name and ſafe conduite. So that he woulde come to the ſacred generall Councell of Conſtance, vnder the ſafe conducte of the ſayd king, and the protection of the ſacred Emperie, openly geuen and graunted vnto the ſayde maiſter John Hus, that he might purge him ſelfe and the kyngdome of Boheme from the ſlaunder that was raiſed vpõ them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to euery man that would laye any thyng to his charge. The which the ſayd nobles, with the forenamed maiſter John Hus haue performed and done, accordyng to the kynges commaundement.

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When as the ſayd maiſter John Hus, was frely of his owne accorde come vnto Conſtance, vnder the ſayd ſafeconduct, and greuouſly impriſoned before he was herd, and at thys preſent is tormented both with fetters and alſo with hunger and thirſt. Albeit that in tymes paſt, at the Councell holden at Pyſan. 1410. yeare of our Lord, the herretickes whiche were condemned, were ſuffered to remaine there at liberty, and to depart home frely: Notwithſtãdyng this maiſter John Hus, neither beyng cõuicted nor condemned: no not ſo much as once herd, is taken and impriſoned, when as neither any kyng or any Prince electour, either any Ambaſſadour of any vniuerſitie was yet come or preſẽt. And albeit the Lord the king together with the nobles and Lordes here preſent moſt inſtantly required and deſired, that as touchyng his ſafe conduct they would forſee and haue reſpect vnto his honour. And that the ſaid maiſter John Hus might be opẽly hard, forſomuch as he would render and ſhewe a reaſon of his fayth, and if he were found or conuicted obſtinatly to affirme or mayntaine any thyng agaynſte the truth or holy Scripture, that then hee ought to correct and amẽd the ſame, accordyng to the inſtruction and determination of the Councell: yet could he neuer obtayne this. But the ſayd maiſter John Hus, notwithſtandyng al this is moſt greuouſly oppreſſed with fetters & yrõs, and ſo weakened with thin & ſlender diet, that it is to be feared leaſt that hys power and ſtrength beyng hereby conſumed and waſted, hee ſhould bee put in daunger of his wit or reaſon.

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And although the Lords of Boheme here preſent are greatly ſlaundered, becauſe they ſeyng the ſayde maiſter John Hus, ſo tormented and troubled contrary to the kynges ſafe conduct, haue not by their letters put the kyng in minde of his ſayd ſafe conduite, that the ſayd L. and kyng ſhould not any more ſuffer any ſuch matters, for ſo much as they tend to the contempt and diſregarde of the kyngdome of Boheme, whiche from the firſt originall and begynnyng, ſince it receiued the catholique faith, it neuer departed or went away from the obediẽce of the holy churche of Rome: yet notwithſtanding they haue ſuffred and borne all theſe things patiently hetherto, leaſt by any meanes occaſiõ of trouble or vexation of this ſacred Councell might aryſe or ſpring therof.

Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes: The nobles & Lords before named do wholy and moſt earneſtly deſire and require your reuerences here preſent, that both for the honour of the ſafe conduite of our ſayd Lord the king, and alſo for the preſeruation and encreaſe of the worthy fame and renowne both of the foreſayde kingdome of Boheme, and your own alſo, that you wil make a ſhort end about the affayres of M. John Hus: for ſomuch as by ỹ meanes of his ſtraite hãdling he is in great daunger by any longer delay, euen as they do moſt ſpecially truſt vpon the moſt vpright conſciences and iudgementes of your fatherly reuerences. But for aſmuche as moſt reuerend fathers, and Lords, it is now come to the knowledge and vnderſtanding of the nobles and Lords of Boheme here preſent, how that certayne backbiters and ſlaunderers of the moſte famous kingdome of Boheme aforeſayd, haue declared and tolde vnto your reuerences howe that the ſacramente of the moſte precious bloude of our Lorde is caried vppe and downe thorowe Boheme in veſſels not conſecrated or halowed, and that Coblers do now hear cõfeſſiõs & miniſter the moſt bleſſed body of our Lord vnto others: The nobles therfore of Boheme here preſẽt require & deſire you that you will geue no credite vnto falſe promoters and tale tellers, for that as moſt wicked & naughty ſlaunderers & backbiters of the kingdom aforeſaid, they do report & tel vntruths: requiring alſo your reuerences, that ſuche ſlaunderous perſons of the kingdom aforeſayde, may be named and knowne. And the Lord the king together with your reuerences ſhall well perceiue and ſee that the Lordes of Boheme will go about in ſuch manner to refell and put away the falſe and friuolous ſlaunders of thoſe naughty perſons, that they ſhalbe aſhamed to appeare heareafter before the Lord the king and your reuerences.

Aſſone as this their ſupplication was red, the biſhop of Luthonis riſing vp ſaid. Moſt reuerẽd fathers, I wel perceiue and vnderſtand that the laſte part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars and frends, as though the kingdome of Boheme were ſlaundered by vs: wherfore I deſire to haue time and ſpace of deliberation that I may purge my ſelf from this crime that is laid againſt me. The principall of the counſell appoynted him the xvii. day of May, at the which day the Lords of Boheme ſhould be preſent again, to heare both the aunſwer of the councell, & alſo the excuſe of the biſhop of Luthonis, the which thing in deede was afterward performed: for the xvii. day of May, which was the iiii. day before the whitſontide they met there againe, where firſt of all a certaine biſhop in the name of the whole counſell aunſwered by word to the nobles of Boheme, the contentes of whoſe aunſwere may eaſely be knowne by the ſecond ſupplication, which the Bohemians put vp to the councell. But firſt I haue here in theſe few wordes folowinge, ſhewed how the biſhop Luthonis defended himſelfe againſt that which is before written.

The byſhop of Luthonis.

☞ *The aunſwere of the biſhop of Luthonis, to the laſt* parte of the ſupplication, which the nobles of Boheme preſented vnto the councell.

The aunſwere and accuſation of the biſhop of Luthonis againſt Iohn Hus.

MOſte reuerend fathers and noble Lords as Peter de Mladoneywitz bacheler of Arte, in the name of certayne of the nobles of the kyngedome of Boheme in hys writinges, amongeſt other thynges did propound how that certayne ſlaunderers and backebiters of the ſayd kingdome haue broughte to the eares of your reuerences that the moſt precious bloud of chriſt is caryed vp and downe in Boheme in bottels, and that coblers do heare confeſſions, and miniſter the bodye of Chriſt vnto others, wherupon moſt reuerẽd fathers and Lords: Albeit that I together with the other Prelates, doctors, maiſters & other innumerable catholikes of the ſaid kingdome, the which do deſire as much as in thẽ lieth to defend the faith of Chriſte, haue laboured for the extirpaciõ & roting out of that moſt wicked & deteſtable ſect of Wickliffes, which now (alas for ſorow) beginneth to ſpring & riſe in the ſayd kingdom, as it is wel known. Notwithſtandyng here in this my oration, not for any ſhame or reproſe, but for the honour of the kingdome aforeſaid, I haue propounded and declared a certain new ſect, which is now lately ſprõg vp in the ſaid kingdome, the folowers whereof do miniſter and communicate the Sacramentes in many cities, townes, and places of the ſaid kingdom, vnder both kindes both of bread & wine, and do conſtantly teach the cõmon people both men and women, that it is ſo to be communicated, obſtinatly affirming the ſame, and that the clergye whiche doe repugne or ſay nay vnto it, are to be counted churche robbers, as by the writynges of their aſſertions beyng directed and preſented hether, ſhall openly appeare.

Moreouer by the report and fame whiche goeth here abroad, and by the writinges whiche were ſent ouer vnto me, I haue propoũded that it came to my knowledge that the bloud of Chriſt is caried about in veſſels not cõſecrated, approuyng the foreſayd erroneous aſſertion of the Wickleffiſtes, that affirme it neceſſary for ſaluation, that the people ſhould communicate vnder both kindes of bread and wine, and that it is neceſſary, as the body of Chriſt is caried in the pixe or boxe, ſo the bloud of Chriſt ſhould be caried in bottels, or other neceſſary veſſels frõ place to place, & ſpecially about ỹ miniſtratiõ of the ſick. Alſo I declared not of my ſelfe, but I herd it to be declared by others, both great and credible perſons, that ther was a certaine woman, a folower of that ſect, the which takyng by violence the bodye of Chriſt out of a Prieſtes handes, did cõmunicate vnto her ſelfe, and affirmed that all men ought to do ſo, if the prieſtes would denye them the communion. And the ſame woman amongeſt many other errors, of the which ſhe was conuicted, did affirm that a good lay woman might better conſecrate & geue abſolution, then an euill prieſte: affirmyng that an euill prieſt can neither conſecrate nor abſolue. But I know that neither I, neither any of my aſſiſtãce in this matter haue brought this at any time into your eares, that cobblers in the ſayd kyngdome do heare confeſſion, or miniſter the Sacrament of the body of Chriſte, as is alledged by the ſaid Peter, in the behalfe of the ſayd ſupplicantes. Notwithſtandyng that we did feare if meanes were not founde to recounter or ſtop the offences before named, that this would immediatly folow vpon it. Wherefore moſt reuerẽd fathers, leaſt that the kyngdome might be defamed any more by ſuche peſtiferous ſectes, and that the Chriſtiã faith might happen to be indaungered: with all reuerence and charitie I do deſire you, euen by the bowels of mercye, of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, that this moſt ſacred Councell, would prouide ſome ſpedy remedy for this kyngdome, as touchyng the premiſſes.

Moreouer whether be they backebiters and ſlaunderers, or wicked and falſe enuiers of the kingdome of Boheme, the whiche do let the errours aforeſayd, & many others more, which are ſowen by ẏ wicleſiſtes in the ſaid kyngdome, and alſo ells where, whiche alſo both doe labour, and haue laboured for the extirpation and rootyng out of thoſe errours out of the kyngdom aforeſaid, and as Catholicke men, for the zeale of their fayth haue manfully put forth them ſelues againſt the maintainers of the ſayd errours, or ſuch as do maintaine and defende the teachers of thoſe errours. This anſwer I haue here preſented before your reuerences alwayes, wholy ſubmittyng my ſelf & my aſſiſtaunce vnto your iudgement, and to the diffinition of this mooſte ſacred Councell of Conſtance.

¶ *The anſwer of the nobles of Boheme.*

The biſhop of Luthonius anſwere cõfuted.

THe day before Whitſontide the nobles of Boheme did confute this their aunſwere made two daies before in the Councell to theyr former wrytyng, as here foloweth: Moſt reuerende fathers and Lordes, for ſo much as vpon thurſday it was anſwered on the behalfe of your reuerences to the requeſtes of the nobles and Lordes of Boheme, that the ſayde Lordes were miſinformed of diuers pointes contained in the declaration of their ſayde byll: therefore the foreſayde Lordes haue now determined and decréed to declare their former propounded requeſtes more at large vnto your reuerences, not minding hereby to argue or reproue your fatherlye wiſdomes and circumſpections, but that your reuerences, their deſires being partlye on this behalfe fulfilled, might the more effectuouſly and diſtinctly diſcerne and iudge as touching this matter.

And firſt of all, where as the Lords alledged and ſayd how that maiſter John Hus was come hither vnto Cõſtance, freely of his owne good wyll, vnder the ſafe conduict of the Lorde the king, and the protection of the ſacred Empyre: It is anſwered on the behalfe of your reuerences, how that the ſayd Lordes are miſinformed, as touching the ſafe conduict, and that you haue vnderſtãd by ſuch as are worthy credit, that the frendes and fauorers of the ſayd maiſter John Hus, did firſt procure and get his ſafeconduict.xv.daies after his impriſonment.

The byſhops do quarell about the ſafe conducte of Iohn Hus.

The Lordes of Boheme, and ſpecially the lord John de Clum here preſent, whom thys matter doth chieflye touch, doth anſwer, that not onely the.xv.day after, but euen the very ſame day that John Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reuerend father the Pope, in the preſence of all his Cardinals, demaunded of maiſter John de Clum, whether maiſter John Hus had any ſafeconduict from the king his ſonne: he anſwered, moſt holy father and Cardinals, knowe ye that he hath a ſafe conduict, and when hee was aſked the queſtion agayne the ſecond time, he anſwered in like maner.

The ſafe conduct of Iohn Hus obteyned and ſhewed before the impriſonment of Iohn Hus.

Yet notwithſtanding none of them required to haue the ſafeconduict ſhewed vnto them: and againe the third day following, the Lord John de Clum complained vnto our Lord the Pope, how notwithſtanding the ſafe cõduict of our ſoueraigne Lorde the king, he deteined and kept maiſter John Hus as priſoner, ſhewing the ſayde ſafeconduict vnto many. And for a further truth herein, he referreth himſelfe vnto the teſtimonies and wytneſſes of diuers Earles, biſhops, knightes, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the City of Conſtance, the which altogether at this preſent did ſee the ſayde ſafe conduict, & heard it red, whereupon the ſayd Iohn de Clum is ready to binde him ſelfe vnder what penalty ſhalbe required, euidently to proue and confirme that which he hath promiſed, who ſoeuer ſay to the contrary.

Moreouer, the Lordes of Boheme referre themſelues vnto the knowledge of certaine princes electours and other princes, Biſhops, and many other noble mẽ, which were preſent before the kynges maieſty, where & when as the ſayd ſafe conduict was graunted and geuen out by the ſpeciall cõmaundemẽt of our ſaid Lord the king.

Hereby your fatherly reuerences may vnderſtand and perceyue that the ſayd Lordes of Boheme are not euill informed as touchyng the ſayd ſafe conduict: But rather they whiche by ſuch reportes haue falſly and vntruely informed your reuerences. And firſt of all they haue offended agaynſt the Lord our kyng, and his chaũcellours. Secondarely, agaynſt the Lordes and nobles of Boheme, as thoughe we had priuely and by ſtelth, purchaſed the ſayd ſafe conduict. Wherfore the Lordes aforeſayd moſt humbly require and deſire your reuerẽces that you will not ſo lyghtly beleue ſuch as bee not woorthy of credite, but rather hearyng the contrary part, to labour and diſcuſſe that the truth may the more euidently appeare.

The by- ſhops of the co falſly en med tou ching th ſafe cõd of Iohn Hus.

Secondly, wheras the Lordes aforeſayd, alledgyng how maiſter John Hus, commyng vnto Conſtance, of his owne frée will, beyng neither condemned nor heard, was impriſoned, your reuerences haue made aunſwere therunto, that he the ſayd maiſter John Hus in the time of Alexander thy v. was infamed & ſlaundered vpõ certaine hereſies, & thereupon cited perſonally to appeare in ẏ court of Rome, & there was heard by his procurers.

Iohn Hu impriſo before he was eyt cõdemn or heard

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And for ſomuch as he refuſed obſtinatly to appeare, he was excommunicated, in the whiche excommunicatiõ he cõtinued (as you affirme) by the ſpace of v. yeares, for the whiche he was iudged, and counted not onely a ſimple and plaine hereticke, but an hereſiarke, that is to ſay an inuentor and ſower of new and ſtrãuge hereſies, and that he comming toward Conſtance, did preach by the way openly. To this the Lordes aforeſayd do aunſwere, that as touchyng his ſlaunder and citation, they can affirme nothyng, but by reporte. But as touchyng that hee did not perſonally appeare, they ſay they haue heard both hym ſelf, and diuers other credible perſons ſay: yea euen the moſt famous prince Wenceſlaus king of Boheme and almoſt all the hole nobility is witnes, that he would willingly haue appeared at Rome, or els where, if he might ſafely haue comen thether, and that deadly enmitie had not letted: and moreouer his procurers, whiche he ſent vnto the court of Rome, alledgyng reaſonable cauſes for his non apparaunce, ſome of thẽ were caſt into priſon, and others very euill intreated.

The aun ſwere to ching th citation of Iohn H to the court of Rome.

Iohn H his proc rers euil entreate at Rome

As for the excommunication whiche he hath ſo long ſuſtained, they haue herd him oftẽ ſay, that he hath not reſiſted agaynſt the ſame by contumacy, or ſtubbernes, but vnder euident appellation, and there vpon referreth him ſelfe vnto the Actes of his cauſes, which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherin all this is more largely conteyned, the whiche your reuerences may euidently perceyue and ſée in this our preſent publicque tranſumpt, whiche we haue offred vnto you vpon certayne pointes aforeſayd.

As concerning his preachinge, wherewithall his enemies do report and charge, that maiſter John Hus did preach openly in the city of Conſtaunce: The Lordes afore ſayd and ſpecially the Lord John de Clum here preſent do aunſwere that he hath continually lodged wyth the ſayd maiſter John Hus here in Conſtance, and that whoſoeuer they be, that haue bene ſo bolde, or dare be ſo

Iohn H falſely potted preach penly Conſt bold to ſaye & affirme ẏ maiſter John Hus had preached (as is premiſed) or that which leſſe is, ſince the time of his comming vnto the city, euen vnto the veri day and time of his captiuity and impriſonment, that he went but one ſteppe out of the houſe of his lodging, that the ſayd Lord John de Clum, will and is content to binde hymſelfe with any ſuch, as ſhall affirme the ſame, vnder what penaltye ſo euer it be, of monye or otherwiſe, that ẏ which he hath falſly reported vnto your reuerences, he ſhal neuer be able iuſtly and truely to affirme and proue.

Thirdly, whereas your reuerences do ſaye, that you do not vnderſtand or know, what the Lordes do meane, by the heretickes condemned, at the councell holden at Piſa, whether the mocking or deriding the Pope, whoſe ambaſſadours came thither for vnitye or concorde, the which were ſuffered & gently entreated, as their Lordes wer moſt enclined vnto vnity and peace, or els that they did vnderſtand or meane the perticuler heretikes, which were ther condemned adioyning therunto: that the heretikes alſo comming vnto the councel, vnder the pretence of that vnity, ſhould be gently hãdled and entreated. &c. Reuerend fathers and Lordes whether they be counted the firſt, or that they be thoughte the ſeconde or laſte, the Lordes aforeſayde require none other thing, but that the ſayd maiſter John Hus may vſe ſuch liberty as they vſed: forſomuch as he came willingly vnto this moſte ſacred councell, not for any other purpoſe, but onelye publikely to recogniſe his fayth. And in what poynte ſo euer he ſhall ſeeme to vary from the worde of God, and the vnion of the holy mother the church, that in that poynt he will willingly be vnited and reconciled agayn therunto, and not onely him ſelfe, but alſo his fauourers and adherentes, he would moue & prouoke therunto: of whome the greater number are in the kingdome of Boheme. Alſo he is come hether that he might purge and clear the noble kingome of Boheme, from the ſiniſter and euell ſlaunder which was rayſed vpon it.

Laſt of all moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes, for ſomuch as your reuerences haue moſt fauorablye anſwered vnto the principall requeſt made by the Lords aforeſayd, that the proces of maiſter John Hus thorow gods helpe, ſhould be determined and ended with all expeditiõ and gentlenes: The Lordes aforeſayde doo render moſt harty thankes vnto your reuerences, and when ſo euer their deſire by Gods helpe ſhall come to the end or effect long wiſhed or looked for, they will not onelye here, but alſo before the whole kingdome of Boheme, and in all other places where ſoeuer they come, render moſte immortall thankes vnto your reuerences for euer.

¶ This declaration of the nobles of Boheme aboue prefixed, may ſerue not onelye to the confutation of the biſhop Luthonius this Bohemian, but alſo agaynſt the cauillations of Alanus Copus Anglus. Dial. 6. pag. 929. touching the ſafe conduct of John Hus, whereof ſufficiently before hath bene ſayd, vide ſupra pag 710.

Whẽ as ẏ noble men of Boheme by lõg time could receiue no anſwer of thoſe ſupplicatiõs, which they had already put vp, they determined the laſt day of May following by an other ſupplication being put vp vnto the principals of ẏ Councell, to entreate ẏ John Hus might be deliuered out of priſon, and defend his own cauſe openly: they alſo put vp the teſtimoniall of the biſhop of Nazareth, as touching John Hus. The copy whereof, is expreſſed in the beginning of this hiſtory, word by word.

¶ *Another ſupplication of the nobles of Boheme.*

MOſt reuerend fathers and Lordes in Chriſt, of late there was a ſupplication put vp vnto your reuerẽces on the behalfe of the Lordes and nobles of Boheme, and the nation of Pole, wherein they moſt humbly deſired your reuerences to conſider howe the informations whiche were put vp vnto your reuerences, by the ennemies of maiſter John Hus, were inſufficient. And with reuerence be it ſpoken, in many points vntrue, as in the ſafeconduict graunted by the kinges maieſty, and alſo in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the ſcedule, whiche was then offered vnto you: vpon the which ſayd ſcedule, and other thyngs at that preſent beyng put vp, they could as yet receyue no aunſwere. Wherefore the Lordes aforeſayd, moſt humbly require your fatherly reuerences, that it would pleaſe you to conſider the ſayde ſupplication, and to geue ſome aunſwere to the Lordes aforeſayd thereupon, and ſpecially hauyng reſpect vnto the great iniuries and griefes, whiche are done vnto the ſayd maiſter John Hus, the whiche may bee vnderſtand and known by the ſcedule aforeſayd, that you will merfully cõſider and foreſee, that all thoſe griefes and euils, ſo far different from all brotherly loue & charity are done vnto him by his enemies euen for very malice & hatred.

The Lordes could haue no aunſwere of theyr ſupplication.

To the intẽt therfore that the rancor and malice may be confounded and ouerthrowne, and the plaine and euident truth appeare, it may pleaſe your fatherly reuerences to vnderſtande that it is notified and knowen vnto the Barons, Nobles, Citizens, clergye and laitye of the kyngdom of Boheme, that maiſter John Hus in all his Actes and doings as well ſcholaſticall as Eccleſiaſticall, & ſpecially in all hys publicke & open Sermons, he hath made and hath accuſtomed to make theſe maner of proteſtations, the whiche without any thing to the contrary, he hath alwayes endeuoured to haue thẽ ſtrong & firme, as by this hys proteſtation here folowyng, whiche hee made aboute the determination of a certaine queſtion, it may moſt euidently and playnly appeare vnto euery mã which would behold and looke vpõ the ſame: the forme and tenour, whereof here foloweth, and is ſuch.

The proteſtation of Iohn Hus.

FOrſomuch as aboue all thinges, I do deſire the honor of God, the profit of the holy church, and that I my ſelfe may be a faithfull member of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, which is the heade and huſband of the holy church which he hath redemed: Therefore as heretofore oftentimes I haue done, euen ſo now again I make this proteſtation, that I neuer obſtinately ſaid, or hereafter will ſay any thing that ſhalbe cõtrary vnto the truth and verety: and moreouer that I haue alwayes holden, do hold, and firmely deſire for to hold the very true and infallible truth and verytye, ſo that before that I would defend and mayntayne any errour contrarye thereunto, I would rather chuſe by the hope and helpe of the Lord to ſuffer extreme puniſhment, euen vnto death: yea. and thorowe the helpe of God I am redy, euen to offer this my miſerable life vnto death for the law of Chriſt, the which I do beleue euery part and percel therof to be geuen and promulgate for the ſaluation of mankind, by the councell and determination of the moſt holy Trinity, & the ſaintes of God. &c.

The proteſtacion of Iohn Hus.

Vid. in priore edit. pag. 207.

By the which his proteſtation, and alſo other proteſtations by the ſayd Maiſter John Hus, being well obſerued and noted, it may be eaſely gathered and knowen that hys whole intent and purpoſe was and is, that he neither would nor will haue ſpokẽ or written any thing in his bookes, treatiſes, doctrines, or publike ſermons, or elles to haue affirmed any articles, the which willingly & wittingly he did vnderſtãd or know to be either erronious, offenſiue, ſeditious, hereticall, or offending ẏ godly eare. Albeit that theſe and ſuche lyke thinges are falſlye imputed vnto him by his enemies. But it hath alwayes bene his chiefe entent and purpoſe, and ſo is that euery poynt, concluſion or article contayned in hys bookes or articles, to haue put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the Goſpel, the holy doctours and writers vpon the holy ſcriptures, and to that ende & purpoſe, as is before expreſſed in his proteſtacions: and if in any point, he ſhould be founde to varye or go aſtraye, or that he were not well vnderſtand of others, by like information to be informed, vnderſtand, corrected and amended, and that hee will by no meanes ſuſtayne or defende any manner of article againſt the holy church of Rome, or the Catholike fayth.

Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers, the premiſſes notwithſtanding, his enemies, throughe the extreme hatred whyche they beare vnto hym, hath pycked and taken out by peece meale certayn articles out of the booke of maiſter John Hus, reiecting and not looking vpon the allegations and reaſons, neither hauing any relation vnto the diſtinctiõ of their equiuocations, haue compounded and made thereof certayne falſe and fayned articles againſt him, to this end, ẏ all charity and loue being ſet

Articles foyſted out of Huſſes bookes by enemies.

a part they might the better ouerthrow him, and bryng him vnto death, contrary vnto the ſafecōduct vpon good and iuſt occaſion openlye aſſigned, and geuen vnto the ſayde maiſter John Hus, by the moſt noble Prince the Lord Sigiſmund kyng of the Romaines, & of Hungary for hys iuſt defence, againſt all the friuolous accuſatiōs and aſſaultes of the enemies, not onely of the ſayd mayſter John Hus, but alſo of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and for the quiet appeaſing of all ſuche tumultes and rumours, riſing and ſpringing in the ſayd kingdom of Boheme, or els where: the auoyding of which moſt perilous errors, the ſayd king of Romaines doth greatlye deſire and wyſhe, as the right heire and ſucceſſor of the ſayd kingdome. Whereupon the Barons and Nobles aforeſayd, moſt humbly deſire and require, the premiſes being conſidered, and reſpect had vnto the great infamy and ſlaunder which maye happen by the premiſſes vnto the ſayd kingdome and inhabitauntes thereof, that you will put to your handes, and take ſome order and meane, that maiſter John Hus may be diſtinctly heard by ſome famous men, deuines already deputed, or other wyſe to be appoynted vpon, all and ſingular ſuche articles as ſhalbe layd vnto him, to declare hys owne minde and intent, and alſo the minde of the doctors alledged for his purpoſe, with the manifold diſtinctions and equiuocations, in the which the drawers out of the moſte part of hys articles haue alſo made equiuocations: that ſo according vnto the diſpoſitiō of the witneſſes, of the which a great nomber of them are and haue a long tyme bene hys mortall enemyes, that at the friuolous inſtigation of hys enemyes, when he was miſerablye deteyned priſoner, that he ſhould not be condemned vnheard. For ſomuch as by the ſayd declarations your fatherly reuerences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himſelfe is ready allwayes to ſubmit him ſelfe vnder the determination of this moſt ſacred coūcell. For your reuerences, by the crafty and fayned perſwaſions of his enemies ar thus informed, that maiſter John Hus hath bene vncurably obſtinate by a long time in moſt perylous articles, the which your reuerēces may now plainly perceiue to be vntrue, and for the more euidence herein to be ſhewed, there is preſented vnto your reuerences an inſtrument of publike recognition of the moſte reuerend father in Chriſt, the Lord Nicholas biſhop of Nazareth, and Inquiſitor of hereſies, ſpeciallye appoynted by the Apoſtolike ſea in the dioceſſe of Prage, the which by your reuerēces is more diligētly to be harkned vnto.

The councell euill informed agaynſt I.Hus.

Wherefore it may pleaſe your fatherlye reuerences to commaunde the ſayd maiſter John Hus neither conuicted nor condemned, to bee taken and brought out of his bonds and chaynes, in the which he is now moſt greuouſly deteined & kept, & to put hym into the handes of ſome reuerend Lordes, biſhops, or Cōmiſſioners appointed or to be appointed by this preſent councell. That the ſayd maiſter John Hus maye ſomewhat be releued and recouer againe his health, and be the more diligentlye & commodiouſly examined by the Commiſſioners: and for the more aſſurance, the Barons and Nobles aforeſayd of the kingdome of Boheme, will prouide moſt ſure and good ſureties, the which will not breake their fidelitye & fayth for any thing in the worlde. Which alſo ſhall promiſe in hys behalfe, that he ſhall not flee or depart out of their handes, vntil ſuch time as the matter be fullye determined by the ſaid Commiſſioners. In thexecution of the which premiſes we haue determined to prouide and foreſee vnto the fame and honor of the ſayd kingdom of Boheme, and alſo to the ſafeconduct of the moſt worthy Prince, the king of Romaines, leaſt that the enemies and detractors of the honor and fame of the kyngdome aforeſayd, might not a litle ſlaūder and reproue the ſayd Lordes, pretending and ſhewing foorth hereafter, that they had made vnreaſonable or vnlawfull requeſtes: for the withſtanding of which miſchief, we require your fatherly reuerences, that you will decree and moſt graciouſly conſent that this our petition & ſupplication maye be drawen out agayne by your Notarye, and reduced into a publike forme and order.

The nobles requyred that Iohn Hus not being conuicte nor condemned, ſhould be deliuered out of pryſon.

A peticion for maiſter I.Hus deliueraunce out of pryſon.

After this ſupplication was red before the deputies of the iiii. nations, the Patriarche of Antioch anſwered in the name of them al vnto euery Article of the ſaid ſupplication, but it was done in few wordes.

Fyrſte, as touchinge the proteſtation of Jhon Hus, whether it be true or falſe, it ſhal be made euident in the proceſſe of his cauſe. Moreouer, whereas they ſay that the aduerſaries of John Hus hath peruerſly drawē certayne thinges out of his bookes, that alſo the matter it ſelfe ſhall declare in the end. Wher as if it ſhalbe found and decreed that John is vniuſtly and vntruly accuſed, that then it ſhall come to paſſe, that his aduerſaries ſhal incur perpetuall ignominie and ſlaunder. But as touching ſureties, albeit there might be a thouſande put in or bound, yet can it not by anye meanes be, that the deputies of the Councell with a ſafe conſcience maye receiue or take them in this mans cauſe, vnto whom there is no fayth or credite to be geuen. How beit thus muche they wyl do, vpō the .v. day of June next, John Hus ſhal be brought againe vnto Conſtance, and there haue free libertie to ſpeake his minde before the councell, and that they would louingly & gently heare him: but the matter in the end fell out farre contrary to this promiſe.

The an ſwere of the coūc to the ſu plicatio

Iohn H in no ca muſt be bailed.

No cred to be ke with an heretiq

The ſame day the ſayd Barons and Lordes preſented a ſupplication of thys tenour vnto the Emperour: Unto the moſt high and mighty Prince, the Lorde Sigiſmond king of the Romaines allwayes, Aguſtus kyng of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our moſt gracious Lord faithfull and true ſeruice in all things, and at all times. Moſt noble Prince and gracious Lord, we ſignifie vnto your woorthynes, that we all together wyth one minde, conſent and accorde haue deliuered vp vnto the reuerend fathers and Lordes, the deputies of the. 4. nations, and to the whole ſacred councell of Conſtance, this our ſupplication here vnder writtē, as reaſonable, iuſt, and worthy of conſideration, the tenor wherof here followeth word by word, and is thys.

Supplic on to th Empero Sigiſm

The copy of the ſupplication, which was preſented vnto the deputies of the councell is before written, wher vnto this which followeth was annexed.

WHerefore we moſt humblye require and deſire your princely maieſtye, that both for the loue of iuſtice, & alſo of the fame and renowme of that moſt famous kingdome of Boheme, wherof we acknowledge you vndoubtedly the true Lord and heire ſucceſſor, and alſo forſeing vnto the liberty of your ſafeconduct, that you wyll wyth your fauorable countenaunce, beholding theſe moſt reaſonable and iuſt ſupplications, which we haue put vp to the Lordes aforeſayd, put to your helping hand toward the ſayd moſt reuerend fathers and Lords, that they wil effectually heare vs, in thys our moſt iuſt petitiō, which we haue offered vp vnto them, as is aforeſaid: leaſt that the enemy of the renowme & honor of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and ſuch as our ſclaūderers alſo hereafter may detract and ſclaūder vs, that we ſhould make vnreaſonable and vnlawfull requeſtes vnto the ſayd reuerend fathers and Lordes, and therefore wee required and deſired of them that it would pleaſe them to decree by ſetting to their publicke hande and ſeale to authorize our ſayd ſupplication. Likewyſe we do moſt hartely require your highnes, that you woulde vouchſafe in lyke maner to geue vs your teſtimony of the premiſes.

The Ba rons ſu cation t the king for I.H

But what aunſwer the Emperour made hereunto, we could neuer vnderſtād or know, but by ŷ proceſſe of the matter a man may eaſily iudge, that this good Emperour was brought and led euen vnto this poynt, through the obſtinate miſchiefe of the Cardinals and byſhops, to breake and falſify his promiſe and faith, which he had made and promiſed, and thys was their reaſon, wherby he was driuen therunto: that no defence coulde or might be geuen either by ſafeconduct, or by any other meane vnto him, which was ſuſpected or iudged to bee an heretike. But by the Epiſtles & letters of John Hus, a man may eaſilye iudge what the kinges mynde was. Now we will proceede in the hiſtory.

The.v.day of June, the Cardinals, biſhops, and the reſt of the prieſtes, all that were almoſt in Conſtance, aſſembled to a great nomber, at the Couent of the Franciſcanes in Conſtance, and there it was commaunded, that before John Hus ſhoulde be brought foorth, in hys abſence they ſhould rehearſe the witneſſes and articles, which they had ſlaūderouſly gathered out of his bookes: the which articles with John Huſſes aunſwer we wyll hereafter repeate. By chaunce there was then preſent a certain Notary, named Peter Mladoniewitz, the which bare great loue and amity vnto the ſayde Hus, who as ſoone as he perceiued that the Biſhops and Cardinals were already determined and appointed to condempne the ſayde Articles in the abſence of John Hus, hee went withall ſpeede vnto maiſter Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum, and told them all the matter: who incontinent made report thereof to the Emperour. Who vnderſtanding their intent, ſent Lewes the county Pallatine of Heydelberge, and the Lorde Fredericke, Burgraue of Nuremberge, to ſignifie vnto them, which ruled yͤ councell, that nothing ſhould be reſolued or done in the caſe of John Hus, before yͭ it were fyrſt hearde with equity: and that thoy ſhould ſend him all ſuche Articles as were layd againſt the ſayde Hus, which were eyther falſe or heretical, and he would do ſo much, that the ſaid articles ſhoulde be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the Emperors wil, the iudgement of the principals of the councell was ſuſpended, vntill ſuch time as John Hus were preſent. In the meane ſeaſon theſe gentlemen, Mayſter de Dube and de Clum, dyd geue vnto the two princes which the Emperour had ſet, certaine ſmall treatiſes which the ſayd Hus had made, out of the which they had drawen certayne Articles to preſent vnto them which ruled the councell, vnder thys condition, that they woulde render them agayne, when they ſhould demaund them. The intent and meaning of theſe Barons was, that by this meanes the aduerſaries of John Hus might the more eaſily be reproued, yͭ which of a naughty and corrupt conſcience, had picked out corrupt ſentences out of the ſayd bookes of John Hus. The bookes were deliuered vnto the Cardinals and biſhops, and that done, John Hus was brought forth, & the princes which were ſent by the Emperour, departed backe againe. After they ſhewed the bokes vnto John Hus, and he confeſſed openly before the whole aſſemblye that hee had made them, and that he was ready, if there wer any fault in them, to amend the ſame. Now harken a litle to the holy proceedinges of theſe reuerend fathers, for here happened a ſtraunge and ſhameful matter. With much a doo they had ſcarſly red one article, and brought forth a few witneſſes vpon the ſame agaynſt hym, but as hee was about to open hys mouth to aunſwer, all thys mad heard or flock began ſo to cry out vpõ him, yͭ he had not leaſure to ſpeake one onely woord. The noyſe and trouble was ſo great and ſo vehement, that a man myght well haue called it a brute or noyſe of wilde beaſtes, and not of men, muche leſſe was it to be iudged a congregation of men gathered together, to iudge & determine ſo graue and waighty matters. And if it happened that the noyſe and cry did neuer ſo litle ceaſe, that he myght anſwer any thing at all, out of the holy ſcriptures or eccleſiaſticall doctors, by and by he ſhould heare theſe goodly replies vpon hym: That maketh nothyng to the purpoſe. Beſide all this, ſome did outrage in wordes againſt him, and other ſome ſpitefully mocked him: ſo that he ſeyng him ſelfe ouerwhelmed with this rude and barbarous noiſes and cries, and that it profited nothing to ſpeake, he determined finallye with him ſelfe to holde his peace and keepe ſilence. From that tyme forwarde al the whole route of his aduerſaries, thought that they had woon the battell of him, and cryed out all together, now he is dum, now he is dum. This is a certayne ſigne and token, that he doth conſent and agree vnto theſe his errors. Finally, the matter came to this poynt, that certayne of the moſt moderate and honeſt among them, ſeing this diſorder, determined to procede no further, but that all ſhould be deferred & put of vntill an other tyme. Through their aduiſe the prelates and others parted frõ the councell for that preſent, and appoynted to mete ther agayne the morow after to procede in iudgement.

An outragious councell.

The next day, whiche was the vij.of June, on which day the ſonne was almoſt wholy eclipſed, ſomwhat after about 7. of the clocke, this ſame flocke aſſembled agayne in the cloiſter of the Friers Minors, and by theyr appointement John Hus was brought before them, accompanied with a great nomber of armed mẽ. Thither went alſo the Emperour, whom the gentlemen, maſter de Dube, and Clũ, and the notary named Petor, which were great frẽdes of the ſayd Hus, did folow to ſe what the end would bee. When they were come thither, they heard yͭ in the accuſatiõ of Michael de Cauſis, they read theſe wordes folowyng: Jhon Hus hath taught the people diuers & many errours both in the Chapell of Bethleem, & alſo in many other places of the citie of Prage, of the whiche errours ſome of them he hath drawen out of Wickleffes bokes, and the reſt he hath forged and inuented of his own head, & doth maintaine the ſame very obſtinatly and ſtifly: Firſt that after the conſecration & pronunciation of the wordes, in the ſupper of the Lord, there remayneth materiall bread, and this is proued by yͤ witnes of Jhon Protiwaic pariſh prieſt of ſ. Clemẽts in Prage, Jhon Pecklow preacher at ſ. Giles in Prage, Beniſe preacher in the Caſtle of Prage, Andrew Brod, chanon of Prage, and diuers other prieſtes. Unto this Jhon Hus taking a ſolemne oth, aunſwered that he neuer ſpake any ſuch word, but thus much he did graunt, that at what tyme the Archbiſhop of Prage forbad him to vſe any more that terme or woorde bread, he coulde not alow the Biſhops commaundement: for ſo much as Chriſte in the vi.chapter of Jhon doth oftentimes name him ſelfe the bread of aungels, which came down from heauen, to geue lyfe vnto the whole world. But as touchyng materiall bread, he neuer ſpake any thyng at all. Then the Cardinall of Cambray takyng a certain Bill in his hand, whiche he ſayd he receyued the day before, ſayd vnto Jhon Hus, will you put any vniuerſalities a parte rei, i. as touchyng the thyng? When Jhon Hus aunſwered, that hee would, becauſe S. Anſelme, and diuers others had ſo done, the Cardinall did procede to gather his argument in this maner. It foloweth then ſayd he, that after the conſecratiõ is made, there remaineth the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread, & that I do thus proue: That the conſecration beyng done, whiles the bread is chaunged and tranſubſtãciate into the body of Chriſt, as you ſay, either there doth remaine the cõmon ſubſtaunce of materiall bread, or contrary wiſe. If the ſubſtaunce do remaine, then is our purpoſe at an end. If contrarywiſe, then doth it folow, that by the deciſion of the ſingularity, the vniuerſall ceaſeth any more to bee. Jhon Hus aūſwered, truly it ceaſeth to be in this ſingular material bread, by meanes of this tranſubſtantiatiõ, when as it is chaunged and tranſubſtanciate into the body of Chriſt: but notwithſtandyng in other ſingularities, it is made ſubiect.

A great Eclipſe of the Sunne.

They went forth with ſwordes and ſtaues, as it had bene to take a thiefe.

Peter and Iohn followe Chriſt into the biſhops houſe.

Matter made agaynſt Iohn Hus.

Falſe witnes againſt Iohn Hus.

The aunſwere of Iohn Hus.

Namyng of bread, forbyd by the Archb.

The Cardinall ſophiſticateth with Ioh. Hus.

Then a certayne Engliſhe man by that argument would proue out of the firſt poſitiõ, that there remained materiall bread. Then ſayd Jhon Hus, that is a childiſh argument, which euery boy in the ſcholes knoweth, and

The diſputation of the Engliſhe men.

therupon gaue a ſolution. Then another Engliſhe man would proue, that there remained material bread in the Sacrament, becauſe the bread after the conſecration was not anihilate. Unto whom J. Hus anſwered: Although ſayd he, that the bread be not anihilate or conſumed, yet ſingularly it ceaſeth there to be by meanes of the alteration of his ſubſtance into the bodye of Chriſt.

An Engliſhe man.

Here another Engliſh man, ſteppyng foorth ſayd: Jhon Hus ſemeth vnto me, to vſe the ſame kynde of crafty ſpeche, whiche Wickleffe vſed, for he graunted all theſe thinges, which this man hath done, and yet in very dede was fully perſuaded that materiall bread remayned in the Sacrament after the conſecration. The which when Jhon Hus had denied, ſaying yͤ he ſpake nothyng but only ſincerly & vprightly, accordyng to his conſcience, yͤ Engliſh man proceded to demaund of him agayn, whether the body of Chriſt be totally and really in yͤ Sacrament of the aultare.

I Hus agreeth with that blinde time in the ſacrament.

Wherunto Jhon Hus aunſwered: Uerely, J do thincke that the body of Chriſt is really & totally in the Sacrament of the aultare, the which was borne of the virgine Mary, ſuffred, dyed, & roſe againe, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty. When they had diſputed a good while to and fro, as touchyng vniuerſalities, the Engliſh man which before would proue that materiall bread remained in the Sacramēt, becauſe that the bread was not anihilate, interrupting and breaking their talke, ſaid: to what purpoſe is this diſputation vpon vniuerſalities, the whiche maketh nothyng to the purpoſe, as touchyng fayth: for as farre as J can perceaue or here, this mā holdeth a good opinion, as touchyng the Sacrament of the altare.

Stokes an Engliſh man.

Then another Engliſh man, named Stokes, ſayd: J haue ſene at Prage (ſayd he) a certaine treatiſe, yͤ which was aſcribed vnto this man Jhon Hus, wherin it was playnly ſet foorth, that after the conſecration, there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament. Uerely ſaid John Hus, ſauyng your reuerence, that is not true.

Falſe witnes.

Then they returned agayn vnto the witneſſes of thē whiche were ſpoken of a litle before, who euery man for him ſelfe affirmed with an oth, that whiche he had ſayd. Amongeſt whom Jhon Protyway pariſhe prieſt of S. Clementes in Prage, when he ſhould come to confirme his teſtimonie, added more, that Jhon Hus ſhould ſay, yͭ S. Gregory was but a rimer, whē he did alledge his authoritie againſt him. Unto whom Jhon Hus anſwered, that in this point they did him great iniurie, for ſo much as he alwayes eſteemed and reputed S. Gregorye for a moſt holy doctor of the churche.

John Hus falſly accuſed for calling S. Gregory a rymer.

The Cardinall of Florence.

Twentye witneſſes preuayled agaynſt John Hus, but the teſtimony of all Boheme would not ſerue on hys parte.

These contentions and diſputations beyng ſomwhat apeaſed, the Cardinall of Florence turned him ſelfe toward Jho. Hus, & ſaid: Maiſter, you know well inough, that it is written that in the mouth of 2. or 3. witneſſes all witnes is firme and ſtable: and here you ſée now almoſt xx. witneſſes agaynſt you, men of authoritie and worthy of credite, amongeſt the which ſome haue heard you teach theſe thynges them ſelues, the other by report and common brute or voyce, do teſtifie of your doctrine, and altogether generallye bryng firme reaſons and proufes of their witnes, vnto the which we are forced & conſtrained to geue credite, & for my part J ſée not howe you can maintaine and defēd your cauſe agaynſt ſo many notable & well learned men. Unto whom Jhon Hus aunſwered in this maner: J take God and my cōſcience to witnes, that J neuer taught any thyng, neither was it euer in my mynde or fantaſie to teache in ſuch ſort or maner, as theſe men here haue not feared to witnes agaynſt me, that which they neuer hard. And albeit they were as many more in nomber as they are, for all that, J do much more eſteme, yea and without compariſon regard the witnes of my Lord God, before the witnes & iudgement of all mine aduerſaries, vpon whom J do in no point ſtay my ſelfe. Then ſayd the Cardinall agayne vnto him, it is not lawfull for vs to iudge accordyng to your conſcience, for we can not chuſe, but that we muſt nedes ſtay our ſelues vppon the firme and euident witnes of theſe men here. For it is not for any diſpleaſure or hatred that theſe men do witnes this agaynſt you (as you do alledge) for they do alledge and bring forth ſuch reaſons of their witnes, that there is no man that cā perceiue any hatred in them, or that we can in any caſe bee in doubt therof. And as touching maiſter Steuē Paletz, wheras you ſay, you do ſuſpect hym that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawne out certeine pointes or Articles out of your bookes, for to betray them afterward: It ſemeth that in this point, you do hym great wrong, for in myne aduiſe he hath vſed and ſhewed a great fidelitye & amitie towards you, in that he hath alleuiate & moderated many of your Articles much more then they ar in your owne bookes. J vnderſtand alſo that you haue like opinion of diuers other notable men, and ſpecially you haue ſayd, that you do ſuſpect maiſter Chaūcelor of Paris, then whom there is no more excellent and Chriſtiā man in all the whole world.

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An other accuſatio for defen ding of Wicklif articles.

Then was there read a certaine Article of accuſatiō in the which it was alledged that Jhon Hus had taught and obſtinatly defended certeine erronious Articles of Wickleffes in Boheme. Wherunto Hus aunſwered, yͭ he neuer taught any errours of Jhon Wickleffes, or of any other mās. Wherfore, if ſo be that Wickleffe haue ſowed anye errours in England, let the Engliſhe men looke to that themſelues. But to confirme their Article, there was alledged that Jhon Hus did withſtād the cōdēpnation of Wickleffes Articles, the whiche was firſt condempned at Rome, and afterward alſo, when as the Archbiſhop Sbinco with other learned men, held a conuocation at Prage for the ſame matter, when as they ſhould haue bene there condempned for this cauſe, that none of them were agréeyng to the catholicke fayth or doctrine, but were either hereticall, erronious or offenſiue: he aunſwered that he durſt not agrée therunto, for offendyng of his conſcience, and ſpecially for theſe Articles: that Siluester the Pope and Conſtantine dyd erre, in beſtowyng thoſe great giftes and rewards vpon the Churche. Alſo that the Pope or prieſt beyng in mortall ſinne, can not cōſecrate nor Baptiſe. This Article ſayd hee, J haue thus determined, as if J ſhould ſaye that he doth vnworthely conſecrate or Baptiſe, whē as he is in deadly ſinne, and that he is an vnworthy miniſter of the Sacraments of God. Here his accuſers, with their witneſſes, were earneſt and inſtant, yͭ that Article of Wickleffe was written by the very ſame woordes in the treatiſe which Jhon Hus made agaynſt Steuen Paletz. Uerely ſayd Jhon Hus, J feare not to ſubmit my ſelfe, euē vnder the daunger of death, if you ſhall not find it ſo, as J haue ſayd. When the booke was brought forth, they founde it written as Jhon Hus had ſayd. He added alſo moreouer that he durſt not agrée vnto them whiche had condempned Wickleffes Articles, for this Article: the tenthes were pure almes. Here the Cardinall of Florence obiected vnto him this argument, as touchyng almes: It is required that it ſhould be geuē frely without bond or duety. But tenthes are not geuen frely, but of bond and duety: therfore are they no almes. Jhon Hus denying the Maior of this Sillogiſmus, brought this reaſon agaynſt him. For ſomuch as rich men are bounden vnder the payne of eternall dampnation, vnto the fulfillyng of yͤ vi. workes of mercy, which Chriſt repeateth in the xxv. chap. of Math: and theſe workes are pure almes: Ergo, almes is alſo geuen by bonde and duetye. Then an Archbyſhop of England ſteppyng vp, ſayd, if we all be bound vnto thoſe vi. workes of mercy, it doth folowe that poore men, whiche haue nothyng at all to geue, ſhould be damned. J aunſwere, ſaid Hus, vnto your antecedent, that J ſpake diſtinctly of riche mē, & of

Certayne articles of Wickleff that I. H ſtode in

A treatyſ agaynſt Steuen Palletz.

Whether tenthes be pure almoſe.

Almoſe ſtandeth of duet

thoſe whiche had wherewithall to doo thoſe woorkes: they I ſaye were bounde to geue almes vnder payne of dampnation.

He aunſwered moreouer vnto the Minor of the firſt argument, that tenthes were at firſt geuē freely, and afterwarde made a bonde and duetie. And when as hee would haue declared it more at large, hee could not bee ſuffred. He declared alſo diuers other cauſes, why hee could not with ſafe conſcience, conſent vnto the condemnation of Wickleffes articles. But howſoeuer the matter went, he did affirme and ſay, that he did neuer obſtinatly confirme any Articles of Wickliffes, but onely that he did not alowe and conſent that Wickliefes Articles ſhould be condemned before that ſufficient reaſōs were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnatiō, and of the ſame minde, ſayth Jhon Hus, are a great many other doctours and maiſters of the vniuerſity of Prage. For when as Sbinco the archbiſhop commaunded all wickliffes bookes to be gathered together in the whole city of Prage, and to be brought vnto him, I my ſelfe brought alſo certayne bookes of Wicklifes, which I gaue vnto the archbyſhop, deſiring him that if he founde any errour or hereſye in them that he woulde note and marke them, and I my ſelfe would publiſh thē openly. But the archbiſhop, albeit that he ſhewed me no errour nor hereſye in them, burned my bookes together with thoſe that were broughte vnto him, notwithſtanding that he had no ſuch commaundemente from Pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithſtandyng by a certayne policye he obtayned a Bull from the ſayd Pope by meanes of Jaroſlaus biſhop of Sarepte of the order of Franciſcanes, that all Wickliffes bookes for the manifold errours contayned in them (wherof there was none named) ſhould be taken out of al mens hands. The Archbiſhop vſing ẏ authority of this Bull, thought he ſhould bring to paſſe that the king of Bohem and the nobles ſhould conſent to ẏ condemnatiō of Wickleffes bokes, but therin he was deceaued. Yet neuertheles he calling together certayne deuines, gaue them in commiſſion to ſit vpon Wickliffes bookes and to proceede againſt them by a definitiue ſentence in the canon lawe. Theſe mē by a generall ſentence iudged all thoſe bookes worthy to be burned. The which whē the doctours, mayſters & ſcolers of the vniuerſitie heard reporte of, they altogether with one conſent & accorde, (none excepted but onely they which before were choſen by the Archbiſhop to ſit in iudgement) determined to make ſupplication vnto the king to ſtay the matter. The king graunting their requeſt, ſent by & by certayn vnto the archbiſhop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing as touching wickliffes bookes contrarye vnto the kinges will and pleaſure. Wherupon, albeit that he had determined to burne them the next day after, yet for feare of the kinge, the matter was paſſed ouer. In the meane time Pope Alexander the fifth beinge deade, the archebyſhop fearing leaſt the bull which he had receiued of the Pope, would be no longer of any force or effecte, priuely calling vnto him hys adherentes, & ſhutting the gates of his courte round about him, being garded with a nomber of armed ſouldioures, he conſumed and burned all Wickliffes bookes. Beſide this great iniurye the Archbiſhop by meanes of his bull aforeſayd, committed an other leſſe tollerable. For he gaue out commaundement that no man after that time vnder payne of excommunicatiō ſhould teach any more in chappels. Wherupon I did appeale vnto the pope, who being dead, and the cauſe of my matter remayning vndetermined, I appealed likewiſe vnto his ſucceſſor John.xxiii. Before whom when as by the ſpace of two yeares, I coulde not be admitted by my aduocates to defend my cauſe, I appealed vnto the high Judge Chriſte. When John Hus had ſpoken theſe wordes, it was demaunded of him whether hee had receiued abſoluciō of the Pope or no: he aunſwered, no. Then agayne whether it were lawfull for him to appeale vnto Chriſt or no. Wherunto J. Hus aunſwered: Verely I do affirme here afore you al ẏ there is no more iuſt or effectuall appeal, then that appeal which is made vnto Chriſt, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeale is no other thing then in a cauſe of griefe or wrong done by an inferiour iudge, to implore & require ayde & remedy at a higher Judges hand. Who is thē an higher Judge then Chriſt? Who I ſay can know or iudge the matter more iuſtlye or with more equitie? when as in him there is found no diſceit, neyther can he be diſceyued: or who can better helpe the miſerable and oppreſſed then he? Whiles John Hus with a deuoute and ſober countenaunce was ſpeaking and pronouncing thoſe woordes, he was derided and mocked of all the whole councell.

A queſtion of the councell, whether it be lawfull to appeale to Chriſt, or no.

The popyſh church derideth Chriſt.

Then was there rehearſed an other article of his accuſation in this maner: that John Hus for to confirme the hereſy which he had taught the common and ſimple people out of Wyckliefes bookes, ſayd openly theſe wordes, that at what tyme a great nomber of Monkes and friers and other learned men, were gathered together in Englande in a certain church, to diſpute agaynſt John Wicklief, and could by no meanes vanquiſhe him or geue hym the foyle, ſodenly the churche dore was broken open with lightning, ſo that with much a do Wickliefes ennemies hardly ſcaped without hurt. He added moreouer that he wiſhed his ſoule to be in ẏ ſame place where John Wickliefes ſoule was. Whereunto John Hus aunſwered: that a douſeine yeares before that any bokes of deuinity of John Wickliffes were in Bohem, he did ſee certayne woorkes of Philoſophye of his, the which he ſayd did merueilouſly delight & pleaſe him. And when he vnderſtoode the good and godly life of the ſayde Wickliffe, he ſpake theſe woordes: I truſte ſayd he that Wickliffe is ſaued, and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wiſhe that my ſoule were in the ſame place where John Wickliefs is. Then againe did all the company laugh and ieſt at him.

Hus accuſed for truſting that Wickliffes ſoule is ſaued.

It is alſo in his accuſation that John Hus did counſaill the people according to ẏ example of Moyſes, to reſiſt with the ſworde againſt all ſuche as did gayne ſaye hys doctrine. And the nexte daye after he had preached the ſame, there were found openly in diuers places certayne intimations that euerye man being armed with his ſworde aboute him, ſhoulde ſtoutlye proceede, and that brother ſhoulde not ſpare brother neither one neighboure an other. John Hus aunſwered that al theſe things were falſly layd vnto his charge by his aduerſaries, for he at all times whē he preached he did dilgently admoniſh, & warne the people, that they ſhould all arme them ſelues to defend the truth of the Goſpell, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, with the helmet and ſworde of ſaluation, and that he neuer ſpake of any materiall ſword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations or Moyſes ſworde, he neuer had nothing to do withall.

Sedicion layd to his charge.

It is moreouer affirmed in his accuſation and witnes, that many offences are ſprong vp by the doctrine of Hus. For firſt of al he ſowed diſcord betwene the Eccleſiaſticall, and the politike ſtate, whereupon folowed the perſecution, ſpoyling, and robbery of the clergie and biſhops. And moreouer that he thorow his diſſentiō, diſſolued the vniuerſity of Prage. Hereunto John Hus briefly aunſwered that theſe thynges had not happened by his meanes or default. For the fyrſt diſſention that was betwen the eccleſiaſticall and politike ſtate, ſprang and grew vpon this cauſe, that pope Gregory the.xii. of that name, promiſed at his election ẏ at all times at the wyll and pleaſure of the Cardinalls, he would depart from and geue ouer his ſeate againe: for vnder that condition

Hus accuſed for mouing certayne tumultes agaynſt the clergie & deuiſion in the vniuerſitie of Prage.

A ſtorye of popes.

he was elect and choſen. This man contrary & againſte Wenceſlaus king of Boheme, who was then alſo king of the Romaines, made Lewis Duke of Bauaria Emperour. A fewe yeares after it happened that when as pope Gregory would not refuſe and geue ouer his ſeate and office at the requeſt of ths cardinals, that the whole college of Cardinals ſent letters to the king of Boheme requiringe him, that togerher with them he woulde rerenounce and forſake his obediẽce vnto pope Gregory, and ſo it ſhould come to paſſe that by the authoritye of a new biſhop he ſhould recouer agayne his imperiall dignity. For this cauſe the king conſented to the will of the Cardinals as touching a neutrality, that is to ſay, that he would neyther take parte with Pope Gregorye, neyther yet with Benedict the .xii. biſhop of Auinion, whych was then named pope as it doth appeare by chronicles.

The cauſe why Sbinco and other of the Clergye dyd flye out of Prage.

In this cauſe then, forſomuch as the archbiſhop Sbinco with the Clergie, were againſt the king, and abſtaining from the diuine ſeruice manye of them departed out of the city, and the Archbiſhop himſelfe breaking down the tombe of the Lord Wenceslate cõtrarye and againſt the kings wil, did alſo take Wickliffes bookes & burned thẽ: thereuppon the king without any gaynesayinge ſuffered that certayne goodes of theyrs which of theyr owne willes were fled awaye, ſhoulde be ſpoyled, bycauſe they ſhould not conſent or accord with the Byſhop. Wherupon it is eaſy to be vnderſtande and knowne, that John Hus was falſlye accuſed for that matter.

Thys doctour Naſo was counſailer to kyng Wenceſlaus.

Howbeit a certayne man one Naſo riſing vp, ſayd: the Clergye (ſayd he) did not abſtayne from the deuine ſeruice becauſe they would not ſweare to conſente vnto the king, but bicauſe that they were ſpoyled and robbed of theyr goodes and ſubſtance. And the Cardinall of Cambraye, who was one of the Judges ſayd: here I muſt ſay ſome what which is come into my mynde. When as I came frõ Rome, the ſame yeare ẏ theſe thinges were done, by chance I met on the way certaine Prelates of Boheme. Whom whẽ I demanded what newes thei had brought out of Boheme, they anſwered that there was hapened a wonderfull cruell and heynous fact, for all the Clergy wer ſpoyled of all their ſubſtance, and very ill entreated and handled.

A declaration how the Germaines departed from the Vniuerſitie of Prage.

Then John Hus alleaging the ſame cauſe which he did before, went forward vnto the ſecond part of the article which was obiected agaynſt him, denying alſo that it happened thorowe his faulte that the Germaines departed from the vniuerſitye of Prage. But when as the king of Bohem accordinge to the foundacion of Charles the fourth his father, graunted three voices vnto the Bohemes, and the fourthe vnto the Germaynes, whereat the Germaynes grudging, that they ſhould be exempte from theyr voyces, of theyr owne accorde departed and wente theyr wayes, bindynge themſelues wyth a greate othe and vnder a greate penaltye, both of theyr fame and alſo monye, that none of them ſhould returne agayne vnto Prage.

The penaltie of money was 100. ſiluer ſhocke.

Notwythſtandinge I am not aſhamed to confeſſe that I did approue and alow the doynges of the kyng, vnto whome of duty I ow obedience for the commodity and profit of my countrie. And becauſe you ſhall not thynke that I haue ſpoken any vntruth, here is preſente Alberte Warren Trapius, whiche was Deane of the faculties, who had ſworne to departe with the reſt of the Germaines: he if that he wyl ſay the truth, ſhall eaſly cleare me of this ſuſpition.

But when as Albert woulde haue ſpoken, he coulde not bee heard. But the foreſayd Naſo, of whom before is made mẽtion, after he had aſked leaue to ſpeake, ſaid,

The ſlaunder of the vnſhamefaſt Sycophãte.

this matter do I vnderſtand well inough, for I was in the kynges court, when theſe thynges were done in Boheme, when as I ſawe the maiſters of the three nations of the Germaines, Bauarians, Saxons, and Sileſians, amõgeſt whom the Polloniãs were alſo numbred, moſt humbly come vnto the kyng, requiryng that he would not ſuffer the right of their voyces to be taken from thẽ. Then the kyng promiſed them that he would foreſee and prouide for their requeſtes. But Jhon Hus and Jerome de Prage with diuers others, perſuaded the kyng that he ſhould not ſo do. Whereat the kyng at the firſt being not a litle moued, gaue him a ſore check that he and Jerome de Prage, did ſo much entermedle thẽ ſelues, and moued ſuch opẽ controuerſies, in ſomuch that he threatned them, that except they would foreſee and take hede, he would bryng it to paſſe that the matter ſhould be determined and decreed by fire. Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers, you ſhall vnderſtand that the kyng of Boheme did neuer fauor with his heart, theſe mẽ whoſe vnſhamfaſtneſſe is ſuch, that they feared not euen of late, to intreate me euill, being ſo much in the kynges fauour and credite.

Palletz ſpeaketh agaynſt Hus.

After him ſtepped forth Paletz, ſaying, verely moſt reuerend fathers, not onely the learned men of other nations, but alſo of Boheme it ſelfe, are thorow the Councell of Jhon Hus and his adherents, baniſhed out of Boheme, of the whiche nomber ſome remaine yet in exile in Morauia. Hereunto Jhon Hus aunſwered, how can this be true ſayd he, ſithens I was not at Prage at that tyme, when as theſe men you ſpeake of, departed & went away from thẽce? Theſe things were thus debated ẏ day aforeſayd as touching John Hus.

Hus committed to cuſtodye.

Ierome of Prage.

This done, the ſaid Jhon Hus was committed to the cuſtody of the Byſhop of Rigen, vnder whom Jerome of Prage was alſo priſoner. But before ẏ he was lead away, ths Cardinall of Cambray, callyng hym backe agayne in ẏ preſence of the Emperour, ſayd: Jhon Hus, I haue heard you ſay that if you had not bene willyng of your owne minde to come vnto Conſtance, neither the Emperour him ſelf, neither the kyng of Boheme, could haue compelled you to do it. Unto whom Jhon Hus aunſwered, vnder your licence moſt reuerend father, I neuer vſed any ſuch kynde of talke or wordes. But this I did ſay, that there was in Boheme a great nomber of gentlemẽ and noblemen, whiche did fauour and loue me, ẏ whiche alſo might eaſely haue kept me in ſome ſure and ſecret place, that I ſhould not haue bene conſtrayned to come vnto this towne of Conſtance, neither at the will of the Emperour, neither of the kyng of Boheme.

The Cardinall of Cambray.

With that the Cardinall of Cambray euen for very anger began to chaunge his colour, and deſpitefully ſaid: do you not ſee the vnſhamefaſtnes of the mã here?

Iohn de Clum.

And as they wer murmuryng and whiſperyng on all partes, the L. Jhon de Clum, ratefiyng and confirmyng that whiche Jhon Hus had ſpoken, ſayd: that Jhon Hus had ſpoken very well, for on my part (ſayd he) whiche in compariſon of a great many others am but of ſmall force in the realme of Boheme, yet alwayes if I would haue taken it in hand, I could haue defended hym eaſely by the ſpace of one yeare, euen agaynſt all the force and power of both theſe great and mighty kings. How much better might they haue done it whiche are of more force or puiſſaunce then I am? and haue ſtronger Caſtels and places thẽ I haue? After that the Lord de Clum had ſpoken, the Cardinall of Cambray ſayd, let vs leaue this talke. And I tell you Jhon Hus, and counſaill you that you ſubmit your ſelfe vnto the ſentence and minde of the Councell, as you did promiſe in the priſon, and if that you will do ſo, it ſhall be greatly both for your profite and honour.

The Em rours ora tion to Iohn H

And the Emperour him ſelf began to tell him ẏ ſame tale, ſaying. Albeit that there be ſome which ſay that the .xv. day after you were committed to priſon, you obtained of vs our letters of ſaufeconduicte, notwithſtãding I cã well proue by the witnes of many princes and noble men, that the ſayd ſafe conduict was obtained and gotten of vs by my Lorde de Dube and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prage, vnder whoſe gards we haue ſet for you, to the end that none ſhould do you any outrage or hurt, but that you ſhould haue full libertie to ſpeake freelye before all the Councell, and to aunſwere as touchyng your fayth and doctrine, and as you ſee my Lordes the cardinals and Biſhops, haue ſo dealt with you that we do very well perceiue their good will towardes you, for the whiche wee haue great cauſe to thanke thē. And forſomuch as diuerſe haue told vs, ẏ we may not or ought not of right, to defēd any man which is an hereticke or ſuſpecte of hereſie: therefore now we geue you euen the ſame Councell, which the Cardinall of Cambray hath geuen you already, that you be not obſtinate to mainteine any opinion, but that you doo ſubmit your ſelfe vnder ſuche obedience as you owe vnto the authoritie of the holye Councell in all thynges, that ſhalbe layd agaynſt you and confirmed by credible witneſſes. The which thing if you do according to our Coūſayll, we will geue order that for ẏ loue of vs and of our brother and the whole realme of Boheme, the Councel ſhall ſuffer you to departe in peace with an eaſye and tollerable penaunce and ſatiſfaction. The whiche thyng if you do contrarywiſe refuſe to do, the preſidents of the Councell, ſhall haue ſufficient wherewithall to procede agaynſt you. And for our part be you fully aſſured that we will ſooner prepare and make the fire with our own handes to burne you withall, then we will endure or ſuffer any longer that you ſhall maintaine or vſe this ſtifnes of opinions, whiche you haue hetherto mainteyned and vſed. Wherfore our aduiſe & counſell is, that you ſubmit your ſelfe wholy vnto the iudgement of the Coūcell. Unto whom Jhon Hus aunſwered in this ſorte: O moſt noble Emperour, I rēder vnto your highnes moſt immortall thākes for your letters of ſafe conduict. Upō this Lord Jhon de Clum did breake him of his purpoſe and admoniſhed him, that he did in no point excuſe hymſelf of the blame of obſtinacie. Then ſayd Jhon Hus, O moſt gentle Lord, I do take God to my witnes, that I was neuer mynded to maintaine any opinion euer obſtinatly, and that for this ſame intent and purpoſe, I dyd come hether of myne owne good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine thē mine, that then I would chaunge mine opinion without any further doubt. After he had ſpoken and ſayd theſe things, he was ſent away with the ſergeants.

e aun- re of Hus to the perour.

The morow after, which was the viij. day of June, the very ſame company whiche was aſſembled the day before, aſſembled now agayne at the Couent of the Frāciſcans. And in this aſſembly were alſo Jhon Hus, hys frendes Lord de Dube, and Lord de Clum, and Peter the Notary. Thether was Jhon Hus alſo brought, and in his preſence there were read about xxxix. articles, the whiche they ſayd, were drawen out of his bookes. Hus acknowledged all thoſe that were faithfully and truely collected and gathered to be his, of the whiche ſort there were but very few. The reſidue were cōterfayted and forged by his aduerſaries, and ſpecially by Steuen Paletz, the principall author of this miſchief, for they could finde no ſuch thyng in the bookes out of the whiche they ſayd they had drawen and gathered them, or at the leaſt if they were, they were corrupted by ſlaunders, as a mā may eaſely perceiue by the nomber of Articles.

ix.arti. layd to Hus.

Theſe be the ſame Articles in a maner whiche were ſhewed before in the priſon vnto Jhon Hus, and are rehearſed here in another order. Howbeit, there wer more Articles added vnto thē and other ſome corrected or enlarged. But now we wil ſhow them one with an other, and declare what the ſayd Hus did aunſwere both openly before them all, as alſo in the priſon, for he left his anſweres in the priſon briefly written with his own hand in theſe wordes.

I Jhon Hus, vnworthy miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, maiſter of art and Bacheler of diuinitie, do confeſſe that I haue written a certayne ſmall treatiſe intituled of the churche, the copy wherof was ſhewed me by the Notaries of the three preſidentes of the Coūcel, that is to ſay, the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, the Biſhop of Caſtle, and the Biſhop of Libuſſ, the whiche deputies or preſidentes in reproofe of the ſayd treatiſe, deliuered vnto me certaine Articles, ſaying, that they were drawen out of the ſayd treatiſe, and were written in the ſame.

The aunſwere of Iohn Hus concerning his booke of the church.

The firſt Article. There is but one holy vniuerſall or catholike churche, whiche is the vniuerſall company of all the predeſtinate. I doo confeſſe that this propoſition is myne and is confirmed by the ſaying of S. Auguſtin vpon S. John.

1.

The ſecond Article. Saint Paul was neuer any mēber of the deuill, albeit that he committed, and dyd certaine actes lyke vnto the actes of the malignant church. And likewiſe S. Peter which fell into an horrible ſinne of periury and deniall of his maiſter, it was by the permiſſion of God, that he might the more firmely and ſtedfaſtly riſe agayne and be confirmed. I aunſwere, according to S. Auguſtine, that it is expedient that the elect and predeſtinate ſhould ſinne and offend.

2.

S Paule was neuer any member of the deuill.

Hereby it appeareth, that there is two maner of ſeparations from the holy churche. The firſt is, not to perdition, as all the elect are deuided from the churche. The ſecond is to perdition, by the which certaine heretikes are thorow their deadly ſinne, deuided from the church. Yet notwithſtādyng, by the grace of God they may returne agayne vnto the flocke and be of the folde of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, of whom he ſpeaketh him ſelfe ſaying, I haue other ſhepe whiche are not of this fold. Jhon x.

Two maner of ſeparations frō the church.

The third Article. No part or member of the church, doth departe or fall away at any tyme frō the body, forſomuch as the charitie of predeſtination, whiche is the bonde and chaine of the ſame, doth neuer fall. This propoſition is thus placed in my booke: As the reprobate of the churche, procede out of the ſame, and yet are not as partes or members of the ſame, forſomuch as no part or member of the ſame doth finally fall alway, becauſe that the charitie of the predeſtination, which is the bond and chaine of the ſame, doth neuer fall awaye. This is proued by the xiij. chapter of the firſt to the Corinthiās and to the Romaines the viij. chapter: All thinges turne to good to them which loue God. Alſo I am certain that neither death nor life can ſeparate vs from the charitie and loue of God, as it is more at large in the booke.

3.

The members of the church neuer fall finally away.

The iiij. Article. The predeſtinate although he be not in the ſtate of grace accordyng to preſent iuſtice, yet is he alwayes a member of the vniuerſall churche. This is an error, if it be vnderſtand of all ſuch as be predeſtinate, for thus it is in the booke about the begynnyng of the.v.chap. where it is declared, that there be diuers maners & ſortes of beyng in the churche, for there are ſome in the churche accordyng to a miſſhapen fayth, & other ſome accordyng to predeſtination, as Chriſtiās predeſtinate now in ſinne, but ſhall returne agayne vnto grace.

4.

The predeſtinate is alwaies a member of the vniuerſall church, although not in preſent iuſtice.

The fift article: There is no degree of honour or dignitie, neyther any humayne election, or any ſenſible ſigne, that can make any man a member of the vniuerſall church. I aunſwere thys article is after this manner in my booke. And ſuche ſubtilties are vnderſtande and knowen by conſidering what it is to be in the church, and what it is to bee a parte or member of the church, and that predeſtination doth make a man a member of the vniuerſall church, the which is a preparation of grace, for the preſent, & of glorye to come: and not any degree of dignitye, neither election of man, neyther anye ſenſible ſigne. For the accuſer Judas Iſcarioth notwithſtanding Chriſtes election, and the temporall graces which were geuen him for hys office of Apoſtleſhip, and that hee was reputed and counted of men a true Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, yet was he no true diſciple

5.

To be in the church: and a member of the church.

Predeſtination.

but

but a woolfe couered in a ſheepes ſkyn, as ſaynt Auguſtine ſayth.

6. The ſixt article: A reprobate man is neuer no member of the holy church. I anſwer, it is in my booke wyth ſufficient long probation out of the .xxvi. pſalme, and out of the .v. chapter to the Epheſians, and alſo by ſaint Bernard ſaying: the church of Jeſus Chriſt is more plainlye and euidently his body, then the bodye which he delyuered for vs to death. I haue alſo wrytten in the fiſt chapter of my booke, that the holy church is the barne of the Lord, in the which are both good and euill, predeſtinate & reprobate, the good being as the good corne or grayn, and the euill as the chaffe, and thereunto is added the expoſition of ſaynt Auguſtine.

Both good and bad in the church,

7. The ſeuenth article: Judas was neuer no true diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt. I anſwer and I do confes the ſame. This appeareth by the fiſt article, which is paſſed afore, and by ſaint Auguſtine in his booke of penaunce, where he doth expound the meaning of ſaynt John in his fyrſt Epiſtle and ſecond chapter, where he ſayde: They came out frõ amongſt vs, but they wer none of vs. He knew from the beginning all them which ſhoulde beleue, and hym alſo which ſhould betray him and ſayd: And therefore I ſay vnto you, that none commeth vnto me, except it be geuen him of my father. From that time many of the diſciples parted from hym: And were not thoſe alſo called diſciples according to the wordes of the Goſpell? And yet notwithſtanding they were no true Diſciples, becauſe they did not remayne and continue in the word of the ſonne of God, according as it is ſayde: If you remayne in my word, you be my diſciples. For ſo muche then as they dyd not continue with Chriſt as hys true diſciples, ſo likewiſe ar they not the true ſonnes of god: although they ſeeme ſo, vnto hym they are not ſo, vnto whom it is knowen what they ſhall be: That is to ſaye, of good, euill. Thus much writeth ſaint Auguſtine. It is alſo euident that Judas could not be the true diſciple of Chriſt, by meanes of hys couetouſnes, for Chriſt hymſelfe ſayd in the preſence of Judas, as I ſuppoſe, except a man forſake all that he hath, he cannot be my diſciple. For ſo much then as Judas did not forſake all thinges, according to the Lordes wyll, and followe hym, he was a theefe as it is ſayd, Joh. the .xij. and a diuel, John the .6 whereby it is euident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not hys true, but fayned diſciple. Whereupon ſaynt Auguſtine writing vpon John, declaring how the ſheepe heare the voyce of Chriſt, ſayth, what manner of hearers, thinke we, his ſheepe were? Trulye Judas heard him and was a woolfe, yet followed he the ſhepeheard, but beyng clothed in a ſhepes ſkyn he lay in wait for the ſhepeheard.

8. The eight article: The congregation of the predeſtinate, whether they bee in the ſtate of grace or no, according vnto preſent iuſtice, is the holy vniuerſall churche, & therfore it is an article of faith, & it is the ſame church which hath neyther wrinkle neyther ſpot in it, but is holy and vndefiled, the which the ſonne of God doth cal his own. The anſwer. The woordes of the booke out of the which this article was drawen are theſe: Thirdlye, the church is vnderſtand and taken for the congregation & aſſembly of the faythfull, whether they be in the ſtate of grace, according to preſẽt iuſtice or not. And in thys ſort it is an article of our fayth, of the which ſaynt Paul maketh mention in the fiſt chapter to the Epheſians: Chriſt ſo loued his church, that he deliuered and offered himſelf for the ſame. &c. I pray you then, is there anye faythfull man, the which doth doubt that the church doth not ſignifie all the elect and predeſtinate, the which we ought to beleue to be the vniuerſall church, the glorious ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt holy and without ſpot? Wherfore this article is an article of fayth, the which we ought firmly to beleue according to our Crede, I beleue the holy Catholike churche, and of this churche doth ſaynt Auguſtine, ſaint Gregory, Saynt Jerome, and diuers other make mention.

The church is taken ſomtime for the congregation of the elect & faythfull. and ſo is the article takẽ in the Crede.

9. The ninth article: Peter neuer was, neyther is the heade of the holy vniuerſall church. The anſwer. Thys article was drawen out of theſe woordes of my booke. All men do agree in this poynt, that Peter had receiued of the rocke of the church (which is Chriſt) humility, pouertie, ſtedfaſtnes of fayth, and conſequently bleſſednes. Not as though the meaning of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt was, whẽ he ſaid vpon this rock I wil build my church, that he would builde euerye Militant churche vpon the perſon of Peter, for Chriſt ſhould buylde hys church vpon the rocke which is Chriſt himſelfe, from whom Peter receiued hys ſtedfaſtnes of fayth, forſomuche as Jeſus Chriſt is the onelye heade and foundation of euerye church, and not Peter.

Peter ne was hea of the whole uerſall church.

The chu builded vpon Pe how.

10. The tenth article: If he that is called the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, do followe Chriſt in hys lyfe, then he is hys true vicar. But if ſo beit, he do walke in cõtrary pathes and wayes, then is hee the meſſenger of Antichriſt, and the enemy and aduerſarye of S. Peter, and of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, & alſo the vicar of Judas Iſcarioth. I anſwer, the wordes of my booke are theſe: If he whych is called the vicar of Saynt Peter walke in the wayes of Chriſtian vertues aforeſayd, we do beleue verelye that he is the true vicar and true biſhop of the church whych ruleth: but if he walke in contrarye pathes and wayes, then is he the meſſenger of Antichriſt, contrarye both to ſaint Peter, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And therefore S. Bernard in hys .4. booke did write in this ſort vnto pope Eugenie: Thou deliteſt & walkeſt in great pride & arrogancie, being gorgeouſlye & ſumptuouſlye arayde, what fruit or profit do thy flock or ſhepe receiue by thee? If I durſt ſay it, theſe be rather the paſtures & feedings of deuils, then of ſheepe. Saynt Peter and ſaynt Paule did not ſo, wherefore thou ſeemeſt by theſe thy doynges to ſucceede Conſtantine, and not ſaint Peter. Theſe be the very wordes of ſaint Bernard. It followeth after in my booke, that if the maner and faſhion of hys lyfe and liuing, be contrary to that which Saynt Peter vſed, or that he be geuen to auarice and couetouſnes, then is hee the vicar of Judas Iſcarioth, which loued and choſe the reward of iniquity, and did ſet out to ſale the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt. As ſoone as they hadde read the ſame, thoſe which ruled and gouerned the councell, beheld one another, making mockes and moes, they nodded their heads at hym.

The vica of Chriſt how he i to be tak

Bernard. ad Euge. niū. lib. 4.

11. The .xi. article: All ſuch as do vſe Symony, & prieſtes liuing diſſolutely and wantonly, do hold an vntrue opinion of the ſeuen ſacramentes, as vnbeleuing baſtards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keyes or cenſures, rites and ceremonies, neither of the deuine ſeruice of the church, or of veneration & worſhipping of reliques, neyther of ẏ orders conſtituted & ordeyned in the church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I anſwer, that it is placed in this maner in my booke. This abuſe of authority or power is committed by ſuch as do ſell and make marchandiſe of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by Symonye, making faires and markets of the holy ſacramentes, and liuing in all kynde of voluptuouſnes and diſſolute maners, or in any other filthye or vilanous kynde of lyuing. They do pollute and defile the holye eccleſiaſticall ſtate. And albeit that they profeſſe in woordes that they do know God, yet do they deny it agayn by their dedes, and conſequently beleue not in god: But as vnbeleuing baſtardes they hold a contrarye and vntrue opinion of the ſeuen ſacraments of the church. And this appeareth moſt euidently, for ſo much as all ſuch do vtterlye contemne and deſpiſe the name of God, accordyng to the ſaying of Malachie, ẏ firſt chapter: Unto you O prieſts

Prelates m king mar chandiſe holy orders.

be it ſpoken,which do deſpiſe and contemne my name.

12. The.xij.article: The papal dignitie hath his original from the Emperours of Rome. I aunſwer, and marke well what my wordes are. The preeminence and inſtitution of the Pope is ſprong and come of the Emperors power and authoritie. And this is proued by the. 96. diſtinction: for Conſtantine graunted this priuiledge vnto the biſhop of Rome,& other after him confirmed yͤ ſame: That like as Auguſtus for the outwarde and temporall goodes beſtowed vpon the churche,is counted alwayes the moſt high king aboue all others: ſo the Biſhoppe of Rome ſhould be called the principall father aboue all other biſhops. This notwithſtanding the papall dignitye hath hys original immediatly from Chriſt,as touching his ſpirituall adminiſtration & office,to rule the church. Then the Cardinall of Cambray ſayd: in the tyme of Conſtantine there was a generall councell holden at Nice,in the which,albeit the higheſt roume and place in the church was geuen to the biſhop of Rome,for honors cauſe it is aſcribed vnto the Emperour: Wherfore then do not you aſwell affirme and ſay that the papal dignity tooke hys originall rather from that councell, then by the Emperours autority and power?

The pope ...ath hys ...ginall ...the Em... ...rours. ...dist.

13. The.xiij.article: No man would reaſonably affirme (without reuelatiō)neyther of hymſelf nor of any other, that he is the head of any particular church. I anſwer, that I confeſſe it to be written in my booke,and it foloweth ſtraight after: Albeit that thorow hys good liuing he ought to hope and truſt that he is a member of the holy vniuerſall churche,the ſpouſe of Ieſus Chriſt, according to the ſaying of the Preacher: No man knoweth whether he be worthy and haue deſerued grace and fauour,or hatred. And Luke the.xvij. When ye haue done all that ye can,ſay that you are vnprofitable ſeruantes.

The pope ...not the ...d of any ...ticular ...rch,

14. The.xiiij.article: It ought not to be beleued that the Pope,whatſoeuer he be,may be the head of any particular church,vnleſſe he be predeſtinate or ordained of god. I anſwer,that I do acknowledge this propoſition to be myne,and thys is eaſy to proue,forſomuche as it is neceſſary that the Chriſtian fayth ſhould be depraued,forſomuch as the church was deceiued by. N. as it appeareth by ſaynt Auguſtine.

15. The xv.article. The Popes power as vicar, is but vayne,and nothing worth,if he do not confirme and addreſſe his life accordinge to Ieſus Chriſt, and doe not follow the manners of ſaynte Peter. I aunſwere that it is thus in my booke,that it is mete and expediente that he whiche is ordeyned vicar ſhoulde addreſſe and frame himſelf in manners and condicions,to the authoritye of hym which did put hym in place. And John Hus ſayde Moreouer,before the whole councell,I doo vnderſtande that the power and authority in ſuch a pope as doth not repreſent the maners of Chriſt, is fruteſtrate and voide as touching the merite and reward,which he ſhould obtayne and get therby,and doth not get the ſame: but not as concerning his office. Then certayne others ſtanding by,aſked of him ſaying,where is yͤ gloſe in your booke? John Hus aunſwered,you ſhall fynd it in my treatiſe agaynſt mayſter Palletz,whereat all the aſſiſtaunce(looking one vpon another)began for to ſmile and laughe.

...popes ...wer ...ie,

...tinction ...merite, ...office.

16. The xvi.article. The pope is moſt holy,not becauſe he doth ſupply and hold the roome and place of Saynt Peter,but becauſe he hath greate reuenues. I aunſwere, that my woordes are mutilate,for thus it is written: He is not moſte holy becauſe he is called the vicar of S. Peter,or becauſe he hath great and large poſſeſſions: But if he be the follower of Ieſus Chriſt in humility, gentlenes,pacience,labour and trauayle,and in perfecte loue and charity.

...ynes ...eth not ...ong, ...by ...wing.

17. The xvii.article. The Cardinals are not the manifeſt & true ſucceſſors of the other Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt, if they liue not according to yͤ faſhion of the Apoſtles keeping yͤ cōmaundements & ordinaunces of yͤ Lord Ieſus. I aunſwere,that it is thus writtē in my booke, & it proueth it ſelfe ſufficiently. For if they enter in by an other way then by the dore whiche is the Lord Ieſus, they bee murtherers and theues. Then ſaid the Cardinal of Cambray,beholde both in this and in al other articles before rehearſed,he hath written much more deteſtable thynges in his booke then is preſēted in his articles. Truly John Hus thou haſt kept no order in thy Sermons and wrytyngs. Had it not bene your parte to haue applyed your ſermons according to your audience? For to what purpoſe was it,or what did it profite you before the people to preach agaynſt the Cardinals,when as none of them were preſent? It had bene meter for you to haue tolde them theyr fautes before them all,then before the layty. Then aunſwered John Hus, reuerende father, forſomuche as I did ſee many prieſts and other learned men preſente at my ſermons, for theyr ſakes I ſpake thoſe wordes. Then ſayd the Cardinal,thou haſt doone verye ill, for by ſuch kynde of talke thou haſte diſturbed and troubled the whole ſtate of the church.

The Cardinall's do count it hereſie that they ſhould be compelled to be followers of the Apoſtles.

18. The.xviii.article. An heretike oughte not to be committed to the ſeculer powers to be put to death, for it is ſufficient onely that he abyde and ſuffer the Eccleſiaſtical cenſure. Theſe are my woordes: That they mighte be aſhamed of theyr cruell ſentence and iudgement, ſpecially forſomuch as Ieſus Chriſt biſhop both of the olde and new Teſtamēt, would not iudge ſuch as were diſobedient by ciuile iudgement,neyther condemne them to bodely death. As touching the fyrſt poynte, It may be euidently ſene in the.xii. Chapter. of Saynte Luke. And for the ſeconde it appeareth alſo by the woman whyche was taken in adultery,of whome it is ſpoken in the viii. Chapter of ſaynt John. And it is ſayd in the.xviii. chapter of Saynt Mathew: If thy brother haue offended thee &c. Marke therfore what I do ſay: That an heretik what ſoeuer he bee, ought firſt to bee enſtructed and taught with Chryſtian loue,& gentlenes by the holy ſcriptures, and by the reaſons drawne and taken out of the ſame, as ſaynt Auguſtine and others haue done, diſputing agaynſt the heretikes. But if there were any whyche after all theſe gentle and louing admonitions and inſtructions,would not ceaſe from,or leaue of theyr ſtifnes of opinions,but obſtinately reſiſt agaynſt the truth, ſuche I ſay ought to ſuffer corporal or bodely puniſhment. As ſone as John Hus had ſpoken theſe thinges, the iudges redde in his booke a certayne clauſe,wherein he ſeemed greuouſly to inuey agaynſt them which deliuered an heretike vnto the ſecular power,not beyng confuted or cōuicted of hereſy,and compared them vnto the hygh preſtes,Scribes,and Phariſes,which ſayd vnto Pilate, it is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death, and deliuered Chriſt vnto him: And yet notwithſtanding according vnto Chriſts owne witnes,they were greater murtherers then Pilate: for he,ſayd Chriſt,which hath deliuered me vnto thee,hath committed the greateſt offence. Then the Cardinals and biſhops, made a greate noyſe and demaunded of John Hus,ſaying, who ar they that thou doſt compare or aſſimule vnto the Phariſies? Thē he ſayd,all thoſe which deliuered vp any innocente vnto the ciuill ſword,as the Scribes and Phariſies,deliuered Ieſus Chriſt vnto Pilate. No,no,ſaid they again,for all that,you ſpake here of doctours. And the Cardinall of Cambray,according to hys accuſtomed manner ſayde: Truly,they which haue made & gathered theſe articles, haue vſed great lenitye and gentlenes, for his writings are much more deſtable and horrible.

Iohn Hus condemneth the crueltie of the prelates in ſeking the death of heretiques,

The betraying and condēning of innocentes.

And how could thys byſhop of Cambray vnderſtād the bookes of Ioh. Hus being written in Bohemian ſpeach, which he vnderſtoode not.

19. The.xix.article. The nobles of the worlde oughte to conſtrayne and compell the miniſters of the churche to obſerue and kepe the lawe of Ieſus Chriſte. I aunſwere that it ſtandeth thus word for word in my booke. Thoſe which be on our part do preach & affirm that the church

The church militant ſtandeth in three partes.
1. Miniſters.
2. Nobles.
3. Commons.

militant,according to the partes whych the Lorde hath ordayned, is deuided and cōſiſteth in theſe partes. That is to ſay:Miniſters of the churche, whiche ſhould keepe purely and ſincerely the ordinaunces and commaundements of the ſonne of God,and the Nobles of the world that ſhould compell & driue them to kepe the cōmaundementes of Ieſus Chriſt,and of the common people, ſeruyng to both theſe partes and endes according to the inſtitution and ordinaunce of Ieſus Chriſt.

Three kindes of obedience.
1. Spirituall.
2. Secular.
3. Eccleſiaſtical.

20. The.xx.Article. The eccleſiaſticall obedience is a kind of obedience which ẏ prieſtes & monkes haue inuented without any expreſſe authoritie of the holy Scriptures. I aunſwere and cōfeſſe,that thoſe wordes are thus written in my booke. I ſay,that there be thrée kindes of obedience,ſpirituall,ſecular,and eccleſiaſticall. The ſpirituall obedience is that, whiche is onelye due according to the law and ordinaunce of God,vnder the which the Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt did lyue,and all Chriſtians ought for to lyue. The ſecular obedience is,that whiche is due accordyng to the Ciuill lawes and ordinaunces. The eccleſiaſticall obedience is ſuch as the prieſtes haue inuented without any expreſſe authoritie of Scripture. The firſt kind of obedience doth vtterly exclude from it all euill,as well on his part which geueth the cōmaundment,as on his alſo whiche doth obey the ſame. And of this obedience it is ſpoken in the.xxiiij. chapter of Deut. Thou ſhalt do all that whiche the prieſts of the kyndred of Leuy ſhall teache & inſtruct thée accordyng as I haue commaunded them.

True obedience ruled by Gods commaundemēt. Deut.24.

21. The.xxi.Article. He that is excommunicated by the Pope,if he refuſe and forſake the iudgement of ẏ Pope and the generall Councel,& apealeth vnto Ieſus Chriſt, after he hath made his appellatiō all the excommunications and curſes of the pope can not annoy or hurt him. I aunſwere,that I do not acknowledge this propoſitiō, but in dede I did make my complaint in my boke, that they had both done me and ſuch as fauoured me great wrong, and ẏ they refuſe to heare me in ẏ Popes court. For after ẏ death of one Pope I did appeale to his ſucceſſour,& all that did profite me nothing.And to appeale frō the pope to the Councell,it were to long,& that were euen as much,as if a mā in trouble ſhould ſeeke an vncertaine remedie. And therfore laſt of all I haue appealed to the head of the churche my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, for he is much more excellent and better, then any Pope to diſcuſſe and determine matters and cauſes, for ſomuch as he can not erre,neither yet deny iuſtice to him ẏ doth aſke or require it in a iuſt cauſe,neither can he cōdemne ẏ innocent. Then ſpake the Cardinall of Cambray vnto him and ſayd:wilt thou preſume aboue S. Paul, who appealed vnto ẏ Emperour and not vnto Ieſus Chriſt? Ihon Hus anſwered: for ſomuch then as I am the firſt that do it,am I therfore to be reputed and coūted an heretike?And yet notwithſtandyng, S.Paul did not appeale vnto the Emperour of his owne motion or will, but by the will of Chriſte,whiche ſpake vnto him by reuelation and ſayd:be firme and cōſtante for thou muſt go vnto Rome.And as he was about to rehearſe his appeale agayne,they mocked hym.

Appealing vnto Chriſt.

Appealing to Chriſt, forbidde by the Cardinall of Cambray.

¶ For ſomuch as mention is here made of the appeale of the ſayd Hus,it ſeemeth good here to ſhew the maner and forme therof.

¶ *The copy and tenor of the apeale of Iohn Hus.*

The appeale of Iohn Hus from pope Iohn.23. vnto Chriſt.

The feruent complaint and prayer of Chriſt agaynſt wicked iudges.

FOraſmuch as the moſt mighty Lord one in eſſence.3. in perſon,is both the chiefe and firſt,and alſo the laſt, and vttermoſt refuge of all thoſe which ar oppreſſed,and that he is the God whiche defendeth veritye and truth, throughout all generations,doing iuſtice to ſuche as be wronged,being readye,& at hand to all thoſe which call vpon him in verity and truth,vnbinding thoſe that are bond,and fulfilleth the deſires of all thoſe which honour and feare hym: defending and keping all thoſe that loue him,and vtterlye deſtroyeth & bringeth to ruine the ſtifnecked and vnpenitent ſynner: and that the Lord Ieſus Chriſt very God and man,being in great anguiſh compaſſed in wyth the prieſtes, Scribes and Phariſeis,wicked iudges and witneſſes,willing by moſt bitter and ignominious death,to redeme the choſen children of God, before the foundation of the worlde, from euerlaſting damnation,hath left behinde him this godly example for a memory vnto them whych ſhoulde come after hym, to the intent they ſhoulde commit all theyr cauſes into the handes of God,who can do all thinges,and knoweth & ſeeth all thynges,ſaying in thys maner: O Lord,behold my affliction,for myne enemy hath prepared hymſelfe agaynſt me,and thou art my protectour and defendour. O Lord thou haſt geuen me vnderſtanding,and I haue acknowledged thee:thou haſt opened vnto me all their enterpriſes, and for myne owne parte I haue bene as a meeke Lambe,which is lead vnto ſacrifice,& haue not reſiſted agaynſt them. They haue wrought their enterpriſes vppon me, ſaying:Let vs put wood in hys breade, and let vs banyſhe hym out of the lande of the lyuyng, that his name be no more ſpoken of nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hoſtes whiche iudgeſt iuſtly & ſeeſt the deuiſes & Imaginations of their hearts, haſten thee to take vengeance vpon them,for I haue manifeſted my cauſe vnto thee,for ſomuch as the nōber of thoſe which trouble me is great, & haue counſailed together,ſaying: the Lord hath forſaken him,purſue him and catche hym. O Lord my God,behold theyr doynges,for thou art my patience:deliuer me from mine enemies,for thou art my God:do not ſeparate thy ſelfe far from me,for ſomuch as tribulation is at hand,and there is no man whiche will ſuccour me. My God, my God,looke downe vpon me, wherfore haſt thou forſaken me? So many dogges haue compaſſed me in,and the company of the wicked haue beſieged me round about,for they haue ſpoken agaynſt me with deceitfull toungues,and haue compaſſed me in with wordes full of deſpite, and haue enforced me without cauſe. In ſteade of loue towardes me, they haue ſclaundered me,and haue recompenſed me with euill for good, and in place of charitie, they haue conceiued hatred agaynſt me. wherfore behold I ſtaying my ſelfe vpō this moſt holy and frutefull example of my Sauiour and redemer,do appeale before God for this my grief and hard oppreſſion from this moſt wicked ſentence, and iudgement,and the excommunication determined by the Byſhops,Scribes,Phariſeis,& Iudges,whiche ſit in Moſes ſeat, and reſigne my cauſe wholy vnto him,ſo as the holy Patriarcke of Conſtantinople Iohn Chriſoſtome appealed twyſe from the councell of the biſhops and Clergie.And Andrew biſhop of Prage, and Robert byſhop of Lyncolne, appealed vnto the Soueraygne and moſte iuſt iudge,the whych is not defiled wyth cruelty,neither can he be corrupted with giftes and rewardes, neyther yet be deceyued,by falſe witneſſe.Alſo I deſire greatlye that all the faythfull ſeruauntes of Ieſus Chriſt, and eſpecially the Princes, Barons, Knightes, Eſquiers,& all other which inhabite our country of Boheme, ſhould vnderſtand and know theſe thinges,and haue compaſſion vpon me which am ſo greuouſly oppreſſed by the excommunication which is out againſt me,the which was obtayned and gotten by the inſtigation and procuremēt of Michaell de Cauſis my great enemy, & by the conſent & furtheraunce of the Canons of the Cathedrall church of Prage,& geuen & graunted out by Peter of ſaynt Aungels Deane of the church of Rome,and cardinall and alſo ordeined iudge by Pope Iohn the.xxiii. who hath continued almoſt theſe two years, and woulde geue no audience vnto my aduocates and Procuratores (which they ought not to deny, no not to a Iewe or Pagan, or to any heretike,whatſoeuer he were)neyther yet would he receyue any reaſonable excuſe for that I dyd not appeare perſonally,neyther would he except the teſtimonials of the whole vniuerſity of Prage,with the ſeale hanging at it,or the wytnes of the ſworne Notaries, & ſuch as were called vnto witnes.By thys all men maye euidently perceiue that I haue not encurred anye faulte or crime of cōtumacy or diſobedience,forſomuch as ẏ I did not appeare in the court of Rome,was not for any contempt,but for reaſonable cauſes. And moreouer, forſomuch as they had layd embuſhmentes for me on euerye ſyde by wayes where I ſhoulde paſſe, and alſo becauſe the perylls and daungers of others, haue made me the more circumſpect and aduiſed, and forſomuch as my procurours were wylling & contented to bynde them ſelues euen to abyde the puniſhment of the fyre, to anſwer to al ſuch as would appoſe or lay any thing agaynſt me in the court of Rome,as alſo becauſe they did impriſō my law

full

After the example
Chriſt he
maketh h
prayer to
God.

A Godly prayer of Iohn Hu

Chryſoſtome, Andrew
Prage, Robert bi
ſhop of Li
colne appealed frō men to Chriſt.

Iohn Hu
cōplayne
of Micha
de Cauſis,
hys great enemye.

full procurour in the ſaid court, without any cauſe, demerite or faulte as I ſuppoſe. For ſomuch then as the order and diſpoſition of all auncient lawes, as well diuine of the old and new Teſtamēt, as alſo of the Canon lawes, is this, that the iudges ſhoulde reſorte vnto the place where the crime or faulte is cōmitted or done, and there to enquire of all ſuch crimes as ſhalbe obiected and layd agaynſt hym whiche is accuſed or ſclaundered, and that of ſuch men as by conuerſation haue ſom knowledge or vnderſtandyng of the partie ſo accuſed (the whiche may not be the euill willers or enemies of hym whiche is ſo accuſed or ſclaundered, but muſt be men of an honeſt conuerſation, no common quarell pickers or accuſers, but feruent louers of the law of God) and finally that there ſhould be a fytte and mete place appoynted whether as the accuſed partie might without daunger or perill, reſorte or come: and that the iudge and witneſſes ſhoulde not be enemies vnto hym that is accuſed: and alſo for ſomuch as it is manifeſte that all theſe conditions were wantyng and lackyng, as touchyng my apparaunce for the ſauegarde of my lyfe, I am excuſed before God from all the friuolous pretended obſtinacie and excommunication. Whereupō I Jhon Hus do preſente and offer this my appeale vnto my Lorde Jeſu Chriſt, my iuſt Judge who knoweth, defendeth, and iuſtly iudgeth euery mās iuſt and true cauſe.

22. The xxii. article. A vicious and naughtye man liueth viciouſly and naughtely: but a vertuous and godly mā liueth vertuouſly and godly. I aunſwere: my wordes are theſe. That the deuiſion of all humayne workes is in two parties, that is, that they be eyther vertuous or vicious: Forſomuch as it doth appere that if any man be vertuous and godlye, and that he do anye thing, he doth it thē vertuouſly and godly. And contrarywiſe, if a man be vicious and naughte, that whiche he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice which is called cryme or offence, & therby vnderſtand deadly ſinne, doth vniuerſally infecte or depraue all the actes and doyings of the ſubiect, that is of the man which doth them: ſo likewiſe vertue & godlines doth quicken all the actes and doynges of the vertuous and godly man: in ſo muche that he beyng in the ſtate of grace, is ſayd to pray and do good workes euen ſleeping, as it were by a certayne meanes working: As ſaynt Auguſtine, ſaynt Gregory and diuers others doo affirme. And it appeareth in the firſt chapter of Luke: If thyne eye, that is to ſay, the mind or intentiō be ſimple, not depraued with yͤ peruerſnes of any ſinne or offēce, all the whole body, that is to ſay, all the actes & doinges ſhall be cleare and ſhining, that is, acceptable and gratefull vnto God. But if thine eye be euell the whole bodye is darkened. And in the ſeconde to the Corinth. x. chapt. All things that you do, do them to the glory of God. And likewiſe in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and laſt chapter it is ſayde: Let all your doynges be dane wyth charitye. Wherefore all kinde of lyfe and liuinge according vnto charite, is vertuous and godlye: and if it be without charity, it is vicious and euill. This ſaying may well be proued out of the. xxiii. chap. of Deutronomy, where God ſpeaketh vnto the people that he that kepeth his commaundementes, is bleſſed in the houſe & in the fielde, out goying and in comming, ſleeping and waking: but he that doth not kepe his commaundemēt is accurſed in the houſe and in the fieldes, in goyng out & comming in, ſleping and waking. &c. The ſame alſo is euident by ſaynt Auguſtyne vpon the Pſalme where he writeth, that a good man in all his doynges doth praiſe the Lord. And Gregory ſayth, that the ſlepe of ſaintes & holy men, doth not lacke theyr merite. How much more then his doyngs whiche procede of a good zeale, be not without reward and conſequently be vertuous & good? And contrarywiſe is it vnderſtand of hym, which is in deadly ſinne, of whom it is ſpoken in the law, that whatſoeuer the vncleane man doth touch, is made vncleane. To this end doth that alſo appertayne whiche is before repeted out of the firſt of Malachy. And Gregory in the firſt booke and fyrſt queſtion, ſayth: we doo deſyle the bread, which is the body of Chriſt, when as we come vnworthelye to the table, and when we beinge defiled, doo drinke hys bloude. And ſaynt Auguſtine vpon the. 146. Pſalme, ſayth: if thou dooſt exceede the due meaſure of nature, and dooſt not abſtayne from glottonye, but gorge thy ſelfe vp with dronkennes, whatſoeuer laude or praiſe thy tonge doth ſpeake of the grace and fauour of God, thy life doth blaſpheme the ſame. When he had made an end of this article, the Cardinall of Cambray ſayd: The Scripture ſaith that we be all ſinners. And agayne, if we ſay we haue no ſin, we deceyue our ſelues, and ſo we ſhoulde alwayes lyue in deadlye ſinne. John Hus aunſwered the Scripture, ſpeaketh in that place of veniall ſinnes, the whych do not vtterly expell or put away the habite of vertue from a man, but do aſſociate themſelues together. And a certayne Engliſhe manne whoſe name was W. ſayd: but thoſe ſinnes do not aſſociate themſelues with any act morally good. John Hus alleaged agayne Saynte Auguſtines place vpon. 146. Pſalme, the whych when he rehearſed, they al with one mouth ſayd, what makes this to the purpoſe?

Cardinall of Cambray obiecteth.

John Hus aunſwereth.

23. The. xxiii. Article. The miniſter of Chriſt lyuyng accordyng to his law, and hauyng the knowledge and vnderſtandyng of the Scriptures, and an earneſt deſire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithſtandyng the pretended excommunication of the Pope. And moreouer if the Pope or any other ruler, do forbid any prieſt or miniſter ſo diſpoſed, not to preach, that hee ought not to obey him. I aunſwere, that theſe were my woordes. That albeit the excommunicatiō were either threatned or come out agaynſt him, in ſuch ſorte that a Chriſtian ought not to doe the commaundementes of Chriſt, it appeareth by the wordes of S. Peter, and the other Apoſtles, that we ought rather to obey God, then mā. Wherupon it followeth that the miniſter of Chriſt lyuing according vnto his law. &c. ought to preache notwithſtanding any pretended excommunication. For it is euident that it is commaunded vnto the miniſters of the church to preach the woord of God. Actes. v. God hath cōmaunded vs to preache and teſtifie vnto the people, as by dyuers other places of the ſcripture, and the holye fathers, rehearſed in my treatiſe it doth appeare more at large. The ſecond part of this article followeth in my treatiſe in thys maner: By this it appeareth that for a miniſter to preach, and a rich man to geue almes, are not indifferent workes, but duties and commaundements. Wherby it is further euident, that if the Pope or any other ruler of the church do commaund anye Miniſter diſpoſed for to preach, not to preache, or a riche man diſpoſed for to geue almes, not to geue, that they ought not to obeye him. And he added moreouer, to the intent that you may vnderſtande me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is vniuſtly diſordered and geuen forth contrarye to the order of the lawe and Gods commaundements. For the which the mete Miniſter appointed therunto, ought not to ceaſe from preaching, neyther yet to feare damnation.

Forbydding to preach, whether it ought to be obeyed.

Act. 5.

Preaching and almoſe geuing, be not workes indifferent, but duties and commaundements.

To forbyd a miniſter to preach: And to forbyd a ryche man to geue almoſe, is both one.

Then they obiected vnto him, that he had ſayde that ſuch kinde of excommunications were rather bleſſings. Verely ſayd Hus, euen ſo do I now ſay agayne, that euery excommunication, by the which a man is vniuſtlye excommunicate: is vnto him a bleſſing afore God, according to the ſaying of the prophet: I wyll curſe where as you bleſſe: & contrary wiſe, they ſhall curſe, but thou O Lord ſhalt bleſſe. Then the Cardinall of Florence, which had alwaies a Notary ready at his hand to write ſuch thinges as he commaunded him, ſayd: The law is, that euery excommunicatiō, be it neuer ſo vniuſt, ought to be feared. It is true ſayd John Hus, for I do remember eight cauſes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared. Then ſayd the Cardinall, is there no more but eight? It may be, ſaid John Hus, yͭ there be more.

How the popes curſings are bleſſinges.

The Cardinall of Florence with hys Notarie.

Viii. cauſes why excōmunication ought to be feared.

24. The.xxiiij. article. Euery man which is admitted vnto the miniſtery of the Church, receiueth alſo by ſpeciall commaundement, the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfyl that commaundement, notwithſtanding any excommunication pretended to the contrarye. The anſwer. My woordes are theſe: Forſomuche as it doth appeare by ẏ whych is aforeſayde, that whoſoeuer commeth, or is admitted vnto the miniſtery, receyueth alſo by eſpeciall commaundemẽt, the office of preaching he ought to fulfyll that commaundement, anye excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithſtãdyng. Alſo, no Chriſtian ought to doubt, but that a mã ſufficiently inſtructed in learning, is more bound to counſail and inſtruct the ignoraunt, to teache thoſe which are in doubt, to chaſtiſe thoſe which are vnculye, and to remyt and forgeue thoſe that do him iniury, then for to do any other workes of mercy. For ſomuche then as he that is riche and hath ſufficient, is bounden vnder the payne of damnation to miniſter and geue corporall and bodelye almes, as appeareth in the.xxv.chap. of Mathew: howe much more is he bound to do ſpirituall almes?

A miniſter once admitted is more bound to preach: then to doe any other worke of mercye, the popes prohibition notwithſtandyng.

25. The.xxv.article. The eccleſiaſticall cenſures are Antichriſtian, ſuch as the Clergie hath inuented for theyr own preferment, and for the bondage and ſeruitude of the common people. Whereby if the Laity be not obedient vnto the Clergie at their wyll and pleaſure, it doth multiply their couetouſnes, defendeth theyr malice, and prepareth a way for Antichriſt. Wherby it is an euident ſigne and token, that ſuch cenſures proceede from Antichriſt, the which cenſures, in their proceſſes they doo call Fulminations or Lightninges, wherby the clergy doth chiefly procede againſt ſuche as doe manifeſt and open the wickednes of Antichriſt, which thruſt them ſelues into the office of the Clergye. Theſe thinges ar contayned in the laſte chapter of hys treatiſe of the churche. I anſwer, and I deny that it is in that forme. But the matter thereof is largelye handled in the.xxiij.chapiter. And in the examination of the audience, they haue gathered certayne clauſes moſt contrary therunto. The which when they had red, the Cardinall of Cambray renewed hys olde ſong, ſaying: trulye theſe are muche more greuous and offenſiue, then the articles which are gathered.

Cenſures of the popes church, multiplyeth the popes couetouſnes.

26. The.xxvj.article. Ther ought no interditement to be appoynted vnto the people, forſomuch as Chriſt the hye biſhop, neither for John Baptiſt, neither for any iniury that was done vnto him, did make anye interditement. My wordes are theſe: When as I complayned, that for one Miniſters ſake an interditement was geuen out, & thereby all good men ceaſed from the laud and praiſe of God. And Chriſt the high biſhop, notwithſtandyng that the Prophet was taken and kept in priſon, then whom there was no greater amongeſt the children of men, did not geue out anye curſe or interditement, no not when as Herod beheaded him, neyther when he hymſelf was ſpoyled, beaten, and blaſphemed of the ſoldiours, ſcribes and Phariſeis, he did not then curſe them, but prayed for them, and taught hys Diſciples to do the ſame, as it appeareth in the fift chapter of S. Mathew. And Chriſtes firſt vicar folowing the ſame doctrine & learning, sayth in hys firſt Epiſtle of ſaint Peter and the ſeconde chapiter: Hereunto are ye called: For Chriſt hath ſuffred for vs, leauing vs an example that we ſhoulde follow hys footeſteps, who when he was curſed and euyll ſpoken of, dyd not curſe agayne. And ſaint Paule followyng the ſame order and waye in the.xij. chapter to the Romaynes, ſayth: bleſſe them that perſecute you. There were beſides theſe many other places of ſcripture recited in that booke, but they being omitted, theſe wer onely rehearſed, which did helpe or preuaile to ſturre vp or moue the Judges myndes.

Chriſt interdicted none, but prayed for all.

1.Pet.2.

Rom.12.

And theſe are the articles whiche were alledged out of John Hus his booke intituled Of the Church.

Other Articles moreouer out of other hys bookes were collected, & forced agaynſt him, firſt out of his treatiſe writtẽ agaynſt Steuẽ Paletz, to ẏ number of 7.articles. Alſo 6.other articles ſtreined out of his treatiſe agaynſt Staniſlaus Znoyma. Wherunto his aunſweres likewiſe be adioyned, not vnfruitfull to be read. Which notwithſtandyng for breuitie, we here pretermit, referryng ẏ reader to our former edition of Actes & Monum. in the pag.222. And ſo will we paſſe to the 19. Articles, which beſide the reſt a foreſayd, were brought vnto him beyng in priſon, with his aunſweres likewiſe ioyned to the ſame. Of the whiche Articles the firſt is this.

Actes a Monu pag.222.

The firſt Article. Paule accordyng vnto preſent iuſtice, was a blaſphemer and none of the churche, & there withall was in grace, accordyng vnto predeſtination of life euerlaſting. The aunſwere. This propoſition is not in the booke, but this whiche foloweth: Wherby it doth ſeme probable, that as Paul was both a blaſphemer, according to preſent iuſtice, and there withall alſo was a faithfull childe of our holy mother the churche, and in grace accordyng to predeſtination of lyfe euerlaſtyng. So Iſcariot was both in grace accordyng vnto preſent iuſtice, and was neuer of our holy mother the churche, accordyng to the predeſtination of lyfe euerlaſtyng, for ſomuch as he lacked that predeſtinatiõ. And ſo Iſcariot albeit he was an Apoſtle, and a choſen Biſhop of Chriſt, whiche is the name of his office, yet was hee neuer no part of the vniuerſall churche.

1. Artic

Paule bo he was both a bl phemer, alſo a member Chriſt.

The.ij. Article. Chriſt doth more loue a predeſtinate man beyng ſinnefull, then any reprobate in what grace poſſible ſo euer he be. The aunſwere. My wordes are in the iiij.chapter of my booke intituled of the Church, and it is euident that God doth more loue any predeſtinate beyng ſinfull, then any reprobate, in what grace ſo euer he be for the tyme: for ſomuch as he will, that the predeſtinate ſhall haue perpetuall bleſſedneſſe, and the reprobate to haue eternall fire. Wherfore God partly infinitly louyng them both as his creatures, yet he doth more loue ẏ predeſtinate bicauſe he geueth him greater grace, or a greater gift: that is to ſay, lyfe euerlaſtyng, which is greater and more excellent thẽ onely grace, accordyng vnto preſent iuſtice. And the.iij. article of thoſe articles before, ſoundeth much nere vnto this, ẏ the predeſtinate cãnot fal frõ grace, for they haue a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be depriued of the abundaunt grace for a tyme. Theſe thinges are true in the compound ſenſe.

2. Artic

Predeſti nation.

The iij. Article. All the ſinnefull accordyng vnto preſent iniuſtice, are not faithfull, but do ſwarue from the true Catholike faith, for ſomuch as it is vnpoſſible that any man can cõmit any deadly ſinne, but in that point, that he do ſwarue from the fayth. The aunſwere. I acknowledge that ſentence to be myne, and it appeareth, that if they did thinke vpon ẏ puniſhment which is to be layd vpon ſinners, & did fully beleue, & had the fayth of ẏ deuine knowledge & vnderſtandyng. &c. then vndoubtedly they would not ſo offend and ſinne. This propoſition is verified by the ſaying of ẏ Prophet Eſay: Thy rulers are vnfaithful, miſbeleuers, felowes and companions of theeues, they all loue brybes, and folowe after rewardes. Beholde the Prophete calleth the rulers of the Church infidels for theyr offences, for all ſuch as do not keepe their fayth inuiolate vnto theyr principall Lord, are vnfaythfull ſeruauntes, and they alſo are vnfaythfull children whiche kepe not theyr obedience, feare and loue vnto God their father.

3. Artic

Who ſo c mitteth deadly ſinne ſw ueth fro the fayth

Item, this propoſition is verified, by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, the.i.chap. to Titus: They do confeſſe that they know God, but by theyr workes they do deny him. And for ſomuch as they whiche are ſinnefull, do ſwarue away from the meritorious woorke of bleſſedneſſe, therfore

Tit. c

for they do ſwarue from the true fayth grounded vpō charitie, for ſomuch as faith wᵗout workes is dead. To this end doth alſo pertaine, that whiche yͤ Lord ſpeaketh Math. xxiij. of the faithfull and vnfaithfull ſeruaunt.

The. iiij. Article. Theſe woordes of Jhon in his. xxij. chap. Receiue the holy Ghoſt: And whatſoeuer you ſhall binde vpon earth. &c. And Mathew xvi. and. xviij. chap. for lacke of vnderſtandyng ſhall terrifie many Chriſtians, and they ſhalbe wonderfully afrayde, and others ſhalbe deceiued by them, preſumyng vpon the fulnes of their power and authoritie. The aunſwere. This ſentēce I do approue and alow, and therefore I ſay in the ſame place, that it is firſt of all to be ſuppoſed that the ſaying of our ſauiour is neceſſary, as touchyng the vertue of yͤ word, foraſmuch as it is not poſſible for a prieſt to binde and loſe, except that bindyng and loſing be in heauen. But for the lacke of the true vnderſtandyng of thoſe wordes, many ſimple Chriſtians ſhalbe made afrayde, thinckyng with them ſelues that whether they be iuſt or vniuſt, the prieſtes may at their pleaſures, whenſoeuer they will, binde them. And the ignorant prieſtes do alſo preſume and do take vpon them to haue power to binde and loſe whenſoeuer they will. For many fooliſh and ignoraunt prieſtes do ſay that they haue power and authority to abſolue euery man confeſſyng him ſelfe, of what ſinne or offence ſo euer it be, not knowyng that in many ſinnes it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hypocrite do confeſſe hym ſelfe, or ſuch one as is not contrite for his ſinne, wherof prouſe hath oftētimes ben founde, and it is euident for ſomuch as the letter doth kill, but the ſpirite doth quicken.

The. v. Article. The bindyng and loſyng of God, is ſimply and playnly the chief and principall. The aunſwere. This is euident, for ſomuch as it were a blaſphemous preſumption to affirme, that a man may remit & forgeue an euill fact or offence done agaynſt ſuch a lord, the Lord him ſelf not approuyng or allowyng the ſame. For by the vniuerſall power of the Lord, it is neceſſary that he do firſt abſolue & forgeue, before that hys vicare do the ſame, neither is there any Article of our fayth, whiche ought to be more common or knowne vnto vs, then that it ſhould be impoſſible for any man of the militant churche to abſolue or binde, except in ſuch caſe as it be cōformable vnto the head of yͤ church Jeſu Chriſt. Wherfore euery faithfull Chriſtian ought to take hede of that ſaying: if the Pope or any other pretend by any maner of ſigne to binde or loſe, that he is therby bound or loſed, for he that doth graunt and confeſſe that, muſt alſo conſequently graunt and confeſſe that the Pope is without ſinne, and ſo that he is a God, for otherwiſe he muſt nedes erre, & do contrary vnto the keyes of Chriſt. This ſaying proueth the fact of the Pope, who alwayes in his abſolution preſuppoſeth contrition and confeſſiō. Yea moreouer, if any letter of abſolution be geuē vnto any offender, whiche doth not declare the circumſtāces of the offence whiche ought to be declared, it is ſayd that thereby the letter of abſolution is of no force and effect. It is alſo hereby euident, that many prieſtes do not abſolue thoſe whiche are confeſſed, becauſe that either thorow ſhamefaſtnes they do cloke or hide greater offēces, or els that they haue not due contricion or repentaunce, for vnto true abſolution there is firſt required contritiō. Secondly a purpoſe and intent to ſinne no more. Thirdly true confeſſion. And fourthly ſted faſt hope of forgeueneſſe. The. i. appeareth by Ezechiell, if the wicked do repent hym. &c. The. ij. in the. v. &. viij. of Jhon, do thou not ſinne any more. The. iij. parte by this place of Luke: ſhewe your ſelues vnto the prieſtes. And the. iiij. is confirmed by the ſaying of Chriſte: My ſonne beleue, and thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee. I alſo added many other probations in my treatiſe out of the holy fathers, Auguſtine, Jerome, and the maiſter of the ſentences.

6. Article.

The. vi. article. The prieſtes do gather and heape vp out of the ſcriptures thoſe thinges whych ſerue for the belly, but ſuch as pertayne to the true imitation and folowing of Chriſt, that they reiect and refuſe as impertinent vnto ſaluation. The anſwer. This S. Gregorye doth ſufficiently proue in his. xvij. homely, alledging the ſaying of Chriſt: The harueſt is great, but the workemen are fewe, ſpeaking alſo that which we cannot ſaye without griefe or ſorowe, that all be it there bee a great nomber which willinglye heare good thinges, yet there lacketh ſuch as ſhould declare the ſame vnto them, for behold the world is full of prieſtes, but notwithſtanding there is ſcarſity of workmen in the harueſt of the Lord. We take vpon vs willingly prieſthood, but we doo not fulfill and do the workes and office of prieſthoode. And immediately after he ſaith, we are fallen vnto outward affaires and buſines, for we take vpon vs one office for honour ſake, and we do exhibite & geue an other to eaſe our ſelues of labour. We leaue preaching, and as farre as I can perceiue, we are called Biſhops to our payne, which do retayne the name of honour, but not the vertue. And immediatly after he ſayth, we take no care for our flocke, we dayly call vpon for our ſtipende and wages, we couet and deſire earthly thinges with a greedye minde, we gape after worldly glory, we leaue the cauſe of God vndone, and make haſt about our worldlye affaires and buſines, we take vpon vs the place of ſanctity and holines, & we are wholy wrapped in worldlye cares and troubles. &c. This writeth S. Gregory with manye other thinges more in the ſame place. Alſo in hys paſtorall, in his Morals, in his Regiſter. Alſo Saint Bernard wᵗ many other places. Likewiſe in his. xxxiij. ſermon vpon the Canonicals, he ſayth: all friendes, & all enemies: all kinſfolkes, & all aduerſaries: all of one houſhold, and no peace makers: they are the Miniſters of Chriſt, and ſerue Antichriſt: they go honorablye, honoured with the goods of the Lord, and yet they do no honor. &c.

Ex Gregorio.

Prieſtes more geuen to theyr own lucre and bely, then to the ſeruice of Chriſt.

7. Article.

The. vij. article. The power of yͤ pope, which doth not folow Chriſt, is not to be feared. The anſwere. It is not ſo in my treatiſe, but contrarywiſe that the ſubiects are bound willingly and gladlye to obey the vertuous and good rulers, and alſo thoſe which are wicked and euyll. But notwithſtanding, if the Pope do abuſe his power, it is not thē to be feared as by bondage. And ſo the lords the Cardinals as I ſuppoſe, did not feare the power of Gregory the. xij. before his depoſition, when as they reſiſted hym, ſaying that he dyd abuſe hys power, contrary vnto his own oth.

The popes power doing vngodly is not to be feared.

8. Article.

The. viij. article. An euill and a wycked Pope is not the Succeſſor of Peter, but of Judas. The aunſwer. I wrote thus in my treatiſe: If the Pope be humble and meeke, neglecting and deſpiſing the honors and lucre of the world: if he be a ſhepeheard taking his name by the feeding of the flocke of God (of the which feeding the Lord ſpeaketh, ſaying: feede my ſheepe) If he feede the ſheepe with the word, and with vertuous example, and that he become euen like his flocke with his whole hart and minde: if he do diligently and carefullye labour and trauayle for the Churche: then is he without doubt the true vicar of Chriſt. But if he walk contrary vnto theſe vertues, forſomuch as ther is no ſociety betwene Chriſt and Beliall, and Chriſt him ſelfe ſayth: hee that is not with me, is agaynſt me: how is he then the true vicar of Chriſt or Peter, and not rather the vicar of Antichriſt? Chriſt called Peter him ſelfe Sathanas, when he did cōtrary him but onely in one word, and that with a good affection, euen hym whom hee had choſen his vicar, and ſpecially appoynted ouer his church. Why ſhoulde not any other then, being more cōtrary vnto Chriſt be truly called Sathanas, and conſequētly Antichriſt, or at leaſt the chiefe and principall miniſter or vicar of Antichriſt? There be infinite teſtimonies of this matter in S. Au-

The pope doing contrary to Chriſt is not the vicare of Chriſt, but Antichriſt.

guſtine, S. Ierome, Ciprian, Chriſoſtome, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambroſe. &c.

9. Article. Iohn Hus nede not proue thys article. The Pope will proue it him ſelfe.

The. ix. article. The Pope is the ſame beaſt of whom it is ſpoken in the Apocalips: power is geuen vnto hym to make warre vpon the ſayntes. The anſwer. I deny this article to be in my booke.

10. Article.

To preache agaynſt the popes commaundement.

The. x. article. It is lawfull to preache, notwithſtanding the Popes inhibition. The anſwer. The article is euident, forſomuch as the Apoſtles did preach contrarye to the commaundement of the Biſhops at Ieruſalem. And S. Hillary did the like, contrary to the commaundement of the Pope which was an Arrian. It is alſo manifeſt by the example of Cardinals, which contrarye vnto the commaundement of Pope Gregorye the. xij. ſent thorow out all realmes, ſuch as ſhould preache agaynſt hym. It is alſo lawfull to preach vnder appeale, contrary vnto the popes commaundemēt. And finally he may preach which hath the commaundement of God, wherunto he ought chiefly to obey.

11. Article.

How farre prelates are to be obeyed.

The. xi. article. If the Popes commaundement bee not concordaunt and agreable wyth the doctrine of the Goſpell or the Apoſtles, it is not to be obeyed. The aunſwer. I haue thus wrytten in my booke: The faythfull diſciple of Chriſt ought to waye and conſider whether ẏ Popes commaundement be expreſſely and playnlye the commaundement of Chriſt or anye of hys Apoſtles, or whether it haue any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no: and that being once knowen or vnderſtand, he ought reuerently and humblye to obey the ſame. But if he do certeinly know that the Popes commaundemēt is contrary and againſt the holy ſcripture, and hurtful vnto the church: then he ought boldly to reſiſt againſt it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by hys conſenting thereunto. Thys I haue handled at large in my treatiſe, and haue confirmed it by the authorities of S. Auguſtine, Ierome, Gregory, Chriſoſtome, Bernard and Bede, and with the holy ſcripture and Canons, the which for breuities cauſe I do here paſſe ouer. I wil onely rehearſe ẏ ſaying of S. Iſidore, who writeth thus: He which doth rule, and doth ſay or commaund any thyng contrary and beſides the wyll of God, or that whych is euidently commaunded in the ſcriptures, he is honored as a falſe witnes of God, and a church robber. Wherupon we are bounden to obey no prelate, but in ſuchs caſe as he do commaund or take counſel of the counſels and commaundements of Chriſt.

Iſidorus.

Likewiſe S. Auguſtine vppon thys ſaying: vpon the chaire of Moſes. &c. ſayeth: Secondly they teach in ẏ chaire of Moſes the law of God: Ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their own inuentions, do not geue eare vnto them, neither do as they cōmaund you. Alſo in ẏ ſaying of Chriſt, he ẏ heareth you heareth me, all lawfull and honeſt thinges be cōprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Chriſtes ſaying: it is not you whiche doe ſpeake, but the ſpirite of my father which ſpeaketh in you. Let therfore my aduerſaries & ſlaūderers learne ẏ there be not onely xij. Counſails, in ẏ Goſpell, in ẏ which ſubiectes ought to obey Chriſt & his appointed miniſters, but ẏ there are ſo many Counſails and determinatiōs of God, as there be lawfull and honeſt thyngs ioyned with preceptes and commaundementes of God bindyng vs thereunto, vnder the payne of deadly ſinne: for euery ſuch thyng doth the Lorde commaunde vs to fulfill in tyme and place, with other circumſtaunces, at the will and pleaſure of theyr miniſter.

Conſilia Præcepta.

12. Article.

The clergye and laitie may iudge of the workes of their prelates.

The. xij. Article. It is lawfull for the clergy and laitye by theyr power and iuriſdiction to iudge and determine of all thinges pertainyng vnto ſaluation, and alſo of the workes of the Prelates. The aunſwere. I haue thus written it in my boke, that it is lawfull for the clergy and laity to iudge and determine of the workes of their heades and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the iudgement of the ſecret counſels of God, in the court of conſcience is one thyng, and the iudgement of the authority and power in ẏ church is an other. Wherefore ſubiectes firſt ought principally to iudge and examine themſelues. 1. Corinth. xi. chapter. Secondly they ought to examine all thinges whiche perteineth vnto their ſaluatiō, for a ſpirituall man iudgeth and examineth all thinges. And this is aledged, as touchyng ẏ firſt iudgemēt, and not the ſeconde, as the ennemy doth impute it vnto me. Wherupon in the ſame place I do ſay, that the lay man ought to iudge & examine ẏ workes of his Prelate, like as Paul doth iudge ẏ doings of Peter in blaming him. Secondly to auoyde them according to this ſaying: Beware of falſe Prophetes. &c. Thirdly to rule ouer the miniſtrye: For ẏ ſubiect ought by reaſon to iudge and examine the workes of the Prelates. And if they be good to prayſe God therefore and reioyce: But if they be euill, they ought with pacience to ſuffer them, and to be ſory for them, but not to do the lyke, leaſt they bee dampned with them: accordyng to this ſaying: If the blinde leade the blinde, both fall into the ditche.

Iudgem double. Secret in the cour conſcie Open in the cour of auth ritie.

13. Arti

To God ward al wicked miniſte be ſuſp ded.

The. 13. article. God doth ſuſpend of himſelfe, euery wicked prelate from hys miniſtry, whiles he is actually in ſinne, for by that meanes that he is in deadlye ſinne, he doth offend and ſinne whatſoeuer he doo: and conſequently is forbidden ſo to do: therefore alſo is he ſuſpended from his miniſtrye. The aunſwere. This is proued as touchyng ſuſpenſion from dignitye, by Oſee the iiij. chapter, and Eſay, and Malachy the fyrſt. And Paule in the. 1. Corinthians. xi. Chapter, ſuſpendeth all ſuche as bee ſinnefull or in anye greuous crime or offence, from the eating of the bodye of the Lord, and the drinking of his bloud, and conſequently ſuſpendeth all ſinfull prelates frō the miniſtration of the reuerent ſacrament. And God doth ſuſpend the wicked and ſinnefull from the declaratiō of his righteouſnes. Pſalm. 49 Forſomuch thē as to ſuſpend in effect, is to prohibit the miniſtrye or any other good thinge for the offence ſake, or as the new lawes do terme or call it, to interdicte or forbidde: It is manifeſt by the ſcriptures afore rehearſed, that God doth prohibite the ſinnefull, being in ſinne to excerciſe or vſe theyr miniſtrye or office, whiche by Gods comaundemente ought to be excerciſed without offence. Whereupon he ſayth by Eſaye the Prophet: ye that cary the veſſels of the Lord, be ye clenſed and made cleane. And to the Corinthians it is ſaid: Let all things be done with loue & charity. &c. The ſame thing alſo is commaunded by diuers and ſundry Canons, the which I haue alledged in my treatiſe.

14. Arti

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The 14. article. Thanſwer which he made to the. xxv article in priſon ſufficeth for this, that is to ſay, that the Clergy for theyr own preferment and exaltation, doth ſupplant and vndermine the lay people, doth increaſe & multiply theyr couetouſnes, cloketh and defendeth their malice & wickedneſſe, & prepareth a way for Antichriſt.

The firſt part he proueth by experience, by ẏ example of Peter de Luna, which named himſelf Benedicte: by the example of Angelus Corrarius, which named hymſelfe Gregorye the. xii. and alſo by the example of Iohn xxiii. Likewiſe by the xiii. and xxxiiii. of Ezechiell, and out of Gregory, whiche ſayth, what ſhalbe come of the flocke, when the ſhepeheardes themſelues, are become Wolues. &c. Alſo out of Oſee, Miche, and other of the Prophets, and many places of Saint Bernard.

The ſeconde parte is proued by the viii. Chapter of Ieremy, Gregory in his xvii. homely, and S. Bernarde vpon the canonicals.

The third part of this Article is alſo proued by experience: for who defendeth the wickednes of any ſchiſme but only the clergy alledging ſcriptures, and bringinge reaſons therfore? Who excuſeth Simony, but only the clergy: likewyſe couetouſnes in heapyng together many benefices, luxurioußnes and fornicatiō: For how many of the clergy is there now a dayes whych do ſay it is no deadly ſinne, alledging (albeit diſorderly) the ſaying of Geneſis, increaſe and multiply.

Hereby alſo is the. 4. part of yͤ article eaſely vereſied. For the way of Antichriſt is wickednes and ſinne: of the which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh to the Theſſalonians: Gregorye in his regeſter Paſtorall and moralles: Alſo ſaint Bernard vpon the Canonicalls playnlye ſayth: wicked and euill prieſtes prepare the way for Antichriſt.

The 15. artycle. John Hus doth openly teach and affirme that theſe concluſions aforeſayd are true. The anſwere is manifeſt by that whych I haue afore written. For ſome of theſe propoſitions I did write and publiſh, other ſome my enemy did fayne, now addynge, then dyminyſhing and taking away, now falſly aſcribing and imputinge the whole propoſition vnto me: the whyche thing the cōmiſſioners them ſelues did confeſſe before me. Whom I deſired for the falſe inuentiō and faining of thoſe articles, that they would puniſhe thoſe, whome they themſelues knewe and confeſſed to be myne ennemyes.

The 16. article. Herebye alſo it appeareth, that it is not true which they haue affirmed in the article following: that is to ſay, that all the aforeſayde concluſions be falſe, erronious, ſeditious, and ſuch as doo weaken ⁊ make feable the power and ſtrength of the church, inuēted contrary to the holy ſcriptures and the church. But if there be any ſuch, I am ready moſt humbly to reuoke and recant the ſame.

The. 17. article. There was alſo an obiectiō made agaynſt me as touching the treatiſes whiche I wrote agaynſt Paletz and Staniſlaus de Znoyma. The which I deſired for Gods ſake, they might be openly red in the audience of the whole councell, ⁊ ſayd yͭ I, notwithſtanding my former proteſtation, would willingly ſubmit my ſelfe to the iudgement of the whole councell.

The. 18. article. There was alſo an other article obiected agaynſt me in this forme. Item, John Hus ſayde and preached that he ſhould go to Conſtance, and if ſo be that for any manner of cauſe he ſhoulde bee forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithſtandyng he neuer purpoſed to do it with his mind: forſomuch as, whatſoeuer he had before taught, was pure and true, ⁊ the ſound doctrine of Chriſt. The aunſwere. Thys article is full of lyes: to the inuentour whereof I ſuppoſe the Lord ſayth thus: All the day long thou haſte imagined miſchefe and wickedneſſe, and with thy tongue as with a ſharpe raſour, thou haſt wrought diſcept. Thou haſt delighted and loued rather to talke of wickednes ⁊ miſchief then of equity and iuſtice. Verely I do graunte that I left behind me a certayne epiſtle to be red vnto the people, the whiche did contayne that all ſuche as did way and conſider my carefull labours and trauayles, ſhoulde praye for me, and ſtedfaſtly perſeuer and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, knowing for a certaintye that I neuer taught them any ſuch errours as mine enemies doo impute or aſcribe vnto me, and if it ſhoulde happen that I were ouercome by falſe witneſſe, they ſhoulde not be vexed or troubled in theyr mindes, but ſtedfaſtlye continue in the truth.

The. 19 article. Laſt it was obiected againſt me, yͭ after I was come into Cōſtance, I did write vnto yͤ kingdoms of Boheme, yͭ the Pope ⁊ the Emperour receiued me honourably and ſent vnto me two byſhops to make agrement betwene me and them, and that this ſeemeth to be written by me to thys ende and purpoſe, that they ſhould confirme and eſtabliſh me and my hearers in the errours, which I had preached and taughte in Boheme. This article is falſly alledged euē frō yͤ beginning. For how manifeſtly falſe ſhould I haue writtē yͭ the Pope ⁊ the Emperour dyd honour me, whē as otherwiſe I had writtē before, yͭ as yet we knew not where the Emperour was: And before yͤ Emperour himſelf came vnto Conſtance, I was by yͤ ſpace of iii. wekes in priſon. And to write that I was honoured by my impriſonment, the people of the kingedome of Boheme would repute that honoure as no great renown or glory vnto me. Howbeit my enemies may in deriſion ſay vnto me, that according to theyr willes and pleaſures, I am exalted and honoured. Wherfore this artycle is wholye thorowout falſe and vntrue.

Unto theiſe articles aboue prefixed, were other articles alſo to be annexed, which the Pariſians had drawn out agaynſte M. John Hus to the number of xix. The chief author wherof, was John Gerſon Chaūcelour of the vniuerſity of Paris, a great ſetter on of the Pope agaynſt good men. Of theſe articles John Hus doth often cōplaine in hys Epiſtles yͭ he had no time nor ſpace to make aunſwere vnto them. Concerning the which xix articles, here being omitted becauſe of breuitye, I referre the reader to the former edition of theſe Actes and Monum. pag. 230.

Articles xix. drawen out by the Pariſians agaynſt Iohn Hus.

Iohn Gerſon Chaunceler, of Parys.

By theſe thinges thus afore going, a man may eaſely vnderſtand that Jhon Hus, was not ſomuch accuſed for holdyng any opinion contrary to the Articles of our fayth, but becauſe hee did ſtoutly preache and teache againſt yͤ kyngdome of Antichriſt for the glory of Chriſt, and the reſtoryng of the churche.

Now to returne vnto the ſtory: when as the firſt. 29. Articles, whiche I haue before rehearſed, were all read ouer together with theyr teſtimonies, the Cardinall of Cambray calling vnto John Hus ſaid: thou haſt heard what greuous ⁊ horrible crimes are layd agaynſt thee, and what a numbre of them there are: and now it is thy parte to deuiſe with thy ſelfe what thou wilt doo. Two wayes are proponed ⁊ ſet before thee of the Councell, whereof the one of them, thou muſt of force and neceſſitie enter into.

The wordes of the Cardinall of Cambray vnto Iohn Hus after hys accuſation,

Firſt that thou doo humbly and mekely ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the iudgement and ſentence of the Councell, that whatſoeuer ſhalbe there determined by their common voyce and iudgement, thou wilt pacientlye beare and ſuffer yͤ ſame. The which thyng if thou wilt do, we of our part both for the honour of the moſt gentle Emperour here preſēt, ⁊ alſo for the honour of his brother the kyng of Boheme, and for thy owne ſauegarde and preſeruatiō, will intreate and handle thee with as great humanitie, loue, and gentleneſſe, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defende any of thoſe Articles whiche we haue propounded vnto thee, and doeſt deſire or require to be further heard therupon, we will not deny thee power and licence therunto: but thys thou ſhalt well vnderſtand yͭ here are ſuch maner of men, ſo cleare in vnderſtanding and knowledge, and hauyng ſo firme and ſtrong reaſons and argumentes agaynſt thy Articles: that I feare it will bee to thy great hurt, detriment and perill, if thou ſhouldeſt any longer will or deſire to defende the ſame.

A double incōuenience for Iohn Hus to fall in,

This doe I ſpeake and ſay vnto thee to counſell and admoniſh thee, and not as in maner of a iudge.

This Oration of the Cardinals, many other proſecuting, euery mā for him ſelfe, did exhorte and perſuade Jhon Hus to the lyke: vnto whom with a lowly countenaunce he aunſwered: Moſt reuerēd fathers, I haue often ſayd that I came hither of my owne free will, not to the intent obſtinatly to defend any thyng, but if that in any thyng I ſhould ſeeme to haue conceyued a peruerſe or euill opinion, that I would mekely and paciently bee content to be reformed and taught. Wherupon I deſire that I maye haue yet further libertye to declare my mynde. Wherof excepte I ſhall alledge moſt firme and ſtrong reaſons, I will willingly ſubmit my ſelf (as you

Iohn Hus aunſwereth.

require) vnto your information.

Then there ſtart vp one, whiche with a loude voyce, ſayd: Beholde how craftely this man ſpeaketh. He termeth it information and not correction or determinatiõ. Verely ſayd Ihon Hus, euẽ as you will, terme it, information, correction or determination: for I take God to my witneſſe, that I ſpeake nothyng but with my hart and mynde.

The Cardinall of Cambray appoynteth Iohn Hus certayne conditions, wherby he may be deliuered.

Then ſayd the Cardinall of Cambray, for ſomuch then as thou doeſt ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the information and grace of this Councell, this is decreed almoſt by lx. doctours, wherof ſome of thẽ are nowe departed hence, in whoſe Rome and place the Pariſians, are ſucceded: and alſo it is approued by the whole Councell, not one man ſpeakyng the contrary therunto.

Firſt of all that thou ſhalt humbly and mekely confeſſe thy ſelfe to haue erred in theſe Articles, whiche are alledged and brought agaynſt thee.

Moreouer, that thou ſhalt promiſſe by an othe, that from hencefoorth thou ſhalt not teache, holde, or maintaine any of theſe Articles. And laſt of all that thou ſhalt openly recant all theſe Articles.

The aunſwere of Iohn Hus.

Vpon the which ſentence, when as many others had ſpoken their myndes, at the length Ihon Hus ſayd: I once agayn do ſaie, that I am ready to ſubmit my ſelfe to the information of the Councell: but this I moſt humbly require and deſire you all, euen for his ſake which is the God of vs all, that I bee not cõpelled or forced to do the thyng, which my conſcience doth repugne or ſtriue agaynſt, or the whiche I cannot do without daunger of eternall damnation: that is, that I ſhould make reuocation by othe to all ẏ Articles which are alledged againſt me. For I remember that I haue read in the booke of vniuerſalities, that to abiure, is to renounce an errour which a man hath before holdẽ. And for ſomuch as many of theſe Articles are ſayd to be mine, whiche were neuer in my mynd or thought to hold or teach, how ſhould I then renounce thẽ by an othe? But as touching thoſe Articles whiche are myne in deede, if there be any man whiche can teache me contrarywiſe vnto them, I will willingly performe that whiche you deſire.

The Emperour exhorteth Ioh. Hus to recant.

Then ſayd the Emperour, why mayeſt thou not without daũger alſo renounce all thoſe articles, which thou ſayeſt are falſly alledged againſt thee by the wytneſſes? For I verely would nothing at all doubte to abiure all errours, neyther doth it follow that therefore by and by I haue profeſſed any errour. To whom I. Hus aunſwered: Moſt noble Emperour, this worde to abiure, doth ſignify much otherwiſe then your maieſty doth here vſe it. Then ſayd the Cardinall of Florence: Iohn Hus, you ſhall haue a forme of abiuration, which ſhall be gentle & tollerable inough, written and deliuered vnto you, and then you wyll eaſelye and ſoone determine wyth your ſelfe, whether you wyll do it or no.

The Emperour reheatſeth the Cardinall of Cambrayes wordes.

Then the Emperour repeating agayne the woordes of the Cardinall of Cambray, ſaid: thou haſt heard that there are two wayes layde before thee. Firſt, that thou ſhouldeſt openlye renounce thoſe thy errors, which are now condemned, and ſubſcribe vnto the iudgement of the councell, whereby thou ſhouldeſt try and finde theyr grace & fauour. But if thou procede to defend thy opinions, the Councell ſhall haue ſufficient, wherby according to their lawes & ordinaunces, they may decree and determine vpon thee. To whom Iohn Hus anſwered: I refuſe nothing (moſt noble Emperour) whatſoeuer the Councell ſhall decree or determine vpon me. This only one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my cõſcience, or ſay that I haue profeſſed thoſe errours which was neuer in my minde or thought, for to profeſſe. But I deſire you all, if it may be poſſible, that you will graũt me further hiberty to declare my minde and opiniõ, that I maye aunſwer as much as ſhall ſuffice, as touching thoſe thinges which are obiected agaynſt me, and ſpecially concerning eccleſiaſticall offices, and the ſtate of the miniſtery.

The ſo of falſe witnes.

The E rour to Iohn H

But when as other men began to ſpeake, the Emperour himſelfe began to ſyng the ſame ſong which he had ſong before. Thou art of lawful age ſayd ẏ Emperour, thou mighteſt haue eaſily vnderſtand what I ſaid vnto thee yeſterday and this daye: for we are forced to geue credite vnto theſe witneſſes which are worthy of credit: forſomuch as the ſcripture ſaith, that in the mouth of .ij. or .iij. witneſſes, all truth is tried: How muche more then by ſo many witneſſes of ſuch worthy men?

Wherefore if thou be wyſe, receiue penaunce at the hands of the Councel, with a contrite hart, and renoũce thy manifeſt errours, and promiſe by an othe, that frõ hẽce forth thou wilt neuer more teache or preach againſt them. The which if thou refuſeſt to do, there are lawes and ordinaunces, whereby thou ſhalt bee iudged of the Councell.

An olde byſhop o Pole.

Here a certaine verye olde biſhop of Pole put to hys verdicte. He ſayd the lawes are euident as touching heretickes, with what puniſhment they ought to be puniſhed. But Iohn Hus conſtantly anſwered as before: inſomuch that they ſayd he was obſtinate and ſtubburne. Then a certayne well fed prieſt and gayly apparelled, cried out vnto the Preſidentes of the Councell, ſaying, he ought by no meanes to bee admitted to recantation: for he hath written vnto his friendes, that althoughe he do ſweare with his toung, yet he wyll keepe hys mynde vnſworne without othe: wherefore hee is not to be truſted. Vnto this ſlaunder Iohn Hus anſwered as is ſayd in the laſt article, affirming that he was not gilty of anye errour.

Obiectio of a prieſ better fed thẽ taugh

Palletz againſt Ioh Hus.

Then ſaid Palletz, to what end is this proteſtation, forſomuch as thou ſaieſt that thou wilt defend no error, neither yet Wickleffe, and yet doeſt defend hym? Whẽ he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he brought forth for witnes ix. articles of Iohn Wickleffes, and red them openly, & afterward he ſayd: When as I and maiſter Staniſlaus in the preſẽce of Erneſtus of Auſtrich Duke of Prage, preached againſt them, he obſtinately defended ẏ ſame, not onely by his ſermons, but alſo by his bookes which he ſet forth. The which, except you doo here exhibite, we will cauſe them to be exhibited. So ſayd the Emperour alſo. Vnto whom Iohn Hus anſwered: I am very well contented that not onely thoſe, but alſo all other my bookes be brought forth and ſhewed.

A newe heape of ſlaunder

In the meane time there was exhibited vnto the coũcell a certaine article, wherein Iohn Hus was accuſed, that he had ſlaunderouſly interpreted a certain ſentence of the Popes: the which he denied that hee dyd, ſaying, that he neuer ſawe it, but in priſon, when as the article was ſhewed him by the Cõmiſſioners. And whẽ he was demaunded who was the author thereof, he aunſwered that he knew not, but that he heard ſay that maiſter Ieſſenitz was the author thereof.

What (ſaid they) then do you thincke or iudge of the interpretation therof? Then anſwered Iohn Hus, what ſhould I ſay thereunto, when as I ſaid I neuer ſawe it, but as I haue heard it of you. Thus they all wer ſo greuous and troubleſome vnto him, that he waxed faynt & wearye, for hee had paſſed all the night before wythout ſleepe, thorow the paine of his teeth.

Iohn H waxeth faynt a werye.

An other quarell againſt Io Hus, touching th three me beheade Prage. *Vid. ſup pag. 703*

Then was there an other article redde, in the whych was contayned that three men wer beheaded at Prage, becauſe that thorow Wickleffes doctrine and teachyng, they were contumelious and ſlaunderous agaynſte the Popes letters: and that they wer by the ſame Hus, with the whole pompe of the Scholers, and with a publike cõuocatiõ or congregation caried out to be buried, & by a publick ſermõ placed amongſt ẏ nõber of Saintes. And ẏ ſame Doct. Naſo, of whom you haue heard certain teſtimonies already recited, affirmed the ſame to be true, and ỳ he himſelfe was preſent, when as the king of Boheme cõmaunded thoſe blaſphemers ſo to be puniſhed.

Then ſayde John Hus: both theſe partes are falſe, that the kyng dyd commaund any ſuche puniſhment to be done, and that the coarſes were by me conueyed with any ſuch pompe vnto their ſepulture or buriall: wherfore you do both iniurye vnto me and the king. Then Palletz confirmed ỳ affirmatiõ of doctour Naſo, hys fellowe, with this argument (for they both labored to one ende and purpoſe): That it was prouided by the kinges cõmaundement, that no man ſhould once ſpeake againſt the Popes Bulles: And theſe thrée ſpake againſt the Popes Bulles: Ergo, by vertue of the kinges commaundement they were beheaded. And what John Hus his opinion & minde was aſtouching theſe mẽ, it is euident inough by his booke intituled Of the Church, wherin he writeth thus: I beleue they haue read Daniell the prophet, where as is ſayde: And they ſhall periſhe wyth ſword and fire, and with captiuity, and many ſhal fraudulently and craftelye aſſociate them ſelues vnto them. And afterward he ſayth: how is this fulfilled in theſe. iij lay men, who not conſenting, but ſpeakyng againſt the fayned lies of Antichriſt, haue offered their liues therfore, and many other were readye to doo the ſame, and many were fraudulently aſſociate vnto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichriſt, are fled, and haue turned their backes. &c.

When theſe thinges were red, one looking vpon an other, as though they hadde beene all in a marueilous ſtraunge ſtudy, they held their peace for a certain ſpace. For this Paletz, & the foreſayd Doct. Naſo had alſo added ỳ John Hus in an open Sermon had enflamed and ſtyrred vp the people againſt the Magiſtrats, inſomuch that a great nnmber of the Citizens did openly ſet them ſelues againſt the magiſtrats: and by that meanes was it, that he ſaid, thoſe thrée were readye to ſuffer death for the truth. And this ſedition was hardly appeaſed by any benefite, or helpe ỳ the king could do. Then the Engliſh men exhibited the copy of a certayne Epiſtle, which they ſaid was falſly conueyed vnto Prage, vnder the title of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and that John Hus did reade the ſame out of the pulpit vnto the people, that he might commend and prayſe John Wickleffe vnto the citizens of Prage. When they had read the ſame before the coũcell, the Engliſh men demaunded of John Hus, whether he had read the ſame openly or no. Which when he had confeſſed, becauſe it was brought thether by twoo ſcholers vnder ỳ ſeale of the vniuerſity: they alſo inquired of him what Scholers they were. He aunſwered: thys my frend (meaning Steuen Palletz) knoweth the one of thẽ as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

Then they firſt enquired of him, as touching the laſt man, where he was. John Hus anſwered: I heard ſaye (ſaid he) that in his returne into Englande, hee dyed by the way. As touching the fyrſt, Palletz ſaid, that he was a Bohemian, and no Engliſh man, and that he brought out of Englande a certayne ſmall péece of the ſtone of Wickleffes Sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this preſent, do reuerẽce and worſhip as a thing moſt holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all theſe thinges were done, and that John Hus was the author of them all.

Then the Engliſhe men exhibited an other Epiſtle, contrary to the firſt, vnder the ſeale of the Vniuerſitye, the effect and argument wherof was this: The Senate of the vniuerſitie, not without great ſorrowe and griefe hath experimented and found, that the errours of Wickleffe are ſcattered and ſpread out of that vniuerſity throwout all England. And to thentent that throw their helpe and labour, meanes may be found to remedy this miſchiefe, they haue appoynted for that purpoſe twelue doctours, men of ſinguler learning, and other mayſters which ſhould ſyt in iudgemẽt vpon the bokes of Wiclif.

Theſe men haue noted out aboue the number of. cc. articles, the which the whole Vniuerſitie haue iudged worthy to be burnt: but for the reuerence of the ſayd ſacred councell, the ſayde vniuerſitie hath ſent them vnto Conſtance, referring and remitting the whole authoritie of the iudgement vnto this Councell.

Here was great ſilence kept for a while. Then Palletz riſing vp, as though he had finiſhed now his accuſation, ſayd: I take God to my witnes before the Emperours Maieſty here preſent, and the moſt reuerende fathers, Cardinals and Biſhops, that in thys accuſation of John Hus, I haue not vſed any hatred or euyll wyll: but that I might ſatiſfie the othe which I tooke, when I was made Doctor, that I would be a moſt cruel & ſharp enemy of all maner of errours, for the profit and commoditie of the holy catholike church. Michael de Cauſis did alſo the lyke. And I, ſayd John Hus, do commit al theſe things vnto the heauenly iudge, which ſhall iuſtly iudge the cauſe or quarell of both parties. Then ſaide the Cardinall of Cambray, I cannot a litle commend & prayſe the humanitie and gentlenes of maiſter Palletz, which he hath vſed in drawing out the articles agaynſt mayſter John Hus. For as we haue heard, there are manye thynges contained in hys booke, muche woorſe and deteſtable.

The othe of Palletz.

The othe of Michaelide Cauſis.

Iohn Hus witneſſeth the Lord.

When he had ſpoken theſe woordes, the Biſhop of Rygen vnto whom Jhon Hus was committed, commaunded that the ſayd Jhon Hus, ſhould be caryed agayne ſafely vnto priſon. Then Jhon de Clum folowyng him, did not a litle incourage and comfort him. No tounge can expreſſe what a courage and ſtomacke hee receiued by the ſhort talke whiche he had with him: whẽ as in ſo great a broyle and greuous hatred, he ſaw him ſelfe in a manner forſaken of all men. After that Jhon Hus was caryed away, the Emperour began to exhort the preſidentes of the Councell in this maner, ſaying:

Iohn de Clum doth comforte Iohn Hus.

You haue heard the manifolde and greuous crymes whiche are layd agaynſt Jhon Hus, whiche are not onely proued by manifeſt and ſtrong witneſſes, but alſo confeſſed by him: of the whiche euery one of thẽ by my iudgemẽt and aduiſe haue deſerued, and are worthy of death. Therfore, except he do recant them all, I iudge & thinke mete that he be puniſhed with fire. And albeit he do that whiche he is wylled and commaunded to do: notwithſtãdyng I do cõſell you that he be forbid the office of preachyng and teachyng, and alſo that he returne no more into ỳ kingdome of Boheme. For if he be admitted againe to teach and preach, and ſpecially in the kingdome of Boheme, he will not obſerue and kepe that which he is commaunded, but hopyng vpon the fauour and good wil of ſuch as be his adherentes and fautours there, he wil returne ageyne vnto his former purpoſe and intent, and then beſides theſe errours, he wil alſo ſow new errours amongeſt the people, ſo the laſt errour ſhalbe worſe thẽ the firſt. Moreouer I iudge and thinke it good that hys articles whiche are condemned, ſhould bee ſent vnto my brother the kyng of Boheme, and afterward into Pole and other prouinces, wheras mens myndes are repleniſhed with his doctrine, with this cõmaundement, that whoſoeuer doo procede to holde or keepe the ſame, they ſhould by the common ayde both of the Eccleſiaſticall & Ciuill power, be puniſhed. So at the lẽgth ſhall remedy be founde for this miſchief, if the bowes together with the roote, bee vtterly rooted and pulled vp: and if the Byſhops and other Prelates, whiche here in this place haue laboured and trauayled for the extirpatyng of this hereſie, be commended by the whole voyces of the Councell vnto the kynges and princes, vnder whoſe dominion they are. Laſt of all, if there be any found here at Conſtaunce, whiche are familiars vnto Jhon Hus, they alſo ought to be puniſhed with ſuch ſeueritie and puniſhmẽt as is due vnto them, and ſpecially his ſcholer Hierome of Prage. Thẽ ſayd the reſt, when the maiſter is once puniſhed, wee hope wee ſhall finde the ſcholer much more tractable and gentle.

The Emperours oratiõ to the preſident of the councell.

That which God planteth mã ſhall neuer roote vp.

Hierome of Prage mentioned & promoted by the Emperour.

4. biſhops ſent to Iohn Hus.

After they had ſpoken theſe wordes, they departed out of the Cloiſter, where they were aſſembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnatiõ which was the ſixt day of July, the Emperour Sigiſmõd ſent vnto him foure Biſhoppes, accompanied with maiſter Wencelate de Duba, & Jhon de Clum, that they ſhould learne and vnderſtand of him what he did intend to do. When as hee was brought out of priſon vnto them, John de Clum began firſt to ſpeake vnto him, ſaying.

The pitifull & louing oration of Iohn de Clum vnto Iohn Hus,

Maiſter John Hus I am a man vnlearned, neither am I able to councell or aduertiſe you, beyng a man of learnyng & vnderſtandyng: notwithſtanding I do require you, if you know your ſelfe giltie of any of thoſe errours, which are obiected and layde agaynſt you before the councell, that you will not bee aſhamed to alter and chaunge your minde to the will and pleaſure of the councell: if contrarywiſe, I will be no author vnto you, that you ſhould do any thyng contrary or agaynſt your conſcience, but rather to ſuffer and endure any kinde of puniſhment then to deny that whiche you haue knowen to be the truth. Unto whom Jhon Hus turnyng him ſelfe with lamentable teares, ſaid: verely as before I haue often tymes done, I doo take the moſt hyghe God for my witnes, that I am ready with my whole heart & mynde, if the Councell can inſtruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture: I will be ready with all my heart to alter and chaunge my purpoſe. Then one of the Byſhops whiche ſate by, ſaid vnto hym, that he would neuer be ſo arrogaunt or proude, that hee would preferre his owne minde or opinion before the iudgemẽt of the whole councell. To whom Jhon Hus anſwered, neither do I otherwiſe mynde or intende. For if he which is the meaneſt or leaſt in all this Councell, cã conuict me of errour, I will with an humble heart and mind perform and do whatſoeuer the Councell ſhall require of me. Marke ſayd the Biſhops, how obſtinatly he doth perſeuer in his errors. And when they had thus talked, they commaunded the kepers to cary hym agayne vnto priſon, and ſo they returned agayn vnto the Emperour with their cõmiſſion.

The maruelous conſtancie of Iohn Hus.

That is no right modeſtie that more regardeth to obey man, then manifeſt veritie.

Iohn Hus aunſwereth.

The nexte day after, whiche was Saterday and the ſixt day of Julye, there was a generall Seſſion holden of the Princes and Lordes, bothe of the Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall eſtates in the head church of the Citie of Conſtance, the Emperour Sigiſmond beyng preſident in his Imperiall robes and habite: in the middeſt whereof there was made a certaine hyghe place beyng ſquare about lyke a table, and harde by it there was a deſke of woode, vpon the whiche the garmentes and veſtimentes pertaining vnto prieſthode were layd, for this cauſe, that before Jhon Hus ſhould be deliuered ouer vnto the Ciuill power, hee ſhould bee openly depriued and ſpoyled of his priſtly ornaments. When Jhon Hus was brought thether, hee fell downe vpon his knees before that ſame hyghe place, and prayed a long tyme. In the meane while the Byſhop of Londy, went vp into the pulpet and made this Sermon folowyng.

¶ *The Sermon of the Biſhop of Londie, before the* ſentence was geuen vpon Ihon Hus.

The ſermon before the ſentence.

The theame,

Hys theame confyrmed by Ariſtotle,

IN the name of the Father, the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Truſtyng by humble inuocation vpon the Diuine helpe and ayde, moſt noble Prince, and moſt Chriſtian Emperour, and you moſt excellent fathers, and reuerend Lordes, Byſhops, and Prelates, alſo moſt excellent Doctours and Maiſters, moſte famous and noble Dukes and high Countes, honorable Nobles, and Barons, and all other men worthy of remembraunce: that the intent and purpoſe of my minde may the more plainly and euidẽtly appeare vnto this moſt ſacred congregation, I am firſt of all determined to intreate or ſpeake of that which is readde in the Epiſtle on the nexte Sonday, in the ſixt chap. to the Romaines. That is to ſay, let the body of ſinne be deſtroied. &c. It appeareth by the authoritie of Ariſtotle in his booke intituled De Cęlo & mundo, How wicked, daungerous and fooliſh a matter it ſemeth to be, not to withſtand peruerſe and wicked beginnings. For he ſayth, that a ſmall errour in the beginning is very great in the end. It is very damnable and daungerous to haue erred, but more harde to be corrected or amended. Wherupon that worthy Doctour S. Hierome in his boke vpon the expoſition of the catholicke fayth, teacheth vs, how neceſſary a thing it is, that hereticks & hereſies ſhould be ſuppreſſed, euen at the firſt beginning of them, ſaying thus: the rottẽ and dead fleſh is to be cut of from the body, leaſt that the whole body do periſhe & putrifie. For a ſcabbed ſheepe is to be put out of the fold, leaſt the whole flocke be infected. And a litle fire is to be quenched, leaſt the whole houſe be cõſumed and burned. Arrius was firſt a ſparke in Alexandria, who becauſe he was not at the firſt quenched, hee preſumed and went about with his wicked and peruerſe imaginations & fantaſticall inuẽtions to ſpot and defile the catholicke faith, whiche is founded & eſtabliſhed by Chriſt, defended with the victorious triumphes of ſo many Martyrs, and illuminate and ſet forth with the excellent doctrines & wrytynges of ſo many men. Such therfore muſt be reſiſted: ſuch heretickes of neceſſitie muſt be ſuppreſſed and condẽned. Wherfore I haue truely propounded, as touchyng the puniſhmẽt of euery ſuch obſtinate hereticke, that the body of ſinne is to be deſtroyed. Wherupon it is to be cõſidered according vnto the holy traditiõs of the fathers, that ſome ſinnes are aduerſe and cõtrary vnto another. Other ſome are annexed or conioyned together: other ſome are, as it wer, braunches and members of others. And ſome are, as it were the rootes and head of others. Amongeſt all which, thoſe are to bee counted the moſte deteſtable, out the which, the moſt and worſte, haue their originall & beginning. Wherfore albeit that all ſinnes & offences are to be abhorred of vs: yet thoſe are ſpecially to be eſchewed, which are the head & roote of the reſt. For by how much the peruerſnes of thẽ is of more force & power to hurt, with ſomuch the more ſpede and circumſpectiõ, ought they to be rooted out and extinguiſhed, with apt preſeruatiues and remedyes. For ſomuch then as amongeſt all ſinnes none doth more appeare to be inueterate, then the miſchief of this moſte execrable Schiſme, therfore haue I right well propounded that the body of ſinne ſhould be deſtroyed. For by the long continuaunce of this Schiſme, great & moſt cruell deſtruction is ſprõg vp amongſt the faithfull, and hath long cõtinued, abhominable diuiſions of hereſies are growen: threatnyngs are increaſed and multiplied: the confuſion of the whole Clergye is growen thereupon, and the opprobries and ſclaunders of the Chriſtian people are aboundauntlye ſprong vp and increaſed. And truely it is no maruell, for ſomuche as that moſte deteſtable and execrable Schiſme, is as it were, a bodye and heape of diſſolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, where as ſuch a peſtiferous Schiſme hath rayned ſo long a time? For as S. Bernard ſayth, like as in the vnitie and concorde of the faithfull, there is the habitation and dwellyng of the Lorde, ſo lykewiſe in the Schiſme and diſſipation of the Chriſtiãs, there is made the habitatiõ and dwellyng of the deuill. Is not ſchiſme and deuiſion the originall of all ſubuerſion, the den of hereſies, and the nouriſher of all offences? for the knot of vnitie and peace beyng once troubled and broken, there is free paſſage made for all ſtrife and debate. Couetouſnes is vttered in othes for lukers ſake, luſte and will is ſet at libertie, and all meanes opened vnto ſlaughter. All right and equitie is baniſhed, the Eccleſiaſticall power is iniuried, and the calamitie of this Schiſme, bryngeth in all kynd of bondage, ſwordes and violence doth rule, the laytie haue the dominion, concorde and vnitie are baniſhed, and all preſcripte rules of Religion vtterly contemned and ſet at naught.

They ca not abyde the laitie t rule in an caſe.

Conſyder moſt gentle Lordes, how that during thys moſt peſtiferous Schiſme, how many hereſies haue appeared and ſhewed themſelues, howe manye heretikes haue ſcaped vnpuniſhed, how many churches haue bene ſpoyled and pulled down, how many cities haue ben oppreſſed and regions broughte to ruine, what confuſion hath there happened in the clergye? what & how greate deſtruction hath beene amongſt the Chriſtian people? I praye you marke how the churche of God, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and the mother of all faythfull, is contemned and deſpiſed. For who doth reuerẽce the keyes of the church, who fereth the cenſures or lawes, or who is it that doth defende the liberties thereof? But rather who is it, that doth not offẽd the ſame, or who doth not inuade it, or els what is he that dare not violently lay handes vpon the patrimony or heritage of Jeſus Chriſte? The goodes of the clergy, and of the poore, and the reliefe of Pilgrimes and ſtraungers, gotten together by the bloud of our Sauiour, and of many martyrs, are ſpoyled and takẽ away.

All the popiſhe religion lyet in landes, lordſhip, & libertie

Note here the popes diuinitie, how the blood of Chriſt ſerueth to purchaſe their pa monye.

behold the abhominatiō of the deſolation brought vpon the churche of God, the deſtruction of the fayth, and the confuſion of the Chriſtian people, to the ruine of the Lordes flock or fold, and all the whole company of our moſt holy ſauiour and redemer. This loſſe is more greate or greuous then any whiche coulde happen vnto the martyrs of Chriſte, and this perſecution muche more cruell then the perſecution of any tyrants, for they did but onely puniſh the bodyes, but in this Schiſme, and diuiſion the ſoules are tormented. There the bloude of men was onely ſhed, but in this caſe the true fayth is ſubuerted & ouerthrown. That perſecutiō was ſaluatiō vnto many: but this ſchiſme is deſtruction vnto all men. When the tyrauntes raged, then the fayth did increaſe: but by thys diuiſiō it is vtterly decayd. During their cruelty & madnes, the primatiue churche increaſed, but thorowe thys ſchiſme it is confounded and ouerthrowne. Tyrauntes did ignorantly offend: but in this ſchiſme many do wittingly and willinglye euen of obſtinacye offende. There came in heretikes, vſers of Symony and hypocrytes, to the great detriment & deceite of the churche: vnder thoſe tyrauntes the merites of the iuſt were encreaſed. But duringe this Schiſme, miſchief and wickednes are augmented, for in thys moſte curſed and execrable diuiſion, truth was made an enemye vnto all Chriſtians, fayth is not regarded, loue and charity hated, hope is loſt, iuſtice ouerthrown, no kind of courage or valiauntnes, but only vnto miſchief: modeſty and temperaunce cloked, wiſdome tourned into decept, humility fayned, equitye and truth falſifyed, pacience vtterlye fled, conſcience ſmall, all wickednes intended, deuotiō counted follye, gentlenes abiect & caſt away, religion deſpiſed, obedience not regarded, and all maner of life reprochfull and abhominable. With how greate and greuous ſorowes is the church of God repleniſhed and fylled, whyles that tyrauntes doo oppreſſe it, heretikes inuade it, vſers of Simonye doo ſpoyle and rob it, and Schiſmatikes go about vtterly to ſubuerte it? O moſte miſerable and wretched Chriſtian people, whom now by the ſpace of .xl. yeares, with ſuch indurate and continuall Schiſme, they haue tormented and almoſt brought to ruine. O the little barcke and ſhip of Chriſt, whyche hath ſo longe time wandred and ſtrayd now in the middeſt of the whorlepooles, and by & by ſticketh faſt in the rockes, toſſed to & fro with moſte greuous and tempeſteous ſtormes. O miſerable & wretched bote of Peter, if the moſte holy father woulde ſuffer thee to ſincke or drowne, into what daungers & peryls haue the wycked pyrates brought thee? amongeſt what rockes haue they placed thee? O moſte godly and louing Chriſtians, what faithful deuout man is there, whyche beholding and ſeynge the greate ruine and decaye of the church, would not be prouoked vnto teares? what good conſcience is there that can refrayne weppynge? becauſe that contention and ſtrife is poured vpon the eccleſiaſticall rulers, whyche haue made vs to erre in the way: becauſe they haue not founde or rather woulde not finde the way of vnity and concord: whereupon ſo manye hereſyes and ſo great confuſion is ſprong vp and growne in the flocke of Peter and the fold of our Lord.

is ſchi- cōtinu l. yeres.

Many princes, kinges and Prelates haue greatly laboured and traueled for the rootinge out hereof, but yet could they neuer bring to paſſe or finiſh that moſt holeſome and neceſſarye worke. Wherefore moſte Chriſtian kyng, this moſt glorious and triumphant victorye hath taried onely for thee, the crowne and glory therof ſhalbe thine for euer, and this moſt happy victory ſhalbe continuallye celebrate to thy great honour and prayſe, that thou haſte reſtored agayne the churche whyche was ſo ſpoyled, thou haſt remoued and put away all inueterate and ouergrowne Schiſmes and diuiſions, thou haſt troden downe vſers of Symony, and rooted out all heretikes. Dooſt thou not behold & ſee how great, perpetuall, and famous renown and glory it will be vnto thee? For what can be more iuſte, what more holly, what more better, what more to be deſyred, or finally what can be more acceptable then to roote out this wicked and abhominable Schiſme, to reſtore the church agayne vnto her auncient liberty, to extinguiſh and put away all Simonye, and to condemne and deſtroy all errors and hereſyes frō amongſt the flocke of the faythful? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy, nothinge more profitable for the whole world, and fynallye nothinge more acceptable vnto God. For the performaunce of whych moſte holy & godly woorke thou waſte elect and choſen of God, thou waſte firſt deputed & choſen in heauen before thou waſte elect and choſen vpon earth. Thou waſte firſte appoynted by the celeſtiall and heauenly prince, before the electours of the Empire dyd electe or chuſe thee, and ſpecially that by thy Imperiall force and power, thou ſhouldeſt condemne and deſtroy thoſe errours and hereſies, which we haue preſently in hand to be condemned and ſubuerted. To the perfourmaunce of this moſt holy worke, God hath geuen vnto thee the knowledge & vnderſtandyng of hys diuine truth and veritye, power of princely maieſty, and the iuſt iudgement of equitye and righteouſnes, as the moſt hygheſt hymſelfe doth ſaye: I haue geuē thee vnderſtanding and wiſdom, to ſpeake & vtter my wordes, and haue ſette thee to rule ouer nations and kingdomes, that thou ſhouldeſt helpe the people, plucke downe & deſtroy iniquitye, & by exerciſing of iuſtice thou ſhouldeſt, I ſay, deſtroy all errours and hereſies, and ſpecially this obſtinate heretike here preſent, thorow whoſe wickednes and miſchiefe, many places of the world are infected with moſte peſtilente and hereticall poyſon, and by his meanes and occaſion, almoſt vtterly ſubuerted & deſtroyed. This moſt holy & godly labour, O moſt noble prince, was reſerued onely for thee, vpon thee it doth only lye, vnto whom the whole rule & miniſtration of iuſtice is geuē. Wherfore thou haſt eſtabliſhed thy prayſe and renowm, euen by the mouthes of infantes and ſuckyng babes, for thy prayſes ſhalbe celebrate for euermore that thou haſt deſtroyed & ouerthrowen ſuche & ſo great enemies of the fayth. The whyche that thou mayſte proſperouſly and happely perfourme & bring to paſſe, our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt maye vouchſafe to graunt thee his grace and helpe, who is bleſſed for euer and euer. Amen.

burneth the Em- our Si. mund.

Loripes rectū deridet, æthiopus album.

Note the vyle flattery of theſe papiſtes when they would haue any thing of the Emperour for their purpoſe.

When this Sermon was thus ended, the Procurer of the Councell riſing vp, named Henricus de Piro, required that the proceſſe of the cauſe againſte John Hus might be continued, and procede vnto the difinitiue ſentence. Then a certaine biſhop which was appointed one of the Iudges, declared the proceſſe of the cauſe, whyche was pleaded longe ſince in the courte of Rome and els where, betwene John Hus, and the prelates of Prage.

The proctor of the councell calleth for the ſentence.

At the laſt he repeated thoſe articles which wee haue before remembred, amongeſt the which he rehearſed alſo one article that John Hus ſhould teache the two natures of the Godhead & manhead to be one Chriſt. John Hus went about briefly with a word or two to anſwer vnto euery one of them, but as often as hee was about to ſpeake, the Cardinal of Cambray commaunded him to holde his peace, ſaying: hereafter you ſhall aunſwer to all together, if you will. Then ſayde John Hus, how can I at once anſwer vnto all thoſe thinges which are alledged againſt me, when as I cannot remember them all? Then ſaid the Cardinall of Florence, we haue heard thee ſufficientlye. But when as John Hus for all that, would not holde hys peace, they ſent the officers which ſhould force hym thereunto. Then began he to intreate, pray, and beſeche them, that they would heare hym, that ſuch as were preſent myght not credit or beleue thoſe thinges to be true which wer reported of him. But when all thys would nothing preuayle, he kneeling downe vpon hys knees, committed the whole matter vnto God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for at their hands he beleued eaſely to obtayne that which he deſired.

The Cardinall of Cambray commaunded John Hus to kepe ſcilence.

Ioh. Hus could not be heard in the councell.

John Hus committeth hys cauſe to the Lord Chriſt.

When the articles aboue ſayd were ended, laſt of al there was added a notable blaſphemy, which they al imputed vnto John Hus. That is, that he ſayd ther ſhould be a fourth perſon in diuinitie, and that a certaine doctor dyd heare hym ſpeake the ſame. When John Hus deſired that the doctor might be named, ẏ biſhop whych had alledged the article, ſayd that it was not nedefull to name hym. Then ſayd John Hus, O miſerable & wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to beare ſuch blaſphemy and ſlaunder.

Marke the vnſhamefaſtnes of thē to fayne what they lyſt.

John Hus agayne ſlaundered.

Afterward the article was repeated howe he appealed vnto Chriſt, and that by name, was called hereticall. Whereunto John Hus anſwered: O Lord Jeſu Chriſt whoſe word is openly condemned here in this councell,

The councell doth call it hereticall to appeale to Chriſt.

vnto thee agayne I do appeale: which when thou waſt euill intreated of thine ennemies, diddeſt appeale vnto God thy father, committyng thy cauſe vnto a moſt iuſt Iudge, that by thy example wee alſo beyng oppreſſed with manifeſt wronges & iniuries, ſhould flee vnto thee. Laſt of all the article was rehearſed, as touching the cōtempt of the excommunication by John Hus. Whereunto he anſwered as before, that he was excuſed by his aduocates in the court of Rome, wherefore hee did not appeare whē he was cited: and alſo that it may be proued by the actes, that the excommunicatiō was not ratified: and finally to the entent he might cleare himſelfe of obſtinacie, he was for that cauſe come vnto Conſtance vnder the Emperours ſafeconduict. When hee had ſpoken theſe wordes, one of thē which was appointed iudges, read the definitiue ſentence againſt him, which followeth thus worde for worde.

Contempt of the popes excommunicatiō layd to I. Hus.

¶ *The ſentence or iudgement of the councell of Conſtance* geuen agaynſt Iohn Hus.

The ſentence redde agaynſt Iohn Hus.

THe moſte holy and ſacred generall councell of Conſtance, being cōgregate and gathered together, repreſenting the catholike church for a perpetuall memory of the thing, as the verity and truth doth witneſſe, an euell tree bringeth forth euill fruit: hereupon it commeth that the man of moſt damnable memory John Wickliffe thorow his peſtiferous doctrine, not thorow Ieſu Chriſt by the Goſpell, as the holy fathers in times paſt, haue gotten faythfull children, but contrary vnto the holeſome fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, as a moſt venemous root, hath begotten many peſtelent and wicked children, whome hee hath left behind him, ſucceſſors and followers of hys peruerſe and wicked doctrine, againſt whom this ſacred Sinode of Conſtance is forced to riſe vp, as agaynſt baſtardes and vnlawfull childrē, and with diligent care, with the ſharpe knife of the eccleſiaſticall autority, to cut vppe theyr errors out of the Lordes fielde as moſte hurtefull brambles and briers, leaſt they ſhould grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

For ſomuch then as in the holy generall councell lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed that the doctryne of John Wickliffe of moſte damnable memory ſhould be condemned, and that his bookes whiche conteyned the ſame doctrine, ſhould be burned as hereticall, & this decree was approued and confirmed by the ſacred authority of the whole councell: neuertheles one John Hus here perſonally preſent in thys ſacred councell, not thē diſciple of Chriſte, but of John Wickliffe, an archeheretike, after, and contrary or againſt the condemnation and decree, hath taught, preached, & affirmed the articles of Wickliffe, which were condemned by the church of God, and in times paſt by certayn moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt, Lords, archebiſhoppes, and Byſhops, of diuerſe kingdomes and realmes, mayſters of diuinitye of diuerſe vniuerſities: eſpeciallye reſiſting in his open Sermons, and alſo with his adherents and cōplices in the ſcholes, the condemnation of the ſayd artycles of Wickliffes, oftentimes publiſhed in the ſayde vniuerſitye of Prage, & hath declared hym the ſayd Wickliffe, for the fauour & cōmendation of his doctrin, before the whole multitude of the Clergye and people, to be a Catholike man and a true euangelicall doctour. He hath alſo publiſhed and affirmed, certain and many of his articles worthely condemned, to be catholike, the which are notoriouſly cōteined in the bokes of the ſaid John Hus.

Wherfore, after diligent deliberation and full information firſt had vpon the premiſſes by the reuerēd fathers and Lordes in Chriſt of the holy churche of Rome, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Archebyſhops, Biſhops and other Prelates, and Doctours of Diuinitie and of both lawes in great number aſſembled and gathered together, this moſte ſacred and holy Councell of Conſtaunce declareth and determineth the articles aboue ſaid (the which after due conference had, are found in his bookes writē with his owne hand, the whiche alſo the ſaid Jhon Hus in open audience before this holy Councell, hath cōfeſſed to be in his bokes) not to bee catholicke neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are erroneous, ſome of them to be wicked, other ſome to be offenſiue vnto godly eares, many of them to bee temerarious and ſeditious, and the greater part of them to be notoriouſly hereticall, and euen now of late by the holy fathers and generall Councels, reproued & cōdemned. And for ſomuch as the ſayd articles are expreſſely conteined in the bokes of the ſaid I. Hus, therfore this ſayd * ſacred Coſicel doth condemne and reproue all thoſe bokes, which he wrote, in what forme or phraſe ſoeuer they be, or whether they be tranſlated by others, and doth determine and decree, that they all ſhalbe ſolemnly & openly burned in the preſence of the Clergy and people of the Citie of Conſtance, and els where: addyng moreouer for the premiſſes, that all his doctrine is worthy to bee deſpiſed and eſchewed of all faithful Chriſtians. And to the intent this moſt pernicious and wicked doctrine, may be vtterly excluded & ſhut out of the church, this ſacred Sinode doth ſtraightly commaunde, that diligent inquiſition be made by the ordinaries of the places by the Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, for ſuch treatiſes and workes, and that ſuch as are founde, be conſumed and burned with fire. And if there bee any founde whiche ſhall contemne or deſpiſe this ſentence or decree, this ſacred Synode ordeyneth and decreeth that the ordynaries of the places and the inquiſitours of hereſies, ſhall procede agaynſt euery ſuch perſon as ſuſpect of hereſie.

They ſhall bryng you before their councells, they ſhall perſecute you, and caſt you in priſons, and bryng you before kinges and preſidentes for my name, &c. Luke. 21.

Wherfore, after due inquiſition made agaynſt the ſayd John Hus, & full information had by the Cōmiſſaryes and Doctours of both lawes, and alſo by the ſayings of the witneſſes whiche were worthy of credite, and many other thynges openly read before the ſayde Jhon Hus, and before the fathers and Prelates of this ſacred councell (by the which allegations of the witneſſes it appeareth that the ſayd Jhon Hus hath taught many euil and offenſiue, ſeditious, and perilous hereſies, and hath preached the ſame by a longe tyme) this moſte ſacred and holy Synode lawfully cōgregate and gathered together in the holye Ghoſt, the name of Chriſt beyng innocate and called vpon, by this their ſentence whiche here is ſet forth in writyng, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that Jhon Hus was and is a true & manifeſt hereticke, and that he hath preached openly errours and hereſies lately condempned by the churche of God, and many other ſeditious, temerarious, and offenſiue thinges to no ſmall offence of the Diuine maieſtie, and of the vniuerſall Churche, and detriment of the catholicke faith and church, neglecting and deſpiſing the keyes of the Church and Eccleſiaſticall cenſures. In the whiche his errours he continued with a mynde altogether indurate and hardned by the ſpace of many yeares, much offendyng the faythfull Chriſtians by his obſtinacie & ſtubburneſſe, whē as he made his appeale vnto the Lord Ieſu Chriſt, as the moſt high iudge, omittyng and leauing all Eccleſiaſticall meanes. In the which hys appeale he alledged many falſe, iniurious, & offenſiue matters, in contempt of the Apoſtolicke ſea, and the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures and keyes.

Many ſhall come in my name and ſhall deceaue many. Mark, 13.

To appeale to Chriſt is derogatory to the popes holyneſ.

Whereupon bothe for the premiſſes and many other thynges, the ſaid Synode pronounceth Jhon Hus to be an hereticke, and iudgeth him by theſe preſentes to be cōdemned and iudged as an hereticke, and reproueth the ſaid appeale as iniurious, offenſiue, and done in deriſion vnto the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and iudgeth the ſayd Hus, not onely to haue ſeduced the Chriſtian people by his writyngs and preachings, and ſpecially in the kingdome of Boheme, neyther to haue ben a true preacher of the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto the ſayd people, accordyng to the expoſition of the holy Doctors: but alſo to haue bene a ſeducer of thē and alſo an obſtinate and ſtifnecked perſon, yea and ſuch a one as doth not deſire to retourne agayne to the lappe of our holy mother the Churche, neither to abiure the errours and hereſies whiche he hath openly preached and defended. Wherfore this moſt ſacred Councell decreeth and declareth that the ſaid John Hus, ſhalbe famouſlye depoſed and diſgraded from his prieſtly orders and dignitie, &c.

Veritie cōdemned for hereſie.

Whyleſt theſe thinges were thus read, John Hus, albeit he were forbidden to ſpeake, notwithſtanding he did often interrupt them, and ſpecially when he was reproued of obſtinacie, he ſayd wt a loude voice: I was neuer obſtinate, but as alwaies heretofore, euē ſo now againe I deſire to be taught by the holye ſcriptures, and I do profeſſe my ſelfe to be ſo deſirous of the truth, that if I might by one onely word ſubuert the errours of all herетickes, I would not refuſe to enter into what peryll or daunger ſoeuer it were. When as his bookes were condem-

John Hus cleareth hymſelf of obſtinacie.

condemned, he ſayde: wherefore haue you condemned thoſe bookes, when as you haue not proued by any one article, that they are contrarye to the ſcriptures or articles of fayth? And moreouer, what iniurie is this that you do to me, ẏ you haue condemned theſe bookes written in the Bohemian tong, which you neuer ſawe, neyther yet read? And often times looking vp vnto heauen he prayed.

When the ſentence and iudgement was ended, kneeling downe vpon his knees, he ſayd: Lorde Jeſu Chriſt, forgeue mine enemies, by whom thou knoweſt that I am falſly accuſed, and that they haue vſed falſe wytnes and ſlaunders againſt me: forgeue them I ſaye, for thy great mercies ſake. Thys hys prayer and oration the greater part, and ſpecially the chiefe of the Prieſtes dyd deride and mocke.

At the laſt, the ſeuen Biſhops which were choſen out to diſgrade him of his prieſthood, commaunded hym to put on the garmentes pertaining vnto prieſthood, which thing when he had done, vntil he came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembraunce the whyte veſture which Herode put vpon Jeſus Chriſt to mock him withall. So lykewiſe in all other thinges he did comfort himſelfe by the example of Chriſt. When he had nowe put on all his prieſtly veſtures, the biſhops exhorted him that he ſhould yet alter and chaunge his minde and purpoſe, and prouide for his honour and ſafegard. Then he (according as ẏ maner of the ceremonye is) going vp to the top of the ſcaffold, being full of teares, he ſpake vnto the people in this ſort.

These Lordes and biſhops do exhort and councell me
" that I ſhould here confeſſe before you all that I haue er-
" red, the which thinge to do, if it were ſuche as mighte be
" doone with the infamye and reproche of anye man, they
" myght peraduenture eaſely perſwade me thereunto: but
" now truly I am in the ſight of the Lord my God, wyth-
" out whoſe great ignominye, and grudge of myne owne
" conſcience, I can by no meanes doe that whiche they re-
" quire of me. For I do wel know that I neuer taught a-
ny of thoſe things which they haue falſly alleged againſt me, but I haue alwayes preached, taughte, written, and thought contrary thereunto. with what countenaunce then ſhould I behold the heauēs? with what face ſhould
" I looke vpon them, whome I haue taught, wherof ther
" is a great nomber, if thorow me it ſhould come to paſſe
" that thoſe thynges which they haue hetherto knowen to
" be moſt certaine & ſure, ſhould now be made vncertain?
Should I by this my example aſtoniſh or trouble ſo ma
" ny ſoules, ſo many conſciences, endewed wyth the moſt
" fyrme & certayne knowledge of the ſcriptures & Goſpell
" of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt and his moſt pure doctrine, ar
" med againſt all the aſſaultes of Satan? I will neuer doo
" it, neither commit any ſuch kind of offence that I ſhould
" ſeme more to eſteeme thys vyle carcas appoynted vnto
death, then theyr health and ſaluation. At this moſt god-
" ly word he was forced againe to heare by the conſente of
" the biſhops, that he did obſtinatly and maliciouſly perſe
" uere in his pernicious and wicked errours.

Then he was commaunded to come downe to the execution of his iudgement, and in his comming downe, one of the ſeuen biſhops afore rehearſed, firſt tooke away the chalice from him which he held in hys hand, ſaying: O curſed Judas, why haſt thou forſaken the counſell and wayes of peace, and haſt counſelled wyth the Jewes? we take away from thee thys chalice of thy ſaluation. But John Hus receiued this curſe in this maner: but I truſt vnto God the father omnipotēt, and my Lorde Jeſus Chriſte, for whoſe ſake I doo ſuffer theſe thynges, that he wyll not take away the chalice of his redemption, but haue a ſtedfaſt and firme hope, that thys day I ſhall drinke thereof in hys kingdome. Then followed the other biſhops in order, which euery one of thē tooke away the veſtimentes from him, which they had put on, eche one of them geuing hym their curſe. Wherunto John Hus anſwered that he did willingly embrace and beare thoſe blaſphemies for the name of the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt. At the laſt they came to the raſing of his ſhauen crowne. But before ẏ biſhops would go in hand wyth it, there was a great contention betweene them, wyth what inſtrument it ſhoulde bee done, wyth a raſour, or with a payre of ſheares.

In the meane ſeaſon John Hus turning him ſelfe toward the Emperour, ſayd: I maruell that forſomuche as they be all of like cruell minde and ſtomacke, yet they cannot agree vpon their kinde of crueltye. Notwithſtanding, at the laſt they agreed to cut of the ſkyn of the crowne of hys head with a payre of ſheares. And when they had done that, they added theſe woordes: now hath the church taken away all her ornamentes and priuileges from him. Now there reſteth nothing els, but that he be deliuered ouer vnto the ſecular power. But before they did that, there yet remayned an other knacke of reproche. For they cauſed to be made a certayn crowne of paper, almoſt a cubite deepe, in the which were paynted thrée deuils of wonderfull ouglye ſhape, and this title ſet ouer their heades, Hereſiarcha. The which when he ſaw, he ſayd: My Lord Jeſus Chriſt for my ſake did weare a crowne of thorne: why ſhould not I then for hys ſake agayne weare this light crowne, be it neuer ſo ignominious? Truly I will do it, and ẏ willinglye. When it was ſet vpon hys head, the biſhops ſayd: now we commit thy ſoule vnto the deuyll. But I, ſayd John Hus (lifting his eyes vp towardes the heauens) do commit my ſpirite into thy handes: O Lord Jeſu Chriſt, vnto thee I cōmend my ſpirite which thou haſt redeemed. Theſe contumelious opprobries thus ended, the biſhoppes turning them ſelues towardes the Emperour, ſayd: This moſt ſacred Synode of Conſtance, leaueth now John Hus, whyche hath no more any office, or to doo in the church of God, vnto the ciuill iudgement and power. Then the Emperour cōmaunded Lodouicus Duke of Bauaria, which ſtood before him in hys robes, holding the golden apple with the croſſe in hys hand, that he ſhould receyue John Hus of the biſhops, and deliuer him vnto them whiche ſhoulde doe the execution. By whom as hee was led vnto the place of execution, before the churche doores he ſawe hys bookes burning, wherat he ſmiled and laughed. And all men that he paſſed by, he exhorted, not to thinke that he ſhoulde die for any errour or hereſie, but onely for the hatred and ill wyll of his aduerſaries, whiche had charged him with moſte falſe and vniuſte crimes. All the whole citie in a maner being in armour, followed him.

The wordes of John Hus vnto the Emperour.

The crowne of John Hus pared away with sheyres.

The maruelous conſtancie and courage of the bleſſed martyr.

The paper with the inſcription ſet vpon Huſſes head,

The proteſtation of I. Hus as he was lead to the place of execution,

The place appoynted for the execution, was before the gate Gotlebian, betwene the gardens and the gates of the ſuburbes. Whē as John Hus was come thether, kneeling downe vpon hys knees, and lifting hys eyes vp vnto heauen, he prayed and ſayd certaine Pſalmes, and ſpecially the. li. and. xxxi. Pſalmes. And they which ſtood by, heard hym often times in hys prayer with a merye and cherefull countenance repeate this verſe: Into thy handes, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit. &c. Which thing when the lay people beheld which ſtoode next vnto him, they ſayd: what he hath done afore, we knowe not, but now we ſee and heare that he doth ſpeake and pray very deuoutly & godly. Other ſome wiſhed that hee had a Confeſſor. There was a certain prieſt by, ſitting a horſbacke in a greene gowne drawen about with read ſilke, which ſayd, he ought not to be hearde, becauſe he is an hereticke. Yet notwithſtanding whyleſt he was in pryſon, he was both confeſſed, and alſo abſolued by a certen doctor, a Monke, as Hus him ſelf doth wytnes in a certayne epiſtle which he wrote vnto his friendes out of priſon. Thus Chriſt raygneth vnknowen vnto the world, euen in the myddeſt of hys enemies. In the meane tyme whyleſt he prayed, as he bowed his necke backwarde to looke vpward vnto heauen, the crowne of paper fell of

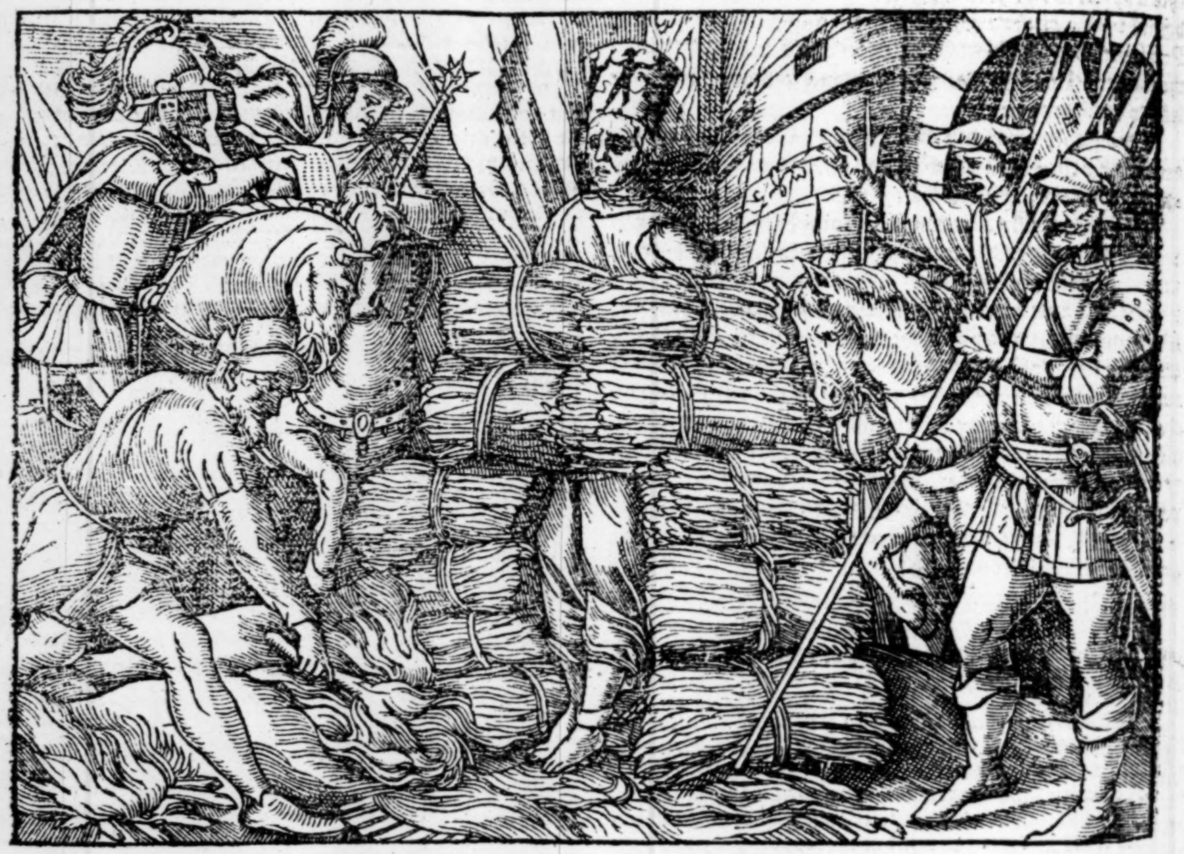
The prayers of John Hus well lyked of the people.

Ex epiſt. Ioan. Hus. 31.

The paper with deuills fell from hys head, At the prayer of Hus the paper with deuils fell downe

from hys head vpon the ground. Thẽ one of the ſouldiours taking it vp agayne ſayde: let vs put it agayne vpon hys head, that he may be burned with his mayſters the deuils whom he hath ſerued.

The deſcription of the burning of Iohn Hus, contrary to the ſafeconduict graunted vnto hym.



When as by the cõmaundement of the tormentors, he was riſen vp from the place of his praier, with a loud voyce he ſayd: Lord Jeſu Chriſt aſſiſt and helpe me, that with a conſtant and pacient mynde, by thy moſt gracious helpe, J may beare and ſuffer this cruell and ignominious death, whereunto J am cõdemned for the preaching of thy moſt holy Goſpell and worde. Then as before, he declared the cauſe of hys death vnto the people. Jn the meane ſeaſon the hangman ſtrypped hym of hys garmentes, and turning his handes behinde his backe, tied him faſt vnto the ſtake with ropes that were made wet. And where as by chaunce he was turned towards the Eaſt, certaine cried out that he ſhoulde not looke towards yͤ Eaſt, for he was an heretike: ſo he was turned towards yͤ Weſt. Then was his necke tyed with a chain vnto the ſtake, the which chayne when he beheld, ſmiling he ſayd, that he would willingly receiue the ſame chain for Jeſu Chriſtes ſake, whom he knew was bound with a far worſe chayne. Under his feete they ſet two fagots, admiring ſtrawe withall, and ſo lykewiſe from the feete vp to the chin, he was incloſed in round about with wood. But before the wood was ſet on fire, Ludouicus Duke of Bauaria, with an other gentleman with hym, which was the ſonne of Clement, came & exhorted John Hus, that he would yet be myndful of his ſafegard, and renounce his errours. To whom he ſayde, what errour ſhould J renounce, when as J knowe my ſelfe giltye of none? For, as for thoſe things which are falſly alledged againſt me, J know that J neuer did ſo muche as once thyncke them, much leſſe preach them. For this was the principall end & purpoſe of my doctrine, yͭ J might teach all men penance and remiſſion of ſinnes, according to the veritie of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, and the expoſition of the holye doctours: wherefore with a cherefull mynde and courage J am here readye to ſuffer death. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, they left hym, and ſhaking handes together they departed.

John Hus faſtened to the ſtake.

John Hus turned toward the weſt.

Perdon offered agaıne to Iohn Hus.

The laſt confeſſion of Iohn Hus.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Hus began to ſing with a loud voyce, Jeſu Chriſt the ſonne of the lyuing God haue mercy vpon me. And when he began to ſay the ſame the thirde time, the wynde droue the flame ſo vpon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithſtãding he moued a whyle after, by the ſpace that a man myght almoſt ſay three times the Lordes prayer. When all the wood was burned & conſumed yͤ vpper part of the body was left hanging in yͤ chayne, yͭ which they threw down ſtake and all, and making a new fire burned it, the head being firſt cut in ſmall gobbets, that it might the ſooner be conſumed vnto aſhes. The hart which was found amongeſt the bowels, being well beaten with ſtaues and cloubbes, was at laſt pricked vpon a ſharpe ſtycke, and roſted at a fire apart vntil it was conſumed. Then with great diligence gathering the aſhes together, they caſt them into the riuer of Rhene, that the leaſt remnant of the aſhes of that man ſhould not be left vpon the earth, whoſe memory notwithſtãding cãnot be aboliſhed out of the mindes of the godlye, neyther by fire, neither by water, neither by any kinde of torment.

The martyrdome o blessed John Hu

Precious the ſight God is th death of his ſaint

The hart of Iohn Hus beaten with ſtaues, an conſume with fyr

The aſhe of Iohn Hus caſt into the riuer of Rheine.

¶ J know very well that theſe thinges are very ſclenderly writtẽ of me as touching the labours of this moſt holy Martyr John Hus, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared. For yͤ auncient Hercules ſlew a few monſters: but this our Hercules with a moſt ſtout and valiaũt courage hath ſubdued euen the world it ſelfe, the mother of all Monſters and cruell beaſtes. Thys ſtory were worthy ſome other kinde of more copious handling, but forſomuch as J cannot otherwiſe perfourme it my ſelfe, J haue endeuored according to the very truth as the thing was in dede, to cõmend the ſame vnto all godly mindes: neither haue J heard it reported by others, but J my ſelfe was preſent at the doing of all theſe thinges, and as J was able J haue put them in writing,

The auth and wit of thys ſtorye.

M. Joh Przibra is thoug to be h name.

ting, that by this my labour, and indeuour how ſo euer it were, I might preſerue the memory of this moſt holy man and excellent doctour of the Euangelicall truth.

What was the name of this authour which wrote this ſtory, it is not here expreſſed. Cochleus in his ſecond booke contra Huſsitas, ſuppoſeth his name to be Ioãnes Przibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward ſucceeding in the place of John Hus at Prage, at laſt is thought to relent to the Papiſtes.

This godly ſeruant and Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the cruell councel, and burned at Conſtance an. 1415. about the moneth of July.

How greuouſly this death of John Hus was taken among the nobles of Boheme and of Morauia, hereafter (Chriſte willyng) ſhall appeare, by their letters whiche they ſent vnto the Councell, and by the letters of Sigiſmunde the kyng of Romaines, written vnto thẽ. Wherein he laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuſe him ſelfe, of Huſſes death. Albeit he was not altogether free from that cruell facte, and innocent from that bloud: yet notwithſtandyng he pretendeth in wordes ſo to wype awaye that blot from hym, that the greateſt parte of that crime ſemeth to reſt vpon the bloudy Prelates of that Councell, as the wordes of the king do purporte in forme as followeth.

INterea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni exiſtentibus, peruenit
" ad Conſtantiam. &c.1. In the meane tyme as we wer
" about the coſtes of Rhene, John Hus went to Cõſtance
" & there was arreſted, as is not to you vnknowen. who
" if he had firſt reſorted vnto vs, and had gone with vs vp
" to the Councel, perhaps it had ben otherwiſe with him.
" And God knoweth, what grief and ſorrowe it was to
our hart, to ſee it ſo to fall out, as with no wordes can be
well expreſſed. wherof all the Bohemians, whiche were
there preſent, can beare vs witnes, ſeing and beholding
howe carefull and ſollicitous we were in labouryng for
hym: In ſomuch that wee many tymes with anger and
fury departed out of the Councell: and not onely out of
" the Councell, but alſo went out of the citie of Conſtance
" takynge his parte, vnto ſuche tyme as the rulers of the
" Councell ſendyng vnto vs, ſayd: That if we would not
" permit them to proſecute that, whiche ryght required in
" the Councell, what ſhoulde they then doe in the place?
" whereupon thus we thought with our ſelues, that here
" was nothyng els for vs more to do, nor yet to ſpeake in
" this caſe, for aſmuch as ẏ whole Cõncell otherwiſe had
" ben diſſolued. where is to be noted moreouer, ẏ in Conſtãce
" ẏ ſame time there was not one clerk, or ii. but there
" were Ambaſſadours for all kynges and princes in Chriſtendome,
" eſpecially ſince the time that (Petrus de Luna geuyng
" ouer) all thoſe kynges and princes, which tooke
" hys parte, came to vs: ſo that what ſoeuer good was to
" bee done, it was nowe to bee paſſed in thys preſent
" Councell, &c. *Ex Epiſt. Imper. Sigiſmundi ad Nobiles. &c.*
"

By this it may appeare that the Emperour as partly aſhamed and ſory of that whiche was done, would gladly haue cleared him ſelfe thereof, and haue waſhed his handes with Pylate: yet he could not ſo cleare him ſelfe, but that a great portion of that murder remained in hym to be noted, and well worthy of reprehenſion: as may both appeare by hys laſte woordes ſpoken in the Councell to John Hus, whereof John Hus in hys Epiſtles complayneth, wrytyng to certaine of his frends in Bohemia in his. 33. Epiſtle, as by hys wordes may appeare here following.

I Deſyre you yet agayne for the loue of God, that the
Lordes of Boheme ioynyng together, will deſyre the
king for finall audience to be geuẽ me. For ſomuch as he
alone ſayd to me in the Councell, that they ſhould geue
me audience ſhortly, and that I ſhould aunſwere for my
ſelfe briefly in wrytyng: it will be to his gret confuſion,
" if he ſhall not performe that which he hath ſpokẽ. But I
" feare that worde of hys will be as firme and ſure, as the
" other was concernyng my ſafeconduct graũted by hym.
" Certaine there were in Bohemia, which would me to
to beware of his ſafeconduct. And other ſaid: he will ſure
" geue you to your enemies. And the L. Mikeſt Dweky
" told me before mayſter Jeſſenitz, ſaying: maſter, knowe
" it for certayne you ſhalbe condemned. And thys I ſuppoſe
" he ſpake, knowing before the intention of the king.
" I hoped well that he had bene well affected toward the
" law of God & truth, & had therin good intelligẽce: now
" I cõceaue that he is not gretly ſkilfull nor ſo prudently
" circumſpect in himſelfe. He condemned me before myne
" ennemies did. who, if it had pleſed him, might haue kept
the moderation of Pilate the Gentile, which ſaid: I find
no cauſe in this mã: or at leaſt if he had ſaid but thus: behold
I haue geuen him his ſafeconduict ſafely to return.
And if he will not abyde the deciſion of the councell, I
wyll ſend him home to the kinge of Boheme, with your
ſentence & atteſtatiõs, that he with his clergy may iudge
" him. But nowe I heare by the relation of Henry Leffl,
" and of other, that he will ordeyne for me ſufficient audience:
" And if I will not ſubmit my ſelf to the iudgemente
" of the councell, he will ſend me ſafe, the contrary way. &c

Pilate more moderate to Chriſt, then thys Emperour to Iohn Hus.

This John Hus beyng in priſon, wrote diuers treatiſes, as of the cõmaundementes, of the Lordes prayer, of mortall ſinne, of matrimonie, of the knowledge and loue of God, of 3. ennemyes of mankynd, the worlde the fleſhe, and the deuill: of penaunce, of the Sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lorde: of the ſufficiencie of the law of God to rule the churche. &c. He wrote alſo diuers Epiſtles and letters to the Lordes and to his frẽds of Boheme: And in his wrytynges did forſhewe many thynges before to come, touchyng the reformation of the church: and ſemeth in the priſon to haue had diuers Propheticall Reuelations ſhewed to hym of God. Certayne of whiche hys letters, and predictions, I thought here vnderneath to inſerte, in ſuch ſorte, as neither in recityng all I will ouercharge the volume to much: nor yet in recityng of none, I will bee ſo brief, but that the reader may haue ſome taſt, and take ſome profite of the Chriſtian wrytynges and doynges of this bleſſed man: Firſt begynnyng, with the letter of the Lord Clum, cõcernyng the ſafe conduict of John Hus.

¶ *A lettter of the Lord Iohn de Chlum concerning the ſafeconduict of Iohn Hus.*

TO all and ſinguler that ſhall ſee and heare theſe preſentes, I John de Chlum do it to vnderſtand, howe mayſter John Hus Bacheler of diuinity, vnder the ſafe conduicte, & protection of the renowmed prince & Lord Sigiſmund of Romaynes ſemper Auguſtus, and kyng of Hungary. &c. my gracious Lorde, and vnder the protection, defence & ſafegard of the holy Empire of Rome, hauing the letters patent of the ſayd my Lorde kinge of Romaynes. &c. came vnto Conſtaunce to render a full count of his fayth in publicke audience to all that would require the ſame. This the ſayde mayſter John Hus, in this Imperiall citie of Conſtance, vnder the ſafe conduict of the ſaid my Lord king of Romaynes, hath bene and yet is deteyned. And although the Pope with the Cardinals haue bene ſeriouſly required, by ſolemn Ambaſſadours of the ſayd my Lorde King of Romaynes &c. in the kynges name and behalfe, that the ſayd mayſter Joh. Hus ſhould be ſet at liberty, & be reſtored vnto me, yet notwithſtanding, they haue & yet do refuſe hetherto to ſet him at libertie, to the greate contempt & derogatiõ of the ſafeconduict of the kinge, and of the ſafegarde and protection of the Empire or Emperiall maieſty. Wherefore I John aforeſayd in the name of the king, do here publiſh and make it known, that the apprehending and deteyning of the ſayd M. John Hus, was done wholy agaynſt the will of the forenamed kinge of Romaines my Lord, ſeing it is done in the contempt of the ſafeconduct of his ſubiects and of the protection of the Empire, becauſe that the ſayd my Lord was then abſent far from Conſtance, and if he had bene there preſent, woulde neuer haue permitted the ſame. And when he ſhall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he for this great iniury, & contempte of this ſafe conducte done to him & to the Empire, will greuouſly be moleſted for the ſame.

Geuen at Conſtance in the day of the natiuitye of the Lord. M. cccc. xiiii.

¶ In this inſtrument aboue prefixed note (gentle reader)

der) iii. thinges. Firſt, the goodnes of this gentle Lorde Iohn de Clum, being ſo feruent and zelous in the cauſe of Iohn Hus, or rather in the cauſe of Chriſt.

Secondly, the ſafeconduit graunted vnto the ſayd Iohn Hus, vnder the fayth and protection of the Emperour, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, here is to be ſene the contempt and rebellion of theſe proude Prelates in diſobeyng the authoritie of their hygh Magiſtrate, who contrary to his ſafeconduit geuen, and the minde of the Emperour, dyd arreſt and impriſon this good mã, before the commyng of the ſayd Emperour, and before that Iohn Hus was heard. Let vs now, as we haue promyſed, adioyne ſome of the epiſtles of this godly man.

¶ An Epiſtle of Iohn Hus, vnto the people of Prage in his owne vulgare ſpeeche.

GRace and peace from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that you beyng deliuered from ſinne, may walke in his grace & may growe in all modeſtie and vertue, and after this, may enioy eternall lyfe.

Dearely beloued, I beſech you which walke after the law of God, that you caſt not away the care of the ſaluatiõ of your ſoules, whẽ as you, hearyng the word of God, are premoniſhed wiſely to vnderſtand that you be not deceiued by falſe Apoſtles: vvhiche do not reprehend the ſinnes of mẽ, but rather do extenuate and diminiſhe them: vvhich flatter the prieſtes, & do not ſhewe to the people their offences: vvhiche magnifie them ſelues: boaſt their owne vvorkes, and merueilouſlye extoll their owne worthines: but followe not Chriſt in his humilitye, in pouertie, in the croſſe & other manifold afflictions. Of whõ our mercifull Sauiour did premoniſhe vs before, ſaying: falſe Chriſtes & falſe Prophetes ſhall ryſe, and ſhall deceiue many. And when he had forewarned his welbeloued diſciples, he ſayd vnto them: beware and take hede of falſe Prophets, which come to you in ſheepes clothyng, but inwardly are rauenyng wolues: ye ſhall know thẽ by their frutes. And truth it is, that the faithfull of Chriſt haue much nede diligently to beware, and take heede vnto thẽ ſelues: For as our Sauiour him ſelfe doth ſay: the elect alſo if it were poſsible, ſhall be brought into error. VVherfore my welbeloued, be circumſpect and watchfull, that ye be not circumuented with the crafty traynes of the deuill. And the more circumſpect ye ought to be, for that Antichriſt laboureth the more to trouble you. The laſt Iudgemẽt is nere at hand: death ſhall ſwallovve vp many, but to the electe children of God, the kingdom of God dravveth nere, becauſe for them he gaue his ovvne body. Feare not death: loue together one an other: perſeuere in vnderſtandyng the good vvill of GOD vvithout ceaſing. Let the terrible & horrible day of Iudgement, be alvvayes before your eyes, that you ſinne not: & alſo the ioye of eternall life, wherunto you muſt endeuour. Furthermore, let the Paſsion of our Sauiour be neuer out of your mindes, that you may beare vvith him & for him gladly, vvhat ſo euer ſhalbe layd vpon you. For if you ſhal conſider well in your mindes his croſſe and afflictions, no thyng ſhalbe greuous vnto you, and patiently you ſhall geue place to tribulations, curſinges, rebukes, ſtripes and priſonement, and ſhall not doubt to geue your liues more ouer for his holy truth, if nede require. Knovve ye, vvelbeloued, that Antichriſt beyng ſtirred vp agaynſt you, deuiſeth diuers perſecutions. And many hee hath not hurt, no not the leaſt heare of their heades, as by mine ovvne exãple I can teſtifie, although he hath bene vehemently incenſed agaynſt me. VVherefore I deſire you all, vvith your prayers to make interceſsion for me to the Lorde, to geue me intelligence, ſufferaunce, patience and conſtancie, that I neuer ſvvarue from his diuine veritie. He hath brought me novv to Conſtance. In all my iourney openly and manifeſtly, I haue not feared to vtter my name as becometh the ſeruaunt of God. In no place I kept my ſelfe ſecret, nor vſed any diſsimulation. But neuer dyd I fynde in any place more peſtilente and manifeſt enemyes then at Conſtance. VVhich enemies neither ſhould I haue had there, had it not been for certaine of our ovvn Bohemiãs, hypocrites and deceiuers, vvho for benefites receiued, and ſtirred vp vvith couetouſnes, vvith boaſtyng and braggyng, haue perſuaded the people that I went about to ſeduce thẽ out of the right way. But I am in good hope that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I ſhall perſiſte ſtrongly in the immutable veritie of God, vnto the laſt breath. Finally, I woulde not haue you ignoraunt, that vvhere as euery one here is put in hys office, I onely as an out caſt am neglected. &c. I cõmend you to the mercifull Lord Ieſu Chriſt, our true God, & the ſonne of the immaculate Virgin Mary, vvhich hath redeemed vs by his moſt bitter death, vvithout all our merites, from eternal paines, from the thraldome of the Deuill, and from ſinne. From Conſtance, the yere of our Lord. M.CCCC.xv.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Hus to his benefactours

A letter of Iohn Hus

MY gratious benefactours & defendors of the truth, I exhorte you by the bowels of Ieſus Chriſt, that now ye ſettyng aſide the vanities of this preſent world, wyll geue your ſeruice to the eternall kynge, Chriſt the Lorde. Truſt not in princes nor in the ſonnes of men, in whom there is no health. For the ſonnes of mẽ are diſſemblers and diſceitfull. To day they erre, to morrowe they periſhe, but God remayneth for euer. Who hath his ſeruauntes not for any neede he hath of them, but for theyr owne profite: vnto whom he performeth that, whiche he promiſeth, & fulfilleth that whiche he purpoſeth to geue. He caſteth of no faithfull ſeruaunt from him, for hee ſayth: where I am there alſo ſhall my ſeruaunt be. And that Lorde maketh euerye ſeruaunt of his to bee the Lord of all his poſſeſſion, geuing him ſelfe vnto him, and with him ſelfe, all thynges: that without all tediouſnes, feare, and without all defect, hee may poſſeſſe all thynges, reioycyng with all ſaintes in ioye infinite. O happy is that ſeruaũt, whõ, whẽ the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall finde watchyng. Happy is the ſeruaunt which ſhal receaue that kyng of glory with ioye, wherfore, welbeloued Lordes, and benefactours, ſerue you that kyng in feare: whiche ſhall bryng you, as I truſt, nowe to Boheme at this preſent, by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternall life of glory. Fare ye well: For I thinke that this is the laſt letter that I ſhall wryte to you: who to morrow, as I ſuppoſe, ſhalbe purged in hope of Ieſu Chriſt, through bitter death, frõ my ſinnes. The things that happened to me this night, I am not able to write. Sigiſmund hath done all thynges with me diſceitfully, God forgeue hym and onely for your ſakes. You alſo heard the ſentẽce whiche he awarded agaynſt me. I pray you haue no ſuſpicion of faithfull Vitus.

¶ An other letter to the Lorde Iohn de Chlum

A letter of Iohn Hus

MOſt gratious benefactour in Chriſt Ieſu, dearly beloued, yet I reioyce not a little, that by the grace of God I may wryte vnto youre honour. By your letter which I receaued yeſterdaye, I vnderſtande, firſt howe the iniquitie of the great Trumpet, that is, of the malignant congregatiõ (wherof mencion is made in the Apocalips) is detected and ſhalbe more detected. Wyth the which Trumpet the Kinges of the earth do commit fornication, fornicating ſpiritually from Chriſte, and as is their ſayd, ſlydyng backe from the truth, and conſenting to the lyes of Antechriſt, throughe his ſeduccion and through feare, or throughe hope of confederacie, for gettinge of wordly honour. Secondly I perceaued by your letter, howe the enemies of the truth, beginne nowe to be troubled. Thirdly I perceaued the feruent conſtancie of your charitie, wherwith you profeſſe the truth boldly. Fourthly with ioye I perceaued that you mynde nowe to geue ouer the vanitie and the payneful ſeruice of this preſent worlde, and to ſerue the Lord Ieſus Chriſt quietly at home. Whom to ſerue, is to reigne, as Gregorye ſayth. Whom he that ſerueth faythfully, hath Chriſt Ieſus hymſelfe in the kingdome of heauen to miniſter vnto hym, as he him ſelfe ſayth: Bleſſed is that ſeruaunte, whom whẽ the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall fynde waking, and ſo doing. Verely I ſay vnto you, that he riſing, ſhal girde him ſelfe and ſhall miniſter to hym. This doe not the Kinges of thys worlde to theyr ſeruauntes: whom onely they doe loue ſo long as they are profitable and neceſſary for their commodities. &c.

¶ An other Epiſtle of Iohn Hus, wherein he declareth why God ſuffereth not his to periſhe, brynging diuers examples wherwith he doth comfort and confirme both him ſelfe and other.

letter of Hus.

THe lord God be with you. Many cauſes there were, welbeloued in God, my deare frendes, which moued me to thinke that thoſe letters were the laſt, whiche before I ſent vnto you, lokyng that ſame time for inſtante death. But now vnderſtandyng the ſame to be differred, I take it for great cõforte vnto me, that I haue ſome leaſure more to talke with you by letters: and therefore I wryte agayne to you, to declare and teſtifie at leaſt, my gratitude and mindfull duety toward you. And, as touchyng death, God doth know why he doth differ it both to me and to my welbeloued brother maiſter Hierome, who, I truſt, will dye holyly & without blame: and do know alſo that he doth & ſuffereth nowe more valiantly, then I my ſelf a wretched ſinner. God hath geuẽ vs a long tyme, that we might call to memory our ſinnes the better, and repente for the ſame more feruently. He hath graũted vs tyme, that our long & great tentatiõ ſhould put away our greuous ſinnes, and bryng the more cõſolation. He hath geuẽ vs tyme wherein we ſhould remẽber the horrible rebukes of our mercyfull kyng & Lord Ieſus, and ſhoulde ponder his cruell death, and ſo more patientlye might learne to beare our afflictions. And moreouer that we myght kepe in remembraunce, howe that the ioyes of the lyfe to come, are not geuen after the ioyes of this worlde immediatly, but through many tribulations the ſaintes haue entred into the kyngdome of heauen. For ſome of them haue bene cut and chopt all to peeces, ſome theyr eyes bored through, ſome ſodde, ſome roſted, ſome ſlayne aliue, ſome buried quicke, ſtonyd, crucified, grynded betwixt myll ſtones, drawen and hayled hether and thether vnto execution, drowned in waters, ſtrangled & hanged, torne in peeces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pyned in priſons & afflicted in bãdes. And who is hable to recite all the tormentes and ſufferinges of the holy ſaintes, which they ſuffered vnder the old and newe Teſtament for the veritie of God: namely thoſe whiche haue at any tyme rebuked the malice of the prieſtes, or haue preached againſt their wickednes? And it wilbe a maruell if any mã now alſo ſhall eſcape vnpuniſhed, who ſo euer dare boldely reſiſte the wickednes & peruerſitie, eſpecially of thoſe prieſtes, whiche can abyde no correctiõ. And I am glad that they are cõpelled now to read my bookes, in the whiche, theyr malice is ſome what deſcribed: and I knowe they haue read the ſame more exactly and diligẽtly, then the holy Goſpell, ſeking therin to finde out errours. Geuen at Conſtance vpon Thurſday the xxvij. day of Iune. an. M.CCCC.xv.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Hus, wherin he rehearſeth what iniuries he receaued of the Councell, and of the deputies.

IF my Letter be not ſent yet to Boheme, keepe it, and ſend it not, for hurt may come therof. &c.

Item, if the kyng do aſke who ought to be my iudge, ſince that the Councell neither did call me, nor byd cite me, neither was I euer accuſed before the Councell, and yet the Councell hath impriſoned me, and hath appoynted their proctor agaynſt me.

Item I deſire you, right noble and gracious Lorde Iohn, if audience ſhalbe geuen me, that the kyng wilbe there preſent hym ſelfe, and that I may haue a place appoynted nere vnto hym that he may here me well & vnderſtãd what I ſay: & that you alſo with the Lord Henry, and with Lord wenſelaus & other moe, if you may, wilbe preſent, and here what the Lord Ieſus Chriſt my procurator & aduocate & moſt gracious Iudge, wil put in my mouth to ſpeake, that whether I lyue or dye, you may bee true and vpright witneſſes with me, leaſt lyeng lyppes ſhall ſaye hereafter, that I ſwarued awaye from the truth which I haue preached.

Item, knowe you that before witneſſes & notaries in the pryſon, I deſyred the Cõmiſſioners that they would depute vnto me a proctour & an aduocate, who promiſed ſo to do, & afterward would not performe it. wherfore I haue cõmitted my ſelfe to the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that he will be my procuratour & aduocate & iudge of my cauſe.

Item, knowe you, that they haue as I ſuppoſe, no other quarell agaynſt me, but onely this, that I ſtoode agaynſt the Popes Bull, which Pope Iohn ſent downe to Boheme to ſanctify warre with the ſigne of the croſſe and full remiſſion of ſinnes, to all them whyche woulde take the holy croſſe to fight for the patrimony of the Romiſh churche agaynſte Ladiſlaus kyng of Naples, and they haue mine owne writing whiche was red agaynſte me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly they haue alſo agaynſt me, that I haue continued ſo longe in excommunication and yet did take vpon me to miniſter in the church & ſay maſſe. Thirdly they haue agaynſt me, becauſe I did appeale from the Pope, to Chriſte. For they red my appeale before me, in the which with a willyng minde, ſmiling I cõfeſſed before thẽ al to be mine. Fourthly becauſe I left a certain letter behind me which was red in the church of Bethlehem, the which letter my aduerſaries haue very euill fauoredly tranſlated & ſiniſterlye expounded, in the which I did write that I went out without a ſafeconduct. whereunto you your ſelues can ſay and beare me record, that I in my going out, had no ſafeconduct of the Pope, neyther yet did knowe whether you ſhoulde goe out wyth me when I wrote that letter.

Vide ſupra pag. 703. col. 4.

Item, if audience may bee geuen to me, and that after the ſame audience the kyng woulde ſuffer me not be returned agayne into priſon, but that I may haue your counſels & others my frendes: and if it may pleaſe God that I may ſaye ſome thyng to my ſoueraigne Lorde the kynge, for the behalfe of Chriſtianitie and for hys owne profyte. &c.

¶ An other Letter of Ihon Hus, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and deſcribeth the wickednes of that councell.

IHon Hus in hope ẏ ſeruant of God, to all the faithfull in Boheme, which loue the Lord, greting through the grace of God. It commeth in my minde, wherin I muſt needes admoniſh you, that be ẏ faithfull & beloued of the Lord, how that the councell of Conſtance beinge full of pride, auarice, and all abhomination, hath condemned my bokes writtẽ in the Boheme tongue, for hereticall, which bokes they neuer ſaw, nor neuer heard them red: And if they had hard them, yet they could not vnderſtãd the ſame, being ſome Italians, ſome Frenchemen, ſome Britains, ſome Spaniardes, Germans, with other people of other nations moe: vnleſſe peraduenture Iohn Biſhop of Litomiſhe vnderſtode them, which was preſent in that councell, and certaine other Bohemians, and prieſtes which are againſte me and laboure all they may how to depraue both the veritie of God, and the honeſty of our countrey of Boheme: whiche I iudge in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well geuen to the true knowledge of the fayth, for ẏ it doth ſo greatly deſire the word of God, and honeſt maners. And if you were here at Conſtance, ye ſhould ſee the greuous abhomination of this Councell, whiche they call ſo holy, and ſuch as cã not erre. Of the which Councell I haue heard it by the Swechers reported, that the Citie of Conſtance is not able in 30. yeares to be purged of thoſe wicked abhominations in that Councel committed. And all be offended almoſt with that Councell, beyng ſore greued to behold ſuch execrable thyngs perpetrate in the ſame. when I ſtoode firſt to aunſwere before myne aduerſaries, ſeyng all thyngs there done with no order, and hearyng them all ſo outragiouſly crying out, I ſayd plainly vnto them, that I loked for more honeſt behauiour, and better order and diſcipline, in that Councell. Then the chief Cardinal aunſwered, ſayſt thou ſo? but in the tower thou ſpakeſt more modeſtlye. To whom, ſayd I: in the Tower, no man cryed out agaynſt me, where as nowe all do rage agaynſt me. My faithfull and beloued in Chriſt, be not afrayed with their ſentence in condemnyng my bookes. They ſhall bee ſcatered hether and thether abroad, lyke light Butterfleys, & their ſtatutes, ſhall endure as Spyderwebbes. They went about to ſhake my conſtancie from the veritie of Chriſte: but they could not ouercome the vertue of God in me. They would not reaſon with the Scriptures againſt me, as diuers honorable Lordes can witnes with me, whiche beyng ready to ſuffer contumely for the truth of God, tooke my part ſtoutly: namely Lord wenceſlaus de Duba, and Lord Iohn de Chlũ: for they were let in by kyng Sigiſmund into the Councell. And when I ſayd, that I was deſirous to be inſtructed, if I did in any thyng erre, then they hard the chief Cardinall anſwere agayne: becauſe thou wouldeſt be informed, there is no remedy, but thou muſt firſt reuoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of 50. bachelers of Diuinitie appointed. O hygh inſtructiõ. After

An other letter of Iohn Hus.

The Councell condemne bookes which they vnderſtand not.

Prayſe of Bohemia.

The abhomination of the Councell of Conſtance deſcribed.

Iohn Hus ſeemeth here to propheſie of the Councell as it came to paſſe.

The Councell afrayde to be tryed by the Scriptures.

This Cardinall was Cardinall Cambienſis.

S. Katherine diſputing with .50. doctours conuerted thē, but Iohn Hus could not conuerte hys 50. doctours.

lyke manner S. Catherine alſo ſhould haue denyed and reuoked the veritye of God and fayth in Chriſt, becauſe the .50. maiſters likewiſe did withſtand her: whiche notwithſtandyng, that good virgyne would neuer do, ſtandyng in her fayth vnto death: But ſhe did wynne thoſe her maiſters vnto Chriſt, whē as I can not wynne theſe my maiſters by any meanes. Theſe thynges I thought good to write vnto you, that you might know how they haue ouercome me, with noo grounded Scripture nor with any reaſon: but onely did aſſay with terrours and diſceites to perſuade me to reuoke and to abiure. But our mercifull God, whoſe law I haue magnified, was & is with me, and I truſt, ſo wil cōtinue, and will kepe me in his grace vnto death. Written at Conſtance after the feaſt of Iohn Baptiſt, in priſon & in bands, dayly loking for death, although for the ſecret Iudgementes of God, I dare not ſay whether this be my laſt Epiſtle: for nowe alſo almighty God is hable to deliuer me.

An other Letter of Iohn Hus wherein he comforteth his frendes and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of hys bookes: and alſo declareth the wickednes of the clergye.

MAiſter Iohn Hus, in hope the ſeruant of God, to all the faythful which loue him and his ſtatutes, wiſheth the truth and grace of God.

Good bookes of good men haue bene burned of olde tyme.

Good mē with their bookes to be burned, no newes.

Beloued, I thought it needefull to warne you that you ſhoulde not feare or be diſcouraged becauſe the aduerſaryes haue decreed that my bookes ſhalbe burnt. Remember howe the Iſraelites burned the preachynges of the Prophet Ieremie, and yet they could not auoyd the thinges that were prophecied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commaūded to write the ſame prophecie agayne, & that larger: which was alſo done. For Ieremie ſitting in priſō ſpake, and Baruch, which was ready at his hand, wrote. This is writtē either in the 35. or 45. chapter of the viſion of Ieremie. It is alſo written in the bookes of the Machabees, that the wicked did burne the lawe of God, and killed them that had the ſame. Againe vnder the newe Teſtament, they burned the ſaintes, with the bookes of the lawe of God. The Cardinalles condemned and committed to fyre certaine of Saint Gregoryes bookes, and had brente them all, if they had not bene preſerued of God, by the meanes of Peter, Gregories Miniſter. Hauinge theſe things before your eyes, take heede leaſt through feare, you omitte to read my bookes, and deliuer them to the aduerſaryes to be brent. Remember the ſayinges of our mercifull ſauiour, by which he forewarneth vs. Math 24. There ſhalbe, ſayth he, before the daye of Iudgemente, great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginning, vntill this daye, neyther ſhalbe afterwardes: So that euen the electe of God ſhoulde be deceiued, if it were poſſible. But for their ſakes, thoſe dayes ſhalbe ſhortened. When you remember theſe thinges, dearely beloued, be not afrayed, for I truſt in God, that that ſchole of Antichriſt ſhalbe afrayed of you, and ſuffer you to be in quyet, neyther ſhall the councell of Conſtance extend to Bohemia. For I thinke, that manye of them, whiche are of the Councell, ſhall dye before they ſhall gette from you my bookes. And they ſhall departe from the councell & be ſcattered abroad, through out the partes of ẏ world, like ſtorkes, and then they ſhal know when winter commeth, what they dyd in ſommer. Conſider that they haue adiudged their head the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible factes that he hath done. Go to now: Anſwere to this you preachers, which preach that the pope is the God of the earthe, that he may, as the Lawyers ſaye, make ſale of the holy thinges: that he is the head of the whole holy Church in veritie well gouerninge the ſame: that he is the hart of the Churche in quickeninge the ſame ſpirituallie: that hee is the wellſpringe from the which floweth all vertue and goodneſſe: that hee is the ſonne of the holy Churche: that he is the ſafe refuge to which euery Chriſtian man ought to flye for ſuccour. Beholde now that head is cut of with the ſword, nowe the God of the earth is bound, nowe his ſinnes are declared openly, now that wellſpringe is dryed vppe, that ſonne darkened, that hart is plucked out and throwen awaye, leſte that any man ſhould ſeeke ſuccour thereat. The Councell hath condemned that hedde, and that for this offence, becauſe he tooke money for Indulgences, Biſhoprickes and other ſuche lyke. But they condempned him, by order of iudgement, which were themſelues the byers and ſellers of the ſame Marchandiſe. There was preſente Ihon Biſhop of Lytomiſlya, who wente twyſe aboute to bye the Biſhopprike of Prage, but others preuented him. O wicked men, why dyd they not firſte caſte out the beame out of their owne eyes? Theſe men haue accurſed and condempned the ſeller, but they thēſelues which were the byers & conſenters to the bargayne, are wͭout daunger. What ſhall I ſay that they do vſe thys maner of bying & ſelling at home in theyr own countreys? For at Conſtance there is one biſhop which bought and an other which ſolde, and the Pope for allowinge of both their factes, tooke brybes of both ſides. It came ſo to paſſe in Bohemia alſo as you knowe. I would that in that coūcell, God had ſaid, he that amōgſt you is without ſinne, let him geue the ſentence againſte Pope Iohn: Then ſurelie they had gone all oute of the Councell houſe, one after an other. Why dyd they bowe the knee to him alwayes before this his fall, kiſſe hys feete, and call him the moſte holy Father, ſeeing they ſawe aparantlie before, that he was an hereticke, that he was a manqueller, that hee was a wicked ſinner? all which things now they haue found in him. Why did the Cardinalls chuſe him to be Pope, knowing before that he had kylled the holy Father? why ſuffered they him to meddle wͭ holy things, in bearing the office of the Popedome? for to thys ende they are his counſellours that they ſhoulde admoniſhe him of that which is ryght. Are not they thēſelues as giltye of theſe faultes as he? ſeyng that they accoūted theſe things vyces in him & were pertakers of ſome of thē them ſelues? why durſt no man lay ought to his charge, before he had fled frō Cōſtance, but as ſone as the ſecular power, by the ſuffraunce of God, layd holde vpon him, then, and neuer afore, they conſpired alltogether that he ſhould not liue any longer. Surelye euen at this daye is the malice, the abhomination, and filthines of Antichriſt reuealed in the Pope, and others of thys councell. Nowe the faithfull ſeruaunts of God may vnderſtand what our ſauiour Chriſt ment by this ſayinge: when you ſhall ſee the abhomination of deſolatiō, which is ſpokē of of Daniell. &c. who ſo can vnderſtād it, &c. Surely theſe be great abhominatiōs, pride couetouſnes, ſymonie, ſitting in a ſolitarie place, that is to ſaye, in a dignitie voyde of goodnes, of humilitie, and other vertues: as we do now clerely ſee in thoſe that are conſtituted in anye offyce and dignitye. O howe acceptable a thyng ſhould it be (if time would ſuffer me) to diſcloſe their wicked actes, whiche are now aparaunt, that the faithfull ſeruauntes of God might know them? I truſt in God that he wil ſend after me, thoſe that ſhall bee more valiaunt: and there are aliue at thys daye, that ſhall make more manifeſte the malice of Antichriſt, and ſhall geue theire lyues to the deathe, for the truth of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt: who ſhall geue both to you and me the ioyes of lyfe euerlaſting. This Epiſtle was written vpon S. Ihon Baptiſtes day in pryſon and in could yrons, I hauinge thys meditation wyth my ſelfe. that Iohn was beheaded in his pryſon and bondes, for the word of God.

Iohn Hus ſemeth to propheſie of the Councell of Conſtance.

The blaſphemous opinion of Lawyers & papiſtes touching the ſouerantye of the pope.

One Symo niſt condemneth an other.

The byſhops of the Coūcel noted of Symonie.

Pope Ioh made a pope bei knowen be a mur derer.

Antichri now lyt beginneth to be reue led in the pope.

A prophecie of Io Hus.

An other Letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Hus in hope the ſeruaunt of God, to all the faithfull at Boheme, which loue the Lord, wiſheth to ſtand and dye in the grace of God, and at laſt to attayne to eternall lyfe. Amen.

Ye that beare rule ouer other and be riche, and ye alſo that be poore, welbeloued and faithfull in God, I beſech you and admoniſhe you all, that ye will be obedient vnto God, make much of his worde, and gladly hearing the ſame, will humbly performe that whiche ye heare. I beſech you ſticke faſt to the veritie of Gods word, which I haue written and preached vnto you out of his lawe, and the Sermons of his ſeintes. Alſo I deſire you if any mā either in publicke ſermō or in priuate talke haue heard of me any thyng, or haue read any thyng written by me whiche is agaynſt the veritie of God, that he doo not folow the ſame. Albeit, I do not fynde my conſcience giltie that I euer haue ſpoken or writtē any ſuch thyng amonges you. I deſire you moreouer if any man at any time haue noted any leuitie either in my talke or in my conditions, that he doo not folow the ſame: but pray to God for me, to pardon me that ſinne of lightnes. I praye you that ye will loue your prieſtes and miniſters which be of honeſt behauiour, to preferre & honor thē before others: namely ſuch prieſts as trauaile in the word of God. I pray you take hede to your ſelues & beware of malicious & deſpitefull mē, & eſpecially of theſe wic-

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ked prieſtes, of whō our Sauiour doth ſpeake, that they are vnder ſhepes clothyng, and inwardly are rauenyng wolues. I praye ſuch as be rulers and ſuperiours, to behaue them ſelues gently towardes their poore inferiours, and to rule them iuſtely. I beſeche the Citizens that they will walke euery man in his degree and vocation with an vpright conſcience. The Artificers alſo I beſeche, that they will exerciſe their occupations diligētly, and vſe them with the feare of God. I beſech the ſeruantes that they wil ſerue their maſters faithfully. And likewiſe the ſcholemaiſters I beſech, that they liuyng honeſtly, wil bring vp their ſcholers vertuouſly, & to teach them faithfully: firſt to learne to feare God: then for the glory of God, & the publicke vtilitie of ŷ cōmon wealth, and theyr own health, and not for auarice or for worldly honour, to employ their minds to honeſt artes. I beſech the ſtudentes of the vniuerſitie & all other ſcholes, in all honeſt thynges to obey their maiſters, and to folow them, and that with all diligence, they will ſtudy to bee profitable both to the ſettyng forth of the glorye of God, and to the ſoules health, as well of them ſelues, as of other men. Together I beſeche and pray you all, that you wyll yelde moſt harty thankes to the right honorable Lordes, the Lord Wencelaus de Duba, L. Iohn de Chlum, Lord Henry Lumlouio, Lorde Vilem Zagecio, Lord Nicolas, & other Lords of Boheme, of Morauia and Polonie: that theyr diligēce towards me, may be gratefull to all good men: becauſe that they lyke valiaunt champions of gods truth, haue oftentymes ſet thē ſelues agaynſt the whole Councell for my deliueraunce, contending & ſtanding againſt the ſame to ŷ vttermoſt of theyr power: but eſpecially lord Wencelaus de Duba, & Lord Iohn de Chlum. What ſo euer they ſhall reporte vnto you, geue credite vnto them: for they were in the Councell when I there aunſwered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many falſe & ſlanderous thinges they brought in agaynſt me, and how that Councell cryed out agaynſt me, and howe I alſo aunſwered to all thynges whereof I was demaūded. I beſeche you alſo that ye will pray for the kyng of Romaines, & for your kyng, and for hys wife your Queene, that God of his mercy would abyde with them and with you, both nowe and hence forth in euerlaſtyng lyfe. Amen.

A prophe-
cie of Ioh
Hus.

This Epiſtle I haue writtē to you out of pryſon and in bandes, lookyng the next day after the wrytyng hereof, for the ſentēce of the Councel vpon my death, hauing a full truſt that he will not leaue me, neither ſuffer me to deny his truth, & to reuoke the errours, which falſe witneſſes maliciouſly haue deuiſed agaynſt me. How mercifully the lord god hath dealt with me, & was with me in meruelous tentations, ye ſhal know, when as hereafter by the helpe of Chriſt, we ſhall all meete together in the ioye of the worlde to come. As concernyng maiſter Hierome my dearely beloued brother & felowe, I heare no other but that he is remaynyng in ſtrait bandes, lokyng for death as I do: and that for the fayth whiche he valiauntly mayntained amongeſt the Bohemians. Our cruel enemies of Boheme, haue geuen vs into the power and handes of other ennemyes, and in to bandes. I beſeche you praye to God for them.

Moreouer, I beſeche you, namely you of Prage, that you will loue the temple of Bethelem, and prouide, ſo longe as God ſhall permit, that the word of God may be preached in the ſame. For, becauſe of that place, the deuyll is angry, and agaynſt the ſame place, he hath ſtyrred vppe prieſtes, and Canons, perceauing that in that place his kingdome ſhould be diſturbed and diminiſhed. I truſt in God that he will kepe that holy churche ſo long, as it ſhall pleaſe him, and in the ſame ſhall geue greater encreaſe of his word by other, then he hath done by me a weake veſſell. I beſech you alſo, that ye will loue together, and withholding no man from the hearyng of gods worde, ye will prouide and take care that good men bee not oppreſſed by any force and violence. Written at Conſtance, the yere of our Lord. M.CCCC.xv.

¶ *An other right godly letter of Iohn Hus, to a certaine prieſt* admoniſhing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithfull: worthy to be read of all Miniſters.

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ers and
achers.

THe peace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. &c. My deare brother, be diligent in preaching the Goſpell, and do the worke of a good Euangeliſt: neglect not your vocation: labour lyke a bleſſed ſouldiour of Chriſt. Firſt lyue godly and holyly. Secondly teach faythfully and truly. Thirdly be an example to other in well doyng, that you bee not reprehended in your ſayinges: correct vice and ſet foorth vertue. To euill lyuers threaten eternall puniſhement: but to thoſe that be faythfull and godlye, ſet forth the confortes of eternall ioye. Preach continually, but be ſhorte and frutfull, prudently vnderſtandyng and diſcretely diſpenſing the holy Scriptures. Neuer affirme or maintayne thoſe thynges that be vncertaine & doubtfull, leſt that your aduerſaryes take holde vppon you, whiche reioyce in deprauyng their brethrē, wherby they may bryng the miniſters of God into contempt. Exhort men to the cōfeſſion of their fayth, & to the communiō of both kindes, both of the body and bloud of Chriſt, wherby ſuch as doo repent earneſtly of their ſinnes, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warne you that you enter into no tauernes with geſſe, and bee not a common company keper: For the more a preacher keepeth hym frō the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, denye not yet your helpe and diligence, where ſoeuer you may profite other. Agaynſt fleſhly luſt preach continually all that euer you can: For that is the ragyng beaſt whiche deuoureth men, for whom the fleſh of Chriſt did ſuffer, wherfore my hartely beloued, I beſeche you to flye fornication: for where as a man would moſt profit & do good, there this vice vſeth moſt to lurk. In any caſe flye the company of yonge women, and beleue not their deuotiō: For S. Auſten ſayth, the more deuout ſhe is, the more procliue to wantonnes, and vnder the pretence of religion the ſnare and venome of fornication lurketh: And this know my welbeloued, that the conuerſation with thē, ſubuerteth many, whom the conuerſation of this world could neuer blemiſh nor begile. Admit no womē into your houſe, for what cauſe ſo euer it bee, and haue not much talke with them otherwiſe, for auoyding of offence. Finally howe ſo euer you do, feare God and kepe his preceptes: ſo ſhall you walke wiſely, & ſhall not periſh: ſo ſhall you ſubdue the fleſh, contemne the world, and ouercome the deuill: ſo ſhall you put on God, finde life, and confirme other, and ſhall crowne you ſelfe with the crowne of glorye, the whiche the iuſt iudge ſhall giue you, Amen.

S. Auguſtine
meaneth not
here of all, but
of the cōmon
ſorte of lyght
perſons.

¶ *This letter of Iohn Hus conteineth a confeſsion of the infirmitie,* of mans fleſh. How weake it is, and repugnant agaynſt the ſpirite. VVherein he alſo exhorteth to perſeuere conſtantly in the truth.

Thys Palletz
was the chie-
feſt enemie of
Iohn Hus, and
procuratour of
his death.

Michaell de
Cauſis an other
bitter enemye
of Iohn Hus.

Iohn Hus prai
eth for hys
enemyes.

HEalth be to you from Ieſus Chriſt. &c. My deare frend, know that Palletz came to me to perſuade me that I ſhould not feare the ſhame of abiuration, but to conſider the good which therof will come. To whom I ſayd, that the ſhame of condemnation and burning is greater then to abiure: and why ſhould I feare then that ſhame? But I praye you tell me playnly your mynde. Preſuppoſe ŷ ſuch Articles were layed to you which you knew your ſelf not to be true: what would you do in ŷ caſe? would you abiure? Who aunſwered, The caſe is ſore, and began to wepe. Many other thynges we ſpake whiche I did reprehend. Michaell de Cauſis, was ſome tymes before the priſon with the deputies. And whē I was with the deputies, thus I heard him ſpeake vnto the kepers: Wee by the grace of God will burne this hereticke ſhortly: for whoſe cauſe I haue ſpent many Florenes. But yet vnderſtand that I write not this to the intent to reuenge me of him, for that I haue committed to God, and pray to God for him wyth all my hart.

A prophecie
of Iohn Hus.

Yet I exhort you agayne, to be circūſpect about our letters: for Michaell hath takē ſuch order ŷ none ſhalbe ſuffered to come into the priſon: noo nor yet the kepers wiues are permitted to come to me. O holy God, how largely doth Antichriſt extende his power and crueltie? But I truſt that his power ſhalbe ſhortned, and hys iniquitie ſhalbe detected more & more amōgeſt the faythfull people.

Almighty God ſhal confirme the hartes of his faithfull, whom he hath choſen before the conſtitution of the worlde, that they may receaue the eternall crowne of glorye. And let Antichriſt rage as much as he will, yet he ſhall not preuaile agaynſt Chriſt, which ſhal deſtroy him with the ſpirit of his mouth, as the Apoſtle ſaith: And then ſhall the creature be deliuered out of ſeruitude of corruption, into the libertie of the glory of the ſonnes of God, as ſaith the Apoſtle in the wordes folowyng: wee alſo within our ſelues doo grone, wayting for the adoption of the ſonnes of God, the redēption of our body.

I am greatly comforted in thoſe wordes of our Sauiour: happy be you when men ſhall hate you and ſhall ſeparate you, & ſhall rebuke you, & ſhall caſt out your name as execrable, for the ſonne of man. Reioyce & be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heauen, Luke. 6. O worthy, yea O moſt worthy conſolation, whiche not to vnderſtand, but to practiſe in tyme of tribulation, is a hard leſſon.

The example
of Chriſt.

This rule S. Iames with the other Apoſtles, did well vnderſtand, which ſayth: count it excedyng ioye my brethren, when ye ſhall fall into diuers tentations, knowyng that the probation of your fayth worketh patience: let patience haue her perfect worke. For certeynly it is a great matter for a man to reioyce in trouble, and to take it for ioye to be in diuers tentations. A light matter it is to ſpeake it and to expounde it: but a greate matter to fulfill it: For why, our moſt patient and moſt valiaunt champion hym ſelfe knowyng that he ſhould ryſe agayne the thyrd day, ouercommyng his enemyes by his death, and redemyng from dānation his elect after his laſt Supper was troubled in ſpirite and ſayd: My ſoule is heauy vnto death. Of whom alſo the Goſpell ſayth, that hee began to feare, to be ſadde and heauy. Who beyng thẽ in agony, was confirmed of the Aungell, and his ſweat was like the droppes of bloud fallyng vpon the grounde. And yet he notwithſtandyng, beyng ſo troubled, ſayd to his Diſciples: let not your harts be troubled, neither feare the crueltie of thẽ ẏ perſecute you: for you ſhall haue me with you alwayes, that you maye ouercome the tyrannye of your perſecutours. Wherupon thoſe his ſouldiours, loking vpõ the prince and kyng of glory, ſuſteyned great conflictes. They paſſed through fire and water and were ſaued, and receaued the crowne of the Lord God, of the whiche S. Iames in his canonicall Epiſtle, ſayth: Bleſſed is the man that ſuffreth tentation, for when he ſhalbe proued, he ſhall receaue the crowne of life, whiche God hath promiſed to them that loue hym. Of this crown I truſt ſtedfaſtly the Lorde will make me partaker alſo with you, which be the feruent zealers of the truth, and with al them which ſtedfaſtly and conſtantly doo loue the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, whiche ſuffred for vs, leauyng to vs example that we ſhoulde folowe hys ſteppes. It behoued hym to ſuffer, as hee ſayth: and vs alſo it behoued to ſuffer, that the members maye ſuffer together with the head. For hee ſayth: If any man will come after me, let hym denye hym ſelfe and take vp his Croſſe and folow me.

The prayer of Iohn Hus to Chriſt.

O moſte mercifull Chriſt, draw vs weake creatures after thee, for except thou ſhouldeſt draw vs, we are not able to follow thee. Geue vs a ſtrong ſpirit, that it maye be readye, and although the fleſh be feble, yet let thy grace go before vs, go with vs, and folowe vs: for without thee we can do nothing, and much leſſe enter into the cruell death for thy ſake. Geue vs that prompt and ready ſpirite, a bolde harte, an vpryght fayth, a firme hope and perfecte charitie, that we maye geue our lyues paciently and ioyfully for thy names ſake. Amen. Written in priſon and in bondes in the vigill of holy. S. Ihon the Baptiſte, who beinge in priſon and in bondes for the rebuking of wickednes, was beheaded.

¶ Among diuers other letters of Iohn Hus, which he wrote to the great conſolation of others: I thought alſo here to intermixt an other certaine godly letter written out of Englãd, by a faithfull ſcholer of Wickliefe, as appeareth, vnto Iohn Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affection therin conteined, ſeemeth not vnworthy to be read.

¶ *A letter to Iohn Hus and to the Bohemians from London.*

A zealous letter to Iohn Hus from London.

GReting, and whatſoeuer can be deuiſed more ſweete, in the bowells of Chriſt Ieſu. My dearely beloued in the Lord, whom I loue in the truth, and not I onely, but alſo all they that haue the knowledge of the truth, which abydeth in you and ſhall be with you through the grace of God, for euermore: I reioyſed aboue meaſure when our beloued brethren came and gaue teſtimonye vnto vs of your truth, and how you walke in the truth. I haue heard brethren, how ſharpely Antichriſt perſecuteth you, in vexing the faythful ſeruanntes of Chriſt with diuerſe and ſtraunge kindes of afflictions. And ſurely no marueile, if amongeſt you (ſince it is ſo almoſt all the world ouer) the law of Chriſt be too too greuouſly impugned, & that redde Dragon hauing ſo many heades (of whome it is ſpoken in the Apocalyps) haue nowe vomited out of hys mouth that great floud, by whiche he goeth about to ſwalow vp the woman: but the moſte gracious God will deliuer for euer hys onely and moſte faythfull ſpouſe. Let vs therefore comforte our ſelues in the Lorde our God, and in his vnmeaſurable goodnes, hoping ſtrongly in hym which will not ſuffer thoſe that loue him, to be vnmercifullie defrauded of any theyr purpoſe, if we according to our duetie, ſhall loue hym with all our harte: for aduerſitie ſhoulde by no meanes preuaile ouer vs, if there were no iniquitie raigning in vs. Let therefore no tribulation or ſorowe for Chriſtes cauſe, diſcourage vs, knowing this for a ſuretie, that whom ſo euer the Lorde vouchſafeth to receaue to be his children, thoſe he ſcourgeth: For ſo the mercifull father will haue them tryed in this miſerable lyfe by perſecutions, that afterwardes he may ſpare thẽ. For the golde that this high artificer hath choſẽ, he purgeth & tryeth in this fire, that he may afterwardes laye it vp in his pure treaſurie. For we ſee that the tyme which we ſhall abyde here, is ſhorte and tranſitorye: the lyfe which we hope for after this, is bleſſed and euerlaſting. Therfore, whileſt we haue tyme, let vs take payne, that we may enter into that reſt. What other thyng do we ſee in this brickle lyfe, then ſorowe, heauines and ſadnes, and that which is moſte greuous of all to the faythfull, to muche abuſing and contempte of the lawe of the Lorde. Let vs therefore endeuour our ſelues as muche as we maye, to laye holde of the thinges that are eternall and abyding, deſpiſing in our mindes all tranſitorye and frayle thinges. Let vs conſider the holy fellowſhip of our fathers that haue gone before vs. Let vs conſider the ſainctes of the olde and newe Teſtament. Dyd they not paſſe throughe this ſea of tribulation and perſecution? were not ſome of them cutte in pieces, other ſome ſtoned, and others of them killed with the ſworde? Some others of them went about in peltes and goates ſkinnes, as the Apoſtle to the Hebrues witneſſeth. Surely they al walked ſtrait waies, folowyng the ſteppes of Chriſt, which ſayd, he that miniſtreth vnto me, let hym folowe me, whether ſo euer I go. &c. Therfore let vs alſo, which haue ſo noble examples geuen vs of the ſaints that went before vs, laying awaye, as much as in vs lyeth, the heauy burden, & the yoke of ſinne which cõpaſſeth vs about, runne forward through pacience, to the battaile that is ſet before vs, fixing our eyes vpon the author of faith, and Ieſus the finiſher of the ſame: who ſeyng the ioye that was ſet before him, ſuffred the paines of the croſſe, deſpiſing death. Let vs call vpõ him which ſuffred ſuch reproche agaynſt himſelf of ſinners, that we be not weryed, faynting in our hearts, but that we may hartely pray for helpe of the Lorde, and maye fight againſt his aduerſary Antichriſt: that we may loue his law & not be diſceitfull laborers, but that we may deale faythfully in all thinges, according to that, that god hath vouchſafed to geue vs, & that we may labour dilligẽtly in the lordes cauſe vnder hope of an euerlaſtinge rewarde. Behold therfore brother Hus, moſt dearely beloued in Chriſt, although in face vnknowen to me, yet not in fayth and loue (for diſtaunce of places cãnot ſeparate thoſe whome the loue of Chriſt doth effectuallye knit together) be comforted in the grace which is geuẽ vnto thee, labor like a good ſouldier of Chriſt Ieſus, preache, be inſtante in woord and in example, and call as manye as thou canſt, to the way of truth: for the truth of the Goſpell is not to be kepte in ſilence becauſe of friuolous cenſures and thunderbolts of Antichriſt. And therfore to the vttermoſt of thy power: ſtrengthẽ thou and confirme the members of Chriſt, which are weakned by the deuill: and if the Lorde wyll vouchſafe it, Antichriſt ſhall ſhortely come to an ende. And there is one thinge wherein I do greatly reioyce, that in your realme and in other places, God hath ſturred vp the harts of ſome mẽ that they can gladly ſuffer for the word of God, empriſonment, baniſhment, and death. Further, beloued I knowe not what to write vnto you, but I cõfeſſe that I could wiſh to poure out my whole hart if therby I might comfort you in the law of the Lorde. Alſo I ſalute from the bottome of my hart, all the faythfull louers of the law of the Lord, and ſpecially Iacobellus your coadiutor in the Goſpell, requiring him that he wyll praye vnto the Lorde for me in the vniuerſall church of Ieſus Chriſt. And the God of peace which hath rayſed from the dead the ſhepheard of the ſhepe, the mighty Lord Ieſus Chriſt, make you apt in all goodnes to doe hys wyll, working in you that which may be pleaſãt in hys ſight. All your frends ſalute you which haue heard of your conſtancie. I would deſire alſo to ſee your letters written backe to vs, for know ye that they ſhall greatly comfort vs.

Exampl of the ol martyrs,

At London by your ſeruaunt, deſiryng to be felow with you in your labours, Ricus Wichewitze, prieſt vnworthy.

¶ *An other letter of Iohn Hus to his frendes of Bohemia*

THe Lord God be with you. I loue the counſell of the Lord, aboue gold and precious ſtone. Wherfore I truſt in the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, that he will geue me his ſpirit to ſtand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, for the ſpirite is readye and the fleſhe is weake. The Lord almighty be the eternal reward vnto my lordes, which conſtantly, firmely and faithfully do ſtand for righteouſnes: to whome the Lord God ſhall geue in the kingdome of Boheme, to know the truth. For the folowing of which truth, neceſſary it is that they returne agayne into Boheme, ſetting apart all vayn glory, and folowing not a mortall and miſerable king, but the king of glory which geueth eternall life.

O howe comfortable was the geuing of the hande of Lorde Iohn de Chlum vnto me, which was not aſhamed to reach foorth his hand to me a wretch, and ſuch an abiecte heretike, lying in fetters of iron, and cryed out vpon, of all men. Now peraduenture I ſhall not ſpeake much hereafter with you: Therfore ſalute in tyme as you ſhall ſee them, all the faythfull of Boheme.

Wicked Palletz.

Paletz came to me into priſon. His ſalutation in my vehement infirmitye, was this before the Commiſſaries, that there hath not riſen a more perelous heretike ſince Chryſt was borne, then was Wickleff and I. Alſo he ſayd that all ſuche as came to heare my talke, were infected with this hereſy, to thinke that the ſubſtance of bread remayned in the ſacrament of the altar. To whome I anſwered and ſayd: O maiſter, what a greuous ſalutation haue you geuen me? and how greatly doe you ſinne? Beholde I ſhall dye or perauenture to morrow ſhalbe burnt. And what rewarde ſhall be recompenſed to you in Boheme for your labour?

This thinge perauenture I ſhoulde not haue written, leſte I mighte ſeeme to hate him, I haue alwayes had this in my harte, truſt not in princes, &c. And agayne, curſed be ẏ man which truſteth in man, and maketh fleſhe to be his arme. For gods ſake bee you circumſpect howe you ſtand & howe you returne. Cary no letters with you. Direct your bookes not all by one, but diuerſly by diuers frendes.

Exampl
of the ol
martyrs.

Knowe this for certayn, that I haue hadde greate conflictes by dreames, in ſuch ſort as I had much a do to refrayne from crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes eſcape before he went. And after the Lord John had told me therof, immediatly in the night it was told me that the pope ſhould returne to you agayne. And afterward alſo I dreamed of the apprehending of maiſter Hierome, although not in full maner as it was done. All the priſonmentes whether and how I am caried, were opened to me before, although not fully after the ſame forme and circumſtance. Many ſerpentes oftentymes appered vnto me hauing heades alſo in their tayle: but none of them could bite me: and many other things more.

viſi-
of Iohn
by
es.

These things I write, not eſteeming my ſelfe as a prophet, or that I extoll my ſelfe, but onely to ſignify vnto you what temptations I had in body and alſo in mind, and what great feare I had, leſt I ſhould tranſgreſſe the commaundement of the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt. Now I remember with my ſelf the wordes of maiſter Hierome, whiche ſayde, that if I ſhoulde come to the councell, he thought I ſhould neuer returne home agayn. In like maner there was a good and godly mã, a taylor, which takyng his leaue of me at Prage, ſpake to me in theſe words: God be with you (ſayd he) for I thynke verelye, my deare and good mayſter John, that you ſhal not returne agayn to vs with your life. The king, not of Hungary, but of heauen, rewarde you wyth all goodnes, for the faythfull and doctryne whych I at your handes haue receiued. &c.

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And ſhortly after the writinge hereof, he ſendeth alſo vnto them an other propheticall viſion of his to bee expounded, touching the reformation of the churche, written in his 44. epiſtle: the contentes wherof be theſe.

¶ *An other Letter of Iohn Hus, ſent to the* Lord Iohn de Chlum.

I Pray you expounde to me the dreame of this night. I ſaw how that in my church of Bethleem, they came to raſe and put out all the Images of Chriſte, and dyd put thẽ out. The next day after, I aroſe and ſaw many painters, which paynted and made more fayrer Images and many more then I had done before: whiche Images I was very glad and ioyfull to beholde. And the paynters with much people about them, ſaid: let the Biſhops and prieſtes come now, and put vs out theſe pictures. which being done, much people ſemed to me in Bethleem to reioyſe, and I with them. And I awakyng therwith, felt my ſelfe to laugh. &c.

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This viſion Lord John de Chlum, and John Hus him ſelfe in his boke of Epiſtles in the. 45. Epiſt. ſemeth to expounde, and applieth theſe Images of Chriſt vnto the preachyng of Chriſt and of his life. The which preachyng and doctrine of Chriſt, thoughe the Pope and hys Cardinals ſhould extinguiſhe in hym, yet did hee foreſee and declare, that the time ſhould come, wherin the ſame doctrine ſhould be reuyued agayne by others, ſo plenteouſly, that the pope withal his power, ſhould not be able to preuayl againſt it. Thus much as concerning this viſion of John Hus. Wherunto doth wel accord ẏ Propheſie of Hierom of Prage, printed in the Coyne called Moneta Huſsi: of the whiche Coyne I haue my ſelfe one of the plates hauing this ſuperſcription folowyng prynted about it, Centũ reuolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis & mihi. That is, After a hũdreth yeares come and gone, you ſhall geue a counte to God and to me. Wherof (God willyng) more ſhalbe ſayd hereafter.

Furthermore in 48. Epiſt. ẏ ſayd John Hus ſeming to ſpeake with the lyke ſpirite of Prophecie, hath theſe wordes folowyng: Sed ſpero quod quæ dixi ſub tecto, prędicabuntur ſuper tecta. That is: but I truſte that thoſe thyngs which I haue ſpoken within the houſe, hereafter ſhalbe preached vpon the top of the houſe.

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And becauſe we are here in hãd with the Propheſies of John Hus, it ſhall ſerue well in place, here moreouer to recorde his wordes in a certaine treatiſe by him written, De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium Abhominatione, wherin the ſayd John Hus ſpeakyng prophetically of the reformation of the Churche, hath theſe wordes folowing. Ex iſtis vlterius aduerte incidentaliter, quod Dei eccleſia nequit ad priſtinam ſuam dignitatem reduci. &c. That is in Engliſhe.

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Moreouer, herupon note and marke by the way, that the church of God, can not be reduced to his former dignitie, or bee reformed, before all thynges firſt bee made new. The truth wherof is playne by the Temple of Salomon: Like as the clergy, and prieſts, ſo alſo the people and laity: Or els vnles all ſuch as now be addict to auarice, from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt conuerted and reclaymed, as well the people, as the clergie and prieſtes. Albeit as my minde now geueth me, I beleue rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the newe man, whiche is created after God. Of the whiche people new clerkes and prieſtes ſhall come, and betaken: whiche all ſhall hate couetouſneſſe, and glorye of this lyfe, haſtyng to an heauenly conuerſation. Notwithſtandyng all theſe thynges ſhall come to paſſe and be wrought by litle and litle in order of times, diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth, & will do for his owne goodnes and mercy, and for the riches of his greate longanimitie and patience, geuyng time and ſpace of repentance to them that haue long layne in their ſinnes, to amende, & flye frõ the face of the Lordes fury, while that in lyke maner the carnall people, & carnal prieſtes ſucceſſiuely and in tyme, ſhal fall away, and be conſumed as with the mooth. &c.

¶ *An other letter of Ihon Hus.*

Mayſter Martine, my deare brother in Chriſt, I exhorte you in the Lorde, that you feare God, keepe his commaundementes, and fly the company of womẽ, & beware of hearing their confeſſiõis, leſt by the hipocriſie of women, Sathan deceiue you: truſt not their deuotions. You know how I haue deteſted ẏ auarice and the inordinate lyfe of the Clergye: wherefore throughe the grace of God, I ſuffer now perſecution, which ſhortelye ſhalbe conſummate in me, neyther do I fear to haue my hart powered out for the name of Chriſte Jeſus. I deſyre you hartely, be not gredy in ſeking after benefices. And yet if you ſhalbe called to any cure in the coũtry, let the honour of God, the ſaluation of ſoules, and the trauaile therof, mone you therunto, & not hauing of the liuing or the commodityes therof. And if you ſhall be placed in any ſuche benefice, beware you haue no yonge woman for your cooke or ſeruaunt, leaſte you edifye and encreaſe more your houſe, then your ſoule. See that you bee a buylder of your ſpirituall houſe, being gentle to the poore, and humble of mynde: and waſte not your goodes in great fare. I feare alſo if you do not amende your lyfe, ceaſyng from your coſtly and ſuperfluous apparell, leſt you ſhallbe greuouſlye chaſticed, as I alſo wretched man ſhallbe puniſhed, whiche haue vſed the lyke, being ſeduced by cuſtome of euill men and wordely glorye, whereby I haue bene woũded againſt God with the ſpirite of pryde. And becauſe you haue notablye knowen both my preaching, and outward conuerſation euen from my youth, I haue no neede to wryte manye thinges vnto you, but to deſyre you for the mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, that you do not follow me in any ſuch leuitie and lyghtnes, which you haue ſeene in me. You knowe how before my prieſthod, which greueth me now, I haue delyghted to play oftẽtimes at cheſſe, and haue neclected my time, and thereby haue vnhappely prouoked bothe my ſelfe and other to anger many tymes, by that playe. Wherefore, beſydes other my innumerable faultes, for this alſo I deſyre you to inuocate the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardone me, and ſo to directe my lyfe, that hauing ouercome the wickednes of this preſent lyfe, the fleſh the world, and the deuill, I maye fynde place in the heauenlye countrey, at the leſt in the daye of iudgement. Fare you well in Chriſt Jeſus, with all them which kepe his lawe. My gray coate if you wil, keepe to youre ſelfe for my remembraunce: but I thinke you are aſhamed to weare that graye colour: therefore you maye geue it to whom you ſhall thinke good. My whyte coate you ſhall geue the miniſter. N. my ſcholer. To George or els to Zuzikon, 60. grotes or els my gray coat: for he hath faythfully ſerued me.

Note that then prieſtes were not maried, & therfore he willeth him to auoyde all company of womẽ.

He repenteth his gay garmentes.

He repenteth his playing at the cheſſe.

John Hus from his gay garments comth to his white coate.

¶ The ſuperſcription.

I pray you that you do not open this letter, before you be ſure and certaine of my death.

¶ *The conſolation of M. Hierom to M. Hus.*

My maſter, in thoſe things which you haue both written hetherto and alſo preached after ẏ law of God agaynſt the pride, auarice, and other inordinate vices of the prieſtes, go foreward, bee conſtaunt and ſtrong. And if I ſhall knowe that you are oppreſſed in the cauſe, and if nede ſhal ſo require, of mine own accord, I wil folow after to helpe you, as much as I can.

John Hus condemned for no erroneous doctrine wherein he was culpable.

¶ By the life, actes and letters of John Hus hetherto rehearſed, it is euident and playne, ẏ he was condẽned, not for any errour of doctrine, which they coulde well proue in him, who neither denied their popiſh tranſubſtantiation, neyther ſpake agaynſt the authority of the church of Rome, if it were well gouerned, nor yet the. 7 ſacraments, & alſo ſayd maſſe himſelf, and almoſt in all their popiſh opinions was a papiſt with them: but only of euyll will was accuſed of his malicious aduerſaries, becauſe he ſpake agaynſt the pompe, pride and auarice, and other wicked enormities of the Pope, Cardinals, and prelates of the church, and becauſe he coulde not abide the high dignities and liuings of the church, and thoughte the doinges of the Pope to be Antichriſtlike. For this cauſe he procured ſo manye enemies and falſe witneſſes agaynſt him. Who ſtreyning & pickinge matter out of his bookes and writings, hauing no one iuſt article of doctrine to laye vnto hym, yet they made him an heretike, whether he would or no, and broughte him to his condemnation. Thys can hatred and malice do, wher the charity of Chriſt hath not place. Which being ſo, as thy charitie (good reader) maye eaſely vnderſtand, in peruſing the whole courſe of his ſtory: I beſech thee then, what cauſe had John Cochleus to wryte hys xii. bookes agaynſt John Hus and Huſſites? In whych bokes how bitterly and intemperantly he miſuſeth hys penne, by theſe few woordes in hys ſeconde booke thou mayſt take a little taſte: whych woordes I thought here briefely to place in engliſh to the end that all engliſh mẽ maye iudge thereby, with what ſpirite and truth theſe Catholickes be caried. Hys woordes be theſe. Lib. 2, Hiſt. Dico igitur Ioan. Huſſ, neque ſanctum neque beatum habendũ eſſe, ſed impiũ potius &c. That is, I ſay therfore ẏ John Hus is neyther to be counted holy nor bleſſed: but rather wicked & eternally wretched: in ſo much

Cochleus raleth againſt Iohn Hus without cauſe.

Ex Cochleo. Lib. 2. Hiſt. Huſsitarum. pag. 98.

,, that in the day of iudgement, it ſhalbe more eaſy, not on
,, lye with the infidel Pagans, Turkes, Tartarians, and
,, Jewes, but alſo with the moſt ſinful Sodomits, and the
,, abhominable Perſians, which moſt filthely do lye wyth
,, theyr daughters, ſiſters or mothers, yea and alſo wyth
,, moſt impius Cayn killer of his own brother, with Thy
,, eſtes killer of his owne mother, and the Leſtrygones &
,, other Andropophagi, which deuoure mans fleſhe: yea
,, more eaſy with thoſe infamous murderers of infants,
,, Pharao and Herode, then wyth hym, &c.

Theſe bee the words of Cochleus. Whoſe rayling bokes although they deſerue neyther to be red, nor anſwered, yet if it pleſed God, it were to be wiſhed that the Lorde would ſtyr vp ſome towardly yong mã, that had ſo much layſure, to defend the ſimplicitye of this John Hus, whyche can not now anſwer for himſelf. In the meane time, ſomethynge to ſatiſfy or ſtay the readers minde againſt this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few wordes I wyl bring out John Hus to ſpeake & to cleare himſelf againſt thys ſlaunder: whoſe words in his boke de ſacerdotum & monachorũ abhominatione deſolationis. pag. 84. I beſech the reder to note. Nam et iſta ſcribẽs fateor, ꝙ nihil aliud me in illis perurget, niſi dilectio D. noſtri Ieſu crucifixi, &c. That is, For in wrytyng theſe thynges, I

,, confeſſe nothing els to haue moued me hereunto, but on
,, ly ẏ loue of our Lord Jeſus crucified, whoſe prints and
,, ſtrypes, (according to the meaſure of my weakenes and
,, vileneſ) I couet to beare in my ſelfe, beſeching him ſo to
,, geue me grace, that I neuer ſeeke to glory in my ſelf or
,, in any thing els, but only in his croſſe, & in the ineſtima
,, ble ignominy of his paſſion which he ſuffred for me. And
,, therfore I wryte & ſpeake theſe thinges, whych I do not
,, doubt will like all ſuch as vnfaynedly do loue the Lorde
Chriſt crucified; and contrary will miſlike not a litle, all
ſuch as be of Antichriſt. Alſo agayne, I confeſſe before ẏ ,,
moſt mercifull Lord Jeſus crucified, that theſe thinges ,,
which I do now wryte, and thoſe ẏ I haue written be ,,
fore, neither I could haue written, nor knew howe, nor ,,
durſte ſo haue writtẽ, vnleſſe he by hys inward vnction ,,
had ſo commaunded me. Neyther yet do I wryte theſe ,,
things as of authority, to get me fame & name: For as ,,
S. Auſt. and Hierome do ſay, that is only to be geuen to ,,
the Scriptures & writings of the Apoſtles, euangeliſtes ,,
& Prophets, and to the Canonicall ſcriptures, which do ,,
abound with ẏ fulnes of ẏ ſpirit of Jeſus. And whatſoe ,,
uer is there ſaid, is full of verity & wholſome vtilitie. &c. ,,

And here place alſo woulde require ſomething to ſay to Æneas Syluius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falſely impute articles to him, which he neuer maintayned. But becauſe tyme ſuffreth not, I will procede to the ſtorye of Maiſter Hierome of Prage.

¶ *The Tragicall and lamentable hiſtory of the famous learned* man and godly Martyr of Chriſt, maiſter Hierome of Prage, burned at Conſtance for like cauſe and quarell as maiſter Iohn Hus was. 1416.

The ſto of Hiero of Prage

These thynges hetherto beyng diſcourſed touching the lyfe, Actes and conſtant Martyrdome of maiſter John Hus, with part alſo of his letters adioyned to the ſame, whoſe death was on the vi. of July, an. 1416: now remaineth conſequẽtly to deſcribe the lyke tragedye and cruell handlyng of his Chriſtian companion and felowe in bandes maiſter Hierome of Prage: Who greuouſly ſorowyng the ſlanderous reproche and diffamation of his countrey of Boheme, and alſo hearynge tell of the manifeſte iniuries done vnto that man of worthy memory Mayſter John Hus: frely & of his own accord he came vnto Cõſtance, the iiij. day of Aprill. an. 1415. Who there perceauyng that John Hus was denied to be heard, and that watch and wayte was layd for hym on euery ſide, he departed to Iberling a citie of the Empire, vntil the next day: the whiche Citie was a myle of from Conſtance, and from thence hee wrote his letters by me vnto Sigiſmund kyng of Hungary and hys Barons, and alſo vnto the Councell, moſte earneſtlye requiryng that the kyng and the Councell woulde geue hym a ſafeconduicte frely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to aunſwere vnto euery mã, if there were any of the councell that would lay any crime vnto him, as by the tenour of his intimation, ſhall more at large appeare.

Hierom comme to Conſtance.

The ſafe conduc was req red bu vaine of Empero

When as the ſayd kyng of Hungary was required therunto, as is aforeſaid, beyng in the houſe of the Lord Cardinall of Cambray, he denyed to geue maiſter Hierome any ſafecõduict, excuſing him ſelf for ẏ euill ſpede he had with the ſafeconduict of John Hus before, and alledginge alſo certain other cauſes. The deputies alſo of the foure nacions of the Councell, being moued therunto by the Lordes of the kyngdome of Boheme, aunſwered: we (ſayd they) will geue him a ſafeconduict to come, but not to depart. Whoſe aunſweres, whẽ they were reported vnto maiſter Hierome, he ẏ next day after wrote certain intimations according to the tenour here vnder written, whiche he ſent vnto Conſtance to be ſet vpon ẏ gates of the Citie, and vpon the gates of the Churches and monaſteries, and of the houſes of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenour whereof here foloweth worde for worde in this maner.

The inti mations Hierom of Prage ſet vp in places o the tow of Conſtance.

Unto the moſte noble prince and Lorde, the Lorde Sigiſmund, by the grace of God kyng of the Romains, alwayes Auguſtus, and of Hungary. &c. I Hierome of Prage maiſter of Arte of ẏ generall vniuerſities of Paris, Colleyn, Heldeberg and Prage, by theſe my preſent letters do notifie vnto the kyng together with the whole reuerend Councell, and as much as in me lyeth, doo all men to vnderſtand and know, that becauſe of the crafty ſclanderers, backbiters and accuſers, I am ready frely & of myne own will, to come vnto Cōſtance, there to declare openly before the whole Councell, the puritie and ſinceritie of my true fayth and mine innocencie, & not ſecretly in corners before any priuate or particulare perſon. Wherefore if there bee any of my ſclaunderers, of what nation or eſtate ſoeuer he be, whiche will obiect agaynſt me any crime of errour or hereſie: let them come forth openly before me in the preſence of the whole Coūcell, and in their owne names obiect agaynſt me, and I wil be ready as I haue written, to aunſwer openly and publickely before the whole Councell for my innocēcie, and to declare the puritye & ſinceritye of my true faith. And if ſo be that I ſhalbe found culpable in any errour or hereſie, then I will not refuſe openly to ſuffer ſuch puniſhement as ſhall be meete and worthy for an erronious perſon, or an hereticke.

Wherfore I moſt humbly beſech my Lord the kyng and the whole ſacred Councell, that I may haue to this end & purpoſe afore ſaid, ſafe and ſure acceſſe. And if it happen that I offeryng ſuch equitie and ryght as I do, before any faute bee proued agaynſt me, be areſted impriſoned, or haue any violence done vnto me, that then it maye be manifeſt vnto the whole worlde that this generall Councell doth not procede accordyng to equitie and iuſtice, if they would by any meanes put me back from this profounde and ſtrayght iuſtice, beyng come hether frely & of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I ſuppoſe to be farre from ſo ſacred and holy a Councel of wiſe men.

When as yet he throughe ſuche intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latine, and Germaine tounge, being ſet vp as is afore ſayde, coulde not get anye ſafe conduicte: then the Nobles, Lordes, & knightes ſpeciallye of the Bohemian nation, preſente in Conſtance, gaue vnto mayſter Hierome their letters patents, confyrmed with their Seales, for a teſtemony & witnes of the premiſſes. With ye which letters the ſayd maſter Hierom retourned again vnto Boheme, but by the treaſon & conſpiracie of his enemies was taken in Hirſaw by the officers of Duke Ihon, and in Zultzbach was broughte backe againe to the preſence of the Duke. In the meane time ſuche as were the ſetters forward of the councell agaynſte mayſter Ihon Hus, and maiſter Hierome, that is to ſay Michael de Cauſis and maiſter Palletz and other their accomplices, required that the ſayd mayſter Hierome ſhould be cyted by reaſon of his intimation: and certaine dayes after the citation hereunder written, was ſet vpon the gates and porches of the citie, and Churches, which foloweth here in this maner.

This moſte Sacred and holy Synod and generall coūcell of Conſtance, faithfullye congregated and gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, repreſentinge the vniuerſall militant churche, vnto Hierome of Prage, which wryteth himſelfe to be a mayſter of arte of ſo many vniuerſityes, and pretendeth thoſe things which are onely pertaining vnto ſobriety & modeſty, & that he knoweth no more thē he ought. &c. Know thou yt there is a certaine wryting come vnto our vnderſtanding & knowledge, the which was ſet vp as it were by thine owne perſon vppon the gates of the churches and Citie of Conſtance, vpon the Sonday, when there was ſonge in the Church of God: Quaſimodo geniti, wherein thou doeſt affirme, that thou wilte openly aunſwere vnto thy accuſers and ſlaunderers whiche ſhall obiecte anye cryme, errour or hereſye, agaynſte thee, whereof thou arte meruaylouſly infamed and accuſed before vs, and ſpeciallye touching the doctryne of wickliffe, & other doctrines contrary vnto the Catholyke fayth, ſo that thou mighteſt haue graunted vnto thee a ſafe conduct to come. But forſomuch as it is our parte principally and chiefly to forſee & looke vnto theſe crafty foxes which go about to deſtroye the vyneyarde of the Lord of hoſtes: therefore we dooe cyte and call forth by the tenour of theſe preſents, thy perſō many foldly defamed & ſuſpected for ye temerarious affirming & teaching of manifold errors, ſo that within the terme of .xv. dayes to be accounted from the date of theſe preſents, wherof fiue dayes are apointed for the fyrſt terme, fiue for the ſecond, and other fiue for the thyrd, we do ordeyne and appoynt by canonicall admonition and warning, that thou do appere in the publike Seſſion of the Sacred councel, if there be any holden the ſame daye, or els the firſt day immediatly followinge, when as anye Seſſion ſhallbe, accordinge to the tenour of thy ſayde wryting, to aunſwere to thoſe thinges which any perſon or perſōs ſhal obiect or lay againſt thee in any cauſe of thy fayth, and to receiue and haue, as iuſtice ſhall require. wherupon, ſo muche as in vs lieth, and as catholike faith ſhal require, we offer and aſſigne to thee by the tenour hereof, our ſafeconduict from al violence (iuſtice alwayes beynge ſaued) certefyinge thee that whether thou dooſt appeare or not, the ſayde terme or tyme appoynted notwithſtandinge, proceſſe ſhall goe forwarde agaynſte thee by the ſayde Sacred councell, or by theyr Comiſſarye or Comiſſaries, for the tyme afore ſayde not obſerued & kept, thy contumacie or ſtubburnes in any thing notwithſtanding. Geuen in the firſt Seſſion of the generall councell, the .xvii. daye of Aprill, vnder the ſeales of the preſidentes of the foure Nations.

¶ Grumpert Faber Notarie of the Germaines.

After ye Sigiſmund King of Hungarie with the reſte of ye coūcell, vnderſtode by the foreſayd Duke Ihō, that M. Hierome was taken, they were earneſtlye in hand, requiringe that mayſter Hierome ſhoulde bee brought before them vnto the coūcell. The which Duke Ihon, after he had receiued letters of the kynge and the councell, brought mayſter Hierome bound vnto Conſtance, whom his brother Duke Ludouicus led thorow the citie to the Cloiſter of the Fryers Minors in Conſtance, whereas the chiefe Prieſtes and Elders of the people, Scribes and Phariſeis, were gathered together attending and wayting for his comming. He the ſayd maiſter Hierome caryed a greate handbolte of iron with a longe chaine in his hande, and as he paſſed, the chaine made a great ratling and noiſe, and for the more confuſion and deſpite towardes him, they ledde him by the ſame chaine after Duke Ludouicus aforeſayde, holding and ſtretching out the chayne a greate waye from him: with the which chayne, they alſo kepte him bounde in the Cloyſter. When he was brought into the Cloyſter, they read before him the letter of Duke Ihon, which was ſent with the ſayde mayſter Hierome vnto the councell, conteining in effect how that the ſaid duke Ihon had ſent mayſter Hierome vnto the councell: who by chaunce was fallen into his hands, becauſe he heard an euill report of him, that he was ſuſpected of the hereſies of Wickliffe: that the Councell mighte take order for hym, whoſe parte it was to correct and puniſhe ſuch as did erre & ſtray from the truthe, beſides manye other flattering tales whiche were writen in the ſayde letters for the prayſe of the councell. After this they read the citation which was geuen out by the coūcell againſt mayſter Hierome, wherof we haue ſpoken before. Then certayne of the Byſhops ſayde vnto hym: Hierome whye diddeſt thou flye and run away, and diddeſt not appeare when thou waſt cited? He aunſwered, becauſe I coulde not haue anye ſafeconduicte, neither from you, neyther from the kyng, as it appeareth by theſe letters patents of the barons, which you haue, neyther by my opē intimations could I obtayne anye ſaufeconduicte.

Wherfore I perceyuyng many of my greuous and heauy frēdes to be here preſent in the Councell, woulde not my ſelf be the occaſion of my perils and daungers, but if I had knowen or had any vnderſtandyng of this citatiō, without all doubt, albeit I had ben in Boheme, I would haue returned agayne. Then all the whole Rable riſing vp, alledged diuers and ſundrye accuſations and teſtimonies agaynſt hym with a greate noyſe and tumulte. When the reſt held their peace, then ſpake maiſter

This Duke Iohn in hiſtories is commonly called the ſonne of Clement.

Hierome is brought bound vnto Conſtāce by duke Iohn.

The councell neither would geue him liberty ſafely to come nor freely to go.

ſter Gerſon the Chauncelour of Paris: Hierome when thou waſt at Paris, thou thoughteſt thy ſelf by meanes of thy eloquence to bee an Aungell, and dideſt trouble the whole Vniuerſitie, alledgyng openly in the ſcholes many erronious concluſions with, their correlaria, & ſpeciallye in the queſtion de vniuerſalibus et de Idæis, with many other very offenſiue queſtions. Vnto whom Maiſter Hierome ſayd: I aunſwere to you Maiſter Gerſon: Thoſe matters which I did put forth there in yͤ ſcholes at Paris, in the which alſo I aunſwered to the argumentes of the maiſters, I did put them forth Philoſophicallye & as a Philoſopher, and maiſter of yͤ Vniuerſitie: & if I haue put forth any queſtions which I ought not to haue put forth, teach me that they be erronious, and I will moſt humbly be informed & amende yͤ ſame.

Maiſter Ierom was accuſed by maſter Gerſon with commendation of his eloquence.

Gerſõ renueth old matters.

Whiles he was yet ſpeaking, an other (as I ſuppoſe, the maiſter of the Vniuerſitie of Colleyne vpon the Riuer of Rheine) riſing vp ſayd: whẽ thou waſt alſo at Coleine, in thy poſitiõ which thou diddeſt there determine, thou diddeſt propound many erronious matters. Then ſayd maiſter Hierome vnto hym, ſhewe me firſt one errour whiche I propounded. Wherwithall he being in a maner aſtoniſhed, ſayd, I do not remẽber them now at the firſt, but hereafter they ſhalbe obiected againſt you.

The maiſter of the vniuerſity of Coleyne.

Thys man would accuſe but he lacked matter.

And by and by the thirde man ryſing vp, ſayd: when that you were alſo at Heidelberg, you propounded many erronious matters as touchyng the Trinitie, & there painted out a certayne ſhylde or ſcutchyne, comparyng the Trinitie of perſons in diuinitie, vnto water, ſnowe, and yſe, and ſuch lyke. Vnto whom maiſter Hierome anſwered: thoſe thinges that I wrote or paynted there, the ſame I will alſo ſpeake, write, & painte here: and teache me that they be erronious, and I will moſt humbly reuoke and recant the ſame.

The maiſter of the vniuerſitye of Heidelberg.

Then certaine cried out, let him be burned, let hym be burned. Vnto whom he aunſwered: if my death do delite or pleaſe you, in the name of God, let it ſo be.

Crucifige, crucifige eum.

Then ſayd the Archbiſhop of Saliſburg, not ſo maiſter Hierome, for ſomuch as it is written I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he conuerte and lyue. When theſe and many other tumultes and cries were paſſed, wherby they did then moſt diſorderlye and outragiouſly witnes agaynſt hym, they deliuered the ſayd maiſter Hierome beyng bound, vnto the officers of the Citie of Conſtance, to be caried to priſon for that night: and ſo euery one of them returned to their lodgings.

In the meane tyme, one of the frendes of M. Iohn Hus, lookyng out at a wyndowe of the Cloyſter, ſayd vnto hym, maiſter Hierome. Then ſayd he, you are welcome my deare brother. Thẽ ſayd Peter vnto hym: Be cõſtãt, and feare not to ſuffer death for the truth ſake, of the whiche when you were in tymes paſt at libertie, you did preach ſo much goodnes. Vnto whom Hierome aunſwered, truly brother I do not feare death, and forſomuch as we knowe that we haue ſpoken much therof in tymes paſt: let vs nowe ſee what may be knowen or done in effect. By and by his kepers commyng to the wyndowe, threatnyng hym with ſtrokes, did put away the ſayd Peter from the window of the Cloiſter.

Hierom is comforted by Peter the Notary

Then came there one Vitus vnto maiſter Hierome and ſayd: maiſter how do you? Vnto whom he aunſwered: truly brother, I do very well. Thẽ his kepers commyng about hym, layd holde of the ſayd Vitus, ſaying, this is alſo one of the number, & kept him. Whẽ it drew towardes euenyng, the Archbiſhop of Rygen, ſent certaine of his ſeruauntes whiche lead away maiſter Hierome, beyng ſtrongly bound with chaynes, both by the handes and by the necke, and kepte hym ſo for certaine houres. When night drewe on, they caryed him vnto a certaine tower of the Citie in Saint Paules churcheyard, where as they tying him faſt vnto a great blocke, and his feete in the ſtockes, his handes beyng alſo made faſt vpon thẽ, they left him: where as the blocke was ſo highe, that he could by no meanes ſytte therupõ, but that his head muſt hang downward. They caried alſo yͤ ſayd Vitus vnto the Archbyſhop of Rygen, who demaũded of hym, why he durſt be ſo bold to talke wͭ ſuch a man, beyng a reprobate of all men, and an hereticke: and when as he could finde no cauſe of impriſonement in hym, & that he ſayd he was maiſter Iohn de Chlums frend (taking an othe and promiſe of him that he ſhould not go about to endamage the Councell, by reaſon of that impriſonment and captiuitie) ſo diſmiſſed hym and ſent hym away.

Et tu de illis es. Luc. 22.

Vitus the companion of Iohn de Clum.

Hierome ſtraitly bound hand and foote.

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Maiſter Hierom, vnknown vnto vs whether he was caried, lay in the ſayd tower two dayes and two nights relieued onely with breade and water. Then one of hys kepers cõming vnto maiſter Peter, declared vnto hym how that M. Hierome lay hard by in bonds & chaines, and how he was fed. Thẽ maiſter Peter deſired that he might haue leaue geuen him to geue him meat, becauſe he woulde procure the ſame vnto him. The keeper of the priſon graunting his requeſt, caried meate vnto him. Within eleuen dayes after, ſo hanging by yͤ heeles: he vſed ſo ſmall repaſte, that he fell ſore ſicke euen vnto the death. When as he lying then in that captiuity and priſon, deſired to haue a confeſſor, they of the councell, denied that he ſhould haue anye, vntill ſuche time as by great importunity he obtayned to haue one: his frends being then there preſent in the ſame priſon and tower, wherein he then lay by the ſpace of one yeare lackynge but ſeuen dayes.

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After they had put Iohn Hus to death, then aboute the feaſte of the natiuity of Mary the Virgin, they brought forth maiſter Hierome, whom they had kept ſo long in chaynes, vnto the church of Saynte Paule: and threatning him with death, being inſtant vpõ him, they forced him to abiure and recant, and cõſent vnto the death of maiſter Iohn Hus, that he was iuſtly and truly condẽned & put to death by them. He, what for feare of death & hoping therby to eſcape out of theyr handes, accordinge to their will and pleaſure, and accordinge to the tenour whiche was exhibited vnto him: did make abiuration, and yͤ in the cathedrall church & open Seſſion, yͤ draught wherof penned to hym by the papiſtes, here enſueth.

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¶ *The abiuration of Mayſter Hierom of Prage.*

I Hierome of Prage, Mayſter of Arte, acknowledging the Catholike churche and the Apoſtolicke fayth, doe accurſe and renounce all hereſies, and ſpecially that, wherof I haue hetherto bene infamed, and that whych in tymes paſt Iohn Hus and Iohn wickliefe haue holden and taughte in their workes, treatiſes and Sermons, made vnto the people and clergye: for the whyche cauſe the ſayde wyckliffe and Hus, together with theyr ſaid doctrines & errours, are condemned by this Sinode of Conſtaunce, as heretikes, and all the ſayd doctrine ſentencially condemned, and ſpecially in certayne articles expreſſed in the ſentẽces and iudgements geuen agaynſt them by thys ſacred councell.

The fore
abiuratio
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Alſo I do accorde and agree vnto the holye churche of Rome, the Apoſtolyke ſeate in thys ſacred councell, and with my mouth & hart do profeſſe in all thyngs, & touching all things, & ſpecially as touching the keyes, ſacraments, orders and offices and eccleſiaſticall cenſures, of pardons, reliques of ſainctes, eccleſiaſticall libertye, alſo ceremonies and all other thinges pertayning vnto chriſtian religon, as the Church of Rome, the Apoſtolike ſea and this ſacred councell do profeſſe: and ſpeciallye that many of the ſayde articles are notoriouſly hereticall and lately reproued by the holy fathers, ſome of them blaſphemous, other ſome erronious, ſome offenſiue vnto godly eares, and many of them temerarious and ſeditious. And ſuch alſo were counted the articles lately condemned by this ſacred Councell, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and ſinguler Catholike men hereafter to preache, teache or preſume, to hold or mayntayne any of the ſayd articles, vnder payne of being accurſed.

Alſo I the ſayd Hierome, forſomuche as I haue laboured by Scholaſticall artes, to perſwade the opiniō, *De vniuerſalibus realibus*, and that one ſubſtaunce of the common kinde ſhoulde ſignifye manye thinges ſubiect vnder the ſame, and euery one of them as Saint Ambroſe, Hierome, Auguſtine doe affirme, and likewiſe others. For the teaching hereof by a playne example I deſcribed as it were a certayne triangle, forme or figure, the which I called the ſhield of fayth.

Therfore vtterly to exclude and take away the erronious and wicked vnderſtanding thereof, the which peraduenture ſome men may gather therby: I do ſay, affirme, & declare, that I neuer made the ſaid figure, neither named it the ſhyeld of fayth to that intente or purpoſe, that I would extoll or preferre thē opinion of vniuerſalities aboue or before the contrarye opinion, in ſuche ſorte as though yͤ were the ſhylde of faith, & that without the affirmation therof, the catholike faith could not be defended or maynteyned, when as I my ſelfe would not obſtinatly ſticke therunto. But this I ſayd, becauſe I had put example in the deſcription of the Triangle or forme, that one diuine eſſence conſiſted in three ſubiectes or perſons in thē ſelues diſtincte: that is to ſay, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The article of whiche Trinitye is the chiefe ſhilde of fayth, and foundation of the Catholike truth.

Farthermore that it may be euident vnto all mē what the cauſes were which I was reputed and thoughte to ſticke to, & fauour ſometime Iohn Hus, I ſignifye vnto all mē by theſe preſentes, that when as I had heard him oftentymes both in hys Sermons & alſo in the ſcholes: I beleued that he was a very good man, neyther that he dyd in any poynt gaynesaye the traditions of our holy mother the church, or holy doctours: inſomuch as when I was lately in this Citye, & the articles which I affirmed were ſhewed vnto me, which were alſo condemned by the ſacred councell, at the firſt ſight of them I did not beleue that they were his, at the leaſt not in that forme. But when as I had further vnderſtand by certayne famous doctors and mayſters of diuinitye, that they were his articles: I required for my further information and ſatiſfaction, to haue the bookes of hys owne hande writing ſhewed vnto me, wherin it was ſayd, thoſe articles were conteyned. The whych bookes, when they wer ſhewed vnto me writtē with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine owne, I founde all, and euery one of thoſe articles therein written in lyke forme as they are condemned. wherfore I do worthely iudge and thinke hym and hys doctrine wyth hys adherentes to be condemned and reproued by this ſacred Coūcel, as hereticall and wythout reaſon. All whych the premiſſes, with a pure mind and conſcience I doe here pronounce and ſpeake, being nowe fully and ſufficientlye informed of the foreſayd ſentences and iudgementes geuen by the ſacred coūcell againſt the doctrines of the ſaid late Iohn wicklieffe and Iohn Hus, and againſt theyr owne perſons: vnto the which iudgement, as a deuout Catholike in all thinges, I do moſt humbly conſent and agree.

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Alſo I the aforeſayd Hierome, whyche before the reuerend fathers the Lordes Cardinalles, and reuerend Lordes Prelates and Doctors, and other worſhipfull perſonnes of thys ſacred councell in thys ſame place, did heretofore frely & willingly declare & expound mine entent, & purpoſe: amōgeſt other things ſpeaking of the church, did deuide the ſame into three partes. And as I did perceiue afterward, it was vnderſtand by ſome that I would affirme that in the triumphante churche, there was fayth. whereas I do fyrmely beleue that there is the bleſſed ſight and beholding of God, excluding all darke vnderſtanding and knowledge. And now alſo I do ſaye, affirme and declare, that it was neuer my entent & purpoſe, to proue that there ſhould be faith, ſpeaking of fayth as fayth is commonly defyned, but knowledge farre exceeding fayth. And generally whatſoeuer I haue ſayd, eyther there or at any time before, I do refer and moſt humbly ſubmytte my ſelfe vnto the determination of thys ſacred councell of Conſtance.

Moreouer, I doo ſweare both by the holy Trinitye, and alſo by the moſte holy Goſpell, that I wyll for euer more remayne and perſeuere wythout all doubte, in the truth of the catholike churche. And all ſuche as by theyr doctrine and teaching, ſhall impugne this fayth, I iudge them worthy together with theyr doctrines, of eternall curſe. And if I my ſelfe at any time (which God forbid I ſhould) do preſume to preache or teach, contrary thereunto, I will ſubmitt my ſelfe vnto the ſeueritye of the Canons, and be bound vnto eternall payn and puniſhement. whereupon I do deliuer vp this my confeſſion and tenour of my profeſſion, willinglye before this ſacred generall councell, and haue ſubſcribed and wrytten all theſe thynges wyth myne owne hand.

After all this, they cauſed hym to be caryed again vnto the ſame pryſon, but not ſo ſtraightlye chayned and bound as he was before: notwithſtanding kepte euery daye with ſouldiers and armed men. And when as afterward, his enemyes which were appoynted agaynſte hym, as Mychaell de Cauſis, and wicked Palletz, with other their companions in theſe affayres, vnderſtoode and knewe by the wordes and talke of mayſter Hierom and by other certayne tokens, that he made the ſame abiuration and recantation, not of a ſyncere and pure minde, but only to the intent therby to ſcape their hādes: they together with certayne Fryers of Prage, of the order of Carmelites, then commyng in, put vppe newe accuſations agaynſt the ſayde mayſter Hierome, and drewe the ſame into articles, beeing very inſtant and earneſt that he ſhould anſwere therunto. And forſomuch as his iudges and certayne Cardinalles, as the Cardinall of Cambray, the Cardinall de Vrſinis, the Cardinall of Aquilegia, and of Florence, conſideringe the malice of the enemies of mayſter Hierome, did ſee the great iniurye that was done vnto hym, they laboured before the whole Councell for his deliuerye.

Hierome after his abiuration returned into Priſon

Hierome accuſed a new by Cauſis, Palletz, and the Carmelites.

The cardinal of Cambray with certayne other Cardinalles labour for the deliuery of Hierome.

It happened vpon a certayne daye, as they wer labouryng in the Councell for the deliuerye of the ſayde mayſter Hierome: that yͤ Germaines & Bohemians his enemyes, with all force and power reſyſted againſt it, crying out, that he ſhoulde in no caſe be diſmiſſed. Then ſtarte vp one called Doctour Naſo, which ſayd vnto the Cardinalls, we maruaile muche of you moſte reuerent fathers, that your reuerences will make interceſſion for ſuche a wicked heretike, for whoſe ſake we in Boheme with the whole Clergy, haue ſuffered much trouble and miſchiefe, and peraduenture your fatherhodes ſhall ſuffer: and I greatly feare leaſt that you haue receyued ſome rewardes, eyther of the kynge of Baheme, or of theſe heretikes. When as the Cardinalls were thus rebuked, they diſcharged thēſelues of Maiſter Hieromes cauſe and matter.

Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæſaris.

Then his enemies aforeſayde, obtayned to haue other iudges appoynted, as the Patriarck of Conſtantinople, and a Germaine doctour, forſomuche as they dyd knowe that the Patriarke was a greuous enemy vnto M. Hierome, becauſe he being before appointed iudge by the Coūcell, hadde condemned Jhon Hus vnto death.

But mayſter Hierome would not anſwere them in pryſon, requiringe to haue open audience, becauſe hee would there finally declare vnto them his mynde, neyther would he by any meanes cōſent vnto thoſe priuate iudges. Whereupon the preſidentes of the councell thinking that the ſayd maiſter Hierome would renue his recantation before the ſayde audience and confirme the ſame, dyd graunt him open audience.

The Patriarke of Conſtantinople gaue ſentence of death both agaynſt maiſter Hus and M. Ierome of Prage.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1416. the. xxvi. day of May, which was yͤ ſaterday before the Aſcenſion of our lord, the ſayd mayſter Hierome was broughte vnto open audience before the whole councell, to yͤ greate cathedrall church of Conſtance, where as by the Cōmiſſioners of the councell, in yͤ behalfe of his foreſaid enemies, there was layde againſt him of newe. C. and vii. articles, to the intent that he ſhoulde not ſcape the ſnare of deathe, which they prouided and layde for him: inſomuche as the iudges had before declared that by the ſaying of the witneſſes it was already concluded in the ſame audyence. The day aforeſayd, from morning vntill noone, he anſwered vnto more then. xl. articles, moſte ſubtylye ob-

An. 1416

Hierome brought agayne before the councell.

Falſe witneſſes agaynſt Hierome.

lected againſt him:denying yͭ he held or maintayned any ſuch articles as wer either hurtful or falſe,& affirming yͭ thoſe witneſſes had depoſed thē againſt him falſly & ſlaūderouſly as his moſt cruel & mortal enemies. In yͤ ſame ſeſſiō they had not yet proceded vnto deth,becauſe yͭ the noone time drew ſo faſt one,yͭ he could not anſwer vnto the articles. Wherfore for lack of tyme ſufficient to anſwere vnto the reſidue of the articles , there was an other time appoynted, which was the third day after the foreſayd Saterday,before the aſcenſion of our Lord, at which time again early in the morning,he was brought vnto the ſayd Cathedrall church to aunſwere vnto all the reſidue of the articles.

The dexteritie of Hierome in confutyng his aduerſaries.

In all which articles, as well thoſe which he had aunſwered vnto the Saterdaye before,as in the reſidue , he cleared himſelf very learnedly,refelling his aduerſaries (who had no cauſe,but onely of malice and diſpleaſure were ſet agaynſte hym, and did hym greate wronge) in ſuche ſorte , that they were themſelues aſtonyed at hys oration , and refutation of theyr teſtimonies broughte agaynſte hym , and wyth ſhame enoughe were put to ſilence : As when one of them had demaūded of hym , what he thought by the Sacrament of the aultar: He aunſwered , before conſecration (ſayd he) it is bread and wyne : after conſecration it is the true bodie and bloud of Chriſt, adding withall moe wordes according to their catholique fayth. Then an other ryſing vp, Hierome,ſayd he: there goeth a great rumour of thee,that thou ſhouldeſt holde,bread to remaine vpon the aultar . To whom he pleaſauntly aunſwered, ſayinge : that hee beleued breade to bee at the Bakers. At which wordes being ſpoken,one of the Dominike Friers fumiſhly tooke on and ſaid,what? dooſt thou deny, that no manne doubteth of? Whoſe peuiſhe ſauſines , Hierome wyth theſe woordes did well repreſſe : holde thy peace (ſayde hee) thou Monke , thou hypocrite. And thus the Monke being nypped in the heade, ſate downe dumme . After whome ſtarted vppe an other, who with a loude voyce cryed out:I ſweare,ſayd he,by my conſcience,that to be true,that thou doeſt denie.To whom ſayd Hierome againe, ſpeakinge in latine:Heus inquit,ſic iurare per conſciētiam tutiſſima fallendi via eſt. That is,thus to ſweare by your conſcience, is the nexte way to deceiue.An other there was,a ſpitefull and a bitter enemy of hys, whom he called by no other name thē dogge, or Aſſe.After he had thus refuted them one after another,that they could finde no crime againſt him,neither in this matter nor in anye other, they were all driuen to kepe ſilence.

Falſe witneſſes.

This done,then were the wytneſſes called for , who comming in preſence gaue teſtimony vnto the Articles before produced . By reaſon wherof the innocent cauſe of Hierome was oppreſſed,& began in the councel to be concluded . Then Hierome ryſing vp began to ſpeake: For ſomuch(ſaith he)as you haue heard mine aduerſaries ſo diligentlye hetherto , conuenient it is, that you ſhould alſo now heare me to ſpeake for me ſelfe. Wherupon with much difficultie,at laſt audience was geuen in the Councell for him to ſay his minde. Whiche being graunted , he from morning to noone continuyng,entreated of diuers and ſondry matters , with great learnyng & eloquence. Who firſt beginning with his prayer to God,beſought him to giue him ſpirite , habilitie and vtteraūce,which might moſt tende to the profite & ſaluation of his owne ſoule.And ſo entryng into his oration: I know ſayth he,reuerend Lords, that there haue bene many excellent men, whiche haue ſuffered much otherwiſe thē they haue deſerued,being oppreſſed wͭ falſe witneſſes, & condemned wͭ wronge Iudgements.And ſo beginning with Socrates,he declared how he was vniuſtly cōdemned of his countreymē, neither would hee eſcape whē he might:takyng frō vs yͤ feare of ij.things, which ſeeme moſt bitter to men:to wit,of priſonment & death.

Audience hardly geuen to Hierome to ſpeake for him ſelfe.

The oration of Hierom had before the councell.

Socrates.

Then he inferred the captiuitie of Plato, the baniſhmēt of Anaxagoras, and the tormentes of Zeno . Moreouer he brought in the wrongfull condemnations of many gentiles:as the baniſhment of Rupilius:recityng alſo the vnworthy death of Boetius and of others,whom Boetius him ſelfe doth write of.

Plato.
Anaxagoras.
Zeno.
Rupilius.
Boetius.

Frō thence he came to the exāples of the Hebrues, & firſt began with Moſes the deliuerer of the people,& the law geuer , howe he was oftentimes ſlaundered of hys people,as being a ſeducer and contemner of the people. Ioſeph alſo,ſaith he,for enuie,was ſold of his brethrē, & for falſe ſuſpicion of whoredome,was caſt into bandes. Beſides theſe,he reciteth Eſayas,Daniell,& almoſt all the Prophetes,who as contēners of God and ſeditious perſons,were oppreſſed with wrongfull condemnatiō. Frō thence he proceded to the Iudgement of Suſanna, and of diuers other beſides , who beyng good & holy men, yet were they vniuſtly caſt away with wrongfull ſentence. At the lēgth he came to Iohn Baptiſt,and ſo in long proceſſe he deſcended vnto our Sauiour, declaryng how it was euident to all men,by what falſe witneſſes both he and Iohn Baptiſt,were condēned. Moreouer how Steuen was ſlayne by the Colledge of the prieſtes,and how all the Apoſtles were condemned to death,not as good men,but as ſeditious,ſtyrrers vp of the people,and contemners of the Gods,and euill doers . It is vniuſt ſayth he,vniuſtly to be condemned one prieſt of an other , and yet he proued that yͤ ſame hath ſo happened moſt vniuſtlye in that Councell of prieſtes. Theſe things did he diſcourſe at large, with maruelous eloquēce and with ſingular admiration of all that heard him.

Moſes.
Ioſeph.
Eſaias.
Daniell.
The Prophetes.
Suſanna.
Iohn Baptiſt.
Chriſt.
The Apoſtles.

The falſe witneſſes of Hierom refelled.

And for as much as all yͤ whole ſumme of yͤ cauſe did reſt only in the witneſſes,by many reaſons he proued yͭ no credite was to bee geuen vnto them, eſpecially ſeyng they ſpake all thynges of no truth , but onely of hatred malice,and enuie.And ſo proſecutyng the matter,ſo lyuely & expreſſely he opened vnto them the cauſes of their hatred,that hee had almoſt perſuaded them. So liuely & lykely their hatred was detected , that almoſt no truſt was geuen to their teſtimonies,ſaue onely for the cauſe and quarell wherin they ſtoode touching the popes doctrine.All mens myndes here were moued and bendyng to mercy towardes hym. For hee told them how yͭ he of his owne accorde came vp to the Councel,and to purge him ſelfe he did open vnto them all his lyfe and doyngs, beyng full of vertue and godlynes. This was (ſayth he) the old maner of auncient and learned men and moſt holy Elders,that in matters of fayth they did differ many tymes in argumentes , not to deſtroye the fayth,but to finde out the veritie. So did Auguſtine and Hierome diſſent,not onely beyng diuerſe , but alſo contrary one frō the other and yet without all ſuſpition of hereſie.

All this while the Pope holy Councell did wait ſtill, when he would begyn to excuſe him ſelfe,and to retract thoſe thynges,whiche were obiected agaynſt hym , and to craue pardon of the Councell. But he perſiſtyng ſtill in his conſtant oration,did acknowledge no errour,nor geue any ſignification of retractation.

At laſt entryng into the prayſe and commendation of maiſter Iohn Hus,he affirmed yͭ he was a good, iuſt, and holy man,and much vnworthy that death , whiche he did ſuffer . Whom he did know from his youth vpwarde , to bee neither fornicator , drunckarde , neither any euill or vicious perſon: but a chaſt and ſober man, and a iuſt and true preacher of the holy Goſpell:& what ſoeuer thynges M. Iohn Hus and Wickleffe had holdē or written,ſpecially againſt the abuſe and pompe of the clergy,he would affirme euen vnto the death , that they were holy and bleſſed men,and that in all pointes of the Catholicke faith, he doth beleue as the holy Catholicke churche doth hold or beleue. And finally he did conclude that al ſuch articles,as Ihon Wickleffe and Iohn Hus had

Hierome commendeth the life and bewayleth the death Iohn Hu had written and put forth agaynſt the enormities, pōpe, and diſorder of the Prelates, he would firmely and ſtedfaſtlye, without recantation, holde and defende euen vnto the death. And laſt of al, he added that al the ſinnes that euer he had committed, did not ſo much gnaw and trouble his conſcience, as did that onely ſinne, which he had committed in that moſt peſtiferous fact, whē as in hys recantation, hee had vniuſtly ſpoken agaynſt that good and holy man and his doctrine, and ſpecially in cōſentyng vnto his wicked condemnation: concludyng that he did vtterly reuoke and deny that wicked recantation, which hee had made in that moſte curſed place, and that hee did it thorow weakenes of heart and feare of death: And moreouer that what ſoeuer thyng he hath ſpoken agaynſte that bleſſed manne, hee hath all together lyed vppon hym, and that hee doth repent hym with his whole hart, that euer he did it.

At the hearing herof, the harts of the heares wer not a little ſorye. For they wiſhed and deſired greatlye that ſuche a ſingular man might be ſaued, if otherwiſe their blind ſuperſtitiō would haue ſuffered it. But he cōtinued ſtill in his prefixed ſentence, ſeeming to deſire rather death then life. And perſiſting ſtill in the prayſe of John Hus, he added moreouer, that he neuer maintained any doctrine againſte the ſtate of the churche, but onelye ſpake againſt the abuſes of the clergy, againſt the pride, pompe and exceſſe of the prelates. For in ſomuch as the patrimonies of churches were firſt geuen for the poore, then for hoſpitalitye, and thirdly to the reparations of the churches: it was a grief to that good man (ſaid he) to ſee the ſame miſpente and caſte away vpon harlots, great feaſtings, and keeping of horſes and dogs, vpon gorgeous apparell and ſuch other thinges vnſeamynge Chriſtian religion And herein he ſhewed him ſelfe meruelous eloquent: yea neuer more.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by diuers of them, carping hys ſentences as he was in ſpeaking: yet was ther none of al thoſe that interrupted him which ſcaped vnblanckt, but he brought them all to confuſion, & put thē to ſilence. When any noiſe began, hee ceaſed to ſpeake, and after began again, proceding in his oration and deſiring them to geue him leaue a while to ſpeake, whom they hereafter ſhould heare no more: neither yet was his mind euer daſhed at all theſe noiſes and tumultes.

And this was meruelous in him to beholde, notwithſtanding he continued in ſtrait priſon, 340. dayes, hauing neyther booke, nor al moſt lighte to read by: yet howe admirablye his memorye ſerued him: Declaring how all thoſe paynes of his ſtrayte handlynge, did not ſomuche greeue him, as he did wonder rather to ſee their vnkinde inhumanity towards him.

When he had ſpoken theſe and manye other thinges as touching the prayſe of John Wickleffe, & John Hus, they which ſat in the Councell, whiſpered together, ſaying: by theſe his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himſelfe. Then was he agayne caried into priſon, and greuouſlye fettred by the handes, armes and feete with great chaynes and fetters of yron.

The Saterday next before the Aſcenſion day, earlye in the morning he was brought with a great number of armed men vnto the cathedrall churche before the open congregation, to haue his iudgement geuen him. There they exhorted him, that thoſe thinges which he had before ſpoken in the open audience, as is aforeſaid, as touching the prayſe and commendation of mayſter John Wickleffe, and maiſter John Hus, confirming and eſtabliſhing their doctrine, he woulde yet recant the ſame: but he marueilous ſtoutlye without all feare, ſpake agaynſt them, and amongeſt other thynges ſayde vnto them: I take God to my wytnes, and I proteſt here before you all, that I do beleue and hold all the articles of the faith, as the holy catholike church doth holde and beleue the ſame: but for this cauſe ſhall I now be condemned, for that I will not conſent with you vnto the condemnatiō of thoſe moſt holy and bleſſed men aforeſaid, whom you haue moſt wickedly condemned for certaine articles, deteſting and abhorring your wicked and abhominable life. Then he cōfeſſed there before them all, his beliefe, and vttered many thinges very profoundlye and eloquentlye, in ſo muche that all men there preſent, could not ſufficiently commend and praiſe his great eloquence and excellent learning: and by no meanes could they induce or perſwade him to recant.

M.Hierome holdeth all the articles of the catholyke church.

The eloquence of maiſter Hierome.

Then a certayne biſhop named the biſhop of Landy made a certaine Sermon exhortatiue agaynſt mayſter Jerome, perſwading to hys condemnation.

After the biſhop had ended the ſayd Sermon, M. Hierome ſaid againe vnto thē: You will condemne me wickedly & vniuſtly. But I after my death wyll leaue a remorſe in your conſcience, & a nayle in your hartes, ET CITO VOS OMNES, VT RESPONDEATIS MIHI CORAM ALTISSIMO ET IVSTISSIMO IVDICE POST CENTVM ANNOS: that is, And here I cite you all to anſwer vnto me before the moſt high & iuſt Judge, wͭin a C. yeres.

The prophecie of maiſter Hierome.

No pen can ſufficiently write or note thoſe thynges which he moſt eloquently, profoundly, and philoſophically had ſpoken in the ſayd audience, neither can any tong ſufficiently declare the ſame, wherfore I haue but onely touched here yͤ ſuperficial matter of his talke, partlye, & not wholy noting yͤ ſame. Finally, whē as by no means he might be perſwaded to recant the premiſſes, immediately euen in his preſence, the ſentence and iudgement of hys condemnation was geuen agaynſt him, and red before him.

IN the name of God Amen. Chriſt our God and our Sauiour being the true vine, whoſe father is the huſband man, taught hys diſciples and all other faythfull men, ſaying: If any man dwell not in me, let him be caſt out as a bow or braunch, and let him wither and dry. &c. The doctrine and preceptes of which moſt excellent doctour and mayſter, this moſt ſacred Sinode of Conſtance, executing and folowing in the cauſe of inquiſitiō againſt heretiques, being moued by thys ſayd ſacred Sinode, through reporte, publique fame, and open infamation: procedeth againſt M. Hierome of Prage, maiſter of arte, laye man. By the actes & proceſſes of whoſe cauſe it appeareth that the ſayd M. Hierome hath holden, mayntained, and taught diuers articles hereticall and erronious, lately reproued & condemned by the holy fathers, ſome being very blaſphemous, other ſome offēding godlye eares, and many temerarious and ſeditious, whiche haue bene affirmed, mayntained, preached and taught by the men of moſt damnable memory John wyckliff, and John Hus, the whych are alſo written in diuers of their workes and bookes. which articles of doctrine and bookes of the ſayd John Hus and wickleiffe together with their memory, & the perſon of the ſayd John Hus, were by the ſayd Sacred Sinode condemned of hereſy. The which ſentence of condemnatiō this Hierome afterward during the tyme of inquiſition, acknowledged in the ſayd ſacred Synode, and approued the true catholike and apoſtolike faith, thereunto conſenting, accurſing all hereſye, ſpeciallye that, wherof he was infamed and confeſſed hym ſelfe to bee infamed, and that which in times paſt John Hus and John wyckleiffe mayntayned and taught in their workes, Sermons, and bookes: for the which the ſayde wickliffe and Hus together wyth theyr doctrine and errours, were by the ſayd ſacred Sinode as hereticall, condemned. The condemnation of all whiche the premiſſes, he did openlye profeſſe and allowe, and dyd ſweare that he woulde perſeuer and continue in the veritye of that fayth. And if that hee ſhould preſume at any time to holde opinion or preache contrary therunto, that he would ſubmit him ſelfe to the triall and truth of the canons, & be bound to perpetuall puniſhment. And thys hys profeſſion written wyth his own hand, he deliuered vp vnto the holy Councell. Many dayes after hys ſayd profeſſiō & abiuration, as a dog

The ſentence red agaynſt M.Hierome.

returnyng vnto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit vp the moſt peſtilent poyſon whiche had long lurked and layen hid in his breaſt, he required and deſired that he might be openly heard before the Coūcel. The whiche beyng graunted vnto him, he affirmed, ſayd, and profeſſed before the whole Synode, beyng publikely gathered together, that hee had wickedly conſented and agreed to the ſentence and iudgement of the condemnatiō of the ſayd wickleffe & Hus, and that he had moſt ſhamefully lyed in approuyng and allowyng the ſayd ſentēce, neither was he aſhamed to confeſſe that he had lyed: yea he did alſo reuoke and recant his confeſſion, approbatiō and proteſtation, whiche he had made vpon their cōdemnation, affirmyng that he neuer at any tyme had read any errours or hereſye in the bookes and treatiſes of the ſayde wickleffe and Hus. Albeit he had before confeſſed it, & it is euidently proued yͭ he did diligently ſtudy, read and preache their bookes, wherin it is manifeſt yͭ there are contayned many errours and hereſies. Alſo the ſayd maiſter Ierome did profeſſe as touchyng the Sacramēt of the aultar, and the tranſubſtantiation of the bread into the body of Chriſt, that he doth hold and beleue as the church doth hold & beleue, ſaying alſo that he doth geue more credite vnto S. Auguſtin, and the other doctors of the Church, then vnto wickleffe and Hus. It appeareth moreouer by the premiſſes, that the ſayd Hierome is an adherent and maintainer of the ſaid wickleffe and Hus, and their errors, and both is and hath ben a fauourer of them. wherfore the ſayd ſacred Synode determineth the ſayd maiſter Hierome as a rotten and withered braūch not growyng vppon the vyne, to be cut of and caſt out. The ſayd Synode alſo pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an hereticke, and drowned in all kynde of hereſies, excōmunicate and accurſed, leauing him vnto the arbitrement and Iudgement of the ſecular iudge, to receyue iuſt & due puniſhment, accordyng to the qualitie of ſo great an offence: The ſayd ſacred Synode notwithſtādyng intreatyng that the ſayd iudge would moderate his ſentence of iudgemēt without perill of death.

Hierome geuen to the ſecular power.

The which ſentence ſo geuen before his face, and ended, a great and long miter of paper was brought vnto hym, paynted about with red diuels: the which when he behelde and ſaw, throwinge awaye hys hoode vpon the ground amongeſt the Prelates, he toke the miter, and put it vpon his head: ſaying, Our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, when as he ſhoulde ſuffer death for me moſte wretched ſinner, did weare a crown of thorne vpon hys head: and I for hys ſake in ſteade of that crowne, will willinglye weare this miter and cappe. Afterwarde he was layd hold of by the ſeculer power.

A paper with red deuills p vpon the head of M Hierome, by deuli papiſtes.

Maiſter Hierome committe to the ſec lar power.

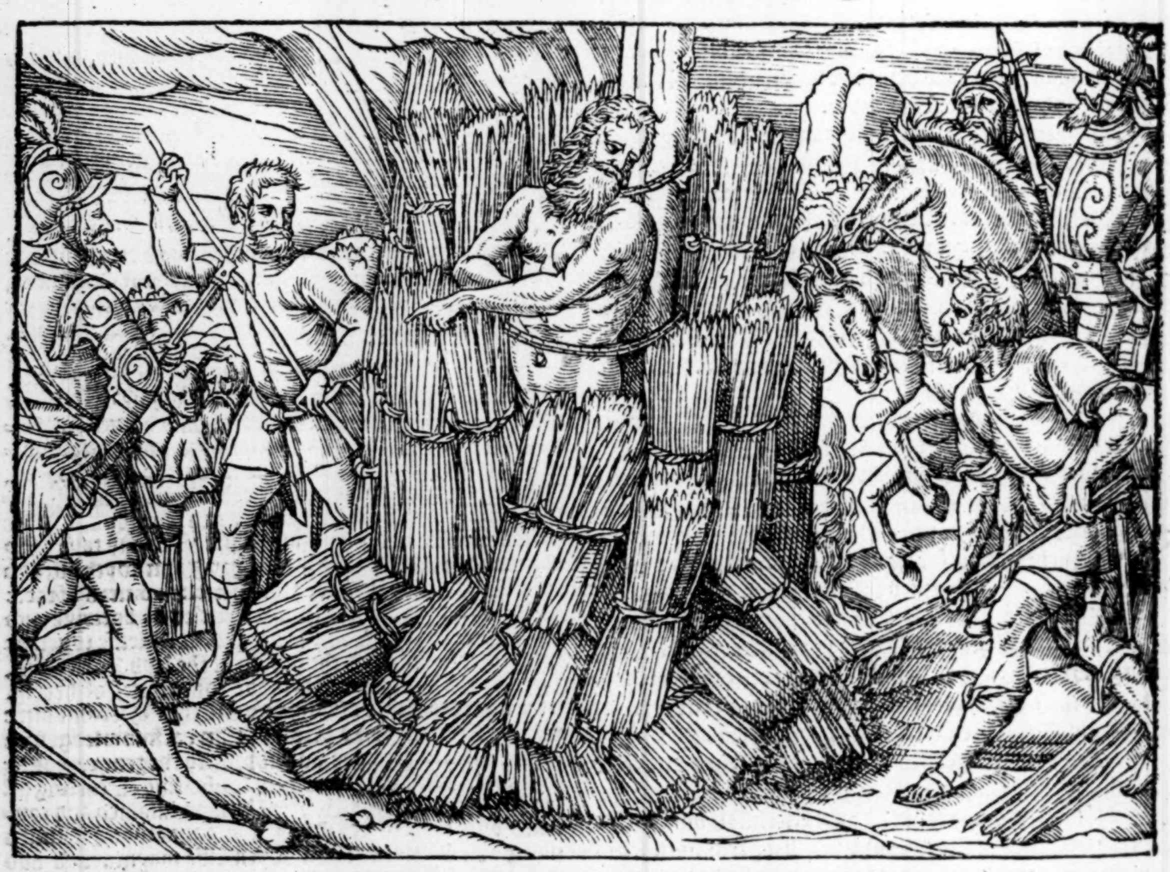
After that he was led out of the ſayd Churche to the place of executiō, when he was going out of the church with a cherefull countenance and a loud voyce, liftynge his eyes vp into heauen, he began to ſinge, Credo in vnū deum, as it is accuſtomed to be ſong in the church. Afterward as he paſſed a long, he did ſinge ſome canticles of the church. The which being ended, in the entring out of the gate of the city, as men go vnto Gothlehem, he dyd ſing this hympne, fælix namque. And that reſponde being ended, after he came to the place of execution wheras maſter Iohn Hus before had ſuffred death innocently, kneeling downe before an image which was like vnto the picture of maſter Iohn Hus, which was ther prepared to burne maiſter Hierome, hee made a certayne deuout prayer.

Maiſter Hierome went ſinging vnto hys martyrdome.

Maiſter Hierome prayeth.

M. Hierome tyed to an image lyke to Iohn Hus.

The burning of maiſter Hierome of Prage.



Whiles he was thus praying, yͤ tormentors toke hym vp & lifting him vp frō yͤ ground, ſpoyled him of all hys garments, & left him naked, and afterward girded him about the loynes wyth a linnen cloth, and bounde hym faſt with cordes and chaines of Iron to the ſayd image, which was made faſte vnto the earthe: and ſo ſtanding vpon the ground, when as they began to lay the woode about him, he ſong, Salue feſta dies. And when yͤ himpne was ended, he ſong againe with a loud voyce, Credo in vnum deum, vnto yͤ ende. That being ended, he ſayd vnto yͤ people in the Germayn tonge in effect as foloweth. Dearely beloued children, euen as I haue now ſong, ſo do I beleue and none otherwiſe. And this Creede is my whole faith: notwithſtanding now I dye for this cauſe, becauſe I would not conſent, & agree to the councell, & with thē affirme and hold that maiſter I. Hus was by them holilye and iuſtlye condemned: For I dyd know well inough that he was a true preacher of the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt.

Maiſter Hierome ſingeth at his burning.

The wor of Hierom to the people.

Maiſter Hierome geueth t ſtimonie of I. Hus.

After that he was compaſſed in wyth the woode vp to the crowne of the head, they caſt al his garments vpon the woode alſo, and with a firebrande they ſet it on fire. The whych being once fired, he begā to ſing with a loude voyce: In manus tuas domine commendo ſpiritum meum. When that was ended, and that he began vehementlye to burne, he ſayde in the vulgare Bohemian tonge: O Lord God father almighty, haue mercy vpon me, and be mercifull vnto mine offences, for thou knoweſt how that ſincerely I haue loued thy truth. Then his voyce by the vehemency of the fire, was choked and ſtopped, ẏ it was no longer heard, but he moued continually his mouth and lips, as though he had ſtill prayed or ſpoken wythin himſelfe.

Whē as in a maner his whole body wt his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared thorow ẏ great burning vpon his body certayne great bladders, as big as an egge, yet he cōtinually very ſtrōgly & ſtoutly moued & ſhaked his head and mouth, by the ſpace almoſt, of one quarter of an houre. So burning in ẏ fire, he liued with great payne and martyrdome, whiles one mighte eaſelye haue gone from S. Clementes ouer the bridge, vnto our Lady church: he was of ſuche a ſtoute and ſtrong nature. After that he was thus deade in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his ſtraw bed, his bootes, his hoode, and all other thinges that he had in the priſon, and burned them all to aſhes in the ſame fire. The which aſhes, after that ẏ fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and cary them in a cart, and caſte them into the riuer of Rheine, which ran harde by the City.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which teſtifyed vnto vs the actes and doinges aboute the condemnation of Maiſter Hierome, and ſent the ſame vnto vs to Prage in wrytyng, doth thus conclude: All theſe things, ſayth he, I did behold, ſee, & heare to be done in this forme and maner. And if any man doo tell you the contrary, doo not credite hym, for all thoſe thinges which happened vnto hym, when he came toward Conſtance, and alſo at hys firſte commyng vnto Conſtance of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound vnto Conſtance, as is aforeſaide, I my ſelfe did ſee and perfectlye beholde: and for a perpetuall memory therof to be had for euer, I haue directed ẏ ſame vnto you, not lying or falſifieng any poynt thereof, as he which is the ſearcher of all mens hartes canne beare me witnes: willing rather to ſuſtayne the note of ignoraunce and rudenes of ſtile, to beare witnes vnto the truth, then I would by any meanes bee compelled by ticklyng or flattring the eares of the hearers, with fained and cloked ſpeech to ſwarue or goe aſide from the truth.

Thus ende the tragicall hyſtories of Mayſter John Hus, and maiſter Jerome of Prage, faithfullye gathered and collected by a certaine Bohemian, being a preſent witnes and beholder of the ſame, written and compiled firſt in latin, and ſo ſent by the ſayd Bohemian into his country of Boheme: and againe trāſlated out of the latin with like fidelitie, into our Engliſh toung.

In the meane time while mayſter Jerome was in this trouble, and brought before the Councel, the nobles and Lordes of Boheme and of Morauia (but not a little agreeued thereat) directed their letters vnto this barbarous councell of popiſh murderers, in tenour and forme of wordes as followeth.

¶ The letter of the. 54. Nobles of Morauia, written vnto the Councel of Conſtance, in the defence of Maiſter Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

¶ To the right reuerend Fathers and Lords in Chriſt, the lords Cardinals, Patriarkes, Primates, Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Amballadours, Doctours, and Mayſters, and to the whole Councell of Conſtance, We the Nobles, Lordes, knights and Eſquiers, of the famous Marqueſdome of Morauia, wyſhe the deſyre of all goodnes, and the obſeruation of the commaundements of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt.

FOrſomuch as euery man both by the lawe of nature & alſo by Gods law, is commaunded to do that vnto an other man, which hee would haue done vnto hym ſelfe, and is forbydden to doo that thing vnto an other, which he would not haue done vnto himſelfe, as our ſauiour ſaith: all thinges whatſoeuer you wyll that men ſhould do vnto you, the ſame do you vnto them, for thys is the law and the Prophetes, yea the law is fulfilled in this one poynt: thou ſhalte loue thy neyghbour as thy ſelf: We therfore (god being our author) hauing reſpect as much as in vs lyeth vnto the ſayd lawe of God, and ẏ loue of our neighbour, before did ſend our letters vnto Conſtance for our dearely beloued friend of good memory Maiſter John Hus, Bacheler of Diuinitie, & preacher of the Goſpell. Whom of late in the Councel of Cōſtance (we know not with what ſpirite being lead) you haue condemned as an obſtinate hereticke, neyther hauing confeſſed any thinke, neither being lawfullye conuict, as were expedient: hauing no errours or hereſies declared or layd agaynſt him, but onelye at the ſiniſter, falſe, and importune accuſations, ſuggeſtions, and inſtigations of hys mortall enemies, and the traitors of our kingdome and Marqueſdome of Morauia. And being thus vnmercifully cōdemned, you haue ſlaine him with moſt ſhamefull & cruell death: to the perpetuall ſhame and infamye of our moſte Chriſtian kyngdome of Boheme, and the famous Marqueſdome of Morauia (as we haue wrytten vnto Conſtance, vnto the moſt Noble Prince and Lord, the Lorde Sigiſmonde, kyng of Romaines, and of Hungary, the heire and ſucceſſor of our kingdom) the which was alſo red and publiſhed in your congregations, whiche we will here alſo haue enroled: and haue burned him, as it is reported, in the reproche and contempt of vs. Wherfore we haue thought good, euen now to direct our letters patentes vnto your reuerences now preſent, in the behalfe of maſter John Hus, opēly profeſſing and proteſting both with hart & mouth, that he the ſaid Maiſter John Hus, was a iuſt, good and catholike man, and a long ſeaſon worthely commended and allowed in our kingdom, for his life and conuerſation. He alſo preached and taught vs and our ſubiectes the law of the Goſpell, and of the holye Prophetes, and the bookes of the old and new Teſtament, according to the expoſitiō of the holy doctors approued by the church, and left many monumentes in writing, moſt conſtantly deteſting and abhorring all errours and hereſie, continually admoniſhing both vs and all faythfull Chriſtians to do the lyke, diligentlye exhorting al mē as much as in him lay by hys word, writinges, and trauel, vnto quietnes and concord: ſo that, vſing all the diligence that we might, we neuer heard or coulde vnderſtande, that Maiſter John Hus had preached, taught, or by anye meanes affirmed any errour or hereſy in his ſermons, or that by any maner of meanes hee had offended vs or our ſubiectes, either by woorde or deede, but that he alwayes led a quiet and godly lyfe in Chriſt, exhorting all men diligently, both by his wordes and works, as much as he might, to obſerue and kepe the law of the Goſpel, & the inſtitutiōs of the holy fathers, after the preachyng of our holy mother church, and to the edifying of mens ſoules. Neither did theſe premiſſes, which you had ſo perpetrated to the reproch both of vs & our kingdome & Marqueſdome, ſuffice and content you, but that alſo without all mercy and pitie, you haue apprehended, impriſoned, & condemned, & euen now peraduenture, lyke as you did Maiſter John Hus, you haue moſt cruellye murdered ẏ worſhipful mā, maiſter Hierom of Prage, a man abounding in eloquence, maiſter of the ſeuen liberall artes, and a famous Philoſopher, not being ſeene, heard,

Math. 7.

Rom. 13.

The cauſe of John Hus cleared by the teſtimonie of the nobles of Bohemia.

All that will liue godly in Chriſt. 2. Tim. 3.

Defence of M. Hierome of Prage.

heard,examined,neither conuict: but onelye at the ſiniſter and falſe accuſation of hys and our accuſers and betrayers. Furthermore,it is come to our knowledge & vnderſtanding(which wee doo not without great griefe rehearſe)as we may alſo euidently gather by your writinges, howe that certayne detractors, odible bothe to God and men,priuy enuiers and betrayers, haue wyckedly and greuouſly, albeit falſly and traiterouſly,accuſed vs,our kingdome,and Marqueſdome aforeſayd, before you in your councell,that in the ſayde kingdome of Boheme and Marqueſdome of Morauia, diuers errours are ſprong vp,which haue greuouſly and manyfoldlye infected both our hartes, and alſo the hartes of many faithfull men: in ſo much,that without a ſpeedy ſtop or ſtay of correction,the ſayd kingdome & Marqueſdome together wᵗ the faythfull Chriſtiãs therin, ſhould incurre an irrecuperable loſſe and ruine of theyr ſoules. Theſe cruell and pernicious iniuries which are layde vnto vs,and to our ſaid kingdome and Marqueſdome, albeit moſt falſly & ſclaũderouſly, how may we ſuffer? for ſomuch as thorow the grace of God (when in a maner all other kyngdomes of the world,haue oftentymes wauered, makyng Schiſmes and Antipapes)our moſt Chriſtian kyngdome of Boheme,and moſt noble Marqueſdome of Morauia, ſince the time they did receyue the Catholicke fayth of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, as a moſt perfect ⋆ quadrant, haue alwaies without reproſe ſtucke vnto the church of Rome, & haue ſincerely done their true obedience.Alſo wᵗ how great coſtes & charges and great trauaile,with what worſhyp & due reuerence they haue reuerenced the holy mother churche & her paſtours,by their princes and faithful ſubiectes,it is more manifeſt thẽ ẏ day light vnto ẏ whole world, and your ſelues,if you will confeſſe the truth,cã witnes the ſame alſo. Wherfore ẏ we,accordyng to ẏ minde of the Apoſtle, may procure honeſt & good thynges, not onely before God but before men alſo,and leſt by neglecting the famous renowne of the kyngdom and Marqueſdome, we be found cruell towardes our neighbours:hauing a ſtedfaſt hope, a pure and ſincere conſcience and intent, and a certaine true fayth in Chriſt Ieſu our Lorde, by the tenour of theſe we ſignifie and declare vnto your fatherhoodes, and to all faithfull Chriſtians, openlye profeſſing both with heart and mouthe, that what ſoeuer man,of what eſtate,preeminence,dignitie,conditiõ, degree,or religion ſoeuer he be,which hath ſayd or affirmed,either doth ſay or affirme,ẏ in the ſayd kyngdome of Boheme & Marqueſdome of Morauia, hereſies haue ſprong vp whiche haue infected vs & other faithfull Chriſtians, as is aforeſayd(the onely perſon of our moſt noble Prince and Lord, Sigiſmund kyng of Romaines & of Hungarie.&c.our Lord and heyre ſucceſſor,beyng ſet apart, whom we truſt and beleue, not to be gilty in the premiſſes) all and euery ſuch man(as is aforeſayd)doth lye falſelye vpon his head, as a wicked and naughtye traitour & betrayer of the ſayd kyngdome & Marqueſdome, and moſt traiterous vnto vs, & moſt pernicious hereticke, the ſonne of all malice and wickednes, yea and of the deuill him ſelfe, who is a lyer and the father of all lies. Notwithſtandyng,we for this preſent cõmitting the foreſayd iniuries vnto God,vnto whom vengeaunce perteineth,who will alſo aboundanutly rewarde workers of iniquitie, will proſecute them more amply before him whom God ſhall appointe in the Apoſtolicke Sea,to gouerne his holy churche as the onely and vndoubted paſtour. Vnto whõ God willyng,we exhibityng our due reuerence and obedience as faithfull childrẽ,in thoſe things which are lawfull,honeſt,and agreable to reaſon and the lawe of God,will make oure requeſt and petition,that ſpedy remedy may bee prouided for vs,our ſayd kyngdome and Marqueſdom,vpon the premiſſes,according to ẏ law of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the inſtitutions of the holy fathers. The premiſſes notwithſtandyng,we ſettyng apart all feare and mens ordinaunces prouided to the contrary, will mainteine & defend the law of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, & the deuoute, humble and conſtant preachers thereof, euen to the ſhedyng of our bloud. Dated at Sternberg, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1415. vpon S.Wenceſlaus day,Martyr of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt.

He meaneth the longe ſchiſme ſpokẽ of before, where three popes were ſtriuing one agaynſt an other.

⋆ A quadrant being foure ſquare,prouerbially ſignifyeth a man that is conſtant and immutable.

Rom,12.

Iohn.8. *Deut*.38. *Pſal*.30.

Theſe noble men offered their obediẽce to the pope, no further then was lawfull, honeſt,and agreable to reaſon and the lawe of God.

Marke thys and learne,y noble m

Round about the ſayd letters there were.liiij.Seales hãging, and their names ſubſcribed, whoſe ſeales they were. The names of which noble men I thought it good here to annexe withall, partlye for the more credite of ẏ hath bene ſaid, partly alſo for examples ſake, to the intent that our noble and gentle men in thys our realme of England,now liuing in this cleare light of ẏ Goſpell,may by their example vnderſtãd,ẏ if they ioyne themſelues with ẏ Goſpell of Ieſus zealouſly & as they ſhould do,yet are they neyther the firſt, nor the moſte ẏ ſo haue done before them: if not,yet the truth may here remaine in ſtory to their ſhame,or els to their inſtructiõ, ſeing ſo many noble and worthye gentlemen within the ſmall kingdome of Bohemia, to bee ſo forwarde in thoſe ſo darke days,and among ſo many enemies,CC. yeares agoe,to take part with Chriſt: And yet our gentlemen here in ſuch long continuance of tyme,beyng ſo diligently taught, are neither in number,nor in zeale to them to be compared,but will ſtill take part contrarye both to Chriſt,and to ẏ example of theſe nobles, whoſe names they may ſee and read here following.

1	Alſſokabat de VViſkovvitz.	30	Henricus de.N.
2	Vlricus de Lhota.	31	VVaczlals de kuckh. **Thys noble man dyd accumpanye Hus, and with certayne horſemen conducte hym to Conſtance.**
3	Ioãnes de Kzimicz.	32	Henricus de Zrenanowicz.
4	Ioſsko de Sczitovvicz.	33	Baczko de Conuald.
5	Pærdus Zuuiranouuicz.	34	Petrus dictus Nienick de zaltoroldeck
6	Ioannes de Ziwla.	35	Czenko de Moſſnow.
7	Ioannes de Reychẽberg.	36	N.'
8	VVldko Skitzynye.	37	Zibilutz de Kleczã.
9	Drliko de Biela.	38	Ioannes de Peterswald.
10	Kos de Doloplatz.	39	Parſifal de Namyeſcz.
11	Ioãnes de Simuſin.	40	Zodoni de Zvvyetzick.
12	Dobeſsius de Tiſſa.	41	Raczeck Zawskalp.
13	Drazko de Hradeck.	42	Ion de Toſſavvicz.
14	Stephanus de Hmodorkat.	43	Diwa de Spiſſnia.
15	Ioan. Dern de Gabonecz.	44	Steffko de Draczdw.
16	Barſo dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.	45	Ieſſko de Draczdw.
17	Ioãnes Hmrſdorſar	46	Odich de Hlud.
18	Pſateska de VVilklek.	47	VVosfart de Paulovvicz.
19	Petrus Mg.de Sczitowicz.	48	Pirebbor de Tirczenicz.
20	N.Studenika.	49	Rynard de Tirczevvicz.
21	N.Briſchell.	50	Bohunko de VVratiſdovv.
22	N.De Cromaſſona.	51	Vlricus de Racdaw.
23	Aranniſick Donant de Poloniæ.	52	Deslavv de Nakli.
24	Ioãnes Donant de Poloniæ.	53	Boneſb de Frabenicz.
25	Ioãnes de Cziczow	54	Eybl de Roiſſowan.
26	VVenceſlaus de N.		
27	N de.N.		
28	N.N.		
29	Ioſſeck de.N.		

After theſe thynges thus declared and diſcourſed concernyng the hiſtory of John Hus, & Hierome of Prage, the order of place and countrey next would require, cōſequently to inferre and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations, whiche happened after and vppon the death of theſe men in the countrey of Boheme: but the order of time calleth me backe, firſt to other matters here of our owne countrey, whiche paſſed in the meane tyme, with vs in England. Whiche thynges beyng taken by the way, and finiſhed, we will (Chriſt willing) afterward returne to the tractation herof, to proſecute the troubles and conflictes of the Bohemians, with other thinges beſide perteinyng to the latter end of the Councell of Conſtāce, and choſing of Pope Martin, as the order of yeares and tyme ſhall require.

ſupra
700.

Ye heard before pag.700. col.2. how after the death of Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſucceded Henry Chicheſley.an.1414.and ſatte 25.yeares. In whoſe tyme, was much trouble, and great affliction of good men here in England: of whom many were compelled to abiure, ſome were burned, diuers were driuen to exile. Wherof partly now to entreat, as we finde thē in regiſters and hiſtories recorded, wee will firſt begyn with John Claydon Currier of London, and Richard Tucming, whom Robert Fabian, doth falſely affirme to be burned in the yere, wherin Sir Roger Acton, and M. Browne ſuffered: who in dede ſuffered not before the ſecond yeare of Henry Chicheſley beyng Archbyſhop of Canterbury, which was.an.1415. The hiſtory of which John Claydon, in the Regiſters is thus declared.

¶ The ſtory of Iohn Claydon Currier, and of R. Turmyng Baker.

THe.17.of Auguſt.1415.did perſonally appeare John Claydon Currier of London (arreſted by the Maior of the ſaid Citie, for the ſuſpition of hereſye) before Henry Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in ſaint Paules church: which John (being obiected to him by the Archbiſhop, that in the City of Londō and other places of the prouince of Canterbury, he was ſuſpected by diuers godly and learned men for hereſye, and to be contrary to the catholike fayth, and determination of the churche) did openlye confeſſe and denied not, but that he had bene for the ſpace of .xx. yeares ſuſpected both aboute the Citye of London, and alſo in the prouince of Canterbury, and ſpecially of the common ſorte, for Lollardye and hereſſe, and to be contrary to the catholicke fayth and determinatiō of the church of Rome, and diffamed of ẏ ſame all the time aforeſaid: In ſomuche that in the tyme of mayſter Robert Braybroke biſhop of London deceaſed, hee was for the ſpace of .ij. yeares commaunded to the priſon of Conwey, for the aforeſayd diffamation and ſuſpiciō, and for the ſame cauſe alſo he was in priſon in the fleete for three yeares. Out of which priſon he (in the raygne of kyng Henrye the fourth) was brought before Lord John Scarle, then Chauncellour to the king, and there did abiure all hereſie and errour. And the ſayd John Claydon being aſked of the ſayd Archbiſhop, whether he did abiure the hereſy of which he was ſuſpect, before anye other: did confeſſe that in a conuocation at London in Paules churche before Thomas Arundell late Archbiſhop deceaſed, he hid abiure all ſuch doctrine which they called hereſy and errour contrarye to the catholike fayth and determinatiō of the church, and that he had not onelye left ſuche articles and opinions, wherin he was diffamed, but alſo did abſtaine from all company that were ſuſpected of ſuche opinions, ſo that he ſhould neither geue ayde, help, counſel, nor fauour vnto them. And moreouer, the ſaid John was aſked by the ſayd Archbiſhop, whether he euer had in his houſe ſince hys abiuration, in his keepyng, any bookes written in Engliſhe. Whereunto he confeſſed ẏ he woulde not denye, but that he had in his houſe, and in his keeping many Engliſh bookes: for he was arreſted by the Maior of the Citye of London, for ſuche bookes as he had, which bookes (as he thought) were in the Maiors keeping. Vpon the which, the Maior did openly confeſſe that he had ſuch bookes in his keeping, which in his iudgement were the worſt and the moſt peruerſe that euer hee dyd reade or ſee, and one booke that was well bounde in red leather of partchment, written in a good Engliſh hand: and among the other bookes found wyth the ſayde John Claydon, the Maior gaue vp the ſayde booke afore the Archbiſhop. Whereupon the ſaid John Claydon being aſked of the Archbiſhop if he knewe that booke, did openly confeſſe that he knewe it verye well, becauſe he cauſed it to be wrytten of hys owne coſtes and charges, for he ſpent much mony thereupon ſince hys abiuration. Then was hee aſked who wrote it. He did anſwer, one called John Grime. And further, being required what the ſayd John Grime was, he anſwered, he could not tell. Agayn, being demaunded whether he did euer reade the ſame booke, he did confeſſe that he could not reade, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one John Fuller. And being aſked whether he thought the contentes of that booke to be catholicke, profitable, good and true, he aunſwered that many thinges which he had hearde in the ſame booke, were both profitable, good and healthfull to his ſoule: and as he ſayd, he had great affection to the ſayde booke, for a ſermon preached at Horſaldowne, that was written in the ſayd booke. And being further aſked, whether, ſince the time of hys ſayd abiuration, he did commune wyth one Rich. Baker of the City aforeſayd, he did aunſwer yea: for the ſaid Richard Baker did come often vnto his houſe to haue communication with him. And being aſked whether he knew the ſayd Richard to bee ſuſpected, and diffamed of hereſy: he did anſwer agayn ẏ he knew well that the ſayd Richard was ſuſpected and diffamed of manye men and women in the Citye of London, as one whom they thought to be an hereticke. Which confeſſion being made, did cauſe the ſayd bookes to be deliuered to Maiſter Robert Gilbert, doctor of diuinitye: to William Lyndewood doctor of both lawes, and other Clarkes, to be examined, and in the meane time Dauid Beard, Alexander Phillip, & Balthaſar Mero, were taken for witneſſes againſt him, and were cōmitted to be examined, to maiſter John Eſcourt generall examiner of Canterbury. This done, the Archbiſhop cōtinued his Seſſion tyll Monday next in ẏ ſame place. Which monday being come, which was the .xx. of the ſayde moneth, the ſayd maiſter Eſcourt openly and publikelye exhibited the witneſſes, being openlye read before the Archbyſhop and other biſhops: which being read, thē after that were read diuers tractations, found in the houſe of the ſayd John Claydon: out of the which, being examined, diuers poyntes were gathered and noted for hereſies and errours, and ſpeciallye out of the booke aforeſayd: whiche booke the ſayd John Claydon confeſſed by hys owne coſtes to be writtē & bounde, which booke was intituled, the Lanterne of light. In ẏ which & in the other examined, were theſe articles vnder written cōtained.

Cant.

Clay-
ed.

Clay-
firſt
priſoned
Robert
broke
op of
don.

Clay-
before
red.

The iudgemēt of the Maior of London.

Claydon beſtowed muche money vpon Engliſhe bookes.

Iohn Claydon could not read.

Richard Turmyng Baker.

This Turming belyke, was then in priſon

Williā Lyndwode doct. of both lawes.

An Engliſhe booke entituled: The Lanterne of lyght.

1. Firſt, vpon the text of the Goſpell, howe the enemy did ſow tares, there is ſayd thus that wicked Antichriſt: i. the Pope hath ſowed among the lawes of Chriſt, hys popiſhe and corrupt decrées, which are of no authority ſtrength, nor valure.

2. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſpeaking indifferently, are the ſeates of the beaſt Antichriſt, when he ſitteth in thē and rayneth aboue other people in the darke caues of errours and hereſies.

3. That the Biſhops licence for a man to preach the worde of God, is the true caracter of the beaſt. i. Antichriſt, and therefore ſimple and faythfull prieſtes may preach whē they will againſt the prohibition of that Antichriſt,and without licence.

4. That the courte of Rome is the chiefe head of Antichriſt,and the Biſhops be the body:and the new ſectes, that is,the monkes,chanons,& friers,brought in not by Chriſt,but damnablye by the Pope, be the venemous and peſtiferous tayle of Antichriſt.

The head and tayle of Antichriſt.

5. That no reprobate is a member of the church, but only ſuch as be elected and predeſtinate to ſaluation:ſeeing the church is no other thyng but the congregation of faythfull ſoules,which doe and will kepe their fayth conſtantly,as well in decde as in worde.

Thys is true, ſpeaking of the inuiſible church.

6. That Chriſt did neuer plante priuate religions in the Churche,but whileſt he liued in this world he dyd roote them out. By which it appeareth, that priuate religions be vnprofitable braunches in the churche and to be rooted out.

7. That the materiall Churches ſhoulde not be decked with golde,ſiluer and precious ſtones ſumptuouſly, but yͤ followers of the humilitie of Jeſus Chriſt,ought to worſhip theyr Lorde God humbly in meane and ſimple houſes,and not in great buildings, as the churches be now a dayes.

8. That there bee ij. chiefe cauſes of the perſecution of the Chriſtians: one is the prieſtes vnlawfull kepyng of tēporall & ſuperfluous goods,the other is the vnſatiable beggyng of the Friers,with their hye buildinges.

Two cauſes of perſecution noted.

9. That almes is not geuen vertuouſlye nor lawfulfully,excepte it be geuen with theſe iiij. conditions:firſt vnleſſe it be geuē to yͤ honour of God. 2. vnleſſe it be geuen of goodes iuſtly gotten.3.vnleſſe it be geuen to ſuch a perſon as the geuer therof knoweth to bee in charitie. and 4. vnleſſe it be geuen to ſuch as haue neede and doe not diſſemble.

Foure conditions in geuing almes.

10. That the often ſinging in the church is not founded in yͤ ſcripture, & therfore it is not lawfull for prieſtes to occupy thē ſelues with ſingyng in the church,but with yͤ ſtudy of the lawe of Chriſt,and preachyng his worde.

11. That Judas did receiue yͤ body of Chriſt in bread and hys bloud in wine. In the which it doth plainly appeare that after conſecration of bread and wine made, the ſame breade and wine that was before, doth truely remaine on the altar.

That bread remayneth in the Sacrament.

12. That all eccleſiaſticall ſuffrages do profite all vertuous and godly perſons indifferently.

13. That the Popes and the Biſhops indulgences be vnprofitable,neither cā they profite them,to whom they be geuen, by any meanes.

14. That the laitye is not bounde to obey the prelates what ſoeuer they commaunde,vnleſſe the Prelates doo watch to geue God a iuſt accompt for the ſoules of thē.

15. That Images are not to be ſought to by pilgrimages,neither is it lawfull for Chriſtians,to bow their knees to them, neither to kiſſe them, nor to geue them any maner of reuerēce. For the which articles the Archbiſhop with other Biſhops, and diuers learned communing together, firſt condemned the bookes as hereticall and burned them in fier: and then becauſe, they thought the ſayd John Claydon to bee foreſworne and fallē into hereſie,the Archbiſhop did procede to his diffinitiue ſentence agaynſt the ſayd John perſonally appearyng before him in iudgement (his cōfeſſions being red and depoſed agaynſt hym)after this maner.

The bookes of Iohn Claydon burned.

The ſentence and condemnation of Iohn Claydon.

In the name of God Amen. wee Henry by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Cāterbury,primate of all England, & Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, in a certaine cauſe of hereticall prauitie and of relapſe into the ſame, wher vpon John Claydon laymā of our prouince of Canterbury, was detected,accuſed and denounced, & in the ſaid our prouince of Canterbury, publickly diffamed(as by publicke fame & common report notoriouſlye to vs hath ben knowē)fyrſt, ſitting in Judgement ſeat & obſeruing all thinges lawfully required in this behalfe,do procede to the pronouncyng of the ſentēce diffinitiue in forme as foloweth.The name of Chriſt beyng inuocated and onely ſet before our eyes, for aſmuch as by the actes and thynges exacted, producted,exhibited & confeſſed before vs,alſo by diuers ſignes and euidences we haue founde the ſayd John Claydon to haue ben and to be publickly and notoriouſly relapſed agayne into his former hereſye heretofore by him abiured:according to the merites and deſertes of the ſaid cauſe,being of vs diligently ſearched, wayed and pondered before,to the intent that the ſayde John Claydon ſhall not infecte other with his ſcabbe, by the conſent and aſſent of our reuerende brethren Richarde Biſhop of London, John Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfielde, and Steuen Biſhop of S. Dauides, and of other Doctours aſwell of Diuinitie as of both lawes,and alſo of other diſcret and learned mē aſſiſtyng vs in this behalfe,do Judge pronoūce and declare the ſayd John Claydon, to be relapſed agayne into hys hereſy,whiche he before did abiure, finally and diffinitiuely appointing him to be left vnto the ſecular iudgement,and ſo do leue hym by theſe preſentes.

Iohn C
don co
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the ſe
powe

Thus John Claydon receauing his iudgement and condemnation of the Archbiſhop,was committed to the ſecular power,and by thē vniuſtly and vnlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal magiſtrate had no ſuch lawe ſufficient for them to burne any ſuch man for religion condemned of the prelates,as is aboue ſufficiently proued and declared, pag. 698. But to bee ſhort, Quo iure quaq; iniuria, John Claydon notwithſtanding, by yͤ temporall Magiſtrates, not long after, was had to ſmithfield, where mekely he was made a burnt offeryng vnto the Lord.an. 1415.

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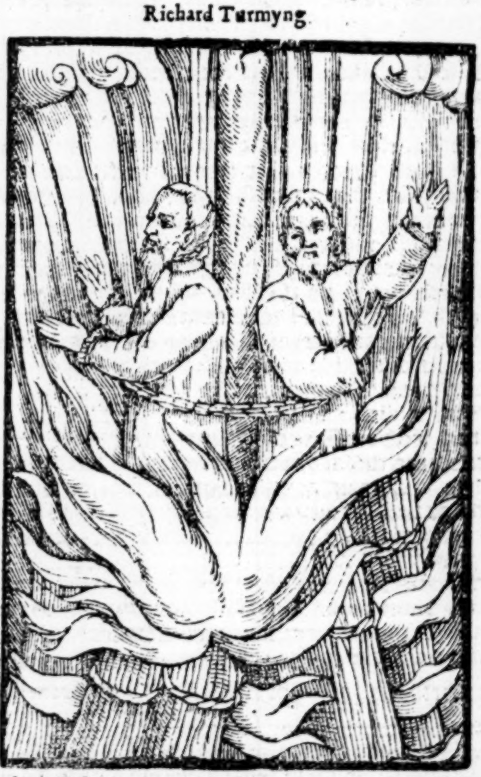
The burnyng of Iohn Claydon, and Richard Turmyng.



Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers whiche folow him, adde alſo that Richard Turmyng Baker, of whō mentiō is made before in the examination of John Claydon,was likewiſe the ſame tyme burned with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the regiſter I finde no ſentence of condemnation geuē againſt the ſayd Turming, neither yet in the ſtory of S.Albans is there any ſuch mention of his burnyng made, but onely of the burnyng of John Claydon aforeſayd: wherefore the iudgemēt hereof I leaue free to the reader. Notwithſtandyng,concernyng the ſayd Turming this is certain,that he was accuſed vnto the Biſhops,& no doubt was in their hādes, and bandes. What afterward was done with him, I referre it vnto the authors.

Iohn Cl
don, Ry
Turmy
martyrs

The next yeare after the burnyng of theſe two aforeſayd

ſayd, and alſo of John Hus beyng burnt at Conſtance, whiche was. an. 1416. the prelates of England ſeing the dayly increaſe of the Goſpell, and fearyng the ruine of their Papall kyngdome, were buſily occupyed withall their counſaile and diligence, to mainteine the ſame. Wherfore, to make their ſtate and kyngdome ſure, by ſtatutes, lawes, conſtitutions, & terrour of puniſhment, as Thomas Arũdell and other prelates had done before, ſo the forenamed Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his conuocation holden at London, maketh an other conſtitution (as thoughe there had not enough bene made before) agaynſt yͤ poore Lollardes: the copy & tenour wherof he ſendeth abroad, to the Biſhop of London, and to other his Suffraganes, by them to be put in ſtraite execution, conteinyng in wordes as foloweth.

Henry by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and legate of the chiefeſt ſeate: to our reuerend brother in the Lord Richarde, by the grace of God biſhop of London, health and brotherly loue, with continuall encreaſe. Lately in our laſt conuocation in ſaynt Paules church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and Clergye of our prouince, we do remember to haue made this order vnderwritten by your conſentes. whẽ as among many other our cares this ought to bee chiefe, that by ſome meanes we take thoſe heretikes, which lyke Foxes lurke & hyde them ſelues in the Lords vineyard: and that the duſt of negligence may be vtterly ſhaken from our feete & from the feete of our fellow brethren: In this the ſayde conuocation of the prelates and clergy, we haue ordained, that all our fellow brethren, our Suffraganes and Archdeacons of our prouince of Cãterbury, by them ſelues, their Officials, or Commiſſaries in all their iuriſdictions, and euery of their charges in the countrey, twiſe euery yeare at the leaſt do diligently enquire of ſuche perſons as are ſuſpect of hereſy: And that in euery ſuche their Archdeaconries in euery pariſh, wherein is reported anye heretikes to inhabite, they cauſe thre or more of the honeſteſt men and beſt reported of, to take their oth vpon the holy Euangeliſt, that if they ſhall knowe or vnderſtand any frequenting eyther in priuy conuenticles, or els dyffering in lyfe or maners from the common conuerſatiõ of other catholike men, or els that hold any, eyther hereſies or errours, or els that haue any ſuſpect bokes in the Engliſh toung, or that do receaue any ſuch perſons ſuſpect of hereſies and errours into their houſes, or that be fauourers of thẽ that are inhabitantes in any ſuch place, or conuerſant with them, or ells haue any recourſe vnto them: they make certificates of thoſe perſons in writing, with all the circumſtances wherewith they are ſuſpect, vnto the ſayd our Suffragans or Archdeacons, or to their Commiſſaries, ſo ſoone, and with as muche ſpede as poſſibly they can: And that the ſaid Archdeacon and euery of their Commiſſaries aforeſayd, doo declare the names of all ſuch perſons denounced, together wyth all the circumſtances of them, the dioces, and places, and ſecretly vnder their ſeales do ſẽd ouer vnto vs the ſame: And that the ſame dioceſans effectually direct forth lawfull proces agaynſt them, as the qualitye of the cauſe requireth, and that wyth all diligence they diſcerne, define, and execute the ſame. And if perhaps they leaue not ſuch perſons conuict vnto the ſecular court, yet notwithſtanding let them commit them vnto the perpetuall or temporall priſons, as the qualitye of the cauſe ſhall requyre, vntyll the next conuocation of the prelates and Clergye of our prouince of Canterbury, there perſonallye to remayne: and that in the ſame priſons they cauſe them to be kept according as the lawe requireth: And that of all and ſinguler the thinges aforeſayd, that is, what inquiſition they haue made, and what they haue foũd, and how in the proces they haue behaued them ſelues, and what perſons ſo conuict they haue cauſed to be put in ſafe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commiſſaries aforeſayd, with all and all maner of other circumſtances premiſed, and therunto in any wiſe apertaining, and ſpecially of the abiuratiõs, if in the meane time they ſhall chaunce to abiure any hereſies: that then in the next conuocation of the prelates and Clergy vnder the forme aforeſayd, they cauſe the ſame diſtinctlye and apertlye to be certified to vs and our ſucceſſors: And that they delyuer effectually to the officiall of our court, the ſame proces to remayne wyth them, or els in the Regiſter of our court of Canterbury, ſo that euerye one, to whom ſuche thinges appertayneth for the furder executiõ of the ſame proces, may haue recourſe vnto the ſame official, wyth al effect. we therefore commaund, that as touching the conſtitutiõ brought vnto your City and dioceſan, you cauſe the ſame in conuenient place and time to be publiſhed, & that in al pointes you both obſerue the ſame your ſelues and cauſe it alſo of others to be diligently obſerued: Cõmaunding furthermore, all and ſingular our fellow brethren and Suffraganes, that they in lykewyſe cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed throughout all their cities and dioces, and both diligẽtly obſerue the ſame themſelues, and alſo cauſe all others to do the ſame: and what thing ſoeuer you ſhal do in the premiſſes, that you certify vs betwixt this & the feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula, next cõmyng, & that you duely certify vs of theſe thinges, by your letters patentes, contaynyng the ſame effecte, ſealed wyth your ſeales. Dated at our houſe in London, the firſt day of July. An. 1416.

During the time of this conuocation, in the yeare aboue ſayd, two prieſtes were preſented and brought before the biſhops, noted and diffamed for heretikes: one named John Barton, vnto whom it was obiected by Philip biſhop of Lincolne, that he had bene excommunicated about. vi. or. vij. yeares before, vpon articles concerning religion, and yet neyther would appeare being cited, nor would ſeeke to be reconciled againe vnto the church. Which thinges beyng ſo proued agaynſt hym, he was committed to the cuſtodie of the foreſaid Philip biſhop of Lincolne, and ſo to be holden in priſon, tyll he ſhould heare further what ſhould be done.

The trouble of John Barton, & Rob. Chapell in cauſe of religion.

This Philip ſeemeth to be Philip Repyngton afore mentioned in the ſtory of Wickliffe.

The other was Robert Chapell, otherwiſe named Holbech, chaplain ſometime to the Lord Cobham: vnto whom likewiſe it was obiected, that he being vnder the ſentence of excommunication about. iij. or four yeares, yet notwithſtanding to the contempt of the keyes, dyd continue ſaying Maſſe, and preaching, and ſought not to be reconciled, Chapell denying that he did knowe anye ſuch excommunication geuen out agaynſt hym. Then was yͤ copy of hys excõmunicatiõ fyrſt made by the byſhop of Roff. afterwarde denounced by the Byſhop of London at Paules Croſſe, brought and red before him: and ſo that done, that ſeſſion brake vp for that tyme, which was about the latter end of May. an. 1416.

The. xij. day of the moneth of July next followyng, the ſayd Chapell appeared agayne before the Archbyſhop and the Prelates. To whom when it was obiected as before, how he had preached without the biſhops lycence, in diuers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne, at length he confeſſing and ſubmitting hymſelfe, deſired pardon. Which although it was not at the fyrſt graunted vnto him, yet at the laſt the Biſhoppe of Roff. putting in hys handes the decree of the canõ lawe 1. q. 7. cap. Quoties. &c. & cauſing him to reade the ſame, made him to abiure all hys former articles and opiniõs as hereticall and ſchiſmaticall, neuer to holde the ſame agayne, according to the contentes of the foreſayde canon. Whereupon the ſaid Robert being abſolued by the autoritie of the Archbiſhop (ſaue onelye that he ſhoulde not intermedle wyth ſaying Maſſe, before he had bene diſpenſed from the Pope himſelfe for his irregularitie) was inioyned by the Archbiſhop himſelf for his penãce, ſtanding at Paules, to publiſh theſe articles followyng vnto the people, in ſteede of hys confeſſion geuen hym to be red.

Rob. Chapell abiureth.

In primis, I confeſſe, that Biſhops, prieſtes, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, hauing no other profeſſion to the contrary, may lawfully haue, receaue, & reteine landes and poſſeſſions temporall, to diſpenſe and diſpoſe the ſame and the rentes therof, to the behouſe of themſelues or of their Churche where they dwell, accordyng as ſemeth good to them.

Articles obtruded to Rob. Chapell to confeſſe.

Item, I confeſſe that it were very vnlawfull, yea rather vniuſt,that temporal men,vpõ any occaſion, what ſoeuer it be,ſhould take away temporall lands & poſſeſsions from the churche either vniuerſall,or particular,to whom they are geuen, the conſideration of the abuſe of mortall prelates,prieſtes, or other miniſters in ẏ church conuerſaunt(whiche are mixt together good with bad) abuſing the ſame,to the contrary notwithſtandyng.

Marke well this catholique doctrine of the popes church, concerning remiſſion of ſinnes.

3. Item,I confeſſe,that peregrinations to the reliques of ſanctes,and to holy places,are not prohibite,nor to be contemned of any catholicke,but are auayable to remiſſion of ſinnes,and approued of holy fathers,and worthy to be commended.

Marke how this doctryne ioyneth with Gods cõmaundement,and with hys Worde.

4. Itẽ,I confeſſe that to worſhip the images of Chriſt or of any other ſaintes beyng ſet vp in the churche,or in any other place,is not forbidden : neither is any cauſe inductiue of Idolatry,beyng ſo vſed as the holy fathers do will thẽ to be worſhipped : But rather ſuch Images do profit much to the health of Chriſtians, becauſe they do put vs in remẽbraunce of the merites of thoſe ſaints, whom they repreſent : and the ſight of them doth moue and ſtirre vp the people to prayers and deuotion.

Ergo,by thys doctryne the iuſte man liueth not by hys fayth,but by hys confeſſion auricular.

5. Item , I cõfeſſe that auricular confeſſion vſed in the churche is neceſſarye for a ſinner to the ſaluation of hys ſoule,and neceſſarye to be done of ſuche a prieſt,as is ordeyned by the Churche , to heare the confeſſion of the ſinner,and to enioyne him penaunce for the ſame:without which confeſſion(if it may be had)there is no remiſſion of ſinnes,to him that is in ſinne mortall.

How can theſe prieſtes be ſeruauntes of Chriſt,which be makers of Chriſt.

6. Item,I confeſſe & firmely do holde, that although the prieſt be in mortall ſinne,yet may hee make the body of Chriſt,and miniſter other Sacraments and Sacramẽtalls: which neuer the leſſe are profitable to all the faithfull , who ſoeuer receaueth them in fayth and in deuotion of the churche.

7. Item,I confeſſe that Byſhops in their owne dioceſſe may forbid,decrée,and ordayne,vpõ reaſonable cauſes, that prieſtes ſhould not preach without their ſpeciall licence,the worde of God,and ẏ thoſe that do agaynſt the ſame,ſhould ſuffer the eccleſiaſticall cenſures.

Priuate religions profitable, if ye could tell wherfore.

8. Itẽ,I confeſſe ẏ priuate religions aſwel of monkes, chanõs and other,as alſo of the beggyng Friers, being allowed by the Churche of Rome, are profitable to the vniuerſall Church,and in no meanes contrary to Gods law,but rather founded and authoriſed theron.

9. Itẽ,I promiſe & ſwere vpon theſe holy Euangelies, which I hold here in my hands,ẏ I will hẽceforth neuer hold,affirm, nor by any meanes teach any thing contrary vnto the premiſſes either openly or priuatly.

Straite inquiſition in England.

After the ſettyng out of the conſtitution aforeſayde in the dayes of the aboue named Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Caunterbury,great inquiſition hereupon folowed in England, and many good men,whoſe hartes begã to be wonne to the Goſpell,were brought to much vexation,and cauſed outwardly to abiure. Thus,while Chriſt had the inward hartes of men:yet the catholicke Antichriſt would nedes poſſeſſe their outward bodyes,& make them ſing after his ſonge.In the number of whõ, beyng compelled to abiure,beſides the other aforeſayd, was alſo Ioh.Taylour of ẏ pariſh of S.M. at Querne, William Iames maiſter of Arte and Phiſicion , who had long remained in priſon,& at length after abiuration,was licenſed,with his keper,to practiſe his Phiſicke.

Chriſt had the hartes of men: they had their bodyes.

A briefe ſũme of ſuch as abiured,vnder Hen. Chicheſley.

Ioh. Taylour.

W.Iames.

Alſo Iohn Dwerf,ſo named for his low ſtature,which was ſent by ẏ duke of Bedford to the foreſayd Chicheſly and other Biſhops to be examined before them in the conuocation : there he at lengthe reuolting frõ his doctrine recanted,and did penaunce.

I.Dwerffe.

In like manner Iohn Iourdelay of Lincolneſhire, well commended in the regiſters for his learnyng, accuſed by the prieſtes of Lincolne for a certaine boke, which he contrary to the former decree of the biſhoppes did conceale and did not exhibite vnto them, was therefore enforced to abiure. After whom was brought likewiſe before the biſhops,one Katherine Dertford a Spinſter,who being accuſed and examined vpon theſe iij.articles,concerning the ſacrament of the popes Altar , adoration of Images,and of pilgremage,anſwered that ſhe was not able, being vnlearned,to aunſwere to ſuch high matters,neither had ſhe any further ſkil, but only her Creede and x.Commaundementes : and ſo was ſhe committed to the vicar generall of the B.of Wint. (for that ſhe was of the ſame dioces)to be kept, and further to be examine of the ſame.Ex Regiſt.Henr.Chichley.

I.Iourdelay.

Iohn Io delay iureth,

At the ſame ſitting was alſo brought before the ſaid Archb.and his fellow biſhops,by the lieuetenant of the Tower, the perſon of Heggeley in Lincolneſhire, named M.Robert,who beyng long kepte in the tower, at length by the kings writte was brought and examined the ſame tyme vpon the like articles:to witte,touchyng the ſacrament of their aultar,peregrination,adoration of Images, and whether it was lawfull for ſpirituall men to enioy temporal Lordſhips,&c.To the which articles he aunſwered (ſaith the regiſter) doublely & mockingly,ſaue onely in the ſacrament he ſemed ſomthing more conformable,albeit not yet fully to their contentation.Wherefore,beyng committed to the cuſtodie and examination of Rich.Biſhop of Lincolne,where in the ende he was alſo induced to ſubmit himſelfe.

Robert perſon o Heggele examine

The ſame likewiſe did W. Henry of Tenterden beyng ſuſpected and areſted for company keping with them,whome the biſhops called Lollardes, and for hauyng ſuſpected bookes.

W.Henry of Tente den,examined.

Beſides theſe,diuers other there were alſo whiche in the ſame conuocation were conuented and reuoked their opinions,as Iohn Galle a prieſte of London, for hauyng a booke in Engliſh intituled:A booke of ẏ new law.Item,Richard Monke,vicar of Cheſham in Lincolneſhire,who ſubmitted himſelf likewiſe.In this raſe & number followed moreouer , Bartilmew Cornmonger,Nic.Hoper ſeruant to the L.Cobham,Tho.Granter with other moe,mentioned in the foreſaid regiſter.

A booke the new lawe.

I.Galle.

R.Mon

Bart.Cor monger,

N.Hope

Tho Gra ter troubled for theyr doctrine

Among the reſt which were at this tyme troubled for their faith, was one Radulphe Mungin prieſt, who for the ſame doctrine was areſted and ſent vp by the L. Chauncelor of England,to the foreſaide Archb. and by him cõmitted to Dauid Price,vicar generall to the B. of London:Where after he had endured iiij. monethes in priſon, he was by ẏ ſaid Dauid preſented to ẏ conuocation, againſt whom diuers articles were obiected.

But for the better explaning of the matter , firſte here is to be noted,that during the time of this conuocation prouinciall, Pope Martine had ſent downe to the Clergy of England,for a ſubſidie to be gathered of the church,to mayntaine the Popes warre agaynſt the Lollardes(ſo the Papiſtes did terme them)of Bohemia.Alſo an other ſubſidie was demaunded to perſecute one Peter Clerke maiſter of art of Oxford,who flieng out of England,was at the councell of Baſill , diſputing on the Bohemians ſide.And thirdly,an other ſubſidye was alſo required to perſecute W. Ruſſell , Warden of the gray Friers in London,who the ſame time was fledde from England to Rome,to mayntayne hys opinion before the Pope,and ther eſcaped out of priſon. &c. of whõ more largely hereafter(Chriſt willing)we ſhal entreate. In the meane time marke here the pretye ſhiftes of the Pope to hooke in the Engliſh money by all maner pretences poſſible.

A ſubſidie gathered by the pope to fight agaynſt the faithfull Bohemi

Romyſh ſleyghtes to get the Englyſhe money.

Thus Rafe Mungyn, the foreſayde examinate appearing before the biſhops in the conuocation,it was articulate agaynſt him,firſt that he ſhould affirme & hold, not to be lawfull for anye Chriſtian to fight and make warre agaynſt the heretikes of Bohemia.

Articles obiected agay Rafe M gyn.

Item, it was to him obiected,that he dyd holde and ſay,not to be lawfull for any man to haue proprietye of goods,but the ſame to be common,whych he expreſſely denyed that euer he ſo ſayd or affirmed. Whereby we haue to obſerue,how the crafty malice of theſe aduerſaries vſeth falſely to collect and ſurmiſe of mē,what they neuer ſpeake, whereby to oppreſſe them wrongfullye, whom by playne truth they cannot expugne.

Moreouer, they obiected agaynſt hym,that he ſhuld keepe company with maiſter Clarke aforeſayd, and alſo that hee diſperſed in the Citye of London, certayne bookes of John Wyckleffe and of Peter Clark, namely the booke Trialogus,and the Goſpels of John Wickleffe.&c. He was charged moreouer to haue ſpoken agaynſt the Popes indulgences, for that the Pope had no more power to geue indulgences,then he had.

Upon theſe and other ſuch articles obiected,the ſayde Mungyn being aſked if he wold reuoke, anſwered that it ſeemed to hym not iuſt nor meete ſo to do,which dyd not know him ſelfe gilty of any hereſie. Thus he being reſpited for that tyme,was committed to priſon tyll the next ſytting,who then being called diuers and ſundrye tymes afterward before the biſhops, after long inquiſition and ſtrayte examination made, alſo depoſitions brought in agaynſt hym, ſomuch as they coulde ſearch out, he notwithſtanding ſtyll denied as before, to recant. Wherfore the foreſayd Henry the archbiſhop, proceedyng to hys ſentence definitiue, condemned hym to perpetuall pryſon.

After whoſe condemnation, ẏ ſonday next following, the recantation of Tho. Granter, & of Richard Monke prieſtes aboue mencioned, were openlye red at Paules croſſe, the biſhop of Rocheſter the ſame time preaching at the ſayd croſſe. The tenour of whoſe recātation, wyth his articles in the ſame expreſſed, here vnder foloweth.

IN the name of God. Before you my Lord of Canterbury and all you my lordes here beyng preſent, and afore you all here gathered at thys tyme: I Thomas Granter prieſt vnworthye, dwellyng in this citye of London, feelyng and vnderſtanding, that afore this tyme I affirmed open errours and hereſies, ſaying, beleuing, and affirming within thys citye, that he that Chriſtian men callen pope, is not veray pope, ner gods vicary in earth, but I ſaid he was Antichriſt. Alſo I ſayd, beleued, and affirmed, that after the ſacramental wordes ſayd by a prieſt in the Maſſe, there remayneth materiall bread and wyne, and is not turned into Chriſtes body and his bloud. Alſo I ſayd and affirmed, that it was not for to do in no wyſe, to go on pilgrimage, but it was better I ſayde to abide at home and beat the ſtooles with their heeles, for it was, I ſayd, but tree and ſtone that they ſoughten. Alſo I ſayd and affirmed that I held no ſcripture catholike ner holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the Legendes and lyues of ſaintes, I helde hem nought, and the miracles written of hem I held vntrue. Becauſe of which errours and hereſies I was tofore maiſter Dauy Price, Vicary generall of my lord of London, & ſinſe tofore you my lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your councel prouinciall, & by you fully enformed, which ſo ſaid, mine affirmyng, beleuing, and teaching bene open errours and hereſies, and contrarious to the determination of the chirch of Rome. Wherfore I willing to follow and ſewe the doctrine of holy chirch, and depart fro all maner errours and hereſie, and turne with good will and hart to the onehead of the chirch, conſidering that holy church ſhitteth ner cloſeth not her boſome to hym that wyll turne again, ne God wyll not ẏ death of a ſynner, but rather he be turned & lyue: With a pure hart I confeſſe, deteſt, and deſpiſe my ſayd errours & hereſies, & the ſayd opinions I confeſſe as hereſies and errours, to the fayth of the chirch of Rome, and to all vniuerſall holye chirch repugnant. And therefore theſe ſayd opinions in ſpeciall, and all other errours and hereſies, doctrines and opinions, ayen the fayth of the chirch and the determination of the chirch of Rome, I abiure, and forſweare, here tofore you all, and ſweare by theſe holy Goſpels, by me bodely touched, that from henceforth I ſhall neuer hold teache ne preach errour ne errours, hereſie ne hereſies, ner falſe doctrine agaynſt the fayth of holy chirch, and determination of the chirch of Rome, ner none ſuch thing I ſhall obſtinatly defend: ne any man holding or teaching ſuch maner thinges by me or any other perſon, openly or priuely I ſhall defend. I ſhal neuer after this time be receitour, fautour, cōceilour, or defendour of heretickes, or of anye perſon ſuſpect of hereſie, ner I ſhall trowe to hym, ner wittingly fellaſhip with him, ner geue him counſeil, fauour, yiftes ne cōfort. And if I know any heretikes, or of hereſye, or of ſuch falſe opinions, any perſon ſuſpect, or any man or woman making or holding priuy conuenticles, or aſſemblies, or any diuers or ſinguler opinions from the common doctrine of the Churche of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautours, comforters, counceilours, or defenſers, or any that haue ſuſpect bookes or quiers of ſuch errours and hereſies: I ſhall let you my lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your abſence, or the Dioceſans and Ordinaries of ſuch men, haue ſoone and ready knowing, ſo helpe me God and holydome, and theſe holy Euangelies by me bodely touched.

After this recantation at the Croſſe thus publiſhed, and his ſubmiſſion made, the ſaid Granter then was by the aduiſe of the prelates, put to .vij. yeares priſonment vnder the cuſtody and charge of the biſhop of London.

After thys followed in like maner the recantation of Richard Monke. Alſo of Edmund Frith, which was before Butler to ſyr John Oldcaſtell.

Beſide theſe aboue remembred, many & diuers there be in the ſayd regiſter recorded, who lykewiſe for their faith & religion were greatly vexed & troubled, eſpecially in the dioces of Kent, in the townes of Romney, Tenterden, Wodcherche, Cranbroke, Stapulherſt, Beninden, Halden, Roluenynden and others, where as whole houſholdes, both mā & wife, were driuē to forſake their houſes & townes for daūger of perſecutiō, as ſufficiently appeareth in ẏ proceſſe of ẏ Archb. Chicheſly agaynſt the ſayd perſonnes, and in the certificat of Burbath his officiall, wherin are named theſe perſons folowyng.

The affliction and trouble in Kent vnder Chicheſley.

1. VV.VVhite prieſt
2. Th.Greneſted prieſt.
3. Barth.Cronmōger.
4. Iohn VVaddon.
5. Ioan.his wife.
6. Tho:Euerden.
7. VVilliam Euerden.
8. Steuen Robin.
9. VV.Chiuelyng.
10. Iohn Tame.
11. Iohn Fowlyn.
12. VVilliam Somer.
13. Marion his wife.
14. Iohn Abraham.
15. Robert Munden.
16. Laurence Coke.

Perſons perſecuted in Kent.

Theſe being cited vp together by ẏ biſhop, would not appeare. Wherupon great inquiſition beyng made for them by his officers, they were conſtrained to flye their houſes and townes, and ſhift for thē ſelues as couertely as they might. Whē Burbath and other officers had ſent worde to the Archbyſhop that they could not bee founde, then he directed downe order that Citations ſhould be ſet vp for them on euery church dore through all townes where they did inhabite: appointyng them a day and terme when to appeare. But notwithſtanding, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appeare, the Archbiſhop ſittyng in his tribunall ſeat, proceedeth to the ſentence of excommunication againſt thē. What afterwarde happened to them, in the regiſter doth not appeare: but lyke it is, at length they were forced to ſubmit them ſelues.

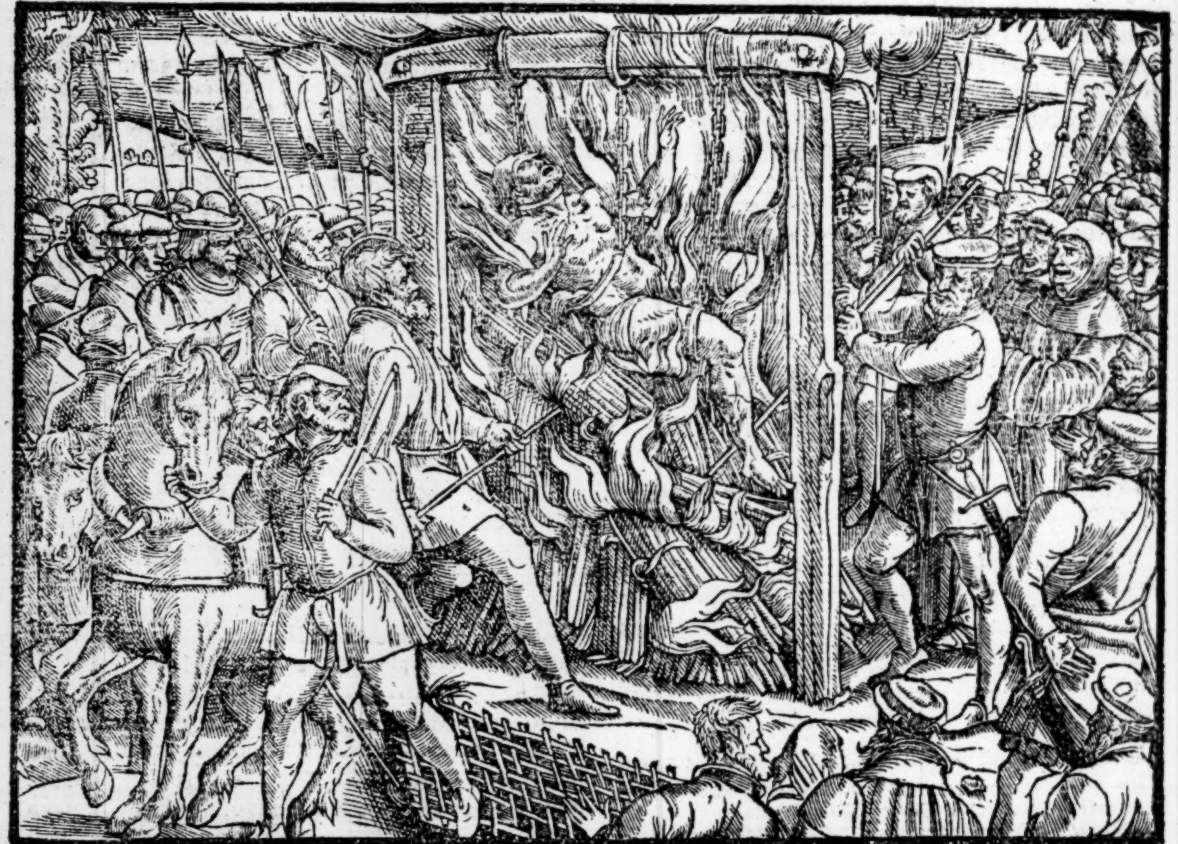
Concerning ſyr John Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, and of hys fyrſt apprehenſion, with his whole ſtory and life, ſufficiētly hath bene expreſſed before, pag.664. how he being committed to the tower, and condemned falſely of hereſie, eſcaped afterwarde out of the tower, and was in Wales about the ſpace of .iiij. yeares. In the which meane tyme, a great ſumme of money was proclaymed by the king, to him that could take the ſaid ſyr John Oldcaſtell, either quicke or dead. About the end of which .iiij. yeares being expired, the lord Powes, whether for loue and gredines of the money, or whether for hatred of true and ſincere doctrine of Chriſt, ſeeking all maner of way how to play the part of Judas, at length obtayned his bloudy purpoſe, and brought the lord Cobham bound, vp to London: which was about the yeare of our Lord.1417. and about the moneth of December. At which time there was a parliament aſſembled at Lōdon, for the releife of money the ſame time to be ſent to the king, whom the biſhops had ſent out (as ye heard before) to fight in Fraunce. The recordes of which parlament do thus ſay: that on tueſday the .xiiij. day of December, and the .xxix. day of the ſayd parlamēt, ſir John Oldcaſtell of Cowlyng, in the countie of Kent, knight, being outlawed (as is afore mynded) in the Kynges bench, & excommunicated before by the Archb. of Canterbury for hereſy, was brought before the Lordes, and

The ſecond apprehenſion of the Lord Cobham.

The L Powes playeth Iudas.

hauing heard hys ſayd conuictions, anſwered not therto in hys excuſe. Vpon which recorde & proceſſe, it was adiudged, that he ſhoulde bee taken as a traytour to the king and the realme: that he ſhuld be caried to the tower of London, and from thence drawen through London vnto the new gallowes in ſaint Giles without Temple barre, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

The deſcription of the cruell Martyrdome of ſyr Iohn Oldecaſtle Lord Cobham.



Treaſon falſely ſurmyſed.

Vide ſupra. pag.676.

As touching the pretenced treaſon of this Lord Cobham falſely aſcribed vnto hym in his inditement, riſing vpon wrong ſuggeſtion and falſe ſurmiſe, and aggrauated by rigour of wordes, rather thē vpon any ground of dew probation, ſufficientlye hath bene diſcourſed before in my defence of the ſayd lord Cobham, againſt Alanus Copus, pag.676. where agayne is to be noted, as I ſaid before, how by this appeareth, that the lord Cobham was neuer executed by force of the inditement or outlawrie, becauſe, if he had, he ſhoulde then haue bene brought to the barre in the kinges bench, and there the Iudges ſhould haue demaunded of hym, what he could haue ſayd, why he ſhould not haue dyed: & thē not ſhewing ſufficient cauſe for the diſcharge or delaye of execution, the Iudges ſhoulde haue awarded and geuen the iudgement of treaſon: which being not ſo, it is cleare he was not executed vpō the inditement. Beſides, to proue ÿ he was not executed vpō the Inditement, and the outlawry, the maner of the execution proueth it, becauſe it was neither the executiō of a traitour, nor was ÿ whole puniſhment thereof pronounced by the iudge, as by due order of law was requiſite.

Finally, as I ſayd before, here I repeate agayn, that albeit the ſayd lord Cobham was attaynted of treaſon by the Act, and that the King, the Lordes, and the commons aſſented to the Act: yet al that bindeth not in ſuch ſort (as if in dede he were no traytour) that any mā may not by ſearch of the truth, vtter and ſet foorth ſincerelye and iuſtly, the very true and certaine cauſe, whereupon hys execution did follow. Which ſeemeth by all circumſtances and firme argumentes, to riſe principally of his religion, which firſt brought hym in hatred of the byſhops: the biſhops brought him in hatred of the Kyng: the hatred of the king brought hym to hys death and martirdome. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy ſeruant of Chriſt, lord Cobham.

Iudas ſeeketh for his rewa

Moreouer, in the recordes aboue mentioned it foloweth, how in the ſayd Parlament, after the martyrdome of this valiant knight, motion then was made, ÿ the Lord Powes might be thanked & rewarded, according to the proclamation made, for his great trauaile takē in the apprehēſion of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, hereticke. Thus ſtand the wordes of the record. Where ij. thynges are to be noted: Firſt how Syr Iohn here in the recorde is called not traytour, but hereticke only. Secondly marke howe this brother of Iudas here craueth his reward for betraying the innocēt bloud. Wherin it is not to be doubted, but that his light fée, and quid multis mihi dare in this worlde, will haue an heuye reward hereafter in ÿ world to come, vnles he repēted. &c.

An.5. Henr.5. act.17.

Farthermore, in the ſayd Parlament, act.17. it was enacted that the churche and all eſtates ſhould enioy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealeable by the cōmon law: meaning belike, ÿ excluding of ÿ iuriſdiction of ÿ popes foreine power, which hath alwaies by ÿ common law bene excluded out of this realme.

An.5. Henr.5. act.18.

All the blame la to the Lo lardes.

In the ſame Parlament alſo a greuous complainte was made (by the Biſhops no doubt) agaynſt inſurrections. In the end they ſuſpected that they were the Lollardes, heretickes, and traytours, with a requeſt that commiſſions might at all tymes be graunted to enquire of them. Whereunto aunſwere was made, that the ſtatutes therfore made, ſhould bee executed. &c. Thus the clergy Tanq̄ leones rugientes, ceaſed not to roare after Chriſtian bloud: And who ſoeuer was els in faulte, ſtill the clergy cryed: Crucifie Chriſt, and deliuer vs Barrabas: For then all horrible factes and miſchiefes, if any were done, were imputed to the poore Lollardes.

And now from our Engliſh matters, to returne againe to the ſtory of the Bohemians, from whence we haue a little digreſſed, when as the newes of the barbarous cruelty exerciſed at Conſtance againſt John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, were noyſed in Boheme, the nobles and gentlemē of Morauia and of Boheme, ſuch as fauoured the cauſe of John Hus, gathering themſelues together in the zeale of Chriſt: firſt ſente their letter vnto the councell, expoſtulating with them, for the iniurie done to thoſe godly mē, as is before expreſſed pag. 755. for the which letter they were all cited vp to the Councell. Unto this letter Sigiſmund the emperour maketh aunſwere agayne in the name of the whole Councell: firſt, excuſyng himſelfe of Huſſes death, which he ſayd was againſt his ſafeconduicte and againſt his will: In ſo muche that he roſe in anger from the Councell, and departed out of Conſtance, as is before remembred. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiete, and to conforme themſelues peaceably vnto the order of the catholique church of Rome, &c.

Alſo the councell hearing or fearyng ſome ſtirre to ryſe among the Bohemians, dyd make lawes and articles wherby to bridle them, to the number of xxiiij.

icles eed in Coun- of Cō- ce a- nſt the hemiās,

First, that the kyng of Bohemia ſhall bee ſworne to geue obedience, and to defende the liberties of the church of Rome.

2. That all maiſters, doctours & prieſts, ſhall be ſworne to abiure the doctrine of wickliffe, & Hus, in that councel condemned.

That all they which being cited would not appeare, ſhould alſo be ſworn to abiure: and thei which wold not apeare, contēning the cenſure of the keyes, ſhould haue proceſſe againſt them, and be puniſhed.

That all ſuche lay men as had defended the cauſes of John wickliff and John Hus, ſhould ſweare to defend them no more, and to approue the doings of that councel, and the condemnation of John Hus.

That all ſuch ſeculare men as had ſpoyled the clergy, ſhould be ſworne to reſtitution.

That prieſtes beyng expelled from their benefices, ſhould be reſtored agayne.

That all prophaners of churches ſhould be puniſhed after the canonical ſanctions.

That ſuch as had bene promoters in the Councell againſt John Hus, ſhould be permitted ſafely to returne into Boheme againe, and to enioy their benefices.

That the reliques and treaſure takē out of the church of Prage, ſhould be reſtored fully againe.

That the vniuerſitie of Prage ſhoulde bee reſtored agayn and reformed, and ẏ they which had bene the diſturbers therof, ſhould be really puniſhed.

That ẏ principal heretikes & doctors of that ſect, ſhold be ſent vp to the ſea Apoſtolique, namely *Ioannes Ieſſenetz, Iacobellus de Miſna: Symon de Tyſna, Symon de Rochinzano, Chriſtannus de Brachatitz: Ioannes Cardinalis: Zdenko de loben:* The prouoſt of Alhalowes, *Zdislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.*

That all ſecular men which cōmunicated vnder both kyndes, ſhould abiure that hereſie, and ſwere to ſtoppe the ſame hereafter.

That they whiche were ordeined prieſtes by the ſuffragane of the Archbiſhop of Prage, taken by the L. Zenko, ſhould not be diſpenſed with, but ſent vp to the ſea Apoſtolike.

That the treatiſes of John wickleffe tranſlated into the Bohemiā tōgue by John Hus, & Jacobellus, ſhold be brought to the ordinarie.

That the treatiſes of John Hus condēned in the councell, ſhould alſo be brought vnto the ordinarie.

That all the tractatiōs of Jacobellus De vtraque ſpecie, de Antichriſto (wherin he calleth the Pope Antichriſt) Et de remanētia panis poſt cōſecrationē, ſhuld likewiſe be brought and burned.

That all ſonges and balates made to the preiudice of the Councell, and of the Catholike perſons of bothe ſtates, ſhould be forbyd to be ſoung in Cities, townes and villages, vnder great and extreme puniſhment.

That none ſhould preache the worde without the licence of the ordinarie, or of the perſon of that place.

That ordinaryes and Prelates hauyng iuriſdiction, ſhould not be ſtopped in their iuriſdiction, by the ſecular power, vnder payne of excommunication.

That all and ſingular perſons ſhall bee commaunded to obedience vnder payne of excōmunication: and that who ſoeuer knoweth any perſō to fauour any wycleuiſtes or their doctrine, or that kepeth company with ſuſpect perſons, hee ſhall preſent the ſame to his dioceſans or his officials.

That the cōfederacie of the ſeculars made betwene thē ſelues, or any of the ſpiritualtie, to ẏ preiudice of the foreſayd Councell, and of the Apoſtolicke ſea and church of Rome, in the fauour of John Hus, Hierome of Prage, & other in the ſayd Councell condēned, ſhalbe diſſolued.

Concilium malignātium.

That the rites & ceremonies of Chriſtiā religiō, touching gods ſeruice, Images, & worſhiping of reliques, ſhalbe obſerued, & tranſgreſſors of ẏ ſame be puniſhed.

That all and ſingular, either ſpirituall or ſecular that ſhall preach, teache, hold or mainteine the opinions and Articles of John wickleffe, John Hus, and Hierome, in this Councell condemned, and conuict of the ſame, ſhalbe holden for heretickes, and fallyng in relapſe, ſhalbe burned.

That all ſecular perſons being moniſhed and charged by the ordinaries, ſhalbe bounde to geue their ayde and furtheraunce vnto them, touchyng the premiſſes.

The Bohemians notwithſtandyng theſe cruell Articles, contemnyng the vayne deuiſes of theſe Prelates and fathers of the Coūcell, ceaſed not to procede in their leigue and purpoſe begon, ioyning them ſelues more ſtrongly together.

Depoſing of pope Iohn 23.

Ex hiſt. S. Albani.

The election of pope Martyne.

In this meane tyme it happened, that duryng this Councell of Conſtāce, after the depoſing of Pope John, and ſpoylyng of his goods, whiche came to.75. thouſād poundes of gold and ſiluer, as is reported in the ſtory of S. Albans, pope Martin vpō the day of S. Martin, was elected. Concernyng whoſe election great preparation was made before of the councell, ſo ẏ beſide the Cardinals. v. other Biſhops of euery nation ſhould enter into the conclaue, who there together ſhould bee kept with thinne dyet, till they had founded a Pope. At laſt, when they were together agreed vpon this man, they not taryng for openyng of the doore, lyke mad men, for haſt, braſt open an hole in the walle, crying out, Habemus papam, Martinum, wee haue a Martine Pope. The Emperour hearyng thereof, with the lyke haſt, came a pace, & fallyng down kyſſed the new popes fœte. Then went they all to the churche together, and ſange. Te deum.

The Emperour kiſſeth the popes feete.

Pope Martyn V.

The coronation of pope Martin.

The next day followyng, this Martine was made prieſt (which before was but a Cardinall deacon) & the next day after was conſecrate biſhop, and ſang his fyrſt maſſe, wherat was preſent 140. mitred biſhops. After this, the next morrow, the new holy pope ordained a generall proceſſion, where a certayne clearke was appointed to ſtand with flaxe and fyre, who ſetting the flaxe on fyre, thus ſaid: Ecce pater ſancte, ſic tranſit gloriā mundi, i. beholde holy father, thus badeth the tranſitory glory of this world. Which done, ẏ ſame day the holye father was brought vp vnto an high ſcaffold (ſaith the ſtorye) J will not ſay to an high mountaine, where was offred to him all the glorye of the world &c. there to bee crowned for a triple king. This done, the ſame day, after dinner, the new crowned pope was with greate triumphe brought through the middeſt of the citie of Conſtance, where all the biſhops and abbots followed with their miters. The popes horſe was all trapt with redde ſkarlet down to ẏ ground. The Cardinals horſes were all in white ſilke, the Emperour on the right ſyde, and prince Electour on the lefte playing bothe the Popes footemen, went on fœte leading the popes horſe by the bridell.

Meretrix equitans ſuper beſtiam Apocalyp.

The pope on horſebacke the Emperour on foote.

As this Pageant thus with the great gyaunt proceded, and came to the market place, there the Jewes (accordyng to the maner) offered to hym their law and ceremonies. Whiche the Pope receauyng, caſt behynd

Why then doth the pope keepe ſtill the olde Iewes ceremonies, if all thinges bee made new.

An. 1417

hym, ſaying: Recedant vetera, noua ſunt oīa. i. Let olde things paſſe, all thyngs be made new. &c. Ex hiſt. S. Alb. ex paralip, Vrſperg. This was. an. 1417.

Thus the Pope being now confirmed in his kyngdome, firſt beginneth to write hys letters to the Bohemians, wherin partly he moueth them to catholique obedience, partly he diſſembleth wyth them, faynyng that if it were not for the Emperours requeſt, he would enter proceſſe againſt them. Thirdly and finally he threatneth to attempt the vttermoſt agaynſt them, and with all force to inuade them, as well with the Apoſtolicall, as alſo with the ſecular arme, if they did ſtill perſiſte, as they begon,

Albeit theſe new threates of the new Biſhop, did nothing moue the conſtant hartes of the Bohemians, whō the inward zeale of Chriſtes worde had before inflamed.

Although it had bene to be wiſhed, ſuch bloudſhed and warres not to haue followed: yet to ſay the truth, howe could theſe Rabines greatly blame them herein, whom their bloudy tyranny had before prouoked ſo iniuſtly, if now with their gloſing letters they coulde not ſo eaſely appeaſe them agayne.

Wherfore theſe foreſaid Bohemians, partly for the loue of John Hus and Hierome their cōtreymen, partly for the hatred of their malignāt papiſtry, aſſembling together, firſt agreed to celebrate a ſolemne memoriall of the death of John Hus and Hierome, decreyng the ſame to be holdē and celebrate yearely. And afterward, by meanes of their frendes, they obtayned certain churches of the kyng, wherin they might frely preache & miniſter the Sacramentes vnto the congregation. This done, they ſuppreſſed diuers monaſteries, phariſaicall tēples and idolatrous phanes, begynnyng firſt with the great monaſtery of the blacke Friers viij. myles from Prage, and driuyng awaye the wicked and vicious prieſtes and monkes out of them, or compellyng them vnto a better order. And thus their nomber more and more encreaſing vnder the conduict of a certayne noble man named Nicholas, they went agayn vnto the king, requiring to haue more and ampler churches graunted vnto them. The kyng ſeemed at the firſt willingly and gently to geue eare vnto the ſayd Nicholas intreatyng for the people, and commaunded them to come agayne the next day.

A yearely memoriall of Ioh. Hus and Hierome kept among the Bohemians.

When the people were departed, the kyng turnyng him ſelfto the noble mā Nicholas, which taried ſtill behynde, ſayd: Thou haſt begun a webbe to put me out of my kingdome, but I will make a rope of it, wherwith all I will hang thee. Wherupon he immediatlye departed out of the kynges preſence, and the kyng hym ſelfe went into the Caſtle of Wiſſegrad: within a while after, into a new Caſtle, whiche he him ſelfe had builded fyue ſtones caſt from thence, ſendyng Ambaſſadours to hys brother to require ayde.

K. Wenceſlaus threatneth Nicholas.

Theſe proteſtantes beyng aſſembled in the towne of Prage, holdyng their conuentions: the kyng ſent forth his Chamberlaine with. CCC. horſemen, to run vppon them: but hee hauyng reſpecte vnto his lyfe fled. When newes therof was brought vnto the kyng, all ỹ were about hym being amaſed, vtterly deteſted the fact: but the kyngs cupbearer ſtandyng by, ſayd: I knew before that theſe thyngs would thus come to paſſe. Whom ỹ kyng in a rage takyng hold of, threwe him downe before his feete, and with his dagger would haue ſlayne hym: but being letted by ſuche as were aboute him, with muche a do, he pardoned hym his lyfe. Immediatly the kyng beyng taken with a palſey fell ſicke, and within. xviij. dayes after, when hee had marked the names of ſuche, whom he had appoynted do put to death, inceſſantly calling for ayde of his brother, and other hys frendes, hee departed this lyfe before the princes whiche he had ſent vnto, were come with ayde, when hee had raigned lv. yeares, and was about the age of. lvij. yeares.

The death of K. Winceſlaus.

The merueilous worke of Gods iudgement to be noted, in detendyng his people.

¶ The ſtorye of Ziſca.

Out of Æneas Syluius.

Immediatlye after the death of Wenceſlaus, there was a certaine noble mā named Ziſcha, borne at Troſnouia, which from his youth vpwarde was brought vp in the kinges court, and had loſt one of his eies in a battell, where as he had valiantly borne himſelfe. This mā being ſore greued for the death of John Hus, & Jerome of Prage, myndyng to reuenge the iniuries whyche the councell had done, greatly to the diſhonour of the kingdome of Boheme, vpon their complices and adherents: he gathered together a number of men of warre, and ſubuerted ỹ monaſteries and idolatrous temples, pulling downe & breaking in peeces the images and idols, driuing away the prieſtes and Moonkes, which he ſayde were kept vp in their Cloiſters like ſwine in their ſties, to be fatted. After this, his armye being increaſed, hauing gathered together about. xl. M. mē, he attempted to take ỹ Caſtell of Wiſſegrade, which was but ſlenderly warded. From thence the ſayde Ziſca vnder the conduict of Coranda, went ſpedely vnto Pelzina, whereas he knew he had many friendes of his faction, and tooke the towne into his power, fortifieng the ſame very ſtrōgly, and thoſe which taried behind, tooke the caſtel of Wiſſegrade. Then the Quene Sophia being verye carefull, ſent letters and meſſengers vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund and other nobles adioyning vnto her, requiryng ayde and helpe: but the Emperour made preparation agaynſt the Turke, which had then lately wonne certain caſtels of him. Whereupon the Quene ſeing all ayde ſo farre of, together with Zenko Wartenberge, gathered an hoſt with the kinges treaſure, and fortified the caſtell of Prage, and the leſſer citye which ioyneth vnto the Caſtell, making gates and towers of wood vpon the bridge, ouer the riuer Multane, to ſtop that the Proteſtantes ſhould haue no paſſage that waye. Then it happened that at the Ile of S. Benedict, one Peter Steremberge fought an equall or indifferent battayle with thē. In the meane time the nomber of the Proteſtantes being increaſed in Prage, they fought for the brydge. In which battaile many were ſlayne on both partes, but at the length the Huſſites wan the bridge, and the neather part of leſſer Prage, the Quenes part flieng into the vpper part thereof: whereas they turning agayne fierſlye, renued the battaile, and fought continually day & night by the ſpace of. v. daies. Many were ſlaine on both partes, goodly buildinges were raſed, and the councell houſe, which was in a lowe place, was vtterly defaced and burned.

Zischa g teth Pelzina.

The que ſendeth Sigiſmun the Emp rour,

During the time of this troublous eſtate, the Ambaſſadours of the Emperour Sigiſmunde were come: which taking vpon them the rule and gouernaunce of the realme, made a truce or league wͭ the city of Prage vnder this condition, that the caſtell of Wiſſegrad being rendred, it ſhould be lawfull for them to ſend Ambaſſadours to the Emperour Sigiſmund to intreate as touching their eſtate, and that Ziſca ſhould render vp Pelzina and Pieſta with the other fortes which hee hat taken. Theſe conditions thus agreed vpon and receyued, all the forrein proteſtantes departed out of the city, and the Senate of the Citye began to gouerne agayne according to their accuſtomed manner, and all thynges were quieted. Howbeit, the Papiſtes which were gone out of the towne, durſt not returne againe: but ſtill looked for the Emperour, by whoſe preſence they thought they ſhould haue bene ſafe. But this their hope was fruſtrate by meanes of certayne letters whych were ſent from the Emperour, wherein it was wrytten that he would ſhortly come and rule the kingdome, euen after the ſame order and manner as hys father Charles had done before him. Whereby the Proteſtantes vnderſtod that their ſect and religion ſhould be vtterlye baniſhed, which was not begonne during the raygne of the ſayde Charles.

The Em rours am baſſadou agree wi the citi of Prage.

Charles.

About Chriſtmas, the Emperour Sigiſmund came to Brunna a citye of Morauia, and there hee pardoned the Citizens of Prage, vnder condition that they would let downe the chaynes and barres of the citye, and receyue his rulers and Magiſtrates. Whereunto the whole Citye obeyed, & the Magiſtrates therof lyftyng vp their handes vnto heauen, reioyced at the comming of the newe kyng. But the Emperour turned an other waye, and went vnto Vratiſlauia the head citye of Sleſia, where as a little before, the communaltye of the city had ſlayne in an inſurrection, yͤ magiſtrates, which his brother Wenceſlaus had ſet in authority: the principals whereof he beheaded. The newes whereof when they were reported at Prage, the Citizens beyng feared by the example of the Vratiſlauians, diſtruſting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and hauing obtained Cencho on their part, which had the gouernaunce of the caſtel of Prage, they ſent letters into al the realme, that no mã ſhould ſuffer the Emperour to enter, which was an ennemye vnto Boheme and ſought nothing ells but to deſtroy the kingdome: which alſo bound the auncient city of the Prutenians vnto order by pledges, and put the Marques of Brandenburge from the Bohemian crowne: and had not onely ſuffered John Hus and Jerome of Prage to be burned at the councel of Conſtãce, but alſo procured the ſame, and wyth all hys endeuour dyd impugne the doctrine and fayth which they taught and followed. Whyleſt theſe thinges were thus done, Ziſca hauyng geuen ouer Pelzina by compoſition, was twiſe aſſaulted by his enemies, but through policy he was alwayes victor. The places where they fought were rough and vnknowen, his enemies were on horſbacke, and all hys ſoldiours on foote, neyther coulde there be any battayle fought but on foote. Whereupon, when his enemies were alighted frõ their horſes, Ziſca commaunded the women which cuſtomablye followed the hoſt, to caſt their kerchieffes vpon the ground, wherin the horſſemen beyng entangled by theyr ſpurres, were ſlaine before they could vnloſe their feete.

After this he went vnto Auſca a towne ſituate vpon the riuer Luſnitius, out of which town Procopius and Vlricius, two brethrẽ Papiſtes, had caſt out many proteſtants. This towne Ziſca tooke by force of armes the firſt night of Lent, raſed it, & ſet it on fire. He alſo tooke the Caſtell of Lytius, which was a mile of, whether as Vlricus was fled, and put Vlricius and all his familye to the ſword, ſauing one onely.

Then, forſomuch as he had no walled or fenſed town to inhabite, he choſe out a certayne place vpon the ſame riuer which was fenſed by nature, about .viij. myles frõ the Citie of Auſca. This place hee compaſed in wyth walles, and commaũded euery man to build them houſes, where they had pitched their tentes, and named this City Thabor, and the inhabitauntes hys companions Thaborites, becauſe theyr city, by all like, was builded vpõ yͤ toppe of ſome hill or mount. This city albeit yͭ it was fenſed with high rockes & cleaues, yet was it compaſed with a wall and baumure, and the riuer Luſnitius fenſeth a great parte of the towne, the reſt is compaſſed in with a great broke, the which runnyng ſtraight into the riuer Luſnitius, is ſtopped by a greate rocke and driuen backe towardes yͤ right hand, all the length of the citye, and at the further ende it ioyneth wyth the great riuer. The way vnto it by land is ſcarſe xxx. foote brode, for it is almoſt an Iland. In this place there was a deepe ditch caſt, and a triple wall madẽ, of ſuch thicknes that it coulde not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers and fortes ſet in their conuenient and mete places. Ziſca was the firſt that builded the caſtel, and thoſe that came after him, forteſied it, euery mã according to his owne deuiſe. At that tyme the Thaborites had no horſemen amongſt them vntill ſuch time as Nicolas, maiſter of the minte (whom the Emperor had ſent into Bohemia wᵗ a M. horſemen to ſet thinges in order, and to withſtande the Thaborites lodgyng all nyght in a village named Vogize) was ſurpriſed by Ziſca commyng vpon hym ſodenlye in the nyght, takyng away all his horſe and armour, & ſetting fire vppon the village. Then Ziſca taught his ſouldiours to mount on horſeback, to leape, to runne, to turne, to caſt in a ring, ſo that after this he neuer led army without his wings of horſemen.

In thys meane tyme Sigiſmundus the emperour gatheryng together the nobles of Sleſia, entered into Boheme, & went vnto Grecium, & frõ thence with a greate army vnto Cuthna, alluryng Cencho with many great & large promiſes to render vp the caſtell of Prage vnto hym, & there placed himſelfe to anoye the towne. Thus Cencho infamed with double treaſon, returned home. The Citezens of Prage ſent for Ziſca, who ſpedyng himſelfe thether wyth yͤ Thaborites, receyued yͤ citie vnder his gouernaunce. In the Bohemians hoſt there was but only ij. Barons, Hilco Cruſſina of Lituburge, & Hilco of VValdeſtene, wᵗ a few other nobles. All yͤ reſidue were of the cõmon people. They went about firſt to ſubdue yͤ caſtel, which was by nature very ſtrongly fenſed, and could not be wonne by no other meanes then wyth famyne: where vppon all the paſſages were ſtopped, that no vittailes ſhould be caryed in. But the Emperour opened the paſſages by dint of ſworde, and when he had geuen vnto them which were beſieged, all things neceſſary, hauyng ſent for ayde out of the empyre, he determined ſhortly after to beſiege the city. Ther was in the Emperours campe the Dukes of Saxon, the Marqueſſes of Brandenburge, and his ſonne in law Albert of Auſtrich. The city was aſſaulted by the ſpace of .vi. wekes. The Emperour Sigiſmund was crowned in the Metropolitane houſe in the caſtel, Conradus the archbiſhop ſolemniſing the ceremonies of the coronatiõ. The citye was ſtraytly beſieged. In yͤ meane time the captaynes Roſenſes and Chrageri, whiche had taken the tentes of the Thaborites, being ouercome in battaile by Nicolas Hus, whom Ziſca had ſent with part of his power for that purpoſe, were driuen out of their tentes, and Gretium the Quenes city was alſo taken.

Sigiſmond getteth the caſtle of Prage.

Ziſca getteth the citie of Prage.

Prage beſieged of Sigiſmund.

There is alſo aboue the towne of Prage a high hyll, which is called Videchon. On this hill had Ziſca ſtrongly planted a garryſon, that his enemies ſhoulde not poſſeſſe it, with whom yͤ Marques of Myſnia ſkirmiſhing, loſt a great part of his ſoldiours. For when as the Myſnians had gotten the top of the hyll, beyng driuen backe into a corner, which was brokẽ and ſtepe, and fierſly ſet vpon, when as they could no longer withſtande the violent force of their enemies, ſome of them were ſlayn, and ſome fallyng headlong from the hyll were deſtroyed. Wherupon the Emperour Sigiſmund raiſing his ſiege, departed vnto Cuthna, and Ziſca with his company departed vnto Thabor, and ſubdued many places: amongeſt which he ſuberted a towne pertaynyng to the captaine of Viſgrade. During this time the Caſtell of Viſgrade was ſtronglye beſieged, wheras, when other vittails wanted, they were compelled to eate horeſe fleſhe. Laſt of all, except the Emperour did ayd them by a certayne day, they promiſed to yelde it vp, but vnder thys condition, that if the Emperour did come, they wythin the caſtell ſhould be no more moleſted.

The Marques of Myſnia ouercome in the ſkyrmyſhe.

Sigiſmund the Emperour rayſeth hys ſiege.

The Emperour was preſent before the day, but being ignoraunt of the truce taken, entryng into a ſtrait vnderneath the Caſtle, was ſodenly ſet vpon by the ſouldiours of Prage, where he had a great ouerthrowe, and ſo leauyng his purpoſe vnperformed, returned backe agayne. There were ſlaine in that conflict xiiij. noble men of the Morauians, and of the Hungarians, & other a great

The Emperour fighting agaynſt Ziſca had the ouerthrowe.

The Abbeys of Pelſina ſubuerted.

nūber. The caſtle was deliuered vp vnto them. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, Ziſca toke Boſlaus a captain which was ſurnamed Cygneus, by force in a very ſtrōge towne of his, and brought hym vnto his religion. Who a few yeares after, leadyng the proteſtantes hoſt in Auſtria, was wonded before Rhetium and died. There were in the territory of Pelſina many monaſteries, of yͤ which Ziſca ſubuerted and burned fyue. And for ſomuch as the monaſtery of Saint Clare was the ſtrongeſt, there he pitched hym ſelfe.

Ziſca putteth the Emperour to flyght.

Thether alſo came the Emperour with hys army: but when Ziſca brought forth his power agaynſt hym, he moſt cowardly fled, and not long after, he departed & left Boheme. Then Ziſca went with his army vnto Pelſina: but for ſomuch as he ſaw the citie ſo fenſed, that he was in doubt of winnyng the ſame, he went from thēce to Commitauia a famous Citie, the whiche he tooke by force, burnyng all the prieſtes therin.

Ziſca loſeth his other eye in battell.

Ziſca, albeit he loſt hys eyes, yet would not forſake hys armye.

Afterward, when as hee lay before the towne of Rabye, and ſtrōgly beſieged the ſame, he was ſtricken with a ſhaft in the eye, hauing but that one before to ſee with all. Frō thence he was caried vnto Prage to Phiſicians, whereas he beyng cured of his wounde, and his lyfe ſaued, yet he loſt hys ſight, and for all that, he would not forſake his army, but ſtill tooke the charge of them.

Ziſca taketh diuers townes.

The Saxons retyre.

The Emperour with his power entreth agayne into Boheme.

The Emperour afrayde of Ziſca, flyeth.

The powch of Antichriſt.

A noble victorye of Ziſca.

Ziſca deſtroyeth images and idolls in churches.

Ioannes Premonſtratēſis.

After this the gariſons of Prage went vnto Varona, where as there was a greate gariſon of yͤ Emperours, and tooke it by force, many beyng ſlayne of either part. They alſo tooke the towne of Broda in Germanie, and ſlue the garriſon, and afterward toke Cuthna and many other Cities by compoſition. Further, when as they ledde theyr army vnto a towne called Pons, which is inhabited by the Miſnians, the Saxons metyng thē by the waye, becauſe they durſt not ioyne battaile, they returned backe. After all this the Emperour appoynted the Princes electours a day, that at Bartilmewtide, they ſhould with their armye inuade the Weaſt part of Boheme, and he with an hoſt of Hungarians would enter on the Eaſt part. There came vnto his aide the Archbiſhop of Mentz, The county Pallatine of Rheine, the Dukes of Saxon, the Marques of Brandenburge, and many other biſhops out of Almaine: all yͤ reſt ſent their aides. They encamped before the towne of Sozius, a ſtrong and well fenſed place, which they coulde by no meanes ſubdue. The country was ſpoyled and waſted round about, and the ſiege continued vntill the feaſt of S. Galle. Then it was broken vp becauſe the Emperour was not come at his day appoynted, but he hauing gathered together a great army of yͤ Hungarians, and weſt Marauians, about Chriſtmas entred into Boheme, and tooke certayne townes by force, & Cuthna was yelded vnto hym. But when Ziſca (although he was blinde) came towards him, and ſet vpon him, he being a fearde, and manye of his nobles ſlayne, fled. But firſt he burned Cuthna, which the Thaborites, by meanes of yͤ ſiluer mines, called the powch of Antichriſt. Ziſca purſuing themperour a daies iourney, gotte great and rich ſpoyle, and taking the towne of Broda by force, ſet it on fire: the which afterward almoſt by the ſpace of. xiiij. yeares remayned diſinhabited. The Emperour paſſed by a bridge ouer the riuer of Iglaria. And Piſo a Florentine, whych hadde brought. xv. thouſand horſmen out of Hungary to theſe warres, paſſed ouer the Iſe, the which by the multitude and the number of his horſemen beyng broke, deuoured and deſtroyed a great nomber. Ziſca hauing obtayned this victory, would not ſuffer any image or idoll to be in the churches, neither thought it to be born with all, yͤ Prieſts ſhould miniſter with copes or veſtimentes: for the which cauſe he was much the more enuied amōgeſt the ſtates of Boheme. And the Conſuls of Prage being agreued at the inſolency of Iohn Premonſtratenſis, called him and. ix. other of his adherentes, whom they ſuppoſed to be yͤ principalls of this faction, into the coūſell houſe, as though they would conferre with them as touching the common wealth: and when they wer come in, they ſlew them, and afterward departed home euery man to hys own houſe, thinking the city had bene quiet, as though nothing had bene done: But their ſeruantes being not circumſpect inough, waſhing down the court or yarde, waſhed out alſo the bloude of thoſe that were ſlaine, through yͤ ſinkes or canels: the which being once ſene, the people vnderſtode what was done. By and by ther was a great tumult: the coūcel houſe was ſtraight way ouerthrowne, and a. xi. of the the principall Citizens, which were thought to be yͤ authours therof, were ſlayne, and diuers houſes ſpoyled.

The marti deme of certayne godly Bohemians falſely circumuente and killed with ſwerde.

Priuie murther at length cōmeth out.

About the ſame time the Caſtell of Purgell, wherin the Emperour had left a ſmall garriſon (whether as alſo many Papiſtes with their wyues and children were fled) was throughe negligence burned, and thoſe which eſcaped out of the fire, went vnto Pelſina. After this, diuers of the Bohemian captains & the Senate of Prage ſent Amballadours to Vytolde Duke of Lituania, and made him their king. This did Ziſca and his adherentes gayne ſay. This Vitold ſent Sigiſmund Coributus wyth two thouſand horſmen into Boheme, who was honourably receiued of the inhabitantes of Prage. At his comming they determined to lay ſiege vnto a caſtell ſituate vpon a hyll, which was called Charles ſtone.

Stench very hurtfull for the teeth.

Here Sigismundus had left for a garryſon. iiij. Centurions of ſoldiours. The tentes were pitched in. iij. places. The ſiege cōtinued. vi. monethes, and the aſſault neuer ceaſed day and night. Fiue great ſlinges threw continually great ſtones ouer the walles, and about three thouſand veſſels, tubs, or baſkets, filled with dead carcaſes and other excrementes, were caſt in amongeſt thoſe which were beſieged: which thing did ſo infect thē with ſtenche, that their teeth did eyther fall out, or were all loſe. Notwithſtādyng they bare it out with ſtout courage, and cōtinued their fight vntill the winter, hauing priuilye receiued medicine out of Prage, to faſten their teeth agayne.

An other warlike policie of Ziſca.

Stratagema.

In yͤ meane tyme Friderike yͤ elder, prince of Brandenburge entring into Boheme wͭ a great power, cauſed thē of Prage to raiſe the ſiege. And Vitoldus at the requeſt of Vladiſlaus kyng of Pole, whiche had talked wyth the Emperour in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus his vncle wyth hys whole army out of Boheme. Whervpon the Emperour ſuppoſed that the proteſtantes beyng deſtitute of forrein ayde, woulde the ſooner do hys commaundement: but he was farre deceiued therin, for they leadyng their armies out of Boheme, ſubdued the borderers therupon adioyning. It is alſo reported that Ziſca went into Auſtrich, and when as the huſbandmē of the countrey had caried away a great nūber of their cattel by water into an Ile of the ryuer called Danubius, and by chaunce had left certayne calues and ſwyne in their villages behynde them: Ziſca draue them vnto yͤ riuer ſide, and kepte them there ſo long, beatyng them, and cauſyng thē to rore out and cry, vntill yͤ the cattell feedyng in the Iland, hearyng the lowyng & grunting of the cattell on the other ſyde the water, for the deſyre of their lyke, dyd ſwimme ouer the riuer: by the meanes wherof he got and draue away a great booty.

About the ſame tyme the Emperour Sigiſmundus gaue vnto hys ſonne in law Albert duke of Auſtrich, yͤ countrey of Morauia becauſe it ſhoulde not want a ruler. At the ſame tyme alſo Ericius kyng of Denmarke, & Peter Infant, brother to the kyng of Portingall and father of Iames, Cardinall of S. Euſtachius, came vnto the Emperour, being both very expert men in the affayres of warre: which dyd augment the emperours hoſt with theyr ayde and power. Wheruppon, they ſtraight way pitched their campe before Lutemperge, a towne of Morauia, and cõtinued the ſiege by ẏ ſpace of iij. monthes. There was at that tyme a certayn knight at Prage ſurnamed Aqua, which was very riche and of great authority. This man, foꝛ ſo muche as he had no childe of hys owne, adopted vnto hym hys ſiſters ſonne, named Procopius: whom when he was of meane ſtature and age, he caryed wyth hym into Frannce, Spayne, and Italy, and vnto Ieruſalem, and at hys retourne cauſed hym to bee made pꝛieſt. Thys man when the Goſpell began to floriſh in Boheme, tooke part wyth Ziſca, and foꝛſomuche as he was ſtrong and valiannt, and alſo paynefull, he was greatly eſteemed.

Thys Procopius foꝛ hys valiaunt actes was afterwarde called Procopius Magnus, and hadde committed vnto hym the whole charge of the pꝛouince of Morauia, and the defence of the Lotemperges: who receyuyng a greate power by foꝛce (maugre all the whole power whiche laye in the ſiege) caryed vittayles into the towne whiche was beſieged, and ſo dyd fruſtrate the Emperours ſiege. The Emperour befoꝛe this had delyuered vnto the Marqueſſes of Miſnia the bꝛidge and towne of Auſka, vppon the ryuer of Albis, that they ſhould foꝛtifye them wyth their garriſons. Wherupon Ziſca beſieged Auſca, and Friderike the Marques of Miſnia, with hys bꝛother the Lantzgraue of Turing, gatheryng together a great army out of Saxonia, Turing, Miſnia, and both the Luſaces, determyned to reſcue and ayde thoſe which were beſieged.

There was a great battayle fought befoꝛe the city, and the victoꝛy depended long vncertayne, but at laſt it fell on the Pꝛoteſtantes parte. There were ſlayne in that battayle, the Burgraues of Miſnia oꝛ Chyrpogenſes, the Barons of Glychen, and many other nobles, beſyde ix. thouſand common ſouldiours, and the towne of Auſka was taken and vtterly raſed.

At the laſt diſſenſion ryſing betwene Ziſca and them of Prage, they of Prage pꝛepared an army agaynſt him, wherewith he perceiuyng him ſelfe ouermatched, fled vnto the riuer of Albis and was almoſt taken, but that he had paſſage thꝛough ẏ towne of Poggiebras, but they of Prage purſuyng the tayle of the battaile, ſlue many of his Thaborites. At the length they came vnto certaine hilles, wheras Ziſca goyng into the valley, knowyng the ſtraights of the place, that his enemies could not ſpꝛead theyꝛ army, he commaunded his ſtanderd to ſtand ſtill, and exhoꝛtyng and encouragyng his ſouldiours, hee gaue them battaile.

This battaile was very fierce and cruell: but Ziſca hauyng the vpper hand, ſlue. 3000. of them of Prage, and put the reſt to flight, and ſtraightwayes tooke the Citie of Cuthna by foꝛce (whiche they of Prage had repaired) & ſet it on fire: then withall ſpede he went with his army to beſiege Prage, and incamped within a bowe ſhote of the towne. There were many both in the Citie, and alſo in his hoſt which grudged ſoꝛe at that ſiege: ſome accuſing Ziſca, other ſome them of Prage. There was great tumultes in the camp, the ſouldiours ſaying ẏ it was not reaſonable, ẏ that Citie ſhould be ſuppꝛeſſed, which was both the head of the kyngdome, and did not diſſent from them in opinion: ſaying that the Bohemians power would ſone decay, if their enemies ſhould know that they were deuided within them ſelues: alſo that they had ſufficient warres agaynſt the Emperour, and that it was but a foliſh deuiſe to moue warres amõgeſt them ſelues. This talke came vnto the eare of Ziſca, who callyng together his army, ſtandyng vpon a place to be heard, ſpake theſe woꝛdes.

Brethrẽ be ye not agreued againſt me, neither accuſe hym whiche hath ſought your health and ſauegard. The victoꝛies whiche ye haue obtained vnder my conduict, are yet freſhe in memoꝛy, neither haue I bꝛought
you at any tyme vnto any place, from whence you haue ,,
not come victours. You are become famous and riche, ,,
and I foꝛ your ſake haue loſt my ſight & dwell in darke- ,,
neſſe. Nothing haue I gotten by all theſe foꝛtunate bat- ,,
tailes, but onely a vayne name. Foꝛ you haue I ,,
fought, and foꝛ you haue I vanquiſhed, neither do I re- ,,
pent me of my trauailes, neither is my blyndneſſe gre- ,,
uous vnto me, but onely that I can not pꝛouide foꝛ you ,,
accoꝛdyng to my accuſtomed maner: Neither do I per- ,,
ſecute them of Prage foꝛ mine owne cauſe, foꝛ it is your ,,
bloud that they thirſte and ſecke foꝛ, and not myne. It ,,
were but ſmall pleaſure foꝛ them, to deſtroy me beyng ,,
now an old man and blinde: it is your valiauntnes and ,,
ſtout ſtomackes whiche they feare. Either muſt you oꝛ ,,
they periſhe: who whileſt they ſeme to lye in wayte foꝛ ,,
me, do ſeke after your lyues. You muſt rather feare ci- ,,
uill warres then foꝛeine, and ciuill ſedition ought firſt ,,
to be auoyded. We will ſubdue Prage, and baniſhe the ,,
ſeditious Citizens, befoꝛe the Emperour ſhall haue any ,,
newes of this ſedition. And then hauyng but a fewe of ,,
his faction left, we may with the leſſe feare looke foꝛ it: ,,
better then if theſe doubtful Citizens of Prage were ſtill ,,
in our campe. But becauſe ye ſhal accuſe me no moꝛe, I ,,
geue you free libertie to doo what you will. If it pleaſe ,,
you to ſuffer them of Prage to lyue in quietneſſe, I will ,,
not be agaynſt it, ſo that there bee no treaſon wꝛought. ,,
If you determine to haue warre, I am alſo ready. Loke ,,
whiche parte you will decline vnto, Ziſca will be your ,,
ayde and helper.

When he had ſpoken theſe woꝛdes, the ſouldiours myndes were chaũged, and wholly determined to make warres, ſo that they ran by and by to take vp theyꝛ armour and weapon, to runne vnto the walles to pꝛouoke theyꝛ enemies to fight foꝛ the gates of the Citie. Ziſca in ẏ meane tyme pꝛepared all thynges ready foꝛ ẏ aſſault.

The hartes of the ſouldiours altered by the oration of Ziſca.

There is a litle frõ Pelſina a certain village named Rochezana. In this place, there was a child boꝛne of pooꝛe & baſe parentage, whoſe name was Iohn: he came vnto Prage and got his liuing there by beggyng, and learned Gramer and Logicke. Whẽ he came to mans ſtate, he became the Scholemaſter of a noble mãs child: and foꝛſomuch as he was of an excellent wyt and ready tõgue, he was receiued into the colledge of the pooꝛe, and laſt of all beyng made pꝛieſt, he began to pꝛeache the woꝛde of God to the Citizẽs of Prage, and was named Iohannes de Rochezana, by the name of the towne where he was boꝛne. This man grewe to be of great name and authoritie in the towne of Prage. Wherupõ when as Ziſca beſieged Prage, he by the conſent of the Citizens went out into the Campe, & reconciled Ziſca agayne vnto the city.

Peace betwene Ziſca & Prage by the meanes of Ioan de Rochezana.

When as the Emperour perceyued that all thinges came to paſſe accoꝛdyng vnto Ziſca his will and mynde, and that vpon him alone the whole ſtate of Boheme did depẽd, he ſought pꝛiuy meanes to recõcile and get Ziſca into his fauour, pꝛomiſing him the gouernaunce of the whole kyngdome, the guidyng of all his hoſtes and armies, & great yearely reuenues, if he would pꝛoclaime him kyng, and cauſe the Cities to be ſwoꝛne vnto hym. Uppon whiche conditions, when as Ziſca foꝛ the perfoꝛmaunce of the couenauntes went vnto the Emperour beyng on his ioꝛney at the Caſtle of Priſcouia, hee was ſtricken with ſickeneſſe and dyed.

The Emperour glad to be reconciled with Ziſca.

It is repoꝛted, that when he was demaunded beyng ſicke, in what place hee would be buryed, he commaunded the ſkinne to be pulled of from his dead carkaſe, and the fleſhe to bee caſte vnto the foules and beaſtes, and that a dꝛumme ſhould bee made of hys ſkinne, whiche they ſhould vſe in their battailes, affirmyng that aſſone as theyꝛ enemyes ſhould heare the ſound of that dꝛum, they would not abyde, but take theyꝛ flight. The Thaborites deſpiſing all other Images, yet ſet vp the Picture of Ziſca ouer the gates of the Citie.

The death of Ziſca.

The wordes of Ziſca at hys death.

¶ *The Epitaphe of Iohn Ziſca, the valiaunt captayne of the Bohemians.*

The epitaphe of Ziſca.

I John Ziſca not inferiour to any Emperour or captayne in warlike policy, a ſeuere puniſher of yͤ pryde and auarice of the Cleargy, and a defender of my countrey, do lie here. That which Appiꝰ Claudius by geuing good councel, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantnes did for yͤ Romaines: the ſame I beyng blynd, haue done for my Bohemians. I neuer ſlacked oportunitie of battaill, neyther dyd fortune at anye tyme fayle me. I beyng blynd did foreſee all oportunitie of well orderyng or doyng my buſines. Eleuen tymes in ioyning battaile, I went victour out of the field. I ſemed to haue worthely defēded the cauſe of the miſerable and hungry againſt the delicate, fatte, and glotonous prieſtes, and for that cauſe to haue receyued help at the hand of God. If their enuy had not let it without doubt I had deſerued to be numbred amongeſt the moſt famous mē. Notwithſtāding my bones lye here in thys halowed place, euen in deſpite of the Pope.

Ziſca eleuen tymes victour in the field.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΣΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ βωιμμὸς τῶν ἀισχρο κερδῶν ἱερέων ἀιχθρὸς ἀλλὰ ἐνθέῳ ζήλῳ.

¶ *Iohn Ziſca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and couetous prieſtes, but with a godly zeale.*

And thus haue you the actes and doynges of thys worthy Ziſca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credite we haue drawen out of Æneas Syluius, only his ralyng termes excepted, which we haue here ſuppreſſed.

All this while yͤ Emperour, with yͤ whole power of the Germaines, were not ſo buſy on yͤ one ſide, but Martin the Pope was as much occupied on yͤ other ſide: who about yͤ ſame tyme directed down a terrible Bull, full of all poyſon to all biſhops & Archbiſhops, againſt all ſuch as toke any part or ſide wͭ Wickleffe, I. Hus, Hierom, or with their doctrine & opinions. The copye of whych Bull, which I found in an olde written monument, I wiſh the reader thorowly to peruſe, wherein he ſhall ſee the Pope to poure out at once all his poiſon.

¶ *The Bull of Pope Martin directed forth againſt the followers of Iohn Wycleffe of Englond, of Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage.*

Pope Martins bloudy bull, to all biſhops and Archbiſhops.

MArtine biſhop, the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes, to our reuerende brethren the Archbyſhops of Salzeburgen. Gnezuen. and Pragen. & to the biſhops of Olumcen. Luthomuſlen. Bambergen. Miſnen. Patauien. Wratiſlauien. Ratiſponen. Cratouien. Poznanien, and Nitrien. and alſo to our beloued chyldren the Inquiſitours appoynted of the prelates aboue recited, or where els ſoeuer, vnto whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting & apoſtolicall benediction. Amongeſt all other paſtorall cares, wherwith we are oppreſſed, this chiefely and ſpecially doth inforce vs, that heretikes wyth theyr falſe doctrine & errours, being vtterly expulſed frō amongeſt the company of Chriſten men, and rooted out (ſo far forth as God wyll make vs able to doe) the righte and catholique fayth maye remayne ſounde and vndefiled: and that all Chriſtian people, immoueable and inuiolate, may ſtande and abide in the ſynceritye of the ſame fayth, the whole vayle of obſcuritie beyng remoued. But latelye, in diuers places of the world, but eſpecially in Bohemia and the Dukedome of Morauia, and in the ſtrayghtes adioynyng thereunto, certayne Archheretickes haue riſen and ſprong vp, not agaynſt one onely but agaynſt diuers and ſundry documentes of the catholike fayth, being landlopers, ſchiſmatickes, & ſeditious perſons, fraught with diueliſh pryde & woluiſh madnes, deceiued by the ſubtilty of Sathā, & frō one euill vanitie brought to a worſe. Who although they roſe vp & ſprang in diuers partes of the worlde, yet agreed they all in one, hauing their tayles as it were knitte together: to wyt, John Wicklieffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage of damnable memory, who drew with them no ſmall number to miſerable ruine and infidelitie. For when as thoſe & ſuch lyke peſtiferous perſons did in the begynnyng of their poyſoned doctrine, obſtinatly ſow & ſpred abroade peruerſe and falſe opinions, the prelates who had the regiment & execution of the iudiciall power, lyke dumme dogges not able to barke, neither yet reuenging ſpedely with the Apoſtle, all ſuch diſobediēce, nor regarding corporally to caſte out of the Lordes houſe (as they were inioyned by the canons) thoſe ſubtill and peſtilent Archheretickes and their woluiſhe furye and crueltye wyth all expedition, but ſuffering their falſe and pernicious doctrine negligentlye, by their ouer longe delayes, to growe and waxe ſtronge: a greate multitude of people in ſtede of true doctrine receiued thoſe thinges, whiche they did long falſly, perniciouſly, and damnably ſowe among them, and geuing credite vnto them, fell from the right fayth, and are intangled (the more pity) in the foule errours of Paganiſme. Inſomuch, that thoſe Archheretickes and ſuch as ſpring of them, haue infected the catholique flocke of Chriſt in diuers climates of the world and partes bordering vppon the ſame, and haue cauſed them to putrifie in the fylthye dunghyll of theyr lyes. Wherefore the generall Synode of Conſtance, was compelled with Sainct Auguſtine to exclaime agaynſt ſo greate and ruinous a plague of faythfull men, and of the ſounde and true fayth it ſelfe, ſaying: What ſhall the ſoueraigne medicine of the churche doe, with motherlye loue ſeeking the health of her ſheepe, chaſyng as it were, amongeſt a companye of men franticke, and hauing the diſeaſe of the Lethargie? What? ſhall ſhe deſiſt & leaue of her good purpoſe? No not ſo. But rather let her, if there be no remedye, be ſharpe to both theſe ſortes, whiche are the greuous enemies of her wombe. For the Phiſition is ſharpe vnto the man beſtraught and raging in hys frenſy, & yet is he a father to his own rude and vnmanerly ſonne, in binding the one, in beating the other, by ſhewyng therein hys great loue vnto them both. But if they bee negligent, and ſuffer them to periſh (ſaith Auguſtine:) this manſuetude is rather to be ſuppoſed falſe crueltie. And therefore the foreſaide Synode, to the glory of almighty God, and preſeruation of hys catholike faith, and augmenting of chriſtian religiō, & for the ſaluation of mens ſoules: hath corporally reiected and caſt forth of the houſholde of God, the foreſayde John Wicklieffe, John Hus, and Jerome: who amongeſt other thinges, dyd beleue, preach, teach, and mayntayne of the Sacrament of the aultar, and other Sacramentes of the church and articles of the fayth, contrary to that the holye churche of Rome beleueth, holdeth, preacheth, and teacheth, and haue preſumed obſtinatelye to preach, teach, hold and beleue many other moe to the damnation of them ſelues and of others: and the ſayd Synode hath ſeparated the ſame, as obſtinate and malaperte heretiques from the communion of the faythfull people, and haue declared them to be ſpirituallye thrown forth: and many other thinges both wholeſome and profitable hath the ſame councel as touching the premiſſes, ſtabliſhed & decreed, whereby they whych by the meanes of thoſe Archheretickes, and by their falſe doctrine haue ſpiritually departed frō the lords houſe, may by the canonicall rules be reduced to the ſtrayght path of truth and veritye. And moreouer (as we to our great griefe doe heare) not only in the kingdome of Bohemia, & Dukedome of Morauia & other places aboue recited, but alſo in certayne partes and prouinces nere adioyning and bordering vpon the ſame, there be many other of the ſectaries and followers of the foreſayd Archheretiques and hereticall opinions, caſting behynd theyr backes, as wel the feare of god, as the ſhame of yͤ world, neyther receauing fruite of conuerſion and repentaunce by the miſerable deſtruction of the foreſayd John Hus, and Hierome, but as men drowned in the dungeon of their ſinnes, ceaſe not to blaſpheme the Lorde God, taking hys name in vayne (whoſe myndes the father of lyes hath damnablye blynded) and do read & ſtudie the foreſaid bokes or workes, cōtaining hereſies & errours, being lately by the foreſayd Synode condemned to be burned: alſo, to the perill of them ſelues, and manye other ſimple men, and agaynſt the ſtatutes, decrees, and ordinances in the Synode aforeſayde, and the Canonicall ſanctions, doe preſume to preache and teache the ſame, to the great perill of ſoules, the derogation of the catholique fayth, and ſclaunder of manye other beſides. We therfore conſiding, that errour, when it is not reſiſted, ſemeth to be allowed and liked, and hauyng a deſire to reſiſt ſuch euils and pernicious errours, and vtterlye roote them out from amongeſt the companye of faythfull Chriſtians, eſpecially frō the afore recited places of Bohemia, Morauia, and other ſtraightes and Ilandes

All these errours and hereſies be, for that they ſpeake agaynſt the pride of prelates and their exceſſiue dignities.

All be Pa gans with the pope that like not his ſu perſtitious and idola trous trad tions.

A great di ference be twene a louing m ther, & th frantike whore of Babilon.

We foo thought their lif to be m nes, and their en withou honou landes ioyning and bordering vpon the ſame, leaſt they ſhoulde ſtretch out and enlarge their limites : we will and commaund your diſcretions by our letters apoſtolicall, the holy councell of Conſtance approuing and allowing the ſame, that you that are archbiſhops, biſhops and other of the Clergy, & euery one of you by himſelf or by an other or others, being graue & fyt perſons to haue ſpirituall iuriſdiction: do ſee that all & ſinguler perſōs, of what dignitie, office, preeminence, ſtate, or condition ſo euer they be, & by what names ſo euer they are knowen, whych ſhall preſume otherwyſe to teach, preache, or obſerue, touching the moſt hyghe and excellent, the moſte holſome and ſuperadmirable ſacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, or els of the ſacrament of Baptiſme, confeſſion of ſinnes, penaunce for ſinnes, & extreme vnction, or els of any other Sacramentes of the churche & articles of the fayth, then that which the right holy and vniuerſall churche of Rome doth holde, teache, preach, & obſerue: or els ẏ ſhall preſume obſtinatelye by any wayes or meanes, priuely or apertly, to hold, beleue and teache the articles, bookes or doctrine of the foreſaid Archheretikes John wicklieffe, John Hus, and Hieronimus of Prage, being by the foreſayd Synode of Conſtance with their authors (as is ſayd) damned & cōdemned : or dare preſume publikely or priuelye to allowe or commend in any wyſe the death and end of the ſayd arch heretikes, or of any other theyr receiuers, ayders, and fauourers in the fauour or ſupportation of the foreſaid errours, as alſo theyr beleuers and adherents : that then, (as before) you ſee and cauſe them and euery of them to be moſt ſeuerely puniſhed, and that you iudge and geue ſentence vpon them as heretikes, & that as arrant heretikes you leaue them to the ſecular courte or power. Let the receauers alſo, fauourers and defēders of ſuch moſt peſtiferous perſons, notwithſtanding they neyther beleue, fauour, nor haue deuotion towards their errours, but happely ſhall receiue or entertayne ſuch peſtiferous perſons becauſe of carnall affection or frendlye loue, beſides the puniſhment due vnto them by both lawes: ouer & aboue the ſame puniſhment, by competent iudges be ſo afflicted, and for ſo hainous acts of theirs, with ſo ſeuere paine and puniſhmēt excruciated, that the ſame may be to other in like caſe offending, an example of terrour: that at the leaſt, thoſe whom the feare of god by no meanes may reuoke from ſuch euyll doing, yet the ſeueritye of this our diſcipline may enforce and conſtrayne. As touching the thirde ſorte, which ſhall be by any maner of wayes infected wyth this damnable ſect, and ſhal after competent admonition repent and amende themſelues of ſuch errours & ſectes aforeſayd, and wil return agayn into the lap & vnitie of our holy mother ẏ church, and fully acknowledge and confeſſe the catholique faith: towards them let the ſeueritye of iuſtice, as the qualitye of the facte ſhall require, be ſomewhat tempered wyth a taſte of mercy.

* And furthermore, we will and cōmaund, that by this our authoritie Apoſtolicall, ye exhorte and admoniſh all the profeſſours of the Catholicke fayth, as Emperours, Kyngs, Dukes, Princes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barōs, Knightes, and other Magiſtrates, Rectours, Conſuls, Procōſuls, Shyers, Countes, and Vniuerſities of their Kyngdomes, Prouinces, Cities, Townes, Caſtels, Villages, Landes and other places, and all other executyng temporall iuriſdiction accordyng to the forme and exigence of the lawe : that they expell out of their Kyngdomes, Prouinces, Cities, Townes, Caſtles, Villages, their Landes and other places, all and all maner of ſuch heretikes, according to the effecte and tenour of the Coūcell of Lateran, begynnyng: Sicut ait eccleſia. &c. that thoſe whom publickely and manifeſtly by the euidēce of theyr dedes, ſhalbe knowne to bee ſuch as like ſicke and ſcabbed ſheepe infecte the Lordes flocke, they expell and baniſhe till ſuch time, as from vs or you or els other eccleſiaſticall iudges or Inquiſitours holdyng the fayth & communion of the holy Churche of Rome, they ſhall receiue other order and countermaunde: and that they ſuffer no ſuche within their Shyres & Circuites, to preach or to keepe either houſe or familye, either yet to vſe any handye crafte or occupations or other trades of Marchaundiſe, or elſs to ſolace them ſelues any wayes, or frequent the company of Chriſten mē. And furthermore, if ſuch publicke and knowne heretiques ſhall chaunce to dye (although not ſo denounced by the churche) yet in this ſo great a crime, let him and them want Chriſtiā buriall, and let no offeryngs or oblations be made for thē nor receiued. His goods & ſubſtaunce alſo from the time of hys death, accordyng to the Canonicall ſanctions being confiſcat, let no ſuch enioye them to whō they appertayne, till that by the eccleſiaſticall iudges hauyng power and authoritie in this behalfe, ſentence vppon that his or their crime of hereſie, bee declared and promulgate: and let ſuch owners as be found ſuſpecte or noted with any ſuch ſuſpicion of hereſye, before a competēt and eccleſiaſticall iudge, accordyng to the conſideration and exigence of that ſuſpicion, and accordyng to the qualitye of the perſon, by the arbitrement of ſuch a iudge : ſhew and declare his proper and owne innocencie with deuotion as beſemeth in that behalfe. And if in his purgation, being canonicallye interdited, he doe defayle, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that hee refuſe to take his othe by damnable obſtinacie, to make ſuch purgatiō: then let him be condēned as an hereticke. But ſuch as through negligēce or through ſlothfulnes, ſhall omitte to ſhewe their ſayd innocencie and to make ſuche purgation, let them be excōmunitate, & ſo long put out from the cōpany of Chriſten men, till that they ſhall make condigne ſatiſfaction: ſo that, if by the ſpace of one whole yeare they ſhall remaine in ſuch excōmunication, then let them as herettickes be condemned. And further, if any ſhalbe found culpable in any poynt of the foreſaid peſtiferous doctryne of the Archheretiques aforeſayde, or in any article therof, whether it be by the report of the ſeditions, or els wel diſpoſed: let thē yet be puniſhed, accordyng to the Canons. If onely through infamie and ſuſpicion of the foreſayd articles or any of them, any mā ſhalbe founde ſuſpecte, and in hys purgation canonicall for this thyng beyng interdicted, ſhall fayle: let hym bee accompted as a man conuict, and as a conuict perſon by the Canons let hym be puniſhed. And furthermore, we innouating and putting in execution the Canon of our predeceſſour of happy memory Pope Boniface the. viij. which beginneth thus: Vt inquiſitionis negociū. &c. In exhorting wiſe require & alſo commaund all temporall potentates, Lordes and Iudges afore recited, by what ſoeuer dignities, offices, and names they are knowen: that as they deſire to be had, eſteemed, and compted for the faythfull members and children of the churche, and doe reioyſe in the name of Chriſt : ſo in lyke caſe for the defence of the ſame fayth, they will obey, intend, giue theyr ayde, and fauorable helpe, to you that are Archbiſhops, Byſhops, and eccleſiaſticall men, inquiſitours of all hereticall prauitie, and other iudges and Eccleſiaſticall perſons by you hereunto, as is aforeſayd, appoynted (holdyng the fayth and communion of our holye mother the Church) for the ſearchyng out, takyng, and ſafe cuſtody, of all the foreſayd heretickes, theyr beleuers, their fauourers, theyr receiuers, and theyr defenders, when ſoeuer they ſhall bee thereunto of them required. And that they bryng, and cauſe to be brought (all delaye ſet aparte) the foreſayd peſtiferous perſons ſo ſeeking to deſtroy others with them, into ſuch ſafe keepyng and priſons, as by you the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Clergy, and inquiſitours aforeſayd, are to be appoynted, or els vnto ſuch other place or places, as either you or they ſhall cōmaūd within any of their dominions, gouernements, and territories, where they may by catholicke mē, that is, by you the Archbiſhops, biſhops, the Clergy, & inquiſitours, or any other that ſhalbe by you appoynted or are alreadye appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in ſafe keepyng, puttyng them in fetters, ſhackles, boltes, and manacles of yron vnder moſt ſtraight cuſtodye for eſcapyng away, till ſuch time as all that buſines whiche belongeth vnto them, be by the iudgement of the Churche finiſhed and determined, and that of ſuch hereſie, by a cōpent eccleſiaſticall iudge (which firmely holdeth the faith and communion of the ſayd holy churche of Rome) they be condemned. The reſidue, let the foreſayd temporall Lordes, Rectours, Iudges, or other their officers and purſiuauntes, take amōgeſt thē, with condigne deathes without any delaye, to puniſhe. But fearyng leaſt to the preiudice and ſclaunder of the foreſayde catholicke fayth and Religion, throughe the pretexte of ignoraunce, any man herein ſhould be circumuented, or that any ſubtile and crafty men ſhould vnder the vaile of friuolous excuſe, cloke and diſſemble in this matter, and that as touchyng the conuincyng or apprehendyng of the foreſayd heretiques, their receuers, defendants, fauourers, beleuers and adherētes, & alſo of ſuch as are ſuſpect of hereſy, and with ſuch lyke peruerſe doctrine in in any wyſe ſpotted, wee myghte geue more perfecte inſtruction : Therefore as well to the kyngdome of

Note the tendernes of thys louing mother, the church of Rome.

Et faciet omnes puſillos, et magnos, et diuites, et pauperes, et liberos, et ſeruos, accipere characterem in manu ſua dextra.

1. And he ſhall make both litle & great, riche & poore, free and bonde to take hys character in their right hande. &c. *Apoc. 13.*

Satan ratteleth hys chaynes.

Bohemia and partes nere adioining to the ſame as all other where this ſuperſtitious doctrine firſt beganne to ſpreade, we haue thought it good to ſende the articles here vnder written concernyng the ſecte of thoſe archheretickes, for the better direction of the foreſayd catholique fayth. Touchyng which articles, by vertue of holy obedience, we charge and commaunde you and all other Archbyſhops and Byſhops, all manner of commiſſaries and inquiſitours, that euery of them within the dioces and limites of their iuriſdiction and alſo in the foreſayd kyngdome and Dukedome and places nere adioyning, althoughe the ſame places bee beyonde the ſame their iuriſdiction: in the fauoure of the catholicke fayth, doo giue moſte diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation & correction of thoſe errours, archhereſies, & moſt peſtiferous ſect aforeſayd: and alſo that they cōpell al diffamed perſōs & ſuſpect of ſo peſtiferous a cōtagion, whether it be vnder the penaltie of the crime cōfeſſed, or of excōmunicatiō, ſuſpēſiō or interdict, or any other formidable paine canonical or legall, whē & where ſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to them, and as the qualitie of the fact requireth, by an othe corporally taken either vppon the holye Euangeliſtes, or vppon the reliques of Saintes, or vppon the Image of the crucifix, accordyng to the obſeruaunce of certayne places, and accordyng to the interrogatories, tomake conuenient aunſwere to euerye article within written. For we entende agaynſt all and ſingular Archbyſhops, Byſhops, eccleſiaſticall perſons, or inquiſitours, which ſhal ſhew themſelues negligent and remiſſe in the extirpatiō of the leuen of this hereticall prauitie, & purgyng theyr territories, dioces, and places to them appointed, of ſuch euill and wicked men: Intende to procede and to cauſe to be proceded, vnto the depriuation and depoſitiō of their pontificall dignities, and ſhall ſubſtitute ſuche other in their places, which can and may be able to confounde the ſayd hereticall prauitie, and procede to further paynes agaynſt ſuche by the lawe limited, and vnto other yet more greuous (if nede require) wee our ſelues will procede and cauſe to be proceded, accordyng as the partie, his facte, and filthynes of his crime committed, ſhal deſerue. The tenour of thoſe articles wherof we haue made mention in this our wrytyng are in wordes as folow.

The olde maner of the popiſhe othe.

¶ The articles of Iohn Hus to be inquired vpon.

1 There is one onely vniuerſall church, which is the vniuerſitie of the predeſtinate, as ſhall after be declared.

2 The vniuerſall church is onely one, as there is one vniuerſitie of thoſe that are predeſtinate.

3 Paule was neuer a member of the deuill, although he did certaine actes lyke vnto the actes of the church malignant.

4 The reprobate are not partes of the church, for that no parte of the ſame finally falleth from her, becauſe ẏ the charitie of predeſtination which byndeth the ſame church together, neuer fayleth.

5 The two natures (that is) the Diuinitie, and the humanitye, be one Chriſt.

6 The reprobate, although he be ſomtyme in grace, accordyng to preſent iuſtice, yet is he neuer a parte of the holy church: And the predeſtinate is euer a member of the church, although ſometyme he fall from grace aduenticia, but not from grace of predeſtination: euer takyng the church for the conuocation of the predeſtinate whether they be in grace or not accordyng to preſent iuſtice. And after this ſorte, the church is an article of our beliefe.

Speaking of the inuiſible church, the article is true. This article ſemeth to be wraſted out of the wordes of Hierome of Prage.

7 Peter is not, nor neuer was, the heade of the holye catholique churche.

8 Prieſtes liuyng viciouſly, do defile the autoritie of prieſthood, and ſo, as vnfaithfull children do vnfaithfully beleue of ẏ ſeuen ſacraments, of the kayes of the churche, of offices, of Cenſures, of ceremonies, of the worſhipping of reliques, indulgences, orders, and other holy thinges of the church.

9 The papall dignitie came and grew from the Emperour: and hys gouernment and inſtitution, ſprang from the Emperours gouernement.

The papall dignitie touched.

10 No man can reaſonablye affyrme eyther of hym ſelfe or other that he is the head of any particular church, or that the biſhop of Rome, is the head of the church of Rome.

11 A man ought not to beleue that he whiche is byſhop of Rome is the head of euery particuler church, vnleſſe god haue predeſtinate hym.

12 None is the vicar of Chriſt, or els of Peter, vnleſſe he followe hym in maners and conditions, ſeyng that there is no other folowing more pertinent, nor otherwyſe apte to receaue of God thys power procuratorye. For vnto the office of a vicegerent of Chriſt is requyred, the conformitie of manners and the authoritye of the inſtitutour.

13 The Pope is not the manifeſt and true ſucceſſour of Peter the Prince of the Apoſtels, if he lyue in manners contrarye to Peter: and yf he hunt after auarice, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iſcarioth. And likewyſe the Cardinalls be not the true and manifeſt ſucceſſours of the Colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt, vnles they lyue accordyng to the manner of the apoſtels, kepyng the commaundements and counſels of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

14 The Doctours alleadging, that if a man which will not be amended by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, is to be deliuered to the ſecular powers: do folow in thys poynte, the biſhoppes, Scribes, & Phariſies, that deliuered Chriſt to the ſecular power (ſaying, it is not lawfull for vs to kill any man) becauſe he woulde not obey them in all thyngs: and that ſuch be greater homicides thē Pilate.

The eccleſiaſtical obedience is ſuch an obedience as the prieſts of the church haue found out beſides the expreſſe autoritie of the Scripture. The immediate diuiſion of humaine workes, is that they be either vertuous or vitious, & if a man be vicious, & doth any thyng, then doth he it viciouſly: and if he be vertuous and do any thyng, thē doth he it vertuouſly. For, lyke as vice which is called a great offence or mortall ſinne, doth ſtayne all the doynges of a vicious man: ſo vertue doth quicken all the doynges of a vertuous man.

16 A prieſt of god lyuyng after hys lawe, and hauyng the knowledge of the ſcripture, and a deſire to edifie the people: oughte to preach, notwithſtanding any excommunicatiō pretended of the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magiſtrate doth forbidde a prieſte ſo diſpoſed to preach, he ought not to be obedient vnto hym. For euery one that taketh vppon hym the order of prieſthoode, receyueth in charge the office of a preacher: and of that burden ought he well to diſcharge himſelfe, any excommunication againſt hym pretended in any wyſe notwithſtandyng.

17 By the Cenſures eccleſiaſticall, as of excommunication, ſuſpendyng, and interdict, the clergy to their owne aduauncement cauſe the lay people to ayde them: they multiply their auarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to Antichriſt. And it is an euident ſigne that ſuch cenſures proceede from Antichriſt, whiche in their proces they cal Fulminationes, that is, their thunderbolts wherwith the clergye principally procedeth againſt thoſe that declare the wickednes of Antichriſt, who ſo greatlye for his owne commoditie hath abuſed them.

18 If the pope be euil, eſpecially if he be a reprobate, thē is he with Iudas a very deuill, a theefe, and the ſonne of perdition. and is not the head of the holy church militante, nor any member of the ſame.

19 The grace of predeſtination, is the bande wherwith the body of the church and euery member of the ſame is indiſſolubly ioyned to their head Chriſt.

20 The Pope or prelate that is euill & a reprobate is a Paſtor in name and not in deede, yea he is a theefe & robber in very deede.

21 The pope ought not to be called the moſt holy one for his office ſake, for then ought a kyng to be called by his office the moſt holy one: and hangmen with other ſuch officers alſo were to bee called holy, ye the deuill himſelfe ought to be called holy, for as much as he is gods officer.

I. Hus expoundeth this article with this diſtinct. *non ratione meriti ſed ratione officij.*

22 If the pope lyue contrary vnto Chriſt, although he clime vp by right and lawfull election accordyng to the common cuſtome of men: yet notwithſtandyng ſhoulde he otherwyſe clyme then by Chriſt: yea though we admitte that he ſhoulde enter by the electiō principally made by god. For Iudas Iſcarioth was lawfullye elect of god Chriſt Ieſus to hys biſhoprike and yet came not he the ſame way he ought to do into the ſheepefolde.

23 The condemnation of 45. articls of Iohn Wickliffe by the doctours made, is vnreaſonable, wycked, & naught, and the cauſe by thē alleadged is fayned: that is, that none of them are catholique, but euery one of them hereticall, erronious, or ſlaunderous.

I Hus declareth hys minde touching this article ſufficiently before.

24 Not for that the electours, or the moſt part of them haue conſented together with liuely voyce accordyng to the cuſtome of mē vpon the perſon of any: therefore, that perſon is lawfullye electe, or therefore is the true and manifeſt ſucceſſour and vicar of Peter the apoſtle, or of any other the apoſtels in the eccleſiaſticall office. Wherfore, whether the electours haue either well or euill made their election, it behoueth vs to beleue the ſame, by the workes of him that is elected. For in that that euery one worketh more meritoriouſlye to ẏ profite of the church, he hath ſo much the more greater authoritie from God.

Election maketh not the ſucceſſour of Peter: but imitation.

25 There is not ſo much as one ſparke of appearance that there ought to be one head, rulyng and gouernyng the church in ſpirituall cauſes, which ſhould alwayes be conuerſant in the church militant: For Chriſte without any ſuche monſtrous heades, by his true diſciples ſparſed through the whole world, could better a great deale rule hys churche.

26 The apoſtels and faythfull prieſtes of God, haue right worthely in things neceſſary to ſaluation gouerned the church before the popes office tooke place. and ſo might they do agayne by lyke poſſibilitie vntill Chriſt came to iudgemente, if the popes office ſhould fayle.

One head of the vniuerſall church beſide Chriſt, hath no foundation in all ſcripture.

☞ **Let euery one that is ſuſpected in the foreſayd Articles, or els otherwiſe found with aſſertion of them, By examined in maner and forme as foloweth.**

IN primis, whether he knew Ioh. VVickleffe of Englād, Iohn Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, or any of them, and howe hee came by the knowledge of them, and whether that, duryng the lyues of them or any of thē, they had either ben cōuerſaunt with them, or found any frendſhyp at their handes.

The forme and maner of the popes inquiſition.

Item, whether he knowyng them or any of thē to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them: eſteeming and affirming the ſame their participation to be no ſinne.

Item

3. Itē, whether that after their deathes, he euer prayed for them or any of them, openly or priuely, doyng any woorke of mercy for them, affirmyng them to be either Saintes or els to be ſaued.

erſie to y for a Wick & or Hus. &c.

4. Item, whether he thought them or any of them to be Saintes, or whether that euer hee ſpake ſuch woordes, and whether euer he did exhibite any worſhip vnto thē as vnto Saintes.

5. Item, whether he beleue, hold, and affirme, that euery generall Councell, as alſo the Councell of Conſtāce, doth repreſent the vniuerſall churche.

6. Itē, whether he doth beleue that that, which the holy coūcell of Conſtance, repreſentyng ẏ vniuerſall church, hath and doth allowe in the fauour of the fayth and ſaluatiō of ſoules, is to be approued and allowed of all the faythfull Chriſtians: and ẏ what ſoeuer ẏ ſame Councell hath condemned and doth condemne to be contrary both to the fayth and to all good men, is to be beleued, holden, and affirmed, for condemned or not.

reſie not beleue e coūcell Con- ance.

7. Item, whether he beleueth, that the condemnations of Iohn Hus, Iohn VVickleffe, and Hierome of Prage, made as well vpon theyr perſons, as theyr bookes and doctrine by the holy generall Councell of Conſtance: be rightly and iuſtly made, and of euery good catholicke men, are ſo to be holden and affirmed, or not.

8. Item, whether he beleue, holde, & affirme, that Iohn VVickleffe of England, Iohn Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, were heretickes or not, & for heretickes to be nominated and preached, yea or not, and whether their bookes and doctrines were and be peruerſe or not, for the whiche together with their pertinacie they were condempned by the holye ſacred Councell of Conſtance, for heretickes.

I.Hus expoundeth this article with this diſtinct. *non ratione meriti, ſed ratione officij.*

9. Item, whether he haue in his cuſtody any treatiſes, ſmall workes, Epiſtles, or other writinges in what language or toung ſo euer, ſet forth or tranſlated by any of theſe heretickes, Iohn VVickleffe, Iohn Hus, & Hierome or anye other of their falſe Diſciples and followers, that he may deliuer them to the ordinaries of that place, or his commiſſary, or to the inquiſitours, vpon his othe. And if he ſay that he hath no ſuch writyng about hym, but that they are in ſome other place: that then you ſweare hym to bryng ẏ ſame before hys ordinarie or other afore named, within a certein time to him prefixed.

I Hus declareth hys minde touching this article ſufficiently before.

10. Item, whether he knoweth any that hath the treatiſes, workes, Epiſtles, or any other writynges of the foreſaid Iohn VVickleffe, Iohn Hus, and Hierome, in what ſo euer toung they are made or tranſlated, & that he detect and manifeſt the ſame, for the purgation of theyr fayth and execution of Iuſtice.

Election maketh not the ſucceſſour of Peter: but imitation.

11. Item, eſpecially let the learned bee examined, whether he beleueth that the ſentence of the holy Councel of Conſtance, vpō the. 45. articles of Iohn VVickeffe, and the 30. articles of Iohn Hus be not catholicke: whiche ſaith, ẏ ſome of thē are notorious hereticall, ſome erronious, other ſome blaſphemous, ſome ſclaūderous, ſom raſhe and ſeditious, and ſome offenſiue to godly eares.

One head of the vniuerſall church beſide Chriſt, hath no foundation in all ſcripture.

12. Item, whether he beleueth and affirmeth, that in no caſe it is lawfull for a man to ſweare.

13. Item, whether he beleueth, that at the commaundement of a Iudge or any other, it is lawfull to take an othe to tell the truth in any conueniēt cauſe, although it be but for the purgyng of an infamie, or not.

The forme and maner of the popes inquiſition.

14. Item, whether hee beleueth that periurye wittingly committed, vpon what cauſe ſo euer, whether it be for the ſafegarde of his own lyfe, or of any other mās lyfe, (yea, although it be in ẏ cauſe and defence of the fayth) be a ſinne or not.

15. Item, whether a man contemnyng purpoſedly the rites of the churche, and the ceremonies of exorſiſme, of Cathechiſme, and the conſecratiō of the water of Baptiſme, be deadly ſinne or not.

16. Item, whether he beleue, that after the conſecratiō of the prieſt in the Sacrament of the aultar vnder the figure of bread and wyne, be no materiall bread & wyne: but in all pointes, the ſame very Chriſt whiche was crucified vpon the croſſe, and ſitteth vpon the right hand of the father.

17. Item, whether he beleue, that after the conſecration made by the prieſt vnder the onely forme of bread and beſides the forme of wine, be the very fleſh of Chriſt and his bloud, his ſoule and his deitie, and ſo whole Chriſte as he is: and in lyke wiſe, vnder the forme of wine without the forme of bread, be ẏ very fleſh of Chriſt & his very bloud, his ſoule, & deitie, & ſo whole Chriſt, & the ſame body abſolutely vnder euery of thoſe kindes ſingularly.

18. Item, whether hee doth beleue, that the cuſtome of houſelyng of the lay people vnder the forme of bread only, obſerued of the vniuerſall church, and allowed by the holy Councell of Conſtance, be to be vſed, and not without the authoritie of the church, at mens pleaſures to be altered, and that they obſtinatly affirme the contrary to this, are to be puniſhed as heretickes, or not.

Hereſie to miniſter in both kiddes.

19. Item, whether he beleue that thoſe which contemne the receuyng of the Sacramentes of confirmation, or extreme vnction, or els the ſolemniſatiō of matrimonie, commit deadly ſinne or not.

20. Item, whether he beleue, that a Chriſtian man, ouer and beſides the contrition of hart, being licenced of a cōuenient prieſt, is bounde to confeſſe hym ſelfe onely to a prieſt and not to any lay man, be he neuer ſo deuoute or good, vpon the neceſſitie of ſaluation.

21. Item, whether he beleue, that in the caſes before put, a prieſt may abſolue a ſinner confeſſyng hym ſelfe and beyng contrite, from all ſinnes, and enioye hym penaunce for the ſame.

22. Item, whether he beleueth, that an euill prieſt, with due maner and forme, and with the intention of doyng, doth verely conſecrate, doth veryly abſolue, doth veryly baptiſe, and doth veryly diſpoſe all other Sacramentes, euen as the church doth.

23. Item, whether he beleue that Saint Peter was the vicar of Chriſt, hauing power to bynde and to looſe vpon the earth.

24. Item, whether he beleue that the pope beyng canonically elect, which for the tyme ſhalbe, by that name expreſly, be the ſucceſſour of Peter or not, hauing ſupreme authoritie in the churche of God.

25. Item, whether he beleue, that the authoritie of iuriſdiction of the Pope, an Archbiſhop, or a Byſhop in byndyng and looſing, be more thē the authoritie of a ſimple prieſt or not, although he haue charge of ſoule.

26. Item, whether he beleue, that the Pope may vpon a iuſt and good cauſe, giue indulgences and remiſſion of ſinnes to all Chriſtian men, beyng veryly contrite and confeſſed, eſpecially to thoſe that go on pilgrimage to holy places and do good dedes.

Hereſie to denie the popes indulgences.

27. Item, whether he beleue, that by ſuch graunt, the pilgrimes that viſite thoſe Churches, and giue them any thyng, may obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes or not.

28. Itē, whether he beleue, that all Byſhops may graūt vnto their ſubiectes accordyng as the holy Canons doo limite, ſuch Indulgences or not.

29. Item, whether he beleue & affirme, that it is lawfull for faythfull Chriſtians, to worſhip images and the reliques of ſaintes or not.

Hereſie not to worſhip images.

30. Item, whether he beleue, that thoſe religions which the Churche hath allowed, were lawfully and reaſonably brought in of the holy fathers, or not.

31. Item, whether hee beleueth, that the Pope or any other Prelate for the tyme beyng, or theyr vicars may excommunicate theyr ſubiectes Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular for diſobedience or contumacie, ſo that ſuch a one is to be holden and taken for excōmunicate or not.

31. Item, whether he beleue, that for the diſobedience & contumacie of perſons excommunicate, increaſing: the prelates or their vicars in ſpirituall thynges haue power to aggrauate and to reaggrauate, to put vpon men the interdicte, and to call for the ſecular arme: and that the ſame ſecular arme or power ought to be obedient to the cenſures, by theyr inferiours called for.

32. Item, whether he beleue, that the Pope & other Prelates or els their vicars, haue power in ſpirituall things to excommunicate Prieſtes and lay men that are ſtubburne & diſobediēt, frō their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the adminiſtration of the Sacramentes of the church, alſo to ſuſpend them.

33. Item, whether he beleue, that it is lawfull for eccleſiaſticall perſons without committyng ſinne, to haue any poſſeſſions and temporall goodes: and whether he beleue, that it is not lawfull for lay men to take the ſame away from them by their authoritie: but rather that ſuch takers awaye and incrochers vpon Eccleſiaſticall goodes, are to be puniſhed as committers of ſacrilege, yea, although ſuch Eccleſiaſticall perſons lyue naughtely that haue ſuch goodes.

Theſe popes will be ſure to looſe nothyng.

34. Item, whether anye ſuche takyng away or incrochyng vpō any prieſt, raſhly or violētly made, although the prieſt be an euill lyuer, be ſacrilege or not.

Wealthy wickednes maintayned.

35. Item, whether he beleue, ẏ it is lawfull for lay men of whether ſexe ſo euer: that is, men & women, to preach the worde of God or not.

36. Itē, whether he beleue, ẏ it is lawfull to all prieſtes, freely to preache the worde of God, where ſoeuer, when ſo euer, and to whom ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe thē, although they be not ſent at all.

The pope neyther preacheth himſelf, nor yet wil ſuffer other good prieſtes to preach.

37. Item, whether he beleue that all mortal ſinnes, & eſpeciall ſuch as be manifeſt and publicke, are to be corrected and to be extirpate or not.

Furthermore, we will, commaund, and decree, that
,, if any man by ſecret information by you or any other
,, to be receaued, ſhall be found either infamed or ſuſpected
,, of any kynde of the peſtiferous ſect, hereſie, and doctrine
,, of the moſt peſtilent mē, Iohn VVickleſſe, Iohn Hus, and
,, Hierome of Prage the archheretickes aforeſayd, or of
,, fauouring, receauing, or defending the foreſayd dam-
,, ned men whileſt they liued vpon the earth, their falſe fo-
,, lowers and diſciples, or any that beleueth their errours,
,, or any that after their death praye for them or any of
,, them, or that nominateth them to be amongeſt the num
,, ber of catholicke men, or that defendeth them to be pla-
,, ced amongeſt the number of the ſaintes, either by theyr
,, preachyng, worſhippyng, or other wayes wherein they
,, deſerue to bee ſuſpected: that then they by you or ſome
,, of you, may be cited perſonallye to appeare before you
,, or ſome of you, without either Proctour or Doctour to
,, aunſwere for them, an othe being by them openly taken
,, as is aforeſaid, to ſpeake the playne and mere veritie of
,, the Articles aboue written and euery of them, or other
,, opportune, as caſe and circumſtaunce ſhall require, ac-
,, cordyng to your diſcretion, as you or any of you ſhall
,, ſee expedient to procede agaynſt them, or any of them
,, accordyng to theſe preſentes or otherwiſe canonically,
,, as you ſhall thinke good. Alſo that you doo publiſh ſo-
,, lemnly & cauſe tobe publiſhed, theſe preſēt letters, omit-
,, tyng the Articles and interrogatories herein conteined,
,, in the Cities and other places of your dioces, where cō-
,, ueniently you may, vnder our authoritie, and there to
,, denounce and cauſe to bee denounced all and ſingulare
,, ſuche heretickes, with their abetters and fauourers
,, of their hereſies and errours, of what ſexe or kynde
,, ſoeuer, that do holde, and defend the ſayd errours, or do
,, participate any maner of way with heretickes, priuely
,, or apertly, of what ſtate, dignitie, or condition ſo euer he
,, or they bee, Patriarche, Archbyſhop, Kyng, Queene,
,, Duke, or of what other dignitie either Eccleſiaſticall or
ſecular he be; alſo with their aduocates and procurators
whoſoeuer, which are beleuers, followers, fauourers, ,,
defenders or receauers of ſuch heretickes, or ſuſpected ,,
to be beleuers, folowers fautors, defēders or receauers
of them, to be excommunicate, euery Sonday and feſti-
uall day, in the preſence of the people. Furthermore that
you diligently do to be inquired by the ſayd our autho- ,,
ritie, vppon all and ſingular ſuch perſons both men and ,,
wemē, that maintaine, approue, defend, & teach ſuch er- ,,
rours or that be fauourers, receauers, and defenders of ,,
them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignitie, ,,
ſtate, preeminence, degree, order, or condition ſo euer. ,,
And ſuch as you ſhall finde in the ſayd your Inquiſitiō, ,,
either by their owne confeſſion, or by any other meane, ,,
to bee diffamed, or otherwiſe infected with the ſpotte of ,,
ſuch hereſie or errour, you, throughe the ſentence of ex- ,,
communication, ſuſpenſion, interdict, and priuation of ,,
their dignities, perſonages, offices, or other benefices of ,,
the churche, and fees, whiche they hold of any Churche, ,,
monaſtery and other Eccleſiaſticall places, alſo of ho- ,,
nours and ſecular dignities and degrees of ſciences or ,,
other faculties, as alſo by other paynes and cenſures ,,
of the Churche, or by wayes and meanes what ſoeuer ,,
els ſhall ſeeme to you expedient, by takyng and impri- ,,
ſonnyng of their bodyes, and other corporall puniſhe- ,,
mentes wherewith heretickes are puniſhed, or are wōt ,,
and are commaunded by canonicall ſanctions to bee v- ,,
ſed: & if they be clerkes, by degradation, do correct and ,,
puniſhe, & cauſe them to be corrected & puniſhed with all ,,
diligence. Furthermore, ẏ you do riſe vp ſtoutly & cou- ,,
ragiouſly againſt ſuch heretiques, and the goods as well
of them, as of the lay men, accordyng to the canonicall
ſanctions made againſt heretiques, and their folowers,
vnder the whiche we will and commaunde them and
all their pertakers to be ſubiect. And all ſuch perſons, as
ſhall be infamed of the hereſies or errors aforeſayde, or
any of the premiſſes, ſhall be bound to purge thēſelues, ,,
at your arbitriment: but the other which either be wit- ,,
neſſes, or by their owne confeſſions, or other allegatiōs ,,
or probations, ſhalbe conuicted of the foreſaid hereſies, ,,
or articles, or any of the premiſſes, they ſhall be compel ,,
led to reuoke and abiure publiquely and ſolemnlye the ,,
ſayde articles and erroures, and to ſuffer condigne pe- ,,
nance and puniſhment, yea euen to perpetuall impriſon ,,
ment (if neede be) for the ſame. And to thentent that they ,,
ſhall not nouriſh any kinde of hereſies hereafter, eyther ,,
in worde, deede, or geſture, or ſhall induce other, eyther ,,
in word or deede, priuely or apertly, directly or indirect- ,,
ly to beleue the ſame, they ſhalbe forced to put in ſuffi- ,,
cient ſuertie. Who, if it ſo chaunce that they will not ,,
publikely and ſolemnely renounce & abiure their arti- ,,
cles and errours, and take at your handes condigne ,,
penaunce, though it be to perpetuall, or tēporall puniſh- ,,
ment, according to your diſcretion, neyther wil be con- ,,
tented to put in ſufficiēt ſuertie that they will not here- ,,
after holde nor nouriſhe theſe errours and hereſies, nei- ,,
ther will induce other by worde or deede priuelye or a- ,,
pertly, directlye or indirectly, or by any other maner of ,,
colour, to beleue the ſame: that then you ſhal procede a- ,,
gainſt them, accordyng to the qualitie of their errours & ,,
demerites, yea and if you ſee it ſo expedient, as againſt ,,
heretiques, and as infected wyth hereſie, by our autho- ,,
ritie, according to the canonicall ſanctions, ſummarily ,,
and ſimplely and plainly, ſine ſtrepitu & figura iudicij, & ,,
of office, all appellation or appellations whatſoeuer cea ,,
ſyng: and that you puniſhe the ſame, accordyng to the ,,
ſanctions and traditions canonicall, yea, if neede be, in ,,
leauyng and committyng them to the ſecular power: ,,
and agaynſt ſuch as be ſuperiours or learned doctours, ,,
layeng the cenſures of eccleſiaſticall excōmunication, ,,
all appellation ſet aſyde, alſo inuocatyng, yf neede ſhal ,,
require, ayde of the ſecular arme: The conſtitution as ,,
well of our predeceſſor Pope Boniface 8. of bleſſed me- ,,

Paſſe ſpi ras mi & cadu

See here the drago caſting ou whole floudes to ſwalow vp the ſaintes,

momorye

pe Mar- / t. con- / y to / Bonl-

morye, wherin is decreed that no man without his citie or dioces (excepte in certayne caſes) or in places beyng one dayes iourney diſtant from thence where he inhabiteth, ſhall be called into any iudgement, ⁊ that no man do preſume to depute iudges from the ſea apoſtolique, wythout the citie and dioces where they are deputed, to proceede againſt any: or do preſume to committe their autoritye to any other perſon or perſons, or to fetch and remoue any man beyond one dayes iourney from out his dioces where hee dwelleth, or at moſt. ij. dayes iourney, if it be in a generall councell: as alſo all other conſtitutions of any biſhop of Rome, touching as well Iudges delegate, as perſons not to bee called to iudgement beyond a certayne nomber: or els anye other edict indulte, priuilege, or exemption generall or ſpecial graunted from the Apoſtolicke ſea, for anye perſon or perſons not to be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicated, or cited vp to iudgement without the compaſſe of certayne limites: or els what ſoeuer thing otherwiſe may hynder ſtop, or impeache your iuriſdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any meanes, to the contrary notwithſtanding. Dat. Conſtant. the firſt yeare of our Popedom

pe Mar- / n vndo- / the / es & c- / ices of / other / pes.

¶ This bloody and abhominable commiſſion of Pope Martin, which I haue copied out of a certaine old monument remaining in the handes of Maiſter Hackluyt, Student in the Temple, ſeemeth to be directed and geuen out to the publike deſtruction of all faythfull Chriſten men, about the latter ende and breaking vp of the Councell of Conſtance, an. 1418. By the which the prudent reader hath this to note and conſider, what labour what policie, what counſayl, and what lawes haue bene ſet, what wayes haue beene taken, what ſeueritye hath bene ſhewed, how mens power, wit, and autoritie of the whole world haue cōſpired together from time to time, continually by all maner meanes, to ſubuert and ſupplant the word, and way of the Lord: And yet notwithſtanding man hath not preuayled, but all his force and deuiſed policies haue ben ouerthrowen, diſpatched, and with the counſayle of Achitophell and Ammon, haue bene brought to nought, and contrary to the fury of the world, the Goſpell of Chriſt hath ſtill encreaſed. Neyther yet for all this, will the Pope ceaſe to ſpurne and rebell ſtyll agaynſt the kingdome of Chriſt, and of his Goſpell: againſt which neither he, nor yet the gates of hell ſhall euer preuayle. The Lord of hoſtes be mercifull to his poore perſecuted flocke. Amen.

te how / tichriſt / geth an / eth a- / ynſt / uſt.

ns pow / nd cou- / le to / ake / aynſt / iſt.

Agaynſt this peſtilent Bul and Inquiſition of Pope Martin the great Antichriſt, I thought here to adioyne and annexe an other contrary writing of the Bohemiās, bearing the name and ſubſcription of Procopius, Conradus, and other Captaines of the Bohemians, which ſeemeth not long after the death of Ziſca, to bee written agaynſt the peſtiferous ſea of Rome, the tenour whereof here followeth.

¶ A fruitfull and Chriſtian exhortation of the Bohemians to kinges and princes, to ſtyrre them vp to the zeale of the Goſpell.

nexhorta / on of the / hemiās,

The almighty God the father, by his welbeloued ſon Ieſus Chriſt, may in his holy ſpirite open the vnderſtanding both of you and of all Chriſtians, and lyghten your hartes with the light of his doctrine of righteouſnes, and may make you to continue therin, ſurely eſtabliſhed to the end. This we deſire of you for your ſaluation, all ye honourable, wyſe, and honeſt noble mē, and all the Comunaltie, ye riche and poore, heare and conſider with diligent heede, the wordes of this preſent letter, which is ſent vnto you from the country of the Bohemians. It is manifeſt ⁊ well knowen to you ⁊ many other Cities, Kinges, princes, ⁊ Lords, ẏ now a certain nūber of yeares, there hath bene great diſcorde betwixt vs ⁊ you, ⁊ there haue bene ſome which haue moued you by letters, ⁊ prouoked you to make war againſt vs, and to deſtroy vs. And as well on your part as on ours, many men, as wel noble as vnnoble, haue fooliſhly loſt their liues. Yet neuer hitherto haue ye in any part vnderſtood our faith by our own confeſſion, neither whether we be able to proue the ſame out of the Scriptures, yea or no: and yet in the meane tyme, Kings, Princes, Lords, and Cities, haue ſuſtayned great dammage. And hereof we greatly maruayle, that ye do ſo muche truſt and beleue the Pope and his prieſtes, which geue you drinke full of poyſon, and ſuch comfort as no man can vnderſtande, in that they ſaye that they will geue you forgeues of all your ſynnes, and great grace and pardon, to this ende, that you ſhould warre vpon vs and deſtroy vs: wheras their graces and pardons are none other thē great lies, and a great ſeducing of the bodye and ſoule of all them that beleue them, and put their truſt in them. Thys we would proue vnto them, and ouercome them by the holy ſcripture, and we woulde ſuffer, that whoſoeuer is deſirous to heare the ſame, ſhoulde heare it. For the Pope and all hys Prieſtes, herein deale wyth you as the Deuill would haue done wyth our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, of whom Luke writeth in his. iiij. chapter, that he brought him vpō an high hyll, and ſhewed vnto him in the twinkling of an eye, all the kingdomes ẏ are in the compaſſe of the earth, and ſayde vnto hym: I wyll geue thee. ⁊c. So the Deuill deceaueth the Pope and all his prieſtes with the riches of the worlde, and worldlye power: And they thinke they can geue grace and pardon when they will, and they them ſelues ſhall neuer finde fauour before almighty God, except thei repent ⁊ make amendes, becauſe of their great deceiuing of Chriſtendome. And how cā they geue that to others, which they them ſelues haue not? So did the deuil, who was rich in promiſing, and poore in geuing. And, like as the Deuill is not aſhamed to tell a lye, ſo alſo they are not aſhamed to ſpeake that which yet ſhall neuer be founde true, nor be proued by the holy Scriptures, becauſe, for no cauſe, they ſtirre vp Kinges, Princes, Lordes and Cities, to make warre agaynſt vs, not to the end that the Chriſtiā fayth ſhould thereby be defended, but becauſe they feare that their ſecrete vices and hereſies ſhall be diſcloſed and made manifeſt. For, if they had a true cauſe, and a godlye loue to the Chriſtian fayth: they woulde then take the bookes of the holy ſcripture, and woulde come vnto vs, and ouercome vs with the weapons of Gods worde, and that is our chiefe deſire. For ſo did the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who came to the Paganes and Iewes, and brought them from their infidelity, to the true faith of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: and this they did in the ſpirit of meekenes, as the Apoſtle Paule wryteth in the ſixt chapiter to the Galat: Brethren, if anye man be agreeued. ⁊c. So ought they alſo to doo, if they perceiued that they were iuſt, and we vniuſt. And if we woulde not abide inſtruction, then they might take to them Kynges, Princes, Lordes, and imperiall Cities, and reſiſt vs, according to the commaundementes of the holy ſcripture. But this is the ſubtile defence of all the Byſhops and Prieſtes, that they ſay that Maiſter Hus and Hierome which were burnt at Conſtance, were ouercome of ẏ holy father the Pope, and of the whole Councell: For ye muſt vnderſtande that they were not ouercome by the holy ghoſt, but vniuſtlye, with wrongfull violence, which God maye yet hereafter greeuouſly puniſhe in all thē ẏ gaue their counſell and ayde therto: and they ſaye it ought not to be ſuffered, that we ſhoulde be hearde in confeſſing our fayth. How maye that bee proued by the holy ſcripture, ſince Chriſt heard the Deuil, as it is written in the fourth chapter of Mathewe? and they are not better then Chriſt, nor we worſe then the Deuil. If they be iuſt and haue the truth with them (as they ſaye they haue) and we be vnrighteous: why doo they feare, ſince

The pope and prelates by their letters ſtyrred them to fyght.

Fayre wordes, to make fooles fayne,

The pope ſeduceth the world with vayne promiſes of thinges, which he can not geue.

The deuill and the pope ryche in promiſing, and poore in geuing.

Galat. 6.

Falſe pretenſes of the papiſtes.

M. Hus and Hierome by wrongfull violence put to death.

Chriſt heard the deuill: but the pope will not heare men confeſſe their fayth.

2. *Eſdr*. 3.

Iohn. 14.
Iohn. 8.

the truth ought not to be afeard of falſhoode, as Eſdras writeth in hys ſecond booke, the third chapiter. Zorobabel declared that truth is of all thinges the moſt myghtye, and ouercommeth all thynges: For Chriſt is the truth. Iohn. 14. I am the way, the truth. ⁊c. And the Deuill is the father of lyes. Iohn. 8. He is a lyer from the beginning, and neuer abode in the truth, and there is no truthe in hym. Therefore if the Pope and hys prieſtes haue the truth, let them ouercome vs with the woord of God. But if they haue lyes, then they cannot long abide in all their preſumptiō. Wherfore, we exhort ⁊ beſech all the imperial Cities, all kings, princes, noble men, rich and poore, for Gods ſake, ⁊ for his righteouſnes, that one of them write hereof to an other, and that there may be ſome meanes made howe we may commune wyth you ſafely and friendlye, at ſome ſuche place as ſhall be fyt both for you and vs, and bring with you your byſhops and teachers, ⁊ let them and our teachers fighte together with the woorde of God, and let vs heare them, and lette not one ouercome the other by violence or falſe ſuttelty, but onely by the word of God. And if your Biſhops and teachers haue better proofes of their faith out of the holy Scripture, then we, ⁊ our faythe be found vntrue, we will receiue penaunce and ſatiſfaction according to the Goſpell. But if your Biſhops and Teachers be ouercome of ours by the holy Scripture: then doo ye repent and harken to vs, and holde with vs. And if your biſhoppes and teachers wyll ceaſe from their ſpirituall pride, and repent and make ſatiſfaction: then will we helpe you according to our power, and will compel thē, either to ioyne with vs, or els we will expell them out of Chriſtendome. And if your Biſhops and teachers wyll ſay, that it is not lawfull for lay men to heare ſuch reaſoning, or to be preſent at it: that may you vnderſtande to tende to no other ende, but that they feare they ſhould bee ouercome and put to ſhame in the ſighte of you: For if they knew that they ſhould ouercome therin, out of doubt, they would deſire that euery man ſhould hear it, and thereby, their glory ſhoulde become the greater, and their fame and prayſes ſhoulde bee encreaſed vpon the earth. And if your Biſhops ⁊ teachers counſell you to come to no hearing with vs, then do it whether they wyll or no, and ſuffer not your ſelues at any time to bee ſo fooliſhly ſeduced with their fooliſh pardons, but tary at home in your houſes wyth your wyues and children. And let the Pope of Rome come to vs with all hys Cardinalles and biſhoppes, and with all hys prieſtes, with hys own perſon ⁊ power to warre with vs, and let them ſelues deſerue the abſolution of ſinnes, grace, ⁊ parodō, which they preach to you (for they haue great nede of forgeuenes of ſinnes, grace, and pardon) and by the grace of God wee wyll geue them pardon inough, as they ſhall neede. But their ſubtille excuſe is thys: they ſaye that it belongeth not to Prieſtes to fight with bodelye weapons, and true it is that it belongeth not to them: but it belongeth as little to them to ſtyrre vp, to counſell, and to fortefye others thereto: For Paule ſayth in the firſt to the Romaynes, and in the fift to the Galatians, that al that doo ſuch things are worthye of euerlaſting death.

A iuſte and godly requeſt of the Bohemians.

Wherfore the popes clergye will abyde no conference, with the laytie.

The popes pretenſed excuſe detected.

Rom. 1.
Galat. 5.

And yf ye will not determyne to do any other thing then to fight againſt vs, then will we take the Lorde to our helpe, and his truth, and we wil defend it to ẏ death, and we wil not be afearde for the excommunication or curſe of the Pope, or his Cardinals, or of the biſhops, becauſe we knowe that the Pope is not God as he maketh himſelfe, that he canne curſe and excommunicate when he will, or bleſſe when he will: Who hathe nowe theſe manye yeares curſed and excommunicated vs, and yet notwithſtanding, God and his gratious bleſſyng hathe bene oure helpe. But peraduenture ye will ſay, that though we ſee that biſhops and prieſtes be euil and wicked, yet we cannot lacke them: for who ſhoulde baptiſe our childrē, who ſhoulde heare confeſſions, and miniſter the holy ſacraments? and then alſo we ſhould be within the excommunication of the Pope and of his biſhoppes. Welbeloued, ye neede to take no care for theſe matters. The excommunicating of the pope hurteth you nothyng. Feare ye the excōmunicating of god, and the Lord will prouide for thoſe things wel inough. Yf ye would baniſh ill byſhops and prieſtes, ye ſhoulde haue good prieſtes whiche ſhould baptiſe your children, heare confeſſions, and miniſter the holye myſteries, becauſe when the Deuill is baniſhed, then place is made for the holy ghoſt: So, when ill biſhops and prieſtes ſhall be baniſhed, then place ſhall be made for good prieſtes ⁊ biſhops. Alſo, your biſhops and prieſtes ſay, that we are miſcreantes and heretikes, and that wee beleue not on purgatory, vppon the Virgin Mary, nor vpon ẏ ſaints: wherin they ſay ill, for we wyll proue by the holye ſcripture, that we know better by gods grace, how we ought to beleue vpon purgatory, and vppon Mary the mother of our Lord, and vpon his welbeloued ſaintes, thē they can tell vs. Alſo, they ſay that we wil not be obedient to ẏ pope. Truely, when he ſhal become holy and iuſt, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to hym in all thinges, and not before. They ſaye alſo that we deſtroy gods holy ſeruice, in that we deſtroy monaſteries, baniſhyng thence the wicked Monkes and Nunnes. Truelye we did it, thinking once that they were holye, and that they did the reuerend ſeruice of god, but after that wee well perceyued and conſidered their lyfe and workes, then we perceyued that they were falſe lowlye hypocrites, and wicked builders on high, and ſellers of pardons, and maſſes for the dead, and ſuch as deuoured in thēſelues the ſinnes of the people. And, where as they ſay ẏ they riſe at midnight whē other men ſleepe, ⁊ pray for the ſins of ẏ people: foraſmuch as the ſelling of their praiers ⁊ maſſes for the dead, for gifts, is no better then hypocriſye and hereſye: therefore, if we ſpeake agaynſt them and deſtroy their monaſteries, we do not therin deſtroy the ſeruice of God, but rather the ſeruice of the deuill, and the ſchooles of heretikes. And if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently deſtroy them as we do. For Chriſt our Lord did not ordaine any ſuch order, ⁊ therfore it muſt nedes come to paſſe ẏ ſhortlye it ſhall be deſtroyed, as our Lord ſayth in the goſpell of S. Math. ẏ 15. chap. Euery plant which my father hath not planted, ſhal be rooted vp. We deſyre you alſo ẏ ye would diligently conſider the articles here writtē, wherin your byſhops and prieſtes are giltye.

Obiectio

Answer

The popes falſe accuſations anſwered.

Math. 1

The firſt article is, that when your biſhops wil ordayne prieſts, they do it not, except he that is to be made prieſt haue ſufficient liuyng, eyther enheritaunce lefte hym of his parentes, or of benefices: wheras notwythſtandyng, Chriſt would that prieſtes ſhoulde bee poore, for as muche as it is enough for the ſcholer to be as his maiſter is, ⁊ for the ſeruant to be as his lord is: and the biſhops wil that they ſhould be riche vpon earth, which is vniuſt before the Lord.

The abuſ of popyſh religion in makyng prieſtes, Cardinall &c.

The ſeconde article is, that biſhops take money of ſuch as are to bee ordeyned, but S. Peter did therefore ſharpelye rebuke Simon Magus, when he woulde haue geuen hym money, as it is writtē in the 8. of the Acts.

Act. 8.

The third Article is, that they that come to be prieſts enter into prieſthoode, not for Gods ſeruice ſake, becauſe they meane to preach and encreaſe it among the Chriſtian people, ſo as the people maye bee edified and made better: but rather for an idle lyfe, and that they may eate well and drinke well, and that they may bee honoured and reuerenced vpon earthe: For euerye one wayteth vpō his prieſt as a thiefe and a robber, as Iohn writeth in his x. chapter.

The ab of popyſ religio taking orders

The fourth Article is of excommunication, whiche the Pope and all his prieſtes take to themſelues,& therwyth fetter and bynde all Chriſtian people as they wil, and they thinke that whoſoeuer they excommunicate or curſe,he is accurſed and excommunicate before god. And wee wyll proue by the holye Scripture, that they themſelues are excommunicate and accurſed before god,becauſe they kepe not the commaundement of the loue of God, whereof the Apoſtle writeth in the firſt to the Cor.the 16.chap: If any man loueth not our lord Jeſus Chriſt,he is excommunicate in the day of the commyng of the Lorde. For they can not excommunicate you,who are alreadye bounde and excommunicate before God and hys ſaintes: and therefore why feare ye their excommunication?

The fift Article is, that they take giftes to praye for the deade,and to ſaye maſſe for their ſoules. Thys is a wyckednes and hereſye before the Lorde, and all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedlye, for that hereby prieſtes become merchaunts of prayers and of Maſſes: and herewith is all the church of Rome poyſoned and defiled. For if they woulde praye for the dead and ſay maſſe for their ſoules, yet no man oughte to hyre them thereto, forasmuch as they ought to take no giftes, neyther litle nor great. And euery one that taketh rewardes to this ende,to redeme ſoules out of purgatory,doe therwithall caſte their owne ſoules downe into hell. And they that geue any thing to that ende,doe altogether looſe that which they geue. And wyth ſuche diueliſhe ſubtiltie,the pope with all his prieſtes hath deceiued,ſpoyled and diſhereted,kinges,princes,Lordes, knightes,and good houſeholders and manye other, of theyr lawfull inheritaunces,becauſe theyr aunceſtours and progenitours gaue it to Colledges, Monaſteries,& Churches that they might make memorials of them, & to ſyng or ſaye prayers or maſſes for their ſoules, that they might bee redemed out of purgatorye. And wyth ſuch goodes,biſhops,Chanons,and Monaſteries, haue made themſelues ſo riche,that now they fall at variāce with Cities and Princes,and whereas they ſhould procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the firſt that beginne warre: and as long as they haue ſuch goodes,they will neuer ceaſe to be at ſtryfe with lords, and cities,neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth: For they do as a dogge, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth,and gnaweth it: ſo long hee holdeth his peace and cannot barke. Euen ſo, as long as they haue this boane of pleaſaunte riches,it will neuer be well in the worlde. Wherfore,all kinges,princes,and imperiall cities,ſhould doe a great worke of godlines and mercy,if by them they wer compelled to do this,as the dog is when the boane is taken from him. And therefore ye noble men, kynges,Princes, Lordes, imperiall Cities, and all the communaltye,both riche and poore,if ye haue bene a ſleepe,yet now awake,and open your eyes,and behold the ſuttletye of the deuill, howe he hathe blynded the churche of Rome,and take agayne, that is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memorial for your ſoules, then do as ẏ wiſe mā ſayth Eccl.19: Lay vp almes.&c.

The vi.article is,that they are full of pryde and of high minde,which is manifeſtly knowen by their long, coſtly and ſuperfluous garmentes, wherein they walke very vnlike to Chriſt our Lorde, who had a garmente without a ſeame,and to the welbeloued John Baptiſt, who had a garment of Camels heare,and they will bee honoured and worſhipped,and they preach and ſay that prieſthoode oughte to bee honoured,and ſo it oughte in dede to be,but there is none that doth ſo much ſlaunder and abaſe it as they thēſelues,with their euill workes, gay apparell,and wͭ their euil words,wherin thei paſſe all other men. Paule ſayth the.i.to Tim.the.3.chap. Let the Elders that gouerne well,be honoured with double honour,chiefly they that labour in the worde and doctryne of the Lord. Conſider,that he ſayth,they that gouerne well.

Honour in well gouerning.

The 7.Article is, that they are couetous from the hygheſt to the loweſt,and for couetouſnes they preache many foliſh dedes and manifeſt lyes,& ſell the holy Sacramentes,which is a great hereſye: for God cōmaunded ẏ they ſhould geue freely. Paule wryteth in the firſt to Tymothie: Couetouſnes is the rote of all miſchiefe, wherunto many haue bene geuen, and therefore they are ſeperated from the faith,and haue denied the truth.

The popes church poyſoned with couetouſnes.

*Timot.*1.

The viij.Article is,that they commonlye are called notorious whoremongers. This is manifeſtlye ſeene in their concubines and childrē,which walke openly in all mens ſyght,and make many mennes wiues whores,or corrupt their daughters beyng virgines, & make them prieſtes harlottes and rybaldes.

The popes church poyſoned much with whoredome.

The ix.article is,that they are ful of diueliſh enuy, and eſpecially in all monaſteries they haue great enuye and hatred amongs themſelues,bicauſe whē any thing is geuen or diſpoſed to one monaſtery or Colledge,then there are others, that hate it,and enuy at it,and would more gladly haue it themſelues: Lyke as among dogs when any thing is geuē to the one and not to the other: which the other ſeyng,enuieth his fellow,and the other likewyſe will rather deuour all hymſelfe,then geue any part to his fellow. Wherfore it wer well that they were brought from that greate ſinne of enuye in geuyng nothing vnto them: And it were better that their poſſeſſions were taken from them,and that they ſhould do that which the lord ſpake to his diſciples, ſayeng: Go ye and preach the Goſpell to all men.

The popes church & monaſteries,commonly poyſoned with deueliſhe enuie.

The x.Article is,that they are Idle, and chiefly the Biſhops,Chanons,and other prelates, whiche will not labour diligently in the holy ſcripture, wherewith they might cure the miſeries of Chriſtendome,whereto they haue bound themſelues,and they eate the breade therof in idlenes, becauſe,when other men watch and labour to maintayne themſelues and their litle ones, then are they wyth theyr lemmons,or els they walke in ſome citye,caryng hawkes on theyr fiſtes,or els they ſit at the good wyne with their concubeins,and there they ſing & play the Lucians,& eate of the beſt,and therfore all that willingly bring & geue to them,ſhal be made parteners of that curſe which is geuen them of God,becauſe they eate their bread vniuſtlye,wherof Paule wryteth in the ij.to the Theſ.the 3.chap: He that laboureth not,let him not eate.

The popes church poyſoned with idlenes and bely cheare.

The xi. Article is that they are notorious lyers, becauſe to the end that they may pleaſe men, they tell many tales and lyes,whiche in the holy Scripture haue no foūdaciō nor prouſe. Of ſuch writeth John in the Apo.21

The popes church infamous with notorious lies.

The.xij.Article is, that they do not rightly giue or miniſter to ẏ people the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and they giue it not as God hath inſtituted it and commaunded. This is a great and a deuiliſhe ſinne and to great malapertnes. Herein we would ouercome them, with the teſtimonies of ẏ Euāgeliſtes: I ſay we would ouercome the Pope, and all his prieſtes, with the authorities of Marke,Luke and Paule: Rom.13. and we would ſuffer,that Kynges,Princes,Lordes and all that are willyng to heare, ſhould heare it.

The popes church erreth in diminiſhing one part of the Sacrament.

The.13.Article is,that they ſitte in ſpiritual iudgemēt and then many tymes they iudge accordyng to fauour, and not accordyng to the righteouſnes of God,and they take brybes giuing ſentēce for him,which in gods ſight hath the wrongful cauſe. Wo be to ſuch ſentences,as it is written in Iſay.v. Wo be to ye that.&c.

The popes church charged with partialitie.

The.14.Article is,that they ſit hearyng confeſſions, and when there come to them vſurers, rauenours, and theeues,they take brybes of thē of their ill gotten goods, to ſpare them: and they willyngly ſuffer them in Cities and townes. And likewiſe of adulterers, & other notorious whoremōgers & whores, and they did neuer let or ſtay thē in their great ſinnes, to the end ẏ the Scripture may be fulfilled in thē, which ſaith: Giftes & the loue of money do draw to hell, and do blind the eyes of iudges.

The .15. Article is, that they receyue tythes of men, and will of right haue them, and preache and ſay that men are bound to giue them tythes, and therin they ſay falſly: For they can not proue by the newe Teſtament, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt commaunded it, & his diſciples warned no man to do ſo, neither did them ſelues receiue them. But although in the old Teſtament, it were commaunded to geue tithes, yet it can not thereby be proued, that Chriſtian men are bound thereto: For this precept of the old Teſtament had an end in ẏ firſt yeare of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, like as ẏ precept of Circumciſion. Wherfore wel beloued, conſider & ſee, how your biſhops ſeduce you and ſhut your eyes with thynges that haue no proufe. Chriſt ſaith in ẏ xi. of Luke: Giue almes of thoſe thinges that remayne, but he ſayd not geue the tenth of the goodes, whiche ye poſſeſſe, but geue almes. But when they heare this worde, they may ſaye as the lawyer ſaid to Chriſt: Maiſter when thou ſayeſt ſo, thou geueſt offence. Luke. xi.

He meaneth of clayming tithes by mere neceſſitie of the old lawe: and not by the poſitiue lawe of princes.

The. xvi. Article is, that they in many places lende money or goodes to haue treaſure or vſury, & they haue in Cities and townes, yearely payementes and perpetuall reuenues, as great princes and Lordes. Wherein they do agaynſt the Goſpell, which ſayth, do not ye poſſeſſe golde nor ſiluer. And whereas they lend for gayne and vſurye, agaynſt that ſpeaketh the Lorde, Deut. 24: Lend not to vſury to thy brother. &c. Ye honeſt diſcrete and well beloued Lordes, all the aforeſayd Articles we will proue agaynſt the Pope, and all his prieſtes, with many teſtimonies of the holy Scripture, whiche for breuities ſake, wee haue not here mencioned. But note ye chiefly theſe foure Articles, for whiche we ſtriue, and deſire to defend them to the death.

The popes church charged with vſurye.

The firſt Article is, that all publicke and cuſtomable mortall ſinnes ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all prieſtes and lay men, according to the cōmaundement of the holy Scripture.

The ſecond Article is, that riches ought to be taken from the Pope and all his prieſtes, from the higheſt to the loweſt, and they ought to be made poore, as the Diſciples of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte were: who had nothyng of their owne, neyther poſſeſſions in this worlde, neyther worldly power.

He meaneth the immoderate ryches and temporall poſſeſſions.

The third Article is, that the worde of God ought to be free for euery man appoynted and ordained thereto, to preache & read in all places, whether they ſhall come, without reſiſtaunce of any man or without any inhibition of either ſpirituall or earthly power openly or manifeſtly.

Men appoynted to preach may preach, though the pope forbyd them.

The fourth Article is, that the body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ought to bee deliuered to euery Chriſtian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as ẏ holy Euangeliſtes haue written. We haue alſo vnderſtode that there ſhall be a Councell in Baſill: Wherfore let no man be exalted, but let thē diligently kepe their wiues, their daughters and their virgines frō biſhops, prieſtes, & monkes. And do not thinke that there is made any holy aſſembly of Byſhops and prieſtes for the common cōmoditie and profite of Chriſtendome, but onely to this end that they may hyde their ſecrete vyces & hereſies, with the cloke of hypocriſie, & let and hinder the righteouſnes of God, whiche is much contrary to them: and for this cauſe cōſider ye diligently, that they will not make an holy aſſēbly, but the congregation of Sathan. And take ye heede that it be not done as ſome did at Conſtance, who tooke money of Byſhops and prelates, and ſuffered them to ſleepe with their wiues. Ye wellbeloued & honeſt lordes, if ye find any thing in theſe aforeſaid articles or wordes written ſomwhat ſharply, we did it not to offende or cōtemn you, but to the end that ye ſhuld diligētly conſider and deuiſe how Chriſtēdome is ſo ill kept and led by the prieſts of this preſent age. Our Lord Ieſus Chriſt kepe you both in body and ſoule. Amen. In the yere of our Lord. 1430.

When the pope holdeth hys councell, let men looke to their wiues & daughters where the coūcell is kept.

Ex vete to codi manu ſcripto

Preropus, Smahors, Conradus, Samſſmolich, Capitaines of Boemia.

Now to proſecute ẏ warres of ẏ Bohemians againe, after Ziſca was dead, whereof we did intreate before, there was great feare, ſorow, & lamentatiō in ẏ armye, the Souldiours accuſing fortune which gaue ouer ſuch an inuincible captaine to be ouercome wt death. Immediatly ther was diuiſion in the hoſt, the one part chuſing Procopius Magnus to be their Captaine, the other part ſaying, that there was none could be found worthye to ſuccede Ziſca: whereupon they chuſing oute certayne to ſerue the warres, named them ſelues Orphanes.

Great lamentatio for Ziſca.

Thus the Thaborites being diuided into twoo armies, the one part retayned their olde and accuſtomed name, and the other by meanes of the death of their captayne, named them ſelues Orphanes. And all be it, that often times there was diſſenſion betwene them, yet whēſoeuer any forrein power came towards them, they ioyned their powers together in one campe, and defended them ſelues. They ſeldome went vnto any fēſed townes except it were to bye neceſſaries, but lyued wyth theyr wyues and children in their campe and tentes. They had amongeſt thē many carres, the which they vſed as a bulwarke: For whenſoeuer they went vnto battayle, they made two wyngs of them, which cloſed in the footemen. The winges of the horſemen were on the outſyde, and when as they ſaw their time for to ioyne battayle, the wagen men which led the winges, going forth vnto the Emperours ſtanderd, and compaſſing in ſuche part of their enemies as they would, did cloſe them ſelues in together, whereby the enemies beyng incloſed, ſo that they could not be reſcued, they were partly by the footemen, & partly by the men that were in the carres with their dartes ſlayne. The horſemen fought without the fortificatiō: and if it hapned that they were oppreſſed or put to flight, by and by the carres openyng them ſelues, receiued them as it were into a fenſed City: and by this meanes they got many victories, for ſomuch as their enemies were ignoraunt of theſe pollicies. Theſe ij. armies went forth, the one into Sleſia, and the other into Morauia, and returned agayne with great pray, before their enemies knew of their commyng. After this they beſieged the towne of Swetley in Auſtrich, whereas the Thaborites and the Orphanes, ij. nightes continuallye aſſalted the walles without ceaſing, but Albert duke of Auſtrich cōming with his hoſt to ayde the Citizens, they fought by ẏ ſpace almoſt of iiij. houres, ẏ valiaunteſt warriers being ſlayne on both partes. At the lēgth the batayle was broken of, and the Thaborites loſt their carres, and Albert was put out of his camp and tentes. Within a while after, Procopius Magnus came agayne & incloſed the citie of Rhetium in Auſtria with a notable ſiege. They of Prage were in his army, & Boſſlaus Cygneus, of whom we ſpake before, was ſlaine there with a dart, and the citie of Rhetium was takē by force, ſacked and burnt. The Burgraue of Malderburg Lorde of the towne, was alſo taken & caried vnto Prage, where alſo he dyed in priſon.

The army of Ziſca deuided.

The order and policie that the armye of Ziſca vſed in warre after hys deceaſſe.

Procopius Magnus.

Theſe thinges thus done, the Emperour ſent for the nobles of Boheme, whiche went vnto him vnto a towne of Hungary, called Poſonium in the borders of Auſtria, vpon the bankes of the riuer Danubius: but they would not enter into the towne, but remained without ẏ towne in their tentes, whether as ẏ Emperour goyng out vnto them,cõmunyng much with them as touching his right and title,and the recoueryng of his fathers kyngdome, promiſing if there were any cauſe, whiche did alienate the Bohemians mindes from him,that he would take away all the occaſion therof. They made aunſwere,that he had made warre vpon them without cauſe, and that he had ſuffred their countreymen contrary to his promiſe,to be burnt at Conſtance not beyng heard,and the kyngdome to be contumeliouſly enterdited,and the nobles of Boheme to be condẽpned by the church of Rome as heretickes: and that he ſhould thinke the force & power of the Bohemians not to be ſo ſmall,but ẏ they would prouide for their own honor. Wherunto the Emperour aunſwered very gently,& offered them a generall Councell,wherin they might declare theyr innocency, if they would ſubmit them ſelues to the iudgement of the vniuerſall Churche: but the Bohemians whiche were now become valiaunt victours in armes, would not now be ouercome with woordes, and ſo nothyng beyng finally concluded,the Emperour returned home.

Then pope Martin perceiuing the Goſpell to encreaſe dayly more and more,ſent the cardinall of VVincheſter an Engliſh man,borne of a noble houſe, into Germanie to moue thẽ vnto warre againſt the Bohemians. Whereunto the Emperour alſo did aſſiſte him.

There were three armies prouided. In the firſt army were the dukes of Saxony,and the lower Cities.

The.ij.army,whiche was gathered of the Franconians,was vnder ẏ conduict of ẏ Marques of Brãdenburge.

The.iij.army was led by Otho the archbiſhop of Treuers,whom the Rhenenſes,the Bauarians,and the Imperiall Cities of Sweuia followed. Theſe armyes entryng into Boheme,in.iij.ſeuerall parts,after they were paſſed ẏ woode,they ioined together and pitched before Miſna. This towne a certain learned and eloquent proteſtante named Prichicho, the night before,had wonne from the Papiſtes: wherfore the army was determined firſt to recouer that city,before they would go any further. But whẽ as newes came vnto the hoſt,how the Proteſtãtes had gathered an army,and came withal ſpede towards them: they fled before they ſaw their enemyes, & went vnto Thacouia, leauyng behynde them their warlicke engins with a great praye. The Cardinall was not yet come into the Campe,but meetyng thẽ in their flight at Thacouia, he maruailed at ẏ cowardlye flight of ſo many noble & valiaunt men, deſiryng thẽ that they would turne agayne vnto their enemies, whiche he ſayd, were farre weaker then they. Whiche thing when he had lõg trauailed about in vayne,he was fayne to be a companion with them in their flight. They were ſcarſly entred the woode,when as the Bohemians commyng vpon thẽ, ſet vpõ their rereward. Thẽ was their flight much more diſordred & fearefull then before, neither did they leaue flying before the Bohemians left folowyng. Thẽ all impediment or let beyng takẽ away, they vanquiſhed Thacouia: and hauyng obtayned great ſtore of warlyke engins,they deſtroyed Miſna. And when they would haue returned home by Franconia,they had great ſummes of money ſent vnto them that they ſhould not waſte or deſtroy the countreys of Bramberge & Norenberge: Wherby the hoſt of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

Sigiſmundus the Emperour hauyng newes of theſe thinges,went ſtraight vnto Noremburge, and gathered there new ayde and helpe. Alſo pope Martin ſent Iulian the Cardinall of Saint Angell into Germany with this Ambaſſade,to make warre againſt the Bohemians,and that he ſhould in the Councell of Baſell,which doth now ſhortly draw on,be preſident in the Popes name. He entryng into Germany, went ſtraight to Noremberge to the Emperour,whereas many of the nobles of Germany were aſſembled.

There was a new expedition decreed againſt ẏ Bohemians,againſt the viij.Kalendes of July,and Friderike Marques of Brandenburge appoynted generall of that warre,which ſhould followe the Cardinall. He entred into Boheme by the waye that leadeth vnto Thopa,and Albertus prince of Auſtrich was appointed to bring his army thorough Morauia.

A new warre rayſed by the pope agaynſt the Bohemiãs.

In this expedition was Albert and Chriſtopher of Bauaria,and Friderike Dukes of Saxonie, Iohn and Albert princes of Brandenburge, wyth their father, which was general of thoſe warres. Alſo the biſhops of Hiperbolis,Bamberge,and Eiſten. Alſo the companye of the Sweuians,which they called the company of S. George,& the Magiſtrates of the imperiall cities, the byſhops of Mentz,Treuers and Colen ſent their aydes, and wyth them the chiefetaynes of their prouinces. It is ſaid that the number of their horſemen were aboue 40000. But their footemẽ were not full ſo many,for the Germains for the moſt part,do vſe to fyght their battels on horſebacke.

The number of the popes army againſt the Bohemians.

Alſo Rhenatus prince of Loraine promiſed to come to theſe warres,but beyng letted by his ciuill warres, for ſomuch as he went about to vanquiſh the Earle of Vandome,wherby he could not keepe his promiſe,neyther the County Pallatine of Rheine,which did ayde and ſuccour the Earle of Vandome,coulde not go agaynſt the Bohemians. The Cardinall ſtaying for them,deferred his iourney vntill the Kalendes of Auguſt. In the meane tyme Albert leadyng hys armye out of Auſtria, vnderſtonding that the Cardinall was not preſent at ẏ day appoynted, and ſeyng himſelfe vnable to encounter with ẏ Bohemian power,he returned backe againe. After thys the Cardinall entred into Boheme wyth an huge armie, and deſtroyed manye of the Proteſtantes townes,killyng men,women,and children,ſparyng neither olde nor young: notwithſtandyng this his tiranny was exerciſed in the vttermoſt borders of Boheme, for hys captaynes feared to enter farre into the lande. The Bohemians as ſone as they heard tell that their enemy was come,made ready,and gathered their hoſt with all ſpeede,and layd ſiege to a towne called Stiltiuerge, and brought it vnder ſubiection.

Cardinal Iulian with a maine hoſt entereth Boheme.

The cruell ſlaughter done by the Cardinall.

In the meane ſeaſon there fell ſuch a meruailous ſodayne feare amonges all the Papiſtes throughout the whole campe,that they began moſt ſhamefullye to run away before any enemy appeared in ſight. The Cardinall Iulianus maruailyng at this moſte ſodayne feare, and what ſhould moue ſo great an army to flie,went about vnto the Captaines,exhortyng them to put on armour,to order their batailes, & couragiouſly to abyde their enemyes,ſaying: they did not fight for the glory of theyr kyngdome, or for the poſſeſſion of landes, but for theyr liues,and the honour and * religion of Chriſt,and for the ſaluation of ſoules. How ignominious a thing is it(sayth he) for the Germaines to flye in bataile, whoſe courage and valiauntnes all the worlde doth extoll. It were much better for to dye, then to geue place to any enemies,before they were ſene: for they cã by no means liue in ſafetie within the walles, which geue place vnto their enemye in ẏ field,for it is the weapon ẏ defendeth a man and not the walles,and except they woulde euen preſently defende their libertie wyth the ſwoorde, they ſhoulde ſhortlye be in greater bondage,more miſerable then any death. But thys exhortation was all in vayne, for feare had put away all boldnes: for the enſignes wer ſnatched vp,and, as though there had bene no captaine in the hoſt,euery man ran hedlong away. No man regarded any commaundement, neyther once tooke hys leaue of hys captayne, but caſtyng awaye theyr armour wyth ſpeedy flight they ranne awaye, as though their enemy had bene at their backes. The Cardinal alſo,although it were againſt his wyll,was forced to doe the lyke.

God ſtriketh feare in the popes army.

* Rather for the religion of Antichriſt.

This Cardinall belike loued to preach rather in the campe then in the church.

The cardinals army ran away for feare.

Thus the proteſtantes by the feare of their enemies made the more bolde and couragious, purſued them thorow the woodes, and had a great pray and ſpoyle of them. Nothwithſtandyng, Albertus, when he hearde tell that the Cardinal was entered into Boheme, wyth all ſpeede came agayne out of Auſtrich wyth his armye, and beſieged the ſtrong towne of Prezorabia: but when he vnderſtoode how the Cardinall was fled, he lefte of hys purpoſe, and returned throughe Morauia, whiche was not yet ſubiect vnto him, and deſtroyed aboue fifty townes with fire and ſword, tooke manye of their cities by force, and ſpoyled them, committing great murther and ſlaughter, & ſo afflicted them, that they tooke vpon them his yoke, and promiſed to be ſubiect and obedient to him vnder this condition, that as touching religion he would be bound to do that which the councel of Baſyll ſhould determine.

Great ſlaughter in Boheme by Duke Albert.

Then was there an Ambaſſade ſent out of Boheme vnto Baſell, where as Sigiſmund held the counceil, who during the time of warres, had kept himſelfe at Norenburge. When as he ſhould take his iourney vnto Rome to be crowned Emperour, he wrote letters vnto the nobles of Boheme, wherein was contayned howe that he was a Bohemian borne, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation, then to his owne, and that he went to Rome for none other cauſe, but to bee crowned: the whiche his honour ſhould alſo be a renowne to ẏ Bohemians, whom to aduaunce it hath bene alwayes hys ſpeciall care.

The Councell of Baſill.

A letter of the Emperour to the Bohemians.

Alſo how ẏ through his endeuour the Councell was begõ at Baſell, exhortyng all ſuch as were deſirous to be heard as touchyng religion, that they ſhould come thether, and that they would not mainteine any quarell cõtrary to ẏ holy mother church: that the Councell would louingly & gentilly heare their reaſons: that they ſhould onely endeuour them ſelues to agree with the Synode as touchyng religion, and reſerue and kepe a quiet and peaſable kingdom for him, againſt his returne: Neither ſhould ẏ Bohemians thinke to refuſe his regimẽt, whoſe brother, father, and vncle, had reigned ouer them, & that he would reigne ouer thẽ after no other meane or ſorte, then other Chriſtian kings vſed to do.

The Councell of Baſell alſo wrote their letter to ẏ Bohemians, ẏ they ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadours whiche ſhould ſhow a reaſon of their fayth, promiſing ſafeconduict to go & come, and free libertie to ſpeake what they would. The Bohemians in this point were of two opinions, for ẏ proteſtants & almoſt all ẏ cõmon people, ſayd, it was not good to go, alledging ẏ examples of I. Hus & Hierome of Prage, which going vnto Conſtance vnder ẏ ſafeconduict of the Emperour, were there openly burned. But the Nobilitie folowyng the mynd of Maynardus, prince of the new houſe, ſayd that they ought to goo vnto the Councell, and that they are not to bee ſuffered whiche had inuented thoſe new and ſtraunge opiniõs of faith, and new kynde of Religion, except they would render accompt of their doynges and ſayinges before the vniuerſall church, and defend thoſe thinges, which they had openly taught, before learned men. This opinion tooke place, and an Ambaſſade of. 300. horſe was ſent vnto Baſell. The chief whereof were VVilliam Coſca a valiaunt knight & Procopius ſurnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, Iohn Rochezana preacher of Prage, Nicolas Galecus, Miniſter of the Thaborites, and one Peter an Engliſhman, of excellent prompt and pregnant witte. The people came in great number out of the towne, and many out of the Synode and Councell, attending before the gates to ſee the commyng of this valiaunt & famous people: other ſome gathered together in great number into the ſtreets where as they ſhould paſſe through. The matrones, maydes & children, filled the wyndowes and houſes to behold and ſee, and to maruaile at their ſtraunge kynd of apparell, and ſtoute couragious countenaunces, ſaying that it was not vntrue which was reported of thẽ: notwithſtãdyng all men beheld Procopius, ſaying, this is he which hath ouerthrowen the Papiſtes in ſo many battailes, whiche hath ſubuerted ſo many townes, and ſlayne ſo many men, whom both his enemyes and alſo his owne ſouldiours, doo feare and reuerence: alſo, that he was a bolde, valiaunt and inuincible Captaine, which could not bee ouercome with no terrour, labour or trauaile. These Bohemian Ambaſſadours were gently receiued.

The Bohemians ſent for, by the councell.

Safeconducte geuen to the Bohemians to come to the councell.

A doubt amõg the Bohemiãs, whether to go to the councell of Baſill, or no.

Thys Maynardus was after a great backe frende to the faythfull Bohemians.

300 horſemen of the Bohemians ſent ambaſſ. to the Councell.

This Engliſh man was Peter Payne.

The receauing of the Bohemians at Baſill.

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The next day after, Cardinall Iulianus ſendyng for thẽ vnto the Councell houſe, made a gẽtle, long, & eloquent oration vnto them, exhortyng them to vnitie and peace, ſaying, that the Churche was the ſpouſe of our ſauiour Chriſt, & the mother of all faithfull, that it hath ẏ keyes of byndyng and loſing, and alſo that it is white & fayre, without ſpot or wryncle, & can not erre in thoſe pointes which are neceſſary to ſaluation, and that he which doth contemne the ſame church. is to bee counted as a Prophane, Ethnike, and Publicane, neither can this church be repreſented better by any meanes, then in this Councell. He exhorted them alſo to receiue the decrees of the Councell, and to geue no leſſe credit vnto the Councell then vnto the Goſpell, by whoſe authoritie, the Scriptures them ſelues are receiued and allowed. Alſo that ẏ Bohemians whiche call them ſelues, the children of the church, ought to heare the voyce of their mother, which is neuer vnmindfull of her childrẽ: how that now of late they haue liued apart frõ their mother, albeit (ſayd he) ẏ is no new or ſtraũge thyng, for there haue bene many in times paſt, whiche haue forſaken their mother, & yet ſeking after ſaluation haue returned to her againe. That in ẏ tyme of Noes floud, as many as were without the Arke periſhed. That ẏ Lordes Paſſeouer was to be eatẽ in one houſe. That there is no ſaluatiõ to be ſought for out of ẏ church, & that this is ẏ garden & famous Fountaine of water, wherof whoſoeuer ſhall drinke, ſhall not thirſt euerlaſtyngly. That the Bohemians haue done as they ought, in ẏ they haue ſought ẏ fountaines of thys water at the Cõucell, & haue determined now at length to geue eare vnto their mother. Now all hatred ought to ceaſe, all armour and weapon is to be laid apart, and all occaſion of warre vtterly to be reiected: For the fathers would louingly and gently here whatſoeuer they would ſay in their owne cauſe or quarel, requiring onely that they would wyllingly receaue and embrace the good counſels and determinations of the ſacred Synode: whereunto not onely the Bohemians, but alſo all other faithfull Chriſtians, ought to conſent and agree, if they will be partakers of eternall lyfe.

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This Oration of the Cardinall, was heard and very well allowed of ẏ fathers. Whereunto the Bohemiãs aunſwered in fewe woordes, that they neither had contemned ẏ church nor the Councells: that the ſentẽce geuen at Conſtance agaynſt thoſe whiche were vnheard, doth diminiſhe nothyng of the Chriſtian Religion: that the authoritie of the fathers hath alwayes remained amongeſt them inuiolate, & whatſoeuer thyng ẏ Bohemians had taught, to be confirmed by the Scriptures and Goſpell, and that they are now come to manifeſt theyr innocencie before the whole churche, and to require opẽ audience, where as the laitie may alſo be preſent. The requeſt was graunted them: and beyng further demaũded in what pointes they did diſagree from the churche of Rome, they propounded foure Articles.

The Bohe
mians au
ſwere to
the Cardi
nals orati

Firſt, they affirmed, that al ſuch as would be ſaued, ought of neceſſity to receiue the communion of the laſt ſupper vnder both kindes of bread and wyne.

The ſecond article, they affirmed all ciuill rule and dominion to be forbidden vnto the Clergye by the lawe of God.

The arti
cles whe
in the Bo
hemians
diſſented
from th
church o
Rome

The third article, that the preaching of the worde of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth article, as touching open crimes and offences which are in no wyſe to be ſuffered for the auoyding of greater euyll.

Theſe were the onelye propoſitions which they propounded before the Councell in the name of the whole realme. Then an other Ambaſſadour affirmed ÿ he had heard of the Bohemians diuers & ſundry thinges offenſiue to Chriſtian eares, amongeſt ÿ which this was one poynt, that they ſhould preach that the inuention of the order of begging friers was diabolicall.

Then Procopius riſing vp, ſayd, neither is it vntrue: for if neither Moiſes, neither before him the Patriarks, neither after him the Prophetes, neither in the new law Chriſt and hys Apoſtles dyd inſtitute the order of begging friers, who doth doubt but that it was an inuention of the deuill, and a worke of darkenes?

This anſwer of Procopius was derided of them all: And Cardinal Iulianus went about to proue that not onely the decrees of the Patriarkes and Prophetes, & thoſe thinges which Chriſt and his Apoſtles had inſtituted to be onely of God, but alſo all ſuch decrees as the churche ſhould ordaine, being guided through the holye ghoſte, be the workes of God. Albeit as he ſayd, the order of begging friers, might ſeme to be taken out of ſome part of the Goſpell. The Bohemians choſe out. iiij. Diuines which ſhould declare their articles to be takē out of the ſcriptures. Likewyſe on the contrary part there was. 4 appoynted by the councell. Thys diſputation continued fifty dayes, where many thinges were alleadged on eyther parte, wherof, as place ſhall ſerue, more hereafter (by the grace of Chriſte) ſhall be ſayde, when we come to the tyme of that councell.

In the meane ſeaſon whiſle the Bohemians were thus in long conflictes with Sigiſmunde the Emperour and the pope, fightyng for their religion, vnto whome notwithſtandyng all the fulnes of the popes power was bent agaynſt them, God of his goodnes had geuen ſuch noble victories, as is aboue expreſſed, and euer dyd proſper them ſo long as they could agree among thēſelues: as theſe thinges (I ſay) were doing in Boheme: Kyng Henry the v. fighting likewiſe in Fraunce, albeit for no lyke matters of religion, fel ſicke at Bois, and died after he had raigned ix. yeares v. monthes, three weekes and odde dayes from his coronation. This kyng in hys lyfe & in all his doinges was ſo deuout and ſeruiceable to the Pope & his chaplens, that he was called of many, the Prince of prieſtes: who left behynd him a ſonne being yet an infant, ix. monthes and xv. dais of age, whom he had by queene Katherin daughter to the French kyng, maried to him about 2. or 3. yeares before.

The death of K. Henry v. called prince of prieſtes for fauouring the pope.

The name of which prince ſucceedyng after his father, was Henry vi. left vnder the gouernment and protection of his vncle named Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter.

(:)

¶ *The names of the Archbiſhops of Cant. in this fift booke conteyned.*

54	Simon Iſlepe.	17
56	Simon Langham.	2
57	VVilliam VVitleſey	5
58	Simon Sudbery.	6
59	VVilliam Courtney.	15
60	Tho. Arundell.	18
61	Henr. Chicheſley.	29

The ſixte parte or Section, perteynyng. to the laſt. 300. yeares, mentioned in the begynnyng of the fift booke before.

A Preface to the gentle Reader.

ACcording to the fyue ſundry diuerſities and alterations of the Church, ſo haue I diuided hitherto the order of this preſent churchſtory into fiue principall partes, euery part contayning. 300. yeares. So that now comming to the laſt. 300. yeares, that is, to the laſt times of the church, counting from the time of Wickliffe: Foraſmuch as in the compaſſe of the ſayd laſt 300. yeares, are contayned great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the meruailous reformation of the ſame through the wondrous operation of the almightye, all which thynges cannot be comprehended in one booke, I haue therefore diſpoſed the ſayd later. 300. yeares, into diuers bookes, beginning nowe with the. vi. booke, at the raygne of king Henry the. vi. In whych booke, beſide the greuous and ſondry perſecutions raiſed vp by Antichriſt, to be noted, herein is alſo to be obſerued, that where as it hath of long time bene receiued and thought of the common people, that this religion now generallye vſed, hath ſpronge vp and riſen but of late, euen by the ſpace (as many doe thinke) of. xx. or. xxx. yeares, it may nowe manifeſtlye appeare, not onely by the actes and monumentes heretofore paſſed, but alſo by the hiſtories hereafter following, how thys profeſſion of Chriſtes religion hath bene ſpread abrode in England of old and auncient time, not onely from the ſpace of theſe. cc. later yeares, from the time of Wyckleffe, but hath continually frō tyme to tyme ſparkled abroad, although the flames therof haue neuer ſo perfectlye burſt out, as they haue done within theſe hundred yeares and more: As by theſe hiſtories here collected and gathered out of regiſters, eſpecially of the dioces of Norwich, ſhall manifeſtly appeare: wherein may be ſene what men, and howe many both men and wemen within the ſayd dioceſſe of Norwych, haue bene, whych haue defended the ſame cauſe of doctrine, which now is receiued by vs in the church. Which perſons although then they were not ſo ſtrongly armed in their cauſe & quarell, as of late yeares they haue bene, yet were they warriours in Chriſtes Churche, and fought for their power, in the ſame cauſe. And although they gaue backe through tyranny, yet iudge thou the beſt good Reader, and referre the cauſe thereof to God, who reuealeth all thinges according to hys determined wyll and appoynted tyme.

¶ *King Henry vi.*

King Henry vi.

An. 1422

This yong prince beyng vnder the age of one yere, after ẏ death of hys father, ſucceded in his reigne and kyngdome of England, an. 1422. and in the viij. yeare was crowned at Weſtminſter: and the ſecōd yeare after was crowned alſo at Paris, Henry biſhop of Winchester, cardinall being preſent at them both, and reigned. 38. yeares, and then was depoſed by Edward ẏ. iiij. as here after (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe declared in his time. In the firſt yeare of his reigne was burned ẏ conſtant witnesbearer and teſtis of Chriſtes doctrine, VVilliam Taylour, a prieſt vnder Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Of this VVilliam Taylour I read, that in the dayes of Thomas Arundell, he was firſt apprehended, and abiured. Afterward in the dayes of Henry Chicheſley, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1421. which was a yeare before hys burning, the ſayd VVilliam Taylour appeared agayn in the connocation before the Archb. being brought by the Biſhop of Worceſter, being complained of to haue taught at Briſtowe theſe Articles folowyng.

Ex Scala mundi.

Ex Regiſt. Cant.

William Taylour the fyrſt tyme apprehended.

W. Taylour agayne appeareth before the Archb.

Three articles fyrſt obiected to W. Taylour.

Firſt, that who ſoeuer hāgeth any Scripture about his necke, taketh away the honor due onely to God, and geueth it to the deuill.

Secondly, that no humaine perſon is to be worſhypped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the ſanctes are not to bee worſhipped nor inuocated.

Vpon theſe Articles the ſayd VVilliā Taylour beyng examined, denyed that he did preache or holde them in way of defendyng them, but onely did common & talke vpon the ſame, eſpecially vpon the ſecond and third Article, onely in way of reaſonyng and for argument ſake. And to iuſtifie his opinion to be true in that whiche he did holde, he brought out of his boſome a paper or libell written, wherin were conteined certaine Articles, with the teſtimonies of the doctours alledged, and exhibited ẏ ſame vnto the Archbiſhop. Who thē being byde to ſtād a ſide, the Archbiſhop conſultyng together with the Byſhops & other prelates, what was to be done in the matter, deliuered the writynges vnto maiſter Iohn Caſtle, and Iohn Rikynghale, the two Vicechauncelours of Oxford & Cambridge, & to Iohn Langdon monke of Cāterbury. Who aduiſing with them ſelues, and with other diuines, about the Articles and allegations, on the mōday folowyng preſented the ſayd Articles of VVilliam Taylour, to the Archbyſhop and Prelates, as erroneous and hereticall. Wherupon VVilliam Taylour being called before them, in concluſion was contented to reuoke the ſame, and for his penaunce was by them cōdemned to perpetuall priſon.

Notwithſtandyng through fauour they were contented, that he ſhould be releaſed from his carcerall induraunce, in caſe he would put in ſufficient ſuretie in the kynges Chauncerye, and ſweare that he ſhall neuer holde or fauour any ſuch opinions hereafter. And thus the ſayd VVilliam Taylour appoynted to appeare the next Weneſday at Lambeth before the Archbiſhop, to take hys abſolution from hys long excōmunication duryng the tyme from Thomas Arundell, appeared againe before him, where he layeng a ſide hys Arunlouſa, that is, hys cloke, his cap, and ſtripped vnto his doublet, kneled at the feete of the Archbyſhop. Who then ſtandyng vp, and hauyng a rodde in his hande, began the Pſalme, Miſerere. &c. his chapleins aunſweryng the ſecond verſe. After that was ſayd the Collecte, Deus cui proprium. &c. with certain other prayers. And ſo taking an othe of him, the Archbiſhop committed him to the cuſtody of the Biſhop of Worceſter, to whom power and authoritie was permitted to releaſe him, vpon the conditions aforeſayd. And thus was VVilliam Taylour, for that tyme abſolued, being enioyned notwithſtanding to appeare at the next conuocation when ſoeuer it ſhould bee, before the ſayd Archbyſhop or hys ſucceſſour that ſhould followe hym.

In the meane tyme, while VVilliam Taylour was thus in the cuſtody of the Byſhop of Worceſter, there paſſed certayne writynges betwene him, and one Thomas Smith prieſt at Briſtowe, in the whiche writynges VVilliam Taylour replyed agaynſt the ſayd Thomas, concernyng the queſtion of worſhippyng Sanctes. Vpō the occaſiō of whiche replye, being brought to the hands of the Biſhop of Worceſter, VVilliam Taylour began a new to be troubled, and was brought agayne before the publicke conuocation of the clergie, by the ſayd Byſhop of Worceſter, to aunſwere vnto his writynges. This was. an. 1422. the xi. day of February. Vnto the whiche conuocation the ſayd VVilliam being preſented, his writinges tyngs were read to him, whiche he would not nor could not deny to be of his owne hand wrytyng.

opiniō W.Tay- cōcer- g wor- ng of ctes.

The tenour and effect of whoſe wrytyng onely tended to proue, that euery petition and prayer for any ſupernaturall gifte, ought to bee directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit in thys hys wrytyng he dyd not vtterlye denye, that it was not lawfull in no reſpect to pray to Sainctes (and bryngeth for the ſame Thomas Aquine) but onely in reſpecte of that worſhyp, which is called Cultus latriæ: And further ſo proſecuteth his mind herein, that he ſemeth litle or nothing to differ from the ſuperſtition of the Papiſtes: as moſt plainely appeareth by his owne wordes, ſaying: Nunquam tamē negaui, aut negare intendo, merita aut ſanctorum ſuffragia tam beatorum, quam viantium, tam viuis, quam mortuis ad hoc diſpoſitis, quamtum poſſunt, ſuffragari, vel proficere, quia hoc eſt elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ nō fallit, & ex conſona ratione. &c. And moreouer he inferreth ẏ example of Moſes, who prayed vnto God, alledgyng the merites of Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, whiche were dead. &c: And furthermore paſſyng frō the teſtimonie of Hierome, and alleging the example of Steuen, ſayth: Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus ſuis, quam tunc exauditus eſt pro lapidatoribus. And at length he cōmeth to this cōcluſion, prouyng by S. Auſten, in this maner: Ne igitur cum impijs & idolatris in veteri teſtamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deueniendo ad cētrum, ſanum eſt quod faciamus ſecundum conſilium Apoſtoli ſic dicentis: Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ eius, vt miſericordiā conſequamur & gratiam inueniamus in auxilio oportuno. &c. That is. And therfore leſte wee runne about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of ẏ old Teſtament, and neuer come to ẏ center, therfore it is wholeſome and good counſaile, that we folow the mynde, of the Apoſtle, ſaying: Let vs reſort with boldnes vnto the throne of his grace, that we may obteyne mercy, & finde grace in tyme of oportune helpe. &c.

hat ie, ti, ship, ich is ly due God.

g. ſu- Pſal. u.

Thus much out of the foreſayd wrytyng of VVilliā Taylour I haue excerped, to the intent that the indifferent reader, vſing his iudgement herein, may ſee howe litle matter was in this, wherfore he ſhould be condemned by the papiſtes. And yet notwithſtandyng the ſame wrytyng beyng deliuered by the Archbyſhop, to the iiij. orders of friers of London to be examined, was found erroneous and hereticall in theſe pointes.

rticles ke 4.or of fry- lyd a- nſt W. ylour.

1. Firſt, ẏ euery prayer, which is a petition of ſome ſupernaturall gift or frée gift, is to be directed only to god.
2. Item, that prayer is to bee directed to God alone.
3. Item, to pray to any creature is to cōmit idolatrie.
4. Alſo an other opinion there was much lyke to the other, to make vp the fourth, ſo that although all theſe opinions agreed in one, yet to make vp a number euery order of the foure ſortes of Friers, thought to finde out ſome matter to offer vp to the Archb. agaynſt hym, leſte one order ſhould ſeme more cunning or pregnant in fyndyng out more, then could an other: or ells perchaunce leſte any of them ſhoulde ſeeme to fauour the partie, in bryngyng nothyng agaynſt hym, as the reſt had done.

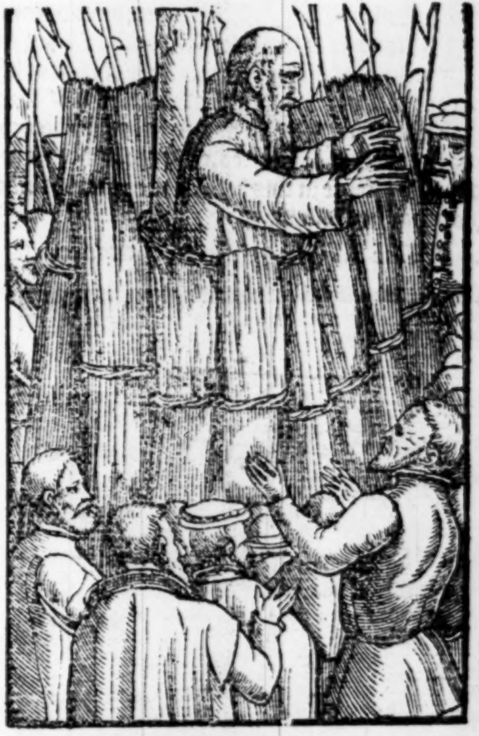
When the Saterday was come, whiche was the xx. day of February, vpon the whiche day the foure orders were appointed to declare their cenſure vppon the Articles in ẏ chapiter houſe of Paules firſt appeareth Frier Tylle, for ẏ Blacke Friers, thē Frier Wynchelſey: thē frier Lowe: After frier Aſhewell, eche frier for his order ſeuerally bryngyng hys hereſie, as is aboue ſpecifyed.

Thus the verdicte of theſe. iiij. orders being geuen vp to the Archbiſhop, and ſeuerally, eche order commyng in with his hereſie, whiche was the. xx. day of February, VVilliam Taylour vpon the ſame was forthwith cōdemned as a relapſe, firſt to be degraded, and after to be burned, & ſo was cōmitted to the ſeculare power. Who then beyng had to Smithfield, the firſt day of March, with Chriſtian conſtancie, after long impriſonment, there did conſummate his Martyrdome. an. 1422.

Tay- n dil- ted.

W. Taylour Martyr burned in Smythfield.

¶ The burnyng of VVilliā Taylour, Prieſt.



The maner of his degradyng was all one with the degradyng of Iohn Hus before: for the papiſtes vſe but one forme, for all men. Firſt diſgradyng them frō prieſthood, by takyng from thē the Chalyce and Patine. Frō Deaconſhip, by takyng from them the Goſpell booke & Tunicle. From Subdeaconſhip, by taking frō them the Epiſtle booke and Tunicle. From Accoluteſhyp, by takyng from them the Cruet and Candelſticke. From an Exorciſte, by takyng away the booke of Exorciſmes or Graduall. From the Sextonſhyp, by takyng away the churchdore key and ſurplis. And likewiſe from Benet, in takyng away the ſurplis, & firſt tonſure. &c. All which they orderly accompliſhed vpon this godly Martyr, before his burnyng.

The popes maner of degradation.

¶ *Iohn Florence a Turner.*

John Florence a Turner.

IHon Florence a Turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the dioceſſe of Norwich, was attached for that he helde & taught theſe hereſies here vnder wrytten (as they called thē) cōtrary to the determinatiō of the church of Rome.

In primis that the Pope and Cardinals haue no power to make or conſtitute any lawes.

Item, that there is no day to be kept holy, but onely the Sonday which God hath halowed.

Item, that men ought to faſt no other time, but of the Quatuor temporum.

Item, that images are not to be worſhipped, neither that the people ought to ſet vp anye lightes before them in the churches, neyther to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item that Curates ſhould not take the tithes of their pariſhioners, but that ſuch tithes ſhoulde be deuided amongeſt the poore pariſhoners.

He meaneth they ſhould not claime ſuch tythes by any exaction.

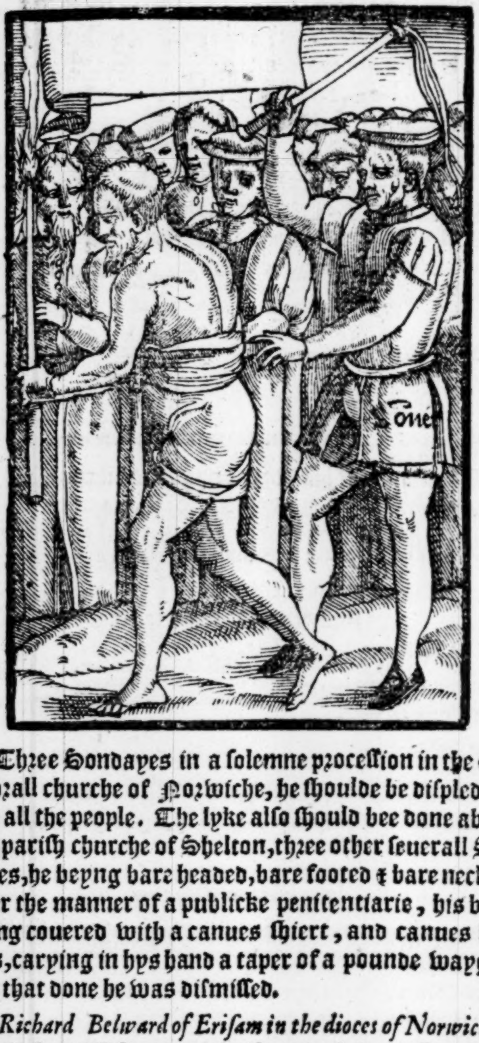
Item that all ſuch as ſweare by their lyfe or power, ſhall be damned, except they repent.

1424.

Vppon Wenſday, being the ſecond daye of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lorde. 1424. the ſayde Iohn Florence perſonally appeared before William Bernam, Chauncelour to William biſhop of Norwich, where as he proceeding againſt him, obiected the firſt article touching the power of the Pope and Cardinals: to whych article the ſaid Iohn Florence anſwered in this maner.

If the Pope liue vprightlye as Peter lyued, he hath power to make lawes: otherwiſe, I beleue he hath no power. But being afteward threatned by the iudge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and ſubmitted hym ſelfe to the correction of the church, and was abiured, taking an othe that from that time forward he ſhould not hold teache, preache, or willingly defend anye errour or hereſie contrary to the determinatiō of the church of Rome, neither mayntayne, helpe, or ayd any that ſhall teach or hold any ſuch errors or hereſies, either priuely or apertly, and for his offence in this behalfe done, he was enioyned this penaunce following.

¶ The diſplyng of Iohn Florence.



The maner of thys diſplyng was with a whyte rodde, thryſe layde vpon the head of the penitenciarye.

Three Sondayes in a ſolemne proceſſion in the Cathedrall churche of Norwiche, he ſhoulde be diſpled before all the people. The lyke alſo ſhould bee done abont hys pariſh churche of Shelton, three other ſeuerall Sondayes, he beyng bare headed, bare footed & bare necked, after the manner of a publicke penitentiarie, his body beyng couered with a canues ſhiert, and canues breches, carying in hys hand a taper of a pounde wayght, and that done he was diſmiſſed.

¶ Richard Belward of Eriſam in the dioces of Norwich.

RIchard Belward of Eriſam, in the dioceſſe of Norwich, was accuſed for holding and teachyng theſe errours and opinions here vnder wrytten, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

He meaneth the wicked biſhops of that tyme, whoſe curſes God did bleſſe.

In primis that Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters and Ordinaries haue no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate: And albeit that a biſhop do excommunicate any man: God doth abſolue him.

Item that he held the erroneous opinions & concluſions, that Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle held whē he was in pryſon, and affirmed that ſyr Iohn Oldcaſtel was a true catholike man, and falſly condemned & put to death without any reaſonable cauſe.

Thys proueth Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle to be no traytour.

Item that ſuch as go on pilgrimage, offering to Images made of wood and ſtone, are excommunicate becauſe they ought to offer to the quicke, & not to the dead: and that the eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, that is to ſaye, the curates, do ſell God vpon Eaſter day, when as they receiue offeringes of ſuch as ſhould communicate before they do miniſter the Sacrament vnto them.

Item, that hee counſeled diuers wemen, that they ſhould not offer in the church for the dead, neither wyth wemen that were purified.

Item that he blamed diuerſe of his neyghbours that refuſed his doctrine, ſaying vnto thē: truly ye are fooles that deny to learne yͤ doctrine of my ſect, for your neighbours which are of my ſect, are able to confound & vanquiſh all other that are of your ſect.

The wor of the Re giſter.

Item, that the ſaintes which are in heauen, ought in no caſe to be prayed vnto, but onely God.

Item that the ſayd Richard kepeth ſcholes of lollardy in the Engliſh tounge, in the towne of Dychinghā, and a certayne parchment maker bryngeth him all the bookes contaynyng that doctrine from London.

The. v. day of Iuly. 1424. the ſayd Richard Belward was brought before Iohn, biſhop of Norwich ſitting in place of iudgement, whereas the foreſayd articles were obiected agaynſt the ſayd Richard, which hee there denied: whereupon the biſhop appointed him an other day to purge himſelfe, the mondaye nexte after the feaſt of S. Marget: vpon which day being the. xxiiij. of Iulye, in the yeare aforeſayd, he appeared agayne before the byſhop, & brought with him. ix. of his neighbours to purge him vpon thoſe articles, and there did ſolemnlye purge himſelfe. And afterward, forſomuch as the ſayde biſhop ſuſpected the ſaid Richard Belward greatly of lolardy, he commaunded hym there preſently to ſweare vpō the Euangeliſtes, that from that daye forwarde he ſhoulde not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any errour or hereſie, contrary to the church of Rome, neither ayd, aſſiſt, fauour or mayntaine, priuely or apertly, anye maner of perſon or perſons, that ſhoulde holde or mayntaine the ſayd errors or hereſies, In the preſence of maiſter William Bernam, Iohn Wadden, Robert Serle and Ihon Berne Eſquire, and other of hys neyghbours whyche came vnto hys purgation.

Iohn Go deſell of Dichyng- ham.

In lyke maner Iohn Goddeſel of Dichingam parchmentmaker, was detected and accuſed vppon the ſame articles, and therupon brought before the biſhop: wheras he denyeng them, purged himſelf by his neighbors, as Richard Belward before had done, being ſworne alſo in lyke maner, as he was, and ſo was diſmiſſed and ſet at liberty, vntil the yeare of our Lord. 1428. when as he was agayne apprehended, accuſed and abiured, as ſhalbe more at large declared in the hiſtorye when wee come to that yeare. Sir Hugh Pye alſo, chaplain of Ludney, in the dioces of Norwich, was lykewyſe accuſed & brought before the byſhop of Norwich the. v. day of Iuly An. 1424. for holdyng of theſe opinions followyng.

Syr Hug Pye prie

That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, that the people oughte not to geue almes, but onely vnto ſuch as begge at their doores.

Image of the croſſe not to be worſhipped.

Item that the Image of the croſſe and other Images are not to be worſhipped: And that the ſaide Hugh, had caſt the croſſe of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, whiche he tooke from one Iohn VVelgate of Ludney. Which articles, as is aforeſayd, being obiected againſt hym, he vtterly denied: wherupon he had a day appointed to purge himſelfe by the witnes of three lay men and three prieſtes. That ſo done, he was ſworne as the other before, and ſo diſmiſſed.

After this, in the yeare of oure Lord. 1428. kyng Henry the vi. ſent down moſt cruell letters of commiſſion vnto Iohn Exetor and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtle of Colcheſter, for the apprehending of ſir VVilliam VVhite prieſt, and others ſuſpected of hereſie, the tenour wherof, hereafter enſeweth.

☞ *The copy of the kinges letters directed to Iohn Exeter, and* Iacolet Germaine, keper of the caſtle of Colcheſter, for the apprehendyng of Sir William White prieſt and other, (as they called them) Lollardes.

A letter the kyng

HEnry by the grace of God kyng of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, to his welbeloued Iohn Exetor, and Iacolet Germaine keper of the caſtle of Colcheſter, health. Ye ſhall vnderſtand that we fully truſtyng vnto your fidelitie and circumſpections, haue appointed

pointed you iointlye & ſeuerallye to take and arreſt William White prieſt, and Thomas, late chaplaine of Setlyng, in the countie of Norfolke, and William Northampton prieſt, & all other whatſoeuer they be that are ſuſpect of hereſie or lollardie, wherſoeuer they may be founde within the liberties or without, and ſtraight waye being ſo taken, to ſend thē vnto our next gayle or priſō, vnto ſuch tyme as we ſhall haue taken other order for their deliuerie: And therfore we ſtraighely commaund you, that ye diligently attende about the premiſſes, and fulfill the ſame in forme aforeſayd. Alſo we charge and commaunde all and ſinguler Iuſtices of peace, Maiors, Shrieues, Bailyfes, Conſtables, and all other our faythfull officers, by the tenour of theſe preſents, that they do aſſiſt, ayde, and counſail you and euery of you, in the execution of the premiſſes, as it ſhal be comely for them. In witnes wherof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to bee made. Witnes my ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the vi. of Iulye, the vi. yeare of our raigne.

By vertue of whiche commiſſion we fynde in olde monuments, that within ſhort ſpace after, Iohn Exeter, which was appointed one of the Commiſſioners, attached vi. perſons in the towne of Bungay in the dioces of Norwiche, and committed them to VVilliam Day, and VVilliam Roe, Conſtables of the towne of Bungay, to be ſent within. x. daies folowing vnder ſafe cuſtody, vnto the Caſtle of Norwich. Whoſe names, through the antiquitie of monument were ſo defaced that we could not attayne to the perfect knowledge of them all: onely three names partly remayned in the booke to be redde, which were theſe.

☞ Iohn Waddon of Tenterdon, in the countie of Kent, Bartilmew, monke of Erſham, in the countie of Norfolk, Corneleader a maried man. William Skuts.

Theſe three were in the cuſtody of the Duke of Northfolke, at his caſtle of Fremingham.

Beſides theſe, we alſo fynde in the ſayd olde monumentes within the dioces of Norfolke and Suffolke, ſpeciallye in ẏ townes of Beckels, Erſham & Ludney, a great number both of men & women to haue bene vexed and caſt in priſon, and after their abiuratiō, brought to opē ſhame in churches and markets by the biſhop of ẏ ſaid dioces called VVilliam, and hys Chauncellor VVilliam Berneham, Iohn Exeter beyng the Regiſter therin, ſo that wythin the ſpace of 3, or 4. yeares, that is from the yere. 1428. vnto the yeare. 1431. about the number of 120. men and womē were examined and ſuſtained greate vexation for the profeſſion of the Chriſtian fayth: of whome ſome were onely taken vpon ſuſpition onely for eatyng of meates prohibited vpō vigil dayes, who of their purgatiō made, eſcaped more eaſily away and wyth leſſe puniſhment, whoſe names here followe ſubſcribed.

Williā biſhop of Norwich. William Berneham hys Chauncelour.

¶ *The names of them that were taken and examined vpon ſuſpicion of hereſie.*

A cataloge of good men and wemen troubled for ſuſpicion of hereſie.

Robert Skyrning of Harleſtone.
William Skyrning.
Iohn Terry of Erſham.
Iohn Aybtre of Erſham.
Iohn Middleton of Haluergate.
Iohn wayde of Erſham.
Richard Clarke of Sethyng.
Thomas white of Bedyngham.
Maiſter Robert Beert of Berry.
Richard Page of Clipſye.

The other were more cruelly handeled, & ſome of them were put to death and burned, of whom we do ſpecially fynde mention made of theſe three.

Father Abraham of Colcheſter.
William white Prieſt.
Iohn waddon Prieſt

¶ The reſidue, for a great number of good men and women, were forced to abiure, ſuſtainyng ſuche cruell penaunce as pleaſed then the ſayd biſhop, and his Chauncellour to lay vpon them. The names of whiche both men and women here followe together in thys briefe Cataloge to be ſeene.

Iohn Beuerley.
Iohn wardon.
Iohn Middleton. Iohn Baker.
Iohn Kynget.
Margery Backſter.
Iohn Skilley.
Iohn Godhold.
Thomas Albeck. Iohn Piers.
Nicholas Canon of Eye.
Thomas Pye.
Iohn Mendham.
Iohn Myddleton.
Thomas Chatris.
Thomas wade.
William Taylor.
Iohn Cupper, vicar of Tunſtall,
Syr Hugh Pie prieſt.
Bartilmew Thatcher.
Thomas Iames.
Iohn Fowlyng.
Bertram Cornemonger.
Thomas Swerdyn.
Alanus Andrew.
William Wright.
William Euerden,
William Taylor.
Auis the wyfe of Thomas Mone and her daughter.
Rychard Fletcher of Beckels.
Nicholas Belward.
Thomas Grenemere.
Iohn Clarke. William Bate,
William Schermyng.
William Oſbourne.
Iohn Rene of Beckels.
Baldwine Cooper of Beckels.
Iohn Pert, M. mones ſeruant.
Robert Brigges, Iohn Finche.
Iohn wrophā, Thomas Mone.
Iſabel Chapleyne of Martham.
William Maſſe of Erſham.
Iohn Goodwyn of Erſham.
Henry Latchcold of Erſham.
Henry Boode of Erſham.
Richard Horne of Erſham.
Iohn Belward ſenior of Erſham.
Iohn Belward iunior of Erſham.
Iohn Spire of Bungay.
Robert Colle of Turning.
The heard of Sheepemedow.
Iſabel Dauy of Coſtes.
Sybyll, wyfe of Iohn Godeſell of Dicham.
Iohn Pyrye of Bartham.
Iohn Baker, Margery wright.
Thomas Burrell and hys wyfe.
Iohn Pert. Edmund Archer.
The Clarke of Ludney.
Richard Clarke of Seethyng.
Katherine the wyfe of William wright. William Colin of South creke.
Richard kyng of wyndham.
Thomas plowman. Iohn Fellis.
Thomas Loue of Rokeland.
Richard Knobbyng of Beckels.
Richard Grace of Beckels.
Iohn Eldon of Beckels.
William Hardy. William Bate.
Iohn weſton. Katherine Hobs.
Iohn Dawe.
Robert Grigges of Martham.
William Calis prieſt.
Thomas Pert Prieſt.
Katherine Dauy.
Iacob Hodhone and Margaret hys wyfe. Iohn Mannyng of Marton. Iohn Cullyng of Beenſter
Richard Fletcher of Becles, and Matildis hys wyfe.
Iohn Eldon of Becles.
Rob. Canel prieſt. Nicholas Drey,
William Hardy of Mundham.
Iohn Poleyne.

Theſe forenamed perſons and ſouldiours of Chriſt, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of thoſe dayes, although they were conſtrained to relent and abiure, that is, to proteſt otherwiſe with their tonges then their hartes did thinke, partly through correction and partly through infirmity (beyng as yet but newe trayned ſouldiours in Gods field) yet for their good will they bare vnto the truth, although with their tongues they durſt not expreſſe it, wee haue thought good that theyr names ſhould not be ſuppreſſed, aſwell for other ſundry cauſes, as eſpecially for this: either to ſtop the mouthes of malignaunt aduerſaries, or to annſwere to their ignoraunce: Who folowyng rather blinde affection then the true knowledge of tymes and antiquities, for lacke of knowledge, blame that they knowe not, accuſing the true doctrine of the worde of God, for newelty, and carpyng the teachers thereof for newe broched brethren. Who, if they dyd as well forſee tymes paſſed as they be vnwillyng to folowe tymes now preſent, they ſhould vnderſtand as well by theſe ſtories as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God lackyng no antiquitie, hath from tyme to time cõtinually ſought to burſt out, and in ſome places hath preuailed, although in moſt places thorow tyranny and the malice of men, Chriſtes procedynges haue ben ſuppreſſed & kept vnder from riſing, ſo much as mans power & ſtrẽgth ioyned wᵗ craft & ſubtiltie, could labour to kepe down the ſame: as here by theſe good men of Norfolke and Suffolke, may well appeare. For if the knowledge and the good towardnes of thoſe good men, had hadde the like libertie of tyme, wᵗ the helpe of like authoritie as we haue now, and had not ben reſtrained thorowe the iniquitie of tyme and tyranny of Prelates: it had well appeared how old this doctrine would haue ben, whiche now they contemne and reiecte for the newnes thereof: neither neded Boner to haue aſked of Thomas Hawkes, and ſuch other, where their churche was for .xl. yeares ago, in as much as for .lx. yeares ago, and more, within the countrey of Norfolke & Suffolke, was then found ſuch plentie of ẏ ſame profeſſion and like doctrine which we now profeſſe. And thus much for ẏ number & the names of theſe perſons.

Boner myght ſee the church here in thys age, more then 40. yeares before he was borne.

Nowe touchyng their Articles whiche they dyd mainteine and defend: firſt this is to be conſidered, as I finde it in the regiſters, ſuch ſocietie and agrement of doctrine to be amongeſt them, that almoſt in their aſſertions and Articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other. What their articles were, partly it is ſhewed in the leafe before, and partly here foloweth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to bee thought concernyng theſe articles, that many of thẽ either were falſly obiected againſt them, or not truly reported of the notaries, accordyng as the common maner is of theſe aduerſaries, wher the matter is good, there to make hereſie, and of a litle occaſion, to ſtirre vp great matter of ſlaunder, as they did before by the articles of Iohn VVickleſſe and Iohn Hus, & with others moe: So in like maner it ſemeth they did in the Articles of theſe men, either miſtakyng that whiche they ſayd, or myſunderſtandyng that which they ment: eſpecially in theſe two articles concernyng Baptiſme & payng of tithes. For where as they ſpeakyng againſt the ceremoniall and ſuperfluous traditions then vſed in Baptiſme, as ſalt, oyle, ſpittell, taper light, criſomes, exorciſing of the water, with ſuch other, accompted them as no materiall thyng in ẏ holy inſtitutiõ of Baptiſme, the notaries ſlaunderouſly deprauyng this their aſſertion, to make it more odious to the eares of the people, ſo gaue out the article as though they ſhould hold, that ẏ Sacrament of Baptiſme vſed in the churche by water, is but a light matter and of ſmall effect.

Agayne, in ſpeakyng agaynſt the Chriſtenyng that mydwiues vſe in priuate houſes, againſt the opinion of ſuch as thinke ſuch childrẽ to be dãned, which depart before they come to their baptiſme, they are falſlye reported, as though they ſhould ſay, ẏ Chriſtẽ people be ſufficiẽtly baptiſed in the bloud of Chriſt, & nedeth no water, & that the infantes bee ſufficiently Baptiſed, if their parentes be Baptiſed before them. Whiche thing is ſo contrary to the manifeſt worde, that it is not to be thought any to bee ſo ignoraunt of the Goſpell, that euer would or did affirme the ſame.

Theſe men are falſely ſlaundered about baptiſme.

Moreouer, they thought or ſayd peraduenture that in certeine caſes, tithes might be withholden frõ wicked prieſtes ſometyme, and be conferred to better vſes, to the behouſe of the poore: Therfore they are falſly ſlaũdered, as ſaying and affirmyng that no tithes were to be geuen to the miniſters and curates of the churches.

And likewiſe for matrimony, wherin they are reported to holde & affirme as though it conſiſted onely in the mutuall conſent betwixt the man & woman, nedyng no other ſolempniſing in the publicke church, & all becauſe (as it is lyke) they denied it to be a Sacrament. Other articles were obiected agaynſt them, as theſe whiche hereafter followe.

The papiſtes are but quare pickers.

Articles.

That auricular confeſſion is not to be made vnto a prieſt but vnto God onely, becauſe no prieſt hath any power to abſolue a ſinner from his ſinne.

Item, that no prieſt hath power to make the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aultar, but that after the Sacramentall wordes, there remayneth pure materiall bread, as before.

Itẽ, that euery true Chriſtian mã is a prieſt to God.

Item, that no man is bounde vnder payne of damnation vnto Lent or any other dayes prohibited by the churche of Rome.

Item, that the pope is Antichriſt and his prelates the diſciples of Antichriſt, and that the Pope hath no power to bynde and looſe vpon earth.

*Item, that it is lawfull for euery Chriſtiã to do any bodely worke (ſinne onely except) vpon the holy dayes.

*In caſe o neceſſitie vrgent the meane.

Item, that it is lawfull for prieſtes to haue wiues.

Item, that the excommunications and eccleſieſticall cẽſures giuen out by ẏ prelates, are not to be regarded.

Item, it is not lawfull to ſweare in priuate caſes.

Item, that men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Itẽ, that there is no honor to be geuen to the Images of the Crucifixe, of our Lady, or any other ſaint.

Item, that the holy water holowed in the churche by the prieſt, is not holier or of more vertue then other running or well water, bycauſe the Lord bleſſed all waters in their firſt creation.

Item, that the death of Thomas Becket, was neither holy neither meritorious.

The death of Thomas Becket.

Item, that reliques as dead mens bones, ought not to bee worſhypped or digged out of theyr graues or ſet vp in ſhrynes.

Item, that prayers made in all places are acceptable vnto God.

Item, that men ought not to praye to any ſaint but onely to God.

Item, that the belles & ringyng in the church was ordeyned for no other purpoſe thẽ to fill the prieſts purſes.

Item, that it is no ſinne to withſtand the eccleſiaſticall preceptes.

Item, that the catholicke church is onely the congregation of the elect.

These were the Articles, whiche were generallye obiected agaynſt them all, wherin they did ſo agree in one vniforme faith, that what ſoeuer one did holde, all the other did mainteine and holde the ſame. By the whiche their conſent and doctrine it appeareth the they all receaued it of ſome one inſtructor, who was VVilliam VVhite: which beyng a ſcholer and folower of Iohn VVickleſſe, reſorted afterward into this cõutrey of Norfolke & there inſtructed theſe men in the light of the Goſpell. And now as we haue declared the names & Articles of theſe good men, ſo it remaineth ſomwhat to ſpeake of their troubles howe they were handled, beginning firſt with VVilliam VVhite.

In thys article is mẽ that the wicked b in the church bu not of the church.

¶*William White prieſt.*

W.Whi Martyr.

1428.

Ex Waldeno.

This William White beeyng a follower of Iohn Wickliffe and a prieſt, not after the common ſort of prieſtes, but rather to be reputed amongeſt ẏ nũber of thẽ, of whom ẏ wiſeman ſpeaketh: * He was as ẏ morning ſtarre in the middeſt of a cloud, &c. This man was a well learned, vpright, and wel ſpoken prieſt. He gaue ouer his prieſthoode and benefice, and tooke vnto him a godly yong womã to his wife, named Ioane: notwithſtanding he did not therfore ceaſe or leaue from his former office and duetye, but continually laboured to the glory and prayſe of his ſpouſe Chriſt, by readyng, wri-

* *Ecc.5*

tyng, & preachyng. The principal poynts of his doctrine were theſe, which he was forced to recāt at Cāterbury.

That men ſhould ſeeke for the forgeuenes of their ſinnes onely at the handes of God.

That the wicked liuyng of the Pope and his holines, is nothyng els but a diueliſhe eſtate & heuy yoke of antichriſt, & therfore he is an enemy vnto chriſtes truth.

That men ought not to worſhip Images or other Idolatrous paintynges.

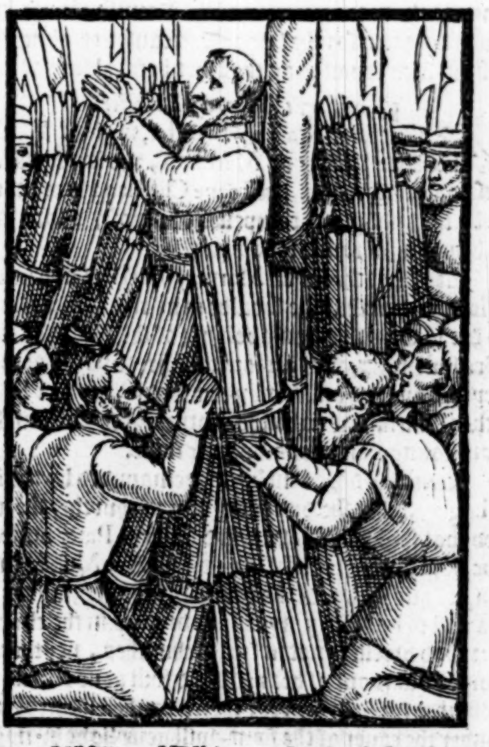
That men ought not to worſhip ẏ holy men which are dead.

That the Romiſh church is the fygge tree whiche the Lorde Chriſt hath accurſed, becauſe it hath brought forth no fruite of the true beliefe.

That ſuch as waire coules, or be annointed & ſhorne, are the launceknightes and ſouldiours of Lucifer: and ẏ they all, becauſe their lampes are not burning, ſhall be ſhut out when as the Lord Chriſt ſhall come.

Vpon which articles he beyng attached at Canterbury vnder the archbiſhop Henry Chicheſley in the yeare of our Lorde. 1424. there for a certaine ſpace ſtoutly and manlye witneſſed the truthe whiche he had preached: but lyke as there he loſt his courage and ſtrength, ſo afterward he became againe much more ſtouter and ſtronger in Ieſu Chriſt & cōfeſſed hys own errour & offence. For after this he going into Norfolke wᵗ his ſayd wyfe Ioane, and there occupying hym ſelf buſely in teaching and conuerting the people vnto the true doctrine of Chriſt, at the laſt by meanes of the kings letters ſent downe for that entent and purpoſe, he was apprehended and taken and brought before VVilliam byſhop of Norvviche, by whom he was conuicte and condemned of xxx. articles and there was burned in Norvviche, in the moneth of September, an. 1424.

¶ The burnyng of VVilliam VVhite.



This VVilliam VVhite and his wyfe, had his moſt abode wyth one Thomas Moone of Lodney. This man was of ſo deuout and holy lyfe, ẏ all the people had hym in great reuerence, and deſired him to pray for them: inſomuch that one Margaret VVright confeſſed, that if any ſainctes were to be prayed to, ſhe would rather pray to him then to any other. When he was come vnto the ſtake thinkyng to open hys mouthe to ſpeake vnto the people, to exhort and confirme them in the veritie, one of the biſhops ſeruantes ſtroke him on the mouth, therby to force hym to keepe ſilence. And thus this good mā receyuyng the crowne of martyrdom, ended this mortal life to the greate dolour & griefe of all the good men of Norfolke. Whoſe ſayd wyfe Ioane, followyng her huſbandes footeſteps accordyng to her power, teachyng & ſowyng abroad ẏ ſame doctryne, confyrmed many mē in Gods truth: wherfore ſhe ſuffred much trouble & puniſhment ẏ ſame yere at the handes of the ſayde biſhop.

About the ſame time alſo was burned father Abraham of Colcheſter, and Iohn Waddon Prieſt, for the lyke articles.

Father Abrahā, W. Wadden prieſt martyrs and burned.

Cōcerning them, which abiured, how and by whom they were examined, what depoſitions came in agaynſt them, and what was the order and maner of the penāce enioyned thē, here it might be ſet out at large: but for auoyding of prolixitie, it ſhall be ſufficiēt briefly to touch certayne of the principals, whereby the better vnderſtanding maye be geuen to the Reader, after what manner and order all the other were intreated.

Firſt, amongeſt them which were arreſted and cauſed to abiure in thys yeare afore ſpecified. 1428. was Thomas Pie and Iohn Mendhā of Aldborough, who being conuict vpon diuers of the articles before mentioned, were enioyned penaunce to bee done in theyr owne pariſh Churche, as by the biſhops letter directed to the Deane of Rhodenhall, and the pariſhe Prieſt of Aldborough, doth more at large appeare, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

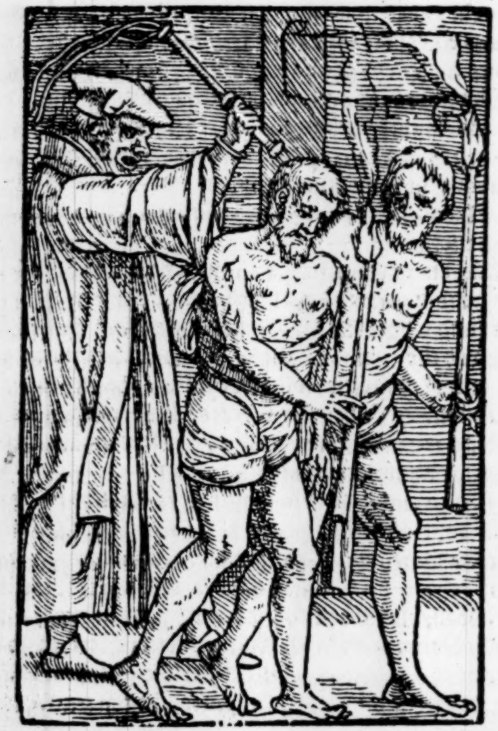
¶ The copy of the biſhop of Norwich his letter.

A letter of the Byſhop of Norwyche.

William by the ſufferance of god biſhop of Norwich, to our welbeloued Sonnes in Chriſte the Deane of Rhodenhall of our dioces, & to the pariſh prieſt of the pariſh church of Aldborough of ẏ ſame our dioces, health, grace, and benediction. For ſo much as we, according to our office lawfully proceding to the correction and amēdment of the ſoules of Thomas Pye & Iohn Mendam of Alborough of the dioces aforeſaid, becauſe they haue holden, beleued & affirmed, diuers and many errors and hereſies, contrary to the determination of the holy church of Rome, and the vniuerſall church and catholike fayth, haue enioyned the ſayde Thomas and Iohn appearing before vs perſonallye, and confeſſing before vs iudicially, that they haue holden, beleued and affirmed, diuers and manye errours and hereſies, this penaunce hereunder written for theyr offences to bee done and fulfylled in manner, forme and tyme hereunder written, accordyng as iuſtice doth requyre, that is to ſay, ſyxe fuſtigations or diſplings about the pariſh church of Alborough aforeſayd, before a ſolemne proceſſion, ſixe ſeuerall ſondayes, and three diſplynges aboute the market place of Harelſton of our ſayde dioces, three pryncipall market dayes, bare necked, head, legs, and feete, theyr bodies being couered onely with their ſhiertes and breches, eyther of them caryng a taper in his hād of a poūd waight, as well round about the Churche, as about the market place, in euery of the foreſayd appoynted dayes, which tapers, the laſt ſonday after their penāce finiſhed, we wyll that the ſayd Iohn and Thomas doo humblye and deuoutly offer vnto the highe aultar of the paryſhe church of Alborough at ẏ time of the offertory of the hye Maſſe the ſame day, and that either of them going about the market place aforeſayd, ſhall make foure ſeueral pauſes or ſtayes, and at euery of thoſe ſame pauſes, humbly and deuoutly receiue at your handes three diſplynges: Therefore we ſtraightly charge and command you and eyther of you, ioyntly and ſeuerally by vertue of your obedience, that euery ſonday and market day, after the recepte of our preſent commaundement, you doe effectually admoniſh and bring forth the ſayd Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendam to begin their ſayd penance, and ſo ſucceſſiuely to finiſh the ſame in maner and forme afore appoynted. But if they wyll not obey your monitions, or rather our commaundementes in thys behalfe, and begin and finiſh their ſayd penaunce effectuallye, you, or one of you ſhall cite them peremptorilie, that they or eyther of them appeare before vs or our Commiſſarye, in the chappell of our palace at Norwych, the. xii. day after the citatiō ſo made, if it be a courtday, or els ẏ next court day following, to declare if they or any of them haue any

The maner of the popes penaunce.

¶ The deſcription of the penaunce of Thomas Pye, and Iohn Mendham.



cauſe why they ſhoulde not be excommunicate for theyr manifeſt offence in thys behalfe committed, according to the forme and order of law, and further to receyue ſuche puniſhment, as iuſtice ſhall prouide in that behalfe. And what you haue done in the premiſſes, whether the ſayde Thomas and Iohn haue obeyed your admonitiōs, and performed the ſayd penaunce or no: we wyll that you or one of you, which hath receiued our ſayde commaundement, for the execution therof, do diſtinctly certify vs betwene this and the laſt day of Nouember next cōmyng. Dated at our palace of Norwich vnder our Commiſſaries ſeale, the. viii. day of October. an. 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for yͤ moſt part, the order of their whole penaunce: how be it, ſome were oftentimes more cruelly handled, & after their penance they were baniſhed out of the dioces, and other ſome more ſtraightly vſed by longer impriſonment, wherof we wil briefly rehearſe one or two for example.

¶ Iohn Beuerley, alias, Battild.

Iohn Beuerley.

IOhn Beuerley alias Battild, a laborer, was attached by the Vicar of Sowthcreke, the pariſh prieſt of VVaterden, and a lawyer, and ſo deliuered vnto maiſter VVilliam Bernam the Biſhops Commiſſary, who ſent him to the Caſtell of Norwich, there to be kept in irons: where as afterward he being brought before the commiſſary, and hauing nothing proued agaynſt hym, he tooke an othe, that euery yeare afterward he ſhould confeſſe hys ſynnes once a yeare to hys Curate, and receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, as other Chriſtians did: and for hys offence he was enioyned that the Friday and Saterday next after, he ſhould faſt bread and water, and vpon the Saterday to be * whipped frō the pallace of Norwich, going round about by Tomelands, and by S. Mychels church, by Cottell Rew, and about the market, hauyng in hys hand a waxe candle of. ij. pence, to offer to the Image of yͤ Trinitye, after he had done his penance. And for ſomuch as he confeſſed that he had eaten fleſhe vpon Eaſter day, and was not ſhriuen in all Lent, nor receaued vpon Eaſterday, the Iudge enioyned hym that hee ſhould faſt Tueſday, Wedneſday and Friday in Whitſonweke, hauing but one meale a day of fiſhe and other whitte meates, and after his penance ſo done, he ſhould depart out of the dioces, & neuer come there any more.

* alias fuſtigated.

¶ Iohn Skilley of Flixton Myller.

Iohn Skilley.

IOhn Skilley of Flixton Miller being apprehended and brought before the biſhop of Norwich the. xiiij. daye of March. 1428. for holding and maintayning the articles aboue wrytten, was thereupon conuicte and forced to abiure: and after his abiuration ſolemnly made (which here to auoyd tediouſnes we omit) he had a moſt ſharpe ſentence of penaunce pronounced agaynſt hym, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was thys: That for ſo much as the ſayd Skilley was cōuict by his own confeſſion, for holding and maintaining the articles before written, and for receauing certaine good and godly men into hys houſe, as ſir VVilliam VVhite prieſt, & Iohn VVadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretickes, & had now abiured the ſame, being fyrſt abſolued from the ſentence of excommunication which he had incurred by meanes of hys opinions, he was enioyned for penance. vij. yeares impriſonment in the monaſtery of Langley, in the dioces of Norwich. And forſomuch as in times paſt, he vſed vpon the Fridayes to eate fleſhe, he was enioyned to faſt bread & water euery Fridaye, by the ſpace of that ſeuen yeares to come, and that by the ſpace of two yeares next immediatly after the. vij. yeares expired, euery Wedniſday in the beginning of Lent, and euery Maundy thurſday, he ſhould appeare before the biſhop, or hys ſucceſſor, or cōmiſſary for the tyme being, in the cathedrall Churche of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to doo open penaunce for hys offences.

The penaunce of Iohn Skyley.

Beſides theſe there were diuers other of the ſame company, which the ſame yeare were forced to like abiuration & penaunce. And ſo, to procede to the next yere followyng, which was 1429. there enſueth a great nūber in yͤ ſame regiſter, which were examined & dyd penaunce in like ſorte to the number of xvi. or xvij. In the number of whom was Iohn Baker, otherwyſe called Vſher Tunſtall, who for hauyng a booke with the Pater noſter, the Aue and Creede in Engliſh, and for certaine other articles of faſting, confeſſion and inuocation contrary to the determination of the Romiſh church, after much vexation for the ſame, was cauſed to abiure and ſuſtain ſuch penance, as the other before him had done.

¶ The ſtory of Margery Backſter.

Margery Backſter.

ANother was Margery Backſter, wyfe of VVilliam Backſter wright in Martham, the ſame yeare accuſed: againſt whom, one Ioane Cliffeland was brought in by the biſhop, and compelled to depoſe, & was made to bryng in, in forme followyng.

Firſt, that the ſayde Margery Backſter dyd informe this deponent that ſhe ſhoulde in no caſe ſweare, ſaying to her in Engliſhe, dame beware of the Bee, for euerye Bee will ſtyng, and therfore take heede you ſwere not, neyther by God, neither by our Lady, neyther by none other ſaint: and if ye do the contrary, the Bee will ſtyng your toungue, and venome your ſoule.

A woman brought in for witne in the popes courte.

The Bee will ſting

Item, this deponent beyng demaunded by the ſayde Margery, what ſhe dyd euery day at churche, ſhe anſwered that ſhe kneled downe and ſayde v. Pater noſters, in worſhip of the crucifixe, & as many Aue Maries in worſhip of our Lady. Whō Margery rebuked, ſaying: you do euil to knele or pray to ſuch images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in ſuche churches, neyther ſhall come downe out of heauen, and will geue you no more rewarde for ſuch prayer, then a candell lighted and ſet vnder the couer of the font, will geue light by nyght to thoſe which are in the church: ſaying moreouer in Engliſhe, lewde wrightes, of ſtocks hew & forme ſuch croſſes and Images, and after that, lewde painters gleir them with colours. And if you deſire ſo much to ſee the true croſſe of Chriſt, I wyl ſhew it you at home in your own houſe. Which this deponent being deſirous to ſee, the ſayd Margery ſtretching out her armes abrode, ſayd to thys deponent, this is the true croſſe of Chriſt, and thys croſſe thou oughteſt and mayeſt euery day beholde and worſhip in thine own houſe, and therefore it is but vain

Agaynſt Images.

to run to the church to worſhip dead croſſes & images.

Item this deponent being demaunded by the ſayde Margery how ſhe beleued touching the ſacramẽt of the altar, ſayed that ſhe beleued the ſacrament of the altar after the conſecration, to be the verye body of Chriſt in forme of bread. To whom Margery ſayde: your beliefe is nought. For if euery ſuch ſacrament were God, and the very body of Chriſt, there ſhoulde be an infinite number of Gods, becauſe that a thouſande prieſtes and more do euery day make a thouſand ſuch Gods, and afterward eate them, and voyde them out againe by their hinder partes filthely ſtinking vnder the hedges, whereas you may finde a great many ſuch Gods, if you wyll ſeeke for them. And therefore know for a certainty, that by the grace of God it ſhall neuer be my God, becauſe it is falſly and diſceitfully ordayned by the prieſts in the Church, to induce the ſimple people to idolatry, for it is onely materiall bread.

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Moreouer the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponent, that Thomas of Canterburye, whom the people called S. Thomas, was a falſe traytor and damned in hell, becauſe he iniuriouſly endowed the churches with poſſeſſions, and rayſed vp many hereſies in the church, whych ſeduce the ſimple people, and therefore if God be bleſſed, the ſayd Thomas is accurſed, and thoſe falſe prieſtes that ſay that he ſuffered his death pacientlye before the aultar, do lye: For as a falſe cowardlye traytor he was ſlayne in the church doore as he was flieng away.

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Moreouer, this deponent ſayth, that the ſayde Margery told her that the curſed Pope, Cardinals, Archbyſhops, and biſhops, and ſpecially the biſhop of Norwich and others that ſupport and mayntaine hereſies and Idolatry, raigning and ruling ouer the people, ſhal ſhortly haue the very ſame or worſe miſchiefe fal vpon them, then that curſed man Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falſly and curſedlye deceiue the people wyth theyr falſe mammetries and lawes, to extorte money of the ſimple people to ſuſtayne their pryde, riot and idlenes: And know aſſuredlye, that the vengeaunce of God wyll ſpedely come vpon them, which haue moſt cruelly ſlaine the chyldren of God, Father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, & John Wadden, with many other godly men: which vengeance had come vpon the ſayd Cayphas, the biſhop of Norwyche and his miniſters, which are members of the deuill, before this time, if the Pope had not ſent ouer thoſe falſe pardons vnto theſe parties, whych the ſayde Cayphas had falſly obtayned to enduce the people to make proceſſion for the ſtate of them and of the church. Which pardons brought the ſimple people to curſed idolatry.

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Item the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponent, that euery faythfull man or woman is not bounde to faſt in Lent, or other daies apoynted for faſting by the church, and that euery man may lawfully eate fleſhe and all other meates vpon the ſayd dayes and times: and that it were better to eate the fragments left vpon Thurſdaye at night on the faſting dayes, then to go to the market to bring them ſelues in dette to bye fiſhe: and that Pope Silueſter made the Lent.

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Item the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponent, that William Whyte was falſly condemned for an heretik, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he wylled her to folow him to ẏ place of execution, wheras ſhe ſaw ẏ when he would haue opened his mouth to ſpeake vnto the people to inſtruct them, a deuill, one of byſhop Caiphas ſeruauntes ſtrake him on the lippes, & ſtopped his mouth, that he could in no caſe declare ẏ wil of god.

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Item this deponent ſayth, that the ſayde Margerye taught her that ſhe ſhoulde not go on pilgrimage, neyther to our Lady of Falſingame, nor to any other ſaint or place.

Alſo this deponent ſayth, that the ſayd Margery deſyred her that ſhe and Joane her mayde would come ſecretly in the night to her chamber, and there ſhe ſhoulde heare her huſbande reade the lawe of Chriſt vnto them, which law is written in a booke that her huſbande was wont to reade to her by night, and that her huſbande is well learned in the Chriſtian verity.

Alſo that the ſame Margerye had talked with a woman named Joane Weſt, and that the ſayd woman is in a good way of ſaluation.

Alſo that the ſayd Margerye ſayde to this deponent: Joane, it appeareth by your countenaunce, that you intend to diſcloſe this that I haue ſayd vnto you: and this deponent ſware that ſhe woulde neuer diſcloſe it, wythout the ſayd Margery gaue her occaſion. Then ſayde Margery vnto this deponent, if thou do accuſe me vnto the biſhop, I wyll do vnto thee, as I did once vnto a certaine frier Carmelite of Yarmouth, which was the beſt learned frier in all the countrey. Thẽ this deponent deſired to know what ſhe had done to ẏ frier. Unto whom Margery anſwered, that ſhe had talked with the ſayde frier, rebuking him becauſe he did begge, ſaying that it was no almes to geue him anye good thyng, except he would leaue his habite and go to the plough, and ſo he ſhould pleaſe God more, then following the life of ſome of thoſe friers. Then the frier required of the ſayd Margery, whether ſhe could teach him or tell him any thing els. Then the ſaid Margery (as ſhe affirmed to thys deponent) declared to this frier the Goſpels in Englyſhe, and thẽ the frier departed from her. After this the ſame frier accuſed the ſayd Margery of hereſye, and ſhe vnderſtanding that the frier had accuſed her: accuſed the frier againe, that he woulde haue knowen her carnally, and becauſe ſhe would not conſent vnto hym, the frier had accuſed her of hereſie. And moreouer ſhe ſayde that her huſband woulde haue killed the frier therefore: and ſo the frier for feare, helde hys peace, and went hys way wyth ſhame.

This Margery alſo ſayde that ſhe had often tymes bene faynedlye confeſſed to the Deane of the fieldes, becauſe he ſhould thinke her to be a woman of good lyfe, and therefore he gaue the ſayde Margerye often tymes money. Then this deponent aſked her whether ſhe had confeſſed her ſinnes to a prieſt or not. And ſhe anſwered that ſhe had neuer offended any prieſt, and therefore ſhe would neuer confeſſe her ſelfe to any prieſt, neither obey him, becauſe they haue no power to abſolue anye man from their ſinnes, for that they offend daylye more greuouſly then other men, and therefore that men ought to confeſſe them ſelues onely vnto God, and to no prieſt.

Againſt auricular confeſſion.

Item the ſayd Margery ſayde to this deponent, that the people did woorſhip deuils whych fell from heauen with Lucifer, which deuils in their fall to the earth, entred into the Images which ſtand in the churches, and haue long lurked and dwelled in them, ſo that the people worſhippyng thoſe Images, commit Idolatrie.

Againſt Image worſhip.

Item, ſhe ſaid more to this deponent that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the belles are to be caſt out of the churche, and that they are excommunicate whiche firſt ordained them.

Moreouer that ſhee ſhould not be burned, althoughe ſhe were conuict of Lollardy, for that ſhe had a chart of ſaluation in her body.

Alſo the ſayd deponẽt ſayth, that Agnes Bethem her ſeruaũt beyng ſent to the houſe of the ſayd Margery the Saterday after Aſhweſday, the ſaid Margery not being within, founde a braſſe pot ſtandyng ouer the fire with a piece of baken and Otemeale ſethyng in it, as the ſayd Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were alſo beſides this deponent, diuers other ſworne and examined vppon the ſayd Margery, as Iohn Grimley and Agnes Berthẽ ſeruauntes to VVilliam Cliſland, which altogether cõfirmed the former depoſitiõs.

Thus much we haue thought good to note as concernyng Margary Backſter, whiche we haue gathered out of the old monuments and regiſters. But what became of her after this her accuſation, becauſe we finde no mētion made in ẏ ſaid regiſters, we are not able to declare.

The ſame yeare alſo were the like depoſitions made by one William Wright agaynſt diuers good men, as here foloweth.

Iohn Piry.
Iohn Bungay.
Iohn Vſher.

Firſt, this deponent ſaith that VVilliam Taylor, told Iohn Piry of Lodney in ẏ houſe of Iohn Bũgay of Beghton, in ẏ preſēce of Iohn Bũgay Robert Grigges wright of Martham and Iohn Vſher, that all the good men of Martham which were fauourers & helpers to that good man VVillam VVhite are euill troubled now a dayes, and that the ſayd VVilliam VVhite, was a good and holy doctour: and that ẏ beſt doctour after him was VVilliam Euerden, whiche wrought with the ſayd VVilliam Taylour of Lodney by the ſpace of one moneth, and that the firſt Sõday of the ſame moneth, the ſayd VVilliam Euerden did ſit all day vpon the table at worke, ſaying, to the ſayd VVilliam Taylor that hee would not goo to churche to ſhewe him ſelf a Scribe or Phariſey: and the ſecond Sonday he put on Gentle mans apparell, & went to Norwiche to harken how the Byſhop and his miniſters vſed the poore Chriſtians there in priſon.

William Euerden.

Alſo the ſayd VVilliam VVright depoſed that VVilliam Taylor of Ludney was one of the ſecte, and went to London with Syr Hue Pye, and had conuerſation often tymes with Syr VVilliam VVhite, hauyng often conference vpon the Lollardes doctrine.

W. Taylour of Ludney.

Item, that Auiſe, wife of Thomas Moone, is of the ſame ſect and fauoured them, and receiueth them often, and alſo the daughter of Thomas Moone is partly of ẏ ſame ſect, and can read Engliſhe.

The wife and doughter of *Tho. Moone.*

Item, that Richard Fletcher of Beckils, is a moſt perfect doctour in that ſect, and can very well and perfectly expounde the holy Scriptures, and hath a booke of the new law in Engliſh, whiche was Syr Hue Pyes firſt.

Richard Fletcher.

Item, that Nicolas Belward, ſonne of Iohn Belward dwellyng in the pariſh of Southelham, is one of ẏ ſame ſect, and hath a new Teſtament which he bought at Lõdon, for. iiij. markes and. xl. pence, and taught the ſayd VVilliã VVright and Margerye his wife, and wrought with them cõtinually by the ſpace of one yeare, and ſtudied diligently vpon the ſayd new Teſtament.

Nicholas Belward.

A newe Teſtament then coſt iiii. markes and xl. pence.

Itẽ, that Thomas Gremner Turner of Dychingame is perfect in that ſect and law.

Thomas Greemner.

Iohn Clarke the yonger of Bergh, had the beddyng and apparell of VVilliam Euerden in his cuſtody, after the returne of VVilliam VVhite from Bergh, and is of the ſame ſect.

Iohn Clarke.

Item, VVilliam Bate, Taylour of Sethyng and hys wife and his ſonne, which can read Engliſh very well, is of the ſame ſecte,

William Bate.

Item VVilliam Skiruyng of Sethyng, receiued Ioane the wife of VV. VVhite into his houſe, beyng brought thether by VVilliam Euerden, after theyr departure from Martham.

William Skiruing.

Item, VVilliam Oſborne of Sethyng, Iohn Reue Glouer, & Bawdwin Cooper of Beckels are of ẏ ſame ſect.

W. Oſborne.
Iohn Reue,
Baudwin Cooper.

Item, Iohn Pert late ſeruaunt of Thomas Moone is of the ſame ſect, and can read wel, and did read in the preſence of VVilliã VVhite, and was the firſt ẏ brought Syr Hugh Pie into ẏ company of the Lollardes, whiche aſſembled oftentymes together, at the houſe of the ſayd Thomas Moone, & there conferred vpon theyr doctrine.

Iohn Pert.

Item, Syr Hugh Pye bequeathed to Alice, ſeruaunt to William White, a new Teſtament, whiche they thẽ called the booke of the new law, and was in the cuſtody of Oſwald Godfrey of Colcheſter.

Syr Hugh Pye prieſt.

Iohn Perker Mercer of a village by Ipſwich, is a a famous doctour of that ſecte. Alſo he ſayd that father Abraham of Colcheſter is a good man.

Iohn Perker.

Item, the ſayd William Wright depoſeth that it is read in the Prophecies amõgeſt the Lollardes, that the ſect of Lollardes ſhalbe in a maner deſtroyed: Notwithſtandyng at the length the Lollardes ſhall preuaile, and haue the victory agaynſt all their enemyes.

A propheſie.

Alſo he ſayd that Tucke knoweth all of that ſecte in Suffolke, Norfolke and Eſſex.

Beſides theſe, there were many other the ſame yeare troubled, whoſe names beyng before expreſſed in the table of Norfolke men, here for breuities ſake, wee omit further to intreat of, paſſyng ouer to the next yeare folowyng whiche was. 1430. Ex Regiſt. Norvvic.

Ex Regiſt. Norwic.

IOhn Burrell ſeruaunt to Thomas Moone of Ludney in the dioces of Norwiche, was apprehended and areſted for hereſie, the ix. day of Decẽber, in this yeare of our Lord. 1430. and examined by maiſter Williã Bernam the Biſhops commiſſary, vpon the articles before mentioned, and diuers others here after folowyng, obiected agaynſt him.

Iohn Burrell.

In primis that the catholicke churche is the ſoule of euery good Chriſten man.

Item, that no man is bound to faſt the Lent or other faſtyng dayes appoynted by the churche, for they were not appointed by God, but ordeined by the prieſtes: and ẏ euery mã may eate fleſhe or fiſhe vpon the ſame dayes indifferently, according to his own will, & euery friday is a free day to eate both fleſh and fiſh indifferently.

Lent faſte, fiſhe daies.

Itẽ, that pilgrimage ought not to be made but onely vnto the poore.

Pilgrimage to the poore.

Item, that it is not lawfull to ſweare, but in caſe of lyfe and death.

Item, that Maſſes and prayers for the dead are but vayne, for the ſoules of the dead are either in heauen or hell: and there is none other place of Purgatory, but this world. Upon the whiche Articles he beyng conuict, was forced to abiure and ſuffred lyke penaunce as the other before had done.

Maſſes for the dead vnprofitable.

THomas Moone of Ludney, was appprehended and attached for ſuſpition of hereſy, againſt whõ wer obiected by the biſhop, the articles before written, but ſpecially thys article, that he had familiarity and communication with diuers heretikes, and had receiued, comforted, ſupported and mayntayned diuers of them, as ſyr William White, ſir Hugh Pie, Thomas Pert, and William Callis prieſtes, with manye other more: vpon the which articles, hee beyng conuict before the biſhop, was forced to abiure, and receiued the like penance, in like maner as before.

Thomas Moone of Ludney.

W. Whyte Hugh Pye Tho Pert. W. Callis prieſtes perſecuted.

In like manner Robert Grigges of Martham was brought before the biſhop. the. xvij. day of February, in the yeare aforeſayd, for holding and affirming the foreſayd articles, but eſpecially theſe hereafter following.

Robert Grigges of Martham.

Articles.

That the ſacrament of cõfirmation miniſtred by the biſhop, did auayle nothing to ſaluation.

That it was no ſinne to withſtande the ordinaunces of the Church of Rome.

That holy bread and holye water were but trifles, & that the bread and the water were the worſe for the coniurations & characters which ẏ prieſtes made ouer thẽ.

Upon which articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure, and receued penance in maner and forme as the other had done before him.

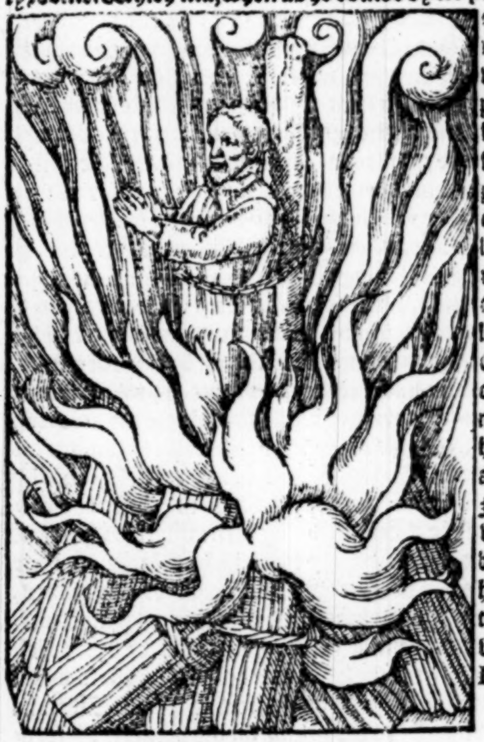
The like alſo (albeit ſomwhat more ſharp) happened vnto Ihon Finch of Colcheſter, the. xx. daye of September, who albeit he was of the dioces of London, being ſuſpecte of hereſye, was attached in Ipſwiche in the dioces of Norwiche, and brought before the biſhope there, before whom, he being conuict of the like articles: as all the other before hym, he was enioyned penaunce, three

Iohn Fynche of Colcheſter.

diſplinges in ſolemne proceſſion about the Cathedrall Churche of Norwiche, three ſeuerall Sondayes, and three diſplinges aboute the market place of Norwiche three principall market dayes, hys head, necke and feete being bare, and hys bodye couered onely wyth a ſhort ſhirte or veſture, hauing in his handes a taper of waxe of a pound weight, which the next Sondaye after his pennaunce, he ſhould offer to the Trinitye: and that for the ſpace of .iij. yeares after, euery Aſhwenſday and Maundy thurſday he ſhoulde appeare in the cathedrall church of Norwiche, before the biſhop or his vicegerẽt, to do open penance amongeſt the other penitentiaries, for hys offences.

There were beſides theſe men which we haue here reherſed, diuers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and alſo for that their articles and puniſhmentes were all one, we haue thought good at this tyme to paſſe ouer, eſpecially forſomuch as their names be before recited in the Cataloge.

ABout the ſame time, euen the ſame yere. 1430. ſhortly after the ſolemne coronation of K. Henry the ſixt, a certaine man named Richard Houeden a woll winder, and Citizen of London, receiued alſo yͤ crowne of martyrdome. Which mã, when as he coulde by no perſwaſions bee withdrawen or plucked backe frõ the opinions of Wicleffe, hee was by the Rulers of yͤ Church condemned of hereſye, and as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the tower of London



¶ *Nicholas Canon, of Eye.*

NOwe to proceede in our ſtorye of Norfolke and Suffolke, in following the order of yeares, we finde that in the yeare of our Lorde. 1431. one Nicholas Canon of Eye was brought before the Biſhoppe of Norwich for ſuſpitiõ of hereſy, with certaine witneſſes ſworne to depoſe againſt him touching his maners and conuerſation, which witneſſes appoyntyng one Williã Chriſtopher to ſpeake in the name of them all, hee depoſed in manner and forme folowinge. Fyrſt that on Eaſter daye, when all the pariſhoners wente aboute the Churche of Eye ſolemnely in proceſſion as the manner was, the ſayde Nicholas Canon, as it were mockinge and derydinge the other pariſhoners, went a boute the Church the contrary waye, and met the proceſſion.

This article he confeſſed, & affirmed that he thoughte he dyd well in ſo doing.

Item the ſayd Nicolas aſked of mayſter Jhon Colman of Eye, this queſtion. Mayſter Colman, what thinke you of the Sacrament of the altar? To whome the ſayde Colman aunſwered: Nicolas, I thinke that the Sacrament of the aultar is very God and very mã, the very fleſhe and very bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt vnder forme of bread and wyne. Unto whom Nicholas in deriſion ſayde: Truly if the Sacrament of the aultar be very God and very man, and yͤ very body and bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: then maye very God and verye man be put in a ſmall roume: as when it is in the prieſtes mouth, that receiueth it at maſſe. And why may not we ſimple men, as well eate fleſhe vppon Frydayes and all other prohibited dayes, as the prieſte to eate the fleſh and the bloud of oure Lord euery daye indifferently? The which article, the ſayd Nicolas denyed that hee ſpake vnto mayſter Colman, but vnto a monke of Hockeſney. And furthermore hee thought he hadde ſpoken well in that behalfe.

If the Sacrament be very fleſhe, then the prieſtes eate fleſhe on Frydayes.

Item that on Corpus Chriſti day at the eleuation of high maſſe, when as all the pariſhners and other ſtraungers kneled downe holdyng vp their handes, and doing reuerence vnto the ſacrament, the ſayd Nicolas wente behynde a piller of the church, and turnyng his face frõ the hygh aultar, mocked them that dyd reuerence vnto the ſacrament.

This article he alſo acknowledging, affirmed that he beleued himſelfe to do well in ſo doyng.

Item, when his mother would haue the ſayd Nicolas to lift vp hys right hand, and to croſſe himſelf from the craftes and aſſaultes of the deuill, for ſo muche as he deferred the doyng thereof, his mother tooke vp hys right hand and croſſed hym ſaying: In nomine patris & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. Which ſo ended, yͤ ſaid Nicolas immediatly deridyng his mothers bleſſyng, tooke vp his right hand of hys owne accord, and bleſſed him otherwyſe, as his aduerſaries reporte of him. This article the ſayd Nicolas acknowledged to be true.

Item, that vpon Alhollow daye in the tyme of eleuation of high maſſe, when as many of the pariſhoners of Eye, lighted many torches and caried them vp to the high altar, knelyng downe there in reuerẽce and honor of the ſacrament, the ſayde Nicholas caryng a torche, went vp hard to the hygh aultar, and ſtandyng behynde the prieſtes backe ſaying maſſe, at the tyme of the eleuation he ſtoode vpright vpon hys feete, turnyng his back to the prieſt, and his face toward the people, and would do no reuerence vnto the ſacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming yͭ he thought he had done well in that behalfe. All which articles the biſhops commiſſary cauſed to bee copied out worde for worde, and to bee ſent vnto maiſter William Worſted, Prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of Diuinity, of the order of beggyng Friers, that they might deliberate vpon them, and ſhewe their mindes betwene that and Thurſday next followyng. Upon which thurſday being the laſt day of Nouember, yͤ yeare aforeſaid, yͤ ſayd Nicolas was agayne examined before maiſter Barnam and diuers other vpon 2. other articles which he had confeſſed vnto John Eretor notarye, & Thomas Geruſſen bacheler of Diuinitie and others: Whereof the firſt article was this: that yͤ ſayd Nicolas Canon, being of perfect mind and remembrance, confeſſed that he doubted whether in the ſacrament of the altar, were the very body of Chriſt or no. This article he confeſſed before the Commiſſary, to be true.

Nicholas Canon turned hys backe to the Sacrament.

An other examination of Nicholas Canon.

Articles obiected.

Item, that he beyng of perfecte mynde and remembrance, beleued that a man ought not to cõfeſſe his ſins to a prieſt. This article he alſo confeſſed that he doubted vpon.

Now remayneth to declare what theſe doctors aforeſayd concluded vpon the articles: whoſe aunſwer vnto the ſame was this.

Firſt of all as touching the firſt article, they ſaid that the article in the ſame termes as it was propounded, is not ſimply an hereſie but an errour.

Item, as touchyng the ſecond article, the doctours agree

The iudgement of the prior and doctours vpon hys articles.

grée as in the firſt.

Item, as touchyng the third article, they affirme that it is an hereſye.

Unto the fourth article they aunſwered as vnto the fyrſt and ſecond.

Item, the doctors affirme the v. article to be an hereſy.

An hereſie to doubt whether the ſacrament be the perfect body of Chriſt or no.

Item, as touchyng the vi. article, the doctors conclude that if the ſayd Nicolas beyng of perfect mynde and remembrance, did doubte whether the ſacramente of the altar were the very perfect body of Chriſt or no, thē that article is ſimply an hereſy.

Nicholas Canon declared an heretique.

Wherupon the ſaid Commiſſary declared & pronounced the ſayd Nicolas Canon vpon ẏ determination of ẏ foreſayd doctors, to be an heretike: and therupon forced the ſayd Nicolas to abiure all the ſayde articles. That done, he enioyned the ſayd Nicolas penaunce for his offences, thre diſplinges about the cloyſter of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a ſolemne proceſſiō, bare headed and barefoote, carying a Taper of halfe a pound in hys hand, goyng after the maner aforeſayde, lyke a mere penitenriarie: the whiche his penaunce, the iudge commaunded ſhould be reſpited vntill the commyng of the biſhoppe into his dioceſſe, and that in the meane tyme he ſhould be kept in priſon, to the ende that he ſhould not infect the flocke wyth his venome and poyſon of errours and hereſies.

Penaunce enioyned to Nicholas Canon.

Thus haue we briefly diſcourſed vnto you, ẏ great troubles and afflictions, which hapned in Norfolke and Suffolke by the ſpace of thoſe iiij. yeres before mentioned, hauing drawen out briefly for euery yeare, certain notable examples, ſufficient for the declaration of al the reſt, forſomuch as their opinions beyng nothyng different, their penaunce and puniſhment did alſo nothyng differ, otherwiſe then by thoſe particuler examples may be plainly ſeene.

¶ *Thomas Bagley prieſt.*

Thomas Bageley prieſt, Martyr.

AND now to procede as we haue begon, wyth oure former ſtories generally, we find in Fabians chronicles ẏ in the ſame yeare of our Lord, 1431. Thomas Bagley a prieſt, vicar of Monenden beſide Malden, being a valiant diſciple & adherent of Wickliffe, was cōdemned by ẏ biſhops of hereſie at London about ẏ middeſt of Lent, was diſgraded & burned in Smithfield.

¶ *Paule Craw a Bohemian.*

Paule Craw Martyr. *Ex Hector. Boetio.*

THe ſame yeare alſo was Paule Crawe a Bohemiā taken at S. Andrewes by the biſhop Henry, and deliuered ouer to ẏ ſeculer power to be burnt for holding contrary opinions vnto the church of Rome touching the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper, the worſhippyng of ſaincts, auriculer confeſſion, with other of Wickliffs opinions.

¶ *The ſtory of Thomas Rhedon, a French man, and a Carmelite Frier, burnt in Italy for the profeſsion of Chriſt.*

Tho. Rhedonenſis, Martyr.

Ex Antonin. 3. parte hiſt. fol. 165.

VVE haue declared before, howe this cruell ſtorme of perſecution which firſt began with vs in Englande, after it had long raged here againſt many good and godly menne, it brake out and paſſed into Boheme, and after within a ſhorte tyme, the fyre of this perſecution increaſyng by little and little, inuaded Scotland, and from thence nowe with greater force and violence, this furious deuouring flame hath entred Italye, and ſuffreth not any parte of the worlde to be free from the murther and ſlaughter of moſt good and godly men. It happened about this tyme, that one Thomas Rhedon, a Frier of that ſecte which taketh his name of the mount Carmelus, by chaunce came wyth the venetian Ambaſſadors into Italy. This man althoughe he was of that ſorte and ſect, whiche in ſteade of Chriſtians are called Carmelites, yet was he of a farre other religion, and vnderſtoode the word of God, iudging that God ought not to be worſhipped, neither in that mount, nor at Jeruſalem onely, but in ſpirite & truth. This man being a true Carmelite, and ſauoryng with his whole hart that new ſweete muſke of Jeſu Chriſt, with earneſt ſtudy and deſyre ſeeking after a Chriſtian integritye of lyfe, prepared him ſelfe fyrſte to go into Italye, truſtinge that he ſhould fynd there, or els in no place, ſome by whoſe good lyfe and liuyng he myght be edified and inſtructed. For where ought more aboundaunce of vertue and good lyuing to be, then in that place, which is counted to be the forte and fountayne of all religion? And howe coulde it otherwyſe be, but ẏ wheras ſo great holynes is profeſſed, wherupon all mennes eies are bent as vpon a ſtage, whereas Saint Peters ſeate is, and is thought to bee the ruler and gouernour of all the church, all thinges ſhould floriſhe and abound worthy ſo great expectation in that place? This holy man hauing theſe things before his eyes, and conſideringe the ſame wyth hym ſelfe, forſoke his owne countrey and citie, and went vnto Rome, conceiuing a fyrme and ſure hope, that by the example of ſo manye notable and worthy men, he ſhould greatly profyte in godlines and learning: but the ſucceſſe of the matter did vtterly fruſtrate his hoope, for all thynges were cleane contrarye. Whatſoeuer he ſawe, was nothinge els but mere diſſimulation and hipocryſye. In ſtead of golde, he found nothinge but coales: and for to ſaye the truth, he founde nothing els there but gold and ſiluer. In ſtead of heauēly giftes, there raigned amongs them the pompe and pryde of the worlde. In place of godlines, riote. In ſteade of learning and ſtudye, ſlouthfulnes and ſuperſticion. Tirāny and hautynes of mind had poſſeſſed the place of Apoſtolike ſymplicitye: that now there remayned no more any place or libertie for a man to learne ẏ which he knew not, or to teach ẏ which he perfectly vnderſtode. Finally all thyngs were turned arſye verſye, all things happened vnto him contrary to his expectation, where ſoeuer he went. But nothyng ſo much offended this good mans minde, as ẏ intolerable ambition, & pompous pride in thē, whō exāple of humilitie ſhould eſpecially cōmend & prayſe to ẏ whole world. And albeit ẏ he ſaw here nothyng, whiche did accorde & agree with the rule of the Apoſtles: yet theſe thinges did ſo much paſſe all meaſure and paciēce, that he could by no meanes refraine his tongue in ſo great abuſe & corruption of the churche, ſeyng ſuch ambitious pride in theyr buildynges, apparell, in theyr palaces, in their daintye fare, in their greate traynes of ſeruauntes, in their horſe and armour, and finally in all thinges pertainyng vnto them. Whiche thinges, howe much they did vary from the preſcript rule of the Goſpell, ſo much the more was this good man forced to ſpeake. Albeit he did well vnderſtād how litle he ſhould preuaile by ſpeakyng: for if admonition would profite any thing at all, ẏ bookes of Wickliefſe & diuers other were not wāting. The famous teſtimonies of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, and their bloud ſhed for the ſame, was yet preſent before their eyes: at whoſe moſt effectuall exhortations, they were ſo litle correct and amended, ẏ they ſemed twiſe more cruell then they were before. Yet all this could not feare this good mā, but that in ſo neceſſary & wholeſome an office, hee would ſpende his lyfe if neede ſhould be. So by this meanes, he whiche came to be a ſcholer vnto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to folow other mens liues and maners, had now contrarywiſe ſet before them his lyfe to be marked & followed. For he liued ſo amongeſt thē, that his life might be a rule vnto them all, and ſo taught as hee might alſo bee their ſchoole maiſter. For euen as Paule had forſhewed vnto ſuch as deſired to liue godly in Chriſt, that they ſhould ſuffer perſecution: ſuch like reward happened vnto this man. He gaue vnto them the fruite of godlynes, which they ſhould folow: they agayn ſet vpō his head ẏ diademe of Martyrdome. He ſhewed them the waye to ſaluation, and they for the benefite of

Tho. Rhedonenſis cōmeth into Italye.

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Rome,

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at Rome,

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The corru
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Pierere-
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lyfe rewarded him with death: and wheras his rewards had bene worthy for his great labours & trauailes, they wt moſt extreme ignominy perſecuted him euē vnto the fire. For whē as by continuall preaching he had gotten great enuie and hatred, the rulers began to conſult together by what meanes they might circumuent this mans lyfe. Here they had recourſe to their accuſtomed remedies: for it is a peculiar and cōtinual cuſtome amongeſt the prelates of the church, that if any man diſpleaſe thē, or that his talke be not accordyng to their minde, or by any meanes hurtfull or hinderaunce to their luker and gain, by and by they frame out Articles of ſome hereſy, which they charge him withal. And like as euery liuing thyng hath hys peculiar and proper weapon to defende him ſelfe from harme, as nature hath armed the Bore with his tuſkes, the hedge hogge with his prickels, the Lyon is feared for his clawes, the dogge for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his hornes, neither doth the Aſſe lacke his houes to ſtrike withall: euen ſo this is the onely armour of the biſhops, to ſtrangle a mā with hereſy, if he once go about to mutter againſt their will and ambition: which thing may be eaſely perceiued and ſene in this moſt holy mā, beſide a great nūber of other. Who, when as now he began to ware greuous vnto them, and could no lōger be ſuffred: what did they? ſtraight wayes flee vnto their old policies, & as they had done with Hus & Hierome of Prage, euen ſo went they about to practiſe againſt this man. They ouerwhelme him with ſuſpitiō, they ſeke to intangle him with queſtions, they examine him in iudgement, they compile Articles agaynſt him & lay hereſie vnto his charge, they condemne him as an hereticke, and beyng ſo condempned, they deſtroy and kill him. This was their godlines: this was the peaceable order of thoſe Carmelites. Whoſe religion was to weare no ſword nor ſhielde, notwithſtanding they dyd beare in their heartes, malice, rancour vengeaūce, poyſon, crafte and diſceite, ſharper then any ſworde. With how great care & policie is it prouided by lawe, that none of theſe clergye men ſhoulde fight with ſworde in the ſtreates? when as in iudgement & accuſations (where as it is not lawful for a mā to oppreſſe his brother) there is no murtherer which hath more ready vengeaunce, or that doth more vilye eſteme his brothers ſoule thē they. They ſhed no bloud thē ſelues, they ſtricke not, nor killed, but they deliuered thē ouer vnto others to be ſlaine. What differēce is there I pray you, but that they are the authors, & the other are but yͤ miniſters of the cruell facte? they kill no man as murtherers do. How then? Although not after the ſame ſorte, yet they do it by another meane.

The Articles whiche they falſly gathered agaynſt this man, are affirmed by ſome to be theſe.

That the church lacketh reformation, and that it ſhal be puniſhed and reformed.

That Infidels, Iewes, Turkes and Mores ſhall be conuerted vnto Chriſt in the later dayes.

That abhominations are vſed at Rome.

That the vniuſt excommunication of the Pope, is not to bee feared: and thoſe whiche do not obſerue the ſame, do not ſinne or offend.

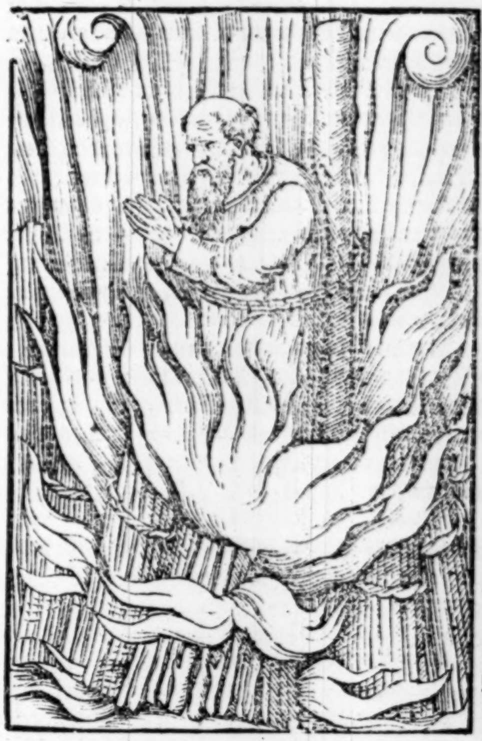
But yet there lacked a miniſter for theſe Articles: albeit he could not long bee wantyng at Rome, where all thinges are to be ſolde, euen mens ſoules. For this office & miniſtery, there was no man thought more mæte, then VVilliam of Rone, Cardinall of S. Martines in the Mount, vice Chauncelor of the court of Rome. Eugenius at that tyme was Pope, who had a litle before ſucceded Pope Martin aboue mentioned. Before the whiche Eugenius, this godly Rhedonenſis the Frencheman, was brought, and from thence ſent vnto priſon. And agayne after his impriſonment, and diuers and ſondry greuous tormentes, he was brought before the iudges. The wolfe ſate in iudgement: the Lambe was accuſed. Why? becauſe he had troubled the ſpryng. But here nede not many words. This good Thomas, not being able to reſiſte yͤ malice of theſe mighty potētates, had offēded inough, and was eaſily conuict & condempned to be burned: but in ſuch ſorte, as firſt of all hee ſhould bee depriued of all ſuch degrees as he had taken to prieſthode: For it is coūted an vnlawfull thyng, that a prieſt ſhould be puniſhed with prophane puniſhmnet, when as notwithſtandyng it is lawfull inough for prieſtes to put anye lay man to death, be he neuer ſo giltles.

Thomas degraded.

How religiouſly and earneſtly do they forſee, that the maieſtie of prieſtly dignitye ſhould not in any caſe bee hurte? But how litle care haue they, that their cōſciēces be not hurte with falſe iudgementes, and oppreſſing the giltles? Wherfore, before that he ſhould come vnto puniſhment, this good man muſt be diſgraded. The order and maner of this Popiſh degradyng, is partly before touched in the ſtory of William Taylor. fol. 781.

Tho. Rhedonenſis a French man burned at Rome.

After that it had pleaſed the Biſhops to diſgrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had conſecrated him, and thought not that ſufficient, by and by after they depriued him of his life alſo, & burned him. 4. yeres after yͤ he came to Rome, In yͤ yere of our L. 1436



And thus thorow the cruelty of theſe moſt tyrānous prelats, this bleſſed martyr died. Albeit it is not to bee thought that hee dyed, but made a loſſe of this body, for a greater gaine of ſaluation, before the iuſt iudgement of God: Neither is it to be doubted but yͤ he liueth eternally vnder the altar, with them whoſe bloud the Lord will reuenge, peraduenture to ſone for ſome of them whom the earth hath here ſo long holden vnpuniſhed.

Henry Grunfelder prieſt. Henry Radtgeber prieſt. Iohn Draendorfe prieſt. Pet. Thoraw. Math. Hager. Martyrs.

As this Thomas aboue ſayd ſuffered at Rome: ſo were diuers other in other places about Germany executed nere about yͤ ſame time, after yͤ burning of Iohn Hus: as Henry Grunfelder prieſt of Ratiſpone. an. 1420. alſo Henry Radtgeber prieſt, in the ſame citie. an. 1423. Iohn Draendorfe of noble byrth and a prieſt, was burned at VVormes. an. 1424. Peter Thorawe, at Spire. an. 1426. Math. Hager, alſo ſuffered at Berline in Germany, not long after. Ex balei Centur. ſept.

Pope Eugenius. 4.

After the death of Pope Martin, who reigned. 14. yeares, ſucceded Eugenius, the 4. of yͤ name, about the yeare of our Lord. 1431. Of whom Antonius thus writeth, yͤ he was much geuen to warres, as may well declare his conflictes & fightyng with the Romaines: alſo the batailes betwene the Venitians and the Florentians.

This Pope began firſt to celebrate the Councell of Baſill, whiche Councell Martin his predeceſſour had before intended, according to ẏ inſtitution of the councell of Conſtāce. Notwithſtandyng ẏ ſayd Eugenius perceauyng afterward this Councell of Baſill not to fauour hym and his doynges, and fearyng ſome detriment to come to hym by ẏ ſame, afterward laboured by all ſubtill practiſe to diſſolue and interrupt the ſayd Councell, and from Baſill to tranſlate it firſt to Ferraria, then to Florentia, more nere to his owne ſea of Rome. Concernyng the whiche Councell of Baſill, for ſomuch as we haue begon here to make mention, it ſhall bee no great digreſſion out of the way, to diſcourſe ſome thyng therof (the Lord ſo permitting) more at large, ſo much as for the moſt principall matters therof ſhall ſeme ſufficient or neceſſary, to be knowen.

Here followeth the order and manner of the Councell of Baſyll, touchyng the principall matters concluded therin, briefly collected and abridged here in this preſent booke: The reſt whereof we haue referred vnto our former edition, wherin the full diſcourſe of the whole diſputation is to be ſene more at large, for ſuch as haue liſt and leyſure to ſee more thereof.

The Councell of Baſill.

Ex Ænea Sylvio. Ex Chocbleo in Hiſtor. Huſſit. Et ex paralipom. Abbat. Vrſperg.

IN the.39.ſeſſion of the Councell of Conſtance (as is before mencioned pag. 708.) it was decreed & prouided concerning ẏ order & times of ſuch generall Councels as ſhould hereafter follow: The firſt ẏ ſhould next enſue, to be kept ẏ fift yeare after ẏ ſayd Councel of Cōſtance: The ſecond to be holden ẏ vij. yere after that, & ſo orderly all other to followe ſucceſſiuely frō.x.yeare to.x.yeare. Wherfore according to this decree, followed a general Councell, fiue yeares after ẏ Councell of Conſtance, celebrate and holden at Sene vnder pope Martine, an.1424. but it ſone broke vp. After the which Councell, the terme of.vij. yeares being expired, an other councel was called at Baſill, in the yere of our Lord.1431. The which councell is noted to haue bene the moſt troubleſome, and to haue endured lōger then any other councell before time celebrate and holdē in the church. This councell continued almoſt the ſpace of.xvij. yeares: wherein it was concluded, as before in the councell of Conſtance, that the generall Councels were aboue the Pope, and both of theſe twoo Councels did attribute the chiefe authority in decreing & determining, vnto the generall councell: which is the cauſe that the contrarye part doth derogate ſo much from the authoritie of thys preſent councell.

The death of pope Martyn.

Pope Eugenius 4.

When as pope Martine the fift had apointed Iulian, Cardinall and Deacon of S.Angel, his Legate, to celebrate and hold a generall councell at Baſill for the reformation of the church, and rooting out of hereſies, within ſhort ſpace after Pope Martin died, in whoſe ſeat Eugenius the fourth ſucceded, who confirmed vnto the ſaid Cardinal Iulian, the ſame authoritie which his predeceſſor before had geuen him. Vnto this councell of Baſill being begon, came the Emperour Sigiſmund, who during his life time, with his preſence and autoritye did protect and defend the ſaid Sinode. After ẏ Emperours death, Pope Eugenius altering his former minde and purpoſe, would tranſport the councell vnto Bononie, and therby hindred the ſucceſſe of the councell of Baſil. And firſt hee held a contrary councell at Feraria, & afterwarde at Florence: For after the death of the Emperour Sigiſmund, there was no princes or noble men, that had any care or regard of the councell. Eugenius the Pope pretended cauſes, as touching the Grekes, which ſhould come vnto the councell, and the vniting of their church vnto the Weſt church, the which Grekes would in no wiſe paſſe the Alpes: Alſo as touching hys owne incommoditie, that hee could not come vnto Baſil being ſo long a iourney, and that all men mighte haue eaſye acceſſe vnto Bononia, and that amongeſt the Germains (which in their owne countrye are ſo intractable) nothing can bee attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinal Iulian and the Fathers of the councell vnto Bononia, vnder great penaltie. They agayne cited the Pope, that either he ſhould come himſelfe vnto the Councell, or ſende his Ambaſſadors vnder like penalty. For this cauſe the the Ambaſſadours of Albert kyng of the Romains, and of the other Princes of Germany, aſſēbled together firſt at Norenberge, and when as they coulde determine nothing there, they aſſembled agayne at Frankford, to appeaſe the diſſenſion betwene the councell and the Pope: for it was thought, that the Electors of the Empire might beſt aſſemble & meete in that place. In the meane time, the Emperours Ambaſſadours and the Ambaſſadours of the Electors, went vnto Baſill, and hauing conference wyth the Ambaſſadours of the other Prynces which were there, they dyd earneſtly exhort the fathers of the Councell, that they woulde embrace and receyue the vnity which they wold offer. The requeſt of the princes was, that the fathers would tranſport the councell, and go vnto an other place: the which onely thing Pope Eugenius ſeemed alwayes to ſeeke and deſire, that therby he might either diuide the fathers of the Councell, or take away their libertie.

Pope Eugenius ſeeketh to diſſolue the councell of Baſill.

Diſſenſio betwene the coūc of Baſill, and pope Eugeni

The prin ces requ to remou the coun cell, at th popes pleaſure.

Notwithſtanding this ſacred Sinode thought good neither to deny the Princes requeſt, nor to graunt that which Pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the Emperours Ambaſſadours, the biſhops of Patauia and Auguſta (being much required and ſtirred therunto) appoynted a noble and valiant Baron called Conrad weinſperge, by the kinges commaundement, to be Protector and defender of the Councell, and the fathers. Wherby as the enemies perceiued the Emperours mynde to bee alienate from the Pope, ſo the Fathers of the Councell vnderſtoode hys good wyll towardes them: forſomuche as he would not haue ſent them a protector, if he had not iudged it a lawfull councell: neither agayne woulde he haue iudged it a councell in Baſil, if he had geuen credit to Pope Eugenius. But by meanes of a great peſtilence which began to grow, the aſſēbly that ſhould haue bene holden at Frankford, was tranſported vnto Mentz. The Ambaſſadours of the Princes alſo thought good to go thither, if they might finde any meanes of vnity, whereby they myght vnite and knyt the Pope agayne vnto the Councell.

The pre lates of t councell refuſed popes requeſt,

The aſſembly was very famous, for there were preſent the Archbiſhops of Mentz, Colen and Treuers, electours of the ſacred Empire, and all the Ambaſſadours of the other Electours. Notwithſtanding, the Archbyſhop of Colen was the chiefe fauourer of the Councel in this aſſemblye, who wyth all hys labour and diligence went about to bring the matter vnto a good end. Rabanus the Archbiſhop of Treuers ſhewed himſelf ſomwhat more rough. The ſacred Sinode alſo thought good to ſend thither their Ambaſſadours, and apoynted out the Patriarke of Aquileya, the biſhop of Vicene, and the biſhop of Argen Diuines, Iohn Segouius, and Thomas De corcellis, with diuers others. There was no man there preſent which woulde name himſelfe the Ambaſſadour of Eugenius: All beit there were manye of his fauourers and frendes come thether, both frō the councell, and alſo out of Florence, the which, albeit they had ſworne to the contrary, yet fauoured they more Eugenius then the Councell. But ẏ chiefe Hercules of all ẏ Eugenians, was Nicolaus Cuſanus, a man ſingulerly well learned, and of great experience. After diuers conſultations had, the Electours of the Empire, and the Ambaſſadours of the other princes of Germany, thought good to geue out cōmaundement throughout their whole nation and countrey, that the decrees of the councell of Baſill ſhould be receiued and obſerued.

The prin ces aſſembled at Mentz, to make voi betwene the coūc and the pope.

Whileſt theſe thinges were thus debated at Mentz, there ſprang a certayne very doubtfull queſtion amongeſt the Diuines, which remained at Baſil, whether Eugenius

genius might be called an hereticke, which had ſo rebelliouſly contemned the commaundements of the church. Hereupõ they gathered them ſelues together, diſputing long amongeſt them ſelues, ſome affirming, and other ſome holding the negatiue part. Upon this their diſputation, there aroſe three ſeuerall opinions, ſome affirming that he was an hereticke, other ſome, not onelye an hereticke, but alſo a relaps. The third ſorte would neither graunt him to be an hereticke nor a relaps. Amongeſt theſe diuines, the chiefe and principall both in learning and authoritye, was the biſhop of Ebrun, Ambaſſadour of the king of Caſtell, and a certayne Skottiſhe Abbot: which, as twoo moſt valiaunt Champions, ſubdued all their enemies, ſo that all the reſt did either conſent vnto their argumentes, or gaue place vnto them, and ſo their determination tooke place, and Eugenius was pronounced both an hereticke and relaps. Eight concluſions were there determined and allowed amongeſt the diuines, which they called verities: the copy whereof they did diuulgate throughout all Chriſtendome.

When the Ambaſſadours of the Councell were returned from Mentz, and that certaine report was made of the alowing of their decrees, the fathers of the councell thought good to diſcuſſe the concluſions of the Diuines more at large. Whereupon, by the commaundement of the deputies, all the maiſters and doctours and Clergy were called together, with the reſidue of the prelates, into the Chapter houſe of the great churche, there openlye to diſpute and diſcuſſe Eugenius hereſie. The which thing ſore greued the Biſhop of Millaine, fearing leaſt this diſputation would worke the depriuation of Eugenius, the whych, as he ſayde, he had alwayes letted for feare of ſchiſme: Wherefore he ceaſed not by al maner of wayes to labour, to ſtop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were abſent by his letters, and encouraging thoſe that were preſent by his wordes, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the laſt, there was a great aſſembly in the Chapter houſe, ſome commyng thether to diſpute, and other ſome to heare. Thys diſputation continued ſixe dayes, both forenoone and afternoone, amongeſt whom Cardinall Lodouicus Archbiſhop Arelatenſis, was appoynted as Judge and Arbiter of the whole diſputation: who beſide manye other notable vertues, was both valiant and conſtant. Nicolas Amici, whych was alſo a Proctor of the fayth, a famous man amongeſt the diuines of Paris, demaunded of euery mã what their opinion was. Iohn Dienlefiſt, publike Notary, wrote euery mans ſentence and iudgement. The cõcluſions of the diuines, which were the ground & foundation of their diſputation, were theſe here followyng.

1. It is a veritie of the Catholike fayth, that the ſacred generall councell, hath power ouer the Pope, or any other Prelate.

2. The Pope cannot by his owne autoritie, eyther diſſolue, tranſport or proroge, the generall councell beyng lawfully congregate, wythout the whole conſent of the councel: and this is of like veritye.

3. He which doth obſtinately reſiſt theſe verities, is to be counted an heretike.

4. Pope Eugenius the iiij. hathe reſiſted theſe verities, when as at the firſt, by the fulnes of his Apoſtolike power, he attempted to diſſolue or to tranſporte the councell of Baſill.

5. Eugenius beyng admoniſhed by the ſacred councell, did recant the errors repugnant to theſe verities.

6. The diſſolution or tranſlation of the councel attempted the ſecond tyme by Eugenius, is againſt the foreſayd verities, and contayneth an inexcuſable errour touchyng the fayth.

7. Eugenius in goyng about to diſſolue and tranſport yͤ coũcell again, is fallen into his before reuoked errours.

8. Eugenius beyng warned by the Synode, yͭ he ſhould reuoke the diſſolution or tranſlation the ſecond tyme attempted: after that his contumacy was declared, perſeueryng in hys rebellion and erectyng a councell at Feraria, ſhewed himſelfe therby obſtinate.

Panormitane ſpeaketh again for the pope.

Articles of fayth diuided in iii. ſortes.

Panormitane preferreth the iudgement of the Cardinalls' of Rome, before all the world.

The pope pretendeth the vniting of the Greekes, when he meaneth an other thyng.

These were the concluſions which were redde in the chapter houſe before the fathers of the councell. Uppon yͤ which, whẽ they were deſired to ſpeake their mindes, they all, in a maner, confirmed & allowed thẽ. Notwithſtandyng Panormitane Archbiſhop, diſputed muche againſt them. Likewyſe did the Biſhoppe of Burgen the kyng of Arragons Almoner. Yet did they not gaineſaye the 3. firſt concluſions, but onely thoſe wherin Pope Eugenius was touched. This Panormitane as he was ſubtil, ſo did he ſubtelly diſpute againſt the laſt cõcluſions, endeuouryng himſelf to declare that Eugenius was not relapſed, and had greate contention with the biſhop of Argens, Iohn Segouius, and Fraunces de Fuxe, diuines. He diuided the articles of the faythe into three ſortes: ſtraitlye, as in the crede: largely, as in the declarations made by yͤ church, moſt largely of all, as in thoſe things which riſe of the premiſſes, affirmyng that Eugenius did by no meanes violate his fayth in his firſt diſſolution yͭ he made, becauſe it is not contayned in the crede, neyther yet in the determinations of the churche, that the pope cannot diſſolue the councels: and that it ſeemeth not vnto hym to riſe of the determination before made, but rather of the decrees of the Councell of Conſtance: And further, that this, as a caſe omitted, is reſerued for the pope to be diſcuſſed, for ſomuch as in the chapter begynnyng Frequens, it appeareth that the place where yͤ councell ſhould be kept, ought to be choſen by yͤ Pope, the Councell allowyng the ſame, and nothyng is therof at all ſpoken. And if peraduenture Eugenius had offended in the firſt diſſolution, notwithſtandyng he ought to be holden excuſed, becauſe he did it by the counſell of the Cardinals, repreſentyng yͤ church of Rome: whoſe autoritie he ſayd to be ſuch, yͭ the iudgement therof ſhould be preferred before all yͤ world. Neyther hath there bene any ſacred councell found to haue proceded againſt Eugenius as an heretike, and yͭ is an euident ſigne, that the councell hath not thought him to haue ſwarued from yͤ faith, neither to haue any occaſion, yͭ he ſhould be called heretike for his errours reuoked, & that he himſelf hath redde yͤ whole text, yͭ the pope did not reuoke yͤ diſſolutiõ as contrary vnto the fayth, but as breedyng effect: Alſo that the laſt diſſolution hath no ſuch cauſe in it: for ſo much as likewiſe he had done it by the counſel of the Cardinals, and for the vnityng of the Greekes, that he myght not be compelled in a criminall cauſe, to anſwer by his procuratour, whẽ as he beyng letted by ſicknes, could not come perſonally. So, for as muche as in the firſt diſſolution Eugenius hath fallen into no errour of faythe, he cannot be perſwaded that he can bee called a relaps, for ſo much as he neyther in the firſt, neyther yet in the ſecond diſſolution did violate hys faythe.

The pope no relaps, but prolaps.

Iohn Segouius aunſwereth to Panormitane.

This oration of Panormitane was more prayſed then allowed of all men. Notwithſtanding this effect it wrought, that afterwarde this worde relaps was takẽ out of the concluſions, and in ſteede therof this woorde prolaps put in. Neyther durſt Panormitane himſelfe, altogether excuſe Eugenius of hereſie, but defẽded more the firſt diſſolution, then the ſecond: yet departed he not without aunſwer: for Iohn Segouius an expert diuine, riſyng vp, anſwered him reuerently as was comely for ſuch a prelate. He ſayd he graunted that which Panormitane had ſpoken touchyng the diuiſion of the articles of the faithe into. iij. pointes, for becauſe it made for his purpoſe. For if thoſe things are to be holdẽ for articles of fayth, ſaid he, which may be gathered of yͤ determinations of the church, it were manifeſt that the concluſiõs wherupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the curch: that is to ſay, of the councell of Conſtance: for, if therein the Pope bee made ſubiecte vnto the generall councell, who is it that wyll ſay that the Pope hath power ouer the councell whyche is aboue hym? or that Eugenius ought to remayne pope, becauſe he coulde not diſſolue the councell whiche is aboue him, without the cõſent therof? The which article vndoubtedly, he hath violate and broken. And if any mã will ſay that in the firſt diſſolution this article was not violate, becauſe there was no declaration made therof, let hym which ſo thinketh, thus vnderſtand: that the biſhop of Rome oughte not onely to know the plaine and manifeſt, but alſo the ſecrete and hidden thynges of the fayth, for he beynge the vycar of Chriſt and the head of all other, ought to inſtruct and teache all men. But if ſo be he will not, then he ſhall bee conuicted for beyng heade, becauſe hee continued longe in the diſſolution after the declaration of the councell, neyther dyd conſent vnto the determination of the church, and therfore, if peraduẽture he dyd not erre in the fayth, in diſſoluing of the councell, yet did he erre in perſeuering in yͤ ſame, as it manifeſtly appeareth by the ſaying of Clement oftentymes alleadged by Panormitane, wherin it is ſaid, that he which liueth rebelliouſly and neglecteth to doo good, is rather a member of the Deuil then of Chriſt, & rather an infidel then a true beleuer: ſo that Eugenius by diſobeying the church, may worthely be called an infidel. Neyther is it true that the Pope hathe not offended in the fayth: For ſo much, as wel in that anſwer which beginneth Cogitanti, as alſo in the aunſwer whiche beginneth Sperant, made vnto the Popes Ambaſſadours, theſe wordes are manifeſt: this article concerneth faith & we had rather die then through cowardlines to geue place. By the which ſaying it is euident, the Sinode to haue ſufficiently admoniſhed the Pope that he dyd againſt the fayth, and therfore it ſeemed that afterward when as Eugenius reuoked the diſſolution, he alſo reuoked the errour of faythe conteyned in the ſame. There are alſo diuers offences ſprong and ryſen throughe the errour of fayth: for ſome ſay that the pope is vnder the councell, other ſome denye it, and this diuerſitie of doctrine bringeth offence. Alſo it is expreſſely againſt the autoritie of the councel, that the Pope dyd reuoke the aſſertions made in their name. And albeit in ſuch reuocations, the ſtile and order of iudgements is not obſerued, notwithſtandyng it doth ſuffiſe in ſuch caſe, when as the councell doth procede againſt the pope: in which caſe onely the truth is to be obſerued, neyther is yͤ councel ſubiect vnto any poſitiue lawe, that it ought to obſerue any termes or iudicial orders. Alſo he ſaid yͭ he vtterly cõtemned that ſinguler gloſe which did prefer the pope before all the world, ſo that it might well be called ſinguler, which decreed ſo foliſh and fonde thinges and vnworthy to be followed of anye man: and that he dyd much meruaile of Panormitane and other doctoures of thoſe dayes, which whileſt they went aboute to extol the autoritie of the gloſes, doe abaſe the ſame by addyng a ſingularitie therto: for that gloſe is ſinguler which is alone. But who would not more eſteeme a gloſe conſtantly written and agreable in all places, then that whiche in any one place teacheth any thyng which may ſeeme to bee an errour: and that as touchyng the veritie and truth. S. Hierome a graue and auncient doctour is contrary to this gloſe, who doubteth nothyng at all, but yͭ the worlde, as touchyng authoritie is aboue the citie it ſelfe, that is to ſay, Rome.

The pope neglecting to do good is a member not of Chriſt but of the deuyll.

Councels bound to no poſitiue lawe.

Segouius, coulde ſcarſelye finiſhe thys hys oration wythout interruption; for Panormitane oftentimes enteruptynge hym, wente aboute to confute nowe thys and nowe that reaſon. Whereupon the byſhoppe of Argen riſinge vp, a man not onelye eloquente but alſo of a ſtout courage, troubled Panormitane in hys reaſõs and argumentes, and put hym from hys purpoſe: yet they proceeded ſo far, that they paſſed the maner of diſputation, & dyd not abſtayne from opprobrious taunts.

When the byſhop of Argen chaunced to ſaye that the Byſhoppe of Rome oughte to bee the miniſter of the churche, Panormitane coulde not ſuffer that: in ſo much that he ſo forgot himſelfe that day, and his knowledge (which otherwyſe was great) did ſo fayle him, that he was not aſhamed to ſaye & to affirme, that the Pope was Lord ouer the Church. Whom Segouius aunſwered: Marke (ſayth he) O Panormitane, what thou ſayeſt: for this is the moſt honorable title of yͤ biſhop of Rome, wherein he calleth himſelfe the ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God. Which is gathered vppon this poynt, when as Chriſt ſayd vnto his diſciples, when they demaunded of hym which of them was the greateſt, you know he aunſwered them: The princes of the people haue rule and dominion ouer them, but amongeſt you it is not ſo, &c. Wherin he doth vtterly prohibite lordſhip and dominion. And Peter which was the firſt vicar of Chriſt, ſaith, feede the flocke of God whiche is committed vnto you, prouiding for them not by compulſion, but willinglye. And immediatly after he ſayd, not as Lordes ouer the cleargy. For if Chriſt the ſonne of God, came not to be miniſtred vnto, but to miniſter and ſerue, how then can hys vicar haue any dominion, or be called Lord, as you Panormitane will affirme: forſomuch as the diſciple is not aboue his maiſter, nor the ſeruant aboue his Lord. And the Lord himſelfe ſaith: be ye not called maiſters, for ſo muche as your onelye maiſter is Chriſt, and hee whych is the greateſt emong you, ſhalbe your ſeruant. Panormitan being ſomwhat diſquieted wyth this aunſwer, the councell brake vp and departed.

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The next day, there was a generall congregation, & they returned all agayne vnto the chapter houſe after dinner, wheras the Archbiſhop of Lyons, the kynges Orator beyng required to ſpeake his mynde, after he had by diuers and ſondry reaſons proued Eugenius to be an hereticke, hee bitterly complayned, deteſtyng the negligence and ignauie, of thoſe whiche had preferred ſuch a man vnto the Papacie, and ſo moued all theyr heartes whiche were preſent, that they altogether with hym did bewayle the calamities of the vniuerſall churche. Then the Biſhop of Burgell, yͤ Ambaſſador of Spayne, diuided the concluſions into two partes, ſome he called general, and other ſome perſonall, diſputyng very excellently as touchyng the thre firſt concluſiõs, affirmyng that he did in no point doubt of them, but onely that the addition whiche made mention of the faith, ſemed to be doubtful vnto him. But vpon this poynt, he ſtayed much, to proue that the Councell was aboue the Pope. The whiche after he had ſufficiently proued both by Gods law & mans lawe, hee taught it alſo by Phiſicall reaſon, alledgyng Ariſtotle for witneſſe. He ſayd that in euery well ordred kyngdome, it ought ſpecially to be deſired, that yͤ whole realme ſhould be of more authoritie thẽ the kyng, which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kyngdome, but a tyranny: ſo lykewiſe doth he thinke of the churche, that it ought to be of more authoritie, then the prince therof, that is to ſay, the Pope. The whiche his Oration hee vttered ſo eloquently, learnedly and truly, that all men depended vppon him, and deſired rather to haue him continue his Oratiõ, then to haue an end therof. But when as he entred into the other concluſions, he ſemed to haue forgotten him ſelfe and to be no more the ſame man, that hee was: for neither was there the ſame eloquence in his wordes, neither grauitie in Oration, or cherefulnes of countenaunce, ſo that if hee could haue ſene him ſelf, he would peraduenture greatly haue maruayled at him ſelfe. Euery man might well ſee and perceaue then the power and force of the truth whiche miniſtred copie of matter vnto him ſo long as he ſpake in the defence therof. But when as he began once to ſpeake a-

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gaynſt her, ſhe tooke away euen his naturall eloquence from him. Notwithſtandyng Panormitane and the Byſhop of Burgen, ſhewed this example of modeſtie, that albeit they would not confeſſe or graunt the laſt concluſions to be verities of fayth: yet they would not that any man ſhould folow or leane vnto their opinion, whiche were but meane diuines, but rather vnto the opiniõs of the diuines. But the kyng of Aragons Amner, beyng a ſubtill and crafty man, did not directly diſpute vpon the concluſions: but picking out here and there certaine argumentes, ſought to let and hinder the Coũcell. Againſt whom an Abbote of Skotland, a man of an excellent wit diſputed very much: and Thomas de Corcellis a famous diuine, alledged much agaynſt him out of the decrees of the ſacred Councell, and with a certaine modeſt ſhamefaſtnes, alwayes beholdyng the ground, did very largely diſpute in the defence of the concluſions. But now to auoide tediouſnes, I wil onely procede to declare argumentes, wherby the concluſions were ratified and confirmed: not mindyng to intreat of the .v. laſt concluſiõs, whiche concerne the perſon of Eugenius, but onely vpon the thre firſt, whereunto I will adioyne certeine probable argumentes gathered out of the diſputation of the fathers. In the firſt concluſion is the greateſt force, and firſt to be diſcuſſed: touchyng the whiche, ij. thinges are to bee required, and examined. The one whether the generall Councell haue authoritie ouer the Pope. The other, whether the catholicke faith commaundeth it to be beleued. As touching that the Pope is ſubiecte to the generall Councell, it is excellentlye well proued by the reaſon before alledged by the Byſhop of Burgen. For the Pope is in the churche, as a kyng in his kyngdome: and for a kyng to be of more authoritie then hys kyngdome, it were to abſurde: Ergo neyther ought the Pope to be aboue the Church. For like as oftentymes, kinges whiche doe wickedlye gouerne the common wealth, and exerciſe cruelty, are depriued of their kyngdome, euen ſo it is not to be doubted, but that the Byſhops of Rome may be depoſed by the Churche, that is to ſay, by the generall Councels. Neither doo I herein allow them which attribute ſo ample & large authoritie vnto kyngs, ẏ they will not haue thẽ bound vnder any lawes: For ſuch as ſo do ſay, be but flatterers, whiche do talke otherwiſe then they thincke. For albeit ẏ they doe ſay ẏ the moderation of the lawe is alway in the princes power: that do I thus vnderſtand, that when as reaſon ſhall perſwade, hee ought to digreſſe from the rigour of the law: for he is called a kyng, whiche careth and prouideth for the common wealth: taketh pleaſure in the commoditie and profite of the ſubiectes, and in all his doings hath reſpect to the commoditie of thoſe, ouer whom he ruleth: which, if he do not, he is not to be counted a kyng but a tyraunt, whoſe propertie it is onely to ſeeke his owne profite: for in this point a kyng differeth from a tyraunt that the one ſeketh the commoditie and profite of thoſe whom he ruleth, and the other onely his own. The which to make more manifeſt, the cauſe is alſo to be alledged, wherfore kinges were ordeined. At the begynnyng (as Cicero in hys offices ſayth) it is certaine, that there was a certaine time whẽ as the people liued wͭout kynges. But afterward when landes & poſſeſſions began to be deuided accordyng to ẏ cuſtome of euery nation, then were kynges ordeyned for no other cauſe, but only to exerciſe iuſtice. For whẽ as at the beginning, ẏ cõmon people were oppreſſed by rich & mighty men, they ran by & by to ſome good & vertuous man, which ſhould defend ẏ poore frõ iniurie, & ordeine lawes wherby the riche and poore might dwell together. But when as yet vnder the rule of kinges, the poore were oftentymes oppreſſed, lawes were ordeined and inſtituted the whiche ſhould iudge neither for hatred nor fauour, and geue like eare vnto the poore as vnto the rich: wherby we doo vnderſtand and knowe, not onely the people, but alſo the kyng to be ſubiect to the lawes. For if we do ſee a kyng to contempne and deſpiſe the lawes, violently robbe and ſpoyle his ſubiectes, deflowre virgines, diſhoneſt matrones, and do all thinges licenciouſly and temerariouſly: do not the nobles of the kyngdome aſſemble together, depoſing him from his kyngdome, ſet vp an other in his place, whiche ſhall ſweare to rule and gouerne vprightly and be obedient vnto the lawes? Verely as reaſon doth perſwade, euen ſo doth the vſe therof alſo teach vs. It ſemeth alſo agreable vnto reaſon that ẏ ſame ſhould be done in the churche, that is to ſay, in the Councell, whiche is done in any kyngdome. And ſo is this ſufficiently apparant which we haue before ſayd, ẏ the Pope is ſubiect vnto the Councell.

The pope ought to be ſubiect vnto the councell.

But now to paſſe vnto the argumentes of diuinitie, the foundation of the matter whiche we do intreate vpon, are the wordes of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt in diuers places, but ſpecially where as hee ſpeaketh vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus & ſuper hanc petram edificabo eccleſiam meam, & portæ inferi nõ præualebunt aduerſus eam. i. Thou art Peter and vppon this rocke will I builde my Churche, & the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile agaynſt it.

Thys place *Tu es Petrus &c.* expoũded.

Vpon whiche wordes it ſemeth good to begyn thys diſputation, for ſo much as ſome were wont to alledge theſe woordes to extolle the authoritie of the biſhop of Rome. But (as it ſhal by and by appeare) the wordes of Chriſt had an other ſenſe and meanyng then diuers of them do thinke, for he ſaith: and the gates of hell ſhal not preuaile againſt it. Verely this is a great promes, and theſe wordes of the Lord are of great importance.

Sinnes are the gates of hell.

For what greater worde could there haue bene ſpoken, then that the gates of hell ſhould not preuayle agaynſt the church? Theſe gates of hell, as S. Hierome ſayth, do ſignifie ſinnes. Wherfore if ſinnes cã not preuaile agaynſt the Churche, neither can any maligne ſpirites preuayle agaynſt the ſame, whiche haue no power at all ouer mankynd, but only thorow ſinne. And for that cauſe, where as it is ſaid in Iob, that there is no power vpon the earth ẏ may be cõpared vnto the power of the maligne ſpirite, wherby it followeth ẏ the power of the Churche is aboue all other power.

Agaynſt the papiſtes opiniõ that the pope can not erre.

Wee may alſo vpon the ſame ſaying, reaſon after an other ſorte: for ſomuch as ẏ gates of hell, that is to ſay, ſinnes can not preuaile agaynſt the churche, the Churche therby is declared to be without ſinne: the which can not be ſpoken of the Pope which is a mortall man, for ſomuch as it is written, ſeuen tymes in the day the iuſt mã doth offende. If the churche be without ſpot becauſe it cã not be defiled with ſinne, who is it that will preferre a ſinnefull mã, before an vndefiled church? Neither let vs geue eare vnto thoſe whiche will not referre theſe wordes of Chriſt vnto the churche, where as he ſayth: Oraui pro te Petre, vt non deficiat fides tua. That is to ſaye, Peter I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhould not faile, thee.

The interpretatiõ of thys place. *Oraui pro te Petre,* is ment of the church.

For as S. Auguſtine ſaith in the expoſition of the Pſalmes, certaine thynges are ſpoken as though they ſemed properly to pertayne vnto the Apoſtle Peter, notwithſtandyng, they haue no euident ſenſe but when they are referred vnto the Churche, the perſon wherof he is vnderſtanded figuratiuely to repreſent. Whereupon in an other place in the queſtions of the new and olde Teſtament, vpon theſe woordes: Rogaui pro te Petre, I haue prayed for thee Peter: What is doubted? Dyd he praye for Peter, and did he not praye for Iames and Iohn, beſide the reſt? It is manifeſt that vnder ẏ name of Peter, all other are conteyned. For in an other place of S. Iohn he ſaith: I pray for them, whom thou haſt geuen me, and I will that whereſoeuer I am, they ſhall be alſo with me. Wherupõ we do oftentymes by the name of Peter vnderſtand the churche, whiche we do nothing at all doubte to be done in this place: otherwiſe the truth could not conſiſte, for ſomuch as within a while after, the fayth of Peter, fayled for a tyme by the denyall of Chriſt, but the fayth of the Churche, whoſe perſon Peter did repreſent, did alwayes perſeuere inuiolate.

As touching the biſhops of Rome, if time would ſuffer vs, we could rehearſe many examples, how that thei either haue bene heretikes, or repleniſhed with other vices. Neither are we ignoraunt how that Marcellinus at the Emperours commaundement, did ſacrifice vnto Idoles, and that an other (which is more horrible) dyd attayne vnto the Papacye by a diueliſhe fraud and deceite. Notwithſtanding the teſtimony of Paule vnto the Hebrues ſhall ſuffiſe vs at this time, who ſaith euerye biſhop to be compaſſed in wͭ infirmity: that is to ſay, with wickednes and ſinne. Alſo the teſtimonies of Chriſt him ſelfe do approue, that the Churche remayneth alwayes without ſinne: for in Mathew he ſayth, I am with you euen vnto the end of the world. The which wordes were not onelye ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles (for they continued not vnto the end of world) but alſo vnto their ſucceſſors: neyther would Chriſt then ſignifie that he was God, diſperſed throughout all the worlde, as he is alſo perceiued to be amongeſt ſynners, but woulde declare a certayne gift of grace, through his aſſiſtance, whereby he would preſerue the holy Church conſiſting emongeſt his Apoſtels and their ſucceſſors, alwayes immaculate and vndefiled. And agayne in an other place I (ſayth he) wyll pray, and he ſhall geue you an other comforter, that he may remaine with you for euer, euen the ſprite of truth whom the world cannot receaue, becauſe the worlde ſeeth him not, neyther knoweth him, but you ſhall knowe hym, becauſe he ſhall remayne with you. The whych wordes being ſpoken vnto the Diſciples of Ieſus, are alſo vnderſtanded to be ſpoken vnto their ſucceſſours, and ſo conſequently vnto the church. And if the ſpirit of truth be continually in the churche, no man can denye, but that the church ought to continue vndefiled. By the ſame authoritye alſo that Chriſte is called the ſpouſe of the Church, who ſeeth not, but that the churche is vndefiled? For the huſband and the wyfe (as yͤ Apoſtle ſaith) are two in one fleſhe, and (as he doth alſo adde) no man hateth hys own fleſhe: thereby it commeth to paſſe, that Chriſt can not hate the church, for ſomuch as ſhe is hys ſpouſe, and one fleſh with him, and no mā can hate him ſelfe: Ergo, the church doth not ſinne: for if it did ſinne, it ſhoulde bee hated, for ſinners the Lorde doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the Apoſtle to confeſſe that the church of God hath neyther ſpot nor wrincle. Alſo he writing vnto Timothe affirmeth the church to be the pyller and foundation of the truth: whereupon in this ſong of the Spouſe it is ſayd: My friend thou art altogether faire and bewtiful, neyther is there any ſpot in thee.

Byſhops of Rome are heretiques.

He meaneth Syluester the ſecond.

The church is without ſinne, and the pope is a ſinner.

The church one fleſh with Chriſt.

The church is without ſpot or ſinne, is to be vnderſtand not by nature, but only by imputation.

Theſe wordes perauenture may abaſhe ſome, that I do go about to proue the church to bee without ſinne. For when as the church doth contayne all men whiche are called Chriſtians, which alſo do agree and come together in one beliefe of fayth and participation of the Sacramentes, I do feare leaſt ſome men wil think that I do affirme all men to bee without ſinne: whiche is ſo farre from my meanyng, that I doo verelye thinke the cōtrarye to be moſt true. For I ſuppoſe, that there is no man in the church beyng clothed in thys mortall fleſhe, without ſinne. Neyther do theſe thinges vary or diſſent among thēſelues: For the church hath this gift, yͭ albeit euery parte & member therof may ſinne, yet the whole body can not ſinne. For there be alwaies good men in yͤ church, yͭ which, albeit yͭ they be ſubiect vnto humayn fragilitie, notwithſtanding they haue ſo perfect a gifte of ſincere & pure vertue, yͭ ſubduing all carnal deſires & affections, they kepe themſelues a pleaſaunt & acceptable ſacrifice vnto God. Neyther do I conſent or agree vnto yͤ opiniō of diuers, which affirme yͭ the Virgin Mary only perſeuered in faith at yͤ lordes paſsiō. Wherupō diuers haue not bene aſhamed to ſay yͭ the faith myght be ſo debilitate & weakened, yͭ it ſhoulde returne to one onely olde woman. Whoſe opinion or rather madnes, Saint Paule ſeemeth openly to reiecte, writyng thus vnto the Romaynes: do ye not know (ſayth he) what the ſcripture writeth of Helias, how inceſſantly he called vpon God againſt the children of Iſraell (ſaying) O lord they haue ſlayne thy Prophets, and digged down thine altars, and I alone am left & they ſeeke after my ſoule? But what aunſwer receyued he of God? I haue left vnto my ſelfe yet vij. M. men, which haue not bowed theyr knees vnto Baall. What other thyng doth this anſwer of God declare, then that it is a foliſhe opinion of them which thinke the church of God to be broughte vnto ſo ſmall a number? We oughte to beleue the woordes of Chriſt, which are altogether repugnant vnto thoſe men who affirme that the Virgine onely dyd perſeuere in fayth. For Ieſus ſaid vnto his Father, O holye father ſaue them in thy name, whom thou haſt geuen me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with thē I kept them in thy name: I haue kepte them that thou gaueſt vnto me, and none of them periſhed, but onelye the ſonne of perdition. And I doo not deſire that thou ſhouldeſt take them out of the worlde, but that thou ſhouldſt preſerue thē frō euill. Beholde, Chriſt prayeth yͭ his Diſciples ſhould not fall, but ſhoulde be preſerued frō euill, & he ſo praying without doubt is heard: for he ſayth in another place, I knowe that thou heareſt me. But how is he heard, if all thoſe for whom he prayeth, ſwarued at the tyme of his paſsion? As for example: By what meanes did Chriſt hangyng vpon the Croſſe, commend hys dearly beloued Mother vnto Iohn, if ſo be he were eyther then ſwarued or ſhould by & by after haue ſwarued frō yͤ fayth? Moreouer, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and ſay: truely this is the ſonne of God? The Iewes alſo which at that time were farre diſtant from Ieruſalem, might both be called faythfull, and alſo ſaued by their fayth: ſeing that (as the Apoſtle ſayth) men are bounde vnto the Goſpell, after it is once knowen and reuealed vnto them. But let vs leaue theſe men & ſpeake of yͭ which is more likely, and let vs iudge yͭ there hath bene & is a great number of good mē in the church, & by thē as by yͤ more worthy part, let vs name the church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the euill as the good. For yͤ church is compared vnto a net which is caſt into the ſea, and gathereth together all kynde of fiſhes. And agayne it is cōpared vnto a kyng, which made a mariage for his ſōne, and ſent forth hys ſeruauntes to call thoſe whiche were bidden, vnto the weddyng, and they gathered together good and euil, as many as they could fynde. Wherfore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirme, that onelye good men be comprehended in the church: the which, yf it were true, it would cōfound all things, neither could we vnderſtande or know where the churche were. But for ſo much as the ſcripture ſaith: no mā knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred, their opiniō is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faythfull in the church: of whom, although a great part be geuen to voluptuouſnes and auarice, yet ſome notwithſtandyng are cleane from deadly ſinne. The which part, as it is the moſte worthye, it geueth the name vnto the church, to be called moſt holy: which is ſo often done, that we are commaunded to ſing in our creede, vnam ſanctam catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, that is to ſay, one holy catholike and apoſtolike churche: the which article the Synode of Conſtantinople, added vnto the reſt: Wherefore if the church be holy, it is alſo without ſinne. But to retourne to our former purpoſe, thys worde Sanctum, whiche ſignifieth holy (as Macrobius alledgyng Trebatius, affirmeth) is

ſometymes

The church without ſinne how to be vnderſtand.

The erro of thoſe which ſa that onely the virgin Mary dyd perſeuer conſtant a the tyme o his paſsion

The church comprehēdeth both the euill and good.

Math. 10.

This ſaying of Eccleſiaſtes i not well tranſlated, & alſo ſerueth to other ſenſe, then is he ment.

ſometymes taken for religious, and ſometymes for cleane and vncorrupte. And after the ſame manner, we call the churche holye as the Apoſtle Peter calleth it immaculate, as we reade in the famous Epiſtle of Clement. To thys ende alſo tendeth that which is ſpoken by S. Paule, that Chriſt is the heade of the church: For if the Church ſhould whaly ſinne, ſhe ſhould not agree wyth her head Chriſt, who is in no pointe defiled. This alſo Chriſt hymſelfe would ſignify vnto vs in Mathew, when he cōmendeth the houſe which was builded vpon the ſtrong rocke, againſt the which, neither the windes neither the ſtormes could preuaile. In the houſe of god (ſaith the Apoſtle) which is ẏ church builded vpō ẏ ſtrōg rocke, which rock (as the ſayd Apoſtle declareth) is Chriſt. Who then is ſo vnſhamefaſt that he wil affirme ẏ Church, which is founded vpon Chriſt, to be ſubiect to ſinne? and wyl not rather cry out with the Prophet and ſay: Domine, dilexi decorē domus tuæ. i. O Lord, I haue loued the beuty of thy houſe. Hereupō wrote Iohn Chriſoſtome this golden ſentence: The church neuer ceaſeth to be aſſaulted, neuer ceaſeth to bee layne in wayte for: but in the name of Chriſt it hath alwayes the vpper hād and ouercame. And albeit that other do lye in wayt for it, or that the floods do beate agaynſt it: yet the foundation which is layd vpon the rocke, is not ſhaken. Saynt Hillarie alſo ſayth, that it is the propertye of the churche to vanquiſh, when it is hurte, to vnderſtande when it is reproued, to be in ſafety whē it is forſaken, & to obtayne victorye, when as it ſeemeth almoſt ouercome. Thus by many reaſons and teſtimonies, it is proued that the church doth not erre: which is not ſpoken or affirmed of the biſhops of Rome, ſo that thys reaſon doth make the Pope ſubiect vnto the Churche, for it is conuenient, that ẏ leſſe perfect be ſubiect vnto the more perfect. There be alſo many other teſtimonies and reaſons, whereof we wyll now ſomewhat more entreate.

his rocke upon church uilded.

If autoritie be ſought for, ſayth Saynt Hierome (for I wyllinglye occupye my ſelfe in hys ſentences, as in a moſt fertill fielde) the worlde is greater then a Citye. What then I pray you Hierome? Is the Pope mighty becauſe he is head of the church of Rome? His authority is great, notwithſtanding the vniuerſall church is greater, whiche doth not onely comprehend one Citye, but alſo the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the Church be the mother of all faythfull, then ſhe hath the Biſhop of Rome for her ſonne. Otherwyſe as Sainct Auguſtine ſayth, he can neuer haue God for hys father, which wyll not acknowledge the church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus vnderſtanding, called the vniuerſall church his mother, as the writers of the Canons do know. And Calixtus ſayth: as a ſonne he came to doe the wyll of hys father, ſo we doe the will of our mother, whiche is the churche. Wherby it appeareth, that how muche the ſonne is inferiour to the mother: ſo much the Churche is ſuperiour or aboue the biſhop of Rome. Alſo we haue ſayde before, that the Churche was the Spouſe of Chriſt, and the Pope wee know to be a Vicar: but no man doth ſo ordayne a Vicar, that he maketh his ſpouſe ſubiect vnto him, but that the ſpouſe is alwayes thought to be of more authoritie, then the Vicar, forſomuch as ſhe is one bodye wyth her huſband, but the Vicar is not ſo. Neyther wyll I here paſſe ouer the wordes of ſaint Paule vnto the Romains: Let euery ſoule (ſayth he) be ſubiect vnto the hier powers: Neyther doth he herein except the Pope: For albeit that he be aboue all other men, yet it ſeemeth neceſſary that he ſhould be ſubiect to the church. Neyther let hym thinke himſelfe hereby exempt, becauſe it was ſayd vnto Peter by Chriſt, what ſoeuer thou bindeſt. &c. In this place, as we wyll hereafter declare, he repreſented the perſon of the Church, for we finde it ſpoken afterwarde vnto him: Quęcunque ligaueritis ſuper terram, ligata erunt in cœlis. i. What ſoeuer ye ſhall binde vppen earth, ſhall be alſo bound in heauen. And furthermore, if all power be geuen of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle wryteth vnto the Corinthians, it is geuē for the edifieng of the church, and not for the deſtruction thereof: why then maye not the Church correct the Pope, if hee abuſe the keyes, and bring all thinges vnto ruine?

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The expoſition of thys place, *quecunque ligaueris.*

The church may depoſe the pope if he abuſe the keyes.

Adde hereunto alſo an other argumēt. A man in this life is leſſer then the aungels, for we read in Mathew of Iohn Baptiſt, that he which is leaſt in the kyngdome of heauen, is greater thē he. Notwithſtādyng Chriſt ſaith in an other place, that amongeſt the children of wemen there was not a greater then Iohn Baptiſte. But, to procede: mē are forced by the example of Zacharias to geue credite vnto aungels, leaſt thorow their miſbelief, they be ſtriken blind as he was. What more? The Biſhop of Rome is a man: Ergo he is leſſe then the aungels, and is bound to geue credite to the aūgels. But ẏ angels learne of the churche, and do reuerently accorde vnto her doctrine, as the Apoſtle writeth vnto the Epheſiās: Ergo the Pope is bound to do the ſame, who is leſſe then the aungels, and leſſe then the church, whoſe authoritie is ſuch, that worthely it is compared by S. Auguſtine vnto the Sunne: that like as the Sunne by his light doth ſurmount all other lightes, ſo the church is aboue all other authoritie and power. Wherupon S. Auguſtin writeth thus: I would not beleue the Goſpell ſayth he, if the authoritie of the Churche did not moue me thereunto: the whiche is not in any place founde to be ſpoken of the Byſhop of Rome, who repreſentyng the churche and beyng miniſter thereof, is not to bee thought greater or equall to his Lord and maiſter. Notwithſtandyng, the woordes of our Sauiour Chriſt doo ſpecially proue the Byſhop of Rome to be ſubiect to the churche, as we will hereafter declare: For he ſendyng Peter to preach vnto the churche, ſayd, go and ſay vnto the churche. To the confirmation of whoſe authoritie, theſe wordes do alſo perteine: he that heareth you heareth me. The whiche wordes are not onely ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles, but alſo vnto their ſucceſſours & vnto the whole churche. Wherupon it foloweth, that if the Pope do not harken & geue eare vnto the church, he doth not geue eare vnto Chriſt, and conſequētly he is to be counted as an Ethnike and Publicane. For as S. Auguſtine affirmeth, when as the churche doth excommunicate, he whiche is ſo excommunicate is bounde in heauen, and when the Churche looſeth, he is looſed. Likewiſe if he bē an hereticke, which taketh away the ſupremacie of the churche of Rome, as ẏ decrees of the Councell of Conſtance doth determine, how much more is he to be counted an hereticke, which taketh away the authoritie from the vniuerſall church, wherein the churche of Rome and all other are conteyned? Wherfore it is now euident, that it is the opinion of all men before our dayes (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by graue authors) that the Pope is ſubiect vnto the vniuerſall churche. But this is called into queſtion, whether he ought alſo to be iudged of the generall Councell. For there are ſome, whiche (whether it be for deſire of vayne glory, or that through their flatterie they looke for ſome great rewarde) haue begon to teach new and ſtraunge doctrines, and to exempt the Biſhop of Rome from the iuriſdictiō of the generall Councell. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not onely this preſent Sciſme, but alſo all other Sciſmes euē vnto this day, haue had their originall. For as in tymes paſt the gredye deſire & ambition of ẏ Papacie, brought in that peſtiferous beaſt whiche thorowe Arrius then firſt crept to ẏ church: euē ſo they do ſpecially noriſh and maintein this preſēt hereſie, which are not aſhamed to begge. Of the whiche number, ſome cry out and ſay, the workes of the ſubiectes oughte to bee iudged by the Pope, but the Pope to be reſerued onely vnto the iudgement of God.

The church & not the pope compared to the Sunne.

The pope if he do not hearken to the church is an ethnike & publicane.

It is to be feared leaſt the church hath had many ſuch popes.

Whether the pope is to be iudged by the generall councell, &c.

Theſe are the Canons & the ſchole deuines, and begging fryers.

Diuerſitie of iudgementes touching the biſhop of Rome.

Others ſayde that no man ought to iudge the high and principall Seate, and that it can not be iudged either by ẏ Emperour, either by ẏ Clergy, either by any king or people. Other affirme, that the Lord hath reſerued vnto him ſelfe the depoſitions of the chief Biſhop. Others are not aſhamed to affirme, that the Biſhop of Rome, although he cary ſoules in neuer ſo great number vnto hell, yet he is not ſubiect vnto any correction or rebuke.

How foliſhlye the church of Rome doth wraſt the ſcriptures neglecting the expoſitions of the fathers.

And becauſe theſe their wordes are eaſely reſolued, they runne ſtraight waies vnto Goſpell, and interprete the wordes of Chriſt, not accordyng to ẏ ſenſe and meanyng of the holy Ghoſt, but according to their own will and diſpoſition. They do greatly eſteme and regard this whiche was ſpoken vnto Peter; Tu vocaberis Cephas.I. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas: by the whiche worde, they make him the head of the churche. Alſo I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde vpon earth. &c. I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy fayth ſhould not faile. And agayne, féede my ſhepe: Caſt thy net into the deepe: Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou ſhalt be a fiſher of men: Alſo that Chriſt commaũded Peter as the prince of the Apoſtles, to pay tole for them both: and that Peter drewe the net vnto the land, full of greate fiſhes: and that onely Peter drew his ſword for the defence of Chriſt. All whiche places theſe men do greatly extoll, altogether neglecting the expoſitions of the fathers: the whiche if (as reaſon were) they would conſider, they ſhould manifeſtly perceiue by the authorities aforeſayd, that the Pope is not aboue them when they are gathered together in Councell, but when they are ſeparate and deuided.

Thoſe thinges which were ſpoken of the church ſerue alſo for the generall coũcell.

But theſe thinges beyng paſſed ouer, for ſomuch as aunſwere ſhall appeare by that whiche hereafter ſhall followe: we will now declare what was reaſoned of by the learned men vpon this queſtion. But firſt we would haue it knowen, that all men which are of any name or eſtimation, do agrée, that the Pope is ſubiect to the Coũcell, and for the proufe therof they repete (in a maner) all thoſe thinges which were before ſpoken of the Church: for they ſuppoſe all that, whiche is ſpoken of the churche, to ſerue for the generall Councell: And firſt of all, they alledge this ſaying of the Goſpell, Dic eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the churche. In the whiche place, it is conuenient to vnderſtand, that Chriſt ſpake vnto Peter, inſtructing hym what he ſhould do as touchyng the correction of his brother. He ſayth, if thy brother offende or ſinne agaynſt thee, rebuke him betwene thee and him alone. If he geue eare vnto thee, thou haſt wonne thy brother: but if he do not geue eare vnto thee, take with thee one or two, that in ẏ mouth of two or three witneſſes all truth may ſtande: if thẽ he will not geue eare vnto thee, Dic eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the churche.

Peter repreſenteth a double perſon.

The interpretation of thys place, *dic eccleſiæ*.

What the church is.

What ſhall we vnderſtãd by the Church in ẏ place? ſhal we ſay that it is ẏ multitude of ẏ faithfull diſperſed throughout the whole world? My yoke is pleaſaũt ſaith the Lord, and my burden is light. But how is it light, if Chriſt commaund vs to do that whiche is impoſſible to be done? For how could Peter ſpeake vnto the churche whiche was diſperſed, or ſeke out euery Chriſtian ſcattered in euery towne or Citie? But the meanyng of theſe woordes, is farre otherwiſe, and they muſt bee otherwyſe interpreted: for whiche cauſe it is neceſſary that we remember the double perſon, whiche Peter repreſented, as the perſon of the high biſhop, and a priuate man. The ſenſe and meaning of his woordes are euident and playne enough of them ſelues, that they nede no ſupplement or alteration. We muſt firſt marke and ſée, what this word Eccleſia ſignifieth, the which we doo finde but onely to be twyſe ſpoken of by Chriſt: once in this place, and agayne when as he ſayd vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, et ſuper hanc Petram edificabo eccleſiam meam, that is: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke wyll I buyld my church. Wherefore the church ſignifieth the conuocatiõ or congregation of the multitude. Dic eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the church. That is to ſay, tell it vnto the Congregation of the faythfull: the which for ſo muche as they are not accuſtomed to come together, but in a general coũcell, this interpretacion ſhall ſeeme very good, Dic eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the church, that is to ſay, Dic generali concilio: tell it vnto the generall councell. In this caſe I would gladlye heare if there be anye man, which doth thinke theſe words to be more properly expreſſed in any prelate, then in the councell, when as they muſt put one man for the multitude: whyche if it bee admitted in the ſcriptures, we ſhall from henceforth finde no firme or ſtable thing therein. But if anye man do maruayle at this interpretation, let him ſearch the olde wryters, and he ſhall fynde that this is no newe or ſtraunge interpretation, but the interpretation of the holye fathers and olde doctours, which haue fyrſt geuen lyght vnto the Churche, as Pope Gregory witneſſeth (a man woorthy of remembraunce, both for the holynes of hys lyfe, and hys ſinguler learning) whoſe wordes are theſe, written in hys Regiſter vnto the biſhop of Conſtantinople: And we (ſayth he) agaynſt whom ſo great an offence is committed thorow temerarious boldnes, doo obſerue and kéepe that which the truth doth commaund vs, ſaying, Si peccauerit in te frater, that is: if thy brother do offend agaynſt thee. &c. And afterward he addeth more, if my rebukes and corrections bee deſpiſed, it remayneth that I do ſeeke helpe of the Church. The which wordes do manifeſtlye declare the Churche here to be taken for the generall councell. Neither did Gregory ſaye, that he would ſeeke helpe of the church that is diſperſed abroad in euery place, but of ẏ is gathered together, that is to ſay, the generall councell: for that which is diſperſed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Alſo Pope Nicolas reprouing Lotharius the kyng for aduoutry, ſaid: if thou doeſt not amend the ſame, take hede that we tell it not vnto the holy church. In the which ſaieng Pope Nicolas did not ſay, that he would go throughout the worlde to certifie euery one, man by man: but that he would call the church together, that is to ſay the generall councell, and there would publiſh and declare the offence of Lotharius, that hee whych had contemned the Popes commaundementes, ſhoulde feare the reuerence of the generall councell. I coulde recite an infinite nomber of witneſſes for that purpoſe, the which all tend vnto one end: but this one teſtimony of the councell of Conſtance ſhall ſuffice for thẽ all, wherin it is ſayd that not only ẏ pope in ẏ correctiõ of hys brother is remitted vnto ẏ councell, whẽ as he cã not correct him of him ſelf: but alſo whẽ as any thyng is done as touching ẏ correction of ẏ Pope himſelf, the matter ought to be referred to ẏ coũcel. Wherby it appeareth our interpretatiõ to be moſt true, which doth expound ẏ church to be in ẏ generall councell. Hereupon in ẏ Actes of ẏ Apoſtles, the congregations whyche were then holden, were called the Church. Alſo in the councell of Nice and in other councels, when as any man ſhould be excommunicated, alwayes, in a maner, thys ſentence was adioyned: Hunc excommunicat catholica et Apoſtolica Eccleſia. The catholike and Apoſtolike church doth excommunicate this man. And hereupon that title is geuen vnto ẏ Councels whereby we doo ſay, that the generall councell doth repreſent the vniuerſall Churche. Wherefore the lawes and decrees of the Councell are called the lawes of the church, for that ẏ church doth not ſet forth any lawes in any other place, then in the generall councell: except we wil cal the Popes conſtitutiõs the lawes of the church, which can not be properly ſaid but of ẏ Councell: whereas, albeit al thoſe which are of ẏ church do not aſſemble and come together, yet the moſt part of them are accuſtomed to be there preſent, and in thoſe which come, the

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whole power of the Churche doth conſiſt: Whereupon we reade in the Actes of the Apoſtles: It pleaſed the Apoſtles and Elders with all the church. For albeit that all the faythful were not there preſent (becauſe a great nũber of them remayned at Antioche) yet notwythſtanding it was called the whole church, becauſe the whole power of the church conſiſted in the councell. Thus for thys preſent it is ſufficient that wee vnderſtande by the Church the generall councell.

By the church the councell is vnderſtãd.

And now to returne vnto our purpoſe, let vs heare what our Sauiour ſayth vnto Peter: If thy brother do offend againſt thee, vnto this text folowing, tel it vnto ẏ church: & let vs vnderſtãd ẏ councell by ẏ church. Who is greater in thys place, he whych is ſent vnto the councell, or the councell whereunto Peter was ſent? The verity doth remit the biſhop of Rome vnto the general coũcell. And why ſo? verelye becauſe the biſhops of Rome ſhoulde not dyſdayne to acknowledge ſome power in earth, to be aboue them, the whych they ſhould conſult wythall in matters of importaunce, and agree vnto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is alſo called by an other name Simon, the whych, as Rabanus in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in ẏ Hebrew tong, obedience, that all men myght vnderſtand obedience to be neceſſary, euen in the biſhop of Rome.

Simons obedience neceſſary in the biſhops of Rome.

The autority of the councel of Conſtance myght ſuffiſe vs in thys poynt, but we thynke it good to ſtay a litle vpon thys matter, and to leaue no place open for our aduerſaries: whych, whyleſt they go about to maintain the vnſatiable wylfulnes of one man, preferring a priuate wealth before a common commoditie, it is incredible how great errours they doe ſtyr vp. Agaynſt the whych, beſides many other, Zacharias byſhop of Chalcedon, a mã both famous & eloquent, did earneſtly ſtriue: Who in the great & ſacred Sinode of Chalcedon, when as the ſentence of ẏ biſhop of Rome was obiected vnto him, ẏ the Canon of pope Nicholas & other Patriarkes was aboue ẏ Coũcell, he replied againſt it. And Zoſimus ẏ Pope ſayth thus as touching ẏ decrees of the general councell: the autoritye of thys ſeate cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth hee here ſpeake of the decrees of the Fathers, whych are diſperſed abroade in cities or wyldernes, for they do not binde the Pope: but of them which are made and publiſhed by the fathers in the generall Councell. For the more manifeſt declaration whereof, the words of pope Leo the moſt eloquẽt of al the biſhops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrot vnto Anatholius, that the decrees of the councell of Nice are in no parte to be violate and broken: thereby (as it were) excluding hymſelfe and the hygh Patriarke. The authoritie alſo of Damaſus vpon this ſentence, is more manifeſt, writing vnto Aurelius the Archbiſhop, as Iſidorus declareth in the booke of Councels, whoſe woorthy ſaying as touchyng the autority of the Synode is this: That they which are not cõpelled of neceſſity, but of their own wil either frowardly do any thing, either preſume to doe any thing, or wyllingly conſent vnto thoſe whych woulde do anye thyng contrary and agaynſt the ſacred canons, they ar worthely thought & iudged to blaſpheme the holy ghoſt. Of ẏ which blaſphemye, whether Gabriel which calleth hym ſelfe Eugenius, be preſentlye partaker, let them iudge whych haue heard hym ſay, that it is ſo far from hys office and duty to obey the generall councels, that he ſayth he doth then beſt merite and deſerue, when as he contemneth the decrees of the Councell. Damaſus addeth yet moreouer. For thys purpoſe, ſaith he, the rules of the ſacred Canons, whych are conſecrated by the ſpirite of God and the reuerence of the whole worlde, are faythfully to be knowen and vnderſtand of vs, and diligently looked vpon, that by no meanes, wythout a neceſſitye whych cannot be eſchewed (whych God forbyd) we do tranſgreſſe the decrees of the holye fathers. Notwythſtanding, we dayly ſee in all ẏ Popes Bulles and letters, theſe wordes, Non obſtante, that is to ſaye: notwythſtandyng: whych no other neceſſitye hath brought in, then onely vnſaciable deſire of gathering of money. But let them take heede to theſe thynges whych be the authors thereof.

The canoniſtes & maintayners of the pope go about to maintaine & preferre the pleaſure & profit of one before a common commoditie.

The Pope can abyde no generall councells.

Non obſtante in the popes bulles.

But now to returne agayne vnto Damaſus, mention is made in the epiſtles of Ambroſe biſhop of Millaine of a certayne Epiſtle which is ſayd to be writtẽ by Damaſus, vnto the iudges deputed by the councel of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office, to meddle wᵗ any matter which hath bene before the councell. By the which ſaying he doth manifeſtly reproue al thoſe which affirme and ſay the byſhop of Rome to be aboue ẏ councell. The which if it were true, Damaſus might haue taken into his handes the cauſe of Bonoſius the byſhop to determine, which was before begun by the coũcell: but for ſo much as the councel is aboue the Pope, Damaſus knew himſelfe to be prohibited. Wherupon Hilarius alſo acknowledgyng the Sinode to be aboue him, would haue hys decrees confirmed by the councell. Alſo the famous doctour S. Auguſtine in hys Epiſtle which he did wryte vnto Glorius, and Eleuſius, and Felix the Gramarian, declareth the caſe. Cecilianus the biſhop, was accuſed by Donatus, wyth others. Melchiades the pope wyth certaine other biſhops abſolued Cecilian and confirmed him in his biſhoprike. They beyng moued wyth theſe doyngs, made a ſchiſme in the partes of Africa. S. Auguſtine reproueth thẽ, which hauing an other remedy agaynſt ẏ ſentence of the pope, did rayſe a ſchiſme, & doth inuey againſt thẽ in this maner. Behold, let vs thynke thoſe byſhops which gaue iudgement at Rome, not to haue bene good iudges: there remayned yet the iudgement of the vniuerſal church, where as the cauſe might haue bene pleaded euen with the iudges themſelues, ſo that if they were conuict not to haue geuen iuſte iudgement, theyr ſentence might be broken. Whereby it appeareth, ẏ not onely the ſentence of the Pope alone, but alſo of the Pope with his biſhops ioyned wᵗ him, might be made fruſtrate by the councell: for the full iudgement of the vniuerſall church is not founde els where, then in ẏ generall councell. Let not any mã doubt, in ẏ S. Auguſtine ſemeth here only to ſpeake of biſhops: for if the text of his epiſtle be read ouer, he ſhal finde the biſhop of Rome to be comprehended amongeſt the other biſhops. It was alſo prohibited by the councels of Africa, that the biſhops of Rome ſhould not receiue or heare the appeales of any which did appeale from the Councell: which altogether declare ẏ ſuperioritie of ẏ Councell. And thys appeareth more plainly in the actes of the apoſtles, where as Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the Apoſtles, because he went in to Cornelius a Heathen man, as if it had not bene lawfull for hym to attempt any great matter wythout the knowledge of ẏ congregation: and yet it was ſayd vnto hym as wel as others. Ite & baptiſate, &c. Go and baptiſe. But this ſeemeth to make more vnto the purpoſe, which S. Paule writeth vnto the Galatians, where as he ſayth, he reſiſted Peter euen vnto his face, becauſe he dyd not walke accordyng to the veritie of the Goſpell. Whoſe wordes if they be well vnderſtand, ſignifie none other thyng by the veritie of the goſpell, then the canon of the councell decreed amõgeſt the apoſtles: for the diſciples beyng gathered together, had ſo determined it. Wherupõ Saint Paule doth ſhew, that Peter ought to haue obeyed the generall councell.

The councell to be aboue the pope.

The full iudgement of the church is not to be found, but in the generall Councell.

No appeale to be made from the councell to the pope.

Act. 11.

Gal. 2.

Peter conſtrained to obey the generall councell.

But now to finiſh this diſputation, we will here adioyne the determination of the councell of Conſtance, the which councell aforeſayd, willing to cut of all ambiguitie and doubtes, and to prouide a certayne order of liuing, declared by a ſolempne decree that all men, of

The decree of the Councell of Conſtance.

The pope bound vnder the obedience of the generall Councell.

Diuers places rehearſed out of the goſpells and Apoſtles, for autoritie of the church and generall councels aboue the pope.

Weightie matters intreated but only in generall coūcels.

The pope not ſufficient of him ſelf to cōuince or iudge heretikes.

The pope may erre.

what eſtate or conditiō ſo euer they were, yea although that they were Popes them ſelues, be bounde vnder the obedience and ordinaunces of the ſacred general Councels. And although there be a certayne reſtraynt, where as it is ſayd, in ſuch thyngs as pertayne vnto the fayth, the extirpation of Schiſme, and the reformation of the church, as well in the heade as in the members: notwythſtādyng thys amplificatiue clauſe which is adioyned, is to be noted, Et in pertinentibus ad ea, that is to ſay, wyth all the appertenauntes. The whych addition is ſo large, that it contayneth all thynges in it, whych may be imagined or thought. For the Lord ſayde thus vnto hys Apoſtles, go ye forth and teache all people. He dyd not ſay in three poyntes onely, but teach them to obſerue and keepe all thynges what ſo euer I haue commaunded you. And in an other place he ſaith, not this or that, but whatſoeuer ye ſhal binde. &c. which altogether are aledged for ẏ autority of the church & general councels. For ẏ preferrement wherof, theſe things alſo come in place. He that heareth you, heareth me. And agayne: It is geuē vnto you to know the miniſteries of God. Alſo where. ij. or. iij. be gathered in my name. &c. Agayne, what ſoeuer ye ſhall aſke. &c. O holy father, ſaue them whom thou haſt geuen me. &c And I wilbe with thē euē vnto the end of the world. Alſo out of S. Paul theſe places are gathered. Wee are helpers of God. &c. Whiche hath made vs apt miniſters of ẏ new Teſtamēt. &c. And he appointed ſome Apoſtles and ſome Prophetes. &c. In all whiche places both Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſpake of the authoritie of many, whiche altogether are alledged for the authoritie of the vniuerſall Churche. But for ſo much as that Churche beyng diſperſed and ſcattered abroade, can not decrée or ordeine any thyng: therefore of neceſſitie it is to be ſayd, that the chief and principall authoritie of the church, doth conſiſte in the generall Councels, where as they aſſemble together. And therefore it was obſerued in the primatiue churche, that harde and weighty matters were not intreated vpon, but onely in the generall Councels and congregations. The ſame is alſo founde to be obſerued afterward. For when as the churches were deuided, generall Councels were holdē. And in ẏ Councell of Nice, we do finde the hereſie of Arrius cōdemned. In ẏ Councell of Cōſtātinople the hereſie of Macedonius. In the Councel of Epheſus, the hereſie of Neſtorius. In the Councell of Chalcedon, the hereſies of Eutichius were alſo condempned: for ſomuch as they thought the iudgement of the Byſhop of Rome, not to ſuffice to ſo greate and weyghty matter, and alſo they thought, the ſentence of the Councell to bee of greater force, then the ſentence of the Pope, for ſomuch as hee might erre as a man, but the Councell, wherin ſo many men were gathered together, beyng guided with the holy Ghoſt, could not erre. Alſo it is a very excellēt ſaying of Martianus the Emperour, which ſerueth for that purpoſe: whoſe wordes are theſe: Truly he is to be counted a wicked and ſacrilegious perſon, whiche after the ſentence of ſo many good and holy men, will ſticke to withdrawe any part of his opinion. For it is a point of mere madnes, at the noone time and fayre day light, to ſeke for a fayned light: for he whiche hauing found the truth, ſeketh to diſcuſſe any thyng further, ſeketh but after vanities and lyes.

Whether the pope may be depoſed by the councel or not.

Now I thinke it is euident enough vnto all mē, that the Biſhop of Rome is vnder the Councell. Notwithſtādyng ſome do yet ſtill doubt, whether he may alſo be depoſed by the Councell or not: For albeit it be proued that he is vnder the Councell, yet for all that, will they not graunt, that he may be alſo depoſed by the Coūcell. Wherfore, it ſhall be no digreſſyng at all from our purpoſe, ſomwhat to ſay vpon that matter: and firſt of all, to ſpeake of theſe raylers, whiche are yet ſo earneſt for the defēce of the Byſhop of Rome: which beyng vanquiſhed in one battell, ſtill renewe an other, and contend rather of obſtinacie thē of ignoraūce. They would haue here recited agayne, that which we haue before ſpoken, as touchyng the preeminence of the Biſhop of Rome, or the patriarke. And as there are many of them more full of wordes then eloquent, they ſtay much of this pointe, where as Chriſt ſayd vnto Peter: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum. I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, and what ſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde vppon earth ſhalbe bounde in heauen: as though by thoſe wordes, he ſhould be made head ouer the other. And agayne they do amplifie it by this: Paſce oues meas: feede my ſheepe, whiche they do not finde to be ſpoken to any other of the Apoſtles. And becauſe it is ſayd that Peter was ẏ chief and ẏ mouth of the Apoſtles, therfore they iudge it well ſpoken, that no man ſhall iudge the chief and principall Sea: beyng all of this opinion with Boniface, whiche ſayd that the Pope ought to bee iudged for no cauſe except he be perceiued or knowen to ſwarue frō the fayth, although he do cary innumerable people with him headlōg into hel, there to be perpetually tormēted: as though he could not open the kyngdome of heauen to others, if any other could ſhut it agaynſt hym, neither that hee could feede other, if he him ſelfe lacked paſture.

The places *Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum. Paſce oues meas* make nothing for the popes ſupremacie.

The popes ſupremacie confuted.

But wee counte theſe as thinges of no force or difficultie. For S. Auguſtine in the Sermon of the natiuitie of Peter and Paul, ſayth in this wiſe: Our Lord Ieſus Chriſt before his paſſion, choſe his Diſciples (as ye doo know) whom he called brethren. Amongeſt thoſe, Peter alone almoſt in euery place, repreſented the perſon of the Churche, and therfore was it ſayd vnto hym, Tibi dabo claues regni cælorum. i. Unto thee will I geue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen. Theſe keyes did not he receiue as one man, but as one he receyued them for the Churche. And in an other place, where he writeth of the Chriſtian agonie, hee ſayth: the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen were geuen vnto the churche, when as they were geuen vnto Peter. And when it was ſpoken vnto him: Amas me? Paſce oues meas, i. loueſt thou me? feede my ſheepe: it was ſpoken vnto thē all. And S. Ambroſe in the begynnyng of hys paſtorall, ſayth whiche ſheepe and whiche flocke, the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter tooke not charge of alone, but together with vs, and we all together with him. By whiche woordes the foundation and principall argumētes of thoſe flaterers, are vtterly ſubuerted and ouerthrowen. For if Peter repreſented the perſon of ẏ Church, we ought not to aſcribe the force of theſe wordes vnto Peter; but vnto ths Church. Neither do I ſee how that can ſtande, whiche Boniface doth affirme, for it is farre diſtant from the truth, except it bee vnderſtand otherwiſe then it is ſpoken. But it may peraduenture ſeme a great thing vnto ſome, that it is ſaid, the Biſhop of Rome to be ẏ head of the militāt churche. For, as in the body of man, Phiſicions doo neuer gyue Coūcell to cut of the head for any maner of ſicknes and diſeaſe, although it be neuer ſo full of vlcers or infected: ſo in this miniſtieall body of the church, the head ought alwayes to be kept: and albeit it be neuer ſo wicked, yet is it to be ſuffred and borne withall. But now conuert this argument. If it were poſſible in the body of man, when one head is taken away, to finde an other to put in his place, as wee ſee it may bee done in the Churche, ſhould not heades then bee oftentymes chaunged for diuers diſeaſes? Moreouer, if we will thus reaſon, that the head of the church ſhould be in reſpect of his body, as the head of mā in reſpect of ẏ body of mā: thē doth it neceſſarely folow that ẏ head beyng dead the body muſt alſo die, as is manifeſt in the body of mā: So ſhould it grow into an abſurditie to confeſſe ẏ the pope beyng dead, the churche alſo ſhould be dead: the whiche how farre it diſſenteth frō the truth, it is moſt manifeſt. Therfore what ſoeuer other men ſay, I am not of opinion with them, which affyrme the Byſhop of Rome, to be head of the churche,

Peter repreſenteth the perſon of the church and not of the pope.

The keyes geuē to the church and not to one man.

Pope Boniface reiecteth.

The B. of Rome vnproperly called the head of the church.

churche, except peraduenture they do make him the miniſteriall head: for we doo read that Chriſt is the head of the churche & not the Pope: and that he is the true head immutable, perpetuall, and euerlaſtyng, and the church is his body, wherof the Pope him ſelfe is alſo a member and the vicar of Chriſt, not to the deſtruction but to the maintenaunce and edifiyng of the ſame body of Chriſt. Wherfore, if he be founde a dampnable deſtroyer of the churche, he may be depoſed and caſt out, becauſe he doth not that he was ordeined to do. And wee ought as Pope Leo ſayth, to be mindfull of the commaundement geuẽ vs in the Goſpell: that if our eye, our foote, or our right hand, do offend vs, it ſhould be cut of from the body. For the Lord ſayth in an other place: Euery tree which bringeth not forth fruite, ſhalbe cut downe and caſt into the fire. And in an other place alſo it is ſayd vnto vs: take away all euill and wickedneſſe from among you. It is very iuſt and true, whiche is written in the Epiſtle of Clement vnto Iames the brother of our Lord, that hee whiche wilbe ſaued, ought to bee ſeparate from them whiche will not be ſaued.

hey dote hich ſaye the e can be de ed for other e then hereſie.

But for the more manyfeſt declaration hereof, wee muſt haue recourſe to that whych is ſpoken by the lord, in the Goſpell of Iohn: I am the true vine ſaith the lord, and my father is the huſbandman, and ye are the braũches: euery braunche therefore that bringeth not foorth fruite in me, my father wyll cut of. Theſe wordes were ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles, amongeſt whom alſo Peter was preſent, whom the Lorde woulde haue cut of, if he brought not forth hys fruit. Alſo Saint Hierome vpon theſe wordes of Mathew: Unſauery ſalt is profitable for nothing, but to be caſt forth and troden of ſwine. Wherupon in the perſon of Peter and Paule, he ſaith thus: It is no eaſie matter to ſtand in the place of Peter & Paul, and to keepe the chayre of them whyche raygne wyth Chriſt. Thys vnſauerye ſalt, that is to ſay a fooliſh prelate, vnſauery in preaching, and fooliſh in offending, is good for nothing, but to be caſt forth, that is to ſaye depoſed, and to be troden of ſwyne, that is of wicked ſpirites, whych haue dominion ouer the wycked & naughty prelates, as their own flocke and heard. Behold, this teſtimony of Hierome is playne and euident. Let hym be caſt out ſayth he. He expoũdeth and ſpeaketh it of ẏ prelate, whyche vſurpeth the place of Peter, and ſo conſequently of the biſhop of Rome, who being vnſauery in preaching, & fooliſh in offending, ought to be depoſed (as Hierome affirmeth) frõ hys degree & dignity. Neyther as ſome do dreame, is he to be depoſed for hereſie onely. Iſidorus in the boke of Councels, rehearſeth a certayne Epiſtle of Clement the ſucceſſour of Peter, written vnto Iames the Apoſtle, where as ẏ ſayd Clement referryng ẏ wordes of Peter vnto himſelf, ſaith thus: If thou be occupied wt worldly cares, thou ſhalt both deceiue thy ſelf, & thoſe which ſhall geue eare vnto thee: for ẏ canſt not fully diſtribute vnto euery mã, thoſe thinges which pertain vnto ſaluatiõ: wherby it ſhall come to paſſe, ẏ thou as a man for not teachyng thoſe thinges whiche pertaine vnto ſaluatiõ, ſhalt be depoſed, & thy diſciples ſhall periſh thorow ignoraunce. Notwithſtãding in an other place, in ſteede of thys woord depoſed, it is founde thou ſhalt be puniſhed: which two wordes, if they be well vnderſtand, do not much differ, for depoſitiõ is oftentimes vſed in the place of puniſhment. But perauenture ſome wyll here obiect, that this Epiſtle is not to be iudged Clementes, becauſe it is ſayd to be written vnto Iames, who as the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But Clement might thinke that Iames was alyue when as he wrote: whych wer far diſtant a ſunder, and meſſengers of the Chriſtiãs, came not often vnto Rome. Moreouer, there is mention made of thys Epiſtle in diuers places of the decretals, as moſt true, & therfore it ſhalbe nothyng frõ the purpoſe, to rehearſe other ſayinges out of the ſame Epiſtle, where he ſayth, ẏ he which lyueth rebelliouſlye, & refuſeth both to learne & to do good, is rather a mẽber of the deuill, thẽ of Chriſt, and doth ſhew hymſelfe rather to be an infidell, then a faithfull Chriſtian. Upon whych wordes, the gloſe whych Panormitane calleth ſinguler, and is muche allowed, ſayth, that if the crime or offence of the byſhop of Rome be notorious, whereby the church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accuſed thereof. If then he may be accuſed, Ergo alſo he maye bee puniſhed, and accordyng to the exigent of the fault depoſed: Otherwyſe he ſhould be accuſed in vayne.

icles uches to be of.

he pope nſaue ſalt, he is e caſt y.

ote for ough relates.

words eter vn Clemẽt.

epiſtle Clement Iames fied.

The pope may and ought to be both accuſed and puniſhed for ill doyng.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our aduerſaries, but that ẏ Pope may be depoſed: Notwithſtandyng it is not yet euident whether he may bee depoſed by the councell or no, whiche wee nowe take in hande to diſcourſe. And firſt of all, the aduerſaries will graunt this vnto vs, that the biſhop of Rome may bee depoſed by the church, forſomuch as the pope beyng the vicar of the church, no man doubteth, but that a Lorde may put out his vicar at his will and pleaſure, neyther is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the church, then of Chriſt. But if the church may depoſe the Pope: Ergo the councell alſo may do ẏ ſame. Alſo the gloſe which Panormitan in his wrytyng doth ſo greatly cõmend, hath this ſentence: that ẏ generall councell is iudge ouer ẏ pope in all caſes. Likewyſe the moſt ſacred ſinode of Conſtãtinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoynte the biſhops of Rome to bee vnder ẏ iudgemẽt of ẏ councell: and the cõucell to iudge & determine of euery doubtful matter or queſtiõ ẏ doth aryſe, cõcerning ẏ biſhop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt hereof, becauſe this word depoſitiõ is not mentioned: for it is ſayd, of euery doubtfull matter or queſtiõ: For if ẏ Synode do iudge of euery doubte: Ergo it ſhall alſo iudge, whether ẏ pope ſhalbe depoſed or no: for that may alſo come in doubt. And becauſe we will not ſeeke examples farre of, Iohn the. xxiij. whome all the world dyd reuerence, was depoſed of his papacy by the councel of Conſtance. Neyther yet was he condemned for any hereſy: but becauſe he dyd offend the churche by his manifold crimes, the ſacred Sinode thoughte good to depoſe hym: and euer ſince continuallye, the churche hath proceeded by like example, that their opiniõ might ceaſe, whiche affirme that the Pope cannot be depoſed but onely for hereſy.

Whether the pope may be depoſed by the councell or no.

The pope is rather to be called the vicar of the church, thẽ of Chriſt.

Pope Iohn 23. depoſed & yet for no hereſie.

But here is yet one thyng not to bee omitted, that certayne men do affirme the generall councels to be of no effect, except the pope do call and appoint them, and his autority remayne with them. Wherupon they ſaid that Dioſcorus did rebuke Paſcaſius the biſhop of Cicill, and legate of pope Leo, becauſe that he dyd enterpryſe without ẏ autoritie of the apoſtolike Sea, to call a councell at Epheſus. They alſo alledge another teſtimony of the Synode of Chalcedon: wheras, when mention was made of the councell of Epheſus, all the byſhoppes cryed out, ſaying: we ought not to call it a councell, becauſe it was neyther gathered by the Apoſtolike authority, neyther rightly kept. By the which autorities, they whiche ſay that the councels cannot be holden without the conſent of the pope, do thynke themſelues marueilouſly armed. Whoſe ſentence & opinion, if it take place & preuaile as they deſire, it ſhall bring wt it the great ruine & decay of the church. For what remedy ſhall we fynde, if that a wicked pope do diſturbe ẏ whole church, deſtroy ſoules, ſeduce the people by his euill examples, if finally he preach contrary vnto the fayth and fyl the people ful of hereſies, ſhall we prouide no ſtay or ſtoppe for hym? Shall we ſuffer all thinges to runne to ruine and decay with hym? Who would thinke that the biſhop of Rome would congregate a councel for his owne correction or depoſition? for as men are prone vnto ſinne, ſo woulde they

Whether councells may be congregated without the authoritie of the pope.

They erre that ſaye the pope ought onely to appoynt the councells.

Marke wherfore the popes will haue no generall councell.

they alſo ſinne without puniſhment. But when as I do peruſe auncient hiſtories, and the actes of the Apoſtles, I do not fynde this order, that councels ſhould be gathered onely at the wyll of the pope: for the firſt councell of all, after that Mathias was ſubſtitute in the place of Iudas, was not congregate at the commaundement of Peter, but at the commaundement of Chriſt, who commaunded the Apoſtles that they ſhould not departe frõ Jeruſalem, but looke for the promiſe of the father.

The firſt councell of the Apoſtles.

The ſecond councell as touchyng the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the xij. apoſtles: for it is written, The xij. Apoſtles callyng together the multitude, &c.

Generall councells in tymes paſt congregated by Emperours and not by popes.

The third coũcell, which was holdẽ as touching yͤ taking away of circumciſiõ & other ceremonies of yͤ law, was gathered together by a generall inſpiration: for it is written: The Apoſtles & elders came together, &c.

The fourth councell, whereas certaine thyngs contayned in the law are permitted, ſemeth to be gathered by James, and ſo diſcourſing throughout all, there can nothyng be found in the primatiue churche, whereby it ſhould appeare that the authority of congregatyng of Councels ſhould pertaine onely vnto biſhops of Rome. Neither afterwardes in the time of Conſtantinus Magnus, and other emperors, was the conſent of the biſhops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of councels, and therefore it is written thus of the Synode of Chalcedon: The ſacred and vniuerſall Synode gathered together at Chalcedon the chiefe city of the prouince of Bethunia, accordyng vnto the grace of God, and the ſanctions of the moſt godly and Chriſtian Emperours Valentinian and Martian, doth not make any mention of the biſhop of Rome, although his conſent wer there. Wherfore, if the pope would reſiſt, and would haue no councell congregate, yet if the greater part of yͤ church do iudge it neceſſary to haue a councel, the councel may be congregate whether the pope will or no. The councell holden at Piſa, was not congregate by the autoritie and conſent of any pope, when as Gregory did condemne it, and Benedict curſed it. The ſame alſo may be ſayd of the councel of Conſtance, which was aſſembled by the authority of Pope John, who in reſpecte of the Spaniardes was no true Pope. And if the councell of Pyſa were no true councell, Pope John was no true Pope: Wherupon hys conſent to the congregatyng of the councell of Conſtance, was of no effect. Moreouer it is more then folly to affirme, that when the pope hath once geuen hys conſent, if it ſhould be called backe, that the councel ſhould then ceaſe, for then it is no more in his power to reuoke hys conſente: And of neceſſitye he muſt be obedient vnto the councel, wherof he is a member, and geue place vnto the greater parte: and if he ſeparate hymſelfe from the conſent of the greater part, & depart from the vnitye of the churche, he maketh hymſelfe a Schiſmaticke.

If the greater parte of the church do conſent, a councell may be holden whether the pope will or no.

How the pope is a ſchiſmatike.

Now, to come vnto the ſecond concluſion, if it be true, as it is in deede, that the Pope is vnder the Councell, how can the Pope then diſſolue, alter and tranſport the councell, agaynſt the wyll of the ſame? For wyth what countenaunce can we ſay, that the inferiour hath power ouer the ſuperiour? How can the Sinode correct the Pope, if the Pope may diſſolue the Synode contrary to the wil therof? Admit that the Pope be libidinous, couetous, a ſower of warre & diſcorde, and a moſt mortal enemy vnto the church, and the name of Chriſt, how can the councel reproue him, if he haue autority to dyſſolue the councel? For as ſone as euer that the biſhop of Rome ſhall vnderſtand that in the councell they doo intreate or talke of hys correction or puniſhment, ſtraight wayes he wyll ſeeke remedy by diſſoluing the councell. For as Macrobius ſayth: he that hath liberty to do more then is fit or neceſſarye, wyll often times doe more then is lawfull. If ſo be that the biſhop of Rome may exempt hym ſelfe from correction by diſſoluing or tranſportyng the councell, it followeth that the councell is not aboue hym. Therefore we muſt eyther denye that which is aforeſayd, that the Pope is vnder the councell, or els deny that the Pope hath power to diſſolue the councell, contrary to the wyll and determination of the councell.

The pope can not diſſolue a generall councell agaynſt the will of the ſame.

The ſaying of *Macrobius.*

And as thys fyrſt concluſion is moſt true, ſo are all other concluſions falſe, whyche ſeeme to impugne the ſame. Wherefore the ſecond concluſion of the diuines is alſo manifeſt: albeit that ſome do admit it in certaine caſes, and in other ſome exclude it agayne. For if we do admit, that for certaine cauſes the Pope maye diſſolue the councell contrary to the wil and determination therof, that is to ſay, to make the Pope iudge of the Councell, it were cleane contrary vnto the fyrſt concluſion.

Whether the pope in certayne caſes may diſſolue the councell.

Now it is proued that the councel is aboue the Pope, & can not be diſſolued by the pope without conſent therof. Nowe we muſt further ſee, whether it be an article of our fayth to beleue it: whych matter hath reſpect vnto the thyrd concluſion. For ther haue ben many, which albeit they dyd confeſſe theſe two concluſions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the catholike fayth or no. Therefore thys ſecond part muſt be cõfirmed. And we muſt ſee whether it be an article of faith that the pope be vnder the Councell. Which beyng proued, it ſhall alſo appeare to be an article of fayth, that the Pope cannot diſſolue the councell without the conſent thereof. Whych conſequent none of the contrarye part hath refuted. Fyrſt of all therefore wee muſt enquyre what fayth is, that we maye therby the better vnderſtand, what pertayneth thereunto.

The definition of Fayth.

Fayth, as the Diuines do define it, is a firme & ſtedfaſt cleauing vnto thynges, beleued by the autoritye of hym that ſpeaketh. If then we beleue as is aforeſayde, that the Pope of Rome is vnder the conucell, ſome autority doth moue vs thereunto: ſo is it the fayth of hym whych beleueth it. But the queſtion is not whether it be an article of fayth onely, but whether it be an article of the Catholike fayth. Wherfore we muſt againe enquire what the catholike fayth is. Thys woord Catholike is a Greeke word, and ſignifieth vniuerſall. The catholyke fayth, that is to ſay the vniuerſall fayth, is not ſo called becauſe that euerye man holdeth it, but becauſe euerye man ought to beleue it. For all men doo not beleue that God is incarnate, but euery mã ought ſo to beleue. And albeit that many be agaynſt thys fayth, yet doth it not ceaſe to be vniuerſall. For what writeth the Apoſtle vnto the Romains? If ſome of them haue not beleued, doth theyr miſbeliefe make the fayth of God vayne? God forbyd. Verely God is true, but euery man is a lyer. Therfore to beleue that the Pope is vnder the Councell, is a poynt of the catholike fayth, although ſome thincke the contrary: for we are bound to beleue it, for ſo muche as it is taken out of the Goſpell. For we are not bound onely to beleue thoſe thynges whych are noted to vs in the Crede, but alſo all thoſe thynges which are contayned in the holye ſcriptures, whereof we maye not denye one iote. And thoſe thynges whych we alledge for the ſuperiority of yͤ generall councell, are gathered out of the ſayings of our ſauiour Jeſu Chriſt, and the Epiſtles of S. Paule: Ergo we are all bound to beleue it. And to proue that theſe thinges are taken out of the Goſpell, the councell of Conſtance doth witnes, the whych groundeth hys authority vpon theſe woordes: Dic Eccleſiæ, that is to ſay, tell it vnto the Church. And, where two or three are gathered together in my name. &c. And, whatſoeuer ye ſhall bynde. &c. wyth other ſuch lyke textes.

The definitiõ of the catholike fayth.

Rom. 3.

Catholike what it is.

The co
cell of
Conſtanc
Vide ſupr
pag. 77

Wherupon Pope Martin the iiij. beyng yet at Conſtance, vnder the licence of the Councell, ſent out hys Bulles, which do recken vp the Articles, wherupon they ought to be examined, whiche had fallen into any here-ke,amongeſt the which articles,he putteth this article: whether he do beleue the ſacred general councel to haue power immediatly from god,& that the ordinances therof are to bee receiued of all faithfull Chriſtians, whiche if any mā would deny,he ſhould be counted an heretike. Wherfore,when as yͤ ſacred Sinode of Conſtance, doth ſet forth this verity,as touchyng the ſuperiority of the generall Councell, what ſhould let but yͭ we alſo ſhould confeſſe the ſame to be a veritie of the catholicke faythe? For the catholicke Churche beyng congregate at Conſtance,receiued that faythe, that is to ſay, beleued it by the authoritie of him whiche ſpake it,that is Chriſt and his ſaintes.

wordes / the / cel of / lcidon, / ere by / is decla / in here / that / deth a / pinion / ary to / ouncel

To this purpoſe alſo ſerueth very well the wordes of the Sinode of Chalcedon written in this maner: It is not lawfull for him that is condēpned by the whole Synode to nominate any Byshop. The determination pleaſeth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion cōtrary vnto this,is an hereticke. And againe it is a rule,that it is not lawfull to appeale from the elect and choſen Synode.

Marke the manifeſt witnes of this moſt ſacred Synode,whiche ſayd that he is an hereticke,which holdeth any opinion cōtrary vnto the Councell: But he is no hereticke,except he refuſe the catholicke faith: Ergo it was the Catholicke faythe to beleue that it was not lawful to appeale from the ſacred Councel. But how was yͤ ſame any point of the catholicke faythe? Verely forſomuch as the ſacred Synode peruſing ouer the holy Scriptures, hath receiued this concluſiō out of the wordes of Chriſt and other holy fathers. And like as the Synode of Chalcedon tooke theyr concluſiō out of the holy Scriptures, ſo did the Councell of Conſtance, this whiche we nowe reaſon vpon. And like as the one is an article of the Catholicke faith,ſo is the other alſo. And he whiche holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is an hereticke.

Furthermore they ſeme vnto me to dreame and dote, whiche confeſſyng them to be verities,will not confeſſe thē to be verities of faith. For if they be verities,I pray you wherof are they verities? Truly not of Grammer, much leſſe of Logike, and frō Aſtronomy and Phiſicke, they are farre diſtant. Neither is there any other man but a diuine,that will graunt this verity,whom Scripture doth force vnto it of neceſſity,if he do beleue Chriſt or his Apoſtles. Therefore this is a verity of the Catholicke faythe whiche all men ought to embrace, and hee which obſtinatly reſiſteth agaynſt the ſame,is to be iudged an hereticke, as the thirde concluſion doth affirme. Neither let any mā think it hard or cruel yͭ he ſhould be called an hereticke which goeth aboute to derogate any thyng frō yͤ power of the general Councell,which is confirmed by ſo many teſtimonies and authorities. Alſo Panormitan alledgeth S. Ierome, ſaying: He whiche vnderſtādeth the Scripture otherwiſe then the conſent of the holy Ghoſt doth require,albeit he do not depart frō the churche, maye be called an hereticke. Wherupon it foloweth that he whiche vpon the wordes of Chriſt ſayinge vnto Peter, Dic Eccleſiæ.i. Tell it vnto the church, doth not vnderſtand by the churche the generall Councell,vnderſtandeth it otherwiſe then the ſenſe of the holy Ghoſt doth require, and there by may bee noted as an hereticke. And to proue that the ſenſe of the holy Ghoſt is otherwiſe then he doth iudge it,the Councell of Conſtance, doth declare: The whiche interpretyng thoſe wordes, Dic Eccleſiæ,i.tell it vnto the churche,ſpoken by the holy Ghoſt,vnderſtādeth them to be ſpoken of the generall Councell. By theſe and many other waightier reaſons,the.iij.aforeſaid concluſions,ſemed true vnto yͤ diuines,and thorow them they alſo allowed the reſidue.

the / h,that / ſay, / general / cel.

Now haue we ſufficiently ſaid,as touching yͤ which was before promiſed:neither do I thynk any man now to be in doubt of theſe iij.firſt concluſions. Nowe to returne agayn vnto our ſtory,it is our purpoſe to declare thoſe thinges which happened after the concluſions of the diuines: for there are many thinges worthye of remembraunce,which alſo may happely be profitable vnto the poſterity.

The biſhop of Burgen.

When the diſputation was ended and a finall concluſion of theſe matters euen at hande,the Archbiſhops of Millayne and Panormitane with the reſidue of their fellow Ambaſſadours of the kyng of Arragon,and Duke of Millayne,armed themſelues with all theyr power to let the matter,exhortyng all men of their factiō to withſtand it wyth ſtoute and valiaunt ſtomackes.

Panormitanes oration.

And firſt of al,as ſone as the congregation was aſſembled together,the Biſhop of Burgen exhorted them to defer the concluſiō,and to tary for thembaſſadors of other princes,which would ſhortlye returne frō Mentz.

After him Panormitane with a graue and Rhetoricall oration,ſpake(in a maner) as followeth.

I haue ſayd he had a commaundement by the Prophete , to crye wythout ceaſinge: Whyche Prophets ſaid: Cry out,ceaſe not,lifte vp thy voyce as a trumpet. If that in any matter at anye tyme before,he oughte to haue cryed,this matter ſpecially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaringe out,when as the ſtate of yͤ vniuerſall church is intreated vpon,eyther to be preſerued,or vtterly ouerthrowne: and that he hath cryed ſo much in this matter,that he doubted not , but the ſaying of Dauid was fulfilled in hym,where he ſayth: Laboraui clamans,raucæ ſunt factæ fauces meæ. I haue laboured,crying out,that my iawes are become hoarce.

Foure thinges to be conſidered in euery requeſt.

Notwithſtanding that he would both nowe, and as often as neede ſhould require,without ceaſing ſtill crye out,and ſpecially now in thys moſt difficult and weighty matter: wherein he required the ſacred councell gentelly to heare both him,and the Ambaſſadours of other Princes: adding moreouer.iiij.thinges to be conſidered in all requeſtes made of any man. The which he alſo requyred the fathers now preſently, to marke & conſider: Who it is that maketh the requeſt. What is requyred. Why it ſhould be required,and what effect would come by the requeſt eyther graunted, or denied. As touchyng the firſt poynt he ſayd: The moſt noble Kinges and excellent Princes with their Prelates to be of great power: and then reconed vp the king of Caſtell,the kyng of Aragon,the Duke of Millain, and the Biſhops of the ſame princes,rehearſing alſo the merites and good deedes of the ſayde Kinges,and alſo of the Duke of Millain. But when as he came to make mention of the Prelates, hee could not refrayne hym ſelfe,but began to ware ſomewhat hoat, ſaying yͭ the greateſt nōber of Prelats wer on hys part. For if the Biſhops and Abbots were counted,it were not to bee doubted , but the greateſt part of them would haue this preſent matter differred: and forſomuch as the whole power of the councell doth conſiſt in the Biſhops, it is not to be ſuffered,that they beyng neglected and contemned,that ſhould be cōcluded which pleaſed the greater part of the inferiors: For the keyes (ſayd he) wer geuen to the Apoſtles,& to their ſucceſſors whych are the Biſhops: alſo,that there are three kyndes of Sinodes,Epiſcopall,Prouinciall,and Generall,and none of all theſe without Biſhops. Wherfore the manner and order of thys preſent councell ſemed vndecent, wheras thyngs were not weyed according as men excel in dignity,but by moſt voyces: Notwithſtāding according to the moſt famous epiſtle of Clement , the biſhops were the pyllers and keyes of heauen , and the inferiors had no determining voyce,but onely a cōſultatiue voice wyth them : wherfore there would be a great offence in thys behalfe,if a matter of faythe ſhould be determined without the Biſhops : in whych matter not onelye the Biſhops,but alſo the ſecular princes ought to be admitted. And forſomuche as they,in the name of their Prin-

Panormitane would haue dignity to be conſydered in councell,and not voyces.

ces, deſyred to bee admitted to the examination of thys preſent matter, and wold examine the matter more fully, he complayned greatlye how vnwoorthye a thyng it was that they ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed.

After many thinges ſpoken to thys end and effect, he paſſed ouer to the ſecond part of hys Oration, declaring what it was that he required: not golde, nor ſiluer, neither precious ſtones, neyther prouinces nor kyngdoms, neyther a thyng hard to be done: but that onelye the delay of the ſacred Councell was required, and that the fathers would ſtay in the proceſſe againſt the pope, and in the concluſion and determination of matters whych are now in hand. Neyther ſhould the delay be long, but only vntyll the returne of the Ambaſſadors frō Mentz, whom he knew well would returne very ſhortlye. That this was but a ſmall matter, and to be graunted with ſmall intreaty, becauſe there was no daunger in it. And alſo it ſhould ſeme iniurious, not to tary for the Ambaſſadours of the Princes which were then at Mentz, whē as they wer not abſent for their own priuate cōmodity, but about the affaires of the common wealth, and the commodity of peace: neyther had he forgotten, that at their departure they had deſyred, that during their abſence, there ſhoulde bee nothyng renued concerning the matters of Eugenius.

Panormitane ſeketh to delay the proces agaynſt the pope.

Then immediatly adioyning the thyrde part of hys Oration, wherefore thys delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the priuate commodity of any one man, but for a common wealth: not to cauſe any trouble or vnquietnes, but for the better examination of the matter, that all thynges myght paſſe wyth peace & quietnes, yͭ the matter might be ſo much yͤ more fyrme and ſtable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the conſent of many. And ſo he proceded to the laſt part of hys argument, requiring the fathers that they would conſider and wey in their myndes the effect that would follow, if they ſhould graūt or deny this requeſt. For (ſayth he) if ye ſhall denye this ſmall peticion of the Princes, they all wyll be agreued therewith, and take thys repulſe in ill part. They woulde ſaye, they are contemned of you, neyther wyll they be obedient vnto you, or receyue your decrees. In vayne ſhall ye make lawes except the Princes do execute them, and all your decrées ſhall be but vayne: yet would I thynke thys to be borne wythall, if I dyd not feare greater matters to enſue. What if they ſhould ioyne them ſelues with Eugenius, who not onely deſireth to ſpoyle you of your lyuinges, but alſo of your liues. Alas, what ſlaughter and murther do the eyes of my minde behold and ſée? Woulde God my opinion were but vayne. But if you do graunt and conſent vnto their petitions, they will thincke them ſelues bound vnto you: they wyll receyue and embrace your decrees, and whatſoeuer you ſhall require of them ſhall be obtayned. They will forſake your aduerſarye, they will ſpeake euill of him and abhorre him: but you they wyll commend and prayſe, you they wil reuerence: vnto you they wil wholy ſubmit them ſelues, and then ſhal follow that moſt excellent fruit of reformation and tranquility of the church. And thus he required the matter to be reſpited on all partes. At the laſt he ſayd, that except the Ambaſſadors of the Princes were heard, he had a proteſtation written, which he would commaunde to be read before them all.

The iii. part of Panormitans oration.

Perſuaſions of Panormitane.

When Panormitan had made an end of his oration, Lodouicus the Prothonotary of Rome roſe vp, a man of ſuch ſinguler wit and memorye, that he was thought, not to be inferior vnto anye of the famous men afore time. Inſomuch that he had alwayes in memory whatſoeuer he had heard or red, and neuer forgat any thing that he had ſeene. This man firſt commending Panormitane, ſayd that he came but the daye before from the bathes, and that it ſeemed vnto hym a ſtraunge thing which was now brought in queſtion: wherein hee deſired to heare other mens mindes, & alſo to be heard of others, and that thoſe Prelates which were at Mentz ſhould be taried for, to be preſēt at the diſcuſſing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their Princes, which Prelates were men of great eſtimation, and the Orators of moſt mighty Princes.

The prayſe of Lodouicus the prothonotary.

He allowed alſo yͤ ſaying of Panormitane touching the voyces of the inferiours, that it ſemeth not to bee agaynſt the truth, that onely Biſhops ſhould haue a deciding or determining voyce in Councels. And albeit that ſome in this diſputation doo thinke that, which is written in the .xv. chapter of the Actes, to bee their force or defence: notwithſtandyng he was nothyng moued therewith, nor tóke it to bee of any effect, albeit it was ſayd: It ſemed good vnto the holy Ghoſt and to vs, where as both yͤ Apoſtles and the elders were gathered together: wherby it appeared, that yͤ others had a decidyng voyce with the Apoſtles. For he ſayd, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Actes of the Apoſtles, whoſe examples were more to be meruailed at, then to bee folowed: and that it doth not appeare there, that the Apoſtles called the elders of duety, but that it is onely declared that they were there preſent: whereupon nothyng could be inferred. And that it ſéemed vnto him, that the inferiours in the Councel of Baſill, were admitted to determine with yͤ Biſhops but of grace & fauour onely, becauſe the Byſhops may communicate their authoritie vnto others. He alledged for teſtimonie, the Byſhop of Cancen, a man of great authority, who would not ſuffer any incorporation or felowſhip of the meaner ſorte, and therfore, neither any inferiour, neither him ſelfe, which as yet was not made Byſhop, to haue any decidyng voyce in the Coūcell. Wherfore for ſomuch as the matter was waighty, which was now in hand, and that the Biſhops ſpake agaynſt it, he required the Councell that they would of neceſſitie ſtay and tary for the Ambaſſadours of the princes commyng from Mentz.

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His Oration was ſomuch the more greuous, in that many were touched with his woordes, and ſpecially in that pointe that he ſayd, the Apoſtles were not to be folowed: for that all mē did impugne as a blaſphemy. But here a man may meruaile, that a man of ſuch excellency, alledged no more, or better matter. But in this point the memory of the mā is to be pardoned, whiche did not willingly ſpeake in this matter, and deſired nothyng ſo much, as not to obtayne that whiche he entreated for. After him many other ſpake their minds, but all to this end that they might protract the tyme and deffer the concluſion of theſe matters.

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cloke the
truth.

Then Ludouicus the Cardinall Arelatenſis, a man of marueilous conſtancy, and borne for the gouernaunce of generall Councels, gathering together the wordes of all the Oratours, ſpake in this wiſe: Moſt reuerend fathers, this is no new or ſtraunge buſines, nor begon to day or yeſterday. For it is now many wéekes ago, ſince the concluſions were diſputed vppon amongeſt the diuines, and ſent vnto Mentz, and to all other partes of the worlde. After this, they were diſputed vppon vi. dayes cōtinually, and fully diſcuſſed, and after that not without great delay approued by the deputies, and as the truth ſeeketh no corners, ſo all thinges were done publikely and openly. Neyther can any man pretend ignorance, neither are the prelates or princes contemned: For we called all that were preſent at Baſell, & exhorted all the reſt for to be preſent. And for ſo much as mention is made of the moſt noble kyng of Caſtell: who is it that is ignoraunt, that the kings Oratours were there preſent. The biſhop of Burgen and Ebrun, men of ſinguler learnyng and eloquence, and you alſo Panormitane your ſelfe, which here repreſent the perſon of the moſte famous kyng of Arragon, were twiſe preſent your ſelfe

Truth ſ
keth no
corners.

in the Chapter houſe,and diſputed twiſe moſt ſubtillye, and twiſe declared your minde, what you thoughte in that matter. What do you deſire any more? Alſo out of the territory of the Duke of Millaine,there was preſent the Archbiſhop of Millaine,who all be it,he be no ambaſſadour,yet how famous a prelate he is, you are not ignorant. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the Archbiſhop beyng ſomewhat moued,ſayd vnto him. My Lord Cardinal,you ſupply the roome of a Preſident no better,then I do the place of a Dukes oratour,and began to taunte hym wyth many wordes. But the Cardinal, (as he was a mā moſt pacient and would not be prouoked to anger by no meanes)ſayde: this is it that I euen now deſyred. For if the Archbiſhop be an ambaſſadour then hath the Duke no cauſe to complayne, whiche had hys oratour preſent at the diſcuſſyng of thoſe matters.

I paſſe ouer other princes,becauſe they do not complaine. Notwithſtandyng the moſte Chriſtian kyng of Fraunce,had there the biſhop of Lyons,a graue and ſober man,hys ambaſſadour at the diſputation. As for other princes, I ſee no cauſe why they ſhould be taryed for,which knowyng the councell to be congregate for ſuch matters as pertaine vnto fayth , doo not thinke it abſurde , that the doubtfull matters of fayth ſhoulde be declared in the councell:Wherunto,if they had bene willing to come,they would haue bene preſent or this.

Why this matter ſhould neede ſo much diſcuſſyng, as ſome will haue , I doe not vnderſtand . For if I be well remembred , Panormitane and alſo Ludouicus, haue oftentymes affirmed in this place , euen the very ſame thing which ẏ concluſions ſignifye. And if any of them now will go about to gainesay it,it will happē vnto them,as it did vnto Didimus.To whom,when as on a tyme, he repugned againſte a certayne hiſtorye,as vayne and friuolous,his owne booke was deliuered vnto hym,wherin the ſame was writtē: So likewiſe theſe two men(meanyng Panormitane & Lodouicus the Prothonatory)Albeit they be moſt excellentlye learned,and eloquent:yet may they be confuted by their owne wrytynges.Beſides this:there are ſynodall Epiſtles and decrees of this Councell,which are full of ſuche concluſions.What is it then wherupon any difficulty canne be rayſed?What is it that may bee impugned? Shall we now bring that agayne in doubte,which hath ſo often bene declared,affirmed,and decreed? But(they ſaye)the Princes and ambaſſadours are abſent whiche are Byſhops,by whoſe preſence the decrees ſhould be of more auctoritye. Well,they are not onely abſent whiche are gone vnto Mentz:but almoſt an infinite number of others,diſperſed throughout the whole worlde: whom if we ſhould tary to loke for,nothyng at any tyme ſhould be decreed.They are all called vnto ẏ coūcel:they might haue come if they woulde . To thoſe that are preſent, power is geuen , and they oughte to debate theſe matters . If any man will ſaye , that they whiche are abſent,are about the affaires of the common wealth: truly,we ſent them not thither, but they wente rather againſt ẏ will of the Councell,then wͭ the conſent therof.

And admit that they had ben ſent by the Councell: yet were not our power ſo much reſtrained,but that we might reforme the Churche , for otherwiſe there ſhould neuer any thyng be done in the Councell : for ſomuch as alwayes ſome are ſent out by the Councel,and ſome are alwayes to be looked and taryed for , and therefore either wee muſt doo nothyng at all,or ſend out no Prelates frō the Coūcell.Where as he ſayd that Prelates & ſpecially biſhops are cōtemned , that is moſt far from ẏ truth,for they haue the chief & firſt places. They ſpeake firſt, and geue theyr voyces firſt of all vnto all thinges: and if ſo be they do ſpeake learnedly & truly, all ẏ inferiours wͭout any gainſayng,do ſone folow theyr minde.

Neither peraduenture ſhall it be founde vntrue,that there was neuer any Synode, whiche did more amplyfie the power and authoritie of Byſhops then this. For what haue the Biſhops ben in our dayes,but onely ſhadowes?Might they not well haue ben called ſhepheards without ſhepe?What had they more then theyr miter & their ſtaffe,when as they could determine nothing ouer their ſubiectes?Verely in the primatiue churche,the Byſhops had the greateſt power & authoritie:but now was it come to that point,that they exceded the common ſort of Priſtes onely in their habite and reuenewes.But we haue reſtored them agayne to their olde eſtate : we haue reduced the collation of benefices agayn vnto them: we haue reſtored vnto them the confirmation of elections: wee haue brought agayne the cauſes of the ſubiectes to be heard,into their handes,& haue made them Byſhops which were none before.What cauſe is there then, that the Biſhops ſhould ſay,they are contempned of the Coūcel?Or what iniurious thing haue we at any time done vnto them?But Panormitane ſayth,that for ſomuch as moſt Byſhops are on his parte, and fewe agaynſt him, the concluſion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiours. But let Panormitan remēber him ſelf that this is no new kind of proceding.This order of proceedyng,the Councell ordeined from the begynnyng,neither hath it ben chaunged at any time ſince.And this order Panormitane,in tymes paſt hath pleaſed you well inough,when as the multitude did folowe your mynde. But now,becauſe they do not folow your mind,they do diſpleaſe you.But ẏ decrees of Councels are not ſo mutable,as the wils of men. Know ye moreouer, that the very ſame Biſhops whiche do cōſent with you in word: do not conſent with you in minde,neither ſpeake ẏ ſame ſecretly,whiche they now do openly.They do feare that which you tolde them at home in their countrey: that except they would folow your mind, they ſhould diſpleaſe the kyng.They feare the power of the prince, and to bee ſpoyled of their temporalities : neither haue they free liberty to ſpeake as is requiſite in Coūcels. Albeit if they were true Byſhops , and true paſtours of ſoules,they would not doubt to put theyr lyues in venture for theyr ſhepe , neither be afearde to ſhede their bloude for theyr mother the church . But at this preſent (the more is the pitie)it is rare to find a Prelate in this world, which doth not preferre his temporalties before hys ſpiritualties:with the loue wherof,they are ſo withdrawen, that they ſtudy rather to pleaſe Princes then God , and confeſſe God in corners , but princes they will openly confeſſe. Of whom the Lord ſpeaketh in his Goſpell. Euery one ſayth he,that confeſſeth me before men , I will confeſſe him before my father whiche is in heauen.And contrarywiſe the Lord will not confeſſe him before hys father whiche is afearde to confeſſe the Lord before men. Neither is it true whiche Panormitane ſayth,moſt Byſhops to be on his parte:for here are many Biſhops proctors,whom he doth not recken , becauſe they are not of hys opinion. Neither is the dignitie of the fathers, to be reſpected in ẏ Councel,as he ſaith,but onely reaſon, nor any thyng more to be looked for,then the truth : neither will I for my part,prefer a lye of any Byſhop,be he neuer ſo rich,before a verity or truth of a poore prieſt. Neither ought a Byſhop to diſdaine,if he be rude or vnlearned,that the multitude doth not folow hym , or that the voyce of a poore learned & eloquent prieſt,ſhould be preferd before his. For wiſedome dwelleth oftner vnder a bare & ragged cloke,then in rich ornamentes & apparel.

Marke,O ye byſhops,the councell of Baſill contendeth for you & ye will not vnderſtand it.

Thys was a true Cardinall, out of whoſe mouth the veritie dyd ſpeake,which feared not the threatninges of princes, neither ſought any worldly glory or dignitie.

Marke what worldly pōpe, dignitie,and wealth had brought the prelates to,in thoſe dayes.

Note here the great godlynes & moſt chriſtiā ſaying of thys good byſhop.

Truth many times dwelleth vnder the ragged cloke.

Wherfore I pray you my Lord Byſhops , do not ſo much contemne your inferiours : for the firſt whiche died for Chriſt,the whiche alſo opened vnto all other the way of martirdome,was no biſhop but onely a Leuite. As for that whiche Ludouicus & Panormitane do alledge touchyng the voyces of byſhoppes , I knowe not where they haue it . Wherfore I deſire them that they would tell me,where they haue founde it . But if we re-

Steuen the fyrſt martyr.

Note the ſincerετye of thys good biſhop, which ſtayed him ſelfe vpon the examples of the primatiue church, and not vpon cuſtomes and popes.

Athanaſius being but a prieſt, and no biſhop, vanquiſhed an Archbyſhop.

Paule byſhop of Antioche.

Paule byſhop of Antioche.

Malchion the prieſt confounded Paule the heretique with his Godly eloquence.

S Auguſtines minde vpon thys ſetence, *Tibi dabo claues regni cælorum.*

peat the examples of olde Councels, we ſhall finde that the inferiours were alwayes preſent with the Biſhops. And albeit that Ludouicus do forbyd vs the examples of the Apoſtles, I ſtay my ſelfe moſt vpon their doynges: For what is more comely for vs to folowe, then the doctrine and cuſtomes of the primatiue Churche? It is ſayd therefore in the .xv. chapter of the Actes of the Apoſtles: it ſeemed good vnto the holy Ghoſt and to vs. The which worde (to vs) is referred vnto them which are before named, yͤ Apoſtles & the Elders. Neither this word, (it ſeemed good) ſignifieth in this place conſultacion, but deciſion and determination, whereby it appeareth, that other beſide the biſhops had determining voyces. In an other place alſo of the ſayd Actes, when as the Apoſtles ſhould intreate vpon any waightye matter, they durſt not determine by them ſelues, but the .xij. called together the multitude. Here Ludouicus ſaith, that it doth not appeare that the Apoſtles called other of neceſſitye: but I ſay vnto him, how knoweſt thou they dyd not call them of neceſſity? But forſomuche as both partes are vncertayne: nothing doth prohibite vs to followe the Apoſtles. For ſeing that all thinges were written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apoſtles woulde geue vs example, that in waighty matters we ſhould admit our inferiours. And therefore in all Councels whych were celebrate and holden afterwardes: we finde that prieſts were alſo preſent: as in the councell of Nice, which of all other was moſt famous, Athanaſius being then but onely a prieſt, withſtod the Arrians, & infringed their argumentes: Albeit there were alſo other prieſtes. And albeit mention be made of 322. Biſhops, yet it is not denyed, but that the inferiors were there, whom I thynke to bee omitted for this cauſe, for yͭ they were almoſt innumerable: for as you know well inough, yͤ denomination for the moſt part, is taken of the moſt woorthye. In the Synode of Chalcedon (which was counted one of the .iiij. principall Sinodes) it is ſayde that there were preſent 600. prieſtes: the whych name is common both vnto Biſhops and Prieſtes. In other councels the name both of Biſhops and Prieſtes is omitted, and mention made onely of Fathers, which hath the ſame ſignificatiō that thys word Elders had in the Actes of the Apoſtles. We haue alſo a teſtimony of the eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, howe that there was a Councell gathered at Rome of .lx. byſhops, and as many Prieſtes and Deacons, agaynſt the Nouatians which: called themſelues Cathari. Alſo, whē Paule the biſhop of Antioche, in the tyme of Galiene the Emperour, preached that Chriſt was a man of commō nature, the councell aſſembled againſt him in Antioche: whereunto there came Biſhops out of Ceſaria, Capadotia, out of Pontus, Aſia, and from Ieruſalem, and many other Biſhoppes, Prieſtes and Deacons: and it is ſayd that for that cauſe the Councell was often holden. And at the laſt, in the ſame place, vnder Aurelian the Emperour, Paule was condemned of all Chriſtian churches whych were vnder heauen: neyther was there any man, which did more confound the ſayd Paule, then Malchion a prieſt of Antioche, which taught Rhetorike in Antioche. But to make no long digreſſion from the matter, wee haue moſte euident teſtimonies for the defence of the inferiors. For the chiefe and principall amōgeſt all the diuines S. Auſten vpon the wordes of Mathew, where as Chriſt ſayth vnto Peter: I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, ſaith that by thoſe wordes, the iudiciall power was geuē, not onely vnto Peter, but alſo to the other Apoſtles, and to the whole church the Biſhops and Prieſtes. If then prieſtes haue a iudiciall power in the Churche, what ſhoulde let yͭ they haue not alſo a determining voice in yͤ councels? The famous Doctor S.Hierome doth alſo agree wyth S.Auſten, whoſe woordes are theſe vpon the Epiſtle of Paule vnto Titus. Before that difference was made in religion by the inſtigation of the Deuil, or that it was ſpoken amongeſt the people, I holde of Paule, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the Churches were gouerned by the common conſent and councell of the Prieſtes: for a Prieſt is the very ſame that a biſhop is. Wherefore all Biſhops ought to vnderſtand, that they are of greater power then Prieſtes, rather by cuſtome then by the diſpenſation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the church together. And thys we do alſo gather out of Paule vnto Titus, which maketh ſo much concordance betwene biſhops and prieſtes, that often times he calleth prieſtes, biſhops: whereby it doth euidentlye appeare, that prieſtes are not to be excluded from the conuentions of biſhops, and determinatiō of matters. And albeit as S.Hierome writeth, that biſhops onelye by cuſtome are preferred before Prieſtes, it may be, that a cōtrarye cuſtome maye take awaye that cuſtome. For if Prieſtes ought to rule the church together with the Biſhops, it is euident that it alſo pertayneth vnto them to decide & determine the doubtfull matters of the church. Wherefore the teſtimony of S. Paule is euident: for (as he writing vnto the Epheſians ſaith:) If Chriſt inſtituted his Apoſtles, Prophets, Paſtours, and Teachers to the worke of the miniſtery, for the edifieng of his Churche, vntill ſuch time as we ſhould mete him: for this purpoſe that ther ſhould be no doubt in the diuerſity of doctrine: who doubteth then, but that the gouernaunce of the Church is committed vnto others together with the Apoſtles? Let theſe our Champions now hold their peace, and ſeeme to be no wyſer then they ought to be. The memoriall of the councell of Conſtance, is yet freſhe in memory, whereas diuers of vs were preſent, and I my ſelfe alſo which was neither Cardinall nor Biſhop, but onely a Doctor, where I did ſee, without anye maner of doubt or difficulty, the inferiors to be admitted wyth the Biſhops, to the deciding of hard and doubtfull matters. Neither ought we to be aſhamed to followe the example of that moſt ſacred and great coūcel, which alſo folowed yͤ example of yͤ coūcel of Piſa & the great councell at Lateran, wherin it is not to be doubted, but that the Prieſts did ioyntly iudge together with the biſhops.

Biſhops ar of greater power the prieſtes ra ther by cu ſtome, the diſpenſati of truth.

Biſhops & prieſtes ought to rule the church to gether.

Æneas Syluius.

Moreouer, if Abbottes, as we doe ſee it obſerued in all Councells, haue a determining voyce, whiche notwithſtandyng were not inſtituted by Chriſte: why ſhoulde not prieſtes haue the ſame, whoſe order Chriſt ordayned by hys Apoſtles? Herevpon alſo, if onely biſhoppes ſhoulde haue a determinyng voice, nothing ſhould be done, but what pleaſed the Italian nation, the which alone doth exceede all other nations, or at the leſt is equall with thē, in number of biſhops. And how ſo euer it be, I iudge it in this behalfe to be a worke of god, that the inferiours ſhould be admitted to determinations: for God hath now reuealed that vnto little ones, which he hath hidden from the wyſe. Behold you do ſee the zeale, conſtancy, vprightnes, and magnanimitye of theſe inferiours. Where ſhould the councel now bee, yf onely biſhops and Cardinals ſhoulde haue theyr voyce? Where ſhould the autority of the Councels be? Where ſhould the Catholike fayth be? Where ſhould yͤ decrees and reformation be? For all thynges haue now a long tyme bene vnder the wyll of Eugenius, and he had nowe obtayned his wicked and naughty purpoſe, except theſe inferiors, whom you now contemne, had wythſtande him. Theſe are they which haue contemned the priuatiō made by Eugenius. Theſe I ſay, are they which haue not regarded his threatninges, ſpoyle, and perſecution. Theſe are they which beyng taken, impriſoned, and tormented, haue not feared to defend the truth of the councell: yea euen theſe are they who albeit they were by Eugenius deliuered ouer for a pray, yet would they ſtil continue in the ſacred councell, & feared not to ſuffer warre famine, and moſte cruell peſtilence; and finallye what

Note that Abbotes were not inſtituted by Chriſt.

Italy ſurmounteth all other nations in nūber of byſhops.

Note the terible ſecution thoſe dai and the great co ſtancie o the godl for the truthes ſake.

thyng is it, that theſe men haue not willinglye ſuffered for the ryght & equitie of the councel? You mighte haue heard this inferiour ſort euen in the middeſt of theyr tribulations, with a loude voyce cry out & ſay: albeit that all mē become obedient vnto that ſubuerter of ẏ church Eugenius, & that euery mā do depart from the verity of the faith & conſtitutions of the fathers, conſenting vnto the cōmaundements of Eugenius, yet we & our brethren will be conſtant, & doubt not to dye for the truth & traditions of the holy fathers: the which in deede they haue done. Neither could they be feared with threatnings, or diſcouraged with any ſpoyles, neyther could any feare or hope, turne thē frō their moſt bleſſed purpoſe: and (to ſpeake ſomwhat of mine own order) whether any Cardinals haue done the lyke or no, that iudge you. As for biſhops, whom Panormitane alone would haue to determine, you ſee how few of them are on our part, and euē they whiche are here preſente, are not able, by vertue to ouercome iniquitie, they feare the terrene power, and committe offence with their haſte. Haue ye not heard howe they all ſaide, they would conſent vnto the kinges will and pleaſure? But theſe inferiours are they whiche haue had truth, righteouſnes, and God hym ſelfe, before theyr eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for ſhewyng themſelues ſuche men vnto the church of God. But why do I defend the cauſe of theſe inferiors? whē as ſome will alſo exclude thoſe biſhops which are but byſhops by name and title, and haue no poſſeſſion of the church, from our company, not vnderſtandyng that whileſt they go about to put backe thoſe men, they do condemne Peter and the other Apoſtles, who (as it is euident) were long without anye greate flocke: neyther was Rome vnto Peter, nor Ieruſalē vnto Iames, at any tyme wholy obediēt, for at that tyme no great number of people, but a ſmal flocke beleued in Chriſt. For I praye you, what is it that we ſhoulde require of theſe biſhops? They haue no flocke: but that is not their fault. They haue no reuenues: but mony maketh not a byſhop: and as the Lorde ſayth: Beati pauperes ſpiritu. i. bleſſed are the poore in ſpirit. Neither was there any riche biſhops in the primatiue churche, neyther dyd the auncient churche reiect Dionyſius byſhop of Millayne, Euſebius biſhop of Verſelles, or Hillary byſhop of Pictauia, although they were neuer ſo poore, and baniſhed without a flocke. But if we will graunte the truth, the poore are more apte to geue iudgemente then the riche, becauſe that ryches bringeth feare, and their pouerty cauſeth liberty. For the poore men do not feare tiranny as our riche men do, which beyng geuen ouer vnto all kynde of vanities, idlenes and ſlouth, will rather deny Chriſte, then lacke their accuſtomed pleaſures: * whom not their flocke, but their reuenues make biſhops, delityng ſo muche in riches, that they iudge all poore men vnhappy. But, as Cicero ſayth: nothyng can happen better vnto a wiſe man, then mediocrity of ſubſtance. Wherupon it is writtē in the Goſpell: It is eaſier for a Camell to paſſe through a nedels eye, then for a rich man to enter into the kyngdome of heauen.

But nowe to returne to a more full declaration of Panormitans wordes, I determine to paſſe ouer two poyntes whiche he propounded in the begynnyng of his oration, that is: Qui petant, & cur petant, i. who maketh the petition, and for what cauſe they make their petition. We graunt that they are great men, and men of power, and (as he doth affirme) that they haue deſerued good of the church, neither do I doubt but that they are moued therunto, wyth a ſincere affection. But whether it be a ſmall matter that is required, or that the ſame effectes would riſe therupō, which he ſpake of: it is now to be enquired. A delay (ſaith he) is required: a delaye for a few dayes. A ſmall matter: a matter of no importance: a matter eaſy to be graunted. Notwithſtanding let Panormitane here marke well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of fayth. The verities are already declared: they be already diſcuſſed and determined. If now there ſhould be but a litle delay, it would grow to a lōg delay: for oftentymes the delay of one moment, is the loſſe of a whole yere. Hereof we haue many examples. Hanniball when he had obtayned his victory at Cānas, if he had gone ſtraight vnto Rome, by all mens iudgements, he had taken the City. But forſomuch as he dyd deferre it vntill the next day, the Romaynes hauing recouered their force agayne: he was ſhut out, and deſerued to here this opprobrie.

In matters of faith & religiō, there ought to be no delayes.

Vincere ſcis Hannibal, vti victoria neſcis.
Hanniball thou knoweſt victory to get,
But how to vſe it, thou knoweſt not yet.

Likewyſe the Frenche men, after they had taken Rome and beſieged the Capitoll, whiles that they gredely ſought to haue great ſummes of money, & delayed the tyme in makyng of their truce, Camillus cōmyng vpon them, dyd moſt ſhamefully driue them out agayn. But what nede I to rehearſe old hiſtories, whē as our own exāples are ſufficient for vs? Ye know your ſelues how often theſe delayes haue bene hurtefull vnto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath growen to a long tracte of tyme. For now this is the viij. yere that you haue ſpent in delayes: and you haue ſeene, that alwaies of one delay an other hath ſprong & riſē. Wherfore I do require that Panormitan ſhould conſider, that the concluſion beyng this day diſturbed, we knowe not whether it will be brought to paſſe hereafter agayne or no. Many impedimentes or lets maye riſe. Neither doth Panormitane ſaye, that this delaye being obtayned, he woulde afterwarde conſent with his fellowes vnto the concluſions, for he denieth that he hathe anye commaundement thereunto, and (whiche is more to bee conſidered) he ſayeth that the Ambaſſadoures at theyr retourne from Mentz, maye bring ſuche newes, whereby theſe concluſions may be omitted: as though any thyng were more excellent then the truthe. The which thing doth manifeſtly declare, that they doo not ſeeke delaies for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugne the concluſions the more ſtrongly. Neither do I agree with Panormitan, as touching the effectes, which he ſaid ſhould riſe either of ẏ deniall, or graunting of the requeſtes: for I ſee no cauſe why the princes ſhould ſo greatly require any delaye. There are no letters of any Prince come vnto vs as touching ſuch requeſt, neither is there any man latelye come frō them, neyther is it greatlye materiall vnto them, but that the matters of faith ſhould be determined. But this is a moſt pernicious concluſion, whiche Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the handes of thoſe moſt godly princes, whereas he ſayth: if we doo pleaſe them, they will take our part. If contrariwiſe, they will decline vnto Eugenius, and wholy reſiſt & rebell agaynſt vs. This is a maruellous word, and a wonderfull concluſion, altogether vnworthy to be ſpoken of ſuch a mā. The decrees of the Councell of Conſtance are, that all maner of men, of what eſtate or condition ſo euer they be, are bound to the ordinaunces and decrees of the generall councels. But Panormitanes wordes do not tend to that effect, for he would not haue the Princes obedient vnto the Councell, but the Councell to be obedient vnto the Princes.

The eight yere of the councell of Baſel.

How ſubtelly they ſought delaies.

The decrees of the councel of Conſtance.

Alas moſt reuerend Fathers alas, what tymes and daies: what maners and conditiōs are theſe? Into what miſery are we now brought? How ſhall we at any time bring to paſſe, that the Pope being Chriſtes Vicar (and as they ſay) an other Chriſt in earth, ſhould bee ſubiect vnto ẏ councel of chriſtians, if the councell it ſelf ought

If theſe things ſeme ſo vntolerable, what ſhall we ſay, when as they make the Pope a God?

to obey worldly Princes? But I praye you looke for no ſuch thinges at the Princes handes. Do not beleue that they wyll forſake their mother the church. Do not think them ſo farre alienate from the truth, that they woulde haue iuſtice ſuppreſſed.

The concluſions whereupon the controuerſy is, are moſt true, moſt holy, moſt allowable. If the Princes do refuſe them, they do not reſiſt agaynſt vs, but agaynſt the holy Scriptures, yea and agaynſt Chriſt himſelfe: which you ought neyther to beleue, neither was it comely for Panormitan ſo to ſay. Panormitan (by your licence be it ſpoken) you haue vttered moſt cruell wordes. Neyther do you ſeeme to go about anye other matter, then to inculcate terrour and feare into the myndes of the fathers: for you haue rehearſed great perryls and daungers, except we ſubmit our ſelues vnto the princes

They which teach this doctrine, are heretiks & Schiſmatikes: but bleſſed are thoſe heretikes, for theyrs is the kingdom of heauen.

A chriſten exhortation to conſtancy and martyrdom.

Thys came ſo to paſſe. 23. yeares after when chriſtendome loſt Cogſtantinople and al the eaſt partes vnto the Turks

Examples of good men dying for theyr country.

But you moſt reuerend fathers, ſhall not be afeard of them whiche kill the body, the ſoule they can not kill: neither ſhall ye forſake the truth, although you ſhould ſhede your bloud for the ſame. Neither ought we to be a nye whitte more ſlacke in the quarell of our mother the churche ⁊ the catholicke faith, then thoſe moſt holy Martyrs, which haue eſtabliſhed ẏ churche with their bloud. For why ſhould it bee any greuous matter vnto vs to ſuffer for Chriſt, whiche for our ſakes hath ſuffred ſo cruell and greuous death? who when he was an immortall God, voyde of all paſſions, tooke vpon him the ſhape of a mortall man, and feared not for our redemption to ſuffer tormentes vpon the croſſe. Set before your eyes the prince of the Apoſtles, Peter, Paule, Androw, Iames and Barthelmew, and (not to ſpeake onely of Byſhops) Marke what Steuen, Laurence, Sebaſtian and Fabian did. Some were hanged, ſome headed, ſome ſtoned to death, other ſome burned, ⁊ others tormented with moſt cruell and greuous torments ſuffred for Chriſtes ſake. I pray you for Gods ſake let vs folow the example of theſe mē. If we wilbe Byſhops and ſuccede in honour, let vs not feare Martyrdome. Alas what effeminate hartes haue we? Alas what a faint harted people are we? They in tymes paſt by the contempt of death, conuerted ẏ whole world, whiche was full of gentilitie and idolatrie: and wee thorowe oure ſluggiſhnes and deſire of lyfe, doo bryng the Chriſtian religion out of the whole world into one corner, ⁊ I feare greatly, leſt that litle alſo which is left, we ſhall loſe thorowe our cowardlines, if that by folowyng Panormitanes minde, we do commit ẏ whole gouernaunce and defence of the churche vnto the Princes. But now play the ſtoute and valiaunt men in this tyme of tribulation, and feare not to ſuffer death for the churche, whiche Curtius feared not to do for the citie of Rome: whiche Meneotheus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly tooke vpon them.

Not onely the Martyrs, but alſo the Gentils myght moue and ſtirre vs to caſt of all feare of death. What is to be ſayd of Theremenes the Athenien? With how ioyfull hart and mind, and pleaſaunt countenaunce, did he drinke the poyſon? What ſay you vnto Socrates that moſt excellent Philoſopher? did he either weape or ſigh, when hee ſupped vp the poyſon? They hoped for that whiche wee are moſt certaine of. Not by dying to dye, but to chaunge this preſent lyfe for a better.

Truly we ought to be aſhamed, beyng admoniſhed by ſo many exāples, inſtructed with ſo great learnyng, yea and redemed with the precious bloud of Chriſt, ſo greatly to feare death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, whiche haue cherefully and couragiouſly gone vnto thoſe places, from whence they knew they ſhould not returne. With lyke courage dyd the Lacedemonians geue them ſelues to death at Thermopilis, of whom Simonides writeth thus.

Dic hoſpes Spartanos te hic vidiſſe iacentes,
Dum ſanctis patriæ legibus obſequimur.
Report thou ſtraunger, the Spartanes here to lye.
Whiles that their coūtry lawes they obeied willingly.

The nob
Lacedem
nians.

Neither iudge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went euen of purpoſe vnto death: vnto whō their captaine Leonidas ſayd: O ye Lacedemonians, go forwarde couragiouſly, for this day wee ſhall ſuppe together with the infernall Gods. But I, moſt reuerend fathers, do not inuite you vnto the infernals as he did his Lacedemonians, but vnto the celeſtiall and euerlaſtyng ioyes of Paradiſe, if that you can ſuffer death for the truthes ſake, and patiently abyde the threatnynges of theſe princes, if there be any threatnynges at all. I call you vnto ẏ eternal glory: wher as there is no alteration of ſtate, nothing decayeth or vadeth: wher al good ⁊ perpetuall thyngs do abound: where as no man wanteth, no man enuieth an other, no man ſtealeth frō an other, no man violētly taketh frō an other, no man baniſheth, no mā murdereth, ⁊ finally no man dieth. Wher as all men are bleſſed ⁊ happy, all are of one mynd ⁊ one accord, al are immortal, al are of lyke eſtate, ⁊ that al mē haue, euery mā hath, ⁊ that euery mā hath, al mē haue. Which thing if we wil cōſider, we ſhal truly aunſwere Panormitan, as Theodorus Cyrenenſis is ſayde to haue aunſwered Liſimachus the kyng, when hee threatned to hange him: who ſayd, I pray you threaten theſe horrible thynges vnto your courtiers, as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rotte aboue the grounde or vnder the ground. So likewiſe let vs aunſwere vnto the princes, if there be any that do threatē vs, and let vs not feare their tormentes. What doth a longer lyfe preuaile or helpe vs? No man hath lyued to ſhort a tyme, whiche hath obteined the perfect gift of vertue. And if the death whiche a man ſuffreth in the quarell of his countrey, ſemeth not onely to be glorious amongſt ẏ Rethoricians, but alſo happy and bleſſed, what ſhall we ſay for thoſe deathes which are ſuſteyned for the countrie of all countries, the churche? Truly moſt reuerent fathers, it is to much that our aduerſaryes do perſuade them ſelues of you: for they iudge you fearefull, ſluggiſhe, ⁊ faint harted: and therfore they do obiect the princes vnto you, becauſe they thincke that you wyll not ſuffer hunger, thirſt, exile in the quarell and defence of the church. But I thinke you will eſteme it no hard matter, for the obteinyng of euerlaſting lyfe, to do the ſame whiche ſhipmen do for the obteynyng of tranſitory riches, to put thē ſelues in daunger of the ſea and winde, and ſuffer moſte cruell ſtormes. The hunters lye abroad in the nights in the ſnow in the hils and woodes, and are tormēted with cold: yet haue they none other rewarde, but ſome wilde beaſt of no valew or priſe. I pray you what ought you thē to do, whoſe reward ſhalbe paradiſe? I am aſhamed of our ignauie, when as I read that wemen, yea euen yong maydens haue violently obteyned heauē through their martyrdome and we are made afrayd onely with the name of death. This riuer of Rheyne whiche rūneth along by the Citie in times paſt hath caried .xi. M. Virgins vnto martyrdom. In India (as Cicero writeth) whē any man was dead, his wiues (for there they had many wiues) came into contētion who ſhould be burned with him: and ſhe whom he loued beſt, hauyng vāquiſhed the other, all the reſt ioyfully folowing her, was caſt into ẏ fire with the dead Carcaſe of her huſband ⁊ burnt. The other whiche were ouercome, departed full of heuineſſe and ſorrow, wiſhyng rather to haue dyed then lyue.

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The whiche courage we nowe takyng vppon vs for Chriſtes ſake, will aunſwere Panormitane euen as the Lacedemonians aunſwered Philippe, who when as by his letters he threatned them that he would ſtop all that whiche they went about, they aſked hym whether hee would alſo let them to dye. Therfore as you are excellēt men,ſo vſe your vertue,whiche is alwayes free, and remayneth alwayes inuincible. For you doo knowe that power is geuen you of the Lord, and ſtrength from the moſt hyghest: who will take accompt of your workes & examine your thoughtes: vnto whõ ye ſhould be careful to render a good accompt,iudgyng rightly and kepyng the law of rightuouſnes, and in all thyngs walkyng accordyng to the will of God, and not accordyng to the will of men.

And where as the Ambaſſadours of Eugenius,do opẽly preach and declare a new doctrine, extollyng the Byſhop of Rome aboue the vniuerſall Churche:to the ende that ignoraunt ſoules be not ſnared:ye ſhall not ceaſe or leaue to publiſh the three firſt concluſions,folowyng the example of the Apoſtle Paul,whiche would in no point geue place vnto Peter when he walked not accordyng to the goſpel. As for the other matters, which do reſpect the onely perſon of Eugenius(becauſe Panormitan & the other Ambaſſadours of the Princes, ſhall not ſay ẏ we do paſſe our bonds)ye ſhal deferre them for this preſent.

When as Cardinall Arelatenſis had made an end of his oration,there was a great noyſe,crieng out,& brawling euery where. The Preſidentes commaundementes were not regarded, neyther was the accuſtomed order obſerued:for ſometimes they ſpake vnto Panormitan, ſometime vnto Lodouicus:no mã was ſuffred to ſpeake but in haſte, the Biſhops brawled with biſhops, and the inferiours with their fellowes. All was full of contention and debate:Which when as Lodouicus the Patriarke of Aquileia perceiued,a man of na leſſe courage and ſtomake,then of nobilitye and birth, beyng alſo a Duke,for the zeale whych hee bare vnto the vniuerſall Church,turning himſelfe vnto Panormitan and Lodouicus the Prothonotary,ſayd:Do not thinke the matter ſhall ſo paſſe,you know not yet the maners of the Germains,for if you go forward on this faſhion, it wyl not be lawfull for you to depart out of this countrye wyth whole heades:With which wordes Panormitan,Lodouicus,and ẏ archb.of Millaine, being ſtrickẽ (as it were) with lightning frõ heauẽ,roſe vp and ſaid:Is our libertie thus taken from vs? What meaneth it that the patriarke doth threaten vs,that our heades ſhould be broken? And turning them ſelues vnto Iohn Earle of Dierſtene, which then ſupplied the Protectors place, they demaunded of him whether he would defende the Councell,and preſerue all men in their liberty,or no.

The Citizens alſo and Senators were preſent to prouide and foreſee that no offence ſhould riſe: for the citizens obſerued alwayes this order,that they would be preſent in all affayres,which they ſuppoſed would brede diſſenſion,foreſeing ſpecially that no tumultes ſhoulde riſe,otherwyſe then with wordes. They vſed alwayes ſuch a marueilous foreſight and prouidẽce, that no mã vnto this day,could haue any cauſe againſt them,to cõplaine for violating their promyſe. Wherfore if at any time,any Citizens haue deſerued well at ẏ handes of the church, ſurelye this prayſe is to be geuen vnto the Baſilians. Theſe men together with Iohn Earle of Dierſtein, being preſent in ẏ aſſembly of ẏ fathers, gaue a ſigne of preſeruation of their libertie. The Earle(albeit he was moued at the ſtraungenes of the matter, for he woulde not haue thought ſo great contentions could haue riſen amongeſt wyſemen)aunſwered by his interpreter, that they all ſhoulde be of good chere. For the Emperours ſafe conduicte ſhoulde be obſerued and kepte euen to the vttermoſte, neither ſhould the Patriarke, or anye other,once violate the libertye, or take awaye the aſſuraunce graunted by the Emperour. Notwithſtanding he deſired the Patriarke that he woulde call backe hys woordes agayne,and not to ſpeake anye more in ſuche ſort. But that famous father,being nothing at all moued or troubled,committed his whole minde vnto Iohn de Bachenſtein,auditor of ẏ chamber,a man both graue and eloquent, to be declared. Who affirmed that the Patriarkes minde was not to threaten any man, or to diſturbe the liberty of the councell,but to moue the Fathers vnto conſtancie,that they ſhoulde bee mindfull of the reformation,which they had promiſed vnto ẏ whole world,and not to ſay one thing to daye, and another to morrowe: for if they would ſo doo,it were to be feared, leaſt the laitie ſeing them ſelues deluded,and diſpayring of reformation:ſhould riſe againſt the Clergy. Therefore he moniſheth the Fathers to foreſee and prouide before for the perill,that they ſhoulde not depart from the Councell,nothing being determined or done: and finally he deſired pardon,if in his wordes he had offended eyther againſt the Councel,Panormitan,or any other mã. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonlye ſayd,that Humility is the ſiſter of Nobility:both which did very excellently appeare in this mã. Yet for all thys, coulde not the humilitie of the Patriarke ſtop or ſtaye their noyſe or cryes: For as often as mention was made of reading the Concordatum,great noyſe and rumours were ſtill made,for to ſtop the ſame. Then Amodeus Archbiſhop of Lyons,and Primate of all Fraunce, a mã of great reuerence and autority,being touched with the zeale of fayth,which he ſaw there to be ſtopped and ſuppreſſed,ſayd: Moſt reuerende Fathers, I haue nowe a great occaſion for to ſpeake. For it is now.vij.yeares or more,that I haue bene amongeſt you,yet haue I neuer ſene the matter at that poynt which it is nowe at, moſt like vnto a miracle:for euen preſently I do behold moſt wonderfull ſignes of miracles: for it is no ſmall matter that the lame do walke,the dumme do ſpeake, and that poore men preach the Goſpell. Whereupon,I pray you,commeth this ſodaine chaunge? How happeneth it that thoſe which lye lurking at home,are now ſodenlye ſtart vp? Who hath geuen hearyng to the deafe, and ſpeche to the dumme? Who hath taught the poore men to preache the Goſpell? I doo ſee here a new ſort of Prelates come in,which vnto this preſent haue kept ſilence, and now begin to ſpeake. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth,and not to impugne iuſtice.

Humilitie ſiſter to nobilitie.

Amodeus Archbiſhop of Lyons.

An.1438

Byſhops that ſit at home, haue tongue here to ſpeake for the pope.

But this is more to be marueiled at then any miracle,that I do ſee the beſt learned men of al,impugne our concluſions which are moſt certayn and true: And they which nowe reproue them,in tymes paſt haue allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Lodouicus the prothonotary preached theſe verities at Louain and at Collen,and brought them from thence,confirmed wyth the authority of the Vniuerſities. Wherefore,all be it that he be now chaunged, yet is the truth in no poynt altered. And therefore I deſire you and beſeche you all, that ye wyll not geue eare vnto theſe men, which albeit they are moſt excellently learned, yet haue they no conſtancy in them:which doth adorne all other vertues.

Marke how they are turned backe which ſomtime fauoured the truth and are now become lyers and flatterers.

Conſtancie lacked in diuers of thys Councell.

When he had ended his Oration,Lodouicus the Prothonotary riſing vp,ſaid:It is moſt true that I brought thoſe verities,but you doo call them verities of fayth, which addition ſeemeth very doubtfull vnto me. When he had ſpoken theſe woordes, Cardinall Arelatenſis requyred that the Concordatum of the twelue men ſhould be read,and manye whyſpered him in the eare, that hee ſhould go forward,and not alter hys purpoſe.

Then Panarmitan,as ſoone as the Concordatum beganne to be read,riſyng vp wyth his companions and other Aragons,cryed out with a loud voice,ſaying: You fathers do cõtemne our requeſtes,you contemne kyngs and Princes,and deſpiſe Prelates, but take heede leaſt whyleſt that ye deſpiſe all men, you be not deſpiſed of all men. You would conclude,but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greater part of Prelates, we make the councel,and it is our part to conclude:and

Panormitane ſpeaketh lyke hym ſelfe.

I in the name of all other prelates do conclud, that it is to be deferred and delayed. With this word, there ſprãg ſuch a noyſe and rumour in the Councell, as is accuſtomed to be in battaile, with the ſounde of Trompets and noyſe of horſemẽ, when as two armies ioyne. Some curſing that whiche Panormitane went about, other ſome allowyng the ſame: So that diuerſitie of myndes made diuers contentions.

Nicolas Amici a diuine of Paris.

Then Nicolas Amici, a diuine of Paris, accordyng vnto his office, ſayd. Panormitane I appeale frõ this your concluſion, to the iudgement of the Cõucel here preſent, neither do I affirme any thing to be ratified which you haue done, as I am ready to proue, if it ſhall ſeme good. The contrarie part ſemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it ſene how they could conclude amongeſt ſo great cries ⁊ vprores. Notwithſtandyng amongeſt all this troublous noyſe, Iohn Segouius a ſingular diuine of ẏ Vniuerſitie of Salamantine lacked not audience: for the whole councel was deſirous for to heare him: wherfore all men as ſoone as he roſe vp kept ſilence, and hee perceyuyng that they were deſirous to heare hym ſpeake, began in this ſorte.

The oration of Segouius.

Moſt reuerent fathers, the zeale ⁊ loue of the houſe of God, forceth me now to ſpeake: And I would to God ẏ I had bene either blinde this day, not to haue ſene thoſe thinges which haue happened, or that I had bene deafe, ẏ I ſhould not haue heard thoſe words which haue bene ſpoken. Who is it ẏ is ſo ſtony or hard harted, which can abſtaine from teares, when as the authoritie of the church is ſo ſpoyled, libertie takẽ away both frõ vs ⁊ the councel, and ẏ there is no place geuen vnto ẏ veritie. O ſwete Ieſu, why haſt thou ſo forſaken thy ſpouſe? Beholde and looke vpon thy people, and helpe vs if our requeſtes are iuſt. We come hether to prouide for the neceſſitie of the Churche, we require nothyng for our ſelues, our deſire is onely that truth might appeare. We truſted now to haue concluded vpon the verities whiche were ſome tymes allowed in the ſacred deputations. The Oratours of the Princes are preſent, and require the concluſions to be deferred. But we be not vnmyndefull of thoſe thynges which Ambroſe wrote vnto Valentinian the Emperour in this maner: if we ſhall intreate vppon the order of the holye Scripture and auncient times paſt: who is it that will denye but that in caſe of faith (I ſaye in caſe of fayth) the Byſhops ought to iudge vpon Chriſtian Emperours, and not Emperours vpon Byſhops. Neither doo we admit their peticion but vpon moſt vrgent cauſes: Notwithſtãding we heard thẽ paciently and willingly, whiles that they did ſpeake euen ſo long as they would. But now if any of our part would ſpeake, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honeſtie is this? what modeſtie or grauitie? is it lawfull ſo to do in the Councell? Where is the decree of the Councell of Toloſe nowe become? where are our decrees, whiche doe not only prohibite tumultes, but alſo all ſmall bablings and talke? They ſaye, it is becauſe we contempne them: but they are they whiche not onely contempne the Councell: but alſo reſiſte the ſame. The Patriarke ſpake but one ſmall worde againſt them, and that of no euill intent or purpoſe, and by and by they complayned that their libertie was broken: but they, whẽ as they do enforce ẏ Councel, when as they forbid the Preſident to ſpeake, and wil not ſuffer the ordinaunces to be read, do not iudge that they do any thyng contrary to the lybertie of the Councell. They ſay, they are the Councell them ſelues, and yet they intreate the Councell. Theſe thynges do not I vnderſtand: for if they bee the Councell, why do they intreate them ſelues? If they be not the Councell, why doo they not ſuffer the Councell for to ſpeake? Why do they not looke for an aunſwere of hym to whom they make their petition?

Ambroſ. ad Valentinianum.

How farre and wherin byſhops ought to iudge vpon Emperours.

He excuſeth the Patriarke.

Truly this is to much violence, and certes our pacience is alſo to muche, to ſuffer ſuche exceſſe euen in the face of the churche. But this doth moſt of all greue me, ⁊ this do I moſt maruell at, ẏ Panormitane a mã of ſingular wyt ⁊ doctrine did conclude wͭout any diſcuſſyng or deciding of the deputies, and without the examinatiõ of the .xij. men, or any rite or order. The which, except myne eyes had beheld ⁊ ſeene, I would ſcarſly beleue, if an other man ſhould report it vnto me, of him: Neither do I yet knowe, whether I may ſufficiently credite my ſelfe, the matter ſemeth ſo horrible: for I doo not ſee by what authoritie his concluſion doth ſtande, except it be by the authoritie of his kyng whom he ſayth will haue it ſo. But you moſt reuerent fathers take hede that ye bring in no ſuche cuſtome: for ſo it ſhall come to paſſe, that in all matters, a fewe frowarde prelates ſhall haue one to conclude for them.

He mea neth Pa normita which d conclud withou the exa nation o the.xii. men.

And albeit Panormitane hath proued (as he thinketh) by ſtrong reaſons that the veritie ought to be deferred, yet notwithſtandyng I do require you moſt reuerent fathers, to folow the example of the Apoſtle, who (as Arelatenſis hath very well declared) would not geue one houres reſpite vnto Peter, when he ſwarued from the truth of the Goſpell. The fayth is ſpedely to be relieued and holpen, neither doth any thyng ſuſteine more daunger by delayes, then faythe doth. For hereſies, excepte they be rooted out at ẏ firſt, when they are once growẽ, are hardly taken away. Wherfore I deſire you ſpedely to helpe and aide. Hoyſe vp your ſayles, and launch out your ores. What ſhould we tarye looking for either the prelates or the Princes? You are now in conflict: I onely deſire that you would haſtẽ vnto ẏ victory. Regard not the threatnyngs of thoſe Princes, neither the opprobries of thoſe contumelious perſons, for you are bleſſed ſayth the Lord, when as men curſe you ⁊ perſecute you, ſpeakyng all euill agaynſt you, makyng lyes and ſlaunders vpon you for my ſake: reioyce and bee glad, for great is your reward in heauen. What is it I pray you that the princes doo ſomuche obiect agaynſte vs? Is not oure Lord God able to take vs out of the furnace of burning fyre, and deliuer vs out of the handes of thoſe princes? I beſeche you moſte reuerent fathers and louyng brethren, haue no leſſe hope in Ieſu Chriſt, then Sydrac, Myſaac, and Abdenago had, which feared not that old kyng Nabuchodonoſor: ⁊ let the Princes know, that the moſt hygheſt ruleth ouer the kyngdomes of men, and geueth them vnto whom he pleaſeth. God beholdeth all thinges frõ aboue (he is I ſay) in the middeſt amongeſt vs, wherfore are ye then afrayd? Be of good courage, and ſhowe your ſelues as a ſtrong wall for the church of God: ſuffer not ẏ fayth to periſh vnder your hãdes. The almighty God is preſent with you. He is preſent that will defende you. Feare not them whiche ſeke onely to kyll the body. Do iuſtice and equitie, and be aſſured that he will not deliuer you ouer into the hãdes of the backbiter and ſlaunderer. Againe I ſay vnto you, ſhow your ſelues valiaunt and ſtout: Defend your mother the churche. And vnto thee, O thou preſident I ſay that thou oughteſt rather to pleaſe God then man, for if thou departe hence without a finall concluſion, knowe aſſuredly, that thou ſhalt render accompt in the ſtraight iudgement of God. And thus without any more woordes, he ſate downe in hys place.

Paule woulde geue to P ter no re ſpyte, w he ſwaru a wrye.

Marke th great con ſtancie an Chriſtian zeale of this man.

An exhor tation to cõſtancie

In the meane tyme, many graue and auncient men had exhorted Panormitane that he ſhould geue ouer hys concluſion. The Byſhop of Burgen was very inſtaunt ⁊ earneſt with him, that he ſhould make vnitie and cõcord amongeſt the fathers, and went about to make an vnitie withall men. But neither the fathers of the Councell were determined to departe without a concluſion, neither Panormitane was mynded to alter hys intent and purpoſe.

The biſhop of Burgen ſeeketh concord.

purpoſe. All thynges were diſturbed, neither did the prelates ſit in their ſeates, as they were accuſtomed, but as euery mans affection led him. Some went to the Cardinall Arelatenſis, ſome vnto Panormitane and exhorted them, as if they had bene Princes or rulers of armyes. Then Arelatenſis knowing the matter to be in daunger, and that there was no ready way to make a concluſion, thought to vſe ſome policie, to appeaſe the tumult.

ow men ready to ure ews.

Moſt reuerēt fathers ſayd he, we haue receiued new letters out of Fraunce, whiche declare vnto me maruelous thynges: that there are incredible newes ſpronge vp there: whiche if you will geue me willyng audience, I will declare vnto you. By this meanes there was a ſodaine ſilence throughout the whole Councell, & by this meruailous policie he made all men attentiue to heare. When as he ſaw he had free libertie to ſpeake, without either fable or hiſtorye of any letters ſent, he opened the whole order of the matter, & as it is requiſite in an Orator, came by litle and litle vnto the principall point, ſaying, that Eugenius meſſengers had filled al Fraunce, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the autoritye of the biſhop of Rome, aboue the generall councels: agaynſt whō, except ſpedy remedy were found, it would come to paſſe, that many would geue credit vnto them, and therfore the ſacred councel ought of neceſſity, to prouide remedye, and of neceſſitye to conclude vppon the verities which were examined, that therby ẏ temerity of the Eugenians might be repreſſed: which verities, albeit they were .viij. in nūber, yet was it not the Fathers intent to conclude vpon them all, but only the three firſt: euen as I alſo (ſaith he) here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

ote the lly po- cye of the ardinall.

he cōclu- on of the ouncell.

When he had finiſhed his Oration, with a chereful and mery countenaunce riſing vp, he departed. Some of them kiſſed him, and ſome of them kyſſed the ſkyrtes of his garmentes. A great nomber followed hym, and greatly cōmended his wiſedome, that he being a French man borne, had that day vanquiſhed the Italians, which were men of great pollicy. Howbeit thys was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the holy ghoſt, thē by the Cardinals own power. The other of the contrary faction, as men bereft of their myndes, hanging downe their heades, departed euery man to his lodging. They went not together, neyther ſaluted one another: ſo that their countenaunces declared vnto euerye man that they were ouercome. Something more alſo is reported of Panormitane, that when hee came to hys lodging, and was gone vnto his chamber, he complained with hym ſelfe vpon his Kyng, whych had compelled hym to ſtryue agaynſt the truth, and put both his ſoule and good name in daunger of loſyng: and ẏ in the middeſt of his teares and complaintes he fell a ſleepe, and did eate no meate vntil late in the euening for very ſorrowe, for that he had neyther ignorantly, neither vnwillingly impugned the truth.

he holy hoſt wor ng a- inſt the pe.

he ſorow Panor tane for pugning e truth.

After this, there was great conſultatiō amongs ẏ Eugenians, what were beſt to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart & leaue the Councell: other ſome thought it meeter to tary, & with all endeuour to reſiſt ẏ nothyng ſhould further be done againſt Eugenius: & this opinion remained amongſt them. The next day after, beyng the xxv. day of Aprill, the Archbiſhop of Lions and the biſhop of Burgen, callyng together ẏ prelates into the Chapter houſe of the great church, beganne manye thynges as touchyng peace. The biſhop of Burgen perſwaded ẏ there ſhould be deputations appointed ẏ daye, vnto whom the Archb. of Lions ſhould geue power to make an agrement. Unto whom anſwere was made, as they thought, very roughly, but as other iudged, gentelly, but notwithſtanding iuſtly and truely: For, they ſaid there could be no vnitie or concord made, before the aduerſaries confeſſed their fault and aſked pardon therfore. The day followyng, ẏ ſaid biſhop of Burgen, wt the other Lombards & Cathelans, went vnto the Germains, & frō thence vnto the Senate of ẏ citie, ſpeakyng much as touching ẏ prohibityng of ſchiſmes. The Germains referred thēſelues to thoſe thinges which the deputatiō ſhould determine. The Senate of the citie (as they were great men of wiſdome, which would do nothyng wythout diligent aduice & deliberation) anſwered, that the matter pertayned not vnto them, but vnto the councell: The fathers wherof, were moſt wyſe men, and wer not ignorant what pertayned vnto the Chriſtian fayth, and if there were any daunger toward, it ſhould be declared vnto the Councell & not to ẏ Senate: For they beleued ẏ the elders of ẏ cōuncell, if they were premoniſhed, would foreſee ẏ there ſhould no hurt happen: as for the Senate of ẏ citie, it was their duety only to defend the fathers & to preſerue the promiſe of the city. With this aunſwere the biſhop of Burgen departed. In the meane tyme the fathers of the councel had drawen out a forme of a decree vpon the former concluſions, and had approued the ſame in the ſacred deputations. By thys tyme the princes Orators were returned frō the aſſembly at Mentz, & holdyng a councel among themſelues, they had determined to let ẏ decree: The ix. day of May there was a generall conuocatiō holden, wherunto all mē reſorted, eyther part puttyng forth himſelfe vnto the conflict. The princes ambaſſadours were called by the biſhop of Lubick and Conrad de VVinſperg the protectour into the quier, and there kept: wheras they intreated of a vnitie, & by what means it myght be had, and there they taried longer then ſome thought to do: the which matter gaue occaſion to bryng thynges well to paſſe, beyond all expectation. The onely forme of the decree was appointed to be concluded that day: wherupon, as ſoone as Cardinall Arelatenſis perceiued the congregation to be full, and that the twelue men had agreed, and that there was great expectation wyth ſilence, he thoughte good not to delay it for feare of tumult, but commaunded by and by the publike concordaunces to be reade: wherein this was alſo conteined, that the Cardinall Arelatenſis might appoynt a Seſſion whenſoeuer he would. Which beyng read, he beyng deſired by the promotors, concluded accordyng as the maner and cuſtome is. The Ambaſſadors of the princes beyng yet in the quier, as ſone as they vnderſtood how the matter paſſed, beyng verye much troubled and vexed, they brake of their talke, imputting al things to the biſhop of Lubecke, which of purpoſe had kept them in the quier and protracted the time. Wherupon they entring into the congregation, filled ẏ church full of complaintes. Firſt of all, the Oratour of Lubecke complayned bothe in hys owne name and the name of the protectour, as touching the concluſion, and required the councell woulde reuoke the ſame. If that might be graunted, he promiſed to intreat a peace, and to be a procter betwene the councell & the ambaſſadors of the Princes. But the Archebiſhop of Turnon ſayde, ẏ it ſeemed vnto him euery man to haue free libertie to ſpeake againſt that lawe which ſhould be promulgate, vntill the Seſſion, when as the Canons ſhould be conſecrated and receyue their force: when as the Biſhops in their pontificalibus, after the readyng of the decree in the Seſſion, ſhoulde aunſwer that it pleaſed them: otherwiſe the demaund which was made by the promoters in the Seſſion, to be but vayne: and for that the concluſions were not yet allowed in the Seſſion, therefore he ſayd ẏ he might without rebuke, ſpeake ſomewhat as touching ẏ ſame, and ẏ it was a great & hard matter, & not to be knit vp in ſo ſhort a time, & that he had ẏ knowledge thereof but euen nowe: notwithſtanding that he beyng an archbiſhop, ought to haue knowne the matter, that at hys return home, he might informe the king and alſo inſtruct thoſe which were vnder him. And that

he by- op of ons and rgen.

he iuſte nſwere f the ouncell.

The aunſwere of them both.

The forme of the decree is written and approued.

The policie of the Cardinall Arelatenſis.

The byſhop of Tournowo.

The byſhop of Concen ſpeaketh.

he and his fellowes, before any ſeſſion ſhould be: would both heare and be heard of others. Neither doth it ſeme good vnto him that the Seſſion ſhould be holden, before report were made of thoſe thynges, which the Ambaſſadors of yͤ princes had done at Mentz, which would peraduenture be ſuch as might alter & chaunge the mindes of the fathers. Then the biſhop of Concen Ambaſſador of the kyng of Caſtle, which was alſo latelye retourned from Mentz, a man of greate vnderſtandyng, but lackyng vtteraunce, greuouſly cõplayned that the prelates were contẽned. Neyther had it bene (ſayd he) any great matter if they had bene taried for, whiche not without great daũger and expenſes, went to Mentz, not for their pleaſure, but of neceſſitie. And afterward, as it were ſmiling, he ſayd, how madde am I that would haue the prelates to be taried for vntill they retourne from Mentz, whẽ as they are not taried for, whiles they cã come out of yͤ quier of the Church: do therfore as ye liſte. If there ryſe any offence or miſchiefe hereupon, neither are we the ambaſſadours of Caſtel to be blamed, neither cã any mã of right impute any thyng to our moſt noble kyng.

Marke what the truth muſt ſuffer.

O marueilous deſpite & contumely in a byſhop: for if Arelatenſis had kepte whoores or concubynes, he would haue prayſed hym: But to maintaine learned men was a great offence.

The fathers of the councells ſlaundered by Panormitane.

iiii. ſignes to know the good from the badde.

Looke if it be not ſpoken of them in the Goſpell, where mention is made of the beaſt which is fallen into the ditche.

What is it that ambition will not doe.

Here were it to long to repeate, with what rebukes & tauntes they inueyed againſt cardinall Arelatenſis: but eſpecially the biſhop of Millaine railed moſt cruelly vpõ hym, ſayeng that he foſtred and maintayned a rable of Copiſtes and ſcholemaſters, and that he had concluded in matters of fayth with them: callyng him alſo another Cataline, vnto whome all deſperate and noughtye perſons had refuge: that he was theyr prince, and ruled the church with them: and that he would not geaue eare vnto the Embaſſadours of the moſt noble princes, or to the moſt famous prelates in this moſt weighty matter. Albagẽſis alſo, a mã of great nobility, deſcẽded of yͤ Emperours bloude, albeit he had neuer alienate his minde before from yͤ Councell: yet leaſt he ſhould ſeme to diſſente frõ other ambaſſadors of the princes, made yͤ lyke complaint as touchyng the contempt of the prelates. After this it came vnto Panormitan to ſpeake, who as hee had a greater vehemency in ſpeakyng: ſo alſo did he declare a more angry ſtomacke and mynde: for in the beginning of hys Oration, he ſeemed not to go about, accordyng to the precept of Oratours, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather there hatred: for he ſaid that our Sauiour ſheweth foure ſignes in the Goſpell, wherby we ſhoulde know the good from the reprobate: for he which is of God (ſayth he) heareth the wordes of God, but you heare not the wordes of God, becauſe ye are not of God. And agayne, he that doth euil hateth the lyght. And in an other place alſo, by their fruites you ſhall know thẽ. And a good tree can not bryng forth euill fruite. All whiche ſayinges he wreſted agaynſt the fathers of the Councell, becauſe they would not heare the wordes of God, that is to ſay, the words of peace, which the Ambaſſadours had ſpokẽ: becauſe they fledde frõ the lyght in the abſence of the Ambaſſadours, priuelye concluding, & becauſe in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy day, but had concluded therupon: alſo becauſe, they had yͤ vpper hand in yͤ foreſaid cõcluſiõ, not by reaſon, but by diſceit. As touching the fruits, he ſayd that the fathers themſelues ſhoulde meditate & conſider how that, if their fruits were not good, they alſo themſelues wer not good: and that he did ſee another councel at hand, where as he feared leaſt theſe concluſions ſhould be reuoked, as the fruit of an euill tree: and therefore, they ought not ſo ſodenlye to proceede in ſo waighty matters: and that he woulde be yet more fully heard before the Seſſion, as well in his owne name, becauſe he was an Archbiſhop, as in yͤ name of his prince which raigned not ouer one kingdome alone but ouer many: Alſo he ſayd that he heretofore by his wordes, dedes & writings, hath extolled the autoritie of the councell: and that he feared, leaſt by theſe meanes, yͤ autoritie therof ſhoulde be ſubuerted. At the laſt he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the councel, forſomuch as very ſorrow & griefe forced him to ſpeake ſo.

Abbot Virgiliacenſis.

Lodouicus the prothonotarie in labouring to ſeeme learned, forgotto be good.

The councells principally gathered the Crede.

The Abbot Vergiliacenſis woulde haue made aunſwere to thoſe thyngs whiche Panormitane had touched concernyng hys deputation: but Arelatenſis thought good that all the cõtrary part ſhould ſpeake firſt, amõgſt whom, laſt of all, Ludouicus the Prothonotarie, the Homere of the lawyers, roſe vp. And albeit that hee ſpake vnwillyngly, yet when he had begon, hee could not refraine his woordes. And whiles he went about to ſeme learned and eloquent, he vtterly forgat to bee good. Hee ſaid that yͤ Councel ought to take hede, yͭ they intreated no matter of fayth againſt the will of the prelates, leaſt any offẽce ſhould folow, for that ſome would ſay it were a matter of no force or effecte. For albeit that Chriſte choſe .xij. Apoſtles and .lxx. Diſciples, notwithſtandyng in the ſettyng forth of the Crede, onely the Apoſtles were preſent, therby (as it were) geuing example, that the matters of fayth did pertaine onely vnto the Apoſtles, and ſo conſequently only vnto Byſhops. Neither yͭ they ought haſtely to proceede in matters of fayth, whiche ought to bee clearely diſtincte, for ſomuch as Peter affirmeth the triall of fayth to be much more precious then golde, which is tried by the fire. And if the Byſhops be contemned, whiche are called the pillers and keyes of heauen, yͤ fayth can not ſeme to be well proued or examined. But at length he confeſſed, that the inferiours might determine with the Byſhops, but denyed that the leaſt part of the biſhops with the moſt part of the inferiors might determine any thyng. Frõ thence he paſſyng to the matter of fayth, ſayd that thoſe verities wherupon queſtion was now had, were Articles of fayth, if they were verities of fayth. And for ſomuch as euery man ſhould bee bound for to beleue thoſe, therfore he would be better inſtructed and taught in that matter whiche he ſhould beleue as an Article of fayth. Neither ſhould it be comely for the Councell to deny him his requeſt, whiche according to the rule of yͤ Apoſtle, ought to be ready, to giue accompt vnto euery man whiche ſhall require it, touchyng the fayth whiche it holdeth.

The oratiõ of Cardinall Arelatenſis.

To the imperiall ambaſſadours.

To the ambaſſadours of Fraunce.

To the byſhop of Concence.

After euery man had made an end of ſpeakyng, the Cardinall Arelatenſis callyng hys ſpirites together, made an Oration wherin he aunſwered nowe the one, & now the other. And firſt of all he cõmended the deſires of yͤ Imperiall Ambaſſadours, which offred to intreat a peace & vnitie, but neither neceſſity, nor honeſty (he ſaid) woulde ſuffer thoſe thinges which are concluded to be reuoked. He aũſwered alſo that the peticion of yͤ Ambaſſadors of Fraũce is moſt iuſt, in that they required, to be inſtructed touching the faith: & that the Councell would graunt their requeſt, and ſend vnto them certayne Diuines, which ſhoulde inſtruct them at home at their lodginges: but the matter was already concluded & could no more be brought in queſtion: That the Seſſion was onely holden, rather to beautify the matter, then to confirme the ſame. And as touching that which the Biſhop of Concen ſo greatly complayneth of, he doth not much marueile: for he coulde not knowe the proceſſe of the matter when he was abſent, who being better inſtructed, he ſuppoſed would ſpeake no more any ſuch words, forſomuch as a iuſt mã would require no vniuſte thing. Alſo that his proteſtation had no euil ſenſe or meaning, in that he would not haue it imputed, neither vnto him, neither vnto his king, if any offence ſhoulde ryſe vpon the concluſions. Notwithſtanding it is not to be feared, that any euill ſhould ſpring of good woorkes. But vnto the biſhop of Millane he would anſwer nothing, becauſe he ſaw him ſo moued and troubled, for feare of multiplying more greuous & haynous wordes. As for Panormitane he reſerued vnto yͤ laſt. But vnto Lodouicus the Prothonotary, which deſired to be inſtructed, he ſayd: he willed him to be ſatiſfied wͭ the words which were ſpoken vnto the biſhop of Turnon. Notwithſtādyng, he left not this vntouched which Lodouicus had ſpoken concerning the Apoſtles Crede. For albeit that in the ſettyng forth of the Crede, the Apoſtles be onelye named, yet it doth not follow (ſayth he) that they onelye were preſent at the ſetting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftē times that princes are commended and prayſed as chiefe autors and doers of thinges, when as notwythſtandyng they haue other helpers, as it appeareth in battayles, which although they haue fought wͭ the force of al yͤ ſoldiors, yet the victory therof is imputed but vnto a few. As in theſe our dayes, they do aſcribe al things which yͤ army doth either fortunately or wiſely, vnto Nicolas Picenius, that moſt valiant captayn, which hath obtayned ſo many famous victories: albeit that oftentimes other haue bene the inuentors of the policie, and woorkers of the feate. And therefore Lodouicus ought to knowe and vnderſtande, that they are not onelye articles of fayth which are contayned in the Crede, but all other determinations made by the Councels, as touchyng the fayth. Neyther is he ignoraunt, that there be ſome articles of the Crede which we now vſe in the church, that wer not put to by the Apoſtles, but afterward by generall councels: as that part wherein mention is made of the holye Ghoſt, which the councel of Lyons did adde. In whych councell alſo it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiours did iudge together with the Byſhops. But for ſo much as he had ſufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before paſſed, he woulde ſtaye no longer thereupon. But comming vnto Panormitan, he rehearſed hys words: Qui ex deo eſt, verba dei audit, he that is of god, heareth gods word. Which is very wel takē out of the Ghoſpell, but not well applied vnto the councell (ſaide he): for he firmely beleued, that his predeceſſours haue iudged, the holye Ghoſt to bee in the middeſt of the councels, and therefore the words of the councel to be yͤ wordes of the holy Ghoſt: which if any man do reiect, he denieth himſelfe to be of God. Neither doth the councell hate the light, which doth all thinges publikelye and openly, whoſe congregations are euident vnto all men, neither doth it as the conuenticles of the aduerſaries, admitte ſome, and exclude other ſome. Moreouer, the thinge whiche is now in hande, was begon to bee entreated of for two monethes ago, and firſt the concluſions wer largely diſputed vpon in the diuinity ſchooles, & afterward ſent vnto Mentz & other places of yͤ world.

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After all this, the fathers were called into the Chapter houſe of the great Church, to the nomber of .120. amongeſt whom Panormitane which now complayneth, was alſo preſent, and according to his maner, did learnedlye and ſubtillye diſpute, and had libertye to ſpeake what he woulde. Likewiſe in the deputations, euerye man ſpake his mynde freely, and in that deputation where Panormitane was, the matter was three dayes diſcuſſed. After this the .xij. men dyd agree vpon it, and the generall congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there bene at any time any thing more ripely or exactlye handled, both openly, and alſo without any fraud or deceite. And whereas the deputation did ſitte vpon a holy daye, there is no hurt in that, neither is it anye newe or ſtrange thing, foraſmuch as they haue often holdē theyr Seſſions vpon feſtiuall daies, when as the matter hath had haſt, & ſpecially for that yͤ matter of faith hath no holy daies. And further he ſayd yͭ he did not conclude craftely & diſceitfully, in yͤ cōgregatiō, as Panormitan hath reported, but publikely and openlye at the requeſt of the Promotors. Neyther hath anye man any iuſte cauſe to complayne vpon him, forſomuch as, whē he was made Preſidente, he was ſworne that alwaies when .iiij. or three of the deputations did agree, he ſhould conclude thereupon. And forſomuch as he had already concluded, in diuers cauſes touchinge the Pope, hee ſawe no cauſe why he ſhoulde not conclude in the matter of fayth, for that he was a Cardinall, and dyd weare hys read hatte for thys purpoſe, that hee ſhould ſhede hys bloud in the defence of the fayth. Neither hath he done any thinge nowe againſte the Pope, for that omittinge the fiue concluſions touching Eugenius, hee had concluded but onely the generall concluſions: which except he had done, the fathers ſhould haue had iuſt cauſe to complain againſt him (in that they truſting in his fidelity & faythfulnes, had choſen him Preſident) if by him they ſhoulde now be forſaken in this moſt neceſſarye cauſe of fayth. And turning him ſelfe vnto the people, he deſired the fathers to be of good comfort, for ſo much as he would neuer forſake them, yea although he ſhoulde ſuffer death: for he had geuen his faith and fidelity vnto the councell, which he would obſerue and keepe, neither ſhould anye mās flattery or threatnings put him from his purpoſe: that he would be alwayes readye to do whatſoeuer the councell ſhould commaund him, and neuer leaue the cōmaundementes of the deputies by any meanes vnperformed.

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ſorte of choſē men, which did diſcuſſe and determine thoſe thinges which the fathers dyd conclude vpon.

Verely this is no Babilonical Cardinal but of the immaculate ſpouſe Ieſus Chriſt.

He ſpeaketh to the whole councell.

As touching that Panormitan had extolled the autority of yͤ Councell, he ſayd that he was greatly to be thanked. But yet he oughte to vnderſtande and knowe the authority of the councell to be ſuche, as cannot be augmented or increaſed by any mans prayſe or commendation, or be diminiſhed by any opprobry or ſlaūder. Theſe thinges thus premiſed, he commaunded the forme of the decree to be read. Then Panormitane and thoſe whych tooke his part, would needes haue a certaine proteſtation to be firſt read. Ther was great contention on euery ſide. Notwithſtādyng at the laſt, Arelatēſis preuailed, & the forme of yͤ decree was red vnto this word, Decernimus, yͭ is to ſay, we decree. Then Panormitane riſing vp, would not ſuffer it to be heard any further: And the biſhop of Catauia cried out ſaying, that it was vncomly that Arelatenſis, with a fewe other Biſhops by name, ſhoulde conclude the matter. The lyke did alſo all thoſe which fauoured Panormitane. The Cardinall of Terracouia alſo (which vntill that time had holden hys peace) did greuouſly rebuke hys partakers, that as men being a ſleepe or in a dreame, they did not reade the proteſtation, and commaunded by and by one of his familiars to rede it. But like as yͤ aduerſaries before did perturbe the reading of the concordances, ſo woulde not the Fathers of the councell now geue place to the reading of the proteſtation. Which when Albiganenſis did cōſider he commaunded the writing to be brought vnto hym, and as he began to ſpeake, ſodainly Arelatenſis roſe vp, with a great nomber of the Fathers to depart: whyche thing pleaſed the Cardinall of Terraconia and Panormitane very well, for that they hoped that they alone wyth their adherentes, ſhould remayne in the church. They exhorted Arelatenſis to reuoke the concluſion, and to make an other.

Euery man may determine in matters of fayth hauynge the ſcripture on his parte.

Contention in the councell about reading the proteſtation.

There was in that congregation in his place George the Prothonotary of Bardaxina, ſittyng ſomewhat beneath his vncle, the Cardinall of Terraconia, a man but yong of age, but graue in wiſedome, and noble in humanitie: who as ſoone as he ſaw the Cardinall Arelatenſis riſe, he determined alſo to depart, and when as his vncle called him, commaundyng him to tary, he ſayd: God forbid father that I ſhould tary in your cōgregation, or do any thyng contrary to the othe which I haue taken. By whiche wordes he declared his excellent vertue and nobilitie, & admoniſhed our men whiche remained, of thoſe thynges which they had to do. His voyce was the voyce of the holy Ghoſt, and wordes more neceſſary, thē could be thought. For if he had not ſpoken that woorde the fathers of the Councell had peraduenture departed, and gone their way, and the other, remaining in the church,

How God worketh by occaſion.

had made an other concluſion, whiche they would haue affirmed to haue bene of force, becauſe they would ſay the laſt concluſion was to be receaued. But many being warned by the wordes of yͤ Prothonotarie, and callyng to remēbraunce the lyke chaunce of other Councels before, called backe againe the multitude whiche were departyng, ⁊ cried vpon the Cardinall and the Patriarke to ſit down agayn, ⁊ that they ſhould not leaue yͤ church voyde and quiet for theyr aduerſaries. Wherupon, ſodenlye all the whole multitude ſatte downe, and the gates were ſhut agayne. In the meane tyme Mathæus Albiganenſis a Biſhop, read the proteſtation to none els but to him ſelf alone, for it could not be heard for noyſe: which beyng ended, the Lombardes and the Cathelanes confirmed the proteſtation. Whē the Cardinall of Terraconia ſayd yͭ he did agrée to that diſſenſion, they maruailed at that ſaying. And when ſome ſmyled ⁊ laughed at him: what ſayd he, ye fooles, do ye mocke me? do not yͤ Ambaſſadors of my king diſſent frō you? What do you maruaile then if I do ſay, I do conſent vnto their diſſenſion? And with theſe wordes, he and almoſt all the Arragons Lombardes and Cathelanes departed, all the other taried ſtill. And albeit it was ſomewhat late (for it was paſt ij. at after none) Arelatenſis ſeyng the congregation quiet, commaunded the affaires of priuate perſons to be read, as the maner is: which beyng ended, he cōmaunded alſo the publike affaires to be read, and willed the cōcluſions and the forme of the decree to be read, agayne. There remayned in the congregation, the Ambaſſadors of the Empire and of Fraunce, talkyng together of theyr affaires. Notwithſtandyng the biſhop of Turnon heard mention made of the concluſions, and turnyng him ſelf to the Byſhop of Lubecke, ſayd: lo, the matters of fayth are now in hand agayn, let vs go hence I pray you that we be not an offence vnto others, or that we be not ſayd to diſſent from the other Ambaſſadours. To whom the Byſhop of Lubecke aunſwered: tary father, tary here, are not the concluſions moſt true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth? Theſe wordes were not heard of many, for they ſpake them ſoftely betwene them ſelues. Notwithſtanding I heard it, for I ſittyng at their féete, did diligently obſerue what they ſayd. Arelatenſis, after all things were read, which he thought neceſſary, at the requeſt of the deputies concluded, and ſo makyng an end diſmiſſed the congregation. Twiſe, it is declared, wͭ how great difficultie Arelatenſis concluded, for ſomuch as neither the matter nor the forme could be concluded without diſſenſion: *and the concluſions were miraculous, and paſt all mens hope, but were obteined by the induſtrie of Arelatenſis, or rather by the ſpeciall gift of the holy Ghoſt.

Albiganenſis readeth the proteſtation, but none could heare hym.

The affaires of the councell are red.

Eneas Syluius being preſent collected this.

Arelatenſis concludeth here, as he did alſo before, not without the conſent of the deputies, according to the order of the Councell.

*Eneas, you did not ſo praiſe this councell after you were byſhop your ſelfe.

After this, it was determined betwene the Lōbardes and Aragons to abſteine from the deputacions for a certaine tyme, whiche they did not long obſerue, notwithſtandyng the deputations were holden very quietly for a certeine ſpace: neither was there any thyng done worthy of remembraunce, vntill the .xv. day of May, duryng which tyme, all meanes poſſible were ſought to ſet a cōcorde betwene the fathers, but it would not be. Then Nicolas Amici promoter of yͤ faith, was called into the congregation, ⁊ briefly rehearſed thoſe thinges which were done yͤ daies before, and declared howe that Arelatenſis might point a Seſſion. Wherfore, for ſomuch as delay in matters of faith was daungerous, he required that a Seſſion ſhould be appointed againſt yͤ morow after, requiring the Cardinal for his dignities ſake, in yͭ he was called the principall of the church, and yͤ other byſhops, that (as they had promiſed in theyr conſecration) they would not now ſhrinke from the churche in theſe waightye affaires, and ſuffer the fayth to be oppreſſed: but the other inferiours he required vpon their othe which they had taken, to ſhewe them ſelues faythfull and conſtant herein. Then agayne there fell a great contention vpon theſe wordes: for Arelatenſis, as he was required, did appoint a Seſſion, and exhorted all men to be there preſent in their Robes. The Byſhop of Lubecke riſing vp, made a proteſtation in his owne name, and alſo in the name of his protector, that he would not conſent, that there ſhould be any Seſſion, if it ſhould in any part derogate frō yͤ agrement had at Mētz. Georgius Miles alſo, his felow Ambaſſadour conſented to this proteſtation. When as the protectour of the Councell appointed by the Emperour, vnderſtood him ſelfe for to be named by the byſhop of Lubecke, he meruailed a while what the matter ſhould be. But being certified by an interpreter, he aunſwered that he would in no caſe conſent vnto the proteſtation of the Byſhop of Lubecke, and that he did not knowe any thing of theyr doynges at Mentz. alſo yͭ he was ſent by the Emperour to the ſacred Councell, and hath his charge which he doth well remember, and would bee obedient thereunto. After whome the Byſhop of Concenſe, accordyng to his accuſtomed maner, made his proteſtation, ⁊ after hym alſo folowed Panormitane. Whoſe wordes before I will repeat, I deſire that no man would maruaile that I make mention ſo often of Panormitane: for it is neceſſary to declare the matter in order as it was done. It happened in theſe matters euen as it doth in warlike affaires: For as there, ſuch as are moſt valiaunte and ſtrong, and doo moſt worthy feates, obteine moſt fame, as in the battaile of Troy, Achilles and Hector: ſo in theſe ſpirituall warres and contentions, thoſe whiche moſt excell in learnyng and eloquence, and do more thē other, ſhould be moſt renounced and named: for on the one part Panormitane was prince and Captaine, on yͤ other, Arelatenſis: but his own will made not the one Captain, but onely neceſſitie, for it behoued hym to obey hys prince. Notwithſtandyng he was not ignoraunt of the truth and veritie, neither dyd he reſiſte willingly agaynſt it: for I haue ſene him often times in his librarye complaine of his prince, that he folowed other mens Councell. When as his tyme came to ſpeake, he ſayd that he did not a litle maruaile why the protector of yͤ fayth, ſhould require the Prelates to haue a Seſſion, which was nothyng perteinyng to his office, ⁊ that he ought not to vſurpe the Preſidētes place. And agayne he complayned, touchyng the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did preſently touch the ſtate of the Apoſtolike ſea, and for that cauſe the ſea ought to be heard before any Seſſion be holdē. Neither is it to be regarded (ſaid he) yͭ the coūcel of Cōſtance ſemeth to haue decréed, that it ſhould now be ſpoken of, For ſo much as pope Iohn was not heard at Conſtance, neither any mā els, to ſpeake for the ſea. By which wordes he ſeemed both to contemne and bring in doubt, all the decrees of that moſt great and ſacred Synode of Conſtance: therfore there was a great tumult, and all men cryed out with one voice, ſaying: that the Synode of Conſtance is holy, and yͤ authoritie therof ought to be inuiolate. But he, beyng ſtill inſtaunt, with a ſtoute and haute courage, affirmed that the matter coulde not bee finiſhed without the Ambaſſadours of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of fayth. And agayne that the Embaſſadours themſelues can not conſent, forſomuche as in the Colloqui holden at Mentz, they had promiſed yͭ during the treatie of peace by thē begunne, they would receiue and allow nothing that the Pope ſhould either doo againſt the councell, or the councell againſt the Pope: and that he douted not, but that the three firſt concluſions declared Eugenius an heretike, in ſomuch as it was euident, that Eugenius did vehementlye reſiſte the two firſt. And therefore, for ſo much as the Seſſion was not yet holdē, and that it was lawfull for euery man before yͤ Seſſion to ſpeake what he will, he deſired and required thē moſt inſtantly, that there myght be no Seſſion as yet holden. Vnto whom

Arela-

The byſhop of Lubeck.

Conrade Winsperg a baron.

Panermytan the Achilles of the Euge ans, and Arelatenſis the Hecto of the cou cell.

The papi extol tha which ma eth for their purpoſe, but the contra ry they co temne, wh ther it be ſcripture o prophane.

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all Italy ere were ly two elates

Arelatenſis anſwered, that it was not to be doubted, but that the promoter of the faythe, by his office myght call the prelates to determine a matter of faith, and ſpecially for ſo much as the deputation of the faythe and the whole councell, had ſo geuen him in commaundement. As touching the prelates, he ſaith, that albeit without al doubt biſhops haue chiefe authoritie: yet notwithſtandyng it is accuſtomed in councels, not to make any concluſiō in the name of the biſhops, but in the name of the whole councell: and the vniuerſall church hath decreed certayne lawes in this councell, which ſhould remayne inuiolate. Neither let the biſhops thinke the preſence of the inferiours greuous vnto them, when as oftentimes vnder a bare and torne coate, wyſdome lyeth hidde, and vnder riche veſtures and ornamentes, folly lurketh. Biſhops ought alſo to be myndeful of the ſaying of Domitius (which as ſaint Hierome reporteth) ſayd: why ſhuld I eſteme thee as a Prince, if thou dooſt not regarde me as a Senatour? For the biſhops ought to eſteme prieſts as prieſts, if they wil haue reuerence done vnto them as biſhops. Neyther ought the princes to bee looked for, to the decidyng of this matter, for ſo much as the churche is not congregated in the name of the princes: but in the name of Chriſt, which hath not receaued his power frō princes, but immediatly from God: to the defence wherof, he ſhould perceiue the inferiors to be no leſſe incouraged then the biſhops, for that he did wel vnderſtand and know, that they would not onely ſpend their temporall goodes, but alſo their lyues for the defence therof. As for ſome biſhops, rather then they will looſe any parte of their temporalties, will ſell the libertie of the church vnto the princes and make them iudges & lordes ouer yͤ councell. As touchyng the actes at Mentz, he doth not regard thē, for ſo much as (as it is ſayd) they accompted without their hoſte: for he ſaith, he doth not vnderſtand how this can be, that they had decreed neyther to obey yͤ pope, nor yͤ councel. The one or yͤ other they muſt needes be obedient vnto: for there is no third tribunall, wherunto any obedience is due in theſe matters which concerne yͤ fayth & the ſaluation of ſoules: And finally that the church would not ſuffer that their affayres and matters of fayth ſhould be determined by the iudgement of princes, for the holy ghoſt is not ſubiect vnto princes but princes vnto him: and vpon this cōcluſion he would not feare, neither the loſſe of his goods, neither any death or martyrdome. And wheras Panormitan doth now ſhew himſelf ſo great a defender of Eugenius, he ſaith that he doth not a litle meruaile at it, for yͤ in tymes paſt no mā hath more publiſhed Eugenius errors then he: by whoſe ſpecial labour and councel, both a decrée monitory, and alſo the ſuſpenſion was admitted and ſet out agaynſte Eugenius: And now, wheruppon this ſodayne chaunge ſhould come, he ſaith that he was vtterly ignoraunt, for ſo muche as neyther Eugenius had altered his life, neither could yͤ church cōtinue in ſuch a ſchiſme. Wherfore he deſired Panormitane diligently to conſider, whether he ſpake according to hys conſciēce or not: for (ſaith he) the concluſions which now ſhall be decréed, are moſte generall: neyther is there any mention in them of the Pope, and moreouer the veritie of fayth is conteyned in them: againſt the whiche if Eugenius did contende, it were more meete that the pope ſhould be corrected, then the veritie omitted. And thus he makyng an ende, all were warned to come the next day vnto the Seſſiō. The protectour alſo deſired the ſacred Councell, that none ſhould be ſuffred to bring any weapon into the Seſſion, Forſomuch as he was ready to obſerue the ſafecōduict of the Emperour, and together with the Senate of the citie, to prohibite all quarelers for doyng of iniury.

Whē yͤ xvi. day of May was come, all they whom the Seſſion cōtented & pleaſed, aſſēbled at yͤ houre. The ambaſſadours alſo of yͤ princes, were come together into yͤ quire of the church, to attempt further what they could do, & ſendyng yͤ biſhops of Lubecke & Concenſe, and the Deane of Turnon an excellent learned man, they offred themſelues to be preſent at the Seſſion, if that the depoſition of Eugenius might yet be deferred foure monthes. Who when they had receiued a gentle aunſwer of Arelatenſis, and the other principals, returning agayne vnto the Embaſſadoures, they woulde onelye haue the firſte concluſion decreed, and therupon ſent agayne vnto Arelatenſis: vnto whome aunſwere was made, that the chiefe force dyd conſiſt in the two other concluſions, and that the Councell would ſpecially determine vpon them. If the Ambaſſadors woulde not bee preſent, they ſhould vnderſtand that the concord was broken by thē, which woulde not obſerue that which they had offered. With which anſwer they departed, and the Seſſion began to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of the Aragons preſent at it, neither out of Spaine: and out of Italy onely the biſhop of Groſſetane, and the Abbot of Dona, which for their conſtancy and ſtedfaſt good wil toward the vniuerſall church, could not be chaunged from their purpoſe, but of Doctors and other inferiours, ther were a great nomber of Aragons, and almoſt all the inferiours of Spain and Italy (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the biſhops did) and then the worthye ſtoutnes of the Aragons and Cathelanes appeared in the inferiour ſort, which would not ſhrinke away in the neceſſity of the church. Of the two other nations there were only preſent. xx. biſhoppes. The reſidue lurked in their lodgings, profeſſing yͤ faith in their hartes, but not in their mouthes. Arelatenſis conſideryng afore what woulde come to paſſe, cauſed prayers to bee made, and after their prayers made vnto almightye God, with teares and lamentation, that he woulde ſende them hys holye ſpirite to ayde and aſſiſt them, they were greatlye comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not manye biſhoppes preſent, yet all the ſeates were filled with the Byſhops Proctors, Archdeacons, preſidents, Priours, Priſts and Doctors of both lawes, which I iudged to be about the nomber of. 400. or more: amongeſt whom there was no noyſe, no chiding, no opprobrious wordes or contentiō, but one exhorted another to the profeſſion of the fayth, and there appeared a full and whole conſent of them all to defend the church. The biſhop of Maſsilia a noble mā, red the decree, which was attentiuelye harkened vnto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended: Te deum laudamus was ſong with great ioy and gladneſſe, and ſo the Seſſion diſſolued, which was in nomber the xxxiij. Seſſion, and amongeſt all the reſt the moſt quiet and peaceable.

The day following, being the. xvij. day of Maye, the Princes Ambaſſadours without all mens expectation, came vnto the generall congregation, by that their doing at the leaſt, geuing their aſſent vnto the ceſſion before paſſed. In celebrating whereof, if the fathers had erred, it had not bene lawfull for the Princes and Ambaſſadours, to haue holden the councell with thoſe fathers. But it was thoughte that they were touched wyth remorſe of conſcience, and euen nowe to deteſt and abhor that which they had done: as it was not hydden to tha Ambaſſadours of the Empire & Fraunce. For the Byſhop of Lubecke ſayd, that the cauſe of his abſence was, for that hee was appointed by the Emperoures commaundement, to intreate a peace: Wherfore it was not comely for him to be preſent at any buſines, whereby he ſhould be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace ſhuld be intreated. Notwithſtanding he did much commends the Seſſion before holden, and beleued the decree therin promulgate to be moſt good and holye, and the verities therein contayned to be vndoubted, & ſayd yͤ he woulde ſticke therunto both now, and euen vnto the death. But the biſhoppe of Turnoun, a man both learned and eloquent

found which ſought the cōmoditie of the vniuerſall churche, in Spaine there was none.

Prayers made with teares.

Amongſt 400. doctors that were preſent, there was not one ill words.

The. xxxiij. Seſſion.

The Embaſſadours conſente to the former Seſsion.

quent, ſpeaking for him & his fellowes, ſayd, ẏ he heard, how ẏ they were euill ſpoken of amōgeſt ſome, in ẏ they had not honoured their king in that moſt ſacred Seſſion, whom it becommed ſpeciallye to exalt & defende the fayth: which alſo for that cauſe aboue all other kynges was named moſt chriſten: notwithſtādīng he ſaid ẏ they had a lawfull excuſe, in that it was conuenient that they which were ſent to intreate peace, ſhould do nothing wherby their ambaſſade ſhould be ſtopped or letted. Alſo there are ij. kindes of iniuſtice (ſayd he) wherby either thinges are done that ſhould not be done, or things that ſhould not be done, are done. The firſt doth not alwaies binde, becauſe it is conuenient to haue reſpect of time, place, and perſon. But the laſt doth alwayes bynde, wherein, he ſayd, they were not culpable. But as toutouching the firſt poynt, they might ſeme vnto ſome to haue erred, becauſe they were not preſent at the Seſſiō: but yet in this poynt they had ſufficiēt to anſwer, forſomuche as, if they had beene preſent at that Seſſion, they ſhould haue bene vnmete to haue intreated anye peace with Eugenius: And therefore albeit they were wantyng at ſo holy a buſines, in that poynt they followed the example of Paule, which albeit he deſired to be diſſolued & to be wt Chriſt, yet for the further profit & aduancement of ẏ church, it was deferred. So likewiſe he ſayd, ẏ they had now done, for ẏ they were not abſent becauſe they doubted of the concluſions (which they iudged to bee moſt true and holy, & wherunto they would ſticke euen vnto death) but becauſe they would not be vnmete for ẏ treaty of peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in their own perſon, they had fulfilled (ſayd he) by theyr ſeruauntes & houſholde, whom altogether they cōmaunded to reuerēce ẏ Seſſion. I would ẏ I had bene then in ẏ place of ſome great prelate: ſurely they ſhould not haue gon vnpuniſhed, which thought to haue played bo peepe. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treaty of peace? Or if it do hurt, why is not he counted as great an offender, which conſenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What ſhall we nede any further teſtimonye? for now the Ambaſſadours of the Princes haue declared Eugenius to be an enemye vnto ẏ truth. But to paſſe ouer theſe thinges, it is ſufficient that Eugenius wrote afterwarde vnto the king of Fraunce, ẏ he dyd vnderſtand the biſhop of Turnon to be become his enemye.

Two kindes of iniuſtice.

O *Æneas*, you ſhould haue vſed ſuch ſinceritie whē you were pope.

Beholde, the princes ambaſſadours declare Eugenius an enemy vnto the truth.

After that the biſhop of Tournon had made an end, Cardinall Arelatenſis gaue thankes vnto God, whiche had ſo defended hys Churche, and after great ſtormes and cloudes, had ſent faire and cleare weather: and cōmendyng the good will of the Emperour and the king of Fraunce toward the churche, he alſo prayſed the byſhops of Lubecke and Turnon, for that oftētymes in the councel, and alſo of late at Mentz, they had defēded the autoritie of the councell. But ſpeciallye he commended this their preſent doynges, that they had openly confeſſed the truthe, and had not ſequeſtred themſelues from the fayth of the church.

Arelatenſis cōmendeth the ambaſſadours.

Afterward, he entryng into the declaration of the matter, ſayd that he was at Pyſis and at Conſtance, and neuer ſaw a more quiet or deuout ſeſſion then this, affyrmyng ẏ this decre was moſt neceſſary, to repreſſe ẏ ambition of ẏ biſhops of Rome, which exalting thēſelues aboue the vniuerſal church, thought it lawful for thē to do all things after their own pleaſure, & that no one mā frō henceforth ſhould tranſport the coūcel frō one place to an other, as Eugenius attempted to do, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, thē again to Bononia, after to Ferraria, & after that again to Florētia, and ẏ hereafter ẏ biſhops ſhould withdraw their mindes from the carefulnes of temporall goodes, which (as he himſelfe dyd ſee) had no mynde at all on ſpirituall matters: and therfore by how much this ſeſſion was moſt holy & neceſſary, by ſo much more ẏ aſſent of ẏ ambaſſadors was moſt laudable & acceptable to all the fathers. Theſe wordes thus ſpoken, he roſe vp, and the congregation was diſſolued.

This Councell was gathered to take away the ambition of the Byſhops of Rome, that they ſhould not thinke they myght do all thinges according to their own pleaſure: and further to reuoke them from the care of temporall thinges vnto ſpirituall thinges, which now they regarded not.

Now, after that Gabriell Condulmarius was depoſed from the byſhopricke of Rome, the principall fathers of the Councell being called together in the chapter houſe of ẏ great church, cōſulted together, whether it were expedient ẏ a new biſhop ſhould be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good ẏ the election ſhoulde be done with ſpede, ſhewed how daungerous a thing it was, for ſuch a congregatiō to be wtout a head: alſo what a peſtiferous ſicknes was in all ẏ citie, which not only conſumed yong mē & children: but alſo men of myddle age, & old mē in lyke maner, and that this plage came firſt by ſtraungers vnto ẏ poore of ẏ citie, & ſo had infected ẏ riche, & now was come vnto the fathers of the Councell: amplifieng moreouer, and encreaſing the terrour therof, and making the thing worſe thē it was, as the maner is. Neither doth the decrée (ſayd they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is prouided that there ſhould be delay of. lx. dayes after the ſea is voyde: for that is to be vnderſtande, when as the ſea is voyde at ſuch time as there is no Councell holden, neither ought wee to tary or make any delaye, leſt the Princes beyng perſwaded by Gabriell, ſhould reſiſt: Vnto whom the depoſition of Gabriell, and the election of ſome other, is to bee certified all vnder one meſſage. The other whiche thought good that there ſhould be a delay, ſayd: that the Councell did lacke no head, for ſomuch as Chriſt was the head therof: neither dyd lacke a ruler, for ſomuch as it was gouerned by the Preſidentes and other officers: and ẏ no mentiō ſhould be made of any peſtilence in ſuch a caſe, ſeing that, vnto ſtout & ſtrong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thyng daunt or feare them whiche contend for the Chriſtian faith. As for that peſtilence whiche doth nowe increaſe & grow in the Citie, for aſmuch as iudgement is now geuē, it is to be hoped ẏ it will aſſwage, whiche was thought to haue come for the neglectyng of iuſtice. Alſo that in ſo doubtfull a matter, they ought rather to vſe the princes agaynſt theyr will, then to neglect them: and ẏ it is not to be feared, but that in this caſe, God wil helpe thoſe that are ſtout and valiaunt. The matter beyng thus diſcuſſed amongeſt them, (albeit that there was as many myndes, as there was men) yet it ſeemed vnto them all, that it was moſt profitable to chuſe the Byſhop by and by, but moſt honeſt to deferre it.

The councell doth deliberate vpon the popes election.

Lx.dayes muſt be delayd after the ſea is voyde.

Note the Chriſtian zeale of theſe men, which woulde refuſe no daunger for Gods cauſe.

Here vppon Ihon Segouius, a man of excellent learnyng, ſayd: Moſt reuerent fathers, I am diuerſly drawn by ſundry reaſons, to this ſide and that. But as I way the matter more depely in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come to a ſpedy election, it ſemeth good, to ſpeake after mans iudgement: but to delay it for. ij. monethes, to ſpeake after gods iudgement, it ſemeth much better. I do iudge that not only the wordes, but alſo the meanyng of our decree, ought to be obſerued. Wherfore, if ye will geue any credite vnto me, folow rather daungerous honeſty, then ſecure vtility: albeit that, in dede, vtilitie can not be diſcerned from honeſty. This opinion of delay tooke place among the fathers, and they determined to ſtay, for the ſpace of. ij. monethes.

Iohn Segouius.

Daūgerous honeſtye preferred before ſecure vtilitie.

In the meane tyme, meſſengers were ſent vnto the princes to declare the depoſition of Eugenius by the Synode, and publiſh it abroad.

Duryng this tyme, the corrupt aire was nothing at all purged, but the mortalitie dayly increaſing, many dyed and were ſicke. Whereupon a ſodaine feare came vpon the fathers. Neither were they ſufficiently aduiſed what they might do: for they thought it not to be without daunger, eyther to depart or to tary. Notwithſtanding they thought it good to tarye, and alſo they cauſed other to tary: that ſince they had ouercome famine, and the aſſaultes of their enemies on earth, they would not ſeme to ſhrinke for the perſecution of any plage or ſickenes. But for ſomuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politickly prouided, that the Councell ſhould not ſeme to bee diſſolued for any mans departure. And for the more eſtabliſhment of yͤ matter, there were certaine thynges read before the fathers, whiche they called De Stabilimento, whoſe authoritie continued long time after. When as the Dogge dayes were come, and that all herbes wythered with heat, the peſtilence encreaſed dayly more and more, that it is vncredible how many dyed. It was to horrible to ſee the corſes hourely caryed thorowe the ſtreates, whē on euery ſide there was weping, wayling, and ſighing. There was no houſe voyde of mournyng: no myrthe or laughter in no place, but matrones bewayling theyr huſbandes, and the huſbandes theyr wiues. Men & women went through the ſtreates, and durſt not ſpeake one vnto an other. Some taried at home, and other ſome that went abroade, had perfumes to ſmel vnto, to preſerue them againſt the plage.

A great peſtilence in Baſill,

The common people dyed without nomber: and like as in the colde Autumne, the leaues of the trees do fall, euen ſo dyd the youth of the citie conſume & fall away. The violence of yͤ diſeaſe was ſuch, that ye ſhould haue mette a mā mery in the ſtreate now, & within. x. houres heard that he had bene buryed. The nomber of the dead corſes was ſuch alſo, yͭ they lacked place to burye them in: inſomuch that all the churchyardes were digged vppe, and fylled with dead corſes, & great holes made in the paryſhe churches, wheras a great number of corſes beyng thruſt in together, they couered them ouer with earth. For which cauſe the fathers were ſo afrayd, that there appeared no bloud in their faces: and ſpecially the ſodaine death of Ludouicus yͤ Prothonotary, did make all men afrayd, who was a ſtrong man and floriſhyng in age, & ſingularly learned in both lawes: whō the ſame enuious & raging ſicknes toke away in a fewe houres. By and by after, dyed Ludouicus yͤ Patriarke of Aquileia, a man of great age, & brought vp alwayes in trouble & aduerſity, neither could he ſee the day of the popes election which he had long wiſhed for: Notwithſtāding he toke partely a conſolatiō in that he had ſene Gabriell depoſed before his death. This mās death was greuous vnto all the fathers, for now they ſayd that. ij. pillers of the Councell were decayd and ouerthrowne, meanyng the Prothonotary and the Patriarke, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his dedes defended the veritie of the Councell.

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ague,

About the ſame time alſo, dyed the kyng of Arragons Amner in Switzerland, a man of excellēt learning, being Byſhop of Ebron. The Abbot of Vergilia dyed at Spire, & Iohn the Biſhop of Lubecke, betwene Vienna and Buda.

These. ij. laſt rehearſed, euen at the point of death, did this thyng worthy of remembraūce. When as they perceiued the houre of their death to approche, calling vnto thē certaine graue & wiſe men, ſaid: All you that be here preſent, pray to God, yͭ he wil cōuert ſuch as knowledge Gabriell for hygh byſhop, for in that ſtate they cannot be ſaued: & profeſſyng them ſelues yͭ they would dye in the faith of the Councell of Baſill, they departed in the Lord. In Boheme alſo departed the biſhop of Conſtāce, which was Ambaſſadour for the Councell. There was greate feare & tremblyng throughout all yͤ councell. There had bene alſo in yͤ cōūcel, by a long time, yͤ Abbot of Dona, of the dioceſſe of Cumana, a man poore vnto the world, but riche vnto God, whom neyther flatterynges nor threatnynges coulde turne away from hys good purpoſe & intent, chuſing rather to begge in yͤ truth of yͤ fathers, thē to abound in riches with yͤ falſe flattering aduerſaries.

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Dona a
e abbot.

Wherupon, after the Lordes were departed, which gaue hym hys liuyng, he remainyng ſtill, was ſtricken with the plague and dyed. Likewiſe a great number of the regiſters and Doctors dyed: and ſuch as fel into that diſeaſe, few or none eſcaped. One amongeſt all the reſt, Eneas Syluius, being ſtriken with this diſeaſe, by Gods helpe eſcaped. This man lay iij. dayes euen at the point of death, all men beyng in diſpaire of hym: notwithſtāding it pleaſed God to graunt him longer life. Whē as the peſtilence was moſt feruente and hote, and that daily there died aboue one hundred, there was great intreaty made vnto Cardinal Arelatenſis, that he would go to ſome other towne or village nere hand: for theſe were the wordes of all his frendes and houſhold: What doo you moſt reuerent father? At the leaſt voyde this wane of the mone, and ſaue your ſelf: who beyng ſafe, all we ſhall alſo be ſafe: if you die, we all periſhe. If the plague oppreſſe you, vnto whom ſhall we flye? Who ſhall rule vs? or who ſhall be the guide of this moſt faithful flock? The infection hath alredy inuaded your chamber. Your ſecretary and chamberlaine are already dead. Conſider the great daunger, and ſaue both your ſelfe and vs. But neyther the intreaty of his houſholde, neither the corſes of thoſe which were dead, could moue him, willyng rather to preſerue the councell with perill of his lyfe, then to ſaue hys lyfe wͭ perill of the councell: for he did know that if he ſhould depart, few would haue taried behynd, and that diſceite ſhoulde haue bene wrought in hys abſence. Wherfore, lyke as in warres yͤ ſouldiors feare no daunger, when as they ſee their captaine in the middeſt of their enemies: ſo the fathers of the councel were aſhamed to flye from this peſtilence, ſeyng their preſident to remaine with thē in the middeſt of all dangers. Which their doynges did vtterly ſubuerte the opinion of them, which babled abroade, that the fathers taried in Baſill to ſeeke their owne profite & commodity, & not the verity of the fayth: for there is no cōmodity vpon the earth, which mē would chaūge for their liues: for that all ſuch as do ſerue the world, do prefer before all other thinges. But theſe our fathers ſhewyng themſelues an inuincible ſtrong wall for the houſe of God, vanquiſhing all the crafty deceites which Gabriell vſed, and ouercoming all difficulties, which this moſt cruel and peſtiferous yeare brought vpō them, at the length all deſire of lyfe alſo being ſet a parte, they haue ouercome all daungers, and haue not doubted with moſt conſtant mindes to defend the veritye of the councel, euen vnto this preſent.

Eneas the author hereof eſcaped death hardly.

The inuincible conſtancie and fortitude of the Cardinall, Arelatenſis.

The time of the decree being paſſed, after the depoſition of Gabriel, it ſemed good vnto the fathers, to procede to the election of an other biſhop. And firſt of al they nominated thoſe that together wͭ the Cardinals, ſhould elect the Pope. The firſt and principall of the Electours was the Cardinall Arelatenſis, a man of inuincible conſtancie, and incomparable wiſdome: vnto whoſe vertue I may iuſtly aſcribe whatſoeuer was done in the councell: for without him, the Prelates had not perſeuered in their purpoſe, neither could the ſhadow of any prince haue ſo defended them. This man came not to yͤ election by any fauour or denomination, but by his own proper right. The reſt of the Electors were choſen out of the Italian, French, Germaine, and Spaniſh nations, and theyr Selles and chambers appointed to thē by lottes, wythout reſpect of dignity or perſon, & as the lots fel, ſo they were placed: Whereby it chaunced a Doctor to haue the higheſt place, & a biſhop yͤ laſt. Wherin yͤ diſtribution of lots was very ſtraunge, or rather a diuine diſpenſatiō, reprouing the deuiſes of man, where as yͤ prelates had determined to haue the beſt Chambers appoynted for them ſelues, and had earneſtly contended before to haue their chambers appoynted according to their dignitye.

The commendation of Arelatenſis.

The next day after, there was a Seſſion holden, wherin Marcus a famous Diuine, made an Oration vnto the Electors, wherein hee rekoned vppe the manyfolde crimes of Gabriel, which was depoſed. He endeuored to perſwade the Electors to chuſe ſuch a man, which ſhuld in all poyntes, be contrary vnto Gabriel, and eſchewe all

The councell of Marcus.

his vices: that as he, through his manyfolde reproches, was hurtfull vnto all men: ſo he which ſhould be choſē, ſhould ſhewe himſelfe acceptable vnto all men, through iuſtice: and as Gabriel was couetous and ful of rapine, ſo this man ſhould ſhew himſelfe continent.

There was ſo great a nomber of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neyther in the church, neither in the ſtreetes, any man cold paſſe. There was preſent John Earle of Dierſtein, who ſupplied the place of the Emperours Protector: alſo the Senatours of the Cite, wͭ many other noble mē, to behold yͤ ſame, whereof you ſhall heare (Chriſt willing) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in armour to prohibite that there ſhould be no vproare made. The Electors receyued the Communion together, and afterwardes, they receiued their oth: and the cardinall Arelatenſis opening the booke of decrees, red the forme of the othe in the audience of all men, and firſt of all, hee takyng the othe hymſelfe, began in thys maner.

The godly othe of Arelatenſis.

Moſt reuerent Fathers, I promiſe, ſweare & vowe before my Lord Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe moſt bleſſed bodye I vnworthy ſynner haue receaued: vnto whom in the laſt iudgemēt I ſhall geue a coumpt of all my deedes) yͭ in this buſines of election, whereunto now by the wyl of the Councell we are ſent: I will ſeeke nothing els, then the onely ſaluation of the Chriſten people, and the profit of the vniuerſall church. This ſhal be my whole care and ſtudy, that the autority of the generall councells be not contemned: that the catholike fayth bee not impugned, and that the fathers which remayne in the councel, be not oppreſſed. This wyll I ſeeke for: this ſhall bee my care: vnto this, withall my whole force and power, wyl I bend my ſelfe: neyther wyl I reſpect any thing in thys poynt, eyther for mine own cauſe, or for any frend, but onely God and the profit of the church. With this mind and entente, and with thys harte will I take mine othe before the councell. His wordes were liuelye and fearefull. After him all the other Electors in their order, did ſweare and take their othe. Then they wente wyth great ſolemnity vnto the Conclaue: where they remayned. vij. dayes. The maner of their election was in thys ſort. Before yͤ Cardinals ſeat was ſet a deſke, wherupō there ſtoode a baſen of ſiluer: into the which baſen all the Electors did caſt their ſchedule: which the Cardinall receiuing, red one by one, and. iiij. other of the Electours wrote as he read them.

The other Electours take their othe.

The tenour of the Schedules was in this maner. I George biſhop of Vicene do chuſe ſuch a mā, or ſuch a mā, for B. of Rome, & peraduenture named one or two: euery one of the electours ſubſcribed his name vnto yͤ Schedule, that he might thereby knowe his owne, and ſay nay, if it were contrary to that which was ſpoken: whereby all diſceite was vtterly excluded. The firſt ſcrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the Papacy. Yet none had ſufficient voyces, for yͤ day there were xvij. of diuers natiōs nominate. Notwithſtanding, Amedeus duke of Sauoy, a man of ſinguler vertue, ſurmounted them all: for in the firſt ſcrutiny he had the voyce of xvi. electors, which iudged him worthy to gouerne the churche.

A ſcrutinie is a preuie election by voyces.

Amedeus duke of Sauoy.

After thys, there was diligent inquiſition had in the Councell, touchyng thoſe which were named of the electours, and as euerye mannes opinion ſerued him, he dyd either praiſe or diſcommend thoſe whiche were nominate. Notwithſtandyng there was ſuche reporte made of Amedeus, that in the nexte ſcrutinye, whiche was holden in the Nonas of Nouember, the ſaid Amedeus had xxi. voyces, and likewiſe in the iij. and iiij. ſcrutiny, xxi. voyces. And for ſo much as there was none found in all the ſcrutiny to haue ij. partes, all the other ſchedules were burnt. And for ſomuch as there lacked but onely one voyce to the electiō of the high biſhop, they fell vnto prayer, deſiring god that he would vouchſafe to direct their mindes to an vnity and concord, worthely to elect & chuſe hym which ſhould take the charge ouer the flocke of God. Forſomuch as Amedeus ſemed to bee nearer vnto the papacy then all other, there was great communciation had amongs them touchyng his life and diſpoſition. Some sayd that a lay man oughte not ſo ſodenly to be choſen: for it would ſeme a ſtraunge thyng for a ſeculer prince to be called vnto yͤ biſhopricke of Rome: which would alſo to much derogate frō the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, as though there wer none therin mete or worthy for that dignity. Other ſome ſayd that a mā which was maried & had childrē, was vnmeete for ſuch a charge. Other ſome agayne affirmed that the byſhop of Rome ought to be a doctor of lawe, and an excellent learned man. When theſe wordes were ſpoken, other ſome riſing vp, ſpake farre otherwiſe, that albeit Amedeus was no doctour, yet was he learned and wyſe, for ſo much as al his whole youth, he had beſtowed in learnyng and ſtudy, & had ſought not the name, but euē the ground of learning. Then ſaid an other, if ye be deſirous to be inſtructed further of this princes life, I pray you geue eare vnto me, which doe know him thorowly. Truly this man from his youth vpward, and euē from his yong & tender yeares, hath liued more religiouſlye thē ſecularly, being alwaies obedient vnto his parentes & maiſters, & being alwaies endued wͭ the feare of God, neuer geuen to any vanity or wantonnes: neither hath there at any time bene any child of the houſe of Sauoy, in whom hath appered greater wit or towardnes: wherby all thoſe which did behold and knowe this man, iudged and foreſaw ſome great matter in hym: neyther were they deceiued. For if ye deſire to know hys rule & gouernaunce, what and how noble it hath bene: Firſt know ye this, that thys man hath raygned ſince hys fathers deceaſe, about. xl. yeares. During whoſe time, iuſtice, the Ladie and Quene of all other vertues, hath alwayes floriſhed: For he hearing his ſubiectes hym ſelfe, would neuer ſuffer the poore to be oppreſſed, or yͤ weake to be deceiued. He was yͤ defender of the fatherles, yͤ aduocate of the widowes, and protector of the poore. Ther was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poore and rich liued all vnder one law, neither was he burthenous vnto his ſubiectes, or importune againſt ſtraungers throughout all his coūtrey: there was no greuous exactions of money, thorowout all his dominion. Hee thought himſelfe rich inough, if the inhabitaunts of hys dominions did abound and were rich, knowing that it was the poynt of a good ſhepheard to ſheare hys ſhæpe, and not to deuour them. In this alſo was hys chiefe ſtudye and care, that his ſubiectes might liue in peace, and ſuche as bordered vpon him, myght haue no occaſion of grudge. By whiche policies he did not onely quietly gouerne hys Fathers dominion, but alſo augmented the ſame by others, which willingly ſubmitted them ſelues vnto him. He neuer made warre vpō any, but reſiſtyng againſt ſuch as made warres vpon him, he ſtudied rather to make peace, then to ſeeke any reuenge, deſiring rather to ouercome his enemies wͭ benefites, then with the ſword. He maried only one wife, which was a noble virgin, and of ſinguler beutye and chaſtitye. He would haue all hys familye to keepe their handes & eyes chaſte & continent, & thorowout al his houſe, honeſty & integrity of maners was obſerued. Whē as his wife had chaūged her life, & that he perceiued his Duchy to be eſtabliſhed, & that it ſhould come wͭout any controuerſye vnto his poſterity, he declared his minde which was alwaies religious, and dedicate vnto God, and ſhewed what wil and affection he had long borne in hys hart. For he contemning the pompe and ſtate of this world, calling vnto him his deare friendes, departed and went into a wyldernes: where as, building a goodly Abbey, hee addicted hymſelfe wholye to the ſeruice of God, and taking hys

Prayer for vnitie and concorde.

Let lying Pogius be aſhamed of hys falſe inuectiue agaynſt Menedeus.

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croſſe vpon him, folowed Chriſt. In which place he being conuerſaunt by the ſpace of manye yeares, ſhewed forth great example of holynes, wearing no other garmentes then ſuch as could withſtand the colde, neyther vſing any kinde of dayntye fare, then onely to reſiſt hunger, watching and praying the moſt part of the nyght. wherfore thys Prince is not newly come vnto the churche (as ſome do ſuppoſe) but being a Chriſtian, borne of progenitoures, a thouſande yeares and more beyng Chriſtians, dothe nowe ſerue God in a monaſterye. But as touching that alſo whiche is ſpoken concerning a wife, I do not regarde it: when as not onely he which hath had a wife, but he alſo whiche hath a wife may bee elect and choſen pope. For why do the doctours diſpute, whether a maried man choſen pope, ought to performe his duety toward his wife, but onely becauſe a maried man might bee receiued and choſen? For as you know well inough, there were many popes that had wiues: ⁊ Peter alſo was not ẇout a wife. But what do we ſtand aboute this? for paraduenture it had bene better that more prieſts had bene maried, for many ſhould be ſaued thorow mariage, which are now damned thorowe their ſingle lyfe. But hereof we wil (ſaith he) ſpeak in an other place. But this ſemeth vnto me, rather to be laughed at, then worthy any aunſwere, which is obiected touchyng his children. For what can children (ſpecially beyng of great age) be impediment or let vnto the father, being a Byſhop? Doth not the Scripture ſay, wo be vnto hym ẏ is alone, for if he fall, hee hath none to helpe hym vp againe? This can not be imputed vnto the prince, for hee hath .ij. ſonnes, both comely and wiſe. Whereof the one is prince of Piemont, the other Earle of the Gebennians. Theſe mē will rule the countrey of Sauoy in the abſence of their father, ⁊ will helpe him, if he haue nede, for they haue already learned to rule ouer that people. I praye you what hurte is it for a Byſhop of Rome, to haue valiaunt children, whiche may helpe their father agaynſt tyrauntes? O moſt reuerent fathers, the more I do behold the ſtorme of this moſte peruerſe ⁊ froward time, the more I do conſider the vexations ⁊ troubles, whiche the churche is now tormented with all: I do ſomuch the more thincke it profitable, yea and neceſſary, that this mā ſhould be choſen prince and head: and I will thincke that God hath ſhewed his mercy vpon vs, if I may ſee hym haue the gouernaunce ouer this boate. Conſider, I pray you, into what ſtraightes we are now driuē: with what perils wee are now vexed and toſſed. What Prince is it that is obedient vnto this Councell? For ſome will not confeſſe that the Councell is here, neither receiue our decrees: other ſome cōfeſſe it in theyr wordes, but by their dedes they declare it to be at Florence For albeit that by their wordes ⁊ letters, they do not denye that the church is here, yet do they procure promotions at the handes of Gabriell, which is depoſed. This is the ſtate of ẏ church: with theſe ſtormes and tempeſtes the ſhippe is ſhaken ⁊ bruſed: Wicked children haue riſen vppe agaynſt theyr mother, whiche beyng vnmindefull of their mothers labours and kyndnes towardes thē, deſpiſe her, contēne ⁊ beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we chuſe a bare mā, which ſhal rather be derided of our princes, thē had in reuerence? The dayes are not now, that mē haue reſpect onely vnto vertue: for (as the Satyricall Poet writeth) vertue is praiſed, but is coldly folowed. A poore mā ſpeaketh, ⁊ they aſke what is he? Truly vertue is good: but for our purpoſe, it muſt be marked and looked vpō, whether it be in a riche man, or a poore man. You muſt chuſe a gouernour which may rule the ſhyp not only by Councel, but by power alſo. The winde is great: wherfore except the Councell be good, and the power ſtrong, the ſhip ſhalbe broken, ⁊ all put in daunger. The memorial is yet freſh before our eyes: ẏ the princes doe neglect ẏ authoritie whiche is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantneſſe ſhewed in this point, in that you fearyng no perill nor daunger, either of life or goodes, haue ſo long contended for the truth of Chriſt? But the moſt mighty and highe God looketh downe from an highe, ⁊ will reſiſte this theyr pride. I haue often conſēted vnto theyr opinion, whiche ſayd it was expedient, that the temporall dominions ſhould be deuided from the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate: for I did thincke ẏ the prieſts ſhould therby be made more apt to the diuine miniſtry, and the ſecular princes more obedient vnto the clergye: but for ſo much as at this preſent, the Churches of the worlde are poſſeſſed, partly by Eugenius ⁊ partly by other tyrantes, we muſt prouide ẏ we chuſe ſuch a one, which may recouer agayn ẏ patrimony of the church, ⁊ in whom the office of Chriſtes vicar maye not be contemned: through the ſhielde of whoſe power, their contumacy may be ſuppreſſed, which contemne both veritie and reaſon. Wherunto no man ſemeth vnto me more apte or mete, then Amadeus Duke of Sauoy, which holdeth the one part of his poſſeſſions in Italy, and the other in Fraunce: Unto whome all Chriſten princes are allied either by conſanguinitie, or ioyned by amitie and frendſhyp, ⁊ whoſe vertue, how famous it is, I haue all ready declared. Why do wee then ſtay or doubt to chuſe hym? then whom Gabriell feareth no mā more. Let hym therfore periſh with the ſweard wherewithall he hathe ſtricken. There is no man which can more pacify the churche then he. Do you require deuotion in a Biſhop? there is no man more deuout then he. Do ye require prudence? Now ye vnderſtand by his former lyfe, what maner of man he is. If ye ſeke for iuſtice, his people are a witnes therof: ſo that whether you ſeke for vertue or power, al are here preſēt before you. Whereupon do ye ſtay? Go to I pray you: chuſe this mā. He will augmēt the faith: he wil reforme maners, and preſerue the authoritie of the church. Haue ye not heard theſe troubles of the church to haue bene afore ſpoken of, and that the tyme now preſent ſhould be an end of all troubles? Haue ye not heard, that about this tyme, there ſhould a Pope be choſen, which ſhould comfort Sion, and ſet all thynges in peace? And who, I pray you, ſhould he be that could fulfill theſe things, except we chuſe this man? Beleue me, theſe ſayings muſt be fulfilled, ⁊ I truſt that God will moue your myndes thereunto. Notwithſtandyng, doo what ſoeuer ye ſhall thinke moſt good and holy.

Good it were that temporall dominions were diuided from the church.

When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the greateſt nomber of the electours ſemed to conſent vnto him, and hys woordes tooke ſuch effect, that in the next Scrutiny, the matter was finiſhed and ended, and when the Scrutiny was opened, it was founde that Amedeus, the moſt deuout duke of Sauoy, accordyng to the decree of the Cōcell, was choſen pope. Wherfore ſodēly there was great ioy and gladnes amongſt them, and all men highly commended their doynges. Then the Cardinall Arelatenſis, publiſhed vnto them the name of the elect Byſhop. After this, all the Prelates in their robes, pontificalibus and miters, and all the clergy of the citie commyng vnto the conclaue, the electours beyng lykewiſe adourned, they brought them vnto the great Churche, whereas after great thankes geuen vnto God, and the election agayne declared vnto the people, a Hymne beyng ſong for ioye, the congregation was diſſolued.

Amedeus duke of Sauoy choſen pope.

This Amedeus aforeſayd, was a man of reuerent age, of comely ſtature, of graue ⁊ diſcrete behauiour: alſo before maried. Who thus beyng elect for pope about Nouember, was called Fœlix.v. ⁊ was crowned in ẏ citie of Baſill in ẏ moneth of July. There were preſent at his coronation Lewes Duke of Sauoy: Philip Earle Gebenenſ. Lewes Marques of Salutze: The Marques of Rotelen: Conrade of VVuſpergh•y, chamberleyne of the Impyre: The Earle of Dierſtein: The Ambaſſadours of the cities of Straſbrough, Berne, Friburge, Solatorn, with a great multitude of other beſide, to the vew of .50. thou

Pope Fœlix.5.

The number of people at the coronation of pope Fœlix.

ſand perſons. At this coronation, the popes. ij. ſonnes did ſerue and miniſter to their father. Lewes Cardinal of Hoſtia did ſet on his head, yͤ pontificall Diademe, which was eſtemed at. 30. thouſand crownes. It were lõg here to recite the whole order and ſolemnitie of the proceſſiõ, or the popes ryding about the Citie. Firſt proceded the pope vnder his Canaby of cloth of gold, hauyng on hys head a triple crowne, and bleſſing the people as he went. By hym went the Marques of Rotelen, and Conrade of VVinſperge, leadyng his horſe by the bridle. The proceſſiõ finiſhed, they went to dinner, which laſted foure full houres, beyng exceſſiuely ſumptuous: where yͤ popes ij. ſõnes were butlers to his cup. The Marques of Salutze was the ſtuard. &c.

The popes two ſonnes ſeruing at the coronation.

The valuation of the popes crowne.

The popes diner and ſeruice.

Volat. lib. 3.

Of this Fœlix, thus writeth Volaterane in his thyrd booke, that he beyng deſired of certeine of the Ambaſſadours, if he had any dogges or houndes, to ſhewe them: he willed them the nexte day to repayre to hym, and hee would ſhew vnto them ſuch as he had. When the Ambaſſadours, according to the appointement, were come, he ſheweth vnto them, a great number of poore people & beggers ſittyng at his tables at mete, declaryng, that thoſe were his houndes, whiche hee euery daye vſed to feede: huntyng with them (hee truſted) for the glorye of heauen to come.

A note for our gentlemen, and lordes, to learne how to hunt, and what dogges to keepe.

And thus you haue heard the ſtate of this Councell hetherto, which Councell endured a long ſeaſon, yͤ ſpace of. xvij. yeares.

The death of Sigiſmud the Emperour.

Albertus 2. Emperour.

An. 1438

The death of Albertus 2.

About the. vi. yere of the Councel, Sigiſmund yͤ Emperour dyed, leauyng but one daughter to ſuccede hym in his kyngdomes: whom he had maried to Albert. ij. duke of Auſtriche, whiche firſt ſucceded in the kyngdome of Hungarie and Boheme, being a ſore aduerſary to the Bohemiãs: & afterward was made Emperour. an. 1438. and reigned Emperour but two yeares, leauyng his wyfe, whiche was Sigilmundus daughter, great with childe. After whiche Albert, ſucceded hys brother Frederike. iij. duke of Auſtrich, in the Empire. &c. wherof more (Chriſt willyng) hereafter.

In the meane tyme, Eugenius hearyng of the death of Sigiſmund aboue recited, began to worke the diſſolution of the Councell of Baſill, & to trãsferre it to Ferraria, pretendyng the commyng of the Grecians. Notwithſtandyng the Councell of Baſill, throughe the diſpoſition of God, and the worthynes of Cardinall Arelatenſis, conſtantlye endured. Albeit in the ſayd Councell were many ſtoppes and practiſes to empeche the ſame, beſide the ſore plague of peſtilence, which fell in the Citie, duryng the ſayd Councell. In yͤ which plague tyme, beſides the death of many worthy mẽ, Aeneas Siluius alſo him ſelf, the writer and cõpiler of the whole hiſtory of that Councell ſitting at the feete of the biſhops of Turnon, & of Lubecke, lay ſicke. iij. dayes of yͤ ſame ſore, as is aboue touched, & neuer thought to eſcape. They yͭ dyed, departed with this exhortation, deſiring men to pray to God, that he would conuerte yͤ harts of them yͭ ſtocke to Eugenius as pope, agaynſt that Coũcell, as partly is afore noted, & now repeated agayn for yͤ better marking. Arelatenſis beyng moſt inſtantly exhorted by his frendes to flye that daũger, could by no meanes be entreated to auoyde, fearyng more yͤ daunger of yͤ church, then of his own lyfe.

The plage at Baſill, in tyme of the councel.

Æneas Sylu. ſicke of the plage at Baſill.

The conſtant zeale of Arelatenſis to the truth.

Beſide theſe ſo great difficulties and obſtacles to ſtay and hynder this councell, ſtraunge it was to behold the mutation of mens mindes. Of whom, ſuche as fyrſt ſeemed to fauour the councell, after did impugne it: and ſuch as before were agaynſt it, in the ende ſhewed them ſelues moſt friendes vnto the ſame. The chiefe Cardinals and Prelates, the more they had to loſe, the ſooner they ſlipt away, or els lurked in houſes or townes nere, and abſẽted them ſelues for feare: ſo that the ſtay of the councell moſt reſted vpon their Proctors, Doctors, Archdeacons, Deanes, Prouoſtes, Priors, and ſuch other of the inferiour ſort. Whereof Aeneas Syluius in hys. 183. epiſtle maketh this relation, wher one Caſpar Schlick the Emperours Chauncelour writeth to the Cardinal Iuliã in theeſe wordes: Thoſe Cardinals (ſayth he) whych ſo long time magnified ſo highly yͤ autority of the church, and of generall councels, ſeeming, as though they were ready to ſpend their liues for the ſame, now at the ſight of one letter from their king (wherein yet no death was threatned, but onelye loſſe of their promotions) ſlypt away from Baſil. And in the ſame epiſtle deridingly commendeth them, as wyſe men, that had rather loſe theyr fayth, then their flocke. Albeit ſaith he, they departed not far away, but remayned about Solotorn, waytting for other commaundementes from their Prince. Wherby it may appeare, how they did ſhrinke away not willingly, but yͤ Burſe (quoth he) bindeth faſter, thẽ true honour.

Æneas Sylu. epiſt. 183.

The welthy prelates ſlyde away from the councell.

Welthy prelates afraid of truth.

Fide quam plebe, carere malunt.

Pron o[illegible] choke the cleargie.

Quid enim ſaluis infamia nummis? That is to ſay: what matter maketh the name of a man, ſo hys money be ſafe? Hæc Aeneas.

Moreouer in one of the Seſſions of the ſaid councel, the worthy Cardinall Arelatenſis is ſayde thus to haue reported, that Chriſt was ſold for. xxx. pence: but I (ſayd he) was ſold muche more deare. For Gabriel, otherwyſe called Eugenius, Pope, offered. 60. thouſande crownes, who ſo woulde take me, and preſent me vnto him. And they that tooke the ſayd Cardinall, afterwarde excuſed their fact by an other coulour, pretending the cauſe, for that the Cardinals brother, what time the Armiaks waſted Alſatia, had wrought great dãmage to the inhabitaunts there, and therefore they thought (ſaid they) that they might lawfully lay handes vpon a Frenche man, whereſoeuer they might take him. At length by the byſhop of Straſbrough, Rupert, & the ſayd citye, the matter was taken vp, and he reſcued. Wherein, no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defending his lyfe from the peſtilent daunger of the Pope hys aduerſary. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſper.

60. thouſand crownes offred by pope Eugenius, for the betraying of Arelatenſis.

Arelatenſis taken and reſkued.

Gods defence toward his ſeruantes.

Ex paralip. Abb. Vrſper.

And thus far hauing proceded in the matters of this foreſayd councell, vntill the election of Amadeus, called Pope Fælix. v. before we proſecute the reſt, that remaineth thereof to be ſpoken, the order and courſe of tymes requireth to intermixt withall the reſidue pertaynyng to the matters concluded betwene this councell, and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumſtances of the Ambaſſad, their articles, diſputations, and aunſwers, which they had fyrſt in the ſayd councell, then in theyr own countrey wyth the Councels Ambaſſadours: alſo with their petitions and anſwers vnto the ſame.

Touching the ſtory of the Bohemians, how they beyng ſent for, came vp to the councell of Baſill, and how they appeared, and what was there cõcluded and agreed, partlye before hath bene expreſſed pag. 778. Now, as layſure ſerueth frõ other matters, to returne againe vnto the ſame, it remayneth to proſecute yͤ reſt that lacketh, ſo far as both breuitye may be obſerued, and yet the reader not defrauded of ſuche thinges, principallye worthy in the ſame to be noted and known.

The ſtory of the Bohemians proſecuted.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) hauing alwayes the vpper hand, albeit they were accurſed by yͤ new biſhop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they ſhould be called vnto Baſill, where as the councell was appointed. Wherupon Cardinall Iulian ſent thether before, Iohn Pollumair doctor of yͤ Law, and Iohn de Raguſio, a diuine. Who comming vnto Baſill in yͤ moneth of Auguſt, Anno. 1431. called by their letters vnto yͤ councell, Iohn, Abbot of Mulbrun, and Iohn Gelhuſius, monke of the ſame cloyſter: which mẽ for the dexteritie of their wit, and experience & knowledge of countreis, were very meete and neceſſary for Ambaſſades.

Within a few dayes after, Iulianus alſo came thether, as he had promiſed, & immediatly ſent out Iohn Gelhuſius, & Hammon Olſenbourg, a Senatour of Baſill, fyrſt

vnto

unto the Emperour Sigiſmund beyng at Feldkirch, and afterward unto Friderike Duke of Auſtrich, for the appeaſing of the warres betwene him and Phillip, duke of Burgony. This was done to the intent that peace being had, not onelye the eccleſiaſticall Prelates, but alſo the marchantes might haue ſafe acceſſe unto Baſill, and ſo bryng in all thinges neceſſary for ſuſtentation.

They goyng on this Ambaſſade, receyued letters frō the Synode to bee deliuered unto the Emperour Sigiſmund, wherby the Bohemians and Morauians, were called unto the councel. These letters he by & by, cauſed to be caried unto Boheme. But for ſo much as he himſelf went into Italy, to receiue the imperiall crowne of the biſhop, he left VVilliam duke of Bauaria, as his deputy, to be protector unto the councell. Furthermore, when as the Sinode underſtoode ÿ our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their moſt ſhamefull flyght, they ſent Iohn Niderius a diuine, and Iohn Gelhuſius, to comforte the people which ioyned uppon Boheme, and earneſtly to moue the Morauians and Bohemiās, which were before called, to come unto the councell. They departing from Baſill aboute the ende of October, tooke their iourney towarde Monacum, a towne of Bauaria: Where, after they had ſaluted VVilliam Duke of Bauaria and hys brother Erneſtus, and Albert the ſonne of Erneſtus, and had declared the commiſſion of their Ambaſſade, & had ſhewed unto duke VVilliam, how that, as ſoone as he ſhould come unto Baſell, the protection of the councel ſhoulde be committed unto him by the Emperoure: they exhorted Friderike, Marques of Brandenberg, and Iohn duke of Bauaria, the Senate of Noremberg, and other princes and Lordes, partly by letters frō the councell, and partly by wordes of mouth, that they ſhould by no means, take any truce wᵗ the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtful unto the church, & ſaid they ſhould haue aide out of hand. They deſired them alſo in the name of the Councell, that if the Bohemians would ſende their Ambaſſadors unto Baſell, they would guide them, euery man thorow his countrey in ſafety: which they promiſed to do. It is incredible how all men reioyced, that ÿ Bohemians were ſent for. After this, when as they counſelled, with ÿ Senate of Noremberg. touching the ſending of ÿ councels letters unto Boheme, it ſemed beſt, firſt of all to enquire of ÿ rulers of Egra, whether ÿ Bohemians had made any anſwer to the former letters of ÿ councell which they had ſent. The rulers of Egra being aduertiſed by theſe letters, ſent him which caried ÿ councels leters unto Boheme, unto Norenberg. He reported how reuerently the Councell of the greater citie of Prage receyued the letters, and how he was rewarded. Wherupon they conceyued great hope of the good ſucceſſe of the Ambaſſade. Therfore the Ambaſſadours uſing the councell of the Senate of Norenberge, and dyuers others, ſent the meſſenger backe again unto Egra, with their owne priuate letters and with letters of the councell: for there was no better meane to ſend the letters unto Boheme. Much trauaile was taken by them of Egra, Friderike Marques of Brandenberg, and John Duke of Bauaria, in thys matter, for that they were verye deſirous that peace myght bee had amongeſt all Chriſtians. The copye of thoſe letters, whereby the Sinode dyd call the Bohemians unto the councel, and other letters exhortatorie of the Ambaſſadoures, and the Bohemians anſwer unt the ſame: for breuities cauſe we haue here pretermitted. The Bohemiās not in all points truſtyng unto the embaſſadours, required by their letters that the councels ambaſſadors with the other princes, would come unto Egra, where as their ambaſſadors ſhould alſo be preſent, to intreat upon the ſafe conduicte and other matters.

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The day was appointed for the méetyng, the ſonday after Eaſter, whiche was the xxvij. day of Aprill. Then came the Ambaſſadours of the councel unto Egra, with the noble princes, Friderike Marques of Brandenberg, & Iohn Duke of Bauaria, with other nobles, almoſt to the number of 252. horſe. But none of ÿ Bohemiās were preſent, becauſe the enhabitaunts of Pilſina, and the Lorde Swambergius had not ſent their ſafeconduict. Whē they underſtode this by their letters, they broughte to paſſe that the ambaſſadours of the Bohemians, Nicolaus Humpoltzius, ſecretary of the greater citie of Prage, and Mathew Clumpezane, preſident of Pieſta, ſhould be brought forth by them of Erga, and ÿ Elenbogēſes, & ſo they came unto Egra with ninetene horſe the viij. daye of May. The nexte daye after, Henry Tocgye, receaued the Bohemian ambaſſadours before the Marques, with an eloquent Oration, takyng this parte of the Goſpell for his theme, Pax vobis, i. peace bee with you. Then they propounded what great iniuries they had hetherto receyued at their handes, which was ÿ cauſe of ſo many great naughters on either partie, & that they were glad ÿ yet now at the length there was ſome hope that they ſhould be heard.

The Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians, & of the councell meete together at Egra.

After this they cōferred as touching the ſafeconduict. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the common ſort, but princes and nobles. Which thing, for ſo much as it did not content the Ambaſſadours, and that the matter ſhould ſo be put of, the common people of Egra began to cry out that it was long of the eccleſiaſticall princes, that a concorde was not made wyth the Bohemians. Then Friderike Marques of Brandenberge, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, bound themſelues of theyr own good will. The lyke alſo did VVilliam duke of Bauaria, at the requeſt of the councell. Lykewyſe alſo dyd the councell and the Emperour Sigiſmund. Furthermore promiſe was made, that all the princes and cities, ſhould do the lyke, through whoſe dominion they ſhould come, and ÿ citie of Baſil alſo. The copy of which ſafe conduicte was afterward ſente unto Prage. This alſo was required by ÿ Bohemians, that if it were poſſible, the Emperour ſhoulde be preſent at the Councell.

The Bohemians requyre pledges.

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the Emperour to be preſent at the councell.

This conuention at Egra continued xxi. daies. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the councels Ambaſſadours make great promiſes, yet did they not fully geue credite unto them. Whereupon they choſe out two Ambaſſadours, Nicolas Humgoltzius, and Iohn Zaczenſes, which ſhould go to Baſill, and diligently enquire out all thinges. Theſe men, Conrade biſhop of Ratiſbone, and Conrrde Seglauer Deane of Eſteine, brought unto Cattelſpurg, where as the Marques dwelt, being ſent out by ÿ Synode a litle before, to enquire whether the Bohemian Ambaſſadours woulde come or not. When they were come unto Biberack, one being ouer curious, enquired of one of the Bohemian Ambaſſadours, of what countrey he was. He aunſwered that he was a Zaczen. Ther ſaid he are moſt execrable heretickes and noughtye men. &c. Who for that ſlaunderous worde, as a breaker of the truce, was ſtraight way caried to priſon, & there ſhould haue ſuffred more puniſhment, if the Bohemian Ambaſſadours and the Abbot of Ebera, had not intreated for hym. When they came unto Baſil, they were honorably receiued with wyne and fiſh. They taried there v. daies and a halfe. The x. day of October, they came unto the Synode, which was aſſembled at the friers Auguſtines. Theſe Ambaſſadours, whē as they wer returned home with the chartour of the ſynode, & declared thoſe things whych they had ſeene, & that the matter was earneſtlye handled without fraud or diſceite: there were Ambaſſadours choſen to be ſent unto the councell, both for the kingdome of Boheme, and the Marqueſdome of Morauia, which comming unto Tulca, were brought from thence, with xxxij. horſe, and diuers noble mē, unto Chābia. Frō thence they came to Swenkendorph, and ſo unto

The Bohemiās ſend two ambaſſadour to the councell.

Good iuſtice upon a ſlaunderous rayler.

The gentlenes of the Bohemians Ambaſſadours.

The Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians returne home.

The Bohemians ſend vp to the councell other ſolemne ambaſſadours.

The oration of the Cardinall Iulian to the Bohemians. *Vide ſupra. pag.778.*

The fyrſt article of the Bohemians, by the fyrſt ambaſſ.

The ii.article of the Boh, by the ſecond ambaſſ.

The iii article of the Boh, by the thyrd ambaſſ.

to Norrenberg, where as beſyde their entertainment of wyne and ſythe.xxij. horſemen accompanied them vnto Vlmes: from thence they of Vlmes broughte them vnto Biberacke, and Sulgotia: there Iames Tunches a knyghte receiuing them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bandes of the Duke of Bauaria brought them vnto Schafhuſe. There they taking ſhip ẏ fourth day of Ianuary, came vnto Baſil the.ix.day of the ſame month. What were the names of theſe Ambaſſadors of the Bohemians, which were brought vp wyth.300. horſe, and how they were receiued at Baſill, mencion is made before.pag.778. When as they came vnto the Synode, Cardinall Iulian made an Oratiõ, that whatſoeuer was in any place in doubt, the ſame ought to be determined by the autority of the councell, forſomuche as all men are bound to ſubmit themſelues to the iudgemẽt of the holy church, which the generall councell doth repreſent. Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians. Thẽ Rochezanus made an oration, requiring to haue a day appointed when they ſhoulde bee heard, which was appointed the.xvi.day of the ſame moneth. Vpõ which day, Iohn Rochezanus hauing made his preface, began to propound the firſt article touching the Communion to be miniſtred vnder both kinds, and diſputed vpon the ſame by the ſpace of.iij. dayes, alwayes before noone. Then Venceſlaus the Thaborite diſputed vpon the ſecõd article, touching the correction and puniſhing of ſynne, by the ſpace of.ij. dayes. After whom Vldaricus prieſt of the Orphanes propounded and diſputed vpon the thirde article by the ſpace of two days, touching the free preaching of the word of God.

The fourth article of the Boh, by the fourth ambaſſ.

The oration of the Abbot of Siſtertia offenſiue to the Bohemians.

Iohn Raguſinus replyeth agaynſt the fyrſt article.

The Bohemiãs diſpleaſed with Raguſinus.

Laſt of all Peter Paine, an Engliſh man, diſputed.iij. dayes the fourth article touching the ciuill dominion of the Clergy, and afterward gaue copies of their diſputations in writing vnto the councell, with hartye thankes that they were heard. The three laſt did ſomwhat inuey againſt the Councell, commending Iohn Hus and Iohn VVicklief for their doctrine. Wherupõ Iohn de Raguſio a Diuine, riſing vp, deſired that he might haue leaue to aunſwere in his own name, to the firſt article of the Bohemians. The Councell conſented thereunto: ſo ẏ by the ſpace of.viij.days in the forenoone, he diſputed therupõ. But before he began to anſwer, Iohn ẏ abbot de Siſtertia made an oration vnto the Bohemians, ẏ they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to the determination of holy church, which this councell doth repreſent. This matter did not a litle offend the Bohemians. Iohn Raguſinus a diuine, after Scholers faſhion: in his anſwer ſpake often of hereſies and of heretickes. Procopius could not ſuffer it, but riſyng vp with an angrye ſtomacke, complayned openly to the councell of this iniury. This our countrey man (ſaith he) doth vs great iniury, calling vs oftẽtimes heretickes. Wherunto Raguſinus anſwered: forſomuch as I am your countreyman both by toung and nation, I doo the more deſire to reduce you agayne vnto the Church. He was a Dalmatian borne, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians goyng into Boheme, tooke theyr name by their countrey whiche they poſſeſſed. It came almoſt to this pointe, that thorow this offence, the Bohemians woulde departe from Baſil, and could ſcarſlye be appeaſed. Certain of the Bohemians would not hear Raguſinus finiſh his diſputation.

Egidius Carlerius anſwereth agaynſt the ſecond article.

Henry Coldyron anſwereth to the 3 article.

Iohn Pollomarius anſwereth to the fourth article.

After him, a famous Diuine, one Egidius Carlerius, Deane of the church of Cambrey, anſwered vnto the ſecond article, by the ſpace of.iiij. daies. To the thirde article anſwered one Henricus, ſurnamed Frigidum ferrũ, three daies together. Laſt of all, one Iohannes Pollomarius, maiſter of the requeſts of the pallace, anſwered vnto the fourth article likewiſe by the ſpace of thre daies, ſo that the long time which they vſed in diſputations, ſemed tedious vnto the Bohemians. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, the Bohemians ſtil defended their articles, and ſpecially the firſt, in ſo muche as Iohn Rochezanus did ſtrongly impugne Raguſinus aunſwer by the ſpace of.vi.daies. But forſomuch as one diſputatiõ bred an other, and it was not perceiued how that by this meanes any concord could be made: the prince, William Duke of Bauaria, Protector of the councel, attempted an other remedy, that all diſputations being ſet apart, the matter ſhould be friendly debated.

Certayne choſen on both ſides to determyne the matter.

There were certayne appointed on either part to intreate vpon the concord: who comming together the eleuenth day of March, thoſe which wer appointed for the Councel, were demaunded to ſay their mindes. It ſemeth goood, ſaid they, if theſe men woulde be vnited vnto vs, and bee made one bodye with vs, that this bodye might then accord, declare, and determine all maner of diuerſities of opinions and ſectes, what is to bee beleued or done in them.

The Bohemians, when they had a whyle pauſed, ſaid: this way ſeemed not apte inough, except firſt of all, the foure articles were exactly diſcuſſed: ſo that either wee ſhould agree with them, or they with vs. For otherwiſe it would be but a friuolous matter, if they nowe beyng vnited agayne, diſagree in the deciding of the articles. Here anſwer was made by ẏ Bohemians, ẏ if they were rightlye vnited, and the ayde of the holye Ghoſte called for, they ſhuld not erre in the deciding of the matter, forſomuch as euery Chriſtiã ought to beleue that determination: which if they would do, it would breed a moſt firme & ſtrong concord & amity on either part. But this anſwer ſatiſfied thẽ not, in ſomuch ẏ other iij. roſe vp & diſputed againſt the anſwers which were geuẽ. At that time Cardinall Iulian Preſident of the councel, made thys oration vnto the Bohemian Ambaſſadours.

The oration of Cardinal Iulian.

Nicolas the ſecond propounder, charged by the Cardinall, for cõmending of I. Wickliffe.

This ſacred Synode, ſayth he, hath now by the ſpace of ten daies, pacientlye hearde the propoſitions of your foure articles, and afterward he annexed: you haue propounded ſayth he, four articles, but we vnderſtand that beſide theſe foure, you haue manye other ſtraunge doctrines, wherein ye diſſent from vs. Wherefore it is neceſſary, if that a perfect vnity and fraternity ſhal folowe betwene vs, that all theſe thinges be declared in the coũcel, to the end that by the grace of the holy Ghoſt, which is the autor of peace and truth, due prouiſion maye bee made therein. For we haue not gathered theſe thynges of light coniectures, but haue heard them of credible perſons, and partly here are ſome preſent, which haue ſene them with their own eyes in Bohem, and partly we do gather it by your owne reporte: for mayſter Nicolas, which was the ſecond that did propoũd, amongeſt other thinges alledged, that Iohn VVickliffe was an Euangelicall Doctor. If ye beleue him to bee a true Doctor, it followeth ẏ you muſte repute his workes as authentike: If ye do not ſo thinke, it is reaſon that it ſhould be opened vnto vs.

A prudent aunſwere of the Bohemians to the Cardinall Iulian.

Wherefore we deſyre you, that you wil certify vs vpon theſe and certayne other poyntes, what you do beleue, or what credite you do geue vnto thẽ. But we doo not require that you ſhould now declare your reaſons, but it ſhall ſatiſfy vs, if you will anſwer vnto euery article by this word, Credimus aut non credimus: that is, we beleue or beleue not. Which if you will doo (as wee truſt you will) then we ſhall manifeſtlye perceiue, that you deſyre that we ſhould conceyue a good eſtimation of you. If there be any thing, wherof you would be certified by vs, aſke it boldlye, & we will geue you an aunſwer out of hande: For we are readye according to the doctrine of ſaint Peter, to render accompte vnto euerye man which ſhal require it, touching the faith which we holde. Hereunto the Bohemian ambaſſadours aunſwered in fewe wordes, that they came onely to propounde thoſe foure articles, not in their owne name, but in the name of the whole kyngdom of Boheme, & to ſpeake no more. Wherupon, William the noble protectour of the councell, callyng vnto hym foure men on eyther parte, intreated touchyng the pacifying of ẏ matter: by whoſe aduice, the Councell decreed to ſend a famous Ambaſſade wyth the Bohemian ambaſſadors vnto Prage, wher as the people ſhould aſſemble vpon Sonday. But they would not receyue theſe conditions of peace, which wer offred, but made haſt to depart. Wherupō, the fourtene day of April, there was tenne choſen out of the councel, to goe with the Bohemian Ambaſſadours vnto Prage.

The ambaſſadours of the Boh. returne without agreement.

It were to long here to declare what honoure was done vnto theſe ambaſſadours, all the way in their iourney, and ſpecially when they came vnto Boheme by the citizens of Prage, when as a great number of Bohemiās were aſſembled at Prage at the day appointed, bothe of the cleargie, nobilitie, and common people.

After the cōming of theſe Ambaſſadours, much contention began to ryſe betwene the parties. Firſt began Ioan Rochezanꝰ, who ſpeaking in the publike perſon of the comminaltie, laboured to commend and prefer the iiij. verities of the Bohemians, before propounded: charging alſo the prelates and prieſtes for their ſlaundrous obtrectations, and vndeſerued contumelies, wherwyth they did infame the noble kingdome of Boheme, complayning alſo that they would not receaue thoſe Chriſtian verities, left and allowed by their king VVinceſlaus, now departed. Wherfore he required them in the behalf of ẏ whole nation, that they would leaue of hereafter to oppreſſe thē in ſuch ſort, and ẏ they would reſtore to them agayn their Joſephes veſture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brotherne, their enemies had ſpoyled them, &c.

The comming of the Legates to Prage.

Ioh. Rochezanus ſpeaketh.

Ex Cocleo hiſt. lib. 7.

To this Polomar maketh aunſwer agayne, wyth a long and curious oration, exhortyng them to peace and vnitie of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obſtacles and impediments (ſaid he) ſhould be ſone remoued, promiſing alſo that this their veſture of honour and fame, ſhould be amply reſtored agayne: and afterward, if there were anye doubtfull matters, they myght and ſhould be the better diſcuſſed.

Polomar aunſwereth to the Bohemians.

But all this pleaſed not the Bohemians, vnleſſe they might firſt haue a declaratiō of their iiij. articles, which if they mighte obtayne, they promiſed then to embrace peace & concord. Which peace (ſaid they) begã firſt to be broken by thēſelues, in that the coũcel of Conſtance by their vniuſt condemnation, burned John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, and alſo by their cruell Buls and cenſures, rayſed vp fyrſt excommunication, then warre againſt the whole kingdome of Boheme.

The Bohemians reply agayne to Polomar.

Hereunto Polomar reclaiming againe, began to aduaunce and magnifie the honor and dignity of generall councels. To conclude, as much as the ſaid Polomar did extoll the autority of the Councels, ſo much did the aunſwer of the Bohemians extenuate the ſame: ſaying that the latter councels which are not expreſſed in the law of God, haue erred, and might erre, not onely in fayth, but alſo in manners. For that whiche hath chaunced to the grene wood, may alſo chaunce vnto the drye. But of all other, the moſt ſtrong pillers of the militant church, the Apoſtles I meane: ſeeme all to haue erred, and the catholike faith to haue remayned three dayes ſounde and incorrupt onely in the virgin Mary. No Chriſtian man therefore ought to be compelled to ſtand to the determination of the Pope or the Councell, except it bee in that which is plainly expreſſed in the law of God. For it is euident, that all the generall councels which haue ben of long time, haue reformed very few thinges as touching the fayth, peace, and maners of the church: but haue alwayes both in their life and decrees, notoriouſly ſwarued, and haue not ſtabliſhed them ſelues vpon the foundation, which is Chriſt. Wherefore the ſayd Bohemiās proteſted that they would not ſimply and plainly (God being their good Lord) yeld themſelues to their doctrine, nor to ſuch raſhe and haſtye decrees: leſt through that their haſty and vncircumſpect ſubmiſſion, they ſhoulde binde their faith and life, contrary to the wholeſom and ſound doctrine of our Lord Chriſt Jeſus. In ſumme, in no caſe they would enter into anye agrement of peace, except their foure articles, which they compted for Euāgelicall verities, were firſt accepted & approued. Which being obtayned (ſayd they) if they woulde condeſcende with them in the veritie of the Goſpell, ſo woulde they ioyne together, and bee made one with them in the Lord. &c. Ex Cochleo. Hiſt. lib. 7.

Polomar extolleth the Councels.

Generall councells may erre and haue erred,

Ex Cochlæo Hiſt. lib. 7.

When ẏ Ambaſſadours ſaw the matter would not otherwiſe be brought to paſſe, they required to haue thoſe Articles deliuered vnto them in a certeine forme, which they ſent vnto the Councell by three Bohemian Ambaſſadours.

The ambaſſadours of the councell, & the Bohemians could not agree.

Afterward the Councell ſent a declaration into Boheme, to be publiſhed vnto the people, in the common aſſemblies of the kyngdome, by the Ambaſſadours, which were commaunded to report vnto the Bohemians, in the name of the Councell, that if they would receiue the declaration of thoſe three Articles, and the vnitie of the Churche, there ſhould be a meane founde whereby the matter touchyng the fourth Article, of the communion vnder both kyndes, ſhoulde bee paſſed with peace and quietnes.

A declaratiō of iii. articles promiſed to the Bohemians by the councell.

They propounded in Prage, in an open aſſembly of the nobles and commons, the declarations of the three Articles in forme folowyng.

For ſo much as touchyng the doctrine of the veritie, we ought ſo to procede ſoberly & warrely, that the truth may be declared, with wordes beyng ſo orderly conceyued & vttered, that there be no offence geuen to any mā, wherby he ſhould fal or take occaſion of errour, and (to vſe the wordes of Iſidore) ẏ nothyng by obſcuritie be left doubtful: wheras you haue propoūded touchyng ẏ inhibition & correction of ſinnes, in theſe wordes: all mortall ſinnes and ſpecially open offences, ought to bee rooted out, puniſhed, and inhibited, by them whoſe duty it is ſo to do, reaſonably and accordyng to the lawe of God: here is to be marked and vnderſtand, that this worde (whoſe duty it is) is to generall, and may be an offence: and accordyng to the meanyng of the Scripture, wee ought not to lay any ſtomblyng ſtocke before the blind, and the diches are to be cloſed vp, that our neighbours oxe do not fall therin: all occaſion of offence is to be taken away. Therfore we ſay that accordyng to the meanyng of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy doctours, it is thus vniuerſally to be holdē: that all mortall ſinnes, ſpecially publike offēces, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reaſonably as may be, accordyng to the lawe of God, and the inſtitutions of the fathers. The power to puniſh theſe offenders, doth not perteyne vnto any priuate perſon, but onely vnto them whiche haue iuriſdiction of the law ouer them, the diſtinction of law and iuſtice, beyng orderly obſerued.

A declaratiō of the councell to the Bohemiās, concerning the firſt iii. articles.

The ſecond propoſitiō propoūded by the Bohemians, with the declaration from the Councell.

Puniſhing of publike offēces how and by whom.

Note here the popes addition.

As touchyng the preachyng of the word of god, which Article you haue alledged in this forme, that the worde of God ſhould be frely and faithfully preached by ẏ fitte and apte miniſters of the Lorde: leaſt by this worde (frely) occaſion may be takē of diſordred libertie which (as you haue often ſayd ye doo not meane) the circumſtaunce therof is to be vnderſtand: and we ſay, that (accordyng to the meanyng of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus vniuerſally to be beleued: ẏ the word of god ought frely, but not euery where, but faithfully and orderly, to be preached by ẏ prieſtes & Leuites of the Lord, beyng allowed & ſent by their ſuperiours, vnto whom that office apperteyneth, ẏ authoritie of ẏ Byſhop alwayes reſerued, who is ẏ prouider of al things accordyng to ẏ inſtitutiōs of ẏ holy fathers.

The third article of the Bohemians, with the declaration from the Councell.

Libertie of preaching how farre and to whom it extendeth.

The fourth article of the Bohemians, with the declaration from the councell.

As concernyng the laſt Article expreſſed vnder theſe woordes: it is not lawfull for the Chriſten clergy, in the tyme of the law of grace, to haue dominion ouer temporall goodes: wee remember that in the ſolemne diſputation holden in the ſacred Councell, hee whiche was appoynted by the Councel to diſpute, propounded two cõcluſions in this ſort.

Temporall poſſeſſions in the Clergye mens handes.

Firſt, that ſuch of the clergy as were not religious, and had not bound thẽ ſelues therunto by a vow, might lawfully haue and poſſeſſe any temporall goodes, as the inheritaunce of his father or any other, if it be left vnto him, or any other goods iuſtly gotten by meanes of any gift or other lawful contract, or els ſome lawfull arte.

The papiſtes ſtand hard for their temporall lordſhips.

The ſecond concluſion: the Churche may lawfully haue and poſſeſſe temporall goods moueable and vnmoueable, houſes, landes, townes, and villages, caſtles and Cities, and in them haue a priuate and ciuill dominion. Your Ambaſſadour which diſputed agaynſt hym graũted thoſe concluſions, ſaying that they did not impugne the ſenſe of his Article beyng well vnderſtande, for ſo much as he vnderſtandeth hys Article, of ciuill dominion formally ment. Wherby, and alſo by other things, it may be vnderſtand, that thoſe wordes, to haue ſecular dominion expreſſed in the foreſayd Article, ſemeth to be referred to ſome ſpecial maner or kinde of dominion. But for ſomuch as, the doctrine of the churche is not to be intreated vpon by any ambiguous or doubtfull woordes, but fully and plainely: therefore we haue thought good more playnly to expreſſe that, whiche accordyng to the law of God, ⁊ the doctrine of the holy doctours, is vniuerſally to be beleued: that is to ſay, the two aforeſayd concluſions to be true. And alſo that the clergy ought faithfully to diſtribute the goods of the Church, whoſe adminiſtratours they are, accordyng to the decrees of the holy fathers: and that the vſurpation of the adminiſtratiõ of the Church goodes, done by any other then by them, vnto whom the adminiſtration is Canonically committed, can not be without gilt of ſacrilege.

Thus the ſacred Councell (ſayd they) hath diligently gone about accordyng to the veritie of the Goſpell, all ambiguitie ſet a part, to expounde the true ſenſe of the three foreſaid Articles. Wherfore, if there do yet remain any doubt according to the informatiõ whiche we haue receiued in the ſacred Councell, wee are ready by Gods helpe (who is the principall veritie) to declare the truth vnto you. If ye do receyue and embrace the declaration of the ſayd three Articles, whiche is grounded vpon the veritie of the holy Scripture, as you are boũd, and will effectually haue a pure, ſimple, and perfecte vnitie, touchyng the libertie of the cõmunion vnder bothe kyndes, whiche you deſire and require, whiche alſo you can not lawfully haue wythout the licence of holye churche: we haue authoritie from the generall Councell, by certeine meanes, to intreat and conclud with you, truſtyng that you will ſhewe your ſelues as you will continue.

The Bohemiãs take a deliberation of the fourth article.

These thynges thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they ſayd that they would gyue no aunſwere vnto the premiſſes, before they vnderſtood what ſhould be offred them as touchyng the communion. Wherefore it ſhalbe neceſſary to declare the mater, as it was written in forme folowyng.

A declaration of the councell touching the fourth article, of the communion.

In the name of God and our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, vpon the Sacrament of whoſe moſte bleſſed laſt ſupper we ſhall intreate, that he whiche hath inſtitute this moſt bleſſed Sacrament of vnitie and peace, will vouchesafe to worke this effect in vs, to make vs that we may be one in the ſaid Lord Ieſu our head, and that he will ſubuert all the ſubtilties of the deuill, whiche thorowe hys enuious craftynes, hath made the Sacrament of peace and vnitie, an occaſion of warre and diſcorde, that whileſt Chriſtians do contende touchyng the maner of communicatyng, they bee not depriued of the fruite of the communion. Wherupon S. Auguſtin in his ſermon vpõ infantes, in ỹ decrees De conſ. diſtinct. 2. Quia paſſus, ſaith thus: So the Lord Ieſu Chriſt certified vs and willed, that we ſhould apperteine vnto hym, and cõſecrated the miſtery of our peace and vnitie vpon the table. He that receiueth the miſterie of vnitie, ⁊ doth not kepe the bond of peace, dothe not receiue a miſterie for him ſelfe, but a teſtimonie agaynſt him ſelfe. This wee thought good aboue all thynges to bee premiſed, that the generall cuſtome of the Churche, whiche your fathers and you alſo in tymes paſt haue obſerued, hath a long tyme had ⁊ ſtill vſeth, that they whiche do not conſecrate, communicate onely vnder the kinde of bread. Whiche cuſtome beyng lawfully brought in by the Churche and holy fathers, ⁊ nowe a long tyme obſerued, it is not lawfull to reiect, or to chaunge at your will and pleaſure, without the authoritie of the churche. Therefore to chaunge the cuſtome of the Churche, and to take in hand to communicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes, without the authority of holy church, is altogether vnlawfull. For holy church vpon reaſonable occaſions, may graunt libertie to communicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes. And euery cõmunion which, being attempted without the authoritie ⁊ licence of ỹ church, ſhould be vnlawfull, when it is done wͭ the authoritie of holy church, ſhalbe lawfull, if other thinges let it not, we ſay if other things let it not: becauſe (as ỹ Apoſtle ſaith) he ỹ eateth ⁊ drinketh vnworthely, eateth ⁊ drinketh his own dampnatiõ. Whereupon ſaint Iſidore in the ſecond Diſtinct. vppon the conſecration writeth thus: They whiche lyue wickedly and ceaſe not dayly to cõmunicate in the churche, thinkyng thereby to be clenſed, let them learne, ỹ it doth nothyng at all profite them to the clẽſing of their ſinnes. And Saint Auguſtine in the ſame diſtinction ſayth, holy thinges may hurt the euill, for vnto the good they are ſaluation, but vnto the euill damnation. There are beſide this, manye other authorities. The Apoſtle Iudas was amongeſt them whiche did firſt communicate, but for ſomuch as he receyued vnworthely, hauyng ỹ ſinne of treaſon in his hart, it did profite him nothyng, but the deuil by ⁊ by exerciſed more ỹ power and authority ouer hym. This is declared by a great reaſõ: Which of you is it, ỹ if you ſhould receiue your Lorde into your houſe, would not with all diligence and care, ſtudye to make cleane and adorne his houſe, that hee may receaue hys Lord honeſtly: much more he that ſhall receaue his Lord and Sauiour into the houſe of his ſoule, ought diligently to make cleane and decke his ſoule, to clenſe it by the Sacrament of penaunce, with ſorrowe and contricion of harte, humbly, purely ⁊ truely confeſſyng his ſinnes, and receyuyng dew ſatiſfaction and penaunce, to adorne and decke the ſame with the purple or riche aray of deuotion, that the harte beyng ſo purged and adorned with feruent deſire, he may come to that moſt holy Sacrament, wherby God reconcileth all ỹ world vnto him.

Conſecrat. diſt.2. quia paſſus.

This is to ſet vp the Churche aboue the ſcripture.

The holy communiõ requireth amendmẽt of lyfe.

Holy things nothing profite the wicked.

The reuerent receauing of the ſacrament.

Wherfore, the moſt ſacred Synode admoniſheth, exhorteth, and commaundeth, that all Prieſts ſhould diligently exhorte and admoniſhe the people, and that they ſhould vſe all their care and indeuour, that no mã come to that moſt bleſſed Sacrament, except he be duely prepared with great reuerence ⁊ deuotion, leſt that which is receaued for the ſaluation of the ſoule, redound to the condempnation, thorow the vnworthy receuing therof.

Moreouer, doctours do ſay that the cuſtome of communicatyng vnto the people, onely vnder the kynde of bread, was reaſonably introduced by the Churche and holy fathers, for reaſonable cauſes, ſpecially for the auoydyng of. ij. perils: of errour and vnreuerence. Of errour, as to thinke that the one part of Chriſtes body wer in the bread, and the other part in the cup, whiche were a great errour. Of vnreuerence, for ſo much as many thynges may happen, as wel on the part of the miniſter, as on the part of the receauer: As it is ſayd that it happened when as a certaine prieſt, caryyng the Sacramẽt of the

Receyuing vnder one kynd, for auoyding two peril

Errour grounded vpõ errou

the cup vnto a ſicke mã, when he ſhould haue miniſtred, he found nothyng in the cup, beyng all ſpilt by the way, with many other ſuch like chãces. We haue heard more ouer that it hath often happened that the Sacrament cõſecrate in the cup, hath not bene ſufficient for the nomber of communicãtes, wherby a new conſecration muſt be made, whiche is not agreable to the doctrine of the holy fathers: and alſo that often tymes they doo miniſter wyne vnconſecrate for conſecrate wyne, whiche is a great perill. By this meanes then it ſhalbe brought to paſſe, that if you will effectually receaue the vnitie and peace of the churche, in all other thynges beſides the vſe of the communion vnder both kindes, conformyng your ſelues to the faith and order of the vniuerſall Churche, you that haue that vſe and cuſtome ſhall communicate ſtill by the authoritie of the churche vnder both kyndes, and this Article ſhalbe diſcuſſed full in the ſacred Councell, where you ſhal ſe what, as touchyng this Article, is to be holden as an vniuerſall veritie, and is to bee done for the profite and ſaluation of ẏ Chriſtiã people, and al thynges beyng thus thorowly handled, then if you perſeuer in your deſire, and that your Ambaſſadours doo require it, the ſacred Councell will graunt licence in the Lord, vnto your miniſters, to cõmunicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes: that is to ſay, to ſuch as be of lawfull yeares and diſcretion, and ſhall reuerently and deuoutly require the ſame, this alwayes obſerued, that the miniſters ſhall ſay vnto thoſe whiche communicate, that they ought firmely to beleue not the fleſhe onely to be conteyned vnder the forme of bread, and the bloud onely vnder the wyne, but vnder eche kynd to be whole and perfect Chriſt.

Thus hetherto wee haue declared the decree of the Councell. As touchyng the other doubts and queſtions, whiche were afterwarde moued by the Maiſters and Prieſtes of Boheme, the Ambaſſadours of the Councell aunſwered thus.

Firſt they ſayd, that it was not the meanyng of the ſacred Councell, to ſuffer the Communion vnder both kyndes by toleration, or as the libell of diuorſemẽt was permitted to the Iewes: for ſomuch as the Councell intendyng euen to open the bowels of motherlye charitie and pitie, vnto the Bohemians and Morauians, dooth not meane to ſuffer it with ſuch kynde of ſufferance, whiche ſhoulde not exclude ſinne, but ſo to graunte it, that by the authoritie of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſte, and of his true ſpouſe the churche, it may be lawfull, profitable and healthfull vnto thoſe whiche worthely receyue ẏ ſame. Alſo as touchyng that whiche was ſpoken by the ſayd Bohemians of the puniſhyng of offences, that it is in Scriptures, how ẏ God often tymes ſtirreth vp the hartes of priuate perſonnes, to the correction and puniſhyng of ſinnes, and ſo it ſhould ſeme lawfull vnto the inferiours to correct and puniſh their ſuperiours: they anſwered, alledgyng the text of S. Auguſtine in the xxxiij. decree: He that ſtriketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cauſe of death agaynſt them, is the miniſter of God: but he whiche without any publike adminiſtration or office murdereth or maymeth anye wicked theſe, ſacrilegious, adulterous or periured perſõ, or any other offender, ſhallbe iudged as an homicide, and ſo much the more ſharply in that hee feared not to abuſe & vſurpe ẏ power not graũted him of God: and truly, this citie would take it much more greuouſly, if any priuate man ſhould attempt to puniſh an offender, and ſet vp a gallowes in the ſtreat, and there hange hym, then if one man ſhould kill an other in brawle or quarell. They alledged alſo other textes of S. Ambroſe and S. Hierome agreable to the ſame. They ſayd that no man doubteth that the law of God is duely and holily appoynted, and therein is ſimply written, thou ſhalt not ſteale. And notwithſtandyng by the commaundemente of God the children of Iſraell caryed away the goodes of the Egyptians, whiche they had borowed of them. Alſo in the ſame lawe it is playnely written, thou ſhalt doo no morther. Wherupon S. Auſten in his firſt boke De Ciuitate Dei, proueth that it is not lawfull for any mã to kill him ſelf: and when as he maketh example of Sampſon, he aũſwereth wᵗ theſe wordes: when as God cõmandeth and doth affirme him ſelfe to cõmaunde without any doubt, who is he that will call obediẽce ſinne? or who will accuſe the obedience to God?

and no ſinne, though it be extraordinary.

The Iſraelites did ſteale from the Egyptians without ſinne.

Sampſon killed hym ſelfe without ſinne.

Here in this propoſition, you haue the woordes of S. Auſtẽ for an aũſwer. But let euery mã wel forſee, if god doo commaunde, or that he do intimate the cõmaundemẽt without any circũſtances, & let him proue ẏ ſpirits whether they be of God. But in ſuch caſes ther are no lawes to be geuẽ, neither are they much to be talked of, for therby there ſhould eaſely occaſiõ riſe to make ſedition, & for the inferiours to riſe againſt the ſuperiours. For when any man had ſtollen any thing, or killed anye man: he would ſay that he was moued thereunto by the ſpirite of God: but without manifeſt proofe therof, he ſhould be puniſhed.

Of extraordinary commaundementes, no generall lawes to be made.

Againe they ſayd that ther wer certayne caſes wherin the Laitie had power ouer the Cleargy. It was aunſwered, that there were certayne caſes in the law, wherin the Laitye hathe power ouer the Cleargye, and oftentimes ouer Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the Cardinals woulde not enter the Conclaue, to elect a newe Pope, the king, Prince, or other Lorde or ſeculer power may compell them: but in theſe caſes he is now no priuate perſon, but vſeth his iuriſdiction by the autority of the law. The like is to be vnderſtand of al other caſes expreſſed in the law.

Obiection.

Aunſweare.

How the laitie hath power ouer the clergy, and wherin.

The pope will be iudged by hys owne law.

They ſaid further, that no common lawe hath anye right or iuſtice, except Gods law do allow the ſame.

Obiection.

It was aunſwered that no common law hath right or iuſtice, if it be againſt the law of God, for becauſe the law of God is the rule of all other lawes. But there is great cunnyng and knowledge, in applying the rule to that whiche is made by the rule, for often tymes, it ſemeth that there is diuerſitie in the thyng made by the rule, when there is none in dede: but the default is in the applyng, becauſe the rule is not duely applyed to the thyng made by it.

Aunſwere.

As touchyng the Article of preachyng the woorde of God, it was moued that often tymes ſome Prelates, through their owne enuie and malice, with out any reaſonable cauſe, doo inhibite a good and meete preacher that preacheth catholickely and well.

Obiection.

Aunſwere was made, how that they vnderſtood wel inough that the abuſe of certeine Prelates, whiche dyd inordinatly behaue them ſelues, gaue a great occaſiõ of thoſe troubles. Alſo that they neuer heard any ſuch complaintes in thoſe parties, but that the Prelates doo fauour good preachers, and ſtirre them vp to preache, by intreatye, fauour, and promotion. In all ſuche caſes, there are remedyes alreadye prouided by the lawe: for when any man is ſo prohibited to vſe his ryght, he hath remedye to appeale: and if he doo truſte his appeale to bee iuſte, hee maye vſe his ryghte, all violence bothe of the ſpirituall and ſeculer power ſette aparte, for the ende of the matter ſhall declare if hee had iuſte cauſe to appeale. Thẽ ſhalbe declared that ẏ ſuperiour hath don euill in prohibitinge, and the pleantiue iuſtly in doing, and the ſuperiour for his vniuſt prohibitiõ ſhalbe puniſhed. But if he be iuſtly prohibited, and that throwe hys temerity, he do contemne the iuſte commaundement of his ſuperiour, he is worthye to be puniſhed with condigne punyſhment.

Aunſwere.

Abuſe of prelates in inhibiting true preachers.

Remedye of appeale.

Where it was moued concerninge the third article, whether it were lauful for ẏ eccleſiaſtical prelats to exercise in their proper perſon, the acts of ſeculer dominion:

Obiection.

here-

Aunſwere.

Actes of ſecular dominiō to be exercised of the clergye, after a double reſpecte, *vel per ſe, vel per alium.*

hereunto it was aunſwered, that if by thys worde actes of ſeculer dominiō, are vnderſtand actes which a ſeculer Lord may do or exerciſe, then is it to be ſaid, that a prelate may lawfully excerciſe ſome ſuch actes in his proper perſon, as to ſel, to paune or pledge, to infeofe by maner and forme ordeyned by law: but there are ſome acts, which it is not lawfull for thē to excerciſe in their proper perſon, but oughte to haue afterwarde, a vicegerent or proctor, to doo the ſame: whereupon there is prohibition made in the law in the Rubrike, ne clerus vel monachus ſecularibus negotiis ſe immiſceat, & in aliis rebus.

Obiection.

It was alſo moued, whether that coactiue power, which oughte to be excerciſed by a ſteward. ⁊. be in the handes of an eccleſiaſticall Prelate.

Aunſwere.

Coactiue power whether it belongeth to the clergye, and how.

Whereunto Iohn Polomair aunſwered, ẏ this queſtion preſuppoſeth an nother: whereof ther are diuers opinions amongſt the doctors, in whoſe power ẏ dominiō of the church ſhold be: and furthermore, whether ẏ actiōs bee in the perſon of ẏ tutor or proctor, or if they be not in their perſon, notwithſtanding by ẏ conſtitution of the actor or proctor (whoſe exerciſinge of thoſe actions doe geue authoritie vnto ẏ actor or proctor) they ⁊c: with other difficulties whereof it is not nedefull to ſpeake at this preſent. But for ſomuch as he was vrged to ſay his opiniō: he ſayd, that to ſuch as had either leyſure or pleaſure in diſputation, and woulde argue agaynſte hym, he would be contented to geue the choiſe to take whiche parte he woulde, but his opinion was rather that the dominion of churche matters ſhould be in the power of Chriſt: and the Prelates, with the other clergye, are but canonicall adminiſtrators in maner of tutors: but they haue more power and adminiſtration then tutors, ⁊ by conſtituting a ſteward or vicegerent. ⁊c. their conſtitution being duely made, the ſteward or vicegerent hath the ſame coactiue power and exerciſe of iuriſdiction.

Alſo as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the firſt concluſiō, it is agreed that theſe words, Iuſte requiſita, i. iuſtly gotten, alledged therein, determine all thinges conteyned in the ſame.

The goods of the church, in whoſe poſſeſſion they be properly.

12. *q. 1. cap. expedit.*

Alſo as touchinge the ſecond concluſion, where as the ſacred Canons ⁊ holy doctors ſpeake thus: the goodes of the churche, the ſubſtaunce of the churche, and the poſſeſſiōs of ẏ church, ⁊ diuers other opinions there be amonges ẏ doctors, in whoſe power ẏ rule therof ſhould be, as it is noted in ẏ gloſe. cap expedit. xii. queſt. 1: they do not intend to conſtrayn any mā to any of thoſe opinions, neither to exclude any of them, but ẏ euery man ſhould haue libertye, probablye to mainteyne which of them he thinketh beſt.

The clergie be adminiſtrators, not Lordes of the tēporalties of the church.

Moreouer, the Bohemians ſaid, that they did beleue that the clergye are but adminiſtrators of the temporalties of the Curch, and not Lordes therof, accordyng to the maner of ſpeakyng of the ſcriptures, holy doctors, ⁊ canons. Alſo the Bohemians ſayd, that in all occaſions which ſhall hereafter ryſe, they would wholy ſtand to ẏ determinatiō of ẏ iudge, agreed vpō in Egra, ẘ one conſent. In this maner did ẏ ambaſſadors make anſwer vnto ẏ Bohemiās. At the laſt, after much cōmunicatiō had to and fro, a concord and vnity was concluded and confirmed by ſetting to of their hands. The Bohemians promiſed to receyue the peace and vnity of the church, and the declaration of the iiij. articles. This was done in the yeare of our Lord. 1438. About the feaſt of S. Martin, it was afterward agreed both by the ambaſſadors of ẏ councell, and of Boheme, that whatſoeuer remayned, ſhould be determined ⁊ agreed vpō, firſt at Ratiſbona: afterward at Bruna in ẏ dioces of Olymuts: thē at Alba in Hungary, before ẏ emperour Sigiſmund, but the matter coulde not be ended in no place.

The agrement betwene the Bohemians & the cōūcell.

An. 1438

At the laſt the concorde was confirmed by writing, with their ſeales at Inglauia, a city of Morauia, ẏ v. day of Iuly in the preſence of the emperour.

¶ *Certaine peticions which the Bohemians put vp laſt* of all, in the ſacred councell of Baſill, An. 1438. in the month of Nouember.

Certaine petitions of the Bohemians put vp to the councell.

1438.

Vnto the moſt reuerent fathers in Chriſt, ⁊ our moſt gracious lordes. We ẏ ambaſſadors of the kingdom of Boheme, do moſt humbly ⁊ hartely require you that for the perpetuall preſeruation of the peace ⁊ concorde, and for the firme preſeruation of all thinges contayned in the compoſitiō, you wil vouchſafe of your clemency, to geue and graunt vnto vs al ⁊ ſinguler our requeſts, here vnder writen, with effectual execution of ẏ ſame.

The communion in both kinds to be generally graunted.

Firſt and aboue all thyngs, we deſire ⁊ require you, for the extirpation of diuers diſſenſions and controuerſies, whiche wil vndoubtedly folow amongſt our people vpon the diuerſitie of the communion, and for the aboliſhing of infinite euils, which we are not able to expreſſe as we haue conceiued thē, ẏ you will gentilly vouchſafe of your goodnes and liberalitie, to geue, graunt ⁊ commaund, vnto our kyngdome of Boheme, and Marqueſdom of Morauia, one vniforme order of ẏ cōmunion vnto all men, vnder both kindes: that is to ſay, vnto ẏ Archbyſhop of Prage, the Byſhop of Luthonus, Olmutz, and other Prelates of the kyngdome and Marqueſdome, hauyng charge of ſoules, and to their vicares, and alſo to their flockes and ſubiectes, and that accordyng to thoſe thyngs whiche are contayned in the Bull of the Ambaſſadours, and in the compoſitions made in the name of ẏ whole Councell, writtē in the chap. Pro firmitate, where it is thus ſayd, *and all other thinges ſhall be done, which ſhall be meete and neceſſarye for the preſeruation of the peace and vnitie.* For this done by your benefite, the whole kyngdom ſhalbe comforted aboue meaſure, ⁊ eſtabliſhed in brotherly loue: wherby an vniforme ſubiectiō ⁊ obediēce ſhalbe perpetually attributed vnto the holye churche.

Item, we require and deſire (as before) that for the auoyding of all falſe ſuſpition and doubtfulnes of many, which ſuppoſe that the ſacred councell hath grāted the ſayd Cōmunion vnder both kyndes vnto vs but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholſome, but as the libell of diuorcement: ẏ you will vouchſafe, according to this chapter alledged in the cōpoſitions: *Fyrſt they ſayd, that it was not the entent of the ſacred Councell, &c*: wholſomely ⁊ ſpedely to prouide for our ſafetie ⁊ your grāūt in this behalfe, and with the bulles of your letters, to confirme that chapter together with the other, perteynyng to the office of your Ambaſſadours.

To haue a good and lawful paſtor, and biſhops.

Item, we beſech you (as afore) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the diſcipline of al the Clergy, and for the final defence ⁊ obſeruatiō of all things determined ⁊ agreed vpō, and for the good order in ſpiritualties, ye wil vouchſafe effectually to prouide for vs a good and lawfull Paſtor, archbiſhops ⁊ biſhops, which ſhall ſeme vnto vs moſt mete and acceptable for our kyngdome, to execute thoſe offices and duties.

Free cōmunion vnder both kindes to be permitted to all princes.

Item, we require you (as aforeſayde) that your fatherlye reuerences wyll vouchſafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kingdome and Marqueſdome, to declare and ſhewe our innocencye, in that they haue communicated, doo, and hereafter ſhall communicate vnder both kindes: to geue out, ordayne, and direct the letters of the ſacred councell, in maner and forme moſt apt and meete for ſuch declaration, vnto all princes, as wel ſeculer as ſpiritual, cities and communalties, according to the compoſitions, and as the Lordes the Ambaſſadors are bound vnto vs for to do.

Item, we deſyre you, that in the diſcuſſing of the matter for the communion vnder both kyndes, and of the commaundement thereof geuen vnto all faythfull, ye wyll not procede otherwyſe then according to the concordatū agreed vpon in Egra: that is to ſay, according to the law of God, the order of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, the generall councels, and the myndes of the holy doctors,

truely

truly grounded vpon the law of God.

Item we deſire that your fatherly reuerences, conſidering the greate affection of our people, wyll geue vs the deſired liberty to communicate vnto yͤ yonger ſort, the ſacrament of the ſupper. For if thys vſe of communicating ſhould be taken away, which our kingdom being godlye moued by the writinges of moſte great and holy doctors, and brought in by examples, hath receiued as catholike, and exerciſed nowe a long time: verelye it ſhould rayſe vp an intolerable offence amõgeſt the people, & their myndes wold be greuouſly vexed & troubled.

Item we require you (as before) that for lyke cauſes your fatherly reuerẽces, would vouchſafe to permit, at the leaſt yͤ Goſpells, Epiſtles, and Crede to be ſong and red in the church in our vulgare toung, before yͤ people, to moue them vnto deuotion: for in our Slauon language it hath bene vſed of old in the church, and lykewyſe in our kingdome.

Item we require you in the name of the ſayd kyngdome, and of the famous vniuerſity of Praze, that your fatherlye reuerences woulde vouchſafe to ſhewe ſuche diligence and care towardes the deſired reformation of that Vniuerſity, that according to the maner & forme of other Vniuerſities reformed by the Church, Prebendes and collations of certayne benefices of Cathedrall and pariſh churches, may be annexed and incorporate vnto the ſayd vniuerſity, that thereby it maye bee increaſed and preferred.

Item, we deſire you (as before) as hartely as we may, & alſo (ſauing alwaies your fatherly reuerence) requyre you, & by yͤ former compoſitions we moſt inſtantlye admoniſh you, yͭ with your whole mindes & endeuours, & with al care & ſtudy, your reuerences wil watch & ſeke for that long deſired & moſt neceſſary reformatiõ of the church & Chriſtiã religion, & effectually labour for yͤ rooting out of all publike euils, as wel in the head, as in the members, as you haue often promiſed to do in our king dom, in the cõpoſitions, & as our fourth article, touching the auoiding of al publicke euills, doth exacte & require.

There were certaine anſwers prouided by the councel, to theſe petitions of the Bohemiãs, which were not deliuered vnto them, but kept backe, for what purpoſe or entent we know not. Wherfore, becauſe we thought them not greatly neceſſarye for this place, and alſo to auoyde prolixitie, we haue iudged it mete at this preſent to omitte thẽ. Thus haue ye hearde compendiouſlye the chiefe and principall matters intreated and done in this famous councell of Baſill. And here (to conclude withal) we haue thought good to declare vnto you, for the ayde and helpe of the ignoraunt people (whych iudge manye things to be of longer time & continuaunce, thẽ in dede they be, & therupõ haue eſtabliſhed a great part of their opinions) how that, toward the latter end of thys councell, that is to ſay in the .xxxvi. Seſſion of the ſame, holden the .xvij. day of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1439. the feaſt of the conception of our Ladye, was ordayned to be holden and celebrate yearely. In lyke caſe alſo in the .xliiij. Seſſion of the ſame councell, holden the firſt day of July, an. 1441. was ordained the feaſt of the viſitation of our Lady, to be celebrate and holdẽ yearely in the month of July. We haue alſo thought it good, before we do end this ſtory, to annexe hereunto certaine decrees, profitably and wholſomly ordayned in the ſaid councell, againſt the inordinate geuing of yͤ eccleſiaſticall benefices and liuinges by the Pope, with certayne other conſtitutions alſo, fruitfull for the behalfe and edification of the church.

Duryng the tyme that the generall Councell at Baſill, was ſo diligent and carefull about the reformation of the churche, this one thyng ſemed good vnto them to be proſecuted and folowed with an earneſt care and diligence, that through euery churche, apte and mete miniſters might be appointed, which might ſhine in vertue & knowledge, to the glory of Chriſt and the healthfull edifying of the Chriſtian people: whereunto the multitude of expectatiue graces hath bene a great impedimẽt and let, in yͭ they haue bene founde to haue brought greuous troubles, diuers diſorders, and many daungers vpõ the eccleſiaſticall ſtate. For hereby often tymes, ſcarſly apte or meete miniſters haue bene apointed for the churches, whiche are neither knowen nor examined: and this expectation of voyde benefices (as the old lawes do witneſſe) doth geue occaſiõ to deſire an other mans death, which is greatly preiudiciall vnto ſaluation: beſides that, innumerable quarels and contentions are moued amongeſt the ſeruauntes of God: rancour and malice nouriſhed: the ambitiõ and gredy deſire of pluralities of benefices maintayned: and the riches & ſubſtaunce of kingdomes and prouinces maruallouſly conſumed. Poore men ſuffer innumerable vexations, by runnyng vnto the court of Rome. They are often tymes ſpoyled and robbed by the way: troubled and afflicted with diuers plages, and hauyng ſpent their patrimony and ſubſtance lefte them by their parẽtes, they are conſtrayned to liue in extreme pouertie. Many do chalenge benefices, whiche without any iuſt title (yea ſuch in dede as ought not to haue thẽ) obtayne and get yͤ ſame: ſuche I ſay as haue moſt crafte & ſubtiltie to deceiue their neighbour, or haue greateſt ſubſtaunce to contende in the lawe. It happeneth often tymes that vnder the intrication of theſe prerogatiues, antelations, and ſuch other as do aſſociate theſe expectatiue graces, much craft and diſceit is founde. Alſo, often tymes the miniſtery is taken away from yong men, by their ordinary geuers, whiles that by yͤ trouble of thoſe contentions, and diuers diſcourſes, runnyng to & fro by meanes of thoſe graces, they are vexed and troubled, the Eccleſiaſticall order is confounded, whiles that euery mannes authoritie & iuriſdictiõ is not preſerued: and the Byſhops of Rome alſo, by chalenging & takyng vpon them to much the office of the inferiours, are withdrawen from more waighty and frutefull matters, neither do they diligently attend to the guidyng and correctiõ of the inferiours, as the publike vtility doth require. All whiche thynges do bryng a great confuſion vnto the clergy, and Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, to the great preiudice and hinderaunce of Gods true woorſhyp, and publicke ſaluation.

Vowſons and giftes of benefices before they were voyde, debarred by this Councell: which vowſons here are called expectatiue graces.

Inconueniẽces that ryſe by vowſons of benefices.

In the ſame Councell alſo diuers other conſtitutions were made, not vnprofitable for reformation, and for remouyng of certaine abuſes and diſorders brought in, eſpecially by the Byſhop of Rome, as touching cauſes not to bee brought vp and tranſlated to the court of Rome: Wherin it was decreed, yͭ no actions nor cõtrouerſies ſhould be brought frõ other countreis, to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond .iiij. dayes iourney diſtant frõ yͤ ſayd court of Rome, a few principall matters onely excepted. Alſo, that no friuolous appeales ſhould bee made to the pope hereafter. It was moreouer in yͤ ſame Councell decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, that they ſhould not excede the number of .xxiiij. beſides them that were already, and that they ſhould be frely taken out of all countreis: and that they ſhould not be of kynne to the Byſhop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemiſhed with any ſpot or crime. Alſo for Annates or firſt frutes, or halfe frutes, it was there prouided, yͭ no ſuch Annates for confirmatiõ of electiõs, or collation of benefices, ſhould be payd or reſerued any more to the Pope, for yͤ firſt yeares voydance. All which thynges there agreed and concluded by them, were afterwarde confirmed and ratified by the Frenche kyng Charles .vii. with the full conſent of all his Prelates, in his hygh court of Parliament in Bitures, and there called Pragmatica Sanctio. an. 1438. wherupon great vtilitie enſued afterward to the kyngdome of Fraunce. Albeit in proceſſe of tyme, diuers Friers there were, which wrote agaynſt

No controuerſies to be brought to Rome beyond iiii. dayes iourney frõ thence.

No friuolous appeales to be made to the pope.

Againſt the ſuperfluous number of cardinals

Againſt the popes fyrſt fruites.

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolũ. 7.

agaynſt the ſame.Ex lib.Pragm.Sanctionis.

Amongeſt many decrees of the ſayd Councell of Baſill, in the.xix. Seſſiō there was alſo a decree made touchyng the cōuertyng of Iewes and yong nouelles in religion, vnto the Chriſtian faith.

An acte made for the conuerſion of the Iewes.

Alſo that all ordinaries ſhould yearely at appointed tymes, prouide certeyne men well learned in the holye Scriptures, in ſuch places where Iewes and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholicke fayth, ỷ they acknowledgyng their errour, myght forſake the ſame: vnto the which preachyng, ỷ ſayd miniſters ſhould compel thē to reſorte, and to heare, vnder payne of excludyng them from occuppyeng any more in that place: prouided that the ſayd Dioceſans and preachers ſhould behaue thē ſelues towardes thē, mercyfully and with all charitie, wherby they myght wynne thē to Chriſt, not onely by the declaryng of the veritie, but alſo in exhibityng other offices of humanitie.

An acte for ſtudying the Hebrue, Greeke, Latyn, and Chaldey.

And to the intent their preachyng might be the more frutefull, ⁊ that the preachers might be ỷ better inſtructed in the tongues, it was alſo in the ſame Councell prouided and commaunded, that the conſtitution made before in the councell of Vienna for learnyng the Hebrue, Chalday, Araby, and Greke tōgue, ſhould by all meanes be obſerued and kept, and ordinarye ſtipendes prouided for them that ſhould teache the ſame toungues.

Agaynſt prieſts that kept concubines.

An other decrée moreouer in the.xx. Seſſion was enacted, that who ſoeuer was knowen or publickly noted to be a keper of Concubines, ſhould be ſequeſtred from all frutes of his benefices for ỷ ſpace of.3.monethes, which frutes ſhould be conuerted by ỷ ordinary, to the reparations, or ſome other vtilitie of the Churche, and if he dyd not ſo amend, it was by the Synode decreed ỷ he ſhould be clerely depoſed from all his benefices.

Furthermore, the ſayd Synode did greatlye inueye agaynſt thē, which, hauyng the iuriſdiction of ỷ church, did not ſhame to ſuffer ſuch whoremaiſters for brybes and money, ſtill to continue in their filthynes.⁊c.

By theſe decrees of the Councell aboue ſpecified, it is to be ſene, what corruptiō had bene thē frequented in the Churche of God, throughe the Byſhop and court of Rome. For the more expreſſe declaration whereof, wee thought it not much impertinent here to infer ỷ wordes of one Martin Meyr, writyng to Aeneas Siluiꝰ, touching and noting the ſayd corruptions: the tenour of whoſe epiſtle here enſueth.

¶ *Vnto the reuerend father, the lord Æneas Cardinall of Sene,*

Martin Meyr, Chauncelour to the Byſhop of Mentz, wiſheth health.

An epiſtle of Martyn Meyr to *Æneas Syluius*, tranſlated into Engliſhe, the latine wherof is extant in the former edition of thys booke.

Ex Orth. Grat.

I Haue vnderſtande by certaine of my frendes letters, that you are created Cardinall. I am glad for your parte, that you haue recepued ſo worthy rewardes for your vertues. I reioyſe alſo for my owne part, that my freud hath attayned vnto ſuch a dignity, wherin he may in time to come, both helpe me & my frendes. But this is a grief vnto me, ỷ you haue happened vpon thoſe daies, whiche ſeeme to be troubleſome to the Apoſtolicke ſea. For there are many cōplaintes made vnto my Lord the Archbiſhop, vpon the pope, that he wil neither kepe the decrees of the Councell of Conſtance, neither of Baſill, neither yet thinketh him ſelfe bound to the couenauntes of his predeceſſours, and ſeemeth vtterly to contemne our nation, and to ſeke the vtter ruine thereof. For it is euident that the election of Prelates is euery where reiected: benefices and dignities, of what ſorte ſo euer they be, are reſerued for the Cardinals and chief notaries: and you your ſelfe haue obtayned the reſeruation of. iij. prouinces of Germany, vnder ſuche a forme, as hath not bene accuſtomed, or heard of. Vowſons or giftes of benefices are graunted without nomber: yearely ſtipendes, and halfe the reuenues are exacted without delaye, and it is euident that there is more extorted then is due. The regimentes of Churches are not committed vnto ſuch as beſt deſerue them, but vnto ſuch as offer moſt money for them, and new pardons are graūted out dayly to ſcrape and gather together money, Tythes are commaunded to bee exacted without the conſente of our Prelates, for the Turkiſhe warre, and thoſe matters whiche were accuſtomed to bee debated and determined at home, are nowe caried vnto the Apoſtolicke ſea of Rome. A thouſand wayes are inuented and deuiſed, howe the ſea of Rome may by ſubtilty and by craft, extort and get golde and treaſure from vs, euē as it were of the Turkes or Barbarians: wherby our nation, which was ſomtime famous & valiaunt, which by their power & bloud, cōquered the Romaine Empire, and was once the Lady and Queene of al the world, now being brought vnto pouerty, is made a handmayde, and become tributary, and beyng now in extreme miſerye, hath of longe tyme bewayled her cruell fortune and pouerty. But now our nobles beyng (as it were) wakened out of their ſleape, haue begon to conſider and deuiſe with them ſelues, by what meanes they might withſtande this calamity, and vtterlye ſhake of this yoke and bondage, and haue determined with them ſelues to chalenge agayn their former liberty. This wil be no ſmall loſſe vnto the court of Rome, if the princes of Germany bryng to paſſe that whiche they haue deuiſed. Wherfore as much as I do reioyce of your late obtained dignity, ſo much alſo am I moued and greued that theſe thynges happen in your dayes. But peraduēture Gods determination is otherwiſe, & his will ſhall ſurely take place. You in the meane time be of a good chere, & deuiſe according to your wiſedome, by what meanes, the vehemencie of theſe floudes maye be ſtayed. Thus fare you well.

The co
tion of
church
Rome
tected.

From Haſthaffenberge, the laſt day of Auguſt.

The au
ritie of
councell
of Baſill
expende

Concerning the autority of this generall councel of Baſill, what is to be eſtemed by the Actes ⁊ fruites thereof, may be vnderſtand of all good men. Neyther was it of any mā doubted in the firſt beginning, ſo long as the Pope agreed and conſented vnto it. But after the Pope began to draw backe, many other followed, eſpeciallye of the richer ſort of Prelates, which had anye thing to loſe: whereof ſufficientlye hath bene ſayd by Arelatenſis the Cardinall before. In the number of theſe vncōſtant prelates, beſides many other, was firſt Cardinal Iulian, the firſt collector of this councell, and Vicegerent of the Pope, as by his feruent and vehement letter wrytten to pope Eugenius in defence of this councell, may well appeare: Wherin he moſt earneſtly doth expoſtulate with the foreſayd Pope Eugenius, for ſeekyng to diſſolue the councell, and declareth in the ſame manye cauſes, why he ſhould rather reioyce, and geue God thankes, for the godlye procedinges, and ioyfull agrement betwene the councel and the Bohemians, and ſo exhorteth him with manifold perſuaſions, to reſort to the councel him ſelfe, and not to ſeeke the diſſolution of the ſame. The copye ⁊ tenour of whoſe epiſtle to the pope, if any be diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame, is extant in our former edition of Actes and Monumentes, ther to be ſene and red. Pag.330.

The epi
of the C
dinall Iu
to the
pope, in
commen
dation o
the coun
cell of
Baſill.

In like manner Aeneas Syluius alſo, with hys owne hande and writing, not onely gaue teſtimonye to the autority of this councell, but alſo beſtowed hys labour and trauail in ſetting forth the whole ſtory therof. Notwithſtanding, the ſame Syluius afterwarde being made Pope, with hys new honour, did alter and chaunge hys old ſentence. The Epiſtle of which Aeneas, touching the commendation of the ſayde Councell, becauſe it is but ſhort, and will occuppye but litle roume, I thought here vnder, for the more ſatiſfieng of the readers mynde, to inſerte.

¶ *An Epiſtle of Æneas Syluius, to the Rector*

of the Vniuerſitie of Colen.

An epiſ
of *Æne*
Syluius
in defen
of the co
cel of B

TO a Chriſtian mā, which wyl be a true Chriſtian in dede, nothing ought to be more deſyred, thē that the ſyncerity & purenes of faith, geuē to vs of Chriſt by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and if at any time, any thing be wrought or attempted againſt the tru doctrine of the Goſpell, the people ought with one conſent, to prouide lawful remedy, and euery man to bring wyth hym ſome water to quench the generall fyre: Neyther muſt we feare howe we be hated or enuied, ſo we bring the truth. we muſt reſiſt euery mā to his face, whether he be Paule or Peter, if he walk not directly to the truth of the Goſpell, which thing I am glad, and ſo are we all, to heare that your vniuerſitye hath done in thys councell of Baſell. For a certayne treatiſe of yours is broughte hether vnto vs, wherein you reprehende the rudenes, or rather ẏ raſhnes of ſuch, which do deny the biſhop of Rome, and the Conſiſtorye of hys iudgement, to be ſubiect vnto the generall Councell, and that the ſupreame tribunall ſeate of iudgement ſtandeth in the Church, and in no one Biſhop. Such mē as denye this, you ſo confounde wyth lyuely reaſons and truth of the ſcriptures, that neyther they are able to ſlyde awaye lyke ſlippery Eeles, neyther to cauill or bryng anye obiection agaynſt you. These be the wordes of *Æneas*.

tribu- ſeate deth in one ſhop.

Furthermore, as touching the autoritye and approbation of the foreſayd Councell, this is to be noted, that during the lyfe of Sigiſmund the Emperour, no man reſiſted thys Councel. Alſo continuing the time of Charles the. vij. the French kyng, the ſayd Councell of Baſil was fully and wholy receiued through all Fraunce. But after ẏ death of Sigiſmund, whē Eugenius was depoſed, ⁊ Fœlix, duke of Sauoy, was elected Pope, great diſcordes aroſe, ⁊ much practiſe was wrought, but eſpecially on Eugenius part. Who being now excōmunicate by ẏ coūcell of Baſill, to make his part more ſtrong, made. xviij. new Cardinals. Thē he ſent his Oratours vnto ẏ Germains, labouring by all perſwaſions to diſſolue the Coūcell of Baſil. The Germaines at that time were ſo diuided, that ſome of them did hold with Fœlix, and the Councell of Baſil: other ſome, with Eugenius and the councel of Ferraria: and ſome were neuters. After this, the French kyng being dead, which was Charles the. vij. about the yeare of our Lord. 1444. the Pope beginneth a new practiſe, after the old guiſe of Rome, to excite (as is ſuppoſed) the Dolphyn of Fraunce, by force of armes, to diſſipate that Councell collected agaynſt him. Who leading an army of. xv. thouſand men into Alſatia, did cruellye waſte and ſpoyle ẏ countrey: after that, layde ſiege vnto Baſil to expell and driue out the prelats of the Councell. But the Heluetians moſt ſtoutly meeting their enemies wyth a ſmall power, did vanquiſh the Frenchmen, and put thē to ſword and flight: lyke as the Lacedemonians onelye with three hundred, dyd ſuppreſſe, and ſcattered all the mighty army of Xerxes, at Thermopylæ.

e autho of the ncell Baſill ntained the En- our and French g, ſo gas y liued.

e prac- of pope genius, dooe Coūcell Baſill.

e pope eth vp ne.

Dol- n driuē y by a e Ger- nes.

Although Baſill thus by the valiauntnes of the Heluetians was defended, yet notwithſtandyng the Councell through theſe tumultes, could not continue by reaſon of ẏ princes Ambaſſadours, whiche ſhronke away, ⁊ would not tary: So ẏ at lēgth Eugenius brought to paſſe, partly through ẏ helpe of Fridericke (being not yet Emperour, but labouryng for the Empire) partly by his Oratours (in the nūber of whom was Æneas Syluius, aboue mētioned) amongeſt ẏ Germanes, ẏ they were content to geue ouer both the Coūcell of Baſill ⁊ their neutrality.

e diſſo- n of e Coun- of Baſil.

This Fridericke of Auſtrich being not yet Emperour, but towardes the Empire, brought alſo to paſſe, that Fœlix, whiche was choſen of the Councell of Baſill, to bee Pope, was contented to renoūce and reſigne his Papacie to Nicolaus the fifte, ſucceſſour to Eugenius. Of the which Nicolaus, the ſayde Fridericke was confirmed at Rome to be Emperour, and there crowned. an. 1451.

dericke Auſtrich wned perour, grand er to Maxi- lian.

As theſe thynges were doing at Baſill, in the meane ſeaſon, pope Eugenius brought to paſſe in his conuocatiō at Florence, that the Emperour, and the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, with the reſt of the Grecians there preſent, were perſuaded to receaue the ſentēce of ẏ church of Rome, concernyng the procedyng of the holy Ghoſt: alſo to receaue the communion in vnleauened bread, to admitte Purgatory, and to yelde them ſelues to the autoritie of the Romiſhe Byſhop. Whereunto notwithſtandyng, the other churches of Grecia would in no wiſe aſſente, at their commyng home: In ſo much, that with a publike execration they did condemne afterwarde all those Legates, which had conſented to theſe Articles, that none of them ſhould be buried in Chriſten buriall: which was. an. 1439. Ex Caſp. Peucer.

e Le- n of Grekes deſcend to the s law.

The Greke churches refuſe the popes doctrine.

And thus endeth the ſtory, both of the Coūcel of Baſill, and of the Councell of Florence, alſo of the Emperour Sigiſmund, and of the Schiſme betwene pope Eugenius, and pope Fœlix, and alſo of the Bohemians. The whiche Bohemians notwithſtandyng all theſe troubles and tumultes, aboue ſaid, did right wel, and were ſtrōg enough agaynſt all their enemies, till at length, through diſcorde, partly betwene the. ij. preachers of the old and the new citie of Prage, partly alſo through the diſcord of the meſſengers and captaines, taking ſides one againſt ẏ other, they made their enemies ſtronge, ⁊ infeabled thē ſelues. Albeit afterward, in proces of tyme, they ſo defēded the cauſe of their religiō, not by ſword, but by argument and diſputation, that the Byſhop of Rome could neuer yet to this daye, remoue the Thaborites, and citie of Prage, from the communiō of both the kyndes, nor could euer cauſe them to kepe the cōditions, whiche in ẏ begynnyng of the Coūcell, was enioyned their prieſtes to obſerue, as teſtifieth Cochleus. Lib. 8. hiſt. Huſs. With whom alſo accordeth Antoninus, who in. 3. part. hiſt. ſayth, that the doctrine of the Bohemians, whiche he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take ſo depe rote with them, and grew ſo faſt, that afterward, neither by fyre nor ſword, it could be extinct. Antoninus. 3. part. hiſt. tit. 22. capit. 10.

The inconuenience of diſcorde.

Ex Cochleo. lib. 8. hiſt. Huſſit.

Ex Antonin. 3. part hiſt. tit. 22. c. 10.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly and in a generall ſumme, to recapitulate their whole actes ⁊ doings, here is to be noted, that they in their own defence, ⁊ in the quarell of Iohn Hus, ⁊ Hierome of Prage, prouoked by their catholike aduerſaries to warre, fightyng vnder Ziſca their captaine, had eleuen battayles wyth the Popes ſyde, and euer went away victours. Ex paral. Abb. Vrſp. in Epitaphio Ioā. Ziſc. Moreouer in ẏ hiſtorye of Peucer it is teſtified, that Pope Martin. v. ſending for the biſhop of Wint. then Cardinall, had leuied. 3. maine armyes, entendyng to ouerrunne all the Bohemians: one army of the Saxones, vnder the prince Elector, the ſecond of the Francones, vnder the Marques of Brandeburge, the thirde of Renates, Bauarians, and Suechers, vnder Otto archbiſhop of Treuers. With theſe, Sigiſmund alſo the Emperour, and Cardinall Iulian the Popes Legate (who at laſt was ſlaine in warre, ⁊ being ſpoyled of all his attire, was left naked in ẏ fielde) ioyned all theyr force. Who ioyning together fyue times (ſayth the ſtory) with fiue ſundry battayles, aſſayled and inuaded the Bohemians: at euery which battayle, fyue tymes ẏ ſayd aduerſaries ſtroken and daunted with a ſodaine feare, ranne away out of ẏ field, leauing their tentes, wyth all their implementes and furniture behinde them, before any ſtroke was geuen. Ex Caſp. Peuc. lib. 5. Wherby it may appeare, the holy angels of God to fyght for thē which embraced the ſyncere doctrine of Chriſtes goſpell.

Ex hiſt. Caſpari Peucer. lib. 5.

Cardinall Iulian the warrier, ſlaine in warre, and left naked in the field.

Maruelous feare fallen vpon the popes armye.

Gods holy Angells pytche their tentes about them which feare hym. Pſal.

Thus the Bohemians, through the mighty protection of almighty God, continued a long time inuincible, during all the lyfe of Ziſca, and alſo of Procopius, tyll at length, through diſcord growing betwene them ⁊ theyr Captaines, Procopius and Mainardus, they were ſubdued vnto their enemyes.

And here by the way, is not to be omitted the wicked and cruell fact of Mainardus, who after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realm of Boheme of thoſe chiefe and principall ſoldiours, which had bene long experte and trayned vp in warres, founde meanes by a proclamation made, as though he would warre againſt other coūtreies of their enemies bordering about them, craftely to trayne all them which were diſpoſed to take wages, into certayne barnes or houels, prepared for the ſame purpoſe, and ſo ſhutting the dores vpon them, the wicked diſſembler ſet fire vpon them, and brent of them

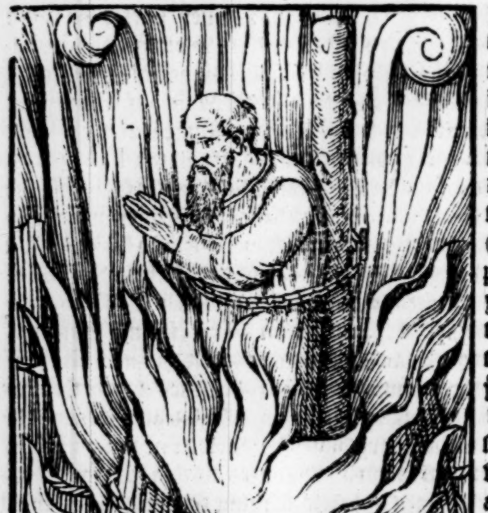
The cruell deceite & wicked facte of Mainardus agaynſt the fouldiours of Boheme.

Certaine thouſandes of the Bohemian ſouldiours brent.

diuers thouſandes, & ſo brought ẏ reſt by that meanes, vnder ſubiection to the Emperour duryng hys lyfe time, which after that continued not long. Ex Æne.Syl. The whiche ſouldiours, if they had fought ſo much for the catholike liberties of the Pope and his Churche, as they fought agaynſt hym, it is marueill if the Pope had not dignified them all for holye martirs. But they that kill with the ſword (ſayth Chriſt) ſhall periſhe wyth the ſword. Notwithſtādyng, the cruell deceite of Mainardus is worthy of all men to be deteſted.

Ex Ænea Sylu.lib.de hiſt.Boem. cap.51.

Duryng this buſines among the Biſhops beyond the ſea, in the meane tyme our Byſhops here alſo in England, were not vtterly vnoccupyed. Whether it be ẏ nature of the countrey that ſo geueth: or whether ẏ great lyuynges & wealthy promotions of the clergy, do draw with them a more inſenſible vntowardnes in Gods religion, hard it is to ſay: thys is manifeſt to all thē whiche will read and marke our ſtories from time to tyme, that in England is more burnyng and ſlaying for religion & for all other matters: more bloudſhed among vs thē in any other land or nation in Chriſtendome beſides. After the burnyng of Rich. Houeden, of Nicolas Canon, and of Thomas Bagley prieſt, aboue recorded, pag.790. whom the biſhops cōdemned to death. an.1431. not long after, about the yeare of our Lord.1439. whiche was ẏ .xvij. of the reygne of kyng Henr. 6. they had an other poore mā by the backe, named Richard vviche, prieſt, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, & alſo in an other old Engliſh Chronicle borowed of one Permynger. What his opiniōs were, they do not expreſſe. This they recorde, ẏ this Rich. vviche, firſt was degraded, thē burned at ẏ tower hil for hereſy. Some do affirme that he before his death, reuolted, but that ſemeth by his burning, not to be true. It is alſo teſtifyed of hym, ẏ hee, before hys death, ſpake (as prophecyinge) ẏ the poſterne of ẏ tower ſhoulde ſincke: whiche alſo afterwarde, came as he ſaid, to paſſe. Wherfore of many of the people he was counted for an holy man: In ſo muche that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place, where hee was brent, and there made theyr oblations, and prayers, and areyred a great heape of ſtones, and ſet vp a croſſe there by night: ſo ẏ by this meanes a gret clamour ranne vpon the church men, and eſpecially vpon ſuch, as put him to death. Then to ceaſe ẏ rumour, the kyng gaue commaundement to puniſh ſuch, as wēt thether on pilgrimage. By vertue wherof, ẏ Maior and Shriffes did ſuch diligence, that ſhortly after, that concourſe and ſekyng of the people, was left of.



England noted of crueltie.

Burnyng and ſlaying in England.

1439.

Richard Wiche prieſt, martyr. *Ex Fabian. part.7. Ex antiquo alio Chronico.*

Richarh Wyche, after his death taken for a ſaincte.

After the burning of this man, which was about the moneth of Iune, in the ſame yeare about Nouember, a conuocation was called by Henry Archbiſhop of Cant. wherein was propounded among the Clergye, to conſulte with thē ſelues, what way were beſt to be taken, for the remouing away the law of Premuniri facias: for ſo were the hartes then of the temporaltie ſet agaynſt the eccleſiaſticall ſort, that where any vauntage myght be geuen them by the lawe, they did nothyng ſpare: by reaſon wherof, the churchmen at that tyme were greatly moleſted by the ſayd law of Premuniri, & by the kings writtes, & other inditemēts, to their no ſmal anoyance. By long conſultation and good aduiſement, at laſt this way was taken, that a petition or ſupplication ſhoulde be drawen and preſented to the kyng, for the aboliſhing of the foreſayd law of Premuniri facias, and alſo for the reſtraynyng of other briefes, wryts, and inditementes, which ſeemed then to lye heauy vpon the Clergy. Thys byll or ſupplication being cōtriued and exhibited by the Archb. of Cant. and of Yorke, vnto the king, & the kyng ſtādyng in nede ẏ ſame time, of a ſubſidye to be collected of the Clergye: this anſwer was geuen to their ſupplication on the kinges behalfe: that forſomuch as the time of Chriſtenmas then drew neare, wherby he had as yet no ſufficient leyſure to aduiſe vpon the matter, he wold take therein a farther pauſe. In the meane tyme, as one tendering their quiet, he woulde ſende to all his officers and miniſters within his realme, that no ſuche briefe of Premuniri, ſhould paſſe agaynſt them or anye of them, from the ſayd tyme of Chriſtenmas, till the next parliament, an.1439. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

Ex Regiſt. Henr.Chicheſley.

The byſhops con ſult to aboliſhe th lawe of *Premuni ri facias.*

The king anſwere the byll o the clergy touching the law Premuniri

In my former edition of Actes and Monumentes, ſo haſtely raſhed vp at that preſent, in ſuche ſhortnes of time, as in the ſayd booke thou mayeſt ſee (gentle reader) declared and ſignified: amonge many other matters therin contayned, there is a ſhorte note made of one Eleanor Cobham duches of Glocester, and of Syr Roger Onley knight (prieſt it ſhould haue bene printed.) Which two perſons, about ẏ yeare of our Lord.1440. or ẏ next yeare followyng, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetuall priſon. Of this little ſhort matter, maiſter Cope the Popes Scoute, lying in priuy wayt to ſpye faultes in all mens workes, where ſo euer any may appeare, taketh pepper in the noſe, & falleth again vnto his old barking againſt me, for placing theſe foreſaid perſōs in my boke of Martyrs, but eſpecially he thinketh to haue great vantage againſt me, for ẏ in the ſame ſtory, I do ioyne withall, one Margaret Iourdemā, ẏ witch of Eye, condemned alſo with the the ſame time, and burned for practiſing the kings death by an image of waxe. &c. To anſwer hereunto, firſt I ſay (as I before ſayd) that I profeſſe no ſuche title to write of Martyrs: but in generall to write of Actes and Monuments paſſed in the church and realme of England. Wherin, why ſhould I be reſtrayned from the free walke of a ſtorye writer, more then other that haue gone before me?

A briefe anſwere Cope, con cerning Lady Ele nour Cobham, &c.

Secondly, touching my cōmendation of Syr Roger Onley, and the Lady Eleanor, if maiſter Alane be therewith offended, I aunſwer that I commended them for fauoring & fauouring of the truth of Chriſtes doctrine: For the fact, if any ſuch were in them, I do not cōmend them. And though I did commend them, yet neyther did I it with anye long taryng vpon it, nor yet altogether vpon mine own head, without ſome ſufficient warrant of autoritye. For why maye not I as well beleue Iohn Bale, as M. Alane beleue maiſter Fabian? eſpeciallye ſeing I do know, and was priuy, that the ſayde Iohn in recogniſing his Centuries, followed altogether the hyſtory of Leland De Catalogo virorum illuſtrium, whyche booke being borowed of maiſter Cheke, I my ſelfe dyd ſee in the handes of the foreſayd Iohn Bale, what tyme we were both together, dwelling in the houſe of the noble Lady Duches of Rychmond. Wherfore if he thinke me ſo lewd to ſpeake without myne autors, he is deceiued. And if he thinke mine autors not to be beleued, then let this Nomothetes, or Iolye Dictator come foorth and preſcribe vs a lawe, what autours he woulde haue vs to take, and what to refuſe. For ells why is it not as free for me to credit Iohn Bale, and Leland, as for him to credit Rob.Fabian, and Edw.Halle, eſpecially ſeing they had ſene hys bookes and workes left behinde him, whereupon they might better iudge, and ſo did neuer theſe?

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Thirdly, for the name of Roger Onley, if Cope deny that ther was any ſuch name in ſtories mencioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolyngbroke. ⁊c. hereby it may appeare that eyther his prompter out of England deceiued him, or els, that he goyng no farther but to Fabian and Halle, lacketh no good wyll in hym, but onely a litle matter to make a perfect Sycoph. And admit the ſayd name of Onley could not be found in thoſe writers, yet it were not vnpoſſible for a man to haue ij.names, eſpecially if he were a religious mã, to beare the name of the towne where he was borne, beſide hys owne proper ſurname. But now what if I (M. Cope) can auouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Onley out of ſufficient recorde, which you ſeeme not to haue yet read? Haue ye not then done well and properly (thinke you) ſo bitterly to flee in my face, and to barcke ſo egerly all thys whyle at Mooneſhine in the water, hauing no more cauſe almoſt agaynſt me, then agaynſt the man in the Moone? And now leaſt you ſhould thinke me ſo much vnprouided of iuſt autority for my defence, as I ſee you vnprouided of modeſty and pacience, write you to your prompter or ſuborner (wherſoeuer he lurketh here in England) to ſende you ouer vnto Louane the booke of Iohn Harding a Chronicler, more auncient thẽ eyther Fabian or Halle, printed in the houſe of Rich.Grafton, an.1543. where turne to the fol.223.fac.b.lin.19. and there ſhall you finde and reade theſe wordes.

Agayne the Church and the king curſedly,
By helpe of one maiſter Roger Onley. &c.

By the which wordes ye muſt neceſſarely confeſſe Roger Onley to be the name of the man, eyther els muſt ye nedes deny ẏ autour. For otherwiſe that maiſter Roger Bolyngbroke was ẏ onely helper to the Ducheſſe in that fact, by no wyſe it can ſtand with the ſtorye of theſe autours, which ſay: that. 4. other beſides him were cõdemned for the ſame crime. ⁊c. And moreouer, though the ſayd ſyr Roger Onley was no knight (as I haue ſayd in my former edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the teſtimony of them that haue ſene hys woorkes, but that hee was a prieſt, which you will graunt to be a knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Maiſter Roger Onley.

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cc.4.

Fourthly, as concerning Margaret Iordeman, whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to ſay that I make her a martyr, which was a wytche: when as I here profeſſe, confeſſe, and aſcertaine both you and all Engliſh men, both preſent and all poſteritie hereafter to come, that this Margarete Iourdeman I neuer ſpake of, neuer thought of, neuer dreamed of, nor did euer heare of, before you named her in your booke your ſelfe. So farre is it of, that I either with my will, or agaynſt my will, made any Martyr of her.

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Furthermore, I profeſſe and denounce in lyke maner, that neither haue you any iuſt or congrue occaſion in my booke, ſo to iudge, much leſſe to raple of me. For where, in expreſſe woordes I do ſpeake of the mother of the Lady Yong, what occaſiõ haue you therby to ſlaunder me and my boke with Margarete Iourdeman? which Margaret, whether ſhe was a witche or not, I leaue her to ẏ Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her thẽ, nor did I meane of her now. But becauſe I couple her in ẏ ſame ſtory, you ſay. To this I ſay, becauſe ſhe was the mother of a Lady, I thought to ioyne her with an other Lady in the ſame ſtory as in one pue together, although in one cauſe I will not ſay. And yet notwithſtandyng I do ſo couple the ſayd mother, with the Duches, in ſuch diſtinct difference of yeares, that you M. Cope, might eaſelye haue vnderſtande, or beſide you no man elles would haue thought the contrary, but that Margarete Iourdeman, was neither here in my boke, nor yet in my memento. For the wordes of my ſtory are plaine, where as the cõdemnation of the Lady Eleanor, and of the mother of Lady Yong, beyng referred to the yeare of our Lord. 1441. I do alſo in the ſame ſtory (through the occaſion of that Lady) inferre mention of the mother of ẏ Lady Yong, declaryng in expreſſe woordes, that ſhe folowed certein yeares after, and in the end of that Chapter, do name alſo the yeare of her burnyng to be. 1490. which was. 50. yeares after the death of Onley, ⁊ Margarete Iourdeman: by the computation of which yeares it is plaine, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but onely the Lady Younges mother.

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See the former editiõ pag 371.

But M.Cope cõtinuyng ſtill in his wranglyng mode, obiecteth agayne, for that in my Calender, the ſayd Lady Younges mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, whiche day perteyneth properly to Margarete Iourdeman, whiche was burned the ſame day in Smithfield, and not to the Ladyes mother. ⁊c.

What order was takẽ in placyng the names ⁊ dayes, what is that to me? If he which had the diſpoſing of the Catalogue, did place them ſo in monethes, as he ſawe them ioined in chapters, not peruſing peraduenture nor aduiſing the Chapters, that doth nothyng preiudice the truth of my ſtory, whiche ſufficiently doth cleare it ſelfe in diſtincting them rightly in names and alſo in yeares, as is afore declared.

5.
To the fifth obiection.

Fiftly and laſtly, hauyng thus ſufficiently aunſwered to your circumſtances of perſons, names, ⁊ tymes (M. Cope) I will now enter to encounter with you concernyng the facte ⁊ crime obiected to the Lady Duches, and to the reſte: with this proteſtation before premiſed vnto the reader, that if the facte be true and ſo done as is reported in ẏ hiſtoryes of Fabian, Halle, and Hardyng, I deſire the reader thẽ ſo to take me, as though I do not here deale withall, nor ſpeake of the matter, but vtterly to haue pretermitted, and diſpuncted the ſame. But forſomuch as the dede and offence layd and geuen forth agaynſt theſe parties, may be a matter made, and of euil will compacted, rather then true in dede: therfore I doo but onely moue a queſtion by way of hiſtorie, not as defendyng, nor commendyng, nor commemoratyng the thyng, if it be true, but onely mouing the queſtion, whether it is to be iudged true, or ſuſpected rather to be falſe ⁊ forced, and ſo hauyng briefly, propoũded certeine coniecturall ſuſpicions or ſuppoſals concernyng that matter, to paſſe it ouer, neither medling on the one ſyde nor on the other.

The ſtory of the Lady Eleanour and Rog. Oneley here pretermitted.

A queſtiõ whether Eleanor the Duches was culpable in treaſon agaynſt the kyng.

Certaine coniectures of the crime not to be true.

The firſt coniecture, why it may be poſſible that this act of treaſon layd to the charge of the Duches, ⁊ Roger Onley, agaynſt the king, may be vntrue, is this: that the ſaid Onley (otherwiſe named Bolyngbroke) toke it vpon his death, that they neuer intended any ſuch thyng as they were condemned for.

1.
Coniecture.

The ſecond coniecture: for that the Lady Eleanor, ⁊ Onley ſemed then to fauour and ſauour of that religiõ, ſet forth by VVickleffe, and therefore lyke enough, that they were hated of ẏ clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practiſe of Papiſtes can do, it is not vnknowen.

2.
Coniecture.

The thyrd coniecture: for that the ſaid maſter Roger Onley falſely noted and accuſed of Nicromancie, wrote a booke in purgation of hym ſelf, intituled: De Innocentia ſua. Alſo an other booke intituled, Contra vulgi ſuperſtitiones, recorded in Centu.8. Bale, cap.4. Whereupon it is not credible, that he whiche wrote profeſſedly againſt the ſuperſtitiõs of the people, was ouer taken with that

3.
Coniecture.

filthe of Necromancie him ſelfe.

4. Coniecture. The fourth cõiecture:becauſe this accuſation againſt the Duches of Gloceſter,Duke Humfreis wife,beganne not before,but after the grudge kindled betwene the cardinall of VVint. and Duke Humfrey,her huſband.

5. Coniecture. An other coniecture may be hereof,for that, if the duches had entended any ſuche haynous treaſon agaynſt the kinges life, as by burning of a waxe candle to conſume him, it is not lyke (neither was there anye ſuche nede) ẏ ſhe woulde haue made ſo many priuye to ſuch a pernicious counſel, as the witch of Eye, Mayſter Roger Bolingbroke, Maiſter Tho.Southwell, and Iohn Hume.

6. Coniecture. Sixtlye, it is not to be ſuppoſed , if any ſuche hye treaſon had bene wrought or pretended agaynſte the kinges perſon by theſe,that eyther the Duches ſhoulde ſo eſcape with bearing a taper and baniſhment: or that Iohn Hume ſhould be pardoned his life,the fact being ſo heynous that neyther any durſte aſke hys pardon, nor if it had ben aſked,it had not ben like to be grãted

7. Coniecture. To theſe we maye alſo adde an other ſuppoſall, ryſing vpon the wordes and forme of their accuſation, as it ſtandeth in Harding, Polychronicon and other moe, wherein they were accuſed for working ſorcery and inchauntments agaynſt the church and the king. Nowe what ſorcery can be wrought agaynſt the churche: that is,the whole multitude of Chriſtiãs, let ẏ reader iudge, and by the truth of this,conſider alſo the truth of the other,which was againſt the king. Farthermore, if by this church is ment the Cardinall of VVint. as lyke it is:then it may be coniecturall,that all this matter roſe of that Cardinal,who was then a mortall enemy to the houſe of Gloceſter. ⁊c.

8. Coniecture. Eightly:And that all this was done and wroughte by the ſayd Cardinall of VVint. the witch concerning Eye maketh the matter the more ſuſpicious,ſeing that towne of Eye, as Fabian witneſſeth, was neare beſide VVintcheſter,and ſea of that biſhop.

9. Coniecture. Moreouer,forſomuch as Polidore Virgill, among other ſtory autors,being a man as may be ſuppoſed , rather fauouring the Cardinals part,thẽ ẏ Dukes, made no mention at all touchyng thys treaſon, hys ſilence therof may miniſter matter not onely to muſe,but alſo to coniecture,that he had found ſomething whych made him to miſtruſt the mater. Otherwiſe it is vnlike that he would haue ſo mewed vp the matter, and paſſed it ouer without ſome mention.

10. Coniecture. Finally and briefly : The frequent practiſes and examples of other times,may make this alſo more doubtfull,conſidering how many ſubtile pretences,after like ſort hade bene ſought,⁊ wrongful accuſations brought againſt many innocent perſons. For(not to repeate the like forgeries againſt the Lord Cobham and ſyr Roger Acton.⁊c)why may not this accuſation of the Duches and Onley,be as falſe,as that in the tyme of K. Edward the fift,which was laid to the charge of the Quene,and Shores wyfe,by the Protectors,for inchaunting ⁊ bewitching of his withered arme? Which to be falſe,all the world doth know,and but a quarell made, onely to oppreſſe the life of the L.Haſtinges,and the L.Standley. ⁊c. And thus mayeſt thou ſee,gentle Reader, according to the wiſe mans ſaying:Nihil nouum eſſe ſub ſole : Nihilq; dictum,quod non dictum prius. &c.

Although theſe,with many moe coniectures,may be alleged in ſome part of defence of this Duches,and of her Chaplens and Prieſtes:yet becauſe it maye be not vnpoſſible againe,the matter layde againſt them,to bee true,I leaue it therefore at large as I finde it : ſaying as I ſayd before,that if it be true which the ſtories ſaye in this matter,thinke,I beſeche thee gentle reader,that I haue ſayd nothing hereof. Onely, becauſe the matter may be diſputable,and not vnpoſſible to be falſe, I haue but moued thereof a queſtion,and brought my cõiectures,leauing the determination and iudgemẽt hereof,to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if M. Cope,be ſo hyghly offẽded with me, and become ſo heauye maiſter vnto me, becauſe, in my firſt edition of Actes and Monumentes I durſte name the Ladye Eleonor Cobham, and Roger Onley, let hym take thys for a ſhorte aunſwere, becauſe my layſure ſerueth not to make long braules with him: that if I had thought no imperfections to haue paſſed in my former edition before,I would neuer haue takẽ in hand ẏ recognitiõ therof now the ſecond tyme, whereby to ſponge away ſuch moates , as I thought would ſeme greate ſtomblyng blockes in ſuch mens walkes,which walke with no charitie to edifie:but with malice to carpe and reprehẽd,neither admoniſhyng what they ſee amiſſe in others, neither taryeng while other men reforme them ſelues, and finally,findyng quarels, where no great cauſe is iuſtly geuen.And here an end with M.Cope for this time.

A biref ſwere to M.Copes cauillati concerni duke H freyes wife.

For ſomuch as in ẏ proceſſe before,mẽtion was touched concernyng the grudge betwene the Cardinall,called the rich Cardinall of VVinceſter,and the good duke Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter,the kynges vncle,and protector of the realme: order of ſtory now requireth to opẽ ſome part of that matter more at large. Wherin this, firſt is to be vnderſtãd,that long before,great flames of grudge ⁊ diſcorde did burſt out betwene theſe two. For as the noble hart of the duke could not abyde the proud doyngs of the Cardinall:ſo much agayne the Cardinall in lyke maner ſore enuyed and diſdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloceſter. Notwithſtãdyng,by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, ẏ braſting out betwene them, was before appeaſed,and cured:yet not ſo,but that vnder imperfite amitie priuey hatred,as ſparcles vnder ẏ embers,did ſtil remaine:So that ẏ Cardinall, ioyning with the archbiſhop of Yorke,attempted many thinges of their owne preſumption,contrary to the conſent,not onely of the kyng(beyng then vnder age) but alſo of the protectour and gouernour of the realme.Wherwith the Duke (like a true harted prince) beyng not without iuſt cauſe offended,declared in wrytyng to the kyng certain complaintes conteined in.23.Articles, wherin the Cardinall and archbiſhop had tranſgreſſed,both againſt the king,and hys lawes.The tenour wherof,more at large is in other ſtoryes expreſſed , the brief abſtract therof followeth in a ſhort ſummarie here to be ſene.

The cõte tion be- twene the Cardinall of Wint.& duke Hu frey,Lord protectou

1440

Ex Poly chron.

¶ Certeine pointes or Articles obiected by the Duke Humfrey,agaynſt the Cardinall of Wincheſter.

1. FIrſt complained to his ſoueraigne prince, his ryght redoubted Lord, duke Humfrey, his vncle ⁊ protector of the realme,that the Biſhop of VVincheſter,in the dayes of his father,kyng Henry the v.tooke vpon him ẏ ſtate of a Cardinall,being denayed by the kyng, ſaying that hee had as leſe ſet his crowne beſide hym, as to ſee him weare a Cardinals hatte: and ẏ in Parliamentes, he not beyng contẽted with the place of a Biſhop amõg the ſpirituall perſons,preſumed aboue his order,whiche the ſayd Duke deſired to be redreſſed.

Winch.preſumeth to be Cardinall again the minde of hys king.

2. Item,where as he beyng made Cardinall,was voided of his Biſhopricke of VVincheſter,he procured from Rome the Popes Bull,vnknowing to the kyng, whereby he tooke agayne his Byſhopricke, contrary to the cõmon lawe of this realme, incurryng thereby the caſe of prouiſion, and forfetyng all his goodes to the kyng,by the law of premuniri facias.

Wint.inc rreth the law of pre munin.

3. Item,he complayned, that the ſayd Cardinall,with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, intruded them ſelues to haue the gouernaunce of the kyng , and the doyng vnder the king,of temporall matters,excludyng the kyngs vncle, and other temporall Lordes of the kynges kynde, from hauyng knowledge of any great matter.

Wint.intr deth hym ſelfe to b the kyng gouernour.

4. Item,whereas the kyng had borowed of the Cardinall. iiij.thouſand poũdes,vpon certeine Iewels, and afterwarde had hys money readye at the day to quite hys

Iewels

he Cardi ll defrau th the yng of is iewels.

Iewels: the Cardinall cauſed the treaſurer to conuerte that money, to the payment of an other armey, to kepe the Iewels ſtill to his owne vſe and gayne.

5. Item, hee beyng then Byſhop of VVinchester, and Chauncelour of Englãd, deliuered the kyng of Scottes, vpon his owne authoritie, contrary to the Acte of Parlament, weddyng his nece afterward to the ſayd kyng. Alſo where the ſayd kyng of Scottes ſhould haue payd to the kyng. 40. thouſand poundes, the Cardinall procured. x. thouſãd markes therof to be remitted, and yet the reſt very ſlenderly payed.

he Cardi ll deliue- h the K. Scottes, on hys ne au- tie.

6. Item, the ſaid Cardinall, for lending notable ſõmes to the kyng, had the profite of the porte of Hampton: Where he, ſetting his ſeruauntes to be the Cuſtomers, wolle and other marchaundiſe was, vnder that cloke, exported, not ſomuch to his ſingular vauntage, beyng the chiefe marchaunt, as to the greate preiudice of the kyng, and detriment to his ſubiectes.

he Cardi ll play- th the archant.

7. Item, the Cardinall, in lending great ſommes to the kyng, yet ſo differred and delayed the loane therof, that comming out of ſeaſon, the ſame dyd the kyng little pleaſure, but rather hynderaunce.

8. Itẽ, where Iewels and plate were preiſed at. xi. thouſand poundes in weight, of the ſayd Cardinall forfeited to the kyng: the Cardinall for loane of a litle peece, gat hym a reſtorement therof, to the kynges great damage, who better might haue ſpared the commõs, if ẏ ſomme had remayned to hym cleare.

he Cardi- ll a de- uder of e kyng.

9. Item, where the kynges father had geuen Elizabeth Bewchampe. CCC. markes of lyuelode, with this condition, if ſhe wedded with in a yeare, the Cardinall, notwithſtandyng ſhe was maryed two or three yeares after, yet gaue her the ſame, to the kinges great hurt, and diminiſhyng of his inheritaunce.

10. Item, the Cardinall hauyng no authoritie nor intereſt to the crowne, preſumed notwithſtandyng to call before him, like a kyng, to the kynges high derogation.

he Cardi ll taketh on hym s a king.

11. Item, that the Cardinall ſued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all diſmes, due to the kyng by ẏ church of VVinchester, geuing therby example to the clergy, to withdraw their diſmes likewiſe, and to lay all ẏ charge onely vpon the temporaltie, and poore commons.

12. 13. Item, by the procuryng of the ſayd Cardinall and Archbyſhop of Yorke, great goods of ẏ kynges were loſt and diſpended vpon nedeles Ambaſſades, firſt to Arras, then to Calyce.

14. Item, it was laid to the charge of the ſayd Cardinal and Archbyſhop, that by their meanes, going to Calyce, the. ij. enemyes of the king, ẏ Duke of Orleance, & Duke of Burgoyne, were reduced together in accorde and alliaunce, who being at warre before betwene thẽ ſelues, and nowe confederate together, ioyned both together agaynſt the kynges townes and countreis ouer the ſea, to the great daunger of Normandie, and deſtruction of the kynges people.

15. Item, by the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and the Cardinal, ſwaſions were moued openly in the kynges preſence, with all allurementes and inducementes, that the king ſhould leaue his right, his title & honour of his crowne, in nominatyng hym kyng of Fraunce, duryng certaine yeares, and that he ſhould vtterly abſteine, and bee contẽt onely in writyng, with Rex Angliæ, to the great note and infamie of the kyng and of all his progenitours.

he Card. aytour the owne.

16. 17. Item, through the ſleight and ſubtiltye of the ſayde Cardinall and his mate, a new conuention was intended betwene the king & certaine aduerſaries of Frãce. Alſo the deliuerance of the Duke of Orleance was appointed in ſuch ſort, as thereby great diſworſhip and inconuenience was like to fall, rather on the kings ſide, then of the other.

18. Item, that the Cardinall had purchaſed greate landes and lyuelode of the king, the Duke beyng on the other ſyde the ſea occupied in warres, which redounded litle to the worſhip and profit of the king: and moreouer had the king bounde, to make him a ſure eſtate of al thoſe landes by Eaſter next, as could be deuiſed by any learned counſail: or els the ſayd Cardinall to haue and enioy to him and his heyres for euer, the landes of the Duchie of Lancaſter in Northfolke, to the value of vij. or. viij. hundred markes by the yeare.

The Card. a purchaſer of the kinges landes.

19. Item, where the Duke the kynges vncle, had often offered hys ſeruice for the defence of the Realme of Fraunce, & the Duchie of Normandy, the Cardinall euer labored to the cõtrary, in preferring other, after his ſinguler affection: wherby a great part of Normandy hath bene loſt.

Peruerſe counſaile of the Cardinall.

20. Item, ſeing the Cardinall was riſen to ſuch ryches and treaſure, which could grow to him, neyther by hys church, nor by enheritaunce (which he thẽ had) it was of neceſſitye to be thought, ẏ it came by his great deceites, in deceauing both the king, and his ſubiectes, in ſellyng offices, preferments, lyuelodes, captainſhips both here and in the realme of Fraunce and in Normandy: ſo that what hath bene there loſt, he hath bene the greateſt cauſer thereof.

The Cardin. a deceauer of the kyng and a bryber.

21. Furthermore, when the ſaid Cardinall had forfeyted all hys goods by the ſtatute of prouiſion, he hauyng ẏ rule of the king, & of other matters of the realme: purchaſed from the Pope a Charter of pardon, not onelye to the defeating of the lawes of the realme, but alſo to the defraudyng of the king, who otherwiſe might and ſhould haue had wherwith to ſuſtaine his warres, without any tallage of his poore people. &c.

The Card purchaſeth a pardon againſt his premunire.

When the king heard theſe accuſations, he committed the hearing thereof to hys counſayle: whereof the moſt part were ſpirituall perſons. So, what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was wynked at, and dalyed out, and nothyng ſayde thereunto: and a fayre countenaunce was made to the Duke, as though no diſpleaſure had bene taken, nor malice borne in theſe ſpirituall ſtomaches. But ſhortly after, ẏ ſmoke hereof, not able to kepe in any longer wythin ẏ ſpirituall breſtes of theſe charitable churchmen, braſt out in flames of myſchiefe. For vpon the necke of this matter, as witneſſeth Fabian, Polychronicon, & Hall, which followeth Polych. fyrſt enſued the condemnation of L. Elianour, ẏ Duches, and her Chapleins, as ye haue heard before: Wherby it may appeare ẏ ſayd Duches more of malice, then any iuſte cauſe, thus to haue bene troubled. Alſo within vj. yeares after, followed the lamentable deſtruction of the Duke himſelfe, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Prelates hold one with an other.

Malice bruſt out.

About which time, or not long before, an. 1443. the ſteeple of Paules was ſet on fire by lightning, and at laſt by diligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched.

Paules ſteple ſet on fyre by lightning.

After the condemnation of ladye Elianour the Duches aforeſayd, within few yeares, an. 1445. followed the death of Henry Chicheſley Archb. of Cant. by whõ ſhe was condemned in S. Steuens chappell at Weſtm. for penaunce to beare a taper through Chepeſyde three ſondrye tymes, and afterward outlawed to the Ile of Manne, vnder the cuſtody of ſyr Iohn Standley knyght. This Henry Chicheſley builded in his time. ij. Colleges in the Vniuerſitye of Oxford, the one called Alſolne college, the other named Barnard college.

The building of Alſolne College and Barnard College in Oxforde.

1445.

The death of Henry Chicheſley Archb. of Cant.

Proceding now to the yeare, wherein ſuffered Humfrey the good Duke of Gloceſter, which was the yeare of the Lord. 1447. firſt we will begin in fewe wordes to entreate of his life and conuerſation: then of the maner and cauſe of hys death. As touching the ofſpring & deſcent of this Duke, fyrſt he was the ſonne of Henrye the fourth, brother to king Henry the fyft, and vncle to king Henry the ſixt, aſſigned to bee the gouernour and protectour of hys perſon. Of maners he ſeemed meeke and gentle, louing the commen wealth, a ſupporter of

1447.

The ſtory and death of Humfrey, Duke of Glouceſter.

Duke Humfrey commended for hys learning.

Petrus de Monte, De virtutum et vitiorum differẽtia, ad D. Humfredum.

Lapiſcaſtellius De comparatione ſtudiorum et rei militaris ad D. Humfredum.

the poore cõmons, of wit and wiſdome diſcrite and ſtudious, well affected to religion, and a friende to veritye, and no leſſe enemy to pride and ambition, eſpecially in hautye prelates, which was his vndoing in this preſent euil world: And, which is ſeldome & rare in ſuch princes of that calling, he was both learned himſelf: and no leſſe geuen to ſtudy, as alſo a ſingular fauourer and patron to them which were ſtudions and learned. And that my commendation of hym may haue the more credit, I wil produce the teſtimony of learned writers, who lyuing in hys tyme, not onely do commend hys famous knowledge, and ripenes of learning in him: but alſo commit and ſubmit their workes to hys iudgement to be examined. Of which writers one is Petrus de Monte, writing De virtutum et viciorum differentia: who in hys Epiſtle dedicatorie, beginning with the ſinguler commendatiõ of this Duke, and afterward ſpeaking De optimarum artiũ, liberaliumq; ſcientiarũ peritia, ſayth thus: Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atq; ſtudio incumbis: adeo vt nihil tibi ſine librorum lectione, iucundum, gratum, aut certe delectabile videatur. &c. And in further proces of hys worke, thus he further declareth, ſaying: Delectaris autem non vna tantum arte, aut ſcientia, quanquam et id quidem eſſet ſatis: verum fere omnibus, earumq; codices magna quadam auiditate legiſti. &c. Beſide this Petrus de Monte, let vs heare alſo the iudgemẽt of an other writer of the ſame age, named Lapiſcaſtellius, who likewiſe dedicating to the ſayd Duke Humfrey, his booke intituled: Comparatio ſtudiorum et rei militaris, amongſt diuers other wordes commendatory, hath theſe as folow: Ad te potiſſimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, et ſapientiſſimum iudicem fore exiſtimo, qui vt ex integerrimo pat. domino, Zenone Baiocenſi epiſcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidiſſimo, accepi: ita in his humanitatis ſtudijs inuigilares, vt nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps, nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus ſit. &c. Many other argumentes and places may be brought, to declare what is to be eſtemed of the learning and ſtudious wyt of thys noble Prince.

Furthermore, as the learnyng of this Prince was rare and memorable, ſo was the diſcrete wiſedome and ſingular prudence in him no leſſe to be conſidered: as, for the more manifeſt proufe therof, I thought here good amongeſt many other his godly doyngs, to recite one example, reported as well by the penne of Syr Thomas More, as alſo by maiſter VVilliam Tindall, yͤ true Apoſtle of theſe our latter dayes, to the entẽt to ſee and note, not onely the crafty woorkyng of falſe miracles in the clergy, but alſo that the prudent diſcretion of this hyghe and mighty Prince, the foreſayd Duke Humfrey, maye geue vs better to vnderſtand what man he was. The ſtory lyeth thus.

A falſe miracle eſpied.

In the yoūg dayes of this kyng Henry the vi. being yet vnder yͤ gouernaunce of this Duke Humfrey his protector, there came to S. Albones a certaine beggar with hys wife, and there was walkyng about the towne, beggyng fiue or ſixe dayes before the kyngs comming thether, ſaying that he was borne blinde and neuer ſaw in his life, and was warned in his dreame, that he ſhould come out of Barwike, where he ſaid he had euer dwelled, to ſeke S. Albon, and that he had bene at his ſhrine, and had not bene holpen, and therfore he would go and ſeke him at ſome other place: for he had heard ſome ſay, ſince hee came, that S. Albones body ſhould be at Colon, and in dede ſuch a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am ſurely informed, he lyeth here at S. Albones, ſauyng ſome Reliques of hym, whiche they there ſhewe ſhrined. But to tell you forth, whẽ the kyng was comẽ, and the towne full, ſodainly this blynde man, at S. Albones ſhrine had his ſight againe, and a miracle ſolẽnly ronge, and Te Deum ſonge, ſo that nothyng was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So happened it then, that Duke Humfrey of Gloceſter, a man no leſſe wiſe, thẽ alſo well learned, hauing great ioye to ſee ſuch a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and firſt ſhewyng him ſelfe ioyous of Gods glory, ſo ſhewed in the gettyng of his ſight, and exhortyng him to mekenes, and to no aſcribing of any part of the worſhip to him ſelfe, nor to be proude of the peoples prayſe, which would call him a good and godly man therby, at laſt he looked well vpon his eyen, and aſked whether hee could neuer ſee nothyng at all, in all his lyfe before. And when as well hys wife as him ſelfe affirmed faſtly no, then he loked aduiſedly vpon his eyen againe, and ſayd: I beleue you very well, for me thinketh that ye can not ſee well yet. Yes ſyr, quod he, I thanke God and hys holy martyr, I can ſee now as well as any man. Yea can (quod the Duke) what colour is my gowne? Then anone the begger told him. What colour (quoth he) is this mans gowne? He told him alſo, and ſo forth without any ſticking, he told him the names of all the colours that coulde be ſhewed him. And when yͤ duke ſaw that, he bad him walke traitour, and made him to be ſet openlye in the ſtockes: For though he could haue ſene ſodeinly by miracle the difference betwene diuers colours, yet coulde he not by the ſight ſo ſodẽly tell the names of all theſe colours, except he had knowen them before, no more then the names of all the men that he ſhould ſodainly ſee.

Diſſimulation well puniſhed.

Commendation of Duke Humfrey.

By this may it be ſene how Duke Humfrey had not onely an head to diſcerne and diſſeuer truth from forged and fained hipocriſie, but ſtudye alſo and diligence likewiſe was in him, to reforme that which was amiſſe.

The good Duke of Gloceſter.

Polyd. Hiſt. lib. 23. *Hall. in* 23. *Hen.* 6.

The enemies to th Duke of Gloceſter.

The mallo tious wor king of th Cardinall agaynſt the Duke of Gloceſter.

And thus much hetherto for the noble proweſſe & vertues, ioyned with like ornamentes of knowledge & literature ſhining in this princely duke. For the which, as he was both loued of the poore cõmons, & wel ſpoken of of all men, and no leſſe deſeruing the ſame, being called the good Duke of Gloceſter: ſo neyther yet wanted hee his enemies, & priuye enuiers, whether it was through the fatall and vnfortunate lucke of the name of that houſe, which is but a vayne and friuolous obſeruation of Polydore, and Halle which followeth him, bringyng in the examples of Hugh Spenſer, of Thomas of VVodſtocke, ſonne to K. Edward the third, of this Duke Humfrey, and after of K. Richard the third, Duke likewyſe of Gloceſter: or whether it was that the nature of true vertue commõly is ſuch, that as the flame euer beareth his ſmoke, and the body his ſhadow: ſo the brightnes of vertue neuer blaſeth, but hath ſome diſdayne or enuye waiting vpon it: or els whether it was rather for ſome diuorcement from his wife, or for ſome other vice or treſpaſſe done (as ſeemeth moſte like truth) which God as well in Dukes houſes correcteth, as in other inferiour perſons, eſpecially where he loueth: But howſoeuer the cauſe is to vs vnknowen, this good Duke of Gloceſter, albeit being both the kinges ſole vncle, and hauyng ſo many well willers through the whole realme, yet lacked not his Satan: lacked not his ſecret maligners. Of whom ſpecially was Henry Beauford Cardinall, biſhop of VVinc. and Chauncellour of England: who of long time diſdayning and enuying the rule and autoritye of this Duke, fyrſt had diſpoſed and appointed himſelfe, to remoue yͤ kinges perſon frõ Eltham vnto VVinſore out of yͤ Dukes handes, & there to put in ſuche gouernours, as him liſted. After that, entending the Dukes death, he ſet men of armes and Archers at the end of London bridge, and for barring the hie way with a draw chain, ſet men in chambers, ſellers and windowes with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the purpoſed deſtruction both of the Duke & his retinue, if God had not ſo diſpoſed, to turne his iourney an other waye. Beſide other manifold iniuries and moleſtations, the ambitious Cardinall, ſeeking by all meanes to be Pope, procured ſuch trouble againſt him, that great diuiſiõ was therby in yͤ whole realme: in ſo much that all the ſhops within the citie of London, were ſhut in, for feare of the fauourers of theſe.ij.great perſonages, for ech part had aſſembled no ſmal number of people. For the pacifyeng wherof the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Quinber, called the prince of Portingall, rode.viij.tymes in one day betwene thoſe.ij.aduerſaries. Such were thẽ the troubles of this tumultuous diuiſion within the realme, & all by the excitation of this vnquiet Cardinall.

De la … le duke … Suf. … ke, the … ie of … duke of … ceſter. … th.

Ouer and beſide, this Cardinal afore mencioned, an other capitall enemy to the ſayd Duke, was VVilliam de la Pole, fyrſt Earle, then Marques, at laſt Duke of Suffolke, a man very ill reported in ſtories, to be not onely the organ and inſtrument of thys good mans death, but alſo to be the noiſance of the cõmon wealth, and ruine of the realme. For by him and his onely deuice, was fyrſt concluded the vnprofitable and vnhonorable mariage betwene the King, and Lady Margaret daughter of the Duke of Angeow: where as yͤ king had concluded and contracted a mariage before wyth the daughter of the Earle of Arminacke, vpon conditions ſo much more profitable and honorable, as more conuenient it is for a Prince to marry a wyfe with riches and friendes, then to take a make with nothing, and diſherite himſelf, and his realme of old rightes, and auncient inheritaunce, whych ſo came to paſſe. And all this the good Duke dyd well foreſee, and declared no leſſe: but his counſail wold not be taken. Whereupon followed fyrſt the geuing away the duchie of Angeow, and yͤ city of Mayne, with yͤ whole countrey of Mayne, to Reyner Duke of Angeow and father of the damoſell, called then king of Sicile and of Hieruſalem, hauing thereof no peny profit, but onely a vayne name to play with all.

he vnpro … able ma- … ge be- … ene K. … n.6. and … Queene … garet.

An other ſore enemy and mortall plague to this duke, was the Queene her ſelfe, latelye before maryed to the kyng. Who beyng of haute ſtomacke, and all ſet vpon glory of wyt and wilynes lacking nothing, and perceiuing her husbãd to be ſymple of wyt, and eaſy to be ruled, tooke vpon her to rule and gouerne both the Kyng and kingdome. And becauſe the aduiſe and counſaille of Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, was ſomwhat a ſtay that her autority and regiment could not ſo fullye procede, and partly becauſe the ſayde Duke before did diſagree from that mariage, thys manly woman and couragious quene ceaſed not by all imaginations and practiſes poſſible, to ſet forwarde his deſtruction, hauing alſo for her helper herein the Duke of Buckingham.&c.

Queene … garet … mall e- … mie to … e duke of … ceſter.

e malice … is wo- … an.

Theſe being his principall enemies and mortal foes, fearing leſt ſome commotion myght aryſe, if ſuche a Prince ſo neare to the kinges blood, and ſo deare to the people, and of all men ſo beloued, ſhould be openlye executed and put to death, deuiſed howe to trap hym, and circumuent him vnknowing and vnprouided. For the more ſpedy furtherance wherof, a parlament was ſummoned to be kept at Bery, an. 1447. farre from the Citizens of London, as VVilliam Tindall in his booke of practiſe, writeth. Whether reſorted all the peres of the realme, & amongeſt them the Duke of Glouceſter, thinkyng no harme to any man, and leſſe to him ſelfe. Who on the ſecond day of the Seſſion, was by the Lord Beamond hygh Conſtable then of England, accompanyed with the Duke of Buckyngham and other, arreſted, apprehended, and put in warde, and vpon the ſame, all hys ſeruauntes diſcharged & put from him: of whom.xxxij. of the principall beyng alſo vnder arreſt, were diſperſed into diuers priſons, to the great murmuryng and greuaũce of the people. After this arreſt thus done, and the Duke put in to warde, the nyght after (ſayth Halle) vi. nightes after (ſayth Fabian & Polychron.) he was found dead in his bed the.24.day of Febru. & his body ſhewed to the Lordes and commons, as though he had bene taken naturally with ſome ſodeine diſeaſe. And although no wounde in his body could be ſene: yet to all indifferent perſons it might well be iudged, that he dyed of no naturall pange, but of ſome violent hãd. Some ſuſpected him to be ſtrãgled, ſome that a whote ſpyte was priuely forced into his body, ſome affirme that he was ſtyfeled betwen two fetherbeds. After the death of this Duke, and his body beyng interred at S. Albones, after he had politikely by the ſpace of.xxv.yeares gouerned this realme, fiue of his houſhold: to wit, one knight.3.Eſquiers, & a Yeomã, were arreigned, & conuict to be hãged, drawen, and quartered. Who beyng hanged & cut downe halfe alyue, the Marques of Suffolke, there preſent ſhewed yͤ charter of yͤ kinges pardon, and ſo they were deliuered. Notwithſtãding, all this could not appeaſe the grudge of the people, ſaying that the ſauyng of the ſeruauntes, was no amendes for the murderyng of the maiſter.

ſure to … the the … nocent.

1447.

Parlamẽt … Bery.

e cruell … th or … rtyr. … ne of … good … ke of … ceſter.

In this cruell facte of theſe perſons, which did ſo cõſpire and conſent to the death of this noble man, and whiche thought thereby to worke their owne ſafitie, the meruelous worke of Gods Iudgement, appeareth herein to be noted: who, as in all other lyke cruell policies of man, ſo in this alſo turned all their policies cleane contrary: So that where the Queene thought moſt to preſerue her husband in honour, and her ſelfe in ſtate: thereby both ſhee loſt her husbande, her husbande loſt his realme, yͤ realme loſt Angeow, Normandie, the Duchie of Aquitane, with all other partes beyond yͤ ſea, Calice onely excepte, as in ſequele of the matter, who ſo will read the ſtories, ſhall right well vnderſtand.

The iudgemẽt of God vpon them which perſecuted the Duke of Gloceſter.

1448.

The death of the Cardinall, and maner of the ſame.

The next yeare folowyng, it folowed alſo, that the Cardinall, who was the principall artificer and ryngleader of all this miſchiefe, was ſuffered of God no longer to lyue. Of whoſe wicked conditions beyng more largely ſet forth in Edwarde Halle, I omitte here to ſpeake. What he hym ſelfe ſpake in his deathbed for example to other, I thought not beſt to pretermitte. Who hearyng that he ſhould dye, and that there was no remedie, murmured and grudged, wherefore he ſhould dye, hauyng ſo much riches, ſaying: that if the whole realme would ſaue his lyfe, he was able either by policie to get it, or by riches to bye it: addyng and ſaying moreouer, fye (quod he) will not death be hyred? nor will money doo nothyng? when my nephew of Bedford dyed, I thought my ſelf halfe vp the whéele, but whẽ I ſaw myne other nephew of Glouceſter deceaſſed, then I thought me ſelfe able to be equall with kynges, and ſo thought to encreaſe my treaſure, in hope to haue worne the triple crowne.&c. Ex Edou. Hallo. And thus is the riche Byſhop of VVincheſter, with all his põpe and riches gone, with the which riches, he was able not onely to builde ſcholes, colledges, and vniuerſities, but alſo was able to ſuſteine the kynges armyes in warre (as is ſpecified in ſtories) without any taxing of the commõs.

The wordes of the Cardinall of Wint. at hys death.

In whoſe ſea next ſucceded VVilliam VVanflet, preferred to the Byſhopricke of VVincheſter: who though he had leſſe ſubſtaunce, yet hauyng a mynde more godly diſpoſed, did found and erect the colledge of Mary Magdalene in Oxford. For the which foundation, as there haue bene, and bee yet many ſtudentes bounde to yelde gratfull thankes vnto God, ſo I muſt nedes cõfeſſe my ſelfe to be one, except I wilbe vnkynd.

William Wanflet byſhop of Wint.

Magdalen colledge in Oxford builded.

Among the other miſchieuous aduerſaries which ſought & wrought the death of Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, next to the Cardinall of VVincheſter (who, as is ſayd, dyed the next yeare folowyng) was VVilliam de la Pole, Marques of Suffolke, who alſo lyued not long after, nor long eſcaped vnpuniſhed. For although he was hyghlye exalted, by the meanes of the Queene (whoſe mariage he onely procured) vnto the fauour of the king, and was made Duke of Suffolke, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole ſwaye in the realme, whoſe actes and factes his vayne glorious head cauſed alſo by

Gods puniſhment vpon the Marques of Suffolke.

The vaine glory of mans hart forgetting him ſelf in honour.

The commons vnconſtant.

The Duke of Suffolke accuſed by the commons.

the aſſent of the commons, to be recorded, and ſubſtantially to be regiſtred in the rolles of the parliament, for a perpetuall renowme to him, and all hys poſteritye for euer: yet notwithſtanding the hand of Gods iudgemēt ſtill hanging ouer him, he enioyed not long this his triumphant victory. For within.iij. yeares after the death and ruine of the Cardinall, the voyces of the whole commons of England were vtterly turned againſt him, accuſing him in the parlament at the blacke friers, for deliuery of ẏ Duchie of Angeow, ⁊ Earldome of Maine: alſo for the death of the noble prince Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter. They imputed moreouer to hym ẏ loſſe of all Normandy, laying vnto him, ẏ he was a ſwalower vp and conſumer of the kinges treaſure, the expeller of all good and vertuous counſailours from the king, and aduauncer of vicious perſons, apparant aduerſaries to the publike wealth: ſo that he was called in euerye mans mouth a traytour, a murderer, and robber of the kings treaſure.

The Duke of Suffolke again accuſed.

The Quene, albeit ſhe tenderly loued the Duke, yet to appeaſe the exclamation of the Commons, was forced to commit him to the tower, wher he, with as much pleaſure and libertie as coulde bee, remayned for a moneth, which being expired, he was deliuered ⁊ reſtored again into hys old place ⁊ former fauour with the king: where at the people were more grudged then before. It happened by the occaſion of a commotion then beginning amongeſt ẏ rude people, by one whom they called Blewbeard, that ẏ parlament, was for that time, adiourned to Leyceſter, thinking to the Quene, by force and rigour of lawe to repreſſe there the malice and euill wyll conceiued agaynſt the Duke. But at that place fewe of the Nobility would appeare. Wherefore it was againe reiourned vnto London, ⁊ kept at VVeſtminſter, where was a whole company, and a full appearance, wyth the King and Quene, and with them the Duke of Suffolke, as chiefe Counſailour. The Commons not forgetting their old grudge, renewed agayne their former articles and accuſations agaynſt the ſayd duke, agaynſt the B. of Saliſb. and ſyr Iames Fynies, L. Say, and other. When the king perceaued that no gloſyng nor diſſimulation would ſerue to appeaſe the continuall clamor of the importunate commons, to make ſome quiet pacification, fyrſt he ſequeſtred frō him the Lorde Say, Treaſurer of England, and other the Dukes adherents from their offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of.v. yeares, ſuppoſing by that ſpace the furious rage of the people would aſſwage.

Example of Gods iudgement and of bloud reuenged.

The Duke of Suffolke beheaded.

But ẏ hand of God would not ſuffer ẏ giltles bloud of Humfrey duke of Gloceſter, to be vnreuēged, nor that flagitious perſon farther to continue. For when he ſhipped in Suffolke, entending to be trāſported into Fraunce, he was encountered with a ſhip of warre belonging to the Tower, whereby he was taken, and brought into Douer Rode, and there on the ſyde of a ſhyp boate, one ſtrake of hys heade: whych was about the yeare of our Lord.1450.

And thus haue ye heard ẏ full ſtory and diſcourſe of Duke Humfrey, and of all his aduerſaries: alſo of Gods condigne puniſhment vpon them for their bloudy crueltie. But before I remoue from the ſayd ſtory of the foreſaid Duke, and of the proud Cardinal his enemy, I wil here by the way, annexe a certayne inſtrument by the kyng and aduiſe of his Counſaile, made agaynſt ẏ ſayd Cardinall, taking vpō him to enter into this realme, as Legate from the pope, contrary to the old lawes and cuſtomes of this realme, as by the woordes of the ſayd inſtrument here in Latine may well appeare.

Publicum inſtrumētū nomine Regis.

IN Dei nomine Amen, Per pręſens publicum inſtrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter quod an. D.1428. Indictione ſeptima pontificatus Sanct. in Chriſto pat. & D. noſtri D. Martini. &c.

Ego Richardus Candray, procurator & nomine procuratorio Chriſtianiſsimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & domini Hiberniæ, domini mei ſupremi, de aſſenſu pariter & aduiſamento Illuſtris & potētis principis Humfridi Ducis Glouceſtriæ, comitis pēbrochiæ, protectoris & defenſoris regni Angliæ, & eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac cæterorum dominorū meorum de conſilio ſuæ Regiæ celſitudinis, ac conſilium eiuſdem facientiū & hac vice repreſentātiū, dico, allego, et in his ſcriptis propono, quod dictus Chriſtianiſsimus princeps, domin⁹ me⁹ ſupremus, ſuiq; inclytiſsimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ Reges, fuerunt & ſunt, tam ſpeciali priuilegio, quam conſuetudine laudabili legitimeq; præſcripta, nec non a tēpore & per tempus (cuius contrarij memoria hominū non exiſtat) pacifice & incōcuſſe obſeruata, ſufficienter dotati legitimeq; muniti, quod null⁹ Apoſtolicę ſedis Legatus venire debeat in regnū ſuum Angliæ, aut alias ſuas terras & dominia, niſi ad Regis Angliæ pro tempore exiſtentis vocationem, petitionem, requiſitionē, inuitationem, ſeu rogatum: Fueruntq; et ſunt dicti Chriſtianiſsimus princeps, domin⁹ meus ſupremus ac ſui inclyti progēitores huiuſmodi Reges Angliæ, in poſſeſsione quaſi iuris & facti priuilegii, & conſuetudinis prædictorum, abſq; interruptione quacumq;, toto & omni tēpore ſupradicto, pacifice & quiete: Romanis pontificibus per totum tempus ſupradictum, pręmiſſa omnia & ſingula, ſcientibus, tolerantibus, & iiſdē conſentientibns tam tacite quam expreſſe, ac extra omnem & omnimodam poſſeſsionem, quaſi iuris & facti, Legatum huiuſmodi (vt pręfertur) in regnū Angliæ aut alias ſuas terras & dominia mittendi, niſi ad vocationem, petitionem, requiſitionem, & rogatum Regis Anglię, pro tempore exiſtentis Et quia reuerendiſ. in Chri. pat. & D. D. Henricus Dei gratia. &c. ſancti Euſebii præsbyter, Cardinalis ſanctæ ſedis Romanæ, Legatum ſe affirmans, more Legati, inſigniis Apoſtolicæ dignitatis vtens, abſq; vocatione, petitione, requiſitione, inuitatione, aut rogatu Chriſtianiſsimi domini noſtri Regis predicti, inclytum regnum Angliæ de facto eſt ingreſſus: proteſtor igitur palam, & publico in his ſcriptis nomine & vice quibus ſupra, ac omniū ipſius domini noſtri Regis ſubditorū, quod non fuit, aut eſt intētionis præfati Chriſtianiſs. principis, domini mei ſupremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de conſilio, in derogationem legum, iurium, conſuedinum, libertatum & priuilegiorum dicti D. noſtri Regis ac regni, ingreſſum huiuſmodi dicti reuerendiſs. patris, vt Legati in Angliam, authoritate ratificare, vel approbare, ſeu ipſum vt legatum ſedis Apoſtolicæ in Angliam, contra leges, iura, conſuedines, libertates & priuilegia prędicta quouiſmodo admittere ſeu recognoſcere: aut exercitio legationis ſuæ huiuſmodi, aliquibutue per ipſum, vt Legatum ſedis Apoſt. actis, ſeu agendis, attentatis, ſeu attentandis, aduerſus præmiſſa, leges, iura, conſuetudinis libertates, & priuilegia, in aliquo conſentire: ſed diſſentire: ſicq; diſſentit dictus dominus noſter Rex, atq; diſſentiunt dicti Domini mei de cōſilio, per preſentes. &c.

An inſtrumēt by the king agaynſt the admittyng the popes legate.

The ſumme and effect wherof in Engliſh is this: that in the yeare of our lord.1428. as the king with the duke Humfrey L. Protector, ⁊ the reſt of the Counſail, were in the Dukes houſe in ẏ pariſh of S. Benets by Paules warfe, one Richard Candray procuratour, in the kings name and behalfe, did proteſt and denounce by this publike inſtrument, that where as the king and all hys progenitours, kinges before him of this realme of Englād, haue bene heretofore poſſeſſed tyme out of minde, with ſpeciall priuilege and cuſtome vſed ⁊ obſerued in this realme from tyme to tyme, that no legate from the apoſtolike ſea ſhould enter in this land or any of the kynges dominions, without the calling, petition, requeſt, inuitement or deſyre of the king: and forſomuch as Henry biſhop of Wint. and Cardinal of S. Euſebius, hath preſumed ſo to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called, ſent for, required, or deſired by the king: there-

,, fore the ſayd Richard Candray in the kings name doth
,, proteſt by this inſtrument, that it ſtandeth not wyth the
,, kinges mynde or intent, by the aduiſe of his Counſayl,
,, to admit, approue, or ratifie the cōming of the ſayd Le-
,, gate in any wyſe, in derogation of ẏ rightes, cuſtomes
,, & lawes of this his realme: or to recogniſe, or aſſent to
,, any exerciſe of this his autoritie Legantine, or to anye
,, actes, attemptes, or hereafter by him to be attempted in
,, this reſpect, contrary to the foreſayd lawes, rightes, cu-
,, ſtomes, & liberties of this realme, by theſe preſentes. &c.

And thus much as an Appendix, annexed to the ſtory of Duke Humfrey, and the Cardinall of Wint. extract out of an old written volume, remaynyng in the handes of Maiſter VVilliam Bowyer.

☞ The benefite and inuention of Printyng.

50.

Arte
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Typo-
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IN folowyng the courſe and order of yeares, we fynde this foreſayd yeare of our Lord. 1450. to be famous and memorable, for the diuine and miraculous inuention of printyng. Nauclerus and VVympſelingus folowyng hym, referre the inuētion therof to the yeare. 1440. In Paralipom. Abbatis Vrſp. it is recorded this facultie to be foūd. an. 1446. Auentinus and Zieglerus do ſaye, an. 1450. The firſt inuentour therof (as moſt agree) is thought to be a Germaine dwellyng firſt in Argētine, afterward Citizen of Mentz, named Ioan. Fauſtus, a goldeſmith. The occaſiō of this inuētion, firſt was by engrauyng the letters of ẏ Alphabet in metall: who thē laying blacke yncke vpon the mettall, gaue the forme of the letters in paper. The man beyng induſtrious, and actiue, perceauyng that, thought to procede further, & to proue whether it would frame as well in wordes, & in whole ſentences, as it did in letters. Which whē he perceaued to come well to paſſe, he made certein other of his coūſail, one Iohn Guttemberge, & Peter Schafferd, byndyng them by their othe, to kepe ſilence, for a ſeaſon. After. x. yeares, Iohn Guttemberge compartener with Fauſtus, began then firſt to broche the matter at Strauſbrough. The Arte beyng yet but rude, in proceſſe of tyme, was ſet forwarde by inuentiue wittes, addyng more & more to the perfection therof. In the number of whom, Iohn Mentell, Iohn Prus, Adolphus Ruſchius, were great helpers. Vlrichus Han, in Latine called Gallus, firſt brought it to Rome. Wherof the Epigramme was made.

men
u. Cam
i.

Anſer Tarpeij cuſtos, vigilando quòd alis
 Conſtreperes, Gallus decidit: vltor adeſt
Vlricus Gallus, ne quem poſcantur in vſum,
 Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.

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Notwithſtandyng, what man ſo euer was the inſtrumēt, without all doubt God him ſelf was the ordainer and diſpoſer therof, no otherwiſe, thē he was of the gift of tongues, & that for a ſingular purpoſe. And well may this gifte of printyng bee reſembled to the gifte of tongues: for like as God then ſpake with many tōgues, and yet all that would not turne ẏ Iewes, ſo now, when the holy Ghoſt ſpeaketh to the aduerſaries in innumerable ſortes of bookes, yet they will not be conuerted: nor turne to the Goſpell.

Now to cōſider to what end & purpoſe the Lord hath geuen this gift of printyng to the earth, & to what great vtilitie and neceſſitie it ſerueth, it is not hard to iudge, who ſo wiſely perpendeth both the time of the ſendyng, and the ſequele whiche therof enſueth.

e tyme
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ē Prin-
g was
nd.

And firſt, touching the time of this facultie geuen to the vſe of man, this is to be marked: that when as ẏ Biſhop of Rome, with all the whole and full conſent of his Cardinals, patriarches, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priours, Lawiers, Doctours, Prouoſts, Deanes, Archdeacons, aſſembled together in ẏ Councell of Conſtance had condemned poore Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage to death for hereſie, notwithſtanding they were no heretikes, and after they had ſubdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world vnder the ſupreme authoritie of the Romiſh ſea: & had made all Chriſten people obedienciaries and vaſſals vnto the ſame, hauyng (as one would ſay) all the worlde at their will, ſo that the matter now was paſt, not onely the power of all men, but the hope alſo of any man to be recouered: In this very tyme ſo daungerous & deſperate, where mans power could do no more, there the bleſſed wiſedome and omnipotēt power of the Lord began to worke for his Churche, not with ſworde and tergate to ſubdue his exalted aduerſarie, but with printyng, writing, and readyng, to conuince darkeneſſe by lyght, errour by truth, ignoraunce by learnyng: So that by this meanes of printyng, the ſecret operation of God hath heaped vpon that proude kyngdome a double confuſion. For where as the Byſhop of Rome, had burned Iohn Hus before, & Hierome of Prage, who neither denyed hys tranſubſtantiation, nor hys ſupremacie, nor yet hys Popiſhe Maſſe, but ſayd Maſſe, and heard Maſſe them ſelues, neither ſpake agaynſt hys Purgatorie, nor any other greate matter of hys Popyſhe doctrine, but onely exclamed agaynſt hys exceſſiue and pompous pride, hys vnchriſtian, or rather Antichriſtian abhomination of lyfe: thus, whyle he could not abyde hys wickednes onely of lyfe to be touched, but made it hereſie, or at leaſt matter of death, what ſoeuer was ſpoken agaynſt hys deteſtable conuerſation, and maners: God of his ſecrete iudgement, ſeyng tyme to helpe hys churche, hath founde away by this facultie of printyng, not onely to confound his life, and conuerſation, which before, he could not abyde to be touched, but alſo to caſt downe the foundation of his ſtandyng, that is, to examine, confute, and detecte his doctrine, lawes, and inſtitution moſt deteſtable, in ſuch ſorte, that though hys lyfe were neuer ſo pure: yet his doctrine ſtandyng, as it doth, no man is ſo blynde, but maye ſee, ẏ either the Pope is Antichriſt, or els that Antichriſt is nere coſine to ẏ pope: And all this doth, and will hereafter more and more appeare by printyng.

Double confuſion vpon the pope by Printing.

The reaſon wherof is this: for that hereby tongues are knowen, knowledge groweth, iudgemēt increaſeth, bookes are diſperſed, the Scripture is ſene, the doctours be red, ſtories be opened, times cōpared, truth decerned, falſehode detected, & with finger poynted, and all (as I ſayd) through the benefite of printyng. Wherfore I ſuppoſe that either the Pope muſt aboliſhe printyng, or hee muſt ſeke a new worlde to reigne ouer: for els, as this worlde ſtandeth, printyng, doubtles, will aboliſhe hym. Both the pope, and all his colledge of Cardinals, muſt this vnderſtand, that through the lyght of printyng, the worlde beginneth now to haue eyes to ſee, and heades to iudge. He can not walke ſo inuiſible in a nette, but hee will be ſpyed. And although through might he ſtopped ẏ mouth of Iohn Hus before, and of Hierome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdome ſure: yet in ſtead of Iohn Hus & other, God hath opened the preſſe to preache, whoſe voyce the pope is neuer able to ſtoppe with all ẏ puiſſance of his triple crowne. By this printyng, as by the gifte of tongues, & as by the ſingulare organe of the holy Ghoſt, ẏ doctrine of the Goſpell ſoundeth to all nations & countreys vnder heauen: and what God reueleth to one mā, is diſperſed to many, and what is knowne in one nation, is opened to all.

The fruite and profite of Printyng.

The firſt and beſt were for the Byſhop of Rome, by the benefite of printing, to learne and knowe ẏ truth. If he will not, let him well vnderſtand ẏ printing is not ſet vp for naught. To ſtriue againſt ẏ ſtreame, it auayleth not. What the Pope hath loſt, ſince printyng & the preſſe began to preach, let hym caſt his counters. Firſt when Eraſmus wrote, & Frobenius printed, what a blowe therby was geuen to all Friers and monkes in the worlde? And who ſeeth not, that the penne of Luther folowyng after Eraſ. and ſet forward by printyng, hath ſet the tri-

Good counſayle to the pope.

ple crowne ſo awrye on the Popes head, that it is lyke neuer to be ſet ſtreyght agayne.

Briefly, if their were no other demonſtration to lead, yet by thys one argument of printyng, the B. of Rome might vnderſtand the counſaile and purpoſe of yͤ Lord to worke agaynſt hym, hauyng prouided ſuch away in earth, yͭ almoſt how many printyng preſſes there bee in yͤ world, ſo many blockhouſes there be againſt the high Caſtle of S.Angell. So that either the Pope muſt aboliſh knowledge & printyng, or printyng at length will roote him out. For if a man wiſely conſider the hold and ſtandyng of the Pope, thus he may repute with him ſelfe, yͭ as nothyng made the Pope ſtrõg in time paſt, but lacke of knowledge, and ignoraunce of ſimple Chriſtians: ſo contrarywiſe now nothyng doth debilitate and ſhake yͤ hie ſpire of his Papacie ſo much as reading, preaching, knowledge and iudgement, that is to ſaye, the fruite of printyng: Wherof ſome experience we ſee already, and more is lyke (the Lorde before) to folow. For although, through outward force & violent crueltie, tongues dare not ſpeake, yet the hartes of men dayly (no doubt) be inſtructed through this benefite of printyng. And though yͤ Pope both now by crueltie, and in tymes paſt by ignoraunce, had all vnder his poſſeſſion: yet neyther muſt he thinke, that violence will allwayes continue, neyther muſt hee hope for that nowe, whiche hee had then: for ſo much as in thoſe former daies, bokes thẽ were ſcarſe, and alſo of ſuch exceſſiue price, that fewe could atteyne to the byeng, fewer to the readyng and ſtudyeng therof: which bookes now by yͤ meanes of this arte, are made eaſie vnto all men. Ye heard before, pag. 778. how Nicolas Belward, bought a newe Teſtament in thoſe dayes for. iiij. markes and. xl. d. where as nowe the ſame price will ſerue well. xl. perſons with ſo many bookes.

So preached the vicar of Croyden in K. Henry the 8. dayes, at Paules croſſe, ſaying that eyther we muſt roote out Printyng, or ells Printyng will roote out vs.

Moreouer in the, pag. 508. col. 1. it was noted and declared by the teſtimonie of Armachanus, howe for defect of bokes & good authors, both Vniuerſities were decayed, and good wyttes kept in ignoraunce, while beggyng Friers, ſcraping all the wealth frõ other prieſtes, heaped vp all bokes that could be gottẽ, into their own Libraryes: where either they did not diligently applye them, or els dyd not ryghtlye vſe them, or at leaſt kept them from ſuch as more frutefully woulde haue perused them.

In this then ſo great raritie, and alſo darth of good bookes, when neither they whiche could haue bookes, would well vſe them, nor they that would, could haue them to vſe, what maruell if the gredines of a few prelates did abuſe the blyndenes of thoſe dayes, to the aduauncement of them ſelues: Wherfore, almighty God of his mercyfull prouidence, ſeyng both what lacked in the churche, and how alſo to remedy the ſame, for yͤ aduauncement of his glory, gaue the vnderſtandyng of this excellent arte or ſcience of printyng, wherby iij. ſingular cõmodities at one tyme came to the worlde. Firſt the price of all bookes, diminiſhed. Secondly the ſpedy helpe of readyng, more furthered. And thirdlye the plenty of all good authors enlarged: accordyng as Aprutinus, doth truly reporteth.

Triple cõmoditie in Printyng.

Imprimit ille die, quantum non ſcribitur anno. i.

The Preſſe in one day will do in Printyng,
That none in one yeare can do in writyng.

By reaſon wherof, as printyng of bookes miniſtred matter of readyng: ſo readyng brought learnyng: learnyng ſhewed light, by the brightnes wherof blind ignoraunce was ſuppreſſed, errour detected, and finally Gods glory, with truth of hys worde, aduaunced. This facultie of printing was after the inuention of Gonnes, the ſpace of. 130. yeares: whiche inuẽtion was alſo foũd in Germanie, an. 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of printyng.

When Gunnes were fyrſt inuented.

The lamentable loſing of Conſtantinople.

AN. 1453. Conſtantinus Palœlogus, beyng Emperour of Cõnſtãtinople, the. 29 day of the moneth of May, the great Citie of Conſtantinople was taken by yͤ Turke Mahometes, after the ſiege of. 54. dayes: whiche ſiege began in the begynning of Aprill. Within the Citie, beſide the Citizens were but onely. 6000. reſkuers of the Grekes. And. 3000. of the Venetians and Genuues. Agaynſt theſe, Mahometes brought an armey of. 400. thouſãd, collected out of the countreis and places adioynyng nere about, as out of Grecia, Illyrico, VVallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulganis, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cecilia, and ſuch other: whiche places had yͤ name yet of Chriſtians. Thus one neighbour for lucer ſake, helped to deſtroy an other.

1453. The loſin of Cõſtantinople.

The Citie was compaſſed of the Turkes, both by ſea and land. Mahometes the Turke diuided his armey in. iij. ſondry partes, whiche in. iij. partes of the Citie, ſo bette the walles and brake them downe, that they attempted by the breaches therof to enter the citie. But the valiãtnes of the Chriſtians therin wanne much cõmendation, whoſe Duke was called Ioh. Iuſtinianus, of Genua. But for ſomuch as the aſſaultes were great, and the number of yͤ Chriſtiã ſouldiours dayly decreaſed, fighting both at the walles and at the Hauen, agaynſt ſuch a multitude of the Turkes, they were not able long to holde out. Beſide the armeys whiche lay battryng at the walles, the Turke had vpon the ſea his nauye of. 200. and. 50. ſayle, lyeng vpon the hauen of the Citie, reachyng from the one ſide of the hauens mouth vnto the other, as if a bridge ſhould bee made from the one banke to the other. Whiche hauen by the Citizens was barred with yron cheynes, whereby the Turkes were kept out a certayne ſpace. Againſt which nauie. 7. ſhippes there were of Genua, within the hauen, and. iij. of Creta, and certaine of Chio, whiche ſtode agaynſt them. Alſo the ſouldiours iſſhuing out of the Citie, as occaſion would ſerue, did mãfully gaynſtãde thẽ, & with wild fier, ſet their ſhippes on fire, that a certayne ſpace they could ſerue to no vſe. At length the cheynes beyng braſt, and a waye made, the Turkes nauye entred the hauen, and aſſaulted the Citie: whereby the Turke began to conceaue great hope, and was in forwardnes to obtaine the Citie. The aſſault & ſkirmiſhe then waxyng more hoate, Mahometes the tyraũt ſtode by vpõ an hill, with his warriers about him, cryeng and houlyng out vnto them to ſkale the walles and enter yͤ towne: otherwiſe, if any reculed, he threatned to kill them, and ſo he did: Wherby a great number of his ſouldiours in their repulſe and retire, were ſlayne by the Turkes men, beyng ſent by his commaundement to ſlay them: and ſo they were iuſtlye ſerued, and well payde theyr hyer.

The tyran ny of the Turke toward hys own men.

Although this was ſome comfort to the Chriſtians, to ſee and behold out of the citye, the Turkes retinue ſo conſumed: yet that hope laſted not longe. Shortlye after, by rage of warre, it happened Iuſtinian the Duke aboue named, to be hurt, who notwithſtandyng that he was earneſtly deſired by Palælogus the Emperour, not to leaue hys Tower which he hadde to keepe, ſeing hys wound was not deadly daungerous, yet could he not be entreated to tary, but left his ſtanding, and his fort diſfurniſhed, ſetting none in his place to award the ſame. And ſo this doughtye Duke, hurt more wyth hys falſe hart, then wͭ force of weapon, gaue ouer & fled to Chius, where ſhortlye after for ſorrow, rather then for ſorenes of wounde, he dyed. Many of his ſoldiours ſeyng their Captayne flee, followed after, leauing their fort vtterly deſtitute without defence. The Turkes vnderſtandyng that vantage, ſoone braſt into the Citie. The emperour Palælogus ſeyng no other waye but to flee, making toward the gate, either was ſlayne, or els troden downe with the multitude. In the which gate. 800. dead mens

The cowardnes of duke Iuſtinian.

The Emp rour of Cõſtanti ple ſlayne.

bodies were found and taken vp.

The Citye of Conſtantinople thus being gotte, the Turkes ſacking and rauging about the ſtreetes, houſes, & corners, did put to the ſword moſt vnmercifully, whō ſoeuer they foūd, both aged and younge: matrons, virgins, children, and infants, ſparing none: the noble matrons & virgins were horribly rauiſhed: the goods of the citie, the treaſures in houſes, ẏ ornamentes in churches were all ſackt & ſpoyled, ẏ pictures of Chriſt opprobriouſly handled, in hatred of Chriſt. The ſpoyle & hauoke of the citye laſted three daies together, while the barbarous ſouldiours murdered & rifeled what them liſted.

These thynges thus being done, and the tumult ceaſed, after three dayes, Mahometes the Turke, entreth into the City, and fyrſt calling for the heades and aunicientes of the citie, ſuch as he founde to be left alyue, he commaunded to be mangled and cut in peeces. It is alſo (ſayth my author) reported, that in the feaſtes of the Turkes, honeſt matrons & virgins, and ſuche os were of the kinges ſtocke, after other contumelies, were hewen and cut in peeces for their diſport.

And this was the end of that princelye and famous citye of Conſtantinople, beginning fyrſt by Conſtantinus, and ending alſo with Conſtantinus: whyche for the princely royaltie therof, was named & euer honoured, from the time of the firſt Conſtantine, equally with the Citye of Rome, and called alſo by the name thereof new Rome, and ſo continued the ſpace of.1120. yeares. I pray God that olde Rome may learne of new Rome, to take heede and beware by time.

Thys terrible deſtruction of the City of Conſtantinople, the Quene of Cities, I thought here to deſcribe, not ſo much to ſet forth the barbarous crueltye of theſe fylthy rakehels and mercyles murtherers: as eſpecially for this, that we being admoniſhed by ẏ dolefull ruine & miſery of theſe our euenchriſtened, maye call to mynde the plages and miſeries deſerued, which ſeeme to hang no leſſe ouer our own heades, & thereby may learne betime to inuocate & call more earneſtlye vpō the name of our terrible and mercyfull God, that he for his ſonnes ſake, wyll keepe vs, and preſerue his church among vs, and mitigate thoſe plages and ſorrowes, which wee no leſſe haue deſerued, then theſe aboue mynded, before vs. Chriſt graūt it. Amen. Ex hiſt. VVittenbergica Peuceri.

The hiſtory of Reynold Pecocke Biſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted and impriſoned for the Goſpell of Chriſt.

After the death of Henry Chichelley before mēcioned, pag.833. next ſucceded John Stafford, an.1445. who continued.8. yeares. After him came John Kempe, an.1453. who ſat but three yeares. Then ſucceded Thomas Burſchere. In the tyme of whych Archbiſhop, fell the trouble of Raynold Pecocke, biſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted by the Popes prelats for his fayth and profeſſion of the Goſpell. Of this biſhop, Halle alſo in his Chronologie toucheth a little mention, declaring that an ouerthwart iudgement (as he termeth it) was geuen by the fathers of the ſpiritualtie agaynſt him. This man (ſaith he) began to moue queſtions not priuatly, but openly in the Vniuerſities, concerning the Annates, Peter pence, and other iuriſdictions and autorities pertaining to the ſea of Rome, and not onely put foorth the queſtions, but declared hys minde and opinion in the ſame: wherefore he was for this cauſe abiured at Paules Croſſe. Thus much of him writeth Halle. Of whom alſo recordeth Polychronicon, but in few wordes. This biſhop, fyrſt of S. Aſſaphe, then of Chicheſter, ſo long as Duke Humfrey lyued (by whom he was promoted and muche made of) was quiet and ſafe, & alſo bold to diſpute and to wryte hys mynde, & wrote (as Leland recordeth) diuers bookes and treatiſes. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye haue heard) made away, this good man lacking hys backſtaye, was open to his enemies, and matter ſoone found agaynſt him. Whereupon he beyng complayned of, and accuſed by priuy and malignant promoters vnto the Archbiſhop, letters fyrſt were directed down frō the Archbiſhoppe, to cite all men to appeare that coulde ſay any thyng agaynſt hym. The forme of which citation here enſueth.

The Copy of the Citation ſent by the Archbiſhop.

The citation of the Archb. Tho. Bowcher, *alias* Bourſcher.

Thomas by the permiſſion of God, Archb. of Canterbury, primate of all Englande and Legate of the Apoſtolicke Sea, to all and ſingular Perſons, Vicars, Chaplains, Curates, and not Curates, Clerkes & learned mē, whatſoeuer they be, conſtitute and ordeined in any place throughout our prouince of Cāterbury, health, grace and benediction. We haue receiued a greuous cōplaint of our reuerende felow brother, Reinold Pecocke Byſhop of Chicheſter, conteynyng in it, that albeit our ſaid reuerende felow brother, the biſhop, deliuered vnto vs certaine bokes written by him in the Engliſh tōgue, by vs and our authoritie to bee examined, corrected, reformed and allowed: notwithſtādyng many (the examination and reformation of the ſayd bookes dependyng and remainyng before vs vndiſcuſſed) haue openly preached and taught at Paules croſſe in London, and in diuers other places of our prouince of Canterbury, that our ſayd felowe brother the Byſhop, hath propounded, made and written, or cauſed to bee written in the ſayd bokes, certain concluſions, repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obſtinatly hold and defende the ſame.

By the pretence of whiche preachyng and teaching, the ſtate and good name and fame of the ſayd Lord Raynolde the Byſhop, are greuouſly offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marueylouſly burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and ſeuerally apart do commaunde you, firmelye enioynyng you, that openlye and generally you doo warne or cauſe to be warned, all and ſingular ſuch perſons, whiche will obiect any thing contrary and againſt the cōcluſions of our ſayd reuerende felow brother the Byſhop, had or conteined in his bokes or writyngs: that the.xx. day after ſuch monitiō or warning had, they do frely of their own accorde, appeare before vs and our commiſſaries in this behalfe appointed, wherſoeuer we ſhall then be in our Citie, dioces, or prouince of Canterbury, to ſpeake, propound, alledge, and affirme fully and ſufficiētly in writing, what ſoeuer hereticall or erroneous matter they will ſpeake, propoūd, or obiect agaynſt the ſayd concluſions conteined in hys ſaid bookes: and both to ſatiſfie and receiue, whatſoeuer ſhall ſeme mete and right in this behalfe by the holy inſtitutions and ordinaūces. And for ſomuch as this matter dependyng yet vndetermined & vndiſcuſſed, nothyng ought to be attempted or renewed: wee charge you that by this our authoritie, you inhibite and forbyd all and euery one ſo to preach and teache hereafter. Vnto whom alſo we by the tenure of theſe preſentes, do likewyſe forbid, that during the examination of the concluſions and bokes aforeſayd, dependyng before vs & our commiſſaries vndiſcuſſed, they doo not preſume by any meanes, without good aduiſe and iudgement, to preach, iudge, & affirme, any thyng to the preiudice or offence of the ſaid Lord Raynolde the Byſhop: and if ſo be you do finde any in this behalfe gaynesaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cauſe them peremptorily to be cited, to appeare before vs or our commiſſaries, in this behalfe appointed, the tenth day after their citatiō, if it be a court day or els the next court day folowyng, where ſoeuer we ſhall then be, in our citie, dioces, or prouince of Canterbury, to make further declaration by forme of lawe of the cauſe of their diſobedience, and to receiue ſuch puniſhment as iuſtice and equitie ſhall determine in that behalfe: and that by your letters, you do duely certifie vs or our cōmiſſaries, what you haue

„ done in the premiſſes at the day and place aforeſayd, or
„ that he whiche hath ſo executed our commaundemēt, do
„ ſo certifie vs by hys letters. Dated at our Manour of
„ Lambeth the. xxij. daye of October. an. 1457. and in the
„ fourth yeare of our tranſlation.

Pecocke apeareth at Lambeth before the Archbyſhop.

This citation being directed, ỹ biſhop, vpō ỹ ſommon therof, was brought, or rather came before the iudges & biſhops, vnto Lambeth, where the foreſayde Tho. the Archbiſhop, with his doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbiſhops court. In which conuention alſo the duke of Buckingham was preſent, accompanied with the biſhop of Rocheſter, and of Lyncolne. What were the opinions and articles agaynſt hym obiected, after in hys reuocation ſhall be ſpecified. In hys anſwering for him ſelfe in ſuch a company of the popes friendes, albeit he could not preuayle, notwithſtanding he ſtoutly defending himſelfe declared many thynges worthy great commendation of learninge, if learnyng agaynſt power could haue preuayled.

Great labuor, to reduce Pecocke from his opinions.

But they on the contrarye part, with all labour and trauayle, extended them ſelues, either to reduce him, or els to confoūd him. As here lacked no bluſtering wordes of terrour and threatning: ſo alſo many fayre flattering wordes and gentle perſwaſions, were admixt with all. Briefly, to make a ſhort narratiō of a long & buſye trauers, here was no ſtone left vnturned, no wayes vnproued, either by fayre meanes to entreate him, or by terrible manaſſes to terrify his minde, til at ỹ lēgth, he being vanquiſhed and ouercome by the biſhops, began to faint and geue ouer. Whereupon, by and by a recantation was put vnto him by the biſhops, which hee ſhoulde declare before the people. The copy of which hys recantation here followeth.

¶ *The forme and maner of the retractation of* Reynold Pecocke.

The retractation of Byſhoy Pecocke.

IN the name of God Amen. Before you, the moſt reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, the lord Thomas, by ỹ grace of God, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of England and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, I Raynold Pecocke, vnworthy biſhop of Chicheſter, do purely, willingly, ſimply, and abſolutely, confeſſe and acknowledge, that I in times paſt, that is to ſay, by the ſpace of theſe. xx. yeares laſt paſt and more, haue otherwiſe conceiued, holden, taught and written, as touching the Sacramentes and the articles of the fayth, then the holye church of Rome and vniuerſall church: and alſo that I haue made, written, publiſhed and ſet forth manye and diuers pernicious doctrines, bookes, workes, writinges, hereſies, contrary and againſt the true catholike and Apoſtolike fayth, contayning in them, errors contrary to the catholike fayth, and eſpecially theſe errours and hereſies here vnder written.

Ex Regiſt.

His articles.

1. Fyrſt of all, that we are not bound by the neceſſitye of fayth, to beleue that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt after hys death, deſcended into hell.

2. Item that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation to beleue in the holy catholike church.

3. Item, that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation to beleue the communion of Sayntes.

4. Item, that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation, to affirme the body materially in the ſacrament.

5. Item that the vniuerſall church maye erre in matters which pertayne vnto fayth.

6. Item, that it is not neceſſarye vnto ſaluation, to beleue, that that whych euery generall councell doth vniuerſally ordayne, approue, or determine, ſhould neceſſarily, for the helpe of our fayth, and the ſaluation of our ſoules, be approued & holdē of all faythfull Chriſtians.

Wherefore I Reynold Pecocke wretched ſynner, which haue long walked in darkenes, and nowe by the mercifull diſpoſition and ordinannce of God, am reduced and brought again vnto the light and way of truth, & reſtored vnto the vnity of our holy mother the church: renounce & forſake all the errours & hereſies aforeſaid.

Notwithſtādyng (godly Reader) it is not to be beleued that Pecocke did ſo geue ouer theſe opinions, how ſoeuer ỹ wordes of ỹ recantatiō pretend. For it is a policie & play of the biſhops, that when they do ſubdue or ouercome any man, they carye hym whither they lyſt, as it were a yong Stere by the noſe, & frame out his wordes for him beforehande, as it were for a Parate, what hee ſhould ſpeake vnto the people: not according to his own wyll, but after their luſt and fantaſy. Neither is it to be doubted, but that this biſhop repented him afterwarde of hys recantation: which may eaſely be iudged hereby, becauſe he was committed againe into pryſon, and deteyned captiue, where as it is vncertayne, whether hee was oppreſſed with priuye & ſecret tyranny, and there obtayned the crowne of martyrdome, or no.

The arti cles of R nold Pe cocke m tioned b Tho. Ga coigne.

Ex Th Gaſcoig lib. De Diction rio The log. par

The Dictionarie of Thomas Gaſcoigne, I haue not in my handes preſent. But if credite be to bee geuen to ſuch as haue to vs alledged ỹ boke, this we may finde in ỹ eyght Centurie of Ioh. Bale. cap. 19. that ỹ ſaid Thomas Gaſcoigne in his. 3. part of the ſayd Dictonary, writyng of Raynolde Pecocke, maketh declaratiō of his Articles, conteinyng in them matter of ſore hereſie. Firſt (ſayth he) Reynold Pecocke, at Paules croſſe preached openly, that the office of a Chriſten prelate, chiefly aboue all other things is, to preach ỹ word of God. That mans reaſon is not to be preferred, before ỹ ſcriptures of the old & new Teſtament. That the vſe of Sacramentes, as they be nowe handled, is worſe, then the vſe of the law of nature. That Byſhops whiche bye their admiſſions of the Byſhop of Rome, do ſinne. That no mā is bound to beleue & obey ỹ determination of the church of Rome. Alſo that the riches of biſhops, by enheritage, are the goodes of the poore. Item, that the Apoſtles them ſelues, perſonally were not the makers of the common Crede, and that in the ſame Crede, once was not the Article, he wēt downe to hell. Item, that of the. iiij. ſenſes of the Scripture, none is to be taken, but the very firſt and proper ſenſe. Alſo, that he gaue litle eſtimatiō in ſome poyntes, to the authoritie of the old doctours. Item, that he condemned the wilfull beggyng of the Friers, as a thyng idle and nedeles. This out of Thomas Gaſcoigne. Leland alſo addyng this moreouer, ſayth: that he, not contented to folow the catholicke ſentence of the Church in interpretyng of the Scripture, did not thinke ſoundly (as he iudged it) of the holy Euchariſte.

At length, for theſe and ſuch other Articles, the ſayd Reynolde Pecocke was condemned for an heretike by ỹ Archbyſhops, and Byſhops of Roff. Lincol. and VVint. with other diuines moe. Wherupō, he being driuē to his recantation, was notwithſtādyng deteyned ſtill in pryſon. Where, ſome ſay, that he was priuely made awaye by death.

B. Pecock deteined priſon.

Halle addeth that ſome ſay, his opinions to bee, that ſpirituall perſons by Gods law, ought to haue no tēporall poſſeſſions. Other write that he ſayd, that perſonall tithes were not due by Gods law. But what ſoeuer the cauſe was, hee was cauſed at Paules croſſe to abiure, & all his bookes brent, and hee him ſelfe kept in hys owne houſe, during his natural life. I marueill that Polidore, of this extremitie of the Byſhops handlyng, and of hys articles, in his hyſtorye, maketh no memoriall. Belyke it made but litle for the honeſty of hys great maſter the Pope.

Polydo noted.

From perſecutiō and burning in England, now out of the way, to digreſſe a litle, to ſpeake of forein matters of the churche of Rome: you remember before, in the latter end of the Coūcell of Baſill, how Eugenius was depoſed. Of whoſe conditions, and martiall affaires, how he made warre againſt Sforcia a famous captain of Italie, and what other warres he raiſed beſide, not only in Italy, but alſo in Germanie, agaynſt yͤ citie ⁊ Coũcell of Baſill, I ſhall not neede to make any long rehearſall. After his depoſition, ye heard alſo how Fœlix duke of Sauoye was elected Pope. Wherupõ an other great ſchiſme folowed in yͤ church duryng all the lyfe of Eugenius. After his death, hys next ſucceſſour was pope Nicolas yͤ 5. who (as you before haue heard) brought ſo to paſſe with the Emperour Fridericke the. 3. that Fœlix was cõtented to renounce ⁊ reſigne his Papacie to Nicolas, ⁊ was therfore of hym afterward receaued to yͤ roome of a Cardinall, for his ſubmiſſion: and Friderike for his workyng, was confirmed at Rome to bee full Emperour, ⁊ there crowned. an. 1451. For Emperours before they be confirmed and crowned by the Pope, are no Emperours, but onely called kynges of Romaines.

This Pope Nicolas here mencioned, for to get and gather great ſummes of money, appoynted a Iubile in the yeare of our Lord. 1450. at which time there reſorted a greater nomber of people vnto Rome, then hath at any time before bene ſene. At which time, we read in the ſtory of Platina to haue happened, that I thought here not vnworthy to be noted for the example of the thyng. As there was a great concourſe of people reſortyng vp to the mount Vaticane, to behold the Image of our Sauiour, which there they had to ſhew to Pilgrims, yͤ people being thick going to and fro betwene the mount and the City, by chaunce a certayne Mule of the Cardinals of S. Marke came by the waye, by reaſon whereof the people not being able to auoyde the way, one or two falling vpõ the Mule, there was ſuch a preaſſe ⁊ throng vpon that occaſion on the bridge, that to the nomber of 200. bodies of men, and thrée horſes, were there ſtrangled, ⁊ on eche ſyde of the bridge many beſides fell ouer into the water and were drowned. By meanes of which occaſion, the Pope afterward cauſed the ſmall houſes to be plucked downe, to make the way broder. And this is the fruite that commeth by idolatrye. Ex Platin.

In the tyme of this pope, one Mat. Palmerius wrote a booke De Angelis, in defending wherof, he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at Corna. an. 1448. Ex Tritemio.

After him ſucceded Calixtus the third, who amongeſt diuers other thinges, ordained both at noone and at euening, the bell to tole the Aues, as it was vſed in yͤ popiſh tyme, to helpe the ſouldiours that fought agaynſt the Turkes: for which cauſe alſo he ordayned the feaſt of the transfiguration of the Lorde, ſolempniſing it wyth like pardons ⁊ indulgences, as was Corpus Chriſti day. Alſo this pope proceding contrary to the councels of Cõſtance and Baſill, decreed that no man ſhoulde appeale from the Pope to any councell. By whom alſo S. Edmund of Cant. with diuers other, were made ſainctes.

Next after this Calixtus, ſucceded Pius ſecundus, otherwiſe called Aeneas Syluius, who wrote the. 2. bookes of Commentaries vpon the councell of Baſil before mẽcioned. This Aeneas, at the time of the wrytyng of thoſe hys bookes, ſeemed to be a man of an indifferẽt and tolerable iudgemẽt and doctrine, from the which he afterward being Pope, ſemed to decline and ſwarue, ſéeking by all meanes poſſible, howe to deface and aboliſhe the bookes which he tofore had written.

¶ Sentences attributed vnto this Pius.

The diuine nature of God may rather be comprehẽded by fayth, then by diſputation,

Chriſtian fayth is to be conſidered, not by what reaſon it is proued, but from whom it procedeth,

Neither can a couetous man be ſatiſfied wyth money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poore men, in ſtede of ſyluer, to noble men in ſteede of golde, and to Prynces in ſteede of precious ſtones.

An artificial oration moueth fooles, but not wiſe men.

Suters in yͤ law, be as byrdes, the Court is yͤ baite, the Iudges be the nettes, ⁊ the lawyers be the fowlers.

Men are to be geuen to dignities, and not dignities to men.

The office of a Biſhop is heauye, but it is bleſſed to him that doth well beare it.

A biſhop without learning may be likened to an Aſſe.

An euyll Phiſicion deſtroyeth bodies, but an vnlearned prieſt deſtroyeth ſoules.

Mariage was taken from Prieſtes, not wythoute great reaſon, but with much greater reaſon it ought to be reſtored agayne.

Mariage of prieſtes allowed by *Æneas Syluius.*

The lyke ſentence to this hee vttereth in his ſeconde booke of the Councell of Baſill before ſpecified, ſaying, peraduenture it were not the worſt, that the moſt parte of prieſtes had their wiues: for many ſhould bee ſaued in prieſtly mariage, which now in vnmaryed prieſthode are damned. The ſame Pius alſo, as Celius reporteth, diſſolued certaine orders of Nunnes of the order of S. Briget and S. Clare, byddyng them to departe out, that they ſhould burne no more, nor couer a harlot vnder the veſture of Religion.

This Pius, if he had brought ſo much pietie and godlineſſe, as he brought learnyng vnto his Popedome, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It ſhall not be impertinent here to touche, what the ſayd Eneas called Pius, the Pope, writeth touchyng the peace of the church, vnto Gaſpar Schlicke, the Emperours Chauncelor, in his. liiij. Epiſtle.

Ex epiſt. 54. Pij. ſecund. ad Gaſparum Schlicke.

All men do abhorre and deteſt ſchiſme. The way to remedy this euill, Charles the Frẽche king hath ſhewed vs both ſafe ⁊ brief, whiche is, that princes or their Oratours ſhould conuent and aſſemble together in ſome cõmon place, where they may conclude vpon matters amongeſt thẽ ſelues. To bryng this to paſſe, it were nedefull, writinges to be ſent agaíne to all kynges ⁊ princes, to ſend their Oratours to Strawsborow or to Cõſtance, with their full authoritye, there to intreate of matters appertainyng to yͤ peace of yͤ church. Neither would it require ſo great expenſes, for as much as we ſee yͤ yeare before. 300. gildernes to be ſufficient. Conſtantine the Emperour beſtowed not much more in yͤ cõgregatiõ of the Coũcel of Niece. And this way could not be ſtopped: neither could yͤ pope or yͤ Councell withſtand it, or make excuſe, as though this might not eaſilye be done wout them. For why: the ſecular princes may conuent and aſſemble together, will they, nill they: and yet notwithſtandyng, vnitie may there be concluded: For he ſhould be an vndoubted Pope, whom all princes woulde obey. Neyther do I ſee any of the clergy ſo conſtant to death, which will ſuffer Martyrdome, either for the one part or yͤ other. All we lightly hold that faith which our princes holde, Which if they would worſhip idols, we would alſo do the ſame, ⁊ not onely deny the Pope, but God alſo, if the ſecular power ſtraine vs thereunto, for charitie is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. Howe ſoeuer it be, yet let vs all deſire ⁊ ſeke for peace, yͤ which peace, whether it come by a Councell, or by aſſemblye of princes, call it what you wil, I care not: for we ſtand not vpõ yͤ terme, but vpon the matter. Call bread and if you wil, a ſtone, ſo you geue me to aſſwage my honger. Whether you call it a Councell or a conuenticle, or an aſſemblye or a congregation, or a ſynagoge, that is no matter, ſo that ſchiſme may bee excluded and peace eſtabliſhed. Thus much out of the Epiſtle of Pius.

The way to exclude ſchiſme, is cõcorde of princes.

The Popes Clergye will not abyde the fyre, eyther for prince or pope.

By this may it appeare, of what ſentence ⁊ minde this Pius was in the tyme of the Coũcell of Baſill, before he was made Pope. But as our cõmon prouerbe ſayth, honours chaungeth maners, ſo it happeneth with this Pius, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from that he was before. For where as before hee

The breath of this peſtilent ſeat corrupteth all that ſitte in it, what ſo euer they were before.

preferred generall Councels before the pope, now being Pope, he did decree that no man ſhoulde appeale from the hygh Byſhop of Rome, to any generall Councell.

Æneas Syluius now puffed vp with worldlye pompe and glory, impugneth the truth which he did before, both know and profeſſe.

And likewiſe for prieſtes mariage, wheras before he thought it beſt to haue their wyues reſtored, yet afterward he altered his minde otherwiſe: In ſo much that in his booke intreatyng of Germany, and there ſpeakyng of yͤ noble Citie of Auguſt, by occaſion he inueyed agaynſt a certaine Epiſtle of Hulderike, once Byſhop of the ſayd Citie, written agaynſt the conſtitution of the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes. Wherby it appeareth how yͤ mynde of this Pius was altered frō that it was before. This Epiſtle of Hulderike is before expreſſed at large in the pag. 183.

Diſcorde betwen Pope Pius and the Archb. of Mentz.

Here alſo might I touch ſomething concerning the diſcord betwixt this Aeneas Syluius and Diotherus arch biſhop of Mentz, and what diſcorde was ſtyrred vp in Germany vpon the ſame, betwene Fredericke the Palatine, and Duke of VVyrtenberge, with others, by the occaſion whereof, beſides the ſlaughter of many, the Citye of Mentz, which was free before, loſt their freedome, and became ſeruile.

The cauſes of the diſcord betwixt Pope Pius and Diotherus, were theſe. Firſt, becauſe that Diotherus would not cōſent vnto him in yͤ impoſition of certayn tallages and taxes, within hys countrey. Secondly for that Diotherus would not be bound vnto him, requiring that the ſayd Diotherus, being prince Elector, ſhould not call the other Electors together, wythout hys licence: that is, without yͤ licence of yͤ B. of Rome. And thirdly, becauſe Diotherus would not permit to yͤ popes Legates, to cōuocate his Clergy together after their owne luſte. This Pope Pius began his ſea, about yͤ yere of our lord. 1458.

1458.

Pope Paulus 2.

After thys Pius ſecundus, ſucceded Paulus ſecundus, a pope wholy ſet vpon his belly & ambition, & not ſo much voyde of al learning, as yͤ hater of all learned mē. This Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, whych becauſe he ſaw her to be had in reproch, for that ſhe was gotten in fornication, beganne (as the ſtories reporte) to repent hym of the lawe of the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes, and went about to reforme the ſame, had not death preuented hym. Ex Staniſlao Rutheno.

Ex Staniſlao Rutheno. Vide Cent. 8. Bal.

After this Paulus, came Sixtus the fourth, which builded vp in Rome a ſtewes of both kindes, getting therby no ſmall reuenues and rentes vnto the church of Rome. This Pope amongeſt hys other actes, reduced the yere of Iubely from the. 50. vnto the. 25. He alſo inſtituted the feaſt of the Conception, and of the preſentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and Ioſeph. Alſo he canoniſed Bonauenture, and S. Fraunces for Sayntes.

The feaſt of the Conceptiō & preſentation of our Ladye.

Beades brought in.

By this Sixtus alſo, beades were brought in, and inſtituted to make our Ladyes Pſalter, thorow the occaſion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptiſta maketh mention of in this verſe. Hi filo inſertis numerant ſua murmura baccis. That is, theſe men puttyng theyr beades vpon a ſtryng, noumber their prayers. This Sixtus the Pope made. xxxij. Cardinals in his tyme, of whō Petrus Ruerius was the firſte, who for the time yͭ he was Cardinall, which was but. ij. yeares, ſpent in luxurious riot, waſted & cōſumed. CC. M. Floreines, and was left lx. M. in debt. VVeſellus Groningenſis, in a certaine treatiſe of his, de Indulgentiis papalibus, writing of this pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the requeſt of the foreſayd Peter Cardinall, & of Ierome his brother, the ſayd pope Sixtus permitted and graunted vnto the whole family of the Cardinall of S. Lucy, in the. iij. hote monethes of ſommer, Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt (a horrible thyng to be ſpoken) free leaue and libertie to vſe Sodomitry, with this clauſe, Fiat vt petitur: That is, bee it as it is aſked.

Veſellus Groningenſis.

The pope licenſeth the whole familie of a certayne Cardinall, to play the Sodomites three monethes in the yeare.

Pope Innocentius. viii.

Next after this Sixtus, came Iunocentius the. viij. as rude and as farre from all learning, as his predeceſſour was before him. Amongeſt the noble factes of this pope, thys was one, that in the towne of Polus apud Aequicolos, he cauſed. viij. men and. vi. women, with the Lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and iudged for heretickes, becauſe they ſaid that none of them was the true Vicar of Chriſt which came after Peter, but they which followed onely the pouerty of Chriſt. Alſo he condemned of hereſy, George yͤ king of Boheme, & depriued him of his dignitye, & alſo of his kingdome, & procured his whole ſtocke to be vtterly reiected and put down, geuing hys kyngdome to Mathias kyng of Panonia.

George kyng of Boheme cōdemn of hereſi

Now from the Popes to deſcende to other eſtates, it remaineth lykewiſe ſomewhat to write of the Emperours incident to this time, with matters & greuaunces of the Germaines, as alſo of other princes, firſt begynnyng with our troubles and mutations here at home, perteining to the ouerthrow of this king Henry & of his ſeate now folowing, to be ſhewed. And briefly to cōtract long proceſſe of much tumult and buſines, into a ſhort narratiō, here is it to be remēbred, whiche partly before was ſignified, how after the death of yͤ Duke of Glouceſter, miſchieues came in by heapes vpon the kyng & his realme. For after the geuyng away of Angeow, and Mayne, to the French men, by the vnfortunate mariage of Quene Margarete aboue mencioned, the ſayd French mē perceiuing now by the death of yͤ Duke of Gloceſter, the ſtay and piller of this common wealth to be decayd, and ſeyng moreouer the hartes of the nobilitie, among them ſelues to bee diuided, forſlacked no tyme, hauyng ſuch an opē way into Normandy, that in ſhort time they recouered the ſame: and alſo gate Gaſcoigne, ſo that no more nowe remained to England, of all the partes beyond yͤ ſea, but only Calice. Neither yet did all yͤ calamitie of yͤ realme, only reſt in this: For yͤ king now hauing loſt his frendly vncle, as yͤ ſtay & ſtaffe of his age, which had brought him vp ſo faythfully from his youth, was now therby the more opē to his enemies, and they more enboldened ſo ſet vpon hym: As appeared firſt by Iacke Cade, the Kentiſhe Captaine, who encampyng firſt in Blakeheath, afterward aſpired to London, and had the ſpoyle therof, yͤ kyng being driuen into Warwickſhyre. After the ſuppreſſyng of Cade, enſued not long after the duke of Yorke, who being accompanied with. 3. Earles, ſet vpon the kyng nere to S. Albons, where yͤ kyng was taken in yͤ field captiue, and the Duke of Yorke was by Parlament declared protector, which was in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1453. After this folowed long diuiſion & mortall warre betwen the. ij. houſes of Lancaſter, & Yorke, continuyng many yeares. At length, about the yeare of our Lord. 1459. the Duke of Yorke was ſlaine in battayle by the Queene, nere to the towne of Wakfielde, and with him alſo his ſonne Earle of Rutland. By the which Quene alſo ſhortly after, in the ſame yeare, were diſcomfited the Earle of Warwicke, & Duke of Northfolke, to whom the kepinge of the King was committed by the Duke of Yorke, and ſo the Quene againe delyuered her huſband.

Miſchie to Engl after the death of the duke Glouceſ

Angeo Mayne, Norma dye, an Gaſcoy recouer of the French

Iacke Cade.

The duk of York agaynſt K.Henry

1459

After this victory obteined, the Northren men aduaūced not a litle in pride and courage, began to take vpon them greate attemptes, not onely to ſpoyle and robbe Churches, and religious houſes, and villages, but alſo were fully entēded, partly by them ſelues, partly by the inducement of their Lordes and Captaines, to ſacke, waſte, and vtterly to ſubuert the Citie of London, and to take the ſpoyle therof: and no doubt (ſayth my hiſtory) would haue proceded in their conceaued gredy intēt, had not yͤ oportune fauour of God prouided a ſpedy remedy. For as theſe miſchieues were in bruing, ſodeinly cōmeth yͤ noble Prince Edward vnto London, with a mighty army, the. xxvij. day of February, who was the ſonne and heyre to the duke of Yorke aboue mēcioned, accōpanied with yͤ Earle of Warwicke, & diuers moe. Kyng Henry in the meane tyme, with his victorie, went vp to Yorke: when as Edward beyng at London, cau

The No thren m intende the ſubu ſion of London

Ex hiſt ria man ſcripta, titulus Scala Mundi

London reſcued b prince E ward.

61.

ſed there to be proclaimed certaine articles concernyng his title to the crowne of Englãd, whiche was the.2.day of March. Wherupon, the next day folowyng, ỹ Lordes both temporall and ſpirituall being aſſembled together, the ſaid Articles were propounded, and alſo well approued. The fourth day of the ſaid moneth of March, after a ſolemne generall proceſſion (accordyng to the blinde ſuperſtition of thoſe dayes) the Byſhop of Exceter made a Sermon at Paules croſſe, wherin he commended and proued, by manifold euidences, ỹ title of prince Edward to be iuſt and lawfull, aunſweryng in ỹ ſame, to all obiections, whiche might be to the contrary.

tle of d, to wne &c.

This matter beyng thus diſcuſſed, Prince Edward accompanied wt the lordes ſpirituall & temporall, & with much cõcourſe of people, rode ỹ ſame day to Weſtminſter Halle, & there by the ful cõſent, as wel of ỹ lordes, as alſo by the voyce of all the commons, toke his poſſeſſion of the crowne, and was called K. Edward the fourth.

ward poſ- the .

These thynges thus accompliſhed at London, as to ſuch a matter apperteyned, and preparation of money ſufficiently beyng miniſtred of the people and cõmõs, with moſt ready and willyng mindes, for the neceſſarie furniture of his warres: he with ỹ Duke of Northfolke, and Earle of Warwicke, and lord Fauconbrydge, in all ſpedy wiſe, toke his iourney toward kyng Henry: Who being now at Yorke, and forſaken of the Lõdoners, had all his refuge onely repoſed in the Northren men.

When kyng Edward with his armye had paſt ouer the Riuer of Trent, and was commẽ nere to Ferebryg: where alſo the hoſt of kyng Henry was not far of, vpon Palme ſonday, betwen Ferebryg and Tadcaſter, both the armyes of the Southren and Northren men ioyned together battaile. And although at the firſt begynnyng, diuers horſemen of kyng Edwardes ſide, turned theyr backes, and ſpoyled ỹ kyng of his cariage and victuals, yet ỹ couragious prince, with his Captaines litle diſcouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully ſet on their aduerſaries. The whiche battaile on both ſides was ſo cruelly fought, that in the ſame conflicte were ſlayne to the noumber, as is reported, beſide mẽ of name, of.xxx. thouſand of the poore commons. Notwithſtanding, the conqueſte fell on kyng Edwardes parte, ſo that kyng Henry hauyng loſt all, was forced to flye into Scotlãd, where alſo he gaue vp to the Scottes, the town of Barwicke, after he had reigned.38.yeares and a halfe.

rce ell e ne ry.6. Ed-

ry.6. red. ke the by ry.6.

¶The clayme and title of the Duke of Yorke, and after him, of Edward his ſonne, put vp to the lords and commons, whereby they chalenged the crowne to the houſe of Yorke, is thus in the ſtory of Scala mundi, word for woorde, as here vnder is contayned.

¶ *The title of the houſe of Yorke, to the crowne of England.*

EDward the iij. right kyng of England, had iſſue firſt prince Edward, 2. W. Hatfield, 3. Lionel, 4. John of Gaunt. &c. Prince Edw. had Rich. ỹ 2. which dyed without iſſue. W. Hatfield dyed without iſſue. Lionel duke of Clarẽce, had iſſue lawfully begotte, Philip his onely daughter & heire, the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer earle of March, & had iſſue lawfully begotte, Roger Mortimer, earle of Marche & heyre: whiche Roger had iſſue Edmund earle of Marche, Roger, Anne & Alienor. Edmund & Alienor dyed without iſſue, and the ſaid Anne, by lawfull matrimony, was coupled vnto Rich. earle of Cambrige, the ſonne of Edmũd of Langley, who had iſſue & lawfully bare Rich. Plantagenet now Duke of Yorke. John of Gaunt gat Harry, whiche vnrightfully entreated K. Richard: then beyng alyue Edmund Mortimer earle of Marche, ſonne of the ſaid Philip, daughter to Lyonel. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, & ſõne to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of Marche, ſonne & heyre to the ſayd Philip, daughter & heyre to the ſayd Lyonel, the. iij. ſonne of K. Edward the. iij. the right & dignitie of the crown apperteyned and belonged, afore any iſſue of the ſayd John of Gaunt. Notwithſtãdyng the ſayd title of dignitie of the ſayd Richarde of Yorke, the ſayd Richard deſiryng the wealth, reſt and proſperitie of England, agreeth and cõſenteth that the kyng, Harry. vi. ſhoulde be had and taken for kyng of Englande, duryng his naturall lyfe from thys tyme, without hurt of his title.

tle of

Wherfore, the kyng vnderſtãding ỹ ſayd title of ỹ ſayd duke to be iuſt, lawfull, true & ſufficient, by ỹ aduiſe & aſſẽt of his lordes ſpiritual & tẽporall, & the cõmons in the Parlamẽt, & by the authoritie of the ſame Parlament declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the ſaid title for iuſt, good, lawfull & true, & therunto geueth his aſſent & agremẽt of his free will & libertie. And ouer that, by the ſaid aduiſe & authoritie, declareth, calleth, ſtabliſheth, affirmeth & reputeth the ſayd Richard of Yorke very true & rightfull heyre to the crowne of England & Fraunce: and that all other ſtatutes & Actes made by any of the Harryes late, cõtrary to this aduiſe, be annulled, repelled, damned, cãcelled, voyde, and of no force or effect. The kyng agreed & cõſented, that the ſayd duke & his heires ſhall after his natural life reioyce the crown. &c. Alſo, ỹ all ſaying & doings againſt the duke of Yorke, ſhall be hye treaſon, & all Actes of Parlamẽtes contrary to this principall Acte, be voyde and of none effect. &c.

Ex Scala mundi.

And thus much for the reigne of king Henry the.vi. Who now lacked his vncle and protector, duke of Gloceſter, about him. But cõmonly ỹ lacke of ſuch frendes, is neuer fealt before they be miſſed.

Leaden Hall builded.

In the tyme of this kyng was buylded the houſe in Londõ called Leaden hall, foũded by one Symon Eyre, Maior once of the ſayd Citie of London. an. 1445.

The Standerd in Chepe. The Conduite in Fleteſtrete. Newgate builded.

Alſo the ſtandart in cheepe buylded by John Wels. an. 1442. the Conduite in Fleteſtret by Williã Eaſtfield. an. 1438. Item, Newgate builded by the goods of Richard Whityngton. an. ~~1422~~. anno 1428

The College of Eton, and the kynges College in Cambridge founded.

Moreouer the ſayd Henry. 6. founded the College of Eton, & another houſe hauing then ỹ title of S. Nicolas in Cãbridge, now called ỹ kyngs College. Ex Scal. mũdi.

In ỹ reigne of this Henry. 6. it is not tobe paſſed ouer in ſilence, which we finde noted in the Parlamẽt rolles, how that Lewes Archbiſhop of Rhoen, after ỹ death of the late Byſhop of Eley, had graunted vnto hym by the popes Bulles, during his life, all the profites of the ſayd byſhopryke, by ỹ name of ỹ adminiſtratour of the ſayd Byſhoprike. Levves the foreſaid Archb. ſhoweth his Bulles to the kyng, who vtterly reiecteth thoſe Bulles. Notwithſtandyng for hys ſeruice done in Fraunce, the kyng graunted to him the adminiſtration aforeſaid, the which to all intẽtes, at the peticiõ of the ſayd Lewes, ſhoulde bee affirmed to be of as greate force as though he were Biſhop, touchyng profites, liberties, & habilitie.

The king reiecteth the popes Bulles.

Neither agayne is here to be ouerpaſt a certaine tragicall Acte done betwene Eaſter & Witſontide of a falſe Britton. an. 1427. Which murdered a good widdow in her bedde (who had brought him vp of almes, without Algate in the ſuburbes of London) and bare away all that ſhe had, & afterwarde he tooke ſeccour of holy churche at S. Georges in Southwerke: but at the laſt he tooke the croſſe and forſwore the kyngs land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the ſame place where he had done that curſed dede, and women of the ſame pariſh, came out with ſtones and cannell dong, and there made an ende of him in the hye ſtrete, ſo that he went no further, notwithſtandyng the Conſtables, and other men alſo, whiche had him vnder gouernaunce to conducte him forward: for there was a great company of them, ſo that they were not able to withſtand them.

Ex vetuſto codic. cui initiũ, Nomina cuſtodum. &c. et ex Fabiano.

Example of Gods rodde and iudgemẽt.

¶ *King Edward the fourth.*

An. 1461

King Edvvard. 4.

KYng Edward, after his conqueſt and victorie achieued agaynſt kyng Henry, returned agayne to Londõ, where, vpon ỹ Vigill of S. Peter & Paule, beyng on ſõday, he was crowned K. of England, and reigned. xxij. yeares, albeit not without great diſquietnes, & much perturbation in his reigne.

Queene Margarete fledde the land.

Queene Margarete, hearyng how her huſband was fled into Scotland, was alſo fayne to flye the land, and went to her father Duke of Angeow. From whence the next yeare folowyng, ſhee returned agayne to renewe warre agaynſt kyng Edward, with ſmall ſuccour and leſſe lacke: For beyng encountred by ỹ Earle of Warwicke, about Nouember, ſhe was driuen to the ſeas againe, & by tempeſt of wether, was driuen into Scotlãd.

1462.

K. Edward ſitteth hys owne perſon in the kinges benche, iudging.

In this yeare we read that king Edward, in the cauſe of a certeyne widowe for rape, ſat hys owne perſon, in Weſtminſter hall vpon his owne benche, diſcuſſyng her cauſe. Ex Scal, mundi.

1463.

K Henry. 6. againe repulſed, in the battayle of Exham.

The yeare folowing, king Henry iſſuyng out of Scotlād with a ſufficient power of Scotiſh and French mē, came into yͤ Northcountrey to recouer the crowne, vnto whom the Lord Radulph Percy, and Lord Radulphe Grey, flyeng from kyng Edward, did adioyne them ſelues: but the Lorde ſo diſpoſyng, kyng Henry with his power was repulſed in the battaile of Exham, by the L. Montagew, hauyng then the rule of the North: where the Duke of Somerſet, Lorde Hungerford, Lord Rooſſe, with certaine other were takē, The Lord Radulphe Percy was ſlayne, the reſidue fled. Albeit the hiſtory of Scal, mundi referreth this battaile to yͤ yeare. 1464. the. 15. day of May. In yͤ which moneth of May, were beheaded, yͤ duke of Somerſet, L. Hungerford, L. Roſſe, L. Philip Wentworth, L. Thomas Huſſye, L. Tho. Fyndern, beſide. xxi. other belongyng to yͤ retinue, & houſholde of kyng Henry. 6. Queene Margaret fyndyng no reſtyng place here in England, tooke her progreſſe agayne from whence ſhee came, learnyng in her owne countrey to drinke that drinke, which ſhe her ſelfe had brued here in England.

K Henry. 6. taken, arreſted, & committed to the Tower.

And not long after, the next yeare. an. 1465. on the day of S. Peter and Paule, kyng Henry beyng founde and knowen in a woode, by one Cantlow (as they ſaye) was arreſted by the Earle of Warwicke, and at laſt of a kyng, made priſoner in the tower of London.

An. 1465

The kinges ſodein mariage with Queene Elizabeth.

The fyrſt falling out betwene K Edward, and the Earle of Warwycke.

Conſpiracie agaynſt king Edward.

In this meane tyme, kyng Edward (after the motiō of Mariage for hym beyng made, and firſt the Lady Margaret, ſiſter to Iames the. 4. K. of Scottes thought vpon, but that motiō takyng no effect, afterward yͤ lady Elizabeth ſiſter to Henry kyng of Caſtelle, beyng intended, but ſhe beyng vnder age, the Earle of Warwicke turnyng then his legation and viage to the French kyng Lewes the. xi. to obtayne Lady Bona, daughter of yͤ duke of Sauoy, and ſiſter to Carlot the Frenche Quene, & obteyning the ſame) had caſt fauour vnto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of Syr Iohn Grey knight, ſlaine before in the battaile of S. Albons, daughter to yͤ Duches of Bedford, & Lord Riuers, & fyrſt went about to haue her to his concubine: But ſhe, as being vnworthy (as ſhe ſayd) to be the wife of ſuch an hygh perſonage, ſo thinking her ſelfe to be to good to be his concubine, in ſuch ſorte wanne the kynges hart, that incontinent, before the returne of the Earle of Warwicke, hee maried her: at the which mariage were no moe then onely the Duches of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the prieſt and clerke. Vpon this ſo haſtye & vnluckye mariage, enſued no litle trouble to the kyng, much bloudſhed to the realme, vndoyng almoſt to all her kynred, & finally confuſion to yͤ K. Edwardes. ij. ſonnes, which both were declared afterward to be baſtardes, & alſo depriued of theyr lyues: For the Earle of Warwicke, who had bene the faithfull frende, and chief mainteiner before of the kyng, at the hearing of this mariage, was therewith ſo greuouſly moued & chaffed in his minde, yͭ he neuer after ſought any thyng more, then howe to worke diſpleaſure to the king, and to put him beſide his cuſſhion. And although for a tyme he diſſembled his wrathfull moode, till hee might ſpye a tyme conuenient, and a worlde to ſet forward his purpoſe, at laſt finding occaſiō ſomewhat ſeruyng to his mynde, he breaketh his hart to his. ij. brethren: to witte, the Marques Mountacute, & the Archbiſhop of Yorke, conſpiryng with them how to bryng hys purpoſe about. The thought he alſo to proue a farre of, the mynde of the Duke of Clarence, kyng Edwardes brother, and lykewiſe obteined hym, geuyng alſo to him his daughter in Mariage.

K. Edw take pr ner by t Earle o Warwic

This matter beyng thus prepared agaynſt yͤ kyng, the firſt flame of this conſpiracie began to appeare in the Northcountrey. Where yͤ Northrenmen in ſhort ſpace gatheryng thē ſelues in an open rebellion, & finding captains of their wicked purpoſe, came down frō Yorke toward Londō. Againſt whom was appointed by yͤ king, W. lord Herbert Earle of Penbroke, with the lord Stafford, and certayne other Captaynes, to encounter. The Yorkeſhiere mē geuing the ouerthrow, fyrſt to the lord Stafford, then to the Earle of Penbroke and hys company of Welchmē, at Banbery field, at laſt ioyning together with the army of the Earle of VVarwicke, & Duke of Clarence, in the dead of the nyght, ſecretly ſtealinge on the kinges fielde at Wolney by Warwicke, killed the watch, & toke the king pryſoner, who firſt being in the Caſtell of Warwicke, then was conueied by nighte to Myddelham Caſtel in Yorkeſhire, vnder the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, where he hauing looſe keeping and libertie to go on hunting, meeting with ſyr Williā Stanley, ſyr Thomas of Borough, & other his frendes, was to good for his keepers, and eſcaped the handes of his enemies, and ſo came to Yorke, where he was well receaued: from thence to Lankeſter, where he met wyth the Lord Haſtings his Chamberlaine, wel accompanied, by whoſe helpe he came ſafe to London.

The reb lio in L colnſhy repreſſe

The Ea of War wycke the duke Clarence flye into Fraunce.

The Earl of War wycke the duke Clarence returne to Engl

After this tumulte, when reconciliation could not come to a perfecte peace & vnitie, although much labour was made by yͤ nobilitie, yͤ Earle of VVarwicke raiſeth vp a new warre in Lincolneſhire, the captaine whereof was ſyr Robeart Wels knight, who ſhortely after beeing taken in battaile, with his father, and ſyr Thomas Dymocke, were beheaded, yͤ reſidue caſting away their coates, ranne away and fledde, geuing the name of the field, called Loſecoate fielde. The Earle of VVarwicke, after this, put out of comforte and hope to preuayle at home, fled out of England. An. 1470. fyrſt to Calice, then to Lewes the Frenche Kinge, accompanied with the Duke of Clarence. The fame of the Earle of Warwicke & of his famous actes, was at that time in great admiration aboue meaſure, and ſo highelye fauoured, that both in England and Fraunce, all men were glad to beholde his perſonage. Wherefore the comming of this Earle and of the Duke of Clarence, was not a litle gratfull to the Frenche King, and no leſſe oportune to Quene Margaret, King Henries wyfe, & prince Edward her ſonne, who alſo came to the frenche Courte to meete & confer together, touching their affaires: where a league betwene them was concluded, and moreouer a mariage betwene Edward prince of Wales, & Anne the ſeconde Daughter of the Earle of Warwicke was wrought. Thus al thinges falling luckelie vpō yͤ Erles parte, beſide the large offers, and great promiſes made by the frenche King, on the beſte maner, to ſet forward their purpoſe, the Earle hauing alſo intelligence by letters that the hartes almoſt of all men went with him, and longed ſore for his preſence, ſo that ther lacked now but onely haſte with all ſpeede poſſible to retourne: hee with the Duke of Clarence well forteſied wᵗ the frenche nauy, ſet forward toward Englande: For ſo was it betwene thē before decreed, yͭ they two ſhould proue yͤ firſt venture, and then Quene Margaret with Prince Edward her ſonne, ſhould folowe after. The arriual of the Earle was not ſo ſoone heard of at Dartmouth in Deuenſhire, but great concourſe of people by thouſaundes went to him from all quarters, to receaue and welcome him. Who immediatly made proclamation in yͤ name of King Henry the. 6. charging all men able to beare armour, to prepare themſelues to fight againſt Edwarde Duke of Yorke, vſurper of the crowne. Here lacked no frendes, ſtrength of men, furniture, nor policie conuenient for ſuch a matter.

The re uing of Earle of Warwy into Eng land.

K.Henr againe p claymed kyng.

Whē king Edward (who before, not paſſing for the matter, nor ſeeking how, either to haue ſtopped his landing, or els ſtreight wayes to haue encoūtred with him before the gatheryng of his frendes, but paſſing forth ẏ tyme in huntyng, in haukyng in all pleaſure and dalliaunce) had knowledge what great reſort of multitudes inceſſātly repayred more & more dayly about the Earle and the Duke, began now to prouide for remedy, when it was to late. Who truſtyng to much to his frendes & fortune before, did now right well perceaue, what a variable and inconſtant thyng the people is, and eſpecially here of Englād, whoſe nature is neuer to be cōtent long with ẏ preſent ſtate, but alwayes delightyng in newes, ſeketh newe varietie of chaunges, either enuying that whiche ſtandeth, or els pytying that whiche is fallen. Whiche inconſtant mutabilitie of the light people, chāgyng with the winde, and waueryng with the reede, did well appeare in the courſe of this kynges ſtory. For he, through the fauour of the people, when he was downe, was exalted: now beyng exalted of the ſame, was forſaken. Wherby this is to bee noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable worlde firme & ſtable: ſo is there no truſte nor aſſurance to be made, but onely in the fauoure of God, and in the promiſes of hys word, onely in Chriſt his ſonne, whoſe onely kingdome ſhall neuer haue ende, nor is ſubiecte to any mutation.

These things thus paſſing in England on the Earles ſyde againſt Kyng Edwarde, he accompanied with the Duke of Glocester his brother, and the Lorde Haſtinges, who had maried the Earle of Warwikes ſiſter, and yet was neuer vntrew to the king his maiſter: & the Lord Scales brother to ẏ queene, ſent abrode to all his truſtye frendes, for furniture of able souldiours, for defence of his perſon, to withſtand his enemies. When litle reſcue, and fewe in effecte would come, the Kinge ſeeing himſelfe ſo deſtitute, departed to Lincolneſhyre, where he perceauing his enemies daylye to encreaſe vpon him, and all the countreies about to be in a rore, making fiers and ſinging ſonges, crying king Henry, king Henry, a Warwicke a Warwicke, & hearing moreouer his enemies the Lancaſtrians to bee within halfe a dayes iourney of hym, was aduiſed by hys frendes to flye ouer the ſea, to the Duke of Burgoine, whiche not long before, had maryed King Edwards ſiſter.

¶ Heere might be thought, by the common iudgement and policie of man, peraduenture, that King Edward, as he had in his handes the lyfe of king Henry, of his Quene, and prince: ſo if he had diſpatched them oute of the waye, when as he mighte, hee had not fallen into this miſery: but becauſe he toke not the vantage, which tyme rather then godly reaſon gaue hym, therfore that ſparing pitie of his, tourned nowe to his confuſion and ruine. And certes I ſuppoſe no leſſe, but if the ſame caſe had fallen in theſe our pitiles dayes, in which charitye now wareth vtterly colde, and humanitie is almoſt forgotten, the occaſion of ſuch a time ſhould not be ſo neglected. But let vs heere note and lerne, how godly ſimplicitie alwaies in the ende of thinges, gayneth more then mans policie, forſomuch as mā worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other. And ſo far is it of, that the euent and ſucceſſe of thinges be gouerned by mans aduiſed policie, or rather vnaduiſed affection, in thys worlde, that that is iudged to be weaker that floriſheth in man, then that whiche is caſte downe in the Lorde: as in the double caſe of both theſe kynges, may well appeare. And firſt let vs conſider the caſe of K. Edwarde, who beyng ſo beſet and compaſſed with euilles and diſtreſſes on euery ſyde, firſte was compelled to take the Waſhes, betwene Lincolneſhyre and Lyn (whiche was no leſſe daungerous to hys lyfe then it was vnſemely for hys eſtate.) Beyng come to Lyn, in what perыll was hee there, throughe the doubtefull mutabilitye of the townes men, if hee had beene knowen to hys enemies? And how could he be but knowen, if he had taryed any ſpace? But though mē and frendes forſoke him, yet the mercye of God not forſakinge the lyfe of him, which ſhewed mercy vnto other, ſo prouided, that at the ſame preſent, there was an engliſh ſhip, and two hulkes of Hollande, ready to their iourney. Thus Kinge Edward without prouiſion, without bagge or baggage, without clothſake or male, without ſtore of money, without rayment, ſaue onely apparell for warre, alſo, without all frendes, except only hys brother Duke of Glocester, the Lord Scales, and Lorde Haſtinges, with a fewe other truſty frendes, to the number of. vii. or. viii. C. perſons, tooke ſhipping toward Hollande: at whiche tyme he was in no leſſe ieoperdy almoſte, on the ſea, then hee was on the lande. For certaine Eſterlinges hauing many ſhippes of war, which lay rouing the ſame tyme on the ſea, and had done much domage the yeare before, as wel to the Engliſhe Marchauntes, as to the frenche nation, ſpying the kinges ſhyp, with. 7. or. 8. gallant ſhips, made ſayle after the king and his company. The kings ſhyp was good of ſayle, and gatte ſome ground, albeit not much, of the Eſterlinges, that ſhe came to the coaſt of Hollande, before Alquemare, and there caſte Anker: for otherwiſe, beeinge an ebbinge water, they coulde not enter the hauen. The Eſterlinges with their greate ſhips, approched as nere as they could poſſible come for ẏ lowe water, purpoſing at ẏ flud to obtaine their pray, and ſo were like to do, if the Lord had not there alſo prouided Mounſiour de Gronture, gouernour for Duke Charles in Holland, at that ſeaſon to be perſonally preſent in the towne of Alquemare, who hearing of the ieoperdy of the King, beeing there at Anker, prohibited the Eaſterlings, on payne of death, not to meddle wyth any Engliſhe men, whiche were the Dukes fryendes and Allies.

God prouideth.

K. Edward taketh ſhipping.

King Edward nere taken by the Eſterlynges.

God agayne prouideth.

Thus King Edward well chaſtiſed of God, for hys wantonnes both by ſea and land, but not vtterly geuen ouer frō his protection, eſcaping ſo many hard chaūces, was ſet on lande with his company, who there well refreſhed, & newlye apparelled, were conducted to Hage.

K. Edward deliuered frō the Eſterlynges.

Duke Charles at ẏ hearing of the vnproſperous caſe & condition of K. Edward his brother in law, was greatly amaſed and perplexed in hym ſelfe, much caſtyng & doubtyng what he ſhould do: For, beyng then in warre with the French king, he could not well prouoke ẏ Engliſh nation agaynſt him, without his manifeſt greuaūce and decay: neither yet could he, without great ſhame, & obloquie, leaue the kyng his brother in that neceſſitie. Notwithſtanding, ſo he demanured him ſelfe throughe fayre ſpeach, pretendyng to the Engliſhe men to ioyne part with the houſe of Lancaſter, beyng him ſelfe partly deſcended of ẏ ſame familie by hys graundmothers ſyde: that he both was his owne frende openly, and the kynges frende couertlye, pretendyng that hee dyd not, and doyng that he pretended not.

Charles duke of Burgoyne, K. Edwardes brother in lawe.

When tidynges was ſpred in England of kyng Edwardes flyeng, innumerable people of all handes, reſorted to the Earle of Warwicke, to take his part, againſt kyng Edwarde, a fewe onely excepte of his conſtant frendes, whiche toke ſanctuary. Among whom was alſo Elizabeth his wife, who deſperate almoſt of all comfort, tooke alſo ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, where ſhe in great penurie forſaken, was deliuered of a faire ſonne called Edward, which without all pompe was Baptiſed lyke an other poore womans childe, the Godfathers beyng ẏ Abbot and Prior of Weſtminſter, the Godmother was Lady Scrope.

Queene Elizabeth taketh ſanctuarie.

Prince Edward borne in ſanctuarie.

To make the ſtory ſhort, the earle of Warwicke, hauyng now brought all thinges to his appetite, vpon the, xij. day of October, rode to the tower, whiche was then deliuered to hym, and there tooke kyng Henry out of ẏ ward, & placed him in the kinges lodging. The. xxv. day of the ſaid moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied

K. Henry 6. brought out of the Tower.

K. Henry reſtored agayne to hys kingdome.

with yͤ Earles of Warwicke, Shrewſbury, & the Lord Standley, with a great company, brought him in a long gowne of blew veluet throughe the hye ſtreetes of London, firſt to Paules church, to offer, then to the biſhops palace of London, and there he reſumed the crowne royall agayne. an. 1471. which he did not long enioy.

K Edward returneth againe into England.

After this folowed a Parlament, in the which K. Edward, with all his partakers, were iudged traytours. Quene Margaret, with her ſonne prince Edward, all this while was tarying for a fayre winde, thinking long, belike, till ſhe came to an euil bargaine, as it proued after. For K. Edward, within 6. monethes after his departure out of England vnto the Duke of Burgoyne, whether by letters from his frendes ſollicitate, or whether by his aduenterous courage incited, made inſtant ſute to Duke Charles his brother, to reſcue him wͭ ſuch power, as he would beſtowe vpon him, for he was fully reſolued to differre the matter, and protract the tyme no longer. The Duke damped in double feare, in ſuch a a daungerous caſe, notwithſtandyng ouercome by nature and affinitie, ſecretly cauſed to be deliuered to him 50000. florence, & further cauſed foure great ſhyps to be appointed for him in a hauē in Zeland, where it was free for all mē to come. Alſo, yͤ ſame duke had for him, hired. xiiij. ſhippes of the Eſterlyngs wel appointed, taking band of them, to ſerue him truly, tyll he were landed in England, and. xv. dayes after.

K. Edward only with 2000. ſouldiours cōmeth to Rauenſpurre, *aliâs* Rauenſport.

The diſſembling policie of K. Edward.

K. Edward commeth to Yorke.

K. Edward repelled by the citizens of Yorke.

K. Edward chaungeth hys title.

The gentle and fayre wordes of K. Edward.

Thus kyng Edward beyng furniſhed but onely with ij. thouſand men of warre, with more lucke thē hope to ſpede, ſpedde his viage into England, & landed at Rauenſpurre in the coaſt of Yorkeſhire. Although there was no way for the kyng with ſuch a ſmall company of ſouldiours to do any good, yet to vſe policie, where ſtrēgth did lacke, firſt he ſent forth certeine light horſemē, to proue the countrey on euery ſide, with perſuaſions, to ſee whether the vplandiſh people would be ſtyrred to take kyng Edwardes part. Perceauyng that it would not be, king Edward fleyeth to his ſhiftes, diſſemblyng his purpoſe to be, not to claymе the crowne and kingdome, but onely to claymе the Duchie of Yorke, whiche was his own title, and cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed. This beyng notified to the people, that he deſired no more, but onely his iuſt patrimonie and lineal inheritaunce, they began to be, moued with mercy and compaſſion toward hym, either to fauour him, or not to reſiſte hym, and ſo iourneyng toward Yorke, he came to Beuerley. The Marques Mountacute, brother to the Earle of Warwicke, was then at Pomfret, to whom yͤ Earle had ſent ſtrayte charge, with al expedition to ſet vpon him, or els to ſtop his paſſage: and lykewiſe to the Citizens of Yorke & all Yorkeſhyre, to ſhut their gates & take armour agaynſt him. King Edward being in theſe ſtreites, proceded notwithſtanding nere to Yorke, without reſiſtance: where he required of the Citizens, to be admitted into their Citie. But ſo ſtode the caſe then, that they durſt not graūt vnto him, but contrary ſent him worde to approche no nearer, as he loued his owne ſafegarde. The deſolate kyng was here driuen to a narow ſtrayte, who neither could retire backe, for the opinion of the countrey and loſſe of his cauſe: neither could go further, for the preſēt daunger of the Citie. Wherfore, vſing the ſame policie as before, with louely wordes, & gentle ſpeech he deſired the meſſengers to declare vnto the Citizens, that his cōmyng was not to demaunde the realme of England, or the title of the ſame, but onely the Duchie of Yorke, hys old inheritaunce, & therfore determined to ſet forward, neither with armie, nor weapon. The meſſengers were not ſo ſone within yͤ gates, but he was at the gates, in a maner, as ſone as they. The Citizens hearing his courteous anſwere, and yͭ he intended nothing to yͤ preiudice of the kyng, nor of the realme, were ſome thyng mitigated toward hym, and began to common with him from the walles, willing him to withdraw his power to ſome other place, & they would be the more ready to aide him, at leaſt he ſhould haue no damage by thē. Notwithſtandyng, he agayne vſed ſuch lowly language, and delyuered ſo fayre ſpeache vnto them, entreatyng them ſo curteouſly, and ſalutyng the Aldermen by their names, requiryng at their handes no more, but onely his owne towne, wherof he had the name and title, that at length the Citizens, after long talke & debating vpon the matter, partely alſo intiſed with fayre and large promiſes, fell to this cōuention, that if he would ſweare to be true to kyng Henry, and gentle in intertaynyng his Citizēs, they would receaue him into the Citie.

Two conditions put to K Edward.

K. Edward put to hys othe.

Victorye gotte by periurie, puniſhed at length in poſteritie.

K. Edward ſafely cometh to Nottyngham.

King Edwardes frendes reſorte vnto hym.

K. Edward reſumeth the name of a kyng.

K. Edward cōmeth to Leyceſter.

K. Edward cōmeth to Warwicke.

The Earle of Warwicke flyeth to Couentrie.

The duke of Clarence commeth with a greate armye.

Concorde of bred

Thys being concluded, the next mornyng, at the entring of the gate, a prieſt was ready to ſay Maſſe, in the which, after receauing of the ſacrament, the king receiued a ſolemne othe to obſerue the twoo articles afore agreed. By reaſon of which othe ſo raſhlye made, and as ſhortly broken, and not long after puniſhed (as it maye well be thought) in hys poſteritie, he obtayned the Citye of Yorke. Where he, in ſhort tyme forgetting hys othe, to make all ſure, ſet in garriſons of armed Soldiours. Furthermore, perceauing all thinges to be quiet, & no ſtyrre to be made agaynſt hym, he thought to forſlacke no oportunity of time, & ſo made forward toward London, leauing by the way, yͤ Marques Montagew, which lay then with hys army at Pomfret, on the right hande, not fully. iiij. myles diſtant from hys campe: and ſo returning to the hye way agayne, went forward without any ſtyrring, to the towne of Notingham: Where came to hym, ſyr W. Parre, ſyr Thomas of Borough, ſyr Thomas Montgomerye, and diuers els of hys aſſured frendes, with their aydes, whiche cauſed hym by proclamation, to ſtand to hys owne title of king Edward the fourth, ſaying that they woulde ſerue no man, but a kyng. At the fame hereof beyng blowen abroade, as the Citizens of Yorke were not a little offended (and that worthely) ſo from other townes and cities, Lordes and noble men began to fall vnto hym, thynking wyth them ſelues, that the Marques Montagew, eyther fauoured hys cauſe, or was afrayde to encounter wyth the mā. How ſo euer it was, king Edward beyng now more fully furniſhed at all poyntes, came to the towne of Leyceſter, and there hearyng that the earle of VVarvvicke accompanied with yͤ earle of Oxford, were together at VVarvvicke, with a great power, minding to ſet on the Earle, he remoued frō thence his armie, hoping to geue hym battayle. The Duke of Clarence in yͤ meane tyme, about London had leuyed a great hoſte commyng toward the earle of Warwicke, as he was by the earle appoynted. But when the Earle ſawe the Duke to lynger the tyme, he began to ſuſpect (as it fell out in deede) that he was altered to hys brethrens part. The king auauncyng forwarde his hoſte, came to Warwicke, where he found all the people departed. From thence hee moued toward Couentry, where the Earle was: vnto whom the next daye after, he boldlye offered battayle. But the Earle expecting the Duke of Clarence commyng, kept hym within the walles. All this made for the king. For he hearyng that his brother, Duke of Clarence was not far of, comming toward him with a great army, raiſed his campe, and made toward him, eyther to entreate, or els to encounter with hys brother. When ech hoſt was in ſight of yͤ other, Richard duke of Glouceſter, brother to them both, as arbitour betwene thē, fyrſt rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all thys was for a face of a matter made, it is vncertayne. But hereby both the brethren, leauing all armye and weapon a ſyde, fyrſt louingly and familiarly commoned: after that, brotherly and naturally ioyned together. And that fraternal amitye, by proclamation alſo was ratified, and put out of all ſuſpition.

Then

Thē was it agreed betwene ẏ iij. brethrē to attempt the earle of Warwicke, if he likewiſe woulde be reconciled. But he crying out ſhame vppon the Duke of Clarence, ſtoode at vtter defiance. From thence kyng Edward ſo ſtrongly furniſhed, and daylye encreaſyng, taketh hys way to London. Where, after it was knowen that the Duke of Clarence was come to hys brethren, much feare fell vpon the Londoners, caſting with them ſelues what was beſt to do. The ſodaynnes of tyme permitted no long conſultation. There was at London the ſame time, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, brother to the earle of Warwicke, and the duke of Somerſet, with other of K. Henries counſayle, to whom ẏ earle had ſent in commaundement a litle before, knowyng the weaknes of ẏ Citie, that they ſhould keepe the Citie frō their enemies ij. or. iij. dayes, and he woulde followe with all poſſible ſpeede, with a puiſſaunt armie. Who, according to their cōmaundemēt, defended the citie with all their power, but yet to litle purpoſe: For the Citizens conſultyng wᵗ them ſelues for their owne moſt indemnitie, hauyng no walles to defend them, thought beſt to take that waye, which ſemed to thē moſt ſure & ſafe, & therfore cōcluded to take part with kyng Edward. This was not ſo ſone knowē abroad, but the cōmunaltie ranne out by heapes to mete kyng Edward, and to ſalute him as their kyng. Wherupon the Duke of Somerſet, with other of kyng Henryes counſaile, hearyng therof, and wonderyng at the ſodayne chaunge of the worlde, to ſhift for them ſelues, fled away and left there king Henry alone: Who ẏ ſame day beyng cauſed by the Archbyſhop of Yorke, to ryde about Londō lyke a king, was before night made captiue, and reduced agayne to the tower.

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It was not long after theſe thinges thus done at London, but the commyng of the Earle of Warwicke was heard of, who thinkyng to preuēte miſchiefes with makyng ſpede, came a litle to late & miſſed of his purpoſe. In the Earles army were John Duke of Exceſter, Edmond Earle of Somerſet, John Earle of Oxford, and Marques Mountacute the Earles brother. Thearle had now paſſed a great part of his iourney, whē he hearing newes of the worlde ſo chaunged, & of the captiuitie of K. Henry, was not a litle thereat appalled in his minde: wherefore he ſtayd with his armye at S. Albons, to ſee what way further to take. And forſomuch as there was no other remedye, but either he muſt yelde, or one conflicte muſt finiſhe the matter: hee remoued to Barnet. x. myles from S. Albons.

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Agaynſt him ſet forth kyng Edward, well appointed with a ſtrong army of piked and able perſons, with artillerie, engines and inſtrumentes mete for the purpoſe: bringyng with him alſo kyng Henry. On Eaſter euen he came to Barnet, and ther he embattilled him ſelf. In the mornyng vpon Eaſter daye the battaile began, and fiercely cōtinued almoſt till noone, with murder on eche ſide, much doubtfull, till both partes were almoſt wery wᵗ fightyng & murderyng. Kyng Edward then deſirous to ſee an end, of or on, wᵗ a great crew of new freſh ſculdiours, ſet vpō his weryed enemyes. Wherby ẏ Earles mē, although encouraged wᵗ wordes of their Captaine, ſtoutlye fought, but they ſore wounded & weried, could not long hold out. The Earle ruſhyng into the middeſt of his enemyes, ventured ſo farre, that hee could not be reſcued: where hee was ſtriken downe, and ſlayne, and there lay he. Marques Mountacute, thinking to ſuccour his brother, whom he ſaw to be in great ieoperdye, was lykewiſe ouerthrowen and ſlayne. After that, Richard Neuel, Earle of Warwicke, and his brother were gone, the reſte fled, and many were taken. The number of thē which were in this field ſlaine, are iudged about. x. thouſand, as Polydore Virgill reciteth. Fabian numbreth of them that were ſlayne, but fiftene hundreth. The Duke of Somerſet, & earle of Oxford thinking to flee to Scotland, turned to Jaſpar Earle of Penbroke in Wales. The Duke of Exeter hardly eſcaped to Weſtminſter, & there tooke ſāctuary. For the death of the earle of Warwicke the king was not ſo glad, as he was ſory for Marques Mounracute, whom he tooke to be his friend. The corps of theſe two were brought to ẏ church of Paules, where they lay open in two coffins two dayes, and then were interred. Ex Polyd. et aliis.

e battail
Barnet.

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¶ In the narration of this hiſtorye, Polydore Virgyll, whom Halle followeth word for worde, doth ſomedeale differ from Rob. Fabian. Neyther doo I doubt, but both theſe had their autors, by whom they were directed. Notwithſtanding this I maruaile, that Polydore writyng of ſo many thinges which he neuer ſaw, doth not vouchſafe to cite vnto vs thoſe writers of whom he borowed. And more do I maruell, or rather lament, if it bee true that I haue heard, that he not onelye nameth no author vnto vs, but alſo burned an heape of our Engliſhe ſtories vnknowen, after the finiſhyng of hys, in the dayes of K. Henry the. 8 But now to our text agayne.

Difference betwene Polydore & Fabian.

Halle followes of Polydore.

Polydore is ſayd to haue burned a number of our Engliſhe wryters.

All this whyle yet Quene Margeret with yong prince Edward her ſonne, was ſcarſe come ouer, beyng long let with contrary wyndes, who at length in the moneth of Aprill arriuing at Waymouth in Dorſetſhiere, & hearing the ſorowfull tidinges of theſe thinges lately happened to her huſband, & to the earle of Warwicke & his brother, & of the proſperous ſucceſſe of king Edward: was ſo diſmayde, diſquieted, and pearced with ſorow, ſeing all thinges contrary to her expectation, ſo to frame agaynſt her, that ſhe fared and toke on wyth her ſelfe, lamenting her huſband, bewayling her ſonne, curſyng her comming, & crying out of Fortune, as though blinde Fortune were ſhe that gouerneth tymes & tides, rewarding iuſt puniſhmentes, to vniuſt deſeruinges of men, and not the ſecret power and terrible iuſtice of almighty God. Suche was then the impaciencye of that quœne, being not able to beare ẏ vehemēcie of her paſſion (who rather ſhould haue ſorowed ẏ dolorous death of duke Humfrey, whom before ſhe neglected, but nowe ſhe lacked) ẏ her ſenſes failed, her ſpirites were takē, her ſpeech decayed, & life almoſt gone, ſhe fell to the ground as one that rather would dye, then liue. In this deſolate caſe, quene Margaret learning now to know her frēdes from her foes, when it was to late, fraught full of heauines, without ſolace or hope of remedi, ſhe with her ſon and her companye departed for her next refuge, to a monaſtery of Monkes called Beaulie, in Hamſhiere, ther to take ſanctuary, and priuilege of the houſe.

The returne of Queene Margaret into England.

Queene Margaret for ſorow ſwoundeth.

Ex Polyd. lib. 24.

Queene Margaret taketh ſanctuarie.

Yet all hartes were not ſound nor ſubdued in Englād: eſpecially Edmond duke of Somerſet, with lorde John his brother, Tho. Courtney, earle of Deuonſhiere, Jaſper earle of Penbroke, L. Wenlocke, John Longſtrother being prior of the knightes of Rhodes in S. Johns. Theſe hearing of the Quenes returne, with ſpede reſorted to her, by whom ſhe being ſomwhat quickned in her ſpirites, and animated to war, began to take ſome hart & to follow their counſayle: which was, in al ẏ hoat haſt, to renew warre agaynſt king Edward, being now vnprouided, by reaſon hys army was nowe diſperſed, and chiefeſt of hys ſouldiours waſted. Here great hope of victory was ſhewed, great promiſes made. Althoughe the Quenes mynde was, being more carefull for the young Prince, then for her ſelfe, to ſend him ouer into Fraunce, before ſome proofe of triall made: yet following the contrary counſayle of them, and partlye cut of by ſhortnes of tyme, which required haſt, ſhe began with all expedition to gather power. Likewyſe Jaſpar, Earle of Penbroke poſted into Wales to do the ſame.

Queene Margaret moued by her frendes to renue warre agaynſt king Edward.

King Edward hauing intelligēce of al theſe doings, fyrſt ſendeth out certeyn light horſemē, to eſpye abroad through the weſt partes, what wayes hys enemyes dyd take. In the meane tyme, he vſyng all celeritie to meete

K. Edward warreth agaynſt Queene Marg.

them before they came to London, gathered a power, ſuch as he could make about London, and fyrſt cōmeth to Abyngdon: from thence to Marlebrige, hearing that the Queene was at Bathe, thyncking to encounter with them, before they diuerted into Wales to the Earle of Penbroke, whether he thought (as they in dede intended) that they would take.

Quene Marg. debarred from Glouceſter.

But the Queene vnderſtanding the king to be ſo nye, remoueth from Bath to Briſtow, ſending word in the meane whyle, to the Citizens of Gloceſter, that they would graunt her leaue ſafely to paſſe by their City. Which when it coulde not be obtayned, with her army ſhe departeth from Briſtow to Teukeſbery: where the Duke of Somerſet, knowyng kyng Edwarde to bee at hande at his very backe, willed the Queene there to ſtay, and in no wiſe to flye backward, for certaine doubtes that might be caſt. Althoughe this counſaile was againſt the conſent of many other Captaines, who thought it beſt rather to drawe a ſide, while the Earle of Penbroke with his army, were with them aſſociate: yet the mind of the Duke preuailed.

The battaile of Teukeſbury.

The place was prefixed, ẏ fielde pitched, the tyme of battaile came, the kyng was looked for: Who beyng within one mile Tewkeſbury, with like induſtrye ⁊ policie, as hys enemies had done, diſpoſed his army likewiſe in theyr array.

A great matter to take a thing in tyme.

This celeritie of ẏ king takyng ẏ time, was to him great aduauntage: who otherwiſe, if he had differred, till they had cōioyned with the Earle of Penbroke, had put the matter in great haſſard. Such a matter it is to take a thyng in tyme. Of this battaile Halle this reporteth, addyng more then Polidore, ẏ the duke of Somerſet, although he was ſtronglye intrenched, yet through the occaſion or policie of the Duke of Glouceſter, whiche had ẏ forward of the kinges part, a litle reculing backe, folowed the chaſe, ſuppoſing that the Lord Wenlocke, who had the middleward, would haue folowed hard at his backe. The duke of Glouceſter, whether for ſhame, rather then of policie, eſpyeng his aduauntage, ſodenly turned face to his enemies. Wherupō the contrary part was eftſones diſcōfited, ⁊ ſo much ẏ more, becauſe they were ſeparate from their cōpanie. The Duke of Somerſet not a litle aggreued at this ſo vnfortunate caſe, returneth to the midleward, where he ſeyng the L. Wenlocke abyding ſtill, reuyleth him, and calleth hym traytour, and with his axe ſtriketh ẏ brayne out of his head. Thus much addeth Halle beſides Polidore, but ſheweth not his author, where he had it. Polidore writing of this conflicte, writeth no more but this, that the Queenes army beyng ouerſet with the number and multitude of their enemyes, and ſhe hauyng no freſhe ſouldiours to furniſhe the field, was at laſt ouermatched, and for the moſt part ſlayne, or taken.

Queene Margarete taken in battaile.

In whiche battaile were named to be ſlayne, the Earle of Deuonſhyre, the L. Wenlocke, Lord Iohn Duke of Somerſet his brother, beſide other. Among them that were taken, was Quene Margarete foūd in her chariot almoſt dead for ſorow, prince Edward, Edmund Duke of Somerſet, Iohn Priour of S. Iohns, with.20.other knightes: all whiche were beheaded within two dayes after, the Queene onely and the yong prince excepted. Which prince Edward beyng then brought to the kinges preſence, was demaunded of him, how he durſt be ſo bold to ſtand in battaile againſt him. To this Edward Halle addeth more, and ſayth: that after the fielde was finiſhed, the kyng made proclamation, that who ſoeuer would bryng prince Edwarde to him, ſhould haue annuitie of an C.li. duryng his life, ⁊ ẏ princes life to be ſaued.

Prince Edward brought to the kyng.

Whereupon ſir Rich. Croftes, not miſtruſtyng the kynges promiſe, brought forth hys priſoner. ⁊c.

The ſtoute anſwere of the prince to the kyng.

And ſo the kynge demaundyng of ẏ prince (as is ſayd) how hee durſt ſo preſumptuouſly enter this realme with his banner diſplayed agaynſt him, he aunſwered, ſaying: that hee came to recouer his fathers kingdome and inheritaunce, from his grandfather and father, to hym deſcendyng: whereat (ſayth Polidore) the kyng with his hande diſdayningly thruſt hym frō hym. Other ſay that the king ſtroke him on the face with his gantlet.

Prince Edward ſonne to K. Henry, ſlayne.

At the ſpeakyng of theſe wordes, was preſent George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earle Lord Williā Haſtynges. Who vpon the ſame, vncourteouſly falling vpō the prince, did ſlay him.

Queene Margarete raunſomed for a greate ſumme of money.

Queene Margarete beyng brought priſoner to Lōdon, was afterward raunſomed of her father Duke of Angeow, for a great ſomme of money, which he borowed of ẏ French king, ⁊ for the payment therof, was fayne to yelde vnto hym the title of the kyngdome of Sicilie, and Naples. ⁊c.

Publique proceſſions for victorie gotte.

Kyng Edwarde for theſe proſperous warres, rendred to God his hartie thankes, and cauſed publikely throughe his realme, ſolemne proceſſions to kept three dayes together. And thus much, and to much, touchyng the warres of kyng Edwarde the.iiij. whiche was done an.1471. Ex Polid. & alijs.

1471.

The death of K.Henry.6.

The ſame yeare, and about the ſame tyme, vppon the Aſcenſion euen, kyng Henrye beyng priſoner in ẏ Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all.xxxviij. yeares and.vi.monethes. Polidore, and Halle folowyng him, affirme that he was ſlaine with a dagger by Rich. Duke of Glouceſter, the kynges brother, for the more quiet and ſauegard of the kyng his brother.

Ex Scala Mundi.

In the hiſtorie intitled Scala mundi, I find theſe wordes, Quod in turri, in vigilia Aſcenſionis Dominicæ ibidē feliciter moriens, per Thamiſiā nauicula vſq; ad Abbathiam de Cherteſey deductus, ibi ſepultus eſt. That is, that kyng Henry being in the tower vpō the Aſcenſion euen, there happely or quietly departyng, was brought by Thames in a boate, to the Abbay of Cherteſey, and there buryed.

K.Henry buryed at Cherteley.

Polydores miracles.

Polidore, after hee hath deſcribed the vertues of this kyng, recordeth that kyng Henry the ſeuenth did afterward tranſlate the corps of him frō Cherteſey to Windſore, and addeth moreouer, that by hym certeine miracles were wrought. For the whiche cauſe the ſayd kyng Henry the ſeuenth (ſayth he) laboured with Pope Iulius, to haue hym canoniſed for a ſaincte, but the death of the kyng was the let, why that matter proceded not.

A kyng ſaincte, is deare ware in the popes market.

Edvvard Halle writyng of this matter, addeth more, declaryng the cauſe, why kyng Henryes ſainctyng went not forwarde, to be this: for that the fees of canoniſyng of a kyng, were of ſo great a quantitie at Rome (more then of an other Biſhop or prelate) that ẏ ſayd kyng thought it better to kepe the money in his cheſtes, then with the empouerishyng of the realme, to bye ſo deare, and pay ſo much for a newe holy day of ſaincte Henry in the Calender. ⁊c. Ex Hallo.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

Whiche if it be true, it might be replyed then to Pope Iulius, that if Popes be hyer then kynges in the earth, and eſpecially in heauen, why then is a pope ſaincte ſo chepe in ẏ market place of Rome, ⁊ a king ſainct ſo deare? Againe, if ẏ valuation of thinges in al marketes and burſes, be according to the price ⁊ dignitie of ẏ thing that is bought, what reaſon is it, ſeyng the ſainctyng of a kyng beareth a bygger ſayle, then the ſainctyng of any Pope in heauen, but that kynges ſhould be aboue Popes alſo vppon the earth? Sed extra iocū, as I do not doubt, but that K. Henry was a good and a quiet prince, if hee had not otherwiſe bene abuſed by ſome: ſo touching the ruine of his houſe, I thinke not contrary, but it came not without the iuſt appointemēt of the Lord,

The cauſe examined of the fall of Lancaſter houſe.

Example of Gods iuſte rodde of correction.

either for that Henryes of Lancaſter houſe were ſuch enemies to Gods people, and for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other: or els for the vniuſt diſplacyng of kyng Richard.2. or els thirdly for the cruell ſlaughter of Humfrey the good Duke of Glouceſter his vncle: wherof ſufficient hath ben ſayd before.

During the time of theſe doings, being about ẏ yeare of our Lord.1465. There was here in England a certayne Frier Carmelite, who about ẏ terme of Michael the

A ſore hereſie preached at Paulus croſſe.

Contention in the church whether Chriſt was a beggar, or not.

the Archaungell preached at Paules in London, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, beyng here in this preſēt world, was in pouertie, and dyd begge. To whoſe opinion and doctrine, the prouinciall of that order ſemed alſo to incline, defendyng the ſame both in his readyng and preachyng, with other doctours moe and brethrē of the ſame order: vnto whom alſo adioyned certaine of yͤ Iacobites, and ſtifly did take their partes. On the contrary ſyde, many doctours and alſo lawyers, both in their publicke lectures and preachyng, to the vttermoſt of their cunnyng, did withſtand their aſſertion, as beyng a thyng moſt peſtiferous in the churche to be heard. Such a bytter contention was among them, that the defendēt part was driuen for a while to keepe ſilence. Much lyke to thoſe times I might well reſemble theſe our dayes now preſent, with our tumultuous contētion of formes and faſhions of garmentes. But I put me ſelfe here in Pythagoras ſchoole and kepe ſilence, with theſe Friers. In the ſtory moreouer it foloweth, that this beggerly queſtion of the beggyng Friers, whether Chriſt did begge, or no, went ſo far, yͭ at length it came to yͤ popes eares. Paulus 2. who was no beggar, ye may be ſure, after that the fame of this doctrine, mountyng ouer the Alpes, came flyeng to yͤ court of Rome, which was about yͤ Aſſumption of the virgyn Mary, the yeare next folowyng, an. 1465. it brought wͭ it ſuch an euill ſmel to the fine noſes there, that it was no nede to byd them to ſtyrre: for beggyng to thē was worſſe, thē hie hereſie. Wherfore yͤ holy father pope Paulus. 2. to repreſſe the ſparkles of this doctrine, which otherwiſe perhaps might haue ſet his whole kytchin on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eftſones directeth down his Bulle into England, inſinuatyng to the prelates here, Hæreſim illam peſtiferè aſſerentē, quod Chriſtus publice mendicauit, eſſe antiquitus a Romanis pontificibus, cum ſuis Cōcilijs damnatam, & eam pro dānata, vndique declarandam, & conculcandam, &c. That is, that this hereſie, whiche peſtiferouſlye doth affirme that Chriſt did openly begge, was condemned of olde tyme by the Byſhops of Rome, and his Councels, and that the ſame ought to be declared in all places for a dāned doctrine, and worthy to bee troden downe vnder all mens feete. &c. Thys was in the ſame yeare when prince Edwarde, kyng Edwardes ſonne was borne in the ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter. an. 1465.

Tymes compared.

Ex hiſt. Scala mundi fol. vlt.

The popes determined ſolution, that Chriſt was no beggar.

As touchyng the reſt of the doynges and affaires of this kyng (which had vanquiſhed hetherto. ix. battailes, him ſelfe beyng preſent) how afterward he, through the incitement of Charles Duke of Burgoine his brother in law, ventred into Fraunce with a puiſſaunt armye, and how the duke fayles him in hys promiſe, alſo how peace betwene the. ij. kynges was at length concluded in a ſolemne meeting of both the ſayd kyngs together (whiche meetyng is notified in ſtories, by a white doue ſittyng yͤ ſame day of meting, vpō the top of K. Edwardes tente) alſo of yͤ mariage promiſed betwene yͤ yonge Dolphin and Eliſabeth kyng Edwardes eldeſt daughter, but afterward broken of yͤ French kynges part: moreouer as touchyng the death of the Duke of Burgoyne ſlayne in warre, and of his daughter Mary, niece to K. Edward, ſpoyled of her landes & poſſeſſions wrōgfully, by Lewes the Frēch kyng, and maried after to Maximilian: furthermore as touchyng the expedition of kyng Edwarde into Scotland, by reaſon of kyng Iames, breakyng promiſe in marriyng with Cecilie the ſeconde daughter of king Edward, & of driuyng out his brother, & how the matter was compoſed there, & of the recouery agayne of Barwicke: of theſe (I ſay) & ſuch other thinges moe, partly becauſe they are deſcribed ſufficiently in our cōmon Engliſh ſtoryes, partly alſo becauſe they be matters not greatly perteinyng to the Churche, I omitte to ſpeake, makyng of them a ſuperſedeas. Two thynges I finde here among many other, ſpecially to be remēbred,

K. Edward vanquiſhed ix. battailes, beyng him ſelf preſent at them all.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne fayled hys promyſe with the king.

Peace betwene the ij. kinges, bought with the French kynges money.

Mariage betwene the French kinges ſonne, and kyng Edwardes daughter, made and broken.

K. Iames of Scotland goeth from hys promiſe of mariage.

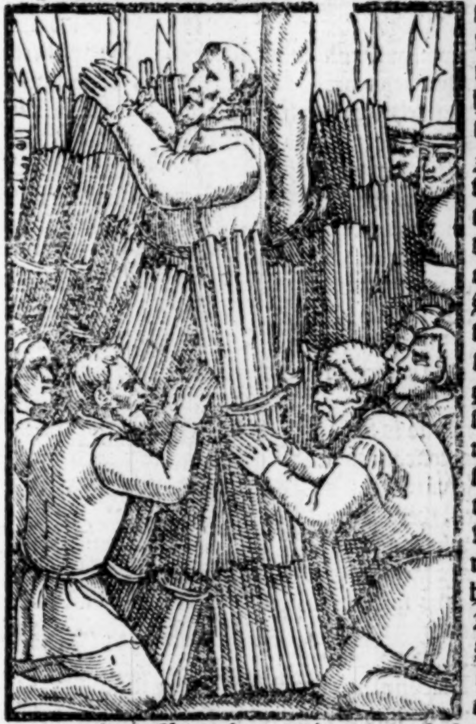
Barwycke recouered.

The firſt is concernyng a godly and conſtaunt ſeruaunt of Chriſt, named Iohn Gooſe, which in the tyme of this king, was vniuſtly cōdemned & burnt at yͤ tower hill. an. 1473. in yͤ moneth of Auguſt. Thus had Englād alſo his Iohn Hus, as well as Boheme. Wherin moreouer this is to be noted, that ſince the tyme of kyng Richard. 2. there is no reigne of any king to be aſſigned hetherto, wherein ſome good man or other hath not ſuffered the paynes of fire, for the religion and true teſtimonie of Chriſt Jeſus. Of this ſayd Iohn Gooſe, or Iohn Hus, this moreouer I finde in an other Engliſhe monument recorded, that the ſayd John beyng deliuered to Robert Beliſdone, one of the Shreffes, to ſee hym burnt the afternoone: the Shrife lyke a charitable man, had hym home to his houſe, and there exhorted hym to renye (ſayth the ſtory) his erreurs. But the godly man after long exhortation heard, deſired the Shrife to be content, for hee was ſatiſfied in hys conſcience. Notwithſtanding thys hee deſyred of the Shrife, for gods ſake to geue hī ſome meate, ſaying that hee was very ſore hōgered. Thē tha Shrife cōmaunded hym meate: whereof he tooke and did eate, as he had ben toward no maner of daunger: and ſayd to ſuch as ſtoode about him: I eate now a good and a competent dynner: for I ſhall paſſe a litle ſharpe ſhower, ere I go to ſupper. And when he had dyned, he gaue thankes, and required that he might ſhortly be led to the place, where he ſhould yelde vp hys ſpirite vnto God. Ex Polychro.

1473.

Iohn Gooſe, Martyr.

Iohn Gooſe in Engliſhe is as much as Iohn Hus in the Boheme toungue.



Iohn Gooſe taketh hys dynner, before he went to Martyrdome.

The ſecond thyng herein to be noted, is the death of George Duke of Clarence, the kynges ſecond brother: Of whom relation was made before, how he aſſiſted K. Edward, his brother, agaynſt the Earle of Warwicke at Barnet field, and helped him to the crowne, and now after al theſe benefites, was at lēgth thus requited, that (for what cauſe it is vncertaine) he was apprehended & caſt into yͤ Tower, where he beyng adiudged for a traytor, was priuely drowned in a but of Malmeſey. What the true cauſe was of his death, it can not certeinely bee affirmed. Diuers coniectures and imaginations there bee diuerſly put foorth. Some partly impute it to the Quenes diſpleaſure. Other ſuppoſe it came for takyng part in the cauſe of his ſeruaunt, whiche was accuſed & condemned for poyſonyng, ſorcery, or inchauntment. An other fame there is, which ſurmiſeth the cauſe hereof to ryſe vpon the vayne feare of a fooliſhe Prophecie, commyng no doubt (if it were true) by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times els happen amōg infidels & gentiles where Chriſt is not knowen: where among hygh princes & in noble houſes, much miſchief groweth, firſt murder and parricide, and therby ruine of auncient families, and alteration of kingdomes. The

The vnworthy death of the duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence drowned in a butte of Malmeſey.

The cauſes of hys death expended.

The miſchiefe that Sathan worketh by falſe propheſies.

effectes

The propheſie of G.

effect of this Prophesie (as the ſame goeth) was this, that after kyng Edward, ſhould one reigne, whoſe name ſhould begyn with G. And becauſe the name of ẏ Duke of Clarẽce, beyng George, began with a G, therefore he began to be feared, and afterwarde priuely (as is aforeſayd) was made away.

Phopheſies not raſhlye to be beleued.

Sathan can ſay truth for a wicked end.

Deuiliſhe propheſies although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Ex Iuſt. lib. 1.

Marlynes prophecies.

1. Reg. 28.

Act. xvi.

⋆ A ſpirit of diuinatiõ which coulde geſſe and foredeme thynges paſte, preſent, and to come, which knowledge God many tymes permitteth to the deuill.

By theſe experimentes and miſchieuous endes of ſuch Prophecies, & alſo by the nature of thẽ, it is ſoone to be ſene, from what fountaine or author they procede: that is (no doubt) from Sathan, the auncient enemye of mankynd, & prince of this world: againſt whoſe deceatful deluſions, Chriſtẽ mẽ muſt be wel inſtructed, neither to meruell greatly at them, though they ſeme ſtraunge, nor yet to beleue thẽ, though they happẽ true. For Satã beyng the prince of this world, in ſuch thynges worldly can foreſee what will followe, & can ſay truth for a miſcheuous end, and yet for all that is but a Satan. So the dreame of Aſtiages, ſeyng a vyne to growe out of his daughter, whiche ſhould couer all Aſia, & fearyng thereby that by his nephewe hee ſhould loſe hys kyngdome, proued true in the ſequele thereof, and yet notwithſtandyng of Satan it came, and cauſed cruell murder to folow, firſt of the ſhepheardes childe, then of the ſonne of Harpagus, whom hee ſet before his owne father to eate. Ex Iuſt. lib. 1. Likewiſe Cyrus was Prophetically admoniſhed by his dreame, to take him for his guide, whom he firſt met the next morow. In that alſo his dreame fell true, & yet was not of God. In the ſame number are to be put all ẏ blynd oracles of ẏ idolatrous gentiles, which although they procede of a lyeng ſpirite, yet ſometyme they hyt the truth, to a miſchieuous purpoſe. The like iudgement alſo is to be geuen of Merlynes Prophecies. The Sorcereſſe, mẽtioned. 1. Reg. 28. rayſing vp Samuell, told Saul ẏ truth, yet was it not of God. In the. xvi. cap. of the Actes, there was a Damoſell hauyng the ſpirit of ⋆ Pytho, who ſayd truth of Paul & Silas, callyng thẽ the meſſengers of ẏ hygh God, & yet it was a wrong ſpirite. The vncleane ſpirites in geuing teſtimonie of Chriſt, ſayd the truth, yet becauſe their teſtimonie came not of God, Chriſt did not alow it.

Ex Paulo Diac.

Three thinges to be noted cõcerning falſe propheſies.

1.

2.

3.

Vide ſupr. pag. 218.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valence the Emperor, ẏ he alſo had a blind Prophecy, not much vnlike to this of kyng Edwarde, which was, that one ſhould ſuccede him in the Empire, whoſe name ſhould begyn with. θ. ε. and. δ. Wherupon one Theodorus, truſting vpõ the Prophecy, began rebelliouſly to hope for the crowne, and for his labour felt the paynes of a traytour. Notwithſtandyng the effect of the Prophecy folowed: For after Valence ſucceded Theodoſius. Wherfore Chriſten princes, and noble men, and all Chriſtes faithfull people muſt be ware and learne, firſt, that no man be inquiſitiue or curious in ſearching to know what thinges be to come, or what ſhall happen, beſide thoſe thinges onely which are promiſed, & expreſſed in ẏ word. Secondly, to vnderſtãd what difference there is, and how to diſcerne the voyce of God, from the voyce of Sathan. Thirdly, how to reſiſte and auoyde the daunger of falſe and deuiliſhe Prophecies. Many there be, whiche being not cõtented with thinges preſent, curiouſly occupy their wyttes to ſearch what is to come, and not geuyng thankes to God for their life which they haue, wil alſo know, what ſhall bechaunce them, how and when their end will come, how long princes ſhall reigne, and who after ſhall ſuccede them, and for the ſame, get vnto them ſouthſayers, aſtrologers, ſorcerers, coniurers, or familiars. And theſe are not ſomuch inquiſitiue to ſearche or aſke, but the deuill is as ready to aunſwere them: who eyther falſly doubleth with them, to delude them: or els telleth thẽ truth, to worke them perpetuall care and ſorowe. Thus was Pope Silueſter, the ſorcerer, circumuented by the deuill, who tolde him that he ſhould be at Ieruſalem, before hee dyed, and ſo it fell. For as he was ſaying his Maſſe, at a Chappell in Rome, called Ieruſalem, there he fell ſicke, and within three dayes after, dyed. vide ſup. pag. 218. To kyng Henry. 4. alſo it ſemeth it was Prophecied, that he ſhould not dye, before he went to Ieruſalem. Who beyng brought to the Abbotes chamber of Weſtminſter, and hearyng the name of the chamber to bee called Ieruſalem, knewe his tyme to bee come, and dyed. pag. 663. By ſuch deceatfull prophecies, it can not be lamẽted enough to ſee what inconuenience both publickely and priuatly groweth to the lyfe of men, either cauſing them falſly to truſt where they ſhould not, or els wickedly to perpetrate that they would not: as may appeare both by this kyng, and alſo diuers moe. So was Pompeus, Craſſus, and Cæſar (as writeth Cicero) deceaued by the falſe Chaldeis, in declaryng to them, that they ſhould not dye but in their bedds and with worſhyp, & in theyr olde age. Of ſuch falſe truſt, ryſing vpon falſe Prophecies, S. Ambroſe in his booke of Exameron writeth, ſpeakyng of rayne, which beyng in thoſe parties greatly deſired, was promiſed and Prophecied of one certeinly to fall vpon ſuch a daye, whiche was at the chaungyng of the new Moone: but (ſayth S. Ambroſe) there fell no ſuch rayne at all, till at the prayers of the Church, the ſame was obteyned: geuyng vs to vnderſtand, that rayne cõmeth not by the worde of mã, nor by the begynnyngs of the Moone, but by the prouidence and mercy of our creatour. Ex Ambroſ. in Examer. Ioan. Picus Earle of Mirandula, in hys excellent bookes writen agaynſte theſe vayne ſtartellers and Aſtrologers, Lib. 2. writeth of one Ordelaphus a prince, to whom it was prognoſticate by a famous connyng man in that ſcience, called Hieronimus Manfredus, that he ſhould enioy long continaunce of health, and proſperous lyfe. Who notwithſtandyng, the ſelf ſame yeare, and in ẏ firſt yeare of his mariage, deceaſſed: and after diuers other examples added moreouer vpon the ſame, hee inferreth alſo mencion, and the name of a certeine riche matrone in Rome, named Cõſtantia, who in lyke maner departed the ſame yeare, in which ſhe receaued great promiſes, by theſe ſouthſayers & aſtrologers, of a long & happye lyfe, ſaying to her huſband theſe wordes: behold (ſayth ſhe) how true be the prognoſticatiõs of theſe ſouthtellers? If it were not for notyng of them, which now are gone, & whoſe names I would in no caſe to bee blemiſhed w̃ any ſpot, otherwiſe I could recite ẏ names of certeine, eſpecially one, which taking his iourney, in a certeine place, after diligent calculation and forecaſtyng of the ſucceſſe and good ſpeade of his iourney, was notwithſtanding in the ſame iourney, apprehended and brought where he would not, after ẏ neuer enioyng good day, in ſhort tyme he departed. In Baſill this I me ſelfe heard of one, which knew & was conuerſaunt with ẏ partie, who hauyng a curious delight in theſe ſpeculations of chaunces and euẽtes to come, by his calculation noted a certeine day, which he miſtruſted ſhould bee fatall vnto hym, by ſome thyng whiche at that day ſhould fall vpon hym. Wherupon he determined with him ſelfe, all that day to kepe him ſure and ſafe within his chamber. Where he reaching vp his hand to take downe a booke, the booke fallyng downe vpõ his head, gaue him his deathes woũde, & ſhortly after he dyed vpon the ſame. Of theſe & ſuch lyke exãples, the world is full, and yet the curiouſneſſe of mans head will not refraine, ſtill to plucke the aple of this vnluckey & forbydden tree. Beſide all this, what murder & parricide commeth by the feare of theſe Prophecies, in great bloudes & noble houſes, I referre it vnto them, which read and well aduiſe the ſtoryes, as well of our kynges here in England, as in other kyngdomes moe, both chriſtened, and Turkiſh. Wherof an other place ſhall ſerue as well (Chriſt willing) more largely to entreat, and particularly to diſcourſe. To this perteineth alſo the great inconueniẽce & hynderaunce that groweth by the feare

Vid. ſup. pag. 663.

Falſe truſt by deuiliſhe propheſies.

Ambroſius in Examerõ.

Ioan. Pic. Mirandul. contra Aſtrolog. lib. 2. ca. 9.

Experience of falſe propheſies.

Thys man by falſe diſſemblers, was taken, betrayed and brought into England.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious, of tymes and thynges to come.

of ſuch Prophecies, in yͤ vocation of men, for ſomuch as many there be, which fearing, ſome one daunger, ſome an other, leaue their vocations vndone, & followe vnordinate wayes. As if one hauing a blynd Prophecie, that his deſtruction ſhould be on the day, would wake and do all his buſines by night and candle light: and ſo forth in other ſeuerall caſes of men and women, as euery one in his owne conſcience knoweth his own caſe beſt.

2. he ſecond t, how ophecies e to be ſcerned.

The ſecond thyng to be conſidered in theſe Prophecies, is rightly to diſcerne & vnderſtand, as nere as we can, the difference betwene the Prophecies procedyng from God, and the falſe Prophecies cou̅terfeted by Satan. For Satan ſome tyme playeth Gods Ape, & transformeth him ſelfe into an Au̅gell of light, bearyng ſuch a reſemblaunce and colour of truth and Religion, that vnneth a wiſe man is able to diſcerne the one from the other, and the moſt part is begyled. Concernyng Prophecies therfore, to know whiche be of God, whiche bee not, iij. thinges are to be obſerued. 1. Firſt, whether they goe ſimply and playnly, or whether they bee doubtfull & ambiguous: wherof yͤ one ſemeth to taſt of Gods ſpirit, ſuch as be yͤ Prophecies of the Scripture: the other to come otherwiſe, hauyng a double or doubtfull interpretation. Although the tyme of Gods Prophecies, as alſo of miracles is commonlye, and ordinarylye expired: yet if the Lorde in theſe dayes, nowe extraordinarilye doe ſhewe anye Prophecie, by the ſimplenes and playnes therof, partlye it may be diſcerned. 2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they be priuate, tendyng to this familie, or that familie, or publike. For as the Scriptures, ſo commonly the Prophecies of God haue no priuate interpretatio̅, but generall: for ſo much as the care of Gods holy ſpirite is not reſtrained partially to one perſon, more then to an other, but generally & indifferently reſpecteth the whole church of his electe in Chriſt Jeſus his ſonne. Wherefore ſuch Prophecyes as priuately are touchyng the armes of houſes, or names of men, ryſing or fallyng of priuate & particular families, are worthely to be ſuſpected. 3. The third note and ſpeciall argument to diſcry the true Prophecies of God, from the falſe Prophecies of Sata̅ and his falſe Prophetes, is this, to conſider the matter and the end therof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be ſpirituall, or whether they tende to any glory or ſtate of this preſent world, or whether they tende to the ſpirituall inſtruction, admonition, or comfort of the publike Churche.

the ſe- nd part thinges be conſi red.

he ſe- d thing be con- dered in opheſies.

he thyrd yng to conſi- red in opheſies.

3. he.3. part w to a- yde the nger of ter opheſies.

wo re- dies a- inſt de- liſhe opheſies.

he firſt medye.

Nowe remaineth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, & what not, that we be inſtructed next how to eſchewe the feare & perill of all deuiliſhe Prophecies, whiche make agaynſt vs. Wherein .ij. ſpeciall remedies are to be marked of euery Chriſten man, whereby he may bee ſafe and ſure agaynſt all daunger of the enemie. The firſt is that wee ſet the name of Chriſt Jeſus the ſonne of God againſt them, through a true faith in him: knowing this, that the ſonne of God hath appeared, to diſſolue the woorkes of the deuill. And agayne this is the victorye (ſayth yͤ Scripture) that ouerco̅meth the worlde, euen our faith. What ſoeuer then Satan worketh or can worke agaynſt vs, bee it neuer ſo forceable, fayth in Chriſt will vanquiſhe it. Such a maieſtie is in our faith, beleuing in yͤ name of the ſonne of God.

he ſe- d reme againſt gerous opheſies.

The other remedy is faythfull prayer, whiche obteineth in the name of Chriſt, all thinges with the Lord. So that wicked fe̅nde, which had killed before .vij. huſbandes of Tobias wife, could not hurt him, entryng his matrimonie with earneſt prayer: ſo no more ſhall any ſiniſter Prophecie preuaile, where prayer out of a faithfull hart, doth ſtriue agaynſt it. Neither am I ignora̅ut, that againſt ſuch temporall euils and puniſhementes to this life inflicted, a great remedy alſo lyeth in this, when Satan findeth nothyng, wherein greatly to accuſe our conſcience. But becauſe ſuch a conſcience is hard to bee founde, the next refuge is to flye to repentaunce, with emendation of lyfe. For many tymes, where ſinne doth reigne in our mortall bodyes, there alſo the operation of Satan is ſtrong agaynſt vs, to afflicte our outward bodyes here, but as touchyng our eternall ſaluation, neither woorke nor merite hath any place, but onely our fayth in Chriſt. And thus much briefly touching the ij. ſpeciall remedies, wherby the operation of all deuiliſh Prophecies may be auoyded and defeated.

Mans policie can nothing do agaynſt the deuill.

No power can withſtand Satan, but only Chriſt, and our fayth in hym.

Now, many there be, which leauing theſe remedies aforeſayd, & the ſafe protection which the Lord hath ſet vp in Chriſt, take other wayes of their own, ſeeking by their own policie, how to withſtand & eſcape ſuch Prophecies, either in eſchuing yͤ place & time ſubtillie, or els cruelly by kylling yͤ partie whom they feare: wherof co̅meth iniurie, murder, & parricide, with other miſchiefes in common weales vnſpeakable. To whom commonly it commeth ſo to paſſe, that wherby they thinke moſt to ſaue them ſelues, by the ſame meanes they fall moſt into the ſnare, beyng ſubuerted and confounded in theyr owne policie: for that they truſtyng to their owne deuiſe, and not vnto the Lorde, whiche onely can diſſolue the operation of Satan, the Lord ſo turneth their deuiſe into a trappe, therby to take them, wherby they thinke moſt ſurely to eſcape. Examples wherof we ſee not onely in Aſtyages kyng of the Medes aforeſaid, & Cyrus: but in infinite other lyke euentes, whiche the trade of the worde doth dayly offer to our eyes. So Queene Margarete thought her then cocke ſure, when Duke Humfrey was made away: when nothyng els was her confuſion ſo much, as the loſſe and lacke of that man. So if kyng Richard. 2. had not exerciſed ſuch crueltie vpo̅ his vncle Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter, he had not receaued ſuch wrong by kyng Henry the. 4. as he did. pag. 613. Likewiſe this kyng Edward. 4. if he had ſuffered his brother George, Duke of Clarence, to haue liued, his houſe had not ſo gone to wracke by Richard, his other brother, as it did. What befell vpon the ſtudent of Aſtrologie in the Vniuerſitie of Baſill, ye heard before, who if he had not mewed him ſelfe in his chamber for feare of his diuination, had eſcaped the ſtroke that fell. Now, in auoydyng ſuch prophetical euentes, which he ſhould not haue ſearched, he fell into that whiche he did feare. Theſe few examples for inſtruction ſake, I thought by occaſion to inferre, not as though theſe were alone: but by theſe fewe to admoniſhe the reader of infinite other, whiche dayly come in practiſe of life, to the great daunger and decay, as well in priuate houſes, as in weales publicke.

A briefe rehearſall, of the matter of prophecies, before paſſed.

The deuill ready to anſwere in matters of diuination.

Wherfore, briefly to repete what before ſimplye hath bene ſayde touchyng this matter, ſeyng that Satan through ſuch ſubtile Prophecies, hath and yet doth dayly practiſe ſo manifold miſchiefes in the worlde, ſettyng brother againſt brother, nephew againſt the vncle, houſe agaynſt houſe, and realme agaynſt realme, gendryng hattred, where loue was, and ſubuerting priuily the ſimplicitie of our Chriſtian faith, therefore the firſte thyng and beſte is, for godly men not to buſie their braynes about ſuch phantaſies, neither in delightyng in the̅, nor in harkenyng to them, nor in ſearching for them, either by ſouthſayer, or by coniuration, or by familiar, or by Aſtrologer: knowyng and conſideryng this, that who ſo euer ſhalbe deſirous or ready to ſearch for them, the deuill is as ready to anſwere his curioſitie therin. For as once in the olde tyme of Gentilitie, hee gaue his oracles by idols, and prieſtes of that tyme: ſo now the ſame deuill can, although he worketh not now by idols, yet he craftely can geue now aunſwere by Aſtrologers, & coniurers in theſe our dayes, and in ſo doyng, both to ſay truth, and yet to deceaue me̅ when he hath ſayd. Wherfore, leauyng of ſuch curioſitie, let euery Chriſten man walke ſimplye in his preſent vocation, referryng hyd thynges,

Curioſitie of prophecies to be auoyded.

Act. 1.

thynges not in the worde expreſſed, vnto hym whiche ſayeth in his word: Non eſt veſtrum ſcire tempora & momenta temporum. &c. It is not for you to knowe the tymes, and ſeaſons of times, which the father hath kept in his owne power. &c.

Secondly, in this matter of Prophecies, requiſite it is (as is ſayd) for euery Chriſten man to learne, howe to diſcerne and diſtincte the true Prophecies, whiche procede of God, and the falſe Prophecies, whiche come of Satan. The difference wherof, as it is not hard to bee diſcerned: ſo neceſſarie it is, that euery good mã do rightly vnderſtand the ſame, to thentent that he knowyng and flying the daunger of the one, may be the more certaine and conſtant in adheryng to the other.

Thirdlye, becauſe it is not ſufficiẽt that the deceatfull Prophecies of the deuill bee knowen, but alſo that they be reſiſted. I haue alſo declared, by what meanes the operation of Satans workes and Prophecies are to be ouercome: that is, not with ſtrength and policie of man, for that there is nothyng in man, able to counteruaile the power of that enemie. Under heauen there is nothyng els that can preuaile agaynſt hys woorkes, but onely the name of the Lord Jeſus the ſonne of God, not outwardly pronounced onely with our lippes, or ſigned in our foreheades with the outward croſſe, but inwardly apprehended and dwellyng in our hartes by a ſilent faith, firmely and earneſtly truſtyng vpon the promiſes of God, geuẽ and ſealed vnto vs in his name: For ſo it hath pleaſed his fatherly wiſedome, to ſet hym vp, to be both our rightuouſnes before him ſelfe, and alſo to bee our fortitude agaynſt the enemie, acceptyng our faith in his ſonne, in no leſſe price, then hee accepteth the workes and worthynes of the ſame his ſonne, in whom we do beleue. Such is the ſtrẽgth and effect of faith both in heauen, in earth, and alſo in hell: In heauẽ to iuſtifie, in earth to preſerue, in hell to conquere. And therefore when any ſuch Prophecie, or any other thyng is to vs obiected, whiche ſemeth to tend agaynſt vs, let vs firſt conſider whether it ſauour of Satan, or not. If it doo, then let vs ſeke our ſuccour, not in our ſelues, where it doth not dwell, neither let vs kill, nor ſlay, nor chaunge our vocation therefore, folowyng vnordinate wayes: but let vs runne to our Caſtle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lorde Jeſus, remembryng the true promiſe of the Pſalme: Qui habitat in adiutorio altiſsimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur. That is, who ſo putteth his truſt in the ſuccour of the Lorde, ſhall haue the God of heauen to his protector. And then ſhall it afterward folow, which alſo foloweth in ỹ ſame Pſalme, Ipſe liberabit te a laqueo venantium, & a verbo aſpero. That is, and he ſhall deliuer hym from the ſnare of the hunter, and from all euill wordes, and Prophecies, be they neuer ſo ſharpe, or bitter agaynſt him. &c. And thus much by the occaſion of kyng Edward, of Prophecies.

The ſtrength of a Chriſtian mans fayth in Chriſt.

Onely Chriſt able to withſtand the power of Sathan.

Pſal. 90.

Now hauyng long taryed at home in deſcribing the tumultes and troubles within our owne land, we will let out our ſtory more at large, to cõſider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places alſo of Chriſtes church, as well here in Europe vnder the pope, as in ỹ Eaſt parties vnder the Turke, firſt deducing our ſtory from the tyme of Sigiſmund, where before we left: Whiche Sigiſmund, as is aboue recorded, was a great doer in ỹ Cõucel of Conſtance agaynſt Iohn Hus, & Hierome of Prage. This Emperour had euer euill lucke, fightyng agaynſt the Turkes. Twiſe he warred againſt thẽ, and in both the battailes was diſcomfited and put to flight: once about the Citie of Myſia, fighting againſt Baiazetes the greate Turke. an. 1395. the ſeconde tyme fighting againſt Celebinus ỹ ſonne of Baiazetes, about ỹ town called Columbaciũ. But eſpecially, after the Cõucell of Conſtãce, wherin were cõdemned & burned thoſe ij. godly Martyrs, more vnproſperous ſucceſſe dyd then folow hym, fightyng agaynſt the Bohemians, his owne ſubiectes. an. 1420. by whom he was repulſed in & vanquiſhed ſo many battailes, to his great diſhonour, duryng all ỹ lyfe of Ziſca, & of Procopius, as is afore more at length expreſſed: Who was ſo beatẽ both of ỹ Turkes, and at home of his owne people, that hee neuer did encounter with the Turkes after. Then folowed the Councell of Baſill, after the begynnyng wherof, within. vi. yeares, this Sigiſmũdus, which was Emperour, kyng of Hungary, & king of Boheme, died in Morauia. an. 1437.

Sigiſmundus Emperour.

Sigiſmundus vnproſperous in his warres.

Sigiſmunde ouercome of the Turkes.

Sigiſmund ouercome of the Bohemians.

Albertus Emperour.

This Sigiſmund left behynd him one onely daughter Elizabeth, who was maried to Albert, Duke of Auſtrich: by reaſon whereof he was aduaunced to the Empyre, & ſo was both Duke of Auſtriche, Emperour, kyng of Hungary, and kyng alſo of Boheme. But this Albert (as is afore declared) beyng an enemy and a diſquieter to the Bohemians, & eſpecially to the good mẽ of Thabor, as he was preparyng and ſettyng forth againſt the Turkes, in the meane tyme dyed, in the ſecond yeare of hys Empire. an. 1439. leauyng his wife great with childe. Who lying then in Hungary, and thinking to be great with a daughter, called to her the princes & chieftaines of the realme, declaryng to thẽ that ſhe was but a woman and vnſufficient to the gouernaunce of ſuch a ſtate: and moreouer howe ſhe thought her ſelfe to bee but with a daughter, and therfore required them to prouide among them, ſuch a prince and gouernour, (reſeruing the right of the kingdome to her ſelfe) as were fitte and able vnder her, to haue the regiment of the land cõmitted. The Turke in the meane while beyng eleuated and encouraged with his proſperous victories agaynſt Sigiſmundus aforeſayd, began then more fiercely to inuade Hungarie & thoſe parties of Chriſtendome. Wherfore the Hungarians making the more haſt, conſulted among them ſelues, to make Duke Vladiſlaus, brother to Caſimirus kyng of Polonie, their kyng. But while this was in woorkyng betwene the Hungarians and Vladiſlaus the Duke, in the meane ſpace Elizabeth brought foorth a ſonne called Ladiſlaus, who beyng the lawfull heyre of the kyngdome, the Quene calleth backe agayn her former woorde, myndyng to reſerue the kyngdome for her ſonne, beyng the true heyre therof, and therefore refuſeth mariage with ỹ ſayd Vladiſlaus, whiche ſhe had before pretended. But Vladiſlaus ioynyng with a great part of the Hungarians, perſiſting ſtill in the condition before graunted, would not geue ouer: by reaſon wherof, great contention and diuiſion kynlyng among the people of Hungary, Amurathes the great Turke, takyng his aduauntage of their diſcorde, and partly ſurpriſed w̃ pride of his former ſucceſſe agaynſt Sigiſmund aforeſayd, with his whole maine & force, inuaded the realme of Hungarye: Where Huniades ſurnamed Vaiuoda, prince of Tranſiluania, ioynyng with the new kyng Vladiſlaus, did both together ſet agaynſt ỹ Turke, an. 1444. and there Vladiſlaus the newe kyng of Hungary, the. iiij. yeare of his kyngdome, was ſlayne. Elizabeth with her ſonne, was fled in the meane while, to Fridericke ỹ Emperour. Of Huniades Vaiuoda the noble captaine, and of his actes and alſo of Ladiſlaus (Chriſt willyng) more ſhalbe ſayd hereafter, in his time and place.

Albertus duke of Auſtrich. Emperour, Kyng of Hungary, K. of Boheme.

Albertus Emperour but two yeares.

Elizabeth daughter to Sigiſmund, wife to Albert Emp.

The Turke beginneth to inuade Hungary.

Vladiſlaus brother to Caſimirus K. of Polonie, made K. of Hungarie.

Elizabeth Queene of Hungarie, brought to bedde of a mã childe.

Ladiſlaus prince of Hungarie borne.

Diuiſion & diſcorde in Hungarie.

The Turke warreth agaynſt Hungarie.

Huniades Vaiuoda.

Vladiſlaus K. of Hungarie, ſlaine in warre.

¶ Fridericus. iij. Emperour.

After the deceaſſe of Alberte, ſucceded in the Empire Fridericus 3. Duke of Auſtria, an. 1440. By whom it was procured (as we haue before ſignified) that pope Fœlix elected by ỹ cõucell of Baſill, did reſigne his popedome, to pope Nicolas. v. vpon this condition, ỹ the ſayd Pope Nicolas ſhould ratifie the actes decreed in the ſaid Cõcell of Baſill. In the dayes of this Emperour, much warre and diſſention raged almoſt through all Chriſten realmes, in Auſtria, Vngaria, Polonia, in Fraunce, in Burgoynie, and alſo here in England, betwene K. Henry 6. and

Fridericus 3. Emper.

and kyng Edward the 4. as ye haue already heard: Wherby it had bene eaſie for the Turke, with litle maystry, to haue ouerrunne al yͤ Chriſtē realmes in Europe, had not the prouidence of our merci full Lord otherwiſe prouided to kepe Amurates the Turke occupied in other ciuill warres at home in the meane while. Unto this Fridericke came Elizabeth (as is afore ſayd) with Ladiſlaus her ſonne: by whom he was nuriſhed and enterteyned a certaine ſpace, till at length, after yͤ death of Vladiſlaus aforeſayd, kyng of Vngarie (whiche was ſlayne in battaile by the Turkes) the mē of Auſtria, through the inſtigation of Vlricus Eizingerus, and of Vlricus Earle of Cilicia riſing vp in armour, required of Fridericke the Emperour, either to geue them their yong kyng, or els to ſtand to his owne defence. When Fridericke heard this, neyther would he render to them a ſodayne aunſweare, neyther woulde they abyde anye longer delay: and ſo the matter growyng to warre, the new Citie was beſieged, where many were ſlayne, & much harme done. At length the Emperours part beyng the weaker, the Emperour throughe the interuention of certaine nobles of Germanie, reſtored Ladiſlaus vnto their hands: Who being yet vnder age, cōmitted his.iij. kyngdomes to.iij. gouernours. Whereof Iohn Huniades the worthy Captaine, aboue mencioned, had the ruling of Vngarie: George Pogiebracius had Boheme: and Vlricus yͤ Earle of Cilicia had Auſtria. Which Vlrice hauyng the chief cuſtodie of the kyng, bare the greateſt authoritie aboue yͤ reſt, a mā as much full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almoſt of all the Auſtrians, and ſhortly after by the meanes of Eizingerus was excluded alſo from yͤ kyng and the court, but afterward reſtored agayn, and Eizingerus thruſt out. Such is the vnſtable condition of thē which be next in place about princes. But this contention betwene them, I ouerpaſſe.

Not long after, Ladiſlaus the yong king went to Boheme, there to be crowned, where George Pogiebracius, (as is ſayd) had the gouernaunce. But Ladiſlaus during all the tyme of his beyng there, though beyng much requeſted, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor heare the ſeruice of them, which did draw after the doctrine of Hus. In ſo much that when a certeine prieſt in the hygh tower of Prage, was appointed and addreſſed, after the maner of prieſtes, to ſay ſeruice before yͤ king, beyng knowen to hold with Iohn Hus and Rochezana, yͤ kyng diſdayning at him, cōmaunded hym to geue place and departe, or els he would ſend him downe hedlonge from the rocke of the tower: and ſo the good miniſter repulſed by the kyng, departed. Alſo an other tyme the ſayd Ladiſlaus, ſeyng the Sacrament caryed by a miniſter of that ſide, whom they called then Huſsites, would do therunto no reuerence. Ex Æne. Syluio. At length the long abode of the kyng, although it was not very long, yet ſemed to the godly diſpoſed to bee longer then they wiſhed: and yͭ was not to the kyng vnknowen, which made him to make the more haſte alwaye. But before hee departed, hee thought firſte to viſite the noble Citie Vratiſlauia in Schleſia. In the which Citie, the foreſayd kyng Ladiſlaus beyng there in the highe Churche, at ſeruice many great princes were about him: Among whō was alſo George Pogiebracius, who then ſtoode nereſte to the kyng, vnto whom one Chilianus, playing the Paraſite about the kyng (as the faſhion is of ſuch as fayne them ſelues fooles to make other men as very fooles as they) ſpake in this wiſe as foloweth: With what coūtenaunce you do behold this our ſeruice, I ſee right well, but your hart I do not ſee. Say then, doth not the order of this our religion ſeeme vnto you decent and comely? Do you not ſée how many and how great princes, yea yͤ kyng him ſelfe, doo folow one order & vniformitie? And why do you thē folow rather your preacher Rochezana thē theſe? Do you thinke a fewe Bohemians to be more wiſe then all yͤ church of Chriſt beſides? why thē do you not forſake that rude and ruſticall people, and ioyne to theſe nobles, as you are a noble mā your ſelfe.

An anſwere proceding of a heauenly wiſedome.

Unto whom, thus Pogiebracius ſagely agayne doth aunſwere. If you ſpeake theſe wordes of your ſelfe, ſayth hee, you are not the man whom you fayne your ſelfe to bee: and ſo to you I aunſwere, as not to a foole. But if you ſpeake this by the ſuggeſtion of others, then muſt I ſatiſfie them. Heare therefore. As touchyng the ceremonies of the Churche, euery man hath a conſciēce of his owne to folow. As for vs, we vſe ſuch ceremonies as we truſt do pleaſe God: Neither is it in our arbitrement to beleue what we will our ſelues. The mynde of man being perſwaded with great reaſons, is captiued, will he, nill hee: and as nature is inſtructed and taught, ſo is ſhe drawne, in ſome one way and in ſome an other. As for me ſelfe, I am fully perſwaded in the religion of my preachers. If I ſhould folowe thy religion, I might perchaunce deceiue men, goyng contrary to mine owne conſcience, but I can not deceiue God, who ſeeth the hartes of all: Neither ſhall it become me to frame my ſelfe like to thy diſpoſition. That whiche is meete for a Ieſter, is not likewiſe conueniente for a noble mā. And theſe wordes, eyther take to thy ſelf, as ſpoken to thee if thou be a wiſe man, or els I referre them to thoſe which ſet thee a worke. Ex Æn. Sylu. in Hiſt. Bohem.

After the kyng was returned from the Bohemians agayne to Auſtria, the Vngarians likewiſe made their petitions to yͤ kyng that he would alſo come vnto thē. The gouernour of Vngarie (as ye before haue heard) was Ioannes Huniades, whoſe victorious Actes agaynſte the Turkes, are famous. Agaynſt this Huniades, wicked Vlricus Earle of Cilicia, did all hee could with the kyng, to bryng hym to deſtruction, and therfore cauſed the kyng to ſent for him vp to Vienna, and there priuely to worke his death. But Huniades hauing therof intelligence, offereth hym ſelfe within Hungary to ſerue his prince, to all aſſayes: Out of the land where hee was, it was neither beſt (ſayd he) for the kyng, nor ſafeſt for hym ſelf, to come. The Earle beyng ſo diſapoynted, came downe with certeine nobles of the court, to the borders of Vngary, thinking either to apprehend him and to bring him to Vienna, or there to diſpatch him. Huniades, without in the fieldes ſayd he would common with him, within the towne hee would not bee brought. After that, an other trayne alſo was layd for him, that vnder pretence of the kinges ſafe conduict, he ſhould méete yͤ king in the broad fieldes of Viēna. But Huniades ſuſpectyng deceite, came in dede to the place appointed, where he neither ſeyng yͤ kyng to come, nor the Earle to haue any ſafe conduite for him, was moued (and not without cauſe) againſt the Earle, declaryng how it was in his power there to ſlay him, whiche went about to ſeke his bloud, but for the reuerence of the kyng, he would ſpare him & let him goe.

Vlricus ſeeketh the death of Huniades.

Huniades ſpareth his enemie.

Not long after this, the Turke with a great power of fightyng men, to the number of an hundreth and fiften thouſand, arriued in Vngarie, where he layd ſiege to the Citie Alba. But through yͤ mercifull hand of God, Iohn Huniades, and Capiſtranus a certeine minorite, with a ſmall garriſon of Chriſtiā ſouldiours, gaue him the repulſe and put him to flight, with all his mighty hoſte: Wherof more (Chriſt willyng) here after. Ex hiſt. Bohemic. Æn. Siluij. Huniades, ſhortly after this victory, deceaſed. Of whoſe death when the kyng and the Earle did vnderſtand, they came the more boldly into Hungarie, where he beyng receaued by Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, into the town of Alba, there vewed the places where the Turkes before had pitched their tentes. When this Ladiſlaus heard that the kyng was comming firſt toward the towne, obediently he opened to him yͤ gates. Foure thouſand onely of armed ſouldiours he debarred from entryng the Citie. In the meane tyme while the kyng was there reſident in the citie, the Earle with other no-

Alba beſieged of the Turke.

The power of God by the meanes of Huniades and Capiſtranus, agaynſt the Turke.

King Ladiſlaus commeth into Hungary.

Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne.

Debate betwene Vlricus and Ladiſlaus, Huniades ſonne.

Vlricus Earle of Cicilia ſlayne.

bles,did ſitte in coũſaile, requiryng alſo Ladiſlaus to reſorte vnto them : who firſt doubtyng with him ſelfe what he might doo, at length putteth on a priuey coate of maple, and cõmeth to them. Whether the Earle firſt began with him, or he with the Earle, it is not knowen. The opiniõ is of ſome, that Vlricus firſt called him traitour, for ſhuttynge the gates agaynſt the kynges ſouldiours. How ſoeuer the occaſion began, this is vndoubted, that Vlricus takyng his ſworde from his Page, let flye at his head. To breake the blowe, ſome puttyng vp their handes, had their fingers cut of. The Hungarians hearing a noyſe and tumulte within the chamber, brake in vppon them, and there incontinent ſlue Vlrike the Earle, woũdyng and cuttyng hym almoſt all to peeces. The kyng hearyng therof, although hee was not a litle diſcontented thereat in his minde : yet ſeyng there was then no other remedie, diſſembled his grief for a tyme.

The cruell diſſimulation of Ladiſlaus the kyng.

The ii ſonnes of Huniades, Ladiſlaus, and Mathias.

Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, innocently put to death.

A miraculous token at the death of Ladiſlaus.

Ex Peucer. Chro. lib. 5.

Frõ thence yͤ king toke his iourney againe to Buda, accõpanied with the foreſaid Ladiſlaus, who paſſyng by the towne, where the wife of Huniades, was mournyng for the death of her huſband, ſemed with many fayre wordes to cõfort her : and after he had there ſufficiently repaſted hym ſelf, with ſuch pretenſe of diſſẽbled loue, & fayned fauour, that they were without all ſuſpiciõ and feare : from thence he ſet forward in his iourney, taking with him the. ij. ſonnes of Huniades, Ladiſlaus and Mathias, who were right ready to wayte vpon him. The kyng beyng come to Buda (whether of his owne head, or by ſiniſter counſaile ſet on) when he had them at a vantage, cauſed both yͤ ſonnes of Huniades: to witte, Ladiſlaus & Mathias, to be apprehẽded. And firſt was brought forth Ladiſlaus the elder ſonne, to the place of executiõ, there to be beheaded : where mekely hee ſuffered, beyng charged with no other crime, but this, publiſhed by the voyce of yͤ cryer, ſaying : Thus are they to be chaſtened, whiche are rebels agaynſt their Lord. Peucerus writing of his death, addeth this moreouer, that after the hangman had. iij. blowes at his necke, yet notwithſtandyng yͤ ſayd Ladiſlaus hauing his handes bound behinde him, after the third ſtroke, roſe vpright vpon his feete, & lookyng vp to heauen, called vpon the Lord, and proteſted hys innocencie in that behalfe : and ſo lyeng downe his necke agayn, at the iiij. blow was diſpatched. Mathias yͤ other brother was led captiue with the k. vnto Auſtria. The reſt of the captiues brake the priſon and eſcaped.

Preparation to the kynges mariage.

Ladiſlaus the kyng receaued in Boheme.

Ladiſlaus the kyng, an infeſt enemie agaiuſt the Huſsians.

The Sacramẽt of the aultar vſed to many purpoſes.

It was not lõg after this crueltie was wrought vpon Ladiſlaus, yͤ k. being about yͤ age of. 22. yeres, that talke was made of yͤ kings mariage, with Magdalene daughter to the Frenche kyng. The place of the Mariage was appointed at Prage, where greate preparation was for the matter. At the firſt entraũce of the kyng into the Citie of Prage, Rochezana with a company of miniſteries, ſuch as were fauourers of Iohn Hus, & of ſyncere Religion, came with all ſolemnitie to receaue the kyng, makyng there his oration to gratulate the kynges moſte ioyfull and proſperous acceſſe into the ſame hys owne realme and countrey of Boheme. Unto whiche Rochezana, after he had ended his oration, ſcarſe the k. would open his mouth to geue thankes to hym, nor any cherefull countinaunce vnto hys companye, but fiercely ſemed to frowne vpõ thẽ. In the next Pagen after theſe, came foorth the prieſtes of the hygh mynſter, after the moſt Popiſh maner, metyng hym with proceſſion, and with the Sacrament of the aulter : For as Panacea among Phiſicions ſerueth for all diſeaſes, ſo the Sacrament of the Popes aultar ſerueth for all pompes & Pagens. Firſt it muſt lye vpon the altare, then it muſt bee holden vp with handes, then it muſt hang in the pyxe, it muſt ſerue for the quicke, it muſt alſo helpe the dead, it muſt moreouer viſite the ſicke, it muſt walke about the Churchyarde, it muſt go about the ſtreates, it muſt bee caryed about the fieldes to make the graſſe to growe, it muſt bee had to the battaile, it muſt ride on horſebacke before the Pope, and finally it muſt welcome kynges into Cities. Wherein theſe catholicque fathers do ſeme ſomewhat to forget them ſelues. For if the Pope, being inferiour to the Sacrament of the altare, at the commyng of kings, do vſe to ſit ſtill while the kynges come and kiſſe his feete, what reaſon is it that the Sacramẽt of the altare, which is (I trow) aboue the Pope, ſhould meete kynges by the waye, and welcome them to the towne? But this by the waye of parentheſis : let vs now continue the texte. When Ladiſlaus this catholike king, who had ſhewed him ſelfe before ſo ſtoute and ſterne agaynſt Rochezana and his company, had ſene theſe catholique prieſtes with their proceſſion, and eſpecially with their bleſſed Sacrament, to come : with all reuerence and much deuotion, hee lighted downe from hys horſe, he embraced the croſſe and kyſſed it, & with cherefull countenaunce ſaluted the prieſtes in order. All this while his yong wife was not yet come out of Fraunce, but Legates were ſent, after moſt ſumptuous wiſe, to conducte her. Other Legates alſo were ſent the ſame time, to the Emperour Fridericke, for cõcluſion of peace. The third Legacie was directed lykewiſe to Pope Calixtus about Religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the Churche of Rome. The author of this ſtory (whiche was Pope Pius him ſelf) declareth farther yͤ opinion of ſome to be, yͤ king Ladiſlaus the ſame time had entended, to make a finall ende and deſtruction of all that ſecte in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of Iohn Hus, and Hierome, by the aſſemble and concourſe of the catholique princes, and Popiſh prelates, whiche were appointed there to meete together at that Mariage in Prage. For there ſhould be firſt the Emperour Fridericke, Elizabeth the kinges mother, and his. ij. ſiſters Elizabeth, and Anna, the princes of Saxonie, Baioria, Sleſia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other princes of Rhene : many alſo of the Lordes of Fraunce, beſides the Popes Cardinals, Legates, Prelates and ſuch other poteſtates of the Popes Churche. Who if they had altogether conuented in Boheme, no doubte but ſome greate miſchief had bene wrought there agaynſt the Huſſites : agaynſt whom this Ladiſlaus, folowing yͤ ſteppes of Sigiſmundus his graũdfather, and Albertus his father, was euer an vtter enemie. But when man hath purpoſed, yet God diſpoſeth, as pleaſeth hym. And therefore, trulye it is written of Æneas Syluius in the ſame place, ſaying : De regimine ciuitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum eſt quod homines poſſũt (tũ vero De religionis cõſtitutione multo minus) magna magnus diſponit Deus. i. In regimẽt of Cities, in alteration of kyngdomes, in rulyng and gouernyng the world, it is leſſe then nothyng that man can doo : it is the hygh God that ruleth hyghe thynges. Whereunto then I may well adde this more ouer, and ſaye : that if the gouernaunce of worldly kyngdomes ſtandeth not in mans power, but in the diſpoſition of God, much leſſe is it then, that mans power cã do in the regiment and gouernyng of Religion. Example wherof in this purpoſed deuiſe of princes, doth euidẽtly appeare. For as this great preparation and ſolemnitie of mariage was in doyng, and the princes ready to ſet forth, with a litle turne of gods holy hãd, all theſe great purpoſes were ſodeinly turned and daſhed. For in the middeſt of this buſines, about the. xxi. day of Nouẽber. an. 1461. this great aduerſarie of Chriſtes people, king Ladiſlaus, kyng of Boheme, of Vngarie, and prince of Auſtria, ſickened and within. 36. houres dyed, ſome ſay of a peſtilent ſore in hys gryne, ſome ſay of poyſon. But how ſoeuer it was, as it came not without the iuſt iudgemẽt of God, reuengyng the innocent blood of Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, wrongfully put to death before : ſo by the oportune death of this kyng, yͤ poore Churches of Boheme were gratiouſly deliuered. And this ende made Ladiſlaus, one of yͤ mighties princes at that tyme,

Ex Æ Silvio histo. B hem.

A great c carie of tholique princes i tended a gaynſt th Huſsites.

Man purp ſeth, but God diſpo ſeth.

Ex Æne Siluio.

Gouernãc of Impe ries & kin domes, is not in ma power, much leſſe the gouer naunce of Religion.

The great worke of God in de tending hi poore ſer uauntes.

The death of king La diſlaus.

Blood reu ged by go

in all Europe: in whom .iij. mighty kyngdomes were conioyned and combyned together, Auſtria, Vngaria, and Bohemia: whiche countreys doo lye Southeaſt from England, in the fartheſt partes of all Germany, toward Conſtantinople, and the dominion of the Turkes, and cõteyne theſe principall townes in them.

The large dominion of Ladiſlaus,

AVſtria, called once Panonia ſuperior.
Vienna, whiche was beſieged of the Turke, an. 1533.
Melck.
Neuſtat, noua ciuitas.
Gretz.
S. Hypolit.
Lintz.
Stein.
Haynberg.
Kremſz.
Karolsburg.
Teben.
Kotzo.
Raba.
Lindenburg.

To Auſtria be adioyning alſo certayne Prouinces & Earledomes, as

Stiria.
Carinthia. } *Prouinces.*
Croaia.

Cilicia.
Tyrolentz. } *Earledomes.*

VNgaria, whiche was once called Pãnonia inferior.
Buda. Ofen.
Strigonium.
Kalachia.
Varadinum.
Nitria.
Nicopolis — { Noua. Vetus.
Agria.
Orſzauu.
Boſſen.
Sabaria.

This Vngaria, was firſt called Pãnonia, or Pœonia. After the commyng of the Hunes, it was called Hungaria. Out of which came Attila, which deſtroyed Italye, aboute the yeare of the Lord. 440. Through Vngaria, rũneth Danubius, hauing on yͤ Weſt ſide, Auſtria, and Bohemia, on the Eaſt, Seruia, on the South ſide, Polonia. &c. The moſt of this Hungarye, is nowe vnder the Turke: whiche Turkes firſt came into Europe. an. 1211.

BOhemia.
Praga.
Pilzen.
Thabor.
Buduuis.
Kolin. or Koelu.
Egra.
Kuttenberg.
Leimiritz.
Laun.
Rakonicke.
Glatauu.
Bern. or Beraun.
Bruck. Moſt.
Gretz. Hradetz.
Auſt.
Maut. Myto.
Hof.
Iaromir.
Dub. Biela.
Lantzhut.
Gilouuy.
Krupka.
Krumauu.
Pardubitz.
Chumitauu.
Loket. Teplitz.
Hantzburg. Zbraſſlauu.
Labe. Vltauua.

George Pogiebracius.

Mathias Huniades.

After the death of Ladiſlaus, yͤ kyngdome of Boheme fell to George Pogiebracius aboue mentioned, whom pope Innocẽt the 8. did excommunicate and depoſe for his Religion, as is afore declared. Furthermore, yͤ kyngdome of Hungarie, was geuen to Mathias ſonne of Huniades, who was in captiuitie (as is ſayd) wͭ kyng Ladiſlaus, & ſhould haue bene put to death after his brother, had not yͤ kyng before bene preuented with death, as is aboue recorded. Moreouer, here is to be noted yͭ the ſayd kyng Ladiſlaus, thus dyeng without wife and iſſue, left behinde hym .ij. ſiſters aliue: to witte, Elizabeth, whiche was maried to Caſimirus kyng of Polonie: and Anna, maried to VVilliam, Duke of Saxonie. Elizabeth by her husband Caſimirus king of Polonia, had Vladiſlaus, who at lẽgth was kyng both of Boheme and Hungarie. This Caſimirus, firſt was maryed to Beatrix, wife before to Mathias. Then beyng diuorced from her by the diſpenſation of Pope Alexander, maried a new wife a Counteſſe of Fraunce, by whom he had .ij. children, Lewes, and Anna. Levves whiche was heyre of both kyngdomes of Boheme, and Hungarie, was ſlayne fightyng agaynſt yͤ Turkes. Anna was maried to Ferdinandus, by whom he was Archduke of Auſtria, kyng of Boheme. &c.

Sigiſmundus left onely one daughter,	Elizabeth, wife to Albertus emperour. Who had iij. childrẽ.	Ladiſlaus, kyng of Hungary, Boheme, and Auſtria.		
		Elizabeth wife of Caſimirus, king of Polonie: Who had	Vladiſlaus, king of Boheme and Hũgarye. Who by his ſecond wife, Counteſſe of Fraunce, had	Ludouicus kynge of Boheme and Hungary.
		Anna, wife to VVilliã Duke of Saxon.		Anne, wife to Ferdinandus, father to this Maximilian now Emperour.

ure be- ene Ma- as & Fri ricke the perour.

Ye heard before, how after the deceaſſe of Ladiſlaus, yͤ Hungarians by their election, preferred Mathias ſurnamed Coruinus, which was ſonne to Huniades, to yͤ kingdome of Hungary. For whiche cauſe diſſenſion fell betwene Fridericke the Emperour and hym, for that the ſayd Fridericke was both nominated him ſelfe by diuers vnto that kyngdome, and alſo becauſe he had the crown of Hungary then remaynyng in his handes, whiche Elizabeth mother to kyng Ladiſlaus, had brought to yͤ Emperour, as was before declared. But this warre betwen thẽ, was ceaſed by the interceſſion of the princes of Germanie, ſo that Mathias raunſomed that crowne of Fridericke for. 8000. florences.

George Pogiebracius by the pope depoſed frõ hys kyngdome, for fauouring of Iohn Hus.

Not long after, Pope Innocent being diſpleaſed with George Pogiebracius (or Boiebracius) kyng of Bohemia, for fauouryng of Iohn Hus, and his Religion, that is to ſay, for playng the part of a godly prince, did excommunicate and depoſe him, cõferryng his kyngdome to Mathias. But for ſomuch as Fridericke yͤ Emperour would not thereto conſent, and eſpecially after the death of the foreſayd George, when the Emperour and the Bohemians, leauyng out Mathias, did nominate Vladiſlaus ſõne of Caſimirus, kyng of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, to bee kyng of Boheme, therefore great warre & trouble kyndled betwene hym and Fridericke the Emperour: Wherin the Emperour had vtterly gone to ruine, had not Albertus Duke of Saxonie reſcued the Emperour, and repreſſed the vehemencie of Mathias.

Albert duke of Saxonie.

The noble actes of Iohn and Mathias Huniades, agaynſt the Turkes.

Syrmium and the borders of Illyrica recouered from the Turkes.

The noble Actes of Iohn Huniades, and of this Mathias his ſonne, were not only great ſtayes to Hungary, but almoſt to all Chriſtendome, in repellyng backe the Turke. For beſide yͤ other victories of Iohn Huniades the father, afore mẽtioned, this Mathias alſo his ſonne ſuccedyng no leſſe in the valiauntnes, then in the name of his father, did ſo recouer Sirmium, & the confines of Illyrica, from the handes of the Turkes, and ſo vanquiſhed their power, that both Mahometes, and alſo Baiazetes hys ſonne, were enforced to ſeke for truce.

Iaitza recouered.

The ſubtile practyſe of Sathan to ſtoppe good procedinges.

Pope Innocent ſtyrreth warre betwene chriſten princes.

Ouer and beſides, the ſame Mathias, conducting his armye into Boſina (whiche lyeth South from Hungary) recouered again Iaitza, yͤ principall towne of that kyngdome, frõ the Turkes poſſeſſion. Who, if other Chriſten princes had ioyned their helpes withall, would haue proceded farther into Thracia. But beholde here the malitious ſubtiltie of Satan, workyng by yͤ Pope. For while Mathias was thus occupied in his expedition agaynſt yͤ Turkes, wherin he ſhould haue ben ſet forward & ayded by Chriſten princes, and Biſhops: the Biſhop of Rome, wickedly and ſinfully miniſtreth matter of ciuil diſcord betwene hym & Pogiebracius aforeſayd, in remouyng him from the right of his kyngdome, and transferryng the ſame to Mathias. Wherupon, not onely the courſe of victorie agaynſt yͤ Turkes was ſtopped, but alſo great warre and bloudſhed folowed in Chriſten realmes, as well betwene this Mathias, & Pogiebracius, with his. ij. ſonnes Victorinus and Henricus, as alſo betwene Caſimirus, Vladiſlaus, and Mathias warryng about Vratiſlauia, till at length the matter was taken vp by the princes of Germanie.

The popes excõmunication not obeyed of diuers in Bohemia.

Mathias adioyned Morauia and part of Sleſia, vnto Hungarie

1474.

The religion of the Bohemians, defended by God, againſt the 4. greateſt princes in Europe.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the Pope agaynſt Pogiebracius, a great parte of Boheme would not be remoued from the obediẽce of their kyng, whom the Pope had curſed, and depoſed: yet Mathias tooke from him Morauia, and a great portion of Sleſia, & adioyned it to his kyngdome of Hungarie. an. 1474. ¶ Where this by the way is to be noted, yͤ the Religion in Bohemia, planted by Iohn Hus, could not be extinct or ſuppreſſed withall the power of 4. mighty princes, Venceſlaus, Sigiſmundus, Albertus, and Ladiſlaus, notwithſtãding they with the popes, did therin what they poſſiblye could: but ſtill yͤ Lord maynteined the ſame, as ye ſee by this Poggiebracius kyng of Boheme, whõ the pope could not vtterly remoue out of the kyngdome of Bohemia.

Mathias a great louer of learning and of learned men.

The noble Librarye of Mathias king of Hungarie.

Ex 5. lib. Peuc.

This foremẽcioned Mathias, beſide his other memorable actes of Chiualry, is no leſſe alſo cõmended for his ſingular knowledge and loue of learnyng & of learned mẽ, whom he with great ſtipends, procured into Pannonia: where by the meanes of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced in ſhort ſpace the barbarous rudeneſſe of that countrey, into a floriſhyng common wealth. Moreouer, ſuch a Library he did there erect, and repleniſhe with all kynde of authors, ſciences, and hiſtories, whiche he cauſed to be tranſlated out of Greke into Latine, as the like is thought not to be found, next to Italie, in all Europe beſide. Out of whiche Library we haue receaued diuers fragmentes of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, whiche were not extant before. Ex Peucer.

Commendatiõ of George Pogiebracius.

Ex Pij pont. Deſcriptione Europæ.

Gods fauour to the ſonnes of Pogiebracius.

The conſtant fortitude alſo of Georgius Pogiebracius K. of Boheme, is not vnworthy of commendatiõ: of whom alſo Pope Pius him ſelf, in Deſcriptione Europæ, doth honeſtly report (as a Pope may ſpeake of a proteſtant) in theſe wordes, writyng: Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus bellicis clarus. &c. Whom although Pope Innocent did execrate, with his children, yet he left not of the profeſſion of the veritie and knowledge, whiche he had receaued. Moreouer the Lord ſo proſpered his ſonnes, Victorinus, & Henricus, that they ſubdued their enemies, & kept their eſtate: In ſomuch, that when Friderike the Emperor at Vienna was in cuſtodie encloſed by the Citizens, Victorinus did reſtore & deliuer him out of their handes: Wherfore the Emperour afterward aduaunced them to be Dukes. Alſo God gaue them ſome times proſperous victorie agaynſt Mathias, as at the Citie of Glogouia. &c.

The death of Pogiebracius.

After the deceaſe of Georgius Pogiebracius kyng of Boheme, Fridericke the Emperour aſſigned that kingdome, not to Mathias, vpon whõ the pope had beſtowed it before, but vpon Vladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperour Albert, and ſiſter to Ladiſlaus. For the which, Mathias beyng diſcontented, and for that the Emperour had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, wente about to exclude Vladiſlaus out of Boheme, and alſo proclaimed warre agaynſt Fridericke. But before he accompliſhed his purpoſed preparation, death preuented hym, who without iſſue departed. an. 1490.

Vladiſlaus Caſimirus ſonne, made kyng of Hungarie.

Vladiſlaus forſaketh hys fyrſt wyfe. Diſpenſati from pope Alexander, to forſake hys fyrſt wyfe, and to mary an other.

After the death of Mathias, departing without iſſue, Vladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, kyng of Polonie, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert Emperour, and ſiſter to king Ladiſlaus, maried his wife Beatrix, whom Mathias left a widow, and with her was elected kyng of Hungary, with this condition made betwene him and Fridericke the Emperour, that if he dyed without lawfull iſſue, then the kingdomes of Hungary and of Boheme, ſhould returne to Maximilian ſonne to Fridericus. But Vladiſlaus not long after, did repudiate hys wife Beatrix, and depriuing her of her kyngdome, cauſed yͤ ſayd Beatrix to ſweare and to conſent to the maryng of an other woman, whiche was the daughter of the Frenche king, named Anne, procuryng from Pope Alexander, a diſpenſation for the ſame, as is before ſignified. By this Anne, Vladiſlaus had Lewes, and Anne, whiche Anne afterward was maried to Ferdinandus.

Leudouicus Vladiſlaus ſonne, K. of Hungarie and Boheme.

Lewes ſucceding after his father, had both yͤ ſaid kingdomes of Boheme and Hungary. an. 1492. & maryed Mary ſiſter to Charles the. 5. Emperour. Anne, as is ſayd, was coupled to Ferdinandus. &c.

Warre betwene Charles duke of Burgoyne, and Fridericke the Emperour.

1475.

Charles duke of Burgoyne ſlaine in warre.

1477.

Mary daughter of Charles of Burgoy maried to Maximiliã

Of Charles Duke of Burgoine, ſomewhat was before touched, who had maryed kynge Edwardes ſiſter: and what troubles by him were ſtirred vp in Fraunce, partly was before notified. This Charles, after he had beſieged the Citie Nuſſia, or Nouaſiũ, yͤ ſpace of a whole yeare, went about to alienate the territorie of Colen, frõ the Empire, to his owne dominion: wherfore warre began to be moued betwene him and Fridericke the Emperour. At length, through communication had, peace was concluded & a mariage appointed, betwene Mary the only daughter of Charles, and Maximiliã the Emperours ſonne. an. 1475. Then from Nouaſium Charles leadeth his armye toward Heluetia, againſt Renatus or Reinhardus Duke of Lotharing: thẽ agaynſt the Heluetians. Where he beyng thriſe ouercome, firſt at Granſon, then at Moratum or Murta, in the vper part of Heluetia, at laſt at the towne Nanſe, was ouerthrowen and ſlayne. an. 1477. The procurer of whiche warres, was chiefly Lewes the. xi. the Frenche kyng, to the entent he myght compaſſe the dominion of Burgundie vnder his ſubiection: whiche afterwarde by open wrong and priuey fraude, he brought aboute, defraudyng Mary the daughter of Charles, of her rightfull inheritaunce: For the whiche cauſe the Burgundians were the more willyng to ioyne her in mariage with Maximilian ſonne of Fridericke the Emperour: by reaſon whereof, the title of Burgundie, was firſt ioyned to the houſe of Auſtria.

Warres a diſſenſio emong Criſten princes

And thus haue you the miſerable vexations and cõtentions among our Chriſtian princes here in Europe, deſcribed, vnder the reigne of thys Friderike the 3. Emperour, ſo that almoſt no angle nor portion of all Chriſtendome (whether we conſider the ſtate of the church, or ciuill gouernment) was frée from diſcord, tumultes, and diſſenſions, Thys cankered worme of ambition ſo mightely crepeth and euery where preuaileth in theſe latter endes of the worlde, that it ſuffreth neither reſt in cõmon weales, nor peace in the church, nor any ſparkle of charitie almoſt to remaine in yͤ life of mẽ. And what meruell then, if yͤ Lord ſeing vs ſo farre to degenerate, not onely frõ his preceptes & counſailes, but almoſt frõ the ſenſe and bounde of nature, that brother with brother, vncle with nephew, bloud with bloud cã not agree in ſtriuyng, kyllyng, and fightyng for worldly dominions, do ſend therefore theſe cruell Turkes vpon vs ſo to ſcourge & deuoure vs? Of whoſe bloudy tyrannye, and daly ſpillyng of Chriſtian bloud, hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) we will diſcourſe more at large, whẽ we come to the peculiar conſideration of the Turkiſhe ſtoryes. In the meane tyme, this ſhall be for vs to note and obſerue, not ſomuch the ſcourge how greuous it is: but rather to beholde the cauſes which bryng the whippe vpon vs, whiche is our owne miſerable ambition and wretched warres among our ſelues.

The diſcorde of Chriſtians ſcourged by the Turkes.

And yet if this Chriſtian peace and loue, left & commended ſo hartly vnto vs by the mouth of the ſonne of God, being now baniſhed out of Chriſtian realmes and ciuile gouernaunce, might at leaſt finde ſome refuge in the Churche, or take ſanctuarie among men profeſſyng nothyng but Religion, leſſe cauſe wee had to mourne. Now ſo it is, that as we ſee litle peace & amitie among ciuill potentates: ſo leſſe we finde in the ſpirituall ſorte of them, whiche chiefly take vpon them the adminiſtration of Chriſtes Churche. So that it may well be doubted, whether yͤ ſcourge of the Turke, or the ciuill ſword of princes haue ſlayne moe in the fieldes, or the Popes keyes haue barred moe in townes and cities. And albeit ſuch as be profeſſed to the church, do not fight wͭ ſword and tergat for dominions and reuenewes, as warlyke princes do: yet this ambition, pride, and auarice, appeareth in them nothyng inferiour to other worldlye poteſtates, eſpecially if we beholde and aduiſe the doynges and inſatiable deſires of the court of Rome. Great argument and proufe hereof neither is hard to be found, nor farre to bee ſought. What realme almoſt through all Chriſtendome hath not onely ſéene wͭ their eyes, but haue felt in their purſes the ambitiõ intolerable, and auarice inſatiable of that deuouryng churche, and alſo haue cõplayned vpon yͤ greuaũce therof, but yet neuer could be redreſſed? What exactions & extortions haue bene here in Englãd out of Biſhoprikes, Monaſteres, Benefices, Deanries, Archdeaconries, and all other offices of the churche, to fill yͤ popes coffers: & when they had all done, yet euery yeare brought almoſt ſome new inuẽtion frõ Rome, to fetche in our Engliſh money: & if all yͤ floudes in England (yea in all Europe) did runne into the ſea of Rome, yet were that Oceane neuer able to be ſatiſfied.

Diſcorde and diſſenſion in the church noted.

Ambition and auarice of the church of Rome.

In Fraunce lykewiſe, what floudes of money were ſwalowed vp in this ſea of Rome, it was openly complained of in the Cõucell of Baſill, as is teſtified by Henry Token, Canon and Ambaſſadour of the Archbyſhop of Maidenburg, written in his booke intituled Rapularium, where as he writeth that in the Councell of Baſill, an. 1536. the Archbiſhop of Lyons did declare, that in the time of Pope Martine, there came out of Fraunce to the court of Rome. ix. millions of gold, which was gathered of the Biſhops and Prelates, beſides thoſe which could not be counted, of the poore clergie, whiche dayly without number, rũne vnto the court of Rome, cariyng with them all their whole ſubſtaunce. The Archbyſhop of Turonne ſayd alſo at Baſill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1439. that thrée millions of golde came vnto Rome in his time, within the ſpace of. xiiij. yeres, frõ the prelates and prelacies, wherof no accompt could be made, beſide the poore clergy, whiche dayly runne to that court. Let the man whiche feareth God, iudge what a deuouryng gulfe this is. A million conteineth. x. hundred thouſand.

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And what made Pope Pius the. 2. to labour ſo earneſtly to Lewes the. xi. the French king (who as is afore ſayd, was a greate enemie to the houſe of Burgoine) that he would (accordyng to hys former promiſe) aboliſhe and vtterly extinct the conſtitution eſtabliſhed before, at the Councell of Bitures, by kyng Charles the. 7. his predeceſſor, called Pragmatica Sanctio, but onely the ambition of that ſea whiche had no meaſure, and their auarice whiche had no ende? The ſtorye is this: King Charles the. vij. the French kyng, willing to obey and folowe the Councell of Baſill, did ſumon a Parlament at Bitures, where by the full conſent of all the ſtates in Fraunce, both ſpirituall and temporall, a certeine conſtitution was decreed & publiſhed called Pragmatica Sanctio, wherein was comprehended briefly the pythe and effect of all the Canons and decrees cõcluded in the Councell of Baſill. The whiche conſtitution yͤ ſaid kyng Charles willed and commaunded through all his realme, inuiolablye to be obſerued & ratified, for the honour and increaſe of Chriſtian Religion for euer. This was. an. 1438. It folowed, that after the deceaſe of this foreſaid Charles the. vij. ſucceded K. Lewes. xi. who had promiſed before, being Dolphine to pope Pius, that if he euer came to the crowne, the foreſayd Sanctio Pragmatica ſhould be aboliſhed. Wherupon Pope Pius hearing hym to bee crowned, did ſend vnto him Iohn Balueus a Cardinall, with his great letters patent, willyng him to be mindfull of his promiſe made. The kyng either wyllyng, or els pretendyng a will to performe, and accompliſhe what he had promiſed, directed the Popes letters patente, with the ſaid Cardinall, to the counſaile of Paris, requiryng them to conſulte vpon the cauſe.

Concilium Biturienſe.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

Ex Ioan. Mario Belga. de Schiſmat. et Conciliis. cap. 24.

Pope Pius laboureth that *Pragmatica Sanctio* ſhould be abolyſhed.

Thus the matter beyng brought and propoſed in the Parlament houſe, the kynges atturney named Ioannes Romanus, a man well ſpoken, ſingularly witted, & well reaſoned, ſtepping forth, with great eloquence, & no leſſe boldnes, proued the ſaid Sanction to be profitable, holy, and neceſſary for the wealth of the realme, & in no caſe to be aboliſhed. Unto whoſe ſentence the Uniuerſitie of Paris adioynyng their conſent, did appeale from the attemptes of the Pope, to the next generall Councell. The Cardinall vnderſtandyng this, tooke no litle indignation therat, frettyng and fumyng, and threatnyng many terrible things againſt thẽ: but al his minatorie wordes notwithſtandyng, he returned agayne to the kyng, his purpoſe not obteined an. 1438. Ex Ioan. Mario.

The counſaill of Paris appealeth from the pope to the generall Councell.

Vide ſupra pag. 829.

Thus the Popes purpoſe in Fraunce was diſapointed, whiche alſo in Germanie had come to the like effect, if Fridericke yͤ Emperour had there done his part likewiſe towarde the Germaines: Who at yͤ ſame time bewayling their miſerable eſtate, went about with humble ſute to perſwade the Emperour, that hee ſhoulde no lõger be vnder the obedience of the Popes of Rome, except they had firſt obtained certaine thinges of them as touching the charter of Appeales, declaring their eſtate to be farre worſe (although vndeſerued) then the Frẽchmen or Italians: whoſe ſeruauntes (& ſpeacially of the Italians) they are worthely to be called, excepte yͭ their ſtate were altered. The nobles & cõminaltie of Germany, did inſtantly intreate wͭ moſt waighty reaſons & examples, both for yͤ vtilitie & profite of yͤ Empire, to haue the Emperours aide & helpe therin, for yͤ which he was bound vnto thẽ by an othe: alledging alſo yͤ great diſhonour & ignominie in yͭ they alone had not yͤ vſe of their owne lawes, declaring how the French nation had not made their ſute vnto their king in vaine againſt yͤ exactions of popes: by whom they were defẽded, which alſo prouided decrees and ordinaunces for the libertie of his people, and cauſed the ſame to bee obſerued: the whiche thing yͤ Emperour ought to forſée within his Empire, and to prouide for hys people & ſtates of his Empire, as wel as other kings do. For what ſhal come to paſſe therby, if that forreine nations hauyng recourſe vnto theyr

The cõplaints of the Germaines to the Emperour for helpe & ayde, againſt the oppreſſion of the pope.

kynges,beyng relieued and defended by them from the ſayd exactions,and the Germaines and ſtates of yͤ Empire flying vnto their Emperour,be by him forſaken,or rather betrayed and depriued of their owne lawes and decrees: The Emperour beyng moued and partly ouercome by their perſwaſions,promiſed that he would prouide no leſſe for them , then the kyng of Fraunce had done for the Frenchmen , & to make decrees in that behalfe:but the graue authoritie of Æneas Syluius,as Platina writeth,in the hiſtory of Pius the ſeconde , brake of the matter, who by his ſubtile and peſtiferous perſwaſions did ſo bewitch the Emperour , that he cõtemning the equall,iuſt,and neceſſary requeſtes of his ſubiectes, choſe yͤ ſayd Æneas to be his Ambaſſadour vnto Calixtus,then newly choſen Pope,to ſweare vnto him in hys name,and to promiſe the abſolute obedience of all Germanie, as the onely countrey(as they cal it)of obediẽce, neglectyng the ordinaunces & decrees of their countrey, as before he had done vnto Eugenius the.iiii. beyng Ambaſſadour for the ſayd Fredericke , promiſing that he & all the Germaines would bee obedient vnto hym from henceforth in all matters,as well ſpirituall as tẽporall. Thus twiſe Fridericke of Auſtriche contemned and derided yͤ Germaines , & fruſtratyng them of their natiue decrées and ordinaunces,brought them vnder ſubiection and bondage of the Pope:whiche partly was the cauſe that.7.yeres before his death he cauſed his ſonne Maximilian,not onely to be choſen,but alſo crowned king of Romaines, and did aſſociate him to the miniſtration of the Empire,leaſt after his death(as it came to paſſe)the Empire ſhould be trãſported into another familye, ſuſpecting the Germaines,whom he had twiſe,contrary to his lawes,made ſubiect and in bondage vnto the Popes exactions : firſt before hee was crowned,in the tyme of Eugenius the . 4. and agayne the ſecond tyme after hys coronation,and death of Pope Nicolas the. 5. denyeng their requeſtes. Wherupon Germany,beyng in this miſerable pouerty and greuous ſubiection vnder yͤ Popes tyranny and poling, with teares and ſighes lamentyng their eſtate,continued ſo almoſt vnto Luthers tyme, as the hiſtoryes hereafter folowing do teſtifie.

Fridericke made the Germaines twiſe ſubiecte vnto the pope.

And here ceaſing with yͤ ſtorye of Fridericke, we will now procede to the reigne of Maximiliã his ſonne,omittyng diuers thinges els incident in the tyme of this Emperour:as firſt touchyng the vnbrotherly contentiõ and conflictes betwene this Fridericke,and Albertus his brother,and Sigiſmundus his vncle,for yͤ Dukedome of Auſtria,after the death of Mathias afore mentioned: Omittyng alſo to ſpeake of the long & cruell warre betwene the Pruſſians,and Polonians , with the religious ſecte of them , whiche were called Tentones fratres ſanctę Marię, in the tyme of Vladiſlaus : Omitting alſo the ſtrife and variaunce for the Dukedome of Millian,betwene Fridericus the Emperour , Alphonſus , Carolus Duke of Orleance,and Franſiſcus Sfortia : And how the ſayd princedome beyng after geuen to Sfortia , greate warres were kyndled & longe continued betwene Sfortia,and the Milleners, then betwene the Milleners and Venetians,and after betwene the Frenchmen and the Milleners.All whiche tumultes and commotiõs, as not pertinent greatly to the purpoſe of this ſtory , I referre to other writers,where they are to be founde more amplye diſcourſed.

Frider. Albertus his brother, and Sigiſmundus ſtriue for the dukedome of Auſtria.

Warre betwene Franciſcus Sfortia,and the Venetians about Millain

Warre betwene Lewes the French kyng,and the citie of Millain.

This as more properly belongyng to the ſtory of the churche,I though good not to paſſe ouer touching ſuch as were condemned and ſuffered the paynes of fyre for teſtimonie of Chriſte and his truth : Of whom one was John a paſtor or a netheard,whiche was a keper of cattell:The other was Ioannes de VVeſalia , although not burned,yet perſecuted nere to death vnder the reigne of this Emperour Fridericus the third.

And firſt touchyng this John the Neteheard, Thus writeth Sebaſt.Munſter' : That yͤ biſhop of Herbipolis, condemned & burned for an heretique,one John, which was a keper of cattell at a towne called Niclas Hauſen in Franconia,becauſe he taught and held that yͤ lyfe of the clergie was ignominious , and abhominable before God.an.1476. Ex Munſtero.

Iohn a Net heard of Franconia, Martyr.

1476.

The other was Doctour Ioannes de VVeſſalia , who was complayned vpon vnto Dietherus the archbiſhop of Mentz,by the Thomiſts , vpon certayne articles and opinions , gathered out of hys bookes. Wherefore the ſayd Dietherus , fearyng elles to bee depoſed agayne from hys Byſhopricke , directeth forth commiſſion to the vniuerſities of Heidelberg and Colen , to haue the matter in examination , who conuenting together the yeare aboue mentioned , called thys doctour de VVeſalia before them,making him to ſweare that he ſhoulde preſent and geue vp all his treatiſes, workes and wrytynges , what ſoeuer he had made or preached : that being done , they deuided hys bookes amongeſt them ſelues,ſeuerally euery man to fynde out what hereſies and errours they coulde . Hys articles and opinions were theſe , that all men be ſaued fréely , and through mere grace by fayth in Chriſt. Frée will to be nothing. Onely that we ſhould beleue the worde of God,and not the gloſe of any man, or fathers . That the worde of God is to be expounded by yͤ collation of one place with an other . That Prelates haue no authoritie to make lawes, or to expounde the Scriptures by any peculiar right,geuen thẽ more then to an other . That mens traditions, as faſtinges, pardons, feaſtes, longe prayers, peregrinations & ſuch lyke,are to be reiected. Extreme vnction and confirmation to be reproued:confeſſion and ſatiſfaction to be reprehended. The primacie of the pope alſo he affirmed to be nothyng . Certayne other articles alſo were gathered out of him by his aduerſaryes, but in ſuch ſorte,that they may ſeeme rather to followe their owne malicious gathering , then any true intelligence of hys mynde:wherof more is to be vnderſtanded in thys proces hereafter. Thus when VVeſalianus was cõmaunded to appeare,there cõuented together firſt the Archbiſhop,the Inquiſitour , the doctours of Colen and the doctours of Heidelberge, with yͤ maiſters of yͤ ſame, and the Rector of the vniuerſitie of Mentz, the deane of faculties,Bachelers of diuinitie, and many other maiſters of the ſame vniuerſitie, canons,doctours,with the biſhops chaunceller,& hys councellers,beſides many religious prelates, ſcholers , with a doctour of Franckfort, the Sumner and bedelles , which all mette together in yͤ great hall of the minorites, for the examination of thys Ioannes de VVeſalia.

Ioan.de Weſalia, perſecuted.

1479.

The articles and opinions of Ioan.de Weſalia.

Free will nothyng.

Prelates haue no more power ouer ſcriptures, then other men.

Extreme vnction reproued.

Agaynſt the primacie of the pope.

Frear Elton the Inquiſitour firſt ſitteth in the higheſt place,thẽ after hym others according to their degrée. In yͤ beginning of the examinatiõ,firſt yͤ Inquiſitour beginneth with theſe wordes : Moſt reuerent father & honourable doctours,&c. Our reuerent father & prince Elector hath cauſed this preſent cõuocatiõ to be called, to heare the examination of maiſter Iohn de VVeſalia, in certain ſuſpected articles concerning the catholique fayth. But ſomething I will ſay before that may do hym good,and deſire that two or thrée of thẽ that fauour him , or ſome other,will ryſe vp & geue hym counſaile, to forſake and leaue hys errours,to recogniſe himſelf,and to aſke pardon,which if he will do,he ſhall haue pardon : if he will not,we will procede agaynſt hym without pardon. And thus VVeſalianus being cited and brought in the midſt betwixt two minorites,being very aged , and hauing a ſtaffe in hys hand,was ſet before the Inquiſitour. Who beginning to aunſwere for hym ſelfe with a longe proteſtation,could not be ſuffred to proſecute hys oration, but was cut of & required brieflye,to make an end, and to tell them in fewe wordes whether he woulde ſtand to hys opinions,or to the determination of the church. To

Ioan.de Weſalia brought before the prelates.

The Inquiſitour ſpeake

this he anſwered that he neuer ſpake any thing againſt the determination of the church: but ſayd that he had written diuers and ſundrye treatiſes, in the which if he had erred, or were found to ſay otherwiſe then well, he was content to reuoke & call backe the ſame, and do all things that was requiſite. Then ſayd the inquiſitour, do you aſke then pardō? The other aunſwered, why ſhould I aſke pardon, when I knowe no crime or errour committed? The Inquiſitour ſayd: well, we will call you to the remembraunce therof, and procede to the examination. In the meane tyme, others called vppon him inſtantly to aſke pardon. Then ſayd weſalianus, I aſke pardon. Notwithſtādyng the Inquiſitour proceded to ẏ examination, reading there two inſtrumētes, declaring ẏ he had authoritie frō ẏ Apoſtolike ſea: after this cited ẏ ſaid Iohn to appeare to his examination. Thirdly he cōmaunded him vnder payne of diſobedience, in the vertue of the holy Ghoſt, & vnder paine of excommunication of the greater curſe, (from the whiche no man could abſolue him, but onely the Pope or the Inquiſitour, except onely at ẏ point of death) to tell plainly ẏ truth, vpō ſuch thinges as ſhould be demaunded of him cōcerning his faith, without ambages & ſophiſtication of wordes. And ſo beyng demaunded firſte, whether he did beleue vpon his othe takē, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were agaynſt him ſelfe or any other: to this he aunſwered, Scio, that is: I knowe. Then the Inquiſitour byddeth him ſaye, Credo, that is: I beleue. To the whiche he aūſwered agayne, what nede I ſay that I beleue that thyng I knowe. There the Inquiſitour ſomething ſtirred with the matter, as hotte as a toſte (as they ſay) cried out with a loude voyce, maiſter Ioannes, maiſter Ioannes, maiſter Ioannes, ſaye Credo, ſaye Credo. Then he aunſwered Credo.

After this, beyng demaunded whether he had written any treatiſe, concernyng the byndyng of humaine lawes, to one Nicolas of Boheme, and whether he had written any treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſticall power of indulgences and pardons, and of faſtyng and other treatiſes: he beleued that he had ſo written, and had conferred with diuers learned men: Alſo that he had ſent to the Byſhops of Wormes, a certaine treatiſe of faſtyng.

Many other interrogatories were miniſtred vnto him, wherof ſome were vaine, ſome falſe. Such as were more principall, here we will briefly touch, leauyng out ſuperfluities.

Being demaunded whether he was a fautor of ẏ Bohemians, he ſayd he was not. Alſo being demaūded, cōcerning ẏ ſacrament of ẏ holy body & bloud of our lord, whether he thought Chriſt there to be conteined really, or onely diuinely, & whether he did beleue in ẏ ſayd Sacrament ẏ ſubſtance of bread there to remaine, or onely ẏ forme therof: to this he anſwered, not deniyng but the body of Chriſt was there really conteyned, & alſo with the body of Chriſt, the ſubſtaunce of bread to remaine.

After this hee was demaunded his opinion concercernyng Religious men, as Monkes, Nunnes, or Begwynes, whether he thought them to be bounde to ẏ vow of chaſtitie or to the kepyng of any other vowe, & whether he ſayd to the Friers Minorites any ſuch worde, in effect: I cā not ſaue you in this your ſtate & order. This he confeſſed, that he had ſayde, how that, not your Religion ſaueth you, but the grace of God. &c. not deniyng but they might be ſaued.

Item, being required whether he beleued or had written, that there is no mortall ſinne, but whiche is expreſt to be mortall in the Canon of the holy Bible: to this he aunſwered, that he did ſo beleue as he had writen, till he was better informed. Likewiſe beyng required what he thought of the vicar of Chriſt in earth, he aunſwered, that he beleued that Chriſt left no vicar in earth: For ẏ confirmation whereof he alledged and ſayd, that Chriſt aſcendyng vp to heauen ſayd: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum. &c. Beholde I am with you. &c. In the whiche woordes he plainely declared, that he would ſubſtitute vnder him no vicar in earth, and ſayd moreouer, if a vicar ſignified anye man, whyche in the abſence of the principall hath to do the workes of the principall, then Chriſt hath no vicar here in earth.

What is this article but to make the pope a God.

Chriſt left no vicar in earth.

In like maner, concernyng indulgences & pardōs, ſuch as the Church doth vſe to giue, they demaunded of him, whether they had any efficacy, & what he thought therof: who aunſwered agayne that he had writtē a certaine treatiſe of that matter, and what he had written in that treatiſe, hee would perſiſte therein, which was thus: that hee beleued that the treaſure bore of the merites of Sanctes could not be diſtributed of the Pope to others, becauſe that treaſure is not left heare in earth: For ſo it is written in ẏ Apocalipſe: Opera enim illorum ſequuntur illos. &c. that is: their workes followe them.

Pardons & indolgences be of no effect.

The treaſure of ſainctes merites is not in earth.

Item, that their merites could not be applied to other men, for the ſatiſfaction of their payne due vnto them, and therfore that the Pope and other Prelates can not diſtribute that treaſure to men.

It was obiected to him moreouer, that in the ſaid his treatiſe, he called pardons & indulgences, Pias fraudes fideliū, that is, holy fraudes & deceates of the faithfull.

Thys ſaying was taken out of one Cantor Pariensis, which was wonte to ſay, that pardons were holy deceates, becauſe that lay men therby were prouoked, by naughtye deceates to geue good almes.

Alſo beyng demaunded what hee thought of the halowyng and bleſſyng of altares, chalices, veſtimentes, waxe candels, palmes, herbes, holy water & other dūme thynges. &c: he aūſwered that they had no ſpirituall vertue and power in them to driue awaye deuils, and that holy water hath no more efficacy then other water not halowed, as concerning remiſſion of veniall ſinnes, and driuyng away deuils, & other effectes, which the ſchoole doctours do attribute to it.

Item, for degrees of Mariage forbidden in the Scriptures, he beleueth that all Chriſtian men, vnder deadly ſinne, are bound vnto the ſame.

Degrees in ſcripture forbidde to mary.

Item, that he beleueth that God may geue grace to a man hauyng the vſe of reaſon, without all motion of free will. Alſo he thinketh that S. Paul in his conuerſion, did nothyng of his owne free will for his conuerſiō. He beleueth moreouer, ẏ God may geue ſuch grace to a man hauyng the vſe of reaſon, not doyng that whiche in hym is.

Item, hee affirmed that nothyng is to bee beleued whiche is not conteined in the Canon of the Bible.

Nothyng to be beleued, but which is in ſcripture conteyned.

Alſo ẏ the electe are ſaued onely by the grace of God.

Beſides all theſe moreouer, hee was charged with the olde opinion of the Grecianes, whiche they did holde contrary to the Romaine Churche, vnto the tyme of the Councell of Ferraria aboue mentioned, concernyng the procedyng of the holy Ghoſt.

The Weneſday next folowing, three Doctours, the Suffragane, Heruuicus, and Iacobus Sprēger, were ſent vnto hym with perſuaſions to exhorte him, and when he would not ſtand to their Canons, whereby they went aboute to refute his doctrine, hee was then demaunded of Heruuicus, why he would beleue rather the. iiij. Euāgeliſtes, then the Goſpell of Nicodemus. To whom hee aunſwered, becauſe hee would. Beyng aſked agayne, why he beleued the foure Euangeliſtes, he ſaid: becauſe he ſo receaued of his parents. Then beyng demaunded, why hee would not beleue the Doctours, becauſe (ſayd he) their doctrine is not canonicall Scripture. Agayne it was to him obiected, why hee would bee credited hym ſelfe when he preached, ſeyng hee would not beleue the holy Doctours? To whō he aunſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, that he did preache as his duetie was, but whether they gaue credite to his wordes, he did not care.

The church geueth witnes who were the writers of the ſcripture, but hath no authoritie aboue that which is written.

This examination beyng ended, after theſe Articles were condemned by the Inquiſitour and his aſſiſtaūce, then ſayd he after this manner: As you doo with me, if

By thys inquiſition, Chriſt him ſelf might bee condemned.

Chriſt him ſelfe were here, he might be cōdemned as an hereticke. After this they ſent diuers to him to haue cōmunication with him, and to perſwade him, ſendyng alſo to him with his articles, a forme of aſking pardon: at length within thrée or foure dayes after, he was content to condeſcend vnto them, and to ſubmitte hym ſelfe, to their holy mother Churche, and the information of the Doctours. In the boke of Orthuinus Gratius, & in Paralipomena, adioyned to Abbas Vrſpurgenſis, we read theſe wordes written of this Ioannes de VVeſalia: Dempto ſolo articulo de proceſsione ſpiritus ſancti, in aliis videtur non ita graui cenſura. &c. That is: except onely the Article of the procedyng of ẏ holy Ghoſt, in other Articles it ſeemeth ẏ he was not to be chaſtened with ſo ſharpe cenſure, if reſpite and ſpace had ben geuen him, if good coūcellors had bene about him, if all they whiche dyd accuſe and moleſte hym, had not bene de via realium, as Thomiſtes, that is, of the ſecte of Thomas: whiche Thomiſtes were ſet at that time, againſt the other ſecte of the ſeculars, which were called Nominales, and therfore, they ſo ſpyted this Doctour becauſe he did not hold with theyr Thomas, agaynſt whom otherwiſe (had it not bene for that cauſe) they would neuer haue bene ſo fierce and malicious in procedyng agaynſt him. I take God to witneſſe, which knoweth all thinges, ẏ this proceſſe whiche was made agaynſt hym for his reuokyng and burnyng of his bookes, did greatly diſpleaſe maiſter Engeline of Brunſvvicke, a greate deuine, and alſo Maiſter Iohn Keiſersberge, beyng both learned, and famous men, but namely Maiſter Engeline thought, that to much malice and raſhnes was ſhewed in handling of that ſame man, and did not feare to ſay, that many of his Articles, & the greater part therof, might be holden well inoughe, and greatly blamed the mad and phantaſticall diſſenſion of the Thomiſtes, ſekyng by all maner of wayes, howe to get the triumphe ouer the ſeculare diuines. &c. Hæc ille.

Ex Orth. Gratio.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſpar.

Diſcorde betwixt Reals and Nominals, [illegible] is.

Ex Orth. Grat.

Although this aged and feble old man, by weakenes was conſtrained to geue ouer vnto the Romiſhe clergy, by outward profeſſion of his mouth: yet notwithſtandyng, his opinions & doctrine declared his inward hart, of what iudgement he was, if feare of death preſent had not otherwiſe enforced him to ſay, then he did thinke. Agayne, although he had reuoked after their mindes, yet we read no ſuch fourme of recantation to be preſcribed to him to read openly vnto the people, as the vſe is here in England. The ſtory of this man is more fully to bee found in the bookes of Orth. Gratius. &c.

Doct. Iohn de Weſalia reuoketh hys opinions.

As touchyng the reygne of this Fridericke Emperour, ſeing we haue comprehended hetherto ſufficiently the moſt principall matters in his tyme incurrent, we will now paſſe forward (the Lord guidyng vs) to Maximilian, after I haue firſt geuen a brief memorandum of iij. valiaunt princes & captaines floriſhing in the ſame tyme of this Fridericke, in Germanie: Of the which, one was Albert Duke of Saxonie, who for his renowmed and famous actes, was called by publique voyce, Dextera manus Imperii, the right hand of the Empire. The other was Albert, Marques of Brandenburg, to whom alſo the name was attributed, named of Pope Pius to be Achilles Germanicus. The third was Fridericke Earle Palatine, ſurnamed Victorioſus: who mā-fully defended ẏ fredome and maieſtie of the Empire, from the fraudulent oppreſſions of the popes tyrannie.

Albert duke of Saxonie, called *Dextera manus Imperij.*

Albert Marques of Brandenburg, called *Achilles Germanicus.*

1484.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1484, in this Emperors tyme dyed Pope Sixtus, the. iiij. a litle before touched a monſter rather of nature, then a prelate of the churche. Of him writteth Platina, that vniuſtly he vexed all Italy with warre & diſſenſion. Agrippa writyng of him, ſayth that among all the bawdes of theſe other latter dayes, which were builders of brothelhouſes, this Pope Sixtus. 4. ſurmounted all other: who at Rome erected a ſtewes of double abhomination, not onely of wemē, but alſo. &c. whereupon no ſmall gayne redounded to hys coffers: For euery ſuch common harlot in Rome payd to him a Iuly peece, the ſumme whereof grewe in the yeare, ſomme while to. 20000. at length to. 40. thouſand Duckets. Wherunto accordeth right well the Epitaphe of Iohn Sapidus, whiche in the ende hereof wee will annexe.

The abhomination of pope Sixtus.

Ex Declamatione Agrippe ad Lonanienſis.

Ioh Carion alſo ſpeakyng of this Biſhop, witneſſeth hym to be a man rather borne to warre, then to Religion: For he warred againſt Vitelius Tiphernates, againſt the Florentines, the Venicians, whom he excōmunicated and did not abſolue till he died: alſo agaynſt Columnenſes, agaynſt Ferdinandus kyng of Apulia, and Duke of Calabria: alſo agaynſt other nations and princes moe. Ex Ioan. Laziardo.

The wa of pope Sixtus.

Ex Ioa Laziar lib. Hiſt ria Vniuerſalis cap. 284

Of the ſayd Pope it is recorded that he was a ſpeciall patrone and tutor to all beggyng Friers, grauntyng them to haue and enioye reuenewes in this world, and in the world to come euerlaſtyng lyfe. Among the which Friers there was one named Alanus de rupe, a Blacke Frier, whiche made the Roſarye of our Ladyes Pſalter (ſo they terme it) and erected a certeine new fraternitie vpon the ſame, called Fraternitas Coronariorum, perteynyng to the order of the Dominickes, of the whiche order Iacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Ioannes de VVeſalia aboue mentioned, was a great aduauncer, and eſpecially this Pope Sixtus. 4. who gaue to the ſayd fraternitie large graces and priuilegies. Concernyng the inſtitution of this Roſarye, there was a booke ſet forth about the yeare of our Lorde. 1480. in the begynnyng wherof is declared, that the bleſſed virgine entred into the celle of this Alanus, and was ſo familiar with hym, that not onely ſhe did eſpouſe him to her huſbād, but alſo kiſſed him with her heauenly mouth, & alſo for more familiaritie, opened to hym her pappes, & poured great plentie of her own milke into his mouth. For ẏ cōfirmatiō wherof ẏ ſaid Alanus, this holy babe (ſaith ẏ ſtory) did ſweare depely, curſing him ſelf, if it were not thus, as he had made relation. This fabulous figment, when I read in ẏ centuries of Iohn Bale, I began with me ſelfe to miſtruſt the credite therof, and had thought not to trouble the reader with ſuch incredible forgeries. But as the prouidence of God worketh in all thynges, ſo alſo it appeared in this, that the very ſame boke came to my hādes at the writyng herof, wherin this ſelf ſame narration is conteyned, wherin I found not onely this to bee true, whiche in Iohn Bale is expreſſed, but alſo found in like maner, an other wonder as prodigious as this: where in an other place not far of, is ſtoried in the ſame booke, how that about the tyme of S. Dominicke there was a certaine matrone in Spayne named Lucia, whiche beyng taken captiue by the Saracenes, hauyng her huſband kylled, was caryed greate with child, into the Turkiſhe land. When the tyme of her labour came, ſhe beyng left deſolate alone amōg beaſtes and hogges, and remembryng this twiſe holy Roſarye, (firſt inſtituted, ſaith the boke, by S. Dominicke, and afterward renewed by Alanus) eftſones the holy Virgine was ready and ſtood by her, and receaued the child at her trauaile, ſupplying all ẏ partes of a diligent midwife: and moreouer cauſing a prieſt ſodenly to appeare, gaue ẏ childe to bee Chriſtened, calling it after her owne name, Marianus: and ſo was ſhe wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and Godmother to Marianus. Which ſtory if it be true, then is the popes Canon, by this example, to be controlled, whiche permitteth midwiffes in time of neceſſitie, to Baptiſe, ſeyng the bleſſed Virgine playing the parte her ſelfe of a mydwife, durſt not Baptiſe this childe without a prieſt. It foloweth more in the ſtorye, that by the helpe of the ſayd bleſſed Virgine, this Lucia, our Ladyes goſſhyp, after her purification, was reſtored with

A large g of the po to the beg ging frier

Alanus au thor of o Ladyes pſalter.

Then ha the bleſſe virgine Mary tw husbande

An olde knaue to ſucke hys wiues breſt.

The dete ſtable impietie and blaſpheme of the po piſhe lyin religion.

Mendac memorem eſſe opor tet.

her child, ſafe to her countrey agayne. This boke beyng in Latine and printed, beareth this title: Roſacea Auguſtiſsimæ Chriſtiferæ Mariæ Corona: and in the fronte it ſheweth the name of Iodocus Biſſeleius a noble man of Aquine. And this by the occaſion of Pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintayner of blind ſuperſtition he was, by this it appeareth: how filthie in his lyfe, how cruelly geuen, and all ſette vpon warre, and what an hater of peace hee was, partly by that aforeſpoken, partly by his ende folowyng, it may be ſene. For ſo we read in certeine writers, that after this Pope had vnderſtādyng that Hercules Eſtenſis, duke of Ferraria, had ioyned peace with ẏ Venetians agaynſt his will, he was ſo greued therwith, ẏ for rancour of mind, within v. dayes after, he dyed: Whereunto his Epitaphe following geueth ſufficient recorde. About whoſe time alſo dyed Platina a man not vnlerned, but yet a ſhamefull flatterer and bearer with the wicked lyues of the Popes.

Lati- Codice reſſo, ntu- Roſa- Mariæ na.

death pope s.4.

cond. Platina.

The Epitaphe of Pope Sixtus is this.

Non potuit ſæuum vis vlla extinguere Sixtum:
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

¶ *An other Epitaphe of the ſame Pope.*

Sixte iaces tandem, noſtri diſcordia ſecli,
Sæuiſti in ſuperos, nunc Acheronta moue.
Sixte iaces tandem, deflent tua buſta cinædi,
Scortaq;, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

¶ *An other.*

Gaude priſce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
Hic ſcelus omne ſimul clauditur, & vitium.

But leauyng here Pope Sixtus with his verſes, and vices, let vs now procede, as we before promiſed, to enter the ſtory of Maximilian, kepyng notwithſtandyng the order of our kynges here in England: For a litle before the reigne of Maximilian, king Edward the fourth ceaſed his life. an. 1483. after he had reigned. 22. yeares. In the tyme of whiche K. Edward, this alſo is not to be forgotten, that one Burdet, a marchaunt, dwellyng in Chepeſide, at the ſigne of the crowne, which is the ſigne now of ẏ flowre de luſe, merely ſpeakyng to his ſonne, ſaid that he would make him inheritour of the crowne, meanyng in dede his own houſe. For ẏ which wordes, when kyng Edward cauſed to be miſconſtred, and interpreted, as though he had ment the crowne of the Realme, within leſſe ſpace then. iiij. houres, he was apprehēded, iudged, drawne, and quartered in Chepeſide.

e death K. Ed- ard.4.

483.

rdet. pannye miſcon- ng a ns ordes.

e lawes the alme miſ ſtred the inces leaſure.

¶ *King Edward the. v.*

King Edward.5.

This king Edward lefte behinde him by hys wife Elizabeth. ij. ſonnes, Edward and Richard, and. ij. daughters, Elizabeth and Cicilie. Which. ij. ſonnes Edwarde and Richard, forſomuch as they were vnder age and not rype to gouerne, a conſultatiō was called amōg the peeres, to debate whether the foreſayd yong prince and king, ſhould be vnder the gouernment of his mother, or els that Richard Duke of Glouceſter, brother to king Edward the fourth, and vncle to the childe, ſhould be gouernour of the kyng, and protectour of the Realme. There hath bene & is an old adage, the woordes whereof, rather then the true meanyng, is wraſted out of Salomon: Væ regno cuius Rex eſt puer, &c. I. Woe to that kingdome, ẏ kyng wherof is a child. &c. But if I may finde leaue herein to thruſt in a gloſe, I would this adde & ſay: Væ illi puero, qui ſui regni Rex non eſt. i. Wo to that childe, whiche is a kyng in a kyngdome vnruly and ambitious. There was the ſame ſeaſon among other noble peeres of the Realme, the Duke of Buckyngham, a mā of great authoritie, who had maryed kyng Edwardes wifes ſiſter. Becauſe this Duke beyng ſo nere alliaunt to the kyng, had bene vnkyndly (as he thought) of the kyng entreated, hauing by him no auauncemēt nor any great frendſhip ſhewed, accordyng to his expectatiō, toke part therfore with Richard duke of Glouceſter, both agaynſt the Quene and her childrē, to make the foreſayd Duke, the chief gouernour & protectour. The which thyng beyng brought to paſſe, by the ayde, aſſiſtaūce, & workyng of the duke of Buckynghā, ẏ Queene tooke ſanctuarie with her yonger ſonne: the elder brother, which was the king, remayned in the cuſtodie of the Duke of Glouceſter his vncle. Who beyng now in a good towardnes to obtaine that, which he long looked for, ſought all the meanes, and ſoone compaſſed the matter, by falſe colour of diſſembled wordes, by periurie, and labour of frendes, namely of the Duke of Buckyngham, and the Cardinall Archbiſhop of Cāterbury, that the other brother alſo ſhould be committed to his credite. Thus the ambitious protectour and vnnaturall vncle, hauyng the poſſeſſion of his. ij. nephewes, and innocent babes, thought him ſelfe almoſt vp the whéele, where he would clyme: Although he could not walke in ſuch myſtes and cloudes, but his deuiſed purpoſes began to be eſpied: whiche cauſed hym more couertlye to goe aboute to remoue from him all ſuſpicion and to blynde the peoples eyes. But before hee could accompliſhe his execrable enterpriſe, ſome there were, whom he thought firſt muſt be ridde out of his way, as namely the Lord Haſtynges, and the Lord Stanley. Who as they were ſitting together in counſaile wᵗin the tower, the protectour (the matter beyng ſo appointed before) ſodeinly ruſhed in among them, and after a fewe wordes there cōmoned, he ſodenly haſted out agayne: his mind belyke, beyng full of miſchief and furye, was not quiet. Who within the ſpace of an houre, returned againe into the chamber with a ſterne contenaunce and a frownyng looke, and ſo there ſet hym downe in hys place. When the Lordes were in great meruell and muſe at ẏ meanyng herof: then he out of a cankered hart thus began to bray, aſkyng thē what are they worthy to haue, whiche go about to imagine the deſtructiō of him being ſo nere to the kynges bloud, and protectour of the Realme? At ẏ which queſtion, as ẏ other Lordes ſatte muſing, the Lord Haſtynges, becauſe he had bene more familiar with him, thus aunſwered, that they were worthy of puniſhment, what ſoeuer they were. Which whē the other Lordes alſo had affirmed: that is (quoth ẏ protectour) yonder ſorcereſſe, my brothers wife, meanyng the Queene, and other with her: addyng moreouer, and ſaying: that ſorcereſſe and other of her counſaile, as Shores wife, wᵗ her affinitie, haue by their witchcraft, thus waſted my body: and therewith ſhewed foorth his left arme, a weryſh wythered thyng, as it was neuer otherwiſe, as was well knowen. This Shores wife had bene before a concubine to K. Edward, and afterward was kept by the ſame Lord Haſtynges. Moreouer here is to be noted, that by the conſent of the ſayd Lord Haſtyngs, the cruell protectour had deuiſed about the ſame tyme, the kindred of the Quene, innocently to be beheaded at Pomfret, of mere deſpite & hatred. Wherfore, this puniſhement not vndeſeruedly, by the iuſt hande of God, fell vpon the ſayd Lord Haſtyngs. It foloweth thē more in the ſtory, that when ẏ L. Haſtynges heard theſe falſe accuſations of the tyraunt, whiche he knewe to be vntrue: certainely (my Lorde) ſayd hee, if they haue ſo done, they be worthy of heynous puniſhement. What, quoth the Protector, doeſt thou ſerue me with if and wᵗ and? I tell thee, they haue ſo done, and that will I make good on thy body traytour: and therewith geuyng a great rappe on the borde (for a token or watchword) one cryed treaſon without, and forthwith the chamber was full of harneyſed men. The protectour then approchyng to the Lord Haſtynges, arreſted him as a traitour. An other let flye at the Lord Stanley: who to auoyde the blow ſhronke vnder the table, or els his head had bene cleft

Eccle.10.

Ve puero gi in ſuo gno.

Richard duke of Glouceſter made protectour.

The younge kyng cōmitted to the duke of Glouceſter.

The duke of Buckyngham a great doer for the protectour.

Both king Edwardes children in the poſſeſſion of the protectour.

The deuiliſhe protectour picketh quarells.

The Queene and Shores wife, falſely accuſed of the protectour to bewytche hys arme.

Adultery puniſhed of God.

Murder iuſtly puniſhed of God.

L. Haſtynges arreſted for a traytour.

Lord Stanley wounded.

Biſh. Morton.

The tyrannye of the protectour.

The Lord Haſtynges beheaded.

cleft a ſonder : notwithſtandyng hee receaued ſuch a wounde, that the bloud ranne about his eares. There were in that counſaile the ſame tyme, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, & Doctour Morton Byſhop of Eley (by whoſe procurement afterwarde kyng Henry the. vij. was ſent for into England, and he made Archbyſhop after that of Canterbury) theſe with the Lorde Stanley diuerſly were beſtowed in diuers chãbers. The Lord Haſtinges was commaunded to ſpede and ſhryue hym a pace, for before dyner the protectour ſware by S. Paule, that hee ſhould dye: and ſo incontinently, without farther iudgement, his head was ſtricken of: by whoſe counſaile the Quenes kyndred were at the ſame time and day, beheaded at Pomfret.

The beaſtly protectour accuſeth hys own mother.

Doct. Shawes impudent ſermon at Paules croſſe.

Sap. 4.

Example for all flattering preachers to beware.

After this tyrannous murder accompliſhed, the miſchieuous protectour aſpiryng ſtill to the crowne, to ſet his deuiſes forwarde, firſt through giftes and fayre promiſes, did ſubornate Doctor Shaw a famous preacher then in London, at Paules Croſſe to inſinuate to ẏ people, that neither kyng Edward with his ſonnes, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the Duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfully by other perſons in aduoutrye on the Duches their mother, and that he alone was the true and onely lawfull heyre of the Duke of Yorke: Moreouer to declare & to ſignifie to the audience, that kyng Edward was neuer lawfully maryed to the Quene, but his wife before was Dame Elizabeth Lucy: & ſo the. ij. children of kyng Edward to be baſe and baſtardes, and therfore the title of the crowne moſt rightly to perteine to the Lord protectour. Thus this falſe flatterer, and loude lyeng preacher, to ſerue the protectours humour, ſhamed not moſt impudently to abuſe that holy place, that reuerent auditorie, the ſacred worde of God, takyng for his theame, Adulteræ plãtationes nõ dabunt radices altas, &c. whiche he moſt impiouſly did applye agaynſt the innocent children, and right heyres of this realme. Whereupon ſuch grudge and diſdaine of the people with worldly wõder, folowed him, that for ſhame of the people cryeng out of him, in few dayes after he pyned away.

The duke of Buckyngham an other miniſter for the protectours furye.

The Duke of Buckyngham ſpeaketh for the protectour in the Guild hall.

An hard thing to make the tounge ſpeake agaynſt the harte.

A ſtolne conſent in the Guild hall.

When this ſermon would take no effect with the people, the protectour vnmercyfully drowned in ambition, reſted not thus, but within. ii. daies after, excited ẏ duke of Buckyngham, firſt to breake the matter in couert talke, to the Maior and certeine of the heades of the Citie, pyked out for the purpoſe : that done to come to the Guilde Hall, to moue ẏ people by all flattering & lyeng perſuaſions, to the ſame, whiche ſhameles Shaw had preached before at Paules Croſſe. Which ẏ duke, with all diligence and helpes of eloquence, being a man both learned and well ſpoken, endeuored to accompliſh, makyng to the people a lõg and artificiall Oration, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but that the people allured by his crafty inſinuations, would crye, kyng Richard, kyng Richard. But there was no kyng Richard in their mouthes, leſſe in their hartes. Wherupon the Duke lookyng to ẏ Lord Maior, and aſkyng what that ſilence ment, contrary to the promiſe of the one, and the expectatiõ of the other: It was then aunſwered of the Maior, that the people peraduenture well vnderſtode him not: wherfore the Duke reiteratyng hys narration in other wordes, declared agayne that he had done before. Likewiſe the third tyme he repeted his Oration agayne & agayne. Then the cõmons, which before ſtoode mute, beyng now in a maſe, ſeyng this importunitie, began to mutter ſoftly among them ſelues, but yet no kyng Richard could ſounde in their lyppes, ſaue onely that in the nether ende of the Hall, certaine of ẏ Dukes ſeruauntes, with one Naſhfield, and other belonging to the protectour, thruſting into the Hall among the preaſſe, began ſodeinly at mens backes, to crye king Richard, kyng Richard, throwyng vp their cappes: wherat ẏ Citizens turnyng backe their heades, merueled not a litle, but ſayd nothyng.

Phy of

pocriſ

The Duke, and the Lord Maior with that ſyde, takyng this for ſufficient teſtimonie, incontinent came blowyng for haſt to the protectour, then lyeng at Baynardes Caſtle. Where, the matter beyng made before, was ſo nowe contriued, that forſouth, humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with. iij. ſundry ſutes, to ẏ humble and ſimple protector, that he, although it was vtterly agaynſt his will to take it: yet would of his humilitie ſtoupe ſo lowe, as to receaue the heauy kyngdome of England vpon his ſhoulders. At this their ſo tender requeſt and ſute of ẏ Lordes and cõmons made (ye muſt know how) the milde Duke ſeyng no other remedye, was contented at length to yelde, althoughe ſore agaynſt his will (ye muſt ſo imagine) and to ſubmitte him ſelf ſo low, as of a protectour, to bee made a kyng: not much herein vnlyke to our prelates in the Popiſhe Churche, who when they haue before well compounded for the Popes Bulles, yet muſt they for maner ſake, make courteſie, & thriſe denye that for whiche they ſo longe before haue gaped, and ſo ſwetly haue payd for.

The hyp
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King Richard the. iij. Vſurper.

King Richard. iii. vſurper.

AND thus Richarde Duke of Gloceſter tooke vpon him to be made and proclaymed king of Inglãd, the yeare aforeſayd. an. 1483. in ẏ moneth of Iune. Who thẽ cõming to the tower by water, firſt made his ſonne, a childe of x. yeare olde, prince of Wales, and Iohn Haward (a man of great induſtrie and ſeruice) he aduaunced to be Duke of Northfolke, & Syr Thomas Haward his ſonne, hee ordeyned Earle of Surrey. Alſo William Lord Backeley was appointed Earle of Notyngham. Fraunces Lord Louel, was made Vicount Louel. Lord Stanley for feare of his ſonne, was deliuered out of the Tower and made Stuard of the kynges houſholde. Lykewiſe the Archbyſhop of Yorke, was ſet free: but Morton Byſhop of Eley was committed to ẏ Duke of Buckyngham, by whom was wrought the firſt deuiſe to bryng in Henry Earle of Richemond into England, and to conioyne mariage betwene Elizabeth kyng Edwardes daughter, and hym: whereby the two houſes of Yorke, and Lancaſter were vnited together.

K. Rych crowned.

After the kyngdome of England, was thus alotted to kyng Richard the vſurper, as in maner aboue remẽbred, he taried not long for his coronation, whiche was ſolemniſed the moneth next enſuyng, the 6. day of Iuly.

The triumphe and ſolennitie of this vſurped coronation beyng finiſhed, and all thynges to the ſame apperteinyng, this vnquiet tyraunt yet could not thinke hym ſelfe ſafe, ſo long as young Edward the right kyng and his brother, were alyue: Wherfore the next enterpriſe whiche hee did ſet vppon was this, howe to rydde theſe innocent babes out of the waye, that hee might reygne kyng alone.

The troth of Robert Brakenbu bury to his prince,

In the meane tyme, while all thys rufflyng was in hand, what dread and ſorow the tender hartes of theſe fatherles and frendles children were in, what litle ioye of them ſelues, what ſmall hope of life they had, it is not ſo hard as dolorous for tender hartes to vnderſtand. As the yonger brother lyngered in thought & heuynes, ſo the prince which was a. xi. yeare old, was ſo out of hart and ſo fraught with feare, that hee neuer tyed hys pointes, nor ioyed good day, till the trayterous impietie of their cruell vncle had deliuered them of their wretchednes: whiche was not long in diſpatchyng. For after king Richard their vncle, firſt attempting to compaſſe his deuiliſhe deuiſe by Robert Brakenbury Conſtable of ẏ tower, and could not wynne him to ſuch a cruell facte, to dye therfore: then he got one Iames Tyrell, ioynyng with hym Iohn Dighton, and Miles Foreſt, mes Ty- ll, Iohn ghton, les Fo- ſt, cruell ytours d mur- derers of eir ince.

he ii chil ē of king Edward urthered.

reſt, to perpetrate this heynous murder. Whiche Dyghton and Foreſt, about midnight entryng into their chãber, ſo bewrapped and entangled them amongeſt the clothes, keppyng downe the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while, they ſmothered & ſtifled thẽ pitiouſly in their bed. And thus ended theſe.ij. young princes their lyues, through the wretched crueltie of theſe forenamed tormentors: who for their deteſtable and bloudy murder committed, eſcaped not long vnpuniſhed by the iuſt hand of God. For firſt Miles Foreſt, at S. Martins le grand, by pæcemeale miſerably rotted away. John Dighton lyued at Calys long after ſo diſdayned and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great miſery. Syr James Tyrell was beheaded at Tower hill for treaſon. Alſo kyng Richard hym ſelf, within a yeare and halfe after, was ſlayne in the fielde, hacked and hued of his enemies handes, torne and tugged lyke a curre dogge.

he iuſte niſhmẽt God vpõ e murde- rs of the younge rinces.

he pu- ſhmẽt of od vpon K. Richard.

Furthermore, the ſayd iuſtice of Gods hand left not the Duke of Buckyngham eſcape free, whiche was a great mainteyner and ſetter vp of this butcherly vſurper: for leſſe then within a yeare after ſo God wrought, that he was hym ſelfe beheaded for treaſon by the ſayd king, whom he ſo vniuſtly before had aduaunced & ſet vp.

The pu- ſhmẽt of God vpon e duke Buc- kyngham.

Doctour Shaw and doct. Pin- kie.ii. flat- tering prea chers.

In the ſame catalogue and order of theſe wycked doers afore recited, we haue alſo to comprehende two other, as wel worthy of memoriall, as the beſt, or rather as the worſt. The name of the one was doctour Shaw, aboue rehearſed: The other was Doctour Pinkie, prouinciall of the Auſten Friers: both famous preachers, & both Doctours in diuinitie: both of more learnyng then vertue (ſayeth the ſtory) of more fame thẽ learnyng, and yet of more learnyng then truth. Shaw made a ſermon in the prayſe of the Protectour, before hys coronation, Pinkie preached after his coronatiõ. Both were ſo full of tedious flattery, that no good eares could abyde thẽ. Pinkie in his ſermon ſo loſt his voyce, that he was faine to leaue of, and came downe in the middeſt. Doctour Shaw by his ſermõ loſt his honeſty, and ſone after, his lyfe for very ſhame of the worlde, ſo that he durſt neuer after that, ſhew his face agayne. But as for the Frier, he was ſo farre paſt ſhame, that the loſſe therof did litle touche hym.

Gods iudge ment vpon flattering preachers.

The firſt motion of ioyning e two houſes, Yorke and Lancaſter together.

Mention was made a litle before, of Doctour Morton Byſhop of Elye, by whoſe meanes the deuiſe was firſt broched for the conioyning the.ij. houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter together. This deuiſe was firſt broken to the Duke of Buckyngham, whiche ſoone after coſte hym his lyfe. But the Byſhop more crafty to ſaue hym ſelfe, incontinẽt fled into Britayne. Notwithſtandyng, the deuiſe once beyng broched, was ſo plauſible & tooke ſuch effect, that meſſage was ſent ouer the ſea to Henry Earle of Richmond, by his mother and by the Quene, mother to ẏ Lady Elizabeth, ẏ if he would make his returne, & promiſe to mary wͦ the ſaid Lady Elizabeth K. Edwardes daughter, he ſhould be receaued. To make a longer diſcourſe of this matter, which is ſufficiently ſet forth by Syr Thomas More ſo ornatelye, it nedeth not.

le Hen- y maketh paratiõ ward his iorney.

Brieflye (to contracte that in a ſmall compaſſe of woordes, whiche was not ſo ſmall a thyng in doing) after that the Earle Henry, with ſuch other baniſhed men, as fled out of England at the takyng of the Duke of Buckyngham, had perfect intelligence by hys mother and by the Quene, and other frẽdes moe out of Englãd, how the caſe of the realme ſtode, & how it was here purpoſed by his frendes, ẏ is, that he ſhould withall conuenient ſpeade, haſt his returne ouer into England, promiſſing to mary with Lady Elizabeth: he with all diligẽce as tyme and preparation would ſerue, aduaunced forward his iorney, beyng well helped and furniſhed by Fraunces Duke of Brytayne, and ſo ſhipped his men. Albeit his firſt viage ſpedde not, for that the wyndes turning contrary: by force of weather his ſhippes were diſparcled, & he repulſed backe into Fraũce agayn. His ſecond viage was more proſperous. Who takyng ẏ ſeas at Harflet, in ẏ moneth of Auguſt. an. 1485. accompanied onely with.ij. thouſãd men, and a ſmall number of ſhippes, aryued at Milford Hauen in Wales, and firſt came to Dale, then to Harford Weſt, where he was ioyfully receaued, and alſo by the commyng in of Arnold Butler and the Penbroke mẽ, was in power encreaſed. From thence he remoued by Cardygan to Shrewſbery, and then to Newport, and ſo to Stafford, from thẽce to Lychefield, his army ſtill more and more augmented. Lyke as a great floode by cõmyng in of many ſmall riuers, gathereth more aboundance of water: ſo to this Earle diuers noble Captaines and men of power adioyned them ſelues, as Richarde Griffith, John Morgan. Rice ap Thomas, then Syr George Talbot, with the yong Earle of Shrewſbery his ward, Syr Williã Stãley, Syr Tho. Burchier, and Syr Walter Hungerford, knyghtes. At laſt the ſayd Earle hearyng of the kynges comming, conducted his whole armye to Tomworth.

The aryuing of Henry Earle of Richmond in Wales.

Kyng Richard gathereth hys power to encounter with Earle Henry.

Kyng Richard firſt hearyng of the arriuall of the Earle Henry in the partes of Wales after ſuch a ſlender ſorte, did geue litle or no regarde vnto it. But after, vnderſtandyng that he was come to Lychfield, without reſiſtaunce or encombraunce, hee was ſore moued and exceadyngly tooke on, curſing and cryeng out agaynſt thẽ which had ſo deceaued him, & in all poſt ſpæde, ſent for John duke of Northfolke, Henry Earle of Northũberlãd, Thomas Earle of Surrey, wͦ other his frendes of ſpeciall truſt, Robert Brakenbury alſo lieutenaunt of the tower was ſent for, with Sir Thomas Burchier, & Sir Walter Hungerford, with other certain knights and Eſquiers, of whom hee partly miſdoubted, or had ſome ſuſpicious gelouſie. Thus K. Richard, after moſt forceable maner well fortefied and accõpanied, leauyng nothing vndone ẏ diligẽce could require, ſet forward toward his enemies. The earle by this time was come to Tomworth, to whõ ſecretly in the euening reſorted Syr John Sauage, ſir Bryan Sanford, ſir Simon Digby, and many other, forſakyng the part of kyng Richard, whom all good men then hated, as he no otherwiſe deſerued. The kyng hauyng perfecte knowledge the Earle to be encamped at Tomworth, embatled him ſelfe in a place nere to a village called Boſworth, not farre from Leiceſter, appointing there to encoũter with his aduerſaries. Here ẏ matter lay in great doubt & ſuſpenſe concernyng the Lord Stãley (whiche was ẏ Earles father in law & had maried his mother) to what part he would encline. For although his hart went (no doubt) with the Earle, and had ſecret conferẽce wͦ him the night before, yet becauſe of his ſonne & heire George Lord Straũge, beyng then in the handes of kynge Richarde, leaſt the kyng ſhoulde attempt any preiudiciall thyng agaynſte hym, durſt not be ſene openly to go that way, where in hart he fauoured, and therfore cloſely kept him ſelfe betwene both, till the puſhe came that his helpe myght ſerue at a pynche.

Kyng Richard taketh the field of Boſworth.

This Lord Stanley was hee whiche was hurt at the tower when the L. Haſtynges was arreſted. vide. pag. 861.

The nũber of the Earles part exceded not to the one halfe of the ſide of kyng Richard. When the tyme, and the place was appointed where theſe.ij. battails ſhould encounter and ioyne together, ſore ſtrypes and great blowes were geuen on both ſides, and many ſlayne. If noumber and multitude might gouerne the ſucceſſe of battaile, kyng Richarde had double to the Earle. But God is he, not mã, that geueth victory, by what meanes it ſemeth to his diuine prouidence beſt. In what order and by what occaſion this fielde was wonne and loſt, ẏ certeine intelligence wee haue not certeynely expreſſed, but onely by the hiſtory of Polydore Vergile, whom Syr Thomas More doth folow word for word. In the which hyſtory it doth appeare, that as theſe two armyes were

Boſworth field

The hyſtory of Syr Thomas More, woorde for worde take out of Polodo. Verg.

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coupling together, kyng Richard vnderſtādyng by his eſpials where ẏ Earle of Richmond was, & how he was but ſlenderly accōpanied, & ſeyng him to approch more nere vnto him, he rather caried with courage, then ruled with reaſon, ſet ſpurres to the horſe & raungyng out of the compaſſe of his ranckes, preſſed toward ẏ Earle, ſetting vpon him ſo ſharply, that firſt he kylled ſir William Brandon, the Earles ſtādart berer, father to lord Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, then after ouerthrew Syr John Cheny, thinkyng likewiſe to oppreſſe the Earle. But as the Lord by his ſecrete prouidence diſpoſeth the euent of all thynges, as the Earle with his men about him beyng ouermatched, began to diſpeare of victory, ſodeinly and opportunely came Syr William Stanley with .iij. thouſand well appoynted able men, whereby kyng Richardes men were driuen backe, and he him ſelf cruelly fighting in the thicke of his enemies, was there ſlayne, & brought to his confuſion and death, whiche he worthely deſerued. In the meane tyme the Earle of Oxford, who had the guidyng of the forward, diſcomfited the forefront of kyng Richardes hoaſt, and put them to flight, in which chaſe many were ſlayne, of noble men eſpecially aboue other, John duke of Northfolke, Lord Ferrers, Syr Rich. Radcliffe, and Robert Brakenbury lieutenaunt of ẏ tower. &c. Lord Thomas Haward Earle of Surrey, there ſubmitted him ſelfe, and although he was not receaued at firſt to grace, but long remained in the tower, yet at length for his fidelitie, was deliuered and aduaunced to hys recouered honour and dignitie agayne.

W.Brandon.

Charles Brandon.

The death of K.Richard.

Duke of Northfolke ſlayne.

L.Tho Haward Earle of Surrey, aduaunced by K. Henry.vii.

This kyng Richard had but one ſonne, who ſhortly after the cruell murder of king Edwardes ſonnes, was takē with ſickenes and dyed. The wife of the ſayd kyng Richard (whether by poyſon or by ſickenes) dyed alſo a litle before the field of Boſworth: After whoſe deceaſſe, the ſtory of Polidore and of Syr Thomas More affirmeth, that he intended hym ſelfe to mary the Lady Elizabeth his owne brothers daughter, and ſo to preuēt the Earle of Richemond.

K.Richards ſonne puniſhed for the wickednes of his father.

K.Richard purpoſed to Mary Elyſabeth his brothers daughter.

Moreouer as touchyng the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the ſtory, that kyng Richard being in Boſworth field, ſent for the ſaid Lord Stanley by a purſeuaunt, to auaunce forward with his companie, and come to hys preſence: otherwiſe he ſware by Chriſtes Paſſion, that hee would ſtrike of his ſonnes head before dyner. The Lord Stanley ſent worde agayne, that if he did, he had more ſonnes alyue. Whereupon the kyng immediatly cōmaunded the Lord Straunge to be beheaded: which was the very tyme when both the armyes were within ſight, and were ready to ioyne together. Wherefore the kynges counſaillours ponderyng the time and the caſe, perſuaded the kyng, that it was tyme now to fight, and not to do execution, aduiſyng hym to delay the matter till the battaile were ended. And ſo (as God would) king Richard breakyng his othe, or rather kepyng hys othe, for hee hym ſelfe was ſlayne before dyner, the Lorde Straunge was committed to be kept priſoner within the kyngs tente: who then after the victorie gotten, was ſought out and brought to his ioyfull father. And thus haue ye the tragicall lyfe and ende, of thys wretched kyng Richard.

L.Stanley huſband to Kyng Henryes mother forſoke K.Rychard.

The Lord Strange merueilouſly preſerued.

Henry the Earle of Richemond, after harty thākes geuen to almighty God, for his glorious victorie obteyned, proceded to the towne of Leiceſter, where was brought to him by the Lord Straunge, the crowne, and put on the Earles head. In the meane tyme the dead corps of kyng Richarde was ſhamefully caryed to the towne of Leiceſter, beyng naked and deſpoyled to the ſkynne, and ſo beyng truſſed behynd a purſeuant of armes, was caryed lyke a hogge or a dogge, hauyng hys head & armes hangyng on the one ſide of the horſe, and the legges on ẏ other ſide, all ſprynckled with myre and blond. And thus ended the vſurped reigne of kyng Richard, who reigned two yeares, and ij. monethes. Ex Polyd. et Tho. Moro.

The ſhamfull toſſing of K. Richards dead corpes.

1485.

¶ King Henry vij.

When kyng Henry, by the prouidence of God had obteined this triumphant victorie, and Diademe of the realme, firſt ſendyng for Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwyke, ſonne to George Duke of Clarence, and committyng hym to ſafe cuſtody within the tower, from Leiceſter remoued to London, and not longe after, accordyng to his othe and promiſe made before, eſpouſed to hym the young Lady Elizabeth, heyre of the houſe of Yorke: wherby both ẏ houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were conioyned together, to the no litle reioyſing of all Engliſhe hartes, and no leſſe quiet vnto the realme, whiche was an. 1485. This kyng reigned. xxiij. yeares & viij. monethes, & beyng a prince of great policie, iuſtice, and tēperaunce, kept his realme in good tolerable rule and order. And here interruptyng a litle the courſe of our Engliſhe matters, we will nowe (the Lord willyng) enter the ſtory aboue promiſed, of Maximilian the Emperour, and matters of the Empire, eſpecially ſuch as pertayneth to the church.

K.Henrye. vii.

K.Henry maryeth with Elizabeth.

The two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter ioyned together.

¶ Maximilian Emperour.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1486. Fridericus waxyng aged, and partlye alſo miſtruſtyng the heartes of the Germaines, who had complained before of their greuāces, and could not be heard, and therfore miſdoutyng ẏ his houſe after his deceaſe, ſhould haue the leſſe fauour among them, for that cauſe in his life time did aſſociate his ſonne Maximiliā to be ioyned Emperour with him: with whom hee reigned the ſpace of. vij. yeares till the death of the ſayd Fridericke his father, who departed an. 1494. after hee had reigned ouer the Empire. 53. yeares, lacking onely but. iij. yeres of ẏ reigne of Auguſtus Cæſar, vnder whom was the byrth of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt.

1486.

Maximilianus, Emperour.

The reigne and death of Fridericus Emp.

1494.

This Maximilian, as he was a valiaunt Emperour, prudent and ſingularly learned: ſo was his reigne intangled in many vnquyet and difficile warres: firſt in the lower countreys of Flaunders & Brabant, where the ſayd Maximilianus was taken captiue, but ſhortly after, reſchued and delyuered agayne by his father an. 1487. It was ſignified before howe this Maximiliā by the aduiſe of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary the onely daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundie afore mencioned, by whom hee had. ij. children, Philippe and Margarete. an. 1477. Whiche Mary not long after, about ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1481, by a fall from her horſe, fell into an agew, and departed. Other warres many moe, ẏ ſame Maximilian alſo achiued, both in Fraunce, in Italy, in Ungarie and diuers beſides.

Maximiliā marieth the Duches of Burgoyne.

This Mary was nyce to K.Edward.4.

So happye was the education of this Emperour in good letters: ſo experte he was in tounges and ſciences, but eſpeciallye ſuche was hys dexteritie and promptnes in the Latine ſtile, that he imitatyng the exaumple of Iulius Cæſar, did write and comprehend in Latine hyſtories, his owne actes and feates done, and that in ſuche ſorte, that when he had geuen a certeine taſt of his hyſtory, to one Pyrcamerus a learned mā, aſkyng his iudgemēt how his warlyke ſtile of Latine did lyke him, the ſayd Pyrcamerus did affirme and reporte of him, to Iohn Carion (the witnes and writer of this ſtory) ẏ he neuer did ſee nor read in any Germane ſtory, a thing more exactely (and ẏ in ſuch haſt) done as this was of Maximiliā. Moreouer, as he was learned hym ſelf, ſo was he a ſingular patrone & aduauncer of learned ſtudentes, as may well appeare by ẏ erectyng & ſettyng vp ẏ Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge. By this Emperour many in thoſe dayes were excited to the embraſing as well

The learnyng of Maximiliā cōmended.

Maximilian writer of his owne ſtoryes.

Ex Ioan. Carione.

Maximilian firſt ordayner of the vniuerſitie of witenberg.

of other liberal Artes, as alſo namely to yͤ ſearching out of old antiquities of hyſtories,wherby diuers were then by him firſt occaſioned in Germanie,to ſet their minds & to exerciſe their diligence, in collectyng & explicating matters perteining to the knowledge of hiſtorie,as wel of auncient as alſo of latter times,as namely Cuſpinianus,Nauclerus,Conradus Peutingerus,Manlius, & other.

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Chriſten
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Here now it began right well to appeare,what great benefite was broched to the world,by the Arte and facultie of Printyng,as is before mentioned. Throughe the meanes of whiche Printing,the Churche and common wealth of Chriſt began now to be repleniſhed with learned men,as both may appeare by this Emperor beyng ſo indued hym ſelfe with ſuche excellent knowledge of good letters,and alſo by diuers other famous and worthy wyttes,whiche began nowe in this age excedyngly to encreaſe and multiply,as Baptiſta Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus,Hermolaus Barbarus,Picus Mirandula, and Franciſcus his couſyn, Radol. Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus,Beroaldus,Marſilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla,with infinite other.

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Among whom is alſo to be numbred Veſelus Groningenſis,otherwiſe named Baſilius, who was not long after Iohn. de VVeſalia aboue recited, both much about one time,and both great frendes together. This Veſelus dyed the yeare of our Lorde. 1490. After that Ioannes Doctour De VVeſalia aforeſayd was condempned,this Veſelus beyng familiar with hym,thought that the Inquiſitour would come and examine him alſo,as he hym ſelfe in a certaine Epiſtle doth write. He was ſo notable and ſo woorthy a man that of the people hee was called Lux mundi. that is: the lyght of the worlde.

lus
d Lux
di.

doc-
of Ve-
Gro-
genſis.

Concernyng his doctrine,firſt he reprehended the opinion of the Papiſtes,as touchyng repentaunce,whiche they deuided in three partes,of the which. 3. partes, ſatiſfaction and confeſſiō he did diſalowe. Likewiſe Purgatory and ſupererogatiō of workes and pardones he did diſproue,both at Rome and at Paris. He ſpake agaynſt the Popes indulgences, by the occaſion whereof diuers of the popes Court,perſwaded by him, began to ſpeake more frely agaynſt the ſame matter,then hee hym ſelfe had done.

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The abuſes of Maſſes and praying for the dead hee diſalowed:and likewiſe the ſupremacie of the Pope he vtterly reiected(as appeareth in a booke of his De Sacramento penitentiæ) denyeng vtterly that any ſupreme head or gouernour ought to bee in the world ouer all other: affirmyng alſo and ſaying many tymes, that the Pope had no authoritie to do any thyng by cōmaundement but by truth: that is, ſo farre as truth goeth with him,ſo farre his ſentence to ſtand:neither that he ought to preuaile by cōmaundyng, but onely by teachyng,ſo as euery true Chriſtian Byſhop may preuayle ouer an other. Alſo in ſome place in his wrytinges he denyeth not,but that Popes and their ſpirituall prelates, procedyng agaynſt Chriſtes doctrine,bee plaine Antichriſtes: ſuch as were infirme and not able to performe the bond of chaſtitie taken vpon them, hee ſayd they might well breake their vowe.

Alſo the ſayd Veſelus witneſſeth,that the forefathers whiche were before Albert and Thomas,did reſiſte and withſtand the Popes indulgences,callyng them in their writynges playne idolatrie, mere fraude and errour: addyng moreouer that vnleſſe yͤ ſeueritie of ſome good diuines, had not withſtande theſe pardones and indulgences of the Pope; innumerable errours had ouerflowen the Churche.

Epiſt.
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Amongeſt the workes of Veſelus, there is a certeyne Epiſtle of one writen to hym,in whiche the author of yͤ Epiſtle confeſſeth,that in his tyme there was a certaine learned man at Paris called maiſter Thomas de Curſelis a Deane:who beyng in the Coūcell of Baſill, where as diuers began to aduaunce the power of the Pope to farre,declared and affirmed,to be ſaid to him of Chriſt: Quicquid ligaueris ſuper terrā erit ligatum & in cœlo. &c. Et non, quicquid dixeris eſſe ligatum. That is,what ſoeuer thou ſhalt binde vpon earth,ſhall be bounde in heauen : but not,what ſoeuer thou ſayeſt to bee bounde. As who ſhoulde ſaye the Pope can not nor doth not binde therfore,becauſe he ſo ſaith,except truth & righteouſnes go alſo with him:then he doth ſo bynde in deede.

Chriſts anſwer to Tho. de Coſſelis touching this place: Quicquid ligaueritis.

Not what ſo euer is ſayd to bo looſed in earth, is looſed in heauen : but what ſoeuer is looſed in very deede in earth, that is alſo looſed in deede in heauen.

Liber D. Weſeli, de ſubditis et ſuperioribus.

Agaynſt ryches in the church.

There is a certaine booke of this man amongeſt diuers others,whiche he entituleth, De ſubditis & ſuperioribus, in the whiche he diſputeth greatly agaynſt the Pope & his Prelates:affirmyng that the Pope, vnles his fayth and doctrine be ſound,ought not to be obeyde. He affirmeth alſo that the Pope may erre,and when he erreth, mē ought by all maner of meanes,to reſiſte him. Item, that great and ſuperfluous riches in the clergy doo not profite,but hurt the Churche. That the Pope doth wickedly diſtribute the rentes of the churche,and yͤ churche it ſelfe,to vnworthy miniſters,by Simonie for his own profite and gayne:whereby it may appeare that he neither careth for God,nor the health of the churche. Item, that the preceptes and commaundementes of the Pope and Prelates,be no otherwiſe,but as the Counceels and preceptes of Phiſitions, bindyng no further then they are found to be holſome and ſtandyng with the truth of the worde. Item,that the Pope can cōmaunde no man vnder payne of deadly ſinne,except God cōmaund him before. Hee ſayth that the keyes of the Pope and of the Prelates bee not ſuch,where with they open the kyngdome of heauē,but rather ſhut it,as the Phariceys did. Concernyng vowes,he diſputeth that ſuch as be fooliſh and impoſſibile,ought to bee broken : That the hearers ought to diſcerne and iudge of the doctrine of their prelates,and not to receiue euery thing that they ſay,without due examination.

The preceptes of the pope,& prelates how they binde.

The popes keys.

Vowes.

Doctrine not to be receaued without examination.

He ſheweth moreouer that the ſentēce or excommunication is of more force,procedyng from a trewe Godly honeſt,ſimple and learned man,then frō the Pope:as in the Councell of Conſtance, Bernard was more eſteemed then Eugenius. Alſo if the Pope with his Prelates, gouerne and rule naughtly,that the inferiours, be they neuer ſo baſe, ought to reſiſte him.

Excommunication.

Writyng moreouer of two Popes, Pius the ſecond and Sixtus the fourth, hee ſaith,that Pius the ſecond did vſurpe vnto him ſelfe all the kyngdomes of the whole worlde, and that Sixtus the Pope did diſpenſe with all maner of othes in cauſes temporal,not onely with ſuch othes, as haue bene already , but alſo with all ſuch as ſhal be made hereafter:whiche was nothyng els but to giue liberty and licence for men to forſweare them ſelues and to deceiue one an other.

This VVeſelus beyng a Phriſian borne and nowe aged in yeares,vpon a certaine time,when a young man called maiſter Ioannes Oſtendorpius , came to hym, ſayd theſe wordes:Well my child,thou ſhalt liue to that day,when thou ſhalt ſee the doctrine of theſe new and cōtentious diuines as Thomas & Bonauenture , with others of the ſame ſorte , ſhall be vtterly reiected and exploded from all true Chriſten diuines:And thys whiche Oſtendorpius then being younge , heard VVeſelus to ſpeake , hee reported hym ſelfe to Nouiomagus whiche wrote this ſtorye. an. 1520. and heard it of the mouth of the ſayd VVeſelus. an. 1490. Martij. 18.

Ex Nouiomago.

A prophecy of Weſelus

This Oſtendorpius was a man well lerned and Canon of the mynſter of Lubeck.

Phillippus Melanchton writyng of the life of Rodolphus Agricola , ſayth : that Ioſquinus Groningenſis , an auncient and a godly man,reported that whē as he was young,he was oftentimes preſent at the ſermons of Rodolphus and VVeſelus,wherin they many times lamented the darkenes of the church, and reprehēded the abuſes of the Maſſe,and of the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes. Item, when they diſputed oftentymes of the righteouſneſſe of

Here it appeareth that thys R. Agricola was of a good iudgement, though the Friers afterward buryed hym in a Friers weede.

Radul. Agricola.

Weſelus lamenteth the darkenes of the church.

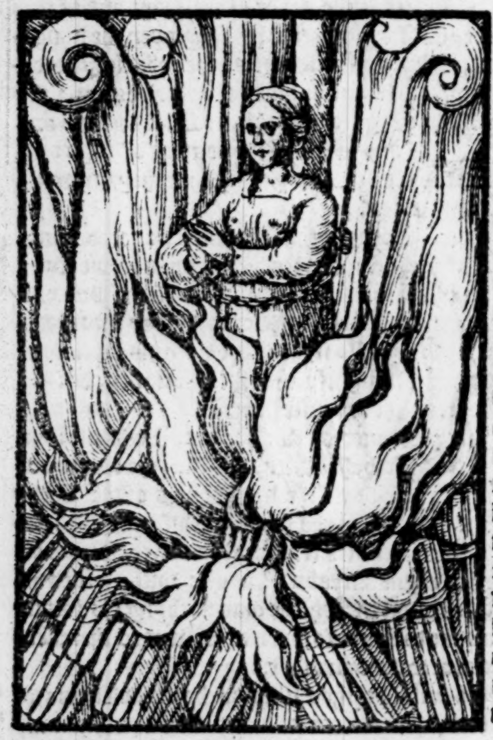
faith, why S.Paul ſo oftentimes did inculcate,that mē be iuſtified by faith and not by workes , the ſame Ioſquine alſo reported, that they did openly reiecte and diſproue the opiniō of Monkes,whiche ſay that men be iuſtified be their workes.Item,concernyng mens traditions their opinion was,yͭ all ſuch were deceaued , who ſo euer attributed vnto thoſe traditions any opinion of Gods worſhip,or yͭ they could not be broken. And thus much for the ſtorie of doctour VVeſellianus & VVeſelus.

By this it may be ſene and noted , how by the grace of God and his gifte of Printyng,firſt came forth learnyng : by learnyng came light to iudge and diſcerne the errours of the Pope from the truth of Gods worde, as partly by theſe aboue ſaid,may appeare;partly by other yͭ folow after,(by yͤ grace of Chriſt) ſhall better be ſene.

About the very ſame tyme and ſeaſon , when as the Goſpel began thus to braunch & ſpring in Germanie:the hoſte of Chriſtes Churche begā alſo to muſter & to multiplie likewiſe here in Englād,as by theſe hiſtories here conſequente maye appeare. For not longe after the death of this VVeſelus , in the yeare of our Lorde. 1494. and in.9.yeare of the reigne of K.Henry.vij.the 28.Aprill,was burned a very olde womā named Ioane Boughton widowe,& mother to the lady Young,which Lady was alſo ſuſpected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of.iiij.ſcore yeare of age or more & helde.viij.of Wickleffes opinions (which opinions my author doth not ſhew) for the whiche ſhe was burnt in Smithfield the day aboueſaid.My author ſaith ſhe was a diſciple of Wickleffe, whom ſhe accōpted for a ſaint,& helde ſo faſt and firmely viij.of his.xij. opiniōs, that all the Doctours of London,could not turne her from one of them: & when it was told her yͭ ſhe ſhoulde be brent for her obſtinacie and falſe beleefe,ſhe ſet nothyng by their manacing wordes,but defied them,for ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſo beloued of God, and his holy aungels,that ſhee paſſed not for the fier,and in the midſt thereof ſhe cried vpon God to take her ſoule into his holy handes.The night folowyng that ſhe was burnt,the moſt part of her aſhes were had awaye of ſuch as had a loue vnto the doctrine , that ſhe dyed for.

1494.

Ioane Boughton mother to the lady Yong Martyr.



1497.

Richard Milderale. Iames Sardye.

SHortly after the Martyrdome of this godly aged mother,in the yeare of our Lorde.1497.and the.17.of January,being Sonday.ij.men,the one called Richard Milderale, and the other Iames Sturdye , bare Fagots before the proceſſiō of Paules,and after ſtoode before the preacher in yͤ time of his Sermon.And vpon the ſonday folowing, ſtode other.ij.mē at Paules croſſe all yͤ ſermō tyme:the one garniſhed with painted & written papers,the other hauing a fagot on his necke.After yͭ in Lent ſeaſon vpon Paſſion Sonday,one Hughe Glouer bare a Fagot before the proceſſion of Paules,and after with the Fagot ſtoode before the preacher all the ſermō while at Paules Croſſe.And on the Sōdaye next folowyng.iiij. men ſtoode, and dyd there open penaunce at Paules as is aforeſayd , in the Sermon tyme many of their bookes were burnt before them at the Croſſe.

Hugh Glouer.

4. other beare fagots.

FUrthermore the next yeare folowyng,whiche was yͤ yere of our lord.1498.in yͤ begynning of May,yͤ king then beyng at Canterbury,was a Prieſt burnt, whiche was ſo ſtrong in his opiniō that all the clerkes and doctors thē there being,could not remoue him frō his faith: wherof yͤ king beyng enfourmed,cauſed yͤ ſaid prieſt to be brought before hys preſence, who by hys perſuaſiōs cauſed hym to reuoke,& ſo he was burnt immediatly.

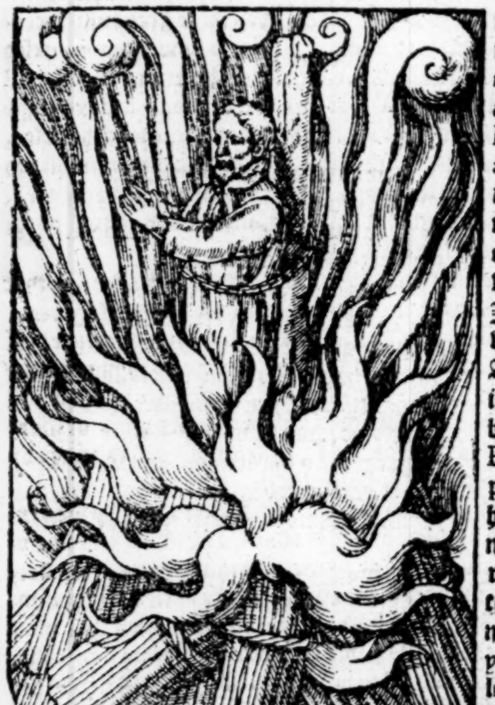
1498

A prieſt brent.

IN the ſame yeare aboue mentioned , whiche was the yeare of our Lord.1499.after yͤ beheadyng of Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwyke, and ſonne to yͤ Duke of Clarence, yͤ kyng and Queene beyng remoued to Calys,a certaine godly mā and a conſtant martyr of Chriſt,named Babram in Northfolk, was brent in the moneth of July, as is in Fabian recorded after that copye whiche I haue written. Albeit in the booke of Fabian printed, hys burnyng is referred to the nexte yeare folowing, which is an.1500.Ex Fabiano,& alio ſcripto codice.

The quen was remoued to C lys at the beheadyn of her co ſin Edwa Plātagene

Babram brent in Northfol martyr.



ABout whiche yeare lykewiſe or in the yeare next folowyng the.xx.day of July,was an old man burnt in Smithfield.

An olde man burned.

IN the ſame yeare alſo,which was of the Lord.1499 fell the Martyrdome and burning of Hieronymus Sauonarola,a mā no leſſe godly in hart , thē conſtant in his profeſſion . Who beyng a Monke in Italy,and ſingularly well learned,preached ſore agaynſt yͤ euill life and liuing of the ſpiritualty,& ſpecially of his own order,cōplaining ſore vpon them,as the ſpringes and authors of all miſchieues and wickednes.Wherupon, by the helpe of certaine learned men, he began to ſeeke reformation in his own order.Which thyng the pope perceyuyng, & fearyng,that yͤ ſayd Hierome,which was now in great reputation amongeſt all men, ſhould diminiſh or ouerthrow his authoritie, he ordeined his vicare or prouinciall to ſee reformation of theſe matters: which vicare in great ſuperſtition begā to reforme things, but the ſayd Hierome did alwayes withſtād him , wherupon he was complained of to the Pope , and becauſe that contrary vnto the Popes commaundement,he did withſtand his vicare,he was accurſed . But for all that,Hieronimus left not of preachyng,but threatned Italy with yͤ wrath and

1499

Hieronymus Sauonarola with two fryers, Martyrs.

ophesie of Hieron. Sauonarola agaynst Italy.

and indignatiō of God, and prophecied before vnto thē, that the lande ſhould bee ouerthrowen for the pryde and wickednes of the people, and for the vntruth, hypocriſie and falſhod of the clergy, whiche God would not leaue vnreuenged, as afterward it came to paſſe, when as K. Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and ſo ſtraitly beſet the Pope Alexāder, that he was forced to make cōpoſition with the kyng.

Pope Alexander beſieged by Charles the French kyng.

Nowe for ſomuch as the ſayd Hierome would not leaue of preachyng, hee was commaunded to appeare before the Pope, to geue accompt of his newe learnyng, (for ſo then they called the truth of the Goſpell:) but by meanes of the manifold perils, he made his excuſe that he could not come. Then was he agayne forbydden by the Pope to preache, and his learnyng pronounced and condemned as pernicious, falſe and ſedicious.

Sauonarola cited to appeare before the pope.

The doctrine of Sauonarola condemned, becauſe he would not come before the pope.

This Hieronimus, as a man worldly wiſe, foreſeing the great perils & daungers that might come vnto him, for feare, lefte of preachyng. But when as the people, whiche ſore hungred and longed for Gods worde, were inſtant vpon him that he would preach agayne, he begā agayne to preach in the yeare of our Lord. 1496. in the Citie of Florence: and albeit that many councelled him that he ſhould not ſo do without the Popes cōmaundement, yet did he not regarde it, but went forward frely of his owne good will. Whē as the Pope and his ſhauelynges heard newes of this, they were greuouſly incenſed and inflamed agaynſt him, and now agayne curſed him, as an obſtinate & ſtifnecked heretike. But for all that, Hieronymus proceded in teachyng & inſtructyng yͤ people, ſaying, yͭ men ought not to regarde ſuch curſes, which is agaynſt the true doctrine and the common profite, wherby the people ſhould be learned and amended, Chriſtes kyngdome enlarged, and the kyngdome of the deuill vtterly ouerthrowen.

Sauonarola preacheth contrary to the popes commaundement.

In all his preachyng, hee deſired to teache no other thyng then the onely pure and ſimple worde of God, makyng often proteſtation that all men ſhould certifie him if they had heard him teach or preach any thyng contrary thereunto, for vpon his owne conſcience he knew not that he had taught any thyng but yͤ pure word of God. What his doctrine was all men may eaſely iudge by hys bookes that he had writen.

eronnymus with other try cōmitted to priſon.

After this, in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1498. he was taken and brought out of S. Markes cloiſter, and two other friers with him, named Dominick and Silueſter, which fauoured his learning, & was caried into priſon, whereas he wrote a goodly meditacion vpon that moſt comfortable. 31. Pſalme. In te domine ſperaui non cōfundar in æternum ſed in iuſticia tua libera me. Wherein hee doth excellently deſcribe and ſet fourth, the continuall ſtrife betwene the fleſhe and the ſpirite.

ecōmen e of Hie e Sa. vpon Pſalme ginning: *te domi ſperaui.*

After this yͤ popes Legates came to Florence, & called fourth theſe three good men, threatenyng them marlouſly, but they continued ſtill conſtant. Then came the chief Counſailers of the citie, with the Popes commiſſioners, whiche had gathered out certayne Articles agaynſt theſe men, wherupon they were condempned to death: the tenour of whiche Articles hereafter enſue.

icles ered agaynſt Hie- e and two s.

1. The firſt article was as touching our free iuſtification through fayth in Chriſt.

2. That the communion ought to be miniſtred vnder both kindes.

3. That the indulgences and pardons of the Pope, were of no effecte.

4. For preaching agaynſt the filthy and wicked liuing of the Cardinalls and ſpiritualtie.

5. For denying the Popes ſupremacie.

6. Alſo that he had affirmed, that the keyes were not geuē vnto Peter alone, but vnto the vniuerſall church.

7. Alſo, that the Pope dyd neyther followe the life nor doctrine of Chriſt, for that he dyd attribute more to hys own pardons and traditions, then to Chriſtes merites, and therfore he was Antichriſt.

Alſo, that the Popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth feare or flye them, is excommunicate of God. 8.

Item, that auricular confeſſion, is not neceſſarye. 9.

Item, yͭ he had moued yͤ Citizens to vprore & ſeditiō. 10.

Item, that he had neglected & contemned the popes citation. 11.

Item, that he had ſhamefully ſpoken agaynſt, and ſlaundered the pope. 12.

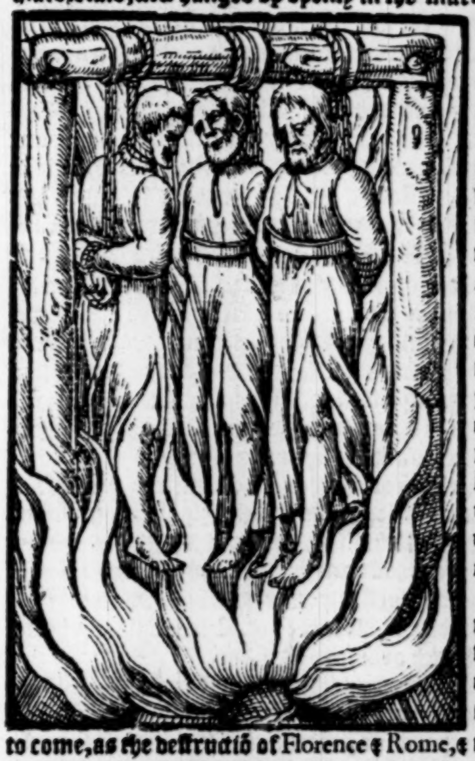
Item, that he had taken Chriſt to witnes of hys noughtines and hereſie. 13.

Alſo, yͭ Italy muſt be clenſed through Gods ſcourge, for the manifolde wickednes of yͤ princes and clergye. 14.

Theſe and ſuch other lyke articles, were layd vnto them, and read before them. Then they demaunded of the ſayd Hierome and hys companions, whether they would recant and geue ouer their opinions. Whereunto they anſwered, yͭ through Gods help, they woulde ſtedfaſtly continue in the manifeſt truth, and not depart from the ſame. Then were they diſgraded one after an other, by the Byſhop of Vaſion, and ſo deliuered ouer to the ſecular rulers of Florence, with ſtraight commaundement, to cary them forth, and handle them as obſtinate and ſtifnecked heretikes.

Hirome with hys two companions hāged and brent for the Goſpells truth.

Thus, was the worthy witneſſe of Chriſt, with yͤ other ij. aforeſaid, firſt hanged vp openly in the market place, & afterward burnt to aſhes, & the aſhes gathered vp, & caſt into the riuer of Arum, yͤ 23. day of May in the yeare of our lord. 1499. Ex Catal. teſtium. Illyrici.



Thys mā foreſhewed many thynges to come, as the deſtructiō of Florence & Rome, & the renuing of the church: which three thinges, haue happened in theſe tymes, within our remembraunce. Alſo he foreſhewed that the Turkes and Mores in the latter dayes, ſhould be conuerted vnto Chriſt. He alſo declared that one ſhoulde paſſe the Alpes into Italy, lyke vnto Cyrus, which ſhould ſubuert and deſtroy all Italy. Wherupon Iohannes Franciſcus Picus, Earle of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended hym by hys writyngs agaynſt the Pope. Many other learned men alſo, do defend the innocencie of the ſaid Sauonarola. Marſilius Ficinus alſo, in a certayne epiſtle doth attribute vnto hym the ſpirite of prophecie, greatly commending and prayſing hym. In lyke maner Philippus Comineas a French hiſtoriographer, which had conference with hym, witneſſeth that he was a holy man, and full of the ſpirite of prophecie, for ſo much as he had foreſhewed vnto him ſo many thinges, which the euent had proued true.

The prophecies of Hierome Sauonarola.

Ex Ioan. Franciſc. Mirandula.

Ex Marſilio Ficino.

Ex Philip. Cominea.

There were beſides theſe, many other, not to be paſſed ouer or forgotten: as Philip Norice an Iriſhman, profeſſour at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned, (yet as it is ſayd) he was long tyme vexed and troubled by the religious route. But would to God, that ſuche as haue occupyed them ſelues in wryting of hiſtoryes, and haue ſo diligently committed vnto memorye all other thinges done in forrein common wealthes, had beſtowed the lyke diligence and labour, in notyng and wryting thoſe thinges, which pertayne vnto the affayres of the church: wherby the poſteritie might haue had fuller and more perfecte vnderſtanding and knowledge of them.

Thys Sauonarola aboue mencioned, ſuffred vnder pope Alexander the 6. Of which pope, more leyſure and oportunitie ſhall ſerue hereafter (Chriſt willing) to entreate, after that we ſhall firſt make a litle degreſſion to entreate of certayne caſes and complaintes of the Germaynes, incident in ẏ meane tyme: which as they are not to be ouer paſſe in ſilence, ſo can they haue no place nor tyme more conuenient to be inferred. What complayntes of the Germaines were made and moued vnto the Emperour Fridericke, agaynſt the Popes ſuppreſſions & exactions, mencion was made before pag. 857. where alſo was declared, how the ſayd Germaines at that tyme, were twyſe put backe & forſaken of the Emperour: wherby they continued in the ſame yoke and bondage, vntill the time of Luther. Wherfore it cõmeth now to hand, and we thinke it alſo good, here briefly to declare, how the ſaid Germaines, in the tyme of Maximilian the Emperour, renuing their cõplaintes agayn, deliuered vnto the Emperour, x. principall greuaũces, wherby the Germaines haue bene long time oppreſſed: ſhewing alſo the remedies agaynſt the ſame, with certayne aduiſementes vnto ẏ Emperours maieſtie, how he myght withſtand and reſiſte the popes ſubtilties and craftes: The order and tenour wherof here enſueth.

The cõplaintes of the Germains agaynſt the popes greuannces, renued.

¶ *The x. greuaunces of the Germaines.*

Ten greuances complayned of by the Germaines.

1. That the byſhops of Rome, ſucceſſours one vnto another, do not thinke them ſelues bounde to obſerue and kepe the bulles, couenauntes, priuileges, & letters, graũted by their predeceſſours, without all derogatiõ: but by often diſpenſation, ſuſpenſion and reuocation, euen at ẏ inſtaunce of euery vyle perſon, they do gainſaye and withſtand the ſame.

2. That ẏ electiõ of prelates are oftentimes put backe.

3. That the elections of Preſidentſhips are withſtand, which the chapterhouſes of many churches haue obtained with great coſte and expenſe, as ẏ church of Spyre and Haſell, doo well knowe: whoſe bulle, touchyng the election of their preſident, is made fruſtrate, he being yet aliue which graunted the ſame.

4. That benefices and the greateſt eccleſiaſticall dignities, are reſerued for Cardinalls and head notaries.

5. That expectatiue graces, called vowſons, are graũted without number, & many oftentimes vnto one mã: Wherupon continuall contentions do ryſe, and muche money is ſpent, both that which is laid out for ẏ bulles of thoſe vowſons which neuer take effecte, and alſo that which is conſumed in going to lawe. Wherupon this prouerbe is ryſen, whoſoeuer will gette a vowſon from Rome, muſt haue 100. or 200. pæces of golde layde vp in hys cheſt, for ẏ obtayning of the ſame, which he ſhall haue neede of, to proſecute the lawe withall.

6. That Annates or yearely reuenewes, are exacted without delay or mercy, euen of byſhops lately dead, & oftentimes more extorted thẽ ought to be, through new offices and newe ſeruauntes, as by the example of the churches of Mentz and Strausburgh, may be ſéene.

7. That the rule of the churches are geuen at Rome vnto thoſe that are not worthy, which were more fitte to keepe and féede mules, then to haue the rule and gouernaunce of men.

8. That new indulgences & pardons, with the ſuſpenſion and reuocation of the olde, are graunted to gather and ſcrape money tegether.

9. That tenthes are exacted vnder the pretence of making warre agaynſt the Turke, when as no expedition doth followe therupon.

10. That the cauſes which might be determined in Germanie, wheras there are both learned & iuſt iudges, are indiſtinctlye caryed vnto ẏ court of Rome: which thing Saint Bernard, wryting to pope Eugenius, ſemeth wonderfully to reproue.

¶ *Here enſueth the remedye againſt the ſayd greuaunces.*

Remedye agaynſt the foreſayd greuaunces.

IF it ſhall ſeeme good vnto the Emperours maieſtie, let it be declared vnto the byſhop of Rome, how greuous and intolerable a thing it is vnto the Germaines, to ſuffer continually ſo greate charge and greuaunces, to pay ſo great Annates for the confirmation of the Biſhops and Archbyſhops, and eſpeciallye in ſuch byſhopryckes, wheras the Annates by ſucceſſe of tyme, are enhaunced, and in many (as it is ſaid) doubled. For ẏ Archbiſhops ſea of Mentz (as it is ſaid) ſomtime payde onely x. M. floreines: which ſumme, when as one whiche was choſen there, refuſed to geue, and ſo continued euen vnto hys death, he which was afterward electe, being deſirous of confirmation, fearing to withſtand the Apoſtolique ſea, offred ẏ olde ſumme of. x. M. floreines: But notwithſtanding, he could not get hys confirmation, excepte he would pay the other x. thouſand, which his predeceſſour before him, had not payd. By thys meanes he was compelled to paye. xx. M. floreines. Which being enrolled in the regiſter of the chamber, hath bene exacted of euery Archbyſhop ſince, vntill theſe our dayes: and not onely. xx. M. but alſo. xxv. M. for their new offices, and new ſeruauntes. At laſt ẏ ſumme drewe to xxvij. M. floreines, which Iames the Archbiſhop of Mentz was compelled to pay, as hys commiſſarye dyd reporte. So by thys meanes, in a litle tyme, there was. vij. tymes xxv. thouſand floreines, payde out of ẏ Archbiſhopricke of Mentz, vnto Rome, for the confirmation of the Archbyſhop. And when this Archbyſhop Iames had kept the Archbyſhopricke ſcarſe iiij. yeares, the Lorde Vriel was electe after hym, who was compelled to pay at the leaſt xxiiii. or. xxv. thouſand floreines. Wherof a part he borowed of Marchauntes: but to ſatiſfie and pay them agayne, he was forced to exacte a ſubſidie vpon his poore ſubiectes and huſband men, whereof ſome haue not yet ſatiſfied and payde the tribute for the Byſhops Palle: ſo that by this meanes, our people are not onely tormẽted and brought to extreme pouertie, but alſo are moued vnto rebellion to ſeke their libertye by what meanes ſo euer they may, greuouſly murmuryng agaynſt ẏ crueltie of the clergie.

The Archbyſhops Palle of Mentz what it coſteth.

The popes palle derely bought.

The Pope alſo ſhould be admoniſhed, how that, thorow diuers and ſondry warres and battailes, the lãdes of Germanie lie deſolate and waſte, and thorow many mortalities, the nomber of men is diminiſhed, ſo that for the ſkarſenes of huſbandmẽ, the fieldes, for the moſt part, lye vntilde, the toles are, by diuers meanes, diminiſhed, the mynes conſumed, and the profites dayly decay, wherby the Archbiſhops and Byſhops ſhould paye their annates vnto the Apoſtolicke ſea: beſides their other neceſſarie and honeſt charges: in ſomuch that not without iuſte cauſe, Iames the Archbiſhop of Mentz beyng euen at the pointe of death, ſaid that he did not ſo much ſorowe for his owne death, as for that his poore ſubiectes, ſhould be agayne forced, to pay a greuous exaction for the Palle. Wherfore let the hygh Byſhop, as a godly father & louer of his children, and a faithfull and prudẽt paſtor, deale more fauourably with his childrẽ ẏ Germaines, leaſt that perſecutiõ happen to riſe againſt the prieſtes of Chriſt, and that men folowyng the exãple of the Bohemians, do ſwarue from the church of Rome.

The people polled for the popes Palle.

At the leaſt, let him be more fauourable, as often as any Archbyſhop or Biſhop happeneth to rule his church but a fewe yeares: as it happened to the Byſhoppes of Bāberge, wherof three dyed within few yeares. The like alſo might happē by other Biſhoprikes, wherof (as Æneas Syluius witneſſed) there are in Germanie to the number of fifty, beſides Abbottes, whereof a great nomber are confirmed at Rome.

Aboue 50. byſhoprikes in Germanye.

And admit that in Germanie there were greater profite and reuenewes riſing of the groūd, mines ⁊ toles: notwithſtandyng the Emperour and the other princes, ſhould lacke treaſure and munition of warre agaynſt their enemies, ⁊ ſpeciallye the infidels, and to preſerue Germanie in peace and quietnes, and to miniſter iuſtice vnto euery man: for whiche purpoſe, the Councell of the chamber beyng moſt holyly inſtructed and furniſhed with great coſt and charges, doth chiefly ſerue. Beſides that, the Emperour hath neede of treaſure, to ſuppreſſe the rebelles in the Empire, to baniſhe and dryue away theues and murtherers, wherof a great nōber are not aſhamed to ſpoyle churches onely, ⁊ to robbe thē of their goodes, but alſo to aſſayle the clergy them ſelues. Finally our nation ⁊ countrey of Germanie, hath nede of great riches and treaſure, not onely for ẏ repayring of churches and monaſteries, but alſo for hoſpitalls, for children that are layde out in the ſtreetes, for wydowes, for wemē with child, for orphanes, for the mariage of ẏ daughters of poore men, that they bee not defloured, for ſuch as haue nede and neceſſitie, for the old and weake, for the ſicke ⁊ the ſore, wherof (the more is the ſorrowe) Germanie is fully repleniſhed and filled.

¶ Aduertiſementes vnto the Emperours Maieſtie.

The Emperour aduertiſed of the ſubtill practiſes of the pope, and popiſhe prelates.

LEt the Emperours maieſtye forſee & prouide, that ẏ beggyng Friers do not preach agaynſt his maieſtie, which are wont to cōplaine gladly vnto the Apoſtolicke ſea, fearyng to loſe their priuilegies, whiche I would to God, were aſwel grounded vpō Chriſt, as they are vpō profite. Let the Emperours maieſtie alſo beware that the Pope do not giue commaundement vnto the Electours, to procede to the election of a new kyng of Romaines, as he did agaynſt Fredericke the ſecond, when as the Langraue of Thurin, and william Earle of Hollād, were elect by the commaundement of the Pope. Let the Emperours maieſtie alſo feare & take hede of all the Prelates of the churches, & eſpecially of the preſidentes, which by their othe are boūd to aduertiſe the Pope. Let the Emperours maieſtie alſo feare and beware that the Pope do not take awaye from his ſubiectes, their obedience, and prouoke the people borderyng vpon hym, to make inuaſion into the Emperours dominiōs & Archduchy of Auſtriche: whiche thoſe men, vnder colour of ſhewyng obedience vnto the Popes commaundement, be ready to do.

Let the Emperours maieſtie alſo take hede of the Apoſtolicke cēſures, from whiche the Pope will in no caſe refraine. Finally let the Emperours maieſtie diligently forſee and take hede, that the Pope do not perſuade the people with moſte ſubtill argumentes, contrarye to the pragmaticall ſanction, excuſing him ſelfe, and getting the good wil of the ſimple people, alledging that with great coſtes and charges, he will repayre the church of Saint Peter in Rome, and build in certaine places, agaynſt the Turkes, and recouer agayne the landes and patrimony pertaynyng vnto the church of Saint Peter, as he is bound by his office. Therfore, let your maieſtie diligently forſee and deliberate, howe thorowe your moſt wiſe and diſcrete Counſail, if nede ſhall require, you will aunſwere to thoſe ſubtilties of the Pope.

The popes pretenſe of building S.Peters church in Rome.

¶ A certaine godly exhortation vnto the Emperours Majeſtie.

A ſupplication or exhortatiō to Maximilian Emper. for redreſſe of the church.

YOur maieſtie cā do nothyng better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternall remembrāce, then to moderate the greate exactions and oppreſſions of the Germaines: to take awaye all occaſion from the laitie, to perſecute the clergie: alſo to take awaye the benefices out of the handes of courtiſans, which cā neither preach, comfort, nor counſail any man (of whiche benefices, as Eneas Siluius writeth, ſome are equall to the Byſhoprikes of Italy) to encreaſe Gods honour and worſhip: and ſo to bridle the auarice and vngodlynes of thoſe courtiſans, whereby your maieſtie maye the better prouide for the children of many noble and famous men and Citezins in Germanie, whiche beynge brought vppe from their yougth in the vniuerſities, learning both the ſcriptures and other humaine letters, may without vnquiet vexations, ⁊ moſt ſumptuous charges & contentions, aſpire to the eccleſiaſticall promotiōs: who by their counſail and prayers, may be helpes vnto the whole churche: For there is no ſmall occaſion, why the realme of Fraunce ſhould ſo floriſhe, hauyng ſo many notable learned men it. If the Emperour would aboliſh this impietie, and reſtore Germany vnto their aūcient liberty, whiche is nowe oppreſſed with greuous tributes, and would make waye for learned and honeſt men vnto eccleſiaſticall promotions: then might he truely and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the reſtorer of Germanie to hys auncient libertie, and the father of his countrey, and ſhould obtayne no leſſe glorie therby vnto him ſelfe, and profite vnto Germanie, then if he had by force of armes, ſubdued any prouince vnto them: And ſo ſhall Germanie render no leſſe thankes vnto the ſayd Maximilian, then vnto all the reſt, whiche hauyng tranſlated the Empyre from the Grecians vnto Germanie, haue reigned many yeares before.

Hereafter enſweth the copy of a certaine letter of ẏ Emperour Maximilian, geuen out in maner of a decree or commaundement, againſt certaine abuſes of the clergy. Whereunto we haue alſo annexed the aunſwere of Iacobus Seleſtadienſis, vnto ẏ Emperours letters, wherin he ſemeth alſo to haue ſought aduice for the remedy of the like abuſes: whiche we thought good here not to be omitted.

¶ An edicte of Maximilian Emperour.

A decree of Maximilian Emperour.

WE, accordyng to the example of our dearely beloued father Fredericke Emperour of Rome, reuerencyng the chief paſtour of the church, & all the clergy, haue ſuffred no ſmall reuenewes of the eccleſiaſtical dignities, to be caried out of our dominion by the Prelates and clergy that are abſēt, whoſe faultes committed by humaine frailty, with Cōſtantine our predeceſſour, we haue not diſdeined to hide and couer. But for ſomuch as throw our liberality, the decay of Gods honor is riſē, it is our part to forſee (which are elect vnto the Empire without any deſert) that amongeſt all other affaires of peace & warre, the churches do not decay, religion quaile not, or Gods true worſhyp be not diminiſhed: whiche we haue manifeſtly experimented and dayly doo perceyue by the inſatiable couetouſnes of ſome, whiche are neuer ſatiſfied in gettyng of benefices: through whoſe abſence (beyng but reſident onely vpon one) Gods honour and worſhip is diminiſhed, houſes decay, churches decreaſe, the eccleſiaſticall libertie is hurt, learning & monumentes are loſt and deſtroyed, hoſpitality and almes diminiſhed, & by their vnſaciable gredynes, ſuch of the clergy as for their learnyng and vertue were worthy of benefices, and theyr wyſedome, profitable in common wealthes, are hyndered and put backe. Wherfore, accordyng to the office and duety of our eſtate, for the loue of the increaſe of Gods honour, we exhorte and require that no mā from hence forth, hauyng any Canonſhyp or Vicarage in one Citye of our Empyre, ſhall occupy or poſſeſſe a prebend in an other church of the ſame Citye, excepte he gyue ouer the fyrſt, within a yeares ſpace, vnto ſome perſon fitte & profitable for the Churche: neither that he do by vniuſt quarels, vexe or trouble any mā in getting of benefices, neyther that any man doo falſly fayne hym ſelfe to haue bene of the Emperours houſhold, whiche hath not bene cōprehēded within the leage & agreement made by the Princes, neyther that any man attempt to take awaye the patronages from any lay man, or agrauate the ſmall prebendes of curates of Churches, with penſions, neyther that they do vſe in gettyng of benefices and Buls, any fraude, deceyte, falſe inſtrumentes, corrupt witneſſes and cloked Symony, neyther that any man preſume to obteyne any regreſſe, or other thyng contrary to the ſacred Canons, right, honeſty, equity & reaſon, vpō payne of the moſt greuous offence of treaſō: the which we will that, not onely they, going ſo cōtrary to God & all honeſty: but alſo all theyr fauourers, whiche doo helpe, counſayle, harbour or gyue them any thyng, all theyr meſſengers and wryters, proctours, ſureties and other theyr frendes, ſhal incurre, and receyue condigne puniſhment for ſo greate offence and contempt of our commaundement. From Neuepont, &c.

No man to haue two Canonſhips or prebendes at once.

¶ Here enſeweth the Copy of a Letter writen vnto the Emperour Maximilian.

¶ To our moſt victorious Lorde Maximilian the Emperour, Iacobus Seleſtadienſis, moſt humble commendations.

Moſt victorious Emperour, when I had read your maieſties Epiſtle, and receyued inſtructiōs of your Secretary, I prepared my ſelfe with all my whole endeuour, to ſatiſfye your maieſties deſire: For euen from my yougth hetherto, I haue applyed all my care and ſtudy, fyrſt for the honour of your maieſty, and conſequētly for for the amplifying of the Germaine nation, and ſacred Romaine Empire. Albeit I know my ſelfe farre vnable to ſatiſfye your deſire and purpoſe, and there are many whiche can fulfill this matter much better, whiche haue greater learnyng and experience of theſe common matters. There be alſo with other princes, and in the Senates of cōmon wealthes, many excellent learned men, whiche can exornate and beautifye Germanie, and perſwade to reduce all the clergy vnto a Chriſtiā diſcipline, and to an vnitie and peace of the vniuerſall Churche. Wherein not onely your maieſty, but alſo your predeceſſours, as Charles the great, and his ſonne Ludouicus Pius, the Othoes, Conrades, Fridericks, & Henrikes, and laſt of all, Sigiſmundus, haue with all labour and diligence trauailed, beyng ſtirred thereunto, vndoubtedly thorow the zeale and charitie whiche they bare vnto almighty God, & thankefulnes vnto Chriſt, for hys benefites which he hath beſtowed vpon mankynd, & ſpecially for the benefite of his moſt bitter paſſion. For Chriſt became not poore for vs, that we ſhould liue in all riote & wantonnes vpon his patrimonie, and ſhew forth our ambition and couetouſnes: neyther did he ſuffer hunger that we ſhould glutte vp our ſelues: or ſuffred labours, chaſtitie, & greuous tormētes, that we ſhould liue in idlenes, wantonnes, & all kynde of voluptuoſnes. Neyther they which were cōtributers & benefactors to churches, induing the miniſters therof wᵗ their tēporal riches, had any ſuch reſpect herein, ẏ the clergy ſhould lyue onely in idlenes, hauing all thyngs at their will, wᵗout labour. Surely there was an other cauſe why ẏ they in tymes paſt, did empoueriſh thē ſelues & theirs, to endowe ẏ church: verely that they might the better attend vnto diuine ſeruice, without care of want of lyuing (which they myght eaſely get & gather out of the fieldes, wodes, medowes, & waters) & to the intent that they ſhould liberally geue almes vnto the poore Chriſtians, wydowes, orphanes, aged & ſicke perſons. For in the inſtitutions of the canonical profeſſion, which we ſuppoſe was writen by the cōmaundemēt of Ludouicus Pius the Emperour, and allowed by the coūcell of the biſhops, thus it is read: The goodes of the Church (as it is alledged by the fathers, & conteyned in ẏ chapters before) are the vowes of ẏ faythfull, & patrimonie of the poore. For the faithful, thorow the feruentnes of their faith, & loue of Chriſt being inflamed, hauing an earneſt deſire of that heauēly kingdome, haue enriched the holy church with their owne goodes, that thereby the ſouldiours of Chriſt might be noriſhed, the church adorned, the poore refreſhed, & captiues, according to the oportunitie of time, redemed. Wherefore ſuche as haue the adminiſtration of thoſe goods, ought diligently to be looked vpon, that they do not conuerte them vnto their owne proper vſe, but rather, accordyng to their ſubſtaunce & poſſibilitie, they do not neglect thē in whom Chriſt is fedde and clothed. Proſper is alſo of the ſame minde, affirmyng that holy men dyd not chalenge the church goods to theyr owne vſe, as their own proper goodes, but as thyngs cōmended vnto the poore, to be deuided amōgeſt thē: For that is to contemne that which a mā poſſeſſeth, not to poſſeſſe a thing for him ſelf, but for others, neyther to couet the Church goods with couetouſnes, to haue thē him ſelf, but to take thē with a godly zeale, to helpe other. That which the church hath, is cōmon to all thē whiche haue nothing, neyther ought they to gyue any thynge of that vnto them, (ſayth hee) which haue of their owne: for to giue vnto them whiche haue inough, is but to caſt thynges away. Ex Illyrico.

Pope Alexander. vi.

To returne now to the order of popes, where we left before ſpeaking of Innocentius viij. pag. 842. after the ſayd Innocentius, next ſucceded Pope Alexander the vi. In whiche Alexander, among other horrible thynges, thys is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Peucerus nameth hym Demes) brother to Baiazetes the great Turke, was cōmitted by the Rhodians, to the ſafe cuſtodie, firſt of pope Innocent, then of Alexander the 6. for whoſe keping ẏ pope receaued euery yere. 40. thouſand crownes: yet notwithſtanding, when pope Alexander afterward was compelled to ſend the ſayd Gemes to Lewes xi. the French king, for a pledge: becauſe the Frenche kyng ſhould not procure ẏ great Turkes fauour, by ſendyng his brother Gemes to hym to be ſlaine, he being hyred by the Turke, cauſed ẏ ſayd Gemes to be poyſoned, who in hys iourney going toward the French kyng, dyed at Terracina. Ex Hieronymo Mario.

The pope poyſoneth Gemes the Turkes brother, beyng cōmitted to hys cuſtodye.

Ex Paul. Iouio. lib. 2. Ex Peucero. lib. 5. Ex Hieronym. Mario.

Moreouer, in the ſayd Hieronymus Marius it appeareth, that thys Alexander, takyng diſpleaſure with the foreſayd Levves the French kyng, aboute the wynning of Neaples, ſent to Baiazetes the Turke, to fight agaynſt the foreſayd Lewes. Ex eodem.

The pope ſetteth the greate Turke agaynſt the French kyng.

Munſterus lib. 4. Coſmog. Declaryng the foreſayd hiſtorye of Gemes, ſomethyng otherwyſe, fyrſt calleth hym Zyzymus, and ſayth, that he was firſt committed by ẏ Rhodians to ẏ French kyng: And when as Ioannes Huniades afore mentioned, did labour to ẏ French king to haue hym, thinkyng by that meanes to obtayne a noble victorye agaynſt ẏ Turke, as it was not vnlike: thys Alexander the pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French kyng, into his own handes: by whoſe meanes the ſayd Gemes afterwarde was poyſoned, as is in maner before expreſſed.

Ex Seb. Munſter. lib. 4. Coſmog.

Unto theſe poyſoned actes of the Pope, let vs alſo adioyne hys malicious wickednes, with lyke furye exerciſed vpon Antonius Mancinellus: which Mancinellus beyng a mā of excellent learning, becauſe he wrote an eloquent oration agaynſt hys wicked maners and filthye life, with other vices, he therfore commaunded both his handes and hys tounge to be cut of, playing much lyke with hym, as Antonius the tyraunt once dyd with M. Cicero, for writing againſt hys horrible lyfe. At length, as one poyſon requireth an other, thys poyſoned pope, as he was ſitting with his Cardinalls, & other riche Senatours of Rome at dynner, hys ſeruauntes vnwares brought to hym a wronge bottell, wherby both he was poyſoned, and hys Cardinalls about hym.

Mācinellus wryting agaynſt the wickednes of the pope, loſte hys handes & tounge.

Poyſon requited with poyſon.

In the tyme of thys Pope Alexander, alſo it happened (which is not to be pretermitted) how that ẏ Angell which ſtoode in the high toppe of the popes church, was beaten downe with a terrible thunder: which thing ſeemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the popedome. After thys Pope, next ſucceded Pius the thyrd, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1503. After whom came next Iulius the ſecond, a man ſo farre paſſing all other in iniquitie, that VVicelius & ſuch other of hys own frendes writing of him, are compelled to ſay of him, Marti illum quam Chriſto deditiorem fuiſſe: that is, that he was more geuē to warre and battaile, then to Chriſt. Concerning the madnes of thys mā, this is moſt certaynly knowen, that at what tyme he was going to warre, he caſte the keyes of S. Peter into the riuer of Tybris, ſaying, that for as much as the keyes of Peter, would not ſerue him to hys purpoſe, he would take hym ſelfe to the ſworde of Paule. Wherupō Phillip Melancthon, amongeſt many other wryting vpon the ſame, maketh thys Epigrame.

The hygh Angell of the popes pallace throwne downe.

Pope Pius. 3. Pope Iulius. 2.

Cum contra Gallos bellum papa Iulius eſſet
Geſturus, ſicut fama vetuſta docet:
Ingentes martis turmas contraxit, et vrbem
Egreſſus ſæuas edidit ore minas.
Iratuſq; ſacras claues in flumina iecit
Tibridis, hic vrbi pons vbi iungit aquas.
Inde manu ſtrictum vagina diripit enſem,
Exclamanſq; truci talia voce refert:
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoſte,
Quandoquidem clauis nil iuuat iſta Petri.

Wherupon alſo Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigram.

In Gallum vt fama eſt, bellum geſturus acerbum,
Armatam educit Iulius vrbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claues in Tibridis amnem
Proiicit, et ſæuus talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claues,
Auxilio Pauli forſitan enſis erit.

¶ The ſenſe of theſe Epigrames in Engliſhe is this.

When Iulius Pope agaynſt the French
Determynde to make warre:
As fame reportes, he gathered vppe
Great troupes of men from farre,
And to the bridge of Tybur then
Marching as he were woode,
His holy keyes he tooke, and caſte
Them downe into the floode.
And afterward into hys hand
He tooke a naked ſworde,
And ſhakyng it, brake forth into
Thys ſcarce and warlike worde:
Thys ſworde of Paule (quoth he) ſhall now
Defend vs from our foe,
Since that thys keye of Peter doth
Nothyng auayle therto.

Of thys Iulius it is certainly reported, that partlye with hys warres, partly with hys curſinges, within the ſpace of vij. yeares, as good as two hundreth thouſand Chriſtians were deſtroyed. Fyrſt he beſieged Rauenna agaynſt the Venetians, then Seruia, Imola, Fauentia, Forolíuium, Bononia, and other cities which he gatte out of princes handes, not without much bloudſhed. The chronicles of Iohn Sledane maketh mencion, that when thys Iulius was made pope, he tooke an othe, promiſing to haue a Councell within ij. yeares: but when he had no leaſure therunto, being occupied with hys warres in Italy amongeſt yͤ Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferraria, and in other countreyes: ix. of hys Cardinalls departing from him, came to Millaine, and there appoynted a councell at yͤ citie of Piſe, amonges whom the chiefe were, Bernardinus Cruceius, Gulielmus Preneſtinus, Franciſcus Conſtantinus, with diuers others: amonges whom alſo were adioyned the procuratours of Maximilian the Emperour, and of Ludouicke yͤ French kyng. So the Councell was appoynted the yeare of our Lord. 1511. to beginne in the Kalendes of September. The cauſe why they did ſo call this Councell, was thus alledged, becauſe the pope had broken hys othe, and all thys while he gaue no hope to haue any councell, and alſo becauſe there were diuers other crimes, wherupon they had to accuſe him. Their purpoſe was to remoue him out of hys ſeate, the which he had procured thorow brybes and ambition. Iulius hearing thys, geueth out contrary commaundement, vnder great paine, no man to obey them, and calleth him ſelfe an other councell agaynſt yͤ next yeare, to be begonne the xix. day of April. The French kyng vnderſtanding Pope Iulius to ioyne with the Venetians, & ſo to take their part agaynſt him, conuented a councell at Thurin in yͤ moneth of September, in yͤ which councell theſe queſtions were propoſed.

The popes law geneth leaue to kill all that he accurſed by hym.

The warres and bloudſhed of pope Iulius 2.

The pope periured.

A councell called to depoſe pope Iulius.

Whether it was lawfull for the Pope to moue warre agaynſt any prince without cauſe.

Whether any prince in defending hym ſelfe, myght inuade hys aduerſary, and denye hys obedience.

Vnto the which queſtions it was aunſwered, that neither the byſhop ought to inuade, & alſo that it was lawfull for the kyng to defend hym ſelfe. Moreouer that the Pragmaticall ſanction was to be obſerued thorowe the realme of Fraunce: Neyther that any vniuſte excõmunicatiõs ought to be feared, if they were found to be vniuſte. After thys the kyng ſent vnto Iulius, the aunſwere of his councell, requiring him either to agrée to peace, or to appoynt a generall councell ſome other where, where thys matter might be more fully deciſed. Iulius would neyther of both theſe, but forthwith accurſed Ludouicke the French king, with all hys kingdome, and ſo the next yeare after, thys warlyke pope dyed. At yͤ length, at Rauenna in a great warre, he was ouercome by yͤ French king, and at laſt, after much ſlaughter and great bloudſhed, and mortall warre, thys Pope dyed in the yeare of our Lord. 1513 the. xxj. day of February.

The Pragmaticall Sanction eſtabliſhed, mentioned before pag. 817.

No vniuſt excommunication to be feared.

If it were not that I feare to ouerlay this our volume with heapes of forreine hiſtories, whiche haue profeſſed chiefly to entreat of Actes and monumentes here done at home: I would adioyne after theſe Popes aboue rehearſed, ſome diſcourſe alſo of the Turkes ſtory: of theyr riſing, and cruell perſecutiõ of the ſainctes of God, to the great anoyance & perill of Chriſtendome: yet notwithſtanding certaine cauſes there be which neceſſarely require the knowledge of their order & doynges, & of theyr wicked procedynges, their cruell tyranny, and bloudye victories, the ruine and ſubuerſion of ſo many Chriſten Churches, with the horrible murders and captiuitie of infinite Chriſtians, to be made playne and manifeſt, as well to this our countrey of England, as alſo to other nations:

The Turkes doinges requiſite to be knowen of Chriſtians.

Firſt for the better explaynyng of the Prophecies of the new Teſtament, as in S. Paules Epiſt. ad Theſſal. and alſo in the reuelations of S. Iohn. Whiche Scriptures otherwiſe, without the opening of theſe hiſtories, can not ſo perfectly be vnderſtand. Of the whiche Scriptures we minde hereafter (Chriſt graunting) orderly, as the courſe of matter ſhall leade vs, to make rehearſall.

The firſt cauſe.

An other cauſe is, that we may learne therby, either with the publique Church, to lament with our brethren ſuch a greate defection and decaye of Chriſtian fayth, through theſe wicked Turkes: or els may feare therby our owne daunger.

The ſecond cauſe.

The thyrd cauſe, that we may ponder more depely with our ſelues, the ſcourge of God for our ſinnes, and corrupt doctrine, which in yͤ ſequele hereof, more euidently may appeare to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The thyrd cauſe.

Fourthly, the conſideration of this horrible perſecution of the Turkes, riſing chiefly by our diſcord & diſſenſion among our ſelues, may reduce vs again frõ our domeſticall warres, in killyng & burning one of another, to ioyne together in Chriſtian pacience and concord.

The fourth cauſe.

V. but chiefly theſe greate victoryes of the Turkes and vnproſperous ſpeede of our men fightyng agaynſt them, may admoniſh and teach vs, folowyng the example of the old Iſraelites, how to ſeke for greater ſtrength, to encounter with theſe enemyes of Chriſt, then hetherto we haue done. Firſt we muſt conſider, that the whole power of Satan, the prince of this world, goeth with yͤ Turkes. Whiche to reſiſt no ſtrength of mans arme, is ſufficient, but onely the name, ſpirite, and power of our Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God, goyng with vs in our battailes, as among the old Iſraelites, the Arke of Gods couenaunt and promiſe went with them alſo, fighting agaynſt the enemyes of God. For ſo are wee taught in Scripture, yͭ we Chriſten men haue no ſtrength, but in Chriſt onely. Whether we warre againſt the deuil, or agaynſt the Turke, it is true that yͤ Scripture ſayth: Sine me nihil poteſtis facere. i. without me you cã do nothing. Otherwiſe there is no puiſſance to ſtãd agaynſt yͤ deuil, or to cõquere yͤ world, Niſi fides noſtra: that is, our faith onely in the ſonne of God: Whiche faith ioynyng with our armye, maketh our battaile ſtronge. To this fayth onely all the promiſes of God (touchyng ſaluation) bee annexed: beyond whiche promiſes we muſt not goe, for the worde muſt be our rule. He that preſumeth beyond the promiſes in the word expreſſed, goeth not, but wandereth, he cã not tell whether. Neither muſt we appoint God, how to ſaue the worlde, but muſt take that waye whiche he hath appointed. Let vs not ſet our God to ſchole, nor cõprehend his holy ſpirit within our ſkulles.

The fifth cauſe.

Admonition to fight againſt the Turke.

Chriſtiã fayth neceſſary to be ioyned with outward force agaynſt the Turke.

He yͤ made vs wout our coũſaile,did alſo redeme vs as pleaſed him. If he be mercifull,let vs be thākefull. And if his mercies ſurmount our capacitie,let vs therfore not reſiſte, but ſearch his word,⁊ therunto applye our will: whiche if wee will do,all our contentions will ſoone be at appointe. Let vs therfore ſearch the will of our God, in his worde: and if he wil his ſaluation to ſtand free to all nations,why do we make marchaundiſe therof? If he haue graciouſly offered his waters to vs, without money or money worth, let not vs hedge in yͤ plētuous ſpringes of his grace geuē vs. And finally,if God haue determined his owne ſonne onely to ſtand alone, let not vs preſume to admixte with his maieſtie, any of our trũperie. He that bringeth S.George or S. Deniſe, as patrons,to the fielde to fight agaynſte the Turke, leaueth Chriſt(no doubt) at home. Nowe how we haue fought theſe many yeares agaynſt the Turke, thoughe ſtories kepe ſilence,yet the ſucceſſe declareth. We fight againſt a perſecuteur, beyng no leſſe perſecutours our ſelues. We wraſtle agaynſt a bloudy tyraunt,and our handes be as full of bloud as his. He kylleth Chriſtes people wͭ the ſword: and we burne them with fire. He obſeruyng the workes of the law,ſeketh his iuſtice by the ſame:the like alſo do we. But neither he nor we ſeke our iuſtification as we ſhould,that is,by fayth onely in the ſonne of God. And what meruell thē,if our doctrine beyng as corrupte almoſt,as his,⁊ our conuerſation worſe,if Chriſt fight not with vs,fightyng agaynſt yͤ Turke? The Turke hath preuailed ſo mightly, not becauſe that Chriſte is weake,but becauſe that Chriſtians be wicked,and their doctrine impure. Our tēples with Images,our hartes with idolatrie are polluted: Our prieſtes ſtinke before God for adultery,being reſtrained from lawfull matrimonie. The name of God is in our mouthes,but hys feare is not in our hartes. We warre agaynſt the Turke with our workes,maſſes,traditions, and ceremonies: but we fight not againſt him with Chriſt, and with the power of his glorye: Which if we did, the fielde were wonne. Wherfore briefly to conclude, ſaying my iudgement in this behalfe, what I ſuppoſe:this hope I haue, and doe beleue, that when the Churche of Chriſt with the Sacraments therof,ſhalbe ſo reformed, that Chriſt alone ſhal be receaued to be our iuſtifier,all other religions,merites,traditions,images, patrons ⁊ aduocates ſet a part:the ſword of the Chriſtians,with the ſtrength of Chriſt,ſhall ſoone vanquiſhe the Turkes pryde and furie. But of this more largely in yͤ proceſſe of this ſtory.

Gratis venũdati eſtis,gratis redimemini. Eſa.52.

Omnes ſitientes venite ad aquas,emite abſq; argento et commutatione. Eſai. 55.

Reformation of religion requiſite before we fyght with the Turkes.

Fayth getteth victorye.

The ſixte cauſe.

The ſixt and laſt cauſe,why I thinke the knowledge of yͤ Turkes hiſtory,requiſite to be conſidered,is this:becauſe that many there be, whiche for that they bee farther from the Turkes,and thinke therfore them ſelues to be out of daunger,take litle care and ſtudy,what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherfore to the entent to excite their zeale and prayer to almighty God,in this ſo lamentable ruine of Chriſtes Churche: I thought it requiſite by order of hiſtory, to geue this our nation alſo ſomethyng to vnderſtand,what hath bene done in other natiōs by theſe cruell Turkes,and what detriment hath bene and is like more to happen by them, to the churche of Chriſt,except we make our earneſt inuocation to almighty God,in the name of his ſonne,to ſtop the courſe of the deuill by theſe Turkes,and to ſtay this defection of Chriſtians falling dayly vnto them,and to reduce them agayne to his faith, which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Ieſus of his grace,graunt with ſpeade. Amen.

Earneſt inuocatiō neceſſarie in the church of Chriſt.

2. Theſſ.2.

Before we enter into this ſtory of the Turkes and Saracenes,firſt let vs call to remembraunce the Prophecie ⁊ forewarnyng of S.Paul writyng to the Theſſ. in his. 2. Epiſtle,in theſe wordes: Be not moued nor troubled in your myndes,either by preachyng, or by wrytyng,or by letter from vs, as though the day of the Lorde were at hande: for the Lord will not come except there come a defection firſt, and the wicked perſon bee reuealed. ⁊c. Of this defectiō ſondry mindes there be,of ſondry expoſitours:ſome thinkyng this defection to meane a fallyng awaye from the Empire of Rome: ſome, from the obedience of the Pope. But as S.Paul litle paſſed vpō the outward glorye of the Romaine Empire: ſo leſſe he paſſed vpon the proude obedience of the Pope. What S. Paul ment by this defection,the readyng of theſe Turkiſhe ſtories, and the miſerable fallyng awaye of thoſe churches by him before planted,will ſoone declare.

The place of S. Paule expounded 2. Theſſ.2. ſpeaking of the defection to come.

An other miſtery there is in the Reuelations,Apoca. 13. where the number of the beaſt is counted. 666. Whereby may ſeme by all euidences, to be ſignified the firſt origine and ſpringyng of theſe beaſtly Saracens, as by ſequele hereof may appeare, by the firſt riſing vp of this deuiliſh ſect of Mahumet.

The nũber of the Apocalyps cap. 13 expounded.

Moreouer,an other place there is. cap. 16. Apocal. where we read that by pouring out of yͤ Phiall of Gods wrath, of the ſixte Aungell, the great floude Euphrates was dryed vp, to let in the kynges of the Eaſt: the openyng of whiche Prophecie,may alſo more euidently appeare,in conſideryng the order and manner of the commyng in of theſe Turkes into Europe.

An other place Apocal. cap.16. *Et ſextus Angelus effudit phialam ſuam, &c.*

Some alſo applye to the Turkes, certeine Prophecies of Daniel,Ezechiel,and other places of the olde Teſtament moe,whiche here I omit:for ſo much as the Prophecies of the old Teſtament, if they bee taken in their proper and natiue ſenſe,after my iudgement,do extend no farther, then to yͤ death of our Sauiour,and the end of the Iewes kyngdome. Albeit herein I do not preiudicate to any mans opinion, but that euery man may abounde in his owne ſenſe.

As touchyng the yeare and tyme, when this peſtiferous ſect of Mahumet firſt began, hiſtories do not fully conſent: Some affirmyng that it began,an. 621. and in the. 10. yeare of Heraclius Emperour of Conſtantinople: in whiche minde is Ioannes Lucidus. As Munſterus counteth,it was in the yere of our Lord. 622. Martin Luther,and Iohn Carion referreth it to the. 18. yeare of the reigne of Heraclius, whiche is the yeare of our Lord. 630. Unto the whiche number the computation of the Beaſt ſignified in the Apocal. doth not farre diſagrée, which numbreth the name of the Beaſt, with thrée Greke letters. χξϛ. whiche Greke letters,after the ſupputation of the Grecians,make the number of. 666.

The tyme of Mahumet the falſe prophet,examined.

The nũber of the beaſt in the Apoca. ca.13.

In this all writers agrée,that this damnable Mahumet was borne in the countrey of Arabia, borderyng on the Eaſt part of Iewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Perſian. His mother was an Iſmaelite, whiche Iſmaelites being a people of Arabia,wer called then Agarens: Whiche terme Mahumet afterward turned to yͤ name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahumet mention was made before,pag. 166. where we ſhewed, how he makyng him ſelfe the hygheſt Prophete of all other,yet denyeth not Chriſt to be an holy prophet,and next to him, and Moſes alſo to be an other. Moreouer he denyeth not Mary the mother of Chriſt to be a virgine, and to haue conceaued Chriſt by the holy Ghoſt: affirmyng further that Chriſt in his own perſon, was not crucified,but an other called Iudas for him. He greatly commendeth alſo Iohn the ſonne of Zacharie for a virgine: when hee hym ſelfe permitteth a man to haue. iiij. wyues, and as many concubines as he is able to finde: and ſayth that where as Chriſte, and other Prophetes had the gift geuen them to worke miracles, hee was ſent by force of ſworde,to compell men to his Religion. The prodigious vanities, lyes,and blaſphemies cōteyned in his law called Alchoran,are rather to be laught at,then to be recited. It is thought that Sergius a Neſtoriā,was a great doer with Mahumet,in cōtriuyng of this lyeng Alchoran: and ſo it doth well appeare by the ſcope and pretēſe therof,which eſpecially tendeth to this end, to take yͤ vi-

Mahumet of the ſtocke of the Iſmaelites dwelling in Arabia.

The prodigious lyes and blaſphemies of Mahumetes Alchoran.

uinitie from the perſon of Chriſte, whom hee graunteth notwithſtandyng to be a moſt holy mā, & alſo ẏ he is receaued vp to God, & ſhal come again to kil Antichriſt. &c.

Mahumetes Alchoran mixed with diuers lawes.

Moreouer this ridiculous Alchoran is ſo blaunched and poudered with ſo diuers mixtures of the Chriſtiās, Jewes, and Gentiles lawes, geuing ſuch libertie to all wantonnes of fleſh, ſettyng vp circumciſion, abſteining from ſwynes fleſh, and Judaicall lotions, and ſo much ſtandeth vpon father Abraham, that it is ſuppoſed of ſome, this filthy Alchoran, not to be ſet out in the dayes of Mahumet, but that certeine Jewes had ſome hādling alſo in this matter, and put it out after his death: and ſo ſemeth firſt to take his force about the nūber of yeares limited in the Apocal. as is aforeſayd, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligēce, let him count the number of the beaſt: For it is the number of a man, and his number is, vi. hundreth vi. ſcore and, vi. &c.

The numeration of the Apoc. *666.*

After this deuiliſhe Mahumet had thus ſeduced the people, teachyng thē that he came not by miracles, but by force of ſword to geue his law, and that they whiche will not obey it, muſte either be put to death or els paye tribute (for ſo be the wordes of hys Alchoran) and after that hee had gathered ſtrength about him, of the Arabians, which Arabians then had occaſion to rebell againſt the Emperour, becauſe their ſtipendes were not payd them of Heraclius the Emperours officers: he beganne to raunge with force and violence, in the partes of Syria borderyng nere vnto hym, and firſt ſubdued Mecha, thē Damaſcus: and further increaſing in power, entred into Ægypt, and ſubdued the ſame. Frō thence he turned his power agaynſte the Perſians, with whom Coſroes the king of Perſia, encounteryng with a puiſant armye, ouerthrew the Saracens, and put Mahumet to flight. Of theſe Perſians came the Turkes, whiche afterward ioynyng with the Saracens, mainteined them agaynſt the Chriſtians. Ex Munſter.

Damaſcus ſubdued of the Saracens.

Mahumet put to flyght by Coſroes king of the Perſians.

After the death of this beaſt, whiche, as ſome ſay, was poyſoned in his houſe, ſucceded Ebocara, or Ebubecer his father in law, or as Bibliander affirmeth, his ſōne in law, who toke vpon him the gouernement of the Saracens, & got the Citie Gaza, and beſieged alſo Hieruſalem two yeares. He reigned. ij. yeares, hauyng for hys chief Citie, Damaſcus.

Hieruſalem beſieged.

After him folowed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Ægypt.

The fourth king of the Saracens after Mahumet, was Odmen. Then folowed Haly, and after him Muhanias: Whiche after the ſiege of. vij. yeares, obteyned and got the Chriſtian Citie of Cæſaria: alſo ouercame the Perſians, with their kyng Orimaſda, and ſubdued that countrey to his law.

Cæſaria got of the Saracens.

The kyngdome of the Perſians ſubdued to the Saracens.

Thus the wicked Saracens, in the ſpace of. 30. yeares, ſubdued Arabia, got Paleſtina, Phœnicia, Syria, Ægypt, & Perſia: whiche came directely to the. *666.* yeares, prophecied of in the Reuelatiōs of S. John, as is aforeſaid. And not lōg after they proceded farther, & got Aphrike, and then Aſia, as in the proceſſe of their ſtory ſhall appeare, the Lord willyng.

Arabia, Paleſtina, Phœnicia, Syria, Ægipt, & Perſia, ſubdued of the Saracens.

Not long after, Heraclius Emperour of Conſtantinople, ſucceded Conſtans his nephewe, who in the. 13. yeare of his Empire, fightyng vnluckely againſt the Saracens in Lycia, was ouerthrowen of Muhanias aforeſayd, in the yeare of our Lord. 655. Which Conſtans, if he were not proſpered by the Lorde in his warres, it was no great meruell, conſideryng that he had ſlayne his brother Theodoſius before at home: moreouer lyued in inceſtuous matrimonie: alſo being inclined to certain newe ſectes, could not abyde the contrary teachers, but ſlue them which admoniſhed him therof. The ſaid Conſtans goyng afterwarde to Italy, was alſo ouercome of the Lumbardes. &c. The Saracens after this victorie, ſpoyled alſo Rhodes.

Conſtans the Emperour ouercome by the Saracens.

Murther commonly proſpereth not with the Lord.

Rhodes ſpoyled of the Saracens.

Althoughe theſe curſed Saracens, in theſe their great victories and conqueſtes, were not without domeſticall ſeditions and diuiſions among them ſelues, yet ẏ princes of ẏ Saracens, beyng called then Sultans, had in theyr poſſeſſion, the gouernment of Syria, Ægypt, Aphrike, and of a great part of Aſia, about the terme of. 400. yeares: till at length the Saracen kyng, whiche ruled in Perſia, fightyng agaynſt ẏ Saracen of Babylon, ſought aide of ẏ Turkes, to fight with hym agaynſt the Sultane of Babylon. The whiche Turkes, by litle and litle ſurpriſed vpon the Sultane of Perſia, & not long after putting him out of place, vſurped the kingdome of Perſia: which afterward went farther, as ye ſhall heare, the Lorde willyng. And this is the firſt beginnyng of the Turkes dominion.

Sultans firſt called.

The firſt kyng of the Turkes.

Theſe Turkes after they had thus ouercome greate countreyes and prouinces: and made theyr power large and mighty both in Aſia and Europa, began to diuide their kyngdomes and countreys amongeſt them ſelues. But when they could not agrée, but with deadly warre contended for the boundes of thoſe kyngdomes and dominions: in the meane tyme. iiij. of the principall families conqueryng and ſubduyng all the reſt, parted the whole Empire amongeſt them ſelues. And yet they alſo not ſo contented, fell to ſuch cruell hatred contention, warre and ſlaughter (no doubte by the iuſte iudgement of God agaynſt his blaſphemous enemyes) that there was no ende thereof, vntill the remnaunte of the auncient Turkes was vtterly rooted out. For it is euident that there are few now remaynyng whiche are Turkes in dede, by byrth and bloud, and that the ſtate of that great Empire is not vpholden, but by the ſtrength and power of ſouldiours whiche haue bene Chriſtians, and now are turned to Mahumetes Religion: ſo that euen theyr owne naturall language is nowe out of vſe amongeſt them, ſauyng in certeine families of their nobilitie and gentlemen.

The Turkes dominions parted into iiii. familyes.

Theſe foure families aboue mencioned, with theyr Captaines and armyes, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1330. went ragyng throughout all Aſia, and Europa, and euery one of them conquered ſome part of the countreys where they paſſed.

The cauſes of theſe great inuaſions and victories were the diſſenſion and diſcorde, falſehoode, idlenes, vnconſtancie, gredye auarice, lacke of truth and fidelitie among Chriſtian men of all ſtates and degrées, both hygh and lowe. For by the wilfull defection and backeſlydyng of the Chriſtians, the Turkiſhe power dyd exceedynglye encreaſe, in that many, deſiring the licentious life and libertie of warre, and allured with the proſperous ſucceſſe of thynges, forſoke the Churche of God, and made them ſelues bonde ſlaues to Mahumete and his deuiliſhe ſecte: both becauſe that fleſhly libertie is delightyng to all men, and partly alſo becauſe, as fortune fauoreth, ſo commonly the willes of men encline: And agayne ſuch as be prophane and without the feare of God (wherof there is an infinite nūber in the churche) in all ages, are wont commonly to iudge of Religion, accordyng to the ſucceſſe of realmes and kyngdomes. For many, not onely for the varietye of opinions, but alſo for the diuerſitie of euentes and fortune amongeſt men, haue enquired and do enquire, whether there be any Churche of God diſtincte from other nations: what it is, and where it is: eſpeciallye, for ſomuche as the greateſt parte of men, both in the olde tyme, when as the. iiij. Monarchies flouriſhed in order, was ignoraunt of this doctrine, which is peculier to the Churche alone: and nowe alſo the barbaritie of Mahumet preuayleth and reygneth in the moſt parte of the worlde. And howe ſtandeth thys with mans reaſon, that a ſmall number, both miſerable and alſo febled and broken with many battailes, ſhould bee regarded and beloued of God, and the other flouriſhyng in all wealth,

The diſſenſion of the Chriſtians make the Turkes ſo ſtronge.

proſperitie, victories, authoritie and power, ſhould bee reiected and deſpiſed of God, ſeyng there is no power and authoritie, but by the ordinaunce of God? Albeit therefore, the power of the Turkes hath bene, for theſe two hundreth yeares, of greater force, then anye other Monarchy of the worlde beſides: yet is there no Imperiall dignitie to bee eſtemed in that Turkiſhe tyranny: but amongeſt thoſe nations onely, where the heauenly doctrine of the Goſpell is preached, and other diſciplines neceſſary for the Churche of God, and the common life of man, mainteyned and regarded: where the lawes of God, and other honeſt and ciuill ordinaunces agreable to the ſame, do flouriſh and reigne: where lawfull iudgement is exerciſed: where vertue is honoured and rewarded: where ſinne and wickednes is puniſhed: where honeſt families are mainteined and defended.

No Imperiall dignitie in all the Turkyſhe dominions.

These things are not regarded amongeſt the Turkes, the enemies of the ſonne of God, and all lawfull Empyres: becauſe they diſſolue & reiect all godly ſocieties, honeſt diſcipline, good lawes, policies, righteous iudgementes, the ordinaunce of matrimonie, and godly families. For what hath yͤ Empire of yͤ Turkes bene hetherto, but moſt deadly, cruell, & perpetuall warre, to worke all miſchief, deſtruction and deſolation? to ſubuert good lawes, Cities, kingdomes, policies, and to enlarge their cruell power and dominion? The ſtaye and ſtrength wherof, is not loue and fauour procedyng of vertue and iuſtice, as in lawfull and well gouerned Empyres: but feare, violence, oppreſſion, ſwarmes & infinite thouſandes of barbarous and moſt wicked people, miniſters of Satans malice and fury. Which kynde of dominion and tyranny hath ben condemned by the voyce of God, many yeares agoe: the teſtimonies whereof the Lorde would haue to remayne in the Churche, leaſt the godly being moued with the power and ſucceſſe therof, ſhould fall away and forſake the ſonne of God. Wherefore, let vs not ſeke for any Imperiall ſtate in that barbaritye: but let vs be thankefull, & acknowledge the great benefite of God, for that he hath reſerued to vs certeine remnauntes of the Romaine Empire: and let vs call vpon him dayly with harty petitions and grones, and with zeale and loue to yͤ houſe of God, yͭ this Turkiſh power, ioyned with the malice of Satan agaynſt the ſonne of God, preuaile not againſt the poore congregations and litle remnaunt of his Churche, as it hath hetherto done agaynſte thoſe ſtronge and noble Chriſtian kingdomes & Churches, where now we ſee the Turkiſh tyranny to reigne, and Satan to haue taken full poſſeſſion: Whoſe ſtate was once farre better then ours is now, and more like to continue without ſuch horrible ouerthrowes and deſolation. Oh that we might forſee a litle, the great daunger that hangeth ouer our heades. For though the Turke ſemeth to bee farre of, yet do wee nouriſhe within our owne breaſtes at home, that may ſoone cauſe vs to feele his cruell hand, & worſe, if worſe may be: to ouer runne vs: to lay our land waſt: to ſcatter vs amongeſt the infidels, the enemyes and blaſphemers of the ſonne of God. Now, although theſe. iiij. families aboue mencioned, lõg cõtinued together in bloudy warres and deadly hatred, yet one of them paſſed the reſt in all cruelty and tyranny, and ſubduyng the other. iij. families, tooke vpon hym the gouernement alone, and ſo became the firſt Monarch or Emperour that reigned among them, called Ottomanus, of whom all that reygned after hym, were called Ottomanni. Who ſuccedyng orderly of hys lyne, haue occupied the ſame dominion and ſeate of the Turkes, from the yeare of our Lord. 1300. vnto this preſent tyme: which haue bene to the nũber of. xij. Of the whiche. xij. in ſuch order as they liued & reigned, I intende (Chriſt ſo permitting) ſeuerally & compendiouſly, ſomething to entreat, briefly abſtractyng out of prolixe and tedious writers, ſuch ſpecialties, as for vs Chriſtians, ſhal be chiefly requiſite to be knowen.

The deſcription of the Turkes vnordinate Empyre.

Ezech.39. Apoc.20.

The chriſten kyngdomes & churches deſtroyed by the Turkes, are a warning for vs whom God hath yet ſpared.

Foure principall familyes of the Turkes.

The familye of Ottomannus.

¶ Ottomannus the firſt great Emperour or Tyranne of the Turkes.

THis Ottomannus was at the firſt, of poore eſtate and obſcure amongeſt the common ſorte of men, cõming of a baſe progenie & of ruſticall parentes: but through hys valiantnes & actiuitie in warre, he gotte hym a great name amongeſt the Turkes. For hee beyng a man of fearce courage, refuſing no labour and delightyng in warre, and gatheryng together by great ſubtiltie, a multitude of common ſouldiers, began to make warre, and by conqueſtes and victoryes, to aduaunce hym ſelfe and hys familie. Firſte hee began to robbe and ſpoyle with a great bande of rouers, and afterward he attempted to ſet vpon all men. Neyther did he vexe and deſtroye the Chriſtians onely, but ſet vppon his owne nation alſo, and ſought all occaſion to ſubdue them wholy vnto hym. For nowe the princes and captaines of the Turkes, inflamed with ambition & deſire of rule, began to fall out and contende among thẽ ſelues, in ſo much that they fell to domeſticall & inward warre, with all the power they coulde. Ottomannus hauyng this occaſion, very fitte and meete to accompliſhe that whiche he long had ſought for, gatheryng vnto him all ſuch as he thought to be geuen to robbing and ſpoylyng, and ſet all vppon miſchief, in ſhorte tyme began to grow in authoritie, & firſt ſet vpon certeine townes, as he ſaw oportunitie to ſerue him: Of which townes, ſome he tooke by force, ſome by yeldyng, other ſome he ſpoyled & ouerthrew, to terrefie the reſt, thus laying the firſt foundation of his riſyng. In the meane tyme, yͤ diſcorde whiche was among the Chriſtians, was no ſmall aduauntage to this Ottomannus, by occaſion wherof, he within. x. yeares ſpace, ſubdued Bithynia, and all the prouinces about Pontus: Alſo Natolia, whiche comprehendeth all the dominiõ of the Grekes within Aſia: Ancyra a Citie in Phrygia: Sinope a citie in Galatia: and Sebaſtia a Citie in Cappadocia: and thus ſtill preuailyng, he encreaſed in ſhort tyme, to a myghty power, eyther through the ſecrete iudgement of God agaynſt that nation, or els becauſe God would haue them ſo farre and ſo cruelly to preuaile, for the puniſhmẽt of the ſynnes of other nations, lyke as it was Prophecyed before, that ſuch a kyngdome there ſhould be of Gog and Magog.

Ottomannus the firſt Emperour of the Turkes.

Inward warre among the Turkes.

The comming vp of Ottomannus.

Bithinia, Natolia, Ancyra, Sinope, Sebaſtia, ſubdued.

Ezech.38.

This Ottomannus, after he had reigned. 28. yeares, in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1327. dyed, and departed to hys Mahumet, leauing behinde hym three ſonnes, of whom Orchanes being the youngeſt, killed hys two brethren, whileſt they were at variaunce betwene them ſelues.

¶ Orchanes, the ij. Emperour after Ottomannus.

ORchanes, the yongeſt of the ſonnes of Ottomannus, after he had ſlayne his. ij. brethren, tooke the regimẽt of yͤ Turkes after his father. Who, after he had drawen to him the hartes of the multitude, ſuch as had their diſpoſitions ſet vpon the licentious life of warre, conuerted his power further to enlarge his fathers dominion, wynnyng & ſubduyng Myſia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, & Caria: all which coũtreys, beyng within the compaſſe of Aſia, vnto yͤ ſea ſide of Helleſpontus, and the ſea Euxinus, he added to the Turkiſhe Empire. Alſo he wanne Pruſia, whiche was the Metropolitane Citie of Bithynia, whiche then hee made the chief ſeate of the Turkes Empire. Beſides theſe moreouer he conquered Nicea, & got Nicomedia: all which were before Chriſtian Cities and regions. And yet all this could not make the Chriſtian princes in Grecia, to ceaſe their ciuill warres, & to ioyne and accorde among them ſelues: Such debate and variaunce was then betwene Cãtacuzenus, on the Grekes part, and Palęologus the Emperour of Conſtantinople. By reaſon wherof, the Turkes ayde was ſent for out of

Orchanes the ſecond Emperour of the Turkes, after Ottomannus.

Myſia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Caria, Pruſia, Nicia, Nicomedia, Chriſtẽ Cities ſubdued of the Turkes.

Ciuill warre among the Grecians.

Aſia, to helpe our Chriſtians one to kill an other, and at length to get alſo thoſe partes of Europe from thē both. Who if they had, accordyng to their profeſſion, ſo well ioyned in brotherly vnitie, as they did in cruel hoſtilitie diſſēt, neither had Orchanes ſo preuailed in getting Pruſia frō the Grecians, neither had ẏ Turkes ſo ſoone preſumed into Europe as afterward they did. Orchanes after theſe victories, whē he had reigned.22.yeares, was ſtrocken, as ſome ſaye, with a darte in the ſhoulder, at the ſiege of Pruſia. The opinion of other is, that he fightyng agaynſt the Tartarians, where he loſt a great part of his armye, was there alſo ſlayne him ſelfe. an.1349.

the diſ- d of hriſtians e Turkes creaſe.

¶ *Amurathes the.iij. after Ottomannus.*

The Greke writers doo hold that Orchanes had two ſonnes, Solimannus, and Amurathes. Of whiche.ij. firſt Solimannus reigned, albeit not long. After him folowed Amurathes, who after that Aſia now was ſubdued by his predeceſſours, ſought by all meanes and wayes, how to procede further, and to inuade Europe. To whoſe ambitious purpoſe the domeſticall warres of the Chriſtians, gaue vnproſperous occaſion: whiche occaſion is thus declared. Certeine diſcorde fell betwen the princes of Grece (whoſe captaine was Cātacuzenus) and Paleologus Emperour of Conſtantinople. Wherupen Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his partie good with the Grecians, moſt vnwiſely ſent for Amurathes, to helpe hym. Who beyng glad to haue ſuch an occaſion offered, whiche he ſo long had ſought, ſent to ayde him.12000. turkes into Thracia: but firſte vſed all delayes he could, of crafty policie, to the entent that the Grekes firſt ſhoulde waſte their ſtrength and power vpon them ſelues, wherby he might be more able afterward to ſet vpō them, and to accompliſhe his conceaued deſire. The Turkes thus beyng called into Europe by the Chriſtians, whether they, taſtyng the ſweetneſſe of the ſoyle incenſed Amurathes their Emperour to make inuaſion, or whether Amurathes of his own head thought good to vſe the tyme, in the yeare of our Lord.1363. he came hym ſelfe ouer into Europe with.60000.turkes, falling vpon the Grecians, beyng waſted and ſpent with their long warres and battailes before. The pretenſe of the deuiliſhe Turke, was to ayde and aſſiſte the Emperour Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to ſubdue ſuch as had fallen from hym. The Chriſtian ſhyppes of the Ligurians for money were hyred to conduct them ouer, takyng for euery ſouldiour a peece of gold. Ex Peucer. et aliјs.

muratbes e.iii. af. Otto- nnus.

nurathes keth oc- ſion to nade Eu pe,

he firſt wyng of e Turke Europe

he coue- ouſnes of riſtians, ought er the urkes.

Thus the Turkes armye beyng conueyd ouer by the Grecian ſea called Helleſpontus, firſt got Callipolis with other townes and Cities borderyng about the ſea, and there plantyng them ſelues, and preparyng ſhyppes of their own, for tranſportyng their munitiōs out of Aſia, aduaunced their power further into Thracia, and there wanne Philippolis, then got Adrianopolis, whiche was not farre frō Conſtantinople, & there Amurathes made his chiefe ſeate. Thē began Paleologus ẏ Emperour at length to bewayle his offer & couenaunt made ŵ Amurathes. Whē the Turkes had expugned thus a great part of Thracia, they extended forth their armye vnto Myſia, whiche they ſoone ſubdued: from thence procedyng and conqueryng the Beſſos and Triballos, they entred into Seruia, & Bulgaria: where they ioynyng battaile with Lazarus Deſpota prince of Seruia, and with other Dukes of Dalmatia, and Epyrus, wanne of them the fielde, and put them to ẏ worſe: where Lazarus Deſpota beyng taken, and committed to priſon, ended his lyfe. This Lazarus had a certaine faythfull client or ſeruaunt, who to reuenge his maiſters death, with a bolde courage, although ſeyng death before his eyes, yet ventred his life ſo farre, that hee came to the tyraunt and thruſt hym through with his dagger. This Amurathes reigned.23. yeares, and was ſlayne in the yeare of our Lord.1372.

llipolis, ilippolis riano- olis, hracia, ken of e Turkes

e Turke eth in- Myſia, d Bulga- a and Ser a.

zarus ſpota o- come of e Turkes

iple of faithfull uaunt. he death Amura- es.

¶ *Baiazetes the.iiij.after Ottomannus.*

The power of ẏ Turkes began to increaſe in Europe, what tyme, Baiazetes, the firſt of that name, after the death of his father, entred the poſſeſſion of the Turkes kyngdome. This Baiazetes had.ij.brethren, Solimanus & Sauces. Whiche Sauces had his eyes put out by his father for ſtriuyng for ẏ kyngdome. Solimānus was ſlayne of his brother. Thus Baiazetes begynnyng hys kingdome with the murther of his brother, reduced his Imperiall ſeate frō Pruſia a citie of Bithynia, vnto Adrianople, entendyng with him ſelfe to ſubdue both Aſia & Europe to his own power. Firſt he ſet vpon the Seruians and Bulgarians, thinking to reuenge hys fathers death, where he gaue the ouerthrow to Marcus Deſpota, with all the nobilitie of ẏ Seruians and Bulgarians, and put all thoſe parties vnder his ſubiectiō vnto ẏ fines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreouer he brought likewiſe vnder his yoke, only Cōſtantinople and Pera, excepted. That done, he inuaded ẏ reſidue of Grecia, preuailing agaynſt the countreys of Theſſalia, Macedonia, Phocides, & Attica, ſpoylyng & burnyng as he paſſed, ŵout any reſiſtance: and ſo returnyng with innumerable ſpoile of ẏ Chriſtiās, vnto Adrianople, layd ſiege to Conſtantinople the ſpace of viij.yeares, and had expugned ẏ ſame, but that Baleologus being brought to extremitie, was driuen to craue aide of ẏ Frēchmen, & of Sigiſmund the Emperour. Who beyng accompanied ŵ a ſufficiēt power of Frenchmen & Germaines, came down to Vngaria & toward Seruia, againſt the Turke. Baiazetes hearing of their comming, raiſed his ſiege from Conſtantinople, and with.60000.horſemen came to Nicopolis, where he encountryng with them, ouerthrew all the Chriſtian armye, tooke Iohn the captaine of the Frenche power priſoner: Sigiſmundus, whiche before in the Councell of Cōſtance, had burned Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage, hardly eſcaped by flyeng. Baiazetes after the victory got, caried awaye Duke Iohn, with v.other in bandes, into Pruſia, where before his face hee cauſed all the other Chriſten priſoners to be cut in peeces.

Baiazetes the fourth after Ottomannus.

Marcus Deſpota ſlayne of the Turke.

Seruia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Phocides, Thracia, Attica, Theſſalia, with other Chriſtiā countreyes conquered of the Turkes.

Conſtātinople beſieged.viii. yeares by the Turkes.

The Chriſtians ouerthrown of the Turkes.

Sigiſmund Emperour put to flight.

The Barbarous crueltie of the Turkes, agaynſt the Chriſtians,

Afterwarde the ſayde Iohn beyng raunſomed with 200000.crownes, was deliuered. Some authors referre this ſtory to ẏ tyme of Calepinus, as foloweth hereafter to be ſene.

Baiazetes the cruel tyraunt after this victory wonne & tyranny ſhewed vpon the Chriſtiās, returned againe to his ſiege of Conſtātinople, fully bending him ſelfe to cōquere & ſubdue the ſame. Which thyng no doubt he had accōpliſhed, but that the prouidēce of God, had founde ſuch a meanes, ẏ Tamerlanes king of Parthia, ŵ an.100. thouſand horſemen & ſwarmes of footemē, like a violent floode, ouer runnyng Aſia and preſſyng vppon Syria and Sebaſtia, had taken Orthobules the ſonne of Baiazetes, priſoner, and afterward ſlue him, exerciſing ẏ like crueltie vpon his priſoners, as Baiazetes had done before vpō the Chriſtians: In ſo much that hee ſpared neither ſexe nor age of the Turkiſhe multitude: of whom he cauſed xij. thouſand at one tyme, to bee ouerryden and troden downe vnder his horſes feete. By reaſon whereof Baiazetes the tyraunt was enforced to rayſe his ſiege from Conſtantinople & to returne his power into Aſia: where he, nere the hill called Stella, pitched his tentes there to encounter with Tamerlanes.

Tamerlanes of Parthiā ſtirred vp of God, to reuenge the cauſe of the Chriſtians.

Baiazetes ſonne taken & ſlaine.

Crueltie iuſtly reuenged with crueltie.

Baiazetes rayſeth his ſiege from Conſtantinople,

The fight betwene theſe.ij. was long and great on both ſides, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord.1397. and the ſecond yeare after the ſlaughter of our Chriſtianes at Nicopolis in Pannonia: but the victorie of thys battaile fell to Tamerlanes at length. In the whiche battaile, as Munſterus writeth, were ſlayne.200000. Turkes. Amōg whom Baiazetes the tyraunt, hauing his horſe ſlayne vnder him, was taken priſoner, & to make a ſpectacle of his wretched fortune, was bound in goldē

Baiazetes ouercome of Tamerlanes, kyng of Parthians.

fetters, and ſo beyng incloſed in an yron grate (whom before all Græcia coulde not holde) was ledde aboute and ſhewed throughe all Aſia, to bee ſkorned and laught at: and moreouer was vſed in ſteade of a footeſtoole to Tamerlanes, or a blocke, as often as he mounted vpon his horſe. Some adde alſo, that he was made lyke a dogge to feade vnder Tamerlanes table. The tyranny of which Baiazetes againſt yͤ Chriſtians, as it was not much vnlike to the crueltie of Valerianus the Romaine Emperour aboue mentioned, pag. 105. ſo neither was the example of his puniſhemēt much diſcrepant. For as Sapores kyng of yͤ Perſians did then with Valerianus in tyme of the viij. perſecution of the primatiue church: ſo likewiſe was Baiazetes this perſecutor worthely hādled by Tamerlanes K. of yͤ Parthiās, as in maner aboue ſaid.

The iuſt hand of God vpon a cruell perſecutour.

Baiazetes made for a blocke for Tamerlanes to get vpō his horſe.

Vide ſupra. pag. 105.

Tamerlanes after this conqueſt, paſſed with his army into Meſopotamia, to Ægypt, and all Syria, where he victoriouſly ſubduyng the Cities and munitions of the Turkes, at length alſo conquered Damaſcus. In his ſieges his maner was, yͤ firſt day to go all in white attire, the ſecōd day in red, the third day in blacke: ſignifyeng therby mercy yͤ firſt day to thē that yelded, yͤ ſecond day yͤ ſword, the third day fier and aſhes. At laſt after great victories and ſpoyles gottē of the Turkes, he returned into his countrey agayne, and there dyed an. 1402.

The great victoryes of Tamerlanes in Aſiā.

Seb Munſterus wrytyng of this Tamerlanes, recordeth that he had in his armye. 200. thouſand men: and that he ouercame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans, Perſians, Medes, & conquered all Meſopotamia: and after he had alſo ſubdued Armenia, paſſyng ouer the riuer Euphrates with. 600. thouſand footemen, and 4000000. horſemē, he inuaded all Aſia Minor, conqueryng & ſubduyng from the floode Tanais vnto Nilus in Ægypt, and was called terror orbis, yͤ terror of yͤ world. He left behind him. ij. ſonnes, who fallyng in diſcord for their poſſeſſions, loſt all agayne, that their father gotte.

Ex Seb. Mūſtero. lib. 4. Coſmograp.

Tanais is the vttermoſt floud in the North ſide: and Nilus the vttermoſt floude in the South ſyde of Aſia.

In the meane tyme Baiazetes in the ſecond yeare of his captiuitie, dyed, leauyng behind him diuers ſonnes, Ieſus or Ioſua the eldeſt, Mulſumanes, Moſes, Celebinus, or Calepinus, Ieſus the yōger, Muſtaphas, & Hali. Of whō firſt Ieſus yͤ eldeſt was ouercome & ſlayne of Mulſumanes: Whiche Mulſumanes afterwarde was deliuered to Moſes his brother, & by him was ſlaine likewiſe. Which Moſes had alſo the like end by his brother Calepinus, hauing his necke brokē with a bow ſtryng, which was thē the vſuall maner among the Turkes in killing their brethren. The ſame Calepinus ſparing onely the life of Muſtaphas his other brother, condemned hym to perpetuall priſon. Ieſus the yonger was baptiſed, and ſhortly after departed at Conſtantinople. In theſe ſuch diſcordes and diuiſions among the Turkes, what occaſions were geuē to the Chriſtians to haue recouered agayne of yͤ Turkes, that they had loſt, if they had not ben either negligēt, or in their owne priuate warres otherwiſe occupied with them ſelues?

A generation of Viperes.

¶ *Calepinus the fift after Ottomannus.*

Calepinus* the fifth after *Ottomannus.

CAlepinus, or Celebinus was the ſonne of Baiazetes, & of. iiij. brethren, the eldeſt: who beyng all taken captiues of the Parthians, he onely eſcaped and obteyned his fathers kingdome. This Calepinus encouraged by the ſloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the diſcord of the Grecians amongeſt them ſelues and other natiōs nere about them, longe troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Seruians, and Macedonians, euen to the tyme of Sigiſmundus. Whiche Sigiſmundus ſeyng now Baiazetes to bee ouercome and taken of Tamerlane, and the power of the Turkes weakened in Europe, & hauyng ſuch occaſion offered him, as it were from heauen, to deſtroy and vtterly to roote out, not onely out of Aſia but alſo all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruell enemies to the name and Religion of Chriſt: and alſo to reuenge the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his army fightyng before with Baiazetes at Nicopolis a Citie in Myſia: with great power made warre agaynſt Calepinus at Columbatium a towne in Seruia, as is alſo before mencioned, pag. 852. but as vnluckelye and with as litle ſucceſſe, as he did before againſt Baiazetes his father: For in that battaile were ſlayne of the Chriſtians to the number of. 20. thouſand and the reſt vtterly diſcōfited, the kyng hym ſelfe eſcapyng ſo hardly that he entred not agayne into his kyngdome for the ſpace of. 18. monthes after. Some write yͤ this was done vnder Baiazetes, other ſome referre this battaile to Amurathes, but how ſoeuer it was, moſt pernicious was it to the Chriſtians. He reigned but. vi. yeares and dyed very yonge an. 1404.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 852.

The ouerthrow of Sigiſmund, fightyng agaynſt the Turkes.

Some ſtoryes record thys conflict to be after the tyme of thys Turke.

¶ *Orchanes and Moſes his vncle the. vi. after Ottomannus.*

AFter the captiuitie of Baiazetes aboue mētioned, hiſtories diuerſly do diſſēt. The Greke writers makyng no mention at all of Calepinus, onely make mention of yͤ ſonnes of Baiazetes, and of yͤ contētion among thē, vntill yͤ time of Mahumetes. The Latine ſtories wrytyng of yͤ children of Baiazetes & of their ſucceſſion, do not therin agree, ſome affirming that Baiazetes had. ij. ſonnes, Orchanes ſurnamed Calepinus, and Mahumetes his brother, whiche within. ij. yeares ſlue the ſayd Calepinus, and entred his dominion. Other attribute to Baiazetes moe ſonnes, as is aboue rehearſed. Some agayne do geue to Baiazetes onely theſe two ſonnes Celebinus and Muſtaphas: and hold that Calepinus or Celebinus had. ij. ſonnes, to wyt, Orchanes & Mahumetes, and adde moreouer that the ſaid Orchanes beyng ſomewhat younge, was ſlayne of his vncle Moſes, who gouerned but. ij. yeares: For Mahumetes to reuenge hys brothers death ſlue Moſes, and inuaded his dominion. The Greke ſtories make no mention at all of Orchanes.

Orchanes and Moſes hys vncle.

Diuerſitie in hiſtoryes.

Tiranny betwene vncle and nephewe.

Murther reuenged with murther.

¶ *Mahumetes the. vij. after Ottomannus.*

THis Mahumetes, whether hee was the ſonne of Baiazetes, or els of Calepinus, conuerted to him ſelfe alone the kingdome, or tyrāny rather, of yͤ murdering Turkes. Who afflicted the Chriſtians with ſore warres within Europe, eſpecially the countrey called VVallachia, lyeng not farre from the floode Danubius, betwene Vngarie & Thracia. From thence he remoued into Aſia, where he he recouered diuers partes in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which before Tamerlanes had alienated from the Turkes. This Mahumetes plāted his chief Imperiall ſeate in Adrianople not farre frō Conſtātinople, within yͤ coūtrey of Thracia. In ſome writers yͤ conflict betwen Sigiſmund, and the great Turke, wherein the Chriſtians were ſo diſcomfited, is referred rather to this Mahometes, then to Calepinus: of whiche conflict mention is aboue made in the ſtory of Sigiſmundus, pag. 852. This Mahumetes reigned, as ſome ſay. 14. yeares, and dyed in the yeare of our Lorde. 1419. Other affirme 17. yeares.

Mahometes the vij. after Ottomannus.

Wallachia aſſaulted by Mahometes.

The Turkes ſeate at Adrianopolis.

Vid. ſupra pag. 852.

¶ *Amurathes ſecond the. viij. after Ottomannus.*

AMurathes, as Philelphus ſayth, was the ſonne of Celebinus, as Laonicus Chalcondyles teſtifieth, of Mahumetes. Whoſe ſonne ſo euer hee was, a wretched tyranne he was, and permitted as a ſcourge of God to correcte the ſinnes of the Chriſtians. In the ſtory of Baiazetes mētion was made before of Muſtaphas his ſonne, who was condemned to perpetuall priſon by Calepinus his brother. This Muſtaphas eſcapyng out of his brothers priſon, was conueyed to the Grecians, where he remained long in cuſtody, till at length they vnderſtāding the purpoſe of Amurathes, ſet him vp wͭ ſufficient habilimentes and furniture of warre to fight agaynſt the ſayd Amurathes his nephew. But in concluſiō he beyng not able to make his partie good, came into yͤ handes of his enemie and had his necke broke with a bow ſtryng, after the maner of the Turkiſhe execution.

Amurath the viii. after Ottomannus.

Muſtaph murther by Amurathes hys nephew

The

e Turke urdereth brother

The Greciãs then terrified with this ſiniſter aduerſitie, required truce of the Turke, but when that would not be graunted, they procured vnto them Muſtaphas, the other brother to Amurathes, being of the age of .xij. yeares: who likewiſe beyng armed of the Grecians, got the Citie of Nice in Bithynia, from Amurathes his brother: Albeit it was not long but he was circumuented in the ſame Citie, and brought to Amurathes: who cauſed him lykewiſe to taſt of the ſame whippe, as the other Muſtaphas had done before.

ura – s ſet a- gainſte the ecians.

racia dued to Turke.

ſſalo- s ſub- d.

e defec- a ſpokẽ S.Paul lared. Theſſ. 2.

Amurathes beyng now out of all feare and doubt of brethren and kynſfolke to riſe agaynſt hym, conuerted all his power agaynſt the Grecians: and firſt rauigyng through out Thracia, where diuers Cities yelded vnto him, whiche before belonged to the Emperour of Conſtãtinople, frõ thence he ſet forward to ẏ noble & famous Citie Theſſalonica, beyng then vnder the leage and protection of the Venetians. This Theſſalonica is a Citie in Grece, bordering vpon Macedonia, to the citizens wherof S. Paul writeth, forſhewing vnto them in his 2. Epiſtle, of a defection to come before ẏ cõming of ẏ day of ẏ Lord. 2. Theſſ. 2. By the which apoſtaſie or defectiõ, what the holye Apoſtle doth meane, this ſtorie of the Turkes may eaſely declare. After Theſſalonica was ſubdued, Phocis with all the countrey aboute Athens, Bœotia likewyſe, Ætolia, Acarnania, with all ẏ region beyond Peloponeſus, vnto the coaſt of Corinthe, to whom S. Paul alſo wrote other ij. Epiſtles, were brought in bondage and ſlauery vnto the Turke. In Epirus and in that quarter that adioyneth to Macedonia, named Albania, reigned thẽ one Ioannes Caſtriotus: who perceauyng hym ſelfe to weake to matche with the Turkes power, made with the Turke this conuention, that he ſhould haue Croia, a famous Citie in Grecia, and alſo gaue to him his .iij. ſonnes for hoſtages, to wytte Conſtantinus, Repoſius, and Georgius. In this George ſuch towardnes of noble courage, ſuch vigour of mynde, and ſtrength of body ſingularely did appeare, that the Turke cauſed hym more frely to bee inſtructed after the Turkiſhe Religion and maner, in hys owne court: Where hee beyng traded vp, did ſo ſhoote vp as wel in feates of actiuitie, as in ſtrẽgth of body, that hee excelled all his equals: in ſo much that hee was named Scanderbeius, whiche ſoundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

tis, Attica, Bœo- Ætolia, Acarna- Corinth, brought er the Turke.

nnes ſtriotus

nia ge- to the ke.

three es of ſtriotus, ges the ke.

rgius nder- s, A- nder great.

After this Alexãder was growen vp to mature ripenes of age, & was well trayned vp in feates of warre, he was ſent out by the Turke, to warre agaynſt Caramannus of Cilicia, the Turkes enemie. In which expedition he ſpedde him ſelf moſt manfully, fightyng hand to hãd, firſt with a footemã of Scythia, then with an horſeman of Perſia, being chalenged by them both to encounter, firſt with the one, after with the other: whõ he ſo valiãtly ouerthrew, ẏ he wãne great renoũe wt the Turke: In ſo much that he truſtyng to the Turkes fauour, whẽ he heard of ẏ deceaſſe of his father, durſt aſke of ẏ Turke the graũt of his fathers dominion to be geuẽ vnto him. Whiche requeſt although Amurathes the Turke dyd not denye him: yet notwithſtandyng he perceauyng the matter to be dalied out with fayre wordes, by ſubtil meanes and policie ſlypt out of ẏ Turkes court, & came to Epirus his owne inheritaunce: where firſt by forged letters he recouered Croia, The other Cities of their volũtarie minds yelded them ſelues vnto him. Who then gatheryng vnto him the people of Epirus & Macedonia (which were not ſo many in number, as with good willyng mindes they ſtoocke vnto hym) ſo mãfully and valiantly behaued him ſelfe, that agaynſt all the puiſſance both of Amurathes, and alſo of Mahumete, hee maynteined his owne, repulſed their violence, and put to flight their armyes, many yeares together. But to returne agayne to the courſe of Amurathes victories, after he had thus preuailed (as is before ſignified) againſt ẏ Eaſt partes of Europa & Grecia, & had conuerted thus for ẏ dominion of Epirus, hee inuaded Illiricum, (otherwiſe called now Sclauonia) cõteyning in it Dalmatia, Croacia, Iſtria and Liburnia: which countreys after he had ſpoyled and waſted, he continued his courſe to Albania, and Boſna. In whiche regiõs when he had ſubdued a great part, & had led away an innumerable multitude of captiues, he moued further to VValachia & Seruia, vpon hope to conquere all Pãnonia.

valiãt of Ge us) Scã beius.

orgius derbe ſtealeth from Turke his coũ

ia re- red.

us, Mace- reco from Turke.

valiãt of Ge Scã- us, a. the

Illyria, or *Sclauonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Iſtria*, *Liburnia*, *Albania*, *Boſna*, ſpoyled and waſted by the Turke.

Georgius Deſpota prince of *Seruia*.

An vngodlye graunt of a Chriſtian father to mary hys daughter to the Turke.

There reigned at the ſame tyme in Seruia a certaine prince named Georgius Deſpota, who made great ſute to the Turke for truce and peace, promiſing to geue hys daughter to mariage: for by the Turkes law they may mary as many wiues, as they luſt. It was not long after Amurathes had maryed the daughter of Deſpota, but he, contrary to his league and promiſe, made warre vppon Deſpota hys father in lawe, and expelled hym out of hys kyngdome, takyng from him diuers Cities, as Scopia, Nouomonte, Sophia and all Myſia. Georgius him ſelfe fled into Hungary, leauyng behynd him his ſonne to defende the towne of Synderonia. Amurathes vnderſtandyng of the flight of Deſpota his father in law, cõpaſſed the Citie of Synderonia, with a ſtrong ſiege, which whẽ he in few dayes had expugned, he tooke his wiues brother, ſonne of Deſpota, and without regarde of all mercy and affinitie, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turkes, put out hys eyes, with a baſĩ red hoate ſet before his eyes, and after that led him aboute with him, in deriſion and deſpite of hys cowardly father. Ex Chriſtof. Rhicherio Gallo, & Gaſp. Peucero, & alijs.

Scopia, *Nouomonte*, *Sophia*, *Myſia*, ſubdued of the Turke.

Georgius Deſpota fled into Hungary.

The cruelty of the Turke vpõ his wiues brother.

Belgradum beſieged of the Turke.

Seruia beyng thus wonne & gotten, Amurathes thinkyng to go further into Hungarie, beſieged the Citie called Belgradũ, and no doubt, had alſo ſuppreſſed the ſame, had not the prouidence of God foũd a meanes, that partly through ſlaughter of his men, partly for lacke of victuall and other forage, hee was compelled to raiſe his ſiege and retire.

Ioannes Huniades, *Vaiuoda.*

In the meane tyme Ioannes Huniades (of whom mẽtion was made before, pag, 853) had got great victories agaynſt the Turkiſh power, and had recouered part of Seruia, and all Muldauia: agaynſt whom Amurathes the Turke, with a mighty armye, moued into Pannonia. But Huniades with the power & ayde of Ladiſlaus kyng of Polonia (but ſpecially by the power of the Lorde) dyd ſone infringe the puiſſance of the Turke, and gaue hym the ouerthrow, recoueryng vnto the Chriſtians ẏ greateſt part of Seruia and Bulgaria.

Fyue victories of Ioan. Huniades agaynſt the Turke, gotten in one day.

The great Baſſa or duke of the Turkes ouerthrowen by *Huniades*.

In this battaile Huniades had fyue ſondry conflictes with the Turkes vpon one day, and with fyue victoryes put them to the worſe, & towarde night did ſo diſcomfite and ouerthrow the great captaine of Amurathes, called Baſſa, ẏ Duke of Anatolia (whiche is otherwiſe named Aſia Minor) that he ſlue of the Turkes that day, to the nũber of .30. thouſand. Amurathes, although hee was not a litle thereat diſcouraged, yet diſſembling his feare, with ſtout countenaunce ſent for Carambeius hys principall ſtay & captaine, with a new power brought out of Aſia, to aſſiſte hym in his warres. This Carambeius, in the downes of Tranſyluania, Ladiſlaus the foreſayd kyng of Polonie (the Lord ſo workyng) through the induſtrie of Ioãnes Huniades, ſo receaued and with ſuch celeritie oppreſſed hym vnprouided, that all his ſtoute & ſturdie armie either was ſlayne downe right, or els put to flight, and diſparcled, Carambeius the captaine being him ſelf taken priſoner in the ſame fielde.

The victoryes of Huniades agaynſt Carambeius the great captaine of the Turkes.

The greate Turke brought to a greate diſtres.

These victories of Huniades ſtroocke no litle terrour to Amurathes, in ſomuch that for diſtreſſe of minde hee was ready to deſtroye him ſelfe (as ſome doo write) but being cõfirmed by Halibæus Baſſa his cõuſaller, he kept him ſelfe within the ſtreites of the moũt Rhodope. Who

Amurathes ſeeketh treuſe of the Chriſtians.

The cõditions betwene Ladiſlaus king of Polonie, and *Amurathes*.

Treuſe betwene the Chriſtians and the Turke for x. yeares.

then hearyng that Caramannus inuaded the ſame tyme the countrey of Bithynia and Pontus, in Aſia: was glad to take truce with Ladiſlaus and Huniades vpon ſuch cõditions as they liſted to make them ſelues: whiche conditions were theſe, that Amurathes ſhould depart clerely from all the region of Seruia, and ſhould remoue from thẽce all his garriſons, which were placed in the caſtles & fortes of the ſame: Alſo he ſhould reſtore George Deſpota (whiche is to ſay) prince of Seruia vnto his poſſeſſion, and ſet his children free, whom he had in captiuitie, and reſtore them to their inheritaunces. Item, that he ſhould make no more clayme nor title to the cõtrey of Moldonia aboue mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgrauia whiche he had loſt: and that he ſhould deſiſte hereafter from all wronges and iniuries agaynſt the Chriſtians. Vpon theſe conditions the Turke beyng agreed, ſo was truce concluded on both partes for .x. yeares, and with ſolemne othe betwene them confirmed.

Amurathes returneth into *Aſia*.

The popes diſpenſation and abſolution abuſed.

The popes raſhe counſaile pernicious to Chriſtẽdome.

Nothing proſpereth that is taken in hand by the popes ſetting on.

The pope breaketh the treuſe made betwene the Chriſtians and the Turke.

The pope moued Ladiſlaus to breake treuſe.

This done, Amurathes the tyraũt addreſſeth him ſelfe toward Aſia, to reſiſte the inuaſion of Caramannus afore ſayd. At what time Pope Eugenius ſo ſoone as he heard yͤ Turke to be returned into Aſia, ſendeth Iulianus Ceſarianus his Cardinall (whoſe ſtory is before touched, pag. 829.) vnto Ladiſlaus the foreſayd kyng, with full diſpenſation and abſolution, to breake his othe and league with yͤ Turke, promiſing moreouer great hope of ayde, if hee would go in armes ſtoutly agaynſt the tyranne. ¶ Where by the waye is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promiſe in that peſtilent ſea of Rome, neither was there euer any warre proſpered, whiche was takẽ in hand by the Popes counſaile: ſo was there neuer any counſaile of the Pope, that brought with it more detriment to chriſtianitie, then this. But the Pope belyke thought that as he might lawfully breake promiſe with Iohn Hus, and with other Chriſtians, ſo alſo he neaded not to obſerue any league or truce taken with yͤ Turke: but it turned muche otherwiſe then the Popes blynde braynes imagined: as by the ſequele is to bee ſeene. For Ladiſlaus beyng thus excited by the vnaduiſed and ſiniſter inſtigation of Pope Eugenius, contrarye to the truce ſtabliſhed a litle before, ſet out with his armye frõ Seledinus, and ſo procedyng to VValachia and Burgaria, came to Varna, a town of Bulgarye: where he fell ſicke.

The falſe dealing of the Italian Nauie.

The battaile of *Varna*, betwene Ladiſlaus kyng of Polonie, and *Amurathes*.

The popyſhe prelates were the cauſe of loſing the field.

It was not long but yͤ Turke hauyng therof intelligence, left his warres begon with Caramannus in Aſia, and with great iorneys made haſt into Europe, paſſyng ouer by the ſtraites nere to Callipolis, where all the Italian nauye ſtill lookyng on, and whether of purpoſe, or whether for cowardlynes, would not ſtyrre one ore to ſtoppe the paſſage of the Turkiſh army. When Amurathes was come to Adrianopolis in Thracia, vſing ſuch celeritie as no mã looked for, within .vii. dayes he was in Burgaria, & there encamped him ſelfe agaynſt Ladiſlaus. The day of battaile being ſet, yͤ armies ioined on both ſides. Huniades was him ſelfe there preſent, but all the matter was ruled by Iulianus the Cardinall, and the Popes clergie. The fight continued three dayes & three nightes together, with great courage and much bloud ſhed on ech ſide: in ſo much that the field did ſtand with lakes of bloud. They ſemed at the firſt to incline to the Chriſtians, by breakyng the firſt rankes of the Turkes. But the prieſtes and prelates whiche were at the fielde (whiche had bene more fite to haue bene in the churche) ſeyng the Turkes to begyn to flye, vnſkilfully left their array to purſue the enemie, ſo that they leauyng yͤ other ſtãdinges of yͤ Chriſtians naked, gaue great aduaũtage to the Turkes, with their dartes and ſhot to diſturbe the Chriſtiã rankes. By the whiche occaſion Amurathes incloſing the Chriſtiãs with his army round about, obteyne the victorie. In the which fielde Ladiſlaus the yong kyng of Polonie, hauing his horſe firſt killed vnder him, was ſtrooken downe, and ſlayne. The Popes Byſhops flyeng to ſaue them ſelues, fell into the mariſhes, and there were deſtroyed, ſuſteynyng a durtey death condigne to their filthy falſehode and vntruth. Iulianus the Cardinall, whiche with the Pope was the chief doer in breakyng the leage, in the way was found dead, beyng full of woundes and ſpoyled to his naked ſkinne. Of the reſt of yͤ army that eſcaped by flying, part was drowned in the mariſhes, ſome periſhed miſerably for hunger, ſome for cold, watching and wanderyng in the woodes. Huniades hardly eſcaped the daunger by the mercyfull prouidẽce of God, beyng reſerued to the further profite and commoditie of Chriſtendome.

A iuſte niſhme vpon th popyſh prelate for they vniuſt lyng.

Iulian the Ca nall in the & ſpoi *Huniad* eſcaped

The wo thy com mendat of *Ihon* *Huniad*

This Iohn Huniades the worthy warrier was borne in VValachia, beyng Earle of Biſtrice, of all Captaines that euer wẽt againſt the Turkes, moſt famous and ſingular, prudent in witte, diſcreet in counſaile, expert and politike in warre, prompt of hand, circumſpect before he attempted, quicke in expedition: in whõ wanted almoſt no good propertie requiſite in a warlike Captaine. Agaynſt yͤ moſt mighty & fierce tyrauntes, Amurathes & Mahumetes, through the Lordes might, he defended all Pannonia, and therfore was called the thunderbolt and terrour of the Turkes. Like as Achilles was vnto yͤ Grecians, ſo was he ſet vp of God to bee as a walle or bulwarke of all Europe agaynſt the cruell Turkes and enemies of Chriſt, and of his Chriſtiãs. Neither was there any kyng or prince that euer achiued ſuche noble victories, either ſo many in nũber, or ſo profitable for the publique vtilitie of all Europe, as did he, and that not onely in the dayes of this Amurathes, but alſo of Mahumetes his ſucceſſor, as hereafter remaineth further to be ſene. This battaile of Amurathes agaynſt the Chriſtiãs at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought in the yeare of our Lord. 1404.

Amura thes tak his viag agaynſt Grecian

Peloponeſus, Sy one, Patris, with the partes of *Th ſalia* and *Acha* brought vnder th Turke.

Amurathes by reaſon of this victorious ouerthrow againſt the Chriſtiãs ſurpreſſed with no ſmall pride, directeth his iourney incontinẽt toward the Grecians, where Caſtriotus was, otherwiſe called Scanderbeius. And firſt cõmyng to Peloponeſus, & breaking downe the walle about the ſtraites of Corinthe, encountred with the brother of the Emperour of Conſtãtinople, whom with his ſodeine commyng he oppreſſed, with all the Grekes armie, ere they were prouided. Paleologus the Emperour, after that, did build vp the wall agayne: but at yͤ Turkes byddyng he was compelled to vndoe it agayne: which wall afterward the Venetians did repayre. After the demolition of the wall, Amurathes entryng into Peloponeſus, tooke diuers townes and Cities, as Sycione, and Patris, and moreouer made all the partes of Theſſalia and Achaia, tributaries vnto hym.

The me rable ac of *Scan beius* a gaynſt *mnrath*

Thys *Epyrus* is countrey in Greci bordering nere to the partes of *Ma donia.*

Vii cap taynes o the Tu ouercom by *Caſ otus Sc derbei*

The nexte yeare after this battaile of Amurathes fought againſt the Chriſtiãs at Varna, the Turke being now about the partes of Grecia, purpoſed to bẽd all hys force & maine, agaynſt the countrey of Epyrus belõging to Georgius Caſtriotus Scamderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mẽtion was made before, how he was brought vp in the Turkes court, from whence we declared alſo how ſubtily he conueyd him ſelf, and came to the poſſeſſiõ of his own patrimonie of Epyrus. Which Epyrus this noble and victorious Scamderbeius (whõ the lord alſo had raiſed vp the ſame time with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turkes) valiauntly defended agaynſt all yͤ power of Amurathes: In ſomuch that he diſcomfited and vanquiſhed .vii. of the moſt expert Baſſas or Dukes of the Ottoman Emperor, one after an other, with all their armyes of moſt pyked and choſen ſouldiours, diſlodged thẽ of their tentes, & expulſed them vtterly out of all Epyrus. Alſo whẽ Amurathes him ſelf with his whole puiſſance, had enuironed about the Citie of Croia, with cruell ſiege & ordinaunce out of meaſure, yet notwithſtandyng the ſayd Scanderbeius

beius (through the power and bleſſyng of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulſed him from his ſiege.

After this diſcõfiture, the ſaying is that Amurathes, to kepe his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gaue him ſelfe into a religious order, lyuyng a contemplatiue lyfe with certayne other Prieſtes ioyned vnto him, in the foreſt of Bithynia, renouncing ẏ gouernemẽt of his realme to ẏ handes of Haly one of his princes (for thou muſt vnderſtãd, good reader, ẏ the Turkes alſo be not without their ſondry ſectes of religion, no more then we Chriſtians are without our Friers and monkes.)

Amura-
tes re-
uanced
domi-
on, an l
ade him
a Tur-
he
ooks.

In the meane tyme whyle Amurathes this Turkiſh tyranne was cloiſtered vp in his monkiſh Religiõ, Ioannes Huniades in the kyngdome of Hungarie, and Caſtriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great ſtirre againſt ẏ Turkes. By reaſõ wherof Amurathes was takẽ agayn frõ his monkiſhe vowe & profeſſiõ, & brought agayn into ẏ field: For firſt Huniades had reſcued ẏ whole countrey of Hungarie: and had propulſed moreouer all the might of the Turkes farre from Seruia. And although the peuiſhe practiſe of Georgius prince of Seruia, had oft tymes diſcloſed his counſailes vnto the Turkes, wherby twiſe he was brought in daũger, yet notwithſtãding (through the Lordes gracious protection) he was preſerued, and deliuered by the ſayd George vnto ẏ Hungariãs agayne, and after that manfully vãquiſhed the Turkes, ſo that they had no reſtyng place about thoſe partes of Seruia and Bulgaria, ſo long as he lyued.

wo Chri
an War-
ers in
urope ſtir
d vp of
od to vi-
ſhe the
Turkes.

hys Ioan.
Huniades
reported
xx. bat
les with
e Turke,
o loſe but
wo,

On ẏ other ſide in Grecia, Caſtriotus Scanderbeius ſo foyled ẏ Turke in defenſe of hys countrey Epyrus & Macedonia, & kept Amurathes ſo ſhort, ẏ not onely he was not able to wynne any great towne in all Epyrus: but alſo commyng from Epyrus in the ſtraites, was ſo intãgled by Caſtriotus, that he was forced to geue battaile: In the whiche battaile he was ſo vanquiſhed, and moſt part of his armye ſlayne, that for grief and ſorrow conceaued, he falling into a rauing ſickenes, was tranſported out of his pauilion vnto Adrianople, and there in fury and madnes dyed, after he had reigned. 34. yeares. Whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1408.

Epyrus
nd Ma-
edonia,
efẽded by
Scander-
beius.

Amura-
thes ouer-
ome by
Scander-
beius.

This Amurathes firſt ordeined the order of the Ianizarites. Which were ẏ men children of ſuch Chriſtians as he conquered and tooke captiue: whom hee forced to renounce the faith of Chriſt, wherin they were baptiſed, and brought them vp in Mahumetes law, and exerciſed thẽ in the ſame feates of warre as he did his owne people: and after that they came to mens eſtate, he named them Ianizari (that is to ſay) ſouldiours of a ſtrãuge coũtrey, and made them to garde his parſon. They weare on their head in ſtead of an helmet, a white attire made of the groſſeſt ſorte of woll, and is ſo manifolde aboute their head, that it cã not be perced with a ſword. It hangeth downe on the backe with a tayle, and before on the forehead it is garniſhed with gold & ſiluer. They were wont to vſe bowes and launces in the fielde, but nowe they vſe dagges as our horſemen do.

Ianizari
mong the
Turkes.

At the firſt inſtitution there were but 8000. in their garriſon, but nowe they be twiſe ſo many. This of all bondage and ſeruitude that the Chriſtians ſuffer vnder the Turke, is moſt intolerable and greatly to be of all true Chriſtians lamented. For what can godly myndes behold more to their grief, then to ſée their children pulled from the faith of Chriſt wherein they were baptized, and by whoſe bloud they ſhould eternally be ſaued, and to be inſtructed and nouriſhed with the blaſphemous doctrine of Mahumet, and to be profeſſed enemies of Chriſt and his churche, to make warre agaynſt heauen, and to periſh euerlaſtingly? And finally what a lamentable thyng is it, to ſée and behold our owne childrẽ borne of our own bodyes, to become our mortall & cruell enemies, & to cut our throtes with their own hãdes? This ſeruitude of mynde is farre greater then death it ſelfe. Which if our princes would well cõſider, it would cauſe them the rather to agrée, and bende their whole force and power agaynſt this cruell enemy.

A lamenta-
ble ſlauery
of Chriſten
mens chil-
dren vnder
the Turke.

¶ *Mahumetes ſecond, the. ix. after Ottomannus.*

AMurathes left behynde him thrée ſonnes, Mahumete borne of the daughter of Deſpota, prince of Seruia, beyng. 20. yeares of age. The. 2. ſonne called Turcines. The. 3. named Calepinus. This Turcines beyng an infante, and but. 18. monethes old, was ſtrangled at the cõmaundement of the Turke, by his ſeruaunt Moſes, him ſelfe beyng there preſent & beholdyng the horrible murther. And when Moſes the executour of the murther had deſired hym not to pollute his handes with the bloud of his brother: he aunſwered that it was the maner of all the Ottomanne Turkes, that all the other brethrẽ being deſtroyed, none ſhould be left alyue but one to gouerne the Empire. Wherfore Moſes was commaunded by the tyranne, there preſently & in his ſight, to kill the infante. This horrible facte when the mother of the child vnderſtode, ſhe cryeng out and almoſt madde for ſorrow, curſed the tyranne to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her requeſt beyng deſirous to be reuenged vpon the executor of her ſonnes death, deliuered the ſayd Moſes bound into her handes: who then in the preſence of the tyranne, thruſt him to ẏ hart with a knife, and openyng his ſide, toke out his lyuer and threw it to the dogges to be deuoured. The third ſonne called Calepinus, whiche was but. vi. monethes old, the foreſayd Amurathes his father commended to the cuſtody of Halibaſſa one of his nobles. Who to gratifie and pleaſe the tyranne, betrayed the infant & brought him vnto him, and therupon he at the tyrannes commaundement was ſtrangled. Some affirme that in the ſteade of Calepinus, an other child was offered vnto the tyranne, & that Calepinus was conueyed to Conſtantinople, and after the takyng of Conſtantinople, was caried to Venice & then to Rome to Pope Calixte, where he was baptiſed, and afterward came into Germanie to Fridericke the Emperour, & there was honorably enterteined & kept in Auſtrich duryng his lyfe. Where note how ẏ mercifull prouidence of God, whom he liſte to ſaue, can fetch out of ẏ deuils mouth. And note moreouer touchyng ẏ foreſayd Halibaſſa ẏ betrayer of ẏ infant, how he eſcaped not vnreuenged: For Mahumet vnderſtãdyng him to be a mã of great ſubſtaunce and riches, through forging of falſe crimes, with great tormentes put him to death to haue his riches: for this tyranne was geuen to inſatiable auarice. Thus this bloudy Mahumete began his regiment with horrible murther, after the example of other curſed tyrannes his predeceſſours.

Mahumetes the ix. Turke after *Ottomannus.*

The tyranny of Mahumetes in murtheryng his brethren.

Halibaſſa a traytour to hys maiſter.

Horrible paricide of the abhominable Turke.

Gods prouidẽce can fetch out of the deuills mouth, whom he liſte to ſaue.

Note here Gods puniſhment vpon the betrayer of innocent bloud.

Although this Mahumete notwithſtãdyng ẏ he came of a Chriſtẽ mother being ẏ daughter of Deſpota prince of Seruia, and by her was brought vp and inſtructed frõ his childhode in the preceptes of Chriſtian religion and maners: yet he ſoone forgettyng all, gaue him ſelfe to Mahumetes religion, and yet ſo, that he beyng addicted to neither Religion, became an Atheiſte, beleuing and worſhippyng no God at all, but onely the Goddeſſe of good Fortune, irridyng & mockyng the mindes & iudgementes of men, whiche beleue that God by his prouidence, gouerneth and regardeth the ſtate of humaine thynges on earth.

After that this Mahumete heard of the victories and conqueſtes of other his predeceſſours, and had vnderſtandyng how Baiazetes laye. 8. yeares about Conſtantinople and coulde not wynne it: he diſpraiſing Baiazetes, and diſdainyng that ſo longe tyme ſhoulde be ſpente aboute the ſiege thereof and yet no victorye gotten, bent all his ſtudye and deuiſe how to ſubdue the ſame. But firſt hauyng a priuye hatred agaynſt the Citie of Athens, and hauyng hys handes lately embrued with the bloud of his brethren: this murtheryng Mahumete firſt of all taketh his viage to ſubuert and deſtray

Mahumete firſt ſetteth vpon *Athens.*

The fury of Mahumete the Turke agaynſt the Citie and ſchole of *Athenes.*

the Citie aforeſayd, being a famous ſchole of all good learnyng & diſcipline. Agaynſt the which Citie he did ſo furiouſly rage for the hatred of good letters, that hee thought he ought not to ſuffer the foundations therof to ſtande, becauſe that Citie was a good nourſe and foſterer of good Artes and Sciences. Wherfore he commaũded the Citie to be raſed and vtterly ſubuerted: & whereſoeuer any monumentes or bookes could be founde, he cauſed them to be caſt into durtye ſinkes & the filthyeſt places of ẏ Citie, or put to ẏ moſt vile vſes ẏ could be deuiſed, for extirpyng & aboliſhing of all good literature. And if he vnderſtode any to lamẽt the caſe & ruine of ẏ noble place, thoſe he greuouſly puniſhed & put to death.

Athenes. deſtroyed.

The ſiege and takyng of Cõſtantinople.

Vide ſupra pag.838.

Thus the famous and auncient ſchoole of Athenes, being deſtroyed and ouerthrowne, hee returned his armye and power into Thracia, where in all haſt he gathering his power together both by ſea and by land, with a mighty multitude compaſſed the Citie of Conſtantinople about, and began to laye his ſiege agaynſt it, in the yeare of our Lord.1453.and in the.54.day of the ſaid ſiege it was taken, ſacked, & the Emperour Conſtantinus ſlayne. As touching the crueltie and fearcenes of the Turkes in gettyng of this Citie, & what ſlaughter there was of men, women and children, what calamitie and miſerie was there to be ſene, for ſomuch as ſufficient relation, with a full deſcription therof hath bene made before, pag. 838. it ſhalbe ſuperfluous now to repeate the ſame. This onely is not to be omitted touchyng iij. principall cauſes of the ouerthrowe of this Citie: wherof the firſt was the filthy auarice of thoſe Citizens whiche hydyng their treaſures in the ground, would not employe the ſame to ẏ neceſſary defenſe of their Citie. For ſo I finde it in ſtory expreſſed, that when the Turke, after the takyng of the Citie, had found not ſo much treaſure as he looked for, ſuſpectyng with hym ſelfe (as truth was) the treaſures & riches to be hydden vnder ẏ ground, cõmaunded the earth to be digged vp, & the fundations of ẏ houſes to be ſearched: where when he had found treaſures incredible, what (quoth he) howe could it be ẏ this place could euer lacke munition and fortificatiõ, which did flowe and aboũde with ſuch great riches as here is, and plenty of all thinges? The ſecond cauſe was the abſence of the nauy of ẏ Venetians, which if they had bene ready in tyme, might haue bene a ſafegard agaynſt the inuaſion of the enemies. A third cauſe alſo may be gather vpõ occaſion incident in ſtories, either for ẏ the Citie of Conſtantinople, xv. yeres before, did yelde to ẏ Biſhop of Rome, as is before to be ſene, pag. 829. or els becauſe (as in ſome writers it is euidẽt) that Images were there receaued & maynteined in their Churches, and by the Turkes the ſame time deſtroyed.

Three cauſes ſpeciall noted in the winning of Conſtantinople.

Ex Ioanne Ramo Lib.2. rerum Turcicarum.

Vide ſupra pag.829.

Ex Ramo.

An image of the Crucifixe in Conſtantinople.

What offences be geuen to the infidels, by Images in Chriſtian Churches.

Ioannes Ramus writyng of the deſtruction of this Citie, amongeſt other matters maketh relation of the Image of the Crucifixe, beyng there in the highe temple of Sophia: whiche Image the Turke tooke, and writyng this ſuperſcription vpõ the head of it: hic eſt Chriſtianorum Deus. i. this is the God of the Chriſtians, gaue it to his ſouldiours to be ſcorned, and commaundyng ẏ ſayd Image with a trumpet to be caried through all his armie, made euery man to ſpitte at it moſt contumeliouſly. Wherin thou haſt (good reader) by the way to note, what occaſion of ſclaunder and offence we Chriſtians geue vnto the barbarous infidels by this our vngodly ſuperſtition in hauing Images in our temples, contrary vnto the expreſſe cõmaundement of God in his word. For if S. Paul writyng to ẏ Corinth. ſayeth: we know Chriſt now no more after the fleſh: how much leſſe then is Chriſt to be knowen of vs in blind ſtockes & Images ſet vp in our tẽples, ſeruyng for none other purpoſe but for the infidels to laugh both vs and our God to ſcorne, and to prouoke Gods vengeaunce? whiche by the lyke exãple (I feare) may alſo falle vpon other Cities, where ſuch Images and Idolatrous ſuperſtition is mainteyned: wherof God graunt Vienna to take hede betyme, whiche hath bene ſo long, and yet is in ſuch great daunger of the Turke, and polluted with ſo many Images and playne Idolatrie.

Vienna admoniſhed.

The cruell murther by the Turke in the Citie of Conſtantinople.

A lamentable deſtruction of the Citie of Conſtantinople.

The bloudy crueltie of the Turke agaynſt the Chriſtian captiues.

In Summa to make the ſtory ſhort, ſuch was the crueltie of theſe Turkes in wynnyng the Citie, that whẽ Mahumete had geuen licence to the ſouldiers iij. dayes together, to ſpoyle, to kill & to doo what ſoeuer they liſted, there was no corner in all Conſtantinople, whiche dyd not either flowe with Chriſtian bloud, or els was polluted with abhominable abuſing of maydes, wiues and matrones, without all reuerence of nature. Of ẏ which Citizens, ſome they murthered: ſome they roſted vppon ſpittes: of ſome they fleyed of their ſkinne, hangyng thẽ vp to conſume with famine: of other ſome they put ſalte into their woundes, the more terribly to torment them: In ſo much that one of them contended with an other, who could deuiſe moſt ſtraũge kyndes of new tormẽtes and puniſhementes, exerciſing ſuch cruelty vpon them, that the place where the Citie was before, ſemed now to be no Citie, but a ſlaughter houſe or ſhãmels of Chriſtian mens bodyes. Amõg the dead bodyes, the body alſo of Conſtantine the Emperour was foũd: whoſe head beyng brought to Mahumete, he commaunded to be caryed vpon a ſpeare throughe the whole Citie for a publike ſpectacle and deriſion to all the Turkiſh armye. And becauſe he would diminiſh the number of the captiues, whiche ſemed to him to be very great, he neuer roſe frõ his table, but he put euery daye ſome of the nobles to death, no leſſe to fill his cruell mynde wᵗ bloud, then his body was filled with wyne: whiche he vſed ſo long to do as any of the nobles of that Citie was left alyue: And of the other ſorte alſo, as the ſtories do credibly reporte, there paſſed no day in the whiche he did not orderly ſlay more then three hundreth perſons: the reſidue he gaue to his raſcall ſouldiours to kill and do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Conſtantinus the ſonne of Helena, was the firſt Emperour of Conſtantinople: ſo Conſtantinus the ſonne alſo of Helena, was the laſt Emperour therof.

The citie of Pera yeldeth it ſelfe for feare to the Turke.

The Citie of Pera ſpoyled.

Droncken Mahumete falſe of promiſe.

Not farre frõ the ſayd Citie of Conſtantinople, there was an other litle Citie called Pera and once called Galatia, ſituated by ẏ ſea ſide: who hearing of the miſerable deſtruction of Conſtantinople & ſeyng the Citie flaming with fire, ſent certaine of their chief men with ſpede to Mahumete, declaryng vnto him that they neither had ſent any helpe to the Citie of Conſtãtinople, neither yet wrought any detriment to any of his armye: wherfore they deſired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yelde vnto him, ſo he would be fauourable vnto them and ſpare them, and not to puniſhe the giltles with the giltie. Mahumete, although hee was not ignoraunt that for feare, rather then of any good will, they ſubmitted them ſelues, and that they would rather reſiſte hym if they had bene hable, yet he receiued for that tyme, the ſubmiſſion of the meſſengers: but ſendyng with them his Embaſſadours into the Citie, he commaunded alſo his armye to followe withall, and to enter with hym into the Citie. Whiche, although it was greatly ſuſpected and miſliked of the Citizẽs, yet they durſt no otherwiſe do, but ſuffer them to enter: which beyng done, the Embaſſadour gaue a ſigne to the ſouldiours, euery man to do what ſoeuer he was byddẽ. Of whom ſome ranne to the walles: ſome to the temples & Churches: ſome to the ſtreetes and houſes of ẏ Citie, plucking all things downe to the ground, ſackyng and raungyng with no leſſe fury & abominable filthynes, then they had done at Conſtantinople before, ſauyng onely that they abſteyned frõ murther: but the ſame day letters came frõ Mahumete to the Embaſſadour that he ſhould ſpare none, but deſtroy and murther all that euer were in ẏ Citie. Which meſſage, becauſe it ſemed to the Embaſſadour to be to

cruell,

The mercy full prouidence of God in ſauyng hys people.

cruell for ſomuch as they had yelded them ſelues, hee ſtayed his hande a litle vntill night came. In the meane tyme drunken Mahumete commyng ſomethyng to him ſelfe (whom drunkennes had before ouercome) ſent hys ſecond letters to reuoke the firſt. Where agayne is to be noted the mercifull prauidēce of God towardes his people in their deſerued plages, by ſtayeng the handes and bridlyng the fury many tymes, of their enemies, when otherwiſe the caſe ſemeth to be paſt all remedy.

Conſtātinople made the Imperiall ſeate of the Turkes

The ſiege of *Belgradum* in *Hungary.*

Ioan. Huniades.

Mahumete thus beyng in him ſelfe not a litle aduaūced & eleuated by the winning of Conſtantinople, where he had now made the Imperiall ſeat of the Turkiſh dominion, ÿ third yeare next folowing, to aduenture more maſtries, hee ſet out to the ſiege of Belgradum a Citie of Hungarye, lyeng nere to the bankes of Danubius, thinkyng to haue ÿ lyke ſucceſſe there, as he had in the wynnyng of Conſtantinople: albeit through the Lordes diſpoſing, it fell out much otherwiſe. Within the Citie of Belgradum the ſame tyme of the ſiege therof, was Ioannes Huniades the valiaunt captaine, of whom in diuers places mention hath bene made before, who with a ſufficient ſtrength of pyked ſouldiours, albeit in number nothyng equall to the Turkes armye, valiantly defēded the Citie with great courage and no leſſe ſucceſſe. In the whiche ſiege great diligence was beſtowed, and many of the Turkes ſlayne. Among whom alſo Mahumete him ſelfe, beyng ſtroken with a pellet vnder the left arme, was fayne to be caryed out of the fielde for halfe dead, and the reſt ſo put to flight, that of the Turkes the ſame tyme were deſtroyed to the number, or not much vnder the number of. 40. thouſād, beſides the loſſe of all their ordinaunce, whiche the Turkes in haſt of their flight, were forced to leaue behynd them.

40000. Turkes ſlayne at the ſiege of *Belgradū.*

Ex Hiero. Zieglero. in lib. de illuſtrib. viris Germa. c. 98.

Hieronymus Zieglerus writing of the ſiege of this Belgradum, addeth moreouer, that when Mahumete was at the ſiege therof, ſeyng ÿ towne to be ſo ſmall & weake of it ſelfe, that it could not bee wonne with all his great multitude, he ſtaryng and faryng like a mad man, commaūded all his braſē pæces to be layde, to battare down the walles and towers of the towne: So that the Chriſtians within the walles were vehemētly diſtreſſed, for the ſiege continued both night and daye without intermiſſion. Among the reſt of the Chriſtians whiche defended the towne, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mencion of a certaine Bohemian, muche worthye of hys condigne commendation: Who beyng vpon the walles, and ſeyng a Turke with a banner or enſigne of the Turkes to be gotten vp, by the ſight wherof the whole town was in nere daunger to be conquered and taken, runneth vnto the Turke, & claſping him about the midle, ſpeaketh to Ioan. Capiſtranus ſtandyng by low, aſkyng him whether it were any daunger of damnatiō to hym, if he of his volūtary minde, did caſt him ſelfe with that dogge (ſo he termed hym) down hedlōg frō the walle, to be ſlaine with him: what ſhould become of his ſoule, & whether he might be ſaued or not. To whō whē ÿ other had aunſwered that he ſhould be ſaued without doubt, hee eftſones tombleth hym ſelfe with the Turke, downe of the walle, where by his death hee ſaued ÿ ſame tyme, the lyfe of all the Citie. Mahumete beyng ſo wounded and in diſpayre of wynnyng the Citie, was caryed (as ye heard) out of the fielde. Who at length commyng agayne to him ſelfe, partly for feare & partly for ſhame, was ready to kill him ſelfe. And thus was the towne of Belgradum at that tyme reſcued throughe Gods prouidence, by the meanes of Ioannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

The noble facte of a Bohemian in defenſe of his coūtrey

The towne of *Belgradum* valiātly defended from the Turke.

200. thouſand Turkes at the ſiege of *Belgradum,*

This ſiege of Belgradum began in the yeare of the Lord. 1456. and endured. 46. dayes. At the whiche ſiege were numbered of the Turkes. 200. thouſand. Of whom more then. 40. thouſand (as is aforeſayd) were ſlayne: where the victory fell to the Chriſtians, throughe the proſperous ſucceſſe geuen of God to Ioannes Huniades, and Capiſtranus. Whiche Huniades not long after the ſayd victorie, through the importune labour and trauaile in defendyng the ſayd towne, was taken with a ſore ſickenes, and thereof departed: to whoſe valiaunt prowes and ſingular courage, ſtories doo geue great laude and commendation.

The deceaſſe of *Ioannes Huniades.*

The Turkes warre agaynſt *Vſumcaſſanes.*

Mahumetes the Turke after this done in Europe, returned into Aſia to warre with Vſumcaſſanes a Perſiā, one of the Turkes ſtocke, with whō he had iij. battailes. The firſt was about the riuer Euphrates, where the Turke loſt 10. thouſand men, and was put to the worſe. In the ſecond field likewiſe he was diſcōfited. The third battaile was at Arſenga, where through the terrible noyſe of the braſen peeces, the Perſian horſes diſturbed the campe, & ſo was Vſumcaſſanes ouercome.

The Turke returneth agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Synope, Paphlagonia, Trapezuntus gotten of the Turkes.

Dauid Emperour of *Trapezuntus* with hys ij. ſonnes and vncle cruelly killed of the Turke.

From thence the Turke reduced agayne his power agaynſt the Chriſtians, and firſt ſubdued vnto hym Synope and all Paphlagonia: Alſo the kyngdome of Trapezunce, whiche he beſiegyng both by land & water, wāne from the Chriſtians, and ſent Dauid the kyng of ÿ ſame with his ij. ſonnes and Calus his vncle, vnto Conſtantinople, where they were miſerably and cruelly put to death, & all the ſtocke of the Cōneni, whiche were of the kings ſtocke, by ÿ Turke were deſtroyed. Which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1459. at which tyme thys miſchieuous Mahumete was firſt ſaluted Emperour.

Corinthus, Mitylene, Leſbos, Lemnus, ſubdued of the Turke.

Not long after, he got from the Grecians Corinthus and Mitylene, not without greate ſlaughter of Chriſten men: in ſomuch that the whole Citie of Mitylene was vtterly to the ground almoſt deſtroyed. The Iles alſo of Lemnus and Leſbos he wan from the Venetians; In the whiche Iland of Leſbos is the Citie of Mitylene aforeſayd.

The falſehood of the wretched Turke agaynſte the prince of *Myſia.*

The cruelty of the Turke agaynſt the king of *Myſia.*

Not farre frō this Ile of Leſbos & Mitylene, there is a coūtrey in Aſia toward ÿ ſea ſide bordering next to Europe, called Myſia, or of ſome called Mœſia; wherin ſtood the Citie of Troye. This countrey Mahumete couetyng to wynne rather by policie and falſehode, then by doubtfull daunger of warre, ſecretly ſent for the prince therof to come to ſpeake with him for certain cauſes (as he pretended) whiche ſhould concerne the profite and commoditie of them both. Whiche when the kyng of Myſia, either for ſhame would not, or for feare durſt not deny, he came to him as to conferre vppon neceſſary affaires in common to them appertaynyng. Mahumete when hee had brought that to paſſe which he would, he cauſed the kyng to be apprehended, & cruelly to be ſlayne, or rather torne in pæces: & ſo inuadyng the land of Myſia, exerciſed the like tyranny vpon all his kynred and affinitie.

The ſiege of *Chalcis* in *Euboia.*

The cruell Tyranny of the Turke agaynſt the Citie of *Chalcis.*

Ex Ioā. Ramo. de rebus. Turcicis.

The noble ſtratageme of women in defending their citie

Thus Myſia by fraude beyng taken and loſt, Mahumete flyeth agayne toward Europe, where he aſſayled the Iland Euboia, otherwayes called Nigroponte, makyng a bridge of a meruelous frame ouer the ſea Eurypus, to conuey ouer his armye out of Grecia, and there layde his ſiege to ÿ Citie Chalcis, which at length in. 30. dayes he ouercame, not without a great ſlaughter of his armye: who in the ſiege therof is ſayd to haue loſt. 40. thouſand of his Turkes. But the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians was greater: for when the Citie was wonne, the tyraunt commaunded moſt cruelly, none to bee ſpared within the whole Citie, but to be put to the ſword, who ſoeuer was aboue the age of. xx. yeares. This crueltie was ſhewed of the barbarous tyraunt for anger and fury, becauſe ſuch a number of his Turkes were ſlayne at the ſiege therof, beyng rekened (as is ſayd) to 40. thouſand. In the fierce ſiege of this Citie, it is memorable that is in ſtories recorded, how that the women of that Citie ſeyng the men to begyn to faynte, and the Citie to lye in preſent daunger, tooke the matter them ſelues in hand, and playng the men, wēt to the walles, and there defended the Citie with no leſſe trouble to the enemye, then the men had before done, and ſo for a ſpace continued, ſo long as any mans ſtrength and diligence could do any good. A great cauſe of the loſſe of this Citie and Iland, is imputed to the cowardly timiditie of the Venetians nauie: who beyng there preſent, and hauyng a proſperous wynd, yet durſt not, or would not aduēture vpon the Turkes bridge. Whiche if they had done, the Iland of Euboia and Chalcis, had not ſo ſoone bene ouermatched of the Turkes.

Thus all the Eaſt partes of Grecia beyng ſubdued to yͤ Turkiſh Tyraunt, withall Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, & Euboia, ſhortlye after folowed alſo Peloponeſus, brought in lyke ſubiection to the Turke. Within this Peloponeſus were theſe prouinces conteyned, Achaia, Meſſenia, Laconia, Argolica, & Arcadia, &c. The Venetians in this Peloponeſus had great poſſeſſions, and had made vp the walle agayne toward the ſea ſide, nere to the ſtreites of Corinthe before mencioned, where for the more ſpede of the worke, they had. 30. thouſand workemen to the buildyng therof. Whiche when it came to the knowledge of the Turke, he braſt into the coūtrey of Peloponeſus with an armye of. 80. thouſand, and firſt waſtyng the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and makyng a great ſlaughter of the Venetians, in ſhorte tyme hee brought the whole dominion of Peloponeſus vnder hys yoke and tribute.

Peloponeſus, *Achaia*, *Meſſenia*, *Laconia*, *Argolica*, *Archadia*, Chriſtian Prouinces in Grecia, ſubdued of the Turke.

Long it is and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahumete gotten agaynſt the Chriſtians both by lande and ſea: who after hee had ouercome the Ile Lesbos aboue mencioned, and had cruellye ſlaine Nicolaus Cataluſius the prince thereof, turnyng hys armie toward the ſea of Pontus Euxinus, got the countrey of Capha from the Genuans. Before was declared how truce was takē betwene Georgius Scanderbeius, & the Turke for ten yeares: whiche truce beyng expired, Mahumete leaueth no tyme vnſpent, no diligence vnſought, but maketh all his power to Epyrus and Albania, whiche he after long fatigation of ſiege, at length ouercame & ſubdued. In the whiche tracte alſo he wanne from the Venetians, Scodra, Lyſſon and Dinaſtrum. Notwithſtanding when Scanderbeius the valiaunt captaine had done agaynſt the Turke what in mans ſtrength did lye, yet being ouermatched with power and multitude, ſeyng no poſſibilitie to make his partie good, was forced to departe his countrey as an exile, and went to Italie, and there beyng ſent for by the Popes letters, openly declared not to be poſſible otherwiſe to reſiſte the furious rage of the barbarous Turkes by the ſtrength of any one kyng or prince, vnleſſe all Europe, with one conſent ſhould ioyne their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius a man of puiſaūt courage, beyng driuen out of his countrey, continued his age in exile. Whoſe courage & vehemencie is reported to haue ben ſuch, yͭ in fighting againſt the barbarous enemye, for very egernes of ſpirite, his bloud was ſene to burſte out of his lippes. It is teſtified alſo of him yͭ beyng prouoked, he neuer denyed to fight, & in his fightyng neuer turned his backe, neither yet was euer woūded, but onely once with a light ſhaft in his foote, neither euer ſet againſt the Turke with moe, then 6000. horſemen and 3000. footemen: who is ſayd wͭ his own hand to haue ſlayne aboue. 2000. turkes, whō with ſuch violēce he did ſtricke, that many of them he did cleaue a ſunder frō the head to the midle.

Capha taken of the Turke.

The counſaile of Scanderbeius, howe to fight agaynſte the Turke.

A notable exāple of ſingular courage in a Captaine.

The commēdation of Scanderbeius agaynſt the Turkes.

Neyther yet was the vnſatiable gredines of thys Turkyſhe helhounde with all this ſatiſfied, but ſtill he cōceiued greater thinges in his minde, thinking to conquere the whole world, & ſo paſſing forward towardes Europe, ſubdued all Illyria, ſlaying Stephanus the king of Boſna, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1463. But afterward Mathias Coruinus yͤ ſonne of Huniades afore mencioned, recouered agayne the ſayd kyngdome of Boſna with many other Cities nere vnto Croacia and Dalmatia, and moreouer repulſed Mahūmēte the Turke in hys ſecond ſiege of Iaiza, takyng his tentes and munitions left behinde him.

Mathias the ſonne of Huniades.

Moreouer the ſayd Mahumete paſſyng vnto VValachia, ſet vppon Dracula the prince therof, by which Dracula although he had no greate power of ſouldiours, yet he ſo encloſed and enuironed the Turke, that he had almoſt loſt hys whole armye, of whom a great parte notwithſtandyng was deſtroyed and manye of hys enſignes taken. Into Dalmatia was ſente two captaynes of the Turke, who fightyng agaynſte the prouinces of the Venetians, made greate ſpoyle and waſte aboute the regions of Stiria and Carinthia: where alſo the Venetian power was diſcomfited, and Hieronimus Nouel their captaine ſlayne. At length truce was taken betwen the Turke and the Venetians, vpon this condition that Scodra, Tenarus and Lemnus ſhould be yelded vnto hym, and that they ſhould paye to hym yearely 8. thouſande duckettes for the free paſſage of their marchauntes.

Stiria, *Carinthia*, takē of the Turkes.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahumete him ſelfe ſayleth ouer into Aſia, ſending two of his great captaines abroad to ſundry places: of whom Meſithes was ſent agaynſt the Rhodes, with a mighty nauie. The other called Acomates Baſſa, was ſent into Italie to take Rome & all the Weſt Empire. Concernyng the viage of which two captaines, this was the euente: that Meſithes after his great trauaile & bloudy ſiege againſt the Rhodians, was fayne to retire at length with great ſhame & loſſe. The other captaine Acomates (as is ſayd) was ſent into Italie, with a nauie of a hundreth ſhyppes and 15. thouſand men. Who by the waye in his ſaylyng gotte Leucadia (which now they call S. Maure) Cephalenia, and Zacynthus, and ſayling by Fauelona, arriued in Apulia and ſo paſſing a long by the ſea ſide, ſpoyled and waſted diuers partes by yͤ coaſt, till at lēgth he came to Hidruntum, a Citie of Calabria in Italie, whiche after longe ſiege he ouercame and ſubdued, and brought ſuch a terrour into all Italy, that the Pope forgettyng all other things, yet mindefull of him ſelfe, withall haſt fled out of Rome. After the Citie of Hydruntum was taken and the Turkes placed in the ſame, whiche was yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1481. Mathias Coruinus Huniades ſonne was ſent for by the Italians to ſet vpō the ſayd Citie: vnto the reſcue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his returne with. 25. thouſād Turkes, in yͤ meane time newes came that Mahumete the great Turke was dead: by reaſon wherof the ſiege brake vp, and the Citie was redeliuered to the Italians againe, and ſo was Italy deliuered at that time, out of that preſent perill and daūger. This Mahumete wanne from the Chriſtiās. 200. Cities, & 12. kyngdomes: And two Empires, whiche he ioyned both together. He dyed in the yeare aboue ſayd, an. 1481.

Rhodes beſieged.

Leucadia, *Chephalania*, *Zacinthus* *Fauelona*, takē of the Turke.

Hydruntū taken.

The Pope flieth for feare of the Turke.

Theſe two Empires were Conſtantinople and Trapezunce.

¶ *Baiazetes ſecond the. 10. after Ottomannus.*

MAhumetes aforeſayd had three ſonnes. Of the whiche, Muſtapha the eldeſt, through voluptuouſnes and carnall luſte, died before his father. The other two were Baiazetes and Demes, otherwiſe called Zizimus. About whom great cōtrouerſie roſe amongeſt the Turkes, whiche of them ſhould ſuccede in their fathers kyngdome: For neither of them was preſent at Conſtantinople when Mahumetes dyed, Baiazetes being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Lycaonia. Wherfore whē great diſſenſion was among the nobles for yͤ ſucceſſion, and great ſtrife and bloud ſhed for the matter, the Ianizarites, whiche were the Turkes garde, did proclayme Baiazetes Emperour: others in the abſence of Baiazetes the father, did chuſe Corcuthus his ſonne. Baiazetes yͤ father cōmyng at lēgth from Cappadocia, partly through yeldyng, partlye by corruptyng with money, got the willes of the Ianizarites & was made Emperour. Demes the

Of theſe Ianizarites read before pag. 879.

the other brother being in Lycaonia more nere, although he made no leſſe ſpede in his commyng, yet was preuented of Baiazetes, and excluded out of Conſtantinople. Wherfore he beyng put backe from all hope of his kingdome, incited by ſome of his frendes, moued warre agaynſt hys brother. Who being ouercome in three battailes by Acomates Baiazetes captaine, who had got Hydruntum before, did flye to the great Maiſter of the Rhodes leauyng in a place called Carræ, his mother and two yong children, whom Baiazetes ſlue.

Baiazetes ſlayeth hys brothers mother, & his twoo nephewes.

This Demes beyng with the maiſter of the Rhodes, was deſired firſte of Pope Innocent the iiij. then of Ludouicus the ſecond, French kyng, but eſpecially of Mathias Coruinus, king of Hungary, entendyng by him to obteyne great victory againſt Baiazetes. But in concluſion the knyghtes of the Rhodes ſent hym to the Byſhop of Rome, where he beyng kept & afterwardes ſent to Charles the 8. French kyng, for an hoſtage, of Pope Alexāder the vi. was poyſoned by the way at Terracina, by yͤ ſayd pope Alexāder, as is before declared. After whoſe death Baiazetes, to requite the foreſaid Acomates for his good ſeruice, put him to yͤ halter, partly miſdouting his power, partly for lucre ſake to haue hys treaſure: Whoſe death redounded to the great profite of the Chriſtians, for ſo much as he was euer an vtter enemye to the religion and name of Chriſt.

read before pag.870.

Falſe treaſō woorthely recōpenſed

Baiazetes thus beyng confirmed in his tyrāny, made his firſt expedition agaynſt VValachia, where he ſubdued two great fortes, one called Lithoſtomus, the other called Moncaſtrum. Frō thence he remoued his power, takyng his viage into Aſia, thinkyng to be reuenged of the Sultane of Egypte, whiche had ſuccoured and enterteyned before hys brother Demes agaynſt hym, where he loſt two great battailes, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarſus: but ſpeciallye at the field of Tarſus the armie of the Turke tooke ſuch a wounde, that of.100. thouſand brought into the fielde, ſcarſe the third part remained vnſlayne. But as touchyng the Rhodians, although they were ſuccourers of Demes aforeſayde, yet Baiazetes (whether for feare, or for ſubtiltie) abſteyned to prouoke thē with warre, but rather entred with thē the league of peace, requiring the Maiſter of the Rhodes to kepe his brother ſafe vnder his cuſtody, promiſing for his yearely ſalarie, to be payed vnto him euery yeare in the moneth of Auguſte.45000. duckettes.

Lithoſtomus, Moncaſtrum, Chriſtian fortes ſubdued of the Turke.

The Turke ouerthrowen at *Tarſus.*

Thus Baiazetes beyng ouerthrowne and terrifyed with euill lucke fightyng agaynſt the Sultane of Egypte, remoued from Aſia, and directed his armie into Europe, where he got Dyrrachiū nere vnto Velona, & had a great victory ouer the Chriſtian armie in yͤ countrey of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians and Croatians ioynyng their power together, encountred with the Turke and loſt the field, about the yeare of our Lord.1493.

Dyrrachium takē of the Turke.

From thence the Turke leadyng his armie agaynſt the Venetians, had with them diuers and doubtfull conflictes, where the Turke ſometimes was put to yͤ worſe, and ſometymes agayne preuailyng, out of Iadra and diuers other Cities about Dalmatia, caried awaye great multitudes of Chriſtians into captiuitie, which was about the yeare of our Lord.1498.

The Turke agaynſt the Venetians.

The Chriſtiās caryed away captiues

Two yeares after this, whiche was the yeare of our Lord.1500. Baiazetes with.150. thouſand armed men, entred into Peloponeſus, whiche althoughe Mahumete had expugned before, yet the Venetiās had defended Methone, otherwiſe called Modon, all this while agaynſt yͤ Turkes. Whiche Methone the Turke beſieged with.iij. armyes, hauyng about the walles.500. great braſen Canōs, whereof.22. were moſt violent & hurtfull, wherewith he battered the Citie both day & night: but the Citizens, which were within the Citie, cōmittyng thē ſelues to God, defended their citie as wel as they could, rather chuſing to dye then to yeld vnto yͤ Turkes Tyrānie. But the Turke preuailyng, & they not hable to withſtand the ſiege, the Chriſtians conuented together into a certeine houſe prepared for the purpoſe, both mē, women, & childrē, where they ſetting the houſe on fire, gaue them ſelues rather to be burned, then to come into yͤ Tyrauntes handes. Certeine women alſo wͭ their childrē, caſt them ſelues headlōg into the ſea, by that meanes to auoyde yͤ Turkiſhe captiuitie. Some writers there be whiche affirme yͭ the Methonians, ſeing fiue great ſhippes of the Venetians commyng with mē & vittales toward thē, iſſued downe frō the walles to the ſea ſide to receaue thē, which were all takē captiues beyng aboue the nūber of a thouſand: which all beyng tyed with long ropes, were brought before yͤ Tyraunt and in his ſight were cruelly ſlayne, except certeine nobles whō Cherſeogles ſonne in law to Baiazetes, got to be pardoned, amōgeſt whom was Andreas Gritto. The Citie of Coron, and alſo Pilus Cities in Grece beyng terrifyed with the example of the Methonians, yelded thē ſelues to the power of yͤ Turkes. Criſſeum otherwiſe called caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherſeogles, by force of gunnes.

Peloponeſus, agayne inuaded by the Turke.

Methone takē of the Turkes and miſerably deſtroyed.

Coron, Pilus, Criſſeum, yelded to the Turkes.

These thynges thus achieued, although Baiazetes went away victor vnto Conſtantinople, yet notwithſtandyng the Venetians, through the helpe of the kynges of Fraunce and Spayne, had wōne from the Turke Chephalenia an Ilande very commodious for their trafické: Alſo had gotten other ij. Ilandes Leucas and Nericus, otherwiſe called Sancta Maura, ſlayeng all the garriſon of the Turkes. But afterward peace beyng taken betwen the Venetians and the Turke, by the Counſaile of Andreas Gritto aforeſayd, the Turkes ſo agreed, that Leucas and Nericus the Ilandes abouesayd ſhould bee rendred vnto the Turke, and the Venetians ſhould kepe ſtill the poſſeſſion of Chaphalenia.

Chephalenia, Leucas, Nericus, Ilandes recouered of the Turkes by the Venetians.

Vnto this league the Turke dyd the rather condeſcende, for that hee had to mainteyne warre agaynſt Iſmael Sophus in Aſia, kyng of Perſia Which Sophus was ſtirred vp by Gods prouidēce to warre wͭ this Baiazetes, whereby the Chriſtian Churches in Europe might haue ſome breathyng tyme, and fredome from the Turkes cruell tyranny and bloudſhed. This Sophus was a valiaunt Turke, who with great power and victories had ouer runne a great compaſſe of the Eaſt partes of Aſia: then paſſing frō Aſſiria into Media, & returning againe into Armenia, he made warre agaynſt yͤ Albanians, Hiberians, and Scythians, and from thence commyng vnto Aſia minor, encoūtred with Corcuthus Baiazetes ſonne, and afterward commyng to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Baſſa, Baiazetes captaine, whom he ouercame and put to flight, & afterward toke him aliue & his wife priſoners. Afterward he was encountered by Halibaſſa an other captaine of the Turkes, whom Techelles one of yͤ ſaid Sophus captaines metyng in yͤ plaine of Galatia did withſtand, and ſo by the way ſlue Caragius the captaine & hanged him vpō a pole in the ſight of Halibaſſa, which Halibaſſa ſhortly after was ſlayne in warre and his armie ſcattered and put to flight. Thus through the admirable example of Gods Iuſtice & prouidence, were theſe Turkes kept occupyed, & ſo came it to paſſe, that theſe barbarians beyng blaſphemous agaynſt the ſonne of God ſhould thus horribly runne one to the deſtructiō of an other, being worthely puniſhed with mutuall ſlaughter and bloudſhed for their impietie and blaſphemie agaynſt Chriſt and his Religion, whereby in the meane tyme ſome reſt was geuen to the Chriſtians.

Truce betwene the Venetians and the Turke.

Warre betwen Sophus and Baiazetes.

Caragius the Turkes captaine take priſoner & ſlayne of Sophus.

Halibaſſa the Turkes Captaine ſlayne.

Rest geuen to the Chriſtiās, by the diſcord of the Turkes.

Baiazetes partly by theſe victories diſcouraged, partlye diſeaſed and languiſhing of the goute, and partly alſo broken with age, findyng him ſelfe vnweldie to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdome, began to haue talke with his nobles about the chuſyng of one to ſuccede him. The occaſion whereof miniſtered much matter of inward warres amongeſt the Turkes. This

Zelymus made Emperour agaynſt his fathers will.

What theſe *Ianizarites* were, read pag. 879.

The counſaile of Baiazetes to his ſonne Zelymus.

Baiazetes had in all vi. ſonnes, whereof iij. dyed before him & thre yet were left alyue, to witte, Acomates, Corchutus and Zelymus. Baiazetes him ſelfe had moſt minde to Acomates, but the chiefeſt of his nobles did fauour rather Zelymus: who through their traiterous incitation prouoked him to ſtirre warre agaynſt his father: and notwithſtandyng that he was ouercome in warre, yet through interceſſion he was reconciled agayne to his father, and afterward proclaymed agayne Emperour agaynſt his fathers will, through the helpe and fauour of the ſouldiours, entryng the firſt begynnyng of his kyngdome, with the murtheryng of his own father. The ſtorye whereof in ſome authors is thus declared. After that the Ianizarites had perſuaded with Baiazetes for that hee him ſelfe was vnweldy, therfore hee ſhould doo well to conſtitute ſome ſucceſſour, & that he had aſſigned Acomates to ſuccede hym, the Ianizarites beyng offended with the ſayde Acomates becauſe hee woulde not enlarge theyr ſtipendes and brybe them, compaſſyng aboute the kynges pallace with their priuie ſwordes whiche they had vnder their garmentes, with a mighty crye, required Zelymus to bee appoynted for their Emperour. Unto whom when Baiazetes had aunſwered that he had aſſigned Acomates, they refuſed him becauſe he was fatte, groſſe, and vnable therunto: but nedes would haue Zelymus, whiche was ſtoute & warlike, to be made Emperour, and withall drew out their ſwordes cryeng Zelymus Zelymus. Then Baiazetes geuing place to their fury, ſhewed him ſelfe contẽt to geue them Zelymus: whom the Ianizarites receiuing, brought him into the pallace: vnto whom Baiazetes his father geuyng place, willed him not to be ſo haſty and furious in his doynges, but to be modeſt & take hede what he dyd, and not to folow his fury, but to geue place vnto tyme, which reuealeth all thinges, and thinke him ſelfe to be a mã ſubiect to daungers and ieopardies as other mẽ are: and thus ſpeakyng he reſigned his Imperiall throne & ſeate vnto him & went away all heauye, entryng into a certeine order of their religiõ. Wherupõ folowed great acclamatiõs of the people ſalutyng Zelymus as Emperour. Who then takyng the rule vpon him, began with great crueltie to gouerne, deſtroyeng many of hys nobles, ſuch as had ſtand agaynſt him, ſome with poyſon, ſome by other cruell meanes, and auauncyng his owne ſide with great honours and promotions.

The diſpleaſure of Baiazetes agaynſt his ſonne Zelymus.

The diſſemblyng wordes of Zelymus to his father.

Zelymus the ſonne poyſoneth his father.

Not long after that Zelymus was thus ſetled in hys kyngdome, Baiazetes his father entendyng to ſee & proue howe hee behaued him ſelfe in his gouernement, firſt entred into the treaſure houſe, where he founde all hys riches to be ſcattered and gone. Afterward he came into his Armorie, where all the ſpoyles gotten by warre were likewiſe waſted: then entring into ẏ Iewell houſe, where all his plate and giftes ſent from kyngs and princes were kept, which likewiſe were diſperſed and geuẽ awaye. At length hee came into the ſtable, where alſo he ſeyng his principall horſes to bee lackyng, ſighed with him ſelfe and cryeng vengeaunce vpon him, he prepared him ſelfe with the reſidue of the treaſure whiche was remaynyng, to ſayle ouer into Natolia vnto hys eldeſt ſonne, and paſſyng by an Orchard nere to the ſea ſide, where hee had appoynted to take ſhippe, in the meane tyme whyleſt the ſhyppes were in furniſhyng, he ſat downe vnder a tree, and began to curſe his ſonne and to axe vengeaunce vpon hym, for that he had ſo deſpiſed hys father and was become ſo impious a wretch. Zelymus vnderſtandyng of hys fathers departure, came into the Orchard where his father was, ſemyng to be very heauie, & much lamentyng that his father would ſo priuely depart and go away, ſeing that he deſired not the gouernement of the Empire, but was contented onely with ẏ title therof. O father (ſaid he) do not thus priuely departe away: doo not procure this ſhame to your ſonne, who ſo tẽderly loueth you. Let me haue but the name onely: & be you ẏ Emperour in dede. The ende of your naturall life moſt patiently I ſhall expect, whiche I pray God may long continue. And thus vſing many fayre and flatteryng wordes to his father, he commaũded a banket with many deintye iunkettes, to be brought vnto him, but tempered and infected with poiſon. Whiche, as ſoone as Baiazetes had begon to taſt of, and felt the ſtrength of the poyſon workyng in his body, he toke his laſt farewell of his ſonne, and goyng out of the Citie accompanied with a great retinue of men yellyng and cryeng out in the ſtreetes, in the midle of his iourney fell downe and miſerably dyed: in the yeare of our Lord. 1512. Here mayſt thou ſee, good reader, a curſed broode of this Turkiſh generation, where the father dyeth in curſing the ſonne, and the ſonne reigneth by poyſonyng his father.

¶ *Zelymus the 11. after Ottomannus.*

Zelymus the xi. after Ottomanus.

The crueltie of Zelymus agaiſt his father and his brethren.

The crueltie of Zelymus agaiſt his couſins.

AFter that this wretched Zelymus had exerciſed his barbarous crueltie vppon his father, with lyke impietie he ſeketh the deſtruction of his brethren & theyr children, firſt begynnyng his murther with the fiue children his nephewes, whiche were the ſonnes of his three brethren before departed. Whiche done, then remained his other ij. brethren yet aliue, Acomates and Corchutus with their children likewiſe to be deſtroyed. Of whom ẏ one had. iij. ſonnes, whom the father ſent to Zelymus his brother and their vncle, with fayre and gentle wordes to entreate him to bee good vnto their father, offeryng to him their dutie and ſeruice in all thynges, honoryng him alſo as Emperour. But cruell Zelymus commaunded forthwith hys ſayd nephewes to be ſtrangled. The father hearyng of the cruell murther of his ſonnes, leauing houſe and home, went and hydde him ſelfe in moũtaines, where he lyued for a ſpace with herbes and wild honye, but beyng bewrayed by one of hys men was brought to Zelymus and ſo was ſtrangled.

Ex Chriſt. Richeris.

Zelimus the Turke warreth agaynſt hys brother.

Chriſtophorus Richerius, writyng of theſe matters, ſemeth ſome thyng to differ from other ſtories, & ſayth that Zelymus, after the death of his brother Corchutus, came to Burſia, where he, vnder the colour of makyng a great triumphe, ordeined a feaſt for his frendes & kynſfolke, whereunto were called eſpecially his nephewes: who then at the ende of the feaſt callyng his nephewes a ſyde (as vnder ẏ pretence of conferryng with them ſecretly about his neceſſary affaires) committed them to his ſeruauntes to be ſtrangled and put to death. All this while Acomates his other brother, through the helpe & inſtruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrantes handes, till at length, after great labour and ſearche made how to get hym, certeine forged letters were caſt abroad wherein was conteyned that Acomates, to reuenge the great impietie and ſubdue the tyranny of Zelymus his brother, ſhould ſhew hym ſelf abroad. Which if he would do, he ſhould finde frendes enoughe to take his parte. Acomates circumuented with theſe ſubtill traynes, partly for hope of reuengement, partly for deſire of the Empire, ſhewed him ſelfe abroad with ſuch power and ſtrength as he had, who beyng ſet vpon incontinent by Zelymus his brother, was ouercome in battaile, and fallyng from his horſe, beyng a man corpulent and groſſe, and his horſe fallyng vppon him, was ſo ouerpreſſed and ſlayne.

Touchyng the death of this Acomates, Munſterus ſomewhat differyng from this narration, addeth moreouer and ſayth, that hee was not kylled with the fall from his horſe, but ſittyng all diſmayed vpon a ſtone and ſeyng no other remedie but death, deſired the captaine, takyng his rynges from his fingers, to deliuer the ſame to hys brother, deſiryng hym that hee might not bee put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that hee gently woulde ſuffer hym to bee let blond in the bath and ſo to dye. But Zelymus beyng not ignoraunt

The crueltye of Zelymus agaynſt hys brother.

The two ſonnes of Acomates flye away from the tyrannie of Zelymus the Turke.

The prouidence of God in ſtyrring vp occaſions for hys people.

of this, ſuborneth preuie tormenters, who byndyng his handes behind him, with their feete caſt him downe vpon the ground, and ſo twiring his necke with a coarde, did ſtrãgle him. This Acomates had .ij. ſonnes, who hearyng of ẏ death of their father, did flie for ſuccour, ẏ one to Sophus in Perſia, & the other to the Sultane in Ægypt. By the meanes wherof, new occaſion of warre grewe vnto Zelymus, wherby he was kept in Aſia at home, to fight agaynſt ẏ Perſians and Ægyptians: ſo that through the Lordes prouidence, Chriſtendome by that meanes was deliuered from great daunger and perill of the Turkes tyranny: For otherwiſe the Turke was wholy minded, with all his force and puiſaunce, to inuade the Chriſtians, beyng in doubt whether firſt to begyn with Rhodes, or whether to aſſault Pannonia, or els to ſet vpõ Italie, beyng then at great diſcorde within it ſelfe: but this cauſe occupied the Turkes mynde otherwiſe & kept him at home. Such was then the prouidence of the Lord for the ſafegarde of his people.

Warre betwene Zelymus and Sophus the Perſian kyng.

Wherefore for ſomuch as the affaires & doynges of this Turke were ſpent for the moſt part in the Turkiſhe and heatheniſhe countreis: it ſhall not be greatly neceſſary to trouble our Chriſtian ſtories therwith, but onely ſhall ſuffice to contract them in a briefe ſumme, declaryng ſuperficially what vnquietnes was amongeſt them there, whiche could neuer be quiet but euer workyng ſome miſchief either abroad or at home. Amurathes the Turkes nephew aforeſayd, after he had obteyned aide of Sophus the king of the Perſians, firſt inuaded Cappadocia: not long after whom, folowed Iſmael Sophus the Perſian kyng. By reaſon wherof a great battaile was fought betwixt the Perſians and Zelimus in the fieldes of Armenia maior. In the whiche battaile, Iſmael Sophus the Perſian kyng was hurt on ẏ ſhoulder with a pellet, and ſo being caryed out of the fielde, left the victorie to Zelymus: who albeit had an armye of 150. thouſand men, yet hee in the ſame field loſt about 30000. of his Turkes. Whiche field was fought in the yeare of our Lord. 1514. Zelymus after this victorye went to Tauricia the Imperiall Citie of the Perſians, whiche he by yeldyng ſubdued.

Warre betwene Zelymus, and Aladulus an other turke.

Preparatiõ of warre betwene Zelymus and the Chriſtians.

The Turke called away from the Chriſtians.

A Turkyſh vowe.

Campſon the Sultane or ruler of the Ægyptians.

Mamaluci.

In this meane time it happened that one Aladulus a kyng in Armenia the greater, was alſo a helper to Iſmael agaynſt the Turke, whereupon Zelymus the Turke takyng great indignation, the next yeare folowyng, leauyng the Perſians, fought againſt the ſayd Aladulus, and in the end ouercame him, and afterward beyng founde in a caue in a wodde, was taken out and brought to Zelymus and ſo beheaded: whoſe head firſt beyng caried about Aſia for a triumphe, was afterward ſent to the Senate of Venice for a terrour vnto thẽ. The eldeſt ſonne of Aladulus ſcappyng the handes of his purſuers, fled into Ægypte. This battaile thus fought and ended, Zelymus, after he had diuided the kyngdome of Aladulus into iij. prouinces, went to Lycaonia, and frõ thence to Europe, there to defende the Citie of Samandria, agaynſt the Chriſtians in Hungary. But the Hungarians beyng ſone repreſſed by Iuno Baſſa the Turkes captaine, great preparation began to bee made by the Turkes agaynſt the confines of Seruia bordering vpõ Hungary: The terrour wherof ſtirred vp Maximilian ẏ Emperour and Ladiſlaus kyng of Hũgary, and Sigiſmundus kyng of Polonie, to conſulte together, and conioyne their power for defenſe of Chriſtendome. But through new incumbrãces incident, the Turke leauyng Europe, made haſt agayne into Aſia, to renue agayne his warres againſt the Perſians, who had made a vowe not to geue ouer that warre before Iſmael was ouerthrowne. But before he entred that warre, firſt he ſent his meſſengers to the Sultane of Ægypt, requiring him not to entermedle in that warre: for thys Sultane before had promiſed to aſſiſte the Perſians agaynſt the Turke. The name of the Sultane whiche reigned then in Ægypt, was Campſon, ſet vp by the Mamaluci. Theſe Mamaluci were a certein order amongeſt the Ægyptiãs much like to the Ianizarites about ẏ Turke, beyng the children of Chriſten men, and after reneyeng Chriſt, were the chiefeſt doers in the Sultanes court, and beyng growne into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkiſh barbaritie or rather became worſe then Turkes. This Campſon vnto ẏ meſſengers of the Turke gaue this aunſwere againe, that vnleſſe he would leaue of his warre agaynſt Iſmael, and reſtore the ſonne of Aladulus, otherwiſe he would not lay downe his armour.

Caierbeius falſe to hys maiſter.

Campſon ſlaine.

Zelymus being incenſed not a litle with this inſolẽt aunſwere of the Sultane, leauing all other warres aſide, with great celeritie aduaunced his power agaynſt the Sultane. Which Sultane partly through the falſehode of his captaine Caierbeius, partly by the ſuddeinnes of the Turkes comming, not farre from the Citie of Damaſcus encountred with the Turke & there ouerthrowne from his horſe being a fatte and groſſe body, & fallyng vnder his horſe, & his horſe alſo falling vpon him, was quaſhed in peeces & ſo dyed: which was the yeare of Lord. 1516.

Tomoumbeius made Sultane of Ægypt.

Tomoumbeius executed.

A worthy deſtructiõ of the Mameluci forſakyng theyr fayth and Religion.

Note agayne the prouidence of God.

The death of Zelymus.

Mamaluci, of whom more thẽ a thouſand in this battaile were ſlayne, flyeng from thẽce to Memphis, ſet vp Tomoumbeius in ſtede of Cãpſon: whoſe captayne Gazelles was ouercome at the Citie of Gaza, and he afterward him ſelfe driuen out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamaluci were deſtroyed. Then Tomoumbeius flyeng ouer the floud Nilus, renued his armye agayne: but in the ende was diſcomfited and chaſed into a marſhe, where he was founde ſtandyng in the water vp to the chynne, and ſo being brought to Zelymus, was put to the racke and great tormentes, to make him confeſſe where Campſons treaſures were. But when hee would not declare, he was caried about the towne with a halter about his necke & hanged vp vpon a high gibbet for a ſpectacle to all Ægypt: whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1517. And thus were the .ij. Sultanes in Ægypt deſtroyed with the Mamaluci, whiche there had borne the rule in Ægypt the ſpace of. 243. yeares. The progenie of the whiche Mamaluci remaynyng of the warres, the Turke cõmaũded in the priſon gates of Alexandria to be cut in peeces. Zelymus frõ thence, triumphyng departed to Conſtantinople, entẽdyng to ſpende the reſt of his tyme in perſecutyng the Chriſtians: But in that meane ſpace he was ſtricken with a Cankered ſore rottyng inward & dyed after he had reigned. 7. yeares, like a beaſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1520.

The beaſtly crueltie of Zelymus agaynſt hys kyndred.

The crueltie of Zelymus agaynſt hys ſonne Solyman.

The reigne of this Turke was but ſhort in number of yeares: but in nũber of his murthers and cruell bloudſhed, it might ſeme exceedyng lõg: which liued more lyke a beaſt then a mã, for he neuer ſpared any of his frendes or kinred. His father firſt he poyſoned: his brethren & all his couſins hee quelled, leauyng none of all hys kynred alyue. Moreouer, his chief and principall captaines, for ſmall occaſions he put to death, as Muſtapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Boſtange his ſonne in law, and Iunobaſſa. It is ſayd moreouer that he entended the poyſonyng of his owne ſonne Solyman, ſending vnto him a ſheart infected with poyſon, becauſe hee ſemed ſomethyng freely to ſpeake agaynſt the cruell dymanure of his father: But by the meanes of his mother, the gift beyng ſuſpected was giuen to an other whiche was his chamberleyne, who puttyng on the ſheart, was ſtrocken with the poyſon therof and therwithall dyed.

A Note of Gods prouidence for the reformation of Religion.

As touchyng this Turke Zelymus, by the waye here may be noted howe the ſecrete prouidence of the Lorde kept him occupied with his Turkiſhe warres at home, while that ẏ reformation of Chriſtian Religion here in Europe ẏ ſame tyme begonne by Martine Luther, might the more quietly take ſome rootyng without diſturbãce or interruption. For ſo it appeareth by the computatiõ of tyme, that in the dayes of this Zelymus, Martine Luther,

ther, firſt began to write agaynſt the Popes indulgẽces, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord.1516.

¶ *Solymannus the.12.after Ottomannus.*

Solymannus the 12. after *Ottomannus*.

Read in the page before 835.

SOlymannus the onely ſonne of Zelymus ſucceded after his fathers death, who in the firſt begynnyng ſemed to ſome to be ſimple and ſhepiſhe, and not meete for the turkiſhe gouernement. Wherefore certeine of his nobles conſulting howe to depoſe him, entended to ſet vp an other Emperour. In whiche conſpiracie, eſpecially are named Caierbeius and Gazelles. This Caierbeius was he that betrayed before, Campſon the Sultane of Ægypt to Zelymus, as is aforeſayd: who now alſo beyng in conſultation with Gazelles and other about this matter, detected thẽ alſo vnto Solyman. Wherfore the ſayd Gazelles and hys felowes beyng thus detected, were put to death by Solyman, declaryng therby that he was not ſo ſhepiſhe as he was thought of them to be, and as alſo by his actes afterward did more appeare.

Belgradum agayne beſieged of the Turke.

Read before pag 881.

Solymannus, after this execution done vpon the conſpiratours, takyng his viage into Europe, firſt beſieged Belgradum: whiche beyng a Citie in Hungarie, was the ſtrongeſt forte of all the Romane Empire, and the chief defence at that tyme, of all Chriſtendome, whiche alſo beyng aſſaulted before tyme by Amurathes the ſecond, was valiauntly defended by Ioannes Huniades, as is aboue ſpecified. But here now lacked ſuch a one as Huniades was: For the kyngdome of Hũgary at that tyme, was vnder the gouernement of Ludouicus a yong king, vnexpert and of a ſimple witte. Whom other princes, & ſpecially the couetous Church men did ſo pill and pole, that they left him nothyng but onely the bare name and title of his kyngdome: Wherby he beyng vnfurniſhed both of men and money, was vnable to matche with ſuch an enemy.

Diſcorde amongſt Chriſtian princes, what miſchiefe it bringeth.

The pope ſo buſye agaynſt Luther, that he neglecteth the ruine of Chriſtendome.

True compaſſion lacking in the pope.

An other vauntage alſo the Turkes had in beſiegyng of Belgrade: For the Chriſtian princes at that time were in ciuill diſſenſion and variaunce amõgeſt them ſelues: and the Pope with his Churche men alſo were ſo buſie in ſuppreſſyng of Luther, and of the Goſpell then newly ſpringyng, that they minded nothyng els, except it were to mainteine ÿ wealth of their own belyes. Which pope if hee had ſet his care (as his dutie was) ſo much in ſtyrring vp princes agaynſt the common enemy, as he was bent to deface the Goſpell, & to perſecute the true profeſſours therof: ſoone might he haue brought to paſſe, not onely that Belgrade myght haue bene defended agaynſt the Turke, but alſo that to be recouered againe, whiche was loſt before: and moreouer might haue ſtopped the great daungers and perils, whiche now are like to fall vpon the religion and Church of Chriſt: which the Lord of his great mercy auerte & turne away. Certes what ſoeuer the Pope then did, this had ben his dutie, ſetting all other thinges a part, to haue had an earneſt compaſſion of ſo many miſerable & loſt captiues, whiche were fallen from their faith and Religion, vnto the miſerie & ſlauery of the Turke, and thraldome of the deuill, and to haue ſought all meanes poſſible to haue reduced thẽ, as loſt ſhepe, into the folde agayne: Whiche then might ſoone haue bene done, if prelates and princes ioyning together in Chriſtian concorde, had loued ſo well the publike glorie of Chriſt & ſoules of Chriſtians, as they tendered their owne priuate, worldly, and friuolous quarelles. And admit that the Pope had conceiued neuer ſo much malice againſt Luther, his quarel alſo being good: yet the publike Churche ſtandyng in ſuch daunger as it then did by the inuaſion of the Turke, reaſon would, nature ledde, religiõ taught, tyme required that a good Prelate forgettyng lighter matters, ſhould rather haue layed hys ſhoulder to the excludyng of ſo great a daunger, as then was imminent both to hym ſelfe, and the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt: But now his quarel being vniuſt, and the cauſe of Luther being moſt iuſt and godly, what is to be ſayd or thought of ſuch a prelate, who forebearning the Turke, whõ in a tyme ſo daungerous he ought chiefly to haue reſiſted, perſecuted the truth, which he ſhould ſpecially haue mainteined? But Chriſt for his mercie ſtande for his Church, and ſtyrre vp zelous princes and prelates, if not to recouer that is loſt, yet at leaſt to reteine that litle whiche is left.

The citie of *Belgrade* wonne of the Turke.

Solyman therfore takyng his occaſion, and vſing the cõmoditie of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt them ſelues, without any reſiſtance or interruption, brought his armye vnto Belgrade, in ÿ yeare of our Lord.1521. Whiche Citie beyng but ſclenderly defenſed, the Turke through his vndermyners, gunnes and other engines of warre, without great difficultie, and with litle loſſe of hys ſouldiours, ſone ſubdued and ouercame.

Rhodes beſieged.

Chriſtian princes negligent in helpyng theyr felowes.

Rhodes wonne of the Turkes

After this victorie, Solymã reſtyng him ſelfe a whole yeare, and caſting in hys minde how to make all ſure behynd him, for feare of enemyes to come vpon his backe, thought it expedient for his purpoſe if he might obteine the Ilãd of Rhodes: for that onely remained yet Chriſtiã betwixt him & Aſia: wherfore the next yeare folowyng he brought his armye of.450.ſhippes &.300.thouſand men to the beſiegyng therof. This Rhodes was a mightie and ſtrong Iland, within the ſea called Mare mediterraneum. The inhabitantes wherof at the firſt did manfully reſiſte the Turke, ſparyng no labour nor paynes for the defenſe of them ſelues and of all Chriſtendome: But afterward beyng brought to extremitie, and pynched with penurie, ſeyng alſo no ayde to come from the Chriſtians: ſomewhat began to languiſhe in them ſelues. The Turkes in the meane tyme caſtyng vp twoo great mountaines with ſtrength of hande, two myles of from the Citie, like roling trẽches caried them before them nere vnto the Citie, in the toppes wherof they plãted their ordinaunce and artillarie, to batter the Citie. The Maſter of the knightes of the Rhodes was thẽ one Phillippus Villadamus a Frenchmã, in whom no diligẽce was lackyng that apparteined to the defenſe of the Citie. The Rhodians likewiſe ſo valiauntly behaued them ſelues vpon the walles, that with their ſhotte all the ditches about the Citie, were filled wᵗ the Carcaſes of dead Turkes. Beſides this, ſuch a diſeaſe of the bloudy flixe reigned in the Turkes campe, that.30.thouſand of thẽ died therof: and yet for all this Solyman would not ceaſe from his ſiege begõne: who at length by vndermyners caſtyng downe the vamures & vttermoſt partes of the Citie, wanne groũde ſtill more and more vpon the Rhodians, and with mortarye peeces ſo battered the houſes that there was no free place almoſt ſtandyng in all the Citie. And thus continued the ſiege for the ſpace of fiue or ſixe monethes, and yet all this while came no helpe vnto them from the Chriſtians. Wherefore they beyng out of all hope, through the aduiſe of Villadamus, yelded them ſelues vnto the Turke vpon condition that he would ſpare them with life and goodes, whiche conuention the Turke kept with them faythfully and truly. Thus Solyman with his great glory, & vtter ſhame to all Chriſtian princes, and alſo ruine of all Chriſtendome, got the noble Ile of Rhodes, although not without great loſſe and detriment of his armye: in ſo much that at one aſſault, 20.thouſãd Turkes about ÿ walles were ſlayne with fire, ſword, ſtones, and other engines. Whereby it may be coniectured what theſe Rhodians might or would haue done, if ſuccour had come to them from other Chriſtian princes as they looked for. This Citie was wonne vpon Chriſtmas day.an.1522.

This conqueſt of Rhodes obteyned, Solyman the iiij.yeare after, bringeth backe his armye agayne into Hungarie, where he founde none to reſiſte him but onely Ludouicke the young kyng: who beyng accompanyed with a ſmall armye, and nothyng hable to matche with the Turke, yet of a haſtie raſhnes and vayne hope of victorie, would needes ſet vpon him: who if he had ſtayed but a litle, had proſpered the better. For Ioānes Vaiuoda beyng a captaine well exerciſed in Turkiſhe warres before, was not farre of cōmyng with a ſufficient power of hable ſouldiers. But Paulus the Archbiſhop Coloſs. a Fraunciſcane Frier, a man more bold then wiſe, with his temeritie & raſhnes troubled all their doinges: For the whole ſumme of the armye of the Hungarians, conteyned in all but onely. 24. thouſand horſemen and footemen, who at length cōmyng vnto the battaile, and being cōpaſſed about wᵗ a great multitude of ẏ Turkes armye, were brought into great diſtreſſe. The Turkes twiſe ſhotte of their peeces agaynſt the Chriſtiā armye: yet ſcarſe was any Chriſtian touched with the ſtroke thereof: whiche was thought to be done of purpoſe, becauſe they were Chriſtians whiche had the orderyng of the gunnes, for then the ſpeciall gunners of the Turkes were Chriſtians, whom for the ſame cauſe they ſpared. Then the Turkes horſemen commyng vpon the backe of the Chriſtian armye, compaſſed them about, and by reaſon of their multitude, ouercharged their horſemen: Amongeſt whom was ſlayne the ſame tyme the Archbiſhop Frier aforeſayd, with the Biſheps of Strygon and Varadine and many other nobles beſides. Alſo the kyng him ſelf beyng deſtitute of his neceſſarie ayde & ſuccor, was compelled to flye into a mariſhe, where he fallyng frō his horſe, being heauye loden wᵗ his harnes, was not hable to riſe agayne, but there miſerably periſhed. Solyman the Turke marueiled at the fooliſhnes of Ludouike the kyng, who with ſo ſmall an armye would preſume to encounter with ſuch a great hoſt of. 200. thouſand. This battaile in Hungarie was fought. an. 1526.

Chriſten warres agaynſte the Turke neuer ſpeede wel vnder the guyding of popiſhe prelates.

Chriſtians were the ſpeciall Gunners to the turkes.

The raſhe archb. ſlayne.

King Ludouike peryſhed in warre.

After the deceaſſe of Ludouike, Ferdinandus ſucceded in the kyngdome, beyng Duke of Auſtria and kyng of Hungarie. Then Solyman ſettyng contention betwixt Ioannes Vaiuoda and Ferdinandus for the kyngdome of Hungarie, ſpedde his viage to ẏ Citie of Buda, whiche alſo in ſhort tyme he made to be yelded vnto him vpon cōdition that they ſhould eſcape with their lyues & goods: which condition ſome ſay he kept, & ſome ſay he did not. Beſides Buda diuers places & munitions ẏ ſayd Turke, contrary to his league made before, did ſpoyle & waſte, as Varadinum, Quinq; Eccleſias, and other fortes & munitions moe, borderyng about the coaſtes of Hungary.

Ferdinandus Kinge of Hungary.

Buda, *Varadinū* and the Citie called *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, taken of the Turke.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1529. Ferdinandus kyng of Hungarie aforeſayd, recouered diuers holdes gotten of the Turke before, and alſo warryng agaynſt Ioannes Vaiuoda his enemye, with whom he had variaunce (as ye heard before) expulſed him out of hys kyngdome. Wherupō Vaiuoda flyeng to the Turke, deſired his ayde. The Turke glad to take that occaſion, with great preparation addreſſed him ſelfe to returne into Hungary, where he recouering agayne the Citie of Buda, whiche Ferdinandus had gotten from him a litle before, remoued his armye into Auſtria, ſpoylyng and deſtroyeng by the way all that came to his handes, ſhewyng many examples of great crueltie and tyranny moſt lamentable to here and vnderſtand. For of ſome he put out theyr eyes, of ſome he cut of their handes, of ſome their eares and noſes, & of their children he cut of their priuie members. The maydens he corrupted, the matrones had their breſtes cut of, and ſuch as were with child, were ripte and their children caſt into the fire. And theſe examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny, this wretched Turke perpetrated by the way commyng toward Vienna a noble Citie in Auſtria, beſides the captiues whiche he tooke by the waye, and ledde into ſeruitude moſte miſerable, mountynge to the number of. 30. thouſand.

Contention betwēe *Ferdinandus*, and *Vaiuoda*.

Vaiuoda flyeth to the Turke.

Horrible examples of the Turkes crueltie.

Among other holdes by the way as the Turke came, there was a caſtle called Altenburch ſtrōgly by nature ſituated, and by arte defenſed, whiche caſtle the Turke entendyng not to ouerpaſſe becauſe he would make all thynges ſure behynde him, began to make his aſſault and lay his ordinaunce againſt it. The warders and kepers of the Caſtle, ſo ſoone as the Turke began to lay ſiege agaynſt them, makyng no reſiſtaunce, of a womanly cowardnes ſent their meſſengers to the Turke to yelde them ſelues, ready to do his commaūdement and further hym with their vittaile. Amongeſt whom were thrée hundreth Bohemians, who were commaunded to folow the hoaſt, that the Turke by them might learne what ſtrength was in the Citie of Vienna: alſo where the kyng was, and what was to be done for the wynnyng therof. Of whom when the Turke had vnderſtandyng how all thinges ſtode, and how that there was but 20. M. mē in Vienna hable to beare armour, and that other Cities of Auſtria would ſoone yelde if that were gotten, & that Vienna was vitailed but for ij. monethes, & that ẏ kyng was of late in Boheme, thus ẏ Turke of all thynges beyng certified, hauyng no doubt in his minde of victorie, made ſpede toward Vienna: and firſt commyng to Neapolis a Citie but. 8. myles diſtant frō Vienna, he required them to yeld them ſelues: who notwithſtanding, withſtoode them and repulſed them valiantlye. Then the Turkes aſſigned a place for the pitchyng of their tentes, which becauſe it ſemed ſomthing to litle for ſuch a great multitude, they toke in more ground to ẏ compaſſe of vij. myles circuite. The multitude of his armye, which he there planted, is accoumted of ſome to extende to. 250. thouſand ſouldiours. The Turke thus beyng planted, made dayly excourſes ouer all the countrey of Auſtria, ſpecially about the Citie of Vienna, waſtinge and ſpoyling with great cruelty and murther, amongeſt the poore Chriſtians.

The effiminate cowerdlynes of the ſouldiours in *Altenburch*.

The caſtle of *Altenburch* yelded to the Turke.

Neapolis beſieged of the Turke.

The Turkes army of 250. thouſand armed ſouldiers.

Moreouer to make all thinges more ſure toward the preparatiō of the ſiege, ſcoutes were ſent abroad, & buſhmentes were layd about the ryuer ſide of Danubius, to prouide that no ayde nor vitaile ſhould be brought to Vienna. So it pleaſed the prouidence of the Lorde (who diſpoſeth all thinges) that iij. dayes before the comming of the Turke, Fridericus the Earle Palatine, whiche was then aſſigned by the Empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come downe by the ryuer of Danubius with. xiiij. thouſand, and with a certaine troupe of horſemen well appoynted and piked for the purpoſe. After the cōmyng of this Friderike, prouiſion alſo of vitaile was appointed to folow ſhortly after, by the ſayd ryuer of Danubius. In the meane tyme, they which had the cariage and tranſportyng therof, hearyng how the wayes were layd and all the paſſages. x. myles about Vienna, ſtopped by the Turkes, althoughe they knew the Citie to ſtand in great nede of vitaile, yet ſeyng there was no other remedy, rather then it ſhould come to the enemyes hād, thought it beſt to ſincke their boates with their cariage, And ſo they did. Wherby, albeit the Chriſtians wanted their reliefe, yet were the Turkes diſapointed of their pray and purpoſe. The captaines whiche had the kepyng of the Citie (whiche were chiefly Fridericus the Earle Palatine, Guilielmus Rogendorffius, and Nicolaus Earle of Salme, ſeyng them ſelues ſo ſtraytened contrary to their expectation, although they had great cauſes to be diſcouraged, yet callyng their courage vnto them, they conſulted together for the beſt way to be taken: and ſeing that the litle Citie Neapolis (aboue mentioned) being viij. myles diſtaunt from them, ſo valiauntlye withſtoode the Turkes, that in one daye they ſuſteyned vij. greuous aſſaultes agaynſt all the maine force of the Turkiſhe armye: by theyr example and manfull ſtandyng, being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abyde the vttermoſte, before they woulde geue ouer, and firſte pluckyng downe all the ſuburbes, and buildyngs without the walles, wherby the enemye myght haue any ſuccour, they willed all the

Vienna beſieged of the Turke.

Fridericus Earle palatine captayne of *Vienna*.

Fridericus Earle Palatine, William Rogendorffius, Nicolaus Earle of Salme, captaines of Vienna.

Preparation within the Citie of *Vienna* agaynſt the Turke.

the fermers and inhabitauntes about the Citie, to ſaue them ſelues, and to bryng in their goodes within the walles. Such places as were weake within the walles, they made ſtrong. About the towers and munitions of the walles, they prouided rampyres and bulwarkes diſtaunt .80. foote one from an other, to kepe of the ſhotte: and euery man had his place and ſtandyng awarded to him vpõ the walle, and his office appointed what to do: but eſpecially that ſide of the Citie, whiche lyeth to the riuer of Danubius, they fortified after the beſt wiſe: for that way onely now remained for vitaile to be tranſported from the Bohemians vnto them. Wherfore viij. enſignes were aſſigned to the kepyng of the bridge, and in the plaine, which was like an Iland incloſed within the ryuer, a ſufficient garriſon of horſemen were placed, lying within the gunſhotte of the Citie, to the entent that if any graine or vitaile were ſent from the Bohemians, they might prouide the ſame ſafly to be brought into the Citie.

Prouiſiõ made for vitaling the Citie.

Gods counſaile and experience refuſed.

Theſe thinges thus beyng diſpoſed and ſet in order, Lord VVilliam Rogendorff, to aſſay the ſtrength of the Turkes, made diuers rodes out with his horſemẽ, albeit much agaynſt the mindes of the Auſtrians: who knowyng the maner of the Turkes, thought it better to ſuffer thẽ, while either with tyme they might be ouerweryed, or for lacke of vituales conſumed. Among many and ſondry ſkyrmiſhes whiche the Chriſtians had with the Turkes, one eſpecially was to our men vnproſperous: in whiche certeine of the horſemen eſpeyng a ſmall troupe of the Turkes ſcatteryng abroad from their companie, made out after them, who ſodenly and guylfully were incloſed and circũuẽted by the Turkes, before they could recouer the gates of the Citie, and ſo were all taken alyue: Of whom iiij. were ſent from the Turkes into the Citie, to declare to ỹ Viennians what ſtrength they had ſene in the campe of their aduerſaries, and to ſollicite them to yelde their Citie for feare of puniſhmẽt whiche would folow: The reſidue they reſerued to tormentes & puniſhment, whom in the ſight of ỹ whole armye, & of ỹ Chriſtians (whiche ſhould tell the ſame to ỹ Citizens) they cauſed euery man to be drawen with iiij. horſes a peece, and ſo to be diſmembred and pluckt a ſonder. After this done, the barbarous Turke immediatly ſet his Herald to talke with the captaines of the Citie, whether they would yelde the Citie vpõ honeſt conditiõs, or els would abyde ỹ arbitremẽt of warre. If they would gently ſubmit them ſelues, they ſhould haue all gentlenes to them ſhewed: If they would be ſtubburne, & ſtand to their defenſe, he would alſo ſtand to his ſiege begõne, ſo that he neither would ſpare man, woman, nor childe. To this ỹ Captaines aunſwered againe, that they were contented Solyman to ſtand to his ſiege begõne, and to do his vttermoſt, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a poynte to defende them ſelues and their Citie ſo long as they might: the euente and fal of victorie to be doubtfull, & many tymes ſo to happen, that they whiche begyn the warre, are weryed ſooner then they whiche be prouoked: neither agayne that they were ſo vnmyndfull either of them ſelues, or of theyr countrey, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germaines: who vſe alwayes firſt to aſſay the aduerſarie, what he is hable to do, and not raſhelye to committe them ſelues into their enemyes handes.

Raſhe hardines of our Chriſtians in ſkyrmiſhing with the Turke.

The wretched cruelty of the Turkes agaynſt the Chriſtians captiues.

The meſſage of the Turke to the *Viennians*.

The aunſwere of the *Viennians* to the Turke.

Solymannus approcheth *Vienna* with three great armyes.

Solymannus not a litle diſdaynyng at this anſwere, firſt burnyng and conſumyng all the villages, houſes, and places round aboute the Citie, infectyng alſo the ſpringes & fountaines whiche gaue water into the Citie, and ſo ſtoppyng all paſſages, that no reliefe ſhould haue way vnto thẽ, beganne with angry moode to approche more nere to the Citie, with three great campes, ſendyng them word in ſcorne and contumelie, by one of his captiues, that if they ſtoode in nede of helpe of ſouldiours, he would ſend vnto them the .300. Bohemians (mentioned a litle before) to ayde them in their defenſe. To whom the Palatine directed aunſwere agayne, that they had moe ſouldiours in the Citie, thẽ they neded: As for the Bohemians whiche had yelded them ſelues, hee might do with thẽ, what he would, for Vienna ſtood in no great nede of them. In ỹ meane time a meſſenger cõmyng frõ Ferdinandus was priuely let in by night into the Citie, whiche brought worde that they ſhould play the men in kepyng out the enemye a while: for it would not be long but both Ferdinandus, and Carolus hys brother, with the ſtrength of all Germany, would be ready to reſcue them. At whiche meſſage the hartes of the ſouldiours beganne ſomewhat to be chered, and to contemne the huge multitude of the aduerſaryes, beyng ſo great as they neuer did beholde, nor did euer almoſt, heare of before. The largenes of whoſe armye, extended to no leſſe in compaſſe (as is aboue ſayd) then of vij. myles round about the Citie walles.

A meſſẽger ſent from *Ferdinandus* to *Vienna*.

The ſiege of *Vienna* begynneth.

The Lordes power and prouidence in kepyng the Citie of *Vienna*.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible ſiege, with all the partes and circumſtaũces therof. Briefly to touche ſo much as ſhall ſuffice for this hiſtorie, with fewer wordes then were ſtrypes geuen at the ſiege therof: this is to be iudged and confeſſed: who ſoeuer beholdeth the number and fiercenes of the Turkes, the abſence of the king Ferdinandus, the lacke of prouiſion and vitaille within the Citie, the noyſe of the gunnes, the violence of the ſhot, the terrour of the ſight, and yet no ſuccour ſent vnto them: that the cuſtodye of that Citie, was no mans doyng, but the arme onely of the Lord God of hoaſtes, accordyng to ỹ true ſaying of the Pſalme: Vnleſſe ỹ Lord do kepe ỹ Citie, the watchmen watch in vayne, which watch to ſaue it: Vnles the Lord do builde the houſe, the builder ſtriueth in vayne, which taketh vpon him to builde it. Experience wherof in kepyng this Citie may well appeare. Firſt Solymannus bendyng his ſhotte and ordinaunce agaynſt the Citie, beate downe to the groũd the bãmures, with all the vttermoſt ſuburbes of the Citie, & that in ſuch a ſhort moment of tyme, that the hartes of the Viennians, a litle before refreſhed, were now as much appauled agayne with feare, miſdoubting with them ſelues, leaſt ỹ Turke with the ſame celeritie and violence would haue preuailed agaynſt the inwarde walles, as hee did in beatyng downe ỹ outward bamures. And no doubt ỹ ſame time the Turke had put ỹ citie in great haſſard, had not night commyng on, broken of the ſiege for that daye. In the meane tyme the Citizens labored all night in reparyng and refreſhyng the walles, to make all thynges ſure agaynſt the next aſſault. The next day early in the mornyng, the Turkes approchyng the Citie agayne with a new aſſault, thinkyng to ſcale the walles, were ſo repulſed and mãfully reſiſted by the Germaines, that vnneth any ditches about the walles could be ſene for the bodyes of the dead Turkes, wherewith they were repleniſhed: ſo that the Turkes were fayne to fight ſtãdyng vpõ the bodyes of them whiche were ſlayne. By the whiche calamitie the force of the enemy was not a litle abated.

The ſlaughter of the Turkes about the walles of *Vienna*.

The manlynes of captaine Rogẽdorffius agaynſt the Turkes.

It happened the ſame tyme, that a company of the Turkes beyng ſpyed out of the Citie wanderyng out of order, the Captaine Rogendorffius with two legions of horſemen iſſuyng out of the Citie gate called Salinaria, and ſo paſſyng cloſely vnder the hilles ſide, did ſo ſet vpõ thẽ that they ſlue a great nũber of them: the reſt beyng driuẽ to take the ryuer, whõ with ſtones and ſhot lykewiſe they deſtroyed, & ſo retired backe into the Citie agayne. By this victorie the Captaine Rogendorffius beganne to be terrible to the Turkes: For in the ſame ſkyrmiſh (as after was knowen) was ſlayne of them ſo many that of 5000. and 300. horſemen and footemẽ, ſcarſe 140. eſcaped alyue.

Soly-

An other aſſault of the Turkes agaynſt Vienna.

Solyman diſdaynyng at this repulſe, thought to proue an other way, & ſo bryngyng his power toward yͤ gate called yͤ kyngs gate, there makyng his trēches & bulwarks, planted his ordināce, with the violēce wherof the walles were ſo battered & ſhaken, that no man was hable there to ſtande. Wherefore the Turke ſeyng ij. great breches made in the walle, commaunded his ſouldiers couertly in the darke ſmoke of gunpouder, to preaſſe into the Citie. The like alſo was done at yͤ Scottiſh tower, wherby the Citie was inuaded in two ſundry places at one time. The Viēnians at the firſt, freſhly beganne to withſtand them, new ſouldiers ſtill comming into the place of them that were ſlayne and hurte: and ſo this aſſaulte continuyng more then vi. houres together, our men beganne at length to languiſhe and fainte, not onely in ſtrength, but alſo in courage: wherby the Citie had ben in great daunger of loſing, had not the ij. foreſayd Captaines Rogendorffius in the one place, and the Earle of Salme in the other place, māfully encouraged their ſouldiers to abide the brunte and to beare out a whyle the violence of the Turkes, promiſing that immediatly they ſhoulde haue ayde from Ferdinandus. In the meane time the Turkes came ſo thicke for gredynes of the victorie, ſcalyng, clymyng, and fighting vpon the walles, that had it not bene for the preaſſe and throng of the great multitude of the Turkes, commyng ſo thicke that one of them could not fight for an other, Vienna that ſame day had bene taken and vtterly loſt: But by the policie of the captaynes geuing a ſigne within the Citie, as though new ſouldiers were called for, our men beganne to be encouraged, and the Turkes hartes to be diſcomfited.

An other repulſe of the Turkes.

When Solymannus ſawe his armye the ſecond tyme repulſed, he beganne to attempt a new way, purpoſing by vndermynyng to ouerthrow the Citie: in the whiche worke ſpecially he vſed the helpe of the Illyrians, of whō he had a great number in his campe, expert in that kynd of feate. These Illyrians begynnyng to breake the earth at the gate Carinthia, and commyng nere to the fundations of yͤ tower, which they by ſtrength of hand attēpted to breake, could not worke ſo cloſely vnder the grounde, but they were perceiued by certeine men aboue, which were ſkilfull and experte in that kynd of matter: who cōtrarywiſe vndermynyng agaynſt them, and fillyng their trēches as they went, with gunpouder, ſo cōueyed their trayne that when fire ſhould be ſet vnto it, the violence therof ſhould braſt out by the trenches of the enemyes: whiche done, ſuddenly the ground beneath made a great ſhakyng, ſo that the tower did cleue aſunder, and all the vndermyners of the Turkes workyng in their trenches, were ſmothered and deſtroyed, whiche came to the number (as it was ſuppoſed afterward) of 8000. perſons: in ſo much that yet till this day, a great nūber of dead mens ſkulles are found in the ground.

Vienna vndermyned by the Turkes.

An other aſſault of the Turkes agaynſt Vienna.

When Solyman ſawe that this waye alſo would not ſerue, and had priuie intelligence that the walles about the gate of Stubarium were negligently kept, and that he might haue there more eaſy entraunce: ſecretly he cōueieth about, 10. garriſōs of freſh ſouldiers, in ſuch ſort as the townes men ſhould not perceiue them: who came ſo ſodenlye vppon them, that they had filled the ditches, and were vpon the toppe of the fortreſſes and munitions, before that our men were aware of them or could make thēſelues ready to reſiſte them. For although there was no lacke of ſouldiers within yͤ Citie, yet for ſomuch as yͤ whole brunte of yͤ ſiege did lye ſpecially at yͤ ij. gates aforeſayd, from whence the ſouldiers which were there wardyng could not be well remoued, for a ſhift yͤ the reſcuers (whiche within yͤ Citie were ready for all ſuddein aduentures) were ſent to the walles: by whoſe cōming, thoſe few which kept the enemyes of before, beyng ſore hurted and wounded, were ſuccoured and ſent to ſurgery: and thus yͤ ſaid aſſault continued terrible & doubtfull vntill (the darke night cōmyng vpō them) they could not well know the one from yͤ other. In this bickering were counted of the Turkes to be ſlayne more then. 5000.

The Turkes agayn repulſed.

Then the Captaine Rogendorffius commēdyng the valiaunt ſtandyng of his ſouldiers, miſdoutyng with him ſelfe (as it happened in dede) that the Turkes would not ſo geue ouer, but would ſet vpon them yͤ next day with a freſh aſſault, prouidyng with all diligēce for the purpoſe: made vp yͤ breaches of the walles, & prepared all thinges neceſſary for reſiſtance: The next mornyng folowyng, whiche was ſomethynge darke and myſtie, the Turkes thinkyng to preuent our men with their ſuddeyne commyng, beganne againe biſely to bicker vpon the toppe of the walles. It would require a lōg tractation here to deſcribe the great diſtreſſe & daūger that the Citie, thoſe iij. dayes folowing, was in. During all yͤ whiche time there was no reſt, no intermiſſion, nor diligēce lackyng, either in the enemyes fightyng agaynſt the Citie, either in our men in defending the ſame. For the Turkes, beſides the multitude of yͤ great ordinance, wherwith (as wͭ a great tempeſt of gunſhot) they neuer ceaſed, ſtill batteryng the walles and beatynge the munitions of the Citie, ſente alſo ſuch heapes and multitudes of the Turkes to the ſcalyng and clymyng the walles, that vnneth with all the ordinaunce and ſhotte of the Citie, either the violence of them could be brokē, or the number of them diminiſhed: till at the laſt, the ſouldiers of the Turkes perceauing thē ſelues hable by no meanes to preuaile, but onely to rūne in daunger of lyfe, and to do no good, began to wrangle among them ſelues, grudging & repynyng agaynſt their dukes and captaynes, imputyng the whole cauſe onely to them: that the Citie was yet vntaken, ſeing there was in them neither diligēce nor good will lacking: and ſo ceaſed the ſiege for that tyme.

An other aſſault of the Turkes repelled.

The Turkes at variance among them ſelues.

After this, when Solymannus had purpoſed in him ſelfe, with his laſt and ſtrongeſt ſiege, to trye agaynſt the Citie the vttermoſt that he was hable to do, & had encouraged his ſouldiers to prepare them ſelues in moſt forcible wiſe thereunto: the ſouldiers ſhewed them ſelues much vnwillyng to returne agayne from whence they were ſo oftē repulſed before: by reaſon wherof great cōmotion began to riſe in the Turkes campe. The rumour wherof when it came to Solymans eares, he ſendeth his graunde captaine to kepe all the ſouldiers in order and obedience, or if they would be ſtubborne, to cōpell them whether they would or not, to accompliſh his cōmaundement. Who cōmyng to the ſouldiers, ſhewed to them yͤ great Turkes meſſege, and to animate & encourage thē, declared that yͤ oportunitie of yͤ tyme preſent was not to be neglected, neither could they now without greate ſhame geue ouer, after ſo many aſſaultes attēpted: Who if they would ſuſteyne but one brunte more, the victorye were in their owne handes. The townesmen, he ſayd, were waſted and their victuales ſpent: and the more to enflame their mindes, he promiſed thē not onely great thankes and rewarde of their Emperour, but alſo the whole ſpoyle of the Citie, in recompence of theyr trauaile. But when all this could not ſtyrre vp the ſturdy ſtomackes of the tiered Turkes, vſinge compulſion where perſuaſion would not ſerue, he appoynted a number of horſemen to be ſet at their backes, wherby to enforce them, either to go forward, or if they denyed, with gunnes and ſpeares, to deſtroy them. The Turkes ſeyng thē ſelues in ſuch a ſtraite that whether they went or taryed, it was to the like perill, yet would they not ſet forwarde except the Captayne would take the venture before them. Who wardyng forewarde in his arraye, thus ſpake vnto his felows, ſaying: Do you forſake your faith & allegeance, and betray the Emperor of Conſtantinople vnto the Chriſtians, if you will: but I will diſcharge my dutie towardes the commune wealth and my Emperour, and with that woorde auaunced his enſigne, makyng toward the Citie walles. Whō whē other folowed, and ſtill moe and moe preſſed after, ſo it came to paſſe that whole routes of them were ouerthrowne and ſlaine of our men vpon the walles, before it was knowe what they ment. Other terrified by theyr example, gaue backe and left their array, & windyng thē ſelues by bye wayes and vnder couerts of hylles, returned agayne into theyr

The Turke and his ſouldiours could not agree.

The Turke entreateth his ſouldiours.

Compulſion of men ſerueth not, whē the lord defēdeth.

The ſlaughter of the Turkes at Vienna.

tentes, & ſo came it to paſſe that yͤ ſtrẽgth of the enemyes dayly more & more decreaſing, they had leſſe hope euery day more then other, of obteining the Citie. For beſides yͤ innumerable ſlaughter of Turkes vpon the walles, the townſmen alſo watching yͤ forragers & purueiers of the Turkes, as they raũged about for vitaile for the campe, euer, as occaſiō ſerued them, did cōpaſſe them about, & ſo encountered wͭ them by the waye, that of a whole legion, ſcarſely the tenth parte returned agayne to theyr felowes alyue: by meanes wherof the courage of the enemyes beganne greatly to faynt. Whereby ſuch a meruelous alteration happened that as our men began to receyue more hope and courage, ſo the Turkes began ſtill more to droupe and to languiſhe with diſpayre, ſo that at length ſcarſe durſt they appeare without the boundes, where they were entrenched, but onely in lyght ſkyrmiſhes, when they were prouoked by our men to come out, and to ſhewe them ſelues.

The Turkes ſlayne.

The Turke begynneth to take counſaile to retire.

Solymannus perceyuyng his ſouldiers thus dayly to go to wracke, of whom he had loſt already more thē 80. thouſād, and that with lōg taryeng he could do no good, being alſo in lacke of forrage, for that the countrey about him was waſted: begynneth to conſulte with his Captaines and cōūſailours, what remayned beſt to be done. Of whom the moſt part aduiſed him to raiſe his ſiege, & betyme to prouide for him ſelfe. Whiche to do, many cauſes there were that moued him. Firſt the loſſe of his mē, whiche dayly were cut from him by great numbers, beſides them which lay in his cāpe woūded, or ſicke, or famiſhed. Secōdly lacke of purueiāce. Thirdly yͤ approching nere of wynter. But the chiefeſt cauſe was for that he heard Fridericke Palatine aboue mencioned, to be commyng with a greate armye at Ratisbone, towardes Vienna, & there had done great moleſtation to a great number of the Turkes forragers, whom by the way he preuēted & ſo encloſed in yͤ woodes, that he ſlue them. Wherof when Solyman had intelligence, thinkyng it not beſt to abyde the commyng of yͤ Palatine, made haſt with bagge & baggage to remoue hys campe and to retire: and firſt ſendyng away his carriage before him, made ſpede hym ſelfe with his armye, to folowe ſhortly after. The Viennians, when they hearde of the remouyng awaye of the Turkes, although at the firſt they ſcarſely beleued it to be true, beyng afterwarde certified out of doubte, both of their remouing, and alſo of the order therof, how it was in maner of a flight or chaſe, were greatly deſirous to make out of yͤ Citie after thē. Wherin, albeit yͤ preſence of the Palatine with his armye, if he had bene there preſent, might haue ſtand them in great ſtede, yet notwithſtādyng they toke the oportunitie of yͤ tyme preſent, and iſſuing out of the Citie, in moſt ſpeady wyſe, ſet after thē with their horſemen: and firſt ouerpaſſyng the tentes (where the Turkes had pytched their ſtations or pauilions) for haſt of yͤ way, they made ſuch purſute after thē, yͭ within litle tyme, they ouertoke yͤ rereward or latter end of the armye, whereof they made ſuch hauocke & deſtruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was neuer a ſhot of yͤ purſuers, nor weapō drawē, nor ſtroke ſtrocken, which light in vayne. Which was no hard thyng for our men to doo: For as the Turkes in their flight went ſcattered out of order and aray, neither woulde they in the forerancke (being ſo farre of from ieoperdy) returne backe to helpe their felowes, it was eaſy for our men, wͭout reſiſtance, to come vpō their backes, as they would.

Solyman remoueth & raiſeth his ſiege from *Vienna*.

The Turkes camp purſued in their flyght.

The pryuey purpoſe of the Turkes preuented.

Yet notwithſtandyng in long purſute, when our men could not ſee the cariage of the Turkes, whiche was wōt in armyes to come alway behynd after the hoaſt, and ſuſpectyng (as truth was) ſome ambuſhe to be left in priuie wayt behind them, to come betwixt them and home: called thē ſelues to retraite and conſulted vpon the matter, thinking good, firſt to ſend out certaine ſcoutes, to eſpye and bryng them worde, where the enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was giuen thē, that the remnant of the Turkes armye was remainyng in the tentes behynde, worde was ſent to their felowes in Viēna, to iſſue out, and to ioyne alſo wͭ them, agaynſt the tayle of the Turkes, which had entrēched them ſelues within the cāpe. Other were appointed to folowe the chaſe, leſt peraduenture yͤ Turkes ſeyng our men to recule backe, might returne againe vpon them, and helpe their felowes. Which things beyng thus ordered and appoynted, in the meane tyme, while parte of the Viennians were houeryng after the mayne armye, the reſt encountred with them yͭ were left in the campe. Who ſeyng thē ſelues ouermatched, firſt defēſed their campe with a deepe ditch and bulwarke, to delay yͤ tyme, vntill ſome helpe might come to them from the armye. Secondly they directed meſſēgers to the Chriſtiās, to entreate for peace. Thirdly they conueid their priuie letters vnto Solyman for ſpedy ayde and reſcue. But all the wayes and paſſages beyng ſtopped by the Chriſtiās, their letters were intercepted, & ſo the miſerable Turkes being deſtitute of all hope and ſuccour, ſeing no other remedy, made out of their campe, to haſſard and proue the vttermoſt for their defence: but in concluſiō, in their deſperate venture they were incloſed about by our mē, on euery ſide, and there put to the ſword and ſlayne, a fewe onely excepted, who eſcapyng out very hardly by ſecrete paſſages, ſhifted after yͤ reſt of their felowes, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behynde them in their tentes, was deſtributed amongeſt the ſouldiers, onely ſuche thynges reſerued as might ſerue for the publicke vſe and commoditie of the Citie.

The reſt of the Turkes ſlayne in the campe.

The mercyfull protection of God ouer Chriſtendome.

Thus through the merciful protection & benefit of almighty God, Auſtria was deliuered from the fierce and barbarous hoſtilitie of the cruell Turkes: notwithſtandyng that neither Ferdinandus the kyng, nor yͤ Emperour his brother were there preſēt, but onely the power of God, throughe the valiauntnes of the worthye Germaines, defēded that Citie: in defence wherof conſiſted the ſafetie and deliuerāce (no doubt) of all theſe Weaſt partes of Chriſtendome. For the whiche, immortall prayſe & thākes be vnto our immortall God in Chriſt our Lord, according as he hath of vs moſt graciouſly & worthly deſerued. Wherin by yͤ way take this for a note (gētle reader) howe & after what maner, Gods bleſſing goeth with yͤ true reformers of his religion, & ſo much yͤ more is it to be noted, for that yͤ Turkes, in ſo many battails & ſieges here tofore, were neuer ſo repulſed & foyled, as at this preſent tyme in encoūtryng with yͤ proteſtants & defenders of ſyncere religiō. This Citie of Viēna was beſieged and delyuered the yeare of our Lord. 1529. The aſſaultes of the Turke agaynſt the Citie, are numbred to be. 20. and his repulſes as many. The number of his armye whiche hee firſte brought, was. 250. M. wherof were reckened to be ſlayne. 80. thouſand and aboue. Duryng the tyme of his ſiege, he ledde away out of the countrey about, many captiues: virgines and matrones he quelled and caſt them out naked: the children he ſtocke vpon ſtakes.

Gods bleſſyng goeth with the mainteyners of hys true worſhyp & Religion.

Solymannus thus put from the hope and victorie of Vienna, after he had breathed him ſelf a while at home, the ſecond yeare after, whiche was. an. 1531. repayryng hys hoaſt, returned agayne into Hungarye, with no leſſe multitude, then before: where firſt he got yͤ towne called Gunza, beyng but ſlenderly kept with a ſmall gariſon. By reaſon wherof the townesmen and ſouldiours yeldyng them ſelues vnto the Turke, were cōſtrained to agree vnto vnreaſonable conditions. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

Ex Melchiore Soitero. lib. 2. de Bello Pānonico.

Melchior Soiterus in his ſecond booke wrytyng De Bello Pannonico, touchyng yͤ foreſayd towne of Gunza, or Gunzium, differeth herein ſomthyng from Ramus, declaryng how this Gunza being a ſmall towne in Hungary, and hauyng in it, but onely. 100. ſouldiours (or as Volfgangus Drechſlerus in his chronicle reporteth, at yͤ moſt, but. 200. ſouldiours) vnder the valiant captaine Nicolaus Iureſchitz, defended them ſelues ſo manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, agaynſt the whole puiſance of. 200. thouſand Turkes, that they beyng notwithſtandyng diſtreſſed with lacke

Nicolaus Iureſchitz a valiaunt captaine.

and penurie of puruiance, and ſodenly of the Turkes inuaded, yet with pure courage and promptnes of heart, ſuſteined the vttermoſt force and violẽce of.xiij.aſſaultes of that great multitude, for the ſpace of.xv.dayes together. Although the narration of the author may ſeme to ſome incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what tyme the greate ordinaunce and batteryng peeces of the Turkes were planted vppon twoo mountes much hygher then the towne, whereby they within the towne were oppreſſed both before and behynd, in ſomuch that viij.enſignes of the Turkes were already within the towne: yet by the reaſon of women and children and other impotent perſons, who in the midle of the town were congregate in an houſe together, ſuch a noyſe and clamour went vp to heauẽ, prayng and cryeng to God for helpe, that the Turkes within the walles, ſuppoſing a new armye of freſh ſouldiers to be ſent into the towne, for ſodeine feare, voyded the towne, and leaped downe from the walles agayne (whiche before they had got) whom no man either purſued or reſiſted: for neuer a ſouldiour almoſt was left on the walles, whiche was not either ſlayne, or els wounded with the Turkes ordinance. At what tyme, through the Lordes prouidence it ſo happened, that one Ibrahimus Baſſa, nere about ẏ Turke, ſeyng both ẏ the towne to be ſmall, and the great deſtruction of the Turkes in the ſiege therof, and that the captaine in no caſe would yelde, perſuaded, ſo the Turke, declaryng how the town beyng ſo litle was not worth the loſſe of ſo many men, in the wynnyng wherof there was no glory, & if he were repulſed, greate diſhonour myght folow: wherby ẏ Turke being perſuaded, did folow his cõſaile, which was this, that Nicolaus the Chriſtẽ captaine beyng called vnto hym vnder pledges an ſafe conduict, ſhould receaue ẏ towne, as of his hand & gift, with cõdition, that he ſhould do no violence to his ſouldiours left behynd woũded, but ſhould procure ſuch meanes as he could, for ẏ recuryng of thẽ: & ſo he rayſing his ſiege, departed. An other cauſe might bee alſo, whiche moued him ſo ſodeinly to raiſe his ſiege: for ẏ he heard the Palatine not to be farre of in purſuyng after hym, & therfore taking his flight by the mountaines of the Noricians, he returned wt much ſpoyle of Chriſtian mens goodes, into Cõſtantinople. Ex Melchiore Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pãno. For ſo it was prouided the ſame time in Germany, after the counſaile of Auguſte and of Ratiſbone (at what tyme the controuerſie of Religion betwene ẏ proteſtantes and the Papiſtes, was differred and ſet of, to the next generall Councell) that Charles the v. and Ferdinandus his brother hauyng vnderſtãdyng of ẏ Turke thus raigyng in Hungary, ſhoulde collecte of the Germaines, Hungarians, and Spanyardes and others, an hable armye of. 80. thouſand footemẽ, and. 30. M. horſemen, to repulſe the inuaſiõs of the Turke. But Solymãnus hauyng intelligẽce of this preparation of ẏ Chriſtiã power commyng toward hym, whether for feare, or whether to eſpye further oportunitie of tyme, for his more aduauntage and our detriment, refuſed at that tyme to tary their commyng, and ſo ſpedyng hys returne vnto Conſtãtinople, retired with much ſpoyle and pray ſent before hym, as is aboue premiſed: Whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1532.

A miraculous example of the Lordes protection, and prouidẽce.

The Turke raiseth his ſiege from *Gunza.*

The Emperour Charles and Ferdinandus begyn at length to ſturre agaynſt the Turke.

The Turke refuſeth to tary the Chriſtiã armye.

Not long after, beyng the yeare of our ſaluatiõ. 1534. Solymannus intendyng ij.warres at once, firſt ſent Corradinus Barbaroſſa the Admirall of his nauies, into Afrike, to warre agaynſt the kyng of Tunece: Whom the Barbaroſſa alſo diſpoſſeſſed and depriued of his kyngdome: but Charles the Emperour, the next yeare folowyng. an. 1535. reſtored both the ſayd kyng agayne into his kyngdome, and delyuered in the ſame viage. xx. thouſand captiues out of ſeruitude.

The Turke warreth agaynſt the kyng of Tunece.

Tunece wonne of the Turke.

Tunece recouered agayne by Charles the Emperour.

The ſame tyme ẏ Turke alſo ſent an other captaine into Hũgarie, to warre agaynſt Vaiuoda, while he himſelfe taking his courſe to Perſia, plãted his ſiege agaynſt ẏ Citie Taurus, which he in ſhort ſpace, ſubdued and expugned. Albeit hee long enioyed not the ſame: for Tahames kyng of the Perſians, ſodenly commyng vppon the Turkes vnprepared, ſlue of them. xx. thouſãd, & tooke his concubines, to ẏ great foyle and reproche of the Turke.

Taurus a Citie of Perſia takẽ of the Turkes.

xx. thouſande Turkes ſlayne of the Perſian kyng.

Two yeares after this, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1537. Solymannus, who could not bee quyet at home, nor reſt in peace, returnyng agayne out of Aſia into Europe with. 270. ſhyppes, great and litle, ſet vpon Corcyra an Iland belongyng to the Venetians, whiche he beſieged x. dayes, waſtyng and burnyng the townes and fieldes as he went, beſide the deſtruction of much people therein, whom partly he ſlue, partly ledde away captiues. From thence he ſayled to Zacynthus and Cythara, an other Iland not far of frõ Corcyra, bordering nere to the coaſtes of Epyrus and Grecia. Where he ſodenly by night inuadyng the huſband men in villages & fieldes, ſlepyng & miſtruſtyng no harme, drew them out of their houſes and poſſeſſions, men & wemen, beſides children, to the number of. ix. hundreth, whom he made his bondſlaues: burnyng moreouer their houſes, and caryeng away all the goodes and catell beyng without ẏ ſaid Cities of Zazinthus and Cythara. Ex Ioã. Criſpo.

Corcyra the Iland waſted and ſpoyled by the Turkes.

The Ile of Zacynthus and Cythara ſpoyled by the Turkes.

Captiues of the Chriſtians.

From thence theſe helhoundes turned their courſe to ẏ ſiege and ſpoyle of Ægina, a rich and populous Iland, lyeng betwene Grecia and Aſia. Where firſt the Æginians dyd manfully in battaile reſiſte them, and were lyke to haue preuailed: but beyng weryed at length and oppreſſed with innumerable thouſandes of freſhe Turkes, whiche ſtill were ſent in, to reſcue the other whiche were ouercome before, were compelled to flye into the Citie of Ægina. Which Citie the cruell Turkes (or rather deuils on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great ordinaunce fet out of their ſhyppes, ſubdued and caſt downe to the ground: the Citizens and inhabitauntes wherof, the Turke after hee had burned theyr houſes and ranſackte their goodes, commaũded to be ſlayne and killed euery one. The wemen both noble and vnnoble, with their infantes, were geuẽ to the mariners to be abuſed, and from thence beyng ſhipped vnto Conſtantinople, were led away to perpetuall miſery & ſlauery. Whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1537.

Warre betwen the Egynetes & the Turkes.

Egina taken of the Turke.

The Citizens of *Egina* ſlain of the Turkes.

The wemen of Egina miſerably entreated and captiued of the Turkes.

In the ſame iourney Solyman alſo tooke the Ile in ẏ ſayd ſea of Ægeum, called Parũ: alſo the Ile adioynyng to the ſame named Naxus, and made them to hym tributaries. The Duke wherof was he which wrote the ſtory both of theſe Ilandes aforeſayd, and alſo of the other Ilandes called Cyclades, vnder other Dukes. Ex Ioan. Criſpo, Duce Naxi. &c.

The Ile *Paru* and *Naxus*. *Cyclades* ſubdued of the Turke. *Ex Ioan. Criſpo.*

This done, Solymãnus directed his nauie vnto Apulia, where he ſet on land x. thouſand footemen, & . 2000. horſemen, which ſpoyled lykewiſe and waſted thoſe parties, while the Emperour, the Pope, and the Venetians were together in warre and diſſenſiõ. Furthermore, the next yeare folowyng. an. 1538. great attemptes began in Stiria, but by the reſiſtance of the inhabitauntes, the force of the barbarous Turkes was repulſed: notwithſtandyng great ſpoyles of men and cattell were caryed from thence, and the countrey miſerably ſpoyled. In the whiche yeare alſo the Turke turnyng into Hungary, gaue battaile vnto the Chriſtians in Sauia: where, through the fraudulent falſehoode of the Captaine Caſſianerus (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus) beyng (as they ſay) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worſe. an. 1538.

Note what hurt commeth by the diſſenſion of Chriſtian Princes.

Stiria is a countrey or prouince nere ioynyng to Auſtria.

After that the Turkes had inuaded the Iland of Corcyra aboueſaid, the Venetians, with Solyman ẏ Turke had ioyned truce for a certaine tyme, for the whiche they gaue to the Turke. 300. thouſand crownes, with the Citie of Neapolis, & Maluaſia in the borders of Macedonia. But within 4. or. 5. yeares the Turke, to get a new ſtipend of the Venetians, brake his league, and inuaded their dominions: whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions agayne with him.

The falſehode of the Turke with the Venetians.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1540. the reſtles Turke makyng his returne toward Hungary, by the way paſſing by Dalmatia, lay agaynſt the towne called Newcaſtle, beyng defended by the Spayniardes. In ẏ which

Nouum caſtellũ in Dalmatia ouerthrowen by the Turke, and the people ſlayne.

towne, becauſe they refuſed to yelde them ſelues, all the inhabitantes and the ſouldiours were put to the ſworde ⁊ ſlayne euery one. This Nouum Caſtellum or Newcaſtle was a ſtronge forte of the Chriſtians, whiche beyng now in the Turkes power, he had great aduauntage ouer all thoſe quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thence he proceded further, kepyng his courſe into Hungary, where he planted hys power agaynſt the Citie of Buda.

The contentiō in Hungary betwene Ferdinādus and Vaiuoda and his ſucceſſours.

This Buda was a principall citie in Hungarie, about which great contention had bene (as ye heard before) betwen Ioannes Vaiuoda, and Ferdinandus. By reaſon wherof ẏ Turke occaſioned by Vaiuoda, came into Hūgary and deliuered ẏ Citie to Vaiuoda. This Vaiuoda lyuyng not long after, left behynd hym a ſonne, whom beyng an infant he cōmitted to the gouernaunce of one Georgius Monachus: Who beyng left tutour vnto the infant, reduced all Tranſiluania, Buda, Peſta, with other parties of Hungary, whiche belonged to Vaiuoda before, to the ſubiection of the child. Ferdinandus hearyng therof, in a great haſt ⁊ anger, leuyed an armye to recouer his landes in Hungarie, and ſo layd ſiege to Buda. Monachus ſeyng his part to weake, firſt ſent his legate to Ferdinādus, deſiring him to talke ⁊ conferre wͭ hym vpon matter, as he pretended, perteinyng to the behoffe of them both. Wherupō both the parties beyng agreed, the place and maner of their conuētion was appointed, and alſo the day and tyme aſſigned. Thus the parties (accordyng to the agreement) conuentyng together with their armyes, with drawyng a litle a ſide, as they were entred in communication, ſodenly among Ferdinandus men, happened a dagge to be heard, whiche by the heate of the day (as is thought) loſing of his owne accord, gaue a cracke. The ſound wherof commyng to the eares of Monachus, hée ſuppoſing the ſame to haue bene diſcharged againſt him, in great anger drew out his ſword, byddyng Ferdinandus auaunt with his doublyng diſſimulation, ſaying that he would neuer any more truſt the promiſſes of Chriſtians, and immediatly vpō the ſame, ſent to Solymannus the Turke, for ayde againſt ẏ Chriſtians, promiſing that he would ſurrēder to him frée poſſeſſion of Hungary, if he would come and vanquiſh the armye of Ferdinandus lyeng about the ſiege of Buda. The Turke maketh no long tarieyng, but taketh ẏ occaſiō, and with a mighty power, flyeth into Hungary, and eftſones diſchargyng the hoſt of Ferdinādus, ⁊ puttyng them of frō the ſiege of Buda, getteth the Citie into hys owne handes, cōmaundyng the ſonne of Vaiuoda with his mother, to folow after his campe.

The communication betwen Monachus and Ferdinandus.

What hurt may come of raſhe ſuſpicion.

The Turke called agayn into Hūgary by the diſſenſion betwene Monachus, and Ferdinandus.

The cowardly viage of Ioachimus Duke of Brādeburg, agaynſt the Turke.

In the hiſtorye of Ioannes Ramus it foloweth, that when Solyman the Turke had thus preuailed agaynſt ẏ Citie of Buda aforeſayd, and agaynſt other parties more of Hungarie, by the aſſēt of the Empire, one Ioachimus Duke of Brandeburg, prince Elector was aſſigned with a puiſſant armie of choſen ſouldiours of all nations collected, to recouer the Citie of Buda from the Turke, and to deliuer the other parties of Chriſtendome from the feare of the Turke. an. 1542. Whiche Ioachimus at his firſt ſettyng forth, appeared ſo couragious and valiant, as thoughe hée would haue conquered the whole worlde: But this great heate was ſo ſlaked in ſhort tyme by the Turke, that before any great ieoperdie was offered vnto him, he was glad to be diſcharged of ẏ viage, ⁊ with ſhame enough, returned home agayne. And would God he had left behynd him in the field, no more but his owne ſhame. For the enemies hauyng intelligēce before of his cowardly departure, thinkyng to worke ſome point of maſtry or victory before his goyng, did ſet vpon the ryght wynge of hys armie (whiche chiefly conſiſted of Dutch men of low Germany) out of the whiche they toke awaye with them aboue. 500. ſtrong and valiant ſouldiours, not kyllyng thē, but caryeng thē away alyue. For whom it had bene much better to haue ſtand to their weapon ⁊ to haue dyed manfully vpon the Turkes, then by yeldyng thē ſelues, to be diſgarniſhed of weapon ⁊ armour, and ſo to bee left to the curſed curteſie of the foule Turkes. To whom what curteſie was ſhewed, by the ſequele did appeare. For after ẏ Turkes had led thē out of Hūgary into their owne dominiō, after a moſt horrible ⁊ beaſtly ſort they diſfigured ⁊ māgled them, and ſo ſent thē abroad through all Grecia to be witneſſes of ẏ Turkes victorie. Their kynd of puniſhement was this: firſt they had their right arme thruſt through wͭ an yron red hoate wherby they ſhould be vnable and vnméete to all labour, and warfarre. Secondly their heades were ſhauen to the very ſculles, after the maner of our Friers and monkes, when they are newly ſhauen. Thirdly they had all theyr pryuye members cut of from their bodyes, to the entent to make them vnfrutfull for propagation: which wound was ſo greuous vnto them, that the greateſt part of them dyed therupon, the few that recouered the torment therof, ledde a life more bytter and more miſerable then death it ſelfe. And this kynde of crueltie was executed in order vpon them all. In much lyke ſorte did cruell Pharao exerciſe his tyranny agaynſt ẏ people of God in Ægypt: who to deſtroy the generation of them, cauſed all the male children to be drowned in the ryuer. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that ſeyng the tyranny of this Turkiſh Pharao, is come to ſuch an extremitie, the mercyfull goodnes of God will the more ſhortly ſend ſome Moſes or other vnto vs for our ſpedy deliueraūce. This was by ẏ cruell Turkes done. an. 1542. witneſſed by Ioānes Ramus, whiche not onely writeth the ſtory, but by the teſtimonie alſo of his owne eyes recordeth the ſame to be true, beholdyng with his eyes one of the ſame number in the Citie of Vienna, who hauyng wife and children in Bruxelles, either for ſhame or ſorrow, had no mynd to returne home to his owne houſe. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

500. Chriſten ſouldiours taken and caryed awaye of the Turke.

The horrible puniſhments practiſed of the Turkes agaynſte the Chriſtians.

Ex Ioan. Ramo, de rebus Turcicis.lib.2.

The falſenes of the Turke in kepyng no promiſe with the Chriſtians.

But to returne agayne to ẏ Citie of Buda, frō whēce we haue digreſſed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falſehode and what crueltie the Turkes vſed toward the Chriſtiās there, after their victorie. For after that Solyman the Turke vpon the yelding and ſubmiſſion of men of Buda, had geuen to them his promiſſe of ſafetie and of lyfe, within ſhort tyme, the ſayd Turke pyckyng a quarell with them for ſellyng Oxen vnto the Chriſtians, and for barganyng with them, ſlue all the Magiſtrates of the ſayd Citie of Buda: lyke as in all other Cities, where ſoeuer the Chriſtians yelded vnto hym, he neuer, or very rarely kept hys promiſe with them, neither did euer any Chriſtians ſpede better with the Turke, then they which moſt conſtantly did reſiſte him.

An horrible example of the beaſtly crueltie of the falſe Turke.

And as his promiſe with ẏ Magiſtrates of Buda was falſe and wretched: ſo his crueltie with the ſouldiours thereof was much more notorious ⁊ abhominable. For in the expugnation of Buda, among the reſt which were ſlayne, ij. cohortes or bandes of Chriſtiā ſouldiours, came alyue to his handes. To whom when he ſemed at the firſt to graunt pardō of life, he commaūded to put on their armour agayne, and to diſpoſe them ſelues in order and battaile array after ẏ warlike maner of ẏ Chriſtiās. Which when they had accompliſhed readyly, accordyng to his cōmaūdemēt, and he rydyng about the rankes of them, had diligently vewed ⁊ beholdē thē a certaine ſpace, at length he cōmaunded thē to put of their armour againe. Which done, certain of the talleſt and ſtrongeſt of them he pyked out, the reſidue he commaunded by his ſouldiours commyng behynd them, with ſwordes to be cut in péeces and ſlayne. Of the other whom he had elected ⁊ choſen, ſome he ſet for markes and buttes to be ſhot at: ſome he apointed to his ij. ſōnes, for them to ſlaſhe with their ſwordes, and to trye their ſtrength, whiche of them could geue the deper wound (⁊ as they termed it) the fayrer blow, wherby moſte bloud might folowe out of their Chriſtian bodies. Ex Mart. Stella. De ſucceſsibus turcarum.

Ex Epiſt. Marti. Stellæ. de ſucceßibus Turcarum &c.

After the wynnyng of Buda, the Turke purpoſyng not ſo to ceaſe before he had ſubdued and brought vnder his obediēce all Hungary, proceding further with his armey, firſt brought vnder a ſtrong hold of the Chriſtians named Peſtum or Peſta, where a great number of Chriſtian ſouldiours partly were ſlayne, partly were ledde away to more cruell affliction.

caſtel
Walpo
...ne of
Turkes

Then he came to an other caſtle called Walpo ſituate in ẏ cōfines of Boſna, Croacia, & Hungary. Which forte or caſtle he beſiged three monethes, while no reſcue nor ayde was ſent vnto them, neither frō Ferdinādus kyng of Hungary, nor frō any other Chriſtē prince or princes. Whereupon at length the forte was geuen vp to the Turke, but more through the falſe trechery or cowardly harte of the ſouldiours, then of the Captaine. Wherein is to be noted an example not vnworthy of memory. For when the cowardly ſouldiours, either for feare or for flattery, would nedes ſurrender them ſelues and the peece vnto the Turke, contrary to the minde of their captaine, whiche in no caſe would agree to their yeldyng: they thinking to finde fauour with the Turke, apprehended their Captaine, and gaue hym to Solyman. But ſee how the iuſtice of God ſometymes by the handes of the enemy, diſpoſeth the ende of thynges to the rewardyng of vertue, and puniſhyng of vice. For where they thought to ſaue them ſelues by the daunger of their faythfull Captaine, the euente turned cleane contrary, ſo that the Turke was to the Captaine bountifull and very liberall: and ẏ ſouldiours, notwithſtanding ẏ they had all yelded them ſelues, yet were all put to death and commaunded pitiouſly to be ſlayne. Ex Ioan. Martino Stella De Turcarū in Hungaria ſucceſsibus. &c.

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There is in Hungary an other towne bearyng the name of fyue Churches, called Quinqueccleſienſis, partly ſpoyled before, as is aboue mencioned, pag. 887. but nowe throughe the loſſe of Walpo, and by the hugenes of the Turkes armye (conteinyng in it. 220. thouſand fightyng men) was ſo diſcouraged and put out of hope and hart, that the Byſhoppe and chief nobles of the town fled before the ieoperdye: the reſt of the commons, whiche were partely preuented by the ſodaine comming of the Turkes, partly for pouertie could not auoide, ſent their meſſengers to the Turke, to yelde and ſurrēder the towne, vpon promiſe of life, vnto his handes. Whoſe promiſe how firme it ſtoode, the ſtorie leaueth it vncertaine. This is affirmed, that iij. dayes after the yeldyng of this Quinqueccleſienſis, neuer a Turke durſt enter the Citie. an. 1543. Ex Ioan. Mart. Stella. et alijs.

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The next forte or holde gotten by the Turkes in Hungary, was Socloſia. The towne at the firſt inuaſion of ẏ Turkes, was wonne, ſackte, and fiered. The caſtle within the towne, did ſomethyng hold out a tyme: and firſt requiryng truce for 14. dayes, to ſee what ayde ſhould bee ſent vnto them, and to deliberate vpon the conditiōs that ſhould be propoſed vnto them, after the 14. dayes expired, they truſtyng to the ſituation & munitiō of the place, (which was very ſtrong) began for a certain ſpace ſtoutly to put backe the enemie: But afterward ſeyng their walles to be battered, their fundations to ſhake (for the Turke had ſet xij. thouſād vndermyners vnder ẏ dyches of ẏ caſtle) and their ſtrēgth to diminiſhe, & miſdoubtyng them ſelues not to be able long to hold out, agreed in lyke maner to yeld them ſelues, vpon condition to eſcape with lyfe and goodes. Whiche cōdition of ſauyng their goodes, was the loſing of their lifes, eſpecially of the richer ſorte. For the Turkes perceauyng by that condition, that they were of wealth and ſubſtaunce, omittyng the inferiour or baſer ſorte, fell vpon the wealthy men for their riches, and ſlew them euery one. an. 1543. Ibid.

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In the whiche his hiſtory this is alſo to be noted, that duryng the tyme while the caſtle of Socloſia was beſieged, the villages and pages round about the ſame, came of their owne accorde, ſubmittyng and yeldyng them ſelues vnto the Turke, bryngyng in (as they were commaūded) all kynd of vittuall and forage, into the Turkes campe. Whiche done, Solyman the Turke commaūded all the head men of the pages to appeare before hym, whiche humbly obeyed and came. Then the Turke warned them to returne agayn the next day after, euery one bryngyng with hym his inferiour retinue, and houſhold ſeruauntes. Whiche when they had with lyke diligence alſo, accordyng to his commaundement, accompliſhed, the Turke immediatly cōmaūded them euery one, in the face of his whole armye, to be ſlayne: and ſo was this their reward. Whiche reward the more that it declareth the bloudy crueltie of the Turke: the more encourage it may miniſter to our men, the more conſtantly to withſtand hym. Ex Mart. Stella.

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Strigonium a citie in Hungary beſieged of the Turkes.

An other ſtrong towne there is in Hungary named Strigonium, diſtant from Buda aboue ſayd, the ſpace of 5. dutche myles, agaynſt the whiche the Turkes made great preparation of ordinaunce & all other inſtrumētes of artillary neceſſary for the ſiege thereof: Whiche Citie in lyke maner beganne alſo to be compaſſed and incloſed by the Turkes, before it could be ſufficiently prepared and garniſhed of our men, but that the Archbiſhop onely of Strigon priuely conueyd vnto them. 200. oxen. Such was then the negligence of Ferdinandus kyng of Hungary, whiche ſo ſlenderly looked vnto the neceſſary defence of his townes and Cities. Moreouer ſuch was the diſcorde then of Chriſten kynges and princes, which in their ciuill diſſenſion and warres were ſo occupied & hoate in nedeles quarels, that they had neither leyſure nor remembraunce, to helpe in tyme there, where true nede required. Whiche ſlender care, and cold zeale of the Chriſtian rulers, in not tenderyng the publicke cauſe, while they contend in priuate trifles, hath cauſed the Turke to come ſo far as he hath, and yet farther is like, vnleſſe the mercy of the Lord do helpe more, then our diligence. One of the chief captaines within the Citie, was Martinus Laſcanus, a Spanyard. The Turkes in ẏ begynnyng of the ſiege beganne firſt to attempt the Citizēs with fayre wordes, and accuſtomed promiſes, to yeld and gently to ſubmit them ſelues. But they not ignoraunt of the Turkes promiſes wiſely refuſed, and māfully ſtoode ſo long as they could to the defenſe of their Citie, now & thē ſkyrmiſhyng with thē in out corners, & killing certain nūbers of them: ſome tyme wᵗ their ſhot diſturbyng their munitiōs, and breakyng the wheeles of their gunnes. &c.

Negligence of Chriſten princes in publike defenſe.

Three ſpeciall helpes of the Turkes in winnyng townes and citie.

Three ſpeciall meanes the Turkes vſe in wynnyng great fortes and Cities: greate multitude of ſouldiours: greate ordinaunce and mortarie peeces: the thyrde is by vndermynyng. All whiche here in the ſiege of this Citie, lacked not. This ſiege continued vehement a certayne ſpace: in whiche the Strigonians had borne out iiij. ſtrong aſſaultes, and ſlue many thouſandes of the Turkes, till at length the Turkes either departyng away, or els ſemyng to departe, vnto Buda, the people at leaſt beyng ſo perſuaded & made to beleue of ſome chief rulers of the Citie (perauenture not the trueſt men) the Citizens being erected with hope and comforte, and ſingyng *Te Deum*, as though the Citie had bene free from all daūger, ſodenly (by whoſe counſaile it is vnknowen) conueyed them ſelues all out of the Citie. 300. horſemen alſo paſſed ouer the ryuer and departed. The Italians whiche were vnder Franciſcus Salamanca a Spaniſhe Captaine, hardly could be perſuaded by him to abyde, which were in all ſcarſe. 600. Within 3. dayes after. 300. Germaine ſouldiours with ij. ſhyppes laden with ſhot, ponder and artillary, were priuily let into the towne: So that of our men in all there were ſcarſe. 1300. ſouldiours. Who ſeyng the ſmall quantitie of their number, burning and caſtyng down the towne and ſuburbes, tooke them to the caſtle: from whence they beate of the Turkes valiantly with their ordinaūce, a good ſpace, and with wild fire deſtroyed great cōpanies of thē, till at laſt, they ſeyng their walles to faile thē, and the whole caſtle to ſhake by vndermynyng, but eſpecially by ẏ workyng of a certaine Italian ſurnamed Preſbyter, They gaue ouer. This Italian whether for feare, or falſehode, ſecretly, vnknowing to the reſt of the ſouldiours, accompanied with ij. other, cōueyed hym ſelfe downe from the walles, and beyng brought into the tentes of the next Captaine or Baſſa of the Turkes, there in the name of all his felowes, conuented with the Turkes, to geue vp to them

The citiſens of *Strigonium* flye the citie.

The towne of *Strigonium* deſtroyed after the flyeing of the citiſens, & the caſtel defended.

An Italiā feare in yelding the caſtle of *Strigonium* to the Turke.

the caſtle: whereupon the Turkes were byd to ceaſe the ſhootyng. This Italiã ſhortly after, with ij. other Turkes was ſent backe to Salamanca his Captaine, with the Turkes meſſage. The goyng out of this Italian beyng priuye to the reſidue of his felowes, contrary to ẏ lawes and diſcipline of warre, although it ſemed to come of his owne head: yet for ſomuch as the other ſouldiours were not ſure, but rather ſuſpected leſt the other Italians his countreymen had bene in ſome part of conſent therein, and would take his parte: neither durſt offer him any harme for that his doyng, nor yet could well aduiſe with them ſelues what was beſt to do, for feare of priuye confederacie within them ſelues.

Thus while Laſcanus the chiefe Captaine of the Chriſtians aforeſayd, with hys fellowe ſouldiours, were in a maſe what to doo or not to doo: in the meane tyme came one runnyng, who geuyng a ſigne both to the Chriſtians and the Turkes, to holde their handes and weapons, for that it was agaynſt all lawe of warre to fight after peace and truce taken: our men, as they were commaunded, went into the inward tower. The Turkes in ẏ meane time, had got into the caſtle, & occupyed all ẏ vtter parties. Thẽ was Salamãca by the conſent of ẏ reſt, ſent out to the Turke, who there beyng ſtayd that night, the next morow the Turkes bull or warrant was ſent into the caſtle, permitting free libertie to the Chriſtians to departe with bagge and baggage. Who now beyng ready to departe, firſt were commaunded by the Turkes compaſſing them round about, to caſt from them their Dagges, Launces, and battaile Axes, into the trench. Then commyng to the gate to go out, their ſwordes were taken from them, lookyng then for nothyng, but preſent death. At laſt when they were come a litle further, other were ſent to them to diſcharge them of their helmettes, their tergattes, currettes, and whatſoeuer peece of harnes was about thẽ. Wherupon great feare came vpon thẽ, leſt ſome great cruelty ſhould be ſhewed vpon them. Solyman after he had long deliberated with him ſelfe, whether to kill them or not, at laſt contrary to all expectation, graunted their lyues: but before they ſhould be diſmiſſed, he firſt cauſed them, in deriſion of Chriſtianitie, to be baited with ſcornes & mockes throughout all the Turkiſhe armye, and ſo the next day commaunded them beyng ſtript out of their coates and apparell, to be reduced agayne into the caſtle by companyes, ſettyng ouer them certaine Turkes with cudgels and battes to lay vpon theyr backes and ſides, cauſyng them to bury the dead carcaſes, and to gather vp the rubyſhe broken downe from the caſtle walles, and to ſcoure the ditches. Whiche done, the next day folowyng he demaunded of them by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horſe and armour to ſerue hym in hys warres. Whiche condition diuers for feare were cõtented to take, ſeyng no other ſhift to auoyd preſent death. Some neither by manaſyng wordes, nor for any feare of death, could bee compelled thereunto: of whom certaine whiche ſtoode ſtoutly in refuſing therof, were preſently ſlayne, whom I maye worthely recite in the number and catalogue of holy Martyrs.

A Turkiſhe truce taken with the Chriſtians, they not knowyng therof.

The falſe Turkes neuer true in promiſe.

The miſerable affliction of our Chriſten ſouldiours taken at *Strigonium.*

Holy ſouldiours and Martyrs ſlayne of the Turkes for their faithfull Religion.

Of ẏ foreſayd Chriſtians, part were caryed ouer ẏ ryuer of Danubius, not without great vilanye, & cõtumely moſt deſpyteful. For ſome had their wyues takẽ frõ thẽ & caryed away, ſome had their wyues rauiſhed before their face: and ſuch as made or ſhewed any reſiſtance thereat, had their wyues before thẽ caſt into the ryuer and drowned: alſo their infantes and yong children, beyng apointed by the Turkes to the abhominable order of the Ianizarites, mentioned before, pag. 879. theyr parentes not conſentyng therunto, were precipitate and throwen into the ryuer and drowned. All whiche thynges are teſtified by Ioan. Martinus Stella in his Epiſtles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William and Michael. &c. Whiche Mart. Stella moreouer this addeth and affirmeth, that he him ſelfe beyng the ſame tyme at Vienna, did ſee one of the foreſayd wyues, who beyng holden faſt by the heare of her head yet notwithſtandyng hauing her heare pluckt of, caſt her ſelf into the ryuer of Danubius, for the ſingular loue to her huſband, and ſo ſwãme to the ſhyppe where he was. And thus this miſerable company of Germaines, Spaniardes, and Italians mixt together, macerate with labours, with hunger pyned, with watchynges, dolours, and ſorow conſumed, came at length to Schinda.

Ex Ioan. Martino Stella in Epiſtolis ad fratres.

When the tydynges therof was noyſed at Vienna, partlye with feare and dread, partlye with indignation, all mens hartes were moued and vexed diuerſly. Some thought thẽ not worthy to be receaued into their Citie, ſhewyng thẽ ſelues ſo daſtardly and ſo cowerdly. Other thought agayne that mercy was to be ſhewed vnto thẽ, and commended their fact for that they beyng ſo few, and vnfurniſhed of ayde, neither hable to matche by any meanes with ſuch an innumerable multitude of the Turkes, kept them ſelues till better tyme might ſerue them. But how ſoeuer the matter was to be thought of, that captaines brought the poore remnaunt of that rufull companye, vnto Poſſonium, where the ſayd Captaines were layd faſt, and there kept in durance, to render accompt of the whole matter, how it was wrought & handled. And thus haue ye the lamentable ſtory of Strigoniũ.

Diuers o
niõs of
Vienni
touching
theſe mi
rable af
ted ſould
ours.

The Turke procedyng in his victories, conducted hys armye next vnto Tathe, and to the parties lyeng nere about Comaron. This Tathe was alſo a ſtrong holde in Hungary, wherin were placed certain garriſons, partly of the Germaines, partly of the Italians. The chieftaine of the Italians was one Anniball Taſſo, cõſtitute by Philippus Torniellius. This Taſſo was a man well expert in prowes of warre, but of a filthy corrupte life, and alſo a foule ſwearer, and horrible blaſphemer of God & hys ſaintes. To make ẏ ſtory ſhort, this forte of Tathe, before any ſiege was layd vnto it, was yelded & geuen vp to the Turkes: vpon what cõditions, or by whoſe meanes, the author ſheweth not: Thus much he ſheweth, that ẏ ſayd Anniball ſhortly vpon the ſame, returnyng into Italye, was commaunded by Torniellius aforeſayd, to be apprehended and beheaded.

Tath, ſu
dued of
the Tur

Victorye
hath neue
ſucceſſe v
der a wicked Captaine and
ſwearer.

After the Turkes had ſubuerted and deſtroyed the forte of Tathe, they turned their power agaynſt Alba, ſurnamed Regalis, for that ẏ kynges of Hungary haue bene allwayes wont there to be crowned, and buryed. This Alba is a litle well cõpacted Citie in Hungary, hauyng on ẏ one ſide a maryſh ſomwhat foggyſh or fennye, which made the towne leſſe aſſaultable. But nere to the ſame was a woode, frõ the which the Turkes euery day with vi.C. cartes, brought ſuch matter of woode and trees felled for the ſame purpoſe, into the mariſhe, that within leſſe then xij. dayes they made it apte and harde to their feete: whiche the townes men thought neuer could bee gone vpon, but onely in the hard froſtes of wynter. At the firſt begynnyng of the ſiege, there ſtoode a litle without the munitions in the fronte of the Citie, a certaine Churche or Monaſterye, whiche the Citizens pretendyng to maynteine and kepe agaynſt the Turkes, had priuely conueyed light matter eaſey to take flame, with pouder, in ſecret places therof, and had hyd alſo fire withall. Whiche done, they (as agaynſt their willes) beyng driuen backe, withdrewe them ſelues within the munitions, waytyng the occaſion, when this fire would take. Thus the Turkes hauyng the poſſeſſion of the churche, ſodenly the fire commyng to the pouder, rayſed vp the Churche, and made a great ſcatter and ſlaughter among the barbarous Turkes. This was not ſo ſoone eſpyed of them within the towne, but they iſſued out vpõ them in this diſturbaunce, and ſlue of them a great number: Among whom diuers of their nobles alſo the ſame tyme were ſlayne, and one Baſſa an Eunuche, whiche was of great eſtimation with the Turkes. Moreouer, in the ſame ſkyrmiſhe was taken one of thoſe gunners, whiche the French kyng is ſayd to haue ſent to ẏ Turke a litle before. Which if it be true, let the Chriſtian reader iudge what is to bee thought of thoſe Chriſten princes,

Alba Regalis beſieged of the Turke.

The turk
deuiſe in
fillyng vp
the mariſ

A ſtratageme of the Chriſtians agaynſt the Turkes.

A note touchyng the Frẽch king that then was.

which

Ex epiſt. Ioã. Mart. Stellæ ad fratres. De Turcar. in Hungaria ſucceſſibus.

which not onely forſaking the common cauſe of Chriſtes Churche ioyned league with the Turke, but alſo ſent hym gunners to ſet forwarde his warres to the deſtruction of Chriſtes people, and to the ſheding of their bloud, for whom they knowe the bloud of Chriſt to bee ſhed. If this be not true, I ſhew mine author: If it be, then let the Pope ſee and marke well how his title of Chriſtianiſsimus, can well agree with ſuch doynges. But to let this matter ſleape, althoughe the Turkes (as ye heard) had wonne the fenne, with their policie and induſtry, agaynſt the Citie of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were no thyng inferiour to their enemyes, through the valiaunt helpe and couragious endeuour of Octauianus Scruzatus, a Captaine of Millane. By whoſe prudent counſaile and conſtant ſtãding, the buſy enterpriſes of the Turkes did litle preuaile a long tyme, till at length, ſodenly aroſe a thicke fogge or miſte vpon the Citie, where as round about beſides, the ſonne did ſhyne bright. Some ſayd it came by Arte Magicall, but rather it may appeare to ryſe out of the fenne or mariſhe, beyng ſo preſſed downe with mens feete, and other matter layd vpon it.

The outwarde walles gotten by the Turkes,

A miſerable ſlaughter of chriſten ſouldiours.

The Turkes vſing the occaſion of thys myſtie darknes, in ſecrete wiſe approchyng the walles, had gotte vppe to a certayne fortreſſe, where the Germaines were, before our men coulde well perceaue thē: where they preſſed in ſo thicke, and in ſuch number, that albeit the Chriſtian ſouldiours ſtandyng ſtrongely to the defenſe of their lyues, did what valiant men in caſes of ſuch extremitie were able to do: yet beyng ouermatched with the multitude of the Turkes, & the ſodennes of their cõming, gaue backe, ſeking to retire in to the inward walles. Whiche whē their other felowes did ſee to recule, then was there flieng of all handes, euery man ſtriuing to get into the Citie. There was betwene ẏ outward walles or vamures, and inward gate of the Citie, a ſtrait or narrow paſſage, caſt vp in maner of a banke or cauſey, ditched on both ſides: whiche paſſage or ingreſſe happened the ſame tyme to be barred & ſtopped. By reaſon wherof the poore ſouldiours were forced to caſt them ſelues into ẏ ditche, thinking to ſwymme as well as they could, into the Citie: where many of them ſticking in the mudde, were drowned, one preſſyng vpõ an other: many were ſlayne of theyr enemyes commyng behynd thē, they hauyng neither hart, nor power to reſiſte. A few whiche could ſwymme out, were receaued into ẏ Citie: but the chief Captaines and warders of the towne, were there ſlayne. The Citizens beyng deſtitute of their principall Captaines and warriours, were in great perplexitie and doubt among thē ſelues, what to do, ſome thinkyng good to yeld, ſome counſailyng the countrary. Thus while the myndes of ẏ Citizens were diſtract in diuers and doubtfull ſentences, the Magiſtrates myndyng to ſtand to the Turkes gentlenes, ſent out one of their heades vnto to Turke, who in the name of them all, ſhould ſurrender to him the Citie, and become vnto him tributaries, vpon cõdition they might enioye libertie of life & goodes. Which beyng to them graunted, after the Turkiſhe faith and aſſuraunce, firſt the ſouldiours whiche were left within ẏ Citie, puttyng of their armour, were diſcharged and ſent away. Who beyng but onely. 300. left of iiij. enſignes of Italians, and of a thouſãd Germaines, by the way were layd for by ẏ Tartarians, for hope of theyr ſpoyle: ſo that they ſcattering a ſunder one one way, an other an other, to ſaue them ſelues as well as they could, fled euery one what way he thought beſt. Of whom ſome wandering in woodes and mariſhes faynted for famine: ſome were taken and ſlayne by the Hungarians: a few with bare and emptie, and wythered bodies, more lyke goſtes thē men, eſcaped and came to Vienna. And this befell vpon the ſouldiours.

Let neuer good Chriſtians ſtand to the Turkes gentlenes,

Now vnderſtãd what happened to the yeldyng Citizens. So in ſtory it foloweth, that when the Turke had entred the towne, and had viſited the ſepulchre of the kynges, for iij. or iiij. dayes he pretended much clemencie toward the Citizens, as though he came not to oppreſſe them, but to be reuẽged of Ferdinandus their kyng, and to deliuer them frõ the ſeruitude of the Germaines. On the fourth day, all the chiefe & head mē of the Citie were commaunded to appeare before the Turke in a playne, not farre from the Citie, where the condemned perſons before were wont to be executed, as though they ſhould come to ſweare vnto the Turke. At this commaundement of the Turke, when the Citizens in great number, and in their beſt attire were aſſembled, the Turke contrary to his fayth and promiſe, cõmaunded ſodenly a generall ſlaughter to be made of them all. And this was the ende of thoſe Citizens of Alba. In the meane tyme, durying this ſiege of Alba, the Hungarians metyng ſometymes with the horſemen of ẏ Tartarians, which were ſent out to ſtop vitailes from the Citie, ſlue of thē at one byckeryng. 3000. turkes. In whiche ſtory is alſo reported and mentioned of myne author, an horrible ſight and example of miſery, concernyng a certain captiue (a Chriſtiã belike) who cõming into Vienna, was found to haue in hys ſcrippe or ſatchell the halfe of a yong child of two yeares old, which remained yet vneaten, the other halfe being eaten before. An. 1543. Ibid.

The crueltye of the Turkes agaynſt the Chriſtians.

What it is to yeld to the Turke, and to ſtycke to hys promiſe.

The Citizens of *Alba* deſtroyed of the Turkes.

Halfe of a young childe found in the ſatchel of a captiue comming from the Turkes.

Next after this was expugned the caſtle of Pappa, by the Turkes. Let the caſtle nowe of Papa take hede, leſt one day it folow after.

The caſtle of *Pappa* wonne of the Turkes.

The lyke fidelitie the Turkes alſo kept, with the forte of Wizigradum and the ſouldiours therof. This Wizigradum is ſituate in the myd waye betwene Buda and Strigonium. Of the which forte or caſtle, the higheſt tower ſo mounteth vpõ the hill, ẏ vnleſſe it be for famine and lacke of water, they haue not to dread any enemye. Notwithſtãding ſo it happened, ẏ the lower peece beyng wonne, they in the higher tower abydyng iiij. dayes without drinke, were compelled with libertie graunted of life and goodes, to yeld them ſelues. But the deuiliſh Turkes kepyng no fayth nor promiſe, ſlue them euery one, onely Petrus Amandus the Captaine of the peece, excepted: who priuely was cõueyed by the captaine of ẏ Turkes, out of the ſlaughter. an. 1544.

Wizigradum gotte and ſurpryſed of the Turkes.

The falſe dealing and crueltie of the Turkes againſt the Chriſtians.

To theſe moreouer may be added the winnyng of Nouum caſtellum in Dalmatia, where he ſlue al that were within, both ſouldiours and other, for that they dyd not yeld them ſelues in time. Thus ẏ Turke, whether they yelded to him or not, neuer ſpared the people and flocke of Chriſt.

Nouum caſtellum in *Dalmatia* wonne by the Turkes.

As the falſe and cruell Turke was thus ragyng in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pitie of the Chriſtians, and eaſely might thē haue preuailed and gone whether he would, for that Charles the Emperour, and Frãciſcus the French king were the ſame tyme, at warre and hoſtilitie, and alſo other Chriſtian princes, as Henry Duke of Brunſwike, agaynſt Ihon Fridericke Duke of Saxone, alſo other princes & rulers were contendyng among thē ſelues: behold the gracious prouidence of our Lorde and God toward vs, who ſeyng ẏ miſery & hauyng pitie of hys poore Chriſtians, ſodenly as with a ſnaffell reyned this ragyng beaſt, and brought him out of Europe into his owne cõtrey agayne, by occaſion of the Perſians, who were then in great preparation of warre agaynſt the Turkes, and had inuaded his dominion. By reaſon wherof ẏ Turke was kept there occupied, fighting with the Perſians a lõg continuance. Which warres at lẽgth being achyued and finiſhed, (wherin ẏ ſayd Turke loſt great victories, with ſlaughter of many thouſãdes of his Turkes) he was not onely prouoked by the inſtigation of certaine euill diſpoſed Hungarians, but alſo occaſioned by the diſcorde of Chriſtiã princes, to returne againe into Europe, in hope to ſubdue all the partes therof vnto his dominiõ. Wherunto, when he had leuied an armye incredible of ſuch a multitude of Turkes, as the like hath not lightly bene heard of, ſee agayne the mercifull prouidence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turke was thus intẽdyng to ſet forward with this innumerable multitude agaynſt the Chriſtians, the hand of the Lord ſent

The diſcorde of Chriſtian princes within them ſelues.

The Turke occaſioned to returne out of Europe into Aſia.

The prouidence of God for hys Chriſtians.

An other example of Gods prouidence for hys people.

ſuch a peſtilence through all the Turkes armye and dominions, reachyng from Bithynia, and from Thracia, to Macedonia and alſo to Hungary, that all the Turkes poſſeſſions almoſt ſemed nothyng els, but as a heape of dead corſes, whereby hys viage for that tyme was ſtopped, and he almoſt compelled to ſeeke a new armye. Beſide this plague of the Turkes aforeſayd, whiche was worſe to them then any warre, other lettes alſo and domeſticall calamities through Gods prouidēce happened vnto Solymannus, the greate rouer and robber of the worlde, whiche ſtayde hym at home from vexyng the Chriſtians, eſpecially touchyng hys eldeſt ſonne Muſtapha. This Muſtapha beyng hated and partly feared of Ruſtanus the chief counſailour about the Turke, and of Roſa the Turkes concubine and after his wife, was diuers tymes complained of to his father, accuſed, and at length ſo brought into ſuſpition and diſpleaſure of the Turke, by thē aforeſayd, that in concluſion his father cauſed hym to be ſent for to hys pauilion, where vi. turkes with viſours were appointed to put him to death: Who cōmyng vpon hym, put (after their maner) a ſmall corde or bowſtryng ful of knottes about his necke, and ſo throwyng him downe vpon the ground, not ſuffering him to ſpeake one worde to his father, with the twytche thereof throteled and ſtrangeled him to death, his father ſtādyng in a ſecret corner by, & beholdyng the ſame. Which facte being perpetrate, afterward when ẏ Turke would haue geuen to an other ſonne of his and of Roſa called Gianger, ẏ treaſures, horſe, armour, ornamētes and the prouince of Muſtapha his brother: Gianger cryeng out for ſorow of his brothers death: phy of thee, ſayth he to his father, thou impious and wretched dog, traytour, murderer, I can not cal thee father, take the treaſures, the horſe and armour of Muſtapha to thee ſelfe: and with that takyng out his dagger, thruſt it throughe his owne body. And thus was Solyman murderer and paricide of hys owne ſonnes: which was in ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1552.

Solyman the Turke murdereth Muſtapha his own ſonne

Gianger the Turkes ſonne kylleth himſelfe.

The louyng prouidence of our lord for his chriſtians.

Wherin notwithſtandyng is to be noted the ſingular prouidēce and loue of the Lord toward his afflicted Chriſtians. For this Muſtapha as he was couragious and greatly expert & exerciſed in all practiſe of warre: ſo had he a cruell hart, malitiouſly ſet to ſhed the bloud of Chriſtians: Wherfore great cauſe haue we to congratulate, and to geue thankes to God, for the happy takyng away of this Muſtapha. And no leſſe hope alſo and good cōfort we may conceaue of our louyng Lord, hereby miniſtred vnto vs, to thinke that our mercifull God after theſe ſore afflictions of his Chriſtiās vnder theſe. xij. Turkes afore recited: now after this Solyman entēdeth ſome gratious good worke to Chriſtēdome, to reduce and releaſe vs out of this ſo lōg and miſerable Turkiſhe captiuitie: as may be hoped now by takyng away theſe yong impes of this impious generation, before they ſhould come to worke their conceaued malice agaynſt vs: the Lord therfore be glorified and prayſed. Amen.

Good hope at Gods hand to be conceaued of Chriſtians.

Good newes of the Turkes latly repulſed by the Chriſtians.

Moreouer as I was in writyng hereof, oportunely came to my handes a certaine writyng out of Germany, certifieng vs of ſuch newes and victory of late achiued agaynſt the Turke, as may not a litle encreaſe our hope & comfort as touchyng the decay and ruine of the Turkes power and tyrāny agaynſt vs. Whiche newes are theſe: that after the Turkiſhe Tyraūt had beſieged with an armye of. 30000. men, the famous and ſtronge town and caſtle of Iula in Hungarie, lyeng. 40. dutch myles beyōd the ryuer Danubius, which Citie had, by the ſpace of. vi. weekes ſuſteyned many greuous aſſaultes: god through his great mercy and goodnes ſo comforted the ſayd town of Iula and the poore Chriſtians therein, at their earneſt prayers, that ẏ Turke with all his hoſt was driuē backe, by the handes of the generall, called Keretſhim Laſlaw & his valiaunt company. Who not onely defended the ſayd towne, but alſo cōſtrained the Turkes to retyre, to their great ſhame and confuſion, with a great ſlaughter of the Turkiſhe rable: For the whiche the euerlyuing God be prayſed for euer. The maner of their ouerthrow was this. As the foreſaid generall did ſee his aduauntage with captaine George, and other horſemen of the Scleſians & Hungarians, they ſet on the rereward of the Turkes and kylled about. 8000. of them, and toke alſo ſome of their artillary and folowed them ſo faſt, that the Turkes were conſtrayned to flye into a maryſhe grounde, and to breake ẏ wheeles of the reſt of their artillary, to ſaue thē ſelues, & therewͭ they got a very riche booty, reſcuing beſides & taking from the Turkes a great number of Chriſtiā priſoners. Lyke thankes alſo are to bee geuē to God, for the proſperous ſucceſſe geuen to Magotſchie the valiant captaine of Erla, who makyng toward the Turkes, and encounteryng with the Tartarians, ſlue of thē about viij. hundreth.

8000. Turkes ſlayn.

Chriſtiā captiues reſcued and taken from the Turkes

800. Turkes ſlayne.

A great captaine of the Turkes ſlayne, and his treaſure taken.

Not long after this, it happened through the lyke prouidence of our God, a Turkiſhe captaine called Begen, accōpanyed with a thouſand freſhe horſemen came newly out of Turkie, to go toward the citie named Quinquecclesiæ, or Finffenkyrchen: with whom the Earle of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the night ſetting vpon hym, killed the Captayne and toke viij. Camels, and viij. Moyles laden with treaſure, and alſo got ij. red Guidōs, with a whole great peece of riche cloth of gold, & with an other fayre and ſtraunge Iewel. The horſe of this foreſayd Turkiſh captaine, was betrapped and decked moſt richely. The ſadle whereof had the pomell and the backe parte couered ouer with plate of fine Arabicke golde, and the reſt of the ſadle, beſide the ſittyng place, was plated with ſiluer very fayre gilded. The ſeate of the ſadle was couered with purple veluet: the trappers and brydle beſet with litle Turkeys, and Rubyes: Whiche horſe was ſent to Vienna vnto the Emperour Maximilian for a preſent.

Although the Earle would very fayne haue ſaued the captaine, not knowing what he was, yet the Ianizarites, labouryng to carye away their Captaine, ſo ſtifly defēded thē ſelues, that the Earle with his cōpany, was conſtrayned to kill both them & their Captaine. From whom the ſayd Earle of Serin the ſame tyme, got. xv. thouſād Turkiſhe & Hūgariſhe Ducates: whiche money was brought for the payement of the Turkyſhe ſouldiours in the towne aforeſayd of Finffekyrchen. &c. All whiche bee good begynnynges of greater goodnes to bee hoped for hereafter, throughe the grace of Chriſt our Lorde, eſpecialy if our Chriſtian rulers and potentates, firſte the Churchemen and Prelates for their partes: then the ciuile powers and princes for their partes, with holdyng their affections a litle, will turne their brawles and variance, into brotherly concorde and agreement, whiche the Lorde of peace put in their myndes to doo. Amen. Or otherwiſe if it ſo pleaſe the Lorde, that the Turke come further vpō vs, ſo as he hath begon, for our puniſhment and caſtigation, his grace then geue to the flocke of his poore Chriſtians, conſtancie of fayth, pacience in ſufferyng, & amendemēt of lyfe: For ſo I vnderſtand by publicke fame, although vncertenly rumored by the voyce of ſome, that ẏ Turkes power of late, this preſent yeare of our Lord. 1566. hath perced the parties of Apulia wͭin Italy, waſtyng and burnyng the ſpace of. an. 100. myles toward Neaples. Whiche if it be certeine, it is to be feared, that the Turke hauyng thus ſet in his foote, and feelyng the ſwetnes of Italy, will not ſo ceaſe before he get in both head and ſhoulders alſo ſo far into Italy, that hee will diſplay his banners within the walles of Rome, and do with olde Rome the lyke as Mahumete hys greate grandfather did with new Rome, the Citie of Conſtantinople, and as the Perſians did with Babylon.

The Turke pearcyng into Italy.

Cōiectures why it is to be feared that the Turke ſhal get Rom

The cauſes why we haue ſo to iudge, be diuers: firſt that the ſea of Rome hath bene defended hetherto and mainteined with much bloud, and therefore it may ſeme not vncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be loſt with bloud agayne, according to the verdict of ẏ Goſpell: He that ſtriketh with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſworde. &c. An other cauſe is, the fulfillyng of the xviij. chapter of the Apocalipſe: where is writen, that great Ba-

bylon ſhall fall and be made an habitation of deuils, and a denne of vncleane ſpirites, and a cage of filthy and vncleane byrdes: the fall whereof ſhall be lyke a milſtone in the ſea, that is, whiche ſhall not ryſe agayne. And this to come before the day of iudgement, the text of the ſayd chapter doth apertly declare: where ẏ wordes do folow,
„ ſhewyng that the kynges of the earth, and the marchants
„ whiche had to do with the whoryſh Citie, ſtādyng a farre
„ of for feare of the heate, and beholdyng the ſmoke of the
„ ſayd Citie flamyng and burnyng with fire, ſhall bewayle
„ ⁊ rue her deſtruction and deſolation. ⁊c. What Citie this is, called great Babylon, which lyke a mylſtone ſhall fall, and burne, and be made an habitation of vncleane ſpirites, and beaſtes, let the reader cōſtrue. This is certein and playne by theſe her kynges and marchaūtes ſtādyng a farre of for feare, and beholdyng her burnyng, that the deſtruction of this Citie (what Citie ſo euer it be) ſhal be ſene here in earth before the cōmyng of ẏ Lordes iudgemēt, as may eaſely bée gathered by theſe iij. circūſtances, that is, by the ſtandyng, the beholdyng, and bewaylyng of her marchauntes. By the whiche marchauntes ⁊ kynges of the earth, peraduēture may be ſignified, the Pope, the rich Cardinals, the great Prelates and fat doctours, and other obedienciares of the Romiſhe ſea: who at the commyng of the Turkes, will not aduenture their lyues for their Church, but will flye the Citie (no doubt) and ſtand a farre of frō daunger: and when they ſhall ſée with theyr eyes, ⁊ heare with their eares the Citie of Rome to bée ſet on fire ⁊ conſumed by the cruel Turkes, the ſight therof ſhal ſeme to them piteous and lamētable, to behold the great and fayre citie of Rome, the talle caſtle of S. Angel, the Popes mighty ſea (where they were wōt to fiſhe out ſuch riches, dignities, treaſures, ⁊ pleaſures) ſo to burne before their eyes, and to come to ſuch vtter deſolation, whiche ſhall neuer be réedified agayne, but ſhall be made an habitation of deuils and vncleane ſpirites, that is, of Turkes, and Heathē Sultans, and barbarous Saracens ⁊c. This (I ſay) peraduenture may be the meanyng of that propheticall place of the Apoc: not that I haue here any thyng to pronounce, but onely geue my geaſſe, what may probably be coniectured. But the end at length will make this and all other thynges more playne and manifeſt: For myſticall propheſies lyghtly are neuer ſo well vnderſtand, as when the euente of them is paſt and accompliſhed.

The propheſie of the xviii. chap. of the Apocalips expounded.

The thyrde cauſe. *Ex Paulo Iouio.*

An other cauſe concurryng with the cauſes aforeſayd, may be collected out of Paulus Iouius, who writyng of ẏ ſubuerſiō of Rhodes, which was as ye heard. an. 1522. vpon Chriſtmas day: ſayth that it chaūced ſodenly ẏ ſame day in Rome, that as Pope Hadrian the ſixt was entring into the Church to his ſeruice, ſodenly ouer his head the vpper frontier or toppe of ẏ chapell dore, whiche was of marble, immediatly as ẏ Pope was entryng, fell downe and ſlue certein of his garde watyng vpon him. Wherby peraduenture may be ment, that the ruine of Rome was not long after to folow the loſſe of Rhodes.

The Turke pearcyng into Italy.

The fourth cauſe. *Ex Ioan. Auentino Annal. lib 3. fol. 30.*

The iiij. cauſe I borowe out of Ioannes Auentinus, who in hys thirde booke alledgyng the names, but not the wordes of Hildegardis, Brigitte, ⁊ other propheticall mē, hath theſe wordes: *Si vera ſint carmina & vaticinia D. Hildegardæ, & Brigittæ, Sybillarum Germaniæ, & Bardorum fatidicorum, qui ea quæ noſtro æuo completa vidimus, lōgo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt: Agrippinenſis Colonia, nolimus, velimus, Turcarum caput erit. &c.* That is, if the sayinges and propheſies of Hildegarde, of Brigitte, and of other propheticall perſons be true, which being foretolde long before, we haue ſene now in theſe our dayes accompliſhed: the towne of Colene will wee, nill we, muſt nedes be the head Citie of the Turkes. ⁊c.

A propheſie.

Cōiectures why it is to be feared that the Turke ſhal get Rome.

And this I write not as one pronouncing agaynſt the Citie of Rome, what will happen, but as one fearyng what may fall. Whiche if it come to paſſe (as I pray God it do not) then ſhall the Pope well vnderſtand, whether his wrong vnderſtādyng of the Scriptures, and his falſe flatteryng gloſers vpon the ſame, haue brought hym.

A Caueat to the Byſhop of Rome, if he be wiſe.

Wherfore my counſaile is to the Pope, and all his Popiſh mainteyners and vpholders, to humble them ſelues, and to agrée with their brethren by tyme, lettyng all contention fall: leſt that while ẏ Byſhop of Rome ſhall ſtriue to be the hygheſt of all other Byſhops, it ſo fall out ſhortly, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhalbe found the loweſt of all other Biſhops, or peraduenture no Biſhop at all.

Wherunto alſo an other cauſe may be added takē out of Hieronimus Sauonarola, who prophecieth that one ſhall come ouer the Alpes lyke vnto Cyrus, and deſtroye Italie. Wherof ſée more, pag. 867.

Ex Paulo Iouio.

This Solymannus, if he be yet a liue, hath nowe reigned. 46. yeares, who begā ẏ ſame yeare, in the whiche ẏ Emperour Charles the v. was crowned, which was. an. 1520. and ſo hath continued by Gods permiſſion, for a ſcourge to the Chriſtians, vnto this yeare now preſent. 1566. This Solyman by one of hys concubines, had his eldeſt ſonne called Muſtapha. By an other cōcubine called Roſa, he had iiij. ſonnes, Mahumet, Baiazetes, Selymus, and Gianger. Of the which ſonnes, Muſtapha ⁊ Gianger were ſlayne (as ye heard before) by the meanes of their owne father.

And thus much concernyng the wretched tyranny of the Turkes out of the authors here vnder writen.

¶The Authors of the Turkes ſtoryes.

Authors of the Turkes ſtories

Laonicus Chalcondila.
Nicolaus Euboicus Epiſc. Saguntinus.
Ioan. Ramus.
Andræas a Lacuna.
VVolfgāgus Drechſlerus.
Ioan. Criſpus.
Ioan. Faber.
Ludouicus Viues.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.
Mitylenæus Archiepiſ.
Sabellicus.
Iſiodorus Rutherus.
Marinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia De bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Iouius.
Ioan. Martinus Stella.
Gaſpar Peucerus. &c.
Nicolaus a Moſſen Burgundus.
Sebaſt. Munſterus.
Baptiſta Egnatius.
Barthol. Peregrinus.

¶ *A notice touchyng the miſerable perſecution, ſlaughter* and captiuitie of the Chriſtians vnder the Turkes.

Perſecution vnder the Turkes

HEtherto thou haſt heard (Chriſtian reader) the lamentable perſecutions of theſe latter dayes, wrought by the Turkes agaynſt the people and ſeruauntes of Chriſt. In ẏ readyng wherof, ſuch as ſitte quietly at home, and be farre from ieopardy, may ſee what miſery there is abroade, the knowledge and readyng wherof, ſhall not be vnprofitable for all Chriſtians earneſtly to wey and cōſider, for that many there be, whiche falſely deceauyng them ſelues, imagine that Chriſtianitie is a quiet and a reſtfull ſtate of lyfe, full of pleaſure ⁊ ſolace in this preſent world, when in dede it is nothyng leſſe, teſtified by the mouth of our Sauiour him ſelfe, who rightly defining his kyngdome, teacheth vs that his kyngdome is not of this world, premoniſhyng vs alſo before, that in this worlde we muſt looke for affliction, but in hym wee ſhall haue peace. Examples hereof in all partes of this hiſtorie throughe all ages are plentuous and euident to be ſene, whether we turne our eyes to the firſt. x. perſecutions in the primitiue Churche duryng the firſt iij. hundreth yeares after Chriſte: or whether we conſider the latter iij. hundreth yeares in this laſt age of the Churche, wherin the poore flocke of Chriſt hath bene ſo afflicted, oppreſſed, and deuoured, that it is hard to ſay whether haue bene more cruell agaynſt the Chriſtians, the infidell Emperours of Rome in the primitiue age of the Churche, or els theſe barbarous Turkes in theſe our latter tymes of the Churche nowe preſent.

Compariſon betwene the perſecutions of the primitiue Churche, And of the later Churche.

Three ſpeciall enemyes of Chriſtes church

Thus from tyme to tyme the Churche of Chriſt almoſt hath had litle or no reſt in this earth, what for the heathen Emperours on the one ſide, what for the proude Pope on the other ſide, and on the third ſide what for the barbarous Turke: for theſe are and haue bene from the begynnyng, the thrée principall and capitall enemyes of the Churche of Chriſte, ſignified in the Apocalyps by the beaſt, the falſe Lambe, and the falſe Prophet, from whom went out thrée foule ſpirites lyke frogges, to gather together all the kynges of the earth to the battaile of the daye of the Lorde God almightye, Apocal. 16. The crueltie and malice of theſe iij. enemyes againſt Chriſtes people hath bene ſuch, that to iudge whiche of them did moſt excede in crueltie of perſecution,

The crueltie of the furious Turkes deſcribed.

tion, it is hard to ſaye: but that it maye bee thought that the bloudy and beaſtly tyranny of the Turkes eſpecially aboue the reaſt, incomparably ſurmounteth all the afflictiōs and cruell ſlaughters that euer were ſene in any age, or read of in any ſtory: In ſomuch that there is neither hiſtory ſo perfect, nor writer ſo diligent, who writyng of the miſerable tyranny of the Turkes, is able to expreſſe or comprehend the horrible examples of their vnſpeakable crueltie and ſlaughter exerciſed by theſe xij. turkiſh Tyrannes, vpon poore Chriſten mens bodyes, within the compas of theſe latter iij. hundreth yeares. wherof, although no ſufficient relation can be made, nor nūber expreſſed: yet to geue to the reader ſome generall geſſe or vewe therof: let vs firſt perpende and conſider what dominions & Empiers, how many countreys, kyngdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, ſtrong holdes and fortes, theſe Turkes haue ſurpriſed and wonne from the Chriſtians. In all whiche victories, being ſo many, this is ſecondly to be noted, that there is almoſt no place, whiche the Turkes euer came to and ſubdued, where they did not either ſlay all the inhabitauntes thereof, or led awaye the moſt parte thereof into ſuch captiuitie and ſlauery, that they continued not long after alyue: or els ſo lyued, that death almoſt had bene to them more tolerable.

Two thynges to bee noted in the Turkes: how many victories they haue got, and howe cruelly they haue vſed their victories.

Lyke as in the tyme of the firſt perſecutions of the Romane Emperours, the ſaying was, that no man could ſteppe with hys foote in all Rome, but ſhould treade vpon a Martyr: ſo here may bee ſayd, that almoſt there is not a towne, citie, or village in all Aſia, Grecia, alſo in a great part of Europa, and Aphrica, whoſe ſtreetes haue not flowed with bloud of the Chriſtians, whom the cruell Turkes haue murthered. Of whom are to bee ſene in hiſtoryes, heapes of ſouldiers ſlayne, of men and wemen cut in peeces, of children ſticked vppon poles and ſtakes, whom theſe deteſtable Turkes moſt ſpitefully (and that in the ſighte of their parentes) vſe to gore to death: ſome they dragge at their horſe tayles and famiſhe to death: ſome they teare in peeces, tyeng their armes & legges to iiij. horſes: other ſome they make markes to ſhote at: vpon ſome they trye their ſwordes, howe depe they can cut and ſlaſhe, as ye before haue read, pag. 892. The aged and feable they tread vnder their horſe: wemen with childe they ſpare not, but rippe their bodyes, & caſt the infantes into the fire, or otherwiſe deſtroye thē. whether yͤ Chriſtians yelde to them, or yelde not, all is a matter. As in their promiſes there is no truth: ſo in their victories there is no ſenſe of manhode or mercye in them, but they make hauocke of all.

Ex Marino Barletio de Scodr. expugnat. lib. 2.

So the Citizens of Croia, after they had yelded, and were all promiſed their lyues, were all deſtroyed and that horribly. In Myſia, after the kyng had geuen hym ſelfe to the Turkes hande, hauyng promiſe of lyfe, Mahumete the Turke ſlue hym with his owne handes. The princes of Raſia had both their eyes put out with baſens redde hoate ſet before them. Theodoſia, otherwiſe called Capha, was alſo ſurrendered to the Turke, hauyng the lyke aſſuraunce of lyfe and ſafetie: and yet cōtrary to the league, the Citizens were put to the ſwoorde and ſlayne. At the winnyng and yelding of Leſbos, what a number of young men and children were put vpon ſharpe ſtakes and poles, and ſo thruſt thorowe: At the wynnyng of the Citie of Buda, what tyranny was ſhewed and exerciſed agaynſte the poore Chriſtians, whiche had yelded them ſelues, and agaynſt the two Dukes Chriſtopher Biſſeter and Ioānes Tranbinger, cōtrary to the promiſe and hādwrityng of yͤ Turke, is to be ſene in the ſtory of Melchior Sotterus, de Bello Pāno.

Ex Michael. Soitero. lib. i. de Bello Pānnico. fol. 515.

Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach Decano Eccl. Magūt.

The lyke alſo is to bee read in the ſtory of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who writyng of the takyng of Hydruntum, a Citie in Apulia, teſtifieth of the miſerable ſlaughter, of the young men there ſlayne, of old men troden vnder the horſe feete, of matrones and virgines rauiſhed, of wemen with child cut and rente a peeces, of the prieſtes in the Churches ſlayne, and of the Archbyſhop of that Citie, who beyng an aged man and holdyng the croſſe in his handes, was cut aſonder with a wodden ſaw. &c. The ſame Bernardus alſo writyng of the ouerthrowe of Nigropontus, otherwiſe called Chalcides, an. 1471. deſcribeth yͤ lyke terrible ſlaughter, which there was exerciſed: where the Turke, after his promiſe geuen before to the contrary, moſt cruelly cauſed all the youth of Italy to be pricked vppon ſharpe ſtakes: ſome to be daſhed agaynſt the hard ſtones, other ſome to be cut in ſonder in the middeſt, and other mo with other kindes of tormentes to bee put to death: in ſo much that all the ſtreetes and wayes of Chalcides did flow with yͤ bloud of them whiche were there ſlayne. In whiche hiſtory yͤ foreſayd writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chaſtitie, worthy of all Chriſtians to be noted and commēded. The ſtorie is told of the Pretors daughter of that citie, who beyng the onely daughter of her father, & noted to be of an exceding ſingular bewtie, was ſaued out of yͤ ſlaughter, and brought to Mahumete the Turke, to be his concubine: But ſhe denyeng to conſent to his Turkiſhe appetite and filthenes, was commaunded therwith to be ſlayne and murthered, and ſo dyed ſhe a martyr, kepyng both her faith and her body vndefiled vnto Chriſt Ieſus her ſpouſe. Ibid. The lyke crueltie alſo was ſhewed vpon them which kept the caſtle, and afterward yeldyng them ſelues vpon hope of the Turkes promiſe, were ſlayne euery one. what ſhould I ſpeake of yͤ miſerable ſlaughter of Methone, & the Citizens therof dwellyng in Peloponeſus? who ſeing no other remedy but nedes to come into the Turkes handes, ſet the barne on fyre where they were gathered together, mē, wemen, and children: ſome wemen alſo with child voluntarily caſt them ſelues into the ſea, rather then they would ſuſteine the Turkes captiuitie. Vid. pag. 883.

The ſuperſtitious vſe of the materiall croſſe.

Vid. ſupra pag. 881.

Ex Bernar. de Breydenb.

A notable example o maydenly Chaſtitie.

Vid. ſupr pag. 883.

Miſerable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to beleue all the cruell partes and horrible ſlaughters wrought by theſe miſcreantes, agaynſt the Chriſtians throughe all places almoſt of the worlde, both in Aſia, in Aphrica, but eſpeciallye in Europa. who is able to recite the innumerable ſocieties and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turkes ſword in Achaia, Attica, Theſſalia, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponeſus? beſides the Ilande of Rhodes and other Ilandes, and Cyclades adiacent in the ſea about, numbered to. 52. of the whiche alſo Pathmos was one, where S. Iohn beyng baniſhed, wrote his reuelations. where did euer the Turkes ſet any foote, but the bloude of Chriſtians there, without pitie or meaſure, went to wracke? And what place or prouince is there almoſt through the worlde, where the Turkes either haue not perced, or are not like ſhortly to enter? In Thracia, & through all the coaſtes of Danubius, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Seruia, Tranſyluania, Boſna, in Ungaria, alſo in Auſtria, what hauocke hath bene made by them, of Chriſtē mens bodyes, it will rue any Chriſten hart to remember. At the ſiege of Moldauia, at the wynnyng of Buda, of Peſta, of Alba, of walpo, Strigonium, Socloſia, Tathe, wizigradum, Nouum Caſtellum in Dalmatia, Belgradū, Varadinum, Quinqueeccleſie: alſo at the battaile of Verna, where Ladiſlaus kyng of Polonie with all his armye almoſt, through the raſhenes of the Popes Cardinall, were ſlayne: at the wynnyng moreuer of Zabiacchus, Lyſſus, Dinaſtrū: at the ſiege of Guntza, and of the faythfull town Scodra, where the number of the ſhotte agaynſte theyr walles, at the firſt ſiege therof, were rekened to. 2539: likewiſe at the ſiege of Vienna, where all the Chriſtian captiues were brought before the whole armye and ſlayne, & diuers drawen in peeces with horſes: but eſpecially at the wynnyng of Conſtantinople aboue mentioned, pag. 880: alſo at Croia, and Methone, what beaſtly cruelty was ſhewed, it is vnſpeakable. For as in Conſtantinople, Mahumet yͤ dronkē Turke neuer roſe from dyner, but he cauſed euery day, for his diſport. 300. chriſtian captiues of the nobles of that Citie to be ſlayne before his face: So in Methone, after yͤ his captaine Omares had ſēt vnto him at Cōſtātinople v. hundreth priſoners of yͤ Chriſtians, the cruell Tyranne cōmaunded them all to be cut and diuided in ſonder by the midle, and ſo beyng ſlayne, to bee throwne out into the fieldes.

The miſer ble ſpillyn of Chriſte mēs bloud by the wretched Turkes.

A brief re tall of Ch ſtē towne and fortes wonn of the Turke in Europe.

The cruel tie of the Turke agaynſte th Citizens o Conſtanti nople. *Vid. ſupr pag. 88*

The cruel tie of the Turke agaynſte th priſoners o *Methone.*

Ex Leoni co Chalco dyla de r bus Turci cis. lib. 1

Laonicus Chalcondyla, wrytyng of the ſame ſtory, addeth moreouer a prodigious narration (if it bee true) of a brute Oxe, whiche beyng in the fieldes, and ſeyng the carcaſes of the dead bodyes ſo cut in twoo, made there a lowed noyſe after the lowyng of hys kynde and nature: and afterwarde commyng to the quarters of one of the dead bodyes lyeng in the fielde, firſte tooke vppe the one halfe, and then commyng agayne, tooke vppe likewiſe the other halfe, and ſo (as hee could) ioyned them both together. whiche beyng eſpyed of them that ſawe the doyng of the brute oxe, and merueiyng thereat, and worde beyng brought therof to Mahumet, he commaunded yͤ quarters agayne to brought, where they were before, to proue whether the beaſt would come agayne: who fayled not (as the author recordeth) but in lyke ſorte as before, takyng yͤ fragmentes of the dead corps, layd them agayne together. It foloweth more in the author, howe that Mahumete beyng aſtonyed at the ſtraunge wonder of the Oxe, commaunded the quarters of the Chriſten mans body to be interred, and yͤ Oxe to be brought to his houſe, and was much made of. Some ſayd it to be the body of a Venetian: ſome affirmed, that he was an Illyrian: but what ſoeuer he was, certaine

A ſtraung and a pro gious wo der of a brute bea towarde a dead Chri ſtian body

More hu manitie ſene in a brute bea then in th Turke.

it is, ẏ the Turke him ſelfe was much more beſtial, thē was the very brute Oxe: whiche beyng a beaſt ſhewed more ſenſe of humanitie to a dead man, then one man dyd to an other. Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla.

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with
Citizēs
Methone
ot
Turke.
An-
de La
, &
Ioanne
ro, in
Regem
viij

To this crueltie adde moreouer, that beſyde theſe v. hundreth Methonians thus deſtroyed at Conſtantinople, in the ſayde Citie of Methone, all the townes men alſo were ſlayne by the forſayd Captayne Omares, and amōg them their Byſhop lykewiſe was put to death. Ex Andrea de Lacuna, et ex Vuolfgango et aliis.

Ioan Faber in his oration made before Kyng Henrye the viij. at the appoyntement of Kyng Ferdinandus, and declaryng therein ẏ miſerable crueltie of the Turkes toward all Chriſtians, as alſo towarde the Biſhops and miniſters of the Churche, teſtifieth howe that in Mitilene, in Conſtantinople, and Trapezunda, what Byſhops, and Archbiſhops, or other eccleſiaſticall and religious perſons the Turkes coulde finde, they broughte them out of the Cities into the fieldes, there to bee ſlayne lyke Oxen and Calues. The ſame Faber alſo wrytyng of the battayle of Solyman in Hungarye, where Ludouicus the king of Hungary was ouerthrowen, declareth that viij. byſhops in the ſame fielde were ſlayne. And moreouer, when the Archbyſhop of Strigon, and Paulus the Archbyſhop Coloſſenſis were found dead, Solyman cauſed them to be takē vp, and to be beheaded, and chopte in ſmall peeces. an. 1526.

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What Chriſtian hart will not pitie the incredible ſlaughter done by ẏ Turkes in Euboia, where as the ſayd Faber teſtifieth, ẏ innumerable people were ſticked & gored vpon ſtakes, diuers were thruſt through with a hoate yron, children and infantes not yet wayned from the mother, were daſhed agaynſt the ſtones, and many cut aſonder in the myddeſt. Ex Ioan. Fabro. et aliis.

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ce truſt
Turke.

But neuer did coūtrey taſt and feele more the bytter and deadly tyranny of the Turkes, then dyd Raſia, called Myſia inferior, & nowe Seruia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreſchlerus) the prince of the ſayd countrey being ſent for, vnder fayre pretēce of wordes and promiſes, to come & ſpeake with the Turke, after he was come of hys own gentlenes, thinkyng no harme, was apprehended & wretchedly and falſely put to death, & his ſkynne ſlayne of, his brother and ſiſter brought to Conſtantinople for a triumphe, and all the nobles of hys countrey (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out. &c.

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Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of theſe curſed caitiffes, it may ſeme that Satan the olde dragon, for the great hatred hee beareth to Chriſt, hath ſtyrred them vp to be the butchers of all Chriſtē people, inflamyng their beaſtly hartes with ſuch malice and crueltie agaynſte the name and Religion of Chriſt, that they degeneratyng from the nature of men to deuils, neither by reaſon will be ruled, nor by any bloud or ſlaughter ſatiſfied. Like as in the primitiue age of the Church, and in the tyme of Diocletian, & Maximinian, when the deuill ſaw that he could not preuaile agaynſt the perſon of Chriſt which was riſen agayne, he turned all his fury vppon his ſely ſeruauntes, thinkyng by the Romane Emperours, vtterly to extincte the name & profeſſion of Chriſt, out from the earth: So in this latter age of the worlde, Satan beyng let loſe agayne, rageth by the Turkes, thinkyng to make no ende of murderyng and kyllyng, till hee haue brought (as he entendeth) the whole Churche of Chriſte, with all the profeſſours thereof, vnder foote. But the Lord (I truſt) will once ſend a Cōſtantinus to vanquiſhe proude Maxentius: Moſes to drowne indurate Pharao: Cyrus to ſubdue the ſtoute Babylonian.

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And thus much hetherto touching our Chriſtiā brethrē, which were ſlayne and deſtroyed by theſe blaſphemous Turkes. Now for ſo much as, beſides theſe aforeſayd, many other were pluckt away violently frō their coūtrey, frō their wiues & children, frō libertie, & from all their poſſeſſions, into wretched captiuitie, and extreme penurie, it remaineth lykewiſe to entreate ſomewhat alſo concernyng ẏ cruel maner of the Turkes handlyng of the ſayd Chriſtian captiues. And firſt is here to be noted ẏ the Turke neuer commeth into Europe to warre agaynſt the Chriſtiās, but there foloweth after his armie, a great number of brokers or marchauntes, ſuch as bye men & children to ſell agayne, bryngyng with them long cheyns, in hope of great chetes: In the which cheins they lynke them by 50. & 60. together, ſuch as remaine vndeſtroyed with the ſworde, whom they bye of the ſpoyles of them ẏ robbe & ſpoyle ẏ Chriſtian coūtreys: which is lawfull for any of ẏ Turkes armye to doe, ſo ẏ the tenth of their ſpoyle or praye (what ſoeuer it be) be reſerued to ẏ head Turke, that is, to the great maſter theſe.

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Chriſtian captiues tithed of the Turke.

Of ſuch as remaine for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very fewe be reſerued alyue, becauſe litle profite commeth of that age) they be ſold to the vſe of huſbandry or kepyng of beaſtes. If they be yong men or wemen, they be ſent to certein places, there to be inſtructed in their lāguage & Artes, as ſhal be moſt profitable for their aduauātage, and ſuch are called in their tōgue Sarai: and the firſt care of ẏ Turkes is this, to make them renye the Chriſtian religion, & to be circūciſed: and after that, they are ſet and appointed, euery one, as hee ſemeth moſt apte, either to the learnyng of their lawes, or els to learne ẏ feates of warre. Their firſt rudimente of warre, is to handle ẏ bowe, firſt beginnyng with a weake bow, and ſo as they grow in ſtrength, commyng to a ſtronger bowe, and if they myſſe the marke, they are ſharpely beaten: and their alowaunce is ij. d. or iij. d. a day til they come and take wages to ſerue in warre. Some are brought vp for the purpoſe to be placed in the number of the wicked Ianizarites, that is, the order of ẏ Turkes chāpions, whiche is ẏ moſt abhominable conditiō of all other. Of theſe Ianizarites, ſee before, pag. 879. And if any of the foreſaid yong men or children ſhall appeare to excel in any bewtie, hym they ſo cut, that no part of that whiche nature geueth to man, remaineth to be ſeene in all his bodye, wherby, while the freſhnes of age continueth, he is cōpelled to ſerue their abhominable abhomination: and when age cōmeth, then they ſerue in ſteade of Eunuches to wayte vpon matrones, or to kepe horſes and mules, or els to bee ſcullyans and drudges in theyr kytchyns.

O wickednes paſſyng all miſerye.

O miſery aboue all miſeries.

The ſeruitude of young wemen captiues.

Such as be yong maydens & bewtifull, are deputed for concubines. They which be of meane bewtie, ſerue for matrones to their drudgery worke in their houſes & chābers, or els are put to ſpynning and ſuch other labours, but ſo ẏ it is not lawfull for them either to profeſſe their Chriſtian Religiō, or euer to hope for any libertie. And thus much of them, whiche fall to the Turke by tithe.

The other which are bought & ſold amōgeſt priuate ſubiectes, firſt are allured with fayre wordes and promiſes to take circumciſion. Which if they will do, they are more fauorably entreated, but all hope is takē frō them of returning agayne into their countrey, whiche if they attempt, ẏ paine therof is burnyng. And if ſuch, commyng at length to libertie, wil mary, they may: but then their children remayne bonde to the Lord, for him to ſell at his pleaſure: and therfore ſuche as are wiſe amongeſt them wyll not marye. They whiche refuſe to be circumciſed, are miſerably handled: for example wherof, the author (whiche geueth teſtimonye hereof) doth inferre his owne experience.

Ex Bartholomeo Georgieniz Peregrino lib. de afflictionibus Chriſtianorum ſub Turca.

Such captiues as be expert in any manuall arte or occupation, can better ſhift for thēſelues: but cōtrariwiſe they which haue no handy craft to liue vpon, are in worſe caſe: And therfore ſuch as haue bene brought vp in learnyng, or be prieſtes or noble men, and ſuch other, whoſe tender educatiō can abyde no hardnes, are the leaſt reputed, and moſt of all other, neglected of hym that hath the ſale or keepyng of them, for that he ſeeth leſſe profite to ryſe of them, then of the other: and therefore no coſt of rayment is beſtowed vpō thē, but they are caryed about bare head, & bare foote, both ſommer and wynter, in froſt and ſnowe. And if any faynt, and be ſicke in the waye, there is no reſtyng for hym in any Inne, but firſt he is driuē forward with whippes, & if that will not ſerue, hee is ſet peraduenture, vppon ſome horſe: or if his weakenes be ſuch that he can not ſitte, then is he layd ouerthwart the horſe vpon his bely, lyke a calfe, and if he chaunce to dye, they take of his garment ſuch as he hath, and throw hym in a dytch.

In the way moreouer, beſide the common cheyne, whiche doth incloſe them all, the handes alſo of euery one are manicled, whiche is becauſe they ſhould not harme their leaders, for many tymes it happened that x. perſons had the leadyng of 50. captiues: and when night came, their feete alſo were fettered, ſo that they lodged in no houſe, but laye vpon the ground all nyght.

The miſerable calamitie of Chriſten wemen beyng in captiuitie vnder the Turkes.

The yong wemē had a litle more gentles ſhewed, beyng caried in panyars on ẏ day tyme. But whē night came, pitie it was to heare ẏ miſerable cryeng out of ſuch as were incloſed within, by reaſon of the filthy iniuries which they ſuffered by their cariers, in ſo much that the young tender age of vij. or viij. yeares, as well of the one ſexe as of the other, could not ſaue them from the moſt filthy villany of the beſtiall Turkes.

The maner of Chriſtian captiues, how they are brought to markettes and ſolde.

When the mornyng commeth, they are brought forth to the market, to ſale, where the byer, if he be diſpoſed, pluckyng of their garmentes, vieweth all the bones & ioyntes of their body: and if he lyke them, he geueth his price, and caryeth them awaye into miſerable ſeruitude, either to tillyng of their grounde, or to paſture their cattell, or ſome o-

ther

Chriſtians in their captiuitie, put to draw in the ploughe like horſes.

ther ſtraunge kynd of miſerie, incredible to ſpeake of: In ſomuch that the author reporteth, that he hath ſeene hym ſelfe, certaine of ſuch Chriſten captiues yoked together like horſe and oxen, and to drawe the ploughe. The mayde ſeruauntes likewiſe are kept in perpetuall toyle and worke in cloſe places, where neither they come in ſighte of any mā, neither be they permitted to haue any talke with their felow ſeruaūts. &c. Such as are cōmitted to kepe beaſtes, lye abroad both day and night in the wylde fieldes, without houſe and herbour, and ſo chaungyng their paſture, go from mountaine to mountayne: of whom alſo, beſide the office of kepyng the beaſts, other handie labour is exacted at ſpare howers, ſuch as pleaſeth theyr maſters to put vnto them.

The great daūgers of Chriſtē captiues which flye out of Turkye.

Out of this miſery there is no way for them to flye, eſpecially for them that are caried into Aſia beyond yͤ ſeas: Or if any do attempte ſo to do, he taketh his time chiefly about harueſt, when he may hyde him ſelfe all the day time in the corne, or in woodes, or mariſhes, and fynd foode: and in the nyght onely, he flyeth, and had rather bee deuoured of wolues and other wyld beaſtes, then to returne agayne to his maiſter. In their flyeng they vſe to take with them an hatchet and coardes, that when they come to the ſea ſyde, they may cut downe trees, and bynde together the endes of them, and ſo, where the ſea of Helleſpontus is narroweſt, about Seſtos and Abydos, they take the ſea, ſittyng vpon trees, where, if yͤ wynd & tyde do ſerue luckely, they may cut ouer in foure or v. houres: But yͤ moſt part, either periſh in the floudes, or are driuen backe agayn vpō the coaſtes of Aſia, or els bee deuoured of wild beaſtes in woodes, or periſhe with hunger and famine. If any eſcape ouer the ſeas alyue into Europe, by the way they enter into no towne, but wander vpon the mountaines, folowing onely the Northſtarre for their guide.

The maner and ſhift of our mē in getting ouer the ſea.

The manifolde daūgers by the way in flyeng.

The miſerie of Chriſtiā Cities and prouinces whiche lyue vnder the Turkes tribute

As touchyng ſuch townes and prouinces, whiche are wonne by the Turke, and wherein the Chriſtians are ſuffered to lyue vnder tribute: firſte, all the nobilitie there, they kyll and make awaye, the Churchemen and clergy hardly they ſpare. The Churches with the belles and all the furniture therof, either they caſt downe, or els they cōuert to the vſe of their owne blaſphemous Religion, leauyng to the Chriſtiās, certaine olde and blynd chappels, whiche when they decaye, it is permitted to our men to repayre them agayne, for a great ſomme of money geuen to the Turke: Neither be they permitted to vſe any opē preachyng or miniſtration, but onely in ſilence and by ſtealth, to frequent together. Neither is it lawfull for any Chriſtiā to beare office within the Citie or prouince, nor to beare weapon, nor to weare any garment lyke to the Turkes. And if any contumely or blaſphemie, be it neuer ſo great, be ſpoken agaynſt thee, or agaynſt Chriſte, yet muſt thou beare it, and holde thy peace. Or if thou ſpeake one word agaynſt their religion, thou ſhalt be cōpelled (whether yͧ wilt or no) to be circūciſed: And then if thou ſpeake one word againſt Mahumet, thy puniſhement is fire and burnyng. And if it chaunce a Chriſtian beyng on horſebacke, to meete or paſſe by a Muſulman, that is, a Turkiſhe prieſt, hee muſt light from hys horſe, and with a lowly looke, deuoutly reuerence & adore the Muſulman: Or if he do not, he is beaten downe from his horſe with clubbes and staues.

If Chriſtians may not goe lyke Turkes, why ſhould our Goſpellers goe lyke Papiſtes?

The Turkes haue their fyre and fagottes, as well as our Papiſtes.

The Chriſtians muſt lyght frō their horſe, meting a Turkiſh Prieſt, and adore hym.

Farthermore, for their tribute they paye the fourth part of their ſubſtaunce and gayne, to the Turke: beſide the ordinarie tribute of the Chriſtians, whiche is to pay for euery polle within his familie, a ducket vnto the Turke: whiche if the parentes can not do, they are compelled to ſell theyr children into boundage. Other beyng not able to pay, go cheyned in fetters from dore to dore beggyng, to make vp their payment, or els muſt they lye in perpetuall priſon.

An other miſerie moſt lamentable, in taking away Chriſten mens children from theyr parentes, to ſerue the Turke.

And yet notwithſtandyng, when the Chriſtians haue diſcharged all dueties: it remayneth free for the Turkes, to take vp among the Chriſtians children, whom they beſt lyke, and them to circumciſe and to take them away being young, from the ſight of their parentes, to farre places, to be brought vp for yͤ Turkes warres, ſo that they may not returne to them agayne: but firſte are taught to forget Chriſte, and then their parentes: ſo that if they come agayne amongeſt thē, yet are they not able to knowe theyr kyndſfolkes and parentes.

O miſerie.

This miſerie paſſyng all other miſeries, no man is able with tōgue to vtter, or with wordes to expreſſe. what wepyng and teares, what ſorowe and lamētation, what gronyng, ſighes, and depe dolour doth teare and rent a ſōder the woful hartes of the ſely parentes, at the pluckyng away of their babes and childre: to ſee their ſonnes and their owne children, whom they haue born and bredde vp to the ſeruice of Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God, now to be drawē away violently from them, to the warfare of Satan, and to fight agaynſt Chriſt: to ſee their babes, borne of Chriſtiā bloud, of Chriſtiās to be made Turkes, and ſo to be pluckt out of their armes and out of their ſight, without hope euer to returne to them agayne: to lyue perpetually with alians, barbarous and blaſphemous Turkes, and ſo to become of the number of them, whiche are called fatherles and motherles.

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And albeit the ſame childrē afterward do greatly degenerate frō the faith of Chriſt, yet very many of thē haue priuely about thē yͤ Goſpell writte of S. John, In principio erat verbum. &c. whiche for a token or remēbraūce of their Chriſtiā fayth, they cary vnder their armehole, writen in Greke & Arabic: who greatly deſyre and long looke for the reuēgyng ſworde of the Chriſtians to come & deliuer them out of their dolorous thraldome & captiuitie, accordyng as the Turkes them ſelues haue a Prophecie, and greatly ſtand in feare of the ſame. wherof more ſhal be ſayd (Chriſt willyng) in the Chapter folowyng.

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of the
Chriſtia

And thus haue ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Chriſtian brethren vnder the cruell tyranny and captiuitie of the Turkes, paſſing all other captiuities that euer haue bene to Gods people, either vnder Pharao in Ægypte, or vnder Nabuchodonoſor in Babylon, or vnder Antiochus in the tyme of yͤ Mechabees. Under the which captiuitie, if it ſo pleaſe the Lord to haue his ſpouſe the church to be nurtured, his good wil be done & obeyed. But if this miſerie come through the negligence and diſcorde of our Chriſtian guides and leaders, then haue we to pray and crye to our Lord our God, either to geue better hartes to our guides and rulers, or els better guydes and rulers vnto his flocke.

And theſe troubles and afflictions of our Chriſten brethren ſuffered by the Turkes, I thoughte good and profitable for our countrey people here of Englande to knowe, for ſomuche as by the ignoraunce of theſe and ſuche lyke hiſtoryes worthy of conſideration, I ſee much inconuenience doth folow. Whereby it commeth to paſſe, that becauſe wee Engliſhe men beyng farre of from theſe countreys, and litle knowyng what miſerye is abroad, are the leſſe moued with zeale & compaſſiō, to tender their greuaūces, and to pray for them, whoſe troubles we know not. Wherupon alſo foloweth, that we not conſideryng the miſerable ſtate of other, are the leſſe gratefull to God, when any tranquillitie by hym to vs is graunted. And if any litle cloude of perturbation ariſe vpon vs, be it neuer ſo litle, as pouertie, loſſe of liuyng, or a litle baniſhement out of our countrey for the Lordes cauſe, we make a great matter thereat: and all becauſe wee goyng no further then our owne countrey, & onely feelyng our owne croſſe, do not compare that which we feele, with the great croſſes, whereunto the Churches of Chriſt commonly in other places abroad, are ſubiecte. Which if we did rightly vnderſtād and earneſtly cōſider & ponder in our myndes, neyther woulde wee ſo exceſſiuelye forgette our ſelues in tyme of our proſperitie geuen vs of God: nor yet ſo impatiētly be troubled, as we are, in time of our aduerſitie: and all becauſe either we heare not, or els we ponder not the terrible croſſes whiche the Lord layeth vpon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this preſent ſtory here prefixed may appeare.

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NOwe conſequently remayneth, as I haue ſhewed hetherto what tyrāny hath ben vſed of yͤ Turkes againſt Chriſtes people, ſo to declare lykewiſe, how farre this tyranny of the Turkes hath extended and ſpread it ſelfe, deſcribing as in a table, to the Chriſten reader what landes, countreys, and kyngdomes the Turkes haue wonne and got from Chriſtendome: to the entēt that when Chriſten princes ſhall behold the greatnes of yͤ Turkes dominiōs ſpread almoſt through all the worlde, & how litle a part of Chriſtianitie remaineth behynd, they may thereby vnderſtand the better, how it is tyme now for them to beſtyrre them, if euer they thinke to doe any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a compendious draught as in a briefe table, of ſuch countreys, kyngdomes, and dominions gotte from vs by the Turkes, we will firſt begyn with Aſia, deſcribing what tractes, countreyes, cities and Churches the Turke hath ſurpriſed & violently plucked away from the ſocietie of Chriſtian dominiõs, takyng onely ſuch as bée moſt principall, and chiefly them that be in Scripture conteyned, for that it were to long to diſcourſe all and ſingular ſuch places by name, as the Turke hath vnder his ſubiection.

The world beyng diuided commonly into thrée partes, Aſia, Africa, and Europa, Aſia is counted to be the greateſt in compaſſe, conteynyng as much as both the other, and is diuided into ij. portions, the one called Aſia Maior: The other called Aſia Minor. And although the Imperie of the Turke extendeth vnto them both: yet eſpecially his dominion ſtandeth in the other Aſia, whiche is called Aſia Minor, whiche reacheth from the coaſtes of Europe, vnto Armenia Maior, beyonde the ryuer Euphrates, and comprehendeth theſe regions and Cities vnder written.

The diuiſion of *Aſia Minor*, called *Cheroneſus* with the particular countreys and cities belongyng to the ſame.

Countreys.	Cities.
	Nicea.
	Chalcedon.
Pontus. Act. 2.	*Heraclea.*
	Prurſa, or *Burſa.*
Bithynia. Act 16.	*Nicomedia.*
	Apamea.

Apamea is a Citie in Bithynia: alſo an other in Meſopotamia: Apamea Cybotus alſo a Citie in great Phrygia, and an other alſo in Parthia.

Natolia, or Anatolia, conteyneth diuers countreys, with theyr Cities, as foloweth.

Countreys.	Cities.
	Cyzicus.
Myſia Minor.	*Parium.*
(Act. 16.	*Lampſacus.*
	Dardanum.
Phrygia Minor.	*Callipolis.*
(Act. 2.	*Abydus.*
	Alexandria, or
Troas. Act. 20.	*Troas.* Act. 16.
	Ilium.
Myſia Maior.	*Aſſus.* Act. 20.
(Act. 16.	*Scepſis.*
	Adramitiũ. Act.17.
Phrygia Maior.	*Hierapolis.* Col. 4.
(Act. 2.	*Pitane.*
	Apollonia.
	Myrina.
Lydia. Eſay. 66.	*Phocæa.*
	Smyrna. Apocal 2.
	Erythræ.
Æolis.	*Laodicia.* Apocal. 3.
	Carura.
	Thatyra. Apocal 2.
Ionia.	*Philadelphia.* Apo. 3
	Pergamus. Apocal. 2
	Cuma.
Caria. 1.Mach.15.	*Epheſus.* Apocal. 2.
	Sardis. Apocal. 3
	Halicarnaſſus.
Doris.	(Mach.15.
	Miletus. Act 20.

Phrygia Minor in Ptolomie is called Troas.

At Carura, a certayne baude with a companye of harlots, being there lodged, ſodenlye happened an earthquake in the Citie, wherin the ſayd baude with all hys ſtrompets were ſwallowed vp. Pius.2. papa. lib. De Deſcriptione. cap.61.

Thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Natolia.

Countreys.	Cities.
	Coloſſæ. Col 1.
	Patara. Act.21.
	Pinara.
Lycia. Act. 27.	*Xanthus.*
	Andriaca.
	Myra. Act.27
	Ancyra.
Galatia, vel Gallogrecia.	*Gordium.*
	Tharma.
(Act. 16.	*Peſſenus.*
	Amiſus.
Paphlagonia.	*Sinope.*
	Corambis.
	Perga. Act. 13.
Pamphilia.	*Attalia.* Act. 14.
(Act. 2.	*Aſpendus.*
	Phaſelis. Mach. 15.

Countreys.	Cities.
Piſidia. Act.	
	Trapezus.
	Temiſcyra.
	Comana Pontica.
Cappadocia.	*Amaſia vel Eupatoria.*
	Maza, vel Cæſarea
	Naziantium.
	Here Gregorius Nazianzenus was byſhop.
	Comana, Cappadociæ.
Armenia Minor.	*Melitena.*
	Nicopolis.
	Leandis.
	Claudiopolis.
	Iuliopolis.
	Tharſus. Act. 22.
	**Coricus.*
Cilicia:	*Solimuntis, vel Traianopolis.*
	Iſſus, vel Iaiaſſa.
	Auguſta. Act.27.
	Iconium. Act. 14.
Licaonia.	*Lyſtra.* Act 16.
	Derbe. Act. 14
	Antiochia Piſidiæ. (Act 11.

Here Baſilius Magnus was Byſhop.

The countrey where Sainct Paule was borne.

** An other Coricus is alſo in the Ile of Creta.*

Syria, comprehendeth in it diuers particular prouinces, with their cities as foloweth.

Countreys.	Cities.
	Ieroſolyma. Act.1.
Syria. Act. 15.	*Cæſarea Stratonis.* Act 8.
	Bethleem. Math 2.
	Emaus. Marc 1.
	Iericho. Math.20
Paleſtina Iudæa.	*Ioppe, or Iapheth.* Ioſ.15. Act 9.
	Tyberias. Ioh. 6.
	Accaron. Ioſua.13
	Azotus. Act.8.
Chanaan.	*Aſcalon.* Iudith 2
	Gaza. Act. 8.
	Berſabee. Ioſua.15.
	Antipatris. Act.23.
	Aſſaron. Act.9.
Samaria. Act.	*Bethania.* Marc 11.
	Lydda. Act. 9.
	Nazareth. Math 2.
Galilæa. Math.2.	*Caparnaũ.* Math 4.
	Cana. Ioan 2.
	Tyrus. Luc.6
	Sidõ, vel Sichẽ. Luc.6
Phœnicea. Act. 11.	*Ptolomais.* Act.21.
	Cæſarea Philippi. (Math.16.

Berſabee is a Citie in Iurye: alſo an other in Idumæa.

Countreys.	Cities.
Damaſcene.	
Cœleſyria.	Damaſcus. Gal. 1. Philadelphia. Apoc. 1. Buthis, vel Pella.
Caſsiotis,	*Antiochia, apud Orontem, vel Theopolis. (Act. 11.
Comagena.	Samoſata. Antiochia, ſub Tauro. Alexandria, apud Iſſū. *Nicopolis.
Seleucis.	Gephyra. Gindarus. *Seleucia. Act. 13. Imma.
Laodicene.	*Laodicea. Coloſſ. 2. Paradiſus. Iabruda.
Apamene.	Nazãma. Apamia.
Idumea. Marc. 3.	Beſamma, vel Berſabee. Eleuſa. (Gen. 21. Maſſa.

¶ Thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Syria.

Arabia. Gal. 1. 4.	Petrea, or Nabatea. Fœlix. Panchaia. Sabaea. Deſerta.
Meſopotamia. (Pſal. 59.	Carra, or Charan, where Abraham dwelte. (Act. 7. Seleucia. Edeſſa. which is nowe called Orpha, & in the ſtorie of Tobias, called Rages.
Babilonia. Dan. 3. In the coũtrey of Babilonia, is alſo a certaine regiõ appointed for Philoſophers and Aſtronomers, called	Bible. Babylon, vel Baldach. (Act. 7. Orchoe, vel Urchoa, vel Hur chaldeorum, where Abraham was borne. Gen. 11. 15.
Chaldæa. Iere. 50.	
Sarmatia.	Patarus. Azara. Geruſa S. Georgius. Sinda.
Cholchis.	Dioſcuria, vel Sebaſtia, which is now called Suias. Phaſis.
Iberia.	Lubium. Artaniſſa. Armachica.
Albania.	Getara, vel Gangara. Chabala.
Armenia. Gen. 8.	Armenia Maior, is diuided from Armenia Minor, by the ryuer Euphrates. This Armenia Maior and Minor, this day bee both vnder the Turkes.

¶ And thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Aſia Minor, with the countreys and prouinces to the ſame perteinyng, which being once brought to ẏ fayth of Chriſt, are now, in a maner, all ſubdued to the Turkes.

** Antiochia, apud Orontem, chiefe Citie in Syria, where the Diſciples of Chriſt were fyrſt named Chriſtians. Act. 11.*

** Nicopolis is a citie alſo in Macedonia mentioned in the epiſtle of S. Paule to Titus, cap. 3.*

** Seleucia is a Citie in Syria: Alſo an other in Pamphilia: an other in Cilicia piſidiæ: an other in Cœleſyria, & in Meſopotamia an other.*

** In this Laodicæa was the councell kept, which is called Concilium Laodicenſe.*
There is an other Laodicæa in Lydiæ neere to Coloſſæ, in Aſia minor. Coloſ. 5.
Laodicæa alſo is the chiefe Citie in Phrygia pacatiana, nere to Galatia. Act. 18. 1. Tim. 6.

In Edeſſa reigned kyng *Abgarus*, mencioned *Euſeb. Lib. 1. cap. 15.* to whom Chriſt wrote, promiſing to ſend vnto hym after hys death.

Babilon in Chaldea, where Nabuchodonozor reigned, and was after deſtroyed and tranſlated by Seleucus Nicanor: an other is in Ægypt, called Alcayrus.

¶ The Ilandes belongyng to the regions of Aſia Minor aforeſayd, gotten by the Turkes.

Thinias.		to Bythinia.
Tenedos.		to Troas.
Chios.	Act. 20.	to Lydia.
Pathmos.	Apoc. 1	
Poſsidium.		to Æolis.
Samos.	Act. 20.	to Ionia.
Trogylium.	Act. 20.	
Cnidus.	Act. 27	to Doris.
Coos, Coum.	Act. 21.	to Doris.
Carpathus.		to Doris.
Rhodus.	Act. 21.	to Lycia.
Cyprus.	Act. 11.	

Leſbos, with the Citie *Mitylene*. Act. 20.

Ilandes belonging to *Aſia minor.*

Thys *Cyprus* K. Richard the firſt did once ſubdue, fyghtyng agaynſt the Saracens.

¶ Æneas Syluius, otherwiſe Pope Pius. 2 in deſcribyng of Aſia Minor. cap. 74. reciteth a certeine facte of a worthy virgine: who, at what tyme the Turkes were beſiegyng a certain towne in Lesbos, & had caſt down a great part of the walles, ſo that all the towneſmen had geuen ouer, putting on a mans harnes, ſtepped forth into the breache, where not onely ſhe kept the Turkes from entryng in, but alſo ſlue of them a great ſorte. The Citizens ſeyng the rare courage and good ſucceſſe of the mayden, toke to them agayne their hartes & harnes, and ſo luſtely layd about them, that an incredible number of the Turkes were ſlaine. The reſt beyng repulſed from the lande, reculed into their ſhyppes: who beyng then purſued by a nauie of Caliſa, were worthely diſcomfited lykewiſe vpon the ſea. And thus was the Ile of Lesbos at that tyme, by a poore virgine, that is, by the ſtrong hand of the Lorde workyng in a weake creature, preſerued from the Turkes. Ex Æne. Siluio. Et Seb. Munſt. Lib. 5.

Ex Æne. Syluio lib. De orbis Deſcriptione. cap. 74.

A memorable facte of a virgine in defence of her countrey.

¶ Beſide theſe regions and countreys of Aſia Minor aboue deſcribed, Sebaſt. Munſterus in the 5. booke of his Coſmographie declareth moreouer, that the Turkes and Sultanes haue vnder their ſubiection, both Arabia, Perſia, and alſo India exterior, wherin is Calecute. The which Perſia although it be vnder ẏ Sophi, whiche is an enemy to ẏ Turke, yet it is to be thought that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkiſhe and Mahometiſh Religion. This Perſia and India were once ſeaſoned with Chriſtes Goſpell, as may appeare by the primitiue Churche, pag. 135. And thus haue you the partes of Aſia deſcribed, whiche in tymes paſt beyng almoſt all Chriſtened, doe now ſerue vnder the Turke.

Ex Sebaſt. Munſt. Coſmogr. Lib. 5. in præfat.

Vid. ſupra, pag. 135. 136.

After the deſcription of Aſia, let vs next conſider the partes and countreys of Aphrike: Where although the greateſt part either conſiſteth in deſertes deſolate, or is poſſeſſed with Preſter Iohn, whiche profeſſeth Chriſt and his Goſpell: yet the Turke hath there alſo no litle portion vnder his dominion, as

Countreys.	Cities.
Ægyptus. Math. 2.	Alexandria. Memphis. Arſinoe.
Regnũ Tuñece.	
Africa Minor.	Charlago. Aphrodiſium. Hippon. Here S. Auguſtine was Biſhop.
Cyrene. Act. 2.	
Mauritania.	

¶ A

A deſcription of countreys and cities in Europa, which were befoꝛe chꝛiſtened, and now are ſubdued and ſubiect to the Turke.

Europa.

Countreys.	*Cities.*
Thracia. Samothracia. (Act 16.	*Conſtantinopolis,* oꝛ *Bizantium.* *Pera.* *Adrianopolis.* *Traianopolis.* *Caliopis.* *Seſtus.* *Apollonia.*
Græcia. Act.20. Macedonia. Rom.15.	*Theſſalonica.* Act.17. *Philippi.* Act. 16. *Demetrias.* *Neapolis.* Act 16. *Amphipolis.* Act.17. *Apollonia mygdoniæ.* *Berrhæa.* Act,17. (Act.17.
Theſſalia.	
Epirus. Chaonia. Theſprotia. Amphilochia. Ambrachia.	*Ambracia.* *Actium.* *Torona.* *Azelia.* *Acarnanon.* *Argos.* *Aſtacus.* *Omphalium.*
Achaia. Rom.15.	*Athenæ.* Act.17.
Attica.	*Megaris.*
Bœotia.	*Thebæ.*
Phocis.	*Delphos.*
Ætholia.	*Egris.* *Chalidon.* *Locris.* *Naupactus.*
Peloponeſus. Corinthia. Argia. Laconia. Meſſenia. Elis. Sicyona. Arcadia.	*Corinthus.* Act.18. *Meſena.* *Tegea.* *Argos.* *Lacedemon,* oꝛ *Sparta.* *Epidaurus.* (2. Mach 5 *Helice.* *Lerna.* *Leuctrum.* *Methone.* *Mycenæ.* *Megalipolis.* *Nemea.* *Nauplea.* *Olympia.* *Sicyon.* Mach 15. *Ægira.*

Argos is a Citie in *Amphilochia*, and an other alſo in *Peloponeſus*.

Of Corinthus Strabo writeth that more thē a thouſande virgins, there in the temple of Venus, vſed yearely to be ſet out to be made cōmon: and therfore not without cauſe S. Paule wryteth: *Eratis Scortatores, Idololatræ. &c.* 1. Cor.6.

Ilandes boꝛderyng about Grecia, wonne lykewiſe by the Turke, from the Chꝛiſtians.

The Ilandes about *Grecia.*

Vid. ſupra. pag. 881.

Countreys.	*Cities.*
Euboea, oꝛ Nigropontus.	*Chalcis.* *Cariſtus.* *Cerinthus.* *Gereſtus.*
Creta. Act. 17.	*Pulchri portus.* Act.27. *Laſæa.* Act.27 *Phœnice.* Act.27.
Salmone, Act.27.	
Clauda. Act.27.	

In *Creta* Saint Paule ordained *Titus* to be byſhop and ouerſeer.

Countreys.	*Cities.*
Cyclades, Inſulæ 53.	*Salamis.* *Delus.* 1. Mach.15.
Cephalenia.	
Zacynthus, oꝛ Zanthus.	*Vide ſupra, pag.* 191.
Lemnos.	
Ithaca.	
Samos. Act. 20.	
Corcyra.	*Vide ſupra, pag.* 191.
Corcica.	

Corcica, is an Ilande beyond Italie, which the Turkes nauie, ioyning with the French, dyd ouercome an. 1553.

After the Turke had ſubdued Thracia and Græcia, pꝛocedyng further into Europe, he inuaded other regions and cities, whiche alſo he added to his dition, as

Countreys.	*Cities.*
Myſia Superior.	*Rhatiaria.* *Neſſus.* *Vlpianum.* *Scupi.* *Sigindunum,* oꝛ *Siget.*
Myſia Inferior.	*Triballorum Oeſcus.* *Tiriſta.* *Axium,* oꝛ *Chilia.*
Dalmatia. 2.Tim.4.	*Labacus, Metropolis.*
Carinthia. Coruatia. Croatia. Iſtria.	*Epidaurus,* oꝛ *Raguſium.* *Milea, or Meleda.* *Senia,* oꝛ *Segna.* *Enona,* oꝛ *Hona.* *Iadra,* oꝛ *Zara.* *Sebenica.* *Stridon,* where Saint Hierome was borne.
Boſna.	*Quinqueeccleſiæ.* *Iaitza, Metropolis.*
Bulgaria.	Bulgaria was wōne of Baiazetes the Turke frō the crown of Hūgary, through the vnproſperous warre of Sigiſmundus, at the fielde of Nicopolis. an. 1395. This Sigiſmund, was ẏ burner of Iohn Hus, and the perſecutour of his doctrine.
Walachia.	*Tergouiſtus,* oꝛ *Teruis.* *Huniad:* where *Iohannes Huniades* was boꝛne.
Tranſyluania, oꝛ Septem caſtra.	*Hermenſtat.* *Croneſtat.* *Saltzburg.* *Alba Iulia,* oꝛ *Weiſſenburg.* *Gyula.*
Seruia.	*Samandria.* *Columbetz.*
Raſcia.	*Walpo. Vid. ſup. pag.* 893. *Nouigradum.* *Varna.*
Moldauia.	

The region of *Myſia* is diuided into two partes: wherof the one is *Aſia*, and is diuided into *Myſia maior*, and *Myſia minor*. The other is *Europa*, and is diuided into *Myſia*, or *Mœſia ſuperior*, & *Myſia inferior*.

Epidaurus is a Citie in *Illyria*, and alſo an other in *Peloponeſus*.

These regions were in the former tyme called by the name of *Illyria*, or *Illyricum*. And afterward by reaſō of certaine *Scythiās* cōmyng thether, they were alſo called *Sclauonia*.

Stephanus, king of *Boſna*, & afterward of *Raſcia* and *Myſia*, was by ſubtill trayne allured to come and ſpeake with *Mahumete* the *Turke*: who being come, was takē & his ſkinne flayne of.

All this tracte of *Bulgaria, Walachia, Tranſyluania, Seruia, Raſcia, & Moldauia*, was wont to bee called *Dacia*, but afterward was ſeuered into diuers landes and dominions.

Of Iohannes Huniades, read before pag. 877. 853.

At *Columbetz Sigiſmūde* loſt the fielde fighting agaynſt the Turkes. Vide ſupra, pag 852.

In *Varna*, a citie in *Raſcia*, *Ladiſlaus* kyng of *Hungary*, foughte with the *Turke*, and was ouercome, an. 1444. *Vide ſupra, pag.* 878.

Vngaria.
- Buda, or Oſen.
- Albaregalis.
- Belgradum, or Taurinum.
- Strigonium.
- Varadinum.
- Neapolis.
  - Maior.
  - Minor.
- Peſtum.

Auſtria.

¶ As I was writyng hereof, a certain ſoūd of lamentable newes was brought vnto vs, how the Turke, whom we had hoped before to haue bene repulſed by the Emperour Maximilian out of Chriſtendome, hath nowe of late this preſent yere. 1566. got the towne of Gyula about Trāſyluania, after they had ſuſteyned xvi. of his moſt forceable aſſaultes, deſtroyng in the ſame moſt cruelly, many thouſandes of our Chriſten brethren, men, wemē, and children: but becauſe we haue no full certeintie, we will referre the ſtory therof, to further information.

¶ The Propheſies of the holy Scriptures conſidered, touchyng the commyng vp, and finall ruine and deſtruction of this wicked kyngdome of the Turkes, with the Reuelations and forſhewynges alſo of other authors concernyng the ſame.

Prophecies conſidered for the beginning and falling of the Turkes kingdome.

For ſomuch as you haue hetherto ſufficiētly heard, to what quantitie and largenes the dominion of the Turkes hath increaſed, and do vnderſtand what cruell tyrannye theſe wretched miſcreantes haue and do dayly practiſe moſt heynouſly, where ſoeuer they come, agaynſt the ſeruauntes and profeſſours of Chriſt: it ſhall not be vnprofitable, but rather neceſſarie, and to our great comfort, to conſider and examine in ẏ Scriptures, with what Propheſies the holy ſpirite of the Lord hath premoniſhed and forwarned vs before, of theſe heauy perſecutions to come vpon his people by this horrible Antichriſt. For as the gouernement and conſtitution of times and ſtates of monarchies and policies, fall not to vs by blynd chaunce, but be adminiſtred and alotted vnto vs from aboue: ſo it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a great alteratiō, and mutation of kyngdomes, ſuch a terrible and generall perſecution of Gods people, almoſt throughe all Chriſtendome, and ſuch a terrour of the whole earth, as is nowe moued ⁊ gendred by theſe Turkes, cōmeth without the knowledge, ſufferaunce, and determination of the Lord before, for ſuch endes and purpoſes, as his diuine wiſedome doth beſt know. For the better euidence and teſtimonie wherof, he hath left in his Scriptures ſufficiēt inſtruction, and declaration, wherby we may playnly ſee to our great comfort, how theſe greuous afflictions ⁊ troubles of the Church, though they be ſharpe and heauy vnto vs, yet they come not by chaunce, or by mans workyng onely, but euen as the Lord hym ſelfe hath appointed it, and doth permit the ſame.

Two thynges to be conſidered in the time and order of the olde Teſtament. The Scriptures: and the people.

And firſt to begyn with the tyme of the old Teſtamēt, let vs ſeriouſly aduiſe and ponder, not onely the Scriptures and Propheſies therin conteined, but alſo let vs cōſider the whole ſtate, order and regiment of that people: the Church I meane, of the Iſraelites. For although the Scriptures ⁊ Prophetes of ẏ old Teſtament, were properly ſent to that people, and haue their relation properly to thyngs done or that ſhould be done, in that common wealth, of whiche Prophetes, Iohn Baptiſte was ẏ laſt, and made an end, as our Sauiour hym ſelfe witneſſeth, ſaying: The law ⁊ Prophetes be vnto the tyme of Iohn ⁊c: Yet notwithſtandyng the ſayde people of that olde Teſtament, beareth a lyuely image and reſemblance, of the vniuerſall Church, which ſhould folow, planted by ẏ ſonne of God through ẏ whole earth: So that as ẏ Prophetes of God, ſpeakyng to thē frō the mouth ⁊ worde of God, propheſied what ſhould come to paſſe in that people: ſo likewiſe ẏ whole courſe ⁊ hiſtorie of thoſe Iſraelites, exemplifieth and beareth a propheticall image to vs, declaryng what is to be looked for in the vniuerſall Churche of God diſperſed through the world, planted in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne, accordyng as Phil. Melancthon grauely gatheryng vpon the ſame, teſtifieth in diuers places, in his commentarie vpon the Prophet Daniell.

In Dan. Prophet. Phil. Melancthon.

Gen. 4.

As firſt the hiſtorie of godly Abel ſlayne by wicked Cayn, what doth it importe, or Propheſie, but the condition of the people and ſeruauntes of God, whiche cōmonly go to wracke in this world, and are oppreſſed by the cōtrary part, which belongeth not to God.

The Saracens come of Iſmaell.

Reſemblance betwene the xii. ſonnes of Iſmaell: and the xii. Ottoman Turkes.

The lyke may be ſayd alſo of Iſaac, and Iſmael: of Iacob and Eſau. Of whom, thoſe ij. whiche were the children of promiſe, ⁊ belonged to the election of God, were perſecuted in this world, of the other, whiche were reiected. Where moreouer is to be noted concernyng Iſmael, that of hys ſtocke after the fleſhe, came the Saracens: whoſe ſecte the Turkes do now profeſſe and mainteine. And as Iſmael had but xij. ſonnes: ſo it were to be wiſhed of God, that this Solyman whiche is the twelfe of the Turkiſhe generation, may be the laſt. But of this, better occaſion ſhall folow (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

4. Reg. 17

The olde church of the Iſraelites beare a repreſentation or Image of the publike church of Chriſt Ieſus.

Furthermore, of the xij. tribes of Iſraell, the ſacrate hiſtory ſo reporteth, ẏ after they had a long ſeaſon continued together, by ẏ ſpace of. 8. or. 9. C. yeares, at lēgth, for their idolatrie, ⁊ tranſgreſſion of their forefathers, x. tribes of them were cut of, ⁊ diſperſed among ẏ Gentiles, 130. yeares before the captiuitie of Babylon: ſo that but ij. tribes onely remained free, and they alſo at laſt, after a 130. yeres, were captiued vnder the Babylonians, for a certeine tyme. No otherwiſe hath it happened with the Churche of Chriſt almoſt in the vniuerſall worlde. Of which Church, the greateſt part both in Aſia, in Africa, ⁊ almoſt in Europe (where the holy Apoſtles ſo laboured ⁊ trauayled) we ſee now to be diſparcled among the Turkes, and their candleſtickes remoued (the Lord of his great grace, reduce them agayne, Amen:) So that of xij. partes of Chriſtendome, whiche was once planted in Chriſt, ſkarſe ij. partes remaine cleare, and they howe long they ſhal ſo continue, the Lord knoweth: And albeit through the mercy of the Lord, they eſcape the daunger of the Turkes, yet haue they bene ſo beaten with the Pope, that they had bene better, almoſt, to haue ben in the Turkes handes.

1. Cor. 10.

Agayne, after the ſayd Iſraelites returned, beyng reſtored of Cyrus, let vs conſider well their ſtory, the continuance of tyme, the maner of their regimentes, ⁊ what afflictions they ſuſteined in the time of ẏ Machabees: and we ſhall ſee a lyuely repreſentation of theſe our dayes expreſſed in that Propheticall people, accordyng as ſ. Paul writyng of them, ſheweth how all thynges happened to them in figures: that is, the actions and doynges of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater matters, what ſhall happen in theſe latter times of ẏ whole church vniuerſally in Chriſt collected.

The church of the Iewes, a figure of Chriſtes Church.

So the tranſmigration and delyuerance agayne of thoſe ij. tribes, declareth to vs the affliction of Chriſtes churche for ſinne: and yet that God will not vtterly reiect his people, for his ſonnes ſake, as by manifold examples of the Churche hetherto may well appeare.

Ex Phil. Melant. in Danielē cap. 9.

Agayne, ẏ continuance of the law firſt geuē by Moſes, vnto ẏ deſtructiō of the ſaid people by Titus, amounteth to. 1564. yeares: So we counting ẏ age of the new Teſtament, ⁊ reckening frō the day of our redemption vnto thys preſent, be come now to the yeare. 1534. lacking but onely 33. yeares of the full number.

The tymes and yeares of the olde church, cōpared with the newe.

Likewiſe in countyng the yeares from theyr deliuerance out of captiuitie, to the ende of their diſſolution, we fynde. 564. yeares, duryng whiche yeares, as the Churche of the Iewes was not gouerned vnder the authoritie of kynges, but the heygh prieſtes toke all the power and authoritie to them ſelues: ſo we Chriſtians

The rule & dominion of the high prieſtes in the Iewes common welth, and of our prelates, compared.

for the ſpace eſpecially of theſe later. 5 6 4. yeares, what haue we ſene and felt, but onely the Juriſdiction and domination of the Pope and his heygh Prieſtes, playeng yͤ Rex in all countreys, and rulyng the whole: wherby, by the count of theſe yeares, it is to be thought the day of yͤ Lordes commyng not to be farre of.

Antiochus beareth a figure of Antichriſt.

Furthermore in thoſe later yeares of yͤ Jewes kyngdome, what troubles and afflictions that people ſuſteyned iij. hūdreth yeares together, but chiefly the laſt. 166. yeares before the commyng of Chriſt, by Antiochus and his felowes, the hiſtory of the Machabées cā reporte. Wherin we haue alſo notoriouſly to vnderſtand the miſerable vexations and perſecutions of Chriſtiā churches in theſe latter endes of the world by Antichriſt: For by Antiochus, Antichriſt (no doubt) is figured & repreſented. This Antiochus ſurnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes his ſonne, came of the ſtocke of Seleucus Nicanor, much like as the Mahumetes the Turke, and Solymannus, came of the ſtocke of Ottomannus. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that lyke as of the ſayd Seleucus iſſued xij. Syrian kynges one after an other of that generation whiche reigned ouer the Iſraelites with much ſeueritie and tyrāny: ſo of this deueliſh generatiō of Ottomanus, haue come xij. Turkiſhe tyrānes, whereof this Solyman is now the twelfe: God graunt hee may be the laſt, and as the ij. laſte Antiochi, beyng ſonnes of ij. brethrē, did fight together for the kyngdome, and in fightyng were both ſlayne, and ſhortly after the kyngdome fell to the Romaines: ſo the Lord graunt for Chriſtes ſake, that the bloudy broude of this old Solymā, (whiche hath reigned now 46. yeares) may ſo fight together, and periſhe in their owne bloud, that the bloudy tyrāny of theirs may come to a finall end for euer. Amen.

The familie of Antiochus.

The familie of the Turkes.

And that the truth hereof may the better appeare to ſuch as be diſpoſed to meditate more vpon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to ſet before hys eyes, in tablewiſe, the catologue of both theſe Antichriſtian families, with the names and ſucceſſion of the perſons, firſt of the xij. Syrian kynges, then of the xij. Ottomans, in lyke number and order.

¶ *A compariſon betwene the* Syrians, *and the* Turkes.

Reſemblance betwene the Syrian kinges, and the Turkes.

¶ *The Syrians.*		
1	Seleucus.	32.
2	Antiochus Soter.	19.
3	Antiochus Theos, *who killed Berenice hys mother in lawe, and hys younge brother.*	15.
4	Seleucus Callinicus, *with* Antiochus Hierax *hys brother, which two brethren warred one agaynſt the other.*	20.
5	Antiochus Magnus.	36.
6	Seleuchus Philopator.	12.
7	Antiochus Epiphanes, *or rather* Epimanes.	
8	Antiochus Eupator.	2.
9	Demetrius, *brother of* Epiphanes, *who killed* Eupator *hys coſin.*	
10	Demetrius Nicanor, *whom* Antiochus Sedetes *hys brother, repulſed from his kingdome.*	
11	Antiochus Sedetes. *Theſe two laſt being brethren, had two ſonnes,*	
12	Antiochus Grypus, *and* Antiochus Cyricenus. *Theſe two ſtriuyng together for the kingdome, were both ſlayne: and ſo not long after the kingdome of* Syria, *came to the handes of* Tigranes *king of* Armenia, *and ſo being taken from hym, came to the Romanes in the tyme of* Pompeius.	

¶ *The Turkes.*		
1	Ottomannus.	28
2	Orchanes. *He ſlue hys two brethren.*	22.
3	Amurathes. *He put out the eyes of Sauces hys owne ſonne.*	23.
4	Baiazetes. *He ſlue* Solymannus *hys brother.*	
5	Calepinus. *The Greeke ſtories make no mention of thys* Calepinus: *the Latine ſtoryes ſay that* Calepinus *and* Orchanes *were both one, & that he was ſlaine by* Mahumetes *his brother.*	6.
6	Orchanes. *Whom* Moſes *hys vncle did ſlay.*	
7	Mahumetes. 1. *He ſlue* Muſtaphas *his brother.*	14.
8	Amurathes. 2. *He ſlue* Muſtaphas *his brother.*	34.
9	Mahumetes. 2. *He ſlue hys two brethren* Turcinus *an infant, and* Calepinus.	73.
10	Baiazetes. 2. *He warred agaynſt hys brother* Demes, *which* Demes *was afterward poyſoned by Pope* Alexander. 6.	33.
11	Zelimus. *He poyſoned* Baiazetes *his father, and hys two brethren,* Acomates *and* Corcutus, *with all theyr children hys owne coſines.*	7.
12	Solymannus. *He ſlue* Muſtaphas *hys owne ſonne, and was the death of* Gianger *his ſecond ſonne.*	46.

The tyme of Antichriſt examined by prophesies.

These ij. peſtilent families and generatiōs, ryſing out (doubtles) from the bottomles pitte, to plage yͤ people of God, as in number of ſucceſſiō they do not much differ: ſo in maner of their doinges and wicked abhominatiōs, they be as nere agreyng, beyng both enemyes a lyke to the people and churche of Chriſt, both murderers and paricides of their own brethren and kyndred, both blaſphemers of God, and troublers of the whole worlde. Wherin we haue all to learne and note by the way, the terrible anger of almyghtye God agaynſt ſinne, and wickednes of men.

One Antichriſt prefigureth an other.

Furthermore, who ſo is diſpoſed to conſider and caſt the courſe of tymes, and to marke how thynges be diſpoſed by the meruelous operation of Gods prouidence, ſhall finde the times alſo of theſe ij. aduerſaries, in much lyke ſorte to concurre and agrée. For in cōſideryng with our ſelues both the Teſtamētes and Churches of God, the firſt of the Jewes, the ſecond of the Chriſtians, loke what tyme had the Syrian kynges to rage then in Hieruſalem, the ſame proportion of tyme hath now the tyrāne of the Turkes to murder yͤ Chriſtians: ſo that the one Antichriſt may well repreſent and prefigure the other. For as by the boke of Machabées may appeare, Antiochus Epiphanes was about. 1 9 1. yeares before the paſſion of our Sauiour, & day of our redemption: ſo now caſtyng the ſame number from this preſent yeare backward, we ſhall finde it to be about the ſame yeare & tyme, when Baiazetes yͤ fourth Turke after Ottoman, begāne to remoue his Imperiall ſeate from Burſa in Bithynia, to Adrianople in Europe, which is a Citie of Thracia. In which yeare & time beganne all the miſchif in Europe, as is to be ſene before, pag. 8 7 5. and this was yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1375. Unto the which yeare, if we adde. 1 9 1. it maketh. 1 5 6 6. accordyng the Propheſie of the Apocal. chap. 2 0. where it is propheſied of Gog & Magog, that they ſhall compaſſe about the tentes of yͤ ſainctes, & the welbeloued Citie, by yͤ which welbeloued Citie, is meant (no doubt) Europa: and this was in the yeare aboue ſayd. 1375. Although touchyng yͤ preciſe poyntes of yeares & tymes, it is not for vs greatly to be exquiſite therin, but yet where diligence and ſtudious meditation may helpe to knowledge, I would not wiſhe negligence to be a pretenſe to ignorance.

Apoc. cap. 20.

Machab. lib. et cap. 1.

The furious crueltie of Antiochus againſt Gods people.

And thus much for the tymes of Antiochus and hys felowes. Now what crueltie this Antiochus exerciſed agaynſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in yͤ hiſtory of yͤ Machabées: where we read, that this Antiochus in the eight yeare of his reigne, in his ſecond commyng to Hieruſalem, firſt gaue forth in commaundement, that all the Jewes ſhould relinquiſh the law of Moſes, and worſhip the Idole of Iupiter Olimpius, whiche he ſet vp in the temple of Hieruſalem. The bokes of Moſes and of the

Prophetes he burned. He ſet garriſons of ſouldiours to ward the Idole. In the Citie of Hieruſalem he cauſed the feaſtes and reuels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filthe and wickednes. Old men, wemen, and virgines, ſuch as would not leaue ẏ lawe of Moſes, with cruel tormentes he murdered. The mothers that would not circumciſe their children, he ſlue. The childrẽ that were circumciſed, he hãged vp by the neckes. The tẽple he ſpoyled and waſted. The aultar of God, and candleſticke of gold, with the other ornamẽtes and furniture of the temple, partlye he caſte out, partlye he caried awaye. Contrarye to the lawe of God, he cauſed them to offer, and to eate ſwynes fleſhe. Great murther and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing them either to leaue their lawe, or to loſe their lyues. Among whom, beſides many other, with cruell tormentes he put to death a godly mother with her vij. ſonnes, ſendyng his cruell proclamations through all the land, that who ſo euer kept the obſeruancies of the Sabboth, and other rites of the law, and refuſed to condeſcend to his abhominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon wherof the Citie of Hieruſalem was left voyde and deſolate of all good men, but there was a greate number, that were contented to followe and obey his idolatrous procedyngs, and to flatter with the king, became enemies vnto their brethrẽ. Briefly no kynd of calamitie, nor face of miſery could be ſhewed in any place, whiche was not there ſene. Of the tyrannie of this Antiochus, it is hiſtoried at large in the boke of Machabées: And Daniel propheſyeng before of the ſame, declareth that the people of ẏ Iewes deſerued no leſſe, for their ſinnes and tranſgreſſions.

1. Machab. cap 1.
Daniel 9.

Antiochus a figure of the Turkes.

By conſent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, whiche was to folow in the latter ende of ẏ world, and is already come, and worketh what he can againſt vs: Although as S. Iohn ſaith, there haue bene, and be many Antichriſtes, as partes and mẽbers of the bodye of Antichriſt, whiche are forerunners: yet to ſpeake of ẏ head & principall Antichriſt, and great enemie of Chriſtes church, he is to come in ẏ latter end of the world, at what tyme ſhall be ſuch tribulation, as neuer was ſene before: whereby is ment (no doubt) the Turke, prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichriſt, I do alſo meane all ſuch, which folowyng the ſame doctrine of ẏ Turkes, thinke to be ſaued by their workes and demerites, and not by their fayth onely in the ſonne of God, of what title and profeſſion els ſo euer they be: eſpecially if they vſe the lyke force and violence for the ſame, as he doth. &c.

Ex Lyra in Gloſa ordin. cap. 1. Macha.

The name of Antichriſt, what it conteyneth.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforeſayd, and of the tribulations of the Churche in the latter tymes both of the Iewes Churche, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let vs heare and conſider the wordes of Daniel in xi. chap. and alſo in his vij. chapter propheecyng of the ſame, as foloweth.

Daniel. cap. 11.

He ſhall returne and freat agaynſt the holy couenaunt: ſo ſhall he do, hee ſhall euen returne and haue intelligence with thẽ that forſake the holy couenaunt. And armes ſhall ſtand on his part, & they ſhall pollute the Sãctuary of ſtrẽgth, and ſhall take away the dayly ſacrifice, and they ſhall ſet vp the abominable deſolatiõ. And ſuch as wickedly breake the couenaunt, ſhall flatter with him deceatfully: but the people that do know their God, ſhall preuaile and proſper. And they that vnderſtãd among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by ſworde and by flame, by captiuitie and by ſpoyle many dayes.

Now when they ſhall fall, they ſhalbe holpen with a litle helpe: but many ſhall cleaue vnto them faynedly. And ſome of thẽ of vnderſtãding ſhall fall to be tryed, & to be purged, and to make them white, till the tyme be out: for there is a tyme appointed. And the king ſhall do what him liſt: he ſhall exalte him ſelfe, and magnifie him ſelfe agaynſt all that is God, and ſhall ſpeake marueilous thynges agaynſt the God of Gods, and ſhall proſpere, till the wrath be accompliſhed: for the determination is made. Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the deſires of women, nor care for any God: for he ſhall magnifie him ſelfe aboue all. But in his place ſhall hee honour the God Mauzzim, and the God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall be honour with golde & with ſiluer, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſaunt thinges.

Thus ſhall he do in the holdes of Mauzzim with a ſtraunge God, whom he ſhall acknowledge: hee ſhall increaſe his glorie, and ſhall cauſe thẽ to rule ouer many, and ſhall diuide the land for gayne. And at the ende of tyme, ſhall the king of the South puſh at him, and the king of the North ſhall come agaynſt hym lyke a whirle winde, with charets, and with horſemẽ, and with many ſhippes, and he ſhall enter into the countreys, and ſhall ouerflowe and paſſe through. He ſhall enter alſo into the pleaſaunt land, and many countreys ſhalbe ouerthrowen: but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, euen Edõ and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He ſhall ſtretch forth his handes alſo vpon the countreis, and the land of Ægypt ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall haue power ouer the treaſures of gold and of ſiluer, and ouer all the precious thinges of Ægypt, and of the Lybiãs, and of the blacke Mores where he ſhall paſſe. But the tydynges out of the Eaſt and the North, ſhall trouble him: therfore he ſhall go forth with great wrath to deſtroy and roote out many: And hee ſhall plant the tabernacles of his palace betwene the ſeas, in the glorious and holy mountaine, yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall helpe hym.

To this place of Daniel aboue prefixed, might alſo be added the Propheſie of the ſaid Daniel writen in the vij. chap. and much tendyng to the lyke effect: Where he intreatyng of his viſion of iiij. beaſtes (whiche ſignifie the iiij. monarchies) and ſpeakyng now of the fourth monarchie, hath theſe wordes.

Daniel. cap. 7.

After this I ſawe in the viſions by night, and beholde, the iiij. beaſt was grimme and horrible, and maruelous ſtronge. It had great yron teeth: it deuoured, and brake in peeces, and ſtamped the reſidue vnder his feete: and it was vnlike the other beaſtes that were before it, for it had tenne hornes. As I conſidered the hornes, behold there came vp among thẽ, an other litle horne, before whom there were iij. of the firſt hornes pluckt away. And behold, in this horne, were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking preſumptuous thinges, and ſemed more ſtoute then the other. Whiche horne alſo (when I looked on) made battaile with the ſaintes, and preuailed agaynſt them: vntill the olde aged came, and iudgement was geuen to the ſaintes of the higheſt, & till the appoynted tyme was come, that the ſaintes ſhould haue the kingdome.

Thus haue ye heard the plaine wordes of Daniel. In the which, as he doth manifeſtly deſcribe the commyng of Antiochus the great aduerſary, toward the latter end of the Iewes: ſo by the ſame Antiochus is figured alſo to vs the great aduerſary of Chriſt, whiche is the Turke.

Vide Rodulphum Gualt. de Antichriſto.

Although ſome there bee notwithſtandyng, whiche with great learnyng and iudgement, do apply this place of Daniel aboue recited, not to the Turke, but rather to the Pope, and that for vi. or vij. ſpeciall cauſes herein touched and noted.

The firſt note.

The firſt is this, that the wicked tranſgreſſors of the couenaunt ſhall ioyne with hym deceatfully and hypocritically, which ſhall pollute the tabernacle of ſtrength, and take away the perpetuall ſacrifice, and bryng in the abhomination of deſolation.

The ſecond note.

The ſecond note is, that the Prophete declareth, how the learned among the people ſhall teache many, and that they ſhall fall into the ſworde, into fire, and captiuitie, & ſhall be baniſhed, wherby they ſhall be tried, choſen, & made bright & pure. &c. All which (ſay they) is not amõg ẏ Turkes to be ſene, but onely in ẏ popes church: where the faythfull preachers & teachers of ẏ people, are ſlaine, and burned, & go to wracke. &c. Where likewiſe it foloweth, that they ſhall be holpẽ agaynſt Antichriſt, & that many falſe brethren ſhall ioyne vnto them diſſemblyngly. &c. To this they alleadge that the Chriſtians haue no ſuch helpe agaynſt the Turke, wherunto ſuch falſe brethren ſhould ioyne them ſelues, as is and hath bene commonly ſene among the Chriſtians againſt the Pope, frõ time to time, almoſt in all countreyes: as in Germany by ẏ Proteſtantes and free Cities: In England, in kyng Henryes tyme by the Lord Cromwell, and afterward by kyng Edward

Helpes of the Chriſtians agaynſt the pope.

ward, and now by Quéene Elyzabeth: In Scotland by the godly nobilitie: In Fraunce, by the Quéene of Nauarre and her ſonne: alſo by the prince of Condy and the worthye Admirall, and his two brethren, and many others: In Flaunders, by thē whom the Regent calleth Beggers: So as was in the tyme of the Machabées, agaynſt Antiochus.

The thyrd note.

Thirdly that the kyng ſhall exalte hym ſelfe aboue all that hath the name of God, and ſhall lift vp his mouth to ſpeake preſumptuouſly agaynſt God.

The fourth note.

Fourthly, that he careth not for the deſires of wemē: which may ſeme to note how the Popes doctrine ſhal forbid the honeſt and lawfull mariage in Churchmen.

The fifthe note.

The fifte ſpecialtie whiche they apply to the Pope, is that foloweth in the Prophet, ſaying: Neither ſhall he regarde the God of his fathers, nor any God: but in ſteade of him, ſhall ſet vp his God Mauzzim, and ſhall worſhyp him with ſiluer, and gold, and precious ſtone. &c. Whiche they do apply to the Pope, ſettyng vp hys God of bread, & worſhypping him with gliſteryng golden ornamentes, and moſt ſolemne ſeruice.

Mauzim the popes God.

The ſixte note.

Sixtly, it foloweth: and he ſhall encreaſe them with much glory and riches, and ſhal diuide vnto them, landes and poſſeſſions. &c. meanyng that the Pope hauyng dominiō ouer treaſures of gold and ſiluer, and all precious thynges of the land, ſhall indue his Cardinals, prelates, his flatteryng doctours, with Friers and Monkes and prieſtes, & all ſuch as ſhall take his part, with great priuilegies, liberties, reuenues and poſſeſſions. And thus, I ſay, ſome there be, whiche applye this Propheſie of the vij. and xi. chap. of Daniel, vnto the Byſhop of Rome. Whom although I take to be an extreme perſecutour of Chriſtes Churche: yet I iudge rather thoſe ij. chapters of Daniel concernyng the litle horne in the midle of the x. hornes, and the great deſtroyer of the pleaſaūt land and glorious holy mountaine, to meane firſt Antiochus, and by him ſecondly to meane ÿ great Antichriſt, ÿ Turke: who hath now ſet already the tabernacles of hys palace betwene the ſeas, accordyng to the Propheſie of Daniel, as is aboue ſayd.

The vii. & xi chapt. of Daniel, meaneth the great Antichriſt the Turke.

Ouer and beſides theſe Propheſies aboue alledged, may be added alſo the Propheſie of Ezechiel chap. 39. ſpeakyng of Gog and Magog: whiche as it may bee aplyed to the oppreſſion of the Iewes vnder the heathen multitude, whiche ſtopped the buildyng of the Citie, and vnder the Syrian kynges: &c. yet in the ſame alſo is expreſſed the calamities and afflictions of Chriſtes Churche in theſe latter tymes, vnder the Saracenes and the Turkes. &c.

Ezech. cap. 38. 39.

Gog and Magog.

The prophities of the newe Teſtamēt, concerning the Turke.

Vide Rodulphum Gualt. de Antichriſto.

Proceedyng further in this matter, let vs come now to the Propheſies of the newe Teſtament, and marke the woordes of S. Paul writyng to the *Theſſolonians, whiche then were Chriſtened, and now either are Turkiſhe, or vnder the Turke, whiche woordes bée theſe: *Be ye not ſodenly moued in your mynde, nor troubled, neither by ſpirite, nor by woorde, nor by letter as ſent from vs, as though the daye of Chriſt were at hande. Let no man deceaue you by any meanes, for the Lord will not come, before there come a defection, or a departyng firſte, and that wicked man bee reueled, the ſonne of perdition, whiche is an aduerſary and is extolled aboue all power, and that whiche is called God: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of GOD, boaſtyng hym ſelfe to be God. &c.* Although this defection and departing may haue a double vnderſtādyng, as well of ÿ popes ſecte (which is gone and departed from the frée iuſtificatiō by fayth onely in Chriſt, through the promiſe of grace) as of the Turkes: yet leauyng to ſpeake a while of the pope, becauſe it appeareth more notoriouſly in ÿ Turke, we will chéefely applye it to hym: in whom ſo aptely it doth agrée, that vnles this great defection from fayth in ſo many Churches, had happened by the Turke, it had bene hard to vnderſtād the Apoſtles minde, which nowe by the hyſtory of theſe Turkes, is eaſy and euident to be knowen, conſidering what a ruine hath happened to the Church of Chriſt, by theſe miſerable Turkes: what Imperies, nations, kyngdomes, countreys, townes and Cities be remoued from ÿ name & profeſſiō of Chriſt: how many thouſādes and infinite multitudes of Chriſten mē and childrē, in Aſia, in Afrike, and in Europe, are caryed away from Chriſtes Churche, to Mahumetes Religiō, ſome to ſerue for the Turkes garde among the Ianizarites, ſome for ſouldiours, ſome for myners, ſome for gunners, to fight & warre agaynſt the Chriſtians: ſo that the moſt part of all the Churches plāted once by the Apoſtles, are now degenerated into Turkes, onely a ſmall handful of Chriſtians reſerued yet in theſe Weſt partes of Europe: of the which ſmall reſidue, what ſhall alſo become ſhortly, except Chriſt him ſelf do helpe, Chriſt onely him ſelf doth know. How great this defection hath bene, ſpoken of by S. Paule, thou mayeſt ſee (gentle reader) in the table aboue deſcribed, pag. 903.

The firſt ote.

* 2. *Theſſal. 2.*

The ſecond ote.

The defectiō in time of Antichriſt, declared.

elpes of he Chriſtians agaynſt he pope.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 903.

Notwithſtandyng this text of the holy Apoſtle (as I aforeſayd) may be verified alſo with no leſſe reaſon, vpon the Byſhop of Rome, thē vpon ÿ Turke, both for ÿ he is a mā of ſinne, that is, his ſeat & Citie is a great mainteyner of wickednes: and alſo for ÿ he is an aduerſarye, that is, contrary in all his doynges and procedyngs, to Chriſt. Thirdly for that he ſitteth in the temple of God, and ſo did not Mahumete. Fourthly becauſe he is an exalter of him ſelf, & ſitteth more like a God, then a man, in Rome: wherof ſee more in the boke ſet forth in Engliſhe, called the CONTESTATIONS of the popes. Fiftly for ÿ he ſeduceth & hath ſeduced by his apoſtaſie, the moſt part of all Chriſtendome frō ÿ doctrine & frée promiſes of God, into a wrong and ſtraunge way of ſaluation, whiche is, not to be iuſtified frely before God onely by our fayth in Chriſt his welbeloued ſonne (vnto the whiche fayth the promiſe of God frely and graciouſly hath annexed all our ſaluation onely, and to no other thyng) but hath taught vs to worke our ſaluatiō by an infinite number of other thynges: In ſomuch that he byndeth the neceſſitie of our ſaluation alſo to thys, that we muſt beleue (if we will be ſaued) & receaue him to be ÿ vicare of Chriſt in earth. &c.

The place of S Paule 2. Theſſ 2. applied to the pope.

Ex Bonifacio Extranag.

But to returne agayne vnto ÿ Turkes, among all the Propheſies both of ÿ old Teſtamēt & of ÿ new, there is none ÿ paynteth out the Antichriſtian kyngdome of the Turkes, better thē doth ÿ reuelation of S. Iohn: whoſe wordes let vs weygh & cōſider. Who in ÿ Apoc. 9. where he ſpeaketh of opening the ſeuenth and laſte ſeale (which ſignifieth the laſt age of ÿ world) & there writing of ÿ vij. trumpets of the vij. Aungels, at the ſoundyng of the vj. Aungell, ſayth: *Loſe the. iiij. Aungels, whiche are bound in the great ryuer of Euphrates. And the. iiij. Aungels were loſed, whiche were ready both day and houre, and moneth, and yeare, to ſlay the thyrd parte of men. And the number of the horſemen were. 20. thouſand tymes tenne thouſand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I ſawe in a viſion, horſes, and them that ſat on them hauyng fireye habbergions, and of Iacinth ſtone, and of brimſtone, and the heades of the horſes were as the heades of lyons: and out of their mouthes went forth fire and ſmoke and brimſtone. Of theſe thre plagues was the thyrd part of men killed, that is of the fire, ſmoke and brimſtone, whiche proceded out of their mouthes. &c.*

Apocal. 9.

The vii. trumpes of the vii. Angels in the Apocal. expounded.

By the ſeuenth ſeale is ment the ſeuenth and laſt age of the world, whiche laſt age of the world, is from Chriſt to the iudgement and reſurrection of the dead.

By the ſeuen Aungels with their ſeuen trumpets, is ſignified the ſeuen plages, that come in this ſeuenth and laſt age of the world.

The ſixte trumpe.

By the ſixt trumpet of the ſixt Angell is ment the ſixte plague commyng laſt and next before the plague of the great iudgement day, whiche ſixt plague is here deſcribed to come by the Eaſt kynges, that is, by the Turkes, as foloweth to be ſene.

Looſing out the Angels, vpon the riuer Euphrates.

By loſing the Aungels whiche had rule of the great ryuer Euphrates, is ſignified the lettyng out the Eaſt kynges: that is, the Turkes, out of Scythia, Tartaria, Perſia, and Arabia, by whom the thyrd parte of Chriſtendome ſhalbe deſtroyed, as wee ſée it this day hath come to paſſe.

Apoc. 9.

It foloweth in ẏ Propheſie: *Their power ſhalbe in their mouthes, and in their tayles. For their tayles be like ſerpentes hauyng heades, and with them they hurt. &c.* meanyng that theſe Turkes with the woordes of their mouthes, ſhall threaten great deſtructiō of fire and ſword, to them that will not yelde vnto them: and in the end, when the Chriſtians ſhall yelde vnto them, truſtyng to their promiſes, they, like ſerpentes, ſhall deceaue them in the end, and kill them, as appeareth by the ſtory of the Turkes aboue paſt, pag. 895. 893. 892. ⁊c.

Apoc. cap. 16.

The lyke Propheſie alſo after the lyke woordes and ſenſe, is to be ſene and read in the. 16. chap. of the Apoc. Where S. John entreatyng of ſeuen cuppes filled with the wrath of the lyuing God, geuen to the handes of vij. Aungels, by one of ẏ foure beaſtes (that is in the time of one of the iiij. monarchies, which was the monarchie of Rome) ſpeaketh lykewiſe of ẏ firt aungell, *which poured his viale of Gods wrath vpon the great ryuer Euphrates, and the waters therof dryed vp, that the waye of the kinges of the Eaſt ſhould be prepared. &c.*

The 4. beaſtes in the Apocalips meane the 4. monarchies.

By the firte Aungell with the firt viall, is ment as before, the laſt plage, ſaue one, that ſhall come vpō the Chriſtians. By the kinges of the Eaſt, are ment the Saracenes and xij. Ottoman Turkes. By dryeng vp of the riuer Euphrates, is ſignified the waye of theſe Turkes to be prepared by the Lordes appointment, to come out of the Eaſt to the Weſt partes of the world, to moleſt and afflicte the Chriſtians. It foloweth more in the text. *And I ſaw iij. vncleane ſpirites lyke frogges, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe Prophet: for they are the ſpirites of deuils, doyng wonders, to goe vnto the kinges of the whole earth, to aſſemble and gather thē together to the battaile, agaynſt the day of the great God omnipotent. &c.* And it foloweth ſhortly after: *And he aſſembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrue, Armagedon, that is, a trappe or trayne of deſtruction.* And immediatly it foloweth in the ſame place: *and the ſeuenth Aungell poured out hys viall in the ayre: and a mighty voyce came from heauen out of the throne, ſaying:* Factum eſt. *It is done, or finiſhed. &c.* Whereby it is to be vnderſtand, that toward the laſt conſummatiō of the world, great force ſhall be ſene, and a mighty armie of the enemies ſhalbe collected and gathered agaynſt the people and ſainctes of the hygheſt, and then commeth the conſummation, with Factum eſt. &c.

The kinges of the Eaſt.

Dryeng vp of Euphrates.

Ibid.

Apoc. cap. 16.

Wherfore it is not for naught, that the holy ſpirite of God in the ſame place, a litle before ẏ vi. aungell do poure out his viall, doth exhort all the faithfull, ſaying: *Beholde I come like a theefe in the night: Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth hys garmentes, leſt he walke naked, and men ſee hys filthynes. &c.*

An exhortatiō of the holy ghoſt, to the faythfull.

Apoc. cap. 13.

Nicol. de Lyra, and Paulus Byſhop of Burgens, and Mathias Dorinke, wrytyng vpō ẏ xiij. chap. of the Apoc. and expoundyng the myſtery of the ſecond beaſt ryſing out of the earth, hauing the hornes of a lambe. ⁊c. do apply the ſame to Mahumete and the Turkes, with a ſolemne declaration made vpon the ſame. Whiche interpretation of theirs, although in ſome pointes it may ſeme to haue ſome appearaunce of probabilitie, neither can it be denied but that Mahumete and the Turke be peſtilent and wicked enemies of Chriſt our Lorde, ⁊ moſt bitter perſecutours of his Churche: yet as touchyng the proper ⁊ naturall meanyng of the Apoſtle in that place, ſpeakyng of the falſe lambe. ⁊c. if we conſider well all the circumſtances of that beaſt, ⁊ marke the conſequence of the text, both of that whiche goeth before, and foloweth after: wee muſt nedes graunt, that Nicol. de Lyra, with his felowes, and with all ſuch like of the popes ſchole, ẏ folow that ſcholie, be deceaued, and that the deſcription and interpretatiō of that falſe horned lābe muſt neceſſarely be applyed onely to the Byſhop of Rome, and none other: Whiche is to be proued by vi. principall cauſes or argumentes.

The prophecie of the Apoc. cap. 13 diſcuſſed.

The beaſt hauyng hornes like the lambe muſt nedes meane the pope.

The firſt reaſon.

The firſt is, for ẏ thys beaſt is deſcribed to beare the hornes of a lambe. By the which lambe, no doubt, is ment Chriſt. By ẏ hornes of the lambe is ſignified ẏ outward ſhew or reſemblance of Chriſt our Sauiour: which ſhew or reſemblance can haue no relation to Mahumete, for that he taketh him ſelf to be aboue Chriſt, ⁊ Chriſt as an excellent Prophet of God ſitting at his feete. Wherfore ſeyng Mahumete commeth neither as equall to Chriſt, nor as vicare vnder Chriſt, this Propheſie can not agree in him, but onely in hym whiche opēly in playne wordes proteſteth, that all Chriſtes lambes and ſhepe not ſingularly, but vniuerſally through the whole world, are committed to hym, as vicare of Chriſt, and ſucceſſour of Peter, and that all men muſt confeſſe the ſame of neceſſitie, or els they are none of Chriſtes ſhepe. ⁊c. Wherein it is eaſy to ſee where the pretenſed hornes of the lambe doo growe.

Ex Bonif. 8. Extr. de Maiorit. et obediēt.

The ſecond argument: *And he ſpake lyke the dragon. &c.* A lambes hornes, and the mouth of a dragon do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, ſo neither can they be found in any one perſon, either Turke, or other (if we will iudge truly) ſo lyuely, as in the Byſhop of Rome. When thou heareſt hym call hym ſelfe the Apoſtolicall Byſhop, the vicare of Chriſt, the ſucceſſour of Peter, the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes ⁊c. thou ſeeſt in hym the ij. hornes of a lambe, and would thinke him to be a lambe in dede, ⁊ ſuche a one as would waſhe your feete for humilitie: but heare hym ſpeake, and you ſhall finde him a dragon. See and read the Epiſtle of Pope Martine the v. aboue mentioned, pag. 769. chargyng, commandyng, and threatnyng Emperours, kynges, dukes, princes, marqueſſes, earles, barons, knightes, rectours, cōſuls, procōſuls, with their ſhyers, counties, and vniuerſities of their kyngdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, caſtels, villagies, and other places. See the aunſwere of Pope Vrban 2. and his meſſage to king William Rufus pag. 243. Behold the workes and doynges of Pope Innocent agaynſt kyng Iohn. Note alſo the aunſwere of an other Pope to the kyng of England, which for the price of the kynges head, would not graunt vnto him the inueſtyng of his Byſhops. Marke well the wordes and doynges of Pope Hildebrand agaynſt the Emperour Henry the fourth, pag. 232. Alſo of Pope Alexander the 2. treadyng vppon the necke of Fredericus Barbaroſſa, not lyke a lambe treading vpon a dragon, but lyke a dragon treadyng vppon a lambe: ſo that hys owne verſe myght be turned vpon hym ſelf: Tanq̄ aſpis & baſiliſcus ſuper ouiculam ambulans, & tanq̄ leo & draco conculcans agnum. Conſider moreouer the behauiour, maner, condition, and propertie, almoſt, of all the Popes, whiche haue bene theſe. 600. yeares: and what dragon or ſerpent could be more viperous, then their owne doynges and wordes can ſpeake and geue teſtimonie agaynſt them ſelues.

The ſecond reaſō.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 679.

The pope hath the hornes of a Lambe, but the mouth of a Dragon.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſame Prophecie of the Apocal, for the thyrde argument: *And he doth all the power of the firſt beaſt, preſently before his face, and cauſeth the earth and all the inhabitauntes therin, to honour the firſt beaſt, the ſtripe of whoſe deadly wounde was cured. &c.*

The thyrde reaſon.

In this prophecie ij. thynges are to be noted: firſt, what the firſt beaſt is, whoſe power the ſecond beaſt doth execute. Secondly, what this ſecond beaſt is whiche ſo doth exerciſe his power in his ſight. The firſt of theſe beaſtes here in ẏ Apoc. deſcribed, hauyng vij. heades and tenne hornes, muſt nedes ſignifie the Citie of Rome, whiche may eaſely be proued by ij. demonſtrations. Firſt by the expoſition of ẏ xvij. chap. of the ſame Apocal. where is declared and deſcribed the ſayd beaſt to ſtand of vij. hylles, and to conteyne x. kynges, hauyng the whole power of the dragon geuen: and alſo the ſame Citie to bee named the whore of Babylon, dronken with ẏ bloud of ſainctes. All whiche properties ioyned together, can agree in no wiſe but onely to the heathē Imperie of Rome: whiche Citie at the tyme of writing theſe propheſies, had the gouernement of the whole worlde. The ſecond demonſtration or euidence, may bee deducted out of the number of the monethes aſſigned to this beaſt Apocal. 13. for ſo it is writ-

The two beaſtes in the. 13. cap. of the Apocal. expended.

A deſcriptiō of the Citie and monarchie of Rome.

is writē, yͤ this beaſt had power to make, that is, to worke hys malice agaynſte Chriſtes people. 42. monethes. Whiche monethes counted by ſabbattes of yeares (that is euery moneth for vij. yeares) maketh vp the iuſt number of thoſe yeares, in which the primitiue Church was vnder the x. terrible perſecutiõs of heathen Emperours of Rome, as is afore ſpecified, pag. 494.

The deſcriptiō of the beaſt with the two hornes of the lambe. Apocal. 13.

Which thyng thus ſtandyng, proued, and confeſſed, that the firſte beaſt muſt nedes ſignifie the Empire and Citie of Rome, then muſt it neceſſarely folow that the ſecõd beaſt with the lambes hornes, muſt ſignifie the Byſhop and Pope of the ſame Citie of Rome. The reaſon wherof is euident & apparaunt by that whiche foloweth in the prophecie, where it is declared, that the ſeconde beaſt hauyng the ij. hornes of a lambe, receaued and exerciſed all the power of the firſt beaſt, before or in the ſight of the ſayd beaſt. Whiche can not be verified, neither in the Turke, nor in any other, but onely in the Pope of Rome: Who (as you ſee) receaueth, vſurpeth and deriueth to him ſelf all the power of that Citie and monarchie of Rome: In ſomuch that he ſayth, that when Conſtantine, or Ludouicus yelded vnto hym the rule and kyngdome of that Citie, he gaue hym but his owne, and that whiche of right and duety belonged to hym before.

The Pope hauyng all the rule & power of Rome.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου. Apocal. 13.

And this authoritie or power ouer all the Empire of Rome, he worketh not in Aſia, or in Cõſtantinople, as the Turke doth, but in the ſight of the beaſt, which gaue him the power, that is, in the Citie of Rome it ſelfe, whiche is the firſt beaſt here in this Prophecie of the Apocal. deſcribed.

The fourth reaſon.

Fourthly, it foloweth more: *And he cauſeth the earth, and all the inhabitaũtes therin, to worſhip and honour the firſt beaſt, whiche had a deadly wounde and was cured. &c.* The interpretation of this part, as alſo of all yͤ other partes of the ſame chapter, ſtandeth vpon the definition of the firſt beaſt. For beyng graunted, as it can not be denyed, that the firſt beaſt ſignifieth the Citie and Empire of Rome: it muſt conſequently folow, that the Byſhop (whom we call the Pope) of the ſame Citie of Rome, muſt be vnderſtand by the ſecond beaſt: for ſomuch as neither Turke nor any other, but onely the biſhop of Rome hath holden vp the eſtimation & dignitie of that Citie, whiche begãne to be in ruine and decay by the Vandalians, Gotthes, Herulians and Lombardes, about the yere of our Lord. 456. but afterwarde by the Byſhop of Rome, the priſtine ſtate and honour of that Citie reuiued agayne, and floriſhed in as great veneratiõ, as euer it did before: And that is it, which the holy ghoſt ſemeth here to meane of the firſt beaſt, ſaying: *that he had a wounde of the ſworde, and was cured.* For ſo it foloweth.

The fyfte reaſon.

5. *And he cauſed all the inhabitauntes of the earth to make the Image of the beaſt, whiche had the ſtrype of the ſword and lyued. And it was geuen to hym, to geue lyfe to the Image of the beaſt, and to make the Image thereof to ſpeake, and to cauſe all them that worſhipped not the Image of the beaſt, to be killed: forcyng all perſons both litle & great, riche & poore, bond and free, to take the marke of the beaſt in their ryght hand, or in their foreheades: and that none might bye or ſelle but they whiche had the marke, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name. &c.*

Rome almoſt dead.

Roma called *Odoacria.*

By geuyng lyfe to the image of the beaſt, and makyng it to ſpeake, is to be preſuppoſed, that the beaſt was at a neare point of death, and lay ſpeachles before, in ſomuch that the Citie of Rome beganne to loſe and chaunge his name, and was called a while Odoacria, of Odoacer kyng of yͤ Herulians: which by dent of ſworde ſurpriſed the Romaines: and yet notwithſtandyng, by yͤ meanes of this Romane prelate, the ſayd citie of Rome, whiche was then ready to geue the ghoſt, ſo recouered his maieſtie and ſtrength agayne, that it is hard to ſay, whether Rome did euer ruffle and rage in hys tyranny before, in the tyme of Nero, Domitian, Diocletian and other Emperours, more tragically, then it hath done ſince vnder the Pope: or whether that Rome had all Kynges, Queenes, Princes, Dukes, Lordes, and all ſubiectes more vnder obedience and ſubiection, when the Emperours reigned, or now in the reigne of the Pope. And therfore it is ſayd not without cauſe of yͤ holy ghoſt: *That is geuen to him, to geue lyfe and ſpeache to the Image of the beaſt, cauſing all them to be ſlayne, which will not worſhyp the Image of the beaſt. &c.* As for exaumple hereof, who ſeeth not, what numbers & multitudes of Chriſten men, women & children in all countreys, haue bene put to the fire and ſword? Stories of all times will declare, what hauocke hath bene made of Chriſten bloud, about the preeminence & maioritie of the ſea of Rome: what Churches & countreys, both Grekes and Latine, haue bene excommunicated: what kynges haue bene depoſed, and Emperours ſtrypped frõ their Imperiall ſeate, and all becauſe they woulde not ſtoupe & bende to yͤ Image of the beaſt, that is, to the maieſtie and title of Rome, aduaunced vp ſo highly nowe by the Byſhop thereof, as it was neuer higher before in yͤ reigne of Nero or Diocletian. Wherfore takyng yͤ firſt beaſt to ſignifie the Empire of Rome (whiche can not be denyed) it is playne, that the ſecond beaſt muſt neceſſarily be applyed to the pope, & not to the Turke, for as much as the Turke ſeketh nothyng leſſe, then the aduauncement of that Empire, but rather ſtryueth agaynſt it, to plucke it downe.

To geue life to the Image of the beaſt.

The Image of Rome ſpeaketh agayne, as cruelly as euer it dyd.

Et faciet eos occidi, qui non adorauerint imaginem beſtiæ. Apocal. 13.

The ſixte reaſon.

The firſt & laſt argument is grounded vpon the nũber of the name of the beaſt, expreſſed by the holy ghoſt in the ſame Propheſie, by the letters χξς. In which letters although there lyeth great darkenes & difficultie to be vnderſtãd: yet certain aũcient fathers which were diſciples & hearers of them which heard S. John hymſelfe, as Irenæus and other do expounde the ſayd letters coniecturally to conteine yͤ name of the beaſt, and to be the name of a man, vnder this worde λατεῖνος: Where as els no other name lightly of any perſon, either in Greeke, or Latine will agree to yͤ ſame, ſaue onely the foreſaid name λατεῖνος. Although ſome later writers geuyng their coniectures vpon the ſame, doe finde the name of Lateranus in Hebrew letters, to aunſwer to the ſame nũber. Some fayne other names as ἀντεμος, or τεῖταν, made wordes, which ſignifie nothyng, or Diclux, or Luduuic, by Romane letters. &c. But of all names properly ſignifiyng any mã, none commeth ſo nere to the nũber of this myſtery (if it go by order of letters) as doth the worde λατεῖνος, aforeſayd. And thus much by the way, and occaſion of Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Burgen, Matthias Dorinkus, the autor of *Fortalitium fidei,* and other commentaries moe of yͤ ſame faction: who writyng vpon this xiij. chapter of the Apoca. and not conſideryng the circumſtancies therof, both are deceaued them ſelues, and deceaue many other, applying that to the Turke, whiche can not otherwiſe be verified but onely vpon the Pope, as may appeare ſufficiently by the premiſſes: Not that I write this of any moode or malice either to the Citie of Rome, or to the perſon of the Biſhop, as beyng Gods creature: but beyng occaſioned here to entreate of yͤ Prophecies agaynſt yͤ Turkes, would wiſhe the readers not to be deceaued, but ryghtly to vnderſtand the ſimple Scriptures accordyng as they lye, to the entẽt that the true meanyng therof beyng boolted out, it may be the better knowẽ what Prophecies directly make agaynſt theſe Turkes, what otherwiſe.

The number of the name of the beaſt diſcuſſed. 666.

λ. *The nũ-*
α. *ber of*
τ. *theſe let-*
ε. *ters in*
ι. *Greke ma*
ν. *keth the*
ο. *ful nũber*
ς. *of 666.*

Nico. de Lyra and other popyſhe wryters, deceaued in the xiii chap. of the Apoc.

In the whiche Prophecies agaynſt the Turkes, now to procede, let vs come to the 20. chap. of yͤ Apocal. wherin the holy Scripture ſemeth playnly and directly to notifye the ſayd Turkes. The wordes of the Prophecie bee theſe.

Apoc. cap. 20.

And I ſawe an Aungell deſcendyng from heauen, hauyng the key of the bottomles pytte, and a great cheyne in his hand: and he tooke the Dragon, the old ſerpent, whiche is the deuill and Satanas, and bound hym vp for a thouſand yeares, and caſt him in the pytte, and ſealed hym vp, that he ſhould not ſeduce the people any more, till the thouſand yeares were expired: and after that he muſt be let looſe for a litle while. &c. And it foloweth after: *And whẽ the thouſand yeares ſhalbe complete, Satanas ſhalbe let out of his doungeon, and ſhall go abraod to ſeduce the people, whiche are on the iiij. corners of* *the land of* Gog *and* Magog, *to aſſemble them to battaile: Whoſe number is lyke to the ſandes of the ſea. And they went vp vpon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compaſſed about the tentes of the ſainctes, and the welbeloued Citie. &c.*

The byndyng and looſing out of Sathan, examined.

Three thinges to be noted in this propheſie.

To the perfect vnderſtandyng of this prophecie, thrée thyngs are neceſſary to be knowen. Firſt what is ment by byndyng vp, and looſyng out of Satanas the olde dragon. Secondly, at what tyme & yere firſt he was cheyned vp & ſealed for a 1000. yeares. Thirdly, at what yeare and tyme theſe thouſand yeares did ende, when as he ſhould bee looſed out agayne for a litle ſeaſon. Whiche thrée pointes beyng well examined and marked, the propheſie may eaſely be vnderſtād directly to be ment of the Turke. Albeit anagogically ſome part therof may alſo be referred not vnproperly vnto the Pope, as is aboue notified.

What is ment by bynding vp of Sathan.

Firſt, by byndyng and looſyng of Satanas, ſeemeth to be mente the ceaſyng and ſtaying of the cruell and horrible perſecution of the heathen Emperours of Rome, agaynſt the true Chriſtians, as is to be ſene in the x. firſt perſecutions in the primitiue Churche aboue deſcribed in the former part of theſe Actes and Monumentes: in the whiche moſte bloudye perſecutions, Satanas the deuill then raged without all meaſure, till tyme it pleaſed almyghty God to ſtoppe this old ſerpent, and to tye him ſhorter. And thus haue you to vnderſtād what is ment by the byndyng vp of Satan for a thouſand yeres: wherby is ſignified that ẏ perſecutiō againſt the Chriſtians ſtyrred vp by the beaſt (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the inſtigation of Satan) ſhal not alwaies continue, but ſhall breake vppe, after a certaine tyme, and ſhall ceaſe for a thouſand yeares. &c.

The tyme of bynding vp of Sathan.

Apoc. 11. 13.

42. monethes in the Apocal. declared.

Now, at what tyme and yeare this perſecution, that is, the fury and rage of Satan ſhould ceaſe, is alſo declared in the Apoc. before: where, in the chap. 11. & 13. we read that the beaſt afore mencioned, ſhall haue power to worke his malice & miſchiefe, the ſpace of 42. monethes & no more, & then that Sathan ſhould bée locked vp for a thouſand yeares. The computation of whiche monethes being counted by Sabbates of yeares (after the example of the. 69. wéekes of Daniel. cap. 11.) it doth bring vs to the iuſt yeare and time, when that terrible perſecution in the primitiue Church ſhould end, and ſo it did. For geue to euery moneth a Sabbate of yeares, ẏ is, recken euery moneth for. vij. yeares, and that maketh. 294. yeares. Whiche was the full tyme betwene the. 18. yeare of Tiberius, (vnder whom Chriſt ſuffered) and the death of Maxentius the laſt perſecutour of the primitiue Church in Europe, ſubdued by Conſtantinus, as may appeare by calculating the yeares, monethes, and daies, betwene the ſayd yeare of the reigne of Tiberius, and the latter end of Maxentius: and ſo haue ye the ſupputation of the yeare and tyme, when Satan was firſt bounde vp, after he had raged in the primitiue Churche. 42. monethes. Whiche monethes, as is ſayd, beyng counted by Sabbates of yeares, after the vſuall maner of the Scripture, mounteth to. 294. yeares: & ſo much was ẏ full tyme betwene the Paſſion of our Lord, whiche was in the. 18. yeare of Tiberius, vnto the laſt yeare of Maxentius.

Supputation of yeares betwene the beginning and ceaſing the perſecutions in the primitiue church.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 493.

And here by the way commeth a note to be obſerued: that foraſmuch as, by the number of theſe 42. monethes ſpecified in the Apocal. the Empire of Rome muſt neceſſarily be confeſſed to be the firſt beaſt: therfore it muſt by like neceſſitie folow, the byſhop of Rome to be the ſecond beaſt, with. the ij. hornes of the lambe, for that he onely hath and doth cauſe the ſayd Empire of Rome to reuiue and to be magnified, and ſo doth not the Turke, but rather laboureth to the contrarie. Wherfore let euery Chriſten man be wiſe and beware betime, how he taketh the marke of that beaſt, leſt peraduenture it folow vpon him, that he drinke of that terrible cup of wrath mēcioned Apocal. chap. 14.

The pope proued to be the ſecond beaſt mentioned in the Apocal. cap. 13.

Et hic bibet de vino iræ dei Apoc. 14.

The iii. part of the propheſie for the looſing out of Satan.

Thirdly it remaineth to bee diſcuſſed touchyng the thyrd pointe in this foreſayd propheſie, that as we haue found out (through the helpe of Chriſt) the yeare & tyme of Satans byndyng: ſo we ſearche out likewiſe the tyme and ſeaſon of his looſing out: whiche by the teſtimonie of Scripture, was appointed to be a thouſand yeares after his byndyng vp, and ſo rightly accordyng to the tyme appoynted, it came to paſſe. For if we number well by the Scripture the yeare of hys byndyng vp, whiche was frō the Paſſion of our Lord. 294. yeares, and adde therto a thouſand yeares, it amounteth to. 1294. whiche was the very yeare when Ottomannus ẏ firſt Turke begāne his reigne: whiche was the firſt ſpryng and wellhead of all theſe wofull calamities that the Churche of Chriſt hath felt both in Aſia, Africa, and Europa, almoſt theſe iij. hundreth yeares paſt. For ſo we finde in Chronicles, that the kyngdome of the Turkes being firſt diuided into iiij. families, an. 1280. at length the familie of Ottomans preuailed, and therupon came theſe, whom now we call Turkes: whiche was about the ſame time, whē Pope Boniface the viij. was Byſhop of Rome.

The beginning of the Turkes progenye.

Where, by the way this is agayne to be noted, that after the decrée of Tranſubſtantiation was enacted in the Councell of Laterane by Pope Innocēt the iij. the yeare of our Lord. 1215. not long after, about the yeare of our Lord. 1260. was ſtyrred vp the power and armes of the Oguzians, and of Orthogules father of Ottomannus: Who about the yeare of our Lord. 1294. began firſt to vexe the Chriſtians about Pontus and Bithynia: and ſo beginning his kyngdome, an. 1300. reigned. 28. yeares, as is afore mencioned.

The tyme of Trāſubſtantiatiō. The tyme of the Turkes.

Ex Laonico Chalcondyla. lib. 1.

Mention was made before of Ezechiel propheciyng agaynſt Gog, whoſe wordes diuers expoſitours do apply againſt the Turke, and are theſe: *Thou ſhall come from thy place, out of the Northpartes, thou and much people with thee, all rydyng vpon horſes, a great and a mighty armie, and thou ſhalt come vp agaynſt my people of Iſraell as a cloude, to couer the land: Thou ſhalt be in the later dayes, and I will bryng thee vpon my land, that the heathen may know me whē I ſhall be ſanctified in thee,* O Gog, *before their eyes. Thus ſayth the Lord God: Art not thou he, of whom I haue ſpokē in the old time, by the hand of my ſeruauntes, the Prophetes of Iſraell, that propheſied in thoſe daies & yeres, that I would bring thee vpon thē? At the ſame tyme alſo, whē* Gog *ſhall come agaynſt the land of Iſraell, ſaith the Lord God, my wrath ſhall aryſe in myne anger. For in my indignation, and in the fire of my wrath haue I ſpoken it: Surely at that tyme there ſhall be a great ſhaking in the land of Iſraell: So that the fiſhes of the ſea, the foules of the heauē, the beaſtes of the field, & all that moue & creepe vpō the earth, & all the mē that are vpon the earth, ſhall trēble at my preſence: the moūtaines ſhalbe ouerthrown: the ſtarres ſhall fall, & euery wall ſhall fall to the ground. &c.*

The propheſie of Ezechiel cap. 38.

The Propheſies of Methodius, Hildegardis and other, concernyng the reigne and ruine of the Turkes.

Methodius prophecies.

Vnto theſe teſtimonies aboue excerped out of the holy Scriptures, let vs adde alſo the propheticall reuelatiōs of Methodius, Hildegardis, Sybilla, and other. This Methodius is thought of ſome to be ẏ ſame Methodius, of whō Hierome, & Suidas make mentiō: which was Biſhop firſt of Olympus in Lycia, thē of Tyrus, & ſuffered martyrdome in the laſt perſecutiō of ẏ primitiue Church, vnder Diocletian. Unto whom alſo Trithemius attributeth the bóoke, intitled: De Quatuor nouiſsimis temporibus. But that can not be, for aſmuch as the ſayd Methodius doth cite and alleadge the Maiſter of Sentence, namely in hys 2. bóoke & 6. diſt. which Maiſter of Sentēce folowed more then a thouſād yeare after Chriſt: beſides certaine other fabulous matter cōteined in ẏ ſame bóoke. Albeit becauſe he ſpeaketh there of many thynges concernyng the ſtate of the Church vnder Antichriſt, and the reformation of Religion, as ſemeth rightly to come to paſſe, and more is lyke to folow: I thought not to defraude the reader therof, leauyng the credite of the author, to his arbitrement, to eſteme and iudge of him as he ſéeth cauſe. Amōg dyuers other places of Methodius, propheſieng of the latter tyme, theſe wordes doe followe: *After that the children of Iſmaell*

The boke of Methodius miſtaken.

haue

The pro- ecies of ethodi- ,concer- ng the Turkes.

had multiplied in theyr generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the deſert aforeſayd, they came out of the Wildernes of Arabie, & entred into the habitable land, and fought with the kinges of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promiſe, and the land was filled with them. And after 70. weekes, and halfe of their power, wherewith they haue ſubdued all the kingdome of the Gentiles, their hart was exalted, ſeyng them ſelues ſo to haue preuailed, and to haue conquered all thynges. &c. **And afterwarde it followeth of the ſame matter in this ſorte.**

It ſhall come to paſſe that the ſayd ſede of Iſmaell, ſhall iſſue out and obteine the whole world, with the regions therof, in the entryng of peace, from the land of Ægypt, vnto Ethiopia: and from the floude Euphrates, vnto India: and from the ryuer Tigris, to the entryng of Nabaot the kingdome of Ionithus, the ſonne of Noe: and from the North, vnto Rome and Illyricum, Ægypt, and Theſſalonica, and Albania, and ſo forth to the ſea Ponticum, which diuideth the ſayd kingdomes from Germany and Fraunce: and their yoke ſhall be double vpon the neckes of all nations, and gentles: neither ſhall there be nation or kingdome vnder heauen, whiche ſhall be able to ſtand agaynſt them in battaile, vntill the number of vij. weekes of yeares. &c.

Viii wekes of yeares: countyng euery weeke for a ſabbate of yeares, that is, euery day for a yeare, cometh to 56. yeares.

Briefly, as in a groſſe ſomme, this ſhall ſuffice, to admoniſhe the reader, touching thẽ meanyng and methode of Methodius **Prophesies: Which** Methodius **firſt deſcribyng the long & tedious afflictiõs of Chriſtes Church, maketh mention of the ſede of Iſmaell, whiche comming out of the partes and deſertes of** Arabie, **ſhall deſtroye (ſayth he) and vãquiſhe the whole earth,** *ſo that the Chriſtians ſhalbe geuen of God, to the handes of the filthie Barbarians, to be ſlayne, polluted, and captiued: Perſia, Armenia, Capadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Ægipte, the Eaſt partes, Aſia, Spayne, all Grecia, Fraunce, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia, The Romanes alſo ſhall be ſlayne and put to flight: alſo the Ilandes of the ſeas ſhal be brought to deſolatiõ, & to captiuitie, & put to the ſworde. The which tribulation of the Chriſtians ſhalbe without mercy or meaſure: the raunſome of golde and ſiluer and other exactions, intolerable, but eſpecially the dwellers of Ægipte and Syria ſhall be moſt in the affliction of thoſe tymes: And Hieruſalem ſhall be filled with multitudes of people brought thether in captiuitie, from the iiij. wyndes, whiche are vnder heauen. So that beaſtes alſo, and foules, and fiſhe in the water, and the waters of the ſea ſhall be to them obedient. Cities and townes, whiche were before full of people, ſhall be layd waſt. Wemen with child ſhall be rypt: their children ſtickete: infantes take from the mothers, and caſt in the ſtreates, and none ſhall bury them. The rulers and ſage of the people ſhall be ſlayne, and throwen out to the beaſtes. Churches ſhall be ſpoyled: the prieſtes deſtroyed: virgines deſloured, and men compelled to ſell their children, and the comming of thẽ ſhall be chaſtiſement without mercy, and with them ſhall goe theſe iiij plages: captiuitie, deſtruction, perdition, & deſolation,* **with much more, which for breuitie I ouerpaſſe** *And this afflictiõ ſayth he, ſhall laſt. 8. weekes, or Sabbats of yeares,* **which I take to ſignifie. 8. hundreth yeares. &c.**

The fyrſt ſtate or alteration of times concerning the comming of the Sarecens.

Chriſtians plaged by the Saracens.

Secondly, after theſe terrible plagues thus deſcribed by Methodius, **vpõ ẏ Chriſtians, which he ſaith ſhall fall vpon them for their wicked abominations recited in the firſt and. 2. cap. of** S. Paul **to ẏ** Romaines: **the ſayd** Methodius **afterward, in this great diſtreſſe of the Chriſtians, beyng out of all hope and cõfort of reliefe, declareth and ſpeaketh of a certaine kyng of the** Greekes **or** Romanes, **whiche ſhall reſtore peace agayne to the Chriſtians. In whiche peace they ſhall reedifie their Cities and manſions againe: the prieſtes ſhall be deliuered frõ their greuaunces, and men at that tyme ſhall reſt from theyr tribulations, and then ſhall the kyng of the** Romaines **dwell in the Citie, of** Hieruſalem **a weeke or ſabbate and a halfe of tymes. &c.**

The ſecond ſtate or alteration of the Chriſtians releued of their plagues and tribulatiõs.

Chriſtians abuſing Gods benefites.

Thyrdly, duryng the tyme of this peace, the ſayd Methodius **ſayth, that mẽ ſhall fall into licentious ſecuritie, and careles life: and then, accordyng to the worde of the Apoſtle, ſaying:** When they ſhall ſay, peace, peace, ſodeine deſtruction ſhall fall vpom them: *then (ſayth he) ſhall be opened the gates of the North, and the beaſtly people ſhall breake in, whiche king Alexander the great, did cloſe vp within ij. mountaines, making his prayer vnto the Lord God, that he would bynd vp that beſtiall and execrable people, leſſe with their filthie and deteſtable pollutions, they ſhould come out and pollute the holy lande. Whoſe interceſſion beyng heard, the Lord God commaunded them to be incloſed within ij. mountaines, in the North parts, to the depenes of xij. cubites* (**which ſignifieth perauenture xij. hundreth yeres**) *ſo that neither by witchcraft, nor by any meanes, they could get out, or any might come vnto them, vntill the tyme of the Lord appointed, which are* (**ſayth he**) *the latter tymes: And then, accordyng to the Prophecie of Ezechiel in the latter tyme of the conſummation of the world, Gog & Magog out from the North, ſhall come forth into the land of Iſraell, and ſhall worke all this miſchief agaynſt the Chriſtians, aboue recited. And then* (**ſayth** Method. **proceding in his prophesies**) *ſhall the king of Romanes, after he hath reigned in Hieruſalẽ a Sabbate of times, & a halfe, that is,* **ſayth** Methodius, *x. yeres & a halfe, take the crowne from his head, and yeld it vp to the croſſe in Golgotha where Chriſt was crucified, and ſhall dye. And the croſſe with the crowne ſhall be taken into heauen, whiche ſhall not appeare agayne before the commyng of the Lord.*

The thyrde alteration by the comming of the Turkes.

The reigne of Chriſtiã kings in Hieruſalem, laſted 88. yeres, an. 1187.

By thys reſigning vp the crowne to the crucifixe in Golgotha, is ſignified, the ceaſing of the reigne of the Chriſtians in Hieruſalem, till the cõming of Chriſt.

Fourthly, it foloweth then moreouer in the Propheſies of Methodius **whiche declareth, that when ẏ weeke or ſabbate and halfe weeke of tymes ſhall ende, and whẽ the kyng of** Romanes **ſhall geue vp his crowne in** Hieruſalem, **and dye,** *Then immediatly ſhall Antichriſt the ſonne of perditiõ begin to appeare, & be borne, in Iewrie, of the tribe of* Dan, *wherof alſo came* Iudas Iſcarioth, *& he ſhall be borne (ſaith* Method.*) in* Choroſaim, *& ſhall be bredde in* Bethſaida, *& ſhall reigne in* Capernaum: **to the which 3. cities, Chriſt ẏ Lord gaue his** 3. Væ. *And whẽ great tribulation ſhall increaſe and multiplye in the dayes of this Antichriſt, and all Lordſhip and dominion ſhall be deſtroyed, the Lord ſhall ſende his ij. faithfull and deare ſeruauntes,* Enoch *and* Hely, *to reproue and detecte the falſe ſeducyng, and lyeng forgeries of this Antichriſt, openly before all men: ſo that the people ſeyng thẽ ſelues falſely begiled, and ſeduced by this ſonne of perdition, cõmyng out of the temple diſſemblyngly, to the deſtruction of many, ſhall leaue and fley from him, and ioyne thẽ ſelues to the ſayd ij. holy Prophetes. Whiche ſonne of perdition and Antichriſt ſeyng his procedynges ſo to be reproued, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger ſhall kill the two Prophetes of God. And then ſhall appeare (ſayth* Methodius*) the ſigne of the commyng of the ſonne of man, and he ſhall come in the cloudes of heauenly glory, and ſhall deſtroye the enemy with the ſpirite of his mouth. &c.*

By thys tribe of *Dan* & the Citie *Choroſaim, Bethſaida, and Capernaum,* is ſignified Gods great malediction vpon Antichriſt.

The deſtructiõ of Antichriſt.

Interpretation.

To theſe Propheſies and teſtimonies of Methodius, **what credite it is to bee geuen, I leaue it to the reader. But if the meanyng of his Prophecies go by ſuch order of tymes, as is ſet and diſpoſed in his booke: he ſemeth to deſcribe vnto vs iiij. principall ſtates and alterations of tymes to come. The firſt ſtate or alteration is by** Mahumet **and the** Saracens, **whiche be the offſpringes and ſonnes of** Iſmael **commyng out of** Arabie, **in the tyme of** Heraclius **Emperour of** Conſtantinople, **an.** 630. **which rebellyng agaynſt** Heraclius, **increaſed & preuailed ſtill more and more agaynſt the Chriſtians, both in** Aſia, **and** Africa, **and alſo in many places in** Europe, **eſpecially in** Spayne, **and** Italy.

The interpretation.

The cõming of the Saracens.

The ſecond ſtate and alteration hee propheſieth to come by the Turkes, whiche firſt commyng out of the farre partes of Scythia, **that is, out of the North, firſt ouercame the** Saracens, **ſubdued the** Perſians, **and afterward ioynyng together with the** Saracens, **conquered the kyngdome of** Hieruſalem, **about the yeare of our Lord.** 1187: **thẽ ſubdued** Syria **and moſt part of** Aſia. **&c. And theſe be they, whiche** Methodius **ſemeth to meane of, ſpeakyng of the vile and miſerable people cloſed vp of the Lord God, at the interceſſion of** Alexander **the**

The comming of the Turkes.

great captaine in the North, betwen ij. mountaines, the depenes of xij. cubites, leaſt that filthy corrupt nation ſhould pollute the earth with their wickednes. Wherby are ment theſe Turkes, whiche commyng out from the vttermoſt partes of ẏ North, that is, out of Scythia ⁊ the mountaines of Caucaſus or els Imaus, were with holdē and kept backe of Almightie God, for Chriſtes cauſe, that they might not harme his Churche a long ſpace, duryng the tyme of xij. hundreth yeares: and then, ẏ ſinnes of ẏ Chriſtians ſo deſeruyng, they were permitted of almighty God to breake out, ⁊ to inuade ẏ Church: Who now ioyning together with ẏ Saracens, haue wrought, ⁊ daily do worke, all theſe greuaunces againſt our Chriſtiā brethren: as we ſee this day is come to paſſe, and more is lyke to folow, except the hād of the Lord, whiche let them out, do plucke them in agayne.

Scythia iuxta Caucaſum.

Victorye of the Chriſtians gotte agaynſt the Saracens.

Ex Paulo Iouio.

The Citie of Hieruſalem recouered by the Chriſtians, from the Saracens.

Hieruſalem poſſeſſed of the Chriſtians 88. yeares.

Hieruſalem wonne from the Chriſtians by the Turkes, an. 1187.

Moreouer, in the meane ſpace, betwene the reigne of the Saracens and the Turkes, where Methodius ſpeaketh of the kyng of Romaines, whiche ſhould reſtore quietnes to the Churche, and ſhould reigne in Hieruſalem a ſabbate of times and halfe a ſabbat: therby ſemeth to bee vnderſtand the viage of Chriſtian princes out of the Weaſt partes of Europe, vnder Gotfridus Duke of Lotharyng and his ij. brethren and many other Chriſten princes, with 300. thouſand fotemen, and 100. thouſand horſemen: who fightyng agaynſt the Saracens, recouered agayne from them, the Citie of Hieruſalem, in the yeare of our Lord. 1099. whiche Citie before had bene in their poſſeſſion, the terme of. 490. yeares. After which vitory got, firſt Gotfridus, then Balwinus his brother, ⁊ other after them, to the number of ix. Chriſten kynges, reigned in Hieruſalem the ſpace of 88. yeares: and after that, through the diſcorde of the Chriſtians not agreyng amongeſt them ſelues, both Hieruſalem, and Syria, with other partes of Aſia beſides, were ſubdued ⁊ wōne of the Turkes, which to this day they kepe yet ſtill. And this was in the yeare of our Lord. 1187.

The comming and markes of Antichriſt deſcribed.

About which yeare and tyme (as foloweth in Methodius) when the Citie of Hieruſalem ſhall bee wonne of the Turkes, then ſhall Antichriſt begyn to be borne of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Iudas Iſcarioth, and ſhalbe borne in Choroſaim ⁊ bredde in Bethſaida, and reigne in Capernaum: Meanyng that this Antichriſt or ſonne of perdition, ſhalbe ful of Gods malediction, noted by Iudas Iſcarioth, and theſe iij. Cities, agaynſt whom were ſpoken theyſe Væ of the Lord.

And here is moreouer to bee noted, that Methodius ſayth, not that Antichriſt ſhall be borne among the Saracens, or Turkes, but among the people of God, and of ẏ tribe of Iſrael. Wherby is to be collected, that Antichriſt ſhall not come of ẏ Saracens, nor Turkes, but ſhal ſpring vp among the Chriſtiās, ⁊ (ſayth Methodius) *ſhall ſeme, to come out of the temple, to deceaue many. &c.* Wherby the pope may ſeme rather then the Saracen or the Turke, to be deſcribed, for ſo much as the pope, being elected, nouriſhed, and reignyng in the middeſt of Gods people, at Rome, ſitteth in ẏ temple, and very place of Chriſt: and (no doubt) deceaueth many. ⁊c.

The pope putting downe kinges and Emperours.

The tyme of Antichriſt.

Petrus Lombardus.

Gratianus.

Innocentius 3.

The firſt perſecution by the church of Rome.

Tranſubſtanriation.

Dominicke.

Frier Fraunces.

Ex Antonino Part. 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

And now to come to ẏ tyme aſſigned of Method. here is to be added alſo, that which we read in Antoninus Par. 3. that about this ſaid preſent tyme, a certain biſhop of Florēce preached ẏ Antichriſt was then cōmyng. But the Pope cōmaunded him to kepe ſilence ⁊ to ſpeake no more therof. Now why ẏ pope ſo did, ⁊ why he could not abyde ẏ preaching of Antichriſt, I referre it to thē which liſte to muſe more vpon ẏ matter. This is certaine, ẏ about this tyme, here aſſigned by Methodius, came Petrus Lōbardus, Gratianus, ⁊ Pope Innocent ẏ third, the firſt authors and patrons of tranſubſtātion. At which tyme alſo began the firſt perſecution by the Churche of Rome, againſt the Albingenſes or Waldēſes, about Tolous, Biturs, and Auinion. Of whom xvij. thouſand the ſame tyme were ſlayne, by the popes croſſed ſouldiours. Among whom Frier Dominicke was then the chiefeſt doer. About whiche tyme alſo was Frier Fraunces, of which ij. came the ij. orders of beggyng Friers: all which began much about one time together an. 1215. whiche was nere, within xx. yeares, after the kyngdome of the Chriſtians was taken of the Turkes, accordyng to the propheſie aboue ſayd.

The order of fryers begaune.

It foloweth moreouer in Methodius, *That in his tyme all Lordſhip and domination ſhall ceaſe and geue ouer. &c.* The veritie wherof we ſee now accōpliſhed in the pope. For where the Pope with his double ſworde, and triple crowne doth come, there all ſeculare power muſt geue place, both emperours, kynges, ⁊ princes muſt ſtoupe.

Notes of Antichriſt.

So kyng Iohn yelded vp his crown to Pandulfus the Popes Legate, and was in his hand v. dayes. an. 1217.

Childerik the French kyng had his crowne take frō hym, and geuen to Pipine. an. 747.

Hēricus 4. Emperour was forced to ſubmit him ſelfe and his ſceptre to Pope Hildebrand, an. 1077.

Fridericus Barbaroſſa Emperour, in Saint Markes Churche in Venice, was fayne to lay downe his necke vnder the Pope Alexanders fete. an. 1277. Whiche Friderik alſo before, was fayne to holde the ſtyrrop to Pope Adrian. &c.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the Ambaſſadour of Venice, named Franciſcus Dandulus, who being ſent to Pope Clement. 5. was made to lye vnder the Popes table lyke a dogge, and gather vp the crommes, mencioned in Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 7.

Ex Sabell. Enn 9. lib. 7.

Henry the thyrd beyng Emperour, had his diademe fyrſt ſet on with the fete of the Pope, and afterwarde ſtrocken of from his head with the Popes fote agayne.

And what ſhall I ſpeake more hereof, whē as Carolus Magnus ſubmitted him ſelf ſo lowe, to kyſſe the fete of Pope Leo? an. 800.

It foloweth then in ẏ propheſie of Methodius: *That in the tribulation of thoſe dayes, ſhall be ſent from God, ij. ſpeciall Prophetes,* Enoch *and* Hely, *to reproue and diſcloſe the fraudulent falſehode of Antichriſt, and that many ſeyng his deluſion, ſhall forſake him, and folow them: Whereat Antichriſt beyng greued, ſhall kill them. &c.*

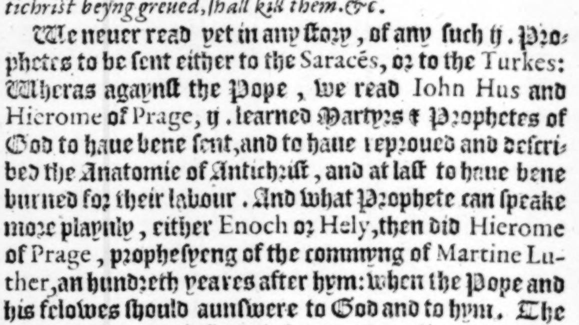
Enoch and Hely.

We neuer read yet in any ſtory, of any ſuch ij. Prophetes to be ſent either to the Saracēs, or to the Turkes: Wheras agaynſt the Pope, we read Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage, ij. learned Martyrs ⁊ Prophetes of God to haue bene ſent, and to haue reproued and deſcribed the Anatomie of Antichriſt, and at laſt to haue bene burned for their labour. And what Prophete can ſpeake more playnly, either Enoch or Hely, then did Hierome of Prage, propheſyeng of the commyng of Martine Luther, an hundreth yeares after hym: when the Pope and his felowes ſhould aunſwere to God and to hym. The tyme we ſee came iuſt. Now let the Pope ſee with his felowes, what aunſwere they can make.

John Hus and Hierome of Prage. Vid. in primo Tom. operum Iohan. Hus. De Anatomia.

Hierome of Prage a prophet and Martyr.

¶ The true plate of Hus and Hierome, among the Bohemians.


CREDO · VNAM · ESSE · ECCLESIAM · SANCTAM · CATHOLICAM
IO · HVS
ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1415
CENTVM · REVOLVTIS · ANNIS · DEO · RESPONDEBITIS · ET · MIHI
HIERONIMVS
ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1416
CŌD EM
NA TVS

It foloweth further in Methodius concludyng hys prophecie, *And thē (ſayth he) ſhall appeare the cōming of the ſonne of man, in the cloudes of heauē, with celeſtiall glory. &c.*

The nereneſſe of the Lordes iudgemēt.

Wherfore after the burnyng of theſe ij. notable Prophetes, with many other thouſandes burned alſo ſince their tyme, by the Byſhop of Rome, it is to be thought, that the commyng of Chriſtes iudgement in the cloudes, is not farre of. Veni cito Domine. Amen.

And thus much touchyng Methodius, of whoſe propheciеs how much or how litle is to bée eſtemed, I leaue it indifferent vnto the reader. For me it ſhall ſuffice ſimply to haue recited his wordes, as I finde them in hys booke conteyned: notyng this by the waye, that of this booke of Methodius, De nouiſsimis temporibus, neither Hierome in his Catalоge, nor Suidas, nor yet Auentinus in that place where hée entreateth purpoſely of ſuch prophecies, maketh any mention.

The prophecie of Hildegardis & Brigitte, of the Turkes.

As touchyng Hildegardis and Brigit, and other whõ the Frenche call Bardi for their ſonges and prophetical verſes, ſufficient hath bene alleged before out of Auentinus: Who in his thyrd booke of Chronicles writing of ÿ teſtimonies of Hildegard, Brigit and Bardi, ſemeth to ground vpon them, *that the Turkes, whether we will or not, ſhall haue their Imperiall ſeate at Colen*: And I praye God, that it come not to paſſe, that the Turke doo geue ſome attempt agaynſt England by the ſeas, before that he come to Colen by land. &c.

Ex Auentino. lib. 3. Annalium.

A caueat to England.

Ex Brigitta. lib. 4. cap. 57.

Breuitie cauſeth me to cut of many teſtimonies and reuelations of theſe aboueſayd, or els I could here rehearſe the propheticall wordes of Brigit lib. 4. cap. 57. concernyng the Citie and Churche of Rome, whiche, as ſhe ſaith, *muſt be purged and ſcoured with iij. thyngs: to witte, with ſharpe ſworde, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will do with that Citie, as one that remoueth plãtes out of one place vnto an other: and finally that the citie of Rome ſhall ſuſteine the lyke ſentence, as if a Iudge ſhould commaunde the skinne to be flayne of, the bloud to be drawen frõ the fleſh, and the fleſh to be cut in ſmall peeces, and the bones therof to be broken, ſo that all the mary may be quyſed out frõ the ſame. &c.*

Prophecies of Brigitte agaynſt Rome.

The prophecies of *Sybilla Erithrea, named Eriphila.*

Ex Sybilla Erithrea in ſuo Nazilographo. imperiali ſcripto.

But for breuitie I let Brigitte paſſe, & ſome thyng will declare out of Erythrea Sybilla, in her booke of prophecies found in S. Georges church in Venyce: Where ſhe prophecyіng many thyngs of ÿ byrth of Chriſt vnder Auguſtus, and of ÿ byrth of Iohn Baptiſt, & of Baptiſme, of the Apoſtles, of the conuerſion of the Gentils, & of Conſtantinus. &c. hath theſe wordes: *After that the peaceable Bull ſhall conclude all the climes of the world vnder tribute, in thoſe dayes a heauẽly lambe ſhall come: and the dayes ſhall come, whẽ the power of the flowyng ſtreame ſhall be magnified in water, and the Lyon the Monarche ſhall be conuerted to the lambe, whiche ſhall ſhyne to all men, and ſubuert kingdomes.* Moreouer ſayth Sybilla, *In the latter age God ſhall be humbled, and the diuine offſpryng ſhall be abaſed, and deitie ſhall be ioyned with humanitie, the lambe ſhall lye in hay, and God and man ſhalbe bredde vp vnder a maydens attendance, ſignes and wonders ſhall go before amongeſt the circumciſed. &c.* Alſo, *an aged woman ſhall conceaue a child hauyng knowledge of thinges to come. The world ſhall meruell at bowtes (the ſtarre) whiche ſhall be a leader to his byrth. He hauyng 32. feete, and vi. thumbes ſhall chuſe to hym ſelfe out of fiſhers and abiectes, the number of xij. and one deuill, not with ſword nor with battell. &c.* And afterwarde thus foloweth moreouer, in Sybilla, ſaying: **The health of the lãbe lyeng ſhal be clothed with a few ſpoiles of the Lyon. Blacke ſhall be turned into red. He ſhal ſubdue the citie of Æneas, and kings, but in the hoke of the fiſher, In deiection, and pouertie he ſhall conquere riches, and ſhall tread downe pride with his owne death: In the night he ſhall ryſe vp and be chaunged, hee ſhall lyue and reigne, and all theſe thinges ſhall be cõſummated, and regeneration (or new thynges) be made: at laſt he ſhall iudge both good and euill. &c.* And thys much briefly collected out of Sybilla Erythrea concernyng Chriſte our Lord.

Prophecies of Sybilla of Chriſt.

By his feete is ſuppoſed to be ment the yeares of hys age.

* The lãbe lyeng &c. that is, The Churche without trauell ſhal be maintained with ſome lyuyng or poſſeſsions of cheif rulers.

Furthermore touchyng ÿ ſtate & courſe of ÿ Churche, and of Antichriſt, it foloweth in the ſayd Sybille ſaying: *Then ſhall iiij. wynged beaſtes riſe vp in teſtimonie, they ſhall ſound out with trũpets the name of the lãbe, ſowyng righteouſnes, and the law irreprehenſible. Againſt which law, the beaſt ſhall gaynſtand, and the abhomination and frothe of the dragon. But a meruelous ſtarre ſhall ryſe, hauyng the image of the iiij. beaſtes, and ſhall be in a meruelous multitude, he ſhall bring light to the Greekes, and ſhall illuſtrate the world: The lake of the fiſher ſhall bring the name of the lambe with power into the Citie of Eneas, vnto the ende of the world (or tyme.) Then in the Citie of Eneas, the ſtarre ioyned, ſhall looſe ſuch as were bound of the deuill, and therof he ſhall reioyſe and glorie, and glorious ſhall be his end. &c.*

By theſe 4 beaſtes is ment the 4. Monarchies of the world, that is, the multitude of all the kingdomes of the gẽtiles, as is in the Apocal.

By the Citie of *Eneas* is ment Rome.

After this, Sybilla writing (as it ſemeth) of Antichriſt, importeth theſe wordes: *And it ſhall come to paſſe, that an horrible beaſt ſhall come out of the Eaſt, whoſe roryng ſhall be heard to Aphrike, to the people of Carthage, whiche hath vij. heades, and ſcepters innumerable, feete. 663. He ſhall gaynſtand the lambe, to blaſpheme his Teſtament, encreaſing the waters of the dragon. The kinges and princes of the world he ſhall burne in intolerable ſweate, and they ſhall not diminiſhe his feete. And then ij. ſtarres like to the firſt ſtarre, ſhall riſe againſt the beaſt, and ſhall not preuaile, till the abhomination ſhall be come, and the will of the Lord ſhall be conſummate.* And againe ſpeaking of ÿ ſame matter, he inferreth theſe wordes of the foreſayd ij. ſtarres aboue mentioned. *And toward the latter dayes ij. bright ſtarres ſhall ariſe, rayſing vp men lyeng dead in their ſinnes, beyng like to the firſt ſtarre, hauing the face of the iiij. beaſtes, whiche ſhall reſiſte the beaſt, and the waters of the Dragon, teſtifying (or preaching) the name and law of the lambe, the deſtruction of abhomination and iudgemẽt, and ſhall diminiſhe his waters, but they ſhall be weakened in the bread of affliction, and they ſhall riſe agayn in ſtronger force. &c.*

The propheſies of Sybilla, of Antichriſt.

The 663. feete do meane the yeares of hys reigne.

His feete, that is, the number of his reygne and tyme appoynted of the Lord.

Theſe ii ſtarres ſeme to meane Iohn Hus, and Hierome. who beyng put to death by the Pope, their doctrine roſe again more ſtrongly, then before.

And it foloweth moreouer: *After the abhominatiõ, then ſhall truth be reueled, and the lambe ſhall be knowen, to whom regions and countreis ſhall ſubmitte their neckes, and all earthly men ſhall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled vnder one diſcipline, and after this ſhall be but a ſmall tyme. &c.*

And ſhortly after, the ſayd Sybille ſpeakyng of the latter iudgement to come, declareth how all the abhominations of ſinnes ſhall come before the lambe: and that terrible fire ſhall fall from heauen, whiche ſhall conſume all earthly thinges created vnto the toppe of heauen. &c.

And thus much out of Sybilla touchyng her propheſies of Chriſt & Antichriſt, accordіng as I found them alleadged of a certein catholike Romiſh writer, in his booke intituled, Onus eccleſiæ, excerped, as he ſayth, out of the librarye of S. George in the Citie of Venice.

Ex libro cui titulus, Onus eccleſiæ.

Philippe Melancthon in his preface vpon Bartholomæus Georgionitz Peregrinus, writyng of ÿ Origene and maners of the Turkes, alledgeth a certeine propheſie of Hiltenus, mentioned hereafter, which foreſayd that the Turkes ſhould beare rule in Italie, and in Germanie, an. 1600.

Now it remaineth, in cõcluſion of theſe propheſies of the Turkes, ſome thyng to ſay of the Turkes owne propheſies, concernyng the enduryng, and endyng of theyr own kingdome, whoſe prophetical prognoſticatiõ, being taken out of their owne language, & their owne bookes, I thought here to inſert, as I finde it alledged in ÿ booke of ÿ foreſaid Bartholomæus Georgieniz, as foloweth.

❡ *A Turkiſhe prophecie in the Perſian toung of the reigne and ruine of the Turkes.*

Patiſſahomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, kenzul almai alur, Kapzeiler, iedi y ladegh Gyaur keleci cſikmaſſe, en ikiyladegh onlaron beghlig eder: euſi iapar, baghi diker bahcſai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldenſora Hriſtianon Keleci cſichar, ol Turchi ghereſtine tus chure.

❡ *The Latine of the ſame.*

Imperator noſter veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoq; pomum capiet, in ſuam poteſtatem rediget: quod ſi ſeptimum vſque annum Chriſtianorum gladius non inſurrexit, vſque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos ſepibus muniet, liberos procreabit, & poſt duodecimum annum, apparebit Chriſtianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaqua verſum in fugam aget.

By the prince of the Gentiles the Turkes do here meane the kyngdomes & dominions of the Chriſtians, whẽ they call Gentiles, becauſe they are not circũciſed after their maner.

❡ *The ſame in Engliſhe.*

Our Emperour ſhall come: he ſhall get the kyngdome of the Gẽtiles prince: alſo he ſhall take the red apple & ſhall bryng it vnder his ſubiection: and if the ſword of the Chriſtians ſhall not riſe vnto the vij. yeare, he ſhall haue dominion ouer them vnto the xij. yeare. He ſhall buylde houſes, plante vineyardes, ſhall hedge about his orchardes, ſhall procreate children: and after the xij. yeare ſhall appeare the ſworde of the Chriſtians, whiche ſhall put the Turke to flight euery where.

The expoſitiõ of the Turkes prophecie.

They which make declaration of this Turkiſh propheſie do expounde this xij. yeare to ſignifie the xij. yeare after the wynnyng of Conſtantinople: whiche Conſtantinople, they ſay, is ment by the redde apple: And after that xij. yeare, ſay they, ſhall riſe the ſword of the Chriſtians. ⁊c. and this propheſie beyng written and tranſlated out of the Perſian tounge, with this expoſition vpon the ſame, is to be founde in the boke of Bartholomæus Georgienitz. Albeit, concernyng the expoſition therof, it ſemeth not to be true which is there ſpoken of ẏ xij. yeare after the wynning of Conſtantinople, beyng now 100. yeares ſince the wynnyng therof.

Ex Barthol. Georgienitz.

An other expoſition.

Wherfore it may rather ſeme probable that by the vij. yeare and xij. yeare of the Turkes, this to be ẏ meanyng: that if the vij. of the Ottomã Turkes do ſcape the ſword of the Chriſtians, they ſhall continue, builde and plante, ⁊c. vntill the xij. Turke, whiche is this Solimannus, and then after that ſhall riſe the Chriſtiãs ſword, which ſhall put thẽ to flight ⁊ vanquiſh thẽ in all quarters. And thys expoſition may ſeeme to accorde with ẏ place of Geneſis, wherin is written, of Iſmael that he had xij. ſonnes, ⁊ no moe: So that thys Solymannus being ẏ xij. Turke after Ottomãnus, may (by ẏ grace of Chriſt) be ẏ laſt, whom we heard credably to be reported, at the printing hereof, to be dead. But how ſoeuer this propheſie is to be taken, it appeareth by their owne oracles, that at length they ſhall be ouercome by the Chriſtians.

Gen. 25.

❡ *A Table deſcribyng the tymes and yeares of* the Saracens, Turkes, and Tartarians, for the better explaning of the ſtory aboue prefixed.

The Saracens begynne their reigne.	AN. 632. Began ẏ kyngdome of ẏ Saracens or Arabians after the death of Mahumet ẏ firſt ryngleader of that miſchiefe: whiche Saracens reignyng in Babylon ouer Perſia and Aſia, continued about. ——	198. *yeares.*
	An. 667. Hieruſalẽ was takẽ of ẏ Saracens. Theſe Saracens after they had ſubdued Ormiſda kyng of Perſia, ſet vp to them ſelues a new kyngdome callyng their chief prince Calipha, which ſignifieth a generall Lord: and vnder him Seriphes, that is, an vnder prince: And agayne vnder hym their Suldane, whiche is, a ruler or captaine: vnder the whiche Suldanes, all their prouinces were diuided. And thus ruled they the ſpace aboue ſayd of. ——	198. *yeares.*
The Ægyptian Saracens or Sultanes.	An. 703. The Ægyptiãs being wery of their ſubiectiõ vnder ẏ Romanes, called for helpe of the Saracen, Calipha: and ſo caſtyng of the Romanes, ſubmitted them ſelues to the law of ẏ Saracẽs, ⁊ had alſo their Calipha, ⁊ their Babylõ called Cayrus, where their Calipha cõtinued vnto Saraco or Syracinus. ——	447. *yeares.*
	An. 810. Mauginetus or Muchumetus ẏ chiefe Sultan of Perſia, beyng at variaunce with Imbrael ẏ Sultan of Babylon, ſẽt for ẏ ayde of ẏ Turkes, out of Scythia: by whõ, when he had got the victory agaynſt the Babylonians, the ſayd Turkes ſhortlye after, conquered the Perſians and ſubdued theyr countrey within the ſpace of. ——	20. *yeares.*
The Saracens kyngdome ceaſeth.	An. 830. The Saracens being expulſed out of Aſia by the Turkes, wandered about Aphricke, Spayne, and Italie, and were in diuers places diperſed, and ſo remayne.	
The Turkes kyngdome begynneth.	An. 830. The Turkes after they had expulſed the Saracens out of Aſia, beganne to reigne in Aſia, in Perſia, ⁊ in Arabia, and there reigned without interruptiõ, till ẏ cõming of the Tartarians, the ſpace of. ——	192. *yeares.*
	An. 1009. The Turkes wanne the Citie of Hieruſalem frõ the Saracens: whiche Citie the Sultan of Ægypte wanne agayne from the Turkes ſhortly after, and poſſeſſed the ſame till the commyng of Gotfridus.	
	An. 1051. Began the firſt king of ẏ Turkes called Zaduke, to reigne in Aſia, and ioyned league with Calipha of Ægypte, and there reigned till the conqueſt of Gotfridus and the Chriſtians, the ſpace of. ——	46. *yeares.*
	An. 1078. Solymannus, nephew to Aſpaſalem ẏ Turkiſh king in Aſia, otherwiſe called Turquinia, ſubdued Cappadocia, whiche hath continued now ſince, the ſpace of. ——	500. *yeares.*
	An 1099. Gotfridus Bulion, Duke of Lotharyng a Chriſtẽ prince, takyng his viage into Aſia, with 700000. chriſtẽ ſouldiours, firſt got ẏ Citie of Nicea agaynſt ẏ Sultan of the Turkes: then Lycaonia, Cilicia, Syria, afterward Meſopotamia, and Comagena, then Antiochia. an. 1098; and the next yeare recouered Hieruſalem, being thẽ in the handes of the Saracens, whiche they a litle before had wõne from the Turkes, as is aforeſayd. After this Gotfridus ſucceded vij. Chriſtian kyngs, whiche kept the kyngdome of Hieruſalem and Aſia both frõ the Turkes and Saracens the ſpace of. ——	88. *yeares.*
	An. 1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the greater, vanquiſhed the Turkes out of ẏ kyngdome of Perſia, after they had cut their kyng in pèeces. Wherby ẏ Turkes flying to Cappadocia, there remained vnder Solymã, and ioyned them ſelues to ẏ Suldan of Ægypt, ⁊ wared thẽ ſtrong in Aſia minor, called now Turquinia.	
	An. 1170. Whẽ Almericus the vij. kyng of Hieruſalẽ after Gotfridus, had ouercome ẏ Calipha or Sultane of Ægypt, the Sultane beyng ouercome called for the helpe of Saracon the Sultan of Syria. This Saracon after he had expulſed the Chriſtians out of Ægypt, turned his power agaynſt the Sultan of Ægypte, and vanquiſhyng him, tooke to hym ſelfe the kyngdome of Ægypt: Which kyngdome hèe with his poſteritie did holde till the commyng of the Tartarians and the Mamaluches about the ſpace of. ——	88. *yeares.*
	An. 1187. Saladinus ẏ nephew of Saracon ẏ Sultan of Ægypt, perceauing ẏ diſſenſion amonge the Chriſtian ſtates of Paleſtina, got Antioche, where he ſlue Raymunndus the prince, with his owne hãdes: Then got Tiberias: From thence went to Accon, where he tooke Guido king of Hieruſalem and Maiſter of the Templares, priſoners: for whoſe raũſome, the Turke had Aſcalon yelded vp to hym of the Chriſtians. That done, he ſubdued Hieruſalem, whiche had bene in the handes of ẏ Chriſtians before, the ſpace of. ——	88. *yeares.*
	An. 1189. Friderike Emperour, Philippe Frẽch kyng, Richrad king of Englãd made their viage into Aſia, where Friderike waſhing in a ryuer at Cilicia, dyed. In this viage at the ſiege of Accam, Saladinus wãne the	

field

fielde of our men, of whō 2000. were ſlaine in the chaſe. Accon at lēgth was got of the Chriſtians. K. Richard gotte Cyprus. The ij. kynges fell at ſtrife. Philip retyred home without any good doing. King Richard layd ſiege to Hieruſalem, but in vayne, and ſo returnyng homeward was taken nere to Vienna in Auſtria, after he had taken truce before with the Soldan, vpon ſuch conditiō as pleaſed him. And thys good ſpede had the Popes, ſendyng out agaynſt the Turkes.

Tranſubſtantiation.

An. 1215. There was an other Coūcell holden at Rome, by pope Innocent 3. where was enacted a new article of our fayth for tranſubſtantiatiō of bread ⁊ wine, to be turned into the body ⁊ bloud of our ſauiour. In this Coūcell alſo great excitation was made by ẏ pope, ⁊ great preparatiō was throughe all Chriſtendome, to ſet forward for recouery of the holy land. A mighty armie was collected of dukes, lordes, knightes, byſhops and prelates, that if Gods bleſſing had gone with them, they might haue gone throughout all Aſia and India.

An. 1219. The Chriſtians after 18. monethes ſiege, got a certain towne in Ægypt called Damiata, or Elipolis, wt much a do, but not much to ẏ purpoſe. For afterward as the Chriſtian armie of ẏ popes ſending, went about to beſiege the Citie Cayrus or Babylon, the Sultan throughe his ſubtile trayne ſo intrapped and incloſed them within the daunger of Nilus, that they were conſtreyned to render agayne the Citie Damiata, with their priſoners, and all the furniture therof, as they found it, into the Soldans hand, and glad ſo with their lyues to paſſe forward to Tyrus. an. 1221.

In the meane time the Ægyptian Turke cauſed the Citie of Hieruſalem to be raſed, that it ſhould ſerue to no vſe to the Chriſtians. What great thing els was done in that viage, it doth not greatly appeare in ſtories. Albeit Fridericus the 2. Emperour was not vnfruitfully there occupyed, and much more might haue done, had it not bene for the violence and perſecution of the Byſhop of Rome agaynſt him: wherby he was enforced to take truce with the Sultan for ten yeares, and ſo returned. After which things done, not many yeares after, at length the laſt Citie of all belonging to the Chriſtians, whiche was Ptolomais or Akers, was alſo taken from them by the Sultane, ſo that nowe the Chriſtians had not one foote left in all Aſia.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 389.

Tartarians.

Portæ Caſpiæ.

An. 1203. Thus ẏ Chriſtians beyng dryuē out of Aſia by the Sultans ⁊ Turkes, yet the ſayd Turkes and Sultanes dyd not long enioye their victory: For eftſones ẏ Lord ſtirred vp agaynſt them the Tartarians, who breakyng into Aſia by ẏ portes of Caſpius, ſubdued diuers partes of Aſia, namely about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. Theſe Tartariās, as they had got many captiues in their warres: ſo for gayne vſed to ſhyppe them ouer cuſtomably to Alexandria in Ægypt to be ſolde: whiche ſeruaūtes and captiues Melechſala the great Sultan was glad to bie, to ſerue him in his warres. Whiche captiues and ſeruaunts after they had continued a certeine ſpace in Ægypte, and through their valiaunt ſeruice, grew in fauour and eſtimation with ẏ ſayd Melechſala, and beganne more to increaſe in number and ſtrength: at length they ſlue hym, and toke to them ſelues the name and kyngdome of the Sultan. And thus ceaſed the ſtocke of Saracon and Saladinus afore mencioned, whiche continued in Ægypte about the ſpace as is ſayd of. 100. *yeares.*

Saladinus ſtocke in Ægypt ceaſeth.

An. 1240. After ẏ death of Melechſala, the army of theſe foreſaid raſcals and captiues, ſet vp to them ſelues a kyng of their own cōpany, whom they called Turquemenius. Who to fill vp the number of their company that it ſhould not diminiſhe, diuiſed this order, to get or to bye Chriſten mens children, taken young from their parentes, and the mothers lappe: whom they vſed ſo to bryng vp to make them to renye Chriſt, and to be circumciſed, and inſtructed in Mahumetes law, ⁊ afterward to be trained in the feates of warre, and theſe were called Mamaluchi. Among whom this was their order, that none might be aduaunced to bee kyng, but out of their owne number, or els choſen by them: neither that any ſhould be made knightes or horſemen, but onely the children of Chriſtians, whiche ſhould denye Chriſt before, called Mamaluchi. Alſo it was among them prouided, that to this dignitie neither Saracens nor Iewes ſhould be admitted. Item, that the ſucceſſion thereof ſhould not deſcende to the children and offſpryng of theſe Mamaluchi. Alſo, that the ſucceſſion of the crowne ſhoulde not deſcende to the children of the foreſayd Sultans, but ſhould go by voyce and election. The Tartariās with Turquemenius their kyng, aboute this tyme obteyned Turquia, that is, Aſia Minor, from the Turkes, and within ij. yeares after, preuailyng agaynſt the Turkes, expelled them from their kyngdome, and ſo continued theſe Mamaluchi reignyng ouer Ægypt and a greate parte of Aſia, till the tyme of Tomumbeius their laſt kyng, whiche was deſtroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Zelimus ẏ Turke, father to this Solymannus, as in his ſtory is declared, pag. 885. Theſe Mamaluchi continued the ſpace of. 260. *yeares.*

Mamaluchi in Ægypt.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 885.

An. 1245. Theſe Tartarians raungyng through ẏ countreyes of ẏ Georgians, ⁊ all Armenia, came as farre as Iconiū, which was thē the Imperiall Citie of the Turkes.
An. 1289. The Soldan of Ægypt ⁊ Babylon got frō the Chriſtians Tripolis, Tyrus, Sidon, and Berithus in Syria.
An. 1291. Laſtly, Ptolomais, which alſo is called Akers, was ſurpriſed by ẏ ſayd Soldan, raſed and caſt down to ẏ ground, ⁊ all the Chriſtians therin (which were not many lefte) were ſlayne. And this was the laſt Citie which the Chriſtians had in Aſia: So that now the Chriſtians haue not one foote (as is ſayd before) left in all Aſia. Thus the Ægyptian Soldans, and the Tartariās reigned ⁊ raunged ouer the moſt part of Aſia, aboue ẏ Turkes, till the reigne of Ottomānus the great Turke, about ẏ ſpace of. 80. *yeares.*

¶ And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe of ẏ Turkiſh ſtorie, with their names, countreys, townes, dominions, alſo with their tymes, cõtinuance, interruptions and alterations, in order deſcribed & in yeares diſtincted: Which otherwiſe in moſt authors and writers bée ſo confuſed, that it is hard to knowe diſtinctlye, what difference is betwene the Saracens, Turkes, Tartarians, the Sultans or Soldans, Mamaluches, or Ianizarites: what is their Calipha, their Seriphes, their Sultan, or Baſſa, in what tymes they began, and howe long, and in what order of yeares they reigned. All whiche in this preſent table manifeſtly to thyne eye may appeare.

Why the pope can not preuaile agaynſt the Turkes.

¶ Wherin this thou haſt moreouer (gentle reader) to conſider, whiche is worthy the notyng, how the Byſhop of Rome all this ſeaſon, from the firſte begynnyng of the Turkes reigne, hath not ceaſed from tyme to tyme continually, callyng vpon Chriſten princes and ſubiectes, to take the croſſe, and to warre agaynſt the Turkes: whereupon ſo many great viages haue bene made to the holy land, and ſo many battailes fought agaynſt the Turke and Soldan for wynnyng the holy croſſe: and yet no luckye ſucceſſe hath folowed therof hetherto, nor euer came it proſperouſly forward, what ſoeuer, throughe the excityng of that Byſhop, hath bene attẽpted agaynſt that great enemie of the Lord: In ſo much that the Chriſtiãs haue loſt not onely all that they had in Aſia, but alſo vnneth are able to defende that litle they haue in Europe, agaynſt his violence. What the cauſe is of this hard lucke of the Byſhops doynges, it is hard for man to define. Let men muſe as their mynde leadeth, and as the Goſpell ſayth, he that hath eyes to ſée, let him ſée. This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the Biſhop of Rome, to ſtyrre men vp to that buſines: ſo on the princes behalfe there hath lacked no courage, no ſtrẽgth of men, no contribution of expenſes, no ſupportation of charges, no furniture or abilement of warre: onely the bleſſyng of God ſemeth to haue lacked. The reaſon and cauſe wherof I would were ſo eaſy to be reformed, as it may be quickly conſtrued. For what man beholdyng the lyfe of vs Chriſtians, will greatly meruell, why the Lord goeth not with our armye to fight agaynſt the Turkes? And if my verdite might here haue place, for me to adde my cenſure, there appeareth to me an other cauſe in this matter yet greater then this aforeſayd: which to make plaine & euident in ful diſcourſe of wordes, layſure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceaue, my opiniõ is this: that if yͤ ſyncere doctrine of Chriſten fayth deliuered & left vnto vs in the word of God, had not ben ſo corrupted in the Church of Rome, or if the Byſhop of Rome would yet reclame his impure idolatrie, and prophanations, and admitte Chriſte the lambe of God to ſtand alone, without our vnpure additions, to be our onely iuſtification, accordyng to the frée promiſe of Gods grace: I nothyng doubt but the power of this fayth groũdyng onely vppon Chriſt the ſonne of God, had both framed our lyues into a better diſpoſition: and alſo ſone would, or yet will bryng downe the pride of that proude Holofernes: But otherwiſe, if the Biſhop of Rome will not gentelye geue place to the mylde voyce of Gods worde, I thincke not contrarye, but he ſhall be compelled at laſte to geue place and roume to the Turke, whether he will or not. And yet notwithſtandyng, when both the Turke and the Pope ſhall doo agaynſt it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods Teſtament ſhall fructifie and increaſe, by ſuch meanes as the Lord ſhall worke, which begynneth already (prayſe to yͤ Lord) to come graciouſly and luckely forward, in moſt places.

God offended with Idolatrye & wronge fayth of the Chriſtians.

¶ A Prayer agaynſt the Turkes.

A prayer agaynſt the Turkes.

O Eternall Lord God, father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, creator and diſpoſer of all thinges, iuſt, gracious, and wiſe onely, in the name and reuerence of thy ſonne Ieſus, we proſtrate our ſelues, deſiring thine omnipotent maieſtie, to looke downe vpon theſe afflicted times of thy poore creatures and ſeruauntes: releaue thy Church, increaſe our fayth, and confound our enemies: And as thou haſt geuẽ thine onely begotten ſonne vnto vs, promiſing with him life to all that ſhall beleue vpon his name: ſo incline the obedience of our fayth to thy promiſes in him, that our hartes may be farre of from all other ſinnefull additions and prophane inuentions, which are beſides him, and not in hym grounded vpon thy will and promiſe. And graunt (we beſéch thee) to thy Church, more and more to ſee, how horrible a thing it is, to ſet vp any other meanes or helpe of ſaluation, but onely in him, whom thou onely haſt ſent and ſealed. Reforme thy Church with perfecte doctrine, and faythfull teachers, that we ſeing our owne weakenes, may put of our ſelues, and put on him, without whom we can do nothing. So ſhall we ſtand ſtronge, when nothing ſtandeth in vs, but thy ſonne alone, in whom thou art onely pleaſed. Renewe in thys thy Church agayne, the decayed fayth of thy ſonne Ieſus, which may plentifully bring forth in vs, not leaues onely, but fruites of Chriſtian life: And forgeue our wretched Idolatrie, and blinde phantaſies paſt, wherwith we haue prouoked manyfolde wayes, thy deſerued indignation againſt vs: For our hartes haue bene full of Idoles, our temples full of Images, our waies full of hipocriſie: thy Sacramentes prophaned, and thy Religion turned to ſuperſtition, becauſe the lanterne of thy worde went not before vs, therfore we haue ſtumbled. Miſerably we haue walked hetherto, like ſonnes not of Sara, but of Agar, and therfore theſe Turkiſhe Agarens haue riſen vp againſt vs. Many hard and ſtraite waies we haue paſſed, but the waies of the Lord we haue not found. Much coſte we haue beſtowed on bread that ſwageth no hunger, but that bread which onely feedeth and commeth freely, we haue not taſted. We haue ſayled farre and neare, in barkes of our owne building, but haue not kept within the Arke onely of thy promiſe, and therfore theſe floudes haue taken vs. We haue prayed much, but not in thine appointed temple, and therefore haue not bene heard. We haue plowed and tilled, but without thy haiffer, and therfore this vntydie ground of ours, bringeth forth ſo many weedes. We doe fiſhe apace, & that all night, but becauſe we fiſhe not on the right ſide of the boate, in our fiſhing we catch neuer a finne. Our buildinges be full of good intentions, and great deuotions, but becauſe the ground worke is not ſurely layd vpon the rocke of thy promiſe, the Eaſt winde ryſeth and ſhaketh them all to ſheuers. We walke and haue walked long after the preceptes and doctrines of men, hauing a ſhewe of wiſedome, but not as holding the head, where lyeth all our ſtrength, and therfore theſe Philiſtian Turkes, haue hetherto ſo preuailed againſt vs. Briefly, all the partes and bones of the body be ſhaken out of place. Wherfore we beſeeche thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hand, and ſet them in the right ioynt agayne: And finally reduce this ſame thy myſticall body againe, to his perfecte & naturall head, which is thine onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and none other. For him onely haſt thou annoynted & appointed. Neither is there any other head, that cã miniſter ſtrength & nutriment to this body, but he alone: for as much as all other heades be ſinnefull, and are not able to ſtand in thy ſight, but make this body rather worſe then better. Onely this thy welbeloued & perfecte ſonne is he, in whom onely dwelleth all our ſtrength & fulnes: him onely we confeſſe & knowledge. For whom, and with whom, we beſeeche thee (O Lord God of hoaſtes) graunt to thy Church ſtrength and victorie againſt the malicious furye of theſe Turkes, Saracens, Tartarians, againſt Gog and Magog, and all the malignaunt rable of Antichriſt, enemies to thy ſonne Ieſus our Lorde and Sauiour. Preuent their deuiſes, ouerthrow their power, and diſſolue their kingdome, that the kingdome of thy ſonne ſo long oppreſſed, may recouer and floriſhe ouer all: and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happely be reduced againe into the folde of thy ſaluation, through Ieſus Chriſt our onely mediatour and moſt mercifull aduocate. Amen.

Pſal. 119.
Galat. 4.
Sapien. 5.
Eſai. 55.
Geneſ. 6.
Iudic. 14.
Ioa. 21.
Luke. 6.
Coloſſ. 2.

1500.

In this long digreſſion, wherin ſufficiently hath bene deſcribed the greuous and tedious perſecution of the Saracens, & Turkes agaynſt the Chriſtians, thou haſt to underſtand (good reader) and behold the image of a terrible Antichriſt euidently appearyng both by his own doyngs, and alſo by the Scriptures, propheſied and declared to vs before. Now in cōparyng the Turke with the Pope, if a queſtion bee aſked whether of them is the truer or greater Antichriſt, it were eaſye to ſee and iudge, that the Turke is the more open and manifeſt enemie agaynſt Chriſt and his Churche. But if it be aſked, whether of them two hath bene the more bloudy and pernitious aduerſary to Chriſte and his mēbers, or whether of them hath conſumed and ſpilt more Chriſtian bloud, he with ſword, or this with fire and ſword together, neither is it a light matter to diſcerne, neither is it my part here to diſcuſſe, whiche do but onely write the hyſtorie, and the Actes of them both. Wherfore after the ſtory of the Turkes thus finiſhed, now to reenter agayne there, where as we left, in deſcribing the domeſticall troubles and perſecutions here at home under the Byſhop of Rome: after the burnyng of Babram in Northfolke aboue declared. pag. 866. I ſignified alſo of an other certaine aged man mentioned in an old written Chronicle borowed of one in the tower, intituled Polychron. (although I finde not hys name in the ſayd Chronicle expreſſed) whiche ſuffered the paynes of burnyng in Smithfield, about the ſame tyme, which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1500. Ex Polychron.

A queſtion whether is the greater Antichriſt the Turke or the Pope

Babram and an olde man, Martyrs. *Vid. ſupra. pag. 866.*

Ex ſcripto Polychronico.

This aged father, I ſuppoſe, be hee of whom I finde mention made in certeine olde papers and recordes of William Carye Citizen (albeit the day of the moneth doth a litle differ) wherin is thus teſtified, that on the xx. day of July, an. 1500. vpon ẏ day of S. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for an hereticke, and the ſame perſon vpon the tenth daye before he was burned, would haue ſtolen out of the Lolardes tower, and ſo fallyng out of the tower, did fowlye hurt him ſelf: wherupon he was caryed in a carte to his death, as he went to his burnyng.

In the foreſayd papers of auncient recorde, is furthermore declared, how in the yeare aboue prefixed, whiche was, an. 1499. in the tyme of one Perſeuel, many were taken for heretikes in Kent, and at Paules croſſe they bare faggottes and were abiured, and ſhortlye after the ſame yeare, there went xij. lolardes afore the proceſſiō in Paules, and there were of thē viij. wemen and a young ladde, and the laddes mother was one of the viij. and all the xij. bare faggots in their neckes afore the proceſſion.

Diuers Kentyſhmē bearing fagottes.

¶ *William Tylſeley, Martyr.*

William Tylſeley, Martyr.

For ſo much as the world is come now to ſuch a moroſitie and peuiſhe inſenſibilitie in theſe cōtentious and cauillyng dayes of ours, that nothyng can be ſo circumſpectlye written and ſtoried, but ſhall lye in daunger of one Sycophant or an other, whiche neuer will credite there, where they liſte not to lyke: neither will they euer lyke that, whiche ſeemeth preiudiciall to their faction, or not to ſerue the humor wherewith their phantaſies be infected: therefore to ſtoppe the mouthes of ſuche carpyng cauillers with as much poſſiblitie as I may, bee it knowen to all and ſingular ſuch perſons, who by euidence of truth and witnes will be ſatiſfied, that in the towne of Amerſham, be yet alyue both men and wemen, whiche can and do beare wytnes of this that I ſhall declare. Alſo there is of the ſayd companye one named William Page, an aged father and yet alyue, witnes to the ſame. Alſo an other named Agnes Wetherley wydowe, beyng about the age of an hundreth yeares, yet lyuing and wytnes hereof: That in the dayes of kyng Henry vij. an. 1506. in the dioces of Lyncolne in Bukynghams ſhyre (William Smith beyng Byſhop of the ſame dioces) one Willam Tylſeley was burned in Amerſham, in a cloſe called Standley about 60. yeares agoe. At which time one Ioane Clerke, being a maryed womā, which was ẏ onely daughter of ẏ ſaid W. Tylſeley and a faithfull woman, was compelled with her own hādes to ſet fire to her deare father: and at the ſame tyme her huſband Iohn Clerke dyd penaunce at her fathers burnyng, and bare a fagot, as did alſo.

The daughter cōpelled to ſet fyre to her father.

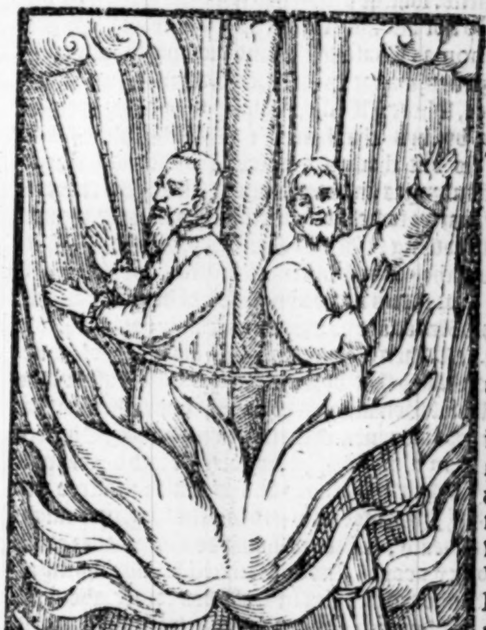
Robert Bartlet.
Richard Bartlet.
Iohn Bartlet.
Thomas Hardyng,
and his wife.
Henry Hardyng.
Richard Hardyng.
Robert Hardyng.
Iohn Milſent,
and his wife.
William Whyte.
Iohn Mumbe,
and his wife.
Richard Bennet.
Roger Bennet.
Iohn Fip.
William Grinder.
Thomas Homes.
Yomand Dorman.
William Scriuener.
Iohn Scriuener.
Thomas Chaſe.
Iohn Cracher.

All theſe bare fagottes, and afterwarde were compelled to weare certaine badges, and went abroad to certayne townes to doo penaunce, as to Buckyngham, Aylesbury, and other townes moe: And alſo diuers of theſe men were afterwarde burned in the cheeke, as William Page, whiche at this preſent is alyue, and lykewiſe did beare a fagot with the aforeſayd. Farthermore the foreſayd Agnes Wetherley teſtifieth, that at the burnyng of this William Tylſeley, were lx. and aboue that were put to beare fagottes for their penaunce, of whom diuers were enioyned to beare and to weare fagottes at Lyncolne, the ſpace of vij. yeares, ſome at one tyme, ſome at an other. &c. In which number was alſo one Robert Bartlet a rich mā, who for his profeſſiō ſake was put out of his ferme and goodes, and was condemned to be kept in ẏ monaſterye of Ashryge, where he ware on his right ſleue a ſquare peece of cloth the ſpace of vij. yeares together.

Amerſham men bearing fagottes.

It foloweth moreouer in the teſtimonie of the forenamed, that about the ſame tyme of the burnyng of William Tilſeley (as the Amerſham men do ſay) or the next day after (as recordeth the foreſayd Agnes) was one father Robertes burned at Buckyngham. He was a Miller and dwelled at Myſſenden: and at his burnyng there was aboue xx. perſons that were compelled to beare fagottes, and to do ſuch penaunce as the wicked Phariſies dyd compell them. After that by the ſpace of ij. or 3. yeres, was burned at Amerſhā, Thomas Barnard a huſbandmā, and Iames Mordō a labourer: they ij. were burned both at one fire: and there was Williā Litlepage (who is yet aliue) cōpelled to be burned in the ryght cheeke, & father Rogers, and father Reuer *alias* Reyue, whiche after was burned.

Father Robertes, Martyr.



Thomas Barnard. Iames Mordon, Martyrs.

Father Reuer Martyr.

Thys father Rogers was in the Byſhops priſon xiiij. weekes together night and daye, where he was ſo cruellye handled, with colde, hunger, and yrons, that after his commyng out of the ſayd priſon, he was ſo lame in hys backe that hee could neuer go vpright as long as he lyued, as can teſtifie diuers honeſte men that be nowe lyuyng. Alſo there was xxx. moe burned in the right cheeke and bare fagots the ſame tyme. The cauſe was, that they would talke againſt ſuperſticion and Idolatry, and were deſirous to here and read the holye Scriptures. The maner of their burnyng in the cheeke was this: Their neckes were tyde faſt to a poſt or ſtay, with towels, and their handes holden that they might not ſtyrre, and ſo the yron beyng hoate was put to their cheekes, and thus bare they the printes and markes of the Lord Ieſus about them.

Men of Amarſham burnt in the cheeke for Gods worde.

¶ The cruell handlyng of Thomas Chaſe of Amerſham wickedly ſtrangled and martyred in the Byſhops priſon, at Wooborne, vnder William Smith Byſhop of Lincolne. an. 1506.

1506.

Among theſe aforeſayd, whiche were ſo cruelly perſecuted for the Goſpell & worde of Chriſt, one Thomas Chaſe of Amerſham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handeled. Which Thomas Chaſe by the reporte of ſuch as did know him, was a man of a godly, ſober, and honeſt behauiour (whoſe vertuous doynges do yet remayne in memory) and could not abyde Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, but many tymes would ſpeake agaynſt it: Wherefore the vngodly and wicked did the more hate and deſpiſe him, and tooke him, and brought him before the blynde Byſhop, beyng at that tyme at Wooburne, in the countie of Buckyngham, and as it is written. Act. 12. that wicked Herode did vexe certaine of the congregation & kylled Iames the brother of Iohn with the ſworde, and becauſe he ſaw that it pleaſed the Iewes. &c. he proceded farther and had this ſame Thomas Chaſe before him, aſkyng him many queſtions touchyng the Romiſhe Religion, with many tauntes, checkes, and rebukes, but what aunſwere this godly man Thomas Chaſe made them, it is not knowne. Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that his aunſwere was moſt zelous and godly in profeſſyng Chriſtes true Religion and Goſpell, and to the extirpation of Idolatry and ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, for that the ſayd Thomas Chaſe was commaunded to bee put in the Biſhops priſon called Litleeaſe, in the biſhops houſe at Wooburne, whiche priſon had not bene miniſtred vnto him, had not his aunſweres bene ſound and vpright. There Thomas Chaſe lay bound moſt paynefully with cheynes, gyues, manacles and yrõs oft tymes ſore pined with hõger, where ẏ Byſhops almes was dayly brought vnto him by hys chapleines: Whiche almes was nothyng els but checkes, tauntes, rebukes and threatnynges, floutynges and mockynges. All whiche crueltye the godly martyr tooke moſt quietly and paciently, remembryng and hauyng reſpect to Chriſtes promiſes. Math. 5. Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake: for theirs is the kyngdome of heauen, and as foloweth: Bleſſed are ye when men reuile you and perſecute you. &c. When the Byſhop with his bonde of ſhauelynges perceaued that by their dayly practiſes of crueltie they could not preuaile agaynſt hym, but rather that hee was the more feruent and earneſt in profeſſyng Chriſtes true Religion: and that he did tolerate and beare moſt paciently all their wickednes and crueltie miniſtred vnto him: they Imagined how and whiche way they might put hym to death, leſt there ſhould be a tumulte or an vprore among ẏ people. And as Richard Hunne ſhortly after was hanged or ſtrãgled in Lolardes tower, about the yeare of Lorde. 1514. euen ſo theſe bloudſuppers did moſt cruellye ſtrangle and preſſe to death this ſayd Thomas Chaſe in priſon, which moſt hartely called vpõ God to receiue his ſpirite: as witneſſeth a certaine woman, that kept him in priſon.

Thomas Chaſe Martyr.

Thomas Chaſe brought before the Byſhop,

Thomas Chaſe condemned to the byſhops pryſon at Wooburne called Littleeaſe.

A worthy almes of a byſhop.

The perfecte pacience and conſtancie of Thom. Chaſe.

Thomas Chaſe cruelly murthered in the biſhops priſon,

After that theſe ſtyngyng vipers beyng of the wicked broode of Antichriſt, had thus moſte cruellye and impiouſlye murthered this faithfull Chriſtian, they were at their wittes ende, and could not tell what ſhift to make, to cloke their ſhamefull murther withall. At laſt to blynd the ignoraunt ſely people, theſe bloudy butchers moſt ſlaunderouſly cauſed by their miniſters, to be bruted abroad, ẏ the foreſaid Thomas Chaſe had hanged him ſelfe in priſon: whiche was a moſt ſhamefull and abhominable lye, for the priſon was ſuch, that a man could not ſtand vpright nor lye at eaſe but ſtouppyng, as they do reporte that did know it. And beſides that, this man had ſo many manacles and yrons vpon him, that he could not well moue neither hand nor foote, as the women did declare that ſawe him dead, in ſomuch that they confeſſed that his bloudbolke was broken by reaſon they had ſo vilye beaten hym and bruſed hym: And yet theſe holy catholiques had not made an ende of their wicked acte in this both killyng & ſlaunderyng of this godly martyr, but to put out ẏ remẽbraunce of hym, they cauſed hym to be buried in the woode called Norlandwoode, in the hye waye betwixt Wooburne and litle Marlow, to the entent he ſhould not be taken vp agayne to be ſeene: And thus commonlye are innocent men layd vp by theſe clerklye clergye men. But he that is effectuallye true of hym ſelfe, hath promiſed at one tyme or at an other, to cleare his true ſeruauntes, not with lyes and fables, but by hys owne true worde. No ſecret ſayth he, is ſo cloſe but once ſhalbe opened: neither is any thyng ſo hid, that ſhall not at the laſt be knowen clearely. Such a ſweete Lord is God alwayes to thoſe that are his true ſeruauntes. Bleſſed be hys holy name therfore, for euer & euer. Amen.

Thomas Chaſe falſely ſlaundered to hange him ſelfe.

God bringeth to light the ſecret murthers of the papiſtes. *Math.* 10. *Luk.* 12.

Thomas Hardyng beyng one of this company, thus moleſted and troubled as is aforeſayd, in the towne of Amerſham, for the truth of the Goſpell, after his abiuratiõ and penaunce done, was agayne ſought for, and brought to the fire, in the dayes of kyng Henry viij. and vnder D. Langlond thẽ biſhop of Lyncolne, ſucceedyng after Cardinall Wolſey. Of whoſe death & martyrdome, we ſhall likewiſe recorde (Chriſt willing and graunting) in order when wee ſhall come to the tyme and yeare of hys ſufferyng.

After the martyrdome of theſe ij. I read alſo of one Thomas Noryce, who lykewiſe for the ſame cauſe, that is, for the profeſſiõ of Chriſtes Goſpell, was condemned by the Byſhop and burnt at Norwiche, the laſt daye of Marche. an. 1507.

Thomas Noryce, Martyr.

1507.

In the next yeare folowyng, whiche was. an. 1508. In the conſiſtory of London was conuented Elizabeth Sampſon, of the pariſhe of Aldermanberie, vpon certain Articles, and ſpecially for ſpeakyng agaynſte pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as the Image of our Lady at Wylleſdone, at Stanynges, at Crome, at Walſingham, and the Image of ſaint Sauiour, of Barmonſeye, and agaynſt the Sacrament of the altare, and for that ſhe had ſpoken theſe or lyke wordes: that our Lady of Wylleſdone was but a burnt ars elfe, and a burnt ars ſtocke, & if ſhe might haue holpen men and women which go to her on pylgrimage, ſhe would not haue ſuffred her taile to haue bene burnt: & what ſhould folke worſhip our Lady of Wylleſdone, or our Lady of Crome, for the one is but a burnt ars ſtocke, and the other is but a puppitte: and better it were for the people to geue their almes at home to poore people, then to go on pylgrimage. Alſo that ſhe called the Image of ſaint Sauiour, Sym Sauiour, with kitte lyppes, and that ſhe ſayd that ſhe could make as good bread, as that whiche the prieſt occupyed, and that it was not the body of Chriſt but bread, for that Chriſt could not be both in heauen and earth at one time. For theſe and certaine other Articles, ſhe was compelled to abiure, before Maiſter William Horſye, Chaũcelour, the day and yeare aboue written. Ex Reg. Lond.

Elizabeth Sampſon.

1508.

¶ Laurence Gheſt.

Lamentable it is to remember, and a thyng almoſt infinite to comprehende the names, tymes, and perſons of all them whiche haue bene ſlayne by the rigour of the Popes clergie, for the true maynteinyng of

Laurence Gheſt, Martyr.

Chriſtes cauſe and of his Sacramentes. Whoſe memory beyng regiſtred in the booke of life, albeit it nede not the commemoration of our ſtoryes, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not vnprofitable, the ſuffering & martyrdome of them to be notified, which innocently haue geuen their bloud to be ſhed in Chriſtes quarell. In the catalogue of whom next in order cõmeth the memoriall of Laurence Gheſte, who was burned in Saliſbury for matter of the Sacrament, in the dayes of kyng Henry vij: he was of a comlye and talle perſonage, and otherwiſe (as appeareth) not vnfrended, for the whiche the Byſhop and the cloſe were the more lothe to burne him: but kept him in priſon yͤ ſpace of ij. yeares. This Laurẽce had wife and vij. children. Wherfore they thinkyng to expugne and to perſuade his minde, by the ſtyrring his fatherly affection toward his children, when tyme came which they appointed for his burnyng, as he was at yͤ ſtake, they brought before hym his wife and his foreſayd vij. childrẽ. At the ſight wherof, although nature cõmonly is wont to worke in other, yet in him Religion ouercõmyng nature, made his conſtancie to remaine vnmoueable: in ſuch ſorte as when his wife beganne to exhorte and deſire him to fauour him ſelfe, he agayne deſired her to be content, and not to be a blocke in his waye, for he was in a good courſe, runnyng toward the marke of his ſaluation: and ſo fire beyng put to him, he finiſhed his lyfe, renouncing not onely wife and children, but alſo him ſelfe, to folow Chriſt. As he was in burnyng, one of the Byſhops men, threw a firebrand at his face: Whereat the brother of Laurence ſtãding by, ranne at him with his dagger, and would haue ſlayne him, had he not bene otherwiſe ſtayde. Teſtified & witneſſed by the credible reporte of one William Ruſſel an aged man dwellyng a late in Colmanſtreate, who was there preſent the ſame tyme at the burnyng of Laurence, and was alſo him ſelfe burned in the cheeke, and one of the perſecuted flocke in thoſe dayes, whoſe daughter is yet liuing: The ſame is cõfirmed alſo with yͤ teſtimonie of one Richard Webbe, ſeruaunt ſometyme to M. Latymer, who ſoiournyng in the houſe of the ſayd William Ruſſel, heard hym many tymes declare the ſame.

Laurence Gheſt two yeares in priſon at Saliſberye.

Laurence would not be turned for wyfe & children.

Laurence dyed a Martyr.

Witnes to the ſtory.

¶ *A faithfull woman burned.*

BUt amongeſt all the examples of them, wherof ſo many haue ſuffered from tyme to time for Chriſt and his truth, I can not tell if euer were any martyrdome more notable and admirable, wherin the playne demonſtratiõ of Gods mightie power and iudgement hath at any time bene more euident agaynſt the perſecutors of his flocke, then at the burnyng of a certeine godly woman, put to death in Cheppyngſadbery, about the ſame tyme, vnder yͤ reigne of kyng Henry vij. The conſtancie of whiche bleſſed woman as it is glorious for all true godly Chriſtians to beholde: ſo agayne the example of the Byſhops chaũcelour, whiche cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible ſpectacle to the eyes of all papiſticall perſecutors to conſider, and to take example: whiche the lyuyng God graunt they may, Amen. The name of the town where ſhe was martyred, was as is ſaid, Chepyngſadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chauncelour, who condemned her, was called D. Whyttington. The tyme of her burnyng was in the reigne & tyme of K. Henry vij. orderly therefore in this place and tyme to bee inſerted. Wherin is to be noted moreouer the oportunitie of this preſent hyſtory brought to my handes, and that in ſuch conuenient ſeaſon, as I was drawyng toward the ende of the foreſayd kynges reigne: ſo that it may appeare to them, whiche behold the oportunitie of thinges, not to be without Gods holy will and prouidence, that this foreſayd example ſhould not lye hyd and vnremembred, but ſhould come to lyght and knowledge, and that in ſuch order of placyng, accordyng as the due courſe of our ſtory hetherto kept, requireth.

A notable ſtorye of a faythfull woman burned in *Chyppyng ſadbery.*

D. Whyttyngton Chancelor a perſecutour.

After this godly woman and manly Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the wretched Chauncelour aboue named D. Whittyngton, for yͤ faithful profeſſiõ of yͤ truth, whiche the Papiſtes then called Hereſie, and the tyme now come whence ſhe ſhould be brought to the place and paynes of her Martyrdome, a great concourſe of all the multitude both in the towne and countrey about (as the maner is in ſuch times) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was alſo the foreſayd D. Whittyngton yͤ Chauncelour, there preſent to ſee execution done. Thus this faithfull woman, & true ſeruaunt of God conſtantly perſiſtyng in yͤ teſtimonie of yͤ truth, cõmitting her cauſe to the Lorde, gaue ouer her life to the fire, refuſing no paynes nor tormentes to kepe her conſcience cleare and vnreproueable in the day of yͤ Lord. The ſacrifice beyng ended, the people begãne to returne homeward, cõming frõ the burning of this bleſſed martyr. It happened in yͤ meane time yͭ as the catholicque executioners were buſye in ſlaying this ſely lambe at yͤ townes ſide, a certeine butcher within the towne was as buſie in ſlayng of a Bull, whiche Bull he had faſt bound in ropes, ready to knocke him on the head. But the butcher (belike not ſo ſkilfull in his arte of killyng beaſtes, as the Papiſtes be in murderyng Chriſtians) as he was liftyng his axe, to ſtricke the Bull, fayled in his ſtroke and ſmitte a litle to low, or els how he ſmite, I know not. This was certein that the Bull although ſomewhat greued at the ſtroke, but yet not ſtrocken down, put his ſtrẽgth to the ropes, and brake loſe from the butcher into the ſtreat, the very ſame tyme as the people were commyng in great preſſe frõ the burnyng. Who ſeyng the Bull cõming towardes thẽ, and ſuppoſing him to be wild (as was no other lyke) gaue way for the beaſt, euery man ſhiftyng for hym ſelf, as well as he might. Thus the people geuyng backe and makyng a lane for the Bull, he paſſed through the throng of them, touchyng neither man nor childe, till hee came where as the Chauncelor was. Agaynſt whom the Bull, as pricked with a ſodein vehemẽcie, rãne fulbut with his hornes, & takyng hym vpon yͤ panche, gored him through & through, & ſo killed him immediatly, carieng his guttes and traylyng them with his hornes all the ſtreate ouer, to the great admiration and wonder of all them, that ſawe it.

A faythfull chriſtian woman and Martyr, burned at Chepyng ſadbery.

A compariſon betwene butchers, and the popes murthering miniſters.

A rare and ſpeciall example of the iuſt puniſhment of God vpon a perſecutour.

D Whyttington ſlayne of a Bull.

Although the carnall ſenſe of man be blynd in conſideryng the workes of the Lord, imputyng many tymes to blynde chaunce the thynges which properly perteyne to Gods onely prayſe & prouidence: yet in this ſo ſtraũge and ſo euident example, what man can be ſo dul or ignoraunt, which ſeeth not herein a playne miracle of Gods myghtye power and iudgement both in the iuſt puniſhyng of this wretched Chauncelour, and alſo in admoniſhyng all other lyke perſecutours, by his example, to feare the Lord, and to abſteine from the lyke crueltie?

Now for the credite of thys ſtorye, leaſt I be ſayd vpon myne own head to committe to ſtorie, thinges raſhly which I can not iuſtify, therfore to ſtoppe ſuch cauilling mouthes, I will diſcharge me ſelfe with authoritie I truſt ſufficient: that is, with the witnes of hym which both was a Papiſte, and alſo preſent the ſame tyme at the burning of the womã, whoſe name was Rouland Webbe: which Rouland dwelling then in Chepyngſadbery, had a ſonne named Richard Webbe, ſeruaunt ſometyme to M. Latymer, who alſo enduring with hym in tyme of hys trouble vj. yeares together, was hym ſelfe empryſoned and perſecuted for the ſame cauſe. Vnto the which Richard Webbe being nowe aged, then younge, the foreſayd Rouland hys father, to the entent to exhorte hym from thys ſecte of hereſye (as he then called it) recited to hym many tymes the burnyng of thys woman, and withall added the ſtorye of the Bull aforeſayd which hym ſelfe dyd ſee and teſtifye. Thys Richard Webbe is yet lyuing, a witnes of hys owne fathers wordes and teſtimonye, which I truſt may ſatiſfye all indifferent readers, excepte onely ſuch as thynke no truth to be beleued, but that onely which is in their Portues.

Witnes to the ſtorye.

¶Verſes touchyng the ſame. *Tho.Hatcherus.*

Mira legis,quicunq́; legis,portenta nefandi
Exitus,vt pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis,Domini cuicunq́; potentia nota eſt,
Vt delinquentes ira ſeuera premat.
Sæpè fit vt fuſus cumuletur ſanguine ſanguis,
Sæpè fit vt pœnis obruat ira nouis.
Omnia ſunt Domini dextræ ſubiecta potenti,
Qui ciet arbitrio bruta,homineśq; ſuo.
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus
Euitans, fracto fune repentè fugit.
Fortè viam quâ turba frequens confluxerat antè,
Fæminea vt cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus ijt,fertur quâ confertiſsima turba,
Læſus at ex tanta ſolus & vnus erat:
Solus & vnus erat,rapidos qui miſit in ignes,
Et miſerè paruum ſparſit ouile Dei.
Et quaſi conſultò ferretur,præterit omnes,
Cornibus hunc tollit,proterit hunc pedibus.
Ille iacet,madido fœdatur ſanguine corpus,
Eruta perq́; vias viſcera ſparſa iacent.
Quis non à Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri? non repetendo tremat?
Vltio terribiles comitatur iuſta procellas,
Sera licet,certis paſsibus illa venit.

And thus much concernyng the ſtate of the Churche. Wherin is to be vnderſtãd,what ſtormes and perſecutions haue ben rayſed vp in all quarters agaynſt the flocke and congregation of Chriſt,not onely by the Turkes, but alſo at home within our ſelues, by the Biſhop of Rome, and his retinue. Where alſo is to be noted in the dayes and reigne of this kyng Henry the vij.how mightely the workyng of Gods Goſpell hath multiplied and encreaſed, and in what great nũbers of men & wemẽ haue ſuffered for the ſame, with vs in England, as by theſe ſtories aboue paſt,may be apparent.

The ſtate of the common wealth,commonly foloweth the ſtate of the church.

Now theſe things declared,which to the churche matters bee appertenynyg, conſequently it remaineth ſome thyng to entreate of yͤ ſtate lykewiſe of yͤ cõmon wealth, which cõmonly doth folow yͤ ſtate of the churche. Where the churche is quietly and moderately gouerned,and the flocke of Chriſt defẽded by godly princes in peace & ſafetie, from deuouryng & violẽce of bloudy wolues: the ſucceſſe of ciuile eſtate, for the moſt part,there doth floriſhe; and the princes long continue throughe Gods preſeruation,in proſperous reſt and tranquillitie. Contrarywiſe where the Churche of Chriſt either throughe the negligence of princes, or throughe their ſettyng on, the poore members of Chriſt be perſecuted and deuoured: ſhortly after enſueth ſome iuſt recompenſe of yͤ Lord vpon thoſe princes, that either their lyues do not long continue, or els they finde not that quiet in the cõmon wealth, whiche they looke for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be aboundant: ſo in this preſent tyme be not lackyng,whether we conſider the ſtate & conditiõ of other countreys farre of, or els of our owne countrey nere at home.

The dewtie of princes to defende their ſubiectes from the ſlaughter of the Churche of Rome.

And here not to wander in our ſtory,farther then to Fraunce onely:let vs a litle behold the example of kyng Charles the viij:who lyuyng in thys kynges tyme,dyed alſo not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philippus Cominæus, to bee a moderate, valiaunt, and victorious prince,adourned with many ſpeciall vertues to a prince apperteinyng. And yet the ſame kyng, becauſe he was ſlacke and remiſſe in defẽce of, Chriſtes Churche, neither did vſe his authoritie, nor tooke his occaſion offered to hym of God, to amende and refourme the ſtate of the Byſhop and clergie of Rome when hee might,hee was therefore him ſelfe puniſhed and cut of, of the Lorde, as by hys ſtory enſuyng may ryght well appeare. For ſo it is of him recorded, that beyng merueiouſly excited and prouoked, of hys owne mynde (contrary to the coũſaile of moſt of hys nobles) he tooke hys viage into Italie, neyther beyng furnyſhed with money, nor the ſeaſon of the yeare beyng conuenient thereunto. And that this may appeare the better to proceede of the Lordes doyng, to the entent he would haue the Churche and clergie of Rome reformed by the princes ſwoorde, whiche ſo vexed all Chriſtendome at that tyme, we ſhall heare what is teſtified in the commentaries of the foreſayd Philip. Cominæus lib.3. De bello Neapolit. writyng in this wiſe:

Ex commentarijs Phil. Cominæi De bello Neapolitano lib.3
Vid. ſupra pag. 867.

There was (ſayth hee) in the Citie of Florence the ſame tyme, a Dominicke Frier, named Hieronymus Sauonarola (of whom mention was made before, pag. 867.) a man of a ryght godly and approued life: who in the ſayd Citie of Florence preached and prophecied long before, that the Frenche kyng ſhould come with an armie into Italie, beyng ſtyrred vp of God to ſuppreſſe the tyrauntes of Italie, and none ſhould withſtand him. He ſhould alſo come to the Citie of Piſæ,and the ſtate of Florence ſhould be altered: all which happened true. He affirmed moreouer, to be ſignified to him of the Lord,that the eccleſiaſticall ſtate of the Church muſt be redreſſed Per vim armorum, i. by the ſword, or force of armes. Many thynges alſo he propheſied of the Venetians,and of yͤ French kyng, ſaying that the kyng with ſome daunger and difficultie, ſhould paſſe that iourney, yet notwithſtandyng ſhould ouercome it and eſcape, albeit his ſtrength were neuer ſo ſlender: for God would ſafely conducte him in that iorney, and ſafely bryng hym home agayne. But becauſe he had not done his office, in amendyng the ſtate of the Churche, and in defendyng his people from iniurie,and from deuouryng,therfore it ſhould come to paſſe (ſayd he) & that ſhortly, that ſome incommoditie or detriment ſhould happen to the kyng: or if he ſhould eſcape that dãger of his ſickenes, and recouer health,then if he did reſiſt the crueltie of the wicked, and procure the ſafetie of the poore and miſerable,God would ſhew mercy vnto him. &c. And this the ſayd Hieronymus declared before to Cominæus one of yͤ kyngs counſailours,whiche was the writer of the ſtory, and required him to ſignifie the ſame vnto the kyng: which ſo did: and he moreouer him ſelfe commyng to the preſence of the kyng, declared no leſſe. All whiche thynges,as hee had foretold,came directly to effect. For the kyng beyng but eaſely accompanyed with a ſmall power, entred into Italie, where firſt he came to Aſta, then to Genua, and to Piſæ,from thence proceded to Florence, whiche alſo he obteyned, diſplacing there Petrus Medices the Duke,who had vſed great tyrannie vpon the ſubiectes. From thence he remoued toward Rome,where a great part of yͤ Citie wall at yͤ cõmyng of the French kyng,fell downe. Afterwarde when the kyng was intred into the Citie,and the Pope (who thẽ tooke part with Alphõſus kyng of Neaples agaynſt the Frenche kyng) had immured him ſelfe within the mount of Adrian, the walle of the caſtle fell downe of it ſelfe: whereby,when the kyng was both occaſioned, and exhorted alſo by his captaines to inuade the Pope, and to depoſe hym,and to reforme the Church of Rome (which he might then eaſely haue done,as it had pleaſed him) yet all theſe occaſions offred ſo opportunely of God,moued not yͤ king to do his duetie,and to helpe the poore Churche of Chriſt: Wherfore ſhortly after,returnyng home into Fraunce frõ Neapolis,either yͤ ſame yeare or yͤ next yeare folowyng he was ſtrocken with a ſodeyne ſicknes at Amboiſe,as he was lokyng on them that played at tennes,& that in the ſtynkyngeſt place in all the Caſtle,where he fell down & dyed within xij.houres,accordyng to the forewarnyng of Hieronymus,who wrote vnto him a litle before, both of his ſonnes death and of his owne: Whiche was about the yeare of our Lord.1498.Ex Philip. Cominæo.lib.5.

The prophecie of Hierome Sauonarola.

Note.

Vide.phil. Cominæũ de bello Neopol. lib. 3.

De bello Neopolit. lib.5.

Lyke examples we haue many here alſo in this our realme of England. So long as kyng Ihon kepte out of the realme, the Popes authoritie and power, hee continued ſafe and quiet with his nobles: but ſo ſoone as hee brought the realme vnder tribute and ſubiection to that foreine Byſhop, God ſtyrred vp his nobles againſt him, whereby hee had much diſquiet and trouble and ſoone thereupon decayed.

Of

Examples of kynges of Englãd, whiche were bleſſed of God with long proſperitie, beyng enemies to the Byſhops of Rome.

Of all the kynges of England, from William conquerour, to this kyng Henry vij. were none whiche either longer continued, or more proſperouſly floriſhed, then king Henry ij. K. Henry iij. K. Edward the firſt, K. Edward the iij. of whom the firſt, how ſtoute hee was in withſtãdyng Thomas Becket, and Pope Alexander iij. is ſufficiently before comprehended, pag. 266.

Auguſtus reygned lv. yeares.

The ſecond, whiche was ẏ ſonne of kyng Iohn, albeit throughe the wretchednes of that tyme his power was not ſufficient to repulſe the Popes vſurped iuriſdiction out of the realme: yet his will was good: at leaſt he ſo defended and prouided for his ſubiectes, that they toke no great wrong at the Popes handes: Who reigned one yeare longer, then Auguſtus Cæſar, whiche hath not cõmonly bene ſene in any prince.

Vid. ſupra pag. 426.

Vid. ſupra pag. 438.

The thyrd, which was kyng Edward the firſt, ſo vigilãtly behaued hym ſelfe for the publique commoditie and ſafetie of his people, ẏ he defended them from all forraine power and hoſtilitie both of the Scottes (then our enemyes, nowe our frendes) and alſo from the Byſhop of Rome, taking part with thẽ againſt vs, as may appeare aboue, pag. 426. Furthermore of the ſame kyng and of his worthie nobles and houſe of Parliament, how valiantly they ſtode in denjall of the Popes ſubſidies, and alſo how the ſayd kyng ſecluded out of his protection, the Byſhops and eſpecially the Archbiſhop Pecchani for ſtãdyng with the Pope, read pag. 438.

Vid. ſupra pag. 477.

Now as touchyng kyng Edward iij. how litle he regarded, howe princely hee with his nobles lykewiſe reſiſted the Popes reſeruations ⁊ prouiſions, how he bridled the Archbyſhop Iohn Stratford, and reiected the vayne authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, both in defẽſe of his ſubiectes, and alſo in defenſe of claymyng his right title in the realme of Fraunce, read pag. 477.

What difference betwene moderate princes and thẽ that were perſecutours.

Not that I do here affirme or define, as in a generall rule, that worldly ſucceſſe ⁊ proſperitie of lyfe allwayes foloweth the godly, whiche we ſee rather to bee geuen more often to the wicked ſorte: but ſpeakyng of the duetie of princes, I note and obſerue by examples of hyſtories, that ſuch princes as haue moſt defẽded the Churche of Chriſte committed to their gouernaunce, from iniurie and violence of the Byſhop of Rome, haue not lacked at Gods hand great bleſſyng and felicitie: where as contrarywiſe, they whiche either them ſelues haue bene perſecutours of Chriſtes members, or haue not ſhylded them by their protection from foreine tyranny and iniuries, haue lacked at Gods hand that protection, whiche the other had, as may appeare by kyng Edwarde the ij. kyng Richard ij. K. Henry iiij. K. Henry v. kyng Henry vi. ⁊c. Who becauſe either negligently they haue ſuffered, or cruelly cauſed ſuch perſecutyng lawes to bee made, and ſo much Chriſten bloud iniuriouſly to bee deuoured: therfore haue they bene the leſſe proſpered of the Lord, ſo that either they were depoſed, or if they floriſhed for a whyle, yet they did not long continue: almoſt not halfe the tyme of the other kynges before named.

And therfore, as the ſtate of the common wealth doth cõmonly folow ẏ ſtate of the Church, as ye heard before: ſo it had bene to be wiſhed, that this kyng Henry the vij. beyng otherwiſe a prudent and temperant prince, had not permitted the vntemperant rage of the Popes clergie ſo much to haue their willes ouer the pore flocke of Chriſt, as then they had: accordyng as by theſe perſecutions aboue mentioned, may appeare. The whiche kyng Henry vij. albeit he had a ſufficient continuaunce, who had now reigned 24. yeares, yet notwithſtãdyng here cõmeth the ſame thyng to be noted, whereof I ſpake before: that when the Churche of Chriſt begynneth to be iniured with violence, and to go to wracke through miſorder and negligence, the ſtate of the common wealth can not there long endure without ſome alteration, ⁊ ſtroke of Gods correction. But how ſoeuer this marke is to be taken, thus lyeth the ſtory: that after the burning and vexyng of theſe pore ſeruauntes of Chriſte aboue recited, when the perſecution began nowe in the Churche to be hoate, God called away ẏ kyng, ẏ ſame yeare aboue mẽtioned, whiche was, 1509. after he had reigned ẏ terme of yeares 24. Who if he had adioyned a litle more pitiful reſpect, in protectyng Chriſtes pore mẽbers, frõ the fire of ẏ popes tyrãny, to his other great vertues of ſingular wiſedome, excellent tẽperance, ⁊ moderate frugalitie: ſo much had he ben cõparable wᵗ the beſt of thoſe princes aboue comprehended, as he had ben inferior but to a few: but this defect which lacked in him, was ſupplied moſt luckely (bleſſed be ẏ Lord) by his poſteritie ſucceding after hym. Of whom in the next volume folowyng (Chriſt therunto aſſiſtyng vs) we haue to ſpecifie more at large.

The death of *K. Henry vij.*

Couentry men perſecuted.

Among many other thynges incident in the reigne of this kyng Henry vij. I haue ouerpaſſed the hyſtory of certeine godly perſons perſecuted in the dioces of Couẽtry and Lychefield, as we finde them in the Regiſters of the dioces recorded, here folowing.

The yeare of our Lord. 1485. March. ix. amongeſt diuers and ſondry other good men in Couẽtry, theſe ix. here vnder named were examined before Iohn, Byſhop of Couentry and Lichfield, in S. Michaels Churche, vpon theſe Articles, folowyng in order.

Iohn Blumſtone.

The power of Peter flytteth not to his ſucceſſours.

FIrſt, Iohn Blumſton was openly and publikly infamed, accuſed, reported and appeached that hee was a very hereticke, becauſe he had preached, taught, holdẽ, and affirmed, that the power attributed to S. Peter in the church of God, by our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, immediatly did not flit, or paſſe frõ him, to remain wᵗ his ſucceſſours.

Item, that there was as much vertue in an herbe as in the Image of the Virgine Mary.

Purgatory denyed.

Item, that prayer and almes auayle not the dead, for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heauen or hell, wherupon he concludeth there is no Purgatory.

Images not to be worſhipped.

Item, that it was foliſhnes to go on pilgrimage to the Images of our Lady of Dancaſter, Walſingham or of ẏ Tower of the Citie of Couẽtry: for a man might as well worſhip the bleſſed Virgin by the fire ſide in the kitchin, as in the foreſayd places, and as well might a man worſhip the bleſſed Virgin, whẽ he ſeeth his mother or ſiſter, as in viſityng the Images, becauſe they be no more but dead ſtockes and ſtones.

Item, that he ſayd in Engliſh with a frowning countenaunce, as it appeared: a vengeance on all ſuch horſon prieſtes, for they haue great enuie that a pore mã ſhould get his liuyng among them.

Richarde Hegham.

Merites condemned.

RIchard Hegham of the ſame Citie was accuſed. ⁊c. to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did holde that a Chriſten man beyng at the point of death ſhould renounce all his owne workes good and ill, and ſubmit hym to the mercy of God.

Images ſerue rather to be burned then to be worſhipped.

Item, that it was fondnes to worſhyp the Images of our Lady of Tower in the foreſayd Citie, or of other ſaintes, for they are but ſtockes and ſtones.

Item, that if the Image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Item, that it were better to deale money vnto pore folkes then to offer to the Images of Chriſte and other ſaintes, whiche are but dead ſtockes and ſtones.

Robert Crowther.

ROBert Crowther of the ſame Citie was accuſed, that he was an hereticke becauſe he did holde that who ſo receiueth the Sacrament of the altare in deadly ſinne or out of charitie, receiueth nothyng but bread and wyne.

Item, that neither Biſhop, nor prieſtes or curates of Churches, haue power in the market of penaunce to bynde and looſe.

Agaynſt pilgrymage.

Item, that pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Tower is foliſhnes, for it is but a ſtocke or a ſtone.

Iohn Smith.

The Lords prayer to be in Englyſhe.

IOhn Smith was accuſed to bee a very hereticke, becauſe he did hold that euery man is bounde to knowe the Lordes Prayer, and the Crede in Engliſhe, if he might for theſe falſe priſtes.

Item, that who ſo beleued as the churche then did beleue, beleued ill: and that a man had nede to frequẽt the ſcholes a good while, ere that he can attayne to the knowledge of the true and right fayth.

Item, that no prieſt hath power to aſſoyle a man in the market of penaunce, from his ſinnes.

Roger Browne.

ROger Browne of the ſame Citie, was alſo accuſed to be an heretike becauſe he did hold that no mā ought to worſhyp the Image of our Lady of Walſingham, nor the bloud of Chriſt at Hailes, but rather God almighty, who would geue him what ſoeuer he would aſke.

Agaynſt pilgrymage.

Item, that he held not vp his handes, nor loked vp, at the eleuation of the Euchariſt.

Item, that he promiſed one to ſhew him certein bookes of hereſie, if he would ſweare that hee would not vtter them, and if he would credite them.

Fleſh eatyng in Lent.

Item, that hee did eate fleſhe in Lent, and was taken with the maner.

Agaynſt purgatory and confeſſion auricular.

Itē, if any man were not ſhriuen his whole lyfe long, and in the poynt of death would bee confeſſed and could not, if he had no more but contriciō onely, he ſhould paſſe to ioye wout Purgatory: And if he were cōfeſſed of any ſinne, ⁊ were enioyned onely to ſay for penaūce one Pater noſter, if he thought he ſhould haue any puniſhment in Purgatory for that ſinne, he would neuer be confeſſed for any ſinne.

Agaynſt confeſſion and ſatiſfaction.

Item, becauſe he ſaid all was loſt ẏ is geuē to prieſtes.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, ⁊ that God would pardon all ſinnes without confeſſion and ſatitiſfaction.

Thomas Butler.

THomas Butler of the ſame Citie, was likewiſe openly accuſed to be a very heretike, becauſe he did holde that there were but two wayes, that is to ſay, to heauen, and to hell.

Agaynſt purgatory.

Item, that no faythfull man ſhould abyde any payne after the death of Chriſt, for any ſinne, becauſe Chriſt dyed for our ſinnes.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, for euery mā immediatly after death paſſeth either to heauen, or hell.

Agaynſte merites.

Item, that who ſoeuer departeth in the faith of Chriſt ⁊ the Churche, how ſoeuer he hath lyued, ſhalbe ſaued.

Item, that prayers and pilgrimages are nothyng worth, and auayle not to purchaſe heauen.

Iohn Falkes.

IOhn Falkes was accuſed to bee a very hereticke, becauſe he did affirme that it was a fooliſhe thyng to offer to the Image of our Lady, ſaying, her head ſhalbe hoare or I offer to her: what is it but a blocke? If it could ſpeake to me, I would geue it an halpenyworth of ale.

Agaynſte Images.

Item, that when the prieſt carieth to the ſicke the body of Chriſt, why carieth he not alſo the bloud of Chriſt?

Item, that he did eate cowe milke vpon the firſt Sonday of Lent.

Item, that as concernyng the Sacrament of penance and abſolution, no prieſt hath power to aſſoyle any man from hys ſinnes, when as he can not make one heare of hys head.

It is hereſie to ſay a ſtone is a ſtone, and a blocke is a blocke.

Item, that the Image of our Lady was but a ſtone or a blocke.

Richard Hilmin.

RIchard Hilmin was accuſed that he was a very hereticke, becauſe he did ſay and mainteine that it was better to depart with money to the poore, then to geue tythes to prieſtes, or to offer to the Images of our Lady, and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, then to the Images of God paynted.

Scripture in Engliſh.

Item, that he had the Lordes Prayer and the Salutation of the Angell and the Crede in Engliſhe, and an other booke did he ſee and had, whiche conteined the Epiſtles and Goſpels in Engliſhe, and accordyng to them would he liue, and therby beleued he to be ſaued.

Item, that no prieſt ſpeaketh better in the pulpit then that booke.

Item, that the Sacrament of the altare is but bread, and that the prieſtes make it to blynd the people.

Item, that a prieſt whiles hee is at Maſſe, is a prieſt, and after one Maſſe done, till the begynnyng of an other Maſſe, he is no more then a lay man, and hath no more power then a mere lay man.

¶ *After they were enforced to recant, they were aſſoyled and put to penaunce.*

Margery Goyt.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1488. ẏ iij. of Aprill, Magery Goyt, wife of Iames Goyt of Aſburne, was brought before the foreſayd Iohn Biſhop of Couentry and Lychfield: who was there accuſed that ſhe ſayd, that which the prieſtes lift ouer their heades at Maſſe, was not the true and very body of Chriſte: For if it were ſo, the prieſtes could not breake it ſo lightly into iiij. partes, and ſwalow it as they do: for the Lordes body hath fleſhe and bones, ſo hath not that whiche the prieſtes receyue.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, that prieſtes bying xl. cakes for a halfpeny, and ſhewyng them to the people and ſaying, that of euery of them they make the body of Chriſte, do nothyng but deceyue the people and enriche them ſelues.

Itē, ſeyng God in the beginnyng did create and make man, how cā it be that man ſhould be able to make God?

¶ *This woman alſo, was conſtrained to recant, and ſo was ſhe aſſoyled and did penaunce.*

Thus much I thought here good to inſerte, touchyng theſe foreſayd men of Couentry, eſpecially for this purpoſe, becauſe our cauilling aduerſaries be wont to obiect agaynſt vs the newnes of Chriſtes old and auncient Religiō. To ẏ entent therfore they may ſee this doctrine not to be ſo new as they reporte, I wyſhe they would cōſider both the tyme and Articles here obiected agaynſte theſe foreſayd perſons, as is aboue premiſed.

Picus Mirandula Earle.

I ſhould alſo in ẏ ſame reigne of king Henry vij. haue induced ẏ hiſtory of Ioannes Picus Earle of Mirandula, the mention of whoſe name partely is touched before, pag. 865. This Picus Earle of Mirandula beyng but a young man, was ſo excellently wytted, and ſo ſingularly learned in all ſciences, and in all tongues, both Latine, Greke, Hebrew, Chaldey, and Araby, that commyng to Rome booted ⁊ ſpurred, he ſet vp 90. concluſions, to diſpute in the ſame with any in all Chriſtendome, who ſoeuer would come agaynſt hym. Of whiche concluſions diuers were touchyng the matter of the Sacramēt ⁊c. And when none was founde in all Rome, nor in Europe, ẏ openly would diſpute with hym, priuely ⁊ in corners certein of the Popes clergy, prelates, lawyers, and Friers, by ẏ pope appointed, conſulted together to inquire vpon his concluſiōs, wherupō they did articulate agaynſt hym for ſuſpicion of hereſie. And thus the vnlearned clergy of Rome priuely circumuented and intangled this learned Earle in their ſnares of hereſie, agaynſt whō they neuer durſt openly diſpute. He dyed beyng of the age of 32. of ſuch a witte ⁊ towardnes, as is hard to ſay whether euer Italie bredde vp a better. In his ſickenes Charles viij. ẏ Frenche kyng, moued with the fame of his learnyng, came to viſite him. The furniture of his bookes coſt him. 7000. florenes. A litle before his death his mynde was to geue all away, ⁊ to take a coule, to go about ⁊ preache, but the Lord would not permit him. His ſtory requireth a longer tractation: whiche if place do ſerue, we will not peraduenture forget. With ij. Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander vi. he had much vexation.

¶ *The names of the Archbyſhops of Canterbury in this ſixte booke conteyned.*

62	Iohn Stratford.	viij.
63	Iohn Kempe.	iij.
64	Thomas Burchier.	xxxiij.
65	Iohn Morton.	xiiij.
66	Thomas Langhton.	
67	Henry Dene.	ij.
	Guliel. Warham.	xxviij.

This Thomas Langhton, was elected Archb. but died before he was confirmed.

Here endeth the ſixte booke, and the firſt Tome.

¶A brief note of Eccleſiaſtical lawes ordeined by auncient kynges in this Realme.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes ordeyned by auncient kynges of this Realme.

FOr ſomuch as it is, and hath bene a perſuaſion lōg gendered in the heades of many, that the Byſhops of Rome be the vniuerſall heades of the whole militant Church of Chriſt in earth: and haue allwayes ſo continued from the begynnyng of the primitiue tyme And that no Prince, Kyng, nor Emperour in his own Realme hath any intereſt to intermedle with matters and lawes Eccleſiaſticall, but onely the ſayd Byſhops of Rome: to refell and remoue that opinion out of the heades of all Engliſh men, as a thyng moſt falſe, and cōtrary both to hiſtories of tyme, and examples of auncient kynges & gouernours of this Realme, I thought to fill vp a litle end of paper here left, with ſome ſuch brief rehearſall of lawes diuiſed & appointed by kinges and rulers of this land, for the ordering of the Church, and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall: to yͤ intent that all the world may ſée, the gouernement of Chriſtes Church here in earth vnder Chriſt, hath not depended onely of the Pope from auncient tyme, but hath bene rather directed by ſuch Kynges and Princes, as God here had placed vnder him to gouerne the people of this Realme of England, as foloweth here in this preſent table to bée noted.

¶A brief recapitulation, of auncient Eccleſiaſticall lawes by ſondry kings of this Realme ordeyned, for gouernement of the Church, before the Conqueſt.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Inas, or Ina.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of K. *Ina.*

1. FIrſt king Inas who reigned in this land the yeare of our Lord. DCCxij. commaunded, that Miniſters ſhould frame their conuerſation of lyfe accordyng to the forme in lawes preſcribed.
2. That Infantes ſhould be Baptiſed within. 30. dayes.
3. Item, that no man, lay or ſpirituall, free or bonde, ſhould labour vpon the Sonday.
4. Item, he eſtabliſhed immunitie of Churches, & Sanctuarie. Alſo he tooke order for yͤ true payment of Church dueties, and of the firſt frutes of all that was ſowē to be payd at the day of S. Martine.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Alured, or Alfred.

Kyng Alureds lawes.

1. KIng Alured, after he had ordeined diuers iudiciall puniſhmētes for violating the holy preceptes of God commaunded by Moſes, he alſo confirmed and enlarged the priuiledge of Sanctuary: he layd double payne vpon ſuch as committed offences in the ſolemnities of certeine feaſtes: Alſo agaynſt them that committed ſacrilege.
2. He made a law agaynſt Prieſtes cōmittyng murder.
3. Alſo he made a law againſt whoredome, adultery, and fornication.
4. He appointed dayes of faſtyng, and ceaſing from labour.
5. Item, he ſet order for makyng and kepyng vowes.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Edward the Elder, and Gythrum the Dane king.

Kyng Edwardes lawes.

1. FIrſt, they agreed vpō the Sanctuary: they forbad Gentilitie and Paganiſme: they layd puniſhment vpon the Clergy committyng theft, periury, or murther, fornication, or any capitall crime.
2. They puniſhed Prieſts, that pretermitted their office in pronouncyng feſtiuall, or faſtyng dayes.
3. They made a law agaynſt all labour, buyng, and ſellyng vpon the Sabbaoth: alſo for kepyng of feaſtes. Itē, for no execution to be done on the Sonday. Alſo agaynſt wytches and ſorcerers. &c.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Ethelſtane.

Kyng Ethelſtanes lawes.

1. KIng Ethelſtan, who reigned the yeare of our Lord DCCCCxxiiij. commaūded that euery village of his owne, ſhould giue a monethly corrodie to a poore perſon.
2. That fifty Pſalmes ſhould be ſōg dayly in yͤ Church, for the kyng &c.
3. He alſo ordeined puniſhement for witches, and ſorcerers. &c.

¶*Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Edmund.*

K. Edmundes lawes.

1. AFter kyng Ethelſtan folowed kyng Edmund about the yeare of our Lord. 940, who eſtabliſhed and prouided lawes agaynſt the vnchaſt lyuyng of Churchmen.
2. Item, he made lawes concernyng tythes, with firſt fruites of euery mans croppe, and almoſe money duely to be payd.
3. Item, he enacted that Byſhops of their owne proper charges ſhould repayre Churches, & ſhould alſo admoniſh the kyng for the furniſhyng of the ſame.
4. For periury alſo, and for fightyng within the Church, he ſet lawes and paynes.

¶*Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Edgar.*

Kyng Edgars lawes.

KIng Edgar, who began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord. 959. amongeſt other conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, ordeined, that the Sonday ſhould be kept holy from Saterday at noone till Monday in the mornyng.

2. Item, he ordeined and decreed concernyng liberties and fredomes of yͤ Church, for tythes alſo, & firſt frutes of corne, and paying of Peterpence.
3. Item, for holy dayes and faſtyng dayes.
4. Item, that aſſēbles or Synodes ſhould be kept twiſe euery yeare, whereat as well the Byſhop of the Dioces ſhould be preſent as the Ciuill Magiſtrate.

¶*Kyng Æthelrede. Anno. 979.*

Kyng Ethelredes lawes.

KIng Æthelrede alſo which ſucceded after Edgar, and Edward appointed diuers lawes for publicke regiment. wherof we finde but few touchyng matters Eccleſiaſticall, for tythes, lyghtes, feaſtes and nothyng els, and therfore we paſſe further to the lawes of Canutus.

¶*Eccleſiaſticall lawes of king Canutus.*

Kyng Canutus lawes.

CAnutus the Dane kyng began to reigne in this land in the yeare of our Lord. 1016. The ſayd Canutus (as Æthelrede had done before) diuided his lawes into Eccleſiaſticall and temporall.

1. That Eccleſiaſticall parſons beyng accuſed of fightyng, murder, or any other offence, ſhould purge them ſelues therof.
2. That Prieſts ſhould be degraded for periury, and put in ſureties of good behauiour.
3. He prayeth Prieſtes, that they will lyue chaſt, and cōmaunded other Religious.
4. He limited the degrees of Mariage.
5. Item, he cōmaunded celebration of the Sabbaoth frō Saterday at noone till Monday mornyng, as Edgar had done before, forbiddyng markets, huntynges, labours, & Court kepynges, duryng the ſayd ſpace.
6. He ordeined eche Chriſten man to come to the houſell thriſe yearely at the leaſt: That they ſearch and enquire after Gods law, and his commaundementes.
7. That euery Chriſtian man vnderſtand the pointes of his fayth, and that at the leaſt hee learne perfectly the Lordes prayer, and the Creede, and that who ſo euer can not the ſame, ſhall be excluded from the Euchariſt, & ſhal not be receiued to vndertake for others in baptiſme.
8. That Byſhops and Prieſtes ſhould do theyr duties: that they cry out and warne theyr flockes whē the wolfe commeth.
9. That at the Court of euery Shyre, the Biſhop of the Dioces ſhall be preſēt with the Shriefe, and that the one ſhall teache them Gods lawe, and the other mans, as ye heard in K. Edgars lawes before.

Many other lawes both Eccleſiaſticall and temporall beſide theſe were enacted by theſe and other kings here in England before the Conqueſt, but theſe be ſufficient to giue the vnderſtandyng reader to conſider, how the authoritie of the Byſhops of Rome, all this while, extended not ſo farre to preſcribe lawes for gouernement of the Church, but that Kynges and Princes of the Realme, as they be now, ſo were then full

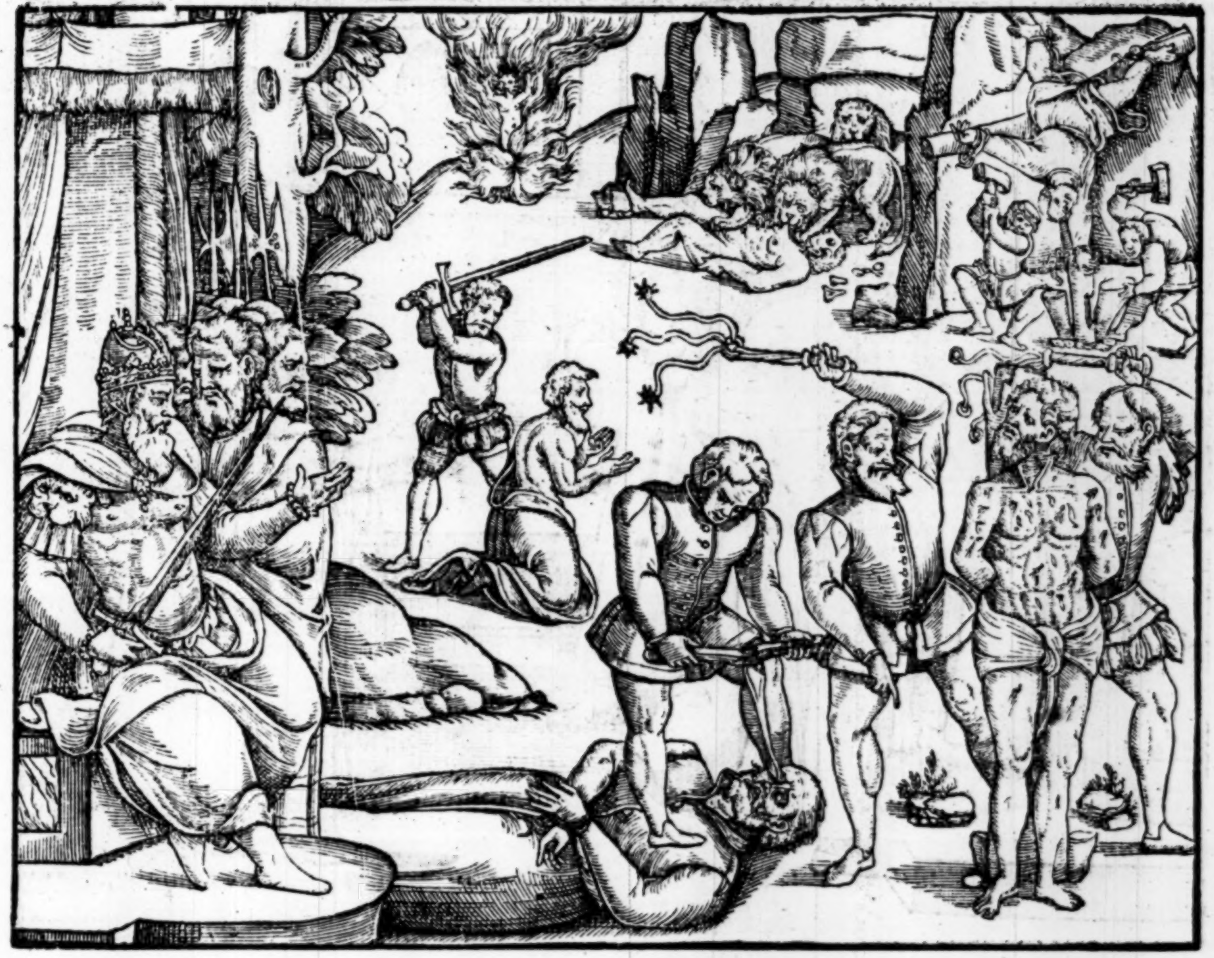
Kynges of England before the Conqueſt gouernours as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as temporall.

gouernors here vnder Chriſt, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, as temporall, both in directyng orders, inſtitutyng lawes, in callyng of Synodes, and alſo in conferryng Byſhoprikes and benefices, without any leaue of ỹ Romiſh Byſhops. Thus Odo, Dunſtane, Oſwold, Ethelwold, Aldelmus, and Lancfrancus although they fet their palles afterward from Rome, yet were they made Byſhops and Archbyſhops by Kynges onely, not by Popes.

When kynges of England came firſt vnder the Popes ſubiection.

And thus ſtode the gouernement of this Realme of England all the tyme before the Conqueſt, till Pope Hildebrand through the ſettyng on of the Saxons, began firſt to bring the Emperour (which was Henry 4.) vnder foote. Then folowed the ſubduing of other Emperours, Kings, and ſubiectes after that, as namely here in England, when Lancfrancus, Anſelmus, and Becket went to complayne of theyr kynges and gouernours, then brought they the Popes iudiciall authoritie firſt from Rome, ouer this land, both ouer kynges & ſubiectes: which euer ſince hath continued, till theſe later yeares. Albeit the ſayd kynges of this realme of England being prudent Princes, and ſeyng right well the ambitious preſumption of thoſe Romiſh Byſhops, dyd what they could to ſhake of the yoke of their ſupremacie, as appeareth by the lawes and Actes of theyr Parlamentes, both in Kyng Edward the thyrdes tyme, Kyng Richard the 2. and Kyng Henry 4. aboue in theyr Parlament notes ſpecified: yet for feare of other foreine Princes, and the blynd opinion of their ſubiectes, ſuch was then the calamitie of that tyme that neither they could nor durſt cōpaſſe that, which fayne they would: till at laſt, the tyme of theyr iniquitie beyng complete, through the Lordes wonderfull workyng, theyr pride had a fall, as in the next Volume enſuyng (the Lord ſo grauntyng) ſhall by proces of hiſtory be declared.

The Image of the true Catholicke Church of Christ.



The proud primacie of Popes paynted out in Tables, in order of their ryſing vp by litle and litle, from faithfull Byſhops and Martyrs, to become Lordes and gouernours ouer kynges and kyngdomes, exaltyng them ſelues in the Temple of God, aboue all that is called God. &c. 2. Theſ. 2.

The Martyrdome of good Biſhops vnder wicked Emperors in the primitiue Church.

IN yͤ Table of yͤ primitiue Church aboue deſcribed, hath bene (gentle reader) ſet forth & exhibited before thine eies the greuous afflictions and ſorowful tormentes, which through Gods ſecret ſufferaunce, fell vpon the true Saintes and members of Chriſtes Church in that tyme, eſpecially vppon the good Byſhops, Miniſters, and teachers of the flocke: of whom ſome were ſcourged, ſome beheaded, ſome crucified, ſome burned, ſome had their eyes put out, ſome one way ſome an other miſerably conſumed: which dayes of woeful calamitie cōtinued (as is foreſhewed) nere the ſpace of CCC. yeares. Duryng which tyme the deare ſpouſe & electe Church of God, beyng ſharpely aſſaulted on euery ſide, had ſmall reſt, no ioy, nor outward ſafetie in this preſent world, but in much bitternes of hart, in cōtinuall teares & mournyng vnder the croſſe paſſed ouer their daies, being ſpoiled, impriſoned, cōtemned, reuiled, famiſhed, tormēted and Martyred euery where. Who neither durſt well tary at home for feare and dread: and much leſſe durſt come abroad for the enemies, but onely by night, when they aſſembled as they might, ſometymes to ſing Pſalmes & Hymnes together. In all which their dreadfull daungers, & ſorowfull afflictions, notwithſtandyng the goodnes of the Lord left thē not deſolate: but the more their outward tribulations did increaſe, the more their inward cōſolations dyd abound: and the farther of they ſeemed from the ioyes of this life, the more preſent was the Lord with them with grace & fortitude to confirme and reioyſe their ſoules. And though their poſſeſſions and riches in this world were loſt & ſpoyled: yet were they enriched with heauēly giftes and treaſures from aboue an hundreth fold. Then was true Religion truly felt in hart. Then was Chriſtianitie not in outward appearance ſhewed, but in inward affection receaued, and the true image of the church not in outward ſhew pretenſed, but in her perfect ſtate effectuall. Thē was yͤ name & feare of God true in hart, not in lippes alone dwellyng. Fayth then was feruēt, zeale ardent, prayer not ſwymmyng in the lyppes, but groned out to God from the bottome of the ſpirit. Then was no pride in the Church, nor layſure to ſeeke riches, nor tyme to keepe them. Contention for trifles was thē ſo far from Chriſtians, that well were they when they could meete to pray together agaynſt the deuill, author of all diſſention. Briefly the whole Church of Chriſt Ieſus with all the members therof, the farder it was from the tipe and ſhape of this world, the nerer it was to the bleſſed reſpect of Gods fauour and ſupportation.

The true riches of the Church deſcribed.

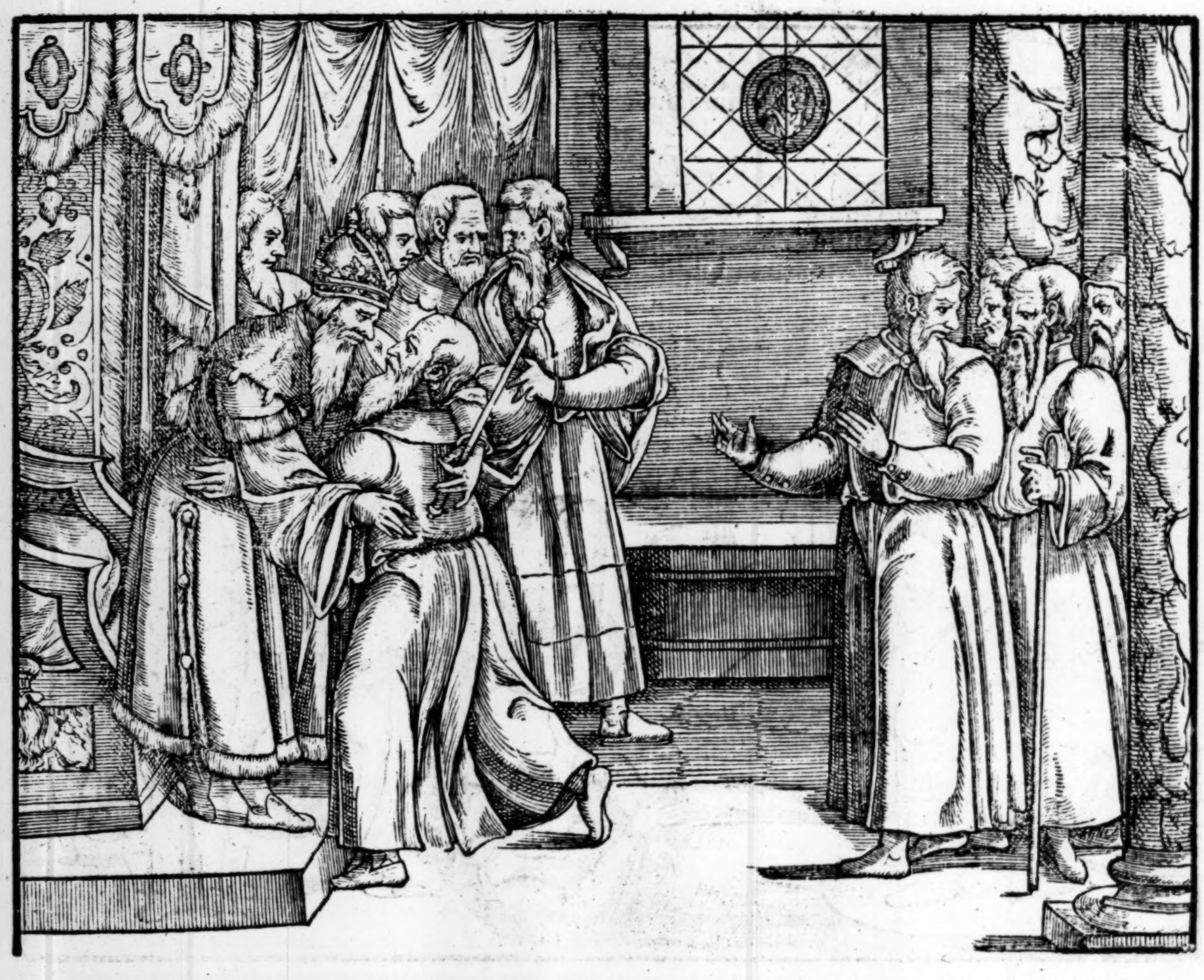
¶ *The firſt riſing of the Biſhops of Rome.*

The firſt riſing of the Biſhops of Rome.

AFter this long time of trouble, it pleaſed the Lord at length mercifully to looke vpon the Saintes & ſeruantes of his ſonne, to releaſe their captiuitie, to releaſe their miſerie, & to bind vp yͤ old Dragon yͤ deuill, which ſo long vexed thē. Wherby the Church began to aſpire to ſome more libertie: and yͤ Biſhops which before were as abiectes, vtterly cōtemned of Emperors, through the prouidence of God (which diſposeth all thinges in his tyme after his owne will) began now of Emperours to be eſteemed and had in price. Furthermore as Emperors grew more in deuotion, ſo the Biſhops more and more were exalted, not onely in fauor, but alſo preferred vnto honor, in ſomuch that in ſhort ſpace they became not quarter maſters, but rather half Emperours with Emperours.

After this in proces of tyme, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the Clergy, and that the deuill had poured his venome into the Church (as the voyce was

The ſpirituall riches of the Church turned to worldly riches.



Conſtantinus the Emperour embraſing Chriſten Biſhops.

Ex libro Serm. Diſcipuli.

Looke Tyndal in his booke of the Practiſe of Prelates.

heard the ſame time ouer Conſtantinople) ſo true humilitie began to decay, & pride to ſet in his foote, till at laſt they played as the Juy doth with yͤ Oke tree, which firſt begynnyng with a goodly greene ſhewe, embraceth hym ſo long, till at length it ouergroweth him, and ſo ſucketh all his moyſture from him, ſetting his roote faſt in his barke, till at laſt it both ſtifleth the ſtocke & killeth the braunches, and ſo commeth to bee a neſt for Owles and all vncleane byrdes. Not vntruly therfore it was ſayd of Auguſtine: Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit matrem, i. *Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath deuoured the mother.* The veritie wherof notoriouſly may appeare aboue all other in the Church of Rome, and the Byſhops of the ſame. For after that the Church of Rome, through fauour of Emperours, was endued with landes, donatiōs, poſſeſſions, and patrimonies, ſo that the Biſhops therof feelyng yͤ ſmacke of wealth, eaſe, and proſperitie, began to ſwel in pompe and pride: the more they floriſhed in this world, yͤ more Gods holy ſpirit forſoke them, till at laſt the ſayd Byſhops, who at the firſt were poore, creepyng low vpō the ground, and were perſecuted long tyme, euery man treadyng vpon them in this world: now of perſecuted people, began to be perſecutours of others, & to treade vpon the neckes euen of Emperours, and to bryng the heades of Kyngs and Princes vnder their gyrdle: And not onely that, but furthermore through pride & ryches were ſo far gone frō al Religion, yͤ in the very end they became the great aduerſary of God (whō we call Antichriſt) propheſied of ſo long before by yͤ ſpirite of God to come, ſitting in yͤ tēple of God, &c. Of whō thus we read in the Epiſtle of Paul 2. Theſſ. 2. where he ſayth:

The great aduerſary called Antichriſt, deſcribed by S. Paule.
2. Theſ. 2.

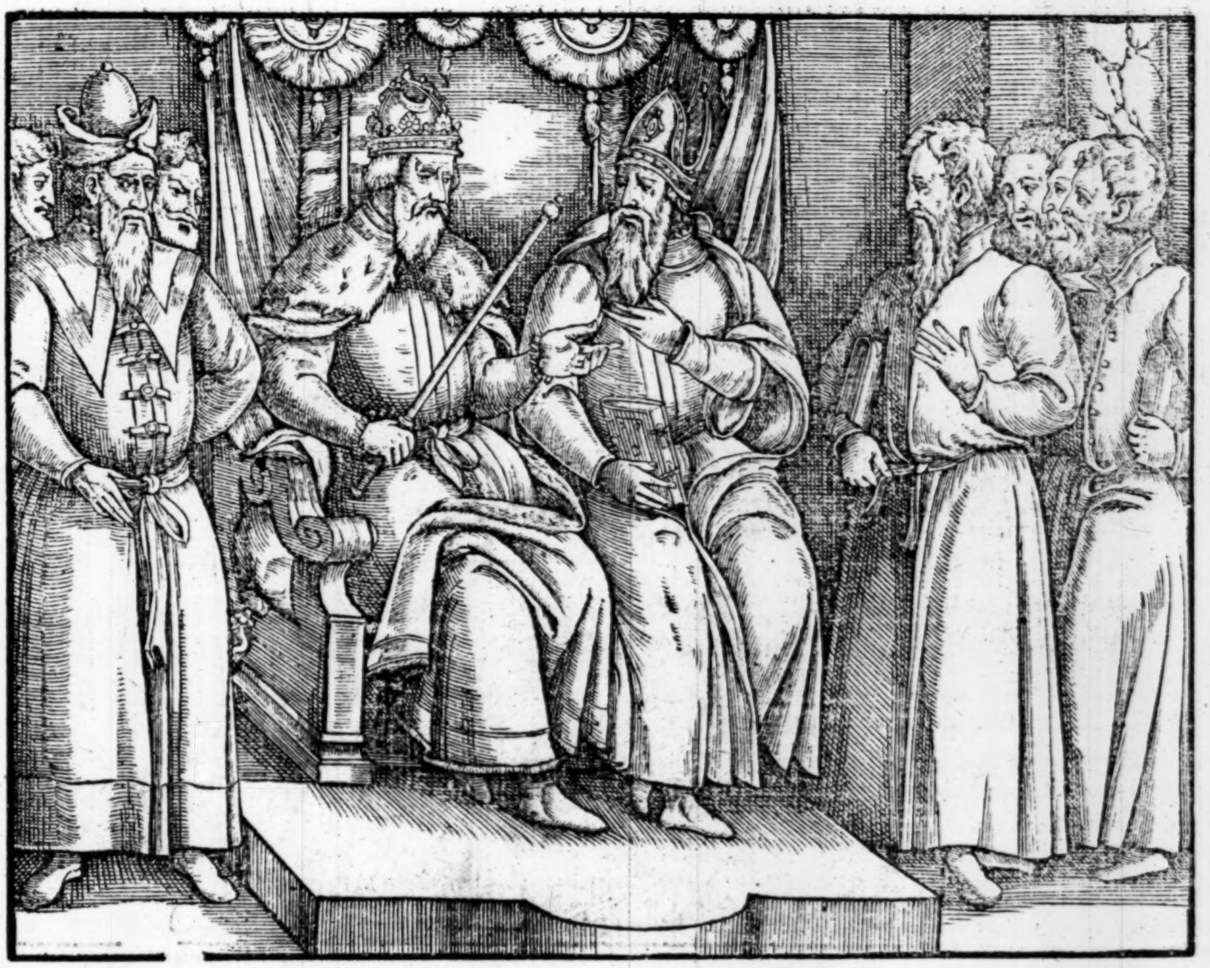
We beſech you brethren, by the commyng of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and by our felowſhyp together in hym, that ye bee not ſodenly moued in your mynd, nor troubled, neither by ſpirite, nor by word, nor by letter, as it were from vs, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no man in any wiſe deceaue you: for that day ſhall not come except there come a departyng firſt, and that man of ſinne be reueled, euen the ſonne of perdition, that aduerſary which exalteth him ſelfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worſhypped, ſo that he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, as God, and ſet forth hym ſelfe as hee were God. &c.

A declaration of S. Paules wordes.

By which wordes of ſ. Paul we haue diuers things to vnderſtād: Firſt that the day of the Lordes cōmyng was not thē nere at hād. Secondly, the Apoſtle giuyng vs a tokē before, to know when that day ſhall approch, byddeth vs looke for an aduerſary firſt to be reueled. Thirdly, to ſhew what aduerſary this ſhalbe, he expreſſeth him not to be as a cōmon aduerſary, ſuch as were thē in hys tyme. For although Herode, Annas & Cayphas, the hygh Prieſtes and Phariſeis, Tertullus, Alexander yͤ Copper ſmith, Elymas, & Symon Magus, & Nero the Emperour in Paules tyme were great aduerſaries: yet here he meaneth an other beſides theſe greater then all yͤ reſt, not ſuch one as ſhould be like to Prieſt, Kyng, or Emperour, but ſuch as far excedyng the eſtate of all Kynges, Prieſtes, and Emperours, ſhould be yͤ Prince of Prieſtes, ſhould make Kinges to ſtoupe, & ſhould tread vpon the necke of Emperours, & make thē to kiſſe his feete. Moreouer, where yͤ Apoſtle ſayth, that he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God therby is ment, not the perſonall ſittyng of the Pope in the Citie onely of Rome, but the authoritie and Juriſdiction of his ſea exalted in the whole vniuerſall Church, equall with God hym ſelfe. For let mē giue to the Pope that which he in his lawes, decrees, and in his pontificall requireth, and what difference is there betwen God and the Pope? If God ſet lawes and ordinaunces, ſo doth he? If God haue his creatures, ſo hath he. If God require obedience, ſo doth he. If the breach of Gods commaundementes be puniſhed, much more be his. God hath his Religiō: the pope alſo hath his: yea for Gods one Religion, he hath an hūdreth. God hath ſet vp one Aduocate: he hath ſet vp an hundreth. God hath inſtituted but a few holydayes: for Gods one hee hath inſtituted fourtie. And if yͤ holyday that God appoynteth be ſimplex: the feaſt that yͤ Pope appointeth is duplex et triplex. Chriſt is the head of the Church: ſo is yͤ Pope.

The Pope matching himſelf euē with God.

Chriſt



Chriſt giueth influence to his body: ſo doth the Pope. Chriſt forgiueth ſinne, the pope doth no leſſe. Chriſt expelleth euil ſpirites by his power: ſo pretẽdeth ẏ Pope by hys holy water. Furthermore, where Chriſt went barefoote vppon the bare ground: he with his golden ſhoes is caryed on mens ſhoulders. And where Chriſt was called Sanctus Sãctorum: he is called Sanctorum Sanctiſsimus. Chriſt neuer practiſed but onely the ſpirituall ſword: he claymeth both ſpirituall and temporall. Chriſt bought the Church: he both buyeth and ſelleth the Church. And if it be neceſſary to beleue Chriſt ſo be the Sauiour of the world: ſo is it neceſſary to beleue the Pope to be the head of the Church. Chriſt payed tribute to Cæſar: he maketh Cæſar pay tribute vnto hym. Finally, the crowne of Chriſt was of ſharpe thorne: the Pope hath thrée crownes of gold vpon hys head, ſo far excedyng Chriſt the ſonne of God in glory of this world, as Chriſt excedeth hym in the glory of heauen. The Image and paterne of whoſe intolerable pride and exaltation, accordyng as S. Paul doth deſcribe hym in hys Epiſtle aforeſayd, we haue here ſet forth, not onely in theſe Tables to be ſene, and by hys own factes to be noted, but alſo in his own wordes, and Regiſters, Clementins, Extrauagãtes, & Pontificals, expreſſed as in order (the Lord willing) ſhall folow.

¶ The exaltation of Popes aboue Kinges and Emperours, out of hiſtoryes.

Iohn Patriarch of Cõſtantinople ſubdued by the B. of Rome.

The Emperours Lieutenãt of Rauenna ſubdued by the Lombardes & Romane Biſhops.

FIrſt, after that Italy and the Citie of Rome were ouerrunne by the Gotthes and Vandals, ſo that the ſeat of ẏ Empire was remoued to Cõſtantinople, then began Ioannes Patriarch of Coſtantinople to to put forth hym ſelfe, and would nedes be called vniuerſall Byſhop of the world: but the Byſhop of Rome in no caſe would ſuffer that, and ſtopped it. After this came the Emperours debitie, and Exarch of Rauenna to rule Italie, but the Biſhop of Rome through aide of the kyng of Lombardes ſoone quailed hym.

Boniface 3. obtained of Phocas to be called vniuerſall Biſhop.

Pope Zachary putteth downe Childericus ẏ French king, and ſetteth Pipinus in his place.

Pipinus & Carolus Magnus ſet vp by Pope Zachary.

How the Biſhops of Rome came firſt to be the head Biſhops of the Church.

Donation of Conſtantine a thing falſe and forged.

Not long after, about the yeare of our Lord. D.C. came Phocas ẏ murderer, who ſlue ẏ Emperor of Cõſtantinople hys maſter Mauritius & his children. By which Phocas ẏ Byſhops of old Rome aſpyred firſt to their preeminence, to be coũted ẏ headbiſhops ouer the whole Church, & ſo together with ẏ Lombardes began to rule the Citie of Rome. Afterward when the Lombardes would not yeld vnto hym, in accompliſhyng hys ambitious deſire, but would nedes requyre of the Byſhop the ſayd citie of Rome: he ſtyrred vp Pipinus, but firſt depoſed Childiricus the kyng of Fraunce, and ſo thruſtyng hym into an Abbay, ſet vp in his place Pipinus and his ſonne Carolus Magnus, to put downe the ſayd kyng of Lombardes called Aiſtulphus: and ſo tranſlated the Empyre from Conſtantinople into Fraunce, diuidyng the ſpoyle betwene hym and them: ſo that the kynges of Fraunce had all the poſſeſſions and landes which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receaue of them the quyet poſſeſſion of the Citie of Rome, with ſuch donations and Lordſhyps, which now they chalenge vnto them vnder the name of S. Peters patrimonie, which they falſely aſcribe to the donation of Conſtantinus the great.

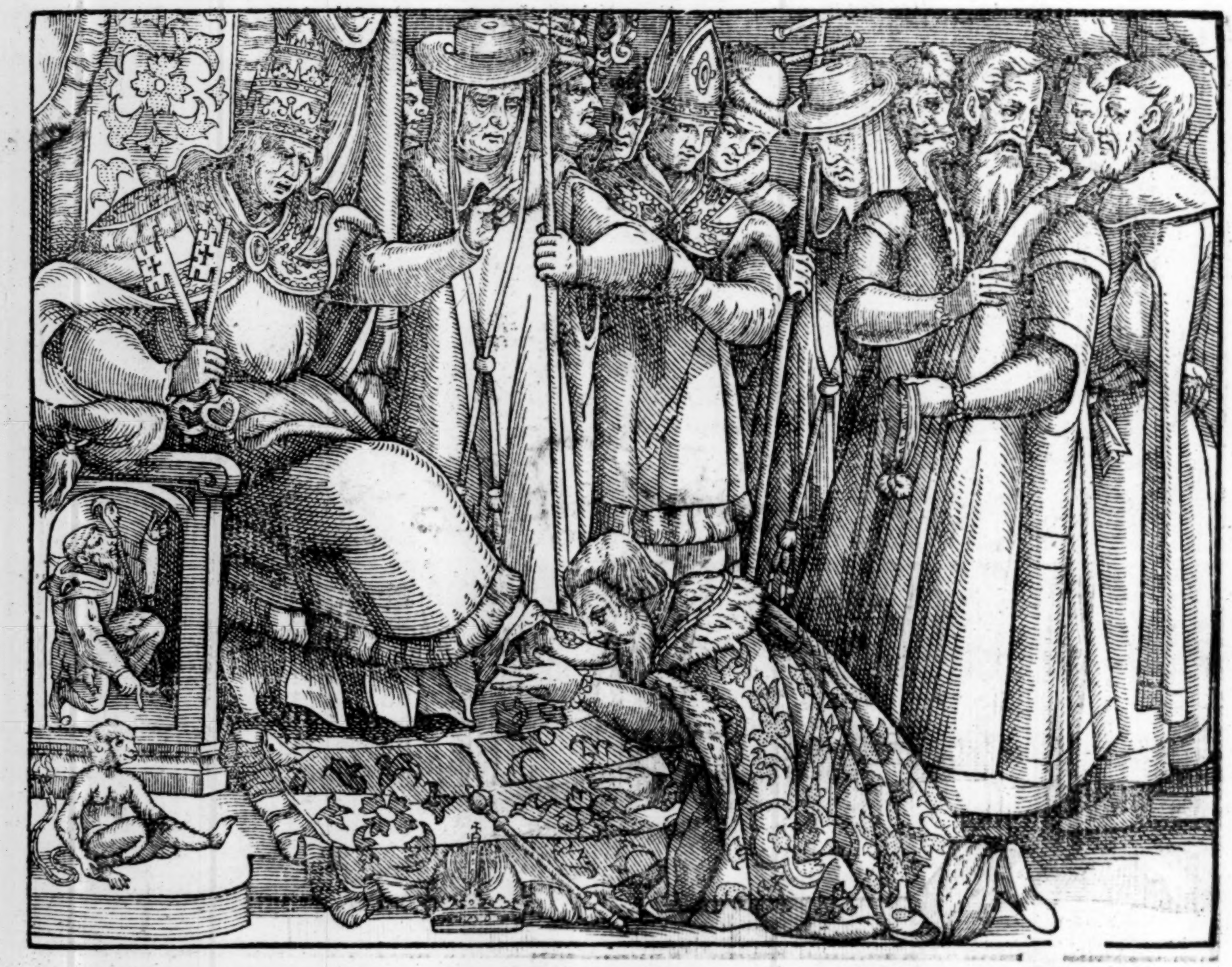
Pope Gregory v. practiſeth with the Germanes to reduce ẏ Empire to Germany. an. 1000.

Otho firſt Germane Emperour.

It foloweth then in proces of tyme, after the dayes of Pipinus, Carolus, and Ludouicus (who had indued theſe Biſhops of Rome, called now Popes, with large poſſeſſions) when the kynges of Fraunce were not ſo applyable to their becke, to ayde and mainteyne them agaynſt the Princes of Italy, who began then to pynch the ſayd Byſhops for their wrongfull vſurped goodes, they practiſed with the Germanes to reduce the Empire to Otho firſt of that name Duke of Spayne, referryng the election therof to vij. Princes Electours of Germany, which was about an. 1002. notwithſtãding reſeruyng ſtill in his handes the negatiue voyce, thynkyng therby to enioy that they had, in quietnes and ſecuritie, and ſo dyd for a good ſpace.

At length whẽ ſome of theſe Germane Emperours alſo after Otho began a litle to ſpurne agaynſt the

Emperours kiſsing the Popes feete.



Emperours brought to kiſſe the Popes feete.

ſayd Byſhops and Popes of Rome, ſome of them they accurſed, ſome they ſubdued and brought to the kiſſyng of their feete, ſonne they depoſed, and placed other in theyr poſſeſſions.

Henricus. 4. accurſed, waiteth at the Popes gate three dayes.

Rodulphus, and at laſt his owne ſonne ſet vp to fight agaynſt him.

Read before pag. 232.

So was Henricus 4. by theſe Biſhops accurſed, the Emperour him ſelfe forced with his wife and child to waite attendance vpon the Popes pleaſure thrée dayes & thrée nightes in winter at ÿ gates of Canoſſus, Read before, pag. 232. Beſides all this the ſaid Pope raiſed vp Rodulphus to be Emperour agaynſt hym: Who beyng ſlayne in warre, then the ſayd Pope Gregory. vij. not reſtyng thus, ſtyrred vp his owne ſonne Henricus. v. to fight agaynſt his owne naturall father and to depoſe hym. Which Henricus the v. was alſo him ſelfe afterward accurſed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at laſt ſet vp by ÿ Byſhops to fight agaynſt him.

After this the Emperours began to bee ſomewhat calmed and more quyet, ſufferyng the Byſhops to reigne as they lyſted: til Fridericke the firſt called Barbaroſſa came, and began to ſtyrre coales agaynſt them.

Pope Alexander 3. treadeth vpon the necke of Fridericke Emperour.

Pope Celeſtine crowneth Henry v. Emperour with his foote, and with his foote ſpurneth the crowne frō his head againe.

Howbeit they hampered both him, and his ſonne Henry in ſuch ſort, that they brought firſt the necke of Fridericke, in the Church of Venice, vnder their féete to tread vppon: and after that the ſayd Byſhops crownyng Henricus his ſonne in the Church of S. Peter, ſet his crowne on his head with their féete, and with their féete ſpurned it of againe, to make hym know that the Popes of Rome had power both to crowne Emperours, and to depoſe them againe. Wherof read before pag. 317.

Then folowed Philippus brother to Henry aforeſayd, whom alſo the Popes accurſed, about the yeare of our Lord. 1198. and ſet vp Otho duke of Saxony. But whē the ſayd Otho began to be ſo ſaucie, to diſpoſſeſſe the Byſhops of theyr cities and landes which they had encroched into theyr handes, they could not beare that, but incontinent they put hym beſides the cuſhyn. The lyke alſo fell vpon Otho the fourth that folowed after Philip, who was ſuffered no longer then foure yeares to reigne, about the yeare of our Lord. 1209.

Honorius. 3 Gregory. 9. Innocent. 4. againſt Fridericus 2. Emperour.

At this time Fridericus 2. the ſonne of Fridericus Barbaroſſa aboue mentioned, was but young, whō the Byſhops of Rome ſuppoſing to finde more mortified and tamed to their hand, aduaunſed to be Emperour after his father. But that fell out much cōtrary to their expectation. For he perceauyng the immoderate pompe and pride of the Romane Byſhops, which he could in no caſe abyde, ſo nettled them, and cut their combes, and waxed ſo ſtout agaynſt them, intendyng to extyrpe theyr tyranny and to reduce their pompous riches to the ſtate and condition of the primitiue Church agayn, puttyng ſome of them to flight, and priſonyng ſome of their Cardinalls, that of iij. Popes one after an other he was accurſed, circumuented by treaſon, at laſt depoſed, and after that poyſoned, & at laſt forſaken and dyed.

War raiſed againſt *Conradus,* by the Biſhops of Rome.

After this Fridericke folowed his ſonne Cōradus, whom the foreſayd Byſhops for his diſobedience ſone diſpatched, excityng againſt him in mortal war ÿ Lantgraue of Thuryng, whereby he was at length driuen into his kyngdome of Neaples, and there deceaſed.

Ex Auentino.

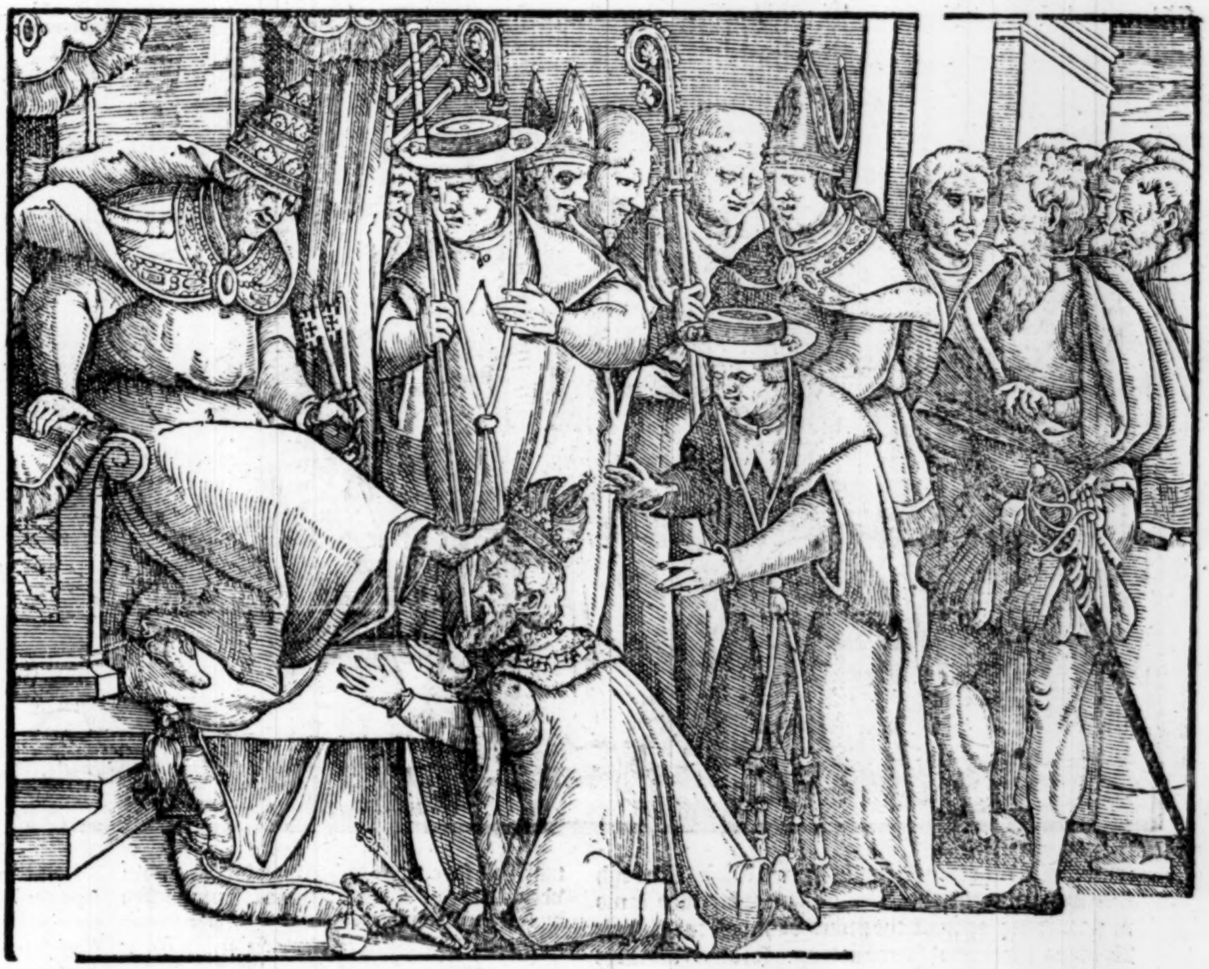
This Conradus had a ſonne called Conradinus Duke and Prince of Suevia. When this Conradinus after the deceaſe of his father came to enioy his kyngdome of Neaples, the ſayd Byſhops ſtyrred vp agaynſt hym Charles the French kynges brother in ſuch ſorte, that through crafty conueyāce both Cōradinus, which deſcended of the bloud of ſo many Emperours, and alſo Fridericke Duke of Auſtria were both taken, and after much wretched handlyng in their miſerable indurance vnſemyng to their ſtate, at length were both brought vnder the axe by the Popes procurement, and ſo both beheaded. And thus ended the Emperial ſtocke of Fridericke the firſt, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa.

The inſolencie of Pope Boniface 8. againſt Philip French king.

The like as happened to Fridericke the Emperour, had almoſt alſo fallen vpon Philip the French kyng by Pope Boniface the viij. who becauſe he could not haue his commodities and reuenewes out of Fraunce after his will, ſent out his bulles and letters patentes to diſ-

place

Pope Cœleſtinus 4. crowning the Emperour Henricus 6. with his feete.



place kyng Philip aforeſayd, and to poſſeſſe Albertus kyng of Romanes in his rowme.

The tyrãnous iniuries of Biſhops of Rome againſt kinges of England.

Pope Alexander 3. againſt K. Henry. 2.

Pope Innocent 3. againſt K. John.

And thus hetherto of foreine ſtories. Now touchyng our countrey Princes here in Englãd to ſpeake ſomewhat likewiſe of thẽ: did not Pope Alexander the iij. preſumptuouſly takyng vppon hym where he had nothyng to do, to intermedle with the kynges ſubiectes, for the death of Becket the rebell, albeit the kyng ſufficiently cleared him ſelf therof, yet notwithſtanding did he not wrongfully bring the ſayd king Henry 2. to ſuch penaunce as it pleaſed hym to enioyne, and alſo violẽtly conſtrayne hym to ſweare obedience to the Sea of Rome? pag. 290. The lyke alſo was ſhewed before in this ſtory to happen to K. Iohn his ſonne. For whẽ the ſayd kyng like a valiant Prince had held out yͤ tyranny of thoſe Byſhops vij. yeares together, were not all the Churches in England barred vp, & hys inheritaunce with all his dominions giuẽ away by Pope Innocent 3. to Ludouicns the French kyng, and he afterward compelled to ſubmit both him ſelfe & to make his whole Realme fedotary to the Byſhops of Rome: and moreouer the kyng hym ſelfe driuen alſo to ſurrender hys crowne to Pãdulphus the Popes Legate, and ſo continued as a priuate perſon v. dayes, ſtãdyng at the popes curteſie whether to receaue it agayne at his handes or no? And when the nobles of the realme roſe afterward agaynſt the kyng for the ſame, was not he then fayne to ſeeke and ſue to the foreſayd Pope for ſuccour, as by this hys owne letter, taken out of the publicke roles, may appeare?

¶ *Kyng Iohns Supplication to Pope Innocent 3.*

Ex Rotulo patent. De anno Regni Reg. Ioannis. 18.

K. Johns ſupplication to Pope Innocent. 3.

REuerendiſ. Domino ſuo & patri ſanctiſ. Innocentio Dei gratia Ioan. eadem gratia R. Angliæ &c. Cum Comites & Barones Angliæ nobis deuoti eſſent anteq̃ nos & noſtrã terram Dominio veſtro ſubiacere curaſſemus, ex tũc in nos ſpecialiter ob hoc, ſicut publice dicunt, violenter inſurgunt. Nos verò præter Deum, vos ſpecialem Dominum & patronũ habentes, defenſionem noſtram & totius Regni, quod veſtrum eſſe credimus, veſtræ paternitati commiſſam, & nos, quãtum in nobis eſt, curam & ſolicitudinem iſtam veſtræ reſignamus dominationi, deuotius ſupplicãtes quatenus in negocijs noſtris, quæ veſtra ſunt, conſilium & auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius videritis expedire, latores præſẽtium &c. Teſte meipſo apud Dour. 18. Septemb. 6.

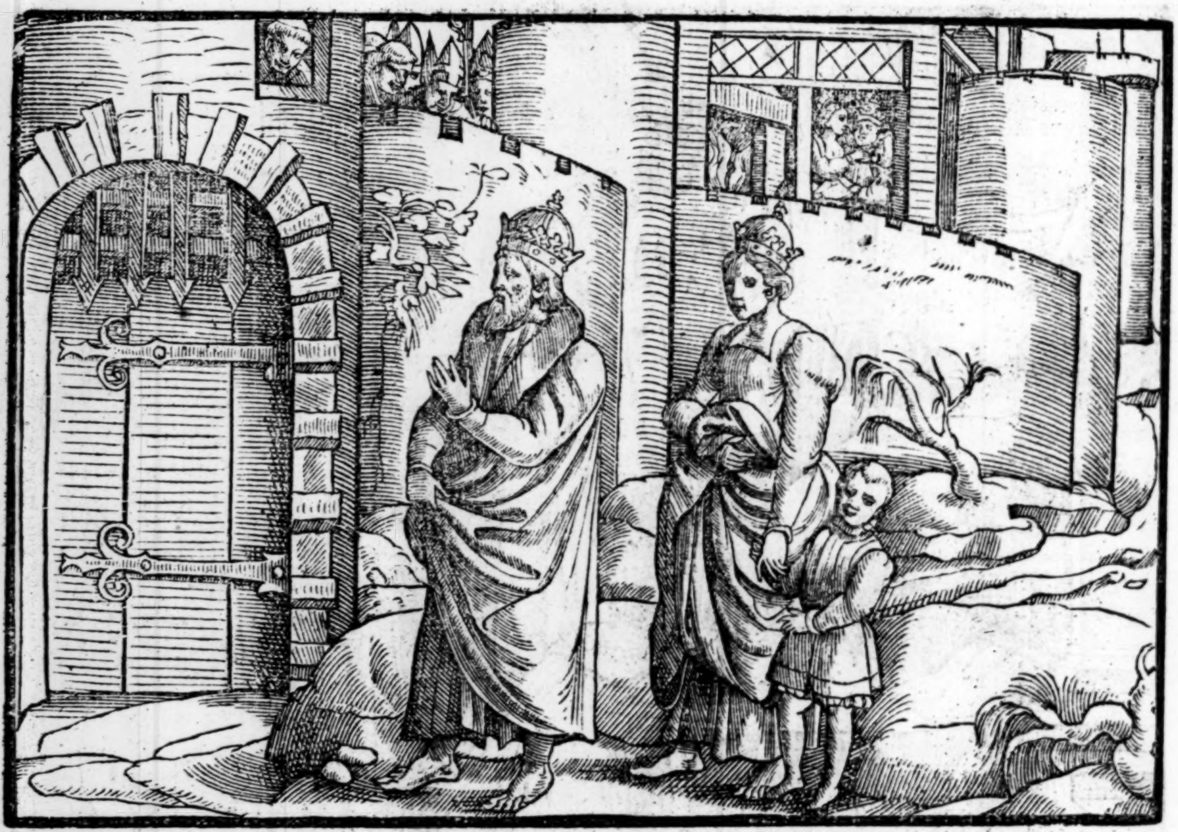
W. Caxton.
Tho. Gray.
French Chronicle in meter.
Ranulp. Ceſtrenſis.
Tho Rudburn.
Rich. Redus.
Eulogium.
Walderus Giſburne.
Ioan. Maior.

And yet all this notwithſtandyng that the ſayd kyng Iohn did ſo yeld to the Pope, he was both purſued by his nobles, and alſo in the end was poyſoned by a ſubiect of the Popes owne Religion, a Monke of Swynſhed: As I haue ſufficiently to proue, not onely by William Caxton aboue in my ſtory alledged. pag. 335. but alſo haue teſtimonie of the moſt part of Chroniclers for the ſame (a few onely excepted) as of Tho. Gray in his French Chronicle. Alſo of an other French Chronicle in Meter, of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis, Tho. Rudburne alſo doth wytnes the ſame. So doth Richard Rede in nouo Chronico ad tempora Henr. 6. The lyke alſo doth the Chronicle called Eulogium Monachi Cant: The wordes of Walter Giſborne an auncient hiſtoriographer, be playne. No leſſe is to bee found in Ioan. Maior, De geſtis Scotorum. Libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56. where he not onely maketh mention of the Monke and of the poyſon, but alſo of the Abbat, of his abſolution, and of the 3. Monkes euery day ſingyng for the ſayd Monkes ſoule. To theſe I could alſo annexe diuers other writers both Engliſh and Latin, without name, which wytnes that kyng Iohn was poyſoned, one begynnyng thus: *Here beginneth a booke in the Engliſh tounge, called Brute. &c.* an other begynneth: *Becauſe this booke is made to tell what tyme any thyng notable, &c.* The thyrd in Engliſh begynneth: *The reigne of Britaine that now is called England &c.* Of Latin bookes which haue no name, one begynneth thus: Britannia, quæ & Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomẽ eſt ſortita &c. an other hath this begynnyng: Adam pater generis humani. &c.

Writers in Engliſhe and Latin without name.

Beſides this kyng Henry 2. & kyng Iohn his ſonne, what kynges haue here reigned in England ſince their

Henricus.4. Emperour waiting iij.daies vpon Pope Gregory.7. Pag.232.



tyme, vntill the reigne of kyng Henry 8. who although they were prudent Princes, and did what they could in prouidyng agaynſt the proud domination of theſe Byſhops: were not forced at length ſore agaynſt theyr willes, for feare to ſubiecte them ſelues together with their ſubiectes vnder their vſurped authoritie, in ſo much as ſome of thē (as Mat. Pariſ. writeth by K. Hēry 3.) were fayne to ſtoupe and kiſſe their Legates knée.

K. Henry.3. kiſſing yͤ knee of the Popes Legate.

¶ *The Image of Antichriſt, exaltyng him ſelfe in the temple of God, aboue all that is named God, out of his owne Decrees, Decretals, Extrauagantes, Pontificals &c. word for word, as it is out of the ſaid bookes here alleged and quoted.*

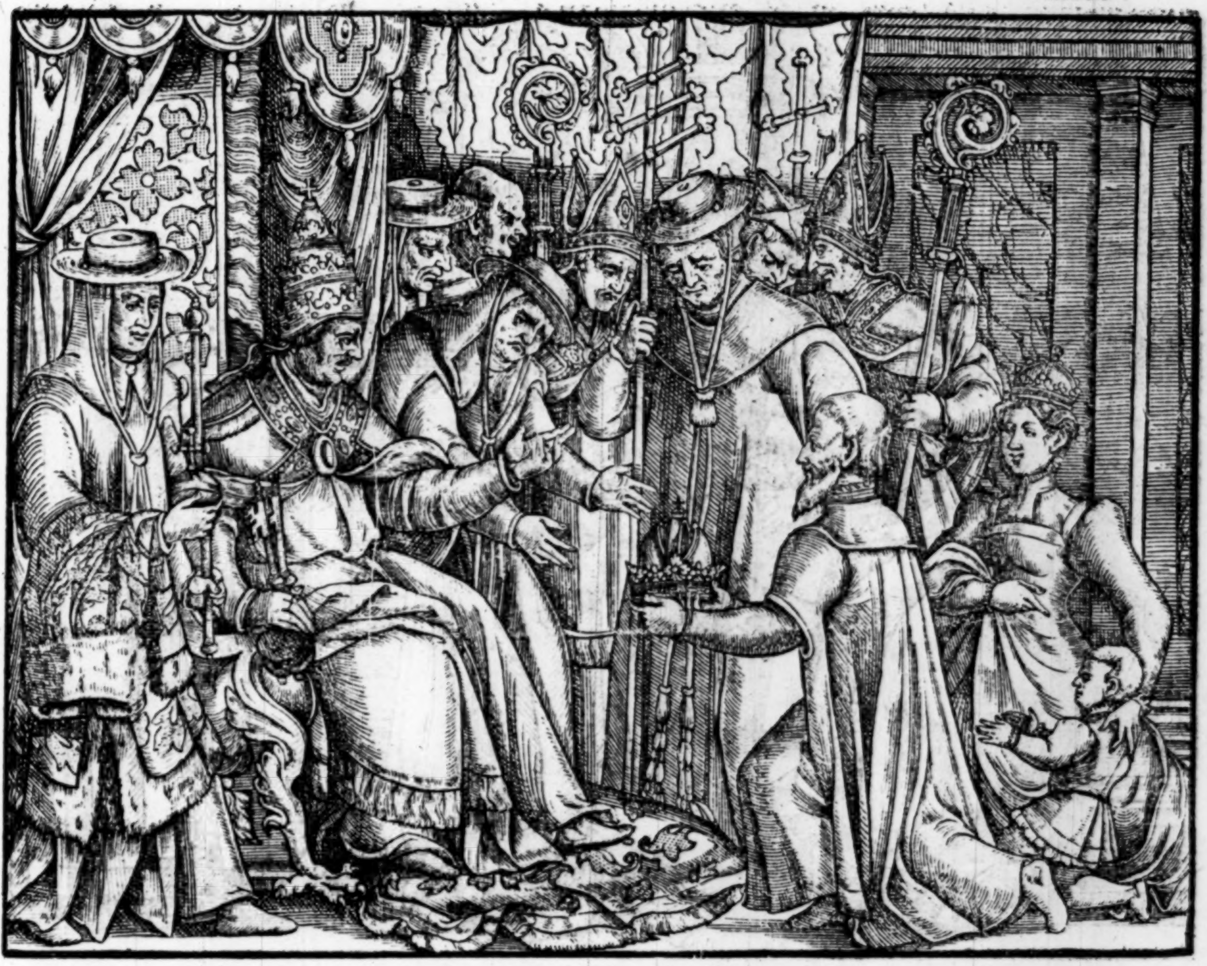
Ex D. Paulo 2. Theſ.2.

1. For as much as it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation, for euery humane creature to be ſubiect vnto me the Pope of Rome, it ſhalbe therfore requiſite and neceſſary for all mē that will be ſaued, to learne and know the dignitie of my ſea, and excellencie of my domination, as here is ſet forth accordyng to the truth & very wordes of myne owne lawes, in ſtile as foloweth. 2 Firſt my inſtitution began in the old Teſtament, & was conſūmate & finiſhed in yͤ new: in that my Prieſthode was prefigured by Aaron: And other Byſhops vnder me were prefigured by yͤ ſonnes of Aaron that were vnder him. 3 Neither is it to be thought that my church of Rome hath ben preferred by any generall Councel, but obtained the primacie onely by the voyce of the Goſpell, & the mouth of the ſauiour. 4 And hath in it neither ſpotte nor wrincle, nor any ſuch like thing. 5 wherfore as other ſeates be all inferiour to me, and as they can not abſolue me: ſo haue they no power to binde me, or to ſtand agaynſt me, no more then the axe hath power to ſtand or preſume aboue hym that heaweth with it, or the ſaw to preſume agaynſt hym that ruleth it. 6 This is the holy & Apoſtolicke mother church of all other Churches of Chriſt. 7 Frō whoſe rules it is not mete that any perſon or perſons ſhould decline, but lyke as the ſonne of God came to do the will of his father, ſo muſt you do the will of your mother the Church of Rome, the head wherof am I. 8 And if any other perſon or perſons ſhall erre from the ſayd Church, either let them be admoniſhed, or els their names taken, to be knowē who they be that ſwarue from the cuſtomes of Rome. 9 Thus then for aſmuch as the holy Church of Rome, whereof I am gouernour, is ſet vp to the whole worlde for a glaſſe or example, reaſon woulde what thyng ſo euer the ſayd Church determineth or ordeineth, that to be receaued of all men for a generall and a perpetuall rule for euer. 10 wherupon we ſee it now veryfied in this Church, yͭ was forepropheſied by Ieremy, ſaying: *Behold I haue ſet thee vp ouer nations and kingdomes to plucke vp and to breake downe, to build and to plant, &c.* 11 who ſo vnderſtādeth not the prerogatiue of this my Prieſthode, let him looke vp to the firmament, where he may ſee two great lights, the ſunne and the moone: one rulyng ouer the day, yͤ other ouer the night. So in the firmament of the vniuerſall Church. 12 God hath ſet two great dignities, the authoritie of the Pope, and of the Emperour: Of the which two this our dignitie is ſo much more weightier, as we haue the greater charge to geue accompt to God for kyngs of the earth, & the lawes of men. 13 wherfore be it knowē to you Emperours, which know it alſo right well, that you depend vpon the iudgement of vs: we muſt not be brought & reduced to your will. 14 For (as I ſayd) looke what difference there is betwixt the ſunne and the moone, ſo great is the power of the Pope rulyng ouer the day, that is ouer the ſpiritualitie, aboue Emperours and Kinges rulyng ouer the night, that is ouer the laitie. 15 Now ſeing then the earth is ſeuen times bigger then the moone, and the ſunne eight tymes greater then the earth, it foloweth that the Popes dignitie 47. times doth ſurmounte the eſtate of Emperours. 16 Upon conſideratiō wherof I ſay therfore and pronounce, that Conſtantine the Emperour did naught in ſettyng the Patriarch of Conſtātinople beneath him on his left hand. 17 And although yͤ ſayd Emperour wrote to me alleging the wordes of S. Peter, cōmaūding vs to ſubmit our ſelues to euery humane creature, as to Kynges, Dukes & other for the cauſe of God. &c. 1. Pet.2. yet in aunſweryng agayn in my Decretall, I expoūded the minde and the wordes of S. Peter to pertaine to his ſubiectes, and not his ſucceſſors, willyng the ſayd Emperour to cōſider the perſon of the ſpeaker, and to whom it was ſpoken. For if the minde of Peter had ben there to debaſe the order of Prieſthode and to make vs vnderlynges to euery humane creature, then euery Iacke might haue dominion ouer Prelates: which maketh agaynſt the example of Chriſt, ſettyng vp the order of Prieſthode to beare dominiō ouer Kyngs, accordyng to the ſaying of Ieremy: *Behold I haue ſet thee vp ouer Kinges and nations: &c.* 18 And as I feared not then to write this boldly to Conſtantine, ſo now I ſay to all other Emperours, that they receiuyng of me their approbation, vnction, conſecration, and crowne Imperiall, muſt not diſdaine to ſubmit their heades vnder me, and ſweare vnto me their allegeance. 19 For ſo you read in the Decree of Pope Iohn, how that Princes heretofore haue ben wont

1. *Pope Bonifacius 8. Extrauag. de Maiorit. & obed. c. Vnam.*
2. *Diſtinct. 21. ca. Decretis.*
3. *Pope Pelagius Diſtinct. 21. c. Quāuis.*
4. *Pelagius ibidem.*
5. *Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 22. cap. Inferior.*
6. *Pope Lucius 24. q. 1. cap. a. Recta.*
7. *Pope Calixtus Diſt. 12. cap. Non decet.*
8. *Pope Innocentius. Diſt. 11. cap. Quis.*
9. *Pope Stephan. Diſtinct. 19. ca. Enimuero.*
10. *Pope Bonifac. 8. Extrauag. c. Vnam ſanctam. Item Pope Ioannes. 22. Extrauag. cap. Super gentes.*
11. *Pope Innocent. 3. art. de maior et obe. c. Solita.*
12. *Pope Gelaſius Diſt. 96 cap. Duo.*
13. *Ibidem.*
14. *Innocentius De Maior. & obed. c. Solita.*
15. *Gloſa ibidem.*
16. *Ibidem.*
17. *Innocentius Gloſa ibidem.*
18. *Pope Clemēs. 5. Clement. de iureiurādo. c. Romani.*
19. *Pope Ioannes Diſt. 96 c. Nunquā.*

to

Henricus. 4. Emperour ſurrendered his crowne to the Pope.



to bow and ſubmit their heades vnto Byſhops, and not to proceede in Iudgement agaynſt the heades of Byſhops. 20. If this reuerence and ſubmiſſion was wont to be giuen to Biſhops, how much more ought they to ſubmitte their heades to me beyng ſuperiour, not onely to Kynges, but Emperours, and that for two cauſes: Firſt for my title of ſucceſſion that I Pope of Rome haue to the Empire, the roome ſtandyng vacant. Alſo for the fulneſſe of power that Chriſt the Kyng of Kynges, and Lord of Lordes hath geuen to me in the perſon of Peter. 21 By reaſon whereof, ſeyng my power is not of man but of God, who by his celeſtiall prouidence hath ſet me ouer hys whole vniuerſall Church maiſter and gouernour, it belongeth therfore to my office to looke vppon euery mortall ſinne of euery Chriſten man: 22. wherby all criminall cauſes as well of Kynges as all other, be ſubiect to my cenſure, 23. in ſuch ſort, that in all maner of pleadyng if any maner of perſon at any tyme either before the ſentence giuen or after ſhall appeale to me, it ſhalbe lawfull for hym ſo to do. 24. Neither muſt Kynges and Princes thinke it much to ſubmit them ſelues to my iudgement: for ſo dyd Valentinianus the worthy Emperour, ſo dyd Theodoſius, and alſo Carolus. 25. Thus you ſee all muſt be iudged by me, & I of no man. Yea & though I Pope of Rome, by my negligẽce or euill demeaner be found vnprofitable, or hurtfull, either to my ſelf or to others: yea, if I ſhould draw with me innumerable ſoules by heapes to hell, yet no mortall mã ſo hardy, ſo bold, or preſumptuous to reproue me. 26. or to ſay to me: Domine cur ita facis? i. Syr why do ye ſo? 27. For although you read that Balaam was rebuked of his Aſſe, by the which Aſſe our ſubiectes, by Balaam we Prelates are ſignified: yet that ought to be no example to our ſubiectes to rebuke vs. 28. And though we read in the Scripture that Peter, who receaued power of the kyngdome, and beyng chief of the Apoſtles, might by vertue of his office controlle all other, was content to come and giue aunſwere before hys inferiours, obiectyng to hym hys goyng to the Gentiles, yet other inferiours muſt not learne by this example to bee checkmate with their Prelates bycauſe that Peter ſo tooke it at theyr handes, ſhewyng therby rather a diſpenſation of humilitie, then ỹ power of his office: by the which power he might haue ſaid to them againe in this wiſe: It becõmeth not ſhepe, nor belongeth to their office to accuſe theyr ſhepheard &c. 29. For els why was Dioſcorus Patriarch of Alexandria condẽned & excõmunicated at Chalcedon? not for any cauſe of hys fayth, but onely for that he durſt ſtand agaynſt Pope Leo, and durſt excommunicate the Byſhop of Rome: for who is he that hath authoritie to accuſe the ſeat of S. Peter? 30. Albeit I am not ignoraunt what S. Hierome writeth, that Paule would not haue reprehended Peter, vnleſſe hee had thought hym ſelfe equall vnto him: 31. yet Hierome muſt thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equalitie betwixt Peter and Paule conſiſteth not in like office of dignitie, but in purenes of conuerſation. 32. For who gaue Paule his licence to preach but Peter, and that by the authoritie of God, ſaying: *Separate to me Paule and Barnabas?* &c. 33. Wherfore be it knowen to all men that my Church of Rome is Prince and head of all nations. 34. the mother of the fayth. 35. the fundation cardinall: wherupon all Churches do depend as the doore doth depend by the hynges. 36. the firſt of all other ſeates, without all ſpotte or blemiſhe. 37. Lady miſtres and inſtructor of all Churches. 38. a glaſſe and ſpectacle to all men, to be folowed in all, what ſo euer ſhe obſerueth. 39. which was neuer founde yet to ſlide or decline from the path of Apoſtolicke tradition, or to be intangled with any newnes of hereſy. 40. Agaynſt which Church of Rome who ſo euer ſpeaketh any euill, is forthwith an hereticke. 41. yea a very pagane, a witch, and Idolater or infidell. 42. Hauyng fulneſſe of power onely in her owne handes in ruling. 43. deciding, abſoluyng, condemnyng, caſtyng out, or receyuyng in. 44. albeit I deny not but other Churches be partakers with her in laboring and caryng. 45. To the which Church of Rome it is lawfull to appeale for remedy, from al other Churches. Although it was

20. *Pope Clemẽs. 5. Clement. de Sentent. & reiud. c. Paſtoralis.*

21. *Pope Innocentius 3. De iudicijs cap. Nouit.*

22. *Ibidem.*

23. *Pope Iulius. Cauſa. 2. q. 6. c. Ad Romanam.*

24. *Innocentius Ibidem.*

25 *Bonifacius Diſt. 40. ca. Si Papa.*

26. *Gloſa. Extrauag. de ſede vacant. Ad apoſtolatus.*

27. *Pope Leo. cauſ. 1. q. 7. c. Nos.*

28. *Gregor. 2. q. 7. c. Petrus.*

29. *Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 22. cap. In tantum.*

30. *Hiero. Cauſ. 2. q. 7. cap. Paulus.*

31. *Gloſa Gratiani ibidem.*

32. *Gloſa in Diſt. 11. cap. Quis.*

33. *Cauſ. 2. q. 7. c. beati.*

34. *Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 22. c. omnes.*

35. *Pope Anacletus. Diſt. 22. c. Sacroſancta.*

36. *Pope Pelagius Diſt. 21. quãuis.*

37. *Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 21. cap. Deniq.*

38. *Pope Steph. Diſt. 19. Enimuero.*

39. *Pope Lucius. 24. q. 1. A recta.*

40. *Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 22. Omnes.*

41. *Pope Gregorius. Diſt. 81. cap. Siqui.*

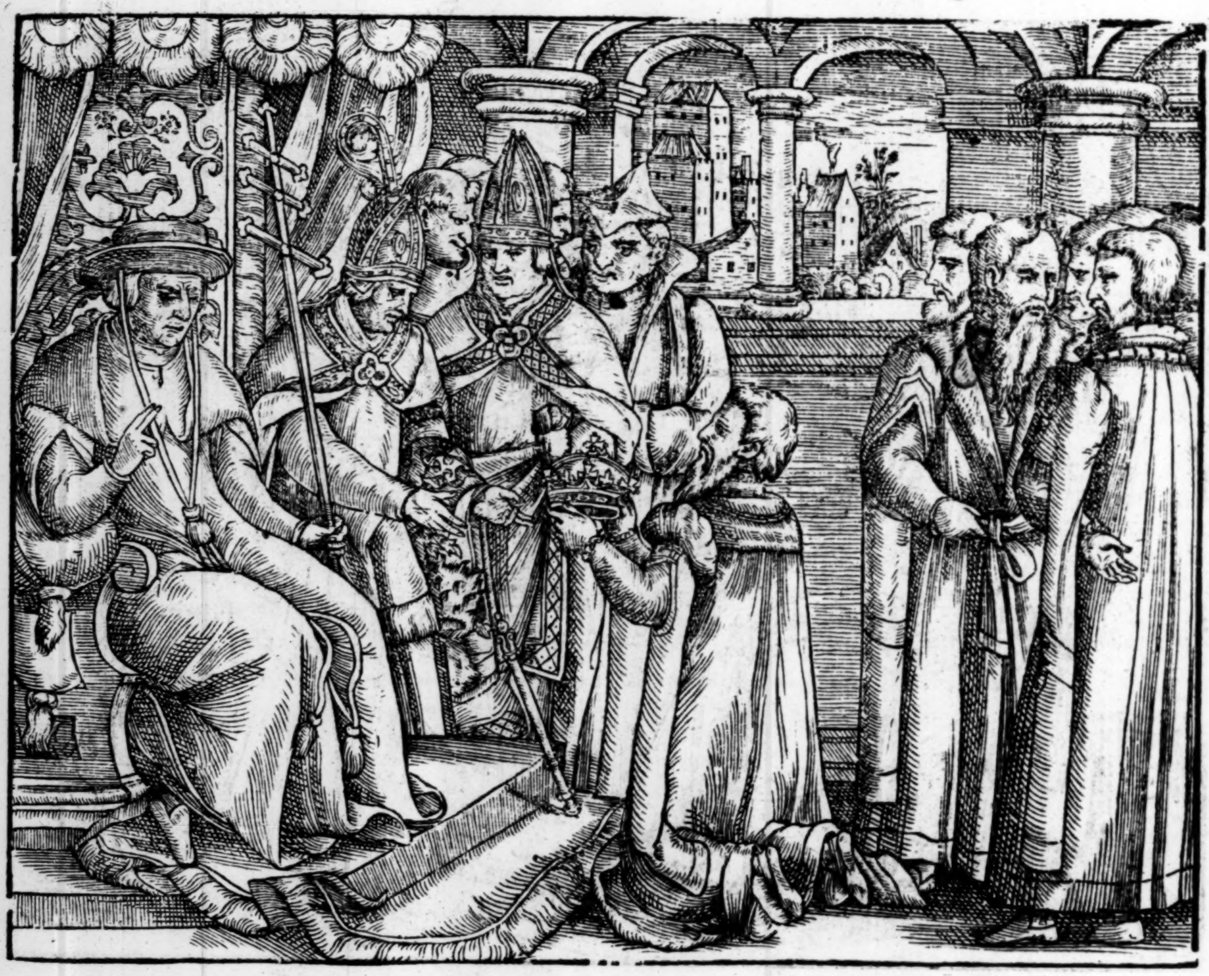
42. *Pope Leo. Cauſ. 3. q. 6. cap. Multum.*

43. *Diſt. 20. Decretales.*

44. *Pope Iulius. Cauſ. 2. q. 6. Quiſe.*

45. *Cauſ. 2. q. 6. Arguta. item. c. Ad Romanam.*

King John offering his Crowne to Pandulphus, Legate.



otherwiſe concluded in the generall Coūcell of Carthage, that no man ſhould appeale ouer the Sea vnder payne of excommunication, yet my gloſe commeth in here with an exception: Niſi forte Romanam ſedē appellauerint: i. Except the appeale be to the ſea of Rome, &c. 46. By the authoritie of which Church of Rome, all Sinodes, and Decrees of Councels ſtand confirmed. 47. And hath alwayes full authoritie in her handes to make new lawes and decrementes: And to alter ſtatutes, priuileges, rightes or documentes of Churches: To ſeparate thinges ioyned, and to ioyne thynges ſeparated vpon conſideration, either in whole or in part, perſonally, or generally. 48. Of the which Church of Rome I am head as a kyng is ouer hys iudges, 49. the vicare of S. Peter. 50. yea not the vicare of Peter properly, but the vicare of Chriſt properly, and ſucceſſor of Peter. 51. vicar of Ieſus Chriſt. 52. Rector of the vniuerſall Church: Director of the Lordes vniuerſall flocke: 53. Chiefe Magiſtrate of the whole world. 54. Cephas. i, caput, the head and chief of the Apoſtolicke Church. 55. vniuerſall Pope, and dioceſane in all places exempt, as well as euery Byſhop is in places not exempt. 56. moſt mighty Prieſt. 57. Lex animata in terris. i. 58. a lyuyng law in the earth hauyng all lawes in the chiſte of my breſte. 59. bearyng the perſon of no pure man: 60. beyng neither God nor mā, but the admiration of the world, and a midle thyng betwixt both: 61. Hauyng both ſwordes in my power, both of the ſpirituall and temporall iuriſdiction. 62. ſo farre ſurmounting the authoritie of the Emperour, that I of myne owne power alone without a Councel haue authoritie to depoſe him, to trāſferre his kyngdome, and to gyue a new election, as I did to Fridericke & diuers other. 63. what power then or poteſtate in all the world is comparable to me: who haue authoritie to binde & loſe both in heauē and earth. 64. That is, who haue power both of heauēly things, and alſo of temporall thinges. 65. To whom Emperours and Kynges be more inferiour, thē lead is inferiour to Gold. 66. For do you not ſee the neckes of great Kyngs and Princes bend vnder our knees, yea and thinke themſelues happy and well defenſed, if they may kiſſe our hands? 67. wherfore the ſawcines of Honorius the Emperour is to be reprehended, and his conſtitution aboliſhed, who with his laity would take vpon him to intermedle not onely with the tēporall order, but alſo with matters eccleſiaſticall, & election of the Pope. 68. But here percaſe ſome wil obiect the exāples and wordes of Chriſt, ſaying, that his kyngdome is not of this world, and where he beyng required to diuide betwixt ij. brethren their heretage, did refuſe it. But that ought to be no preiudice to my power. 69. For if Peter, & I in Peter, if we I ſay, haue power to binde and looſe in heauen, how much more thē is it to be thought, that we haue power in earth to looſe and take away Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and what els ſo euer mortall men may haue, and to gyue thē where we will? 70. And if we haue authoritie ouer Aungels, which be the gouernours of Princes, what then may we do vpon theyr inferiours & ſeruauntes? 71. And for that you ſhall not maruell, that I ſay: Aungels be ſubiect to vs, you ſhall here what my bleſſed Clerke Antoninus, writeth of that matter, ſaying, that our power, of Peter & me, is greater then the Aungels in 4. thinges: In iuriſdiction, 2. in adminiſtration of Sacramentes: 3. in knowledge, 4. and in reward. &c. 72. And againe in Bulla Clementis, do not I there cōmaunde in my Bull, the aungels of Paradiſe to abſolue the ſoule of man out of Purgatory and to bring it into the glory of Paradiſe? 73. And now beſides my heauenly power, to ſpeake of myne earthly iuriſdiction, who did firſt tranſlate the Empire from the Greekes to the Almanes, but I? 74. And not onely in yͤ Empyre am I Empe-

rour,

Cauſ.2.q.6.cap. Placuit.

Gloſa Gratiani. Niſi.

46. *Pope Gelaſi.25.q.1.cap.Cōſidimus.*

47. *Pope Vrbanus.25.q.1.cap.Sunt.*

Pope Pelagius.25.q. 2. cap. poſteaquam.

48. *Bulla Donationis.Diſt.96.c.Conſtant.*

49. *Pope Paſchalis.Diſt.63.cap.Ego.*

50. *Pope Clemens.5,Clement.c.Romani.Gloſa.*

51. *Pope Bonifacius.8.Sext,Decretal.cap.vbi.*

52. *Ibidem.*

53. *Pope Bonifacius. prohem. Sext. Decretal. ib.Sacroſancta.*

54. *Anacletus.Diſt.22.cap.Sacro ſancta.*

55. *Pope Bonifacius. 4. Sext. Decret. de pænit. & remiſſ. cap.5. Gloſa. Item Alexander.4.Sext.Decret,c.4.in Gloſa.*

56. *Pope Hilarius.25.q.1.Nulli.*

57. *Sext.Decret.cap. Ab arbitrii.Gloſa.*

58. *Pope Bonifacius. Sext.Decret.De conſt.cap.licet.*

59. *Pope Innocentius.3.De tranſl. c. Quanto.*

60. *Prohem. Clement. Gloſa. Papa Stupor mundi.&c. Nec Deus es nec homo, quaſi neuter es inter vtrumq́;.*

61. *Pope Bonifacius. Extrauag. De Maiorit & obed. cap.vnam. Item Diſt. 22. cap. Omnes.*

62. *Sext.Decret.De ſentent. & rea. Ad Apoſtolica. Item in Gloſa. ibidem.*

63. *Pope Nicolaus.Diſt.22.ca.Omnes.*

64. *Gloſa. Ibidem.*

65. *Pope Gelaſius. Diſt.96.c.Duo.*

66. *Pope Gelaſius. Ibidem.*

67. *Diſt.96.ca. Illud.*

68. *Ex citatione Hiero. Marij.*

69. *Pope Hildebrandus, alias, Gregorius. 7. Ex Platina, in Vita Gregorij.*

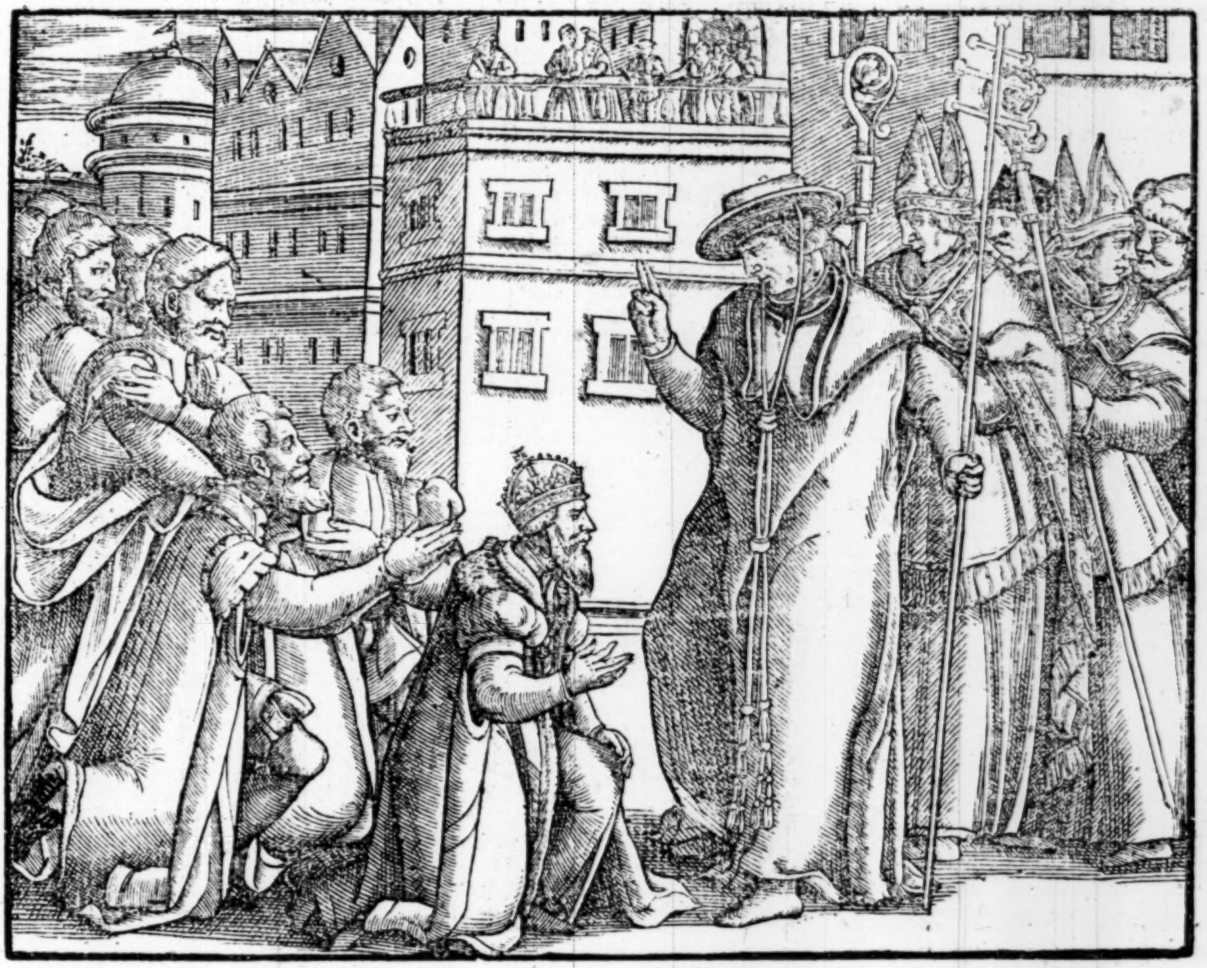
70. *Hildebrādus.Ibidē.*

71. *Antoninus in tertia parte Summa maioris.*

72. *Bulla Clementis.*

73. *Pope Innocent. De electione c. Venerabilem.*

74. *Extrau.De prabend.& dig.c.Execrabilis.*



K. Henry. 3. kiſsing the knee of the Popes Legate comming into England.

rour, the place being emptie, but in all eccleſiaſticall benefices haue full right and power to giue, to tranſlate, and to diſpoſe after my arbitremēt. 75. Did not I Zacharias put down Childericke, the old kyng of Fraunce, and ſet vp Pipinus? 76. Did not I Gregorius vij. ſet vp Robert Wyſard and made hym kyng of Sicilia & Duke of Capuae &c. 77. Did not I the ſame Gregorius alſo ſet vp Rodulphus againſt Henricus. 4. Emperour? 78. And though this Henricus was an Emperour of moſt ſtoute courage, who ſtode, 62. tymes in open field agaynſt hys enemyes. 79. yet did not I Gregorius bryng hym coram nobis, and made hym ſtand at my gate three dayes and three nightes barefoote and barelegge with hys wyfe and child, in the deepe of wynter, both in froſt and ſnow, entreatyng for hys abſolution & after did excommunicate him agayne, ſo that he was twiſe excōmunicate in my daies? 80. Agayne did not I Paſchalis after Gregory, ſet vp the ſonne of the ſaid Henricus agaynſt hys father in warre, to poſſeſſe the Empyre, and to put downe hys father, and ſo he dyd? 81. Item, did not I Pope Alexander bring vnder Henry the ſecond kyng of England, for the death of Thomas Becket, and cauſe hym to go barefoote to hys tombe at Canterbury with bledyng feete? 82. Did not I Innocentius the thyrd, cauſe kyng Iohn to kneele downe at the feete of Pandulphus my Legate, and offer vp hys crowne to his handes: alſo to kyſſe the feete of Steuen Langhton Byſhop of Canterbury, & beſides marſed hym in a M. Markes by yeare? 83. Did not I Vrbanus 2. put downe Hugo Earle in Italy, diſcharging hys ſubiectes from their oth and obedience to hym? 84. Dyd not I Paſchalis excommunicate alſo hys ſonne Henricus. 5. and get out of his handes all his right and title of elections and donations of ſpirituall promotions? Did not I Gelaſius 2. bryng the Captaine Cintius vnder, vnto the kyſſyng of my feete? And after Gelaſius, dyd not I Calixtus. 2. quale the foreſayd Emperour Henricus. 5. and alſo bryng in ſubiection Gregory whom the ſayd Emperour had ſet vp agaynſt me to be Pope, bryngyng him into Rome vpon a Camell, his face to the horſe tayle, makyng hym to hold the horſe taile in his hād in ſtead of a bridle? 85. Further, did not I Innocentius 2. ſet vp and made Lotharius to be Emperour for driuing out Pope Anacletus out of Rome? 86. Dyd not I the ſayd Innocentius take the Dukedome of Sicile from the Empire, and made Roger to bee kyng therof, wherby afterward the kyngdome became the patrimonie of S. Peter? 87. Dyd not I Alexander 3. ſuſpend all the Realme and Churches of England for the kyngs mariage? an. 1159. 88. But what do I ſpeake of kynges? did not I ẏ ſayd Alexander bryng the valiant Emperour Fridericke the firſt to Venice, by reaſon of his ſonne Otho there taken priſoner, and there in S. Markes Church made hym fall downe flat vpon the ground, while I ſet my foote vpon his necke, ſaying the verſe of the Pſalme. Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis? &c. 89. Did not I Hadrianus Pope, an Engliſhe man borne, excommunicate Willi[illegible] kyng of Sicile, & refuſe his peace, which he offered? and had not he ouercome me in playne field, I would haue ſhaken hym out of his kingdome of Sicile and Dukedome of Apulia. 90. Alſo did not I the ſayd Adrianus, controlle and correct the foreſayd Fridericus Emperour, for holdyng the left ſtyrrup of my horſe when he ſhould haue holden the right? 91. and afterward did not I excōmunicate & curſe hym, for that he was ſo ſawſy to ſet his owne name in writyng before myne? 92. And although a poore flie afterward ouercame and ſtrangled me, yet I made kynges and Emperours to ſtoupe. 93. Dyd not I Innocent. 3. deiect Philippus, brother to Fridericus, frō ẏ Emperial crown, being elected without my leaue, and after ſet hym vp agayne? and alſo ſet vp Otho of Brunſwicke, and after did excommunicate and alſo depoſe the ſame 4. yeares, ſettyng vp the French kyng to warre agaynſt hym? 94. Then was Fridericus 2. by me ſet vp and reigned. 37. yeares, and yet fiue yeares before hee dyed. 95. dyd not I Honorius interdict him, for not reſtoryng certaine to their poſſeſſiōs at my requeſt? 96. whom alſo Gregorius 9. dyd excommunicate twiſe together, and raiſed vp the Venitians agaynſt him. 97. And at length Innocentius ſpoyled him of his Empyre: after ẏ cauſed him to be poyſoned, at length to be ſtrāgled by

75. *Pope Zacharias. Cauſ. 15.q.6.c.Alius.*

76. *Pope Hildebrand* aliàs *Gregor. 7. Clement. c. paſtoralis.*

77. *Ex Geſtis Hildebrandi.*

78. *Baptiſta Egnatius.*

79. *Platina. Benno. Nauclerus.*

80. *Platina. Egnatius. Benno.*

81. *Polidor. Virgil. Hiſtoria Iornalenſis de rebus Anglorum.*

82. *Chronica Vernacula.*

83. *Pope Vrbanus. Cauſ. 15. q.6.cap. Iuratos.*

84. *Pope Paſchalis. Carſulanus. Platina. Vincentius. Stella. Antoninus. Matheus Pariſienſis.*

Pope Gelaſius. 2.

Pope Calixtus. 2.

Platina de Vitis pontificum.

85. *Pope Innocentius. 2.*

86. *Nauclerus.*

87. *Pope Alexander. 3. De ſponſal. & matr. c. Non eſt.*

88. *Nauclerus. Acta. Rom. pontificum.*

89. *Pope Adrianus. Vita Rom. pontificum.*

90. *Ex Auentino.*

91. *Bulla Adriani contra Caſarē.*

92. *Acta Rom. pontific.*

93. *Pope Innocentius. 3. Ex Vitis & Actis Rom. pontificum.*

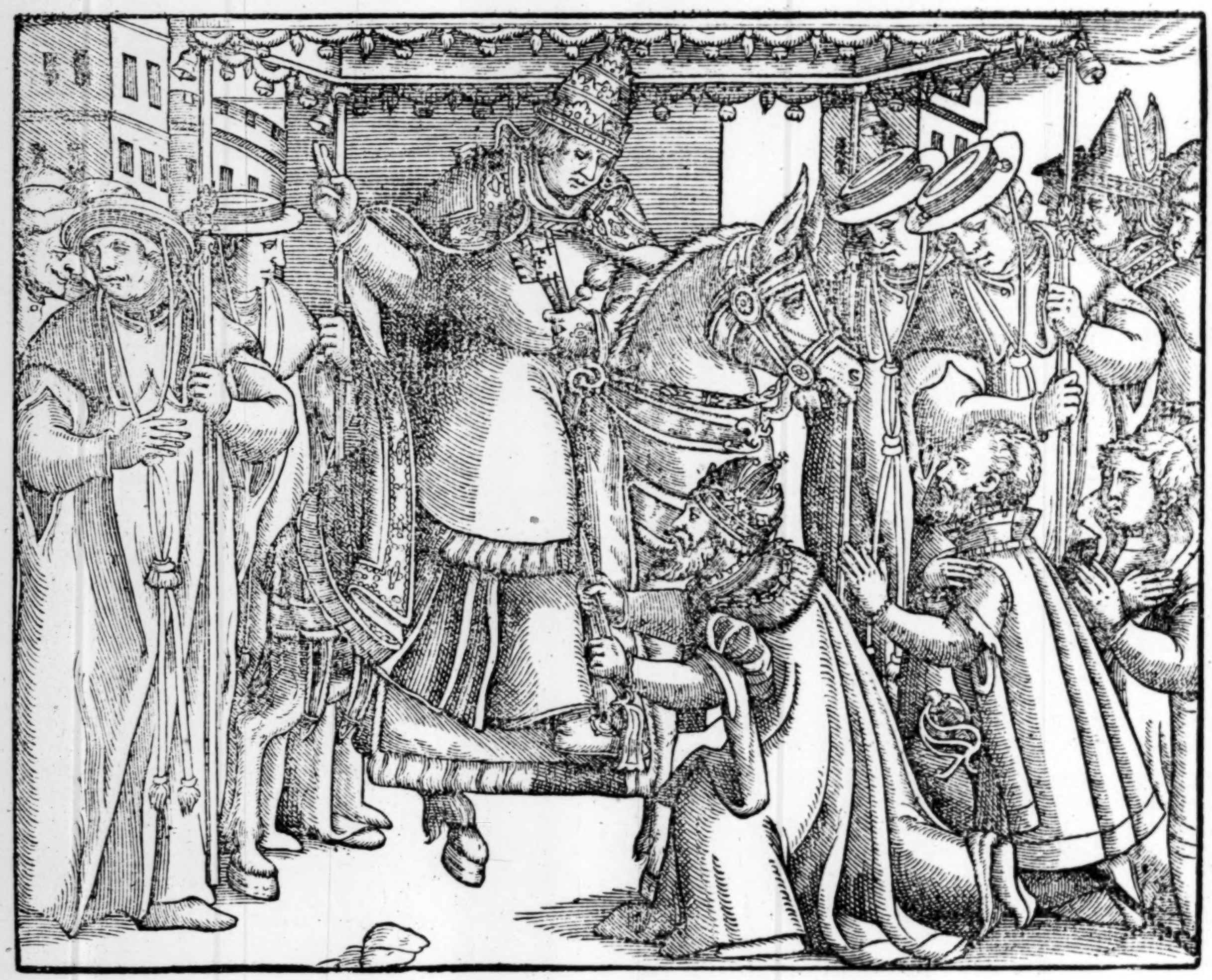
Ex Abbate Vrſpergenſ.

94. *Ex eodem.*

95. *Pope Honorius. 3. Ex Mario.*

96. *Pope Gregor. 9. Ex eodem.*

97. *Pope Innocēt. 4. Hieronimus Marius, Petrus de Vineis.*



Fridericus.1. Emperour ſhent for holding Pope Adrians ſtyrrup on the wrong ſide.

one Manfredus, and dyd excommunicate hys ſonne Conradus after hym, not onely depriuyng hym of his right inheritaunce, but alſo cauſed hym, with Fridericke Duke of Auſtria to be beheaded. 98. Thus then did not I excommunicate and depoſe all theſe Emperours in order? Henricus.4. Henricus.5. Fridericus.1. Philippus, Otho.4. Fridericus.2. and Conradus hys ſonne? 99. Did not I interdict kyng Henry the eight. 100. and all his kyngdome of England? 101. And had not his prudence and power preuented my practiſe, I had diſplaced him from hys kyngdome alſo. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatneſſe of my power & of my ſeate? 102. For by me onely generall Councels take theyr force and cõfirmation. 103. and the interpretation of the ſayd Councels, and of all other cauſes hard and doubtfull ought to be referred and ſtand to my determination. 104. By me the workes of all writers, what ſo euer they be, either be reproued or allowed. 105. Then how much more ought my writynges and decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. In ſo much that my letters and Epiſtles decretall be equiualent with generall Councels. 107. And where as God hath ordeined all cauſes of men, to be iudged by men, he hath onely reſerued me, that is, the Pope of Rome, without all queſtion of men, vnto his owne iudgement. 108. And therfore where all other creatures be vnder theyr iudge, onely I which in earth am the iudge of all, can be iudged of none, neither of Emperour, nor the whole Clergy, nor of Kynges, nor yet of the people. 109. For who hath power to iudge vppon hys Iudge? 110. This iudge am I, and that alone, without any other aſſiſtance of any Councell ioyned to me. For I haue power vpon Councels, Councels haue no power vppon me. But if the Councell determine amiſſe, it is in my authoritie alone to infrynge it, or to cõdemne whom I luſt without any Councell. 111. And all for the preeminence of my predeceſſor bleſſed S. Peter, which by the voyce of the Lord, he receiued, and euer ſhall reteine. 112. Furthermore, and where as all other ſentences and iudgementes both of Councels, perſon, or perſons, may and ought to be examined. 113. for that, they may be corrupted foure wayes, by feare, by giftes, by hatred, by fauour: onely my ſentence and iudgement muſt ſtand. 114. as giuen out of heauẽ by ỹ mouth of Peter him ſelfe, which no man muſt. 115. breake, nor retract. 116 No man muſt diſpute or doubt of. 117. Yea if my iudgement, ſtatute, or yoke ſeeme ſcarſly tolerable, yet for remembraunce of S. Peter it muſt bee humbly obeyed. 118. Yea and moreouer obediẽce is to be geuen, not onely to ſuch decrees ſet foorth by me in tyme of my Popedome, but alſo to ſuch as I do foreſee and commit to writyng before I be Pope. 119. And although it be thought by ſome writers, to be gyuen to all men to erre, and to be deceaued. 120. yet neither am I a pure man. 121. and agayne the ſentence of my Apoſtolicke ſeat is alwayes conceaued with ſuch moderation, is cõcocte and digeſted with ſuch paciẽce and rypenes, and deliuered out with ſuch grauitie of deliberation, that nothyng is thought in it neceſſary to be altered or retracted. 122. wherfore it is manifeſt, and teſtified by the voyce of holy Byſhops, that the dignitie of this my ſeat is to be reuerẽced thorow the whole world, in that all the faythfull ſubmit them ſelues to it, as to the head of the whole body. 123. wherof it is ſpoken to me by the Prophet, ſpeakyng of the Arcke: if this be humbled, whether ſhall you runne for ſuccour, & where ſhal your glory become? Seyng then this is ſo, that ſo holy Byſhops and Scriptures do witneſſe with me, what ſhall we ſay then to ſuch as wil take vpon them to iudge of my doynges, to reprehende my procedynges, or to require homage and tribute of me, to whom all other be ſubiect? 124. Agaynſt the firſt ſort the Scripture ſpeaketh Deut. thou oaghteſt not to put thy ſieth in an other mãs corne. which thyng to attempt agaynſt me, what is it but playne ſacrilege? 125. Accordyng to my Canoniſtes, which thus define ſacrilege to conſiſt in iij. things, either when a man iudgeth of his Princes iudgement: or whe

the

98. *Ex Chronic. Carionis.*

99. *Hiſtoria Anglorum.*

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Pope Marcellus. Diſt.17.ca. Synodum.*

103. *Diſt.20. Decretales.*

104. *Pope Nicolaus. Diſt.19. Si Romanorum.*

105. *Ibidem.*

106. *Diſt.20. Decretales.*

107. *Symmachus Pope.9.q.3. Aliorum.*

108. *Pope Innocentius. 6.q.3.ca. Nemo.*

109. *Ibidem.*

110. *Pope Gelaſius. 9.q.3.c. Cuncta.*

111. *Ibidem.*

112. *Anaſtaſius Patriarch. D.q.3.cap. Antiquis. Item.11.q.3.cap. Quãuis.*

113. *Pope Gregor.2.q.3.c. Quatuor.*

114. *Pope Agatho. Diſt.19. cap. Sic oẽs.*

115. *Pope Nicolaus.9.q.3. Patet.*

116. *Pope Innocentius.2. Art.17.q.4. Si quis.*

117. *Diſt.19.cap. In memoriam.*

118. *Sextus Decret. Tit.7. De renunciat. Quoniam. Gloſa.*

119. *Offic. l. 1.*

120. *Gloſa. Extra. De Verb. ſignif. cap. Ad.*

121. *Pope Gregorius. Cauſ.35.q.9. Apoſtolica.*

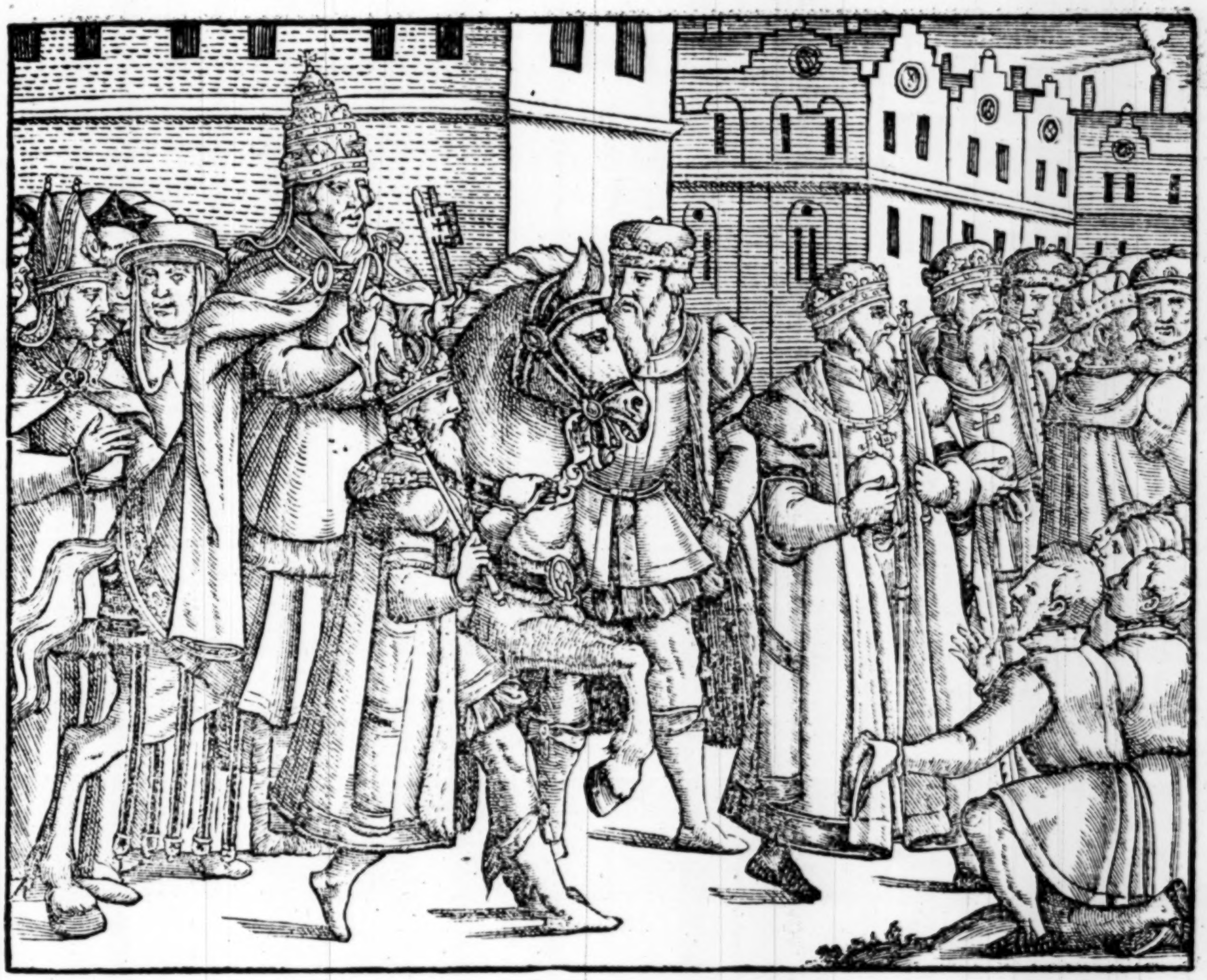
122. *Pope Symmachus. Cauſ.9.q.3. Aliorum.*

123. *Ibidem.*

124. *Pope Gregorius. 6.q.3. Scriptum eſt.*

125. *Cauſ.17.q.4. Sacrileg. Gloſa.*

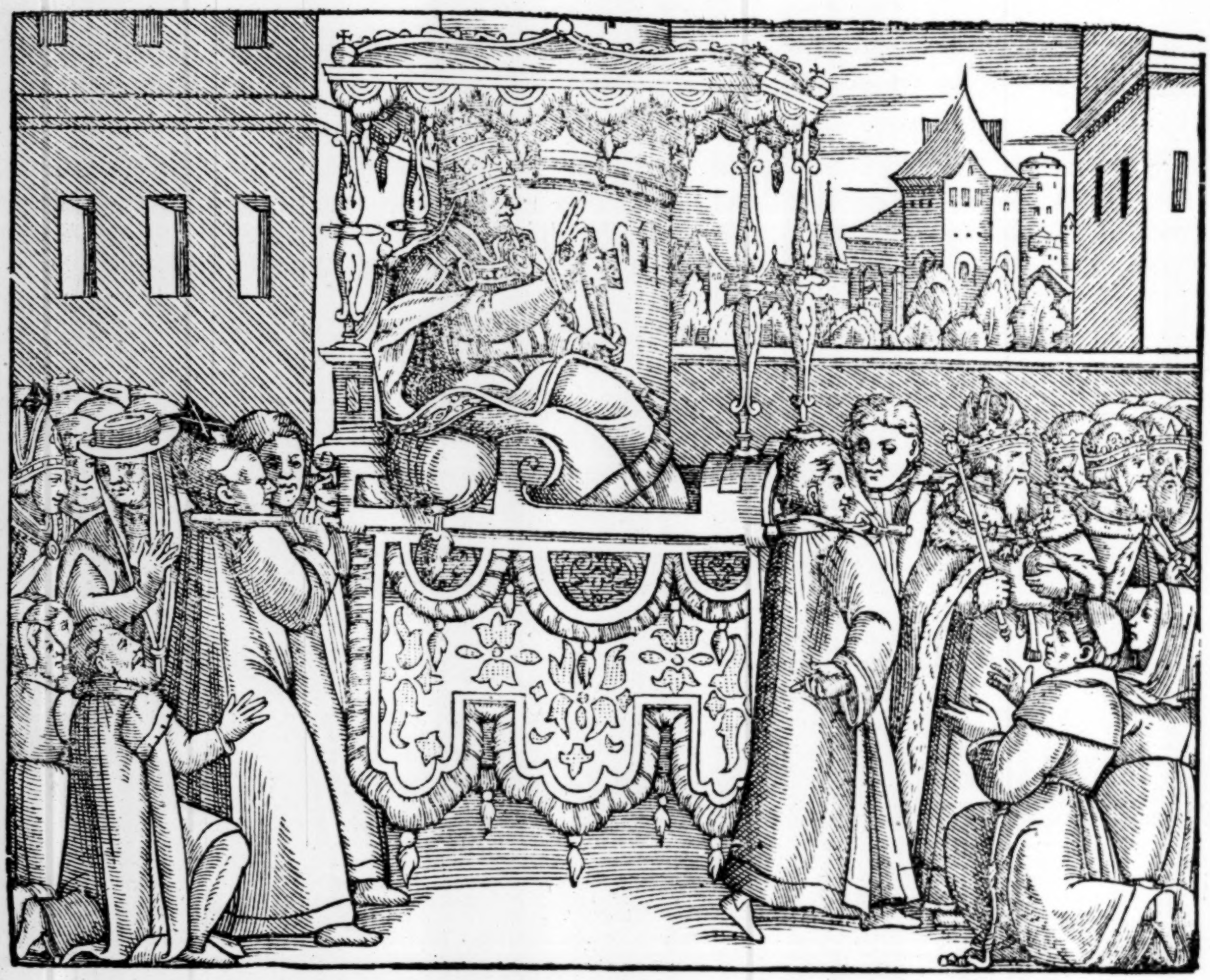
The order of yͤ Popes riding, the Emperour holding his bridle, & kings going before him. Ex Lib. Sacrar. Ceremon. lib. 1.



the holy day is prophaned, or whē reuerence is not geuē
126. to Lawes and Canons. 126. Agaynſt the ſecond ſort maketh
2.q.7.cap. yͤ place of yͤ booke of Kynges, where we read, the
Pleruq́ʒ Arcke of God was brought from Gabaa to Hieruſalem,
Gloſema and in the way the Arcke inclinyng by reaſon of the vnruly
Gratiani. oxen, Ozias the Leuite put to his hand to helpe, and
¶.*Item.* therfore was ſtricken of the Lord. By this Arcke is ſignified
the Prelates: by the inclination therof, the fall of
127. Prelates. 127. which alſo be ſignified by the Aungels
Ibidem. that Iacob did ſee goyng vp and commyng downe the
128. lader. 128. Alſo by the Prophet, where he ſayth: *He bowed*
Ibidem. *downe the heauens and came downe, &c:* By Ozias and by the
129. vnruly Oxen are mente our ſubiectes. 129. Then lyke as
Ibidem. Ozias was ſtricken for putting his hand to the Arcke inclinyng,
no more muſt ſubiectes rebuke their Prelates,
130. going awry. 130. Albeit here may be aunſwered agayne,
Ibidem. ¶. that all be not Prelates which ſo be called: for it is not
His ita. that name that maketh a Byſhop, but hys lyfe. 131. Agaynſt
131 the thyrd ſort of ſuch as would bryng vs vnder
Pope Vrbanus.23.q. the tribute and exactions of ſecular mē, maketh the new
Teſtament, where Peter was bid to giue yͤ grote in the
Tributum. fiſhes mouth, but not the head nor the body of the fiſhe:
No more is the head or body of the Church ſubdued to
Kinges, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the
externe thynges of the Church. And yet nor they neither.
132. 132. For ſo we read in the booke of Geneſis, that Pharao in
Ibidem. ¶. tyme of dearth ſubdued all the land of the Egyptians, but
Quamuis. yet he miniſtred to the Prieſtes, ſo that he tooke neither
theyr poſſeſſions from them, nor their libertie. If then
the Prelates of the Church muſt be neither iudged, nor
reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to
be free from the ſame? 133. which am the Byſhop of Byſhops,
& head of Prelates. 134. For
133. it is not to be thought that yͤ caſe betwixt
Pope Benedictus. Extr. De aut. et me & other Prelates: betwixt
Vſu pallij. c. Sācta. my ſea & other Churches be lyke. 135.
134. Although the whole Catholicke and
Pope Stephanus. Diſt.19. Enimuero. Apoſtolicke Church make one bride-
chamber of Chriſt: yet the Catholick
135 and Apoſtolicke Church of Rome,
Pope Pelagius. Diſt.21. Quamuis. had the preeminence giuen ouer all
other by the mouth of the Lord hym
136. ſelfe ſaying to Peter: *Thou art Peter. &c.* 136.
Diſt.21. Decretis. Thus a diſcretion and difference muſt be had in

the Church, as it was betwixt Aaron and his children.
137. betwixt yͤ 72. Diſciples, and yͤ 12. Apoſtles: 137.
betwixt the other Apoſtles and Peter. 138. *Pope Anacletus. Diſt.22.*
Wherfore it is to be concluded, that there muſt *In nono.*
be an order and difference of Degrees in the 138.
Church betwixt powers, ſuperiour and inferiour: *Pope Boniſacius & Greg.*
without which order, the Vniuerſitie *Diſt.89. Ad hoc.*
of the whole can not conſiſt. 139. For as amongeſt 139.
the Angelicall creatures aboue in heauen there *Ibidem.*
is ſet a difference and inequalitie of powers and orders,
ſome be Aungels, ſome Archangels, ſome Cherubins, &
Seraphins: 140. So in the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie of 140.
the Church militant in the earth, Prieſtes muſt not be equall *Diſt.89.cap.*
with Byſhops, Byſhops muſt not be lyke in order *Singula.*
with Archbyſhops, with Patriarches or Primates.
141. Who conteyne vnder them three Archbyſhops, 141.
as a Kyng conteyneth three Dukes *Ex Citatione Bul. Decr. ſ*
vnder him. In the which number of Patriarches *Ser.3.*
cōmeth in yͤ ſtate alſo of. 142. Cardinals 142.
or Principals, ſo called becauſe, as the doore *De Officio Archipraſbyt.*
turneth by hys hynges, ſo the vniuerſall *in Gloſa.*
Church ought to be ruled by them. 143. The 143.
next and hyeſt order aboue theſe is myne, which am
Pope, differyng in power and maioritie, and honor reuerentiall,
from theſe and all other Degrees of men. 144. 144.
For the better declaration wherof, my Canoniſtes make *Ex 3. Parte S*
three kyndes of power in earth: Immediata, which is *ma maioris. b.*
myne immediatly from God; Deriuata, which belongeth *Antonini.*
to other inferiour Prelates from me. 145: Miniſtralis, belonging 145.
to Emperours and Princes to miniſter for me. *Pope Innocent.*
For the which cauſe the annoyntyng of Princes and my *3. De ſacra*
cōſecration doth differ: for they are anoynted only in the *Vnctione.*
arme or ſhoulders, & I in yͤ head, to ſignifie yͤ difference *Qui veniſſet.*
of power betwixt Princes and me. 146. This order therfore 146.
of Prieſtes, Byſhops, Archbyſhops, Patriarches *Pope Nicolaus*
and other, as a thyng moſt conuenient, my Church of *Diſt.22.cap.*
Rome hath ſet and inſtitute through all churches, folowing *Omnes.*
therin, not onely the example of the Angelicall army
in heauen, but alſo of the Apoſtels. 147. For amongeſt 147.
them alſo there was not an vniforme equalitie or inſtitution *Pope Clement.*
of one degree. 148. But a diuerſitie or diſtinction *Diſt.80.cap. In illis.*
of authoritie and power. Albeit they 148.
were all Apoſtles together, yet it was graunted *Pope Anacletus. Diſt.22.*
notwithſtādyng to Peter (them ſelues al- *Sacroſancta.*

The Pope caried on mens ſhoulders, the Emperour & kings going before him. Ex Lib. Sacrar. Ceremon. lib. 1.



The Image of Antichriſt exalted in the temple of God aboue all that is called God. *2. Theſ. 2.*

ſo agreeyng to the ſame (that he ſhould beare dominion & ſuperioritie ouer all the other Apoſtles. 149. And therfore had his name giuen him Cephas, that is, head or begynnyng of the Apoſtlehode. 150. wherupon the order of Prieſthode firſt in the new Teſtament began in Peter, to whom it was ſayd: Thou art Peter, and vpon thee I wil build my Church. 151. And I wil giue thee the keyes of ẏ kyngdome of heauē. And thou beyng conuerted confirme thy brethren. 152. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhall not fayle. wherfore ſeyng ſuch power is geuen to Peter. 153. & to me in Peter, beyng his ſucceſſor. 154. who is he then in all the world, that ought not to be ſubiect to my decrees, which haue ſuch power in heauen, in hell, in earth wt the quicke and alſo ẏ dead. 155. cōmaūdyng & graunting in my Bulle of lead ſent to Vienna, vnto all ſuch as dyed in their peregrination to Rome, that the payne of hell ſhould not touch them: And alſo that all ſuch as tooke the holy croſſe vpō thē, ſhould euery one at his requeſt not only be deliuered hym ſelf, but alſo deliuer three or iiij. ſoules whom ſo euer he would, out of Purgatory. 156. Again, hauyng ſuch promiſe and aſſurāce, that my faith ſhall not fayle, who then will not beleue my doctrine? For dyd not Chriſt him ſelfe firſt pray for Peter that hys faith ſhould not fayle? 157. Alſo haue not I a ſure promiſe of Paules owne mouth, writing to my Church by theſe words: God is my witnes whom I ſerue in my ſpirit, in the goſpell of his ſonne, that without ceaſing I make mētion of you alwaies in my praiers? Rom. 1. 158. wherfore as I condēne all ſuch worthely, which will not obey my decrees, to be diſpoſſeſſed of all their honour, without reſtitution: 159. So all they that beleue not my doctrine, or ſtand againſt the priuiledge of the church, eſpecially of the Church of Rome, I pronounce them heretikes. 160. And as the other before is to be called vniuſt, ſo this man is to be called an heretike. 161. For why, he goeth againſt the fayth which goeth agaynſt her who is ẏ mother of faith. 162. But here may riſe percaſe a doubt or ſcruple, that if my fayth and knowledge ſtand ſo ſure by the promiſe of Chriſt, and by the continuall prayer of S. Paule: whether is it true, or is to be graunted, that any other ſhould excell me in knowledge or interpretation of holy Scripture. 163. For looke whoſe knowledge is groūded of moſt reaſon, his wordes ſhould ſeme to be of more authoritie. 164. wherunto I aunſwere & graunt, that many there be and haue bene more aboundantly indued with fuller grace of the holy ghoſt, and greater excellencie of knowledge, and therfore that the tractations of Auguſtine, Hierome and others ought to bee preferred before the conſtitutions of diuers Popes: yet I ſay in determination of cauſes, bycauſe they haue not the vertue and height of that authoritie which is giuen to me, therfore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they ſtand inferiour to my authoritie. By vertue of which authoritie. 165. both they themſelues be allowed for doctours, & their workes approued, and alſo all other matters be ruled, through the power of the keyes which be giuen to me immediatly of Chriſt. Although I deny not but the ſame keyes be alſo committed to other Prelates, as they were to other Apoſtles beſides Peter: 166. yet it is one thyng to haue the keyes, an other thyng to haue the vſe of the keyes. 167. wherfore here is to be noted a diſtinction of keyes, after the minde of my ſcholedoctours: one key which is called Clauis ordinis, hauyng authoritie to bind and loſe, but not ouer the perſons whom they binde and loſe, and this authoritie they take not immediatly of Chriſt, but mediatly by me the vicare of Chriſt. The other key is called Clauis iuriſdictionis, which I the vicare of Chriſt take immediatly of him, hauyng not onely authoritie to bind and loſe, but alſo dominion ouer them on whō this key is exerciſed. By the iuriſdiction of which key, the fulnes of my power is ſo great, that where as all other are ſubiectes. 168. yea and Emperours them ſelues ought to ſubdue their executions to me. Onely I am a ſubiect to no creature. 169. no not to my ſelfe, except I liſte, In foro pœnitentiæ, to my ghoſtly father ſubmitting my ſelfe as a ſinner, but not as Pope: So that my Papall maieſtie euer remaineth vnminiſhed. Superiour to all men. 170. whom all perſons ought to obey, 171. and follow,

149. *Ibidem. Quaſi vero Petrus non a Petra, ſed* κεφας ἀπὸ τῆς κεφάλης *ducatur.*
150. *Diſt. 21. cap. In nouo.*
151. *Ibidem.*
152. *Diſt. 21. cap. Decretis.*
153. *Pope Leo. Diſt. 19. c. Ita Dominus.*
154. *Pope Nicolaus in tantum. Diſt. 22.*
155. *Pope Clemēs. in Bulla Vienna, in ſcriniis priuilegiorum.*
156. *Diſt. 21. cap. Decretis.*
157. *Pope Anacletus. Diſt. 22. c. Sacroſancta.*

Scripture well applyed, and like a Clerke.

158. *Pope Damaſus. 25. q. 1. c. Omnia. Item Pope Grego. Diſt. 19. Nulli.*
159. *Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 22. cap. Omnes.*
160. *Ibidem.*
161. *Ibidem.*
162. *Diſt. 20. Decretales.*
163. *Ibidem.*
164. *Ibidem.*
165. *Diſt. 19. Si Romanorū.*
166. *Gabriell Biel. li. 4. Diſt. 19.*
167. *Petrus de Paluda.*
168. *Diſt. 96. cap. Imperator.*
169. *Gabriell. lib. 4. Diſt. 19.*
170. *Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 19. cap. Si Romanorum in Gloſa.*
171. *Item. 24. q. 1. Hac eſt.*

172. lowe. 172. whom no man muſt iudge,
Diſt.40.cap.Si Papa. nor accuſe of any crime either of Murder,
173. Adultery, Simonie, or ſuch like. 173.
2.q.7. Nos ſi.in Gloſa. No man depoſe but I my ſelfe. 174.
174. No man can excommunicate me, yea
Extrau.De elect. Innocent. though I communicate with the excommunicate, for no
Canon bindeth me. whom no man muſt lye to. 175. For
he that lieth to me is a Churchrobber. 176. And
175. who obeyeth not me is an heretike, and an excõmunicate
De penitentia.Diſt.1. perſon. 177. For like as all yͤ Iewes
c.Serpens.in Gloſa. were cõmaunded to obey the hye Prieſt of the
176. Leviticall order, of what ſtate or condition ſo
Diſt.19.cap.Nulli. euer they were: ſo are all Chriſten men more
177. and leſſe bound to obey me Chriſtes Lieutenant
Auguſt.de nant in earth. Concernyng the obedience or diſobedience
Ancho. of whom ye haue in Deut. 17. 178. where yͤ cõmon gloſe
178. ſaith, that he who denieth to the hye Prieſt Obediẽtiam,
Gloſa Ordinaria. lyeth vnder the ſentence of cõdemnation, as much as he
yͤ denieth to God his Omnipotentiã. Thus thẽ appeareth
179. that yͤ greatnes of my Prieſthode. 179. begon in Melchiſedech:
Antoninus. ſolemnized in Aaron: continued in the children of
Aaron: perfectionated in Chriſt: repreſented in Peter:
exalted in yͤ vniuerſall iuriſdiction: and manifeſted in Silueſter. &c.
So that through this Præminẽce of my Prieſthode,
hauyng all thinges ſubiect to me. 180. it may ſeeme
180. well verified in me that was ſpoken of Chriſt. Pſal. 8.
Antoninus. Omnia ſubiecisti ſub pedibus eius, oues, & boues, & vniuerſa
Sũma Maioris.3. pecora cãpi. Volucres cœli & piſces maris. &c. i. *Thou haſt*
part.Diſt. *ſubdued all things vnder his feete, ſheepe and oxen, and all cattell of*
22. *the field, the birdes of heauen, and fiſh of the Sea. &c.* 181. Where
it is to be noted, that by oxen, Iewes and heretickes, by
181. cattel of the field, paganes be ſignified. For although as
Ibidem. yet they be out of the vſe of my keyes of bindyng and loſing,
yet they be not out of the iuriſdiction of my keyes,
182. but if they returne I may abſolue them. 182. By ſhepe &
Ibidem. all cattell, are ment all Chriſten mẽ both great and leſſe,
whether they be Emperours, Princes, Prelates or other.
By byrdes of the ayre you may vnderſtand the aungels
and poteſtates of heauen, who be all ſubiect to me,
in that I am greater then the aungels, and that in foure
thinges as is afore declared, and haue power to binde &
183. loſe in heauen. 183. and to giue heauẽ to thẽ yͤ fight in my
23.q.5.cap.Omnium. warres. 184. Laſtly, by yͤ fiſhes of the Sea are
184. ſignified yͤ ſoules departed in paine or in Purgatory,
Idem Antoninus inibi. as Gregory by his prayer deliuered the
ſoule of Traianus out of hell, and I haue power
185. to deliuer out of Purgatory whom I pleaſe. 185. Laſtly,
Ibidem. by the fiſhes of the Sea are ſignified ſuch as be in Purgatory:
in ſomuch that they ſtande in nede and neceſſity
of other mens helpe, & yet be in their iorney Viatores, &
de foro Papæ, i. paſſingers, and belong to the Court of the
Pope: therfore they may be relieued out of the ſtorehouſe
of the Church, by the participation of indulgẽce. And for
Antoninus. aſmuch as ſome do obiect, that my Pardons can not extend
Auguſt.de to them that be departed, for that it was ſaid to Peter:
Ancho. what ſo euer thou ſhalt loſe vpon earth, and therfore
Thomas. ſeyng they are not vpõ earth, they can not be loſed of me.
Parte.4. Here I aunſwere agayne by my doctors, that this word
Super terram, &c. i. vppon the earth, may by referred two
maner of wayes: firſt to him that is the loſer, ſo that he
which ſhall loſe ſhalbe vpon the earth. And ſo I graunt
that the Pope beyng dead can looſe no man. Alſo it may
be referred to him that is loſed, ſo yͭ who ſoeuer is looſed
muſt be vpon yͤ earth or about yͤ earth. And ſo the ſoules
in Purgatory may be loſed, which albeit they are not vpon
yͤ earth, yet they are about yͤ earth, at leaſt they be not
in heauen. And bycauſe oft times one queſtion may ryſe
Auguſt.de vpon an other, & the heades of mẽ now a dayes are curious,
Ancho. a man hearyng now that I can deliuer out of Purgatory,
An papa will aſke here a queſtion, whether I be able alſo
poſsit totum to emptie all Purgatory at once, or not? To whom my
purgatorium Canoniſt Auguſt.de Anchõ. doth aunſwere by a triple di-
expoliare. ſtinction: Quantum ad abſolutam meã iuriſdictionem, quãtum
ad ordinatam executionem, quãtum ad diuinam acceptationẽ.
Ibidem. First touchyng my abſolute iuriſdiction he ſayth
Abſoluta I am able to rid out all Purgatory together, for as many
iuriſdictio. as be vnder my iuriſdiction, as all be, except onely infantes
vnbaptiſed In limbo, and mẽ departed onely cum
baptiſmo flaminis, that is, with the Baptiſme of yͤ ſpirite:
and ſuch as haue no frendes to do for them that wherfore
pardons be giuen: theſe onely excepted. For all other
beſides, the Pope (he ſaith) hath power to releaſe all
Doctors Purgatory at once, as touchyng his abſolute iuriſdiction.
diſagree in Albeit Thomas Aquine part. 4. denyeth the ſame, for
Purgatory. aſmuch as Chriſt him ſelfe (he ſayth) when he came down
did not vtterly at once releaſe all Purgatory. As touchyng
my ordinary execution, they hold that I may if I
will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly as concernyng
the diuine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it *Auguſt.De Ancho.*
if I did it, that (they ſay) is vnknowen to them, and to euery *Antoninus.*
creature, yea and to the Pope hym ſelfe. *Ordinata executio.* *Diuina acceptatio.*

And to the intent I would all men to ſee and vnderſtand
that I lacke not witneſſes moe beſides theſe, if I
liſt to bryng them out, you ſhall heare the whole queare
of my diuine Clergy brought out, with a full voyce teſtifiyng
in my behalfe, in their bookes, tractations, Diſtinctions,
Titles, Gloſes, and Summaries, as by theyr
own wordes here foloweth. The Pope (ſay they) beyng
the vicare of Ieſu Chriſt thorow out the whole world, in
the ſtead of the liuyng God, hath that dominion & Lordſhyp
which Chriſt here in earth would not haue, although
he had it in habitu, but gaue it to Peter in Actu: that
is, the vniuerſall iuriſdiction both of ſpirituall thinges &
alſo of temporall, which double iuriſdictiõ was ſignified
by the ij. ſwordes in the Goſpell: And alſo by offeryng of
the wiſe mẽ, who offered not only incenſe, but alſo gold,
to ſignifie not onely the ſpirituall dominion, but alſo the
temporall to belong to Chriſt and to his vicare. For as
we read: the earth is the Lordes and the fulnes therof, &
as Chriſt ſayth, all power is giuen to him both in heauẽ
and earth. So it is to be affirmed Incluſiuè, that the vicar
of Chriſt hath power on things celeſtiall, terreſtriall, and
infernall. which he tooke immediatly of Chriſt: all other
take it mediatly by Peter & the Pope. wherfore ſuch as
ſay yͭ the Pope hath dominion only on ſpirituall things
in the world and not of temporall, may be likened to the
counſellers of the kyng of Syria. 3. Reg. 20. which ſayd:
The Gods of the mountaines be theyr Gods, and therfore
they haue ouercome vs. but let vs fight agaynſt thẽ
in the low medowes & in valleys, where they haue no
power, and ſo we ſhall preuaile ouer them. So euill coũſellers
now a dayes, through their peſtiferous flattery
deceaue Kyngs and Princes of the earth, ſaying: Popes
and Prelates be Gods of moũtaines, that is, of ſpiritual
thinges onely, but they be not Gods of valleys, that is,
they haue no dominion ouer tẽporall thinges, and therfore
let vs fight with thẽ in the valleys, that is, in the power
of temporall poſſeſſions, and ſo we ſhall preuaile ouer
them. But what ſayth the ſentence of God to them,
let vs heare. Becauſe (ſayth he) the Syrians ſay, that the
God of mountaines is their God, and not the God of
valleys, therfore I wil giue all this multitude into your
hand, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord. what can
be more effectually ſpoken to ſet forth the maieſtie of my
iuriſdiction, which I receaued immediatly of the Lord,
of the Lord I ſay, and of no man. For where as Conſtantine
the Emperour gaue to Silueſter, induyng hym with
this poſſeſſion and patrimonie, that is, ſo to be expoũded
and taken not ſo much for a donation, as to be counted
for a reſtitution made of that, which tyrannouſly was taken
from him before. And agayne, where as I haue giuẽ
at ſondry times to Ludouicus and other Emperours,
of my temporal landes & poſſeſſions, yet that was done,
not ſo much for any recoguiſing of homage to them, as
for kepyng peace with them. For I owe to Emperours
no due obedience that they can clayme, but they owe to
me as to their ſuperiour. And therfore for a diuerſitie betwixt
their degree & mine, in their conſecration they take
their vnction on the arme, I on the head. And as I am
ſuperiour to them, ſo am I ſuperiour to all lawes, & free
from all conſtitutions. which am able of my ſelfe, and by
my interpretation, to preferre equitie being not written,
before the law written: hauyng all lawes within the
cheſt of my breſt, as is aforeſayd. And what ſoeuer this
my ſea ſhall enact, approue, or diſprove, all men ought to
approue or reproue the ſame, without either iudging, diſputyng,
doubtyng, or retractyng. Such is the priuilege
giuẽ of Chriſt in yͤ behalf of Peter, to yͤ Church of Rome.
186. that what countrey ſo euer, kyngdome or prouince,
chuſing to thẽ ſelues biſhops & miniſters, although they
agree with all other Chriſtes faithful people in the name
of Ieſu, that is, in faith and charitie, beleuing in the ſame
God, and in Chriſt his true ſonne, and in the holy ghoſt,
hauyng alſo the ſame Crede, the ſame Euangeliſtes and
Scriptures of the Apoſtles: yet notwithſtandyng vnleſſe
their Byſhops and Miniſters take their origine and ordination
from this Apoſtolicke ſeat, they are to be counted
not of the Church. So that ſucceſſion of faith onely is
not ſufficiẽt to make a Church, except the Miniſters take
their ordinatiõ by them which haue their ſucceſſion from
the Apoſtles. So their faith, ſupremacy, the chaire of Peter,
keyes of heauen, power to bind and looſe, all theſe be

A.
Antoninus in Summulis.
Auguſtinus de Ancho.in Decret.
Aſteſanus Minorita.
B.
Baptiſta de Salis in ſua.
Batiſtiniana.
Bonauetura.
C.
Campenſis. Libri Controuerſiarum
Coclaus.
D.
Durandus. in Speculo.
Dreido.de eccleſ. Scripturis & Dogmat.
E.
Edouardus Pouelus, Anglus contra Lutherum.
Ecchius in Enchirid.
F.
Franciſcus.
Fulgo.
G.
Gabriel. Biel. in
Spica.
Gaſpar.
Gratianus in Decretis.
Gerſon doctor Illuminatiſsimus. De eccleſiaſtica poteſtate.
H.
Hugo Cardinalis in poſtilla.
Hoſtienſis.
Holkot.
Hoſius.
I.
Ioannes Andreas.
Innocentius.
Ioan. de Turre Crematа de eccleſia Summa.
L.
Lanfrancus contra VViclef.
Lilius Hiſtoricus Anglus.
Lapus.
Laurentius.
M.
Magiſter Sententiarum.
N.
Nicolaus.
O.
Ockam in Dialogo parte.1.lib.5.
Oytanus.
P.
Petrus de Palude.
Petrus de Tharanto.
Petrus de Aliaco.
Panormitanus.
Alexãder de Ales.
R.
Raymundus in Sũma de Caſibus.
Richardus.
Rabanus ſuper Math.cap.16.
Rupertus Tuitienſis.
S.
Scotus Doctor Subtilis.
T.
Thomas Aquinas.
V.
Vlricus.
VV.
VValdenus confeſsionate. & De Sacramentis.

186.
Ioan.Dreido.De Dogmatibus varijs. Lib.4.

inſeparable to the Church of Rome: ſo that it is to be preſumed, that God alwayes prouidyng, and S. Peter helping the Byſhopricke and Dioces of Rome, ſhall neuer fall from yͤ fayth. And likewiſe it is to be preſumed and preſuppoſed that the Byſhop of that Church is alwayes good and holy. Yea & though he be not alwayes good, or be deſtitute of his own merites, yet the merites of S. Peter, predeceſſor of that place, be ſufficient for him, who hath bequethed and left a perpetuall dowrie of merites, with inheritance of innocency to his poſteritie. 187. yea & though he fall into homicide or adultery, he may ſinne, but yet he can not be accuſed, but rather excuſed by the murders of Sampſon, the theftes of yͤ Hæbrues, the adultery of Iacob. 188. And likewiſe if any of his Clergy ſhould be found embraſing a woman, it muſt be expounded and preſuppoſed that he doth it to bleſſe her. Furthermore, the Pops (ſay they) hath al the dignities and all power of all Patriarches. In his primacie he is Abell: In gouernemēt, the Arcke of Noe: In Patriarchdome, Abraham: In order Melchiſedech: In dignitie Aaron: In authoritie Moſes: In ſeat iudicial Samuel: In zeale Helias: In meekenes Dauid: In power Peter: In vnction Chriſt. (Nay thou art Antichriſt). My power (they ſay) is greater then all the Saintes. For whom I confirme, no mā may infirme. I may fauour and ſpare whom I pleaſe. 189. to take from one, and to giue to an other. And if I be enemy to any man, all men ought to eſchew that perſon forthwith, and not to tary and looke while I byd them ſo to do. All the earth is my Dioces, and I the Ordinarie of all men, hauyng the authoritie of the Kyng of all Kynges vppon ſubiectes. I am all in all, and aboue all. 190. ſo that God him ſelfe and I the Vicar of God haue both one Conſiſtorie. 191. and am able to do almoſt all that God can do, Claue non errante. 192. Item, it is ſayd of me, that I haue an heauenly arbitriment, and therfore am able to chaūge yͤ nature of things, Subſtantialia vnius applicando alteri, & of nothyng to make thynges to be: and of a ſentence that is nothyng, to make it ſtand in effect: In all thynges that I liſte, my will to ſtand for reaſon. For I am able by the law to diſpenſe aboue the law, and of wrong to make Iuſtice, in correctyng lawes, and chaungyng them. You haue heard hetherto ſufficiently out of my Doctours: Now you ſhall heare greater thynges out of mine owne decrees. 193. Read there Diſt. 96. c. Satis. 194. Alſo, Cauſ. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus. 195. Alſo, 12. q. 1. cap. Futuram. Do not you finde there expreſſed how Conſtantinus the Emperour ſittyng in the generall Councell of Nice, called vs Prelates of the Church, all Gods? 196. Agayn, read my Canon Decretal. De tranſl. Epiſc. cap. Quanto. Do you not ſee there manifeſtly expreſſed, how not man, but God alone ſeparateth that which the Byſhop of Rome doth diſſolue and ſeparate? wherefore if thoſe thynges that I do be ſayd to be done not of man, but of God, what can you make of me but God? Agayne, if Prelates of the Church be called and counted of Conſtantinus for Gods, I then beyng aboue all Prelates, ſeme by this reaſon to be aboue all Gods. Wherefore no maruell, if it be in my power to chaunge tyme and times, to alter and abrogate lawes, to diſpenſe with all thynges, yea with the preceptes of Chriſt. For where Chriſt biddeth Peter put vp his ſword, moniſhyng his Diſciples not to vſe any outward force in reuengyng them ſelues. 197. do not I Pope Nicolaus writyng to the Byſhops of Fraunce, exhort them to draw out their materiall ſwordes in purſuyng their enemyes, and recoueryng their poſſeſſions, ſettyng agaynſt the precept of Chriſt, the Prophet ſaying: Diſſolue colligationes impietatis, &c? Item, where Chriſt was preſent hymſelfe at the mariage in Cana Galileæ. 198. do not I Pope Martinus in my diſtinctiōs inhibite the ſpirituall Clergy to be preſent at mariage feaſtes, & alſo to mary them ſelues? Item where matrimony by Chriſt can not be loſed but onely for whoredome. 199. do not I Pope Gregorius Iunior, writyng ad Bonifacium, permitte the ſame to be broken for impotencie or infirmitie of body? 200. Item, agaynſt the expreſſe cautiō of the Goſpell, doth not Innncentius 4. permitte vim vi repellere? 201. Likewiſe, agaynſt the old Teſtament I do diſpenſe in not giuyng tithes. 202. Item, agaynſt the new Teſtamēt in ſwearyng, & that in theſe ſixe cauſes: 203. Pax, & fama, fides, reuerentia cautio damni.
Defectus veri, poſcunt ſibi magna caueri.

187. *Hugo. in Gloſa. Diſt. 40. c. Non Nos.*

188. *Gloſ in Cauſ. 11. q. 3. cap. Abſit.*

189. *Gloſa. in c. 11. q. 3. Si inimicus.*

190. *Hoſtienſis in cap. Quāto. De tranſl. prab.*

191. *Ex ſumma caſuum fratris Baptiſtæ.*

192. *Ex Citatione Henr. Bulling. De fine ſeculi. Orat. Prima. Item ex citatione Iacobi Andreæ, aduerſus Hoſiū. Lib. 5. Item ex citatione Hierom. Mary, in Actis. 2. Diei. De conceſſione prab. cap. Propoſuit.*

193. *Pope Nicolaus. Diſt 96. c. Satis.*

194. *11. q. 1. Sacerdotibus.*

195. *12. q. 1. c. Futurā.*

196. Decretal. *De Tranſl epiſc. cap. Quanto.*

Thus ye may ſee it verified yͭ S. Paule propheſieth of the Aduerſary ſitting in the tēple as God, & boaſting him ſelf aboue all that is named God, &c. 2. Theſſ. 2.

197. *Pope Nicolaus. Cauſa. 15. q. 6. c. Autoritatem.*

198. *Pope Martin. Diſt. 34. cap. Lector.*

199. *Pope Gregorius Iunior. 32. q. 7. cap. Quod propoſuiſti.*

200. *Pope Innocentius. 4. Sext. Decretal. De ſententia excom. cap Dilecto.*

201. *Pope Alexander. 3. De Decimis. cap. Ex parte.*

202. *Pope Nicolaus 15. q. 6. Autoritatem.*

203. *De elect. & elect. Poteſtate. Significaſti in Gloſa.*

wherein two kindes of othes are to be noted. whereof ſome be promiſſoria, ſome be aſſertoria. &c. 204. Item, in vowes, and that ex toto voto, where as other Prelates cā not diſpenſe ex toto a voto, I can deliuer ex toto a voto, lyke God him ſelfe. 205. Item, in periury if I abſolue, my abſolution ſtādeth. 206. Where alſo note, that in all ſwearyng, alwayes the authoritie of the ſuperiour is excepted. 207. Moreouer, where Chriſt biddeth to lend without hope of gayne, do not I Pope Martinus giue diſpenſatiō for the ſame? and notwithſtādyng the Coūcell of Thuron enacted the contrary, yet with two Bulles I diſanulled that decrement. 208. What ſhould I ſpeake of murder, makyng it no murder nor homicide to ſlay them that be excommunicate. 209. Likewiſe againſt the law of nature. 210. Item, agaynſt the Apoſtle. 211. Alſo agaynſt the Canons of the Apoſtles I can and do diſpenſe. For where they in their Canon commaunde a Prieſt for fornication to be depoſed, I thorow yͤ authoritie of Silueſter do alter the rigour of that cōſtitution. 212. cōſideryng the mindes and bodyes alſo of men now to be weaker thē they were then. 213. Briefly, agaynſt the vniuerſal ſtate of yͤ Church I haue diſpenſation, ſcilicet quando ſtatus eccleſiæ non decoloratur: And for mariage in the ſecond degree of conſanguinitie and affinitie, In collateralibus æquali linea, that is, betwixt brethrens childrē: although not in æquali linea, ſo that the vncle may not mary hys nice, vnles for an vrgent and weightie cauſe. As for all ſuch contractes betwixt party and party, where that matrimonie is not yet conſummate by carnall copulation, it is but a ſmall matter for me to diſpenſe withall. In ſumma, if ye liſt briefly to here the whole number of all ſuch caſes as properly apperteine to my Papall diſpenſation, which come to the number of one and fifty pointes, that no man may medle with all but onely I my ſelfe alone, I will recite them firſt in Latin, then in Engliſhe, as they be ſet forth in my Canonicall Doctours.

204. *Baptiſta de Salis. in Sūma caſuum ex Panormitano.*

205. *Pope Innocētius. 4. De elect. Venerabilem.*

206. *Ext. De Iureiurando. cap. Venientes. Itē. De Elect. Significaſti. in Gloſa.*

207. *Pope Martinus. 5. Extra. cap. Regiminis Vniuerſalis eccleſia.*

208. *Pope Vrbanus 2. Cauſ. 23. q. 5. c. Excommunicatorum.*

209. *Pope Nicolaus Cauſ. 15. q. 6. Autoritatem.*

210. *Ibidem.*

211. *Diſtinct. 81. c. Preſbyter.*

212. *Pope Pelegius. Diſt. 34. cap. Fraternitatis.*

213. *Baptiſtā de Salis. fol. 184 Ibidem.*

¶ *Caſus Papales. 51. Apud Fratrem Aſteſanum, ſiue de Aſt. Doctorem ſolemnem in Summa confeſſionis. Item apud Hoſtienſem, De offic. legat. reperti & his verſibus comprehenſi.*

SI ſit Catholicus, Papam non iudicat vllus.
Erigit & ſubdit Cathedras: Diuidit, vnit.
.i. votum terra ſancta. *i. degradatos. s. epiſcopos & alios.*
Mutat vota crucis. Reſtituit, Eximit. Ad ſe
Maiores cauſæ referuntur. Legitimatq́;,
i. inſufficientes. *i. intrantes religionem.*
Promouet, Appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.
i. defectum regi vacante regno.
Deponit, tranſfert, ſuppletq́;, Renunciat illi
Symonia, Iuramentum, Excommunicatio a
Præſul, & exemptus. Simon, Iurans, Anathema, [*Papa facta*
tam Papa q̃ legati
Vel. proprium, vel legati, vel lex vtriuſq́;
i. ſoluitur papa
Tum neq; participans: Etſi quem ſponte ſalutat,
Quem Canon damnat, ſibi ſoli quando reſeruat,
qui irregularitatem incurrit.
Soluitur a Papa: nec non quem regula damnat.
ſcilicet addas.
Addas ſuſpenſum, Cauſam, cum fertur ad ipſum.
i. addas *i. pluralitatem beneficiorum.*
Reſcriptum, fidei dubium. Confert bona plura.
Irritat infectum. Legem condit generalem.
i. imperatorem.
Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, & vngit.
canonizat.
Conſilium generale facit. Sacrat quoq; Sanctos.
de aliquo facit nihil. *de nihilo aliquid.*
Ens non eſſe facit: non ens fore. Pallia ſemper
Portat. Concedit, Legi non ſubiacet vlli.
i. immediatè
Appellatur ad hunc medio ſine, Iudiciumq;
de monacho non monachum facit.
Eſt pro lege ſuum. Monachum reuocat renuentem.
i. incertum. &c.
Maius adulterio ſoluit generaliter. Arctat
i. impedimentum matrimoniale
Et laxat quicquid ſponſis nocet. Ordinat extra
i. extra 4. tempora.
Tempora dando ſacrum. Promotum promouet idem.
Ordinat atque die qua conſecratur & ipſe,
i. ſacerdotium confert nondum vacans.
Viuentiſq; locum concedit, Iureq; priuat.

inſignia Epiſcopalia concedit. i. a decimis eximit. i. preſbytero concedit infantes vngere.

Inſignit. Laico ſacra donat: Chriſma miniſtro,
Summa ſede ſedet, plenuſq; vicarius extat.
Si ſit Catholicus Papam non iudicat vllus.

¶ Caſes Papale, to the number of one and fiftie, wherin the Pope hath power onely to diſpenſe and none els beſides, except by ſpeciall licence from hym.

24.q.1. Quoties. First, ẏ determinatiō of doubtes and queſtions belongyng to fayth.

Extr. De tranſlat. c. Inter. Tranſlation of a Byſhop, elect, or cōfirmed: Likewiſe of Abbotes exempted.

3.q.6. Quamuis. Depoſition of Byſhops.

9.q.3. Deniq;. The takyng of reſignation of Byſhops.

16.q.1. Frater. Exemptiō of Byſhops, not to be vnder Archbyſhops.

2.q.6. Ideo. Reſtitution of ſuch as be depoſed from theyr order.

Extr. De reſtitutione cap. Cum venißent. The iudiciall definition, or interpretation of hys owne priuileges.

7.q.1. Temporis. Chaungyng of Byſhoprickes, or dimiſſion of Couentes. &c.

16.q.1. Felix. New erection of Byſhops ſeates, or inſtitutiō of new Religions.

16.q.1. Et Chriſtus. Subiectiō or diuiſion of one Byſhopricke vnder an other.

Extr. De voto. Ex multa. Diſpenſation for vowing to go to ẏ holy lād.

Extr. De ſtatu monachi. c. Cum ad. Diſpenſation for the vow of chaſtitie, or of religion, or of holy orders.

Extr. De iuramento. cap. Venientes. Diſpenſation agaynſt a lawfull oth, or vowe made.

Extr. De Iudicio. c. At ſi clerici. Diſpenſation agaynſt diuerſe irregularities, as in crimes greater then adultery, and in ſuch as be ſuſpended for Simonie.

Extr. De bigamia. c. Nuper. Diſpenſation in receiuyng into orders hym that had two wiues.

Extr. De clerico non ord. miniſtrante. Diſpenſing with ſuch as being within orders, do that which is aboue their order, as if a Deacon ſhould ſay Maſſe, beyng not yet Prieſt.

Extr. De corpore vitiatis. & Diſt. 55. To receaue into orders ſuch as be blemiſhed or maymed in body.

Diſt. 50. Miror. Diſpenſation with murder, or with ſuch, as willyngly cut of any mēber of a mās body.

Extr. De ſententia & excō. ca. Cum illorum. Diſpēſyng to giue orders to ſuch as haue bene vnder the ſentence of the greater curſe or excommunication.

Ibidem. Diſpenſation with ſuch as beyng ſuſpended with the greater curſe, do miniſter in any holy order.

Extr. De filijs preſbyt. c. Is qui. Diſpenſation with ſuch as beyng vnlawfully borne, to receiue orders, or benefices.

Extr. De prabend. c. De multa. Diſpenſation for pluralities of benefices.

Extra. De elect. cap. Cum nobis. Diſpenſation to make a man Byſhop before he be thirty yeare old.

Diſpenſation to giue orders vnder age.

Extr. De ætate & qualit. Generalem. The Pope onely hath power to make and call a generall Councell.

Diſt. 15. Per totum. The Pope onely hath power to depriue an Eccleſiaſticall perſon, and giue away his benefice beyng not vacant.

9.q.3. c. Per principale.

De elect. cap. Venerabilem. The Pope alone is able to abſolue hym that is excommunicate by name.

Extr De officio legati. c. Quærenti. The Pope onely is able to abſolue him whom his Legate doth excommunicate.

9.q.3. Aliorum. The Pope both iudgeth in the cauſes of them that appeale vnto him, and where he iudgeth none may appeale from him.

Extr. De Templi ordine. c. Cum in Diſtrib. Onely he hath authority to make Deacon, and Prieſt, whom he made Subdeacon, either vpon Sondayes, or vpon other feaſtes.

Extr. De vſu pallij. cap. Ad honorem. Onely the Pope, and none els, at all tymes and in all places weareth the palle.

Extr. De elect. c. Dudū. The Pope onely diſpenſeth with a man, either beyng not within orders, or beyng vnworthy to be made Byſhop.

Extr. De elect. c. Venerabilem. He onely either confirmeth, or depoſeth the Emperour when he is choſen.

Tractatu. De cenſuris. A man beyng excommunicate, and his abſolution referred to the Pope, none may abſolue that man but the Pope alone.

Extr. De elect. c. Innotuit. The ſame hath authoritie in any election, before it be made, to pronounce it none when it is made.

Extra De religione & veneratione Sanct. cap 1. He doth Canoniſe Sainctes, and none els but he.

Extran. De prabend. cap. De multa. Diſpenſation to haue many dignities or perſonages in one Church, and without charge & cure of ſoule, belongeth onely to the Pope.

Extrau. Qui fi. ſint leg. cap. Tanta. To make that effectuall which is of no effect, & contrariwiſe, belongeth only to the Pope.

9.q.3. cap. Vltimo. To plucke a Monke out of his cloyſter both agaynſt hys owne will and the Abbates, perteineth onely to the Pope.

Extrau. De Sentent. & re Iudic. c. In cauſis. His ſentence maketh a lawe.

Extrau. De elect. cap. Quod ſicut. The ſame day in which the Pope is cōſecrate, he may geue orders.

Extrau. De reſtit. ſpo. Literas. He diſpenſeth in degrees of cōſanguinitie and affinitie.

Extra. De præſcript. c. Vlt. & De Iudicio. c. Nouit. He is able to aboliſhe lawes, quoad vtrumq; forum, that is, both ciuill and canon, where daunger is of the ſoule.

Thomas. It is in his diſpenſation to geue generall indulgences to certaine places or perſons.

Extrau. Qui fi. ſint. legit. c. Per venerabilem. Item to legitimate what perſons ſo euer he pleaſe, as touching ſpiritualties: in all places, as touching temporalities, as honors, inheritaunce. &c.

Petrus de Palude lib. 4. To erect new religiōs, to approue, or reproue rules, ordinances, and Ceremonies in the Church.

Secundum Thomam in 4. Hee is able to diſpenſe with all the preceptes and ſtatutes of the Church.

9.q.3. Per principalem. Item to diſpenſe and to diſcharge any ſubiect from the bonde of allegiance or oth made to any maner perſon.

Diſtinct. 40. Si Papa. No man may accuſe him of any crime, vnleſſe only of hereſy, and that neither, except he be incorrigible.

Ibidem. The ſame alſo is free from all lawes, ſo that he can not incurre into any ſentence of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, irregularitie, or into the penaltie of any crime, but into the note of crime he may well.

Diſt. 32. cap. Præter hoc. ¶. Verum. Finally he by his diſpenſation may graunt, yea to a ſimple prieſt, to miniſter the Sacrament of confirmation to infantes: alſo to geue lower orders, and to hallowe Churches and virgins. &c.

These be the caſes wherin I only haue power to diſpēſe, and no man els, neither Biſhop, nor Metropolitane, nor legate, without a ſpeciall licence from me.

The riches and poſſeſſions of the Pope.

¶ After that I haue now ſufficiently declared my power in earth, in heauen, and in purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulnes thereof, in binding, loſing, commaunding, permitting, electing, confirming, depoſing, diſpenſing, doing, and vndoing. &c. I will entreate now a litle of my riches likewiſe and great poſſeſſions, that euery man may ſee by my wealth and aboundance of all thinges, rentes, tythes, tributes, my ſilkes, my purple, Miters, Crownes, Golde, Siluer, Perles and Gemmes, Landes, and Lordſhips, how God here proſpereth and magnifieth his vicar in the earth. For to me pertayneth firſt the imperiall citie of Rome, the Palace of Lateren, the kingdome of Sicile is proper to me, Apulia, Capua be mine. Alſo the kingdome of England and Ireland, be they not or ought to be tributaries to me? 214. To theſe I adioyne alſo, beſides other prouinces and countries both in the occident & orient, from the North to the South, theſe dominions by name. 215. as Surrianum, Montembordon, & lunæ inſulā, Corſicæ regnum, Paruam Mantuam, Montenſelete, Inſulam venetiarum, Ducatum ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Hiſtriæ, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Rauennæ, Fauentiam, Ceſenam, Caſtrū Tiberiatus, Roccam Mediolanum, Caſtrum ceperianum, Caſtrum Cuſianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Arimini, Contam, Montem ferretum, Montem Capiniæ ſeu Olympicum, Caſtrum exforij, Robin, Eugubin, Vrbin, forum Sempronij, Galli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Goſam, Ducatum peruſij, Vrbenetam, & Tudertum, Caſtrum Cinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneuenti, Salernum, Sorrenti inſulam, Cardiniam inſulam, Anciæ inſulam, Territorium Cutiſan, Territorium præneſtinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Cluſium, Terram fundan, Terram vegetan, Terram Claudianam, Terram camiſinam, Terram Fabinenſem, Terram Siram, Terram portuenſem, cum inſula Archis, Terram Oſtienſem cum maritimis, Ciuitatem Aquinenſem, Ciuitatem Iamentum, & Sufforariam, Ciuitatem Faliſenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam,

214. Diſt. 96. Conſtantinus.

215. Ex Commentarijs Theoderici Niemi, quem citat Illyricus in Catalogo teſtium. fol. 228.

216. *Diſt. 96. Conſtantinus.*

217. *Antoninus in Summa Maiore. 3. Parte.*

Neapolim, Galiopolim, with diuerſe mo. 216. which Conſtantinus the Emperour gaue vnto me, not that they were not mine before he did geue them. 217. For in that I tooke them of him, I tooke them not as a gift (as is afore mentioned) but as a reſtitution. And that I rendered them agayne to Otho, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace ſake. What ſhould I ſpeake here of my dayly reuenues of my firſt fruites, annates, palles, indulgences, bulles, confeſſionalls, indultes and reſcriptes, teſtaments, diſpenſations, priuileges, elections, prebendes, religious houſes, & ſuch like, which come to no ſmall maſſe of money? In ſo much that for one palle to the Archbiſhoppe of Mentz, which was wont to bee geuen for x. thouſand. 218. florence, now it is growen to xxvij. thouſand florence, which I receiued of Iacobus the Archbiſhop not long before Baſill Councell: Beſides the fruites of other biſhoprickes in Germany, comming to the number of fiftie, whereby what vantage commeth to my coffers, it may partly be coniectured. But what ſhould I ſpeake of Germany. 219. when the whole world is my Dioces, as my Canoniſtes do ſay, and all men are bounde to beleue. 220. except they will imagine (as the Maniches do) two begynninges, which is falſe and hereticall. For Moſes ſayth: In the begynnyng God made heauen and earth, and not in the begynnynges. 221. Wherfore as I begon, ſo I conclude, commaundyng, declaryng, and pronouncyng, to ſtand vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation, for euery humane creature to be ſubiect to me.

218. *Ex Lib. Gravaminum nationis Germanicæ.*

About fiftie Biſhoprickes in Germanie.

Æneas Syluius.

219. *Sext. Decret. De penis. cap. Felicis in Gloſa. Itē. De priuileg. &c. Autoritate in Gloſa.*

220. *Pope Bonifacius. 8. Ext. De Maio. & obed. c. Vnam ſanctam.*

221. *Ibid.*

* * *

The end of the firſt Volume of the Booke of Martyrs.

* * *

AT LONDON.

Printed by Iohn Daye, dvvelling
ouer Alderſgate beneath Saint Martins.

Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.

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Maio.&
.Vn.
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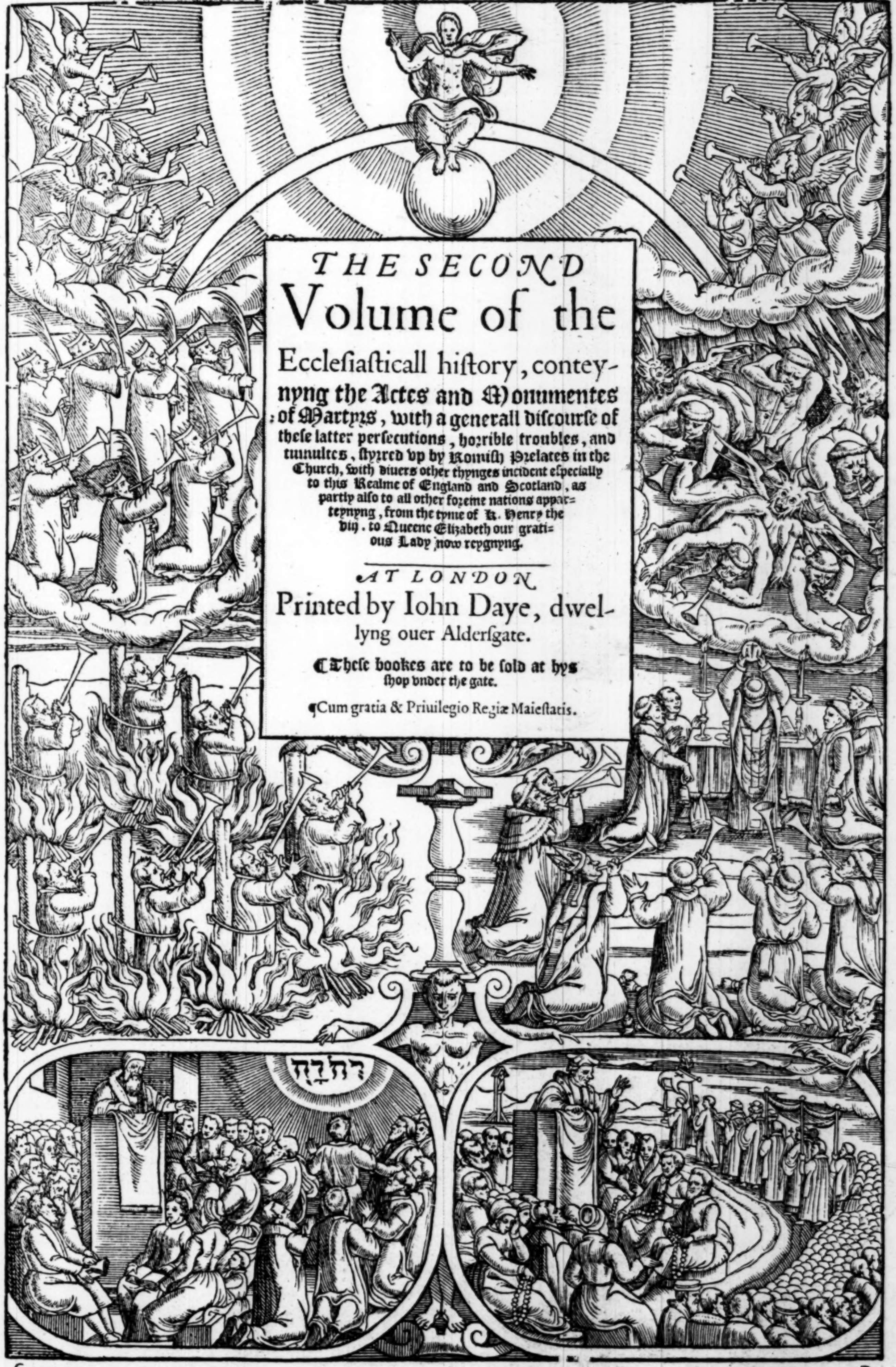
Ibid.

Come ye bleſſed .&c. Go ye curſed. &c. *Math.25.*



THE SECOND
Volume of the
Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, conteynyng the Actes and Monumentes of Martyrs, with a generall diſcourſe of theſe latter perſecutions, horrible troubles, and tumultes, ſtyrred vp by Romiſh Prelates in the Church, with diuers other thynges incident eſpecially to this Realme of England and Scotland, as partly alſo to all other foreine nations apparteynyng, from the tyme of K. Henry the viij. to Queene Elizabeth our gratious Lady now reygnyng.

AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwellyng ouer Alderſgate.

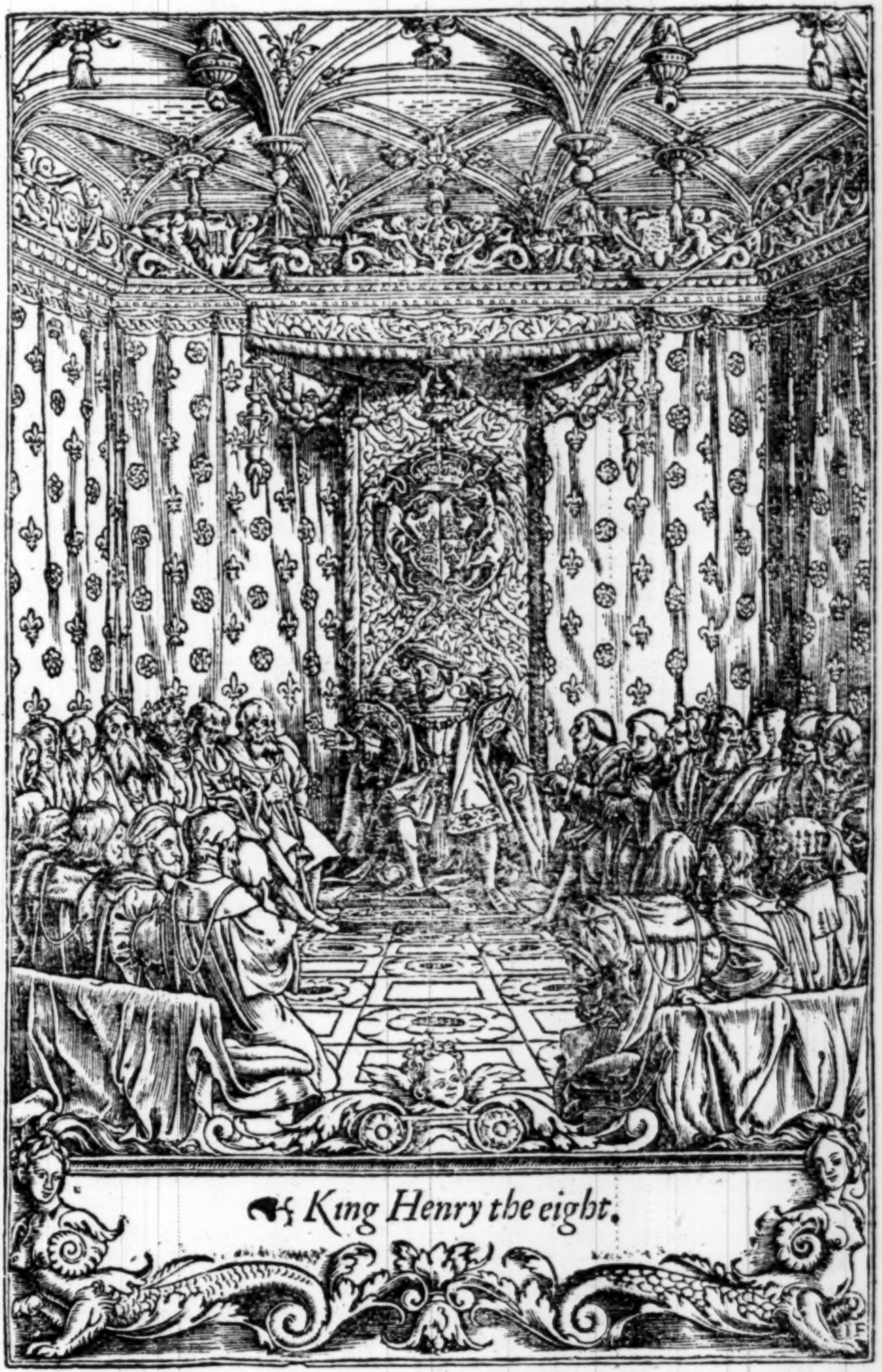
¶These bookes are to be ſold at hys ſhop vnder the gate.

¶Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.

{ *The Image of the perſecuted Church.* } { *The Image of the perſecutyng Church.* }

¶Here foloweth the ſecond volume and the ſeuenth booke begynnyng with the reigne of kyng Henry the eight.

(⁖)



☞ King Henry the eight.

1509 AS touching the ciuile ſtate & adminiſtratiō of the cōmō welth, & likewiſe of ẏ ſtate of ẏ church vnder the reigne of kyng Hēry vij. how he entred firſte in poſſeſſion of the crown: how the ij. houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were in hym conioyned through mariage with Eliſabeth the eldeſt daughter to K. Edwarde 4. by ẏ prudent counſail of Iohn Morton then B. of Ely, after Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Cardinall: how long the ſayd kyng reigned, and what perſecutiō was in his tyme for lacke of ſearche and knowledge of Gods worde, both in the dioces of Lincolne vnder Byſhop Smyth (who was erector of the houſe of Braſen noſe in Oxford) as alſo in the dioces of Couentry, and other places moe: and further what puniſhment and alteration commōly God ſendeth vpon Cities and realmes publike for neglectyng the ſafetie of his flock, ſufficiētly in the former booke hath bene alredy ſpecified. Wherin many thyngs more amply might haue ben added, incidēt in ẏ reign of this prince, which we haue for breuitie pretermitted. For he that ſtudyeth to comprehend in ſtory all thynges, whiche the cōmon courſe and vſe of lyfe may offer to the writer, may ſooner finde matter to occupie him ſelfe, then to profite other. Otherwiſe I might haue inferred mētion of the ſe-

Notes ſummarely collected and repeted of things done in the tyme of K. Henry vii.

ditious tumulte of Perkyn Werbecke, with his retinue. an.1494.alſo of Blackheath field by ẏ blacke Smith.an. 1496.I might alſo haue recited the glorious commendation of Georgius Lilius in his Latine Chronicle teſtifiyng of king Henry 7.howe he ſent iij.ſolemne Oratours to pope Iulius 2. to yelde his obedience vnto the ſea of Rome.an.1506. and lykewiſe how Pope Alexander 9. Pius 3.and Iulius 2.ſent to the ſayd kyng Henry 7.thrée ſondry famous Ambaſſadours with iij.ſwordes, and iij. cappes of maintenaunce, electyng and admittyng hym to be the chief defendour of the fayth. The commendation of whiche fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of Georgius Lilius, and Fabiã, that I leaue to them. This I ſuppoſe, that when kyng Henry ſent to Pope Iulius his iij. oratours with obedience, if hée had ſent hym thrée thouſand harquebuziers to furniſhe his field agaynſt the Frenche kyng fightyng at Rauenna, he had pleaſed Pope Iulius much better. If Georgius Lilius had bene diſpoſed to illuſtrate his ſtory with notes, this had bene more worthy the notyng, howe Ludouike 12. Frenche kyng callyng his Parlament, moued this queſtion agaynſt Pope Iulius: whether a Pope might inuade any prince by warrelyke force, without cauſe, and whether the prince myght withdraw his obedience from that Pope or not? and it was concluded in the ſame Parlament with the kyng, agaynſt the Pope. Alſo it was concluded the ſame tyme (whiche was in the reigne of this king Henry 7.that the *Pragmaticall ſanction ſhould be receaued in ful force and effect, through all the realme of Fraunce.

Perkin Werbecke which fained himſelfe to be K Edwardes ſonue.

Blackheath field.

Ex Maſſeo lib.20.

**Pragmatica ſanctio,* was a practiſing or a determination of a certain parlement in Frãce againſt the biſhop of Rome, in defence of certaine matters of religion concluded in the Councel of Baſill.

And forſomuch as we are fallen in to ẏ mention of Georgius Lilius, this in hym is to be found not vnworthye notyng, howe after the burnyng of Thomas Noryce, aboue mentioned, pag.218.at the Citie of Norwiche, the ſame yeare folowed ſuch a fire in Norwiche, that the whole Citie, wel nere, was therewith conſumed. Ex Geor. Lilio. Like as alſo after the burnyng of the foreſayd good aged father in Smithfield, the ſame yeare (whiche was.1500) we read in the Chronicle of Fabian a great plague to fall vppon the Citie of London, to the greate deſtruction of the inhabitantes therof. Wherin agayne is to bée noted (as is aforeſayde) that accordyng to ẏ ſtate of the Churche, the diſpoſition of the common wealthe commonly is guyded, either to be with aduerſitie afflicted or elles in proſperitie to flouriſhe. But after theſe notes of kyng Henry 7. now to the ſtory of kyng Henry 8.

A note of Gods plagues folowing the burning of his people.

This kyng Henry 7.finiſhyng his courſe in the yeare aboueſayd, which was.1509.had by Eliſabeth his wife aboue named, iiij.men children, and of women children as many. Of whome, iij.onely ſuruiued: to wytte prince Henry, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary. Of whõ kyng Henry the viij.after his father ſucceded. Lady Margaret was maryed to Iames the iiij.kyng of Scottes. Lady Mary was affied to Charles kyng of Caſtile.

The children & offspring of K.Henry, 7.

Lady Margaret maried to K. Iames 4.of Scotland.

Lady Margaret maried to the K.of Caſtile.

Prince Arthur maryed to Lady Catherin daughter to the Spaniſh kyng.

Not lõg before the death of king Henry, Prince Arthur his elder ſonne had eſpouſed Lady Catherine, daughter to Ferdinandus, beyng of the age of xv.yeares, and ſhe about the age of xvij. and ſhortly after his mariage, within v.monethes, departed at Ludlow, and was buryed at Worceter. After whoſe deceaſe the ſucceſſion of ẏ crown fell next to kyng Henry the viij. beyng of the age of xviij. yeares, who entred his reigne the yeare of our Lorde. 1509.and ſhortly after maryed with the foreſayd Catherine, his late brother prince Arthurs wife, to the ende that her dowrie beyng great, ſhould not bée tranſported out of the land. In the which his mariage beyng more politique, then Scripture lyke, he was diſpenſed with by Pope Iulius, at the requeſt of Ferdinandus her father. The reigne of this kyng continued with great noblenes and fame, the ſpace of 38. yeares. Duryng whoſe tyme and reigne was great alteration of thynges, as well to ẏ ciuill ſtate of the realme, as eſpecially to the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, and matters of the Churche apperteyning. For by hym was exiled and aboliſhed out of the realme the vſurped power of the Byſh.of Rome, Idolatrie & ſuperſtition ſomewhat repreſſed, Images and pilgrimages defaced, abbays and monaſteries pulled downe, ſectes of Religiõ rooted out, ſcriptures reduced to ẏ knowledge of the vulgare tongue, and the ſtate of the Churche and Religion redreſſed. Concernyng all which thyngs, in the proces of this volume here folowing, we wil endeuour (Chriſt willyng) particularly & in order to diſcourſe: after that firſt we ſhal comprehende a few matters, which within the beginning of his reigne are to be noted & collected. Where, leauyng of to write of Empſon and Dudley, who in the tyme of kyng Henry the vij. beyng great doers in executyng the penall lawes ouer the people at that tyme, and purchaſyng thereby more malice then landes, wyth that whiche they had gotten, were ſhortlye after the entryng of this kyng beheaded, the one a knighte, the other an Eſquyre: leauing alſo to intermedel with his warres, triumphes and other temporall affayres, we meane in this volume principally to beſtow our trauaile in declaration of matters concernyng moſt chiefly the ſtate of the Churche & of Religion, as well in this Churche of England, as alſo of the whole Churche of Rome.

The death of prince Arthur. K.Henry marieth Lady Catherin hys brothers wyfe.

Blynd diſpenſations of the pope.

Wherin firſt commeth to our handes a turbulent tragedie and a fierce contẽtion, whiche long before had troubled the Church, and now this preſent yeare. 1509. was renewed a freſh betwene ij. certeine orders of beggyng Friers, to witte, the Dominicke Friers, and the Frauncíſcanes, about the conception of the Virgine Mary, the mother of Chriſt.

The Frauncíſcanes were they, whiche did hold of S. Fraunces, and folowed the rule of his Teſtament commonly called Gray Friers, or Minorites. Their opinion was this: that the Virgine Mary preuented by ẏ grace of ẏ holy Goſt was ſo ſanctified, that ſhe was neuer ſubiect one moment in her conception, to Originall ſinne. The Dominicke Friers were they, which holdyng of Dominicke, wer commõly called Blacke Friers, or preachyng Friers. Their opinion was, that the Virgin Mary was conceaued, as all other children of Adam be: ſo that this priuilege only belõgeth to Chriſt, to be cõceaued without Originall ſinne: notwithſtandyng the ſayd bleſſed Virgine was ſanctified in her mothers wombe, and purged from her Originall ſinne, ſo as was Iohn Baptiſt, Ieremie, or anye other priuileged perſon. This friuolous queſtion kindlyng and gendryng betweene theſe twoo ſectes of Friers, braſt out in ſuche a flame of partes and ſides taking, that it occupied the heades & wittes, ſcholes, and vniuerſities almoſt through the whole Church, ſome holdyng one parte with Scotus, ſome ẏ other parte with Thom. Aquine. The Minorites holdyng with Scotus their maiſter, diſputed and concluded, that ſhe was conceaued without all ſpotte or note of Original ſinne, and therupõ cauſed the feaſt and ſeruice of the conception of S. Mary the Virgine to be celebrate and ſolemniſed in ẏ Church. Contrary the Dominicke Friers takyng ſyde with Aquinas, preached that it was hereſie to affirme that the bleſſed Virgine was conceaued without ẏ gylte of Originall ſinne: and that they whiche did celebrate the feaſt of her Conception, or ſayd any Maſſes thereof, did ſinne greuouſly and mortally.

Franciſcane Friers.

Dominicke Friers.

A troblous diſſenſion in the church for the conception of the Vyrgin Mary.

Whether the virgyn Mary was conceaued wythout orygynall ſynne.

In the meane tyme, as this phantaſie wared hoate in the Church, ẏ one ſide preachyng againſt the other, came Pope Sixtus the iiij.an.1476.who ioynyng ſide with the Minorites or Franciſcanes, firſte ſent forthe his decrée by the authoritie Apoſtolike, willyng, ordeynyng, and cõmaundyng all men to ſolemniſe this new founde feaſt of the Conception in holy Churche for euermore: offeryng to all men and wemen, whiche deuoutly frequenting the church, would heare Maſſe and ſeruice, from ẏ firſt euenſong of the ſayd feaſt, to the octaues of the ſame, as many dayes of Pardon, as Pope Vrbane the iiij. and Pope Martine the v.did graunt for hearyng the ſeruice of Corpus Chriſti day. &c. and this decrée was geuen and dated at Rome.an. 1476.

A new found faaſt of the conception of the Virgyn Mary

Moreouer the ſame Pope, to the entent that ẏ deuotiõ of ẏ people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this Conception, he added a clauſe more to the

A newe *Aue Mari*a of the Popes making.

Aue Maria, grauntyng great indulgence and releaſe of ſinnes to all ſuch as would inuocate the bleſſed Virgin, with the ſame addition, ſaying thus: Aue Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Ieſus Chriſtus, & benedicta ſit Anna Mater tua, de qua ſine macula, tua proceſsit caro virginea, Amen. That is, *Hayl Mary full of grace, The Lord is with thee, bleſſed art thou among wemē, and bleſſed is the frute of thy wombe, Ieſus Chriſt: and bleſſed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgines fleſh hath proceded without blotte of originall ſinne. Amen.*

The Pope addeth to the words of the ſcripture.

3. abſurdities to be noted in this decree of the pope

¶ Wherin thou mayſt note (gētle reader) for thy learnyng iij. things: Firſt, how the Pope turneth that vnproperly into a prayer, whiche properly was ſent of God for a meſſage or tydynges. Secondly, how the Pope addeth to the wordes of the Scripture, contrary to the expreſſe precepte of the Lorde. Thirdlye, howe the Pope exempteth Mary the bleſſed virgine, not onely from the ſeede of Abraham and Adam, but alſo frō the condition of a mortall creature. For if there be in her no originall ſinne, thē ſhe beareth not the Image of Adam, neither doth ſhe deſcede of that ſeede, of whoſe ſeede euill procedeth vpon all men & wemen to condemnation, as S. Paul doth teache Rom. 5. Wherfore if ſhe deſcende of that ſeede, then the infection of Originall euill muſt neceſſarely procede vnto her. If ſhe deſcend not therof, then cōmeth ſhe not of ẏ ſeede of Abraham, nor of the ſeede of Dauid. &c. Agayne, ſeyng that death is the effect and ſtipende of ſinne, by the doctrine of S. Paule Rom. 6. then had her fleſh iniurie by the lawe (as Chriſte him ſelfe had) to ſuffer the malediction and puniſhment of deathe, and ſo ſhoulde neuer haue dyed, if originall ſinne had no place in her. &c. But to returne vnto our ſtorye: This conſtitution of the Pope beyng ſet forth for ẏ Conception of the bleſſed Virgine, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1476. it was not lōg after, but the ſayd pope Sixtus perceauyng that ẏ Dominicke friers with their complices, would not cōforme them ſelues hereunto, directed forthe by the authoritie Apoſtolical, a Bull, in effect as foloweth.

Rom. 5.

Rom. 6.

The tenor of the popes bull for the conception of the virgine to be without originall ſinne.

Sane cum ſancta Romana eccleſia de intemeratæ ſemperq; virginis. &c. In Engliſhe: *Whereas the holy Churche of Rome hath ordeined a ſpeciall and proper ſeruice for the publike ſolemniſing of the feaſt of the Conception of the bleßed Virgine Mary: certein orders of the Blacke Friers in their publike ſermons to the people in diuers places, haue not ceaſed hetherto to preach, and yet dayly do, that all they which hold or affirme the ſayd glorious Virgine to haue ben conceaued without Originall ſinne, be heretickes: and they whiche celebrate the ſeruice of the ſayd her Conception, or do heare the ſermons of them whiche do ſo affirme, do ſinne greuouſlye: alſo not contented herewith, doo write and ſet forth bookes moreouer, mainteinyng their aſſertions, to the great offenſe and ruine of godly mindes: We therfore to preuente and withſtand ſuch preſumptuous and peruers aſſertions, whiche haue ryſen, and more hereafter may ariſe by ſuch opinions and preachynges aforeſayd, in the mindes of the faythfull: by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, do condemne and reproue the ſame, and by the motion, knowledge, and authoritie aforeſayd, decree and ordeine, that the preachers of Gods woorde, and all other perſons of what ſtate, degree, order, or condition ſo euer they be, whiche ſhall preſume to dare affirme or preach to the people theſe foreſayd opinions and aſſertions to be true, or ſhall read, hold, or mainteyne any ſuch bookes for true, hauing before intelligence hereof, ſhal incurre therby the ſentence of excommunication: from whiche they ſhall not be abſolued otherwiſe then by the Biſhop of Rome, except onely in the tyme of death.* This Bull beyng dated the yeare of our Lorde. 1483. gaue no litle harte and encouragement to the gray Friers Franciſcans, whiche defended the pure Conception of the holy Virgine, agaynſt the Black Dominicke Friers, with their confederates holding the cōtrary ſide. By the vigour of whiche Bull, the gray order had got ſuch a conqueſt of the Blacke garde of the Dominickes, that the ſayd Dominicks were compelled at length for a perpetuall memoriall of the triumphe, bothe to geue to glorious Virgine euery nyght an Antheme in prayſe of her Conception; and alſo to ſubſcribe vnto their doctrine: In which doctrine theſe, with diuers other poynts be conteyned.

1. *Ex Iod. Clitoueo de puritate conceptionis. lib. 2.*

1 That bleſſed Mary the Virgine ſuffered the greeffes and aduerſities of this life, not for anye neceſſitie inflicted for puniſhment of Originall ſinne: but onely becauſe ſhe would conforme her ſelfe to the imitation of Chriſt.

2. Filthy abſurdities in the popes doctrine.

2 That the ſayd Virgine, as ſhe was not obliged to any puniſhement due for ſinne, as neither was Chriſt her ſonne: ſo ſhe had no nede of remiſſion of ſinnes, but in ſtede thereof had the diuine preſeruation of Gods helpe, keping her from all ſinne: whiche grace onely ſhe neded, and alſo had it.

3.

How the virgine *Marye* was ſubiect to death after the Friers opinions.

3 Item, That where the body of the Virgin Mary was ſubiect to death, and dyed: this is to be vnderſtād to come not for any penaltie due for ſinne, but either for imitatiō and conformitie vnto Chriſt, or els for the naturall conſtitution of her body, beyng elemental, as were the bodyes of our firſt parentes: Who if they had not taſted of ẏ forbidden frute, ſhould haue bene preſerued from death, not by nature, but by grace, and ſtrength of other fruites and meates in Paradiſe. Whiche meates becauſe Mary had not, but did eate our common meates, therfore ſhe dyed, & not for any neceſſity of Original ſinne. Clitouęus. lib. 2. cap. 2.

4.

4 The vniuerſall propoſition of S. Paul whiche ſayth that the Scripture hath concluded all men vnder ſinne, is to be vnderſtand thus, as ſpeakyng of all them whiche be not exempted by the ſpecial priuilege of God, as is the bleſſed Virgine Mary.

5.

5 If iuſtification be taken for reconciliation of him that was vnrightuous before, & now is made rightuous: then the bleſſed Virgine is to bee taken, not for iuſtified by Chriſt, but iuſt from her begynnyng by preſeruation.

6.

6 If a Sauiour be taken for hym, whiche saueth men fallen into perdition and condemnation, ſo is not Chriſt Sauiour of Marye, but is her Sauiour onely in this reſpect, for ſuſteinyng her from not fallyng into condemnation. &c.

7

7 Neither did the Virgin Mary geue thankes to God, nor ought ſo to do, for expiation of her ſinnes: but for her conſeruation from caſe of ſinnyng.

8. Good ſtuffe.

8 Neither did ſhe pray to God at any tyme for remiſſiō of her ſinnes: but onely for remiſſion of other mē ſinnes ſhe prayed many tymes, and coūted their ſinnes for hers.

9.

9 If the bleſſed Virgine had deceaſed before the Paſſion of her ſonne, God would haue repoſed her ſoule not in the place among the patriarckes or among the iuſt: but in ẏ ſame moſt pleaſant place of Paradiſe, where Adam and Eue was, before they tranſgreſſed.

These were the doting dreames and phantaſies of the Franciſcans & of other Papiſtes, commonly then holden in ẏ ſcholes, writen in their bookes, preached in their ſermōs, taught in churches, * & ſet forth in pictures. So that ẏ people was taught nothing els almoſt in the pulpites al this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceaued immaculate and holy without originall ſinne, and how they ought to call to her for helpe, whom they with ſpeciall termes do call *the way of mercie: the mother of grace: the louer of pietie: the conforter of mankinde: the continuall interceſſor for the ſaluation of the faithfull: and an aduocate to the king her ſonne, whiche neuer ceaſeth. &c.* Verba Papæ Sixti in Decret. And althoughe the greateſt number of ẏ ſchole doctours were of the contrary faction, as Petr. Lōbardus. Thom. Aquine, Bernardus, Bonauentura and other: yet theſe newe Papiſtes ſhifted of their obiections with friuolous diſtinctions, and blynd euaſions, as thus: Petrus Lombardus, they ſayd, is not receaued nor holden in the ſcholes, as touchyng this Article, but is reiected. Clitou. lib. 2. cap. 15.

**The gray friers had made a picture of Ioachim and Anna kiſſing, by the which kiſſe Anna was conceiued with Mary.* Ex Rob. Lycio. Minorita.

Idolatry to the bleſſed Virgin.

Obiections papiſtly ſolued.

Bernardus in Epiſt. ad Lugdunenſ. althoughe hee ſemeth to denye the Conception of the bleſſed Virgine to be voyde of Originall ſinne, ſaying that ſhe could not be holy when ſhe was not, & liued not: to this they anſwer, that albeit ſhe was not yet in eſſence, yet ſhe was holy in her conception, and before her conception in the diuine preſcience of God, whiche had choſen and preelected her before the worldes, to be the mother of the Lord.

Agayne, where Bernard doth argue, that ſhe was not without Originall ſinne conceaued, becauſe ſhe was not conceaued by the holy Ghoſt, to this they aunſwer: That the holy Ghoſt maye worke ij. wayes in conception: either without company of man, and ſo was Chriſt onely conceaued: or els with company and helpe of man, and thus was yͤ bleſſed Virgin cõceaued. Clit.lib.2.cap.14.

Popiſh beliefe and doctrine goeth by time.

Bonauentura (ſay they) was an holy father, but hée ſpake then after the cuſtome and maner of his time, whē as the ſolemnitie and puritie of this conception was not yet decréed nor receaued by the publique conſent and authoritie of the Churche. Now ſéyng the authoritie of the Churche of Rome hath eſtabliſhed the ſame, it ought not to be contraryed, nor can, without daungerous diſobedience. In all mens actions diligent reſpect of time muſt be had. That which byndeth not at one tyme, afterward the ſame by law beyng ratified, may bynde at an other. Ibid.

Veritie conſiſteth not in number of voyces. Nor victorye in multitude of ſouldiers.

Finally for the number and multitude on the contrary ſide, thus they aunſwere for them ſelues, as we nowe in theſe our dayes likewiſe in defenſe of the truth may well aunſwere agaynſte the Pope and all his Popiſhe Friers, turnyng their owne weapons agaynſt them ſelues: Multitude, saye they, ought not to moue vs. Victory cõſiſteth not in number and heapes, but in fortitude and heartes of ſouldiours: yea rather fortitude and ſtomacke commeth from heauen, and not of man. Iudas Machabeus with a litle handfull ouerthrewe the great armie of Antiochus. Strong Sampſon with a poore Aſſes bone ſlue a thouſand Philiſtines. Dauid had no more but a ſylie ſlynge, and a few ſtones, and with theſe ſtroke downe terrible Goliath the gyant. &c. Lib.eod.cap.13.

With theſe and ſuch other like reaſons, the Gray Frãciſcans voyded their aduerſaries, defendyng the Conception of the Virgine Mary to bée vnblemyſhed & pure from all contagion of Original ſinne. Contrariwiſe the Blacke gard of the Dominike Friers, for their partes were not all mute, but layd luſtely from them agayn, hauyng great authorities and alſo the Scripture on theyr ſide. But yet the other hauyng the ſea Apoſtolicall with them, had the better hand, and in fine gatte the victory triumphantly ouer the other, to the hygh exaltation of their order. For Pope Sixtus (as I ſayd) by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, after he had decréed the Conception day of the Virgine perpetually to be ſanctified, and alſo with his terrible Bull had condemned for heretiques all them which withſtode the ſame: the Dominike Friers with authoritie oppreſſed, were dryuen to ij. inconueniences, the one was, to kepe ſilence, the other was, to geue place to their aduerſaries the Franciſcans. Albeit where the mouth durſt not ſpeake, yet the hart would worke: and though the tongue were tyed, yet their good will was ready by all meanes poſſible to mainteyne their quarell and theyr eſtimation.

The Popes ſide ſtronger then the ſcripture.

An 1509

Wherupon it happened the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1509. after this diſſenſion betwene the Dominike Friers, & the Frãciſcans, yͭ certeine of the Dominikes thinkyng by ſubtile ſleyght to worke in the peoples heades, that which they durſt not atchyue with open preachyng, deuyſed a certeine Image of the Virgine, ſo artificially wrought, that the Friers by priuie gynnes, made it to ſtyrre, and to make geſtures, to lament, to complayne, to weepe, to grone, and to geue aunſweres to them that aſked: in ſomuch that the people therewith were brought in a meruelous perſuaſiõ, till at length the fraude being eſpyed, the Friers were taken, condemned & burned at Berne, the yeare aboue mentioned. 1509. Ex Peucer. Sebaſt. Mũſtero. Carione, & alijs. In the cẽturies of Ioh. Bale I finde their names to be Ioãnes Vetter, Franciſcus Vliſcus, Stephanus Bolizhorſt, and Henricus Steinegger.

Ex Caſparo Peucero Chrõ. lib.5. Ex Sebaſt. Munſter. Coſmog. lib.3.
4 Friers burned at Berne.

In the ſtory of Ioan. Stumfius, this ſtory aforeſayd doth partly appeare: but in the Regiſters and recordes of the Citie of Berne, the order and circumſtaunce therof is more fully expreſſed and ſet foorth bothe in meter and in proſe, and is thus declared.

Ex hiſtor. Bernenſi conſcripta vulgari et latino ſermone.

In the Citie of Berne there were certein Dominike Friers, to the nũber chiefly of iiij. principal doers, & chieftaines of that order, who had inueigled a certeine ſimple poore Frier, who had newly planted hymſelf in yͤ cloyſter: whom the foreſayd Friers had ſo infatuated with ſondry ſuperſtitions, and fayned apparitions of S. Maria, S. Barbara, and S. Catherina, and with their inchauntmentes, and imprintyng moreouer in hym the woundes of Saint Fraunces, that he beleued playnly, that the Virgine Mary had appeared to hym & had offered to hym a red hooſt conſecrated, with the bloud alſo of Chriſt miraculous: which bleſſed Virgin alſo had ſent hym to the Senatours of Berne, with inſtructions, declaryng vnto them, frõ the mouth of the Virgine, that ſhe was conceaued in ſynne, & that the Frauncíſcane Friers wer not to be creditied nor ſuffered in the Citie, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opiniõ of her Cõception. He added moreouer, that they ſhould reſort to a certein image ther, of the Virgine Mary (which image the Friers by engines had made to ſweat) and ſhould do their worſhip & make their oblations to the ſame. &c.

This feyned deuiſe was not ſo ſone forged of the Friers, but it was as ſone beleued of the people: ſo yͭ a great while the red coulored hoſt was taken vndoubtedly for the true body and bloud of Chriſt, and certeine coulored droppes thereof ſent abroad to diuers noble perſonages and ſtates for a great relique, and that not without great recompenſe. Thus they deceaued people in great nũber came flockyng to the Image, and to the red hoſte, and colored bloud, with manifold giftes and oblations. In brief, the Dominicke Friers ſo had wrought the matter, and ſo had ſweapt all the fatte to their own beardes, from the order of the Frãciſcanes, that all the almes came to theyr bore. The Franciſcanes ſeyng their eſtimation to decay, and theyr kitchyng to ware cold, and their paunches to be pynched, not able to abyde that contumely, and beyng not ignoraunt nor vnaquaynted with ſuch counterfeted doynges (for as the prouerbe ſayth, it is ill haltyng before a crepel) eftſones eſpyed theyr crafty iugglyng, and detected theyr fraudulent myracles. Whereupon the iiij. chief captaynes aboue named were apprehended and put to the fire: Of whom the prouinciall of that order was one.

And thus much touchyng the begynnyng and ende of this tumultuous and Popiſhe tragedie: wherin euidently it may appeare to the reader, how neither theſe turbulent Friers could agrée among them ſelues, and yet in what friuolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let theſe ridiculous Friers paſſe, with their triflyng phãtaſies, moſt worthy to be derided of all wiſe men: in the meane tyme this is to be lamented, to behold the miſerable tymes of the Churche, in whiche the deuill kepte the myndes of Chriſtes people ſo attentiue and occupyed in ſuch Frierly toyes, that nothyng els almoſt was taught or heard in the Church, but onely the cõmendation & exaltation of the Virgine Mary. But of our iuſtification by fayth, of grace and the promiſes of God in Chriſte, of the ſtrength of the law, of the horror of ſinne, of differẽce betwene the law and the Goſpell, of the true libertie of conſcience. &c. no mention or very litle was heard. Wherefore in this ſo blynd tyme of darkenes, it was much nedefull and requiſite, that the Lord of his mercy ſhould loke vpon his Church, and ſend downe his gratious reformation, which alſo he did. For ſhortly vpon yͤ ſame, through the gratious excitation of God, came Martine Luther, of whõ the order of ſtorye now requireth that we ſhould and will entreate (Chriſt willyng) after the ſtory of Richard Hunne, and a few other thynges premiſed, for the better openyng of the ſtory to folow.

Friers nether can agree with themſelues nor yet do diſagree but in vain trifles,

The miſerable blindnes of the time cõſidered.

1510.

Mention was made ſufficiently before of the doynges of Pope Iulius, and of his warlike affairs, for the which he was condemned, and not vniuſtly, in the Councell of

Pope Iulius playeth the warrior.

1512.

The pope ouercome in Battaile

1513.

The death of pope Iulius

Pope Leo. x.

Turone in Fraunce, an. 1510: and yet all this could not aſſuage the furious affection of this Pope, but the ſame yeare he inuaded the Citye Mutina and Mirandula in Italie, ⁊ toke them by force of war. Which Pope Iulius not longe after, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1512. refuſing peace offered by Maximilian Emperour, was encountered by Lewes the French kyng, about Rauenna, vpon Eaſter day, where he was vanquiſhed, and had of his armye ſlayne to the nūber of xvi. thouſand. Ex Chro. Carion. And the yeare next folowynge, an. 1513. this Apoſtolicall warriour, whiche had reſigned his keyes vnto the riuer of Tybris before, made an end together both of fightyng, and lyuyng, after he had reigned and fought 10. yeares. After whom ſucceded next in yͤ ſea of Rome, Pope Leo. x. About the compaſſe of which tyme, great mutations and ſtyrres began to worke as well in ſtates temporall, as eſpecially in the ſtate of the Churche.

The ſtate and ſucceſſion of princes.

Pope Leo x. in Rome.	an. 1513.	*reigned.*	9.
Charles v. Emperour in Germanie.	an. 1519.		39.
Fraunces K. of Fraunce.	an. 1515.		32.
Henry 8. K. of England.	an. 1509.		38.
Iames v. K. of Scotland.	an. 1514.		

In the tyme of whiche Pope, Emperour, and kynges of Englande, and of Fraunce, great alterations, troubles, and turnes of Religion were wrought into the Churche, by the myghty operation of Gods hande in Italie, Fraunce, Germanie, Englande, and all Europe, ſuch as haue not bene ſene (althoughe much groned for) many hundreth yeares before: as in further diſcourſe of this hyſtory (Chriſt wyllyng) more manifeſtly ſhall appeare.

But before we come to theſe alterations, takyng the tyme as it lyeth before vs, we will firſt ſpeake of Rich. Hunne, and certain other godly mynded perſons here in England afflicted for the worde of Chriſtes Goſpell in great multitude, as they be founde and taken out of the Regiſters of Fitziames Byſhop of London, by the faythfull helpe and induſtrie of R. Carket Citizen of London.

¶ *The hyſtory of diuers good men and women perſecuted* for Religion in the Citie and dioces of the Biſhop of London, briefly extracted out of the regiſters of Richard Fitziames.

Ex Regiſtro Fitziames.

The profeſſion of the Proteſtants no new doctrine.

Amongeſt and beſides the great nomber of the faythfull Martyrs and profeſſours of Chriſt, that conſtantly in the ſtrength of the holy Ghoſt, gaue their lyues for the teſtimony of his truth, I finde recorded in the Regiſter of London, betwene the yeares of our Lord. 1509. and. 1527. the names of diuerſe other perſons both mē and women: who in the fulnes of that darke and miſty tymes of ignoraūce, had alſo ſome portiō of Gods good ſpirite whiche induced thē to the knowledge of his truth and Goſpell, and were diuerſly troubled, perſecuted, and impriſoned for the ſame: notwithſtandyng by the proud, cruell, ⁊ bloudy rage of the catholique ſeate, and through the weakenes and frayltie of their owne nature (not thē fully ſtrengthned in God) it was agayne in them, for yͤ tyme, ſuppreſſed and kept vnder, as appeareth by theyr ſeuerall abiurations made before Richarde Fitziames then Byſhop of London (in his tyme a moſt cruell perſecutor of Chriſtes Church) or els before his vicare generall deputed for the ſame. And forasmuch as many of the aduerſaries of Gods truth, haue of late dayes diſdaynfully and braggingly cryed out and made demaūds in theyr publicke aſſemblies and yet do, aſkyng where this our Churche ⁊ Religion was within theſe 50. or 60. yeares: I haue thought it not altogether vayne, ſomwhat to ſtop ſuch lyeng crakers, both by mēcionyng their names, and lykewiſe openyng ſome of the chief and principall matters, for the whiche they were ſo vnmercyfully afflicted and moleſted, thereby to geue to vnderſtand, aſwell the continuance ⁊ cōſent of the true church of Chriſt in that age, touchyng the chief pointes of our faith, though not in lyke perfection of knowledge and conſtancye in all: as alſo by the way, ſome thinge to touch what fonde and friuolous matters the ignoraunt Prelates ſhamed not in that tyme of blindnes to obiect agaynſt the pore and ſimple people, accomptynge them as heynous and greate offēces, yea ſuch as deſerued death both of body ⁊ ſoule. But leſt I ſhoulde ſeme to prolixe and tedious herein, I will now briefly procede with the ſtory, and firſt beginne with their names, whiche are theſe.

Anno.	Ioanne Baker.	Lewes Iohn.	
1510.	William Pottyer.	Ioane Iohn.	
	Iohn Forge.	Iohn Webbe, *aliâs*	Anno. 1512.
	Thomas Goodred.	Baker.	
	Thomas Walker,	Iohn Houſhold.	
	aliâs Talbot.	Robert Raſcall.	Anno. 1517.
	Thomas Forge.	Elizabeth Stāford.	
	Alyce Forge.	George Browne.	Anno. 1518.
	Ihon Forge, *their ſon.*	Iohn Wykes.	
	William Couper.	Iohn Sowthake.	Anno. 1521.
	Iohn Caluerton.	Richard Butler.	
	Iohn Woodrofe.	Iohn Samme.	
Anno.	Richard Wolman.	William Kyng.	Anno. 1521.
1511.	Roger Hyllyar.	Robert Durdant.	
	Alyce Couper.	Henry Woolman.	
	Thomas Auſtye.	Edmond Spilmā.	Anno. 1523.
	Ioanne Auſtye.	Iohn Hygges, *alias*	
	Thomas Graunt.	Noke: *aliâs* Iohnſonne.	
	Iohn Garter.		Anno. 1526.
	Chriſtofer Rauins.	Henry Chambers.	
	Dioniſs Rauins.	Iohn Hynggyns.	
	Thomas Vincent.	Thomas Egleſtō.	Anno. 1527.

¶ *Here foloweth the particular examination of all* theſe hereaboue named.

To theſe were diuerſe and ſondry particular Articles (beſides the common ⁊ generall ſorte accuſtomably vſed in ſuch caſes) priuatly obiected, euen ſuch as they were thē accuſed of either by their curate, or other their neighbours. And becauſe I thinke it ſomewhat ſuperfluous to make any large recital of al and euery part of their ſeueral proceſſe: I mynde therefore onely briefly to touche ſo many of their Articles, as may be ſufficient to induce the Chriſten reader to iudge the ſoner of the reſt: beyng (I aſſure you) of no greater importance, then theſe that follow: Except that ſometime they were charged moſt ſlaūderouſly with horrible and blaſphemous lyes, agaynſt the maieſtie ⁊ truth of God. Which as they vtterly denyed: ſo do I now, for this preſent, kepe ſecrete in ſilence, aſwell for breuitie ſake, as alſo ſomewhat to colour ⁊ hide the ſhameles practiſes of that lying generation. But to our purpoſe.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitziames.

Ioanne Baker

Againſt worſhipping of the crucifixe or croſſe.

Teſtimony for the Lady yong Martyr.

The chiefeſt obiections agaynſt Ioanne Baker, was that ſhe would not only her ſelf not reuerēce the Crucifixe: but had alſo perſwaded a frēde of hers lying at the pointe of death, not to put any confidence or truſt in the Crucifixe, but in God whiche is in heauen, who onely worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead Images, that be but ſtockes and ſtones: and therfore ſhe was ſory, that euer ſhe had gone ſo often on pilgrymage to S. Sauiour and other Idols. Alſo, that ſhe did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to geue Pardons, and that the Lady Young (who was not long before yͤ tyme burned) dyed a true Martyr of God, and therefore ſhe wiſhed of God, that ſhe her ſelfe myght doo no worſe thē the ſayd Lady Young had done.

William Pottier.

Falſe ſlaunder of the aduerſaries.

Vnto William Pottyer, beſides diuers other falſe and ſlaunderous Articles (as that he ſhould denye the benefite and effect of Chriſtes Paſſion) it was alſo alleged that he ſhoulde affirme, that there were vi. Gods. The firſte three was the holy Trinitie, the father the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt. The fourth was a prieſtes concubine beyng kept in his chamber. The fift was the deuell. And the vi. that thing that a man ſetteth his minde moſt vpon.

Anſwere.

The firſt parte of this Article he vtterly denyed, confeſ-

ſing moſt firmely and truly the bleſſed Trinitie to be onely one God in one vnitie of deitie : as to the other three he aunſwered , that a Prieſte delightinge in his cōcubine, made her as his God. Likewiſe a wicked perſon perſiſting in his ſinne without repētaūce, made the deuill his God. And laſtly he graūted, that he, once hearing of certein men, which by the ſinging and chattering of birdes, would ſeeke to knowe what thinges were to come, either to them ſelues or others , ſayde that thoſe men eſtimed their birdes as Gods: and otherwiſe he ſpake not.

Tho. Godred. Tho. Walker. Tho. forge. &c.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation and corporall preſence.

AMongeſt the manifold and ſeuerall Articles obiected agaynſt Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, Alyce Forge *his wife*, Iohn Forge *their ſonne*, Iohn Caluertō, Iohn Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, *and* Roger Hilliar (As that they ſhould ſpeake agaynſt pilgrymages, praying vnto Saintes, & ſuch lyke) thys principallye was propounded , that they all denyed the carnall and corporall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacramēt of the altar : and further had conceiled, and conſented vnto their teachers and inſtructers of that doctrine, & had not accordyng vnto the lawes of the Churche, accuſed and preſented them vnto the Byſhop, or Ordinary. Alſo great & heynous diſpleaſure was conceyued againſt Richard Woolman , for that hee termed the Church of Paules a houſe of theues: affirming that the Prieſtes and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons there, were not liberall geuers vnto the poore (as they ought) but rather takers away from them , what they could get.

Tho. Auſty. Iohn. Auſty. &c.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, and corporall preſence.

Likewiſe , as Thomas Auſtye , Ioanne Auſtye *hys wife*, Thomas Graunt, Iohn Garters , Chriſtofer Rauyns, Dionyſe Rauins *his ſiſter*, Thomas Vincēt, Lewes Iohn, Ioanne Iohn *his wife, and* Iohn Webbe , were of one felowſhip and profeſſion of fayth , with diuerſe of the laſt before recited: ſo were they alſo almoſt all apprehended about one tyme , and chiefly burdened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Whiche declareth euidently, that notwithſtandyng the darke ignoraunce of thoſe corrupted tymes, yet God did euer in mercy open ỹ eyes of ſome, to behold the manifeſt truth , euen in thoſe things, wherof the Papiſtes make now greateſt vaunt & bragge of longeſt continuance. Farthermore many of thē were charged to haue ſpokē agaynſt pilgrymages: and to haue read and vſed certeine Engliſhe bookes , repugnyng the fayth of the Romiſhe Churche: as the iiij. Euangeliſtes, Wickleffes wicket, a booke of the x. Commaundementes of almighty God , the Reuelation of S. Iohn, the Epiſtles of Paul and Iames, with other lyke , whiche thoſe holy ones could neuer abyde, and good cauſe why: for as darkenes could neuer agree with lyght, no more can ignoraunce , the mainteiner of that kyngdom, with the true knowledge of Chriſt and his Goſpell . It was further particularly obiected agaynſt Ioanne Iohn , the wife of Lewes Iohn, that (beſides the premiſſes) ſhe learned and maintayned, that God commaunded no holy dayes to be kept, but onely the Sabboth day, and that therefore ſhee would kepe none but it, nor no faſtyng days, affirmyng that to faſt from ſinne was the true faſt . Moreouer that ſhe had deſpiſed the Pope, his Pardons, & pilgrymages : In ſo muche that when any poore body aſked hys almes of her in ỹ worſhip of ỹ Lady of Walſingham, ſhe would ſtraight aunſwere in contempt of the pilgrimage: *the Lady of Walſingham help thee*. And if ſhe gaue any thyng vnto hym, ſhe would then ſay: *take this in the worſhip of our Lady in heauen , & let the other go*. Whiche declareth that for lacke of better inſtructiō and knowledge, ſhe yet ignorauntly attributed to much honor to the true Saintes of God departed: though otherwiſe ſhe did abhorre the Idolatrous worſhippyng of the dead Images . By whiche exāple, as alſo by many others (for ſhortnes ſake, at this preſent omitted) I haue iuſt occaſion to condemne ỹ wilfull ſubtiltie of thoſe, that in this bryght ſhynyng lyght of Gods truth , would yet vnder colour of godly remembraunce, ſtill maintayne the hauyng of Images in the Church, craftely excuſing their Idolatrous knelyng and praying vnto them , by affirmyng that they neuer worſhipped the dead Images, but the thynges that the Images did repreſent. But if that were theyr onely doctrine and cauſe of hauyng them, why then would theyr predeceſſours ſo cruelly compel theſe poore ſimple people openly in their recantations to abiure and reuoke their ſpeakyng agaynſt the groſſe adoration of the outward Images onely, and not agaynſt the thyng repreſented: which many of them (as appeareth partely by this example) in their ignoraunt ſimplicitie, confeſſed mihgt be worſhipped. Howbeit, God be thanked (who euer in hys mercy cōtinue it) theyr colourable and hypocriticall excuſes can not now take ſuch place in the hartes of the elect of God, as they haue done heretofore , eſpecially ſeyng the word of God doth ſo manifeſtly forbyd aſwell the worſhipping of them, as alſo the makyng or hauyng of them, for order of religion.

Agaynſt holy dayes.

Agaynſt pilgrimage, and adoration of images.

Wyllyam Couper and his wyfe.

Againſt inuocation of dead images.

IT was alleaged agaynſt William Couper, *and* Alyce Couper *his wife*, that they had ſpoken agaynſt pilgrymages and worſhippyng of Images : but chiefly the woman, who hauyng her childe on a tyme hurte by fallyng into a pit or ditche , and earneſtly perſwaded by ſome of her ignoraunt neighbours, to go on pilgrimage vnto S. Laurēce for helpe for her child, ſayd that neither S. Laurence, nor any other Saint could helpe her child, and therfore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any Image made with mans hande, but onely vnto almightie God: for pilgrymages were nothyng worthe , ſauyng to make the Prieſtes riche. vid. plura inferius.

Iohn Houſhold. &c.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation and authoritie of the pope.

VNto Iohn Houſhold , Robert Raſcall , *and* Elizabeth Stamford , aſwell the Article agaynſt the Sacrament of the altare was obiected , as alſo that they had ſpoken agaynſt praying to Saintes, and had deſpiſed the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, and others of his clergie. But eſpecially Iohn Houſhold was charged to haue called them Antichriſtes and horemōgers, and the Pope him ſelfe a ſtronge ſtrumpet and a commō baude vnto ỹ worlde , who with his Pardons had drowned in blyndnes, all Chriſten realmes, and that for money.

George Browne.

Agaynſt adoration of the croſſe.

Agaynſt immoderate riches of the popes clergye.

ALſo among diuers other ordinary Articles propounded agaynſt George Browne, theſe were coūted very heynous and heretical: Firſt, that he had ſayd, that he knewe no cauſe why the Croſſe ſhould bee worſhypped, ſeyng , that ỹ ſame was an hurt & payne vnto our Sauiour Chriſt in the tyme of his Paſſion , and not any eaſe or pleaſure , alleagyng for example, that if he had had a frend hanged or drowned, hee would euer after haue loued that gallowes, or water (by ỹ whiche his frend died) rather worſe for that, then better . An other obiection was, that he had erroneouſly, obſtinatly, and maliciouſly ſayd (for ſo are their wordes) that the Churche was to riche. This matter, I may tell you, touched ſomwhat the quicke, and therfore no maruell thoughe they counted it erroneous and malicious: for take away theyr gayn, and and farewell theyr Religion . They alſo charged hym to haue refuſed holy water to be caſt about his chāber , and lykewiſe to haue ſpoken agaynſte Prieſtes , wyth other vayne matters.

Iohn Wykes.

THe greateſt matter , wherwith they burdened Iohn Wykes, was that he had often and of long tyme kept company with diuers perſōs ſuſpected of hereſie (as they termed them) and had receaued them into his houſe, and there did ſuffer and heare them ſondry tymes, read erroneous and hereticall bookes contrary to the fayth of the Romiſhe Churche , and did alſo hym ſelfe conſent vnto theyr doctrine : and had many tymes ſecretly conueyed them from the takyng of ſuch as were appoynted to apprehende them.

Iohn Southacke. Richard Butler. &c. Vide inferius.

Againſt the reall preſence.

LIke as the greateſt nōber of thoſe before mencioned: ſo were alſo Iohn Southacke, Richard Butler, Iohn Samme, William Kyng, Robert Durdant , *and* Henry Woolman, eſpecially charged with ſpeakyng wordes agaynſt the reall preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament of the altare, and alſo agaynſt Images, and the reſt of the vij. Sacramētes. How be it they burdened the laſt v. perſons with the readyng of certeine Engliſhe hereticall bookes, accomptyng moſt blaſphemouſly the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, written by the iiij. Euangeliſts, to be of

that

Reading of Englyſh bookes.

Of theſe men ſee more herafter in the table folowyng.

that nomber, as appeareth euidently by the viij. article obiected by Thomas Benet Doctour of law, Chaũcelour and vicare generall vnto Richarde Fitziames then Byſhop of London, agaynſt the ſayd Richard Butler. The very wordes of whiche Article (for a more declaration of truth) I haue thought good here to inſerte: whiche are theſe. *Alſo we obiect to you, that diuers times, and eſpecially vpon a certeine night, about the ſpace of three yeares laſt paſt, in Robert Durdantes houſe of Tuer court nere vnto Stanes, you erroneouſly and damnably read in a great booke of hereſie of the ſayd Robert Durdantes, all that ſame night, certeine Chapters of the Euangeliſtes in Engliſh, conteining in them diuers erroneous and damnable opinions and concluſions of hereſie, in the preſence of the ſaid Robert Durdant, Iohn Butler, Robert Carder, Ienkin Butler, William Kyng, and diuers other ſuſpect perſons of hereſie then beyng preſent, and hearing your ſaid erreneous lectours & opinions.* To the ſame effect and purpoſe tēded the tenure of ſome of the Articles propounded agaynſt the other iiij. Whereby (as alſo by others lyke before ſpecified) we may eaſly iudge what reuerence they whiche yet wilbe counted the true and onely Church of Chriſt, did beare to the worde and Goſpell of Chriſte: who ſhamed not to blaſpheme the ſame with moſt horrible titles of erroneous & damnable opinions, and concluſions of hereſie. But why ſhould we maruell therat, ſeyng the holy Ghoſt in ſondry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter dayes, there ſhould come ſuch proude & curſed ſpeakers, whiche ſhal ſpeake lies through hypocriſie, & haue their conſciences marked with an hoate yron? Let vs therfore now thanke our heauenly father for reuelyng them vnto vs, and let vs alſo pray him, that of his free mercyes in his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus, he would (if it be to his glory) either turne & mollifie all ſuch hartes, or els (for the peace and quietnes of his Churche) he would in hys righteous iudgement take them from vs.

The death of Richard Fitziames byſhop of London.

Cutbart Tunſtall B. of London.

The reall preſence denied.

About this tyme Richard Fitziames ended his lyfe. After whoſe death Cutbert Tunſtal (afterwardes Biſhop of Dureham) ſucceded in the ſea and Byſhopricke of Lōdon: who ſone vppon his firſt entrye into the rowme, myndyng to folowe rightly the foteſteppes of his predeceſſour, cauſed Edmund Spilman *prieſt*, Henry Chambers, Iohn Hyggins *and* Thomas Egleſtone, to bee apprehended, and ſo to be examined vpon ſondry lyke Articles, as before are expreſſed, & in the end, either for feare of his cruelty, and yͤ rigour of death, or els through hope of his flatteryng promiſes (ſuch was their weakenes) he compelled them to abiure and renounce their true profeſſed fayth touchyng the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud: whiche was, that Chriſtes corporall body was not in the Sacrament, but in heauen, and that the Sacrament was a figure of hys body, and not the body it ſelfe.

Agaynſt a prieſt to haue two benefices.

Teſtimony touching *M. Luther*

Moreouer, about the ſame tyme, there were certeine Articles obiected agaynſt Iohn Hygg, aliâs Noke, *aliâs* Iohnſonne, by the ſayd Byſhops vicare generall. Amongeſt whiche, were theſe: Firſt, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawfull for a temporall man to haue two wyues at once, as for a Prieſt to haue two benefices. Alſo that hee had in hys cuſtody a booke of the iiij. Euangeliſtes in Engliſhe, and did often read therin: and that he fauored the doctrines and opinions of Martine Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learnyng in hys litle finger then all the doctours in England in their whole bodyes: and that all the Prieſtes in the Churche were blynd, and had led the people the wronge way. Lykewiſe it was alleaged againſt him, that he had denyed purgatory, and had ſayd, that whyle he were alyue, he would do aſmuch for hym ſelfe as he could, for after hys death he thought that prayer & almes dedes could litle helpe hym.

Theſe and ſuch lyke matters were they, wherewith theſe poore and ſimple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heynous heretikes excommunicated, empryſoned, and at laſt compelled to recant: and ſome of them in vtter ſhame and reproch (beſides the ordinary bearyng of fagottes before the Croſſe in proceſſion, or els at a Sermon) were enioyned for penaunce, (as they termed it) aſwell to appeare once euery yeare before theyr ordynarye, as alſo to weare the ſigne of a fagot paynted vpon theyr ſleues or other part of theyr outward garment, and that duryng theyr lyues, or ſo often and long as it pleaſed their ordinarye to appoynte. By whiche long rigorous and open punyſhyng of them, they ment (as it ſhould ſeme) vtterly to terrifie and keepe backe all others from the true knowledge of Ieſus Chriſte and hys Goſpell. But the Lorde be euermore prayſed, what effect their wicked purpoſes therin haue taken, theſe our moſt lyghtſome dayes of Gods glorious Goſpell do moſt ioyfully declare.

The maner of popyſhe penaunce.

The troubles of Elene Heyer and Robart Barkeway.

There were alſo troubled beſides theſe, certein others more ſimple and ignoraunt: who hauyng but a very ſmall ſmacke or taſt of the truth, did yet at the firſt (as it may ſeme) gladly cōſent vnto the ſame: but beyng apprehended, they quickely agayn yelded, and therfore had onely aſſigned them for theyr penaunce, the bearyng of a litle candell before the Croſſe, without any further open abiuryng or recantyng. Amongeſt whiche I finde ij. eſpecially: the one, a woman called Elene Heyer, to whome it was obiected that ſhee had neither confeſſed her ſelfe vnto the Prieſt, nor yet receaued the Sacrament of the altare, by the ſpace of foure yeares, & notwithſtandyng had yearely eaten fleſhe at Eaſter, and after, aſwell as others that had receaued the ſame, contrary to the vſuall maner and conuerſation of all other Chriſten people.

The other was a man named Robert Berkewaye, who (beſides moſt wicked blaſphemyes agaynſte God, whiche he vtterly denyed) was charged to haue ſpoken heynous wordes agaynſt the Popes holy and bleſſed martyr Thomas Becket, callyng hym mycher and thief, for that he wrought by craftes and imaginations.

Thus haue I (as briefly as I could) ſommarely collected the principall Articles, obiected agaynſt theſe weake, infirme, and earthye veſſels. Not myndynge herebye to excuſe or condemne them in theſe their fearefull falles and daungerous defections: but leuyng them vnto the vnmeaſurable riche mercyes of the Lord, I thought onely to make manifeſt the vnſaciable bloudy crueltye of the Popes kyngdome, agaynſte the Goſpell and true Churche of Chriſte, nothyng mitigatyng their enuyous rage, no not agaynſt the very ſimple idiotes, and that ſometyme in moſt friuolous and irreligious caſes. But nowe leauyng to ſaye any farther herein, I wil (by Gods grace) go forthwarde with other ſomewhat more ſeryous matters.

¶ *The death and martyrdome of William* Swetyng and Iohn Brewſter.

Willyam Sweting, Iohn Brewſter Martyrs.

In ſearchyng and peruſyng of the regiſter, for the collection of the names and Articles before recited, I finde that within the compaſſe of the ſame yeares, there were alſo ſome others, who after they had once ſhewed them ſelues as frayle and vnconſtant as the reſt (beyng eyther therewith pricked in conſcience, or otherwiſe zealouſly ouercomme with the manifeſte truth of Gods moſt ſacred worde) became yet agayn as erneſt profeſſours of Chriſt, as euer they were before, and for the ſame profeſſiō were the ſecond tyme apprehēded, examined, condempned, and in the ende were moſte cruellye burned. Of the whiche nomber were. William Swetyng, and Iohn Brewſter, who were both burned together in Smythfielde, the xviij. day of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1511. The chiefeſt caſe of Religiō alleaged agaynſt them in their Articles, was their fayth concernyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud. Which, becauſe it differed from the abſurde, groſſe, and caparniticall opinion of the newe ſcholemen, was counted as moſt heynous hereſie. There were other things beſides obiected againſt thē: as the readyng of certeine forbidden bookes, and accōpanyeng with ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected of hereſie. But one great and heynous offence counted amōgeſt the reſt, was their puttyng and leauyng of the paynted fagottes, whiche they were at theyr firſte abiuryng, enioyned to weare, as

Againſt trāſubſtantiation and corporal preſence in the ſacrament.

The cruel rigour of the catholique clergy againſt the true profeſſors of the Goſpel.

badges, duryng theyr lyues, or ſo long as it ſhould pleaſe theyr ordinary to appoynt, and not to leaue them of vpon payne of relaps, vntill they were diſpenſed withall for the ſame. The breache of this iniunction was eſteemed to bee of no ſmall weight, and yet the matter well and throughly conſidered, it ſeemeth by theyr confeſſions, they were both therunto by neceſſitie enforced. For the one, named Swetyng, beyng for feare of the Biſhops cruelty conſtrayned to wander the countreys to get his poore liuing, came at length vnto Colcheſter, where by the parſon of the Pariſhe of Mary Magdelene, hee was prouoked to be the holy water clarke, and in that conſideration had that infamous badge firſt taken away frõ hym. The other (which was Brewſter) left of hys, at the commaundement of the comptroller of the Earle of Oxfordes houſe: who hyring the poore man to labour in the Earles houſhold buſines, would not ſuffer hym, workyng there, to weare that counterfayte cogniſaunce any longer: ſo that (as I ſayd) neceſſitie of liuing ſeemeth to compell both of them at yͤ firſt, to breake that iniunction: and therefore, if charitie had borne as great ſwaye in the hartes of the Popes clergie, as did crueltye, this trifle would not haue bene ſo heynouſly taken, as to be brought againſt them for an Article and cauſe of condempnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, aſwell all godlye loue, as alſo all humaine reaſon and duetyes, are quyte forgotten. Well to be ſhort, what for the cauſes before recyted: as alſo for that they had once already abiured, ⁊ yet (as they terme it) fell agayne into relapſe, they were both (as you haue heard) in the ende burned together in Smithfield: although the ſame partyes (as the regiſter recordeth) dyd agayne before theyr death, fearefullye forſake theyr former reuiued conſtancy, and ſubmittyng them ſelues vnto the diſcipline of the Romiſhe Churche, craued abſolution from theyr excommunication. Howbeit, becauſe many of the Regiſters notes and recordes in ſuch caſes may rightly be doubted of, and ſo called into queſtiõ, I referre the certeine knowledge hereof vnto the Lord (who is the tryer of all truthes) and the externall iudgement vnto yͤ godly and diſcrete reader: Not forgettyng yet by the way (if that the report ſhould be true) vpon ſo iuſt an occaſiõ, to charge that catholicke clergy and theyr wicked lawes, with a more ſhameles tyranny and vncharitable crueltye then before. For if they nothyng ſtay theyr bloudy malice towardes ſuch as ſo wyllyngly ſubmyt them ſelues vnto theyr mercyes: what fauour may the faythfull and conſtante profeſſours of Chriſt loke for at theyr handes? I myght here alſo aſke of them how they follow the pityful and louyng admonition, (or rather precept) of our Sauiour Chriſt (whoſe true and onely Churche they ſo ſtoutly bragge to bee) who in the 17. chapter of S. Luke ſaith: *Thoughe thy brother ſinne agaynſt thee ſeuen tymes in a day, and ſeuen tymes in a day turne to thee,* ſaying, *it repenteth me: thou ſhalt forgeue him.* But what go I about to allure thẽ vnto the folowyng of the rule and counſaile of hym, vnto whoſe word and Goſpell they ſeme moſt open and vtter enemies? Wherfore not purpoſing to ſtay any lõger therupon, I will leaue them vnto the ryghteous reuengement of the Lord.

Submiſſion would not be taken of the charitable catholiques.

No mercy in the popes churche.

As it is the property of Satan euer to malice the proſperous eſtate of the Saintes of God, and true profeſſors of Chriſte: ſo ceaſſeth he not continually to ſturre vp hys wicked members to the effectuall accompliſhyng of that, whiche his enuious nature ſo gredely deſireth: if not alwayes openlye by colour of tyrannycall lawes, yet (at the leaſtwiſe) by ſome ſubtill practiſe of ſecrete murther. Whiche thing doth moſt playnly appeare, not onely in a greate nomber of the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſtes Churche mentioned in this booke, but alſo, ⁊ eſpeciallye in the diſcourſe of this lamentable hyſtory yͤ now I haue in hand, concernyng the ſecret and cruell murderyng of Richard Hunne, whoſe ſtory here conſequẽtly inſueth, decerped and collected partly out of the Regiſters of Lõdon, partly out of a Bill exhibited and denounced in the Parlament houſe.

¶ *The ſtory of Richard Hunne.*

Rich. Hũne martyr.

1514.

There was in the yeare of our Lorde. 1514. one Richard Hunne Marchaunt Taylor, dwellyng within the Citie of London, and freeman of the ſame, who was eſteemed duryng his lyfe, and worthely reputed and takẽ, not onely for a man of true dealyng and good ſubſtaunce, but alſo for a good catholicke man. This Richard Hũne had a child at nourſe in Midleſex in the Pariſh of S. Mary Matfilon, which died: by the occaſiõ wherof, one Thomas Drifielde clerke, beyng perſon of the ſayd Pariſh, ſued the ſayd Richard Hunne in the ſpirituall Court for a bearyng ſheete, whiche the ſayd Thomas Drifield claymed vniuſtly to haue of the ſayd Hunne for a mortuarye for Steuen Hunne, ſonne of the ſayd Richard Hunne: whiche Steuen beyng at nourſe in the ſayd Pariſh, dyed beyng of the age of v. weekes and not aboue. Hunne aunſwered hym agayne, that for aſmuch as the child had no proprietie in the ſheete, he therfore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to haue it. Wherupon the prieſt moued with a couetous deſire, and loth to loſe his pretended ryght, aſcited hym to appeare in the ſpiritual court, there to aunſwere the matter. Whereupon the ſayd Richard Hunne beyng troubled in the ſpirituall Court, was forced to ſeeke counſaile of the learned of the law of this lãd, ⁊ purſued a write of premunire againſt the ſaid Thomas Drifielde, and other his ayders, counſellours, proctours, and adherentes, as by the proceſſe thereof is yet to be ſene. Which, when the reſt of the prieſtly order heard of, greatly diſdaynyng that any lay man ſhould ſo boldly enterpriſe ſuch a matter agaynſt any of them, and fearyng alſo, that if they ſhould now ſuffer this prieſt to be condẽpned at the ſute of Hunne, there would be therby euer after, a libertie opened vnto all others of the laytie to do the lyke with the reſt of the clergye, in ſuch lyke caſes: they ſtraightwayes, both to ſtop this matter, and alſo to bee reuenged of him, for that hee had already done, ſought all meanes they poſſibly coulde, howe to entrap and bryng hym within the daunger of theyr owne cruell lawes: and therupon makyng ſecret and diligent inquiſityon, and ſekyng all corners they could agaynſt hym, at length they found a meanes how to accuſe him of hereſie vnto Richarde Fitziames then Byſhop of London, ⁊ ſo did: Who (deſirous to ſatiſfie the reuengyng and bloudy affectiõ of his Chaplaines) cauſed therupõ, hym to be apprehended ⁊ cõmitted vnto priſon within the Lolards tower at Pauls, ſo that none of his frends might be ſuffred to come to hym. Thus Richarde Hunne beyng clapt in the Lolardes tower, ſhortly after, at the earneſt inſtigatiõ of one Doctour Horſey the Byſhops Chauncelor, (a mã more ready to preferre the clergyes cruell tyranny then the truth of Chriſtes Goſpell) was brought before the Byſhop at hys manour of Fulham, the ſecond day of December, in the yeare before mẽcioned: where within his chappell he examined hym vpõ theſe Articles folowyng, collected againſt him by the ſaid Horſey ⁊ hys complices.

The deſpiteful demeanor of the pope holy catholikes to be noted

Richard Hunne committed to Lollards Tower.

The Articles obiected agaynſt *Richard Hun.*

1. *Firſt, that he had red, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinately defended, agaynſt the lawes of almightie God: that tythes, or paying of tythes was neuer ordeined to be due, ſauing onely by the couetouſnes of Prieſtes.*

2 *Item, that he had red, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinatly defended: that Byſhops and Prieſtes be the Scribes & Phariſaies that did crucifie Chriſt, and dãpned hym to death.*

3. *Item, that he had red, taught, preached, &c: that Biſhops and Prieſtes be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the lawe of God. But catching, rauening, and all thinges taking, and nothing miniſtring neither geuing.*

4 *Item, where and when one Ioanne Baker was detected and abiured of many great hereſies (as it appeareth by her abiuracion) the ſaid Richard Hunne ſaid, publiſhed, taught, preached, and obſtinatly tooke vpon him, ſaying that he would defend her and her opinions, if it coſt him v. hundred markes.*

5. *Item, afterwardes (where and when the ſaid Ioanne Baker after her abiuration, was enioyned open penaunce accordyng to her demerites) the ſayd Richarde Hunne ſaid, publiſhed,* *taughte, and obſtinatly did defende her, ſaying: the Biſhop of London and his officers haue done open wronge to the ſaid Ioanne Baker, in puniſhing her for hereſie: for her ſayinges and opinions be accordyng to the lawes of God: Wherefore the Biſhop and his officers are more worthy to bee puniſhed for hereſie, then ſhe is.*

6 *Item, that the ſaid Richard Hunne hath in his kepyng diuers Engliſhe bookes, prohibited and dampned by the law: as the Apocalips in Engliſhe, Epiſtles and Goſpels in Engliſhe, Wickleffes dampnable workes, and other bookes conteyning infinite errours, in the whiche hee hath bene long tyme accuſtomed to read, teach, and ſtudy dayly.*

This anſwer ſmelleth of forging and crafty packing.

Argumentes & reaſons prouing this anſwer not to be of Rich. Hunne.

Particular aunſwere vnto theſe ſeuerall obiections, in the Regiſter I find none, ſauyng that next vnder thẽ, there is written in hys name with a contrary hand, theſe woordes followyng: *as touchyng theſe Articles, I haue not ſpoken them, as they be here layd: How be it, vnaduiſedly I haue ſpoken wordes ſomewhat ſoundyng to the ſame: for the whiche I am ſorye, and aske God mercy, and ſubmit me vnto my Lordes charitable and fauorable correction.* Which they affirme to be written with Hunnes owne hand: but how lykely to truth that is, let the diſcret wiſedome of the reader indifferẽtly iudge by the whole ſequele of this proces. And further if it were his owne acte: what occaſion then had they ſo cruelly to murther hym as they did? ſeyng he had already ſo willingly confeſſed his faulte, and ſubmitted hym ſelfe vnto the charitable and fauorable correctiõ of the Byſhop (for the whiche euen by theyr owne law, in caſes of moſt heynous hereſie he ought to be agayne receaued, and pardoned) except perhaps they will accompt horrible murther, to be but the Byſhops fauorable correction. Agayne it ſemeth they had very fewe credible wytneſſes to proue certeinly that this was his aunſwere and had writyng: for the Regiſter, or ſome other for hym (appoynted to recorde the ſame) hath certified it, as of heare ſay from others, and not of hys owne proper ſight and knowledge: as the woordes noted in the margent of the booke, adioynyng to the foreſayde aunſwere playnlye do declare, whiche are theſe: Hoc fuit ſcriptum Manu propria Richardi Hune, vt dicitur. Nowe if hee had had any ſure grounde to ſtabliſhe this certificate, I doubt not, but he would (in ſteade of, vt dicitur) haue Regiſtred the names of the aſſiſtauntes at the tyme of his examinacion, (whiche he confeſſeth to be many) as generally they do in all theyr actes, eſpecially in caſes of hereſie, as they terme it. But howe ſcrupulous thoſe good felowes that ſpared not ſo ſhameleſlye to murther hym, would bee to make a lye of hym that was already dead, let (as I ſayd) the indifferent iudgement of the godly wiſe diſcerne.

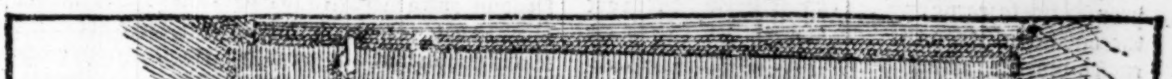
Rich. Hũne ſent backe agayne to Lolardes tower.

Rich. Hũne priuely murdred in the Lolarts tower.

Crafty packing of the murdering Papiſtes.

This examinacion ended, the Byſhop ſent hym backe agayne the ſame day, vnto the Lolardes tower: and then by the appoyntement of Doctour Horſey hys Chauncelour, he was coulerablye committed from the cuſtodye of Charles Ioſeph the Sumner, vnto Iohn Spaldyng the Belringer, a man, by whoſe ſimplenes in wyt (thoughe otherwiſe wicked) the ſubtile Chauncelour thought to bryng his deuiliſh pretended homicide the eaſlier to paſſe: Whiche moſt cruelly he dyd by hys miniſters ſuborned, within two nightes then next folowyng accompliſh: as is plainly proued hereafter by the diligẽt enquiry and finall verdict of the Crowner of Londõ, and his enqueſt, made by order of the lawes in that behalfe limited. But when this vſuall practiſe of the Papiſtes was once accõpliſhed, there wanted then no ſecrete ſhiftes, nor wordly wiles for the crafty colouryng of this miſchief: and therfore ỹ next mornyng after they had in the night committed this murther, Iohn Spaldyng (I doubt not but by the coũſaile of hys maiſter Chauncelour) gat hym ſelfe out of the way, into the Citie, and leauyng the keyes of the priſon with one of hys felowes, willed hym to delyuer them vnto the Sumners boye, whiche accuſtomably did vſe to carye Hunne his meate, and other neceſſaries that he neded: thinkyng that the boye, firſt findyng the priſoner deade,

A deſcription of the Lolardes tower, where M. Rich. Hunne was firſt murthered, then by the ſayd parties hanged, afterward condemned of hereſie, And at laſt burned in Smithfield.



The ſecret conueyance of the murdering of *Richarde Hunne.*

and hanged in ſuch ſorte as they left hym, they might (by hys relation) be thought cleare from any ſuſpition of this matter. Which thyng happened in the begynnyng almoſt as they wiſhed, For the boye the ſame mornyng (beyng the fourth day of December) hauyng the keyes delinered hym, accompanyed with twoo other of the Byſhops Sumners, went about x. of the clocke into the priſon, to ſerue the priſoner, as he was wont to do, and when they

Horſey the Chaunceler, craftely practiſeth.

The death of *Hunne* ſuſpected of the Londiners.

The Crouner ſitteth vpon the death of *Hunne.*

Hereſye layde to *Hunne* after his death.

came vp, they foũde hym hanged with hys face towardes the walle. Wherupon they (aſtoniſhed at this ſight) gaue knowledge therof immediatly vnto the Chauncelour, beyng then in the Church, and watchyng, I ſuppoſe, of purpoſe for ſuche newes: who forthwith gat vnto hym certeyne of his collegues, and went with them into the priſon, to ſee that which hys own wicked conſciẽce knew full well before: as was afterwardes playnly proued: although then he made a fayre face to the contrarie, blaſing abroad among the people, by their officers and ſeruantes, that Hunne had deſperatly hãged him ſelf. Howbeit the people hauyng good experience aſwell of the honeſt life and godly conuerſation of the man: as alſo of the deuiliſhe malice of hys aduerſaries the Preſtes, iudged rather that by theyr procurement hee was ſecretlye murthered. Wherof aroſe great contention: for the Byſhop of London, on the one ſide, takyng his clergies part, affirmed ſtoutly that Hunne had hanged hym ſelfe. The Citizens agayn on the other ſide, vehemẽtly ſuſpectyng ſome ſecret murther, cauſed the Crowner of Londõ (according to law) to chuſe an enqueſte, and to take good viewe of ẏ dead body, & ſo to trye out the truth of the matter. Wherby the Biſhop and his chappleynes were then dryuen to ẏ extremitie of ſhifts: and therfore myndyng by ſome ſubtile ſhewe of Iuſtice to ſtop the mouthes of ẏ people, they determined that in the meane whyle as the enqueſt was occupyed about their charge, the Byſhop ſhould for his part, procede Ex officio, in caſe of hereſie againſt the dead perſon: ſuppoſyng (moſte lyke) that if the partie were ones condempned of hereſie, the enqueſt durſt not then but finde him gilty of his owne death, and ſo clearely acquyte thẽ from all the former ſuſpicion of priuie murther. This determination of theirs they did immediatly put in practiſe in order as foloweth.

D. Hedde promoter of the dead.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitziames. Lond.

Firſt, beſides the Articles before mencioned (whiche they affirme were obiected agaynſt hym in his lyfe tyme) D. Hed did nowe alſo after his death, collect certeyne others out of the prologue of hys Engliſhe Bible remaynyng then in the Byſhops handes: whiche he diligently peruſed, not to learne any good thyng therein, but to get therout ſuch matter as he thought might beſt ſerue their curſed purpoſe: as appeareth by the tenure of the Articles, whiche are theſe.

Newe articles comenſed agaynſt *Hunne*, after his death.

1 *Firſt the ſayd booke dãpneth all holy Cannons, calling them ceremonies and ſtatutes of ſinnefull men and vnconning, and calleth the Pope Sathanas and Antichriſt.*

2 *Item, it dampneth the Popes Pardons, ſaying they be but leaſinges.*

3 *Itẽ, the ſaid booke of Hunne ſayth, that kinges and Lordes called Chriſten in name, and heathen in condicions, defoyle the ſanctuary of God, bringing clarkes full of couetyſe, hereſie, and malice, to ſtoppe Gods law that it cannot be knowen, kept, and frely preached.*

4 *Item, the ſaid booke ſaith, that Lordes and Prelates purſue full cruelly, them that would teache truly and frely the lawe of God: and cheriſhe them that preache ſinfull mens traditions and ſtatutes, by the whiche he meaneth the holy Cannons of Chriſtes Churche.*

5 *Item, that poore men and Idiotes haue the truth of the holy Scripture, more then a thouſand Prelates and religious men, and Clerkes of the ſchole.*

6 *Item, that Chriſten Kinges and Lordes ſet Idoles in Gods houſe, and excite the people to Idolatry.*

7 *Item, that princes, Lordes, and Prelates ſo doing, be worſe then Herode that purſued Chriſt, and worſe then Iewes and heathen men that crucified Chriſt.*

8 *Item, that euery man ſwearyng by our Lady, or any other Sainct or creature, geueth more honour to the Saincts, then to the holy Trinitie, and ſo he ſaith they be Idolaters.*

9 *Item, he ſaith that Saincts ought not to be honoured.*

10 *Item, he dampneth adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to Images, whiche he calleth ſtockes and ſtones.*

11 *Itẽ, he ſaith that the very body of the Lord is not conteined in the Sacrament of the aultar, but that mẽ receauyng it ſhall thereby keepe in minde that Chriſtes fleſhe was wounded and crucified for vs.*

12 *Item, he dampneth the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, with all degrees and faculties in it, as arte, Ciuill, Canon, and Diuinitie, ſaying that they let the true waye to come to the knowledge of the lawes of God, and holy Scripture.*

13 *Item, hee defendeth the tranſlation of the Bible and holye Scripture into the Engliſh tongue, which is prohibited by the lawes of our mother holy Churche.*

An holye mother church, which can not abide the worde of god to be tranſlated.

Theſe Articles thus collected, as alſo the others before ſpecified, they cauſed for a more ſhew of their pretended Iuſtice and innocency, to be openly read the nexte Sonday folowyng, by the preacher at Paules Croſſe, with this proteſtation made before.

The biſhops publication at Paules croſſe againſt *Rich. Hunne.*

> ☞ Maiſters and frendes, for certeine cauſes and conſiderations, I haue in commaundement to rehearſe, ſhewe and publiſhe here vnto you, the Articles of hereſie, vppon whiche Richard Hunne was detected and examined: and alſo other great Articles and damnable pointes and opinions of hereſie conteined in ſome of his bookes be commen to lyght and knowledge, here ready to bee ſhewed.

And therewith all he read the Articles openlye vnto the people, concludyng with theſe wordes:

> And Maiſters, If there be any man deſirous to ſee the ſpecialty of theſe Articles, or doubt whether they be conteined in this booke or not, for ſatiſfying of hys mynde, let hym come to my Lorde of London, and he ſhall ſee it with good will. Moreouer here I counſayle and admoniſh, that if there be any perſones, that of theyr ſimplenes haue bene familiar and acquaynted with the ſayd Richard Hunne in theſe Articles, or haue heard hym read vpon this booke, or any other ſoundyng to hereſie, or haue any lyke bookes their ſelues, let them come vnto my Lord of London betwixt this and Candelmas next and knowledge their fault, & they ſhal be charitably intreated and dealt withal, ſo that both their goodes and honeſty ſhalbe ſaued: and if they wil not come of theyr owne offer, but abyde the proceſſe of the law, then at theyr owne peryll be it, if the rigour of the law be executed agaynſt them.

After whiche open publication and admonition, the Biſhop at ſondry tymes examined diuers of his Prieſtes, and other lay perſons vppon the contentes of both theſe Articles. Among whiche examinates, there was a man ſeruaunt and a mayden of ẏ ſayd Hunnes, who although they had of long tyme dwelt with hym, were not yet able to charge him with any great thyng worthy reprehẽſiõ: no, not in ſuch pointes as the Byſhop chiefly obiected agaynſt hym. But yet the Prieſtes (through whoſe procurement this miſchief was firſt begon) ſpared no whyt ſtoutly & maliciouſly to accuſe hym: ſome in the contẽtes of the firſt Articles, and ſome in the ſecond. Wherfore hauyng nowe (as they thought) ſufficient matter agaynſte hym, they purpoſed ſpedely to procede to hys condemnation. And becauſe they would ſeme to do all thynges formally and by preſcript order, they firſt drew out certeine ſhort & ſummary rules, by the whiche the Byſhop ſhould be directed in this ſolemne ſeſſion: whiche are theſe.

Ex Regiſtro Fitziames. Lond.

Marke the maner of this procedyng.

1. *Firſt, let the Biſhop ſit in his tribunall ſeate, in our Ladyes Chappell.*

2. *Secondly, let him recite the cauſe of his comming, and take notaries to him to enact that ſhalbe there done.*

3. *Thirdly, let hym declare, how vpon Sonday laſt at Paules Croſſe he cauſed to be publiſhed a generall monition, or denuntiation, that all fautours and mainteiners of Richard Hunne, ſhould come in, as by this daye, and ſubmit them ſelues: and let him ſignifie withall, how certain haue come in and haue appeared already.*

4. *Fourthly, let him proteſt and ſay, that if there remayne any yet behinde which haue not appeared according to the former monition and denunciation: yet if they will come and appeare and ſubmit them ſelues, they ſhal be heard and receaued with grace and fauour.*

5. *Fiftely, let the Biſhop or ſome other at his appointement, recite the Articles obiected agaynſte Richard Hunne in the tyme of his life: and then the other Articles likewiſe whiche were out of his great booke of the Bible extracted.*

6. *Sixtly, let the aunſweres and confeſſions of the ſaid Richard Hunne, ſummarily be recited, with the atteſtations made to the ſame Articles. Alſo let his bookes be exhibited, and then*

Thomas Brooke his ſeruaunt be called for.

7. *Seuenthly, let it be openly cryed at the quere doore, that if there be any which will defende the Articles, opinions, bookes, or the memory of the ſaid Richard Hunne, let them come and appeare, and they ſhall be heard, as the lawe in that behalfe ſhall require,*

8. *Eightly, let it bee openly cryed, as in maner before, for ſuch as be receauers, fauourers, defendours, or beleuers of the ſayd Richard Hunne, that all ſuch do appeare and ſubmitte them ſelues to the biſhop, or els he intendeth to procede to the excōmunicatiō of them in generall, according to the exigēce of the law in that behalfe.*

9. *Ninthly, then the Biſhop ſpeaking to the ſtanders by, and to them which ſatte with hym vppon the bench, of the clergie, demaundyng of them, what their iudgemēt and opinion is touchyng the premiſſes, and whether they thinke it conuenient and agreable for him to procede to the ſentēce againſt the ſaid Richard Hunne, in this part to be awarded.*

10. *Tenthly, after their conſent and counſaile geuen, let the Biſhop read out the ſentence.*

11. *Finally, after the ſentence read, let the Biſhop appointe the publication and denunciation of the foreſaid ſentence, to bee read at Paules Croſſe or els where, as to him ſhall ſeme expedient, with a citation likewiſe generally, agaynſt all them that be receauers, fauourers, & beleuers of the ſaid Hun, to geue to vnderſtād why he ought not farther to procede againſt thē. &c.*

A ſolemne proceſſe of Fitziames B. of London againſt Rychard Hun being dead.

Now, accordyng to the tenure of theſe preſcriptes and rules, the Byſhop of London accompanyed with the Byſhops of Durham, and Lyncolne, ſatte in iudgement the xvi. daye of December, then nexte folowyng, within the place by the ſame appointed: adioynyng alſo vnto them as witneſſes of their procedynges, vi. publicke notaryes, his owne Regiſter, and about xxv. Doctours, Abbottes, Priours, and Prieſtes of name, with a great rable of other common annoynted catholiques. Where, after a ſolemne proclamation made, that if there were anye that would defend the opinions and bookes of Rich. Hunne, they ſhould preſently appeare, and bee hard accordyng to lawe, he commaunded all the Articles and obiections agaynſt Hunne openly to be read before the aſſembly: and then perceiuyng that none durſt appeare in his defence, by the aduiſe of his aſſiſtauntes, he pronounced the ſentence definitiue agaynſt the dead carcaſe, condempnyng it of hereſie, and therewith committed the ſame vnto the ſecular power to be by them burned accordyngly. Which ridiculous decrée was as fondly accompliſhed in Smithfielde, the xx. day of the ſame moneth of December (being full xvi. dayes after they had thus horribly murthered hym) to the greate grief and diſdayne of all the people. And becauſe the Byſhop in this ſentence definitiue vſeth a more formall and ample order of wordes, then accuſtomably is vſed in others: and alſo pretendeth full hypocriticallye in the beginnyng (as it were by waye of induction) diuerſe cauſes that moued hym to procede agaynſt the dead carcaſſe: I thought therefore good, here to inſerte the ſame, as a finall concluſion of their craftye colored tragedy: the tenure whereof is this.

The corps of Rychard Hunne burned after hys death.

The ſentence definitiue againſt Rich Hunne after his deth

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente ſacra ſynodo
& generali prelatorum & cleri prouinciæ Cantuarienſis conuocatione,
in eccleſia noſtra Cathedrali ſancti Pauli London,
per prelatos & clerum prouinciæ Cantuarienſis actualiter ibidem
exercita) contigiſſet quod quidam Richardus Hune de parochia
ſanctæ Margaretæ in Brigeſtrete Lōdon. de & ſuper crimine
hereticæ prauitatis notatus & diffamatus extitiſſet: Reuerendiſſimus
in Chriſto Pater & Dominus, Dominus Willielmus
4. *miſeratione diuina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, totius*
Angliæ primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatus, ipſius venerabilis
cœtus & conuocationis Caput & præſidens, ex vehementibus
& violentis (quas contra eūdem Richardum Hune ſuper
heretica prauitate tunc habebat præſumptionibus) contra eundem
5. *Richardum, debitam facere inquiſitionem cupiens, vt (ſi ratione*
hereſis huiuſmodi membrum fuiſſet a corpore Chriſti miſtico
preciſum) ipſum ad caput & corpus (id eſt Chriſtum, ſanctæq;
matris eccleſiæ vnitatem) per ſalutaria monita & condignam
penitentiam reuocaret & reduceret: ne idem Richardus
6. *inter ſimplices & deuotas Chriſti fideliū & catholicorum animas coerrando & Zizania heretica ſeminando, fidelium mentes macularet & inficeret, & ſiniſtris ac peruerſis aſſertionibus & opinibus, a veritatis ſemita & vera fide Chriſtiana aberrare faceret: ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto Reuerendiſſimo Patre & Domino Archiepiſcopo, ſuiſq; coepiſcopis & ſuffraganeis ceteriſq; illius concionis ſiue ſacræ Synodi prælatis ſuper præmiſſis reſponſurum perquiri fecit, & mandauit. Verum idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Vnde dictus Reuerendiſſimus Pater ſuum tam pium, tam ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum ad effectum perducere non potuit. Quod cum nos Richardus permiſſione diuina Londonienſis Epiſcopus, dicti Richardi ordinarius (cui etiam tāquam de hereſi ſuſpectus idem Richardus a multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus extiterat) intellexerimus, non volentes nec audentes prædicta facinora ſilentio & conniuentibus oculis pertranſire & pretermittere, ne ob noſtram negligentiam & torporem ſanguis eius in diſtricto examine, ſiue dei iudicio, de manibus noſtris requiratur) volentes certiorari & informari an ea quæ de ipſo & cōtra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcirentur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortaſſe ouis morbida exiſtens, innocuas animas gregis dominici peſtifera hereſi corrumperet & inficeret, ad informandum animum noſtrum, ipſum coram nobis vocandum, & ſuper præmiſſis diligenter interrogandum & examinandū, omniaq; faciendum quæ ſecundum canonicas ſanctiones erant facienda (eius animam pio & paterno zelantes affectu) deſcendimus & properauimus: contra quem, obiectis iudicialiter, & propoſitis publice in iudicio articulis, de & ſuper quibus nobis (vt præfertur) delatus, detectus & notatus fuerat. Quos per venerabilem virum magiſtrum Iohannem Downam hic publice iam lectos, pro hic lectis & inſertis habemus & haberi volumus: habitiſq; & receptis ad eoſdem articulos reſponſionibus & cōfeſſionibus ſuis. Deinde teſtes fide dignos de & ſuper eiſdem articulis & alijs contra dictū Richardum in debita iuris forma recepimus, admiſimus, & diligenter examinari fecimus: propoſitoq; nuper per nos verbo dei ad crucem diui Pauli, eius deteſtabiles hereſes & errores, in articulis & libris ſuis, quibus vſus eſt, comprehēſas, in eius & ipſorum deteſtationem & damnationem publicantes, atq; publice recitantes, populo in magna multitude ibidē tunc congregato, notificauimus & intimauimus. Quod iſto die contra eūdem Richardum, tanq; contra hæreticum, ad ipſiuſq; condemnationem & excommunicationē in ſpecie, ad aliaq; in hac parte requiſita, necnon ad excommunicationem receptatorum, defenſorum, fautorum & credentium ipſius in genere, iuxta canonicas ſanctiones, ſanctorum patrum decreta, & omnem iuris vigorem & diſpoſitionē, deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionemq; ſiue denunciationem quandam generalem dedimus & fecimus tunc ibidem, videl. quod ſi qui fuerint eius receptatores, defenſores, fautores, & credentes, quod citra hunc diem ad nos & ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ gremiū redirent, & ſe ſubmitterent: quod ſi facerent (de miſericordia omnipotētis dei confiſi) policiti ſumus quod ipſos de erroribus & reatibus ſuis huiuſmodi pœnitentes cum gratia, benignitate miſericordia, & fauore, ad animarum ſuarum ſolatium & ſalutem reciperemus, quodq; honeſtatem eorum pro poſſe ſeruaremus in hac parte. Alioquin, ſi ſic ſponte venire non curarent, ſed iuris ordinarium proceſſum expectarent: ſcirent nos hoc admiſſum aduerſus eos ſeuerius executuros, in quantum iura permitterent. Adueniente itaq; iam die iſto, ad premiſſa & infraſcripta facienda (ſic vt prefertur) per nos prefixo, nos Richardus Epiſcopus antedictus, in negotio inquiſitionis hereticæ prauitatis predictæ legitime procedentes, volenteſq; huiuſmodi negotium fine debito terminare, ſolemne conſilium tam in ſacra theologica facultate, quam iure canonico & Ciuili doctorū, & hunc venerabilem cœtum cleri & populi coram nobis fecimus congregari: et viſis, auditis, intellectis rimatis, ac diligenter & matura deliberatione diſcuſſis meritis & circumſtantijs negocij memorati, actiſq; & actitatis in eodem productis & deductis prædictorum, digeſto & maturo conſilio (cum nullus appareat contradictor ſeu defenſor, qui dicti Richardi opiniones, articulos, & memoriam defendere velit) ſolum deum oculis noſtris proponentes, ad ſententiam noſtram contra eum, eius opiniones & libros, receptatoreſq;, fautores, defenſores & credētes, ſe nobis iuxta tenorem & formam monitionis & denūciationis noſtrarū prædictarum minime ſubmittentes, nec ad gremiū ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ redire curantes, licet quidā ſaluationis*

*filij citra monitionem & denunciationem noſtras prædictas ad nos venerunt, & ſe ſubmiſerunt, quos cum gratia & fauore recepimus, in hac parte ferendam, ſic duximus procedendũ & procedimus in hunc qui ſequitur modum: Quia per acta actitata, inquiſita, deducta, confeſſata, & probata, nec non per vehemẽtes & vrgentes præſumptiones, & indicia perſpicua conperimus luculenter & inuenimus dictum Richardum Hune crimine hereticæ prauitatis multipliciter irretitum, atq́ hereticum fuiſſe & eſſe, nonnullaſq́ opiniones & aſſertiones deteſtabiles & hereſes damnatas, dum in humanis agebat & vitales caperet auras, affirmaſſe, propoſuiſſe, & recitaſſe, libriſq́ ſuſpectis & de iure damnatis, & nonnullas hereſes peſtiferas in ſe cõtinentibus vſum fuiſſe, receptiſq́, admiſſis & examinatis teſtibus per commiſſarios ad hoc deputatos de & ſuper impenitentia finali pertinacia & obitu dicti Richardi Hune: Idcirco nos Richardus Epiſcopus antedictus, ſeruatis ſeruandis (prout in tali negotio poſtulat ordo iuris) dicti Richardi Hune impenitentia ac finali *obſtinatia & pertinacia, per euidẽtia ſigna teſtibus legitimis vehementiſſimis & violentis preſumptionibus comprobatis, prout iam coram nobis legitime extitit facta fides, edicto apud crucem diui Pauli, die dominico vltimo preterito, ad audiendum & per nos ferendum ſententiam, ad hunc diem per nos publice facto & propoſito. Propterea de huius venerabilis cetus (videlicet Reuerendorum patrum, Dominorũ Thomæ Dunelmenſis, & Willihelmi Lyncolnienſis, ac Iohannis Calipolenſis Epiſcoporum, necnon in ſacra theologia, decretorum, & legum doctorum, & cleri, atq́ proborum & venerabilium virorum Domini Maioris, Aldermanorũ & vicecomitũ Ciuitatis London. & populi hic cõgregatorum, & nobis in hac parte aſſidentium & aſſiſtentium, conſenſu aſſenſu & conſilio, eundem Richardum Hune diuerſarum hereſum libris dum vixit vſum fuiſſe, ac notorium & pertinacem impenitentem hereticum fuiſſe, ac in hereſi deceſſiſſe, atq́ conſcientia criminis & metu futuræ ſententiæ animo pertinaci & impenitenti corde indurato obijſſe & deceſſiſſe, præmiſſorũq́ prætextu de iure excõmunicatũ fuiſſe et eſſe, atq́ in excõmunicatione huiuſmodi deceſſiſſe ipſiuſq́ receptatores, fautores, defenſores, & credentes etiam in genere de iure excõmunicatos, atque ſententia maioris excõmunicationis innodatos & inuolutos fuiſſe & eſſe pronunciamus decernimus, & declaramus: ipſum Richardum Hune & libros ſuos hereticos de iure dãnatos, ſuamq́, ac librorum ipſorum memoriam in deteſtationem & damnationem ſceleris & criminis huiuſmodi condemnamus: dictumq́ Richardum Hune (ob premiſſa, eccleſiaſtica carere debere ſepultura ſentenciamus, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, & in foro eccleſiſtico tanq̃ membrũ putridum proijcimus, corpuſque ſuũ & oſſa brachio & poteſtati ſeculari relinquimus & cõmittimus: iuxta & ſecundũ canonicas & legittimas ſãctiones, cõſuetudineſque laudabiles in Regno Angliæ ab antiquo vſitatas & obſeruatas, in opprobrium ſempiternũ & deteſtationem criminis nephandiſſimi predicti, ad eternamque huius rei memoriã, ceterorũque Chriſti fidelium metum atque terrorem, per hanc noſtram ſententiam ſiue finale decretum, quam ſiue quod ferimus & promulgamus in hijs ſcriptis.*

*What finall obſtinacie was in hym, when you ſay before by hys owne hand writyng that he ſubmitted himſelfe to the biſhops fauorable correction?

Notwithſtandyng after all this tragicall ⁊ cruell handlyng of the dead bodye, with their faire ⁊ colerable ſhew of Juſtice, yet the enqueſt no whyt ſtayed their diligent ſearchyng out the true cauſe and meanes of his death: In ſo muche that when they had bene diuers tymes called both before the kynges priuie counſaile (his maieſty him ſelfe beyng ſome tyme preſent) and alſo before the chief iudges and iuſtices of this Realme, and that the matter beyng by them throughly examined and perceaued to be much bolſtered and borne withall by the clergie, was agayne wholy remitted vnto their determination and endyng: they found by good proufe and ſufficient euidence, that Doctour Horſey the Chauncelour, Charles Ioſeph the Sumner, and Iohn Spaldyng the Belrynger had priuilye and maliciouſly committed this murther, and therfore indicted them all thre as wilfull murtherers. How beit throughe the earneſt ſute of the Byſhop of London vnto Cardinall Wolſey (as appeareth by hys letters hereafter mencioned) meanes was found, that the nexte Seſſions of Gayle deliuery, the kyngs Attorney pronoũced the indictement agaynſt D. Horſey to be falſe and vntrue: ⁊ hym not to bee giltie of the murther. Who beyng then thereby deliuered in body, hauyng yet in hym ſelfe a giltie conſcience, gat hym vnto Exceter, and durſte neuer after for ſhame come agayn vnto London. But now that the truth of all this matter may ſeme more manifeſt and playne vnto all mens eyes, here ſhall folowe worde by worde, the whole enquiry and verdict of the enqueſt exhibited by them vnto the Crowner of London, ſo geuen vp and ſigned with his owne hande.

D Horſey Chauncelor, Charles Ioſeph and Spaldyng, murderers of Rychard Hun.

¶ The Verdicte of the Inqueſt.

The verdit of the inqueſt.

The fift and the ſixt day of December, in the ſixt yeare of the reigne of our ſoueraigne Lord kyng Henry the eight, William Barnewell Crowner of London, the day and yeare aboue ſaid, within the warde of Caſtelbaynerd of London aſſembled a queſt, whoſe names afterwarde doo appeare, and hath ſworne them truly to enquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, whiche lately was founde dead in the Lollardes tower within Paules Churche of London: wherupon all we of the Inqueſt together went vp into the ſayd tower, where we founde the body of the ſayd Hunne, hãgyng vpon a ſtaple of yron in a gyrdell of ſilke, with fayre countenaunce, his head fayre kemmed, and his bonet right ſittyng vpon his head, with his eyen and mouth fayre cloſed, without any ſtaryng, gapyng, or frownyng, alſo without any driuelyng or ſpurgyng in any place of his body, wherupon by one aſſẽt all we agreed to take downe the dead body of the ſayde Hunne, and as ſoone as we began to heue the body, it was looſe, whereby by good aduiſement we perceiued that the gyrdell had no knot about the ſtaple, but it was double caſt, and the linkes of an yron chayne whiche did hange on the ſame ſtaple, were layde vpon the ſame gyrdle wherby he dyd hange: Alſo the knot of the gyrdle that went about his neck, ſtode vnder his left eare, whiche cauſed hys head to leane toward hys right ſhoulder. Notwithſtandyng there came out of his noſtrels two ſmale ſtreames of bloud to the quantitie of foure droppes. Saue onely theſe foure droppes of bloud, the face, lippes, chinne, doublet, coller, and ſhyrt of the ſaid Hũne, was cleane from any bloud. Alſo we finde that the ſkynne both of hys necke and throte beneath the gyrdell of ſilke, was freat and faied awaye, with that thyng whiche the murtherers had broken hys necke withall. Alſo the handes of the ſayd Hunne were wrõg in the wriſtes, wherby we perceiued that his handes had bene boũd.

Moreouer we find that within ẏ ſayd priſon was no mean wherby any man might hang himſelf, but only a ſtoole, which ſtole ſtode vpõ a bolſter of a bed, ſo tickle that any mã or beaſt might not touch it ſo litle but it was redy to fal. Wherby we perceiued that it was not poſſible that Hunne might hange him ſelfe the ſtole ſo ſtãding. Alſo all the gyrdle from the ſtaple to his necke, as wel as the part whiche went about his neck, was to litle for his head to come out thereat. Alſo it was not poſſible that the ſoft ſilken girdle ſhould breake his necke or ſkinne beneath the girdle. Alſo we finde in a corner ſomewhat beyonde the place where hee did hange, a greate percell of bloud. Alſo we finde vpon the left ſide of Hunnes Jacket frõ the breſt downeward .ij. great ſtreames of bloud. Alſo within the flappe of the left ſide of his Jacket, we finde a great cluſter of bloud and the Jacket folden downe thereupon: which thyng the ſayd Hunne could neuer fold nor do after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth playnly to vs all that the necke of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of bloud was ſhed before he was hãged. Wherefore all we finde by God and all our conſciences that Richard Hunne was murthered. Alſo wee acquite the ſayd Richard Hunne of his owne death.

Alſo ther was an end of a waxe cãdel, which as John Belringer ſaith, he left in the priſon burnyng with Hunne that ſame Sonday at night that Hunne was murthered, which waxe candel we found ſtickyng vpon the ſtockes fayre put out, about ſeuen or eight foote from the place where Hunne was hanged, whiche candell after our opinion was neuer put out by hym for manye lykelyhodes whiche we haue perceiued. Alſo at the goyng vp of Maiſter Chaũceller into the Lollards tower, we haue good proofe that there lay on the ſtockes a gowne either of murrey or crimoſin in graine, furred with ſhankes. Whoſe gown it was we could neuer proue, neither who bare it away. All we find that Maiſter William Horſey Chanceller to my Lord of London, hath had at hys cõmaundemẽt both the rule and guidyng of the ſayd priſoner. Moreouer, all we finde that the ſayd Maiſter Horſey Chaunceller hath put Charles Joſeph out of his office, as the ſayd Charles hath confeſſed, becauſe he would not deale and vſe the ſayd priſoner ſo cruelly, and do to hym as the Chaunceller would haue had hym to do. Notwithſtandyng the deliueraunce of the keyes to the Chaunceller by Charles on the Saterday at night before Hunnes death, ⁊ Charles ryding out of the towne on that Sonday in the mornyng enſuyng, was but a conuention made betwixte Charles and the Chaũceller for to colour the murther. For the ſame Sonday that Charles roade fourth, he came agayne to the towne at night, and killed Richarde Hunne, as in the depoſitions of Julian Littell, Thomas Chitcheley, Thomas Simondes, and Peter Turney doth appeare.

After colouryng of the murther betwixt Charles and the Chaũceller conſpired, the Chaũceller called to hym one John Spaldyng belringer of Paules, and deliuered to the ſame belrynger the keyes of the Lolardes tower, geuyng to the ſaid belringer a greate charge, ſaying: I charge thee to keepe Hunne more ſtraytely than he hath bene kept, and let hym haue but one meale a day. Moreouer I charge thee, let no body come to him without my lycẽce, neither to bryng hym ſhyrt, cappe, kerchieffe, or any other thyng, but that I ſee it before it come to hym. Alſo before Hunne was caryed to Fulham, the Chaunceller commaũded to be put vpon Hunnes necke a great coller of yron with a great chayne, whiche is to heauy for any man or beaſt to weare, and long to endure.

More.

Proufes of Hunnes death.

Moreouer it is well proued, that before Hunnes death, the ſayd Chaunceller came vp into the ſayd Lollardes tower, and kneeled downe before Hunne, holding vp hys handes to hym, praying him of forgeueneſſe of all that he had done to hym, and muſt do to hym. And on Sonday folowyng, the Chaunceller commaunded the Penitenciary of Paules, to go vp to hym and ſay a Goſpell, and make for hym holy water and holy bread, and geue it to hym, whiche ſo did: and alſo the Chaunceller commaunded that Hunne ſhould haue his dyner. And the ſame dyner tyme Charles boy was ſhut in priſon with Hunne, whiche was neuer ſo before: & after dyner when the Belrynger let out the boy, the Belrynger ſayd to the ſame boy, Come no more hether wt meate for him vntill to morow at noone, for my maiſter Chaunceller hath commaunded that hee ſhall haue but one meale a day: and the ſame night folowing Richard Hunne was murthered: which murder could not haue bene done without conſent and licence of the Chaunceller, and alſo by the wittyng and knowledge of Iohn Spaldyng Belrynger: for there could no man come into the priſon but by the keyes beyng in Iohn Belryngers kepyng. Alſo as by my Lord of Londons booke doth appeare, Iohn Belrynger is a poore innocent man. Wherfore all we do perceyue that thys murther could not bee done, but by the commaundement of the Chaunceller, and by the wyttyng and knowyng of Iohn Belrynger.

Witnes of Charles Ioſeph Summer.

Charles Ioſeph within the tower of London, of his owne free will and vnconſtrayned ſayd, that Maiſter Chaunceller deuiſed and wrote with his owne hand, all ſuch hereſies as were layd to Hunnes charge, recorde Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Paſmer, Richard Gibſon, with many other. Alſo Charles Ioſeph ſayth, that when Richard Hunne was ſlayne, Iohn Belrynger bare vp the ſteire into Lollardes tower a waxe candell, hauyng the keyes of the doores hangyng on his arme, and I Charles went next to hym, & Maiſter Chaunceller came vp laſt: and when all we came vp, we found Hunne lyeng on his bed: and then Maiſter Chaunceller ſayd, lay hands on the theefe, & ſo all we murthered Hunne: and then I Charles put the gyrdell aboute Hunnes necke, and then Iohn Belrynger and I Charles dyd heue vp Hunne, and Maiſter Chaunceller pulled the gyrdell ouer the ſtaple, and ſo Hunne was hanged.

¶ *The depoſition of Iulian Littell late ſeruaunt to Charles Ioſeph*, by her free will vnconſtrayned, the vi. yeare of our ſoueraigne Lord kyng Henry the viii. within the Chapell of our Lady of Bethlem ſhewed to the Inqueſt.

The witnes of Iulian Littell agaynſt Charles Ioſeph.

FIrſt Iulian ſayth, that the Wedneſday at nighte after the death of Richard Hunne, Charles Ioſeph her Maiſter came home to his ſupper: Then Iulian ſayd to him, Maiſter it was tolde me that ye were in priſon. Charles aunſwered, it is mery to tourne the peny: and after ſupper Charles truſſed vp a parcell of his goodes, and with helpe of Iulian bare them into Maiſter Porters houſe to kepe: and that done Charles ſayd to Iulian: Iulian, if thou wilt be ſworne to kepe my counſaile, I will ſhewe thee my minde. Iulian aunſwered ye, if it be neither felonye, nor treaſon: Thē Charles toke a booke out of his purſe, & Iulian ſware to hym therupon: then ſayd Charles to Iulian, I haue deſtroyed Richard Hunne. Alas Maiſter ſayd Iulian, how? he was called an honeſt mā. Charles aunſwered, I put a wyre in his noſe. Alas ſayd Iulian, now be ye caſt away & vndone. Then ſayd Charles: Iulian, I truſt in thee that thou wilt kepe my counſayle: and Iulian aunſwered, ye, but for Gods ſake Maiſter ſhyft for your ſelf: and then Charles ſayd, I had leuer then a hundred pound it were not done: but yͭ is done, can not be vndone. Moreouer Charles ſayd then to Iulian: vpō Sonday whē I rode to my coſine Baringtons houſe, I taryed there & made good chere all day tul it was nyght, & yet before it was midnight I was in London, & had killed Hunne, & vpō yͤ next day I rode thether agayn, & was there at dyner, & ſent for neighbours, and made good chere. Thē Iulian aſked Charles, where ſet you your horſe that night you came to towne, and wherfore came ye not home? Charles aunſwered, I came not home for feare of bewraying: & then Iulian aſked Charles, who was with you at the kylling of Hunne? Charles aunſwered, I will not tell thee: and Iulian ſayth that vpō the Thurſday folowyng, Charles taryed all day in hys houſe with great feare: and vpon Friday folowyng early in the mornyng before day, Charles went forth (as he ſayd, to Paules) and at his commyng in agayne he was in a great fear, ſaying haſtely, get me my horſe, & with great feare and haſt made hym ready to ryde, and bade Maiſter Porters lad, leade his horſe into the fielde by the backeſide: and then Charles put into his ſleue his Maſe or Maſor, with other plate borowed of Maiſter Porter, both gold and ſiluer, but howe much I am not ſure: and Charles went into the fielde after hys horſe, and Iulian brought his bouget after hym. Alſo vpon Friday in Chriſtmaſſe weake folowyng, Charles came home late in the nyght, & brought with hym three Bakers and a Smith of Stratford, and the ſame night they caried out of Charles houſe all hys goodes by the fieldſide to the Bell in Shordyche, and early in the mornyng conueyed it with cartes to Stratford.

Moreouer Iulian ſayth, that the Saterday at night before the death of Hunne, Charles came home, & brought with hym a Gurnard, ſaying, it was for Hunne, and Charles boy telled to Iulian, that there was alſo ordeyned a peece of freſhe Salmon, whiche Iohn Belrynger had.

Alſo Charles ſayd to the ſayd Iulian, were not this vngratious trouble, I could bryng my Lorde of London to the doores of heretickes in London both of mē and women, that been worth a thouſand pounde: But I am afrayde that the vngratious mydwyfe ſhall bewraye vs all.

Alſo Charles ſayd vnto maiſtres Porter in lyke wiſe, and more larger, ſaying, of the beſt in Londō, wherto maiſtres Porter aunſwered, the beſt in London is my Lord Maior: then Charles ſayd, I will not ſkuſe him quite, for that he taketh this matter hote.

Where as Charles Ioſeph ſaith, he lay at Neckehill with a harlot a mans wife, in Baringtons houſe the ſame night, and there abode vntil the morow at eleuen of the clocke, that Richard Hunne was murthered, whereupon he brought before the kynges councell for his purgation the foreſayd baude Baringtons wyfe, and alſo the foreſayd harlot: whiche purgation we haue proued all vntrue, as right largely may appeare, as well by the depoſition of Iulian Littell, as of Thomas Chitcheley Taylor, and of Iohn Symondes, Stationer, with other, as of Robert Iohnſonne, and Peter Turner.

The witnes of Peter Turner.

The witnes of Ioh. Spaldyng hym ſelfe.

To theſe moreouer may be adioyned the depoſition of Thomas Chitcheley Taylor, of Thomas Symondes Stationer, of Robert Iohnſonne and his wife, of Iohn Spalding Belringer: Alſo of Peter Turner ſonne in law of the foreſayd Charles Ioſeph: Who ſayd before to an honeſt woman a waxe chaundelers wife, that before this day vij. night Hūne ſhould haue a miſchieuous death. &c. Alſo of Iohn Enderby Barber, to whom Iohn Spaldyng hym ſelfe declared theſe wordes: That there was ordeined for Hunne ſo greuous penaunce, yͭ when men heare of it, they ſhall haue great meruell thereof. &c. Beſides the depoſitiō moreouer of Alen Creſwell waxe chādelour, and Richard Horſenaile Bailiffe of the ſanctuary towne called Godſture in Eſſex. Whiche teſtimonies and depoſitiōs, as they be manifeſt, ſo for the tediouſnes thereof, I here omitte them, referryng the reader to the former edition of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 395. if any deſire further therin to be informed.

Now leauyng theſe depoſitions, let vs ſteppe further to the letter of the Byſhop of London, writt to the Cardinall, and marke well the effect therof, whiche foloweth in theſe wordes.

¶ *The copie of Richard Filthiames letter, then biſhop of* London, ſent to Cardinall Wolſey.

The letter of the B. of London to Cardinall Wolſey.

I Beſeche your good Lordſhip to ſtand ſo good lord vnto my poore chaunceler now in warde, and endited by an vntrue queſt for the death of Richard Hun, vpon the onely accuſation of Charles Ioſeph, made by payne and duraunce, that by your interceſſion it maye pleaſe the kynges grace to haue the matter duely and ſufficiently examined by indifferent perſones of his diſcrete councell in the preſence of the parties, or there be any more done in the cauſe: and that vpon the innocencie of my ſayd Chunceller declared, it may further pleaſe the kynges grace to awarde a plackard vnto his atturnay, to confeſſe the ſayde enditement to be vntrue, whan the tyme ſhall require it: for aſſured am I, if my Chaunceller be tried by any twelue men in London, they be ſo maliciouſly ſet, In fauorem hereticæ prauitatis that they will caſt and condemne any clerke, though he were as innocēt as Abell. Quare ſi potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates noſtras, et tibi imperpetuum deuincti erimus. Ouer this in moſt humble wyſe I beſech you, yͭ I may haue the kyngs gracious fauour, whom I neuer offēded wyllingly, and that by your good meanes I myght ſpeake wyth his grace and you, and I with al myne, ſhal praye for your proſperous eſtate long to continue.

Your moſt humble Orator. R. L.

Laſtly now remayneth to inferre the ſentence of the queſtmen, whiche foloweth in lyke ſorte to bee ſene and expended, after I haue firſt declared the wordes of yͤ byſhop ſpoken in the Parlament houſe.

¶ *The wordes that the B. of London ſpake before the* Lordes in the Parlament houſe.

MEmorandum, that the biſhop of London ſaid in the parlament houſe, that there was a bill brought to the parlament to make the Iurye that was charged vpon the death of Hun, true men: and ſaid and tooke vpō his conſcience, that they were falſe periured caytifs: & ſaide furthermore to all the Lordes there than being: For the loue of God, looke vp this matter, for if you do not, I dare not keepe myne owne houſe for heretikes: And ſaid yͭ the ſaid Richard Hun hanged him ſelfe, and that it was his own deede, and no mans els. And furthermore ſaid, yͭ there came a man to his houſe (whoſe wife was appeached of hereſie) to ſpeake with him, and he ſaid that he had no minde to ſpeak with the ſame man, which man ſpake and reported to the ſeruāts of the ſame Biſhop, that if his wife would not hold ſtil her opinion, he wold cut her throte wt his owne handes, with other wordes.

¶The ſentence of the inqueſt ſubſcribed by the Crowner.

The ſentence of the Inqueſt.

THe inquiſition intendid and taken at the citie of London, in the pariſh of ſaint Gregorie, in the warde of Baynard Caſtel in London the ſyxt day of December, in the ſixte yeare of the reigne of king Henry the eight, before Thomas Barnewel Crowner of our ſoueraigne lord the king, within the citie of London aforeſayd: Alſo before James Yarford, and John Mondey Shriffes of the ſayd citie, vpon the ſight of the bodie of Richard Hun, late of London Taylour, whiche was founde hanged in the Lollars tower, and by the othe and profe of lawfull men of the ſame warde, and of other three wardes next adioynyng, as it ought to be, after the cuſtome in the citie aforeſayde, to enquire howe, and in what maner wiſe the ſayde Rychard Hun came vnto his death, and vpõ the othe of John Bernard, Thomas Sterte, william warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Alen, wilyam Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickehyll, wylliam Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Buſted, Gylbert Howell, Rychard Gibſon, Chriſtopher Crofton, John God, Rychard Holt, John Paſmere, Edmonde Hudſon, John Aunſell, Rycharde Couper, John Tynie: the which ſayd vpon their othes, that where the ſayd Rychard Hun by the commaundemẽt of Rychard byſhop of London, was enpryſoned and brought to hold in a pryſon of the ſayd byſhops, called Lollars towre, lying in the cathedrall churche of ſaint Paule in London, in the paryſhe of ſaint Gregorie, in the warde of Baynarde Caſtell aforeſayd, william Horſey of London Clerke, otherwyſe called william Hereſie, Chauncelour to Rychard byſhop of London, and one Charles Joſeph, late of London Somner, and John Spaldyng of London, other wyſe called John Belrynger, feloniouſly as felons to our Lord the kyng, with force and armes againſt the peace of our ſoueraigne Lord the kynge, ⁊ dignitie of his crowne, the fourth daye of December, the ſixt yeare of the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lorde aforeſayd, of their great malice, at yͤ paryſhe of ſaint Gregorie aforeſayd, vpon the ſayde Rychard Hun made a fraie, and the ſame Rychard Hun feloniouſly ſtrangeled and ſmodered, and alſo the necke they dyd breake of the ſayde Rycharde Hun, and there feloniouſly ſlewe hym, and murthered hym: and alſo the body of the ſayde Richarde Hun afterwarde the ſame. iiij. daye, yeare, place, paryſhe and warde aforeſaide, with the proper gyrdell of the ſame Rychard Hun of ſylke, black of colour, of the value of. xij. pence, after his death vpon a hoke dryuen into a piece of tymber in the wall of the pryſon aforeſayde, made faſt, and ſo hanged hym againſt the peace of our ſoueraigne Lorde the kynge, and the dignitye of his crowne: and ſo the ſayd Jury hath ſworne vpon the holy Euangeliſt, that the ſayde wylliã Horſey clarcke, Charles Joſeph, and John Spaldyng of their ſet malice then, and there, feloniouſly kylled and murthered the ſayd Rychard Hun, in maner and forme aboueſayde, againſt the peace of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, his crowne ⁊ dignitie.

Rich. Hunne cleared by the Inqueſt. not to haue hanged him ſelfe.

¶Subſcribed in this manner:

Thomas Barnewell, Crowner of the
citie of London.

The Parlament iudging with Richard Hunne.

The practyſe of Cardinall Wolſey for his clergie men.

After that the xxiiij. had geuen vp their verdict ſealed and ſigned with the Crowners ſeale, the cauſe was then brought into yͤ Parlament houſe, where the truth was layd ſo plaine before all mens faces, ⁊ the facte ſo notorious, that immediatly certeine of the bloudy murderers were committed to priſon, and ſhould no doubt haue ſuffered that they deſerued, had not the Cardinall by hys authoritie practiſed for his catholicke children, at the ſute of the Byſhop of London. Wherupon yͤ chaunceler by yͤ kynges pardon and ſecret ſhiftyng, rather then by Gods pardon and his deſeruyng eſcaped, and went as is ſayd to Exeter. ⁊c. Neuertheleſſe thoughe iuſtice tooke no place, where fauour did ſaue, yet becauſe the innocent cauſe of Hunne ſhould take no wrong, yͤ Parlament became ſuters vnto the kynges maieſtye, that wheras the goods of the ſayd Hunne were confiſcate into the kyngs handes, that it would pleaſe his grace to make reſtitutiõ of all the ſayd goods vnto the children of the ſayd Hunne: vpon whiche motion the king of his gracious diſpoſition did not onely geue all yͤ foreſayd goods vnto the foreſaid children vnder his broad ſeale yet to be ſene, but alſo did ſend out hys warrantes (which hereafter ſhall folow) to thoſe yͤ were the cruell murderers, cõmaundyng thẽ vpõ his hygh diſpleaſure to redeliuer all yͤ ſaid goods, ⁊ make reſtitution for the death of the ſayd Richard Hunne: all whiche goodes came to the ſumme of xv. hundreth poundes ſterlyng, beſide his plate and other iewels.

¶The tenure of the kinges letter in the behalfe of Richard Hunne.

The kings letter for the reſtitution of Hunnes goods.

TRuſtye and welbeloued we grete you well: whereas by the complaynte to vs made aſwell as alſo in our high court of Parlament, on the behalfe ⁊ partie of Roger whapplot of our Citie of London Draper, ⁊ Margarete hys wyfe late yͤ daughter of Richard Hunne. And wheras you were indicted by our lawes of, and for the death of the ſayd Richard Hunne, the ſayd murder cruelly committed by you lyke, as by our recordes more at large playnly it doth appeare, about the v. day of Decẽber, in the vi. yeare of our reigne, the ſame we abhorre, neuertheles wee of our eſpeciall grace, certaine ſcience ⁊ mere motion, pardoned you vpon certaine conſiderations vs mouyng for the entent that the goodes of the ſayd Richard Hunne, the adminiſtratiõ of them were committed to yͤ ſayd Roger whapplot, we then ſuppoſed ⁊ entended your amendement, and reſtitution to be made by you to the enfantes the childrẽ of the ſayd Richarde Hunne, aſwell for his death as for his goods, embeſeled, waſted and conſumed by your tyranny and cruell acte ſo committed, the ſame beyng of no litle value, and as hetherto ye haue made no recompence, accordyng to our lawes, as myght ſtand with equitie, Juſtice, right, and good conſcience, and for this cauſe due ſatiſfaction ought to be made by our lawes: wherfore we will and exhorte, and otherwiſe charge and commaunde you, by the tenure of this, our eſpeciall letters, that ye ſatiſfie and recompence the ſayd Roger whapplot, and the ſayd Margarete hys wife, accordyng to our lawes in this cauſe, as it may ſtand with right ⁊ good conſcience, els otherwyſe at your farther perill, ſo yͭ they ſhall haue no cauſe to returne vnto vs, for their farther remedy, eftſones in this behalfe, as ye in the ſame tender to auoyde our hyghe diſpleaſure: otherwiſe that ye vpon the ſight hereof, to ſet all excuſes a part, and to repayre vnto our preſence, at whiche your hether commyng you ſhalbe farther aduertiſed of our mynde.

From our maner. ⁊c.

¶Defence of Richard Hunne, agaynſt Sir Thomas More and Alen Cope.

Defence of Richard Hunne.

I Doubt not but by theſe premiſſes thou haſt (Chriſtian reader) ſufficiently to vnderſtand the whole diſcourſe and ſtory of Richard Hunne from toppe to toe. Firſt how he came in trouble for denying the bearyng ſheete of hys young infant departed, then how hee was forced, for ſuccour of hym ſelfe, to ſue a premunire: And therupõ what conſpiracie of the clergie was wrought agaynſte hym, what ſnares were layd, what fetches were practiſed, and Articles deuiſed, to ſnarle hym in the trappe of hereſie, and ſo to impriſon hym. Furthermore beyng in priſon, how he was ſecretly murdered, after his murder hanged, after hys hangyng condemned, after his condẽnation burned: and after hys burnyng laſtly how hys death was enquired by yͤ Crowner, ⁊ cleared by acquitalle of yͤ Inqueſt. Moreouer how the caſe was brought into yͤ Parlament, ⁊ by yͤ Parlament the kinges precept obtayned for reſtitution of hys goods. The debatyng of whiche tragicall and tumultuous ſtory with all the braunches, and particular euidences of the ſame, taken out as well of the publique actes, as of the Byſhops regiſters, ⁊ ſpeciall recordes, remainyng in the cuſtody of Duſtan Whapplot the ſonne of yͤ daughter of the ſayd Richard Hunne, there to be ſene, I thought here to vnwrappe ⁊ diſcouer ſo much the more, for iij. eſpeciall purpoſes.

Ex publicis actis. Ex archiuis et Regiſt. Lond.

Three purpoſes conſidered.

1. Firſt, as is requiſite, for teſtimonie and witnes of truth falſely ſlaundered, of Innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the partie cruelly oppreſſed.

2. The ſecond cauſe moueth me, for Syr Tho. Mores Dialogues, wherin he dalyeth out the matter, thinking to ieſt poore ſimple truth out of countenaunce.

3. The third cauſe which conſtreyneth me be yͤ Dialogues of Alanus Copus, whiche two, the one in Engliſh, the other in Latine, raylyng and barkyng agaynſt Rich. Hunne, do doublewiſe charge hym, both to be an here-

ticque, and alſo a deſperate homicide of hym ſelf: Which as is falſe in the one; ſo is to be found as vntrue in ỹ other, if ſimple truth, whiche hath few frendes, and many tymes cõmeth in crafty handling, might freely come in indifferent hearyng. Wherefore as I haue hetherto deſcribed the order and maner of his handlyng with the circũſtances thereof, in playne and naked narration of ſtory, ſimplely layd out before all mẽs faces: ſo ſomethyng here to intermit, in the defenſe as well of his oppreſſed cauſe, as alſo in diſcharge of me ſelf, I will now compendiouſly aunſwere to both theſe foreſayd aduerſaries, ſtopping, as it were, with one buſhe two gappes, and the mouthes alſo, if I can, of them both together. And firſt agaynſt Syr Thomas More, albeit in degree worſhypful, in place ſuperiour, in wytt and learnyng ſingular (if hys iudgement in Chriſtes matters had bene correſpondent to the ſame) otherwiſe beyng a man with many worthy ornamentes beautified, yet beyng but a mã, and one mã, I lay and obiect agaynſt the perſon of him, the perſons & cenſures of xiiij. queſtmen, the depoſition of ſo many Iurates, the iudgement of the Crowner, the approbatiõ of the Parleament, and laſtly ỹ kynges Bill aſſigned for reſtitution of hys goodes, with his owne broad ſeale confirmed. &c. And thus much to the perſon and credite of Syr Thomas More.

Aunſwere for Rich. Hunne agaynſt Syr Thomas More knyght.

Syr Tho. More hauing many good vertues, but one great vice.

The perſon of Syr Thomas More coũtreuayled.

Now as touchyng hys reaſons, wheras he cõming in with a ſimune ſlãme for a horſe mylne, or a mylne horſe (in hys owne termes I ſpeake) thinketh it probatiõ good ynough becauſe hee could not ſee hym taken by the ſleue, which murdered Hunne: agaynſt theſe reaſons vnreaſonable of hys, I allege all the euidences and demonſtrations of the hyſtorie aboue prefixed, to bee conſidered, and of all indifferent men to be peaſed.

The reaſons of Syr Thomas More refuted.

Firſt, how he was found hangyng, with his countenance fayre, with his beard and head fayre kemmed, hys bonet ryght ſet on hys head, with hys eyen and mouth fayre cloſed, without any dryuelyng or ſpurgyng. His body beyng take downe was found looſe, (whiche by hangyng could not be) his necke brokẽ, and the ſkynne therof beneath the throte where the gyrdle went, frette and faced awaye, his gyrdle notwithſtandyng beyng of ſilke, and ſo double caſt about the ſtaple, that the ſpace of the gyrdle betwene the ſtaple and his necke, with the reſidue alſo whiche went about hys necke, was not ſufficient for his head to come out. His handes moreouer wrõg in the wriſtes, hys face, lyppes, chinne, doublet, and ſhyrt coller vnſtayned with any bloud: when as notwithſtandyng in a maner ſomewhat beyond the place, where he did hãg, a great quantitie of bloud was found. Alſo where as ỹ ſtaple, wheron he hãged, was ſo, ỹ he coulde not clym therto, without ſome meane, there was a ſtoole ſet vp vpon ỹ bolſter of a bed ſo tickle, ỹ with the leaſt touch in ỹ world it was ready to fall. And how was it poſſible that Hunne might hang him ſelfe vppon that ſtaple, the ſtole ſo ſtandyng? Beſides ỹ confeſſiõ moreouer of Charles Ioſephs owne mouth to Iulian Littell, of Robert Iohnſonne, Iohn Spaldyng the Belrynger, Peter Turner, & others. All whiche teſtimonyes and declarations beyng ſo clere, & vndeniable, may ſuffice (I truſt) any indifferent mã, to ſee where ỹ truth of this caſe doth ſtand: Onles M. More beyng a gentleman of Vtopia, perauenture after ſome ſtraunge guyſe of that countrey, vſeth to carye hys eyes not in hys head, but in hys affectiõ, not ſeyng, but where he liketh: nor beleuyng, but what hym lyſteth.

The circumſtances of Hunnes hanging conſidered.

Vtopia Mori.

Finally where Syr Thomas More ſpeakyng of hym ſelfe, ſo concludeth, that he hearyng in the matter, what well might be ſayd, yet could not finde contrary, but Hunne to bee giltie of hys owne death: ſo in as many wordes to aunſwere hym agayne, I peruſing and ſearchyng in the ſtory of Richard Hunne, what may well be ſearched, can not but meruell with me ſelfe, either with what darkenes the eyes of M. More be dared, not to ſee, that is ſo playne, or els with what conſcience he would diſſemble, that ſhame can not deny. And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Syr Thomas More.

Thyrdly touching ỹ Dialogues of Alen Cope, which had rather the Byſhops Chauncelour and officers to be recounted among theeues and murderers, then Hunne to be numbered among the Martyrs, I haue herein not much to ſay, becauſe hym ſelfe ſayth but litle: and if he had ſayd leſſe, onles hys ground were better, it had made as litle matter. But forſomuch as he ſaying not much, ſendeth vs to ſeke more, in More: ſo with lyke breuitie againe I may ſend him to William Tyndall, to ſhape him an aunſwere. Yet notwithſtanding, leaſt Cope in ſaying ſomethyng, ſhould thinke Hunnes innocent cauſe to lacke ſome frendes, whiche will not, or dare not aduenture in defence of truth, ſomewhat I will aunſwere in his behalfe.

Aunſwere to *Alanus Copus* for Richard Hunne.

And firſt touchyng this murder of Hunne not to bee his owne wilfull acte, but the dede of others: beſides the demonſtrations aboue premiſed to Syr Thomas More, now to M. Cope, if I had no other euidẽces, but onely theſe two, I would require no more: That is, his cappe found ſo ſtreyght ſtandyng vpon his head, and the ſtoole ſo tottering vnder his feete. For how is it, I will not ſay, like, but how is it poſſible, for a man to hang hym ſelf in a ſilken gyrdell double caſt about a ſtaple, in ſuch ſhortnes, that neither the ſpace of the knot could well cõpaſſe his head about, and yet hauing his cappe ſo ſtreight ſet vpon hys head, as his was?

Hunne murthered not by hym ſelfe, but by others.

Not poſſible that Hunne ſo hanging ſhould hange him ſelfe.

Agayne howe is it poſſible, or can it be imagined, for him to hange hym ſelfe, clymyng vp by a ſtoole, which had no ſtay for him to ſtand vpõ, but ſtode ſo tickle ỹ if he had touched ỹ ſame neuer ſo litle, it muſt nedes haue fallen?

But Cope beyng ſomethyng more prouident in this matter, ſemeth to excede not all together ſo farre as doth M. More. For he vnderſtandyng the caſe to bee ambiguous and doubtfull, ſo leaueth it in ſuſpenſe, neither determinyng that Hunne did hange hym ſelfe, and yet not admittyng, that hee dyed a Martyr, no more then they whiche are quelled by theeues and murderers in hygh way ſides. Well, be it ſo, as Cope doth argue, that they whiche dye by the handes of felons and murderers in theuiſhe wayes, be no Martyrs, yet notwithſtandyng this his owne ſimilitude comparyng the Byſhops Chauncelour & officers to theeues and murderers, doth graunt at leaſt that Hunne dyed a true man, although no Martyr. Now if the cauſe be it, and not the paine, that maketh a Martyr, in ponderyng ỹ cauſe why Hunne was ſlayne, we ſhall finde it not altogether lyke to the cauſe of them, which periſh by theeues and robbers. For ſuch commonly becauſe of their goodes, and for ſome worldly gayn to to be ſought by their death, are made away, & beyng true mẽ may perauenture haue the reward, although not the name of Martyrs: Where as this mans death beyng wrought neither for money, nor any ſuch temporall lucre to redound to hys oppreſſors, as it hath an other cauſe, ſo may it haue an other name, & deſerue to be called by the name of Martyrdome. Like as Abell being ſlayne by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religiõ articulate agaynſt him, but of ſpite onely and of malice was made away, yet notwithſtãdyng is iuſtly nũbred among ỹ Martyrs; ſo what let to ỹ contrary, but that Hunne alſo with hym may be rekened in the ſame ſocietie, ſeing the cauſe wherfore they both did ſuffer, procedeth together out of one fountaine? And what moreouer if a man ſhould call Naboth (who for holdyng hys ryght inheritaunce was ſlayne) a Martyr, what great iniurie ſhould he do either to the name, or cauſe of the perſon, worthy to be carped? Agaynſt Tho. Becket ye knowe M. Cope no ſpeciall Article of faith was laid, wherfore he died. And why then do you beſtow vpon hym ſo deuoutly ỹ title of a Martyr, for withholdyng that from the kyng, whiche by the lawe of God, & of ỹ realme dyd belong vnto hym: & can not ſuffer Hunne to be titled for a Martyr, dyeng in hys own right by the handes of ſpirituall theeues and homicides, as you your ſelf do terme thẽ? But what do I ſtrayne my trauail any further, to proue Hunne a Martyr, when as Copes owne confeſſion doth importe no leſſe, though I ſayd no-

Cope denyeth Rich. Hunne to dye a Martyr.

The cauſe, not the payne maketh a Martyr.

The cauſe of Abels death and of Hunnes compared.

Cope. Dial. 6. pag 847.

Cope. ibid.

thyng. For what if I ſhould take no more, but hys owne very wordes and ſay, that hée was knowen to bée an heretique, as Cope doth affirme? what could I ſay more, ſeing he died for there hereſie, to proue hym to dye a Martyr? For to dye an heretique with the Papiſtes, what is it els (to ſay truth) but to dye with God a Martyr?

But how ſoeuer it pleaſeth either Syr Thomas More to ieſte, or Alen Cope to ſkolde out yͤ matter, and to ſtile Richard Hunne, for a knowē & deſperate heretique: yet to all true godly diſpoſed mē, Hunne may well be knowē to be a vertuous and godly perſō: no heretique, but faithful & ſound, ſaue yͭ onely he ſemed rather halfe a Papiſt: at leaſt no full Proteſtant, for that hee reſorted dayly to Maſſe, and alſo had his beades in priſon with hym, after the catholique maner: albeit hee was ſomewhat inclyning (as may appeare) toward the goſpell. And if yͤ name of a Martyr bee thought to good for hym: yet I truſt M. Cope will ſtand ſo good maiſter to him, to let hym at leaſt to be a Martyrs felowe. But what now if I go further with maiſter Cope, and name Richard Hunne not onely for a Martyr but alſo commend hym for a double Martyr? Certes as I ſuppoſe, in ſo ſaying I ſhould affirme nothyng leſſe then truth, nor any thyng more, then truely may be ſaid, and iuſtly proued. But to geue and graunt this contention vnto the aduerſary, whiche notwithſtandyng might be eaſely proued: let vs ſée nowe the proofes of M. Cope, how he argueth that Rich. Hunne is no Martyr: becauſe, ſaith he, true men being killed in hye wayes by théeues and murtherers, are not therfore to be counted Martyrs. &c. And was there nothing els in the cauſe of Hunne, but as is in true men kylled by théeues & murderers? They that are killed by théeues and murderers, are killed for ſome pray, or money about thē. And what praye or profite was in the death of Hunne let vs ſée, to redound to them, whiche oppreſſed him? If it were the mortuary, or the bearing cloth, that was a ſmal thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the premunire, the daūger therof perteined to the prieſt, and not to them. If they feared leſte the example therof once begonne, ſhould afterward redounde to yͤ preiudice of the whole Church, then was the cauſe of his death not priuate, but publike tendyng to yͤ whole Church & clergie of Rome: and ſo is his death not altogether like to the death of thē, which for priuate reſpectes are killed of théeues and murderers.

Hunne no full Proteſtant.

But he was an heretique ſaith Cope. By the ſame reaſon, that Cope taketh hym for an heretique, I take hym the more to be accepted for a Martyr. For by that waye, which they call hereſie, the lyuing God is ſerued, by no way better. And if he were an heretique, why then dyd they not procede agaynſt hym as an heretique while he was a lyue? when they had him at Fulham before them, if they had bene ſure to entrappe him in that ſnare, why did they not take their aduauntage, when they might wͭ leſt ieoperdy? why did they not procede & condemne him for an heretique? why made they ſuch haſt to preuent his death before? why did they not tarye yͤ ſentence of yͤ law, hauing yͤ law in their owne handes? But belike they perceaued yͭ he could not be proued an heretique while he liued: and therefore thought it beſt to make him away priuely, and to ſtoppe yͤ premunire, & afterward to ſtoppe yͤ purſuyt of his death, by makyng him an hereticke: And therefore were articles deuiſed by yͤ Chauncelour (as is proued by witnes of Charles Ioſeph & other, pag. 935.) agaynſt hym & he condēned for an heretique, & all hys fauourers alſo, whoſoeuer durſt ſtyrre to take his part, & ſo therupon was cōmitted to yͤ ſecular power, & burned. Wherin they did hym double wrōg, firſt in that they burned hym for an heretique, hauyng before ſubmitted hym ſelf to their fauorable correction, as it appeareth yet in yͤ biſhops Regiſters by his own hand, as it is their pretended: whiche was agaynſt their owne lawes. Agayne, if he had not ſubmitted hym at that time, yet they did him wronge to burne hym, before they knewe and heard hym ſpeake (as Tyndall ſayth) whether he would recant or no. And yet admitte, that he was condemned and burned for an heretique, yet to be killed and burned of them, an heretique, yͭ taketh not frō him yͤ name of a Martyr, but rather geueth him to be a double Martyr. But Cope yet procedyng in hys hoate coler agaynſt Rich. Hūne, after he hath made him firſt no Martyr, & then an heretike, thirdly he now maketh hym alſo a murderer of hym ſelf, and ſayth that no other man was any parte of his death, but onely his owne handes, and that either for indignation and anger, or for deſperation, or for ſome cauſe, hée knoweth not what. And in his epilogus to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameles, who in Quéene Maries tyme, in lyke ſorte went about to hange him ſelf, had he not ben taken in the maner and reſcued. Furthermore, as touchyng the Chauncelour, he argueth that there was no cauſe, why he ſhould attempt any ſuch violence againſt hym, both for his age, for his dignitie, for his learnyng, and for the greatnes of hys owne perill whiche might enſue thereof. Who if he had maligned the man, and had béen ſo diſpoſed to worke his deſtruction, had meanes otherwiſe without daunger, to bryng that about, hauyng hym within his daunger conuicte and faſt tyed for hereſie. Wherunto I aūſwere, that to all this matter, ſufficient hath bene aunſwered by the ſtory it ſelfe of his death, aboue ſpecified. Where by the maner of his death, by circumſtāces of hys handlyng, and hangyng, by his necke broke, by his body looſe, by his ſkynne fretted, by his wryſtes wrong, by his gyrdle in ſuch ſhortnes double caſt about the ſtaple, by his cappe right vpon his head, by his heare kemmed, by his eyes cloſed, by the cake of bloud found in the floore, by his ſhyrt coller, doblet, Iacket, and other outward partes of hys garmentes without droppe of bloud vnſpotted, by the ſtoole ſo ſtandyng vpon the bolſter, by the Chauncelours murrey gowne found the day after vpon the ſtockes, the waxe candle fayre put out: furthermore by the verdict of the enqueſt, by the atteſtation of the witneſſes ſworne, by the Crowners iudgemēt, by yͤ aſſent of the Parlament, by the kinges letters aſſigned, and broad ſeale for reſtitutiō of his goods: and finally by the confeſſion of yͤ parties them ſelues whiche murdered him. &c. and yet thinketh Cope to make men ſuch fooles, hauyng their v. wyttes to ſwéene yet that Hunne did hang hym ſelfe, after ſo many demonſtracions and euidences to the contrary, as in euery part of this ſtory may appeare. And though it were as it was vnlike, & hard for a mā to beleue, that D. Horſey a man of ſuch age, dignitie and learnyng would ſo much forget hym ſelfe to attempte ſuch a vilanie, yet ſo great is the deuill ſometymes with man (where God permitteth) that hee worketh greater thynges then this and more vncredible. For who would haue thought it lyke, that Cain would euer haue killed Abell his owne naturall brother? whiche was more then a Byſhops Chauncelour to kill a Citizen: yet ſo hee did. And where Cope pretendeth the cauſes of anger, and deſperation wherby Hunne did hang him ſelfe: how is it like, or who did euer heare, a man beyng in ſuch extremitie of deſperation to ſtand firſt trymmyng him ſelfe, and kemmyng hys head, before hee go to hange hym ſelfe? No leſſe credite is alſo to be geuen to that which foloweth in the ſame Cope, where hee ſayth, that Richarde Hunne beyng in priſon, was conuicte of hereſie. By the whiche worde conuicte, if he meane that Hunne was proued an hereticke, that is falſe, for that he beyng at Fulham examined vpon certeine Articles, both denyed the articles to be true, as they were obiected, & alſo if they were true, yet he ſubmitted hym ſelfe to their fauorable correction, and therfore not ſtandyng obſtinatly in the ſame could not bee proued an heretique. And if by his terme conuict, he meane that he was by ſentēce caſt, ſo was Hunne neuer caſt by any ſentence for an heretique ſo long as hee lyued, but after his death, when he could nothing aūſwere for him ſelfe. And becauſe this vntruth ſhould not go without hys felow, ſée how he hudleth vp one falſe narration in yͤ necke of an other: affirming moreouer that Hunne was caſt in priſon, before he entred his ſuyt of premunire agaynſt the Prieſt. Whiche is vtterly falſe and vntrue, both diſ

The cauſe of Hunnes ſecret murther diſcuſſed.

Craftye practiſe.

Hunne had double wrong.

Copes reaſons why Hunne ſhoulde hange hym ſelfe.

Copes reaſons aunſwered.

Proofes that Hūne dyd not hange hym ſelfe.

Manifeſt vntruth in Cope.

An other vntruth noted in Cope.

An other vntruth noted in Cope.

Cope hudleth out vntruthes.

greyng to other ſtories, and alſo refuted by the wordes of Sir Thomas More his owne author, who reporteth that Hunne (in ſuyng his premunire agaynſt the Prieſt) beyng ſet vppon a glorye of victorye, made his boaſt among his frendes that he truſted to haue the matter long ſpokē of, and to bee called Hunnes caſe. Hæc Morus. Wherby it appeareth, that Hūne was not then in priſon clapte vp for hereſie: but was abroad ſeeking counſaile among the lawyers, and boaſtyng amongeſt hys frendes, as writeth More. lib. 3. Dial.

Tho. Morus. Dial. lib. 3.

Another vntruth in Cope noted.

After this heape of vntruthes aboue paſſed, adde yet further an other copie of Copes falſe dealing: who ſeking all corners, & euery heare how to pycke matter againſt my former hiſtory, chargeth me wt arrogancie, as though I tooke ſo hyeghly vppon me to vndoe and derogate the kynges actes and iudgementes in the acquitall of D. Horſey. If it ſo pleaſed the kyng to acquitte D. Horſey, by his gracious pardon, I am not agaynſt it, neither doe I denye but the kyng ſo did, neither doe I ſaye, nor euer did, but the kyng of his ſupereminent prerogatiue, maye ſo doe: and wherein then doe I vnryppe or looſe the kynges actes here done and concluded? But if the queſtion be this, whether D. Horſey, with hys coniurates did kill Richard Hunne or no: then do I ſay, that the pardon of the kyng doth not take away the veritie of the crime cōmitted, but remoueth away the penaltie of the law deſerued: and ſo if the life of them was ſaued by way of pardon (as M. More hym ſelfe ſemeth not to denye) then was it not throughe their innocencie claimyng iuſtice, that they eſcaped, but through petition ſtandyng in nede of mercy. For what nedeth pardon, where iuſtice abſolueth? yea who ſueth pardon, but in ſo doyng muſte yelde hym ſelfe giltye? for pardon neuer commeth lightlye either with God or man, excepte the crime firſte bee confeſſed. Wherefore if they eſcaped by Juſtice, as Cope pretendeth, howe then doth M. More ſay they were ſaued by pardō? And if they eſcaped by pardō, how then doth Cope ſay they were not giltie? And bee it admitted, that the ſentence of the kinges atturney, in the kyngs name did abſolue them as vngiltie, accordyng as ẏ king was then informed by the cardinall & ſute of frēdes: yet afterward ẏ kyng beyng better informed by the Parlament, and the truth better knowen, deteſted and abhorred their facte, and yet continued his pardon vnto them, as by the kynges owne actes and hys broad ſeale appeared, yet remaynyng in recordes to be ſene.

Anſwere to Copes cauillation.

The eſcapyng of Horſey came rather of fauour, then of hys demerites.

And as touchyng my former hiſtories ſet forth in Latine and in Engliſhe, whiche ſpeake firſt of the foreman of the queſt, then of the kynges atturney to be labored with ſome giftes or money: as Cope hath yet proued no vntruth in my ſaying, ſo leſſe cā he find any repugnance or diſagreyng in ẏ ſame. For he that ſpeaketh of bribyng firſt of one perſō, and then afterward of an other, where both might be bribed together, is not cōtrary (I thinke) to him ſelfe, but rather doth comprehend that in the one booke, which he before leueth out in the other, and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, ſeyng ẏ which is ſayd, may be verified in both, as it is no other lyke but in this matter it was. For howe is it otherwiſe lyke or poſſible, but that there muſt needes be founde ſome priuie packyng in this matter, ſeyng after ſuch euidēce found & brought in by ẏ Crowners enqueſt & Jury of xiiij. choſen perſons, after ſo many markes & tokens of the murder ſo cleare and demonſtrable, and layd forth ſo playne to the eyes of all the worlde that no man could denye, or not ſee the ſame: yet throughe the handlyng of the foreſayd Atturney, and of the foreman of the queſt, ẏ murderers were borne out, & cōfeſſed to be no murderers? If ſuch bolſtering out of matters & partialitie were then ſuch a rare caſe in the realme of England in ẏ tyme of Cardinall Wolſey, who then vnder the kyng and in in the kinges name did what he lyſte: then let it ſeme vntrue in my former ſtoryes, that I haue written. And yet the wordes of my ſtory whiche Cope carpeth at ſo much, be not myne, but the wordes of Edward Halle hys owne author. Wherfore if his diſpoſition be ſo ſet, that he muſt nedes be a cenſor of other mens writynges, let hym expoſtulate with Halle, and not with me.

Ex Edw. Halle, in vit. Henr. 8. an. 6.

But I trouble the reader to much in this matter of Richard Hunne, beyng of it ſelfe ſo cleare, that no indifferent iudge can doubt therof. As for wranglers and quarelers, they will neuer be ſatiſfied. Wherefore to returne agayne to the purpoſe of our ſtorye intermitted, in the table aboue, conteinyng the names of them whiche about this tyme of Richard Hunne, were forced to denye and abiure their profeſſed opinions, pag. 927. mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, Iohn Houſhold & other moe, abiuryng about ẏ yeare of our Lorde. 1517. Whoſe vexation & weakenes, although it be pytifull to beholde, yet to conſider the confeſſion of their doctrine in thoſe auncient dayes, it is not vnprofitable. Wherein wee haue to ſee the ſame forme of knowledge and doctrine then taught and plāted in the hartes of our forelders, whiche is nowe publiquely receaued, as well touching ẏ Lordes Sacrament of his body, as alſo other ſpecialties of ſinceritie. And althoughe they lacked then publique authoritie to mainteyne the open preachyng & teachyng of the Goſpell, whiche the Lordes mercyfull grace hath geuen vs nowe: yet in ſecret knowledge and vnderſtandyng, they ſemed then litle or nothyng inferiour to theſe our times of publique reformation: as may appeare by this confeſſion of Elizabeth Stamford here vnder written, whiche onely may ſuffice for example, to vnderſtād what rype knowledge of Gods word was thē abroad, although not in Churches publiquely preached, for daunger of the Byſhops, yet in ſecret wiſe taught and receaued of diuers. In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford, who beyng brought and examined before Fitziames Byſhop of London. an. 1517. confeſſed that ſhee was taught by one Thomas Beele, ſome tyme dwelling at Henley, theſe wordes, xi. yeres before: That Chriſt feedeth, and faſte nouriſheth his Churche, with his owne precious body, that is, the bread of lyfe comyng downe from heauen: this is the worthy woorde that is worthely receaued, and ioyned vnto man for to be in one body with hym. Soth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wiſely deeming of the holy ſacrament Chriſtes owne body: this is not receaued by chewyng of teeth, but by hearing of eares and vnderſtandyng with your ſoule, and wiſely workyng therafter. Therfore ſayth S. Paul, I feare me amongſt vs, brethren, that many of vs bee feeble and ſicke, therfore I counſaile vs brethren to riſe and watche, that the great day of dome come not ſodenly vpon vs, as ẏ theefe doth vpō the Marchaunt. Alſo the ſayd Thomas taught and ſhewed her, that the Sacrament of the altare was not the very bodye of Chriſt, but very bread: and that the Sacrament, was the very body of Chriſt put vpon the croſſe, after diuine or myſticall maner. And moreouer that the ſayd Thomas Bele did many tymes and oft teach her this foreſayd leſſon, that ſhe ſhould cōfeſſe her ſinnes to God, and that the Popes pardons and indulgēces were naught worth and profited not, and that worſhippyng of Images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

An. 1517

Elizabeth Stamford.

The teaching of the former tymes to be conſidered.

Thomas Beele.

To this Elizabeth Stamford, may alſo be annexed the doctrine & confeſſion of Ioanne Sampſon, wiſe of Iohn Sampſon Carpentar of Aldermanbury in London: Agaynſt whom beyng cited, and examined before the Byſhop of London, certaine witneſſes were produced: who vpon their othe beyng ſworne, did detect and denounce the ſayd Ioanne Sampſon, in theſe Articles and opinions folowyng.

Ioanne Sampſon.

Articles of Ioanne Sampſon.

Firſt, that ſhee beyng in her labour, what tyme Ioanne Sampſon her predeceſſour, then beyng aliue, was with her, and after the maner then of women, called much vpon the helpe of the virgine Mary, ſhe ſpitting therat, was in ſuch ſort agreaued, that the other partie was compelled to depart the houſe. 1.

Alſo, that ſhe ſpake agaynſt pilgrimage, and the worſhippyng of the bleſſed virgine, and of all ſainctes, affirming that there is none holy but one. 2.

Item, an other tyme in the hearyng of one Margarete 3.

Agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar.

Anworth, when ſhee and other wemen were inuocatyng the bleſſed virgine to helpe in womens labour, ſhe ſtoode agaynſt them, and contumeliouſly ſpake agaynſt the Inuocators.

4. *Item, that ſhe ſpeaking agaynſt the pilgrimage of our Lady of Wilſedone (as ſhe was then called) and of ſaint Sauiour at Barmſey, called the ſaid ſaint ſauiour, Sym ſawyer.*

5. *Item, for hauyng two certeine bookes in Engliſhe, one bigger, and an other leſſer, which ſhe committed to one Iohn Auſted a cooke, whiche bookes in the regiſter be not named.*

6. *Item, that the ſayd Ioanne Sampſon at a ſupper, in the hearyng of certeine men and of a certeine widowe named Ioanne White, ſpake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the alter, ſaying that the prieſtes were Idolaters whiche did lift vp the bread ouer their heades, making the people to worſhip it, and making the people to beleue that it was the Lordes body; and that it was better to eate the altare clothe, if it might be eaten and digeſted as eaſely, as the other.*

Here followeth moreouer the names of diuers other which in the Regiſters be ſpecified to abiure, as

The names of diuers perſons abiured.

William Iacum Carpenter.
Iohn Stradling.
Iohn Newmã Shermã.
Robert Boſhell.
Tho. Edward Dyar.
Richard Dewar.
Rich. Appulby.
Iohn Oſborne.
Robert Roger.
Iohn Eaton.
Iohn Chapman.
Williã Chakon.
Richard Myldnale.
Iohn Hatchot.
Iacob Sturdey.
Tho. Puruall Tayler.
Iohn Bytam.
Rob. Hutton Pynner.
Robert Pope.
Iohn Geeſte of Stratforde.
Iohn Bryan of the paryſhe of S. Steuen.
Iohn Boll.
Richard Weſcotte.
William Croſſe.
George Lawnd Prior of S. Sithe.
Henry Colle.
William Manne.
William Swetwyng.
Iacob Bruſter.
Sabine Manne.
Iohn Spencer.
Patricke Dowdall *aliâs* Capper.
Robert Aleyn.
Iohn Fynche Cooke.
Iohn Southwyke.

Iohn Southwyke.

Agaynſt this Iohn Southwyke laſt named, was laid & obiected, ỳ when one Riuelay cõmyng frõ the Church of the Gray Friers in London, had ſaid to his wife (aſking where he had ben) that he had heard Maſſe, and had ſene hys Lorde God in forme of bread and wyne ouer the Prieſtes head. &c: the foreſayd Iohn Southwyke there preſent aunſwered agayne and ſayd: nay, William thou ſaweſt not thy Lord God: thou ſaweſt but bread, wyne, and the Chalice. And when the ſaid William aunſwered agayne in the ſame wordes as before, ſaying: I truſt verelye that I ſawe my Lorde God in forme of bread and wyne, and this I doubt not: the other replyeng agayne, aunſwered & ſayd, as before: nay I tell thee, thou ſaweſt but onely a figure or Sacrament of him, the whiche is in ſubſtaunce, bread and wine. &c. Thys was in the yeare of our Lord. 1520. In whiche he was compelled to abiure.

Conſent of doctrine.

All theſe aboue named in one key of doctrine and religion, dyd holde and concorde together, agaynſt whom were obiected v. or vi. eſpeciall matters: to witte, for ſpeaking agaynſt worſhipping of ſainctes, agaynſt pilgrimage, agaynſt inuocatiõ of the bleſſed virgine, againſt the ſacrament of the Lordes body, and for hauyng ſcripture bookes in Engliſhe: which bookes eſpecially I finde to be named, as theſe: the booke of the iiij. Euangeliſtes, a booke of the Epiſtles of Paule and Peter, the Epiſtle of ſaincte Iames, a booke of the Apocalyps, and of Antichriſt, of the x. cõmaundementes, and Wickleffes Wicket, with ſuch other lyke.

¶ *Iohn Stilman Martyr.*

An. 1518

Iohn Stilman, Martyr.

IT would aſke a long tractation and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and wemen beſide theſe aboue rehearſed, whiche in thoſe dayes recãted and abiured, about the beginnyng of kyng Henryes reigne, and before: among whõ yet notwithſtãdyng, ſome there were whom the Lord reduced agayne, and made ſtrong in the profeſſion of his truth, and conſtant vnto death: of whiche number one was, Iohn Stilman by name, who about the xxiiij. day of September in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was apprehẽded & brought before Richarde Fitziames then Byſhop of London, at his manour of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithſtandyng his former recantation, othe, & abiuration made about xi. yeares then paſt before Edmund Byſhop of Saliſbury, aſwell for ſpeakyng agaynſt the worſhipping, prayng, and offering vnto Images, as alſo for denying the carnall and corporall preſence in the Sacrament of Chriſtes memoriall: yet ſithens that tyme he had fallen into the ſame opiniõs agayne, and ſo into the daunger of relapſe, and further had hyghly commended and prayſed Iohn Wickleffe, affirmyng that he was a ſaint in heauen, and that hys booke called the Wicket, was good and holy. Soone after whiche examination hee was ſent from thence vnto the Lolardes tower at London, and the xxij. daye of October then next enſuing, was brought openly into the Conſiſtory at Paules, and was there Iudicially examined by Thomas Hed the Byſhops vicar generall, vpon the contentes of theſe Articles folowyng.

Wickliffes Wicket.

Ex Regiſt. Fitziames. Lond.

Articles layd againſt Iohn Stilman.

1. *First I obiect vnto you, that you haue confeſſed before my Lord of London and me D. Hed his vicare generall, that about *xx. yeares paſt, one Steuen Moone of the dioces of Wincheſter (with whom you abode 6. or 7. yeares after) did teach you to beleue that the goyng on pilgremage and worſhipping of Images (as the Lady of Walſingham and others) were not to be vſed. And alſo that afterwardes, one Richard Smarte, who was burned at Salisbury about xiiij. or xv. yeares paſt, did read vnto you Wickleffes wicket, and likewiſe inſtructed you to beleue that the Sacrament of the altare was not the body of Chriſt: all which thinges you haue erroneouſly beleued.*

*Yeares of antiquitie to be noted.

2. *Itẽ, you haue diuers times read the ſaid boke called Wickleffes wicket, and one other booke of the x. commaundements, whiche the ſaid Richard Smarte did geue you, and at the tyme of your firſt apprehenſion, you did hyde them in an olde oke, and did not reuele them vnto the Biſhop of Salisbury, before whõ you were abiured of hereſie about a xi. yeres ſithens: where you promiſed by othe vpon the Euãgeliſts, euer after to beleue and hold as the Chriſten faith taught and preached, and neuer to offende agayne in the ſaid hereſies, or any other, vpon pain of relapſe. And farther you there promiſed to performe all ſuch penaunce as the ſaid Biſhop of Salesbury did enioyne you: who then enioyned you, vpon the like paine, not to departe his dioces without his ſpeciall licence.*

Wickliffes Wicket.

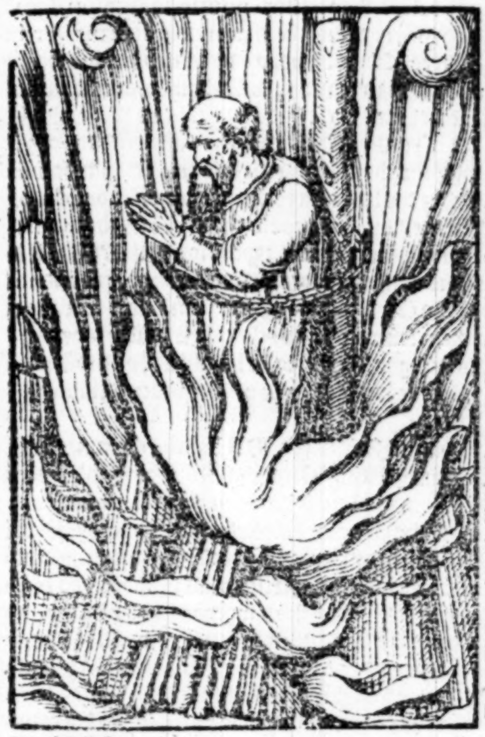
3. *Item, it is euident that you be relapſed, aſwell by your owne confeſſion, as alſo by your dedes, in that about two yeares after your abiuration, you went vnto the ſaid place, where you had hidden your bookes, and then taking them awaye with you, you departed the foreſaid dioces, without the licence of the biſhop, and brought them with you to London: where nowe beyng tached and taken with them vpon great ſuſpicion of hereſie, you are brought vnto the Biſhop of London. By reaſon of whiche your demeanor, you haue ſhewed both your impenitent and diſſembled conuerſion from your errours, & alſo your vnfaithfull abiuration & diſobediẽce vnto the authoritie of our mother holy Church, in that you perfourmed not the penance. In whiche behalfe you be voluntarily periured, and alſo relapſed, in that you departed the ſaid dioces without licence.*

4. *Item, you be not onely (as afore is ſaid) impenitent, diſobedient, voluntarily periured, and relapſed by this your foreſaid hereticall demeanour: but alſo ſithens your laſt attachement vpõ ſuſpicion of hereſie, you haue maliciouſly ſpoken erroneous and dampnable wordes, affirming before my Lord of Londõ your ordinarie & me, iudicially ſitting at Fulham, that you were ſory that euer you did abiure your ſaid opinions, & had not ſuffered then manfully for them: for they were and be good and true, & therfore you will now abide by them, to dye for it. And furthermore you haue ſpoken againſt our holy father the Pope and his authoritie, damnablie ſaying that he is Antichriſt, & not the true ſucceſſour of Peter, or Chriſtes vicare in earth: and that his pardones and indulgences whiche he graunteth in the*

Sacrament of penaunce, are naught, and that you will none of thẽ: And likewiſe that the colledge of Cardinals bee lymmes of the ſaid Antichriſt: and that all other inferiour Prelates and Prieſtes are the Sinagoge of Sathan. And moreouer you ſaid that the doctours of the Churche haue ſubuerted the truth of holy Scripture, expoũding it after their owne mindes, and therfore their workes be naught, and they in hell: but that Wickleffe is a ſaint in heauen, and that the booke called his Wicket, is good, for therin he ſheweth the truth. Alſo, you did wiſh that there were xx. thouſand of your opinion agaynſt vs Scribes & Phariſies, to ſee what you would do for the defẽce of your faith. All which hereſies you did afterwardes erroneouſlie affirme before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and then ſaid that you would abide by them to dye for it: notwithſtanding his earneſt perſuaſions to the contrarie: and therefore for theſe premiſſes you be euidently relapſed, and ought to be committed vnto the ſecular power.

Wickliffes Wicket.

After theſe Articles thus propounded, and his conſtãt perſeueryng in the truth perceaued, D. Hed vicare general, the xxv. daye of Octob. by hys ſentẽce definitiue, dyd condẽne hym as a relapſed heretícke, and ſo deliuered hym the ſame preſent daye, vnto the Shriffes of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.



¶Thomas Man Martyr.

Tho. Man, Martyr.

NExt to Iohn Stilman aboue mencioned, followeth in this bleſſed order of Martyrs, the perſecution and condemnation of Thomas Man. Who the xxix. daye of Marche in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewiſe ben apprehended for the profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, about vi. yeares before, the xiiij. daye of Auguſt. an. 1511. and beyng at that tyme brought before. D. Smith Biſhop of Lyncolne, was by him examined vpõ diuerſe and ſondry Articles: the effect wherof are theſe

The articles of Thomas Man.

1. *First, that he had ſpoken againſt auricular confeſsion, and denied the corporall preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacramẽt of the altare.*

2. *Item, that hee beleued that all holie men of his ſecte were onely Prieſtes.*

3. *Item, that he had affirmed, that the father of heauen was the altare, and the ſecond perſon the Sacrament, and that vpon the Aſcenſion day the Sacrament aſcended vnto the altar, and there abideth ſtill.*

4. *Item, that hee beleued not aright in the Sacrament of extreme vnction.*

5. *Item, that he had called certeine Prieſtes meanely arayed, pilde knaues.*

6. *Item, that hee had ſaid that pulpettes were Prieſtes lying ſtooles.*

7. *Item, that he beleued that Images ought not to be worshipped: and that he neither beleued in the Crucifix, nor yet would worſhip it.*

8. *Item, that he had affirmed, that he heard ſay, the worde of God and God to be all one, and hee that worthely receaueth the worde of God, receaueth God.*

9. *Item, that he had ſaid, that the Popiſhe Churche was not the Churche of God, but a Synagoge: and that holy men of his ſecte were the true Churche of God.*

For theſe and ſuch like matters was hee a long tyme empriſoned, and at laſt, through frailtie & feare of death, was contented to abiure & yeld hym ſelfe vnto the iudgement of the Romiſhe Churche, and therupon was enioyned, not onely to make his open recantation, but alſo frõ thenceforth to remayne as priſoner within the monaſterie of Oſeney beſides Oxford, and ſo to beare a fagot before the firſt croſſe, at the next generall proceſſion within the Vniuerſitie. Howbeit, not long after, the Byſhop hauyng nede of the pore mans helpe in his houſhold buſines, toke him out of the ſayd monaſtery, and placed hym within his owne houſe, vntill his buſines were ended, and then (his turne once serued) he appointed D. Wilcockes his vicare generall, that in his next iudiciall Seſſiõ within ẏ Priorie of Frideſwide at Oxforde, he ſhould aſſigne him to remaine within the ſaid Priorie, & not to departe thence without licence of the Prior for the tyme beyng, vpon payne of relapſe: and vppon the lyke payne hee alſo enioyned hym to weare the ſigne of a Fagot vnder his vttermoſt garment, vntill he were diſpenſed with all, for the ſame. All whiche notwithſtandyng, he (beyng belike, both ſory for his offence in denying the truth, and alſo werye of this ſeruile and priſonlike bondage) bethought him ſelfe howe hee might beſt eſcape their cruell handes, and therfore after a while, ſeyng good oportunitie offered hym, he fled the dioces and iuriſdiction of Lincolne: and ſekyng abroade in other countreis for worke (thereby to ſuſteine his pore lyfe) hee moſt commenly aboade, ſometime in Eſſex, ſometyme in Suffolke: where alſo hee aſſociated and ioyned hym ſelfe vnto ſuch godly profeſſors of Chriſtes goſpell, as he there could heare of. But within fewe yeares after (ſuch is the cruell rage of Sathan and his wicked members, whiche neuer ſuffer the godly long to cõtinue vntroubled) he was agayne accuſed of relapſe, by the enqueſt of the inquiſition of London, and therupon was apprehended and brought vnto Richard Fitziames then Byſhop of London, and the ix. day of February, an. 1518. he was examined by. D. Hed the Byſhops vicare general, within hys pallace at London: where the ſayd Hed iudicially aſſiſted with diuers of his complices, declared firſt vnto Man, that forasmuch as he was ſince his firſt abiuring agayne detected and accuſed by certein credible and honeſt perſons, of the ſame hereſies which he had once before recanted: and farther, (contrarie vnto the order of penaunce enioyned hym by the late Byſhop of Lyncoln) he had departed the Priorie of S. Frideſwyde, and the dioces of Lyncolne, without leaue, either of the Byſhop or Priour: and was now alſo founde within the dioces of London, and that without his badge aſſigned hym by ẏ ſayd byſhops vicar generall: he therfore as Chauncelour and vicare generall vnto the Byſhop of London, deputed for that purpoſe, did then meane to procede agaynſt hym as a relapſe, by order of the eccleſiaſticall lawes in that behalfe prouided: Wherfore he appointed him to appeare agayne in the conſiſtory of Paules, the xij. day of February next after, there to anſwer vnto ſuch Articles, as then ſhould be propounded agaynſt hym. At whiche day and place, the Chauncelour (firſt recityng the cauſes before mencioned, why he dyd then procede agaynſt hym) obiected vnto hym theſe Articles folowyng.

Tho. Man ſent to the monaſtery of Oſney.

Tho. Man ſent to the monaſtery of Frydeſwyde.

Tho. Man fledde out of the monaſtery.

Tho. Man the ſecond tyme apprehended.

The [illegible] of hys [illegible]

Articles agayne obiected agaynſt Thomas Man.

1. *First that he was of the dioces of London.*

2. *Item, that hee was a Chriſten man, and profeſſed Chriſtes fayth, and the determinations of holy church concerning the vij. ſacramentes, and other articles of the catholique fayth.*

3. *Item, that it was not lawfull for any man (eſpecially a lay man) erroniouſlye and obſtinatelye to holde, teach, or defend any opinion cõtrary vnto the determinatiõs of the ſaid church:*

and that the perſon ſo doing is an heretique.

4. *Item, that within one of the xij. monethes of the yeare of our Lord 1511. he had ben detected before the Biſh. of Lincolne that then was, of diuerſe pointes of hereſie: as that he had affirmed, that the verie bodie and bloud of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the altare, but materiall bread and wyne: & that he had receaued it at Eaſter as holie bread: and likewiſe had affirmed that the Crucifix & other Images in the church were not to be worſhipped: and alſo that confeſſion made vnto a Prieſt was of none effecte, with diuers other like opinions and hereſies.*

Againſt the reall preſence in the Sacramēt.

5. *Itē, that for theſe & ſuch like pointes of hereſie he had bene abiured in S. Marie Church at Oxforde, before D. Wilcockes Chauncelour vnto the ſaid Biſhop of Lincolne, in the moneth of October, in the yeare laſt aboueſaid, and there did renounce them and all other, promiſing no more to fall into the like.*

6. *Item, that there alſo he had taken a ſolemne othe to do ſuch penaunce as ſhould bee enioyned him by the authoritie of the ſaid Biſhop.*

7. *Item, that then he was enioyned to abyde within the monaſterie of Oſeney by Oxford: and alſo there to beare a fagot before the firſt Croſſe in the generall proceſſion.*

8. *Item, that after a certein time that he had bene within the Monaſterie of Oſeney, the Biſhop of Lincolne (for certeine cauſes) tooke him into his owne houſe and ſeruice, reſpiting his penaunce for a time.*

9. *Itē, that afterwardes, which was the 9. daye of Octob. an. 1512. the ſaid Biſhops Chauncelour iudicially ſitting in the Chapter houſe of the Priorie of S. Frideſwyde in Oxford, did inioyne him that he ſhould tarrie within the ſaid Priorie, and not to go out of the gates therof without licence of the Priour for the time being, vntill he had other commaundement from the Biſhop, vpon paine of relapſe: and further that he ſhould from thence forth (vpon the like paine) weare a ſigne of a fagot vnder his vppermoſt garment.*

10. *Item, that after his abiuration, and ſithens the promiſes thus done, he was yet againe detected to the Biſhop of Lōdon, by open fame, and denounced by worſpipfull and credible perſons, that he had vſed like falſe errours and hereſies, and had ſpoken and taught certeine concluſions of hereſie, againſt the Chriſten faith, and determination of holie Churche: and that he had fallen into the like hereſies as before his abiuratiō, both againſt the Sacrament of the altare, againſt pilgrimages, and worſhipping of Images: and had blaſphemed our bleſſed Ladie, calling her, Mablye.*

He ment ſome image or picture of the virgine, ſet vp in ſome blinde place to be worſhipped.

11. *Item, that when he wrought with one Iohn Bates in Stratforde Langthorne in Rogation weeke, then three yeares paſt, and being bydden by the ſaid Bates wife to go and heare the Goſpell, he aunſwered and ſaid vnto her: I will not come there, go you if ye liſt, ye ſhall haue as much meede for it, as to put your finger in the fire, and to burne it.*

12. *Item, that in times paſt, for feare of abiuration, he had fled from Colcheſter vnto Newberie, and after that vnto Hamerſham, and there had damnablie accōpanied with heretickes, and had taught hereſies among them: and alſo ſince the time of his abiuration, he had ſaid, that he and his wife had turned 6. or 7. hundreth people vnto thoſe opinions whiche he was abiured of, and others alſo, contrarie to Chriſtes faith, and determinations of holy Churche.*

His aunſwere vnto theſe Articles was, that as touchyng the firſt nyne, he graunted in parte to be true, confeſſing to the ſecond, that he was a true Chriſtian, and did profeſſe the true Chriſtian faith: but the contentes of the laſt iij. he vtterly denyed to be true, affirmyng for certeine aunſwere vnto the xi. Article: that at the tyme mentioned in yͤ ſame, he did not worke in the towne of Stratforde. Vppon whiche aunſwere the Chauncelour called forth two witneſſes to be ſworne and examined agaynſt him, willyng him that if he had any iuſt matter agaynſt any of them, he ſhould refuſe them. But to what purpoſe this hys fayre offer and trimme ſhewe of vpright Iuſtice ſerued, I cannot ſee. For notwithſtādyng that he charged the one of the witneſſes with theeft and adultery (for that hauing a wife of his own he did yet runne away with an other mans wife and goodes) and alſo alleged that the other was to yong to be a ſworne witnes in caſe of life and death: yet were they both ſtill reteined and allowed by yͤ Chauncelour, and ſworne not to departe awaye or hyde thē ſelues, but to be alwayes ready to iuſtifie that whiche they had to ſay agaynſt the ſayd Thomas Man: and ſo for that tyme aſwell they, as alſo all the reſt were commaunded to departe, and the priſoner ſent agayne to hys priſon.

Falſe witnes.

Falſe witneſ receaued againſt Thomas Man.

And here in the order of the othe miniſtred vnto theſe witneſſes, I finde one note (me thinketh) worthy preſent remembraunce, both for that it is mencioned in this proceſſe, and alſo becauſe it ſomwhat openeth the fooliſhe, ridiculous, and fayned figuratiue Ceremonyes of the Papiſtes, who do attribute a ſpirituall ſignification almoſt vnto all their doinges. The Regiſter diſcourſing at large the maner of their othe, hath theſe wordes. Ad ſancta dei Euangelia iurari fecit, tribus medijs digitis erectis & ſuper librum poſitis in ſignum Trinitatis & fidei Catholicæ: & duobus (videl. police & auriculari) ſuppoſitis & ſuppreſſis, & ſub libro poſitis, in ſignum damnationis corporis & animæ, ſi non depoſuerint veritatē in hac parte. That is to ſay: he cauſed thē to ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, with their three middle fingers ſtreatched out right and layd vppon the booke, in ſigne of the Trinitie and Catholicke faith: and the other two (to wytt the thombe and the litle finger) put downewardes vnder the booke, in token of dampnation of body and ſoule, if they did not depoſe the truth in the matter. This ceremoniall order and expoſition of theirs, as it is of their owne fonde inuention, without any grounde or example of the Scriptures of God: ſo minde I to leaue it ſtill vnto them ſelues, with other their apiſhe toyes and ridicles, as thinges worthy to be laught at, and will now further proceede with the reſte of this proceſſe, whiche I haue in hand.

The ceremoniall maner of the popiſh miniſtring of their othe.

The xv. day of Februarye, D. Hed the Chauncelour, agayne iudicially ſitting in the conſiſtorie at Paules, commaunded Thomas Man to bee brought before him, and there cauſing the Articles obiected againſt him by the Biſhop of Lyncolne, with his order of abiuration and penaunce, and alſo his owne Articles laſt propounded to be firſt read, he called forth a third wytnes to be ſworne and examined vpon the ſame. But becauſe he would ſeme to do all thinges by order of Iuſtice, and nothyng agaynſte law, he therefore appointed vnto the ſayd Thomas Man certaine doctours & aduocates of the arches, as his counſeillers to pleade in his behalfe. Whiche was euen like as if the lambe ſhould be committed to the defence & protection of the wolfe, or the hare to the hounde. For what good helpe could he looke for at their handes, which were both moſt wicked haters and abhorrers of hys Chriſtian profeſſion, & alſo ſtoute vpholders & mayntainers of that Antichriſtian law, by the which he was, for the ſame condemned? And that full wel appeared by the good aduice & profitable counſail, which they gaue him againſt his next examinations. For, aſwell vppon the xx. as alſo the xxiij. dayes of the ſame moneth of February, in their ſeuerall Seſſions, he ſeyng his owne negations to their obiections, to take no place agaynſt their ſworne witneſſes, had no other thyng to alledge for him ſelfe, but that throughe his xx. weekes of harde impriſonment vnder the Byſhop of Lyncolne, hee was forced to recant and abiure: whiche was a poore ſhift of counſaill, god knoweth: And yet D. Raynes beyng one of his chief aſſigned aduocates (in ſtede of aduice) could by hys ſubtile queſtioning, then make him to confeſſe, that certeine talke, whereof one of the wytneſſes had accuſed hym, was ſpoken about ſyxe yeares before paſt: whiche, becauſe it was ſince his recātation, was rather an accuſation of him ſelfe, then an excuſing: and therfore it is eaſie to iudge with how fauorable and vprightfull hartes they tooke vpon them to be hys aduocates and defenders. The Chauncelour likewiſe charged him vpō the ſame xxiij. day, that ſince his laſt impriſonment, hee had ſayd vnto Robert Clunye the Byſhops Somner, and his keper, that as farre forth as hee

Tho. Man againe called by D. Hed chaūcelour.

Agnus Lupo cōmiſſus.

The ſubtile practyſe of yͤ Romiſhe churchmē.

could

The lawes of the church of Rome grounded vpon Pilate and Cayphas.

The papiſhe chauncelour would not ſeeme to conſent to hys death: but yet could ſend hym to the ſhambles to be kilde.

could ſee or perceaue for his part in this his matter, the lawes of the Churche were grounded vppon Pilate and Cayphas. Whiche obiection he graunting to be true, the Chauncelour did for that time, dyſmiſſe the Courte, vntill the firſt daye of Marche next followyng. Upon whiche daye (minding to make quicke diſpatch) he in few wordes aſked Man, what matter he had to alledge for him ſelfe, why he ſhould not then (conſideryng the premiſes) be pronounced a relapſed hereticke, and receaue ſuch puniſhement by the ſecular power, as to ſuch was due by order of law. But he hauyng no other allegations then before, which might take place with thẽ, was finally cõdemned as an hereticke. And notwithſtanding that, as the Regiſter noteth (but howe truly God onely knoweth) he did agayn forſake his former renewed profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, and yelded him ſelfe vnto the byſhop of Rome, requiryng to be abſolued from hys curſe of excommunication, and contented to do ſuch penaunce as they ſhould enioyne him, he was yet ẏ xxix. day of March, deliuered by D. Hed, vnto the Shriffe of London, to be then preſently burned, with this proteſtation made before, that he might not conſent to the death of any, and therfore he deſired the Shrife that he would receaue this perſon as relapſed and condemned, and yet to puniſhe hym otherwiſe then by rigorous rigour. The wordes to be marked in their ſentence bee theſe: Rogamus attente in viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, vt huiuſmodi dignæ ſeueritatis vltio & executio de te & cõtra te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, vt non ſit rigor rigidus, neq; manſuetudo diſſoluta, ſed ad ſalutem & ſanitatem animæ tuæ. &c. That is: Wee deſire in the bowels of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, that the puniſhement & execution of due ſeueritie of thee, and agaynſt thee in this parte, may ſo be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigor, nor yet no diſſolute manſuetude, but to thee health and wealth of thy ſoule. &c. Wherein theſe catholicque Churchemen do well declare, accordyng to the wordes of Thomas Man before expreſſed, that the lawes of theyr Churche be grounded vpon Pylate, and Cayphas. For lyke as Cayphas with hys Court of Phariſaies, cryed agaynſt Chriſt vnto Pilate: *It is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death: But if thou let him go, thou art not Cæſars frend:* Euen ſo they, firſt condemning the ſaintes of God to death, and then deliueryng them vnto the ſecular Magiſtrate to bee therupon executed, would yet couer theyr malignant hartes with the cloke of hypocriticall holynes and vnwillingnes to ſhedde bloud. But God be thanked whiche bringeth all thinges to light in his due tyme, and vncouereth hypocriſie, at laſt that ſhee may bee ſene and knowen in her right colours.

Tho. Man burned of the Sheriffe, without any warrant. an. 1518. *menſ. Mart. 19. Ex Regiſt.*

Thus Thomas Man, the mãly Martyr of Jeſu Chriſt, beyng condẽned by the vniuſt ſentence of Hed the Chauncelour, was deliuered to the Shryfe of London, ſittyng on horſebacke in Pater noſter row, before the Byſhops dore. an. 1518. proteſtyng to the ſayd Shriffe, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore deſired the Shriffe to take him as a relapſe and cõdemned, to ſee hym puniſhed, Et tamen citra mortem, that is, without death, as the wordes ſtand in the Regiſter. The Shriffe receauing neither Articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his deliuery, immediatly caryed him to Smithfield, & there the ſame daye in the forenone cauſed hym to be put into Gods Angell, accordyng to the woordes of the ſayd Thomas Man before, ſaying: that if he were taken againe of the pylled knaue Prieſtes, as he called them, he wiſte well he ſhould go to the holy Angell, and then be an Angell in heauen.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitz-iames. pag. 197.

vij. ſcore abiured, and iij. or iiij. burnt about Newbery 60. yeares agoe.

Abiuratio magna.

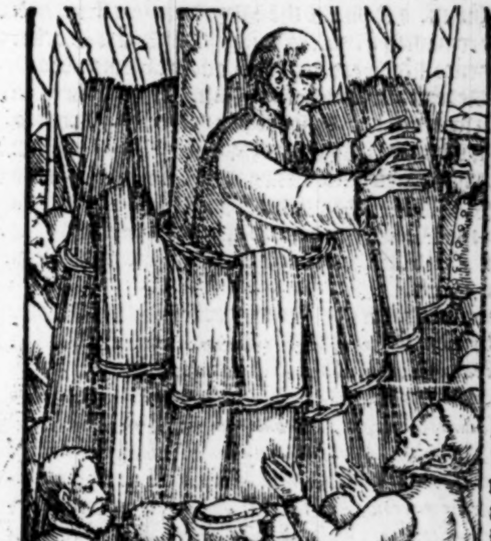
Knowen men, or iuſt faſt men of Amerſham.

W. Tilſeley or rather Tylſeworth, martyr. *Vid. ſupr. pag. 917.*

Tho. Chaſe, Martyr. *Vid. ſupr. pag. 918.*

Tho. Man a great reader among the brethren of Amerſham.

In the depoſition of one Thomas Riſby weuer of Stratforde Langthorne, agaynſt the forenamed Martyr Tho. Man, it appeareth by the Regiſters, ẏ he had bene in diuers places and countreys in England, and had inſtructed very many, as at Amerſhã, at London, at Billerica, at Chemſford, at Stratford langford, at Oxbryge, at Burnham, at Heley vpon Tamys, in Suffolke & Northfolke, at Newbery & diuers places moe: where hee hym ſelfe teſtifieth, ẏ as he went Weſtward, he found a great companye of well diſpoſed perſons, beyng of the ſame iudgement touchyng ẏ Sacrament of ẏ Lordes ſupper, ẏ he was of, & eſpecially at Newbery, where was (as he cõfeſſed) a glorious & a ſweete ſocietie of faithfull fauourers, who had continued the ſpace of xv. yeares together, till at laſt by a certaine leude perſon, whom they truſted and made of their counſaile, they were bewrayed, and then many of them, to the number of vi. or vij. ſcore were abiured, and iij. or iiij. of them burnt. From thence hee came then (as hee confeſſed) to the foreſt of Windeſore, where he hearyng of the brethren whiche were at Amerſham, remoued thether where he found a godly & a great company, whiche had continued in that doctrine and teachyng xxiij. yeares: whiche was from this preſẽt tyme 70. yeares agone. And this congregation of Buckinghamſhyre men, remained till the time of Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lyncolne, whereof we ſhall (Chriſt willyng) heare more anone. Agaynſt theſe faithfull Chriſtians of Amerſham, was great trouble and perſecution in the tyme of William Smith Byſhop of Lyncolne, about the yeare of our Lord. 1507. at whiche tyme diuers and many were abiured, & it was called Abiuratio magna, the great abiuration, and they which were noted of that doctrine & profeſſion, were called by the name of knowẽ men, or iuſt faſt men. &c. In this cõgregation of the faithfull brethren, were iiij. principall readers, or inſtructers. Wherof one was Tilſeworth, called then Doctor Tilſeworth, who was burnt at Amerſham, mencioned in our hiſtorie before, by ẏ name of William Tilſeley, whom I ſuppoſe rather to be called Tilſeworth, pag. 917. An other was Thomas Chaſe called amongſt them, Doctour Chaſe, whom we declared before to bee murdered and hanged in the Biſhop of Lyncolnes priſon at Woborne called litle eaſe, pag. 918. The third was this Tho. Man, called alſo Doctour Man, burnt as is here mentioned, in Smithfield. an. 1518. who, as by hys owne cõfeſſion, & no leſſe alſo by hys trauaile appeareth, was Gods champion, and ſuffred muche trouble by the prieſtes, for the cauſe & the lawe of God. Hee confeſſeth him ſelfe in the ſame Regiſter, that he had turned vij. hundreth people to hys Religion and doctrine, for the whiche hee thanked God. He conueyd alſo v. couples of men and wemen from Amerſham, Oxbrige, Burnham and Henley vpõ Tamys, where they dwelt, vnto Suffolke & Northfolke, that they might be brought (as he then termed it) out of the deuilles mouth. The fourth was Robert Coſyn, named lykewyſe among them, Doctor Coſyn.



¶ Robert Coſyn Martyr.

Robert Coſyn burnt at Buckingham.

This Robert Coſyn ſemeth to be the ſame, whiche in the former partes of our hiſtorie is forementioned, beyng
]

being called by the name of father Robert, and was burnt in Buckyngham, pag. 917. Of this Robert Coſine, I finde in the Regiſters of Lincolne, that he with Thomas Man had inſtructed and perſuaded one Ioanne Normã about Amerſhã, not to go on pilgrymage, nor to worſhip any images of ſainctes. Alſo when ſhe had bowed a peece of ſiluer to a ſaincte for ẏ health of her childe, they diſſuaded her from the ſame: And that ſhe needed not confeſſe her to a Prieſt, but to be ſufficient to lift vp her handes to heauen. Moreouer they were charged by ẏ Byſhop, for teaching ẏ ſayd Ioanne ẏ ſhe might as well drinke vpon the Sonday before Maſſe, as any other day. &c. Ex Regiſt. Ioan. Longland. And thus you ſee the doctrine of theſe good men, for the whiche they were in thoſe dayes abiured, and condemned to death.

The teaching and doctrine of *Rob. Coſyn.*

A perilous hereſie.

¶ *William Swetyng, alias Clerke, Martyr.*

W. Swetyng, Martyr.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitzjames. pag. lx.

George Laund Prior of S. Oſithe, abiured.

William Swetyng, otherwiſe named Clerke, firſte dwelt with the Lady Percy at Dalyngton, in ẏ countie of Northampton for a certeine ſpace, and from thence went to Borſtede in the countie of Eſſex, where he was ẏ holy water Clerke ẏ ſpace of vij. yeares: after that was Bayliffe & Fermer to Maiſtres Margery Wode ẏ terme of xiij. yeares. From Borſtede he departed and came to the town of S. Oſithe, where he ſerued the Priour of S. Sythes named George Launde, the ſpace of xvi. yeares and more. Where he had ſo turned the Priour by his perſuaſiõs, that the ſaid Priour of S. Oſithe was afterward compelled to abiure. Thus William Swetyng commyng vp to London with the foreſayd Priour, for ſuſpicion of hereſie was committed to the Lollardes tower vnder the cuſtody of Charles Ioſeph. And there beyng abiured in the Churche of S. Paule, was enioyned to beare his fagot at Paules Croſſe & at Colcheſter. And afterwarde to weare a fagot vppon his coate all his lyfe. Whiche he did ij. yeares together vpon his left ſleue, til at length the perſon of Colcheſter required him to helpe in the ſeruice of the Church, & ſo pluckt the badge from hys ſleue: and there he remained ij. yeares being ẏ holy water Clerke. From thence afterward departed, and traueling abroad came to Rederith in the dioces of Wincheſter, where he was holy water clerke the ſpace of a yeare: then went to Chelſith, where he was their neatherde & kept ẏ towne beaſtes. In the whiche towne vpon S. Annes day in the mornyng, as hee went forth with his beaſtes to the fielde the good man was apprehended and brought before the Byſhop, and his chaumber ſearched for bookes. This was an. 1511.

Crimes obiected.

The Goſpell of S. Mathewe.

The crimes wherupon he was examined were theſe.

Fyrſt for hauing much conference with one Williã Man *of Boxſtede, in a booke, which was called* Mathewe.

Item, that he had familiaritie, and frequented much the cõpanie of Iames Brewſter, who had bene before abiured.

Agaynſt pilgrimage.

Item, that when his wife would go on pilgrymage, he asked of her, what good ſhould ſhee receaue by her goyng on pilgrimage, adding moreouer, that, as he ſuppoſed, it was to no purpoſe, nor profite, but rather it were better for her to kepe at home, and to attende to her buſines.

Agaynſt tranſubſtãtiation.

Item, that he had learned, and receaued of William Man, that the Sacrament of the Prieſtes aultar was not the preſent verie bodie, but bread, in ſubſtaunce, receaued in memoriall of Chriſt.

Item, that he had propounded, and affyrmed the ſame doctrine to Iames Brewſter.

Agaynſt Images.

Item, becauſe he had reprehended his wife for worſhipping the Images in the church, & for ſetting vp candels before thẽ.

And thus haue you all the cauſes and crimes layde agaynſt this William Swetyng, wherfore he was condemned. Who then beyng aſked what cauſe he had, why hee ſhould not be iudged for relapſe, ſayd he had nothyng els, but onely that he committed hym ſelfe to the mercy of almightie God.

¶ *Iames Brewſter, Martyr.*

Iames Brewſter of Colcheſter, Martyr.

With William Swetyng alſo the ſame tyme was examined and condemned Iames Brewſter, of the pariſh of S. Nicholas in Colcheſter. This Iames Brewſter was a Carpentar, dwellyng x. yeres in the towne of Colcheſter, who beyng vnlettered could neither read nor write, and was apprehended vpon the day of S. Iames, in one Walkers houſe in S. Clementes Pariſhe.

About vi. yeares before, whiche was. an. 1505. he had bene abiured by William Warrham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the ſea of London beyng then vacant. And after other penaunce done at Colcheſter, was enioyned to weare a fagot vpon hys vpper garment duryng his life. Which badge hee did beare vpon his left ſhoulder nere the ſpace of ij. yeares, till the Controller of the Earle of Oxford, pluckt it away, becauſe he was labouryng in the workes of the Earle.

Crimes obiected againſt Brewſter.

The crimes wherupon he was examined, and whiche hee confeſſed were theſe: firſt that hee had bene v. tymes with William Swetyng in ẏ fieldes kepyng beaſtes, hearyng hym read many good thyngs out of a certeine booke. At whiche readyng alſo were preſent at one tyme, Wodroffe or Wodbynde, a nette maker, with his wife: alſo a brother in law of William Swetyng: and an other time Thomas Goodrede, who heard lykewiſe the ſayd Swetyng read.

Item, becauſe he vſed the companie and conferẽce of Henry Hert Carpentar of Weſtmynſter, and wrought with him in his ſcience at Weſtminſter.

Item, for hauing a certaine litle booke of Scripture in Engliſhe of an old writyng almoſt worne for age, whoſe name is not there expreſſed.

Maozim in the xj. chapter of Daniell is an idole, & ſignifieth as much as fortes or munitions.

Item, becauſe he hearing vpon a time, one Maiſter Bardfield of Colcheſter thus ſay: that hee that will not worſhip the Maozim in heart and thought, ſhall dye in ſight, hee asked afterward of William Man, what that word Maozim ſhould meane: who tolde him that it ſignified as much, as the maſing God, to wytte, the Sacrament of the aultar.

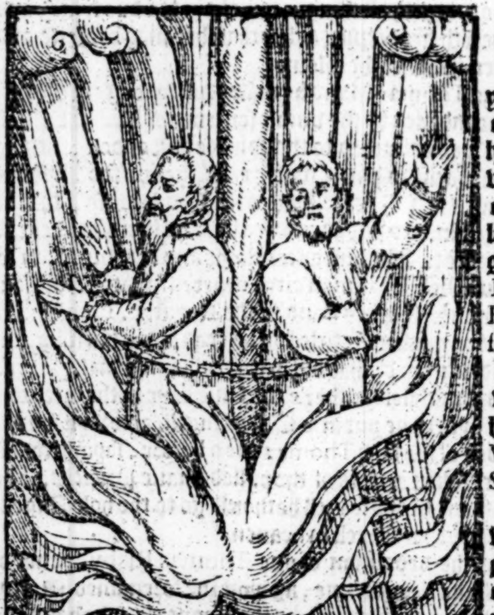
Itẽ, that he had much cõference with Henry Hert againſt oblations and Images, and that it was better beſtowed money, which was geuen to the poore, then that was offered in pilgrimage

Item, for that he had communication and conference with Roger Heliar, & one Walker a thicker of S. Clementes, concerning diuers ſuche matters of pilgrimage, offering to Images, worſhipping of Sainctes, and the Sacrament of the aultar.

A perilous hereſie.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Item, when Thomas Goodrede, William Swetyng, and he in the fieldes keping beaſtes were talking together of the Sacrament of the Lordes bodie, and like matters, this Iames Brewſter ſhould thus ſay: Now the ſonne of the lyuing God helpe vs. Unto whom William Swetyng agayne ſhould aunſwere: Now almightie God ſo do.



And thus haue you the cauſes lyke wyſe & crymes layd agaynſte Iames Brewſter, vpon whiche he with Williã Swetyng was together examined & condemned. Then beyng aſked, as the Romiſhe maner is, whether

ther he had any cauſe why he ſhould not be adiudged for relapſe, he truſtyng to finde fauour and grace in ſubmittyng him ſelfe, ſayd: that hee ſubmitted him to the mercy of almightye God, and to the fauorable goodnes of hym his iudge. And lykewiſe did William Swetyng ſubmitte hym ſelf, truſtyng belyke, that they ſhould finde ſome fauour and reliefe in this humble ſubiectyng them ſelues vnto their goodnes.

The vnmercifull & vnchriſtian dealing of the catholique Papiſtes.

But note here the vnmercifull and vnchriſtian dealyng of theſe Catholicque fathers: who vpon their ſubmiſſion were contented to geue out a ſolemne commiſſion, the tenour wherof was to releaſe & pardon them frō the ſentence of the excommunication, wherinto they had incurred: But immediatly after vpon the ſame, the Byſhop all this notwithſtādyng pronounced vpon them the ſentence of death and condemnation. Wherupon they were both deliuered to the ſecular power, and both together brent in Smithfield at one fire, the xviij. of October. an. 1511.

William Swetyng, & Iames Brewſter, burnt in Smithfield.

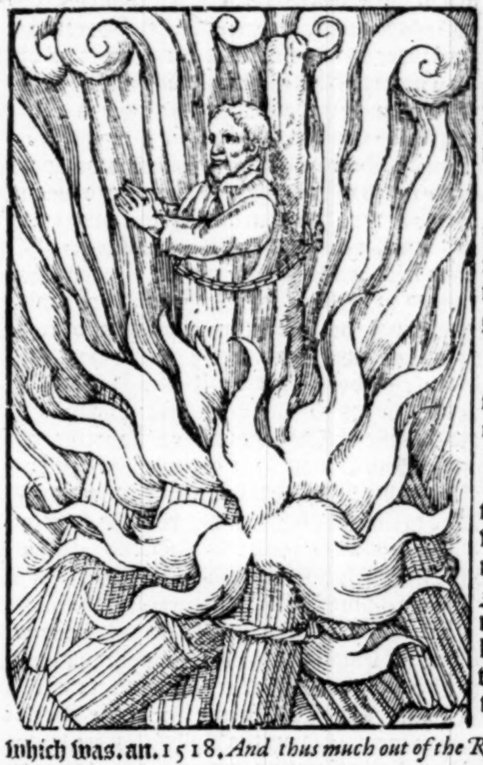
¶ *Chriſtopher Shomaker, Martyr.*

Chriſtofer Shomaker burnt in Newbery, Martyr.

TO theſe bleſſed ſaintes before paſt, we will alſo adioyne Chriſtopher Shomaker: of whom this I find briefly in the Regiſter of Iohn Longland: that the ſayd Chriſtopher Shomaker a pariſhner of great Miſſendē, came to the houſe of one Iohn Say, and after other matters of talke, readde to him out of a litle boke the wordes whiche Chriſt ſpake to his diſciples. And thus cōmyng to his houſe about foure tymes, at euery time readde ſome thyng out of yͤ ſame booke vnto him: teachyng him not to be deceaued in yͤ prieſtes celebratiō at Maſſe, & declaring that it was not the ſame very preſent body of Chriſt, as the Prieſtes did phantaſie: but in ſubſtaunce bread, bearing the remembraunce of Chriſt. And taught him moreouer that pilgrymage, worſhippyng and ſettyng vp candles to ſaintes were all vnprofitable. And thus the ſayd Iohn Say beyng taught by this Chriſtopher, and alſo confirmed by Iohn Okenden, and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the ſame doctrine. Thus muche briefly I finde in that Regiſter cōcernyng Chriſtofer Shomaker, declarig further that hee was burned at Newberye, aboute thys tyme, which was. an. 1518. *And thus much out of the Regiſters of London.*

The death of Chriſtofer Shomaker.

1518.



IN turning ouer the Regiſters & Recordes of Lincolne likewiſe, & commyng to the yeare of Lorde. 1520. and 1521. I finde that as yͤ light of yͤ Goſpell began more to appeare, and the number of the profeſſours to growe: ſo the vehemencie of perſecution, and ſtyrre of the byſhops began alſo to encreaſe. Wherupon enſued great perturbation and greuous affliction in diuers and ſondry quarters of this realme, eſpecially about Buckynghamſhyre, and Amerſham, Uxbrige, Henley, Newbery, in the dioces of London, in Eſſex, Colcheſter, Suffolke, & Northfolke, & other partes moe. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in theſe countreys amongeſt the people. Wherfore they are much begyled & miſſe informed, whiche condemne this kinde of doctrine now receaued, of noueltie, aſkyng where was this Church and Religion 40. yeares ago, before Luthers tyme? To whom it may be aūſwered, that this Religion and forme of doctrine firſt planted by the Apoſtles, and taught by true Biſhops, afterward decayed, and now reformed agayne, although it was not receaued nor admitted of the Popes clergie before Luthers tyme, neither yet is, yet it was receaued of other, in whoſe hartes it pleaſed the Lorde ſecretly to worke, and that of a great number, which both profeſſed and ſuffred for the ſame, as in the former times of this hyſtorie may appeare. And if they thinke this doctrine to be ſo newe, that it was not heard of before Luthers tyme, how then came ſuch great perſecutions before Luthers time here in England? If theſe were of the ſame profeſſiō, which they were of, then was their crueltie vnreaſonable, ſo to perſecute their owne Catholique fraternitie. And if they were otherwiſe, how then is this doctrine of the Goſpell ſo new, or the profeſſours therof ſo late ſtarte vp, as they pretēde them to be? But this cōmeth onely of ignoraunce, and for not knowyng nor conſidering well the times & antiquitie of the Church, which hath been before vs. Whiche if they did, they ſhould ſee, & ſay, that the Church of England, hath not lacked great multitudes, which taſted and folowed the ſweetenes of Gods holy worde: almoſt in as ample maner, for the nūber of well diſpoſed hartes, as now. Although publique authoritie then lacked, to mainteyne the open preachyng of the Goſpell, yet yͤ ſecret multitude of true profeſſours was not much vnequall: certes the feruent zeale of thoſe Chriſtiā dayes ſemed much ſuperiour to theſe our dayes and times, as manifeſtly may appeare by their ſitting vp all night in readyng, and hearyng, alſo by their expenſes and charges in bying of bookes in Engliſhe: of whom ſome gaue v. markes, ſome more, ſome leſſe for a booke. Some gaue a loade of haye for a few Chapters of Saint Iames, or of S. Paul in Engliſhe. In whiche raritie of bokes, and wāt of teachers this one thing I greatly maruell and muſe at, to note in the Regiſters and to conſider how the worde of truth notwithſtandyng did multiply ſo exceedyngly as it did amongſt them. Wherin is to be ſene no doubt the meruelous workyng of Gods mighty power. For ſo I finde and obſerue in conſideryng the Regiſters, how one neighbour reſortyng and conferring with an other, eftſoones with a few wordes of their firſt or ſecond talke, did wynne and turne their mindes to that wherin they deſired to perſuade them, touchyng yͤ truth of Gods worde and his Sacramentes. To ſee their trauailes, their earneſt ſeekyng, their burnyng zeales, their readinges, their watchynges, their ſweete aſſēblies, their loue and concorde, their godly lyuing, their faithfull maryng with the faithfull, may make vs nowe in theſe our dayes of free profeſſion to bluſhe for ſhame.

The antiquitie of the true doctrine of the Goſpell.

Ignoraunce of antiquitie.

Elder tymes of the Goſpell with theſe later tymes compared.

The earneſt zeale of our forefathers in following Chriſtes Goſpell.

Foure principall pointes they ſtoode in agaynſte the Churche of Rome, in pilgrimage, adoration of ſaintes, in readyng Scripture bookes in Engliſhe, and in the carnall preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament.

After the great abiuration aforeſayd, whiche was vnder William Smith, Byſhop of Lyncolne, they were noted & termed among them ſelues by yͤ name of Knowen men, or Iuſte faſt men, as nowe they are called by the name of Proteſtantes.

Abiuratio magna.

Knowen men, Iuſt faſt men.

As they were ſimple, and yet not vncircūſpect in their doyngs, ſo the crafty ſerpent beyng more wylie thē they, by fraudulent ſubtiltie, did ſo circumuent them, that they cauſed the wife to detect the huſband, the huſband the wife, the father yͤ daughter, the daughter the father, yͤ brother to diſcloſe the brother, and neighbour the neighbor. Neither were there any aſſemblies, nor readinges kept, but both the perſons, and alſo the bookes were knowen: Neither was any woorde ſo cloſely ſpoken, nor Article

The practyſe of Romyſhe prelates.

men,

The practyſe of prelates.

mentioned, but it was diſcouered. So ſubtlely ⁊ ſleightly theſe Catholicque prelates did vſe their inquiſitiõs and examinations, that nothyng was done or ſayd amonge theſe Knowen men, xv. or xx. yeares before ſo couertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, ſo many Articles and ſuſpiciõs they had, ſuch eſpialles and priuey ſcoutes they ſent abroad, ſuch authoritie and credite they had with the king, and in the kynges name: ſuch diligence they ſhewed in that behalfe, ſo violently ⁊ inpudẽtly they abuſed ẏ booke of ẏ peaceable Euangeliſtes, wreaſtyng mens cõſciences vpõ their othe, ſwearing then vpon ẏ ſame to detecte thẽ ſelues, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kinred, with their frẽdes and neighbours, and that to death. All whiche thynges in the further proces of the table enſuyng (Chriſt willyng) whiche wee haue collected out of ſome parte of the Regiſters of Lincolne, ſhall appeare.

W. Smyth Byſhop of Lincolne.

Iohn Longland byſhop of Lincolne.

The College of Braſen noſe in Oxforde builded.

For the better declaration whereof, firſt here is to bee premoniſhed by the way, touchyng the ſea of Lyncolne, that after Williã Smith ſucceded Iohn Longland. This William Smith althoughe hee was ſomewhat eger and ſharpe agaynſte the ſimple poore flocke of Chriſtes ſeruaunts, vnder whom ſome were burned, many abiured, a great number moleſted, as partly hath bene afore declared: yet was he nothyng ſo bloudy nor cruell, as was the ſaid Longland, which afterward ſucceded in that dioces. For ſo I finde of him, that in the tyme of ẏ great abiuration, ⁊ troubleſome affliction of Buckinghamſhyre men, wherin many were abiured, and certeine burned, yet diuers he ſent quietly home, without puniſhment and penaunce, byddyng them go home, and lyue as good Chriſten men ſhould do. And many which were enioyned penaunce before, he did releaſe. This Smith died about the yeare of our Lord. 1515. by whom was builded, as is aforeſayd, the College of Braſen noſe in Oxford.

Byſhop Longland a grieuous perſecutour of Chriſts people.

Accuſers: The partyes accuſed: The crimes obiected.

Not long after him folowed Iohn Longland, a fierce and cruell vexer of the faithfull poore ſeruaũts of Chriſt: who to renew agayne the olde ſparcles of perſecution, which were not yet vtterly quenched, firſt begãne wᵗ one or two of them, which had been abiured, whõ he thought to be moſt notorious, cauſing them by force of their othe to detecte and bewray not only their owne opinions touching pointes of Religion, but alſo to diſcouer all other of their affinitie, which were either ſuſpected, or abiured before. And them likewiſe hee put to their othe, moſt violently conſtreynyng them to vtter and confeſſe both them ſelues, and whom els ſo euer they knew. By reaſõ wherof an incredible multitude of men, women, and maydẽs, were brought forth to examination, and ſtraitly handled. And ſuch as were found in relapſe, were burned. The reſt were ſo burdened with ſuperſtitious and idolatrous penaunce ⁊ iniunctions, that either through griefe of cõſcience they ſhortly dyed: or els with ſhame they lyued. All whiche tragicall doynges and procedynges of the Byſhop agaynſt theſe Knowen and Iuſt faſt men, in theſe tables here vnder folowyng (Chriſt grauntyng) ſhall appeare, both with the accuſers, and with the parties them ſelues accuſed, and alſo the crimes obiected.

But before we enter into the table, it ſhall be requiſite firſt to heare the order and copie of his captious and crafty Interrogatories, whereby he conſtrayned the ſimple poore men to accuſe and appeache one an other: whiche Interrogatories were theſe in order as foloweth.

Interrogatories miniſtred commonly by the Biſhop of Lyncolne agaynſt theſe examinates here folowyng.

Captious interrogatories miniſtred by ẏ B. of Lincolne.

THe Interrogatories or Articles, whiche Longland Byſhop of Lincolne vſed moſt commonly to miniſter to theſe examinates or Knowen men, in number were ix. and are theſe as foloweth.

1. *Firſt, whether they, or any of them did know, that certeine of the pariſhe of Amerſham, had bene conuented before William Smith late Biſhop of Lincolne, for hereſie?*

2. *Item, whether they knew, that they ſo conuented before the ſaid Biſhop, did erre in the Sacrament of the altare, or in any other Sacrament of the Churche. And if they did, in what Sacramentes, or in whiche of them: Alſo whether they knewe that the ſaid parties ſo conuented did confeſſe their errours, & receaued penaunce for the ſame?*

3. *Item, whether they, or any of them were of the ſocietie of them ſo conuented for hereſie: And if they were, what felowſhip they had with them, and with whom?*

4. *Item, whether they, or any one of them were euer conuerſant with ſuch a one (naming the perſon whõ they knew ſuſpected) as with Thurſtan Litlepage. And if they were, what cõuerſation they had with him, how long, and when: And whether they knew the ſaid perſon to haue bene ſuſpect of hereſie?*

5. *Item, whether they, or any of them were euer conuerſant with him, or him (naming ſome other perſon, whom they ſuſpected) as Alexand. Maſtall, And if they were, how, and how long: And whether they knew the ſayd perſon to bee ſuſpected of hereſie?*

6. *Item, whether they, or any of them had bene before time detected of hereſie to the office of the foreſayd William Biſhop of Lincolne. And if they were, by what perſon or perſons they were detected: Or els whether they were onely called by the foreſaid William Biſhop, for hereſie?*

7. *Item, whether he, or they be noted and holden for heretikes, or be reputed and diffamed to be of the ſecte of thẽ, which were conuented for hereſie: And whether he, or they be named for a* Knowen man *amongeſt them?*

8. *Item, whether he, or they haue bene euer at any readinges of ſuch as haue bene ſo conuented for hereſie?*

9. *Item, whether he, or they were euer in any ſecret communication or conuenticle with them. Whom, or whiche of them he knew to be named and reputed for a* Knowen man, *or holding againſt the Sacrament of the altare, or other Sacraments, and Articles of faith. And if they knewe any ſuch, to declare where, and when, and what they were, and who were preſent the ſame time?*

Theſe Articles and Interrogatories thus declared, nowe followeth to be ſhewed a certayne briefe ſumme cõpendiouſly collected out of ẏ Regiſters of Iohn Longland biſhop of Lincolne, declaring in order of a table the names, firſt of them which by othe were conſtrained agaynſt their wils to detecte and accuſe other: Secondlye the perſons ẏ were accuſed: Thirdly ẏ crimes to thẽ obiected, as in ẏ proces of this table ſhall follow to be ſeene.

And firſt, foraſmuch as the Biſhop perceaued that Roger Bennet, Williã Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Hardyng, Robert Andrew, with ſuch other were men eſpecially noted to be of that ſide, therfore to worke his purpoſe the better, he began with them, producyng the ſame as witneſſes, to detect firſt Robert Bartlet of Amerſham, and Richard his brother: vnderſtandyng that theſe forenamed witneſſes, becauſe they had bene abiured before, durſt now do no other vpon peyne of relapſe, but neede s confeſſe what ſoeuer was put vnto them. And therfore becauſe Robert Bartlet ⁊ Richard his brother beyng called before the Byſhop, and ſworne vpon theyr othe, would confeſſe nothyng agaynſt thẽ ſelues, the Byſhop to conuict them by wytneſſes, went firſt to William Chedwell lying ſore ſicke in his bed, cauſing him vpon ẏ Euangeliſtes to ſweare, whether he knew the foreſayd Robert ⁊ Richard Bartlet to be Knowen men. Which beyng done, the Byſhop then called before hym Robert Andrew, Roger Bennet, Iohn Hill, Edmund Dormer, Iohn Mylſent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Litlepage, Iohn Doſſet, all Amerſham men: who beyng abiured before, as is ſayd, durſt no otherwiſe doo, but confeſſe vppon their othe, that Robert and Richarde Bartlet were Knowen men. And yet the Byſhop not contented with this, cauſed alſo their two wyues, to wytte, Margarete the wife of Robert Bartlet, and Iſabell the wife of Rich. Bartlet, to depoſe ⁊ geue wytneſſe agaynſt their owne naturall huſbandes. Albeit Iſabell Bartlet beyng ſomwhat more temperate of her tongue, refuſed vtterly to confeſſe any thing of her huſband, and denyed her huſbandes wordes to be true, till at laſt ſhe beyng conuict of periurie, was conſtrayned to vtter the truth, as in the proces of thys table following more particularlye followeth to be ſeen.

A Table

UMI

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

A Table deſcribyng the greuous afflictions of good men and wemen, in the dioces of Lincolne vnder *Iohn Longland* there Byſhop, with the names both of the Accuſers, and of them that were accuſed: alſo with the crimes to them obiected: out of the Regiſters of the ſayd dioces. an. 1521.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
W. Chedwell ſicke in his bead. Robert Andrew. Rob. Bēnet. Iohn Hill. Edmūd. Dormer. Iohn Milſent Thomas Bernard. Thom. Litlepage. Iohn Doſſet. Margarete Bartlet. Iſabell Bartlet: **theſe beyng before abiured, were nowe cōpelled by oth to detect**	Rob. Bartlet. Richarde Bartlet, his brother.	This Robert Bartlet, and Rich. his brother were detected by theſe foreſaid accuſers to be Knowen men, that is to bee of the ſame companie & affinitie with theſe Iurates, and other that had ben abiured before in the time of William Smith Biſhop of Lincolne, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1508. and that in the houſe of Tho. Hardyng they were ſo noted by the woordes of Hardinges wife: Who ſpeaking to Robert Bartlet, ſayd, that ſhe was glad that he was cōuerted to grace, & choſen to almightie God, requiryng hym neuer to forſake that he was called to, for if he did, there was no ſacrifice left for him. Alſo the ſaid Hardings wife ſpeaking to Rich. Bartlet, comming into her houſe, ſaid, here cōmeth a good mā, & I hope he wilbe a good man, but hee hath ſo much mind of bying and ſelling and taking of fermes, that it putteth his minde from all goodnes. By whiche words it appeared, ſaid they, that he was a Knowē man. Item, that Rob. Bartlet ſpeaking to Hardynges wife, ſaid, he had thought to haue called W. Tilſeworth falſe hereticke: but now he was better aduiſed. Item, that they vſed the lectures and readinges of that company.

For reading ſcripture in Engliſhe.

This Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother, firſt beyng ſworne, & yet cōfeſſing nothyng before the biſhop, at laſt were cōuicted by witnes (as aboue appeareth) & noted therfore of periurie. Wherfore incurryng into greater daunger, they were cōſtrained at their next examinatiō to vtter thē ſelues & confeſſe what they had both done & ſayd: that is, ẏ the ſayd Rob. had read vnto Rich. his brother a parcell of ſcripture begynnyng thus: Iames the ſeruaunt of God, to the xij. kyndes, &c. Itē, for that he heard Williā Tilſeworth ſay, that Images of ſaintes were but ſtockes and ſtones & dead thinges: and that he taught the ſame to his brother Richard, and concealed the wordes of Wil. Tilſeworth. Item, for that he partly beleued Tho. Maſtall, teachyng him, that the true preſence of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament: and likewiſe of Images and pilgrimage. Item, for receauyng the Communion at Eaſter without ſhrifte. &c.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Rob. Bartlet **was brought to examinatiō and cauſed by hys othe to detecte**	Rich. Bartlet, his brother.	The crime wherin Robert Bartlet appeached his brother Ric. was this, becauſe hee ſayd his brother Rich. had ben much conuerſant with Thurſtane Litlepage, & had learned of him the counſailes and ſecretes of thoſe men. Alſo that hee had learned of him, ſome of the Epiſtle of ſaint Iames thus beginning: Iames the ſeruaunt of God, to the xij. kyndes. &c.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſayd Rob. Bartlet **was brought to examinatiō and cauſed by his othe to detecte**	Iſabel Bartlet, his wife.	The cauſe wherin Robert Bartlet did detecte his wife was this, that when the Biſhops ſeruaūt was come for her husbād, ſhe vttered theſe woordes ſaying: alas hee was nowe an vndone man, and ſhee but a dead woman. Furthermore the ſaydē Robert being demaūded of the Biſhop, whether he knewe Iſabel his wife to be of the ſecte of heretikes before he maried her, ſaid yea. Beyng asked againe, if ſhe had not bene of that ſecte, whether then hee would haue maried her, he graunted the ſame likewiſe
	Agnes Wellys, his ſiſter.	Furthermore the ſaide Rob. Bartlet detected his owne ſiſter, in that hee had twiſe inſtructed her not to worſhip Images, & alſo had taught her in the Epiſtle of S. Iames.
	Elizabeth Dean, wife of Richard Deane, of Weſtwicam. Emme Tilſeworth, wife of Williā Tilſeworth. VVilliam Grinder, and his wife. Iohn Scriuener. Alexander Maſtal. VV. Tilſeworth, Thurſtan Litlepage. Iohn Bartlet, his brother.	The ſaid Rob, Bartlet detected alſo theſe to be of the nūber of Knowen men: for that they reſorted many times together reading and conferring among thē ſelues, and talking againſt worſhipping of Images, and pilgrimage: And if any came in amongeſt them, whiche was not of their ſide, then they would ſaye no more, but keepe all ſilence. &c.

The huſband detecteth the wife.

The brother accuſeth the ſiſter.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Rich. Bartlet **by his othe was conſtrayned to detect**	Agnes Wellys, wife of Iohn VVellys, his ſiſter.	This Agnes was detected of her brother in thre pointes. Firſt for learning the Epiſtle of S. Iames in Engliſh, of Thurſtā Litlepage. Secōdly, for not beleuing the bodely preſence in the Sacramēt. Thirdly, for ſpeaking agaynſt worſhipping of Images, and goyng on pilgrimages.
	Old father Bartlet, his father.	This Rich. Bartlet alſo in his confeſſion, ſaid of his father that hee was a better man, then hee was takē for. For the other day there came a man to him as he was threſhyng, and ſaid, God ſpeede father Bartlet, ye worke ſore, yea ſaid he, I threſhe God almighty out of the ſtraw.

The brother accuſeth the ſiſter.

The Popes God almighty threſhed out of the ſtrawe.

Agaynſt this Agnes Wellys brought and examined before the Byſhop, were miniſtred theſe Interrogatories, whiche for cer-

Ex Regiſtr. Io. Longland. Lincol.

teine cauſes I thought here to inſerte, for our poſteritie to note and conſider, and they are theſe, as foloweth.

¶ Articles miniſtred to Agnes Wellys.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt Agnes Wellys.

1.

Whether ſhe knew that certeine of the pariſhe of Amerſham were conuented before Williã Smyth, late Byſhop of Lyncolne, for hereſie?

2.

Item, whether ſhe knew that certeine of them ſo conuented before the Byſhop for hereſie, did erre in the Sacrament of the altare, or in other Sacramentes, and what errours they were, and wherein?

3.

Item, whether ſhe knew any other to be ſuſpect of the ſame hereſie or ſect, beſide them of Amerſham ſo conuented, who they were, and how many?

4.

Item, whether ſhee had bene of the ſame company, or ſecte, or opinion with them, which were conuented before the Biſhop for hereſie: and if ſhe were, what company ſhe vſed, and whoſe?

5.

Whether ſhe was at any tyme conuerſant with Thurſtan Litlepage: and if ſhe were, how oft ſhe had bene in his companye: how, what tyme, in what place, who els were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhe knew him to be ſuſpected of hereſie?

6.

Item, whether ſhe knew and had bene cõuerſant with Alexander Maſtall: and if ſhe were, how, when, in what place, who were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhe knew hym ſuſpected for hereſie?

7.

Itẽ, whether ſhe was euer detected to the office of William Smith late Byſhop of Lyncolne: at what tyme or ſince the tyme, that Litlepage and Maſtall were conuented before the Byſhop for hereſie: and whether ſhee was then called and conuented before the Byſhop for hereſie, or not?

8.

Item, whether ſhe hath bene, or is now noted, had, holden or reputed, or diffamed to bee of the ſame ſecte with Thurſtan Litlepage, or other conuicted of hereſye, and whether ſhe be or hath bene nominated for a knowen woman among them?

9.

Item, whether ſhe had bene preſent at any tyme at the readynges or conferrings betwene Thurſtan Litlepage, and other conuictes?

10.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Item, whether Thurſtan Litlepage did euer teach her the Epiſtle of S. Iames, or the Epiſtles of S. Peter or Paule in Engliſhe, and whether ſhee hath repeted oft tymes the ſaid Epiſtle of S. Iames, vnto the ſayd Thurſtan in the preſence of Richard Bartlet her brother.

11.

Item, whether Richard Bartlet her brother did teach her at any tyme the Epiſtle of S. Iames, and if he did, how oft, and in what place?

12.

Item, whether ſhee had bene inſtructed by Thurſtane Litlepage, or by any other, in the foreſayd ſecte, that in the Sacrament of the altare was not the true body of Chriſt, but onely the ſubſtaunce of bread?

13.

Item, whether ſhe had bene inſtructed by Thurſtane Litlepage, or any other, that pilgrymage was not to bee vſed, nor the Images of Saintes to be adored?

14.

Item, whether ſhe did credite ẏ ſayd Thurſtan Litlepage, or any other, teachyng her in the premiſſes, and whether ſhe did beleue or expreſſely conſent with them in the foreſayd Articles?

15

Item, whether that Robert Bartlet her brother did euer teach her the Epiſtle of S. Iames, and if he did, how often, and where?

16.

Whether the ſayd Robert Bartlet had taught her that pilgrimage was not to be vſed, and that Images were not to be adored?

17.

Item, whether ſhe knewe ſuch a lawe and cuſtome among them, that ſuch as were of that ſorte, did contracte matrimonie onely with them ſelues, and not with other Chriſtians?

Captious articles.

18.

Item, whether ſhe did euer heare Thurſtane or any other ſay, that they onely whiche were of their doctrine, were true Chriſtians?

19.

Item, when ſhee came to receaue, and was confeſſed, whether ſhe did vtter & confeſſe her hereſies to ẏ Prieſt?

¶ Unto theſe captious and cruell Interrogatory Articles miniſtred agaynſt Agnes Wellys, ſhe aunſwered negatiuely, almoſt to them all, refuſing to vtter any perſon, vnto the Byſhop: But ſone after beyng otherwiſe ſchooled, I cã not tell how, by the Catholiques, ſhe was compelled to detecte both her ſelfe, her brother Robert Bartlet, Thurſtan Litlepage, and alſo Iſabell Morwyn, wife of Iohn Morwyn. &c.

She excuſeth her owne wordes.

For Engliſh bokes.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iſabell Bartlet, **was then brought, and examined before the Byſhop: where ſhe**		*being asked whether ſhe ſpake theſe words folowing to her huſband, at the cõming of the Biſhops mã: Alas now are you an vndone mã, & I but a dead womã: Firſt ſhe ſtode in long deniall of the ſame, and although her huſband gaue wytnes againſt her, yet ſtoode ſhe that her huſband ſayd not truth. At laſt ſhe was cõpelled to grãũt thoſe wordes to be ſpoken: and then being asked what ſhe ment by them, thus ſhe excuſed her ſelfe, that her husband had bene vnkind vnto her a long time, and therfore ſhe deſired to depart from him, wherupon nowe for ſorow ſhe ſpake thoſe wordes. &c. The which wordes her husband did excuſe ſome thing otherwiſe, ſaying: that his wife ſpake thoſe woordes betwene the threſhold, and the hall doore, becauſe of a vehement feare, for the loſſe of their goods.*
VV. Chedwell, **of Amerſham**	Richard Hobbes *of Hichenden.* Henry Hobbes *of Hichenden.* Herns *wife.* Herne *widowe of Amerſham.* Thomas Couper *of Amerſham huſbandman.* Iohn Stãpe *wheler, of Amerſham.* Alyce Hardyng, *wife of* Tho. Hardyng.	*The crime laid to* Alyce Hardyng *was this, becauſe, whẽ the Prieſt was cõming to* Rich. Bennet *to geue hym houſell, ſhee wẽt before and inſtructed him what he ſhould do.*
Roger Bennet, **by like compulſion of his othe, was cauſed to detect theſe perſons**	VVilliã Rogers, *Tyler.* VV. Hardyng. Roger Hardyng.	*Theſe were detected by Roger Bennet, for that they beyng admoniſhed to appeare before the biſhops Chãũcelour at Amerſhã, neglected ſo to do.*
	Iohn Iennyngs *ſeruant to* Iames Morden. George, *ſeruaunt of* Thomas Tochel. Tho. Gray, *ſeruãt of* Roger Bennet.	*Theſe were detected for caryeng about certeyne bookes in Engliſhe.*
	VV. Smith *Wheler.* *The wife of* Ioh. Milſẽt. *The wife of* W. Rogers. Ro. Stãpe, *& his wife.*	*Theſe good wemen here named were detected to the Biſhop by Rog. Bennet, for that vpõ the holy dayes, when they go and come frõ the Church, they vſe*

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſt.Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	The Wife of Rob. Bartlet.	*vſe to reſort vnto one Ioh.Colingworthes houſe, and there kepe their conuenticle.*
	The Wife of Dauid Lewes *& and her father.*	*This Woman was charged for ſpeaking theſe woordes: That the Churche men in the olde time did leade the people as the henne doth leade her chickines: but our Prieſtes now do lead the people to the deuil.*
Thomas Rouland **put lykewyſe to hys othe, did detect**	Agnes Franke *wife of* William Franke.	*Becauſe ſhee turned away her face from the Croſſe, as it was caryed about on Eaſter daye in the mornyng at the reſurrection.* Fol. 10.
	Iohn Gardiner.	
	Iohn Same.	
	Iohn George.	
	Iames Morden.	*For carying about bokes from one to an other.*
	Iohn Scriuener, *the elder.*	

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
James Morden **cōpelled in like maner by his othe, did detect**	Thomas Rouland	*For theſe wordes following:* *If I lye, curſe, ſtorme, or ſwere, chide, fyght, or threate,* *Then am I worthye for to be beate:* *I pray you good maiſter mine,* *If I offend in any of theſe nine,* *Amend me with a good ſcouryng.* *In the lyke alſo was charged Thomas Chaſe.*
	Thomas Chaſe.	*Becauſe he heard him twiſe recite the Epiſtle of S. Iames, beginning: Iames the ſeruaunt of God and of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, to the xij. kindes, &c.* *Alſo for theſe woordes: It was by the dayes of Herode king of Iewes, that there was a prieſt, Zacharie by name, & he came of the ſort of Abias, and his wife of the daughter of Aaron: both they were iuſte before God, goynge in all the Commaundementes, &c.*
	William Norton.	
	Agnes Aſhforde *of Cheſſham.*	*The cauſe layde to this Agnes was for teaching this Iames the wordes following: We be the ſalte of the earth, if it be putrified and vaniſhed away, nothing it is worth. A citie ſet vpon an hill may not be hidde. Teende ye not a candle and put it vnder a buſhell, but ſet it on a candleſticke that it may geue a light to all in the houſe. So ſhyne your light before men, as they may ſee your workes and glorifie the father that is in heauen. No title nor letter of the lawe ſhall paſſe ouer, tyll all thinges be doe: And fiuetimes wente hee to the foreſayd Agnes to learne this leſſon. Itē, that the ſaid Agnes did teach him to ſay this leſſon: Ieſus ſeing his people, as he went vp to a hill, was ſet, and his diſciples came to him: he opened his mouth and taught them, ſaying: bleſſed be the poore men in ſpirite, for the kingdome of heauē is theirs. Bleſſed be milde men: for they ſhall welde the earth: And twiſe he came to her to learne this leſſon.* Ex Regiſt. Longl.fol. 11. *And theſe leſſons the ſayd Agnes was bidde to recite before vj. biſhops: who ſtraitly inioyned and cōmaunded her, that ſhe ſhould teach thoſe leſſons no more to any man, and eſpecially to her children.* Ex Regiſt.fol. 11.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſayd Iames Mordē **detected**	Richard Aſhford *ſmith.*	
	Agnes Aſhford. Thomas Chaſe.	*Becauſe theſe ij. did exhort him thriſe that he ſhoulde keepe the things they ſpake of, as ſecret in his ſtomacke, as a man woulde kepe a theſe in priſon.*
	Tho. Tredway, *of Cheſſham.*	
	Rob. Pope. Iohn Morden, *and his wife.*	*Becauſe they were heard in the preſence of this Iames Morden, their nephewe, to recite the x. Cōmanndementes in their houſe in Engliſh.* Fol. 15.
	Alyce Atkyns.	*Becauſe of him ſhe learned the* Pater noſter, Aue Maria *and* Creede *in Engliſhe, and the v. meruels of S. Auſten. Alſo an other peece of an Engliſh booke beginning: here ſueth 4. thinges by which a man may knowe whether he ſhall be ſaued. &c.*
	Marian Morden, *his owne ſiſter.*	*Alſo that ſhe did not worſhip Images. And after theſe litle thinges, hee intended to teache her of the Sacrament.*
	VV. Affrike, *or* Litlepage.	
	Iohn Affrike, *or* Litlepage.	
	Emme Hardyng, *or* Affrike.	
	Iohn Fyppe, *Phiſition.*	

¶ To thys James Morden with other moe abiurers, it was inioyned by byſhop Smyth, for vij. yeres, to viſite the church of Lincolne twyſe a yeare from Amerſham. And when diuers had gotte licence of the byſhop for length of the iourney, to viſite the Image of our Lady of Miſſenden, for the ſpace of v. yeres, this James Morden, when he could not obtaine licence ſo to doe, yet notwithſtanding for the tediouſnes of the way, went with them to the ſame Image, and therupon was charged for violating the byſhops iniunction.

Alſo becauſe, to gette his liuing, he wrought halfe a yere out of the dioces, when he had bene inioyned by the byſhop not to goe out of the dioces of Buckyngham. Fol. 11.

¶ This James Morden cōfeſſed that he vſed hys Pater noſter and Creede ſo much in Engliſhe, that he had forgotte many wordes therof in Latyne, and therfore was inioyned by biſhop Smyth to ſay it no more in Engliſhe, but onely in Latyne, and becauſe he kept not this iniunction, he fell therfore in relapſe.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.
Roger Benet **by lyke compulſion of hys othe, was cauſed to detecte theſe followyng, to bee knowen perſons.**	W. Rogers *Tyler, and his wife.*
	W. Hardyng.
	Rog. Hardyng.
	Ioanne Ienynges.
	George, *ſeruaunt to Tho. Techell.*
	Tho. Gray, *ſeruaunt of Roger Benet.*
	Agnes Franke.
	Ioanne Colyngworth.
	VV. Smyth.
	The wife of Iohn Milſent.
	Rob. Stampe, *and his wife.*
	The wife of Rob. Bartlet.
	The wife of Dauid Lewes *of Henley.*
	Iohn Fryer, *ſeruaunt to maiſter Pen.*
	Iohn Tracher.

An. 1521.

Ex *Regiſtr. Io. Longland.* Lincol.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
	Iohn Mordens *wife*. Richard Aſhford. VVilliam Litlepage, *prentiſe ſometime of* Iohn Scriuener. Emme *his wife*. Iohn Scriuener.	
	Iſabell Morwin.	*For teachyng Coplandes wife her errours.*
Thomas Halfaker **ſworne vpon hys othe, dyd detecte theſe names here folowing.**	Iohn Milſent, *and his wife*. Roger Hardyng, *and his wife*. Thom. Bernard. Thomas Afrike, *and his wife*. VV. Rogers. VV. Hardyng. Thom. Hardyng, *and his wife*. Kat. Bartlet, *the mother of* Rob. *&* Ric. Bartlet. VV. Franke, *and* Agnes *his wife*.	*Becauſe theſe cõming to the Church, and eſpeciallie at the eleuation tyme would ſay no prayers, but did ſit mumme (as hee termed it) like beaſtes.* *Becauſe* Kat. Bartlet *beyng of good health, came but ſeldome to the Churche, but feyned her ſelfe ſicke: and becauſe William Franke maried Agnes his wife, ſhe beyng before abiured.*
Thomas Holmes **detected**	Robert Pope.	*Becauſe he fled away when the great abiuration was at Amerſham.* *Alſo for hauing certeine Engliſhe bookes.* fol. 16.
	Emme Affrike *alias*, Emme Hardyng. Henry Mylner. Iohn Affrike. Hernes *wife, now the wife of* Wayuer. VVilliam Tilſeworth. Emme Tilſeworth, *of London*. Thomas Tilſeworth, *and his wife*. *The wife of* Robert Tilſeworth. VVilliam Glaſbroke. Chriſtopher Glasbroke, *Milner*. Thomas Groue, *and* Ioanne *his wife*. Thomas Man, *by Briſtow*.	
	Henry Milner.	*Counted for a great heretícke, and learned in the Scripture.*
	Iohn Schepard. *The wife of* Iohn Schepard *of Dorney*. *The elder daughter of* Roger Hardyng *of Amerſham*. Nicholas Stokeley *couper, and his wife, of Henley*. Ihon Clerke. Thomas VVilbey *of Henley*. W. Stokeley. Hobbes *with his ſonnes by Hychenden*. *The wife of* Iohn Scriuener, *ſmith of Owborne*. Thomas Clerke *the elder*. Thomas Clerke *the younger*. VVigmer *fermer of Hychenden*. Robert Carder *Weyuer*. Iohn Frier, *ſeruaunt to* M. Penne. Iohn Morwen, *&* Iſabell *his wife*. Elizabeth Houer, *wife of* Henry Houer *of little Miſſenden*. Richard VVhyte, *Fuller of Beckinſfilde*.	
	Andrew Randall *& his wife, of Ricmanſworth*.	*Becauſe they receaued into their houſe, Tho. Man, flying for perſecution, and for reading Wickleffes Wicket.*
	The father of Andrew Randall.	
	Benet VVarde, *Fuller*.	*This Benet Warde was alſo denounced by I. Merſton, for ſaying that it booteth no man to praye to our Ladye, nor to no ſainct nor angell in heauen, but to God onely, for they haue no power of mans ſoule.*
	The wife of Benet VVarde, *and her daughter*.	*For ſaying that Tho. Pope was the deuouteſt mã that euer came in their houſe, for he woulde ſitte reading in his booke to midnyght many tymes.*
The foreſaid Tho. Holmes **detected**	Thomas Taylour, *& his wife, of Vxbridge*. Robert Quicke. Robert Coſyn. Thomas Clerke *and his wife, of Ware*. *One* Geldener *about Hertford*. Iohn Say, *and* VVilliam Say *his ſonne, of litle Miſſenden*. The wife of Iohn VVellys *of Amerſham*. Ioanne Glasbroke *ſiſter to* VVilliã Glaſbroke, *of Harow on the hill*. Thomas Suſan, *Wheler*. Iohn a Lee, *Smith*. Iohn Auſty, *Sherman*. Iohn Frier. Edmund Hardyng. Iohn Heron, *Carpenter of Hambeldon*. Henry Miller.	
	Iohn Phippes.	*Hee was very rype in Scriptures.*
	Emme, *wife of* Richard Tilſeworth.	
	Iohn Phyppe.	*Hee was a reader or rehearſer to the other.*
	Iohn Say *of Miſſenden*. VVilliam Stokley.	
	Roger Squire.	*For ſaying to Holmes: This is one of them that maketh all thys buſines in our towne with the Biſhop. I praye God teare all the bones of him.*
	Roger Herne. A certayne Tanner.	
	Iohn Butler, *Carpenter*. Rich. Butler. VV. Kyng *of Vxbrydge*.	*Theſe iij. ſatte vp all the nighte in the houſe of Durdant of Yuencourte by Stanys, reading all the night of a booke of Scripture.*
	Iohn Muklyf, *Weauer*.	*For ſpeaking againſt holy bread and holy water.*
	Tho. Man.	*For ſaying that Chriſt was not ſubſtantiallye in the ſacrament.*
	Thomas Stilman. Ienkyn Butler.	*For receauing an Engliſh booke geuẽ him by Carder his father, who after his abiuration done before B. Smyth, fell ſicke and died.*

Thys great abiuration, was, an. 1511.

For reading of Scripture in Engliſhe.

Anno. **1521.**

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. **Lincol.**

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Robert Carder **of Iuer, Weyuer, detected**	Rich. Vulford, *of Ryſelyp.*	
	Hackar.	
	Thomas Kyng.	
	Ioanne Cocks. *The wife of Rob. Wywod, huſbandman.*	*For deſiring of Durdant her maiſter, that he being a Knowen mã, would teach her ſome knowledge of Gods lawe, and deſiring the ſame alſo of the Butlers.*
	Nic. Durdant *of Stanys.* Dauy Durdant *of Ankerwike.* The wyfe of olde Durdãt. The wife of Nic. Durdãt.	*Theſe were detected for that olde Durdant of Euyncourt, at dynner ſitting with his childrẽ and their wiues, bydding a boye there ſtanding, to departe out of the houſe, that hee ſhould not heare and tell, did recite certaine places vnto them, out of the Epiſtles of S. Paule, and of the Goſpels.*
	Richard VVhyte **father in law to** Benet ward **of Bekinſfield**	*He was detected to bee a knowen man, becauſe, after the death of Biſhop Smith, hee was heard to ſay theſe wordes: My Lord that dead is, was a good man, and diuers knowen men were called before him, and he ſent them home againe, biddyng them that they ſhould liue amõge their neighbors as good Chriſten men ſhould doe. And now (ſaid he) there is a new Biſhop whiche is called a bleſſed man, and if he bee as he is named, hee will not trouble the ſeruauntes of God, but will let them be in quyet.*
Marian Morden *was forced vpon her othe to vtter*	*Iames Morden her own brother, which taught her the Pater noſter, Aue, and Creede in Engliſhe, & that ſhe ſhould not goe on pilgrimage: nor ſhould worſhippe ſainctes or Images, which ſhe had not done by the ſpace of vj. yeares paſt, following and beleuing her brother.*	
Iames Morden **was forced vpon his othe to vtter.**	Iohn Littlepage.	
	Henry Littlepage.	
	VVilliam Littlepage.	
	Ioanne Littlepage.	
	Rich. Morden *his brother of Cheſham.*	
	Emme *his wife.*	
	Alyce Browne *of Cheſham.*	
	Radul. Morden *his brother of Cheſham.*	
	Hys wyfe.	
	Iohn Phyppes.	
	Elyzab. Hamon.	
	A Chanon *of Miſſenden.*	
Thomas Couplãd **forced by hys othe, detected**	Thomas Groue, *of London.*	
	Iſabell Morwyn.	
	The wife of Norman *of Amerſham.*	
	Thomas Couper *of Woodrowe.* Roger Hardyng.	*Becauſe theſe ij. coulde not ſaye their Crede in Latine.*
	W. Grynder.	
	The wife of Rob. Stampe *of Woodrowe.*	
Th. Rowland T. Coupland. Rich. Steuens. Rog. Benet, **forced by their othe to accuſe.**	Tho. Hardyng *of Amerſham.* Alyce Hardyng *his wife.*	*Becauſe, after their abiuration in B. Smythes tyme, diuers Knowen men (as they then termed thẽ) which were abiured before, had much reſorte to their houſe.*

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
	Agnes Squyre.	*For ſpeaking theſe wordes: Men do ſay I was abiured for hereſie, it maye well bee a napkin for my noſe, but I will neuer be aſhamed of it.*
Ioh. Sawcote **vpõ hys othe dyd appeache**	The Vicar *of litle Miſſendẽ.* Tho. Groue *and his wife.*	*He was detected for that hee did geue to* D. VVilkockes *xx. li. to excuſe him that hee might not be brought to open penaunce.*
	Thom. Holmes.	*For that he was heard to ſay theſe woordes after the great abiuration, when he had abiured: that the greateſt cobbes were yet behind.*
	Richard Sanders *of Amerſham*	*Becauſe hee euer defended them whiche were ſuſpected to bee Knowen men. Alſo becauſe hee bought out his penaunce, and caryed his badge in his purſe.*

¶ Byſhop Longland ſekyng how to conuicte John Phippe of periury, who beyng charged with an othe did not aunſwere affirmatiuely to ſuch ſuſpicions as were layd vnto hym by Tho. Holmes and other ſeuerall accuſers, did examine Sibill Affrike his owne ſiſter vpon her othe, to detecte John Phippe her brother of relapſe: but ſhe ſo aunſwered, that the Byſhop could take by her no great hold of relapſe agaynſt him. Wherin is to be noted the ſingular iniquitie and abuſe in the Church of Rome, which by vertue of othe, ſetteth the ſiſter to procure the brothers bloud. The like alſo was ſought by Thomas Affrike, hys ſiſters huſband, but they had by hym no vantage.

Ioh. Phyppe.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Ienkyn Butler **dyd appeach**	Iohn Butler *his own brother*	*For reading to him in a certayne booke of the Scripture, and perſwading him to harken to the ſame.*
	Robert Carder.	
	Richard Butler *hys brother.*	
	Henry Vulman *of Uxbridge.*	
	Rich. Aſheforde *of Walton, otherwiſe called Richarde Naſhe, or Rich. Tredway.*	
	VV. King *of Uxbridge.*	
VV. Ameryden **did detect**	Iſabell Tracher *wife of Iohn Tracher.*	*Becauſe ſhe came not to the church ofter on the worke dayes, being admoniſhed both by the church wardens, by the graduates of the church, & by Doctor Cockes commiſſarye, but followed her buſines at home.* *Alſo becauſe ſhe purpoſed to ſet her daughter to Alyce Hardyng, ſaying that ſhe could better inſtructe her then many other.* *Alſo becauſe ſhe curſed the prieſt after he was gone, whiche had geuen to her the Euchariſt, ſaying, that he had geuen to her bitter gall.*
	Tho. Clement *of Cherſham.*	
	Alyce Holting.	*For that ſhe being greate with childe, did dyne before ſhe went to church to take her rites, ſaying, that Iſabell Tracher did ſo tell her, that ſhe myghte dyne before ſhe receaued the ſacrament.*
	VV. Trecher *of Amerſham.*	*For keping Thomas Groue in hys houſe on eaſter and chriſtenmas daye, becauſe he would not come to the church.*

An. 1521.

Ex Regiſtr. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Ioanne Norman **did appeache**	Roberte Coſine. Thomas Man. Alice Hardyng.	*For diſſuadyng from pilgrimage, from worſhipping of Images, and from bowyng her mony to ſaints for health of her child. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe neded not to confeſſe to a Prieſt: but to be enough to lift vp her handes to heauen. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe might as well drinke vpō the Sonday before Maſſe, as any other day. &c*
Iohn Scriuener **forced by his othe to accuſe**	Henry Miller *Wyer drawer, which frō Amerſhā fled to Chempſford.*	*That he abiured and did penaunce in Kēt before, and afterward commyng to Amerſham, taught there (as he ſayd) many hereſies.*
	Iohn Barret *goldſmith of London.* Ioanne Barret *his wife.* Ioanne *his ſeruaunt.* Iohn Merywether, *his wife, and his ſonne.*	*Becauſe he was heard in his owne houſe before his wife & maide there preſent, to recite the Epiſtle of S. Iames: Whiche Epiſtle with many other things, he had perfectly without booke.* *Alſo becauſe Ioanne his wife had lent to this Iohn Scriuener, the Goſpell of Mathew & Marke, which booke he gaue to B. Smith.*
	Durdant *by Stanys.* Old Durdant Iſabell *wife of* Thom. Hardyng. Hartoppe *of Wyndſore.* Ioāne Barret, *wife of I. Barret of London.* Henry Miller.	*All theſe were accuſed becauſe, at at the mariage of Durdantes daughter, they aſſembled together in a barne, and heard a certeine Epiſtle of Saint Paul read, whiche readyng they well liked, but eſpecially Durdant, and commended the ſame.*
	Stilman *Taylour.*	
	Thomas Rowland *of Amerſham.*	*It was obiected to Thomas Rouland for ſpeaking theſe wordes: Ah good Lorde, where is all our good communicatiō which was wont to be among vs, when your maiſter was aliue?*
	Tho. Groue *of Lond. butcher.* W. Glasbroke *of Harow on the hill.* Chriſtopher Glaſbroke *of London.*	*Theſe were appeached becauſe they vſed to reſorte and conferre together of matters of Religion, in the houſe of Thomas Man, at Amerſham, before the great abiuration.*
	VVilliam Tilſeworth *of London, goldſmith, prentiſe ſomtimes, to Iohn Barret.*	
	Ioh. Newman.	*He was appeached becauſe he was preſent in the houſe of Iohn Barret, at the reading of Scripture.*
	Iohn VVoode *of Henley.*	
	VVilliam VVoode.	
	Lewes *of Henley, ſeruing man.*	
	VVylie, *and his ſonne.*	*This Wilye was appeached becauſe he taught the Goſpell of Math. to Iohn Wood and William Woode after the great abiuration: and father Roberte did teache them ſaint Paulēs Epiſtle, Whiche olde father was after that burned at Buckingham.*
VV. Littlepage **forced by hys othe dyd accuſe.**	Thurſtan Littlepage. Emme *his wife.*	*This Thurſtan had taught him the ſaying of Salomon: that wrath raiſeth chyding: had taught him alſo the* Pater noſter, & Aue *in Engliſhe. His Crede in Engliſhe he learned of his grandmother.* *The ſayde Thurſtan alſo taught him, Chriſt not to be corporally in the Sacramēt.*
	Iohn Littlepage *his brother.* Alyce, *wife of Thurſtan Littlepage.*	*Becauſe hee was ſayde to haue learned the x. commaundementes in Engliſhe, of Alyce Thurſtanes wife, in his fathers houſe.*
	Iohn Fryer.	*Becauſe this Iohn Frier had taught the ſayd Williā the x. Commaundements in Engliſh.*
	Thomas Groue.	
	Herns *wife.*	
	The wife of Iohn Morwyn.	
	Richard Bartlet.	
	Robert Bartlet.	
Iohn Gardiner **dyd appeach**	Thomas Bernard.	
	Ioanne Clerke *of litle Miſſenden.*	*For ſaying ſhe neuer did beleue in the Sacrament of the alter, nor euer woulde beleue in it.*
	Iohn Horne *of Ambylden.*	
	His ſiſter Agnes VVarde. VVardes *wife of Merlow.* Nicholas Stokeley.	*Becauſe, that whē this Gardiner ſayd: God helpe vs & our Lady, and all the ſaints of heauen, then ſhee ſayd: What nede is it to go to the feete, when we may goe to the head?*
	VVilliam Stokeley.	
	The wife of VVilliam Deane.	
	VVilliam Ramſey *of Newbery.*	
	Iohn Symon *His wife.* *of Marlow.*	
	Iohn Graye *of Marlow.*	
	Dauy Schyrwode.	
	VVilliam Schyrwode.	
	Raynolde Schyrwode.	
Iohn Say **did detect.**	Chriſtoph. Shomaker. Iohn Okynden. Robert Pope.	*This Chriſtopher Shomaker had ben burned a litle before at Newbery.*

Father Robert, Martyr.

¶ Byſhop Longland ſeeking matter agaynſt Iſabell Morwyn, of whom he coulde take no great aduauntage by examination, called and cauſed Elizabeth Copland her owne ſiſter, to teſtifye agaynſt her in maner as followeth.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Elizab. Copland **witneſſeth agaynſt**	Iſabell Morwyn, *her own ſiſter.*	*Firſt becauſe in talke together comming from their father, beyng at the pointe of death, Iſabell ſayd to her ſiſter Eliſab. that all whiche die, either paſſe to hell or heauen. Nay ſayd the other,*

there

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Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		there is betwene them Purgatorie. Againe, when Elizabeth came from the rode of reſt, ſaid Iſabell, that if ſhe knew ſo much as ſhe hath heard, ſhe would go no more on pilgrymage while ſhe lyued: for all ſaintes, ſayd ſhee, be in heauen. Then asked Elizabeth wherfore pilgrimage was ordeyned of Doctoures and Prieſtes. Sayd the other, for gayne and profite. Who hath taught you this ꝙ Elizab? man or woman? Your curate, I dare ſay, neuer learned you ſo. My curate ſayd ſhe, will neuer knowe ſo much: and moreouer ſayd to Elizab. her ſiſter, that if ſhe would kepe counſaile, and not tell her huſband, ſhe would ſay more. And when Eliſa. aunſwered, that ſhe would not tell: but ſaith the other, I will haue you to ſweare: and becauſe ſhe would not ſweare, the other would not procede any further.
Alyce Browne forced by her othe to detecte	Iohn Tracher of Cheſham.	The cauſe why this Ioh. Tracher was denounced, was this, for that he taught her in the goſpell thys ſaying of Ieſus: bleſſed bee they that heare the worde of God and keepeth it. Alſo becauſe he taught her the viij. beatitudes in Engliſhe.

¶ Emme Tylſworth, becauſe ſhe refuſed to detect other by vertue of her othe, and denyed ſuch matter as by witnes and by the Byſhops actes were proued agaynſt her, in paine of relapſe the B. enioyned her to make certayne fagots of cloth & to weare the ſame, both before her vpper garment, and behynde, ſo long as ſhe liued. Ex Regiſt. Longland.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
W. Phippes forced by his othe to detecte	Thomas Afryke.	For asking how his coſine Wydmore Clerke, the elder, and Iohn Fippe did at Hychenden: Whether they kept the lawes of God as they were wont.
	Roger Parker deceaſſed.	
	Iohn Phyppe.	For ſaying that Images are not to bee worſhipped, becauſe they are made and carued with mans hande, and that ſuche ought not to be worſhipped.
	Iohn Gardiner.	For that the ſaid William ſayd to this Gardiner, that all whiche are burned for this ſecte, are true Martyrs.
	Iohn Stilman.	

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Butler, by his othe was forced to detect	Th. Geffray firſte of Uxbrige, thē of Ipſwich Tailor.	For reading and teachyng him in the actes & preachings of the apoſtles. Item, for hauing a Scripture booke in Engliſhe: whiche booke the ſayd Geffray gaue to the Biſh. of London when he was accuſed. Item, that the ſaid Geffray ſayd, that true pilgrimage was, barefoote to goo and viſite the poore, weake, and ſicke, for they are the true Images of God.
	Richard Vulford.	This Vulford, and Thomas Geffray tolde the ſaide Iohn Butler, that the hoſt conſecrated was not the very true body of Chriſt. In profe whereof they ſaid, that let a mouſe be put in the pixe with the hoſte, and the mouſe would eate it vp. And for more profe, they declared vnto the ſaid Ioh. Butler, that there were two Prieſtes in Eſſex, whiche put a mouſe in the pixe, to a conſecrated hoſt, and the mouſe did eate it. Afterward the facte of theſe Prieſtes being knowen & brought to the Biſhop, one of the Prieſtes was burned for the ſame.
	Iohn Clerke of Denham.	Alſo the ſame Vulford and Geffrey told him & Iohn Clerke, that holy bread, and holy water were but a vaine glory of the world: for God neuer made them, but were mens inuentiōs: and that God neither made Prieſtes: for in Chriſts time there were no Prieſtes. Moreouer that Thomas Geffrey cauſed this Iohn Butler diuerſe Sondayes to go to London to here Doctour Colet.
The foreſaid Iohn Butler dyd detecte.	Andrew Fuller of Uxbrydge.	Becauſe this Iohn Butler had an olde booke of Richarde Vulford. Alſo an other great booke of Andrewe fuller, for which he payde vi. ſ. iiij. d, and an other litle booke of Thomas Man, which he brought to the Biſhop.
	Thomas Man.	Moreouer this Thomas Man was appeached, becauſe he redde to this deponent x. yeares agoe, how Adam & Eue were expelled out of Paradyſe: and for ſpeaking agaynſt pilgrimage, and worſhipping of Images, and againſt the ſinging ſeruice vſed then in churches. This Thomas Man was burnt & died a martyr, of whom mention is made before. pag. 943.
	W. King.	This W. Kyng was appeached becauſe he lodged Thomas Man in his houſe vppon a certaine holy day at diuine ſeruice: vnto whom reſorted Richard Wulford, and Iohn Clerke, and this Iohn Butler: to whom the ſayd Tho. Man declared, that pilgrimage was nought, and that Images were not to be worſhipped.
	Robert Carder. Durdāt. Richard Butler. his owne brother. VVilliam Kyng.	To theſe was layd that Thomas Carder brought this Iohn Butler to Durdantes houſe at Iuencourt by Stanys, where was Richard Butler his brother, and W. Kyng reading in a certayne Engliſhe booke: At which tyme Durdant deſired them not to tell, that he had any ſuch Engliſhe booke in his houſe, leſt he ſhoulde be burned for the ſame.
	Richard Naſſhe or Aſſheford	Alſo an other tyme, that this Iohn Butler, with Richard Butler his brother, and Robert Carder went to the houſe of Richard Aſſhforde or Naſhe, to here the ſame Aſſheford read in a certeine litle booke, but whiche conteined many good thinges.

A ſtorye of a mouſe put into the pyxe.

Doctour Colet cōmended.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 943.

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Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Richard Vulman *of Londō.*	*This Vulman was detected vpon this, for that he would haue redde to this Iohn Butler a certaine Engliſhe booke, and ſpake againſt pilgrimage and Images.*
	Henry Vulman *and his wife, of Vxbrige.*	
	Radulph *Carpenter of Londō.* *A daughter of* Ioh. Phyppe. *A daughter of* William Phyppe.	*This Raffe Carpenter was detected, for hauyng certeine bookes of the Apocalyps in Engliſhe.* *Alſo for that this Carpenter and his wife did bringe him and the wife of Henry Vulman to a corner houſe of Fridayeſtrete, where the goodman of the houſe hauing a ſtumpe foote, had diuers ſuch bookes, to the entent they ſhould heare them read.*
	R. Butler. Ienkyn Butler *his own brethren.* The mother of Ric. Aſheford. I. Butler *his other brother.*	*Theſe were detected partly for holdyng agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar: partly alſo* ẏ *becauſe they were readyng two houres together, in a certeine booke of the Actes of the Apoſtles in Engliſhe at Cherſham in Aſhfordes houſe.* fol. 43.
Iohn Phyppe **cōpelled by his oth to detect**	The wife of Rob. Pope.	*For hauing certein bookes in Engliſhe, one bounde in bordes, and iij. with perchement coueringes, with iiij. other ſhetes of paper writen in Engliſhe conteining matter againſt the Romiſh Religion. Alſo an other boke of the ſeruice of the Virgine Marie in Engliſhe.*
	Thomas Stilman.	*Thomas Stilman was therfore detected, for that he tolde W. Fyppe howe that hee being in Lolardes tower, did clime vp the ſteple wher the belles were, and there cutting the belropes, did tye ij. of them together, and ſo by them ſlipped downe into Paules Churchyard, and eſcaped.*
Thomas Tredway **compelled by his oth to detect**	Ioh. Mordē *of Aſhley grene.* Richard Aſheford *his brother.*	*Theſe were accuſed and detected, becauſe Iohn Morden had in his houſe a booke of the Goſpels, and other chapters in Engliſhe, and read iij. or iiij. times in the ſame: In which booke his brother Aſhford alſo did read once.* *Item, becauſe Ioh. Morden ſpake againſt Images, and ſpake theſe wordes: Our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt ſaith in his Goſpell: bleſſed be they that heare the worde of God and kepeth it. &c.*
	Agnes Aſhforde *his owne mother.*	*Tredwaye alſo detected his mother for teaching hym that hee ſhoulde not worſhip the Images of Saintes.*

For readyng bookes in Engliſhe.

Joanne Bernard.

¶ Likewiſe Joanne Bernard beyng accuſed by Robert Copland, was ſworne by her othe to detecte Thomas Bernards her owne naturall father, for ſpeakyng agaynſt pilgremage, agaynſt worſhipping of ſaintes, and agaynſt diriges and praying for the dead, and for warnyng his daughter not to vtter any of all this to her ghoſtly father.

¶ The like othe alſo was forced to Richard Bernard that he ſhould in lyke matter detecte Thomas Bernard hys owne naturall father, for teachyng him not to worſhyp Images, nor to beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar, but in God onely whiche is in heauen: and that he ſhould not vtter the ſame to the Prieſt.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The vicare of Iuer, and Richard Taylour **wytneſſe, accuſed**	Richard Carder.	*For defendyng the cauſe of Ienkin Butler, and for ſaying, that the Biſhop did him iniurie. Item, for ſaying that if he had knowen the Biſhops man would haue fet him ſo to the Biſh. he would haue geuen him warning therof before. Item for ſaying, that if he ſhould call him, hee woulde confeſſe nothing, although he burned him.*
Agnes Carder, **wife of** Richard Carder, **detected**	Richard Carder, *her huſband.*	*For ſaying, that he ſuſpected that ſhee was to much familiare with the Vicare of Iuer. And when ſhe aunſwered againe: howe coulde hee bee euill with her, ſeyng hee ſaith Maſſe euery daye, and doth not confeſſe him ſelfe before: then her huſband ſayd, that hee could confeſſe him ſelf to a poaſte, or to the altare.*

¶ Where note that the Biſhop then examinyng her of that offence, whether ſhe was culpable, & whether ſhe was cōmonly in ẏ voyce of the people, diffamed with him or no: ſhe confeſſed ſo to be. Wherupon no other penaltie nor penaunce for that crime of adultery was inioyned her of the Byſhop, but onely this: that ſhe ſhould frequent the Vicares houſe no more.

Agaynſt Images.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Clerke **of** Dēnham **forced by his oth to detected**	Richard Vulford *of riſelyp.* Iohn Butler.	*For ſpeaking agaynſt Images, pilgrimage, oblations, & againſt the ſacrament of the altare.* *Item, when this Iohn Clerke had made a weele for fiſhe, Rich. Vulford comming by, aſked him, whē hee had made his weele, whether the weele now could turne againe and make him: and hee ſaid no. Euen ſo, ꝙ hee, God hath made all Prieſtes as thou haſt made the weele, and howe can they turne againe and make God?*
Iohn Maſtall **detected**	*The daughter of* Ioh. Fyp *of Hinchēden.*	*For ſaying that ſhee was as well learned, as was the Pariſhe Prieſt in all thinges, except onely in ſaying of Maſſe.*
Roberte Roulād. William Franke. Thomas Houre. Thomas Roulād. Ioanne Franke. Iohn Baker, **all theſe detected**	Alyce Saunders *wife of* Richard Saunders *of Amerſham.*	*For geuing xii. pence to Tho. Holmes to bye a certeine booke in Engliſhe for her daughter. To whom Thomas Holmes aunſwered agayne, that a noble would not ſuffice to bye it.* *An other time, for geuing vi. pēce to the bying of a certeine booke in Engliſh, which coſte v. markes.* *An other tyme, Thomas Houre cōmyng frō Owburne, ſhe aſked what newes, & he ſayd that many were there condēned of hereſie: & therfore he would lene to that way no more. Then ſayd ſhe, if he did ſo, he would gayne nothyng thereby. Whereby he had no more worke with her huſband, and after was put from his holy water clerkeſhip in that towne.* *An other time, for ſaying to Tho. Rouland theſe wordes: ye may ſee howe Thomas Houre and other which laboured to haue heretikes detected before Biſhop Smith, are brought nowe to beggerye: you may take example of them.*

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Ex Regiſt. Io. Langland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Ioanne Franke. VVilliam Franke, *the elder.* VVilliam Franke, *the yõger.* Alyce Tredway **detected**	Ioanne Colingborne.	*For ſaying to one Ioãne Timberlake, & to Alyce Tredway, tenne yeares agoe, that ſhee could neuer beleue pilgrimage to be profitable, nor that ſaintes were to be worſhipped: and deſired them not to tell their curate. Whiche Alyce immediatly cauſed her to bee called before the Biſhop,*
VVilliam Carder **vpon hys othe was forced to detect**	Iſabell Tracher *wife of* VVilliam Tracher, *his maiſtres.*	*For that ſhee beyng not ſicke, but in good health, and beyng rebuked diuers times of her husbãd for the ſame, yet would not go to the Church, but taryed at home, and kept her worke as well holy day as worke day, the ſpace of 3. yeares together.*
Iſabell Gardiner. Ioh. Gardiner **forced by their othe to detect** **The** Vicar **of** Wicombe.	Thomas Raue *of greate Merlow.*	*For ſpeaking againſt pilgrimege, in the company of Iohn and Eliſabeth Gardiner, as he was goyng to our Lady of Lyncolne for hys penaũce inioyned by Biſh. Smith.* *Alſo the ſame time, as he mette certeine comming from S. Ioh. Shorne, for ſayinge they were fooles and calling it idolatrie.* *Alſo in the ſame viage when he ſaw a certeine chapell in decay & ruine: he ſaid, loe yonder is a fayre milkehouſe downe.* *Item, when he came to Lincolne, he made water in the chappell at Maſſe tyme, excuſing afterward that he did it of neceſſitie.* *Item, the ſame tyme, ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the altare, he ſayd that Chriſt ſitteth in heauen at the right hand of the father almightie, and brought foorth this parable, ſaying, that Chriſt our Lord ſaid theſe wordes, when he went from his diſciples, and aſcended to heauen: That once he was in ſinners handes, and would come there no more.* *Alſo when he came to Wycombe there to do his penaunce, he bound his fagot with a ſilken laſe.* *Alſo beyng demaunded of D. London, whether he had done his penaunce in cõming to our Lady of Lincolne, he aunſwered that Biſhop Smith had releaſed him, to come to our Lady of Miſſenden for ſix yeares. And 3. yeares he came: but whether he came any more, becauſe he did not there regiſter his name, therfore he ſayd he could not proue it.*
Roger Benet **forced by his othe to detect**	*The wife of* Thomas Potter *of Hychenden.*	
	The wife of William Tilſeworth, *nowe of* Hawkwell.	*For not thinking catholiquely, that is, after the tradition of Rome, of the Sacrament of the altare.*
	The wife of Rob. Stampe.	*For not accõpliſhyng her penaunce inioyned by Biſhop Smith.*
	Marian Randall.	
Richard Vuiford **detected**	Ioh. Butler	*For hauing of him a certeine boke in Engliſhe conteinyng a Dialogue betwene a Iewe & a Chriſtiã.*

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
	His owne wife deceaſſed.	
	Iohn Clerke *of Denham.*	*For communing with him, againſt Images, pilgrimage, and the Sacrament of the altare.*
	Thomas Geffrey *of Vxbrige, and his wife departed.*	*For communing againſt the Sacrament of the altare, woorſhipping of ſaintes, pilgrimage. &c.*
	Henry Vulman *of Vxbrige*	*For ſpeaking and teachyng againſt the Sacrament of the altar xi. yeares ago, and ſaying it was but a trifle.*
	The mother of VVilliam Kyng *of Vxbrige.*	
	VVilliam Kyng.	
	Robert Carder, *the elder.*	
	Iohn Baker *of Vxbrige.*	
Iohn Scriuener **ỹ elder detected**	Geldner *the elder.* *His two daughters.*	*For beyng preſent and harkening vnto Richard Benet readyng the Epiſtle of S. Iames in Engliſh.*
	Emme, *ſiſter of* VV. Tilſeworth *Martyr.*	
	Iohn Lee *Carpenter of Henley.*	

Agaynſt the Sacrament of the altare.

For reading the Scripture.

Here is to be noted, that in the towne of Cheſham were ii. men: One named Robert Hutton, The other Iohn Sparke. Of which two, the one called the other hereticke: The other called him agayne theefe. Sparke which he called Hutton theefe, was condemned to pay for his ſlaunder x.s. But Hutton which called the other hereticke, payed not, i.d. It happened ỹ the wife of this Sparke not long after, had certeine money ſtolne. For the which the ſayd Sparke her huſband ſent for the counſaile of two friers, who gaue him counſaile to make ii. balles of clay, and to put them in the water, and in the ſame balles to incloſe the names of them whom he ſuſpected, and ſo doyng the ſayd Sparke came to hys money agayne. And this was detected to Biſhop Longland the ſame tyme by Tho. Clement. But of all this matter there was no inquiſition made, nor Interrogatories miniſtred, nor witnes producted, nor any ſentence geuen. Ex Regiſt. Longland. fol. 50

Ioh. Sparke.

Witchcraft left of the Biſhop vnpuniſhed.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Ioh. Groſar, **being put to his oth, detected**	Thomas Tykyll. Thomas Spẽſer & *his wife.* Iohn Knight.	*This Iohn Groſar was examined whether he had a boke of the Goſpels in Engliſhe, who confeſſed that he receaued ſuch a booke of Tho. Tykill morowe maſſe prieſt in Milkeſtrete, and afterwarde lent the ſame booke to Tho. Spenſer: Which Tho Spenſer with his wife vſed to read vpon the ſame. After that, it was lent to Iohn Knight, who at length deliuered the booke to the vicare of Rykemanſworth.*
Ihon Fũge **forced by his othe to detect**	Frãces Funge & *hys brother.* Thomas Clerke.	*Fraunces Funge was examined for ſpeaking theſe woordes to hys brother Iohn, which words he had learned of Tho. Clerke: If the Sacrament of the alter be very God and man, fleſh and bloud, in forme of bread, as Prieſtes ſay that it is: then haue we many Gods, and in heauen there is but one God. And if there were an hundreth houſeled in one pariſh, and as many in an other, then there muſt nedes be more then one God. I will not denye, but it is a holy thyng: but it is not the body of the Lord, that ſuffred Paſſion for vs for he was once in mans handes here, and ill entreated, and therfore he will neuer come in ſinfull mens handes agayne.* *Alſo for ſpeaking theſe wordes: The Pope hath no authoritie to geue pardon, and to releaſe an-*

For hauing the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Agaynſt the Sacrament of the altare.

An. 1521

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
		mans ſoule frõ ſinne, and ſo from payne: it is nothing but blinding of the people, to haue their money. *Alſo for theſe wordes, or ſuch like: If a man do ſow xx. quarters of corne, as wheate or barley, or other corne, he ought to deduct his ſede, and of the reſidue to tithe, or els he hath wrong. &c.*
Fraũces Funge & Alyce **his wife were put to their othe to detect**	Thomas Clerke.	*For ſpeaking againſt the reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament vnto Frances Fũge, as before. &c.*
	Robert Raue, *of Dorney.*	*For ſaying theſe workes: That the Sacramẽt of the aultar is not that body which was borne of the bleſſed virgine Mary.* *Item, for ſpeaking ſuch woordes xiiij. yeres paſt: That folkes were ill occupyed that worſhipped any thinges grauen with mans hand: for that is grauen with mans hand, is neither God, nor our Lady, but made for a remembraũce of Saintes. Nor we ought to worſhip any thing, but God and our Lady, and not Images of ſaints, which are but ſtockes and ſtones.*
Henry Deyn **forced by his othe to detecte**	Edmund Hill *of Penne.*	
	Roberte Freman, *Pariſhe prieſte of Orton by Colobroke.*	*For hauyng and readyng vpon a ſuſpected booke: which boke when he perceaued to be ſeene in his hand, he cloſed it and caried it to his chamber.*
Ioh. Hill **was forced by his othe, did detect**	Thomas Groue *and his wife, of Amerſham.*	
	Matild Philby *wife of* Edward Philby *of Chaldwey.*	
	Ioanne Gunne *of Cheſham.*	*Becauſe ſhee inſtructed & taught the ſayd Hill before his abiuration, in the Epiſtle of S. Iames, and other opinions.*
	William Atkyns *of great Miſſenden.*	
	Richard Murden, *of Cheſham.*	
	Emme Murden, *his wife.*	
W. Gudgame **forced by his oth to detect**	Ioanne Gudgame *hys owne wife.*	*For beyng in the ſame opinion of the Sacrament that hee was of: who notwithſtandyng did ſweare the ſame not to bee true, that her husband ſayd.*
	Alyce Naſhe *or* Chapman, *of Miſſenden.*	
Matilde Symondes, **and** Iohn Symondes **her husband, put to their othe detected**	*One* Haggar *of Lõdon.*	*For ſpeaking in their houſe, an. 1520. theſe wordes: That there ſhould be a battaile of Prieſtes, & all the Prieſtes ſhould bee ſlayne, and that the Prieſtes ſhoulde a while rule: but they ſhould all bee deſtroyed, becauſe they holde agaynſt the law of holy Church, & for making of falſe Gods, and after that they ſhould be ouerthrowen.* *Item, an other time, hee ſaid, that men of the Church ſhould be put downe, and the falſe Gods that they make: and after that he ſayd they ſhould know more, & then ſhould be a mery worlde.*

A propheſie.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Thomas Clarke **forced by his othe, did detect**	Chriſtopher Tinker *of Wicombe.*	*The cauſe of this Tinkers trouble was fot that hee comming to this mans houſe, and complaynyng to him of the pouertie of the worlde, had theſe woordes: That there was neuer ſo miſgouerned people, and that they bare them ſelues ſo bold vpon pardons and pilgrimages, that they cared not what ſoeuer they did, and ſo he departed.* *And after that vij. dayes, thys Tinker commyng againe, asked him how his communication with him laſt did pleaſe him, and he ſaid, well. Then the Tinker ſaid he knew more, and that he could tell him more, and bad him that he ſhould beleue in God in heauen: for here bee many Gods in earth, and there is but one God: and that hee was once here, and was yll dealt with, and would no more come here till the day of dome: and that the Sacrament of the altare was a holie thing, but not the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt that was borne of the virgine, and charged him not to tell this to his wife, and eſpecially to his wiues brother a Prieſt.* *Afterwarde as the Prieſt was drying ſinging bread being wette, which his ſiſter had bought, the foreſaid Thomas Clerke ſaid, that if euery one of theſe were a God, then were there many Gods. To whom the Prieſt aunſwered, that till the holy wordes were ſpoken ouer it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, fleſhe and bloud, ſaying moreouer that it was not mete for any lay man to ſpeake of ſuch thinges.* *Theſe wordes of the Prieſt beyng after recited to the Tinker, by the ſaid Clerke: then ſaid hee, let euery man ſay what they will: but you ſhall finde it as I ſhewe you: and if you will take labour to come to my houſe, I will ſhew you a farther profe of it, if you will take hede. &c.*
Roberte Pope **firſt of Amerſham, after of Weſtandred, cauſed by his othe, dyd detecte theſe folowyng**	Thomas Africke, *alias* Litlepage, *and his wife.*	*To theſe was obiected for that they had communication and conference with this Rob. Pope in the Goſpell of S. Mathew, before the great abiuration, in the towne of Amerſham.*
	Tho. Scriuener *father to* Tho. Holmes *wife.*	*This Scriuener was detected for that the ſaid Pope had of him a booke of the Epiſtles in Engliſh.*
	Benet Ward *of Bekenneſfield, and his father.* Edmund Dormer.	*To Warde this was layd, that the foreſaide Pope had receaued a booke of the x. Cõmaundementes. He had alſo the Goſpels of Mathew and Marke.* *Of the ſame Ward he learned his Chriſt Croſſe row: Fiue partes of the viij. beatitudes.*
	Thomas Harding, *and his wife.*	
	Iohn Scriuener, *and his wife.*	
	Tho. Mã, *and his wife.* *An other* Tho. Mã, *and his wife.*	*Theſe were detected for this, becauſe they had communed and talked with the ſaide Roberte Pope ofttimes in bookes of Scripture and other matters of Religion concernyng pilgremage, adoration of Images, and the Sacrament of the Lordes body.*
	Thomas Bernard.	

Tho-

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
Roberte Pope of Weſtenred, beyng before abiured nowe again put to his oth detected theſe as folow	Thomas Groue.	
	Thomas Holmes.	
	Roberte Raue.	
	William Gudgame, *and his Wife.*	
	Naſhe *the elder, and his Wife.*	
	W. Gray *of Eaſthenred, Milner.*	
	Edward Gray, *and his Wife, of Eaſthenred.*	
	Margery young, *Widow, of Eaſthenred.*	
	Iſabell Moer, *ſiſter to the ſaid* Margerye, *of Eaſthenred.*	
	Richard Nobys *Fouler, and his Wife, of Eaſthenred.*	
	Rich. Colyns *of Gynge, & his Wife.*	*This Colyns Was among them a great reader, and had a booke of Wickleſſes Wicket, and a booke of Luke, and one of Paule, and a Gloſe of the Apocalyps.*
	VVilliam Colyns *his brother.*	
	Tho. Colyns *the father of* Richard *and* William.	*Hee had a booke of Paul and a booke of ſmall Epiſtles.*
	Iohn Colyns, *of Betterton.*	
	Rob. Lyuord, *of Steuenton.*	
	VVilliam Lyuord, *of Steuenton.*	
	Father Amerſhaw, *of Steuenton.*	
	Smarte, *of Steuenton, Milner.*	
	Thomas Halle, *of Hungerford.*	
	Iohn Eden, *of Hungerford.*	
	Iohn Ludlow, *of Hungerford.*	
	Thomas Newe, *of Wantage thatcher.*	
	Ioanne Taylor *and her mother, of Biſſam.*	
	Humfrey Shomaker, *of Newbery.*	
	Iohn Semande, *of Newbery, Fyſhmonger.*	
	Robert Geydon, *and his Wife, of Newbery, Weauer.*	
	Iohn Edmundes, *of Burford.*	*This Iohn Edmundes Was charged for hauing a booke named William Thorpe. Alſo for readyng in an Engliſhe booke after a mariage.*
	Roberte Burges, *and his Wife, of Burford.*	
	Iohn Colyns, *of Burford.*	
	Iohn Colyns, *and his Wife, of Aſthall.*	
	Ihon Clerke, *of Claufielde.*	*This Clerke Was heard ſay that all the World Was as Well halowed as the Churche or Churchyard, And that it Was as good to be buryed in the field, as in the Church, or Churchyard.*
	VVilliam Gunne, *and his Wife of Wytney, Tanner.*	
	Iohn Baker, *of Wytney, Weauer.*	
	Iohn Brabant *the elder, of Stanlake.*	
	Iohn Brabant *the yonger, of Stanlake.*	
	Iohn Kember, *of Hennyburkes.*	
	VValter Kember, *his brother, of Hennybarkes.*	
	Iohn Rabettes, *of Chawley.*	
	Thomas VVidmore, *of Hychenden.*	

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
	Iohn Fyppe. VVilliam Fyppe.	*For readyng a certeine treatiſe vppon the* Pater noſter *in Engliſhe, whiche this Iohn Fippe did read to him, and to his father.*

¶ This foreſayd Robert Pope moreouer detected Edwarde Pope his owne father of litle Myſſenden. for hearyng the Goſpell of Matthew read vnto hym, and for communyng vpon the ſame with this Robert Pope his ſonne. He detected lykewiſe Edward Pope his brother.

The ſonne detected the father.

¶ Furthermore he detected hys owne wife, who had before abiured vnder B. Smith, to continue ſtill in her opinions.

Roberte Pope before abiured, did detecte theſe here folowyng	Thomas Clerke *the elder, of Hychenden.*	
	Laurence Herne, *of Hychenden.*	
	VV. Halyday *of Eaſthenred.*	*This Halyday Was detected, for hauing in his cuſtodie a booke of the Actes of the Apoſtles in Engliſhe, whiche the ſayd Roberte Pope brought unto him, at the taking of Roger Dodde.*
	VVilliam Squyre, *and his brother, of Schaw.*	
	Thomas Steuenton, *and* Matilde *his daughter, of Cherney.*	
	Thomas Philipe, *pointer.* Laurēce Tayler, *of London.*	*For that theſe twoo being in the houſe of Rich. Colyns at Gynge, there did read in an Engliſhe booke, the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Rom. and Laurence did read the firſte Chapter of Saint Lukes Goſpell.*
	Andrew Maiſey, *of Burton.*	
	The Wife of Richard Colyns, *of Gynge.*	
	Ioh. Harrys, *and his Wife.* Alyce Colyns, *Wife of* Rich. Colyns.	*Theſe beyng together at Upton in Iohn Harrys houſe, did talke of the Apocalyps, and of the Actes of the Apoſtles, and therfore Were ſuſpected and thus detected.* Ex Regiſt. Longl. fol. 71. *Item, becauſe Iohn Harrys ſpake agaynſt pilgrimage, Images, and Was heard to talke of vij. leane, & vij. fat* Oxen.
	Robert Colyns *of Hertford Wallis, Maſon.*	
	Thomas Grey, *of Weſthendred.*	*For receauing certeine bookes of this Robert Pope.*
	Margarete Houſe, *wife of* W. Houſe, *of Eſtginge.*	*For keping company and receauyng the doctrine of Alyce Colyns.*
	Iohn Naſhe, *of litle Miſſenden.*	
	Henry Etkin, *and his mother, of litle Miſſenden.*	
	Richard Dell, *of Miſſenden.*	
Rob. Colyns being ſworne vpon the Euangeliſtes, dyd detecte theſe perſons	Richard Colyns, *of Gynge.*	*Firſt, for that this Rich. Colyns did read vnto the ſayd Rob. Colyns the ten Commaundementes: and after taught him the Epiſtles of Iames, and an other ſmall Epiſtle of Peter: and after that tooke him the Goſpell of S. Iohn in Engliſh, and bad him read ther in him ſelfe.* *Alſo, for teaching him, not to worſhip Images, nor to ſet vp candels,*

For the ſcripture in Engliſhe.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

An. 1521

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Agaynſt the Sacrament of the altare.

For ſpeaking agaynſt Idolatrye.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		dells, nor to go on pilgrimage. An other crime againſt Rich. Colyns: Becauſe hee taught this Robert, that in all ſuch thinges wherin he offended God, he ſhould onely ſhriue hym ſelfe to God: and in which thinges he offended mã, he ſhould ſhriue him to man. Alſo for teachyng him, that the Sacrament of the altare is not very God, but a certeine figuratiue thing of Chriſte in bread: and that the prieſt hath no power to cõſecrate the body of Chriſt. Alſo for that the ſayd Rich. did teach him in Wickleffes Wicket: howe that a mã may not make the bodie of our lord, which made vs: and how can we then make him againe? The father is vnbegottẽ, and vnmade: The ſonne is onely begotten and not made: and how then can man make that, which is vnmade ſaid he? And in the ſame booke of Wickleffes Wicket, folow the wordes of Chriſte thus ſpeaking: If my wordes be hereſie, then am I an hereticke: And if my wordes be leyſinges, then am I a lyer. &c. Alſo an other crime againſt Rich. Colyns: For hauing certaine Engliſhe bookes, as Wickleffes Wicket, the Goſpell of S. Iohn, the Epiſtles of S. Paul, Iames, & Peter in Engliſhe, an expoſition of the Apocalyps, a booke of our Ladyes mattens in Engliſhe, a booke of Salomon in Engliſhe, a booke called, the pricke of conſcience.
The foreſayd Robert Colyns beig ſworne vpon the Euangeliſtes, did detecte theſe perſons	Iohn Edmundes, of Burford taylor.	The crime againſt Ioh. Edmũds: For hauing a certeine Engliſhe booke of the Commaundementes.
	Ioh. Harrys.	The crime againſt Iohn Harrys: For communing with him of the firſt chap. of S. Iohns Goſpell: In the beginning was the worde, and the word was with God, and God &c. Alſo for cõmuning of a chap. in Math. of the viij. beatitudes.
	Thomas Hall.	Item, for couſailing him not to go on pilgremage to ſaintes, becauſe they were idols. &c.
	Rob. Lyuord. VV. Lyuord. Bruges, & Ioãne his wife. Harrys, and his wife. Rich. Colyns.	All theſe were detected, for that they being together in Bruges houſe at Burford, were readyng together in the booke of the expoſition of the Apocalyps, and communed concernyng the matter of openyng the booke with ſeuen clapſes. &c.
	Iohn Lediſdall, or Edon of Hungerford.	
	Iohn Colyns of Burford.	
	Iohn Colyns, and his wife, of Aſthall.	
	Iohn Clerke, of Clauſield.	
	The wife of Richard Colyns, of Gynge.	
	Tho. Colyns, and his wife, of Gynge.	This Thomas was charged for hauing a booke of Paule, and Iames in Engliſhe.
	VVilliam Colyns.	
	Robert Pope, of Henred.	
	Hakker, of Colmanſtret in London.	
	Stacy brickmaker of Colmanſtret.	For hauing the booke of the Apocalyps.
	Thomas Philippe. Laurẽce Wharfar of Londõ.	For readyng the Epiſtle of Saint Peter in Engliſhe in the houſe of Robert Colyns at Aſthall.
	Ioanne Colyns his owne ſiſter, of Aſthall.	
	Thomas Colyns his coſine, of Aſthall.	
	Maiſtres Briſtow, of London.	
	Iohn Colyns ſonne of Richard Colyns, of Gynge.	
	Ioanne Colyns daughter of Rich. Colyns, of Gynge.	
	Henry Stacy ſonne of Stacy of Colmanſtret.	
	Tho. Steuenton of Charney in Barkeſhire.	
	Iohn Brabant in Stanlake.	
	Iohn Baker Weauer, of Wytney.	
Iohn Colyns of Burford, appeached to the Byſhop theſe perſons here named	Richard Colyns.	The wordes of Richard Colyns were theſe: that the Sacrament was not the true body of Chriſt in fleſhe and bloud: but yet it ought to bee reuerenced: albeit not ſo as the true body of Chriſt.
	Thomas Colyns of Gynge, his owne naturall father	The crime agaynſt Thomas Colyns: For that viij. yeares paſt, this Thomas Colyns his father had taught this Iohn his ſonne in the preſence of his mother, the x. Commaundementes, and namely, that he ſhould haue but one God, and ſhould worſhip nothyng but God alone: and that to worſhip ſaintes & go on pilgrimage, was idolatrie. Alſo that hee ſhould not worſhip the Sacrament of the altare as God, for that it was but a token of the Lordes body. Whiche thyng ſo much diſcontented this Iohn Colyns, that hee ſayd hee would diſcloſe his fathers errours, & make him to be burned: but his mother intreated him not ſo to do.
	Rob. Colyns of Aſthall.	The crime agaynſte Robert Colyns: That this Rob. read to him in a certeine thicke booke of Scripture in Engliſhe.
	Iohn Edmundes and hys wife.	The crime layd to Iohn Edmũds: For that he read to this Iohn the tenne Commaundementes, and told him that Iohn Baptiſt ſayd, that one ſhould come after hym whoſe buckell of his ſhowe, he was not worthy to vndoe.
	Alyce, wife of Gunne of Wytney.	
	Ioh. Hakker, and his ſonne. of Londõ.	This Iohn Hakker of London, cõming to Burford, brought a boke ſpeaking of the ten plagues of Pharao. Alſo after that, an other booke, entreatyng of the vij. Sacramentes.

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Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſaid Iohn Colyns of Burford, dyd appeache to the Byſhop, theſe perſons here named	Laurence Taylor *of Shordiche.*	
	Thomas Philippe *of London.*	
	Philippe, *ſeruaunt of* Richard Colyns.	
	VVaunſell *fiſhmonger, of the Viſe.*	
	Ioanne Robert.	
	Burges wife.	
	Iohn Boyes, *and his brother, a monke of Burford.*	
	Thomas Baker, *father to* Gunnes *wife of Whatley.*	
	Agues, *daughter of* Iohn Edmundes.	
	The mother of Iohn Boyes, *of Sedbery.*	
	Edward Red *Scholmaſter of Burford.*	
	Robert Hichman *of Lechelade.*	
	Elynor Hegges *of Burford*	*This Elynor was charged that ſhe ſhould burne the Sacrament in an ouen.*
	Iohn Through, *of the Priorie of Burford.*	
	The mother of Robert Burges *wife.*	

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Roger Dods of Burford, by his oth was compelled to vtter theſe perſons here named	*Syr* Iohn Drurie *vicare of Windriſhe in Worceterſhyre*	*The crime agaynſt this Sir Iohn Drurie was, for that, when Roger Dods came firſt to him to be his ſeruaunt, he ſware him vppon a booke to kepe his counſails in all thinges: and after that he ſhewed him a certeine womã in his houſe whom he ſaid to be his wife, counſailing moreouer the ſaid Roger Dods vppon an Imbring day, to ſuppe with bread and cheſe, ſaying: that which goeth into a mans body defileth not a mans ſoule, but that whiche goeth out of the body defileth both body and ſoule.* *Alſo that the ſayde vicare taughte him the* A. B. C. *to the entent hee ſhoulde haue vnderſtanding in the Apocalyps, wherein hee ſaid that hee ſhoulde perceaue all the falſehode of the world, and all the truth. He ſaid farther more vnto him, when hee had bene at the lady of Worceſter, and at the bloud of hailes, whiche had coſt him. xviij. pence, that he had done as an ill husband, that had plowed his land and ſowen it, but nothing to the purpoſe: For he had worſhipped mans hãdy worke and caſt away his money, whiche had bene better geuẽ to the poore: for hee ſhoulde worſhip but one God, and no handy worke of man. Item, when the people would offer candels, where he was vicare, to Mary Magdalene, he would take thẽ away & ſay they were fooles, that brought them thether.*
	Elizabeth More, *of Eaſthenred.*	
	Robert Pope, *of Weſthenred.*	
	Henry Miller *or* Tucke, *by ware*	*This Henry did ſhewe to Roger Dods a certeine ſtory of a woman in the Apocalyps, ryding vpon a a red beaſt. The ſayd Henry was twiſe abiured.*
	Iohn Fyppe *of Hychenden.*	*For readyng vnto the ſayd Roger Dods, a certeine Goſpell in Engliſhe.*

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſayd Roger Dods of Burford, by his othe was compelled to vtter theſe perſons here annexed	William Fyppe *of Hychendẽ and* Hẽry *his ſonne.*	*This William had exhorted Roger Dods, that hee ſhould worſhip no Images, nor commit no Idolatrie, but worſhip one God: and tolde the ſame Roger that it was good for a mã to be mery & wiſe, meaning, that he ſhould kepe cloſe that was told him: for els ſtreit puniſhement would folow.*
	Rog. Parker *of Hychenden.*	*This Parker ſayd to Iohn Fyppe for burnyng of his bookes, that hee was foule to blame, for they were worth a C. markes. To whõ Iohn aunſwered, that he had rather burne his bookes, then that his bookes ſhould burne him.*
	The wife of Thomas Wydmore, *daughter of* Roger Houſe, *of Hychenden.*	
	Old Wydmores wife, *ſiſter to* Iohn Fyppe *of Hychenden.*	
	Iohn Ledisdall *of Hungerford*	*For reading of the Bible, in Robert Burges houſe at Burford vppon holy rood day, with Colyns Lyuerd, Thomas Hall, and other.*
	Rob. Colyns, *and his wife.*	*For byeng a Bible of Stacy, for xx.ſ.*
	Iohn Colyns, *and his wife.*	
	The father of Rob. Colyns.	*This father Colyns had bene of this doctrine from the yeare of our Lord.* 1480.
	Thomas Baker *of Whatley.* Roberte Lyuord. Iohn Symſon, *of Steuenton.* Thomas Ryley, *of Burford.* Iohn Clemſon, *ſeruaunt to the prior of Burford.* Iohn Edmundes, *of Burford.* VVilliam Gunne, *of Wytney.*	*To theſe was layd, that they beyng in the houſe of Iohn Harrys of Vpton, at the mariage of Ioanne the wife of Robert Burges, did read in a boke called Nicodemus Goſpell, that made the cloth whiche our Lord was buried in (as the Regiſter ſaith) and in that booke is the ſtorie of the deſtruction of Hieruſalem.*
	Iohn Baker *Weauer, of Wytney.*	
	The Balyffe *of Wytney.*	
	Iohn Hakker. Iohn Brabant, *and his wife.* Iohn Brabant *his ſonne, with his wife.* Iohn Brabant *the yõger ſonne, with his wife.*	*For readyng in a certeine Engliſhe booke of Scripture, they beyng together in Iohn Brabants houſe of Stanlake.*
	Reginald Brabant, *of Stanlake.*	
	Henry Fyppe.	*The crime and detection againſt this Henry was, for that he being asked of this Dods. an.* 1515. *whether he would go to Wycombe or not, aunſwered againe, that hee was choſen Roode man, that is, keper of the Roode loft, ſaying, that he muſt goe and tynde a candle before his* BLOCKE ALMYGHTY.

For reading the Bible in Engliſhe.

For reading the ſcripture in Engliſhe.

BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
	Oliuer Smith *of Newlyne, and his wife.*	
	VVilliã Hobbis.	*This William Hobbis was detected, firſt by Radulfe Hobbis his brother, to Biſhop Smith, but was deliuered through the ſute of the curate of Weſt Wycame.*
Ioh. Edmundes, **otherwiſe called** Iohn Ogins **of Burford, did detect**	Philippe Brabant, *ſeruaũt of* Richard Colyns.	*For ſaying, that the Sacrament of the aultare was made in the remembraunce of Chriſtes owne body: but it was not the body of Chriſt.*
	The ſhepheardes kalender was alſo accuſed and detected	*Becauſe the ſame Edmũdes ſaid, that hee was perſuaded by this booke, readyng theſe woordes: that the Sacrament was made in the remembraunce of Chriſt.*
	The boke of William Thorpe likewiſe was much complained of both by this Iohn Edmundes, and diuers other.	
	Richard Colyns *of Gynges.*	*This Richard Colyns, as hee was a great doer amõg theſe good mẽ: ſo was he much complained vpon by diuers, and alſo by this Edmundes, for bringing with him a booke called the king of Beeme, into their companie, and did read thereof a greate parte vnto them, in this Edmundes houſe of Burford.*
	Alyce Colyns, *wife of* Rich. Colyns.	*This Alyce likewiſe was a famous woman among them, and had a good memorye, and could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good bookes: And therfore when any conuenticle of theſe mẽ did meete at Burford, commonly ſhe was ſent for, to recite vnto thẽ the declaration of the ten Commaundementes, and the Epiſtles of Peter, and Iames.*
	Ioanne Colyns *daughter of Rich. & of Alyce Colyns.*	*This Ioanne alſo following her father and mothers ſteppes, was noted, for that ſhe had learned with her father and mother, the tenne Commaundementes, the vij. deadly ſinnes, the vij. workes of mercy, the v. wittes bodely and ghoſtlye, the viij. bleſſinges, and v. chapters of S. Iames Epiſtle.*
	Agnes Edmundes *his owne daughter.*	*This Agnes Edmundes was alſo detected by her father, that he brought her to the houſe of Richard Colyns, to ſeruice, to the entent ſhee mighte bee inſtructed there in Gods lawe, where ſhe had learned likewiſe the x. Commaundementes, the v. wittes bodely and ghoſtly, and the vij. deadly ſinnes.*
	Alyce Gunne.	
	VV. Ruſſell, *of Colmanſtrete.*	
	One mother Ioanne.	
	Father Iohn, *of Hungerford.*	
	Ioanne Taylor *ſeruaunt of Iohn Harrys, of Burford.*	
	Thomas Quicke, *Weauer, of Redyng.*	
	Philippe Brabant, *Weauer.*	
	Iohn Barbar, *clerke of Amerſham.*	
	Iohn Edynge, *of Hungerford.*	

Agaynſt the bodily preſence of the ſacrament.

Agaynſt the bodily preſence.

The booke called ye King of Beeme.

For hauing the x. Commaundementes in Engliſhe.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed.*	*Crimes obiected.*
	One Brabant, *brother to Philippe Brabant, of Stanlake.*	
Thomas Whyte, & Tho. Clarke **dyd appeache**	Robert Butterfield.	
	William Dorſet.	*The wordes of William Dorſette were theſe: that pilgrimage was of none effecte, and offring candells or other thinges to ſaintes, ſtoode in no ſteade, and was but coſte loſte.* *Alſo when his wife was going on pilgrimage, and he asked whether? and ſhe ſayd to our Lady of Wilſedon: our Lady, ſayd he, is in heauen,*
Iohn Baker **being vrged vpon hys othe, dyd dicloſe**	Iohn Edmundes	*Thys Iohn Edmundes was detected becauſe that hee, talking with the ſayd Baker, of pilgrimage, badde him goe offer his money to the Image of God. And when the other asked, what that was, he ſayd, that the Image of God was the poore people, blinde, and lame: and ſayd that he offended almightie God in going on pilgrimage.*
William Phyppe **abiured by his oth did accuſe**	Henry Phyppe *his owne ſonne.*	*For communing with Rog. Dods agaynſt pilgrimage and adoration of Images.*
Henry Phyppe **being examined, & abiured by the B. was compelled to diſcloſe**	*his owne wordes ſpoken to Roger Dods, ſaying to him, that he muſte light a candle before his* BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE *ſ being then Roode man.*	
	Roger Parker. William Phyppe *his owne father.*	*For talking together agaynſt pilgrimage and Idolatrye.*
Iohn Brabant, **the elder ſon of** Iohn Brabãt, **did nominate**	Iohn Hacker. Roberte Pope.	*For reading the holie Scripture in his fathers houſe, and for ſaying theſe wordes: Chriſt made his maundy & ſaid, take this bread, eate it, this is my bodie: Take this wine, drinke it, this is my bloud: And Prieſtes ſay by theſe wordes, that the Sacrament of the altare is the body of Chriſt.*
	Iohn Brabant *his father, and his mother.*	*For beyng preſent, when Hacker was reading the Scripture in their houſe.*
	Philippe Brabant *his vncle.*	*The wordes of Philippe Brabãt, were theſe: that it was deadly ſinne to go on pilgremage.*

Coſt loſt.

For ſaying: Our Ladye is not at Wilſedon, but in heauen.

The Image of God.

BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE.

¶ Concerning thys Iohn Brabant, here is to bee noted the forme and effecte of the biſhops examination, aſking and demaunding thus of the ſayd Brabant: An vnquam audiuit Ioannem Hakker legentem ſacram ſcripturam contra determinationẽ eccleſiæ. That is, Whether he euer heard Iohn Hacker read the holy Scripture agaynſt the determination of the church: by the which wordes, if he meane, that it is agaynſt the determination of the church, to read the holy Scripture, it may therby appeare to be a blinde church. And if they meane, that the holy ſcripture conteyneth any ſuch thyng in it, which is agaynſt the determinatiõ of the church, thẽ it appeareth their church to be cõtrary vnto God, ſeing it determineth one thing, and Gods word an other.

Ex Regiſt. Iob. Longl. Fol. 85.

Robert

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Baker dyd detecte	Roberte Pope.	For ſpeaking againſt going on pilgremage, and Image worſhip.
	Richard Nobbis.	
	Iohn Edmundes.	
Iohn a Lee denounced	Iohn a Weedone	When this Iohn a Lee had tolde the ſaid Weedone, how the Biſhop had ſaide in his Sermon theſe wordes: That all whiche were of the ſect of heretiques beleued that God was in heauen, but they beleued not that the bodie of Chriſt on the aultar, was God: to this hee aunſwering againe, ſaid: ye bee bould vpon that worde, deridyng the Biſhop in ſo ſaying.
	W. Dorſet, of kinges Langley.	For ſaying that Images ſtode for nothing: and that pilgrimage ſerued to ſpend folkes money, and nothing els.
Ioanne Steuenton denounced	Alyce Colyns	For teaching the ſaid Ioāne Steuenton in Lent, the x. Cōmaundementes, thus beginning: I am thy Lord God that led thee out of the land of Ægypt, and brought thee out of the houſe of thraldome. Thou ſhalte not haue no alyen Gods before me, neither make to thee any Image graued with mās handes, that is in heauen aboue, neither in the earth beneath. &c. Item, for teaching her the firſt chapter of S. Iohns Goſpell: In the beginning was the word. &c.
	Iohn Harrys.	For teachyng her the 1. chapter of Peter.
Sir Iohn a prieſt, and alſo Robert Robinſon, detected	Maſter Cotiſmore of brightwel: Alſo Maiſtres Cotiſmore, otherwiſe called Maiſtres Doly.	For ſpeaking theſe wordes to one Iohn Baynton her ſeruaunte: that if ſhe went to her chamber, and prayed there, ſhe ſhould haue as much merite, as thoughe ſhee went to Walſinghā on pilgrimage. Item, when the ſaide Syr Iohn came to her, after the death of M. Cotiſmore hys maſter, requiring her to ſend one Iohn Stayner her ſeruaunt to our Lady of VValſinghā for M. Cotiſmore, whiche in his life time being ſicke, promiſed in his own perſon to viſite that place, ſhe would not conſent thereto, nor let her ſeruaunt goe. Item, for ſaying that when wemen goe to offer to Images or ſainctes, they did it to ſhewe their newe gay gere, and that Images were but Carpenters chyppes: and that folkes go on pilgremage more for the greene waye, then for deuotion.
Ioh. Hakker dyd detect	Thomas Vincent of Lōdon.	To Tho. Vincent it was obiected, for geuing this Hakker a booke of S. Math. in Engliſhe.
	Maiſtres Cotiſmore, otherwiſe Doly.	
	Richard Colyns.	For receauing of the ſaid Hakker, a booke of the ten Commaundementes in Engliſhe.
	Goodwife Briſtowe of Woodſtrete in London.	
The foreſayd Ioh. Hacker did detect	VVilliā Gunne.	For receauing of Hakker, a booke of the ten plagues ſent of God to Pharao.
	The wife of Thomas VVydmore of Chychenden.	
	Eliſabeth the daughter of this Hakker, and Robert her huſband, otherwiſe called Fytton, of Newbery.	
	VVilliam Stokeley of Henley.	
	Iohn Symondes, and his wife, of great Merlow.	
	Iohn Auſty of Henley.	
	Thomas Auſty of Henley.	
	Grynder of Cookham.	
	Iohn Heron.	For hauyng a booke of the expoſitiō of the Goſpels fayre written in Engliſhe.
Thomas Groue, and alſo Iohn of Reding put to their oth, dyd detect	Richard Grace.	For ſpeaking theſe wordes folowing: that our bleſſed Lady was the Godmother to S. Katherine: and therfore the Legende is not true in ſaying, that Chriſt did mary with S. Katherine, and bad Adrian put on his veſtemēt, and ſay the ſeruice of matrimonie: For ſo Chriſt ſhould liue, in adultery, for marying with his Godſiſter: VVhiche thing if he ſhould do, he ſhould be thought not to do well. Item, for ſaying by the picture of S. Nicholas being newly painted, that he was not worthy to ſtād in the Rood loft, but that it better beſemed him to ſtand in the Belfray. &c.

Carpēters chyppes.

The Legend of S. Katherine proued falſe.

In this Table aboue prefixed, thou haſt, gentle reader, to ſee and vnderſtād: Firſt the number and names of theſe good men and wemen troubled and moleſted by the Churche of Rome, and all in one yeare: of whom few or none were learned, beyng ſimple lobourers and artificers, but as it pleaſed the Lorde to worke in them knowledge and vnderſtandyng, by readyng a few Engliſhe bookes, ſuch as they could get in corners. Secondly what were their opinions we haue alſo deſcribed. And thirdly herein is to be noted moreouer, the blind ignorāce & vncourteous dealing of the biſhops againſt thē, not only in that they, by their violēt othe, & captious interrogatories, conſtreyned the children to accuſe their parentes, and parentes the children: the huſband the wife, and wife the huſband. &c: but eſpeciallye in that moſt wrongfully they ſo afflicted them, without all good reaſon or cauſe, onely for the ſyncere veritie of Gods worde, and readyng his holy Scriptures.

The reaſons & probations of their doctrine.

Now it remaineth, that as you haue heard their opinions (whiche principally in number were iiij.) ſo alſo we declare their reaſons and Scriptures whereupon they grounded, & after that conſequently the order and maner of penaunce to them inioyned by the biſhop. And firſt agaynſt pilgremage and agaynſt worſhippyng of Images, they vſed this texte of the reuelat. Apocal. 9. *I ſaw horſes in a viſion, and the heades of them, as the heades of Lyons: ſmoke, fier, and brimſtone came out of their mouthes. VVith theſe iij. plagues, the third part of men were ſlayne of the ſmoke, and of the fire, and of the brimſtone that came out of the mouthes of them. They that were not ſlayne of theſe iij. plagues, were ſuch as worſhipped not deuils, and Images of golde and ſiluer, of braſſe, of tree, & of ſtone. &c.* Ex Regiſt. Longland. Fol. 72. Alſo they vſed and alleged the firſt commaundement, *that there is but one God, and* *that they ought not to worſhip moe Gods then one.&c.*

Wickleffes Wicket.

And as touchyng the Sacramẽt and the right doctrine therof, they had their inſtructiõ partly out of Wickleffes Wicket, partly out of the Shepardes Calendare: where they read: *That the Sacrament was made in remembraunce of Chriſt, and ought to bee receaued in remembraunce of his body.&c.* Moreouer they alleged and folowed the wordes of Chriſt ſpoken at the ſupper, at what tyme hee ſittyng with his diſciples, and makyng with them his maundy, *tooke bread, and bleſſed, and brake, and gaue to his diſciples: And ſaid, eate ye: this* (reaching forth his arme, and ſhewyng the bread in his hand, and then notyng his owne naturall bodye, and touchyng the ſame, and not the bread conſecrate) *is my body, whiche ſhalbe betrayed for you: do this in remembraunce of me: And likewiſe tooke the wyne, and bad them drinke, ſaying: this is my bloud, whiche is of the new Teſtament.&c.*

The Shepardes Calender.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. fol. 102.

Fol. 45.

Item, *that Chriſt our Sauiour ſitteth on the righthand of the father, and there ſhalbe vnto the day of dome:* Wherfore they beleued, that in the Sacrament of the aultar was not the very body of Chriſt.

Fol. 32.

Item (ſayd one of thẽ) *men ſpeake much of the Sacrament*
" *of the altare, but this will I byde by, that vpon ſharethurſday,*
" *Chriſt brake bread vnto his diſciples, and bad them eate of it,*
" *ſaying, it was his fleſh & bloud. And then he went frõ them,*
" *and ſuffered paſsion: and then hee roſe from death to life, and*
" *aſcended into heauen, and there ſitteth on the right hand of*
" *the father, and there he is to come, vnto the day of dome, when*
" *he ſhall iudge both quicke and dead: And therefore howe hee*
" *ſhould be here in the forme of bread, he ſayd, they could not ſee.*

Such reaſons and allegations as theſe, & other like, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the Shepardes Kalendar, Wickleffes Wicket, and out of other bookes, they had amõgeſt them. And although there was no learned man with them, to ground them in their doctrine, yet they conferring and communing together among them ſelues, did conuert one an other, the Lordes hand working with them marueilouſly: So that in ſhort ſpace, the number of theſe Knowen or Iuſt faſt men (as they were then termed) dyd exceedinglye increaſe, in ſuch ſorte, that the byſhop ſeing the matter almoſt paſte hys power, was driuen to make hys complaint to the kyng, and required hys ayde for ſuppreſſion of theſe men. Wherupon kyng Henry, being then younge, and vnexperte in the bloudye practiſes and blynde leadinges of theſe apoſtolicall prelates, incenſed with hys ſuggeſtions and cruell complaintes, directed downe letters to hys Shriffes, Bayliffes, officers, and ſubiectes, for the ayde of the biſhop in this behalfe: the tenor of which letters here inſueth.

The byſhop complayneth to the kyng.

¶ *The copie of the kinges letter for the ayde of Iohn Longland byſhop of Lincolne, agaynſt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt, falſely then called heretiques.*

The copie of ý kinges letter.

Henry the viij. by the Grace of God, kyng of England and of Fraunce, Lorde of Ireland, defender of ý fayth: to all Maiors, Shiriffes, Bayliffes and Conſtables, and to all other our officers, miniſters, and ſubiectes, theſe our letters hearing or ſeing, and to euery of them, greting. For aſmuch as the right reuerẽd father in God, our truſty and right well beloued Counſaillour the Biſhop of Lyncolne hath nowe within his dioces no ſmall number of heretiques, as it is thought, to his no litle diſcomfort & heauineſſe: we therefore beyng in will and mynde ſafely to prouide for the ſayd right reuerend father in God and his officers, that they ne none of them, ſhall bodilye be hurt or dammaged by any of the ſayde heretickes or their fautours, in the executyng and miniſtryng of Iuſtice vnto the ſayd heretickes accordyngly to the lawes of holy Churche: doe ſtraitlye charge and commaunde you and euery of you, as ye tender our high diſpleaſure, to be aydyng, helpyng and aſſiſtyng the ſayd righte reuerende father in God, and his ſayd officers in the executyng of Iuſtice in the premiſſes, as they or any of them ſhall require you ſo to do, not faylyng to accompliſhe our commaundement and pleaſure in ý premiſſes, as ye entend to pleaſe vs, and will aunſwere to the contrary at you vttermoſt periis. Yeuen vnder our Signet at our Caſtle of Wyndeſor the xx. day of October the xiij. yeare of our reigne.

The Byſhop thus beyng armed no leſſe with the authoritie of the kynges letter, then incited with his owne fiercenes, forſlacked no tyme, but eftſones to accompliſhe his moodie violence vpon the poore flocke of Chriſt called before him, ſitting vpon his tribunall ſeate, both theſe afore named perſons, and all other in his dioces which were neuer ſo litle noted or ſuſpected to incline towarde thoſe opinions: of whom, to ſuch as had but newlye bene taken, and had not before abiured, hee inioyned moſt ſtraite and rigorous penaunce. The other in whom he could finde any relaps, yea albeit they ſubmitted them ſelues neuer ſo humblie to his fauourable courteſie, and though alſo at his requeſt, and for hope of pardon, they had ſhewed themſelues great detecters of their brethren, beyng moreouer of him feed and flattered thereunto, yet notwithſtanding, cõtrary to his fayre wordes, and their expectation, he ſpared not, but read ſentence of relaps agaynſt them, committyng them to the ſecular arme to bee burned.

The cruell falſehode of Byſhop Longland.

And firſt, as touchyng them, who being brought to abiuration, were put to their penaunce, long it were to recite ý names of all. Certaine I thought to recite here in a Catologe, firſt recityng the perſons, afterward the rigorous penaunce to them enioyned.

¶ *The names of them whiche were abiured in the dioces of Lyncolne, the yeare of our Lord.* 1521.

VVilliam Colyns.
Iohn Colyns.
Ioon Colyns.
Robert Colyns.
Iohn Hackar.
Iohn Brabant, *the father.*
Iohn Brabant *his ſonne.*
Iohn Brabant, *the younger ſonne.*
Iohn Edmundes.
Edward Pope.
Henry Phyppe.
Iohn Steuenton.
Ioanne Steuenton.
Robert Bartlet.
Thomas Clerke.
Iohn Clerke.
Richard Bartlet.

VVilliam Phyppe.
Iohn Phpype.
Thomas Couper.
VVilliam Litlepage.
Iohn Litlepage.
Ioanne Litlepage.
Iohn Say.
Iohn Frier.
Richard Vulford.
Thomas Tredway.
VVilliam Gudgame.
Roger Heron.
Fraunces Funge.
Robert Pope.
Roger Dods.
Iohn Harrys.
Robert Bruges.

Iohn Stampe.
Ioane Stampe.
Richard VVhyte.
Bennet VVard.
Iohn Baker.
Agnes VVellys.
Marian Morden.
Iſabell Morwyn.
Iohn Butler.
Iohn Butler *the younger.*
Robert Carder.
Richard Bernard.
Ioanne Bernard.
Iohn Grace.
Iohn Frenche.
Iohn Edynges.

¶ *The townes and villages and countreis, where theſe foreſayd perſons did inhabite, are named chiefly to be theſe.*

The names of the townes where they dwelled.

Amerſham.
Cheſham.
Hychenden.
Miſſenden *the great.*
Miſſenden *the leſſe.*

Eaſthendred.
VVeſthendred.
Aſthall.
Bekenſfield.
Denham.

Gynge.
Betterton.
Cherney.
Stanlake.
Clauſfield.

VValton.
Merlow.
Dorney.
Iuer.
Burton.

Vxbrige.
Owburne.
Henley.
VVycame.
VVeſtwycame.
Newbery.
Burford.
Wytney.
Hungerford.
Vpton.
VVynſore.
London.
Colmonſtret in Londō.
Chepeſide in London.
Shordich by London.
S.Gyles in London.
Eſſex.
Suffolke.
Northfolke.
Norwyche.

The bookes and opinions, whiche theſe were charged withall, and for the whiche they were abiured, partly are before expreſſed, partly here followeth in a brief Summarye to be ſene.

¶ A briefe Summe of their opinions.

Ex Regiſt. Fol. 32. THe opinions of many of theſe perſons were, that he or ſhe neuer beleued in the Sacrament of the aultare, nor euer would, and that it was not as men did take it.

Ibid. For that he was knowen of his neighbour, to be a good felow, meanyng that he was a Knowen man.

Fol.33. For ſaying that he would geue xl. pence, in cōdition that ſuch a one knew ſo much, as he did know.

Fol.34. Some for ſaying, that they of Amerſham, whiche had bene abiured before by Byſhop Smith, were good men, & perfect Chriſtians, & ſimple folke whiche could not aunſwere for them ſelues, and therfore were oppreſſed by power of the Byſhop.

Ibid. Some for hydyng other in theyr barnes.

Some for readyng the Scripture or treatiſes of Scripture in Engliſhe: ſome for hearyng the ſame read.

Some for defendyng: ſome for maryyng with them whiche had bene abiured.

Fol.36. Some for ſaying that matrimony was not a Sacramēt.

Some for ſaying, that worſhippyng of Images was Mawmetrey: ſome for callyng Images carpenters chyppes: ſome for callyng them ſtockes and ſtones: ſome for callyng them dead thynges.

Fol.33. Some for ſaying that money ſpent vpon pilgremage, ſerued but to mainteine theues and harlots.

Some for callyng the Image in the Rood lofte blocke almighty.

Fol.37. Other for ſaying that nothyng grauen with mans hand was to be worſhipped.

Fol 40. Some for callyng them fooles, whiche came from M. Iohn Shorne in pilgremage.

Ibid. An other for callyng his vicare a pol ſhorne prieſt.

Ibid. An other for callyng a certeine blynd chappell beyng in ruine, an old fayre milkhouſe.

Fol.4. An other for ſaying, that he threſhed God almighty out of the ſtraw.

Fol.34. An other for ſaying, that almes ſhoulde not be geuen, before it did ſwete in a mans hand.

Fol.35. Some for ſaying, that they whiche dye, paſſe ſtraight either to heauen, or hell.

Fol.9. Iſabell Bartlet was brought before the Biſhop and abiured, for lamentyng her huſband when the Biſhops man came for hym, and ſaying, that he was an vndone mā, and ſhe a dead woman.

Fol.45. For ſaying that Chriſt departyng from his diſciples into heauen, ſayd: that ones he was in ſinners handes, and would come there no more.

Robert Raue hearyng a certeine Bell in an vplandyſhe ſteple, ſayd: loe yonder is a fayre Bell, and it were to hang about any cowes necke in the towne: and therefore, as for other ſuch lyke matters mo he was brought coram nobis.

Item, ſome for receauyng the Sacrament at Eaſter, and doubtyng whether it was the very body, and did not confeſſe their doubt to their goſtly father.

Some for ſaying that the pope had no authoritie to geue pardon or to releaſe mans ſoule from ſinne, and ſo from payne, and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The order of penance. The penaunce to theſe parties enioyned by this Iohn Longland Byſhop of Lyncolne, was almoſt vniforme & all after one condition, ſaue onely that they were ſeuerally committed and diuided into ſeueral and diuers monaſteries, there to be kept and founde of almes all their lyfe, excepte they were otherwiſe diſpenſed with by the Byſhop: as for exāple I haue here adioyned the Biſhops letter for one of the ſayde number, ſent to the Abbay of Enſham, there to bee kept in perpetuall penaunce. By which one, an eſtimatiō may be taken of the reſt, which were beſtowed lykewiſe ſunderly into ſundry Abbayes, as to Oſney, to Fredeſwyde, to Abyngdon, to Tame, to Biſſetor, to Dorcheſter, to Notley, to Aſhryge, and diuers moe. The copye of the byſhops letter ſent to the Abbot of Enſham, here foloweth vnder written.

¶ The Biſhops letter to the Abbot of Enſham.

The copie of the byſhops letter to ȳ Abbot of Enſham. MY louyng brother, I recommend me hartlye vnto you: and where as I haue, accordyng to the lawe, put this bearer R. T. to perpetuall penaunce within your monaſtery of Enſham, there to lyue as a penitent, and not otherwiſe, I pray you, and neuertheleſſe, accordyng vnto the law, commaund you to receaue him, and ſee ye order him there accordingly to his iniunctions whiche he will ſhewe you, if ye require the ſame. As for his lodgyng, he will bring it with him. And his meate and drinke, he may haue ſuch as ye geue of your almes. And if he can ſo order him ſelf by his labor wtin your houſe in your buſines, wherby he may deſerue his meate and drinke, ſo may you order hym, as ye ſee cōuenient to his deſertes, ſo ȳ he paſſe not the precincte of your moneſtery. And thus fare you hartly well from my place. &c.

As touchyng the reſidue of the penaunce and puniſhment inflicted to theſe men, they do litle or nothyng diſagrée, but had one order in them al. The maner and forme whereof in the ſayd Byſhops Regiſter doth procede in cōdition as foloweth.

¶ Penaunce enioined vnder payne of relaps by Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lyncolne, the xix. day of December. an. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Fol 90. IN primis that euery one of them ſhall vppon a market day, ſuch as ſhalbe limited vnto them in the market time, go thriſe about the market at Burford, and then to ſtand vp vpon the hyeſt greece of the Croſſe there a quarter of an houre, with a fagot of woode euery one of them vpon hys ſhoulder, and euery one of them once to beare a fagotte of wode vpon their ſhoulders, before their proceſſion vpon a Sonday, whiche ſhalbe limitted vnto them at Burford, frō the quere dore goyng out, to the quere dore goyng in, and all the hye Maſſe tyme to holde the ſame fagot vpon theyr ſhoulders, kneling vpon the greece afore the hye altar there, and euery of them lykewiſe, to do lykewiſe in their owne pariſhe Church, vpō ſuch a Sonday as ſhalbe limited vnto them: and once to beare a fagot at a generall proceſſion at Oxbrige, when they ſhalbe aſſigned therto: and once to beare a fagotte at the burnyng of an hereticke, when they ſhalbe moniſhed therto.

Penaunce inioyned to theſe abiurates vnder payne of relaps.

Alſo euery one of them to faſt bread and ale onely euery Friday during their life, & euery euen of Corpus Chriſti, euery one of them, to faſt in bread and water duryng theyr lyfe, vnleſſe ſickeneſſe vnfained let the ſame.

Alſo to ſay euery of them euery Sonday and euery Friday during their life, once our Lady Pſalter, and if they forget it one day, to ſay as much an other day for the ſame.

Alſo they nor none of them, ſhall not hyde the marke vpon their cheke, neither with hatte, cap, hode, kerchief, napkyn, nor none otherwiſe, nor ſhall not ſuffer theyr beardes to growe paſt xiiij. dayes, nor neuer to haunt agayne together, with any ſuſpect perſon or perſons, vneles it be in the open markette, fayre, church or common Inne or alehouſe, where other people may ſee their conuerſation.

And all theſe iniunctions they and euery of them, to fulfill with their penaunce, and euery part of the ſame, vnder payne of relaps.

And thus haue you the names, with the cauſes and the penaunce of them, whiche were at this preſent tyme abiured. By the which word, *abiured, is ment that they were conſtrayned by their othe, ſwearyng vpon the Euāgeliſtes, and ſubſcribyng with their hand, and a croſſe to ȳ ſame, that they did vtterly & voluntarely renounce, deteſte, and forſake, and neuer ſhould hold hereafter theſe, or anye other lyke opinions, contrarye to the determination of the holy mother Churche of Rome: and further, that they ſhould detect vnto their ordinarye, whom

*** Abiured what it ſignifieth.**

ſo euer they ſhould ſee, or ſuſpect hereafter to teach hold, or maintayne the ſame.

¶ Here folow the names of them, whiche were condemned for relaps, and committed vnto the ſecular power.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 917.

Among theſe aforenamed perſons, which thus ſubmitted them ſelues, and were put to penaunce, certaine there were, which becauſe they had bene abiured before, as is aboue mencioned, pag. 917. vnder Byſhop Smith, were now condemned for relaps, and had ſentence read agaynſt them, and ſo were committed to the ſeculare arme, to be burned: Whoſe names here folow.

An. 1521.

Martyrs.
Thomas Bernard. | Robert Raue.
Iames Morden. | Iohn Scriuener.

Of theſe mention is made before, both touchyng their abiuration, and alſo their martyrdome, pag. 917. vnto whom we may adioyne.

Ioanne Norman. Thomas Holmes.

Thomas Holmes. Vid. ſupr. pag. 949.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had diſcloſed and detected many of his brethren, as in the Table aboue is expreſſed, pag. 949. thynkyng therby to pleaſe the Byſhop and to ſaue him ſelf, ⁊ was thought to be a fœd mā of the Biſhop for the ſame: yet notwithſtandyng in the ſayd Byſhops Regiſter appeareth the Sentence of relaps, and condemnatiō written and drawen out agaynſt him: and moſt lyke, that hee was alſo adiudged and executed with the other.

Children cōpelled to ſet fire to their owne father.

¶ As touchyng the burnyng of Iohn Scriuener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to ſet fire vnto their father, in lyke maner as Ioanne Clerke alſo daughter of William Tilſeworth, was conſtrayned to geue fire to ẏ burnyng of her owne naturall father, as is aboue ſpecified, pag. 917. The example of whiche crueltie, as it is contrary both to God ⁊ nature, ſo hath it not bene ſene nor heard of in the memory of the heathen.

A Note of *Thomas Dorman.*

Where moreouer is to be noted, that at the burnyng of this Iohn Scriuener, one Thomas Dorman, mentioned before, pag. 917. was preſent and bare a fagot at Amerſham: Whoſe abiuratiō was afterward layd agaynſt hym, at what tyme hee ſhould depoſe for recouery of certeine landes, from the ſchole of Barchamſted. This Thomas Dorman (as I am credibly informed of certeine aboute Amerſham) was then vncle to this our Dorman, and found hym to ſchole at Barchamſted vnder M. Reeue, whiche nowe ſo vncharitably abuſeth his penne in writyng agaynſte the contrary doctrine, and rayleth ſo fiercely agaynſt the bloud of Chriſtes ſlayne ſeruauntes, myſcallyng them to be a donghill of ſtynking Martyrs.

This *M. Dorman*, becauſe hee was put to ſchole by hys vncle at Barchamſtede to M. Reeue, being a proteſtant, therefore he for the ſame cauſe, in the firſte ſentēce of his preface, ſaith, that hee was brought vp in Caluins ſchole.

Well, how ſoeuer the ſauour of theſe good Martyrs do ſent in the noſe of M. Dorman, I doubt not but they geue a better odour and ſweter ſmell in the preſence of the Lord: Precioſa enim in cōſpectu Domini mors ſanctorum eius. Precious is in the ſight of the Lord, the death of his ſainctes. And therefore howe ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe M. Dorman, with reprochefull language to miſterme the good Martyrs of Chriſtes, or rather Chriſt in his Martyrs, his vnſemely vſage more cartlyke thē clerkelyke, is not greatly to be weyed. For as the daunger of his blaſphemie hurteth not them whiche are gone: ſo the contumelie and reproche therof, as well comprehendeth hys owne kyndred, frendes, ⁊ countrey, as any other els: and eſpeciallye redoundeth to him ſelfe ⁊ woundeth hys own ſoule ⁊ none els, vnto the great prouoking of Gods wrath agaynſt him, vnles hee be bleſſed with better grace by tyme to repente.

¶ Doctour Colet.

Iohn Colet Deane of Paules.

Much about this tyme, or not paſt ij. yeres before, dyed D. Iohn Colet, of whom mention was made in ẏ Table aboue, pag. 953. To whoſe ſermons theſe knowen men about Buckynghāſhyre, had a great mind to reſorte. After he came from Italy and Paris, he firſt began to read the Epiſtles of S. Paule openly in Oxford, in ſtead of Scotus and Thomas. From thence he was called by the kyng, and made Deane of Paules: where he accuſtomed much to preache, not without great auditorie, as well of the kynges court, as of the Citizens and other. His diet was frugall: his life vpright: in diſcipline he was ſeuere: In ſomuch ẏ his Canons, becauſe of their ſtrayter rule, complained that they were made lyke monkes. The honeſt and honorable ſtate of matrimonie he euer preferred before the vnchaſt ſinglenes of prieſts. At his dyner commonly was read either ſome chapter of S. Paul, or of Salomons Prouerbes. Hee neuer vſed to ſuppe. And althoughe the blindnes of that tyme caryed him away after the cōmon errour of Popery: yet in rypenes of iudgement hee ſemed ſomthyng to incline from the vulgare trade of that age. The religious orders of Monkes and Friers he phātiſed not: As neither he could greatly fauour the barbarous diuinitie of the ſchole doctours, as of Scotus, but leaſt of all, of Thomas Aquine: In ſomuch that when Eraſmus ſpeakyng in the prayſe of Thomas Aquine, did cōmend hym ẏ he had read many old authors, ⁊ had writtē diuers new workes, as Catena aurea, ⁊ ſuch like, to proue and to know his iudgement: Colet firſt ſuppoſing that Eraſmus had ſpoken in ieaſt, but after perceauyng that hee ment good fayth, burſteth out in great vehemēcie, ſaying: what tell you me (quod he) of the commendation of that man, who except he had ben of an arrogant and preſumptuous ſpirite, would not define and diſcuſſe all thinges ſo boldly and raſhely: and alſo except hee had bene rather worldly minded then heauenly, would neuer haue ſo polluted Chriſtes whole doctrine with mans prophane doctrine, in ſuch ſorte as hee hath done.

Paules Epiſtles firſt read openly in Oxford.

The commendation of Doctor Colet.

Coletes iudgement of Thom. Aquine.

D. Colet accuſed.

The Byſhop of London at that tyme was Fitziames, of age no leſſe then 80. Who bearyng long grudge and diſpleaſure agaynſt Colet, with other ij. Byſhops takyng his parte, like to him ſelfe, entred action of complaynt agaynſt Colet to the Archb. of Cant. beyng then W-Waram. The matter of his cōplaint was diuided into iij Articles. The firſt was for ſpeaking againſt worſhippyng of Images. The ſecond was about hoſpitalitie, for ẏ he entreating vpon ẏ place of the Goſpell, paſce, paſce, paſce, fœde, fœde, fœde: when he had expounded the ij. firſt, for feadyng with example of lyfe and with doctrine, in the third, whiche the ſcholemen do expound for fœdyng with hoſpitalitie, he left out the outward feadyng of the bely, ⁊ applyed it an other waye. The third crime wherwith they charged him, was for ſpeaking agaynſt ſuch as vſed to preach onely by boſome Sermons, declaring nothing els to ẏ people, but as they bring in their papers wᵗ thē. Which becauſe the B. of London vſed then much to do for his age, he toke it as ſpoken agaynſt hym, ⁊ therfore bare him this diſpleaſure. The Archbiſhop more wyſely weyyng the matter, and beyng well acquaynted with Colet, ſo toke his parte agaynſt his accuſers, that he at that time was ryd out of trouble.

The B. of Londō enemie to D. Colet.

The archb. of Canter. fauorer of *D. Colet.*

Williā Tyndall in his boke aunſwering to M. More, addeth moreouer, and teſtifieth that the Byſhop of London would haue made the ſaid Colet Deane of Paules, an hereticke for tranſlatyng the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, had not the Byſhop of Cant. holpen the Deane.

But yet the malice of Fitziames the B. ſo ceaſed not: who beyng thus repulſed by the Archbiſhop, practiſed by an other trayne howe to accuſe him vnto the kyng. The occaſion thus fell. It happened the ſame tyme, that the kyng was in preparation of warre agaynſt Fraunce. Whereupon the Byſhop with his coadiutors taking occaſion vpon certeine wordes of Colet, wherin he ſemed to preferre peace before any kynde of warre, were it neuer ſo iuſt, accuſed him therefore in their ſermons, and alſo before the kyng.

Iniqua pax iuſtiſſimo bello præferēda.

Furthermore it ſo befell the ſame time, that vpon good Friday D. Colet preaching before the kyng, entreated of the victorie of Chriſt, exhorting all Chriſtians to fight vnder the ſtādard of Chriſt, agaynſt the deuill: addyng moreouer what an hard thyng it was to fight vnder Chriſtes banner, and that all they whiche vpon priuate hatred or ambition, toke weapon agaynſt their enemie, one Chriſtian to ſlay an other, ſuch did not fight vnder the banner of Chriſt, but rather of Satan: and therefore concludyng his matter, he exhorted that Chriſten mē in their warres, would folowe Chriſt their prince and captaine, in fightyng agaynſt their enemies, rather then the example of Iulius, or Alexander. &c. The kyng hearyng Colet thus to ſpeake, and fearyng leaſt by his wordes the hartes of his ſouldiours might be withdrawen awaye from hys warres whiche he had then in hand, toke him aſide, and talked with him in ſecret conference in his garden walkyng. Byſhop Fitziames, Bricot, and Standiſh, who were his enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet muſt nedes bee committed to the tower, and wayted for his commyng out. But the kyng with great gentlenes interteynyng D.Colet, and byddyng him familiarely to put on his cappe, in lōg curteous talke had with him in yͤ garden, much cōmended him for his learnyng, & integritie of life, agreing with him in all pointes, but that onely he required him (for that the rude ſouldiours ſhould not raſhly myſtake that which he had ſaid) more plainly to explane his wordes and minde in that behalfe, which after he did: & ſo after long communication and great promiſes, the kyng diſmiſſed Colet with theſe woordes, ſaying: let euery man, haue his Doctour as him liketh: this ſhall be my Doctour, and ſo departed. Whereby none of his aduerſaries durſt euer trouble him after that time.

Colet called before the kyng.

D.Colet cōmended of yͤ king.

The fundation of the ſchole of Paules.

Gulielm Lilius.

Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Iod. Ionā.

Among many other memorable actes left behind him, he erected a worthy foundation of yͤ ſchole of Paules (I pray God yͤ fruites of yͤ ſchole may annſwere yͤ foundation) for yͤ cheriſhing vp of youth in good letters, prouiding a ſufficient ſtipēde as well for the Maiſter, as for the Huſher, whom hee willed rather to be appointed out of the number of maried men, then of ſingle prieſtes with their ſuſpected chaſtitie. The firſt moderator of this ſchole was Guliel. Lilius, a man no leſſe notable for his learnyug, then was Colet for his foundation. Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Iodoc. Ionā. This Colet died yͤ yere of our Lord. 1519.

Guliel. Grocinus. Guliel. Latimerus.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lilye, liued Gulielmus Grocinus, and Gulielmus Latimerus, both Engliſh men alſo, and famouſly learned. This Grocinus, as he began to read in his open lecture in the Church of S. Paul, the booke of Dioniſius Areopagita, cōmōly called Hierarchia Eccleſiaſtica (for the reading then of the holy Scriptures in Paules was not in vre) in the firſt entrye of his preface he cryed out with greate vehemencie againſt them who ſoeuer they were, whiche either denyed, or ſtoude in doubt of the authoritie of that booke: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla and diuers other of like approued iudgement and learnyng. But afterward the ſame Grocine, whē he had cōtinued a few weekes in his readyng therof, and did conſider farther in him, he vtterly altered, and recāted his former ſentence, proteſtyng opēly that the forenamed booke, to his iudgement, was neuer written by that author whom we read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, to be called Dionyſius Areopagita. Ex Eraſ. ad Pariſienſ.

The iudgement of Grocinus vpon *Hierarchia eccleſiaſt. Dioniſii Areopag.*

Dioniſius Areopag.

Thomas Linacer. Richard Paceus.

Geffray Chaucer. Iohn Gower.

The tractation of theſe ij. couples aboue rehearſed, do occaſion me to adioyne alſo the remēbraunce of an other couple of lyke learned men: The names of whom, not vnworthy to be remembred, were Thomas Linacer, and Richard Pace: whiche two followed much vppon the time of Colet & of Williā Lilye. But of Richard Pace, whiche was Deane next after the foreſayd Iohn Colet, more cōuenient place ſhall ſerue vs hereafter to ſpeake, commyng to the ſtorye of Cardinall Wolſey. Moreouer to theſe two, I thought it not out of ſeaſon to couple alſo ſome mention of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gower: Whiche although beyng much diſcrepant from theſe in courſe of yeares, yet may ſeme not vnworthy to bee matched with theſe forenamed perſons in commendation of their ſtudie and learnyng. Albeit concernyng the full certeintye of the tyme and death of theſe two, we can not finde: yet it appeareth in the prologe of Gowers worke, intitled confeſsio Amantis, that he finiſhed it in the xvi. yeare of kyng Richarde the ſecond. And in the end of the viij. booke of his ſayd treatyſe he declareth, that he was both ſicke and olde, when he wrote it: whereby it may appeare, that he liued not long after.

Notwithſtandyng by certeine verſes of yͤ ſayd M. Gower placed in the later end of Chaucers workes both in Latine & Engliſhe, it may ſeme that he was alyue at the begynnyng of the reigne of kyng Henry the iiij. and alſo by a booke which he wrote to the ſame kyng Henry. By his ſepulture within a chappell of the Churche of S. Mary Ouers, which was then a Monaſtery, where hee and hys wife lye buried, it appeareth by his cheyne and his garland of Laurell, that he was both a knight, and floriſhing then in Poetrie. In yͤ which place of his ſepulture were made in his graueſtone iij. bokes, yͤ firſt bearing the title, Speculum meditantis. The ſecond, Vox clamātis. The third, Confeſsio Amantis. Beſide theſe, diuers Chronicles and other workes moe he compiled.

The bookes of Iohn Gower.

Likewiſe, as touchyng the tyme of Chaucer, by his owne workes in the end of his firſt booke of Troylus and Creſeide it is manifeſt, that he and Gower were both of one tyme, although it ſeemeth that Gower was a great deale his auncient: both notablye learned, as the barbarous rudenes of that tyme did geue: both great frendes together, and both in like kind of ſtudie together occupied, ſo endeuoryng thē ſelues, and employing their tyme, that they excelling many other in ſtudy and exerciſe of good letters, did paſſe forth their lyues here right worſhipfully and godly, to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucers woorkes bee all printed in one volume, and therefore knowen to all men. This I meruell, to ſee the idle life of yͤ prieſtes and clergy men of that tyme, ſeyng theſe lay perſons ſhewed them ſelues in theſe kynde of liberall ſtudies ſo induſtrious & fruitfully occupied: but much more I meruell to cōſider this, how that the Biſhoppes condemnyng and aboliſhyng all maner of Engliſhe bookes and treatiſes, which might bryng the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authoriſe the woorkes of Chaucer to remayne ſtill and to be occupied: Who (no doubt) ſaw in Religion as much almoſt, as euen we do now, and vttereth in his workes no leſſe, and ſemeth to bee a right VVicleuian, or els was neuer any, and that all his workes almoſt, if they be throughly aduiſed, will teſtifie (albeit it bee done in myrth, and couertly) and eſpecially the latter ende of his third booke of the Teſtament of loue: for there purely he toucheth the higheſt matter, that is, the Cōmunion: Wherin, excepte a man be altogether blynde, he may eſpye him at the full. Althoughe in the ſame booke (as in all other hee vſeth to do) vnder ſhadowes couertly, as vnder a viſoure, he ſuborneth truth, in ſuch ſorte, as both priuely ſhe may profite the godly minded, and yet not be eſpyed of the craftye aduerſarie: And therefore the Byſhops, belike, takyng hys workes but for ieſtes and toyes, in condemnyng other bookes, yet permitted his bookes to be read. So it pleaſed God to blinde then the eyes of them, for the more commoditie of his people, to the entent that through the readyng of his treatiſes, ſome fruite might redoūde therof to his Churche, as no doubt, it did to many: As alſo I am partlye informed of certeine, whiche knewe the parties, which to them reported, that by readyng of Chauſers workes, they were brought to the true knowledge of Religion. And not vnlike to be true. For to omitte other partes of his volume, wherof ſome are more fabulons then other, what tale can bee more playnely tolde, then the talke of the ploughman? or what finger can pointe out more directly the Pope with his Prelates to be Antichriſt, then doth the poore Pellycan reaſonyng agaynſt the gredy Griffon? Under whiche *Hypotypoſis* or Poeſie, who is ſo blind that ſeeth not by the Pellicane, the doctrine of Chriſt, and of the Lollardes to bee defended agaynſt the Churche of Rome? Or who is ſo impudent that can denye that to be true, which the Pellicane there affirmeth in deſcribyng the preſumptuous pride of that pretenſed Church? Agayne what egge can be more

Chaucer and Gower commēded for their ſtudious exerciſe.

Chauſer a right Wickleuian.

Chaucers bookes.

Men brought to truth by readyng Chaucers workes.

The ploughmans tale in Chauſer.

lyke, or figge vnto an other, then yͤ wordes, properties, and conditions of that rauenyng Griphe reſembleth the true Image, that is, the nature & qualities of that which we call the Churche of Rome, in euery point and degre: and therfore no great maruell, if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers workes: whiche notwithſtandyng now is reſtored agayne, and is extant, for euery man to read that is diſpoſed.

This Geffray Chauſer being borne (as is thought) in Oxfordſhyre, & dwellyng in Wodſtocke, lyeth buried in the Churche of the minſter of S. Peter at Weſtminſter, in an Ile on the South ſide of the ſayd Churche, not far from the dore leading to the cloyſter, and vpon his graue ſtone firſt were written theſe ij. old verſes.

Galfridus Chauſer vates et fama poeſis
Maternæ, hac ſacra ſum tumulatus humo.

Afterward, about the yeare of our Lord. 1556. one M. Brickam, beſtowyng more coſt vppon his tumbe, did adde therunto theſe verſes folowyng.

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum ſi quæras Domini, ſi tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ ſubſunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25. Octob. An. 1400.

❡ *Here beginneth the reformation of the Churche* of Chriſt, in the tyme of Martin Luther.

The corruptiō of the Churche deſcribed.

Althoughe it can not bee ſufficiently expreſſed with tongue or pen of mā, into what miſerable ruine and deſolation the Churche of Chriſt was brought in thoſe later dayes: yet partly by yͤ readyng of theſe ſtories aforepaſt, ſome intelligence may be geuen to them, which haue iudgement to marke or eyes to ſee, in what blyndnes and darkenes the world was drowned duryng the ſpace of theſe 400. yeres heretofore and more. By the vewing and cōſideryng of whiche times and hiſtories, thou mayſt vnderſtand (gentle reader) how the Religion of Chriſt, whiche onely conſiſteth in ſpirit and veritie, was wholy turned into outward obſeruations, ceremonies, & idolatrie. So many ſainctes we had, ſo many Gods. So many monaſteries, ſo many pilgremages. As many Churches, as many reliques forged and feyned we had. Agayne, ſo many reliques, ſo many lyeng miracles we beleued. In ſtede of the onely lyuing Lorde, we worſhipped dead ſtockes and ſtones. In place of Chriſt immortall, we adored mortall bread. In ſteade of his bloud, we worſhipped the bloud of duckes. How the people were led, ſo that yͤ prieſtes were fed, no care was takē. In ſteade of Gods worde, mans word was ſet vp. In ſtead of Chriſtes Teſtament, the Popes Teſtament, that is the Canon law: in ſtead of Paul, the maiſter of Sentence toke place, and almoſt full poſſeſſiō. The law of God was litle read: the vſe & end therof was leſſe knowen. And as the end of the law was vnknowen, ſo the difference betwene the Goſpell and the law, was not vnderſtanded, the benefite of Chriſt not conſidered, the effect of faith not expended. Through the ignoraunce wherof, it can not be told, what infinite errours, ſectes, and religions crept into yͤ church ouerwhelmyng the world, as with a floud of ignoraunce and ſeduction. And no meruell, for where the fundation is not well layd, what buildyng can ſtand and proſper?

The fundatiō of Chriſtiā Religion.

The fundation of all our Chriſtianitie is onely this: The promiſe of God, in the bloud of Chriſt his ſonne, geuing and promiſing life vnto all that beleue in him: Geuyng (ſayth the Scripture) vnto vs, and not barganyng or indentyng with vs: And that freelye (ſayth the Scripture) for Chriſtes ſake, and not condicionally for our merites ſake. Furthermore freelye (ſayth the Scripture) by grace, that the promiſe might be firme and ſure, and not by the workes that we do, whiche are allwayes doubtfull. By grace (ſayth yͤ Scripture) through promiſe to all and vpon all that beleue, and not by yͤ law vpon them that do deſerue. For if it come by deſeruyng, then is it not of grace: If it be not of grace, then is it not of promiſe. And cōtrariwiſe, if it be of grace and promiſe, thē is it not of workes, ſayth S. Paul. Vpon this fundatiō of Gods free promiſe, and grace firſt builded the patriarches, kynges, and prophetes. Vppon the ſame fundation alſo Chriſt the Lord builded his Churche. Vpon yͤ which fundation the Apoſtles lykewiſe builded the Churche Apoſtolicall or Catholicall.

Rom. 6.
Rom. 4.
Rom. 4.
Rom. 3.
Rom. 11.

This Apoſtolicall and Catholique foundation, ſo long as the Churche did retaine, ſo long it continued ſyncere and ſound: whiche endured a long ſeaſon after the Apoſtles tyme. But after in proces of yeares, through wealth and negligence crept into Churche, as ſone as this fundation began to be loſt, came in newe builders which would builde vppon a new foundation, a newe Church more glorious, whiche we call nowe the churche of Rome. Who beyng not contented with the old fundation and the head corner ſtone, whiche the Lord by hys word had layd, in place therof they layd the groūd workes vpon the condition & ſtrength of the law and workes. Althoughe it is not to bee denyed, but that the doctrine of Gods holy lawe, and of good workes accordyng to the ſame, is a thing moſt neceſſary to be learned and folowed of all men: yet is not that the foundation, wherupon our ſaluation conſiſteth, neither is that foundation able to beare vp the weyght of the kyngdome of heauen: but is rather the thyng, which is builded vpon the foundation: whiche foundation is Ieſus Chriſt, accordyng as we are taught of S. Paul, ſaying: No man can laye any other foundation, beſide that whiche is layd, Chriſt Ieſus. &c.

1. Cor. 3.

The doctrine of the Church corrupted.

But this auncient foundation with the olde auncient Church of Chriſt (as I ſaid) hath bene now of long time forſaken, and in ſtead therof a new Churche, with a new foundation hath bene erected, & framed, not vpon Gods promiſe & his free grace in Chriſt Ieſus, nor vpon yͤ free iuſtificatiō by faith, but vpon merites & deſertes of mens workyng. And hereupon haue they plāted all theſe their new deuiſes, ſo infinite that they can not well be numbred, as Maſſes, trecenares, diriges, obſequies, mattens and houres, ſingyng ſeruice, vigiles, mydnightriſing, barefotegoyng, fiſhfaſtyng, lentfaſt, imberfaſt, ſtations, rogations, iubiles, aduocation of ſainctes, prayyng to Images, pilgremage walking, workes of ſupererogatiō, application of merites, orders, rules, ſectes of religion, vowes of chaſtitie, wilfull pouertie, pardons, relaxations, indulgences, penaunce and ſatiſfaction, with auricular confeſſion, foundyng of Abbays, building of chappels, geuyng to Churches: And who is able to recite all their laborious buildynges, falſely framed vpon a wrōg grounde, and all for ignoraunce of the true foundation, whiche is the free iuſtification by fayth in Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God.

The lyfe & manners of the church corrupted.

Moreouer to note, that as this newfounde Churche of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine: ſo no leſſe was it corrupted in order of lyfe and depe hypocriſie, doyng all thinges onely vnder pretenſes and diſſembled titles. So vnder the pretenſe of Peters Chayre, they exerciſed a maieſty aboue Emperours and kynges. Vnder the viſour of their vowed chaſtity, reigned adultery: vnder the cloke of profeſſed pouertie, they poſſeſſed the goodes of the temporaltie. Vnder the title of beyng dead vnto the world, they not onely reigned in the world, but alſo ruled the worlde: vnder the colour of the keyes of heauen to hang vnder theyr gyrdle, they brought all the ſtates of the worlde vnder theyr girdle, and crept not onely into the purſes of men, but alſo into their conſciences: they heard their confeſſions: they knewe their ſecretes: they diſpenſed as they were diſpoſed, and looſed what them lyſted: And finally when they had brought the whole worlde vnder their ſubiection, yet did their pride neither ceaſe to aſcend, neither could their auarice bee euer ſatiſfied. And if the example of Cardinall Wolſey, and other Cardinals and Popes can not ſatiſfie thee, I beſeche thee (gentle reader) turne ouer the foreſayd booke of the Ploughmans tale in Chauſer aboue mentioned, where thou ſhalt vnderſtand much more of their demanour, thē I haue here deſcribed.

Habentes ſpeciē pietatis, ſed vim eius abnegātes.
2. Timo. 3.

The reformation of yͤ Churche neceſſarie.

In theſe ſo blinde & miſerable corrupt dayes of darkenes and ignoraunce, thou ſeeſt, good reader (I doubt not) how neceſſarie it was, & hyhg tyme, that reformation of yͤ Church ſhould come, which now moſt happely and graciouſly began to worke, throughe the mercyfull and no leſſe nedefull prouidence of almyghtie God. Who, although hee ſuffered his Churche to wander and ſtarte a ſide through the ſeduction of pride and proſperitie a long tyme, yet at length it pleaſed his goodnes to reſpect hys people, and to reduce his Churche into the priſtine foundation and frame agayne, from whence it was pitiouſlye before decayed. Wherof I haue now conſequently to entreate, intending, by the grace of Chriſt, to declare howe and by what meanes, firſt this reformation of yͤ Church began, and how it proceded, increaſing by litle and litle into this perfection, whiche now we ſee, and more, I truſt, ſhall ſee.

The firſt beginning of reformation, how & by what meanes.

And herein wee haue firſt to beholde the admirable worke of Gods wiſedome. For as the firſt decay and ruine of the Churche, before began of rude ignoraunce, and lacke of knowledge in teachers: ſo to reſtore the Church agayne by doctrine and learning, it pleaſed God to open to man, the arte of Printyng, the tyme whereof was ſhortely after the burnyng of Hus and Hierome. Printyng beyng opened, incontinent miniſtred to the Church, the inſtrumentes and tooles of learnyng and knowledge, whiche were good bookes and authors, whiche before lay hyd and vnknowen. The ſcience of Printyng beyng found, immediatly folowed the grace of God, which ſtyrred vp good wittes aptely to conceaue the light of knowledge and of iudgemēt: by which light, darkenes began to be eſpyed, and ignoraunce to be detected, truth from errour, religion from ſuperſtition to bee diſcerned, as is aboue more largely diſcourſed, where was touched the inuention of Printyng. pag. 837. Furthermore, after theſe wyttes ſtyrred vp of God, folowed other moe, increaſyng dayly more and more in ſcience, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge: who now were able, not onely to diſcerne in matters of iudgement, but alſo were ſo armed and furniſhed with the helpe of good letters, that they did encounter alſo with the aduerſarye, ſuſteynyng the cauſe and defenſe of learnyng agaynſt barbaritie: of veritie, agaynſt errour: of true religion, agaynſt ſuperſtition. In number of whom, amongeſt many other here vnnamed, were Picus & Franciſcus Mirandula, Laur. Valla. Franc. Perarcha. Doct. VVeſalianus, Reuclinus, Grocinus, Coletus, Rhenamus, Eraſmus. &c. And here began yͤ firſt puſhe & aſſault to be geuen againſt yͤ ignorante & barbarous faction of yͤ Popes pretenſed Church. Who after that, by their learned wrytynges & laborious trauaile, they had opened a wyndow of light vnto the world, and had made (as it were) a way more ready for other to come after: Immediatly, accordyng to Gods gratious appointement, folowed Martin Luther, with other after him, by whoſe miniſterie it pleaſed the Lord to worke a more full reformation of his Church, as by their actes and procedinges here after ſhal folow (Chriſt willyng) more amply to be declared.

Printyng the fountaine of reformation.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 837.

And now, commyng to the tyme and ſtory of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordeyne and appoynte to be the principall organe and Miniſter vnder hym, to reforme Religion & to ſubuert the Sea of the pope, firſt before wee enter into the tractation hereof, it ſhall not bee impertinent to the purpoſe, to inferre ſuch prophecies and forewarnynges, as were ſent before of God, by diuers and ſondry good men, long before the tyme of Luther, whiche foretolde and prophecyed of this reformation of the Churche to come.

¶ *Prophecies going before Martyn Luther.*

The prophecie of Ioh. Hus, touching the reformation of yͤ Church.

And firſt, to begyn with the prophecie of Iohn Hus, and Hierome, it is both notable, and alſo before mentioned, what the ſayd Iohn Hus at the tyme of his burning, prophecied vnto hys enemies, ſaying: *that after an hundreth yeares come and gone, they ſhoulde geue a counte to God and to hym, &c.*

¶ Where is to bee noted, that countyng from the yeare. 1415. (in the which yeare Iohn Hus was burned) or from the yeare. 1416. (when Hierome did ſuffer) vnto the yeare. 1516. (when Martin Luther began firſt to write) wee ſhall finde the iuſt number of an hundreth yeares expired.

Another prophecie of Iohn Hus touching the reformatiō of the church.

Likewyſe, to thys may be adioyned the propheticall viſion or dreame, which chaunced to yͤ ſaid Iohn Hus lying in the dungeon of the fryers in Conſtance, a litle before he was burned. His dreame, as he him ſelfe reporteth it in his epiſtles wrytyng to maiſter Iohn Chlum, & as I haue alſo before recorded yͤ ſame, pag. 747: ſo wil I now repete yͤ ſame agayne in like effect of wordes, as he wrote it him ſelf in latine: the effect of which Latine is thys.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 741.

I praye you expounde to me the dreame whiche I had this night. I ſaw that in my Churche at Bethleem (wherof I was parſon) they deſired and labored to aboliſhe all the Images of Chriſt, and did aboliſhe them. I the next day folowyng, roſe vp and ſaw many other painters, which painted both the ſame & many more Images and more fayrer, whiche I was glad to behold: wherupon the painters with the great multitude of people ſaid: Now let the Biſhops & prieſtes come, & put vs out theſe Images if they can. Whiche thing done, much people reioyſed in Bethlehem, and I with them: and riſing vp, I felt my ſelfe to laughe.

Ex epiſt. 45. Ioh. Hus.

This dreame maiſter Iohn of Chlum firſt expounded. Thē he in yͤ next epiſtle after, expoūded it him ſelf to thys effect. Stante mandato dei. &c. That is: *the Cōmaundemēt of God ſtanding, that we muſt obſerue no dreames, yet notwithſtāding I truſt, that the life of Chriſt was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his worde, in the hartes of mē, the which preachyng, they went about in Bethlehem to deſtroy, firſt in cōmaunding that no preachyng ſhould be, neither in the Church of Bethlehem, nor in the chappelles there by: ſecondly, that the Churche of Bethlehem ſhould be throwen downe to the groūd. The ſame life of Chriſt ſhalbe paynted vp agayne, by mo preachers much better then I, and after a much more better ſorte, ſo that a great number of people ſhall reioyce thereat, all ſuch as loue the life of Chriſt: and alſo I ſhall reioyce my ſelfe, at what time I ſhall awake, that is, whē I ſhall ryſe agayne frō the dead.*

An other prophecie by Iohn Hus.

Alſo in his 48. Epiſtle, he ſemeth to haue a lyke propheticall meanyng, where he ſayth: *That he truſted, that thoſe things which he ſpake then within the houſe, ſhould afterward be preached aboue the houſe toppe. &c.*

Vid. ſupra. pag. 747.

An other prophecie by Iohn Hus.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the propheſies of Iohn Hus, it is not to be omitted, what he writeth in a certeine treatiſe, De ſacerdotum & monachorum carnalium abominatione, thus prophecying of the reformation of the Church: *The church, he ſayth, can not bee reduced to his former dignitie and reformed, before all thinges firſt be made new (the truth wherof appeareth by the temple of Salomon) as well the clergie and prieſtes: as alſo the people and laitie. Or els, except all ſuch as now be addicted to auarice frō the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt conuerted & renewed, as well the people, as the clerkes and prieſtes, thinges can not be reformed. Albeit, as my minde now geueth me, I beleue rather the firſt: that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the newe man, which is created after God. Of the which people, newe clerkes and Prieſtes ſhall come forth and bee taken, which all ſhall hate couetouſnes, and glorye of this life, laboryng to an heauenly conuerſation. Notwithſtandyng all theſe thinges ſhall be done and wrought in continuance and order of tyme diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth and will do of his owne goodnes and mercy, and for the riches of his pacience and ſufferaunce, geuyng time and ſpace of repentaunce to them that haue long layne in their ſinnes, to amende and flye from the face of the Lordes fury, vntill at lēgth all ſhall ſuffre together, & vntill both the carnall people & prieſtes, & clerkes in proces & order of tyme, ſhall fall away & be conſumed, as is cloth conſumed and eaten of the moth. &c.*

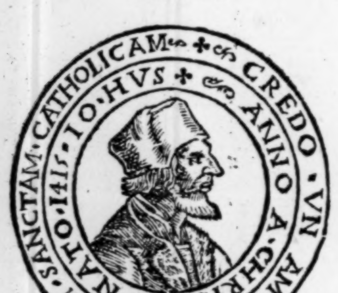
Ioh. Hus, De Sacerd. & monachorum Carnalium abominatione. cap. 37.

A prophecie of reformation by Hierom. Pragenſis. Vid. ſupr. pag. 753.

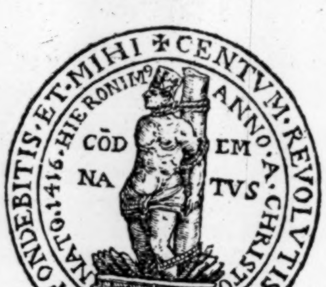
With this prophecie of Iohn Hus aboue mentioned, ſpeakyng of the hundreth yeres, accordeth alſo yͤ teſtimonie of Hierome his felow Martyr, in theſe wordes: *And I cite you all (ſayd he) to aunſwere before the moſt hye and iuſt iudge, after an hundreth yeares.*

This

Ioh.Hus.


CREDO · VNAM · ESSE · ECCLESIAM · SANCTAM · CATHOLICAM
IO · HVS · ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1415

Hieronymus.


CENTVM · REVOLVTIS · ANNIS · DEO · RESPONDEBITIS · ET · MIHI
ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1416 · HIERONIMUS
CŌDEMNATUS

Centū reuolutis annis deo reſpondebitis. Poſt centū annos vos omnes cito.

This Hierome was burnt an. 1416. and Luther began to write an. 1516. whiche was the iuſt hundreth yeare after, accordyng to the right accompt of Hieromes prophecie.

An other prophecie of reformation by John Hilton Monke of Thuringe.

Ex Phil. Melanc. in Apologia. cap. de vot. Monaſt.

Philip. Melancthon in his Apologie, cap. De votis monaſt. teſtifieth of one Iohn Hilton a mōke in Thuringe, who, for ſpeakyng agaynſt certeine abuſes of the place and order where he lyued, was caſt in priſon. At length beyng weake & feable through impriſonment, he ſent for the warden of the couent, deſiryng and beſechyng hym, to haue ſome reſpect of his wofull ſtate, and pitifull caſe. The warden rebukyng and accuſing him, for that he had done and ſpoken: *He aunſwered agayn and ſayd, that he had ſpoken nothyng whiche myght bee preiudiciall or hurtfull to their monkery, or againſt their religion: But there ſhould come one (and aſsigned the yeare, anno. 1516) who ſhould vtterly ſubuert all monkery, and they ſhould neuer bee able to reſiſte hym. &c.*

Ex Reuelat. Brigit. lib. 4. cap. 57.

Brigitte prophecieth of reformation.

Long it were to induce here all prophecies that bee read in hiſtories. Certeine I minde briefly to touch and paſſe ouer. And firſt, to omitte here the reuelations of Brigit (wherunto I do not much attribute) who propheſying of the deſtruction of Rome in her 4. boke, cap. 17. ſayth: *That Rome ſhalbe ſcoured & purged with 3. thinges, with ſword, fire, and the plough: reſemblyng moreouer the ſayd Church of Rome, to a plant remoued out of the old place into a new: Alſo to a body condemned by a Iudge, to haue the ſkinne flayne of, the bloud to be drawen from the fleſh, the fleſhe to be cut in peeces, and the bones therof to be broken, and all the marye to be ſquyſed out from the ſame, ſo that no part thereof remaine whole and perfect. &c.* But to theſe ſpeculations of Brigit, I geue no great reſpecte, as neither I doe to the predictions of Katherine De Senis.

Antonin. part. 3. hiſt. titul. 23. cap. 14.

Katherina Senenſis, propheſying of reformation.

And yet notwithſtandyng, Antoninus writyng of the ſame Katherine in his 3. parte. Tit. 23. cap. 14. reciteth her woordes thus, propheſying of the reformation of the Churche, to Frier Raymund her goſtly father: *By theſe tribulations (ſayth ſhe) God after a ſecret maner vnknowen to man, ſhall purge his holy Churche, and after thoſe thinges ſhall folow ſuch a reformation of the holy Churche of God, and ſuch a renouation of the holy paſtours, that the onely cogitatiō and remembraunce therof maketh my ſpirite to reioyſe in the Lord: And, as I haue ofte tymes told you heretofore, the ſpouſe whiche is now all deformed and ragged, ſhalbe adourned and decked with moſt riche and precious ouches & brouches: and all the faithfull ſhal bee glad and reioyſe to ſee them ſelues ſo bewtified with ſo holy paſtours. Yea and alſo the infidels then allured by the ſwete ſauour of Chriſt, ſhall returne to the Catholique folde, and bee conuerted to the true Biſhop and ſhepharde of their ſoules. Geue thankes therfore to God, for after this ſtorme, he will geue a great calme. &c.*

Of the authoritie of this prophetiſſe, I haue not to affirme or iudge, but rather to heare what the Catholique iudges will ſaye of this their owne Saint and Prophet. For if they doe not credite her ſpirite of propheſie, why then doo they authoriſe her for a pure Saint, among the Siſters of deare S. Dominicke? If they warrant her propheſie, let them ſay then, when was this glorious reformation of the Churche euer true or like to bee true, if it bee not true nowe in this maruelous alteration of the Church, in theſe our latter dayes? Or when was there any ſuch conuerſion of Chriſten people in all countreys euer heard of, ſince the Apoſtles tyme, as hath bene ſince the preachyng of Martin Luther?

The prophecie of Hieron. *Sauonarola. Vid. ſupr. pag. 867. & .920.*

Of Hieronimus Sauonarola I wrote before, pag. 867. ſhewing ẏ he prophecied: *That one ſhould paſſe ouer the Alpes like to Cyrus, who ſhould ſubuerte and deſtroye all Italy.* Which may well bee applyed to Gods worde, and the Goſpell of Chriſt, ſpreadyng nowe in all places ſince Luthers tyme.

The prophecie of *Theodoricus.*

Theodoricus Byſhop of Croacia, lyued neare about the tyme, whē Hus and Hierome were martyred. Who in the ende of his propheticall verſes, whiche are extant in print, declareth: *That the Sea of Rome, which is ſo horriblie polluted with Simonie and auarice, ſhall fall, and no more ſhall oppreſſe men with tyranny, as it hath done: and that it ſhalbe ſubuerted by his owne ſubiectes, and that the Churche and true pietie ſhall flouriſh again more thē euery it did before.*

The prophecie of *Doct. W ſelus.*

Nouiomagus teſtifieth, that hee in the yeare of our lord. 1520. heard Oſtendorpius, a canon of Dauentrie, ſay: that whē he was a young mā, Doct. Veſelus a Phryſian, whiche was then an olde man, tolde him, *That hee ſhould lyue to ſee this new ſchole diuinitie of Scotus, Aquinas, & Bonauenture, to be vtterly forſaken and exploded of all true Chriſtians.*

A propho cie of the popes hea

In a booke of Carolus Bouillus, mention is made of a certeine viſion, which one Nicolas, an heremite of Heluetia, *had: in which viſiō he ſaw the popes head crowned with iij. ſwordes procedyng from his face, and iij. ſwordes commyng toward it. This viſion is alſo imprinted in the bookes of Martin Luther, with his preface before it.*

Nicolaus Medlerus beyng of late ſuperintendent of Brunſwyke, affirmed and teſtified: *That he heard & knew a certeine prieſt in his countrey, whiche told the prieſtes there, that they layd aſide Paul vnder their deskes and pues: but the time would come, when as Paul ſhould come abroad, and driue them vnder the deskes and darke ſtalles, where they ſhould not appeare. &c.*

Ex Flac de teſtib veritat

Matthias Flaccius in the end of his boke, intituled: De teſtibus veritatis, *ſpeaketh of one Michaell Stifelius, whiche Michaell beyng an olde mā, told him that he heard the prieſtes & monkes ſay many times, by old prophecies, that a violent reformation muſt nedes come amongeſt them: and alſo that the ſaid Michael heard Conradus Stifelius his father, many times declare the ſame: who alſo for the great hatred he bare againſt this filthy ſecte of monkes and prieſtes, told to one Peter Pirer a frend and neighbour of his, that he ſhould lyue and ſee the day, and therfore deſired him, that when the day came, beſides thoſe prieſtes whiche he ſhould kill for him ſelfe, he would kill one prieſt more for his ſake. &c.* Hæc ex Flaccio. This Stifelius thought belike, that this reformation ſhould be wrought by outward violence, & force of ſworde, but he was therin deceaued. Although the aduerſary vſeth all forceable meanes, and violent tyrannie, yet the proceadynges of the Goſpell allwayes begynneth with peace, and quyetnes.

The goſpell begi neth his reformat on with peace an quietnes

In ẏ table of Amerſham men I ſignified a litle before, pag. 956. howe one Haggar of London, ſpeaking of this reformation to come, declared: *That the prieſtes ſhould make battaile, and haue the vpperhand a while, but ſhortly they ſhould be vanquiſhed, and ouerthrowen for euer.*

The fa the Po dome ſi fied by fall of t Angell, the ch toppe o the pop Caſtle.

In the time of Pope Alexander the vi. and about the yeare of our Lord. 1500. as is before ſpecified, pag. 870. *the high Angell, which ſtoode in the toppe of the Popes church and Caſtle of S. Angell, was throwen downe with a terrible thunder, into the ryuer of Tybris:* wherby might ſeme to be declared the ruine and fall of the Popedome.

Ex Ba Centu

To this may be adioyned, whiche in certeine Chronicles, and in Iohn Bale is recorded: whiche ſayth, that in the yeare of our Lorde. 1516. whiche was the ſame yeare when Martin Luther began, *Pope Leo the x. dyd create xxxi. Cardinals: In the whiche yeare and day of theyr creatiō, there fell a tempeſt of thunder and lightnyng in Rome, whiche ſo ſtrake the Church where the Cardinals were made,* *that it remoued the litle child Ieſus out of the lappe of his mother, and the keyes out of S. Peters hand.* Whiche thyng many then did interprete to ſignifie and forſhowe the ſubuerſion and alteration of the Sea of Rome.

Another ſignificatiō of the popes ſubuerſion.

Hetherto perteineth alſo a ſtraūge portente and a prodigious tokē frō heauen, in the yeare of our Lord. 1501. In the which yeare, vnder the reigne of Maximilian Emperour, *there appeared in Germanie, vpon the veſtures of men as well of prieſtes, as laymen, vpon wemens garmentes alſo, and vpon their rockes as they were ſpinnyng, diuers printes and tokens of the nayles, of the ſpunge, of the ſpayre, of the Lordes, coate, and of bloudye Croſſes. &c.* All whiche were ſene vpon their cappes and gownes, as is moſt certeinly teſtified and recorded by diuers, whiche both did ſee, and alſo did write vpon the ſame. Of whom firſt was Maximiliā. the Emperour, who both had, and ſhewed the ſame to Franciſcus Mirandula, whiche wrote therupon a booke in Latine meter called Stauroſtichon: wherein for the more credite, theſe verſes be conteined.

Ex Ioan. Carione. Franc. Mirandula, & alijs.

Bloudye markes of the Lordes paſſion, ſeene vpon mens garmentes.

Non ignota cano, Cæſar monſtrauit, & ipſi
Vidimus: Innumeros prompſit Germania teſtes. &c.

Of this alſo writeth Iohn Carion, Functius, Phil. Melan. Flaccius, with diuers moe. Theſe markes and tokens, as they were very ſtraunge, ſo were they diuerſly expounded of many, ſome thinkyng that they portended affliction and perſecution of the Churche to draw neare: ſome, that God by that token did admoniſh them, or foreſhewed vnto them, the true doctrine of their iuſtification, which onely is to be ſought in the Croſſe & Paſſion of Chriſt, and no other thyng. This I maruell, that Chriſtianus Maſſeus, Author of that profeſſion, do leaue it out. Belike they ſaw ſome thyng in it, that made not to their lyking. For whether it ſignifieth perſecutiō to come vpon the Germanes, they can not be euill that ſuffer and beare the Croſſe with Chriſt: Or whether it ſignifieth the true doctrine of Chriſte commyng to the Germaines, it can not otherwiſe be, but that the doctrine of the Byſhop of Rome muſt nede be wrong, whiche is contrarie to this whiche God hath ſtyrred vp in Germanie.

The expoſition of thoſe portent.

By theſe and ſuch lyke prophecies it is euident to vnderſtand, the time not to be farre of, when God of his determinate prouidence was diſpoſed to reforme and to reſtore his Churche. And not onely by theſe prophecies the ſame might wel appeare, but alſo, and much rather by the hartes of the people at that tyme, whoſe myndes were ſo incenſed and inflamed with hatred agaynſt the pompe and pride of Rome, both through all nations, and eſpeciallye the people of Germanie, that it was eaſie to perceiue the tyme was neare at hand, when the pride of Popiſh prelacie would haue a fall. Such diſdeine there was, ſuch contempt & deriſion began to riſe on euery ſide then agaynſt the Pope and the Court of Rome, that it myght ſone appeare by the hartes of the people, that God was not diſpoſed to haue it long to ſtand. For neither were their deteſtable doyngs ſo ſecret that mē did not ſee them: neither did any man behold them, hauyng any ſparcle of godlynes, that could abyde them. And thereupon grewe theſe prouerbes to their deriſion, in euery countrey: As in Germanie it hath bene a Prouerbe amongeſt them.

Prouerbes agaynſt the corrupt ſea of Rome.

Was iſt nu in der werlt fur ein weſen,
VVir moegen fur den pfaffen nicht geneſen.
What is this, to ſee the world now round about,
That for theſe ſhaueling prieſtes no man that once may rout?

Quàm primum clericus ſuſcipit raſuram, ſtatim intrat in eum diabolus. That is:
So ſoone as a clarke is ſhorne into hys order, by and by the deuill entreth into hym.

In nomine domini incipit omne malum. That is:
In the name of God beginneth all euill: alludyng to the Popes Bulles, whiche commonly ſo begin.
Item, when Bulles come from Rome, binde well your purſes.
The nearer Rome, the farther from Chriſt.
Item, he that goeth once to Rome, ſeeth a wicked man.
He that goeth twiſe, learneth to know him,
He that goeth thriſe, bringeth him home with him.
Item, the Court of Rome neuer regardeth the ſhepe without the woll.
Once were wodden chalices and golden Prieſtes:
Now we haue golden chalices, and wodden Prieſtes.
Once Chriſten men had blind Churches and light hartes:
Now they haue blind hartes and light Churches.
Itē, many are worſhipped for Saintes in heauen, whoſe ſoules be burnyng in hell.

Ex Auenti.

What ſhould I ſpeake of our Engliſh prouerbe which ſo vilye eſtemeth the filthye Friers, that it cōpareth them (ſauing thy reuerence good reader) to a farte?

In Fraunce, Gallus Senonenſis wryteth 400. yeares agoe, that amongeſt them it was an olde ſaying: Romæ ſolui Satanam in perniciem totius eccleſiæ. That is: *That Satan was let loſe at Rome to diſtroy the whole Church.*

Thomas Becket him ſelfe, in hys tyme wryting to the Colledge of Cardinalls, denieth it not, but to be a common worde both through towne and Citie, quod nō ſit iuſtitia Romæ. That is: *That there is no right at Rome.*

To theſe may be adioyned alſo the A.B.C. Which we finde in the margent of a certaine old regiſter, to be attributed to VVilliā Thorpe, whoſe ſtory we haue comprehended in the booke before.

An A.B.C. agaynſt the pride of the popes clergye.

¶ A wake ye goſtly perſones, awake, awake,
B oth prieſt, pope, biſhop and Cardinall.
C onſider wiſely, what wayes that ye take,
D aungerouſly beyng like to haue a fall.
E uery where the miſchief of you all,
F arre and neare, breaketh out very faſt:
G od will nedes be reuenged at the laſt.
¶ H ow long haue ye the worlde captiued,
I n ſore bondage, of mens traditions?
K ynges and Emperours ye haue depriued,
L ewdly vſurping, their chiefe poſſeſſions:
M uch miſerie ye make in all regions.
N ow your fraudes be almoſt at the latter caſt,
O f God ſore to be reuenged at the laſt.
¶ P oore people to oppreſſe, ye haue no ſhame,
Q uaking for feare of your double tyrannie.
R ightfull iuſtice ye haue put out of frame,
S eking the luſt of your God, the belly.
T herfore I dare you boldely certifie,
V ery litle though ye be therof a gaſt,
Y et God will be reuenged at the laſt.

By theſe and ſuch like ſayinges, whiche may bee collected, innumerable, it may ſone be ſene what hartes and iudgemētes the people had in thoſe dayes of the Romiſhe clergy. Whiche thyng, no doubt, was of God, as a ſecrete prophecie, that ſhortly Religion ſhould be reſtored: accordyng as it came to paſſe, about this preſent tyme when D. Martin Luther firſt began to write, after that Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, and laſte of all, Eraſmus Roterodamus, had ſomewhat broken the waye before, and had ſhaken the monkes houſes. But Luther gaue the ſtroke, and pluckt down the foundatiō, and all by openyng one vayne, long hid before, wherein lyeth the touchſtone of all truth and doctrine, as the onely principall origine of our ſaluation: whiche is our free iuſtifiyng by fayth onely in Chriſt the ſonne of God. The laborious trauayles, and the whole proceſſe, and the conſtant preachynges of this worthy man, becauſe they are ſufficiently and at large in the hyſtory of Iohannes Sleidanus, I ſhall the leſſe nede to ſtand long therupon, but onely to runne ouer ſome principal matter of his life and actes, as they are briefly collected by Philip Melancthon.

Laurentius Valla.
Picus Mirandula.
Eraſmus Roterodamus.
M. Luther.

The article of our free iuſtification beateth down all errours.

¶ *The hiſtory of D. Martin Luther, with his life* and doctrine deſcribed.

MArtin Luther, after he was growē in yeares, being borne at Iſleben in Saxonie, an. 1483. was ſet to the Vniuerſitie, firſt of Magdeburg, then of Erford. In this vniuerſitie of Erford, there was a certeine aged mā,

The hiſtorye of M. Luther with his lyfe and doctrine deſcribed.

in the couent of ẏ Auguſtines (who is thought to be Weſelus aboue mencioned) with whom Luther beyng then of the ſame order a Frier Auguſtine, had conference vppon diuers thinges, eſpecially touchyng the Article of remiſſion of ſinnes: the whiche article the ſayd aged father opened vnto Luther after this ſorte, declaring, that we muſt not generally beleue onely forgeuenes of ſinnes to be, or to belonge to Peter, to Paule, to Dauid, or ſuch good men alone: but that Gods expreſſe Cōmaundemēt is, that euery man ſhould beleue particularly his ſinnes to be forgeuen him in Chriſt: and further ſayd, ẏ this interpretation was confirmed by the teſtimonies of S. Bernard, & ſhewed him the place, in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus ſet forth: *But adde thou that thou beleueſt this, that by him thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee. This is the teſtimonie that the holy Ghoſt giueth thee in thy hart, ſaying: Thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee. For this is the opinion of the Apoſtle, that man is frely iuſtified by ſaith.*

An excellent declaration of S. Bernard touching fayth.

By theſe wordes Luther was not onely ſtrengthened, but was alſo inſtructed of the full meanyng of S. Paul, who repeateth ſo many tymes this ſentēce: We are iuſtified by fayth. And hauyng read the expoſitions of many vppon this place, he then perceiued as well by the purpoſe of the old man, as by the comforte he receiued in hys ſpirite, the vanitie of thoſe interpretations, whiche he had read before, of the ſchole men: And ſo reading by litle and litle, with conferryng the ſayinges and examples of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and continuall inuocation of God, and excitation of fayth by force of prayer, he perceiued that doctrine more euidently. Then began he to read S. Auguſtines bookes, where he founde many cōfortable ſentences among other, in the expoſition of ẏ Pſalmes & ſpecially in the booke of the Spirite & Letter, which cōfirmed this doctrine of fayth and conſolation in his hart, not a litle. And yet he layd not a ſide the Sentenciaries, as Gabriell & Cameracenſis. Alſo he read the bookes of Occam, whoſe ſubtiltie he preferred aboue Thomas Aquine, and Scotus. He read alſo and reuolued Gerſon: but aboue all the reſt, he peruſed all ouer S. Auguſtines workes with attentiue cogitation. And thus continued he his ſtudie at Erford, the ſpace of iiij. yeares in the couent of the Auguſtines.

The profite of S. Auſtines bookes.

The inſtitution of the Uniuerſitie at Wittenberge.

Staupicius.

The iudgement of Doct. Mellerſtad, vpon M. Luther.

About this tyme one Staupicius a famous man, who miniſtring his helpe to further the erection of an Uniuerſitie in VVittenberge, and endeuoring to haue Scholes of diuinitie founded in this new Uniuerſitie: when he had conſidered the ſpirite and towardnes of Luther, hee called him from Erford, to place hym in VVittenberge, in the yere. 1508. and of his age xxvi. There his towardnes appeared in the ordinary exerciſe both of his diſputations in the ſcholes, and preaching in churches, whereas many wiſe and learned men attētiuely heard Luther, namely D. Mellerſtad. This Mellerſtad would oftentymes ſay, that Luther was of ſuch a meruellous ſpirit, & ſo ingenious, that he gaue apparent ſignification, that he would introduce a more compendious, eaſie, and familier maner of teachyng, and alter and aboliſhe the order that then was vſed.

Luther ſent to Rome.

Fredericke Duke of Saxonie.

Luther commenſed doctor.

There firſt he expounded the Logicke & Philoſophie of Ariſtotle, and in ẏ meane while, intermitted no whitte his ſtudy in Theologie. Three yeares after, he went to Rome, about certeine contentions of the monkes, and returnyng the ſame yeare, he was graded Doctour, at the expences of Elector Fredericke, Duke of Saxonie, accordyng to the ſolempne maner of ſcholes: For he had heard hym preache: well vnderſtanded the quicknes of his ſpirite: diligently conſidered the vehemency of his wordes, and had in ſingular admiration thoſe profound matters, whiche in his Sermons hee ripely and exactly explaned. This degree Staupicius, agaynſt his will enforced vpon him, ſaying merely vnto him, that God had many things to bring to paſſe in his Church by him. And though theſe wordes were ſpokē merely, yet it came ſo to paſſe anone after, as many predictions or preſages proue true before a chaunge.

Doct. M. Luther beginneth to reade the epiſtle to the Romaines.

After this he began to expound the Epiſtle to the Romaines, and cōſequently ẏ Pſalmes: where he ſhewed the difference betwixte the law and the Goſpell. He alſo cōfoūded the errour that raigned then in ſcholes & ſermons, teachyng ẏ mē may merite remiſſion of ſinnes by their proper workes, and that they be iuſt before God, by outward diſcipline, as ẏ Phariſeis taught. Luther diligētly reduced the mindes of men, to the ſonne of God. And as Iohn Baptiſt demonſtrated the Lambe of God that tooke away the ſinnes of the worlde: euen ſo Luther ſhynyng in the Church as a bright ſtarre after a long cloudy and obſcure ſkye, expreſly ſhewed that ſinnes are frely remitted for the loue of the ſonne of God, and that wee ought faithfully to embrace this bountifull gift.

Luther taught Ieſus Chriſt.

Theſe happy begynnynges of ſo good matters, gotte hym great authoritie, eſpecially ſeyng his lyfe alſo was correſpondent to his profeſſion. The conſideration wherof allured to him meruelouſly the hartes of his auditors, and alſo many notable perſonages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothyng in ẏ ceremonies, but preciſely obſerued his rule among his felowes: he medled in no doubtfull opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as moſt principall of all other to all men, openyng and declaryng the doctrine of repentaunce, of remiſſion of ſinnes, of fayth, of true comforte in tymes of aduerſitie. Euery man receiued good taſt of this ſwete doctrine, and the learned conceiued highe pleaſure to behold Ieſus Chriſt, ẏ Prophets & Apoſtles, to come forth into light out of darkenes, wherby they beganne to vnderſtand the difference betwixt the lawe and the Goſpell: betwixt the promiſes of the law, and the promiſe of the Goſpell: betwixt ſpirituall iuſtice, and ciuill thinges: which certeinly could not haue bene founde in Thomas Aquine, Scotus, nor ſuch lyke ſchole clerkes.

Eraſmus openeth the way before Luther.

It happened moreouer about this tyme, that many were prouoked by Eraſmus learned workes, to ſtudy the Greeke & Latine tongues, who perceiuyng a more gentle & ready order of teachyng then before, began to haue in contempt the Monkes barbarous and ſophiſticall doctrine: and ſpecially ſuch as were of a liberall nature and good diſpoſition. Luther began to ſtudy the Greeke and Hebrue toung, to this ende, that after he had learned the phraſe and proprietie of the tounges, and drawen the doctrine out of the very fountaines, hee might geue more ſound iudgement.

Ex Chriſtia. Maſſeo. lib. 20 Chronic.

X. ſhylling pardons.

As Luther was thus occupyed in Germanie, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1516. Leo the x. of that name ſuccedyng after Iulius. 2. was Pope of Rome. Who vnder pretenſe of warre agaynſt the Turke, ſent a Iubile with his pardons, abroad throughe all Chriſten realmes and dominions: wherby he gathered together vnnumerable riches and treaſure. The gatherers and collecters whereof perſuaded the people, that who ſo euer would geue x. ſhillynges, ſhould at his pleaſure, deliuer one ſoule from the paynes of Purgatorie. For this they held as a generall rule, that God would do, what ſoeuer they would haue hym, accordyng to the ſaying: Quicquid ſolueritis ſuper terram, erit ſolutū in cœlis. &c. *Whatſoeuer you ſhalt looſe vpon earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed in heauen.* But if it were but one iotte leſſe then x. ſhillynges, they preached that it would profit them nothyng. Ex Chriſtia. Maſſeo lib. 20. Chro.

Tecellius preacher of ẏ popes pardons.

Luthers propoſitions of pardons.

This filthy kynd of ẏ Popes marchandiſe, as it ſpread through all quarters of Chriſtian regions, ſo it came alſo to Germanie, through the meanes of a certaine Dominicke Frier named Tecellius, who moſt impudently cauſed the Popes indulgences or pardons to bee caryed and ſold about the countrey. Whereupon, Luther much moued with the blaſphemous Sermōs of this ſhameles Frier, and hauing his hart earneſtly bent with ardent deſire to maintaine true Religion, publiſhed certaine propoſitions concerning indulgences, whiche are to be read in the firſt Tome of his workes, and ſet them openly on the temple that ioyneth to the Caſtle of Wittenberge, the morow after the feaſt of all Saintes, the yere. 1517.

Thys beggerly Frier, hopyng to obtaine the Popes bleſſyng, aſſembled certaine Monkes and ſophiſticall diuines of his couent, ⁊ forthwith commaūded thē to write ſomethyng agaynſt Luther. And whileſt hee would not him ſelfe ſeme to be dumme, he began not onely to inuey in his Sermons, but to thunder agaynſt Luther, cryyng: Luther is an hereticke, ⁊ worthy to bee perſecuted with fire: and beſides this, he burned openly Luthers propoſitions, and the Sermon whiche he wrote of indulgences. This rage and furiſhe fury of this Frier, enforced Luther to treate more amply of the cauſe, and to maintaine hys matter.

And thus roſe the begynnynges of this controuerſie, wherein Luther neither ſuſpectyng ne dreamyng of any chaunge that might happen in the ceremonies, did not vtterly reiect the indulgences, but required a moderatiō in them: and therfore they falſly accuſe him, which blaſe that he beganne with plauſible matter, wherby he might get prayſe, to the end that in proces of time, he might chaūge the ſtate of the common weale, and purchaſe authoritie, either for him ſelfe or other.

And certes, he was not ſuborned or ſtirred vp by them of ỹ court (as ỹ Duke of Brunſwike wrote:) in ſo much that the Duke Fredericke was ſore offended that ſuch contention and controuerſie ſhould ariſe, hauyng regard to the ſequele therof.

And as this good Duke Fridericke was one of all the Princes of our time, ỹ loued beſt quietnes ⁊ cōmon trāquilitie, neither was auaricious, but willingly bent to referre all hys counſels to the common vtilitie of all the world (as it is eaſie to be coniected diuers wayes:) ſo he neither encouraged nor ſupported Luther, but often repreſented ſemblaunce of heauines and ſorow, whiche he bare in his heart, fearing greater diſſenſions: But being a wiſe prince and folowyng the Counſaile of Gods rule, ⁊ well deliberatyng therupon, he thought with him ſelfe that the glorye of God was to bee preferred aboue all thynges. Neither was hee ignoraunt what blaſphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obſtinatly to repugne the truth. Wherfore he did, as a godly Prince ſhould do: he obeyed God, committyng him ſelfe to hys holy grace, and omnipotēt protection. And although Maximilianus the Emperour, Carolus kyng of Spaine, ⁊ Pope Iulius had geuen cōmaundement to the ſaid Duke Fridericke, that he ſhould inhibite Luther from all place and libertie of preachyng: yet the Duke cōſideryng with him ſelfe the preachyng and wrytyng of Luther, and weyghyng diligētly the teſtimonies and places of the Scripture by him alleaged, would not withſtand the thing, whiche he iudged ſincere. And yet neither did he this, truſtyng to hys owne iudgemēt, but was very anxious and inquiſitiue to heare the iudgementes of other, which were both aged, ⁊ learned. In the number of whom was Eraſmus, whom the Duke deſired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther, ſaying and proteſting that hee would rather the grounde ſhould open and ſwalowe hym, then he would beare with any opinions, whiche he knew to be contrary to manifeſt truth: and therfore hee deſired hym to declare hys iudgement in the matter, to hym freely and frendly. Eraſmus thus beyng entreated of the Duke, began thus ieſtyngly and merely to aunſwere the Dukes requeſt, ſaying: that in Luther were ij. great faultes: firſt, that hee would touch the belyes of Monkes: the ſecond, that he would touche the Popes crowne: whiche ij. matters in no caſe are to bee dealte withall. Then openyng hys mynde plainely to the duke, thus he ſaid, that Luther did well in detectyng errours, ⁊ that reformation was to be wiſhed, ⁊ very neceſſarye in the Church: and added moreouer, that ỹ effect of his doctrine was true, but onely that he wyſhed in him, a more temperate moderation and maner of wrytyng and handlyng. Whereupon Duke Fridericke ſhortly after wrote to Luther ſeriouſly, exhortyng hym to temperate the vehementcie of his ſtile. This was at the Citie of Colen, ſhortly after the Coronation of ỹ new Emperour, where alſo Huttenus, Aloiſius, Marlianus, Ludouicus viues, Halonius, with other learned men, were aſſembled together waytyng vpon the Emperour.

Ex epiſt. Eraſm. ad Moguntinenſem.

The church burdened.

Furthermore, the ſame Eraſmus, the yeare next folowyng that, wrote to the Archbiſhop of Mentz a certein Epiſtle, touchyng the cauſe of Luther. In which Epiſtle thus he ſignifieth to the Biſhop: *that many thinges were in the bookes of Luther condemned of monkes and diuines, for hereticall, whiche in the bookes of Bernarde and Auſten are read for ſound and godly.* Alſo, *that the world is burdened with mens inſtitutiōs, with ſchole doctrines and opinions, and with the tyrannie of begging Friers. which Friers whē they are but the Popes ſeruantes & vnderlyngs: yet they haue ſo growen in power and multitude, that they are now terrible both to the Pope him ſelfe, and to all princes. Who ſo long as the Pope maketh with them, ſo long they make him more then a God. But if hee make any thyng agaynſt their purpoſe or commoditie, there they wey his authoritie no more thē a dreame or phātaſie.*

Once (ſayd he) *it was counted an hereſie, when a man repugned agaynſt the Goſpels, or Articles of the fayth. Now he that diſſenteth from Thomas of Aquine, is an hereticke. What ſoeuer doth not like them, what ſoeuer they vnderſtand not, that is hereſie. To ſpeake Greke, is hereſie. Or to ſpeake more finely then they do, that is with them hereſie.* And thus much by the way, concernyng the iudgemēt of Eraſmus.

Nowe to returne and to entreate ſomethyng orderly of ỹ actes and conflictes of Luther with his aduerſaries: after that Tecelius the foreſayd Frier, with his felowe monkes and Frierly felowes, had cryed out with open mouth agaynſt Luther, in mainteynyng ỹ popes indulgēces, and that Luther agayne in defence of his cauſe, had ſet vp propoſitions agaynſt the open abuſes of the ſame, meruell it was to ſee howe ſone theſe propoſitions were ſparcled abroad, in ſundry and farre places, and how gredely they were catched vp in the hādes of diuers, both far and nere. And thus the contention of this matter encreaſing betwene them, Luther was compelled to write therof more largely and fully, then otherwiſe hee thought: which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1517.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſburg.

Yet all this while, Luther neuer thought of any alteration to come of any one ceremonie, much leſſe ſuch a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies, as afterward did folow. But onely hearyng that he was accuſed to the byſhop of Rome, he dyd write humbly vnto him: in the begynnyng of whiche wrytyng, he declareth the vnordinate outrage of thoſe hys pardonmongers, whiche ſo exceſſiuely did pyll and pole the ſimple people, to the great ſlaunder of the church, and ſhame to hys holynes: and ſo procedyng in the ende of the ſayd hys wrytyng, thus he ſubmitteth hym ſelfe.

The ſubmiſſion of Luther to the Pope.

Wherfore (ſayth he) moſt holy father, I offer me ſelfe proſtrate vnder the feete of your holynes, with all that I am, and that I haue. Saue me, kyll me, call me, recall me, approue me, reproue me, as you ſhall pleaſe. Your voyce, the voyce of Chriſt in you ſpeaking, I will acknowledge. If I haue deſerued death, I ſhall be cōtented to dye: *For the earth is the Lordes, and all the fulnes therof,* who is to be bleſſed for euer. Amen. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1518.

Pſal. 23.

The raging Dialogue of Syluester Prierias againſt Luther.

After that Martin Luther, prouoked thus by Tecelius, had declared his mynde by wrytyng lowly and humbly, and had ſet vp certeine propoſitions to be diſputed, not long after, amōg other Monkes ⁊ friers, ſteppeth vp one Silueſter de Priero, a Dominicke frier, who firſt began to publiſhe abroad a certeine impudent and raylyng Dialogue agaynſt hym. Vnto whom Luther aunſwered agayne, firſt allegyng the place of the Apoſtle 1. Theſ. v. *that we muſt proue all thinges.* Alſo the place Gal. ij. *that if an Aungell from heauen do bryng an other Goſpell, then that we haue receaued, he ought to be accurſed.*

The aunſwere of Luther agaynſt Syluester.

Item, he alleged the place of Auſten vnto Hierome, where the ſayd Auſten ſayth: *That he is wont to geue this honour onely to the bookes of Canonicall Scripture, that who* *ſo euer were the writers therof, he beleueth them verely not to haue erred. But as touchyng all other mens writinges, were they neuer ſo holy men or learned, he doth not beleue them therfore, becauſe they ſo ſaye, but in that reſpect as they doe agree with the canonicall Scripture, whiche can not erre.*

Clem. De pœnit. et remiſs. C. Abuſionibus.

Item, he alleged the place of the Canon law: Clem. de Pœnit. & remiſ. C. Abuſionibus. Wherein hee proued, that theſe pardonſellers, in their ſettyng forth of the Popes indulgences, ought to go no farther by the law, then is enioyned them within the letters of their commiſſion.

And in ẏ latter part of his aunſwere, thus Luther writeth to the reader, *Let opinions* (ſayth he) *remaine opinions, ſo they be not yokes to the Chriſtians. Let vs not make mens opinions equall with the Articles of faith, and to the decrees of Chriſt, and Paul.* Moreouer I am aſhamed (quod he) to heare the cōmon ſaying of theſe diuine ſcholedoctours, who holdyng one thyng in the ſcholes, and thinkyng otherwiſe in their owne iudgement, thus are wonte, ſecretly among thē ſelues, and with their priuey frendes, talkyng together, to ſaye: *Thus we do holde, and thus would I ſay, beyng in the ſcholes, but yet (bee it ſpoken here amongeſt vs) it can not bee ſo proued by the holy Scripture. &c.* Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſperg.

Ex Palalipomenis Abba. Vrſperg.

Eckius wryteth agaynſt Luther.

D. Andræas aunſwereth for Luther.

Next after this Siluester, ſtept forth Eckius, and impugned the concluſions of Luther. Agaynſt whom encoūtered D. Andræas Bedenſtein, Archdeacon of Wyttenberge, makyng his Apologie in defenſe of Luther.

The Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge wryteth to the Pope for Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the vij. of Auguſt, by one Hieronimus B. of Aſcalon, to appeare at Rome. About whiche tyme Thomas Caietanus Cardinall, the Popes Legate, was then leiger at the Citie of Auguſta, who before had bene ſent downe in Commiſſion, with certein mandates from Pope Leo, vnto that Citie. The Uniuerſitie of Wyttenberge vnderſtanding of Luthers citation, eftſones directed vp their letters, with their publique ſeale to the Pope, in Luthers behalfe. Alſo an other letter they ſent to Carolus Miltitius the Popes Chamberlaine beyng a Germaine borne. Furthermore good Fridericke ceaſed not for his part, to ſolicitate ẏ matter with his letters and earneſt ſuyte, with Cardinall Caietanus, that ẏ cauſe of Luther might bee freed frō Rome, and remoued to Auguſta, in the hearyng of the Cardinall. Caietanus at the ſuyte of the Duke, wrote vnto the Pope, from whom he receaued this aunſwere agayne, the xxiij. of the foreſayd moneth of Auguſt: that he had cited Luther, to appeare perſonally before him at Rome, by Hieronymus Byſhop of Aſcalon, Auditour of the chamber: whiche Byſhop diligently had done, that was commaunded him, but Luther abuſing and contemning ẏ gentlenes offered, did refuſe not only to come, but alſo became more bold ⁊ ſtubborne, continuing or rather encreaſing in his former hereſie, as by his writings dyd appeare; Wherfore he would ẏ the ſayd Cardinall ſhould cite ⁊ call vp ẏ ſaid Luther to appeare at ẏ citie of Auguſta before hym, adioinyng withall, ẏ ayde of ẏ Princes of Germanie ⁊ of the Emperour, if neede required: ſo that when the ſaid Luther ſhould appeare, he ſhould lay hand vpō him ⁊ cōmit hym to ſafe cuſtody, ⁊ after he ſhould be brought vp to Rome: and if he perceaued him to come to any knowledge or amendement of his fault, he ſhould releaſe hym, ⁊ reſtore hym to the Churche againe, or els he ſhoulde be interdicte, with all other his adherentes, abetters, ⁊ mainteiners, of what ſoeuer eſtate or condition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marqueſes, Earles, Barons. ⁊c. Agaynſt all whiche perſons and degrees, he wylled hym to extend the ſame curſe and malediction (onely the perſon of the Emperour excepted) interdictyng by the cenſure of the Churche, all ſuch landes, Lordſhyps, townes, tenementes, villages, as ſhoulde miniſter any harbour to the ſayd Luther, and were not obedient to the ſea of Rome. Contrarywyſe to all ſuch as ſhewed them ſelues obedient, he ſhoulde promiſe full remiſſion of all their ſinnes. Likewiſe the Pope directeth other letters alſo the ſame time, to Duke Fridericke, cōplaynyng with many greuous wordes, agaynſt Luther.

The popes charge to hys Legate againſt M. Luther.

The Cardinall thus beyng charged with iniunctions from Rome, accordyng to his commiſſion, ſendeth with all ſpede, for Luther to appeare at Auguſta before hym.

About the begynnyng of Octob. Martin Luther yeldyng hys obedience to the Churche of Rome, came to Auguſta, at the Cardinals ſending (at the charges, of ẏ noble prince Electour) and alſo with his letters of Commendation, where he remayned iij. dayes before he came to his ſpeach: for ſo it was prouided by his frendes, that he ſhould not enter talke with the Cardinall, before a ſufficient warrant, or ſafeconducte was obteyned of the Emperour Maximilian. Which being obteined, eftſones he entred, offeryng him ſelf to the ſpeach of ẏ Cardinall, and was there receaued of the Cardinall very gently: who according to the Popes cōmaundement, propounded vnto Martin Luther iij. thinges, or as Sledan ſayth, but ij. to wytte:

1. *That he ſhould repent and reuoke his errours.*
2. *That he ſhould promiſe frō that time forwarde, to refraine from the ſame.*
3. *That he ſhould refrayne from all thinges that might, by any meanes, trouble the Churche.*

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherin hee had erred, the Legate brought foorth the extrauagantes of Clement, which beginneth: vnigenitus. &c. becauſe that hee contrary to that Canon had held and taught in his 58. propoſition, that the merites of Chriſt are not the treaſure of indulgencēs or pardons. Secondly, the Cardinall, contrary to the ſeuenth propoſition of Luther, affirmed that fayth is not neceſſarie to him that receiueth the Sacrament.

Furthermore, an other day, in the preſēce of iiij. of the Emperours Counſaile, hauyng there a Notary and witneſſes preſent, Luther proteſted for hym ſelfe and perſonally in this maner folowyng:

In primis, I Martin Luther, a Frier Auguſtine, proteſt that I do reuerence and folow the Church of Rome in all my ſayinges and doinges, preſent, paſt, ⁊ to come: And if any thing haue bene or ſhalbe ſayd by me to the cōtrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as though it had neuer ben ſpoken. But becauſe the Cardinall hath required at the commaundement of the Pope iij. thynges of me to be obſerued:

1. *That I ſhould returne agayne to the knowledge of my ſelfe:*
2. *That I ſhould beware of fallyng into the ſame agayne here after:*
3. *That I ſhould promiſe to abſtayne from all thinges whiche might diſquiet the Churche of God:*

I proteſt here this day, that what ſo euer I haue ſayd, ſemeth vnto me to be ſounde, true, and Catholicke: Yet for the further profe therof, I do offer my ſelf perſonally either here or elſwhere, publikely to giue a reaſon of my ſayinges. And if this pleaſe not the Legate, I am ready alſo in writyng to aunſwere his obiections, if he haue any agaynſt me: and touchyng theſe thynges, to heare the ſentence and Iudgement of the Uniuerſities of the Empyre, Baſil, Friburge, and Louane. Hereof whē they had receiued an aunſwere in writyng, they departed.

After this Luther by ⁊ by prepareth an aunſwere to the Legate, teachyng that the merites of Chriſt are not committed vnto men: that the Popes voyce is to be heard when he ſpeaketh agreably to ẏ Scriptures: that the Pope may erre: that he ought to be reprehended, Act. 15. Moreouer he ſhewed ẏ in the matter of fayth, not only ẏ generall Councell, but alſo euery faithfull Chriſtian is aboue the pope, if he leane to better authoritie ⁊ reaſon: that the Extrauagant conteyneth vntruthes: that it is an infallible veritie, that none is iuſte: that it is neceſſary for him that commeth to the receiuyng of the Sacrament, to beleue: that fayth in the abſolution and remiſſion of ſinnes, is neceſſarie: that he ought not nor myght not decline from the veritie of the Scripture: that he ſought nothyng but the lyght of the truth. ⁊c.

But the Cardinall would heare no Scriptures: he diſputed without Scriptures, deuiſed gloſes and expoſitions of his own head, and by diſtinctions (wherewith the diuinitie of yͤ Thomiſtes is full) like a very Proteus, he auoyded all thinges. After this, Luther being cōmaunded to come no more in the prēſēce of the Legate, except he woulde recante, notwithſtandyng abode there ſtill & would not depart. Then the Cardinall ſent for Ioannes Stupitius, vicare of yͤ Auguſtines and moued hym earneſtly to bryng Luther to recant of hys own accorde. Luther taryed the next day alſo, and nothyng was ſayd vnto hym. The thyrd day moreouer he taried & deliuered vp his mynde in wrytyng, in which firſt he thanked him for his courteſye & great kyndnes, which he perceaued by the wordes of Stupitius toward hym, and therefore was the more ready to gratifie hym in what ſoeuer kynd of office he could doe hym ſeruice: confeſſyng moreouer, that where he had bene ſomwhat ſharpe & eger againſt yͤ popes dignitie, yͭ was not ſo much of his own mynde, as it was to be aſcribed to the importunitie of certein which gaue hym occaſion. Notwithſtādyng, as he acknowleged his exceſſe therin, ſo he was ready to ſhew more moderation in that behalfe hereafter, & alſo promiſed to make amendes for yͤ ſame vnto yͤ biſhop, & that in yͤ pulpit, if he pleaſed. And as touchyng the matter of pardons, he promiſed alſo to procede no further in any mention therof, ſo that his aduerſaries lykewiſe were bounde to kepe ſilence. But where as he was preſt to retract his ſentence before defended, for as much as he had ſayd nothyng but with a good conſcience, & whiche was agreable to yͤ firme teſtimonies of the Scripture: therfore he humbly deſired the determination therof, to be referred to the Byſhop of Rome, for nothing coulde be more gratefull to hym, then to heare the voyce of the church ſpeaking. &c.

Proteus was a monſter noted in Poetes, which coulde chaunge hym ſelfe into all formes & likenes.

Luthers anſwere to the Cardinall.

¶ Who doth not ſee by this ſo humble and honeſt ſubmiſſion of Luther, but that, if the biſhop of Rome would haue bene aunſwered with any reaſon, or contēted with ſufficient meane, he had neuer bene touched any farther of Luther. But the ſecret purpoſe of God had a further worke herein to do: for the tyme now was come, when God thought good that pride ſhould haue a fall. Thus while yͤ vnmeaſurable deſire of that byſhop ſought more then inough, and lyke to Æſopes dogge, coueting both to haue the fleſhe, and ſhadow, not onely hee miſſed that he gaped for, but alſo loſt that whiche he had.

Pride will haue a fall.

Æſopes dogge.

All couet, all looſe.

But to the purpoſe of our matter agayne: this wrytyng Luther deliuered to the Cardinall the thyrd day after he was commaunded out of his ſight. Whiche letter or wrytyng the Cardinall did litle regard. When Luther ſawe that he would geue no aunſwere nor contenaunce to the letter, yet notwithſtādyng he remained after that, the fourth day, and nothyng was aunſwered: the fift day likewiſe was paſſed with lyke ſilence, and nothyng done. At the length, by the Counſell of his frendes, and ſpecially becauſe the Cardinall had ſaid before, that he had a cōmaundement to impriſon Luther and Iohn Stupitius the vicare, after that he had made and ſet vp his appeale where it might be ſene and read, hee departed, thynkyng that hee had ſhewed ſuch daungerous obedience longe enough. Luther a beholder and a doer of theſe thinges, recordeth the ſame, & ſheweth the cauſe why he ſubmitted hym ſelf to yͤ Church of Rome: declaring alſo yͭ euen thoſe thynges, which are moſt truly ſpoken, yet ought to be mainteyned & defended, with humilitie & feare. Some thynges he ſuppreſſeth & conceileth, whiche he ſuppoſeth the reader to vnderſtand not without grief and ſorrow. At length he proteſteth that he reuerenceth and foloweth the Churche of Rome in all thynges, and that he ſetteth hym ſelfe onely agaynſt thoſe, which vnder the name of the Church of Rome, go about to ſet forth and commend Babylon vnto vs.

Luther obedient to the Sea of Rome.

Thus you haue heard how that Luther being reiected from the ſpeach and ſight of Caietanus the Cardinall, after ſixe dayes waytyng, departed by the aduiſe of hys frendes, and returned vnto Wyttenberge, leauyng a letter in wrytyng to be geuen to the Cardinall, wherin he declared ſufficientlye, firſt his obedience in his commyng, the reaſons of hys doctrine, hys ſubmiſſion reaſonable to the Sea of Rome, his longe waytyng after he was repelled from the Cardinalls ſpeach, the charges of the Duke, and finallye the cauſe of hys departyng. Beſides this letter to the Cardinall, he left alſo an Appellation to the biſhop of Rome, from the Cardinall, whiche he cauſed openly to bee affixed before hys departure.

An other letter of Luther to the Legate.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinall to the pope.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned agayne into his countrey, Caietanus writeth to Duke Fridericke, a ſharpe and a byting letter, in which firſt he ſignifieth to him hys gentle interteinement and good will ſhewed to reduce Luther from his errour. Secondly, he complaineth of the ſodaine departing of him, and of Stupicius. Thirdly he declareth yͤ pernicious daunger of Luthers doctrine againſt the Churche of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the Duke, that as he tendereth his own honour and ſafety, and regardeth the fauour of the hye Byſhop, he will ſend hym vp to Rome, or expelle hym out of his dominion, for ſomuch as ſuch a peſtilence breedyng, as that was, could not, neither ought by any meanes long ſo to be ſuffered.

The letters of Caietanus to Duke Fridericke.

To this letter of the Cardinal, the Duke aunſwereth agayne at large, purgyng both Luther, and hym ſelf: Luther, in that he folowyng his conſcience grounded vpon the worde of God, would not reuoke that for an errour, whiche coulde bee proued no errour: and him ſelfe he excuſeth thus, that where it is required of hym, to baniſhe hym his countrey, or to ſendy hym vppe to Rome, it woulde be litle honeſtye for him ſo to doe, and leſſe conſcience, vnles he knewe iuſte cauſe, why he ſhoulde ſo doe: Whiche if the Cardinall woulde or could declare vnto hym, there ſhould lacke nothyng in hym, which were the parte of a Chriſtian prince to doe, and therfore he deſireth hym, to be a meanes vnto the byſhop of Rome, that innocencie and truth bee not oppreſſed, before the crime or errour be lawfully conuicted.

The Dukes aunſwere to the Cardinall, for Luther.

This done, the Duke ſendeth the letter of the Cardinall, vnto Martine Luther. Who aunſwered agayne to the prince, ſhewyng firſt howe he came obediently vnto Caietanus, with yͤ Emperours warrant: and what talke there was betwene thē: howe Caietanus preſſed hym agaynſt hys conſcience & manifeſt truth, to reuoke theſe errours. Firſt that yͤ merites of Chriſtes Paſſion, were not the treaſure of yͤ popes pardons. Secondly that fayth was neceſſary in receauyng of the Sacramentes. Albeit in the firſt he was content to yeld to the Cardinall. In the ſecond, becauſe it touched a great part of our ſaluation, he could not with a ſafe conſcience relent, but deſired to be taught by the Scripture: at leaſt that the matter might be brought into open diſputatiō in ſome free place of Germanie, where the truth might be diſcuſſed and iudged of learned mē. The Cardinall not pleaſed with this, in great anger caſt out many manacyng wordes, neyther would admitte him any more to hys preſence or ſpeach: where as hee yet notwithſtandyng perſiſtyng in his obedience to the Churche of Rome, gaue attendance, waytyng vpon the Cardinals pleaſure a ſufficient tyme. At laſt, whē no anſwere would come, after he had wayted yͤ ſpace of v. or vi. dayes, to hys great detriment, and greater daunger, by the perſuaſion of hys frendes, he departed. Wherat if yͤ Cardinall were diſpleaſed, he had moſt cauſe to blame hym ſelfe. And nowe where as the Cardinall threatneth me (ſayth he) not to let the action fall, but that the proces therof ſhalbe purſued at Rome onles I either come and preſent my ſelfe, or els be baniſhed your dominions, I am not ſo much greued for mine own cauſe, as that you ſhould ſuſteyne for my matter any dāger or perill. And therfore ſeyng there is no place nor countrey, whiche can kepe me frō the malice of mine aduerſaryes, I am willyng to departe hence and to forſake my countrey, whether ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe the Lorde to lead me: thankyng God which hath counted me worthy to ſuffer thus much for the glory of Chriſtes name.

Luthers letters to Duke Fridericke.

Luther ready to be exiled.

The cauſe of Luther in great daūger.

Gods prouidence.

The Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge wryteth to the Duke for Luther.

Here (no doubt) was the cauſe of Luther in great daūger, beyng now brought to this ſtrayt, that both Luther was ready to flye the countrey, and the Duke agayne was as much afrayde to kepe hym, had not the meruelous prouidence of God (who had this matter in gydyng) here prouided a remedie, where the power of man dyd fayle, by ſtyrryng vp the whole Uniuerſitie of Wyttemberge, who ſeyng the cauſe of truth thus to decline, with a full and a generall conſent, addreſſed their letters vnto the Prince, in defenſe of Luther and of his cauſe, makyng their humble ſuyte vnto him, that he of his princely honour, would not ſuffer innocencie and the ſimplicitie of truth ſo cleare, as is the Scripture, to be foyled and oppreſſed by mere violence of certeyne malignant flatterers about the Pope: but that the errour firſt may bee ſhewed and conuicted, before the partie bee pronounced gyltie.

By the occaſion of theſe letters the Duke began more ſeriouſly in hys mynde to conſider the cauſe of Luther, and to read hys workes, and alſo to hearken to hys Sermons. Wherby (thorough Gods holy workyng) he grew in knowledge and ſtrength, perceauyng in Luthers quarell more then he did before. This was about the begynnyng of December, an. 1518.

New Indulgences ſet forth by pope Leo.

The doctrine of the church of Rome.

As this paſt on, Pope Leo playing the Lyon at Rome in the meane tyme, in the moneth of Nouember, to ſtabliſhe his Seate agaynſt this defection, which he feared to come, had ſent forth new indulgēces into Germanie, and all quarters abroade, with a new edicte, wherin he declared this to bee the Catholicke doctrine of the holy mother Churche of Rome, prince of all other Churches, that Byſhops of Rome which are ſucceſſours of Peter, and vicares of Chriſt, haue this power and authoritie geuen, to releaſe, and diſpenſe, alſo to graunt indulgences auailable both for the lyuing and for the dead, lyeng in the paynes of Purgatorie. And this doctrine he charged to be receaued of all faythfull Chriſten men, vnder paine of the great curſe, and vtter ſeparation from all holy Churche.

The Popes Aleſtake to picke mens purſes.

Luther appealeth from the pope to a generall councell.

This popiſhe decree & indulgence, as a new marchandiſe, or Aleſtake to gette mony, being ſet vp in al quarters of chriſtendome for yͤ holy fathers aduantage, came alſo to be receaued in Germanie about yͤ moneth of December. Luther in the meane tyme hearing how they were about in Rome, to procede and pronounce agaynſt hym, prouideth a certeine appellation conceaued in due forme of lawe, wherin he appealeth from the Pope to the generall Councell.

Miltitius the popes chamberlain ſent to Duke Fridericke.

When Pope Leo parceaued that neither his pardons would proſper to his mynde, nor that Luther could bee brought to Rome, to aſſay how to cōpaſſe his purpoſe by crafty allurementes, he ſent hys Chamberlaine Carolus Miltitius, aboue mentioned, which was a Germane, into Saxonie to Duke Fridericke, with a goldē roſe, after the vſuall ceremonie accuſtomed euery yeare to bee preſented to him, with ſecrete letters alſo to certeine noble men of the Dukes Counſaile, to ſollicite the Popes cauſe, and to remoue the Dukes mynde, if it might be, from Luther.

The death of Maximilian yͤ Emperour.

Charles the 5. elected Emperour, by the meanes of Duke Fridericke.

But before Miltitius approched into Germanie, Maximilian the Emperour deceaſed in yͤ moneth of January, an. 1519. At what tyme two there were which ſtoode for the election: to wytte Fraunces yͤ Frenche kyng, and Charles kyng of Spayne, whiche was alſo Duke of Auſtriche, and Duke of Burgundie. To make this matter ſhort, through the meanes of Fridericke, prince Elector, (who hauyng the offerre of the preferment, refuſed the ſame) the election fell to Carolus, called Carolus v. ſurnamed Prudens: which was about the end of Auguſt.

The diſputation at Lypſia.

In the moneth of June before, there was a publicque diſputation ordeyned at Lypſia, whiche is a Citie in Miſnia, vnder the dominion of George Duke of Saxonie, vncle to Duke Fridericke. This diſputation firſt begāne through the occaſion of Ioan. Eckius, a Frier, and Andreas Caroloſtadius, D. of Wittenberge. This Eckius had impugned certein propoſitions or concluſions of M. Luther, which he had written the yeare before, touching the Popes pardons. Agaynſt hym Caroloſtadius wrote in defenſe of Luther. Eckius agayne to aunſwere Caroloſtadius, ſet forth an Apologie. Whiche Apologie Caroloſtadius agayne confuted by writing. Upon this began the diſputation, with ſafe conducte graunted by Duke George, to all and ſingular perſons, that would reſort to the ſame. To this diſputation came alſo M. Luther with Phil. Melancton, who not paſt a yeare before was newly come to Wittenberge, Luther not thinkyng then to diſpute in any matter, becauſe of his appellation aboue mentioned, but onely to heare what there was ſayd and done.

Eckius agaynſt *Caroloſtadius.*

Luther cōmeth to the diſputation.

Melancthon newlye come to Wittenberge.

The queſtion of free will.

ἀυθαίρετον.

God geueth hys grace to vſurpe.

Totum.

Totaliter.

Phil. 2.

Firſt, before the entrye into the diſputation, it was agreed, that the Actes ſhould be penned by Notaries, and after to be diuulged abroad. But Eckius afterward wēt backe from that, pretendyng that the pennyng of the Notaries ſhould be an hynderance and a ſtay vnto thē, wherby the heate of them in their reaſonyng ſhould the more languiſhe and their vehemencie rebaite. But Caroloſtadius without Notaries would not diſpute. The Sūme of their diſputations was reduced to certaine cōcluſions. Among whiche firſt came in queſtion to diſpute of free will, whiche the Grekes call ἀυθαίρετον: that is, whether a man haue of him ſelfe, any election or purpoſe, to do that is good: or (to vſe the termes of the ſchole) whether a man, of congruence, may deſerue grace, doing that which in him doth lye? Herein when the queſtion was to be diſcuſſed, what the will of man may do of it ſelfe, without grace: they through heate of contētion (as the maner is) fell into other bymatters and ambages, litle or nothyng apperteinyng to that whiche Caroloſtadius propoſed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure ſtrength to do good, is not in mans will, but is geuen of God to mā to take intereſt & increaſe of mā agayn, which firſt he ſemed to deny. Thē being aſked of Caroloſtadius whether the whole and ful good worke yͭ is in man, procedeth of God: to this he aunſwered, the whole good worke, but not wholy: graunting that the will is moued of God: but to conſent, to be in mans power. Agaynſt this reaſoned Caroloſtadius, alleging certain places of Auſten, and namely of S. Paul, whiche ſayth, *that God worketh in vs both to will and to performe.* And this ſentence of Caroloſtadius ſemed to ouercome. Eckius for his aſſertion, inferred certein exſcriptes out of Bernard, whiche ſemed litle to the purpoſe. And thus was a whole weeke loſt about this contentious and ſophiſticall altercation betwene Eckius, and Caroloſtadius.

Luther diſputeth with Eckius.

Luthers aſſertion againſt the popes ſupremacie.

Luther (as was ſayd) came, not thinkyng at all to diſpute, but hauing free libertie graunted by the Duke, and vnder the Popes authoritie, was prouoked, and forced agaynſt hys will to diſpute with Eckius. The matter of their controuerſie was about the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome. Here is firſt to be admoniſhed, that Luther before had ſet forth in writyng this doctrine: that they which do attribute the preheminence to the Church of Rome, haue no foundatiō for thē, but out of the popes decrees, ſet forth not much paſt. 400. yeares heretofore: Whiche decrees he affirmed to be contrary to all auncient hyſtories, aboue a thouſand yeares paſſe: contrary alſo to the holy Scriptures and vnto Nicene Councell.

The aſſertion of Eckius for the ſupremacie.

Agaynſt this aſſertion Eckius ſet vp a contrary cōcluſion, ſaying: that they, whiche hold that the ſupremacie and preheminence of the Churche of Rome aboue all other Churches, was not before the tyme of Pope Syluester the firſt, doo erre: for as much as they whiche ſucceded in the ſea and faith of Peter, were allwayes receaued for the ſucceſſours of Peter, & vicares of Chriſt in earth.

This beyng yͤ laſt of all the other Themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this, agaynſt Luther, to bring him into more diſpleaſure wͭ the B. of Rome: wherin Luther himſelf much refuſed to diſpute, alleging that matter to be more odious then neceſſary, for that pꝛeſent tyme, and that alſo foꝛ the biſhop of Romes ſake, he had much rather kepe ſilence in the ſame. Wherunto if he muſt nedes be vꝛged, he would ẏ fault ſhould be vnderſtāded of all mē to be where it was, namely in hys aduerſary which pꝛouoked him therunto, & not in him ſelf. Eckius agayne clearyng hym ſelfe, tranſlateth all the faulte vnto Luther, which firſt in his treatiſe De indulgencijs Papæ, defended that befoꝛe Pope Syluesters tyme the Churche of Rome had no place of maioꝛitie, oꝛ pꝛeheminence aboue other Churches, and alſo befoꝛe the Cardinall Cuſanus affirmed, that Pope Pelagianus wꝛaſted many places of the Scripture out of their right ſenſe, vnto his owne affection and purpoſe. Wherfoꝛe the fault hereof (ſayd he) to him rather is to be imputed, whiche miniſtred the firſt occaſion.

Diſputation betwene Luther & Eckius, about the popes ſupꝛemacie.

Ex paralip. Abbat. Vrſp.

The reaſons of Eckius foꝛ the ſupꝛemacie.

Hieron. *Cyprian.* *Bernard.*

Thus Luther beyng egged and ſtreyned to diſpute, whether he would oꝛ no, the queſtion began to be pꝛopounded touchyng the ſupꝛemacie of the Byſhop of Rome: whiche ſupꝛemacie Eckius did contende to be founded & grounded vpon Gods law. M. Luther on the other ſide, denyed not the ſupꝛemacie of the Byſhop of Rome aboue other Churches, neither denyed the ſame moꝛeouer to be vniuerſall ouer all Churches: but onely affirmed it not to bee inſtituted by Gods lawe. Upon this queſtion the diſputation did continue the ſpace of 5. dayes. Duryng all whiche ſeaſon, Eckius very vnhoneſtly, and vncourtuouſly demeyned hym ſelfe, ſtudying by all meanes how to bꝛyng his aduerſarye into hatred of the auditours, and into daunger of the pope. The reaſōs of Eckius were theſe. Foꝛ ſomuch as the Church beyng a ciuill body, can not be without an head, therfoꝛe as it ſtandeth with Gods lawe that other ciuile regimentes ſhould not be deſtitute of their head: ſo is it by Gods law requiſite, that the Pope ſhould be head of the vniuerſall Church of Chꝛiſt. To this Martin aunſwereth, ẏ he confeſſeth & graunteth the Church not to be headles, ſo long as Chꝛiſt is alyue, who is the onely head of the Church: neither doth the Churche require any other head beſide hym, foꝛ ſomuch as it is a ſpirituall kyngdome, not earthly: and he alleged foꝛ hym ẏ place Colloſ. 1. Eckius again pꝛoduced certaine places out of Hierome and Cyprian, whiche made very litle to pꝛoue the pꝛimacie of the pope to holde by Gods law. As touchyng ẏ teſtimonie of Bernard, neither was the authoꝛitie of that authoꝛ of any great foꝛce in this caſe, neither was the place alleged ſo greatly to the purpoſe.

Math. 16.

Luther aunſwereth to the place of S. Math.

Ioh. 21.

The aunſwere of Luther to the place of S. Iohn, *Paſce oues meas.*

The authoritie of the councell of Conſtance.

Then came he to the place of S. Math. 16. Tu es Petrus. &c. *Thou arte Peter, and vppon thys rocke I will builde my Churche. &c.* To this was aunſwered, that thys was a confeſſion of fayth, and that Peter there repꝛeſenteth the perſon of the whole vniuerſall Church, as Auſten doth expound it. Alſo that Chꝛiſt in that place meaneth him ſelf to be the rocke, as is manifeſt to collect, both by hys woꝛdes and oꝛder of the ſentence, and many other coniectures. Likewiſe to the place of S. Ioh. paſce oues meas, *feede my ſheepe:* whiche woꝛdes Eckius alleged pꝛoperly and peculiarlye to be ſpokē to Peter alone: Martin aunſwered, that after theſe woꝛdes ſpoken, equall authoꝛitie was geuen to all the Apoſtles, where Chꝛiſt ſayth vnto them, *Receaue ye the holy ghoſt: whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer ye remitte, they are remitted. &c.* By theſe woꝛdes (ſayth he) Chꝛiſt aſſignyng to them their office, doth teach what is to feede, and what he ought to be that feadeth. After this Eckius came to the authoꝛitie of the Councell of Conſtance, alleging this amongeſt other Articles: De neceſsitate ſalutis eſt, credere Rom. pontificē Oecumenicum eſſe, that is, that it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of our ſaluation, to beleue the B. of Rome to be ſupꝛeme head of the Churche: allegyng moꝛeouer, that in the ſame councell was debated & diſcuſſed, that ẏ generall Councell could not erre. Wherunto M. Luther agayn did aunſwere diſcretly, ſaying that all the articles whiche Iohn Hus dyd hold in that Councell, were not condemned foꝛ hereticall: with much other matter moꝛe. Agayne, of what authoꝛitie that Councell of Conſtance is to be eſtemed, that he left to other mens iudgementes. This is moſt certaine (ſaid he) ẏ no Coūcel hath ſuch authoꝛitie, to make new Articles of fayth. Here M. Luther began to be cryed out of, by Eckius & hys complices, foꝛ dyminiſhyng the authoꝛitie of generall Councels. Although in dede he ment nothyng leſſe, but euer laboured to confirme the authoꝛitie of the ſame: yet was he called hereticke and ſchiſmaticke, and one of the Bohemes faction, with many other termes mo of repꝛochfull contumely. Eckius then graunted, the authoꝛitie of all the Apoſtles to be equall: and yet not to folow therby, the authoꝛitie of all Byſhops therfoꝛe to be equall: Foꝛ betwene apoſtleſhip, & miniſterie (ſaid he) there is great differēce.

Gal. 2.

Here is good doctrine of Eckius, I trowe.

To conclude, Eckius in no caſe coulde abyde, that any creature ſhoulde decline from any woꝛde oꝛ ſentence of the Popes decrées, oꝛ the conſtitutions of the foꝛefathers. To this agayne Luther aunſwered, groundyng hym ſelfe vpon the place ad Gal. 2. where S. Paul ſpeakyng of the pꝛincipall Apoſtles, ſayth: *And of them which ſeemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me, for God accepteth no mans perſon: neuertheles, they that were of ſome reputation, dyd auayle me nothyng at all. &c.* Eckius to this ſayd, that as touching the authoꝛitie of the Apoſtles, they were all choſen of Chꝛiſt, but were oꝛdeyned Byſhops of S. Peter. And where as Luther bꝛought in the conſtitution of the Decrée, whiche ſayth Ne Romanus pontifex vniuerſalis Epiſcopus nominetur. &c. Yea let not the Byſhop alſo of Rome be called vniuerſall Byſhop. &c. To this Eckius aunſwered on this ſoꝛt, that the biſhop of Rome ought not to bee called vniuerſall Biſhop: yet he may be called (ſayd he) Byſhop of the vniuerſall Church. And thus much touchyng the queſtiō of the popes ſupꝛemacie.

The queſtion of Purgatorie.

2. Mach. 12.

1. Corin. 3.

Math. 5.

Pſal. 65.

From this matter they entred nexte to Purgatoꝛye: wherein Eckius kept no oꝛder. Foꝛ when they ſhould haue diſputed, what power the pope hath in Purgatoꝛy, Eckius turneth the ſcope of ẏ queſtion, and pꝛoueth, that there is Purgatoꝛy, and allegeth foꝛ hym the place of Machab. Luther leanyng vppon the iudgement of Hierome, affirmeth the booke of Machabées not be Canonicall. Eckius agayne replyeth, the booke of Machabées to be of no leſſe authoꝛitie, then the Goſpels. Alſo he alleged the place. 1. Corinth. 3: *He ſhall bee ſaued, yet ſo as it were by fyre.* Moꝛeouer he inferred the place of Mat. 5. *Agree thou with thyne aduerſarye, while thou art in the way with hym, leſt he committe thee into pryſon, from whence thou ſhalt not eſcape, till thou haſt payd the vttermoſt farthing. &c.* To this he added alſo the place of the Pſalme: *We haue paſſed through fire & water. &c.* How theſe places be wꝛaſted to Purgatoꝛy, let the reader diſcerne and iudge.

The queſtion of Indulgences.

Then was inferred ẏ queſtion of Indulgences, wherof Eckius ſemed to make but a toye and a matter of nothyng, and ſo paſſed it ouer.

The queſtion of Penaunce.

At laſt they came to the queſtiō of penaunce, touching whiche matter the reaſons of Eckius digreſſed much frō the purpoſe, whiche went about to pꝛoue, that there bée ſome maner of paynes of ſatiſfaction: whiche thyng Luther did neuer deny. But ẏ foꝛ euery particular offence, ſuch particular penaunce is exacted of Gods iuſtice vpon the repentant ſinner, as is in mans power to remitte oꝛ releaſe as pleaſeth hym: ſuch penaunce, neither Luther, noꝛ any other true Chꝛiſtian did admitte. And thus haue ye the chief effect of this diſputation betwene Luther and Eckius at Lypſia. Whiche was in the moneth of Iuly, an. 1519.

When *Vldericus Zuinglius* **came to Tigurie.**

Luther and Zuinglius beganne both at one tyme to wꝛite agaynſt the pope.

About the begynnyng of the ſame yeare. 1519. Vldericke Zuinglius came firſt to Zurycke, and there began to teach. Who in the 16. Article, in his booke of Articles recoꝛdeth that Luther and he both at one tyme, one not knowyng noꝛ hearyng of an other, begā to wꝛite againſt the Popes pardons and Indulgences. Albeit if the tyme be rightly counted, I ſuppoſe we ſhall finde that Luther began a yeare oꝛ ij. befoꝛe Zuinglius. Notwithſtandyng this doth Sledan teſtifie, that in this pꝛeſent yeare, when Sampſon a Franciſcan, came with the Popes pardons to Zuricke, Vldericke Zuinglius did withſtand him and declared his chaffer and pardons to be but a vayne ſeducyng of the people, to inueagle awaye their money. Ex Sled. lib. 1.

Luthers bokes condemned at Louen, and Colen.

The next yeare inſuyng, whiche was. 1520. the Friers and Doctours of Louane, and alſo of Colen, condemned the bokes of Luther, as hereticall. Againſt whom Luther agayne effectuouſly defended hym ſelfe, and charged them with obſtinate violence, and malitious impietie. After this, within few dayes, flaſheth out frõ Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo agaynſt yͤ ſayd Luther, notwithſtandyng he ſo humbly and obediently before had reuerenced both the perſon of the Pope, and agniſed the authoritie of his ſea, and alſo had dedicated vnto him his booke intitled De Chriſtiana libertate: that is, of Chriſtian libertie: In whiche booke, theſe ij. pointes principally he diſcuſſeth and proueth.

Pope Leos Bull agaynſt Luther.

Lutherus de libertate Chriſtiana.

1. *That a Chriſten man is free and Lord of all thinges, and ſubiecte to none.*
2. *That a Chriſten man is a diligent vnderlyng and ſeruaunt of all men, and to euery man ſubiect.*

Moreouer, in the ſame yeare, he ſet out a defence of all his Articles, which the Popes Bull had before cõdẽned.

Luth. ad Nobilitatem Germaniæ.

An other booke alſo he wrote to the Nobilitie of Germanie, in the which booke he impugneth and ſhaketh the thrée principall walles of the Papiſtes: The firſt wherof is this:

Thrée walles or bulworkes of yͤ papiſtes.

1. *Whereas the Papiſtes ſay, That no temporall or prophane Magiſtrate hath any power vpon the ſpiritualtie: but they haue power vpon the other.*
2. *Where any place of Scripture beyng in controuerſie is to be decided, they ſay, No man may expounde the Scripture, or be iudge therof, but onely the Pope.*
3. *When any Councell is brought agaynſt them, they ſay that no man hath authoritie to call a Councell, but onely the Pope.*

The booke of Luther to the Nobilitie, & the matter therin contayned.

Moreouer, in the foreſayd booke diuers other matters he handleth and diſcourſeth: That the Pope can ſtoppe no frée Councell. Alſo what thynges ought to be handled in Councels. That the pride of the Pope is not to be ſuffred. What money goeth out of Germany yearely to the Pope, mountyng to the ſumme of 3000000. Florences. The true meanyng of this verſe he expoundeth: Tu ſupplex Ora, tu protege, tuq; labora. Wherin the iij. eſtates with their offices and dueties are deſcribed: to wytte, the Miniſter, the Magiſtrate, & the ſubiectes. Furthermore in yͤ ſayd booke he proueth and diſcuſſeth, that the Emperour is not vnder the Pope, but contrariwiſe: that the donatiõ of Conſtantine is not true, but forged: that prieſtes may haue wyues: that the voyces of the people ought not to bée ſeparate from election of eccleſiaſticall perſons: that interdictyng, and ſuſpendyng of matrimonye at certeyne tymes, is brought in of auarice: what is the righte vſe of excommunication: that there ought to be fewer holy dayes: that libertie ought not to be reſtreined in meates: that wilfull pouertie & begging ought to be aboliſhed: what dãmage and inconuenience haue growen by the Councell of Conſtance: and what misfortunes Sigiſmũd the Emperour ſuſteined, for not kepyng fayth and promiſe with Iohn Hus, & Hierome: that heretickes ſhould be conuinced not by fire and fagot, but by euidence of Scripture and Gods word: how ſcholes and Uniuerſities ought to be reformed: what is to be ſayd, and iudged of the Popes Decretalls: that the firſt teachyng of children ought to begyn with yͤ Goſpell. Item, he writeth in the ſame booke agaynſt exceſſiue apparell among the Germaines. Alſo agaynſt their exceſſe in ſpices. &c.

Charles the Emperour crowned.

In this yeare moreouer folowed not long after, the coronation of yͤ new Emperour Carolus quintus: which was in the moneth of Octob. at Aquiſgraue.

After whiche coronation beyng ſolemniſed about the moneth of Nouemb. Pope Leo ſent agayne to Duke Friderike ij. Cardinals, his Legates: of whom the one was Hieronymus Aleander, who after a few wordes of high cõmendation firſt premiſed to the Duke touching his noble progenie, and other hys famous vertues, they made ij. requeſtes vnto hym in the Popes name: Firſt that he would cauſe all the bookes of Luther to be burned. Secondly, yͤ he would either ſée yͤ ſayd Luther there to be executed, or els would make hym ſure, and ſend hym vp to Rome, vnto the Popes preſence.

Two bloodye requeſtes of the pope to Duke Fredericke.

Theſe ij. requeſtes ſeemed very ſtraũge vnto yͤ Duke: who aunſweryng agayne to the Cardi[illegible], ſayd: that he beyng long abſent from thence, abo[illegible] other publicke affaires, could not tel what there was done, neyther did he communicate with the doynges of Luther. Notwithſtandyng this he heard, that Eckius was a great perturber not onely of Luther, but of other diuers learned and good men of hys vniuerſitie. As for hym ſelf, he was alwayes ready to do his duetie, firſt in ſendyng Luther to Caietanus the Cardinall, at the Citie of Auguſte: and afterward at the Popes commaũdement would haue ſent hym away out of hys dominion, had not Miltitius the Popes owne chamberlaine, geuen contrary Councell to reteyne hym ſtill in his owne countrey, fearyng leſt that in other countreyes he might doe more harme, where he was leſſe knowen: and ſo now alſo was as ready to doo hys duetie, wherſoeuer ryght and equitie did ſo require. But for ſomuch as in this cauſe, he ſéeth much hatred & violence ſhewed of the one part, & no errour yet conuicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of diuers well learned & ſound mẽ of iudgemẽt: and for ſomuche alſo as yͤ cauſe of Luther was not yet heard before yͤ Emperour: therfore he deſired the ſayd Legates to be a meanes to the Popes holynes, that certaine learned perſons of grauitie and vpright iudgement, myght be aſſigned to haue the hearing and determinatiõ of this matter, and that his errour firſt might be knowẽ, before he were made an hereticke, or his bookes burned. Which beyng done, when he ſhoulde ſée his errour by manifeſt & ſound teſtimonies of ſcripture reuinced, Luther ſhould finde no fauour at his hãdes. Otherwiſe, he truſted that yͤ popes holines would exacte no ſuch thing of him, which he myght not with equitie and honour of his place and eſtate, reaſonably performe. &c.

Duke Fredericks aunſwere to the popes Legates, for Luther.

The popes Legates burne the bookes of Luther.

Then the Cardinals, declaryng to the Duke agayne, that they could no otherwiſe do, but according to yͤ forme of their preſcript cõmiſſion, they muſt procede: tooke the bokes of Luther, & ſhortly after, ſet fire vpon thẽ, & openly burnt them. Luther hearyng this, in lyke maner called all the multitude of ſtudentes and learned men in Wittenberge, and there takyng the Popes decrées, and the Bull lately ſent downe agaynſt hym, openly and ſolemly accompanyed with a great number of people folowyng hym, ſet them lykewiſe on fire, and burnt them: whiche was the x. of December.

Luther burneth the popes decrees & bulles at Wittenberge.

A litle before theſe thynges thus paſſed betwene the pope and M. Luther, the Emperour had commaunded & ordeyned a ſitting or aſſemble of all yͤ States of the Empire, to be holden at the Citie of Wormes, againſt the vi. day of January next enſuyng. In the whiche aſſemble, through the meanes of Duke Friderike, the Emperour gaue forth that he would haue the cauſe of Luther, there brought before hym, and ſo it was. For at what tyme the aſſemble was commenced in the citie of Wormes, yͤ day and moneth aforeſayd, which was the vi. of January, afterward vpon the vi. day of March folowyng, the Emperour, through the inſtigation of Duke Friderike, directed his letters vnto Luther, ſignifying, that for ſomuch as he had ſet abroad certeine bokes, he therfore by the aduiſe of hys peares and princes about hym, had ordeined to haue the cauſe brought before hym, in his own hearyng, and therfore hée graunted hym licence to come and returne home agayne. And that he myhgt ſafelye and quietlye ſo doe, and bee thereof aſſured, he promiſed vnto hym by publique fayth and credite, in the name of the whole Empire, his paſſporte and ſafeconduict, as by the inſtrument whiche he ſente vnto him, he might

The Emperours letter, & hys ſafeconduite ſent to M. Luther.

more fully be aſcertened. Wherfore without all doubt or diſtruſt, he wylled hym eftſones to make his repayre vnto hym, and to be there preſent the 21. day after the receate therof: & becauſe he ſhould not miſdoubt any fraude or iniurie herein, hee aſſured to hym his warrant and promiſe.

M. Luther accurſed at Rome of the pope.

M.Luther being thus prouided for his ſafeconduict by the Emperour, after he had bene firſt accurſed at Rome vpon maundy thurſday, by the Popes cenſure, ſhortly after Eaſter, ſpeadeth hys iourney toward the Emperour, at Wormes. Where the ſayd Luther appearyng before the Emperour, and all the ſtates of Germanie, how conſtantly he ſtocke to the truth, and defended hym ſelf, and aunſwered his aduerſaryes, and what aduerſaries he had, here foloweth in ful hiſtory, with ſuch actes & doings as there happened, accordyng as in our former edition partly was before deſcribed.

The Actes and doynges of M.Luther, before the Emperour, at the Citie of Wormes.

1521.

IN the yeare of our ſaluation. 1521. about xvij. dayes after Eaſter, Martin Luther entred into Wormes, beyng ſent for by yͤ Emperour Charles the v. of that name &c: who the firſt yeare of hys Empire, made an aſſemble of Princes in yͤ foreſaid Citie. And whereas M. Luther had publiſhed iij. yeares before, certaine propoſitiõs to be diſputed in the towne of Wittenberge in Saxonie, agaynſt the tyranny of the Pope (whiche notwithſtãding were torne in pieces, condemned and burned by the Papiſtes, and yet by no manifeſt Scriptures, nor probable reaſon conuinced) yͤ matter began to grow to a tumult & vprore, & yet Luther maintained all this while opẽly his cauſe agaynſt the clergy. Wherupon it ſemed good to certaine, that Luther ſhould be called, aſſignyng vnto hym an Herauld of armes, with a letter of ſafeconduict by the Emperour and Princes. Beyng ſent for, he came & was brought to the Knyghtes of the Rhodes place, where hee was lodged, well entertained, & viſited of many Earles, Barons, Knyghtes of the order, Gentlemen, Prieſtes & the commonalty, who frequented his lodging till night.

Luther is ſent for to Wormes.

To conclude, he came contrary to the expectation of many, as well aduerſaries, as other. For albeit he was ſent for by the Emperours meſſenger, and had letters of ſafeconduict: yet for that a few dayes before hys acceſſe, hys bookes were condemned by publicke proclamations, it was much doubted of many that he would not come: and yͤ rather, for yͤ his frendes deliberated together in a village nyehãd, called Oppenhime (where Luther was firſt aduertiſed of theſe occurrẽtes) and many perſuaded him not to aduenture hym ſelf to ſuch a preſent daunger, cõſideryng how theſe begynnyngs aunſwered not to the fayth of promiſe made. Who, when he had heard theyr whole perſwaſiõ and aduiſe, he aunſwered in this wiſe:

Conſtancie in Luther.

As touchyng me, ſince I am ſent for, I am reſolued and certeinely determined to enter Wormes, in the name of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, yea although I knew there were ſo many deuils to reſiſt me, as there are tiles to couer the houſes in Wormes.

The fourth day after his repayre, a Gentleman, named Vlricke of Pappenhim, Lieuetenaunt general of yͤ men at armes of the Empyre, was commaunded by the Emperour before dynner, to repayre to Luther, and enioyne hym at iiij. a clocke in the after noone, to appeare before the Emperiall Maieſty, yͤ Princes Electors, Dukes and other eſtates of the Empire, to vnderſtand the cauſe of hys ſending for: Wherunto he willingly agreed as his duety was.

And after iiij. a clocke Vlricke Pappenhim, and Caſpar Sturm the Emperours Herauld (who conducted M. Luther from Wittenberge to Wormes) came for Luther, and accompanyed hym through the Garden of the Knightes of the Rhodes place, to yͤ Earle Palatines palace: and leſt the people ſhould moleſt him, that thronged in, he was led by ſecrete ſtaires to the place where hee was appoynted to haue audience. Yet many, who perceiued the pretence, violently ruſhed in, and were reſiſted, albeit in vayne: many aſcẽded the galleryes, becauſe they deſired to behold Luther.

Luther is brought before the Emperour.

Thus ſtandyng before the Emperour, the Electours, Dukes, Earles, and all the Eſtates of the Empire aſſembled there, he was firſt aduertiſed by Vlricke of Pappenhim, to kepe ſilence, till ſuch tyme as he was requyred to ſpeake. Then Iohn Eckius aboue mentioned, who then was the Byſhop of Triers generall officiall, with a loude and intelligible voyce, firſt in Latine, then in Dutch, accordyng to the Emperours cõmaundement, ſayd & proponed this ſentence in maner as enſueth, or like in effect.

Iohn Eckius propoundeth agaynſt M. Luther.

Martin Luther, the ſacred and inuincible Emperiall Maieſty hath enioyned by the conſent of all the eſtates of the holy Empire, that thou ſhouldeſt be appealed before the throne of his Maieſty, to the end I might demaunde of thee theſe two pointes.

Firſt, whether thou cõfeſſeſt theſe bookes here (for he ſhewed a heape of Luthers bookes written in the Latine & Dutche tonges) & which are in all places diſperſed, intituled with thy name, be thyne, and thou doeſt affirme them to be thine or no? Secondly, whether thou wilt recant and reuoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meaneſt to ſtand to that thou haſt written?

Hierome Schurffe.

Then, before Luther prepared to aunſwere, Maiſter Ierome Schurffus a Lawyer of Wyttemberge, required that yͤ titles of the bookes ſhould be read. Forthwith yͤ foreſaid Eckius named certeine of the bokes, and thoſe principallye which were imprinted at Baſill, amonge the which he nominated his Cõmentaries vpon yͤ Pſalter, his booke of good workes, hys Cõmentarie vpõ yͤ Lordes prayer, and diuers other, which were not contentious.

M.Luthers aunſwere.

After this Luther anſwered thus in Latine & in Dutch: Two thynges are proponed vnto me by the Emperiall Maieſtie. Firſt, whether I will auouch for mine, all thoſe bookes yͤ beare my name: Secõdly, whether I will maintaine or reuoke any thyng that hitherto I haue deuiſed & publiſhed. Wherunto I wil aunſwere as briefly as I cã.

Luther refuſeth to reuoke hys bokes.

In the firſt, I can do none other then recogniſe thoſe bookes to be myne, which laſtly were named, and certeinly I wil neuer recant any clauſe therof. In yͤ ſecond, to declare whether I will wholy defẽd, or call backe any thing cõpriſed in thẽ: for aſmuch as there be queſtions of faith & the ſaluation of the ſoule (& this concerneth the word of God, which is the greateſt & moſt excellent matter yͭ can be in heauen or earth, & the which duely we ought euermore to reuerence:) this might be accõpted in me a raſhnes of iudgemẽt, & euen ſo a moſt daungerous attempt, if I would pronounce any thing, before I were better aduiſed, conſideryng I might recite ſomethyng leſſe then the matter importeth, and more then the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would ſpeake. The whiche two things well conſidered, doth ſet before mine eyes this ſentence of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, wherin it is ſaid: *Whoſoeuer ſhall denye me before men, I will denie him before my father.* I require then for this cauſe, and humbly beſeche the Emperiall Maieſty, to graunt me liberty and leaſure to deliberate, ſo that I may ſatiſfy the interrogation made vnto me, without preiudice of the worde of God, and perill of myne owne ſoule.

Luther deſireth reſpyte to aunſwere.

Wherupõ yͤ Princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius yͤ prolocutor pronounced what was their reſolution, ſaying: Albeit M.Luther, thou haſt ſufficiently vnderſtanded by the Emperours cõmaundement, the cauſe of thy appearaunce heare, and therfore doeſt not deſerue to haue any further reſpite geuen thee to determine: yet the Emperours Maieſty of his mere clemencie, grauũteth thee one day to meditate for thyne aunſwere, ſo that to morow at this inſtaunt houre thou ſhalt repayre to exhibite thyne opinion not in writyng, but to pronounce the ſame with liuely voyce.

This done, Luther was led to hys lodgyng by the Herauld. But herein I may not be obliuious, that in yͤ way goyng to the Emperour, and when he was in the aſſemble of Princes, he was exhorted of other to be couragious, and manly to demeane hym ſelfe, and not to feare them that can kill the body, but not the ſoule: but rather to dread hym that is able to ſende both body and ſoule to euerlaſtyng fire.

Luther is exhorted to be conſtant.

Further, he was incouraged with this ſentẽce: *When thou arte before kinges, thinke not what thou ſhalt ſpeake: for it ſhall be geuen thee in that houre.*

Math. 10.

The next day after iiij. a clocke, the Herauld came and brought Luther from hys lodgyng to the Emperours Court, where he abode till vi. a clocke, for that the princes were occupyed with graue conſultations, abydyng there and beyng enuironed with a great number of people, and almoſt ſmothered for the preaſe that was there. Then after, when the princes were ſet, and Luther entred, Eckius ẏ Officiall began to ſpeake in this maner.

Eckius agayn propoundeth agaynſt Luther.

Yeſterday at this houre, the Emperours Maieſty aſſigned thee to be here M. Luther, for ẏ thou didſt affirme thoſe bookes, that we named yeſterdaye, to be thyne. Further, to the interrogation by vs made, whether thou wouldeſt approue all that is cõteined in them, or aboliſhe and make voyde any parte thereof, thou didſt require tyme of deliberation, whiche was graunted, and is now expired. Albeit thou oughteſt not to haue oportunity graunted to deliberate, cõſidering it was not vnknowen to thee, wherfore we cited thee. And as concernyng the matter of fayth, euery man ought to be ſo prepared, that at all tymes whenſoeuer he ſhalbe required, he may geue certaine and conſtant reaſon therof, and thou eſpeciall beyng counted a man of ſuch learnyng, and ſo long tyme exerciſed in Theology. Then go to, aunſwere euen now to the Emperours demaunde, whoſe bounty thou haſt proued in geuing thee leyſure to deliberate. Wilt ẏ now maintaine all thy bookes which thou haſt acknowledged, or reuoke any part of them, and ſubmit thy ſelf? The Officiall made this interrogation in Latine and in Dutche. Martine Luther aunſwered in Latin and Dutch in this wiſe, modeſtly and lowly, and yet notwithout ſome ſtoutnes of ſtomacke, ⁊ Chriſtian conſtancy, ſo as hys aduerſaries would gladly haue had hys courage more humbled ⁊ abaſed, but yet more earneſtly deſired hys recantation, wherof they were in ſome good hope, when they heard hym deſire reſpite of tyme to make his aunſwere.

¶ *His aunſwere was thus.*

M. Luther aunſwereth for hym ſelfe.

MOſt magnificent Emperour, and you moſt noble Princes and my moſt gentle Lordes, I appeare before you here at ẏ houre preſcribed vnto me yeſterday, yeldyng the obediẽce that I owe, humbly beſeching for Gods mercy, your moſt renowmed maieſty, and your graces ⁊ honours, that ye will miniſter vnto me this curteſie, to attend this cauſe beningly, which is the cauſe (as I truſt) of Iuſtice and verity. And if by ignorãuce I haue not geuen vnto euery one of you your iuſte titles, or if I haue not obſerued the ceremonies and countenãuce of the Court, offendyng agaynſt them: it may pleaſe you to pardone me of your benignities, as one that onely hath frequented cloyſters, and not courtly ciuilities. And firſt, as touchyng my ſelf, I can affirme or promiſe no other thyng, but onely this, that I haue taught hetherto in ſimplicitie of minde, that which I haue thought to tende to Gods glory, and to the ſaluatation of mens ſoules.

Luther geueth a compt of hys fayth before ẏ Emperour.

Now as concernyng the ij. Articles obiected by your moſt excellent Maieſty, whether I would acknowledge thoſe bookes which were named, and be publiſhed in my name, or whether I would maintain ⁊ not reuoke thẽ: I haue geuẽ reſolute anſwere to ẏ firſt, in the which I perſiſt ⁊ ſhal perſeuere for euermore, ẏ theſe bokes be mine, and publiſhed by me in my name, onleſſe it hath ſith happened that by ſome fraudulent myſdealyng of myne enemies, there be any thyng foyſted in them, or corruptlye corrected: For I will acknowledge nothyng, but that I haue written, and that which I haue written I will not denie.

Nowe to aunſwere to the ſeconde Article, I beſeche your moſt excellent Maieſty, ⁊ your graces, to vouchſafe to geue eare. All my bookes are not of one ſorte. There be ſome, in which I haue ſo ſimply and ſoundly declared and opened the Religion of Chriſten fayth, and of good workes, that my very enemyes are compelled to confeſſe them to bee profitable and worthy to be read of all Chriſtians. And truly the Popes Bull (how cruell and tyrannous ſoeuer it be) iudgeth certeine of my bookes inculpable, albeit the ſame with ſeuere ſentence, thundreth agaynſt me, and with monſtrous crueltie cõdemneth my bookes, which bokes if I ſhould reuoke, I myght worthely be thought to neglect and trãſgreſſe the office of a true Chriſtian, ⁊ to be one alone, that repugneth the publique confeſſion of all people. There is an other ſorte of my bookes, which containe Inuectiues agaynſt the Papacie and other of the Popes retinue, as haue with their peſtiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole ſtate of our chriſtianitie. Neither can any denye or diſſemble this, wherunto vniuerſall experience, ⁊ cõmon complaint of all, beare witneſſes that the conſciences of all faythfull men be moſt miſerably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Popes lawes and doctrines of men. Alſo that the goods ⁊ ſubſtaunce of Chriſten people are deuoured, eſpecially in this noble ⁊ famous countrey of Germany, and yet without order, and in moſt deteſtable maner, are ſuffered ſtill to bee deuoured, without all meaſure, by incredible tyranny: notwithſtandyng that they them ſelues haue ordayned to the contrarye in their owne proper lawes, as in the Diſtinct. 9. & 25. q. 1. & 2. where they them ſelues haue decreed, that all ſuch lawes of Popes, whiche be repugnaunt to the doctrine of the Goſpell, and the opinions of the auncient fathers, are to be iudged erronious and reproued.

He deuideth hys workes in to three partes.

The pope proceedeth cõtrarye to hys owne doctrine.

If then I ſhall reuoke theſe, I can do none other, but adde more force to their tyranny, ⁊ open not onely windowes, but wide gates to their impiety, which is lyke to extend more wide, and more licẽciouſly then euer it durſt heretofore: And by the teſtimony of this my retractatiõ, their inſolent kyngdome ſhalbe made more licentious, ⁊ leſſe ſubiect to puniſhmẽt, intolerable to the cõmõ people, ⁊ alſo more confirmed ⁊ eſtabliſhed, eſpecially if this be bruted, that I Luther haue done this by ẏ authority of your moſt excellent Maieſtye, ⁊ the ſacred Romane Empyre. Oh Lord, what a couer or ſhadow ſhall I be then to cloke theyr naughtynes and tyranny?

The reſt or thyrd ſort of my bookes are ſuch, as I haue written agaynſt certeine priuate and ſinguler perſons, to wyt, agaynſt ſuch as with toth ⁊ nayle labour to mainteine the Romiſhe tyrãny, and to deface the true doctrine and Religion, which I haue taught and profeſſed. As touchyng theſe, I playnly confeſſe I haue bene more vehement, then my Religion and profeſſion required. For I make my ſelfe no ſainte, and I diſpute not of my lyfe, but of the doctrine of Chriſt.

And theſe I cannot without preiudice call backe. For by this recantation, it wil come to paſſe, that tyranny and impietye ſhall raigne, ſupported by my meanes, and ſo ſhall they exerciſe crueltye agaynſt Gods people, more violently and ragyngly then before.

Neuertheles, for that I am a man, and not God, I cã none otherwiſe enterpriſe to defend my bookes, then did my very Lord Ieſus Chriſt defend hys doctrine. Who beyng examined of hys learning before Annas, and hauyng receiued a buffet of the miniſter, ſayd: *If I haue ſpoken euill, beare witnes of the euill.*

He requireth to be inſtructed if he haue erred.

Iohn. 18.

If the Lord (who was perfect and could not erre) refuſed not to haue teſtimony geuen againſt his doctrine, yea of a moſt vile ſeruaunt: how much the more then I, that am but vile corruption, and can of my ſelf, do nothyng but erre, ought earneſtly to ſee and require, if any will beare witnes agaynſt my doctrine?

Therfore I require, for Gods mercy, your moſt excellent Maieſtye, your graces and right honorable Lordſhipes, or what ſoeuer he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his teſtimonie, conuict my errours, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophetes or yͤ Apoſtles, and I wil be moſt ready (if I be ſo inſtructed) to reuoke any maner of error: yea wilbe the firſt that ſhall cōſume myne owne bookes and burne them.

Diſſenſiōs and diuiſions folowe yͤ doctrine of Chriſt, not for any cauſe in the doctrine, but one in the aduerſarye.

I ſuppoſe hereby it may appeare, that I haue perpended, and well wayed before, the perils and daungers, the diuiſions and diſſenſions whiche haue riſen throughout the whole world, by reaſon of my doctrine, wherof I was vehemently and ſharpely yeſterday admoniſhed. Concernyng whiche diuiſions of mens mindes, what other men do iudge, I know not: as touchyng my ſelf, I conceyue no greater delectation in any thyng, then when I behold diſcordes and diſſenſiōs ſtirred vp, for the worde of God. For ſuch is the courſe and procedyng of the Goſpell. Jeſus Chriſt ſayth: *I came not to ſend peace, but a ſworde. I came to ſet man at variaunce agaynſt his father.*

Math.10.

And further, we muſt thinke that our God is maruelous and terrible in hys Councels, leſt perhaps that, whiche we endeuour with earneſt ſtudy to atchieue and bryng to paſſe (if we begyn firſt with condemnyng of hys worde) the ſame rebound agayne to an huge ſea of euill: and leſt the newe reigne of thys young and bounteous Prince Charles (in whom next after God, we all cōceiue ſingular hope) be lamentable, vnfortunate, and miſerably begon.

Mans counſaile without Gods worde and hys feare, be vnfortunate.

I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharao, the kyng of Babilon, and the kynges of Iſraell, who then moſt obſcured the bright Sunne of theyr glory, and procured their own ruine, when by ſage Counſels they attempted to pacifye and eſtabliſhe theyr gouernements and realmes, and not by Gods Counſailes: For it is he that entrappeth yͤ wyly in their wylines, and ſubuerteth mountaines before they be ware. Wherfore it is good, and Gods worke, to dread the Lord.

I ſpeake not this, ſuppoſing that ſo politicke and prudente heades haue neede of my doctrine or admonition: but becauſe I would not omit to profite my coūtrey, and offer my duety or ſeruice that may tend to the aduauncement of the ſame. And thus I humbly commend me to your moſt excellent Maieſty, and your honourable Lordſhippes, beſechyng you that I may not incurre your diſpleaſures, neither be cōtempned of you, through the purſute of my aduerſaries. I haue ſpoken.

Luther prouoked agayn to ſubmit hym ſelfe.

These wordes pronounced, then Eckius the Emperours prolocutor, with a ſterne coūtenaunce began, and ſayd that Luther had not aunſwered to any purpoſe, neither it behoued hym to call in queſtion, thynges in tyme paſt concluded and defined by generall Councels: and therfore they required of hym a playne and directe aunſwere, whether he would reuoke or no.

Luthers abſolute aunſwere.

Then Luther: conſideryng (ſayd he) your ſoueraigne Maieſty and your honours require a playne aunſwere: this I ſaye and profeſſe as reſolutely as I may, without doublyng or ſophiſtication, yͭ if I be not conuinced by teſtimonies of yͤ Scriptures, & by probable reaſons (for I beleue not yͤ Pope, neither hys generall Coūcels, which haue erred many times, and haue bene contrary to them ſelues) my conſcience is ſo bound and captiued in theſe Scriptures and worde of God whiche I haue alleged, that I will not, nor may not reuoke any maner of thyng, conſidering it is not godly nor lawfull to do any thing agaynſt conſcience. Hereupon I ſtand and reaſt. *I haue not what els to ſay: God haue mercy vpon me.*

The Princes conſulted together vpon this aunſwere geuen by Luther: and when they had diligētly examined the ſame, the prolocutor, began to repell hym thus.

Eckius agayne repliyeth.

Martin (ſayd he) thou haſt more immodeſtly aunſwered, then beſeemed thy perſon, and alſo litle to yͤ purpoſe. Thou deuideſt thy bookes into iij. ſortes, in ſuch order as all yͭ thou haſt ſayd, maketh nothyng to the interrogation proponed: and therfore if thou haddeſt reuoked thoſe, wherin the greateſt part of thyne errours is contayned, the Emperours Maieſty, and the noble clemēcy of other would haue ſuffered the reſt that be ſound, to ſuſteyne no iniurie. But thou doeſt reuiue and bryngeſt to lyght agayne, all that yͤ generall Councell of Conſtance hath cōdempned, the whiche was aſſembled of all the nation of Germanie, and now doeſt require to be conuinced with Scriptures, wherin thou erreſt greatly. For what auayleth it to renue diſputation of thynges ſo long tyme paſt condemned by the Churche and Coūcels, vnles it ſhould be neceſſary to geue a reaſon to euery mā of euery thing that is cōcluded. Now, were it ſo, that this ſhould be permitted to euery one, that gaynſtandeth the determinations of the Churche and Councels, that he may once get this aduauntage, to be conuinced by the Scriptures: we ſhall haue nothing certeine & eſtabliſhed in Chriſtēdome.

The papiſtes ſtand onely vpon their church and councells.

And this is the cauſe wherfore the Emperours Maieſty requireth of thee a ſimple aunſwere, either negatiue, or affirmatiue, whether thou myndeſt to defend all thy workes, as Chriſtian, or no?

Then Luther turnyng to the Emperour, and the nobles, beſought them, not to compell hym to yeld agaynſt his conſcience confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifeſt argumentes alledged to the contrary by hys aduerſaries. I haue declared and rendred (ſayd he) myne aunſwere ſimplye and directly: neither haue I any more to ſay, vnleſſe myne aduerſaryes with true and ſufficiēt probations groūded vpon the Scripture, can reduce and reſolue my mynde, and refelle myne errours, which they lay to my charge. I am tyed (as I ſayd) by yͤ Scriptures, neither may I or cā with a ſafe cōſcience, aſſent vnto thē. For as touchyng generall Councels, with whoſe authoritie onely they preſſe me, I am able to proue, that they haue both erred, and haue defined many times, thynges contrary to thē ſelues: and therfore the authoritie of them, he ſayd not to be ſufficient, for the whiche he ſhould call backe thoſe thynges, the veritie wherof ſtandeth ſo firme and manifeſt in the holy Scripture: neither of hym it ought to be required, neither could he ſo do without impiety.

Generall coūcells haue erred, and haue bene contrary to thē ſelues.

Wherunto the Officiall agayne aunſwered, denying that any man coulde proue the Councels to haue erred. But Luther alledged yͭ hee could, & promiſed to proue it. And now night approchyng, the Lordes roſe and departed. And after Luther had taken hys leaue of the Emperour, diuers Spaniardes ſcorned and ſcoffed the good mā in the waye going toward hys lodgyng, hallowyng and whoppyng after hym, a long while.

Vpon yͤ Friday followyng, whē yͤ Princes Electours, Dukes, and other Eſtates were aſſembled: the Emperour ſent to the whole bodye of the Counſaile, a certeine letter contayning in effect as foloweth.

¶ *The Emperours Letter.*

The Emperours aunſwere againſt Luther.

Our predeceſſours, who truely were Chriſtian Princes, were obediēt to yͤ Romiſh Church, which Martin Luther preſently impugneth. And therfore in aſmuch as he is not determined to call backe his errours in any one point, we cannot without great infamie and ſtayne of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintayne the auncient faith, and geue ayde to the ſea of Rome. And further, we be reſolued to purſue Martin Luther and his adherentes, by excommunicatiōs and by other meanes that may be deuiſed, to extynguiſh his doctrine. Neuertheles, we will not violate our fayth, whiche we haue promiſed hym, but meane to geue order for ſafe returne to the place whence he came.

Conſultation vpon the Emperours letter.

The Princes Electors, Dukes and the other eſtates of yͤ Empire, ſatte & conſulted vpon this ſentēce, on Friday all the after none, and Saterday yͤ whole day, ſo that Luther yet had no aunſwere of the Emperour.

Great reſort to M. Luther.

Duryng this tyme, diuers Princes, Earles, Barons, Knyghtes of the Order, Gentlemen, Prieſtes, Monkes, with other the laitye and common ſort, viſited hym. All theſe were preſēt at all houres in the Emperours Court, and could not be ſatiſfied with the ſight of hym. Alſo there were bylles ſet vp, ſome agaynſt Luther, and ſome, as it ſeemed, with hym. Notwithſtandyng many ſuppoſed, and eſpecially ſuch as wel conceiued the matter, that this was ſubtily done by hys enemyes, that therby occaſion might bée offered to infryng the ſafeconduict geuen hym, the whiche ẏ Romaine Ambaſſadours with all diligence, endeuoured to bryng to paſſe.

¶ The Mõday folowyng, before ſupper, the Archbiſhop of Triers aduertiſed Luther, that on Wenſdaye nexte he ſhould appeare before hym, at nyne of the clocke before Dinner, and aſſigned hym the place. On S. Georges day a certeine chapleyn of the Archbyſhop of Triers, about Supper tyme came to Luther, by the commaundement of the byſhop, ſignifying that at ẏ houre and place preſcribed, he muſt ẏ morow after, haue acceſſe to his maiſter.

Luther appeareth before the Archb. of Triers.

The morow after S. Georges day, Luther obeying the Archbyſhops commaundement, entred hys palace, beyng accompanyed thither with his ſayd chapleyn and one of the Emperours Herauldes, and ſuch as came in his company out of Saxonie to Wormes, with other hys chief frendes: where as Doctor Vœus, the Marques of Bades Chaplayne, begã to declare and proteſt, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of Triers, Ioachime Marques of Brandeburge, George Duke of Saxonie, the Byſhops of Auſburge and Brãdeburge, the Earle George, Iohn Bocke of Straſburge, Verdeheymer and Peutinger Doctours, that Luther was not called to bée conferred with, or to diſputation, but onely that the Princes had procured licence of the Emperours Maieſty, through Chriſtiã charitye, to haue libertie graunted vnto them, to exhorte Luther benignly and brotherlye.

Doct. Vœus hys oration to M. Luther.

He ſayd further, that albeit the Councels had ordayned diuers thynges, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet theyr authoritie was not therfore abaſed, or at the leaſt, not ſo erred, that it was lawfull for euery man to impugne their opinions: Inferring moreouer many thynges of Zacheus and the Centurion: alſo of the conſtitutions and tradicions and of ceremonies ordayned of men, affirmyng that all theſe were eſtabliſhed to repreſſe vices, according to the qualitie of tymes: and that the Churche could not be deſtitute of humane conſtitutions. It is true (ſayd he) that by the frutes the trée may be knowen, yet of theſe lawes and decrées of men, many góod frutes haue proceded: and S. Martin, S. Nicholas, and many other Saints haue bene preſent at the Councels.

For the authoritie of Councels.

Thys he ſpake of Luthers wordes, who denied any good frutes to come of their lawes.

Moreouer, that Luthers bokes would bréede great tumulte and incredible troubles, and that he abuſed the cõmon ſort with his bóke of Chriſtiã liberty, encouraging them to ſhake of their yoke, and to confirme in them a diſobedience: that the worlde now was at an other ſtay, then when the beleuers were all of one harte and ſoule, and therfore it was requiſite ⁊ behouefull to haue lawes. It was to be conſidered (ſayd he) albeit he had written many góod thynges, ⁊ (no doubt) of a góod minde, as De Triplici iuſticia, ⁊ other matters, yet how ẏ deuill now by craftie meanes, goeth about to bryng to paſſe that all his workes for euer, ſhould be condemned: for by theſe bókes which he wrote laſt, men (ſayd he) would iudge ⁊ eſtéeme him, as the trée is knowen not by the bloſſome, but by the fruite.

Here he added ſomthyng of the nóone deuill, and of the ſpirite commyng in the darke, and of the flying arrow. All his Oracion was exhortatorye, full of rhetoricall places of honeſtye, of vtilitie, of lawes, of the daungers of conſcience, and of the common and particular wealth, repeatyng oft this ſentence in the proeme, middle, and epiloge of his oration: that this admonition was geuen hym of a ſingulare góod will, and great clemency. In the ſhuttyng vp of hys Oration, he added manacinges, ſaying: that if he would abyde in hys purpoſed entent, the Emperour woulde procede further and banyſhe hym from the Empyre, perſwadyng hym deliberatly to ponder and aduiſe theſe and other thynges.

Pſal. 90.

M. Luther aunſwereth to *Vœus.*

Martin Luther aunſwered: Moſt noble Princes, and my moſt gracious Lordes, I rẽder moſt humble thãckes for your benignities and ſingular góod willes, whence procedeth this admonition: For I know my ſelfe to be ſo baſe, as by no meanes I cã deſerue to be admoniſhed of ſo mighty Eſtates.

The councell of Conſtance condemned the worde of God.

Then he frankely pronounced, that he had not reproued all Councels, but onely the Councell of Conſtance, and for this principall cauſe, for that the ſame had cõdemned the word of God, whiche appeared in the condemnation of this Article proponed by Iohn Hus: *The Church of Chriſt is the communion of the predeſtinate.* It is euident (ſayd he) that the Councell of Conſtance aboliſhed this Article, and conſequentlye the Article of our fayth: *I beleue the holy Churche vniuerſall:* and ſayd that he was readye to ſpend life and bloude, ſo he were not compelled to reuoke the manifeſt worde of God, for in defence therof, we ought rather to obey God, then men: And th[illegible] in thi[illegible] he coulde not auoyde the ſcandall, or offence of fayt[illegible] there be ij. maner of offẽces, to witte, of charity, and o[illegible]yth. The ſlaũder of charitie conſiſteth in maners and in lyfe. The offences of fayth or doctrine, reſt in ẏ word of God: and as touching this laſt, he could eſcape it no maner of wayes, for it lay not in hys power to make Chriſt not to be a ſtone of offence. If Chriſtes ſhéepe were fedde with pure paſture of the Goſpel, if the fayth of Chriſt were ſyncerely preached, and if there were góod Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrates, who duely woulde execute theyr office: we ſhoulde not néede (ſayth he) to charge the Churche with mens traditions. Further, that he knewe well we ought to obey the Magiſtrates ⁊ higher powers, how vniuſtly and peruerſly ſo euer they liued. We ought alſo to bée obedient to their lawes and iudgementes: all whiche he had taught (ſayd he) in all hys workes, adding further that he was ready to obey them in all poyntes, ſo that they inforced him not to deny the word of God.

Scandale of fayth ⁊ charitie.

The princes conſulted about M. Luther.

Theſe wordes finiſhed, Luther was byd ſtand a ſide, and the Princes conſulted what aunſwere they myght geue him. This done, they called him into a parlour, wher as ẏ foreſayd Doct. Vœus repeated his former matters, admoniſhyng Luther to ſubmit his writinges to the Emperour and to the Princes iudgement.

Luther aũſwered humbly ⁊ modeſtly, ẏ he could not, neither would permit that mẽ ſhould ſay he would ſhũne the iudgement of the Emperour, Princes, and ſuperiour powers of the Empyre. So farre was it of, that he woulde refuſe to ſtande to their triall, that he was contented to ſuffer his writynges to be diſcuſſed, conſidered and iudged of the ſimpleſt, ſo that it were done with the authoritie of the worde of God, and holy Scripture: and ẏ the word of God made ſo much for him, ⁊ was ſo manifeſt vnto hym, that he could not geue place, vnles they could confound hys doctrine, by the worde of God. This leſſon (ſaid he) he learned of S. Auſten, who writeth, that he gaue this honour onely to thoſe bókes, whiche are called Canonicall, that he beleued the ſame onely to be true. As touchyng other doctours, albeit in holynes and excellency of learnyng they paſſed: yet he would not credite them further then they agréed with the touchſtone of gods word. Further (ſaid he) S. Paul geueth vs a leſſon: wrytyng to the Theſſalonians: *Proue all thynges, folowe that is good.* And to the Galathians: *Thoughe an aungell ſhould deſcende from heauen, if he preache any other doctrine, let him be accurſed, and therfore not to be beleued.*

The wo of God o ly true.

1. Theſ.

Gal. 1.

Finally he méekely beſought them not to vrge his conſcience, captiued in the bandes of the worde of God and holy Scripture, to deny that ſame excellent word. And thus he cõmended his cauſe and hym ſelfe to them, ⁊ ſpecially to ẏ Emperours Maieſty, requiryng their fauour, that he might not be compelled to do any thyng in thys matter agaynſt his conſcience: in all other cauſes hée would ſubmit hym ſelfe, with all kynd of obedience and due ſubiection.

As Luther had thus ended his talke, Ioachimus Elector, Marques of Brandeburge, demaunded if hys meaning was thus, ẏ he would not yeld, vnles he were cõuinced by the Scripture. Yea truly right noble Lord (quoth Luther) or els by auncient and euident reaſons. And ſo the aſſemble brake, and the Princes repayred to the Emperours Court.

Falſe argumentes for the pope.

Math. 1.

After theyr departure the Archbiſhop of Triers, accompanyed with a few hys familiares, namely Iohn Eckius his Officiall, and Cochleus, commaunded Luther to repayre into hys parlour. With Luther was Hieronymus Schurffius and Nicolas Ambſdorff, for his aſſiſtaunce. Then the Officiall began to frame an argument lyke a Sophiſt and Canoniſt, defendyng the Popes cauſe: that for the moſt part at all tymes holy Scriptures haue engẽdred errours, as the error of Heluidius the heretike, out of that place in the Goſpell, where is expreſſed: *Ioſeph knewe not hys wife till he was deliuered of her firſt childe.* Further, he went about to ouerthrow this propoſition, that the Catholicke Churche is the Communion of Saintes.

Martin Luther and Hierome Schurffe reproued (but modeſtly) theſe follyes, and other vayne and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth as thynges not ſeruyng to the purpoſe. Sometyme Cochleus would come in with his v. egges, and laboured to perſwade Luther, to deſiſte from hys purpoſe, and vtterly to refraine thẽceforth to wryte or teach, and ſo they departed.

About euenyng, the Archbyſhop of Triers, aduertiſed Luther by Ambſdorff, that ẏ Emperours promiſe made vnto hym, was prolonged two dayes, and in the meane ſeaſon he would conferre with hym the next day, and for that cauſe he would ſend Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade, whiche was Vœus, the morow after to hym, and he hym ſelfe would alſo talke with hym.

Sollicitatiõ to cauſe Luther yelde.

Note Luthers condition.

Pſal. 145.
Iere. 17.

The Friday after, whiche was S. Markes day, Peutinger, and the Doctor of Bade trauailed in ẏ forenoone to perſwade Luther ſimply and abſolutely to ſubmit the iudgement of hys wrytynges to the Emperour and Empire. He aunſwered he would do it and ſubmit any thing they would haue him, ſo they grounded with authoritie of holy Scripture: otherwiſe he would not conſent to do any thyng. For God ſayd by hys Prophet (ſayth he) *truſt ye not in princes nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health.* Alſo, *curſed be he, that truſteth in men.* And ſeyng that they did vrge hym more vehemently, he aunſwered: We ought to yelde no more to the iudgement of men, then the word of God doth ſuffer. So they departed, and prayed hym to aduiſe for better aunſwere, and ſayd they would returne after dynner.

Luthers condition.

After dynner they returned, exhortyng him as before, but in vayne. They prayed him ẏ at ẏ leaſt he would ſubmit hys wrytyng to ẏ iudgement of ẏ next generall Coũcel. Luther agreed therunto, but with this cõdition, ẏ they them ſelues ſhould preſẽt the Articles collected out of his bookes to bee ſubmitted to the Councell in ſuche ſorte as notwithſtãdyng the ſentence awarded by the Councell, ſhoulde be authoriſed by the Scripture, and confirmed with the teſtimonyes of the ſame.

Falſe witnes.

They then leauyng Luther departed and reported to the Archbyſhop of Triers, that he had promiſed to ſubmit hys wrytynges in certaine Articles to the next Councell, and in the meane ſpace he would kepe ſilence, whiche Luther neuer thought: who neither but admonitions, ne yet manaces, could bee induced to denye or ſubmit hys bookes to the iudgementes of men (he had ſo fortified his cauſe with cleare and manifeſt authorities of the Scripture) vnleſſe they could proue by ſacred Scripture, and apparant reaſons to the contrarye.

The prouidence of God.

It chaunced then by the ſpeciall grace of God, that the Archbyſhop of Triers ſent for Luther, thinkyng preſently to heare hym. And when he perceiued otherwiſe then Peutinger, and the Doctor of Bade had told hym, he ſayde that hee woulde for no good, but that hee had heard hym ſelfe ſpeake: for els he was euen now goyng to ẏ Emperour, to declare what ẏ Doctors had reported.

Familiar talke betwene the archbiſhop & Luther.

Then the Archb. entreated Luther, & conferred with hym very gently, firſt remouyng ſuch as were preſent, as well of the one ſide, as of the other. In this conferẽce Luther concealed nothyng from the Archbyſhop, affirmyng that it was daũgerous to ſubmit a matter of ſo great importance to them, who after they had called hym vnder ſafeconduict, attemptyng hym with new commaundementes, had condempned hys opinion, and approued the Popes Bull.

Luthers prophecie out of Gamaliell.

Act. 5.

Moreouer, the Archbyſhop biddyng a frẽd of his draw nighe, required Luther to declare what remedy might be miniſtred to helpe this. Luther aunſwered: there was no better remedy, then ſuch as Gamaliel alledgeth in ẏ v. Chap. of the Apoſtles, as witneſſeth S. Luke ſaying: *If thys Councell or thys worke procede of men, it ſhall come to nought, but if it be of God, ye can not deſtroy it.* And ſo he deſired that ẏ Emperour myght be aduertiſed to write the ſame to the Pope, that hee knew certeinely if this hys enterpriſe proceded not of God, it would be aboliſhed within iij. yea within ij. yeares.

Luthers conſtancie.

The Archbiſhop enquired of hym what he would do, if certayne Articles were taken out of hys bookes, to be ſubmited to the generall Councell. Luther aunſwered: ſo that they be not thoſe, whiche the Councell of Conſtance condempned. The Archbyſhop ſayd, I feare they will be the very ſame: but what then? Luther replyed: I will not, nor I cãnot hold my peace of ſuch, for I am ſure by their decrees the worde of God was condẽpned: therfore I will rather loſe head and lyfe, then abandone the manifeſt worde of my Lord God.

Then the Archbiſhop, ſeyng Luther would in no wiſe geue ouer the worde of God, to the iudgement of men, gently bad Luther farewell, who at that inſtaunt prayed the Archbyſhop to entreat the Emperours Maieſtye to graũt hym gracious leaue to depart. He aunſwered: he would take order for him, and ſpedely aduertiſe hym of the Emperours pleaſure.

Luther ſent home from the councell.

Within a ſmall while after Iohn Eckius the archbyſhops Officiall, in the preſẽce of the Emperours ſecretary, who had bene Maximilians Chauncelor, ſayd vnto Luther in hys lodgyng by the commaundement of the Emperour: that ſince he had bene admoniſhed diuerſlye of the Emperiall Maieſty, the Electors, Princes, and Eſtates of the Empire, and that notwithſtandyng he would not returne to vnity and concorde, there remayned that ẏ Emperour as aduocate of the Catholicke fayth, ſhould procede further: and that it was the Emperours ordinaunce, ẏ he ſhould within .xxi. dayes, returne boldly vnder ſafecõduct, and be ſafely garded to the place whence he came, ſo that in the meane while, he ſtyrred no commotion among the people in hys iorney, either in conferẽce or by preachyng.

Luther hearyng this, aunſwered very modeſtly and Chriſtianly: euen as it hath pleaſed God, ſo is it come to paſſe, the name of the Lord be bleſſed. He ſayd further, he thanked moſt humbly, the Emperours Maieſty, and all the Princes and Eſtates of the Empire, that they had geuen to hym benigne and gracious audience, and graunted ſafeconduct to come and returne. Finally he ſayd, he deſired none other of them, then a reformation, accordyng to the ſacred worde of God, and conſonancie of holy Scriptures, whiche effectually in hys hart he deſired: Otherwiſe he was preſt to ſuffer all chaunces for the Emperiall Maieſty, as lyfe and death, goods, fame, & reproch, reſeruyng nothyng to hym ſelfe, but the onely worde of God, whiche he would conſtantly confeſſe, to the vtter end, humbly recommendyng hym to the Emperours Maieſty, and to all the Princes, and other Eſtates of the ſacred Empire.

Luthers departure from Wormes.

The morow after, which was the .xxvi. day of Aprill, after hee had taken his leaue of ſuch as ſupported hym, and other hys beneuolent frendes, that often tymes viſited hym, and had broken his faſt, at ten of the clocke hee departed from Wormes, accompanyed with ſuche as repayred thether with hym, hauyng ſpace of tyme limited vnto hym (as is ſayd) for 21. dayes and no more. The Emperours Herauld Caſpar Sturme folowed and ouertooke hym at Oppenhime, beyng commaunded by the Emperour to conduct hym ſafely home.

¶ *The vſuall prayer of Martin Luther.*

COnfirme (O God) in vs, that thou haſt wrought, and perfect the worke that thou haſt begon in vs, to thy glory. So be it. Ex hiſtor. Phil. Melancth. ex Sledano, ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſpurg. et ex Caſp. Peucero.

Luther in hys iourney wryteth to yͤ Emperour and nobles of Germanie.

MArtin Luther thus beyng dimiſſed of yͤ Emperour, accordyng to the promiſe of hys ſafeconduict made (as you haue heard) departed from Wormes, towarde his coũtrey, the xxvi. of Aprill, accompanied with the Emperours Herauld, and the reſt of hys company, hauyng onely xxi. dayes to hym graunted for hys returne, and no more. In the whiche meane ſpace of hys returne, he wryteth to yͤ Emperour, and to other nobles of the Empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of thynges there done, deſiryng of them, their lawfull good will and fauour, whiche as he hath alwayes ſtand nede of, ſo now hée moſt earneſtly craueth, eſpecially in this, that hys cauſe, whiche is not his, but the cauſe of the whole church vniuerſal, may be heard with indifferencie & equitie, & may be decided by the rule and authoritie of holy Scripture: ſignifying moreouer, that when ſoeuer they ſhall pleaſe to ſend for hym, he ſhalbe ready at theyr commaundement, at any tyme or place, vpon their promiſe of ſafety, to appeare. &c.

The doctors of Paris condemne yͤ bokes of Luther.

Duryng the tyme of theſe doinges, the Doctours and ſcholemen of Paris, were not behynd with their partes, but to ſhewe theyr cunning, condemned the bokes of Luther, extracting out of the ſame, eſpecially out of his boke De Captiuitate Babylonica, certaine Articles as touchyng the Sacramentes, the lawes and decrées of the Churche, equalitie of workes, vowes, contrition, abſolution, ſatiſfaction, purgatory, frée will, priuileges of holy Churche, councels, puniſhment of hereticques, philoſophie, ſcholediuinitie, with other more. Unto whom Philippe Melancton maketh aunſwere, and alſo Luther him ſelfe, albeit pleaſauntly and ieſtyngly.

Philip Melancthon aunſwereth the Pariſians.

Luther outlawed by the Emperour.

It was not long after this, but Charles the new Emperour, to purchaſe fauour with the Pope (becauſe hée was not yet confirmed in hys Empyre) prouideth and directeth out a ſolemne writte of outlawry againſt Luther, & all them yͤ take hys part, commaũding the ſayd Luther, where ſoeuer he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his bokes burned. By this decrée proclaimed againſt Luther, the Emperour procured no ſmall thanke with the Pope: in ſomuch that the Pope ceaſing to take part with the French kyng, ioyned hym ſelfe wholye to the Emperour. In yͤ meane time, Duke Fridericke, to geue ſome place for the tyme, to the Emperours proclamation, conueyed Luther a litle out of ſight ſecretlye, by the helpe of certaine noble men, whom he well knewe to bee faythfull and truſtye vnto him in that behalfe. There Luther beyng cloſſe and out of company, wrote diuers Epiſtles, and certeine bokes alſo vnto his frendes, among whiche he dedicated one to his company of Auguſtine Friers, intitled De abroganda Miſſa. Which Friers the ſame time, beyng encouraged by him, began firſt to lay downe their priuate Maſſes. Duke Fridericke fearyng leaſt that would bréede ſome great ſtyrre or tumult, cauſed the cenſure & iudgementes of the whole Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge, to bée aſked in the matter, committyng the doyng therof to iiij. Iuſtus Ionas, Phil. Melancthon, Nic. Amſdorffius, Ioh. Dulcius.

M. Luther kept a ſide for a while.

Luthers booke *de abroganda Miſſa ad Auguſtinenſes.*

The Maſſe layd downe firſt at Wittenberge.

The iudgement of the Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge agaynſt the Maſſe.

The mindes of the whole Uniuerſitie being ſearched, it was ſhewed to the Duke, that he ſhould do well and godly, by the whole aduiſe of the learned there, to commaunde the vſe of Maſſe to be abrogate through his dominiõ: And though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let, why yͤ courſe of true doctrine ſhould be ſtayed, for the multitude, whiche commonly ouercommeth the better part. Neither ought ſuch diſturbaunce to be imputed to yͤ doctrine taught, but to the aduerſaries, whiche willingly and wickedly kicke agaynſt the truth: wherof Chriſt alſo geueth vs forwarnyng before. For feare of ſuch tumultes therfore, we ought not to ſurceaſe from that, whiche we know is to be done, but conſtantly muſt go forward in defenſe of Gods truth, how ſoeuer the world doth eſteme vs, or rage againſt it. Thus ſhewed they their iudgement to Duke Fridericke.

1521.

It happened moreouer, aboute the ſame yeare & time, that king Henry alſo pretendyng an occaſion to impugne the boke De Captiuitate Babylonica, wrote agaynſt Luther. In whiche boke:

1. *He reproueth Luthers opinion about the Popes pardons.*
2. *He defendeth the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome.*
3. *He laboureth to refell all hys doctrine of the Sacramentes of the Churche.*

K. Henry wryteth agaynſt M. Luther.

K. Henry made defender of the fayth, by yͤ pope.

This boke, albeit it caryed the kynges name in the title, yet it was an other that miniſtred the motion, an other that framed the ſtile. But who ſoeuer had the labour of this boke, the kyng had the thanke, and alſo the reward. For conſequently vpon the ſame, the Byſhop of Rome gaue to the ſayd kyng Henry for the ſtyle agaynſt Luther, the ſtyle and title *of defender of the Chriſten fayth,* and to hys ſucceſſours for euer.

The death of pope Leo, in the midſt of his triumphe.

Pope Adrian the vi.

A great peſtilence in Rome.

Shortly after this, within the compaſſe of the ſame yeare, Pope Leo, after he had warred agaynſt the Frẽch men, and had gotte from them, through the Emperours ayde, the Cities of Parma, Placentia, and Millen. &c. he ſittyng at ſupper, and reioyſing at iij. great giftes that God had beſtowed vpon him. 1. That he beyng baniſhed out of hys countrey, was reſtored to Florence agayne with glory. 2. That he had deſerued to be called Apoſtolicke. 3. That he had dryuen the Frenche men out of Italy: after he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he was ſtrocken with a ſodeine feuer, and dyed ſhortly after, beyng of the age of 47. yeares: albeit ſome ſuſpect that he died of poyſon. Succeſſor to whom was Pope Adrian the vi. ſcholemaſter ſomtymes to Charles the Emperour: who lyued not much aboue one yeare & a halfe, in his Papacie. Duryng whoſe ſmall tyme, theſe iij. eſpeciall things were incident: A great peſtilence in Rome, wherein aboue an hundreth thouſand people were conſumed. The loſſe of Rhodes by the Turke. And thyrdly the capitall warre, whiche the ſayd Pope Adrian, with the Emperour, and the Venetians, and the kyng of Englãd, did hold agaynſt Fraunces the Frenche kyng.

Adrian a Germane pope & not vnlearned.

Pope Adrian a great enemie to Luther.

A diet of the princes kepte at Norenberge.

Paynted pretences ought to be examined.

This Pope Adrian was a Germane borne, brought vp at Louane, and as in learning he exceded the common ſorte of Popes: ſo in moderation of lyfe and maners hée ſemed not all together ſo intemperate as ſome other Popes haue bene: and yet lyke a right Pope, nothyng degeneratyng from his Sea, hée was a mortall enemy agaynſt M. Luther and his partakers. In his time, ſhortly after the Councell of Wormes was broken vp, an other metyng or aſſemble was appointed by the Emperour at Noriberge, of the princes, nobles and ſtates of Germanie, an. 1522. Unto this aſſemble the ſayd Adrian ſent his letters in manner of a brief, with an inſtruction alſo vnto his Legate Cheregatus, to informe hym howe to procede, and what cauſes to alledge agaynſt Luther, before the Princes there aſſembled. His letter with the inſtruction ſent, becauſe they are ſo hypocritically ſhadowed ouer with a fayre ſhewe and colour of paynted zeale and Religion, and beareth reſſemblaunce of great truth and care of the Churche, able to deceaue the outwarde eares of them, whiche are not inwardly in true Religion inſtructed: I thought therefore to geue to the reader a ſight therof, to the entent that by the experience of them, he may learne hereafter in caſes lyke, to bée prudent and circumſpecte in not beleuyng ouer raſhely the ſmothe talke, or pretenſed perſuaſions of men, eſpecially in Church matters, vnles they cary with them the ſimplicitie of playne truth, goyng not vpon termes, but grounded vpon the worde and reueled will of God, with particulare demonſtrations, prouyng that by the Scripture, which they pretend to perſwade. Firſt the letter of this Pope conceaued and directed agaynſt Luther, procedeth in this effect.

¶ Adrian Pope vi. to the renowmed princes of Germanie, and to the pieres of the Romane Empyre, gretyng, and Apoſtolicke benediction.

RIght honorable brethren, and deare children, gretyng and Apoſtolicke benediction. After that we were firſt promoted (through Gods diuine prouidence) to the office of the ſea Apoſtolicke, he whiche hath ſo aduaunced vs, is our witnes, how we, both day and night reuoluyng in our myndes, dyd cogitate nothyng more, then how to ſatiſfye the partes of a good paſtour, in attendyng the health and cure of the flocke, both vniuerſally & ſingularly committed vnto vs: ſo that there is no one particular ſheepe through the whole vniuerſall flocke, ſo infected, ſo ſicke, or ſo farre gone aſtraye, whō our deſire is not to recouer, to ſeke out, and to reduce into yͤ Lordes fold agayne. And chiefly, from the firſt begynnyng of our paſtorall function, our care hath alwayes bene, as well by our meſſengers, as our dayly letters, howe to reclayme the myndes of Chriſten princes from theſe inteſtine warres and diſſentions among them ſelues, to peace and cōcorde, or at leaſt, if they would nedes fight, that they would conuert their ſtrength and armour agaynſt the common enemyes of our fayth. And to declare this not onely in word, but rather in dede, God doth know with what charges and expenſes wee haue burdened our ſelues, to extende our ſubſidie and releaſe, to the ſouldiours of Rhodes, for defenſe of them ſelues & of yͤ Chriſtian fayth, agaynſt the Turkiſh tyrannie, by whom they were beſieged.

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And now, to bend our care from theſe forreine matters, & to conſider our inwarde troubles at home, we heare, to the great grief of our hart, that M. Luther, a new rayſer vp of old and damnable hereſies: firſt after the fatherly aduertiſementes of the Sea Apoſtolicke: then after the ſentēce alſo of condemnation awarded agaynſt hym, and that by the aſſent & cōſent of the beſt learned, and of ſondry vniuerſities alſo: and laſtly after yͤ Emperiall decree of our welbeloued ſonne Charles, elect Emperour of the Romanes, and catholicke king of Spayne, being diuulged through yͤ whole nation of Germanie, yet hath neither bene by other reſtreyned, nor of hym ſelf hath reſtrayned frō his madnes begon, but dayly more & more forgetting & contemning all Chriſtian charitie and godlynes, ceaſeth not to diſturbe and repleniſh yͤ world with new bookes fraught full of errours, hereſies, contumelies, and ſeditiō (whether vpon his own head, or by the helpe of other) and to infecte the countrey of Germanie, and other regions aboute, with hys peſtilence, and endeuoreth ſtill to corrupt ſimple ſoules, and maners of men, with the poyſon of his peſtiferous tongue: and (whiche is worſe of all) hath for hys fautors and ſupporters not of the vulgare ſorte onely, but alſo diuers perſonages of nobilitie: in ſomuch that they haue begon alſo to inuade the goodes of prieſtes (whiche perhaps is the chief ground of this ſtyrre begon) contrary to theyr obedience whiche they owe to eccleſiaſticall & temporall perſons, and now alſo at laſt haue growne vnto ciuile warre and diſſention among them ſelues. Whiche thyng how vnfortunatly it falleth out now, at this preſent ſeaſon eſpecially, amōgſt vs Chriſtiās, you may ſoone repute with your ſelues, and conſider. For although the Apoſtle hath tolde vs afore, that hereſies muſt nedes be, that they vvhiche be tryed, may be made manifeſt. &c. yet was there neuer tyme, either ſo vnconuenient to rayſe vp hereſies, or ſo neceſſarie for the repreſſyng therof, when any ſuch are rayſed, as now. For where as the deuill, the perpetuall enemy of mankynd, roaryng in the ſhape of a Lyon, by the power of the Turkes, doth continually inuade the flocke of Chriſt, how can we thē reſiſte the violent inuaſiōs of hym oppreſſing vs without, ſo long as we nouriſh at home yͤ ſame deuill, vnder the colour of a wyly Dragon, ſowing ſuch hereſies, diſcordes, & ſeditions amōg our ſelues? And albeit it were in our power eaſily to vanquiſh theſe foreine aduerſaries: yet were that but labor loſt, ſeruing to no profite, to ſubdue our enemyes without, & at home with hereſies & ſchiſmes to be diuided.

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We remember, before the tyme of our Papacie, when we were in Spayne, many thinges we heard then of Luther, and of his peruerſe doctrine. Whiche rumors and tydynges, although of them ſelues they were greuous to be heard, yet more greuous they were for this, becauſe they proceded out of that countrey, where we our ſelfe, after yͤ fleſhe, tooke our firſt begynnyng: but yet this comfort we had, ſuppoſyng that either for the iniquitie, or els for the fooliſhnes therof being ſo manifeſt, this doctrine would not long hold: reputyng thus with our ſelfe, that ſuch peſtiferous * plantes tranſlated frō other countreys into Germanie, would neuer grow vp to any profe in that ground, whiche euer was wont to be a weeder out of all hereſies and infidelitie. But now, ſince this euill tree (whether by Gods iudgement correctyng the ſinnes of the people, or by the negligence of ſuch, as firſt ſhould haue reſiſted ſuch begynnynges) hath ſo enlarged, and ſpread hys braunches ſo farre: you therfore, both princes, and people of Germanie, muſt this conſider and prouide, leſt you, whiche at the firſt ſpryngyng vp of this euill, might peraduenture be excuſed as no doers therof, now through this your ouer much ſufferaunce, might be founde vnexcuſable, and ſeme to conſent to that whiche you do not reſiſte.

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Here we omitte, and paſſe ouer, what enormitie, & more then enormitie, this is, that ſuch a great, & ſo deuoute a nation, ſhould by one Frier (who relinquiſhyng yͤ Catholicke fayth & Chriſtiā Religiō, which he before profeſſed, playeth the apoſtata, & hath lyed to God) be now ſeduced frō that way, whiche firſt * Chriſt our redemer and his bleſſed Apoſtles haue opened vnto vs, whiche ſo many Martyrs, ſo many holy fathers, ſo many great learned men, and alſo your own forelders and olde aunceſtours, haue alwayes hetherto walked in: as though onely Luther had all wyt and cunnyng, as though he onely now firſt had receaued yͤ holy ghoſt (as yͤ hereticke Montanus vſed to boaſt of hym ſelfe) or as though the Churche (frō whiche Chriſt our ſauiour promiſed hym ſelfe neuer to depart) hath erred hetherto alwaies in darke ſhadowes of ignoraunce and perdition, till now it ſhould be illuminate wt new reſplendēt beames of Luther. All which thynges, there is no doubt, but to ſuch as haue iudgement, will ſeme ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to ſimple & ignoraunt myndes: and to other which beyng wery of all good order, do gape ſtill for new chaūges, maye breede matter & occaſion of ſuch miſchiefes, as partly your ſelues haue experienced already. And therfore do you not conſider (O Princes and people of Germanie) that theſe be but prefaces & preambles to thoſe euils & miſchiefes, whiche Luther with the ſecte of his Lutherians, do intende and purpoſe hereafter? * Do you not ſee playnly & perceaue with your eyes, yͤ this defending of the veritie of yͤ Goſpell, firſt begon by the Lutherians to be pretended, is now manifeſt to be but an inuentiō to ſpoyle your goodes, whiche they haue long intended? Or do you thinke that theſe ſonnes of iniquitie do tende to any other thyng, then vnder the name of libertie, to ſupplant obedience, and ſo to open a generall * licence to euery mā to do what hym lyſteth? And ſuppoſe you, that they will any thyng regarde your cōmaundemētes or eſteme * your lawes, whiche ſo contemptuouſlye vilipend yͤ holy Canons, and Decrees of the fathers, yea and the moſt holy Coūcels alſo (to whoſe authoritie, the Emperours lawes haue alwayes geuen roume and place) and not onely vilipende them, but alſo with a diabolicall audacitie haue not feared to rente them in peeces, and ſet them on a light fyre? They which refuſe to render due obedience to prieſts, to Biſhops, yea to the hie Biſhop of all, & which dayly before your own faces make their bouties of church goodes, and of thynges conſecrated to God: thinke you yͤ they will reſtrayne their ſacrilegious handes frō yͤ ſpoyle of lay mens goodes? yea yͤ they will not plucke from you what ſoeuer they can rappe or rende? Finally to conclude, how can you hope, that they will more ſpare you, or holde theyr murderyng hādes from your throates, which haue bene ſo bould to vexe, to kyll, to ſlay the Lordes annoynted, which are not to be touched? Nay, thinke you not contrary, but this miſerable calamitie will at length redounde vpon you, your goodes, your houſes, wiues, children, dominions, poſſeſſions, and theſe your temples, whiche you hallow and reuerence, except you prouide ſome ſpeedye remedy agaynſt the ſame.

* Chriſt and hys Apoſtles taught vs, that we are ſaued by fayth onely in the ſonne of God: the ſame doth Luther preache, and the pope denyeth. Holy Martyrs & fathers in the olde tyme miniſtred the Communion in both kindes to the people, & taught that fayth was neceſſarye, in receauing the Sacramentes: the ſame doth Luther affyrme, and the pope denieth. The olde waye of the fathers was this, that they neuer had anye aduocates and mediatours but Chriſt alone, and that they neuer ſolde the merites of Chriſtes paſſion for money. In the ſame waye doth Luther now walke, whereas the pope hath deuiſed a newe waye to walke, yͤ is for money, with an hundreth other newe deuiſes, newe ſectes, and new ordinaunces, which the olde fathers neuer knewe.

* The doctrine of Luther hath bene preached in Germanie, aboue theſe 40. yeres, and yet is there neuer a Prince nor Magiſtrate, nor Citizen in Germanie, God be prayſed, whiche by the doctrine of Luther, is worſe by one halfe penye: Whereas by the pope, good reckenyng hath bene made, that Germanie hath bene worſe by 3000000. Florenes by the yeare. Out of the territorye of the Byſh. of Mentz, amounteth to the pope, for the Archb. palle 26000. Florenes. In the Councell of Baſill it was openly declared that ix. Millions of gold were gathered in the tyme of pope Martyn, and tranſlated to Rome. Pag. 857. Now let the Princes of Germanie conſider thys.

* The preaching of Chriſtian libertie of the ſoule, breaketh no ciuile order touchyng the outward obedience of the bodye: But the pope woulde haue the ſoules of men in hys bondage, and therfore he can not abyde thys inward libertie of the ſpirite to be touched, for that were agaynſt the popes purſe and profite, which were an hereſie intolerable.

* Thys is no good conſequent: Luther burned the popes ſtyncking decretalls: Ergo he will not ſticke alſo to burne the bokes of the ciuille lawe.

The perſecuting Pagans in the olde tyme dyd obiecte to the olde fathers of the primatiue church, the blaſphemies of Thyeſtes ſupper, & of the inceſt of Oedipus: the worſhipping alſo of an Aſſes head pag. 64. 79. In much like ſort doth the pope here lay vnto Luther, riots, rebellions, and all miſchiefes he can deuiſe, not becauſe they be true, but becauſe he would haue the world ſo to beleue.

Wherefore we exhorte your fraternities, nobilities, and deuotions of all and ſingulare in the Lorde, and beſeche you for Chriſtian charitie, and Religion (for whiche Religion your forefathers oftymes haue geuen theyr bloud, to vphold and encreaſe the ſame) and notwithſtanding require you alſo in vertue of that obedience, which all Chri-

Obedience to God, and to Saint Peter, and to hys vicare, do not well matche together by the Scripture: for the obedience to the Creator is one, & the obedience to the creature is an other.

ſtians owe to God, & bleſſed S. Peter, & to his vicare here in earth, that ſettyng a ſide all other quarels and diſſenſions among your ſelues, you confer your helpyng handes euery man to quench this publicke fyre, and endeuour and ſtudy the beſt way ye can, how to reduce the ſaid M. Luther and all other fautors of theſe tumultes and errours, to better cōformitie and trade both of lyfe and fayth. And if they, whiche be infected, ſhall refuſe to heare your admonitions, yet prouide ẏ the other part, which yet remaineth ſound, by ẏ ſame contagiō, be not corrupted. He to whom all ſecretes of mē are open, doth know how we both for our nature, and alſo for our paſtorall office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remitte, then to reuenge. But when this peſtiferous canker, can not with ſupple and gentle medicines be cured, more ſharper ſalues muſt bee proued, and fyre ſearynges: the putrified members muſt bee cut of from the body, leſt the ſound partes alſo be infected. So God did caſt downe into hell the ſchiſmaticall brethren * Dathon & Abyron. And him that would not obey the authoritie of the Prieſt, God commaunded to be puniſhed with death. So Peter, prince of the Apoſtles, denounced ſodeine death to Ananias and Saphira, whiche lyed vnto God. So the old and godly Emperours cōmaunded * Iouinianus & Priſcillianus, as heretickes, to be beheaded. So S. Hierome wiſheth Vigilantius as an hereticke to be geuen to the deſtruction of the fleſhe, that the ſpirite might be ſaued to the day of the Lord. So alſo did our predeceſſours in the Councell of * Conſtance, condemne to death Iohn Hus & his felow Hierome, whiche now appeareth to reuiue agayne in Luther. The worthy * actes & examples of which forefathers, if you in this doyng (ſeyng otherwiſe ye can not) ſhall imitate: we do not doubt, but Gods mercifull clemency ſhall eftſones releue hys Churche, whiche beyng now ſore vexed of Infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally directed vpon you, as beyng the moſt puiſſaunt and moſt populous nation, that we haue in Chriſtendome.

* Let the pope followe the worde of God, as Moſes dyd, and be ſent of God expreſlye, as Moſes was? And then let Luther be puniſhed as Dathon, and Abyron were. Agayne, if the pope be the ſucceſſour of Peter, and haue hys authoritie: why then doth not the pope, bearing the keyes of Peter, exerciſe the power of hys ſpirit vpon Luther his great enemie, as Peter dyd vpon Ananias and Saphyra?

* If Iouinianus, Priſcillianus, and Vigilantius, were proued heretickes, they were proued not onely by Canons and Counceils, but by Scripture: ſo was Luther neuer.

* Your fathers, in the Councell of Conſtance dyd kill the Prophets of God, and you make vp their graues. But thankes be vnto God which hath geuen ſuch lyght to the world, to vnderſtand your cruell impietie in kyllyng Iohn Hus, which you thought ſhoulde neuer be eſpyed.

* You haue well imitated your forefathers alreadye, in burning ſo many Lutherās: and yet how haue you proſpered againſt the Turkiſhe infidels the ſpace of theſe 40. yeares?

The falſe Dragon reſembleth the Pope, and the ſtronge Lyon the Turke.

Wherfore vpō the bleſſyng of almightie God and of bleſſed S. Peter, whiche here we ſend vnto you, take courage vnto you, as well agaynſt the falſe Dragon, as the ſtronge Lyon, that both theſe: that is, as well theſe inwarde hereſies, as the foreine enemyes by you beyng ouercome, you may purchaſe to your honours an immortall victorie, both here and in the world to come. This we geue you to vnderſtand, ẏ what ſoeuer the Lord hath geuen to vs to ayde you withall, either in money or authoritie, wee will not fayle to ſupporte you herein, yea and to beſtow our lyfe alſo in this holy quarel, and for the health of our ſhepe, to vs committed. Other thynges, as touchyng the matter of Luther, we haue committed to this Cheregatus our Legate, whom we haue directed purpoſely for the ſame, vnto your aſſemble, whom we wiſhe you to credite, as beyng our truſty Legate. Datum Rom. apud S. Petrum ſub annulo piſcatoris. Die 25. Nouemb. an. 1522. pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

The falſe Dragon here ſeeth that it is tyme to beſtyrre hym.

By thys letter aboue prefixed, thou haſt (gentle reader) to note and vnderſtand, what either wylye perſuaſions, or ſtrength of authoritie could deuiſe agaynſt Luther, here not to haue lacked. If plauſible termes, or gloſing ſentēces, or outward facyng and bracing could haue ſerued, where no ground of Scripture is brought, thys might ſeme apparantly a pythie Epiſtle. But if a man ſhoulde require the particulars or the ſpecialties of the doctrine whiche he here reprehēdeth, to be examined and tryed by Gods word, there is no ſubſtance in it, but only wordes of office, which may ſeme well to ſerue for waſte paper. And yet I thought to exhibite the ſayd letter vnto thee, to the entent, ẏ the more thou ſeeſt mās ſtrength wt all hys policie, bent againſt Luther, the more thou mayſt conſider the mighty power of God, in defendyng the cauſe of this poore man, againſt ſo mighty enemyes.

Now heare further what inſtructions the ſayd Pope Adrian ſent to hys Legate Cheregatus, howe and by what reaſons to moue and inflame the Princes of Germanie to the deſtruction of Luther, and hys cauſe, and yet was not able to bryng it paſſe.

Inſtructions geuen by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legate, touchyng hys procedinges in the Diete of Norenberg, hovve and by vvhat perſuaſions to incenſe the Princes agaynſt Luther.

Inſtr ons o pope a gaynſt ther.

IN Primis, you ſhall declare to them the great grief of our hart, for the proſperyng of Luthers ſecte, to ſee the innumerable ſoules redemed with Chriſtes bloud, and committed to our paſtorall gouernement, to be turned away from the true fayth and Religion, into perdition, by hys occaſion: and that eſpecially in the nation of Germanie, being our natiue countrey, whiche hath bene euer heretofore, til theſe few yeares paſt, moſt faythfull, and deuoute in Religion: & therfore our deſyre to be the greater, that this peſtilence ſhould bee ſtopped by tyme, leſt the ſame happen to that countrey of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part, there ſhalbe no lacke to helpe forward what we may: As lykewiſe we deſyre them, to endeuour them ſelues to the vttermoſt of their power, whom theſe cauſes ought to moue, which here we direct vnto you, to be declared vnto them.

*** Th cauſe to ſtyrre agaynſt Luther.**

* Firſt the * honour of God, which before all other thynges, ought to bee preferred: whoſe honour by theſe hereſies, is greatly defaced, and hys worſhyp not onely diminiſhed, but rather wholy corrupted. Alſo the charitie toward our neighbour, by whiche charitie euery man is bound, to reduce hys neighbour out of errour: otherwiſe, God will requyre at their handes, all ſuch as by theyr negligence do periſh.

* The honour of God conſiſteth pri pally in honouring Ieſus the ſonn God, whom the father hath ſent: examine, good reader, whether mo tolleth the honour of Chriſt, the doc of Luther, or the doctrine of the p Luther ſendeth vs onely to Chriſt: pope ſendeth vs to other patrons & pers. Luthers doctrine tendeth fo the glorye of Chriſt: the popes doc if it be well wayed, tendeth to the g of man. Luther cleaueth onely to S ture: the pope leaneth to the Canon Councells of men.

The ſe cond c

The ſecond cauſe to moue them againſt Luther, is the infamie of their nation, whiche beyng counted before tyme alwayes moſt Chriſtian, now by theſe ſectaries of Luther, is euill ſpoken of, in all other quarters.

The th cauſe.

The thyrd cauſe is ẏ reſpect of theyr own honour, which notoriouſly wilbe diſtained, if they, which moſt excell in nobilitie and authoritie among the Germanes, ſhall not bend all their power to expell theſe hereſies: Firſt for that they ſhall appeare to degenerate from theyr progenitors, who beyng preſent at the condemnation of Iohn Hus, and of other heretickes, are ſayd ſome of them with theyr owne hands, to haue ledde Iohn Hus to ẏ fyre: Secondly, for that they or the greater part of thē approuyng to theyr authoritie the * Imperiall Edicte ſet forth of late in cōdemnation of M. Luther, now except they ſhall folow the execution of ẏ ſame, ſhalbe noted incōſtant, or may bee thought to fauour the ſame, ſeyng it is manifeſt that they may eaſely exterminate him, if they were diſpoſed.

* This edicte of the Emperour a touched pag. 918. was deuiſed & ſet not knowing to diuers of the pri there. And ſemeth chieflye to be brou aboute by the pope, and hys flatterer bout him. Looke more hereof in the rye of Sledan. Lib. 3.

The 4. cauſe.

The fourth cauſe is the iniurie wrought by Luther to them, their parentes and progenitours, foraſmuch as their fathers, progenitours, and them ſelues alſo haue alwayes holden ẏ ſame faith, whiche the Catholicke churche of Rome hath appoynted: contrarie to which faith, Luther with his ſectaries, now doth holde, ſaying ẏ many thinges are not to be beleued, which their foreſayd aunciters haue holden to be of fayth: it is manifeſt therfore that they be condemned of Luther for infidels and heretickes, and ſo conſequently by Luthers doctrine, all their forelders & their progenitours, whiche haue deceaſſed in this our fayth, be in hell: for errour in fayth importeth damnation.

The fi reaſon cauſe.

The fifte cauſe to moue thē is, ẏ they ſhould well aduiſe and conſider the end, whereunto all theſe Lutherians do tende: * which is, that vnder the ſhadow of Euangelicall libertie, they may aboliſh all ſuperioritie & power. For although at the firſt begynnyng, they pretended onely to adnulle and repreſſe our power Eccleſiaſticall, as beyng falſely and tyrannouſly vſurped agaynſt the Goſpell: yet for as much as libertie is all their foundation and pretenſe, by the which libertie, the ſecular power and Magiſtrates, can not bynde men by any commaundementes (be they neuer ſo iuſte, or ſo reaſonable) * to obey thē vnder payne of mortall ſinne: it is manifeſt, that their ſcope is to enfeeble and infrynge, as muche or more, the ſecular ſtate alſo, although couertly they pretende to ſalue it: to the end, that when the ſeculare princes ſhall beleue this their workyng not to be directed agaynſt them, but onely agaynſt the vſurped domination of the

* The doctrine of Luther tendeth a the vſurped power of the Sea of Ergo, the doctrine of Luther diſſ all obedience due to Magiſtrates. T conſequent is to be denyed, for the er of Magiſtrates is of God: and h reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God: So is vſurped power of the pope.

* If the pope do ſay, that no pre of Magiſtrates do oblige vnder pay mortall ſinne, he ſayth not true: If he that Luther ſo teacheth, he belye ther: who teacheth all men to be vnto Magiſtrates, no man more.

Church, and Churchemen, then the laitie (whiche commonly hath bene alwayes agaynſt men of the Church) holdyng with them, ſhall ſuffer the Churchemen to bee deuoured: whiche done, no doubt, but *they wil afterward practiſe the lyke vpõ the ſecular princes and poteſtates, whiche now they attempt agaynſt our eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction.

* who ſo conſidereth the doctrine of Luther de Libertate Chriſtiana, ſhall finde this to be a falſe ſclaunder. For howe is it lyke that he meaneth any rebellion, who deſcribyng a Chriſtian, call'eth hym a ſeruaunt and an vnderlyng to all men?

The ſixte cauſe.

The ſixth cauſe to moue and perſuade them agaynſt Luther, is this, for thẽ to conſider the fruites, whiche folowe of that ſect: as ſclaunders, offences, diſturbaunce, robberies, murders, *ſeditions, diſſenſiõs, which this ſect hath, and dayly doth ſtyrre vp through whole Germanie: Alſo blaſphemies, *ſclaũderous wordes, ſchoffyng ieſtes and bytter tauntes, whiche are euer in their mouthes. Againſt which, vnles that they ſhall finde a preſent remedy, it is to be feared, leſt the deſolation of Gods wrath will fall vpõ Germanie, beyng ſo diuided: or rather vpõ the princes of Germanie, who hauyng the ſword geuẽ of God into their hãds for the ſuppreſſiõ of malefactours, ſuffer ſuch enormities amongeſt their ſubiectes. Curſed is he (ſayth the Prophete) vvhiche doth the vvorke of the Lord negligently, and holdeth backe his ſvvorde from the bloud of vvicked doers.

* The cauſe why the Pope doth charge he Lutherians with ſedition, did ryſe ypon this, becauſe one Franciſcus Sic- yngus a valiaunt man and a great fa- ourer of Luther, did warre agaynſt the rchbyſhop of Triers, for withhol- yng two certaine perſons from iudge- ent, whiche ſhould haue appeared, nd by hys meanes did not.

* As for ſclaunderous wordes and byt- er tauntes, with what face can the ope charge Luther, beyng hym ſelfe o impudent and bytter, as in thys ys preſent letter is manifeſt to be ſene? herin he ſheweth hym ſelfe in hys wne colours, what he is.

er,48.

he vij. uſe or aſon.

The ſeuenth reaſon is, that the princes ſhould conſider how Luther vſeth the ſame way of ſeducyng the people of Chriſt, as hath the venemous viper * Mahomete practiſed in deceauing ſo many thouſandes of ſoules, in permittyng to them the libertie of thoſe thynges whiche fleſhe deſireth, and afterwarde in exempting them from ſuch thinges, as be more ſharpe in the lawe, but that Luther a litle more temperatly handleth ẏ matter, whereby he may deceaue more effectually: For Mahomet geueth licence to haue many wiues, and to diuorce, & marye other at their pleaſure. This Luther to draw vnto hym the fauour of nunnes, monkes, and prieſtes, ſuch as be laſciuious in fleſh, preacheth that vowes of perpetuall continencie be vnlawfull, much leſſe to be obligatorie: and therfore permitteth vnto thẽ that they may mary, forgettyng by the way, what the Apoſtle writeth of yong wydowes, ſaying: that vvhen they vvaxte vvanton agaynſt Chriſt, then vvill they marye, hauing condemnation, becauſe they haue made voyde their firſt fayth.

* If the doynges and properties of ahomete be ryghtly conſidered, none hould bee founde ſo aptly to reſemble ym, as the Pope him ſelfe. He declineth om the worde of God, and ſetteth vp other lawe: ſo doth the Pope. He kil- th and ſlayeth the contrary parte: ſo oth the Pope. He holdeth ſaluation by orkes of the lawe: ſo doth the Pope. nd if Mahomete geue liberty of fleſhe: doth not Luther, but the Pope both keth it, and alſo diſpenſeth with the me. Mahomet would not haue hys eligion reaſoned vpon: no more will e Pope. Briefly, as the ſecte of Maho- et is diuided into many ſundry ſortes Religion, and of Religious men: ſo ath the ſecte of the Pope hys Friers, onkes, Nunnes, Heremites and other warmes of an infinite varietie.

Tim.5.

These, and other ſuch like reaſons, beyng opened and layd before them, you ſhall then in our name exhorte the foreſayd princes, prelates, and people to awake, and employe their diligence howe to gaynſtand: Firſt the iniurie of theſe Lutherians toward God, and toward his holy Religion: Secondly their vilanie toward the whole nation of the Germanes & their princes, and eſpecially the ſhamefull contumely toward their fathers and elders, whõ in effect, they condẽne to hell. In conſideratiõ wherof you ſhall call vpon them, to remember them ſelues, and to procede effectually to the execution of the Apoſtolicall ſentence, and of the Emperours Edict, geuyng pardon to them that will amende and acknowledge their fault: the other whiche obſtinatly perſiſte in their errour, puniſhyng with the rodde of diſtrict ſeueritie according to the Decrees of the Canons and lawes of the Churche, that by their example, ſuch as ſtande, may remaine in fayth, and they whiche are fallen may be reduced.

And if any ſhall obiect agayne, that Luther was condemned by the Apoſtolicke ſea before he was heard, and ẏ his cauſe ought firſte to haue bene heard and iudged, before he were conuicted: you ſhall anſwere, that * thoſe thinges which perteine to fayth, are to be beleued for their own authoritie, and not to be proued. Take avvay (ſayth Ambroſe) argumentes: vvhere fayth is ſought, there the fiſhers, not the Philoſophers muſt be truſted. Truth it is, and we graunt no leſſe, but that lawful defenſe and hearyng ought not to be denyed in ſuch caſes, where ẏ queſtion is of ẏ fact, whether it were done or not, as whether hee ſpake, preached, writte, or not? But where the matter is of Gods law, or in cauſe of the Sacramẽtes, there muſt we alwayes ſtande to the authoritie of holy fathers and of the Churche. Now all thinges almoſt wherein Luther diſſenteth from other, are reproued before by diuers Councels. Neither ought thoſe things to be called in to queſtion, whiche haue bene defined before by generall Councels, and the vniuerſall Churche, but ought to be receaued by faith: For els he doth iniurie to the Synode of the Churche, who ſo bryngeth agayne into controuerſye, thinges once rightly diſcuſſed and ſetleth. Otherwiſe what certeintie can there be amongeſt men, or what ende ſhall there be of contending and diſputing, if it ſhalbe lawful for euery preſumptuous and lewed perſon, to decline frõ the thinges, whiche haue bene receaued and ratified by the conſent not of one, nor of a few, but of ſo many ages, ſo many wiſe heades, and of the Catholicke Churche, whiche God neuer permitteth to erre in matters vnto faith apperteynyng? And howe can it otherwiſe bee choſen, but that all muſt bee full of diſturbance, offences, and confuſion, vnleſſe the thinges whiche haue bene once, yea many times, by rype iudgement conſtituted, bee obſerued of all men as inuiolable? wherefore ſeyng Luther and his felowes do condemne the Councels of holy fathers, do burne the holy Canons, do confounde all things at their pleaſure, and do diſquiet the whole world, what remaineth but that they are to be reiected and exploded, as enemies and perturbers of publike peace?

Here the pope agreeth ly with Mahomet, for will not haue hys reli- reaſoned vpõ, no more the pope hys.

Graunt this to the pope, and he may play the Lorde of miſrule, and do what he liſteth.

Further this you ſhall ſay vnto them, that we confeſſe our ſelues, and denie not, but ẏ God ſuffereth this perſecution to be inflicted vpon his Churche, for the ſinnes of men, eſpecially of prieſtes and prelates of the clergie. For certein it is, that the hand of the Lord is not ſhortened, that he cã not ſaue: but our ſinnes haue diuided betvvene God and vs: and therfore he hideth his face from vs, that hee vvill not heare vs. The Scripture teſtifieth, that the ſinnes of the people, doe iſſue out firſt from the ſinnes of the prieſtes. And therfore (ſaith Chriſoſtome) Chriſte goyng aboute to cure the ſicke Citie of Hieruſalem, firſte entred into the Temple, to correcte the ſinnes of the Prieſtes, lyke a good Phiſition, vvhiche firſte begynneth to cure the diſeaſe from the very roote. We know ẏ in this *holy Sea, there haue ben many abhominable thinges of long time wrought, and practiſed: as abuſes in matters ſpirituall, and alſo exceſſes in life and maners, and all things turned cleane contrary. And no meruell, if the *ſickenes firſt beginning at the head, that is, at the high Biſhops, haue deſcẽded afterwarde to inferiour prelates. All we (that is, prelates of the Church) haue declined euery one after his own way. Neither hath there bene one, that hath done good, no not one. Wherfore nede it is, that al we geue glory to God, and that we humble our ſoules to hym, cõſidering euery one of vs, frõ whence he hath fallen, and that euery one do iudge him ſelfe, before he be iudged of God in the rod of his fury. For the redreſſe wherof, you ſhall inſinuate vnto them, and promiſe in our behalfe, that in vs ſhalbe lackyng no diligence of a better reformatiõ, firſt beginning with our own court, that like as this contagion firſt from thence deſcended into all the inferiour partes: ſo reformation & amendement of all that is amyſſe, from the ſame place agayn, ſhall take his beginning. Wherunto they ſhall finde vs ſo much the more ready, for that we ſee the whole world ſo deſirous of the ſame. We our ſelues (as you know) neuer ſought this dignitie, but rather coueted, if we otherwiſe might, to leade a priuate life, and in a quiet ſtate to ſerue God. And alſo would vtterly haue refuſed the ſame, had not the feare of God, and the maner of our election, and miſdoubtyng of ſome ſchiſme to folow after, haue vrged vs to take it. And thus tooke we the burden vpon vs, not for any ambition of dignitie, or to enrich our frendes and kinſfolkes, but onely to be obedient to the will of God, and for reformatiõ of the Catholicke Churche, and for reliefe of the poore, and eſpecially for the aduauncement of learnyng & learned men, with ſuch other thinges moe, as apperteineth to the charge of a good Biſhop and lawful heyre of S. Peter. And though all errours, corruptions, and abuſes be not ſtreight wayes amended by vs, men ought not therat to meruell. The ſore is great, and farre growen, & is not ſingle, but of manifold maladies together compacted, and therfore to the curyng therof we muſt procede by litle and litle, firſt beginning to cure the greater and the moſte daungerous, leſt while we intende to amende all, we deſtroy all. All ſodeine mutations (ſaith Ariſtotle) in a common wealth are perilous. And he that vvryngeth to hard, ſtrayneth out bloud. Prouerb.30.

Eſa.59.

* And how then can this be called an holy Sea, where ſo many abhominable impieties and manifold exceſſes, both in ſpirituall matters, and alſo in externall lyfe, are ſene and practiſed: ſuch ambition in the prelates: ſuch pride in the Pope, ſuch auarice in the Court: and finally, where ſuch corruption is of all thynges, as you your ſelues do here confeſſe, and can not denye?

* True it is that the ſickenes hath begonne at the head: that is, at the very triple crowne: and therefore the ſickenes being great, and hauing nede of a ſharpe Phiſition, God hath ſent Luther vnto the pope (as Eraſmus wryteth of hym) as a meete Phiſition to cure hys diſeaſe: yet he refuſeth to be healed.

Cayphas him ſelfe could neuer prophecie more truely.

The pope promiſeth reformation of his own court, but whẽ beginneth hee?

You procede ſo by litle & litle, that nothing at all is ſeene.

Sodeine mutations be not for the popes purpoſe: but the Lord promiſeth to come ſodeinly, when he is not looked for.

And where as in your laſt letters you wryte, that the princes complaine, how this Sea hath bene and is preiudicial to their ordinaunces and agrementes: hereunto to you ſhal thus aunſwere: That ſuch exceſſes whiche haue bene done before our tyme, ought not to be imputed to vs, who alwayes haue miſliked theſe derogations, and therfore byd them ſo aſſure them ſelues, that though they had required no ſuch matter, we of our owne accorde, would haue refrained the ſame, partly for that it is good, right, & reaſon, that euery one haue that whiche is due vnto him: and partly alſo that the ſaid noble nation of Germanie, ſhal haue by vs no hinderaunce, but furderaũce rather, ſo much as in vs ſhall lye to do for them.

Rota is ſome office in the Court or Chauncerye of Rome.

And as touchyng the proceſſes, whiche they deſire to haue remoued away a Rota, and to be referred down to the parties, you ſhall ſignifie vnto them, that we will gratifie them herein as much as honeſtly we may. But becauſe our auditours are now preſently abſent from the Citie by reaſon of the plague, we can not be informed as yet, touching the qualitie of thoſe proceſſes. As ſoone as they ſhall returne (whiche we hope wilbe ſhortly) we ſhall do in the princes fauour, what reaſonably we may.

The pope flattereth for aduauntage.

And why then haue you abuſed the church ſo longe with theſe your Apoſtolicall prouiſions, and yet do not redreſſe the ſame?

Further, where as we vnderſtand, that there be many freſhe floriſhing wittes in Germanie, and many well learned men, whiche are not ſene vnto, but be reiected and vnloked to, while in the meane time, through the Apoſtolicall prouiſions, dignities, and promotions are beſtowed vpon tapſters and daunſers and vnfitte perſons: we will therfore that you inquire out what thoſe learned men are, and what be their names, to the entent, that whẽ any ſuch vacation of benefices in Germanie doth fall, we of our volũtary motion, may prouide for them accordingly. For why, we conſider how much it is againſt Gods glory, & againſt the health and the edification of ſoules, that benefices and dignities of the Churche haue now ſo long time bene beſtowed vpon vnworthy and vnhable perſons.

As touching ẏ Subſidie for the Hungarians, we ſend no other information to you, but that whiche we gaue you at your departure, ſaue onely, that we will you to extende your diligence therin, as we alſo will do the like, in ſolliciting the matter with the princes and Cities of Italy, that euery one may helpe after his abilitie. Ex Orth. Gratio.

Luther cryed out of without any iuſt cauſe.

Libertie of fleſhe. Libertie of ſpirite.

Turne onely the names of the perſons: & all the accuſations of the papiſtes agaynſt the Lutherians, agree chiefly vpon them ſelues.

¶ These Popiſhe ſuggeſtions and inſtructions of the Pope him ſelfe agaynſt Luther, I thought (Chriſten reader) to ſet before thyne eyes, to the entent thou mayſt ſee here (as in a paterne, & go no farther) all ẏ crimes, obiections, exclamations, ſuſpicions, accuſations, ſclaunders, offenſions, contumelyes, rebukes, vntruthes, cauillations, raylynges, what ſo euer they haue deuiſed, or can deuiſe, inuent, articulate, denounce, inferre or ſurmiſe agaynſt Luther & his teaching. They crye hereſie, hereſie: but they proue no hereſie. They cry Coũcels, Coũcels: and yet none tranſgreſſeth Coũcels more then them ſelues. If Councels go allwayes with Scripture, then Luther goeth with thẽ. If Councels do iarre ſomtymes frõ the Scripture, what hereſie is in Luther, in ſtãding with ſcripture agaynſt thoſe Councels? And yet neither hath hee hetherto ſpoken agaynſt any Councels, ſaue only the Councell of Conſtance. They inflame kynges & princes agaynſt Luther, & yet they haue no iuſt cauſe wherfore. They accuſe him for teaching libertie. If they meane the libertie of fleſh, they accuſe hym falſely: if they meane ẏ libertie of ſpirite, they teache wickedly, which teach contrary: and yet when they haue all ſayd, none lyue ſo licentiouſly, as them ſelues. They pretend the zeale of the Churche: but vnder that Churche lyeth their owne priuate welfare, and belychere. They charge Luther with diſobedience, & none are ſo diſobedient to Magiſtrates and ciuill lawes, as they. They lay to his charge, oppreſſion and ſpoylyng of lay mens goodes: and who ſpoyleth the laymens liuings ſo much as the Pope? For probatiõ wherof let the Popes accoumtes be caſt, what he raketh out of euery Chriſten realme. Briefly, turne onely the names of the perſons, and in ſteade of Luthers name, place the name of the Pope, and the effect of this letter aboue prefixed, ſhall agree vppon none more aptly, then vpon the Pope hym ſelfe and his owne ſectaries. Now to procede further in the proces of this foreſayd matter, let vs ſee what the princes againe for their partes, aunſwere to theſe foreſayd ſuggeſtions and inſtructions of pope Adrian, ſent vnto them in their diet of Norenberge, in the cauſe of Luther: the aunſwere of whom here foloweth vnder written.

¶ *The aunſwere of the noble and Reuerend princes, and* ſtates of the ſacrate Romane Empyre, exhibited to the Popes Ambaſſadour.

The au ſwere of the princ of Germ nie, to th popes let ter, and i ſtructions

THe noble and renowmed prince Lord Ferdinandus, Lieutenant to the Emperours Maieſtie, with other reuerend Pieres in Chriſt, and mightie princes Electours, and other ſtates and orders of this preſent aſſemble of the Romane Empyre in Norenberge conuented, haue gratefully receaued, and diligẽtly peruſed the letters ſent in forme of a Brief, with the inſtructions alſo of the moſt holy father in Chriſt & L.L. Adrian, the hie biſhop of the holy and vniuerſall Church of Rome, preſented vnto them in the cauſe of Luthers faction.

Pope Adrian a German borne.

By the whiche foreſayd letters and writynges, firſt where as they vnderſtand his holynes to haue bene borne, and to haue had his natiue origine and parentage out of this noble nation of Germanie, they do not a litle reioyſe. Of whoſe egregious vertues and ornamentes both of minde and body, they haue heard great fame and commendation, euen from his tender yeares: by reaſon wherof they are ſomuch the more ioyous of his aduaũcement and preferment, by ſuch conſent of election, to the hye typpe of the Apoſtolicall dignitie, and yeld to God moſt hartie thankes for the ſame: praying alſo from the bottome of theyr hartes, for his excellent clemencie, and perpetuall glory of his name, and for health of ſoules, and incolumitie of the vniuerſall Church, that God will geue to his holynes long continuance of felicitie: Hauyng no myſdoubt, but that by ſuch a full and cõſentyng electiõ of ſuch a paſtour of the vniuerſall Catholicke Church, great profite and commoditie will enſue. Which thyng to hope and looke for, his holynes openeth to them an euident declaration in his owne letters, teſtifying and proteſting, what a care it is to him both day and night, how to diſcharge his paſtorall function, in ſtudyng for the health of the flocke to him committed: and eſpecially in conuertyng the myndes of Chriſtian princes, frõ warres to peace: declaryng moreouer what ſubſidie and releaſſe his holynes hath ſent to the ſouldiours of Rhodes. &c. All whiche thinges they perpendyng with them ſelues, conceaue excedyng hope and comfort in their mindes: thus reputyng and truſtyng, that this concord of Chriſten princes will be a great helpe and ſtay to the better quietyng of thinges now out of frame: without which neither the ſtate of the common wealth, nor of Chriſtian Religion can be rightly redreſſed, and much leſſe the tyranny of the barbarous Turke repreſſed.

Can any good thy come out of Rome.

Wherfore, the excellent prince, Lord Lieutenant to the Emperours Maieſtie, with the other princes Electors, and orders of this preſent aſſemble, moſt hartely do pray, that his holynes will perſiſte in this his purpoſe and diligence, as he hath vertuouſly begon, leauyng no ſtone vnremoued, how the diſagreyng hartes of Chriſten princes may be reduced to quiet and peace: or if that will not be, yet at leaſt ſome truce and intermiſſion of domeſticall diſſenſions maye bee obteined for the neceſſitie of the tyme nowe preſent, wherby all Chriſtians maye ioyne their powers together, with the helpe of God, to go agaynſt the Turke, and to deliuer the people of Chriſt from his barbarous tyrannie and bondage: Wherunto both the noble prince Lorde Lieutenaunt, and other princes of Germanie, will put to theyr helpyng handes, to the beſt of their habilitie.

The Po much gri ued for prosper of Luth

And whereas by the letters of his holynes, with his inſtruction alſo exhibited vnto them by his Legate, they vnderſtãd, that his holynes is afflicted with great ſorow, for the proſperyng of Luthers ſecte, whereby innumerable ſoules committed to his charge are in daunger of perdition, and therfore his holynes vehemently deſireth ſome ſpeedie remedie agaynſt the ſame to be prouided, with an explication of certeine neceſſary reaſons and cauſes, wherby to moue the Germane princes therunto, and that they will tender the execution of the Apoſtolicke ſentẽce, and alſo of the Emperours Edict ſet forth touching the ſuppreſſion of Luther: to theſe the Lord Lieutenãt, and other princes and ſtates do aunſwere, that it is to them no leſſe grief and ſorow, then to his holynes, and alſo do lament as much for theſe impieties and perils of ſoules, and inconueniences whiche grow in the Religion of Chriſt, either by the ſecte of Luther, or any otherwiſe. Further, what helpe or coũſail ſhall lie in thẽ, for the extirpyng of errours, and decay of ſoules health, what their *moderation can do, they are wyllyng and ready to performe, conſideryng how they ſtand bound and ſubiecte, as well to the Popes holynes, as alſo to the Emperours Maieſtie.*

Cauſes why the princes haue not proceeded by ŷ popes ſentence agaynſt Luther.

Greuaũces receaued by the court of Rome.

But why the ſentence of the Apoſtolicke ſea, and the Emperours Edict agaynſt Luther, hath not bene put in execution hetherto, there haue bene (ſaid they) cauſes great & vrgẽt, which haue led them therto: as firſt in weyng and conſideryng with thẽſelues that greater euils & inconuenience would therupon inſue. For the greateſt part of the people of Germanie, haue alwayes had this perſuaſion, and nowe by readyng of Luthers bookes, are more therin confirmed, that great greuances and inconueniences haue come to this nation of Germanie, by the Court of Rome: and therfore if they ſhould haue proceded with any rigour in executyng the Popes ſentence, and the Emperours Edicte, the multitude would conceaue and ſuſpect in their myndes, this to be done for ſubuertyng the veritie of the Goſpell, and for ſupportyng and confirmyng the former abuſes, and greuaunces: whereupon great warres and tumultes (no doubt) would haue enſued: which thyng vnto the princes and ſtates there, hath bene well perceiued by many arguments. For the auoydyng wherof, they thought to vſe more gentle remedies ſeruyng more oportunely for the tyme.

The Pope aunſwered with hys owne wordes.

Agayne, whereas the reuerend Lord Legate (ſayd they) in the name of the Popes holynes hath bene inſtructed, to declare vnto thẽ, that God ſuffereth this perſecutiõ to riſe in the church for the ſinnes of men, and that hys holynes doth promiſe, therefore to begyn the reformation firſt with his owne Court, that as the corruption, firſt ſprang frõ thence to the inferiour partes, ſo the redreſſe of all agayne ſhould firſt begin with the ſame: Alſo, wheras his holynes, of a good & fatherly hart, doth teſtifie in his letters, that he him ſelfe did alwayes miſlike that the Court of Rome ſhould intermedle ſo much and derogate from the concordates of the princes, and that his holynes doth fully purpoſe in that behalfe, duryng his Papacie, neuer to practiſe the like, but ſo to endeuour, that euery one, & eſpecially the nation of the Germanes may haue theyr proper due and right, grauntyng eſpecially to the ſayd nation, his peculiar fauour: Who ſeeth not by theſe premiſſes, but that this moſt holy Byſhop omitteth nothyng, whiche a good father or a deuout paſtor may or ought to do to his ſhepe? Or who will not be moued hereby to a louyng reuerence, and to amendement of his defaultes, namely ſeyng hys holynes ſo intendeth to accompliſhe the ſame in dede, whiche in worde he promiſeth, accordyng as he hath begon.

Greuaũces of the Germanes, cõplayned of to the pope. *Vid. infr.*

Annates falſely pretended of the Pope, to maintain warre againſt the Turke.

And thus vndoubtedly both the noble Lord Lieutenaunt, and all other princes and ſtates of the Empire, well hope that he will, & pray moſt hartly that he may do, to the glory of our eternall God, to the health of ſoules, and to the tranquilitie of the publicke ſtate. For vnleſſe ſuch abuſes and greuances, with certeine other Articles alſo, whicde the ſecular princes (aſsigned purpoſely for the ſame) ſhall draw out in writyng, ſhalbe faythfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord betwen the Eccleſiaſticall and ſecular eſtates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult, and errours in Germany, that can be hoped. For partly by long warres, partly by reaſon of other greuances and hynderances, this nation of Germany hath bene ſo waſted and conſumed in money, that vnneth it is able to ſuſteine it ſelfe, in priuate affaires, and neceſſarie vpholdyng of Iuſtice within it ſelfe: much leſſe then, to miniſter ayde and ſuccour to the kingdome of Hungary, and to the Croatians, agaynſt the Turke. And wheras all the ſtates of the ſacrate Romane Empire do not doubt, but the Popes holynes doth right well vnderſtand, how the Germane princes did graũt & cõdeſcend for the money of Annates to be leaued to the ſea of Rome for terme of certaine yeares, vpon condition, that the ſayd money ſhould bee conuerted to mainteyne warre agaynſt the Turkiſhe infidels, and for defenſe of the Catholicke fayth: and wheras the terme of theſe yeares is now expired long ſince, when as the ſayd Annates ſhould be gathered, and yet that money hath not bene ſo beſtowed to that vſe, wherto it was firſt graunted: therfore if any ſuch neceſsitie ſhould now come, that any publicke helpes or contributions agaynſt the Turke, ſhould be demaunded of the Germane people, they would aunſwere agayne, why is not that money of Annates reſerued many yeares before to that vſe, now to be beſtowed and applied, and ſo would they refuſe to receaue any mo ſuch burdens, for that cauſe, to be layd vpõ thẽ.

Annates is a certaine portion of money wont to bee payde to the court of Rome out of the one yeres fruites, at the vacatiõ of any eccleſiaſticall liuing.

Wherfore the ſayd Lord Lieutenant, and other princes and degrees of the Empyre make earneſt petition, that the Popes holynes will, with a fatherly conſideration, expende the premiſſes, & ſurceaſſe hereafter to requyre ſuch Annates, whiche are accuſtomed after the deceaſſe of biſhops & other prelates, or eccleſiaſticall perſons, to be payd to the Court of Rome, and ſuffer them to remaine to the chamber of the Empyre, wherby Iuſtice, and peace may be more cõmodiouſly adminiſtred, the trãquillitie of the publicke ſtate of Germanie mainteyned. and alſo by the ſame, due helpes may be ordeyned and diſpoſed to other Chriſten potentates in Germanie, agaynſt the Turke, whiche otherwiſe without the ſame, is not to be hoped for.

Remedie of reformation.

A generall Councell in Germanie, required.

Itẽ, whereas the Popes holynes deſireth to be informed what way were beſt to take, in reſiſtyng theſe errours of the Lutherians: to this the Lord Lieutenant with other princes and nobles do aunſwere, that what ſoeuer helpe or counſaile they can deuiſe, with willyng hartes they will be ready therunto. Seyng therefore the ſtate as well eccleſiaſticall, as temporall is farre out of frame, and haue ſomuch corrupted their wayes, and ſeing not onely of Luthers part, & of his ſect, but alſo by diuers other occaſions beſides, ſo many errours, abuſes, & corruptions haue crept in: much requiſite and neceſſarie it is, that ſome effectual remedy be prouided, as well for redreſſe of the church, as alſo for repreſsyng of the Turkes tyranny. Now what more preſent or effectuall remedy can be had, the Lord Lieutenaunt, with other eſtates and princes do not ſee, then this, that the Popes holynes, by the conſent of the Emperours Maieſtie do ſummone a free Chriſtian Councell in ſome conuenient place of Germanie, as at Straſburgh, or at Mentz, or at Colen, or at Metz, and that with as much ſpeede, as conueniently may be, ſo that the congregatyng of the ſayd Councell be not differred aboue one yeare: In the whiche Councell it may bee lawfull for euery perſon that there ſhall haue intereſt, either temporall or eccleſiaſticall, frely to ſpeake, and conſulte to the glory of God, and health of ſoules, & the publicke wealth of Chriſtendome, without impeachment or reſtreint, what ſoeuer othe, or other bonde to the contrary notwithſtanding: yea and it ſhalbe euery good mans part there to ſpeake, not onely freely, but to ſpeake that, whiche is true, to the purpoſe, and to edifying, and not to pleaſing, or flatteryng, but ſimply and vprightly to declare his iudgement without all fraude or guile.

An interim before the Councell.

Wryting and Printing for a tyme ſuſpended.

And as touchyng by what wayes theſe errours and tumultes of the Germane people may beſt bee ſtayed and pacified, in the meane tyme, vntill the Councell be ſet: the foreſayd L. Lieutenaunt, with the other Princes, therupon haue conſulted and deliberated, that for as much as Luther and certeine of his folowers be within the territory and dominion of the noble Duke Fridericke, the ſayd Lord Lieutenant, and other ſtates of the Empyre ſhall ſo labour the matter with the aforenamed prince Duke of Saxonie, that Luther and his followers ſhall not write, ſet forth, or Printe any thing during the ſaid meane ſpace: neither do they doubte, but that the ſayd noble prince of Saxonie, for his Chriſtian pietie, and obedience to the Romane Empyre, as becommeth a Prince of ſuch excellent vertue, will effectually condeſcend to the ſame.

The office of preaching tempered.

Item, the ſayd Lord Lieutenant, and princes ſhall labour ſo with the preachers of Germanie, that they ſhall not in theyr ſermons teach or blow into the peoples eares, ſuch matter, wherby the multitude may be moued to rebellion or vprore, or be induced into errour: and that they ſhall preache and teache nothyng, but the true, pure, ſincere, and holy Goſpell, and approued Scripture, godly, myldely, and Chriſtianly, accordyng to the doctrine and expoſition of the Scripture, beyng approued and receaued of Chriſtes Church, abſteynyng from all ſuch things, whiche are better vnknowen, then learned of the people, and whiche to be ſubtely ſearched, or depely diſcuſſed, it is not expedient: Alſo that they ſhall moue no cõtention of diſputation among the vulgare ſorte, but what ſoeuer hangeth in controuerſie, the ſame they ſhall reſerue to the determination of the Councell to come.

Item, the Archbyſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates, within

Preachers limited within certayne bondes.

their dioces, ſhall aſsigne godly and learned men, hauyng good iudgement in the Scriptures, whiche ſhall diligently and faithfully attende vpon ſuch preachers: and if they ſhall perceaue the ſayd preachers either to haue erred, or to haue vttered any thyng vnconueniently, they ſhall godly, myldely, and modeſtly aduertiſe and informe them thereof, in ſuch ſorte as no man ſhall iuſtly complaine the truth of the Goſpell to be impeached. But if the preachers continuyng ſtill in theyr ſtubbernes ſhall refuſe to be admoniſhed, and will not deſiſte from their lewdenes, then ſhall they bee reſtreyned and puniſhed by the ordinaries of the places, with puniſhment for the ſame conuenient.

Against ſelling and printing of famous libells.

Famous libels be ſuch bookes as rayle agaynſt ẏ fame of any perſon, ſhewing no name of the author therof.

Furthermore, the ſayd princes and nobles ſhall prouide and vndertake, ſo much as ſhalbe poſsible, that from hence forth, duryng the foreſayd time, no new booke ſhalbe imprinted, eſpecially none of theſe famoſe libels, neither ſhall they priuyly or apertly be ſold. Alſo order ſhal be taken amongeſt all poteſtates, that if any ſhall ſet out, ſell, or imprinte any new worke, it ſhall firſt be ſene and peruſed of certeine godly learned, and diſcret men appoynted for the ſame: ſo that if it be not admitted and approued by them, it ſhall not bee permitted to bee publiſhed in printe, or to come abrode. Thus by theſe meanes, they hope well that the tumultes, errours, and offenſions amōg the people ſhall ceaſe, eſpecially if the popes holines him ſelf ſhall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the foreſayd greuances aboue mentioned, & will procure ſuch a free & Chriſtiā Councell as hath bene ſayde, and ſo ſhall the people be well contented and ſatisfied. Or if the tumult ſhall not ſo fully be calmed as they deſire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted, for all ſuch as be honeſt and good men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that generall Councell, ſo ſhortly & now ready at hād to come.

For prieſtes or religious men that marrye.

Finally, as concerning prieſtes whiche contract matrimonie, and religious men leauyng their cloyſters, whereof intimation was alſo made by the Apoſtolicall Legate, the foreſayd princes do conſider, that for ſo much as in the ciuile law there is no penaltie for them ordeyned, they ſhall be referred to the Canonicall conſtitutions, to be puniſhed thereafter accordyngly: that is, by the loſſe of their benefices, and priuileges, or other condigne cenſures: and that the ſayd ordinaries ſhall in no caſe bee ſtopped or inhibited by the ſecular powers, from the correction of ſuch: but that they ſhall adde their helpe and fauour, to the maintenaunce of the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and ſhall direct out their publicke edictes and preceptes, that none ſhall impeache or prohibite the ſayd ordinaries in their eccleſiaſticall caſtigation, vpon ſuch tranſgreſſors to be adminiſtred.

To conclude, the redoubted prince Lord Lieutenant, and other princes, eſtates, and orders of the publicke Empyre, vehemently and moſt hartly do pray and beſech, that the Popes holynes, and the reuerend Lord his Legate will accept and take all the premiſſes, to be no otherwiſe ſpoken and ment, then of a good, free, ſyncere, and a Chriſtian mynde. Neither is there any thyng, that all the aforeſayd princes eſtates, and nobles do more wiſhe and deſire, then the furtherance and proſperous eſtate of the holy Catholicke Churche of Rome, and of his holynes. To whoſe wiſhes, deſires, and obedience, they offer and commend them ſelues moſt ready, and obſequious, as faithfull children. Ex Orth. Grat.

Thus haſt thou (louyng reader) the full diſcourſe both of the popes letter, & of his Legates inſtructions, with ẏ aunſwere alſo of the ſtates of Germanie to the ſaid letter and inſtructions, to them exhibited in the diet of Norenberge. In the whiche diet, what was concluded, and what order and conſultation was takē, firſt touchyng the greuances of Germanie, whiche they exhibited to the Pope, then concernyng a generall Councell to be called in Germanie, alſo for pryntyng and preachyng, and for prieſtes mariage, hath ben likewiſe declared. &c.

Ex Ioan. Sledano.

Miniſters of Strausbrough troubled for their wiues.

The occaſiō of this matter moued agaynſt prieſts mariage, came firſt by ẏ Miniſters of Strausburgh, which about this tyme began to take wiues, and therfore were cited by ẏ Biſhop of Strausburgh to appeare before him at a certeine day, as violators of the lawes of holy church, the holy fathers, the Byſhop of Rome, and of the Emperours Maieſty, to the preiudice both of their owne order of prieſthode, & Maieſtie of almightye God: But they referred their cauſe to the hearyng of the Magiſtrates of the ſame Citie, who beyng ſuters for them vnto the Byſhop, laboured to haue the matter either releaſed, or at leaſt, to be delayed for a tyme.

Luther e pounde the dec of Noro berge.

Long it were to recite all the circumſtances folowyng vpon this diet or aſſemble of Norenberge, how theyr decrée was receaued of ſome, of ſome neglected, of diuers diuerſly wraſted and expounded. Luther writinge his letters vpon the ſame decrée, to the princes, thus made hys expoſition of the meanyng therof, that where as the preachers were commaunded to preach the pure Goſpell, after the doctrine of the Churche receaued, he expounded the meanyng therof to be, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquine, or Scotus or ſuch other late ſchole writers, but after the doctrine of Hilary, Cyprian, and Auſten, and other auncient Doctours, and yet the doctrine of the ſayd aunciters no farther to bée receaued, but as they ſhould agrée with the Scripture.

Secondly, as cōcernyng new bookes not to be ſold nor printed, he expounded the meanyng therof to extende no farther, but that the text of the Bible and bookes of the holy Scripture myght bée printed notwithſtandyng, and publiſhed to all men.

And as for the prohibition of prieſtes mariage, he writeth to the princes, and deſireth them to beare with the weakenes of men, declaryng that braunch of their decrée to be very heard, whiche though it ſtand with the Popes law, yet it accordeth not with the Goſpell, neither conduceth to good maners, nor to honeſty of lyfe. &c.

An hun dreth g uances o the Ger manes a gaynſt t pope.

Furthermore, where as in the ſame ſeſſion of Norenberge mention was made before of certeine greuances collected to the number of an hundreth, and exhibited to the Byſhop of Rome, it were tedious lykewiſe to inſerte them all: yet to geue ſome taſte of a fewe, I iudge it not vnprofitable: to the entent, that ẏ world may ſée & iudge, not onely what abuſes and corruptions moſt monſtrous and incredible, lay hid vnder the glorious title of the holy Churche of Rome: but alſo may vnderſtand, with what hypocriſie and impudencie the Pope taketh vpon hym ſo greuouſly to complaine vpon M. Luther, and other: whē in all the vniuerſall Churche of Chriſt, there is none ſo much to be blamed all maner of wayes, as he him ſelf, accordyng as by theſe heynous complaintes of the Germaine princes, here folowyng agaynſt the Popes intolerable oppreſſions and greuances, may ryght well appeare. Whiche greuances beyng collected by the princes of Germanie at Norenberge, to the number of an hundreth, I wiſhe might be fullye and at large ſet forth to the ſtudious reader, wherby might appeare the ſubtile ſleyghtes and intolerable fraudes of that pretenſed Church. But for ſomuch as it were to long to cōprehend the whole, I haue thought good to exhibite ſome parte therof for example, as geuyng only a certeine taſt, wherby thou mayſt more eaſely conceiue, what to thinke & eſteme of all the reſidue, whiche both to me would be tedious to write, & perhaps more greuous to thée, to heare.

¶ *Certeine Greuances or oppreſsions of Germanie, agaynſt the* court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the princes, at the Councell of Norenberge, to the number of an hundreth, vvherof certeine ſpecialties here folovv.

Forbyd ding o riage in diuers grees forbidd by God lawe.

Forbid ding o meates not forb den by Gods l

AMongeſt other burthens and greuances, this is not leaſt to be regarded: that many things are prohibited by mēs conſtitutions, and many thinges exacted, whiche are not prohibited or commaunded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obſtacles of matrimonie inuented and brought in, whereby men were forbyd to mary in caſes of kindred, which ſtand vpō diuers degrees: as vpō affinitie, publike honeſty, ſpirituall kindred, kindred by law, and kindred in bloud. &c. and likewiſe in forbiddyng the vſe of meates, whiche God hath created for mans neceſsitie, and taught by the Apoſtle indifferently to bee receiued with thankes geuyng. By theſe and many other ſuch humane conſtitutions, men are yoked in bondage, vntill by money they obteine ſome diſpenſatiō of thoſe lawes, at their handes whiche made them: ſo that money ſhall make that lawfull for riche men, which is clerely prohibited vnto the poore. By theſe ſnares of mens lawes and conſtitutions, not only great ſummes of money are gathered out of Germanie, and caryed ouer the Alpes, but alſo great iniquitie is ſprong vp amongeſt Chriſtians: many offences and priuie hatredes do ryſe, by reaſon that poore men do ſee them ſelues intangled with theſe ſnares, for no other cauſe, but for that they do not poſſeſſe the thornes of the Goſpell, for ſo Chriſt doth often call riches.

¶ Tymes forbidden.

Tymes of mariage reſtrayned, & after releaſed for money.

THe like practiſe alſo is to bee ſeene in the tymes reſtrayned from Mariage, by the heades of the Church of Rome, from the Septuageſima Sonday, ſomewhat before Lent: when as notwithſtandyng both the Clergie and the ſeculers in the meane tyme will liue licenciouſly, and that openly in the face of all the world. But this interdict procedeth to this effecte: if a man ſhall preſume ſo to do vpon his own libertie, without cōpounding. But otherwiſe if there be any hope of money, thē that whiche was before vnlawfull, is nowe made lawfull for euery man to do frely. And this is alſo an other drawyng net, wherby greate ſummes of money are dragged out of the Germaines purſes. Wherupō alſo hāgeth an other greuāce as great as this, that in ſuyng out a diſpenſation, the ſtate of the poore and of the riche is not indifferently weyed: For where the riche eſcapeth many tymes for litle or naught, and goeth cleare away, the poore man ſhal be ſure to pay for the ſhot.

¶ A complaint for ſelling remiſſion of ſinnes for money.

BVt eſpecially the burden and greuance of the Popes Indulgences and Pardons be moſt importable: when as the Byſhops of Rome, vnder pretenſe of buildyng ſome Churche in Rome, or to warre agaynſt the Turke, do make out their Indulgences with their Bulles, perſuadyng and promiſing to the ſimple people, ſtraunge and wonderfull benefites of remiſſion a Pœna & culpa, that is, frō all their ſinnes, & puniſhment due for the ſame, & that not in this life only, but alſo after this life, to thē that be dead burning in the fire of Purgatory. Through the hope and occaſion wherof, true pietie is almoſt extinct in all Germanie, while euery euill diſpoſed perſō promiſeth to him ſelf for a litle money, licēce and impunitie to do what him luſteth: Wherupon foloweth fornication, inceſt, adultery, periury, homicide, robbyng and ſpoyling, rapine, vſurie, with a whole floud of all miſchiefs. &c.

¶ A complaynt againſt the Immunites of Clergie men.

Item, who ſoeuer he bee that hath receaued any eccleſiaſticall orders, great or ſmall, therby he doth contend to be freed frō all puniſhment of the ſecular Magiſtrate, how great offence ſoeuer he do: neither doth he vnaduiſedly preſume therupon, but is mainteyned in that libertie to ſinne, by the principall Eſtates of the clergie. For it hath oftē bene ſene, that wher as by the canonicall lawes, prieſtes are forbidden to marrye, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and nyght to attempt and try the chaſtitie of matrones, virgines, and of the wiues, daughters, and ſiſters of the lay men: and through their continuall inſtance and labour, partlye with giftes and rewardes, and flatteryng wordes, partlye by their ſecrete confeſſions (as they call them) as it hath bene founde by experience, they bryng to paſſe that many virgines and matrones, whiche otherwiſe woulde bee honeſt, haue bene ouercome and moued to ſinne and wickednes: and it happeneth oftentymes, that they doe detayne and keepe awaye the wiues, and daughters from theyr huſbandes and fathers, threatnyng them with fire and ſword that do require them agayne. Thus thorow their raging luſt, they heape and gather together innumerable miſchieues and offences. It is to be merueiled at, how licentiouſly without puniſhment they dayly offende in robberies, murther, accuſing of innocentes, burnyng, rapine, theft, and counterfaityng of falſe coynes, beſide a thouſand other kindes of miſchieues, contrary and agaynſt all lawes both of God and mā, not without great offence of others, truſtyng onely vpon the fredome and libertie of ſinne, whiche they vſurpe vnto them ſelues by the priuiledge of their Canons. For when as they once perceiue that it is lawfull for them to do what they luſt without controlment, then they do not onely cōtempne the ciuill Magiſtrates, but alſo theyr Biſhops and ſuperiours, whatſoeuer they either commaūd or forbid them to do.

The licentious lyfe of prieſtes.

And moreouer, to the intent they may be the more mainteined in their miſchiefe and wickednes, contrarye to all reaſon and equitie, it is partlye forbidden the Archbiſhops and Byſhops, to condempne theſe malefactours openlye, excepte they be firſt diſgraded, which muſte be done with ſumptuouſneſſe and pompe: wherby it happeneth very ſeldome, that thoſe annoynted naughty packes, do receiue condigne puniſhment. Beſides that, the biſhops are ſo bound by their Chapters, that they dare not puniſhe any perſon whiche hath taken orders by the Canonicall lawes, bee the puniſhement neuer ſo light or ſmall. By reaſon wherof the matter ſo falleth out, that thorowe this vnequall partialitie betwene the laitye and the clergie, greate hatred, diſcorde, and diſſenſion is ſpronge and riſen. It is alſo not a litle to bee feared, that if the clergie which are the cauſe of this greuance, and of other miſchiefes, (whiche dayly they do procede to perpetrate) haue not like lawes, equall iudges, and like puniſhement, their offenſiue lyfe will moue and ſtyrre vp ſome great tumultes and ſedition amongeſt the common people, not onely agaynſt the clergie them ſelues, but alſo agaynſt the ſuperiors and magiſtrates, for that they leaue ſo notorious offences vnpuniſhed.

Wherſore neceſſitie & iuſtice doth require, that the ſaid preiudiciall priuiledges of the clergie ſhould be abrogate & taken away, & in their place be prouided, ordained & decreed, that the clergie, of what order or degree ſoeuer they be, ſhall haue like lawes, like iudgement, & puniſhment as the laity haue: ſo that they ſhall pretend no prerogatiue or fredome in like offece, more then the lay man, but that euery one of the clergie offendyng vnder the iudge, where the offence is committed, ſhall be puniſhed for his facte, accordyng to the meaſure and qualitie of his offence, in ſuch like maner as other malefactours are, with the puniſhement appoynted by the common lawes of the Empyre: which thing (without doubt) will pleaſe the true miniſters of the Churche, ſuch as are honeſt and learned, that they will not thincke theyr power and authoritie therby in any caſe deminiſhed. By this meanes it ſhall be brought to paſſe, that ſuch as are of the clergie onely by name, and otherwiſe, naughtie wicked men, through the obedience due vnto theyr Magiſtrates, ſhalbe compelled to lyue more honeſtlye: and all ſedition and priuy hatred betwene them and the laity ſhall be put away, and finally thereby the laity ſhall be the more moued and ſtyrred to loue and reuerence ſuch of the clergie as be of a ſound life.

Prieſtes ought to be ſubiect to ỹ ſame puniſhmentes, as are the lay people.

¶ Complaynt of excommunication abuſed.

ITem, at Rome and in other places many Chriſtians are excōmunicate by the Archbiſhops, biſhops, or by their Eccleſiaſticall iudges, for prophane cauſes, through the deſire & couetouſnes of money, and lucre. The conſciences of men which are weake in fayth, therby are burthened and brought vnto deſperation: and finally, for money and luker, a matter of no importaunce is made to tend to the deſtraction both of body and ſoule, contrarie both to the lawe of God and man, for ſomuch as no man ought to be excommunicate but onely for hereſie, or for ſome heynous facte perpetrate, nor to be counted as ſeperate from the Chriſtian Catholicke Churche, as the Scriptures do witnes. Therfore the princes, nobles, ſtates, and laity of the ſacred Empire, deſire & require the Popes holynes, that as a faithfull Chriſtian & louing father, he will remoue the ſayd burthen of excommunicatiō vſed both in the ſea of Rome, and alſo in the ſeas of all other Archbiſhops and Eccleſiaſticall iudges: and finally, decree that no man ſhall hereafter be excommunicate, but onely for a manifeſt conuict crime of hereſie. For it is to wicked a thing, that faithfull Chriſtians for euery light offence, touchyng any temporall goodes or gayne, or for any other worldly matter, but onely for obſtinacie of hereſie or ſome great enormitie, ſhould be excluded from almightie God, and the Catholicke congregation.

Excommunication abuſed in the church of Rome.

¶ The church burdened with number of holy dayes.

MOreouer, the common people are not a litle oppreſſed with the great nomber of holy dayes, for that there are now ſo many holy dayes, that the huſbandmen haue ſcarcely tyme to gather the frutes of the earth whiche they haue brought forth with ſo great labour and trauaile, beyng often in daunger of hayle, rayne, and other ſtormes: which fruites notwithſtādyng, if they were not letted with ſo many holy dayes, they would gather and bryng home without any loſſe. Beſides that, vpō thoſe

The number of holy dayes to be diminiſhed.

holy dayes, innumerable offences are committed and done, rather then God honoured or worſhipped. Whiche thyng is ſo manifeſt, that it nedeth no witnes. For that cauſe the eſtates of the ſacred Empire thinke it beſt & moſt profitable for the Chriſtian cōmō wealth, that this great nomber of holy dayes, ſhould be deminiſhed, whiche ought rather to be celebrate in ſpirite and veritie, then with the externall worſhip, and be better kept with abſtinence from ſinne.

¶ *Suſpendyng and halowyng of Churcheyardes gaynfull* to the Pope, and chargeable to the people.

Hallowing of Churchyardes abuſed for money.

FVrthermore, if it happen that ij. or more do fight without any weapon in a Churchyard, only with their fiſtes, or by the heare, that there be neuer ſo litle bloud ſhed, by & by the clergie haue recourſe to enterditement, & do not ſuffer any more Chriſten burialls there to be done, before that all the Citiznes with great pompe & expenſes do cauſe it to be cōſecrated and hallowed agayne with no leſſe charge, then whē at the firſt, of a prophane place, it was hallowed for buriall: all which things do redound to the charges and coſtes of the laity. And though the Churches or chapels be neuer ſo litle, whiche are to be hallowed: yet the ſuffragans do burden & oppreſſe the ſimple poore houſholdes, be they neuer ſo bare or nedy, with ſuperfluous expenſes, and require moreouer giftes of the people, whiche is not for their eaſe to geue.

Baptiſing of Belles.

*Alſo the ſuffragans haue inuented that no other, but only thē ſelues, may Baptiſe Belles for the lay people. Wherby the ſimple people, vpon the affirmatiō of the ſuffragans, do beleue, that ſuch Belles ſo Baptiſed, will driue away euill ſpirites & tempeſtes: wherupō a great nūber of Godfathers are appointed, eſpecially ſuch as are rich: which at the tyme of the Baptiſing, holding the rope wherwithall the Bell is tyed, the ſuffragane ſpeaking before thē, as is accuſtomed in the Baptiſing of young childrē, they altogether do anſwere, & geue the name to the Bell. The Bell hauyng a new garmēt put vpō it, as is accuſtomed to be done vnto the Chriſtians, after this they go vnto ſumptuous bankets, wherunto alſo the Goſſips are bidden, that therby they might geue the * greater reward, and the Suffraganes with their chaplaines and other Miniſters, are ſumptuouſly fed. Yet doth not this ſuffiſe, but that the Suffragan alſo muſt haue a reward whiche they do call a ſmall gift or preſent: wherby it happeneth oftentimes, that euen in ſmall villages, a hundred Florens are conſumed and ſpent in ſuch Chriſtninges: whiche is not onely ſuperſtitious, but alſo contrary vnto Chriſtian Religiō, a ſeducyng of the ſimple people, & mere extortiō.*

Belles weare coates.

A queſtion whether theſe goſſyps which chriſten Bells may marrye together by the canon law.

* Spoyling of the people by baptiſing of Bells.

Notwithſtandyng the Biſhops, for to enrich their Suffraganes, do ſuffer theſe thinges and other farre worſe: wherfore ſuch wicked and vnlawfull thinges ought to be aboliſhed.

¶ *Complaynt agaynſt Officials and other Eccleſiaſticall iudges.*

Agaynſt Officialls.

THe Officials alſo of Archbiſhops for the moſt part, are vnlearned and vnable men, beſides that, men of euill conditions, taking thought for nothyng but onely for money. Alſo how corruptly they liue and continue in notorious crimes and tranſgreſſions, it is dayly ſene. Wherby the laity, whom they ought to correct and puniſh for their offences, and inſtruct in Chriſtian godlynes, are not in any poynt, by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their offences. Beſides this, the laity are miſerably ſpoyled and robbed of their goodes, by theſe light and vile Officials. In whoſe conſcience there is no ſparke of Chriſtian pity and godlynes, but onely a wicked deſire, and couetouſnes. Whiche thyng the Archbyſhops and Byſhops, if they were in dede ſuch as they are called, that is to ſaye, the paſtours and ſhepheardes of Chriſt, without doubt, they would no longer ſuffer, or commit Chriſtes flocke, to ſuch wicked and offenſiue paſtours to be fed and nouriſhed.

¶ *How the Eccleſiaſticall iudges do annexe certaine ſpeciall cauſes,* beyng lay matters, vnto their owne iuriſdiction, and will by no meanes, releaſe the ſame.

Lay matters brought into the ſpirituall court for money.

WHen ſoeuer any cauſes are pleaded in iudgement before an Eccleſiaſticall iudge, either for rauiſhyng of virgines, or for children vnlawfully borne out of wedlocke, or for ſeruaūtes wages, or any other matters touchyng widdowes, the Eccleſiaſticall iudges beyng called vpon by the ſuperiours of the laity whiche do contend, they will neither deferre that iudgement, or by any meanes wilbe intreated to remit them to their ordinary iuriſdiction.

¶ *The gayne that riſeth to the Clergie, by falſe* ſclaunders and rumours.

Sclaundring matters brought to the ſpirituall court for gaine and lucre.

IT happeneth oftentimes, that men and women, through ſiniſter and falſe reportes & ſclaunders, are brought before the Officiall or Eccleſiaſticall iudge, as men gilty, and ſhall not be declared innocent, before they haue cleared them ſelues by an oth. Whiche purgatiō ſo made, they are reſtored agayne to their former eſtimation. And albeit that the dāmages and coſtes ought to be repayd agayne, vnto ſuch as be ſo falſly accuſed, yet notwithſtandyng the innocentes them ſelues, are forced to pay two gilderns and a quarter, for their letters of abſolution. And this is the cauſe, why that the Officials and other Eccleſiaſticall iudges, do ſo gredely folow the action of ſuch vnlawfull, falſe, and ſclaunderous accuſations, chalenging the hearyng therof onely vnto them ſelues: which thyng (no doubt) redoundeth to the greate and moſte ſingular hurte and detriment of all men: For oftentimes it happeneth that wemen falling together in cōtention thorow anger, hatred, or ſome other affection, do ſpeake euill or ſlaunder one an other, and outrage ſo much, that the one oftentimes accuſeth the other, either of adoultrey or witcherye. Whiche thyng beyng brought before the Officiall, ſhe whiche, thorow her anger had ſo ſlaūdered the other, is forced by an oth to excuſe and purge her ſelfe, that what ſoeuer iniurious or ſlaunderous woorde ſhe had ſpoken, came not of any deliberate purpoſe or intent, but thorow wrath and diſpleaſure. In lyke maner the other which is accuſed either of adoultry or ſorcery, is commaunded by an oth to declare her innocency, that ſhe is not gilty of thoſe factes, ſo that it is euident vnto all men, that in ſuch caſes, whether they be gilty or not gilty, they muſt ſweare, if they will kepe their good name and fame. Whereby not onely vnlawfull luker of gayne and money is ſought, but alſo wilfull periury forced, and the ſecular power and iudges letted from the puniſhment therof, ſo that contrary to all reaſon, offences do remaine vnpuniſhed.

¶ *Complaint againſt ſpirituall iudges taking Seculare* cauſes from the Ciuile Magiſtrate.

The ſuyſting of temporall cauſes vnto the ſpirituall court, for gayne of money.

ALbeit there be many cauſes ſo indifferent to both iuriſdictions, that they may be pleaded and puniſhed as well by the ciuill Magiſtrate, as Eccleſiaſticall iudge: notwithſtandyng it happeneth oftentimes, that when as the ciuill Magiſtrates would exerciſe their office & iuriſdictiō in this behalfe, they are forbidden and letted by the Eccleſiaſticall iudges vnder payne of excommunication. Whiche thyng if it ſhould long continue, and be ſuffered, the Eccleſiaſticall iudges would ſhortly take away all maner of cauſes from the Ciuill magiſtrate and his iuriſdiction, which is vntolerable and derogatory both vnto the Emperours Maieſtye, and other ſtates of the Empire. And albeit that by the cōmon lawes, manifeſt periuries, adoultries, witchcraftes and ſuch other like, may indifferently be puniſhed by Eccleſiaſticall, or ciuill iudges for the time being, ſo that preuention in this behalfe taketh place: notwithſtādyng the Eccleſiaſticall iudges go about to vſurpe vnto them ſelues and their iuriſdiction, all ſuch maner of cauſes: which burthen and greuaunce the ciuill iuriſdiction and power ought not to ſuffer.

¶ *A complaint againſt Eccleſiaſticall iudges intermedlyng* with caſes of the ſecalare Court: but will not ſuffer their caſes once to be touched of the other.

The Clergye may deale in ciuill cauſes, but the ciuill Magiſtrate muſt not deale in theirs.

MOreouer, the Eccleſiaſtical iudges ſay, that in ſuch caſe it is lawfull for thē to take prophane matters into their hādes, if the ciuill magiſtrate be found negligent in executyng of iuſtice: but contrarywiſe they will not ſuffer that the like order ſhould be kept with thē, neither will they permitte that in Eccleſiaſticall matters, any man may cōplaine vnto the ciuill Magiſtrate, for lacke of iuſtice, and require the adminiſtration of iuſtice at his hand. Albeit, they do define all lawes generally cōmon, and determine how the Canon lawes may helpe and aſſiſt the ciuill, and contrariwiſe the Ciuill lawes, the canon.

¶ *Complaint againſt certeine miſorders of cathedrall Churches* for vſing double puniſhment for one offence, agaynſt the law.

Certayne orders of Cathedrall churches reprouable.

FOr ſomuch as it is forbidden both by Gods law and mans, that no man ſhould be beaten with ij. rods, that is to ſay, be puniſhed with ij. kinds of tormēts: worthely therfore do all wiſe men deteſt and abhorre the odious ſtatutes of diuers Cathedrall Churches, wherby murtherers, both men and wemẽ, and other, as well light as greuous offenders, haue bene hetherto vexed and tormented: for hetherto it hath bene accuſtomed that ſuch as were gilty of murther and ſuch other crimes, (whiche they call caſes reſerued vnto the Biſhops) after they had made theyr auricular confeſſion, were cõpelled (to their great ignominye & ſhame) to do penaunce in the ſight of all the people: whiche penaunce were not ſo much to be diſalowed, bearing ſome ſemblaunce of the inſtitution of the primatiue Churche, if ſo be it theſe buſye Officialls, being contente therwith, woulde not extort more, and greater ſummes of money, then were right and lawfull, and ſo puniſhe thoſe offenders with double puniſhmẽt: wherewithall it is to be meruailed, how many be offended and greued. How wicked a thing this is, and how farre it differeth frõ Chriſtes inſtitution, we will referre it to euery good conſcience to iudge.

¶ Complaint of Officials for mainteinyng vnlawfull viuryes.

FVrthermore, the Officials beyng allured thorowe the gredy and vnſatiable deſire of money, do not onely not forbid vnlawfull vſuries and gaynes of money, but alſo ſuffer and maintaine the ſame. Moreouer, they taking a yearely ſtipẽde and penſion, do ſuffer the clergie & other religious perſons vnlawfully to dwell with their concubines and harlots, and to beget children by them. Both whiche thinges, how great perill, offence & detriment they doe bring both vnto bodye and ſoule, euery man may plainly ſee (ſo that it nede not to be rehearſed) excepte he will make him ſelfe as blinde as a mole.

Officialls taking penſions of prieſtes for keeping cõcubines.

¶ Complaint of Officials permitting vnlawfull cohabitation with other, when the husband or wife are long abſent.

FVrthermore, where it ſo happeneth (as it doth oftentimes) that either the good mã or the good wife, by meanes of warre or ſome other vow, hath taken in hand ſome long iourney, and ſo tarieth longer then ſerueth the appetite of the other, the Officiall taking a reward of the other, geueth licence to the partie to dwell with any other perſon, not hauing firſt regard or making inquiſition whether the husband or wife being abſent, be in health or dead: and becauſe theſe their doinges ſhoulde not be euill ſpoken of, they name it a toleration or ſufferaunce, not without great offence vnto all men, and to the great contempt of holy matrimony.

¶ Complaint of Canons in Cathedrall Churches, whiche haue their Biſhop ſworne vnto them, before he be choſen.

THis is alſo vnlawfull and plainly wicked, that the Canons of Cathedrall Churches, in whoſe hand the principall part of Eccleſiaſticall iudgements, Synodes, and cenſures do conſiſte, and the Canõs of other collegiate Churches, whiche haue power and authoritie to chuſe their Superiour and Biſhop, will chuſe none to their Biſhop, excepte hee binde him ſelfe firſt with an oth, and plainly ſweare, yea & oftentimes is bound by bonde and inſtrumentes ſealed with their ſeales to them and their Eccleſiaſticall iudges, that in no matter, be it neuer ſo greuous, intollerable, or diſhoneſt, he ſhall not be agaynſt them: and if it happen at any tyme that they do offend, they may do it alſo without puniſhment for him.

The practiſe in chapters of cathedrall churches to make the byſhop ſworne vnto them.

¶ Complaint agaynſt incorporations or improperations and other pillyng of the people, by Churchmen.

MAny pariſhe Churches are ſubiect vnto Monaſteries, and to the perſons of other Churches, by meanes of incorporations (as they call them) or otherwiſe, whiche they are bound alſo, accordyng to the Canon lawes, to foreſee and looke vnto, by them ſelues, when as they doe put them forth vnto others to bee gouerned, reſeruyng for the moſte parte vnto them ſelues, the whole ſtipende of the benefites and tythes: and moreouer, aggrauate and charge the ſame with ſo great penſions, that the hirelyng prieſtes and other miniſters of the Churche, can not haue therupon a decent or compotent liuyng: wherby it commeth to paſſe, that theſe hyrelyng prieſtes (for that they muſt nedes haue wherupon to lyue) do with vnlawfull exactions, miſerably ſpoyle and deuour the poore ſhepe committed vnto them, and conſume all their ſubſtance. For when as the Sacramentes of the aultare and of Baptiſme are to be adminiſtred, or when the firſt, the ſeuenth, the thirty, and yeare day muſt be kept, when auricular confeſſion commeth to be heard, the dead to be buried, or any other ceremonie what ſoeuer, about the funerall is to be done: they will not do it frelye, but extort and exact ſo much money, as the miſerable communalty is ſcarſe able to diſburſe, and dayly they do encreaſe and augment theſe their exactions, driuyng the ſimple pouertie to the payment therof, by threatning thẽ with excommunication, or by other wayes, compellyng them to be at charge: which otherwiſe through pouertie, are not able to mainteyne obſequies, yeare mindes, and ſuch other like ceremonies, as to the funeralls of the dead be apperteinyng.

The inconuenience of improperations.

Cruell exactions of the people by church men.

¶ Bying and ſelling of burialls complayned of.

IT is ordained by the Popes Canõs, that buriall in the church ſhoulde be denied onely vnto them, whiche beyng knowen to be manifeſt and notorious offenders, haue departed this life without receiuyng of the Sacrament. But the clergie not regardyng thoſe decrees, will not ſuffer ſuch as by chaunce are drowned, killed, ſlayne with falles, or fire, or otherwiſe by chaunce haue ended their lyues, (albeit it be not euident, that they were in deadly ſinne) to be buried in the Churches, vntill ſuch tyme, as the wyues, children or frendes of thoſe men ſo dead, do with great ſummes of money, purchaſe and bye the buriall of them in the Churchyearde.

Gayne gotten by ſelling burialls.

¶ Chaſte and continent prieſtes compelled to paye tribute for concubines.

ALſo in many places, the Biſhops and their Officials do not onely ſuffer prieſtes to haue cõcubines, ſo that they pay certain ſummes of money, but alſo cõpell cõtinent & chaſt prieſtes, whiche liue without concubines, to pay tribute for concubines, affirmyng that the Biſhop hath nede of money, whiche beyng payd, it ſhalbe lawfull for them, either to lyue chaſt or kepe concubines. How wicked a thyng this is, euery man doth well vnderſtand and know.

Concubines permitted for money, & chaſt prieſtes cõpelled to pay tribute for concubynes.

Theſe with many other burthens and greuances moe to ẏ number of an hundreth, the ſecular States of Germanye deliuered to the Popes Legate, hauyng (as they ſayd) many moe, and more greuous greuaunces beſides theſe, whiche had likewiſe much nede of redreſſe: but becauſe they would not excede the limites of reaſonable breuitie, they would cõtent them ſelues (ſayd they) with theſe aforeſayd hũdreth, reſeruing the reſt to a more apte and more conuenient oportunitie, ſtedfaſtly truſting and hoping, that when thoſe hundreth greuances, already by them declared, ſhould be aboliſhed, the other would alſo decay, and fall with them. Of the whiche foreſayd greuances and complaintes here is moreouer to bée noted, ẏ a great part was offered vp before, to the Emperour, at the Councell of Wormes: but becauſe no redreſſe therof did folow, therfore ẏ ſeculere States of Germanie thought good to exhibite the ſame now agayne, with diuers moe annexed therunto, to Cheregatus the Popes Legate, in this preſẽt aſſemble of Norenberge, deſiring hym to preſent the ſame to Pope Adrian. This was about the yeare of our Lord. 1523. Whiche beyng done, the aſſemble of Norenberge brake vp for a tyme, and was proroged to the next yeare folowyng.

The diet of Norenberge began. an. 1522. and brake vp, an. 1523.

In thys meane tyme Pope Adrian dyed. After him ſucceded Pope Clement vij. Who the next yeare folowyng, whiche was. an. 1524. ſent downe his Legate Cardinall Campeius, vnto ẏ Councell of the Germane princes aſſembled agayne at Norenberge, about the moneth of Marche, with letters alſo to Duke Fridericke, full of many fayre petitiõs, and ſharpe complaintes. &c. But as touchyng the greuances aboue mentioned, no word nor meſſage at al was ſent, neither by Campeius, nor by any other. Thus, where any thyng was to be complayned of agaynſt Luther, eyther for ſuppreſſion of ẏ libertie of ẏ Goſpell, or for vpholding of the Popes dignitie, the pope was euer readye with all diligence, to call vpon the princes: but where any redreſſe was to bée required, for the publicke wealth of Chriſten people, or touchyng the neceſſary reformation of the Churche, herein the Pope neither geueth eare, nor aunſwere.

The death of Pope Adrian.

Pope Clement. vij.

Cardinall Campeius the popes Legate into Germanie.

The pope only ſeketh his own dignitie, but publicke reformation he neuer tendreth.

And thus hauyng diſcourſed ſuch matters occurrent betwene the Pope, & princes of Germanie, at ẏ Synode of Norenberge, let vs now procede, returnyng agayne to the ſtory of Luther: of whom ye heard before, how he was kept ſecret & ſolitary, for a time, by the aduiſe & conueiance of certein nobles in Saxonie, becauſe of the Emperours Edict, aboue mentioned. In the meane tyme, while Luther had thus abſented him ſelfe out of Wyttenberge, Andreas Caroloſtadius proceding more roughly and egerly in cauſes of Religion, had ſtyrred vp the people, to throwe downe Images in the temples, beſide other thyngs moe. For the which cauſe, Luther returning agayne into the Citie, greatly miſliked the order of theyr doynges, and reproued the raſhnes of Caroloſtadius, declaryng, that their procedinges herein were not orderly: but that pictures and Images ought firſt to be throwen out of the hartes and conſciẽces of men, and that the people ought firſt to bee taught: that we are ſaued before God, and pleaſe him onely by faith, & that Images ſerue to no purpoſe: this done, and the people well inſtructed, there was no daunger in Images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrarye (he ſayd) as though hee would mainteyne Images to ſtãd or to be ſuffered: but that this ought to be done by yͤ Magiſtrate, & not by force, vpon euery priuate mẽs head, without order and authoritie. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

Caroloſtadius caſteth downe Images in *Wittenberge*.

Luther myſlyketh caſtyng out of Images by ſtrong hãd.

Ex Ioã. Sled. Lib. 3.

Furthermore Luther writyng of Caroloſtadius, affirmeth that hee alſo ioyned with the ſentence of them, which begã then to ſpread about certeine partes of Saxonie, ſaying that they were taught of God, that all wickednes beyng vtterly ſuppreſſed, and all the wicked doers ſlayne, a new full perfectiõ of all thynges muſt be ſet vp, and the innocent onely to enioye all thynges. &c.

The cauſe why Luther ſo ſtode agaynſt that violent throwyng downe of Images, and agaynſt Caroloſtadius, ſemeth partly to riſe of this, by reaſon that Pope Adrian, in his letters ſent to the princes and ſtates of Germany, doth grieuouſly complayne, and charge the ſecte of Luther, for ſedition and tumultes, and rebellion agaynſt Magiſtrates, as ſubuerters and deſtroyers of all order, and obedience, as appeareth by the wordes of the Popes letter before expreſſed, pag. 985. therfore M. Luther, to ſtoppe the mouth of ſuch ſlaunderers, & to preuẽt ſuch ſiniſter ſuſpitions, was enforced to take this way, as he did: that is, to procede, as much as hee might, by order and authoritie.

The cauſes diſcuſſed why Luther permitted Images to ſtãd.

¶ Wherin are to be noted by yͤ way, ij. ſpeciall points, touchyng the doctrine and doynges of M. Luther, eſpecially for all ſuch who in theſe our dayes, nowe abuſing the name and authoritie of Luther, thinke thẽ ſelues to be good Lutherians, if they ſuffer Images ſtil to remaine in temples, & admitte ſuch thinges in the Church, which them ſelues do wiſhe to be away. The firſt is the maner how and after what ſort Luther did ſuffer ſuch Images to ſtand. For although he aſſented not that the vulgare and priuate multitude tumultuouſly by violence ſhould rappe them downe: yet that is no argument now for the Magiſtrate, to let them ſtand. And though he allowed not the Miniſters to ſtyrre vp yͤ people, by forceable meanes to promote Religion: yet that argueth not, thoſe Magiſtrates to be good Lutherians, whiche may and ſhould remoue them, and will not.

Two thinges to bee noted in Luther for bearyng with Images.

The ſecond point to be noted is, to conſider the cauſe why that Luther did ſo ſtand with ſtandyng of Images, whiche cauſe was tyme, and not his owne Iudgement. For albeit in iudgement he wiſhed them away, yet tyme ſo ſerued not therunto then, as it ſerueth now. For then the doctrine of Luther firſt beginnyng to ſpryng, & being but in the blade, was not yet knowen wherto it tended, nor to what it would grow: but rather was ſuſpected to tende to diſobedience and ſedition: and therfore the pope hearyng of yͤ doinges of Caroloſtadius in Wittenberge, and of other lyke, toke his ground thereby to charge the ſect of Luther with ſedition, vprores, and diſſolute libertie of lyfe. And this was the cauſe, why Luther compelled then by neceſſitie of tyme, to ſaue his doctrine from ſclaunder of ſedition and tumulte, beyng layd to hym by the Pope (as ye haue heard) was ſo much offended with Caroloſtadius & other, for their violence vſed agaynſt Images. For otherwiſe, had it not bene for the Popes accuſations, there is no doubt, but Luther would haue bene as well contented with aboliſhyng of Images and other monumentes of Popery, as he was at yͤ ſame tyme, contented to write to the Friers Auguſtins for abrogatyng of priuate Maſſes. And therfore as Luther in this doyng is to be excuſed, the circumſtãces conſidered: ſo the lyke excuſe perhaps will not ſerue the ouermuch curious imitation of certeine Lutherians in this preſent age now: whiche conſideryng onely the facte of Luther, do not marke the purpoſe of Luther, neither do expende the circumſtances & time of his doinges: being not much vnlyke to the ridiculous imitatours of kyng Alexander the great, whiche thought it not ſufficient to followe him in his vertues, but they would alſo counterfeite him in hys ſtouppyng & all other geſtures beſides: but to theſe lyuing now in the Churche, in an other age then Luther did, it may ſeme (after my minde) ſufficient to folow the ſame way after Luther, or to walke with Luther, to the kyngdome of Chriſt, though they Iumpe not alſo in euery foote ſteppe of hys, and kepe euen the ſame paſe, and turnynges in all pointes, as he did.

Lutherians of thys age.

Howe Luther is to be folowed.

And contrarywiſe of the other ſorte, much leſſe are they to be commended, whiche ryngyng as much on the contrarye ſtryng, are ſo preciſe, that becauſe of one ſmall blemiſh, or for a litle ſtouppyng of Luther in yͤ Sacramẽt, therfore they geue cleane ouer yͤ readyng of Luther, & fall almoſt in vtter contempt of his bookes. Wherby is declared not ſo much the nicenes and curiouſnes of theſe our dayes, as the hinderance that commeth therby to the Church, is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Chriſt (prayſed by the Lord) is not vnprouided of ſufficient plentie of worthy and learned writers, able to inſtruct in matters of doctrine: yet in the chief pointes of our conſolation, where the glory of Chriſt, and yͤ power of his paſſion and ſtrength of faith is to opened to our cõſcience, and where the ſoule wraſtelyng for death & lyfe, ſtandeth in nede of ſerious conſolation, the ſame may be ſayd of M. Luther, amongeſt all this other varietie of writers, that S. Cyprian was wont to ſay of Tertulian: Da magiſtrum: geue me my maiſter. And albeit that Luther went a litle awry, and diſſented from Zuinglius in this one matter of the Sacrament: yet in all other ſtates of doctrine they did accorde, as appeared in the Synode holdẽ at Marpurge, by Prince Philippe Lantgraue of Heſſe. whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. where both Luther, and Zuinglius were preſent, and conferryng together, agreed in theſe Articles: 1. *On the vnitie, and Trinitie of God* 2. *In the Incarnation of the Worde.* 3. *In the Paſſion and Reſurrection of Chriſt.* 4. *In the Article of Originall ſinne.* 5. *In the Article of faith in Chriſt Ieſus.* 6. *That this faith cõmeth not of merites, but by the gift of God.* 7. *That this faith is our rightuouſnes.* 8. *Touchyng the externe Worde.* 9. *Likewiſe they agreed in the Articles of Baptiſme.* 10. *Of good Workes.* 11. *Of confeſſion.* 12. *Of Magiſtrates.* 13. *Of mens traditions.* 14. *Of Baptiſme of infantes.* 15. *Laſtly, concernyng the doctrine of the Lordes Supper, this they did beleue and hold, firſt that both the kindes thereof are to be miniſtred to the people accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution: and that the Maſſe is no ſuch woorke for the whiche a man maye obteyne grace both for the quicke, and the dead. Item, that the Sacrament (whiche they call of the altare) is a true Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord. Item, that the ſpirituall manducation of his bodye and bloude is neceſſarie for euery Chriſten man. And furthermore, that the vſe of the Sacrament tendeth to the ſame effect, as doth the Worde, geuen and ordeined of almightie God, that therby infirme conſciences may be ſtyrred to beleſe, by the holy Ghoſt. &c.* Ex Paral. Abbat. Vrſp.

Luther not to bee contemned for one litle blemiſhe.

Commendation of Martin Luthers doctrine.

Cyprian ſo much delited in reading of Tertulliã, that whenſoeuer he called for hys booke, he badde, reach hym his Maiſter.

The cõſent betwene Luther & Zuingl. in caſes of doctrine.

In all theſe ſummes of doctrine aboue recited, Luther and Zuinglius did conſent and agree. Neither were their opinions ſo differẽt in the matter of the Lordes Supper, but that in the principall pointes they accorded. For if the queſtion be aſked of them both, what is the materiall ſubſtaunce of the Sacrament, whiche our outward ſenſes do behold & feele: they will both confeſſe bread, and not the accidentes onely of bread. Further if this queſtion be

Luther and Zuinglius agree in the preſẽce: onely in the maner of the preſence they differ.

aſked whether Chriſt be there preſent: they will both cõfeſſe his true preſence to be there, only in yͤ maner of preſence they differ Again, aſke whether yͤ materiall ſubſtance layd before our eyes in the Sacrament, is to be worſhipped: they will both denye it, & iudge it idolatrie. And lykewiſe for trãſubſtantiatiõ, and for yͤ ſacrifice of the Maſſe, they both do abhorre, and do denye the ſame: As alſo the Communion to be in both kyndes adminiſtred, they do both aſſent and graunt.

How and wherin Luther and Zuinglius diſſent in doctrine of the Lordes Supper.

Luthers opinion in the Sacrament.

Zuinglius opinion in the Sacrament.

Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 5

Lutherians.

Sacramẽtaries.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſp.

Onely their difference is in this, concernyng the ſenſe and meanyng of the wordes of Chriſt: Hoc eſt corpus meum; *Thys is my body. &c.* Whiche wordes Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and ſimply, as the letter ſtandeth, without trope or figure, and therfore holdeth the body and bloud of Chriſt truly to be in the bread, and wyne, and ſo alſo to be receaued with yͤ mouth. Vldricus Zuinglius, with Ioan. Oecolampadius and other moe, do interprete theſe wordes otherwiſe, as to be taken not litterally, but to haue a ſpirituall meanyng, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, ſo that the ſenſe of theſe wordes: *This is my body,* is thus to be expounded: this ſignifieth my body and bloud. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 5. With Luther conſented the Saxons. With the other ſide of Zuinglius, went the Heluetians. And as time did grow, ſo the diuiſion of theſe opinions encreaſed in ſides, and ſpread in farther realmes & cõtryes: the one part being called of Luther Lutherians: the other hauyng yͤ name of Sacramentaries. Notwithſtandyng in this one vnitie of opinion, both the Lutherians, & Sacramentaries do accorde and agrée, that the bread and wyne there preſent is not tranſubſtantiate into the body and bloud of Chriſt (as is ſaid) but is a true Sacrament of the body & bloud.

But hereof ſufficient, touchyng this diuiſion betwene the Lutherians and Zuinglians. In which diuiſion, if there haue bene any defect in M. Luther: yet is yͤ no cauſe why either yͤ Papiſtes may greatly triumph, or why the Proteſtantes ſhould deſpiſe Luther. For neither is the doctrine of Luther touchyng yͤ Sacrament, ſo groſſe that it maketh much with the Papiſtes: nor yet ſo diſcrepant from vs, that therefore he ought to bee exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference can not well be made (as ſome haue gone about to do) yet let vs geue to Luther a moderate interpretation, and if we wil not make things better, yet let vs not make them worſe then they be, and let vs beare, if not with the maner, yet at leaſt with the time of his teaching: and finally let it not be noted in vs, that we ſhould ſeme to differ in Charitie more (as Bucer ſayth) thẽ we do in doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Chriſt willyng) when we come to the hiſtory of Iohn Fryth.

Lutherians and Zuinglians differ more in charitie thẽ in doctrine.

A notable miracle of God to ouerthrowe the pope by a poore fryer.

They which write the lyfe of Sainctes, vſe to deſcribe and to extoll their holy life and godly vertues, and alſo to ſet forth ſuch miracles as be wrought in thẽ by God: Wherof there lacketh no plentye in M. Luther, but rather tyme lacketh to vs and opportunitie to tary vpon them, hauyng ſuch haſt to other things. Otherwiſe what a miracle might this ſeme to be, for one man, and a poore Frier, créeping out of a blind cloyſter, to be ſet vp againſt the Pope, the vniuerſall Byſhop and Gods mighty vicare in earth: to withſtand all his Cardinals: yea and to ſuſteine the malice & hatred almoſt of the whole worlde, beyng ſet agaynſt him: and to worke that agaynſt yͤ ſayd Pope, Cardinals and Churche of Rome, which no king nor Emperour could euer do, yea durſt neuer attempt, nor all the learned men before hym, could euer compaſſe. Whiche miraculous worke of God, I recounte nothyng inferiour to the miracle of Dauid ouerthrowyng great Goliath. Wherfore if miracles do make a Sainct (after yͤ Popes difinition) what lacketh in M. Luther but age & time onely to make him a Sainct? who ſtãding openly againſt the Pope, Cardinals, & prelates of the Church, in nũber ſo many, in power ſo terrible, in practiſe ſo crafty, hauyng Emperours, & all the kinges of the earth againſt him, who teaching and preachyng Chriſt the ſpace of 29. yeares, could without touche of all his enemies ſo quietly in hys owne countrey, where he was borne, dye and ſlepe in peace. In the whiche M. Luther, firſt to ſtand agaynſt the pope, was a great miracle: to preuaile againſt the Pope, a greater: ſo to dye vntouched, maye ſeeme greateſt of all, eſpecially hauyng ſo many enemyes, as he had. Agayne, neither is it any thyng leſſe miraculous, to conſider what manifold daungers he eſcaped beſides, as when a certein Iewe was appointed to come to deſtroy him by poyſon, yet was it ſo the will of God, that Luther had warnyng therof before, and the face of the Iewe ſent to hym by picture, wherby he knewe hym, and auoyded the perill.

Three miracles noted in M. Luther.

M. Luther miraculouſly preſerued.

An other time as hee was ſittyng in a certaine place vpon his ſtoole, a great ſtone there was in the vaulte, ouer his head where he did ſitte, which beyng ſtayde miraculouſly, ſo long as he was ſitting, as ſoone as he was vp, immediatly fell vpon yͤ place where he ſatte, able to haue cruſhed him all in péeces if it had light vpon him.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of his prayers, which were ſo ardente vnto Chriſt, yͭ (as Melancthon writeth) they which ſtode vnder his window, where he ſtode praying, might ſée his teares falling & droppyng downe. Againe, with ſuch power he prayed, that he (as him ſelf confeſſeth) had obteined of yͤ Lord, that ſo long as he lyued, the Pope ſhould not preuaile in his countrey: after his death (ſayd he) let them pray who coulde.

M. Luther vehement and mightye in prayer.

And as touchyng the meruelous workes of the Lord wrought here by men, if it be true whiche is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can bee more miraculous, then that which was declared of a younge man about Wyttenberge, who beyng kept bare and néedye by his father, was tempted by way of ſorcery, to bargain with the deuill, or a familiare (as they call hym) to yeld him ſelf body & ſoule into the deuils power, vpõ condition to haue his wiſh ſatiſfied with money: So that vpon the ſame, an obligation was made by the yong man, written with his owne bloud, and geuen to the deuill. This caſe you ſée, how horrible it was, and how damnable: now heare what folowed. Vpon the ſodeine wealth and alteration of this yong man, the matter firſt being noted, began afterward more & more, to be ſuſpected, and at length, after long & great admiration, was brought vnto M. Luther, to be examined. The young mã, whether for ſhame or feare, long denyed to confeſſe, and would be knowen of nothing. Yet God ſo wrought, beyng ſtrõger thẽ the deuill, that he vttered vnto Luther the whole ſubſtaunce of the caſe, as well touchyng the money, as the obligation. Luther vnderſtãding the matter, and pytying the lamentable ſtate of yͤ mã, willed the whole congregatiõ to pray: and he him ſelfe ceaſed not with his prayers to labour, ſo that the deuil was compelled at laſt to throw in hys obligation at the windowe, and badde hym take it againe vnto hym. Which narration if it be ſo true as certainly it is of him reported, I ſée not the contrary, but that this may well ſeme cõparable with yͤ greateſt miracle in Chriſtes Church, that was ſince the Apoſtles tims.

A miraculous worke of the Lord in deliuering a young man out of the deuils daunger by Chriſtian prayer.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in hys prayers: ſo in his Sermons God gaue him ſuch a grace, that when hée preached, they whiche heard him, thought euery one hys owne temptations ſeuerally to bee noted and touched. Wherof when ſignification was geuen vnto him by hys frendes, & he demaunded how that could be: myne owne manifold temptations (ſayd hee) and experiences are the cauſe therof. For this thou muſt vnderſtãd (good reader) that Luther, from his tender yeares, was much beaten & exerciſed with ſpirituall conflictes, as Melancthon in deſcribyng of his lyfe, doth teſtifie. Alſo Hieronymus Wellerus, ſcholer & diſciple to the ſayd M. Luther, recordeth that he often tymes heard Luther his maiſter, thus reporte of him ſelfe: that he had bene aſſaulted and vexed with all kyndes of temptations, ſauyng onely one, which was with couetouſnes. With this vice he was neuer (ſayd he) in all his lyfe troubled, nor once tempted. And hetherto concernyng the lyfe of M. Luther: who liued to the yeare of his age. 63. He continued wri-

tyng

Ex Phil. Melancth. in orat. funebri.

Ex Hierony. Wellero.

Luther neuer in all hys lyfe tempted with couetouſnes.

M.Luther how long he liued & taught.

tyng and preachyng, about 29.yeares. As touchyng the order of his death, the wordes of Melancton be theſe.

The ſickenes of Luther.

In the yeare of our Lord.1546.and the 17.of February, Doctour M.Luther ſickned a litle before ſupper, of his accuſtomed maladie, to witte, of the oppreſſion of humors in the orifice or openyng of his ſtomacke, wherof I remember I haue ſene him oft diſeaſed in this place. This ſickenes tooke him after ſupper, with the which he vehemently contẽdyng, required ſeceſſe into a bye chamber, and there he reſted on his bed two houres: all which tyme hys paynes encreaſed. And as Doctor Ionas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked and prayed him to ryſe, & to call vp Ambroſe his childrens ſcholemaiſter, to make fire in an other chamber. Into the which, when he was newly entred, Albert Earle of Manſfield, with hys wife and diuers other (whoſe names in theſe letters for haſt, were not expreſſed) at that inſtant came into his chãber. Finally, feelyng hys fatall houre to approche, before ix.of the clocke in the mornyng, the.xviij.of February, hee commended himſelfe to God, with this deuout prayer.

The quiet death of Luther.

¶ *The prayer of Luther at hys death.*

The prayer of Luther at hys death.

My heauenly father, eternall and mercifull God, thou haſt manifeſted vnto me thy deare ſonne, our lord Ieſus Chriſt. I haue taught him, I haue knovven him, I loue him as my lyfe, my health, and my redemptiõ: vvhom the vvicked haue perſecuted, maligned, and vvith iniurie afflicted. Dravve my ſoule to thee. After this he ſayd as enſueth, thryſe.

I commende my Spirite into thy handes, thou haſt redemed me, O God of truth. God ſo loued the vvorld, that he gaue his onely ſonne, that all thoſe that beleue in hym, ſhould haue lyfe euerlaſtyng. Iohn.iij.

Hauing repeated oftentymes his prayers, he was called to God, vnto whom ſo faithfully hee commended his ſpirit: to enioy, no doubt, the bleſſed ſocietie of the Patriarches, Prophetes, and Apoſtles in yͤ kyngdome of God the father, the ſonne, and the ghoſt. Let vs now loue the memorie of this mã, and the doctrine that he hath taught. Let vs learne to be modeſt and meke. Let vs conſider the wretched calamities, and merueilous chaunges that ſhall folow this miſhap and dolefull chaunce. I beſeche thee O ſonne of God, crucified for vs, and reſuſcitate Emanuell, gouerne, conſerue and defende thy Churche. Hæc Melancthon.

The death of Duke Fridericke.

Fridericus prince Electour died long before Luther in yͤ yeare of our Lord.1525.Leauing no iſſue behynd him for that hee liued a ſingle lyfe, and was neuer maryed: wherfore after hym ſucceded Iohn Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie.

Diſceptation betwene the Senate of Strauſburgh, and Cardinall Campeius, about maryed miniſters.

Mention was made a litle before, pag.988.of yͤ Miniſters of Strauſburgh, whiche becauſe of their Mariage were in trouble and cited by yͤ Byſhop, to appeare before him, & there to be iudged without yͤ precinct of the Citie of Strauſburgh: wheras there had bene a cõtrary order taken before betwene the Byſhop, and the Citie, that the Byſhop ſhould execute no iudgement vpon any, but vnder ſome of the Magiſtrates of the ſayd Citie of Strauſburgh. Wherupon the Senate and Citizens taking into their handes the cauſe of theſe maryed Miniſters, in defenſe of their owne right and liberties, wrote (as is ſaid) to their Byſhop of Strauſburgh, and cauſed the iudgement therof a while to be ſtayed. By reaſon wherof the matter was brought at length, before Cardinall Campeius Legate, ſent by pope Clement to the aſſemble of Norenberge.an.1524.The chief doer in this matter was one Thomas Murnerus a Franciſcan Frier, who had cõmẽced a greuous complaynt agaynſt the Senate and Citie of Strauſburgh, before the foreſayd Cardinall Cãpeius. Wherfore the Senate, to purge them ſelues, ſent their Ambaſſadours, thus clearyng their cauſe, and aunſweryng to their accuſatiõ: That they neither had bene, nor would be any let to yͤ biſhop, but had ſignified to hym before by their letters, that what ſo euer hee could lay agaynſt thoſe maryed Prieſtes, conſonant to the law of God, they would be no ſtay, but rather a furtherance vnto hym, to procede in his action. But the Senate herein was not a litle greued, that the Byſhop, contrary to the order and compacte, whiche was taken betwene him and them, did call the ſayd Miniſters out of the liberties of their Citie: For ſo it was betwene them agreed, that no Eccleſiticall perſon ſhould be adiudged, but vnder ſome iudge of their owne Citie. But now contrary to the ſayd agreement, the Biſhop called thoſe Miniſters out their liberties, and ſo the Miniſters claymyng the right and priuiledge of the Citie, were condemned, their cauſe beyng neither heard nor knowẽ. And now if the Senate ſhould ſhew them ſelues any thyng more ſharpe or rigorous vnto thoſe Miniſters, in claymyng the right of the Citie, the people, no doubt, would not take it well, but happely would riſe vp in ſome commotion agaynſt them, in the quarell and defenſe of their franchiſes and liberties.

Murnerus a Frier, an accuſer of maryed miniſters.

The Senate of Strauſburgh purgeth them ſelues to Cardinall Campeius.

The B. of Strauſburgh breaketh the agreement made, and the liberties of the Citie.

And where it is obiected, that they receaue prieſtes and men of the Clergy, into the fredome and protection of their Citie, to this they aunſwered, that they did nothyng herein, but whiche was correſpondent to the auncient vſage and maner of the Citie before: and moreouer that it was the Byſhops owne requeſt and deſire, made vnto them ſo to do.

The aunſwere of Campeius to the ambaſſadours.

To this the Cardinall againe aduiſing well the letters of the Byſhop, and the whole order of the matter, whiche was ſent vnto him, declared that he right well vnderſtode by the letters ſent, that the miniſters in dede (as the Ambaſſadours ſayd) were called out from the fredome, and liberties of the Citie, and yet no order of law was broken therin: for asmuch as the Biſhop, (ſayd he) had there no leſſe power and authoritie, then if hee were hys owne vicare delegate, and therfore he deſired them, that they would aſſiſte the Byſhop in puniſhyng the foreſayd Miniſters. &c.

The popes prelates be lawles, and can breake no order what ſoeuer they doe.

After much other talke and reaſoning on both partes, wherin the Ambaſſadours argued in defenſe of their fredome, that the iudgement ſhould not be tranſferred out of the Citie, among other communication, they inferred moreouer & declared, how in the Citie of Strauſburgh were many, yea the moſte parte of the Clergye, which lyued viciouſly and wickedly with their ſtrumpetes and harlottes, whom they kept in their houſes, to the great offenſe of the people, ſhame to Chriſtes Church, and pernicious example of other: and yet the Byſhop would neuer once ſtyrre to ſee any puniſhyng or correction therof. Wherfore if the Senate (ſaid the Ambaſſadours) ſhould permitte the Byſhop to extende his crueltie and extremitie againſt theſe maryed Miniſters, for not obſeruing the Byſhop of Romes lawe, and leaue the other notorious whoremaſters, whiche brake the law of God, to eſcape vnpuniſhed, doubtles it would redounde to their great daunger and perill, not onely before God, but alſo amõg the commons of their Citie, ready to riſe vpon them.

The Ambaſſadours replye agaynſt the Cardinall.

Holy matrimonye puniſhed, wicked whoredome eſcapeth.

Campeius anſwereth.

To this Campeius aunſwered, what compoſition or bargayne was betwixt the Byſhop and them, he knew not: but ſurely the Acte of the one was maniſeſt, and neded no great triall in law of prouyng and confeſſyng, and therfore they were ſequeſtred and abandoned from the communion of the Churche, ipſo facto. As for the other ſorte of them, which kepe harlottes and concubines although (ſayd he) it be not well done: yet doth it not excuſe the enormitie of their mariage. Neither was he ignoraunt, but that it was the maner of the Byſhops of Germanie, for money to wynke at Prieſtes lemans, and the ſame alſo was euill done in dede: and farther, that the tyme ſhould come, when they ſhall bee called to an accõpt for the ſame: but yet neuertheles it is not ſufferable that Prieſtes therfore ſhould haue wyues. And if compariſon ſhould be made (ſayd he) much greater offence it were, a Prieſt to haue a wife, then to haue & kepe at home many harlottes. His reaſon was this: For they yͭ kepe harlats (ſayd he) as it is naught that they do, ſo do they acknowledge their ſinne: the other perſuade them ſelues to do well, and ſo continue ſtill without repentaunce, or conſcience of their fact. All men (ſayd he) can not be chaſt, as Iohn Baptiſt was: yet can it not bee proued by any exãple

Ipſo facto, that is, vpon the very doing of the acte, without any further iudgement or tryall by the lawe.

A ſytte reaſon for a carnall Cardinall: better it is to haue many concubynes then one wife.

Touching ẏ Grecke Church, how vntruely this Cardinall ſpeaketh, turne to ẏ pag. 242. col. 1. li. 30.

to be lawfull, for prieſtes profeſſyng chaſtitie, to leaue their ſingle life, and to mary: no not the Grekes them ſelues, which in rites be differyng frõ vs, do geue this libertie to their own prieſts to mary: wherfore he prayed them, to geue their aide to the Byſhop in this behalfe.

The ambaſſadours replye.

Wherunto the Ambaſſadours replyed agayne, ſaying, that if he would firſt puniſh the whoremaſters, then might the Senate aſſiſte him the better in correctyng the other. But the Cardinall was ſtill inſtant vppon them, that firſt they ſhould aſſiſte their Byſhop, and then if the Byſhop would not puniſhe whoredome, he would come thether hym ſelfe, and ſee them puniſhed accordingly.

The aſſemble or Diet at Ratiſbone.

This Cardinal Campeius, how he was ſent by Pope Clement the vi. to the ſecond aſſemble or diet of Norenberge, an. 1524. and what was there done by ẏ ſayd Cardinall, is before ſignified, pag. 991. After this Councell of Norenberge, immediatly folowed an other ſittyng at Ratiſbone, where were preſent Ferdinãdus, Campeius, ẏ Cardinal of Saliſburge, the ij. Dukes of Bauaria, the Byſhops of Trent, and of Ratiſbone: alſo the Legates of the Biſhops, Bamberge, Spires, Strauſburgh, Auſburge, Conſtance, Baſill, Friſinge, Paſſame, and Brixine. By whom in the ſayd aſſemble was cõcluded: *That for ſomuch as the Emperour, at the requeſt of Pope Leo, had condẽned by his publike Edict ſet forth at Wormes, the doctrine of Luther, for erroneous & wicked, & alſo it was agreed vpon in both the aſſembles of Norenberge, that the ſaid Edict ſhould be obeyed of all men: they likewiſe at the requeſt of Cardinall Campeius, do, will, and commaund the foreſayd Edicte to be obſerued through all their fines and precinctes: That the Goſpell, and all other holy Scriptures in Churches ſhould bee taught accordyng to the interpretation of the auncient forefathers: That all they whiche reuyue any old hereſies before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, either agaynſt Chriſt, his bleſſed mother, and holy ſaintes, or whiche may breede any occaſion of ſedition, the ſame to be puniſhed accordyng to the tenour of the Edict aboue ſayd: That none bee admitted to preache without the licence of his ordinary: That they whiche be already admitted, ſhall be examined how, and what they preach: That the lawes whiche Campeius is about to ſet forth for reformation of maners, ſhall bee obſerued: That in the Sacramentes, in the Maſſe, & all other thynges, there ſhall be no innouation, but all thinges to ſtand, as in foretyme they did: That all they whiche approche to the Lordes Supper without confeſſion and abſolution, or do eate fleſhe on dayes forbidden, or whiche do runne out of their order: alſo prieſtes, deacons, and ſubdeacons that be maryed, ſhall be puniſhed: That nothyng ſhall be printed without conſent of the Magiſtrate: That no booke of Luther, or any Lutherian ſhall bee printed or ſolde: That they of their iuriſdiction whiche ſtudy in the Vniuerſitie of Wyttenberge, ſhall euery one repayre home within. 3. monethes after the publiſhyng hereof, or els turne to ſome other place free from the infection of Luther, vnder payne of confiſcatyng all their goodes, and looſing their inheritaunce: That no benefice, nor other office of teachyng, be geuẽ to any ſtudent of that Vniuerſitie. Itẽ, that certain Inquiſitours fitte for the ſame, be appointed to inquire and examine the premiſſes: Itẽ, leaſt it may be ſaid that this factiõ of Luther taketh his origine of the corrupt life of prieſts, the ſaid Cãpeius, with other his aſſiſters in the ſayd conuocation of Ratisbone, chargeth and commaundeth, that Prieſtes lyue honeſtly, go in decent apparell, play not the marchãtes, haunt not the tauerns, be not couetous, nor take money for their miniſtration: Such as kepe concubines to bee remoued: The number alſo of holy dayes to be diminiſhed. &c.*

Popiſh decrees made at the Cõcell of Ratiſbone.

ampeius ſſed of s purpoſe Germa e.

These thinges would Campeius haue had enacted in a full Councel and with the conſentes of all the Empire: but whẽ he could not bryng that to paſſe, by reaſon that ẏ mindes of diuers were gone from ẏ Pope, he was fayne therfore to get the ſame ratified in this particular conuẽticle, with the aſſentes of theſe byſhops aboue rehearſed.

These thinges thus hetherto diſcourſed, whiche fully may be ſene in the cõmentaries of Iohn Sledan, it remaineth next after the ſtory of M. Luther, ſome what to adioyne lykewiſe touchyng the hiſtory of Zuinglius and of the Heluetians. But before I come to the explication of this ſtory, it ſhall not be vnconuenient, firſt to geue ſome litle touche of the townes called pages, of theſe Heluetians, and of their league and confederation firſt begon amongeſt them.

¶ *The hiſtorye of the Heluetians or Suitzers, how firſt* they recouered their libertie, and after were ioyned in league together.

How the Heluetians came free, & ioyned together in league.

Ex Chronic. Heluetic. Ex Sebaſti. Munſter. Coſmog. Lib. 3. Ex Cõment. Ioan. Sled. Lib. 3.

The Heluetians, whom otherwiſe we call Suitzers, are diuided principally into xiij. pages. The names of whom are, Tigurini, Bernates, Lucernates, Vrani, Suicenſes, Vnterualdij, Tugiani, Glareani, Baſilienſes, Solodurij, Friburgij, Scafuſiani, Apecellenſes. Furthermore to theſe be added vij. other Pages, albeit not with ſuch a full bond, as the other, be together cõioyned: which be theſe, Rhœti, Lepontij. Sedunj, Veragrj, Sangallj, Mulluſiani, Rotuilenſes. Of theſe xiij. confederate Pages aboue recited, theſe iij. were the firſt, to witte, Vrania, Suicenſes, and Siluanij (or as ſome call them Vnterualdij) whiche ioyned them ſelues together.

*Note ẏ the Pages in Suitzerland are for the moſt parte, ſituate in valleys.

*Extortion in rulers.

If credite ſhould be geuen to old narrations, theſe iij. pages or * valleyes firſt ſuffered great ſeruitude & thraldome vnder cruell rulers or gouernours: In ſo much that ẏ gouernour of Siluania * required of one of the inhabitanes, a yoke of his Oxen: which when the townes man denyed to geue him, the ruler ſent his ſeruaunt by force to take his Oxen from hym. Thys when the ſeruaunt was about to do, commeth the pore mans ſonne, and cutteth of one of his fingers, and vpon the ſame auoided. The gouernour hearyng this, taketh the pore man, and putteth out his eyes.

Example of true chaſtitie in a matrone.

An other tyme in the ſayd Syluania, as the good man of the houſe was abſent abroad, the gouernour whiche had then the rule of ẏ towne, entring into the houſe, cõmaundeth the wife to prepare for him a bath, and to let hym haue his pleaſure of her. Whereunto ſhe beyng vnwilling, differred the bathe as longe as ſhe might, till the returne of her huſband. To whom then ſhe makyng her complaynt, ſo moued his minde, that he with his axe or hatched whiche he had in his hand, flew vpon the adulterous ruler and ſlue hym.

Adulterye iuſtlye puniſhed.

Example of ſingular tyrannie.

W. Tell.

And other example of lyke violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia, and Syluania, who ſurpriſed with lyke pride and diſdaine agaynſt the pore vnderlynges, cauſed hys cappe to be hanged vp vppon a pole, chargyng and commaundyng by his ſeruaunt, all that paſſed by, to do obeyſance to the cappe. Whiche when one, named William Tell, refuſed to do, the tyraunt cauſed his ſonne to be tyed, wͭ an apple ſet vpon his head, & the father with a croſſe bow or a like inſtrumẽt, to ſhote at the apple. After long refuſing, whẽ the wofull father could not otherwiſe chuſe, by force cõſtrained, but muſt leauyl at the apple, as God would, he miſſe ẏ child & ſtroke ẏ marke. This Tell beyng thus compelled by the tyrãut to ſhote at his ſonne, had brought with hym ij. ſhaftes, thynkyng that if he had ſtroke the childe with the one, the other he woulde haue let dryue at the tyrãut. Which beyng vnderſtand, he was apprehended and led to the rulers houſe: but by the way eſcapyng out of the boate, betwene Vrania and Brun, & paſſyng through the mountaines with as much ſpede as he might, he lay in ẏ way ſecretlye as ẏ ruler ſhould paſſe where he diſcharged his arow at the tyraunt, & ſlue hym.

Pride and tyrannye well rewarded.

And thus were theſe cruell gouernours vtterly expelled out of theſe iij. valleyes or pages aforeſayd, and after that ſuch order was taken by the Emperour Henricus vij. and alſo by the Emperours Ludouicus Duke of Bauaria, that henceforth no iudge ſhould be ſet ouer them, but onely of their owne company, and towne dwellers. Ex Seb. Munſt. Coſmog. lib. 3.

Ex Sebaſt. Munſter. Coſmogr. Lib. 3.

It folowed after this, in ẏ yere of our Lord. 1315. that great contention & warre fell betwene Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, and Ludouicke Duke of Bauaria, ſtryuyng and fightyng the ſpace of viij. yeares, together about the Empire. With Ludouicus held the iij. pages aforeſayd:

Who had diuers cōflictes with Lupoldus, brother to the forenamed Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, fightyng in his brothers quarell. As Lupoldus had reared a mighty army of xx. thouſand footemē and horſemen, and was come to Egre, ſo to paſſe ouer the mountaines to ſubdue the pages: he began to take aduiſe of his counſaile, by what way or paſſage beſt he might direct hys iourney toward the Suitzers. Whereupon as they were buſy in conſultyng, there ſtoode a foole by (named Kune de Stocken) whiche hearyng their aduiſe, thought alſo to ſhote hys bolt with all, and tolde them that their counſaile dyd not like him. For all you (quoth he) counſulte how we ſhould enter into yonder countrey: but none of you geueth any counſaile how to come out agayne, after we bée entred. And in concluſion, as the foole ſayd, ſo they found it true. For when Lupoldus, with hys hoſte had entred into the ſtraites and valleyes betwene the rockes & mountaines, the Suitzers with theyr neighbours of Vrania, and Syluania lying in pryuye wayte, had thē at ſuch aduantage, and with tumblyng downe ſtones from the rockes, and ſodeine commyng vpon theyr backes in blind laynes, did ſo encomber them, that neither they had conuenient ſtandyng to fight, nor roume almoſt to flye away. By reaſon wherof, a great part of Lupoldus armye there beyng encloſed about the place called Morgarten, loſt their lyues, and many in the flight were ſlayne. Lupoldus with them that remayned, retired and eſcaped to Thurgoia. This battaile was fought. an. 1315. Nouemb. 16.

A fooles bolte ſometimes hyttes the marke.

After this, the burgers of theſe iij. villages, beyng continually vexed by Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, for that they would not knowledge hym for Emperour, aſſembled them ſelues in the towne of Vrania. an. 1316. and there entred a mutuall league and bond of perpetuall ſocietie and coniunction, ioyning and ſwearing them ſelues, as in one body of a common wealth, and publike adminiſtratiō, together. After that came to them Lucernates, then Tugiani, after thē the Tigurines, next to thē folowed Bernates, the laſt almoſt of all, were ẏ Baſiliās, then folowed after, the other vij. pages aboue recited.

The firſt league betwene the three Pages.

And thus haue ye the names, the frédome, and confederation of theſe Suitzers, or Cantons or pages of Heluetia, with the occaſions and circumſtāces therof briefly expreſſed. Now to the purpoſe of our ſtory intended, whiche is to declare the ſucceſſe of Chriſtes Goſpell and true Religion receaued among theſe Heluetians: alſo touching the lyfe and doctrine of Zuinglius, and order of hys death, as here inſueth.

❧ The actes and lyfe of Zuinglius and of receauing the Goſpell in Suitzerland.

Vldrichus Zuinglius.

IN the tractation of Luthers ſtory, mention was made before of Vldricus Zuinglius: Who firſt abyding at Glarona, in a place called then our lordes Ermitage, frō thence remoued to Zuricke, aboute the yeare of our Lord. 1519. and there began to teach, dwelling in ẏ Minſter among the Canons or Prieſtes of that cloſe, vſyng with them, the ſame rites and ceremonies duryng the ſpace of ij. or iij. yeares, where he continued readyng and explaynyng the Scriptures vnto the people with great trauaile, and no leſſe dexteritie. And becauſe Pope Leo, the ſame yeare, had renued his pardons agayn through all countreys (as is aboue declared) Zuinglius zelouſly withſtode the ſame, detectyng the abuſes thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the Churche, and ſo continued he the ſpace of ij. yeares and more, till at length Hugo Byſhop of Conſtance (to whoſe iuriſdiction Zuricke then alſo did belong) hearing therof, wrote his letters to the Senate of the ſayd Citie of Zuricke, cōplainyng greuouſly of Zuinglius, who alſo wrote an other letter to the Colledge of Canons, where Zuinglius was the ſame tyme dwellyng, cōplaining likewiſe of ſuch new teachers, which troubled the Church, & exhorted thē earneſtly, to beware & to take diligēt héede to them ſelues. And for ſomuch as both the pope, & the Emperours Maieſtie had cōdemned all ſuch new doctrine by their Decrées and Edictes, he wylled them therfore to admitte no ſuch new innouations of doctrine, without the common conſent of them, to whom the ſame dyd apperteine. Zuinglius hearyng therof, referreth his cauſe to the iudgement and hearyng of the Senate, not refuſing to render vnto them accompt of his faith. And for ſomuch as the Byſhops letter was read openly in the Colledge, Zuinglius directeth an other letter to the Biſhop agayn, declaryng that ẏ ſayd letter proceded not frō the byſhop, nor that he was ignoraūt who were the authors therof, deſiryng him not to folow their ſiniſter coūſailes, for that truth (ſayd he) is a thyng inuincible, and can not be reſiſted. After he ſame tenour, certeine other of the Citie lykewiſe wrote vnto the Byſhop, deſiryng hym that hée would attempt nothyng, that ſhould be preiudiciall to the libertie and frée courſe of the Goſpell: requiryng moreouer that he would forbeare no longer the filthy and infamous lyfe of prieſtes, but that he would permitte them to haue their lawfull wyues. &c. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1522.

Zuinglius reading the Scriptures at Zuricke.

Zuinglius agaynſt the popes pardons.

An. 1521

The byſhop of Conſtance complayneth agaynſt Zuinglius.

Beſides this, Zuinglius wrote alſo an other letter to the whole nation of ẏ Heluetians, monyſhyng thē, in no caſe to hynder the paſſage of ſyncere doctrine, nor to inferre any moleſtation to prieſtes that were maryed. For as for the vowe and coaction of their ſingle lyfe, it came (ſayd he) of the deuill, and a deuiliſh thing it is. And therfore, whereas the ſaid Heluetians had ſuch a rite and cuſtome in their townes and pages, that when they receaued any new prieſt into their Churches, they vſed to premoniſh him before to take his cōcubine, leſt he ſhould attēpt any miſuſe with their wiues & daughters: he exhorted thē that they would no leſſe graunt vnto them to take their wyues in honeſt matrimony, then to take concubines and harlotes, agaynſt the precept of God.

Zuingli wryteth the Helue tians.

Prieſtes mariage.

An olde vſe of the Heluetians to forewarne their prieſtes to ta cōcubine

Thus as Zuinglius continued certeine yeares labouring in the word of the Lord, offenſe began to riſe at this new doctrine, and diuers ſtept vp, namely the Dominick Friers on the contrary ſide, to preache and inuey agaynſt hym. But he kepyng hymſelf euer within ẏ Scriptures, proteſted ẏ he would make good by the word of God, that whiche he had taught. Vpon this the Magiſtrates & Senate of Zuricke, ſent forth their commaundement to all Prieſtes & Miniſters within their dominion, to repayre to the Citie of Zuricke, agaynſt the xxix. day of January next enſuyng (this was. an. 1523.) there euery one to ſpeake frely, and to be heard quietly, touchyng theſe controuerſies of Religion, what could be ſayd, directyng alſo their letters to the Byſhop of Conſtāce, that he would either make his repayre thether him ſelfe, or els to ſend his deputie. When the day appointed came, and the Byſhops vicegerent, whiche was Ioannes Faber, was alſo preſent: the Conſul firſt declaryng the cauſe of this their frequencie and aſſemble (which was for the diſſenſion newly ryſen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to obiect, or inferre agaynſt the doctrine of Zuinglius, he ſhould fréely and quietly vtter and declare hys mynde.

Zuinglius reſiſted by aduerſaryes.

Diſputati ons at Zu rike about religion.

Ioan. F ber Stapulenſis agaynſt Zuinglius.

Zuinglius had diſpoſed his matter before, and contriued all his doctrine in a certeine order of places, to the number of lxvij. Articles: which articles he had publiſhed alſo abroad before, to the ende that they whiche were diſpoſed, might reſorte thether better prepared to the diſputation. When the Conſul had finiſhed that which hée would ſay, and had exhorted other to begyn: then Faber firſt entryng the matter, began to declare the cauſe of his ſendyng thether, and afterwarde would perſuade, that this was no place conuenient nor time fitte for diſcuſſing of ſuch matter by diſputation, but rather that the cognition and tractation therof belonged to a generall Coūcell, whiche he ſayd, was already appointed, and now nere at hand. Notwithſtandyng, Zuinglius ſtill continued vrgyng and requyring him, that if he had there any thing to ſay or to diſpute, he would openly & frely vtter his mind. To this he aunſwered agayne, that he would confute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other wordes on both ſides had to and fro, when no man would ap-

Ex Sled. Lib. 3.

lxvij. articles of Zuinglius.

John F ber refuſeth diſputation.

he aſſem le of Zu= icke brake p without iſputatiō. he goſpel ublikely eceaued in uricke. raditiōs f men abo= iſhed.

peare, there to offer any diſputation, the aſſemble brake and was diſcharged. Wherupon the Senate of Zuricke incontinent cauſed to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territorie, that the traditions of men ſhould be diſplaced and abandoned, and the Goſpell of Chriſt purely taught out of the olde and newe Teſtament. an. 1423. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

When the Goſpell thus began to take place, and to floriſhe in Zuricke and certein other places of Heluetia, the yeare next folowyng, an. 1524. an other aſſemble of the Heluetians was conuented at Lucerna, where this decrée was made on the contrary part: *That no man ſhould deride or contemne the Worde of God, whiche had ben taught now aboue a thouſand and foure hundreth yeares heretofore: nor the Maſſe to be ſcorned, wherin the body of Chriſt is conſecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quicke, and the dead.*

onſtituti= ns made n the Coū ell of Lu= erne.

That they which are able to receiue the Lordes body at Eaſter, ſhall confeſſe their ſinnes in Lent to the Prieſt, and do all other thynges, as the vſe and maner of the Churche requireth.

That the rites and cuſtomes of holy Churche be kept.

That euery one obey his owne proper paſtor and curate, and to receaue the Sacramentes of him, after the maner of holy Churche, and to pay him his yearely dutyes.

That honour be geuen to Prieſtes.

Item, to abſteyne from fleſheatyng on faſtyng dayes, and in Lent to abſteine from egges and cheeſe.

That no opinion of Luther be taught priuely or apertly, contrary to the receaued determination of holy Churche, and that in tauernes and at table, no mention bee made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

That Images and pictures of Sainctes in euery place bee kept inuiolate.

That Prieſtes and Miniſters of the Churche be not compelled to render accompt of their doctrine, but onely to the Magiſtrate. That due ayde and ſupportatiō be prouided for them, if any commotion do happen.

That no perſon deride the reliques of the holy ſpirite, or of our Lady, or of Saint Anthony.

Finally that all the lawes and decrees ſet foorth by the Byſhop of Conſtance, be obſerued.

These conſtitutions who ſoeuer ſhall tranſgreſſe, let them be preſented to the Magiſtrate, and ouerſéers be ſet ouer them that ſhall ſo tranſgreſſe.

he letter the Hel= etians to he Tigu= ines.

After theſe thynges concluded thus at Lucerna, the Cantons of Heluetia together directe their publicke letter to the Tigurines or men of Zuricke, wherin they do much lament and complaine of this new broched doctrine whiche hath ſet all men together by the eares, through the occaſion of certeine raſh and newfangled heades, whiche haue greatly diſturbed both ẏ ſtate of the Churche, and of ẏ common wealth, and haue ſcattered the ſeedes of diſcorde: whereas before tyme, all thynges were well in quiet. And although this ſore (ſayd they) ought to haue bene looked to by tyme, ſo that they ſhould not haue ſuffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the bleſſed Virgine & other Saints ſo bee diſhonored, but rather ſhould haue beſtowed their goodes and lyues to mainteine the ſame: yet notwithſtanding they required them nowe to looke vppon the matter: whiche otherwiſe would bring to them deſtruction both of body and ſoule: as for example, they might ſee the doctrine of Luther what fruite it brought. The rude and vulgare people now (ſayd they) could not be holden in, but would burſt forth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by ſufficient proufes a late: and like is to be feared alſo amōg them ſelues, and all by the occaſion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Iuda, whiche ſo take vppon them to expounde the worde of God, after their own interpretatiō, opening therby whole dores and windowes to diſcorde and diſſenſion. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certeine what they did teache: yet what inconuenience folowed vpon their doctrine, they had to much experienced. For nowe all faſtyng was layd downe, & all dayes were alike to eate both fleſhe & egges, as well one day as an other: Prieſtes & religious perſons both men and wemen brake their vowes, ranne out of their order, & fell to maryying: Gods ſeruice was decayed, ſinging in the church left, & prayer ceaſed: Prieſtes grew in contempt: Religious mē were thruſt out of their cloyſters: Confeſſion, & penaunce was neglected, ſo that men would not ſticke to preſume to receaue at the holy aultar, without any cōfeſſion made to the prieſt before: The holy Maſſe was derided & ſcorned: Our bleſſed Lady, & other Saintes blaſphemed: Images pluckt downe and broken in peeces, neither was there any honour geuē to ẏ Sacramētes. To make ſhort, men now were growen vnto ſuch a licence and libertie that vnneth the holy hoſte could be ſafe within the prieſtes handes. &c.

uinglius nd Leo udas, ere prea= hers at his tyme n Zu= icke.

The diſorder of all which things, as it is of no ſmall importaunce, ſo it was (ſayd they) to them ſo greuous and lamentable, that they thought it their parte to ſuffer the ſame no longer. Neither was this the firſt time (they ſayd) of this their complaining, when in their former aſſemble they ſent vnto them before, the like admonition writyng to them by certeine of the clergie, and crauing their aide in the ſame. which ſeing it is ſo, they did now agayn earneſtly call vpon them touching the premiſſes, deſiring them to ſurceaſe from ſuch doinges, and to take a better way, continuyng in the Religion of their old aunciters, whiche were before them. And if there were any ſuch thing, wherin they were greued and offended againſt the Biſhop of Rome, the Cardinals, Biſhops, or other Prelates, either for their ambition, in heaping, exchaunging, and ſelling the dignities of the Churche, or for their oppreſſion in pilling mens purſes with their indulgences, or els for their vſurped iuriſdiction, and power whiche they extende to farre, and corruptly applye it to matters externe and politicall, whiche onely ought to ſerue in ſuch caſes as be ſpirituall: if theſe and ſuch other abuſes were the cauſes, wherewith they were ſo greuouſly offended, they promiſed that for the correction and reformatiō therof, they would alſo them ſelues ioyne their diligence and good will therto, for ſomuch as them ſelues alſo did not a litle miſlike therewith, and therfore would cōferre their coūſailes together with thē, how and by which way, ſuch greuances might beſt be remoued.

To this effect were the letters of the Heluetians written to the Senate & Citizens of Zuricke. Wherunto the Tigurines made their aunſwere agayne, the xxi. daye of Marche, the ſame yeare, in manner as here followeth.

The letter of the Tigurines aunſwering agayn the letter of the Heluetians.

First declaring how their Miniſters had laboured and trauailed amongeſt them, teaching and preaching the word of God vnto them the ſpace now of v. yeares. whoſe doctrine at the firſt, ſemed to them very ſtraunge and nouelle, becauſe they neuer heard the ſame before. But after that they vnderſtode & perceaued, the * ſcope of that doctrine onely to tende to this, to ſet forth Chriſt Ieſus vnto vs, to bee the pillar and refuge of all our ſaluation, whiche gaue his life and bloud for our redemption and whiche onely deliuered vs alſo ſinful miſers from eternall death, and is the onely aduocate of man kinde before God: they could no otherwiſe do, but with ardent affection receaue ſo wholeſome and ioyfull meſſage.

* If the ſcope of doctrine be well marked betwene the Papiſtes and the Proteſtantes, it will not be hard for any man to iudge whiche is the truet doctrine: For the whole end and ſcope of the popes doctrine, tēdeth to ſet vp the honour and wealth of man, as may appeare by the doctrine of ſupremacie, of confeſſion, of the maſſe, of the ſacrament of the aultar, &c. all which do tende to the magnifying of the prieſtes: lyke as purgatorye, obſequies, pardons, and ſuch other, ſerue for theyr profyte. Contrarywyſe the teaching of the Proteſtātes, as well touching iuſtification, originall ſinne, as alſo the ſacramentes & inuocation, and all other ſuche lyke, tende onely to the ſetting vp of Chriſt alone, and caſtyng downe of man.

The holy Apoſtles, & faithfull Chriſtians, after they had receaued ẏ Goſpell of Chriſt, did not fal out by & by in debate & variance, but louingly agreed & conſented together: and ſo they truſted (ſaid they) that they ſhould do, if they would likewiſe receaue ẏ word of God, ſettyng a ſide mens doctrines & traditions diſſonant from the ſame.

what ſo euer Luther, or any other man doth teache, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the perſons, why the doctrine whiche they teache ſhould be either euill or wel iudged vpon, but only for that it agreeth or diſagreeth frō ẏ rule of gods worde: for that were but to goe by affectiō, & were preiudiciall to ẏ authoritie of ẏ word of God, which ought to rule mā, & not to be meaſured by mā.

No iniurie to Saintes if Chriſt onely be worſhipped.

And if Chriſt onely be worſhipped, and men taught, ſoly to repoſe their confidence in him, yet neither doth the bleſſed virgine, nor any Saint els receiue any iniurie thereby, who beyng here in earth receiued their ſaluation onely by the name of him.

Who be they that wraſte the ſcriptures.

And where as they charge their Miniſters with wraſtyng the Scripture after their owne interpretation, God had ſtirred vp ſuche lighte nowe in the hartes of men, that the moſte parte of their Citie, haue the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruſe the ſame: ſo that their preachers cā not ſo wynde the Scriptures awry, but they ſhall quickly be perceaued. wherfore there is no daunger, why they ſhould feare any ſectes, or factions in them: but rather ſuch ſectes are to bee obiected to thoſe, who for their gayne and dignitie, wraſte the worde of God after their owne affections and appetites.

Errour many times obiected where none cā be proued.

And where as they and other haue accuſed them of errour, yet was there neuer man, that could proue any errour in them: Although diuers Biſhops of Conſtance, of Baſill, of Curiake, with diuers Uniuerſities beſides: alſo they them ſelues, haue bene ſundry times deſired ſo to do, yet to this preſent day, neither they, nor euer any other ſo dyd, neither were they, nor any of all the foreſayd Biſhops, at their laſt aſſemble, beyng requeſted to come, ſo gentle to repayre vnto them, ſaue onely the Schaſhuſians, and Sangallians. In the whiche foreſaid aſſemble of theirs, all ſuch as were then preſent conſidering throughly the whole caſe of the matter, condeſcended together with them.

Byſhops neither will feede the flocke, nor yet ſuffer them to feede them ſelues.

And if the Biſhops happely will obiect againe and ſay: that yͤ word of God ought not ſo to be handled of the vulgar people: they aunſwered, the ſame not to ſtand with equitie & reaſon. For albeit it did belong to yͤ biſhops office, to prouide that the ſhepe ſhould not go aſtray, & moſt conuenient it were, that by them they ſhould be reduced into the way agayne: yet becauſe they will not ſee to their charge, but leaue it vndone, referring all things to the fathers, & to Councels, therefore right and reaſon it is, that they them ſelues ſhould heare and learne, not what man doth determine, but what Chriſt him ſelfe doth commaunde in his Scripture. Neither haue their Miniſters geuen any occaſion of this diuiſion, but rather it is to bee imputed to ſuch, whiche for their owne priuate lucre and prefermentes, contrary to the worde of the Lord, do ſeduce the people into errour, and greuouſly offending God do prouoke hym to plage them with manifold calamities. Who, if they would renounce the gredynes of their owne gayn, and would folow the pure doctrine of his worde, ſeking not the will of mã, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they ſhould ſoone fall to agreement.

*It was the popes lawe then, that in Lent no man ſhoulde eate fleſhe nor egges, nor any white meate: Wherin it maye ſeeme to be verefyed which S. Paul doth prophecie. 1. Tim. 4. In the latter dayes, certayne ſhall departe from the fayth, harkning to the doctrine of deuills, forbydding to marye and to eate. &c.

*As for the eatyng of fleſhe, and egges, although it be free to all men, & forbidden to none by Chriſte: yet they haue ſet forth a lawe, to reſtreine raſhe intemperaunce, and vncharitable offenſion of other.

Prieſtes mariage.

And as touching Matrimonie, God is him ſelfe the author therof, who hath left it free for all men. Alſo Paul willeth a Miniſter of the Church to be the huſbãd of one wife.

And ſeyng that Byſhoppes for money permitte their Prieſtes to haue concubines, whiche is contrary both to Gods law, and to good example: why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawfull Matrimonye, whiche he hath ordeined, as they to reſiſte God in forbidding the ſame? The like is to be ſaid alſo of wemen vowing chaſtitie: of whom this they iudge and ſuppoſe, that ſuch kinde of vowes and coacted chaſtitie are not auayleable nor alowed before God: and ſeing that chaſtitie is not all mens gifte, better it were to marye (after their iudgementes) then filthely to liue in ſingle lyfe.

Vowes of chaſtitie not agreing to Gods lawe.

Monaſteries firſt geuen to the poore, but nowe ſerue to feede the riche.

Goods of monaſteries conuerted to the reliefe of the poore.

As for Monaſteries, and other houſes of Canons, they were firſte geuen for reliefe onely of the poore and nedie, where as now they whiche inhabite them, are wealthy & able to lyue of their owne patrimonie, in ſuch ſort, as many times ſome one of them hath ſo much, as wel might ſuffice a great number: wherfore it ſemeth to them, not vnconuenient that thoſe goodes ſhould bee conuerted agayne to the vſe of the poore: Yet neuertheleſſe they haue vſed herein ſuch moderation, that they haue permitted the inhabitãtes of thoſe monaſteries to enioy the poſſeſſiõs of their goods, during the terme of their naturall life, leſt any ſhould haue cauſe of iuſt complaynte.

Ornamentes of Churches better beſtowed vpon the poore.

Ornamentes of Churches ſerue nothing to Gods ſeruice: but this is well agreeyng to the will & ſeruice of God, that the poore ſhould be ſuccored. So Chriſt commaunded the yong man in the Goſpell, that was riche, not to hang vp his riches in the temple, but to ſell them, and diſtribute them to the nedy.

Good prieſtes not to be contemned: the rable of them to be diminiſhed.

The order of prieſthode they do not contemne. Such prieſtes as will truly diſcharge their duetie, & teach ſoũdly, they do magnifie. As for the other rable, which ſerue to no publike cõmoditie, but rather dampnifie yͤ cõmon wealth, if the nũber of them were diminiſhed by litle and litle, and their liuinges put to better vſe, they doubted not, but it were a ſeruice well done to God. Nowe whether the ſinging & prayers of ſuch prieſtes be auailable before God, it may be doubted, for as much as many of thẽ vnderſtãd not what they ſay or ſing, but only for hier of wages do yͤ ſame.

Confeſſion to the prieſt.
Confeſſion to Chriſt.

As for ſecret confeſſiõ, wherin mẽ do detect their ſinnes in the prieſtes eare, of what vertue this confeſſion is to bee eſteemed, they leaue it in ſuſpenſe. But that confeſſion, wherby repenting ſinners do flye to Chriſt our onely interceſſour, they recounte not onely to bee profitable, but alſo neceſſarye to all troubled conſciences. As for ſatiſfaction, whiche prieſtes doe vſe, they recken it but a practiſe to get money, and the ſame to be not onely erroneous, but alſo full of impietie. True penaunce and ſatiſfaction is, for a man to amende his life.

The orders of monkery come onely by the inuention of man, and not by the Inſtitution of God.

And as touching the Sacramentes, ſuch as bee of the Lordes inſtitution, them they do not deſpiſe but receaue with all reuerence, neither do ſuffer the ſame to be deſpiſed of any perſon, nor to be abuſed otherwiſe then becommeth: but to bee vſed rightlye according to the preſcript rule of Gods worde. And ſo with the like reuerence they vſe the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, accordyng as the word preſcribeth, not as many do abuſe it, to make of it an oblation and a ſacrifice.

And if the meſſengers ſent to them of the clergy in their letters mentioned, can iuſtly charge them with any hinderaunce, or any errour, they will bee ready either to purge them ſelues, or to ſatiſfie the offence. And if they can not, then reaſon would, that thoſe meſſẽgers of yͤ clergy ſhould hereafter looke better to their own doinges, & to their doctrine, & to ceaſe frõ ſuch vntrue ſlaunders & contumelies.

Finally, where as they vnderſtand by their letters how deſirous they are to haue the Popes oppreſſions, and exactions, and vſurped power aboliſhed, they are right glad therof and ioyfull, ſuppoſing that the ſame can by no meanes be brought to paſſe, except the word of God onely and ſimplye be receaued. For otherwiſe, ſo lõg as mens lawes and conſtitutions ſhall ſtand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For by the preachyng of Gods word their eſtimation and dignitie muſt nedes decay: and that they well perceaue, and therefore by all meanes do prouide, how to ſtoppe the courſe of the word: and becauſe they ſee them ſelues to weake to bryng their purpoſe about, they flye to the ayde of kynges and princes. For the neceſſarye remedye whereof, if they ſhall thinke good to ioyne their conſent, their ſhall nothing be lacking in their behalfe, what they are able either in counſaile or goods, to do in the matter, declaring moreouer that this ſhould haue bene ſene to longe before. Whiche being ſo, they prayed and deſired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expende this that they dyd write. As for their own part, they required nothing els more then peace both betwene them, and all men. Neither was it euer their intent to ſtyrre any thing that ſhould be preiudiciall agaynſt their league & band agreed vpõ betwene them. But in this cauſe, whiche concerneth their eternall ſaluation, they can do no otherwiſe, but as they haue done, vnles their errour by learning might be proued and declared vnto them.

Wherfore as they did before, ſo now they deſire agayne, that if they thinke this their doctrine to bee repugnant to the holy Scripture, they will gently ſhew and teach them their errour, and that before the end of the moneth of May next enſuyng: for ſo long they will abyde wayting for an aunſwere, as well from them, as from the Biſhop of Conſtance, and alſo from the Uniuerſitie of Baſill. And thus much conteineth the aũſwere of the Tigurines, vnto the letter of their other colleagues of Heluetia.

In the meane time, as this paſſed on, and the moneth of May aboue mentioned was now come, the Byſhop of Conſtance, with the aduiſe of his Councell about hym, did aunſwere the Tigurines as he was requeſted of thẽ to do, in a certeine booke, firſt writtẽ, and afterward printed: wherein hee declareth what Images and pictures thoſe were, whiche the prophane Iewes and gentles in in the old tyme did adore: and what Images bee theſe whiche the Churche hath, from tyme to tyme, receaued and admitted, and what difference there is betwen thoſe idoles of the Iewes and gentles, and theſe Images of the Chriſtians. The concluſion hereof was this, that where as the Scripture ſpeaketh agaynſt Images, and willeth them not to be ſuffered, that is to be vnderſtand of ſuch Images and idols, as the Iewes and Idolatrous gentles did vſe: yet neuertheles ſuch Images and pictures, whiche the Churche hath receaued, are to bee vſed and reteyned.

From this hee entreth next into the diſcourſe of the Maſſe, where hee proueth by diuers and ſondry teſtimonies, both of the Popes Canons, and Coũcels, the Maſſe to be a ſacrifice and oblation.

This booke beyng thus compiled and written, he ſent it vnto the Senate of Zuricke, about the begynnyng of

Iune, willing & exhortyng them by no maner of meanes, to ſuffer their Images, or the Maſſe to be abrogated, and ſhortly after, he publiſhed the ſaid booke in printe and ſent it to the prieſtes and Canons of the Minſter of Zuricke, requiring them to folow the cuſtome of the Churche receaued, and not to ſuffer them ſelues otherwiſe to be perſuaded by any man.

The Senate agayne aunſweryng to ẏ byſhops booke, about the midle of Auguſt did write vnto him: firſt declaryng that they had read ouer and ouer agayne his booke, with all diligence: The whiche booke for ſomuch as the Biſhop had diuulged abroad in printe, they were therof right glad, becauſe the whole worlde therby might iudge betwene them the better. After this they explaned vnto hym the iudgement and doctrine of their Miniſters and Preachers: and finally by the authoritie and teſtimonyes of the Scripture conuinced his opinion, and proued the doctrine of his booke to bee falſe. But before they ſent their aunſwere to him, about the xij. day of Iune, they commaūded all the Images as well within the Citie, as through their dominion, to be taken downe and burned quietly and without any tumulte. A few monethes after, an order was taken in the ſayd Citie of Zurike, betwene the Canons of the Churche, and Citie, for diſpoſing the landes and poſſeſſions of the College.

It would grow to a long diſcourſe, to comprehend all thinges by order of circumſtance, that happened among the Heluetians vpon this new alteration of Religion: but briefly to contracte, and to runne ouer ẏ chief ſpecialties of the matter, here is firſt to be noted, that of the Heluetians, which were confederate together in xiij. pages, chiefly vi. there were, whiche moſt diſdayned and maligned this Religiō of the Tigurines: to witte, Lucernates, Vrani, Suitenſes, Vnterualdij, Tugiani, Friburgenſes: Theſe in no caſe could be reconciled. The reſt ſhewed them ſelues more fauourable. But the other, which were their enemyes, conceaued great grudge, and rayſed many ſclaūderous reportes, and falſe rumors againſt them, and layde diuers thyngs to their charge: as firſt for refuſing to ioyne their conſent to ẏ publike league of ẏ other pages, with Fraunces the French king: then for diſſentyng from them in Religion: and thirdly for refuſing to ſtand to the Popiſhe decrée made the yeare before at Ratisborne, by Ferdinandus and other biſhops aboue mētioned. pag. 905. They layd moreouer to their accuſatiō, for aidyng the Vualſutenſes their neighbours, agaynſt Ferdinandus their prince, which was falſe. Alſo for ioyning league ſecretly, with other cities, ẇout their knowledge, whiche was likewiſe falſe. Item that they ſhould intende ſome ſecret conſpiracie againſt them, and inuade them with warre, whiche was as vntrue as the reſt. Many other quarels beſides they pretēded agaynſt the Tigurines, whiche were all falſe and cauillyng ſclaunders: as that they ſhould teach and preach that Mary ẏ mother of Chriſt had moe ſonnes, and that Iames the younger, the Apoſtle, dyd dye for vs, and not Chriſt hym ſelfe. Agaynſt theſe and ſuch other vntruthes, being mere matters of cauillation and ſclaunder, the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquite them ſelues by wrytyng, and did expoſtulate vehemently with them, not onely for theſe falſe and wrongfull ſuſpicions of their partes vndeſerued, but alſo for other manifold iniuries receaued and borne at their handes: among whiche other wrongs and iniuries this was one, that the Burghmaſter of Turegia had apprehended a certeine preacher, named Ioannes Oxlinus, and led hym home as priſoner vnto his houſe, beyng taken within the precincte and limites of the Citie of Zuricke, contrary to law and order.

Finally, after much diſcourſing, wherin they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelitie at all tymes, in kepyng their league, and mainteinyng the libertie and dignitie of their countrey, as touchyng ẏ cauſe of Religion, if that were all ẏ matter of their offence, they offered them ſelues willyng to heare, and more glad to amende, if any could proue any errour in them, by the Scripture. Otherwiſe, if none ſo could or would proue, wherin they did erre by the worde of God: they could not (they ſaid) alter any thyng in the ſtate of that Religion wherin their conſciences were already ſtayd by the worde of God and ſettled, what ſoeuer perill or daunger ſhould happen to them for the ſame.

What loue and hatred doth among men.

Although here was no cauſe, why theſe pages or Cantons, whiche were ſo confederate together in the league of peace, ſhould diſagrée among them ſelues: yet herein may we ſée the courſe and trade of the world, that when difference of Religiō beginneth a litle to breake the knot of amitie, by and by how frendes be turned to foes, what ſuſpicions do ryſe, what quarels and grudge doe folowe, how nothyng there lyketh mē, but euery thyng is takē to the worſt part, ſmall motes are made mountaynes, vertues made vices, and one vice made a thouſand, and all for lacke only of a litle good will betwixt party and party. For as loue and charitie commonly among men either couereth or ſéeth not the faultes of their frendes: ſo hatred and diſdayne takyng all thinges to blame, can finde nothyng in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen betwene theſe good men of Zuricke, and theſe other Suitzers aboue named.

The Maſſe with all hys ceremonies put downe in Zuricke.

A lawe in Zuricke made agaynſt adulterers.

Theſe letters of the Tigurines to the other Cantons, were writtē vpon ẏ occaſion of their apprehēding ẏ preacher Ioan. Oxlinus aboue named, the iiij. day of Ianuary. an. 1525. and in the moneth of April next folowyng, the Magiſtrates and Senate of the ſaid Citie of Zuricke commaunded the Maſſe, with all his ceremonies and appurtenaunce therto belongyng, to be put downe, as well within the Citie, as without throughe out all their iuriſdiction: and in ſteade therof was placed the Lordes Supper, the readyng of ẏ Prophetes, prayer, and preachyng. Alſo a law was made agaynſt whoredome, and adultery, and iudges ordeyned to heare the cauſes of matrimony. an. 1525. Ex Comment. Sled. lib. 4.

Diſputation at Baden in Heluetia.

All this while ẏ Goſpel was not as yet receaued in any other Page of Heluetia, but only in Zuricke. Wherfore ẏ other xij. Pages or townes appoynted amōg thē ſelues concernyng a méetyng or a diſputation to bee had at Baden: Where were preſent amōg other diuines, Ioannes Faber, Eckius, and Murnerus aboue mentioned. The Biſhops alſo of Lucerna, Baſill, Curiake, and Lauſanna ſent thether their Legates. The concluſions there propounded were theſe.

The ſummes of propoſitions propounded in the diſputation at Baden.

That the true body and bloud of Chriſt, is in the Sacramēt.
That the Maſſe is a ſacrifice for the quicke and dead.
That the bleſſed virgine and other ſaintes are to bee inuocated, as mediatours and interceſſours.
That Images ought not to be aboliſhed.
That there is a Purgatory.

Eckius defendent.

Occolampadius agaynſt Eckius.

Which concluſions or aſſertiōs, Eckius tooke vpon him ſtoutlye to defend. Agaynſt him reaſoned Occolampadius (who was thē chief preacher at Baſill) with certeine other moe. Zuinglius at that time was not there preſent, but by writyng confuted the doctrine of Eckius, declaryng withall, the cauſes of hys abſence: whiche were, for that he durſt not for feare of his lyfe, committe hym ſelfe to the handes of the Lucernates, Vrani, Suitij, Vnterualdij, and Tugiani, his enemyes, and that he refuſed not to diſpute, but the place onely of the diſputation, excuſing moreouer that he was not permitted of the Senate to come: neuertheles if they would aſſigne the place of diſputation, either at Zuricke, or at Berna, or at Sangallū, thether he would not refuſe to come. Briefly the concluſion of the diſputation was this: that all ſhould remaine in that Religion, which hetherto they had kept, and ſhould folow the authoritie of the Councell, neither ſhould admitte any other new doctrine within their dominions. &c. This was in the moneth of Iune, the ſayd yeare aboue mentioned.

Zuinglius excuſeth hym ſelfe for not comming to the diſputation.

The diſputation at Berne.

As the tyme proceded, and diſſenſion about Religion encreaſed, it folowed the next yeare after, an. 1527. in the moneth of December, that the Senate and people of Berne, (whoſe power amongeſt all the Suitzers chiefly excelleth) conſideryng how neither they could haue the

Diſputation at Berne in Heluetia.

Actes of the diſputation of Baden communicated vnto them, and that the variance about Religion ſtill more and more encreaſed: aſſigned an other diſputation within their owne Citie, and ſendyng forth wrytynges therof, called vnto the ſame, all the Byſhops borderyng nere about them, as the Byſhops of Conſtance, Baſill, Sedune, Lauſanna, warnyng them both to come them ſelues, and to bryng their diuines with them, or els to loſe all ſuch poſſeſſions, whiche they had lying within the boundes of their precinct. After this, they appoynted out certeine Eccleſiaſticall perſons of their iuriſdictiō, to diſpute, preſcribyng and determinyng the whole diſputatiō to be decided onely by the authoritie of the old and new Teſtament. To all yͤ would come thether, they graunted ſafe conduict. Alſo, they appoynted that all thynges there ſhould be done modeſtlye, without iniurie and braulyng wordes, and yͤ euery one ſhould haue leaue to ſpeake his mind frely, & with ſuch deliberatiō, that euery mans ſaying might be receaued by the notary & penned, with this prouiſo made before, that what ſoeuer there ſhould be agréed vpon, yͤ ſame ſhould be ratified, & obſerued through all their dominions: and to the intent men might come thether better prepared before, they propounded in publike wrytyng, x. concluſions, in the ſayd diſputation to bée defended of their Miniſters, by the Scriptures, whiche Miniſters were Franciſcus Colbus, and Bertholdus Hallerus. The theames or concluſions were theſe.

Godly lawes of a diſputatiō.

Theames to be diſputed.

1. *That the true Churche, wherof Chriſt is the head, riſeth out of Gods Word, and perſiſteth in the ſame, and heareth the voyce of no other.*

2. *That the ſame Churche maketh no lawes without the Worde of God.*

3. *That traditiōs ordeyned in the name of the Church, do not bynde, but ſo farre forth as they be conſonant to Gods Word.*

4. *That Chriſt onely hath made ſatisfaction for the ſinnes of the World: and therfore if any man ſay that there is any other way of ſaluation, or meane to put away ſinne, the ſame denyeth Chriſt.*

5. *That the body and bloud of Chriſt can not be receaued really and corporally, by the teſtimony of the Scripture.*

6. *That the vſe of the Maſſe, wherin Chriſt is preſented and offered vp to his heauenly father for the quicke and the dead, is agaynſt the Scripture, and contumelious to that ſacrifice whiche Chriſt made for vs.*

7. *That Chriſt onely is to be inuocated, as the mediatour and aduocate of mankinde, to God the father.*

8. *That there is no place to bee founde by the holy Scripture, wherin ſoules are purged after this life: and therefore all thoſe prayers and ceremonies, yearely Diriges and Obites, whiche are beſtowed vpon the dead: alſo Lampes, Tapers, and ſuch other thinges, profite nothing at all.*

9. *That to ſet vp any picture or Image to be worſhipped, is repugnant to the holy Scripture, and therfore if any ſuch be erected in Churches for that entent, the ſame ought to bee taken downe.*

10. *That Matrimonie is prohibited to no ſtate or order of men, but for eſchewing of fornication, generally is commaunded and permitted to all men by the Worde of God. And for as much as all fornicatours are excluded by the teſtimony of Scripture, from the Communion of the Churche, therefore this vnchaſte and filthie ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, is moſt of all vnconuenient for the order of prieſthode.*

The letters & aunſwere of the Suitzers to the Senate & people of Berne.

When the Senate and people of Berne, had ſent abroad their letters with theſe theames and concluſions, to all the Heluetians, exhortyng them both to ſend their learned mē, and to ſuffer all other to paſſe ſafely through their countreys: the Lucernates, Vranites, Suitzians, Vnterualdians, Tugians, Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburge aunſwered agayne by cōtrary letters, exhortyng and requiryng them in any caſe to deſiſte from their purpoſed enterpriſe: puttyng them in remembraunce of their league and compoſition made, and alſo of the diſputation of Baden aboue mencioned, of the whiche diſputation they were them ſelues (they ſayd) the firſt begynners and authors: ſaying moreouer, that it was not lawfull for any nation or prouince to alter the ſtate of Religion, but the ſame to belong to a generall Councell: wherfore they deſired them, that they would not attempt any ſuch wicked acte, but continue in the Religion, whiche their parentes and elders had obſerued: and in fine, thus in the ende of their letters they concluded, that they would neither ſend, nor ſuffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet graunt ſafeconduict to any others to paſſe through their countrey. To this and ſuch like effect tended the letters of theſe Suitzers aboue named.

Ex C
ment.
Sled.

All whiche notwithſtandyng, the Lordes of Berne procedyng in their intended purpoſe, vpon the day preſcribed (whiche was the vij. of January) began their diſputation. Of all the biſhops before ſignified (which were aſſigned to come) there was not one preſent. Neuertheles the Citie of Baſill, Zurike, and Schafuſe, and Abbecelle, Sangallium, Mulluſia, with the neyghbours of Rhœtia, alſo they of Strausburgh, Vlmes, Ausburge, Lindaue, Conſtance, and Iſne, ſent thether their Ambaſſadours.

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ture.

The Doctours, aboue mentioned, of the Citie of Berne, began the diſputation. Where at the ſame tyme, were preſent Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucerus, Capito, Blaurerus, with other moe, all which defended the affirmatiue of the concluſions propounded. On the contrary ſide of them which were the opponentes, the chieftaine was Conradus Tregerus a Frier Auguſtine, who to proue his aſſertion, when hee was driuen to ſhifte out of the Scripture, to ſeke helpe of other Doctours, and the moderatours of the diſputation woulde not permitte the ſame (beyng contrary to the order before appoynted) he departed out of the place, and would diſpute no more.

Reform
on of R
gion in
Berne.

Maſſes
Images
put dow
at Bern

The diſputation endured xix. dayes, in the end wherof it was agréed, by the aſſent of the moſt part, that the cōcluſions there diſputed, were conſonant to yͤ truth of Gods worde, and ſhould be ratified not onely in the Citie of Berne, but alſo proclaimed by the Magiſtrates in ſondry other Cities nere adioynyng: furthermore that Maſſes, aultares, and Images in all places ſhould be aboliſhed.

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Conſta

At the Citie of Cōſtance certeine thynges began to be altered a litle before. Where alſo, among other thinges, lawes were made agaynſt fornication, and adultery, and all ſuſpect or vnhoneſt company, wherat the Canons (as they are called) of the Church, taking great grief and diſpleaſure, departed the Citie. In the ſayd Citie was then teacher Ambroſius Blaurerus, a learned mā, & borne of a noble ſtocke, who had bene a monke a litle before, profeſſed in the monaſtery of Alperſpacke in the Duchie of Wyttenberge, belongyng to the dominion of Ferdinandus. Which Blaurerus by readyng of Luthers workes, and hauyng a good wytte, had chaunged a litle before, his religion, and alſo his coate, returnyng agayne home vnto hys frendes, and when hys Abbot would haue had hym agayne, and wrote earneſtly to the Senate of Conſtance for hym: he declared the whole caſe of the matter in wrytyng, propoundyng withall, certeine conditions, wherupon he was content (as he ſayd) to returne. But the conditions were ſuch that the Abbot was rather willyng and contented, that he ſhould remayne ſtill at Conſtance, and ſo he dyd.

Reform
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ligion
Conſtā

After this diſputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath bene ſayd) the Images and aultares, with ceremonies, and Maſſes were aboliſhed at Conſtance.

Reform
tion of
ligion
Geneu

They of Geneua alſo for theyr partes, were not behind, folowing likewiſe the example of the Citie of Berne in extyrpyng Images and ceremonyes. By reaſon wherof the Byſhop & Clergy there left and departed the Citie in no ſmall anger.

The Bernates after they had redreſſed with them the ſtate of Religion, they renounced the league made before with the French king, refuſing and forſakyng his warly ſtipend, whereby they were bound at his call to fede hys

warres,

The Lãce knightes of Berne & Zurike forſake their league wͭ the Frẽche kyng.

warres, folowyng therein the example of the Tigurines, whiche before had done the lyke, and were contented onely with their yearely penſion that the kyng payeth to euery page of the Heluetians, to kepe peace.

* Victory of the Goſpel.an.1528

* The day and yeare whẽ this reformation with them began, from Popery to true Chriſtianitie, they cauſed in a pillar to bee engrauen with golden letters, for a perpetuall memory to all poſteritie to come. This was an.1528.

Reformation of Religion in in Strausburgh.

After that the rumour of this diſputation, and alteration of Berne, was noyſed in other Cities and places abroad, firſt the Miniſters of Strausburgh encouraged by this occaſion, began lykewiſe to affirme and teach that the Maſſe was wicked and a great blaſphemie agaynſt Gods holy name, and therfore was to be abrogated, and in ſteade theerof, the right vſe of the Lordes Supper to be reſtored againe. Which, vnles they could proue by the manifeſt teſtimonyes of the Scripture to bee true, they would refuſe no maner of puniſhment. On the contrary part, the Biſhop of Romes Clergy, did hold & mainteine that the Maſſe was good and holy, wherupon kyndled a great contention on both ſides: whiche when the Senate and Magiſtrates of the Citie would haue brought to a diſputation, & could not, becauſe ẏ prieſts would not condeſcend to any reaſoning, therfore ſeyng they ſo accuſed the other, & yet would come to no triall of their cauſe, the ſayd Magiſtrates commaunded them to ſilence.

The Byſhop of Strausburgh to ẏ Senate.

The Biſhop in ẏ meane while ceaſed not with his letters & meſſengers, dayly to call vpon ẏ Senate, deſiryng ẏ Senate to perſeuere in the auncient Religiõ of their elders, and to geue no eare to thoſe new teachers, declaryng what daunger and perill it would bryng vpon them.

The Senate of Strausburgh replyeth to the Biſhop

The Senate agayne deſired hym, as they had done oftentymes before, that ſuch thynges, which apperteyned to the true honour and worſhip of God, might be ſet forward, and all other thynges whiche tended to the contrary, might be remoued and taken away: for that properly belonged to his office to ſee to. But the Byſhop ſtill dryuyng them of with delays, pretended to call an aſſemble for the ſame, appoyntyng alſo day and place for the hearing and diſcuſſyng of thoſe cõtrouerſies: where, in dede, nothyng was performed at all: but with hys letters he did often ſollicitate them to ſurceaſe their enterpriſe, ſometymes by way of entreatyng, ſometymes with manacyng wordes terrifiyng thẽ: and at laſt, ſeyng he could nothyng by that waye preuayle, he turned his ſute to the aſſemble of the Empyre, whiche was then at Spires collected, entreatyng them to ſet in a foote, and to helpe what they could, with their authoritie.

The Byſhop of Strausburgh complayneth to the Counſel of Spires.

The meſſage from the Counſell at Spires, to the Citie of Strausburgh.

They ready to ſatiſfie the Byſhops requeſt, ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſie to the Senate and Citizens of Strausburgh, about Decẽber, ẏ yere aboue ſayd, requiryng thẽ not to put down ẏ Maſſe: for neither it was (ſayd they) in ẏ power of ẏ Emperour, nor of any other eſtate to alter ẏ auncient religiõ receaued from their forefathers, but either by a generall, or by a prouinciall Councell, whiche Councell if they ſuppoſed to be farre of, at leaſt that they woulde take a pauſe till the nexte ſittyng of the Empyre, which ſhould be wͭ ſpede, where their requeſtes beyng propounded & heard, they ſhould haue ſuch reaſonable aũſwere, as ſhould not miſcontent them: for it was (ſaid they) againſt all law and reaſon, for a priuate Magiſtrate to infrynge and diſſolue thoſe thynges, which by general conſent of the whole world, haue bene agreed vpon: and therfore good reaſon required, that they ſhould obteyne ſo much at their handes: For els if they ſhould obſtinatly procede in this their attempt, ſo with force and violence to worke, as they began, it might fortune, the Emperour their supreme Magiſtrate vnder God, and alſo Ferdinãdus hys deputie would not take it well, and ſo ſhould bee compelled to ſeke ſuch remedie therin, as they would bee ſory to vſe. Wherfore their requeſt was, and aduiſe alſo, that they ſhould wey the matter diligently with them ſelues, and folowe good counſaile: who in ſo doyng, ſhould not onely glad the Emperour, but alſo worke that which ſhould redowne chiefly to their owne commendation, and ſafetie.

The Byſhops of Hildeſſeme and of Strausburgh trauaile to kepe the Citie of Strausburgh in their old Religion.

Beſides the meſſengers thus ſent from the Councell of Spires, the Byſhop alſo of Hildeſſeme had bene with them a litle before, exhortyng them in the Emperours name, after like maner. Neither did the Biſhop of Strausburgh alſo ceaſe with hys meſſengers and letters, dayly to labour hys frendes there, and eſpecially ſuch of the Senatours as he had to hym bound by any feaulty, or otherwiſe by any giftes or frendſhyp, that ſo much as in them did lye, they ſhould vphold the Maſſe, and gaynſtande the contrary procedinges of the other.

Reformation of Religion at Strausburgh.

The Senate of Strausburgh in ẏ meane tyme, ſeyng ẏ matter did ſo long hang in controuerſie, ẏ ſpace now of ij. yeares, & the preachers dayly & inſtantly callyng vpon them for a reformatiõ, and ſute alſo being made to them of the Citizens: aſſembled their great and full counſayle to the number of 300 (as in great matters of importance they are accuſtomed to do) and there with them ſelues debated the caſe, declaryng on the one ſide, if they aboliſhed the Maſſe, what daunger they ſhould incurre by the Emperour: On the other ſide, if they did not, how much they ſhould offend God: and therfore geuyng them reſpite to conſulte, at the next meetyng required them to declare their aduiſe and ſentence, in the matter. When the day came that euery man ſhould ſay hys mind, ſo it fell out, that the voyces and iudgementes of them, whiche went agaynſt the Maſſe preuayled.

The Maſſe ouerthrowen at Strausburgh.

Wherupon immediatly a a decree was made the xx. of February.an.1529. that the Maſſe ſhould be ſuſpended and layd down, till tyme that the aduerſary part could proue by good Scripture, the Maſſe to be a ſeruice auailable & acceptable before God.

This decree beyng eſtabliſhed by the conſent of the whole Citie, the Senate eftſoones commaunded the ſame to be proclaymed and to take full place and effect as well within ẏ Citie, as alſo without, ſo farre as their limites and dominion did extende, and afterwarde by letters certified their Byſhop touchyng the doyng therof. Who hearing theſe newes, as heauy to his hart as leade, did ſignifie to thẽ agayne, how he receaued their letters, & how he vnderſtode by the ſame, the effecte and ſumme of theyr doinges:

The Byſhops pacience per force.

all whiche he was enforced to digeſte with ſuch pacience as he could, though they went ſore agaynſt hys ſtomacke, ſeyng for the preſent tyme, he could no otherwiſe chuſe: hereafter as tyme would ſerue, he ſayd hee would ſee thereunto, accordyng as hys charge and office ſhould requyre.

Reformation begynneth at Baſill.

Ioannes Oecolampadius.

Thus how the Maſſe was ouerthrowen in Zurike, in Berne, in Geneua, and in Strausburgh you haue heard. Now what folowed in Baſill, remaineth likewiſe to vnderſtand. In this Citie of Baſill, was Oecolampadius preacher (as is aboue ſignified) by whoſe diligent labour and trauaile, the Goſpell began there to take ſuch fruite, that great diſſention there alſo aroſe among the Citizens about Religion, & eſpecially about the Maſſe. Wherupon ẏ Senate of Baſill appointed, ẏ after an open diſputation, it ſhould be determined by voyces, what were to be done therin. This notwithſtandyng the Papiſtes ſtill cõtinuing in their former purpoſe, began more ſtoutly to inuey agaynſt the other part: and becauſe they were ſo ſuffered by the Magiſtrate without puniſhemẽt, it was therfore doubted by the commons, that they had ſome priuye mainteiners among the Senatours. Wherupon certein of the Citizens were appointed, in ẏ name of ẏ whole cõmons to ſue to ẏ Senatours, & to put thẽ in remẽbraunce of theyr promiſe: Whoſe ſuyte and requeſt was thys, that thoſe Senatours, whiche were the ayders and ſupporters of the Papiſtes, might be diſplaced, for that it did as well tende to the contempt of their former decree made, as alſo to the publicke diſturbãce of the Citie.

The Popiſhe Senatours diſplaced at Baſill.

But when this could not be obteyned of the Senate, the commons, vpon the viij. day of February, the yeare aboue ſayd, aſſembled them ſelues in the gray Friers Churche, and there conſideryng with them ſelues vpõ the matter, repayred agayne with their ſuite vnto the Senate, but not in ſuche humble wiſe as before: and therwithall gathered thē ſelues in the publicke places of yͤ Citie, to fortifie the ſame, albeit as yet without armour. The ſame euening the Senate ſent thē word, yͭ at their requeſt they graūted, that thoſe Senatours, although remaynyng ſtill in office, yet ſhould not ſitte in counſaile, what tyme any matter of Religion ſhould come in talke.

Religion in Baſill, defended by the commons.

By this aunſwere the commons gatheryng that the whole ſtate was ruled by a few, tooke thereat grief and diſpleaſure, proteſtyng openly that they would take counſaile by them ſelues hereafter what they had to do, not onely in caſes of Religion, but alſo in other matters of ciuile gouernement, and forthwith tooke them to armour, kepyng the towers and gates, and other conuenient places of the Citie with watche and warde, in as forcible wiſe, as if the enemie had bene at hand.

The next day the Senate requiryng reſpite to deliberate, was cōtented to committe the matter to them, whō yͤ cōmons before had ſent as ſuters vnto thē. Which offer yͤ Citizens did not refuſe, but wͭ this condition yͭ thoſe Senatours, which were guilty, ſhould in the meane ſeaſon follow their pleey as priuate perſons, vpō their own priuate coſtes and charges: the other which defended the publicke cauſe for the behouſe of the poſteritie, ſhould bee mainteyned by the publicke charges of the Citie. This yͤ Senate was glad to graunt vnto, with ſome other like matters of lighter weyght, to appeaſe their rage.

Gods handy worke in throwing downe Images in Baſill.

It happened the very ſame day, that certeine of the Citizens, ſuch as were appoynted to go about the Citie for the vewyng of thynges, came into the hygh Churche, where one of them thruſtyng at a certeine Image with his ſtafe, eftſoones it fell downe and brake. By the occaſion wherof, other Images alſo in lyke ſorte were ſerued after the ſame deuotion. But when the prieſtes came rūnyng to them, whiche ſemed to be greatly offended therewith, they becauſe they would not paſſe their cōmiſſion, ſtayde their handes and departed. It folowed vpon this, that when woorde hereof was brought to the Citizens, whiche ſtoode in the market place, and the matter beyng made worſe to them then it was: they incontinent diſcharged out iij. hundreth armed men, to reſcue their felowes in the Churche, ſuppoſing them to be in daunger. Who commyng to the Churche, and not fyndyng their felowes there, and all thynges quiet, ſaue onely a fewe Images broken down, they likewiſe, leſt they ſhould haue loſt all their labour, threw downe all the other Idols and Images, whiche they found there ſtandyng, and ſo paſſing through all other Churches in the Citie, did there alſo the lyke: and when certeine of the Senate came forth to appeaſe the tumulte, the Citizens ſayd, that whiche you haue ſtand about theſe iij. yeres, conſultyng and aduiſing whether it were beſt to be done or not, that ſhall we diſpatche in one houre, that frō henceforth neuer more contention ſhall grow betwen vs for Images: and ſo the Senate permitted them free leaue, without any more reſiſtence: and xij. Senatours were diſplaced from their order, albeit without note of reproche or diſhoneſty. Alſo a decree the ſame tyme was made, that as well within the Citie of Baſill, as without, through all their iuriſdiction, the Maſſe with all Idols ſhould be abandoned: and further that in all ſuch matters and caſes as concerned the glory of God, and the affayres of the publicke wealth, beſides the number of the other Senatours, ij. hundreth & threeſcore of the Burgers or Citizens ſhould be appointed out of euery warde in yͤ Citie, to ſitte with thē in coūſaile. Theſe decrees beyng eſtabliſhed, after they had kept watche and warde about the Citie iij. dayes & iij. nightes, euery one returned agayne to hys houſe, quyet and ioyfull, without any bloud, or ſtrocke geuē, or anger wreked but onely vpon the Images.

Images throwen downe at Baſill.

xij. Senatours diſplaced at Baſill.

Maſſe put downe at Baſill.

Ex farrag. Epiſt. Eraſ.

On the thyrd day, which was Aſhewenſdaye (as the Popes ceremoniall Churche doth call it) all the wooden Images were diſtributed among the poore of the Citie, to ſerue them for fire woode. But whē they could not well agree in diuidyng the pray, but fell to braulyng among them ſelues, it was agreed that the ſayd Images ſhould be brent all together: ſo that in ix. great heapes all the ſtockes & Idols there, yͤ ſame day were brent to aſhes before yͤ great Church doore. And thus by Gods ordinaūce it came to paſſe, that the ſame day, wherein the Popes prieſtes are wont to ſhewe forth all their murnyng, and do marke mens foreheades with aſhes, in remembraūce that they be but aſhes, was to the whole Citie feſtiuall & ioyfull, for turnyng their Images to aſhes, & ſo is obſerued & celebrate euery yere ſtil vnto this preſent day, with all myrth, playes, & paſtymes, in remēbraunce of the ſame aſhes, which day may there be called a right Aſhwenſday of Gods own makyng. The men of Zuricke, of Berne, & of Solodure, hearyng what buſines was at Baſill, ſent their Ambaſſadours to be a meanes betwene thē, but before the Ambaſſadours came, all was ceaſed and at quiet.

Aſhewenſday at Baſill, a day of all paſtyme.

A true Aſhwenſday of Gods owne makyng.

Gods prouidence to be noted for the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell.

All this meane ſpace, the Emperour and the Frenche kyng were together occupied in warres & ſtrife. Whiche as it turned to the great dāmage and detriment of the Frenche kyng, who in the ſayd warres was taken priſoner by the Emperour, ſo it happened commodious and oportune for the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell: for els it is to be thought that theſe Heluetians and other Germaines ſhould not haue had that leaſure and reſt, to reforme religion and to lynke them ſelues in league together, as they did. But thus almighty God of his ſecrete wiſedome diſpoſeth tymes and occaſions, to ſerue his will and purpoſe in all thynges. Albeit Ferdinandus the Emperours brother, and deputie in Germanie, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in reſiſting the procedynges of the Proteſtātes, as appeared, both by the decree ſet forth at Ratisbone, and alſo at Spires. In the which Councell of Spires Ferdinandus, at the ſame tyme, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1529. had decreed againſt the Proteſtantes in effect as foloweth.

The decree made at Spires by Ferdinandus.

Firſt that yͤ Edict of yͤ Emperour made at Wormes, ſhould ſtand in force through all Germanie, till the tyme of the generall Councell, whiche ſhould ſhortly folow. Alſo yͭ they which already had altered their religion, & now could not reuoke the ſame agayne, for feare of ſedition, ſhould ſtay them ſelues and attempt no more innouatiōs hereafter, till tyme of the generall Councell. Item, that the doctrine of them, whiche holde the Lordes Supper otherwiſe then the Churche doth teach, ſhould not be receaued, nor the Maſſe ſhould be altered: and there where as the doctrine of religion was altered, ſhould be no impediment to the contrary, but that they whiche were diſpoſed to come to Maſſe, might ſafly therin vſe their deuotion: agaynſt Anabaptiſtes likewiſe: and that all Miniſters of the Churche ſhould be enioyned to vſe no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but accordyng to the expoſition of the Churche doctours: other matters that were diſputable, not to be touched. Moreouer that al perſons and ſtates ſhould kepe peace, ſo that for religiō neither the one part ſhould inferre moleſtation to the other, nor receaue any confederates vnder their protection and ſafegarde: All which decrees, they which ſhould tranſgreſſe, to be outlawed and exiled.

The decree of Spires reſiſted by the Proteſtantes.

Vnto this ſittyng at Spires firſt the Ambaſſadours of Strausburgh, were not admitted but repelled by Ferdinandus, becauſe they had reiected the Maſſe: and therfore the ſayd Citie of Strausburgh denyed to pay any cōtribution agaynſt the Turke, except they with other Germaines, might bee lykewiſe admitted into their counſailes. The other princes, whiche were receaued and not repelled, as the Duke of Saxonie, George of Brandeburgh, Erneſtus, and Frāciſcus Earles of Luneburgh, Lantgraue, Anhaldius, did vtterly gaynſtand the decree, & ſhewed their cauſe in a large proteſtation written, why they ſo did: whiche done, all ſuch Cities whiche ſubſcribed and conſented to the ſayd proteſtation of the princes, eftſoones conioyned them ſelues in a cōmon league with them, wherupon they had their name, called therof Proteſtantes. The names of the Cities were theſe: Argentina, or Strausburgh, Noriberge, Vlmes, Conſtance,

The name of Proteſtantes. how it firſt beganne.

Rutelinge, Winſſemium, Meninge, Lindauia, Campodunū, Hailbrunum, Iſna, Wiſſeburgum, Norlinge, Sangallum.

Sancto-gallum.

Quinquepagicj.

The popiſh Pages in Heluetia cōfederate with Ferdinandus.

Furthermore, as touching the Heluetiās (frō whence we haue somwhat digreſſed) how the Citie of Berne and Zuricke, had cōſented & ioyned together in reformation of true religion, ye heard before. Wherfore the other pages in Heluetia, whiche were of contrary profeſſion, in like maner confederated them ſelues in league with Ferdinādus: the number and names of which Pages, eſpecially were v. to wytte, Lucernates, Vrani, Suitenſes, Vnterualdij, and Tugiani, whiche was in the yeare aboue ſayd: to ẏ intent that they conioynyng their power together, might ouerrūne the religion of Chriſt, and the profeſſours of the ſame. Who alſo for hatred and diſpyte, hanged vp the armes of the foreſayd Cities of Zuricke, and of Berne vpon the gallowes, beſide many other iniuries and greuances, which they wrought agaynſt them. For the whiche cauſe the ſayd Cities of Berne and Zuricke raiſed their power, intendyng to ſet vpon the foreſaid Suitzers, as vpō their capitall enemyes. But as they were in the field ready to encounter, one armye agaynſt the other, throughe the meanes of the Citie of Strausburgh and other interceſſours, they were parted for that tyme, and ſo returned.

The Coūcell of Auſpurge.

The confeſſion of the Proteſtātes at Auſpurge.

As touchyng the Coūcell of Auſpurg, whiche folowed the next yeare after the aſſemble of Spires, an. 1530. how the Princes and Proteſtantes of Germanie, in the ſame Councel exhibited their confeſſion, and what labour was ſought to confute it, and how conſtātly Duke Fridericke perſiſted in defenſe of his conſcience agaynſt the threatnyng wordes, and replications of the Emperour: alſo in what daunger the ſayd princes had bene in, had not the Lantgraue priuely by night, ſlipt out of the Citie, perteyneth not to this place preſently to diſcourſe.

To returne therfore vnto Zuinglius and the Heluetians, of whom we haue here preſently to intreate, you heard before how the tumulte and commotion betwene the ij. Cities of Zurike and Berne, and the other fiue Cities of the Cantons, was pacified by meanes of interceſſion: whiche peace ſo continued the ſpace of ij. yeares. After that the old wound waxyng rawe agayne, began to burſt out, and gather to an head: whiche was by reaſon of certeine iniuries, and opprobrious wordes and contumelies, whiche the reformed Cities had receaued of the other: wherfore the Tigurines and the Bernates ſtopping all paſſages and ſtreites, would permitte no corne nor victuall to paſſe vnto them. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1531. And when great trouble was like to kindle therby, ẏ French kyng, with certein other towneſhyps of Suitzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Soloturnians and other commyng betwene them, laboured to ſet them at agréement, drawyng out certeine conditiōs of peace betwene them. Whiche conditions were theſe, that all contumelies and iniuries paſt ſhould be forgottē. That hereafter neither parte ſhould moleſte the other. That they which were baniſhed for religiō ſhould again be reſtored. That ẏ v. pages might remaine wout diſturbance in their religiō, ſo that none ſhould be reſtreyned amongeſt thē from ẏ readyng of ẏ old & new Teſtament. That no kinde of diſquietnes ſhould be procured againſt them of Berne and Zuricke: and that either part ſhould conferre mutuall helpes together, one to ſuccour ẏ other, as in tymes paſt. But the fiue Pagemen would not obſerue theſe couenauntes made, neither would their malitious hartes be brought to any conformitie. Wherfore the Bernates and Tigurines, ſhewing and declaring firſt their cauſe in publike writyng, to purge and excuſe the neceſſitie of their warre, beyng preſſed with ſo many wronges, and in maner conſtreined to take the ſword in hād, did as before beſet the hye wayes and paſſages, that no furniture of victuall and other forage could come to the other Pages. By reaſon wherof, whē they of the fiue townes begā to be pynched with want and penurie, they armed them ſelues ſecretly, and ſet forward in warrelike aray toward the borders of Zuricke, where as then was lying a garriſon of the Zuricke men, to the number of a thouſand and more. Wherupon worde was ſent incontinent to the Citie of Zuricke, to ſuccour their men with ſpeade, but their enemyes approched ſo faſt, that they coulde hardly come to reſcue them. For when they were come to the toppe of the hylle, whereby they muſt nedes paſſe, they ſaw their felowes beyng in great diſtreſſe, in the valley vnder them: wherupon they encouragyng them ſelues, made downe the hyll with more haſt then order, who might go faſtyſt: but the nature of the hill was ſuch, that there could but one go downe at once. By reaſon whereof, for aſmuch as they could not ſo kepe their rankes, to ioyne all together, it folowed that they beyng but few in number, were diſcomfited and ouermatched of the multitude: whiche was the xi. day of October, the yeare aboue ſayd. Among the number of them that were ſlayne, was alſo Vldricus Zuinglius the bleſſed ſeruaunt and Saint of God. Alſo the Abbot of Capella, and Commendator Kunacenſis, with xiij. other learned and worthy men were ſlayne, beyng as is thought, falſely betrayed and brought into the handes of their enemyes.

Warres betwene the Goſpellers and the v. popyſhe townes of Suitzerland.

Cōditions of peace drawen, but not kepte.

The Tigurines prouoked and cōpelled to warre againſt their enemies.

The Tigurines ouermatched and ouercome.

Vldricus Zuinglius ſlayne.

As touchyng the cauſe which moued Zuinglius to go out with hys Citizens to ẏ warre, it is ſufficiently declared and excuſed both by Iohn Sledan, and eſpecially by Oecolampadius, in his Epiſtle (ad Mart. Frechtum, & Somium. Epiſt. lib. 4. Where firſt is to be vnderſtand, that it is an old receaued maner among the Zuricke mē, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief Miniſter of their Churche goeth with them. Zuinglius alſo of hym ſelfe beyng a man (ſayth Sledanus) of a ſtoute and bolde courage, conſidering, if he ſhoulde remaine at home when warre ſhould be attempted agaynſt hys Citizens, and if he whiche in his Sermons did ſo encourage other, ſhould now faynt ſo cowardly, and tarie behynd at home, when tyme of daunger came, what ſhame and diſdayne might worthely ryſe to hym therby: thought not to refuſe to take ſuch part as his brethren did.

Ex Ioan. Sled lib. 8.

Ex Epiſt. Ioan. Oecolampadij. Lib. 4.

Oecolampadius moreouer addeth, that he went not out as a Captayne of the field, but as a good Citizen with his Citizens, & as a good ſhepheard ready to dye with hys flocke. And whiche of all them (ſayth he) that moſt crye out agaynſt Zuinglius, can ſhew any ſuch noble hart in hym, to do the lyke? Agayne, neither did he go out of hys owne accorde, but rather deſired not to go, foreſeyng belyke, what daunger therof would enſue. But the Senate beyng importune vpon hym, would haue no nay, vrgyng and enforcyng hym moſt inſtantly to goe: among whom were thought to haue bene ſome falſe betrayers, ſaying and obiectyng to hym that he was a daſtard, if he refuſed to accompany his brethrē, as well in tyme of daunger, as in peace. Moreouer the ſayd Zuinglius among other ſeculare artes, had alſo ſome ſkill in ſuch matters of warfare. Hæc Oecolampad. When he was ſlayne, great crueltie was ſhewed vpō his dead corps. Such was their hatred towarde hym, that their malice could not bee ſatiſfied, vnleſſe alſo they ſhould burne his body beyng dead. Ex Comment. Ioan. Sled. lib. 8. The reporte goeth that after hys body was firſt cut in foure peeces, and then conſumed with fire, three dayes after his death, hys frendes came to ſee whether any part of hym was remaining, where they found his hart in the aſhes whole and vnburned: in much lyke maner, as was alſo the hart of Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whiche in the aſhes alſo was founde and taken vp vnconſumed, as by credible information is teſtified.

Zuinglius excuſed for his going out to warre.

Zuinglius hys dead bodye burned.

Ex Oſwaldo Myconio de vita et obitu Zuinglij.

The hart of Zuinglius found whole in the aſhes.

Furthermore, ſuch was then ẏ rage of theſe fiue Pages agaynſt the foreſayd Abbot Capellenſis, that they toke him beyng ſlayne, and puttyng out both hys eyes, they clothed hym in a monkes coule, and ſo ſet hym in the pulpitte to preach, railyng and ieſtyng vpon hym in moſt deſpitefull maner. Ex Epiſt. Oecolap. ad Wolfgangum Capitonem. lib. 4. Vldericke Zuinglius was when he dyed, of the age of 44. yeares: yonger then M. Luther by 4. yeares.

The cruell handling of the Abbot Capellenſis.

Ex Epiſt. Oecola. ad Wolfgangū Capitonē. Lib. 4.

The age of Zuinglius and of Luther recknued.

The Bernates, who were purpoſed the ſame tyme to achiue warre againſt the Vnterualdians bordering nere vnto them, when they heard of this diſcomfiture of the Tigurines, to comforte them agayne deſired them to bée of good cheare and courage, promiſing that they would not fayle, but come and reuenge their quarell. Agayne, whē the Tigurines had aſſembled their power together, whiche was the eight day after the battell, and had receaued ayde from the Schaffuſians, Mulluſians, Sangalles, and from Baſil, (the Bernates at this time were nothing haſty) out of the whole number they choſe out certeine enſignes, whiche ſettyng forth in the night, lay in the hill beſides Mecinge, intendyng, when the Moone was vp, to take the towne of Tugie lying nere at hand, vpon the ſodayne. Which whē their enemies had perceaued, which were encāped not farre frō thē, with all ſpeede & moſt all ſecret maner came vpō thē beyng at reſt, ẏ xxiiij. day of October, and to put them in more feare, made a wonderful clamorous outcrye: ſo it fell out in concluſion, that many on both parties were ſlayne. And albeit the fiuepage men had the vpperhand, yet would they of Zuricke nothyng relent in their religion. At the laſt through mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agréed, that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Baſilians ſhould forſake the league, whiche they had lately made with the Citie of Strausburgh, and the Lantgraue: likewiſe ſhould the fiuepagemen geue ouer their league & compoſitiō made with Ferdinandus: and hereof obligations were made and ſealed in the latter end of Nouember.

An other ſkyrmiſhe betwene the Tigurines and the fiue Pagemen, in Suitzerland.

Peace concluded betwene the Proteſtātes and the Papiſtes, in Suitzerland.

Oecolampadius the preacher of the Citie of Strauſburgh aboue recorded, hearyng of the death of Zuinglius his deare frend, tooke therat inward grief and ſorow, in ſomuche that it is thought to haue increaſed hys diſeaſe, and ſo he alſo departed this life, the ſame yeare and moneth of Nouember aboue mentioned, beyng of ẏ age of 49. yeres, elder thē M. Luther by one yeare. Although this Oecolāpadius then dyed, yet his learned & famous Cōmentaries vpō ẏ Prophets, wᵗ other worthy workes, which he left behind him, liue ſtill, and ſhall neuer dye.

The death of Oecolampadius, an. 1531.

The Cōmentaries of Oecolampadius vpon the Prophets.

The next yeare folowyng, whiche was an. 1532. in the moneth of Auguſt, died alſo the worthy & memorable prince Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie, who for teſtimonie of Chriſt and of his Goſpell, ſuſteined ſuch trials, ſo many brunkes, and ſo vehement cōflictes with the Emperour, and that eſpecially at the Councell aſſembled at Auſpurge, that vnles the almightie hand of the Lord had ſuſteined hym, it had not bene poſſible for hym or any prince to haue endured ſo conſtant and vnremoueable, agaynſt ſo many perſuaſiōs and aſſaultes, as he dyd to the end. After hym ſucceded Iohn Fridericke his ſonne. &c.

The death of Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie.

And thus haue ye the hyſtory of Zuinglius, and of the Churche of Suitzerland, with their procedynges & troubles, from the firſt begynnyng of their reformation of religion, ſet forth and deſcribed. Wherunto we will adde one certeine Epiſtle of the ſayd Zuinglius, taken out of his other Epiſtles, and ſo therewith cloſe vp his ſtory. Whiche Epiſtle I thought here to recorde, eſpecially for that in the ſame, amōg other matters, profitably is expoūded the true meanyng of the Apoſtle writyng to the Corinthians, concernyng how to iudge the Lordes body, to the entent that the ſimple therby may the better be informed. The wordes of his letter be theſe, as folow.

¶ Huldrichus Zuinglius N. fratri in Domino.

GRatiam & pacem in Domino. Accipe igitur Chariſ. Frater. &c. In Engliſhe thus.

A letter of *Vldricus Zuinglius.*

Unto your queſtions propounded to me in your former letters (welbeloued brother) I haue ſente you here myne aunſwere. Firſte I am alſo in the ſame minde with you, that the Lordes Supper is a very thākes geuyng: for ſo the Apoſtle hym ſelfe meaneth, ſaying: ye ſhall ſhewe forth the Lordes death. where the worde of ſhewyng forth ſignifieth as much as prayſing, or thankes geuyng. wherfore ſeyng it is an Euchariſt, or a thankeſgeuyng, in my iudgement no other thyng ought to be obtruded to mens conſciences, but onely with due reuerence to geue thankes. Neuertheles yet this is not to be neglected, that euery man do proue and examine him ſelfe, for ſo we ought to ſearch and aſke our owne conſciences, what faith we haue in Chriſt Ieſus, whiche if it be ſound and ſyncere, we may approche without ſtay, to this thākes geuing. For he that hath no faith, and yet faineth or pretendeth to haue, eateth his owne iudgement: for he lyeth to the holy Ghoſt. And where as you ſuppoſe, ẏ Paule in this place doth not reproue thē, which ſitte at ẏ table eatyng of meates offered to Idols, I diſſent frō you therin. For Paule a litle before, writeth vehemently agaynſt thoſe arrogant perſōs, whiche bragging vpon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eate of ſuch meates offered to Idols, ſittyng and eatyng at the Lordes table: you can not (ſayth he) be partakers both of the Lordes table, and the table of deuills. &c. wherfore S. Paules meanyng is, that euery one ſhoulde trye and examine him ſelfe what fayth he hath. wherupon it foloweth, that he whiche hath a right fayth, muſt haue no part nor felowſhyp with thoſe thynges, whiche bee geuen to Idols, for hee is nowe a member of an other body, that is, of Chriſt: ſo that he cā not ioyne hym ſelf now to be one body with Idolaters. And therfore thoſe bee they, which do not iudge or diſcerne the Lordes bodye, that make no difference betwene the Churche of Chriſt, and the Churche of Idolaters. For they whiche ſitte at the Lordes table eating of Idolemeates, do make no difference at all, betwene the Lordes Supper and the Supper of the deuill, whiche be they whom Paule ſayth, not to iudge the bodye of the Lorde, that is, whiche make no diſcrepance nor geue any more regard to Chriſtes Churche, then to the Churche of deuils. whereas if we would iudge our ſelues, that is, if we would thorouly ſearche and examine our owne conſciences, as we ſhould, in cōming to the table of the Lord, we findyng any faith in vs, would neuer go to the table, or make therof the feaſt of deuils. wherfore your iudgement herein is not amyſſe in expoundyng the worde of iudgyng in S. Paul, to ſignifie as much as conſideryng, perpendyng, and inquiring.

1. Cor. 10.

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of S. Pau
of iudging
the Lord
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pounded.

Who be
they that
iudge not
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body.

To your ſecond queſtion, I aunſwere: That Ieſus tooke bread, and brake. &c. Alſo, he tooke the cup. &c. Iſta verba ſunt peculiariter agentis, non hoſpitaliter inuitantis, that is: theſe wordes declare the Action of one whiche properly doth a thyng, and not the hoſpitalitie of one whiche inuiteth an other to eate. Touchyng your third queſtion out of the vi. chap. of Iohn: Doth thys offend you? herein I do full agree with you.

Ieſus to
bread.

As for this worde Oſtren, whiche is your fourth queſtiō, I vnderſtand therby, the time of the great feaſt or ſolemnitie, whiche we kepe in remembraunce of the great deliuerance of Gods people, from the thraldome now of Satā, before from the thraldome of Pharao. Neither is it greatly materiall with what worde we expreſſe the thyng, ſo the thyng it ſelfe be one & the analogie and conſonancie of the Scripture bee kept: For the Scripture calleth Chriſt both the lambe, & S. Paul calleth hym our Eaſter or Paſſeouer. Nowe your worde Wanderfeſt well pleaſeth me, for the Paſſeouer, or Pæſah.

The wo
Eaſter.

To your fifte interrogation, of Chriſt deſcendyng into hell, I ſuppoſe this particle was inſerted into the Crede, by the ſentence of the fathers, to declare howe the fathers were redemed by the death of Chriſt, whiche dyed in the fayth. For Chriſt lead away captiuitie wherwith they were holden, with him vp into heauen: ſo that his goyng downe into hell, non ſic intelligatur, quaſi circumſcriptiue, ſed potentionaliter, that is, be not ſo vnderſtanded, as circumſcriptiuely, which is, when a thyng is preſent by circumſcription of any one place: but by power, whiche is, by the operation of his ſpirite, which is not comprehended in any certeintye of place, but without preſcription of certeine place, is diffuſed euery where: ſo that the Article of Chriſtes deſcendyng into hell, importeth as much, as that his death redemed them, whiche were in hell. whereunto S. Peter alſo ſemeth to haue reſpecte, where he ſayth: * The Goſpell alſo was preached to them which were dead: that is, that they alſo did feele the good tydynges of the Goſpell, their redemption by the ſonne of God: and that they whiche roſe agayne with Chriſt in ſpirite, bee nowe with hym in heauen, who neuertheleſſe in fleſhe ſhalbe iudged, what tyme the ſonne of God and of mā ſhall come to iudge both the quicke and dead. Returne to the places of Peter, the one is in hys firſt Epiſtle: the other is in the latter, and ſo be you contented with this preſent aunſwere raſhed vp in haſte. Fare ye hartely well. And comforte my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God whiche is in you. Commende me to Iohn Eggenberge. From Zuricke the firſt day of September, an. 1527.

The des
ding of
Chriſt in
to hell, e
pounded.

Circum-
ſcriptiu
Potenti
naliter.

Vt mort
illius e
qui era
apud in
ros redi-
meret.

* 1. *Pe*

FRom the firſt begynnyng of this whole booke and hiſtory hitherto (good reader) thou haſt heard of many and ſundry troubles and much buſines in the Churche of Chriſt, concerning the reformation of diuers abuſes and great errours crept into the ſame, namely in the Church of Rome, as appeareth by the doinges of them, in diuers & ſundrye places, wherof mention hath bene made heretofore in this ſaid hiſtory. For what godly mā hath there bene within the ſpace of theſe fiue hundred yeres, either vertuouſly diſpoſed, or excellently learned, whiche hath not diſproued the miſordered doinges and corrupt examples of the Sea and Biſhop of Rome, from time to time, vnto the commyng of this Luther? Wherin this appeareth to me, and may alſo appeare no leſſe to all godly diſpoſed men, to be noted, not without great admiration, that ſeyng this foreſayd Romiſhe Byſhop hath had great enemies and gaynſayers continually from time to time, both ſpeakyng and workyng, preachyng and wrytyng agaynſt hym, yet notwithſtandyng neuer any could preuaile before the commyng of this man. The cauſe wherof, although it bee ſecretly knowen vnto God, and vnknowen vnto men: yet ſo farre as men by coniectures may ſuppoſe, it may thus not vnlikely be thought: That where as other men before hym, ſpeakyng agaynſt the pompe, pride, whoredome and auarice of the Byſhop of Rome, charged hym onely or moſt ſpecially with examples and maners of lyfe: Luther went further with hym, chargyng him, not with life, but with hys learnyng: not with hys doynges, but with hys doctrine: not picking at the rine, but pluckyng vp the roote: not ſekyng the man, but ſhaking his Seate, yea and charging him with plaine hereſie, as preiudiciall and reſiſtyng plainely agaynſt the bloud of Chriſt, contrary to the true ſenſe and direct vnderſtādyng of the ſacred Teſtament of Gods holy word. For where as the fundation of our fayth grounded vpon the holy ſcripture, teacheth and leadeth vs to be iuſtified onely by the worthynes of Chriſt, and the onely price of his bloud: the Pope proceding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth vs otherwiſe to ſeke our ſaluatiō, not by Chriſt alone, but by the way of mens meriting and deſeruing by workes: Wherupon roſe diuers ſortes of orders and religious ſectes amōgeſt men, ſome profeſſing one thyng, and ſome another, and euery man ſekyng his own rightuouſnes, but few ſekyng the rightuouſnes of hym whiche is ſet vp of God to be our righteouſnes, redemption, and iuſtification.

he corruption of e Sea of ome, con nually yed out aynſt.

he Pope arged wᵗ reſie by uther.

he founda tiō of the pes doc ne con rye to hriſten yth.

Martin Luther therfore bryging and reducyng thyngs to the foundation and touchſtone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, whiche before were drowned in darkenes. Wherupon it can not be expreſſed what ioye, comfort, and conſolatiō came to the hartes of men, ſome lying in darkenes and ignoraunce, ſome wallowyng in ſinne, ſome beyng in diſpayre, ſome macerating them ſelues by workes, and ſome preſumyng vpon theyr owne righteouſnes, to behold that glorious benefite of ŷ great libertie and free iuſtification ſet vp in Chriſt Ieſus. And briefly to ſpeake, the more glorious the benefite of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorāūce, the greater perſecution folowed vpon the ſame. And where the elect of God tooke moſt occaſion of comfort and of ſaluation, therof the aduerſaries tooke moſt matter of vexation and diſturbaunce: As commonly we ſee thee true worde of God to bryng with it euer diſſenſion and perturbation, and therfore truly it was ſayd of Chriſt, *that he came not to ſende peace on earth, but the ſworde*. And this was the cauſe, why that after the doctrine and preachyng of Luther, ſo great troubles and perſecutions folowed in all quarters of ŷ world: wherby roſe great diſquietnes among the prelates, and many lawes and decrees were made, to ouerthrowe the ſame by cruell handlyng of many good & Chriſtian mē. Thus, while authoritie armed with lawes & rigour, did ſtriue agaynſt ſimple veritie, lamentable it was to heare how many poore men were troubled and went to wracke, ſome toſt from place to place, ſome exiled out of the land for feare, ſome cauſed to abiure, ſome driuen to caues in woodes, ſome racked with torment, and ſome purſued to death with fagot and fire. Of whom we haue now (Chriſt willyng) in this hiſtory folowyng to entreat, firſt beginning with certayne that ſuffered in Germanie, and then to returne to our owne ſtories, and Martyrs here in England.

uſtifica n by yth, reui d by Lu er.

Math. 10.

reat per ſecution af r the doc ine of uther.

¶ Henry Voes, and Iohn Eſch, Frier Auguſtines.

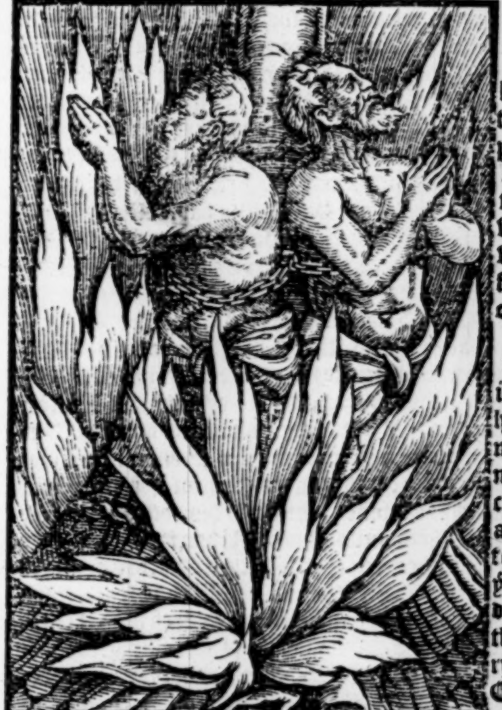
IN the yeare of our Lord. 1523. two yonge men were burnt at Bruxelles, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of 24. yeares, and ŷ other Iohn Eſch, which before had bene of ŷ order of ŷ Auguſtine Friers. They were diſgraded the firſt day of Iuly, and ſpoyled of their Friers wede, at the ſute of Egmondanus the Popes Inquiſitor, and the diuines of Louain, for that they would not retract and deny their doctrine of the Goſpell, which the Papiſtes call Lutheraniſme. Their examiners were Hocheſtratus and other, who demaunded of them, what they did beleue? They ſayd the bookes of the old Teſtament, and the new, wherein were conteined the Articles of the Crede. Then were they aſked whether they beleued the decrees of the Councels and of the fathers? They ſayd, ſuch as were agreyng to the Scripture, they beleued. After this they proceded further, aſkyng whether they thought it any deadly ſinne, to tranſgreſſe the decrees of the fathers, and of the Byſhop of Rome? That (ſayd they) is to bee attributed onely to the preceptes of God, to binde ŷ conſcience of man or to looſe it. Wherin when they conſtantly perſiſted, & would not turne, they were condemned and iudged to be burned. Then they began to giue thankes to God their heauenly father, which had deliuered them through his great goodnes, from that falſe and abominable prieſthoode, and had made them prieſtes of his holy order, receauyng them vnto him as a ſacrifice of ſweet odour. Then there was a Bill wrytten, whiche was deliuered vnto them to read openly before the people, to declare what fayth and doctrine they helde. The greateſt errour that they were accuſed of, was that men ought to truſt onely in God, forſomuch as mē are lyers and diſceatfull in all their wordes & dedes, and therfore there ought no truſt or affiāce to be put in them.

Two Fryers burned at Bruxelles.

Egmondanus, and Hocheſtratus, doctors of Louain, perſecutours.

Their examination.

The cauſe of their accuſation and Martyrdome.



As they were led vnto the place of execution, whiche was ŷ firſt day of Iuly, they went ioyfully and merely, making continuall proteſtatiō ŷ they died for the glory of God & the doctrine of ŷ Goſpell, as true Chriſtiās beleuing and following ŷ holy Church of ŷ ſonne of God, ſaying alſo that it was ŷ day which they had long deſired. After they were come to the place where they ſhould be burned, and were diſpoyled of their garmentes, they taried a great ſpace in their ſhirtes, and ioyfully embraced the ſtake that they ſhould be bound to, patiently and ioyfully enduring

what

whatſoeuer was done vnto them, praiſing God, with Te Deum laudamus, and ſingyng Pſalmes and rehearſing the Crede, in teſtimonie of their fayth. A certeine doctor beholdyng their iolitie & mirth, ſayd vnto Henry, that he ſhould take hede ſo foliſhly to glorifie himſelfe. To whom he aunſwered: God forbid that I ſhould glorye in any thyng but onely in the croſſe of my Lord Ieſus Chriſt. An other counſayled hym to haue God before his eyes: vnto whom he aunſwered, I truſt that I cary him truly in my heart. One of them ſeyng that fire was kindled at his féete, ſayd: me thinkes ye do ſtrawe roſes vnder my féete. Finally the ſmoke and the flame mountyng vp to theyr face, choked them.

Beholde howe conſtantly and ioyfully, theſe Martyrs take their death.

Henry beyng demaunded amongeſt other thynges, whether Luther had ſeduced hym or no: yea (ſaid he) euẽ as Chriſt ſeduced his Apoſtles. He ſayd alſo, that it was contrary to Gods law, that ẏ Clergie ſhould be exempted from the power and iuriſdiction of the Magiſtrate ordeyned of God: for ſuch as were ordeined in office by the Byſhops, haue no power, but onely to preache the worde of God, and to féede their flocke therewithall. After their death, their Monaſtery was diſſolued at Andwarpe. The Preſident wherof, by the Papiſtes called Iacobus Lutherianus, after diuers and many troubles and afflictions, was forced to recante at Bruxelles, but afterwarde his minde beyng renewed by the holy Ghoſt, embracyng that agayne which he before had renounced, hée fled vnto Luther. Ex 6. tomo. M. Lutheri. fol. 397.

Agaynſt all reaſon that the Clergie ſhould be exempted from the ciuill Magiſtrate.

Iacobus Lutherianus.

¶ *Henry Sutphen Monke, put to death in Diethmar.*

Henry Sutphen, Martyr.

Ex Comment. Sled. Lib. 4.

THe next yeare after the burnyng of thoſe ij. Chriſtian Martyrs at Bruxels, aboue mentioned, with lyke tyranny alſo was martyred and burned without all order of iudgement or iuſt condemnation, about the Citie of Dietmar, in ẏ borders of Germanie, one Henry of Sutphen monke, an. 1524. of whom mention is partly touched in the Commentaries of Ioh. Sledan. lib. 4. but his hiſtory is more amply deſcribed of Luther, of Paulus Eberus in his Calendar, of Ludou. Rabus, Criſpinus, & other. This Sutphen had bene before with M. Luther, and afterward cõmyng to Antwarpe, was frõ thence excluded for the Goſpell, and ſo came to Breme, not to the intent there to preache, but for that he was minded to go to Wyttenberge, beyng driuen from Antwarpe, as is aboue ſayd. Who beyng at Breme, was there required by certeine godly Citizens of Breme, to make one or ij. brief exhortations vpon the Goſpell. Wherunto, through the earneſt loue and zeale that was in hym, he was eaſely allured & perſuaded. He made his firſt ſermon vnto ẏ people, the Sonday before S. Martins day. When ẏ people heard hym preach ẏ word of God ſo ſyncerely, they deſired him agayn ẏ ſecond time, & were ſo in loue wͭ his doctrine, that ẏ whole pariſh required hym to tary amongeſt thẽ to preach ẏ Goſpell: which thyng, for feare of daũger, for a time he refuſed. Whẽ the religious route had vnderſtanding hereof, ſpecially the Canons, Mõkes & Prieſts, they went about ſpithall endeuour, to oppreſſe hym, and thruſt both hym out of ẏ Citie, & alſo the Goſpell of Chriſt (for that was their chief ſekyng:) whereupon they went vnto the Senate, deſiryng that ſuch an hereticke might be baniſhed the towne, whiche in his doctrine preached agaynſt the Catholicke Churche. Upon the complaynt of the Canons, the Senate ſent for the Wardens, and the head men of ẏ Pariſhe where Henry had preached, who beyng come together, the Senate declared vnto them the complainte of the Canons & all the other religious men. Whereunto ẏ Citizens of Breme taking their preachers part, aũſwered, that they knew none other, but that they had hyred a learned and honeſt mã to preache vnto them, which ſhould teach them ſyncerely and truly the word of God. Notwithſtãdyng, if the Chapterhouſe or any other mã, could bring teſtimoniall or wytnes, that the preacher had taught any thyng, whiche either ſauourd of hereſie, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they ſayd) with the chapterhouſe, to perſecute hym: for God forbid that they ſhould maintaine an hereticke. But if contrariwyſe, the Canons of the chapter houſe and the other religious men will not declare and ſhowe that the preacher, whom they had hyred, had taught any errour or hereſie, but were ſet onely of malice, by violence to driue hym awaye, they might not (ſayd they) by any meanes, ſuffer the ſame. Wherupon they deſired the Senate with all humble obedience, that they would not requyre it of them, but graunt thẽ equitie & iuſtice, ſaying, that they were mynded to aſſiſte their preacher allwayes, and to pleade his cauſe.

Henry Sutphen preacheth at Breme.

Monkes and prieſtes conſpire agaynſt Henry.

The Citizens of Breme excuſe their preacher.

This aunſwere the Senate commaunded to be declared to the chapterhouſe. When as the religious ſorte vnderſtode that they could preuayle litle or nothyng by their woordes, burſtyng out in a fury, they began to threaten, and therwithall, went ſtrayghte vnto the Archbyſhop to certifie hym, howe the Citizens of Breme were become heretickes, and would no longer obey their Religious ſorte, with many other lyke thynges in their complaynt, ſo that it was to bee feared, leaſt the whole Citie, ſhortly ſhould bée ſeduced.

When the Biſhop heard tell of theſe thinges, ſtraightwaies he ſent ij. which were of his cõuſaile, vnto Breme, requiryng that Henry ſhould be ſent vnto hym without delay. When they were demaũded why they would haue hym ſent, they aunſwered, becauſe he preached agaynſt the holy Churche. Beyng agayne demaunded, in what pointes or Articles, they had nothyng to ſaye. One of theſe counſellers, was the Biſhops Suffragan, a naughtye pernicious hypocrite, which ſought all meanes poſſible to cary away the ſayd Henry captiue. Finally they receaued this aunſwere of the Senatours, that for ſo much as the preacher beyng hyred by the Churche Wardens, had not hitherto bene conuicte for an hereticke, and that no man had declared any erronious or hereticall Article that he had taught, they ſayd, they could by no meanes obteine of the Citizens, that he ſhould be caried away: wherfore they earneſtly deſired ẏ Byſhop that he would ſpedely ſend hys learned men vnto Breame to diſpute with hym, and if he were conuinced, they promiſed without any delay that he ſhould bee iuſtly puniſhed and ſent away: if not, they would in no wiſe let him departe. Wherunto the Suffragan aunſwered with a great proteſtation, requiryng that he myght be deliuered into hys handes, for the quietnes of the whole countrey, takyng God to his witnes, that in this behalfe, he ſought for nothing els, but onely the commodity of his countrey. But for all this, they could preuayle nothyng, for the Senate continued ſtill in their former minde. Whereupon the Suffragan beyng moued with anger, departed from Breame, and would not confirme their children. When he came vnto the Biſhop, he declared the aũſwere of the Senate, and what he had heard & learned of the Prieſtes and Monkes there. Afterward when dayly newes came, that ẏ preacher did ſtill more and more preach and teache more heynous matter againſt ẏ Religious route, they attempted another way, ſuborning great men to admoniſh the Citizens of Breme into what ieoperdye their cõmon wealth might fal by meanes of their preacher, preaching cõtrary to ẏ decrée of the Pope and Emperour. Beſides that, they ſayd that he was the priſoner of the Lady Margarete, for which cauſe they had gotten letters of the Lady Margarete, requiryng to haue her priſoner ſent vnto her agayne.

All theſe craftes and ſubtilties did nothyng at all preuayle, for the Senate of Breme aunſwered all thynges without blame. When as the Byſhop ſaw this his enterpriſe alſo fruſtrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certeine hope, that both he and alſo the worde of God with hym ſhould be wholy oppreſſed. Whereupon they decréed a prouinciall counſaile, not to bée holden at Breme as it was accuſtomed, but at Bucſtade, whiche place they thought moſt méete for theyr purpoſe.

To this Councell were called all the Prelates & learned men of the dioces, to determine what was to bée beleued,

leued, and wherunto to truſt.

Alſo to the ſaid Councell was Henry called, notwithſtandyng that they had alreadye decreed to procede agaynſt hym, as agaynſt a manifeſt hereticke, albeit he was not yet conuict nor had pleaded his cauſe before. Wherfore the rulers of the Citie, together with the commonalty, deteined hym at home, forſeyng and ſuſpectyng the malice of the Councell. Thē the ſayd Henry gathered a ſome of his doctrine into a few Articles, and ſent it with his letters, vnto the archbyſhop, excuſing his innocencie, offryng him ſelfe to be ready, that if hee were conuict of any errour by the teſtimony of the holy Scripture, he would be ready to recante the ſame: notwithſtanding earneſtly requiryng, that his errours might be conuicted by the holy Scriptures, by the teſtimonie wherof, he had hetherto approued his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirme the ſame: but thys tooke no place amongeſt thoſe annoynted Prelates. What the determination of theyr iudgement was, it maye hereupon well be gathered, in that ſhortly after they ſet vp vpon the Church porch the Bull of Pope Leo the tenth, and decree of the Emperour made at Wormes. Wherupon Henry contemnyng their madnes, proceded dayly in preachyng of the Goſpell, addyng allwayes this proteſtation, that hee was ready wyllyngly to geue accompt touchyng his faith and doctrine, to euery man that would require the ſame. In the meane tyme, the holy Catholiſkes could not be idle, but ſent their Chappleynes vnto euery Sermon to trappe him in his wordes. But God, whoſe foote pathes are in the middeſt of the floudes, would alſo haue his maruelous power to be ſene in them, for he conuerted many of them: in ſo much that the greater part of thoſe that were ſent to harken, did openly witneſſe his doctrine to be Gods truth, agaynſt whiche no man could contend, and ſuch as in all their liues before they had not heard, perſwadyng them likewiſe that they forſakyng all impietie, ſhould folow the worde of God, and beleue the ſame, if they would be ſaued. But the chief Prieſtes, Canons and Monkes, were ſo indurate and blynded with Pharao, that they became the worſe for theſe admonitions. Whē as God ſaw the tyme conuenient, that Henry ſhould confirme the veritie that he had preached, he ſent hym amongeſt the cruell murtherers appoynted for that ſlaughter, by this occaſion as followeth.

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It happened in the yeare of our Lord. 1524. that this Henry was ſent for by letters, by Nicolas Bove pariſhe Prieſt, and other faithfull Chriſtians of the pariſh of Meldorphe, whiche is a towne in Diethmar, to preache the Goſpell vnto them and deliuer them out of the bondage of Antichriſt, whiche in that place had full dominion.

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Theſe letters beyng receaued, vppon S. Catherines euen, calling together ſixe brethren, honeſt Citizens, he opened the matter vnto them, how that he was ſent for by them of Diethmar to preach the Goſpell: addyng moreouer, that hee was not onely a debtour vnto them, but to all other which required his ayde. Wherfore he thought good to goe vnto Diethmar, to ſee what God woulde worke by him, requiryng alſo that they would helpe hym with their aduiſe, by what meanes he might beſt take his iourney, that no man ſhould know of it, that thereby hee might not be letted or ſtopped: whiche thyng without doubt had come to paſſe, if his purpoſe had bene knowen to the people. Vnto whom the Citizens aunſwered, deſiryng him that he would not depart for a time, for ſo much as the Goſpell had not yet taken ſo deepe roote in the people, but was as yet weake, and ſpecially in the Villages therabout, and that the perſecutiō was very greate, willyng him alſo to haue reſpect vnto this, that he was by them called to ẏ office of preachyng, and if they of Diethmar deſired a preacher, he ſhould ſend ſome other in hys place, for they had before perceaued the diſpoſition and vntruſtines of them of Diethmar: beſides that, it was not in their power to giue him free liberty to depart, without the conſent of the whole communalty. Whereunto Henry made aunſwere in this maner, that albeit hee could not deny but that he was ſent for by them: yet now there were many godly & learned mē at Breme, whoſe labour they might vſe in his abſence, in preachyng of the Goſpell. Beſides that, the Papiſtes were for the moſt part, vanquiſhed & ouerthrowen, & their follye knowen, euen vnto wemen and children, addyng therunto, that he had now preached the Goſpel by the ſpace of ij. yeares at Breme, and that they of Diethmar, lyued without a Paſtor euen in the middeſt of the wolues, wherfore he could not with ſafe conſcience, deny their requeſt. And wheras they alleged that they could not licence him, with out the conſent of the whole cōgregation: that (ſaid he) was but of ſmall effect, for ſomuch as he would not vtterly forſake them, but determined onely to remayne with them of Diethmar for a moneth or two, to lay a foundation, and then to returne agayne, deſiryng them that after his departure, they would declare vnto the Congregatiō, how he was ſent for by them of Diethmar, to whom hee coulde not ſay nay: willyng them alſo to excuſe hys ſodeine departure, for that hee was forced to depart ſecretly, becauſe of his aduerſaries priuely lying in wayte in euery place for him, thinking that he ſhould ſcarſly auoide them, which had allwayes gone about to bring him to hys death. Finally, they ſhould promiſe to ẏ congregation in hys name, that when he had performed his enterpriſe, he would ſtraight returne agayne. They beyng perſwaded with theſe wordes, conſented vnto him, ſtedfaſtly hoping that they of Diethmar ſhould be conuerted vnto the true faith: whiche people about all other, haue allwayes bene moſt geuen vnto Idolatry.

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The cauſes mouing Henry to goe to Diethmar.

In thys rude countrey of Diethmar, Maiſter Rogers our countreyman and Martyr, was ſuperintendent in tyme of the vi. articles, where he with great daunger of hys lyfe, did very much good.

Hauing prepared all thyngs toward his ſetting forth, the xxij. day of October, he tooke his iourney, and came to Meldorphe, whether he was ſent for: where as hee was ioyfully receaued of the pariſhe Prieſt and other, as ſoone as he was come thether. Albeit he had not yet preached, the deuill with his members by and by, began to freate and fume for anger. Aboue all other, one Auguſtine Torneborch, Prior of the blacke Friers, began to fume, who went out of hād vnto maiſter Iohn Swicken his cōpanion, and Commiſſarie to the Officiall of Hamburge, to take counſaile what was to be done, leſte they ſhould loſe their kyngdome. Finally it was decreed by them, aboue all thinges to withſtand the begynnynges, that he ſhould not haue licence to preache: for if by any meanes it happened that he preached & the people ſhould heare him, it was to be feared that ẏ wickednes and craft of the Prieſtes and Monkes ſhould be opened, whiche beyng made manifeſt, they knewe playnely that it would be but a folly to reſiſte, remembryng what had happened lately before in Breme. This determinatiō had, the Prior, the next day early in the mornyng, (for hee had not ſlept well all night for cares) went with great ſpeede vnto Heyda, to ſpeake with ẏ 48. Preſidentes of the countrey: vnto whom with great complaints he ſhewed, how that a ſedicious felowe a Monke, was come frō Breme, whiche would ſeduce all the people of Diethmar, as hee had done the Bremers. There was moreouer that did aſſiſte this Prior, maiſter Gunterus Chauncelour of that countrey, and Petrus Hannus, both enemies vnto the Goſpell. Theſe ij. ſtoutlye aſſiſted the Prior, perſwading the other 46. beyng ſimple vnlearned men, that they ſhould obteine great fauour and good will of the Byſhop of Breme, if they would put this hereticke Monke to death. When theſe poore vnlearned men heard theſe woordes, they decreed that this Monke ſhould be put to death, neither heard nor ſene, much leſſe conuict.

Henry taketh his iourney to Meldorph.

The Prior of the Blacke Friers, with the 48. Preſidentes, conſpyreth the death of Henry.

The chiefe doers of thys conſpiracie.

Furthermore, this Prior obteined letters from the. 48 Preſidentes vnto the pariſhe Prieſt, commaundyng hym vnder great penaltye, that he ſhould put the Monke out of his houſe, and commaund him to depart without preachyng. With theſe letters hee came ſpedely vnto Meldorphe, and deliuered the letters ouernight vnto the pariſhe Prieſt, truſting that by their threatnynges and commaundemēt, the ſayd Henry ſhould be feared from preachyng,

Nicholas Boyes pariſhe prieſt of Meldorph commaunded to put away Henry.

chyng, diligently watching whether he did preach or not. When as the pariſh prieſt had read ouer the letters, hee marueiled not a litle at that proud commaundement, for that it had not bene heard of before, that the 48. Preſidentes ſhould meddle with Eccleſiaſticall matters, & that it had bene of long time vſed that the ruling therof ſhould be in the handes of ẏ pariſh prieſt: and long time before it was decreed by the whole prouince, and cuſtomably vſed, that in euery Church the pariſh Prieſt ſhould haue free liberty to receaue or put out ẏ preacher. These letters the pariſh Prieſt deliuered vnto Henry: which when he had diligently loked ouer, hee aunſwered, that for ſo much as he was come, beyng ſent for by the whole congregation to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt, he would ſatiſfie that vocation, becauſe hee ſaw it would bee acceptable vnto the whole congregatiō, and that hee ought rather to obey the word of God then man: Alſo that if it pleaſed God that he ſhould loſe his life in Diethmar, there was as nere away to heauen as in any other place, for that hee doubted nothyng at all, that once hee muſt ſuffer for the Goſpels ſake. Upon this courage and boldnes, the next day Henry went vp into the pulpit and made a Sermon, expoūdyng the place of Paul, which is Roma. the firſt: Teſtis eſt mihi deus. &c. That is: *God is my witnes:* and the Goſpell of the day. After the Sermon was done, the whole cōgregation being called together, the Prior deliuered the letters that were ſent by the .48. Preſidents, the tenour wherof was thys: that they of Meldorph ſhould be fined to a fine of a thouſand gūdrens, if they ſuffered ẏ Monke to preach: and commaunded moreouer, that they ſhould ſend Ambaſſadours vnto Heyda with full power and authoritye. When they heard theſe letters read, they were much moued, becauſe they were ſo charged contrary to the cuſtome of the countrey, for ſo much as euery pariſhe Prieſt hath alwayes had authoritie, accordyng to his diſcretion, to chooſe or put away ẏ preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voyce, to kepe Henry for their preacher, and to defend him: for when they had heard the Sermon, they were greatly offended with the Prior.

The conſtancie of Henry in hys vocation.

After dinner Henry preached agayn, expoūding ẏ place of S. Paul Rom. the. 15. Debemus nos qui potentes ſumus. &c. *We ought which are ſtrong. &c.* The next day the Citizens of Meldorphe ſent their meſſengers vnto Heyda, offering to aunſwere in all cauſes before all men, for their preacher, whom they had receaued. Beſides that ẏ meſſengers declared what Chriſtiā & godly Sermons they heard him preach. The pariſhe Prieſt alſo wrote letters by the ſayd Legates vnto the 48. rulers, wherin he excuſed him ſelfe, that it was neuer his minde, nor the intent of the ſayd Henry, to moue ſedition, but onely ſyncerely to preach the worde of God, and offred hym ſelfe readye to aunſwere for the ſayd Henry to all men, when ſo euer he ſhould be called: moſt earneſtly deſiring them, not to geue credit vnto the Monkes, whiche beyng blinded with hatred and auarice, had fully determined to oppreſſe the truth: ſaying moreouer, that it was againſt all reaſon, ẏ a man ſhould be condemned, before the truth be tried out, and his cauſe declared: and if after due inquiſition had, he ſhoulde be conuict, then he ſhould ſuffer cōdigne puniſhment. This ſubmiſſion with the publicke teſtimoniall, was nothyng eſteemed or regarded, neither was there any aunſwere giuen therunto, but euery man repined & murmured therat. Laſt of all, one Peter Dethleues, one of ẏ Seniours, aunſwered: that albeit there were diuers diſſenſions in euery place about ẏ Chriſtian fayth, and that they, as men ignoraunt, could not redreſſe the ſame, yet this their ſentence ſhould be holden and ratified: whiche was that the iudgement of determinyng this diſſenſion, ſhoulde be referred to the next Councell, which by the report of maiſter Chauncelour, was nowe in hand to be called and gathered: Alſo vntill all diſcorde and diſſenſion ſhoulde bee appeaſed, what ſo euer was receaued and beleued by their neighbours, he promiſed in ẏ name of the reſt, that they would willingly receaue and beleue the ſame: So that if ẏ worde of God hath not hetherto bene clerely & ſyncerely preached (as they ſaid) vnto ẏ people, & that there be now ſome which cā teach & preache the ſame more ſyncerely, it is not their minde or intent to withſtand or reſiſte their good doynges, but that the Preſidentes would wiſhe this one thing diligently to be taken hede of, that there be no occaſion geuen by any man to moue ſedition: and in the meane time, he cōmaunded all men quietly to geue ouer all matters vntill Eaſter nexte, and by that tyme, it ſhould be made euident what ſhould be receaued, and what left vndone. With this aūſwere they were all very well contented, and the meſſengers returned agayne to Meldorphe with great ioy and gladnes, declaryng to the whole congregation what aunſwere was made, conceauing a ſure hope that the matter would ſhortly come to paſſe.

Henry preacheth at Meldorph.

The Citizens of Meldorph write in defence of their preacher.

Good counſail of Peter Dethleues.

Upon S. Nicolas day, this Henry preached twiſe: firſt vpon the Goſpel: Homo quidam nobilis. &c. *A certain noble mān. &c.* Secondly vpon this text: Plures facti ſunt ſacerdotes. &c. *There are many made prieſtes. &c.* with ſuch a ſpirit & grace that all men had hym in admiration, prayeng God moſt earneſtly that they might long haue ſuch a preacher. Upō the day of ẏ Conception of our Lady, he alſo made two Sermons vpō the firſt chap. of Mathew, expounding the booke of the generation, wherin he rehearſed ẏ promiſes made by god vnto our forefathers, and vnder what fayth our fathers that then were, had liued, adding alſo that all reſpecte of workes beyng ſet a part, we muſt be iuſtified by ẏ ſame faith. All theſe thyngs were ſpoken with ſuche boldnes of ſpirite, that all men greatly marueiled at him, geuyng thankes to God for his great mercye, that had ſent them ſuch a preacher: deſiryng him moreouer that he woulde tarye with them all Chriſtmas to preach, for they feared, leſt hee ſhould be ſet for, to ſome other place.

Luke.19.

Heb.7.

In the meane ſpace, the Prior and maiſter Iohn Schinke, were not idle: For when the Prior perceaued that his malicious enterpriſe tooke not good ſucceſſe, he adioyned vnto him a companion, William, a Doctour of the Iacobines, & ſo went to Laudanum, to the Monkes, Franciſcanes, and Minors, for helpe and counſaile: For thoſe kinde of friers, aboue all other, are beſt inſtruct by their hypocriſie, to deceaue the poore and ſimple people. Theſe Friers ſtraight waies ſent for certaine of the rulers, whiche had all the rule and authoritye, and ſpecially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicolas Roden, vnto whō they declared, after their accuſtomed maner, with great complaintes, what an hereticke Monke had preached, and how he had obteyned ẏ fauour almoſt, of all the ſimple people, whiche if they did not ſpedely prouide for and withſtand the begynninges, and put the hereticke to death, it would come to paſſe, that ſhortly the honour of our Lady and all ſaintes, together with the y. Abbeyes, ſhould vtterly come to ruine and decay.

The P and the Monkes agayn c ſpyre a gaynſt t Goſpell.

When theſe ſimple & ignorant mē heard theſe wordes, they were greatly moued. Wherunto Peter Swyne aunſwered thus, that they had before written vnto the pariſh Prieſt and to Henry, what was beſt to be done: notwithſtandyng, if they thought good, they would write agayne. No ſayd the Prior, this matter muſt be attempted an other waye, for if you write vnto the hereticke, hee will by and by aunſwere you agayne. And it is to be feared, leſt the contagion of his hereſy, do alſo infect you beyng vnlearned men: for if you geue hym leaue to ſpeake and to aunſwere, there is no hope that you ſhall ouercome him. Wherfore they finally determined to take this Henry by night and burne him, before the people ſhould know it, or he come to his defence or aunſwere. This deuiſe pleaſed all mē, but ſpecially the Franciſcane Friers. Petrus Hannus the Priors chief frend, willing to gette the chief prayſe and thankes of this matter, by the helpe of Maiſter Gunter did aſſociate vnto hym certaine other rulers of the townes neare adioynyng: whoſe names are here not to bee hidden, becauſe they ſo muche affected prayſe and glorye. The names of the Preſidentes were theſe. Petrus Hannus, Peter Swines ſonne,

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Hennicke Lundane, Iohn Holneus, Laurence Hannemanus, Nicolas Weſlingbourgus, Ambroſe and Iohn Brenthuſius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Henſtedanus Ludekus, Iohannes Weſlingus, & Petrus Groſſus, Preſident of Himmigſtate. All theſe Preſidents & all other, that were of Cōucel to this pretenſe, aſſembled together in the pariſhe of the new Churche, in the houſe of Maiſter Gunter, where alſo the Chauncelour was conſultyng together with them, how they might burne the ſayd Henry, ſecretly commyng vpon him without any iudgement or ſentence. They concluded the next day after the Conception of our Lady, to mete at Hennyng, whiche is v. mile from Meldorphe, with a great band of huſbādmen. This determination thus made, they layd ſkoutes in euery place, that there ſhould no newes of their pretenſed miſchieues come vnto Meldorphe, commaundyng that as ſone as it began to waxe darke, they ſhould all gather together. There aſſembled aboue v. C. men of yͤ countrey, vnto whom was declared yͤ cauſe of theyr aſſemble, and alſo they were inſtructed what was to bée done: for before, no man knew the cauſe of the aſſemble but onely the Preſidentes. Whē the huſbandmen vnderſtode it, they would haue returned backe agayne, refuſing to do ſuch a deteſtable and horrible déede. The Preſidentes with moſt bitter threates, kept them in obedience, and to the intent they ſhould be yͤ more couragious, they gaue them iij. barrels of Hamborow beare to drincke.

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About midnight they came in armour to Meldorph. The Iacobines and Monkes, prepared torches for them, that Henry ſhould not ſlip away ſodēly in yͤ darke. They had alſo with them a falſe betrayer named Hennegus, by whoſe treaſon they had perfect knowledge of all thyngs. With great violēce they burſt into the houſe of yͤ pariſhe Prieſt, breakyng and ſpoylyng all thinges as the maner of that dronken people is: If they found either gold or ſiluer, they toke it away. Whē they had ſpoyled all things, they violently fell vpon the pariſh Prieſt, and with great noyſe cried out, kill the thief, kill the thief. Some of them toke him by the heare of the head, and pulled him out into the durt, forcyng him to go with them as priſoner: other ſome cried out, ſaying that the pariſh Prieſt was not to be medled with all, for they had no commiſſion to take him. After they had ſatiſfied their luſt vppon the pariſhe prieſt, with great rage and fury they ranne vpon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bead, bound his hādes hard behind him: whom being ſo bound, they draue to and fro ſo long, that Peter Hānus, which otherwiſe was vnmercyful and a cruell perſecuter of the word of God, willed them that they ſhould let him alone, for that without doubt, he would folow of his own minde. Then they cōmitted the guidyng of him to Iohn Balco, who rather draue him by violence, then led him. Whē he was brought to Hemingſted, they aſked of hym how and for what intent he came to Diethmar. Vnto whom he gently declared the whole cauſe of his comming: but they al in a rage cried out, away with him, away with him: for if we here him talke any longer, it is to be feared that he will make vs alſo heretickes. Then hée, beyng maruellous weary & faint, required to be ſet a horſebacke, for his féete were all cut and hurt with the Iſe, becauſe he was led all the night barefote. When they heard him ſay ſo, they mocked and laughed at him, ſaying: muſt we hyre a horſe for an heretike? He ſhall go a fote whether he will or no. Becauſe it was night, they caried him naked vnto Heyda. Afterward they brought hym to a certeine mans houſe named Calden, and bound him there with chaynes in yͤ ſtockes. The maiſter of the houſe, ſeing yͤ cruell dede, taking cōpaſſion vpō Henry, would not ſuffer it to be done. Wherfore he was caried away to a Prieſts houſe, the Officials ſeruaunt of Hamburge, and ſhut vp in a cupbord, and was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked & ſkorned him. Amongeſt all other, there came vnto him, Simon in Altenuord, and Chriſtian, pariſh Prieſt of the new Churche, both a like ignoraunt and wicked perſecuters of the worde of God, demaundyng of hym why hée had forſakē his holy habite. Vnto whom he frendly aunſwered by the Scriptures, but thoſe ignoraunt perſons vnderſtode nothyng what he ſayd. Maiſter Gunterus alſo came vnto him, enquiryng whether hée had rather to be ſent to the Byſhop of Breame, or receiue his puniſhement in Diethmar. Vnto whom Henry aūſwered: if I haue preached any thyng contrary to Gods woorde, or done any wicked acte, it is in their handes to puniſhe me therfore. Gunterus aūſwered: harke I pray you frēdes, harke, he deſireth to ſuffer in Diethmar. The common people all the night continued drinkyng and ſwillyng. In the mornyng aboute viij. of the clocke, they gathered together in the market place to conſult, what they ſhould do. There the ruſticall people boilyng with drincke, cryed out, burne him, burne him, to the fire with the hereticke. Without doubt if we do it, we ſhall this day obtayne great glory and prayſe both of God and man, for the longer hée liueth, the more hée will ſeduce with his hereſy. What nede many wordes? Sure he was to die, for they had condemned this good Henry without any iudgement (his cauſe not beyng hard) to be burned. At laſt they commaunded the crier to proclaime that euery man that was at the takyng of hym, ſhould be ready in armour to bryng him forth to the fire. Amongeſt all other, the Frier Franciſcanes were preſent, encouragyng yͤ dronken rude people, ſaying: now ye go the right waye to worke. Then they bound the ſayd Henry, handes, féete, and necke, and with great noyſe, brought him forth to the fire. As he paſſed by, a certain woman ſtandyng in her dore, beholding that pityfull ſight, wept aboūdantly. Vnto whom Henry turnyng him ſelfe, ſayd: I pray you wéepe not for me. Whē hée came vnto the fire, for very weakenes he ſatte down vpon yͤ ground. By and by, there was preſent one of the Preſidentes named Maye, whiche was euidently knowen to be corrupted & hired with money to this purpoſe: hée condempned the ſayd Henry to bée burned, pronouncyng this ſentence vpon him:

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A droncken
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Crucifige.
Crucifige.

The bloudye
broode of fri-
ers, helpe for-
ward.

Hēry brought
forth to the
fire.

Forſomuch as this thief, hath wickedly preached agaynſt the worſhip of our bleſſed Lady, by the cōmaundement and ſufferaunce of our reuerēt father in Chriſt, the Byſhop of Breame, and my Lord, I condemne hym here to be burned and conſumed with fire. Vnto whom Henry aunſwered, I haue done no ſuch thyng: and liftyng vp hys eyes towardes the heauen, he ſayd: O Lord forgeue them, for they offende ignorantly, not knowyng what they do. Thy name, O almighty God, is holy.

A falſe ſen-
tence of a cor-
rupt iudge.

In the meane time, a certeine woman, the wife of one Iunger, ſiſter of Peter Hannus, offered her ſelfe to ſuffer a thouſād ſtripes, and to geue them much money, ſo that they would pacifie the matter and kepe him in priſon, vntill that he might pleade his matter before the whole conuocation of the countrey. Whē they heard theſe wordes, they waxed more madder, and threw the woman downe vnder féete, and trode vpon her, and beat the ſayd Henry vnmercifully. One of the ruſticall ſort, ſtrake him behynd on the head, with a ſharpe dagger. Iohn Holmes of the new Church, ſtrake hym with a mace. Other ſome thruſt him in the backe, & in the armes. And this was not done once or twiſe, but as often as he began to ſpeake. Maiſter Gunterus cried out encouragyng them, ſaying: Go to boldly, good felowes, truly God is with vs preſent.

The tender
compaſſion of
a godly womā.

The tyrannye
and fury of the
people agaynſt
thys bleſſed
Martyr.

After this, he brought a Franciſcane Frier vnto Henry that he ſhould be confeſſed. Whom Henry demaūded in this maner: Brother, when haue I done you iniury either by worde or déede? Or when did I euer prouoke you vnto anger? Neuer, ſayd the Frier. What ſhould I then confeſſe vnto you ſayd he, that you thinke ye might forgeue me? The Frier beyng moued at theſe wordes, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burne. Notwithſtandyng, they ſatiſfied their myndes vpon him, ſtriking and prickyng him withall kynd of weapons. The ſayd Henry ſtādyng in the meane tyme, in his ſhirt before all this rude people, at yͤ laſt they hauyng gotten a great ladder, boūd him hard therunto, and caſt him into the fire: and when hée began to pray and to repeate

Where the of-
fence is not
done to man,
confeſſion to
man there
nedeth not.

The fire
would not
kindle.

The Martyrdome of Henry Sutphen.

his Crede, one ſtrake him vpon the face with his fiſt, ſaying: thou ſhalt firſt be burnt, and afterward pray & prate aſmuch as thou wilt. Then an other treading vppon hys breaſt, boũd his necke hard to a ſteppe of the ladder, that the bloud guſhed out at his mouth and noſe. This was done to ſtrangle him withall, for they ſaw, that for all his ſore woundes, he would not dye.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was ſet vpright. Then one rũnyng vnto him, ſet his Halbard for yͤ ladder to leane againſt (for thoſe countrey men vſe no common hangman, but euery mã exerciſeth yͤ office without difference) but the ladder ſlippyng away from the point of the Halbard, cauſed that the Halbard ſtrake him through the body. Then they caſt this good man with ladder & all, vpon the wood, which tombling down light vpon the one ſide. Then Iohn Holmeus ranne vnto him & ſtrake hym with a mace vpon the breſt, till that he was dead and ſtirred no more. Afterward they roſted hym vpon the coles, for the wood as often as it was ſet on fire, woulde not burne out. And thus this godly preacher finiſhed his Martyrdome, which was an. 1524. Ex Epiſt. Mart. Luth.

Ex epiſt. Mart. Luth.

Diuers Martyrs ſecretly drowned in riuers.

About the ſame tyme many other godly perſons, and ſuch as feared God, for the teſtimony of the goſpell were throwen into the ryuer of Rhene, and into other ryuers where their bodies afterward were found and taken vp.

John of Diethmar, Martyr.

Alſo in the ſayd towne of Diethmar an other faithfull ſaint of God, named Iohn, ſuffered yͤ like Martyrdome. Thus theſe ij. bleſſed and conſtant Martyrs, as ij. ſhinyng lightes ſet vp of God, in teſtimony of his truth, offered vp the ſacrifice of their confeſſion, ſealed with their bloud, in a ſwete odour vnto God.

M. George of Hala preacher in Saxonie, Martyr.

At the towne of Hala, likewiſe an other preacher named M. George, for miniſtring in both kindes, was Martyred and ſlayne of a lyke ſorte of cut throates, ſet vp by Monkes and Friers to murder him, nere to the towne called Haſchemburge. Ex Criſp. et Pantal.

At Prage alſo in Bohemia, an other for chaũgyng his Monkery into Matrimonie, did ſuffer in lyke maner. Ex Lud. Rab.

The towne of Miltenberge.

Furthermore, in yͤ ſame yeare of our Lord aboue mẽcioned. 1524. and 22. of October, the towne of Miltenberge in Germanie was taken and ranſackt, and diuers of the inhabitauntes there, ſlayne & many impriſoned for mainteinyng and keping with them Caroloſtadius to be their preacher. Ex Raba. & Pantal.

Gaſpar Tamber, George a Scriuener of Vienna, Martyrs.

In the ſame Catalogue of holy Martyrs, likewiſe is to be placed Gaſpar Tamber. Alſo an other called Georgius a Scriuener, which both were burned at Vienna, in Auſtria.

¶ *The lamentable martyrdome of Iohn Clerke of* Melden in Fraunce.

John Clerke of Melden, Martyr.

MElden is a Citie in France x. miles diſtant frõ Paris, where Iohn Clerke firſt was apprehended & taken, an. 1523. for ſettyng vp vpon yͤ Church doore, a certeine Bill agaynſt the Popes pardons lately ſent thether from Rome, in whiche Byll hee named the Pope to bee Antichriſt. For the whiche hys puniſhment was this, that iij. ſeuerall dayes he ſhould be whipped, and afterward haue a marke imprinted in hys forhead, as a note of infamie. His mother beyng a Chriſtiã woman, although her huſband was an aduerſary, when ſhe beheld her ſonne thus pitiouſly ſcourged, and ignominiouſly deformed in the face, conſtantly and boldly dyd encourage her ſonne, crying with a loude voyce: bleſſed be Chriſt, and welcome be his printes and markes.

John Clerke ſcourged, for calling the pope Antichriſt.

John Clerke marked in the forehead.

After this execution & puniſhement ſuſteined, the ſayd Iohn departed that towne, and went to Royſey in Brye, & from thence remoued to Metz in Lotharinge, where he remained a certeine ſpace, applying his vocation, beyng a Wollecarder by his occupation. Wher as he, yͤ day before that the people of that Citie ſhould go out to the ſuburbes to worſhip certeine blind Idols nere by (after an old vſe and cuſtome amongeſt them receaued) beyng inflamed wͭ the zeale of God went out of the Citie to the place where the Images were, and braſt them all downe in pieces. The next morow after, when the Canons, Prieſtes, and Monkes, kepyng their olde cuſtome, had brought with them the people out of the Citie, to yͤ place of Idolatry, to worſhip as they were wont, they found al their blockes and ſtockes almighty, lye broken vppon the ground. At the ſight wherof they beyng mightly offended in their mindes, ſet all the Citie on a gog to ſearche out the author therof. Who was not hard to be founde: for ſo much as this foreſayd Clerke, beſides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was alſo ſene ſomewhat late in the euenyng before, to come from the ſame place into the Citie. Wherfore he beyng ſuſpected, and examined vpon the ſame, at firſt word confeſſed the fact, rendryng alſo the cauſe, which moued hym ſo to do. The people hearyng this, and beyng not yet acquaynted with that kind of doctrine, were moued merueilouſly agaynſt hym, crying out vppon him in great rage. Thus his cauſe beyng informed to the Iudges, wherin he defẽded the pure doctrine of the ſonne of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where hee ſuſteined extreme tormentes: For firſt his hand was cut of from his right arme: then his noſe with ſharpe pynſons was violently pluckt from his face: after that both hys armes, and hys pappes were likewyſe pluckt and drawen with the ſame inſtrumẽt. To all them that ſtode loking vpon, it was an horror to behold the greuous and doulfull ſight of his paines: againe to behold his paciẽce, or rather the grace of God geuyng him yͤ gift ſo to ſuffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly & conſtantly hee endured in his tormentes, pronouncing or, in a maner, ſinging the verſes of the. 115. Pſal. Simulachra eorum ſunt argentum & aurum. &c. *Their Images bee ſiluer and gold, the worke onely of mans hand. &c.* The reſidue of his lyfe, that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire and therwith conſumed: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1524. Ex Pantal. et Cripſ.

¶ *Iohn Caſtellane.*

John Caſtellane, Doctor, Martyr.

THe yeare next enſuyng, whiche was. 1525. maiſter Iohn Caſtellane, borne at Tourney, a doctour of Diuinitie, after that hee was called vnto the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his worde, and had preached in Fraunce in a place called Barleduc, alſo at Vittery in Partoiſe, at Chalon in Champaine, and in yͤ towne of Vike, whiche is the Chamber and Epiſcopall Seate of the biſhop of Metz in Loraine, after he had layd ſome fõdation of the doctrine of the Goſpell in yͤ towne of Metz, in returnyng from thence hee was taken priſoner by the Cardinall of Loraines ſeruauntes, by whom he was caryed from Gorze to the Caſtell of Nommeny: wherupon the Citizens of Metz toke no litle diſpleaſure & greuance, who beyng greuouſly offended to haue their preacher ſo to be apprehended and impriſoned, within ſhort ſpace after toke certaine of the Cardinals ſubiectes and kept thẽ priſoners ſo long, vntill the Abbot of S. Antonies in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, Vicar generall, as well in cauſes ſpirituall, as temporall through the Iuriſdiction both of the Cardinall, and Byſhopricke of Metz, Tollouſe, and Verdune, beyng furniſhed with a letter & commiſſion from the Sea of Rome, came to yͤ ſaid towne of Metz, & after diuers declarations made to the Prouoſt, & the other iuſtices & councellors of the Citie, hee ſo wrought & brought to paſſe, yͤ immediatlye the ſaid ſubiectes of the Cardinal were ſet at libertye. But Iohn Caſtellane, was kept ſtill priſoner in the caſtle of Nommeny, and was moſt cruelly handled, from the tyme of the iiij. day of [illegible]y, vntill the xij. day of Ianuary: duryng all whiche tyme he perſeuered conſtant in the doctrine of the ſonne of God. Wherupon he was caryed from Nommeny, to the towne & Caſtle of Vike, allwaies perſeueryng conſtantly in the profeſſion of the ſame doctrine, ſo that they did procede vnto the ſentence of his degradation, that he might be deliuered ouer vnto the ſecular power accordyng to the cuſtome and maner. And for

Doct. Caſtellane caryed to the caſtle of Nommeny.

ſomuch as the forme and maner of the ſentence and proceſſe of diſgrading is notable, & hath bene reported vnto vs worde for word, we haue thought good here to annexe the ſame, to declare the horrible blaſphemies ioined with groſſe and brutiſh ſubtilty, in thoſe highe miſteries which the enemies of the truth do vſe in their proceſſe agaynſt the children of God, wherby euery man, euen the moſt ignoraunt, may euidently perceyue the horrible blyndnes, that theſe vnſhamefaſt Catholickes are blinded withall.

¶ *The ſentence of the degradation.*

*CONcerning the proceſſe inquiſitorie, formed and geuen in forme of accuſation againſt thee Iohn Caſtellane, prieſt and Religious mã of the Fryer Eremites of the order of S. Auſtine: vnderſtandyng likewiſe thy confeſsion which thou haſt made of thine owne good will, maintayning falſe and erronious doctrine: and marking alſo beſides this, the godly admonitions, and charitable exhortations, which we made vnto thee in the towne of Metz, which thou, like vnto the ſerpent Aſpis, haſte refuſed, and geuen no eare vnto: alſo conſidering thine aunſweares made and reiterate vnto our interrogatories, by meanes of thine othe, in the which deuiliſhly thou haſte hidden and kept backe, not onely the truth, but alſo following the example of Caine, haſt denied to confeſſe thy ſinnes and miſchieuous offence: and finallye, hearing the great nũber of witneſſes, ſworne & examined againſt thee, their perſons & depoſitions diligently conſidered, and all other thinges worthye of conſideration, being iuſtlye examined: the reuerent maiſter Nicholas Sauin, doctor of diuinitie, and inquiſitour of the fayth, aſsiſtant vnto vs, hath entred proceſſe ngainſt thee, and geuen full information therof: this our purpoſe & intent being alſo cõmunicate vnto diuers Maiſters & Doctors, both of the Ciuill and Canon lawes here preſent, which haue ſubſcribed and ſigned hereunto, wherby it appeareth that thou Iohn Caſtellane, haſt oftentimes and in diuers places, openly and manifeſtly ſpread abroad and taught many erronious propoſitions, full of the hereſie of Luther, contrary and againſt the Catholike fayth, and the veritie of the Goſpell, and the holy Apoſtolike ſeate, and ſo accurſedly loked backe, & turned thy face, that thou arte founde to bee a lyer before almightie God. It is ordayned by the ſacred rules of the Canon lawe, that ſuch as through the ſharpe dartes of their venimous tongue, do peruert the Scriptures, and goe aboute with all their power to corrupt and infecte the ſoules of the faythfull, ſhoulde be puniſhed and corrected with moſt ſharpe correction, to the end that others ſhould be afraide to attempte the like, and applye them ſelues the better to the ſtudie of Chriſtian concorde, through the examples ſet before their eyes, as well of ſeueritie, as of clemencie. For theſe cauſes and others riſing vppon the ſayd proceſſe, by the Apoſtolike authoritie, and alſo the authoritie of our ſayd reuerend Lord the Cardinall, which we do vſe in this our ſentence definitiue, which we ſitting in our iudgement ſeate, declare in theſe writinges, hauing God onely before our eyes, and ſurely conſidering, that what meaſure we do meate vnto other, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to vs againe: We pronounce and declare ſentenciallye and definitiuelye, thee Iohn Caſtellane, being here preſent before vs, and iudge thee becauſe of thy deſertes, to bee excommunicate with the moſt great excommunication, and therwithall to be culpable of treaſon againſt the diuine maieſtie, and a mortall enemie of the Catholike fayth, and veritie of the Goſpell: alſo to be a manifeſt hereticke, and a follower and partaker of the execrable * crueltie of Martyn Luther, a ſtirrer vp of olde hereſies alreadie condemned, and therfore, as thou oughteſt to be depoſed and depriued of all prieſtly honour and dignitie, of all thy orders, of thy ſhauing, and Religious habite: alſo of thy Eccleſiaſticall benefices, if thou haſte any, and from all priueledge of the clergie: ſo we here preſently do depoſe, depriue, & ſeperate thee as a rotten member, from the communion and companie of all faythfull, and being ſo depriued, we iudge that thou oughteſt to bee actuallye diſgraded: that done, we leaue thee vnto the ſecular powers, committing the degradation and actuall execution of thys our ſentence, vnto the reuerent Lorde and byſhop here preſent, with the authoritie and commaundement aforeſayd.*

Thys ſentence being thus ended, with their Catholike ſermon alſo, the ſayd byſhop of Nicopolis ſitting in hys pontificalibus, in yͤ iudgement ſeate, being Suffragan of Metz, wͭ the clergie, nobles, & people about him, proceded to the diſgrading (as they call it) of yͤ ſayd maiſter Iohn Caſtellane. Thus the ſayd maiſter Iohn Caſtellane being made readye to hys degradation by the officers of the ſayd byſhop, was appareled in hys prieſtly attyre, & afterward brought forth of the chappell, by the prieſtes which were therunto appoynted, with all hys prieſtly ornamentes vpon hym, and holdyng hys hands together, he kneled downe before the byſhop. Then the officers gaue him the Chalice in hys handes with wyne and water, the Patine and the Hoſt: all which things the ſayd Byſhop, whiche diſgraded hym, tooke from him ſaying: we take away from thee, or commaund to be taken from thee, all power to offer ſacrifice vnto God, and to ſay Maſſe as well for the quicke, as the dead.

Doct. Caſtellane diſgraded.

Moreouer, yͤ Biſhop ſcraped yͤ nayles of both his hãdes with a peece of glaſſe, ſaying: by this ſcrappyng we take away from thee, all power to ſacrifice, to conſecrate, and to bleſſe, whiche thou haſt receiued by the annoyntyng of thy handes. Then he toke from him the Cheſille, ſaying: by good right we do diſpoyle thee of this prieſtly ornamẽt, whiche ſignifieth charity: for certeinly thou haſt forſaken the ſame & all innocencye. Then takyng away the Stole, hee ſayd: thou haſt vilenouſly reiected and deſpiſed the ſigne of our Lord, which is repreſented by this Stole: wherfore we take it away from thee, and make thee vnable to exerciſe and vſe yͤ office of prieſthode, and all other thynges appertainyng to prieſthode. The degradation of the order of prieſthode beyng thus ended, they proceded to yͤ order of Deacon. Then the miniſters gaue hym the booke of the Goſpels, whiche the Byſhop tooke away, ſaying: we take away from thee all power to read the Goſpels in the Church of God, for it appertaineth onely to ſuch as are worthy. After this, he ſpoyled hym of the Dalmatike, whiche is the veſture that the deacons vſe, ſaying: we depriue thee alſo of this Leuiticall order, for ſo much as thou haſt not fulfilled thy miniſtery and office. After this, the byſhop tooke away the Stole from behynd hys backe, ſaying: we iuſtly take away from thee yͤ white Stole whiche thou haddeſt receiued vndefiledly, whiche alſo thou oughteſt to haue borne in the preſence of our Lord: and to the ende that the people dedicate vnto the name of Chriſt may take by thee example, we prohibite thee any more to exerciſe or vſe the office of Deaconſhip. Then they proceded to the diſgradyng of Subdeaconſhip, & taking away from him the booke of yͤ Epiſtles, and his Subdeacons veſture, depoſed him from readyng of the Epiſtles in the Churche of God: and ſo orderlye procedyng vnto all the other orders, diſgraded hym from the order of Bennet and Collet, from the order of Exorciſte, frõ yͤ Lectorſhip, and laſt of all, frõ the office of Dorekeper, takyng from hym the keyes, and commaundyng him hereafter not to open or ſhut yͤ Reueſtrye, nor to ring any more Belles in the Churche. That done, the Byſhop went forward to diſgrade him from his firſt ſhauing, and taking away his Surplice, ſayd vnto him: by the authority of God almighty, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, and by our authoritie, we take frõ thee all clerkly habite, and deſpoile thee of all ornament of religion: Alſo we depoſe and diſgrade thee of all order, benefite and priuiledge of the clergy, and as one vnworthy of that profeſſion, we commit thee to the ſeruitude and ignominy of the ſecular eſtate. Then the Byſhop tooke the ſheres, and began to clippe his head, ſaying in this maner: we caſt thee out, as an vnthankefull childe, of the Lordes heritage, wherunto thou waſt called: and take awaye frõ thy head, the crowne which is yͤ royall ſigne of prieſthode, through thine owne wickednes and malice. The Byſhop alſo added theſe woordes: that whiche thou haſt ſong with thy mouth, thou haſt not beleued with thy harte, nor accompliſhed in worke, wherfore we take from thee the office of ſingyng in the Church of God.

Prieſtes anoynted fingers.

The Cheſille.

The Stole.

The Goſpell booke.

The Dalmatike.

The Stole behynde hys backe.

The Epiſtle booke.

Bennet and Collet.

Exorciſt.

Lectorſhip.

Dorekeper.

The Church dore keyes.

Ryngyng of Belles.

The Surplyce.

The popes clergie accompteth the ſeculare ſtate ignominious and ſeruile.

The royall ſigne of prieſthoode.

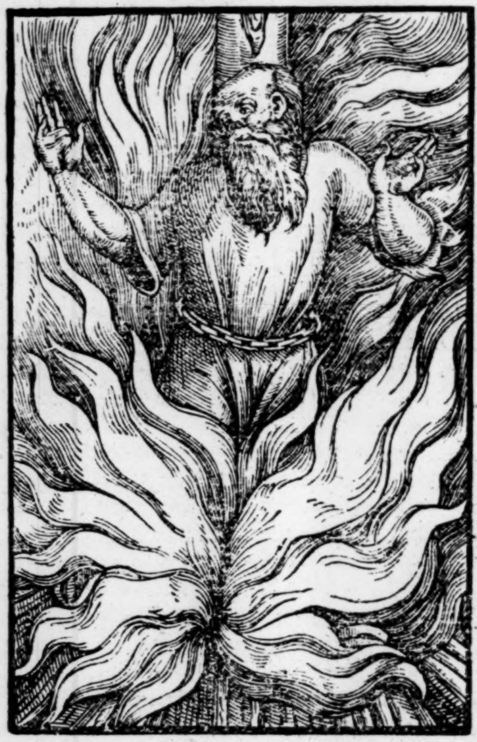
Singing in the church.

The diſgradyng thus ended, the procurator fiſcall of yͤ Court and Citie of Metz, required of the notarye, an inſtrument or copie of the diſgrading. Thē the miniſters of the Byſhop turned him out of his clerkly habite, and put vpon him the apparell of a ſecular man. That done, for ſo much as he whiche is diſgraded, accordyng to the inſtitution of Pope Innocent the third, ought to bee deliuered vnto the ſecular court, yͤ Byſhop that diſgraded him proceded no further, but ſayd in this maner: we pronounce that the ſecular Court ſhal receiue thee into their charge, beyng thus diſgraded of all clerkely honor & priuilege.

Pope Innocent author of diſgradyng.

This done, the Biſhop, after a certaine maner, intreated the ſeculare iudge for him, ſaying: My Lord iudge, we praye you as hartely as we can, for the loue of God, and the contemplation of tender pitye and mercye, and for the reſpecte of our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thyng that ſhall be hurtfull vnto this miſerable man, or tending to his death, or maymyng of his body. Theſe thinges thus done, the ſecular iudge of the towne of Vike, confirmyng the foreſayd ſentence, condempned the ſayd maiſter Iohn Caſtellane, to be burned quicke: whiche death he ſuffred the xij. of Iānuary. 1525. with ſuch a conſtancy, that not onely a gret company of ignorāūt people were therby drawen to the knowledge of the verity, but alſo a great number whiche had already ſome taſt therof, were greatly confirmed by that his ſo conſtant and valiaunt death.

Note here theſe perſecutors, how they will ſeeme outwardlye to be lambes, but inwardly are rauenyng Wolues.



The conſtant death & Martyrdome of Doct. Caſtellane.

It would fill an other volume to cōprehende the Actes and ſtories of all them, whiche in other countreys, at the ryſing of the Goſpell, ſuffered for the ſame. But prayſed be the Lord, euery region almoſt hath his own ſtorywriter, which ſufficiently hath diſcharged that part of duety, as euery one in matters of his owne countrey is beſt aquainted: wherfore I ſhall the leſſe nede to ouerſtreine my trauaile, or to ouercharge this volume therewith. Onely it ſhall ſuffice me to collect ij. or iij. hiſtories, recorded by Oecolampadius, & the reſt to bryng into a briefe table, and ſo returnyng, to occupye my ſelf with our own domeſticall matters here done at home.

The hiſtorye of a good paſtour, murthered for the preaching of the Goſpell, written by Iohn Oecolampadius.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1525. There was a certaine good and godly Miniſter who had cōmitted ſomething in the commotion there rayſed by the ruſticall clownes of the countrey, which they ſayd that knewe hym, was but of ſmall importaunce. He, becauſe he had offended hys prince before, not with any facte or crime, but with ſome worde ſomethyng ſharplye ſpoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

A good prieſt for euill will put to death.

After ſentence was geuen, there was a gentleman of a cruell harte, ſent with a certayne troupe of men, to apprehend the ſayd Prieſt, and to hange hym. Who commyng into hys houſe, ſaluted him frendly, pretending, as though theyr commyng had been to make good cheare: for he was a good houſekeper, and the Gentlemen of the countreye therabouts, vſed oftentymes to reſort vnto his houſe familiarly. This Prieſt made ready for thē in ſhort ſpace, a very ſumptuous banket: wherof they did eate & drinke very cherefully. After dinner was ended, and that the prieſt was yet at the table thincking no hurte, the Gentleman ſayd to his ſeruauntes, take ye this Prieſt our hoſte, and hang hym, and that without delay, for he hath well deſerued to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed agaynſt his Prince. The ſeruaunts were marueilouſly aſtonied with his wordes, and abhorryng to do the dede, ſayd vnto their maiſter: God forbyd that we ſhould commit any ſuch crime, to hange a man that hath intreated vs ſo gently: for the meate which he hath geuen vs, is yet in our ſtomackes vndiſgeſted. It were a wicked acte for a noble man to render ſo great an euill, for a good turne: but ſpecially to murther an innocent. Briefly, the ſeruauntes ſought no other occaſion, but onely to geue hym way to flee, that they might alſo auoyde the execution of that wicked purpoſe.

Vngent nes in gentlem

As the gentleman and hys ſeruauntes were thus contending, the prieſt ſayd vnto them, I beſeche you, ſhewe no ſuch crueltie vpon me: rather lead me away captiue vnto my prince, where I may purge my ſelf. I am falſely accuſed, and I truſt to pacifye hys anger which he hath conceaued agaynſt me. At leaſt remember the hoſpitalitie which I haue euer ſhewed to you, and all noble men at all tymes, reſorting to my houſe. But principallye ſpeakyng to the gentleman, he aduertiſed him of yͤ perpetuall ſtynge, which would followe vpon an euill cōſcience: proteſting that he had faythfully and truely taught them the doctrine of the Goſpell, & that it was the principall cauſe, why he had ſuch euill will: which long tyme before hee had foreſene would come to paſſe, forſomuch as he had oftentimes in the pulpitte, reproued ſharply & openly the horrible vices of the gentlemen, which maintained theyr people in their vicious liuing, and they them ſelues were geuen vnto blaſphemye, and dronckennes, wheras they ſhould ſhewe example of fayth, true religion, & ſobernes: but they had oftentymes reſiſted hym, ſaying that it was not hys parte to reproue them, forſomuch as they were hys Lordes, and myght put hym to death if they would: that all thynges which they dyd was allowable, and that no man ought to gaynſaye it: alſo that he went about ſome thinges in hys ſermons, that woulde come to an ill ende.

Many thynges may b tended. religion euer th cauſe good m goe to wrack.

This good man, whatſoeuer he could ſay, could not make his matter ſeeme good, for the Gētleman continued in his wicked enterpriſe, and pricked forth his ſeruaūtes ſtill to accompliſh their purpoſe, for it was reſolued by yͤ prince that he ſhould be put to death: and turning him ſelfe vnto the Prieſt, he ſaid, that he could gayne nothing by preachyng in ſuch ſorte, but that hee ſhoulde fullye determine hym ſelfe to dye, for the Prince had geuen expreſſe commaundement to hang hym, whoſe fauour hee would not loſe, for to ſaue his lyfe.

Kindnes vnkindly rewarde with vn kindnes

At the laſt the ſeruauntes, after great ſorow and lamētation, bound their hoſt and hanged hym vpon a beame in hys owne houſe, the Gentleman ſtandyng by and lookyng vppon.

This good man ſeyng no remedye, ſpake no other wordes, but onely, Ieſus haue mercy vppon me. Ieſus ſaue me. This is the truth of this moſt cruell acte, whiche a Turke would ſcarſly haue committed agaynſt hys mortall enemy. Now let euery man iudge with hym ſelfe, which of them haue the greateſt aduauntage, either they whiche commit the cruelty agaynſt the good: or the good men whiche do ſuffer the ſame vniuſtly. The firſt ſorte haue a continuall gnawyng in their conſcience, and the other obtayne an immortall crowne.

The

¶*The like hiſtory of the death of a certaine Miniſter, named* M.Peter Spengler, whiche was drowned in the yeare of our Lord.1525.collected by Oecolampadius.

A deſcriptiō of a good miniſter or curate.

IN a certayne village named Schlat, in the countrey of Briſgois, there was a vigilant Miniſter, a mā very well learned in the ſcriptures, of a good name, for that he liued a godly & a blameles lyfe, hauyng longe tyme faythfully done his office and duety: being alſo courtious and gētle, and well beloued of all men, but ſpecially of the Byſhop of Conſtance, with whom he was in great authoritie: peaſable & quiet, with all mē that he had to do withall. He quieted diſcordes and contentions with a maruelous prudencie, exhortyng all men to mutuall charity and loue. In all aſſembles whereſoeuer he came, he greatly commended honeſt lyfe and amendement of maners. When the purity of the Goſpell began to ſhine abroad, hee began to read with great affection the holy Scriptures, whiche long tyme before he had read, but without any vnderſtandyng. When he had recouered a litle iudgement, & came to more vnderſtandyng by continuall reading, being alſo further growne in age, he began to conſider wͭ him ſelf, in howe greate darknes and errours, the whole order of prieſtes had bene a long time drowned. O good God (ſaid he) who would haue thought it, that ſo many learned and holy men haue wandred out of the right way, and could haue ſo longe tyme, bene wrapped in ſo greate errours, or that the holy Scripture could haue bene ſo deformed with ſuch horrible abuſes: for he neuer well vnderſtoode before (he ſayd) that the Goſpell was the veritie of God, in that order wherin it is written, ſeing it contained ſo muche touchyng the croſſe, perſecution, and ignominious death, and yet the Prieſtes lyued in great proſperitie, and no man durſte maintaine any quarell agaynſt them, without great daunger? He alſo ſaw that the houre was come, that the Goſpell ſhould be diſplayed, that perſecution was at hand, that the enemyes of the truth beganne nowe to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted vp their heades on hygh, and feared not to enterpriſe and take in hand all kinde of miſchiefe & wickednes agaynſt the faythfull: that the Byſhops which ought by their vertue & power to defend the worde, were more barbarous and cruell then any tyrauntes had bene tofore. He thus conſideryng the preſent eſtate of the worlde, put all doubt from his hart, and ſaw preſently before his eyes, that Ieſus Chriſt had taught the truth, ſeing ſo many bodies of the faythfull were daily ſo tormented, beaten, exiled, and baniſhed, drowned and burned. For who can reporte the greate tormentes whiche the innocent haue endured theſe yeares paſſed, euen by thoſe which call them ſelues Chriſtians, and for no other cauſe, but onely for the true confeſſion of Ieſus Chriſt? This good paſtor conſidering with hym ſelfe the lawes and doctrine of the Church of Rome to ſwarue from the truth of Chriſt, eſpeciallye in reſtraynyng mariage: to the end that hee would not defile him ſelfe with fornication, he maryed a mayde of his, ſuch a one as feared God, by whom afterward hee had many faire children.

The croſſe diſcerneth betwene true Chriſtians, and cōterfeit.

He that ſeketh to liue godlye in Chriſt, ſhal ſuffer perſecution. Tim. 4.

A commotion of the Boures.

About thys tyme the people of the countrey had raiſed a great cōmotion, who in their rage went vnto Monaſteryes & prieſtes houſes, as if they had taken in hand ſome pilgrimage, and ſpared nothyng that they coulde finde to eate. That which they could not eate, they eyther caſte vnder feete, or caryed it away with them. One companye of thys ruſticall ſorte, lodged them ſelues in the houſe of thys good prieſt, for they made no difference betwene the good and the badde. Theſe royſters tooke frō hym all that they coulde finde, leauyng nothyng behynde them, in ſomuch as they tooke awaye the very hoſe from hys legges, for all that he could doe: albeit that he gently intreated them, ſhewing that it was theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued ſtill in their madnes lyke beaſtes.

As they were departyng out of the houſe, the good prieſt could not refrayne hym ſelf from weepyng, ſaying vnto thē: I tell you before, theſe your vnordinate doings will redounde to ſome great miſchief to your ſelfe. For what madnes is thys, what meaneth thys rage and tumulte, wherin you keepe no order nor equitie, neyther haue any reſpecte betwene frend and foe? Who thus ſtyrreth you vp? What counſaile doe you followe, or to what end do you thys? Lyke theeues you ſpoyle what ſoeuer you can lay handes vpon. And thinke ye not, but theſe things which you now robbe, rauen, and ſteale, you ſhall be cōpelled hereafter to reſtore agayne to your great detriment? What ſedition dyd euer come to good end? You pretend the Goſpell, and haue no peece of the Goſpell, either in your mouthes, or in your hartes. Theſe exceſſes (ſaid he) ye neuer learned of me, which euer haue taught you the true worde of God. Thys your Goſpell (ſayth he) is rather the Goſpell of the deuill, then of God, which vexeth all the world with violence and wronge, ſpoyling and robbing without regard. The true Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, teacheth you to do good vnto all men, to auoyde diſſenſions and periuris. Thys I ſay vnto you, that in theſe your doinges you offend God, and prouoke hys iuſte vengeaunce to plage you, which will neuer ſuffer theſe euills to eſcape vnpuniſhed. You finde writtē in ẏ Goſpel: *That which thou wouldeſt not ſhould be done to thee, doe not to other.* You offend alſo all the Nobilitie, and your lawfull Magiſtrates, whom you are ſworne and bounde vnto. It is no ſmall matter, I tell you, to raiſe vp ſedition, to ſtyrre vp other, and to diſturbe the ſtate of the cōmon wealth: and when thys tumult ſhall be ceaſed, what then ſhall your noble men doe? ſhall they not rifle you as faſte, and of your goods make them ſelues riche? and then ſhall one of you betraye an other. Theſe with ſuch other wordes he ſtoode preachyng vnto them, almoſt naked, but all thys would not preuaile with thoſe men; who after all theſe gentle admonitions and fayre wordes, departed out of hys houſe, geuing hym foule language, & callyng hym olde dotarde. Amongeſt all other, one more wicked then the reſidue, ſayd vnto hym in thys manner: o maiſter curate, we haue bene long deceaued by your ſellyng of Maſſes, by fearyng vs with Purgatorye, by your Diriges and Trentalls, and ſo haue we been ſpoyled: wherfore we do nothyng now, but requyre agayne the money, which you robbed vs of: and ſo mockyng and ſcornyng hym, they departed.

Crueltie & ſedition neuer cōmeth to good ende.

The Goſpell teacheth no rebellion.

Religion the cauſe onely why good men be troubled of the wicked.

After that this ſedition of the Peſantes was partly appeaſed (theyr armour beyng layd awaye) and they taken vnto grace: after that alſo diuers of the principalls of that conſpiracie were taken here and there in the Villages, and executed: thys good paſtour fearyng no ſuch thyng, for the true and ſincere preachyng of the Goſpell, whereat many tooke great indignation: was taken in the nyght by certayne ſouldiours, whiche bound hym hande and foote, with a great rope, before hys wife and children, and ſo ſet hym vpon a horſe, and ledde hym away to Friburge. What greuous ſighes, teares, ſorowe, and lamentation was there? It would haue moued any harte (were it as harde as a flynte) to a doulfull compaſſion, eſpeciallye to ſee the barbarous and deſpytefull rebukes, tauntes, and extreme crueltie, ſhewed by thoſe proude popiſhe ſouldiours agaynſt the innocent prieſt. Such beaſtlye tyrantes the worlde is neuer without. Such godly Miniſters we haue had but a fewe.

The people hearyng thys pitifull noyſe and lamentation in the nyght, came runnyng out, not the men, but onely the women, whom the ſouldiours willed to goe home agayne, and that their men ſhould come forth and keepe the towne: but the men durſte not appeare. Then from Friburge, ſhortlye after they conueyed hym to Euſiſſheim.

After they had long kept thys man in pryſon, and that he had endured moſt terrible tormentes, as well by the priuye members, as in other partes, they iudged hym to death. If you will know the cauſe what they had to laye to hys charge, it was onely thys, that he had maried a wife ſecretly in hys owne houſe, with a fewe witneſſes. Other crymes they had none to obiecte agaynſt hym, Crueltie without cauſe.

neyther that hée was a ſeditious and wicked man, or that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered diuers wicked perſons out of ſundrye places, to picke out of hys Sermons, the order and manner of hys behauiour. When he was led vnto the place of execution, he aunſwered gentlye and quietlye vnto all them that came to comfort him. But there were diuers Monkes & Prieſtes whiche troubled hym very ſore with their foliſhe babling, as hée was ſtriuing in his ſpirite, agaynſt the horror of death, and makyng his prayer vnto almightye God, ſéekyng nothyng els but to turne hym away from hys hartye and earneſt contemplation. But hee deſired them that they woulde holde theyr peace, ſaying that hee had alreadye confeſſed hys ſinnes vnto the Lord Ieſus, nothyng at all doubtyng, but that hée had receiued abſolution and forgeueneſſe of them all: and I, ſayd he, ſhall this day be an acceptable ſacrifice vnto my Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, for I haue done no ſuch thing wherfore I am now condempned, whiche might diſpleaſe my Lord God, who in this behalfe hath geuen me a good and quiet conſcience: now therfore let them whiche thirſt for innocent bloud, and ſhéed the ſame, diligently aduiſe them ſelues what they do, and that they offend euen him, vnto whom it perteyneth truly to iudge yͤ hartes of mē: for it is ſaid: *Vengeance is mine, and I will puniſh.* And forſomuch as he was a very leane mā, he added this moreouer, ſaying: It is all one, for ſhortly I muſt haue forſaken this ſkinne which already ſcarcely hāgeth to my bones. I know well that I am mortall, and a corruptible worme, and haue nothing in me but corruption. I haue long tyme deſired my latter daye, and haue made my requeſt, that I might be deliuered out of this mortall body, to be ioyned with my Sauiour Chriſt.

Rom. 12.

I haue deſerued through my manifolde ſinnes cōmitted agaynſt my ſauiour Chriſt, my croſſe: and my Sauiour Chriſt hath borne the Croſſe, and hath dyed vppon the Croſſe: and for my part, I will not glory in any other thyng, but onely in the Croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt.

There were preſent by, certaine naughtye perſons whiche could not endure to heare this godly exhortation, but made a ſigne vnto the hangman, to caſt hym downe into the riuer. After he was throwen downe, hée moued by a certaine ſpace in the water, in ſuch ſorte that the riuer where into he was caſt, was redde with bloud. This was a certaine ſigne and token, that innocent bloude was that day ſhed. They which were there preſent, beholdyng that which had happened, were greatly amazed and aſtonied, conſideryng with thē ſelues what the ſtaining of the water with the bloude ſhoulde ſignifie. Euery man returned home penſiue and ſad, marueiling at the cruell déede that was done that day: notwithſtanding no man durſt open his mouth to ſpeake one worde. becauſe that all thyngs were exerciſed with ſuch crueltye. This was done in the towne of Enſiſheim. an. 1525.

Thys bleſſed Martyr drowned.

The water miraculouſly coloured with bloud, where he was drowned.

These thynges I did vnderſtand, by one whiche dyd behold them wͭ his eyes. The Lord of his great grace, be merciful vnto vs, & forgeue vs our ſinnes. Ex Oecolam.

Such was the wickednes then of thoſe dayes, and yet is ſtill, that who ſoeuer was perceaued to fauour the Goſpell, or any thyng to diſlyke the doctrine of the Popes church, he was hated and deſpited of the Rulers, Lawers, and all other Papiſtes through the whole countrey about, but eſpecially of Prieſtes, Monkes, and Friers. And though the lyfe of the Goſpellers were neuer ſo ſound and vpright: yet ſuch was the hatred and malice of the Popes frendes agaynſt them, that they neuer ceaſed, to ſeke all occaſions, & deuiſe matters, how to bryng them to death.

It ſo happened a lytle before this preſent time, that there was a commotiō of the rude and ruſticall people of the countrey ryſing in armour inordinatly, againſt their Rulers, to yͤ great diſturbance of the whole countrey of Germanie, and no leſſe to their owne deſtructiō: of whom were ſlayne aboue 20. thouſand. At length whē this rebellion was appeaſed, and all thinges quyet, ſuch as were the Popes frēdes, to worke their malice againſt the Goſpel, toke occaſiō therby not long after, to accuſe & intangle ſuch as they knew to be Goſpellers and Proteſtantes. And although the ſayd Goſpellers were neuer ſo inculpable and cleare from al rebellion, yet that ſuffiſed not: for cauſes were made, falſe wytnes brought, corrupt iudges ſuborned to condemne the innocent, and many were put to death, their cauſe neither beyng heard, nor knowen. By reaſon wherof a great number of good and innocent Chriſtians, were miſerably brought to their ende, and Martyrdome. In the number of whom was this poore man alſo, whoſe ſtory by Oecolampadius is thus deſcribed.

❡ *An other hiſtory of a certeine man of the Countrey* wrongfully put to death Collected by the ſayd Iohn Oecolampadius.

Ex Ioan. Oecolampadio.

There was (ſayth hée) a certaine man of the countrey, whiche in my iudgement was a good man, a louer of iuſtice, and a mortall enemy of all the cruell exactions of the Gentlemen, whiche oppreſſed the poore people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the countrey was appeaſed, was greuouſly vexed and tormented, becauſe he had cried alarme, whē as a great number of horſemen raunged aboute the countrey to ſeke out thoſe which had béen yͤ authors of that ſedition. This poore mā was taken by policie, & ſo vpholden with fayre promiſes, that they made hym confeſſe what ſoeuer they required. He thincking that they would not haue put him to death, was caſte in priſon, wheras he was long time deteined and well cheriſhed, to take away all ſuſpicion from hym: but after that he had taried a long tyme in priſon, they put hym to the Pinebanke, laying diuers and many greuous offences to hys charge: where they kept hym hangyng in the truſſe of the corde, the ſpace of vi. houres, hauyng a great ſtone faſtened at hys féete.

The truſſ of the corde is a certain hāging by by yͤ hands behind, hauyng a waightye ſtone faſtened at their feete.

The ſweat that dropped from his body for very payne and anguiſh, was almoſt bloud. In this diſtreſſe he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once moue the tormenters hartes. Whē as all yͤ power & ſtrength in hys body began to faile hym, with great violence they let hym fall downe. There this poore man lay euen as a ſtocke, not mouyng any part or member of his body, but a litle drawyng his breath, whiche was a token that there was ſome lyfe in hym. Here the tormentours were in great doubt what to doe with the man, whom they ſought by all meanes, to deſtroye, in what place they might put hym that he ſhould not die of that torment.

Amongeſt them, there was one whiche brought vineger and roſewater, and rubbyng hym therwithall, they did ſomewhat recouer him. After that they had cauſed him to eate & drincke ſuch as they had prouided for him, they let him down into a déepe dungeon, where he could ſée nother Sunne nor Moone. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment when he had ſomewhat recouered his ſtrength again. There they let him cōtinue xviij. dayes: after whiche tyme they brought hym agayne to examination, propoundyng certein Articles vnto him, whiche he conſtantly denyed. They deuiſed diuers and ſundry kinde of tormentes, to the intent they might euen of force, extort ſomething of this poore man, which might ſéeme worthy of death: yet for all that, they were fayne to depart without their purpoſe. The xx. day after, theſe tyrauntes hyred a hangman (a man ſure worthy of his office) whiche left no kinde of cruelty vnpractiſed. Yet did he miſſe of his purpoſe alſo, and was conſtrained to leaue his cruelty, and to pronounce euen with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had ſo conſtantly endured ſo many horrible and greuous tormentes. Yet theſe tyrantes came agayne the fourth tyme, and ſuborned two witneſſes agaynſt hym, thus concludyng, that he was worthye of death, becauſe hee had cried alarme, after the truce was takē, and would haue moued a new ſedition. The day was appoynted when he ſhould ſuffer, and they brought vnto him the hangman, and a

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Frier into the priſon.

In this meane time, this poore man thought wyth him ſelf that they would haue ſhewed hym ẏ lyke cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let hym downe, certifiyng hym, that they had things to tell hym for his profite. This they did, becauſe he ſhould not dye in priſon.

He had rather pyne in priſon, then to come in the Papiſtes handes.

The falſe promiſes of the Papiſtes, not to be truſted.

The Chriſtian poore man refuſeth the Fryers wodden croſſe.

The Crucifixe of wodde falſely called a Sauiour.

Then they let downe a corde and a ſtaffe, but they coulde not perſwade hym to ſitte theruppon, ſaying, that he woulde rather chuſe to dye there, then hee would endure any more ſuch cruell tormentes: Notwithſtandyng, if they would promiſe hym, not to put hym any more to the truſſe of the Corde, nor to put hym to death, but to bryng hym before iuſt iudges: on that condition he would come out, although hee had fully determined neuer to haue remoued from thence, but to haue ended hys life in that dungeon. There were preſent certaine Councellours, whiche promiſed to performe his requeſt, and therupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As ſone as he ſaw the Frier, he cried out with a loude voyce, ſaying O miſerable and wretched man that I am: now am I betrayed and deceiued, for my later houre is at hand. I ſee well the dreame whiche I haue dreamed this night, will come to effect: for they do handle me tyrannouſly and cõdemne me, not beyng heard. The Frier brake him of frõ his purpoſe, and pulling a wodden croſſe out of his ſleue, preſented it vnto hym, declaryng that hee muſt be quiet, becauſe they had already geuen ſentence agaynſt hym, and that he ſhould gayne nothyng by ſo much talke. Poore mã (ſayd the Frier) thou haſt had good & gentle iudges: at ẏ leaſt thou ſhalt go to God, therfore cõfeſſe thy ſinnes in my eare, & after thou haſt receiued abſolutiõ at my hands, doubt not but this day thou ſhalt go ſtraight to the kyngdome of heauen. The poore man aunſwered: thou wicked Frier, get thee away from me, for I haue long ſince bewailed my ſinnes and offẽces, and that before the face of my Lord Jeſus, who hath already forgeuen me all that whiche I haue committed againſt his maieſty, wherfore I haue no nede of thy abſolution, whiche thou thy ſelfe dooſt not vnderſtand. This is moſt certaine, that long tyme ſince, thou ſhouldeſt haue amended thine own wicked and hypocriticall life. I know well inoughe what thou art: thou playeſt the Ape with me, but thou haſt a ſubtill and crafty hart, whiche hath deceiued much ſimple people. If thou haſt any comfort or conſolation out of the Goſpell to comforte me withall, let me haue it: if not, get thee away frõ me, with thy porteſſe. The Frier was ſo cõfuſed & amaſed with theſe wordes, ẏ he knew not what to doe or ſay. The hangman beyng wiſer then the Frier, badde hym read vnto the poore man ſomthyng of the paſſion, wherein the poore man would take great pleaſure. This fooliſhe Frier had no other conſolation to comfort him withall, but to hold the crucifixe of wode before him ſaying: behold thy Sauiour which dyed for thee, loke vppon him, and thou ſhalt be comforted. Then ſayd ẏ poore man, I haue an other Sauiour, this is none of my Sauiour: get thee away from me thou naughtye perſon, with thy marmoſet of wode. My Sauiour dwelleth in heauẽ, in whom I truſt that he will not deliuer my ſoule to eternall death. The Frier croſſed him ſelf, ſhewyng the ſemblance of a man that were very ſorye and agreued, thinckyng with him ſelfe, that this poore man was fallen into deſperatiõ. Then he was led forth into the market place, wheras accordyng to the cuſtome, openly before all the people, his confeſſion was red with a loude voyce, which conteined no other thing, but onely that the man had ben a ſeditious perſon, & that in the time of truce he had cried alarme, euen in the night, when all men were at reſt.

When he was come to the place where hee ſhould ſuffer, beyng compaſſed in with Gleues and Halbardes hired for the purpoſe, after he had ſayd ẏ Lordes prayer, the hangman badde him knele down, but he refuſed ſo to do, declaryng that hee had yet ſomethyng more to ſay before the people, thinckyng that he ſhould not be denied to ſpeake in that place, as he was before the wicked iudges. Thoſe ſayd hee, whiche know me, ſhall be ſufficient good witneſſes on my behalfe, that from my youth vpward I haue alwayes lyued in good name, fame, and honeſty, beyng neuer before accuſed for any offence, ſedition, or periury.

Nihil peccauit agnus, Sed Lupus eſurijt.

In an euill time haue I happened in to theſe curſed daies, whẽ as al lawes, both of god & mã, are turned topſy turvy. I was adherẽt to the tumult and ſedition of the men of the countrey, as many other were whiche dwell therabout, but what then? are there not alſo many Gentlemen, which followed the Peſantes armye, and many ſtrong townes whiche went alſo with them? I was not the author of any ſedition, whiche alwayes I haue mortally hated. I neuer gaue councel vnto any man to moue any people or tumult in any place. We aſked councell of our Gentlemen what we ſhould do, when the bandes of the Peſantes were aſſembled in the fieldes: but they gaue vs neither couſell nor comfort. And to ſpeake of my ſelfe, I did neuer vnderſtand or know, what the Articles were, that were publiſhed: neither was there euer any man that told me wherfore they were publiſhed: neither did I know wherfore ẏ bandes of the countrey mẽ were ryſen: neither wherfore euery mã moued hys neighbour to put on armour. Wherfore then haue ye taken me as a ſeditious mã, & made me to endure ſo great tormentes? He cõtinued a long tyme in declaring his innocency, but notwithſtanding all his excuſes & defences, the hangman drue his ſword, & at the commaundement of the iudge, ſtrake of his head as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moued a longe tyme afterward in hys head, by meanes of the force of the wordes whiche he had before ſpoken.

Thys bleſſed Martyr beheaded.

Thus this good man of the countrey, ended his dayes. Agaynſt whom the falſe iudges could finde no crime or offence to obiecte, albeit they had diligently ſought by witneſſes to haue information of all his lyfe and liuyng. The Lorde graunt hys ſpirite to all thoſe whiche ſuffer for hys name. Ex Ioan. Oecolampad.

¶ *Wolfgangus Schuch a Germane in Lotharing, martyr.*

The ſtory and Martyrdome of Wolfgangus Schuch.

Wolfgangus Schuchus comming to a certeine towne in Lotharyng bearyng the name of S. Hippolitus, & being receaued in ẏ ſaid towne to be their Paſtor, laboured by all meanes how to extirpe out of ẏ hartes of ẏ people Idolatrie and ſuperſtition. Which through the grace of Chriſt working with him, he in ſhort time had brought proſperouſly to paſſe, accordyng to his deſire: In ſomuch that the obſeruatiõ of Lent, Images, and all Idols, with the abomination alſo of the Maſſe, in ẏ ſame towne was vtterly aboliſhed: So reformable God made the hartes of the people there, and ſuch affection had they to their miniſter. It was not lõg but the rumour therof came to the hearyng of Duke Antony, Prince of Loraine (vnder whoſe dominion they were) through the ſwift reporte of the aduerſaries, falſely belying theſe Hyppolitans to the Duke, as though they in relinquiſhyng the doctrine and faction of the Pope, went about to reiecte and ſhake of all authoritie and power of princes, and all ſuperiour gouernours. By the meanes of whiche ſiniſter reporte, they incenſed the prince to ſuch diſpleaſure and indignation, that he threatned to ſubuert & vtterly to deſtroy ẏ towne with ſword and fire. Wolfgangus hauyng word of this, wrote vnto the duke his Epiſtle, in moſt humble & obedient wiſe, in defence both of his miniſtrye, of his doctrine whiche he taught, and of the whole cauſe of the Goſpell.

Falſe & pernitious tonges.

The Duke of Loraine threatneth the towne of S. Hyppolitus.

The letter of Wolfgangus to the Duke.

In whiche Epiſtle firſt he excuſed the people to be innocent & blameles, & rather thoſe ſclaũderous reporters to be both worthy to be blamed, & alſo puniſhed, for their falſe rumours & forged ſclaunders rayſed vp againſt thẽ. After that he opened and explaned the cauſe and ſtate of the Goſpell, and of our ſaluation, conſiſtyng onely in the free grace of God, through fayth in Chriſt his ſonne, cõparyng alſo the ſame doctrine of the Goſpell, with the cõfuſed doctrine of the Church of Rome.

That done, thyrdly he proceded to our obedience, honour

nour and worſhyp, whiche firſt we owe to God and to Chriſt: next vnder hym, to princes here and poteſtates, whom God hath placed in his roume, and endued with authoritie here in earth, vnto whom they offered them ſelues now and at all tymes, preſt and moſt ready to obey with all ſeruice and dutye. &c.

But with this Epiſtle Wolfgangus did nothyng preuaile, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or els for yͤ the falſe accuſatiõs and wicked tonges of the aduerſarie parte, tooke more effecte to wynne credite with the Duke, then could the ſimple defenſe of veritie. Wherupon Wolfgangus, when he ſaw no other remedy, rather then yͤ towne ſhould come in any daunger for his cauſe, the good man of hys owne accorde came to the Citie of Nancey (whiche is the head towne of Loraine) there to render a confeſſion of his doctrine, and alſo to deliuer the towne of S. Hippolite out of perill, deriuyng all the daunger vppon hym ſelfe.

The cõſtancie of Wolfgãgus vnremoueable.

As ſoone as he was come thether, incontinent handes were layd vpon hym, and he layd faſt in a ſtraite & ſtinckyng priſon: where he was ſharpely and bitterly hãdled, vnder the cuſtodie of churlyſh and cruell kepers. All this notwithſtãdyng, Wolfgangus continuyng in that priſon the ſpace of a whole yeare, yet would not be moued from his conſtãcie, neither with the ſtraitnes of the priſon, nor with the hardnes of his kepers, nor yet with the compaſſion of his wife and children, whiche he had about hi. or by. Then was he had to the houſe of the Gray Friers, to profeſſe there his fayth: where he both wyttely and learnedly confuted all them, that ſtoode agaynſt hym.

Wolfgangus had to the Gray fryers.

Wolfgangus confuteth hys aduerſaryes.

A ryght deſcription of a frierly *Silenus* or *Cyclops*.

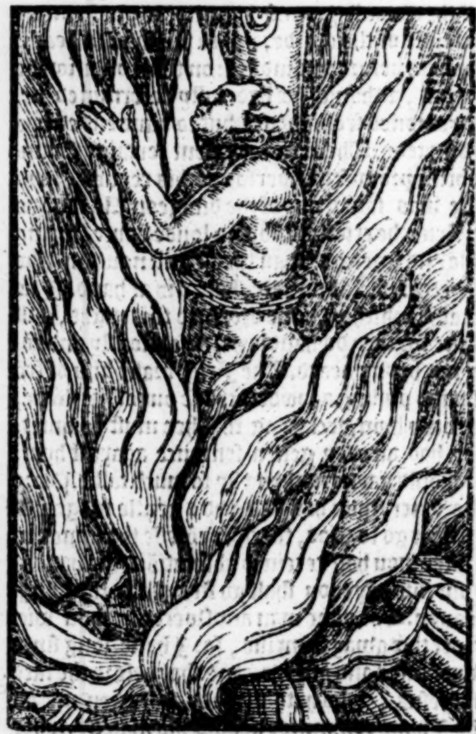
There was a frier (named Bonauenture) prouinciall of that order, of face, body, & bellye monſtrous, but much more groſſe in blind ignoraunce, and a man vtterly rude, a contemner of all ciuilitie and honeſtie. Who beyng lõg confeſſour to the Duke, & of great authoritie in Loraine, as he was an enemy to vertue and learnyng, ſo was hee euer perſuadyng the Duke, to baniſhe out of hys courte and countrey of Loraine, all learned men, neither could he abyde any perſon whiche ſemed to know more, then his elders knew before. The ſumme of all his Diuinitie was this, to bee ſufficient to ſaluation onely to knowe the Pater noſter, and Aue Maria. And thus was the Duke brought vp and trayned, and in nothing els, as the Duke him ſelf oft tymes in talke with his familiars, would confeſſe. This Bonauenture beyng chief iudge and moderator where Wolfgangus diſputed, or was examined, had nothyng els in his mouth, but thou hereticke, Iudas, Belzebub, &c. Wolfgãgus bearyng patiently thoſe priuate iniuries, whiche perteined to hym ſelfe, proceded mightly in his diſputation by the Scriptures confutyng or rather confoũdyng his aduerſaries. Who beyng not otherwiſe able to make their partie good, yet for very ſhame, becauſe they would not ſeme to do nothyng, tooke his Bible with his notes in yͤ margent, into their monaſterie & burnt it. At the laſt diſputation Duke Antonie hym ſelfe was ſayd to be there, alteryng his apparell, becauſe hee would not be knowen, who albeit hee vnderſtode not the ſpeach of Wolfgangus, ſpeakyng in Latine, yet perceauyng him to be bold and conſtant in his doctrine, departyng from the diſputation, gaue ſentence, that hee ſhould be burned, becauſe he denyed the Churche, & Sacrament of the Maſſe. Whereupon it folowed ſhortly after that Wolfgangus was condẽned to be burned, who hearyng the ſentence of his condemnation, began to ſing the Pſal. 122. Lætatus ſum in his quæ dicta ſunt mihi, in domũ Domini ibimus. &c.

The diſputation of Wolfgangus with the Fryers.

The ſentence geuen agaynſt Wolfgangus, by the Duke, not knowing what Wolfgangus ſayd.

As he was led to the place of execution, paſſyng by the houſe of the Gray Friers, Bonauenture the great Cyclops ſittyng at yͤ doore, cryed out to him: thou hereticke do thy reuerence here to God, and to our Lady, and to hys holy ſaintes, ſhewyng to him the Idoles ſtandyng at the Friers gate. To whom Wolfgangus aunſwered agayne: thou hypocrite, thou paynted wall, the Lord ſhall deſtroy thee, and bryng all thy falſe diſſimulation vnto lyght. When they were come to the place of hys Martyrdome, firſt his bookes before hym were throwen in yͤ fire. Then they aſked him whether he would haue his paine miniſhed or ſhortened: to whom he ſaid no, bidding thẽ to do their will: for (ſayd he) as God hath bene with me hetherto, ſo I truſt nowe he will not leaue me, when I ſhall haue moſte nede of hym, concludyng hys wordes thus: that they ſhould put the ſentence in execution, and ſo begynning to ſing the 54. Pſal. he entred into the place heaped vp with fagottes and woode, continuing in his Pſalme and ſingyng till the ſmoke and the flame tooke from hym both voyce and lyfe.

Note the quiet and ioyfull death of this bleſſed Martyr.



The ſingular vertue, conſtancie, and learnyng of this bleſſed man, as it refreſhed and greatly edified yͤ hartes of many good mẽ: ſo it aſtonyſhed as much yͤ myndes of his aduerſaries, and wrought to theyr confuſion: For ſhortly after his death, the Cõmendator of S. Antony of Vienna, who ſatte as ſpirituall iudge ouer hym, & gaue ſentence of his condemnation, fell ſodenly downe and dyed. Alſo his felowe, which was Abbot of Clarilocus, & ſuffragan to the Byſhop of Metz, ſodenly at yͤ cõmyng of the Duches of Denmarke into the citie of Nancie, ſtroken with ſoden feare, at the cracke of gunnes, fell down and dyed, as they whiche were preſent and ſawe it, haue made faythfull relation of the ſame. an. 1525. Ex Ludou. Rabo, & Pantal.

The iuſte puniſhmẽt of God vpon perſecutours.

¶ *Iohn Huglein Martyr.*

OF Iohn Huglein prieſt, mention is made in the Cõmẽtaries of Iohn Sledan. lib. 6. who the next yeare folowyng. an. 1526. was burned at Merſpurge by the Byſhop of Conſtance, for that hee did not hold with the Byſhop of Romes doctrine in all pointes.

Iohn Hu glein, Martyr. *Ex Commẽt. Sle Lib. 6.*

Moreouer, beſides other matters in this yeare occurrent, here is alſo a memorandum to be made to all poſteritie, that in this preſent yeare. 1526. vnto Iohn Fridericke ſonne and heyre to the prince and electour of Saxonie, was promiſed the Lady Katherine the Emperours yonger ſiſter in Mariage, & writynges made of the ſame. But when the alteration of religion was ſent by Gods prouidence into Saxonie, they ſwarued from their couenãtes, and Hawnart, whiche was then the Emperours Ambaſſadour in Germanie, ſayd playnly, that there was no promiſe to be kept with heretikes: wherin they ſemed to folow wel the footeſteppes of yͤ Councell of Conſtãce, as before you haue partly heard, in yͤ ſtory of Iohn Hus, and of the Emperour Sigiſmund, pag. 708. 710.

Promiſ of mar broke w John F dericke Duke of Saxonie.

The p church k peth no promiſe with he tickes.

¶ *George Carpenter of Emeryng martyr, burned in the towne of Munchen in Bauaria.*

THe viii. day of February, in the yeare of our ſaluatiõ 1527. there happened a rare and maruailous exãple and ſpectacle in yͤ towne of Munchen in Bauaria, which was this. A certaine man named George Carpenter of Emeryng was there burnt. When hee was ſet out of the

George Carpẽt Martyr.

priſon called Falken tower, and led before the Councell, diuers Friers and Monkes folowed hym, to inſtruct and teach him: whom he willed to tary at home, and not to folow hym. When he came before the Councell, his offences were read, contayned in iiij Articles.

rticles d againſt orge rpēter.

Firſt that hee did not beleue that a Prieſt could forgeue a mans ſinnes.

Secondly that hee did not beleue, that a man could call God out of heauen.

Thirdly that he did not beleue that God was in the bread, whiche the Prieſt hangeth ouer the aultare, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

Fourthly that he did not beleue , that the very element of the water it ſelfe in Baptiſme, doth geue grace. Which foure Articles he vtterly refuſed to recante. Then came vnto hym a certaine Scholmaiſter of S. Peters in the towne of Munchen, ſaying: my frend George, doeſt thou not feare the death and puniſhment which thou muſt ſuffer? If thou were let goe, wouldeſt thou returne to thy wyfe and children? Wherunto he aunſwered: If I were ſet at liberty, whether ſhould I rather go, then to my wife and welbeloued children? Then ſayd the Scholmaiſter, reuoke your former ſentence and opinion, and you ſhal be ſet at liberty. Wherunto George aunſwered: my wife and my childrē are ſo dearely beloued vnto me, that they can not be bought from me, for all the riches and poſſeſſions of yͤ Duke of Bauaria: but for the loue of my Lord God I wil willingly forſake them. When he was led vnto the place of executiō, the Scholmaiſter ſpake vnto him agayne, in the middeſt of the market place, ſaying: Good George, beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar: do not affirme it to be onely a ſigne. Wherunto he aūſwered: I beleue this Sacrament to be a ſigne of the body of Ieſus Chriſt, offered vppon the Croſſe for vs. Then ſayd the Scholmaiſter moreouer, what doeſt thou meane, that thou doeſt ſo litle eſteme Baptiſme, knowyng that Chriſt ſuffered hym ſelfe to bee Baptiſed in Iordane? Wherunto he aunſwered, and ſhewed what was the true vſe of Baptiſme, and what was the end why Chriſt was Baptiſed in Iordane, and how neceſſarie it was that Chriſt ſhould dye and ſuffer vppon the Croſſe, wherin onely ſtandeth our ſaluation. The ſame Chriſt (ſaid he) will I confeſſe this day before the whole world: for hée is my Sauiour, and in him do I beleue.

eorge per aded to cante.

he loue God pre rred be e wife, ildren, & ertie.

he ſacra- nt a ne of the ordes ype.

aptiſme.

After this came vnto hym one maiſter Conrade Scheitter, the Vicar of the Cathedrall Churche of our Lady in Munchen a preacher, ſaying: George, if thou wilt not beleue yͤ Sacramēt, yet put all thy truſt in God, & ſay: I truſt my cauſe to be good & true: * but if I ſhould erre, truly I would be ſory and repent. Whereunto George Carpenter aunſwered: God ſuffer me not to erre I beſech hym. Then ſayd the Scholmaſter vnto hym, do not put the matter in that haſarde, but chuſe vnto you ſome good Chriſtian brother, Maiſter Conrade, or ſome other, vnto whom thou mayſt reuele thy hart: not to confeſſe thy ſelfe, but to take ſome godly counſaile of hym. Wherunto he aūſwered: Nay not ſo, for it would be to long. Then M. Conrade began yͤ Lordes prayer, *Our father whiche art in heauen*. Where vnto Carpenter aunſwered, truly thou art our father and no other: this day I truſt to be with thée. Then Maiſter Conrade wēt forward with the prayer, ſaying: *Halowed be thy name.* Carpenter aūſwered: O my God, how litle is thy name halowed in this world? Then ſaid maiſter Conrade. *Thy kingdome come.* Carpenter aunſwered: let thy kyngdome come this day vnto me, that I alſo may come vnto thy kyngdome. Then ſaid Conrade: *Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen.* Carpenter aunſwered: For this cauſe O father, I am now here, that thy will might bée fulfilled and not myne. Then ſayd maiſter Conrade: *Geue vs this day our dayly bread.* Carpenter aunſwered: the onely lyuyng bread Ieſu Chriſt ſhalbe my fode. Then ſayd Cōrade: *And forgeue vs our treſpaſſes, as we forgeue them that treſpaſſe agaynſt vs.* Carpenter aunſwered: with a willyng minde do I forgeue all men, both my frendes and aduerſaryes. Then ſayd maiſter Conrade: *And leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from all euill.* Whereunto Carpenter aunſwered: O my Lord, without doubt thou ſhalt deliuer me, for vppon thée onely haue I layd all my hope. Thē he began to rehearſe the belief, ſaying: *I beleue in God the father almighty.* Carpenter aunſwered: O my God, in thée alone do I truſt: in thée onely is all my confidence, and vpō no other creature, albeit they haue gone about to force me otherwiſe. In this maner he aunſwered to euery worde: which his aunſweres, if they ſhould be deſcribed at length, would be to long. This prayer ended, the Scholmaiſter ſayd vnto hym: doeſt thou beleue ſo truelye and conſtantlye in thy Lorde and God with thy hart, as thou doeſt chearefully ſeme to confeſſe hym with thy mouth? Hereunto he aunſwered: It were a verye harde matter for me, if that I whiche am here ready to ſuffer death, ſhould not beleue that with my hart, which I openly profeſſe with my mouth: For I knew before, that I muſt ſuffer perſecution, if I would cleaue vnto Chriſt: who ſayth, *where as thy harte is, there alſo is thy treaſure*, and what ſoeuer thyng a man doth fixe in his harte to loue aboue God, that he maketh his Idoll. Then ſayd maiſter Conrade vnto hym, George doeſt thou thinke it neceſſary after thy death, that any man ſhould pray for thée, or ſay Maſſe for thée? He aunſwered: ſo long as the ſoule is ioyned to the body, pray God for me, that he will geue me grace and paciēce, with all humilitie, to ſuffer yͤ paynes of death with a true Chriſtian fayth: but when yͤ ſoule is ſeparate frō the body, then haue I no more nede of your prayers. When as the hangmā ſhould binde hym to the ladder, he preached much vnto the people. Then he was deſired by certaine Chriſtian brethren, that as ſone as hee was caſt into the fire, he ſhould geue ſome ſigne or token, what his fayth or beliefe was. To whom he aunſwered: this ſhall be my ſigne and token: that ſo long as I can open my mouth, I will not ceaſe to cal vpon the name of Ieſus.

* Marke re theſe btill Ser ntes, hich hen they n not remoue this od man om hys yth, they e about bryng m in ubt thereof.

he aunſweres of eorge arpenter euery rticle of e Lordes ayer.

The hartie confeſſion of George Carpenter.

Luke.12.

What ſoeuer a man loueth aboue God, that he maketh his Idoll.

George Carpenter refuſeth to be prayed for after hys death.

Behold (good reader) what an incredible cōſtancie was in this godly mā, ſuch as lightly hath not béen ſene in any mā before. His face & cōtenaūce neuer chaūged colour, but cherefully he went vnto yͤ fire. In yͤ midſt (ſaith he) of the towne, this daye will I confeſſe my God before the whole world. When he was layde vpon the ladder, and yͤ hangmā put a bagge of gonnepouder about his necke, he ſayd, let it ſo be, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. And when as the two hangmen lifted him vp vppon the ladder, ſmilyng he bad a certaine Chriſtian farewell, requiring forgeuenes of hym. That done, the hangmā thruſt hym into the fire. He with a loude voyce cryed out Ieſus, Ieſus. Then the hangman turned hym ouer: and hée agayne for a certaine ſpace, cryed Ieſus, Ieſus, and ſo ioyfully yelded vp hys ſpirite.

The conſtant behauiour of George Carpenter at hys death.

The death and Martyrdom of George Carpenter.

¶ *Leonard Keyſer.*

HEre alſo is not to be paſſed ouer the maruaylous conſtancie of maiſter Leonard Keyſer of the countrey of Bauaria, who was burned for the Goſpell. This Keyſer was of the towne of Rawbe, 4. myles from Paſſawe, of a famous houſe. This mā beyng at hys ſtudy in Wyttenberge, was ſent for by his brethren whiche certified him, that if euer he would ſée his father aliue, he ſhould come with ſpede: which thyng he did. He was ſcarſly come thether, when as by the commaundement of the Byſhop of Paſſawe, he was taken by his mother and his brethren. The Articles whiche he was accuſed of, for the which alſo hee was moſt cruelly put to death, and ſhed his bloud for the teſtimony of the truth, were theſe.

The hiſtory of Leonard Keyſer.

That faith onely iuſtifieth.

That workes are the frutes of fayth.

That the Maſſe is no ſacrifice or oblation.

Item, for confeſſion, ſatisfaction, the vowe of chaſtitie, purgatory, difference of dayes, for affirmyng onely ij. Sacramentes, and inuocation of Saintes.

He alſo maintayned iij. kyndes of confeſſion.

The

Articles agaynſt Leonard Keyſer.

The firſt to be of fayth, whiche is alwayes neceſſary.

The ſecond of charity, whiche ſerueth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile him ſelf agayne, as a mā may ſee by that whiche is writtē in Math. 18

The third whiche is not to be deſpiſed, is to aſke counſaile of the auncient Miniſters of the Churche. And for ſomuch as all this was cōtrary to the Bull of Pope Leo, and the Emperours decrée made at Wormes, ſentence was geuē agaynſt hym, that he ſhould be diſgraded and put into the handes of yͤ ſecular power. The perſecuters that ſatte in Iudgement vpon hym, were the Byſhop of Paſſaw: the Suffragans of Ratisbone, and of Paſſaw: alſo Doctour Eckius, beyng garded about with armed men. His brethren and kinſfolkes made greate interceſſion to haue his iudgemēt differred and put of, that the matter might be more exactly knowen. Alſo Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie, and the Earles of Schauuenburge, & of Schunartzen, wrote to the Biſhop for hym, but could not preuayle. After the ſentence was geuen, he was caried by a cōpany of harneſſed mē, out of the Citie agayn, to Scherdingham. 13. of Auguſt. Where Chriſtopher Frenkinger the ciuile Iudge receauyng hym, had letters ſent him from Duke William of Bauaria, that forthwith taryng for no other iudgemēt, he ſhould be burned alyue. Wherupon the good and bleſſed Martyr early in the mornyng, being rounded and ſhauen, and clothed in a ſhort gowne, and a blacke cappe ſet vpon his head all cut and iagged, ſo was deliuered to the officer. As he was led out of the towne, to the place where as he ſhould ſuffer, he boldly and hardily ſpake in the Almaine tongue, turnyng hys head, firſt on the one ſide, and then on the other, ſaying: O Lord Ieſu remayne with me, ſuſtayne and helpe me, and geue me force and power.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 976. 982.

Perſecutours.

Haſtie iudgement agaynſt Leonard Keyſer.

Then the wode was made ready to be ſet on fire, and he began to crye wͭ a loude voyce: O Ieſus, I am thine, haue mercye vpon me, and ſaue me, and therwithall hee felt the fire begin ſharply vnder his féete, his handes, and about his head: and becauſe yͤ fire was not great inough, the hangman plucked the body halfe burnt, with a longe hooke, from vnderneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through the whiche he thruſt a ſtake, and caſt hym agayne into the fire, and ſo made an end of burnyng. This was the bleſſed end of that good man, whiche ſuffred for yͤ teſtimony of yͤ truth, the 16. day of Auguſt, in yͤ yere of our Lord. 1526. Ex 6. tomo operū Luteri.

The Martyrdome of Leonard Keyſer.

¶ *Wendelmuta Widow and Martyr.*

IN Holland alſo the ſame yeare. 1527. was martyred and burned a good and vertuous wydow, named Wendelmuta, daughter of Nicholas of Mūchendam. This wydow receauyng to her harte the bryghtnes of Gods grace, by the appearyng of the Goſpell, was therfore apprehended and committed to cuſtodie in the Caſtle of Werden, and ſhortly after, from thence was brought to Hage the 15. day of Nouemb. there to appeare at the generall ſeſſions of that countrey: Where was preſent Hochſtratus, Lord Preſident of the ſayd countie, who alſo ſat vpon her the 17. day of the foreſayd moneth. Diuers Monkes were appointed there to talke with her, to the end they might conuince her, and wynne her to recante, but ſhe conſtantly perſiſtyng in the truth, wherin ſhe was plāted, would not be remoued. Many alſo of her kindred and other honeſt wemē were ſuffer to perſuade with her. Among whom there was a certeyne noble matrone, who loued and fauoured dearely the ſayd wydow beyng in priſon. This matrone commyng, and communing with her, in her talke ſayd: My Wendelmuta, why doeſt thou not kepe ſilence, and thinke ſecretly in thine hart, theſe thynges whiche thou beleueſt, that thou mayſt prolong here thy dayes & lyfe? To whom ſhe aunſwered agayne, Ah (ſayd ſhe) you know not what ye ſay. It is written: *With the hart we beleue to rightuouſnes, with tongue we confeſſe, to ſaluation. &c.* And thus ſhee remaynyng firme and ſtedſaſt in her beliefe and confeſſion, the 20. day of Nouemb. was condemned by ſentence geuen, as agaynſt an hereticke, to be burned to aſhes, and her goodes to be confiſcate, ſhe takyng the ſentence of her condemnation mildely and quietly.

Wendelmuta widowe, Martyr.

Religiō would be profeſſed as well with tonge as with harte.

Rom. 10.

After ſhe came to the place where ſhe ſhould be executed, and a Monke there had brought out a blynd Croſſe, willyng her many tymes to kyſſe and worſhip her God: I worſhyp (ſaid ſhe) no wooden God, but onely that God whiche is in heauen: and ſo with a myrye and ioyfull coūtenaunce, ſhe went to the ſtake, deſiryng the executioner, to ſée the ſtake to be faſt, that it fall not: then takyng the pouder and laying it to her breſt, ſhe gaue her necke willynglye to bee bounde, with an ardent prayer commendyng her ſelf to the handes of God. When the time came that ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled, modeſtly ſhe cloſed her eyes, and bowed downe her head, as one that would take a ſleape: which done the fire then was put to yͤ wode, and ſhe beyng ſtrangled, was burned afterward to aſhes, in ſtead of this lyfe to get the immortall crowne in heauen. an. 1527. Ex Pantal.

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ſhipped.

¶ *Petrus Fliſtedius, and Adolphus Clarebachus* put to death at Colen.

IN the number of theſe Germane Martyrs, are alſo to be cōprehended Peter Fliſteden and Adolphe Clarebach, two men of ſingular learnyng, and hauyng rype knowledge of Gods holy word. Which two, in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. for that they did diſſent from the Papiſtes in diuers pointes, and ſpecially touchyng the Supper of yͤ Lord, & other yͤ Popes traditions & ceremonies, after they had endured impriſonment a yeare and halfe, by the commaundement of the Archbyſhop and Senate, were put to death & burned in Colen, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Chriſtians, all the fault beyng put vppon certeine Diuines, whiche at that tyme preached that the puniſhment and death of certaine wicked perſons, ſhould pacifie the wrath of God, whiche then plaged Germanie greuouſlye with a new and ſtraunge kinde of diſeaſe: For at that ſeaſon, the ſweatyng ſicknes did mortaly rage and reigne throughout all Germany. Ex Commenta. Ioan. Sled. lib. 6.

*Peter F
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Colen.

¶ *A Preface to the Table folowyng.*

IF thou well remember in readyng this booke of ſtories (louyng reader) it was before mentioned and declared, pag. 969. how in in the yeare of grace. 1501. certein prodigious markes and printes of the Lordes paſſion, as the crowne, croſſe, nayles, ſcourges, & ſpeare were ſene in Germanie, vpon the garmentes of men, and wemen. Which miraculous oſtent paſſyng yͤ ordinarie courſe of naturall cauſes, as it was ſent of God, no doubt, to foreſhew the great and terrible perſecutiō, which afterward fell in the countrey of Germanie and other regions beſides, for the teſtimonie of Chriſte: ſo if the number and names of all thoſe good men and wemen, whiche ſuffered in the ſame perſecution, with their Actes and doyngs ſhould bée gathered & compiled together, it would aſke a long tyme, and a large volume. Notwithſtandyng, partly to ſatiſfie the hiſtorie whiche we haue in hand, partly alſo to auoyde tedious prolixitie, I thought briefly to contracte the diſcourſe therof, drawing, as in a compendious Table, the names of the perſecutours, and of the Martyrs which ſuffered, and the cauſes wherfore, in as much ſhortnes as I may, referryng the full tractation of theyr lyues and doynges to thoſe writers of their owne countrey, where they are to be read more at large. And to kepe an order in yͤ ſame Table, as much as in ſuch a confuſed heape of matters I may, accordyng to the order & diſtinction of the countreys, in whiche theſe bleſſed ſainctes of Chriſt did ſuffer: I haue ſo diuided the order of the Table in ſuch ſorte, as firſt to beginne with them that ſuffred in Germanie, then in Fraunce, alſo in Spayne, with other forein countreyes moe, ſhewyng onely the names with the principall matters of them, referryng the reſt to the further explication of their own Storywriters, from whence they be collected. The whiche Table beyng finiſhed, my purpoſe is (Chriſt willing) to returne to the full hiſtory of our own matters, and Martyrs whiche ſuffred here in England.

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A Ta-

A Table of the names and cauſes of ſuch Martyrs, which gaue their liues for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell in Germanie, Fraunce, Spaine, Italy, and other foreine countreys, ſince Luthers tyme: In which Table firſt is conteyned within the fiſt ſpace betwene the lines, the perſecutours, next the Martyrs, and thyrdly the cauſes.

The Martyrs of Germanie.

Of diuers whiche ſuffered in Germanie for the witnes of the Goſpell, partly ſome rehearſall is made before, as of Voes, and Eſch, of Sutphen, Iohn Caſtellane, Pet. Spengler, with a certeine godly Miniſter, and an other ſymple man of the countrey mentioned in Oecolampadius: Alſo of them in Diethmar and Prage, of M. George of Hala, Gaſpar Tambert, Georgius of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, Iohn Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyſer, Wendelmuta, P. Fliſtede, Adol. Clarebach, and other moe. The reſidue folow in order of this Table here to be ſhewed.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
Charles **the Emperour.** **Two ſeruauntes of a Butcher dyd apprehēd**	*One* Nicholas *of Antwerpe.* At Antwerpe. An. 1524.	*The Curate of Melza by Antwerpe, had vſed to preache to a great number of people without the towne. The Emperour hearyng thereof, gaue leaue to take the vppermoſt garment of all thē that came to heare, and offred 30. gilders who ſo would take the prieſt. Afterward, when the people were gathered, & the Curate not there, this Nicolas ſtepped vp in his place and preached. Wherfore he beyng apprehended by theſe ij. ſeruauntes of a Butcher, was put in a ſacke & drowned by the Crane at Antwerpe.* 1524.
Margarete, daughter of Maximilian, princes of Holland. M. Montane. M. Roſemunde. M. Anchuſanus Inquiſitors. M. Iodoc' Loueryng, Vicare of Mechlin.	Ioan. Piſtorius, *a learned mā of Holland, and partly of kinne to* Eraſ. Roterod. 1524.	*The ſtory of Piſtorius is largely ſet forth by Gnapheus. Firſt he was a prieſt, then he maried: after that hee preached, commyng from Wittenberge. He ſpake againſt the Maſſe and pardons, and agaynſt the ſubtile abuſes of prieſtes. He was cōmitted vnto priſon with x. malefactors, whō he did comfort, and to one beyng halfe naked and in daunger of colde, he gaue his gowne. His father viſiting him in priſon, did not diſuade him, but bad him be conſtant. At laſt he was condemned, and diſgraded, hauyng a fooles coate put vpon hym. His felow priſoners at his death ſong* Te Deum. *Cōming to the ſtake he gaue his necke willingly to the band, wherwith he was firſt ſtrāgled, and then burned; ſaying at his death:* O death, where is thy victorye?
Sebaſtiā Braiteſtein, **Abbot.**	Mathias Weibell *Scholemaſter.* In Sueuia. An. 1525.	*For ſaying ſomewhat agaynſte the Abbots firſt Maſſe, and agaynſt carying about the reliques, through the procuremēt of the Abbot, he was hanged by Campidonum in Sueuia.*
Certeine noble mē, after the cōmotion of the cōūtreymen in Germanie.	*A certeine godly prieſt.* An. 1525.	*This prieſt beyng commaunded to come and geue good counſaile to 16. cōūtreymē that ſhould be beheaded, afterward was bid, him ſelf, to knele downe to haue his head cut of, no cauſe nor condemnation further being laid agaynſt him, but onely of mere hatred againſt the Goſpell.* Ex Ioan. Gaſtio.

Nicholas of Ant- werpe, Martyr.

Piſtorius, Martyr.

1. Cor. 15.

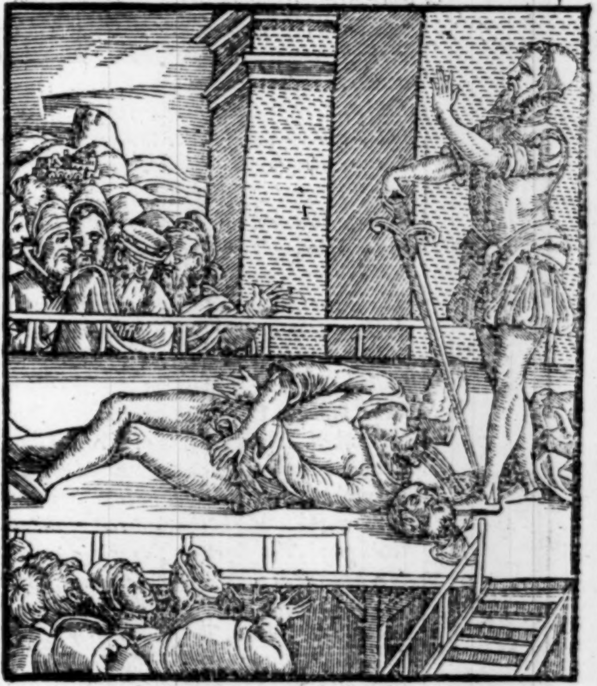
Mathias Weibell, Martyr.

Prieſt, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
The name of the perſecutour appeareth not in the ſtorye.	George Scherrer. At Raſtat, by Saltzeburge. An. 1528.	*After that this George had inſtructed the people in knowledge of the Goſpell in Raſtat, x. myles diſtant from Saltzeburge, he was accuſed of his aduerſaries, and put in priſon, where he wrote a cōfeſſion of his faith, which Mathias Illiricus hath ſet out with his whole ſtory. He was cōdemned to be burned a lyue: but meanes was made, that firſt his head ſhould be cut of, & his body afterward be caſt into the fire. Going toward his death he ſaid, crying aloud: That you may know (ſayd he) that I die a true Chriſtian, I will geue you a manifeſt ſigne, and ſo he did by the power of the lord: For when his head was takē of from his ſhoulders, the body fallyng vppon his belly, ſo continued the ſpace while one might well eate an egge. After that, ſoftly it turned it ſelfe vpon the backe, and croſſed the right foote ouer the left, and the right hand ouer the left. At the ſight whereof they which ſaw it were in a great meruel. The Magiſtrates whiche before had appoynted to haue burned the body after his beheadyng, ſeyng this miracle, would not burne it, but buried it with other Chriſtiā mens bodies, and many by the ſame example were moued to beleue the Goſpell. Thus God is able to manifeſt the truth of hys Goſpell, in the middeſt of perſecutiō, who is to be bleſſed for euer. Amen.*

George Sherrer, Martyr.

Ex Mat. Flac. Illyrico.



A ſtraunge miracle of God in manifeſtyng hys Goſpell.

A good prieſt Martyred in hys owne houſe.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Balthaſar, **Officiall.**	Henry Fléming At Dornic 1525.	*This Henry a Frier ſome tyme of Flaunders, forſoke his habite and maried a wife. Who beyng offered life of Balthaſar, if hee would confeſſe his wife to be an harlot, denyed ſo to do, and ſo was burnt at Dornic.*
A Popiſh prieſt and a wicked murderer.	*A good prieſt dwellyng not farre from* Baſill. 1539.	*There was a certaine wicked prieſt, a notorious adulterer, a dycer, & a vile dronkerd geuē to all wickednes and vngratiouſnes, without all feare, regardyng nothyng what miſchiefe he dyd: moreouer a mā fitte and ready to ſerue the affectiō of the Papiſtes at all turnes. It chaunced that this prieſt was receaued & lodged in the houſe of an other prieſt dwellyng not farre from Baſill, whiche was a good man and a ſyncere fauourer of the Goſpell.* *This dronken prieſt ſittyng at ſupper, was ſo dronke that he could not tell what he did, or els feined him ſelf ſo dronke of purpoſe, the better to accōpliſh his entēded miſchief. So it folowed that this wretch, after his firſt ſlepe, roſe out of his bed and brake all the glaſſe windowes in his chamber, threw downe the Stooue, and rent all his hoſtes bookes that he founde. The hoſt awayking with the noyſe therof, came to hym, asking how he did: whether there were any theues or enemies that he was in feare of, deſiring him to ſhew what hee ayled. But as ſoone as the good hoſte had opened his chamber dore, the wicked cutthroate, ranne at him with his ſword & ſlew him. The hoſte after the wound receaued, fell down and died. Upon this, a clamour was made through all the ſtreete, and the neighbours came in, the murderer was taken and bound: and yet all the frends and kinsfolkes that the good prieſt had, could not make that miſerable caitiffe that was the murderer, to be executed: the ſuperiour power did ſo take his part, ſaying that hee ſhould bee ſent to his Biſhop. The townes men did greuouſly crye out and complayn, at the boulſteryng out of ſo manifeſt vilanie. So did alſo the noble man that was the Lord of the Page, ſaying that ſo many good men and maried prieſtes were drowned and beheaded for ſuch ſmall trifles, without any regard had to the Biſhop: but a murderer might eſcape vnpuniſhed. It was aunſwered to thē agayne, that what the ſuperiour powers would do, they had nothing to do withall. The time was otherwiſe now, thē it was in the cōmotion of the ruſticall people. The ſuperiour power had authoritie to gouerne as they woulde, ſaid they: it was their partes onely to obey: And ſo was hee ſent bound to the Biſhop, and ſhortly after diſmiſſed, hauing alſo a greater benefice geuē him for his worthy acte: for ſo he auaunted him ſelfe, that he had ſlayne a Lutherā prieſt.* Ex tom. 2. Conuiualium Sermonum Ioā. Gaſtij. & ex Pantal.
Charles **the Emperours Procuratour.** **Doctour** Anchuſanus, **Inquiſitour.** Latomus.	*XXviij. Chriſten men and wemen of* Louane. Paule *a Prieſt.* *Two aged wemen.* Antonia. *Two men.* At Louane 1543. At Louane An. 1543.	*Whē certaine of the Citie of Louane were ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, the Emperours Procuratour came from Bruſels thether to make Inquiſitiō. After which Inquiſition made, certeine bādes of armed men came and beſet their houſes in the night, where many were taken in their beds, pluckt from their wiues and children, and diuided into diuers priſons. Through the terrour wherof, many Citizens reuolted from the doctrine of the Goſpell, and returned agayn to Idolatrie. But 28. there were whiche remained conſtant in that perſecutiō. Unto whō the Doctours of Louane, Anchuſanus eſpecially, the Inquiſitor, & Latomus ſomtimes, with other, came and diſputed, thinking no leſſe but either to cōfound them or to conuert them. But ſo ſtrongly the ſpirite of the lord wrought with his Saintes, that the other went rather confounded away them ſelues.* *When no diſputatiō could ſerue, that which lacked in cūning, they ſupplied with torments, by enforcyng and afflictyng them ſeuerally, euery one by him ſelfe. Among the reſt, there was one Paulus a prieſt, vpō the age of 60. yeares, whō the Rectors of the Vniuerſitie, with their Collegues, accompanied with a great number of billes & gleues, brought out of priſon to the Auſten friers, where after many foule words of the Rector, he was degraded. But at length for feare of death he began to ſtaggar in ſome pointes of his confeſſion, and ſo was had out of Louane, & cōdēned to perpetuall priſō, which was a darke and ſtinking dongeon, where hee was ſuffered neither to read nor write, or any man to come at him, commaunded onely to be fed with bread and water. After that, other ij. there were, which becauſe they had reuoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, conſtantly taking their Martyrdome.* *Then was there an old man, and ij. aged wemen brought forth: of whom the one was called Antonia, borne of an auncient ſtocke in that Citie. Theſe alſo were condēned, the man to beheaded, the ij. womē to be buried quicke, whiche death they receaued likewiſe verye cherefully. Certeine of the other priſoners, whiche were not condemned to death, were depriued of their goodes, commaūded in a white ſheete to come to the Church, and there knelyng with a Taper in their hand, to aske forgeuenes: and they which refuſed ſo to do, and to abiure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire.* Ex Franciſ. Encenate.
The name of the Perſecutor appeareth not in the ſtory.	M. Perſeuall.	*Not long after this, was one M. Perſeuall in the ſame Vniuerſitie of Louane, ſingularly well learned. Who for reprehendyng certaine Popiſhe ſuperſtitions, and ſomethyng ſpeaking in cōmendation of the Goſpell, was throwen into priſon. Then being accuſed of Lutheraniſme, becauſe he ſtoode to the ſame, and would not cōdeſcende to the Popes erroneous factiō, hee was adiudged to perpetuall priſon, there to be fed onely with bread and water: whiche puniſhment he tooke paciently for Chriſtes ſake. Neuertheles certaine Citizens taking cōpaſſion of him ſent him wyne and beare. But his kepers*

Ex Ioan. Gaſtio.

beyng

Iuſtus of Louane, Martyr.

Frãciſcus Encenas, **priſoner.**

Iuſtus petit de terras.

Gyles, **Martyr.**

Good workes going with liuely fayth.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	At Louane An. 1544.	*beyng charged vnder a great penaltie, durſt let nothyng to come vnto him. At laſt what became of him, no man could learne nor vnderſtand. Some iudge that he was either famiſhed for hunger, or els that he was ſecretly drowned.* Ex Franc. Encenate.
Dorſardus a Poteſtate in that countrey, and a greate perſecutour.	Iuſtus Imbſberger. At Bruſels An. 1544.	*Iuſtus, a skinner of Louane, beyng ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, was founde in his houſe to haue the newe Teſtament and certaine Sermons of Luther: For the whiche hee was committed, and his Iaylour commaunded, that he ſhould ſpeake with none. There were the ſame time, in the lower priſon vnder them, Egidius, and Franciſcus Encenas a Spaniard, who ſecretly hauyng the dores left open, came to him, and confirmed him in the cauſe of rightuouſnes. Thus is the prouidence of the Lorde neuer lacking to his Saintes, in time of neceſsitie. Shortly after came the Doctours and maiſters of Louane, to examine him of certain articles touchyng religion, as of the Popes ſupremacie, Sacrifice of the Maſſe, Purgatory, and of the Sacrament, &c. Whereunto when he had aunſwered plainly and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wiſe bee remoued, he was condẽned to the fire: but throughe interceſsion made to the Queene, his burnyng was pardoned, & he onely beheaded.* Ex Franc. Encenate.
The perſon of Bruſels.	Gyles *of Bruſels.* An. 1544.	*This Giles was borne in Bruſels, of honeſt parentes. By his occupatiõ he was brought vp frõ his youth to be a Cutler: In the which occupatiõ he was ſo expert & cũnyng, that he waxed therby riche & wealthy. Cõming to the yeres of 30. he began to receaue the light of the Goſpell, through the reading of the holy ſcripture, and encreaſed therein excedingly. And as in zeale he was feruẽt, ſo was he of nature humane, milde, and pitifull, paſsing all other in thoſe partes. What ſoeuer hee had, that neceſsitie could ſpare, he gaue it away to the poore, and onely lyued by his ſcience. Some he refreſhed with his meate: ſome with clothing: to ſome he gaue his ſhoes: ſome he helped with houſhold ſtuffe: to other ſome he miniſtred holſome exhortation of good doctrine. One poore woman there was brought to bed, and had no bed to lye in, to whom hee brought his owne bed, hym ſelfe contented to lye in the ſtrawe.*

The ſayd Egidius beyng detected by a Prieſt or perſon of Bruſels, was taken at Louane for that religion, whiche the Pope doth call hereſie. Where his aduerſaries extended great care and diligẽce to reduce him to their doctrine, and to make him abiure. But as he was a mã well reaſoned, and ſingularlye wytted, they went awaye manye tymes with ſhame. Thus beyng deteined viij. monethes in priſon, he was ſent to Bruſels to be iudged: where hee comforted diuers which were there in priſon (among whom was alſo Franciſcus Encenas) exhortyng thẽ to conſtancie of the truth vnto the crowne which was prepared for them. At the table he miniſtred to thẽ all, beyng contented him ſelf with the fewe ſcrappes whiche they lefte. In his prayers he was ſo ardent, kneling by him ſelfe in ſome ſecret place, that he ſemed to forget him ſelfe. Beyng called many tymes to meate, he neither heard, nor ſaw them that ſtode by him, till he was lift vp by the armes, and then gently hee would ſpeake vnto them, as one waked out of a ſwete ſlepe.

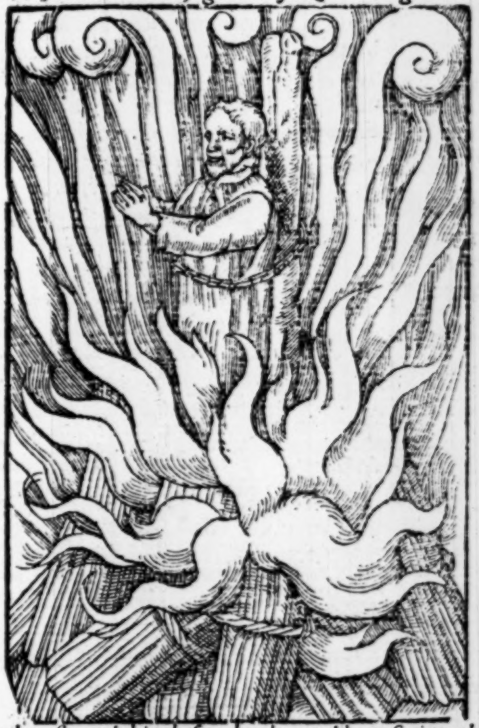
The humble hart of *Gyles.*

Feruencie of prayer.

Certeine of the Gray Friers ſome tymes were ſent vnto him by two and two, to reduce hym, but he would alwayes deſire them to departe from him, for he was at a point. And when the Friers at any tyme did miſcall him, he euer helde his peace, at ſuch priuate iniuries: in ſomuch that thoſe blaſphemers would ſay abroad, that hee had a dombe deuill in hym. But when they talked of any religion, there he ſpared not, but aunſwered them fully by euidences of the ſcripture, in ſuch ſort, that diuers times they would depart merueling. At ſondry tymes he might haue eſcaped, the dores beyng let open, but he would not, for bryngyng his keper in perill.

Blaſphemie of Papiſtes.

At length, about the moneth of Ianuary, he was brought to an other priſon, to bee conſtrained with tormentes to confeſſe Purgatory, & to vtter moe of his felowes. But no force mẽt would ſerue. Wherfore vpon the 22. of Ianuary he was condemned to the fire, but priuely, cõtrary to the vſe of that countrey, for openly they durſt not condemne him for feare of the people: ſo well was he beloued. When tidynges of the ſentence came vnto him, he gaue harty thãkes to God, that the houre was come, when he might glorifie the Lord. As he was brought to the place of burning, where he ſaw a great heape of woode piled, he required the greater part therof to be taken away, and geuẽ to the poore: a litle (ſayd he) would ſuffice him. Alſo ſeyng a poore mã commyng by, as he went, that lacked ſhoes, hee gaue his ſhoes vnto hym. Better (ſaid he) ſo to doe, then to haue his ſhoes burnt, and the poore to periſhe for cold. Standyng at the ſtake the hangeman was ready to ſtrangle him before, but he would not, ſaying, there was noo ſuch nede that his payne ſhould bee mitigated, for I feare not (ſayd he) the fire, do therefore as thou are commaunded. And thus the bleſſed Martyr, liftyng vp his eyes to heauen, in the midle of the flame, was extincted, to the great lamentation of all that ſtode by. After that tyme, whẽ the Friers of that Citie would go about for their almes, the people would ſay: it was not meete for them to receaue almes with bloudye handes. This hiſtory you ſhall finde more copiouſly deſcribed, in Franc. Encenas. Ex Frãc. Encen.



The Martyrdome of *Gyles.*

The zeale of the people agaynst the bloudy friers.

Perſecution in Gaunt and Bruzels.

Ex Frāciſco. Encenate.

Martyn Hœurblocke, **Martyr.**

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
Friers & Prieſtes of Flaunders.	*Great perſecution in* Gaūt *and other partes of* Flaūders At Gaunt. An. 1543. 1544.	*As Charles the Emperour did lye in Gaunt, the Friers and Doctors there obteyned that the Edict made agaynſt the Lutheranes might be read opēly twiſe a yeare. Whiche beyng obteined, great perſecutiō folowed, ſo that there was no Citie nor towne in all Flaunders, wherein ſome either were not expulſed, or headed, or condemned to perpetuall priſon, or had not their goods confiſcate: neither was there any reſpecte of age or ſexe. At Gaunt eſpeciallye, many there were of the head men, whiche for religion ſake were burned.* *Afterwarde the Emperour cōmyng to Bruzels, there was terrible ſlaughter and perſecution of Gods people, namely in Brabant, Hennegow, and Artoys, the horrour and crueltie wherof is almoſt incredible: In ſomuch that at one tyme as good as ij. hūdreth men and wemē together, were brought out of the coūtrey about, into the Citie, of whom ſome were drowned, ſome buried quicke, ſome priuely made away, others ſent to perpetuall priſon: wherby all priſons and towers there about were repleniſhed with priſoners & captiues, and the handes of the hangemē tyred with ſlaying & killing, to the great ſorow of all them, whiche knew the Goſpell, beyng now compelled either to deny the ſame, or to confirme it with their bloude. The ſtorye hereof is at large ſet forth by Frauncif. Encenas, a notable learned mā, who alſo him ſelf was priſoner the ſame tyme at Bruzels: whoſe boke writtē in latin, I my ſelf haue ſene & read, remaining in the hands of* Iohn Oporine *at* Baſill.
Franciſcan Friers of Gaunt.	Martinus Hœurbloc, *Fiſhmonger.* At Gaunt. An, 1545.	*This Martin euer almoſt to his latter age, was a man much geuen to all wicked and fleſhly life, ſo long as he continued a folower of the Popes ſuperſtition and Idolatrie. Afterwarde (as God hath alwayes his callyng) through the occaſion of a Sermō of his pariſh Prieſt, beginning to taſt ſome working of grace, and repentaunce of his former lyfe, went out of Gaunt for the ſpace of iij. monethes, ſeking the company of godly Chriſtians, ſuch as hee heard to vſe the readyng of the Scriptures: by whō he beyng more groundly inſtructed, returned agayne to the Citie of Gaūt, where all his neighbours firſt beganne to meruell at the ſodeyne chaūge of this mā. The Franciſcanes, which knew him before ſo beneficiall vnto thē, now ſeing him ſo altered frō their wayes & ſuperſtitiō, and ſeyng him to viſite the captiues in priſon, to cōforte thē in perſecutiō, & to cōfirme thē in the word of God which went to the fire, cōſpired againſt him: wherby he was detected, and layd in bandes. After that, with ſharpe & greuous tormentes they would haue cōſtreyned him to vtter other of the ſame religion. To whom thus he aūſwered, that if they could proue by the Scripture, that hys detectyng and accuſing of his brethrē, whō they would afflict with the like tormentes, were not againſt the ſecōd Table of Gods law, thē he would not refuſe to preferre the honour of God before the ſafegard of his brethren. Then the Friers examined him in the Sacrament, aſking him why he was ſo earneſt, to haue it in both kindes, ſeing (ſaid they) it is but a naked Sacrament, as you ſay. To whom he aunſwered, that the elementes therof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, for ſo much as the ſayd elementes of bread and wyne, beyng receaued after the inſtitutiō of Chriſt, do now make a Sacrament, and a myſticall repreſentation of the Lordes body, cōmunicatyng him ſelfe with our ſoules. And as touchyng the receauing in both kindes, becauſe it is the inſtitution of the Lorde, who is he (ſayd Martin) that dare alter the ſame? Then was he brought before the counſaile of Flaūders. The cauſes laid agaynſt him, were the Sacramēt, Purgatory, & prayng for the dead: for the which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt, in Verle place, all his goods beyng confiſcate. As he ſtode at the ſtake, a Frauncifcane Frier ſayd to him: Martin, vnles thou doeſt turne, thou ſhalt go from this fier, to euerlaſtyng fier. It is not in you, ſayd Martine agayne, to iudge. For this the Friers after were ſo hated, that many bylles and rimes were ſet forth in diuers places agaynſt them.* Ex Pantal.
The coūſayle of Flaūders	Nicolas Vāpoule Iohn de Brucke *and his wiſe.* At Gaunt. An, 1545.	*The next day after the burning of Martin aforeſaid, which was 9. of May, theſe iij. alſo were burned for the ſame cauſes likewiſe, for the which the other was condēned & burned the day before, but onely that the woman was buried alyue. All whiche tooke their Martyrdome ioyfully and with much cherefulnes.*
	Vrſula. Maria, *Virgins of noble ſtocke.* At Delden An, 1545.	*Delden is a towne in lower Germany, iij. myles from Dauentrie, where theſe ij. virgins of noble parentage were burned. Who after diligent frequentyng of Churches and Sermons, beyng inſtructed in the worde of the lord, defended, that, ſeyng the benefite of our ſaluatiō cōmeth onely by our fayth in Chriſt, all the other marchaūdiſe of the Pope, whiche he vſeth to ſell to the people for moneyw,as nedeles. Firſt Mary beyng the younger, was put to the fire, where ſhe prayed ardently for her enemyes, commendyng her ſoule to God. At whoſe conſtancie the Iudges did greatly meruell.* *Thē they exhorted Vrſula to turne, or if ſhe would not, at leaſt that ſhe would require to be headed. To whom ſhe ſaid, that ſhe was giltie of no errour, nor defended any thyng, but which was cōſonant to the ſcripture, in which ſhe truſted to perſeuere vnto the end. And as touching the kind of puniſhment, ſhe ſayd, ſhe feared not the fire, but rather would folow the example of her deare ſiſter, that went before. This was meruelous, that the executioners could in no wiſe conſume their bodyes with fire, but left them whole lying vpon the ground whyte: which certeine good Chriſtians priuyly tooke vp in the night and buryed. Thus God many tymes, ſheweth his power in the middeſt of tribulations.* Ex Lud. Rab. Pantal. &c.
The Perſon of S. Catherins. **Doctour** Tapertꝰ. William Clerickē, **ruler of** Mechlin.	Andreas Thieſſen. Catharina, *his wife.* Nicolas Thieſſen. Fraūces Thieſſen. *brethren.* At Mechlin. An, 1545.	*Andrewe Thieſſen Citizen of Mechlin, of his wife Catherine, had iij. ſonnes & a daughter, whom he inſtructed diligētly in the doctrine of the Goſpell, and deſpiſed the doynges of Popery. Wherfore, being hated and perſecuted of the Friers and Prieſtes there, he went into England and there dyed. Fraunces and Nicolas his two ſonnes went to Germany to ſtudy. Returning againe to their mother and ſiſter and younger brother, by diligent inſtructiō, brought them to the right knowledge of Gods goſpell,*

Perſecutors. | Martyrs. | The Cauſes.

pell, whiche beyng not vnknowen to the perſon there of S. Catherine, he called to him Doct. Rupert, Tapert, and other Maiſters and Friers, who taking counſaile together, with William Clericken the head Magiſtrate of the towne of Mechlin, agreed that the mother with her iiij. children ſhould be ſent to priſon, ſeparated one from an other: where great labour was employed to reclame them home vnto their Church, that is, from light to darkenes agayne. The ij. yonger, to wyt, the daughter with the yonger brother, beyng yet not ſetled, neither in yeares nor doctrine, ſome thyng inclined to them, and were deliuered. The mother whiche would not conſent, was condemned to perpetuall priſon. The other two, Fraunces and Nicolas, ſtandyng firmely to their confeſſion, defended that the Catholicke Churche was not the Churche of Rome: that the Sacrament was to bee miniſtred in both kindes: that auricular confeſſion was to no purpoſe: that Inuocation of Saintes was to be left: that there was no Purgatory. The Friers they called hypocrites, and contēned their threatnynges. The Magiſtrates after diſputations, fell to tormentes, to knowe of them who was their maſter, & what felowes they had. Their maiſter (they ſaid) was Chriſt, whiche bare his Croſſe before. Felowes (they ſaid) they had innumerable, diſperſed in all places. At laſt they were brought to the Iudges: their Articles were read, and they cōdemned to be burned. Comming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gagges or balles of woode were thruſt in their mouthes, whiche they, through vehemencie of ſpeaking thruſt out again, deſiring for the lordes ſake, that they might haue leaue to ſpeake. And ſo ſinging with a loude voyce, Credo in vnū Deum, &c. they went, & were faſtened to the ſtake, praying for their perſecutours, and exhortyng the one the other, they did abide the fire paciently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard: Ah (ſaid he) what a ſmall paine is this, to bee cōpared to the glory to come? Thus the pacient Martyrs committyng their ſpirite to the handes of God, to the great admiration of the lokers on, through conſtancie, atchiued the crowne of martyrdome. Ex Phil. Melanct.

Fraunces & Nicolas conſtant in Chriſt.

The names of their accuſers appeare not in the Authours.

Marion, wife of Adrian Taylor.

At Dornic An. 1545.

In the ſame perſecution agaynſt Brulius and his company in Dornic, was apprehended alſo one Adrian, and Marion, his wife. The cauſe of their trouble, as alſo of the others, was the Emperours decree made in the Councell of Wormes agaynſt the Lutherians, mentioned before pag. 982. Adrian not ſo ſtrong as a man, for feare gaue backe from the truth, and was but onely beheaded. The wife ſtronger thē a woman did withſtād their threates, and abyde the vttermoſt, and beyng encloſed in an yron grate formed in ſhape of a paſtie, was layde in the earth and buryed quicke after the vſuall puniſhment of that coūtrey, for women. Whē the aduerſaries firſt told her, that her huſbande had relented, ſhe beleued thē not: and therfore as ſhe went to her death, paſſyng by the tower where he was, ſhee called to him to take her leaue, but he was gone before. Ex Pant. lib. 4.

Adrian & Marion hys wife, Martyrs.

Marion buryed quicke.

The Magiſtrates of Dornic, or Tornay.

M. Peter Bruly, Preacher.

At Dornic An. 1545.

M. Peter Bruly was preacher in the Frenche Churche at Strausburgh. Who at the earneſt requeſt of faithfull brethren, came downe to viſite the lower coūtreys about Artoys and Dornic, in Flaūders, where he moſt diligently preached the worde of God vnto the people in houſes, the doores ſtandyng open. Wherupon, when the Magiſtrates of Dornic had ſhut the gates of the towne, and had made ſearch for him 3. dayes, hee was priuely let downe the wall in the night by a basket: and as hee was let downe to the ditch ready to take his way, one of them whiche let him down leanyng ouer the wall to byd hym fare well, cauſed vnwares a ſtone to ſlippe out of the wall, which fallyng vpon him, brake his legges by reaſon wherof he was heard of the watchmen complainyng of his wound, and ſo was taken, giuyng thankes to God by whoſe prouidence he was there ſtayd, to ſerue the Lorde in that place. So long as he remained in priſon, he ceaſed not to ſupply the part of a diligent preacher, teachyng and confirmyng all them that came to him in the word of grace. Beyng in priſon he wrote his owne confeſſion and examination, and ſent it to the brethren. He wrote alſo an other Epiſtle to them that were in perſecution: an other alſo to all the faithfull: alſo an other letter to his wife, the ſame day that he was burned. He remained in priſon 4. monethes. His ſentence was geuen by the Emperours Commiſſioners at Bruxels, that he ſhould be burned to aſhes, and his aſhes to be throwne into the ryuer. Although the Friers and prieſtes made the fire but ſmall, to multiplye his payne, yet he the more cherefullye & conſtantly tooke hys martyrdome and ſuffered it. The letters of Duke Fridericke, and of the Langraue came to entreate for him, but hee was burned a litle before the letters came. Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.

Peter Bruly, Martyr.

Gods ſecret working in diſpoſing the wayes of hys ſeruauntes.

The Martyrdome of Brulius.

The Senate of Dornic.

Doctour Haſardꝰ, a Gray Frier.

Peter Miocius.

Bergiban.

At Dornic An. 1545.

The commyng of M. Peter Bruly into the coūtrey of Flaūders, did excedyng much good among the brethren, as appeared by diuers other good men, and namely by this Peter Mioce, whiche was by his occupation a ſilke weauer. This Peter, before he was called to the Goſpell, led a wicked life, geuē to much vngraciouſnes, & almoſt to all kindes of vice. But after the taſt of the Goſpell began to worke in hym, ſo cleane it altered him frō that former man, that he excelled all other in godly zeale and vertue. In his firſt examination hee was asked whether he was one of the ſcholers of Peter Bruly. He ſaid he was, and that he had receaued much fruite by his doctrine. Wilt thou then defende his doctrine, ſayd they? Yea ſayd he, for that, it is conſonant both to the old Teſtament and to the New: and for this he was let downe into a deape dongeon vnder the Caſtle ditche, full of toodes and filthy vermine. Shortly after, the Senate with certeine Friers, came againe to examine him, to ſee whether they could conuerte him. To whom hee aunſwered and ſayd that when he before had liued ſuch an vngodly life, they neuer ſpake worde agaynſt hym: but now for ſauoryng and fauoryng the worde of God, they were ſo infeſte agaynſt hym, that they ſought his bloud. Among whom was one Doctour Haſardus, whiche asked him, if he did not ſeme to hym ſelfe more wicked now, thē euer he was before: but he ſetting the Frier at light, bad him auaunte Frier, ſaying: that he had to talke with the Senate, and not with him. The Senate thē began to examine him of certaine Articles of Religion. To whom as hee was about to aunſwere boldlye and expreſlye to euery pointe, they interrupting him bad hym ſay in two wordes, either yea, or nay. Then ſayd hee, if ye will not ſuffer

Peter Mioce, Martyr.

Crueltie ſhewed vpon Chriſtes ſeruauntes.

me to aunſwere for my ſelfe in matters of ſuch importaunce, then ſende me to my priſon agayne amonge my todes and frogges, whiche will not interrupt me, while I talke with my Lord my God. The boldenes of whoſe ſpirite and courage, as it made ſome to gnaſhe their teeth, ſo ſome it made to wonder, and miniſtred to ſome great confirmation.

There was alſo one Bergiban the ſame time in priſon, who had bene a foreward mā, and a great doer in the Goſpell, before the commyng downe of Brulius. Who beyng alſo ſought for at the taking of Brulius, & beyng thē not foūd at home, either by chaunce not knowyng, or els becauſe he conueyed him ſelfe out of the way for feare, conceaued therof ſuch ſorow in his minde, that afterward neither his wife nor children, nor any frende els, coulde ſtaye hym, but hee would nedes offer him ſelf to the Iudges, ſaying to the Ruler, beyng asked why he came: The Magiſtrates came to ſeeke me (ſaid he) & now I am come to know, what they would. Wherupon the ruler being ſory of his cōming, yet notwithſtandyng committed him to priſon, where he remained conſtant a certein while. But after the Commiſſioners had threatned him with cruell tormentes and horror of death, hee began by litle and litle to wauer and ſhrinke from the truth. At the fayre wordes of the falſe Friers and Prieſtes, to haue his puniſhement chaunged, and to be beheaded, he was fayne to graunt vnto their byddynges and requeſtes. Wherupon the aduerſaries taking their aduauntage came to Miocius, and told him of Bergibans retractation, willyng him to do the like. But he ſtoutly perſiſtyng in the truth, endured to the fire, where hee hauyng pouder put to his breſt, was ſo put to death, and diſpatched. The Friers hearyng the cracke of the pouder vpon his breſt, told the people, that the deuill came out of him and caryed away his ſoule. Ex Rabo. & alijs.

The Martyrdome of a good prieſt.

The cruell murthering of *Iohn Diazius.*

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A certein Prince in Germanie, about Hungary or the partes of Pannonia.	*A Prieſt of* Germanie.	Iohannes Gaſtius Conuiual. Sermo. lib. 2. writeth of a certein prince, but doth not name him, whiche put out the eyes of a certein prieſt in Germanie, for no other cauſe, but for that he ſayd the Maſſe to be no ſacrifice, in that ſenſe, as many prieſtes do take it. Neither did the cruell prince immediatly put him to death, but firſt kept him in priſon a long time, afflicting him with diuers tormentes. Then he was brought foorth to be degraded, after a barbarous and tirannous maner. Firſt they ſhaued the crowne of his head, then rubbed it hard with ſalt, that the bloud came running downe his ſhoulders. After that, they raſed & pared the toppes of his fingers with cruel paine, that no ſauour of the holy oyle might remaine. At laſt the pacient and godly martyr, iiij. daies after, yelded vp his lyfe and ſpirite. Ex Ioan. Gaſtio. lib. 2.
Alphonſus Diazius, a Spaniard Petr⁹ de Maluēda **the popes prolocutor at** Ratisbone, a Spaniard.	Ioannes Diazius *a Spaniard, martyr, killed of his own brother.* At	Of this Iohn Diazius the full proces and hiſtory is ſet foorth in Latine, wherin the whole circūſtance is debated at large, wherof the brief Summe is this. Iohn Diazius a Spaniard borne, firſt beyng at Paris. 13. yeares, from thence remoued to Geneua: thē to Baſill, and after to Strauſburgh: from whēce he was ſent Ambaſſadour with Bucer and other, to the Councell of Ratiſbone: where he talking with Peter Maluenda his countreyman,
The Emperours confeſſor a Blacke Frier a Spaniard Marquina.	Neoberge in Germanye. An. 1546.	the Popes factour, ſo declared his religion vnto him, that Maluenda wrote to the Frier, whiche was the Emperours confeſſour, touching the ſayd Iohn Diazius: at the openyng and readyng of which letters, one Marquina an other Spaniard was preſēt. Vpō this it folowed, whether by this confeſſor, or by Marquina, that

Alphonſus Diazius, brother to Iohn Diazius, whiche was one of the Popes Lawyers in Rome, had knowledge geuen him, of his brother Iohn.

When the communication of Ratisbone was diſſolued and broken vp, Iohn Diazius, from Ratisbone went to the Citie of Neoberge, within the dominion of Otto Henry Palatine, about the expedition of Bucers booke there to be printed. As Iohn Diazius was there occupied, it was not long, but Alphonſus his brother was come from Rome to Ratiſbone, where Maluenda was, bringing with him a peſtilent cutthroate, a notorious ruffian or homicide belonging to the Citie of Rome. Maluenda and Alphonſus conſulting together about the diſpatch of their deuiliſh purpoſe, firſt laboured to hunt out by the frendes of Diazius, where Diazius was. Whereof Alphonſus and the homicide hauyng knowledge by certeine of his ſecret frendes, pretendyng great matters of importance, came to Neoberge, where Diazius was printing of Bucers boke: Where after long debatyng of matters of Religion betwene the ij. brethren, Alphonſus ſeing the hart of his brother Iohn to be ſo conſtātly planted on the ſure rocke of Gods truth, that by no wiſe he could either be remoued from his opinion, or perſwaded to ryde in his company (being otherwiſe counſailed by Bucer and his frendes) fained him ſelfe frendly to take his leaue of his brother and to departe: but ſhortly after, ſecretlye with his ruffenly murderer he returned agayne, and by the waye they bought a certein hatchet of a carpenter. This done, Alphonſus ſendeth his mā beyng diſguiſed, with letters vnto his brother, he him ſelf folowyng after. As Iohn Diazius in the mornyng was riſen out of his bedde, to read the letters, the wretched hangman, with the hatchet cloue his head vnto the braynes, leauyng the hatchet in his head, and ſo he with Alphonſus tooke thē to their horſe, whiche ſtoode without the Citie gate, with as much ſpeade as they might. They of Neoberge, hearyng of the horrible acte, ſent out certeine horſemen, making great iourneys after them. Who comming to Auguſta, and hearing the murderers to be paſt before, were out of hope to ouertake them, and ſo returned. One in the company more zealous thē the reſt, would not returne, but purſued them ſtill, and in the Citie of Oeniponte, cauſed them to bee ſtayed, and put in priſon. Otto Palatine hearing of their taking, writeth to the Magiſtrates of Oeniponte for iudgemēt. Which Magiſtrates at firſt ſemed very willing therto: but in concluſion, through the practiſe of Papiſtes, and crafty lawyers, the ſentence iudiciall was ſo delayed from day to day, then from houre to houre, that the Emperours letters came in poſthaſt requiring the matter to be ſtayed, and reſerued to his hearyng. And thus the terrible murder of Cain and his felow, was bolſtered out by the Papiſtes. The like wherof frō the memory of men was neuer heard of, ſince the firſt example of Cain, whiche for religion ſlue his owne brother Abell. But although true iudgement in this world be peruerted, yet ſuch bloudy Cains with their wilfull murther, ſhall not eſcape the hādes of him, who ſhall iudge truly both the cōmitters, & the bolſterers alſo of all miſchieuous wickednes. Ex Claudio Senarcleo.

¶ An. 1546. Charles the Emperour held an armed Coūcel at Auguſta, after his victory gottē in Germanie. Where Iulius Pflug, Michael Sidonius, and Iohn Iſlebius goyng about to concorde together the Goſpell of Chriſt, with the traditions of ẏ Pope, that is, to make a hodgepotch of them both, drewe and framed out a new forme of religion called Interim. Whereupon began a new matter of perſecution in Germanie. For the Emperour proceded ſtraitly agaynſt all them, whiche would not receaue hys Interim, intendyng therby to haue wrought ſome great maſtry agaynſt the Goſpellers, but the Lorde diſapoynted

ted hys purpoſe.

The aſſault of the Spanyardes, agaynſt the Citie of Conſtance.

Among them whiche withſtode this Spaniſhe Interim, beſides other, were alſo the Citizens of Conſtantia. For the whiche, iij. thouſande Spanyardes priuyly by night came agaynſt the towne of Conſtance, where they kylled iij. of the watchmen of the towne, whiche watchyng in the ſuburbes, went forth to vewe the noyſe whiche they heard in the woodes. The deuiſe of the Spanyardes was, in the mornyng, when the Citizens were at the Sermō, ſodenly to ſet vpon the Citie and take it, ſo (no doubt) intēding to haue gone further. But as the Lord would, ſome thyng began to bee ſuſpected in the night, by the watchemen in the ſuburbes, on the otherſide the water, wherby the Conſul and Citizens had intelligence to bee in readynes. when the mornyng came, the Spanyardes were ready at the gate to breake into yͤ Citie. But being driuen frō thence & their Captaine Alphonſus ſlaine, they went to the bridge which goeth ouer yͤ Rhene. But being beaten alſo from thence, with ſhot and great peeces from the walles, and a great number of them drowned in the ryuer, the Spanyardes breakyng down the hynder part of the bridge, becauſe yͤ Citizens ſhould not purſue them, they recoyled backe into the ſuburbes, and burned them with the dead bodyes alſo that were ſlayne, ſo that the number of yͤ Spanyardes that there were killed, could not be knowen: Onely a hundreth of honeſt Citizens of Conſtance were miſſing. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 21.

At yͤ ſame tyme, many godly Miniſters of yͤ Churches in Germany were in great daunger, eſpecially ſuch as refuſed to receaue the Interim: of whom ſome were caſt in to priſon. In which number of priſoners was Mart. Frechtius Superintendent of Vlmes, with iiij. other preachers moe: alſo his brother George, for commyng but to hys houſe to comfort hym. For the whiche cauſe Muſculus the ſame tyme, with other preachers moe, went from Auſburge, Brentius from Hala, Blaurerus from Conſtance, Bucer from Strauſburgh.

The Martyrdome of a godly prieſt.

Iuſt puniſhment of God vpon a cruell perſecutour.

Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A Biſhop in Vngarie.	A godly Prieſt in Vngarie.	In Vngary a certeine godly prieſt preached, that the eatyng of fleſhe is not prohibited in the ſcripture: for the which the cruel Biſhop, after he had empriſoned him certeine weekes, cauſed him to be brought out, and his body to bee tyed ouer with Hares, geeſe, and hennes hanging round about him: and ſo the beaſtly biſhop made dogges to be ſet vpon him, whiche cruelly rente and tore what ſoeuer they coulde catch. And thus the good miniſter of Chriſt, being driuen about the Citie with the barking of dogges, dyed & was martyred. The ſight whereof, as it was lamētable to the godly, ſo it ſemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few days after, the impious Biſhop by the ſtroke of Gods iuſt hand, fell ſicke, and became horne madde, & ſo rauing without ſenſe or witte, miſerably dyed. Ex tomo. 2. Conuiualium Sermo. Ioan. Gaſtij.
	Iohn Fridericke of Saxonie Electour. 1547.	Among theſe godly and conſtant Saintes of Chriſt, may well be recounted Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie. Who when he had recouered agayne all his dominions (whiche Duke Maurice had takē from him before, beyng in Sueuia with his army) and at laſt was takē priſoner of the Emperour at Albis, 24. of Aprill. an 1557. yet could neuer be induced to yeld to the Emperour in reuoking his faith and doctrine of the Goſpell wherin he ſtode: For the which he was deteined from his wife and children, and bereiued of all his goodes, and caryed about with the Emperour the ſpace of v. yeares. This admirable conſtācie of that duke was a wonder to all his aduerſaries. At laſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1552. through the benefite of almighty God, he was ſet agayne at libertie, and returning home to his wife and children, continued in his Religion till the houre of hys death. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 19.

The Lantgraue of Heſſe.

Much like was the caſe alſo of Philip Lātgraue of Heſſe, who likewiſe beyng taken and ſpoyled of the Emperour, continued the ſpace of fiue yeres in the cruell cuſtody of the Spanyardes, and albeit he had fined vnto the Emperour, & was promiſed to be ſet free out of priſon, the Emperour and his counſaile dalying with their promiſe, expounded his priſonment not to be perpetuall. And though great labour and interceſſiō was made for him: yet all would not helpe. For whē the Emperour ſent him away, thē Mary the Emperours Siſter tooke him by the way, findyng cauillations againſt him: wherby he was agayne committed to the handes of Spanyardes, till at length, through the diſpoſing of Gods mercy, firſt the Duke of Saxonie, and then 6. dayes after, the Lantgraue alſo, were both freed out of long captiuitie, and ſent home. Ex Commen. Sled. lib 19. 24.

Hermannus Archb. of Colen.

Nicolas Frenchman. Marion, wife of Auguſtiuus, Martyrs.

Blaſphemie of a Papiſt.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Charles Emperour.	Hermannus Archbiſhop of Colen. An. 1547.	With Theſe holy martyrs aboue recited, may alſo be nūbred Hermannus Archbiſh. of Colen, Who a litle before the Emperour had warre againſt the Proteſtātes, had reformed his church from certeine papiſticall ſuperſtitions, vſing therein the ayde and aduiſe of Martine Bucer. Wherfore Charles the Emperour ſent woorde to Colen, that hee ſhould be depoſed, whiche he paciently did ſuffer. In his roume was ſet Adolphus earle of Schauenburge. Ex Sled. lib. 18.
The Preſident or Maior of Dornic.	M. Nicolas, Frēchman. Marion wife of Auguſtinus. An. 1549.	M. Nicolas and Barbara his wife: alſo Auguſtiaus a Barber, & Marion his wife borne about Hennegow, after they had bene at Geneua a ſpace, came into Germanie, thinking that way to paſſe ouer into England. By the way comming to Hennegow, Auguſtine deſired M. Nicolas (becauſe he was learned) to come to Bergis to viſite and comfort certeine brethren there, whiche he willingly did. From thence paſſing by Dornic (or Tornay) they helde on theyr iorney toward England. But in the way Auſten and his wife beyng knowē, were detected to the Lieutenaunt of Dornic, who in all ſpedy haſt folowyng after them, ouertooke thē iiij. myles beyond Dornic. Auguſtine (how I can not tell) eſcaped at that time out of their handes, and could not be found. The ſouldiours then laying handes vpon Nicolas and the ij. wemen, brought them backe agayne to Dornic. In returning by the way, when M. Nicolas at the table gaue thankes (as the maner is of the faithfull) the wicked ruler ſcorning them, and ſwearyng like a Tyrant, ſayd: Now let vs ſee, thou lewd heretícke, whether thy God cā deliuer thee out of my hand. To whō Nicholas aūſweryng agayne modeſtly, asked what had Chriſt euer offended him, that he with his blaſphemous ſweryng did ſo teare him in peeces, deſiryng him, that if he had any thyng agaynſt Chriſt, rather he would wreke his anger vpon his poore body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound, handes and feete, were brought to Bergis, and there layd in the doungeon. Then Duke Ariſcote accompanied with a great number of prieſtes, and Franciſcan Friers, and

Perſecutors. | Martyrs. | The Cauſes.

The Fryers confounded.

with a Doctour which was their Warden, came to talke with them. Nicolas ſtandyng in the middeſt of them, beyng asked what he was, and whether he would: aunſwered them perfectly to all their queſtions, and moreouer ſo confounded the Friers, that they went away aſhamed, ſaying that he had a deuill, and crying: to the fire with him Lutherane.

Barbara reuolted.

Gods puniſhment vpon perſecutours.

Nicholas condemned.

As they continued looking ſtill for the day of their execution, it came in the rulers mindes to aske of Nicolas in what houſe he was loged, when he came to Bergis. Nicolas ſayd he had neuer bene there before, and therfore beyng a ſtraunger he could not tell the name of the houſe. When Nicolas would cõfeſſe nothing, Duke Ariſcotus came to Barbara Nicholas his wife, to know where they were loged at Bergis, promiſing many fayre wordes of deliuery, if ſhe would tell. She being a weake and a timerous womã, vttered all. By the occaſion wherof great perſecution folowed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to bee noted, that ſhortlye, euen vpon the ſame, the ſonne of the ſayd Duke Ariſcotus, was ſlayne and buried the ſame day, when Auguſtinus was burned. To bee ſhorte, Nicolas ſhortlye after was brought before the Iudges and there cõdemned to be burned to aſhes. At which ſentẽce geuing Nicholas bleſſed the Lord, whiche had counted him worthye to bee a witnes in the cauſe of his deare & welbeloued ſonne. Going to the place of executiõ, he was commaunded to ſpeake nothing to the people, or els he ſhould haue a balle of wood thruſt in his nouth. Beyng at the ſtake & ſeyng a great multitude about him, forgetting his ſilẽce promiſed, he cryed with a loude voyce: O Charles, Charles, how long ſhall thy hart be hardened? and with that, one of the ſouldiours gaue him a blow. Thẽ ſaid Nicolas agayne: Ah miſerable people, thou art not worthy to whõ the worde of God ſhould be preached. And thus he ſpake as they were bynding him to the ſtake. The Friers came out with their old ſong, crying, that he had a deuill. To whom Nicolas ſpake the verſe of the Pſalme: Departe from me all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voyce of my weapyng. And thus this holy martyr paciently taking his death, commended vp his ſpirite vnto God in the mideſt of the fire. Ex Lud. Rab. Pantal. et alijs.

The Martyrdome of Marion.

Marion wife of Auſten, aboue mẽtioned.

At Bergis in Hennegow. An.1549.

After the Martyrdome of thys M. Nicolas, Marion the wife of Auſten was called for. With whom they had much talke about the maner & ſtate of Geneua, aſking her how the Sacramẽtes were adminiſtred there, & whether ſhe had celebrated there the Lordes Supper. To whõ ſhe aunſwered, that the Sacraments there were celebrated after the Lordes inſtitution, of the which ſhe was no celebrater, but a partaker. The ſentence of her condẽnation was this, that ſhe ſhould be interred quicke. Whẽ ſhe was let downe to the graue, knelyng vpon her knees, ſhe deſired the Lord to helpe her, and before ſhe ſhoulde bee throwen downe, ſhe deſired her face might bee couered with a napkin or ſome linen cloth. Who beyng ſo couered and the earth throwen vpon her face and her body, the hangman ſtãped vpon her with his feete, till her breath was paſt. Ibidẽ.

Marion buried quicke.

The watchmẽ or souldiours of Bellimõt.

Auguſtine the huſbãd of Marion.

At Bellimont in Hẽnegow. An.1549.

Ye heard before how Auſten eſcaped before at the taking of Nicolas and the ij. wemen. After this he gaue him ſelfe to ſell ſpices and other pedlary ware, frõ place to place. Who at length comming to the towne of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was knowen and detected to the magiſtrate. Wherof he hauing ſome intelligence before, left his ware and ran away. And ſeyng moreouer the houſe beſet about with harneſſed men, where he was hoſted, he began to be more afeard & hid him ſelf in a buſhe: for he was very timorous, and a weake ſpirited mã. But the houre being come, whiche the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certeine ſtãding vpon the town wall, whiche might well ſee him go into the thicket or buſhe, gaue knowledge therof to the ſouldiours, whiche folowed him to the buſhe and tooke him. Being taken, he was had to Bergis, the head towne of Hennegow, where he being examined, valiantly ſtanding to the defence of his doctrine, aũſwered his aduerſaries with great boldnes. Wherin here is to be noted and marueiled to ſee the woorke of the Lord, how this mã being before of nature ſo timorous, now was ſo ſtrenghthened with Gods grace, that he nothyng feared the force of all his enemies. Amõg other, came to him the Warden of the Gray Friers, with a long oration, perſuadyng him to relent or els he ſhould be dãned in hell fire perpetually. To whom Auſten aunſwering agayne, ſaid: proue that whiche you ſay, by the authoritie of Gods woorde, that a mã may beleue you. You ſay much, but you proue nothing, rather like a doctour of lyes, then of truth. &c. At laſt he beyng there cõdemned to be burned at Bellimont, was brought to the Inne where he ſhould take horſe: where was a certain Gentlemã a ſtrãuger, who drinking to him in a cup of wine, deſired him to haue pitie vppon him ſelfe, and if he would not fauour his life, yet that he would fauour his owne ſoule. To whom ſaid Auſten, after he had thanked him for his good will, what care I haue (ſaid he) of my ſoule, you may ſee by this, that I had rather geue my body to be burned, then to do that thyng, that were agaynſt my conſcience. When he was come to the towne of Bellimont, where he ſhould be burned, the ſame day there was a great buriall of the Duke Ariſcotus his ſonne, whiche was ſlaine a litle before (as is before touched:) by the occaſion wherof many nobles and Gentlemẽ were there preſent, whiche hearyng of this Auſten came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdome, the people beyng offended at his conſtancie, cryed out to haue him drawẽ at an horſe tayle, to the place of burnyng: but the Lord would not ſuffer that. In fine, beyng tyed to the ſtake & fier ſet vnto him, hartely he prayed to the Lord, and ſo in the fire paciently departed. Ex Criſp. & aliis.

Auguſti
agayne
ken.

Exampl
of Gods
goodnes
ſtrength
ning the
weake
harted.

The deat
and Ma
tyrdome
Auſten.

The names of the perſecutours be not expreſſed in the ſtorye.

A certain woman of Auſpurge.

At Auſpurge. An.1550.

At Auſpurge a certeine woman there dwellyng, ſeyng a prieſt to cary the hoſte to a ſicke perſon with Taper light (as the manner is) asked of him what he ment ſo to go with candell light at noone day? For this ſhe was apprehended, and in great daunger, had it not bene for the earneſt ſute and prayer of the wemen of that Citie, and at the interceſſion of Mary the Emperours ſiſter. Ex Ioan. Sled lib. 22.

Ex Ioan.
Sled. li.

Two Vir
gins, ma
tyrs.

Two Virgines.

In the Dioces of Bamberge ij. maides were led out to ſlaughter whiche they ſuſteined with pacient hartes, and cherefull coũtenaunces. They had garlandes of Straw put on their heads. Wherupon one comfortyng the other going to their Martyrdom: ſeing Chriſt (ſayd ſhe) for vs bare a crown of thorne, why ſhould we ſticke to beare a crown of ſtraw? No doubt but the Lord will render to vs agayne better then crownes

UMI

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
	In the Dioces of Bamberge An, 1551.	*crownes of gold. Some ſayd, that they were Anabaptiſtes. And it might be (ſayth Melanct) that they had ſome fonde opinion admixed withall: yet they did hold ſayth he, the foundation of the Articles of our faith, and they died bleſſedly, in a good conſciẽce and knowledge of the ſonne of God. Fewe do liue without errours. Flatter not your ſelues, thinking your ſelues ſo clere that you can not erre.* Hæc Phillip. Melancth.
The names of the perſecutours appeare not in the ſtorye.	*The Chriſtian Citie of* Magdeburge. An, 1551.	*When Charles the Emperour had almoſt got all his purpoſe in Germanie, in obtrudyng his religion of Interim into all places, which was receaued of the moſt part of all the chief princes and Cities, onely the Citie of Magdeburge continuyng in the conſtancie of their doctrine reformed, refuſed to admitte the ſame. Wherfore warre was rayſed agaynſt them, their Citie beſieged, and greate violence vſed: ſo that many honeſt and religious Citizens for the Goſpels cauſe, ſuſteined great perils and daunger of death. At laſt, when they had manfully and conſtantlye endured ſuch greate diſtreſſe and calamitie, the ſpace of a whole yeare, through the bleſſed prouidence of Almightie God, (who about the ſame tyme ſent warre betwene the French king and the Emperour) honeſt reconciliatiõ was made betwene them and the Emperour, wherby they were receaued into fauour, and ſuffered to enioye their former religion quietly.* Ex Ioã. Sled. lib. 25.
Iames Heſſeliꝰ **Chãberlain of Gaunt, and the Friers there.**	Hoſtius, *otherwiſe called* George. At Gaunt. An, 1555.	*This Hoſtius borne at Gaunt, was cunnyng in grauyng in armour, and in ſteele. He firſt was in the Frenche Churche here in England, duryng the reigne of king Edward. After the commyng of Quene Mary, he went to Norden in Friſelande, with his wife & childrẽ. Frõ thẽce, hauing buſines, he came to Gaunt: where (after a certain ſpace that he had there continued, inſtructyng diuers of his frendes) hee heard that there was a blacke Frier, which vſed to preach good doctrine to the people. Wherefore he being deſirours to heare, came to his Sermõ, where the frier cõtrary to his expectatiõ, preached in defenſe of tranſubſtantiation. At the hearyng wherof his hart was ſo full, that hee had much a doo to refrayne, while the Sermon was finiſhed. As ſoone as the Frier was come downe, hee braſte out, and charged hym with falſe doctrine, perſuadyng the people, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the bread was but a Sacrament onely of the Lordes body. The Frier not willyng to heare hym, made ſignes vnto him to departe. Alſo the thronge of the people was ſuch, that it caried him out of the doores. He had not gone farre, but* Heſſelius *the Chamberlain ouertooke hym and caried him to priſon. Then were Doctours and other Friers, as* Piſtorius *and* Bunderius, *brought to reaſon with him, of the Sacrament, of Inuocation of Saintes, and Purgatory. He euer ſtoode to the triall onely of the Scripture: whiche they refuſed. Then was it agreed that he ſhould declare his minde in writyng: whiche he did. He wrote alſo to his wife at Emden, comfortyng her, and requiryng her to take care for Samuel, and Sara his children. When he was condemned, he was commaũded not to ſpeake to the people.* Heſſelius *the officer made great haſt to haue hym diſpatched. Wherfore he myldely lyke a lambe, prayng for his enemies, gaue hym ſelfe to be bound, paciently taking that they would do agaynſt him: Whom firſt they ſtrangled, and then conſumed his body beyng dead, with fire. And this was the martyrdome of Hoſtius.* Ex Lud. Rabo. lib. 7.
	Ioan. Friſius, **Abbot.** In Bauaria An, 1554.	Ioan. Sled. lib. 25. *maketh record of one* Ioan. Friſius *Abbot of Newſtat within the Dioces of the Byſhop* Herbipolenſis *in Bauaria: who being ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, was called to accompt of his faith: and ſtrongly perſiſtyng in his aſſertions, and defendyng the ſame by the Scriptures, he was therefore diſplaced and remoued from all his iuriſdiction, 25. of Iune. an.* 1554. Ex Sled.
The Baylife of Hẽnegow, gouernour of the towne and Caſtle of Dornic. Peter Deuenteire, Lieutenãt to the ſaid Baylife. Philip de Cordys, chief counſaylour in criminall cauſes. Nic. Chãbree. Pet. Rachelier. Iames de Clerke. Nicolas of Farnague. M. Hermes of Wingles, one of the counſayle for the ſaid Baylywicke.	Bertrãd le Blas. At Dornic An, 1555.	*The ſtory of Bertrand is lamentable, his tormentes vncredible, the tyrannye ſhewed vnto him horrible, the conſtancie of the Martyr admirable. This Bertrand beyng a Silkeweauer, went to Weſell for the cauſe of religion. Who being deſirous to drawe hys wife and children frõ Dornic to Weſell, came thriſe from thence to perſuade with her to goo with hym thether. When ſhee in no wiſe coulde bee entreated, hee remaining a fewe dayes at home, ſet his houſe in order, and deſired his wife and his brother to praye that God would ſtabliſhe him in his enterpriſe, that he was about. That done, he went vpon Chriſtenmas day to the hye Churche of Dornic, where hee tooke the cake out of the Trieſtes handes, as he would haue lift it ouer his head at Maſſe, & ſtampt it vnder his feete, ſaying that he did it to ſhew the glory of that God, and what litle power hee hath: with other wordes moe to the people, to perſuade thẽ that the cake or fragment of bread was not Ieſus their Sauiour. At the ſight hereof the people being ſtroken with a maruelous dampe, ſtode all amaſed. At lẽgth ſuch a ſtirre therupõ folowed, that Bertrand could hardely eſcape with life. It was not long, but the noyſe of this was caryed to the Baylife of Hẽnegow, & gouernour of the Caſtle of Dornic, which lay ſicke the ſame tyme, of the gowte, at Bieſy. Who like a madde man cryed out, that euer God woulde or coulde be ſo paciente, to ſuffer that contumely, ſo to bee troden vnder the foote of ſuch a miſer: addyng moreouer, that he woulde reuenge his cauſe in ſuch ſorte, as it ſhould bee an example for euer to all poſteritie, and forthwith the furious tyranne cõmaunded hym ſelfe to be caried to the Caſtle of Dornic. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his facte, or whether hee would ſo do, if it were to be done agayne. Who aunſwered, that if it were an hundreth tymes to be done, he would do it: and if he had an hundreth liues, he would geue*

Ioh. Friſius **Abbot.**

The pitious Martyrdome of *Bertrand le Blas.*

Bertrand thriſe tormented.

The miſerable & tragicall handling of Bertrand.

The ryght hand & foote of Bertrand preſſed of, with hoate yrons.

The tonge of Bertrand cut of.

The burnyng and Martyrdome of Bertrand.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
		them in that quarell. Then was he thriſe put to the pynebãke, tormẽted moſt miſerably, to vtter his ſetters on: which he would neuer do. Then proceded they to the ſentence, more like tyrannes then Chriſten mẽ. By the tenour of which ſentence, this was his puniſhmẽt: Firſt he was drawẽ frõ the caſtle of Dornic, to the market place, hauing a balle of yron put in his mouth. Then he was ſet vpon a ſtage, where his right hand, wherwith he tooke the hoſte, was cruſhed and preſſed betwene two hoate yrons, with ſharpe yron edges firye redde, till the forme and faſhion of his hand was miſhaped. In lyke maner they brought other like yrons for his right fote, made fire hoate, whereinto, of his own accorde, he put his foote, to ſuffer as his hand had done before, with meruelous conſtancie and firmenes of minde. That done, they tooke the balle of yron out of his mouth, and cut of his toung, who notwithſtandyng, with continuall crying, ceaſed not to call vppon God: wherby the hartes of the people were greatly moued: Wheruppon the tormentours thruſt in the yron balle into hys mouth agayne. From thence they brought him downe to the lower ſtage, he going to the ſame no leſſe chearefully & quietly, thẽ if no part of his body had bene hurt. There his legges and his handes were boũd behynd him with an yron cheyne goyng about his body, & ſo he was let down flat vpõ the fire: whõ the foreſaid gouernour there ſtãding by & loking vpon, cauſed to be let vp agayne, and ſo downe and vp agayne, till at laſt the whole body was ſpent to aſhes, which he commaũded to be caſt into the riuer. Whẽ this was done, the Chapell where this Maſſegod was ſo entreated, was lockte vp, and the bord wherupon the Prieſt ſtode, was burnt: the marble ſtone wherupõ the hoſte did light, was brokẽ in peeces. And finally for ſomuch as the ſayd Bertrand had receaued his doctrine at Weſell, commaundement was geuen, that no perſon, out of that countrey ſhould go to Weſell, or there occupy, vnder incurryng the daunger of the Emperours Placard. Ex Criſp. Pantal. et Adriano.

Trouble in *Bohemia.*

	Two hundreth Miniſters of Bohemia. An. 1555.	*The ſame yeare two hundreth Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpell, were baniſhed out of Bohemia, for preachyng agaynſt the ſuperſtition of the Biſhop of Rome, and extollyng the glory of Chriſt.* Ex Cõment. Ioan. Sled. lib. 25.

Perſecution in *Locarne.*

	The Preachers of Locarne.	*Locarne is a place beyond the Alpes, yet ſubiect to the Heluetians. When theſe alſo had receaued the Goſpell, and the fiue Pages of the Heluetians aboue mẽtioned, were not well pleaſed therewith, but would haue them puniſhed, and great contention was among the Heluetiãs about the ſame, it was concluded at lẽgth, that the Miniſters ſhould be exiled: Whom the Tygurines did receaue.* Ex Pant.

***Fraunces Warlut, Alexander Dayken,* Martyrs.**

	Frances Warlut. Alexander Dayken. At Dornic An. 1562.	*After theſe ij. good men being borne in the lower partes of Germanie, had bene conuerſaunt in diuers reformed Churches in other countreys, at laſt for conſcience ſake, they returned home agayne to do good in their owne cõtrey of Dornic, & therabout. So vppon a tyme, as the people there reſorted to a backe field or woode without the Citie, with a certaine preacher to heare the word of God and to pray, the aduerſaries hauyng therof ſome intelligence, ſo purſued them, that they tooke of them aboue 30. of whom theſe two, among the reſt, were apprehended, and thinking no leſſe but that they ſhoulde be burned, they beganne to ſinge Pſalmes. At length beyng broughte foorth, firſte one, thẽ the other, they were both beheaded. And where the iudges had entended to quarter their bodies, and to ſet them vp by the hye wayes, yet was it ſo prouided, God working in the hartes of the people, that they were both committed to ſepulture.* Ex Lud Rab.
Earle of Lalain.	Gillotus Viuer. Iames Faber, his father in lawe. Michaell Faber, ſõne of Iames. Anna wife of Gillotꝰ, and daughter of Iames Faber.	*Theſe in the cauſe of the Goſpell ſuffred at Valence.* *Iames Faber being an olde mã, ſayd: that although he could not aunſwere or ſatiſfie them in reaſonyng, yet he would conſtantly abide in the truth of the Goſpell.* *Anna hys daughter beyng with child, was reſpited: after ſhe was deliuered, ſhe folowed her husband and father in the lyke Martyrdome.*
	Michella Caignoucle. At Vallẽce An. 1550.	*Michella, wiſe of Iames Clerke, whiche was before burned, when ſhe was offered to be maryed, and to be caryed out of the countrey to ſome reformed Churche, refuſed ſo to do, but would abyde the aduenture of her vocation, and ſo was condemned with Gillotus to be burned.* Ex Criſp.
	Godfridus Hamelle. At Dornic An. 1552.	*This Godfride a Tayler, was takẽ & cõdemned at Dornic or Tournay. Whẽ they had cõdẽned him by the name of an hereticke, Nay (ſayd he) not an hereticke, but a ſeruaũt of Ieſus Chriſt vnprofitable. When the hangman went about to ſtrangle hym to diminiſhe his puniſhment, he refuſed it, ſaying that he would abyde the ſentence that the Iudges had geuen.* Ex eod.
	Iohn Malo, Damian Witroke, Weldrewe Carlier, Iohn Porceau. Iulian. van den Swerde, Adrian Lopphen. Bawdwyne.	*Beſides theſe Germanes aboue ſpecified, a great number there was both in the hyer, and lower cõtreys of Germanie, which were ſecretlye drowned, or buryed, or otherwiſe in priſon made away, whoſe names although they be not knowẽ to vs, yet they are regiſtred in the boke of lyfe. Furthermore, in the Dutch boke of Adrian, diuers other be nũbred in the Catalogue of theſe Germane Martyrs, which likewiſe ſuffered in diuers places of the lower cõtrey: the names of certein wherof be theſe. At Bergis or Berghen in Hennegow, were burnt in the yere of our Lorde, 1555. Iohn Malo, Damian Witrocke, Waldrew Carlier buried quicke, Iohn Porceau. At Aſte ſuffered alſo one Iulian. an, 1541. and Adrian Lopphen. an. 1555. At Bruſels an. 1559. one Bawdwine beheaded. An other called*

Gilleken

Ex Galliana hiſt. et Adriano.

Gilleken Tielman burnt. an. 1541. Adde moreouer to the ſame Catalogue of Dutch Martyrs burnt and conſumed, in the lower countreyes vnder the Emperours dominion: the names of theſe folowing. William Swolle, burnt at Mechlin. an. 1529. Nicholas Paule at Gaunt beheaded. Robert Orguier, and Ioan hys wife, with Baudicon and Martyn Orguier their children, which ſuffred at Liſle, an. 1556. M. Nicholas burnt at Mons in Hennegow. Laurence of Bruſſels, at Mons. Iames Foſſeau, at Mons. Cornelys Volcart, at Brugis, an. 1553. Hubert the Printer, and Philip Ioyner, at Brugis, an. 1553. A womã buried with thornes vnder her. Peter le Roux, at Brugis. an. 1552. At Mechlin ſuffred Frances, & Nicolas Thijs, ij. brethrẽ. an. 1555. At Antwerpe were burnt Adrian a Painter and Henry a Tayler. an. 1559. Alſo Cornelys Halewyne Lokſmith, and Herman Ianſon the ſame yeare. M. Iohn Champ, ſcholmaſter, an. 1557. with a number of other beſides, which in the ſaid boke are to be ſene and read.

☞ *An. 1525. we read alſo in the French hiſtorye of a certayne Monke, who becauſe he forſooke hys abhominable order and was maryed, was burnt at Prage.*

The prieſtes of Erdford.	*A preacher poyſoned at* Erdford.	*In the collections of Henry Pantalion, we read alſo of a certeine godly preacher to be poyſoned, for preachyng the worde of truth, by the Prieſtes of Erdford.* Ex elegia cuiuſdam viri Docti. in Pantal.

A preacher at *Erdphord* poyſoned.

And here ceaſyng with this perſecution in Germanie, **we will nowe (Chriſt willyng) procede further to the** French **Martyrs, comprehending in a lyke Table, the names and cauſes of ſuch as in that kyngdome ſuffered for the woorde of God, and cauſe of rightuouſnes, as in this briefe Summary conſequently here vnder enſueth.**

An other Table of them which ſuffred in Fraunce for the lyke witnes of the Goſpell.

The French Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
Doctour Martiall of Paris.	Iames Pauane *ſcholemaſter.* At Paris. An. 1524.	*THis Iames firſt beyng taken by the Biſhop of Melden, or Meaux, was cõpelled to recãt by D. Martiall. Afterward returnyng agayne to his confeſsion, he was burnt Paris.* 1525. Ex Ioan. Criſpino.
	Dioniſius de Rieux. At Melda, or Meaux. An. 1528.	*This Denys was one of them which were firſt burnt at Melda, For ſaying, that the Maſſe is a playne deniall of the death & Paſsion of Chriſt. He was alwaies wont to haue in his mouth the wordes of Chriſt:* He that denyeth me before mẽ, him will I denye before my father, *and to muſe vpõ the ſame earneſtly. He was burnt with a ſlow fire, & did abide much torment.* Ex Criſp. & alijs.
	Ioannes de Cadurco, *Bacheler of the Ciuill lawe.* An. 1533.	*This Iohn, firſt for making a Sermõ or exhortatiõ to his coũtreymẽ of Limoſin in Fraunce vpõ Alhallowe day: & after, ſittyng at a feaſt where it was propounded, that euery one ſhould bryng forth ſome ſentẽce, for that hee brought forth this:* Chriſt reigne in our hartes, *& did proſecute the ſame by the ſcriptures in much length of wordes, was therupon accuſed, taken, and diſgraded and after burned. At his degradatiõ one of the blacke Friers of Paris preached, taking for hys theme the wordes of S. Paul* 1. *Timo.* 4. The ſpirite ſpeaketh, that in the latter dayes men ſhall depart frõ faith, geuing hede to lying ſpirites, and doctrine of errour. &c. *and in handlyng that place, either he could not or would not procede further in the text. Cadurcꝰ cryed out to hym to procede, & reade further. The Frier ſtoode dũme, and could not ſpeake a woorde. Then Cadurcus taking the text, did proſecute the ſame, as foloweth:* Teachyng falſe doctrine in hypocriſie, hauing their conſcience marked with a whote yron, forbidding to mary, and to eate meates created of God, to be eaten with thãkes geuyng. &c. Ex Ioan. Criſpi.
Promotors of Paris.	Barthelmew Mylen, a lame creple. Iohn Burges, Marchaunt. The receauer of Nantes. Henry Poille of Couberõ. Cãtella a Scholemiſtres. Steuen de la Forge, Marchaũt. An. 1533.	*Theſe fiue here ſpecified, for certeine Billes caſte abroad and ſet vp, ſoundyng agaynſt the abhomination of the Maſſe, and other ſuperſtitious abſurdities of the Pope, were condemned & burned in the citie of Paris. Hẽry of Couberon had his tonge bored through, and with an yron wyer, tyed faſte to one of hys cheekes: Who likewiſe with the other, was burned, as is aforeſaid.* Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Alexander Canus Prieſt, otherwiſe called Laurentius crucens. At Paris. An. 1533.	*For the ſyncere doctrine and confeſsion of Chriſtes true religion, he was burned in Paris, hauyng but a ſmall fire, & abydde much torment.* Ex Hen. Pant.
The Graye Friers in Paris. **Doctour** Clerke, a **Sorboniſte.**	Iohn Poyntet *a Surgeon.* At Paris. An. 1533.	*This Surgeon beyng detected and accuſed by the Friers, and ſuch as hee had cured before of the French pockes, was firſt condemned to be ſtrangled, and then burned: but afterward, becauſe he would not do homage to a certein Idole at the cũmaundemẽt of a Frier that came to cõfeſſe him, his ſentence was turned to haue his tongue cut of, and ſo to be burned.* Ex Criſp.

Iames Pauane, **Martyr.**

Dionyſius de Rieux, **Martyr.**

This Denys hauing a wodden croſſe put into hys handes by the friers, with hys teeth caſt it into the riuer, which made the Friers madde.

Ioãnes Cadurcus, **Martyr.**

V. Martyrs burned.

Alexander Canus, **Martyr.**

Iohn Poyntet **Martyr.**

In Fraunce the maner was that the Martyrs commyng by any Image as they went to burning, and would not worſhip the ſame, had their tounges cut out.

	Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.	
Peter Gaudet Martyr.	A certain knyght of Rhodes, vncle to thys Peter.	Peter Gaudet *knight ſometymes of Rhodes.* An. 1533.	*This Peter beyng at Geneua with his wife, was trayned out from thence by his vncle, and put in priſon for defenſe of the Goſpell, and after long torments there ſuſteined, was burned.* vid. Criſpin.	
Quoquillard, Martyr.		Quoquillard. An. 1534.	*At Bezanſon, in the cou̅tie of Burgundie, this Quoquillarde was burned for the confeſsion and teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell.* Ex Ioan. Criſp.	
Nicholas a Scriuener, *Ioan. de Poix, Steuē Burlet,* Martyrs.		Nicolas, a Scriuener. Ioan. de Poix. Steuē Burlet. An. 1534.	*Theſe three were executed and burned for the like cauſe of the goſpell, in the citie of Arras: namely, Nicolas a Scriuener, Ioan. de Poix, Steuen Burlet.* Ex Ioan. Criſpi.	
Mary Becaudella, Martyr.	A Gray Frier in the Citie of Rochel.	Mary Becaudella. At Fountaines. An. 1534.	*This Mary beyng vertuouſly inſtructed of her maiſter where ſhe liued, and beyng afterward at a Sermon, where a Frier preached, after the Sermon, founde fault with his doctrine, and refuted the ſame by ſcriptures. Wherat he diſdaynyng, procured her to be burned at Fou̅taines. Ibid.*	
Iohn Cornon, Martyr.		Ioh. Cornon. An. 1535.	*Iohn Cornon a husband man of Maſcon, and vnlettered, but to who̅ God gaue ſuch wiſedome, that his iudges were amaſed, whe̅ he was condemned by their ſente̅ce, & burned. Ex Criſ.*	
Martyn Gonyn, Martyr.	George Borell, Jaylor. The Procurator of the City of Grationople in Fra̅ce. The Inquiſitor.	Martine Gonyn. In Dolphyne. An. 1536.	*This Martin beyng taken for a ſpye in the borders of Fraunce, toward the Alpes, was committed to priſon. In his goyng out, his Ialor eſpied about him, letters of Farellus, and of Peter Viret. Wherfore, beyng examined of the kinges Procurator, and of the Inquiſitour, touchyng hys faith, after he had rendred a ſufficient reaſon therof, he was caſt into the riuer and drowned. Ex Ioan. Criſp.*	
Claudius Paynter, a Goldſmyth, Martyr.	The kinſfolkes & frendes of thys Claudiꝰ. Morinꝰ, an officer.	Claudiꝰ *Painter,* a Goldeſmith. At Paris. An. 1540.	*Claudius goyng about to conuerte his frendes and kinſfolkes to his doctrine, was by them committed to Morinus a chief Captaine, who condemned him to be burned: but the hye parlament of Paris, correctyng that ſente̅ce, added moreouer that he ſhoulde haue his tonge cut out before, & ſo to be burned. Ex Ioan. Criſp.*	
Steuē Brune, Martyr.	Gaſpar Augeriꝰ the Byſhops Renter. Domicellus, a Franciſcane and Inquiſitour.	Steuen Brune *a husbandman.* At Rutiers. An. 1540.	*Steuen Brune was perſecuted of Augerius, who after hys confeſsion geue̅ of hys faith, was iudged to be burned. Which puniſhment he tooke ſo conſtantly, that it was to them a wonder. His aduerſaries co̅mau̅ded after his death, to be cryed that none ſhould make any more mention of hym, vnder payne of hereſie.* *Pantalion addeth moreouer, that at the place of his burnyng called Plannol, the wynde roſe & blew the fire ſo fro̅ him, as he ſtode exhortyng the people, that he there continued about the ſpace of an houre, in manner, not harmed or ſcarſe touched with any flame: ſo that all the woode beyng waſted awaye, they were compelled to begynne the fire agayne with new fagottes, and veſſels of oyle, and ſuch other matter: and yet neither could he with all this, be burned, but ſtode ſafe. Then the hangman tooke a ſtaffe, and let driue at his head. To whom the holy martyr beyng yet alyue, ſayd: When I am iudged to the fire, do ye beate me with ſtaues lyke a dogge? With that the hangman with his pyke, thruſt hym through the belly and the guttes, and ſo threw him downe into the fire and burned his body to aſhes, throwyng away his aſhes afterward with the wynd. Ex Ioan. Criſp.*	The tyr not med wit the fyre. ments.
		Conſtantinus, *a Citizen of Rhone,* with iij. other. An. 1542.	*These iiij. for defence of the Goſpell, beyng condemned to be burned, were put in a doungcart. Who therat reioyſing, ſayd that they were reputed here as excrementes of this world, but yet their death was a ſweete odour vnto God. Ex Ioan. Criſp.*	*Co̅ſta̅ti* *Northm* with th other, Martyr
		Ioan. du Bec. *prieſt* An. 1543.	*For the doctrine of the Goſpell he was degraded, and conſtantlye abyd the torment of fire in the chief Citie of Campaine. Ex Ioan. Criſpi.*	*Iohn da* *Beck,* Martyr.
	The Pariſhprieſt of the towne of S. Faith in Angewe. Alſo other prieſtes of the ſame cou̅trey. Riueracus and hys ſeruaunt.	Aymond de Lauoy. Bordeaux. An. 1343.	*This Aymonde preached the Goſpell at S. Faithes in Angewe, where he was accuſed by the pariſh prieſt there, and by other prieſtes moe, to haue taught falſe doctrine, to the great decay of their gaynes. Wherupon, whe̅ the Magiſtrates of Bordeaux had geuen commaundement, and had ſent out their Apparitour to apprehend him, he hauing intelligence therof, was willed by his frendes, to flye and ſhift for him ſelfe: but hee woulde not, ſaying, that he had rather neuer to haue bene borne, then ſo to do. It was the office of a good ſhepheard (he ſayd) not to flye in time of perill, but rather to abyde the daunger, leſt the flocke be ſcattered: or els leſt peraduenture, in ſo doyng, he ſhould leaue ſome ſcruple in their mindes, thus to thinke, that he had fedde them with dreames and fables, contrarye to the worde of God. Wherfore beſechyng them to moue hym no more therin, hee tolde them, that he feared not to yelde vp both bodye and ſoule in the quarell of that truth, which he had taught: ſaying with S. Paule,* that hee was readye not onely to bee bound for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, in the Citie of Bordeaux, but alſo to dye. *To contracte the long ſtory hereof to a brief narration, the Sumner came, and was in the Citie iij. dayes: during whiche time Aymundus preached iij. Sermons. The people in defenſe of their preacher, flew vpon the Sumner, to deliuer him out of his ha̅des. But Aymund deſired them not to ſtoppe his martyrdome: ſeyng it was the will of God that he ſhould ſuffer for hym, he would not (ſayd he) reſiſt. The̅ the Co̅ſuls ſuffered the Su̅ner, & ſo Aymund was caried to Bordeaux. Where many witneſſes, the moſt part beyng*	*Aymun-* *dus a Vi* Martyr. urgato- ye. The o of a good ſhepche to ſtand his flock *eb.9.* *Pet.1.* *Act.21*

beyng prieſtes, came in againſt him, with M. Riueracke alſo, & his ſeruant. Which Riueracke had ſaid oftentimes before, that it ſhould coſt him a thouſand crownes, but he would burne him. Many exceptions he made agaynſt his falſe witneſſes, but that would not be taken. All their accuſation was onely for denying Purgatory.

About ix. monethes he remained in priſon with great miſerie, bewayling excedingly his former lyfe: albeit there was no mā that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Thē came downe letters, wherupon the Iudges began to procede to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put vpon him, whiche he tooke for a token of his death ſhortly to folow. After that, he was examined with tormentes. One of the head preſidentes came to him, and ſhaking him by the beard, bad him tell what felowes he had of his religion. To whom he aunſwered, ſaying, that he had no other felowes, but ſuch as knew, and did the will of God his father, whether they were nobles, marchauntes, huſband men, or of what degre ſo euer they were. In theſe torments he endured ij. or iij. houres, beyng but of a weake bodye, with theſe wordes comfortyng him ſelfe: This body (ſayd he) once muſt dye, but the ſpirite ſhall liue: the kingdome of God abydeth for euer. In the tyme of his tormentyng he ſwonded. Afterward cōmyng to hym ſelfe agayne, he ſayd, O Lord Lord, why haſt thou forſaken me? To whom the preſident: Nay wicked Lutherane (ſayd he) Thou haſt forſaken God. Then ſayd Aymundus: Alas good maiſters, why do you thus miſerably tormēt me? O Lord I beſech thee, forgeue them, they know not what they do. See (ſayd the preſident) this caytife, how he prayeth for vs. Neuertheles ſo cōſtant was he in his paynes, that they could not force him to vtter one mans name: ſaying vnto them, that he thought to haue found more mercie with men: Wherfore he prayed God that he might finde mercy with him.

On the next Saterday folowing, ſentence of condemnation was geuen agaynſt him. Then certaine Friers were appoynted to heare his confeſſion. Whom he refuſed, chuſing to hym one of his own order, the pariſhe prieſt of S. Chriſtophers, bidding the Friers depart frō him, for he would cōfeſſe his ſinnes to the Lord. Do not you ſee (ſayd he) how I am troubled enough with mē? will ye yet trouble me more? Other haue had my body, will you alſo take frō me my ſoule? Away frō me I pray you. At laſt whē he could not be ſuffered to haue the pariſhe prieſt, he thē toke a certain Carmelite, byddyng the reſt to depart, with whō he hauing long talke, at laſt did conuert hym, vnto the truth. Shortly after came vnto him the Iudges, Caſſagnes, & Longa, with other cōſailours moe, vnto whom the ſayd Aymondus began to preach & declare his mynde, touchyng the Lordes Supper: But Longa interruptyng hym, demaunded of him thus.

The Iudge.

Firſt declare vnto vs your mynde what you thinke of Purgatory.

The Martyr.

In Scripture all theſe are one, to purge, to clenſe, and to waſhe. wherof we read in Eſay, in the Epiſtles of S. Paul, and of S. Peter. He hath waſhed you in his bloud. Ye are redemed not with golde, but with the bloud of Chriſt. &c. And how often do we read in the Epiſtles of S. Paul, That we are clenſed by the bloud of Chriſt from our ſinnes? &c.

The Iudge.

Thoſe Epiſtles are knowen to euery child.

The Martyr.

To euery child? Nay, I feare you haue ſcarce read thē your ſelfe.

A Frier.

M. Aymond, with one worde you may ſatiſfie them, if you will ſaye, that there is place where the ſoules bee purged after this life.

The Martyr.

That I leaue for you to ſay, if you pleaſe. what? would you haue me damne myne owne ſoule, and to ſay that whiche I know not?

The Iudge.

Doeſt not thou thinke, that when thou art dead, thou ſhalt go to Purgatorie? And hee that dyeth in veniall ſinne, that he ſhall paſſe ſtreight into Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

Such truſt I haue in my God, that the ſame day, whē I ſhall dye, I ſhall enter into Paradiſe.

Another Iudge.

Where is Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

There where the maieſtie and glory of God is.

The Iudge.

The Canons do make mention of Purgatory, and you in your Sermons haue vſed alwayes much to pray for the poore.

Thys Frier taketh praying for the poore which be aliue, and thoſe that be dead, to be all one.

The Martyr.

I haue preached the word of God, & not the Canons.

The Iudge.

Doeſt thou beleue in the Churche?

The Martyr.

I beleue as the Churche regenerated by the bloud of Chriſt, and founded in his worde, hath appoynted.

The Church.

The Iudge.

What Churche is that?

The Martyr.

The Churche is a Greke worde ſignifying as much, as a Congregation or aſſemble: and ſo I ſay, that when ſo euer the faithfull do congregate together, to the honor of God, and the amplifying of Chriſtian religion, the holy ghoſt is verily with them.

The Iudge.

By this it ſhould folow, that there be many churches, And where as any ruſticall clownes do aſſemble together, there muſt be a Churche.

The Martyr.

It is no abſurde thyng to ſay that there bee many Churches or congregations among the Chriſtians: And ſo ſpeaketh S. Paul: To all the Churches whiche are in Galatia, &c. and yet all theſe congregations make but one Churche.

Galat.1.

The Iudge.

The Churche wherin thou beleueſt, is it not the ſame Churche, whiche our Crede doth call the holy Churche?

The Martyr.

I beleue the ſame.

The Iudge.

And who ſhould be the head of that Churche?

The head of the Church.

The Martyr.

Ieſus Chriſt.

The Iudge,

And not the Pope?

The Martyr.

No.

The Iudge.

And what is he then?

The Martyr.

A Miniſter, if he be a good man, as other Biſhops be: of whom S. Paul thus writeth: 1. Cor. 4. Let a man ſo eſteme of vs, as Miniſters, and diſpenſers of the ſecretes of God, &c.

The Iudge.

What then, doeſt not thou beleue the Pope?

The Martyr.

I know not what he is.

The Pope what he is.

The Iudge.

Doeſt thou not beleue that he is the ſucceſſor of Peter?

The Martyr.

If he bee lyke to Peter, and be grounded with Peter, vpō yͤ true rocke Chriſt Ieſus, ſo I beleue his workes, and ordinaunces to be good.

Then the Iudges leauyng him with the Friers, departed from him, countyng him as a damned creature. Notwithſtandyng, Aymundus puttyng his truſt in God, was full of comfort, ſaying with S. Paul: Who ſhall ſeparate me from the loue of God? Shall the ſworde, hunger, or nakednes? No, nothyng ſhall plucke me from him. But rather I haue pitie of you (ſayd he) and ſo they departed. Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution, ſinging by the waye, the Pſalme, In exitu Iſrael de Ægypto. &c. And as he paſſed by the place, where he before had bene empriſoned, he cal

Pſal.114.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

led to his priſon felowes, exhortyng them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had ſpoken for thẽ, and declared their miſeries vnto the Preſident. He thanked moreouer the Keper, and deſired him to be good to his poore priſoners. And ſo taking his leaue of them, and deſiring them to pray for him, alſo geuing thãkes to the Maiſtres keper, for her gentlenes ſhewed vnto him, he proceded forward toward his execution. As he came agaynſt the Churche of S. Andrew, they willed him to aske mercy of God, and of bleſſed S. Mary, and of S. Iuſtice. I aske mercy (ſaid he) of God, and of his Iuſtice, but the virgin, bleſſed S. Mary, I neuer offended, nor did that thing, for the which I ſhould aske her mercy. From thence he paſſed forwarde to the Churche of S. Legia, preachyng ſtill as he went. Then ſpake one of the ſouldiours to the driuer or carter, willing hym to driue a paſe, for here is preachyng, ſayd he, enough. To whom ſaid Aymond, He that is of god, heareth the wordes of god. &c. *In paſsing by a certain Image of our Lady, great offence was taken agaynſt him, becauſe he alwayes called vpõ Chriſt Ieſus onely, and made no mention of her. Wherupon he lifted his voyce to God, praying, that he would neuer ſuffer him to inuocate any other, ſauing him alone. Commyng to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he was tumbled out of the carte, vpon the grounde, teſtifying to the Magiſtrates and to the people ſtandyng by, that he dyed for the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt and for his worde. More he would haue ſpoken, but he could not be ſuffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the officers, criyng: diſpatche, diſpatch him, let him not ſpeake. Thẽ he ſpeaking a fewe wordes ſoftly in the eare of the litle Carmelite, whom he had conuerted: was byd to ſteppe vp to the ſtage. Where the people beginnyng to geue a litle audience, thus he ſayd: O Lord make haſt to helpe me, tary not, do not deſpiſe the worke of thy handes. And you my brethren, that be ſtudentes, and ſcholers, I exhorte you to ſtudy and learne the Goſpell, for the worde of God abydeth for euer: labour to know the will of God, and feare not them that kill the body, but haue no power vpon your ſoules. And after that, my fleſh (ſayd he) repugneth meruelouſly againſt the ſpirite, but ſhortly I ſhall caſt it away. My good maiſters, I beſech you pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hãdes I commend my ſoule. As he was oft repetyng the ſame, the hangman tooke and haled him vpon the ſteppes, in ſuch ſorte, that he ſtrangled him. And thus the bleſſed Sainct gaue vp his life: Whoſe body afterwarde was with fire conſumed.*

Aymond ſpeaketh for hys priſon fellowes.

Iohn. 8.

Filioli, cuſtodite vos a ſimulachris. 1. Ioan. 5.

The wordes of Aymond to the ſtudentes.

The death and Martyrdome of Aymondus.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Frances Bribard. An. 1544.	*Frances Bribard was ſayd to be the ſecretary of the Cardinall of Bellay. Who beyng alſo for the Goſpell condemned, after his tongue was cut of, did with like cõſtancie, ſuſteine the ſharpnes of burnyng. Ibidem.*
The hye Court of Roan. **A widow kepyng a vitailyng houſe, in the ſuburbes of** Roan.	William Huſſon, *an Apothecary.* At Roan. an. 1544.	*William Huſſon Apothecary, commyng from Bloys to Roan, was lodged with a certaine widow in the ſuburbes of the Citie. Who asking of her, at what time the Counſaile or Parlament dyd riſe, ſhe ſayd at x. of the clocke. About which tyme & houre he wẽt to the Palace, & there ſcattered certeine bookes concernyng Chriſtiã doctrine, and the abuſe of mens traditions. Whereat the cõſaile was ſo moued, that they commaunded all the gates of the Citie to be locked, and diligent ſearche to bee made in all Innes and hoſtles, to finde out the author. Then the widow told of the partie which was there, and aſked of the riſing of the counſaile, & ſhortly vpõ the ſame, toke his horſe and rode away. Then were poſtes ſent out through all quarters, ſo that the ſayd Williã was takẽ by the way riding to Diepe, and brought agayne to Roan. Who there beyng examined, declared his faith boldly, and how hee came of purpoſe to diſperſe thoſs bookes in Roan, and went to do the like at Diepe.* *The weeke enſuing, he was cõdemned to be burned aliue. After the ſentence geuen, hee was brought in a carte, accompanied with a Doct. a Carmelite Frier, before the great Churche, who puttyng a torch in his hand,*

William Huſſon, Martyr.

required him to do homage to the Image of our Lady: whiche becauſe he refuſed to doe, his tongue was cut out. The Frier then making a Sermon, whẽ he ſpake any thyng of the mercies of God, the ſaid William hearkened to him: but whẽ he ſpake of the merites of Saintes, and other dreames, he turned away his head. The Frier looking vpon the countenãce of Huſſon, lift vp his hand to heauen: ſaying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was poſſeſſed with a deuill. When the Frier had ceaſed his Sermon, this godly Huſſon had his handes and feete bounde behind his backe, and with a pully was lifted vp into the ayre, and when the fire was kindled, he was let downe into the flame, where the bleſſed martyr, with a ſmilyng and cherefull countenaunce looked vp to heauen, neuer mouyng nor ſtirryng, till he let down his head, and gaue vp his ſpirite. All the people there preſent were not a litle aſtonied therat, and were in diuers opiniõs, ſome ſaying, that he had a deuill, other mainteyned the contrary, ſaying, if he had a deuill, hee ſhould haue fallen into diſpayre.

This Carmelite Frier aboue ſayd, was called Delanda, *whiche after was conuerted, and preached the Goſpell.* Ex Gallic. hiſt. Ioan. Criſp. lib. 2.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Three Popiſhe Prieſtes. **The Duke of** Loraine.	Iames Cobard, *a Scholemaſter, and many other, taken the ſame time.* An. 1545.	*This Iames, Scholemaſter in the Citie of S. Michaell in the Dukedome of Barẽs in Loraine, diſputed with iij. prieſtes, that the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and of the Supper did not auayle, vnles they were receaued with fayth: whiche was as much to ſay, as that the Maſſe did profite neither the quicke nor the dead. For the which, and alſo for his confeſsion, whiche he beyng in priſon ſent of his owne accorde, by his mother vnto the iudge, he was burned, & moſt quietly ſuffered. Ex Ioan. Criſp.*
	Peter Clerke, *brother to* Iohn Clerke, *burnt before, pag.* 1010.	*Theſe xiiij. dwelt at Melda, a Citie in Fraunce x. miles from Paris. Where William Briconetus being there Biſhop, did much good, brought to them the light of the Goſpell, and reformed the Churche. Who ſtraitly being examined for the ſame, relented: But yet theſe with many other, remained conſtant. Who after the burnyng of Iames Pauane before mentioned, and ſeyng ſu-*

per-

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Franciſcane Friers. The Doctors of Sorbone, and others.	Stephanꝰ Manginus. Iames Bouchebecke. Ioh. Briſebar. Hen. Hutinote. Tho. Honorate. Ioh. Baudouinus Iohn Fleſch. Ioh. Picquere. Peter Piquere. Iohn Matheflone. Philippe Litle. Michaell Caillow. Frances Clerke. Couberon, a Weauer. At Meaux. An. 1546.	perſtition to growe more and more, beganne to congregate in Mangins houſe, and to ſet vp a Churche to them ſelues, after the example of the Frenche church in Strauſburgh. For their miniſter, they choſe Pet. Clerke. Firſt they beginyng with 20. or 30. did grow in ſhort tyme, to 3. or 4. hūdreth. Wherupō the matter beyng knowen to the Senate of Paris, the chamber was beſet, where they were, and they taken. Of whom 62. men and wemen were bound, and brought to Paris, ſinging Pſalmes, eſpecially the Pſalme. 79. To theſe it was chiefly obiected, that they beyng lay men, would miniſter the Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord. Of theſe 62. 14. chiefly did ſtand faſt, whiche were condemned, and rackt, to confeſſe moe of their felowes, but they vttered none: the reſt were ſcourged and baniſhed the countrey. Theſe 14. were ſent to ſondrie monaſteries to be cōuerted: but that would not be. Thē they beyng ſent in a cart to Melda, or Meaux, to be burned, by the way, iij. miles frō Paris, a certein Weauer, called Couberon, by chaūce meting thē, cried to thē a loude, byddyng them be of good cheare and to cleaue faſt to the Lorde: Who alſo was taken, and bounde with them in the carte. Commyng to the place of execution, whiche was before Mangins houſe, it was tolde them, that they whiche would be cōfeſſed, ſhould not haue their tonges cut out, the other ſhould. Of whom vij. there were, which to ſaue their tongues, confeſſed: other vij. would not. Of the firſt was Steuen Mangin, who hauyng his tonge firſt cut, notwithſtādyng ſpake ſo that he might be vnderſtande, ſaying thriſe: The Lordes name be bleſſed. As they were in burning, the people ſonge Pſalmes. The Prieſtes

ſeyng that, would alſo ſing their ſonges: * O Salutaris hoſtia, and Salue regina, while the ſacrifice of theſe holy martyrs were finiſhed. Their wyués beyng compelled to ſee their huſbandes in tormentes, were after put in priſon, from whēce they being promiſed to be let go, if they would ſay that their huſbandes were damned, refuſed ſo to ſay.

[illegible] bleſſed Martyrs at Meaux.

A French church ſet vp in Meaux.

Ex Lud. Rab. Lib. 6.

Note how God maketh theſe aduerſaries with their owne ſonge, to prayſe the ſacrifice of theſe holy Martyrs agaynſt their wils.

*O Salutaris hoſtia, id eſt, O wholeſome ſacrifice, is a ſonge which the Papiſtes vſe in prayſe of the ſacrifice of their Maſſe.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn André **booke ſeller, promotour.**	Peter Chapot.	Peter Chapot firſt was a corrector to a Printer in Paris. After he had bene at Geneua, to doe good to the church of Chriſt, like a good mā, he came with bokes of holy Scripture into Fraunce, and diſperſed them abroad vnto the faithful. VVhich great zeale of his, cauſed him to be apprehended of Iohn Andre, whiche was the common promotour to Liſet the Preſident, and to the Sorbo-

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Doctors Sorboniſtes M. Nicolas Clerici. **Deane of diuinitie.** **Doctour** Iohn Picard. **Doctour** Nicolas Maillard	At Paris. An. 1546.	niſtes. Thus good Chapot beyng taken and brought before the Cōmiſſaries, rendered promptly accompt of his faith: vnto whom he exhibited a ſupplication, or writing, wherin he learnedlye informed the Iudges, to doe their office vprightly. Then were iij. Doctors of Sorbone aſſigned, Nicolas Clerici, Iohn Picarde, and Nic. Maillard, to diſpute with him. VVho whē they could finde no aduauntage, but rather ſhame at his handes, they waxed angry with the Iudges, for lettyng thē diſpute with heretickes. This done, the Iudges conſultyng together vpon his condemnation, could not agree: ſo that Chapot (as it ſemed) might haue eſcaped, had not a wicked perſon, the reporter of the proces, ſought and wrought his condemnation: whiche condemnation

was at length concluded thus: that he ſhould bee burned quicke, onely the cuttyng of hys tongue was pardoned. The Doctour appointed to be at hys executiō, was Maillard, with whō he was greatly encūbred: For this frier called vpō him ſtill, not to ſpeake to the people: but he deſired him that he might pray. Then he bad hym pray to our Lady, and confeſſe her to be his Aduocate. He cōfeſſed, that ſhe was a bleſſed Virgin, and recited the Lordes Prayer and the Crede, and was about to ſpeake of the Maſſe: but Maillard would not let him, making haſt to his execution, and ſayd, vnles he would ſay Aue Maria, hee ſhould be burnt quicke. Thē Chapot prayed: O Ieſu, ſonne of Dauid, haue mercy vpon me. Maillard then bad hym ſay Ieſus, Maria, and ſo he ſhould be ſtrangled. Chapot agayne excuſed that he was ſo weake, he could not ſpeake. Say, ſayd Maillard, Ieſus Maria, or els thou ſhalt be burned quicke. As Chapot was thus ſtriuyng with the Frier, ſodeinly as it happened, Ieſus Maria eſcaped out of his mouth. But he by and by repreſſing him ſelfe, O God, ſaid he, what haue I done? Pardon me, O Lord, to thee only haue I ſinned. Thē Maillard commaunded the corde to bee pluckt about hys necke to ſtrangle him: notwithſtandyng yet he felt ſomethyng the fire. After all thinges done, Maillard all full of anger went to the counſaile houſe, called la Chāber ardante, declaryng what an vprore had there almoſt happened amongeſt the people, ſaying that he would complaine vpon the iudges, for ſuffering thoſe heretickes to haue their tonges. Wherupon immediatly a decree was made that all whiche were to bee burned, vnleſſe they recanted at the fire, ſhould haue their tongues cut of. VVhiche law diligently afterward was obſerued. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6.

To geue venes ſo litle to the aduerſaries is a great matter.

The cutting of tonges how and by whom it came, in Fraunce.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
M. Peter Liſet, **Preſidēt of the Coūſaile of** Paris.	Saintinꝰ Niuet.	After the burnyng of thoſe xiiij. whoſe names be deſcribed before, this Saintinus (whiche was a lame cripple) with his wife remoued out of Meaux, to Montbeliard, where when he had continued a while in ſafe libertie of religion, and ſawe him ſelfe there to doo no good, but to be a burden to the Churche, caſt in his minde to returne home to Meaux agayne, and ſo did. Where at laſt, as hee was ſellyng certein ſmall wares in the fayre, he was there knowen and apprehended. Wherof when information was geuen, he beyng examined,

Steuē Polliot, Martyr.

Ioh. Engliſhe, Martyr.

Michaell Michelot, Martyr.

Leonardus de Prato, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
	At Paris. An.1546.	*ned, at the firſt confeſſed all, and more then they were willyng to beare. In the time of this Inquiſition, as they were examinyng him of certaine pointes of religion, and asked him whether hee would ſtand to that he ſayd or not: he gaue this aunſwere againe, worthye to bee regeſtred in all mens hartes, ſaying: And I aske you agayne Lord Iudges, dare you be ſo bold to deny that is ſo playne & manifeſt by the open wordes of the Scripture? So litle regard had he to ſaue his owne life, that he deſired the Iudges, both at Meaux, and at Paris, for Gods ſake, that they would rather take care of their owne lyues and ſoules, and to conſider how much Innocent bloud they ſpilled dayly in fightyng agaynſt Chriſt Ieſus, and his Goſpell.* *At laſt, beyng brought to Paris, through the meanes of M. Peter Liſet, a great perſecutor, for that they of Meaux, ſhould take by him no encouragemēt, there he was deteined, and ſuffered his martyrdome: where no kind of crueltie was lacking, whiche the innocent Martyrs of Chriſt Ieſus were wont to be put vnto.* Ex Henr. Pantal. & hiſt. Gallicana.
The names of his perſecutours in the ſtory be not expreſſed.	Steuen Polliot. At Paris. An.1546.	*Steuen Polliot comming out of Normandy (where hee was borne) vnto Meaux, taried not there long, but was compelled to flye, and went to a towne called Fera: where he was apprehēded, and brought to Paris, and there caſt into a fowle and darke priſon. In whiche priſon he was kept in bandes and fetters a long ſpace, where hee ſaw almoſt no light. At length beyng called for before the Senate, and his ſentence geuen to haue his tongue cut out, and to be burned aliue, his ſatchell of bookes hanging about his necke: O lord (ſayd he) is the world in blindnes & darknes ſtill? For he thought beyng in priſon ſo long, that the world had bene altered from his old darknes, to better knowledge. At laſt, the worthy Martyr of Ieſus Chriſt hauing his bookes about his necke, was put into the fire, where he with much pacience, ended this trāſitory life.* Ex Henr. Pantal.
The hye Senat of Paris.	Ioh. Engliſhe. an. 1547.	*He was executed and burned at Sens in Burgūdie, beyng condemned by the high Courte of Paris, for cōfeſſing the true word of God.* Ex Criſp. et Adrian.
	Michael Michelote, *a Taylor.* An. 1547.	*This Taylour beyng apprehēded for the Goſpels ſake, was iudged firſt, if he would turne, to be beheaded: and if he would not turne, then to bee burned alyue. Who beyng asked whether of theſe two hee would chuſe, aunſwered, that he truſted that he which had geuen hym grace not to denye the truth, woulde alſo geue him pacience to abyde the fire. He was burned at Werden by Turney.*
Two falſe brethren.	Leonardus de Prato. An. 1547.	*This Leonard goyng from Dyion, to Bar, a towne in Burgundie, with two falſe brethren, and talking with them about religion, was bewrayed of them, and afterward burned.*

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
	Iohn Taffingnon. Ioanne *his wife.* Simō Mareſchall. Ioanne *his wife.* W. Michant. Iames Boulerau. Iames Bretenay An.1547.	*All theſe vij. beyng of the Citie of Langres, for the word & truth of Chriſt Ieſus, were committed to the fire: wherein they dyed with much ſtrength and comfort. But eſpecially Ioanne, which was Symons wife, beyng reſerued to the laſt place, becauſe ſhe was the yongeſt, confirmed her husband and all the other, with wordes of ſingular conſolation, declaryng to her husband, that they ſhould the ſame day, be maried to the Lord Ieſus, to lyue with him for euer.* Ex Pantal. Criſp. & alijs.
The Senate of Paris.	Miſchaell Mareſchal. Ioh. Cam' Great Ioh. Camus. Iohn Seraphin. An.1547.	*Theſe alſo, the ſame yeare and about the ſame tyme, for the like confeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, were condemned by the Senate of Paris, and in the ſame Citie alſo with like crueltie, were burned.* Ex Pantal. Criſp.
The hoſt of Octouien, **at** Lyons. Gabriell **of** Saccōnex **Precenteur.**	Octouiē Blondel, *a marchaunt of precious ſtones.* At Paris. an. 1548.	*This Octouien, as hee was a great occupyer in all fayres and countreys of Fraunce, and well knowen, both in the Court, and els where: ſo was hee a ſingular honeſt man, of great integritie, and alſo a fauorer of Gods word. Who beyng at his hoſtes houſe in Lyons, rebuked the filthy talke, and ſuperſtitious behauiour, whiche there he heard and ſaw. Wherefore the hoſte bearyng to him a grudge, chaunced to haue certein talke with Gabriel of Saccōnex Precenteur, cōcerning the riches, & a ſumptuous coller ſet with rich iewels, of this Octouiē. Thus theſe ij. conſultyng together, did ſuborne a certein perſon to borowe of him a certeine ſumme of crownes. VVhiche becauſe Octouien refuſed to lende, the other cauſed him to be apprehended for hereſie, thinking therby to make a tachement of his goods. But ſuch order was taken by Blondels frēds, that they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe. Then Blondell beyng examined of his faith, gaue a plaine and full confeſſion of that doctrine, which he had learned, for the which he was cōmitted to priſon: where he did much good to the priſoners there. For ſome that were in debt, he payd their creditours, and looſed them out. To ſome he gaue meate, to other, rayment. At length, through the importune perſuaſions of his parentes & frendes, he gaue ouer and chaūged his cōfeſſion. Notwithſtanding the Precenteur not leauing ſo, appealed him vp to the hye Court of Paris. There Octouien beyng asked agayne, touchyng his faith, which of his ij. confeſſions he would ſticke to, he beyng before admoniſhed of his fall, and of the offence geuen thereby to the faythfull; ſayd he would lyue and dye in his firſt confeſſion, whiche he defended to be conſonant to the veritie of Gods worde. Whiche done, he was condemned to be burned, and ſo haſt was made to his execution, leſt his frendes in the Courte, might come betwene, and ſaue his life.* Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6.

Hubert Cheriet, Martyr.

Florent Venote, Martyr.

Anne Audebert, Martyr.

The godly Taylour of Paris, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs.*	*The Cauſes.*
	Hubert Cheriet, *aliâs* Burre, *a yong mã a Taylor.* At Dyion. An.1549.	*Hubert beyng a young man of the age of xix. yeares, was burned for the Goſpell at Dyion, who neither by any terrours of death, nor allurementes of his parentes, could be otherwiſe perſuaded, but conſtãtly to remaine in the truth, vnto death.* Ibid.
Peter Liſetus, **Preſidẽt of the Coũſaile of** Paris, **and other Sorboniſtes.**	M. Florent Venote, *Prieſt.* At Paris. An, 1549.	*This Florent remained in priſon in Paris, iiij. yeares, and ix. houres. Duryng which tyme, there was no torment, whiche he did not abide and ouercome. Amõg all other kindes of torments, he was put in a narowe priſon or brake, ſo ſtraite that he could neither ſtand nor lye, which they call the hoſe or boote,* ad Nectar Hippocratis, *becauſe it is ſtraite beneath, and wyder aboue, like to the inſtrumẽt where with Apothecaries are wonte to make their Hipocras. In this he remained vij. weakes, where the tormentors affirme, that no thief nor murderer could euer endure xv. dayes, but was in daunger of life, or madnes. At laſt, when there was a great ſhew in Paris at the kinges commyng into the Citie, and diuers other Martyrs in ſondry places of the citie were put to death, he hauing his tõgue cut of, was brought to ſee the execution of them all: and laſt of all, in the place of Maulbert, was put in the fire and burned the ix. day of Iuly at after none.* Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Anne Audebert *an Apothecaries wife, and wydowe.* At Orleance. An.1549.	*She goyng to Geneua, was taken and brought to Paris, & by the Coũſaile there, iudged to be burned at Orleance. When the rope was put about her, ſhe called it her weddyng girdle, wherewith ſhe ſhould be maried to Chriſt. And as ſhe ſhould be burned vpõ a Saterday, vpõ Michaelmas euen: vpon a Saterday, ſayd ſhe, I was firſt maried, & vpõ a Saterday I ſhalbe maried again. And ſeyng the doungcarte brought, wherein ſhe ſhould be caryed, ſhe reioyſed thereat, ſhewyng ſuch conſtancie in her martyrdome, as made all the beholders to meruell.* Ex Ioan. Criſp.
Henry 2. **Frenche kyng.** **An Officer of the kynges houſe.** Petrus Caſtellanus, **Byſhop** Maconẽſis.	*A poore Taylor of* Paris, *dwellyng in the ſtrete of S. Antony* At Paris. An.1549.	*Among many other godly martyrs that ſuffered in Frãce, the ſtory of this poore Taylour is not the leaſt nor worſt to be remembred. His name is not yet ſought out in the French ſtories, for lacke of diligence in thoſe writers: more is the pitie. The ſtorye is this. Not longe after the coronation of Henry ij. the Frẽch king, at whoſe commyng into Paris, diuers good martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a ſpectacle: as is aboueſayd, a certaine poore Taylour, who then dwelt not far frõ the kinges Palace, in the ſtrete bearyng the name of S. Antony, was apprehẽded of a certain officer in the kinges houſe, for that, vppon a certaine holy day, he folowed his occupation, and dyd*

worke for his liuyng. Before he was had to priſon, the officer asked him, why he did labour and worke, geuyng no obſeruation to the holy day. To whom he aunſwered, that he was a poore man, liuing onely vpon his labour: and as for the daye, he knewe no other, but onely the Sondaye, wherin he might not lawfully worke, for the neceſsitie of his liuyng. Then the officer began to aske of him many queſtiõs. Wherunto the poore Taylour did ſo aunſwere, that eftſoones he was clapt in priſon. After that, the officer commyng into the Court, to ſhew what good ſeruice he had done for the holy Churche, declared to certaine eſtates, how he had takẽ a Lutherane, working vppon the holy day, ſhewyng that he had ſuch aunſweres of him, that he cõmaũded him to priſon. Whẽ the rumour hereof was noyſed in the kinges chãber, through the motion of them whiche were about the king, the poore man was ſent for to appeare, that the king might haue the hearyng of him. Wherupon the kinges chãber being voyded, ſaue onely a fewe of the chiefe Pieres remaynyng about the king, the ſimple Taylour was brought. The king ſittyng in his chaire, commaunded Petrus Caſtellanus *Biſhop of Maſcon (a man very fitte for ſuch Inquiſitiõs) to queſtion with him. The Taylour beyng entred, and nothyng appauled at the kinges Maieſtie, after his reuerẽce done vnto the prince, gaue thankes to God, that he had ſo greatly dignified him being ſuch a wretch, as to bring him, where he might teſtifie his truth before ſuch a mightye prince. Thẽ Caſtellanus entryng talke, began to reaſon with him touchyng the greateſt & chiefeſt matter of religiõ. Wherunto the Taylour without feare or any halting in his ſpeach, with preſent audacitie, witte & memorie, ſo aunſwered for the ſyncere doctrine & ſimple truth of Gods Goſpell, as was both cõuenient to the purpoſe, & alſo to his queſtiõs aptly & fitly correſpondent. Notwithſtanding, the nobles there preſent, with cruell tauntes and rebukes, did what they could to daſhe hym out of cõtenaũce. Yet all this terrified not him, but with boldnes of hart, and free libertie of ſpeach, he defended his cauſe, or rather the cauſe of Chriſt the Lord, neither flatteryng with their perſons, nor fearing their threates: Which was to them all, a ſingular admiration, to behold that ſimple poore artificer to ſtand ſo firme and bold, aunſweryng before a king, to thoſe queſtions propounded againſt him. Wherat, when the king ſemed to muſe with him ſelf, as one ſomwhat amaſed, & which might ſoone haue bene induced at that preſent, to further knowledge: the egregious Biſhop, and other courteours, ſeyng the king in ſuch a muſe, ſayd, he was an obſtinate and a ſtubburne perſon, obſirmed in his owne opinion, and therfore was not to be marueiled at, but to bee ſent to the iudges, and to be puniſhed: and therfore leſt he ſhoulde trouble the eares of the ſayd Henry the king, hee was commaunded again to the hands of the officer, that his cauſe might be informed, and ſo within few dayes after, hee was condemned by the hye Stuard of the kinges houſe, to be burned aliue. And leſt any deepe conſideration of that excellent fortitude of the poore man might further peraduenture pearſe the kinges mynde, the Cardinals and Byſhops were euer in the kinges eare, telling him that theſe Lutheranes were nothyng els, but ſuch as caryed vayne ſmoke in their mouthes, whiche beyng put to the fire, would ſoone vaniſhe. Wherfore the king was appoynted him ſelf, to be preſent at his executiõ, which was ſharpe and cruell, before the Churche of Mary the Virgin, where it pleaſed God to geue ſuch ſtrength and courage to his ſeruaũt, in ſuffering his martyrdome, that the beholdyng therof, did more aſtoniſh the king, then all the other did before.* Ex Ioan. Criſp. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 7.

The Taylour imprisoned for breaking a peece of an holy day.

The Taylour brought before the kyng.

The present boldnes of the Taylour aunswering for his religion, before the king.

Pestilent counsell about the kyng.

A fumishe cõparison of a fierie Cardinall.

The death and Martyrdome of this Taylour.

	Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Claudius Thierry. Martyr.		Claudiꝰ Thierry. At Orleance. An. 1549.	*The ſame yeare, and for the ſame doctrine of the Goſpell, one Claudius alſo was burned at the ſayd towne of Orleance, being apprehended by the way, comming from Geneua to his coũtrey.* Ex Ioan. Criſp.
Leonard Galimard, Martyr.		Leonard Galimard. At Paris. An. 1549.	*This Leonard, for the confeſſion likewiſe of Chriſt and hys Goſpell, was taken and brought to Paris, and there by the ſentence of the counſaile, was iudged to be burnt the ſame tyme as Florent Venote, aboue mentioned, did ſuffer at Paris.* Ex Ioan. Criſp.
Macæus Moreau, Martyr.		Macæus Moreau. At Troyes An. 1550.	*He was burned in Troyes in Campaine (a towne in Fraũce) remaynyng conſtant to the ende, in the Goſpell for the whiche he was apprehended.* Ex eodem.
Ioh. Godeau, Gabriell Berandine, Martyrs.		Ioan. Godeau. Gabriell Berandinus. An. 1550.	*Theſe ij. were of the Church of Geneua. Afterwarde for their frendly admoniſhyng a certeine Prieſt, whiche in his Sermon had abuſed the name of God, they were taken at Chamberiace.* Godeau *ſtandyng to his confeſſion, was burned. Gabriell, thoughe hee beganne a litle to ſhrinke for feare of the tormentes, yet beyng confirmed by the conſtãt death of Godeau, recouered agayne, and ſtandyng likewiſe to his confeſſion, firſt had his tongue cut out. Who notwithſtandyng, throughe Gods might did ſpeake ſo as he might be vnderſtand: whereupon the hangman beyng accuſed for not cuttyng of his toungue rightly, ſaid that he could not ſtoppe him of his ſpeach. And ſo theſe ij. after they had confirmed many in in Gods truth, gaue their lyfe for Chriſtes Goſpell.* Ibidem.
Thomas Sanpaulinus, Martyr.	Ioan. Andreas, Promotor. Peter Liſet, Preſident of the Coũſell of Paris. Maillardus, Doctor Sorbonicus. Aubertus, Cõſiliarius.	Thomas Sanpaulinus. At Paris. An. 1551.	*This Thomas a yong man of the age of xviij. yeares, comming from Geneua to Paris, rebuked there a man for ſwearyng. For the whiche cauſe he beyng ſuſpected for a Lutherã, was folowed, and watched whether he went, & was taken & brought before the counſaile of Paris, and put in priſon, where he was racked, and miſerably tormented, to the intẽt he ſhould either chaunge his opinion, or confeſſe other of his profeſſion. His tormentes and rackinges were ſo ſore, through the ſetting on of Maillard and other Sorboniſtes, that the ſight therof made Aubertus one of the Counſaile, a cruell and vehement enemie agaynſt the Goſpell, to turne his backe and weepe. The young man, when he had made the tormenters wery with racking, and yet would vtter none, at laſt was had to Maulbert place in Paris, to be burned. Where he beyng in the fire, was pluckt vp agayne vppon the Gybbet, and asked whether hee would turne. To whom he ſayd, that he was in his way towarde God, and therfore deſired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martyr remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lorde with conſtant confeſſion of his truth. Ibid.*
Maur Secen Mart		Mauriciꝰ Secenat. In Prouince. An. 1551.	*He firſt hauyng interrogations put to him by the Lieutenãt of that place, made his aunſweres thereunto, ſo as no great aduauntage could be takẽ therof. But he beyng greatly compuncted and troubled in his conſcience for diſſemblyng with the truth, and called afterward before the Lord chief iudge, aunſwered ſo directly, that he was condemned for the ſame and burned in Prouince. Ex eodem.*
Iohem de Pu Mart	A Citizẽ of Vzez.	Ioannes Putte, *or* de Puteo, *ſurnamed* Medicus At Vzes. In Prouince. An. 1551.	*This Medicus beyng a Carpenter and vnlettered, had a controuerſie about a certain pitte with a Citizen of the towne of Vzez, where he dwelled. He, to caſt this Medicus in the law, frõ the pitte, accuſed him of hereſie, bryngīng for his witneſſes, thoſe labourers whom Medicus had hyred to worke in his vinyeard: wherefore, he being examined of the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, was condemned and burned. At Vzez in Prouince. Ex eodem.*
Claud Montr Mart	The gouernour of Lions. The Officiall of the Archdeacon of Lions.	Claudiꝰ Moneriꝰ. At Lions. an. 1551.	*This man beyng well inſtructed in the knowledge of Gods worde, for the which he was alſo driuen from Auernia, came to Lions, and there taught childrẽ. He hearing of the L. Preſidentes comming to the Citie, went to geue warnyng to a certeine familiar frend of his, and ſo conducted him out of the towne. In returnyng agayne to comfort the mans wife and children, hee was taken in his houſe: and ſo he confeſſing that, whiche hee knew to be true, and ſtandyng to that, whiche he confeſſed, after much affliction in priſons and doungeons, he was condemned and burned at Lions. He was noted to bee ſo gentle and mylde of conditions, & conſtant withall, and alſo learned, that certein of the Iudges could not forbeare weeping at his death.*

The ſayd Monerius being in priſon, wrote certein letters, but one ſpecially very comfortable, to all the faithfull, which the Lord willing, in the end of theſe hiſtoryes ſhalbe inſerted. He wrote alſo the queſtions and interrogatories of the Officiall, with his aunſweres likewiſe to the ſame, whiche ſummarilye we haue here contracted as foloweth.

Officiall.

What beleue you of the Sacrament? is the body of Chriſt in the bread, or no?

Perſecutors. | Martyrs. | The Cauſes.

The Martyr.

I worſhip Ieſus Chriſt in heauen ſittyng at the right hand of God the father.

Officiall.

Purgatorye.

what ſay you by Purgatory?

The Martyr.

For ſomuch as there is no place of mercy after this lyfe, therfore no nede there is of any purgatiō, but neceſſarye it is, that we be purged before we paſſe hence.

Officiall.

Supremacie.

Of the Pope what thincke you?

The Martyr.

I ſay, he is a Byſhop, as other Byſhops are, if he be a true folower of S. Peter.

Officiall.

Vowes.

what ſay you of vowes?

The Martyr.

No man can vowe to God ſo much, but the lawe requireth much more then he can vowe.

Officiall.

Praying to ſaintes.

Are not Saintes to be Inuocated?

The Martyr.

They can not pray without fayth, and therfore it is in vayne to call vnto thē. And agayne, God hath appointed his Aungels about vs, to miniſter in our neceſſities.

Officiall.

Is it not good to ſalute the bleſſed virgine with Aue Maria?

The Martyr.

when ſhe was on this earth, ſhe had then nede of the Aungels gretyng, for then ſhe had nede of ſaluation, as well as other: but nowe ſhe is ſo bleſſed, that no more bleſſing can be wiſhed vnto her.

Officiall.

Images.

Are not Images to be had?

The Martyr.

For that the nature of man is ſo prone to Idolatrie, euer occupyed and fixed in thoſe thynges, whiche lye before his eyes, rather then vpō thoſe whiche are not ſene, Images therfore are not to be ſet before Chriſtiās. You know, nothyng is to be adored, but that whiche is not ſene with eyes, that is God alone, whiche is a ſpirit, and him we muſt worſhip onely in ſpirite and truth.

Officiall.

what ſay you by the Canonicall or ordinary houres for prayer?

The Martyr.

To houres and tymes, prayer ought not to be tyed. But when ſoeuer Gods ſpirite doth moue vs, or when any neceſſitie driueth vs, then ought we to pray.

Then the Officiall aſked what he thought of holy oyle, Salt, with ſuch other like. To whō the Martyr aunſwered, that all theſe things were a mere * Maraniſmus, that is, ſauored of the law of Maranorum, and of the ſuperſtition of the Iewes.

* Maranatha
an Hebrue
word menti-
d 1.Cor.16
ſignifieth
e or ma-
ediction, to
e loſſe of
that a man
h : and
of com-
h Mara-
us. vid.
e. Lyr.

Renate Poyet, Martyr.

Iohn Ioyer, with hys ſeruaunt, Martyrs.

Hugh Grauier, Martyr.

v. ſtudentes Martyrs.

Martiall Alba.
Petrus Scriba.
Bernard Seguine.
Charles Faber.
Peter Nauihere.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Renate Poyet. At Salmure in Fraunce. An. 1552.	*Renate Poyet, the ſonne of Williā Poyet, which was Chācelour of Fraunce, for the true and ſyncere profeſſing of the word of God, conſtantly ſuffered martyrdome, and was burned in the Citie of Salmure, an. 1552. Ex Criſp.*
	Iohn Ioyer, & *hys ſeruaunt, a young mā.* At Tholouſe. an. 1552.	*Theſe ij. commyng from Geneua to their countrey, with certaine bookes, were apprehended by the waye, and at length had to Tholouſe. Where the maiſter was firſt condēned. The ſeruant beyng younge, was not ſo prōpt to aunſwere them, but ſent them to his maiſter, ſaying that hee ſhould aunſwere thē. Whē they were brought to the ſtake, the young man firſt goyng vp, began to weepe. The maiſter fearyng leſſe hee would geue ouer ranne to him, and hee was comforted, and they began to ſing. As they were in the fire, the maiſter ſtandyng vpright to the ſtake, ſhifted the fire from him, to his ſeruaunt, beyng more carefull for him, then for him ſelfe: and whē he ſawe him dead, hee bowed down into the flame, and ſo expired. Ex Criſp. & alijs.*
	Hugoniꝰ Grauier, *a ſcholmaiſter and miniſter after of* Cortillō, *in the Cōtie of Newcaſtle.* At Burge. an. 1552.	*At Burge in Breſſe, a dayes iourney from Lions, this Grauier was burned. Hee commyng frō Geneua, to Newcaſtle, there was elected to be miniſter. But firſt, he goyng to ſee his wiues frēdes, at Maſcō, there as he was comming away out of the towne, was taken vpon the bridge, with all his companie: and in the end, he willing the wemen and reſte of the company to lay the faulte in hym for bryngyng them out, was ſentenced to be burnt, notwithſtandyng the Lordes of Berne ſent their Heraudes to ſaue his life, and alſo that the officiall declared him to bee an honeſt man, and to hold nothyng, but agreyng to the Scriptures. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 3.*
Tignacius, the gouernour or deputie of Lyons. Buatherius, Officiall to the Archbyſhop of Lyons. Clepierius Chamberlane. Three orders of Friers. Iudge Melierus. Doct. Cunubanus, a Gray frier. Iudge Vilard. Primatius, Officiall. Cortrerius Iudge.	Martiall Alba. Petrus Scriba. Bernard Seguine. Charles Faber. Peter Nauihere. At Lyons. an. 1553.	*Theſe v. ſtudentes, after they had remained in the Vniuerſitie of Lauſanna a certain time, cōſulted among them ſelues, beyng all French mē, to returne home, euery one to his countrey, to the intent they might inſtruct their parentes, and other their frendes in ſuch knowledge, as the Lord had geuen to them. So taking their iourney from Lauſanna, firſt they came to Geneua, where they remayned a while. From thence they wēt to Liōs. Where they ſittyng at the table of one that mette them by the way, and deſired them home to his houſe, were apprehended and led to priſon: where they continued a whole yeare, that is, from the firſt day of May, to the xvi. of the ſayd moneth agayne. As they were learned, and well exerciſed in the Scriptures: ſo euery one of thē exhibited ſeuerally a learned confeſſion of his faith, and with great dexteritie, throughe the power of the Lordes ſpirite, they confounded the Friers, with whom they diſputed: eſpeciallye Peter Scribe or Scriuener, and Seguyne.* *They were examined ſonderly of the Sacramēt of the Lordes body, of Purgatory, of confeſſiō, and Inuocation, of freewill, and and of the ſupremacie. &c. Althoughe they approued their cauſe by good Scripture, and refuted their aduerſaries in reaſonyng, yet right being ouercome*

by might, ſentence was geuen, and they burned in the ſayd towne of Lyons. Being ſet vpon the carte, they began to ſing Pſalmes. As they paſſed by the market place, one of them with a loude voyce, ſaluted the people with the wordes of the laſt chap. to the Hebr. The God of peace whiche brought agayn from death the great paſtour of the ſhepe, in the bloud of the eternall Teſtament. &c. Comming to the place, firſt the ij. yongeſt, one after the other, went vp vppon the heape of woode to the ſtake, and there were faſtened, and ſo after them, the reſt. Martiall Alba beyng the eldeſt, was the laſt, who likewiſe being ſtripped of his clothes, and brought to the ſtake, deſired this petition of the gouernour, which was, that he might go about his felowes tyed at the ſtake, and kiſſe them. Whiche beyng graunted, he went and kiſſed euery one, ſaying: farewell my brother. Likewiſe the other foure folowing the ſame exãple, bad ech one fare well my brother. With that the fire was commaunded to be put vnto them. The hãgman had tyed a rope about all their neckes, thinking firſt to ſtrangle them, but their faces beyng ſmered with fatte and brymſtone, the rope was burned before they were ſtrangled. So the bleſſed Martyrs, in the mydeſt of the fire, ſpake one to an other, to be of good cheare, and ſo departed. Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.

¶Their examinations briefly touched.

The Frier.

Supꝛemacie.

Thou ſayeſt frend, in thy confeſſiõ, ẏ the Pope is not ſupreme head, of the Church. I will proue the contrary.
The Pope is the ſucceſſor of S. Peter.
Ergo, he is the ſupreme head of the Churche.

The Martyr.

I denye firſt your antecedent.

The Frier.

The Pope ſitteth in the place of S. Peter.
Ergo, he is the ſucceſſour of S. Peter.

The Martyr.

The head of the Church. *Ephe.1.*

I will graunt neither of both: Firſt becauſe that he which ſucceedeth in the rowme of Peter, ought to preach & teach, as Peter did: which thyng ẏ Pope doth not. Secondly, although he did ſo preach as Peter did, he might well folow the example of Peter, yet ſhould not he therfore bee the head of the Churche, but a member onely of the ſame. The head of men and Aungels, whom God hath appointed, is Chriſt alone, ſayth S. Paule.

The Frier.

Although Chriſt be the head of the whole Church militant and triumphant, yet his Vicar here in earth, is left to ſupply his rowme.

The Martyr.

Not ſo, for the power of his diuinitie beyng ſo great to fill all thinges, hee needeth no Vicar or deputye to ſupply his abſence.

The Frier.

Regiment ciuile, Regiment ſpirituall.

I will proue, that although Chriſt be king both of heauen and earth: yet he hath here in earth many Vicars vnder him, to gouerne his people.

The Martyr.

It is one thyng to rule in the ciuile ſtate, an other thing to rule ſpiritually. For in ciuile regiment, we haue kinges and princes ordeined of God, by the Scriptures, for the obſeruation of publicke ſocietie: In the ſpirituall regiment and kyngdome of the Churche, it is not ſo.

Then an other Frier.

Iohn.1. *Cephas.*

Thou ſayeſt, that S. Peter is not the head of the Churche: I will proue he is.
Our Lord ſaid to Peter: Thou ſhalt be called Cephas: whiche Cephas is as much to ſay in Latine, as head.
Ergo, Peter is head of the Churche.

The Martyr.

where finde you that interpretation? S. Iohn in his firſt chap. doth expound it otherwiſe. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas, that is as much (ſayth he) as Petrus, or ſtone.

Thẽ the Iudge Vilardus callyng for a new Teſtamẽt, turned to the place, and found it to be ſo. whereupon the Frier was vtterly daſhed, and ſtode mute.

The Frier.

Luke.

Thou ſayeſt in thy confeſſion, that a man hath no free will. I will proue it. It is written in the Goſpell, how a man going from Hieruſalem to Iericho, fell vpon theues, and was ſpoyled, maymed, and left halfe dead. &c. Thomas of Aquine expoundeth this parable to meane free will, whiche hee ſayth is maymed: yet not ſo, but that ſome power remaineth in man to worke.

The Martyr.

This interpretation I do refuſe and denye.

The Frier.

what? thinkeſt thou thy ſelfe better learned then S. Thomas?

The Martyr.

I do arrogate no ſuch learnyng vnto my ſelf. But this I ſaye: this parable is not ſo to be expoũded, but is ſet forth for example, of the Lord, to cõmend to vs charitie toward our neighbour, how one ſhould helpe an other.

The Frier.

Iuſtific- tion.

Thou ſayeſt in thy confeſſion, that we are iuſtified onely by faith. I will proue, that we are iuſtified by workes.
By our workes we do merite.
Ergo, by workes we are iuſtified.

The Martyr.

I denye the antecedent.

The Frier.

S. Paul. Heb. ẏ laſt, ſayth: Forget not to do good and to diſtribute vnto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus. i. For by ſuch oblations God is merited. we merite god by our works: Ergo, we are iuſtified by our workes.

The Martyr.

The wordes of S. Paul in that place, be otherwiſe, & are thus to be tranſlated: Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus. i. With ſuch ſacrifices God is delited, or is well pleaſed.

The Iudge Vilard.

Vilard the Iudge turned the boke, and found the place euen to be ſo, as the priſoner ſayd. Here the Friers were merueilouſly apalled and troubled in their myndes: of whom, one aſked then what he thought of confeſſion.

The Martyr.

Confeſſ

To whõ the Martyr aunſwered, that confeſſion onely is to bee made to God, and that thoſe places whiche they allege for auricular confeſſion, out of S. Iames and other, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation betwene one an other, and not of confeſſion in the Prieſtes eare. And here agayne the Friers ſtode, hauyng nothing to ſay agaynſt it.

A Blacke Frier.

Tranſu ſtãtia

Doeſt thou not beleue the body of Chriſt to be locally and corporally in the Sacrament? I will proue the ſame.
Ieſus Chriſt takyng bread ſayd: this is my body.
Ergo, it is truly his body.

The Martyr.

The verbe (eſt) is not to be taken here ſubſtantiuely, in his owne proper ſignification, as ſhewing the nature of a thyng in ſubſtaunce, as in Philoſophie it is wont to be taken: but as notyng the propertie of a thyng ſignifiyng, after the maner and phraſe of Scripture: where one thyng is wont to be called by the name of an other, ſo as the ſigne is called by the name of the thyng ſignified. &c. So is Circumciſiõ called by the name of the Couenaunt, & yet is not the Couenaũt. So the Lambe hath the name of the Paſſeouer, yet is not the ſame. In which ij. Sacramentes of ẏ old lawe, ye ſee the verbe (eſt) to be taken, not as ſhewyng the ſubſtaunce of beyng, but ẏ propertie of beyng, in the thyng that is ſpoken of: And ſo likewiſe in the Sacramentes of the new law.

The Frier.

Sacra mento geue grace.

The Sacramentes of the olde law, and of the new, do differ greatly: For theſe geue grace, ſo did not the other.

The Martyr.

Iohn.

Neither the Sacramentes of the old, nor of the new law, do geue grace, but ſheweth him vnto vs which geueth grace in dede. The miniſter geueth the Sacramẽts, but Ieſus Chriſt geueth grace, by the operation of the holy Ghoſt: Of whom it is ſaid, Thys is he which Baptiſeth with the holy Ghoſt, &c.

The Frier.

The fathers of the old Teſtament, were they not partakers of the ſame grace and promiſes with vs?

The Martyr.

Yes, for S. Paul ſayth, that the fathers of the old Teſtament

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ſtamēt did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate, and did drinke of the ſame ſpirituall drinke, with vs.

The Frier.

Ieſus Chriſt ſayth, Iohn.6. Your fathers dyd eate Manna in the deſert, and are dead.
Ergo, they were not partakers of the ſame grace with vs, in the new Teſtament.

The Martyr.

Luke.ii

Chriſt here ſpeaketh of them, whiche did not eate that Manna with fayth, whiche was a type and figure of that bread of life, that came from heauen: and not of them, whiche did eate the ſame with fayth, as Moſes, Aaron, Ioſue, Caleb, and ſuch other, who vnder the ſhadowes of the old Teſtament, did looke for Chriſt to come. For ſo it is written of Abraham, that he ſawe the day of Chriſt, and reioyced, not ſeyng it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith.

The true eating of Manna.

Iuſtific tion.

Here the doltiſhe Doctor was at a ſtay, hauyng nothyng to ſay, but, heare frende, be not ſo hoate nor ſo haſty, tary a while, tary a while. At length after hys tarying, this came out.

The Frier.

I will proue, that they of the old Teſtament were not partakers of the ſame grace, with vs.
The lawe (ſayth S. Paule) worketh anger: And they that are vnder the law, are vnder malediction.
Ergo, they of the old law and Teſtament, were not partakers of the ſame grace, with vs.

The fathers of the olde Teſtamēt, how they were vnder the law, & how they were vnder grace.

The martyr.

S. Paul here proueth, ỳ no mā by the law, cā be iuſtified, but that all men are vnder the anger & curſe of God therby, for ſo much as no man performeth that whiche in the law is comprehended, and therfore we haue neede euery man to runne to Chriſt, to bee ſaued by fayth, ſeyng no mā cā be ſaued by the law. For who ſo euer truſteth to the law, hoppyng to finde iuſtification therby, and not by Chriſt onely, the ſame remaineth ſtill vnder malediction: not becauſe the law is curſed, or the tymes therof vnder curſe: but becauſe of the weakenes of our nature, whiche are not able to performe the law.

Confeſ

The Frier.

S. Paul Rom.7. declareth in the old Teſtament to be nothyng but anger, and threatnynges: and in the newe Teſtament, to bee grace and mercy, in theſe wordes where he ſayth: Wretched mā that I am, who ſhall deliuer me frō the body of this death? The grace of God by Ieſus Chriſt.

The martyr.

Tranſ ſtātiatio

S. Paul in this place, neither meaneth nor ſpeaketh of the difference of tymes betwene the old and the new Teſtament: but of the conflict betwene ỳ fleſhe and ỳ ſpirite: ſo that, where as the fleſhe is euer rebellyng agaynſt the ſpirite: yet the ſpirituall man notwithſtandyng through the faith of Chriſt, hath ỳ victorye. Furthermore the true tranſlation of that place, hath not, Gratia Dei: but, Gratias ago Deo, per Ieſum Chriſtum. &c.

Primacius th'Officiall.

The Officiall ſeyng the Frier almoſt here at a poynt, ſet in, and ſayd: Thou lewde hereticke, doeſt thou denie the bleſſed Sacrament?

e ſacra- t.

The martyr.

No Syr, but I embrace and reuerence the Sacramēt, ſo as it was inſtituted of the Lord, & left by his Apoſtles.

The Officiall.

Thou denyeſt the body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, and thou calleſt the Sacrament bread.

The martyr.

The Scripture teacheth vs to ſeke the body of Chriſt in heauen, and not in earth: where we read Coloſ.3. If ye be riſen with Chriſt, ſeke not for the thinges which are vpon the earth: but for the thinges which are in heauen, where Chriſt is ſitting at the ryght hand of God. &c. And where as I affirme the Sacrament, not to be ỳ body, but bread, ſpeakyng of bread remaynyng in his owne ſubſtaunce, herein I do no other, but as S. Paule doth, which, Cor.xi. doth call it bread likewiſe 4. or 5. tymes together.

Sacra mentes geuē grace.

The Frier.

Ieſus Chriſt ſayd, that he was the bread of lyfe.

Iohn.

The Officiall.

Thou naughty hereticke, Ieſus Chriſt ſayd, that hee was a vyne, and a doore, &c. where he is to be expounded to ſpeake figuratiuely. But the wordes of the Sacrament are not ſo to bee expounded.

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The martyr.

Thoſe teſtimonies whiche you allege, make more for me, then for you.

The Officiall.

What ſayeſt thou leawde hereticke? is the bread of the Lordes Supper, and the bread that we eate at home, all one, and is there no difference betwene them?

The martyr.

In nature and in ſubſtaunce there is no difference: in qualitie & in vſe there is much differēce. For ỳ bread of ỳ Lordes table, though it be of ỳ ſame nature & ſubſtaūce, with ỳ bread which we eate at home, yet whē it is applied to be a ſacramēt, it taketh an other qualitie, & is ſet before vs to ſeale ỳ promiſe of our ſpirituall & eternall life. And this was ỳ effect of their examinations. Ex Criſp.

The name of his perſecutour appeareth not in his ſtory.

Petrus Bergeri⁹.

At Lyons.

an, 1553.

About the ſame tyme, when theſe v. ſtudentes aboue ſpecified, were apprehended, this Bergerius alſo was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made alſo the like confeſſion with them together, and ſhortly after them, ſuffered the ſame martyrdome. He had bene before an occupier or marchaūt of wynes. He had wife and childrē at Geneua, to whom he wrote ſwete and comfortable letters. In the doungeon with him was a certeine theife and malefactor, whiche had lyen there the ſpace of ſeuen or eight monethes. This thiefe, for payne and torment, cryed out of God, and curſed his parentes, that begat him, beyng almoſt eaten vp with liſe, miſerably handled, and fedde with ſuch bread, as dogges, and horſes, had refuſed to eate. So it pleaſed the goodnes of almighty God, that through the teachyng and prayers of this Bergerius, hee was brought to repentaunce, of him ſelf, and knowledge of God, learnyng much comfort and pacience by the Woorde of the Goſpell preached vnto him. Touching his conuerſiō, he wrote a ſwete letter to thoſe v. ſtudentes aboue mentioned, wherin he prayſeth God for thē, and eſpecially for this Bergerius, declaryng alſo in the ſame letter, that the next day after, that he had taken hold of the Goſpell, & framed him ſelf to paciēce accordyng to the ſame, his lyſe (which he could plucke out before no leſſe thē xij. at once betwixt his fingers) nowe were ſo gone frō him, that he had not one. Furthermore, ſo the almes of good mē was extēded towards him, that he was fed with white bread, & that whiche was very good. Such is the goodnes of the Lord toward them that loue and ſeke his truth. The name of this conuert was Iohn Chambone. Ex Epiſt. Ioan. Chambon. Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.

Petrus Bergerius, Martyr.

The notable conuerſion of a theefe in priſon.

Stephanus Peloquinus.

Dioniſi⁹ Peloquinus.

At Ville Franche about Liōs.

an. 1553.

Steuē Peloquine, brother to this Dionyſius, was takē about ij. or iij. yeres before, with Anne Audebert aboue mentioned, and alſo martyred for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell, at the ſame time, with a ſmall fire. After whom followed Dionyſe Peloquine, in the ſame ſteppes of Martyrdome, whiche was his brother. This Dionyſe had bene ſome tyme, a Monke, and chaunging his weede, tooke a wife, with whom he lyued a certaine ſpace at Geneua, in godly order and modeſty of life. Commyng afterwarde to Ville Franche ſix myles from Lyons, from thence he was had

Steuen and Dionyſe Peloquine, brethren and Martyrs.

to

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

to Lyons, where he remained in priſon x. monethes. From thence he was reuerſed to Ville Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The Articles wherupon hee was condemned, were for the Maſſe, the Sacrament, auricular confeſsion, Purgatorye, the virgine Mary, and the Popes ſupremacie. He ſuffered in the yeare of our Lorde. 1553. Septemb. xi. In his martyrdome ſuch pacience and fortitude God gaue, that when hee was halfe burned, yet he neuer ceaſed holdyng vp his handes to heauen, and callyng vpon the Lord, to the great admiration of them that looked on. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Ludouicke Marſac. Michaell Gerard. Steuen Granot. **Martyrs.**

The kynges Lieutenaunt at Lyons. **The Officiall.** **The Friers.**	Ludouicus Marſacus. Michaell Gerard, *his coſin.* Steuen Granot, *Carpẽter.* At Lyons. an. 1553.	*At Lyons the ſame yeare, theſe iij. alſo were apprehended and ſacrificed. Ludouicus had bene of the order of the Dimilãces, whiche ſerued the king in his warres. Afterward comming to Geneua, he was trained vp in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Vpon diuers Articles hee was examined, as Inuocation of Saincles, & of the virgin Mary: frewill: Merites, & good works: auricular confeſsiõ: faſting: the Lordes Supper. In his ſecond examination, they inquired of him, and alſo of the other ij. touchyng vowes, the Sacramentes, the Maſſe, and the Vicar of Chriſt: In all whiche Articles, becauſe his and their iudgement diſſented frõ the doctrine of the Popes Churche, they were condemned. The aunſweres of Marſac to the Articles, are to be ſene at large in the booke of the French martyrs ſet out by Iohn Criſpine.*

The blaſphemies of the Papiſtes.

The Lieutenaunt, among other blaſphemies, had theſe wordes: Of the iiij. Euangeliſtes, but ij. were pure, Mathew and Iohn. The other ij. Marke and Luke, were but gatherers out of the other. The Epiſtles of S. Paule, but that the Doctors of the Churche had authoriſed them, he would otherwiſe eſteme no better, then the fables of Æſope.

Note what opiniõ the Papiſtes haue of the lawe of God, when it ſtandeth not with their lawe.

Item, the ſayd Lieutenaunt ſayd to M. Copes mayde: ſpeaking ſomwhat of the law, curſed be the God of that law.

When the ſentence of condemnation was geuen agaynſt theſe iij. they were ſo glad therof, that they went out praiſing God, & ſinging Pſalmes. VVhich troubled the Iudges ſore, to ſee them ſo litle to eſteme their death: in ſomuch that the Lieutenaunt cauſed them to be made to hold their peace, ſaying: ſhall theſe vile abiectes ſo vaunte them ſelues againſt the whole ſtate of the realme? Thẽ as Marſac was goyng to a corner by, to praye, one of the ſouldiours woulde not ſuffer him. To whom he ſayd: that litle time which we haue, will you not geue vs to praye? With that the ſouldiour beyng aſtoniſhed, went his way.

As they ſhould be brought out of priſon, to the ſtake, the hangman tyed a rope about the neckes of the other two. Marſac ſeyng him ſelfe to bee ſpared becauſe of his order and degree, called by the way to the Lieutenaunt, that hee might alſo haue one of the precious cheines about his necke, in honour of his Lord. The whiche beyng graunted, ſo were theſe iij. bleſſed martyrs committed to the fire, where they with meke pacience, yelded vp their lyues to the handes of the Lord, in teſtimonie of his Goſpell. Ex Criſp. Pantal.

Matth. Dymonet, **Martyr.**

The Lieutenaunt of Lyons.	Matthe⁹ Dymonetus, *marchaunt.*	*This Marchaunt firſt liued a vicious and deteſtable life, full of much corruptiõ and filthines. He was alſo a ſecret enemie, and a ſearcher out of good men, whẽ and where they conuented together. VVho beyng called notwith*

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Primaci⁹ **Officiall.** Buatherius, **Officiall.** Orus **Inquiſitor.**	At Lyons. an. 1553.	*ſtandyng, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and fauour of his worde, ſhortly after was taken by the Lieutenaunt and Buatherius the Officiall, in his owne houſe at Lyons, and ſo after a litle examination, was ſent to priſon. Beyng examined by the Inquiſitor and the Officials, he refuſed to yelde any aunſwere to them, knowyng no authoritie they had vpon hym, but onely to the Lieutenaunt.*

His aunſweres were, that he beleued all that the holy vniuerſall church of Chriſt did truly beleue, & all the Articles of the Crede. To the Article of the holy Catholicke Church, being bid to adde alſo, romanã, *that is, the church of Rome: that he refuſed. Aduocates he knewe none, but Chriſt alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the Croſſe & paſsiõ of the Lãbe, which purgeth the ſinnes of all the world. True confeſsion he ſayd, ought to be made not to the prieſt once a yere, but euery day to God, & to ſuch whõ we haue offended. The eating of the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt, he toke to be ſpirituall: and the Sacramẽt of the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt, to be eatẽ with the mouth, and that Sacramẽt to be bread and wyne vnder the name and ſignificatiõ of the body and bloud of Chriſt. The maſſe not to be inſtituted of Chriſt, being a thyng cõtrary to hys word & will. For the head of the Church, he knew none but onely Chriſt. Beyng in priſon he had great cõflictes with the infirmitie of his owne fleſh, but eſpecially with the temtation of his parentes, brethren, and kinsfolkes, and the ſorow of his mother: neuertheles the Lord ſo aßiſted him, that he endured to the ende. At his burnyng he ſpake much to the people, and was heard with great attention. Hee ſuffered xv. of Iuly. an.* 1553. Ex Criſp.

Legoux **the deane** Ilierẽſis. M. Symõ Vigor, **the Penitentiarie of** Eureux.	William Neel *an Auſten Frier.* At Eureux In Fraũce, an. 1553.	*Henr. Pantal. Lib. 9. and Criſp. & Adrian, maketh mention alſo of one William Neel, a Frier Auguſtin, who ſuffered in much like ſorte, the ſame yeare, and was burned at Eureux in Fraũce. The occaſiõ of his trouble roſe firſte, for the rebuking the vicious demeanure of the prieſts there, and of the Deane named Legoux, for the which the deane cauſed him to be ſent to Eureux to the priſon of the Biſhop. The ſtory of this William Neel, with his aunſweres to their Articles obiected, is to bee read more at large, in the ix. booke of Pantalion and others.*

The Bailiffe or Guard of the Citie Dyion.	Symon Laloe. At Dyion. an. 1553.	*Symon Laloe a Spectacle maker, commyng from Geneua into Fraunce for certain buſines, was layd hande of, by the Bailiffe of Dyion. Three thinges were demaunded of him. 1. Where he dwelt. 2. What was his fayth. 3. What felowes he knew of his religion. His dwelling, he ſaid, was at Geneua. His religiõ was ſuch, as was then vſed at Geneua. As for his felowes, he ſayd, he knew none, but onely them of the ſame Citie of Geneua, where his dwellyng was. When they could get of*

him no other aunſwere but this, with all their racking and tormentes: they proceded to his ſentence, and purſued the execution of the ſame, whiche was xxi. of Nouẽb. an. 1553.

The executioner, who was named Iames Silueſter, ſeyng the

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Simon. Laloe, Martyr.

The execu tioner con uerted.

the great faith and conſtancie of that heauenly martyr, was ſo compuncted with repentaunce, and fell in ſuch diſpayre of him ſelfe, that they had much ado, with all the promiſes of the Goſpell, to recouer any comfort in him. At laſt, through the mercy of Chriſt, he was comforted, and conuerted, and ſo he with all his familie, remoued to the Churche of Geneua. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Nicholas Nayle, Martyr.

Cometes.

Nicolas Nayle.

At Paris.

an. 1553.

This Nicolas a Shomaker, comming to Paris, with certein ferdels of bokes, was there apprehended. Who ſtoutly perſiſtyng in confeſſing the truth, was tried with ſundry tormentes, to vtter what felowes he had beſides, of his profeſſion, ſo cruelly, that his body was diſſolued almoſt one ioynt from an other: but ſo conſtant hee was in hys ſilence, that he woulde expreſſe none. As they brought hym to the ſtake, firſt they put a gagge or a peece of woode in his mouth, whiche they bound with cordes to the hinder part of his head, ſo hard, that his mouth on both ſides, guſſhed out of bloud, & diſſigured his face monſtrouſly. By the way, they paſſed by an hoſpital, where they willed him to worſhip the picture of S. Mary ſtandyng at the gate. But he turned his backe as well as he could, & would not. For the whiche, the blinde people were ſo greued, that they would haue fallen vpon him. After he was brought to the fire, they ſo ſmered his body with fatte and brimſtone, that at the firſt taking of the fire, all his ſkinne was parched, and the inward partes not touched. With that, the cordes braſt, which were about his mouth, wherby his voyce was heard in the mydeſt of the flame, prayſing of the Lord, and ſo the bleſſed martyr departed. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Willi Neel, Mart

Peter Serre, Martyr.

A womā of Tolouſe.

The Officiall of the Byſhop of Tolouſe.

The Inquiſitor, & Chauncelour of the Byſhop of Cozeran.

Peter Serre.

About Tolouſe.

an. 1553.

Peter Serre firſt was a prieſt, thē chaūging his religion he wēt to Geneua, and learned the ſhomakers craft, and ſo liued. Afterward, vpon a ſingular loue, he came to his brother at Tolouſe, to the intent to do him good. His brother had a wife, whiche was not well pleaſed with his religion and cōmyng. She in ſecret counſaile, told an other womā, one of her neighbours, of this. What doth ſhe, but goeth to the Officiall, and maketh him pryuye of all. The Officiall thinking to for ſlacke no tyme, taking counſaile with his felowes, laid handes vpon this Peter, and brought him before the Inquiſitor. To whom he made ſuch a declaratiō of his faith, that hee ſemed to reduce the Inquiſitor to ſome felyng of conſcience, and began to inſtruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithſtandyng, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the ſaid Chauncelor, to be degraded, and committed to the ſecular iudge. The iudge inquiring of what occupation he was, he ſaid, that of late he was a ſhomaker. Whereby the Iudge vnderſtandyng that he had bene of ſome other facultie before, required, what it was. He ſayd, that he had bene of an other facultie before, but hee was aſhamed to vtter it, or to remember it, beyng the worſt and moſt vileſt ſcience of all other in the whole world beſides. The Iudge and the people ſuppoſing that he had bene ſome thiefe, or cut purſe, inquired to know what it was. But he for ſhame and ſorow, ſtopped his mouth, & would not declare it. At laſt, through their importunate clamour, hee was conſtreyned to declare the truth, and ſayd, that he had bene a Prieſt. The Iudge hereupon was ſo moued, that he condemned him, firſt enioyning hym in his condemnation, to aske the king forgeuenes, then iudged hym to haue his tongue cut of, and ſo to be burned. From this ſentence, he appealed to the Parlament of Tolouſe: not for that he thought therby to ſaue his life, but becauſe he was enioyned to aske the king forgeuenes, whom he had neuer offended. Alſo becauſe he was iudged to haue his tongue cut of, wherewith he would prayſe his God. Notwithſtandyng by the ſentence of that Parlament, he was likewiſe condemned to be burnt: only he was pardoned for asking forgeuenes of the king, and the cuttyng of his tongue, ſo that hee would ſay nothyng agaynſt their religion.

Prieſtcrafte a vyle & a filthye arte.

As he went to burning, he paſſed by the college of S. Martiall, where he was byd to honour the picture of the virgine ſtandyng at the gate. Whiche, becauſe he refuſed, the Iudge commaunded his tongue to be cut of, and ſo beyng put to the fire, he ſtoode ſo quyet, loking vp to heauen all the tyme of his burnyng, as though he had felt nothyng, bryngīng ſuch admiratiō to the people, that one of the Parlamēt ſayd, that way not to be beſt, to bryng the Lutherians to the fire: for that would do more hurt, then good. Ex Ioan. Criſpi.

Conſtancie notable.

Steuen King, Pet. Denoche, Martyrs.

The gouernor of Marches

Steuen Kyng.

Petrus Denocheus.

At Chartres.

An. 1553.

Steuē King, after he had bene at Strausburgh a while, returned agayn into his coūtrey, dwellyng in a town bearing the name of S. George, not far frō Chauffours, where he ſerued in the place of a Notarie, and had vnder him, a Clerke named Peter Denoche, who alſo had bene at Geneua, and was there zelous in inſtructyng the ignoraunt, and rebuking blaſphemous ſwerers, & other offenders. Theſe ij. were not long together, but they were ſuſpected both of Lutheraniſme: and ſo were apprehended by the Gouernour of the Marches, or Marſhall, and ſo were caryed to Chartres: Where after their conſtant confeſſion vppon their examination made, they were encloſed in priſon, and there ſuſteined long and tedious endurance. During the which meane time, Steuen King made many worthy ſonges and ſonets in the prayſe of the Lorde, whereby to recreate his ſpirite in that doulfull captiuitie. At length, when after long perſuaſions & fayre promiſes of the Biſhop and of other, they could not be reuoked frō the doctrine of their confeſſiō, they were condemned. From that condemnation, they appealed to the Court of Paris. But the counſaile there confirmyng their former ſentence, returned them agayne to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruell puniſhment of fire. Ex hiſt. Gallic. per Ioan. Criſpi.

Prieſtes of Burges.

Antoni⁹ Magnus *or* Magnæus.

Antonius Magne, was ſent by the fiue whiche were in priſon at Lyons, aboue mentioned, and by other alſo that were in captiuitie at Paris, vnto Geneua, to commende them to their prayers vnto God, for them. Who after certain buſines there diſpatched, returned agayne into Fraunce, and there within iii. houres of his commyng, was betrayed and taken

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	At Paris. an. 1554.	taken by certaine prieſtes at Burges, and there deliuered by the ſayd prieſtes, vnto the Officiall. After a few dayes, the kings Iuſtices tooke him frō the Officiall, & ſent him to Paris, wher, after great rebukes & tormentes, he ſuffered in the priſon, & firmely perſiſtyng in the profeſsiō of the truth, by their capitall ſentence was adiudged to haue hys tōgue cut out, and ſo was burned at Maulbert place in Paris. Ex Ioan. Criſpi.

William Alencon, Martyr.

A ſherman, Martyr.

False brethren.	William Alencō, *bookeſeller* *A certeyn ſherman.* At Montpelliers. an. 1554.	This Alencon did much good in the prouinces of Fraunce, by caryyng bookes. Commyng to Montpelliers, he was there circūuented by falſe brethren, detected, and layd in priſon. In his faith he was firme and conſtant to the end of his martyrdome, beyng burned the vii. of Ianuary. an. 1554. There was the ſame tyme at Montpelliers, a certain ſherman or clothworker, who had bene long in durance for religion, but at length for feare, and infirmitie, he reuolted. To whom it was inioyned by the iudges, to make publicke recantation, and to bee

preſent alſo at the burning of Alencon aforeſayd. At the beholdyng of whoſe death and conſtancie, it pleaſed God to ſtrike into this man ſuch boldnes, that hee deſired the Iudges, that either he might burne with this Alencon, or els bee brought agayne into priſon, ſaying that hee would make no other recantatiō, but ſo. Wherfore within iii. dayes after, he was likewiſe condemned to the fire and burned, in the towne aforeſayd. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Paris Panier, Martyr.

	Paris Panier *a lawyer.* At Dola. an. 1554.	At Dola was beheaded a good and godly lawyer named Paris Panier, for conſtant ſtandyng to the Goſpell of Chriſt. an. 1554. Ex Pantal.

Peter du Val, Martyr.

	Peter du Val *Shoomaker.* At Niſmes an. 1554.	At Neumaus in Delphinate, Peter du Val ſuſteined ſore and greuous rackings and torments: wherewith his body beyng broken, diſſolued, and maymed, yet hee notwithſtandyng, manfully abydyng all their extremitie, would name and vtter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there conſumed. an. 1554. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Iohn Filieul, Iuliā Leuille, Martyrs.

Gilles le Pers, **Lieutenaunt for the Marſhall of S. Andrew, and Inquiſitor for ẏ Prouince of** Borbon.	Ioannes Filieul *or* Filiolus, *Carpenter*	These two bleſſed and conſtāt martyrs, as they were goyng towarde Geneua, with one of their ſonnes and a daughter, were apprehended by Gilles le Pers, who in the way ouertaking thē, and moſt wickedly and Iudaſly pretēding great fauour to them and to their religion, which hee (as he ſayd) ſuppoſed thē to be of, with theſe and many other fayre wordes circumuented and allured them, to confeſſe what was

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Ioh. Bergeroniꝰ, **an other Inquiſitor or coūſailour.**	Iulianus Leuille, *Pointemaker.* At Sanſerre. an. 1554.	their faith, whether they went with their childrē, & alſo that their wyues were at Geneua. When they had declared this, the wretched traytor gaue a ſigne to his horſemen, and ſo were theſe ſimple Sainctes of Chriſt, entrapped, and brought to the Caſtle of Niuerne. Beyng in priſon, they were examined of many things: whereunto they aunſwered vprightly, accordyng to their faith. Firſt touchyng the Sacramēt, they affirmed the tranſubſtātiatiō of the Biſhop of Rome, to bee agaynſt the Article of the Crede, whiche ſayth, that Chriſt is gone vp to heauen, and there ſitteth at the right hand of God: and therefore the bread

and wyne muſte needes remayne in theyr properties, bearyng notwithſtanding, a Sacrament or a holy ſigne of the bodye and bloude of the Lorde. For like as by bread and wyne the hart of man is comforted: ſo the body of Chriſt crucified, and his bloud ſhed, ſpiritually hath the lyke operation in the ſoules of the beleuers.

For the Maſſe, they ſayd it was a thing moſt ſuperſtitious, and mere Idolatrie. And if we put any part of ſaluation therin, they ſayd it was vtterlye a robbing of the paſsion of Chriſt the ſonne of God, and that it was not once to bee named out of a Chriſten mouth. Alſo that they whiche ſaye that Peter either was pope, or author of the ſayd Maſſe, are farre deceaued. And as for turnyng bread into the body of Chriſt, by the wordes of conſecration, it was an errour (they ſayd) more of madde mē, then any ſad men: for as much as God is neither ſubiect to men, nor to the tongues or exorciſmes of men. Purgatory they denyed to be any, ſaue onely the bloud of Chriſt Ieſu.

Furthermore, as they would not bereft the Sainctes of God of their due honour: ſo neither the Sainctes them ſelues (ſayd they) will be contented to robbe God of hys honour, onely due to hym.

As touchyng cōfeſsion, their opiniō was, that the woūdes and cauſes of conſcience, belong to no man, but only to God.

After theſe aunſweres geuen and written, they were ſent to the Monaſtery of Sāpeter, there to be diſputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the Iudges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goodes to be taken by Inuentory, and them to be baniſhed. But Bergeronius at laſt, cauſed to be determined that they ſhould bee burned, and firſt to heare Maſſe. From that Court, they appealed to the court of Paris: but the matter there was nothing amēded. Where behold the iudgemēt of god: In the meane time, while they were at Paris, the wretched perſecutor Gilles le Pers, was ſodenly ſtrockē madde & dyed in a frenesy: which made many mē to wonder, & eſpecially the martyrs, to be more cōſtāt. At laſt the decree of the ſentence was read agaynſt thē: Firſt for ſpeaking againſt the Sacramēt: which they denyed. Secōdly, for ſpeaking agaynſt Baptiſme: which alſo they denyed. Thirdly, for ſpeaking contumely agaynſt the Saintes: whiche they in like maner denied. After this the officer, to cauſe them to recante, threatned them with torments: whiche they ſuſteined very extreme, the ſpace from after dyner, till iii. of the clocke. When all that would not turne them, he ſent to them a Frier Dominicke, a man captious and ſophiſticall, to preſſe them in diſputation. But as he could do no hurt vnto thē, ſo could they do no good vpon hym. When the time of their execution did approche, the officer aforeſayd, put into theyr handes being tyed, a wodden croſſe, whiche they tooke with their teeth and flonge it awaye: for the whiche the officer commaunded both their tongues to be cut of. Wherin appeared an other meruelous worke of the Lord: For neuertheles that their tongues were takē frō them, to the entent they ſhould not ſpeake: yet God gaue thē vtterance, their tonges being cut out, to ſpeake at their death: ſay

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

ing,we byd ſinne,the fleſh,the world,and the deuill fare well for euer: with whō neuer we ſhall haue to do hereafter. Diuers other wordes they ſpake beſides, whiche the people did heare and note. At laſt,when the tormentor came to ſmere them with brymſtone and gunpouder: Goe to,ſayd Filiolus, ſalt on,ſalt on the rotten and ſtynſting fleſh. Finally, as the flame came burſtyng vp to their faces,they perſiſtyng conſtant in the fire,gaue vp their lyues,and finiſhed their martyrdome. Ex Ioan. Criſp. Ex Henr. Pantal.& alijs.

Denys Vayre, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
William Lāgloys, vnder Shriffe. Ioh. Lāgloys, the kynges Procurator.	Dionyſiꝰ Vayre. At Rhoan. an. 1554.	In the ſame yeare ſuffered at Rhoan,Denis Vayre. Who firſt leauyng his popiſhe prieſthode, went to Geneua, where he learned the arte of booke byndyng, and brought many tymes,bookes into Fraunce. After that,in the reigne of K. Edward vi. he came to Gerzey, and there was miniſter,and preached. After the death of king Edward, the tyme not ſeruyng him to tary, thinking to returne agayne to Geneua, hee came into Normandie with his bokes, into a town called Fueillie: Where as he goyng out to hyre a carte, Williā Lāgloys,with Iohn Langloys his brother,came in,& ſtayd his bokes, & him alſo which had the cuſtodie of thē. Denys,albeit he might haue eſcaped, yet hearyng the keper of his bookes to be in trouble, came and preſentyng him ſelfe, was committed,the other was deliuered. Firſt,after two monethes and a halfe impriſonment, he was charged to bee a ſpye, becauſe hee came out of Englande. Then from that priſon,hee was remoued to the Biſhops priſon,and then to Rhoan: where ſentence was geuen, that he ſhould be burned aliue,& thriſe lifted vp & let down agayn into the fire. After the ſentēce geuē,they threatned him with many terrible tormentes,vnles he would diſcloſe ſuch as hee knew of that ſide. To whom hee aunſwered,that the ſounder part of all Fraunce,and of the Senate, was of that religion: notwithſtanding he would vtter no mans name vnto them. And as for their tormētes,he ſaid,he paſſed not: for if he were killed with racking,thē he ſhould not fele the burnyng of the fire. When they ſaw him ſo litle to paſſe for their tormentes, they left that, and proceded to his burnyng: and firſt they put a Croſſe in his handes,whiche he would not hold. Then becauſe he,cōmyng by the Image of the virgin Mary,would not adore the ſame,they cryed,cut out his tongue: and ſo they caſt him into the fire, where he ſhould bee thriſe taken vp: but the flame went ſo hye, that the hangman beyng not able to come neare him, cried to the people ſtanding by,to helpe: and ſo did the officers with their ſtaues, lay vpō the people, to helpe the tormentors, but neuer a man would ſtyrre. And thys was the end and martyrdome of that bleſſed Denys. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 10.

Mar[illegible] [illegible]ged for [illegible]ng agaynſt the Friers.

☞ There was a riche marchaunt of Paris, who ſayd in ieſte to the Friers of S. Frances: you weare a rope about your bodies,becauſe S. Frances once ſhould haue bene hāged, & the pope redemed him vpō that cōdition,that all his life after,he ſhould weare a rope. Vpō this,the Franciſcan Friers of Paris cauſed him to be apprehended and layd in priſon, and ſo iudgement paſſed vpon him,that he ſhould bee hanged: but he to ſaue his life, was contented to recant, and ſo dyd. The Friers hearyng of his recantation,commended him,ſaying,if he continued ſo,he ſhould be ſaued, and ſo calling vpon the officers,cauſed them to make haſt to the gallowes, to hange him vp,while he was yet in a good way (ſayd they) leaſt hee fall agayne. And ſo was this marchant,notwithſtandyng his recantation,hanged, for ieſtyng agaynſt the Friers. Ex Pantal. lib. 7.

To this marchaūt,may alſo be adioyned the brother of Iamer, who whē he had before profeſſed the truth of the goſpell, and afterward by the counſaile and inſtruction of his brother, was remoued from the ſame,fell in deſperation and ſuch ſorow of mynde, that he hanged him ſelfe. Ex Ioan. Manlio in Dictis Phil. Melanct.

The iudgementes of God.

Thomas Galbergne, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Thomas Galbergne, a couerlet maker. At Tournay. an. 1554.	This Thomas had copyed out certaine ſpirituall ſonges out of a booke in Geneua, whiche he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the ſame to one of his fellowes. Thys booke beyng eſpied, hee was called for of the Iuſtice, and examined of the booke,which he ſayd conteyned nothyng but that was agreing to the Scripture, and that he would ſtād by. Then he was had to the Caſtell,& after xix. dayes, was brought to the towne houſe, and there adiudged to the fire, whereunto hee went cherefully, ſinging Pſalmes. As he was in the flame,the warden of the Friers ſtode crying: Turne Thomas, Thomas, yet it is tyme: remember him that came at the laſt houre. To whom he cryed out of the flame agayn with a loud voyce, and I truſt to be one of that ſort: and ſo callyng vpon the name of the Lorde, gaue vp his ſpirite. Ex Criſp. lib 4.

Nich. Paule, Martyr.

Adde alſo to this,one Nicolas Paul beheaded at Gaunt. These two ſhould haue bene placed among the Dutche Martyrs in the Table before.

Richard Feurus. Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Latrunculator or vnder Marſhall, or examiner of Dolphenie. The Lieutenaunt. His Atturney. Hys Scribe.	Richard Feurus a goldſmith. At Lyons. An. 1554.	Feurus a Goldſmith borne at Rhoan, firſt beyng in England and in London, there receaued the taſt and knowledge of Gods word,as in his own epiſtle he recordeth. Thē he went to Geneua, where he remayned ix. or x. yeres. From thence returning to Lyons, there was apprehended, and condemned. Then he appealed to the hye Court of Paris, through the motion of his frēdes. Where in the way,as he was led to Paris he was mette by certein whom he knew not,and by them taken from his kepers, and ſo ſet at libertie whiche was. an. 1551. After that,continuyng at Geneua,about the ſpace of 3. yeares, he came vpon buſines,to the prouince of Dolphenie, and there as he found fault with the grace ſayd in Latine, hee was detected and taken in his Inne in the night,by the vndermarſhall, or him whiche had the examination of malefactors. The next daye he was ſent to the Iuſtice: from him to the Biſhop. Who riddyng their handes of him,then was he brought to the Lieutenaūt, who ſent his Aduocate, with a Notarie, to him in the priſon,to examine him of his faith. The whole proces of his examinations,with his aduerſaries & the Friers,in his ſtory deſcribed,is long. The principall contentes come to this effect.

The examination of Rich. Feurus.

The Inquiſitor.

Doeſt thou beleue the Churche of Rome?

The Martyr.

No, I do beleue the Catholicke & vniuerſall Church.

Inquiſitor.

What Catholicke Churche is that?

This Inquiſitor was the Aduocate which the Lieutenant ſent with the Notarie.

The Martyr.

The congregation, or communion of Chriſtians.

The church.

Inquiſitor.

What congregation is that, or of whō doth it conſiſt?

The Martyr.

It cōſiſteth in the number of Gods elect, whom God hath choſen to be the members of his ſonne Ieſu Chriſt, of whom alſo he is the head.

Inquiſitor.

Where is this congregation, or how is it knowen?

The Martyr.

It is diſperſed throughe the vniuerſall worlde, in diuers regions, and is knowen by the ſpirituall directiõ, wherwith it is gouerned, yͭ is to ſay, both by the word of God, & by the right inſtitution of Chriſtes Sacramentes.

Inquiſitor.

Do ye thincke the Church that is at Geneua, Lauſanna, Berne, and ſuch other places, to be a more true Churche then the holy Churche of Rome?

The Martyr.

Yea Verely, for theſe haue the notes of the true church.

Inquiſitor.

Difference betwene the church of Rome, & the church of Chriſt.

What difference then make you betwene thoſe Churches, and the Churche of Rome?

The Martyr.

Much, for the churche of Rome is gouerned onely with traditions of men: but thoſe are ruled onely by the word of God.

Inquiſitor.

Where learned you this doctrine firſt?

The Martyr.

In England, at London.

Inquiſitor.

How long haue you bene at Geneua?

The Martyr.

About ix. or x. yeares.

Inquiſitor.

The virgin Mary no aduocate.

Doeſt thou not beleue the virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and aduocate to God for ſinners?

The Martyr.

I beleue as in the worde of God is teſtified, Ieſus Chriſt to bee onely mediatour and aduocate for all ſinners. Albeit the virgine Mary be a bleſſed woman, yet the office of an aduocate belongeth not vnto her.

Inquiſitor.

Whether Sainctes doe praye.

The Saincts that be in Paradiſe, haue they no power to pray for vs?

The Martyr.

No: but I iudge them to be bleſſed, and to be contented with that grace and glory, whiche they haue, that is, that they be counted the members of the ſonne of God.

Inquiſitor.

And what then iudge you of them, whiche folow the religion of the churche of Rome? thinke you them to bee Chriſtians?

The Martyr.

The church of Rome, is not the church of Chriſt.

No, for that churche is not gouerned with the ſpirit of God, but rather fighteth agaynſt the ſame.

Inquiſitor.

Do you then eſteme all them, whiche ſeparate them ſelues from the churche of Rome, to be Chriſtians?

The Martyr.

I haue not to aunſwere for others, but onely for me ſelf. Euery man (ſayth S. Paul) ſhall beare hys owne burden.

Galat. 6.

And thus the Aduocate, when he had aſked him whether he would put his hand to that he had ſayd, and had obteyned the ſame, departed to dyner.

At the next examination, was brought vnto him a Frãciſcane Frier, who firſt entryng with him touchyng the wordes that he ſpake in his Inne, asked him, why that grace might not be ſaid in Latine. Becauſe (ſayd he) by the word of God, Chriſtiãs are cõmaũded to pray with hart & with ſpirite, & with that tongue, which is moſt vnderſtanded, & ſerueth beſt to the edification of the hearers. Then the Frier bringing forth his Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c. Laus Deo, pax viuis, requies defunctis, &c. *began thus to reaſon.*

The Frier.

Praying in a ſtraunge tongue.

God vnderſtandeth all tongues: and the churche of Rome hath preſcribed this forme of praying, receauyng the ſame from the auncient churche & the fathers, whiche vſed then to pray in Latine. And if any tongue be to bee obſerued in prayer, one more thẽ an other: why is it not as good to praye in the Latine tongue, as to praye in the Frenche?

The Martyr.

My meaning is not to exclude any kinde of language from prayer, whether it be the Latine, Greke, Hebrue or any other, ſo that the ſame be vnderſtãded, and may edifie the hearers.

The Frier.

When Chriſt entred the citie of Hieruſalem, the people cryed, laudyng him with Oſanna filio Dauid, and yet vnderſtode they not what they ſayd, as Hierome writeth.

The Martyr.

It may be, that Hierome ſo writeth, how they vnderſtode not the propheticall meanyng, or the accompliſhment of theſe wordes vpõ Chriſtes commyng: but that they vnderſtode not the phraſe of that ſpeache or lãguage which they ſpake, ſpeaking in their own language, Hierome doth not denye.

Then the Frier, declaring that hee was no fitte perſon to expound the Scriptures, beyng ignorant in the Latin tõgue, inferred the authorities of Councels and Doctors, and teſtimonies of men, which ſeemed to moue the Officer, not a litle: who then charging him with many thinges, as with wordes ſpoken in contempt of the virgin Mary, and of the Saintes: alſo with rebellion agaynſt princes and kings, came at laſt to the matter of the Sacrament, and demaunded thus.

Inquiſitor.

Doeſt thou beleue the holy hoſte, whiche the Prieſt doth conſecrate at Maſſe, or no?

The martyr.

I beleue neither the hoſte, nor any ſuch conſecration.

Inquiſitor.

Why? doeſt thou not beleue the holy Sacrament of the aultar, ordeined of Chriſt Ieſus him ſelfe?

The Martyr.

Touchyng the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, I beleue, that when ſoeuer we vſe the ſame, accordyng to the preſcription of S. Paul, we are refreſhed ſpiritually with the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who is the true ſpirituall meate and drinke of our ſoules.

The Frier.

The Frier then inferred the wordes of S. Iohns Goſpell, ſaying: My fleſhe is meate in dede, &c. and ſayd that the Doctours of the churche had decided that matter already, and had approued the Maſſe to be an holy memorie of the death and paſſion of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

The Sacrament of the Supper I beleue to be ordeyned of the Lord for a memoriall of his death, & for a ſtirryng vp of our thankes geuyng to him. In whiche Sacrament we haue nothyng to offer vp to hym, but do receaue with all thankes geuing, the benefites offered of God to vs moſt abundãtly, in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne.

And thus the Aduocate, with the Frier, byddyng the Notary to write the wordes that he had ſpoken, departed. Who after vij. dayes, beyng accompanyed with the ſayd Franciſcane, and other Friers moe of the Dominickes, ſent for the ſayd Richard Feurus agayne to his houſe, and thus began to inquire.

Inquiſitor.

Doeſt thou beleue any Purgatorye?

The Martyr.

I beleue that Chriſt with hys precious bloud, hath made an ende of all Purgatorye and purgation of our ſynnes.

Inquiſitor.

And doeſt thou thinke thẽ there is no place after this life, where ſoules of men departed, remayne ſo long, till they haue made ſatiſfaction for their ſinnes?

The Martyr.

No: but I acknowledge one ſatiſfaction once made for the ſinnes of all men, by the bloud and ſacrifice of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, whiche is the propiciation and purgation for the ſinnes of the whole world.

The Frier.

In the 18. chap. of S. Math, Chriſt ſpeaketh, by way of a parable or ſimilitude, of a certeine cruell ſeruaunt, who becauſe he would not forgeue his felowe ſeruaunt, was caſt in priſon, and ſayth: That he ſhall not come out from thence before hee hath payde the vttermoſt farthyng.

thyng. By the whiche ſimilitude is ſignified vnto vs, a certeine midle place, whiche is left for ſatiſfaction to bee made after this life, for ſinnes.

The Martyr.

atiſfaction for nnes. Math.11. Ioh.10. Iohn.13. Apoc.13. Luke.23.

Firſt, the ſatiſfactiõ of our ſinnes by yͤ death of Chriſt, is playne and euident in the Scriptures: as in theſe places: Come to me all you that labour, and be burdened, and I will refreſh you. Math.11. I am the dore, hee that entreth by me, ſhalbe ſaued. Ioh.10. I am the way, veritie & life. Ioh.13. Bleſſed bee they that dye in the Lorde, for they reſt from their labours. Apocal.13. Alſo to the theife whiche hanged with the Lord, it was ſayd: This day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe, &c. Secondly as touchyng this ſimilitude, it hath no other demonſtratiõ, but to admoniſhe vs of our duety in ſhewyng charitie, and forgeuyng one an other: whiche vnleſſe we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the handes of God.

The Frier.

Limbus.

If this be true that you ſay, then it ſhould folow, that there is neither Purgatory, nor any Limbus, which were agaynſt our Chriſtian fayth, and our Crede, which ſaith: He deſcended into hell, &c.

The Debitie.

Doeſt not thou beleue, there is a Limbus?

The martyr.

Neither do I beleue to be any ſuch place, neither doth the Scripture therof make any mention.

The Frier.

The cram

Where were the olde fathers then, before the death of Chriſt?

The martyr.

In life (I ſay) eternall, whiche they looked for, beyng promiſed before to Adam, Abrahã, and the Patriarkes, in the ſeede to come.

The Debitie.

Then the Debitie, what (ſayth hee) doeſt thou beleue that the Pope hath any power?

The martyr.

Yea verely.

The Debitie.

he power of the pe. Ioh.6.

Doeſt thou beleue that the Pope, as the vicare of Ieſu Chriſt, can here bynd and looſe?

The martyr.

That I do not beleue.

The Debitie.

How then doeſt thou vnderſtãd the power of yͤ pope?

The Martyr.

I vnderſtand the power of the Pope ſo, as S. Paul declared. 2. Theſſ. ſaying: That becauſe the world refuſed to receaue the loue of the truth, vnto ſaluatiõ, therfore God hath geuen to Sathan, and to his Miniſters, power of illuſions and errours, that men ſhould beleue lyes, and ſet vp to them ſelues, Paſtours and teachers, ſuch as they deſerue.

The Frier.

Chriſtes ar in rth.

Chriſt gaue to S. Peter power to bynde and looſe, whoſe ſucceſſour, and vicare of Chriſt is the Pope, for the gouernment of the churche, that it myght haue one head in the world, as it hath in heauen. And though the Paſtors do not lyue accordyng to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therfore to be refuſed, as Chriſt teacheth, Math.23.

Pur rye. Math.23.

The Martyr.

If the Pope and his adherentes would preache the worde purely and ſincerly, admiting no other inuentions of their own, nor obtrudyng lawes of their own diuiſing, I would then embrace their doctrine, how ſoeuer their lyfe were to the contrary: accordyng as chriſt doth tell vs of the ſcribes and pharaſies, admoniſhyng vs to folow their doctrine, and not their liues. Math.23. but there is great difference, whether they that take the gouernaunce of the church, do ſit in Moyſes chayre, which is the ſeate of trueth, or els doo ſit in the chayre of abomination, ſpoken of by Daniell, and alſo by S. Paul, where hee ſayeth: That the man of perdition, ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, vauntyng him ſelf inſolently aboue all that is called God. 2. Theſſ.2.

Math.23. Theſſ.2.

he keyes binding ſing. Math

And as touchyng the keyes of byndyng and looſing, geuẽ to Peter: Chriſt therin aſſigned to Peter, and other Apoſtles, the office of preachyng the worde of the Goſpell, which they did alſo well obſerue, in preaching nothyng els, but onely the worde: in the whiche worde is all the power conteined of byndyng and looſyng. Neither is it to be graunted, the churche to haue two heades, one in heauen, an other in earth. The head wherof is but one, whiche is Ieſus Chriſt, whom the father hath appointed to be head alone, both in heauen & earth: as S. Paul in many places of his Epiſtles doth teache. Ephe.1. Coloſſ.1. &c.

Ephe.1. Coloſſ.1.

The Frier.

You haue no vnderſtandyng, how to expounde the Scriptures. But the old Doctours haue expounded the Scriptures and holy Councels, whoſe iudgementes are to be folowed. But what ſay you to auricular cõfeſſion?

Auricular confeſſion.

The martyr.

I know no other confeſſion, but that whiche is to be made to God, and reconciliatiõ toward our neighbour, whiche Chriſt and his Apoſtles haue commended to vs.

The Frier.

Haue you not read in the Goſpell, howe Chriſt doth byd vs to confeſſe to the Prieſt, where he cõmaunded the leper beyng made whole, to ſhew him ſelfe to the Prieſt?

The martyr.

The true churche of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt neuer obſerued this ſtrãge kynd of confeſſion, to cary our ſinnes to the prieſtes eare. And though the churche of Rome haue intruded this maner of confeſſing, it foloweth not therby, that it is to be receaued. And as touchyng the leper, whom the Lord ſent to the Prieſt, hee was not ſent therfore to whiſper his ſinnes in the Prieſtes eare, but onely for a teſtimonie of his health receaued, accordyng to the law.

Of the other confeſſion, whiche is to be made to God, we haue both the examples and teſtimonies of the Prophet Dauid full in the Pſalmes, 32. 51. 106. where hee ſayth: That he confeſſed his ſinnes vnto the Lord, and receaued forgeuenes of the ſame.

Pſal.32. 51.106.

The Frier.

The church of Rome and of Geneua, compared.

After this, the Frier procedyng further to make compariſon betwene the churche of Rome, and the churche of Geneua, would proue that the Pope hath power to ſet lawes in the churche, without any expreſſe word of God. For ſo it is written (ſayd he) that there were many other thynges beſides, which are not written in thys booke. Ioan.21. Alſo where Chriſt promiſeth to his Diſciples to ſend vnto them the holy Ghoſt, whiche ſhould induce them into all truth. Moreouer ſuch decrees and ordinaũces, whiche are in the Church, were decided (ſayd he) and appoynted by the Doctours of the church, and by all the Councels directed (no doubt) by yͤ holy Ghoſt. Furthermore hee inferred, that the churche alſo of Geneua, had their ordinaunces and conſtitutions made without any word of God. And for example, he brought forth yͤ order of the Pſalmes and ſeruice publickely obſerued and appointed vppon Wedenſday in the churche of Geneua, as though that day were holyer then an other.

The martyr.

To this the Martyr anſwered agayne, declaryng that the ordinaunce of thoſe publicke prayers and Pſalmes vpon Wedenſday, in the church of Geneua, was not to bynd conſcience, or for any ſuperſtitious obſeruation, or for any neceſſitie, which either ſhould bynd conſcience, or could not be altered at their arbitremẽt: but onely for an order, or cõmoditie for publicke reſorte to heare the word of God: accordyng as auncient kynges, and temporall Magiſtrates haue vſed in old tyme to do, in congregatyng the people together, not to put any holynes in the day, or to bind conſcience to any obſeruation (as the pope maketh his lawes) but onely for order ſake, ſeruyng vnto commoditie.

And as touchyng that any thyng ſhould be left for Doctours and Councels to be decided, without the expreſſe worde of God, that is not ſo, for that all thynges be expreſſed and preſcribed by the worde, what ſoeuer is neceſſarie either for gouernment of the church, or for the ſaluation of men, ſo that there is no nede for Doctours of the churche or Councels, to decide any thyng more then is decided already.

Paul ſayth, that he durſt vtter nothyng, but that the Lord had wrought by hym. Rom.15. S. Iohn ſpeakyng of the doctrine of Chriſt Ieſu, willeth vs to receaue no man vnles he bryng with him the ſame doctrine. 2. Ioan. S. Paul warneth the Galatians, not to beleue an Angell from heauen, bringyng an other doctrine then that whiche they had

Rom.15. 2.Iohn.

The church ought to be gouerned only by the voice of the Lordes word.

1.Pet. 5.

already receaued.Gal.1.Chriſt callyng hym ſelfe the Good ſhepeheard, noteth them to bee his ſheepe, whiche heare hys voyce, and not the voyce of others. Ioan. 11. And S. Peter admoniſhyng yͤ Paſtors of yͤ church, for warneth thē, to teach onely the word of God, without any ſekyng of Lordſhip or dominion ouer the flocke. From the whiche moderation, how far the forme of the popes church doth differ, the tyranny which they vſe, doth well declare.

The Frier.

In the old churche, prieſtes & miniſters of the churche were wont to aſſemble together for decidyng of ſuch thinges, as perteined to the gouernement and direction of the churche: where as in Geneua no ſuch thyng is vſed, as I can proue by this your owne Teſtament here in my handes; that you the better may vnderſtād, what was then the true vſe and maner of the churche.

The martyr.

Churches may be inſtituted without the Pope.

What was the true order and maner, that the Apoſtles did inſtitute in yͤ church of Chriſt, I would gladly heare, and alſo would deſire you to conſider the ſame, and whē you haue well conſidered it, yet ſhall you finde the inſtitution and regiment of the churche of Geneua, not to be without the publicke counſaile and aduiſement of the Magiſtrates, elders and Miniſters of that church, with ſuch care & diligence, as Paule & Silas tooke, in orderyng the churche of Theſſalonica, Birrhæa, &c. wherin nothing was done without the authoritie of Gods worde, as appeareth, Actes.17. As likewiſe alſo in ſtabliſhyng the churche of Antioche, when the Apoſtles were together in counſaile for the ſame, there was no other law nor doctrine folowed, but onely the woorde of God, as may appeare by the wordes of the councell: Quid tentatis Deum, iugum imponere. &c. And albeit the Miniſters of the church of Rome, & the Pope were not called to the inſtitution of the foreſayd churche of Geneua: yet it foloweth not therfore, that there was no lawfull order obſerued, either in ſtabliſhyng that churche, or any other.

The Frier.

Baptiſme in the popes church, no neceſſarye cauſe to folow all the popes errours.

You were firſt Baptiſed in the churche of the Pope, were ye not?

The martyr.

I graunt I was, but yet that nothyng hyndereth the grace of God, but hee may renouate, and call to further knowledge whom he pleaſeth.

A Counſailor.

I would wiſhe you not to ſticke to your owne wiſedome & opinion. Ye ſee the churches in Germanie, how they diſſent one from an other. So that if you ſhould not ſubmit your iudgemēt, to the authoritie of generall Coūcels, euery day you ſhould haue a new Chriſtianitie.

The Martyr.

Agreement in the principall poyntes of doctrine in the churches reformed.

To myne owne wiſedome I do not ſticke, nor euer will: but onely to that wiſedome, whiche is in Chriſt Ieſu, although the worlde doth accompt it fooliſhnes. And where ye ſay, that the churches of Germanie diſſent among them ſelues one from an other: that is not ſo, for they accorde in one agreement altogether, touchyng the foundation and principall groundes of Chriſtian fayth. Neither is there any ſuch feare, that euery day ſhould riſe vp a new Chriſtianitie, vnleſſe the church be ballanced with authoritie of the councels, as you pretende. For ſo we read in the Prophet Dauid Pſal. 33. and in other places of ſcripture moe: That the coūſailes of the nations & people, ſhall bee ouerthrowne, and ſubuerted of the Lord. &c. Wherefore the beſt is, that we folow the counſaile of God and his word, and preferre the authoritie therof, before all other counſailes and iudgementes of men. And thus doyng I for my part, had rather dwell and ſetle me ſelfe in this litle Chriſtianitie, be it neuer ſo ſmall, then in that populous Papalitie, bee it neuer ſo great in multitude.

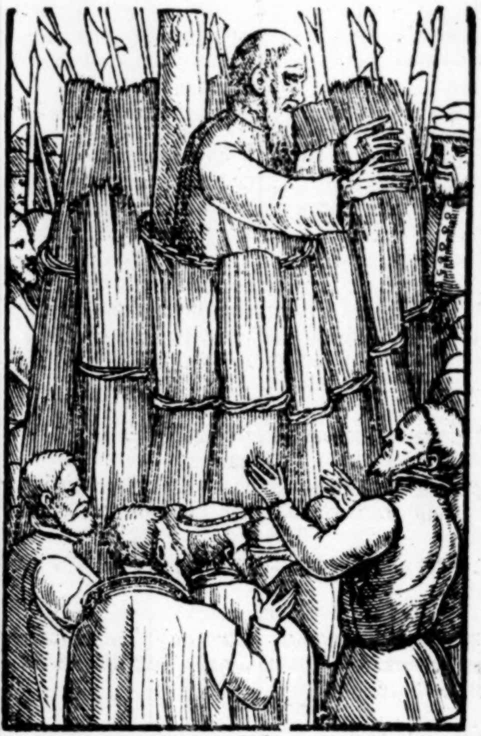
Pſal 33.

Paruus Chriſtianiſmus potior populoſo Papatu.

And thus was this godly Feurius commaunded agayne by the Deputie, to the Biſhops priſon, and from thence ſhortly after, remoued to Lyons, not by the open and beaten way, but by ſecrete and priuye iourneys, leſt perhappes he ſhould be taken from them agayne, as he was before.

Tignacius, D. Fumoſus, Sorboniſtes.

After he was come to Lyons, hee was brought before Tignacius *the iudge, and a Doctour of Sorbone called* Fumoſus, *who queſtioned with him touching ſundry articles of religion. But in concluſion, when they neither with argumentes could conuict him, nor with promiſes allure him, nor with threatning terrours ſtirre him, either to betray the truth whiche hee knew, or to bewray them whom hee knew not, whiche tooke him away before from his kepers: they proceded at laſt to the ſentence, condemnyng him firſt to haue*



his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All whiche he receaued willingly and quietly for rightuouſnes ſake, thus finiſhyng his martyrdome. Iul.vij.*an.*1554.Ex Criſp. Pantal.& alijs.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
An Inquiſitour Monke.	Nicolas du Cheſne. At Gry by Bezanſon. an.1554.	*The cauſe and occaſion, why this Nicolas came in trouble, was for that he goyng from Lauſanna (where he abode for his cōſcience) to fet his ſiſter and her husband, and certeine other of his frendes, as he went from Bezāſon, toward the towne of Gry, did not homage to a certaine Croſſe in the way: where a certeine monke, which was an Inquiſitor, ouertoke him, & therby ſuſpected him. He was guyded by the ſame monke, craftely diſſemblyng his religion, to a lodging in Gry: where the Iuſtice of the place comming in, incontinent tooke him. Nicolas ſeyng howe hee was by the monke his conductor, betrayed: O falſe traytor (ſayd he) haſt thou thus betrayed me? Then after examination, he was condemned. Beyng caryed to the place of martyrdome, by the way he was promiſſed, that if he would knele down and heare a maſſe, he ſhould bee let go as a paſſenger. But Nicolas armed with perſeueraunce, ſayd, hee would rather dye then committe ſuch an acte: Who callyng vppon the name of the Lorde, tooke his death paciently.* Ex Criſp.lib.6.

Iohn Bertrand, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Seniours or Lordes of Eſternay and of Ciguógnes, dwellyng by the towne of Machenoir. Denys Barbes, Counſailer of Bloys.	Iohn Bertrãd, *a foſter or keper of the foreſt of Marchenoir.* At Bloys. An. 1556.	*For the religion and Goſpell of Chriſt, this Iohn was apprehẽded by theſe perſecuters here ſpecified, & led bound to Bloys: where he was examined by Denys the counſailer, of diuers pointes, as whether hee had ſpoken at any tyme, agaynſt God, agaynſt the Churche, and the hee Saintes, and ſhee Saintes of Paradiſe. Wherunto he ſaid, no. Item, whether at any tyme, hee had called the Maſſe abhominable. Which he graunted, for that he findyng no Maſſe in all the Scripture, was commaunded by S. Paul,* That if an Angell from heauẽ would bryng any other Goſpell beſide that whiche was already receaued, hee ſhould accopte it accurſed. *After his condemnation, they would haue him to be confeſſed, and preſented to him a croſſe to kiſſe. But he bad the friers with their Croſſe departe: that is not the Croſſe (ſayd he) that I muſt cary. Entring into the carte, before the multitude hee gaue thankes to God, that hee was not there for murther, theft, or blaſphemye, but onely for the quarell of our Sauiour. Being tied to the poſt, he ſange the xxv. Pſal. Of age he was young, his countenance was excedyng cherefull and amiable, his eyes loking vp to heauen. O the happy iourney, ſayd he (ſeyng the place where hee ſhould ſuffer) & the faire place that is prepared for me. Whẽ the fire was kindled about him, O Lord, cryed he, geue thy hand to thy ſeruaunt: I recõmende my ſoule vnto thee, and ſo mekely yelded vp his ſpirite. Whoſe pacient and ioyfull conſtancie ſo aſtonyed the people, that of long time before, nothyng did ſeme to thẽ ſo admirable.* Ex Gallic. hiſt. per Criſp. li. 6.

Peter Rouſſean, Martyr.

Crueltie.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A brother in law of this Peter.	Peter Rouſſeau. An. 1556.	*Peter Rouſſeau commyng from Geneua and Lauſanna, to his countrey, partly to communicate with certein of his acquaintaunce in the word of God, partly for other certeine affaires, becauſe hee required his inheritaunce of his brother in law, was by him betrayed. Then beyng cõſtant in his confeſſion, whiche he offered vp, hee was put to the racke iij. tymes, whiche he ſuffered conſtantly with great tormentes. Afterward he had his tongue cut of, and a balle of yron put in his mouth. He was drawen vpon a hurdle, all broken and maymed, to the fire, where he was lifted vp into the ayre, and let down three tymes: And when he was halfe burned, the balle fell from his mouth, and he with a loude voyce called on the name of God ſaying, Ieſus Chriſt aſſiſte me. And ſo this bleſſed Martyr gaue vp his life to God.* Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Arnauld Moniere, Iohn de Cazes, Martyrs.

Trumpets brought in to ſtoppe the hearing of Gods Sainctes.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Antony de Leſcure, the kynges Atturney	Arnauld Moniere Iohn de Cazes. At Bordeaux. An. 1556.	*After that Arnauld Moniere was taken and examined of the Iuſtice, and ſo was layd in priſon, Iohn de Cazes reſortyng to the ſame towne of Burdeaux, and hearyng of him, and beyng admoniſhed moreouer, that if he went to him, he ſhould be appeached of hereſie, notwithſtanding went to comfort him, and ſo was alſo impriſoned. After many examinations, ſentence was geuen vpon them to be burned. When the tyme came of their martyrdom, they were drawen through the durt vppon an hurdle, to the place, accompanied with a number of bylles, and glaues, and gunners, and trumpeters. Moreouer, albeit there was no ſuch cauſe (they beyng ij. ſimple poore men) yet the Magiſtrates commaunded (vpon what occaſion I know not) all the gates of the Citie to be ſhutte, and garded with kepers. Whẽ the bleſſed martyrs were brought and bound to the poſt, whiche was before the Palace, they much reioyſing that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt, made confeſſion of their faith, and many earneſt exhortations vnto the people. But to ſtoppe the hearing of theſe Saintes, the trumpettes were commaũded to ſound, which duryng all the time of their ſuffering, neuer ceaſed. The hangman preparing him ſelf firſt to ſtrangle Cazes, chaunced to fall downe from the toppe of the poſt, to the pauement, and brake his head in ſuch ſort, as the bloud folowed in great quantitie. Notwithſtandyng he recouering him ſelf, went to Monier, and him he ſtrangled, who paciently rendred vp his life. Cazes which was the ſtronger of thẽ both, being ſet on fire before the hangman came, ſuffred the extremitie of the fire with great paynes, but greater pacience: for as his legges were almoſt halfe burnt, yet he endured, crying: My God, my father, and ſo gaue vp his life.*

Feare ſent amongſt Gods enemyes.

And Further, to note the worke of God that folowed, whẽ theſe ij. milde, and martyred Saintes were almoſt conſumed in the fire to aſhes, ſodenly, without matter or cauſe, ſuch a feare fell vpon thẽ, at the executiõ, that the Iuſtices and the people, notwithſtãding that they had the gates locked to thẽ, and were defenſed with all maner of weapons about thẽ, not knowyng wherfore, tooke them to their legges, in ſuch haſt flying away, that one ranne ouer an other. The prior of S. Anthonies fell down, ſo that a great number went ouer hym. The Iudge Pontacke on his mule, with his read robe, flying as the other did, was ouerthrowen with the preſe in the ſtreete called Poeteuine, in ſuch ſort, that he was fayne to be caried to Pichons houſe a widowe, and there cryed within, hide me, ſaue my life, I am dead: I ſee euen the like matter, as at the laſt commotion. My frendes, hyde my mule, that no man ſee her, nor know her. Briefly ſuch was the feare whiche came vpon them, that euery man ſhut vp their houſes. After the feare was paſt, euery man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the enemyes of Gods truth perceaue, who was he, that ſo put them to flight and feare, without any ſemblaunce of any aduerſary about them. This ſtory is teſtified and to bee found both in the volume of the French martyrs printed by Iohn Criſpine. lib. *6. and alſo in the booke of* Dutche *martyrs written by* Adrianus.

Impius fugit et nemo perſequitur.

Bartlemewe Hector, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A Gentle mã called Perriere. M. Bartlemew Eme, Preſidẽt. M. Auguſtine de Egliſe, Counſailer.	Bartlemewe Hector. At Thurin An. 1556.	*Firſt this Hector was a trauailer about the countrey, and a ſeller of bokes, hauyng his wife and childrẽ at Geneua. As he came into the vale of Angroigne in Piedmont, to get his liuyng with ſellyng of bookes, he was takẽ by a certein gentlemã, and there arreſted and ſent to Thurin: then examined, at laſt condemned. Beyng condemned, he was threatened, that if hee ſpake any thyng to the people, his tongue ſhould be cut of. Nerthelas, hee ceaſed nothyng, to ſpeake. After his prayers made, wherein he prayed for the Iudges, that God would forgeue thẽ*

Philip Cene, James **hys fellow, Martyrs.**

Archambant, M.Nic. Ruſſeau, **Martyrs.**

Philbert Hamelin, **Martyr.**

Perſecuters.	**Martyrs.**	**The Cauſes.**
		and open their eyes, hee was offered his pardon at the ſtake, if he would conuerte, whiche he refuſed. Then hee prepared him ſelfe to his death, whiche he tooke paciently. VVherat many of the people weapt, ſaying why doth this man dye, whiche ſpeaketh of nothyng but of God? Ex Hiſt.Gal.per. Criſp.lib.6.
The accuſers appeare not in the ſtorye.	Philippe Cene. James *his felowe.* At Dyion. An.1557.	*This Philip Cene was an Apoticarie at Geneua. He was taken at Dyion, and there impriſoned, and in the ſame towne of Dyion, he with one Iames his cōpanion, was burned. As this Philippe went to his death ſinging Pſalmes, the Frier ſtandyng by, ſtopped his mouth with his hande. The moſt part of the people wept bytterly, ſaying: be of good courage brethren, be not afrayde of this death. VVhich, when one of the aduerſary part heard, hee ſayd to one of the Magiſtrates, do you not ſee howe almoſt halfe part of the people is of their ſide, and doth cōfort them?* Ex Ioā. Criſp.lib.6.
	Archambant Seraphon. M. Nicolas du Rouſſeau. At Dyion. An. 1557.	*These ij. were in priſon together with Philippe, and Iames aboue ſayd, at Dyion. Archambant goyng about with a packet of pedlery ware to get his liuing, and commyng toward his wife, heard of certeine priſoners at Dyion, to whom he wrote to cōforte them with his letters. The next day after he was ſearched at Auſſone, and letters of certein ſcholers of Paris founde about him: then was hee brought to Dyion, where he with the other, called M. du Rouſſeau conſtantly ſuffered.* *The ſame Archambant had bene alſo condēned iij. yeares, before at Tule, & as he was led to Bordeaux, he eſcaped.* Ex eiꝰ epiſt.ad vxorē, apud Criſ.li.6
The kynges Atturney of Sainctes Ville.	Philbert Hamelin At Bordeaux. An.1557.	*Philbert Hamelin firſt was a prieſt: thē he went to Geneua, where he exerciſed printing, and ſent bookes abroade. After that, he was made miniſter at the towne of Allenart in Saintonge: In which and in other places moe, hee did much good in edifying the people. At laſt he was apprehended at Saintes Ville, and with him his hoſte a Prieſt, whom he had inſtructed in the Goſpell, and after confeſſion made of his faith, he with the ſayd Prieſt was caryed to Bordeaux before the preſident. As he was in priſon on a ſonday, a Prieſt came in with all his furniture to ſay Maſſe in the priſon. VVhom Philbert ſeyng to be reueſted, came and plucke his garmentes from his backe, with ſuch zeale and vehemencie, that the Maſſe garments,*

Perſecuters.	**Martyrs.**	**The Cauſes.**
		with the chalice and candleſtickes fell downe and were broken, ſaying: is it not enough for you to blaſpheme God in Churches, but you muſt alſo pollute the priſons with your Idolatrie? The Iaylour hearyng of this, in his furye layde vpon him with his ſtaffe, and alſo complained of him: wherby he was remoued to the common priſon, and layd in a lowe pitte, laden with great yrons, ſo that his legges were ſwollen withall, and there cōtinued viij. dayes. A litle before, he perceauing the Prieſt his hoſt, to decline frō the truth, did what he could to cōfirme hym in the ſame: but whē he knew, that he had flatly ronounced Chriſt and his worde, he ſayd vnto him, O vnhappye and more then miſerable, is it poſſible for you to be ſo fooliſhe, as for ſauyng a few dayes, whiche you haue to lyue by the courſe of nature, ſo to ſtart away and to denye the truth? Knowe you therefore, that although you haue, by your fooliſhnes, auoyded the corporall fire, yet your life ſhall be neuer the longer, for you ſhall dye before me, and God ſhall not geue you the grace, that it ſhall bee for hys cauſe, and you ſhall be an example to all Apoſtates. He had no ſooner ended his talke, but the Prieſt goyng out of priſon, was ſlayne by ij. gentlemen, which had a quarell to him. VVherof when M. Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no ſuch thing before, but ſpake as pleaſed God to guyde his tongue. VVherupon immediatly he made an exhortation of the prouidence of God, whiche by the occaſion hereof, moued the hartes of many, and cōuerted them vnto God. *At laſt, the foreſayd Philbert, after his condemnatiō, was had to the place of his Martyrdome before the Palace, and as he was exhortyng the people: to the entēt his wordes ſhould not be heard, the trumpettes blew without ceaſing. And ſo beyng faſtened to the poſt, this holy martyr praying and exhorting the people, was ſtrangled, and his body with fire conſumed, on Palmeſonday euen. Ex* Gal.hiſt.Criſp.lib.6.
Ripet a **Secretarye.** Antony Eſchaux **Baily.** **The kynges Procurator.**	Nicolaꝰ Sartoriꝰ. At Oſt by Piedmont An.1557.	*Nicolaus Sartorius, of the age of xxvi. yeares, borne in Piedmont, came to the partes of Chābery in the Lēt, where a certain Wardē of the friers in the towne of Oſte had preached on good Friday, vpon the Paſſion. The report of whiche Sermon beyng recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him, Sartorius reprehended the errour and blaſphemies therof, which were agaynſt the holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the partie that told him, went to a Secretarye named Ripet, who couertlye came to entrappe Nicolas, demaundyng hym of the Friers Sermon: And did not our preacher (ſaid he) preach well? No, ſayd Nicolas, but he lyed falſely. Ripet entryng further with him, demaūded: And do not you beleue the body of the Lord to be in the hoſte? To whō Nicolas thē aunſwered againe, that to be againſt our Crede, whiche ſayth,* that he aſcended vp and ſitteth. &c. *Incontinent Ripet went to the Frier and his companions, to cauſe him to be apprehended. The frendes of Nicolas perceauing the daūger, willed him to auoyde and ſaue him ſelfe, and alſo accompanied him out of the towne, about the ſpace of 3. leagues. Then was great purſute made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the towne of S. Remi, at the foote of the moūtain of great S. Bernard, where he was examined before Antony Eſchaux Baily of the towne, and other Iuſtices, before whō he aunſwered with great boldnes, for his faith. Thē they brought him to the racke, & whē the Sergeaūt refuſed to draw the cord, the Baily him ſelf & the Receauer, with a Canō, did racke him with their own hāds.*

Not-

Perſecuters.	**Martyrs.**	**The Cauſes.**
		Notwithſtandyng that the Lordes of Berne wrote for him to the towne of Oſte, requiring to haue their owne ſubiect deliuered vnto them, they haſtened the execution, and pronoũced ſentence, that he ſhould bee burned. VVhiche ſentence hee receaued with ſuch conſtancie, that neither the kinges receauer, nor all the other enemyes could diuerte him from the truth of the Goſpell, whiche hee manfully mainteined while any ſpirite remained in his body. Ex Ioan. Criſpi. lib. 6.
The accuſers be not named in the ſtory.	George Tardif, *with one of* Tours, *a Broderer.* Nicolas, *a Shomaker of* Ienuile. At Tours. An. 1558. At Ienuile An. 1558.	*The Printer of the ſtory of the Frẽch martyrs, named Criſpine, amõg other moe, maketh alſo memoriall of George Tardiſe, a Broderer of Tours, and Nicolas of Ienuile, declaryng that all theſe iij. together were in priſon, and afterward were diſſeuered, to ſuffer in ſondry places, one frõ the other: of whom firſt George Tardiſe was executed at Sens.* *The Broderer of Tours, as he was commyng with v. or vi. other out of a woode, beyng at prayer, was taken, and therupon examined. Before hee ſhould be examined, he deſired the Iudges, that he might praye. Whiche beyng graunted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the Iudges, for the king, and all eſtates, and for the neceſsitie of all Chriſtes Saintes, he aunſwered for him ſelf, with ſuch grace and modeſty, that the hartes of many were broken, vnto the ſheding of teares, ſeeking (as it ſeemed) nothing els, but his deliueraũce. Notwithſtãdyng, he at laſt was ſent vnto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdome.* *The third, which was Nicolas, beyng but yong of yeares, and newly come from Geneua, to his coũtrey, for certeine money: by meanes of a Lady there dwelling, was cauſed to be apprehended. When he was condemned, and ſet in the carte, his father comming with a ſtaffe, would haue betten him, but the officers not ſuffering it, would haue ſtroocken the old mã. The ſonne crying to the officers, deſired them to let his father alone, ſaying, that his father had power ouer him, to do with him what he would: and ſo going to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, hauing a balle of yron put in his mouth, he was brought at length, to the fire, in the towne of Ienuile, where he paciently tooke his death and martyrdome. an.* 1558. Ex Typogra. Criſp. lib. 6.
The Prieſtes of the colledge of Pleſsis. **The Doctors of** Sorbone **Doctour** Demochares. Cenalis **byſhop of** Auranches. Martine **the kings Atturney.** **The Cardinall of** Lorrane. Maillardus. Henry 2. **French kyng.**	*The congregation of* Paris *perſecuted to the number of thre or foure hũdreth.* At Paris. An. 1558.	AN. 1558. *Septemb. 4. a cõpanie of the faithfull, to the nũber of 3. or 4. hundreth, were together conuented at Paris, in a certeine houſe, hauyng before it, the Colledge of Pleſsis, in the ſtreate of S. Iames, and behinde it, the Colledge of Sorbone. Who there aſſembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lordes Supper: but incontinẽt that was diſcouered, by certaine Prieſtes of Pleſsis: Who gathering together ſuch as were of their factiõ, came to beſet the houſe, & made an outcry that the watch might come and take them, ſo that in ſhort tyme, almoſt all the citie of Paris was vp in armour, thinking ſome conſpiracie to haue ben in the Citie. Who then folowyng the noyſe, and perceauyng that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiouſlye ſeeking to haue their bloud, and therfore ſtopped the ſtreetes & lanes with cartes, and made fiers to ſee that none ſhould eſcape. The faithfull, albeit God had geuen them leyſure to finiſhe their adminiſtration and prayers, with ſuch quietnes, as they neuer had better, ſeyng the ſodennes of the thing, were ſtroockẽ in great feare. Who thẽ beyng exhorted by the gouernours of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counſaile of ſome, which knew the cowerdly hartes of the multitude, this order was taken, that the mẽ whiche had weapõ, ſhould aduenture through the preſe: onely the wemen and children remained in the houſe, and a few men with them, whiche were leſſe bold then the other, to the nũber of vi. or vij. ſcore. Where appeared the admirable power of God in thẽ that went out with weapon, which notwithſtãdyng that the lanes & paſſages were ſtopped, & the fires made, did all eſcape ſaue onely one, who was beaten downe with ſtones and ſo deſtroyed. Certaine that remained in the houſe, with the wemẽ, afterward leaped into gardens, where they were ſtayed, till the Magiſtrates came. The wemen (whiche were all gentlewemen, or of great wealth, onely vi. vij. excepted) ſeyng no other hope, and perceauyng the fury of the people, went vp to the wyndowes, crying * mercy, and ſhewyng their innocent intent, required Iuſtice ordinarie. Thus as they were encloſed about vi. or vij. houres, at laſt came Martin the kings Atturney, with force of Cõmiſſaries and Sergeantes. Who with much a do, appeaſing the outrage of the people, entred into the houſe, where he vewing the wemẽ and children, and the other furniture there beyng prepared for that congregatiõ, perceaued teſtimonies ſufficient of their innocencie, in ſomuch, that in conſideryng therof, for pitie of hart, his eyes could not refrayne from teares. Notwithſtanding, proceding in his office, he had thẽ all to priſon within the litle Caſtle. I omitte here the furious vſage of the people by the way, how deſpitefully they plucked and haled the wemẽ, tare their garmentes, thruſte of their hoodes from their heades, and diſſigured their faces with duſt and durt. Neither were they better entreated in the priſon, then they were in the ſtreetes: for all the vilanes & theues there, were let out of their holes and ſtinking caues, and the poore Chriſtians placed in their rowmes.* *Beſides theſe manifolde iniuries and oppreſsions done to theſe poore innocentes, folowed then (whiche was worſt of all) the cruell and ſclaunderous report of the Friers and Prieſtes, who in their rayling Sermons, and other talke, cryed out of the Lutherans, perſuading the people moſt falſely, that they aſſembled together, to make a bancket in the night, and there puttyng out the candles, they went together, Iacke with Iylle (as they ſayd) after a filthy and beaſtly maner: Addyng moreouer (to make the lye more likely) that certaine Nunnes alſo and Monkes were with them. Alſo that they ſhould conſpire agaynſt the king, and other like heynous crimes, what ſeuer their malice could inuent, for defacyng of the Goſpell. With ſuch like malicious miſreportes & ſclaũders, Sathan went about to extinguiſh the auncient Church of Chriſt in the primitiue tyme: accuſing the innocent Chriſtians then of inceſte, conſpiracie, killing of infantes, puttyng out of candles, and filthye whoredome. &c.* vid. ſup. pag. 64. *Theſe ſiniſter rumors and curſed diffamations were no ſooner geuẽ out, but they were as ſoone receaued, and ſpread farre, not onely to thẽ of the vulgare ſort, but alſo among the Eſtates of the Court, & euẽ to the kings eares. The Cardinall of Lorraine the ſame time bare a great ſway in the Court: who then procured a certain Iudge of the Caſtle, to come in, declaryng to the king, that he found there*

George Tardif, Martyr.

A Broderer of Tours, Martyr.

Nicolas of Ienuile, Martyr.

errible ſecutiõ Paris ainſt the ngregation.

The furie of thys world agaynſt the poore Chriſtians.

One of the Congregation beaten down in the ſtreetes, & Martyred.

*** Mercy here importeth no offence acknowleged, but to be ſaued from the rage of the people.**

A falſe & malicious ſclaunder raiſed agaynſt the Congregation.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 64.

lying in the flore of the foreſayd houſe, diuers coutches & pallettes, vpon which they entended to cōmit their whoredome: alſo much other furniture and preparation appoynted for a ſumptuous feaſt or banket: wherewith the king was mightly inflamed agaynſt them, neither was their any one perſon that durſt contrary it.

Here the enemies began hyghly to triumphe, thinking verely, that the Goſpell, with all the frendes therof, were ouerthrowne for euer. On the other ſide, no leſſe perplexitie and lamentation was among the brethren, ſorowyng not ſo much for them ſelues, as for the impriſonment of their felowes. Albeit they loſt not their courage ſo altogether, but as well as they could, they exhorted one an other, conſidering the great fauour & prouidence of God, in deliuering them ſo wonderfully out of the daunger. Some comfort they tooke vnto them, conſultyng together in this order, that firſt they ſhould humble them ſelues to God in their owne priuate families. Secondly, to ſtoppe the running brutes of their holy aſſembles, they ſhould write Apologies, one to the king, an other to the people. Thirdly that letters of conſolation ſhould be written and ſent to their brethren in priſon.

The Apologie of the Congregation agaynſt falſe reportes.

The firſt Apologie was written to the king, and conueyd ſo ſecretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the king and of all his nobles. Wherin the Chriſtians learnedly and diſcretly, both cleared them ſelues of thoſe reportes, and ſhewed the malice of their enemies, eſpecially of Satā, which euer from the beginning of the Churh, hath and ſtill doth go about, to ouerturne the right wayes of the Lord, declaryng further by manifold examples and continuall experience, euē from the primitiue time, how the nature of the Churche hath euer bene, to ſuffer vexations and ſclanderous reportes and infamatiō, by the malignant aduerſaries. &c. And laſtly cōming to the king, they craued that their cauſe might not be condemned before it had indifferēt hearyng. &c. Neuertheles this Apologie to the king, ſerued to litle purpoſe, forſomuch as the aduerſaries incontinent denyed all that was written to the king, making him to beleue that all were but excuſes pretenſed, neither was there any perſon, that durſt replye agayne.

The true church of Chriſt euer from the beginning, oppreſſed with ſclaunderous tongues.

But the other Apologie to the people, did ineſtimable good, in ſatiſfying the rumours, and defending the true cauſe of the Goſpell. Wherupon certaine Doctours of Sorbon began to write both againſt the Apologie, & the perſons. Of whom one was called Demochares, who taking for his foundatiō without any proufe, that they were all heretickes, cryed out for iuſtice, with bylles, glaues, fire, and ſword.

***Doctor Demochares* perſecutour.**

An other Sorboniſte more bloudye then the firſt, not onely exclamed againſt them, for putting out the candles in their deteſtable concourſes and aſſembles, but alſo accuſed them, as men whiche maintained, that there was no God, and denied the diuinitie and humanitie of Chriſt, the Immortalitie of the ſoule, the reſurrection of fleſhe, and briefly, all the Articles of true religion. And thus he charged thē without any proufe, mouyng both the king and people, without any forme of law, to deſtroy and cut them in pieces. &c.

Lying lippes.

***Cenalis Byſhop of Auranches* perſecutour.**

Note well the true notes of the popeholy church.

The third that wrote agaynſt him, was Cenalis, Biſhop of Auranches, whiche debated the ſame matter, but with leſſe vehemencie then the other, defendyng impudently, that their aſſembles were to maintayne whoredome, cōplaynyng of the Iudges, becauſe they were not ſharper with them, ſaying that their ſoftenes was the cauſe, why the number of thē ſo much encreaſed. Among other pointes of his boke, this one thing he diſputeth marueilous pleaſātly, touching the ſignes and markes of the true Churche: firſt preſuppoſing this one thyng which is true, that the true Church hath his ſignes, by the which it may be knowē frō the falſe Church: and therupon (making no mentiō at all, either of preaching, or miniſtratiō of Sacramēts) thus he inferreth, that their church, which was the Catholicke Churche, had belles, by the whiche their aſſembles bee ordinarilye called together: and the other Church, which is of the Lutherans, hath clappes of harquebouſes and piſtelettes, for ſignes wherby they (as it is cōmonly bruted) are wont to congregate together. Vpon this ſuppoſall, as vpō a ſure foundation, he groundyng his matter, vaūted, & triumphed, as one hauyng gottē a great conqueſt, and made a long Antitheſis or compariſon, by the whiche he would proue that belles were the markes of the true Church. The belles (ſayd he) do ſounde, the harquebouſes do cracke or thunder. The belles do geue a ſwete tune and melodious, the ſignes of the Lutherans make a foule noyſe and terrible. The belles do open heauen, the other do open hell. Belles chaſe away the cloudes and thunder, the other do gender cloudes, and counterfete thunder: with many other properties moe, whiche he brought out, to proue that the Churche of Rome is the true Church, becauſe it hath thoſe belles. Marke, good reader, the profound reaſons and argumentes, whiche theſe great Doctours had, either to defende their owne Churche, or to impugne the Apologies of the Chriſtians.

Briefly, to finiſhe the reſidue of thiſs ſtory: as the faithfull Chriſtians were thus occupied in writyng their Apologies, and in comfortyng their brethren in priſon with their letters, the aduerſaries againe with their faction, were not idle, but ſought all meanes poſſible, to haſten forward the execution, geuing diligent attendaunce about the priſon and other open places, to ſatiſfie their vncharitable deſire, with the death of them, whoſe religion they hated.

Finally, the xvij. day of September, commiſſion was directed out by the king, and certeine Preſidentes and counſaillers appointed to ouerſee the expedition of the matter. Wher vpon diuers of the poore afflicted Goſpellers were brought forth to their iudgement and martyrdome, as a none (Chriſt willyng) you ſhall heare.

Henricus Pantal. lib. xi. *partly touchyng this perſecutiō of the Pariſians, referreth the tyme therof to the yeare of our Sauiour. 1557. Whiche the Frenche Chronicles do aſſigne to the yeare. 1558. and addeth moreouer, that the Germaines beyng, the ſame tyme, in a certeine Colloquie at VVormes, diuers learned men reſorted thether from Geneua, and other quarters, deſiryng of the princes and proteſtantes there, that they by their Ambaſſadours ſent to the Frenche king, would become ſuters vnto him for the innocent priſoners, which for the cauſe aboue ſayd, were deteined in bādes at Paris: by the meanes of whoſe interceſſion (ſayth he) and eſpecially for that the French king was then in warre (as God prouided) with Philippe king of Spayne, a great parte of the captiues were reſcued, and deliuered: albeit certeine of the ſayd nūber, were executed before the cōmyng of the Germaine Ambaſſadours: the names and martyrdome of whom here vnder do enſue.* Ex Criſp. et Pantal. lib. xi.

Prieſtes of the colledge of Pleſsis. **Doctour** Maillard, **Sorboniſt.**	Nicolas Clinet. At Paris. an. 1558.	*Of this godly company thus brought to iudgement and to Martyrdome, the firſt was Nicolas Clinet, of the age of lx. yeares, who firſt beyng a ſcholemaſter to youth at Saintonge (where he was borne) was there purſued, and had his Image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where for his godly conuerſation, he was made one of the Elders, or gouernors of the church. For his age he was ſuſpected of the Iudges to be a miniſter, and therefore was ſet to diſpute againſt the chiefeſt of the Sorboniſtes, & namely Maillard, whō he did ſo cōfute both in the Scriptures, and alſo in their owne Sorbonical diuinitie (wherin he had bene well exerciſed & expert) in the preſence of the Lieutenaunt ciuile, that the ſayd Lieutenaunt confeſſed, that hee neuer heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.*

Taurin Grauelle, Martyr.

Persecuters.	Martyrs.	The Causes.
Doctour Maillard **Sorbo-niste.**	Taurin Grauelle *a Lawyer.* At Paris. an. 1558.	*Taurin Grauelle firſt was a ſtudent of the law at Torlouſe: after that he was made an aduocate in the Court of Paris: laſtly for his godlynes, he was ordeined an Elder to the ſayd cōgregation, with Clinet aboue mentioned. This Taurin hauing in his hands the keping of a certeine houſe of one M. Barthomier his kinſman, and ſeyng the congregation deſtitute of a rowme, receaued them into the ſayd houſe. And when he perceaued the houſe to be cōpaſſed with enemyes, albeit he might haue eſcaped with the reſt: yet he would not, but did abyde the aduenture, to the intent he would aunſwere for the fact, in receauyng the ſayd aſſemble into the houſe. The conſtancie of this man was inuincible in ſuſteining his conflictes with the Sorboniſtes. With Doctor Maillard eſpecially, he was of old acquaintaunce, whom hee did know ſo well, euen from his youth vpward, that when ſoeuer the ſayd Doctour would open his mouth to ſpeake againſt the Saintes for their nightly aſſembles, he agayne did reproch him with ſuch filthy actes of buggerie and infamous Sodomitrie, that neither they whiche heard, could abyde it, neither yet could he denye it, beyng ſo notorious, that almoſt all the childrē in the ſtreetes did know it: and yet that Sorbonicall Doctor ſhamed not to empeche good men of whoredome for their godly aſſembles in the night. Whoſe life was ſo farre of frō all chaſtitie, as were their holy aſſembles cleare from all impuritie. In fine theſe two godly Elders in cruell paynes of the fire, finiſhed their martyrdome.*

te the life of Sor- nicall Doctours.

Philip de Luns Gentlewoman, and Martyr.

Persecuters.	Martyrs.	The Causes.
The Lieutenaunt ciuil. **Doctour** Maillard **Sorboniste.** Moſnier, **Lieutenaunt.** **Euill neighbours.** Bertrād, **Lord keper of the Scale, & Cardinal** of Sens. **The Marques** of Tran.	Philippe de Luns *Gentlewoman.* At Paris. An. 1558.	*Next vnto theſe abouesayd, was brought out miſtres Philip Gentlewomā, of the age of xxiij. She came firſt from the partes of Gaſcoigne with her huſband, (who was Lorde of Graueron) vnto Paris, there to ioyne her ſelf to the Churche of God. Where her huſbād alſo had bene a Seniour or Elder: who in the moneth of May before, was taken with an ague, and deceſſed, leauyng this Philippe a wydow, whiche neuertheles ceaſed not to ſerue the Lord in his Church, and alſo in the houſe was taken with the ſayd companie. Many conflictes ſhe had with the Iudges, and the Sorboniſtes, namely Maillard. But ſhe alwayes ſent him awaye with the ſame reproche, as the other did before, and bad him auaunt Sodomite, ſaying ſhe would not aunſwer one worde to ſuch a vilain. To the Iudges her aunſwere was thus, that ſhe had learned the fayth which ſhe confeſſed, in the word of God, and in the ſame ſhe would lyue and dye. And beyng demaūded, whether the body of Chriſt was in the Sacrament: now is that poſsible (ſayd ſhe) to be the body of Chriſt, to whom all power is geuen, and whiche is exalted aboue all heauens, when as we ſee the mice and rattes, apes, and munkies play with it, and teare it in peeces? Her petition to them was, that ſeing they had takē her ſiſter from her, yet they would let her haue a Bible or Teſtament to comforte her ſelfe. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touche her conuerſation with no part of diſhoneſty, yet many thinges they layd to her charge, as that there was much ſinging of Pſalmes in her houſe, and that twiſe or thriſe, an infinite number of perſons were ſeene to come out of her houſe. Alſo when her huſband was in dying, no prieſt was called for, neither was it knowen where he was buryed: Neither did they euer heare any word of their infant to bee Baptiſed, for it was Baptiſed in the Churche of the Lord. Among other her neighbours that came againſt her, ij. there were dwellyng at S. Germain in the ſuburbes, betwene whom incontinent roſe a ſtrife, wherein one of them ſticked the other with a knife. The death of this Gentlewoman was the more haſtened of the Lord keper of the Seale, Bertrād, Cardinall of Sens, and his ſonne in law the Marques of Tran, for to haue the confiſcation of her goodes.*

The Sacrament.

The iust hand of God against false and bloudye witnesses.

The Martyrdome of Clinet, Grauelle, & Philip de Luns.

Theſe iij. holy Martyrs aboue recited, were condemned the xxvij. of September, by the proces of the Commiſsioners and the Lieutenaunt ciuill: and then beyng put in a chappell together, certeine Doctours were ſent to them, but their valiaunt conſtancie remained vnmoueable. After that they were had out of priſon and ſent euery one in a dunge cart, to the place of puniſhement, Clinet euer cryed by the way, proteſting, that he ſayd or maintained nothyng, but the veritie of God. And beyng asked of a Doctour, whether he would beleue S. Auſten, touchyng certaine matters, he ſayd: yea, and that he had ſayd nothyng, but which he would proue by his authoritie.

The Gentlewoman ſeyng a Prieſt come to confeſſe her, ſayd, that ſhe had confeſſed vnto God, and had receaued of him remiſſion: other abſolution ſhe found none in Scripture. And when certaine Counſellers did vrge her to take in her handes the wooden Croſſe, accordyng to the cuſtome of them that go to their death, allegyng how Chriſt commaundeth euery one to beare his Croſſe: ſhe aunſwered, my Lordes, (ſayd ſhe) you make me in very dede to beare my Croſſe, condemnyng me vniuſtly, and puttyng me to death in the quarell of my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who willeth vs to beare our Croſſe, but no ſuch Croſſe as you ſpeake of.

The Crosse.

Grauelle looked with a ſmylyng coūtenaunce, and ſhewed a chearefull colour, declaryng how litle he paſſed for his condemnation: and beyng asked of his frendes to what death he was condemned, I ſee well (ſaid he) that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And commyng from the chappell, when he perceaued they went about to cut out his tongue, vnles he would returne, he ſayd, that was not ſo conteyned in the arreſt, & therfore he was vnwilling to graunt vnto it: but afterward perceauyng the ſame ſo to be agreed by the Court, he offered his tongue willyngly to be cut, and incontinent ſpake playnly theſe wordes: I pray you pray to God for me.

The Gentlewomā alſo beyng required to geue her tongue, did lykewiſe, with theſe wordes: Seyng I do not ſticke to geue my body, ſhall I ſticke to geue my tongue? No no. And ſo thoſe three hauyng their tongues cut out, were brought to Maulbert place. The conſtancie of Grauell was admirable, caſtyng vp his ſighes and gronynges vnto heauen, declaryng thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. Clinet was ſomewhat more ſad then the other, by reaſon of the feblenes of nature and hys age. But the Gentlewoman yet ſurmounted all the reſt in conſtancie, whiche neither chaunged countenaunce, nor colour, beyng of an excellent beauty.

Their tonges cut out.

After the death of her husband, ſhe vſed to go in mournyng weede, after the maner of the countrey. But the ſame day goyng to her burnyng, ſhe put on her Frenche hoode, and decked her ſelfe in her beſt aray, as goyng to a newe Mariage, the ſame day to be ioyned to her ſpouſe Ieſus Chriſt. And thus theſe three with ſingulare conſtancie, were burned. Grauelle and Clinet were burned alyue. Philippe the Gentlewoman was ſtrangled, after ſhe had a litle taſted the flame with her feete, and viſage, and ſo ſhe ended her Martyrdome. Ex Ioan. Criſpi. lib. 6.

Precious in the sight of God, is the death of hys Saincts.

Of

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Lieutenant. Doctour Maillard. Counſellers. Friers.	Nicolas Cene. Peter Gabart. At Paris. An. 1558.	

Nicolas Cene, Pet. Gabart, Martyrs.

Of the ſame company was alſo Nicolas Cene a Phiſicion, brother to Philippe Cene aboue mentioned, and martyred at Dyion, and Peter Gabart: whiche two about v. or vi. dayes after the other iij. before, were brought forth to their death Octob. 2.

Nicolas Cene was but newe come to Paris the ſame day, whē he was aduertiſed of the aſſemble, whiche then was congregate in the ſtreete of S. Iames: and (as he deſired nothyng more then to heare the word of God) came thether euen as he was, booted, and was alſo with them apprehended, ſuſteinyng the cauſe of Gods holy Goſpell, vnto death.

The other was Peter Gabart, a Sollicitour of proceſſes, about the age of xxx. yeares, whoſe conſtancie did much comfort to the priſoners. He was put among a great number of ſcholers in the litle Caſtle. Whō whē he heard to paſſe the tyme in talking of Philoſophie, No, no (ſaid he) let vs forget theſe worldly matters, and learne how to ſuſteine the heauenly cauſe of our God, whiche lye heare in defenſe of the kingdome of Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour: and ſo he begā to inſtruct thē how to aunſwere to euery point of Chriſtian doctrine, ſo well, as if he had done no other thyng in all his life, but only ſtudied diuinitie: and yet was he but very ſimply learned. Then was he ſent frō thē a part, vnto an other priſon, full of filthy ſtinche and vermine: where notwithſtanding, he ceaſed not to ſing Pſalmes, that the other might well heare him. He had a yong nephew in an other priſon by, beyng but a childe, of whom he asked what he had ſayd to the iudges. He ſayd, that he was conſtrayned to do reuerēce to a crucifixe paynted. O thou naughtie boy (ſayd he) haue not I taught thee the Cōmaūdements of God? Knoweſt thou not how it is writtē, Thou ſhalt make to the ſelfe no grauen Image? &c. and ſo beganne to expounde to him the Commaundementes: wherunto he gaue good attention.

A wholeſome leſſon for all ſtudentes.

Images forbidden.

In their examinations, many queſtions were propounded by the Doctors and Friers, touchyng matters both of religiō, and alſo to know of them what Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were there preſent at the miniſtration of the Sacramēt. Wherunto they aunſwered in ſuch ſort, as was both ſufficiēt for defenſe of their owne cauſe, and alſo to ſaue their other brethren from blame, ſaying that they would lyue and dye in that they had ſayd and mainteined.

When the tyme of their execution was come, they perceaued that the Iudges had entended, that if they would relent, they ſhould be ſtrangled: if not, they ſhould burne alyue, and their tongues be cut from them. Whiche tormētes they beyng content to ſuffer for our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, offered their tongues willinglye to the hangman to bee cut. Gabart begā a litle to ſighe, for that he might no more prayſe the Lord with his tongue. Whom then Cene did comforte. Then were they drawen out of priſon in the dunge carte, to the ſuburbes of S. Germane. Whom the people in rage and madnes, folowed with cruell iniuries and blaſphemes, as though they would haue done the execution them ſelues vpon them, maugre the hangman. The crueltie of their death was ſuch as hath not lightly be ſene: for they were holden long in the ayre, ouer a ſmall fire, and their lower partes burnt of, before that the hygher partes were much harmed with the fire. Neuertheles theſe bleſſed Saintes ceaſed not in all theſe tormentes, to turne vp their eyes to heauen, and to ſhewe forth infinite teſtimonies of their faith and conſtancie. In the ſame fire many Teſtamentes and Bibles the ſame tyme, alſo were burnt.

Their tonges cut.

Crueltie.

Vpō the ſight of this crueltie, the frendes of the other priſoners, which remained behinde, fearing the tyranny of theſe iudges, preſented certain cauſes of refuſall agaynſt the ſayd iudges, requiryng other Commiſſioners to be placed. But the king being hereof aduertiſed by his Sollicitour, ſent out his letters patentes, commaundyng the ſayd cauſes of refuſall to bee fruſtrate, and willed the former iudges to proceede, all other lettes and obſtacles to the contrary notwithſtandyng: and that the Preſidentes ſhould haue power to chuſe to them other counſellers, accordyng to their owne arbitrement, to ſupply the place of ſuch as were abſent: amongſt whō alſo the ſaid Sollicitour was receaued, in ſtede of the kings Procurator, to purſue the proces. By the which letters patentes it was decreed that theſe ſtubborne Sacramentaries (as they were called) ſhould be iudged accordingly, ſaue only that they ſhould not procede to the execution, before the king were aduertiſed. Theſe letters aforeſayd, ſtirred vp the fire of this perſecution not a litle, for that the Iudges at this refuſall tooke great indignation, and were mightly offended for that reproche. Notwithſtanding ſo it pleaſed God, that a yong man, a Germane, called Albert Hartung, borne in the coūtrey of Brandebourg, and Godſonne to Albert, Marques of Brandebourge, by the kinges commaundement was delyuered, through the importune ſute of the ſayd Marques. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
ij. Preſidentes. xv. Coūſaillers. The Lieutenaunt ciuill. Doctors. Friers. Sorboniſtes. Benedictus Iacobin. Demochares. Maillard.	Fridericke Danuile. Frances Rebezies. At Paris. an. 1558.	

Mention was made aboue of certeine young ſcholers and ſtudentes, whiche were in the litle Caſtle with Peter Gabart. Of the whiche number of ſcholers, were theſe two, Fridericke Danuile, and Frances Rebezies, neither of thē beyng paſt xx. yeares of age. How valiantly they behaued thē ſelues in thoſe tender yeares, ſuſtaining the quarell of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, what confeſſiō they made, what conflictes they had, diſputyng with the Doctours of Sorbone, their own letters left in writing, do make record: the effect wherof briefly to touche, is this: And firſt touchyng Fridericke Danuile.

The Lieutenant criminall, who before was halfe ſuſpected, but nowe thinking to proue hym ſelfe a right Catholicke, and to recouer his eſtimation agayne, came to hym, beginnyng with theſe wordes of Scriptures: who ſo euer denyeth me before men, him will I deny before my father, &c. That done, hee asked him, what he thought of the Sacrament. To whom Fridericke aunſwered, that if hee ſhoulde thincke Chriſt Ieſus to bee betwene the prieſtes handes after the Sacramental wordes (as they call them) thē ſhould he beleue a thing contrary to holy Scripture, and to the Crede, whiche ſayth, that hee ſitteth on the right hande of the father. Alſo to the teſtimonie of the Aungels, which ſpeake both of the aſcendyng of Chriſt, and of his commyng downe agayne. Act. 1. After this hee queſtioned with him touchyng Inuocation of Saintes, Purgatory, &c. Wherunto he aunſwered ſo, that he rather did aſtonye the enemies, then ſatiſfie them.

Furthermore, the 12. of September, the ſayd Fridericke againe was brought before Benedictus Iacobin, and his companion a Sorboniſte, called Noſter Magiſter, who thus began to argue with him.

The Doctor.

Whiche thinke you to be the true Churche, the churche of the Proteſtantes, or the Churche of Paris?

The Martyr.

I recogniſe that to be the true Church, where the Goſpell is truly preached, & the Sacramentes rightly adminiſtred, ſo as they be left by Ieſus Chriſt, & his Apoſtles.

The Doctor.

And is the Church (thinke you) of Geneua ſuch a one as you ſpeake of?

The Martyr.

I ſo iudge it to be.

The Doctor.

And what if I do proue the contrary, will you beleue me?

The Martyr.

Yea, if you ſhall proue it by the Scripture.

The Doctor.

Or will you beleue S. Auſtin, and other holy Doctors innumerable?

The Martyr.

Yea, ſo they diſſent not frō the Scripture and the word of God.

The Doctor.

By the authoritie of S. Auſtin, the Church is there, where is the ſucceſſion of Byſhops: whereupon I frame this argument.

The church.

There is the Church, where is the perpetuall ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

In the Church of Paris, is ſuch ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

Ergo, the Churche of Paris is the true Churche.

The Martyr.

To your Maior I aunſwere, that if S. Auſtin meane the ſucceſſion of ſuch as are true Byſhops in dede, which truely preache the Goſpell, and rightly adminiſter the Sacramentes, ſuch Byſhops I ſuppoſe to be at Geneua, where the Goſpell is truelye preached, and Sacramentes duely miniſtred, and not in the Churche of Paris. But otherwiſe, if S. Auſtin meane the ſucceſſion of falſe Byſhops, ſuch as neither preache nor miniſter accordyng to Gods worde, ſo is the ſame in no wiſe to be graunted.

The Doctor.

Caluin is there by his own thruſtyng in, and onely by the chuſing of the people.

The Martyr.

And that ſoundeth more for him to be of Gods diuine election, for ſomuch as by him the Goſpell of God is preached truely: and from this no man ſhall bryng me.

After this diſceptation, the ix. of the ſame moneth, came agaynſt him, an other Doctor with two Sorboniſtes, who bringing forth a ſcrole out of his beſome, pretended, that a certaine ſcholer comming from Geneua, made his confeſsion, wherin was contained, that in receauing of the bread and wine, the body and bloud of Chriſt is receaued reallye. Wherupon they demaunded of him, whether he would receaue the ſame confeſsion.

The Martyr.

Whatſoeuer I haue ſayd vnto you, that will I holde. And as touchyng this word really, I know right well ẏ they of Geneua do not take it for any carnall preſence, as you do: but their meaning is, to exclude thereby onely a vayne imagination.

The Doctor.

I meruaile much, that you ſo refuſe the worde really, and vſe onely ſpiritually, ſeyng that Caluin him ſelfe doth vſe the ſame worde really.

The Martyr.

Caluin meaneth therby no other thyng, but as we do.

The Doctor.

What ſay you by confeſſion auricular?

Confeſſion auricular.

The Martyr.

The ſame that I ſaid before, to Monſieur Lieutenant, that is, that I take it for a plantation not planted by God in his worde.

The Doctor.

The Almanes in their confeſſion, whiche they ſent to our kyng to be approued, haue theſe wordes: Confeſsionē auricularē non improbamus, eſt enim Euangeliū ſecretū: That is, we do not reiect auricular cōfeſſiō, for it is a goſpell ſecrete and priuye. And alſo Melancthon in his booke of common places, doth call it Euangelium ſecretum.

Melancthon in his common places, ſpeaking of the popiſhe confeſſion, which cōſiſteth in the enumeratiō of ſinnes, ſayth that it is a ſnare of conſcience, & agaynſt the Goſpell, and otherwiſe maketh there no mention of *Euangelium ſecretum*: no more doth the cōfeſſion of the Almaines.

An other tyme, the ſayd Fridericke was called agayne before the Lordes, the xx. of the ſaid moneth, where they did nothyng, but demaund of him certaine queſtions, where hee was borne, and whether he had heard in his countrey at Oleron, that M. Gerard the Byſhop there, did ſing Maſſe. Yea ſayd he. And why do not you alſo (ſayd they) receaue the ſame? He aunſwered, becauſe he did it to reteine and kepe his Biſhopricke. The Martyr, for lacke of paper, could procede therein no farther.

¶ The examination of Fraunces Rebezies.

The examination of *Rebezies*.

Rebezies had three ſundry examinations: The firſt with the Lieutenant ciuill: the ſecond with the Preſidents & the Counſaillers: the third with the Friers. Firſt the Lieutenaunt inquiryng of his name, countrey, and parentes, asked whether he was at the communion, whether he receaued with them the bread and wyne, and whether he was ſeruiture to M. Nicolas Cene, Seniour of the Cōgregation. Wherunto he ſayd, yea. Alſo whether hee was a diſtributer of the tokens, wherby they were let in, that came. That he denyed. Then was he brought into the Counſaile chamber, before ij. Preſidentes, and xxv. Counſaillers, who after other queſtiōs about his countrey, and parentes, demaunded whether hee was taken with them in the houſe. He aūſwered: Yea. What he had to do there? To heare the worde of God, and to receaue with them. Who brought him thether? Him ſelf. Whō there he knew? No man. How he durſt or would enter, knowyng no perſon there? Truth it was (ſayd he) that he knew there ij. or iij. Who were they? M. Grauelle, Clinet, and Iohn Sanſot, feyning that name of him ſelfe. Whether he knewe the preacher? That he denyed. Whether he allowed the acte there done to be good? Yea. VVhether he did not better like to reſorte vnto their beautified temples, to heare Maſſe: or whether he did not take the Maſſe to be an holy thyng, and ordained of God? He aunſwered agayn contrary, beleuing that it was a great blaſphemie agaynſt God, and a ſeruice ſet vp of the deuill. Whether he did not acknowledge Purgatorye? Yes, that Purgatorye, which is the death and Paſsion of Chriſt, which taketh away the ſinnes of the whole worlde. The death of Chriſt is the principall (ſaid they) but thou muſt alſo beleue an other. Alas (ſaid he) can we neuer content our ſelues with the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell, but man alwayes will be puttyng to, ſomthing of his own brayne? In ſo many places of the Scripture we ſee the bloude of Ieſus Chriſt to bee ſufficient, as Iohn. 1. Apocal. 5. Heb. 9. Eſa. 43. Where the Lord him ſelfe ſayth. That it is he, who for his own ſake, putteth awaye our iniquities. &c. *And S. Paule alſo ſayth,* that God was in Chriſt, reconcilyng the world vnto him ſelfe. &c. *And contrary, when they obiected the wordes of the parable. Mat. 5.* Thou ſhalte not come out till thou haſt payed the laſt farthyng: *To this he aunſwered that the wordes of that parable had no ſuch relation, but to matters ciuile: and this worde (vntill) meaneth there, as much as neuer. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the bookes of Caluin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The Preſident asked, if he were not afrayde to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his parentes into ſuch diſhonour. He aunſwered, that he knewe well,* that all whiche would lyue godly in Chriſt Ieſus, ſhould ſuffer perſecutiō: *and that to him either to lyue or to dye, were aduauntage in the Lorde. And as touchyng his parentes, Chriſt (ſayd he) doth premoniſhe him ſelfe,* That whoſoeuer loueth father or mother more then him, is not worthye to be his. &c. Ieſus Maria, *ſayd the Preſident, what youth is this now a dayes, whiche caſte them ſelues ſo hedlong into the fire? and ſo was he commaunded away.*

The ſecond examination.

Maſſe.

Purgatorye.

Iohn. 1.
Apoc. 5.
Heb. 9.
Eſa. 43.
2. Cor. 5.

Math. 5.

2. Tim. 3.

Math. 10.

Thirdly he was brought before Benet, Maiſter of the Doctors of Sorbone, and an other called Iacobin, the 14. of October, where as he chauncyng to ſpeake of the Lorde, the Doctor began thus to obiecte, as foloweth.

The third examination.

The Doctor.

The difference betwene the Lord, and our Lord.

See how you, & all ſuch as are of your company, ſimply name yͤ Lord, without putting to the pronoune our. So may the deuils well call the Lorde, and tremble before his face.

The Martyr.

The deuils call the Lord in ſuch ſorte, as the Phariſeys did, when they brought the adultereſſe before hym, and called him, Maiſter: yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his Diſciples: whoſe caſe, I truſt, is nothyng like to ours, whiche knowe and confeſſe (as we ſpeake) him to be the true Lord withall our hart, ſo as true Chriſtians ought to do.

The Doctor.

The Church.

I know you hold well the Churche to bee, where the worde is truly preached, and the Sacramentes ſincerely miniſtred, according as they are left of Chriſt, and his holy Apoſtles.

The Martyr.

That do I beleue, and in that will I lyue and dye.

The Doctor.

Do not you beleue, that who ſoeuer is without that Church, can not obteine remiſſion of his ſinnes?

The Martyr.

who ſoeuer doth ſeparate him ſelfe from that Church, to make either ſect, part, or diuiſion, can not obteyne as you ſay.

The Doctor.

Two churches.

Now let vs conſider two Churches, the one wherein the worde is rightly preached, and Sacramentes adminiſtred accordingly, as they be left vnto vs: The other wherein the word and Sacramentes be vſed contrarily. whiche of theſe ij. ought we to beleue?

The Martyr.

The firſt.

The Doctor.

well ſayd. Next is now to ſpeake of the giftes geuen to the ſayd Church: as the power of the keyes, confeſſion for remiſſion of ſinnes, after we bee confeſſed to a Prieſt. Alſo we muſt beleue the vij. Sacramentes in the ſame Churche, truly adminiſtred, as they be here in the Churches of Paris, where the Sacrament of the aultar is miniſtred, and the Goſpell truly preached.

The Martyr.

Power of the keyes.

Confeſſion.

Syr, now you begyn to halt. As for my part, I do not receaue in the Church, moe then ij. Sacraments, which be inſtituted in the ſame, for the whole communaltie of Chriſtiās. And as cōcernyng yͤ power of yͤ keyes, & your confeſſion, I beleue, that for remiſſion of our ſinnes, we ought to go to none other, but onely to God, as we read 1. John. 1. If we confeſſe our ſinnes, God is faithfull and iuſt, to pardon our offences, and he will purge vs from all our iniquities. &c. Alſo in the Prophet Dauid, Pſal. 19. and 32, I haue opened my ſinne vnto thee. &c.

The Doctor.

Should I not beleue that Chriſt, in the time of his Apoſtles, gaue to them power to remitte ſinnes?

The Martyr.

The power that Chriſt gaue to his Apoſtles, if it bee well conſidered, is nothyng diſagreyng to my ſaying: And therfore I began to ſay (which here I confeſſe) that the Lord gaue to his Apoſtles to preach the word, and ſo to remitte ſinnes by the ſame worde.

The Doctor.

Do you then denye auricular confeſſion?

The Martyr.

Yea verely, I do.

The Doctor.

Ought we to pray to Saintes?

The Martyr.

I beleue, no.

The Doctor.

Tell me that I ſhall aſke: Jeſus Chriſt beyng here vpō the earth, was he not then as well ſufficiēt to heare the whole world, & to be interceſſor for all, as he is now?

The Martyr.

Yes.

The Doctor.

Interceſſion of Sainctes.

But we finde, that when hee was here on earth, his Apoſtles made interceſſion for the people, and why may they not do the ſame as well now alſo?

The Martyr.

So long as they were in the worlde, they exerciſed their miniſtery, and prayed one for an other, as nedyng humane ſuccours together: but now they beyng in Paradiſe, all their prayer that they make, is this: that they wiſh that they which be yet on earth, may atteine to their felicitie: but to obteine any thyng at the fathers hande, we muſt haue our recourſe onely to his ſonne.

The Doctor.

If one man haue ſuch charge to pray for an other, may not he then be called an interceſſour?

The Martyr.

I graunt.

The Doctor.

well thē, you ſay there is but one interceſſor. wherupon I inferre, that I being bound to pray for an other, neede not now to go to Jeſus Chriſt, to haue him an interceſſor, but to God alone, ſetting Jeſus Chriſt a part: and ſo ought we verely to beleue.

The Martyr.

You vnderſtand not Syr, that if God do not beholde vs in the face of his owne welbeloued ſonne, then ſhall we neuer be able to ſtand in his ſight. For if he ſhall loke vpō vs, he can ſee nothyng but ſinne. And if the heauens be not pure in hys eyes, what ſhall be thought then of man ſo abhominable and vnprofitable, which drincketh iniquitie, lyke water, as Job doth ſay?

Then the other Frier ſeyng his felowe to haue nothyng to aunſwere to this, inferred as foloweth.

The Doctor.

Nay (my frend) as touching yͤ great mercy of God, let that ſtand, & now, to ſpeake of our ſelues: thys we know, that God is not diſpleaſed with them whiche haue theyr recourſe vnto his Saintes.

The Martyr.

Syr, we muſt do, not after our own wylles, but accordyng to that which God willeth & cōmaundeth. For thys is the truſt that we haue in hym, that if we demaunde any thyng after hys will, he will heare vs. 1. Iohn. 5.

The Doctor.

As no man cōmeth to the preſence of an earthly king or prince, without meanes made by ſome about hym: ſo, or rather much more, to the heauenly kyng aboue. &c.

The Martyr.

To this earthly example, I will aunſwere with an other heauenly exāple of the prodigall ſonne: who ſought no other meanes to obteyne hys fathers grace, but came to the father him ſelfe.

¶ *Then they came to ſpeake of adoration, whiche the ſayd Rebezies diſproued by the Scriptures. Act. 10. 13. 14. Apoc. 19. 22. Heb. 10. 14. 12. Where is to be noted, that where the Martyr alleged the 12. to the Heb. the Doctors aunſwered, that it was the 11. chap. when in dede the place is neither in the xi. nor in the xij. But in the 14. chap. of the Actes. So well ſeene were theſe Doctors in their diuinitie.*

The Doctor.

Touchyng the Maſſe, what ſay you? Beleue you not, that when the Prieſt hath cōſecrated the hoſte, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample ſorte, as hee was hangyng vpon the Croſſe?

The Martyr.

No verely. But I beleue, that Jeſus Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of his father, as appeareth. Hebr. 10. 1. Cor. 15. Coloſ. 3. and therfore (to make ſhort with you) I hold your Maſſe for none other, but for a falſe and a counterfeyted ſeruice ſet vp by Satan, & reteined by hys miniſters, by the whiche you do anihilate the precious bloud of Chriſt, and his oblation once made, of his owne body: and you know right well, that the ſame is ſufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.

The Doctor.

You deceaue your ſelues in the worde reiteration: for we do not reiterate it ſo as you do thinke, as by example I will ſhewe. You ſee me now in this religious garmēt, but if I ſhould put vpon me a ſouldiours weede, then ſhould I be but diſguiſed, and yet for all that, I ſhould remaine the ſame ſtill, within my doublet, that I was before, in my Friers weede. So is it with the Sacrifice. we confeſſe and graunt that Naturaliter, that is, naturally, ly, he was once offered in Sacrifice, and alſo is ſittyng Naturaliter, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his father: but Supernaturaliter, & ſubſcriptiue, that is, ſupernaturally, we ſacrifice yͤ ſame, without reiteration. Supernaturaliter, we Sacrifice him: but that Sacrifice is but onely diſguiſed, to vnderſtand that he is conteined vnder that cuetine, and whytenes, whiche you ſee.

Naturaliter. *Supernaturaliter, or ſubſcriptiue.*

The Martyr.

Syr this I ſay, that ſuch a diſguiſed Sacrifice is a diabolical Sacrifice, and this you may take for a reſolution.

The diſguiſed ſacrifice of the Papiſtes.

The Doctor.

And how is your beliefe touchyng the holy Supper?

The Martyr.

That if it bee miniſtred vnto me by the miniſter, in ſuch vſage, as it hath bene left of Chriſt & his Apoſtles, preachyng alſo the worde purely withall, I beleue that in receauyng the materiall bread and wyne, I receaue with lyuely fayth, the body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, ſpiritually.

The body of Chriſt ſpiritually receaued in the Sacrament.

The Doctor.

Say, corporally.

Spiritually. Corporally.

The Martyr.

No Syr, for his wordes be ſpirite and life, and let this content you.

The Doctor.

what ſay you? is it lawfull for a Prieſt to mary?

The Martyr.

I beleue it to be lawfull for hym in ſuch ſorte, as the Apoſtle ſayth: Who ſoeuer hath not the gift of continencie, let hym mary: For it is better to mary, then to burne. And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of Biſhops and Elders. 1. Timot. 3. and Tit. 1.

Matrimony of miniſters.

And thus the Doctors affirmyng that hee denyed prieſthode, gaue him leaue to departe, ſaying, God haue mercy on you. So be it, ſaid he.

After this, about 22. of October, the ſayd Rebezies and Fridericke Danuile, were brought vp to a chamber in the Caſtle, to be racked, to the intẽt they ſhould vtter the reſt of the congregation. In the which chamber they found three Counſellers, who thus began with them: Lift vp thy hand. Thou ſhalt ſweare by the Paſsion of Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe Image here thou ſeeſt, ſhewyng him a great marmouſet there painted in a paper, &c. Whereunto Rebezies aunſwered: Monſieur I will ſweare to you by the Paſsiõ of Chriſt, which is written in my hart. Why doeſt thou not ſwere to vs, ſayd the Counſaillers, as we ſay vnto thee? Becauſe (ſayd he) it is a great blaſphemie agaynſt the Lord. Then the Counſellers read their depoſitions, and firſt beginnyng with Rebezies, ſayd: will thou not tell vs the truth, what companions thou knoweſt to be of this aſſemble? Rebezies named, as he did before, Grauelle, Clinet (which were already burnt) and Iohn Sanſot. To whom they ſayd, that the Courte had ordayned, that if he would geue no other aunſwere but ſo, he ſhould bee put to the torture or racke: and ſo was he commaunded to be ſtripped to his ſhyrt, hauyng a Croſſe put in his hand, and beyng byd to commend him ſelfe to God, and the virgin Mary: but he neither would receaue the croſſe, nor cõmend him ſelf to the virgin Mary, ſaying, that God was able enough to garde him & to ſaue him out of the Lyons mouth: and ſo, he beyng drawen and ſtretched in the ayre, he began to crye: Come Lord, & ſhew thy ſtrẽgth that mã do not preuaile. &c. But they cryed, Tell truth, Fraunces, and thou ſhalt bee let downe. Neuertheles he continued ſtill in his Inuocation and prayer to the Lord, ſo that they could haue no other worde, but that. And after they had thus, long tormented hym, the Counſellers ſayd: wilt thou ſay nothyng els? I haue nothyng els, ſayd he, to ſay. And ſo they commaunded him to be looſed, and be put by the fire ſide. Who being looſed, ſayd to them, Do you handle thus the poore ſeruauntes of God? And the like was done to Fridericke Danuile alſo, his cõpanion, of whom they could haue no other aunſwere (who at the ſame tyme was alſo very ſicke) but as of the other. So mightely did God aſsiſte and ſtrengthẽ his ſeruaunts, as euer he did any els, by their owne letters and confeſsion as doth appeare. Ex litteris Franciſ. Rebez. in Criſp. lib. 6.

The Martyrs racked.

The conſtancie of theſe Martyrs.

These conſtant and true Martyrs of Chriſt, after they returned from the torture, vnto their felowe priſoners, ceaſed not to thanke and prayſe the Lorde for his aſsiſtance. Fridericke did ſigh oftẽtimes, & being asked of his felowes why he ſo did, hee ſayd it was not for the euill that he had ſuffered, but for the euils that he knew they ſhould ſuffer afterward. Notwithſtandyng (ſayd he) be ſtrong brethren, & be not afrayde, aſſuring your ſelues of the ayde of God, which hath ſuccoured vs, and alſo will comfort you. Rebezies with the racke was ſo drawen and ſtretched, that one of his ſhoulders was hyther then the other, and his necke drawen on the one ſide, ſo that he could not moue him ſelfe: and therfore deſiryng his brethren to lay him vppon his bed, there he wrote his confeſsion, which hetherto we haue folowed. When the night came, they reioyſed together, & cõforted thẽ ſelues with meditatiõ of the life to come, & cõtempt of this world, ſinging Pſalmes together, till it was day. Rebezies cryed twiſe or thriſe together, away from me Satan. Fridericke beyng in bed with him, asked, why hee cryed, and whether Satan would ſtoppe him of his courſe? Rebezies ſayd, that Satan ſet before him, his parentes, but by the grace of God, (ſayd he) he ſhall do nothyng agaynſt me.

Brotherly compaſſion.

The comfort of Gods Sainctes.

The day next folowyng, they were brought once or twyſe before the Counſellers, and required to ſhew, what felowes they had moe, of the ſayd aſſemble. Which when they would not declare, the ſentence was read agaynſt them, that they ſhould bee brought in a dong carte, to Maulbert place, and there hauyng a balle in their mouthes, to be tyed, ech one to his poſte, and afterward to be ſtrangled, and ſo to be turned into aſhes.

Afterward came the Friers and Doctors, Demochares, Maillard and other, to cõfeſſe thẽ, & offeryng to thẽ a Croſſe to kiſſe, which they refuſed. Thẽ Demochares by force made Rebezies to kiſſe it, whether he would or no: crying to them moreouer, that they ſhould beleue in the ſacramẽt. What, ſaid Fridericke, will you haue vs to plucke Chriſt Ieſus out from the right hand of his father? Demochares ſaid, that ſo many of their opinion had ſuffered death before, & yet none of thẽ all, euer did any miracles, as the Apoſtles and holy Martyrs did. Fridericke asked them, if they required any miracle. No ſayd they, and ſo ſtoode mute, ſaue onely that Demochares prayed them to conſider well what they had ſaid vnto them. Maillard alſo added, that he woulde gage his ſoule to be damned, but it was true. Fridericke aũſwered, that he knew it was contrary.

Doct. Maillard gageth his ſoule.

At laſt beyng brought to the place of execution, a Croſſe agayne was offered them, which they refuſed. Then a Prieſt ſtanding by, bad them beleue in the virgin Mary. Let God, ſayd they, reigne alone. The people ſtandyng by, ah miſchieuous Lutherane, ſayd they. Nay, a true Chriſtian I am, ſayd he. When they were tyed to their ſtakes, after their prayers made, when they were byd to be diſpatched: one of thẽ cõfortyng the other, ſayd, be ſtrong my brother, be ſtrong: Satan away from vs. As they were thus exhortyng, one ſtandyng by, ſayd: Theſe Lutherans do call vpon Satã. One Iohn Morell (whiche afterward dyed a Martyr) then ſtandyng by at libertie, aunſwered: I praye you let vs heare (ſayd he) what they ſay, and we ſhall heare them inuocate the name of God. Wherupõ the people lyſtened better vnto thẽ to harkẽ, as well as they could, what they ſayd: they crying ſtill as much as their mouthes being ſtopped could vtter, Aſsiſte vs O Lord: and ſo they rendryng vp their ſpirites to the handes of the Lord, did conſummate their valiaunt Martyrdome. Ex Criſp. lib. 6.

Iohn Morell was afterward burned.

The death and Martyrdome of *Kibezies* and *Danuile.*

¶ *After the Martyrdome of theſe two aboueſayd, the intention of the Iudges was to diſpatche the reſt, one after an other, in like ſorte, and had procured already proces agaynſt xij. or xiij. ready to be iudged. But a certaine Gentlewoman then priſoner amongſt them, had preſented cauſes of exceptions or refuſals agaynſt them, wherby the cruell rage of the enemyes was ſtayed, to the moneth of Iuly folowyng. In the whiche meane tyme, as this perſecution was ſpread into other countreys, firſt the faithfull Cantons of the Suitzers, perceauyng theſe good men to bee afflicted for the ſame doctrine whiche they preached in their Churches, ſent their Ambaſſadours to the king, to make ſupplication for them.*

The Suitzers make ſupplication to the French kyng, for the Martyrs.

Countie Palatine maketh interceſſion to the French king, for the Chriſtian priſoners.

Rene Seau, Iohn Almaricke, **dyed in priſon.**

Iohn Bordell, Mathewe Vermeil. Pet. Burdon, **Martyrs.**

He ſent them farre enough, becauſe they ſhould neuer returne, pretending that he lacked victuall, but the cauſe was religion.

Perſecuters	**Martyrs**	**The Cauſes.**
		The ſame tyme alſo, came letters from the Countie Palatine Electour, tendyng to the ſame end, to ſollicite the king for them. The king ſtandyng the ſame tyme, in great nede of the Germanes, for his warres, was contented at leaſt, that they ſhauld procede more gently with them, and ſo the fire for that tyme, ceaſed. Moſt of them were ſent to Abbayes, where they were kept at the charge of the Priours, to be conſtrained to be preſent at the ſeruice of Idolatrye, eſpeciallye the younge ſcholers: of whom ſome ſhronke backe, other beyng more loſly kept, eſcaped away. The moſt part were brought before the Officiall, to make their confeſſion, and to receaue abſolution ordinary. Diuers made their confeſſion ambiguous and doubtfull. &c. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6. Ex Pantal. lib. xi.
	René Seau. Iohn Almaricke. At Paris. An. 1558.	*These ij. yong men were alſo of the companie aboue ſpecified, and were in priſon, where they ſuſteined ſuch crueltie, being racked almoſt to death, that Almaricke, could not go when, he was called to the Court, to be iudged: and beyng vppon the racke, he rebuked their crueltie, and ſpake ſo frely, as though hee had felt no griefe (and as they ſayd which came to viſite him) hee teſtified vnto them, that hee felt no dolour, ſo long as hee was vpon it. Both theſe dyed in priſon, continuyng ſtill firme and conſtant in the pure confeſſion of Chriſtes Churche.* Ibidem.
Villegaignon, a **French captaine.**	Ioh. Bordell. Mathew Vermeil. Peter Burdon. Andrew de Fou. At the coūtrey of Breſill. an. 1558.	*Mention is made in the French ſtory, of one Villegaignō, Lieutenant for the Frēche king, who made a viage into the land of Breſill, with certeine Frenche ſhyppes, and tooke an Iland nere to the ſame adioyning, and made therin a fortres. After they had bene there a while, Villegaignon, for lacke of victualles (as he pretended) ſent certeine of them away in a ſhyppe, to the Riuer of Plate, toward the Pole Antarticke, a thouſand myles of: in the whiche ſhyppe were theſe foure here mencioned: Who forſaking their ſhyppe by occaſion of tempeſt, were caryed backe agayne, and ſo came to the land of Breſill, and afterward to their owne countreymē. Villegaignon beyng much aggreued therat, firſt charged them with departyng without his leaue. Moreouer, being terrified in his minde with falſe ſuſpicion, and vayne dreames, fearyng and dreamyng leaſt they had bene ſent as priuye ſpyes, by the Breſillians, becauſe they came from thē, and had bene frendly interteined of thē: he began to deuiſe how he might put thē to death vnder ſome colour of treaſon: but the cauſe was religion: For albeit hee had ſome tyme bene a profeſſour of the Goſpell, yet afterwarde growyng in ſome dignitie, he fell to bee an Apoſtata, and a cruell perſecutour of his fellowes. But when no proofe nor coniecture probable could be found to ſerue his cruell purpoſe, he knowyng them to be earneſt Proteſtantes, drew out certaine Articles of religion for them to aunſwere: and ſo, intrapping them vpon their confeſſion, he layd them in yrons and in priſon, & ſecretly with one executour and his page, he toke one after an other, begīning with Iohn Bordell, & firſt brought him to the toppe of a rocke, and there being halfe ſtrangled, without any iudgement, threw him into the ſea, & after the like maner, ordered alſo the reſt. Of whō iij. were thus cruelly murdered and drowned: to wit, Iohn Bordell, Mat. Vermeil, and Peter Burdon. The fourth, which was Andrew de Fou, he cauſed by manifold alluremēts, ſomwhat to incline to his ſayinges, & ſo he eſcaped that dāger, not without great offence takē of a great part of the Frenchmen in that countrey.* Ex Criſp. lib. 6. & Ex Comment. Gallic. de ſtatu Religionis & Reipub.
The kynges Lieutenaunt.	Geffrey Varagle. At Thurin, in Piedmont. an. 1558.	*In the ſame yeare.* 1558. *ſuffered alſo Geffrey Varagle preacher in the Valley of Angroigne, at the towne of Thurin in Piedmont, who firſt was a mōke and ſayd Maſſe the ſpace of xxvij. yeares. Afterward returnyng frō Buſque, toward Angroigne, to preach, as he had vſed before to do, ſent by the Miniſters of Geneua, and other faithfull brethren: was apprehended in the towne of Barges, and brought before the kinges Lieutenaunt: Where he was queſtioned with, touchyng diuers Articles of religiō: as of Iuſtificatiō, workes of ſupererogation, frewill, predeſtination, confeſſion, ſatisfactiō, Indulgences, Images, purgatory, The pope. &c. Wherunto he aunſwered agayne in writyng, with ſuch learning and reaſon, alleaging agaynſt the Popes owne diſtinctions, namely* Diſtinct. 19. cap. Dominus. Diſtinct. 21. cap. In nono. Diſt. 21. cap. omnes. & cap. Sacroſancta, *that as the ſtorye reporteth, the court of Thurin meruelyng at his learnyng, condemned him more for reproche of ſhame, then vpon true opinion grounded of Iudgement. When he was brought to the place of execution, the people whiche ſtoode by, and heard him ſpeake, declared openly, that they ſaw no cauſe, why he ſhould dye. A certaine old companion of his, a Prieſt, calling him by his name M. Geffrey, deſired him to cōuert frō his opinions. To whom he paciently aunſwered againe, deſiring him, that he would cōuerte from hys condition. And thus after he had made his prayer vnto God, and had forgeuen his Executioner, and all his enemies, he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burned. In the foreſayd ſtorye, relation is made moreouer, concerning the ſayd Geffrey, that at the time of his burning, a doue was ſeene (as was crediblye reported of many) flying and fluttering diuers times, about the fire, teſtifying (as was thought) the innocencie of this holy Martyr of the Lorde. But the ſtorye addeth, that vpon ſuch thinges, we muſt not ſtaye, and ſo concludeth he the Martyrdome of this bleſſed man.* Ex Cripſ. Lib. 6. Pag. 897.
Lanteaume Blanc. De Lauris, **Couſeller and ſonne in lawe, to** Miners **Lord of** Opede, **the cruell perſecuter.** Anthonie Reueſte, **the Lieutenaunt.**	Benet Romian, **a Mercer, or Haberdaſher.**	*The lamentable ſtory of Benet Romian, is deſcribed at large, among other French Martyrs, by Iohn Criſpine printer: the brief recitall wherof, here foloweth. This Benet hauing wife and children at Geneua, to get his lyuing, vſed to go about the conntrey with certaine mercerye ware, hauing cunning alſo amōg other things, how to dreſſe Coralles. As he was commyng toward Marſeille, and paſſed by the towne Draguignā, he happened vpon one of the like facultie, named Lanteaume Blanc. Who beyng deſirous to haue of his Corals, and could not agree for the price, alſo knowyng that he was*

Perſecuters.	**Martyrs.**
Barboſi, **Iudge ordinary of** Draguignan. Ioachim Partauier, **the kynges Aduocate** Caual, & Caualieri, **Conſuls.** **The Officiall.** Gaſpar Siguier, **Officer in** Draguignā. **A Frier Obſeruant.**	At Draguignan in Prouince. an.1558.

The Cauſes.

he was one of Geneua, went to a Counſeller of the Court of Aix, being then at Draguignā, whoſe name was De Lauris, ſonne in lawe to Miners, lord of Opede, the great perſecutor againſt Merindoll. &c. This Lauris conſulting together with the foreſayd Blanc, & pretendyng to bye certaine of his Corall, which he ſaw to be very fayre, and knowing alſo that hee had to the worth of iij. hūdreth crownes, incontinent, after his departyng from him, he ſent to the officer of the towne, to attache the ſaid Benet, as one being the greateſt Lutherane in the world. Thus whē he was arreſted, for the kinges priſoner, Blanc and his felowes, whiche ſought nothing but onely the praye, were ready to ſeaſe vpon his goodes, and likewiſe of the other ij. men, whom hee hyred to beare his marchandiſe. Then were theſe iij. poore men ſepared a ſunder, and Romian examined before the Conſuls & the kinges Aduocate and other Counſellers, where he kept his Eaſter, whether he receaued at the ſame Eaſter, & whether he was cōfeſſed before, & faſted the Lent: alſo he was byd to ſay his Pater noſter, *the* Crede, *and* Aue Maria. *Whiche he did, but denied to ſay* Aue Maria. *Thē was he asked for, worſhipping of Saintes, wemē Saintes, and men Saintes, and when he heard Maſſe: He ſayd he would worſhip none but God alone. Maſſe he heard none theſe iiij. yeares, nor euer would. Wherupon he was committed to a ſtinking houſe of eaſemēt, with yrons & cheynes vpon his legges. Lauris thus hauing his will vpō the poore mā, ſent for the Lieutenant, named Antonie Reueſte, told him what he had done, and willed him to ſee the priſoner. The Lieutenant beyng angrye that he did ſo vſurpe vpō his office, denied to go with him to the priſoner, excuſing the filthy ſauour of the place. Notwithſtādyng the ſame day, the Lieutenant with an other, went to the priſon, and cauſed the ſayd Romian to come before him: of whō he enquired many thinges, of his dwellyng, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his facultie, and cauſe of his comming, alſo of his religion, and all ſuch pointes therto belonging. Unto whom he aunſwered agayne ſimply and truly in all reſpectes, as lay in his conſciēce, and therunto beyng required (becauſe he could not write) he put to his marke. After his confeſsion, beyng thriſe made, and his aunſweres taken, certaine faythfull brethren of that place, found meanes to come to him, and counſailed him, that ſeyng he had ſufficiently already made confeſsion of his faith, he would ſeeke meanes to eſcape out from his enemyes, whiche ſought nothyng but his death, and ſhewed vnto him, what hee ſhould ſay to the Lieutenant: but he refuſed ſo to do, willyng there to render accompt of his faith, and contented to dye for the ſame.*

The fame of his conſtancie beyng knowen in the towne, Iudge Barboſi, a man blinde and ignorant, and no leſſe deformed, came to ſee him, and asked: What? do they beleue (ſayd he) in any God, in Geneua? Romian looking vpō him, What art thou (ſaid he) that ſo wretchedly doeſt blaſpheme? I am (ſayd he) the ordinarie Iudge of this place. And who hath put thee (ſayd Romian) ſuch a groſſe and deformed perſon, in ſuch an office? Thinkeſt thou that we be infidels, and no Chriſtians? And if the deuils them ſelues do confeſſe a God, ſuppoſe you, that they of Geneua do denye their God? No no, we beleue in God, we inuocate his name, and repoſe all our truſt in him. &c. Barboſi tooke ſuch grief with this,

departyng from Romian, that hee ceaſed not to purſue hym to death.

The Lieutenant thē being vrged & much called vpō, & alſo threatned by this Barboſi, and other, prepared to procede in iudgemēt agaynſt him, taking to him ſuch Iudges & aduocates, as the order there required. There was the ſame time, an obſeruaunt Frier, which had there preached all the Lent. He beyng very eger and diligēt to haue the poore Chriſtian burned, and ſeyng the Iudges intentyue about the buſines, to ſet the matter forward, ſayd that he would go and ſay Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, to illuminate their intentes, to haue the ſayd Romian cōdemned, and burned alyue at a litle fire. Moreouer he procured Caual, and Caualieri the Conſuls, to threaten the Lieutenāt, that they would cōplaine of him to the hye Court of Parliament, if he would not after that ſort, condemne him to be burnt. In the meane tyme, the faithfull Chriſtians of the ſayd towne, fearyng leſt by his racking, daunger might happen to the brethren, ſent to Romian agayne in the priſon, certeine inſtructions, and meanes how he might be ayded, ſuch as ſhould not be againſt God. But whē the Lieutenant came, the poore man forgot his inſtructiōs: ſo ſimple he was, and ignoraunt of the ſubtilties of this world.

Maſſe a common inſtrumēt for all thinges, & alſo to blow the fyre.

Filij huius ſeculi prudentiores in ſua generatione, q̄ filij lucis.

Whē the tyme came that the Iudges were ſette, and the proces ſhould be read, Barboſi, with other whō the Frier had procured, had agreed before, that he ſhould be fired alyue, & put to the racke, to diſcloſe his felowes, & alſo gagged that he might not ſpeake & infect the reſidue. On the other part, one there was of the Aduocates (albeit a man wholy ſuperſtitious) ſeyng the rage of the other, gaue contrary aduiſe, ſaying: that he ſhould be ſent home agayne, for that he was a towne dweller of Geneua, neither had taught there any kinde of doctrine, nor brought any bokes, neither had they any informations againſt him: and that which he had ſpokē, was as a thing conſtrayned by his othe forced by the Iuſtice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other, but as other yong men dyd folow, which were either of the one part, or of the other: and therefore that here remained no more but onely the Lieutenant to geue his verdict. &c. Thus much beyng ſpoken, and alſo becauſe the Lieutenaunt was before ſuſpected, and the tyme of dyner drew nere, they aroſe for that tyme, differryng the matter to an other ſeaſon. The Frier obſeruant, in this meane while was not idle, incityng ſtill the Conſuls and the people: who at the ringing of a bell, beyng aſſembled together, with the Officiall & the Prieſtes, in a great route, came crying to the Lieutenāt, to burne the hereticke, or els they would fire him and all his familie: and in ſemblable wiſe, did the ſame to the other Iudges & Aduocates. The Officiall moreouer added, that if it were not better ſeene to, then ſo, the Lutherās would take ſuch courage, and ſo ſhut vp their Church doores, that no mā ſhould enter in. Thē, becauſe the Lieutenant would not take to him other Iudges after their mindes, in all poſt haſt, the people contributed together, that at their owne charge, the matter ſhould bee purſued at the Parlament of Aix, and ſo compelled the Lieutenant to bryng the proces vnto Iudgement, euery man crying: to the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned.

Good counſell of an Aduocate.

The fryer ſtill bloweth the coale of perſecution.

The Lieutenant beyng not able otherwiſe to appeaſe the people, promiſed to bryng the matter to the highe Court of Aix, and ſo he did. They hearyng the information of the cauſe, commaunded the Lieutenant, and the other Iudges to deale no further therin, but to ſend vp the proces & the priſoner to them. This went greatly againſt the mindes of them of Draguignan, whiche would fayne haue him condemned there. Whereupon Barboſi was ſent out to the Parlament of Aix, where he ſo practiſed and laboured the matter, that the cauſe was ſent down again to the Lieutenant, & he inioyned to take vnto him ſuch auncient Aduocates, as their olde order required, and to certifie them agayne within viij. dayes. And ſo Romian by the ſentence of thoſe olde iudges, was cōdemned to be burned alyue, if he turned not: if he did, then to be ſtrangled, and before the execution, to be put vpō the racke, to the entent he ſhould diſcloſe the reſt of his companie. From the whiche ſentence Romian then appealed,

The cauſe of *Romian* **remoued to the parlament of** *Aix.*

The ſentence and condemnation of *Romian.*

Romian, brought to Aix.

The kyngs Aduocate repenteth.

ſaying that he was no hereticke. Wherupon he was caryed vnto Aix, ſinging the Commaundementes, as he paſſed by the towne of Draguignan. Whiche when the kinges Aduocate did ſee, looking out of hys windowe, he ſayd vnto hym, that hee was one of them that concluded his death: but deſired God to forgeue him. Romian aunſwered agayne and ſayd: God will iudge vs all in the day of Iudgement. After he was come to Aix, hee was brought before the Counſellers, before whom he remained no leſſe conſtant and firme, then afore. Then was a fumiſhe Frier ſent, who beyng iij. houres with him, and could not remoue him, came out to the Lordes, and ſayd that he was damned: By reaſon wherof the ſentence geuen before his condemnation, was confirmed, and he ſent backe agayne from whence he came.

Romian returned agayne from Aix to Draguignan.

Romian drawen moſt pitiouſly vpon the racke.

Romian broken with the racke and not able to go, was borne to the fyer.

Crueltye of fryers.

A ſlaundryng fryer.

Crucifige, Crucifige eum.

At his returne againe from Aix, the Counſuls of Draguignan ſent abroad by Pariſhes, vnto the Curates, that they ſhould ſignifie to their Pariſhners, the day of his death, to the end that they ſhould come: alſo cauſed to be cryed through the towne, by the ſound of a trompe, that all good Chriſtiãs ſhould bryng woode to the great market place, to burne the Lutherane. The day beyng come, whiche was Saterday, the xvi. day of May, the poore ſeruaũt of God, firſt was brought to the racke or torture, where, at his firſt entre, were brought before him, the cordes, yrons, and weyghtes, to terrifie hym. Then ſayd they, he muſt vtter his cōplices and renounce his religion, or els he ſhould be burned alyue. He aunſwered with a conſtant hart, that he had no other complices, nor companions, neither would he hold any other faith, but that which Ieſus Chriſt did preach by his Apoſtles. Then was he demaunded of his felowes taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did euer communicate with them, or did know them in the towne, or in Prouince, to be of his faith. He ſayd, no. Itē, what he had to do in that towne. He ſaid, to ſell his Corall. Itē, who gaue him coũſaile to appeale. God, he ſayd, by his ſpirite. Vpon this he was put vpon the gynne or racke, where he beyng torne moſt outragiouſlye, ceaſed not ſtill to cry vnto God, that he would haue pitie vpō him, for the loue of Ieſus Chriſt his ſonne. Thē was he cōmaunded to call to the virgin Mary: but that he would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed a freſhe, in ſuch cruell ſort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they ſent him to the Barbers, & findyng that he could endure no longer, were afrayde leſt he had ben paſt, and haſtened to bring him to the fire. So, after they had aſſayd him by Prieſtes & Friers, as much as they could, to make him reuolt, they helped the hangman to beare him, all broken and diſmembred, as he was, vnto the heape of woode, where they tyed him to a cheyne of yron, whiche was let downe vpon the fagottes. Romian ſeyng him ſelfe to bee alone, lying vpon the woode, began to pray to God. Wherat the Friers beyng moued, rāne to him agayn to cauſe hym to ſay, Aue Maria. *Which when he would not do, they were ſo furious, that they plucked & tare his beard. In all theſe anguiſhes, the meeke Saint of God, had recourſe ſtill to god in his praiers, beſeching him to geue him paciēce. Thē left they him lying as dead. But ſo ſoone as they deſcended down from the woode, he began to pray to God agayne, in ſuch ſort, as one would haue thought, that he felt no hurt. Then an other great freke ſuppoſing to do more with him thē the reſt, came vp to the woode vnto him, to admoniſhe him. Romian thought at firſt that he had bene a faithfull Chriſtiã, by hys gentle ſpeache, but afterward, when he vrged him to pray to the virgin Mary, he deſired him to depart and let him alone in peace. As ſoone as he was departed, Romian lifted vp his head & his eyes on hye, praying God to aſſiſte him in hys great tentation. Then a certaine father, a Warden, to bryng the people in more hatred, cried out & ſaid: he blaſphemeth, he blaſphemeth, he ſpeaketh againſt the bleſſed virgin Mary. Wherat Barboſi cryed, ſtoppe his mouth, let him be gagged. The people cryed to the fire, let him be burned. Then the hangman ſet fire to the ſtrawe, and litle ſtickes that were about, whiche incontinent were ſet on fire. Romian ſtill remained hanging in the ayre, till he dyed: and was burned, all his neither partes well nere, when hee was ſene to lift vp his head to heauen, mouyng his lippes without any crye: and ſo this bleſſed Saint rendred his ſpirite to God.*

Of this aſſemble there were diuers Iudgementes and ſondry brutes. Some ſayd, that if good mē had ben about him, it had gone better with him, & that thoſe prieſtes & Monkes, which were about him, were whoremaſters & infamous. Other ſaid that he had wrong: and that an hũdreth of that cōpany there were, which more deſerued death then he, eſpecially among them whiche condemned him. Other went away, maruelyng, & diſputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the courſe finiſhed of this valiant & thriſe bleſſed Martyr and ſeruaunt of the Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God. Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag. 902.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Cōuent of ẏ Iacobin **Fiers at** Dyion. **A Prieſt of** Dyion	Frances Ciuaux. At Dyion. an. 1558.	*This Frãces Ciuaux was Secretary to the Frēch Ambaſſadour here in Englãd, in Queene Maries tyme. Who afterward beyng deſirous to heare the word of God, went to Geneua. Alſo he was placed to be Secretary to the Senate or Counſaile of Geneua: where hee continued about the ſpace of a yere. Hauing then certeine buſines, he came to Dyion. There was the ſame time, a prieſt that preached at Dyion ſuch doctrine, whereat the ſayd Frances beyng worthly offended, came frendly vnto the Prieſt and reaſoned with him, touching his doctrine, ſhewyng by the Scriptures how and where he had erred. The Prieſt excuſed him ſelfe, that hee was not ſo well inſtructed to diſpute, but hee would bring him the next day, to a certeine learned man, whō he knew there in the towne, and deſired the ſayd Frances to go with him to breakefaſt, where he would be glad to heare them ij. in conference together. Wherunto when Frances had conſented, the Prieſt incontinent went to the Iacobine Friers, where the matter was thus contriued, that at the breakefaſt time, Frances there vnwares, ſhould be apprehēded. Whē the next day came, the Prieſt brought Frances, accordyng to his appointement, to a Iacobine Frier: who pretendyng much fayre frendſhyp vnto him, as one glad and deſirous of his company, beſought him to take a breakefaſt with him the next morow, and there they would enter conference together. With this alſo Frances was content, and to prepare him ſelfe the better to that conflict, ſat vp almoſt all the night writyng, with his folow. The next morowe, as Frances with his felow were preparing them ſelues toward the breakfaſt, the Iacobin, in the meane tyme, went to the Iuſtice of the towne, to admoniſhe him to be ready at the tyme & place appointed. Thus, as the Iacobin was ſtanding at the Iuſtices doore, the companion of Frances ſeing the Frier there ſtand, began to miſtruſt with him ſelfe, and told Frances, willyng hym to beware the Frier. Moreouer, the ſame nyght Frances had in his dreame, that the ſayd Frier ſhoulde committe hym to the Iuſtice. But he, either not caryng for his dreames, or els not much paſſyng for the daunger, committed him ſelf to the handes of God, & went. As they were together diſputyng in the Couent of the Iacobines, Frances thus betrayed of the Prieſt, was apprehended by the officers, caryed to priſon, and within ſeuen dayes after, beyng Saterday before the Natiuitie of the Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where firſt he was ſtrangled, and then burned.* Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Senatus Geneueſis.

And as touchyng the felow and companion of this Frances aboue mentioned, he was alſo apprehended with him and put in priſon, but becauſe he was but a young nouice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted and was deliuered.

The

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Prieſtes of Rochelle. Monroy, a Prieſt. The Lieutenant of Rochelle The Cardinal of Lorraine. Magiſtri. S.Andre.	Peter Arondeau. At Paris. an.1559.	*The towne of Rochelle, as it is a place of great cõmoditie becauſe of the ſea: ſo was it not inferiour to other good townes in Fraunce, for nouriſhing & ſupportyng the holy aſſembles of the Lord. Vnto the which towne, about the yere of our Lord.1559. reſorted one Peter Arondeau, a man of baſe condition, with a litle packet of mercerye ware, there to ſell: who there being knowen, to adioyne him ſelf to the Church & cõgregation of the faithfull, was demaunded of certein miniſters of Antichriſt, whether he would go to here Maſſe, or no. He ſayd that hee had bene there to ofte, to his great grief: and that ſince the time that the Lord had takẽ the vaile from his eyes, he knew the Maſſe to be abhominable, forged in the ſhop of the enemye of all mãkind. They to whõ he thus anſwered, were prieſtes: amongſt whome was one named Monroy, who takyng the other there preſent, for witneſſes, brought him ſtraight to the Lieutenaunt.*

The depoſition beyng taken, and information made, it was decred incontinent, that his body ſhould be attached. And although by one of his frendes he was admoniſhed to ſaue him ſelfe and to auoyde the daunger, yet hee ceaſed not to put him ſelfe in his enemyes handes, and ſo was ledde priſoner. As he was in priſon, many of the faithfull came to cõfort him: but rather he was able to comfort not onely them, whiche came to comfort him, but alſo the other, which were there priſoners with him. The prieſtes left no diligence vnſought, to ſtirre vp the Lieutenaunt, whiche was of him ſelfe, to much inflamed in ſuch matters.

Arondeau, after many interrogations and threatnyng wordes, and alſo fayre promiſes of his pardon, ſtill continued one man. Then the Lieutenant ſeyng his conſtancie, condemned him to death. Arondeau praiſing God for his grace geuẽ, did not a litle reioyſe that he might ſuffer in that quarel, and in token of reioyſing, did ſing a Pſalme, beyng fully reſolued to accept the ſayd condemnation, without any appeale. But his frendes not pleaſed with this reſolution, came to him, and ſo perſuaded with him, not to geue his life ſo good chepe, ouer to his enemies handes, that he was turned from that, and made his appeale. The appeale beyng entred, the Lieutenant, ſeking to gratifie the aduerſaries of the Goſpell, and eſpecially the Cardinall of Lorraine, ſecretly, by the backe ſide of the towne, and out of the hye way, conueyd the poore priſoner vnto Paris. Who being brought vnto Paris, by priuie iourneys (as is ſayd) was put into priſon, committed to the cuſtodie of two Preſidentes: to witte, Magiſtri, and S. Andre. By the meanes of whom, the ſentence of the Lieutenant was cõfirmed, and alſo put in execution, the 15. of Nouemb. in the yeare aboue ſayd: on the whiche daye, the ſayd Arondeau was burned quicke at the place called S. Iohn in Greue, at Paris. The conſtancie heroicall whiche God gaue hym, & wherin he endured victorious vnto death, was a mirrour or glaſſe of pacience to M. Anne du Bourge Counſeller in the Parlament of Paris, and to diuers other then priſoners, and was to them a preparation toward the like death, whiche ſhortly after they ſuffered.

Not longe after the happye end of this bleſſed Martyr, the forenamed Monroy, which was the principall accuſer and partie againſt him, was ſtrockẽ with a diſeaſe called *Apoplexia, *and therupon ſodenly dyed.*

By this and many other ſuch lyke examples, the myghty Iudgement of God moſt euidently may appeare: who albeit cõmonly he doth vſe to begin his Iudgement with his owne houſhold in this worlde: yet neither doth his aduerſaries alwayes eſcape them ſelues, the terrible hand of his Iuſtice.

Gods iuſte vengeaunce vpon the Lieutenant, a perſecutour.

Alſo the Lieutenant, whiche was his condemner, taryed not long after the prieſt, but he was arreſted perſonally to appeare before the kinges Counſaile, through the procuremẽt of a certeine Gentleman of Polonie, called Antonie de L'egliſe, agaynſt whom the ſayd Lieutenant had geuen falſe and wrong Iudgement before. By reaſon wherof the foreſaid Gentleman ſo inſtantly did purſue him, before the Lordes of the Counſaile, that all the extorſions and polynges of the Lieutenant were there openly diſcouered, and ſo he condemned to paye to the Gentleman a thouſand Frenche crownes of the ſunne, within 14. dayes, vpõ paine of double as much. Alſo he was depoſed of his office, & there declared vnworthy to exerciſe any royall office hereafter for euer, with infamie, and ſhame perpetuall. Ex Criſp.lib.6.pag.907.

Note.

A Prieſt of Valenciennes.	Thomas Moutarde. At Vallenciennes. an.1559.	*In the towne of Valenciẽnes, not farre from Fraũce, the ſame yeare, whiche was. 1559. in the moneth of Octob. ſuffered Thomas Moutarde. Who firſt beyng conuerted from a diſordered life, to the knowledge of the Goſpell, is to vs a ſpectacle of Gods great gracious mercy toward his elected Chriſtiãs. This Moutard was attached for certaine wordes ſpoken to a Prieſt, ſaying thus, that his God of the hoſte was nothing but abomination, whiche abuſed the people of God. Theſe wordes were taken firſt as ſpoken in his dronkennes. But the next day after, whẽ the ſame woordes were repeted to him agayne, to knowe whether he would abyde by the wordes there vttered, or no: he ſayd, yea.*

Thomas Moutarde, Martyr.

For it is an abuſe (ſayd he) to ſeke Ieſus Chriſt any other where, then in heauen, ſittyng at the glory and right hand of God his father: and in this, he was ready to lyue and dye. His proces beyng made, hee was condemned to bee burned quicke. But as hee was caried from the towne houſe, to the place of puniſhment, it was neuer ſene, a man with ſuch conſtancie to be ſo aſſured in hart, and ſo to reioyce at that great honour, whiche God had called him vnto. The hangman haſted as much, as was poſſible, to bynde him, and diſpatche him. The Martyr in the myddeſt of the flaming fire, liftyng vp his eyes vnto heauen, cryed to the Lorde, that he would haue mercy on his ſoule: and ſo in great integritie of fayth and perſeueraunce, he gaue vp his lyfe to God. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. *6.*

Agaynſt the bodily preſence of Chriſt in the hoſte.

Conſtancie of a good conſcience.

¶ This Dutch ſtory ſhould haue gone before, with the Dutche Martyrs. But ſeyng Vallenciẽnes is not farre diſtant from Fraunce, it is not much out of order, to adioyne the ſame to the Frenche Martyrs: who all together at length, ſhalbe ioyned in the kingdome of Chriſt: which day ẏ Lord ſend ſhortly. Amẽ.

¶ Thus haue we (throughe the aſſiſtance of the Lord) deduced the Table of the French and alſo of the Dutch Martyrs, vnto the tyme and reigne of Queene Elizabeth, that is, to the yeare. 1560. Since the whiche tyme, diuers alſo haue ſuffered, both in Fraunce, & in the lower countrey of Germany, whoſe ſtoryes ſhalbe declared (the Lorde willyng) more at large, whẽ we come to ẏ tyme of Queene Elizabeth. In the meane ſeaſon it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent, to inſert their names onely, which here do folow.

¶The reſidue of the French Martyrs.

Anne du Bourge, Coũſailer *of* Paris. Andrewe Coiffier, Iohn Iſabeau, Iohn Indet, Martyrs *of* Paris, Geoffrey Guerin, Iohn Morell, Iohn Barbeuille, Peter Cheuet, Marin Marie, Margarete Riche, Adrian Dauſsi, Gilles *le* Court, Philippe Parmentier, Marin Roſſeau, Peter Milot, Iohn Berfoy: *Beſides the tumulte of* Amboiſe, the perſecution *of* Vaſſy, Auſten Marlorat, Maſter Mutonis.

¶The reſidue of the Dutch Martyrs.

Iames de Lo, *of the Ile of* Flanders, Iohn de Buiſſons *At* Antwarpe, Peter Petit, Iohn Denis, Symon Guilmin, Simeon Herme *of the Ile of* Flanders, Iohn de Lannoy *At* Tournay.

¶The Dutche Martyrs.

Andrew Michell, *a blynd man, at* Tournay, Frances Varlut, *at* Tournay, Alexander Dayken *of* Bramchaſtle, William Cornu *in* Henault, Antony Caron *of* Cambray, Renaudine de Francuile, Certeine ſuffered *at* Tournay, Michell Robilart *of* Aras, Nicaiſe de le Tombe *at* Tornay, Roger du Mont.

¶To the Catalogue of French Martyrs aboue rehearſed, the ſtory of Merindoll and Cabrieres, with the lamentable handlyng of them, were alſo to be adnexed. But becauſe the tractation therof is prolixe, and can not well be contracted into a ſhorte diſcours, therfore we haue differred the ſame to a more conuenient romme, after the Table here folowing next, of the Spaniſhe and Italian Martyrs. Where better oportunitie ſhalbe geuen, to proſecute more at full that Tragicall perſecution, the Lord ſo permittyng.

A Table of ſuch Martyrs, as for the cauſe of Religion, ſuffered in Spayne.

The Spaniſhe Martyrs.

Frances San Romane, Martyr.

The conuerſion of *San Romane.*

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Spaniſhe **marchãts in** Antwerpe. **The Friers of** Antwerpe.	Franciſcus San Romanꝰ At Burgis in Spayne. an. 1542.	*AN. 1540. this Frances was ſent by certain Spaniſh marchantes of Antwerpe, to Breme, to take vp money due to be payd of certaine marchauntes there. Where hee beyng at a Sermon, hearing M. Iacobus Priour ſome tymes of the Auſten Friers of Antwerpe, preache, was ſo touched and drawen (throughe the meruelous working of Gods ſpirite) at the hearing therof, albeit hauing no perfect vnderſtãdyng of the Dutche tongue, that not onely he vnderſtode al that there was ſayd, but alſo cõmyng to the preacher, & accompanying him home (all his other worldly buſines ſet a part) there recited the whole contentes of his Sermon, euery thyng (as they ſayd, which heard the ſaid miniſter of Breme preach) in perfect forme & order, as he had preached. After this litle taſte, & happy beginnyng, he proceded further, ſearchyng and cõferryng with learned mẽ, that in ſhort ſpace, he was growen in great towardnes, and rype knowledge in the word of life. The Miniſter meruelĩg at the ſodeine mutation of the man, and alſo ſeyng the vehemencie of his zeale ioyned withall, began to exhort him, how to tempere him ſelfe with circũſpection, and diſcretiõ, ſtill more & more inſtructing him in the word and knowledge of the Goſpell, whiche he ſo gredely did receaue, as one that could neuer bee ſatiſfied: and ſo remained he with the miniſter iij. dayes together, cõmitting his worldly buſines and meſſage that hee was ſent for, vnto his felow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with an other deſire, he ceaſed to ſeke for tẽporal trifles, ſeking rather for ſuch French or Dutch bokes, which he could get, to read: and agayne, read the ſame ſo diligently, that partly by the readyng therof, partly by M. Iacobus, and alſo by M. Machabeus (whiche was there the ſame tyme) he was able in ſhort time, to iudge in the chiefe Articles, of our religiõ: In ſomuch, that he toke vpõ him to write letters vnto his countreymẽ the Marchants of Antwerpe, in the which letters, firſt he gaue thankes to God for the knowledge of his holy word, which he had receaued. Secondly he bewayled the great crueltie, and groſſe blindnes of his countreymen, deſiryng God to open their eyes and eares, to ſee and vnderſtand the worde of their ſaluation. Thirdly he promiſed ſhortly to come to them at Antwerpe, to conferre with them, touchyng the grace of God, whiche he had receaued. Fourthly declareth to them his purpoſe in goyng alſo to Spayne, intendyng there likewiſe to imparte to his parentes, and other frendes at Burges, the holeſome doctrine, whiche the Lord had beſtowed vpon him.* *Beſide this, he addreſſed other letters alſo to Charles the Emperour, opening to him the calamities and miſerable ſtate of Chriſtes Church, deſiryng him to tẽder the quietnes therof, eſpecially that he would reforme the miſerable corruption of the Church of Spayne, &c. Ouer and beſides all this, he wrote there a Catechiſme, and diuers other treatiſes in the Spaniſh tõge. And all this he did in one monethes ſpace. In the meane tyme the Spaniſh marchantes of Antwerpe, vnderſtandyng by his letters, both his chaunge of religion, and alſo his purpoſe of comming to Antwerpe, ſent him letters agayne, pretendyng outwardly, a fayre countenance of much good will, but ſecretly practiſing his deſtruction. For at the day appointed of his comming, certaine Friers were ſet ready to receaue him, whiche tooke him commyng downe from his horſe, ryfled his bookes, had him into a marchantes houſe nere hand, where they examined him: with whom hee agayne diſputed mightly, & whẽ they found him not agreyng to their faith, they bound him hand & foote, crying out vpõ him, & calling him Lutherane, and burnt his bookes before his face, threatning to burne him ſelfe alſo. At this diſputation within the houſe, diuers Spaniardes were preſent, which made the friers more bold. Beyng demaunded to ſhew of what faith and religion he was: My faith (ſayd he) is to confeſſe and preache Chriſt Ieſus onely and him crucified, whiche is the true faith of the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt through the whole world. But this faith and doctrine you haue corrupted, taking an other abhominable kinde of life, and by your impietie haue brought the moſt part of the world, into blindnes moſt miſerable: and to explane his fayth to them more expreſſely, he recited all the Articles of the Crede.* *Whiche done, then the Friers asked whether he beleued the Biſhop of Rome to be Chriſtes vicare, and head of the Churche, hauyng all the treaſures of the Church in his owne power, being able to bind & looſe: alſo to make new articles, and aboliſh the old, at his owne will and arbitriment. Hereunto Frances aunſwered agayne, that he beleued none of all this, but contrary did affirme, that the Pope was Antichriſt,*

borne of the deuill, beyng the enemie of Ieſus Chriſt, transferring to him ſelf Gods honour: and which moreouer beyng incited by the deuill, turned all thinges vp ſide down, & corrupted the ſinceritie of Chriſtes religion, partly by his falſe pretences begilyng, partly by his extreme crueltie deſtroying the poore flocke of Chriſt. &c. With the like boldnes he vttered his minde likewiſe agaynſt the Maſſe, and Purgatorie. The Friers could ſuffer him meanely well to ſpeake, till hee came to the Pope, and began to ſpeake agaynſt his dignitie, and their profite: then could they abyde no longer, but thundred agaynſt him woordes full of crueltie and terrour. As they were burnyng of his bookes, and began alſo to caſt the new Teſtament into the fire, Frances ſeyng that, began to thunder out agaynſt them againe. The Spanyardes then ſuppoſing him not to be in his right ſenſes, conueyed him into a Tower ſix myles diſtant frō Antwerpe, where he was deteined in a depe caue, or dungeon, with much miſerie, the ſpace of viij. monethes. In whiche tyme of his impriſonment, many graue, and diſcrete perſons came to viſite him, exhortyng him, that he would chaunge his opinion, and to ſpeake more modeſtly. Frances aunſwered agayne, that he mainteined no opiniō erronious, or hereticall: and if he ſemed to be ſomwhat vehement with the Friers, that was to be aſcribed not to him ſo much, as to their own importunitie: hereafter he would frame him ſelfe more temperatly. Wherupon the Spaniardes thinking him better come to him ſelfe, diſcharged him out of priſon. Which was about the time when the Emperour was in his councell at Ratisbone. an. 1541.

Frances brought in priſon.

San Romane deliuered out of priſon.

San Romane thus being freed out of priſon, came to Antwerpe, where he remained about xx. dayes. From thence he went to Louane, vnto a certeine frende of his, named Franciſcus Dryander (who alſo afterward dyed a Martyr) with whō he had much conferēce, about diuers matters of religiō: who gaue him counſaile not to alter the ſtate of his vocatiō, beyng called to be a marchaunt, whiche ſtate he might exerciſe with a good conſcience, and do much good. And as touchyng religiō, his coūſaile was that he ſhould ſaye or doe nothyng, for fauour of men, wherby the glory of God ſhould be diminiſhed: but ſo, that he required notwithſtandyng in the ſame, a ſound and a right iudgement, conformed to the rule of Gods worde, leſt it might chaunce to him, as it doth to many, who beyng caryed with an inconſiderate zeale, leaue their vocations, and while they thinke to do good, and to edifie, they deſtroy, and do harme, and caſt them ſelues nedeles into daunger. It is God (ſayd he) that hath the care of his Churche, and will ſtirre vp faithfull miniſters for the ſame: neither doth he care for ſuch, whiche raſhely intrude them ſelues, into that function without any callyng.

Frances Dryander.

This aduertiſement of Dryander, Frances did willingly accept, promiſing hereafter to moderate him ſelfe more conſideratly. But this promiſe was ſhortly broken, as you ſhall heare. For paßing from Dryander, he went to Ratisbone, and there hauyng time and oportunitie conueniēt to ſpeake to the Emperour, he ſtepped boldly vnto him, beſechyng hym to deliuer his countrey and ſubiectes of Spayne, frō falſe religion, and to reſtore agayne the ſinceritie of Chriſtes doctrine, declaryng and proteſtyng that the Princes and Proteſtātes of Germanie, were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spayne beyng drowned in ignoraunce and blindnes, was greatly diſſonant from the true and perfect worde of God, with many other wordes perteinyng to the ſame effect. The Emperour all this while, gaue him gentle hearing, ſignifying that he would conſider vpon the matter, and ſo do therin, as he truſted ſhould be for the beſt. This quyet aunſwere of the Emperour, miniſtred to him no litle encouragement of better hope, albeit he might perceaue there in the Citie, many examples to the contrary, yet all that diſcouraged not him, but he went the ſecond, & alſo the third time, vnto the Emperour: Who quietly agayne ſo aunſwered him as before. And yet this our Frances not ſatisfied in his minde, ſought with a greater ardencie the fourth time, to ſpeake to the Emperour, but hee was repulſed by certain of the Spanyardes about the Emperour, who incontinent with out all further hearyng or aduiſing the cauſe, would haue throwē hym headlōg into the ryuer of Danubius, had not the Emperour ſtayd them, and willed him to be iudged by the lawes of the Empire. By which cōmaundement of the Emperour, he was reſerued, & deteined with other malefactors, in bādes, till the Emperour toke his viage into Aphrike. Then Frances, with other captiues folowing the Court, after that the Emperour was come into Spayne, was there deliuered to the Inquiſitors: by whō he was layd in a darke priſon vnder the ground. Oft and many tymes he was called for to examination, where he ſuffered great iniuries and contumelies, but euer remained in his conſcience firme and vnmoueable. The Articles wherupon he ſtoode, and for whiche he was condemned, were theſe.

The bolde ſpeaking of San Romane to the Emperour.

The Emperours gentle aunſwere.

Frances San Romane brought into Spaine.

That life and ſaluation in the ſight of God, commeth to no man by his own ſtrength, workes, or merites: but onely by the free mercy of God, in the bloud and Sacrifice of his ſonne our mediatour.

The articles of San Romane.

That the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, whiche the Papiſtes do recounte auaylcable, Ex opere operato, for remiſſion of ſinne, both to the quicke & dead, is horrible blaſphemie.

That auricular confeßion, with the numberyng vp of ſinnes, that Satiſfaction, Purgatory, Pardons, Innocation of Saintes, worſhippyng of Images, be mere blaſphemie agaynſt the liuyng God.

Item, that the bloud of Chriſt is prophaned and iniuried in the ſame aforeſayd.

After the Inquiſitours perceaued, that by no meanes he coulde bee reclamed from his aſſertions, they proceeded at laſte, to the ſentence, condemnyng him to be burned for an hereticke. Many other malefactors were brought alſo with him to the place of execution, but all they were pardoned and diſmiſſed: he onely for the Goſpell, beyng odious to the whole world, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of ſufferyng, they put vpon him a Miter of paper, paynted full of deuils, after the Spaniſhe guiſe.

Barabas deliuered, & Chriſt taken.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the Citie gate to be burned, there ſtode a wooden Croſſe by the way, wherunto Frances was required to do homage. Whiche he refuſed, aunſweryng, that the maner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip woode, and he was (ſayd he) a Chriſtiā. Hereupō aroſe great clamor among the vulgare people, for that he denied to worſhip the wooden Croſſe. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blynd rudenes of that people, that they did impute this to the diuine vertue, as geuen to that Croſſe from heauen, for that it would not ſuffer it ſelfe to be worſhipped of an hereticke: and immediatly, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their ſwordes, dyd hewe it in peeces, euery man thinking him ſelfe happy, that might cary away ſome chyppe or fragment of the ſayd Croſſe.

The maner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip woode.

A great Spaniſhe miracle.

When he was come to the place, where he ſhould ſuffer, the Friers were buſie about him, to haue him recant: but he continued euer firme. As he was layd vpon the heape of woode, and the fire kindled about him, he began a litle, at the felyng of the fire, to lyft vp his head toward heauen. Whiche whē the Inquiſitors perceaued, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they cauſed hym to be takē frō the fire. But whē they perceaued nothyng leſſe in him, the aduerſaries beyng fruſtrate of their expectation, willed him to be throwen in agayne, and ſo was he immediatly diſpatched.

Frances conſtant to the death.

The death and Martyrdome of Frances San Romane.

After that the Martyrdome of this bleſſed man was thus cōſummate, the Inquiſitors proclamed opēly that he was dāned in hell, and that none ſhould pray for him: yea and that all were heretickes, who ſoeuer doubted of his damnation. Neuertheles certaine of the Emperours ſouldiours gathered of his aſhes. Alſo the Engliſhe Ambaſſadour procured a portion of his bones to be brought vnto him, knowyng right well that he dyed a Martyr. Yet this could not be ſo ſecretly done, but it came to the eares of the Inquiſitors and of the Emperour. Wherfore the ſouldiours goyng in great daunger of life, were committed to priſon. Neither did the Ambaſſadour him ſelfe eſcape cleare from the daunger of the Popes ſcourge: For he was vpō the ſame, ſequeſtred from the Court & cōmaūded to be abſent for a ſpace. And thus much concernyng the notable Martyrdome of this bleſſed San Romane. Ex Franc. Encena. Hiſpano, teſte occulato.

The Inquiſitors of Spaine take Chriſtes office to iudge the quicke and the dead.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadour baniſhed the Spaniſhe court.

Rochus Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
An Inquiſitour in Spaine.	Rochus. At San Lucar in Spayne. an. 1545.	*Rochus was borne in Brabant, his father dwellyng in Antwerpe. By his ſcience he was a caruer or grauer of Images. Who as ſoone as he began, firſt to taſt the Goſpell, he fell from making ſuch Images as vſe to ſerue for Idolatrie in temples, and occupied him ſelfe in making ſeales: ſaue onely that he kept ſtanding on his ſtalle, an image of the virgine Mary artificially grauen, for a ſigne of his occupation. It happened vnhappely, that a certeine Inquiſitour paſſing by in the ſtrete, and beholding the carued Image, asked of Rochus what was the price thereof. Whiche when Rochus had ſet (not willing belike to ſell it) the Inquiſitor bad him ſcarce halfe the money. The other aunſwered agayne that he could not ſo lyue of that bargain. But ſtill the Inquiſitor vrged him to take his offer. To whom Rochus agayne, it ſhall be yours (ſayd he) if you giue me that, whiche my labour and charges ſtand me in, but of that price I can not afforde it: yet had I rather breake it in peeces. Yea, ſayth the Inquiſitor? breake it, let me ſee thee. Rochus with that toke vp a Chyſell, & daſhed it vpon the face of his Image, wherwith the noſe or ſome other part of the face was blemiſhed. The Inquiſitor ſeyng that, cryed out, as he were mad, and cōmaūded Rochus forthwith into priſon. To whō Rochus cryed agayn, that he might do in hys own workes, what he liſted. And if the workmāſhip of the Image were not after his phātaſie, what was that to thē? But all this could not helpe Rochus, but within three dayes after, ſentence was giuen vppon him that he ſhould be burned, and ſo was he committed to the executers. As Rochus was entryng the place, there to be burned, he cryed with a loud voyce, asking among the multitude, whiche there ſtode by, if any man of Flaunders, were there. It was aunſwered, yea: and alſo that there were ij. ſhippes already fraught, and appointed to ſaile to Flanders. Then, ſayd he, I would deſire ſome of them to ſignifie to my father dwelling in Antwerpe, that I was burned here in this Citie, and for this cauſe, which you all haue heard. And thus after his prayers made to God, this good man beyng wrongfully condemned, after his godly life, made this bleſſed end. an. 1545.*

A caruer burned for breaking his owne Image.

The death and Martyrdome of Rochus.

And leſt this ſo rare and ſtraunge example of crueltie, ſhall ſeme to lacke credite, in the fift booke of the hiſtory of Pantaleon, there is recorded that a certaine Spanyard commyng to Antwerpe, made diligent inquiſition there among the Image makers, to finde out the parentes of this Rochus, & ſignified to them what had happened toward their ſonne, as hath bene by his ſayd parentes and frendes, declared: In ſo much that it is alſo teſtified, that his father, at the hearing of the ſayd meſſage, for ſorowe therof, dyed ſhortly after. Ex Pantal. lib. 5.

Diuers good mē & martyrs of Spain, died in priſon.

☞ Furthermore, beſides theſe aboue recited, and alſo before their tyme, I heare and vnderſtand by faythfull relation, that diuers other haue bene in the ſayd countrey of Spayne, whoſe hartes God had merueilouſly illuminate and ſtirred vp, both before, and alſo ſince the cōmyng in of the Inquiſition, to ſtand in defenſe of his Goſpell, and whiche were alſo perſecuted for the ſame, and are ſayd to haue dyed in priſon: Albeit their names as yet are vnknowen, for that the ſtories of that countrey bee not yet come to light, but I truſt ſhortly ſhal, as partly ſome intelligence I haue therof. In the meane tyme we will come now to the Inquiſition of Spayne, ſpeakyng ſome thyng of the ceremoniall pompe, and alſo of the barbarous abuſe and crueltie of the ſame.

¶ *The execrable Inquiſition of Spayne.*

The forme & maner of the Inquiſition of Spaine.

THe cruell and barbarous Inquiſition of Spayne, firſt began by kyng Ferdinandus and Eliſabeth his wife, & was inſtituted agaynſt the Iewes, whiche after their Baptiſme, mainteined agayne, their owne ceremonies. But now it is practiſed agaynſt them that be neuer ſo litle ſuſpected to fauour the veritie of ẏ Lorde. The Spanyardes, and eſpecially the great diuines there do hold, that this holy and ſacrate Inquiſition can not erre, and that the holy fathers the Inquiſitours, can not be deceaued.

Three ſortes of men moſt principally be in daūger of theſe Inquiſitours. They that bee greatly riche, for the ſpoyle of their goods. They that be learned, becauſe they will not haue their miſdealynges and ſecret abuſes to be eſpyed and detected. They that begyn to encreaſe in honor and dignitie, leſte they beyng in authoritie, ſhould worke them ſome ſhame, or diſhonor. The abuſe of this Inquiſition is moſt execrable. If any worde ſhall paſſe out of the mouth of any, whiche may bee taken in euill part: yea and though no worde bee ſpoken, yet if they beare any grudge or euill will agaynſt the partie, incontinent they commaunde him to be taken, and put in an horrible priſon, and then finde out crimes agaynſt him at leaſure, and in the meane tyme no man liuyng ſo hardye once to open his mouth for him. If the father ſpeake one worde for his childe, he is alſo taken, and caſt into priſon, as a fauourer of heretickes. Neither is it permitted to any perſon, to enter to the priſoner: but there he is alone, in ſuch a place, where he can not ſee ſo much as the groūde, where hee is, and is not ſuffred eithre to read or write, but there endureth in darkenes palpable, in horrors infinite, in feare miſerable, wraſtlyng with the aſſaultes of death.

By this it may be eſtemed, what trouble and ſorowe, what penſiue ſighes & cogitations, they ſuſtaine whiche are not thorowly inſtructed in holy doctrine. Adde more ouer to theſe diſtreſſes & horrors of the priſon, the iniuries, threates, whippings & ſcourgings, yrons, tortures, & rackes, which they endure. Some tymes alſo they are brought out, and ſhewed forth in ſome higher place, to the people, as a ſpectacle, of rebuke and infamie. And thus are they deteined there, ſome many yeares, and murthered by longe tormentes, and whole dayes together, entreated much more cruelly (out of all compariſon) then if they were in the hangmans handes to bee ſlayne at once. Duryng all this time, what is done in the proces, no perſō knoweth, but onely the holy fathers and the tormentours, whiche are ſworne to execute the tormentes. All is done in ſecret, and (as great miſteries) paſſe not ẏ handes of thoſe holy ones. And after all theſe tormentes ſo many yeares endured in the priſon, if any man ſhall be ſaued, it muſte bee by geſſing: For all the procedynges of the Court of that execrable Inquiſitiō is opē to no mā, but all is done in hugger mugger, & in cloſe corners, by ambages, by couert wayes, & ſecrete counſailes. The accuſer ſecret, the crime ſecret, the witnes ſecret: what ſoeuer is done, is ſecret, neither is the poore priſoner euer aduertiſed of any thyng. If he can geſſe who accuſed hym, wherof & wherfore, he may bee pardoned perauenture, of his lyfe: but this is very ſeldome: & yet he ſhall not incontinent, be ſet at libertie, before he hath endured long time, infinite torments (& this is called their penitence) & ſo is he let go: and yet not ſo, but ẏ he is enioyned, before he paſſe ẏ Inquiſitors hāds, that he ſhall weare a garment with yellow colours, for a note of publicke infamie, to him, & his whole race. And if he can not geſſe right, ſhewyng to the Inquiſitours by whom he was accuſed, wherof, and wherfore (as is afore touched) incontinent the horrible ſentence of condemnation is pronounced agaynſt hym, that he ſhal be burned for an obſtinate hereticke: and ſo yet the ſentence is not executed by and by, but after that hee hath endured impriſonment in ſome heynous priſon.

¶ And thus haue ye heard the forme of the Spaniſh Inquiſition. By the vigour and rigour of this Inquiſition, many good true ſeruauntes of Ieſus Chriſt haue bene brought to death, eſpecially in theſe later yeares, ſince the royall & peaceable reigne of thys our Quéene Elizabeth. The names and ſtories of whom, partlye we will here recite, accordyng as we haue faythfull recordes of ſuch as are come to our handes by writing. The other which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will differre, till further intelligēce and oportunitie, by ẏ Lordes ayde & leaue, ſhall ſerue hereafter.

Perſecuters | Martyrs. | The Cauſes.

The [illegible]s. Chri niſhe [illegible] priſo- quiſiti[illegible] mon- can [illegible] before erre. [illegible] counſel [illegible]e In- [illegible]ition.

An,1559.May,21.In the towne of Valledolid, where cōmonly the counſell of the Inquiſition is wont to be kept, the Inquiſitors had brought together many priſouers, both of high and lowe eſtate, to the number of xxx. alſo the coffin of a certein noble woman, with her Picture lying vpon it, which had bene dead long before, there to receaue iudgemēt & ſentence. To the hearing of whiche ſentence, they had ordeined in the ſayd towne, iij. mightye Theatries or ſtages. Vpon the firſt was placed Dame Iane, ſiſter to king Philippe, and chief Regent of his realmes: alſo Prince Charles, king Philippes ſonne, with other Princes and States of Spayne. Vpon the other ſcaffold mouted the Archbiſhop De Seuille, Prince of the Synagoge of the Inquiſitors, with the Counſell of the Inquiſition: alſo other Biſhops of the landes, and the kinges counſaile with them.

After that the Princes, and other ſpirituall iudges, and counſellers were thus ſit in their places, with a great garde of Archers, and Halberdiers, and harniſſed ſouldiours: with iiij. Herauldes alſo of armes, geuing their attendance to the ſame, and the Earle of Buendia bearyng the naked ſworde, all the market place where the ſtages were, beyng enuironed with an infinite multitude of all ſortes of the worlde there ſtandyng, and gaſing out of wyndowes, and houſes to heare & ſee the ſentences & iudgementes of thys Inquiſitiō: then after all, were brought forth (as a ſpectacle and triumphe) the poore ſeruauntes and witneſſes of Ieſus Chriſt, to the number (as is aforeſayd) of thirty, clothed with their Sanbenito, *as the Spaniardes do call it, which is a maner of veſture, of yellow cloth comming both before them and behind them, ſpangled with read Croſſes, and hauyng burning Cierges in their handes: alſo before them was borne a Crucifixe couered with blacke linen cloth, in token of mournyng. Moreouer, they which were to receaue the ſentence of death, had Miters of paper vpō their heads, which the Spanyardes call Coracas. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one vnder an other, according as they were eſtemed culpable: So that firſt of all, ſtode Doct. Cacalla, an Auſtin frier, a mā notable & ſingular in knowledge of diuinitie, preacher ſometyme, to Charles the v. Emperour, both in hygher, and lower Germanie.*

The [illegible] Spa- [illegible] Man- [illegible] of S. [illegible]net of [illegible] couple [illegible] with [illegible] croſſes [illegible] before [illegible] behinde, [illegible] Sanbeni-

These thinges thus diſpoſed, then folowed a Sermō, made by a Dominicke Frier, whiche endured about an houre. After the Sermon finiſhed, the Procurator generall, with the Archbiſhop, went to the ſtage, where the Princes and nobles ſtode, to miniſter a ſolemne othe vnto them, vpon the Crucifixe painted in the Maſſebooke: the tenour of which othe was this: Your Maieſties ſhall ſweare, that you will fauour the holy Inquiſition, and alſo geue your conſent vnto the ſame: and not onely that you ſhall, by no maner of way, hinder and impeache the ſame, but alſo you ſhall employ the vttermoſt of your helpe and endeuour hereafter, to ſee all them to bee executed, whiche ſhall ſwerue from the Churche of Rome, and adioyne them ſelues to the ſecte of the Lutheran heretickes, with out all reſpecte of any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer they be.

[illegible]is Do- [illegible]nicke [illegible] M. [illegible]elchior Cano.

[illegible]e oth [illegible]en to [illegible] princes [illegible]e In- [illegible]ition of [illegible]payne.

And thus much for the firſt article of the othe. The ſecōd was this, as foloweth.

Item, your Maieſties ſhall ſwere; that you ſhall conſtraine all your ſubiectes, to ſubmitte them ſelues to the Churche of Rome, and to haue in reuerence all the lawes and commaundementes of the ſame: and alſo to geue your ayde agaynſt all them, whoſoeuer ſhall hold of the hereſie of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.

Dion[illegible] Mart[illegible] in Sp[illegible] ſince [illegible] tyme [illegible] Que[illegible] Eliz[illegible]

In this ſort and maner, when all the Princes and ſtates, euery one in their degree, had receaued their othe, then the Archbiſhop liftyng vp his hand, gaue them his benediction, ſaying: God bleſſe your highneſſes, and geue you long lyfe. This ſolemne Pageon thus finiſhed, at laſt the poore captiues and priſoners were called out, the Procurator fiſcall, or the Popes great Collectour, firſt beginnyng with Doctour Cacalla, and ſo procedyng to the other in order, as here vnder in this Table foloweth, with their names, and their iudgementes deſcribed.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Inquiſitors of Spaine **The Popes great Collector, or Procurator fiſcall.** **The Archbyſhop of** Seuille. **The Byſhop** of Valence. **The Byſhop** of Orēſe.	1. Doctour Cacalla, *a Frier Auguſtin.*	*Before the Popes great Proctor or Collector fiſcall, firſt was called forth Doctour Auſtin Cacalla. This Doctor was a Frier of Auſtins order, and Prieſt of the town of Valledolid, and preacher ſometymes to the Emperour Charles the v. a mā wel accoūted of for his learnyng. Who for that he was thought to be as the ſtanderbearer to the Goſpellers (whō they called Lutherans) and preacher and Doctor vnto thē, therfore beyng firſt called for, was brought from his ſtage, nearer to the Proctor fiſcall, there to heare the ſentence of his condemnatiō: which was, that he ſhould be degraded, and preſently burned, & all his goods confiſcate, to the profite and auauncement of Iuſtice.*
	2. Frances de Biuero, *Prieſt of* Valledolid, *& brother to the foreſayd* Cacalla.	*The ſecond priſoner and next to Doctor Cacalla, that was called, was Frances de Biuero his brother, Prieſt alſo of Valledolid, who receaued likewiſe the ſame ſentence of condemnation. And to the intent he ſhould not ſpeake any thyng to the preiudice, or againſt the abuſe of the ſacrate Inquiſition, as he before had done both within and without the priſon, with much boldnes, and alſo becauſe he was much fauored of the people: to the end therfore, that no commotion ſhould come by his ſpeaking, his mouth was ſo ſtopped and ſhut vp, that hee could not ſpeake one worde.*
	3. Dame Blanche de Biuero.	*The third, was Dame Blāche, ſiſter to the other two aforeſayd, agaynſte whom alſo was pronounced the like ſentence, as vpō her brethren before.*
	4. Iohn de Biuero.	*The fourth, was Iohn de Biuero, brother to the ſame kinred, who was alſo iudged an hereticke, and condemned to perpetuall priſon, and to beare his* Sanbenito *all hys lyfe longe: whiche is an habillement of diſhonour.*
	5. Dame Cōſtance de Biuero, *ſiſter to the ſame aforeſayd.*	*Dame Conſtance de Biuero was the fift, ſiſter to the other before ſpecified, and wydowe of Ferdinādo Ortis, dwelling ſometyme, at Valledolid: Who was alſo condemned with the like ſentence with her brethren, to bee burned.*
	6. *The coffin with the dead corps of* Dame	*The ſixt thunderbolt of condemnation, was thundered out agaynſt a poore coffin, with the dead corps, of Dame Leonore de Biuero, mother to theſe aboue named, beyng her ſelfe the ſixte, & beyng already dead long before, at Valledolid. Aboue her coffin was her picture layd, which was*

Doct. Cacalla, a frier Auguſtine, preacher ſometyme to *Charles. v.* Martyr.

Frances de Biuero prieſt, and brother to *Cacalla,* Martyr.

Dame Blanch ſiſter to them, Martyr.

Iohn de Biuero, brother to the ſame, Martyr.

Dame conſtance de Biuero, an other ſiſter, Martyr.

Dame Leonore de Biuero, mother to theſe Martyrs aboue, burnt after her death.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Inquiſitors of Spain.	Leonore de Biuero, *the mother of theſe aforeſayd.*	*was alſo condemned with her dead corps, to bee burned for an hereticke: And yet I neuer heard of any opinion, that this picture did hold, either with, or agaynſt the Churche of Rome. This good mother, while ſhe liued, was a a worthy mainteiner of Chriſtes Goſpell, with great integritie of lyfe: and reteined diuers aſſemblies of the Saintes in her houſe, for the preachyng of the word of God. In fine, her corps and Image alſo beyng brought before the Fiſcal, was condemned lykewiſe (as the mother with her vij. children in the booke of Machabees) to be burned for a Lutherā hereticke, and all her goods to be ſeaſed, to the behouſſe of the ſuperiour Powers, and alſo her houſe vtterly to be raſed & caſt down to the ground: and for a memoriall of the ſame, a Marble ſtone appointed there to bee ſet vp in the houſe, wherin the ſayd cauſe of her burnyng ſhould bee engraued.*
	7. Maiſter Aflonſe Perez, *Prieſt of* Valence.	*In the ſeuenth place was condemned Maſter Aſlonſe Perez Prieſt of Valence: firſt to be degraded, and after to be burned as an hereticke, and all his goodes likewiſe confiſcate and ſeaſed, to the behouſſe of the Superioritie.*

This good mother, with her children, burned by Antichriſt, reſembled to the mother with her vij. children, burned in the booke of Machabees.

M. Aſtonſe Perez, **Martyr.**

The degradation of Doc. *Cacalla, Frances* **his brother, &** *Aflonſe.*

Doct. Cacalla not ſuffered to ſpeake.

☞ When theſe vij. aforeſayd had receaued their ſentence, then the Byſhop of Valence, in his pontificalibus, cauſed Doctour Cacalla, Frances his brother, and Aflonſe Perez, to bee apparelled and reueſted in prieſtly veſture. whiche done, he tooke from them, firſt the chalice out of their handes, and ſo all their other trinkets, in order, accordyng to their accuſtomed ſolemnitie. And thus they beyng degraded, and all their prieſtly vnctions takē frō their fingers, alſo their lippes and their crownes raſed, ſo were their yellow habites of Sanbenito, put ouer their ſhoulders agayne, with their Miters alſo of paper vpon their heades. This done, Doct. Cacalla began to ſpeake, prayng the Princes and the Lordes, to geue him audience: but that beyng not graunted to hym, he was rudely repulſed, and returned agayne to hys ſtandyng. Onely thus much he proteſted clearely and openlye, that his fayth, for whiche he was ſo handled, was not hereticall, but conſonant to the pure and cleare worde of God. For the whiche alſo hee was preſte and ready to ſuffer death, as a true Chriſtian, and not as an hereticke: Beſides many other worthy ſentences of great conſolation, whiche he there vttered in the meane ſpace, while the Iudges, were buſie in their ſentences, agaynſt the reſidue of the Martyrs.

Don Peter *Sarmiento* **knyght, condemned for a perpetuall priſoner.**

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Inquiſitors of Spain.	8. Don Peter Sarmiento, *knight of the order of* Alcantara.	*The eight, that was brought before the foreſayd Fiſcall, was Don Peter Sarmiento knight of the order of Alcantara, dwellyng at Valence, and ſonne of Marques de Poza, who was pronoūced an hereticke, and iudged to beare the marke and habite of diſhonour all his lyfe, and condemned to perpetuall priſon, with the loſſe of his order, and of all his goods: To whom moreouer it was enioyned neuer to weare any more golde, ſiluer, perles, or any pretious ſtone about him.*

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Inquiſitors of Spain.	9. Dame Mencia, *wife of the ſayd* Don Peter.	*Ninthly after him, was called Dame Mencia de Figneroa, wife of the foreſayd Don Peter Sarmiento. Who likewiſe beyng proclamed for an hereticke, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment, as her huſband was.*
	10. Don Louys de Roxas, *ſonne and heire of the* Marques de Poza.	*Next after her, was called & brought out, Don Louys De Roxas, ſonne & heyre of the Marques de Poza, who being alſo declared an hereticke, for the great ſute and labour whiche was made for him, was condemned onely to beare hys Sanbenito, vnto the towne houſe, and hys goodes to be confiſcate.*
	11. Dame Anne Henriques.	*After whom, in the xj. place, folowed Dame Anne Hēriques, daughter of the Marques Alcanſzes, & mother to the forenamed Marques de Poza, and wife to Lorde Alfonſus de Fonſeca: Whom in like ſort, was declared an hereticke, and cōdemned to beare her Sanbenito, to the towne houſe, and her goodes to bee confiſcate.*
	12. Chriſtofer Dell.	*Chriſtofer Dell Citizen of Samora, was the twelfe: who after he was declared an hereticke, was iudged to be burned, and his goodes to be ſeaſed.*
	13. Chriſtofer de Padilla.	*The lyke ſentence was alſo geuen vppon Chriſtofer de Padilla, Citizen of Samora.*
	14. Antonie de Huezuello.	*The xiiij. was Antonie de Huezuello baccheler of diuinitie, dwelling at Toro. Who after he was proclamed hereticke, & his goods confiſcate, was condemned to be burned, and moreouer had hys mouth ſtopped, for that he ſhould not ſpeake, and make confeſſion of his faith, vnto the people.*
	15. Katherine Romain.	*Then folowed Katherine Romain, dwelling in Pedroſa, called from her ſtandyng: who receauyng the like ſentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her goodes confiſcate.*
	16. Frances Errem.	*The xvi. was Frances Errem, borne in Pegnaranda, whō they condemned to be burned alyue, and all her goodes likewiſe confiſcate.*
	17. Katherin Ortega.	*After hym ſucceded in the next ſentence of Martyrdom, Katherin Ortega dwelling in Valledolid, daughter of Hernādo Piazo Fiſcall, and widowe of Captaine Louys, pronounced with the other, to be an hereticke: and forſomuch as ſhee was rekened to be a Scholemaſtres to the reſt, ſhe was iudged to be burned, and her goodes confiſcate.*

Perſecuters	Martyrs	The Cauſes.
The Inquiſitors of Spain.	18. Iſabell Strada. 19. Iane Valeſques.	*In the xviij. and xix. place, ſtoode Iſabell de Strada, and Iane Valeſques, both dwellyng in Pedroſa, whiche likewiſe were condemned to bee burned, and all their goodes confiſcate.*
	20. A Smith.	*A certein workemã of white yron, or ſmith, for interteinyng aſſembles in his houſe, and for watchyng with them, receaued alſo with them, the like ſentẽce, to loſe both life and goodes, for the Goſpels ſake.*
	21. A Iewe.	*With theſe alſo was ioyned a Portugale, named Goncalo Vaes of Liſbone, whiche was borne a Iewe, afterwarde Baptiſed, & thẽ returned agayn to hys Iudaiſme: who for more ſhame to the other, was put alſo in the ſame tale & number, as the two theeues were ioyned with Chriſt, and was alſo with thẽ condẽned to be burned, & his goods ſeaſed.*
	22. Dame Iane de Silua.	*After theſe, was called Dame Iane de Silua, wife to Iohn de Biuero, brother to Doctour Cacalla: To whom it was enioyned to beare a mantell all her life, for penaunce, and token of her treſpas, and all her goodes confiſcate.*
	23. Leonore de Liſueros, *wife of* Huezuelo. 24. Marina de Saiauedra. 25. Daniell Quadra.	*In like maner was called for, Leonore de Liſueros, wife of the foreſaid Antonie Huezuelo, batcheler of diuinitie.* *Item, Marina de Saiauedra, wife of Cyſueras de Sareglio.* *Item, Daniell Quadra borne at Pedroſa: All which iij. perſons were pronounced heretickes and condemned to do penaunce in perpetuall priſon, with their mantels, and confiſcation of all their goodes.*
	26. Dame Mary de Royas.	*Dame Mary de Royas, ſiſter of Marques of Royas, becauſe ſhe was in a cloyſter, and was come of a good houſe, was therfore iudged to beare her mantell to the towne houſe, and all her goodes confiſcat.*
	27. Antonie Dominicke.	*Antonie Dominicke, de Pedroſa beyng then brought out, was iudged and condẽned to iij. yeres penaũce in priſon, for his hereſie, clothed with the mãtell of yelow, and all his goods confiſcate.*
	28. Antonie Baſor, *an Engliſheman.*	*Laſt of all was produced Antonie Baſor, who for that he was an Engliſhe man, he was iudged to beare his mantell of yellow, to the towne houſe, in penaunce for his crime, and incontinent was thruſt into a cloyſter for one yeare, to the entent hee myght there be inſtructed in the catholicke ordinaunces of the Churche of Rome, as they be called.*

Perſecuters | Martyrs | The Cauſes.

After theſe ſentences beyng thus pronounced, they whiche were condemned to be burned with the coffin of the dead Lady, and her picture vpon the ſame, were committed to the ſecular magiſtrate, & to their executioners, whiche were commaunded to do their endeuour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and euery one ſet vpon an aſſe, their faces turned backeward, with a great garriſon of armed ſouldiours, vnto the place of puniſhement, whiche was without the gate of the towne called Del Campo.

Xiiij. Martyrs in Spain, burned.

When they were come to the place, there were xiiij. ſtakes ſet vp of equall diſtance one from an other, wherunto euery one ſeuerally beyng faſtened, accordyng to the faſhion of Spayne, they were all firſt ſtrangled, and then burned, and turned to aſhes, ſaue onely Antonie Huezuelo, who forſomuch as hee had both within and without the priſon, vehemently deteſted the popes ſpiritualtie, therfore hee was burned alyue, and his mouth ſtopped from ſpeakyng. And thus theſe faithfull Chriſtians, for the veritie and pure worde of God, were led to death, as ſheepe to the ſhambles: who not onely moſt chriſtianly did comforte one an other, but alſo did ſo exhort all thẽ there preſent, that all men merueiled greatly, both to heare their ſingular conſtancie, and to ſee their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that beſides theſe aforeſayd, there remayned yet behynd, xxxvij. other priſoners, at the ſayd towne of Valledolid, reſerued to an other Tragedie and ſpectacle of that bloudy Inquiſition. Ex quinta parte Martyr. Gallice Impreſſ. pag.474.

* Furthermore, whereas the ſtory of the ſayd Inquiſition beyng ſet out in the Frenche tongue, doth reken the number of the Martyrs, aboue mentioned, to be thyrty: and yet in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but xxviij. here is therfore to be noted, that eyther thys nũber lacked ij. of thyrty: or els that ij. of the ſayd companie were returned backe without iudgement, into the priſon againe.

¶ And thus much for this preſent, touchyng the procedyng of the Churche of Spayne, in their Inquiſition agaynſt the Lutherans, that is, agaynſt the true and faithfull ſeruauntes of Ieſus Chriſt. Albeit there be other countreis alſo beſides Spayne, ſubiecte vnto the ſame Inquiſition, as Neaples, and Sicilie: in whiche kyngdome of Sicilie, I heare it credibly reported, that euery thyrd yeare are brought forth to iudgement and execution, a certein number after the like ſort of Chriſtian Martyrs, ſome tymes xij. ſome tymes vi. ſome tymes more, and ſome tymes leſſe. Amongeſt whom there was one, much about the ſame yeare aboue mentioned. an. 1559. who commyng from Geneua, vnto Sicilie, vppon zeale to do good, was at laſt layd hande of, and beyng condemned the ſame time, to the fire, as hee ſhould take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be ſtrangled, hauing the corde ready about hys necke: but he notwithſtandyng, refuſed the ſame, and ſayd that he would feele the fire: and ſo endured hee, ſingyng with all hys might vnto the Lord, till he was beriued both of ſpeach and life, in the middeſt of the flame: ſuch was the admirable conſtancie and fortitude of that valiant ſouldiour of Chriſt, as is wytneſſed to me by hym, whiche beyng there preſent the ſame tyme, did both then ſee that whiche he doth teſtifie, and alſo doth now teſtifie that he then ſaw.

A Chriſtian Martyr burned in Sicilie.

¶ Now it remayneth further, accordyng to my promiſe, in lyke order of a compendious Table, to comprehend alſo ſuch Martyrs, as ſuffered for the veritie and true teſtimonie of the Goſpell, in the places and countreys of Italie: which Table conſequently here next enſueth to be declared.

* * *

A Table of ſuch Martyrs, as ſuffred for teſtimonie of the Goſpell in Italie.

The Italian Martyrs.

Encenas, or Dryander, Martyr.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Certeine Popiſhe Spanyardes at Rome.	N. Encenas, *otherwiſe called* Dryander. At Rome. an. 1546.	*This Encenas, or Dryander, a Spanyarde borne at Burges, was brother to Franciſcus Encenas the learned mã, ſo oft before mentioned, and was alſo the teacher or inſtructor in knowledge of Religion, to Diazius the godly martyr aboue recorded. He was ſent of his ſuperſtitious parentes, beyng yonge, vnto Rome. Who there, after lõg continuãce, growyng vp in age, and knowledge, but eſpecially beyng inſtructed by the Lord, in the truth of his word, after he was knowẽ to miſlike the Popes doctrine, & the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended & taken of certein of his own countreymen, & ſome of his owne houſholde frendes, at Rome, at the ſame time, when he was preparyng to take hys iorney to his brother Frãces Encenas, in Germanie. Thus he being betrayed and taken by his owne cõtreymen, was brought before the Cardinalls, and there cõmitted to ſtreit priſon. Afterward he was brought forth to geue teſtimonie of his doctrine, whiche hee in the preſence of the Cardinals, and in the face of all the Popes retinue, boldly & conſtantly defended: So that not onely the Cardinals, but eſpecially the Spanyardes, beyng therewith offended, cryed out vpon him that he ſhould be burned. The Cardinals, firſt before the ſentẽce of death ſhould be geuẽ, came to him, offeryng if he would take it (after the maner of the Spanyardes) the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of Sanbenites cloth, made in forme of a Mantell, goyng both before him and behind him, with ſignes of the red croſſe. But Encenas, ſtill conſtant in the profeſſion of truth, denied to receaue any other cõdition, or badge, but onely the badge of the Lord: which was, to ſeale the doctrine of his religion, with the teſtimonie of his bloud. At laſt, the matter was brought to that iſſue, that the faithfull ſeruaunt and witnes of Chriſt, was iudged, and condemned to the fire, where hee in the ſight of the Cardinals, and in the face of the Apoſtolicall Sea pretenſed, gaue vp his life for teſtimonie of the Goſpell. Ex Pantal. lib. 6. Ex Criſp. & alijs.*

The impriſonment and eſcape of *Franciſcus Encenas.*

And for ſomuch as mention hath bene made both in this ſtorye, & many other before, of Franciſcus Encenas, his brother: here is not to be pretermitted, how the ſayd Franciſcus being a man of notable learnyng, as euer was any in Spayne, beyng in the Emperours Court at Bruxelles, offered vnto the Emperour Charles v. the newe Teſtament of Chriſt, tranſlated into Spaniſhe. For the whiche he was caſt into priſon, where he remayned in ſorowfull captiuitie, and calamitie, the ſpace of xv. monethes, lookyng for nothyng more, then preſent death. At laſt throughe the meruelous prouidence of almighty God, the firſt day of February. an. 1545. at eight of the clocke after ſupper, he founde the doores of the priſon ſtandyng open, & he ſecretly was aunſwered in hys mynde, to take the occaſion offered, and to ſhift for hym ſelf: and ſo he iſſuyng out of yͤ priſon without any haſty paſe, but goyng as leiſurely as he could, eſcaped from thence and went ſtraight to Germany.

God prouidence for hys ſeruauntes.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Pope Iulius the thyrd.	Faninus. At Ferraria. an. 1550.	*Faninus, borne in Fauentia, a towne in Italie, throughe the readyng of godly bookes tranſlated into the Italian tongue (hauing no perfecte ſkill in the Latin) was conuerted from great blindnes, to the wholeſome knowledge of Chriſt, and of his worde: Wherin he tooke ſuch a ſwetnes, and ſo grewe vp in the meditation of the ſame, that hee was able in ſhort tyme, to inſtructe other. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad, whiche he had receaued of the Lord: beyng ſo in his minde perſwaded, that a man receauing by the ſpirite of God, the knowledge & illuminatiõ of his veritie, ought in no caſe to hyde the ſame in ſilence, as a candle vnder a buſhell: And therfore beyng occupied diligently in that behalfe, albeit he vſed not publickely to preache, but by priuats conference to teache, hee was at length by the Popes clientes, eſpied, apprehended, and committed to priſon. Albeit he remayned not long in that priſon: For by the earneſt perſuaſions and prayers of hys wife, hys children, and other frendes, hee was ſo ouercome, that hee gaue ouer, and ſo was dimiſſed ſhortly out of priſon. After this, it was not long, but he fell into horrible perturbation of mynde: In ſo much that, vnles the great mercy of God had kept him vp, hee had fallen in vtter deſperation, for ſlippyng from the truth, and preferryng the loue of his frendes and kinred, before the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, whom he ſo earneſtly before had profeſſed. This wound went ſo depe into his hart, that he coulde in no caſe bee quieted, before hee had fully fixed & determined in his minde, to aduenture his life more faithfully in the ſeruice of the Lord.*

Wherupon he beyng thus inflamed with zeale of ſpirite, went about all the countrey of Romaigna, publickely preachyng the pure doctrine of the Goſpell, not without great frute and effect in places as he went. As hee was thus laboring, it ſo fell out, that he was apprehended againe. an. 1547. in a place called Bagnacauallo, where alſo he was condemned to be burned: but he ſaid his houre was not yet come, and the ſame to be but the beginnyng of his doctrine, and ſo it was, for ſhortly after hee was remoued vnto Ferraria, where he was deteined ij. yeares. At laſt the Inquiſitors of the Popes hereſies, condemned him to death. an. 1549. and yet his tyme beyng not come, he remained after that, to the moneth of September. an. 1550. In the meane time, many faythfull and good mẽ came to viſite him: for the whiche the Pope commaunded him to be incloſed in ſtreiter cuſtody: wherin he ſuffered great tormẽtes the ſpace of 18. monethes, and yet had ſuffered greater, if the Dominicke Fieres might haue got him into their houſe, as they went about. Thus Faninus remoued from priſon to priſon, many tymes chaunged his place, but neuer altered his conſtancie.

At length he was brought into a priſon, where were diuers great Lordes, Captaines, and noble perſonages, there cõmitted, for ſtirring vp cõmotions & factions (as that cõutrey of Italy is full of ſuch) who at firſt, hearyng him ſpeake, began to ſet him at light, and to deride him, ſuppoſing that it was but a melãcholy humour that troubled his braine, wherupon

upon,ſuch as ſemed more ſage amõgeſt them,began to exhort him to leaue his opinion, and to lyue with men as other men do,and not to vexe his minde, but to ſuſpende his iudgement,till the matter were decided in a generall Councell. To whom Faninus agayn,firſt geuyng them thankes for their frendly good willes,wherwith they ſemed to reſpect his well doyng,modeſtly and quietly declared vnto them,how the doctrine whiche hee profeſſed,was no humore nor opinion of mans brayne, but the pure veritie of God,founded in hys worde,and reueled to men in the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and eſpecially now in theſe dayes,reſtored: whiche veritie he had fully determined in his minde neuer to renye, to beleue the lying phantaſies of men. And as in his ſoule, whiche was redemed by the bloud of the ſonne of God, he was free from all bondage: ſo likewiſe as touchyng Councels, he loked for no other ſentence nor authoritie(he ſayd) but that onely whiche he knew to be declared to vs by Chriſt Ieſus,in his Goſpell, whiche both he preached with his woorde, and confirmed with his bloud.&c. With theſe and ſuch other wordes,he ſo moued their mindes, that they were cleane altered vnto a new kind of life,hauing him now in admiration, whom they had before in deriſion,and recounted him for an holy perſon. To whom he proceded ſtill to preache the worde of grace, declaryng and confeſſing him ſelfe to be a miſerable ſinner, but by the faith of the Lord Ieſus, & through the grace onely of him,he was fully perſuaded and well aſſured his ſinnes to bee forgiuen:like as all their ſinnes alſo ſhalbe remitted to them through their faith onely in Chriſt,beleuyng his Goſpell.

There were other alſo beſide theſe,who hauyng vſed before,a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the ſharpnes and hardnes of the priſon. Theſe alſo receaued ſuch comfort by the ſayd Faninus, that not onely they were quietly contented,but alſo reioyſed in this their captiuitie,by the occaſion wherof they had receaued and learned a better libertie, then euer they knew before.

When the priſonment of this Faninus was knowen to his parentes and kinsfolkes,his wife and ſiſter came to him with wepyng perſuaſions,to moue him to conſider and care for hys poore familie, To whom he aunſwered agayne,that his Lord and Maſter had commaunded him not to denye him, for looking to his familie: and that it was enough for them,that he had once for their ſakes,fallen into that cowardlynes,whiche they knew:Wherfore he deſired them to departe in peace,and ſollicite him no more therin: for his ende(he ſayd) he knew to draw nere, and ſo he commended them vnto the Lord.

About the ſame tyme,dyed Pope Paulus the 3. and after him ſucceded Iulius the thyrd, whiche then ſent letters and commaundement, that Faninus ſhould be executed. Wherof, when one of the Magiſtrates officers brought him worde the next day,he reioyſed thereat,and gaue the meſſenger thãkes, and began to preach a long Sermon to them that were about him,of the felicitie and beatitude of the life to come. Thẽ the meſſenger exhorted him, that in caſe he would chaunge hys opinion, he ſhould ſaue both this life,and enioy that to come. An other asked him, in what caſe he ſhould leaue his litle children, and his wife,or what ſtay ſhould they be at, hee ſo leauyng them: wherfore he deſired him to haue reſpect both to him ſelfe,and to them. Faninus aunſwered, that he had left them with an ouerſeer,which would ſee vnto them ſufficientlye. And beyng asked who hee was, the Lord Ieſus Chriſt (ſayd he) a faithfull keper and conſeruer of all that is cõmitted to him. After that the meſſenger was thus departed frõ Faninus,all full of teares,& ſorow,the next day folowing, he was remoued into the cõmon priſon,& deliuered to the ſecular Magiſtrate. Who in all his wayes, his wordes, his geſtures and countenance, declared ſuch conſtancie of fayth, ſuch modeſtie of maners,and tranquillitie of minde,that they whiche before were extreme agaynſt him,thinking hym rather to haue a Deuill, began now fauorably to harkẽ to him, and to commend him. With ſuch grace and ſwetenes hee talked,euer ſpeaking of the word of God,that diuers of the Magiſtrates wiues in hearing him, could not abſteined frõ wepyng. The executioner alſo wept him ſelf. One of the publike Scribes thẽ came to him,& ſayd, that if he would relent frõ his opinion,the Popes pleaſure was,that he ſhould be ſaued. But that he refuſed. This was meruelous,that he hauyng but ſmall ſkill in the Latine,yet recited ſo many and ſondry places of the Scripture without booke, and that ſo truly and promptly,as though he had ſtudied nothyng els. One ſeyng him ſo iocund and mery goyng to his death, asked why hee was ſo mery at his death, ſeyng Chriſt him ſelfe ſweat bloud and water before his Paßion? Chriſt (ſayd he) ſuſteined in his body,all the ſorowes and conflictes with hell and death, due into vs:by whoſe ſufferyng we are deliuered from ſorow and feare of them all. Finally, early in the mornyng he was brought forth where he ſhould ſuffer. Who,after his prayers moſt earneſtly made vnto the Lord, mekelye and pacientlye gaue him ſelf to the ſtake, where, with a corde drawen about his necke,he was ſecretly ſtrãgled of the hangman,in the Citie of Ferraria, three houres before day, to entent the people ſhoulde not ſee him, nor heare him ſpeake: and after, about dyner time,his body in the ſame place was burned. At the burnyng wherof, ſuch a fragrant and odoriferous ſent came to all them there preſent,and ſo ſtroke their ſenſes, that the ſwetnes therof ſemed to refreſhe them no leſſe, then his wordes would haue done, if they had heard him ſpeake.

Lyfe refuſed.

How Chriſt feared death himſelfe,and yet hath he taken away the feare of death from others.

A miracle as it is reported.

The cuſtome is of that Citie, that the bones and aſhes whiche be left,ſhould be caried out of the Citie: but neither the Magiſtrate,nor the Biſhop,nor his great Vicar or Chaũcelor,nor any Diuine els,would take any charge therof, euery man transferryng that burden frõ thẽ ſelues,to hym which was the cauſe of his death. Wherby it may appeare,what ſecret iudgement and eſtimation, all they had of that good and bleſſed man. At laſt the people tooke his burned bones, with the cinders,and caryed thẽ out of the ſtreete of the Citie. Ex Henri. Pantal. lib,7. Ex Ioan. Criſp. pag,363.

The death and martyrdome of Faninus.

The name of the perſecutour in the ſtory appeareth not.

Dominicus de Baſana.

At Placentia.

an. 1550.

The ſame yeare that the foreſayd Faninus ſuffered in Ferraria, Dominicus alſo ſuffered in the Citie of Placentia. This Dominicus was Citizen in Baſana, and folowed the warres of Charles the Emperour,in Germanie: where he receaued the firſt taſte of Chriſtes Goſpell. Wherein he encreaſed more and more by conferryng and reaſoning with learned men, ſo that in ſhort tyme, hee was able to inſtruct many: and ſo did, working, and trauelyng in the church,till at length, in the yeare.1550. he comming to the Citie of Neaples, there preached the worde, and from thence procedyng to Placentia, preached there likewiſe vnto the people,of true confeßion,of Purgatorie,& of Pardons. Furthermore, the next day he entreated of true faith, & of good workes, how farre they are neceſſarie to ſaluation, promiſing moreouer the next day, to ſpeake of Antichriſt and to paynt hym out in his colours. Whẽ the houre came that he ſhould begin his Sermõ, the Magiſtrate of the Citie cõmaunded him to come downe frõ the Chayre in the market place,& deliuered hym to the officers. Dominicus was willyng and ready to obey the commaundement, ſaying that he did much meruell, that the deuill could ſuffer him ſo long in that kinde of exerciſe. From thence he was led to the biſhops Chaũcelour,and asked whether he was a Prieſt,and how he was placed in that functiõ. He aunſwered, that hee was no Prieſt of the Pope, but of Ieſu Chriſt,by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demaunded whether he would renounce his doctrine. He aunſwered, that he mainteined no doctrine of his

Dominicus de Baßana.

Antichriſt can not abide to be detected.

owne, but onely the doctrine of Chriſt, whiche alſo he was ready to ſeale with his bloud: and alſo gaue harty thankes to God, which ſo accepted him as worthy to glorifie his name with his Martyrdome. Vppon this he was committed to a filthy and ſtinking priſon. Where after he had remained a few monethes, he was exhorted diuers times to reuoke: otherwiſe he ſhould ſuffer: but ſtill he remained conſtant in his doctrine. Wherupon when the time came aßigned for his puniſhmẽt, he was brought to the market place, where he preached, and there was hanged. Who moſt hartely praying for his enemyes, ſo finiſhed his dayes in this miſerable wretched world. Ex Pantal. lib. 7.

The Martyrdome of Dominicus, de Baßana.

Galeazius Trecius, Martyr.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Byſhop of Santangelo, and hys prieſtes.	Galeazius Trecius. At the Citie called Laus Pompeia, in Italie. an. 1551.	Santangelo is a certein fortreſſe or caſtle in Italie, within Lombardie, not farre from the Citie called Laus Pompeia, belonging alſo to the ſame dioces. In this forte of Santangelo was an houſe of Auguſtin Friers, vnto whom vſed much to reſort, a certeine Frier of the ſame order, dwellyng at Pauia, named Maianardus, a man well experte in the ſtudy of Scripture, and of a godly conuerſation. By this Maianardus, diuers, not onely of the Friers, but alſo of other towneſmen, were reduced to the loue and knowledge of Gods worde, and to the deteſtation of the Popes abuſes. Amõg whom was alſo this Galeazius, a gentleman of a good callyng, and wealthy in worldly ſubſtance, and very beneficiall to the poore. Who firſt, by conference with the friers, & alſo with his brother in law, begã to conceaue ſome light in Gods truth, and afterwarde was confirmed more thorowly by Cælius Secundus Curio, who thẽ being driuẽ by perſecution, came frõ Pauia, to the ſayd place of Sãtangelo.

In proces of tyme, as this Galeazius encreaſed in iudgement & zeale, in ſetting forward the wholeſome word of Gods grace: as a light ſhinyng in darkenes, could not ſo lye hyd, but at laſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1551. certeine were ſent from the forenamed Citie of Laus Pompeia, to lay handes vpon him, and brought him to the Biſhops pallace, where hee was kept in bandes, hauing vnder him but onely a padde of ſtraw. Although his wife ſent vnto him a good fetherbed, with ſheetes to lye in, yet the Biſhops chaplains and officers kept it from him, diuidyng the praye among them ſelues.

The iniurious and fraudulent dealing of the Papiſtes.

When the tyme came that he ſhould be examined, he was thriſe brought before the Commißioners, where he rendered reaſons and cauſes of his faith, aunſweryng to their interrogatories, with ſuch euidence of Scriptures, and conſtancie of mynde, that he was an admiration to them that heard hym. Albeit not long after, through the importunate perſuaſions of his kinsfolkes and frendes, and other colde Goſpellers, laying many cõſiderations before his eyes: he was brought at lẽgth, to aſſent to certeine pointes of the Popes doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, whiche began with him, ſo left him not, but brought him agayne to ſuch repentance, and bewayling of his facte, that he became afterward, accordyng to the example of Peter, & S. Cyprian, & other, doublewiſe more valiant in defenſe of Chriſtes quarell: neither did he euer deſire any thyng more, then occaſion to be offered, to recouer againe by confeßion, that he had loſte before by denyall: affirmyng that he neuer felt more ioye of hart, thẽ at the time of his examinations, where he ſtoode thriſe to the cõſtant cõfeßion of the truth: and contrary, that he neuer taſted more ſorow in in all his life, then whẽ he ſlypt afterward, from the ſame, by diſſimulation: Declaryng moreouer to his brethren, that death was much more ſwete vnto him, with teſtimonie of the veritie, thẽ life with the leaſt denyall of truth, and loſſe of a good cõſcience. Thus, Galeazius mourning for his fall in priſon, after he heard of his frendes, that nothyng was yet ſo farre paſt, but that hee might recouer him ſelf agayne, and that his infirmitie was not preiudiciall, but rather a furtherance to Gods glory, and admonition to him ſelfe to ſtand more ſtrongly hereafter, toke thereby excedyng cõfort: And when they would haue left with him a booke of the new Teſtament, for his comfort: he refuſed it, ſaying that he had it in his hart, what ſoeuer Chriſt there ſpake to his Diſciples: Alſo what happened both to Chriſt him ſelfe and to his Apoſtles, for confeſſing the worde of truth.

Galeazius relenteth.

Galeazius repenteth.

Furthermore, ſo comfortable was he after that, that they which talked with him, cõtinued all the day without meate or drinke, & would alſo haue taried all the night folowing, if they might haue bene ſuffered. As Galeazius thus continued in the priſon, looking for ſome occaſion to recouer him ſelfe agayne from his fall, it folowed in ſhort tyme, that the Inquiſitors and Prieſtes repaired to him agayne in the priſon, ſuppoſing that he would confirme now that, whiche before hee had graunted to them, and required him ſo to do. Galeazius renying all that he had graunted to them before, returned agayne to the defenſe of his former doctrine, with much more boldnes of ſpirite, confeſſing Chriſt, as he did before: and deteſted Images, affirming & prouing that god only is to be worſhipped, & that in ſpirit & veritie: Alſo to be no moe mediatours but Chriſt alone, and that he onely & ſufficiẽtly by his ſufferyng, hath takẽ away the ſinnes of the whole world: and that all they whiche departe hence in this faith, are aſcertened of euerlaſtyng life: they whiche do not, are vnder euerlaſtyng damnation: with ſuch other like matter, which was repugnant vtterly to the Popes procedynges. With this confeßion made, as his minde was greatly refreſhed, ſo the aduerſaries went away as much apaulled. Who at laſt perceauing that hee in no caſe could be reuoked, cauſed him to bee committed to the ſecular iudge, to be burned.

Thus Galeazius early in the mornyng, beyng brought out of priſon to the market place, there was left ſtãding bound to the ſtake, till noone, as a gaſing ſtocke for all men to looke vpõ. In the which meane tyme, many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not ſo to caſt away his life, where as with x. wordes ſpeaking, he might ſaue it. And if he paſſed not for his life, nor for his countrey whiche he ſhould leaue, nor for his goodes and poſſeßions, whiche ſhould be confiſcate, yet he ſhould ſomewhat reſpect his wife, whom he loued ſo well, and his yong children: at leaſt hee ſhould conſider his owne ſoule. This counſaile gaue they which more eſtemed the commodities of this preſent life, then any true ſoules health in the life to come. But to cõclude, nothing could ſtyrre the ſetled minde of this valiant Martyr. Wherefore fire was commaunded at laſt, to bee put to the drye woode about hym, wherewith he was ſhortly extincted, without any noyſe or crying, ſauyng onely theſe wordes were heard in the midle of the flame: Lord Ieſu. Thys was an. 1551. Nouemb. 24.

Touehing the ſtory of this bleſſed Martyr, this by the way is to be geuen for a Memorandum: That a lilte before this Galeazius ſhould be burned, there was a cõtrouerſie betwene the Maior of the Citie, and the Biſhops clergie, for the expenſes of the woode that ſhould go to his burning. He hearing therof, ſent word to both the parties, to agree, for he him ſelfe, of his owne goodes, would ſee the coſte of that matter diſcharged.

An other note moreouer here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captiuitie, certeine of the Papiſtes perceauyng that Galeazius had great goodes and poſſeßions, practiſed with his wife, vnder colour to releaſe her huſband, that ſhe ſhould lay out a ſumme of money, to bee ſent to the wife of the chief Lord of Millain (called Ferrarus Gonzaga) to the ende that ſhe ſhould entreat both with her huſband,

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
		band, and with the Senate, for Galeaxius life. Whiche money when they had thus iuggled into their handes, ſo was the ſely woman robbed and defeated both of her husband, and alſo of her money. Ex Cælio.
Cornelius, **profeſſor of** *Bononie.* Campeius, **Card.** **Cardinall** de Capo. Bonauentura, **Generall.** **vj. Cardinalls.** **Pope** Iulius **the thyrd.**	D. Ioannes Mollius, *a gray frier.* *A certein Weauer of* Perusiũ. At Rome. an. 1553.	Ioan. Mollius Montilcinus, *beyng but xij. yeares olde, with his brother Auguſtinus, was ſet of his parentes, in the houſe of the Gray Friers: where he in ſhort tyme hauyng a freſh wytte, far excelled his felowes in all tongues and liberall ſciences. So growyng vp to the age of* 18. *he was ordeined prieſt, and ſang his firſt Maſſe. After that hee was ſent to Ferraria to ſtudye, where he ſo profited in the ſpace of vj. yeres, that he was aſſigned by Vigerius, Generall of that order, to be Doctour, & thẽ reader in Diuinitie: who then with his ſophiſtrie oppoſed him ſelf as an vtter enemye agaynſt the Goſpell. From thence he went to Brixia, & the next yeare folowyng, to Millain, where he read or profeſſed openly. Agayne, from thence he was taken by Franciſcus Sfortia, and brought to the*

Vniuerſitie of Papia, there openly to profeſſe Philoſophie, where he remayned iij. yeares. After that he was called to the Vniuerſitie of Bononie by Laurẽtius Spatha, Generall of that order, whereas he was occupied in readyng the bookes of Ariſtotle De Anima. *In the meane tyme God wrought in his ſoule ſuch light of his worde, and of true religion, that he waxing weary of profeſſing Philoſophie, began ſecretly to expound the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Rom. to a few: which beyng knowen, his auditors encreaſed ſo faſt, that he was cõpelled to read openly in the Temple. Whereas the number of his audience dayly augmented, ſo the eger feruencie of theyr mindes ſo mightly encreaſed withall, that euery man almoſt, came with his penne & ynke to write, & great diligẽce was beſtowed, howe to come betyme, to take vp the firſt places, where they might beſt heare: whiche was aboute the yeare of our Lorde.* 1538. *There was the ſame tyme at Bononie, one Cornelius an arrogant babbler, who enuying the doynges of this Ioannes, toke vpõ him, at the requeſt of Cardinall Campeius, to expound the ſayd Epiſtle of S. Paule, confutyng and diſprouyng the explanation of the ſayd Iohn, and extolling the Pope with all his traditiõs. Contrary, Iohn extolled and commended onely Chriſt, and his merites to the people. But the purpoſe of Cornelius came to ſmall effect. For the auditors, whiche firſt came to him, began by litle and litle, to fall from him, and the concourſe of the other mans auditors, more and more encreaſed. Whiche when Cornelius perceaued, he perſuaded Campeius, that vnles he prouided that man to be diſpatched, the eſtimation of the Churche of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bryng their purpoſe about, ſecretly this way was deuiſed, that Cornelius and Ioannes ſhould come to open diſputation: whiche diſputation endured till iij. of the clocke after midnight. At length, when neither part could agree, Ioannes was bid to returne home to his houſe. Who as he was come downe to the lower ſteppes, where the place was moſt ſtraiteſt, ſo that his frendes could not come to reſcue him (although by drawyng their ſwordes they declared their good willes) was there takẽ and layd faſt in priſon. When the day came, ſuch tumulte and ſtyrre was in the whole Citie, that Cornelius was driuen to hyde him ſelfe. Alſo Campeius the Cardinall, with the Biſhop there, were both contemned of the ſtudentes. The next day, the Biſhop of Bononie ſent his chancelour to Iohn in the priſon, to ſignifie vnto him, that either he muſt recante, or els burne. But he beyng of a bold and cherefull ſpirite, would in no wiſe be brought to recant. This one thyng greued him, that he ſhould be condemned, his cauſe beyng not heard.*

*In the meane ſeaſon, Laurentius Spatha aboue mentioned, beyng Generall of that order, in moſt ſpedy wiſe poſted vp to Rome, and there ſo practiſed with the Cardinall S. Crucis, the proctor in the Court of Rome, for the Gray Friers, that the Pope wrote downe his letters to Campeius, that he ſhould deliuer the ſayd Iohn out of priſon: ſo that he notwithſtãdyng, within three monethes after, ſhould perſonally appeare at Rome. Thus the xxx. day of his enpriſonment he was deliuered: who but for cõmyng of the popes letters, had bene burned within iij. dayes after. Moreouer, with the ſayd Mollius, Cornelius alſo was cited, to make his appearaunce likewiſe at Rome, and there was deteined in priſon by the Cardinall S. Crucis, till his cauſe ſhould be decided. The frendes of Mollius gaue him counſaile not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germanie: but hee would not, ſaying that the Goſpell muſt alſo bee preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paule iij. humbly he deſired, that the cauſe beyng ſo weyghty, might come in publicke hearing, but that could not be obteined. Then was he commaunded to write his mynde in Articles, & to bryng his prouſes: which he diligently performed, entreatyng of Originall ſinne, Iuſtification by faith, Free will, Purgatorie, and other ſuch like: prouyng the ſayd articles by the authoritie of the Scripture, and of aũcient fathers, and ſo exhibited the ſame to the Biſhop of Rome. Vpon this, certeine Cardinals & Biſhops were aſſigned to haue the cauſe in hearyng, who diſputed with him. 3. dayes, and could not refelle that which he had proued. At laſt, aunſwere was made vnto him thus, that it was truth whiche he affirmed, neuertheleſſe the ſame was not meete for this preſent tyme, for that it coulde not bee taught or publiſhed, without detriment of the Apoſtolicke Sea: wherfore he ſhould abſteyne hereafter from the * Epiſtles of S. Paul, and ſo to returne agayn ſafe to Bononie, & there profeſſe * Philoſophie. Thus, as he was returned to Bononie, & all mẽ there were deſirous to know of his caſe, how he ſped at Rome, openly in the pulpet he declared all thinges in order as they were done, and gaue God thankes.*

Mollius **deliuered out of priſon by meanes of Spatha the Generall.**

Mollius **appeareth before the Pope.**

***The popes church can not abyde S. Paules Epiſtles.**

***Paules Epiſtles muſt geue place to Philoſophye.**

Herewith Cãpeius being more offended then before, obteined of the Pope, that the Generall of the order ſhould remoue the ſayd Iohn Mollius from Bononie, and place hym ſome other where. So Mollius from thence was ſent to Neaples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the monaſtery of S. Laurence. But Petrus the Viceroy there, not abydyng his doctrine, ſo nerely ſought his death, that hee had much a do to eſcape with life: and ſo departyng frõ thence, he went wanderyng in Italie from place to place, preachyng Chriſt, where ſoeuer he came. Not long after this, when Cardinall Campeius was dead, he was called agayne into Bononie by a good Abbot, named De Graſſis. an. 1543. *Where he renued agayne the readyng of S. Paules Epiſtle, after a ſecrete ſorte, as he did before: but that could not be long vndiſcouered. Whereupon by the meanes of Cardinall de Capo, and by Bonauentura the Generall, he was apprehended the ſecond tyme, and brought to Fauẽtia, and layd there in a filthy & ſtinking priſon, where he cõtinued* 4. *yeares, no man hauyng leaue once to come to him. Duryng whiche time of his induraũce, he wrote a Cõmentary vpon the bokes of Moſes, but that labour by the malignitie of the aduerſaries, was ſuppreſſed. At length, through the interceſſion of the Earle Petilianus, and of the foreſayd good Abbot De Graſſis, he was agayne deliuered, and ſent to Rauenna, where he made his abode a few monethes, with the Abbot* ad S. Vitalem, *and there agayne taught the Goſpell of Chriſt, as before: and when ſoeuer he ſpake of the name of Ieſu, his eyes dropt teares, for he was fraught with a mighty feruencie of Gods holy ſpirite.*

Mollius **in great daunger at Neaples.**

Mollius **the ſecond tyme apprehended for readyng Sainct Paules Epiſtle.**

Mollius **agayne deliuered.**

The feruent zeale of *Mollius.*

In proces of tyme, when this Abbot was dead, his ſureties began to bee wery of their bond, and ſo was hee agayne nowe the thyrd tyme, reduced into priſon by the Popes Legates.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

gates. There were then iiij. men of great authoritie, who beyng ſtyrred vp of God, had pitie vppon him, and bailed him out of priſon. Of whom, one of the ſayd ſureties tooke the ſayd Mollius home, to inſtructe his children in the doctrine of religion, and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man, ſuch a concourſe of people came to ſee him, that the aduerſaries began to cõſult with thẽ ſelues, to kill hym, leſt his doctrine ſhould diſparſe farther abroad, to the detriment of the Churche of Rome. Whereupon commaundement was ſent to the Popes Legate, to lay hands vpõ him, and to ſend him vp faſt bound to Rome. Where againe, nowe the fourth tyme, hee was impriſoned in the Caſtle of Nome, and there continued 18. monethes, beyng greatly aſſaulted, ſometymes with flattering promiſes, ſometymes with terrible threates, to geue ouer his opinion, but his buildyng could not be ſhakẽ, for it was groũded vpõ a ſure rocke. Thus Doct. Mollius beyng conſtant in the defence of Chriſtes Goſpell, was brought, with certeine other men (whiche were alſo apprehended for religion) into the Temple of S. Mary (called De Minerua) the 5. day of Septemb. an. 1553. eyther there to reuoke, or to be burned. There ſat vpon thẽ vi. Cardinals in high ſeates, beſide the Iudge: before whõ preached a Dominicke frier, which cruelly inuehing agaynſt the poore priſoners, incenſed the Cardinals, with all the vehemencie he might, to their condemnatiõ. The poore men ſtode holdyng a burnyng taper in their handes: Of whom ſome for feare of death, reuolted. But this Doctour Mollius, with a Weauer of Peruſium, remained conſtant. Then Mollius began an earneſt Sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein he confirmed the articles of the faith, by the ſacrate Scriptures, declaring alſo that the pope was not the ſucceſſor of Peter, but Antichriſt: and that his ſectaries doe figure the Whore of Babylõ. Moreouer he cited thẽ vp to the Tribunall Seate of Chriſt, & threw away the burning taper frõ him. Wherupon they beyng repliniſhed with anger, condemned him with the Weauer, to the fire, and commaunded them to be had away. So were they caryed incontinent to the campe or fielde called Florianum, where they remained cherefull and conſtant. Firſt the Weauer was hanged. Mollius then willing the hangman to execute his office likewiſe vpon him, began to exhort the people to beware of Idolatrie, & to haue no other Sauiours but Chriſt alone: for he onely is the mediatour betwene God and man. And ſo was he alſo hanged commendyng his ſoule to God, and afterward layd in the fire and burned. The people hauyng diuers iudgementes vpon him, ſome ſayd he dyed an hereticke, ſome ſayd he was a good man. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 19. an. 1543.

Mollius the fourth tyme impriſoned.

The conſtancie of Doctor Mollius & of the Weauer.

Doct. Mollius citeth the pope to the Tribunall Seate of Chriſt.

The Martyrdome of Doct. Mollius and the Weauer.

Two Auguſtine Mõkes, Martyrs.

Franciſcus Gamba, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Two monkes of the houſe of S. Auſten in Rome At Rome. an. 1554.	Furthermore, in the ſame Citie of Rome, and about the ſame tyme, in the Monaſtery of S. Auſten, were found ij. monkes in their Celles with their tõgues, and their heades cut of, onely for rebuking the immoderate and outragious exceſſe of the Cardinals, as wytneſſeth Manlius. Such was the crueltie then of the malignant aduerſaries. Ex Iohan. Manl. in dictis Phil. Melanct.
The Senate of Millain.	Franciſcus Gamba. At the Citie of Comum in the dioces of Millain. an. 1554.	Frances Gamba, borne in the Citie of Brixia in Lombardie, after he had receaued the knowledge of the Goſpell, went to Geneua, to conferre about certeine neceſſary affaires, with them that were wiſe and learned in that Churche, which was about the tyme, when the Lordes Supper there was adminiſtred at Pẽtecoſte: Who there alſo at the ſame tyme, did cõmunicate with them. Afterward in his returnyng home, as he was paſſyng ouer the Lake of Come, he was taken, and brought to Come, and there committed to warde. Duryng the tyme of whiche impriſonment, diuers and ſondry, as well nobles, as other, with Doctors alſo, eſpecially Prieſtes and monkes, reſorted vnto him, laboryng by all maner of meanes, and moſt fayre promiſes, to reduce hym from his opinions: whiche ſemed to ſome but phantaſies cõmyng of ſome humore, to ſome they ſemed vncatholicke or hereticall. But he conſtantly diſputyng with them by the manifeſt Scriptures, declared the opinions whiche he defended, not to be any vayne ſpeculations or imaginary phantaſies of mans dotyng brayne, but the pure veritie of God, and the euident doctrine of Chriſt Ieſus expreſſed in his word, neceſſarie for all men to beleue, and alſo to maintaine vnto death: and therfore, for his part, rather then he would be found falſe to Chriſt, and his word, he was there ready, not to denye, but to ſtãd to Chriſtes Goſpell, to the effuſion of his bloud. Thus when he could in no wiſe, be reclamed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the Senate of Millain, that he ſhould be executed with death. Which execution, as they of Comum were about to prepare, in the meane while came other letters from Genua, written by the Emperours Ambaſſadour, and other nobles of Millain; by the whiche letters his death was delayed for a tyme, till at length, other letters were ſent from the Senate agayne of Millain, requiryng execution of the ſentence. Neuertheles, throughe interceſſion of his frendes, one weekes reſpite more was graunted him, to proue whether he might be wõne agayne to the Popes Churche, that is to ſay, loſte from God. Thus he beyng mightly and long aſſayled both by frendes, & by enemies terrified, yet by no perſuaſions would be expugned, but gaue thankes to God, that he was made worthy to ſuffer the rebukes of this world, & cruell death, for the teſtimonie of his ſonne, and ſo went he cherefully vnto his death. Then came certeine Franciſcan Friers to him, to heare hys confeſſion, whiche he refuſed. Alſo they brought in their handes, a Croſſe for him to behold, to kepe him from deſperation, at the felyng of the fire. But his minde (he ſayd) was ſo repleniſhed with ioy and comfort in Chriſt, that he neded neither their Croſſe, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the people, of the fruition of thoſe heauenly ioyes aboue, whiche God hath prepared for his, becauſe he ſhould ſpeake no more to the people, his tongue was bored through, and ſo immediatly beyng tyed to the ſtake, there was ſtangled till hee was dead, euery man there geuyng teſtimonie, which ſaw his conſtancie, that he dyed a good man. Ex Epiſtola cuiuſdam Nobilis Comenſis apud Henr. Pantal. lib. 10. & Cælium.
Pope Paulus the iiij.	Pomponius Algerius.	Põponius Algerius borne in Capua, a young man of great learnyng, was ſtudent in the Vniuerſitie of Padua, where hee not beyng able to conceale and kepe cloſe, the veritie of Chriſtes Goſpell, whiche he learned by the heauẽly teaching of Gods grace, ceaſed not both by doctrine and example of lyfe, to informe as many as hee could, in the ſame doctrine, and to bryng them to Chriſt. For the whiche hee was accuſed of hereſie, to Pope Paulus the fourth, Who ſendyng immediatly to the Magiſtrates of Venice,

The Magiſtrates of Venice.

At Rome.
an. 1555.

Venice, cauſed hym to be apprehended at Padua, and caryed to Venyce, where hee was long deteined in priſon and bandes, till at laſt the Pope commaunded the Magiſtrates there to ſend him vp boūd vnto Rome: which the Venitians eftſones accompliſhed. After he was brought to Rome, manifold perſuaſions and aluremententes were aſſayed to remoue the vertuous and bleſſed yong man, from his ſentence. But when no worldly perſuaſions could preuaile agaynſt the operation of Gods ſpirite in him, then was he adiudged to bee burned alyue, whiche death moſt conſtantly he ſuſteined to the great admiration of all that behelde him.

Beyng in priſon at Venyce, he wrote an Epiſtle to the afflicted Sainctes, which for the notable ſwetenes and moſt

wonderfull conſolation conteined in the ſame, in ſhewyng forth the mightie operation of Gods holy power working in his afflicted Sainctes, that ſuffer for his ſake: I haue thought good and expedient, to communicate, as a principall monument amongeſt all other Martyrs letters, not onely with the other letters, whiche ſhalbe inſerted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the boke, but alſo in this preſent place to be redde, to the entent that both they whiche be, or ſhalbe hereafter in affliction, may take conſolation, and alſo that they whiche yet folowe the trade of this preſent worlde, in comparyng the ioyes and commodities therof, with theſe ioyes here expreſſed, maye learne and conſider with them ſelues, what difference there is, betwene them both, and therby maye learne to diſpoſe them ſelues, in ſuch ſort, as may be to their edification, and perpetuall felicitie of their ſoules. The copie of the letter, firſt written in Latine, we haue tranſlated into Engliſhe: the tenour wherof here vnder enſueth.

¶ *A comfortable letter of* Pomponius Algerius, an Italian Martyr.

¶ *To his moſt dearely beloued brethren, and felow ſer-*uauntes in Chriſt, whiche are departed out of Babylon, into Moūt Sion: Grace, peace, and health, from God our father, by Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour.

TO mitigate your ſorowe, whiche you take for me, I can not but imparte vnto you ſome portion of my delectations and ioyes, whiche I feele and finde, to the entent you with me, may reioyce, and ſing before the Lord, geuyng thankes vnto hym. I ſhall vtter that, whiche no man will beleue, when I ſhall declare it. I haue founde, a neſte of hony and hony combe in the intrals of a Lyon. who will euer beleue yͤ I ſhall ſay? or what mā will euer thinke, in the deape darke dungeon, to finde a Paradiſe of pleaſure? in the place of ſorowe and death, to dwell tranquillitie and hope of lyfe: in a caue infernall, to bee founde ioye of ſoule? and where other mē do weepe, there to be reioyſing? where other do ſhake and tremble, there ſtrength and boldnes to be plentie? who will euer thinke, or who will beleue this? in ſuch a wofull ſtate, ſuch delectation? in a place ſo deſolate, ſuch ſocietie of good men? in ſtraite bandes and cold yrons, ſuch reſt to be had? All theſe things, the ſwete hand of the Lord (my ſwete brethren) doth miniſter vnto me. Behold, he yͭ was once farre frō me, now is preſent with me. whō once ſcarſe I could feele, now I ſee more apparantly: whō once I ſaw a farre of, now I beholde nere at hand: whom once I hungered for, the ſame now approcheth & reacheth his hand vnto me. He doth comfort me, & heapeth me vp with gladnes: he driueth away al bitternes: he miniſtreth ſtrēgth & courage: he healeth me, refreſheth, auaunceth, & comforteth me. O how good is the Lord, whiche ſuffereth not hys ſeruauntes to be tempted aboue their ſtrength? O how eaſy and ſwete is his yoke? Is there any like vnto the hygheſt, who receaueth yͤ afflicted, healeth yͤ woūded, & nouriſheth them? Is there any like vnto hym? Learne ye welbeloued, how amiable the Lord is, how meake and mercifull he is, whiche viſiteth his ſeruauntes in tentatiōs, neither diſdayneth he to kepe company with vs in ſuch vile and ſtinkyng caues. will the blynd and incredulous world (thinke you) beleue this? or rather will it not ſay thus? No thou wilt neuer be able to abyde long, the burnyng heate, the cold ſnow, and the pinchyng hardnes of that place: the manifold miſeries, and other greuaunces innumerable: the rebukes, and frownyng faces of men how wilt thou ſuffer? Doeſt thou not conſider and reuolue in thy minde thy pleaſaunt countrey, the riches of the world, thy kinſfolkes, the delicate pleaſures, and honours of this life? Doeſt thou forget the ſolace of thy Sciences, & fruite of all thy labours? wilt thou thus looſe all thy labours, which thou haſt hetherto ſuſteined? ſo many nightes watched? thy painefull trauails, and all thy laudable enterpriſes, wherin thou haſt bene exerciſed continually, euen from thy childhode? Finally, feareſt thou not death, which hāgeth ouer thee, and that for no crime cōmitted? O what a foole art thou, which for one word ſpeakyng, mayſt ſalue all this, and wilt not? what a rude and vnmanerly thyng is this, not to be entreated at the inſtant petions and deſires of ſuch, ſo many and ſo mighty, ſo iuſt, ſo vertuous, ſo prudent, and gracious Senatours, and ſuch noble perſonages? &c.

But now to aūſwere, let this blind world hearken to this agayne: what heate can there be more burning, thē that fire, which is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewiſe what ſnow cā be more cold, thē thy hart which is in darkenes, & hath no light? what thing is more hard and ſharpe, or crooked, thē this preſent life, which here we lead? what thyng more odious & hatefull, then this world here preſent? And let theſe worldly men here aunſwere me: what countrey can we haue more ſwete, then the heauenly countrey aboue? what treaſures more rich or precious, thē euerlaſtyng life? And who be our kinſmen, but they whiche heare the word of God? where be greater riches, or dignities more honorable, then in heauen? And as touchyng theſe Sciences, let this fooliſhe world conſider, be they not ordeined to learne to know God? whom vnles we do knowe, all our labours, our nyght watchynges, our ſtudies, and all our enterpriſes ſerue to no vſe nor purpoſe, all is but labour loſt. Furthermore let the miſerable worldly man aunſwere me, what remedy or ſafe refuge can there be vnto him, if he lacke God, who is the life and medicine of all men? And how cā he be ſayd to flye from death, when he himſelf is already dead in ſinne? If Chriſt be the way, veritie, & life, how cā there be any lyfe then, without Chriſt? The foolye heate of yͤ priſon, to me is coldnes: the colde wynter to me is a freſhe ſpryng tyme in the Lord. He that feareth not to bee burned in the fire, how will hee feare the heate of weather? or what careth he for the pinchyng froſt, whiche burneth with the loue of the Lord? the place is ſharpe and tedious to them that bee gyltie, but to the innocent and giltles, it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew, here floweth the pleaſaunt nectar, here runneth the ſwete milke, here is plentie of all good thinges. And although the place it ſelfe bee deſerte and barren, yet to me it ſemeth a large walke, and a valley of pleaſure: here to me is the better and more noble part of the worlde. Let the miſerable worldlyng ſay & confeſſe, if there be any plotte, paſture, or medowe ſo delightfull to the minde of man, as here? Here I ſee kynges, princes, cities, and people: here I ſee warres, where ſome be ouerthrowen, ſome be victours, ſome thruſt downe, ſome lifted vp. Here is the mount Sion: here I am already in heauen it ſelfe. Here ſtandeth firſt Chriſt Ieſus in the fronte. About him ſtand the old fathers, Prophetes, and Euangeliſtes, Apoſtles, and all the ſeruaunts of God. Of whom ſome do embrace and cheriſh me, ſome exhorte me, ſome open the Sacramētes vnto me, ſome comfort me, other ſome ſingyng about me. And how then ſhal I be thought to be alone, amōg ſo many, and ſuch as theſe be? The beholding of whom, to me is both ſolace, and example. For here I ſee ſome crucified, ſome ſlayne, ſome ſtoned, ſome cut a ſunder & quartered, ſome roſted, ſome broyled, ſome put in hoate caulderns, ſome hauing their eyes bored through, ſome their tongues cut out, ſome their ſkinne plucked ouer their heades, ſome their handes & feete chopt of, ſome put in kilnes and furnaces, ſome caſt down headlong, & giuen to the beaſtes, & foules of the ayre, to fede vpon. It would aſke a long tyme if I ſhould recite all.

To be ſhort, diuers I ſee, with diuers and ſōdry tormentes excruciate: yet notwithſtanding, all lyuing, and all ſafe. One plaiſter, one ſalue cureth all their woūdes: which alſo giueth to me, ſtrength and life: ſo that I ſuſteine all theſe tranſitory anguyſhes, & ſmall afflictiōs, with a quiet minde, hauyng a greater hope layd vp in heauen. Neither do I feare myne aduerſaries whiche here perſecute me and oppreſſe me: For he that dwelleth in heauen ſhall laughe them to ſcorne, and the Lord ſhall deride them. I feare not thouſandes of people, which compaſſe me about. The Lord my God ſhall deliuer me, my hope, my ſupporter, my cōforter, who exalteth vp my head. He ſhall ſmite all them that ſtād agaynſt me without cauſe, and ſhall daſhe the teeth & iawes of ſinners a ſunder: for he onely is all bleſſednes and maieſtie. The rebukes for Chriſtes cauſe make vs iocant: for ſo it is written: If ye be rebuked and ſcorned for the name of Chriſt, happy be you, for the glory, and the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. 1. Pet. 4. Be you therefore certified, that our rebukes whiche are layd vpon vs, redounde to the ſhame and harme of the rebukers. In this world there is no manſion firme to me, and therfore I trauaile vp to the new Hieruſalem, which is in heauen, and which offereth it ſelf vnto me, without paying any fine or Income. Beholde I haue entred already in my iourney, where my houſe ſtādeth for me prepared, and where I ſhall haue riches, kinſfolkes, delites, honours neuer faylyng. As for theſe earthly thynges here preſent, they are tranſitorie ſhadowes, vaniſhyng vapors, and ruinous walles. Brieflye, all is but very vanitie of vanities, where as hope, and the ſubſtaunce of eternitie to come, are wantyng: which the mercifull goodnes of the Lorde hath geuē, as companions, to accōpany me, & to comfort me: and now do the ſame begyn to worke & to bryng forth fruites in me. I haue trauailed hetherto, laboured and ſwette early and late, watchyng day and night, & now my trauailes begin to come to effecte. Dayes & houres haue I beſtowed vpon my ſtudyes. Behold the true coūtenaunce of God is ſealed vppon me, the Lord hath geuen myrth in my hart. And therefore in the ſame will I lay me downe in peace and reſt. Pſal. 4. And who then ſhall dare to blame this our age conſumed, or ſay that our yeares be cut of? what man can nowe cauil, that theſe our labours are loſt, whiche haue folowed and found out the Lord and maker of the world, and whiche haue chaunged death with lyfe? My portion is the Lorde (ſayth my ſoule) and therfore I will ſeke and waite for him. Now then, if to dye in the Lord, be not to dye, but to liue moſt ioyfully: where is this wretched wordly rebell, whiche blameth vs of folly, for geuing awaye our lyues to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taſte the Lordes cup, whiche is an aſſured pledge of true ſaluation? for ſo hath the Lord him ſelfe forewarned vs, ſaying: The ſame that they haue done to me, they will alſo do vnto you.

Wherfore let the doltiſh world, with his blind worldlyngs (who in the bright ſunne ſhyne, yet go ſtumbling in darknes, beyng as blynde as betles) ceaſe thus vnwiſely to carpe agaynſt vs, for our raſhe ſufferyng, as they count it. To whom thus we aunſwere agayne with the holy Apoſtle: That neither tribulation, nor anguiſhe, nor hunger, nor nakednes, nor ieoperdy, nor perſecutiō, nor ſword, ſhalbe able euer to ſeparate vs frō the loue of Chriſt. We are ſlayne all the day long, we are made like ſheepe ordeined to the ſhambles. Rom. 8. Thus do we reſēble Chriſt our head, whiche ſayd: That the Diſciple can not be aboue his maſter, nor the ſeruaunt aboue his Lorde. The ſame Lord alſo hath ſo commaunded: That euery one ſhall take vp his Croſſe, and folow him. Luc. 9. Reioyce, reioyce (my deare brethren, & felow ſeruantes) & be of good comfort, whē ye fall into ſondry tentations. Let your patience be perfect on all partes. For ſo is it foreſhewed vs before, & is written: That they which ſhal kill you, ſhall thinke to do God good ſeruice. Therfore afflictions, & death be as tokens & Sacramentes of our election, and lyfe to come. Let vs then be glad, and ſing to the Lord, when as we beyng cleare from all iuſt accuſation, are perſecuted and geuen to death. For better it is, that we in doyng well, do ſuffer, if it ſo be the will of the Lord, then doing euill. 1. Pet. 3. We haue for our example, Chriſt & the Prophetes, which ſpake in yͤ name of the Lord, whom the childrē of iniquitie did quelle and murder: and now we bleſſe and magnifie them, that then ſuffered. Let vs be glad and ioyous in our innocencie, and vprightnes. The Lord ſhall reward them that perſecute vs: let vs referre all reuengement to hym.

I am accuſed of fooliſhnes, for that I do not ſhrinke from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and doe not rydde me ſelfe out of theſe troubles, when with one worde, I may. O the blyndnes of man, which ſeeth not the Sunne ſhining, neither remēbreth the Lordes wordes. Conſider therefore what he ſayth: You are the light of the world: A Citie builded on the hill can not be hyd: Neither do men light a candle, and put it vnder a buſhed, but vpon a candleſticke, that it may ſhyne, and gyue light to thē in the houſe. And in an other place he ſayth: You ſhalbe led before kynges and rulers, feare ye not them, whiche kill the body, but him which killeth both body and ſoule. Who ſo euer ſhall confeſſe me before men, hym will I alſo confeſſe before my father whiche is in heauen: And he that denieth me before men, him will I alſo deny before my heauenly father. Wherefore, ſeyng the wordes of the Lord be ſo playne, how or by what authoritie will thys wiſe counſeller then approue this his counſaile, whiche he doth geue? God forbid that I ſhould relinquiſhe the Commaundementes of God, and folow the counſailes of men. For it is written: Bleſſed is the man that hath not gone in the wayes of ſinners, and hath not ſtand in the counſailes of the vngodly, and hath not ſit in the chayre of peſtilence. Pſal. 1. God forbyd that I ſhould denye Chriſt, where I ought to confeſſe him. I will not ſet more by my lyfe, then by my ſoule: neither will I exchaunge the lyfe to come, for this worlde here preſent. O how fooliſhlye ſpeaketh he, whiche here argueth me of fooliſhnes?

Neither do I take it to be a thyng ſo vncomly or vnſemyng for me not to obey in this matter, the requeſtes of thoſe ſo honorable, iuſt, prudent, vertuous, & noble Senatours, whoſe deſires (he ſayth) were enough to commaunde me. For ſo are we taught of the Apoſtles: That we ought to obeye God before men. After that we haue ſerued and done our duety firſt vnto God, then are we boūd next to obey the Poteſtates of this world: whom I wiſhe to be perfect before the Lord. They are honorable, but yet are they to be made more perfect in yͤ Lord. They are iuſt, but yet Chriſt yͤ Seate of Iuſtice is lackyng in them. They are wiſe, but where is in thē the beginning of wiſedome, that is, the feare of yͤ Lord? They are called vertuous, but yet I wiſhe them more abſolute in Chriſtian charite. They are good and gratious: but yet I myſſe in them the fundation of goodnes, whiche is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodnes and grace. They are honorable, yet haue they not receaued the Lord of glory, which is our Sauiour moſt honorable and glorious. Vnderſtād you kinges, and learne you that iudge the earth. Serue the Lord in feare, and reioyce in him with tremblyng. Hearken to doctrine, and get knowledge, leſt you fall into Gods diſpleaſure, and ſo periſhe out of the way of righteouſnes. What freat you, what fume, you O gentles? O you people, what caſt you in your braynes the cogitations of vanitie? you kynges of the earth, and you princes, why conſpire you ſo together agaynſt Chriſt, and agaynſt his holy one? Pſal. 2. How long will you ſeke after lies, and hate the truth? Turne you to the Lorde and harden not your hartes. For this you muſt nedes confeſſe, that they which perſecute the Lordes ſeruaūts, do perſecute the Lord him ſelfe. For ſo hee ſayth hym ſelf: What ſoeuer mē ſhall do to you, I will count it to be done, not as vnto you, but to me ſelfe.

And now let this carnall politicke Counſeller and diſputer of this world, tell, wherein haue they to blame me, if in myne examinations I haue not aunſwered ſo after their mynde and affection, as they required of me: ſeyng it is not our ſelues that ſpeake, but the Lord that ſpeaketh in vs, as he hym ſelf doth forewitnes, ſaying: Whē ye ſhal be brought before rulers and Magiſtrates, it is not you your ſelues that ſpeake, but the ſpirite of my father, that ſhal be in you. Mat. 10. wherfore if the Lord bee true and faithfull of his word, as it is moſt certeine, then is there no blame in me: for hee gaue the wordes that I did ſpeake, and who was I, that could reſiſte his will? If any ſhall reprehend the thinges that I ſayd, let hym then quarell with the Lord, whō it pleaſed to worke ſo in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accuſed, which did that I purpoſed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did vtter and expreſſe, if they were otherwiſe then well, let them ſhewe it, and then will I ſay, that they were my wordes, & not the Lordes? But if they were good, & approued, & ſuch as can not iuſtly bee accuſed, then muſt it nedes be graunted, ſpyte of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lorde: and then who bee they, that ſhall accuſe me? A people of prudence. Or who ſhall condemne me? Iuſt Iudges. And thoughe they ſo do, yet neuertheles, the worde ſhall not be fruſtrate, neither ſhall the Goſpell be fooliſhe, or therfore decay: but rather the kyngdome of God ſhall the more proſpere and floriſh vnto the Iſraelites, and ſhall paſſe the ſooner vnto the electe of Chriſte Ieſu: And they whiche ſhall ſo do, ſhall proue the greuous iudgement of God, neither ſhall they eſcape without puniſhment, that be perſecuters and murderers of the iuſt. My welbeloued, lift vp your eyes, and conſider the counſails of God. He ſhewed vnto vs a late, an Image of hys plague, whiche was to our correction. And if we ſhall not receaue him, he will draw out his ſword, and ſtrike with ſword, peſtilence, and famine, the nation that ſhall riſe agaynſt Chriſt. Theſe haue I written to your comfort, deare brethrē. Pray for me. I kiſſe in my hart, with an holy kiſſe, my good maſters, Siluius, Pergula, Iuſtus, alſo Fidell Rocke, and him that beareth the name of Lelia, whom I know, although being abſent. Item, the gouernour of the Vniuerſitie, Syndicus, and all other, whoſe names be written in the booke of life. Fare well all my felow ſeruauntes of God: fare ye well in the Lord, and pray for me continually. From the delectable horchyard of Leonine priſon. 12. cal. Aug. an. 1555.

It is writtē of one Theobrotus, that when hee had read the booke of Plato De Immortalitate animæ, hee was ſo moued and perſuaded therwith, that he caſt him ſelfe downe headlong from an hygh wall, to be rydde out of this preſent lyfe. If thoſe heathen Philoſophers, hauyng no worde of God, nor promiſe of any reſurrection and life to come, could ſo ſone be perſuaded by reading the wordes of Plato, to contemne this world & life here preſent: how much more is it to be required in Chriſtians, inſtructed wᵗ ſo many euidences & promiſes of Gods moſt perfect word, that they ſhould learne to caſt of ŷ carnall deſires & affections of this miſerable peregrinatiō, and that for a double reſpect, not onely in ſeing, reading, & vnderſtāding ſo many examples of ŷ miſeries of this wretched world: but alſo much more in cōſidering, & pondring the heauenly ioyes & conſolations of the other world, remaynyng for vs hereafter to come. For a more full euidence wherof, I thought good to geue out this preſent letter of Algerius aboue prefixed, for the taſte of ŷ ſame, & a liuely teſtimony for all true Chriſtians to read and conſider. Now let vs procede further (the Lord willyng) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

	Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Ioan Aloiſius, Martyr.		Ioan. Aloiſius. At Rome. an. 1559.	*Of Ioannes Aloiſius we finde mention made in a letter of Symon Florillus: which Aloiſius was ſent downe from Geneua, to the parties of Calabria, there to be their miniſter, who afterward was ſent for vp to Rome, and there ſuffered.* Ex Epiſt. D. Simonis Florilli.
Iacobus Bouellus, Martyr.		Iacobus Bouellus At Meſſina. an. 1559.	*Iacobus Bouellus was likewiſe ſent from Geneua to the ſayd parties of Calabria, with Aloiſius, who alſo being ſent for, vp to Rome, was ſent downe to the Citie Meſſina, and there was martyred. Ibidem.*
	Pope Pius **the fourth.**	*Diuers that ſuffered in the kingdome of* Naples. At Neaples. an. 1560.	*After Pope Iulius the third, came Macellus the ſecond. After him ſucceded Pope Paule the fourth. This Paule beyng dead, folowed Pope Pius the fourth. Who beyng aduaunced to that rowme, began hoate perſecution in all the territories of the Churche of Rome, agaynſt them whiche were ſuſpected for Lutherans. Wherupon enſued great trouble and perſecution in the kingdome of Neaples, in ſuch cruell ſort, that many noble men with their wiues, & others, are reported there to be ſlayne.* Vid. Pantal. lib. xi.
	Pope Pius 4.	*Lxxxviij Martyrs in one day, with one butcherlye knife, ſlayne like ſhepe.* 1600. *other, alſo condēned.*	*In Calabria lykewiſe the ſame tyme, ſuffered a bleſſed number of Chriſtes welbeloued Saintes, both olde & young, put together in one houſe, to the number of 88. perſonnes, all which, one after an other, were taken out of the houſe, and ſo beyng layd vppon the butchers Stall, like ſhepe in the ſhambles, with one bloudy knife, were all killed in order. A ſpectacle moſt tragicall, for all poſteritie to remember, and almoſt incredible to beleue. Wherefore for the more credite of the matter, leſt we ſhall ſeme either light of credite, to beleue that is not true, or raſhely to committe to penne, thynges without due profe and authoritie, we haue here annexed a peece of an Epiſtle, written by maſter*

Perſecuters	Martyrs	The Cauſes.
	At Calabria. an. 1560.	*Symon Florillus preacher of Gods woorde at the Citie Clauenna, among the Rhetians, vnto a certeine frende of his named* Guliel. Gratalorus *an Italian, and Doctor of Phyſicke, in the Uniuerſitie of Baſill, which* Gratalorus *tranſlated the ſame into the Latin tongue, and it is to be found in the xi. booke of Pantal. pag. 337. the Engliſh wherof is this as foloweth.*

¶ *The end of a certeine letter of maiſter Symon Florillus,* written in Italian, concerning a lamentable ſlaughter of 88. Chriſtian Saintes, in the parties of Calabria.

Newes out of *Italie. an.* 1560.

As concernyng newes, I haue nothyng to write, but onely, that I ſend you a copy of certaine letters imprinted either at Rome, or at Venyce, concernyng the Martyrdome or perſecution in ij. ſeuerall townes of Calabria, eight Italian myles frõ ẏ borders of Cõſentia: the one called Sainct Sixtus within ij. myles of Montalte, vnder ẏ Segniorie of ẏ duke of Montalte: the other called Guardia, ſituate vpon the Sea coſte, and xij. myles frõ Sainct Sixtus: the which ij. townes are vtterly deſtroyed and viij. C. of the inhabitauntes there (or as ſome write frõ ẏ citie of Rome) no leſſe thẽ a full thouſand. He that wrote ẏ letter, was ſeruant to Aſcanius Caracciolus. The countrey & people there I well knewe, to take the firſt Originall of their good doctrine, and honeſt lyfe, from the Valdenſes. For before my departure frõ Geneua, at their requeſt, I ſent thẽ ij. Scholemaſters, & ij. preachers. The laſt yeare ẏ ij. preachers were martyred: the one at Rome named Ioãnes Aloiſius Paſchalis, a Citizen of Cunium: the other at Meſſina named Iames Bouell both of Piedmont: This yeare the reſidue of that godly felowſhyp were martyred, in the ſame place. I truſt this good ſeede ſowen in Italie, will bryng foorth good and plentyfull fruite. Nowe followeth the Coppye of the letters ſent from Montalte, a towne in Calabria 8. myles diſtant from Conſentia, bearyng date the xi. of Iune. 1560. The writer of the which letters, as ye may perceaue, was one of them which call them ſelues Catholickes, and folowers of the Pope. The wordes of the letter be theſe, as here vnder foloweth.

Ioan. Aloiſius Paſchalis, Iames Bouell, preachers and Martyrs.

¶ *Here foloweth the Copye, of a letter ſent from Mon*talte in Calabria, by a Romaniſte, to a certein frend of his in Rome, conteinyng newes of the perſecution of Chriſtes people in Calabria, by the new Pope Pius the fourth.

Horrible perſecution in *Calabria. an.* 1560.

Hetherto, moſt noble Lorde, haue I certified you, what here dailye hath bene done about theſe heretickes. Now commeth next, to ſignifie vnto your lordſhip, the horrible iudgement begonne this preſent day, being the xi. of Iune, to be executed very earlye in the morning agaynſt the Lutherans. whiche when I thinke vpon, I verely quake and tremble. And truly the maner of their putting to death, was to be compared to the ſlaughter of calues & ſhepe. For they all being thruſt vp in one houſe together as in a ſhepefold, the executioner commeth in, and amongſt thẽ taketh one and blindfeldeth him with a muffler about his eyes, & ſo leadeth him forth to a larger place nere adioynyng, where hee commaundeth hym to kneele down: which being ſo done, he cutteth his throte, and leauyng hym halfe dead, and takyng his butchers knife and muffler all of gore bloud (whiche the Italians call Benda) commeth agayne to the reſt, and ſo leadyng one after an other, he diſpatcheth them all, whiche were to the number of 88. Thys ſpectacle, to beholde howe dolefull and horrible it was, I leaue to your Lordſhyps iudgemẽt: for to write of it I me ſelfe, cannot but weepe. Neither was any of the beholders there preſent, whiche ſeyng one to dye, could abyde to behold the death of an other. But certes ſo humbly and paciently they went to death, as is almoſt vncredible to beleue. Some of them as they were in dying, affirmed that they beleued euen as we do. Notwithſtandyng the moſt part of them dyed in the ſame their obſtinate opinions. All the aged perſõs went to death more cherefully, the yonger were more timorous. I tremble and ſhake euẽ to remember how the executioner held his bloudy knife betwen his teeth, with the bloudy muffler in his hand, and his armes al in gore bloud, vp to ẏ elbowes, goyng to the fold & taking euery one of them, one after an other, by the hand, and ſo diſpatching them all, no otherwiſe then doth a butcher kill his calues and ſhepe.

The chriſtians killed like calues.

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It is moreouer appointed (and the cartes become all ready) that all thoſe ſo put to death, ſhould be quartered and ſo to bee conueyed in the cartes to the hethermoſt partes of Calabria, where they ſhalbe hanged vpõ poles in the hyghe wayes, and other places, euen to the confines of the ſame countrey. Unleſſe the Popes holynes and the Lorde Vyceroy of Neaples ſhall gyue in commaundemẽt to ẏ Lord Marques of Buccianus, gouerner of the ſayd prouince, to ſtay his hand, and go no further, he will procede, with the racke & torture, examining all other, and ſo encreaſe the number in ſuch ſorte, that hee will nye diſpatche them all.

This day it is alſo determined that an hundreth of the more auncient women, ſhould appeare to bee examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfecte, for ſo many men, ſo many women. And thus haue you ẏ I cã ſay of this iuſtice. Now it is about ij. of the clocke in the afternoone: Shortly we ſhall heare what ſome of them ſayd, when they went to execution. There be certeine of them ſo obſtinate, that they will not looke vppon the crucifixe, nor bee confeſſed to the Prieſt, and they ſhall be burned alyue.

The heretickes ẏ bee apprehended & condemned, are to the number of. 1600. but as yet no more but theſe foreſayd lxxxviij. are already executed. This people haue their originall of the valley named Angronia neare to Subaudia, & in Calabria, are called Vltramontani. In the kingdome of Neaples there are iiij. other places of the ſame people, of whom, whether they liue well or no, as yet we know not: For they are but ſimple people, ignoraunt, without learnyng, wodgatherers, and huſbandmen: but as I here, much deuout and religious, gyuing them ſelues to dye for religions ſake. From Montealto, the xi. of Iune. And thus much writeth this Romaniſte.

¶ Here moreouer is to bee noted, that the foreſayd Marques Buccianus aboue ſpecified, had a ſonne or brother, vnto whom the ſayd new Pope (Pius the fourth belyke) is reported to haue promiſed a Cardinalſhyp at at Rome, if al the Lutherans were extirped and rooted out in that prouince. And lyke enough that the ſame was the cauſe of this butcherly perſecution and effuſion of Chriſten bloud, in the ſayd countrey of Calabria, beyond Neaples, in Italy.

Beſides theſe godly Italiã Martyrs, in this Table aboue cõteined, many other alſo haue ſuffered in ẏ ſame cõtrey of Italie, of whom ſome before haue bene ſpecified: ſome peraduenture omitted. But many moe there be, whoſe names we know not, wherof as ſoone as knowledge may be geuẽ vnto vs, we purpoſe God willing, to imparte ẏ ſame (louyng reader) vnto thẽ.

¶ Now in the meane tyme it foloweth (accordyng to my promiſe made before) nexte after this lamentable ſlaughter of Calabria, here to inſerte alſo the tragicall perſecution and horrible murder of the faithful flocke of Chriſt inhabityng in Merindole in Fraunce, and in other townes adiacẽt neare vnto the ſame, in the tyme of Franciſcus. 1. the French kyng. The furious crueltie of whiche miſerable perſecution, although it cã not be ſet forth to much at large, yet becauſe we will not werye to much the reader, with the full length therof, we haue ſe contracted the ſame, eſpecially the principall effect therof we haue cõprehended in ſuch ſorte, ẏ as we on ẏ one part haue auoyded prolixitie: ſo on the other we haue omitted nothyng, whiche might ſeme vnworthy to be forgotten. The ſtory here foloweth.

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¶ *A notable hiſtory of the horrible perſecution and deſtruction* of the people of Merindol and Cabriers, ~~in the Valley of Angroigne~~: where, not a few perſons, but whole Villages and Towneſhippes with the moſt part of all the foreſayd countrey, both men, women, and children, were put to all kindes of crueltie, and ſuffered martyrdome, for the profeſsion of the Goſpell.

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They that write of the begynnyng of this people, ſay that about CC. yeares a go, they came out of the countrey of Piedmont, to inhabite in Prouince, in certaine Villages deſtroyed by warres, and other deſert places: wherin they vſed ſuch labour & diligence, ẏ they had abundance of Corne, wyne, Oyles, Hony, Almons, with other fruites and commodities of the earth, and much cattel. Before they came thether, Merindol was a barren deſert and not inhabited. But theſe good people (in whom God alwayes had reſerued ſome litle ſeede of pietie) beyng diſperſed, and ſeparated from the ſocietie of men, were compelled to dwell with beaſtes, in that waſt and wild deſert, whiche notwithſtandyng, through the bleſſing of God, and their great labour and trauell, became excedyng fruitefull. Notwithſtandyng, the world in the meane tyme, ſo deteſted and abhorred them, and with all ſhamefull rebukes and contumelies, railed agaynſt them in ſuch deſpitefull maner, that it ſemed they were not worthy that the earth ſhould beare thē. For they, of a long continuance and cuſtome, had refuſed the Biſhop of Romes authoritie, and obſerued euer a more perfect kynd of doctrine, then others, deliuered to them from the father to the ſonne, euer ſince the yeare of our Lord. 1200.

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For this cauſe they were often accuſed & cōplayned of to the kyng, as contemners and deſpiſers of the Magiſtrates, & rebels. wherfore they were called by diuers names, accordyng to the countreyes & places where they dwelt. For in the countrey about Lyons, they were called ẏ poore people of Lyons: In the borders of Sarmatia and Liuonia, and other countreyes towardes the North, they were called Lolards: In Flaūders & Artoys, Turrelupins, of a deſert where wolues did haunt: In Dolphine, with great deſpite, they were named Chagnards, becauſe they lyued in places open to the Sunne, and without houſe or harborough. But moſt commonly they were called Waldois, of Waldo, who fyrſt inſtructed them in the word of God: which name continued vntill the name of Lutherans came vp, which aboue all other, was moſt hated, and abhorred.

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Notwithſtandyng, in all theſe moſt ſpitefull contumelies and ſclaunders, the people dwellyng at the foote of the Alpes, and alſo in Merindol and Cabriers, and the quarters thereabout, alwayes liued ſo godly, ſo vprightly and iuſtely, that in all their life & conuerſation, there appeared to be in them a great feare of God. That litle light of true knowledge whiche God had giuen them, they laboured by all meanes, to kyndle and encreaſe dayly more and more, ſparyng no charges, whether it were to procure bookes of the holy Scripture, or to inſtruct ſuch as were of the beſt and moſt towardly wittes, in learnyng and godlines: or ells to ſend thē into other coūtreys, yea euē to the fartheſt partes of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the Goſpell began to ſhyne.

For in the yere. 1530. vnderſtādyng that the Goſpell was preached in certeine townes of Germany and Switzerland, they ſent thether ij. learned mē, that is, Georgius Maurellus borne in Dolphine, a godly preacher of their owne, and whō they had of their own charges brought vp in learnyng, and Petrus Latomus a Burgundian, to cōferre with the wiſe & learned Miniſters of the Churches there, in the doctrine of the Goſpell, and to know the whole forme and maner whiche thoſe Churches vſed in the ſeruice and worſhyppyng of God: and particularly to haue their aduiſe alſo, vppon certeine poyntes, whiche they were not reſolued in. Theſe ij. after great conference had with the chiefeſt in ẏ Churche of God, namely with Oecolāpadius at Baſill: at Strausbrough, with Bucer and Capito: and at Berne, with Bartholdus Hallerus: as they were returning through Burgūdie, homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dyion, and caſt into priſon. Maurellus eſcaped and returned alone to Merindol, with the bookes and letters whiche hee brought with him, from the Churches of Germanie, and declared to his brethren, all the pointes of his commiſſiō, and opened vnto them, how many & great errours they were in: into the which theyr olde miniſters, whom they called * Barbes, that is to ſay, Vncles, had brought them, leading them from the right way of true religion.

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When the people heard this, they were moued with ſuch a zeale to haue their Churches reformed, that they ſent for the moſt auncient brethren, and the chiefeſt in knowledge & experience, of all Calabria & Apulia, to conſult with them, touching the reformation of the Church. This matter was ſo handled, that it ſtirred vp the Byſhops, Prieſtes, and Monkes in all Prouince, with great rage, agaynſt them. Amongſt other, there was one cruell wretch called Iohn de Roma, a Monke, who obteynyng a commiſſion to examine thoſe that were ſuſpected to be of the Waldois or Lutherane profeſſion, forthwith ceaſed not to afflicte the faithfull with all kynde of crueltie, that hee could deuiſe or imagine. Amōgeſt other moſt horrible tormētes, this was one, which he moſt delighted in, and moſt commonly practiſed: He filled bootes with boylyng greece, and put them vppon theyr legges, tying them backward to a forme, with their legges hanging down ouer a ſmall fire, and ſo he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end, moſt cruelly put them to death. The fyrſt whom he thus tormented were Michelottus Serra, and W. Melius, with a number moe.

Of theſe Calabrians, ſee before pag. 1073.

Ioā. de Roma, a wretched perſecutor.

The crueltie of a Papiſte.

Michelottus Serra, W. Melius, Martyrs.

Wherfore Frances the French kyng beyng informed of the ſtraunge and outragious crueltie of this helliſhe Monke: ſent letters to the highe Court or Parlament of Prouince, that forthwith he ſhould bee apprehended, and by forme of proces and order of law, he ſhould bee condemned, and aduertiſement ſent vnto him with all ſpede, of his condemnation. The Monke beyng aduertiſed hereof by his frendes, conueyed him ſelfe to Auinion, where he thought to enioye the ſpoilynges, which he, like a notorious theſe, had gotten by fraude & extortion, frō the poore Chriſtians. But ſhortlye after, he whiche had ſo ſhamefullye ſpoyled other, was ſpoyled of altogether, by his owne houſholde ſeruauntes: wherupon, ſhortly after, he fell ſicke of a moſt horrible diſeaſe, ſtraunge and vnknowen to any Phiſition. So extreme were the paynes and tormentes, wherewith hee was continually vexed in all his body, that no oyntment, no fomentation, nor any thyng els, could eaſe him one minute of an houre. Neither was there any man that could tary neare about him: ne yet would any of his owne frendes come neare him: ſo great was the ſtinch that came frō him. For the whiche cauſe he was caryed from the Iacobines, to an hoſpitall, there to be kept: But the ſtinch and infection, ſo encreaſed, that no man durſt there come neare him: no nor he him ſelfe was hable to abyde the horrible ſtinch that iſſued from his body, full of vlcers and ſores, and ſwarming with vermine, and ſo rotten, that the fleſhe fell away from the bones, by peecemeale.

The iuſt iudgment of God agaynſt a cruell perſecutor.

Whiles he was in theſe tormētes and anguiſhe, he cryed out often tymes in great rage: Oh who will deliuer me? who will kill me and rydde me out of theſe vntolerable paynes, whiche I know, I ſuffer for the euils and oppreſſions, that I haue done to the poore men? And he hym ſelfe went about diuers tymes, to deſtroy him ſelfe, but he had not the power. In theſe horrible tormentes and anguiſhe, and fearefull diſpayre, this blaſphemer and moſt cruell homicide, moſt miſerablie ended his vnhappy dayes and curſed life, as a ſpectacle to all perſecutours, receauing a iuſt reward of his crueltie by the iuſt Iudgemēt of God. When hee was dead, there was no man that would come neare hym to burye him: but a yonge Nouyce newly come to hys order, in ſtede of a more honorable ſepulture, caught holde with a hooke vpon his ſtinking carian, and drewe him into a hole hard by, whiche was made for him.

A ſpectacle to all perſecutors.

After the death of this cruell monſter, the Biſhop of Aix, by his Official Perionet, continued the perſecution, and put a great multitude of them in priſon: of whom ſome by force of tormentes, reuolted frō the truth: the others whiche cōtinued cōſtant, after he had condemned thē of hereſye, were put into ẏ handes of ẏ ordinary iudge, which at that tyme, was one Meiranus, a notable cruell perſecutor: who, without any forme of proces or order of law, ſuch as the Officiall had pronounced to bee hereticks, he put to death, with moſt cruell tormentes: But ſhortly after, he receiued a iuſt reward of his crueltie, in like maner.

The Byſhop of *Aix*, *Perionet* hys Officiall, *Meiranus*, cruell perſecutors.

After ẏ death of ẏ good Preſident Cuiſinetus, the Lord of Reueſt beyng chief Preſident of the Parlament of Aix, put many of the faithfull to death. Who afterward beyng put out of his office, returned to his houſe of Reueſt, where hee was ſtrookē with ſuch an horrible ſicknes, that for the fury and madnes whiche he was in, his wife or any that were about him, durſt not come nere him, and ſo he dying in this fury and rage, was iuſtly plagued for his vnmercifull and cruell dealyng.

An other example of Gods terrible iudgement vpon a perſecutor.

After him ſucceded Bartholomeus Chaſſaneus, likewiſe a peſtilent perſecutour, whom God at length ſtrooke with a fearefull & ſodein death. In the time of this Tyranne, thoſe of Merindol, in the perſon of ten, were cited perſonally to appeare before the kynges Atturney. But they hearyng that the

An other example of Gods iudgemēt vpō *Chaſſaneus*, a bloudy perſecutor.

A bloudie decree agaynſt the Merindolians.

the Court had determined to burne them without any further proceſſe or order of lawe, durſt not appeare at the day appoynted. For whiche cauſe the Courte awarded a cruell ſentence agaynſt Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitantes, to be burned both men and women, ſparyng none, no not the litle childrē and infantes: the towne to be raſed, & their houſes beaten down to the ground: alſo the trees to be cut down, as wel oliue trees, as all other, & nothyng to be left, to the entent it ſhould neuer be inhabited againe, but remaine as a deſert or wildernes.

This bloudy Arreſt or Decree ſemed ſo ſtraunge and wonderfull, that in euery place thoroughout all Prouince, there was great reaſonyng and diſputation concernyng the ſame, eſpecially among the Aduocates, and men of learnyng and vnderſtandyng: in ſo much that many durſt boldly and openly ſay, that they greatly marueiled, howe that Court of Parlament could be ſo madde, or ſo bewitched, to giue out ſuch an Arreſt, ſo manifeſtly iniurious and vniuſt, and contrary to all right and reaſon, yea to all ſenſe of humanitie: alſo contrary to the ſolemne othe, whiche all ſuch as are receiued to office in Courtes of Parlament, are accuſtomed to make, that is to ſay, to Iudge iuſtly and vprightly, accordyng to the law of God, and the iuſt ordinaunces and lawes of the realme, ſo that God therby might be honoured, and euery mans right regarded, without reſpecte of perſons.

Some of the Aduocates or lawyers, defendyng the ſayd Arreſt to bee iuſt and right, ſayd: that in caſe of Lutheraniſme, the iudges are not bound to obſerue either right or reaſon, law either ordinaunce, and that the iudges can not faile or do amiſſe, what ſo euer iudgement they doe giue, ſo that it tend to the ruine and extirpation of all ſuch as are ſuſpected to bee Lutheranes.

Euen ſo the Phariſeis proceded agaynſt Chriſt the ſonne of God.

To this the other lawyers and learned men aunſwered, that vppon their ſaynges it would enſue, that the Iudges ſhould now altogether folow the ſame maner & forme, in procedyng againſt the Chriſtians accuſed to be Lutheranes, whiche the Goſpell witneſſeth that the Prieſtes, Scribes and Phariſeis followed, in purſuyng and perſecutyng, and finally condemnyng our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

The biſhops bancket.

By theſe and ſuch other like talkes the ſayd Arreſt was publiſhed throughout the countrey, and there was no aſſemble or banket, where it was not diſputed or talked of: and namely, within. xij. dayes after the Arreſt was geuen out, there was a great banket made in the towne of Aix, at the whiche banket was preſent maiſter Barthelmewe Chaſſanee, Preſident, & many other Councellers and other noble perſonages and men of authoritie. There was alſo the Archbiſhop of Arles, and the Byſhop of Aix, with diuers ladyes and gentelwomen, amongeſt whom was one which was cōmonly reported to be the Byſhop of Aix his concubine. They were ſcarſe well ſet at the table, but ſhe began thus to talke: My Lord Preſident, will you not execute the Arreſt, which is geuē out of late, agaynſt ẏ Lutherans of Merindol? The Preſident aunſwered nothyng, fainyng that he heard her not. Thē a certein gentlemā aſked of her what Arreſt that was. She recited it in maner & forme, as it was geuen out, forgettyng nothyng, as if ſhe had a long tyme, ſtudied to cōmitte the ſame vnto memorye: wherunto they which were at the banket gaue diligent eare, without any worde ſpeakyng, vntill ſhe had ended her tale.

There is no crueltie to the crueltie of an harlot.

The Lord of Alenc, a good man.

Then the Lord of Alenc, a mā fearyng God, and of great vnderſtanding, ſayd vnto her: Gentelwomā, you haue learned this tale, either of ſome that would haue it ſo, or els it is geuen out by ſome Parlament of wemen. Then the Lord of Senas, an auncient Counceller, ſayd vnto him, no, no, my lord of Alenc, it is no tale which you haue heard this gentle womā tell: for it is an Arreſt geuē out by a whole Senate, and you ought not thus to ſpeake except you would cal the court of Prouince, a Parlament of wemen. Then the Lord of Alenc began to excuſe him ſelfe, with proteſtation that he would not ſpeake any thyng to blemiſh the authoritie of that ſoueraigne Court, notwithſtanding he could not beleue all that whiche the ſayd gentlewoman had told, that is to ſay, that all the inhabitantes of Merindoll were condēned to dye by the Arreſt of the ſayd Court of Parliament of Prouince, and ſpecially the wemen and litle children and infantes: and the towne to be raſed, for the faute of x. or. xij. perſons, which dyd not appeare before the ſayd Court, at the day appointed. And the Lord Beauieu alſo aunſwered, ẏ he beleued not the ſayd Court to haue geuen out any ſuch Arreſt, for that (ſayd he) were a thyng moſt vnreaſonable, & ſuch as the very Turkes & the moſt Tyrannes of ẏ world, would iudge to be a thing moſt deteſtable: and ſaid further, that he had knowen a long tyme, many of Merindoll, which ſeemed vnto him, to be men of great honeſty: and my Lord Preſident (ſaid he) can certifie vs well what is done in this matter, for wee ought not to geue credite vnto wemens tales. Then the gentlewomā whiche had rehearſed the Arreſt, ſtayed not to heare the Preſidentes aūſwere, but ſodenly loking vpō the biſhop of Aix, ſaid: I ſhould greatly haue marueiled, if there had bene none in all this cōpany which would defende theſe wicked men, and liftyng her eyes to heauen in a great womanly chafe and fume, ſaid: would to God that all the Lutherans, whiche are in Prouince, yea and in all Fraunce, had hornes growyng on their foreheds, then we ſhould ſee a goodly many of hornes. To whom the Lorde Beauieu ſodeinlye aunſwered, ſaying, woulde to God that all Prieſtes harlots ſhould chatter like Pies. Then ſayd the gentlewoman: ha my Lord Beauieu, you ought not ſo to ſpeake agaynſt our holy mother ẏ Church, for there was neuer dogge that barked agaynſt the Crucifixe but that he waxed madde. whereat the Byſhop of Aix, laughed, and clappyng the gentlewoman on the ſhoulder, ſayd, by my holy orders, my Minion, wel ſayd, I cunne you thanke. She hath talked well vnto you, my Lorde Beauieu, remember well the leſſon that ſhe hath geuen you. Here the Lord Beauieu beyng wholy moued with anger, ſaid, I care neither for her ſchole, nor yours, for it would be long before a man ſhould learne of either of you both, any honeſty or honour: For if I ſhould ſay that the moſt part of the Byſhops and Prieſtes are abominable adulterers, blinde Idolaters, deceiuers, theeues, ſeducers, I ſhould not ſpeake agaynſt the holy Churche, but agaynſt a heape and flocke of wolues, dogges, and filthy ſwine, and in ſpeakyng theſe things, I would thinke a man not to be madde at all, except he be madde for ſpeakyng of the truth.

Then the Archbyſhop in a great fury aunſwered, my Lord Beauieu, you ſpeake very euill, and you muſt geue accompt when tyme and place ſerueth, of this your talke, whiche you haue here vttered agaynſt the Churche men. I would, ſaid the Lord Beauieu, that it were to do euen this preſent day, and I would binde my ſelfe to proue more abuſes and naughtines in Prieſtes, then I haue yet ſpoken. Thē ſayd the Preſident Chaſſanee, my Lord Beauieu, let vs leaue of this talke and lyue as our fathers haue done, and mainteine their honour. Then ſayd he in great anger, I am no Prieſtes ſonne to mainteyne their wickednes and abuſe. And afterward he ſaid, I am well content to honour all true paſtours of the Churche, and will not blame them whiche ſhewe good example in their doctrine and lyuyng: but I demaūde of you my Lord of Arles, and you my Lord of Aix, when as our Lord Ieſu Chriſt called the Prieſtes deceiuyng hypocrites, blind ſeducers, robbers and theeues, did he them any outrage or wrong? and they aūſwered no, for the moſt part of thē were ſuch men. Then ſayd the Lord Beauieu, euen ſo is it with the Biſhops and Prieſtes which I haue ſpoken of, for they are ſuch kinde of men, or rather worſe: and I ſo abhorre their filthy and abhominable lyfe, that I dare not ſpeake the one halfe of that which I know, and therfore in ſpeakyng the truth, to coole the bablyng of a harlot, I do them no iniury.

Then Monſieur de Senas, an auncient Counceller, ſaid, let vs leaue of this contentious talke, for we are here aſſembled and come together to make good chere. And afterwarde he ſayd, Monſieur de Beauieu, for the loue and amitie which I beare vnto you, I wil aduertiſe you of iij. things, whiche if you will do, you ſhall finde great eaſe therein.

The firſt is, that you neither by worde nor dede, ayde or aſſiſte thoſe which you heare to be Lutherans.

Secōdly, that you do not entermedle, openly to reproue Ladies and gentlewemen, for their paſtime and pleaſures.

Thirdly that you do neuer ſpeake agaynſt the lyfe and liuyng of * Prieſtes, how wicked ſo euer it be, accordyng to this ſaying: Do not touche myne annoynted.

To whō Monſieur Beauieu aūſwered: as touchyng ẏ firſt point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is ment by this word Lutheraniſme, except you do call thē Lutherans, which profeſſe the doctrine of the Goſpell. Neither yet will I euer alow any Arreſt whiche ſhall be geuen out to death againſt mē whoſe cauſe hath not bene heard, eſpecially, againſt wemen and yong infantes: and I am aſſured that there is no Court of Parlament in all Fraunce, which will approue or alowe any ſuch Arreſt. And whereas you ſay that I ſhould not medle, to reproue Ladyes or gentlewemen, if I knewe any kinſewomā of mine, whiche would abandone her ſelfe vnto a Prieſt or Clerke, yea albeit hee were a Cardinall or Byſhop, I would not do her ſomuch honour, as to rebuke her therfore, but at ẏ leaſt I would cut of her noſe. And as touchyng Prieſtes, as I am contented not to medell with

The Lord Beauieu.

their buſines, ſo likewiſe I will not, ẏ they medel wt mine hereafter, or come frō henceforth within my houſe: For as many as I ſhall finde or take there, I will ſet their crownes ſo neare theyr ſhoulders, that they ſhall nede no more to weare any hoodes about their neckes. The like alſo ſayd the Preſident Chaſſanee.

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Then the Byſhop of Aix his ſweete harte, which had begonne the quarell, ſayd, I ſhall not be in quiet, except I ſpeake yet one worde more, vnto Monſieur Beauieu. Do you thinke, ſayd ſhe vnto him, that all the Cardinals, Byſhops, Abbots, Prieſtes, and all thoſe holy religious men, whiche goe oftentymes to gentlemens houſes, & haunt the caſtels & palaces of princes & noble men, that they go thether to commit wickednes? Alſo you muſt not thinke euill of all thoſe Ladyes and gentlewomen, that go to Byſhops houſes of deuotion, and for to reueile thoſe whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commaunded in the Pulpite, vpon payne of excommunication: If ſo bee you will maintayne thoſe wordes, I wil not ſeaſe to accuſe you of crime, and alſo of treaſon both to God & to man: for here be thoſe in this cōpany which ſhall make you geue an accompt therof. She had not ſo ſoone ended her talke, but Monſieur Beauieu ſayd vnto her, auaunte O Herodias, thou filthy and impudent harlot: is it thy part to open thy mouth to talke in this company? Doeſt thou well vnderſtand and know what treaſon to God, and mā meaneth? Is it not ſufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou muſt ſollicite other to ſhede innocent bloud? with theſe wordes the gentlewoman was ſomewhat amaſed. All men thought that this talke had ben at an end, and euery man began to inuent ſome mery communication, that the former matter ſhould be no more talked of.

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At the laſt, the gentlewomā aduiſing her ſelfe, and thinkyng that ſhe was to much iniured, to be ſayd, ẏ ſhe went about to ſhede the innocent bloud, ſhe brake of all theyr talke, and with a loud voyce ſayd, Monſieur Beauieu, if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combat, to proue that I am no ſuch maner of woman as you ſay I am, ẏ I deſire to ſhede innocēt bloud. Do you call the bloud of theſe wicked men of Merindol, innocent bloud? True it is that I deſire and offer with my hole power, that theſe naughty packes of Merindol, & ſuch like as they are, ſhould be ſlayne and deſtroyed, frō the greateſt euen vnto the leaſt. And for to ſee the begynnyng of this worke, I haue employed all my credite, and all my frēdes, & do not ſpare, neither body nor goods, to worke the ruine and deſtruction of theſe people, and to raſe out, and to deface theyr memorye, from amongeſt men. Doe you then Monſieur Beauieu, call the ſlaughter of theſe Lutherans, the effuſion of innocēt bloud? And ſay you what you will, I will not refraine for no man liuing, to go either by day either by night, vnto the houſes of Biſhops, in all * honeſty & honor, for the deuotion which I beare vnto our holy * mother the Church, and alſo I will receiue into my houſe, all religions men, to conſult and deuiſe the meanes how to put theſe Lutherans to death. But as Monſieur Beauieu tooke no more regarde vnto her talke, ſo likewiſe all that were at the table, diſprayſed her and were wearye of her pratyng.

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Then there was a certaine yonge gentleman, whiche merely ieſtyng, ſayd vnto her: Gentlewoman, it muſt nedes be that theſe poore people, vnto whō you do wiſhe this cruell death, haue done you ſome great diſpleaſure. Then ſayd ſhe, I may well take an othe, that I neuer knew one of thoſe wretched people, neither (that I wot of) euer ſaw any of them, And I had rather to meete.x. Deuils, thē one of thoſe naughty knaues: for their opinions are ſo deteſtable, that happy & bleſſed are they, which neuer heard tell of them. And I was not then well aduiſed, at what tyme, by curioſitie, I ſeyng the biſhop of Aix ſo much troubled and angry, that hee could not eate nor drinke, did deſire hym and conſtrayne hym to tell me the cauſe therof. Then hee perceiuyng that I would not be well contented if hee ſhould not tell me, declared vnto me ſome parte of the cauſe: that is to ſay, that there was certeine heretickes, which ſpake againſt our holy mother the church, & among other errours, they mainteyned, yea to death, that all Byſhops, Prieſtes, & paſtours ought to be maryed, or els to be gelded: and hearyng this, I was marueilouſly offended, & euer ſince I did hate them to the death. And alſo it was enioyned vnto me by penaunce, ẏ I ſhould endeuour with all my power, to put theſe heretickes to death. After theſe friuolous talkes, there was great trouble & debate amongeſt them, and many threatnynges, whiche were to long here to deſcribe.

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Then the Preſident Chaſſanee, & the Councellers parted aſide, and the gentlemē went on the other parte. The Archbyſhop of Arles, the Biſhop Aix, & diuers Abbottes, Priors, and others, aſſembled them ſelues together, to conſult how this Arreſt might be executed withal ſpede, entending to raiſe a new perſecutiō, greater then that of John the Iacobine Monke of Rome: For otherwiſe (ſayd they) our ſtate and honor is like to decay. We ſhalbe reproued, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none ſhould thus vaunt and ſet them ſelues agaynſt vs, but theſe peſantes, and ſuch like, it were but a ſmall matter: but many Doctours of Diuinitie, and men of the religious order, diuers Senatours and Aduocates, many wiſe and well learned men: alſo a great part of the nobilitie (if we may ſo ſay) and that of great renoune, yea euē of the chiefeſt Peeres in all Europe, begyn to contempt & deſpiſe vs, countyng vs to bee no true paſtours of the Churche: ſo that excepte we ſee to this miſchief, and prouide for remedye betyme, it is greatly to be feared, leſt not onely we ſhalbe compelled to forſake our dignities, poſſeſſions, & lyuinges, whiche we now wealthly enioy, but alſo the Churche beyng ſpoyled of her paſtours and guides, ſhall hereafter come to a miſerable ruine and vtter deſolatiō. This matter therfore, now requireth great diligence and circumſpection, and that withall celeritie.

Quærebant Principes ſacerdotum et ſcribæ, quomodo interficerent Ieſum. Luke.22.

Note how the popes church is led, not with any conſcience of truth, but onely with loue of liuings.

Then the Archbiſhop of Arles, not forgettyng his Spaniſh ſubtilties and policies, gaue his aduiſe, as foloweth. Agaynſt the nobilitie we muſt (ſayd he) take hede that we attempt nothyn graſhly: but rather, we muſt ſeeke all the meanes we can, howe to pleaſe them, for they are our ſhield, our fortreſſe & defence, And albeit we know that many of them do both ſpeake and thinke euill of vs, and that they are of theſe new Goſpellers, yet may we not reproue them, or exaſperate them in any caſe: but ſeing they are to much bent agaynſt vs already, we muſt rather ſeke how to wynne them, and to make them our frendes agayne, by giftes and preſentes: and by this policie, we ſhall liue in ſafetie vnder their protection. But if we enterpriſe any thyng agaynſt them, ſure we are to gayne nothyng therby, as we are by experience alreadye ſufficiently taught.

It is well ſayd, ſayth the Byſhop of Aix: but I can ſhew you a good remedy for this diſeaſe. We muſt go about withall our endeuour, power, and policie, and all the frendes we can make, ſparyng no charges, but ſpendyng goods, wealth and treaſure, to make ſuch a ſlaughter of the Merindolians, and ruſticall peſantes, that none ſhall be ſo bold hereafter, what ſoeuer they bee, yea although they be of the bloud Royall, once to open their mouthes agaynſt vs, or the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate. And to to bryng this matter to paſſe, we haue no better way, thē to withdrawe our ſelues to Auinion, in ẏ which Citie we ſhall finde many Byſhops, Abbottes, and other famous men, which wil with vs, employ their whole endeuour, to mainteine and vphold the maieſtie of our holy mother the Churche. This counſaile was well liked of them all, wherupon the ſayd Archbiſhop of Arles and the Biſhop of Aix, went withall ſpede, to Auinion, there to aſſemble, out of hand, the Byſhops and other men of authoritie and credite, to entreat this matter. In this peſtilent conſpiracie the Byſhop of Aix, a ſtout champion and a great defender of the traditions of men, takyng vppon hym to be the chief Oratour, beganne in maner as foloweth.

A butcherly religion which worketh all by bloude.

Cathedra peſtilentiæ.

O Ye fathers and brethren, ye are not ignoraunt, that a great tēpeſt is raiſed vp againſt the litle barke of Chriſt Ieſus, now in great daunger and ready to periſhe. The ſtorme commeth from the North, wherof all theſe troubles procede. The Seas rage, the waters ruſhe in, on euery ſide, the wyndes blowe & beate vpō our houſe, & we, without ſpedy remedie, are like to ſuſteine ſhipwracke, & loſſe of altogether. For oblations ceaſſe, pilgrimage & deuotion waxeth colde, charitie is cleane gone, our eſtimation and authoritie is abaſed, our Iuriſdiction decayed, and the ordinaunces of the Church deſpiſed. And wherfore are we ſet and ordeined ouer nations and kingdomes, but to roote out and deſtroy, to ſubuert and ouerthrowe, what ſo euer is agaynſt our holy mother the Churche? Wherfore let vs now awake: let vs ſtand ſtoutly in the right of our own poſſeſſiō, that we may roote out from the memorie of men for euer, the whole route of the wicked Lutherans: thoſe foxes (I ſay) whiche deſtroye the vineyard of the Lord: thoſe great whales, whiche go about to drown the litle barke of the ſonne of God. We haue already well begon,

An oration of *Cateline*, that is, the oration of the Biſhop of Aix, ſeditious, and bloudye.

Your oblations bee agaynſt the Scripture.

Your pilgrimage is Idolatrye.

Your charitie is gone in deede, when ye ſeeke ſo the bloud of your brethren.

Your eſtimatiō is Phariſaicall.

Your iuriſdiction is tyrannicall.

Your ordinaunces ſerue not to Chriſtes glory, but your owne.

and haue procured a terrible Arreſt againſt theſe curſed heretickes of Merindoll: now then reſteth no more, but only the ſame to be put in execution. Let vs therfore employ our whole endeuour that nothing happē which may let or hinder that we haue ſo happely begon, & let vs take good hede, that our gold & ſiluer do not witnes againſt vs at the day of iudgement, if we refuſe to beſtowe the ſame, that we may make ſo good a ſacrifice vnto God. And for my part, I offer to wage and furniſhe of myne owne coſtes and charges, a 100. *men, well horſed, with all other furniture to them belonging, and that ſo long, vntill the vtter deſtruction and ſubuerſion of theſe wretched and curſed caitiffes, bee fully performed and finiſhed.*

The day ſhal come when mē ſhal think they do a good ſa=crifice to God, in putting you to death. *Iohn.*16.

This Oration pleaſed the whole multitude, ſaiyng one Doctor of Diuinitie, a Frier Iacobine, named Baſsinet, who then aunſwered agayne with thys Oration.

The oration of *Baſſinet* anſwering to the biſhop of *Aix.*

This is a weghty matter (ſayd hée *) and of great importaunce: We muſt therfore procede wiſely and in the feare of God, and beware that we do nothing raſhely. For if we ſeeke the death and deſtruction of theſe poore and miſerable people wrongfully, when the king and the Nobilitie ſhall heare of ſuch an horrible ſlaughter, we ſhalbe in great daunger, leſt they do to vs, as we read in the Scriptures, was done to the Prieſtes of Baal. For my part, I muſt ſay and vnfaynedly cōfeſſe, that I haue too raſhly and lightly ſigned many proceſſes agaynſt thoſe, which haue bene accuſed of hereticall doctrine: but nowe I do proteſt before God, whiche ſeeth and knoweth the hartes of men, that ſeyng the lamentable ende and effect of myne aſsignementes, I haue had no quietnes in my conſcience, conſideryng that the ſecular Iudges, at the report of the iudgement and ſentence giuen by me, and other Doctours my companions, haue condemned all thoſe vnto moſt cruell death, whom we haue Iudged to be heretickes. And the cauſe why in conſcience I am thus diſquieted, is this, that now of late, ſince I haue giuen my ſelfe more diligently to the readyng and contemplation of the holy Scriptures: I haue perceiued that the moſt part of thoſe articles, whiche they that are called Lutherans, do mainteine, are ſo conformable and agreyng to the Scriptures, that for my part, I can no longer gaynesay them, except I ſhould euen wilfully and maliciouſly reſiſte and ſtriue agaynſt the holy ordinaūces of God. Albeit hetherto, to maintaine the honour of our holy mother the Churche, and of our holy father the Pope, and of our order, I haue conſented to the opinions, and doyngs of the other Doctours, as well through ignoraunce, as alſo becauſe I would not ſeme to attempt any thyng agaynſt the will and pleaſure of the Prelates and Vicares generall: But now it ſemeth vnto me that we ought not any more to procede in this matter, as we haue done in tymes paſt: It ſhal be ſufficient to puniſh them with fines, or to baniſh them, which ſhall ſpeake too intemperatly, or raſhely agaynſt the conſtitutions of the Church, or of the Pope: and ſuch as ſhall be manifeſtly cōuicted by the holy Scriptures, to be blaſphemers or obſtinate heretickes, to be condemned to death, accordyng to the enormitie of the crimes or errours, or els to perpetuall priſon. And this my aduiſe and coūſaile I deſire you to take in good part.*

The godly repentaunce of *Baſſinet.*

The teſtimony of *Baſſinet* for *Lutherans.*

With this counſaile of Baſsinet, all the company was offended, but eſpecially the Byſhop of Aix, who liftyng vp his voyce aboue all the reſt, ſayd thus vnto hym: O thou man of litle faith, wherof art thou in doubt? Doeſt thou repent thee of that thou haſt well done? Thou haſt told here a tale that ſmelleth of fagottes and brimſtone. Is there any difference (thinkeſt thou) betwene hereſies and blaſphemies, ſpoken and mainteined againſt the holy Scriptures: and opinions holden agaynſt our holy mother the Churche and contrary to our holy father the Pope, a moſt vndouted and true God in earth? Art thou a Maiſter in Iſraell, and knoweſt not theſe thynges? Then ſayd the Byſhop of Arles, could any man entreat better of the litle Barke of Chriſt Jeſus, thē my Lord of Aix hath done? Then ſtode vp Baſsinet againe, and made this Oration.

God and the Pope, and the obedience to them two, compared toge=ther

*Iohn.*3.

In other Ora=tion of *Baſſinet.*

It is true, that my Lord the Byſhop of Aix hath very well ſet out the maners and ſtate of the Clergie, and hath aptly reproued the vices and hereſies of this preſent tyme: and therfore ſo ſoone as mētion was made of the Shippe of Chriſt Ieſus, it came in my minde firſt of all, of the high Byſhop of Hieruſalem, the Prieſtes, the Doctours of the law, the Scribes and Phariſeis, whiche ſometime had the gouernaunce of this Shippe, beyng ordeined Paſtours in the Church of God. But when they forſoke the lawe of God, and ſerued him with mens inuētions & traditions, he deſtroyed thoſe Hipocrites in his great indignatiō: and hauing cōpaſſion & pitie vpon the people, which were like ſhepe without a Shepheard, he ſent diligent fiſhers to fiſhe for men: faythfull workemen into his harueſt, and labourers into his vineyard, which ſhall all bryng forth true frutes in their ſeaſon. Secōdly, cōſidering the purpoſe & entent of the reuerent Lord B. of Aix, I called to mind the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his firſt Epiſtle & 4. chap. vnto Timothe: That in the later dayes, ſome ſhall fall away from the fayth, folowyng after deceitfull ſpirites, and the doctrine of deuils. *And the Apoſtle giueth a marke wherby a man ſhall know them. Likewiſe our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, in the* 7. *chapter of Mathew ſayth,* That the falſe Prophetes ſhall come, clothed in ſhepes ſkinnes, but inwardly they are rauenyng wolues: and by their frutes they ſhalbe knowen. *By theſe ij. and diuers ſuch other places, it is eaſye to vnderſtand, who they are that go about to drowne this litle Barke of Chriſt. Are they not theſe which fill the ſame with filthy and vncleane things? with myre and dirt? with pudle & ſtinking waters? Are they not thoſe which haue forſaken Ieſus Chriſt, the founteine of liuing water, and haue digged vnto them ſelues pittes or ſiſternes whiche will holde no water? Truly euen thoſe they are, which vaunt them ſelues to be the ſalte of the earth, and yet haue no ſauour at all: which call them ſelues paſtours, and yet are nothing leſſe thē true paſtours, for they miniſter not vnto the ſhepe, the true paſture and fedyng, neither diuide and diſtribute the true bread of the word of life: And (if I may be bold to ſpeake it) would it not be at this preſent, as great a wonder to heare a Biſhop preach, as to ſee an Aſſe flye? Are not they curſed of God which glory & vaunt thē ſelues to haue the keyes of the kingdome of heauē, and neither enter in thē ſelues, nor ſuffer thē that would enter, to come in? They may be knowen right well by their fruites: for they haue forſaken faith, iudgement & mercy, & there is no honeſt, cleane, or vndefiled thyng in thē, but their habite, their rochet, & their ſurples, & ſuch other: Outwardly they are excedyng net and trymme, but within their are full of all abomination, rauine gluttony, filthy luſt, & all maner of vncleanes. They are like paynted ſepulchers, whiche outwardly appeare bewtifull and fayre, but within they are full of filth and corruption. A man ſhall know (I ſay) theſe rauenyng wolues, by their frutes, whiche deuour the quicke and the dead, vnder the pretence of long prayer. And for ſo much as I am enforced to giue place to the truth, and that you call me a Maſter in Iſraell, I will not be afrayde to proue by the holy Stripture, that your great Pilot and patron the Pope, and the Biſhops the mariners, and ſuch others, whiche haue impudently forſaken the Shyppe of Chriſt Ieſus, to embarke them ſelfe in Pinſes and Brigandines, are pyrates and robbers of the Sea, falſe Prophetes, deceiuers and not true paſtours of the Churche of Ieſus Chriſt.*

When Doctor Baſsinet had thus frely and boldly vttered his minde: the whole multitude beganne to gather about him, and ſpitefully railed at him. But the Biſhop of Aix aboue other, raging and crying out, as he had ben madde: get thee out ſayd he, from amongeſt vs, thou wicked Apoſtata: thou art not worthy to be in this cōpany. We haue burned dayly a great many, which haue not ſo well deſerued it, as thou haſt. We may now perceiue that there is none more ſtedfaſt and feruent in the fayth, then the Doctours of the Canon law. And therfore it were neceſſary to bee decreed in the next generall Councell, that none ſhould haue to do in matters of religion, but they alone: For theſe knaues and beggerlye Monkes and Friers will bryng all to nought. Then the other Doctours of the ſame order, boldely reproued the Byſhop of Aix, for the iniury that he had done vnto thē. After this, there roſe a great diſſenſion amongſt thē: in ſo much that there was nothing at that tyme, determined. After dyner all theſe reuerent Prelates aſſembled together agayne, but they ſuffered neither Frier nor Monke to be amōgſt them except hee were an Abbot. In this aſſemble they made a generall cōpoſition, confirmed with an oth, that euery man ſhould endeuour him ſelf, that the ſaid Arreſt of Merindoll ſhould be executed withall expedition, euery man offering to furniſhe out men of warre, according to his habilitie. The charge whereof was geuen to the biſhop of Aix and to the Preſident of the Canons, to ſolicite the matter, and to perſuade by all meanes poſſible, the Preſidentes and Counſellers of the ſayd Court of Parlament, without feare or doubt, to execute the ſayd Arreſt, with drummes, enſignes diſplayde, artillery, and all kinde of furniture of warre.

e byſ- op of- ix, arch- aine of s perſe- on.

This conſpiracie beyng concluded and determined, the Biſhop of Aix departed incontinent from Auinion, to go vnto Aix, to performe the charge, which was geuē to hym. Notwithſtanding they deſired him to be, ye next day after the councell was holden, at a banket which ſhould bee made at the houſe of the Byſhop of Rieux. To this banket ſuch as were knowen to bee the fayreſt and moſt beautifull women in all Auinion, were called to refreſhe and ſolace theſe good Prelates, after the great paynes and trauell whiche they had taken for our holy mother the Church. After they had dyned, they fell to dauncyng, playing at dyce, and ſuch other paſtimes as are commonly wont to bee frequented at the bankets and feaſtes of theſe holy prelates. After this, they walked abroad to ſolace them ſelues, and to paſſe the time till ſupper.

As they paſſed thorow the ſtreetes, euery one leadyng his Minion vpon his arme, they ſaw a man which ſolde bawdye Images, and pictures, with filthye rimes and ballets annexed to the ſame, to moue and ſtirre vp the people to whoredome, and knauery. All theſe goodly pictures were bought vp by the Byſhops: which were as many as a mule could well cary. And if there were any obſcure ſentence, or hard to vnderſtād, in thoſe rimes or ballets, the ſame theſe learned Prelates did readelye expounde, and laughed pleaſauntly thereat. In the ſame place, as they walked along, there was a Bookeſeller whiche had ſet out to ſale, certeine Bibles in French and Latine, with diuers other bookes, whiche when the Prelates beheld, they were greatly moued therat, and ſayd vnto him: Dareſt thou bee ſo hardy to ſet out ſuch marchandiſe to ſell here in this towne? Doeſt thou not know that ſuch bokes are forbidden? The Bookeſeller aūſwered, is not the holy Bible as good as theſe goodly pictures, whiche you haue bought for theſe gentlemen? He had ſcarſe ſpoken theſe wordes, but ye biſhop of Aix ſayd, I renounce my part of Paradiſe, if this felow be not a Lutheran. Let hym be taken (ſayd he) and examined what he is, and incontinently the Bookeſeller was taken and caried vnto priſon, and ſpitefully handled: For a company of knaues and ruffians, whiche waited vpon the Prelates, began to cry out, a Lutheran, a Lutheran, to the fyre with him, to the fyre with him, and one gaue him a blow with his fiſt, an other pulled him by the heare, and other by the beard, in ſuch ſort, that the poore mā was all embrued with bloud, before that he came vnto the priſon.

fructi- eorum noſce- eos.

dble ures raued, ds boke ected.

The morow after, hee was brought before the iudges, in preſence of the Biſhops, whereas hee was examined in this ſorte as foloweth. Haſt not thou ſet forth to ſale the Bible, & the new Teſtament in French? The priſoner aūſwered, that he had ſo done. And being demaūded whether he vnderſtode or knew not that it was forbidden thorowout all Chriſtendome, to printe or ſell the bible in any other language, then in Latin: he aunſwered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had ſold many bibles in the French toung, with the Emperours priuiledge, and many other printed at Lions: alſo new Teſtaments, imprinted by the kynges priuiledge. Furthermore hee ſayd, that he knewe no nation thorow out all Chriſtendome, which had not ye holy Scriptures in their vulgare toung: and afterward with a bolde courage, thus hee ſpake vnto thē. O you inhabitantes of Auinion, are you alone in all Chriſtendome, thoſe men whiche do deſpiſe and abhorre the Teſtament of the heauenly father? will you forbid and hide that whiche Jeſus Chriſt hath commaūded to be reueled and publiſhed? Do you not know that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt gaue power vnto his Apoſtles, to ſpeake all maner of toungs, to this end, that his holy Goſpell ſhould be taught vnto all creatures, in euery language? And why do you not forbid thoſe bookes & pictures which are full of filthynes and abomination, to moue & ſtirre vp the people to whoredome, & to vncleanes, & to prouoke Gods vengeance & great indignation vpō you all? what greater blaſphemy cā there be, then to forbid Gods moſt holy bookes, whiche be ordeined to inſtruct the ignoraunt, and to reduce and bryng agayne into the way, ſuch as are gone aſtray? what crueltie is this, to take away frō the poore ſely ſoules, their nouriſhment and ſuſtinaunce? But my Lordes, you ſhal geue an heauye accompt, which call ſwete ſower, and ſower ſwete, which mainteine abominable and deteſtable bookes and pictures, and reiect that whiche is holy.

riſtian ſtancie good eſeller.

Then the biſhop of Aix & the other byſhops, began to rage, and gnaſhed their teeth agaynſt this poore priſoner. what nede you (ſayd they) any more examination? let him bee ſent ſtraight vnto the fire, without any moe wordes. But the iudge Laberius and certain others were not of that minde, neither foūde they ſufficient cauſe, why to put him to death, but went about to haue him put vnto his fine, and to make him confeſſe and acknowledge the Byſhop of Aix and other his companions, to bee the true paſtours of the Church. But the Bookeſeller aunſwered, that he could not do it with a good cōſcience, for ſo much as he did ſee before his eyes, that theſe Byſhops mainteined filthy bokes and abominable pictures, reiecting and refuſing the holy bookes of God, and therfore he iudged them rather to be the Prieſtes of Bacchus & Venus, then ye true Paſtours of the church of Chriſt. wherupon he was immediatly condemned to be burned, and the ſentence was executed the very ſame day: And for a ſigne or token of the cauſe of his condemnatiō, he caried ij. Bibles hangyng about his necke, the one before, and the other behinde hym: but this poore man had alſo the worde of God in his hart and in his mouth, and ceaſed not continually by the waye, vntill that hee came to the place of execution, to exhorte and moniſh the people to read the holy Scriptures: in ſomuch that diuers were therby moued to ſeke after the truth. The Prelates ſeing a great diſſenſion amongeſt the people of Auinion, and that many murmured and grudged agaynſt them for the death of this good man, and alſo for the diſhonor whiche they had done vnto the holy Teſtamēt of God, mindyng to put the people in a feare, they proceded the next day to make a proclamatiō by the ſound of a Trompet, thorowout the whole towne and countie of Veniſſe, that all ſuch as had any bookes in the French tounge intreatyng vpō the holy ſcriptures, ſhould bring them forth and deliuer thē into the handes of the Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe: contrarywiſe, they whiche had any ſuch bookes founde about them, ſhould be put to death.

A godly bokeſeller with two Bibles about hys necke, burned in *Auinion.*

Proclamation agaynſt French Bibles.

Then, after that theſe Prelates had taken aduiſe to rayſe great perſecution in Veniſſe, the Byſhop of Aix returned to proſecute ye executiō of ye Arreſt agaynſt Merindoll, trauelyng earneſtly with the Preſident Caſſaneus, to that effect: declaring vnto hym the good will of the Prelates of Auinion and Prouince, and the great affection they bare both to hym and his, with many fayre promiſes, if he would put the Arreſt in execution. The Preſident aunſwered him, that it was no ſmall matter to put the Arreſt of Merindoll in execution. Alſo that the ſaid Arreſt was geuē out more to kepe the Lutherans in feare, which were a great number in Prouince, then to execute it in effect, as it was conteined in the ſayd Arreſt. Moreouer he ſayd that the Arreſt of Merindoll, was not definitiue, and that the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme, did not permit the executiō therof, without further proceſſe. Then ſayd the Byſhop, if there bee either law or ſtatute whiche doth hinder or let you, we cary in our ſleues to diſpence there withal. The Preſident aunſwered, it were a great ſinne to ſhede the innocent bloud. Then ſayd the Biſhop, the bloud of them of Merindoll, be vpon vs and vpon our ſucceſſours. Then ſayd the Preſident, I am very well aſſured that if the Arreſt of Merindoll be put in execution, the kyng will not bee well pleaſed to haue ſuch deſtruction made of his ſubiectes. Then ſayd the biſhop, although the king at the firſt, do thinke it euill done, we will ſo bryng it to paſſe, that within a ſhort ſpace, he ſhall thinke it well done: For we haue the Cardinals on our ſide, and ſpecially the moſt reuerent Cardinall of Tournon, the whiche will take vppon him the defence of our cauſe, & we cā do him no greater pleaſure, then vtterly to roote out theſe Lutherans: ſo that if we haue any nede of his counſaile or aide, we ſhal be well aſſured of him: And is not he the principall, the moſt excellent and prudent aduerſarye of theſe Lutherans, whiche is in all Chriſtendome?

The biſhop of *Aix* ſtirreth vp *Caſſaneus* the Preſident, to perſecution.

The aūſwer of *Caſſaneus* to the biſhops for *Merindoll.*

Sanguis eius ſuper nos & ſuper filios noſtros. *Math.27.*

The Cardinall of *Tournon*, the organe of Antichriſt.

By thys and ſuch other lyke talke, the Biſhop of Ai perſuaded the Preſident and Counſellours of the Cour of Parliament, to put the ſayd Arreſt in execution, an

The Popes army ſetteth forward toward *Merindoll*.

The army agayne retyred by the meanes of the Lord of *Alenc*.

A ſtory of excōmunicatyng the Rattes for eatyng vp the corne.

by this meanes, thorow the authoritie of the ſayd Court, the drumme was ſounded thorowout all Prouince, the Captaines were prepared with their Enſignes diſplaid, and a great number of footemen and horſemen, began to ſet forward and marched out of the towne of Aix, in order of battell, well horſed and furniſhed agaynſt Merindoll, to execute the Arreſt. The inhabitantes of Merindoll beyng aduertiſed hereof, and ſeyng nothyng but preſent death to be at hand, with great lamentation, commended them ſelues and their cauſe vnto God by prayer, makyng them ſelues ready to bee murdered and ſlayne as ſhepe led vnto the butchery. Whiles they were in this greuous diſtreſſe, pitiouſly mournyng and lamentyng together, the father with the ſonne, the daughter with the mother, the wife with ẏ huſband, ſodeinly there was newes brought vnto thē, ẏ the armie was retired, & no mā knew at that time, how or by what meanes: notwithſtanding afterward it was knowen, that the Lord of Alenc, a wiſe mā and learned in the Scriptures and in the Ciuill law, being moued with great zeale and loue of iuſtice, declared vnto the Preſidēt Chaſſanee, that he ought not ſo to procede agaynſt the inhabitantes of Merindoll, by way of force of armes, contrarye to all forme and order of iuſtice, without iudgement or condemnation, or without makyng any difference betwene the giltie and the vngiltie. And furthermore he ſayd, I deſire you my Lord Preſident, call to remēbraunce the counſell whiche you haue written in your booke, entituled Catalogus gloriæ mundi, in the whiche booke you haue intreated and brought forth the proceſſes whiche were holden agaynſt the Rats, by the officers of the Court and iuriſdiction of the Byſhop of Authun. For as it happened, there was almoſt throughout all the bailiwyke of Lauſſois, ſuch a great number of Rats, that they deſtroyed and deuoured all the corne of the countrey. Whereupon they tooke counſell to ſend vnto the Byſhop of Authuns Officiall, for to haue the Rats excommunicate. Wherupon it was ordeined and decreed by the ſayd Officiall, after hee had heard the playntife of the Procurator fiſcal, that before he would procede to excommunication, they ſhould haue admonition and warnyng, accordyng to the order of iuſtice. For this cauſe it was ordeined, that by the ſound of a trompet, and open proclamation made throughout all the ſtretes of the towne of Authun, the Rattes ſhould be cited to appeare within iij. dayes: and if they did not appeare, then to procede agaynſt them.

The Preſidēt *Chaſſanee* choſē Aduocat for the Rats.

The thre dayes were paſſed, and the Procurator came into the Court agaynſt the Rats, and for lacke of appearaunce, obteined default: by vertue whereof he required that they would procede to the excommunication. Whervpon it was iudicially acknowleged, that the ſayd Rats beyng abſent, ſhould haue their Aduocate appoynted them to here their defence, for ſomuch as the queſtiō was for the whole deſtruction & baniſhyng of the ſayd Rats. And you my Lorde Preſident, beyng at that tyme, the kynges Aduocate at Authun, were then choſen to bee the Aduocate to defende the Rats. And hauing taken the charge vpon you in pleadyng the matter, it was by you there declared, ẏ the citation was of no effect, for certaine cauſes and reaſons by you there alleged. Then was it decreed that the ſayd Rats ſhould bee once agayne cited throughout the Pariſhes where as they were. Then, after the citations were duely ſerued, the Procurator came agayne into the Court as before, and there it was alleaged by you, my Lord Preſidēt, how that the terme of appearaunce geuen vnto ẏ Rats, was to ſhort, & that there were ſo many Cats in euery towne and village as they ſhould paſſe thorow, that they had iuſt cauſe to be abſent.

The perſwaſiō of the Lord of *Alenc*, to *Chaſſane*, to returne his army from *Merindoll*.

Wherfore my Lord Preſidēt, you ought not ſo lightly to procede agaynſt theſe poore men, but you ought to looke vppon the holy Scriptures, and there you ſhall finde how you ought to procede in this matter: and you my Lord, haue alleged many places of the Scripture cōcernyng the ſame, as appeareth more at large in your ſayd booke, and by this plea of a matter whiche ſemeth to be but of ſmall importaunce, you haue obtayned great fame and honour, for the vpright declaration of the maner and forme, howe iudges ought grauely to procede in criminall cauſes. Then my Lord Preſident, you whiche haue taught others, will you not alſo learne by your owne bookes? the which will manifeſtly condemne you, if you procede any further, to the deſtructiō of theſe poore mē of Merindoll. For are not they Chriſtiā mē? and ought you not as well to miniſter right and iuſtice vnto them, as you haue done vnto the Rattes? By theſe and ſuch lyke demonſtrations, the Preſident was perſuaded, and immediatly called backe his cōmiſſion which he had geuē out, & cauſed ẏ army to retire, the which was already come nere vnto Merindoll, euē within one myle & a halfe.

Then the Merindolians vnderſtandyng that the army was retired, gaue thankes vnto God, cōfortyng one an other, with admonitiō & exhortatiō, alwayes to haue the feare of God before their eyes, to be obedient vnto his holy commaundementes, ſubiect to his moſt holy will, and euery man to ſubmit him ſelfe vnto his prouidence, paciently attendyng and lookyng for the hope of the bleſſed, that is to ſay, the true lyfe and the euerlaſtyng riches, hauyng alwayes before their eyes for example, our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, the very ſonne of God, who hath entred into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared them ſelues to endure and abyde all the afflictions, that it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon thē: and ſuch was their aunſwere to all thoſe that either pitied or els ſought their deſtruction. Wherupon the brute & noyſe was ſo great, as well of the Arreſt, as of the enterpriſe of the execution, and alſo of the patience and conſtancie of the Merindolians, that it was not hyddē or kept ſecrete, from kyng Fraunces, a king of noble courage, and great iudgement: who gaue commaundement vnto the noble and vertuous Lord, Mounſieur de Langeay, which then was his Lieutenaūt in Thurin, a Citie in Piemont, that he ſhould diligētly enquire and ſearche out the truth of all this matter. Wherupon the ſayd Mounſieur de Langeay, ſent into Prouince, ij. men of fame and eſtimation, geuyng them in charge, to bryng vnto hym the copie of the Arreſt, and diligentlye to enquire out all that followed and enſued therupon: and likewiſe to make diligent inquiſition of the lyfe and maners of the ſaid Merindolians and others, whiche were perſecuted in the countrey of Prouince.

Theſe deputies brought the copie of the Arreſt, and of all that happened thereupon, vnto the ſayd Mounſieur de Langeay, declaryng vnto him the great iniuries, polings, extorcions, exactions, tyrannies, and crueltie, whiche the iudges, as well ſecular as Eccleſiaſticall, vſed againſt them of Merindoll and others. As touchyng the behauiour and diſpoſition of thoſe which were perſecuted, they reported that the moſt part of the men of Prouince affirmed thē to be men geuen to great labour & trauaile, and that about 200. yeares paſſed (as it is reported) they came out of the countrey of Piemont to dwell in Prouince, and tooke to tillage and to inhabite, many hamlets and villages deſtroyed by the warres, & other deſert and waſt places: whiche they had ſo well occupied, that now there was great ſtore of wynes, oyles, hony, and cattell, wherwith ſtraungers were greatly relieued and holpen. Beſides that, before they came into the countrey to dwell, the place of Merindoll, was taxed but at foure crownes, which before the laſt deſtruction, payed yearely vnto the Lord for taxes and tallages, aboue 350. crownes, beſyde other charges.

The like was alſo reported of Lormarin, and diuers other places of Prouince, where as there was nothyng but robberie before they came to inhabite there, ſo that none could paſſe that way, but in great daunger. Moreouer, they of the countrey of Prouince, affirmed that the inhabitauntes of Merindoll and the other that were perſecuted: were peaceable & quiet people, beloued of all their neighbours, men of good behauiour, conſtant in kepyng of their promiſe, and paying of their debtes, with out trauerſing or pleadyng of the law. That they were alſo charitable men, geuyng of almes, releuyng the poore, and ſuffred none amongeſt them to lacke or bee in neceſſitie. Alſo they gaue almes to ſtraungers, & to ẏ poore paſſengers, harbouring, noriſhing & helping thē in all their neceſſities, according to their power. Moreouer, ẏ they were knowen by this, throughout all the coūtrey of Prouince, that they woulde not ſweare, nor name ẏ deuill, or eaſlye be brought to take an othe, except it were in iudgement, or makyng ſome ſolemne couenaunt. They were alſo knowē by this, that they could neuer be moued nor prouoked to talke of any diſhoneſt matters, but in what cōpany ſo euer they came, where they heard any wanton talke, ſwearyng, or blaſphemye, to the diſhonor of God, they ſtreight way departed out of that cōpany. Alſo they ſayd ẏ they neuer ſaw thē go vnto their buſines, but firſt they made their prayers. The ſayd people of Prouince furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any faires or markets, or came to their Cities by any occaſion, they neuer, in a maner, were ſeene in their Churches: and if they were, when they prayed, they turned away their faces from the Images, and neither offered candels to them, nor kiſſed their feete. Neither would they worſhyp

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the reliques of Saintes, nor once looke vpon them. And moreouer, if they paſſed by any Croſſe or Image of the Crucifixe or any other Saint, by the way as they went, they would do no reuerence vnto them. Alſo the Prieſts did teſtifie, that they neuer cauſed thē to ſay any Maſſes, neither Diriges, neither yet De profūdis: neither would they take any holy water, and if it were caried home vnto their houſes, they would not ſay once God a mercye, yea they ſemed vtterly to abhorre it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vowes to Saintes, to bye pardons or remiſſion of ſinnes with money, yea though it might be gottē for a halfpeny, they thought it not lawfull. Likewiſe whē it thundred or lightned, they would not Croſſe thē ſelues, but caſting vp their eyes to heauen, fetch depe ſighes. Some of them would kneele downe and praye, without bleſſyng them ſelues with the ſigne of the Croſſe, or takyng of holy water. Alſo they were neuer ſene to offer, or caſt into the baſon, any thing for ẏ maintenaunce of lightes, brotherhodes, Churches, or to geue any offeryng either for the quicke or the dead. But if any were in affliction or pouertie, thoſe they relieued gladly, and thought nothyng to much.

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This was the whole tenour of the report made vnto Mounſieur de Langeay, touchyng the lyfe and behauiour of the inhabitantes of Merindoll, and the other whiche were perſecuted: alſo as touchyng the Arreſt and that whiche enſued therupon. Of all thoſe thynges, the ſayd Monſieur de Langeay, accordyng to the charge that was geuen him, aduertiſed the kyng: who vnderſtandyng theſe thinges, as a good Prince moued with mercie and pitie, ſent letters of grace and pardon, not onely for thoſe whiche were condempned for lacke of appearaunce, but alſo for all the reſt of the countrey of Prouince, whiche were accuſed & ſuſpected in like caſe: expreſly charging & cōmaūding the ſayd Parlamēt, ẏ they ſhould not hereafter procede ſo rigorouſly, as they had done before, againſt this people, but if there were any ẏ could be foūde or proued by ſufficient informatiō, to haue ſwarued frō ẏ Chriſtiā Religion, ẏ then he ſhould haue good demonſtratiō made vnto him by the word of God, both out of the olde and of the new Teſtament: and ſo as well by the gentlenes, as by the rigour of the ſame, he ſhould be reduced agayne vnto the Churche of Chriſte: declaryng alſo that the kynges pleaſure was, that all ſuch as ſhould be conuict of hereſie in maner aforeſayd, ſhould abiure: forbiddyng alſo all maner of perſones, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they were, to attempt any thyng agaynſt them of Merindoll or other that were perſecuted, by any other maner of meanes, or to moleſte or trouble them in perſon or goodes: reuokyng and diſanullyng all maner of ſentences and condemnations, of what iudges ſo euer they were, and commaundyng to ſet at libertie all priſoners which either were accuſed or ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme.

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By vertue of theſe letters, they were now permitted to declare their cauſe, and to ſay what they could, in defenſe therof. Whereupon they made a confeſſion of theyr faith: the effecte wherof you ſhall ſee in the end of the ſtorye. This * confeſſion was preſented firſt to ẏ Court of Parlamēt, & afterward, being declared more at large, with Articles alſo annexed therunto, it was deliuered to the Byſhop of Cauaillon, who required the ſame. Alſo to Cardinall Sadolet, Byſhop of Carpentras, with the lyke Articles, and alſo a ſupplication, to this effect: That the inhabitauntes of Cabriers, in the countie of Veniſſe, moſt humbly deſired hym, that he would vouchſafe to receiue and read the confeſſion and declaration of their faith and doctrine, in the whiche they, and alſo their fathers before them, had bene, of a longe tyme, inſtructed and taught, which they were perſuaded to be agreable to ẏ doctrine cōteined in the old and new Teſtament. And becauſe he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they deſired hym that he would marke ſuch Articles, as he thought to bee agaynſt the Scriptures: and if hee ſhould make it to appeare vnto thē, that there was any thyng contrary to the ſame, they would not onely ſubmit them ſelues vnto abiuration, but alſo to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, as ſhould be adiudged vnto them, euen to the loſſe, not onely of all that they had, but alſo their liues. And moreouer, if there were any Iudge in all the Countie of Veniſſe, whiche by good & ſufficient informatiō, ſhould be able to charge thē ẏ they had holdē any erroneous doctrine, or maintayned any other religion, then was conteined in the articles of their confeſſion, they deſired him that he would communicate the ſame vnto them, and with all obedience, they offered them ſelues to what ſoeuer ſhould bee thought iuſt and reaſonable. Vpon this requeſt, Cardinall Sadolet aunſwered by his letters written by his Secretary, & ſigned with his ownhand, ẏ tenor wherof here enſueth.

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The aunſwere
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Sadolet, to the
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I haue ſene your requeſt, and haue read the Articles of your confeſsion, wherin there is much matter conteined, and do not vnderſtand that you are accuſed for any other doctrine, but for the very ſame, whiche you haue confeſſed. It is moſt true, that many haue reported diuers thinges of you, worthy of reprofe, whiche after diligent enquirie made, we haue founde to bee nothyng els but falſe reportes and ſclaunders. As touchyng the reſt of your Articles, it ſemeth vnto me, that there are many wordes therein, whiche might well be chaūged without preiudice vnto your cōfeſsiō. And likewiſe it ſemeth to me that it is not neceſſary that you ſhould ſpeake ſo manifeſtly agaynſt the Paſtours of the Churche. For my part, I deſire your welfare, and would be ſory that you ſhould be ſo ſpoyled or deſtroyed, as they do pretende. And to the ende you ſhall the better vnderſtand my amitie and frendſhip towardes you, ſhortly I will be at my houſe by Cabriers, whether ye may reſort vnto me, either in greater or ſmaller number, as you will, and returne ſafely, without any hurt or damage, and there I will aduertiſe you of all thinges that I thinke mete for your profite and health.

The byſhop of
Cauaillon
ſeeketh the de-
ſtruction of
Cabriers.

Card. Sadolet
returned backe
the armie com-
ming agaynſt
Cabriers.

The promiſe
of *Sadolet* to
hys tenauntes
of *Cabriers.*

About this time, which was the yere of our Lord. 1542. The Vicelegate of Auinion, aſſembled a great number of men of warre, at the ſute of the B. of Cauaillon, to deſtroy Cabriers. Whē the armie was come within a myle of Cabriers, the Cardinall Sadolet, went with ſpede, vnto the Vicelegate, and ſhewed him the requeſt of the inhabitauntes of Cabriers, with the Articles of their confeſſion, and the offers that they made: ſo that for that preſent, the armie retired without any hurt or damage done vnto the inhabitauntes of Cabriers. After this the Cardinall Sadolet went vnto Rome. But before his departure, hee ſent for diuerſe of Cabriers, & certain farmers of his own, whō he knew to be of ẏ nūber of thoſe which were called Lutherans, & told them that he would haue thē in remembraunce, as ſoone as he came vnto Rome, and communicate their Articles and confeſſion vnto the Cardinalles, truſtyng to finde a meane, to haue ſome good reformation, that God ſhould be therby glorified, and all Chriſtēdome brought to an vnitie and concorde: at the leaſt, nothyng at all doubtyng, but that the fouleſt abuſes ſhould be corrected & amended, aduertiſyng them in the meane tyme, to be wiſe and circumſpect, to watche and to pray, for that they had many enemyes. With this Oration of Cardinall Sadolet, they of Cabrers were greatly comforted, truſtyng that at the ſute of Cardinall Sadolet, they ſhould haue aunſwere of their confeſſion. But at hys returne, they vnderſtode that he found all thynges ſo corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformatiō there to be had, but rather mortal warre agaynſt all ſuch as would not lyue accordyng to the ordinaunces of the Churche of Rome. Likewiſe ſayd the Treaſurer of Carpentras, who albeit he payed out money to furniſhe ſouldiours that were hyred for the deſtruction of Cabriers, notwithſtandyng hee did ayde them ſecretly all that hee might. Howbeit he could not do it ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the Legate: wherupō he was conſtrayned to withdraw him ſelfe.

The Treſurer
of *Carpētras*,
a priuie frend
to them of
Cabriers.

On the other parte, the Byſhop of Aix and Cauaillon purſued ſtill the execution of the Arreſt of Merindoll. Thē it was ordeined by the Court of Parlament, that accordyng to the kinges letters, Iohn Durande Counceller of the Court of Parlament, with a Secretarie: and the Byſhop of Cauaillon, with a Doctor of Diuinitie, ſhould go vnto Merindoll, and there declare vnto the inhabitantes, the errours and hereſies, whiche they knewe to be conteined in their confeſſion, and make them apparant by good and ſufficient information, and hauyng ſo cōuicted them by the worde of God, they ſhould make them to renounce and abiure the ſayd hereſies: And if the Merindolians did refuſe to abiure, then they ſhould make relation therof, that the Court might appointe howe they ſhould further procede. After this decree was made, the Byſhop of Cauaillon, would not tary vntill the time whiche was appointed by the Court, for the execution of this matter: but hee hym ſelfe, with a Doctour of Diuinitie, came vnto Merindoll to make them to abiure. Vnto whō the Merindolians aunſwered that he enterpriſed agaynſt the authoritie of the Parlament, and that it was agaynſt

The biſhop of
Cauaillon
cōmeth agayn
to *Merindoll.*

his commiſſion, ſo to do. Notwithſtandyng, he was very earneſt with them, that they ſhould abiure, & promiſed them, if they would ſo do, to take them vnder hys wynges and protection, euen as the henne doth her chickins, and that they ſhould be no more robbed or ſpoyled. Then they required that hee would declare vnto them what they ſhould abiure. The Byſhop aunſwered that the matter neded no diſputation, and that hee required but only a general abiuratiō of al errours, which would be no damage or preiudice to thē: For he him ſelfe would not ſticke to make the like abiuration. The Merindolians aūſwered him again, that they would do nothyng cōtrary to the decree & ordinaunce of the Court, or the kinges letters, wherein he commaunded, that firſt the errours ſhould bee declared to them, whereof they were accuſed: wherefore they were reſolued to vnderſtand what thoſe errours and hereſies were, that beyng enformed thereof by the worde of God, they might ſatiſfie the kynges letters: otherwiſe it were but hypocriſie and diſſimulation, to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appeare vnto them by good and ſufficiēt information, that they had holden any errours and hereſies, or ſhould bee conuict thereupon, by the worde of God, they would willinglye abiure: or if in their confeſſion there were any worde contrary to the Scriptures, they would reuoke the ſame. Cōtrarywiſe, if it were not made manifeſt vnto them, that they had holden any hereſies, but that they had alwayes lyued accordyng to the doctrine of the Goſpell, and that their confeſſion was grounded vpon the ſame: then they ought by no meanes, to moue or conſtrayne thē, to abiure any errours which they held not, & that it were playnly agaynſt all equitie & iuſtice ſo to do.

The popes biſhops will come to no reaſoning.

The biſhops condemne the *Merindolians* for hereſie, and yet can ſhewe no hereſies in them by the worde of God.

Thē the biſhop of Cauaillon was marueilouſly angry, and woulde heare no worde ſpoken of any demonſtration to be made by the word of God, but in a furie curſed and gaue him to the deuill that firſt inuented that meane. Then the Doctour of Diuinitie, whom the Byſhop brought thether, demaunded what Articles they were that were preſented by the inhabitauntes of Merindoll, for the Biſhop of Cauaillon had not yet ſhewed them vnto him. Then the Biſhop of Cauaillon deliuered the Doctour the confeſſion. whiche after he had read, the Biſhop of Cauaillon ſayd, what: will you any more witnes or declaration: this is full of hereſie. Then they of Merindoll demaunded in what poynt. wherunto the biſhop knew not what to aunſwere. Then the Doctour demaunded to haue tyme to loke vpon the Articles of the confeſſion, and to conſider whether they were agaynſt the Scriptures or no. Thus the Biſhop departed, beyng very ſore agreued that he could not bryng his purpoſe to paſſe.

The biſhop ſore agreued to haue hereſie tryed by Gods worde.

After eight dayes, the Byſhop ſent for this Doctour, to vnderſtand howe he myght order hym ſelfe to make thoſe hereſies appeare, which were in the ſaid confeſſion. wherunto the Doctor aunſwered, that he was neuer ſo muche abaſhed: for whan he hadde beholden the Articles of the confeſſiō, and the authorities of the Scripture that there were alledged for the confirmation thereof, he had found, that thoſe Articles were wholy agreable & accordyng to the holy Scriptures, and that hee had not learned ſo much in the Scriptures all the dayes of hys lyfe, as he had in thoſe eight dayes, in lokyng vpon thoſe Articles, and the authorities therin alledged.

The articles of the *Merindolians* approued by the Doctor.

Shortly after, yͤ biſhop of Cauaillon came vnto Merindoll, & calling before him the children both great & ſmall, gaue thē money, & commaunded thē with fayre wordes, to learne the Pater noſter and the Crede in Latin. The moſt parte of them aunſwered that they knew the Pater noſter and the Crede already in Latin, but they could make no reaſon of that whiche they ſpake, but onely in the vulgare tongue. The Biſhop aunſwered, that it was not neceſſarie they ſhould be ſo cunnyng, but that it was ſufficient yͤ they knew it in Latin, & that it was not requiſite for their ſaluation, to vnderſtand or to expounde the Articles of their faith: for there were many Byſhops, Curates, yea and Doctours of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expoūd the Pater noſter, and the Crede. Here the Bailife of Merindol, named Andrew Mainard, aſked to what purpoſe it would ſerue, to ſay the Pater noſter & the Crede, & not to vnderſtād the ſame: for in ſo doing, they ſhould but mocke & deride God. Then ſayd the Byſhop vnto hym, do you vnderſtand what is ſignified by theſe wordes, I beleue in God: The Bailife aunſwered, I ſhould thinke me ſelfe very miſerable, if I did not vnderſtand it, and then he began orderly to geue account of his fayth. Then ſayd the Byſhop, I would not haue thought there had bene ſo great Doctours in Merindoll. The Bailife aunſwered: the leaſt of the inhabitauntes of Merindol, cā do it, yet more readily thē I: but I pray you, queſtion with one or ij. of theſe young children, that you may vnderſtand whether they be well taught or no. But the byſhop either knew not how to queſtion with them, or at the leaſt, would not.

The aunſwere of the children of *Merindoll* to the byſhop.

The aunſwere of the Bailife of *Merindoll* to the byſhop.

The Pater noſter in Latin.

Then one named Pieron Roy ſayd, Syr, one of theſe children may queſtion with an other, if you thinke it ſo good: and the Byſhop was contented. Then one of the children began to queſtion with his felowes, with ſuch grace & grauitie, as if he had bene a Scholmaſter: and yͤ children one after an other, aunſwered ſo vnto the purpoſe, yͭ it was maruelous to heare: For it was done in yͤ preſence of many, among whom there were foure religious men that came lately out of Paris, of whom, one ſayd vnto the Byſhop, I muſt nedes cōfeſſe that I haue often bene at the common Scholes of Sorbone in Paris, where I haue heard the diſputations of yͤ Diuines: but yet I neuer learned ſo much as I haue done by hearyng theſe young children. Then ſayd William Armant: did ye neuer read that whiche is written in the xi. chapter of S. Mathew, where it is ſayd: O father, Lorde of heauen and earth, I render thankes vnto thee, that thou haſt hiddē theſe thinges from the ſage and wiſe men of the worlde, and haſt reueled them vnto younge infantes. But beholde O father, ſuch was thy good will and pleaſure. Then euery man marueiled at the ready and witty aunſweres of the children of Merindoll.

When the biſhop ſaw that he could not thus preuayle, he tried an other way, and went about by fayre and flatteryng wordes, to bryng his purpoſe to paſſe. wherfore, cauſing the ſtraungers to go apart, he ſayd that he now perceaued they were not ſo euill as many thought them to bee: Notwithſtandyng, for the contentation of them, which were their perſecutors, it was neceſſarye that they ſhould make ſome ſmall abiuration, whiche onely the Bailife, with ij. officers, might make generally, in his preſence, in the name of all the reſt, without any Notary to recorde the ſame in writtyng, and in ſo doyng they ſhould bee loued and fauoured of all men, and euen of thoſe which now perſecuted them: and yͭ they ſhould ſuſteine no infamie therby, for there ſhould be no reporte therof made, but only to the Pope, & to the hygh Court of Parlamēt of Prouince: And alſo if any man in time to come, woulde turne the ſame to their reproch, or alledge it agaynſt them to their hurt or damage, they might vtterly deny it, & ſay they made no abiuratiō at all, becauſe there were no recordes made thereof, or witneſſes to proue the ſame. For this purpoſe hee deſyred them to talke together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter, without any further buſines.

The Bailife & the ij. officers with diuerſe other Auncientes of the towne, aūſwered, yͭ they were fully reſolued, not to conſent to any abiuratiō, how ſoeuer it were to be done, except yͭ (which was alwayes their exception) they could make it appeare vnto thē by yͤ word of God, that they had holden or mainteined any hereſie: marueilng much that he would go about to perſuade them to lye to God and the world. And albeit that all men by nature are lyers, yet they had learned by the word of God, that they ought diligently to take hede of lying in any matter, were it neuer ſo ſmall. Alſo that they ought diligently to take heede, that their children did not accuſtume or vſe them ſelues to lye, and therfore puniſhed them very ſharpely, when as they tooke thē with any lye, euen as if they had committed any robbery: for the deuill is a lyer and the father of lyes. Here the Byſhop roſe vp in great anger and indignation, and ſo departed.

Within a while after, the Byſhop of Aix ſolicited maiſter Iohn Durandus Counceller of yͤ Court of yͤ Parlamēt of Prouince, to execute the commiſſion which was geuen him, that is, to go vnto the place of Merindoll, together with the Secretary of the ſayd Court, and there, in the preſence of the Byſhop of Cauaillon, accompanied with a Doctour of Diuinitie, to declare the errours and hereſies whiche the Byſhops pretended the inhabitauntes of Merindoll to be infected and intangled withall, and accordyng to their dutie, to make it appeare by the worde of God, and ſo beyng conuict, to make them abiure and renounce the ſayd hereſies. Wherupon the ſayd Counceller Durandus, certified the day that hee would be preſent at Merindoll, to the end and purpoſe that none of the inhabitauntes ſhould be abſent. At the day appointed, the ſayd Counſeller Durandus, the Byſhop of Cauaillon, a Doctour of Deuinitie, and a Secretarie, came vnto Merindoll,

rindoll, where as was alſo preſent, diuers gentlemē and men of vnderſtandyng, of all ſortes, to ſee this commiſſion executed. Then they of Merindoll were aduertiſed, that they ſhould not appeare all at once, but yͤ they ſhould keepe thē ſelues apart, & appeare as they ſhould be called, in ſuch order & number, as ſhould be appointed vnto thē. After that Durandus, the byſhop of Cauaillō, yͤ Doctor of Diuinitie, & the Secretarie, were ſet in place where iuſtice was accuſtomed to bee kept, there was called forth Andrew Maynard, the bailife of Merindoll, Ienon Romane, & Michelin Mainard *Syndiques, Iohn Cabrie & Iohn Palenc auncientes of Merindol, and Iohn Bruneroll vnderbailif. After they had preſented them ſelues with all due reuerence, the Couſeller Durandus ſpake thus vnto thē.

*Syndicus Greke d, and nifieth much m aduocate or rone, or utie, to d our ſe.

e words of Durandus to Merin dolians.

You are not ignoraunt that by the Arreſt giuen out by the hygh Court of Prouince, you were all condemned to be burned, both men wemen, and children: your houſes alſo to be beaten downe, and your towne to be raſed and made deſolate. &c. as is more largely cōteined in the ſayd Arreſt. Notwithſtandyng, it hath pleaſed the kyng our moſt gracious prince, to ſend his letters vnto the ſayd Court, commaundyng that the ſayd Arreſt ſhould not ſo rigorouſly procede agaynſt you: but if it could, by ſufficient information be proued, that you or any of you had ſwarued from the true religion, demonſtration ſhould be made therof vnto you by the worde of God, whereby you might bee reduced agayne, to the flocke of Chriſt. wherfore it was determined in the ſayd Court of Parlament, that the Byſhop of Cauaillon, with a Doctour of Diuinitie, ſhould in my preſēce, declare vnto you the errours and hereſies wherwith, they ſay, you are infected: and after good demonſtratiō made by the word of God, you ſhould publickely and ſolemnely renounce and abiure the ſayd hereſies, and in ſo doyng, ſhould obteyne the grace and pardon conteyned in the kynges letters: wherfore ſhewe your ſelues this day, that you be obedient vnto God, the kyng, and the Magiſtrates. when he had thus ſpoken, what aunſwere you (ſayd hee) to that whiche I haue propounded?

Then Andrew Maynard the Baylife, deſired that they would graunt them an Aduocate to aunſwere accordyng to the inſtructions, whiche they would giue him, for ſo much as they were men vnlearned, and knewe not how to aunſwere, as in ſuch a caſe was requiſite. The Counſeller aunſwered that hee would heare theyr aunſwere neither by Aduocate nor by writyng, but would heare them aunſwere in their own perſons: Notwithſtanding he would giue them leaue to go apart and talke together, but not to aſke any Counſell, but onely amongeſt them ſelues: and then to aunſwere one after another. Vppon this determination, the bailife and the two Syndiques, with other two auncient men, talked together a while, and determined that the two Syndiques ſhould ſpeake firſt, and after them the Baylife, then the two auncient men, euery man accordyng as God ſhould geue them grace, and by and by, preſented them ſelues. wherat the Counceller Durandus was greatly abaſhed, to ſee that they had agreed and determined ſo ſpedely.

he Me- ndolians ired to ue aunſwere by ounſail: or iting.

Then Michelin Maynard began to aunſwere, deſiring the Counceller and the Biſhop, with the other aſſiſtaunce, to pardone him if that he aunſwered ouer rudely, hauyng regarde that they were poore, rude, and ignoraunt men. His aunſwere here foloweth.

he aunſwere of the erindo- ans to uran- us.

we are greatly bound (ſayth he) to geue God thākes, that beſides other his benefites beſtowed vppon vs, hee hath now deliuered vs from theſe great aſſaultes, & that it hath pleaſed him to touch the heart of our noble kyng, that our cauſe might be intreated with iuſtice and not by violence. In lyke maner are we alſo bounde to praye for our noble kyng, whiche folowyng the example of Samuell and Daniel, hath not diſdayned to looke vpon the cauſe of his poore ſubiectes. Alſo we render thankes vnto the Lordes of the Parlament, in that it hath pleaſed them to miniſter iuſtice accordyng to the kynges commaundemēt. Finally, we thanke you my lord Durandus, Commiſſioner in this preſent cauſe, that it hath pleaſed you in ſo few wordes, to declare vnto vs the maner and order howe wee ought to procede. And for my parte, I greatly deſire to vnderſtand and know the hereſies and errours, wherof I am accuſed, and where as they ſhall make it appeare vnto me, that I haue holdē any errours or hereſies, I am contēted to amende the ſame, as it ſhal be ordeined and prouided by you.

After him aunſwered Ienon Romane the other Syndique, a very auncient father, approuyng all that whiche his felowe before had ſayd, geuyng God thankes that in his time, euen in his latter dayes, he had ſene & heard ſo good newes, that the cauſe of religion ſhould be decided and debated by the holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard auncient men ſay, that they could neuer obteyne of the iudges in all their perſecution, to haue their cauſe debated in ſuch ſorte.

The Bailif of Merindoll aunſwereth.

Thē Andrew Maynard yͤ baylife aunſwered ſaying: that god had giuē to thoſe ij. Syndiques yͤ grace to aūſwere ſo well, that it was not neceſſary for him to ſay or adde any more thereunto. Notwithſtandyng it ſemed good that their aunſweres were put in writing, whiche was not done by the Secretarie, that had done nothing els, but mocke and gyre at all that had bene ſaid: wherfore he required the Commiſſioner to looke vnto the matter. Thē the Commiſſioner was very angry and ſharpely rebuked his Secretarie, commaundyng him to ſitte nerer and to write their aunſweres worde for worde, and hee him ſelf with a ſingular memorie, repeated their aunſweres, and oftentymes aſked if it were not ſo. The ſayd aūſweres beyng thus put in writing, the Commiſſioner aſked the bailife if he had any more to aunſwere, ſaying that he had done him great pleaſure to ſhew him his Secretaries faulte, willyng him to ſpeake boldely, what hee thought good for the defence of their cauſe. Then the baylife ſayd, for ſo much as it hath pleaſed you to giue me audience and libertie to ſpeake my minde frely: I ſay moreouer, that it ſemeth vnto me, that there is no due forme of proceſſe in this iudgement: for there is no partie here that doth accuſe vs. If we had an accuſer preſent, whiche accordyng to the rule of the Scripture, either ſhould proue by good demonſtration out of the olde and new Teſtament, that whereof we are accuſed, or if he were not able, ſhould ſuffer puniſhement due vnto ſuch as are heretickes: I thinke he would be as greatly troubled to mainteine his accuſations, as we to aunſwere vnto the ſame.

The proceding with the Merindolians not after forme of lawe.

After that the bayly had made this aunſwere, Iohn Palenc, one of the auncientes of Merindoll, ſayd that hee approued all that had bene ſayd by the Syndiques, and that he was hable to ſay no more then had bene ſayd by them before. The Commiſſioner ſaid vnto him: you are (I ſee) a very auncient mā, and you haue not lyued ſo long, but that you haue ſome thyng to aunſwere for your parte, in defenſe of your cauſe. And the ſayd Palenc aunſwered: ſeyng it is your pleaſure that I ſhould ſay ſomethyng, it ſemeth vnto me vnpoſſible that (ſaye what wee can) we ſhould haue either victorie or vantage: for our iudges be our enemyes.

Iohn Palenc aunſwereth.

Then Iohn Bruneroll vnder bailife of Merindoll, aunſwered, that he would very fayne know the authoritie of the Counſeller Durandus, Commiſſioner in this cauſe, for as much as the ſayd Counſeller had giuen them to vnderſtand, that hee had authoritie of the hyghe Court, to make them abiure their errours, whiche ſhould be found by good and ſufficient information, and to giue them ſo doyng, the pardon conteined in the kynges letters, and quyte them of all puniſhement and condemnation. But the ſaid Commiſſioner dyd not giue them to vnderſtād, that if they could not be found, by good & ſufficient informatiō, that they were in errour, he had any power or authoritie to quyte and abſolue them of the ſayd ſentēce and condemnation: wherfore it ſemed that it ſhould be more vauntage for the ſayd Merindolians, if it ſhould appeare that they were heretickes, then to be found to lyue accordyng to the doctrine of the Goſpell. For this cauſe he required that it would pleaſe the ſayd Commiſſioner to make declaration therof: concluding that if it did not appeare by good and ſufficient information agaynſt them, that they had ſwarued from the fayth, or if there were no accuſer that would come foorth agaynſt them, they ought to be fully abſolued, without beyng any more troubled either in body or goodes.

The vnder Bailife of Merindoll aunſwereth.

Durandus the Commiſſioner, required to ſhew hys Commiſſion.

These thynges were thus in debatyng from vij. of the clocke in the mornyng, vntill xi. Then the Commiſſioner diſmiſſed them till after dynner. At one of the clocke at after noone, they were called for agayne, and demaunded whether they would ſaye any thyng els, touchyng that whiche was propounded in the mornyng, by the ſayd Commiſſioner. They aunſwered, no. Then ſaid the Cōmiſſioner, what do you conclude for your defenſe? The ij. Syndickes aunſwered: we conclude that it would pleaſe you to declare vnto vs the errours and hereſies, wherof we are accuſed. Then the Commiſſioner aſked the Byſhop of Cauaillon, what informations hee had agaynſt

The bailiffe and Syndickes of Merindoll appeare the ſecond tyme.

gaynſt them. The Byſhop ſpake vnto him in his eare, and would not aunſwere aloude. This talke in the eare continued almoſt halfe an houre, that the Commiſſioner and all other that ſtode thereby, were weary therof. In the end, the Commiſſioner ſayd vnto them, that the Byſhop of Cauaillon had told him, that it was not nedefull to make it apparaunt by information, for ſuch was the common reporte. Hereunto they aunſwered: that they required the cauſes and reaſons alleaged by the Biſhop of Cauaillon, agaynſt them, ſhould be put in writing. The Byſhop was earneſt to the contrary, and would haue nothyng that either he ſaid or alledged, to be put in writyng. Then Iohn Bruneroll required the Commiſſioner, that at ẏ leaſt, he would put in writing, that the Byſhop would ſpeake nothing againſt them, that they could vnderſtand, and that he would not ſpeake before the Commiſſioner but onely in his eare. The Byſhop on the contrarie part, defended that he would not be named in proces. There was great diſputation vpon this matter and continued long. Then the Commiſſioner aſked the Merindoliãs if they had the Articles of their cõfeſſion, which they had preſented to the hyghe Court of Parlament. Then they required that their confeſſion might be read, and by the readyng therof they might vnderſtand whether it were the doctrine, whiche they held, and the cõfeſſion whiche they had preſented, or no. Then the confeſſiõ was read publickly before thẽ, which they did allowe & acknowledged to be theirs. This done, the Cõmiſſioner aſked the Doctour if he did finde in the ſayd confeſſion, any hereticall opinions, whereof he could make demonſtration by ẏ word of God, either out of ẏ olde or the new Teſtament. Then ſpake the Doctour in Latine a good while. After he had made an ende, Andrew Maynard the Baihefe deſired the Commiſſioner, accordyng as hee had propounded, to make the errours and hereſies that they were accuſed of, apparãt vnto them by good informatiõ, or at the leaſt, to marke thoſe Articles of their cõfeſſion, which the Biſhop and the Doctour pretended to be hereticall, requiryng him alſo to put in regiſter, their refuſall, aſwell of the Byſhop as of the Doctor, of whom the one ſpake in his eare, and the other in Latine, ſo that they of Merindoll could not vnderſtand one woorde. Then the Commiſſioner promiſed them to put in writyng all that ſhould make for their cauſe. And moreouer he ſayd that it was not nedefull to call the reſt of the Merindolians, if there were no more to bee ſayd to them, then had ben ſayd to thoſe, whiche were already called. And this is the ſũme of all ẏ was done at ẏ after noone.

They that do the workes of darcknes, hate the light.

The confeſſion of the *Merindolians*, exhibited and red.

What were the articles & doctrine of their cõfeſſion, read Sleidane, *Lib.* 16.

Many which came thether to heare theſe diſputatiõs: ſuppoſyng that they ſhould haue heard ſome goodly demonſtrations, were greatly abaſhed to ſee the Byſhop and the Doctour ſo confounded: which thyng afterward turned to the great benefite of many: for hereby they were moued to require copyes of the confeſſion of their faith: by meanes wherof they were conuerted and embraced the truth, and namely iij. Doctours, who wẽt about diuers tymes to diſwade the Merindolians frõ their faith: whoſe miniſtery God afterwardes vſed in the preaching of his Goſpell. Of whom one was Doctour Combaudi Prior of S. Maximin, afterwardes a preacher in the Territorie of the Lordes of Berne. An other was Doctour Somati, who was alſo a preacher in the Bayliwicke of Tonon. The other was Doctour Heraudi, paſtour and Miniſter in the Countie of Newcaſtle.

Three Doctors conuerted by the confeſſion of the *Merindolians*.

After this, the inhabitauntes of Merindoll were in reſt and quietnes for a ſpace, in ſo much that euery man feared to go aboute to trouble them, ſeyng thoſe whiche perſecuted them, did receaue nothyng but ſhame and confuſion: as it did manifeſtly appeare, not onely by the ſuddeyne death of the Preſident Caſſanee, but alſo many other of the chiefeſt Counſellers of the Parlamẽt of Prouince, whoſe horrible ende terrified many, but ſpecially ẏ ſtraunge and fearefull example of that bloudy Tyranne Iohn de Roma, ſet out as a ſpectacle to all perſecutours: wherof we haue ſpoken before.

The ſodeine death of a perſecutor.

Thus the Lord repreſſing the rage of ẏ aduerſaries for a tyme, ſtayed the violence & execution of that cruell ſentence or Arreſt giuen out by ẏ Parlament of Prouince, agaynſt the Merindolians, vntill Iohn Miniers, an excedyng bloudy tyranne, began a new perſecution. This Miniers beyng Lord of Opede nere to Merindoll, firſt began to vexe ẏ poore Chriſtians by pilling & poling, by oppreſſion and extortion, gettyng frõ thẽ what he could, to enlarge his Segnorie or Lordſhip, whiche before was very baſe. For this cauſe he put v. or vi. of his own tenaũts into a Ciſterne vnder the grounde, and cloſyng it vp, there he kept them, till they dyed for hunger, pretendyng that they were Lutherans and Vandois, to haue theyr goodes and poſſeſſions. By this and ſuch other practiſes, this wretch was aduaũced in ſhort ſpace, to great wealth and dignitie, and ſo at length became not onely the chief Preſident of the hyghe Court of Parlament, but alſo the kynges Lieutenaunt generall in the coũtrey of Prouince, in the abſence of the Lord Grignan, then beyng at the Councell of Wormes in Germanie. Now therefore ſeyng no oportunitie to bee lackyng to accompliſhe his deuiliſh enterpriſe, he employed all his power, riches, and authoritie not onely to cõfirme and to reuiue that cruell Arreſt giuen out before by the Court of Parlament: but alſo (as a right miniſter of Sathan) hee excedyngly encreaſed the crueltie therof, whiche was already ſo great, that it ſemed there could nothyng more be added thereunto. And to bryng this miſchief to paſſe, he forged a moſt impudent lye, giuing the kyng to vnderſtande that they of Merindoll and all the countrey neare about, to the number of xij. or xv. thouſand, were in the fielde in armour with theyr enſigne diſplayed, entendyng to take the towne of Marſeille, and make it one of the Cantons of the Suitzers: And to ſtay this enterpriſe, he ſayd it was neceſſary to execute the Arreſt manu militari, and by this meanes he obteined the kynges letters patentes, through the helpe of ẏ Cardinall of Tournon, commaundyng the ſentence to bee executed agaynſt the Merindolians, notwithſtandyng that the kyng had before reuoked the ſayd ſentence and giuen ſtrait commaundement that it ſhould in no wiſe be executed, as before is mencioned.

Minerius a peſtilent perſecutor without all reaſon and meaſure.

After this he gathered all the kynges armey, whiche was then in Prouince ready to go agaynſt the Engliſh men, and tooke vp all beſides, that were hable to beare armour, in the chiefeſt townes of Prouince, and ioyned them with the armey whiche the Popes Legate had leuied for that purpoſe, in Auinion and all the countrey of Veniſſe, and employed the ſame to the deſtruction of Merindoll, Cabriers and other townes and villages, to the number of xxij. geuyng commiſſion to his ſouldiers to ſpoyle, ranſackt, burne, & to deſtroy altogether, and to kill man, woman and child, without all mercy, ſparyng none: no otherwiſe thẽ the infidels and cruell Turkes haue dealt with the Chriſtians, as before in the ſtorye of the Turkes, you may reade. For as the Papiſtes and Turkes are like in their religion, ſo are the ſayd Papiſtes like, or rather excede them, in all kyndes of crueltie that can be deuiſed. But this Archtyranne, before he came to Merindol, ranſackt & burnt certeine townes, namely La Roche, Saint Steuens, Villelaure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabrierettes, Saint Martin, Pipin, and other places moe, notwithſtãdyng that the Arreſt extended but onely to Merindoll. where ẏ moſt of the poore inhabitantes were ſlayne and murdered without any reſiſtance: wemẽ and maydens rauiſhed; wemen with child and litle infantes borne and to be borne, were alſo moſt cruelly murthered: the pappes of many wemen cut of, whiche gaue ſucke to their children, which looking for ſucke at their mothers breſt beyng dead before, dyed alſo for hunger. There was neuer ſuch crueltie and tyranny ſeene before.

The Merindolians ſeing all on a flaming fire round about thẽ, left their houſes & fled into ẏ woodes, & remained that night at the village Sanfales & therabouts, in wonderfull feare and perplexitie: for the Byſhop of Cauaillon, deputie to the Byſhop of Romes Legate, had appointed certeine Captaines to go and ſlay them. The next day they went a litle further, hydyng them ſelues in woodes, for there was daunger on euery ſide, and Miniers had cõmaũded vnder payne of death, that no man ſhould ayde them by any meanes, but that they ſhould bee ſlayne without pitie or mercie, whereſoeuer they were found. The ſame proclamatiõ was of force alſo, in the Byſhop of Romes dominions therby: and it was ſayd that the Byſhops of that coũtrey did finde a great part of the armey. wherfore they went a tedious and a paynefull iorney carying their children vpõ their ſhoulders, and in their armes, and in their ſwadlyng clothes, and many of thẽ alſo beyng great with child, were conſtrayned ſo to do. And when they were come to the place appoynted, thether was already reſorted a great number whiche had loſt their goodes, and ſaued them ſelues by flight.

Not long after, it was ſhewed them how that Miniers was commyng with all his power, to giue the charge vpon them. This was in the euenyng, and becauſe they ſhould go throughe rough and cumberous places, and hard to paſſe by, they all thought it moſt expedient for their ſafegard to leaue behinde them, all the wemen and children, with a few other, and among thē alſo, certeine Miniſters of the Churche: the reſidue were appointed to go to the towne of Muſsie. And this did they vpon hope that the enemy would ſhew mercy to the multitude of wemen and children, beyng deſtitute of all ſuccour. No tounge can expreſſe, what ſorrow, what teares, what ſighyng, what lamentation, there was at that wofull departyng, when they were compelled to be thus ſeparated a ſunder, the husband from his deare wife, the father from his ſwete babes and tender infantes, the one neuer like to ſee the other agayne a lyue. Notwithſtandyng, after the Miniſters had ended their ordinary Sermōs, with euening prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to auoyde a greater inconuenience.

lamenta= ſepera= n of the *erindo- ns* from ir wi= s and ildren.

When they had gone all the night long, and had paſſed ouer the great hill of Libron, they might ſee many villages and fermes ſet on fire. Miniers in the meane tyme, had deuided his armey into two partes, marchyng hym ſelfe with the one, towardes the towne of Merindoll, and hauyng knowledge by eſpiall whether the Merindolians were fledde, he ſendeth the other part to ſet vpon them, and to ſhewe their accuſtomed crueltie vpō them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, ſome of Miniers armey, either of good will, or moued with pitie, priuely conueyed them ſelues away, and came vnto them, to geue them warning that their enemies were comming: and one from the toppe of an hyghe rocke, where he thought that the Merindolians were vnderneath, caſteth downe ij. ſtones, and afterward, although he could not ſee thē, he calleth vnto them, that they ſhould immediatly flye from thence. But the enemyes ſuddenly came vpon them, findyng them all aſſembled together at prayers, and ſpoyled them of all that they had, pullyng of their garmentes from their backes: ſome they rauiſhed: ſome they whypped and ſcourged: ſome they ſold away like cattell, practiſyng what crueltie and vilany ſo euer they could deuiſe agaynſt them. The wemen were in number about v. hundreth.

he *Me- dolians* ertaken their e- mies.

In the meane tyme Miniers came to Merindoll, where he founde none but a yong man named Maurice Blanc, who had yelded him ſelfe to a ſouldier, promiſing hym for his raūſome, two French crownes. Miniers would haue had him awaye by force, but it was aunſwered that the ſouldier ought not to loſe his priſoner. Miniers therfore paying the two crownes him ſelfe, tooke the young man, and cauſed hym to bee tyed to an Olyue tree, and ſhot throughe with harquebuſhes, and moſt cruellie martyred. Many Gentlemen whiche accompanied Miniers agaynſt their willes, ſeyng this cruell ſpectacle, were moued with great compaſſion, & could not forbeare teares. For albeit this young man was not yet very well inſtructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindoll, yet in all his tormentes hauyng alwayes his eyes lifted vp to heauen, with a loude voyce, he ceaſed not ſtill to call vpon God: and the laſt wordes that he ſpake, were theſe: Lord God, theſe men take awaye my lyfe full of miſerie, but thou wilt giue vnto me lyfe euerlaſtyng, by thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: to whom be glorie. So was Merindoll without any reſiſtance, valiantly taken, ranſackt, burnt, raſed & layed euen with the grounde. And albeit there was no man to reſiſte, yet this valiant Captaine of Opede armed from toppe to toe, trembled for feare, and was ſene to chaunge his colour very much.

ile cru- e ſhew- vpon a ng man *Merin- ll.*

The one of *erindoll* troyed the Pa- tes.

When hee had deſtroyed Merindoll, hee layd ſiege to Cabriers, and battred it with his ordinaūce, but when he could not wynne it by force, he with the Lord of the town, & Poulin his chiefe Captaine, perſuaded with the inhabitantes, to open their gates, ſolemnly promiſing that if they would ſo do, they would lay downe their armour, & alſo ẏ their cauſe ſhould be heard in iudgement with all equitie & iuſtice, & no violence or iniurie ſhould be ſhewed againſt thē. Upon this, they opened their gates and let in Miniers with hys Captaines and all his armey. But the Tyrant when he was once entred, falſified his promiſe and raged like a beaſt. For firſt of all he picked out about xxx. men, cauſyng them to bee bounde and caryed into a medowe neare to the towne, and there to bee miſerably cut and hewen in peeces of his ſouldiers. Then, becauſe he would leaue no kind of crueltie vnattempted, he alſo exerciſed his outrage & fury vpon the poore ſely wemen, and cauſed 40. of them to be takē, of whō diuers were great with child, and put them into a barne full of ſtraw and hey, and cauſed it to be ſet on fire at iiij. corners. And when the ſely wemen runnyng to the great wyndow, where the hey is wont to be caſt into the barne, would haue leaped out, they were kepte in with pikes and halberdes. Then there was a ſouldier which moued with pitie at the crying out & lamentation of the wemē, opened a doore to let them out, but as they were cōmyng out, the Tyranne cauſed them to bee ſlayne and cut in peeces, openyng their belyes that their children fell out, whom they trode vnder their feete. Many were fledde into the wyne ſeller of the Caſtle, and many hyd thē ſelues in caues, whereof ſome were caried into the medowe and there ſtripped naked, were ſlayne: other ſome were boūd ii. and ii. together, and caried into the hall of the Caſtle, where they were ſlayne by the Captaynes, reioyſing in their bloudy butchery and horrible ſlaughter. That done, this Tyranne, more cruell then euer was Herode, commaunded Captaine Iohn de Gay with a bande of ruffians, to go into the Churche (where was a great number of wemen, children and young infantes) to kill all that he founde there. Which the Captaine refuſed at the firſte, to do, ſaying: that were a crueltie vnuſed among men of warre. Whereat Miniers beyng diſpleaſed, charged hym vpon payne of rebellion and diſobedience to the king, to do as he had commaunded him. The Captaine fearyng that myght enſue, entred with his mē, and deſtroyed them all, ſparyng neither young nor old. In this meane while certeine ſouldiers went to ranſackt the houſes for the ſpoyle: where they founde many poore men that had there hydden them ſelues in ſellers and other priuie places, flying vpon them and crying out: kill kill. The other ſouldiers that were without the towne, killed all that they could meete with. The number of thoſe that were ſo vnmercifully murdered, were about a thouſand perſons of mē, wemen, and children. The infantes that eſcaped their fury, were baptiſed agayne of their enemyes.

The one of *brie.s* ſtelp ta-

he ſ pro e broké by Pa- es.

.men, artyrs.

Xl. wemen, Martyrs.

Crueltie Neronicall or rather furye diabolicall.

About a 1000. Martyrs of *Cabriers.*

In token of this ioly victorie, the Popes Officers cauſed a piller to be erected in the ſaid place of Cabriers, in the whiche was engrauen the yeare and the daye of the takyng and ſackyng of this towne, by Iohn Miniers Lord of Opede and chief Preſident of the Parlament of Prouince, for a memorial for euer, of ẏ barbarous crueltie, ẏ like wherof was yet neuer heard of. Wherupō we withall our poſteritie, haue to vnderſtand what be the reaſons and argumentes wherewith the Antichriſt of Rome, is wōt to vphold the impious Seat of his abominatiō: who now is come to ſuch exceſſe and profunditie of all kyndes of iniquitie, that all iuſtice, equitie and veritie beyng ſet a ſide, he ſeketh the defence of his cauſe, by no other thyng, then onely by force and violence, terrour and oppreſſion, and ſhedyng of bloud.

The argumētes wherupon the doctrine of the Popes church ſtandeth.

In this meane while the inhabitātes of Merindoll & other places therabout, were among the mountaines and rockes, in great neceſſitie of victualles, and much affliction: who had procured certein men, which were in ſome fauour and authoritie with Miniers, to make requeſt for thē vnto him, that they might depart ſafely, whether it ſhould pleaſe God to lead them, with their wiues and children, althoughe they had no more but their ſhyrtes to couer their nakednes. Whereunto Miniers made this aunſwere: I know what I haue to do: not one of them ſhall eſcape my handes. I will ſende them to dwell in hell among the deuils.

Antichriſt here playeth the deuill.

After this there was a power ſent vnto Coſta, whiche lykewiſe they ouercame, and committed there great ſlaughter. Many of the inhabitātes fledde away & ranne into an orchard, where the ſouldiers rauiſhed the wemē and maidens, and when they had kept them there incloſed a day and a night, they handled them ſo beaſtly, that thoſe which had great belies, and the yonger maydens, dyed ſhortly after. It were impoſſible to comprehend all the lamentable and ſorrowfull exāples of this cruell perſecution agaynſt the Merindolians and their felowes: In ſo much that no kynde of cruell tyranny was vnpractiſed. For they whiche eſcaped by woodes, and went wandryng by mountaynes, were taken and ſet in Galyes, or els were ſlayne out ryght. Many whiche did hyde thē ſelues in rockes and darke

The towne of *Coſta*, deſtroyed.

Martyrs of *Coſta.*

caues, ſome were famiſhed with hunger, ſome were ſmothered with fire and ſmoke put vnto them. All whiche may more fully be vnderſtand by the recordes of the Court, and by the pleas betwene them and their aduerſaries in the hygh Conſiſtory of the Court of Paris: where all the dores being ſet open, and in the publicke hearyng of all the people, the caſe of this trouble and perſecution was ſhortly after, ſolemnly debated betwene two great Lawyers: the one called Aubrius, whiche accuſed Minerius the Preſident committed to priſon, and the other called Robertus, who was the defendant agaynſt him. The cauſe why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and iudgement to be decided by the law, was this:

When the *Merindolians* were ſlaine, their cauſe was pleaded.

Henry the 2. Frenche kyng, whiche newly ſucceded Frances his father aboue mencioned, conſideryng how this cruell and infamous perſecution againſt his own ſubiectes and people, was greatly miſlyked of other princes, and alſo obiected both againſt him and his father, as a note of ſhamefull tyranny, by the Emperour him ſelfe, Charles the v. and that in the publike Councell of all the ſtates of Germany, for ſo murthering and ſpoylyng his own naturall ſubiectes, without all reaſon and mercy: he therefore to the entent to purge and cleare him ſelfe thereof, cauſed the ſayd matter to bee brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Iuſtice. whiche cauſe, after it was pleaded to and fro, in publicke audience, no leſſe then fiftie tymes, and yet in the end, could not be determined, ſo it brake of and was paſſed ouer, and at length Minerius beyng loſed out of priſon, was reſtored to his libertie and poſſeſſions agayne, vpon this condition and promiſe made vnto the Cardinall, Charles of Lorraine, that hee ſhould baniſhe and expell theſe new Chriſtians (termyng ſo the true profeſſors of the Goſpell) out of all Prouince.

Fraunces the French king, noted of tyrannie by Charles 5. Emperour.

The cauſe of the *Merindolians* after their death pleaded fiftie times in the court.

Minerius loſed out of priſon.

Thus Miniers beyng reſtored, returned agayne into Prouince, where hee began agayne to attempte greater tyrãny, then before. Neither did his ragyng fury ceaſe to procede, before the iuſt iudgement of God lightyng vpon him, brought him by a horrible diſeaſe, vnto the tormentes of death, whiche he moſt iuſtly had deſerued. For hee beyng ſtrocken with a ſtraunge kynde of bledyng at yͤ lower partes, in maner of a bloudy flixe, and not beyng hable to voyde any vrine, thus by litle and litle his guttes within him rotted: and when no remedy could be found for this terrible diſeaſe, and his entralles now began to be eaten of wormes, a certein famous Surgeon named La Motte, which dwelt at Arles, a man no leſſe godly then expert in hys ſcience: was called for, who after he had cured him of this difficultie of makyng water, and therfore was in great eſtimation with him, before hee would procede further to ſearche the other partes of his putrified body, and to ſearch out the inward cauſe of his maladie, hee deſyred that they whiche were preſent in the chamber with Minerius, would departe a litle a ſide. whiche being done, he began to exhorte Minerius with earneſt wordes, ſaying how the time now required that he ſhould aſke forgiuenes of God by Chriſt, for his enormous crimes, and crueltie in ſhedyng ſo much innocent bloud, and declared the ſame to be the cauſe of this ſo ſtraunge profuſion of bloud commyng from hym. Theſe wordes beyng heard, ſo pearſed the impure conſcience of this miſerable wretch, that he was therwith more troubled them with the agonye of his diſeaſe: in ſo much that he cried out to laye hand vpon the Surgeon, as an hereticke. La Motte hearyng this, eftſones cõueyed him ſelf out of ſight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithſtandyng it was not long, but he was ſent for agayne, being intreated by his frendes, & promiſed moſt firmely, that his commyng ſhould bee without any perill or daunger: and ſo with much adoe, he returned again to Minerius, what time all now was paſt remedy: and ſo Minerius raging and caſtyng out moſt horrible and blaſphemyng wordes, & feeling a fire which burnt him frõ the nauill vpward, with extreme ſtinch of the lower partes, finiſhed his wretched lyfe. wherby we haue notoriouſly to vnderſtãd that God through his mightye arme, at length cõfoundeth ſuch perſecuters of his innocent and faithful ſeruauntes, and bringeth them to nought: to whom bee prayſe and glory for euer.

The iuſte ſtroke of God vpon cruell *Minerius*.

Good counſail geuen to *Minerius* of hys Surgeon.

Minerius ſeeketh the bloud of hys Surgeon.

The wretched end of wretched *Minerius* the perſecuter.

Moreouer, beſides this iuſtice of God ſhewed vpõ Minerius, here alſo is not to bee forgotten whiche folowed likewiſe vppon certaine of the other, whiche were the chief doers in this perſecutiõ vnder Minerius aforeſaid, namely Lewes de Vayne, brother in law to the ſayd Preſident, and alſo the brother, and the ſonne in law to Peter Durant, maiſter butcher of yͤ towne of Aix: the whiche three dyd ſlay one an other vpon a certeine ſtrife that fell among them. And vpon the ſame day the Iudge of Aix, who accompanyed Minerius in the ſame perſecution, as he returned homewarde, goyng ouer the riuer of Durance, was drowned. Ex hiſt. Gallica. Hen. Pantal. & alijs.

In the title of this ſtory of Merindoll aboue prefixed, in the ſtead of the valley of Angrongne, which thou ſeeſt raſed out with penne, read, in the countrey of Prouince.

¶ Notes vpon the ſtory of Merindoll aboue recited.

Thus haſt thou heard (louyng reader) the terrible troubles, and miſerable ſlaughter committed by the Biſhops and Cardinals agaynſt theſe faythfull men of Merindoll, which for the heynous tyranny and example of the fact moſt vnmercifull, may be comparable with any of the firſt perſecutions in the primitiue Churche, done either by Decius, or Diocleſianus. Now, touching the ſaid ſtory & people of Merindoll, briefly by the way is to bee noted, that this was not the firſt tyme that theſe men of this countrey, were vexed, neither was it of late yeares, that the doctrine & profeſſion of thẽ began. For (as by the courſe of time, & by anciẽt records it maye appeare) theſe inhabitantes of Prouince, and other coaſtes borderyng about the confines of Fraunce, and Piemont, had their continuance of auncient time, and receiued their doctrine firſt from the Waldenſes, or Albigenſes, whiche were (as ſome do ſay) about the yeare of our Lord. 1170. or (as other do recken) about the yeare of our Lord. 1216. wherof thou haſt (gentle reader) ſufficiently to vnderſtand, readyng before. pag. 294. col. 2. lin. 53. Item, pag. 341. Item, pag. 349. &c.

Theſe Waldenſes, otherwiſe called Pauperes de Lugduno, *beginnyng of one* Petrus Waldus, *Citizen of Lyons, as is afore ſhewed, pag. 295. by violence of perſecution beyng driuẽ out of Lyons, were diſparcled abroad in diuers countreys, of whom ſome fled to Maßilia, ſome to Germanie, ſome to Sarmatia, Liuonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia, diuers ſtrayed to the countreys of Frãce, eſpecially about Prouince, & Piedmont, of whõ came theſe Merindolians, aboue mentioned, & the Angroniãs with others, of whõ now it foloweth likewiſe (God willyng) to diſcourſe. They whiche were in the countrey of Tolouſe, of the place where they frequented, were called Albij, or Albigenſes. Agaynſt the whiche Albigenſes, Frier Dominicus was a great doer, laboryng and preachyng agaynſt them. x. yeares together, and cauſed many of thẽ to be burned, for the which he was highly accepted, and rewarded in the Apoſtolicall Court, and at length by Pope Honorius 3. was made Patriarche of the blacke gard of the Dominicke Friers.* Ex Antonino part. 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

Theſe Albigenſes, agaynſt the Pope of Rome, had ſet vppe to them ſelues a Biſhoppe of their owne, named Bartholomæus *remainyng about the coaſtes of Croatia, and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter of one of the Popes Cardinals, aboue ſpecified, pag. 341. For the whiche cauſe the Sea of Rome tooke great indignation agaynſt the ſayd Albigenſes, and cauſed all their faithfull catholickes and obedienciares to their Churche to riſe vp in armour, and to take the ſigne of the holy Croſſe vpõ thẽ, to fight agaynſt thẽ, an. 1206. by reaſon wherof great multitudes of them were pitifullye murdered, not onely of thẽ about Tolouſe, and Auinion in Frãce (as is afore to be ſene, pag. 349) but alſo in all quarters, miſerable ſlaughters & burnynges of them long cõtinued, frõ the reigne of Fridericke 2. Emperour, almoſt to this preſent tyme, through the inſtigatiõ of the Roman popes.*

Paulus Æmylius *the French Chronicler in his vi. boke writyng of theſe* Pauperes de Lugduno, *and* Humiliati, *and diuidyng theſe ij. orders from Albigenſes, reporteth that the ij. former orders were reiected of Pope Lucius 3. And in their place, other ij. orders were approued, to wytt, the order of the Dominicke Friers, and of the Franciſcanes. Whiche ſemeth not to be true, forſomuch as this Pope Lucius*

cius was xx. yeares, before Innocent 3. and yet neither in the tyme of Pope Innocent, the order of theſe Dominicke Friers was approued, but in the tyme of Pope Honorius 3. who was xl. yeares after Pope Lucius. Agayn, Bernardus Lutzenbergenſis, in Catal. hæret. *affirmeth, that theſe* Pauperes de Lugduno, *or Waldenſes beganne firſte. an.* 1218. *Which if it be true, then muſt the other report of* Aemylius *be falſe, writyng of the ſecte of* Pauperes Lugdunenſes, *to be refuſed by Pope Lucius the 3. who was longe before this, in the yeare of our Lord.* 1181.

Among other Authors whiche write of theſe Waldẽſes, Ioan. Sleidan. lib. 16. intreatyng of their continuaunce, and doctrine, thus writeth of them. There be (ſayth he) in the French Prouince a people called Waldois. Theſe of an auncient trade and cuſtome among them, do not acknowledge the B. of Rome, and euer haue vſed a maner of doctrine ſomewhat more pure, then the reſt, but eſpecially ſince the comming of Luther, they haue encreaſed in more knowledge and perfection of iudgement. Wherfore they haue ben oftentymes complayned vpon to the king, as though they contemned the Magiſtrate, & would moue rebellion, with other ſuch matter falſely ſurmiſed agaynſt them, more of deſpite and malice, then of any iuſt cauſe of truth. There be of them certein townes and villages, among whiche Merindoll is one. Agaynſt theſe Merindolians ſentence was geuen, fiue yeares paſt, at Aix, beyng the hygh tribunall Seat, or iudgement place of Prouince, that all ſhould be deſtroyed without reſpect of age or perſon, in ſuch ſorte, as that the houſes beyng pluckt downe, the village ſhould bee made playne, euen with the ground, the trees alſo ſhould be cut downe, and the place altogether made deſolate and deſert. Albeit though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the meanes of certeine that perſuaded the king to the contrary, namely one William Bellay, who was at the ſame tyme, the kinges Lieutenaunt in Piedmont. But at the laſt, the 12. *day of Aprill. an.* 1545. *Iohn Minerius Preſident of the Councell of Aix, callyng the Senate, read the kinges letters, commaundyng them to execute the ſentence giuen. &c.*

Moreouer concernyng the confeſſion, and the doctrine of the ſayd Merindolians receaued of auncient tyme frõ their forefathers the Waldenſes, thus it foloweth in the ſayd booke and place of Iohn Sleidan:

At laſt (ſayth Sleidan, after hee had deſcribed what great crueltie was ſhewed agaynſt them) when the reporte hereof was bruted in Germanie, it offended the myndes of many: and in dede, the Suitzers, who were then of a contrary Religion to the Pope, entreated the king, that he would ſhewe mercy to ſuch as were fled. Whereunto the ſayd king Frances, made aunſwere in this wiſe: pretending that he had iuſt cauſe to do, as hee did, inferryng moreouer, that they ought not to be carefull, what he did within his dominiõs, or how he puniſhed his offendours, more thẽ he was about their affaires. &c. Thus hard was the king againſt thẽ, notwithſtãdyng (ſayth Sledan) that he, the yeare before, had receaued from the ſayd his ſubiectes of Merindoll, a confeſſion of their faith and doctrine. The Articles wherof, were, that they, accordyng to Chriſtian faith, confeſſed, firſt God the father, creator of all thinges: The Sonne, the onely Mediatour and Aduocate of mankind. The holy ſpirite, the comfortour, and inſtructour of all truth. They confeſſed alſo the Churche, whiche they acknowled to bee the felowſhip of Gods electe, wherof Ieſus Chriſt is the head. The miniſters alſo of the Churche they did allowe, wiſhyng that ſuch whiche did not their duety, ſhould be remoued.

And as touchyng Magiſtrates, they graunted likewiſe the ſame to be ordeyned of God, to defende the good, and to puniſhe the tranſgreſſors, And how they owe to him, not loue onely, but alſo tribute, and cuſtome, and no man herein to be excepted, euen by the example of Chriſt, who payed tribute hym ſelfe. &c.

Likewiſe of Baptiſme, they confeſſed the ſame to be a viſible, and an outward ſigne, that repreſenteth to vs the renewyng of the ſpirite, and mortification of the members.

Furthermore, as touchyng the Lordes Supper, they ſayd and confeſſed the ſame to be a thankes geuyng, and a memoriall of the benefite receaued through Chriſt.

Matrimonye they affirmed to be holy and inſtituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

That good workes are to be obſerued and exerciſed of all men, as holy Scripture teacheth.

That falſe doctrine, which leadeth men away frõ the true worſhip of God, ought to be eſchewed.

Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their fayth, they cõfeſſed to be the old & new Teſtamẽt, proteſting that they beleued all ſuch thynges as are conteined in the Apoſtolicke Crede: Deſiryng moreouer, the king to geue credite to this their declaration of their faith, ſo that what ſo euer was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well proue, if they might be heard.

And thus much concernyng the doctrine and confeſſion of the Merindolians out of Sleidan: and alſo concernyng their deſcent and offspring from the Waldenſes.

¶ *The hiſtorye of the perſecutions and warres agaynſt* the people called Waldenſes or Waldois in the valleys of Angrongne, Luſerne, S. Martin, Perouſe, and others, in the countrey of Piemont, from the yeare. 1555. to the yeare of our Lord. 1561.

Perſecuters	**Martyrs.**
The Parlament of Thurin.	*The Martyrs of the valley of* Angrongne.
The Preſident of S. Iulian.	
Iacomell Monke, an Inquiſitor.	
Monſieur de la Trinitie.	*The Martyrs of the valley of* Luſerne.
The gentlemen of the Valleyes.	
Charles Truchet.	*The Martyrs of* S. Martin.
Boniface Truchet.	
The Collaterall of Corbis.	*The Martyrs of* Perouſe, *& others.*
The Collaterall de Eccleſia.	
The Duke of Sauoy.	
Monkes of Pigneroll, and many other moe, enemies of God and miniſters of Sathan.	In the cõtrey of Piemont. From the yeare 1555 vnto 1561.

The Cauſes.

Perſecution in the valley of ***Angrongne, Luſerne, S. Martin, Perouſe, in Piedmont.***

To procede now further in the perſecution of theſe Waldois, or Waldenſes, you haue heard hetherto, firſt how they diuidyng them ſelues into diuers cõutreys, ſome fled to Prouince, and toÍlouſe, of whom ſufficiẽt hath ben ſayd. Some went to Piedmont, and ẏ valley of Angrongne, of whõ it foloweth nowe to entreate God wyllyng. Thus theſe good men by long perſecutiõ, beyng driuen from place to place, were greuouſlye in all places afflicted, but yet could neuer bee vtterly deſtroyed, nor yet compelled to yelde to the ſuperſtitious and falſe religion of the Church of Rome: but euer abſteined frõ their corruption and Idolatrie, as much as was poſſible, and gaue them ſelues to the worde of God, as a rule both truly to ſerue him, and to direct their lyues accordingly.

The godly life of the ***Waldois.***

They had many bookes of the old and newe Teſtament tranſlated into their lãguage. Their Miniſters inſtructed them ſecretly, to auoyde the fury of their enemyes, whiche could not abyde the light: albeit they did not inſtructe thẽ with ſuch puritie as was requiſite. They liued in great ſimplicitie, and with the ſweat of their browes. They were quyet and peaceable among their neighbours, abſteynyng from blaſphemy, and prophanyng of the name of God, by othes, & ſuch other impieties: frõ leaud games, dauncyng, filthy ſonges and other vices & diſſolute life, and conformed their lyfe wholy to the rule of Gods word. Their principall care was alwayes that God might be rightly ſerued & his worde truly preached: In ſo much, ẏ in our time, whẽ it pleaſed God to ſet forth the light of his Goſpell more clearely, they neuer ſpared any thyng, to eſtabliſhe the true and pure miniſtery of the word of God & his Sacramentes. which was the cauſe ẏ Sathã with his miniſters, did ſo perſecute thẽ of late

Vid.ſup.pag. 764.1073.

of late more cruelly thē euer he did before, as manifeſtly appeareth by the bloudy and horrible perſecutions which haue bene, not only in Prouince, againſt thoſe of Merindoll & Cabriers: alſo agaynſt thē of Prage and Calabria (as the hiſtories afore written do ſufficiently declare) but alſo agaynſt thē in the countrey of Piedmont, remaynyng in the valley of Angrongne, and of Lucerne, & alſo in the Valley of S.Martin, and Perouſe, in the ſayd countrey of Piedmont. whiche people of a long tyme, were perſecuted by the Papiſtes, and eſpecially within theſe fewe yeares, they haue bene vexed in ſuch ſorte and ſo diuerſly, that it ſemeth almoſt incredible: and yet hath God alwayes miraculouſly deliuered them, as hereafter ſhall enſue.

Albeit the people of Angrongne had before this time, certaine to preache the worde of God and miniſter the Sacramentes vnto them priuatlye: yet in the yeare of our Lorde. 1555. in the begynnyng of the moneth of Auguſt, the goſpel was openly preached in Angrongne. The miniſters and the people entended at the firſt, to kepe them ſelues ſtill, as ſecret as they might: but there was ſuch concourſe of people from all parties, that they were compelled to preach opēly abroad. For this cauſe they built them a Churche in the myddes of Angrongne, where aſſembles were made, and ſermons preached. It happened about that tyme, that one Iohn Martin of Briqueras, a myle from Angrongne, which vaunted euery where, that hee would ſlitte the Miniſters noſe of Angrongne, was aſſaulted by a wolfe, whiche bitte of his noſe, ſo that he dyed therof madde. This was commōlye knowen to all the townes therabout.

The iuſt hand of God vpon *Iohn Martin*, a perſecutor.

At this ſeaſon the Frenche kyng helde theſe foreſayd valleyes, & they were vnder the iuriſdictiō of yͤ Parlament of Thurin. In the ende of December folowyng, newes was brought, that it was ordeined by the ſayd Parlament, that certein horſemen and footemē ſhould bee ſent to ſpoyle and deſtroye Angrongne. whereupon ſome which pretended great frendſhip to this people, counſelled them not to go forwarde with their enterpriſe: but to forbeare for a while, and to wayt for better oportunitie. But they notwithſtanding, callyng vpon God, determined with one accorde, conſtantly to perſiſte in their religion, and in hope and ſilence, to abyde the good pleaſure of God: ſo that this enterpriſe agaynſt Angrongne, was ſoone daſhed. The ſame tyme they began alſo openly to preach in Luſerne.

In the moneth of March. an. 1556. the Miniſters of the valley of S.Martin, preached openly. At that tyme certeine gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin, tooke a good man, named Barthelmew, a bookebynder, priſoner, as hee paſſed by the ſayd valley, the whiche was ſent by and by, to Thurin, and there with a maruelous conſtancie, after he had made a good confeſſion of hys fayth, he ſuffered death: in ſomuch that diuers of the Parlament were aſtoniſhed and appalled at hys conſtancie, Yet they of the ſayd Parlament, being ſore incenſed agaynſt the Vandois, ſent one named the Preſident of S.Iulian, aſſociating vnto hym, one called de Ecclesia, and others, for to hinder their enterpriſe. Theſe comming fyrſt to the Valley of Perouſe, where as yet no preachers were, but they were accuſtomed to reſort to the Sermons at Angrongne, very much troubled and feared the poore people there.

Barthelmew, a bookebynder, Martyr.

The Preſident of *S.Iulian* and other, ſent to the *Angrongnians*.

From thence they went to the Valley of S.Martin, and remayned there a good while, tormenting the poore people, and threatning their vtter ruine and deſtruction. After that, they came to Luſerne, troubling and vexing the people there, in like manner. From thence they went to Angrongne, accompanied with many gentlemen, and a great rable of prieſtes, of the ſayd countrey: but by the waye, the Preſident enquired for one dwelling at S. Iohns, neare to Angrongne, and examined hym whether he had not baptiſed hys childe at Angrongne, & wherfore he had ſo done. The poore ſimple man aunſwered, that he had baptiſed his child at Angrongne, becauſe baptiſme was there miniſtred according to the inſtitution of Chriſt. Then the Preſident in a great rage, commaunded him in the kinges name, to baptiſe hys childe againe, or els hee ſhould be burnt. The poore man deſired the Preſident that he myght be ſuffered to make hys prayer to God, before he ſhould make aunſwere therunto. which, after he had done in the hall before all the cōpany there preſent: he required the Preſident that he would write and ſigne the ſame with his owne hand, that hee would diſcharge him before God of the daūger of that offence, if he ſhould Baptiſe his child againe, and that he would take the perill vpon him and hys. The Preſident hearyng this, was ſo confounded, that hee ſpake not one worde a good while after. Then ſayd hee in a great fury, away thou vilane, out of my ſight: and after that he was neuer called agayne any more.

Note here how the Papiſtes play the Anabaptiſtes.

Example of good prayer.

After they were come to Angrongne, the Preſidēt hauyng viſited the ij. temples, cauſed a Monke to preach in yͤ one, the people being there aſſēbled, who pretēded nothing els, but only to exhort thē to returne to the obedience of yͤ Sea of Rome. The Mōke with yͤ Preſidēt & al his retinue, kneeled down twiſe, & called vpō the virgin Mary: but yͤ miniſters & all yͤ people ſtode ſtill, & would not knele, makyng no ſigne or token of reuerence. As ſone as the Monke had ended his Sermon, the people requeſted inſtantly, that their Miniſter might alſo be ſuffered to preach, affirmyng that the ſaid Monke had ſpoken many thynges, whiche were not accordyng to the worde of God. But the Preſident would not graunt their requeſt. After that, the ſayd Preſident admoniſhed them in the name of the king, & the Parlament of Thurin, that they ſhould returne to the obediēce of the Pope, vpon payne of loſſe of goods and life, and vtter deſtructiō of their towne: and withall he recited vnto thē, the pitious diſconfiture of theyr brethren and frendes, whiche had bene done before, in Merindol and Cabriers, and other places in the countrey of Prouince. The Miniſters and the people aunſwered yͭ they were determined to liue accordyng to the word of God, & that they would obey the kyng and all theyr ſuperiours in all thynges, ſo that God were not therby diſpleaſed: And furthermore, if it were ſhewed vnto them by the word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receaue correction, and to be reformed. This talke endured about vi. houres together, euen vntill night. In the end, the Preſident ſayd there ſhould be a diſputation appointed for thoſe matters. wherunto the people gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made therof.

Here he remained xiiij. dayes, dayly practiſing new deuiſes, to vexe and tormente them, with new proclamations, now calling to him the Syndiques and head officers, now ſeuerally and now altogether, that ſo for feare he might make them to relent: cauſing alſo aſſembles to be made in euery pariſh, by ſuch as he appointed, thinkyng thereby to diuide the people. Notwithſtandyng he nothyng preuailed with all that he could do: but ſtill they continued conſtante: In ſo much that they with one accorde, preſented a brief confeſſion of their faith with an aunſwere to certeine interrogatories made by the Preſidēt, in the which they confeſſed:

That the religion wherein both they and their Elders had bene longe inſtructed and brought vp, was the ſame, which is conteined both in the olde and the new Teſtament, the whiche is alſo briefly compriſed in the xij. Articles of the Chriſtian belief.

Alſo that they acknowledged the Sacramentes inſtituted by Chriſt, wherby he diſtributeth aboundantly his graces and great benefites, his heauenly riches and treaſures, to all thoſe which receiue the ſame, with a true and a liuely fayth.

Furthermore, yͭ they receaued the Credes of the iiij generall Councels, that is to ſay, of Nice, Conſtantinople, Epheſus and Calcedon, and alſo the Crede of Athanaſius, wherin the myſtery of the Chriſtian fayth and religion is playnly and largely ſet out.

Item, the x. Commaundemētes expreſſed in the 20. chap. of Exodus, & in the 5. of Deut. in the which the rule of a godly and holy life, and alſo the true ſeruice which God requireth of vs, is briefly compriſed: and therefore folowyng this Article, they ſuffered not by any meanes (ſayd they) any groſſe iniquities to reigne among them, as vnlawfull ſwearyng, periurie, blaſphemie, curſing, ſclaunderyng, diſſenſion, deceit, wrong dealyng, vſury, gluttony, drunkennes, whoredome, theft, murther, ſorcery, witchcraft, or ſuch lyke: but wholy endeuoured them ſelues to lyue in the feare of God, and accordyng to his holy will.

Moreouer, they acknowledged the ſuperiour powers, as Princes and Magiſtrates, to bee ordeyned of God, and that who ſoeuer reſiſteth the ſame, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God: and therfore humbly ſubmitted them ſelues to theyr ſuperiours, withal obedience, ſo that they commaunded nothyng agaynſt God.

Fianl-

Finally they proteſted, that they would in no point be ſtubborne: but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one iote concernyng true religion, the ſame being proued by the worde of God, they would willyngly yeld and be reformed.

The interrogatories were concernyng the Maſſe, auricular confeſſion, baptiſme, mariage, and burials, accordyng to the inſtitution of the Churches of Rome.

To the firſt they aunſwered, that they receiued the Lordes Supper, as it was by him inſtituted & celebrated by his Apoſtles: but as touchyng the Maſſe, excepte the ſame might be proued by the woorde of God, they would not receiue it.

To the 2. touchyng auricular confeſſion, they ſayd that for their part, they cōfeſſed them ſelues dayly vnto God, acknowledging them ſelues before him, to be miſerable ſinners, deſiryng of him pardon and forgeuenes of theyr ſinnes, as Chriſt inſtructed his, in the prayer whiche hee taught them: Lord forgeue vs our ſinnes. And as S. Iohn ſayth: If we confeſſe our ſinnes to God, he is faithfull and iuſt, to forgeue vs our ſinnes and to clenſe vs from all vnrighteouſnes. And accordyng to that which God him ſelfe ſaith by his Prophet: O Iſraell, if thou returne, returne vnto me. And agayne, O Iſraell it is I, it is I, whiche forgiueth thee thy ſinnes: So that ſeyng they ought to returne to God alone, and it is he onely that forgiueth ſinnes, therfore they were bound to confeſſe them ſelues to God onely, & to no other. Alſo it appeareth, that Dauid in his Pſalmes, & the Prophetes, and other faithfull ſeruaūtes of God haue confeſſed them ſelues, both generally and particularly, vnto God alone: Yet if the contrary myght be proued by the worde of God, they would (ſayd they) with all humblenes receiue the ſame.

Thirdly, as touchyng Baptiſme, they acknowledged and receiued that holy inſtitution of Chriſt, and adminiſtred the ſame with all ſimplicitie, as hee ordeined it in his holy Goſpell, without any chaungyng, adding or diminiſhyng in any poynt, and that all this they did in their mother tongue, accordyng to the rule of S. Paul, who willeth that in the Churche euery thyng be done in the mother toungue, for the edification of our neighbour. But as for their coniurations, oyling, and ſalting, except the ſame might be proued by the ſacred Scripture, they would not receiue them.

Fourthly, as touchyng burialles, they aunſwered that they knew there is a differēce betwene the bodyes of the true Chriſtians, and the infidels, for as much as the firſt are the members of Ieſus Chriſt, temples of the holy Ghoſt, and partakers of the glorious reſurrection of the dead, and therefore they accuſtomed to folowe their dead to the graue reuerently, with a ſufficient company, and exhortation out of the worde of God, as well to comfort the parentes and frendes of the dead, as alſo to admoniſhe all men, diligently to prepare them ſelues to dye. But as for the vſyng of candels or lightes, prayers for the dead, ringyng of bells, except the ſame might be proued to be neceſſary by the worde of God, and that God is not offended therwith, they would not receiue them.

Fiftly, as touchyng obedience to mēs traditions, they receaued and allowed all thoſe ordinaunces, whiche (as S. Paul ſayth) ſerue for order, decencie, and reuerence of the miniſtery. But as for other ceremonies, whiche haue bene brought into the Churche of God, either as a part of his diuine ſeruice, either to merite remiſſion of ſinnes, or els to bynde mens conſciences: becauſe they are mere repugnant to the worde of God, they could by by no meanes, receiue them.

And where as the Commiſſioners affirmed the ſayd traditions to haue ben ordeined by Councels: firſt they aunſwered that the greateſt part of them were not ordeyned by Councels. Secondly that Councels were not to be preferred aboue the worde of God, whiche ſayth: If any man, yea or an Aungell from heauen, ſhould preach vnto you, otherwiſe then that whiche hath bene receiued of the Lord Ieſus, let him be accurſed: and therfore (ſayd they) if Councels haue ordeined any thyng diſſentyng from the worde of God, they would not receiue it.

Finallye, they ſayd that the Councels had made diuers notable decrees concernyng the electiō of Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church: concernyng Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, as wel of the Clergie, as of the people: alſo cōcernyng the diſtribution of the goods & poſſeſſions of the Church: And further, that all Paſtours which were either whoremongers, drunkardes, or offenſiue in any caſe, ſhould be put from their office: Moreouer, that who ſoeuer ſhould be preſent at the Maſſe of a prieſt, which was a whoremonger, ſhould be excommunicate: and many ſuch other thinges, whiche were not in any poynt obſerued: And that they omitted to ſpeake of many other thynges whiche were ordeined by diuers Councels, verye ſuperſtitious and contrarye to the holy Commaundementes of God, as they woulde bee readye to proue (ſayd they) if they ſhould haue occaſion and oportunitie therevnto.

Wherfore they required the Commiſſioners that a diſputation might be had (as by the ſaid Preſident was pretended) publickely and in their preſence, and then if it might be proued by the word of God, that they erred either in doctrine or conuerſation and maner of lyuyng, they were content, with all humblenes, to be corrected and reformed, as they had before ſayd: beſechyng them to conſider alſo that their religion had bene obſerued and kept from their Aunciters, vntill their tyme, many hundreth yeares together: and yet for their partes, beyng conuicted by the infallible worde of God, they would not obſtinatly ſtand to the defence thereof: Saying moreouer that they, together with the ſaid Lordes Deputies, cōfeſſed all one God, one Sauiour, one holy Ghoſt, one law, one Baptiſme, one hope in heauen: and in Summe, they affirmed that their fayth & religion was firmely founded and grounded vpon the pure word of God, wherof it is ſaid: That bleſſed are they which heare the ſame and kepe it.

Diſputation required.

For the antiquiti of theſe *Waldois*, ſee before pag. 195. 1086.

To be ſhort, ſeyng it is permitted to the Turkes, Saraſens, and Iewes (whiche are mortall enemyes to our Sauiour Chriſt) to dwell peaceably in the faireſt Cities of Chriſtendome, by good reaſon they ſhould bee ſuffred to lyue in the deſolate mountaynes and valleys, hauyng their whole religion founded vpon the holy Goſpel, and worſhippyng the Lord Ieſus: and therfore they moſt hūbly beſought them to haue pitie and compaſſion vppon them, and to ſuffer them to lyue quietly in their deſertes, proteſtyng that they and theirs, would liue in all feare and reuerence of God, withall due ſubiection and obedience to their Lord and Prince, and to his Lieutenants and officers.

Turkes and Iewes fynde more fauour with the papiſts, then the true chriſtians.

The Preſident and the reſt of the Commiſſioners perceyuing that they laboured in vayne, returned to Thurin, with the notes of their procedings, the which immediatly were ſent vnto the kings Court, and there the matter remained one yeare, before there was any aūſwere made therunto: duryng which time the Waldois liued in great quietnes: as God of his infinitie goodnes is wont to giue ſome comfort and refreſhing to his poore ſeruants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful ſo augmēted, that throughout yͤ Valleys, Gods worde was purely preached and his Sacramentes duely adminiſtred, and no Maſſe was ſonge in Angrongne, nor in diuers other places. The yeare after, yͤ Preſident of S. Iulian with his aſſociates, returned to Pignerol, and ſent for thether, the chief rulers of Angrongne, and of the Valley of Luſerne, that is, for vj. of Angrongne, and for ij. of euery pariſh beſides, and ſhewed vnto them, how that the laſt yeare, they had preſented their confeſſion, the whiche by a decree made by the Parlamēt of Thurin, was ſent to the kynges Court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as hereticall. Therfore the kyng willed and commaunded them, to returne to the obedience of the church of Rome, vpon payne of loſſe, both of goodes and life: enioynyng thē moreouer, to geue him a direct aunſwere within iij. dayes. From thence hee went to Luſerne, and cauſed the houſholders, with great threatnings, to aſſemble thē ſelues before certein by him appointed: but they with one aſſent, perſiſted in their former confeſſion. And leaſt they ſhould ſeme ſtubburne in the defence of any erronious doctrine, they deſired that their confeſſion might be ſent to all the Vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and if the ſame in any part, by the word of God were diſproued, it ſhould bee immediatly amended: but contrarywiſe, if that were not done, then they to be no more diſquieted.

A breathing tyme geuen of God to the *Angronians*.

Perſecution againe beginneth agaynſt the *Angronians*.

The *Angronians* require triall by Gods word.

The Preſidēt not content with this, the next mornyng ſent for vi. of Angrongne by him named, and for ij. out of euery other pariſhe, the whiche he and the gentlemen of the countrey, threatned very ſore, and warned xij. of the chief of Angrongne, and certeine of the other pariſhes, to appeare perſonally at the Parlament of Thurin, and to bryng before the iudges of the ſayd Parlament, their Miniſters, and Scholemaſters, thinkyng, if they were once baniſhed the countrey, that then their enterpriſe might be ſoone brought to and end. To the whiche it was aunſwered,

The *Angronians* required to bring in their miniſters & Scholmaſters.

wered, that they could not, nor ought not to obey ſuch a commaundement.

Proclamation made at Angronge.

A litle while after, proclamation was made in euery place, that no man ſhould receiue any preacher comming from Geneua, but ſuch onely as were appointed by the Archbyſhop of Thurin, and other his officers, vpõ payne of confiſcatiõ of their goodes and loſſe of their lyues, and that euery one ſhould obſerue the ceremonies, rites, & religion vſed in the Churche of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the foreſayd preachers of Geneua, came into thoſe quarters, that they ſhould immediatly be apprehended, & by no meanes their abode there by any one to be concealed vpõ the payne aforeſayd: and furthermore, the names of thoſe which ſhould diſcloſe any one of them ſhould be kepte ſecret, and alſo for their accuſation, they ſhoulde haue the third part of the goodes confiſcated, with a full pardon, if that the ſayd accuſers were any of thoſe, which priuely did kepe or mainteine the ſayd Miniſters: & that they and all other, which would returne to their mother the Churche, might frely and ſafely come and recant before the ſayd Commiſſioners.

The Germanes make ſupplicatiõ for the Angronians.

At the ſame ſeaſon, the Princes of Germany, and certeine of the Suitzers ſent vnto the Frenche kyng, deſiryng him to haue pitie on the foreſayd Churches, and frõ that tyme vntill three yeares after, the people of the foreſayd Valleys, were not moleſted by any of yͤ kinges officers: but yet they were ſore vexed by the Monkes of Pigneroll, and the gentlemen of the valley of S.Martin.

Geffray Varialla, Martyr.

About that tyme, a miniſter of Angrongne named Geffray Varialla, borne in Piemont, a vertuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to viſite certeine Churches in thoſe quarters where he was borne, and commyng homeward, was taken at Berge, and from thence lead to Thurin, where he, after he had made a good confeſſion of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and the terrour of the aduerſaries, moſt conſtantly ſuffred.

A notable example of a good hangmã.

A few dayes after, a Miniſter of the Valley of Luſerne, returnyng to Geneua, was takẽ priſoner at Suſe, & ſoone after, ſent to Thurin, and with an inuincible conſtancie, made his confeſſion before thoſe of the Parlament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangmã, at the tyme of execution, fayned him ſelfe to be ſicke, and ſo conueyed him ſelfe away. And ſo likewiſe an other ſerued them, beyng appointed by the foreſayd Court, to execute the poore Miniſter. It is credibly reported that the hangman, whiche executed certeine Germaines a litle afore, would by no meanes do this execution. Whereupon the Miniſter was ſent to priſon agayne, where after lõg and paynefull endurance, ſeyng the priſon doore open, he eſcaped and returned to his cure.

Nowe, iiij. yeares beyng paſt, in ſuch maner as we haue hetherto touched in this ſtory: in the yeare folowyng, whiche was. 1559. there was a peace concluded betwene the Frenche kyng, and the kyng of Spayne. Whereupon, the countrey of Piemont (certein townes excepted) was reſtored to the Duke of Sauoye: vnder whoſe regiment, the foreſaid Churches, and all other faithfull people in Piemont, cõtinued in great quietnes, and were not moleſted: and the Duke him ſelfe was content to ſuffer them to liue in their religion, knowyng that hee had no ſubiectes more faithfull and obedient then they were. But Sathan hating all quietnes, by his Miniſters ſtirred the Duke agaynſt the ſayd Churches of Piemont, his owne naturall ſubiectes. For the Pope and the Cardinals, ſeyng the good inclination of the Duke towardes this people, incenſed him to do that, whiche otherwiſe he would not. The Popes Legate alſo, which then folowed the Court, and other that fauoured the Church of Rome, laboured by all meanes, to perſuade the Duke that hee ought to baniſh the ſayd Waldois, which mainteined not the Popes religion: alledging yͭ he could not ſuffer ſuch a people to dwell within hys dominion, without preiudice and diſhonor to the Apoſtolicke Sea. Alſo that they were a rebellious people agaynſt the holy ordinaunces and decrees of their holy mother the Churche: and briefly that hee might no longer ſuffer the ſayd people, beyng ſo diſobedient and ſtubburne agaynſt the holy father, if hee would in dede, ſhew him ſelfe a louing and obedient ſonne.

The pope ſtyrreth vp the Duke of Sauoye agaynſt the Angronians.

Such deuiliſhe inſtigations were the cauſe of theſe horrible and furious perſecutiõs, wherewith this poore people of the Valleys and the countrey of Piemont, was ſo long vexed. And becauſe they foreſawe the great calamities, whiche they were like to ſuffer: to finde ſome remedy for the ſame (if it were poſſible:) all yͤ ſaid churches of Piemont, with one common cõſent, wrote to the Duke, declaryng in effect, that the onely cauſe why they were ſo hated, and for the whiche hee was by their enemyes, ſo ſore incenſed agaynſt them, was their religion: whiche was no new or light opinion, but that wherin they and their Anciters had long continued, being wholy grounded vpon the infallible worde of God, conteined in the old and new Teſtament. Notwithſtandyng if it might be proued by the ſame worde, that they helde any falſe or erroneous doctrine, they would ſubmit them ſelues to be reformed, with all obedience. But it is not certeine whether this aduertiſement was deliuered vnto the Duke or no: for it was ſayd that hee would not heare of that religion. But how ſo euer it was, in the moneth of March folowyng, there was great perſecution raiſed agaynſt the poore Chriſtians, whiche were at Carignan, Amongeſt whom there were certeine godly perſons taken, and burnt within iiij. dayes after: that is to ſay, one named Mathurin and his wife, and Iohn de Carquignan dwellyng in the Valley of Lucerne, taken priſoner as hee went to the market at Pigneroll. The woman dyed with great conſtancie. The good man Iohn de Carquignan, had ben in priſon diuers tymes before for religion, and was alwayes deliuered by Gods ſingular grace and prouidence. But ſeyng him ſelfe taken this laſt tyme, incontinent he ſayd, hee knew that God had nowe called hym. Both by the way as he wẽt, and in priſon, and alſo at his death, he ſhewed an inuincible cõſtancie, and marueilous vertue, aſwell by the pure cõfeſſion, whiche he made touching the doctrine of ſaluation, as alſo in ſufferyng with patience, the horrible tormentes whiche he endured both in priſon, & alſo at his death. Many at that tyme, fled away: others beyng afrayed of that great crueltie, and fearyng alſo man more then God: lookyng rather to the earth then vnto heauen, conſented to returne to the obedience of the Churche of Rome.

Within fewe dayes after, theſe Churches of the ſayd Waldois, that is to ſay, Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, & Suſe were wonderfully aſſaulted. To recite all the outrage, crueltie and vilanye, that was there cõmitted, it were to long: for breuities ſake we will recite onely certein of the principall and beſt knowen. The Churches of Meane and Suſe ſuffred great afflictions. Their Miniſter was taken amongſt other. Many fled away, and their houſes and goodes were ranſackt and ſpoyled. The Miniſter was a good and a faithfull ſeruaunt of God, and endued with excellent giftes and graces: who in the ende was put to moſt ſhamefull and cruell death. The great pacience whiche he ſhewed in the myddes of the fire, greatly aſtoniſhed the aduerſaries. Likewiſe the Churches of Larche and Meronne, were marueilouſly tormẽted and afflicted. For ſome were takẽ and ſent to the Galleys: other ſome cõſented and yelded to the aduerſaries: and a great numbre of them fled away. It is certeinly knowen, that thoſe whiche yelded to the aduerſaries, were more cruelly handled then the others whiche continued conſtant in the truth. Whereby God declareth how greatly he deteſteth all ſuch as play the Apoſtataes, and ſhrinke from the truth.

But for the better vnderſtandyng of the beginnyng of this horrible perſecution agaynſt the Waldoys, here note that firſt of all, proclamations were made in euery place that none ſhould reſort to the ſermons of the Lutherans, but ſhould lyue after the cuſtome of the Church of Rome, vpon payne of forfaiture of their goods, & to be condemned to the Galleys for euer, or loſe their liues. Three of the moſt cruell perſons yͭ could be founde, were appointed to execute this commiſſion. The firſt was one Thomas Iacomell, a Monke and Inquiſitour of the Romiſhe faith: a man worthy for ſuch an office, for he was an Apoſtata, and had renounced the knowen truth; and perſecuted mortally & maliciouſly, the poore Chriſtians, agaynſt his own conſcience, and of ſet purpoſe, as his bookes do ſufficiently witnes. He was alſo a whoremonger & giuen ouer to all other vilanies and filthy liuyng; and in the horrible ſinne of Sodomitrie, whiche he commonly vſed, he paſſed all his felowes. Briefly hee was nothyng els but a miſhapen monſter both agaynſt God and nature. Moreouer he ſo afflicted and tormented the poore captiues of the ſayd Waldoys, by ſpoylyng, robberie, and extortion, that he deſerued not onely to be hanged, but to be broken vpon the wheele a hundreth tymes, and to ſuffer ſo many cruell deathes, if it were poſſible: ſo great, ſo many and ſo horrible were the crimes that he had committed. The ſecond was the Collaterall Corbis, who in the examination of the priſoners was very rigorous and cruell, for he onely demaũded of them whether they would go to the Maſſe, or bee burnt within three dayes, and in very dede executed his ſayinges. But it is certeinly reported, that he ſeyng the conſtancy, and hearyng the confeſſion of the poore Martyrs, felyng a remorſe & tormented in conſcience, proteſted that he would neuer medle any more. The third was the prouoſt De la Iuſtice, a cruell and craftie wretch, accuſtomed to apprehend the poore Chriſtiãs either by night, or earely in the mornyng, or in the hygh way goyng to the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Luſerne, or there aboutes. Thus the poore people were alwayes, as the ſely ſhepe in the wolues Iawes, or as the ſhepe whiche are led vnto the ſlaughter houſe.

At that ſeaſon, one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Luſerne, and one of the Lordes of Angrongne, wrote to the ſayd Commiſſioners, to vſe ſome lenitie towardes them of the valley of Luſerne. By reaſon wherof they were a while, more gently intreated then the reſt. At that ſeaſon, yͤ Monkes of Pigneroll, & their aſſociates, tormẽted greuouſly yͤ Churches nere about thẽ. They tooke yͤ poore Chriſtians as they paſſed by the way, & kept thẽ priſoners within their Abbey. And hauing aſſẽbled a cõpany of ruffians, they ſent them to ſpoyle thoſe of the ſaid Churches, and to take priſoners, men wemen, and children: and ſome they ſo tormented, that they were compelled to ſweare, to returne to the Maſſe, other ſome alſo they ſent to the Galleys, & other ſome they burnt cruelly. They whiche eſcaped, were afterwardes ſo ſicke, that they ſemed to haue bene poyſoned. The ſame yeare, there were ij. great earthquakes in Piemont, & alſo many great tempeſtes and horrible thunders.

The Gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin, intreated their tenauntes very cruelly, threatnyng them, and commaundyng them to returne vnto the Maſſe: alſo ſpoylyng them of their goods, impriſonyng them, and vexing them by all the meanes they could. But aboue all the other, two eſpecially, that is to ſay, Charles Truchet and Boniface his brother, the which, the ſecond day of Aprill before day, with a company of Ruffians, ſpoyled a village of their owne ſubiectes, named Renclaret, the which as ſoone as the inhabitauntes of the ſayd village perceyued, they fled into the mountaine couered with ſnow, naked and without vitaile, & there remained vntil yͤ third night after. In the mornyng, certeine of hys retinue tooke a Miniſter of the ſayd valley, priſoner, which was come out of Calabria, and was goyng to viſite the poore people of Renclaret, and led him priſoner to the Abbey, where ſoone after, he was burnt, with one other of the valley of S. Martin.

The third night after, they of Pragela hauing pitie vpõ yͤ poore people of Renclaret, ſent about iiij. hũdred to diſcomfite the company of the Truchets, and to reſtore thoſe whiche were fled, to their houſes. They were furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſhot of their enemyes, who notwithſtanding, in the end, were put to flight, and but one of the iiij. hundred hurt.

About a yere before, yͤ ſayd Truchet beyng accõpanyed with a company of Ruffians arreſted priſoner the Miniſter of Renclaret, as he was at his Sermon. But the people was ſo moued by this outragious dealyng, & ſpecially the wemẽ, that they had almoſt ſtrangled yͤ ſayd Truchet, and the reſt of them were ſo cannaſed, that they had no liſt to come there agayne any more. By reaſon wherof, he ſo vexed them by proceſſe, that they were cõpelled to agree with him, and to pay him xvi. hũdred crownes.

Soone after, the Lordes of the ſaid valley, tooke an other Miniſter of the ſame valley, as hee was goyng to to preach in a pariſh, a myle from his houſe: but the people perceiuing that, ſpedely purſued him & toke him. The enemies ſeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him ſo ſore, that they left him for dead. Whereupon they ſo perſecuted the poore people, that they were almoſt deſtroyed.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the ſame night, in the whiche the company of Truchet, was diſcomfited, was ſo ſtormy and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that countrey were ſo terrified, yͭ they thought they ſhould haue ben all deſtroyed. Wherfore they vſed more gentlenes towardes the people then before, except Charles Truchet, & hys brother, the which went to the Duke, and made greuous cõplaintes agaynſt the Waldoys, not onely for that which was done & paſt, but alſo perſuaded the Duke, that they went about to builde three Fortreſſes in the mountaines, and alſo entended, to mainteyne certeine Garriſons of ſtraungers: chargyng them further with diuers other crimes, of the whiche they were in no poynt giltie. The Duke beyng moued by theſe falſe ſurmiſes, gaue in charge to yͤ ſaid accuſers, that the Fortreſſe of the valley of S. Martin, the which about xx. yeares before, was raſed by the Frenche mẽ, ſhould be built agayne, and that therin ſhould be placed, a perpetuall Garriſon, and that the people ſhould make ſo plaine & wide, the rugged waies, that horſemen might eaſely paſſe, with diuers such other thinges: and all this to be done, at the coſtes & charges of thoſe, that would not ſubmit them ſelues to the obedience of the Romane Church.

False cõplaintes brought to the Duke, againſt the *Waldoys*.

What euill reporters we.

This Commiſſion beyng ſealed, the Gentlemen cauſed the Fortreſſe, to be built agayne, & put therin a Garriſon, and proclaimed the Commiſſion. The poore people beyng therat amaſed, withſtode the Commiſſioners, and ſent certeine to the Duke: and immediatly after, the Commiſſioners returned to the Dukes Court, beyng at Nice, to inflame his anger more agaynſt them. But God ſoone preuented this miſchief: For the Truchetes, beyng at Nice, went to the Sea, with diuers noble mẽ, and immediatly they were taken priſoners, by the Turkes, put into the Galleys, ſore beaten with ropes, and ſo cruellye handled, that it was commonlye reported that they were dead: and longe tyme after, denying their nobilitie, were ſent home, hauing payed iiij. hundred crownes for their raunſome. Some ſay, that the Duke him ſelfe was almoſt taken, but it is ſure, that hee fell ſicke ſoone after.

The iuſte iudgement of God vpon the *Truchets*, for ſo cruelly vexing, ſpoyling, & accuſing of theſe poore *Waldoys*.

In the moneth of Aprill next folowyng, the Lord of Raconis was preſent at a Sermon, in a place nere vnto Angrone. The Sermon beyng ended, he talked with the Miniſters, and hauyng diſcourſed, aſwell of the Dukes ſickenes, as alſo of his clemencie and gentlenes: he declared to them, that the perſecution proceded not of hym, and that hee ment not, that the Commiſſion ſhould haue bene ſo rigourouſly executed. After that hee demaunded of them, what way they thought beſt, to appeaſe the Dukes wrath. They aunſwered, that the people ought not to be moued to ſeeke by any meanes, how to pleaſe and appeaſe the Duke, whiche might diſpleaſe God: But the beſt way they knew, was the ſame, wherewith the auncient ſeruauntes of God, vſed to appeaſe the Pagane Princes and Emperours, in the tyme of the great perſecutions of the Church: that is to ſay, to giue out & preſent vnto thẽ in writing, yͤ confeſſion of their faith, & defence of yͤ religion which they profeſſed: truſtyng that, for as much as the furye of diuers prophane & ethnicke Emperors & Princes, hath bene heretofore appeaſed by ſuch meanes, the Duke being endued with ſuch ſingular vertues, as they ſayd he was, would alſo bee pacified by the like meanes: And for that cauſe the poore people had before ſent a ſupplication, with a confeſſion of their faith, vnto the Duke, but they were not certeine whether hee had receiued it, or no. Wherefore they deſired hym to preſent the ſame vnto the ſayd Duke him ſelfe. Whervnto he agreed and promiſed ſo to do. Whereupon they ſent iij. ſupplications: one to the Duke, the ſeconde to the Duches, and the thyrd to the Dukes Cõſaile: wherin they briefly declared what their religion was, and the points thereof, whiche they and their aunceters had, of a longe tyme, obſerued, beyng wholy grounded vppon the pure worde of God: and if by the ſame word, it ſhould be proued, that they were in errour, they would not bee obſtinate, but gladly bee reformed and embrace the truth. After this, the perſecution ſemed to bee ſomewhat aſſuaged for a litle while.

By what meanes the Chriſtians in times paſt, haue appeaſed the furye of Pagane princes.

The *Angronians* ſend forth three ſupplications.

In the end of Iune next folowyng, the Lord of Raconis, and the Lord of Trinitie came to Angrongne, there to qualifie (as they ſayd) the ſore perſecution, and cauſed the chief Rulers and Miniſters, to aſſemble together, propoundyng diuers pointes of religion concernyng doctrine, the callyng of Miniſters, the Maſſe, & obedience towardes Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared vnto them, that their cõfeſſion was ſent to Rome by the Duke, and dayly they looked for aunſwere. To all theſe pointes the Miniſters aunſwered. After this they demaunded of the chief Rulers, if that the Duke would cauſe Maſſe to bee ſong in their pariſhes, whether they would withſtand the ſame, or no. They aunſwered ſimply, that they would not. Thẽ they demaunded of them, if that the Duke would appoynt them preachers, whether they would receyue them. They aunſwered that if they preached the word of God purely, they would heare them. Thirdly if that they were content, that in the meane time, their Miniſters

The confeſſion of the *Angronians* ſent to the Pope.

Demaundes put to the *Angronians*.

ſters ſhould ceaſe, & if they which ſhould be ſent, preached not the word of God ſincerely, then their Miniſters to preache agayne. If they would agree to thys, they were promiſed that the perſecution ſhould ceaſe, and the priſoners ſhould be reſtored agayne. To this queſtion, after they had cōferred with the people, they aunſwered that they could, by no meanes, ſuffer, that their Miniſters ſhould forbeare preachyng.

The two Lordes not contented with this aūſwere, commaunded in the Dukes name, that all the Miniſters, which were ſtraungers ſhould out of hand bee baniſhed the coūtrey: ſaying that the Duke would not ſuffer them to dwell within his dominiō, for that they were his enemyes: demaundyng alſo whether they would foſter & mainteine the Princes enemyes within his owne land, againſt his own decree and expreſſe commaundement? To the which, aunſwere was made by the chief Rulers, that they could by no meanes, baniſhe them, vnleſſe they were afore conuicted of ſome hereſie, or other crime: for their part, they had alwayes founde them to be men of pure and ſound doctrine, and alſo of godly life and conuerſation.

The *Angronians* denye to put away their Miniſters.

This done, immediatly proclamations were made, & the perſecutiō begā on euery ſide to be more furious, thē it was afore. Amongſt others, yͤ Monkes of Pigneroll, at that tyme, were moſt cruell: For they ſent out a cōpany of hyred ruffians, whiche dayly ſpoyled & ranſackt houſes, & all that they could lay handes of, tooke men, women, and children, and led them captiues to the Abbey, where they were moſt ſpitefully afflicted & tormented. At the ſame tyme, they ſent alſo a band of the ſayd ruffians, by night, to the Miniſters houſe of S.Germain, in the valley of Perouſe, beyng led thether by a traitour, whiche knew the houſe, and had vſed to haunt thether ſecretly: who knockyng at the doore, the Miniſter knowyng his voyce, came forth immediatly, and perceiuyng him ſelfe to be betrayed, fled: but hee was ſoone taken and ſore wounded, and yet notwithſtandyng, they pricked hym behynde with their halbardes, to make hym haſten his paſe. At that tyme alſo, many they ſlue, many they hurt, and many alſo they brought to the Abbey, and there kept them in priſon, and cruelly handled them. The good Miniſter endured ſore impriſonment, & after that, a moſt terrible kynde of death, with a wonderfull conſtancie: For they roſted him by a ſmall fire: and when halfe hys body was burnt, he confeſſed and called vppon the Lord Ieſus, with a loude voyce.

The Monkes of *Pigneroll* cruell agaynſt the *Angronians.*

The Miniſter of *S. Germain* betrayed and taken.

Barbarous crueltie ſhewed agaynſt the good Miniſter of *S.Germain.*

The Inquiſitor Iacomel, with his Monkes, and the Collaterall Corbis, amongeſt other, ſhewed one practiſe of moſt barbarous crueltie, agaynſt this poore mā. who when hee ſhould bee burnt, cauſed ij. poore wemen of S.Germain (whiche they kept in priſon) to cary fagottes to the fire, and to ſpeake theſe wordes to their paſtour: take this, thou wicked hereticke, in recōpence of thy naughty doctrine, whiche thou haſt taught vs. To whom the good Miniſter aunſwered: Ah good wemen, I haue taught you well, but you haue learned ill. To bee brief, they ſo afflicted & tormented thoſe poore people of S.Germain, & the places there about, yͭ after they were ſpoyled of their goodes, and driuen frō their houſes, they were compelled to flye into the mountaine to ſaue their lyues. So great was the ſpoyle of this poore people, that many which before had ben men of much wealth, and with their riches had miniſtred great ſuccour and comforte to others, were now brought to ſuch miſerye, that they were compelled to craue ſuccour and relief of other.

Two wemen cōpelled to carye fagots to burne their Paſtor.

Now, for as much as the ſayd Monkes, with theyr troupes of ruffians (whiche were counted to be in nūber about 300) made ſuch ſpoyle & hauocke in all yͤ countrey, that no man could there lyue in ſafetie: it was demaunded of the Miniſters, whether it was lawfull to defende them ſelues, agaynſt the inſolencie and furious rage of the ſaid Ruffians. The Miniſters aūſwered, that it was lawfull, warnyng thē in any caſe, to take heede of bloudſhed. This queſtiō being once diſſolued, they of the valley of Luſerne and of Angrongne, ſent certeine men, to thē of S. Germain, to ayde them agaynſt the ſupporters of theſe Monkes,

Whether it be lawfull for the perſecuted people of Chriſt, to ſtand to their own defence.

In the moneth of Iune, the harueſt being then in Piemont, diuers of yͤ Waldoys were gone into the countrey, to reape and make prouiſion for corne, for very litle groweth vpon their mountaines: the whiche were all taken priſoners at ſundry tymes & places, not one knowing of an other: but yet God ſo wrought, that they all eſcaped out of priſon, as it were, by a miracle: wherat the aduerſaries were marueilouſly aſtoniſhed. At the ſame tyme, there were certeine other alſo, whiche had ſuſteyned long impriſonment, lookyng for nothyng els, but death: and yet they, after a wōderfull ſort, by Gods mercifull prouidence, were likewiſe deliuered.

In the moneth of Iuly, they of Angrongne, beyng in a mornyng, at harueſt, vpon the hill ſide of S.Germain, perceiued a company of ſouldiours ſpoylyng them of S.Germain: and doubtyng leſt they would go to Angrongne, made an outcry. Then the people of Angrongne aſſembled together vpon the mountaine, and ſome ranne to S.Germain, ouer the hill, & ſome by the valley. They which went by the valley, mette with the ſpoylers commyng from S.Germain, loden with ſpoyle, which they had gotten, & being but 50. ſet vpon the other, amountyng to the number of 120. men well appoynted, and gaue thē ſoone the ouerthrow. The paſſage ouer the bridge being ſtopped, the enemyes were fayne to take the ryuer of Cluzon, where diuers were ſore hurt, many were drowned, and ſome eſcaped very hardly: & ſuch a ſlaughter was made of them, that the riuer was dyed with the bloud of them, whiche were wounded and ſlayne, but none of the Angrongnians were once hurt. If the ſayd riuer had bene as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one man eſcaped alyue. The noyſe of the harquebuſhes was great, and within leſſe then one houres ſpace, there was iij. or iiij. hundreth of the Waldois, gathered together vpon the ryuer: and at the ſame tyme, they had purpoſed to fetch away their priſoners, whiche were in the Abbey, but they would not do it without the counſaile of their Miniſters, & ſo differred the matter vntill the next day: But their Miniſters counſailed them, not to enterpriſe any ſuch thyng: but to refraine thē ſelues, & ſo they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent, after that diſcomfiture, vnto yͤ Abbey: they might haue found all open, & eaſly haue entred: For yͤ Monkes were ſo ſore afrayde, that they fled ſodenly to Pignerol, to ſaue their reliques and Images, which they caryed thether. The reſt of the countrey about, were alſo wonderfully afrayde, & range the belles euery where. The greater part of them fled, doubtyng leaſt the poore Waldoys, would haue reuenged the wronges and outrages done vnto them.

The next day folowyng, the Commaunder of Saint Anthony de Foſſan came to Angrongne, accōpanyed with diuers Gentlemen, ſaying that hee was ſent by the Duke: and hauyng aſſembled the chief Rulers and Miniſters of Angrongne, and of the valley of Luſerne, after hee had declared vnto them the cauſe of his commyng, hee read their ſupplication directed to the Duke, whiche conteyned their confeſſion, demaundyng of them, if it were the ſame, whiche they had ſent to the Duke. They aunſwered, yea. Thē he began to diſpute, being ſent (as he ſayd) to informe them of their errours, not doubtyng, but they would amende, accordyng to their promiſe. Then he entred into a diſputation of the Maſſe, in a great heate, deriuing the ſame from the Hebrue worde Maſſa, whiche ſignified (as he ſuppoſed) conſecration, and ſhewed that this worde Miſſa, might be found in the auncient writers. The Miniſters aūſwered that he ill applied the Hebrue worde: and further, that they diſputed not of the woorde Miſſa, but of that whiche is ſignified by the ſame, the which he ought firſt to proue by the word of God. Briefly that he could not proue either by the worde of God, or yͤ auncient fathers, their priuate Maſſe, their ſacrifice expiatorie or propiciatorie, their tranſubſtanciation, their adoration, their application of the ſame for the quicke and the dead, and ſuch other matters, whiche are principall partes of the ſayd Maſſe. The Commander hauyng here nothyng to reply, fell into a marueilous coler, raylyng and ragyng as if he had ben ſtarke madde, and told them that hee was not come to diſpute, but to baniſhe their Miniſters, and to place others in their rowmes, by the Dukes commaūdement, whiche he could not, vnleſſe their Miniſters were firſt driuen out of the coūtrey.

From thence he went to the Abbey of Pigneroll, where he and Iacomell cauſed a nūber of the poore inhabitantes of Campillon, and of Fenil, whiche be of the valley of Luſerne, to be taken priſoners, ſpoylyng thē of their goods, driuyng away their cattell, and forcyng them to ſweare and forſweare, and in the end raunſomed them, for great ſummes of money. About that tyme, a gentleman of Campillon agreed with thoſe whiche were fled, for xxx. crownes to be payd vnto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, ſo that they remayned quiet at home. But when he had receaued the money, he cauſed the Commaunder of Foſſan with his men, by night to come to his houſe, and then ſent for the poore men thinckyng traiterouſly to haue deliuered them into the handes of their mortall enemy, folowyng therin the Decree of the Councell of Conſtance: which is, yͤ no promiſe is to be kept with heretickes. But God knowyng howe to ſuccour his, in their neceſſitie, preuented this daunger: for one of them had intelligence of the Cōmaunders commyng, and ſo they all fled. Ther vpō they writte to the Lord of Ranconis, declaryng vnto hym the procedynges of the Commaunder, and that hee neither would nor could ſhewe or proue any thyng by the word of God, as he had promiſed: but threatned them great wronges and iniuries, and would not ſuffer theyr Miniſters to replye, or ſay any thyng for the defence of their cauſe: and therefore they deſired him to ſignifie the ſame vnto the Dukes grace, to the ende that hee ſhould not be offended, if they perſiſted ſtill in their religion, ſeyng it was not proued vnto them, by any reaſon taken out of the Scripture, that they had erred.

After this, there were many commaundementes and iniunctions giuen out through all the countrey, to baniſhe theſe poore Waldoys, with the doctrine of the Goſpell (if it were poſſible) out of the mountaines and Valleys of Piemont: But the poore people ſtill deſired that, accordyng to that, whiche they had ſo often before proteſted by worde and writyng, they might bee ſuffered to ſerue God purely, accordyng to the rule preſcribed in his worde: ſimply obeyng their Lord & Prince alwayes and in all thynges. Notwithſtanding they were ſtill vexed and tormented with all the crueltie that could be deuiſed, as partly it is already declared: but much more you ſhall perceiue by that whiche foloweth.

In the end of October next folowing, the rumor went that an armye was leuying to deſtroye them, & in very dede there were certeine bandes leuyed, ready to marche at an houres warnyng. Furthermore, thoſe malefactors whiche heretofore were fled, or baniſhed for any offence or crime committed, were called home agayne, and pardoned of altogether, ſo that they would take them to their weapons, and go to deſtroy the Waldoys. The Miniſters and chief Rulers of the valleyes of Luſerne and Angrongne, therupon aſſembled together oftentymes to take aduiſe what in ſuch an extremitie, were beſt to do. In the end, they determined, that for certeine dayes folowing, there ſhould be kept a generall faſt, & the Sonday after, a communion. Alſo that they ſhould not defēde them ſelues by force of armes, but that euery one ſhould withdraw him ſelfe into the hygh mountaines, and euery one to cary away ſuch goods as he was able to beare: and if their enemyes purſued them thether, then to take ſuch aduiſe and counſell as it pleaſed God to geue them. This Article of not defendyng them ſelues, ſemed very ſtrāge to the people, being driuē to ſuch an extremitie, & the cauſe beyng ſo iuſt. But yet euery one began to carye their goodes, and vitailes into the mountaines, and for the ſpace of eight dayes, all the wayes were filled with commers and goers to the mōtaines, like vnto Antes in Sommer, whiche prouide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexitie and daunger, with a wonderful courage and cherefulnes, prayſing of God and ſingyng of Pſalmes, and euery one comfortyng an other. Briefly, they went with ſuch ioye and alacritie, that you ſhould not haue ſene any, whiche grudged to leaue their houſes and faire poſſeſſions, but were wholye determined patiently to abyde the good pleaſure of God, and alſo to dye if he had ſo appointed.

A few dayes after, certeine other Miniſters hearyng what they of Angrongne and Luſerne had cōcluded, wrote vnto them, that this reſolution ſemed very ſtraunge to ſome, that they ought not to defende them ſelues againſt the violence of their enemyes, alledgyng many reaſons, that in ſuch an extremitie and neceſſitie, it was lawfull for them ſo to do: eſpecially, the quarell beyng ſo iuſt, that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preſeruatiō of their owne lyues, and the lyues of their wyues and children: knowyng that it was the Pope and his Miniſters whiche were the cauſe of all theſe troubles & cruell warres, and not the Duke, who was ſtyrred vp therunto onely by their inſtigations: wherfore they might well and with good conſcience, withſtand ſuch furious and outragious violence. For the proufe hereof, they alſo alleged certeyne examples.

Duryng this ſeaſon, the Lorde of Angrongne, named Charles de Comptes of Luſerne, laboured earneſtly by all meanes poſſible, to cauſe them of Angrongne, to condeſcende to the Dukes pleaſure, and ſollicited them to ſend away their Miniſters, promiſing that he would cauſe a Maſſe to be ſong at Angrongne, and that yͤ people ſhould not be compelled to bee preſent therat, hopyng that by that meanes, the Dukes wrath would be appeaſed. The chief of Angrongne, thereupon were aſſembled and made this aunſwere, that if the Duke would permit them to chooſe other Miniſters, they were content to ſend away their foreine Miniſters and ſtrāgers. But as touchyng the Maſſe, his hyghnes might well cauſe it to be ſong in their pariſhes, but they for their part, could not with ſafe conſciences, bee preſent at the ſame, nor yet geue theyr conſent vnto it.

The Angronians refuſe to heare Maſſe.

The xxi. of October, the ſayd Lord of Angrongne, went from Luſerne, to Mondeuis (where he was then gouernour for the Duke) and ſent for the chief Rulers of Angrongne, at ſeuerall tymes, declaryng vnto them the great perils and daungers wherewith they were enuironed, the armye beyng already at hand: yet promiſing them if they would ſubmit them ſelues vnto him, he would ſend immediatly to ſtay the armye. They of Angrongne aunſwered that they all determined to ſtād to that, which they, two dayes before in their aſſemble, had put in writyng. with this aunſwere he ſemed at that preſent, to be content. The next day, the rumor was, that they of Angrongne had ſubmitted them ſelues to the Duke. On the morowe, whiche was Sonday, you ſhould haue ſene nothyng but weppyng and mournyng in Angrongne. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the Miniſters and the people, the which affirmed that they wholy cleaued vnto their former writing, & they ſent ſecretly to the Notary, for the copy of that which was paſſed in the Cōſaile houſe, at their laſt aſſemble before the Lorde De Comptes: in the whiche was compriſed that Angrongne had wholy ſubmitted her ſelfe to the good pleaſure of the Duke. The people hearing that, were ſore aſtonyſhed, and proteſted rather to dye, then obey the ſame, and thereupon it was agreed, that at that very inſtant (albeit it were very late) certeine ſhould be ſent to the Lord of Angrongne, to ſignifie vnto him, that the determinatiō of the Cōūſell was falſified, and that it might pleaſe him the next morning, to come to Angrongne, to heare the voyces of the people, not onely of the men, but alſo of the wemen and children. But hee hym ſelfe went not thether (hauyng intelligence of the vprore) but ſent thether the iudge of that place. Thē that which had bene falſified, was onely corrected, the Iudge laying all the blame vpon the Notary.

The determination and aūſwere of the Angronians, was falſified.

Duryng this tyme, the aduerſaries cryed out through all the countrey of Piemont: to the fire with them: to the fyre with them. The Thurſday after, Angrongne, by proclamations and writynges ſet vp in euery place, was expoſed to the fire and ſword. On Friday after, beyng the ſecōd of Nouember, the armye approched to the borders of the Valley of Luſerne, and certeyne horſemen came to a place called S. Iohn, a litle beneath Angrongne. Then the people retired into yͤ mōūtaines. Certeine of S. Iohn perceiuyng that the horſemē, not onely ſpoyled their goods, but alſo tooke their felowes priſoners, ſet vpon them. It is not certeine, what number of the enemies were there ſlayne: but ſodeinly they retired to Bubiane, where their campe then was, & not one of them of S. Iohn, was ſlayne or hurt. It happened at the ſame tyme, that ij. of the foreſayd horſemē, beyng ſore amaſed, galoped before the reſt, towardes the armye, beyng ready to marche towardes Angrongne, cryeng they come, they come. At whoſe cry, the whole armye was ſo aſtoniſhed, that euery man fled his waye, & they were all ſo ſcattered, that yͤ Captaynes that day were not hable to bryng them in order agayne, and yet no creature folowed them.

Open proclamation againſt Angrongne.

Senacharib flyeth from the face of Iſraell.

On the Saterday in the mornyng, the armye muſtered in the medowe ground of S. Iohn, nere to Angrongne. They of Angrongne had ſent certeine to kepe the paſſages and ſtoppe the armye, that they ſhould not enter, if it were poſſible. In the meane ſeaſon, the people retired into the Medow of Tower, and litle thought of the commyng of the armye ſo ſoone, or that they would haue made ſuch a ſudden aſſaulte, for they were yet carying of victualles and other ſtuffe: ſo that fewe of them kept the paſſages. Now, they whiche kept the ſtraites, perceyuing that their enemyes prepared them ſelues to fight, fell down vpon their knees, and made their prayers vn-

The prayer of the *Angronians.*

to God, that it would pleaſe him to take pitie vpō them, and not to looke vppon their ſinnes, but to the cauſe which they mainteyned: to turne the heartes of their enemyes, and ſo to worke, that there might be no effuſion of bloud: & if it were his will to take thē with their wyues and their infantes out of this world, that he would then mercifully receiue them into his kyngdome. In this ſorte, moſt feruent prayers were made of all thoſe that kept the paſſages, with exhortatiō, that they ſhould altogether, crye vnto God and craue his ſuccour and aſſiſtaunce in this great diſtreſſe. All this the Lord of Trinitie and the armye did well perceiue.

A combate betwene the lord of *Trinitie,* and the *Waldoys.*

Their prayers thus ended, ſodeinly they perceiued their enemies commyng towardes them, throughe the vynes, to wynne the toppe of the moūtaine of Angrōgne. In the meane tyme, the Prior of S. Iohn, & Iacomel, were within ỹ temple of Angrongne, & cōmoned with the Rulers touchyng an agrement. Theſe were ſent thether by the Lord of Trinitie, to kepe the people occupyed. To bee ſhort, the combat began in diuers places, and endured for a long ſpace, in the paſſages of Angrongne. The poore Waldoys (beyng but fewe in number, and ſome of them hauyng but ſlynges and croſbowes) were ſore preſſed with the multitude of their enemyes. At length they retired to the toppe of the mountaine, where they defended them ſelues, vntill night. when they had found a place, where they might withſtand their enemyes, ſtill purſuyng them, they turned them ſelues, and ſlue diuers of them, and hurt many. when the euenyng came, the enemyes reſted, and were about to encampe them ſelues, there to ſuppe and lodge all night. whiche thyng, when the Angrongnians perceiued: they fell to prayer, deſyring God to aſſiſte and ſuccour them: but the enemies flouted them, and laughed them to ſcorne. Then the poore people deuiſed to ſend a drumme into a litle Valley hard by. And as they were makyng their prayers vnto God, and the drumme ſounded in ỹ Valley, ỹ Lord of Trinitie cauſed his ſouldiers, whiche were about to encampe them ſelues, to remoue thence: which was a great vantage to ỹ poore people, which now were ſore weryed with trauell, all wette with ſweatyng, & very thurſty, & in great perill, if God had not giuen them ſome litle breathyng tyme. Many of the enemies that day, were ſlayne, and many hurt, of the whiche very few eſcaped: In ſomuch, that they reported that the ſhot was poyſoned, whiche this poore ſimple people neuer vſed to do, in all theſe warres. Of the Angrongnians, that day there were but iij. ſlayne, and one hurt, whiche afterwardes was well healed agayne. This combat gaue great courage to the Waldoys, and ſore aſtoniſhed the aduerſaries. The ſame tyme, the armye retyring, burnt many houſes, and made great ſpoyle as they went, deſtroyng alſo the wynes whiche were in the preſſes.

Beholde the policie of this poore people.

Gods holy helpe in tyme of neede.

Gods ſecret iudgement in helping his, & puniſhing hys enemies.

The ſayd Lord of Trinitie, with his armye, camped in a Village beyonde Tour, in the Valley of Luſerne, at the foote of the hill, betwene Angrongne and the other townes of the Valley of Luſerne, whiche profeſſed the Goſpell. They of the ſayd village were alwayes ſore agaynſt the Waldoys, and haters of true religiō, and were glad of this outrage and violence done agaynſt the profeſſours thereof: but they had their iuſt plage, for they were all deſtroyed. After this the ſayd Lord of Trinitie cauſed the Fortreſſe to be built agayne, which the French mē had raſed, and placed there a Garriſon, and after ſent an other to the Forte of Villars, whiche is of the Valley of Luſerne, & an other he ſent to the Fortreſſe of Perouſe, and a fourth Garriſon he placed in ỹ caſtle of S.Martin. They of Angrongne (ſeyng them ſelues to be now, as it were in a Sea of troubles) after they had recommended them ſelues vnto God by prayer, and committed their cauſe vnto him: ſent to them of Perouſe, of S. Martin, and of Pragela, for ayde and ſuccour: whiche ſent them all the helpe that they were hable.

A craftie meſſage of the lord of *Trinitie,* to the *Angronians.*

The nexte daye folowyng there came letters to Angrongne, from the Lord of Trinitie: The effecte whereof was thys, that hee was ſory for that whiche was done the day before, & that he came not thether to make warre agaynſt them, but onely to vewe if it were a place conuenient, to build a Forte therin to ſerue ỹ Duke. Furthermore, that his ſouldiers ſeyng the people aſſembled, as it were, to defie them, vpon that occaſion only were ſtirred vp to giue aſſault and to ſet vpon them. Alſo that he was ſorye that ſuch ſpoyle was made of their goodes, and ſuch hurt done by fire. But if they would ſhew them ſelues obedient to ỹ Duke: he had good hope that al ſhould be well, and truſted that ſome good agreement ſhould be made. The Angrongnians aunſwered that they were maruelouſly agreued to be ſo aſſaulted, ſpoyled, and tormēted by the ſubiectes of their liege and naturall Prince: and as they had often tymes before, offered them ſelues to bee more faithfull and obedient to their ſoueraigne Prince the Duke, then any of all his ſubiectes beſides: ſo yet ſtill they offered the ſame obedience. Alſo they moſt humbly beſought hym, not to thinke it ſtraunge, if they beyng conſtrayned by ſuch extreme neceſſitie, defended thē ſelues. Finally as touchyng their religion, they affirmed that it was the pure word of God, euen as it was preached by the Prophetes and Apoſtles: and the ſame whiche their predeceſſours had obſerued for certein hundreth yeares paſt. Moreouer, that the cauſe was not concernyng the goodes of the world, but the honor and glory of God, the ſaluation or deſtruction of the ſoules both of them and theirs, and therefore it were much better for them, to dye all together, then to forſake their religion: and yet if it might bee proued vnto them by good demonſtration, out of the word of God, that they were in errour not by force of armes, by bloud and fire: they would then yeld them ſelues with all obedience: moſt hūbly beſechyng hym and all other the Lordes of the countrey of Piemont, to bee their interceſſours and aduocates to the Duke, in this behalfe.

Vpon Monday beyng the iiij. day of Nouember, the Lord of Trinitie ſent his armye to Villars and Tailleret. The leſſer company aſcended towardes Villers. The people ſeyng their enemies approchyng, after they had called vppon God with feruent prayer, ſtrongly defended them ſelues and ſlue many: many alſo were hurt and the reſt fled. The other company aſcended towardes Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in nūber, and that part of the armye the greater, yet makyng their prayers vnto God, and commendyng their cauſe vnto him, they defended them ſelues likewiſe valiantly. In the meane ſeaſon they of Villars, beyng emboldened by their late victorie, came to aſſiſte their neighbours, and beyng aſſembled together, they couragiouſly purſued their enemyes, and put them to flight. In this purſute it chaunced (whiche here is not to be forgotten) that thys poore people, by an ambuſhe of their enemyes, whiche came an other waye, were ſuddenly encloſed on euery ſide, and like to be deſtroyed: but yet they all eſcaped, and not one of them was ſlaine: onely iij. were hurt, whiche were ſoone cured agayne. On the enemyes ſyde, there were ſo many ſlayne, ỹ they were layd together by whole carte loades. This was the rewarde of thoſe whiche were ſo deſirous to ſhede innocent bloud. The ſame day the inhabitantes of Sanſon nere to Roccapiata, aſſembled in great number together, and went to a riche mans houſe of Roccapiata, and ſpoyled al that he had. Certeine of Roccapiata (in number not paſt. 17) vnderſtādyng this, ſet vppon them, and ſoone put them to flight, tooke away their drumme, and forced them to leaue their booty behynd them.

After that ỹ Lord of Trinitie had receiued the letters of the Angrongnians, hee ſent vnto them his Secretary named Chriſtopher Gaſtaut, (which ſayd hym ſelf that he fauoured the veritie of ỹ Goſpel) accōpanyed with a Gentleman of ỹ ſayd Valley. whoſe charge was to cauſe the chief Rulers, to ſend certeine to cōmon with ỹ ſayd L. of Trinitie, ſaying that he had good tydings to declare vnto them: and moreouer, that he would deliuer thē a ſafeconduct to come and go. wherupon they ſent iiij. vnto hym, whom he entreated very curteouſly, and rehearſed vnto them, how the Duke, at his departure from the Court, told him, that although the Pope, the Princes, and Cities of Italie, yea his owne Counſell were fully reſolued, that of neceſſitie, they of the ſayd religion ſhould bee deſtroyed, yet notwithſtandyng God otherwiſe put in hys minde, and that he had taken counſell of God, what hee ſhould do in this matter, that is: that he would vſe them gently. Furthermore he declared vnto thē, ỹ the Duches bare them good affection, & fauoured them very much, and that ſhe had commended their cauſe vnto the Duke, perſuadyng with hym, to haue regard to that poore people, and that their religion was auncient and old: with many ſuch other thynges. Moreouer they had (ſayd he) great frendes in the Dukes Court, not doubting, but if they would ſend certeine to the Court with a ſupplication, they ſhould obteyne more, then they them ſelues would require, and hee for his part would employe hym ſelfe in their affaires, to the vttermoſt of his power: and ſo hee promiſed that hee would retire him ſelfe with his armye. This he ſeemed to ſpeake vnfaynedlye. The people deſiryng but to liue peaceably in their religion, and vnder the obedience of their Prince, were content to folow his counſell.

About this ſeaſon, they of Angrongne perceaued that a part of the armye aſcended the hill of Tailleret (whiche is the halfe way betwene Angrongne, and thoſe of the Valley of Luſerne) & the other part had already gotte a way, which led to yͤ Medowe of Tour, by yͤ which they of Angrongne might eaſely haue bene encloſed. Therefore they ſent certeine immediatly, to kepe the way, who ſoone after encountred with their enemyes and obteined the victorie, purſuyng and chaſing them to their campe, not without great loſſe of their men. The number of their enemyes ſlayne, was not knowen: for their cuſtome was, immediatly to cary away thoſe whiche were ſlayne. Not one of Angrongne periſhed that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this combate would haue hyndred the agreement. But the Lord of Trinitie could well diſſemble this matter, and excuſed that dayes iourney, puttyng the faulte vpon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to haue ſlayne certeine of his men in the high waye, and amongeſt other, hys Barber.

On Saterday folowyng, beyng the ix. of Nouember, the ſayd Lorde of Trinitie ſent agayne for them of Angrongne, to conſulte with him touchyng the agreement, vſing the like communication, as before: and added therunto, that in token of true obedience, they ſhould cary their armour into two of the houſes of the chief Rulers, not fearyng but it ſhould be ſafe: for it ſhould remayne in their owne kepyng, and if nede were they ſhould receiue it agayne. Alſo that he, vpon Sonday (whiche was the next day) would cauſe a Maſſe to bee ſong within the Temple of S. Laurence, in Angrongne, accompanyed with a very fewe, and therby the Dukes wrath would bee aſſuaged. The next mornyng hee went into the Temple (whereat they were ſore agreued, albeit they could not withſtand hym) his armye marchyng afore him: and hauyng cauſed a Maſſe to bee ſonge, hee deſired to ſee the Medowe of Tour, ſo much ſpoken of, that thereof hee might make a true report vnto the Duke: and thether the Rulers, with a great troupe of hys own men, went: the reſidue of his company remained behynd, the whiche ſpoyled certeine houſes, and ſeaſed the armour whiche they had deliuered vp before: but they founde no great ſtore, for the people had taken away the greateſt parte therof. The ſayd Lord beyng entred into the Medowe of Tour, the people beganne to make a commotion. wherof he hauyng intelligence, returned immediatlye. All that day hee ſhewed him ſelfe very curteous to all whom he mete.

The people in this meane tyme, perceyued them ſelues to be in great daunger, and were ſore moued at the ſight of yͤ armye, yͤ ſpoyle of the ſouldiours, yͤ takyng away of their armour, but eſpecially becauſe yͤ ſayd lord of Trinitie, had viewed the Medowe of Tour, foreſeyng hys traiterous meanyng and purpoſe. A fewe dayes after, the ſayd Lorde of Trinitie ſent hys Secretary Gaſtaut to Angrongne, to talke with them concernyng the agreement, and to make a full reſolution therof: whiche was read in the aſſemble, by the Secretary: the ſumme wherof was this: That the people of Angrongne ſubmitted thẽ ſelues to render all honour and reuerence to God, accordyng to his holy worde, & all due obedience to the Duke their ſoueraigne Prince: to whom they ſhould ſend certeine men to demaunde pardon of him, concerning their bearyng of armour in their extreme neceſſitie, and humbly to beſeche him that he would ſuffer them to lyue peaceably in their religion, which was accordyng to yͤ word of God, not compellyng them to doe any thyng agaynſt their conſcience: as it appeareth more amplye in the ſupplicatiõ, which after this, the Angrongnians made, and cauſed to be read before the Secretary, in the open aſſemble, the whiche here enſueth.

¶ To the moſt excellent and worthy Prince, the Duke
of Sauoy. &c. our ſoueraigne Lorde
and naturall Prince.

Moſt noble and renowmed Prince, we haue ſent certeine of our men, vnto your highnes, to geue teſtimonie of our humble, harty, and vnfayned obedience vnto the ſame, and withall ſubmiſſion, deſire pardon, touchyng the bearyng of armour, by certeine of our people, in their extreme neceßitie, and for all other our treſpaſſes, for the which your ſoueraigne grace might conceiue any offence agaynſt vs.

Secondly to deſire, in moſt humble wiſe, your ſayd highnes, in the name of our Lord Ieſus, that it would pleaſe the ſame, to ſuffer vs to lyue with fredome of conſcience, in our religion, whiche alſo is the religion of our Aunciters, obſerued for certeine hundreth yeares paſt. And we are perſuaded that it is the pure Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus, the onely veritie, the word of life and ſaluation, whiche we profeſſe. Alſo that it may pleaſe your moſt gracious clemencye, not to take in ill part, if we fearing to offend & diſpleaſe God, cã not conſent vnto certeine traditions and ordinaunces of the Churche of Rome: and herein to haue pitie vpon our poore ſoules, and the ſoules of our children: to the ende that your highnes be not in any wiſe charged in the iuſt Iudgement of God, for the ſame, where all men muſt appeare to aunſwere for their doynges.

A lawfull requeſt of the Angronians, to liue after Gods worde.

On our parte, we proteſte that we will ſeeke nothyng, but to be the true ſeruauntes of God, to ſerue him accordyng to hys holy woorde: and alſo to bee true and loyall ſubiectes to your highnes, and more obedient then any other: beyng alwayes ready to geue our goodes, our bodyes, our lyues, and the lyues of our children, for your noble grace, as alſo our religion teacheth vs to do: onely we deſire that our ſoules may be left at libertie, to ſerue God accordyng to his holy word.

And we your poore humble ſubiectes, ſhall moſt hartily pray our God and father, for the good & long proſperitie of your highnes: for the moſt vertuous Lady your wife, and for the noble houſe of Sauoy.

To this ſupplication, they of S. Iohn, of Roccapiata, of S. Barthelemew, and of Perouſe, with thoſe of the Valley of Luſerne, did agree: For it was concluded, that the agreement made, ſhould extende to all the confederates of the ſame religion. whiles they were treatyng of this agreement, the Lord of Trinitie vexed cruelly, them of Tailleret, vnder this pretenſe, becauſe they had not preſented them ſelues, to treate of this agreement. He tormented them after this ſorte. Firſt he commaunded that all their armour ſhould bee brought before him, and then they, on their knees, ſhould aſke him pardon, becauſe they came not to treate of the agreement with the reſt: whiche notwithſtandyng the moſt part of them did. Then hee commaunded them, to attend vppon hym, to enrolle all the names of thoſe, whiche would bee of the foreſayd agreement. wherupon yͤ next morning, yͤ chief of the houſholders went to yͤ village named Bouuets, the place appointed therunto, & when they had heard the Sermon, & called vpon God, they begã to write their names. The enrolling of their names not beyng fully ended, word was brought, that the ſouldiers had gotten the toppe of the mountaine, and taken all the paſſages: wherat they of Tailleret were ſore amaſed, and ranne with all ſpede, to defende their wiues and children. Some they ſaued: the moſt parte, with their goodes, were in their enemyes handes already. At this time, with ſackyng, ſpoiling and burnyng, they did much miſchief.

The wretched dealing of the Lord of *Trinitie*, agaynſt them of *Tailleret*.

After this, the Lorde of Trinitie ſent woorde to them whiche were fled, that if they would returne, hee would receiue thẽ to mercie. The poore people (for yͤ moſt part) truſting on his promiſe, returned to Bouuets, & yet yͤ next mornyng the ſouldiers came thether, to apprehend them and their Miniſters, and beſet the place on euery ſyde. Such as were ſwift of foote, and could ſhift beſt, eſcaped, but very hardly. The reſt were all hurt or taken, and yet they all eſcaped by a maruelous meanes: For it happened that there was an old mã, whiche could not runne faſt, to whom one of the ſouldiers, came with a naked ſword in his hand, to haue ſlayne him. The old mã ſeyng the imminent dãger, caught the ſouldier by the legges: ouerthrew him, and drew hym by the heeles downe the hill. The ſouldier cried out, helpe, helpe: this villain will kill me. His fellowes hearyng hym crye, made haſt to reſcue him: but in the meane tyme, the old man eſcaped. The reſt ſeyng what the old man had done, tooke hart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with ſtones and ſlynges, they ſo beate and diſcomfited their enemyes, that at that tyme, they caryed no priſoners away. The day folowyng, the ſouldiers returnyng to the ſayd Tailleret, robbed, ſpoyled, and caryed away all that they could finde, and ſo continued iij. dayes together: whiche was very eaſie for them to do, becauſe the poore men, fearyng leſt they ſhould be charged with violatyng the agreement, made no reſiſtaunce, but retired toward Villars.

The Papiſtes falſe breakers of promiſe made.

Example of Gods maruelous protectiõ for hys ſeruauntes in tyme of nede.

The fourth day, yͤ ſayd Lord of Trinitie, to torment the poore Taillerets yet more cruelly, ſent his armye agayne before day, to the moũtaine, and into the ſame place. And becauſe the people of the ſayd village, were retyred towardes Villars, and ſcattered about the borders therof, in the highe mountaines: the ſouldiers not yet ſatiſfied with ſpoyling and ſackyng the reſt that they found in the ſayd Tailleret, raungyng about the confines therof, rauened, and made hauocke on euery ſide, of what ſoeuer they could lay handes on, takyng priſoners both mē and wemen, which were loden with cariage. The poore priſoners were cruelly handled. Amongeſt other there was one, whoſe eare a ſouldier of Montdeuis, in a raging fury, bitte cleane of, with theſe wordes: I will cary (ſayd he) the fleſhe of theſe wretched hereticks with me, into my coũtrey. They of Villars alſo complained of the great crueltie that was ſhewed vnto them, duryng the tyme of the agreement. The which, when the Lord of Trinitie vnderſtode, to make a ſhewe that he was offended therewith, he came to his ſouldiers (which were ſo wearye, ỹ they could ſcantly go, not with fighting, but becauſe they were ſo heauely loden with the ſpoyle, that they were not hable to carye it) and pretendyng to be in a great coler, ſome he beate, & ſomethynges alſo of ſmall value, he cauſed to be reſtored, but all the reſt was kept backe & caryed away. The ſame day, ij. wemen, the mother and the daughter, were found in a caue, in the mounteine, wounded to death by ỹ ſouldiers, & dyed immediatly after. So likewiſe a blynd man, a hundreth yeares of age, whiche was fled into a caue, with his ſonnes daughter, beyng xviij. yeares old, whiche fed him, was ſlayne by the enemyes, and as they would haue forced the maiden, ſhe eſcaped from them, and fell from the toppe of the mounteine, and died.

The Village of *Tailleret*, ſacked and ſpoyled.

The crueltie of Papiſtes.

Two wemen, the mother & the daughter, Martyrs.

The grandfather and hys nyce dyed Martyrs.

At that tyme alſo, a great company of wemen of Tailleret & Villars, were takē as they fledde, with their goods, and brought to the campe, and ſent away emptie. There was at the ſame tyme, a certeine ſouldier whiche promiſed the Lorde of Trinitie, to finde out the Miniſter of Tailleret, and to deliuer him into his owne handes. And to bryng his purpoſe to paſſe, hee neuer ceaſed, vntill hee had found him, and after that he purſued him, a lōg time. But as hee was purſuyng and chaſing him, certeine at vnwares, commyng out of the mountaine, reſcued the poore Miniſter and killed the ſouldier with ſtones.

A wicked perſecuter killed with ſtones.

But this eſpecially is to bee noted, that duryng theſe troubles, diuers of the Papiſtes had ſent their daughters into the mountaines, vnto the Waldoys, to be kept, fearyng leaſt they ſhould haue bene rauiſhed by the ſouldiers, beyng wholy giuen ouer, as to all cruelty and rapine, ſo to all vilanie and abomination: by whom they were before threatned to be ſo abuſed.

All this beyng done, ỹ ſayd Lord of Trinitie cauſed the head officers & chiefeſt of ỹ people, to aſſemble together, and declared vnto thē that ỹ mainteynyng of the armye was a great charge vnto the Duke: and that it was meete that they ſhould beare the one halfe of ỹ charges. For this cauſe, hee demaunded of them twenty thouſand crownes. But by the meanes of his Secretary Gaſtaut, who was promiſed a hundreth crownes for hys wyne (that is to ſay, for a bribe) iiij. thouſand of thoſe twentye, were abated, ſo that they graunted vnto him, xvj. thouſand: of the whiche ſumme the Duke releaſed the one halfe. Thē the Lord of Trinitie preſſed this poore people, to deliuer the eight thouſand, out of hand, to pay the ſouldiers their wages (as he ſaid) and ſo to withdraw his armye. The yeare before, corne was exceedyng deare: for a ſacke was commonly ſold for vi. crownes, yea and ſome, for viij. crownes, and alſo they had very litle corne growyng vpon their mountaynes: wherfore they were now very bare of money. But they being in this perplexitie, and deſiryng nothyng more then to lyue in peace and quietnes, went about to ſell their cattell, to pay this money. But the Lord of Trinitie had giuen out a commaundemēt, that none ſhould bye any cattell of the Waldoys, without his licence. Then licence was giuen out to certeine, to bye great ſtore of cattell, and that for a ſmall price: and the common bruite was, that he had part of the gayne. When this money was payed, yet the armie notwithſtandyng, retired not.

The poore *Waldoys* preſſed at xvj. thouſand crownes.

The Papiſtes falſe of promiſe.

After this, the Lord of Trinitie commaunded the Waldoys, to ſurrender vp all their armour, to furniſhe the Dukes Fortes: otherwiſe, he threatned to ſend his ſouldiers amongeſt them: and in dede hee conſtrayned many ſo to do. Then he demaunded moreouer, the eight thouſend crownes, whiche the Duke had remitted, and conſtrayned them to promiſe the payment therof. After that he commaũded that the Miniſters ſhould be ſent away, vntill the matter were determined before the Duke: otherwiſe hee would ſend his ſouldiers to diſlodge them out of hand: wherupon with one common aſſent and accord, they determined, that their Miniſters ſhould withdraw them ſelues for a ſpace, vntill the armye were retyred: whiche was not done without marueilous ſighes, lamentation, and teares. At that ſeaſon there fell ſuch abundance of ſnow, that the like had not bene ſeene of a long tyme before: ſo that the people were conſtrayned to make away, with great trauell and payne, through the toppe of the mountaine of S. Martin, for their Miniſters to paſſe. Now, thought ỹ Lord of Trinitie, ſo to haue encloſed them, hee kepyng the playne, and the mountaynes beyng couered ſo thicke with ſnow, that by no meanes they ſhoulde haue eſcaped his handes. But the people cauſed them to paſſe the toppe of the mountaine: and at their departure, there flocked out of euery quarter, great multitudes, to the village of Boby, & came together into a ſecrete place there, called Le Puis, not without great grief and ſorrowe: For they founde them altogether in teares and mournyng, that their Miniſters ſhould ſo be taken from them, and they now left as lambes amongeſt wolues.

The armye was aduertiſed that the Miniſters were aſſembled together, and incontinent, a great troupe of harquebuſhes were at hande, whiche ſought them euen to the very toppe of the mountaine, in ſo much, that if they had remained there but one houre longer, they had bene all taken. From that tyme, for certaine dayes after, they did nothyng but raunge about in all places, ſeeking for the Miniſters, and there was no houſe, chamber, caue nor ſecret corner, into the whiche they did not enter, vnder pretence to ſeke the Miniſters. There was neither cheeſt, nor any thing els ſo ſtrong, but they brake it open, ſaying: that the Miniſters were hidden therein, and by that meanes, they tooke, ſpoyled, and caryed away what ſo euer they would.

The Lorde of Trinitie promiſed often tymes, that, although it were forbidden to all the Miniſters, to preach, yet the Miniſter of Angrongne, ſhould bee excepted: and furthermore, ſent the ſayd Miniſter woorde, that if hee would demaunde any thyng of the Duke, it ſhould bee graunted him. Wherupon, the ſayd Miniſter made this requeſt, that the poore people might lyue peaceably in their religion. A while after, he ſent for the ſaid Miniſter to conferre with him priuatly, vpon certeine poyntes of religion. The Miniſter went vnto him, hauyng therto, ỹ conſent of ỹ people. The Lord of Trinitie propoũded vnto him iij. pointes. The firſt, cōcerning ỹ ſupremacy of the Pope: the other concerned tranſubſtanciation. Of the which ij. poyntes, the Miniſter then immediatly declared his opinion, and he ſemed to agree therunto, and required him to put the ſame in writyng. The laſt (whiche was his whole drift) was to perſuade the Miniſter to go to the Dukes Court, and there to defende the cauſe of the people, alledgyng certeine reaſons to perſuade him ſo to do. Wherunto the Miniſter aunſwered, that hee was bound to God and hys Church: and if it ſemed conuenient to the Miniſters and people, that he ſhould go, hee would be content to do the ſame, and therof he promiſed to ſend him aunſwere immediatly: with the whiche aunſwere he ſemed to be contented.

Shortlye after, the foreſayd Lorde, not taryng for an aunſwere, ſent his armie to the Temple of S.Laurence in Angrongne, pretending to ſing a Maſſe there, and ſodenly the ſouldiers beſieged ỹ Miniſters houſe. The Miniſter beyng warned therof, aſſayed to eſcape. The ſouldiers attempted nothyng by force, but vſed gentle perſuaſions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of thē. But the Miniſter puſhed on further, & the ſouldiers followed him halfe a myle: but fearyng the people, durſt go no further. The Miniſter withdrew hym ſelfe into the rockes vpō the mounteine, accōpanied with fiue other. The armye was by and by at his heeles, and ſought a good while, in the houſes & cotages, on euery ſide, cruelly handlyng the people whom they tooke, to make them cōfeſſe where their Miniſter was, ſpoyling their houſes, takyng ſome priſoners, and beatyng other ſome: but yet they could not learne of thē where their Miniſter was. At the length, they eſpyed hym amongeſt the rockes, where they thought to haue encloſed him, & ſo they purſued him in the rockes, all couered with ſnow, vntill it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and ſpoyled his houſe, and diligently ſearched out all his bookes and wrytynges, & caryed thē to the Lord of Trinitie, in a ſacke, who cauſed them all to be burnt in his preſence, ſuppoſing (as it well appeared) that the letters whiche he had ſent to Angrongne, touchyng the agreement, ſhould bee with the reſt, burnt: for hee did not the lyke in the other Miniſters houſes. That day, they ſpoyled fortie houſes in Angrongne, broke their mylles, and caryed away all the corne and meale that they found.

o. houſes An- rongne ſpoyled.

About midnight, the ſouldiers returned, with torchlight, to the Miniſters houſe, to ſeeke him, and ſearched euery corner. The next mornyng, commaundement was geuē to the rulers of Angrongne, that within 24. houres, they ſhould deliuer their Miniſter, or els Angrongne to be put to the fire and ſword. The rulers aunſwered that they could not ſo do, for they knew not where he was, and the ſouldiers had chaſed hym ouer the mountaine. After certeine dayes, when the ſouldiers had burned houſes, ſpoiled the people, broken their mylles, and done what miſchief they could, the armye retired. Notwithſtādyng, the Lord of Trinitie, left Gariſons in ẏ forenamed Fortreſſes, but all, at the coſtes and charges of the Waldois: the which Gariſons, not contented with their wages, ſpoyled continually. Vppon a night, fiue ſouldiers went with torches, to a riche mans houſe of Angrongne, and ſpoyled the ſame. The good man of the houſe, hardly eſcaped with life, by the toppe of the houſe, for there were twelfe pellets ſhot of, at him. Whereof one touched his face, and ſtroke his hatte from his head, without any further hurt.

ods holy rotection ſauing is ſer- aunt.

The rulers of Angrongne, whiche were gone to the Fortreſſe, to cary thether victualles and money, were by the ſouldiers reteined, and in deſpite of them and the people, cauſed a Maſſe to be ſong before them, and forced thē to be preſent at it: and becauſe they would not kneele downe to it, they were beaten almoſt to death. The one of them was ſent agayne for more money: the other with great perill of his lyfe, leapt the walles, and beyng purſued to Angrongne, eſcaped.

Two ru- ers of *ngrōgne* eaten al- oſt to eath, for ot knee- ng to the aſſe.

Certeine dayes after, a certeine company of ſouldiers came vnto the middeſt of Angrongne, as though they would haue paſſed through, and called for meate and drinke. The poore mē brought that they had, vnto them, in a cloſe Court. When they had eaten and drunken, they cauſed the wemen to auoyde, and then bounde fourtene of thoſe whiche had brought them victualles, by ij. and ij. together, and led them away. Their wiues and children perceiuyng this, ſo fiercely purſued thē with ſtones, that they were fayne to let go tenne of their priſoners for haſt, and had much a do to ſaue them ſelues. The other foure they led away to the fortreſſe: of the whiche, two were raunſomed: the other two were hanged vp by the the feete and the handes, and hauing tormented them almoſt to death, they releaſed them for a great ſumme of money. The one of the whiche, dyed the next night: the other lay ſicke without any hope of life, long tyme after, and his fleſh fell from his handes and his feete, and thereof he became lame, and after that, his fingers fell of alſo. In like maner did the other Garriſons entreate the villages adioynyng vnto them.

Crueltie hewed for indnes.

ote how od dyd leſſe hys ruauntes anding in eir owne efenſe.

wo other ꝛs of *An rongne.*

The garriſon of Tour & of Villars, being aſſembled together in a night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouuets, and breaking in at the windowes and toppes of the houſes, breakyng open the doores, ſackyng and ſpoylyng all that they could lay handes of, tooke alſo fourtene priſoners, and bounde them two and two together, by the armes, and ſo led thē to the Fortreſſe of Tour. But two which were eſcaped, whiles the ſouldiers were a takyng other, ſet vppon them whiche led the priſoners, and ſo valiantly aſſaulted and beate them with ſtones, that they forced thē to let go twelue of the priſoners: the which, rumblyng and rolyng thē ſelues downe the mountaine, hauyng their handes bound behind their backes, and faſtned ij. and ij. together by ẏ armes, were contented rather ſo to dye, then to be caryed to the Fortreſſe, and yet in the end, they eſcaped. The other ij. which were led to the Fortreſſe, were cruelly tormented, & in the end, the one of them, the Captaine ſtrangled with his owne handes, who was very yong and but a child: the other, which was about iij. ſcore yeares of age, ſuffered a ſtraunge & cruel death: For whē they had bound him, they toke a kynd of beaſtes, which lyue in horſedunge, called in Frenche Eſcarbotz, and put them vnto his nauel, couering them with a diſhe, the which within ſhort ſpace, pearced in to his belly, and killed him. Theſe and the like, more then barbarous cruelties, haue bene receiued by the ſouldiers them ſelues.

otea- yn, how od bleſ- th hys eople, ſtā- ing to eir de- nce, a- ainſt the andye apiſtes.

The poore Waldoys were yet in great captiuitie and diſtreſſe, but eſpecially, becauſe they had not the preachyng of Gods worde amongeſt them, as they were wont to haue, and therfore, taking to them a good courage, they determined to begyn preachyng agayne: albeit ſecretly, for two principall cauſes: The one for feare of mouyng the Duke, & hynderyng the viage of their meſſēgers, hauing yet ſome hope of good ſucceſſe: the other, ẏ no occaſiō might be giuē to ẏ ſouldiers, of further trouble & outrage: for ẏ was it which they ſpecially deſired. Alſo they of Angrongne were fully determined, as ſone as their meſſengers were returned frō the Duke, to preach openly, what newes ſo euer they brought, were they good or euill: and furthermore, not to be cōtributaryes to the finding of the Gariſon, neither yet to ſuffer the ſame to enter into Angrongne.

Be wiſe lyke Serpentes.

The meſſengers whiche were ſent to the Duke, beyng at Verceil, were there deteined vi. weekes, and all that while, were cruelly handled by the Popiſh Doctours, and were conſtrayned by force and violence, to promiſe to returne to the Maſſe. Furthermore they would haue conſtrayned them to promiſe the ſame, in the behalfe of the reſt, but they would not. After they were preſented to the Duke, the Secretary Gaſtaut tooke the ſupplication of the Waldoys, out of the meſſengers handes, and deliuered an other. After they had preſented them ſelues to the Duke, & aſked pardon for bearing of armour, they were conſtrained alſo to craue pardon of ẏ Popes Legate: which at ẏ begynning, they would in no caſe do. Now, whē theſe meſſengers were returned, bringing theſe wofull newes, and the people vnderſtode that there was a newe commaundement giuen out, that they ſhould returne to the Maſſe: alſo that the Popiſhe preachers were appoynted, and ready to come vnto them, and they commaunded to go to fetch them, and intertein them accordingly: there was wonderfull lamentation, weeping, and mournyng for this great calamitie.

The meſſengers of the *Angronians*, cruellye entreated.

A new cōmaundement to the *Angronians*, to go to maſſe.

Hereupon they of the Valley of Lucerne and of Boby, being aſſembled together, by one aſſent, ſent ij. Miniſters, with certeine other of ẏ people, to ẏ Churches of Pragela, (which be in the coūtrey of Dolphine) to ſignifie vnto thē, the pitcous eſtate of the poore Churches of the Valleys of Piemont, to haue their counſell and aduiſe, how to preuent the great daungers at hand, if it were poſſible. For this cauſe, they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called vpon God, deſiring his grace, and the ſpirite of diſcretion and counſell, well to conſider of thoſe weightye and vrgent affayres wherewith they were oppreſſed: in the ende it was concluded that all the people dwellyng in the ſaid Valleys and mounteines of Piemont, and thoſe of Dolphine, ſhould ioyne in a leage together. Wherupō they all promiſed, by Gods grace and aſſiſtance, to mainteine the pure preachyng of the Goſpell, and adminiſtration of the holy Sacraments: The one to ayde and aſſiſte the other, and to render all obedience to their ſuperiours, ſo farre as they were commaunded by the worde of God. Moreouer, that it ſhould be lawful for none of the ſayd Valleys to promiſe or conclude any thyng, touchyng the eſtate of religion, without the cōſent of the reſt of the Valleys: and for more ſure confirmation of the ſayd league, certeine of the Miniſters and Elders of the Churches of Dolphine, were ſent to the Valley of Luſerne, to vnderſtād if they would giue their conſent hereunto, and ratifie the ſame.

Gods aſſiſtance in tyme of neede.

Theſe meſſengers, the Miniſters and others of Dolphine, beyng arriued in the euenyng, at the village of Boby, and the people beyng there aſſembled, word was brought, that the next day, euery houſholder ſhould appeare in the Counſell houſe, to knowe whether they would returne to the Maſſe or no, & that they whiche would receiue the Maſſe, ſhould quietly enioye theyr houſes, and they whiche would not, ſhould be deliuered to the Iuſtices, and condemned to bee burned, or ſent vnto the Gallies. Wherefore the people was brought to this extremitie, either to dye or flye, or els to renounce God. To flie, ſemed to thē beſt, if the great ſnow had not let them. Wherfore, ſeyng them ſelues in ſuch diſtreſſe, they moſt gladly conſented to the league. After this, they exhorted one an other, ſaying: For as much as we ſhalbe all called for, to morow, to renoūce and forſake our God, and reuolte agayne to Idolatrie, let vs nowe make ſolemne proteſtation, that we

The people of *Piemont* brought into great diſtreſſe.

will vtterlye forſake the falſe religion of the Pope, and that we will liue and dye in the mainteinaũce and confeſſion of Gods holy worde. Let vs all go to morow into the Temple, to heare the worde of God, and after, let vs caſt downe to the ground, all the Idolles and aultars. To this euery mã agreed, ſaying: Let vs ſo do: yea and that, the very ſame houre, in the which they haue appointed vs to be at the counſell houſe.

Images and altars broken downe in the church of *Boby*.

The next day after, they aſſembled them ſelues in the Churche of Boby, and as ſoone as they came into the Temple, without any further delay, they beate downe the Images, and caſt downe the altars. After the Sermon, they went to Villars, to do the like there. By yͤ waye, they encountred with a band of ſouldiers, whiche were goyng to ſpoyle a village named Le val Guichard, & to take the poore inhabitantes, priſoners. The ſouldiers ſeyng them ſo ill appointed, mocked them, and diſcharged their handgunnes vppon them, thinkyng at the firſt brunt, to haue put them to flight. But they valiauntly defended them ſelues, and with ſtones, chaſed them euen to the Fortreſſe. When they came to Villars, they beate down their Images and altars, and afterwardes beſieged the Fortreſſe, and demaunded the priſoners, which were there deteined.

Images and altars caſt downe in the church of *Villars*.

The ſame day, the Iudge of Luſerne, called Podeſta, went to yͤ Counſell houſe, to enroll the names of thoſe whiche would returne to the Maſſe, but ſeyng what was done, he was ſore afrayed, and deſired the people to ſuffre him to returne quietly: whiche they willingly graunted vnto hym. Diuers Gentlemen alſo of the Valley, came thether with the Iudge, to make theyr poore tenauntes to forſake God: but ſeing the tumult, they were fayne to flye into the Caſtle, where they and the Garriſon were beſieged ten dayes together, not without great daunger of their lyues. The ſecond day of the ſiege, the Captaine of Tour went with a company of ſouldiers, thinkyng to raiſe the ſiege, but they were, by thoſe that kept the paſſages, either ſlayne or diſconfited. As much was done the thyrd day. The fourth day, he returned with three bandes, and with the Garriſon of Tour, which cauſed a furious cõbate: wherin many of the enemyes were ſlayne, but a great number hurt, and yet of thoſe that beſieged the Forte, there was not one man hurt.

God geueth victorye to his ſeruauntes.

An other combate betwene the *Waldoys* and their enemies.

In the tyme of this ſiege, they attempted diuers meanes to take the ſayd Fortreſſe, but without ordinaunce, it was impoſſible ſo to do: wherfore they were now paſt all hope of wynnyng it. Moreouer, the Lord of Trinitie returnyng with his armye, was come to the Valley of Luſerne, & the next day after, might eaſely haue raiſed the ſiege. Wherfore, when the Garriſon (not knowyng that the Lord of Trinitie was ſo neare) deſired that they might depart with bagge & baggage, they graunted their requeſt. In this ſiege halfe of the ſouldiers were ſlayne, & many were hurt, aſwell with harquebuſhes, as with ſtones. During this ſiege, the ſouldiers, for lacke of water, were conſtrayned to make their bread with wyne, whiche tormented their ſtomackes, and cauſed great diſeaſes. Here is not to be forgotten that the ſouldiers, which a while before, did ſo cruelly perſecute the poore Miniſters, ſekyng by all meanes poſſible to deſtroye them, were now fayne to pray them to ſaue their lyues, and to promiſe thẽ that they ſhould haue no hurt, and alſo to ſafeconduct them into a ſure place: neither would they departe, vntill they had promiſed them ſo to do. Which the Miniſters did promiſe and alſo performe very willyngly. Then the ſouldiers ſeyng them ſelues much beholden to the Miniſters ſo gently dealyng with them, gaue them great thankes, & promiſed them, in recompence therof, all the pleaſure that they could ſhewe them. The ſame night the Fortreſſe was raſed.

The iuſt hand of God vpon his enemies.

Note, how the Miniſters of the Goſpel promiſe to their enemies and performe, doing good for euill.

The Fortreſſe gotten by the *Angronians*.

The 2. day of February, the Lord of Trinitie camped at Luſerne, & placed a Gariſon in the Priorie of S. Iohn, a village of the Waldoys, betwene Luſerne & Angrongne. The next day in the mornyng, the ſayd Lord of Trinitie ſent word vnto thẽ of Angrongne, yͭ if they woulde not take part with the reſt, they ſhould be gently handled. All the weeke before, they were ſollicited by him to cõſent to the ſame, but they would giue no aunſwere. The ſame day, they of Angrongne, and the reſt of the Valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that the one ſhould ayde the other, and no agreement to bee made, by any one, without the conſent of the reſt. About noone, the Lord of Trinitie marched with his armie, by S. Iohn, to enter into yͤ borders of Angrongne, by a place called La Sonneillette, where they had fought before. The people had made certeine bulwarkes of earth and ſtone, not paſt iij. foote hye: where they defended them ſelues valiantly, agaynſt their enemyes, which aſſailed them diuers waies. When the ennemyes were ſo wearye that they coulde fight no longer, they put freſhe ſouldiers into their places: ſo that the combate endured vntill night, and all that day, the armye could not enter into the borders of Angrongne. Many of the enemyes were ſlayne, and a great number hurt: and but two of Angrongne ſlayne, of whom the one was ſlayne by hys owne follye, becauſe he was to gredy vpon the ſpoyle. The armye beyng now well beaten and tyred, reſted a while, to make them ſelues ſtronger for a further miſchief.

God cõpelleth his ſeruauntes to defend their religion by force.

The Friday folowing, which was the vij. of February, at yͤ breake of yͤ day, the armye marched towardes Angrongne, by fiue ſeuerall places. The people of Angrongne were not yet aſſembled, & none there were to reſiſte, but onely a fewe, whiche kept the watche: the which ſeyng their enemies cõming vpõ thẽ in ſo many places, & perceiuyng that they went about to incloſe them, after they had valiantly fought for a ſpace, they reculed by litle and litle, to a high place called La Caſſe, where the combate was renued, with a greater fiercenes, then before. But the Lord of Trinitie, ſeyng the loſſe of his men, and aboue all, that one of great credite and authoritie in the Dukes Court, was wounded to death, blew a retreite, and deſcended to Angrongne (the people beyng fled to the Medowe of Tour) and there ſpoyled and burnt all the wynes, victualles, and the reſt of the goodes that he could finde: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace, hee had burned about a thouſand houſes of Angrongne. And here is not to be forgottẽ, that they oftentymes, ſet fire vpõ the ij. temples of Angrongne, where the worde of God was preached, but they could neuer burne them. So did they alſo to the Miniſters houſe, whiche notwithſtandyng, remained whole, the houſes rounde about, beyng all conſumed with fire. That day none of Angrongne, was ſlayne or hurt, ſauyng onely one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all Angrongne, but ij. that were enemyes to the worde of God, which that ſame day, were ſlaine by the ſouldiers, not in the combate: but for their riches, whiche they had about them, as they were runnyng awaye. The one of them was a very couetous wretch, & had great ſtore of golde and ſiluer, & would ſpend nothyng, either to helpe hym ſelfe, or ſuccour others: no not his poore parentes. All this was ſpoyled by yͤ ſouldiers, with a hũdreth or ij. hundreth crownes beſides, whiche he had about him. Beſides theſe ij. there was not one of Angrongne ſlayne that day. All the reſt of the people retyred to the Medowe of Tour: The ſituatiõ wherof, we will here declare, for the better vnderſtandyng of that whiche foloweth.

Tour is a litle Valley vppon the borders of Angrongne, enuironed about, with mountaines: ij. myles in length, but very narrow. On both ſides, and in the middes therof, there be about ij. hundreth ſmall houſes and cotages: alſo medowes, paſtures for cattell, groũd for tillage, trees & goodly fountaines. On the South ſide and the North, the mõtaines be ſo high, that no man can that way, approch vnto the ſayd Valley. On the other coaſtes, a mã may enter by 7. or 8. wayes. This place is not paſt ij. myles from Angrongne. The way thether is very narrowe, and ill to paſſe by, becauſe of the hilles, which be on both ſides. There is alſo a Riuer hard by, but very ſmall: but the bankes therof be very high, in many places. The people had caryed thether very few victualles, partly becauſe the way was ſo ill, and alſo through the ſodeine returne of the armye.

In yͤ meane tyme, yͤ lord of Trinitie, after he had now twiſe aſſaulted Angrongne, ſent certein to burne Roſa, & to diſcouer yͤ wayes, which lead to yͤ Valley of Luſerne: but the ſouldiers were driuẽ backe 4. daies together, by thoſe which kept yͤ paſſages. Wherupõ he ſent his whole armie, whom they valiantly withſtode frõ mornyng till night. Thẽ they of Luſerne ſent new ayde. During this cõbate, an embuſhmẽt of ſouldiers deſcended from the toppe of the mountaine, by a place ſo hard to paſſe by, that no man would haue ſuſpected it. The poore people ſeyng them ſelues ſo enuironed of theyr ene-he poore hriſtians mnac hrough', he pikes.

enemyes, ſaued them ſelues: ſome runnyng throughe the myddes of their enemyes, and other ſome into the rockes. The enemyes beyng entred into Roſa, conſumed all with fire and ſword. The reſidue of the people fled by a ſecret way, leadyng to the Valley of Luſerne, & wādred al that night vpō the mōtaines full of ſnow, loden with their ſtuffe, caryīg their litle infantes in their armes, & leadyng yͤ other by yͤ handes, with great payne & trauell. When they of the Valley ſaw thē, they ranne vnto thē, prayſyng God for their deliuerance: for they thought they had bene all ſlayne. Albeit this poore people were here, in ſuch great extremitie, yet they were ioyfull, & cōforted them ſelues, without any lamentation or mournyng, excepte the litle poore infantes, whiche cryed out for cold.

he *An- ronians* ith their ounge in- ntes, flye nto the oūtains.

A fewe dayes after, the Lord of Trinitie, entred into the Valley of Luſerne, by three ſeuerall wayes: that is to ſaye, by Roſa, by the Playne, and by the ſydes of Tailleret. They which kept the paſſages, at the firſt, reſiſted their enemyes valiantly: but perceiuyng that they were aſſayled on euery ſide, they retired to Villars, and there defended them ſelues a while. But becauſe they ſawe that their enemyes had already paſſed the Playne, and gotten aboue Villars, towardes Boby: they gaue ouer & left Villars, & fled into the mōtaines. The ſouldiers beyng entred, burned houſes, and ſlue all that they could finde. The poore people whiche were fled to the mountaines, ſeyng the village on fire, prayſed God, and gaue him thankes, that had made them worthy to ſuffer for hys name, and for his cauſe: and alſo they were glad to ſee the village on fire, leſt that their enemies ſhould encampe there, them ſelues. Then the ſouldiers, in great rage, mounted the hilles on euery ſide, purſuyng this poore people, in great fury: but a few of thē, after they had ardently called vpon God, tooke courage and beate backe their enemyes to Villars. This done, the armye retired.

he *Wal oys* again ſaulted the L. of *rinitie.*

Few dayes after, the Medow of Tour was aſſaulted by iij. ſeuerall wayes, on the Eaſt ſide. The combate dured a lōg ceaſon: where diuers of the enemyes were hurt, and many ſlayne: but none of this poore people were ſlayne that daye: onely two were hurte, which were ſoone healed again. But to declare the conflictes, aſſaultes, ſkirmiſhes, and alarmes, which were at Angrongne and other places thereabout, it were to long: for breuities ſake, it ſhall be ſufficiēt to touch the moſt principall & thoſe whiche are moſt worthy of memory.

On Saterday, whiche was the xiiij. day of February, the people which were in yͤ vppermoſt parte of the Medowe of Tour, perceiued that a company of ſouldiers were aſcended vp the hill to Angrongne, and burnyng the reſt of the houſes there. They doubted that it was a policie of their enemyes, to draw them thether, and in the meane tyme to ſet on them behynde, & ſo to wynne the Medow of Tour, from them. Therfore they ſent onely ſix harquebuſhes agaynſt thoſe ſouldiers, the whiche hauyng the higher ground, and not eſpyed of their enemyes, diſcharged their gunnes altogether. Whereupon incontinent the ſouldiers fled, albeit no man purſued them. Whether they fled of policie, or for feare, it was not knowne. Shortly after, they of the ward of the Medow of Tour, which were in the watch on the toppe of the mōtaine (becauſe euery mornyng there was a Sermon made, whereunto the people reſorted, & they might ſee a farre of, round about them) eſpyed a troupe of ſouldiers marchyng on that ſyde of the hill, whiche is betwen the Eaſt and the North, and ſoone after that, diſcouered an other company, whiche marched on the North ſyde, towardes the ſaid troupe. The firſt were aſcended an houre before the other, and fought on the toppe of the mōtaine called Meleſe, but they were ſoone diſcomfited: and becauſe they could not runne faſt, by meanes of the deepe ſnow, and difficultie of the wayes: in flying, they fell often down vpō the ground. Whiles they that purſued them were earneſt in the chaſe, & had taken from them their drumme: behold there came certeyne vnto them, crying out, that the other troupe was entred into yͤ Medowe of Tour: by meanes wherof they gaue ouer the chaſe, or els not one of their enemies had eſcaped, as they whiche were there, reported for a truth. Not one of Angrongne was ſlayne or hurt.

e vic- ſpeth, ē no mā ſueth n.

e perſe- es ſued.

The other troupe which came by yͤ North ſyde, toke a hygh hill, in the toppe of the mountayne, the whiche ſemed to bee almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of the ſnow and yce, which was there. The chiefeſt of this compa- were Ludouicke of Monteil (which had ben before, Maiſter of the campe in the kynges warres) and Charles Truchet. When they were come to the toppe of the hill, they cauſed ſeuen ſouldiers to goe downe the hill, and to vewe yͤ way, & to ſee whether the troupe might deſcend that way or no. Theſe vij. went downe almoſt to the houſes. They ſent alſo other, to occupie the reſt of the highe places, whiche were nere to the foote of the hill and the rockes. In the meane tyme, the Miniſters and the people, whiche were in the myddes of the Valley of the Medow, ſaw all this & were much diſcouraged therwith: wherfore they fell to praier & called vpon God ardently, not without great ſighes, lamentation, and teares, euen vntill night.

Gods people fight with prayer.

The vij. ſpyes whiche came downe to diſcouer the wayes, cryed vnto their Captayne Truchet: come downe, come downe Seignior Charles, This day Angrongne ſhalbe taken. The other cryed to them agayn: aſcend, aſcend, and returne, or els ye ſhalbe ſlayne euery one of you. Immediatly iſſued out fiue againſt theſe ſpyes, and tooke certeine, and chaſed the reſt. The firſt of the fiue whiche ſet vpon them, caſt ij. of them downe vpon the ground with a forke of fire. Soone after, viij of Angrongne iſſued out agaynſt the whole troupe, which was wonderfull to ſee them go with ſuch courage and boldnes, to aſſaile ſuch a multitude, and it ſemed that they ſhould haue ben all deſtroyed & hewen in peeces. The firſt of the eight went a good way before the other, to diſcouer the enemies, and caryed a great ſtaffe, whiche they call a Rancon, and is ſomwhat bigger then a halbard. The other folowed by ij. and two together, with harquebuſhes. Theſe eight went frō rocke to rocke, frō hill to hill, about yͤ mountiane, & chaſed their enemyes valiauntly. Then came twelfe other, the whiche ioynyng with the reſt, fought with a wonderfull courage, and made great ſlaughter of their enemies. Soone after, there came frō the Valley of Luſerne, an hundreth harquebuſhes, with one of their Miniſters, accordyng to their maner, whiche are wont to ſend out a Miniſter withall, aſwell for prayer and exhortation, as to kepe the people in order, that they excede not meaſure, as it came to paſſe that day.

The courage of Gods people agaynſt their enemies.

At the length, they ſawe them alſo commyng, whiche returned from the diſconfiture of the former troupe, makyng a great noiſe, & hauyng a drumme ſoūdyng afore them, whiche they had taken from their enemyes: which ioyned with them of the Valley of Luſerne, and hauyng made their earneſt prayer vnto God, immediatly they came to ſuccour the other, that now were encountryng valiantly with their enemyes. Then the enemyes ſeyng ſuch a company marchyng agaynſt them, with ſuch courage and boldnes: after the other had once called vppon God, their hartes were ſo taken from them, that ſuddenly they fled, and as ſoone as the other began to pray, they began alſo to flye. But becauſe they could not well ſaue them ſelues by runnyng away, they turned backe twiſe and fought, and ſome in the meane tyme fled.

A conflicte betwene the *Angronians* & the enemies.

He that caryed the Rancon, and diſcouered the enemies, was but a very young and a ſimple man, and was eſteemed to be one that could do nothyng but (as they ſay in their language) handle La Sappe, that is to ſay, a hatched, and kept cattell: & yet he with thoſe that folowed, ſo diſcomfited the enemyes, that it was wonderfull to behold. He brake his great Rancon, with layng loade vpon them, and after that, hee brake alſo foure of their owne ſwordes in purſuyng of them. There was a boy of xviij. yeares of age, and of ſmall ſtature, which alone ſlue the Lord of Monteil, Maiſter of the campe (as is ſayd) to the kyng: wherewith the enemyes were merueilouſly aſtoniſhed and diſcouraged. An other ſimple man, who a man would haue thought, durſt not once haue looked Charles Truchet in the face (becauſe hee was a very bygge man, ſtronge, and puiſſant, and one of the chiefeſt Captaynes of the whole armye) threw down the ſayd Truchet, with the ſtroke of a ſtone. Then a yong man leapt vpon hym, and ſlue hym with his owne ſword, whiche was iiij. fyngers broad, and cleaſt his head in peeces.

The marueilous workes of the Lorde.

David with hys ſlynge kylleth *Goliath.*

This Truchet was one of the principall authors of this warre, & one of the chiefeſt enemies of true religion, and of the poore Waldoys, that could then be founde. It was ſayd alſo that hee vaunted & promiſed before, to the ſaid lord of Trinitie, that he would deliuer into his hādes, the medow of Tour. But God ſoone brought hys proude bragge to nought, and for his ſpoylyng, pillyng and polyng of the poore people, he lay ſpoyled and naked lyke a beaſt, in the wild mounteyne of Angrongne. Two of the

The crueltie of thys wretched *Truchet* agaynſt thys poore people, appeareth before in thys ſtorye.

chiefeſt among them offered to paye a great ſumme of crownes for their raunſome, but they could not be heard. They were purſued more then a myle, and were ſo diſcomfited, that they fled without any reſiſtance, and, if the night had not let them, they had purſued them further.

God fighteth for hys people.

The Miniſter, whē he ſaw the great effuſion of bloud and the enemyes to flye, he cryed to the people, ſaying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to giue thankes vnto God. They whiche heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer: but they whiche were further of, and heard hym not, chaſed their enemyes till darke night: In ſo much, that if the reſt had done the like, very fewe of their enemyes had eſcaped. That day they ſpoyled their enemyes of a great part of their armour and munition. So God reſtored in this combate and in others, to the poore Waldoys, the armour, whiche the Lord of Trinitie, had taken frō them before. Thankes were giuen vnto God in euery place, and euery man cryed: who is he which ſeeth not that God fighteth for vs: This victory gaue great courage to the poore Waldoys, and greatly aſtoniſhed the enemyes.

Pharaos hart yet remayneth indurate.

The *Waldoys* agayne driue their enemyes backe.

The 18. of February, the Lord of Trinitie, not ſatiſfied with burning and deſtroying the greateſt part of Villars, returned to burne all the litle villages rounde aboute, whiche perteine to the ſame, and eſpecially, to purſue the poore people, whiche were fled vp into the mountaines, and diuiding his armye into three partes, he entred, by the three ſeuerall wayes aboue mencioned. The ij. firſt companyes ioyned together betwene Villars and Boby, hauyng a great company of horſemen. From thence they went to ſeke the people whiche were in the mountaine, of Combe, by ſuch a waye, as they did not ſuſpect, and where there were no warders to defende the place: Notwithſtandyng, the warders which were next, ſeing their enemyes aſcending that way, ſpedely ranne before them, and callyng vpon God for his ayde and ſuccour, they ſet them ſelues agaynſt their enemyes: and albeit they were but xxx. in number, yet they valiauntlye beate them backe twiſe, comming out of their Bulwarkes, that is to ſay, certeine houſes, which at ẏ tyme, ſerued thē for that purpoſe, albeit they were not made to that vſe. Many of the enemyes were ſlayne at thoſe two combates, and not one of the other ſide. The Lord of Trinitie ſeyng his men ſo fiercely driuen backe, ſent out the greateſt parte of hys armye: whiche were eſtimed to bee about xv. hundreth men. There came alſo about a hundreth to ſuccour the warders. The combate was very cruell and fierce. At lēgth, ẏ poore people were aſſaulted ſo vehemētly, ẏ they were fayne to forſake their bulwarkes, loſyng ij. of their men. Then the enemyes thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphyng that they had put the people to flight: But the people retiryng not paſt a ſtones caſt, tooke courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for ſuccour, they turned them ſelues to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power, they hurled ſtones at them with their ſlynges.

God geueth victorye by the handes of a fewe.

After this, the enemies reſted them ſelues a while, and by and by after, they gaue a furious aſſault, but yet they were agayne mightly reſiſted. Yet once agayne the enemyes reſted, and in the meane tyme, the people fell to prayer, callyng vpon God altogether, with their faces lifted vp towardes heauen: whiche frayed the enemyes more then any thyng els. After this they gaue yet an other great aſſault, but God by the handes of a few, droue them backe. Yea God here ſhewed his great power euen in the litle children alſo, whiche feruently called vppon God, threw ſtones at their enemyes, and gaue courage alſo vnto the men. So did alſo the women, and the vulgare ſorte, that is to ſay, thoſe whiche were meete for no feates of warre, remaynyng vpon the mountaine: and beholding theſe furious combats, kneelyng vpō the groūd, and hauyng their faces lifted vp towardes heauen, with teares and gronynges, they cryed: Lord helpe vs. who heard their prayers.

After that theſe iij. aſſaultes were giuen, there came one vnto them, crying: bee of good courage, God hath ſent thoſe of Angrongne to ſuccour vs: he mente that they of Angrongne were fightyng for them in an other place, that is to ſay, towardes Tailleret, where the third part of the armye was. The people perceiuyng that they of Angrongne were come to that place to ſuccour them, began to crye: bleſſed be God, who hath ſent vs ſuccour: they of Angrongne be here, they of Angrongne be here, to ſuccour vs. The enemyes hearing this, were aſtoniſhed and ſodeinly blew a retreite, and retired into the Playne.

The enemyes retyre.

The A
gronia
helpe th
fellowe

That troupe which was gone towardes Tailleret, diuided them ſelues into iij. companies. The firſt marched by the ſide of the mountaine, burnyng many houſes, and ioyned with the maine armye. The ſecond company, whiche was of ſeuen ſcore, marched higher, thinkyng to take the people at vnwares, but they were by ſeuen mē, ſtrongly reſiſted and driuen backe. The third company atteyned the toppe of the mountaine, thinkyng to encloſe the people, but as God would, they of Angrongne which came to ſuccour them, encountred with them, and with great force, put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mencion is made before, after they had refreſhed them ſelues with a litle bread and wyne (for the moſt parte of them had eaten nothyng all that day) chaſed their enemyes, till it was almoſt night: ſo fiercely, that the Maiſter of the campe was faine to ſēd to the Lord of Trinitie (which was at Tour) for ſuccour, or els al would haue ben loſt. which he did: and immediatly he rode with al ſpede, to Luſerne, to ſaue him ſelf, hearing the Alarme which was giuen at S.Iohn by thoſe of Angrōgne, & fearyng leſt the way ſhould haue ben ſtopped. The armye retired with great difficultie (notwithſtanding the new ayde which was ſent them) and with great loſſe of their mē. One of their Captaines confeſſed ſince, that if they had ben purſued any further, they had fled all that night longe. Since that tyme, they neuer returned agayne into the Valley of Luſerne.

The p
cutors
to fligh

On Monday, beyng the xvij. day of Marche, next folowyng, the Lord of Trinitie, to bee reuenged of thoſe of the Medow of Tour, aſſēbled all ẏ force ẏ he could make, with the Gentlemen of the countrey: in ſo much, that where as afore, his armye was commonly but iiij. thouſand, it was now betwene vi. and vij. thouſand: and ſecretly in the night ſeaſon he encamped with part of his armye, in the myddeſt of Angrongne, from whence the poore inhabitantes were fled before. The next mornyng, after the Sermon & prayers were ended, they perceaued ẏ other parte of the armye to be encamped at the foote of the mountaine of Angrongne, on ẏ eaſt ſide. Soone after, they perceiued how both partes of ẏ army coaſted ẏ hils ſide, the one towardes the other, beyng ſuch a multitude, ſo glittering in their harneſſe, & marching in ſuch aray, ẏ the poore people, at ẏ firſt, were aſtoniſhed therat. Notwithſtādyng, the aſſemble fell downe vpō their knees iij. or iiij. times, crying: helpe vs, O Lord, beſechyng him to haue regard to ẏ glorie of his holy name: to ſtay ẏ effuſiō of bloud, if it were his good pleaſure, & to turne ẏ hartes of their enemyes, to ẏ truth of his holy Goſpel. Theſe ij. partes of the armye ioyned together, nere to the Bulwarkes of the Medowe of Tour, and gaue the aſſault in three ſeuerall places. One of the bandes mounted ſecretly by the rockes, thinkyng to haue encloſed the people in their Bulwarkes. But as ſoone as they which kept the Bulwarke below, had eſpyed them, they forſoke their place and marched ſtreight towardes them, and as they marched, they mette with the ayde which was ſent vnto them, from the Valley of Luſerne very luckely, and commyng (as it were) from heauen: whiche ioynyng together, ſoone diſcomfited their enemyes with ſtones and harquebuſhes. They purſued thē fiercely in the rockes, and vexed them wonderfully, becauſe the rockes are ſo ſteepe that no man can aſcēde or deſcend, without great payne and difficultie. The Captaine of this bande was named Baſtian of Vergil, a man very expert in the affaires of warre. He at his goyng out of his lodgyng, threatened that he would do great and terrible things that day. His Hoſteſſe hearyng that, ſayd vnto hym: Mounſieur, if our religion be better then theirs, you ſhall haue the victorie: but if theirs be better then ours, you ſhall not preuaile. Shortly after, the Captaine was brought agayne into his Inne, ſo wounded and ſo feble, that he was not like to liue. Thē ſayd his Hoſteſſe to him: Mounſieur, it is now well ſene, that their religion is better then ours.

The A
gronia
fall to
prayer.

The p
threat
Amm

There was alſo an other bande, which kept the toppe of the hill, to aſſault the bulwarkes, from thence. The middelmoſt Bulwarke was then aſſaulted, in the which were very fewe to defende the ſame: whiche ſeyng the number of their enemies, retired backe, leauing therin but fiue onely to defende it. There was a huge rocke, not farre from the foreſayd Bulwarke. Behind the ſame, a great number of the enemyes were hyd: And anone there iſſued out ij. enſignes, aſſuryng them ſelues to wynne the Bulwarke: but immediatly one of their enſigne bearers was wounded to death: whereupon many reculed backe, The other ſet vp his enſigne vpō the Bulwarke.

warke. They which were within, had neither halbarde, nor any other long weapon, but onely one pike, and the ſame without an yron: the which one of the fyue tooke, and threw downe the enſigne, and manfully beate backe the ſcalers, and threw thē down to the ground. Diuers of yͤ enemyes were entred into the Bulwarke, by a doore bilowe, and ſlue one of the fyue, whiche kept the myddle part of the Bulwarke. The other iiij. looked to be deſtroyed out of hand. Then one of the iiij. chaſed awaye thoſe whiche had entred bilow, with ſtones: and the other three leauyng their handgunnes, defended them ſelues likewiſe, with great ſtones: and perceauyng the band whiche was on the rockes, to flye, they tooke courage and withſtode their enemyes valiauntly, till their companions were returned from the chaſe.

he Bul= arke mā= ully defen= ed.

In the meane tyme, the Bulwarke, which was vpon the ſide of the mountaine, was furiouſlye aſſailed by the one halfe of the armye. Thoſe that were within, ſuffered their enemies to approche nere to yͤ Bulwarke, without any gunſhot or other defēce: wherat the enemyes much marueiled. But when they were euen at hand: they fell vpon them, ſome with throwyng of ſtones: ſome with rolyng downe mighty ſtones, and ſome with harquebuſhes. There was a huge ſtone roled down, which paſſed throughout the whole armye, and ſlue diuers. The ſouldiers at that tyme, had wonne a litle cottage, nere to the ſayd Bulwarke, whiche did much hurt to the poore men. But among them, one deuiſed to role downe a great huge ſtone, agaynſt the cottage, which ſo ſhooke it, and amaſed the ſouldiers, that they thought they had bene all deſtroyed: and incontinent they fled, and neuer would enter into it agayne.

ehold the rtillarye this ſim= e people, d with hat wea= ns they ught.

Then the ſouldiers made certeine fences of woode, v. foote long, iij. foote broad, and of the thicknes of three bordes, but they were ſo vexed with the ſhot of the harquebuſhes, that they were fayne to lay all thoſe fences aſide. The miners alſo made others of earth for the ſouldiers. But all theſe policies of the enemyes auailed them nothing: for the ſlaughter was ſo great, that in diuers places you might haue ſene three lying dead, one vpon an other. God ſo wrought with yͤ poore Chriſtians, that the ſhotte of ij. harquebuſhes ſlue iiij. men. It was ſaid for a certeintie, that the ſhot of an harquebuſhe came ſo nere the Lord of Trinities head, that it brake a wande which he bare in hys hand, & made him to retire vj. ſcore paſes backward, and ſeing his ſouldiers in ſuch great nūbers murthered and woūded on euery ſide, he wept bytterly. Then he retyred the reſt of his armie. That day he thought aſſuredly to haue entred into the Medowe of Tour. Moreouer, he was determined, if that dayes iorney had not ſucceded, to encampe therby, and the next mornyng very early, to renew the aſſault. Many gentlemen and others came thether, to ſee the diſcomfiture of the poore Waldoys: and likewiſe thoſe of the Playne looked for nothyng, but to heare the pitious ruine and deſolation of this poore people. But God diſpoſed it otherwiſe: For the Lord of Trinitie had much a do to ſaue him ſelfe, and his: and ſeyng the miſchief, whiche they entended to do vnto others, was fallen now vpon their owne heades: they were wonderfully aſtoniſhed. They of the Playne alſo, when they ſawe the number of the dead bodies and the woūded, to be ſo great (for frō noone vntill the euenyng, they ceaſed not to cary them away) were likewiſe exceedyngly diſmayed. Albeit they caryed not away all, for there were many that lay nere to the Bulwarkes, whiche the people couered with wyndyng ſheetes, the next mornyng. The ſouldiers them ſelues cōfeſſed to them of the Medow of Tour, that if they had purſued them, they had ben all ſlayne: they were ſo tyred and and cleane out of hart.

he L. of rinitie th hys ye, dri= backe.

e Da= s aſto= ed and ayde uery , by the derfull ment od.

Many marueled why the people did not folow the armye, but ſpecially yͤ ſouldiers, ſeing the great diſcōfiture which they had done, & that they had gottē ſuch vantage of thē already. But this was done for ij. cauſes. The one was, becauſe they had already determined not to folow yͤ armye beyng once retired, to auoyde yͤ effuſion of bloud, meanyng onely to defend them ſelues. The other cauſe was, for that they were weary, & had ſpent all their munitiō: For many of them had ſhot of, about xxx. tymes, and none of them, vnder twentie, ſpendyng great ſtore both of pelletes and haileſhot. The reſt of the armie retired, crying, with a loude voyce: God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong.

s peo= worde heding oud.

The next day, one of yͤ principall Captaines of yͤ army ſurrēdred his charge to yͤ L. of Trinitie, ſaying vnto him, yͭ hee would neuer fight agaynſt this people any more, & vpō that he departed. It is a merueilous thyng and worthy of perpetuall memory, that in that cōbate there were but ij. of the Waldoys ſlayne and ij. hurt. Throughe the whole countrey of Piemont, euery mā ſayd: God fighteth for them. One of the Captaines confeſſed, yͭ he had ben at many fierce aſſaultes and combates, and ſondry battaile well fought, but yet hee neuer ſawe ſouldiers ſo faynt harted and amaſed: yea the ſouldiers them ſelues told him they were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they could not ſtrike. Moreouer, they ſayd that this people neuer ſhotte, but they hurt or killed ſome of the ſouldiers. Some other ſayd that the Miniſters, by their prayers, coniured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and in dede, wonderfull is it, and marueilous are the iudgementes of God, that notwithſtandyng ſo many combates and conflictes, ſo great aſſaultes and aduentures, ſo much and ſo terrible ſhot, continually made agaynſt this poore people, yet all (in a matter) came to no effecte: So mightely Gods holy power wrought for his people: In ſo much, that for all yͤ ſayd combates, ſkirmiſhes, and ſo many cōflictes: of all the Angrongnians, there were but ix. onely that miſcaryed, and the whole number of thoſe that were ſlayne, were but onely xiiij. perſons. Where alſo is to be noted, not without great admiration, how fewe there were, & thoſe alſo but poore ſelye ſhepheardes and neatheardes, to encounter with ſuch a mighty power, of ſo ſtrong and braue ſouldiers, cōmyng agaynſt thē, with weapon and armour, beyng ſo well furniſhed and appointed with munition, as they were, in all pointes accordingly, and the other on the contrarie ſide, beyng vnarmed, and vnprouided of all habiliment of warre, hauing for their defence, for the moſt part, nothyng els but ſlynges and ſtones, and a fewe harquebuſhes.

God fighteth for hys people.

Onely xiiij. of all the *Waldoys* ſlayne in all theſe conflictes.

The ix. day of March, there was a hoate ſkyrmiſhe at Angrongne. For three companies of ſouldiers, went to Angrongne, to burne and ſpoyle all that remained, and to deſtroy the wynes, whiche were hydden in the grounde. Where, amongeſt them ſelues, they mocked and flouted the poore people, ſaying: theſe Lutherane Waldoys, are valiaūt felowes behind their Bulwarkes: but if they had ben in the plaine field, they had ben well canuaſed. After this it chaunced that thyrtie of the Waldoys, went and aſſailed theſe foreſayd companies in the plaine field. They fought a long ceaſon, and that ſo nere, that ſome of them fought hand to hand. In this conflict, one of thoſe of Angrongne, wreſtled with a Captaine of the enemyes, ſtrōg and mightie, and caſt him downe vpon the ground. Many of the ſouldiers were ſlayne and many hurt. But of the Angronians, there was but one ſlayne, and an other hurt a litle, whiche notwithſtandyng gaue not ouer to fight manfully. Thē the ſouldiers ſeyng the loſſe of their men, retired ſuddenly.

An other ſkirmiſhe betwene the enemyes and the *Angronians*.

After that, the Lord of Trinitie ſent ij. Gentlemen of the Valley of Luſerne, to them of Angrongne, to feele thē, if they would come to any agreement. To whom aunſwere was made, that they would ſtand to their firſt aunſwere. From that tyme he ſent very often, to entreate of the agreement: but what his meanyng was, it might well appeare. For when the poore people hoped for ſome agreement, they were moſt furiouſly aſſaulted. Vppon this there was a day aſſigned in yͤ Valley of Luſerne, to conferre, touching the agreement, with certein men perteinyng to the Lord of Raconis, and the ſafeconduct was promiſed and graunted.

Note the practiſe of Papiſtes.

The night afore the Miniſters and Rulers of Angrongne ſhould take their iorney, they perceaued a company of ſouldiers, goyng vp a hill, by the whiche they of Angrongne ſhould paſſe, and hidde them in houſes on the wayes ſide, thinckyng to take at vnwares, them of Angrongne, which were ſent to treate of the agreemēt. But they hauyng intelligēce of this conſpiracie, watched and warded. It was an eaſie matter as diuers thought, that night to haue taken the Lord of Trinitie, and haue ſpoyled his whole campe. But they of Angrongne & Luſerne, would not execute this enterpriſe, leaſt thereby they ſhould offend God, and paſſe the boundes of their vocation, takyng vppon them, no more but to defende them ſelues.

Beholde how this traiterous *Trinitie*, whiles he pretendeth an agreement, goeth about to deſtroye theſe poore men.

David ſpareth *King Saul*.

At that tyme a pitifull caſe happened in the Medowe of Tour. The Lord of Raconis, ſemyng to be ſory for this warre, ſent into the Medowe of Tour, an honeſt man of Briqueras, named Fraunces of Gilles, to take aduiſe, what meanes were beſt, to further the agreemēt. Who hauing cōſulted with the Miniſters & Rulers, returned homeward that day, accordyng to his Maiſters commaundement

ment: and hauyng ſent backe one whiche conducted him, was murdered ſoone after, at the foote of Angrongne, by ij. of Angrongne, whiche otherwiſe ſeemed to be honeſt, and of good parentage. Soone after, one of the ij. whiche had committed this facte, entred into the Medowe of Tour, & was immediatly apprehended & bound. He confeſſed the facte, without any further delay. Immediatly the other alſo was taken.

The juſte dealing of the *Angronians.*

The Waldoys were marueilouſly troubled and agreued with this fact, and wrote to the Lord of Raconis, declaryng vnto him the whole circumſtaūce of the fact, and that they had the offenders in warde, and that, if it would pleaſe him to ſend certeine to examine the matter, they for their part, would ſo execute iuſtice, in the puniſhment of them, that their innocencie to all men ſhould appeare. The Lord of Raconis, wrote vnto them, that they ſhould deliuer vnto him yͤ offenders, and that he would do ſuch iuſtice vpon them, as the cauſe required. To the whiche they of Angrongne aunſwered, that vpō three condiciōs, they ſhould be deliuered, accordyng to hys requeſt. Firſt that the priſoners ſhould be compelled to do nothyng agaynſt their conſciences, and as touchyng religion, nothyng ſhould be ſpoken vnto them, but out of the worde of God. Secondly that ſpedy, and ſharpe Juſtice ſhould be executed vpon them: and that hereafter this ſhould be no preiudice to the liberties and priuileges of the people of Angrongne. The third that the execution of thē ſhould be vpon the borders of Angrongne, for an example to all other. This being accorded with one aſſent (yea without contradiction of their parentes) they ſent them priſoners accompanyed with thre ſcore gonners, to the confines of Luſerne, and there deliuered them into the handes of the Lord of Raconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrongne.

Scarſenes of vitaile among the *Angronians.*

Gods mercye towarde hys people.

After this the Lord of Trinitie, hauing left certein Gariſons about Angrongne, and the valley of Luſerne: went to Perouſe, nere to the Valley of S. Martin, to ſuccour the Garriſon there, being in great daūger, and there remayned a moneth. Duryng whiche time, they of Angrongne, and of the Valley of Luſerne, lyued in more quietnes thē afore: but yet they were ſo afflicted, by reaſon of the ſcarcitie of vitailes, whiche ſore preſſed them, and namely thoſe of the Medowe of Tour, for they were ſpoyled of their vitailes. This poore people liued with milke and with herbes, hauyng very litle bread. But afterwardes, when they were euen like to bee famiſhed, God of his goodnes, ſent them better ſuccour, both of corne & bread, then they had before. The enemies thought to haue takē the Medow of Tour by famine: for they tooke away the vitailes that were to bee had in all places rounde about. Euery houſhold was ſuffered to haue no more, then ſhould ſuſteine thē that day, and that alſo was very litle: to the end yͭ they ſhould not ſuccour this poore people.

Note how this bloudye wretch pretending agreement, peace, and quietnes: immediatly ſeeketh the deſtruction of this poore people.

The people of *Tailleret* cruelly murdered of the *Spanyardes.*

The trumpettes of the *Waldoys.*

The *Spaniardes* beaten backe.

After that, the Lorde of Trinitie beyng returned from Perouſe to Luſerne, ſent certeine to entreate of an agreement. and required to common with ſome of the people. Then they beganne to conſulte and deuiſe by all meanes, how they might come to ſome good agreemēt. But on Mondaye beyng the xvij. daye of Aprill, by breake of day, hee ſent certeine bandes of Spanyardes, whiche hee had there, with the Garriſon of Tour, to the mountaine of Tailleret, by that way whiche leadeth to the Medow of Tour, on the South ſide. They murdered mē, wemen and children of Tailleret, whom they founde in in their beddes. Then they marched on along vpon the mountaine, towardes the Medow of Tour. Anone after the people perceiued ij. other cōpanies of ſouldiers marchyng by Angrongne, by ij. ſeuerall wayes, to aſſaulte the Medow of Tour. In the mornyng, as ſoone as they roſe, they blew their hornes, for they ſawe the Spanyardes already entred. When they had made their prayers, euery man ranne to meete the enemyes, ſome on the Eaſt ſide, & the other on the South. They which firſt reſiſted the Spanyardes (who were already paſt the bulwarkes) were in the begynnyng, but xij. gunners, and a fewe other, whom they cauſed to go vp to the hill, and role downe great ſtones. Theſe xij. hauing foūd a fitte place for their purpoſe to ſtay yͤ Spanyardes, begā to ſhoote of their harquebuſhes at them. The Spanyardes ſeyng them ſelues ſo ſore aſſailed both aboue and beneath, and the place ſo narrow, and ſo ſtrait, reculed backe, and retired as faſt as they could, by the ſame way, by the whiche they came. If they had taried a litle longer, they had ben encloſed betwene the ij. mountaines: whiche place was ſo ſtraite that they could not haue eſcaped. The people chaſed thē vnto their campe, whiche was at Tour. As they fled, they found often, ſome Fortes, where they did reſiſte for a litle while: but they were alway beaten out. In this combate God gaue victorie to the poore Waldoys, with great ſlaughter of the Spanyardes: where alſo very many of them were ſore hurt and wounded.

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The ſayd L. of Trinitie ſent vnto the Spanyardes, that they ſhould not faynt and giue ouer, but ſticke to it lyke men, and he would ſhortly ſend them ſuccour: but they would not. Thoſe of the Valley of Luſerne, hearyng of this cōflict, came in the meane time, to helpe their neighbours. Amongeſt other, there was one ſlayne in that battaile, for whom the L. of Trinitie much lamented, ſaying that he would rather haue loſt a whole bande, then that man. The other ij. companies, whiche marched by Angrongne, perceiuyng the Spanyardes to bee ſo beaten and put to flight, and ſeyng alſo thoſe of the Medow of Tour commyng to encounter with them, retired in haſt. Vpon that, the Lord of Trinitie went to Cauors, three myles frō Luſerne, beyng in a great perplexitie: and as hee was about to ſend ſuccour to the Spanyardes, he heard the ſound of a drumme about Luſerne, and ſuſpected that there was an armye of the Waldoys commyng againſt hym. Vppon this, diuers of the ſouldiers fled away by the playne, crying that all was loſt. It was certeinly reported that if the Waldoys had purſued the armye, as they might eaſely haue done, the campe had that day, ben chaſed out of Luſerne. The poore people lacked no courage ſo to do: for albeit they had neither eaten nor drunkē, all that day before, & had ſore traueiled & fought: yet they ſayd, that if they had but a litle refreſhed thē ſelues with a morſell of bread, & a glaſſe of wine, they durſt take vpon thē, to enter into the campe of their enemyes.

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Within a few dayes after, they of Angrongne were aduertiſed by the Lord of Trinities letters, that he fully determined to cut downe their trees, and vynes, and deſtroy their corne beyng on the ground: and furthermore, that two Fortes ſhoulde be bulded at Angrongne. The daye was aſſigned, and horſemen appoynted, with all ſpeede to execute thys miſchieuous enterpriſe. The poore people thought that they ſhould be aſſailed as ſore as euer they were, and fight as hard as euer they did before. But God preuented this cruell attempte. For the night afore that this ſhould bee executed, the Lord of Trinitie receaued certeine letters from the Duke, whiche ſtayed this enterpriſe. They of yͤ Medow of Tour, beyng aduertiſed that the Lord of Trinitie did nowe entend to ſend ordinaunce to beate downe the bulwarkes, whiche were made of ſtones: they made a Bulwarke of earth, whiche was in compaſſe, aboute fyue hundreth paſes: whiche they might eaſely ſee from Luſerne. They of the Medowe of Tour told the Lord of Trinities men, that if they brought any artillary, they ſhould not ſo ſoone cary it awaye agayne, and ſhortly, the ordinaunce was ſent backe agayne.

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About this ceaſon, the chiefe Rulers and Miniſters of the Waldoys requeſted earneſtly, the Lord of Raconis, to preſent a ſupplication whiche they had made, to the Ducheſſe of Sauoye. For they had intelligence that ſhe was ſore offended, that her ſubiectes were ſo cruelly handled. In the whiche ſupplication they declared the equitie of their cauſe, proteſtyng all due obediēce to the Duke their ſoueraigne Lord: and if it might bee proued by the pure word of God, that they held any errour, they would with all humble ſubmiſſion, receiue correction and bee reformed, humbly beſechyng her grace to appeaſe the diſpleaſure, whiche the Duke had conceaued agaynſt them, by the vntrue ſurmiſes of their aduerſaries: and if there were any thyng wherin they had offēded him, they moſt humbly craued his gracious pardon.

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About this tyme, the Lord of Trinitie, by ſicknes, was in great daunger of hys life. Soone after the ſupplicatiō was deliuered: the Ducheſſe ſent an aunſwere to the Waldoys, by the ſayd Lord of Raconis. The effect therof was, that ſhe had obteined of the Dukes grace, all that they demaunded in their ſupplication, vpon ſuch conditions as the ſayd Lord Raconis would propound vnto them. But when they vnderſtode that the ſayd condiciōs were very rigorous, they ſent an other ſupplication vnto the Ducheſſe, wherein they humbly beſought her grace to be a meane, that the ſayd condicions and Articles might be moderated: whiche Articles here folow.

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First, that they ſhould baniſhe their Miniſters.

Secondly that they ſhould receaue the Maſſe, and other ceremonies of the Romiſhe Churche.

Thyrdly

Thirdly, that they ſhould pay a raunſome to the ſouldiers, for certeine of their men, whiche they had taken.

Fourthly, that they ſhould aſſemble and preache no more as they were wont to do.

Fiftely, that the Duke would make Fortreſſes at his pleaſure, in all that countrey, with other like thinges.

The people made humble requeſt in this their laſt ſupplicatiō, that it would pleaſe the ſayd Duches to giue the Duke her huſband to vnderſtand, how that theſe conditions were ſtraunge & rigorous. And as for their partes, althoughe they had good triall of their Miniſters, that they were good mē and fearyng God, of ſound doctrine, of good life, & honeſt conuerſation, yet neuertheleſſe they were contented ſo to do, if hee would giue leaue to ſome of them to remayne: requeſtyng this, that it might bee permitted vnto them to chuſe ſome other good Miniſters in their places, before they departed, leſt that their Churches ſhould remaine without Paſtors.

Concernyng the Maſſe and other ceremonyes of the Churche of Rome, if the Duke ſhould cauſe thē to be miniſtred in their pariſhes, they neither would, nor coulde withſtand the ſame, & for their part, they would do no iniurie or violence to thoſe that ſhould miniſter them or be preſent therat: notwithſtandyng they beſought him, that they might not be conſtrayned to be preſent them ſelues, at the miniſtration thereof, or to paye any thyng to the maintenaunce of the ſame, or els to yeld either fauour or conſent therunto.

As touchyng the raunſome, whiche was demaunded of them for their priſoners, conſideryng the extreme pouertie that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had ſuffered, it was to thē a thyng vnpoſſible. Yea if his highnes were truly informed what loſſe they had ſuſteined, by burnyng, ſpoylyng and ſackyng of their houſes and goodes, without all mercie or pitie, he would not onely require of them no ſuch thyng, but, as a gracious and mercifull Prince, he would ſuccour and ſupporte them, that they might bee hable to mainteine their poore families, whom they nouriſhed (as they were bounde to do) to the ſeruice of God, and their ſayd Lord and Prince: and therfore they deſired that it might pleaſe him, that their poore brethren remainyng in captiuitie and priſon, and ſuch as were ſent to the Galleys for the profeſſion of their religion, might ſpedely be deliuered, and ſet at libertie.

As for their aſſembles and preachings, they were contented that they ſhould be kept onely amongeſt them ſelues, in their accuſtomed places and in other Valleys aforeſayd, where any aſſemble of the faithfull ſhould bee, which were deſirous to heare yͤ preaching of the Goſpel.

Touchyng the Fortreſſes, for as much as by thoſe whiche were already made, they had ſuffred great moleſtations and troubles, as well concernyng their goodes, as alſo their religion: they were aſſured that if he ſhould builde vp newe Fortes, they ſhould neuer be hable to abyde the troubles, miſeries, & calamities, that would folow thereupon, and therefore they moſt humbly deſired the ſayd Ducheſſe to be ſo good and gracious vnto them, as to obteine of yͤ Duke, that he would accept their perſons in the ſtede of Fortes: and that, ſeyng thoſe places were by nature and of them ſelues ſtronge and well fortified, it might pleaſe their ſayd lord the Duke, to receiue them into his protection and ſafegard: and by the grace and aſſiſtance of God, they would ſerue him them ſelues for ſuch walles, and Fortes, that he ſhould not neede to builde any other. And becauſe many of thoſe whiche dwelt neare about thē, had robbed & ſpoiled thē, not onely of their houſhold goodes and ſuch other thynges, but alſo driuen away their cattell: that it might pleaſe hym to giue them leaue to recouer the ſayd goods, by the way of Juſtice, and to bye agayne that whiche the ſouldiers had ſold, & that for yͤ ſame price, for yͤ which it was ſolde.

Brieflye, they alſo beſought their ſayd Lord, that it might pleaſe him to bee ſo gracious vnto them, as to graunt them a confirmation of all their franchiſes, immunities, and priuileges, as wel generall, as particular, giuē vnto them, as wel by him, as by his predeceſſours: and likewiſe of thoſe whiche, as well they, as their anciters had bought of their Lordes, and to receiue them as his moſt humble and obedient ſubiectes, into his protection and ſafegarde.

And becauſe in tyme paſt, in the ſtede of good and ſpedy Juſtice, all iniquitie was committed by thoſe that had the adminiſtration of Juſtice in their Valleys: and for as much as their purſes were emptied and puniſhed rather then the malefactours: that it might pleaſe hym to giue order, yͭ ſuch Juſtice might be done amongeſt them, wherby yͤ wicked might be puniſhed with all ſeueritie, and the innocēt defended and mainteined in their right.

Torment of conſcience in ſliding from the truth.

Finally, for as much as diuers of this poore people, (beyng aſtoniſhed at the commyng of the armie, and fearyng leſt they ſhould, not onely bee ſpoyled of all their goodes, but alſo they, with their wiues and children, bee vtterly deſtroyed) made promiſe againſt their cōſciences, to lyue accordyng to the traditions of yͤ Church of Rome: they were marueilouſly troubled & tormented in ſpirite, & did nothyng but languiſh in that diſtreſſe. wherfore they humbly beſought the ſayd Duches, to take pitie vppon them, and to obteine that they might not bee compelled to do any thing agaynſt their conſcience: and moreouer, that it might pleaſe the Duke to permitte them, to lyue in libertie and fredome of conſcience: alſo, that all their poore brethren, baniſhed for the cauſe of religion, might returne home to their houſes: and that all confiſcations & penalties made agaynſt thē, might be aboliſhed. And for their part they promiſed to giue all due reuerence and honor to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithfull ſubiectes to their Lord and Prince, yea more then any other. Underneath the ſayd ſupplication, there was written:

> Your faythfull & humble ſubiectes, the poore afflicted of the Valleys of Luſerne, Angrongne, S. Martin, & Perouſe, & generally al the people of the Waldois, which inhabite the countrey of Piemont.

After that this ſupplication was vewed & read of the ſaid Duches, ſhe ſo perſuaded with the Duke, that aunſwere was made with theſe conditions declared in theſe Articles folowyng.

¶ *Concluſions and Articles laſtly agreed vpon, betwene* the right honorable Lord of Racouis, on the part of the Dukes highnes, and them of the Valleyes of Piemont called the Waldoys.

The compoſition and agrement vpon conditions betwene the Duke, and the *Waldoys*.

That there ſhall ſhortly be made letters Patentes by the Dukes highnes, by the which it maye appeare that hee hath forgiuen and pardoned them of the Valleys of Angrongne, Boby, Villars, Valquichard, Rora, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet *borderyng vpon* Tour, S. Martin, Perouſe, Roccapiata, S. Barthelemew, *and all ſuch as haue aided them: of all ſuch faultes as they haue committed, as well in bearyng armour agaynſt his highnes, as agaynſt the Lordes and certeine other Gentlemen, whom he reteined and kept in his protection and ſafegard.*

Pardon promiſed.

That it ſhalbe lawfull for them of Angrongne, Boby, Villars, Valguichard, Rora, *(members of the Valley of* Luſerne*) and for thē of* Rodoret, Marcele, Maneillan, *and* Salſa *(members of the Valley of* S. Martin*) to haue their congregations, Sermons, and other miniſteries of their Religion, in places accuſtomed.*

Sermons and congregations permitted.

That it ſhalbe lawfull for them of Villars *(members of the Valley of* Luſerne*) to haue the ſame, but that onely, vntill the time that his highnes doth build a Forte, in the ſame place. But whileſt the ſayd Forte is in buildyng, it ſhall not be lawfull to haue their preachyngs & aſſembles within the ſaid precinct of the place, but it ſhalbe lawfull for thē to build a place for that purpoſe, nere at hand, where they ſhall thinke good, on that ſide towardes* Boby. *Neuertheles it ſhalbe permitted to their Miniſters to come within the precinct aforeſayd, to viſite the ſicke, and exerciſe other thinges neceſſary to their Religion, ſo that they preache not, nor make any aſſemble there.*

The pariſhe of *Villars*.

It ſhalbe alſo permitted to thē of Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet *borderyng vppon* Tour, *to haue their Sermons and aſſembles in places accuſtomed, ſo that they enter not for that purpoſe, into the reſt of the confines of* Tour.

The pariſhe of Tailleret, *La Rua de Bonet*.

That it ſhall not bee lawfull for the ſayd members of the Valleys of Luſerne *and* S. Martin, *to come to the reſt of their borderers, nor any other part of his highnes dominion: nor to haue their preachynges, aſſembles, or diſputations, out of their own borders, hauyng libertie to haue them therin. And if they bee examined of their faith, it ſhalbe lawfull for them to aunſwere, without daunger of puniſhement, in body or goodes.*

The Valleys of *Luſerne*, & *S. Martin*.

The like ſhalbe lawfull for them of the Pariſhe of Perouſe, *which at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſayd Re-*

The pariſhe of *Perouſe*.

ligion , and were wont to haue their aſſembles and preachinges and other miniſteries according to their Religion, at the place called Le Puis : ſo that they come not to other places and borders of the ſayd pariſh.

The pariſhe of Pinachia.

It ſhalbe permitted to them of the Pariſhe of Pinachia, of the Valley of Perouſe, which at this preſent be fled becauſe of the ſayd Religion, and were wont to go to Sermons and aſſembles and other miniſteries of that religion, to haue the like onely at the place called Le Grandoubion.

The pariſhe of S. Germain.

It ſhalbe permitted to them of the Pariſh of S. Germain of the Valley of Perouſe, and to them of Roccapiata, whiche at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſayd Religion, and continue in the ſame, to haue one onely Miniſter, which may the one day, preach at S. Germain, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day, at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini, onely.

Order for villages being farre from the pariſhe church.

It ſhalbe permitted to all them of the Townes and Villages of the ſayd Valleys, whiche at this preſent are fled, and continue in the ſayd Religion, notwithſtandyng any promiſe or abiuration made before this warre, agaynſt the ſayd Religion, to repayre and returne to their houſes with their houſeholdes , and to liue accordyng to the ſame, goyng and commyng to the Sermons and aſſembles which ſhalbe made by their Miniſters in the places aboue ſpecified, ſo that they obey that whiche is aboue ſayd.

And becauſe that many of the ſayd townes and villages dwell out of the precinct of the preaching, hauing nede to bee viſited, and of other thinges, accordyng to their ſayd Religion, their Miniſters whiche dwell within the precinct, ſhal be ſuffered without preiudice, to viſite and duely aide them of ſuch miniſteries as ſhalbe neceſſarie for them, ſo that they make no Sermons or aſſembles.

The pariſhe of *Meane, & S. Barthelmew.*

By eſpeciall grace it ſhalbe permitted to all them of the Valley of Meane, and them of S. Barthelemew, neighbours to Roccapiata, and are fled and continue in the ſayd Religion, peaceably to enioy the grace and liberties graunted in the nexte Article before, ſo that they obſerue all which they before promiſe to obſerue.

The goods of the *Waldoys* reſtored.

The goodes already ſeaſed as forfait, ſhalbe reſtored to all the inhabitantes of the ſayd Valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the ſayd Religion, as well of them of the ſayd Valleys, as of Roccapiata, S. Barthelemewe, and of Meane, ſo that they be not ſeaſed for any other cauſe thē for the ſayd Religion, and for the warre preſent and lately paſt.

It ſhalbe lawfull for thē aforeſayd, to recouer by waye of Iuſtice, of their neighbours, their moueable goods and cattell, ſo it be not of Souldiours : and that whiche hath bene ſold, they ſhall alſo recouer by way of Iuſtice, ſo that they reſtore the price for which it hath bene ſold. Their neighbours ſhall haue the like agaynſt them.

The liberties reſtored.

All their fraunchiſes, fredomes, and priuiledges, as well generall, as particuler, grāted as well by his highnes predeceſſours, as by him ſelfe , and obteyned of other inferiour Lordes, wherof they ſhall make proufe by publicke writyngs, ſhalbe confirmed vnto them.

The ſayd Valleys ſhalbe prouided for to haue good Iuſtice miniſtred vnto them , whereby they may knowe they are kept in ſauegarde by his highnes, as well as all his other ſubiectes.

The inhabitantes of the ſayd Valleys ſhall make a Role of all the names and ſurnames of all them of the ſayd Valleys, whiche are fled for Religion, as well ſuch as haue abiured, as other, to the end they may be reſtored, & mainteined in their goods and houſholdes , and enioye ſuch grace and benefites as their Prince and Lord hath beſtowed on them.

And in ſo much as it is knowen to euery man, that the Prince may builde Fortreſſes in his countrey, where it ſhall pleaſe him, without contradiction , neuertheleſſe, to take all ſuſpicion out of the mindes of the aforeſayd Waldoys , it is declared that if, at any tyme hereafter , his highnes will make a Forte at Villars, the inhabitantes of the ſayd place ſhall not be conſtrained to beare the charges , but onely as they ſhall thinke good, louingly to ayde their Prince. Whiche Forte beyng builded (by Gods ayde) A Gouernour and Captaine ſhall therin be appointed, whiche ſhall attempt nothing but the ſeruice of his highnes, without offence of the inhabitantes either in their goodes or conſciences.

It ſhalbe lawfull for them, before the diſcharging of their Miniſters, ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe his highnes to haue diſcharged, to chuſe and call other in their ſtedes : ſo that they chuſe not M. Martin de Pragela, nor chaūge not frō one place to another, of the ſayd Valleys, any of thē which be diſcharged.

The Maſſe and other ſeruice after the vſage of Rome, ſhalbe kept in all the Pariſhes of the ſayd Valleys, where the Sermons, aſſembles, and other miniſteries of their Religion are made , but none ſhalbe cōpelled to bee preſent therat nor to miniſter ayde or fauour to ſuch as ſhall vſe that ſeruice.

All the expenſes and charges borne by his highnes in this warre, ſhalbe forgeuen and releaſed to them for euer. Alſo the eight thouſand crownes wherin the inhabitantes of the ſayd Valleyes were behinde, as parte of xvi. thouſande crownes, which they had promiſed in the warre paſſed : and his highnes will commaunde that the writynges for that cauſe made, ſhalbe adnulled and Cancelled.

All the priſoners ſhalbe rendered and reſtored whiche ſhalbe founde to be in the handes of the Souldiours, paying raunſome reaſonable, accordyng to their goods, as they ſhalbe ſeaſed : and thoſe whiche ſhalbe adiudged to be wrongfully taken, ſhalbe releaſed without raunſome.

Likewiſe, all they of the ſayd Valleys , whiche for Religion , and not for other cauſes , are deteined in the Galleys, ſhalbe releaſed without raunſome.

Finally, it ſhalbe lawfull for all them of the ſayd Valleys, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and S. Barthelemewe, of what degreee, eſtate, or condition ſo euer they be (except Miniſters) to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily conuerſation with the reſt of his highnes ſubiectes, and to tary, go, and come, in all places in his highnes countrey, to ſell and bye and vſe all trades of Marchaundiſe, in all places in his highnes countrey, as before is ſayd, ſo that they preache not, nor make any aſſembles, or diſputations , as we haue before ſayd: and that they whiche be of the limites , dwell not out of them : and they whiche bee of the townes and villages of the ſayd Valleys, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: and in ſo doyng they ſhall not bee moleſted by any meanes, and ſhall not be offended nor troubled in body or goodes: but ſhall remayne vnder the protection and ſauegarde of hys hyghneſſe.

Furthermore , his highnes ſhall ſet order to ſtay all troubles, inconueniences, ſecret conſpiracyes of wicked perſons, after ſuch ſorte, that they ſhall remayne quietly in their Religion. For obſeruation wherof, George Monaſtier, one of the Elders of Angrongne, Conſtātion Dialeſtini, otherwiſe called Rembaldo, one of the Elders of Villars , Pirrone Arduino , ſent from the comminaltie of Boby, Michael Raymondet, ſent from the cōminaltie of Tailleret and of La Rua de Bouet bordering vpon Tour, Iohn Malenote, ſent from certeine perſons of S. Iohn, Peter Paſchal ſent from the comminaltie of the Valley of S. Martin, Thomas Roman of S. Germain, ſent from the commynaltie of the ſame place , and of all the Valley of Perouſe, promiſe for them and their comminalties, ſeuerally , that the contentes of theſe Concluſions aforeſayd , ſhalbe inuiolatlye kept, and for breach therof, do ſubmit them ſelues to ſuch puniſhement as ſhall pleaſe his highnes : Promiſing likewiſe to cauſe the chief of the families of the comminalties, to allowe and confirme the ſayd promiſe.

The honorable Lord of Raconis doth promiſe that the Dukes highnes ſhall confirme & allow the foreſayd Concluſions to them both generally and particularly, at the interceſſion and eſpeciall fauour of the noble Lady the Princeſſe.

In teſtimony wherof, the foreſayd lord of Raconis hath confirmed theſe preſent Concluſions , with hys owne hand, and the Miniſters haue likewiſe ſubſcribed in the name of all the ſayd Valleys , & they which cā write , in the name of all their comminalties. At Cauor, the v. of Iune. 1561.

Philippe of Sauoy.
Fraunces Valla, Miniſter of Villars.
Claudius Bergius, Miniſter of Taillaret.
Georgius Monaſterius.
Michael Raymundet.

THis accorde beyng thus made and paſſed, by the meanes of the Ducheſſe of Sauoy, the poore Waldois haue bene in quyet vntill this preſent: and God of his infinite goodnes hauyng deliuered them out of ſo many troubles and conflictes, hath ſet them at libertie, to ſerue him purely and with quyetnes of conſcience.

Wherfore there is none at this preſent (except he be altogether blind or ſenſeles) but he ſeeth ⁊ well perceiueth that God would make it knowen by experience, to theſe poore Waldoys, and all other faythfull people, that all thinges turne to the beſt to them, whiche loue and feare him. For by all theſe afflictions whiche they ſuffered (as is before rehearſed) this good heauenly father hath brought them to repentaunce and amendement of lyfe. He hath effectuouſly taught them to haue recourſe to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jeſus Chriſt, for their onely Sauiour and redemer.

Furthermore he hath taught them to tame the deſires and luſtes of the fleſhe, to withdrawe their hartes from the world, and lift them vp to heauen, and to be alwayes in a redynes to come to him, as vnto their moſt louyng and pitifull father. To bee ſhort, he hath ſet them to the ſchole of his children, to the ende they ſhould profite in patience and hope: to make them to mourne, wepe and cry vnto him. And aboue all, he hath made them ſo oft to proue his ſuccours at tyme of nede, to ſee them before their eyes, to feele and touche them with their hādes (as a man would ſay) after ſuch ſort, that they haue had good occaſion and all the faithfull with them, neuer to diſtruſt ſo good a father, and ſo carefull for the health of his children: but to aſſure them ſelues neuer to bee confounded, what thyng ſoeuer happen.

And yet to ſee this more manifeſtly, ⁊ that euery man may take profite therof, it ſhalbe good to vnderſtād what this poore people did, whiles they were in theſe cōbates and conflictes. So ſoone as they ſaw the armye of theyr enemies approch, they cried altogether for ayde and ſuccour to the Lord, and before they began to defende them ſelues, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted vp their hartes and ſighed to the Lord. As long as the enemyes were at reſt, euery one of thys poore people, on their knees, called vpō God. When ẏ cōbate was ended, they gaue him thankes for the comfort ⁊ ſuccour, whiche they had felt. In the meane tyme, the reſt of the people with the Miniſters, made their harty prayer vnto God with ſighes and teares, and that, from the mornyng vntill the euenyng. When night was come, they aſſembled agayne together. They which had fought, rehearſed ẏ wōderfull ayde and ſuccour whiche God had ſent them, and ſo all together rendred thākes vnto him for his fatherly goodnes. Alwayes he chaūged their ſorrow into ioye. In the mornyng trouble an afflictiō appeared before them, with great terrour on all ſides: but by the euenyng, they were deliuered, and had large cauſe of reioyſing and comfort.

This poore people had two terrible enemyes: warre and famine, which kept them vnder, in ſuch ſorte, that a man would haue thought they had bene vtterly loſt and deſtroyed. But God of his endles mercie, deliuered thē from ſuch daungers, and reſtored them to their houſes, where they remayned afterwardes in peace and quyetnes, and all they whiche had declared them ſelues to bee their open enemyes, were brought to confuſion, as well thoſe which ſought to gette their goodes, as thoſe which onely deſired to ſhede their bloud. For proufe wherof, the onely example of two Gentlemen of the Valley of Luſerne ſhall ſuffiſe. Theſe not onely moued cruell warre agaynſt their poore tenaūtes and others, but moſt ſhamefully ſpoyled them, and tooke vntolerable fynes of all thoſe that diſobeyed their Edictes, to kept a good conſcience. Beſides this they went about to ſeaſe all their goodes as forfaite: waityng to haue the whole forfaiture therof them ſelues. And for this cauſe they did not onely incenſe the Duke with falſe reportes ⁊ with greuous cōplaintes ⁊ accuſations, agaynſt theſe poore Waldoys: but alſo purſued the ſame ſo long ⁊ with ſuch charges, that they were fayne to ſell their inheritaūce, in hope to bring their purpoſe to paſſe, and to enioye that goodly praye, whiche they thought could not eſcape their handes. But in the ende, for their rewarde, they gotte nothyng but ſhame and confuſion.

And as for the Monkes and Prieſtes, whiche by ſuch meanes thought to aduaunce them ſelues, and to bryng their trumpery to eſtimation, they haue loſt the litle rule whiche they had ouer that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought in diſdayne. Thus God beateth downe thoſe, whiche exalte them ſelues aboue meaſure, and maketh his aduerſaries to fall into the pyttes, whiche they them ſelues haue made.

Let vs pray vnto him therefore, that it would pleaſe hym lykewiſe to ſtretche out his puiſſaunt arme at this daye, to maintayne his poore Church, now afflicted, ⁊ to confounde all the diuiſes of Sathan ⁊ his members, to the aduauncement of hys glorye and kyngdome.

*Note in thys ſtorye before, fol. 1097. col. 1. lin. 81. that he, which had the *Eſcarbots* put to hys bellie to kill hym, was called *Odoul Gemet*.

Odoul Gemet moſt cruelly Martyred, read fol. 1097. col. 1. lin. 81.

¶ *The concluſion of the ſtorye.*

The concluſiō of the ſtorye of *Merindol*, and *Angrongne*.

And thus thou haſt (Chriſtian reader) for thy erudition and comforte, the ſtorye and doinges, diſcourſed concerning theſe two countreyes, both of Prouince, and alſo of Piemont, the one being ſubiecte vnder the dominion of Fraunce: the other belonging to the Duke of Sauoy. In the which two foreſayd regions and countreys, how long the Goſpell of Chriſt hath continued (euen from the tyme of the firſt Waldenſes) ẏ hiſtorye it ſelf declareth. Furthermore, what iniuries ⁊ wronges haue bene wrought agaynſt them, for the Goſpells ſake, what rigour and crueltie hath bene ſhewed, of the aduerſarye parte: againe, for their parte, what pacience in their ſuffering, what conſtancie in their doctrine, what truth in their wordes, and ſimplicitie in their deedes, what obedience toward their Magiſtrates, and fayth toward God they haue vſed: and finallye, how miraculouſlye and mightely God hath fought for hys people, and confounded the enemyes, the ſayd hiſtorys may geue thee full knowledge and experience.

Merindoll and Cabriers in Prouince, vnder the French king.

Angrongne and others *in Piemont*, vnder the Duke of *Sauoy*.

The crueltie of the aduerſaryes.

The pacience of the Martyrs.

Wherin thys thou haſt moreouer for thy more learnyng, to note and to conſider with thy ſelfe, beſides many other memorable thinges, in this ſtory conteyned, how vnwillyng this people were at firſt, and what remorſe of conſcience they had, for their obedience toward their Magiſtrates, to lyft vp any hand or finger, for their owne defence. And therefore many of them beyng ſlayne, and cruelly murthered as willyngly offeryng their throates, without any reſiſtaunce, to the cruell handes of their enemyes, the reſt were compelled to flye into the mountaynes, beyng ſpoyled of houſe, vitaile, and weapon, onely to ſaue their poore lyues with flying, which otherwiſe they would not with reſiſtyng, in rockes and caues, thinkyng there rather to periſhe by famine, then to vſe that defenſe for them ſelues, whiche nature giueth to euery brute beaſt, to helpe it ſelf, as it may, agaynſt violēce and iniurie. Yet theſe poore Waldoys refuſing all reſiſtaunce, and layng downe their owne weapon (for obedience ſake) yea not liftyng vp their owne handes, to defende their owne heades, onely vſed the poore ſhifte of flying from their enemyes, till at length the rage of thoſe bloudy perſecutours, ſatiſfied with no bloud, nor contented with any reaſon, ceaſed not ſtill moſt furiouſly, to infeſt them, yea to take alſo the mountaines from them, whiche had taken from them theyr houſes before, neither yet permittyng them to lyue with the wilde beaſtes in the deſerte, whiche could not lyue in their townes at home: till at length, by extreme neceſſitie, the prouidence of God ſo workyng with thē, they were compelled to turne their faces, and to take thoſe weapons, which the ground gaue to their hādes. And wᵗ thoſe ſtones, ſo merueilouſly ẏ God of hoaſtes wrought for his people, that they bette, vanquiſhed, ⁊ ouerthrew their aduerſaries, they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, ⁊ at laſt, ſtayd ẏ intolerable rage of their perſecutiō. So mercifully, ⁊ victoriouſlye the Lord God omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people, they but turnyng almoſt their faces vnto their enemyes, no otherwiſe then he fought in times before, with Ioſue agaynſt the heathē, with the Iſraelites agaynſt the Philiſtians, with the Macabees, agaynſt Antiochus and the Syrians.

Then they which are in Iewry, let thē flye into the Moūtaines, *Luke.* 21.

The *Waldoys* compelled to defend them ſelues.

Note how the Lorde bleſſed the *Waldoys*, ſtanding to their own defence.

Thys hiſtorye caryng with it a true narration of thinges done in the ſayd countrey of Piemont, and written (as it ſemeeth) by certayne of the

Miniſters, whiche were at the doyng therof, with the like fayth and ſimplicitie we haue collected partly out of the Italian, partly out of the Frenche tongue: for in both the languages it is written, althoughe in the Frenche tongue, it is much more largely diſcourſed, which boke moſt principally herein we haue folowed. The title wherof thus begynneth. *Hiſtoire des perſecutions & Guerres faites contre le people appellé Vaudois. &c.*

Ex Hiſtor. Gallica. & Italica.

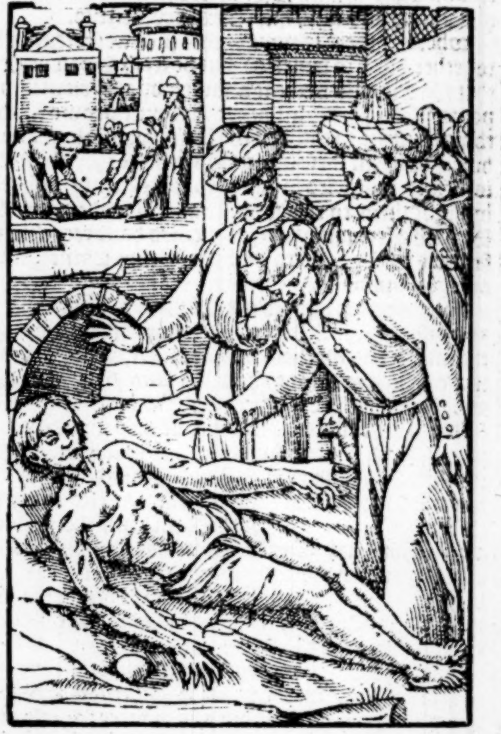
Now, that we haue finiſhed theſe forreine hiſtories, concernyng ſuch matters as haue bene paſſed in other realmes and nations, of Germanie, Italie, Spayne, Fraunce, and Sauoy: conſequently it remayneth after this digreſſe, to returne and reduce our ſtorye agayne, to our own countrey matters, here done and paſſed at home, after that firſt we ſhall haue added one forrein ſtory more, concerning the Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Iewe, whiche ſuffered about theſe yeares, in Conſtantinople, among the Turkes, in this wiſe as foloweth.

¶ *The ſtory of a Chriſtian Iewe in Conſtantinople* martyred by the Turkes.

A Chriſtian Iewe, Martyr.

An. 1528

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Turkes of Conſtantinople.	A Iewe Chriſtenned and Martyred. At Conſtã tinople. an. 1528.	TO theſe forreine Martyrs aforeſayd, we will alſo adioyne the Hiſtorie of a certeine Iewe, who in the yeare our Lord. 1528. dwellyng in the Citie of Conſtantinople, and there receauyng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, was cõuerted, and became a good Chriſtian. when the Turkes vnderſtode hereof, they were vehemently exaſperated agaynſte hym, that hee forſakyng his Ieweſnes, ſhould bee regenerate to the fayth of Chriſt: and fearyng leaſt hys conuerſion ſhould be a detriment to their Mahometicall law, they ſought meanes howe to put hym to death, whiche in ſhort tyme after, they accompliſhed. And for the greater infamie to bee done vnto the man, they caſt hys dead corps into the ſtreetes, commaundyng that no man ſhoulde be ſo hardie as to burie the ſame. wherin the meruelous glorie and power of Chriſt appeared. For the dead corps lying ſo by the ſpace of ix. dayes in the middeſt of the ſtreetes, reteined ſo his natiue colour, and was ſo freſhe, without any kynd of filthynes or corruption, & alſo not without a certeine pleaſaunt & delectable ſent or odour, as if it had bene lately ſlayne, or rather not ſlayne at all: whiche when the Turkes beheld, they were thereat meruelouſly aſtonied, and being greatly afrayed they them ſelues tooke it vp, and caryed it to a place nere, without the towne, and buryed it.



HAuyng thus comprehended the troubles and perſecutiõs of ſuch godly Saintes, & bleſſed Martyrs, which haue ſuffered in other foreine nations aboue mentioned, here now endyng with thẽ, & begynnyng the viij. booke, we haue (God willyng) to returne agayne to our owne matters, and to proſecute ſuch Actes and recordes, as to our owne countrey of England do apperteine. In the proces whereof among many other thynges, may appeare the meruelous woorke of Gods power and mercy in ſuppreſſyng and baniſhyng out of this realme, the long vſurped ſupremacie of the Pope: alſo in ſubuerting and ouerthrowing the houſes of Monkes, and Friers, with diuers other matters perteinyng to the reformation of Chriſtes true Churche and religion. All which thinges, as they haue bene long wiſhed, & greatly groned for in times paſt, of many godly learned mẽ: ſo much more ought we now to reioyſe and giue God thankes, ſeyng theſe dayes of reformation, whiche God hath giuen vs. If Iohn Hus, or good Hierome of Prage, or Iohn Wickleffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swynderby, or the lord Cobham, if Ziſca with all yͤ company of the Bohemians, if yͤ Earle Raymundus, with all yͤ Tholoſſians, if the Waldoys, or the Albingenſes with infinite other, had bene either in theſe our tymes now, or els had ſene then this ruine of the Pope, and reuelyng of Antichriſt, whiche the Lord now hath diſpenſed vnto vs, what ioye and triumphe would they haue made? Wherfore now beholdyng that thyng, whiche they ſo long tyme haue wiſhed for, let vs not thinke the benefite to be ſmall, but render therfore moſt humble thãkes to the Lord our God: Who by his mighty power and brightnes of his worde, hath reueled this great enemy of his ſo manifeſtly to the eyes of all men, who before was hid in the Churche, ſo colorablye, that almoſt fewe Chriſtians coulde eſpie hym. For who would euer haue iudged or ſuſpected in his mynde, the Byſhop of Rome (commonly receaued and beleued almoſt of all men, to be the vicare and vicegerent of Chriſt here in earth) to be Antichriſt, and the great aduerſary of God, whom S. Paul ſo expreſly propheſieth of, in theſe latter dayes to be reueled, by the brightnes of the Lordes commyng, as all men now, for the moſt part, may ſee is come to paſſe. Wherfore to the Lord and father of lightes, who reueleth all thynges in his due tyme, be prayſe and glory for euer. Amen.

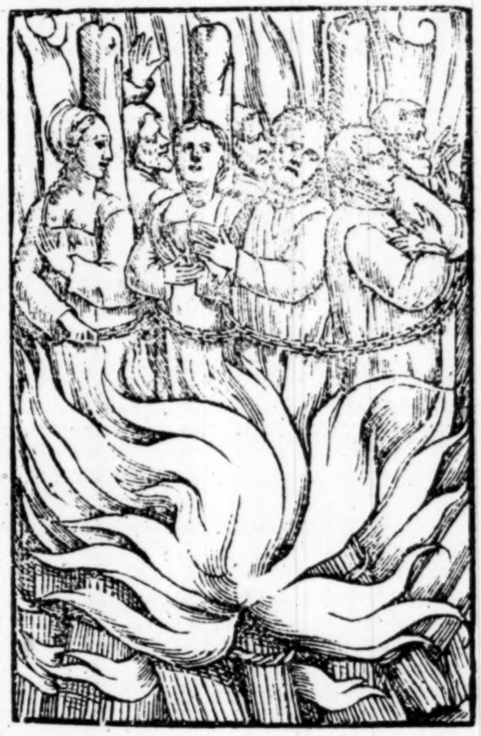
The contentes of the booke following.

Antichriſt long hyd, and now reueiled.

The ende of the ſeuenth booke.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Simon Mourton the Byſhops Somner. The Byſhop of Couẽtry. Frier Stafford, warden.	Maiſtres Smith, widow. Rob. Hatchets, a ſhomaker. Archer, a ſhomaker. Hawkyns, a Shomaker. Thomas Bond, Shomaker. Wrigſhã, a Glouer. Landſdale, an Hoſier. At Couentrie. an. 1519.	THe principall cauſe of ẏ apprehenſiõ of theſe perſõs, was for teachyng their childrẽ, & familie, the Lordes prayer, & x. Commaundementes in Engliſhe: for whiche they were vpõ Aſhewedenſday, taken and put in priſõ, ſome in places vnder the ground, ſome in Chambers, & other places about, till Friday folowyng. Then they were ſent to a Monaſterie called Mackſtocke Abbey 6. myles frõ Couentry. During whiche tyme, their children were ſent for to the Grayfriers in Couẽtry, before the warden of the ſayd Friers, called Frier Stafford: who ſtraitly examinyng them of their beliefe, & what hereſie their fathers had taught them, charged thẽ vpon payne of ſuffering ſuch death, as their fathers ſhould, in no wiſe to medle any more with ẏ Lordes prayer, the Crede, and commaundements in Engliſh. &c. Whiche done, vpon Palmeſonday, the fathers of theſe children were brought backe agayne to Couẽtrie, and there, the weeke next before Eaſter, were cõdemned for relapſe (becauſe moſt of them had borne fagottes in the ſame Citie before) to be burned.

Only Maiſtres Smith was dimiſſed for that preſent, & ſent away. And becauſe it was in ẏ euennig being ſomewhat darke, as ſhe ſhould go home, the foreſayd Simon Mourton the Somner offered him ſelfe to go home with her. Now as he was leadyng her by the arme, and heard the rattelyng of a ſcrole within her ſleue: yea (ſayth hee) what haue ye here? And ſo tooke it from her, and eſpyed that it was the Lordes prayer, the Articles of the faith, & x. Commaundementes in Engliſhe. Whiche when the wretched Somner vnderſtode, ah ſerrha (ſayd he) come, as good now as an other tyme, & ſo brought her backe agayne to the Byſhop, where ſhe was immediatly condemned, and ſo burned with the vi. men before named, the fourth of Aprill, in a place thereby called the litle parke. an. 1519.



Maiſtres Smyth condemned for hauing the Lords prayer in Engliſhe.

An. 1521.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Robert Silkeb. At Couentrie. an. 1521.	IN the ſame number of theſe Couentrie men aboue rehearſed, was alſo Robert Silkeb, who at the apprehenſiõ of theſe, as is aboue recited, fled away, and for that tyme, eſcaped: But about ij. yeares after, hee was taken agayne, and brought to the ſaid Citie of Couentrie, where he was alſo burned the morow after hee came thether, whiche was about the xiij. day of January. an. 1521.

Rob. Silkeb, Martyr.

Thus, when theſe were diſpatched, immediatly ẏ Shriffes went to their houſes, and toke all their goods & cattel to their owne vſe, not leauyng their wiues and children any parcell therof to helpe thẽ ſelues with all. And for ſo much as the people began to grudge ſomewhat, at the crueltie ſhewed, and at the vniuſt death of theſe innocent Martyrs, the Byſhop, with his officers & prieſtes, cauſed it to be noyſed abroad, by their tenauntes, ſeruauntes, and fermers, that they were not burned for hauyng the Lordes prayer and Commaundementes in Engliſhe, but becauſe they did eate fleſhe on Fridayes and other faſtyng dayes. Which neither could be proued, either before their death, or after, nor yet was any ſuch matter greatly obiected to thẽ in their examinations. The witneſſes of this hiſtorie be yet alyue, whiche both ſaw them and knew them. Of whom one is by name mother Halle, dwellyng now in Bagington ij. myles from Couentrie. By whom alſo this is teſtified of them, that they aboue all other in Couentrie pretended moſt ſhew of worſhip and deuotion, at the holdyng vp of the Sacrament, whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not knowen. This is certeine that in godlynes of life they differed from all the reſt of the Citie: Neither in their occupying they would vſe any other: nor could abyde it in them that occupyed with them.

Teſtimonie of thys ſtorye.

Note, howe theſe Martyrs holding with the popiſhe ſacramentes, yet were burned of the Papiſtes, onely for a fewe Scriptures in Engliſhe.

An. 1427.

The ſtorye of M. Patricke Hamelton, in Scotland.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iames Beton Archbyſhop of S. Andrew M. Hew Spens, Deane of Diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of S. Andrew M. Iohn Weddell, Rector of the Vniuerſitie. Iames Symſon, Officiall. Tho. Ramſay, Chanon, and Deane of ẏ Abbey of S. Andrewes.	Patricke Hamelton	PAtricke Hamelton a Scotiſh man borne, of an hygh and noble ſtocke, and of the kyngs blond, yõg & of floriſhing age, and excellent towardnes, of 23. yeares, called Abbot of Ferme, firſt commyng out of his countrey with iij. companions, to ſeke godly learnyng, went to the Vniuerſitie of Marpurge in Germanie, whiche Vniuerſitie was then newly erected by Philippe Lantgraue of Heſſe: where he vſyng conference and familiaritie with learned mẽ, namely with Franciſcus Lambertus, ſo profited in knowledge, and mature iudgement in matters of Religion, that hee, through the incitation of the ſayd Lambert, was the firſte in all that vniuerſitie, of Marpurge, which publikely did ſet vp concluſiõs there to be diſputed of, concernyng fayth and workes: arguyng alſo no leſſe learnedly thẽ feruently vpon the ſame. What theſe propoſitions & concluſions were, partly in his treatiſe hereafter folowyng, called Patrike places, may appeare. Thus ẏ ingenious wyt of this

Of thys Philip Lantgraue of Heſſe, read before, pag. 1025.

Of the Vniuerſitie of Mertgraue, read pag. 1025.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Allane Meldrum Chanon. Iohn Greſon, Principall of the blacke Friers. Iohn Dillidaffe, wardē of the graye Friers. Martin Balbur, Lawyer. Iohn Spens, Lawyer. Alexander Younge, baccheler of Diuinitie, Chanon. Iohn Annand, Chanon. Frier Alex. Campbell, Prior of the blacke friers. &c.	At Saint Andrewes in Scotland. an. 1527.	learned Patrike increaſing daily more & more in knowledge, and inflamed with godlines, at lēgth began to reuolue with him ſelf, touchyng his returne into his countrey, being deſirous to imporre vnto his coũtrey mē, ſome fruite of yͤ vnderſtādyng, which he had receaued abroad. wherupon, perſiſtyng in his godly purpoſe, he tooke one of the iij. whō he brought out of Scotland, and ſo returned home without any longer delay. where he, not ſuſteining the miſerable ignoraunce and blindnes of that people, after hee had valiauntly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuſes, was firſt accuſed of hereſie, & afterward, conſtantly and ſtoutlye ſuſteinyng the quarell of Gods Goſpell, agaynſt the hyghe Prieſt, and Archbiſhop of S. Andrew, named Iames Beton, was cited to appeare before hym, and hys Colledge of Prieſtes, the firſt day of Marche. an. 1527. But he beyng not onely forward in knowledge, but alſo ardent in ſpirite, not tarying for yͤ houre appoynted, preuēted the tyme, and came very early in the mornyng, before he was loked for, and there myghtely diſputyng agaynſt them, when hee could not by the Scriptures be conuicted, by force he was oppreſſed: and ſo, yͤ ſentence of cōdemnatiō being giuē agaynſt him, the ſame day after dyner, in all yͤ hoate haſt, he was had away to the fire, and there burned,

The godly zeale of M. *Hamelton* towardes his countrey.

The Martyrdome and ſuffering of M. *Patrike Hamelton.*

the kyng beyng yet but a child, whiche made the Byſhops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamelton, the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, without all iuſt cauſe, made away by cruell aduerſaries, yet not without great fruite to the Churche of Chriſt, for the graue teſtimonie of hys bloud, left the veritie and truth of God, more fixed and confirmed in the hartes of many, then euer could after be pluckt away: in ſo much that diuers afterward ſtādyng in his quarell, ſuſteined alſo the lyke Martyrdome, as hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhall appeare, as place and tyme ſhall require.

In the meane ſeaſon we thinke good to expreſſe here his Articles, and order of his proceſſe as we receaued thē from Scotland, out of the regiſters.

¶ *The articles and opinions obiected againſt M.* Patrike Hamelton, by Iames Beton Archbyſhop of S.Andrewes.

Articles out of the Regiſters.

That man hath no free will.

That there is no Purgatorye.

That the holy Patriarckes were in heauen, before Chriſtes paſſion.

That the Pope hath no power to looſe and binde: neither any Pope had that power, after S.Peter.

That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that euery Prieſt hath the power that the Pope hath.

That M. Patrike Hamelton was a Byſhop.

That it is not neceſſarye to obteyne any Bulles from any Byſhop.

That the vowe of the Popes religion, is a vowe of wickednes.

That the Popes lawes be of no ſtrength.

That all Chriſtians worthy to bee called Chriſtians, do know that they be in the ſtate of grace.

That none be ſaued, but they are before predeſtinate.

Who ſoeuer is in deadly ſinne, is vnfaythfull.

That God is the cauſe of ſinne, in this ſenſe, that is, that hee withdraweth his grace from men, whereby they ſinne.

That it is deuilliſhe doctrine, to inioyne to any ſinner, actuall penaunce for ſinne.

That the ſayd M. Patrike him ſelfe doubteth, whether all children departing incontinent after their Baptiſme, are ſaued or condemned.

That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſaluation.

These Articles aboue writtē, were giuen in, and layd agaynſt M.Hamelton, and inſerted in their regiſters, for the whiche alſo he was condemned, by them whiche hated him to death. But other learned men, which commoned and reaſoned with him, do teſtifie, that theſe Articles folowyng were the very Articles, for the which he ſuffered. 1. Man hath no free will. 2. A man is onely iuſtified by fayth in Chriſt. 3. A man, ſo long as he lyueth, is not without ſinne. 4. He is not worthy to be called a Chriſtian, whiche beleueth not that he is in grace. 5. A good man doth good workes: good workes do not make a a good man. 6. An euill man bringeth forth euill workes: euill workes do not make an euill man. 7. Fayth, hope, and charitie be ſo lynked together, that one of them can not be without an other, in one man, in this lyfe.

And as touchyng the other Articles, whereupon the Doctours gaue their iudgementes, as diuers do report, he was not accuſed of thē before yͤ Byſhop. Albeit in priuate diſputation, he affirmed & defended the moſt of thē.

¶ *Here foloweth the ſentence pronounced* agaynſt hym.

CHriſti nomine Inuocato : We Iames, by the mercy of God, Archbiſhop of Saint Andrew primate, of Scotland, with the counſail, decree, & authoritie of the moſt reuerend fathers in God, and Lordes Abbottes, Doctours of Theologie, profeſſors of the holy Scripture, and Maſters of the Vniuerſitie, aſſiſtyng vs for the time, ſittyng in Iudgement, within our Metropolitane Church of Saint Andrewe, in the cauſe of hereticall prauitie, agaynſt M. Patrike Hamelton, Abbot or penſionarie of Ferme, being ſummoned to appeare before vs, to aunſwere to certein Articles affirmed, taught and preached by him, and ſo appearyng before vs, and accuſed, the merites of the cauſe beyng ripelye weyde, diſcuſſed, and vnderſtand by faythfull Inquiſitiō made in Lent laſt paſſed: we haue founde the ſame M.Patrike, many wayes infamed with hereſie, diſputyng, holding, and mainteynyng diuers hereſies of Martin Luther, and his folowers, repugnant to our fayth, and which is already ⁎ condemned by general Councels, & moſt famous Vniuerſities. And he beyng vnder the ſame infamie, we decernyng before, him to be ſommoned and accuſed vpon the premiſſes, he of euill minde (as may bee preſumed) paſſed to other partes, forth of the realme, ſuſpected & noted of hereſie. And beyng lately returned, not beyng admitted, but of his owne head, without licence or priuilege, hath preſumed to preache wicked hereſie.

We haue found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed, and taught diuers opinions of Luther, and wicked hereſies, after that he was ſummoned to appeare before vs and our councell: That man hath no free will: That man is in ſinne ſo long as he liueth: That children, incontinent after their baptiſme, are ſinners: All Chriſtians that be worthye to be called Chriſtians, do know that they are in grace: No man is iuſtified by workes, but by fayth onely: Good workes make not a good man, but a good man doth make good workes: That fayth, hope, and charitie, are ſo knit, that he that hath the one, hath the reſt, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the reſt, &c. with diuers other hereſies and deteſtable opinions: and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that by no counſaile nor perſwaſion, he may bee drawen therefrom, to the way of our right fayth.

All theſe premiſſes being conſidered, we hauing God and the integritie of our fayth before our eyes, and following the counſaile & aduiſe of the profeſſors of the holy ſcripture, mē of lawe, and others aſſiſting vs, for the tyme: doe pronounce, determine, and declare, the ſaid M. Patrike Hamelton, for his affirming, confeſſing, and maintayning of the foreſayd hereſies, and hys pertinacitie (they being condemned alreadye by the church, generall councells, and moſt famous Vniuerſities) to be an hereticke, and to haue an euill opinion of the fayth, and therfore to bee condemned and puniſhed, lyke as we condemne, and define hym to be puniſhed, by this our ſentence definitiue, depriuing and ſentencing hym, to bee depriued of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church: and therfore doe iudge and pronounce hym to be deliuered ouer to the ſecular power, to be puniſhed, and hys goods to bee confiſcate.

This our ſentence definitiue, was geuen & red at our Metropolitan church of S.Andrewes, the laſt day of the moneth of February, an. 1527. being preſent, the moſt reuerēd fathers in Chriſt, and Lordes, Gawand Byſhop of Glaſgow, George

Byſhop of Dunkelden. Iohn, Byſhop of Brecham. William, Byſhop of Dunblané. Patrike, Prior of Saint Andrew. Dauid, Abbot of Abirbrothok. George, Abbot of Dunfermelyng. Alexander, Abbot of Caũbuſkyneth. Henry Abbot of Lendors. Iohn Prior of Pittyrweme. The Deane, and Subdeane of Glaſgow. M. Hew Spens. Tho. Ramſay. Allane Meldrun, &c. In the preſence of the clergie and the people.

After the condemnation and Martyrdome of thys true Sainct of God was diſpatched, by the Byſhops and Doctours of Scotland, the rulers and Doctours of the Vniuerſitie of Louane hearing therof, receaued ſuch ioye and conſolation, at the ſheding of that innocent bloud, that for the aboundaunce of hart, they could not ſtay their penne, to vtter condigne thankes, applauding and triumphing in their letters, ſent to the foreſayd Byſhop of S. Andrewes, and Doctours of Scotland, at the worthye and famous deſeruinges of their atchiued enterpriſe, in that behalfe: as by the tenour of their ſayd letter may appeare, which here followeth.

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¶ *The copie of a letter congratulatorie, ſent from the* Doctours of Louane, to the Archb. of S. Andrewes and Doctours of Scotland, commending them for the death of M. Patrike Hamelton.

YOur excellẽt vertue (moſt honourable Biſh.) hath ſo deſerued, that albeit we be farre diſtãt, both by ſea & land, without coniunction of familiaritie, yet we deſire with all our hartes, to thanke you for your worthye deede, by whoſe workes, that true faith which, not long ago, was tainted with hereſie, not onely remaineth vnhurt, but alſo is more confirmed. For as our deare frend M. Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberdon, hath ſhewed vs, the preſumption of the wicked hereticke Patrike Hamelton, which is expreſſed in this your example, in that you haue cutte him of, whẽ there was no hope of amendment, &c.

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*The which thyng, as it is thought commendable to vs, ſo the manner of the proceding was no leſſe pleaſaunt, that the matter was performed by ſo great conſent of ſo many eſtates, as of the clergie, nobilitie, and vulgare people, not raſhely, but moſt prudently, the order of lawe being in all poyntes obſerued. We haue ſeene the ſentence which ye pronounced, and alway doe approue the ſame, not doubting but that the articles which be inſerted, are erronious: ſo that whoſoeuer will defend for a truth, any one of the ſame, with pertinacitie, ſhoulde bee eſteemed an enemie to the fayth, and an aduerſary to the holy * Scripture. And albeit one or ij. of them appeare to be without errour, to them that will conſider onely the bare wordes: as (for example) good workes make not a good man, but a good man worketh good workes, yet there is no doubt but they conteine a Lutheran ſenſe, which, in a maner, they ſignifie: to witte, that workes done after fayth, & iuſtification, make not a mã the better, nor are worthye of any reward before God. Beleue not, that this example ſhall haue place onely among you, for there ſhall be among externe nations, which ſhall imitate the ſame. &c.*

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Certeinly, ye haue geuen vs great courage, ſo that now we acknowledge your Vniuerſitie, which was founded according to the example of our Vniuerſitie of Louane, *to be equall to ours, or ells aboue: and would God occaſion were offered of teſtifying our mindes toward you. In the meane time, let vs labour with one conſent, that the rauening Wolues may be expelled from the ſhepefolde of Chriſt, while we haue tyme. Let vs ſtudie to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wiſely. Let vs haue Inquiſitours, and eſpyers of bookes, contayning that doctrine, eſpecially that is brought in frõ farre countreys, whether by apoſtatiue Monkes, or by Marchauntes, the moſt ſuſpected kinde of men in theſe dayes. It is ſayd, that ſince* Scotland *firſt embraced the Chriſtian fayth, it was neuer defiled with any hereſie. Perſeuer therfore, being moued therunto by the example of* England, *your nexte neighbour, which in thys moſt troublous tyme, is not chãged, partly by the working of the biſhops, among the which** Roffenſis *hath ſhewed him ſelf an Euangelicall* Phænix, *and partlye of the king, declaring him ſelfe to be an other* Matthias *of the new lawe: pretermitting nothing that may defend the lawe of hys realme. The which, if your moſt renoumed king of* Scotland *will follow, he ſhall purchaſe to him ſelfe eternall glorye. Further, as touching the condigne commendation, due for your part (moſt reuerend Byſhop) in thys behalfe, it ſhall not bee the leaſt parte of your prayſe, that theſe hereſies haue bene extincte ſometimes in* Scotland, *you being Primate of* Scotland *and principall author therof: Albeit that they alſo which haue aſſiſted you, are not to be defrauded of their deſerued prayſe, as the reuerend Byſhop of* Glaſgow, *of whoſe erudition, we haue here geuen vs partly to vnderſtand: and alſo the reuerend Byſhop of* Aberden, *a ſtoute defender of the fayth, together with the reſt of the Prelates, Abbottes, Priors, and profeſſours of holy Scripture. Let your reuerend fatherhode take thys litle teſtificate of our duetie toward you, in good parte, whom we wiſhe longe and happelye well to fare in Chriſt. From* Louane, *an.* 1528. *April.* 21.

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K. Henry 8. is here a *Matthias*, when he maketh with you, but when he put downe the pope & hys Abbeyes, then ye make hym an hereticke.

By the Maiſters and profeſſors of Theologie in the Vniuerſitie of Louane, yours to commaunde.

☞ In this Epiſtle of the Louaniane Doctours, I ſhall not nede (gentle reader) to note vnto thee, what a pernicious thyng in a common wealth, is blynde ignoraunce, when it falleth into cruell hartes. Which may well bee compared to a ſword put in the handes of one, that is both blynd & madde. For as the blynd mã, hauyng no ſenſe to ſee and iudge, knoweth not whom he ſtriketh: ſo the madde man, beyng cruell and furious, hath no compaſſion in ſparing any. Wherupon it happeneth many tymes with theſe men, as it did with the blynd furious phariſeis, that as they hauyng the ſworde of authoritie in their handes, in ſtede of malefactours and falſe Prophetes, ſlue the true Prophetes of God, and at laſt crucified the kyng of Glory: ſo theſe Catholicke Louanians and folowers of their Meſſias of Rome, take in their hands the ſword of iuriſdiction, who neither ſeyng what to ſpare, nor caryng whom they ſmite, vnder the ſtile & pretenſe of heretiques, murther and blaſpheme without mercy, the true preachers of the Goſpell, and the holy anointed of the Lord.

But to returne to the matter agayne of M. Hamelton, here is moreouer to be obſerued, as a note worthy of memorie, that in the yeare of the Lord. 1564. in the which yeare this preſent hiſtory was collected in Scotland, there were certeine faythfull men of credite then alyue, who beyng preſent the ſame tyme, when M. Patrike Hamelton was in the fire, heard him to cite and appeale the blacke Frier called Campbell, that accuſed him, to appeare before the hygh God, as generall iudge of all men, to anſwere to the innocencie of his death, and whether his accuſation was iuſt or not, betwene that, and a certeine day of the next moneth, which he there named. Moreouer by the ſame witnes it is teſtified, that the ſayd Frier dyed immediatly before the ſayd day came, without remorſe of conſcience, that he had perſecuted the Innocent. By the example whereof diuers of the people the ſame time, much muſed, and firmely beleued the doctrine of the foreſayd M. Hamelton, to be good and iuſt.

A maruelous example of Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon the accuſer and perſecuter of *M. Hamelton.*

Hereunto I thought good to adioyne a certein godly & profitable treatiſe of the ſayd M. Patrike Hamelton, writen firſt by him in Latine, and afterwarde tranſlated by Iohn Fryth into Engliſhe, which he nameth Patrikes Places, not vnprofitable in my mynde, to be ſene and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine conteined in the ſame, as not onely by the treatiſe it ſelf may appeare, but alſo by the preface of the ſayd Iohn Fryth, prefixed before, whiche alſo I thought not inconuenient to inſerte with the ſame, as here foloweth.

A treatiſe of *M. Patrike Hamelton*, called *Patrikes Places.*

¶ *A brief treatiſe of M. Patrike Hamelton, called* Patrikes Places, tranſlated into Engliſhe by Iohn Fryth, with the Epiſtle of the ſayd Fryth, prefixed before the ſame, as followeth.

¶ *Iohn Fryth vnto the Chriſtian reader.*

BLeſſed be God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which in theſe laſt dayes and perillous tymes, hath ſturred vp in all countreys, witneſſes vnto his ſonne, to teſtifie the truth vnto the vnfaithfull, to ſaue, at the leaſt ſome from the ſnares of Antichriſt, which leade to perdition, as ye may here perceaue by that excellent, and well learned young man, Patrike Hamelton, borne in Scotland of a noble progenie: who to teſtifie the truth, ſought all meanes, & tooke vpõ him prieſthode, (euen as Paul circumciſed Timothye, to wynne the

The preface of *Iohn Fryth* before *Patrikes Places.*

weake Iewes) that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithſtandyng, as ſoone as the Chamberleyne and other Byſhops of Scotland had perceaued that the lyght beganne to ſhyne, which diſcloſed their falſehode that they conueyed in darkenes, they layde handes on hym, and becauſe he woulde not denye hys Sauiour Chriſt at their inſtance, they burnt him to aſhes. Neuertheleſſe, God of his bounteous mercy (to publiſhe to the whole world, what a man theſe monſters haue murthered) hath reſerued a little treatiſe, made by this Patricke, which, if ye liſte, ye may call Patrickes Places: For it treateth exactlye of certaine common places, which knowen, ye haue the pith of all Diuinitie. This treatiſe haue I turned into the Engliſhe tounge, to the profite of my nation: to whom I beſech God to geue light, that they may eſpye the deceitfull pathes of perdition, and returne to the right waye which leadeth to lyfe euerlaſting. AMEN.

Patrickes Places.

¶*The doctrine of the law.*

What the Lawe is.

THe law is a doctrine that byddeth good, and forbiddeth euill, as the Commaundementes do ſpecifie, here folowyng.

¶The x. Commaundementes of God.

A diuiſion of the Cõmaundementes.
Exod.20.

1. **Thou ſhalt worſhip but one God.**
2. **Thou ſhalt make thée no Image to worſhip it.**
3. **Thou ſhalt not ſweare by his name in vayne.**
4. **Hold the Sabboth day holy.**
5. **Honour thy father and thy mother.**
6. **Thou ſhalt not kill.**
7. **Thou ſhalt no commit aduoutrie.**
8. **Thou ſhalt not ſteale.**
9. **Thou ſhalt not beare falſe wytnes.**
10. **Thou ſhalt not deſire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.**

¶*All theſe Commaundementes are briefly compriſed* in theſe two here vnder enſuyng.

The loue of God.
The loue of our neighbour.
Math.22.

Loue thy Lord God with all thyne hart, with all thy ſoule, & with all thy mynd. This is the firſt, and great Commaundement. The ſecond is like vnto this, that is, loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. On theſe two Commaundementes hangeth all the law & the Prophetes.

¶*Certeine generall propoſitions proued by the Scripture.*

¶The firſt propoſition.

The firſt propoſition.
Probation.
1.Iohn.4.

He that loueth God, loueth his neighbour.

This propoſition is proued. 1. Ioan. 4. If a man ſay, I loue God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a lyer. He that loueth not his brother whom hee hath ſene, how can hee loue God, whom he hath not ſene?

¶The.2.propoſition.

The ſecond propoſition.
Probation.
Math.7.
Rom.13.

He that loueth his neighbour as him ſelfe, kepeth all the Commaunndementes of God.

This propoſition is proued. Mat.7. Rom.13. What ſoeuer ye would that men ſhould do to you, euen ſo do to them. For this is the law and the Prophetes. Mat.7.

Rom.13.

He that loueth his neighbour, fulfilleth the lawe. Thou ſhalt not commit aduoutre. Thou ſhalt not kill: Thou ſhalt not ſteale: Thou ſhalt not beare falſe wytnes: Thou ſhalt not deſire. &c. and if there be any other Cõmaundement, all are comprehended in this ſaying: loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. Rom.xiij.

Galat.5.

All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. Gal.v.

¶Argument.

Maior. Bar. He that loueth his neighbour, kepeth all the Commaundementes of God. Rom.13.
Minor. ba. He that loueth God, loueth his neighbour. 1.Iohn.4.
Concluſ. ra. Ergo, he that loueth God, kepeth all the Cõmaundementes of God.

¶The 3. propoſition.

The third propoſition.
Probation.
Iohn.16.

He that hath fayth loueth God.

My father loueth you, becauſe you loue me, and beleue that I come of God. Ioan. 16.

¶Argument.

Maior. Bar. He that kepeth the Commaundementes of God, hath the loue of God.
Minor. ba. He that hath faith, kepeth the Cõmaũdements of God.
Concluſ. ra. Ergo, he that hath faith, loueth God.

¶The 4.propoſition.

He that kepeth one Commaundement of God, kepeth them all.

This propoſition is confirmed. Hebr. xi. It is vnpoſſible for a man, without faith to pleaſe God, that is, to kepe any one of Gods Commaundementes, as he ſhoulde doe. Then whoſoeuer kepeth any one Commaundement, hath fayth.

¶Argument.

Bar. He that hath fayth kepeth all the Commaundementes of God.
ba. He that kepeth any one Commaundement of God, hath fayth.
ra. Ergo, he that kepeth one Commaundement, kepeth them all.

The 5.propoſition.

He that kepeth not all the Commaundementes of God, kepeth not one of them.

¶Argument.

He that kepeth one Commaundement of God, kepeth all.
Ergo, he that kepeth not all the Commaundementes of God, kepeth not one of them.

¶The vi.propoſition.

It is not in our power to kepe any one of the Commaundementes of God.

¶Argument.

Ba. It is vnpoſſible to kepe any of the Commaundements of God, without grace.
ro. It is not in our power to haue grace.
co. Ergo, it is not in our power, to kepe any of the Commaundementes of God.

And euen ſo may you reaſon concernyng the holy Ghoſt, and faith, for ſo much as neither without them we are able to kepe any of the Commaundementes of God: neither yet be they in our power to haue. Non eſt volentis neq; currentis. &c. Rom.9.

¶The vij.propoſition.

The law was geuen to ſhewe vs our ſinne.

By the lawe commeth the knowledge of ſinne. Rom. 3. I knew not what ſinne ment, but throw the law. For I had not knowen what luſt had ment, except the law had ſayd: Thou ſhalt not luſt. Without the law ſinne was dead, that is, it moued me not, neither wyſt I that it was ſinne, whiche notwithſtandyng was ſinne, and forbidden by the law, Rom.vij.

¶The 8.propoſition.

The law byddeth vs do that thing, which is vnpoſſible for vs.

¶*Argument.*

Da. The keping of the Commaundementes is to vs vnpoſſible.
ri. The law commaundeth to vs the keping of the Commaundementes.
j. Ergo, the law commaundeth vnto vs, that is vnpoſſible.

¶*Obiection.*

But thou wilt ſay, wherefore doth God byd vs do, that is impoſſible for vs?

¶*Aunſwere.*

I aunſwere, to make thée knowe, that thou art but euill, and that there is no remedy to ſaue thée, in thyne owne hand: and that thou mayſt ſeke remedy at ſome other, for the law doth nothyng els but cõmaunde thée

¶*The doctrine of the Goſpell.*

THe Goſpell is as much to ſay in our toung, as good tydinges: like as theſe be, here vnder folowyng, and ſuch other.

Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world.
Chriſt is the Sauiour.
Chriſt dyed for vs.
Chriſt dyed for our ſinnes.
Chriſt bought vs with his bloud.
Chriſt waſht vs with his bloud.
Chriſt offred him ſelfe for vs.
Chriſt bare our ſinnes on his backe.
Chriſt came into this world to ſaue ſinners.
Chriſt came into this world to take away our ſinnes.
Chriſt was ye price that was giuen for vs & our ſinnes.
Chriſt was made debtour for vs.
Chriſt hath payd our debt, for he dyed for vs.
Chriſt made ſatiſfaction for vs and our ſinnes.
Chriſt is our rightuouſnes.

Chriſt is our ſanctification.
Chriſt is our redemption.
Chriſt is our peace.
Chriſt hath pacified the father of heauen for vs.
Chriſt is ours and all his.
Chriſt hath deliuered vs from the law, from the deuill, and from hell.

The father of heauen hath forgeuen vs our ſinnes, for Chriſtes ſake. Or any ſuch other, like to the ſame, which declare vnto vs the mercy of God.

¶ *The nature and office of the law.* and of the Goſpell.

The law ſheweth vs our ſinne.
The Goſpell ſheweth vs remedy for it.
The law ſheweth vs our condemnation.
The Goſpell ſheweth vs our redemption.
The law is the worde of Ire.
The Goſpell is the worde of grace.
The law is the worde of diſpayre.
The Goſpell is the worde of comforte.
The law is the worde of vnreſt.
The Goſpell is the worde of peace.

¶ *A diſputation betwene the lawe and the Goſpell,* where is ſhewed the difference or contrariety betwene them both.

The lawe ſayth, paye thy dette.
The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt hath payd it.

The lawe ſayth, thou art a ſinner, deſpayre and thou ſhalt be dampned.

The Goſpell ſayth thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee, be of good comforte, thou ſhalt be ſaued.

The law ſayth, make amendes for thy ſinne.

The Goſpell ſaith, Chriſt hath made it for thee.

The law ſayth, ỹ father of heauẽ is angrie with thee.

The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt hath pacified hym with his bloud.

The law ſayth, where is thy rightuouſnes, goodnes, and ſatiſfaction.

The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt is thy rightuouſnes, thy goodnes, and ſatiſfaction.

The law ſayth, thou art bounde and obliged to me, to the deuill, and to hell.

The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt hath deliuered thee from them all.

¶ *The doctrine of Fayth.*

Faith is to beleue God, lyke as Abrahã beleued God, and it was imputed vnto him for rightuouſnes.

To beleue God, is to beleue his word and to recount it true that he ſayth.

He that beleueth not Gods worde beleueth not God hym ſelfe.

He that beleueth, not Gods worde hee counteth hym falſe and a lyer, and beleueth not that he may and will fulfill his word, and ſo he denieth both the might of God, and God hym ſelfe.

¶ The 9. propoſition.

Faith is the gift of God.

Argument.

Da. Euery good thyng is the gift of God.
ri. Fayth is good.
j. Ergo, fayth is the gift of God.

¶ The 10. propoſition.

Fayth is not in our power.

Argument.

Da. The gift of God is not in our power.
ri. Fayth is the gift of God.
j. Ergo, fayth is not in our power.

¶ The 11. propoſition.

He that lacketh fayth, can not pleaſe God.

¶ *Without fayth, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Rom. 14. *All that commeth not of fayth, is ſinne, for without fayth can no man pleaſe God.* Heb. 11.

Induction.

He that lacketh fayth, truſteth not God: he that truſteth not God, truſteth not his worde: he that truſteth not his worde, holdeth him falſe and a lyer: he that holdeth hym falſe and a lyer, beleueth not that he may do that he promiſeth, and ſo denyeth he, that he is God.

Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, he that lacketh fayth, can not pleaſe God.

If it were poſſible for any mã to do all the good dedes that euer were done, either of men or aungells: yet being in this caſe, it is impoſſible for hym to pleaſe God.

¶ The 12. propoſition.

The 12. propoſition.

All that is done in fayth, pleaſeth God.

¶ *Right is the worde of God, and all hys workes in fayth.* Pſal. 33.

Lorde thine eyes looke to fayth: that is as much to ſay, as Lorde thou delighteſt in fayth. Iere. 5.

¶ The 13. propoſition.

The 13. propoſition.

He that hath fayth, is iuſte and good.

¶ *Argument.*

Da. He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruite, is iuſt and good. Maior.
ri. He that hath fayth, is a good tree bringing good fruite. Minor.
j. Ergo, he that hath fayth, is iuſte and good. Concluſ.

¶ The 14. propoſition.

The 14. propoſition.

He that hath fayth, and beleueth God, can not diſpleaſe hym.

Induction.

Inductio.

He that hath fayth, beleueth God: he that beleueth God, beleueth his worde: hee that beleueth his woorde, wotteth well that hee is true and faythfull, and may not lye, knowyng that he both may and will fulfill his worde.

Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, he that hath fayth, can not diſpleaſe God: neither can any man doe a greater honour to God, then to counte hym true.

¶ *Obiection.*

Obiection.

Thou wilt then ſay, that theft, murther, aduoutrie, and all vices, pleaſe God.

Aunſwere.

Aunſwere.

Nay verelye, for they can not be done in fayth: for a good tree beareth good fruite. Math. 7. 12.

¶ The 15. propoſition.

The 15. propoſition.

Fayth is a certeintie or aſſuredneſ.

A definition of fayth. Heb. 11.

¶ *Fayth is a ſure confidence of thinges which are hoped for, and certeintie of thinges which are not ſeene.* Heb. 2.

The ſame ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite, that we are the children of God. Rom. 8. *Moreouer, he that hath fayth, wotteth well that God will fulfill hys worde. Wherby it appeareth, thath fayth is a certeintie or aſſurednes.*

¶ *A man is iuſtified by faith.*

Iuſtification by fayth.

Abraham beleued God and it was imputed vnto him for rightuouſnes. Rom. 4.

We ſuppoſe therefore that a man is iuſtified by fayth without the dedes of the law. Rom. 3. Galat. 2.

He that worketh not but beleueth on hym that iuſtifieth the wicked, his fayth is counted to hym for rightwiſenes. Rom. 4.

The iuſt man lyueth by his fayth. Abac. 2. Rom. 1.

We wotte that a man is not iuſtified by the deedes of the law, but by the fayth of Ieſu Chriſt: and we beleue in Ieſu Chriſt, that we may bee iuſtified by the fayth of Chriſt, and not by the dedes of the law. Galat. 2.

¶ *What is the fayth of Chriſt.*

Fayth in Chriſt, what it is.

The fayth of Chriſt is to beleue in hym, that is, to beleue his worde, and to beleue that he will helpe thee in all thy neede, and deliuer thee from all euill.

Thou wilt aſke me, what worde? I aunſwere, the Goſpell.

He that beleueth in Chriſt, ſhalbe ſaued. Mark. 16.

He that beleueth the ſonne, hath euerlaſtyng lyfe. Ioh. 3.

Verely I ſay vnto you, hee that beleueth in me, hath euerlaſtyng lyfe. Ioh. 6.

This I write vnto you, that you beleue on the ſonne of God, that ye may knowe how that ye haue eternall lyfe. 1. Ioh. 5.

Thomas, becauſe thou haſt ſeene me, therefore haſt thou beleued. Happye are they that haue not ſene, and yet haue beleued in me. Ioh.22.

All the Prophetes to him beare witnes, that who ſoeuer beleueth in him, ſhall haue remiſſion of their ſinnes. Act.10.

What muſt I do that I may be ſaued? The Apoſtles aunſwered: Beleue in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and thou ſhalt be ſaued. Act.16.

If thou knowledge with thy mouth that Ieſus is the Lord, and beleueth with thine harte that God rayſed hym vp from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe. Rom.10.

He that beleueth not in Chriſt, ſhall be condempned.

He that beleueth not the ſonne, ſhall neuer ſee life, but the ire of God, bydeth vppon him. Ioh.3.

The holy Ghoſt ſhall reproue the worlde of ſinne, becauſe they beleue not in me. Ioh.16.

They that beleue Ieſu Chriſt, are the ſonnes of God.

Ye are all the ſonnes of God, becauſe ye beleue in Ieſu Chriſt. 1.Ioh.3.

He that beleueth that Chriſt is the ſonne of God, is ſafe. Ioh.1.

Peter ſayd, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of yͤ lyuing God. Ieſus aunſwered and ſayd vnto him, happye art thou Simon the ſonne of Ionas, for fleſhe and bloud haue not opened to thee that: but my father that is in heauen. Mat.16.

We haue beleued, and knowe that thou art Chriſt, the ſonne of the liuyng God.

I beleue that thou art Chriſt the ſonne of God, which ſhould come into the worlde. Ioh.11.

These thinges are written that ye might beleue, that Ieſus is Chriſt the ſonne of God, and that ye in beleuyng, might haue lyfe. Ioh.20.

I beleue that Ieſus is the ſonne of God. Act.8.

The 16.propoſition.

The 16.propoſition.

He that beleueth the Goſpell, beleueth God.

Argument.

Maior. Da. He that beleueth Gods worde, beleueth God.
Minor. ri. The Goſpell is Gods worde.
Concluſ. j. Ergo, he that beleueth the Goſpell, beleueth God.

To beleue the Goſpell is this: That Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world. Ioh.4.

Chriſt is our Sauiour. Luke.2.

Chriſt bought vs wͭ his bloud. Heb.13.1.Pet.1.Apoc.5.

Chriſt waſhed vs with hys bloud. Apoc.1.

Chriſt offered him ſelfe for vs. Heb.9.

Chriſt bare our ſinnes on his owne backe, &c. 1.Pet.2.

The 17.propoſition.

The 17.propoſition.

He that beleueth not the Goſpel beleueth not God.

Argument.

Maior. Fe- He that beleued not Gods woorde, beleueth not God him ſelfe.
Minor. ri. The Goſpell is Gods worde.
Concluſ. o. Ergo, he that beleueth not the goſpel, beleueth not God him ſelf, and conſequently he that beleue not thoſe thinges aboue writen and ſuch other, beleueth not God.

The 18.propoſition.

The 18.propoſition.

He that beleueth the Goſpell ſhall be ſafe.

Go ye into all the world and preach the Goſpell, vnto euery creaturne: he that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued, but he that beleueth not, ſhalbe condemned. Mark.16.

A comparison betwene faith, and incredulitie.

A compariſon betwene fayth and Incredulitie.

Faith is the roote of all good.
Incredulitie is the roote of all euill.
Faith maketh God and man good frendes.
Incredulitie maketh them foes.
Fayth bringeth God and man together,
Incredulitie ſundereth them.
All that fayth doth, pleaſeth God.
All that Incredulitie doth, diſpleaſeth God.
Faith onely maketh a man good and rightwiſe.
Incredulitie onely maketh him vniuſt and euill.
Fayth maketh a man a member of Chriſt.
Incredulitie maketh hym a member of the deuill.
Fayth maketh a man the inheritour of heauen.
Incredulitie maketh him inheritour of hell.
Faith maketh a man the ſeruaunt of God.
Incredulitie maketh him the ſeruaunt of the deuill.
Faith ſheweth vs God to bee a ſwete father.
Incredulitie ſheweth him a terrible iudge.
Fayth holdeth ſtiffe by the worde of God.
Incredulitie wauereth here and there.
Fayth counteth and holdeth God to bee true.
Incredulitie holdeth hym falſe and a lyer.
Fayth knoweth God.
Incredulitie knoweth him not.
Fayth loueth both God and his neighbour.
Incredulitie loueth neither of them.
Fayth onely ſaueth vs.
Incredulitie onely condempneth vs.
Fayth extolleth God and his dedes.
Incredulitie extolleth her ſelf and her own deedes.

Of Hope.

Hope is a truſty lokyng after the thyng that is promiſed vs to come: as we hope after the euerlaſtyng ioye, whiche Chriſt hath promiſed vnto all that beleue in him.

We ſhould put our hope and truſt in God alonely, and in no other thyng.

It is good to truſt in God and not in man. Pſal.118.

He yͭ truſteth in his own hart, is a foole. Prouerb.28.

It is good to truſt in God & not in princes. Pſal.118.

They ſhalbe like vnto the Images which they make, and all that truſt in them. Pſal.115.

He that truſteth in his owne thoughtes doth vngodly. Prouerb.12.

Curſed be he that truſteth in man. Iere.17.

Byd the riche men of this worlde that thy truſt not in their vnſtable riches, but that they truſt in the lyuyng God. 1.Tim.6.

It is harde for them that truſt in money, to enter into the kyngdome of heauen. Luke.18.

Moreouer, we ſhoulde truſt in him onely that may helpe vs, God onely may helpe vs, therefore we ſhould truſt in him onely.

Well are they that truſt in God: and woe to them that truſt not in him. Pſal.2. Iere.17.

Well is that man that truſteth in God, for God ſhall be his truſt. Pſal.14. Eccleſ.34.

He yͭ truſteth in him, ſhal vnderſtãd the veritie. Sap.3.

They ſhall all reioyce that truſt in thee: they ſhal euer be glad, and thou wilt defend them. Pſal.5.

Of Charitie.

Charitie is the loue of thy neighbour. The rule of charitie is this: Doe as thou wouldeſt be done to: for Chriſt holdeth all a like, the riche the poore, the frend and the foe, the thankefull and vnthankefull, the kinſeman and ſtraunger.

A compariſon betwene Fayth, Hope, and Charitie.

Fayth commeth of the worde of God: Hope commeth of fayth: and Charitie ſpryngeth of them both.

Faith beleueth the woord: Hope truſteth after it that is promiſed by the worde: Charitie doth good vnto her neighbour, thorow the loue that it hath to God, & gladnes that is within her ſelfe.

Fayth looketh to God and his worde: Hope looketh vnto his gift and reward: Charitie loketh on her neighbours profite.

Fayth receaueth God: Hope receaueth hys reward: Charitie loueth her neighbour with a glad hart, and that without any reſpect of rewarde.

Fayth pertayneth to God only: Hope to hys reward: and Charitie to her neighbour.

The doctrine of workes.

No maner of workes make vs rightwiſe.

We beleue that a man ſhall bee iuſtified without workes. Rom.3.

No man is iuſtified by the dedes of the law, but by the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, and we beleue in Ieſu Chriſt that we may be iuſtified by the fayth of Chriſt, and not by by the deedes of the lawe: For if rightuouſnes come by the lawe, then dyed Chriſt in vayne. Galat.2.

That no man, is iuſtified by the law, is manifeſt, for a rightwiſe man lyueth by his fayth, but the lawe is not of fayth.

Moreouer, ſith Chriſt the maker of heauen and earth and all that is therin, behoued to dye for vs, we are compelled to graunt that we were ſo farre drowned and ſunken in ſinne, that neither our dedes nor all the treaſures that euer God made or might make, could haue holpen vs out of them: therfore no dedes nor workes may make vs rightwiſe.

¶ No workes make vs vnrightwiſe.

If any euill workes make vs vnrighteous, thẽ ẏ contrarye workes ſhould make vs rightwiſe. But it is proued that no woorkes can make vs rightwiſe: therfore, no workes maketh vs vnrighwiſe.

¶ Workes make vs neither good nor euill.

It is proued ẏ woorkes neither maketh vs rightwiſe, nor vnrightwiſe: therfore, no workes make vs either good or euill: For rightwiſe and good are one thyng, and vnrightwiſe and euill lykewiſe, one.

Good workes make not a good mã, nor euill workes an euill mã: but a good mã bringeth forth good workes, and an euill man euill workes.

Good fruite maketh not the tree good, nor euill frute the tree euill: but a good tree bereth good frute, and an euill tree, euill frute.

A good man can not do euill workes, nor an euill mã good workes: for a good tree cã not beare euil frute, nor an euill tree, good frute.

A man is good ere he do good workes, and euill ere he do euill workes: for the tree is good ere it beare good frute, and euill ere it beare euill frute.

¶ Euery man, and the workes of man, are either good or euill.

Euery tree, and the frutes therof, are either good or euill. Either make ye the tree good, and the frute good alſo, or els make the tree euill, and the frute of it lykewiſe euill. Math. 12.

A good mã is knowẽ by his woorkes, for a good mã doth good workes, & an euill man, euill workes. Ye ſhall know them by their frute, for a good tree beareth good frute, and an euill tree, euill frute. A mã is lykened to the tree, and his workes to the frute of the tree.

Beware of the falſe Prophetes whiche come to you in ſhepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauenyng wolues: ye ſhall know them by their frutes. Luke. 7.

¶ None of our workes either ſaue vs, or condemne vs.

If workes make vs neither rightuous nor vnrightuous, then ẏ wilt ſay, it maketh no matter what we do. I aunſwere, if thou do euill, it is a ſure argument that thou art euill, and wanteſt fayth. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt fayth, for a good tree beareth good frute, and an euill tree euil frute. Yet good frute maketh not the tree good, nor euill frute the tree euill: ſo that man is good ere hee do good dedes, and euill, ere he do euill dedes.

¶ The man is the tree, his workes are the frute.

Fayth maketh the good tree, and incredulitie the euill tree: ſuch a tree, ſuch frute, ſuch a mã, ſuch workes: For all thinges that are done in faith, pleaſe God, & are good workes: and all that are done without fayth, diſpleaſe God, and are euill workes.

Whoſoeuer beleueth, or thinketh to bee ſaued by hys workes, denieth that Chriſt is his Sauiour, that Chriſt dyed for hym, & all thynges that pertayne to Chriſt. For how is he thy Sauiour, if thou mighteſt ſaue thy ſelfe by thy workes? or wherto ſhoulde he dye for thee, if any workes might haue ſaued thee?

What is this to ſay, Chriſt dyed for thee? Verely that thou ſhouldeſt haue dyed perpetuallye, and Chriſt to deliuer thee from death, dyed for thee, and chaunged thy perpetuall death, into his owne death: For thou madeſt the fault, and he ſuffred the paine, and that for the loue he had to thee, before thou waſt borne, when thou haddeſt done neither good nor euill.

Now ſeyng he hath payed thy dette, thou nedeſt not, neither canſt thou pay it, but ſhouldeſt be dampned, if his bloud were not. But ſith he was puniſhed for thee, thou ſhalt not be puniſhed.

Finally, he hath deliuered thee from thy condemnatiõ and all euill, and deſireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and beare it in minde: and that thou wouldeſt helpe other for hys ſake, both in word and dede, euen as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without rewarde.

O how ready whold we be to helpe other, if we knew his goodnes and gentilnes towardes vs? He is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let vs I beſech you therfore, folow his footeſteppes, whom all the world ought to prayſe and worſhip. Amen.

¶ He that thinketh to be ſaued by his workes, calleth hym ſelfe Chriſt.

For he calleth him ſelfe the Sauiour, which perteyneth to Chriſt onely.

What is a Sauiour, but he that ſaueth? and he ſayth, I ſaued my ſelf, which is as much to ſay, as I am Chriſt, for Chriſt onely is the Sauiour of the world.

No Sauiour but Chriſt.

¶ We ſhould do no good workes for the intent to get the enheritaunce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne.

For who ſoeuer beleueth to get ẏ inheritaunce of heauen, or remiſſiõ of ſinne thorow workes, he beleueth not to get the ſame for Chriſtes ſake. And they that beleueth not that their ſinnes are forgeuen them, and that they ſhall be ſaued for Chriſtes ſake, they beleue not the Goſpell: For ẏ Goſpell ſayth, you ſhall be ſaued for Chriſtes ſake, your ſinnes are forgeuen for Chriſtes ſake.

No remiſſion but in Chriſt.

He that beleueth not the Goſpell, beleueth not God. So it foloweth, that they whiche beleue to be ſaued by their workes, or to get remiſſion of theyr ſinnes by their own deedes, beleue not God, but recount hym as a lyer, and ſo vtterly deny him to be God.

¶ Obiection.

Thou wilt ſay, ſhall we then do no good deedes?

Aunſwere.

I ſay not ſo, but I ſaye we ſhoulde doe no good workes, for the intent to get the inheritaunce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne. For if we beleue to get ẏ inheritaunce of heauen thorow good workes, then we beleue not to get it thorow the promiſe of God. Or if we thinke to get remiſſion of our ſinnes by our dedes, then we beleue not that they are forgeuẽ vs, and ſo we counte God a lyer. For God ſayth thou ſhalt haue the inheritaunce of heauẽ for my ſonnes ſake, thy ſinnes are forgeuẽ thee for my ſonnes ſake: & you ſay it is not ſo, but I will wynne it thorowe my workes. Thus you ſee I condemne not good dedes, but I condemne ẏ falſe truſt in any workes, for all the workes wherin a man putteth any confidence, are therwith poiſoned and become euill.

Good workes excluded, not to be left vndone, but not to iuſtifie vs, when they are done.

Not the wing of good workes, but the truſting in good workes condemned.

Wherefore, thou muſt doe good workes, but beware thou do them not to deſerue any good thorow them, for if thou doe, thou receiueſt the good, not as the giftes of God, but as det to thee, and makeſt thy ſelfe felowe with God, bycauſe thou wilt take nothyng of him for nought. And what nedeth hee any thyng of thyne, which geueth all thyng and is not the poorer?

Therfore do nothing to hym, but take of hym, for hee is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will geueth vs all that we nede, then we cã take it of him: if then we want ought, let vs wite our ſelues.

Preſſe not therfore to the inheritaunce of heauen thorowe preſumption of thy good workes, for if thou doe, thou counteſt thy ſelfe holy and equall to God, becauſe thou wilt take nothyng of hym for nought, and ſo ſhalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for hys pryde.

FINIS.

¶ Certeine brief Notes or declarations vpon the foreſayd places of M. Patrike.

This litle treatiſe of M. Patrickes places, albeit in quãtitie it be but ſhort, yet in effect it cõprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaryng to vs the true doctrine of the law, of the Goſpell, of fayth, and of workes, with the nature and properties, and alſo the difference of the ſame. Whiche difference is thus to be vnderſtanded, that in the cauſe of ſaluation, and in the office of Iuſtifying, theſe are to be remoued

Notes.

The lawe and the goſpel, how they are to be ioyned, & how to be ſeparated.

ued and ſeparated aſonder, the law from the Goſpell, and fayth from workes: Otherwiſe in the perſon that is iuſtified, and alſo in order of doctrine, they ought commonly to go neceſſarely together.

Grace free.
Promiſe ſimple.
Fayth alone.

Particularly.

The body of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of our redemption in generall.

Fayth is the inſtrumentall cauſe of euery mans particular ſaluation.

Note the obiecte of our fayth.

Fayth with her obiecte, onely ſaueth.

A ſimilitude betwene the braſe Serpēt, and Chriſtes body.

Therfore, where ſoeuer any queſtiō or doubt riſeth of ſaluation, or our iuſtifying before God, there the law, and all good workes muſt be vtterly excluded, and ſtand apart, that Grace may appeare free, the promiſe ſimple, and that fayth may ſtand alone. Which faith alone, without law or workes, worketh to euery man particularly his ſaluation, throughe mere promiſe, and the free grace of God. This worde (particularly) I adde, for the particulare certifying of euery mans hart priuatlye and peculiarlye, that beleueth in Chriſt. For as the body of Chriſt is the cauſe efficient of the redemption of the whole world in generall: ſo is fayth the inſtrumentall cauſe, by whiche euery man applieth the ſayd body of Chriſt particularly to his owne ſaluation. So that in the action and office of iuſtification, both law and workes here be vtterly ſecluded and exempted, as thynges hauyng nothyng to do in this behalfe. The reaſon is this: for ſeing that all our redemption vniuerſally ſpringeth onely frō the body of the ſonne of God crucified, then is there nothyng, that can ſtand vs in ſtede, but that onely, wherewith this body of Chriſt is apprehended. Now, for ſomuch as neither the law nor workes, but faith onely is the thyng whiche apprehendeth the body and death of Chriſt, therfore fayth onely is that matter which iuſtifieth euery ſoule before God, through the ſtrength of that obiect, which it doth apprehend. For the obiect onely of our faith, is the body of Chriſt, lyke as the braſen Serpēt was the obiect onely of the eyes of the Iſraelites lookyng, and not of their handes workyng: by the ſtrength of whiche obiecte, through the promiſe of God, immediatly proceded health to the beholders. So the body of Chriſt beyng the obiect of our faith, ſtriketh rightuouſnes to our ſoules, not through workyng, but beleuyng onely.

Fayth is onely the eye of the ſoule, which loketh to Chriſt.

Thus you ſee, how fayth beyng the onely eye of our ſoule, ſtandeth alone with her obiecte, in caſe of iuſtifying: but yet neuertheles, in the body ſhe ſtandeth not alone: for beſides the eye, there be alſo handes to worke, feete to walke, eares to heare, & other members moe, euery one conueniēt for the ſeruice of the body, and yet is there none of them all, that can ſee, but onely the eye. So in a Chriſten mās lyfe, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, there is repentaunce, there is hope, charitie, and dedes of charitie: all whiche in life, and in doctrine, are ioyned, and neceſſarely do concurre together, and yet in the actiō of iuſtifying, there is nothyng els in man, that hath any part or place, but onely faith apprehendyng the obiect, whiche is the body of Chriſt Ieſus for vs crucified, in whom conſiſteth all the worthynes and fulnes of our ſaluation, by faith, that is, by our apprehendyng and receauyng of him, accordyng as it is written. Iohn.1. *Whoſoeuer receaued hym, he gaue them power to bee made the ſonnes of God, euen all ſuch as beleued in hys name, &c.* *Alſo* Eſay.53. *And thys iuſt ſeruaunt of mine, in the knowledge of hym, ſhall iuſtifie many, &c.*

Argument.

As many as receaued hym, to them he gaue power. &c. Iohn.1.

Da. *Apprehending and receauing of Chriſt onely, maketh vs iuſtified before God. Iohn.1.*
ti- *Chriſt onely is apprehended and receaued, by faith.*
ſi. Ergo, *faith onely maketh vs iuſtified before God.*

Argument.

And he by the knowledge of him, ſhal iuſtifye many. &c. Eſay.64.

Ba *Iuſtification commeth onely by apprehendyng and receauyng of Chriſt. Eſay.* 53.
ro *The law, and workes do nothyng perteine to the apprehendyng of Chriſt.*
co. Ergo, *the law and workes perteyne nothyng to Iuſtification.*

Argument.

All our righteouſnes is, as fylthy cloutes. Eſay.53.

Ce- *Nothyng whiche is vniuſt of it ſelfe, can iuſtifie vs before God, or helpe any thyng to our iuſtifying.*
ſa- *Euery worke we do, is vniuſt before God. Eſay.64.*
re. Ergo, *no worke that we do, can iuſtifie vs before God, nor helpe any thyng to our iuſtifying.*

Argument.

When ye haue done all that is commaunded you, ſay we are vnprofytable ſeruauntes. Luke.17.

Ca- *If workes could any thing further our iuſtificatiō, then ſhould our workes ſome thyng profite vs before God.*
me *No workes (doe the beſt we can) do profite vs before God. Luc.17.*
ſtres. Ergo, *no workes that we doo, can any thyng further our iuſtification.*

Argument.

Ba- *All that we cā do with God, is only by Chriſt. Ioh.15.*
ro *Our woorkes and merites bee not Chriſt, neither any part of hym.*
co. Ergo, *our woorkes and merites can doo nothyng with God.*

Argument.

Da. *That which is the cauſe of condemnation, can not bee the cauſe of iuſtification.*
ri. *The lawe is the cauſe of condemnation.* Rom.4.
j. Ergo, *it is not the cauſe of iuſtification.*

A conſequent.

We are quitte and deliuered from the lawe. Rom.7.
Ergo, *we are not quitte and deliuered by the lawe.*

Forſomuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture in expreſſe wordes, hath thus included our ſaluation, in fayth onely, we are enforced neceſſarely to excluded all other cauſes and meanes in our Iuſtification, and to make this difference betwene the law and the Goſpell, betwene fayth, & workes, affirmyng with the Scripture and worde of God, that the law condemneth vs, our workes do not auaile vs, and that fayth in Chriſt onely iuſtifieth vs. And this differēce and diſtinctiō ought diligently to be learned and reteined of all Chriſtiās, eſpecially in conflict of conſcience, betwene the law, and the Goſpell: fayth and workes: Grace, and merites: promiſe, and condition: Gods free election, and mans frewill: So that the light of the free grace of God, in our ſaluation may appeare to all conſciēces, to the immortall glory of Gods holy name, Amen.

The order and difference of places.

The Goſpel	Faith	Grace	Promiſe	Gods free electiō.
The lawe	Workes	Merites	Cōditiō	Mans free will.

The difference and repugnance of theſe foreſayd places beyng well noted & expended, it ſhall giue no ſmall light to euery faithfull Chriſtiā, both to vnderſtand the Scriptures, to iudge in caſes of conſciēce, & to reconcile ſuch places in the old & new Teſtament, as els may ſeme to repugne, according to the rule of Auſten, ſaying: Diſtingue tēpora, & cōcilia bis Scripturas, &c. *Make diſtinction of times, and thou ſhalt recōcile the Scriptures, &c.* Contrarywiſe, where mē be not perfectly in theſe places inſtructed, to diſcerne betwene the law & the Goſpell, betwene faith & workes. &c. ſo long they can neuer rightly eſtable their myndes in the free promiſes of Gods grace: but walke cōfuſedly, without order, in all matters of religion. Example wherof we haue to much in the Romiſhe Churche, who confoundyng theſe places together without diſtinction, folowyng no methode, haue peruerted the true order of Chriſtian doctrine, and haue obſcured the ſwete comfort and benefite of the Goſpell of Chriſt, not knowyng what the true vſe of the lawe, nor of the Goſpell meaneth.

In the doctrine of the law, iij. thinges to be noted.

In the law therfore iij. thynges are to be conſidered: firſt what is the trew vigour and ſtrength of the law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not onely to reſtraine his outward actions, but alſo his inward motions, and inclinations of will and affection, from the appetite of ſinne: And therfore ſayth S.Paul: *The law is ſpiritual, but I am carnall. &c. Rom.7.* Wherupō riſeth this propoſitiō: That it is not in our nature and power to fulfill the law. Itē, The law commaundeth that which is to vs vnpoſſible. &c.

2. The ſecond thyng to be noted in the doctrine of the law, is to conſider the tyme & place of the law, what they be, and how farre they extende. For as the ſurgyng ſeas haue theyr bankes and barres, to kepe thē in: ſo the law hath his times and limites, whiche it ought not to paſſe. If Chriſt had not come and ſuffered, the tyme and dominion of the law had bene euerlaſtyng. But now ſeyng Chriſt hath come, and hath dyed in his righteous fleſh, the power of the law agaynſt our ſinnefull fleſh doth ceaſſe. *For the end of the lawe is Chriſt. Rom.10.* that is, the death of Chriſtes body, is the death of the law, to all that beleue in hym: ſo that whoſoeuer repenteth their ſinnes, & flye to the death & Paſſion of Chriſt, the condēnation and tyme of the law, to them is expired. Wherfore this is to be vnderſtand as a perpetuall rule in the Scripture, that the law with all his ſentences and iudgementes, wherſoeuer they are written, either in the old Teſtament, or in the new, do euer include a priuie exception of repentaūce, and beliefe in Chriſt, to the whiche alwayes it giueth place, hauyng there his end, and can procede no further, accordyng

as S.Paul doth ſay: *The lawe is our ſcholemaiſter vntill Chriſt, that we myght be iuſtified by fayth. Gal.3.*

Moreouer, as the law hath his time how long to reigne, ſo alſo it hath his proper place, where to reigne. By the reigne of the law here is ment the cōdēnatiō of the law: for as the tyme of the law ceaſeth, when the fayth of Chriſt, in a true repentyng hart, begynneth: ſo hath the lawe no place in ſuch, as be good & faithfull, that is, in ſinners repēting & amēdyng: but onely in them whiche be euill and wicked. Euill men here I call all ſuch, which walkyng in ſinnefull fleſhe, are not yet driuen by earneſt repentaunce, to flye to Chriſt for ſuccour. And therfore ſayth S.Paul: *To the iuſte man there is no lawe ſet, but to the vniuſte and diſobedient, &c. 1.Timo.1.* By the iuſte man here is ment, not hee whiche neuer had diſeaſe, but he, who knowyng his diſeaſe, ſeketh out the Phyſiciā, and being cured, kepeth him ſelf in health as much as he may, frō any mo ſurfetes: notwithſtādyng, he ſhall neuer ſo kepe him ſelfe, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) ſhall alwayes remaine frayle and vnperfect, and ſhall continually nede the Phyſician. Where, by the way, theſe iij. thinges are to be noted. 1. the ſickenes it ſelf. 2. the knowyng of the ſicknes. 3. the Phyſiciā. The ſicknes is ſinne. The knowing of the ſicknes, is repentance, which the law worketh. The Phiſician is Chriſt. And therfore, although in remiſſion of our ſinnes, repentaunce is ioyned with fayth: yet it is not the dignitie or worthynes of repentaūce, that cauſeth remiſſion of ſinnes, but onely the worthynes of Chriſt whom faith only apprehēdeth: no more then the feelyng of the diſeaſe, is the cauſe of health, but onely the Phyſician. For els, when a man is caſt and condemned by the law, it is not repentaunce that cā ſerue, or deſerue lyfe, but if his pardō come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentaunce, that ſaueth.

The third point to be conſidered in the doctrine of the law, is this: That we marke well the end and purpoſe why the law is giuen, whiche is, not to bryng vs to ſatluation, nor to worke Gods fauour, nor to make vs good: but rather to declare and conuicte our wickednes, and to make vs fele the daunger therof, to this end and purpoſe, that we ſeyng our condemnation, and beyng in our ſelues confounded, may be driuen therby to haue our refuge to Chriſt the ſonne of God, and to ſubmit our ſelues to him, in whom onely is to be found our remedy, & in none other. And this end of the law diſcretly ought to be pondered of all Chriſtians. Otherwiſe, they that conſider not this end and purpoſe of the law, fall into manifold errours and inconueniēces. Firſt, they peruerte all order of doctrine. 2. they ſeke that in the lawe, whiche the law can not geue. 3. They are not able to comfort them ſelues, nor other. 4. They kepe men ſoules in an vncertaine doubt and dubitation, of their ſaluation. 5. They obſcure the light of Gods grace. 6. They are vnkynd to Gods benefites. 7. They are iniurious to Chriſtes Paſſion, and enemyes to his croſſe. 8. They ſtoppe Chriſtian libertie. 9. They beryue the Churche the ſpouſe of Chriſt, of her due comfort, as takyng away the ſonne out of the world. 10. In all their doings they ſhoote to a wrong marke. For where Chriſt onely is ſet vp to be apprehended by our fayth, and ſo frely to iuſtifie vs: they leauyng this Iuſtification by fayth, ſet vp other markes, partly of the law, partly of their owne diuiſing, for men to ſhoote at. And here commeth in the manifeſt, and manifold abſurdities of the Byſhop of Romes doctrine, whiche here (the Lord willyng) we will rehearſe, as in a Cathaloge, here folowing.

¶ *Errours and abſurdities of the Papiſtes,* touchyng the doctrine of the law, and of the Goſpell.

1.

They erroneouſly cōceaue opinion of ſaluation in the law, whiche onely is to be ſought in ẏ fayth of Chriſt, and in no other.

2.

They erroneouſly ſeke Gods fauour by woorkes of the law, not knowyng that the law, in this our corrupte nature, worketh onely the anger of God. Rom.3.

3.

They erre alſo in this, that where the office of the law is diuers and contrary from the Goſpell, they without any difference, confound the one with the other, makyng the Goſpell to be a law, and Chriſt to be a Moſes.

4.

They erre in diuiding ẏ law vnſkilfully in 3. partes, into the lawe naturall, the lawe morall, and the lawe Euangelicall.

5.

They erre agayne in diuidyng the law Euangelicall in to preceptes, and counſailes, makyng the preceptes to ſerue for all men, the counſailes onely to ſerue for them that be perfect.

6.

The chief ſubſtaunce of all their teachyng and preachyng reſteth vpō the workes of ẏ law, as may appeare by their religion, whiche wholy conſiſteth in mens merites, traditions, lawes, canons, decrees, & ceremonies.

What is the whole ſeruice of God in the popes church, but onely an heape of ceremonies?

7.

In ẏ doctrine of ſaluation, of remiſſion, and iuſtification, either they admitte the lawe equally with the Goſpell, or els cleane ſecludyng the Goſpell, they teache and preache the law, ſo that litle mention is made of the fayth of Chriſt, or none at all.

Thys article repugneth agaynſt thys Scripture, Goe & preach the goſpell to euery creature: He that beleueth. &c. But they preach as though Chriſt had ſayd, goe and preach the law to euery creature.

8.

They erre, in thinkyng, that the law of God requireth nothyng in vs vnder payne of damnation, but onely our obedience in externe actions: as for the inward affections and cōcupiſcence, they eſteme but light matters.

This article is contrary to the place. Rom.8. That which the lawe could not performe, in the behalfe of our weake fleſh, &c. Rom.8.

9.

They not knowyng the true nature and ſtrength of the lawe, do erroneouſly imagine, that it is in mans power to fulfill it.

10.

They erre in thinking, not onely to be in mās power to kepe the law of God, but alſo to performe more perfect workes, then be in Gods law commaunded, & theſe they call the woorkes of perfection. And hereof ryſe the workes of ſupererogation, of ſatiſfaction, of congruitie, and condignitie, to ſtore vp the treaſurehouſe of the Popes Churche, to be ſolde out to the people for money.

Thys article repugneth agaynſt the place. Galat. 2. For if righteouſnes come by the lawe, then Chriſt dyed in vayne.

11.

They erre, in ſaying that the ſtate monaſticall is more perfect, for keping the Counſailes of the Goſpell, then other ſtates be, in kepyng the law of the Goſpell.

This article ſauoreth of the pride of the Phariſey, which ſaith: I am not like this Publicane.

12.

The counſailes of the Goſpell they call the vowes of their religious men, as profound humilitie, perfect chaſtitie, and wilfull pouertie.

13.

They erre abominablye, in equalyng their lawes and conſtitutions, with Gods law, and in ſaying: that mans lawe byndeth vnder payne of damnation, no leſſe then Gods law.

Thys article repugneth agaynſt thys place: They binde heauie burdens and greuous to beare, and laye them on mens ſhoulders. Mat. 23.

14.

They erre ſinnefully, in puniſhing the tranſgreſſours of their lawes, more ſharpely then the tranſgreſſours of the law of God, as appeareth by their Inquiſitions and their Canon law. &c.

Woe to you Scribes & Phariſeis, which for the doctrines of men, tranſgreſſe the Cōmaundementes of God.

15.

Finally, they erre moſt horriblye in this, that where the free promiſe of God aſcribeth our ſaluation, onely to our fayth in Chriſt, excludyng workes: they contrary aſcribe ſaluation, onely or principally, to workes and merites, excludyng fayth. wherupon riſeth the application of the ſacrifice of ẏ Maſſe, Ex opere operato, **for the quicke and dead, application of the merites of Chriſtes paſſion, in Bulles, application of the merites of all religious orders, and ſuch other mo aboue ſpecified more at large, in the former part of this hiſtorie, about the pag. 26. 27. &c.**

¶ *Here folow three cautions to be obſerued and auoyded* in the true vnderſtandyng of the law.

¶ The firſt caution.

First, that we, through the myſunderſtanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the Goſpel, nor the Goſpel for the lawe: but ſkilfullye diſcerne and diſtincte the voyce of the one, frō the voyce of the other. Many there be, which reading the boke of the new Teſtament, do take & vnderſtād whatſoeuer they ſee conteined in the ſaid boke, to be only & merely the voyce of the Goſpell. And contrarywiſe, what ſoeuer is conteyned in the cōpaſſe of the old Teſtament, that is, within the law, ſtories, Pſalmes, & Prophets, to be only and merely the word and voyce of the law: wherin many are deceaued. For the preachyng of the law, and of the Goſpell, are myxed together in both the Teſtamentes, as well the olde as the new. Neither is the order of theſe two doctrines to be diſtincted by bokes & leaues, but by the diuerſitie of Gods ſpirite ſpeaking vnto vs. For ſomtimes in the old Teſtamēt God doth cōfort, as he cōforted Adam, with the voyce of the Goſpell. Somtymes alſo in the new Teſtament, he doth threatē & terrifie, as whē Chriſt threatned the Phariſeis. In ſome places again, Moſes & the Prophets play the Euāgeliſtes: In ſomuch that Hierome doubteth whether he ſhould call Eſay a Prophet or an Euangeliſte. In ſome places likewiſe Chriſt & the Apoſtles ſupplye the part of Moſes. And as Chriſt him ſelfe,

Three Cautions to be auoyded, concernyng the right vnderſtanding of the lawe.

The voyce of the Goſpell ſometimes heard in the olde Teſtament.

The voyce of the lawe ſometime is vſed in the new Teſtament.

vntill his death,was vnder the law(whiche law he came not to breake, but to fulfill)ſo his Sermons made to the Iewes, for the moſt part, runne all vppon the perfect doctrine and workes of the law,ſhewyng and teachyng,what we ought to do,by the right law of Iuſtice,& what daunger inſueth in not performing the ſame. All which places,though they be cõteined in the boke of the new Teſtamẽt,yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law,euer hauyng in them included a priuye exception of repentaunce, and fayth in Chriſt Ieſus. As in example,where Chriſt thus preacheth, *Bleſsed bee they that be pure of hart,for they ſhall ſee God. &c.* Math.5. *Agayn,except ye be made lyke theſe children,ye ſhall not enter. &c.* Math.18. *Item, but hee that doth the will of my father, ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen. &c.* Math.7. *Item the parable of the vnkinde ſeruaunt iuſtlye caſte into priſon, for not forgeuing hys fellowe &c.* Math. 18. *The caſting of the riche glotton into hell. &c.* Luke.16. *Item, hee that denyeth me here before men, I will denye hym before my father. &c.* Luke.12. With ſuch other places of like condition. All theſe(I ſay)perteinyng to the doctrine of the law,do euer include in them,a ſecrete exception of earneſt repentaũce,and fayth in Chriſtes precious bloud. For els,Peter denyed,and yet repented. Many Publicanes and ſinners were vnkynd, vnmercyfull, and hard harted to their felow ſeruauntes,and yet many of them repented,and by fayth were ſaued. &c. The grace of Chriſt Ieſus worke in vs earneſt repentaunce,and fayth in hym vnfeyned. Amen.

What places of the Scripture are to be referred to the lawe,and what to the Goſpell.

Math.5.
Math.18.
Math.7.
Math.18.
Luke.16.
Luke.12.

Briefly,to know whẽ the law ſpeaketh,and whẽ the Goſpell ſpeaketh,and to diſcerne the voyce of the one, from the voyce of the other,this may ſerue for a note: That whẽ there is any morall worke commaunded to be done,either for eſchuyng of puniſhment, or vpõ promiſe of any reward tẽporall,or eternall, either els when any promiſe is made with cõdition of any worke cõmaunded in the law,there is to be vnderſtanded the voyce of the law. Cõtrary,where the promiſe of life & ſaluatiõ is offered vnto vs frely,without all our merites,& ſimply without any conditiõ annexed, of any law either naturall,ceremoniall,or morall,all thoſe places,whether they be read in the old Teſtamẽt, or in the new,are to be referred to the voyce and doctrine of the Goſpel. And this promiſe of God frely made to vs by the merites of Ieſus Chriſt, ſo long before propheſied to vs in the old Teſtamẽt, & afterward exhibited in the new Teſtament,and now requiring no thyng,but our fayth in the ſonne of God, is called properly the voyce of the Goſpell, and differreth from the voyce of the law in this,that it hath no condition adioyned of our merityng,but onely reſpecteth the merites of Chriſt the ſonne of God,by whoſe fayth onely we are promiſed of God to be ſaued and iuſtified,accordyng as we read. Rom.3. *The righteouſnes of God commeth by fayth of Ieſu Chriſt, in all and vpon all,that doe beleue. &c.*

The promiſe of the Goſpell is without condition.

Free without merites.

Simple without condition.

What is the Goſpell properlye.

Rom.3.

The ſecond Caution.

The ſecond Caution,or daunger to be auoyded is, that we now knowyng how to diſcerne rightly betwene the law and the Goſpel, and hauyng intelligence not to miſtake the one for the other,muſt take heede agayn, that we breake not the order betwene theſe two, takyng and applying the law, where the Goſpell is to be applyed,either to our ſelues, or toward other. For albeit the law and the Goſpel, many times are to be ioyned together in order of doctrine: yet caſe may fall ſomtymes,that the law muſt be vtterly ſequeſtred frõ the Goſpell. As when any perſon or perſons do feele thẽ ſelues, with the Maieſtie of the law,& iudgemẽt of God, ſo terrified & oppreſſed,& with the burden of their ſinnes ouerweyd & throwen down into vtter diſcomfort,and almoſt euen to the pitte of hell,as happeneth many tymes,to ſoft and timorous conſciences,of Gods good ſeruauntes: when ſuch mortified hartes do heare either in preachyng,or in readyng, any ſuch example or place of the Scripture, whiche perteineth to the law,let them thinke the ſame nothing to belong to them, no more then a mournyng weede belongeth to a Mariage feaſt: and therfore,remouyng vtterly out of their mindes all cogitation of the law,of feare,of iudgement,and condemnation, let them onely ſet before their eyes the Goſpell, the ſwete comfortes of Gods promiſe, free forgeuenes of ſinnes in Chriſt,grace,redemption,libertie reioyſing,pſalmes,thankes ſingyng,and a Paradiſe of ſpirituall iocunditie,and nothyng els: thinkyng thus with them ſelues, that the law hath done his office in thẽ already,& now muſt nedes giue place to his better,that is,muſt nedes giue roume to Chriſt the ſonne of God,who is the Lord,and maiſter, the fulfiller, and alſo the finiſher of the law: *For the end of the lawe, is Chriſt.* Rom.10.

Who they be to whom the Goſpell onely belongeth.

A mourning goune in a place of mariage,doth not agree.

Chriſt the fulfiller,and alſo the finiſher of the lawe.

The thyrd Caution.

The third daunger to be auoyded is, that we do not vſe, or apply,on the contrary ſide,the Goſpell,in ſtede of the law. For as the other before was euẽ as much as to put on a mournyng gowne,in the feaſt of a Mariage: ſo is this but euen to caſt pearles before ſwyne. Wherein is a great abuſe among many. For commonly it is ſene that theſe worldly Epicures, and ſecure Mammoniſtes, to whom the doctrine of the lawe doth properly apperteine,do receaue and apply to them ſelnes moſt principally,the ſwete promiſes of the Goſpell: and contrarywiſe, the other contrite and bruſed hartes,to whom belongeth onely the ioyfull tydinges of the Goſpell, and not the lawe, for the moſt part, receaue and reteine to them ſelues the terrible voyce and ſentences of the law. Whereby it commeth to paſſe,that many do reioyſe,where they ſhould mourne: and on the other ſide, many do feare and mourne, where they nede not. Wherfore to conclude,in priuate vſe of lyfe,let euery perſon diſcretly diſcerne betwene the law and the Goſpel, & aptly apply to him ſelf,that which he ſeeth cõuenient. And agayne, in publike order of doctrine,let euery diſcret preacher put a difference betwene the broken hart of the mourning ſinner,& the vnrepentante worldling,& ſo cõioyne both the law,with the Goſpell, and the Goſpell, with the law,that in throwyng downe the wicked, euer hee ſpare the weake harted: and agayne ſo ſpare the weake, that he do not encourage the vngodly. And thus much concernyng the coniunction and difference betwene the law and the Goſpel, Vpon the occaſion of M.Patrikes places.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iames Beton, Archbyſhop of Saint Andrewes. Frier Walter Laing, betrayer of the confeſſiõ of thys Henry Forerſt.	Henry Forreſt. At S. Andrewes in Scotland.	Within fewe yeares after the martyrdome of M. Patrike Hamelton, one Henry Forreſt, a yõge mã borne in Lithquow, who a litle before,had receaued the orders of Benet, and Colet (as they terme them) affirmed & ſayd, that M.Patricke Hamelton died a Martyr,and that his Articles were true: for the whiche hee was apprehended, and put in priſon,by Iames Beton, Archbyſhop of Saint Andrewes. Who ſhortlye after, cauſed a certeine Frier named frier Walter Laing,to heare his confeſſion. To whõ,whẽ Henry Forreſt,in ſecret cõfeſſion had declared his conſcience, how hee thought M.Patricke to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his Articles were true, and not hereticall: the Frier came and vttered to the Byſhop, the confeſſiõ that he had heard, which before was not throughlye knowen. Wherupõ it folowed, that his cõfeſſiõ beyng brought as ſufficient probation agaynſt hym,he was therefore conuented before the Councell of the Clergie and Doctours,& there concluded to be an hereticke, equall in iniquitie with M. Patricke Hamelton, and there decreed to bee geuen to the ſeculare Iudges to ſuffer death. When the day came of hys death,and that hee ſhould firſt be degraded, and was brought before the Clergie in a greene place,beyng betwene the Caſtle of Saint Andrewes, & an other place called Monymaill, as ſoone as hee entred in at the doore, and ſawe the face of the Clergie,perceiuyng whereunto they tended, hee cryed with a loude voyce, ſaying: Fye on falſehode,Fye on falſe Friers, reuelers of confeſſion: after this day let no man euer truſt any falſe Friers, contemners of Gods worde, and deceauers of men. And ſo they procedyng to degrade hym of hys ſmall orders of Benet and Collet, hee ſayd with a loude voyce,take from me not onely your owne orders, but alſo your owne Baptiſme,meanyng thereby, what ſoeuer is beſides that whiche Chriſt hym ſelfe inſtituted, wherof there is a great rablement in Baptiſme. Then after hys degradation,they condemned hym as an heretické

ticke equall with M. Patrike aforeſayd: and ſo hee ſuffered death for hys faythfull teſtimonie of the truth of Chriſt, and of hys Goſpell, at the Northchurch ſtyle of the Abbaychurch of Saint Andrewe, to the entent that all the people of Anguiſhe myght ſee the fyre, and ſo myght bee the more feared from fallyng into the lyke doctrine, whiche they terme by the name of hereſie. Ex Scripto teſtimonio Scotorum.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iames Hay Byſhop of Roſe and Commiſſioner of Iames Beton, Archbyſhop of Saint Andrewes. M. Iohn Spens, Lawyer.	Iames Hameltõ, brother to M. Patrike. Katherine Hameltõ. A Wife of Lyeth. Dauid Straton. M. Normã Gurlay.	Within a yeare after the martyrdome of Henry Forreſt, or there about, was called Iames Hamelton of Kynlytgowe, his ſiſter Katherine Hamelton the ſpouſe of the Captaine of Dunbar, alſo an other honeſt woman of Leith, Dauid Straton of the houſe of Lawriſtonne, and M. Norman Gurlay. Theſe were called to the Abbay churche of Halyrowdhouſe in Edenburgh, by Iames Hay, Byſhop of Roſe, Commiſſioner to Iames Beton archbiſhop, in preſence of king Iames the v. of that name: who vpon the day of their accuſatiõ was altogether cladde in red apparell. Iames Hamelton was accuſed as one that mainteined the opinions of M. Patrike, hys brother. To whom the kyng gaue counſaile to departe, and not to appeare: for in caſe hee appeared, hee could not helpe him, becauſe the Byſhops had perſuaded him, that the cauſe of hereſie did in no wiſe apperteine vnto him, and ſo Iames fled, and was cõdemned as an hereticke, and all hys goodes and landes confiſcate, and diſpoſed vnto others.

mes Ha-
elton,
atherin
amelton
s ſiſter.
wife of
yeth,
rſecuted.

auid
raton,
orman
urlay,
Martyrs.

Katherine Hamelton hys Siſter, appeared vppon the ſchaffold, & beyng accuſed of an horrible hereſie, to witte, that her owne workes could not ſaue her, ſhe graunted the ſame, and after longe reaſonyng betwene her and M. Iohn Spens the Lawyer, ſhe concluded in this maner: worke here, worke there: what kinde of working is all this? I know perfectly ỹ no kynde of woorkes can ſaue me, but onely the workes of Chriſt my Lord and Sauiour. The kyng hearyng theſe woordes, turned hym about and laught, and called her vnto hym and cauſed her to recant, becauſe ſhe was hys aunt, and ſhe eſcaped.

great he-
ſie in the
opes
urch,
at no
workes cã
ue vs,
t the
workes of
hriſt.

The woman of Leith was detected hereof, that when the mydwife in tyme of her labour, bad her ſay, our Lady helpe me: She cryed, Chriſt helpe me, Chriſt helpe me, in whoſe helpe I truſt. She alſo was cauſed to recant, and ſo eſcaped, without confiſcation of her goodes, becauſe ſhe was maryed.

great he-
ſie to ſaye
hriſt
lpe, and
t our
dye.

Maiſter Norman Gurlay, for that he ſaid there was no ſuch thyng as Purgatory, & that the Pope was not a byſhop, but Antichriſt, & had no Iuriſdiction in Scotland.

aynſt
urgato-
.

Alſo Dauid Straton, for that he ſayd, there was no Purgatorie, but the Paſſion of Chriſt, and the tribulations of this world, and becauſe that, whẽ M. Robert Lowſon Vicare of Egleſgrig aſked his tieth fiſhe of him, he did caſt them to him out of the boate, ſo that ſome of them fell into the Sea: therfore hee accuſed him, as one that ſhould haue ſayd, that no tithes ſhould be payed. Theſe two, becauſe after great ſollicitation made by the kyng, they refuſed to abiure and recant, were therefore condemned by the Byſhop of Roſe as heretickes, and were burned vpõ the grene ſide, betwene Leith & Edenburgh, to the entent that ỹ inhabitaũtes of Fiffe, ſeyng the fyre, might be ſtrickẽ with terrour and feare, not to fall into the lyke. Ex eodem Scripto.

¶ And thus much touchyng thoſe Martyrs of Scotland, whiche ſuffered vnder Iames Beton, Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes. After whom ſucceded Dauid Beton in the ſame Archbiſhopricke, vnder whom diuers other were alſo martyred as hereafter (God willyng) in their order ſhall appeare.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Lõgland Byſhop of Lincolne. Rouland Vicare of great Wickam, the Biſhops Chaplen.	Thomas Hardyng an aged father, dwellyng at Cheſham, in Buckynghamſhyre. At Cheſham in in Buckyngham. an. 1532.	Thomas Hardyng dwellyng at Cheſham in the Countie of Buckyngham, with Alyce hys wife, was firſt abiured by Williã Smith, Biſhop of Lyncolne, an. 1506. with diuers other mo, whiche the ſame time, for ſpeaking againſt Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, were taken and compelled, ſome to beare fagottes, ſome were burned in the cheke with hoate yrons, ſome condẽned to perpetuall priſon, ſome thruſt into monaſteries, & ſpoyled cleane of all their goods, ſome cõpelled to make pilgrimage to the great blocke, otherwiſe called, our Lady of Lyncolne, ſome to Walſinghã, ſome to S. Romulde of Buckyngham, ſome to the roode of Wendouer, ſome to S. Iohn Shorne, &c. of whom mention is made in the Table before, begynnyng, pag. 947. Of this Thomas Hardyng much rehearſal hath ben made before, as in the pag. 917. col. 2. pag. 918. col. 2. lin. 31. pag. 948. col. 2. lin. 47. pag. 950. col. 1. lin. 18. &c.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 947.

Thomas Hardyng, Martyr.

First this Thomas Hardyng with Alyce his wife, being abiured, and enioyned penaunce, with diuers other moe, by William Smith, Biſhop of Lincolne, afterward by the ſayd Biſhop, was releaſed again in the yeare of our Lord. 1515. of all ſuch penaũce as was enioyned hym and his wife at their abiuration, excepte theſe iii. Articles folowyng, and were diſcharged of their badges or ſignes of their Fagottes. &c. Onely thys penaunce folowyng ỹ Byſhop cõtinued, Sub pœna relapſus.

First, that neither of them duryng their life, ſhould dwell out of the pariſhe of Amerſham.

Item, that either of them duryng their lyfe, ſhould faſt bread and ale euery Corpus Chriſti euen.

It was happy that they were not put to faſte bread & water.

Itẽ, that either of thẽ ſhould, during their lyues, vpõ Corpus Chriſti day, euery yeare, goe in pilgrimage to Aſheryge, and there make their offerynges, as other people did, but not to do open penaunce. Alſo they were licenced by the ſayd Byſhop, to do their pilgremage at Aſheryge, vpon Corpus Chriſti euen, or Corpus Chriſti day, or ſome other, vpon any cauſe reaſonable.

This penaunce beyng to them enioyned an. 1515. they obſerued to the yeare. 1522. ſaue onely in the laſt yeare, the foreſaid Alice his wife omitted her pilgrimage going to Aſheryge vpon Corpus Chriſti day. Alſo the ſayd Thomas Hardyng, beyng put to his othe, to detecte other, becauſe he contrary to his othe diſſembled, and did not diſcloſe them, was therfore enioyned in penaunce, for his periurie, to beare vpon his right ſleue, both before and behynde, a badge or patche of grene cloth or ſilke embrodered like a fagot, duryng his whole lyfe, vnles he ſhould otherwiſe be diſpenſed withall. And thus continued hee from the yeare. 1522. till the yeare. 1532.

At laſte the ſayd Hardyng, in the yeare aboue ſayd. 1232. about Eaſter holydayes, when the other people went to the Churche, to commit their wonted Idolatrie, tooke his way into the woodes, there ſolitarily to worſhyp the true liuyng God, in ſpirite and truth. Where, as he was occupyed in a booke of Engliſh prayers, leaning or ſitting vpon a ſtyle by the woodes ſide, it chaũced that one did eſpye hym where he was, and came in great haſte to the officers of the towne, declaryng that he had ſene Hardyng in the woodes lookyng on a booke. Wherupon immediatlie a rude rable of them, like madde men, ranne deſperatly to his houſe, to ſearch for bookes, and in ſearchyng went ſo nighe, that vnder the bordes of his floore, they found certeine Engliſhe bookes of holy Scripture. Wherupon this godly father with his bookes, was brought before Iohn Longland, Byſhop of Lincolne, thẽ lying at Woobourne. Who with his Chaplens, calling father Hardyng to examinatiõ, begã to reaſon with him, proceding rather with checkes & rebukes, then with any ſound argumẽtes. Thomas Hardyng ſeyng their folly, & rude behauiour, gaue them but few wordes,

The taking of *Thomas Hardyng*.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

Thomas Hardyng put in litle eaſe the Byſhops priſon.

Tho. Harding condemned.

but fixyng his truſt and care in the Lord, did let them ſay what they would. Thus at laſt they ſent hym to the Byſhops priſon called litle eaſe, where he did lye with hunger and payne enough, for a certeine ſpace: till at length the Biſhop ſittyng in his tribunall ſeate like a poteſtate, condemned him for relapſe, to bee burned to aſhes, committyng the charge and ouerſight of his Martyrdome to Rouland Meſsinger, Vicar of great Wickham. Which Rouland, at the day appoynted, with a rable of other lyke to him ſelfe, brought father Hardyng to Cheſham agayne. Where the next day after his returne, the ſayd Rouland made a Sermon in Cheſham Churche, cauſing Thomas Hardyng to ſtand before hym, all the preachyng tyme: whiche Sermon was nothyng els but the mainteinyng of the Iuriſdiction of the Byſhop of Rome, and the ſtate of his Apoſtolicall Sea, with the Idolatrie, phantaſies & traditions belongyng to the ſame. When the Sermon was ended, Rouland toke him vp to the hygh aultar, and asked whether he beleued, that in the bread, after the conſecration, there remayned any other ſubſtaunce, then the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes naturall body borne of the virgin Mary. To this Thomas Hardyng aunſwered: The Articles of our beleefe do teache vs, that our Sauiour Chriſt was borne of the virgine Mary, & that he ſuffered death vnder Pilate, and roſe from death the thyrd day: that hee then aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the ryght hand of God, in the glory of his father.

The fayth and confeſſion of Tho. Hardyng.

Thē was he brought into a mans houſe in ẏ towne, where he remained all night in prayer, and godly meditations. So the next mornyng came the foreſayd Rouland againe, about x. of the clocke, with a cōpany of billes & ſtaues, to lead this godly father to his burnyng. Whō a great number both of men and wemen did folow. Of whom many bewayled his death: and contrary the wicked reioyſed therat. He was brought forth, hauing thruſt in his handes a litle Croſſe of woode, but no Idoll vpon it. Then he was cheyned to the ſtake, deſiryng the people to pray for him, and forgyuyng all his enemyes and perſecuters, he commended his ſpirite to God, and tooke his death moſt paciently & quietly, liftyng vp his handes to heauen, ſaying: Ieſus receaue my ſpirite.

The pacient death & Martyrdome of Tho. Hardyng.

When they had ſet fyre on hym, there was one that threw a byllet at hym, and daſhed out hys braynes. Of what purpoſe hee ſo did, it is not knowen, but as it was ſuppoſed, that he might haue xl. dayes of pardon, as the proclamation was made at the burnyng of Williā Tilſeworth aboue mentioned pag. 917. whereas proclamation was made the ſame tyme, that whoſoeuer did bryng a fagot or a ſtake to the burnyng of an hereticke, ſhould haue xl. dayes of pardon. Wherby many ignorant people cauſed their children to beare bylles and Fagottes to their burnyng.

Xl. dayes of pardon for bringing fagots to burne good men.

In fine, when the ſacrifice and burnt offeryng of this godly Martyr was finiſhed, and he brent to aſhes, in the Dell, goyng to Botley, at the North end of the towne of Cheſham, Rouland the Ruler of the roſt, commaundyng ſilence and thinkyng to ſend the people away, with an Ite miſſa eſt, with a loude voyce ſayd to the people theſe wordes, not aduiſyng belyke what his tōgue did ſpeake: Good people, when ye come home, do not ſay that you haue bene at the burnyng of an hereticke, but of a good true Chriſtian man, & ſo they departed to dyner, Rouland with the rable of other Prieſtes much reioyſing at the burnyng of this good man. After dyner they went to Churche to euenſong, becauſe it was Corpus Chriſti euē, where they fell to ſingyng and chauntyng, with ryngyng, and pypyng of the Organes. Well was hee that could reache the hyeſt note: So much did they reioyſe at this good mans burnyng. He ſhould haue bene burned on the Aſcenſion euen, but the matter was deferred vnto the euen of Corpus Chriſti, becauſe they would honour theyr bready Meſſias with a bloudy ſacrifice. Thus Thomas Hardyng was conſumed to aſhes, hee beyng of the age of lx. yeares and aboue. Ex teſtimonio ſcripto ciuium Amerſhamenſiū.

¶ I finde in the recordes of Lincolne, about ẏ ſame time, and in the ſame countrey of Buckynghamſhyre, in the which the foreſaid Thomas Hardyng did ſuffer, that diuers other for the lyke doctrine, were moleſted and troubled, whoſe names with their cauſes, here vnder folow.

Perſecuters	The perſecuted.	The Cauſes.
Eliſabeth Wyghthil Doctour London.	Miſtres Alyce Doly.	Elizabeth Wyththil beyng brought before Doctour London, in the perſonage at Staunton Harcourt, and there put to her othe, deposed agaynſt Maſtres Alyce Doly, her maſtres, that the ſayd M. Doly ſpeakyng of Iohn Hacker of Colmanſtreet in London waterbearer, ſayd that he was very expert in the Goſpels, and all other thyngs belōgyng to diuine ſeruice, and could expreſſe & declare it, and the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, as well as any Prieſt, & it would do one good to heare hym: ſaying moreouer, that ſhe would in no caſe, that this were knowen, for hurting the poore man, commaunding moreouer ẏ ſaid Elizabeth, that ſhe ſhould tell no man hereof, affirmyng at the ſame tyme, that the foreſayd Hacker could tell of diuers Prophesies, what ſhould happen in the realme. Ouer and beſydes, the forenamed Eliſabeth deposed, that the ſayd M. Doly her maſtres ſhewed vnto her, that ſhe had a booke, whiche helde agaynſt pilgremages: and after that, ſhe cauſed Syr Iohn Boothe perſon of Britwell, to read vppon a booke, which ſhe called Legenda aurea, and one Saintes lyfe he read, which did ſpeake agaynſt pilgrimages, and after that was read, her maſtres ſaid vnto her: loe daughter, nowe ye may heare as I tolde you, that this booke ſpeaketh agaynſt pilgremages.

Furthermore, it was deposed agaynſt Maiſtres Doly by the ſayd Elizabeth, that ſhe beyng at Syr William Barentens place, and ſeyng there in the cloſet, Images new gilded, ſayd to the ſayd Elizabeth, looke here be my Ladye Barentens Gods. To whom the ſayd Elizabeth aunſwered agayne, that they were ſet for remēbraunce of good Saintes. Then ſayd ſhe, if I were in an houſe where no Images were, I could remember to pray vnto Saintes, as well as if I did ſee the Images. Nay ſayd the other, Images do prouoke deuotion. Thē ſayd her maſtres, ye ſhould not worſhyp that thyng that hath eares, and can not heare, and hath eyes and can not ſee, and hath mouth and can not ſpeake, and hath handes, and can not feele.

Item, the ſayd M. Doly was reported by the ſayd partie, to haue a booke cōteining the xii. Articles of ẏ Crede, couered with bordes, and a red coueryng: alſo an other blacke booke, whiche ſhe ſet moſt price by, whiche booke ſhe kept euer in her chāber or in her coffer, with other diuers bookes. And this was about the yeare of our Lord 1520. Ex Regiſtro Lincol.

¶ Note here, good reader, in this tyme, whiche was aboue 46. yeares a go, what good matter here was to accuſe and moleſte good wemen for.

William Smith of Northſtoke, in Oxfordſhyre. Thomas Ferrar.	Roger Hachman. At Northſtoke in Oxfordſhyre. an. 1525.	Agaynſt this Roger Hacheman it was ſayd by depoſitions brought in, that he ſittyng at the Church Ale, at Northſtoke, ſaid theſe wordes: I will neuer looke to be ſaued, for no good dede that euer I did, neither for any that euer I will do, without I may haue my ſaluation by petition, as an outlaw ſhall haue hys pardon of the kyng, and ſayd, that if he might not haue hys ſaluatiō ſo, he thought he ſhould be loſte, Ex Regiſt. Lincol.

Perſecuters	Perſecuted.	The Cauſes.
Doctour Wharton Chauncelour to Tonſtall, Byſhop of Londõ	Rob. Weſt Prieſt of S. Andrewe vnderſhaft At Londõ. an. 1529.	Agaynſt this Robert Weſt Prieſt it was obiected, that he had commẽded Martin Luther, and thought that hee had done well in many thynges, as in hauyng wife and children. &c. Item, for ſaying that, whereas the Doctours of the church haue commaunded Prieſtes to ſay Mattens and Euenſong, they had no authoritie ſo to do: For the whiche hee was abiured, & was enioyned penaũce. Ex Regiſt. Lincol.
Doctour Morgan.	Iohn Ryburne. At Ryſſebrowe. an. 1530.	It was teſtified agaynſt Iohn Ryburne, by hys ſiſter Eliſabeth Ryburne beyng put to her othe, that ſhe commyng to him vpon the Aſſumptiõ euen, found him at ſupper with butter and egges: and beyng byd to ſit down and eate with him, ſhe aunſwered, that it was no conuenient tyme then to eate. To whom he ſayd agayn, that God neuer made ſuch faſtyng dayes, but you (quod he) are ſo farre in Limbo Patrũ, that you can neuer turne agayne. And in further cõmunication, when ſhe ſaid, ẏ ſhe would go on pilgrimage to the holy Croſſe at Wendouer, he ſayd agayn, that ſhe did nought: For there is neuer a ſteppe (ſayd he) ẏ you ſet, in going on pilgrimage, but you go to ẏ deuill: and you go to the Church to worſhyp that

the Prieſt doth hold aboue his head, whiche is but bread, and if you caſt it to the mouſe, he will eate it: and ſayd that he would neuer beleue, that the prieſt hath power to make his Lorde.

Item, it was teſtified by an other ſiſter named Alyce Ryburne, that ſhe being with her brother in a cloſſe, called Brymmers Cloſſe, heard him ſay theſe wordes: That a tyme ſhall come that no eleuation ſhall bee made. Wherunto ſhe aunſweryng agayne, aſked: and what ſeruice ſhall we haue then? He ſayd: that ſeruice, that we haue now. Furthermore the ſayd Iohn Ryburne was accuſed vpon theſe wordes, ſaying: that the ſeruice of the Church was nought, becauſe it was not in Engliſhe: For, ſayd he, if we had our Pater noſter in Engliſh, we would ſay it ix. tymes, agaynſt once now. &c. Ex Regiſt. Lincol. fol. 300.

¶ Note here out of the recordes of the regiſter, that in this examination of Iohn Ryburne, firſt his ij. ſiſters, then his owne wife, and at laſt his owne father were called before Iohn Longlãd, biſhop of Lincolne, and compelled by othe to depoſe agaynſt him.

Iohn Long land Byſhop of Lincolne. Richard Ryburne.	Iohn Eton Cecilie his wife. At Roſheborogh. an. 1530.	Iohn Eton, and Cecylie hys wife of the pariſhe of Spyne, were detected by Richard Ryburne that they were marked of certeine in the pariſhe on the Sonday then laſt paſt, in the ſacryng tyme, to holde downe their heades, and would not looke vpon the Sacrament. Item, in the feaſt of exaltation of the holy Croſſe, when the belles did ring ſolemly, betwene Mattens & high Maſſe, for ſaying in a butchers houſe, what a clamperyng of belles is here? Item, the ſayd Iohn Riburne was detected of Richard his father for ſaying theſe wordes: The Prieſtes do naught, for they ſhould ſay their ſeruice in Engliſhe, that euery man may know it.

Perſecuters	Perſecuted.	The Cauſes.

Item, for theſe wordes ſpeaking to one of his ſiſters: The Sacramẽt of the aultar, is not, as they take it to be. But if it be, as I truſt, we ſhall ſee none of them holden vp, one of theſe dayes, ouer the prieſtes head. &c.

A propheſie.

Item, for ſaying, ẏ the bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath made ſatiſfaction for all ill dedes, that were done, or ſhould be done, and therfore it was no nede, to go on pilgrimage. It was alſo layd to his charge, and cõfeſſed by hym ſelfe, that he had Ieſus Goſpels in Engliſhe, and that he was preſent in the houſe of Iohn Taylor, when one Iohn Symondes read to them a lecture out of the Goſpel, of the Paſſion of Chriſt, the ſpace of ij. houres.

Item, for ſaying, that Images were but Idoles, and it was Idolatrie to pray to them.

For ſaying moreouer, that at ſacryng tyme, he kneled downe, but he had no deuotion, nor beleued in the Sacrament. Item, that the Popes authoritie and pardon can not helpe mans ſoule, and it was but caſt away money, that is giuen for pardon: For if we aſke pardon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, he will giue vs pardon euery day.

Thomas Lound Prieſt, who had bene with Luther ij. yeares, beyng afterwarde caſt in the Flete at London, was a great inſtructor of this Iohn Ryburne.

Iohn Simondes, accuſed.

Iohn Lõgland Byſhop of Lincolne.	Iohn Symondes.	It was layd agaynſt Iohn Symondes, for ſaying, that men do walke all day in Purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there is but ij. wayes, either to hell or to heauen. Item, he ſayd that Prieſtes ſhould haue wyues. It was reported by the confeſſion of ẏ ſayd Iohn Symõdes: that hee conuerted to hys doctrine viij. Prieſtes, and had holpen ij. or iij. Friers out of their orders.

Ex eod. regiſt. fol. 323.

Diuers accuſed for hearing the Scripture red in Engliſhe.

Ex Regiſt. Longland. fol. 311.

Iohn Lõgland Byſhop of Lincolne.	William Wingraue Thomas Hawkes of Hichendẽ. Robert Hawes of Weſtwicome. Iohn Taylor. Iohn Hawkes. Thomas Herne of Cobihill. Nicholas fielde. Richard Deane. Thomas Clerke the younger. William Hawkes of Cheſham. an. 1530.	Theſe perſons with other, were examined, excommunicated, and abiured, for beyng together in Iohn Taylors houſe at Hichenden, and there hearyng Nicolas Field of Londõ to read a parcell of Scripture in Engliſh to them, who there expounded to them many thynges: That they whiche went on pilgrimage, were accurſed: That it booted not to pray to Images, for they were but ſtockes made of woode, and could not helpe a man: That God almightie biddeth vs worke as wel one day, as an other, ſauyng the Sonday: for ſixe dayes he wrought, and the ſeuenth day he reſted: That they neded not to faſt ſo many faſtyng dayes, except the Imbring daies: for he was beyond the Sea in Almanie, and there they vſed not ſo to faſt, nor to make ſuch holydayes. Item, ẏ offeryngs do no good, for they haue them, that haue no nede thereof. And when it was aunſwered againe by one that they mainteyned Gods ſeruice: nay, ſayd Nicolas, it mainteineth great houſes, as Abbeys and other. Item, that men ſhould ſay their Pater noſter, and Aue Maria, in Engliſh, with the Crede, and declared the ſame in Engliſhe.

Item, that the Sacrament of the aultar was not, as it was pretended, the fleſhe, bloud, and bone of Chriſt: but a Sacrament, that is, a Typicall ſignification of hys holy body.

Simon Wiſedome, **abiured.**

Iames Algar, **abiured.**

Iohn French, **abiured.**

Perſecuters.	Perſecuted.	The Cauſes.
		To William Wingraue moreouer, it was obiected that hee ſhould ſay, that there was no Purgatorie: and if there were any Purgatory, and euery Maſſe, that is ſaid ſhould deliuer a ſoule out of Purgatory, there ſhould be neuer a ſoule there: for there bee moe Maſſes ſayd in a day, then there be bodyes buryed in a moneth.
Ihon Lōgland Byſhop of Lincolne.	Symon Wiſedom of Burford	Simon Wiſedome of Burford was charged in Iudgement, for hauyng three bookes in Engliſhe: one was the Goſpels in Engliſhe, an other was the Pſalter, the third was the Summe of the holy Scripture in Engliſhe.
Doctour Prinne, Commiſſarie to the Byſhop of Lincolne.	Iames Algar, or Ayger. an. 1530.	It was articulated and obiected to Iames Ayger; firſt that he ſpeaking to a certeine Doctour of Diuinitie, named Aglonby, ſayd that euery true Chriſten man lyuing after the lawes of God, and obſeruyng his Commaundementes, is a Prieſt as well as he. &c. Item, that he ſayd, that hee would not hys executours to deale any penny for hys ſoule, after his death, for he would do it with his own handes while he was alyue: and that his cōſcience gaue hym, that the ſoule, ſo ſoone as it departeth out of the body, goeth ſtreight eyther to heauen, or to hell. Item, when Doctor Aglonby aforeſaid had alleged to him the place of S. Mat. 16. Thou art Peter. &c. hee aunſwered him agayn with that which followeth in the Goſpell after: Get thee after me Sathan. &c. Item, the ſayd Iames hearyng of a certeine Churche to be robbed, ſaid openly, it made no great force, for the Churche hath enough already.
	Iohn Frenche of Longwitam. At Longwitam. an. 1530.	Agaynſt Iohn Frenche lykewiſe theſe three Articles were obiected. 1. That he beleued not the body of Chriſt, fleſhe, bloud, and bone to be in the Sacrament. 2. That he was not confeſſed to any prieſt of long tyme. 3. That Prieſtes had not power to abſolue from ſinnes. &c. For the which hee likewiſe, with the other, was troubled, & at length cōpelled alſo with them to knele down, & to aſke hys holy Catholicke fathers and mothers bleſſing of Rome.

But what ſtand I here numberyng the ſand? For if all the Regiſter bookes were ſought, it would be an infinite thyng to recite all them, whiche throughe all the other Dioceſſes of the realme in theſe dayes, before, and ſince, were troubled and purſued for theſe and ſuch lyke matters. But theſe I thought for example ſake, here to ſpecifie, that it might appeare what doctrine it is, and long hath bene in the Churche, for the whiche the Prelates and Clergie of Rome haue iudged men heretickes, and ſo wrongfully haue moleſted poore ſimple Chriſtians.

Now, paſſyng from the abiurations of thoſe poore men, we will ſome thyng ſpeake (God willyng) of the lyfe and doynges of the contrary part, who were their perſecutours, and chief Rulers then of the Churche, to ẏ entent that by thoſe Rulers, it may better be diſcerned, & iudged, what maner of Church that was, which then ſo perſecuted the true doctrine of Chriſt, and mēbers of his Churche.

¶ *A briefe diſcourſe concerning the ſtorye and lyfe of* Thomas Wolſey, late Cardinall of Yorke, by way of digreſſion, wherin is to be ſeene and noted, the expreſſe image of the proud vainglorious church of Rome, how farre it differeth from the true church of Chriſt Ieſus.

Although it be not greatly pertinent vnto thys our hiſtorye, nor greatly requiſite in theſe ſo waightie matters, entreating of Chriſtes holy Martyrs, to diſcourſe much of Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke: notwithſtanding, forſomuch as there be many whiche being caried away with a wronge opinion, and eſtimation of that falſe glittering church of Rome, doe thinke that holines to be in it, which in deede is not: to the entent therfore that ẏ vaine pompe & pride of that ambitious church, ſo farre differing from all pure Chriſtianitie, and godlines, more notoriouſlye may appeare to all men, and partlye alſo to refreſhe the reader with ſome varietie of matter, I thought compendiouſlye to expreſſe the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demaner of thys foreſayd Thomas Wolſey, Cardinall and Legate of Rome, in whom alone, the image and life of all other ſuch like followers and profeſſors of the ſame church, may be ſeene and obſerued. For lyke as the Lacedemonians in times paſt, were accuſtomed to ſhewe and demonſtrate dronken men vnto their children, to beholde and looke vpon, that through the foulnes of that vice, they might inflame them the more to the ſtudie and deſire of ſobrietie: euen ſo it ſhall not be hurtfull ſometimes to ſet forth the examples which are not honeſt, that others might therby gather the inſtructions of better and more vpright liuing.

Wherfore thou ſhalt note here (good reader) in thys hiſtorie, with all iudgement, the great difference of life and Chriſtian conuerſation, betwene thys church, and the other true humble Martyrs and ſeruantes of God, whom they haue, and doe yet perſecute. And firſt to beginne, with the firſt meeting and comming in of thys Cardinall, and hys fellowe Cardinall Campeius into England: it was about the time, when Pope Leo intending to make warre agaynſt the Turkes, ſent three Legates together from Rome, wherof one went into Germanie, an other into Fraunce, Laurentius Campeius was appoynted to come into England. When he was come to Callis, and that ẏ Cardinall of Yorke had vnderſtanding therof, he ſent certaine Byſhops and Doctors, with as much ſpeede as he could, to meete the Legate, and to ſhewe him that if he would haue his Ambaſſade take effecte, hee ſhoulde ſend in poſte to Rome, to haue the ſayd Cardinall of Yorke, made Legate, and to be ioyned with him in commiſſion. Which thyng he much affected, miſdoubting leſt hys authoritie therby myght perhappes bee diminiſhed, through the commyng of the Legate, and therfore required to bee ioyned with hym in lyke degree of ẏ Ambaſſade. Campeius being a man light of beliefe, and ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, gaue credite vnto hys wordes, & ſent vnto Rome with ſuch ſpeede, that within xx. dayes after, the Bull was brought to Callis, wherin they were both equally ioyned in commiſſion: during which tyme, the Cardinall of Yorke, ſent to the Legate at Callis, red cloth to clothe hys ſeruauntes withall, which at theyr comming to Callis, were but meanly apparelled.

Whē all things were ready, Cāpeius paſſed the ſeas & landed at Douer, & ſo kept forth his iourney toward London. At euery good towne as they paſſed, he was receaued with proceſſion, accompanied with all the Lordes and Gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to blacke Heath, there mette hym the Duke of Northfolke, with a great number of Prelates, Knightes, and

Gentlemen, all richlye apparelled, and in the waye hee was brought into a riche tent of cloth of golde, where he ſhifted him ſelfe into a Cardinalls robe, furred with Ermines, & ſo tooke hys Mule riding toward London. Now marke the great humilitie in thys church of the Pope, and compare the ſame with the other church of the Martyrs, and ſee which of thẽ is more Goſpell like.

Thys Campeius had viij. mules of hys owne, laden with diuers farthells and other preparation. The Cardinall of Yorke, thinkyng them not ſufficient for hys eſtate, the nyght before he came to London, ſent him xij. mules more, with emptie coffers couered with red, to furniſhe hys cariage withall. The next day, theſe xx. mules were lead through the Citie, as though they had bene loden with treaſures, apparell and other neceſſaryes, to the great admiratiõ of all mẽ, that they ſhould receiue a Legate as it were a God, with ſuch & ſo great treaſure, & riches. For ſo yͤ cõmon people doth alwayes iudge & eſteeme, the maieſtie of the clergie, by no other thyng then by theyr outward ſhewes & pompe: but in yͤ middeſt of thys great admiration, there happened a ridiculous ſpectacle, to the great deriſion of theyr pride & ambition. For as the Mules paſſed through Cheapeſide, and the people were preſſing about them, to beholde and gaſe (as the maner is) it happened that one of the Mules breaking his coller that he was led in, ran vpon the other Mules, wherby it happened, that they ſo running together, & theyr girthes being loſed, ouerthrewe diuers of theyr burthens, and ſo there appeared the Cardinalls gaye treaſure, not without great laughter and ſcorne of many, & ſpeciallye of boyes and gerles, wherof ſome gathered vp pieces of meate, other ſome, pieces of bread and roſted egges, ſome foũd horſe ſhoes, and olde bootes, with ſuch other baggage: crying out, beholde, here is my Lord Cardinalls treaſure. The Muliters being therwithall greatly aſhamed, gathered together theyr treaſure agayne as well as they could, and went forward.

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About three of the clocke at after noone, the xix. daye of Iulie, the Cardinall hym ſelfe was brought through the Citie, with great pompe and ſolemnitie, vnto Paules Church, wheras, when he had bleſſed all men with the Byſhops bleſſing (as the maner is) hee was guided forth vnto the Cardinall of Yorkes houſe, where as he was receaued by the ſayd Cardinall, and by hym, on the next day being ſondaie, was conducted vnto the kyng, to fulfill hys Ambaſſade agaynſt the Turke, which myght haue deſtroyed all Hungarie, in the meane tyme whiles they were ſtudying with what ſolemnitie to furniſhe out theyr Ambaſſade.

x Edo-
r. Hallo.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a Legate, he ſet vp a Courte, & called it the Court of the Legate, and proued teſtamentes, and heard cauſes, to the great hinderaunce of all the byſhops of the realme. He viſited Byſhops and all the clergie, exempt and not exempt: and vnder colour of reformation, he gotte much treaſure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more miſchiefe: for by example of hys pride, prieſtes and all ſpirituall perſons wared ſo proud, that they ware veluet, and ſilke, both in gounes, Iackets, dublets, and ſhoes, kept open lecherye, & ſo highly bare them ſelues, by reaſon of hys authorities and faculties, that no man durſte once reproue any thing in them, for feare to bee called hereticke, and then they would make hym ſmoke or beare a fagotte. And the Cardinall him ſelfe was ſo elated, that he thought him ſelfe equall with the kyng: and whẽ he had ſayd Maſſe, he made Dukes & Earles to ſerue hym of wyne with a ſay taken, and to holde the baſon at the Lauatories.

Furthermore, as hee was Ambaſſadour ſent to the Emperour at Bruxels, he had ouer with hym the great Seale of England, and was ſerued there with hys ſeruitours kneeling on their knees, and many noble men of England wayting vpon him, to the great admiration of all the Germains that beheld it: ſuch was hys monſtrous pompe & pride. Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſpur.

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Thys glorious Cardinall in hys tragicall doinges, dyd exceede ſo farre all meaſure of a good ſubiecte, that he became more like a prince then a prieſt: for although the kyng bare the ſworde, yet he bare the ſtroke, making (in a maner) yͤ whole realme to bend at his becke, and to daunſe after hys pipe. Such practiſes & fetches he had, that when he had well ſtored hys owne coffers, firſt he fetched the greateſt part of the kinges treaſure, out of the realme, in xij. great barells full of golde and ſiluer, to ſerue the Popes warres. And as hys auaritious mynde was neuer ſatiſfied in getting, ſo his reſtles head was ſo buſie, ruffling in publike matters, yͭ he neuer ceaſſed, before he had ſet both England, Frãce, Flaunders, Spayne, and Italye, together by the eares.

The climing of the Cardinall *Wolſey*.

Cardinall *Wolſey* a great cauſer of warres.

Thus thys Legate well following the ſteppes of hys maiſter the Pope, & both of thẽ well declaryng the nature of their religion: vnder the pretenſe of the church, practiſed great hipocriſie, & vnder the authoritie of the kyng, he vſed great extorſion, with exceſſiue taxes & lones, and valuation of euery mans ſubſtance, ſo pilling the commons and Marchauntes, that euery man complayned, but no redreſſe was had. Neyther yet were the churchmen altogether free from the pillar, and pollar, from the pilling and pollyng (I meane) of thys Cardinall, who vnder hys power Legantine, gaue by preuentions, all benefices belonging to ſpirituall perſons: by which hard it is to ſaye, whether he purchaſed to hym ſelf, more riches then hatred, of yͤ ſpiritualtie. So farre his licence ſtretched, yͭ he had power to ſuppreſſe diuers Abbeyes, Priories, and Monaſteryes, & ſo dyd: takyng from them, all theyr goods, moueables, & not moueables, except it were a little penſion, left onely to the heades of certayne houſes. By the ſaid power Legantine, hee kept alſo generall viſitations through the realme, ſending Doct. Iohn Alein hys chaplein, rydyng in hys goune of Veluet, and with a great trayne, to viſite all religious houſes: wherat the Fryers obſeruauntes much grudged, and would in no wyſe condeſcend therunto: wherfore they were openlye accurſed at Paules croſſe, by Fryer Foreſt, one of the ſame order: ſo that the Cardinall at length, preuailed both agaynſt them, and all other. Agaynſt whom great diſdaine aroſe among yͤ people, perceauing how he by viſitaſions, makyng of Abbots, probates of teſtamentes, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollinges in hys courtes Legantine, had made hys treaſure equall with the kinges, and yet euery yeare he ſent great ſummes to Rome. And thys was theyr daily talke agaynſt the Cardinall.

The pilling and polling of the Cardinall.

The Friers obſeruauntes accurſed of the Cardinall.

Of Fryer *Foreſt, vid. infra.*

Ex Hallo, an. 17. Reg. Henric. 8.

Beſide many other matters and greuances whiche ſtyrred the hartes of the commons agaynſt the Cardinall, thys was one, which much pinched them, for that the ſayd Cardinall had ſent out certayne ſtraite commiſſions in the kinges name, that euery man ſhoulde pay the vj. part of his goods. Wherupon there folowed great muttering amongſt the cõmons, in ſuch ſort, that it had almoſt growen to ſome riotous cõmotion or tumulte, eſpecially in the partes of Suffolke, had not the Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, with wiſedome and gentlenes, ſtept in and appeaſed the ſame.

Ex Hallo, an. 19. Reg. Henric. 8.

An other thing that rubbed the ſtomackes of many, or rather which moued them to laugh at the Cardinall, was thys, to ſee hys inſolent preſumption, ſo highly to take vpon hym, as the kings chiefe Counſailor, to ſet a reformation in the order of the kinges houſholde, making and eſtabliſhing new ordinaunces in the ſame. He likewiſe made newe officers, in the houſe of the Duke of Richmond, which was thẽ newly begonne. In like maner he ordayned a Coũſell, and eſtabliſhed an other houſholde for the Ladie Mary, then being Princes: ſo that all thing was done by hys conſent, and by none other. All thys, with much more, tooke he vpon hym, making yͤ king beleue, that all ſhould be to his honour, and

that

that he neded not to take any payne, in ſo much that the charge of all things was cōmitted vnto him: whereat many men ſmiled to ſee his great folly & preſumption.

Hampton court geuen to the kyng.

At this tyme the Cardinall gaue the kyng the leaſe of the Manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the L. of S. Iohnes, and on which he had done great coſte. Therfore yͤ kyng agayne of his gentle nature, licenced him to lie in his Manor of Richmonde, and ſo he laye there certaine times. But whē yͤ cōmon people, & ſpecially ſuch as were K. Henry the vij. ſeruauntes, ſaw the Cardinal kepe houſe in yͤ royall Manor of Richmond, which K. Henry the vij. ſo much eſteemed, it was a maruaile to here, how they grudged ſaying: Sée a butchers dogge lye in yͤ Manor of Richmond. Theſe with many other opprobrious wordes, were ſpoken againſt the Cardinall, whoſe pride was ſo hye, that he regarded no thyng: yet was he hated of all men.

The Cardinall ruffling in matters and warres of Princes.

And now to expreſſe ſome parte of yͤ rufflyng practiſes & buſie intermedlings of this Cardinall in Princes warres, firſt here is to be noted, that after long warres betwene England and Fraunce. 1524. (in the which warres, kyng Henry takyng the Emperours parte agaynſt Frances the Frenche kyng, had waged with his money, yͤ Duke of Bourbon, & a great part of the Emperours armie, to inuade and diſturbe certeine partes of Fraunce) it happened that the French kyng cōmyng with his armye toward Millan, at the ſiege of Pauia, was there taken by the Duke of Bourbon, and Viceroy of Neaples, and ſo led priſoner into Spaine.

Fraunces the French kyng taken priſoner.

Here note by the way, that all this while, the Cardinall helde with the Emperour, hopyng by him to be made Pope: but when that would not bee, hee went cleane from the Emperour, to the Frenche kyng, as (the Lord willyng) ye ſhall heare

The French kyng priſoner a yeare and a halfe.

After this victorie gottē, and the French kyng being taken priſoner, who remayned in cuſtodie about a yeare and halfe: at length through great labour and ſolicitatiō, as wel of other, as namely of the Cardinall, and kyng Henry, an order was taken, and conditions propounded betwene the Frenche kyng and the Emperour, among which other diuers conditions, it was agréed, that they ſhould reſiſte the Turkes, and oppreſſe the Lutheranes: and ſo was the kyng ſet at libertie, leauyng behynde him, his ij. eldeſt ſonnes, for pledges: But ſhortly after he reuoked his othe, beyng abſolued by the Byſhop of Rome, and ſayd, that hee was forced to ſweare, or els he ſhould neuer haue bene deliuered. Whiche was. an. 1526. Pope Clement vii. ſeyng the Frenche kyng reſtored to libertie, and myſdoubtyng the puiſance and domination of the Emperour in Italie ſo nere vnder his noſe, abſolueth the Frenche kyng from his othe: alſo ioyneth together a confederacie of Venetians and other princes agaynſt the Emperour, bearyng great hatred agaynſt all them, that any thyng fauored yͤ Emperours part, eſpecially the familie of Columna in Rome, whiche familie was then Imperiall, & therfore to ſhew his hatred againſt thē, he ſaid to Pompey Cardinall of the ſame familie, in threatnyng wordes, that he would take away his Cardinals hatte. To whom it was aūſwered agayn of the Cardinall, that if he ſo did, he would put on a helmet, to ouerthrowe the Popes triple crowne. Whereby it may appeare, here by the way, what holynes and vertue lyeth in the Pope and Cardinals in that Catholicke Sea of Rome.

The Pope abſolueth the French king from his othe.

The aunſwere of the Cardinall to the Pope.

The Pope ſtirreth vp warres.

Thus the falſe Pope, vnder the lying title of holynes, was the father of much miſchief and of great warres, whiche after enſued. For the Duke of Bourbon and other of the Emperours Captaines, hauyng intelligence of the Popes purpoſe and confederacie, gathered their armye together, and after much bloudſhed & fighting, about Millan, Hawde and Cremona, at length they approched and bent their ſiege agaynſt Rome, and after iij. ſharpe aſſaultes obteyned the Citie with the whole ſpoyle therof: where alſo they beſieged the foreſayd Pope, with his Cardinals, in the mounte of Adrian and tooke hym priſoner. an. 1527. As touchyng yͤ cauſe of the beſiegyng of Rome, now ye haue heard: for the maner of taking of Rome, and of the Pope, the order thereof is thus deſcribed in Hall, and other.

¶ *The ſacking of Rome, and taking of Pope Clement.*

THe Emperours armye departyng from Florence, to the Citie of Seynes, where they loſt their ordinaunce, tooke counſaile there to go to Rome, and ſo much they trauailed by nyghte and daye, commonly paſſing xl. myle, day and night (their good wil was ſuch) that the vi. day of May, with banners diſplayed, they came before the Citie of Rome beyng Saterday, the ſame day: & on Sonday yͤ Romanes made Bulwarkes Rampiers, and other defences, and layde ordinaunce on the walles, and ſhot at them without, fiercely.

The Duke of Bourbon determined that it was not beſt to lye ſtill without, and bee ſlayne with ordinaunce, conſideryng that they were all naked people, and without great ordinaunce: wherefore he determined to take the chaunce and to geue the aſſaulte, and ſo manfully they approched the walles betwene the Burgo nouo and old Rome. But the Romaines valiauntly defended them with handgunnes, pykes, ſtones, and other weapons, ſo that the enemyes were fayne to retreite. Then the Romaines were glad, and ſet many fayre banners on their Towers and Bulwarkes, and made great ſhoutes: which ſeing the Duke of Bourbon, cryed to a new aſſaulte. Then the Drumſlades blewe and euery man with a ladder mounted: and at firſt encounter, agayne the Romaines put them a litle backe: Whiche the Duke of Bourbon perceiuyng, cryed: God and the Emperour. Then euery mā manfully ſet on. There was a ſore fight, many an arrowe ſhot, and many a mā felled, but at laſt the Emperours men got the wall: and betwene euery aſſaulte fell a myſt, ſo that they within, could not ſee what part they without would aſſayle, whiche was profitable to the Emperours partie. At the thrée aſſaultes were ſlayne iij. C. Switzes of the Popes Garde. In this laſt aſſault was the Duke of Bourbon ſtriken in the thygh with a handgunne, of the whiche hee ſhortly dyed in a Chappell of S. Syſt, whether his ſouldiers had brought him: and this chaunce notwithſtandyng, the armye entred into Rome, and tooke the Popes Palace and ſet vp the Emperours armes.

The ſame day, that theſe thrée aſſaultes were made, Pope Clement paſſed litle on the Emperours armye: for he had accurſed them on the Saterday before, and in his curſe he called the Almaines Lutherans, and yͤ Spaniardes Murreynes or Mores: and when he was hearyng of Maſſe, ſodeinly yͤ Almaines entered into yͤ Churche, and ſlue his Garde and diuerſe other. He ſeyng that, fled in all haſt by a preuye way, to the Caſtle of S. Angell: & all they that folowed hym that waye and could not enter, were ſlayne, and if he in that fury had bene taken, he had ben ſlayne. The Cardinals and other Prelates fled to the Caſtle of S. Angell, ouer the bridge, where many of the common people were ouerpreſſed & troden down, as they gaue way to the Cardinals and other eſtates, that paſſed toward the Caſtle for ſuccour.

The Cardinal of Senes, of Sefaryne, of Tudertine, of Iacobace & of the Valle, taryed ſo long, yͭ they could not get to the Caſtle for the multitude of people: wherfore they were compelled to take an other houſe, called the Palace of S. George, where they kept them ſelues for a while, as ſecretly as they might. You muſt vnderſtand, through the Citie of Rome, runneth a famous Ryuer, called Tyber: and on the one ſide of the Ryuer ſtādeth yͤ Caſtle of S. Angell, or the Borough of S. Angell: and the other ſide is called Burgo Nouo, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called, the Bridge, of

Sixte, which lyeth directly before the Caſtle. At the end of this Bridge was a wonderous ſtronge Bulwarke, well ordinaunced & wel manned. The Emperours mē ſaw ẏ they could do nothyng to the Pope, nor to that porte of the Citie, but by the bridge, determined to aſſaulte the Bulwarke, and ſo, as men without feare, came on the bridge, and the Romaines ſo well defended them, that they ſlue almoſt .iiij.M. men. That ſeing the Prince of Orenge, and the Marques of Gnaſto, with all ſpede gaue aſſaulte, and notwithſtanding that the Romaines ſhot great ordinaunces, handgonnes quarelles, and all that might be ſhot: yet the Imperiall perſones neuer ſhranke, but manly entered the Bulwarke and ſlue and threw downe, out at the loupes, all the Romaines that they founde, and after raſed the Bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Caſtle of S. Angell, & beheld this fight, and with hym were xij. Cardinals, of which one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche, was ſlayne, and with him were a.M. Prelates and Prieſtes v.C. Gentlemen. v.C. Souldiers: wherfore immediatly the Captaines determined to lay ſiege to the Caſtle of S. Angell, leſt they within might iſſue out & turne them to damage: wherfore ſodeinly a ſiege was plāted round about the Caſtle.

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In the meane ſeaſon the ſouldiers fell to ſpoyle. Neuer was Rome ſo pylled, either of the Gothes, or Vandales, for the Souldiers were not content with the ſpoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake vp the houſes of cloſe religious perſons, and ouerthrew the Cloiſters and ſpoyled virgines, and rauiſhed maryed women. Men were tormented if they had not to geue euery new aſker or demaunder: ſome were ſtrangled, ſome were puniſhed by the pryuie mēbers, to cauſe them to confeſſe their treaſure. This wodnes continued a great while, and ſome man might thinke that when they had gotten ſo much, then they would ceaſſe and be quiet, but that was not ſo, for they played continually at dyce, ſome .v.C. ſome a M. Ducates at a caſt: and he that came to play laden with plate, went agayne almoſt naked, and then fell to ryfelyng agayne. Many of the Citizens whiche could not paciently ſuffer that vexacion, drowned them ſelues in Tyber. The Souldiers dayly that lay at the ſiege, made Ieſtes of the Pope. Somtime they had one riding like the Pope with a whore behynd hym, ſometyme he bleſſed, and ſometyme he curſed, and ſometyme they would with one voyce call him Antichriſt: and they went about to vndermine the Caſtle, and to haue throwen it downe on his head, but the water that enuironeth the Caſtle, diſapoynted their purpoſe.

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In this ſeaſon the Duke of Vrbine, with xv.M. mē, came to ayde the Pope: but hearyng that Rome was taken, he taried .xl. mile from Rome, till he heard other worde. The Marques of Saluce, and Syr Frederico de Bodſo with .xv.M. fotemē and a.M. horſemē, were at Vitarbe the .x. day of May: where they hearing that ẏ Citie of Rome was takē, alſo taried. The Cardinall of Colume, came with an armye of Neapolitans to helpe the Emperours men: but when he ſaw the crueltie of the Souldiers, he did litle to helpe them, but he hated them much.

The Byſhop of Rome was thus beſſeged till the viij. Ides of July, at whiche day he yelded hym ſelfe for neceſſitie and penury of all thynges in the Caſtle, and then he was reſtored to geue Graces & graunt Bulles as he did before: but he taried ſtill in ẏ Caſtle of S. Angell, and had a great nomber of Almaynes and Spanyardes to kepe hym: but the Spanyardes bare moſt rule in the Caſtle, for no man entred nor came out of the Caſtle but by thē. When the moneth of July came, corne began to fayle in Rome, and the peſtilence begā to waxe ſtrong: wherfore the great armye remoued to a place called Naruia .xl. myle from Rome, leauyng behynd them ſuch as kept the Byſhop of Rome.

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When they were departed, the Spanyardes neuer were contented till they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Caſtle of S. Angell, and ſo they had the whole cuſtodie of the Pope. And thus much for the ſackyng of Rome. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſper.

The Cardinall deſyreth hym for the Pope.

When the Cardinall here in Englande, heard how his father of Rome was taken priſoner, he began to ſtirre coales, and hearyng of hys captiuitie hee laboured with the kyng all that hee might, to ſtirre hym vp, to fight with the ſayd Pope agaynſt the Emperour, and to bee a defendour of the Churche: whiche if he would doe, the Cardinall perſwaded him that he ſhould receaue great reward at Gods hād. To whom the king aunſwered agayne and ſayd in this maner: My Lord, I more lament this euill chaunce, then my tongue can tell, but where you ſay I am the defendour of ẏ fayth, I aſſure you, that this warre betwene the Emperour and the Pope, is not for the fayth, but for temporall poſſeſſions and dominions, and now ſith Pope Clement is taken by men of warre, what ſhould I doe? My perſon nor my people can not reſcue him, but if my treaſure may helpe hym, take that whiche ſemeth to you moſt conuenient. Thus the Cardinall, when he could not obteyne at the kynges handes what he would, in ſtyrring him vp to mortall warre, he made out of the kinges treaſure, xij. ſcore thouſand poundes, whiche he caryed ouer ẏ Sea with hym. After this, the Cardinall ſent his commiſſion as Legate, to all the Byſhops, commaundyng faſtynges and ſolempne proceſſions to bee had, wherein they did ſing the Letanie after this ſorte, Sancta Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa. Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa, and ſo forth, all the Letanie.

The Pope fighteth for temporall poſſeſſions.

xij. ſcore thouſand poundes conueyed out of England, by the Cardinall.

A newe found Letanie of the Lord Cardinals making.

This Cardinall paſſyng the Seas with the foreſaid ſummes of money, departed out of Callis, accōpanyed with Cuthbert Tunſtall Byſhop of London, the Lord Sandes the kynges Chamberlaine, the Earle of Darbye, Syr Henry Guilford, and Syr Thomas Moore, with many other Knightes and Squiers, to the number of xij. hundred horſe, hauyng in hys cariage lxx. wagones, and lx. moyles and ſumpter horſes.

It were long to diſcourſe in this place, the manifold abuſes and treaſons, which he practiſed when he came to the Frenche Court at Amias, cōuertyng the great ſummes of money, which before you heard he had obteined of the kyng, for the relief & rāſome of Pope Clement, whiche at ẏ tyme was priſoner in ẏ Emperours armie, & beſtowed the ſame in the hyring of ſouldiours and furniſhing out the French kynges armye, appointyng alſo certeine Engliſhe Captaines in the kyng of Englandes name, to go agaynſt the Emperour, to reſcue the Pope: all which army was payd with the kyng of Englandes money.

Warre wagged by the Cardinall.

Beſides that, he priuely by his letters, cauſed Clarētius, kyng of the Armes, to ioyne with the French Herauld, and openly to defie ẏ Emperour: wherby there began great diſpleaſure to ryſe betwen the Emperour & the kyng, but that the Emperour of his politike nature would take no occaſion of diſpleaſure agaynſt the kyng of England.

Now againe he vttered an other of his practiſes, for vpon the ſayd defiaunce, the Card. ſurmiſing & whiſperyng in the kynges eare, that the Emperour had euill intreated & impriſoned the kynges Ambaſſadours in Spaine, cauſed Hugo de Mendoſa ẏ Emperours Ambaſſador in Englād, to be attached & put in ſafe keping, and his houſe, with all his goodes, to be ſeaſed. Whiche ſo remayned vntill that manifeſt letters came of the gētle intreatie of the kinges Ambaſſadours in Spayne, and then was agayne ſet at libertie. When as the Ambaſſadour complained hereof to the Cardinall, he layd all the fault vpon Clarentius, ſaying alſo that Clarentius had defied the Emperour, without the kynges knowledge, at the requeſt of the Herauld of Fraunce: wherefore at hys returne, hee ſhould loſe his head at Callis,

The craftie practiſe of the Cardinall.

The Cardinall ſet *Clarentius* to deſie the Emperour, & afterward would be excuſed by his death.

Callis. Whereof Clarentius beyng aduertiſed by the Captaine of Bayon, in his returne toke ſhypppyng at Bullen, and ſo priuely came into Englande, and by meanes of certaine of his frendes of the kynges priuie chamber, he was brought vnto the kinges preſence, before the Cardinall knew of it, where as hee ſhewed vnto the kyng, the Cardinals letters of commiſſion, and declared the whole order and circumſtaunce of their gentle intreatie. When the king heard the whole circumſtance therof, and had a while muſed therupon, he ſayd: O Lord Ieſus, he that I truſted moſt, told me all theſe thinges contrary. Well Clarentius, I will no more be ſo light of credence hereafter: for now I ſee well that I haue bene made beleue the thyng, that was neuer done, and from that tyme forwarde the kyng neuer put any more confidence or truſt in the Cardinall.

The cauſe why the Cardinall ſhould beare the Emperour all this malice and grudge, after ſome writers, it appeareth to be thus. At what time as Pope Clemẽt was taken priſoner (as is before ſayd) the Cardinall wrote vnto the Emperour, that hee ſhould make hym Pope. But when he had receaued an aunſwere that pleaſed him not, he wared furious madde, and ſought all meanes to diſpleaſe the Emperour, wrytyng very ſharply vnto him, many manacing letters, that if hee would not make him Pope, he would make ſuch a ruffling betwene Chriſtian Princes, as was not this hundred yeares before, to make the Emperour repent, yea though it ſhould coſte the whole Realme of England. Whereunto the Emperour made aunſwere in a lytle booke, imprinted both in Spanyſhe and Dutche, aunſweryng vnto many manacinges of the Cardinall, and diuers of his Articles: but ſpeciallye to that his ruffyng threat, wherin he manaced hym, that if he would not make hym Pope, hée would ſet ſuch a rufflyng betwixt Chriſtiã Princes, as was not this hũdred yeare, thoughe it ſhould coſt the whole realme of Englande. Whereunto the Emperour aunſweryng agayne, biddeth hym loke well about him, leſt through hys doynges and attemptes, hee might bryng the matter in that caſe, that it ſhould coſt hym the realme of England in déede.

The Cardinals proude threates againſt the Emperour.

The Emperours aũſwere vnto ẏ Cardinals threates.

The title of defendour of the faith.

You haue heard before, how that when Pope Clement was priſoner in the Emperours armye, the Cardinall required the kyng, becauſe he did beare the title of defẽdour of ẏ fayth, that he would reſcue the Pope: alſo what the kynges aunſwere was thereunto, and what ſummes of money he had obteyned of the kyng. Now, becauſe you ſhall not alſo be ignoraunt by what meanes and vpon what occaſion this title of the defender of the fayth was geuen vnto the kyng, we thinke it good ſomewhat to ſay in this place. When as Martine Luther had vttered the abomination of the Pope and his Clergie, and diuers bookes were come into England, our Cardinall here thinkyng to finde a remedye for that, ſent immediatly vnto Rome, for this title of defendour of the fayth, which afterward the Vicare of Croydon preached, ẏ the kings grace would not loſe, for all London and xx. myle about it. Neither is it maruaile, for it coſt more then London and xl. myle about it, conſidering ẏ great ſummes which you haue heard the Cardinall obteyned of the kyng, for the Popes reliefe, beſide the effuſion of much innocent bloud.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the Cardinall brought it vnto the kyngs grace at Grenewych, and though that the kyng had it alreadye, and had read it, yet againſt ẏ morning, were all the Lordes and Gentlemen that could in ſo ſhort ſpace be gathered, ſent for, to come and receaue it with honour. In ẏ mornyng, the Cardinall gate hym through the backe ſide, into the Frier obſeruauntes, & part of the Gentlemen went round about and welcomed him frõ Rome, part met hym halfe way, and ſome at the Court gate. The kyng hym ſelfe, met hym in the halle, and brought him vp into a great chamber, whereas was a ſeat prepared on hygh, for the kyng and the Cardinall to ſit on, whiles the Bull was read. Which pompe all men of wiſedome and vnderſtandyng, laughed to ſcorne.

This done, the kyng went to hys chappell to heare Maſſe, accõpanyed with many nobles of his realme, & Ambaſſadours of ſondry Princes. The Cardinal being reueſted to ſing Maſſe, the Earle of Eſſex brought the baſen of water, the Duke of Suffolke gaue the aſſay, and the Duke of Norfolke held the towell, & ſo he proceded to Maſſe. When Maſſe was done, the Bull was agayne publiſhed, the trompettes blewe, the ſhalwmes and ſackbuts played, in honour of the kings new ſtyle. Then the kyng went to dyner, in the myddeſt wherof, the kyng of Heraldes & his company begã the larges crying: Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, defenſor fidæi & Dominus Hiberniæ. Thus was all thynges ended with great ſolemnitie.

Not much vnlyke to this, was the receiuyng of the Cardinalles hatte, which when a ruffian had brought vnto him to Weſtminſter, vnder his cloke, he clothed ẏ meſſenger in riche araye, & ſent him backe agayne to Douer, appointyng the Biſhop of Canterbury to mete him, and then an other company of Lordes and gentlemen, I wote not howe often, before it came to Weſtminſter, where it was ſet vppon a cupbourde, and tapers round about it, ſo that the greateſt Duke in the land muſt make curteſie therunto, and to his emptie ſeate, he being away.

And forſomuch as we are in hand with ẏ actes & doinges of Cardinal Wolſey, amõg many other thinges, which of purpoſe we ouerpaſſe, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touchyng his vncourtuous or rather curriſh hãdlyng of Rich. Pacie, Deane of Paules. This Pacie beyng the kynges Secretarie for ẏ Latine tongue, was of ſuch rypenes of wytte, of learnyng and eloquence, alſo in forein languages ſo expert, that for ẏ one he was thought moſt mẽete to ſuccede after Iohn Colet in the Deanry of Paules: beſide which he was alſo preferred to the Deanry of Exceter. For the other he was ſent in the kings affaires, Ambaſſadour to Venice. Whiche function there he ſo diſcharged, that it is hard to ſay whether he procured more commendation, or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexteritie of his witte, and eſpecially for the ſingular promptnes in the Italian tongue, wherin he ſemed nothing inferiour, neither to Peter Vanne here in England, the kinges Secretarie for the Italiã tongue, nor yet to any other, which were ẏ beſt in that tounge in all Venice. For opiniõ and fame of learnyng, he was ſo notoriouſly accepted, not onely here in England with Linacre, Grocinus, More, and other, but alſo knowen and reported abroad in ſuch ſorte, that in all the great heape of Eraſmus Epiſtles, he wrote almoſt to none, ſo many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacie.

As the ſayd Pacie was reſident Ambaſſadour at Venice, the king hauing warre the ſame time, with Frances the Frenche kyng (as is afore rehearſed) throughe the conductyng of ẏ Duke of Bourbon, whom he then waged with his expenſes, ſent commaundement to Pacye to geue attendance to the Duke of Bourbon, concernyng the receate of that money, and other neceſſities and exploytes to that expedition apperteinyng. In the meane while, as the Frenche king with his armie, & the Duke of Bourbon were approching in battaile together, nere about the Citie of Pauia, it ſo happened (ſome thinke through the crafty packyng of the Cardinall) that the kyngs money was not ſo ready, as it was loked for. By reaſon wherof, ẏ Duke of Bourbon perceauyng his ſouldiours about to ſhrynke from hym to the French king for lacke of payment, called to him ẏ Ambaſſadour, cõplaynyng vnto him how the kyng of Englãd had deceaued him, & broke promiſe with him, to his great diſhonour & vtter vndoyng. &c. Pacie then being ſure of the kinges will, and ſuſpecting the craftie fetche of the Cardinall, deſired the Duke not to take diſcomfort, nor any diffidence of yͤ kynges aſſured promiſe, excuſing the delay of yͤ money, as wel as he could, by intercipation, or other cauſes by the way incidẽt, rather thẽ for any lacke of fidelitie on the kinges behalfe: addyng moreouer, that if it would pleaſe him happely to procede, as he had couragiouſly begon, he ſhould not ſtay for the kynges money: ſo ſure he was of the kings minde therin, that hee would ſupplye the lacke of that payment vpon his owne credite, amongeſt his frendes at Venice, and ſo did. Wherupõ the ſouldiours being ſufficiently ſatiſfied with payment of their wages, proceded foorth with the Duke, vnto the battaile. In the whiche battaile, the foreſayd Frenche kyng, the ſame tyme, before the Citie of Pauie, was taken priſoner, as is afore declared. Which beyng eftſoones knowẽ to the king of England, Pacie had both condigne thankes for his faithfull ſeruice, and alſo his money repayd againe with yͤ vttermoſt, as he well deſerued. But as yͤ laude, and the renowmed prayſe of men, for their worthy proweſes, commonly in this world neuer go vnaccompanyed without ſome pryuye canker of enuye and diſdayne folowyng after, ſo the ſingular induſtrie of Pacie, as it wanne much commendation with many, ſo it coulde not auoide the ſecret ſtynge of ſome ſerpentes. For the conceaued hatred of thys Cardinall ſo kyndled agaynſt him, that he neuer ceaſed, till firſt he brought him out of the kinges fauour, and at laſt alſo, out of his perfect wyttes.

The occaſion how hee fell beſide hym ſelfe, was this, for that the Cardinall after the death of Pope Adrian, hoping no leſſe, but that he ſhould haue bene aduaunced vnto the Papacie, and yet miſſing therof, he ſuppoſed with him ſelf, yͤ fault chiefly to reſt in Pacies negligence, by whoſe great wytte and learnyng, and earneſt meanes and ſute, he thought eaſely hee might haue achieued and cõpaſſed the triple crowne. Wherfore he ſeyng it otherwiſe come to paſſe, and inflamed agaynſt Pacie for the ſame, wrought ſuch wayes and meanes, that by yͤ ſpace almoſt of ij. yeares, Pacie continuyng at Venice, had neither wrytyng from the king, nor his counſaile, what he ſhould do, nor yet any maner of alowance for his dyet (although he wrote, and ſent letters for the ſame to England very often) for the Cardinall had altogether incenſed the kyng agaynſt hym. Wherupon the ſayd Pacie toke ſuch an inward thought and conceite, that his wyttes began to fayle hym, he beyng notwithſtandyng in ſuch fauour among the Senatours of Venice, that neither for gold nor ſiluer he could their haue lacked. By ſome it is reported, that the Venitian Legate here in England, commyng to the Cardinall, required if he would commaund any thing to the Engliſh Ambaſſadour at Venice. To whõ he ſhould aunſwere againe in high wordes, ſaying: Paceus decepit Regem. Whiche woordes commyng to Pacies eares, ſo depely pearced his ſtomacke, that he fell quyte beſides him ſelfe. I heard it moreouer of an other thus teſtified, who had a brother the ſame time dwellyng with Pacie: that the Cardinall, about the returnyng of Pacie frõ Venyce, ſent him a letter ſo poudered (with what ſpyces I can not tell) that at the readyng therof, Pacie then beyng in the fieldes, fell ſodenly in ſuch a mighty runyng, for the ſpace of ij. myles, that his ſeruantes had much a do, to take hym, & bryng hym home.

This pitious caſe of Pacie was not a litle lamented by the whole Senate, & chief learned mẽ in Venice, in ſo much that the kyng was not onely certified thereof, by Thomas Lupſet (who then was chief mã about Pacie, & his Secretary, for that Ambaſſage) but alſo the ſayd Senate of Venice wrote in ſuch ſharpe and vehemẽt wiſe, vnto their Ambaſſadour then beyng in England, that he ſhould ſignifie to the kyng, touchyng Pacies caſe, that thereby the kyng knowyng the truth, and the whole circumſtance of the matter, was not a litle ſorowfull therfore. Whereupon Pacie was forthwith ſent for home, and when he came to England, he was commaunded by the kyng, to be ſpecially well tended, and to lacke no kepyng: In ſo much that within a ſmall proces of tyme, he was pretily well come agayne to his wyttes, and began to ſtudy the Hebrue tongue, with Wakfielde, ſo that (the Cardinall then beyng abſent) ſuch wayes was found by his frẽdes, that he was brought to the kyng, lying then at Richmond, where he & the kyng ſecretly communed together, by the ſpace of ij. houres and more, not without great reioyſing to the kyng, as it was perceaued, to ſee him ſo well amended, & returned to him ſelf again, giuyng likewiſe ſtreit charge & cõmaundemẽt, that he ſhould lacke nothyng.

Pacie partly recouered.

Pacie brought to the kinges ſpeeche.

The Cardinall, beyng then not preſent, when he heard of this, fearyng leaſt he had diſcloſed ſomewhat to the kyng, whiche he would not haue knowen, and doubtyng that the kyng ſhould caſt hys fauour agayne vnto Pacie, began within a while after, to quarell, and pyke matters, and to lay certein thinges to Pacies charge, where as he rather ſhoulde haue cleared him ſelf of thoſe thyngs, which Pacie layd vnto hym before the kyng: which was contrary to all good forme & order of iuſtice. For where yͤ kyng had wylled the Cardinall to trye him ſelf of thoſe thyngs, which Pacie had rightly charged him with all, hee ſittyng in iudgement with the Duke of Northfolke, and other ſtates of the realme, not as a defendent, but as a Iudge in his own cauſe, ſo bare out him ſelf, & weyd downe Pacye, that Pacie was cõmaunded to yͤ tower of London, as priſoner: where he continued by the ſpace of ij. yeares, or therabout, and afterward by the kynges commaũdement, was diſcharged. But he beyng there priſoner was therwith ſo deadly woũded, and ſtrocken, that he fell worſe from hys wyttes then euer he was before, beyng in ſuch a phreneſie, or lunaſie, that to hys dying day, he neuer came perfectly to hym ſelfe agayne. Notwithſtãding, this in him was no perpetuall phreneſie, but came by fittes, and when the fitte was paſt, hee could looke on his booke, and reaſon & talke hamſomely, but that now and then he ſhewed his diſeaſe. And thus much betwene the Cardinall and Pacie.

Pacie cõmaũded to yͤ Tower by the Cardinall.

Pacie diſcharged out of the Tower.

By this ſtory of Pacie, and alſo by other places aboue mẽtioned, ye may partly cõceaue, how gredy thys Cardinal was, to be made Pope. Touching which matter, here by yͤ way ſomthing to entreate, firſt is to be vnderſtãded, yͭ forſomuch as Pacie either would not, or could not ſerue the Cardinals purpoſe herein, hee thought to accompliſhe his deſire, by other meanes, and namely by Steuen Gardiner, who was then ſhortly after, ſent Ambaſſadour to Rome by the king, and the Cardinall, in the tyme of Pope Clement the vij. and that for two ſpeciall cauſes: one was about the diuorcement, the other for promotyng the Cardinall to bee Pope. As touchyng the diuorcement, we will ſpeake (the Lord willyng) hereafter. In the meane tyme, as concernyng the aduauncement of the Cardinall, great labour was made, as in letters may appeare ſent frõ the Cardinall to the ſayd Steuen Gardiner, in which letters he dyd ſollicite yͤ ſaid Gardiner, by all meanes, to purſue the ſute, willyng hym to ſticke for no coſte, ſo farre as vi. or vij. thouſand poundes would ſtretche: for more hee ſayd he would not geue for the triple crowne. Marke here (Chriſtian reader) what an holy Catholicke Churche this is, whiche rather may be called a Burſe or Marte of Marchauntes (ne quid dicam durius) then any true forme of a Church.

The Cardinals labour to bee Pope.

Steuen Gardiner Ambaſſadour at Rome for the king. & the Cardinall.

Many, both of his, and alſo of the kynges letters, I could here inſerte, but for growyng of the volume, I let them paſſe. One for exãple ſake, ſent by the Cardinall to Gardiner, an other alſo from the kyng to the ſayd Gardiner, ſhall at this tyme ſuffice, concernyng this matter. And firſt the Copie of the Cardinals ambitious letter here, in forme foloweth.

¶ The copie of an ambitious letter, written by Tho. Wolſey, Cardinall of Yorke, vnto Steuen Gardiner, one of K. Henryes Oratours in the Court of Rome, for the procuryng of the Papall dignitie to the ſayd Cardinall.

A letter of the Cardinall to *Steuen Gardiner*, Lieger at Rome.

MAiſter Steuen, albeit ye ſhalbe ſufficiently with your colleages, by ſuch inſtructions as be giuē to Monſier Vincent, informed of the kynges mynde and myne, concernyng my aduauncemēt vnto the dignitie Papall, not doubtyng but that for the ſingular deuotion, whiche you beare towardes the kyng and his affaires, both generall and particular, & perfect loue, whiche ye haue towardes me, ye will omit nothyng that may be excogitate to ſerue and conduce to that purpoſe, yet I thought conuenient for the more feruent expreſſion of my mynde in that behalfe, to write vnto you (as to the perſon whom I moſt entierly do truſt, and by whom this thyng ſhalbe moſt pithely ſet forth) theſe fewe wordes folowing, of my own hand. I doubt not but ye do profoūdly conſider, as well the ſtate, wherin the Churche and all Chriſtendome doth ſtand now preſently, as alſo the ſtate of this realme, and of the kyngs ſecret matter, whiche if it ſhould be brought to paſſe, by any other meanes then by the authoritie of the Churche, I accompt this Prince and realme vtterly vndone. wherfore it is expedient to haue ſuch a one to be Pope and common father of all Princes, as may, can, and will geue remedie to the premiſſes. And albeit I accompt my ſelf much vnhable, and that it ſhalbe now incommodious in this myne old age, to bee the ſayd common father, yet when all thynges be well pondered, and the qualities of all the Cardinals well conſidered (Abſit verbum iactanciȩ) there ſhalbe none founde that can and will ſet remedy in the foreſayd thynges, but onely the Cardinall of Yorke, whoſe good wil & zeale is not to you of all men, vnknowē. And were it not for the reintegration of the ſtate of the Church, and ſea Apoſtolicke to the priſtine dignitie, & for the conducyng of peace amongeſt Chriſtiā Princes, and ſpecially to relieue this Prince and Realme from the calamities that the ſame be now in, all the riches or honor of the world ſhould not cauſe me, Ne dum aſpirare, ſed ne conſentire, to accept the ſayd dignitie, although the ſame with all cōmodities were offered vnto me. Neuertheles conformyng my ſelfe to the neceſſitie of the time, and the will and pleaſure of theſe ij. Princes, I am content to appone all my witte & ſtudie, and to ſet forth all meanes and wayes, Vt bene faciam rebus Chriſtianitatis, for the atteyning of the ſayd dignitie. For the atchieuyng and atteyning wherof, for as much as therupō dependeth the health and wealth, not onely of theſe two Princes and their Realmes, but of all Chriſtendome, no thyng is to be omitted that may conduce to the ſayd end and purpoſe. wherfore M. Steuen, ſince you bee ſo plainly aduertiſed of my minde and intent, I ſhall pray you to extende, omnes neruos ingenij tui, vt iſta res ad effectū produci poſſit, nullis parcendo ſumptibus, pollicitationibus, ſiue laboribus: ita vt hominū videris ingenia & affectiones, ſiue ad priuata ſiue ad publica, ſic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deeſt tibi & collegis tuis ampliſſima poteſtas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata ſeu reſtricta, & quicquid feceris, ſcito omnia apud hunc regem & me eſſe grata & tuta. Nam omnia (vt paucis abſoluam) in tuo ingenio & fide repoſuimus. Nihil ſupereſt aliud ſcribendum, niſi quod ſupplex orem, vt omnes actiones tuas ſecundet Deus opt. maximuſq;, & ex corde vale. Ex edibus meis Weſtmoneſt. vij. Febr.

Tuæ ſalutis & amplitudinis
cupidiſſimus. T. Ebor.

Craftie pretenſes to ſerue ambitious purpoſes.

Simulation of modeſtie, and yet marke how here he auaunceth him ſelf aboue all other.

Belike the Cardinall here lacketh good neighbors, ſeing he is compelled to praiſe him ſelfe.

You may long ſay ſo, before we will beleue you.

Steuen Gardiner the Cardinals truſtie factor.

After this letter of the Cardinall, conſequently here enſueth an other letter of the kyng, to the foreſayd Steuen Gardiner, and other his Oratours at Rome, conteinyng ſuch inſtructions and documentes, as they ſhould practiſe with the Cardinals of Rome, in canueſing for the ſayd Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke, to be elected Pope, if Pope Clement were dead. Or if he were not dead, yet at leaſt, to inſtruct them, what to to do, when he ſhould dye. The contentes of the letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly neceſſary for our ſtory, yet for yͤ ridiculous maner of yͤ handlyng, & the curious Secretariſhip therof, full of glorious affectatiō, I thought it not here vnmeete for yͤ ſtudies & appetites of ſome, to exemplifie yͤ ſame, or at leaſt, to make yͤ reader ſome paſtime by yͤ way, in beholding yͤ glorious ſtile of this vainglorious Cardinall, being ſute like to his glorious life. The copie of the letter, bearing the name of the kyng, but in deede ſauoryng altogether of the Cardinals deuiſe and ſwelling vayne, doth thus proceede in forme and ſtyle, as followeth.

¶ Inſtructions ſent by the kinges highnes, to his truſty Counſailours and ſeruauntes, M. Steuen Gardiner Doctour of both lawes, Syr Frāces Brian, Syr Gregory de Caſſalis Knightes, and M. Peter Vanne the kynges Secretary for the Italian tonge, his Ambaſſadours in the Court of Rome, for the election of the Cardinall of Yorke, to the Papacie, if Pope Clement were dead.

FIrſt, where as a good ſeaſon ſince the depeche of M. Steuen Gardiner, on Ambaſſiate towardes the Court of Rome, the kynges highnes by ſondrye wayes, hath bene aduertiſed of the death of our holy father the Pope, Clement of that name the vij. whoſe ſoule Ieſu pardon, by meane whereof, the charge heretofore committed by his grace vnto his Oratours, to haue ben now executed with the ſaid late Pope, can not at his handes take effect, his highnes ponderyng and profoundlye conſideryng, the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendome, miſerablie & piteouſlye afflicted with the inteſtine warres, diſſentions, & diſcordes, reignyng amongeſt the Princes of the ſame, and how the dignitie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, by ſuch trouble & perſecutiō, as hath ben inferred therunto, theſe yeares paſſed, is not a litle diminiſhed and empayred, lyke to come to totall ruine, if by the helpe & aſſiſtaunce of good and vertuous Princes, the ambicion of thoſe, which ſtudie the exterminion therof, be not in tyme repreſſed: conſideryng furthermore, that aſwell to conduce reſt & tranquillitie in Chriſtendome, as to reſtore, repaire, and reintegrate the ſtate, authoritie, and reputatiō of the ſayd Sea Apoſtolicke, nothyng is more requiſite and neceſſarye, then that ſuch a head and common father, be now at this tyme of vacation of the dignitie Papall, prouided & elected to ſuccede in the ſame, as both may, can, and will puruey to the reſtauration of the ſayd Sea, and that hath, and may haue the aſſiſtaunce of ſuch vertuous and puiſſaunt Princes, as tender the defence, mainteynaunce, and encreaſe of the dignitie aforeſayd, and that may meete with the inordinate ambicion of the Emperour, who nothyng more ſtudieth, then for his owne exaltation, to ſuppreſſe the Church and Sea Apoſtolicke: remembryng alſo the hygh importaunce of the kinges great and weighty cauſe of matrimony, committed to the charge of his ſayd Oratours, and how manifold daungers and irreparable damages depende vpon the tracte, delay, or diſapoyntement therof, which by no way or meane can bee conduced to the kynges purpoſe, and deſire, by the authoritie of the Church, but onely by ſpeciall, aſſured, & perfect fauour of the head of the ſame Church, hys highnes alſo being as loth as any liuing Prince or perſon may bee, to recurre vnto other refuge, ſuccour, or remedie in his ſayd cauſe, then to the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, if his grace may there finde the fauour and benignitie, that to his merites towardes the ſame be correſpondent, of whiche fauour his hyghnes ſhould be clearely depriued and fruſtrate, in caſe the election of the future Pope, ſhould paſſe vpon any perſon, of whom his grace were not perfectlye aſſured: his highnes for the reſpectes and conſiderations before ſpecified, perceiuyng hys good brother and perpetuall alye the French kyng, in the ſayd intention to be vnite, knitte, and in all actions and doynges of importance, aſſuredly combined vnto his grace, procedyng together in one will, minde, purpoſe, and conformitie, hath by good and mature deliberatiō, ſtudied, deuiſed, and excogitate with him ſelf, who were and might be the moſt able, mete, and conuenient perſon, hauyng the qualities before ſpecified, to be auaunced at this tyme, vnto the ſayd dignitie Papall. And finally when his grace hath well reuolued with hym ſelfe, all the reſpectes and conſiderations aforeſayd, notyng alſo all thynges mete to be regarded in euery of the Cardinals of the Churche of Rome, both preſent now in the Court there, and abſent from the ſame, it can not be founde that there is any perſon ſufficiently furniſhed, with the requiſites before ſpecified, but onely the moſt reuerend father in God, and his moſt truſtie Counſaillor, the Lord Legate Cardinall, Archbyſhop of Yorke, Primate and Chauncellour of this Realme. who being well knowē to haue as feruent zeale, ſtudy, mynd, and deſire, to the vniuerſal weale, repoſe, and tranquillitie of Chriſtendome, to the reintegration and reſtauratiō of the dignitie, authoritie, reputation, and rightes of the Churche and Sea Apoſtolicke, to the ſuertie, weale, and exaltation of the kynges highnes, the Frenche kyng, and other their confederates, and finally to the perfection of the kynges ſayd great and weighty cauſe, wherupō dependeth the ſuretie of his royall perſon, ſucceſſion, Realme, people, and dominions, as any perſon lyuyng can or may haue, and that the ſayd moſt reuerend father hath the faſt aſſured fauour herein of the ſayd Frenche kyng (who of hys owne mere mocion hath frankly and liberally, offred vnto hym all that by hym ſelfe, his frendes, his power, his agentes, or otherwiſe hee may, or can poſſiblie do for his aduauncement to the ſayd dignitie Papall) is the perſon who for hys ſingular vertue, hys entire deuotion to peace, and reſtauratiō of the ſaid Sea, the excellency of his wiſedome, learnyng and experience, the magnanimitie in his actions and doynges, the dignitie wherin he is already conſtitute, the promotions whiche hee hath atteyned, the ſubſtaunce that he is of, his reputation, his conduite, his diligence, his dexteritie, his diſcretion, hys policie, and finally the notable and highe fauour that the kinges highnes and the ſayd French kyng beare vnto hym, is onely, that he called to the ſayd dignitie Papall, may, can, & will meete with the inordinate ambition of the ſaid Emperour, and cōſequently with eſtabliſhment of tranquillitie amongeſt Chriſten Princes, is by the aſſiſtaunce of his frendes, mete, conueniēt, & hable to ſuccor, releue, & clerely to repayre ÿ piteous iacture & decay, ÿ the Church & Sea Apoſtolicke hath ſo long ſuffered, & to defend the ſame from the imminent daunger now apparant to enſue, if the ſayd Emperour (who as the kynges hyghnes is aſſerteyned) determined in the begynnyng of Ianuary nowe paſſed, to take hys iourney towardes Rome, ſhould vpon this vacation of the ſaid Sea, chaunced (as it is vpō many euident preſumptions to be thought, by ſome deteſtable acte committed, for the ſayd late Popes deſtruction) now by force, violence, cauteie, blandiſhyng promiſes, or otherwiſe, haue the election to procede at his will, fauour, and deuotion: wherby, hauyng a Pope at his *arbitre, either hee ſhould not faile to vſurpe and take frō him the rightes, prouētes, and patrimony of the Church, vſing him as his chaplaine and vaſſall, or els by litle and litle vtterly to exclude and extincte hym and his authoritie.

For this cauſe, if euer it were expedient that good Chriſten Princes looke to the tuition, mainteinaunce, defence, and continaunce of Chriſtes Churche, faith, and religion, now is it the tyme aboue all other, to prouide and beware by all wayes poſſible, leſt the ſame neglected, forgottē, and not in tyme releued, be brought vnto extreme *ruine. And therfore the kynges highnes hauyng ſingular and ſpeciall truſt and confidence in the wiſedomes, diſcretions, fidelities, diligences, and circumſpections of his ſaid Oratours, (to whom no part of the premiſſes is vnknowen, ne how neceſſary, and in any wiſe expedient it ſhalbe for perfection of the kynges ſayd great & *weighty matter to them committed, to haue the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, and none other, aduaunced to the ſayd dignitie Papall) willeth, deſireth, ordeineth, and expreſſly chargeth and commaundeth his ſayd Oratours, and euery of them, no leſſe to employe, endeuor, and determine them ſelues, to ſollicite, ſet forth, further, promote, labour, and conduce the aduauncement of the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke, to that dignitie, then they would that thyng, whiche the kynges highnes moſt highly, next God and his ſoule, with all earneſtnes and feruent minde, doth aboue all other thinges, couete & deſire, and alſo no leſſe then they would the ſpedye obteinyng & perfection of all ſuch thynges, touching the kynges ſayd weighty matter committed to their charges: the makyng or marring wherof, beyng now the ſayd late Pope deceaſſed, conſiſteth onely in the aduauncement of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, to the dignitie Papall.

For (as the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours may by their wiſedomes well thinke and conſider) the ſame muſt of neceſſitie come, and fortune either to one that is an aſſured frende to his grace and the Frenche kyng, or to one that is a manifeſt enemy to them, fauoring the Emperours parte, or to one indifferent and meane betwen both. And if it ſhould chaunce vpō a manifeſt enemy, it is euident that the kings deſire at his hand were merely impoſſible to be had, & neuer were to be accepted that way. If it ſhould come to one beyng indifferent and meane betwene both, it is more thē notorious, that his grace at the leaſt, ſhould bee conteyned with fayre woordes and promiſes, and yet ſuch reſpecte ſhould bee had to the Emperour, that finally vnder hope of obteinyng ſome thyng, there ſhould be no more but tracte, delaye, and finally no maner frute nor effecte: wherof experience hath already bene ſeene in one that had cauſe to bee more frendly to the king, then indifferent or meane betwen both, and yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours well knowen. So that of neceſſitie this thyng muſt be conduced to one that is an aſſured frend. Then notyng ſubſtantially the things neceſſary to concurre in ſuch a frend, both for the weale of Chriſtēdome, the relief of the Churche, the firme adheryng to the kynges highnes and the Frenche kyng, with other their cōfederates, and the perfite conducyng of the kynges great matter, whiche ſuffreth no tract, delay, or negatiue: it ſhalbe founde that there is none other for this purpoſe, but onely the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke.

The kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours ſhall therefore plante the foundation of all their ſtudie, labour, and ſolicitation, onely to that purpoſe. And for the better introductiō of the wayes and meanes, how this thyng ſhalbe ſolicited, they ſhall receiue herewith a ſcedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many and what Cardinals of likelyhode, ſhalbe preſent at the electiō, and how many & which of the other, ſhalbe abſent. Semblablie, how many of them that be like to be preſent, may bee thought to bee frendes to the kynges highnes and the Frenche kyng, whoſe names in the ſayd ſcedule bee noted with A. and howe many are thought to be Imperiall, whoſe names be noted with B. In the ſame ſcedule bee alſo ſet out the nomber and names of thoſe that bee thought to be neutral or indifferent, marked with N. And furthermore, they be firſt mentioned therin, whiche be thought moſt like to aſpire vnto that dignitie. Herein be many thinges well to be regarded. Firſt the nomber of the Cardinals that are like to be preſent, which (as is thought here) ſhall not excede xxxix. Secōdly that, to haue electiō to the kynges purpoſe, ſhalbe requiſite to haue ij. partes of the iij. of the ſayd nomber, which ij. partes muſt be xxvi. Then is it to be noted, that they whiche be thought to be frendes to the kynges highnes and the Frenche king, be in nomber xx. So that if they may bee made ſure to the kynges deuotion, there ſhall lacke but vi. of the nomber which ſhall ſuffice to make the election: which number the kynges ſaid Ambaſſadours ſhall moue, wynne, & attayne, either of thē ÿ bee thought to bee indifferent, or ſome other.

A. ſignifieth the Cardinals of the kinges & the French kinges ſide. *B.* ſignifieth the Cardinals of the Emperours ſide. But here is neuer a C. to ſignifie any Cardinals of Chriſtes ſide.

In the cōducyng wherof, ij. wayes be ſpecially to be remembred. One is, if the Cardinals preſent, hauing God & the holy Ghoſt before them, ſhalbe minded (as to their dutie apperteineth) to haue reſpect vnto the preſent calamitie of the Churche, and all Chriſtendome, intendyng the relief, ſuccour, and reſtauratiō of the ſame, and to preſerue thē ſelues, and the dignitie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, then lookyng profoundlye vppon the ſtate of the thinges, they can not faile *facily of them ſelues, to finde & perceiue, that to conduce their purpoſe, there is onely the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke. And in this caſe, it is verely to bee thought, that very reaſon it ſelf, and their own conſcience ſhall lead them like vertuous fathers, to haue their principall reſpect hereunto, and (particular affections ſet a part) to accorde and agree without difficultie, to that, whiche ſo manifeſtly is knowen to be the thing, aboue all other, expedient. Neuertheles, becauſe percaſe humaine fragilitie ſuffereth not all thinges to bee pondered, trutinate, and weyed in iuſt balaūce, but that (as we be mē) errours may rūne, vnles then remedie be prouided: it apperteineth in matter of ſo high importaunce, to the comforte & releue of all Chriſtendome, to ſuccour the infirmitie, that may chaunce, not for corruption or to any peruerſe, vnlefull, or euill entent, but rather to helpe to the lackes and deffaultes, whiche by ſuch fragilitie might els take place: and therfore expedient ſhall it be, that the kynges ſayd Oratours, to ſo notable a purpoſe, where they ſhall perceiue the conſideration and reſpecte wherunto reaſō leadeth, to be in any part to be ayded or ſupplied, do ÿ ſame with policitations of promotions, ſpirituall offices, dignities, rewardes of money, or other thynges, ſuch as to them ſhall ſeme mete to the purpoſe: inculkyng into the mindes of ſuch perſons as ſhalbe requiſite, firſt what thynges the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke ſhall leaue, if he ſhould be aduaunced to the ſayd dignitie, whiche be ſuch as the eſtabliment of his ſtate conſidered, bee farre more to his commoditie (if he ſhould regarde his priuate weale) thē to enter into this daungerous ſtorme, and troublous tempeſt, for the relief of the Churche and all Chriſtēdome, wher unto (his ſaid priuate weale ſet a part) he is totally deuoued and dedicate, to the expoſition of his body, bloud, and lyfe, glad and ready with the ſacrifice thereof, to do ſeruice to God, his Church, his faith, and religion: whiche ſayd promotions, the kinges highnes findyng cauſe geuen vnto him, by the gratitude & conformitie of his frendes, will not faile to beſtowe to their benefite, beſides large rewardes, to haue this ſo vertuous an acte brought to perfection. For policitation wherof, the kinges ſayd Ambaſſadours be furniſhed at this tyme, with ample Commiſſion, as by the ſame they ſhall perceiue: the effecte wherof they ſhall execute

As though the popes election had any thing to doo with the holy ghoſt.

*He might as well haue ſaid, eaſely, as facily, if it had pleaſed hym: but our groſſe termes are to lowe for thys high Prelate, as here commonly you may ſee.

Yea ſyr, now ye ſpeake to the purpoſe. Now we begyn to feele you, whē ye bring your bribes and rewardes of money.

¶ *The copie of an ambitious letter, written by Tho. Wolſey,* Cardinall of Yorke, vnto Steuen Gardiner, one of K. Henryes Oratours in the Court of Rome, for the procuryng of the Papall dignitie to the ſayd Cardinall.

A letter of the Cardinall to *Steuen Gardiner,* **Lieger at Rome.**

Craftie pretenſes to ſerue ambitious purpoſes.

Simulation of modeſtie, and yet marke how here he auaunceth him ſelf aboue all other.

Belike the Cardinall here lacketh good neighbors, ſeing he is compelled to prayſe him ſelfe.

You may long ſay ſo, before we will releue you.

MAiſter Steuen, albeit ye ſhalbe ſufficiently with your colleages, by ſuch inſtructions as be giuẽ to Monſier Vincent, informed of the kynges mynde and myne, concernyng my aduauncemẽt vnto the dignitie Papall, not doubtyng but that for the ſingular deuotion, whiche you beare towardes the kyng and his affaires, both generall and particular, & perfect loue, whiche ye haue towardes me, ye will omit nothyng that may be excogitate to ſerue and conduce to that purpoſe, yet I thought conuenient for the more feruent expreſſion of my mynde in that behalfe, to write vnto you (as to the perſon whom I moſt entierly do truſt, and by whom this thyng ſhalbe moſt pithely ſet forth) theſe fewe wordes folowing, of my own hand. I doubt not but ye do profoũdly conſider, as well the ſtate, wherin the Churche and all Chriſtendome doth ſtand now preſently, as alſo the ſtate of this realme, and of the kyngs ſecret matter, whiche if it ſhould be brought to paſſe, by any other meanes then by the authoritie of the Churche, I accompt this Prince and realme vtterly vndone. wherfore it is expedient to haue ſuch a one to be Pope and common father of all Princes, as may, can, and will geue remedie to the premiſſes. And albeit I accompt my ſelf much vnhable, and that it ſhalbe now incommodious in this myne old age, to bee the ſayd common father, yet when all thynges be well pondered, and the qualities of all the Cardinals well conſidered (Abſit verbum iactanciȩ) there ſhalbe none founde that can and will ſet remedy in the foreſayd thynges, but onely the Cardinall of Yorke, whoſe good wil & zeale is not to you of all men, vnknowẽ. And were it not for the reintegration of the ſtate of the Church, and ſea Apoſtolicke to the priſtine dignitie, & for the conducyng of peace amongeſt Chriſtiã Princes, and ſpecially to relieue this Prince and Realme from the calamities that the ſame be now in, all the riches or honor of the world ſhould not cauſe me, Ne dum aſpirare, ſed ne conſentire, to accept the ſayd dignitie, although the ſame with all cõmodities were offered vnto me. Neuertheles conformyng my ſelfe to the neceſſitie of the time, and the will and pleaſure of theſe ij. Princes, I am content to appone all my witte & ſtudie, and to ſet forth all meanes and wayes, Vt bene faciam rebus Chriſtianitatis, for the atteyning of the ſayd dignitie. For the atchieuyng and atteyning wherof, for as much as therupõ dependeth the health and wealth, not onely of theſe two Princes and their Realmes, but of all Chriſtendome, no thyng is to be omitted that may conduce to the ſayd end and purpoſe. wherfore M. Steuen, ſince you bee ſo plainly aduertiſed of my minde and intent, I ſhall pray you to extende, omnes neruos ingenij tui, vt iſta res ad effectũ produci poſſit, nullis parcendo ſumptibus, pollicitationibus, ſiue laboribus: ita vt hominũ videris ingenia & affectiones, ſiue ad priuata ſiue ad publica, ſic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deeſt tibi & collegis tuis ampliſſima poteſtas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata ſeu reſtricta, & quicquid feceris, ſcito omnia apud hunc regem & me eſſe grata & tuta. Nam omnia (vt paucis abſoluam) in tuo ingenio & fide repoſuimus. Nihil ſupereſt aliud ſcribendum, niſi quod ſupplex orem, vt omnes actiones tuas ſecundet Deus opt. maximuſq;, & ex corde vale. Ex edibus meis Weſtmoneſt. vij. Febr.

Tuæ ſalutis & amplitudinis
cupidiſſimus. T. Ebor.

Steuen Gardiner **the Cardinals truſtie factor.**

After this letter of the Cardinall, conſequently here enſueth an other letter of the kyng, to the foreſayd Steuen Gardiner, and other his Oratours at Rome, conteinyng ſuch inſtructions and documentes, as they ſhould practiſe with the Cardinals of Rome, in canuesſing for the ſayd Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke, to be elected Pope, if Pope Clement were dead. Or if he were not dead, yet at leaſt, to inſtruct them, what to do, when he ſhould dye. The contentes of the letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly neceſſary for our ſtory, yet for yͤ ridiculous maner of yͤ handlyng, & the curious Secretariſhip therof, full of glorious affectatiõ, I thought it not here vnmeete for yͤ ſtudies & appetites of ſome, to exemplifie yͤ ſame, or at leaſt, to make yͤ reader ſome paſtime by yͤ way, in beholding yͤ glorious ſtile of this vaingloriouſ Cardinall, being ſute like to his glorious life. The copie of the letter, bearing the name of the kyng, but in deede ſauoryng altogether of the Cardinals deuiſe and ſwelling vayne, doth thus proceede in forme and ſtyle, as followeth.

¶ *Inſtructions ſent by the kinges highnes, to his truſty Coũſailours* and ſeruauntes, M. Steuen Gardiner Doctour of both lawes, Syr Frãces Brian, Syr Gregory de Caſſalis Knightes, and M. Peter Vanne the kynges Secretary for the Italian tonge, his Ambaſſadours in the Court of Rome, for the election of the Cardinall of Yorke, to the Papacie, if Pope Clement were dead.

FIrſt, where as a good ſeaſon ſince the depeche of M. Steuen Gardiner, on Ambaſſiate towardes the Court of Rome, the kynges highnes by ſondrye wayes, hath bene aduertiſed of the death of our holy father the Pope, Clement of that name the vij. whoſe ſoule Ieſu pardon, by meane whereof, the charge heretofore committed by his grace vnto his Oratours, to haue ben now executed with the ſaid late Pope, can not at his handes take effect, his highnes ponderyng and profoundlye conſideryng, the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendome, miſerablie & piteouſlye afflicted with the inteſtine warres, diſſentions, & diſcordes, reignyng amongeſt the Princes of the ſame, and how the dignitie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, by ſuch trouble & perſecutiõ, as hath ben inferred therunto, theſe yeares paſſed, is not a litle diminiſhed and empayred, lyke to come to totall ruine, if by the helpe & aſſiſtaunce of good and vertuous Princes, the ambicion of thoſe, which ſtudie the extermination therof, be not in tyme repreſſed: conſideryng furthermore, that aſwell to conduce reſt & tranquillitie in Chriſtendome, as to reſtore, repaire, and reintegrate the ſtate, authoritie, and reputatiõ of the ſayd Sea Apoſtolicke, nothyng is more requiſite and neceſſarye, then that ſuch a head and common father, be now at this tyme of vacation of the dignitie Papall, prouided & elected to ſuccede in the ſame, as both may, can, and will puruey to the reſtauration of the ſayd Sea, and that hath, and may haue the aſſiſtaunce of ſuch vertuous and puiſſaunt Princes, as tender the defence, mainteynaunce, and encreaſe of the dignitie aforeſayd, and that may meete with the inordinate ambicion of the Emperour, who nothyng more ſtudieth, then for his owne exaltation, to ſuppreſſe the Church and Sea Apoſtolicke: remembryng alſo the hygh importaunce of the kinges great and weighty cauſe of matrimony, committed to the charge of his ſayd Oratours, and how manifold daungers and irreparable damages depende vpon the tracte, delay, or diſapoyntement therof, which by no way or meane can bee conduced to the kynges purpoſe, and deſire, by the authoritie of the Church, but onely by ſpeciall, aſſured, & perfect fauour of the head of the ſame Church, hys highnes alſo being as loth as any liuing Prince or perſon may bee, to recurre vnto other refuge, ſuccour, or remedie in his ſayd cauſe, then to the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, if his grace may there finde the fauour and benignitie, that to his merites towardes the ſame be correſpondent, of whiche fauour his hyghnes ſhould be clearely depriued and fruſtrate, in caſe the election of the future Pope, ſhould paſſe vpon any perſon, of whom his grace were not perfectlye aſſured: his highnes for the reſpectes and conſiderations before ſpecified, perceiuyng hys good brother and perpetuall alye the French kyng, in the ſayd intention to be vnite, knitte, and in all actions and doynges of importance, aſſuredly combined vnto his grace, procedyng together in one will, minde, purpoſe, and conformitie, hath by good and mature deliberatiõ, ſtudied, deuiſed, and excogitate with him ſelf, who were and might be the moſt able, mete, and conuenient perſon, hauyng the qualities before ſpecified, to be auaunced at this tyme, vnto the ſayd dignitie Papall. And finally when his grace hath well reuolued with hym ſelfe, all the reſpectes and conſiderations aforeſayd, notyng alſo all thynges mete to be regarded in euery of the Cardinals of the Churche of Rome, both preſent now in the Court there, and abſent from the ſame, it can not be founde that there is any perſon ſufficiently furniſhed, with the requiſites before ſpecified, but onely the moſt reuerend father in God, and his moſt truſtie Counſaillor, the Lord Legate Cardinall, Archbyſhop of Yorke, Primate and Chauncellour of this Realme. who being well knowẽ to haue as feruent zeale, ſtudy, mynd, and deſire, to the vniuerſal weale, repoſe, and tranquillitie of Chriſtendome, to the reintegration and reſtauratiõ of the dignitie, authoritie, reputation, and rightes of the Churche and Sea Apoſtolicke, to the ſuertie, weale, and exaltation of the kynges highnes, the Frenche kyng, and other their confederates, and finally to the perfection of the kynges ſayd great and weighty cauſe, wherupō dependeth the ſuretie of his royall perſon, ſucceſſion, Realme, people, and dominions, as any perſon lyuyng can or may haue, and that the ſayd moſt reuerend father hath the faſt aſſured fauour herein of the ſayd Frenche kyng (who of hys owne mere mocion hath frankly and liberally, offred vnto hym all that by hym ſelfe, his frendes, his power, his agentes, or otherwiſe hee may, or can poſſiblie do for his aduauncement to the ſayd dignitie Papall) is the perſon who for hys ſingular vertue, hys entire deuotion to peace, and reſtauratiō of the ſaid Sea, the excellency of his wiſedome, learnyng and experience, the magnanimitie in his actions and doynges, the dignitie wherin he is already conſtitute, the promotions whiche hee hath atteyned, the ſubſtaunce that he is of, his reputation, his conduite, his diligence, his dexteritie, his diſcretion, hys policie, and finally the notable and highe fauour that the kinges highnes and the ſayd French kyng beare vnto hym, is onely, that he called to the ſayd dignitie Papall, may, can, & will meete with the inordinate ambition of the ſaid Emperour, and cōſequently with eſtabliſhment of tranquillitie amongeſt Chriſten Princes, is by the aſſiſtaunce of his frendes, mete, conueniēt, & hable to ſuccor, releue, & clerely to repayre ẏ piteous iacture & decay, ẏ the Church & Sea Apoſtolicke hath ſo long ſuffered, & to defend the ſame from the imminent daunger now apparant to enſue, if the ſayd Emperour (who as the kynges hyghnes is aſſerteyned) determined in the begynnyng of Ianuary nowe paſſed, to take hys iourney towardes Rome, ſhould vpon this vacation of the ſaid Sea, chaunced (as it is vpō many euident preſumptions to be thought, by ſome deteſtable acte committed, for the ſayd late Popes deſtruction) now by force, violence, cautele, blandiſhyng promiſes, or otherwiſe, haue the election to procede at his will, fauour, and deuotion: wherby, hauyng a Pope at his * arbitre, either hee ſhould not faile to vſurpe and take frō him the rightes, prouētes, and patrimony of the Church, vſing him as his chaplaine and vaſſall, or els by litle and litle vtterly to exclude and extincte hym and his authoritie.

For this cauſe, if euer it were expedient that good Chriſten Princes looke to the tuition, mainteinaunce, defence, and continaunce of Chriſtes Churche, faith, and religion, now is it the tyme aboue all other, to prouide and beware by all wayes poſſible, leſt the ſame neglected, forgottē, and not in tyme releued, be brought vnto extreme * ruine. And therfore the kynges highnes hauyng ſingular and ſpeciall truſt and confidence in the wiſedomes, diſcretions, fidelities, diligences, and circumſpections of his ſaid Oratours, (to whom no part of the premiſſes is vnknowen, ne how neceſſary, and in any wiſe expedient it ſhalbe for perfection of the kynges ſayd great & * weighty matter to them committed, to haue the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, and none other, aduaunced to the ſayd dignitie Papall) willeth, deſireth, ordeineth, and expreſly chargeth and commaundeth his ſayd Oratours, and euery of them, no leſſe to employe, endeuor, and determine them ſelues, to ſollicite, ſet forth, further, promote, labour, and conduce the aduauncement of the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke, to that dignitie, then they would that thyng, whiche the kynges highnes moſt highly, next God and his ſoule, with all earneſtnes and feruent minde, doth aboue all other thinges, couete & deſire, and alſo no leſſe then they would the ſpedye obteinyng & perfection of all ſuch thynges, touching the kynges ſayd weighty matter committed to their charges: the makyng or marring wherof, beyng now the ſayd late Pope deceaſſed, conſiſteth onely in the aduauncement of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, to the dignitie Papall.

For (as the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours may by their wiſedomes well thinke and conſider) the ſame muſt of neceſſitie come, and fortune either to one that is an aſſured frende to his grace and the Frenche kyng, or to one that is a manifeſt enemy to them, fauoring the Emperours parte, or to one indifferent and meane betwen both. And if it ſhould chaunce vpō a manifeſt enemy, it is euident that the kings deſire at his hand were merely impoſſible to be had, & neuer were to be accepted that way. If it ſhould come to one beyng indifferent and meane betwene both, it is more thē notorious, that his grace at the leaſt, ſhould bee conteyned with fayre woordes and promiſes, and yet ſuch reſpecte ſhould bee had to the Emperour, that finally vnder hope of obteinyng ſome thyng, there ſhould be no more but tracte, delaye, and finally no maner frute nor effecte: wherof experience hath already bene ſeene in one that had cauſe to bee more frendly to the king, then indifferent or meane betwen both, and yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours well knowen, So that of neceſſitie this thyng muſt be conduced to one that is an aſſured frend. Then notyng ſubſtantially the things neceſſary to concurre in ſuch a frend, both for the weale of Chriſtēdome, the relief of the Churche, the firme adheryng to the kynges highnes and the Frenche kyng, with other their cōfederates, and the perfite conducyng of the kynges great matter, whiche ſuffreth no tract, delay, or negatiue: it ſhalbe founde that there is none other for this purpoſe, but onely the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke.

The kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours ſhall therefore plante the foundation of all their ſtudie, labour, and ſolicitation, onely to that purpoſe. And for the better introductiō of the wayes and meanes, how this thyng ſhalbe ſolicited, they ſhall receiue herewith a ſcedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many and what Cardinals of likelyhode, ſhalbe preſent at the electiō, and how many & which of the other, ſhalbe abſent. Semblablie, how many of them that be like to be preſent, may bee thought to bee frendes to the kynges highnes and the Frenche kyng, whoſe names in the ſayd ſcedule bee noted with A. and howe many are thought to be Imperiall, whoſe names be noted with B. In the ſame ſcedule bee alſo ſet out the nomber and names of thoſe that bee thought to be neutral or indifferent, marked with N. And furthermore, they be firſt mentioned therin, whiche be thought moſt like to aſpire vnto that dignitie. Herein be many thinges well to be regarded. Firſt the nomber of the Cardinals that are like to be preſent, which (as is thought here) ſhall not excede xxxix. Secōdly that, to haue electiō to the kynges purpoſe, ſhalbe requiſite to haue ij. partes of the iij. of the ſayd nomber, which ij. partes muſt be xxvi. Then is it to be noted, that they whiche be thought to be frendes to the kynges highnes and the Frenche king, be in nomber xx. So that if they may bee made ſure to the kynges deuotion, there ſhall lacke but vi. of the nomber which ſhall ſuffice to make the election: which number the kynges ſaid Ambaſſadours ſhall moue, wynne, & attayne, either of thē ẏ bee thought to bee indifferent, or ſome other.

A. ſignifieth the Cardinals of the kinges & the French kinges ſide. *B.* ſignifieth the Cardinals of the Emperours ſide. But here is neuer a C. to ſignifie any Cardinals of Chriſtes ſide.

In the cōducyng wherof, ij. wayes be ſpecially to be remembred. One is, if the Cardinals preſent, hauing God & the holy Ghoſt before them, ſhalbe minded (as to their dutie apperteineth) to haue reſpect vnto the preſent calamitie of the Churche, and all Chriſtendome, intendyng the relief, ſuccour, and reſtauratiō of the ſame, and to preſerue thē ſelues, and the dignitie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, then lookyng profoundlye vppon the ſtate of the thinges, they can not faile * facily of them ſelues, to finde & perceiue, that to conduce their purpoſe, there is onely the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke. And in this caſe, it is verely to bee thought, that very reaſon it ſelf, and their own conſcience ſhall lead them like vertuous fathers, to haue their principall reſpect hereunto, and (particular affections ſet a part) to accorde and agree without difficultie, to that, whiche ſo manifeſtly is knowen to be the thing, aboue all other, expedient. Neuertheles, becauſe percaſe humaine fragilitie ſuffereth not all thinges to bee pondered, trutinate, and weyed in iuſt balaūce, but that (as we be mē) errours may rūne, vnles then remedie be prouided: it apperteineth in matter of ſo high importaunce, to the comforte & releue of all Chriſtendome, to ſuccour the infirmitie, that may chaunce, not for corruption or to any peruerſe, vnlefull, or euill entent, but rather to helpe to the lackes and deffaultes, whiche by ſuch fragilitie might els take place: and therfore expedient ſhall it be, that the kynges ſayd Oratours, to ſo notable a purpoſe, where they ſhall perceiue the conſideration and reſpecte wherunto reaſō leadeth, to be in any part to be ayded or ſupplied, do ẏ ſame with policitations of promotions, ſpirituall offices, dignities, rewardes of money, or other thynges, ſuch as to them ſhall ſeme mete to the purpoſe: inculkyng into the mindes of ſuch perſons as ſhalbe requiſite, firſt what thynges the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke ſhall leaue, if he ſhould be aduaunced to the ſayd dignitie, whiche be ſuch as the eſtabliment of his ſtate conſidered, bee farre more to his commoditie (if he ſhould regarde his priuate weale) thē to enter into this daungerous ſtorme, and troublous tempeſt, for the relief of the Churche and all Chriſtēdome, wherunto (his ſaid priuate weale ſet a part) he is totally deuoued and dedicate, to the expoſition of his body, bloud, and lyfe, glad and ready with the ſacrifice thereof, to do ſeruice to God, his Church, his faith, and religion: whiche ſayd promotions, the kinges highnes findyng cauſe geuen vnto him, by the gratitude & conformitie of his frendes, will not faile to beſtowe to their benefite, beſides large rewardes, to haue this ſo vertuous an acte brought to perfection. For policitation wherof, the kinges ſayd Ambaſſadours be furniſhed at this tyme, with ample Commiſſion, as by the ſame they ſhall perceiue: the effecte wherof they ſhall ex-

As though the popes election had any thing to do with the holy ghoſt.

*** He might as well haue ſaid, eaſely, as facily, if it had pleaſed hym: but our groſſe termes are to lowe for thys high Prelate, as here commonly you may ſee.**

Yea ſyr, now ye ſpeake to the purpoſe. Now we begyn to feele you. Whē ye bryng your bribes and rewardes of money.

ecute without exception, as by their wiſedomes ſhalbe thought conuenient, ſo alwayes as it bee done with ſuch circumſpection, as may be apparaunce of good frute to enſue. And ſemblablie they bee furniſhed with letters, aſwell to the Colledge of Cardinals in generall, as to thē all that be lyke to be preſent in particular: whiche they ſhall nowe deliuer to the beſt furtheraunce and auauncement of their purpoſe, not ſparyng to declare vnto them the liberalitie of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, the ſubſtaunce that he is of, the aſſured aſſiſtaunce that he ſhall haue of theſe Princes and their confederates, wherby he ſhalbe able aboue any other that they can deuiſe, to rewarde, promote, auaūce, and recompence his frendes to the vttermoſt, aſſuryng thē that theſe ij. Princes will not faile alſo highly and in yͤ beſt ſorte, to conſider their gratitudes, with any thyng that they may excogitate to their profites and promotions, or any of their frendes. So yͭ by this meane, & with ſuch good pollicitatiōs grounded vpon a lefull, honorable, & iuſt cauſe, & not vpon any corrupt or indue intent, to cōduce things, to ſiniſter purpoſe, the kyngs ſayd Oratours, by their good policies ſhall attayne the perfite and ſure good will of a great many of them, and by that way ſhall with good dexteritie, combyne and knytt thoſe, whiche will adhere hereunto, in a perfite faſtnes & in an indiſſoluble knot, firmely to ſticke and hold together, without variation or declinyng from their purpoſe, for any perſuaſiō, practiſe, or meane, that can be made to the contrary. whiche thyng ſurely to be prouided, and ſuch a knot of xx. xviij. or at the leaſt if it may be, of xvi. Cardinals to be had, is in any wiſe expedient. For they perſiſting in their determination, ſhall not faile to impeche, that no aduerſe parte can haue a ful number to make a due and lawfull election. And yet they beyng founde in a conſtantnes to this good purpoſe, ſhall by litle and litle allure and bryng other vnto them, ſo as the reſidue perceyuing ſo great a towardnes, and fearing a ſufficient nomber * to accede without thē, and therby the election to paſſe agaynſt their willes, ſhall percaſe be the more prone & ready to come vnto that partie: wherunto nothyng ſhould of reaſon ſooner moue them, then the very reſpect to the infinite goodnes, that therby to them ſelues in particular, and the vniuerſall Churche and religion in generall, is apparaunt to enſue.

Well hyd, and lyke a good chapman.

Thou muſt imagine here, good reader, to bee no corruption, but honorable pollicitation.

*** To accede, that is, to come.**

Neuertheles, if leauyng the directe waye, they will be abuſed with any other incantations, or for priuate ambition perſiſt in contendyng for them ſelues, then is it euident, they ſearch nothyng more then the ruine of the ſaid Sea Apoſtolicke. In whiche caſe other wayes be to bee deuiſed, and their * indue demeanour to be remedied and reſiſted. For this cauſe, and to be ſure in all euentes, the kings ſayd Oratours ſhall by their wiſedomes finde the meanes to haue ſome faſt and ſure perſons in the Conclaue, ſuch as may not onely practiſe and ſet foorth thynges there to the purpoſe, but alſo geue ſuch knowledge outwarde, as the kynges ſayd Orators, may therby the better know how to order their procedynges. And amongſt other, it is thought that Monſieur de Vaulx, one of the Frenche Ambaſſadours, (whom the French kyng hath commaunded expreſly to further this matter, by all the meanes to hym poſſible) ſhould be one to enter the ſayd Conclaue, not as an Ambaſſadour, but as the Miniſter of ſome Cardinall, frend of the French kyng. And ſemblablie Syr Grogory de Caſſalis, who for hys wiſedome, conduit, language, acquayntāce, & other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalfe.

An other ſhift if the worſte fall.

*** That is, not due.**

And in this matter it is to be conſidered, that ſince this election in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, by one way or other ſuffreth no negatiue, albeit the kynges highnes truſteth yͭ the ſame ſhall haue his courſe directly: yet if for lacke of grace or entendement, there ſhould be any diſpaire therof, other wayes be to be prouided. And for that cauſe, to ſhewe the ſayd Orators ſecretly, there is a proteſtation paſſed by the Cardinals being in England & in Fraunce, accordyng to a copie, whiche the ſayd Oratours ſhall receiue herewith, which is and ſhalbe kept ſecret, vnles then by the indue procedyng vſed in the election, the ſame ſhall nede to be publiſhed. So that the kynges ſayd Oratours now aduertiſed therof, ſhall note for a ſpeciall ground, that if it ſhall appeare that the election cā not be had in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, the bande and nomber vnite and knit together to the kynges deuotion in findyng none other remedy, muſt be inſtructed before hand in that caſe, to perſiſte in their determination, and when tyme ſhalbe, by reaſon of ſuch diſpaire, to proteſt, groundyng the ſame their proteſtation vpō ſuch reſpectes, as can not lacke to be introduced for the auoydyng of the extreme daungers by the pertinacitie & wilfulnes of the aduerſe Cardinals, imminent to the ruine of the Churche, and of all Chriſtendome: whiche proteſtation may before hand be couched and deuiſed by the ſayd M. Steuen Gardiner, and by the policie of the ſayd Monſieur de Vaulx and Syr Gregory, bee ſet forth in tyme conuenient: and thereupon, the Cardinals of the kinges and the Frenche kynges adherentes, to departe the Conclaue, wherby, repayring to other ſure place, they with the reſidue of the Cardinals abſent, may procede to ſuch an election, as may bee to Gods pleaſure, the weale of hys Churche, & faith, and of all Chriſtendome, any election that thus by pertinacitie may enſue at Rome, notwithſtandyng.

The caſe of the Cardinal muſt haue no negatiue: ſo eger he is of his game.

Secret thretenings to the Cardinals to cauſe them to conſent with Cardinal *Wolſey*.

And to the entent the Cardinals may be the better animated to finiſhe the ſayd election to the kynges deſire, the kynges ſayd Oratours ſhall, as they ſee good, offer them a preſidie of ij. or iij. M. men to be in the Citie of Rome, for the time of the ſame election, whiche if they will accepte, the ſayd Oratours ſhall ſee furniſhed, takyng money by exchaunge and otherwiſe, for their entertaynement, as ſhalbe requiſite. which money or any other, that they ſhall take for conducyng this the kynges purpoſe, ſhalbe truly repayd, with * inpeſſe and all requiſites as they ſhall aſſigne. And ſemblablie, leſt terrour or drede of the Imperials in Naples, ſhould induce the Cardinals to any errour, the Frenche kyng hath ordeined, that Seignior Renzio, ſhal lie in a preſidie, betwene the armye of Naples, and the Citie of Rome, like as the Vicecount of Turein is alſo commaunded to lye on the other ſide, and ſemblablie the Venetians. So that by thoſe meanes, not onely they ſhalbe out of all feare of the Imperials, but alſo in the more deuotiō of theſe two Princes, whiche ſhall much conferre to the kyngs purpoſe, and emboldē the Cardinals fauoryng the deſire of theſe ij. Princes, both to perſiſte in their deliberation, and alſo in tyme of extreme diſpaire, to proteſt and departe, as is aforeſayd.

And becauſe nothyng ſhould withdrawe the mindes of the Cardinals frō this purpoſe, who percaſe might thincke that the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke beyng elected, would not repayre to yͤ Court of Rome, but * demore in Auinion or ſome other place out of Italy, the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours ſhall remoue all ſuch ſuſpicion, by ij. euident argumentes and reaſons. One is, that the ſayd Cardinall of Yorke auaunced to that dignitie, muſt therby leaue all other his promotions, and conſequently ſhould bee diſpurueyed of any habitation, place, or conuenient liuing, if remaining in an other ſtrāge cōtrie, he ſhould differre to come vnto Rome, where ſhould be the place of his Sea, and entire lyuing. wherfore it were farre from reaſon, to thinke that he which hetherto for his eſtate, hath liued in ſuch abundance, ſhould be ſo * puſillanime for this promotiō, to bryng hym ſelfe into condigne penurie and pouertie, or to liue in place priuate, to the hinderaunce of his honor, profite, or reputation. Secondlye, the thyng principally mouyng hym to bee contented at theſe Princes requeſtes, to chaunge his ſtate preſent, is the feruent zeale he hath to expone his ſtudy, trauaile, labour, ſubſtāce, wit, bodye, bloud, & life in the quarell of Gods Churche, faith, and of Chriſtendome, whiche is to high an exception and a grounde to bee taken, to remayne and lye in a corner or priuate place: but that rather then he would ſuffer ſo high an exception to bee founde in him, he would expone all that he might do: who hauing the aſſiſtāce of theſe ij. Princes, ſhould not faile (God willing) to paſſe directly to his Sea, with honor & comfort vnto all Italie, and the diſcourage of the partie, that would bee aduerſe therunto: And therefore the Cardinals ſhould not nede to feare of any ſuch thyng, but might bee well aſſured to haue his preſence there to their comforte, in all celeritie and diligence poſſible.

Furthermore, to the intent the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours maye haue all the frendes that may bee to this purpoſe, expedient it ſhalbe, that they with the Venetians, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrare, and all other, whō they ſhall thincke good to wynne vnto their partie, vſe yͤ wayes that may beſt conduce therunto. And amongſt other, foraſmuch as they whiche depended vpon the Cardinall De Medices, ſhall doubt in this caſe to be reiecte, the kynges ſayd Oratours ſhall inculke vnto them the ſingular deuotion and ſpeciall fauour that the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke, hath alwayes borne vnto their familie, aſſuryng them that hee will take them in no further diſtance of entire loue, then they were with Pope Leo, Clement, or any other. And ſemblablie, they ſhall put the Florentines in comforte of the excluſion of the gouernaunce of the ſayd familie De Medices in Florence, and of their enioyng of their libertie: likewiſe, puttyng yͤ Cardinals in perfect hope of recouerie of the patrimonies of the Church: to containe the Venetians in good truſt of a reaſonable way to be taken for Saruia and Rauéna, to their contentement; and alſo to ſhewe the Duke of Far-rare, how the ſayd Lord Legate was yͤ meane of the cōiunction of hym in leage with the Frenche kyng, with aſſured promiſe of his continuance, in as much loue and fauour as he may beare vnto hym, in all his cauſes and affaires. And thus hauyng thoſe folkes to their frendes, whoſe Oratours ſhall haue the vttermoſt cuſtody of the Conclaue, and the kynges Ambaſſadours and the Frenche Ambaſſadours beyng in the interiour partes thereof, they beyng ſo amply inſtructed and furniſhed, ſhall not faile (God willyng) by one or other of the ſayd ij. wayes, and ſpecially by the direct election at Rome, if it be poſſible, or at the leaſt, by the way of the ſayd proteſtation and departure of the Cardinall, to conduce the kynges purpoſe in the ſayd election, to the deſired end. In the doyng whereof, albeit there is no doubt, but that the Frenche Oratours will ioyne with them ſincerely, to the perfection of the premiſſes, in omnem euentum, it ſhalbe well done yͭ the kynges ſayd Oratours haue a ſubſtauntiall and politicke regarde to the procedyng of the ſame Frenche Oratours, leſt that if percaſe they ſhould finde any diſpayre in the election to paſſe in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, they makyng ſome other Cardinals to their ſide, for the auauncement of any of thē to the ſayd dignitie, ſhould bee the more ſtraunge, aliene, or peraduenture refuſe to come vnto the ſayd proteſtatiō and departure out of the Conclaue, whiche is the onely remedy and refuge (the Cardinals perſiſtyng in their wilfulnes) to interrupt, diſapoynt, infringe, & make voyde their election.

One other thyng there is, to bee well noted by the ſayd Ambaſſadours, and by them to be inculcate in the myndes of the Cardinals, yͭ if any maner of difficultie ſhalbe made by the Imperials, to condeſcende vnto this election vpon the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, and that they of the Emperours parte, would refuſe all wayes of good order and reaſon, procedyng to any election without the conſent of the reſidue that would proteſt, they may be ſure that vnto that their ſiniſter and indue way, they ſhould haue no Prince or Potentate adherent, but onely the Emperour and his brother, and that the other part ſhould haue the reſt of all Chriſtendome, that is to ſay, the kynges highnes, the Frenche kyng, the king of Hungary, Polonie, Scotlād, and Denmarke, with the Venetians, the Dukes of Ferrare, Millayne, the Florentines, and the reſt of all Italie, beſides the Marchauntes of the Almayne or Hanſe, & other leages beyng in the dominion of the ſayd king of Polonie: and ouer that, the kyng of Portugale, who is loth and ſorye to ſee the Emperour come vnto ſo great hight as he aſpireth vnto. So that hauyng theſe mightie & notable Puiſſances to their aſſiſtaunce, and the corroboration of their acte, it is facile to thinke the other could be of no validitie, ne haue or take any maner of place: whiche is no ſmall grounde, wherupon the ſayd Cardinals may bee the better animate to the kynges and the Frenche kynges ſayd deuotion, and therfore it is to be imprinted in their myndes accordyngly.

Finally, if the kynges ſayd Oratours endeuoryng them ſelues to the conducyng of the ſayd election in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, ſhould at the laſt, finde that there were none other difficultie, but onely that yͤ electiō in his perſon being totally deſperate, the ſame were cōducible to yͤ Cardinall Campegius: then, rather thē all ſhould faile, if the other could by no meanes be brought to paſſe, the kynges pleaſure is, that beyng aſſured it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the ſame Cardinal Campegius, they take ſuch way as in that caſe the proteſtation bee forborne, and for the laſt refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the leaſt, to paſſe in the perſon of the ſaid Cardinall Campegius: wherof there is no apparance, conſideryng that the reſpectes, for the whiche the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, ſhould by the kynges and the Frenche kynges meanes, bee brought hereunto, do for the greateſt parte, faile and ceaſe by the election of any other then him ſelfe, whiche is in this caſe to be remembred accordyngly.

Thus be the kynges ſayd Oratours inſtructed as farre as mans reaſon can here deuiſe, what is to be done for conducyng the kynges purpoſe to effecte, knowyng well of what importance the thyng is, and what conſequences depende vpō it, namely for the perfection of the kynges high and weightie matter, whiche otherwiſe then by election of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, hath no maner way to bee conduced by authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolicke. There reſteth no more but they who well know the ſame great matter to ſuffer no nay ne repulſe, but by the electiō in the perſon of the ſaid Lord Legate, do employe the vttermoſt that in their heartes, powers, wittes, bodies, and myndes, may be, to the perfection thereof, wherby they ſhal do the greateſt ſeruice that can be, for this tyme excogitate to do, vnto their Prince, deſerue immortall laude, thankes, and praiſe, and be ſure to conſecute thereby ſuch rewarde as ſhalbe to their comfortes, reioyſe, and honor, beſides manifold other notable goodneſſes, wherof they ſhalbe the procurours & ſolicitors to their merite perpetuall. All whiche they may be ſure, ſhalbe conſidered accordyngly.

Out of the Originall, ſubſcribed by kyng
Henry the eight his owne hande.

Epilogue.

In theſe ſo great labours, purſutes and trauailes of the kyng and of the Cardinall, as in theſe their inſtructions aboue inſerted many appeare, thou haſt for thine inſtruction (louing reader) to note and learne, how mā purpoſeth one thyng, and how God diſpoſeth an other. For the kynges purpoſe was to haue the Cardinall and Legate of Yorke, placed in yͤ Sea Papall, thinkyng by that meanes, if this Cardinal had bene Pope, the cauſe of his diuorce more eaſely might be compaſſed, whiche otherwiſe he thought vnpoſſible to contriue. But God omnipotent, whiche onely is directour of all affaires, brought it otherwiſe to paſſe, not as the kyng deuiſed, but after his owne wiſedome, ſo that both the diuorcement was cōcluded, and yet neither Cardinall Wolſey made Pope, nor yet pope Clement was dead. Yea ſo he ruled the matter, that notwithſtandyng Pope Clement was alyue, yet both the diuorce proceded, and alſo the Popes authoritie therby was vtterly extinct & aboliſhed out of this realme of England, to the ſingular admiration of Gods wonderous wordes, and perpetuall prayſe to his mercyfull goodnes. Of which diuorcemēt, and ſuppreſſyng of the Popes authoritie, we haue likewiſe to make declaration. But firſt, as we haue begon with yͤ Cardinall of Yorke, ſo we wil make an end of hym. That done, we wil (god willing) addreſſe our ſelf, to other matters of more importaunce.

Man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth.

As theſe Ambaſſadours were thus trauailing in Rome to promote the Cardinall to bee Pope, although the Pope was not yet dead, in the meane tyme the Cardinall played the Popiſhe perſecutour here at home. For firſt he ſittyng in his Pontificalibus, in the Cathedral Churche of Paules, vnder his clothe of eſtate, of rich cloth of gold, cauſed Frier Barnes, an Auguſtine Frier, to beare a Fagot for certeine pointes, which he called hereſie. Alſo he cauſed the ſame time, ij. Marchauntes of the Stilliard likewiſe to beare Fagottes, for eating fleſhe on a Friday. At the whiche tyme the Byſhop of Rocheſter made a Sermon in reprouffe of Martin Luther, who had before writtē agaynſt the power of the Biſhop of Rome. This Byſhop in his Sermon ſpake ſo much of the honor of the Pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignitie and preeminence, that hee forgat to ſpeake of the Goſpell, which he tooke in hand to declare. Which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1526.

Fryer Barnes with ij. Marchantes of the Stilliard, cauſed by the Cardinall to weare fagots.

After this, the ſayd Cardinall likewiſe. an. 1528. and in the moneth of Nouēb. ſittyng at Weſtminſter, as Legate, called before him the whole Clergie, and there promiſed, that all abuſions of the Churche ſhould bee amended, but there nothyng els was done, ſaue only he cauſed to be abiured Arthur, Bilney, Geffrey Lome, & Garret, for ſpeakyng agaynſt yͤ Popes authoritie, & his pompous pride. Of whom more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord aſſiſtyng vs) hereafter. And this was. an. 1528.

An. 1528

The yeare next folowyng, whiche was. an. 1529. began the queſtion of the kynges mariage to bee reuiued. Wherupō Cardinall Campegius was ſent agayne into England from Rome, for the hearyng and debatyng of the matter. Who then with Cardinall Wolſey, cōſultyng with the kyng, althoughe at firſt he ſemed with his felow Cardinall, to incline to the kynges diſpoſition: yet afterward perceauyng the ſequele of the caſe, whether it tended, ſo farre, as peraduenture might bee the occaſion of a blot to the Court of Rome, and might ſhake perhaps the chayre of the Popes omnipotent authoritie, as well in other caſes like, if this one caſe were throughly decided by learnyng, and truth of Gods word: he therfore ſlyppyng his necke out of the collar, craftily ſhifted him ſelf out of yͤ realme, before the day came appointed for determinatiō, leauyng his ſubtle felow behinde him, to wey with the king in the meane time, while yͤ matter might be brought

An. 1529.

The occaſion of the Cardinals fall.

The cauſe of the kings mariage with his brothers wife, was dangerous to the pope for this. For if it were vnlawful, then the diſpenſation of pope July, was voyde. If it were lawfull, then the iudgementes of ſo many vniuerſities were falſe.

by

The king deluded by the ij. Cardinalls.

vp to the Court of Rome. The king thus ſeyng him ſelfe diſappointed, foded with falſe promiſes, and craftily doubled withall, by the Cardinals, and at laſt, after ſo many delayes & long expectation, nothyng to be concluded, was ſore agreued in his minde with them, but eſpecially with Cardinall Wolſey, whom he had before ſo hyghly exalted & promoted to ſo many great dignities, as to the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke, ẏ Biſhoprike of Wincheſter, of Dureſme, the Abbey of S. Albanes, beſides the Chauncelorſhyp of England, and many other high rownes and prefermentes in the realme, which cauſed him clerely to caſt him out of his fauour, ſo that after that tyme, hee neuer came more to the kynges preſence. Ex Hallo.

A Counſaile of the nobles called.

The Cardinal caſte in the Premunire.

Then folowed, firſt a coũſaile of the nobles, called the firſt of October. Duryng the which Counſaile, all the Lordes, and other the kynges counſaile agreyng together, reſorted to Windſor to the king, and there informed the kyng, that all thinges which he had done almoſt, by his power Legantine, were in the caſe of the Premunire and Prouiſion: and that the Cardinal had forfeited, all his landes, tenementes, goodes and catels to the kyng: wherfore the kyng willing order to him, accordyng to the order of hys lawes, cauſed his Attorney Chriſtopher Hales, to ſue out a Write of Premunire agaynſt hym, in the whiche he licenced him, to make an Attorney.

The Cardinal depriued of the Chauncelourſhip.

Steuen Gardiner, the kings Secretarie.

The Cardinalls goods ſeaſed to the kyng.

And farther, the xvij. day of Nouember, he ſent the ij. Dukes of Norfolke and Sufolke, to his place at Weſtminſter, to fetch away the great Seale of Englãd, whiche he was loth to deliuer, if there had bene any remedy, but in concluſion he deliuered it, to the ij. Dukes, whiche deliuered the ſame to Doctour Tailor Maiſter of the Rolles, to cary it to the kyng, whiche ſo did the next day. Beſide this, the kyng ſent Syr William Fitzwilliãs, Knight of the Garter, and Treaſorer of his houſe, and Doctour Steuen Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to ſee that no goodes ſhould be embeſiled out of his houſe: and farther, ordeined that the Cardinall ſhould remoue to Aſher, beſide Kingſton, there to tary ẏ kings pleaſure, and to haue al things deliuered to him, which were neceſſary for him, but not after his old pompous & ſuperfluous faſhion: for all his goodes were ſeaſed to the kynges vſe. When the Seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, with many Earles, biſhops, and Barons, came into the Starre chamber, the. xix. day of October, where the Duke of Norfolke declared that the kynges highnes, for diuerſe and ſondry offences, had taken from him his great Seale, and depoſed him of all offices, and leſt men might complaine for lacke of Juſtice, he had appointed hym and the Duke of Suffolke, with the aſſent of the other Lordes, to ſit in the Starre chamber, to heare and determine cauſes indifferently, and that of all thinges, the kynges pleaſure and commaundement was, that they ſhould kepe their handes cloſe from any rewardes takyng, or maintenaunce: and ſo that weeke they ſat in the Starre chamber, and determined cauſes.

The Cardinals remouing from Yorke place.

A few dayes after, in the ſame moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his houſe called Yorke place, with one Croſſe, ſaying, that he would hee had neuer borne more, meanyng ẏ by his croſſe, that which he bare as Legate, whiche degre takyng, was his confuſion, as you ſee openly: and ſo he toke his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there toke his horſe and rode to Aſher, where he remained till Lent after.

Duryng whiche tyme, he beyng called on for an aunſwere in the kynges Bẽch, to the Premunire, for geuing benefices by preuention, in diſturbaunce of mens inheritaunce, and diuerſe other open cauſes in the Premunire, accordyng to the kynges licence, conſtituted Iohn Scute and Edmond Ienny, Apprentices of the lawe, hys Attorneys, whiche by his owne warrant ſigned with his hand, confeſſed all thinges concernyng the ſayd ſuite, for they were to open to be cloked or hidden, and ſo iudgement was geuen, that he ſhould forfet all his landes, tenementes, goodes and cattels, and ſhould be out of the kynges protection: but for all that, the king ſent him a ſufficient protection, and of his gentlenes, left to him the byſhoprikes of Yorke and Wynceſter, and gaue to hym plate and ſtuffe conuenient for his degre, and the Byſhoprike of Dureſme, he gaue to Doctour Tunſtal Byſhop of London, and the Abbey of Saint Albones, he gaue to the Prior of Norwiche, and to London he promoted Doctour Iohn Stokeſley, then Ambaſſadour to the Uniuerſities, for the Mariage, as you heard before. For all thys kyndnes ſhewed to the Cardinall, yet ſtill he maligned agaynſt the kyng, as you ſhall hereafter perceaue: but firſt we will procede in the courſe of theſe matters, as they paſſed in order.

The next yeare following, which was an. 1530. in the moneth of Nouemb. was ſummoned a generall Parlament to be holden at Weſtmynſter. In ẏ which yeare, about the xxij. day of October, the king came to his Manor of Grenewich, and there much conſulted with his Coũſaile, for a mete man to be his Chauncelour, ſo that in no wiſe he were no man of the ſpiritualtie, and ſo after long debate, the kyng reſoluted him ſelfe vpon Syr Thomas More Knight, Chaũcellour of the Duchie of Lancaſter, a man well learned in the tongues, and alſo in the common law: whoſe wytte was fine, and full of Imaginations, by reaſon whereof hee was a litle to much geuen to mockyng, more then became the perſon of M. More: and then on the Sõday, the xxiiij. day of the ſame moneth, the kyng made him his Chauncellour, and deliuered him the great Seale, whiche Lord Chauncelour, the next morow after, was led into the Chauncery, by the ij. Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and there ſworne, and then the Mace was borne before him.

Of this fall of the Cardinall, and of the placyng of Syr Tho. More in ẏ Chaũcellourſhip, Eraſmus in an Epiſtle to Iohn Vergera, thus writeth: The Cardinall of Yorke hath ſo offended ẏ kings minde, ẏ he being turned out of his goods & all his dignities, is cõmitted, not into priſon, but into a certeine Lordſhyp of his, with 30. ſeruauntes, or kepers to giue attendaunce vpon him. Many and ſondrie complaintes are cõmenced agaynſt hym, ſo that he is not like to eſcape with his life. Such is ẏ daliance of fortune, of a Scholmaſter to be made a kyng. For ſo he reigned, more like a kyng, then the kyng him ſelfe. He was dreaded of all men: he was loued but of a fewe, almoſt of none. A litle before he was apprehended, hee cauſed Richard Pacie to be caſt in the tower. Alſo he threatened my Archbyſhop of Canterbury. Salomon ſayth, *that before the fall of a man, hys ſpirite ſhall be eleuated.* The Archbyſhop of Canterbury was called, or reſtored to bee choſen Lord Chauncellor, whiche is the chiefeſt office in all that realme, but hee excuſed him ſelfe by his age, as beyng not able to welde ſuch a function. Wherefore the ſayd office was beſtowed vpon Thomas More, no leſſe to ẏ reioyſing of many, then the other was diſplaced frõ it. Theſe newes my ſeruaunt brought me out of England. &c. Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Ioan. Vergeram.

You heard before, how a counſaile of the nobles was appointed by the kyng, in the moneth of October, to aſſemble in the Starre chamber, about the Cardinals matter: and alſo how a Parlament was ſummoned to begyn in ẏ moneth of Nouẽb. the yere folowing. an. 1530. At ẏ begynnyng of which Parlament, after that M. More the new Chauncellour, had finiſhed his Oration, the commons were commaunded to chuſe them a Speaker, who was Thomas Audeley Eſquyer, and Attorney of the Duchie of Lancaſter. Thus the Parlament beyng begon the vi. day of the foreſayd moneth of Nouember at Weſtminſter, where the kyng with all the Lordes, were ſet in the Parlament chamber, the commons, after they had preſented their Speaker, aſſemblyng in the neither houſe, began to common of their grieues, wherwith the ſpiritualty had before tyme, greuouſly oppreſſed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realme, and eſpecially were ſore moued with theſe ſixte great cauſes.

Greuances agaynſt the Clergie of England.

Exceſſiue fines for probates of teſtamẽts.

1 The firſt for the exceſſiue fines, which the Ordinaries tooke for probate of Teſtamentes, in ſo much that Syr Henry Guilford, knight of the Garter, and Comptrollour of the kinges houſe, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelitie, that he and other beyng executours to Syr William Compton knight, payed for the probate of his will, to the Cardinall & the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a thouſand Marke ſterlyng. After this declaration, were ſhewed ſo many extortions done by Ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to much to rehearſe.

A thouſand Markes for the probate of one teſtament.

The vnreaſonable exaction of the clergie for Mortuaries.

2 The ſecond cauſe was, the great polyng and extreme exaction, which the ſpirituall men vſed, in takyng of corps preſentes or Mortuaries: for the children of the dead ſhould all dye for hunger and go a beggyng, rather then they would of charitie geue to them the ſely kow whiche the dead man ought, if he had but onely one: ſuch was the charitie of them.

Fermes & Granges in prieſtes handes.

3 The thyrd cauſe was, that Prieſtes beyng Suruceyers, Stuardes, and officers to Biſhops, Abbots, and other ſpirituall heades, had and occupyed Fermes, Graunges, and graſing in euery countrey, ſo that the poore huſbandmen could haue nothyng but of thẽ, and yet for that they ſhould pay dearely.

Monkes and prieſtes marchauntes.

4 The fourth cauſe was, that Abbotes, Priors and ſpirituall men kept Tannehouſes, and bought and ſold woll, clothe, and all maner of marchaundiſe, as other temporall marchauntes dyd.

Beneficed men take of their flocke, but rue nothing.

5 The fift cauſe was, becauſe the ſpirituall perſones promoted to great benefices and hauyng their liuyng of theyr flocke, were lying in the Court in Lordes houſes, and toke all of the pariſhoners, and nothyng ſpent on them at all, ſo that for lacke of reſidence, both ẏ poore of ẏ pariſhe lacked refreſhyng, and vniuerſally all the pariſhioners lacked preachyng, and true inſtruction of Gods woorde, to the great perill of their ſoules.

Pluralities of benefices.

6 The ſixt cauſe was, becauſe one prieſt beyng litle learned, had tenne or twelue benefices, and was reſident on none, and many well learned ſcholers in the Uniuerſitie, which were able to preache and teache, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

These thynges before this tyme, might in no wiſe bee touched, not yet talked of by no man, except he would be made an hereticke, or loſe all that he had: for the Biſhops were Chaũcellours, and had all the rule about the kyng, ſo that no man durſt once preſume to attempt any thyng contrary to their profite, or commoditie.

Three bils drawẽ out againſt the diſorder of the clergie.

But now when God had illumined the eyes of the kyng, and the tyme ſo ſerued, that men more boldly durſt expreſſe with voyce ſuch grudges, as they had long conceaued in their hartes agaynſt ẏ Clergye: the Burgeſſes of the Parlamẽt appointed certeine of the cõmon houſe, men learned in the law, to drawe one Bill of the probates of Teſtamentes, an other for mortuaries, and the thyrd for none reſidence, pluralities, and takyng fermes by ſpirituall men.

The firſt Bill, for Mortuaries.

And firſt to the Bill of mortuaries being drawen, and beyng alſo paſſed the common houſe, and ſent vp to the hygher, the ſpirituall Lordes ſhewed a fayre face, ſaying that ſurely prieſtes & Curates toke more thẽ they ſhould, and therfore it were well done to take ſome reaſonable order. Thus they ſpake becauſe it touched them but litle.

The ſecond Bill, for probates of teſtamentes.

After this, within ij. daies, was ſent vp the ſecond Bill, concerning probates of Teſtamentes, which bill becauſe it touched their profite ſomewhat nere, both the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and all other Biſhops in generall, begã to frowne, and grunte, inſomuch as Doctour John Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, ſtandyng vp in the Parlament chamber, openly proteſted, that ſuch Billes were ſent vp from the common houſe, tendyng to no other thyng, but to the deſtruction of the Churche: whiche Churche beyng downe, the glory then of the whole kyngdome (ſayd he) muſt nedes fall, deſiryng therfore the Lordes, for Gods ſake, to take example by the kyngdome of Boheme: For as it was then with the people there, ſo now what ſay the commons here, but downe with the Church, and all this (ſayd he) ſemeth onely to be for lacke of fayth. When theſe wordes were reported to the commons of the lower houſe, what the Byſhop had ſayd, in notyng all their doyngs to be for lacke of faith, they toke ẏ matter greuouſly, ſo to be eſtemed of the byſhop, for no better then heretickes, vnderſtayng moreouer, how that he, by thoſe ſlaũderours wordes, went about to perſuade the Lordes temporall agaynſt them, and ſo to ouerthrow the ij. Bylles, by them paſſed before, as ye haue heard.

Doctour Fiſher chargeth the commons with lacke of faith.

The grudge of the commons in the lower houſe, agaynſt *Fyſher*, biſhop of Rocheſter.

Wherupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the ſayd commons, that Thomas Audeley their ſpeaker, with xx. of the chiefe of that houſe, ſhould bee ſent to the kyng, beyng then in his Palace at Weſtminſter, before called Yorke place: where they eloquently declared, what a diſhonour to the kyng, and the realme it was, to ſay, that they whiche were elected for the wiſeſt men of all the Shieres, Cities, and boroughes within the realme of England, ſhould be declared in ſo noble and open preſence, to lacke faith, which was equiualent to ſay, that they were Infidels & no Chriſtians, as ill as Turkes or Saraſins: ſo that what payne or ſtudy ſo euer they toke for the common wealth, or what Actes or lawes ſo euer they made or ſtabliſhed, ſhould bee taken as lawes made by Panyms and heathen people, and not worthye to bee kept by Chriſtian men: wherfore they moſt humbly beſought the kynges highnes, to call the ſayd Biſhop before hym, and to cauſe hym to ſpeake more diſcretly, of ſuch a nomber as was in the common houſe.

The king not cõtented with the Byſhop of Rocheſter.

The kyng beyng not well contented with the ſaying of the Byſhop, yet gently aũſwered the ſpeaker, and ſent them away. Who immediatly ſent for the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury and vi. other byſhops, and Rocheſter alſo, ſignifying vnto them the grudge of the commons. The Byſhop of Rocheſter excuſing him ſelfe, aunſwered, that he in ſo ſaying, ment onely the doynges of the Bohemiãs to be for lacke of fayth, and not the doynges of them that were in the common houſe, which ſaying was confirmed by the Byſhops there preſent, which had him in great reputation, and ſo by that onely ſaying, the king accepted his excuſe, and therfore ſent woorde to the commons by Syr William Fitzwilliams, knyght, Treaſorer of hys houſhold: whiche blinde excuſe pleaſed the commons nothyng at all.

The Byſhops excuſe.

Difference betwene the laitie and ſpiritualtie, about certayne conſtitutions.

After this, diuers aſſemblies were kept betwene certeine of the Lordes, and certeine of the commons, for the Billes of the probates of Teſtamentes, and mortuaries. The temporaltie layd to the ſpiritualtie, their own lawes and conſtitutions, and the ſpiritualtie ſore defended them by preſcriptiõ and vſage. To whom it was thus aunſwered, by a Gentleman of Greys Inne: The vſage hath euer ben of theues, to robbe on ſhoters hill, ergo is it lawfull? With this aunſwere the ſpiritual men were ſore offended, becauſe their doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men ſtode ſtill by their ſayinges, in ſomuch that the ſayd Gentleman ſayd to the Archb. of Caunterbury, that both the exaction of probates of Teſtamentes, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were vſed, were open robbery and theft. After long diſputation, the temporall Lordes began to leane to the cõmons, but for all that, the Billes remayned vnconcluded a while.

Longe vſe maketh not euill thinges lawfull.

Mortuaries as they were vſed, differed litle frõ theft.

It folowed ſhortly after in the Parlament, that a Byll was aſſented to, by the Lordes of the hygher houſe, & ſent downe to the commons in the lower houſe, and by them alſo, with much labour agreed vnto, of whom the moſt part were the kynges ſeruauntes: in the whiche Bill it was required, and concluded, that the kyng ſhould be releaſed of all ſuch loane of money, whiche he had borowed of his ſubiectes, in ẏ xv. yeare of hys reigne. The paſſyng of which Byll went ſore agaynſt the ſtomackes of ẏ poore commons, for many reſted vpon it, countyng and paſſyng it ouer one to an other for good debt, as if it had bene ready money in their purſes. Wherefore the kyng to regratifie them agayne, graunted to them a generall pardon of all offences, onely certeine great offences & debtes excepted: alſo he aided them for the redreſſe of their greues agaynſt the ſpiritualtie, and cauſed ij. new Bylles to bee made indifferently, both for the probate of Teſtamẽtes, and mortuaries, whiche Bylles were ſo reaſonable, that

Redreſſe of the greeues of the commons.

the ſpirituall Lordes aſſented to them all, though they were ſore agaynſt their myndes, and in eſpeciall the probate of Teſtamentes ſore diſpleaſed the Biſhops, and the Mortuaries ſore diſpleaſed the perſones and Vicares.

The third bill of the cōmons for pluralities, &c.

After theſe Actes, thus agreed, the commons made an other Acte for pluralities of benefices, none reſidence, biyng and ſellyng and takyng of fermes by ſpirituall perſons, whiche Acte ſo diſpleaſed the ſpiritualtie, that the Prieſtes rayled on the commons of the lower houſe, and called them heretickes and ſchiſmatikes, for the which diuerſe Prieſtes were puniſhed.

This Acte was ſore debated aboue in the Parlament chamber, and the Lordes ſpirituall would in no wiſe conſent. Wherefore the kyng perceiuyng the grudge of hys commons, cauſed viij. Lordes and viij. of his commons to mete in the ſtarre chamber at an after none, and there was ſore debatyng of the cauſe, in ſo much that the temporall Lordes of the vpper houſe, which were there, toke part with the Commons, agaynſt the ſpirituall Lordes, and by force of reaſon, cauſed them to aſſent to the Byll with a litle qualifiyng, which Byll the next day was wholy agreed to, in the Lordes houſe, to the great reioyſing of the lay people, and to the great diſpleaſure of the ſpiritual perſons.

And thus much concernyng theſe Bylles agaynſt the Clergy, by the way. Now, to returne to the Cardinall agayne: duryng the tyme of the ſayd Parlament, there was brought downe to the commons, the boke of Articles whiche the Lordes had put vp to the kyng, agaynſt the Cardinall. The chiefe Articles were theſe.

Articles againſt the Cardinall.

1 First, that he, without the kynges aſſent, had procured to be Legate, by reaſon whereof he tooke away the right of all Byſhops and ſpirituall perſons.

2 In all writinges that he wrote to Rome, or to any other Prince, he wrote: Ego & Rex meus, I and my kyng, as who would ſay, that the kyng were his ſeruaunt.

3 That hee ſlaundered the Churche of England to the Court of Rome: for his ſuggeſtion to be Legate, was to reforme the Churche of England, which (as he wrote) was, Facta in reprobum ſenſum.

4 He without the kynges aſſent, caryed the kynges great Seale with hym into Flaunders, whẽ he was ſent Ambaſſadour to the Emperour.

5 without the kynges conſent, hee ſent Commiſſion to to Syr Gregory de Caſſalis knyght, to conclude a leage betwene the kyng and the Duke of Ferrarie.

6 That he hauyng the Frenche pockes preſumed to come and breath on the kyng.

6 That hee cauſed the Cardinals hat to bee put on the kynges coyne.

8 That he had ſent innumerable ſubſtaunce to Rome, for the obteynyng of his dignities, to the great impoueriſhement of the Realme, with many other thynges, whiche are touched more at large in Chronicles.

Theſe Articles with many mo, being read in the common houſe, were cōfeſſed by the Cardinall, & ſigned with his hand. Alſo there was ſhewed an other writyng ſealed with his ſeale, by the whiche hee gaue to the kyng all hys moueables and vnmoueables.

An. 1530

You haue heard hetherto declared how the Cardinall was attaynted in the Premunire, and how hee was put out of the office of the Chauncelour, and lay at Aſher: whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1530. The next yeare after, in the Lent ſeaſon, the kyng, by the aduice of his coũſaile, licenced him to go into his dioces of Yorke, and gaue hym commaundement to kepe hym in hys dioces, and not to returne Southward, without the kynges ſpeciall licence in writyng.

So hee made great prouiſion to go Northwarde, and apparelled his ſeruauntes newlye, and bought many coſtlye thynges for his houſholde, but diuers of hys ſeruauntes at thys tyme, departed from hym to the kynges ſeruice, and in eſpeciall Thomas Crumwell, one of his chiefe Counſaile and chiefe doer, for him in the ſuppreſſion of Abbeys. After that all thynges neceſſarie for his iourney were prepared, he toke his iourney Northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in hys dioces, and there he continued that yeare, euer grudging at his fal, as you ſhal heare hereafter: but yͤ landes which he had geuẽ to hys Colledges in Oxford and Ypſwych, were now come to the kynges handes, by his atteynder in the Premunire, and yet the kyng of his gentlenes, and for fauour that hee bare to good learnyng, erected agayne the Colledge in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinals Colledge, hee called it the kynges Colledge, and endewed it with fayre poſſeſſions, & ordayned newe ſtatutes and ordinaunces, and for becauſe the Colledge of Ypſwych was thought to be nothyng profitable, therfore he left that diſſolued.

Notwithſtãding that yͤ Cardinall of Yorke, was thus attainted in the Premunire (as is aboue mencioned) yet the kyng beyng good vnto hym, had graunted him the Biſhoprikes of Yorke and Wincheſter, with great plenty of ſubſtaunce, and had licenced him to lye in his dioces of Yorke, where he ſo continued the ſpace of a yeare. But after, in the yeare followyng, which was. 1531. he beyng in hys dioces, wrote to the Courte of Rome, and to diuers other Princes, letters in reproch of the kyng, and in as much as in him lay, he ſtirred them to reuenge his cauſe agaynſt the kyng and his realme, in ſo much, that diuers opprobrious wordes againſt the kyng, were ſpokẽ, to Doct. Edward Keerne, the kings Oratour at Rome, and it was ſayd to hym, that for the Cardinals ſake, the kyng ſhould haue the worſe ſpede in the ſuite of his Matrimony. The Cardinall alſo would ſpeake fayre to the people to wynne their heartes, and declared euer, that he was vniuſtly and vntruly ordered, whiche fayre ſpeakyng made many men beleue that he ſayd true: and to Gentlemen hee gaue great giftes to allure them vnto him: and to be had in more reputatiõ among the people, hee determined to bee inſtalled or inthroniſed at Yorke with all the pompe that might be, & cauſed a throne to be erected in the Cathedrall Church in ſuch an heyght & faſhion, as was neuer ſene, and ſent to all the Lordes, Abbottes, Priours, Knyghtes, Eſquiers and Gentlemen of his dioces, to bee at his Manor of Cawod the. vi. day of Nouẽber, and ſo to bryng him to Yorke, with all maner of pompe and ſolempnitie.

The kyng, whiche knew his doynges and priuye conueiaunce, all this yeare diſſembled the matter, to ſee what he would do at length, till that he ſawe his proude hart ſo highly exalted, that he would be ſo triumphantly inſtalled without makyng the kyng priuye, yea and in maner, in diſdayne of the kyng, thought it not mete nor conuenient to ſuffer him any longer, to cõtinue in his malicious and proude purpoſes and attemptes: wherefore hee directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland, willyng him with all diligence, to arreſt the Cardinall, and to deliuer him to the Earle of Shrewſbury, great Stewarde of yͤ kynges houſhold. When the Earle had ſene the letters, he with a conuenient nũber, came to the Manor of Cawod the. iiij. day of Nouember, and when hee was brought to the Cardinall in his chamber, he ſayd to hym, my Lord I pray you take patience, for here I arreſt you. Arreſt me, ſaid the Cardinall: Yea ſaid the Earle, I haue a commaundemẽt ſo to do. You haue no ſuch power, ſaid the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate De Latere, and a Pere of the Colledge of Rome, and ought not to be arreſted by any Temporal power, for I am not ſubiect to that power, wherefore if you arreſt me, I will withſtand it. Well ſaid the Earle, here is the kings Commiſſion (whiche he ſhewed hym) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinall ſomewhat remembred hym ſelfe, and ſayd, wel my Lord I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into the puniſhment of the Premunire, and loſt by the law, all my lãdes & goods, yet my perſon was in the kynges protection, and I was pardoned that offence, wherefore I maruell why I now ſhould be arreſted, and ſpecially conſideryng that I am a mẽber of the Sea Apoſtolicke, on whõ no Temporal mã ought to lay violent handes. Well, I ſee ẏ kyng lacketh good counſaile. Well, ſaid the Earle, whē I was ſworne Warden of the Marches, you your ſelfe told me, that I might, with my ſtaffe, arreſt all men, vnder the degree of a kyng, and now I am more ſtronger, for I haue a cōmiſſion ſo to do, whiche you haue ſene. The Cardinall at lēgth obeyed, and was kept in a priuye chamber, and his goodes ſeaſed, and his officers diſcharged, and his Phiſiciā, called Doctor Auguſtine, was likewiſe arreſted, and brought to the Tower by Syr Walter Welſhe, one of the kynges chamber. The vi. day of Nouember hee was conueyed from Cawod, to Sheffeld Caſtle, and there deliuered to ẏ Earle of Shrewſburies kepyng, till the kynges pleaſure were knowen. Of this attachement was much commonyng amongeſt the common people, wherefore many were glad, for hee was not in the fauour of the comminaltie.

The Ca nalls C ledge, called Christs Colledge in Op

Car- ht vp d on.

When the Cardinal was thus arreſted, the king ſent Syr William Kingſton, Knight, Captaine of the Garde and Conſtaſtle of the Tower of London, with certayne yomen of the Garde, to Sheffeld, to fetch the Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinall ſaw the Captain of the Garde, he was ſore aſtonied and ſhortly became ſicke, for then he perceiued ſome great trouble toward him, and for that cauſe, men ſayd that hee willyngly tooke ſo much quantitie of a ſtrong purgatiō, that his nature was not able to beare it. Alſo the matter that came from hym was ſo blacke, that the ſteining therof, could not be gotten out of hys blanckets by any meanes. But Syr William Kingſton comforted hym, and by eaſie iorneys hee brought him to the Abbey of Leyceſter, the. xxvij. day of Nouember, where, for very feblenes of nature, cauſed by purgations and vomities, he dyed the ſecond night folowyng, and in the ſame Abbey lyeth buryed.

The Ca nall com playnet the Po of the

Car- pop- him

It is teſtified by one, yet beyng a lyue, in whoſe armes the ſayd Cardinall dyed, that his body beyng dead, was blacke as pitch, alſo was ſo heauy, ẏ vi. could ſcarſe beare it. Furthermore, it did ſo ſtinke aboue the ground, ẏ they were cōſtreyned to haſten the buriall therof in the night ſeaſon, before it was day. At the which buriall, ſuch a tempeſt, with ſuch a ſtinche there aroſe, that all the torches went out, and ſo he was throwen into the tombe, and there was layd.

The C dinalls proude tourne to wa Pope.

By the ambitious pride and exceſſiue worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, all men may eaſely vnderſtand and iudge what the ſtate and condition of all the reſt of the ſame order (whom we call ſpirituall men) were in thoſe dayes, aſwell in all other places of Chriſtendome, as eſpecially here in England, where as the princely poſſeſſions and great pride of the Clergye did not onely farre paſſe and excede the common meaſure and order of ſubiectes, but alſo ſurmounted ouer kynges & princes and all other eſtates, as may well appeare by hys doynges and order of his ſtory aboue deſcribed.

pride e Car- ll.

Amongeſt other Actes of the foreſayd Cardinall, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new Colledge in Oxforde, for the furniture wherof, he had gathered together all the beſt learned he could heare of, amongeſt whiche nomber were theſe: Clarke, Tindall, Sommer, Frith, and Tauerner, with other moe: which holdyng in aſſemble together in the Colledge, were accompted to bee heretickes (as they called them) and thereupon were caſt into a priſon of the Colledge, where ſaltfiſhe laye, through the ſtinke wherof, the moſt parte of them were infected, and the ſayd Clarke being a tender young man, and the moſt ſingular in learnyng amongeſt thē all, dyed in the ſayd priſon, and other in other places in the towne, alſo of the ſame infection deceaſed.

The C dinall reſt.

ke in the dinall's edge iſon.

And thus hauyng deteined the reader enough, or rather to much, with this vainglorious Cardinall, now we will reduce our ſtory agayne to other more frutefull matter, and as the order of tyme requireth, firſt begynnyng with M. Humfrey Mummuth a vertuous and a good Aldermā of London, who in the tyme of the ſaid Cardinall, was troubled, as in the ſtory here foloweth.

¶ *The trouble of Humfrey Mummuth Alderman* of London.

Maiſter Humfrey Mummuth was a right godly and ſincere Alderman of London, who in the dayes of Cardinall Wolſey, was troubled and put in the Tower, for the Goſpell of Chriſt, and for maynteining them that fauoured the ſame.

The ſtory of *Humfrey Mummuth.*

Stokeſley then Biſhop of London, miniſtred articles vnto him, to the nūber of xxiiij. as for adheryng to Luther and his opinions: for hauyng & readyng hereticall bookes and treatiſes: for geuyng exhibition to William Tyndall, Roy, and ſuch other: for helpyng them ouer the ſea to Luther: for miniſtryng priuy helpe to tranſlate, as well the Teſtament, as other bookes into Engliſhe: for eatyng fleſh in the Lent: for affirmyng fayth onely to iuſtifie: for derogatyng from mens conſtitutions: for not praying to Saintes: not allowing pilgrimage: auricular confeſſion: the Popes pardons: briefly, for being an aduauncer of all Martin Luthers opinions. &c.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt *Humfrey Mummuth,* by Byſhop *Stokeſley.*

He being of theſe articles examined & caſt in ẏ Tower, at length was cōpelled to make his ſute or purgation, writyng to the foreſayd Cardinall, then Lord Chauncellour, and the whole Counſaile, out of the Tower. In the contentes wherof he aunſwered to the criminous accuſation of them, which charged him with certaine bookes, receaued frō beyond the ſea: Alſo for his acquaintaunce with M. Tindall. Wherunto he ſayd, that hee denyed not but that. iiij. yeares then paſt, he had heard the ſayd Tindall preache two or three Sermons at S. Dunſtons in the Weſt, and afterward, metyng with the ſayd Tindall, had certaine communication with hym concernyng his liuing, who then told him that he had none at all, but truſted to be in the Byſhop of London his ſeruice: for then he laboured to be his Chaplen. But beyng refuſed of the Byſhop, ſo came agayne to the ſayd Mummuth, this examinate, and beſought him to helpe him. Who the ſame tyme, tooke hym into hys houſe for halfe a yeare, where the ſayd Tindall lyued (as hee ſayd) lyke a good Prieſt, ſtudying both night and day. He would eate but ſodden meate, by his good will, nor drinke but ſmal ſingle beare. He was neuer ſene in that houſe to weare lynen about him, all the ſpace of his beyng there. Wherupon the ſayd Mummuth had the better likyng of him, ſo ẏ he promiſed him. x. pounde (as he then ſayd) for his father and mothers ſoules, and all Chriſten ſoules, whiche money afterwarde hee ſent him ouer to Hamborow, accordyng to his promiſe. And yet not to him alone he gaue this exhibition, but to diuers other mo likewiſe, whiche were no heretickes: as, to D. Royſton, the biſhop of Londons chaplen, he exhibited. xl. or. l. poūdes: to D. Wodiall, Prouinciall of the Frere Auſtens, as much or more: to D. Watſon, the kynges chaplain: alſo to other ſcholars, and diuers Prieſtes, beſides other charges beſtowed vppon religious houſes, as vpon the Nunrye of Denney, aboue l. poundes ſterling beſtowed. &c.

The purgation and aunſwere of *Humfrey Mummuth* to the articles.

Tyndall refuſed of Byſhop *Stokeſley* to be hys Chaplein.

The temperate cōuerſation of *W. Tyndall.*

And as touchyng his bookes, as Enchiridion, the Pater noſter, De libertate Chriſtiana, an Engliſhe Teſtament, of whom, ſome W. Tindall left with him, ſome he ſent vnto hym, ſome were brought into his houſe, by whom he could not tell, theſe bookes he ſayd, did lye open in his houſe, the ſpace of ij. yeares together, he ſuſpecting no harme to be in them. And moreouer, the ſame bookes beyng deſired of ſondry perſons, as of ẏ Abbeſſe of Denney, a frier of Grenewich, the father cōfeſſour of Sion, he let them haue thē, & yet he neuer heard Frier, Prieſt, or lay man, find any fault with the ſaid bookes. Likewiſe to D. Watſon, to D. Stockehouſe, Maiſter Martin, perſon of Totingbecke, hee committed the peruſing of the bookes of Pater noſter, and De libertate Chriſtiana, whiche founde no great fault in them, but onely in the booke De libertate Chriſtiana, they ſayd there were thyngs ſomewhat hard, except the reader were wiſe.

Thus hee excuſing him ſelfe, and moreouer complaynyng of the loſſe of hys credite, by his impriſonment in the Tower, & of the detrimentes of hys occupying, who was wont yearely to ſhip ouer v. hundreth clothes to ſtraungers, and ſet many clothiars a worke, in Suffolke and in other places, of whom hee bought all their clothes, whiche almoſt were nowe all vndone: by this reaſon at length was ſet at libertie, beyng forced to abiure, and after was made knyght by the kyng, and Shriefe of London.

A notable examble of Chriſtian pacience, in an Aldermā.

M. George Stafforde, reader in Cambridge.

Of this Humfrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Chriſtian patience, in the Sermons of M. Latimer, which the ſayd Latimer heard in Cābridge of M. George Stafford, reader of the Diuinitie lecture in that Vniuerſitie. Who expoundyng the place of S. Paul to the Romains, that we ſhall ouercome our enemy with well doyng, and ſo heape whote coales vpon hys head, &c. brought in an example, ſaying, that hée knew in London a great riche Marchaunt (meanyng this Humfrey Mummuth) whiche had a very poore neighbour: yet for all his pouerty, hee loued him very well, and lente hym money at his néede, and let hym come to his table whenſoeuer he would. It was euen at that time, when D. Colet was in trouble, and ſhould haue bene burnt, if God had not turned the kynges hart to the contrary. Nowe the richman began to bee a Scripture man, hee began to ſmell the Goſpell. The poore man was a Papiſt ſtill. It chaunced on a tyme, when the riche man talked of the Goſpel ſittyng at his table, where hée reproued Popery, and ſuch kynde of things. The poore mā being there preſent, tooke a great diſpleaſure agaynſt the riche man: in ſo much, that hee would come no more to his houſe: he would borow no money of him, as he was wont to do before tymes: yea and conceyued ſuch hatred and malice agaynſt hym, that he wēt and accuſed him before the Byſhops. Now the riche man, not knowing of any ſuch diſpleaſure, offred many tymes to talke with hym, and to ſet him at quyet. It would not be. The poore man had ſuch a ſtomacke, that he would not vouchſafe to ſpeake with him. If he met the riche man in the ſtrete, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him ſo in a narrowe ſtréete, that he could not auoyde, but come nere him: yet for all that this poore mā (I ſay) had ſuch a ſtomacke agaynſt the riche man, that hee was minded to go forwarde and not to ſpeake with hym. The rich man perceiuyng that, caught him by the hād, and aſked him, ſaying: Neighbour what is come into your hart, to take ſuch diſpleaſure with me? what haue I done agaynſt you? tell me, and I will bée ready at all tymes to make you amendes.

Ex concione Doct. Hug. Latimeri.

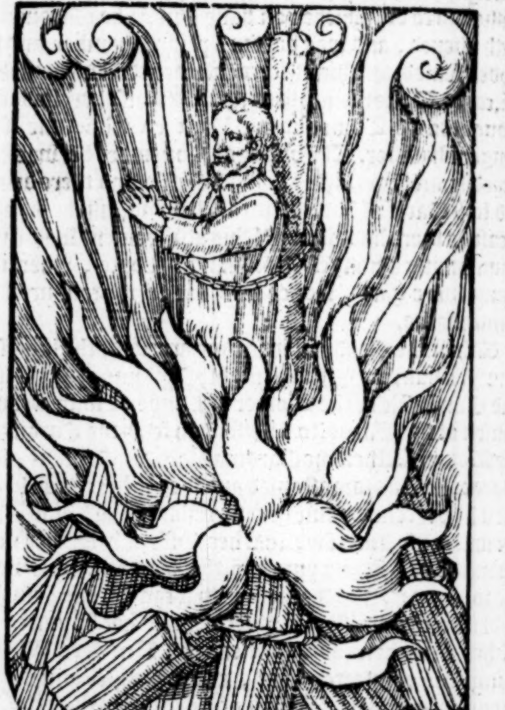
Agree with thine enemie, while thou art in the way with him. Math. 5.

Finally, he ſpake ſo gentely, ſo charitablie, ſo louingly and frendly, that it wrought ſo in the poore mans harte, that by and by hee fell downe vppon his knees, and aſked him forgeuenes. The riche man forgaue him, and ſo tooke hym agayne to hys fauour, and they loued as well as euer they did afore.

¶ *The hiſtory of Thomas Hytten.*

Tho. Hytten, Martyr.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
William Warham, Archbyſhop of Caunterbury. Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter.	*Thomas Hytten.* At Maideſtone. an. 1530.	TOuching the memorial of Thomas Hytten, remayneth nothyng in wrytyng, but onely hys name, ſaue that William Tindall in his Apologie agaynſt More, and alſo in another booke entituled the practiſe of Prelates, doth once or twiſe make mention of him by waye of digreſſion. He was (ſayth he) a preacher at Maidſtone, whom the Byſhop of Caunterbury Williā Warham, and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, after they had long kept and tormented him in priſon with ſundry tormentes, & that notwithſtandyng, he continued conſtāt, at the laſt they burned at Maydſtone, for the conſtant and manifeſt teſtimonie of Ieſu Chriſt, and of his frée grace and ſaluation. In the yeare of our Lord. 1530.



Perſecuters	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Cardinall Wolſey. Nixe, Byſhop of Norwich. Friers of Ypſwich. Frier Byrde. Frier Hogekyns. Doctour Stokes. Syr Tho. More. Frier Bruſyerde. Frier Iohn Huggen, Prouinciall of the Dominickes. Frier Geffrey Iulles Frier Iugworth. M. Williā Iecket Gētleman. William Nelſon. Thomas Williams.	*Thomas Bilney.* *Arthure whiche abiured.* At Norwyche. an. 1531.	In the ſtory aboue paſſed of Cardinall Wolſey, mētion was made of certein, whō the ſayd Card. cauſed to abiure, as Bilney, Geffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, and ſuch other, of whom we haue now (the Lord directing vs) ſpecially to entreate. This Tho. Bilney was brought vp in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, euen from a childe, profiting in all kinde of liberall ſcience, euen vnto the profeſſiō of both lawes. But at the laſt, hauing gotten a better Scholmaſter, euen the holy ſpirit of Chriſt, who enduyng his hart by priuye inſpiratiō, with the knowledge of better & more wholeſome thynges, he came at the laſt vnto this point, that forſakyng the knowledge of mans lawes, he conuerted his ſtudy to thoſe thinges, whiche tended more vnto godlynes thē gainfulnes. Finally, as hee him ſelfe, was greatly enflamed with yͤ loue of true religion & godlines, euē ſo again was in hys hart an incredible deſire to allure many vnto yͤ ſame, deſiring nothing more, then that he might ſtirre vp and incourage any to the loue of Chriſt and ſincere religion. Neither was his labours vayne, for he cōuerted many of his felowes vnto yͤ knowledge of the Goſpell,

pell,amongeſt whiche number was Thomas Arthur, & M.Hugh Latimer,which Latimer at that tyme was croſkeper at Cambridge, bringyng it forth vpõ proceſſion dayes.At the laſt, Bilney forſakyng the Uniuerſitie,went into many places teaching & preaching,being aſſociate with Arthur, which accõpanied him frõ the Uniuerſitie.The authoritie of Tho.Wolſey Cardinal of Yorke, of whom ye heard before, at that tyme,was great in Englãd, but his pompe and pride much greater,whiche did euidently declare vnto all wiſe men,the manifeſt vanitie, not onely of his lyfe, but alſo of all the biſhops & clergie.Wherupõ Bilney with other good mẽ marueilyng at the incredible inſolencie of the Clergy, which they could now no longer ſuffer or abyde, began to ſhake and reproue thys exceſſiue pompe of the clergie,& alſo to plucke at yͤ authoritie of the B.of Rome.

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Then it was tyme for the Cardinall to awake, and ſpedily to looke about his buſines. Neither lacked hee in this point any craft or ſubtiltie of a Serpent, for hee vnderſtode well enough vppon how ſlender a foundation their ambitious dignitie was grounded, neither was he ignoraunt, that their Luciferous and proude kyngdome could not long continue agaynſt the manifeſt worde of God,eſpecially if the light of the Goſpell ſhould once open the eyes of men. For otherwiſe he did not greatly feare the power & diſpleaſure of kinges and princes.Onely this he feared, the voyce of Chriſt in his Goſpell, leaſt it ſhould diſcloſe and detect their hypocriſie and diſceites, and force them to come into an order of godly diſcipline: wherefore hee thought good, ſpedily in time,to withſtand theſe begynnynges. Whereupon he cauſed the ſayd Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and caſt in priſon, as before ye haue heard.

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After this, the xxvij. day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord.1527. the ſayd Cardinall accompanyed, with a great number of Byſhops, as the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury,Cuthbert of London,Iohn of Rocheſter,Nicholas of Elye,Iohn of Exeter, Iohn of Lyncolne, Iohn of Bathe and Welles, Harry of S. Aſſe, with many other both Diuines and Lawyers, came in to the chapter houſe of Weſtminſter, where the ſayd M.Thomas Bilney,& Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the ſayd Cardinall there inquired of M.Bilney whether he had priuately or publikely preached or taught to yͤ people, the opinions of Luther or any other, condempned by the Church, contrary to the determination of the Churche. Whereunto Bilney aunſwered, that wittyngly hee had not preached or taught any of Luthers opinions, or any other, cõtrary to the Catholicke Churche.Then the Cardinall aſked hym, whether hee had not once made an othe before, that he ſhould not preache, rehearſe, or defende any of Luthers opinions,but ſhould impugne the ſame, euery where.He aũſwered,that he had made ſuch an othe, but not lawfullye. Which Interrogatories ſo miniſtred,& aunſweres made,the Cardinall cauſed hym to ſweare, to aunſwere playnly to the Articles and errours preached,and ſet forth by him, as well in the Citie and dioceſſe of Londõ, as in yͤ dioceſſe of Norwich and other places, and that hee ſhould do it without any craft,qualifying or leauing out any part of the truth.

omas
thur,
ined.

After he was thus ſworne and examined, the ſayd Cardinall proceded to the examination of M.Thomas Arthur there preſent,cauſing him to take yͤ like othe, that M.Bilney did.Which done,he aſked of hym whether he had not once told ſyr Tho.More knight,that in the Sacrament of the altare was not the very body of Chriſt.Which Interrogatory he denyed.Thẽ the Cardinall gaue him tyme to deliberate till noone, and to bring in his aunſwere in writing. After noone the ſame day,what time the examinatiõ of the foreſayd Thomas Arthur was ended, yͤ Cardinall and Byſhops by theyr authoritie Ex officio, did call in for witneſſes before M.Bilney,certeine men, namely Iohn Huggen, chief Prouinciall of the Friers preachers throughout all England, Geffrey Iulles, & Richard Iugworth, profeſſours of Diuinitie of the ſame order. Alſo William Iecket Gentleman,William Nelſon, and Thomas Williames,whiche were ſworne that all fauour, hate, loue, or reward ſet apart,they ſhould,without concealyng of any falſhode, or omittyng any truth, ſpeake their mindes vppon the Articles layd agaynſt them, or preached by him, as wel within the dioces of London, as the dioces of Norwich: and becauſe hee was otherwiſe occupyed about the affaires of the realme, he committed the hearyng of the matter to the Biſhop of London,and the other Byſhops there preſent, or to iij.of them, to procede agaynſt all mẽ, as wel ſpirituall as tẽporall,as alſo againſt ſchedules,writinges and bookes, ſet forth and tranſlated by Martin Luther, lately condempned by Pope Leo the x.and by all maner of probable meanes, to enquire & roote out their errours and opinions, & all ſuch as were found culpable,to compell them to abiuration accordyng to the law, or if the matter ſo required, to deliuer thẽ vnto the ſecular power, and to geue them full power and authoritie to determine vpon them.

The xxvij.of Nouember, in the yeare aforeſayd,the Byſhop of London, with the Biſhop of Elye and Rocheſter,came vnto the Byſhop of Norwiches houſe, whereas likewiſe Ex officio,they did ſweare certaine witneſſes agaynſt M.Thomas Arthur, in like ſorte as they had done before,agaynſt M.Bilney, and ſo proceded to yͤ examination of M.Arthur: which being ended vpõ certaine Interrogatories, the Byſhop of London warned hym by vertue of his othe, that he ſhould not reuele his examinations,nor hys aunſweres, nor any part or parcell therof.

Bilney and Arthure brought before *Tunſtall* byſhop of London.

Worke they neuer ſo ſecretly,yet God bringeth their practiſes to light at length.

The ſecond day of December, the Byſhops aſſembled agayne in the ſame place, and ſware more witnes agaynſt M.Bilney. That done,they called for Maiſter Arthur, vnto whoſe charge they layd theſe Articles folowyng.

¶ *Articles agaynſt Thomas Arthur.*

Articles agaynſt *Tho. Arthur.*

1 IN Primis,that hee exhorted yͤ people in hys prayers, to pray ſpecially for thoſe that nowe bee in priſon, whiche Article he denyed.

2 That he ſayd, thoughe men bee reſtrayned to preache now a dayes(whiche is againſt Gods lawes)yet I may preache: Firſt by the authoritie of my Lord Cardinall, for I haue his licence: Secõdly by the authoritie of the Uniuerſitie: Thirdly by the Pope: Fourthly by the authoritie of God, where hee ſayth: Euntes in mundum,prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ. By whiche authoritie euery man may preache, and there is nother Biſhop nor Ordinary, nor yet the Pope,that may make any law to let any man to preach the Goſpel. This Article he confeſſed that he ſpake.

Authoritie to preach.

3 When he ſpake of lawes, hee brought a ſimilitude of Croſſes ſet vp agaynſt the walles in London, that men ſhould not pyſſe there. When there was but one croſſe or a few more,men did reuerẽce them,and pyſſed not there: but when there was in euery corner a Croſſe ſet, then men of neceſſity were compelled to pyſſe vpõ the croſſes: So in lyke maner, when there was but a few holy and deuout lawes in the Churche, then men were afrayde to offend them. Afterward they made many lawes for their aduauntage,and ſuch as were pecuniall, thoſe they doe obſerue,and ſuch as are not pecuniall,thoſe they call Palea,and regard them not,and ſo now a dayes, there are ſo many lawes,that whether a mã do ill or wel,he ſhalbe taken in the lawe. He confeſſed that he ſpake the very ſame,or the lyke wordes.

The multitude of lawes,make lawes to be contemned.

Palea in the popes decrees.

4 He ſayd:good people,if I ſhould ſuffer perſecutiõ for yͤ preachyng of yͤ Goſpel of God,yet there is.7000.more,yͭ would preach the goſpel of God,as I do now. Therfore good people,good people(which wordes he often rehearſed as it were lamẽting) thinke not yͭ if theſe tyraunts & perſe-

The preaching of the Goſpell is to be left for no perſecution.

perſecuters put a man to death, the preachyng of the Goſpell, therfore is to be forſaken. Thys article he confeſſed that he ſpake in lyke woordes and ſenſe, ſaiing that he made no mention of tyrauntes.

5 That euery man, yea euery lay man is a prieſt. He cõfeſſed that he ſpake ſuch woordes, declaryng in his Sermon, that euery Chriſtian man is a Prieſt, offeryng vp the ſacrifice of prayer: & if they did murmure againſt the order of prieſthode, they did murmure againſt thẽ ſelues.

6 That men ſhould pray to no Saintes in heauen, but only to God, and they ſhould vſe no other Mediator for them, but Chriſt Ieſu our redemer onely. Thys article he denyed.

Agaynſt Images.

7 He preached that they ſhould worſhyp no Images of Saintes, which were nothyng but ſtockes and ſtones. Thys he alſo denyed.

8 He did preach vpon whitſonday, laſt within the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, ſuch or lyke wordes and ſentẽces: That a Bacheler of Diuinitie admitted of the Vniuerſitie, or any other perſon, hauyng or knowyng the Goſpel of God, ſhould go forth and preache in euery place, and let for no man, of what eſtate or degree ſo euer he were: and if any Byſhop did accurſe them for ſo doyng, their curſes ſhould turne to the harme of them ſelues. He confeſſed this.

Arthur ſubmitteth him ſelfe.

Which aunſweres thus made and acknowledged, the ſayd M. Arthur did reuoke and cõdempne the ſayd Articles agaynſt him miniſtred, & ſubmitted hym ſelfe to the puniſhment and iudgement of the Churche.

Letters of *Belney* to the Biſhoppe of London.

The iij. day of December, the Byſhop of London, with the other Byſhops, aſſemblyng in the place aforeſayd, after that Bilney had denyed vtterly to returne to the Churche of Rome, the Byſhop of London in diſcharge of his conſcience (as hee ſayd) leſt hee ſhoulde hyde any thyng that had come to his hands, he did really exhibite vnto the Notaries, in the preſẽce of the ſayd M. Bilney, certeine letters, to wytte, fiue letters or Epiſtles, with one ſcedule in one of the Epiſtles, conteynyng his Articles and aũſweres folded therin, and an other Epiſtle folded in manner of a booke, with ſixe leaues, which all and euery one he commaunded to bee written out and regiſtred, and the originals to bee deliuered to him agayne. This was done in the preſence of M Bilney, deſiryng a copye of them, and hee bounde the Notaries with an othe for the ſafe kepyng of the copyes, and true regiſtryng of the ſame. Whiche Articles and aũſweres, with three of the ſame epiſtles, with certayne depoſitions depoſed by the foreſayd wytnes, here folow truly drawen out, partly of his owne hand wrytyng, and partly out of the regiſter.

Ex Regiſt. Londinenſi.

¶ *Interrogatories whereupon M. Thomas Arthur* and M. Bilney, were accuſed and examined.

Interrogatories agaynſt *Bilney and Arthur.*

1. *WHether they did beleue with their hartes, that the aſſertions of Luther, whiche are impugned by the Byſhop of Rocheſter, were iuſtly and godly condemned, and that Luther with his adherentes, was a wicked and deteſtable hereticke.*

Conſtitutions.

2. *Whether they did beleue, that the generall Councels and Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions, once receaued and not abrogate agayne, ought to be obſerued of all men, euen for conſcience ſake, and not onely for feare.*

3. *Whether they did beleue that the Popes lawes were profitable and neceſſarie to the preferment of godlynes, not repugnant to the holy Scriptures, neither by any meanes to be abrogate, but to be reuerenced of all men.*

The church.

4. *Whether they did beleue that the catholike church may erre in the faith or no, and whether they thinke that Catholicke Churche to bee a ſenſible Churche, whiche may be demonſtrate and pointed out, as it were, with a finger, or that it is onely a ſpirituall Churche, intelligible, and knowen onely vnto God.*

Images.

5. *Whether they thinke that the Images of Saintes are Chriſtienly ſet in the Churches, and ought to be worſhipped of all true Chriſtians.*

6. *Whether that a man may beleue without hurte to hys faith or note of hereſie, the ſoules of Peter and Paule, and of our Ladye, either to bee, or not to bee in heauen, and that there is yet no iudgement geuen vppon the ſoules departed.*

7. *Whether that a man may beleue without ſpot of hereſie, that our Lady remained not alwayes a virgine.*

8. *Whether holy dayes and faſting dayes ordeined and receiued by the Church, may bee broken by any priuate man, at his will and pleaſure, without ſinne or obſtinacy.*

9. *Whether we are bounde to be obedient vnto Prelates, Byſhops, and kinges, by Gods Commaundement, as we are vnto our parentes.*

10. *Whether they beleue that the church doth well & godly in praying to the Saintes.*

11. *Whether they thinke that Chriſt onely ſhould be prayd vnto, and that it is no hereſie, if any man affirme that Saints ſhould not be prayed vnto.*

12. *Whether they do thincke all true Chriſtians to bee by like right, Prieſtes, and all thoſe to haue receiued the keyes of byndyng and looſing at the handes of Chriſt, whiche haue obteined the ſpirite of God, and onely ſuch, whether they bee lay men or Prieſtes.*

13. *Whether they beleue with their hart, that faith may be without workes and charitie.*

14. *Whether they beleue that it is more agreable to the fayth, that the people ſhould praye in their owne tongue, then in a learned vnknowen tongue, and whether they commende the prayer in a ſtraunge tongue or no.*

15. *Whether they would haue the Maſſes and Goſpels openly to bee read in Churches in the vulgare tongue, rather then in the Latine tongue.*

16. *Whether they commend that children ſhould onely be taught the Lordes prayer, and not the ſalutation of the virgine, or Crede.*

17. *Whether they do thinke the wodden beades, which the common people doth vſe, worthy to be denied or not.*

18. *Whether they do thincke the whole Scripture ought to be trãſlated into Engliſh, or that it ſhould be more profitable for the people, then as it is now read.*

19. *Whether they would haue the orgaines & all maner of ſonges to be put out of the Churche of God.*

20. *Whether they do thinke that it perteineth to the Byſhops, to puniſhe any man with bondes or impriſonment, or that they haue any temporall power and authoritie.*

21. *Whether they thincke that conſtitution to bee godly, that no man ſhould preach in an other mans dioces, without letters of commendation, and licence obteined of the Byſhop.*

22. *VVhether they thinke the vowes of religious men and priuate Religion, to bee conſtitute and ordeined by the ſpirite of God, neither by any meanes to be repugnant to a free and perfect Chriſtian life.*

23. *Whether they beleue that we ſhould pray for the dead, or beleue that there is a Purgatory, or that we are bound by neceſſitie of faith, to beleue neither of them: but that it is free without ſinne, either to beleue it or not to beleue it.*

24. *VVhether they beleue that morall Philoſophie and naturall, do preuaile any thyng for the better vnderſtandyng of the ſcriptures, & for the expoſition and defence of the truth.*

25. *VVhether they thinke that the Popes indulgences and pardons are rather to be reiected, then receiued.*

26. *Whether it bee contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that Chriſtians ſhould by any meanes, contend in the law, to ſeke any maner of reſtitution.*

27. *VVhether they beleue all thinges perteyning to ſaluation & dampnation to come of neceſſitie, and nothyng to be in our owne willes.*

28. *VVhether they beleue God to bee the authour of euill, aſwell of the fault, as of the puniſhement.*

29. *VVhether they thinke Maſſe onely to be profitable to him which ſayth it, & whether euery mã may alter or leaue out the rite and order of the Maſſe, without hurt of faith.*

30. *VVhether they beleue that there can bee any morall ver-*

vertues, without the grace of Chriſtian liuyng, or that the vertues which Ariſtotle hath ſet out, are rather fayned.

31. *Whether they thinke it hereſie, to teache the people, that it is free to geue the tithes vnto Prieſtes, or to any other poore man.*

32. *VVhether they do thinke it more Chriſtianlike to take away the Images out of the Churches, or to permitte them there, to adorne them and honor them.*

33. *VVhether they thinke it the part of a Chriſtian man, that preachers ſhould exhorte men to pilgrimage, or to the worſhippyng of Reliques.*

34. *VVhether that thou Thomas Bilney, beyng cited vpon hereſie to appeare before my Lord Cardinall, and before the day of thy apparance not hauyng made thy purgation vppon thoſe pointes that thou waſt cited: haſt preached openly in diuerſe Churches of the Citie, and dioces of London, without ſufficient licence from the Byſhop, or any other.*

Concernyng the aunſweres vnto theſe Articles, (gentle reader) for ſomuch as in the moſt part of them, Bilney with Arthure ſeemed to conſent and agrée (although not fullye and directly, but by way and maner of qualifiyng) yet becauſe he did not expreſſye denye them, it ſhall not bée néedefull here to recite them all, ſaue onely ſuch, wherin he ſemed to diſſent frō them.

To the firſt & ſecond Articles he aunſwered affirmatiuely.

To the third hee ſayd, I beleue that many of the Popes lawes, are profitable and neceſſarye, and doe preuaile vnto godlines, neither in any poynt are repugnant vnto the Scriptures, nor by any meanes are to be abrogate, but of all mē to be obſerued and reuerenced. But touchyng all thoſe lawes I cā not determine: for, as for ſuch as I haue not read, I truſt notwithſtādyng they are good alſo: & as for thoſe yͭ I haue read, I dyd neuer read thē to yͤ end or purpoſe to reproue thē, but accordyng to my power, to learne and vnderſtand them. And as touchyng the multitude of lawes, S. Auguſtine in his tyme, did much complaine, and Gerſon alſo, who maruayled that we could by any meanes liue in ſafetie amongeſt ſo many ſnares of conſtitutions, when as our forefathers, beyng pure before their fall, could not obſerue one onely precept.

To the. iiij. Article, hee ſayd that the Catholicke Churche can by no meanes erre in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the electe, and ſo knowen onely vnto God, whiche knoweth who are his: other wiſe no man ſhould be aſſerteyned of an other mans ſaluation, or of his owne, but onely through faith and hope. For it is written: *No man knoweth, whether he bee worthye of hatred or loue.* It is alſo ſenſible, and may bée demonſtrate ſo farre fourth, as it is ſufficiēt to eſtabliſh vs in all thinges that are to be beleued and done: For I may truly ſay of the generall Councell beyng congregate in the holy Ghoſt: behold here the Catholicke Church, denominatyng the whole by the moſt worthy part.

¶ To the v. Article, hee aunſwered affirmatiuely in theſe wordes, cum ſint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem, ſed prototypon.

To the ſixt Article, hee aunſwered, that he dyd not beleue that they are in heauen, beyng ſo taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the Church.

To the. vij. Article hee ſayd, that it is not to bee thought contrary.

To the viij. Article, whether a man may not obſerue the feaſtes and faſtes of the Church preſcribed, hée thought that there is no man, but he ought to obſerue them.

To the. ix. Article, hée ſayd that we are likewiſe bound as vnto parentes.

To the. xiiij. Article, hee aunſwered thus, the. xiiij. chapter of S. Paul in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians moueth me to beleue, that it is beſt, that yͤ people ſhould haue the Lordes Prayer & the Apoſtles Crede in Engliſh, ſo that their deuotion might yͤ more be furthered by the vnderſtandyng therof, and alſo that therby they might bee the more prompt and experte in the Articles of their faith: of the which it is to be feared a great number are ignoraunt. Surely I haue heard many ſay, that they neuer heard ſpeake of the reſurrection of the body: and beyng certified therof, but they became much more apte and ready vnto goodnes, and more fearefull to do euill.

To the fiftenth Article, he ſaid hee would wiſhe that the Goſpels and Epiſtles ſhould bée read in Engliſhe. For I would (ſayth Paul) rather haue. v. wordes. &c. That the Church might be edified. &c. And Chriſoſtome exhorteth his hearers to looke vppon bookes, that they might the better committe vnto memory, thoſe thynges whiche they had heard. And S. Bede did tranſlate S. Iohns Goſpell into Engliſhe.

Scripture to be in Engliſhe.

1. *Cor.* 14.

S. Iohns goſpell tranſlated into Engliſhe by Bede.

Touchyng the. xviij. Article, for the tranſlatiō of the Scripture into Engliſhe, concernyng the whole, hée dyd partly doubt. Notwithſtādyng, he wiſhed that the Goſpels and Epiſtles of the day, might be read in Engliſhe, that the people, might bee made the more apte to heare ſermōs. But here ſome will ſay, there might alſo be daunger for errour. Wherunto he aunſwered: but good and vigilant paſtors might eaſely helpe that matter, by addyng the playne interpretation of the fathers in the margentes, in Engliſhe, vpon the darke and obſcure places, whiche would put away all doubtes. O how great profite of ſoules ſhould the vigilant paſtors get hereby, whiche contrarywiſe, through their ſlouthfulnes, bryng great ruine and decay?

Obiection diſſolued.

To the. xxv. Article, as touchyng pardons, he ſayd, that as they be vſed, and haue too long bene, it were better that they ſhoulde bee reſtrained, then that they ſhould be any longer vſed as they haue bene, to the iniury of Chriſtes Paſſion.

The Popes pardons iniurious to Chriſtes paſſion.

Touchyng the. xxvi. Article, he ſayd that it is not agaynſt the doctrine of Chriſt and hys Apoſtles, to contende in the lawe, ſo it be done with charitie, if Saint Auſten and the reuerent father Marcus Marulus dyd not erre, whiche graunted that liberty to the weake Chriſtians: albeit that true Chriſtians ought to giue eare vnto Saint Paules, ſaying: Why do ye not rather ſuffer iniury? And to Chriſt him ſelf which ſayth: He that will contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coate, giue hym thy cloke alſo.

How Chriſtians may go to the lawe.

1. *Cor.* 6.

Touchyng the. xxviij. he aunſwered, that God is the author of the puniſhment onely, but not of the offence, as Baſilius Magnus teacheth in his Sermon vpon theſe wordes of the Prophet: Non eſt malum in ciuitate, quod non fecit Dominus. And S. Auguſtin in an other place (as I remember) prayeth: *That he be not led into that temptation, that he ſhould beleue God to be the Author of ſinne and wickednes.*

Amos. 3.

¶ *Here enſueth a brief Summary or collection of certaine* depoſitions, depoſed by the ſeuerall witneſſes a fore-named, vppon certeine interrogatories miniſtred vnto them, for the inquiry of Maiſter Bilneys doctrine and preachyng.

Depoſitions agaynſt M. *Bilney.*

Firſte it was depoſed, that in hys Sermon in Chriſtes Churche in Ipſwitch, he ſhould preache and ſay, our Sauiour Chriſt is our Mediator betwen vs and the father: what ſhould we nede thē to ſeke to any Saint for remedie? Wherfore it is great iniurie to the bloud of Chriſt, to make ſuch petitions, and blaſphemeth our Sauiour.

Hereſie in the Popes church to confeſſe Chriſt onely to be our Mediatour.

That man is ſo vnperfect of him ſelfe, that he can in no wiſe, merite by his owne dedes.

Alſo that the commyng of Chriſt was long propheeyed before, and deſired by the Prophets: but Iohn Baptiſt beyng more then a Prophet, did not onely prophecie, but with hys finger ſhewed hym, ſaying: *Ecce agnus dei, qui tollit peccata mundi.* Then, if this were the very lambe whiche Iohn did demōſtrate, that taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde, what iniury is it to our Sauiour Chriſt, that to be buried in Saint Frances

Iohn. 9.

Cowle

S.Frances cowle remitteth 4. parts of penance: What remaineth then for Chriſt to remitte.

Cowle, ſhould remit.iiij. partes of penaunce, what is then left to our Sauiour Chriſt, which taketh awaye the ſinnes of the worlde? This I will iuſtifie to bee a great blaſphemie to the bloud of Chriſt.

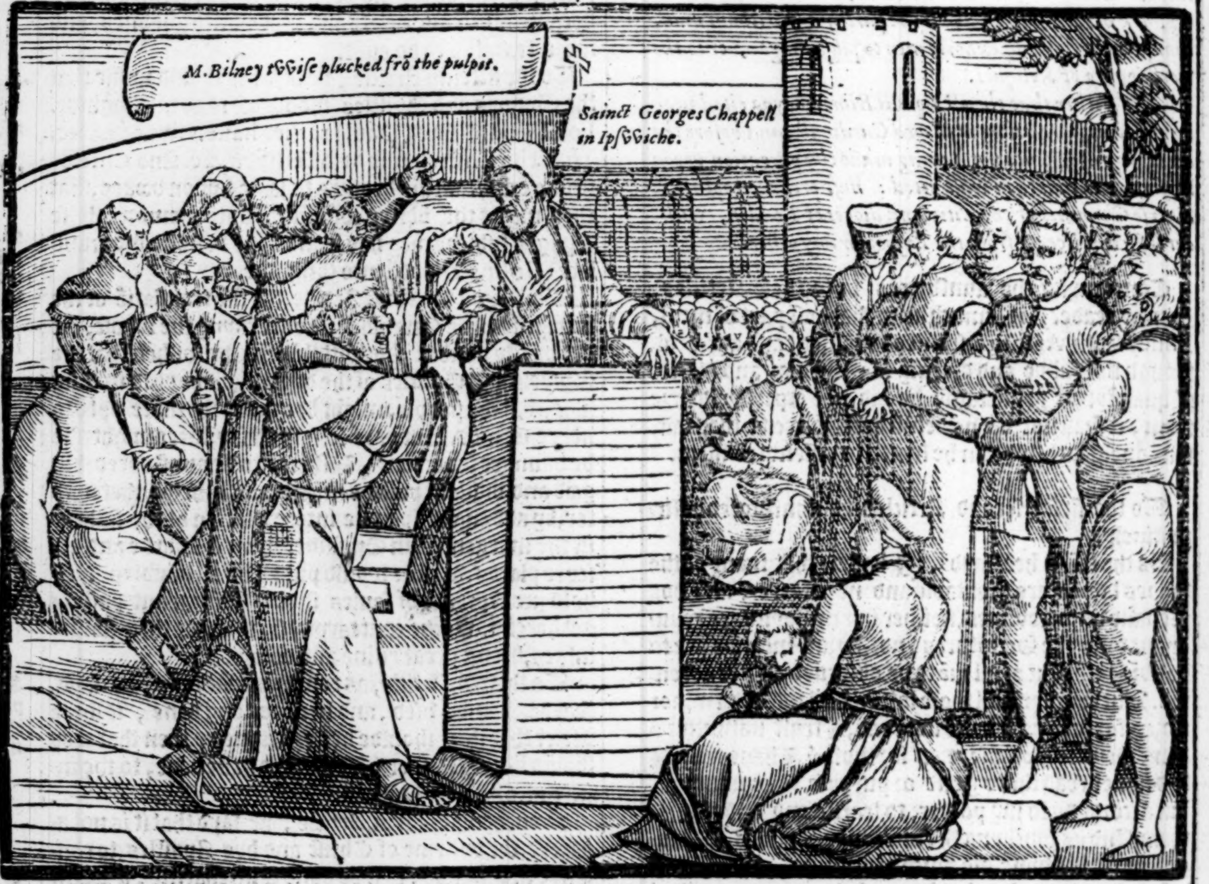
Againſt pilgrimage.

Alſo that it was great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in tymes paſt haue bene Antichriſtes, and now it hath pleaſed God ſomewhat to ſhewe forth their falſhode and errours.

Alſo, that the miracles done at Walſinghã, at Canterbury, and there in Ipſwitch, were done by the deuill, through the ſufferaunce of God, to blind the poore people: and that the Pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he folow Peter in his lynyng.

Moreouer, it was depoſed agaynſt hym, that he was notoriouſly ſuſpected as an hereticke, and twiſe pulled out of the Pulpit in the dioces of Norwich.

Maiſter, Bilney. twiſe plucked downe from the Pulpit, by the friers.


M.Bilney twiſe plucked frõ the pulpit.
Sainct Georges Chappell in Ipſwiche.

The Idolatry of the papiſts is a lette to the Iewes and Turkes, why they are not conuerted.

Alſo it was depoſed agaynſt him, that he ſhould, in the Pariſhe Churche of Willeſdone, exhorte the people to put away their Gods of ſiluer and gold, and leaue their offringes vnto them, for that ſuch thynges as they offered, haue bene knowen oftentimes afterward, to haue bene geuẽ to whores of the ſtewes. Alſo that Iewes and Sarazens would haue become Chriſten mẽ long a go, had it not bene for the Idolatry of Chriſten men in offring of candels, waxe, and money, to ſtockes and ſtones.

Ouer and beſides theſe cauillyng matters, articuled and depoſed agaynſt him, here folow certeine other Articles, wherupon he was detected, gathered out of hys Sermon, whiche he preached in the Pariſhe Churche of S.Magnus, in Whitſonweke, in the yeare of our Lord.1527.

¶ Certeine other Articles producted agaynſte Maiſter Thomas Bilney.

Articles.

First, he ſayd, pray you only to God, & to no Saintes, rehearſyng the Letany, and when hee came to Sancta Maria ora pro nobis, he ſaid, ſtay there.

He ſayd that Chriſtian men ought to worſhyp God onely and no Saintes.

He ſayd that Chriſtian people ſhould ſet vp no lights before the Images of Saintes, for Saintes in heauen nede no light, and the Images haue no eyes to ſee.

Hee ſaid, as Ezechias deſtroyed the braſen Serpent that Moyſes made by the Commaundement of God, euẽ ſo ſhould kynges and Princes now a dayes, deſtroy and burne the Images of Saintes ſet vp in the Churches.

One fiftie good popes ſince Chriſt.

Theſe v.hũdreth yeres there hath ben no good Pope, nor in all the tyme paſt, we cã finde but fifty, for they haue neither preached, ne liued wel, or cõformably to their dignitie: wherfore til now, they haue borne the keys of Symony. Agaynſt whom good people, we muſt preach and teach vnto you. For we can not come to them, it is great pitie: they haue ſore ſclaundered the bloud of Chriſt.

The people hath vſed fooliſhly of late, pilgrimages, whiche for them had bene beter to haue bene at home.

Many haue made certeine vowes, which be not poſſible for them to fulfill, and thoſe nothyng meritorious.

The preachers before this, haue ben Antichriſtes, and now it hath pleaſed our Sauiour Chriſt, to ſhewe theyr falſe errours, and to teach an other way & maner of the holy Goſpell of Chriſt, to the comfort of your ſoules.

I truſt that there ſhall and will come others beſides me, whiche ſhall ſhewe and preache to you, the ſame faith and maner of liuyng, that I do ſhew and preach to you, whiche is the very true Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt, & the minde of ẏ holy fathers, wherby you ſhalbe brought from their errours, wherin you haue bene long ſeduced: for before this, there haue bene many that haue ſclãdered you, and the Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt, of whõ ſpake our Sauiour. Math.xviij. Qui ſcandalizauerit vnũ de puſillis iſtis, qui in me credit. &c.

Theſe and many other ſuch lyke depoſitions were depoſed agaynſt hym by the deponentes and witneſſes before ſworne, which wholy to recite, would be to long and tedious: wherefore theſe ſhall ſuffice at this tyme, beyng the principall matters, and in maner the effecte of all the reaſt. But nowe, before we will returne agayne to the order of hys examination, we thincke it good here to inferre a certeyne Dialoge contaynyng a communication betwene a Frier named Iohn Bruſierd, and Maiſter Thomas Bilney, whiche we haue thought mete for this place, becauſe it was done in Ipſwitch, & alſo about ẏ time of theſe examinations: the copy wherof we haue writtẽ with ẏ Friers owne hand in Latin, & haue expreſſed ẏ ſame in our former editiõ. Wherfore referring ẏ reader for ẏ Latin copie, vnto ẏ editiõ aforeſayd, pag.475. it ſhal ſuffice here to expreſſe ẏ ſame in Engliſh: the copie wherof here enſueth.

¶ A

❡ A Dialoge betwene Frier Iohn Bruſierd and M.Thomas Bilney in Ipſwitch, concernyng worſhippyng of Images.

Bruſierd. *ALthough you haue blaſphemed moſt perniciouſly, the immaculate flocke of Chriſt, with certein blaſphemies of yours: yet being moued, partly with your gētle peticions, partly pytying your caſe and towardly diſpoſition, I am come hether to talke with you ſecretly, before the rumour bee diſcloſed, vpō the conſideration of the threefolde errours whiche I ſee in you.*

Firſt, for that, when you began to ſhoot the darte of your peſtiferous errour more vehemently then you ought, agaynſt the breſt of the ignoraunt multitude, you ſeme to powre vppon the ground, the pretious bloud of Chriſt, as with a certaine vehement violence, out of the miſerable veſſell of your hart. Where as you ſayd that none of the Saintes do make interceſſion for vs, nor obteine for vs any thyng, you haue perilouſly blaſphemed the efficacie of the whole Church, cōſecrated with the precious bloud of Chriſt. Whiche thing you are not able to deny, eſpecially ſeyng the ſame ſo inceſſantly doth knocke at the gates of heauen through the continuall interceſſion of the Saintes, accordyng as in the ſeuenfold Letanie manifeſtly appeareth to be ſene.

Bilney. *I maruell at you, and doubtles, can not meruell enough but that the ſtronge & vayne cuſtome of ſuperſtitious men, thinking them ſelues not to bee heard but in much bablyng, doth put an end of my admiration. For our heauenly father knoweth what we haue nede of before wee aske. Alſo it is written:* There is one Mediator of God and mē, the man Chriſt Ieſus. *If then there be but one Mediatour of God & men, the man Chriſt Ieſus, where is our bleſſed Lady? Where is then S. Peter and other Saintes?*

Bruſierd. *I ſuppoſe no man is ignoraunt, but that the Diuines of the primitiue Churche haue all affirmed to bee one Mediatour betwene God and man. Neither coulde any at that time, prayſe or pray to the Saintes, when as yet they liuyng in the calamities of this body, and wraſtlyng with the contrary windes of this worlde, were not yet come to the port of reſt wherunto they were trauailing. Paul (I grāūt) did rightly affirme to be but one Mediatour of God & men, what time as yet there was no Sainte canoniſed or put in the Kalender. But now, ſeyng the Church doth know, and doth certeinly beleue, through the vndoubted reuelations of God, that the bleſſed Virgine and other Saintes are placed in the boſome of Abraham, ſhe therfore lyke a good mother, hath taught, and that moſt diligently, vs her children to prayſe the omnipotent Ieſus in his Sainctes, and alſo to offer vp by the ſame Saintes, our peticions vnto God. Thereof it is that the Pſalme ſayth:* Prayſe ye the Lord in his Saintes. *Rightly alſo do we ſay and affirme, that Saintes may pray for vs. One man may pray for another,* Ergo, *much more may Saintes that do enioy the fruition of his high Maieſty. For ſo it is written:* God is my witnes whom I ſerue in my ſpirite, in the Goſpell of hys ſonne, that without ceaſing I remember you in my prayer alwayes for you. &c.

Bilney. *I maruell doubtles, that you a mā learned are not yet deliuered out of the cōfuſe dūgeon of hereſie, through the helpe of the holy goſpell: Eſpecially ſeing that in the ſame Goſpell it is written:* Verely, verely, I ſay vnto you, what ſo euer you aſke the father in my name, he will giue it vnto you. *He ſayth not what ſoeuer ye aske the father in the name of S. Peter, S. Paule or other Sainctes, but in my name. Let vs aske therfore helpe in the name of him, whiche is able to obteine for vs of his father, what ſo euer we aske, leſt peraduenture, hereafter in the ende of the world, at the ſtraight iudgement, we ſhall heare:* Hetherto in my name ye haue aſked nothing.

Bruſierd. *Where ye meruell (with what minde I can not tell) that I beyng a learned man (as you ſay) am not deliuered yet from the confuſe dungeō of hereſie, through the helpe of the Goſpell: much more do you that are farre better learned then I, cauſe me to maruell at your fooliſhe admiration. Neither can I chuſe but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the thyrd heauen of ſuch hygh miſteries, and yet ſee not thoſe thinges, which be done here in the lower partes of terrene Philoſophie. For what a ridiculous thyng is it, for a man to looke ſo longe vppon the Sunne, that he can ſee nothyng ells but the Sunne, nor can not tell whether to turne hym? Moreouer, what ſtudent is there in all Cambridge, be he neuer ſo yong, that knoweth not, that the argument of authoritie, brought out negatiuely, hath no force?*

Argumentum ab autoritate deſtructiue.

Bilney. *So as the Phariſeis tooke Chriſt, you take my wordes, much otherwiſe then I ment.*

Bruſierd. *Your woordes, whiche wander farre from the ſcope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meanyng and lieth inwardly in your minde, I can not tell.*

Bilney. *Such as inuocate the helpe either of Chriſt, or of any other Saint, for any corporall infirmitie, to be deliuered from the ſame, may bee well reſembled to delicate pacientes, who beyng vnder the hand of Phiſitions, and hauyng medicines miniſtred agaynſt their diſeaſes: not abidyng the paine therof, rap all aſonder: Wherfore I ſay, no mā ought to implore the helpe of God or of any Saint,* **for corporall infirmitye.*

Prayinge for taking away temporall infirmities.

*** He meaneth abſolutely, without condition.**

Bruſierd. *O moſt pernicious and perilous hereſie of all that euer I heard. Thus you flying the ſmoke, fall into the fire, and auoyding the daunger of Scylla, you runne vppon Carybdis. O hart of man wrapped in palpable darknes. I wiſhe Maiſter Bilney, that you would but once ſearch and ſet out the firſt origine of theſe Rogation dayes: For ſo we read in the Churche ſtory, that they were firſt ordeined by Pope Gregory, with faſtyng, prayers, and holy proceſſions, agaynſt the peſtilence, by the infection of the ayre then reigning among the people. At what tyme, the people then goyng in the proceſſion, a certaine Image like to our bleſſed Lady, painted with the handes of S. Luke the Euangeliſt, did go before them, about the which Image, in the honor of the virgine, aungels did ſing this Antheme,* Regina cœli lætare. &c. *O Queene of heauen bee glad. To the whiche Antheme the Pope alſo adioined this:* Ora pro nobis Dominum. &c. *pray to the Lorde for vs. Wherefore, ſeyng the Angels did worſhip the Image of the glorious virgine Mary in the honor of her: and ſeing moreouer, the holy father Pope Gregory, with all the Clergie, did pray for corporall infirmitie, it appeareth manifeſtly that we ought to worſhip the Saintes, and alſo to giue honor, in a maner, to their Images: farther alſo to pray to almightie God & all Saintes, for corporall infirmitie, that we may be deliuered from the ſame: ſo that they may ſay the like for vs, whiche is ſayd in the Goſpell:* Send them away, becauſe they cry after vs. *And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleaged out of the holy Scripture, wherwith we might eaſely reſiſte this your errour: yet ſtandyng herewith content, as ſufficient at this preſent, we will procede now to your ſecond peſtiferous errour: wherin you, like an ingrate childe, go about to teare out the bowels of your mother. For in that you ſay and affirme blaſphemouſly, the Byſhop of Rome to be the very Antichriſt, and that his priuileges haue no force agaynſt the gates of hell: in ſo ſaying, what do you but like a moſt vnkind and vnnaturall childe, ſpoyle your louyng mother of all her treaſures, and wounde her being ſpoyled, and being wounded, plucke out her bowels moſt miſerablye vppon the earth. But for ſomuch as there is nothyng ſo abſurde or ſo hereticall, but ſhalbe receiued of ſome itchyng eares: I would therefore now heare you declare, how he ſitteth in the Temple of God, as God, being extolled and worſhipped aboue all that is named God, or how that hee ſheweth hym ſelfe as Lord in power and ſignes, and wonders deceitfull.*

Scylla and Charybdis, **be two daungerous rockes in the ſea.**

By this church ſtorye, he meaneth belyke, *Legēda aurea,* **otherwiſe called the legend of lyes.**

The Popes Letanie at Rome.

Scripture well applyed.

Whether the Pope be Antichriſt.

Bilney. *Although incredulitie doth not ſuffer you, notwithſtandyng your learnyng, to vnderſtande theſe thinges: yet I will goe about ſomething to helpe your incredulitie herein, through the helpe of the Lorde, beſechyng you, that ſettyng all ſuperſtition apart, you will vnderſtand thoſe thinges that are aboue. Do ye know the table of the .x. Commaundementes?*

Bruſierd. *Accordyng as the Catholicke Doctours do expounde them, I know them meanely. But how you do expound*

pound them, I can not tell.

Bilney. *And do you know alſo the conſtitutions of men, which are deuiſed onely by the dreames of men, whereunto men are ſo ſtraightly bound, that vnder payne of death they are compelled to obſerue them?*

Bruſierd. *I know certain Sanctions of the holy fathers, but ſuch as you ſpeake of to be deuiſed by mens dreames, I know none.*

Bilney. *Now then let vs ſet and compare theſe ij. together, and ſo ſhall you eaſely vnderſtand the Biſhop of Rome, whom they call the Pope, to ſit in the Tēple of God, as God, and to be extolled aboue all that is named God. It is writen,* The Temple of the Lord is holy, whiche is you. *Therfore the conſcience of man is the Temple of the holy Ghoſt: in whiche Temple I will proue the Pope to ſit as God, and to be exalted aboue all that is called God. For who ſo contemneth the decaloge or the Table of the Cōmaūdements of God, there is but a ſmall puniſhment for him, neyther is that puniſhment to death: but contrariwiſe, he that ſhall contemne or violate the conſtitutions which you call the ſanctions of men, is counted by all mens iudgement, giltie of death. What is this but the hye Biſhop of Rome to ſit and to raigne in the Temple of God, that is, in mans conſcience, as God?*

2. *Theſ.* 2.

1. *Cor.* 3.

The place of S. Paule expounded, concerning Antichriſt, ſitting in the temple of God, &c.

Bruſierd. *Although this expoſition ſemeth vnworthy for Chriſten eares, yet I would heare you further howe hee ſheweth him ſelfe in ſignes and wonders deceitfull.*

Bilney. *Theſe wonders (whiche they call miracles) bee wrought dayly in the Churche, not by the power of God, as many thinke, but by the illuſion of Sathan rather: Who (as the Scripture witneſſeth) hath bene loſe nowe abrode.* 500. *yeares, according as it is written in the booke of the Apocalyps:* After a thouſand yeares, Sathan ſhall bee let loſe. &c. *Neither are they to be called miracles of true chriſten men, but illuſions rather, wherby to delude mēs mindes, to make thē put their faith in our Lady, & in other Saints, and not in God alone: to whō be honor and glory for euer.*

Signes and miracles wrought by illuſion.

Apocal. 20.

Bruſierd. *But that I beleue & know that God and all hys Saintes will take euerlaſting reuengement vpon thee, I would ſurely with theſe nayles of myne, be thy death, for this horrible and enorme iniurie agaynſt the precious bloud of Chriſt. God ſayth,* I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that hee conuert and lyue: *And thou blaſphemeſt hym, as thoughe he ſhould lay priuy ſnares of death for vs ſecretly, that we ſhould not eſpye them. Which, if it were true, wee might well ſay then with* Hugh de S. Victore, *in this maner: If it be an * errour, it is of thee (O God) that we be deceaued, for theſe be confirmed with ſuch ſignes and wonders, whiche cannot bee done, but by thee. But I am aſſured, it is vntrue & hereticall: and therefore I will leaue this matter, and will talke with you concernyng the merites of Saintes. For once, I remember in a certein Sermon of yours, you ſayd, that no Saint, though his ſuffering were neuer ſo great, & his life moſt pure, deſerued any thyng for vs with God, either by his death or lyfe, whiche is contrary to Saint Auſten.*

We read of a lyke ſaying of an other Fryer Auguſtin of Antwerpe, teſtified by Eraſm. in his epiſtles: Who openly in the pulpit at Antwerpe, preaching to the people, wiſhed that Luther were there, that he myght bite out his throte with his teeth. So doing, hee woulde nothyng doubt, with the ſame blondy teeth to reſort to the aultar, and receaue the bodye of Chriſt. Eraſ. Epiſt. Lib. 16. ad Obtrectatorem.

*** God leadeth not into errour, but hath left his Scriptures, to lead vs into truth.**

Bilney. *Chriſt ſayth one thyng, Saint Auſten an other. Whether of theſe ij. ſhould we beleue? For Chriſt willyng to deliuer vs out of this darke dūgeon of ignorāce, gaue forth a certein parable of .x. virgins, of which, v. were fooles, and v. were wiſe. By the v. fooliſh virgins wantyng the oyle of good workes, he ment vs all ſinners. By the wiſe virgines he ment the company of all holy Saintes. Now let vs heare what the fiue wiſe virgines aunſwered to the v. fooliſh, crauyng oyle of them:* No ſay they, leſt peraduenture we haue not ſufficiēt for vs and for you. Get you rather to them that ſell, and bye of them to ſerue your turne. *Wherfore, if they had not oyle ſufficient for them ſelues, and alſo for the other, where be then the merites of Saintes, wherewith they cā deſerue both for them ſelues, and for vs? Certes I can not ſee.*

Math. 25.

Saintes haue not merites ſufficient for them ſelues, much leſſe to ſpare to others.

Bruſierd. *You wraſt the Scripture from the right vnderſtandyng, to a reprobate ſenſe, that I am ſcarſe able to holde mine eyes from teares, hearing with mine eares theſe wordes of you. Fare ye well.*

¶ *The ſubmiſſion of Maiſter Thomas Bilney.*

The fourth day of December, the Biſhop of London, with the other Biſhops his aſſiſtauntes, aſſembled agayne in the Chapter houſe of Weſtminſter, whether alſo M. Bilney was brought, & was exhorted and admoniſhed to abiure and recant: who aunſwered that he would ſtand to his conſciēce. Then the Biſhop of London with the other Byſhops, Ex officio did publiſhe the depoſitions of the witneſſes, with his Articles and aunſweres, commaundyng that they ſhould be read. That done, ẏ biſhop exhorted him agayn to deliberate with him ſelfe, whether he would returne to the Church, and renounce his opinions or no, and bad him to departe into a voyde place, & there to deliberate with him ſelfe. Whiche done, the Byſhop aſked hym agayn if he would returne. Who aunſwered: Fiat iuſticia & iudicium in nomine domini, and being diuers tymes admoniſhed to abiure, he would make no other aunſwere, but Fiat iuſticia. &c. And, hæc eſt dies quā fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea. Then the Byſhop, after deliberation had, puttyng of his cap, ſaid: In nomine patris & filij & ſpiritus ſancti, Amē. Exurgat Deus & diſsipentur inimici eius: and makyng a Croſſe on his forehead and his breſt, by the coūſell of the other Byſhops, he gaue ſentence agaynſt M. Bilney beyng there preſent in this maner.

I by the conſent and counſell of my brethren here preſent, do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney, who haſt bene accuſed of diuers Articles, to be conuict of hereſie, and for the reſt of the ſentence, we take deliberation till to morow.

The v. day of December the Byſhops aſſembled there agayne, before whom Bilney was brought: whō the Byſhop aſked if he would yet returne to the vnitie of the Church, and reuoke his hereſies whiche he had preached. Wherunto Bilney aūſwered, that he would not be a ſclaunder to the Goſpel, truſtyng that hée was not ſeparate from the Church, and that, if the multitude of witneſſes might be credited, he might haue. 30. men of honeſt lyfe on his part, agaynſt one to the contrary brought in agaynſt hym: which witneſſes the Byſhop ſayd came to late, for after publication, they could not be receiued by ẏ law. Then Bilney alleaging the ſtory of Suſan and Daniel, the Byſhop of London ſtill exhorted him to returne to ẏ vnitie of the Church and to abiure his hereſies, & permitted hym to go into ſome ſecrete place, there to conſulte with his frendes, till one of the clocke at after noone, of the ſame day.

At after noone, the Byſhop of London agayne aſked him whether he woulde returne to the Church and acknowledge his hereſies. Bilney aunſwered that he truſted hee was not ſeparate from the Church, and required tyme and place to bryng in witneſſes, whiche was refuſed. Thē the Byſhop once agayne required of him, whether hee would turne to the Catholicke Churche. Wherunto he aunſwered, that if they could teach and proue ſufficiently that he was conuict, he would yelde and ſubmit him ſelfe, and deſired agayne to haue tyme and ſpace to bryng in againe his refuſed witneſſes, and other aunſwere he would giue none.

Then the Byſhop put M. Bilney a ſide, & tooke counſell wͭ his felowes, & afterward callyng in M. Bilney, aſked him again whether he would abiure: but he would make no other aunſwere then before. Then ẏ Biſhop with ẏ conſent of ẏ reſt, did decrée & determine ẏ it was not lawfull to heare a peticion which was agaynſt the law: & enquiryng againe whether he would abiure, he aunſwered plainly no, and deſired to haue time to conſult with his frēdes in whom his truſt was: and beyng once agayne aſked whether he would returne and inſtantly deſired thereunto, or els the ſentence muſt bée read: he required the Byſhop to giue him licence to deliberate with him ſelfe vntill the next morow, whether he might abiure the hereſies wherewith hée was defamed, or no. The Byſhop graunted him, that hée ſhould haue a litle tyme to deliberate with M. Dancaſter: but Bilney required ſpace till the nexte morow to conſulte with M. Farmar and Maiſter Dancaſter. But the Byſhop woulde not graunt hym hys requeſt, for feare leſt he ſhould appeale. But at the laſt, the Byſhop enclinyng vnto him, graunted him two nightes reſpite to deliberate: that is to ſay, til Saterday at ix. of the clocke afore none, and then to geue a playne determinate aunſwere, what he would do in the premiſſes.

Dancaſter onfereth with Bilney.

The vij. day of December, in the yeare and place aforeſayd, the Biſhop of London, with ẏ other Biſhops beyng aſſẽbled, Bilney alſo perſonally appeared. Whõ the Byſhop of London aſked, whether hée would now returne to the vnitie of the Church, and reuoke the errours and hereſies wherof hée ſtode accuſed, detected, and conuicted. Who aunſwered that now he was perſuaded by Maiſter Dancaſter and other his frendes, he would ſubmit him ſelf, truſting ẏ they would deale gentillye with him, both in his abiuration, & penaũce. Thẽ he deſired ẏ he might read his abiuration: which ẏ Byſhop graunted. When he had read the ſame ſecretly by him ſelfe, & was returned, beyng demaunded what hée would do in the premiſſes, he aũſwered ẏ he would abiure and ſubmitte him ſelfe, and there openly read hys abiuration, and ſubſcribed it and deliuered it to the Byſhop, which then did abſolue hym: and for his penaũce enioyned him, ẏ he ſhould abyde in priſõ, appoynted by the Cardinall, till he were by him releaſed: and moreouer, the next day he ſhould go before the proceſſiõ, in the Cathedrall Churche of S. Paule, bare headed, with a Fagot on his ſhoulder, and ſhould ſtãd before the preacher at Paules Croſſe, all the Sermon tyme. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Bilney through [illegible] rather then by conuiction, recanteth.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

M. Bilney inioyned penaunce.

Here, for ſomuch as mention is made before, of v. letters or Epiſtles, whiche this good man wrote to Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London, and by the ſayd Byſhop deliuered vnto the Regiſters, we thought good to inſerte certeine thereof, ſuch as coulde come to our handes. The Copie of which letters, as they were written by hym in Latine, becauſe they are in the former Edition to bee ſene and read in the ſame Latine, wherein hée wrote them, it ſhall ſuffice in this booke to to expreſſe the ſame onely in Engliſhe: ſaue onely the firſt Epiſtle, becauſe it conteineth the whole ſtory of his conuerſion, and ſemeth more effectuall in the Latine, then in the Engliſhe, we therfore do exhibite the ſame both in Latine, and alſo in the Engliſhe, to ſatisfie as well the learned as the vnlearned. The Copye wherof here foloweth.

Reuerendo in Chriſto patri D. Cutb. Tonſtallo, Lond. Epiſcopo, T. Bilneus Salutem in Chriſto, cum omni ſubiectione tanto preſuli debitam.

HOc nomine, pater in Chriſto obſeruande, longe beatiorem me puto, quod ad tuæ Paternitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, ea vitæ integritate (quod omnes fatentur) vt ipſemet non poſſis (alioqui diuinarũ in te dotiũ eſtimator non admodũ magnificus) quoties tibi ſuccurrit, quanta tibi gratis fecerit deus, in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum in corde tacitus exclamare: Fecit mihi magna qui potens eſt, & ſanctum nomen eius. In talem nunc me iudicem incidiſſe gratulor, ac deo qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo. Et quanquam (teſtis eſt mihi deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus, erroris mihi conſcius ſum, nedum hæreſeos aut factionis (quod calumniantur quidã, queſtus ſui quàm animarum lucri auidiores) tamen ſupra modum lætor, diuina (haud dubiè) benignitate prouiſum eſſe, vt ob veritatis teſtimoniũ, ad Tunſtalli tribunal ſiſterer: qui, ſi quis alius, optimè nouit, nunquam defuturos Iannes ac Iambres, qui veritati reſiſtant: nunquã defuturos *Elymates, qui conentur ſubuertere vias domini rectas: denique nunquam defuturos Demetrios, *Pythoniſſas, Balaamos, *Nicolaitas, Caynos, Iſmaeles, qui omnes, cum quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Ieſu Chriſti, auidiſſimè ſectentur & quærant, qui fieri poteſt vt Chriſtum ſincerè ac ſimpliciter annunciatum perferant. Nam ſi populus ſemel in Chriſtũ pro ſe paſſum, ſolidè ac purè confidere occeperit, ruent mox in verè fidelium pectoribus, quæcũque hactenus pro Chriſto amplexi ſunt. Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Chriſtum eſſe, ſed regnum dei in ſemetipſis eſſe. Tunc intelligent patrem neque in monte Samariæ, neque Hieroſolymis adorandum eſſe, ſed in omni loco, in ſpiritu & veritate. Quod ſi fit, actum de lucris ſuis putabunt beſtiæ agri, quorum intereſt impleri illud Ezechielis 34. Diſperſæ ſunt oues meæ, eo quod non eſſet paſtor, & factæ ſunt in deuorationem omnium beſtiarum agri, & diſperſæ ſunt. Errauerunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, & in vniuerſo colle excelſo & ſuper omnem faciem terræ: diſperſi ſunt greges mei, & non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo ſi quis requirere velit, ac in caulas Chriſti, vnitatem dico fidei, errabundos reducere, mox inſurgunt nomine Paſtores, ſed reuera lupi, qui non aliud de grege, quàm lac, lanam, pellem, quærunt, animas cum ſuas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo. Inſurgunt inquam, ac Demetrij inſtar exclamant: Hic hereticus vbique ſuadet auertitq; multã turbam, dicens, quod non ſunt dij qui manibus fiunt.

Luke.1.

*Elymas magus. Act.13.

*Pithoniſſa. Act.16.

*Nicolaitæ. Apoc.2.

Ezech.34.

Pſeudopaſtores, veri Demetrij.

Hi ſunt, hi (pater colende) ſunt, qui ſub pretextu perſequendi Hereticos, ventris ſui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Chriſti. Qui quiduis potius ferre poſſunt, quàm puram Chriſti pro peccatis noſtris crucifixi, annunciationem. Hi ſunt quibus Chriſtus æternam minatur damnationẽ, cũ ait: Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſei, Hypocritæ, qui clauditis regnũ cœlorũ ante homines: vos enim non intratis, nec introeuntes ſinitis intrare. Hi ſunt qui, cũ ipſi aliunde aſcenderunt, alios intrare non ſinũt. Quod patet, quia ſi quis per me inquit Chriſtus introierit, ſaluabitur, & ingredietur & egredietur, & paſcua inueniet: & hi non inueniunt paſcua (nunquã enim docent) & alios poſt ſe trahũt, vt non per Chriſtũ, qui ſolus eſt oſtium per quod ad patrẽ peruenitur, ſed aliunde per opuſcula, quæ ouibus, tacito nonnunquam Chriſto, ſuadent, proponunt & iniungũt, ad ſuum potius queſtum, quã animarum ſalutem ſpectantes: hoc deteriores, quam illi qui ſuper Chriſtum fundamentum edificant, lignũ, fœnum, ſtipulam. Iſti fatentur ſe Chriſtum ſcire, ſed factis negant. Denique hi ſunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa annis duodecim ſanguinis profluuio vexata, omnia ſua conſumpſerat, nec adiumenti quicquam ſenſerat, ſed deterius ſe habebat, donec vix tandem ad Chriſtum venerat: quæ ſimulatq; fimbriam veſtimenti eius in fide tetigerat, ſic ſanabatur, vt ſtatim in corpore idipſum ſentiret. O mutationem dexteræ excelſi: quam & ego miſer peccator non ſemel ſenſi, qui tamen antea quàm ad Chriſtum venire potui, ſic omnia mea inſumpſeram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confeſſionum auditores, vt parum mihi virium (alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniæ, ingenij item parum. Indicebant enim mihi ieiunia, vigilias, indulgentiarum, ac miſſarum emptiones, in quibus omnibus (vt nunc intelligo) ſua potius quærebant, quàm ſalutem animæ meæ languentis.

Math.23.

Iohn.10.

1.Cor.3.

Luke.8.

Sed tandem de Ieſu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum nouum Teſtamentum primum ab Eraſmo æderetur. Quod cum ab eo latinius redditum accepi, latinitate potius quam verbo dei (quod tunc quidnã eſſet prorſus neſciebam) allectus, emebam, prouidentia (ſine dubio) diuina, vt nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (vt memini) lectione, in hanc (o mihi ſuauiſſimam Pauli ſententiam) 1. ad Timo. 1: Certus ſermo & dignus quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quòd Chriſtus Ieſus venit in mundũ vt peccatores ſaluos faceret, quorum primus ſum ego. Hæc vna ſententia, deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente, ſic exhilarauit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conſcientia ſaucium ac penè deſperabundum, vt mox viſus ſim mihi, neſcio quantam intus tranquillitatem ſentire, adeò quòd exultauerunt oſſa humiliata. Poſtea Scriptura cœpit mihi dulcior eſſe melle ac fauo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia ieiunia, omnes vigilias, omnes miſſarum & indulgentiarũ redemptiones, quæ ſine fiducia in Ieſum (qui ſolus ſaluum facit populum ſuum a peccatis ſuis) fierent: didici inquam, hæc omnia nihil aliud fuiſſe, quàm (quod ait Auguſtinus) celerem curſum extra viam: quàm perizomata illa ficulnea, quibus Adam & Eua verenda olim ſua fruſtrà tegere conati ſunt: nunquam prius tranquillati, quàm promiſſioni dei de Serpentis capite, per mulieris ſemen Chriſtũ, conterendo, credidiſſent: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac morſibus ſanari potui, quam a deo doctus eſſem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Chriſtus, Iohan. 3. Sicut Moyſes exaltauit Serpentẽ in deſerto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, vt omnis qui credit in illum, non pereat, ſed habeat vitam æternam.

1.Tim.1.

Diuina Bilnæi conuerſio.

Iohan.3.

Pſal.14.
1.Cor.1.
2.Cor.5.
Galat.2.
Math.9.
Rom.3.
Rom.3.
Iuſtitia dei.

Hanc tandem ſublimem lectionem, quam nullus docere poteſt niſi deus, qui hanc Petro reuelauit, vbi pro modulo gratiæ dei mihi datæ, guſtare cepi, rogaui dominum vt augeret mihi fidem, ac tandem nihil magis optaui, quam vt ſic reddita mihi lætitia ſalutaris ſui, ſpiritu me ſuo vtcunque confirmaret, vt virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquos vias eius, quæ ſunt miſericordia & veritas, vt impij ad ipſum per me olim impium, conuerterentur. Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blaſphematur in me(hæc eſt vnica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Chriſtus, quem pro virili doceo, factum nobis a deo patre, ſapientiam, iuſticiam ſanctificationem, redemptionem denique & ſatisfactionem. Qui factus eſt pro nobis peccatum, Id eſt, Hoſtia pro peccato, vt nos efficeremur iuſticia dei per illum. 2.Cor.5. Qui factus eſt pro nobis maledictum, vt nos a maledicto legis redimeret. Et qui non venit ad vocandum iuſtos, ſed peccatores ad penitentiam: iuſtos inquam, qui ſe ſanos putant & falſo putant (Omnes enim peccauerunt & egent gloria dei, qua gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Ieſu. Rom.3.) quia omne genus hamanū ſauciatum grauiſſime fuerat in eo, qui inter Hieruſalem & Hierico incidit in latrones. Ideo pro virili doceo, vt omnes primum peccata ſua agnoſcant ac damnent, deinde eſuriant ac ſitiant iuſtitiam illā de qua Paulus loquitur. Rom.3. Iuſtitia dei per fidē Ieſu Chriſti in omnes & ſuper omnes qui credunt in eum. Non eſt enim diſtinctio: omnes enim peccauerūt & egent gloria dei, iuſtificātur autem gratis per gratiam ipſius, per redemptionem que eſt in Chriſto Ieſu. Quam qui eſuriunt ac ſitiunt, haud dubie ſic aliquando ſaturabuntur, quod neque eſurient neque ſitient in eternum.

Iuſtitia hominū.
Deut.4.12.

Sed quoniam hanc eſuriem ac ſitim extinguere ſolet humanæ iuſticiæ ſaturitas, quam parat potiſſimum opuſculorum noſtrorum electiciorum fiducia, (qualia ſunt peregrinationes, veniarum redemptiones, cereorum oblationes, electa a nobis ieiunia, & interdum ſuperſticioſe, denique qualeſcunq; (vt vocant) voluntariæ deuotines, contra quæ loquitur Scriptura dei. Deut. 4.12. non facies quod tibi rectū videtur, ſed quod ego præcipio tibi, hoc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo inquam huiuſmodi opuſculorum mentionem nonnunquam facio: non ea(deum teſtor) vnquam damnans, ſed eorum abuſum reprehendens, legitimumq; vſum paruulis manifeſtū faciens, hortans, ne ſic his adhereant, vt his ſaturati(quod pleriq; faciunt) Chriſtum faſtidiant. In quo feliciter valeat Paternitas tua. Et hæc omnium ſumma. Si indixeris mihi vt ſingula dilatem, non recuſabo, modo tempus mihi conceſſeris. Nam ſtatim hoc facere non eſt harum, quoad corpus, virium: paratus ſemper, ſicubi lapſus fuero, meliora doceri.

Totus tuus T. Bilnæus.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſhe.*

¶ *To the reuerent father in Chriſt Cuthbert, Biſhop of* London, Thomas Bilney wiſheth health in Chriſt, with all ſubmiſſion due vnto ſuch a Prelate.

A letter of M. *Bilney, to Tonſtall* Byſhop of London.

Commendaon of *Tonſtalls* learnyng.

IN this behalfe(moſt reuerēt father in Chriſt)I thinke my ſelfe moſt happy, yͭ it is my chaunce to be called to examinatiō before your Reuerence, for yͭ you are of ſuch wiſedome and learnyng, of ſuch integritie of life(whiche all men do confeſſe to bee in you)that euen you your ſelfe can not chuſe(if ye do not to lightly eſteme Gods giftes in you)as often as you ſhall remember the great things whiche God hath done vnto you, but ſtraight wayes ſecretly in your hart, to his high praiſe, ſay: he that is mightie hath done great thynges vnto me, and holy is hys name. I reioyce that I haue now happened vpō ſuch a iudge, and with all my hart giue thankes vnto God, whiche ruleth all thinges.

Iannes & Iambres were two of Pharaos prieſts, which reſiſted Moyſes, but their names be not expreſſed in the 7. chap. of Exodus, but onely in 2. Tim.3.

God neuer buildeth a church, but the deuill hath ſome chappel by.

*Elymas magus. Act.13.

*Pithoniſſa. Act.16.

*Nicolaites of Nicolaus. Apoc.2.

Ezech.34.

And albeit(God is my witnes)I know not my ſelfe gilty of any errour in my Sermons, neither of any hereſie or ſedition, which diuers do ſclaunder me of, ſeekyng rather their owne luker & aduauntage, then the health of ſoules: notwithſtandyng I do excedyngly reioyce, that it is ſo foreſene by Gods diuine prouidence, that I ſhuld be brought before the tribunall ſeate of Tonſtall, who knoweth aſwell as any other, that there will neuer bee wantyng, Iannes and Iambres, whiche will reſiſte the truth: that there ſhall neuer be lackyng ſome *Elemates, which will go about to ſubuert the ſtraight wayes of the Lord: and finally that ſome Demetrius, *Pithoneſſe, Balaames, *Nicolaites, Cayns, and Iſmaels, will be alwayes at hand, whiche will gredely hunte & ſeke after that, which perteineth vnto them ſelues, and not that which perteineth to Ieſus Chriſt. How can it then bee, that they can ſuffer Chriſt to be truly and ſincerely preached? For if the people begyn once wholy in euery place, to put their cōfidence in Chriſt, whiche was for them crucified, then ſtraight wayes, that whiche they haue hetherto embraſed in ſtede of Chriſt, ſhall vtterly decaye in the hartes of the faithfull. Then they ſhall vnderſtand that Chriſt is not in this place or in that place, but the kyngdome of God to be in them ſelues. Then ſhall they plainly ſee that the father is not to be worſhipped, neither in the mounte of Samaria, neither at Hieruſalem, but in all places, in ſpirite & truth. Which thyng, if it come once to paſſe, the beaſtes of the fielde will thinke all their gayne and lucre loſt. In whom the ſaying of Ezechiel is fulfilled? My ſhepe are diſperſed becauſe they had no ſhepheard, and are deuoured of the beaſtes of the field, and ſtrayed abrod: my flocke hath erred and wandred in euery mounteine, and vpon euery hygh hill, and is diſperſed throughout all the earth, and there is no man whiche hath ſought to gather them together: no, there was no man whiche once ſought after them. But if any mā would ſeke to reduce thoſe whiche were gone aſtray, into the fold of Chriſt, that is, the vnity of faith: by and by, there ryſe vp certain agaynſt hym, which are named Paſtours, but in dede are wolues, whiche ſeke no other thyng of their flocke, but the milke, wolle, and felle, leauyng both their own ſoules, & the ſoules of theyr flocke, vnto the deuill.

Theſe men(I ſay)ryſe vp like vnto Demetrius, cryyng out, this hereticke diſuadeth and ſeduceth much people euery where, ſaying: that they are not Gods, which are made with handes. Theſe are they, theſe I ſay(moſt reuerent father)are they, whiche vnder the pretence of perſecutyng heretickes, folowe their owne licencious lyfe: enemyes vnto the croſſe of Chriſt, whiche can ſuffer and beare any thyng rather, then the ſincere preachyng of Chriſt crucified for our ſinnes. Theſe are they, vnto whō Chriſt threatneth eternall damnation, where hee ſayth: Wo be vnto you Scribes, Phariſeis, and hypocrites, whiche ſhut vp the kyngdome of heauen before men, and you your ſelues enter not in, neither ſuffer thoſe whiche would enter, to come in. Theſe are they whiche haue come in an other way, to the charge of ſoules, as it appeareth. For if any man (ſayth Chriſt) come in by me, hee ſhall bee ſaued, and ſhall come in and goe out, and finde paſture. Theſe men do not finde paſture(for they neuer teache) & drawe others after them, that they ſhould not enter by Chriſt, whiche alone is the doore, whereby we muſt come vnto the father: but ſet before the people an other way, perſuadyng them to come vnto God through good workes, oftentymes ſpeakyng nothyng at all of Chriſt, thereby ſekyng rather their owne gayne and lucre, then the ſaluation of ſoules: in this point beyng worſe then they which vpon Chriſt beyng the foūdation, do builde wood, haye, and ſtrawe. Theſe men confeſſe that they know Chriſt, but by their dedes, they deny hym.

1.Cor.3.

Theſe are thoſe Phiſitions, vpon whom that woman which was xij. yeares vexed with yͤ bloudy flixe, had cōſumed all yͭ ſhe had, & felt no helpe, but was ſtill worſe & worſe, vntill ſuch time as at yͤ laſt, ſhe came vnto Chriſt, and after ſhe had once touched the hemme of his veſture through fayth, ſhe was ſo healed that by and by, ſhe felte the ſame in her body. O mighty power of the mooſte hygheſt: whiche I alſo miſerable ſinner, haue often taſted & felt. Which before that I could come vnto Chriſt, had euen likewiſe ſpent all that I had vpon thoſe ignoraunt Phiſitions, that is to ſay, vnlearned hearers of cōfeſſion, ſo that there was but ſmall force of ſtrength left in me, (which of nature was but weake) ſmall ſtore of mony, & very litle witte or vnderſtādyng: for they appoynted me faſtynges, watchyng, byyng of pardons, and Maſſes: in all whiche thynges (as I now vnderſtand) they ſought rather their owne gayne, then the ſaluation of my ſicke and languiſhyng ſoule.

But at the laſt I heard ſpeake of Ieſus, euen then, when the new Teſtament was firſt ſet forth by Eraſmus. Which, when I vnderſtode to bee eloquently done by hym, beyng allured rather for the Latine, then for the word of God (for at that tyme, I knew not what it mēt)

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I bought it, euẽ by the prouidence of God, as I do now well vnderſtand and perceyue: And at the firſt readyng, as I remember, I chaunced vpon this ſentence of S. Paul (O moſt ſweete & comfortable ſentence to my ſoule) in his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy and firſt chapter: It is a true ſaying and worthy of all mẽ to be embraced, that Chriſt Ieſus came into the world to ſaue ſinners, of whom I am the chiefe & principall. This one ſentence, through Gods inſtruction, and inwarde workyng, whiche I did not then perceiue, did ſo exhilerate my hart, beyng before wounded with the gilte of my ſinnes, and beyng almoſt in diſpayre, that immediatly, I felt a meruelous comforte and quietnes, in ſo much, that my bruſed bones leapt for ioye.

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ſal.50.

After this, the Scripture began to be more pleaſaunt vnto me thẽ the hony or the hony combe: wherein I learned, that all my trauailes, all my faſtyng and watchyng, all the redemption of Maſſes and pardons, beyng done without truſt in Chriſt, whiche onely ſaueth his people frõ their ſinnes: theſe (I ſay) I learned to be nothing els but euẽ (as S. Auguſtin ſayth) a haſty & ſwift runnyng out of the right way, or els much lyke to yͤ veſture made of figge leaues, wherwithall Adam & Eue went about in vayne, to couer their priuities, and could neuer before obteyne quietnes and reſt, vntill they beleued in the promiſe of God, that Chriſt the ſeede of the woman, ſhould treade vpon the ſerpentes head: Neither could I be releued or eaſed of the ſharpe ſtinges and bytynges of my ſinnes, before that I was taught of God that leſſon, whiche Chriſt ſpeaketh of, in the thyrd chapter of Iohn: Euen as Moyſes exalted the ſerpent in the deſert, ſo ſhall the ſonne of man bee exalted, that all whiche beleue on hym ſhould not periſhe, but haue lyfe euerlaſtyng.

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ohn.3.

As ſoone as (according to the meaſure of grace geuen vnto me of God) I began to taſt & ſauour of this heauẽly leſſon, whiche no man can teache but onely God, whiche reueled the ſame vnto Peter: I deſired the Lord to encreaſe my fayth: and at laſt, I deſired nothing more, then that I beyng ſo comforted by hym, might be ſtrengthened by hys holy ſpirite and grace from aboue, that I might teache the wicked his wayes, whiche are mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be conuerted vnto him by me, whiche ſometyme was alſo wicked. Whiche thyng, whileſt that with all my power, I did endeuour before my Lord Cardinall and your fatherhoode, Chriſt was blaſphemed in me (and this is my onely comfort in theſe my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teache and ſet forth, being made for vs by God hys father, our wyſedome, righteouſnes, ſanctification, & redemption, and finally, our ſatiſfaction. Who was made ſinne for vs (that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for ſinne) that we through hym, ſhoulde bee made the righteouſnes of God. Who became accurſed for vs, to redeeme vs from the curſe of the lawe: Who alſo came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentaunce. The rightuous (I ſay) which falſely Iudge and thinke them ſelues ſo to bee (for all men haue ſinned, and lacke the glorye of God, wherby he freely forgeueth ſinnes vnto all beleuers, through the redemption whiche is in Chriſt Ieſu) becauſe that all mankynd was greuouſly wounded in hym, whiche fell amongeſt theeues betwene Hieruſalem and Ierico. And therfore, withall my whole power, I teache that all men ſhould firſte acknowledge their ſinnes and condempne them, and afterward hunger and thirſte for that rightuouſnes, wherof S. Paule ſpeaketh: The rightuouſnes of God by faith in Ieſu Chriſt, is vppon all them whiche beleue in him, for there is no difference: all haue ſinned, and lacke the glorie of God, and are iuſtified frely throughe hys grace, by the redemption whiche is in Ieſus Chriſt. The whiche, who ſoeuer doth hunger or thirſt for, without doubt, they ſhall at the lẽgth, ſo be ſatiſfied, that they ſhal not hunger and thyrſt for euer.

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nd truth.

Cor.1.

Cor.5.

al.2.

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om.3.

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But forſomuch as this hunger and thyrſt was wont to bee quenched with the fulnes of mans rightuouſnes, which is wrought through the fayth of our own electe & choſen woorkes, as pilgrimages, bying of pardons, offryng of candels, elect and choſen faſtes, and oftentymes ſuperſticious, and finally all kynde of voluntary deuotions (as they call them) agaynſt the whiche Gods worde ſpeaketh plainly in the fourth of Deut. and in the xij. ſaying: Thou ſhalte not do that whiche ſemeth good vnto thy ſelfe, but that whiche I commaunde thee for to do, that do thou, neither addyng to, neither diminiſhing any thyng from it: therefore (I ſay) oftentymes I haue ſpoken of thoſe workes, not condemnyng them (as God I take to my witnes) but reprouyng their abuſe, makyng the lawfull vſe of them manifeſt, euen vnto children, exhortyng all men, not ſo to cleaue vnto them, that they beyng ſatiſfied therewith, ſhould loth or waxe wery of Chriſt, as many do. In whom I byd your fatherhode moſt proſperouſly well to fare.

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eut.4.12

And this is the whole ſumme. If you will appointe me to dilate more at large the thynges here touched, I will not refuſe to do it, ſo that you will graunt me time: For to do it out of hand, I am not able for the weakenes of my body, beyng ready alwayes, if I haue erred in any thyng, to be better inſtructed.

¶ *An other letter or epiſtle of M. Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London.*

ALbeit I do not remember, reuerent father in Chriſt, whether I haue either ſpoken or written, that the Goſpell hath not bene ſyncerely preached now of long tyme, which your Lordſhip ſeemeth to haue gathered, either by ſome Moines and ſiniſter hearers of my Sermons (who lyke Malchus hauyng their ryght eare cut of, onely bring their left eare to ſermons) or els by ſome wordes or writinges of mine, which haue raſhely paſſed me, rather then vpon any euill entent: yet forſomuch as in thys behalfe, your Reuerence doth cõmaund me, and that of a good minde, I truſt (for how can I thinke in Tonſtall any craft or doublenes to dwell:) I will brieflye declare vnto you, what I haue learned of God through Chriſt, in the Scriptures, and how that the Doctours euen of great name and renoume, haue not taught the ſame of late in their ſermons, referring or rather ſubmitting all thynges vnto your fatherly iudgement, which is more quicke and ſharpe, then that it cã by any meanes be blinded, and ſo ſyncere, that it will not in any poynt ſeeke ſclaunder or diſcorde. Therfore I do confeſſe that I haue often bene afrayde, that Chriſt hath not bene purely preached now a long tyme. For who hath bene now a long ſeaſon offended through hym? who hath now thys many yeares, ſuffred any perſecution for the Goſpells ſake? where is the ſworde which he came to ſend vpon the earth? And finally, where are the reſt of the ſyncere and vncorrupt fruites of the Goſpell? which, becauſe we haue not a longe tyme ſeene, is it not to be feared, that the tree which bringeth forth thoſe fruites, hath now a long tyme, bene wanting in our region or countrey? much leſſe is it to be beleued, that it hath bene nouriſhed amongeſt vs. Haue we not ſeene all thinges quiet and peaceable a longe tyme? But what ſayth the Church? My griefe moſt bitter, is turned to peace. &c. But the malignant church ſayth: Peace, peace, and there is no peace: but onely that wherof it is written: When the mightye armed mã keepeth hys gates, he poſſeſſeth all things in quiet. But whẽ he ſeeth, that he ſhall be vãquiſhed of a ſtronger then he him ſelf is, he ſpoyleth & deſtroyeth all thinges. What now a dayes beginneth agayne to bee attempted, I dare not ſay. God graunt vs grace, that we do not refuſe and reiecte (if it be Chriſt) hym that commeth vnto vs, leſt that we doe feele that terrible iudgement agaynſt vs: becauſe (ſayth he) they haue not receaued the loue of truth, that they myght bee ſaued: therefore God will ſend vpon them the blindnes of errour, that they ſhall geue credite vnto lyes. O terrible ſentence (which God knoweth whether a great nũber haue not alreadye incurred) that all they myght be iudged, which haue not geuen credite vnto the truth, but conſented vnto iniquitie. The tyme ſhall come (ſayth he) when that they will not ſuffer the true doctrine to bee preached. And what ſhall we then ſaye of that learning, which hath now ſo longe tyme reigned and triumphed, ſo that no man hath once opened his mouth agaynſt it? Shall we thinke it ſound doctrine? Truely iniquitie did neuer more abound, nor charitie was neuer ſo colde. And what ſhould we ſay to be the cauſe therof? hath the cauſe ben for lacke of preaching agaynſt the vices of men, and exhorting to charitie? That can not bee, for many learned and great clarkes ſufficientlye can witnes to the contrarye. And yet all theſe notwithſtanding, we ſee the life and manners of men do greatly degenerate from true Chriſtianitie, and ſeeme to crye out in deede, that it is fulfilled in vs, which God in tymes paſte threatned by hys Prophet Amos, ſaying: Beholde, the day ſhall come (ſayth the Lorde) that I will ſend hunger vppon the earth, not hun-

An other letter of Maiſter *Bilney.*

Malchus hearing of Sermons.

Notes and differences betwene the true & falſe church.

Eſay. 38.
Iere. 6. 8.
Luke. 11.

2. *Theſ.* 2.

Notes and argumentes prouing, that it is not the true worde of God, which hath bene preached in the popes church.

Amos. 8.

ger of bread, neyther thyrſt of water, but of hearing the word of God, and the people ſhall be moued from ſea to ſea , and from the Weſt vnto the Eaſt, and ſhall runne about ſeekyng for the worde of God, but ſhall not finde it . In thoſe dayes the fayre virgins and younge mē ſhall peryſhe for thyrſt.&c. But now to paſſe ouer many thinges, wherby I am moued to feare, that the worde of God hath not bene purely preached, this is not ẏ leaſt argument, that they which come and are ſent , and endeuor them ſelues to preach Chriſt truely, are euill ſpoken of for hys name, which is the rocke of offence and ſtombling blocke vnto them which ſtomble vppon hys worde, and do not beleue on hym, on whom they are builded.

Thys letter may well confute the note of Doct. *Saunders* booke, intituled: The rocke of the church, fo.14.& nota 5.

But you will aſke who are thoſe men , and what is their doctrine ? Truely I ſay , whoſoeuer entreth in by the doore Chriſt, into the ſhepefolde: which thing all ſuch ſhall doe , as ſeeke nothyng els but the glory of God, and ſaluation of ſoules . Of all ſuch it may bee truely ſayd, that whom the Lord ſendeth, he ſpeaketh the worde of God. And why ſo? Becauſe he repreſenteth the Angell of the church of Philadelphia, vnto whom S. Iohn writeth, ſaying: Thys ſayth he, which is holy and true, which hath the keyes of Dauid , which openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth. Beholde, ſayth he (ſpeaking in the name of Chriſt, which is the doore & doore keeper) I haue ſet before thee an open doore , that is to ſay , of the Scriptures, opening thy ſenſes, ẏ thou ſhouldeſt vnderſtand the ſcriptures, & that, becauſe thou haſt entred in by me which am the doore : For whoſoeuer entreth in by me which am the doore, ſhall bee ſaued, he ſhall go in and come out , and finde paſture , for the doore keeper openeth the doore vnto hym , and the ſheepe heare hys voyce . But cōtrariwyſe, they which haue not entred in by the doore, but haue climed in ſome other way, by ambition , auarice, or deſire of rule , they ſhall, euen in a moment goe downe into hell, except they repent. And of them is the ſaying of Ieremie verified : All beautie is gone away from the daughter of Sion , becauſe her Princes are become lyke rammes , not findyng paſture. And why ſo ? Becauſe lyke theeues & robbers , they haue climed vp an other way, not being called nor ſent. And what maruaile is it, if they do not preach , when as they are not ſent , but runne for lucre , ſeeking their own glorye , and not the glorye of God, and ſaluation of ſoules? And this is the roote of all miſchiefe in the church , that they are not ſent inwardly of God. For without thys inward calling, it helpeth nothing before God to bee a hundreth tymes electe and conſecrate , by a thouſand Bulles, eyther by Pope, king, or Emperour . God beholdeth the hart , whoſe iudgementes are accordyng to truth , how ſoeuer we deceaue the iudgement of men for a tyme : which alſo at the laſt, ſhall ſee their abhomination. This (I ſay) is the originall of all miſchiefe in the Church, that we thruſt in our ſelues into the charge of ſoules, whoſe ſaluation, and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the doore) we do not thirſt, nor ſeeke for, but altogether our own lucre and profite.

Apoc.3.

Iohn.10.

Who entreth in by the doore, and who not.

Lament.1.

Outward calling by kinges and princes in Chriſtes miniſterie auayleth nothing wyth the inward calling of God.

Hereupon it commeth , that we knowe not how to preach Chriſt purely : For how ſhoulde they preach Chriſt (ſayth the Apoſtle) except they be ſent ? for otherwyſe many theeues and robbers do preach hym , but with their lippes onely, for their hart is farre from hym . Neither yet doe we ſuffer thoſe which doe knowe how to preach, but perſecute them, and goe about to oppreſſe the Scriptures now ſpringing , vnder the pretence of godlines, fearing (as I ſuppoſe) leaſt the Romaines ſhould come and take our place . Ah thou wicked enemye Herode, why art thou afrayde that Chriſt ſhoulde come ? he taketh not awaye mortall and earthly kyngdomes , which geueth heauenly kyngdomes . O blindnes , O our great blindnes, yea more then that of Ægypt ? of the which if there be any that would admoniſhe the people, by and by ſayth Pharao: Moyſes and Aaron, why doe ye cauſe the people to ceaſe from theyr labours ? and truely called their labours. Get you to your burdens: Lay more worke vpon them , and cauſe them to do it , that they harken not vnto lyes . Thus the people was diſperſed throughout all the land of Ægypt, to gather vp chaffe : I ſay to gather vp chaffe. Who ſhall graunt vnto vs that God ſhall ſay : I haue looked downe, and beholden the affliction of my people, which is in Ægypt, and haue heard their ſighes, and am come downe to deliuer them. But whether hath thys zeale caryed me ? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not ſay : it pertyneth to you, reuerent father , to iudge therupon.

The roote of all miſchiefe in the church.

Ex Prudētio.

Lay this letter agaynſt Doct. *Saunders* boke aforeſaid.

Exod.5.

The perſecutors of our tyme cōpared to *Pharao.*

Now you doe looke that I ſhould ſhewe vnto you at large (as you write) how that they ought ſyncerely to preach , to the better edifying hereafter, of your flocke. Here I confeſſe, I was afraide, that you had ſpoken in ſome deriſion, vntill that I well perceaued, that you had written it with your owne hand . Then agayne, I beganne to doubt for what intent Tonſtall ſhoulde require that of Bilney : an olde ſouldiour, of a younge beginner: the chiefe Paſtor of London, of a poore ſillie ſheepe. But for what entent ſo euer you dyd it, I truſt it was of a good minde. And albeit that I am weake of bodye, yet through the grace of Chriſt geuen vnto me , I will attempt thys matter , although it doe farre paſſe my power: vnder the which burden, if I bee oppreſſed, yet I will not deceaue you, for that I haue promiſed nothing, but a prompt and ready will to do that which you haue commaunded.

As touching that pertyneth to the preaching of the Goſpell, I would to God you would geue me leaue priuately to talke with you, that I might ſpeake freely, that which I haue learned in the holy Scriptures , for the conſolatiō of my cōſcience: which if you will ſo do, I truſt you ſhall not repent you. All thinges ſhall be ſubmitted vnto your iudgement : who (except I be vtterly deceaued) will not breake the reede that is bruſed , and put out the flaxe that is ſmokyng , but rather , if I ſhall bee founde in any errour (as in deede I am a man) you as ſpirituall, ſhall reſtore me through the ſpirite of gentlenes , conſidering your ſelfe , leſt that you alſo bee tempted : For euery Byſhop which is taken from among men , is ordayned for men , not violentlye to aſſault thoſe which are ignoraunt and doe erre, for he hym ſelfe is compaſſed in with infirmitie , that he being not voyde of euills, ſhoulde learne to haue compaſſion vppon other miſerable people.

Eſa.4

Heb.5.

I deſire you that you will remember me to morowe, that by your ayde , I may bee brought before the tribunall ſeate of my Lord Cardinall, before whom I had rather ſtand, then before any of hys deputies.

¶ Yours Thomas Bilney.

¶ *A letter of M. Bilney fruitfull and neceſſary* for all Miniſters to read.

MOſt reuerent father, ſalutations in Chriſt. You haue required me to write vnto you at large, wherein mē haue not preached as they ought , and how they ſhould haue preached better. This is a burden to heauye for my ſtrength : vnder the which if I ſhall fainte, it belongeth to you, whiche haue layde this burden vpon my ſhoulders, to eaſe me therof . As touchyng the firſt part, they haue not preached as they ought , whiche leauyng the worde of God, haue taught their owne traditions: of the whiche ſorte there are not a few, as it is very euident , in that they do reporte thoſe which preach the word of God ſincerely, to teache new doctrine . This alſo is no ſmall teſtimonie therof , that in all England you ſhall ſcarſe finde one or two that are mightie in the Scriptures, and what meruayle is it if all godly things do ſeme new vnto them, vnto whom the Goſpell is new & ſtraunge, beyng nouſled in mens traditiōs now a long time? would to God theſe thinges were not true, which I vtter vnto you: but alas, they are to true.

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They alſo haue preached euill, which either haue wraſted ẏ Scriptures thē ſelues, or haue raſhly gathered thē out of old rotten papers, beyng wraſted by others . And how ſhould it be but ẏ they ſhould wraſte thē, or els how ſhould they iudge thē being falſlye interpreted by others, whē as they haue not once read ouer the Bible orderly? Of this ſorte there is truly a very great nōber, frō which nūber many great Rabines or Maſters ſhall hardly excuſe them ſelues, whom the people hetherto haue reuerēced in ſtead of gods. And theſe are they which now ſerue their bellyes, ſekyng their owne glory , and not the true glory of God, which might be ſet forth euen by Balaams Aſſe : much leſſe thē ought we to contemne ſuch abiectes whiche preache the woorde of God . We haue (ſayth S. Paul) this treaſure in brickell veſſelles, that the glory of the power might be of God and not of vs . God hath choſen the foliſhe thinges of the world, to confound the wiſe : and the weake thinges God hath choſen, to cōfound the mighty: and vile thinges of the worlde & diſpiſed , hath he choſen, and thinges that are not, to bryng to nought things that are , that no fleſhe

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no fleſhe ſhould glory in his ſight. But now all men, in a maner, will be wiſe, and therfore they are aſhamed of the ſimple Goſpel, they are aſhamed truly to ſay with Paul, and to performe it in deede: I brethren, when I came vnto you, dyd not come with excellencie of woordes, or of wyſedome, preachyng the teſtimonye of Chriſt, for I eſteemed not my ſelfe to know any thyng amongſt you, but onely Ieſus Chriſt, and hym crucified. O voyce of a true Euangeliſte! But now we are aſhamed of this fooliſhe preaching, by the whiche it hath pleaſed God, to ſaue all thoſe whiche beleue in hym, and beyng puffed vp with our own fleſhlye minde, chuſe rather, proudlye to walke in thoſe thinges which we haue not ſeene, preachyng fables and lyes, and not the lawe of God, which is vndefiled, conuerting ſoules.

Cor.2.

ſal. 18.

But how ſhould they teache the law of God, which they haue not once read in the bookes, much leſſe learned at the mouth of God? But in a Paſtor and a Byſhop, this is required: Thou ſonne of man (ſayth God) lay vp in thy hart, all my wordes, whiche I do ſpeake vnto thee. &c. And ſhortlye after he ſayth: Thou ſonne of man, I haue ordeined and geuen thee a watchman vnto the houſe of Iſraell. I haue geuen thee, ſayth hee: not comming in by ambition, nor thruſtyng in thy ſelfe, nor climyng in an other waye, but I gaue thee, when thou lookedſt not for it, that thou ſhouldeſt attende therupon and geue warnyng from the toppe of the watch Tower, if any enemyes ſhoulde approche. I haue geuen thee vnto the houſe of Iſraell, and not the houſe of Iſraell vnto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt acknowledge thy ſelfe to bee the ſeruaunt of the ſhepe, & not their Lord, for I haue not geuē the ſhepe for the ſhepheard, but the ſhepheard for the ſhepe. He that ſitteth downe is greater then he that doth miniſter and ſerue vnto him. Which thyng was well knowen of hym, whiche truly ſayd: We are your ſeruaūtes for Chriſtes cauſe.

gnorance the lawe God in relates, ced.

zech.3.

Eſa.4

Heb.5

But for what purpoſe haue I geuen thee vnto the houſe of Iſraell? That thou ſhouldeſt onely miniſter the Sacramentes, conſecrate woode, ſtones, and churchyardes? (this, I take God to witnes) with great ſighes and grones I write vnto you, pouryng out before you ẏ griefe of my hart.) No truly. What then? Firſt foloweth the office of the Byſhop. Thou ſhalt here the worde out of my mouth. This is but a ſhort leſſon, but ſuch, as all the world cannot comprehende, without they be inwardly taught of God. And what els meaneth this, out of my mouth thou ſhalt heare the word, but ẏ thou ſhalt be taught of God. Therfore as many as are not taught of God, although they be neuer ſo well exerciſed in the Scriptures by mans helpe, yet are they not watch men geuen by God, & much leſſe they which doe not vnderſtand and know the Scriptures. And therfore ſuch as theſe be, leſt they ſhould kepe ſilence and ſay nothing, are alwayes harpyng vpon the traditions & doctrines of mē, that is, lyes: for he ẏ ſpeaketh of him ſelf, ſpeaketh lyes. Of theſe it is written: They would be doctours of the law, not vnderſtāding what they ſpeake, neither of whō they ſpeake. Such, of neceſſitie, they muſt all bee, who ſpeake that with their mouth, whiche they do not beleue becauſe they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are perſuaded in their hartes, that it is true: and therfore they are not to be accompted as ſhepe, although they boaſt them ſelues to be ſhepheardes. But contrariwiſe, touchyng the true and learned Paſtors geuen by God, it may bee truly ſayd: we ſpeake that which we know, and that which we haue ſeene (euen with the vnfallible eyes of our faith) we doe witnes: and theſe are neither deceiued, neither do deceiue. Moreouer, ẏ deceiuers procede to worſe & worſe, erryng them ſelues, and bringyng others alſo to errour, and becauſe they are of the worlde, the worlde doth willingly heare them. They are of the world (ſayth S. Iohn) and therefore they ſpeake thoſe thynges whiche are of the world, and the world geueth eare vnto them.

Tim.1.

ohn.1.

ohn.4.

Behold reuerent father, this is the touchſtone of our dayly preachyng. Hath not the worlde geuen eare vnto them now a long tyme, with great pleaſure and delite? But the fleſhe coulde neuer ſuffer the preachyng of the croſſe, nor yet the wiſedome of the fleſhe, whiche is enemy vnto God, neither is ſubiect vnto his law, nor cannot be. And why thē are they accuſed to be heretickes and Schiſmatickes, whiche will not ſeke to pleaſe men, but onely to their edifiyng: beyng mindefull of that place of Scripture: God hath diſperſed the bones of them, which pleaſe men, ſaying vnto them, ſpeake vnto vs pleaſaunt thinges. But now lettyng theſe matters paſſe we will come vnto the ſecond poynt, wherin you aſke how a mā ſhould preach better? Forſoth, if we had heard him, of whom the father ſpake ſaying: This is my dearly beloued ſonne in whom I am wel pleaſed, heare him. Who alſo ſpeakyng of him ſelfe, ſayd: It was meete that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer and riſe agayne the third day from death, and that in hys name repentaūce and remiſſion of ſinnes ſhould be preached vnto all people. What other thyng is that, then the ſame whiche the other Euangeliſtes do write: Go ye into the whole world, and preache the Goſpell vnto euery creature: he that beleueth and is Baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued. What can bee more pleaſaunt, ſweete, or acceptable vnto afflicted conſciences beyng almoſt in diſpayre, then this moſt ioyfull tydynges?

1.Cor.

An informatiō to preachers, to preach rightlye.

Math.28.

But here, whether Chriſt haue ben a long time heard, I know not, for that I haue not heard all the preachers of England, and if I had heard thē, yet till it was within this yeare or two, I could not ſufficiently iudge of thē. But this I dare be bold to affirme, ẏ as many as I haue heard of late preach (I ſpeake euē of ẏ moſt famous) they haue preached ſuch repentaūce, that if I had heard ſuch preachers of repentaunce in tymes paſt, I ſhould vtterly haue bene in deſpayre. And to ſpeake of one of thoſe famous men (not vttering his name) after he had ſharpely inueyed agaynſt vyce, (wherein hee pleaſed euery godly man, for ſomuch as it coulde not bee ſufficientlye cryed out vpon) he concluded: beholde (ſayd he) thou haſte lyen rottyng in thyne owne luſtes, by the ſpace of theſe lx. yeares, euen as a beaſt in his owne dunge, and wilt thou preſume in one yeare, to goe forward toward heauen, & that in thyne age, aſmuch as thou wenteſt backwardes from heauen towardes hell in lx. yeres? Is not thys think you a goodly argumēt? Is this ẏ preaching of repentaunce in the name of Ieſus? or rather to tread down Chriſt with Antichriſtes doctrine? for what other thyng did he ſpeake in effect, then that Chriſt dyed in vayne for thee? He will not be thy Ieſus or Sauiour, thou muſt make ſatiſfaction for thy ſelfe, or els thou ſhall periſhe eternally. Then doth S. Iohn lye whiche ſayth: Behold the Lambe of God whiche taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And in an other place: His bloud hath cleanſed vs from all our ſinnes. And agayne: He is the propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole world: Beſide an infinite nomber of other places. What other thyng is this, then that whiche was ſpoken by the holy Ghoſt, by the mouth of Peter, ſaying: There ſhall be falſe teachers that ſhall denye the Lord Ieſus, whiche hath redemed them. And what foloweth vppon ſuch doctrine of deuils ſpeakyng lyes through hypocriſie? a cōſcience diſpayring & without all hope, & ſo geuē ouer vnto all wicked luſtes, according to the ſaying of S. Paul: After that they become to this point that they ſorow no more, they geue them ſelues ouer vnto wantonnes, to cōmit all kinde of filthines, euen with a gredie deſire: For ſeyng ẏ it is impoſſible for thē to make ſatiſfactiō to God, eyther they murmure agaynſt God, or els they do not beleue hym to be ſo cruell as they do preach, & declare him to be. The lacke of paper wil not ſuffer me to write any more, & I had rather to ſpeake it in priuate talke vnto your ſelf. Wherunto if you would admitte me, I truſt you ſhould not repent you therof: and vnto me (Chriſt I take to my witnes) it would bee a great cōfort: in whō I wiſh you wt all your flocke, hartely wel to fare.

Your priſoner and humble beadman
vnto God for you, Thomas Bilney.

The preaching after the popes church is all to beate down, and not to lifte vp.

By thys one you may ſee what all the reſt are.

Marke the maner of the common preaching of the Papiſtes.

1.Iohn.1.

The effecte and end of the popes doctrine.

Thus haue you the letters, the abiuration, and Articles of Tho. Bilney. After whiche abiuration, made about the yeare of our Lorde. 1529. the ſayd Bilney toke ſuch repentaūce and ſorow, that he was nere the poynt of vtter diſpayre: as by the wordes of M. Latimer is credibly teſtified, whoſe woordes for my better diſcharge, I thought here to annexe, written in hys ſeuenth Sermon preached before kyng Edward, whiche be theſe: *I knewe a man my ſelfe, Bilney, litle Bilney, that bleſſed Martyr of God, who what tyme hee had borne his fagot, & was come agayne to Cābridge, had ſuch conflictes within him ſelfe (beholdyng this Image of death) that his frendes were afrayde to let him be alone. They were fayne to be with him day and night, and comforte him, as they could: but no comfortes would ſerue. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bryng them vnto hym, it was, as*

Bilney caſt downe with repentaunce.

Ex Latim. Sermon.7.

though a man would runne him through the hart with a ſword. Yet for all this, he was reuiued and tooke his death paciently, and dyed well againſt the tyrannicall Sea of Rome. Hæc Latim. Serm. 7.

Agayne, the ſayd M. Latimer ſpeakyng of Bilney in an other of hys Sermons pꝛeached in Lincolneſhyꝛe, hath theſe woꝛdes folowing : *That ſame M. Bilney, which was burnte here in England for Gods wordes ſake, was induced and perſuaded by his frendes to beare a Fagot, at the tyme, when the Cardinall was a loft, and bare the ſwynge. Now when that ſame Bilney came to Cambridge agayn, a whole yeare after, he was in ſuch an anguiſh and agonye, that nothyng did him good, neither eatyng nor drinking, nor any other communication of Gods worde: for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were agaynſt him, and ſounded to his cōdemnation: So that I many a time cōmoned with hym (for I was familiarely acquaynted with him) but all thynges, what ſoeuer any man could alleage to his comfort, ſemed vnto him, to make againſt him. Yet for all that, afterwardes he came agayne : God indued him with ſuch ſtrength & perfectnes of faith, that he not only cōfeſſed his faith, the Goſpell of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, but alſo ſuffred his body to be burned for that ſame goſpels ſake, whiche we now preach in Englād. &c.* Hæc ille, Serm. 8. fo. 132.

Furthermoꝛe, in the firſt Sermon of the ſaid M. Latimer befoꝛe the Duches of Suffolke. fol. 5. he yet ſpeakyng moꝛe of Bilney, inferreth, as foloweth : *Here I haue* (ſayth he) *occaſion to tell you a ſtory, whiche happened at Cambridge. M. Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that ſuffered death for Gods woordes ſake, the ſame Bilney was the inſtrument wherby God called me to knowledge. For I may thanke him next to God, for that knowledge, that I haue in the worde of God. For I was an obſtinate Papiſte, as any was in England : inſomuch that when I ſhould be made Baccheler of Diuinitie, my whole Oration went agaynſt Philip Melanchton, and agaynſt his opinions. Bilney heard me at that tyme, and perceaued that I was zelous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my ſtudie, and deſired me for Gods ſake to heare his confeſſion. I did ſo: and (to ſay the truth) by his cōfeſſion I learned more, then afore in many yeares. So from that tyme forward I began to ſmell the word of God, & forſake the ſcholdoctors, & ſuch fooleries. &c.* And much moꝛe he hath of ẏ ſame matter, which ye may ſee hereafter, in ẏ life of M. Latimer.

Latimer called, and conuerted by *Bilney*.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good mā was pearced with ſoꝛow ⁊ remoꝛſe foꝛ his abiuratiō, ẏ ſpace almoſt, of ij. yeres, that is, frō ẏ yere. 1529. to the yere. 1531. It folowed then ẏ he by Gods grace, ⁊ good counſaile, came at length to ſome quyet of conſcience, beyng fully reſolued to giue ouer his life foꝛ the confeſſion of that truth, which befoꝛe he had renounced. And thus beyng fully determined in his minde, and ſettyng his tyme, he tooke his leaue in Trinitie Hall, at x. of the clocke at night, of certeine of his frendes, ⁊ ſayd that he would go to Hieruſalem, alludyng, belike, to ẏ woꝛds and example of Chꝛiſt, in the Goſpell, goyng vp to Hieruſalem, what tyme hee was appoynted to ſuffer his Paſſion. And ſo Bilney meanyng to giue ouer his lyfe foꝛ the teſtimonie of Chꝛiſtes Goſpell, told his frendes that he would go vp to Hieruſalem, and ſo would ſee them no moꝛe, and immediatly departed to Noꝛthfolk, and there pꝛeached firſt pꝛiuely in houſholdes to confirme the bꝛethꝛen and ſiſterne, and alſo to cōfirme the Anchꝛes, whom hee had conuerted to Chꝛiſt. Thē pꝛeached he openly in the fieldes, confeſſyng his facte, and pꝛeachyng publikely that doctrine, whiche befoꝛe hee had abiured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, ⁊ neuer to truſt to their fleſhly frendes in cauſes of religion. And ſo ſettyng foꝛward in hys ioꝛney toward ẏ celeſtiall Hieruſalem, he departed from thence to ẏ Anchꝛes in Noꝛwich, and there gaue her a new Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation, and the obedience of a Chꝛiſtian man, wherupon he was appꝛehended and caryed to pꝛiſon, there to remayne, till the blind Byſhop Nixe ſent vp foꝛ a wꝛitte to burne him.

Bilney returneth agayne from hys abiuration.

Nā facies eius erat euntis Hieroſolymā.

Bilney going vp to Hieruſalem.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Fryers and religious mē, with the reſidue of theyꝛ Doctours, Ciuill and Canon, reſoꝛted to hym, buſilie labouring to perſwade him not to dye in thoſe opinions, ſaying : he ſhoulde bee damned bodye and ſoule, if he ſo continued. Among whom, firſt were ſent to hym of the Byſhop, Doct. Call miniſter (as they call hym) oꝛ Pꝛouinciall of the graye Fryers : and Doct. Stokes an Anguſtine Fryer, who laye with hym in pꝛiſon in diſputation, till the wꝛitte came that he ſhoulde be burned. Doctor Call, by the woꝛde of God, thꝛough the meanes of Bilneys doctrine, and good lyfe, wherof he had good experience, was ſomewhat reclamed to the Goſpells ſide. Doctor Stokes, remayned obdurate, and doth yet to thys day, whoſe hart alſo the Loꝛd, if it be hys will, refoꝛme, and open the eyes of hys olde age, that he may foꝛſake the foꝛmer blindnes of hys youth. An other great doer agaynſt hym, was one Fryer Byrde, with one eye, Pꝛouinciall of the white Fryers. Thys Byrde was a Suffragane in Couentrie, and after, Byſhop of Cheſter, and was he that bꝛought apples to Boner, mentioned in the ſtoꝛye of Haukes. An other was a blacke Fryer, called Hodgekyns, who after, being vnder the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, maried, and afterward, in Queene Maryes tyme, put away hys wife. Theſe iiij. oꝛders of Friers were ſent (as is ſaid) to baite Bilney: who notwithſtandyng, as hee had planted hym ſelfe vpon the firme rocke of Gods woꝛde, was at a point, and ſo continued vnto the end.

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But here now cōmeth in Syꝛ Thomas More trumpyng in our way, with hys paynted carde, and would needes take vp thys Tho. Bilney frō vs, ⁊ make hym a cōuert after his ſect. Thus theſe coated cardes, though they could not by playne ſcriptures conuince hym beyng aliue, yet now after his death, by falſe play they will make him theirs, whether he wil oꝛ no. This Syꝛ Tho. More in his railing pꝛeface befoꝛe his booke againſt Tyndall, doth chalēge Bilney to his catholicke church, ⁊ ſayth, that he, not only at the fyꝛe, but many daies befoꝛe, both in woꝛdes and wꝛyting, reuoked, abhoꝛred, and deteſted hys hereſies befoꝛe holden. And how is this pꝛoued? By iij. oꝛ iiij. mightie arguments, as bigge as milpoſtes, fet out of *Vtopia, frō whēce, thou muſt know reader, cā come no fyttons, but all fine Poetrie.

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of Syr
Thoma
More.

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one of
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Fyꝛſt, he ſayth, that certayne Noꝛwich men wꝛiting to London, and denying that Bilney did recante, afterward, being therupon examined, were compelled to graunt, that he at hys examination, redde a bill, but what it was, they coulde not tell, foꝛ they ſtoode not ſo neare, to heare hym. And albeit they ſtoode not ſo neare, yet ſome of them perceaued certayne thynges there ſpoken, wherby they thought that he dyd reuoke. Some agayne added to thoſe thynges ſpoken, certayne additions of theyꝛ owne, to excuſe him frō recantation.

Aunſw
to Syr
Thoma
More.

Firſt to aūſwere hereunto, and to trye out this matter ſomewhat roundly with M. More, let vs ſee with what conueyance hee pꝛocedeth in this narration. *At his firſt examination* (ſayth he) *he waxed ſtiffe in his opinions, but yet God was ſo good Lord vnto him, that he was fully conuerted to the true Catholicke faith. &c.* And when might this goodly conuerſiō begyn? *Many dayes* (quoth he) *before his burnyng.* Here is no certeine day aſſigned, but many dayes left at large, that he might haue the larger rowme, to walke inuiſible. Wel then, but how many dayes could theſe bee, I would fayne learne of M. More, when hee was not many dayes in their handes, no longer then they coulde ſend vp to London foꝛ a wꝛitte to burne him? Belike thē ſhoꝛtly after his appꝛehenſion, at the firſt commyng of the Friers vnto hym, by and by he reuolted. A ſtraunge matter, that he which ij. yeares befoꝛe had layne in ſuch a burning hell of deſpayꝛe, foꝛ his firſt abiuration, and could finde no other

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comforte, but onely in returnyng to ÿ ſame doctrine agayne whiche before he had renyed, vtterly reſignyng him ſelfe ouer to death, and takyng his leaue of hys frendes, and ſettyng his face with Chriſt, purpoſely to go to Hieruſalē, voluntarily there to fall into ÿ handes of the Scribes and Phariſeis for that doctrines ſake, ſhould nowe ſo ſoone, euen at the firſt brunt, giue ouer to the contrary doctrine agayne. It is not like. *God was ſo good Lorde vnto hym*, ſayth M. More. That God was good Lorde vnto hym, very true it is. But that God did ſo turne him in deede, to bee a member of the Romiſhe Church, that hath not M. More yet ſufficientlye proued. To affyrme without prouſe or demonſtration, in matters of ſtorye, it is not ſufficient. But what hath bene done in deede, that muſt be proued by good euidence and ſpeciall demonſtratiō of witneſſes, that we may certainly knowe it ſo to be.

Fryer
Byrde
buſie
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e firſt
on of
More.

Fryer
Hodgk
a blacke
Fryer,
agaynſt
Bilney.

It followeth moreouer in M. More. *And there lacked not ſome* (ſayth hee) *that were very ſory for it.* No doubt, but if Bilney had ſo relented, ſome woulde haue bene verye ſorye therfore. But what one man in all this ſumme, in all Norwich was ſory, that M. More muſt ſpecifie vnto vs, before we beleue him: ſo well are we acquainted with hys Poeticall fictions. But how els ſhould this narration of M. More ſeme to runne with probabilitie, if it were not watered with ſuch additions? He addeth moreouer, & ſayth: *And ſome wrote out of Norwich to London that he had not reuoked his hereſies at all, but ſtill did abyde in them.* This ſoundeth rather to come more nere to a truth. And here is a knacke of Sinons arte, to enterlard a tale of vntruth with ſome parcell of truth now and then among, that ſome thynges beyng found true, may wynne credite to the reſt, whiche is vtterly falſe. And why then be not the letters of theſe Norwich men beleued, for the not recanting of Bilney? *Becauſe* (ſayth he) *afterward they beyng called to examinatiō, it was there proued plainely to their faces, that Bilney reuoked.* By whō was it proued? *By thoſe* (ſayth hee) *whiche at his execution ſtode by, and heard him read his reuocation him ſelfe. &c.* What mē were theſe? or what were their names? or what was any one mans name in all the Citie of Norwich, ÿ heard Bilney recāte? There M. More will giue vs leaue to ſeke thē out if we can, for he cā name vs none. Well, & why could not ÿ other part heare Bilney read his reuocatiō, as well as theſe? Becauſe (ſayth More) he read it ſo ſoftely, ÿ they could not heare him.

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Anſw
to Sy
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Well, all thys admitted, that Bilney read his reuocation ſo ſoftelye, that ſome coulde heare, ſome could not heare him, then this woulde bee knowen, what was the cauſe why Bilney read hys reuocatiō ſo ſoftly? which muſt nedes be either for lacke of good wil to read, or good voice to vtter. If good wil were abſent in reading that reuocatiō, then it appeareth ÿ he recanted agaynſt his owne minde and conſcience. If it were by imbecillitie of voyce and vtterance, then how foloweth it M. More in this your narratiō, where you ſay, that the ſayd perſons, *whiche could not heare hym read the bill, yet notwithſtandyng coulde heare him rehearſe certayne other thinges ſpoken by him the ſame time at the fire, wherby they coulde not but perceiue well, that he reuoked his errours. &c.* Ah M. More, for all your ponder of experience, do ye thinke to caſt ſuch a myſte before mens eyes, that we can not ſee how you iugle with truth, and take you tardye in your owne narration? vnleſſe peraduenture you will excuſe your ſelfe, per licentiam Poeticam, after ÿ priuiledge of Poetes and paynters, for as ye know the olde libertie of theſe two: Pictoribus atq; Poetis,

Quælibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.

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Now if this vayne of yours, whiche ſo extremely rayleth and fareth agaynſt the poore Martyrs and ſeruauntes of Chriſt, be ſo copious, that you dare take in hand any falſe matter to proue, and to make men beleue, that Bilney dyed a Papiſt, yet the maner of handlyng hereof would haue required ſome more artificiall conueiance: Mēdacem enim (vt ſcis) memorem eſſe oportet: that men, although they ſee the matter to bee falſe, yet might commende the workemanſhyp of the handler, which (to ſay the truth) neither hangeth with it ſelf, nor beareth any ſemblance of any truth. But becauſe M. More is gone and dead, I will ceaſe any farther to inſulte vpon him, leſt I may ſeme to incurre the ſame vice of his, in mordendo mortuos. Yet for ſo much as his bookes be not yet dead, but remaine alyue to the hurt of many, hauyng therefore to do, not with him, but with his bookediſciples, this would I knowe, how hangeth thys geare together: Bilney was heard, and yet not heard: he ſpake ſoftely, and yet not ſoftely. Some ſayd he did recant: ſome ſayd he did not recant. Ouer and beſides, how will this be aūſwered, that for ſo much as the ſayd Bilney (as he ſayth) reuoked many dayes before his burnyng, and the ſame was knowen to hym at London, then how chaunced the ſame could not bee as well knowen to them of Norwich? who (as his own ſtory affirmeth) knew nothing therof before the day of his execution, then ſeyng a certeine bill in his hand, whiche ſome ſayd was a byll of his reuocation, ſome other heard it not. All this would bee made playne, eſpecially in ſuch a matter as this is, whiche he knew hym ſelfe peraduenture to be falſe, at leaſt, he knew would be doubted, ſuſpected, and cōtraried of a great multitude.

Marke how
theſe thynges
hang together.

The ſecond
reaſon of M.
More.

I paſſe now to his ſecond reaſon, where hee reporteth, *that the ſaid Bilney forthwith, vpon his iudgement and degradation, kneled downe in the preſence of all the people, and asked of the Chaūcellour, abſolution from the ſentence of excommunication, holdyng him well content with his death, whiche he confeſſed him ſelfe to haue deſerued. &c.*

Anſwere.

As touchyng the pacient receauyng of his death, I do well aſſent, although I do not thinke that he had deſerued any ſuch for his doctrine. And as for hys knelyng down in the preſence of the people vpon his iudgemēt and degradatiō, as I do not denye, but he might ſo do, ſo I ſuppoſe agayne, the cauſe of his knelyng not to be vnto the Chauncelor, to aſke abſolution from his excōmunication. And if he were aſſoiled from his excommunication, yet doth it not therupon folow, that he recanted, no more then before, when hee came to M. Latimer in his ſtudye, humbly to bee confeſſed and aſſoyled from his ſinnes, as the blyndnes of that tyme then led him. But whether he kneled downe and was aſſoyled, or no, neither was I there to ſee him, nor yet M. More hym ſelf. And therfore with the lyke authoritie, as he affirmeth, I may denye the ſame, vnleſſe he brought better demonſtration for his aſſertion, then he doth, hauyng no more for him ſelfe, but onely his owne *αὐτος ἔφη. And yet neuertheles admitte he ſo dyd beyng a man of a timorus conſcience, of an humble ſpirite, and not fully reſolued touchyng that matter of the Church, yet it foloweth not therby (as is ſayd) that hee reuoked his other Articles and doctrine, by him before profeſſed.

* That is,
he ſo ſayth.

The thyrd
reaſon of M.
More.

Anſwere.

The like aunſwere may alſo be ſhaped to his thyrd reaſon, *where he ſayth: that certaine dayes after his iudgement, he made great labour, that he might receaue the bleſſed body of Chriſt in forme of bread, whiche the Chauncelor after a great ſticking a while, at length did graunt, perceauyng his deuotion therto. &c.* Wherunto I aunſwere as before, that it is not vnpoſſible, but that Bilney myght both heare Maſſe, and deſire to receaue the Sacramēt: For in that matter, it may be, that he was not reſolued otherwiſe, then common cuſtome then led both him and many other. Neither do I finde in all the Articles obiected agaynſt Bilney, that euer hee was charged with any ſuch opinion, concernyng either the

Maſſe, or the Sacrament: whiche maketh me thinke, that hee was yet ignoraunt and alſo deuoute, as other then were.

The fourth reaſon of M. *More*.

Alſo fourthly, be it admitted, as M. More ſayth, *that in receauyng of the Sacrament, hee holdyng vp his handes ſhould ſay the collect:* Domine Ieſu Chriſte: *& comyng to theſe woordes,* eccleſiæ tuæ pacem & concordiam, *hee knocked vppon his breſt, diuers tymes repeatyng the ſame wordes. &c.* all this beyng graunted to M. More, yet it argueth no neceſſarye alteratiõ of his former doctrine, whiche he preached and taught before. And yet if I lyſted here to ſtand dalying with M. More, in the ſtate inficiall, and denye that he affirmeth: how will he make good that which he ſayth? *He ſayth that Bilney knelyng before the Chauncellour, deſired abſolutiõ: Then cõmyng to Maſſe full deuoutly, required to receaue the body of Chriſt in forme of bread, repeatyng diuers tymes the woordes of the collect:* Domine Ieſu Chriſte. &c. By what argument proueth he all this to be ſo? M. More in his preface before ẏ boke againſt Tindall ſo ſaith, Ergo, it is certain. If M. More had neuer made fictiõ in his writyngs beſide, or had neuer brokẽ the head of veritie, in ſo many places of his bookes, as I could ſhewe him, then might this argument goe for ſomwhat. But here I aſke, was this M. More preſent at the iudgement of Bilney? No. Or els what regiſters had he for his direction? None. Or els by what witneſſes will he auouch this to be certeine? Goe, & ſeke theſe witneſſes (good reader) where thou canſt find them, for M. More nameth none. Onely becauſe M. More ſo ſayth, this is ſufficiẽt. Well, giue this to M. More, (althoughe he hath crakte his credite ſo often, & may almoſt be banckroute) yet let his word go for payment at this tyme, and let vs imagine all to be oracles, that he ſayth: yet neuertheles, here muſt nedes remaine a ſcruple. For what will M. More (or becauſe he is gone) what will his diſciples ſay to this, that if Bilney was before aſſoyled vpõ his iudgement, as they pretend, how was he thẽ afterward degraded? What aſſoylyng is this, to be forgeuen firſt, and then to be puniſhed after? Agayne, if he were (as they ſurmiſe) conuerted ſo fully to the Catholicke fayth, and alſo aſſoyled, why then did the Chauncellour ſticke ſo greatly for a while, to houſel him wͭ the body of Chriſt, in forme of bread? I am ſure ẏ if Chriſt had bene here him ſelfe in forme of his own fleſhe, he would nothyng haue ſtocke to receiue him, being ſo cõuerted at ẏ firſt.

***Status inficialis*, in Rethoricke is when one ſtandeth to the deniall of the facte.**

An argument of *Mores* authoritie.

***M. Mores* credite crackt.**

To be ſhort, if Bilney was ſo graciouſly reduced to ẏ holy mother ẏ Catholicke Church, repentyng his errours, & deteſting his hereſies, & now being in no Purgatory, but beyng a very Saint in heauen, as ye ſay he is: why then did ye burne him, whõ your ſelues knew ſhould be a Saint? Thus if ye burne both Gods enemies, & gods Saintes too, what cruel mẽ are you? But here you wil alledge perhaps, your law of relapſe, by ẏ which ẏ firſt fall is pardonable, but ẏ ſecond fall into hereſie, is in no caſe pardonable: for ſo ſtãdeth your law, I graunt. But how this law ſtãdeth with ẏ true church of Chriſt, & with his word, now let vs reaſon. For this beyng a lawe, not of politicke or ciuill gouernement, (where ſuch lawes be expediẽt for publicke neceſſitie) but onely beyng a law mere eccleſiaſticall, what a cruel mother Churche is this, whiche will not and can not forgeue her children ryſing and repentyng the ſecond fault or errour committed, but needes muſt burne their bodies, that their ſoules may bee ſaued from the paynefull paſſion of Purgatory, whõ neuertheles they know forthwith ſhall be bleſſed in heauen? If God do ſaue thẽ, why do you burne them? If God do pardon thẽ, why do you condemne thẽ? And, if this be the law of your Churche, accordyng to your doctrine, to burne them at the ſecond time, though they be amended: how then doth this Churche agrée with the word of Chriſt, and nature of his true ſpouſe, whiche onely ſeketh the repentaunce and amendement of ſinners? which once being had, ſhe gladly openeth her boſome, and motherly receaueth thẽ, whẽ ſo euer they returne. Wherfore, if Bilney did returne to your Church (as ye ſay he did) then was your Church a cruell mother & vnnaturall, which would not opẽ her boſome vnto him, but thruſt him into the fire when he had repented. Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the word of God, who in expreſſe wordes teachyng all Byſhops and Paſtors, by the exãple of Chriſt the great Byſhop of our ſoules, (being compaſſed about with tentatiõs, that he might haue the more compaſſion of them whiche be infirme) exhorteth all other ſpirituall paſtors by the like example, ſaying: Hebr. 5. *For euery Biſhop, whiche is taken from among men, is ordeined for men, in thinges perteynyng to God, to offer giftes and ſacrifice for ſinnes, that he may be mercifull to the ignoraunt, and to ſuch as erre, for ſo much as he him ſelfe is compaſſed about with infirmitie. &c.* Beſides whiche Scripture, adde alſo that ſome Doctours of the Canon lawe, if they be well ſcande, will not denye but that they whiche bee fallen in relapſe, whether it bee verè, or fictè, yet if they earneſtly returne from their errours before the ſentence bee giuen, they may bee ſent to perpetual priſõ in ſome monaſtery. &c. Wherfore, if Bilney did ſo earneſtly retract and deteſt his former opinions, ſo many daies (as More ſaith) before his ſufferyng, thẽ neded not he to ſuffer that death as he did, but might haue bene ſent to perpetuall priſõ.

The lawe of relapſe, *Extrauag. de hæret. Super eo.*

***Mores* wordes in hys preface.**

The Popes lawe diſagreing from the condition of the true church of Chriſt.

Thus, although I nede not to ſtand longer vpõ this matter, beyng ſo playne, and hauyng ſayd enough: yet (briefly to repeate that before hath ben ſayd) this I ſay agayne: firſt if Thomas Bilney was aſſoyled from excõmunication, and after that heard his Maſſe ſo deuoutly, and at the end of the Maſſe, was confeſſed, and conſequently after confeſſion was houſſled, and laſtly aſked mercye for contemnyng of the Churche, as M. More doth beare vs in hand (to ſee now howe this tale hangeth together) why then did the Chauncellour ſticke ſo greatly to giue him the Sacrament of the aultar, whom hee him ſelfe had aſſoyled, and receaued to the Sacrament of penaunce before, which is playne agaynſt the Canon lawe? Againe, the ſayd Thomas Bilney, if hee were now receaued to the mother Church, by the Sacramẽtes both of penaunce, and of the aultar: why then was he afterward diſgraded, and cut from the Church, ſith the Canon permitteth no degradation, but to thẽ which onely be incorrigible? Furthermore, the ſayd Bilney, if he being conuerted ſo many dayes before (as More pretendeth) to ẏ Catholicke faith, was now no hereticke, how then did the ſentence pronounce him for an hereticke? or finally how could they, or why would they burne him beyng a catholicke, eſpecially ſith the Canon law would beare with him to be iudged rather to perpetuall priſon in ſome monaſterye, as is afore touched, if they had pleaſed?

Wherfore, in thrée wordes to aunſwere to M. More, Firſt all this tale of his may be doubted, becauſe of the matter not hangyng together. Secondly, it may alſo as well be denyed, for the inſufficiencie of probation, and teſtimonie. Thirdlye, if all this were graunted, yet neither hath M. More any great aduauntage agaynſt Bilney to proue him to haue recanted: nor yet Maiſter Cope agaynſt me, which by the authoritie of M. More ſéeketh to beare me down, & diſproue my former ſtory.

For be it graunted that Bilney at his death, did hold with the Maſſe, with confeſſion, and with the authoritie of theyr Romiſhe Church, beyng an humble ſpirited man, & yet no further brought: yet all this notwithſtandyng proueth not that he recanted. For ſo much as hee neuer held nor taught any thyng before agaynſt the premiſſes, therfore he could not recante that whiche he neuer did hold. For the better demonſtratiõ wherof, I will recite out of the Regiſters, ſome part of his teaching and preaching, as was obiected agaynſt hym by one Richard Nele, Prieſt: who among other witneſſes, depoſed agaynſt hym for preachyng in the towne of Wylſedone, theſe wordes folowyng:

Put away your golden Gods, your ſiluer Gods, your ſtony Gods, and leaue your offerings, and lift vp your hartes to the Sacrament of the aultar. Alſo the ſayd M. Bilney ſayd in his Sermon: I know certaine thinges haue bene offered in ſuch places, which haue bene afterward giuen to whores of the ſtewes: and I call thẽ whores of the ſtewes, that be naught of their liuyng. &c. Ex Regiſt.

Item, by an other witnes named W. Cade, it was depoſed agaynſt hym, thus to preache: *That Iewes and Saracenes would haue become Chriſten men long ago, had not Idolatrie of Chriſten men bene, by offeryng of Candels, waxe, or money to the ſtockes, and the ſtones of Images ſet and ſtandyng in the Churches. &c.*

Item, by the ſayd deponent agaynſt Bilney: *That the Prieſtes take away the offerynges, and hange them about their whores neckes: and after that, they take them agayne from the whores, if they pleaſe them not, and hange them vpon the Images: and is not that a great relicke, when it is hanged there agayne?*

Itẽ, by ẏ ſaid deponẽt it was teſtified againſt Bilney: *That goyng on pilgremage is naught, and that no mã ſhould vſe it: For it were better not, and rather to tarye at home, and giue ſomwhat in almoſe, and offer your hartes, willes, & mindes to the Sacramẽt, and leaue your Idolatry to Saintes.*

Item, by W. Nelmys of Wylſedone, that Bilney ſhould preache: *They gilde their Gods, and beare them about, and men ſay, they do ſpeake: and if they do ſpeake, it is the deuill that ſpeaketh in them, and not God. &c.*

Item, by Tho. Daly of Wilſedone, that Bilney thus preached: *You come hyther on pilgrimage to ſtockes and ſtones. You do naught: kepe you at home, and worſhip the Sacrament at home. &c.*

Item, by Frier Iohn Hogekyn, that Bilney thus preached at Ipſewych: *The cõmyng of our Sauiour Chriſt was long deſired, and by diuers & many Prophets prophecied, that he ſhould come. But Iohn the Baptiſte, more then a Prophet, did not onely prophecie, but with his finger ſhewed:* Beholde the Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. *Then, if this were the very Lambe, which Iohn did demonſtrate, and ſhewed,* which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, *what iniurie is this Bull of the Biſhop of Rome to our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, that to be buryed in the cowle of S. Frances, ſhoulde or may remitte iiij. partes of penance? What is left to our Sauiour Chriſt,* which taketh away the ſinnes of the world? *This I will iuſtifie to be a great blaſphemie agaynſt the bloud of Chriſt. &c.*

Itẽ, by an other Frier Iulles, that Bilney thus preached, *I truſt there ſhall and will come other beſide me, the whiche ſhall ſhew and preache to you the ſame fayth, and maner of liuing that I do: whiche is the very true Goſpell of our Sauiour, whereby you ſhall bee brought from your errours, wherein you haue bene long ſeduced: for before this, there hath bene many, that hath ſclaundered you, and the Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt. Of whõ ſpeaketh our Sauiour Chriſt* Mat. 18. Qui ſcandalizauerit vnum de puſillis iſtis qui crediderunt. &c.

Adde moreouer to theſe, the teſtimonie of Richard Seman: that Bilney in Ipſwitch ſhould preache theſe wordes: *Our Sauiour Chriſt is our Mediatour betwene vs & the father: what then ſhould nede vs to ſeke to any Saint for remedy, inferiour to Chriſt? Wherfore to make ſuch petitiõ to any, but to our Sauiour Chriſt, truſting therby to haue remedye, doth greate iniurye to the bloud of Chriſt, and deformeth our Sauiour Chriſt: like as, if a man ſhould take, and ſtrike of the head, and ſet it vnder the foote, and to ſet the foote aboue.*

Thus much beyng partly touched before, I thought here to inſinuate agayn out of the Regiſters, touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney. Whereby may appeare the whole ſumme of his preachyng and doctrine to procede chiefly agaynſt Idolatrie, inuocation of Saintes, vayne worſhip of Images, falſe truſt to mẽs merites, and ſuch other groſſe pointes of religion, as ſemed preiudiciall and derogatorie to the bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus. As touchyng the Maſſe, & Sacrament of the aultar, as he neuer varied from hym ſelfe, ſo he neuer differed therin from the moſt groſſeſt Catholiques. And as concernyng his opinion of the church of Rome, how blinde it was at ẏ tyme, may ſufficiently appeare by his own aunſweres in tyme of hys abiuratiõ, written with his own hand in Latin, which I haue to ſhew, as foloweth: Credo plæraſq; leges pontificias vtiles eſſe, neceſſarias, & ad pietatem quoq; plurimum promouentes, nec ſacris Scripturis repugnantes, imò ab omnibus plurimum obſeruandas. &c. De omnibus non poſſum pronunciare, vtpote quas non legi, & quas legi, nunq̃ in hoc legi, vt reprehenderem, ſed vt diſcerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legum, queſtus eſt ſuo tempore S. Auguſtinus, & item Gerſonus, qui miratur quomodo nos poſt lapſum, inter tot laqueos Cõſtitutionum, tuti eſſe poſſimus, quùm primi parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapſum, vnicum præceptum non obſeruarint. &c.

Ex Regiſt. Lond. fol. 37.

Moreouer, concernyng the authoritie of the keys, thus he writeth, aunſweryng to his. 12. Article: Soli ſacerdotes ordinati ritè per pontifices, habent claues, quarum virtute ligant & ſoluunt (*claue non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quamlibet ſint peccatores. Nam Sacramẽtorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit miniſtrorum indignitas, q̃diu ab eccleſia tolerantur. &c.

** At hæc clauis errat perperò.*

By theſe wordes of Bilney written by hym in Latine, although it may bee thought how ignoraunt and groſſe he was after the rudenes of thoſe dayes: yet by the ſame notwithſtandyng it may appeare, how falſely he is noted and ſclaũdered by M. More, and Cope my frende, to haue recanted the Articles, which he did neuer holde or mainteine otherwiſe in all his lyfe. And therfore (as I ſaid) though it be graunted to M. More, or in his abſence, to my frende Cope, that Bilney was aſſoyled, was confeſſed, and houſeled, before his burnyng, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Now that I haue ſufficiently (I truſt) put of the reaſons of M. More and of others, whereby they pretend falſely to face vs out, that Bilney the ſeconde tyme again recãted at his death: it remaineth on ẏ other part, that I likewiſe do inferre my probations, whereby I haue to argue and conuince, that Bilney did not the ſecond tyme recante, as he is vntruly ſclaundered. And firſt I will begyn euen with the woordes and teſtimonie of M. Mores owne mouth, who beyng Lord Chaũcellour when meſſage was ſent to him, for a writte of diſcharge to burne Bilney, ſpeakyng in this wiſe to the meſſẽgers, that came: *Goe your wayes* (ſaid he) *and burne hym fyrſt, and then afterward come to me for a bill of my hand.* Which wordes may giue vs euidẽce enough, that Bilney was not thought then to haue recanted, for then the Lord Chauncellour would not haue ben ſo greedy and haſtie (no doubt) to haue him diſpatched. And how ſtandeth this with M. Mores woordes now, whiche beareth vs in hand, that hee recanted many dayes before his burnyng?

Contrary reaſons to proue that *Bilney* did not agayne recant.

Mores owne wordes agaynſt him ſelfe.

The like euidence we may alſo take by the verdite of ẏ Biſhop him ſelfe, that burned hym: whoſe wordes were theſe. After he had burned him, and then heard tell of D. Shaxton: Chriſtes mother, ſayd he (that was his oth) I feare I haue burnt Abell, & let Cain go. &c. As who would ſay: I had thought before, that I had puniſhed Cain, & let Abell go: but now I feare I haue burnt Abell, and let Cain eſcape. Whereby it is playne to vnderſtande, what was the Byſhops iudgement of Bilney, before his burning: that is, that he was a Cain and the other an Abell. But after the burnyng of Bilney, the Biſhop hearyng nowe of Shaxton, turneth his iudgement, and correcteth him ſelf, ſwearyng now the contrary: that is, leſt hee had burned Abell, and let

Proued by byſhop *Nixes* wordes, that *Bilney* dyd not recant at hys burning.

Cain goe. Furthermore, where the Byſhop feared, in burning Bilney, yͤ he had burned Abell, what doth this feare of the Byſhop importe, but a doubtyng of his minde vncerteine? For who feareth that whereof he is ſure? Wherefore the caſe is plaine, that Bilney at hys burnyng did not recant, as More reporteth: For then the Byſhop knowyng Bilney to dye a Catholicke conuert, and a true member of the Churche, would not haue feared, nor doubted, but would haue conſtantly affirmed Bilney to haue dyed a true Abell in dede. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney dyed an Abell, then yͤ Biſhop by his own confeſſion, muſt nedes proue him ſelfe to be a Cain, whiche ſlue him. What more clearer probation could we bryng, if there were a thouſād? Or what nede we any other, hauyng this alone?

Cain burneth Abell.

Now for teſtimonie and witnes of this matter, to be produced, for ſo much as M. More allegeth none to proue that Bilney at his death, did recant: I will aſſay what teſtimonie I haue on yͤ contrary ſide, to auouche and proue that Bilney did not recant.

Teſtimonies prouing that *M. Bilney* did not recant at hys death.

And for ſomuch as Bilney was a Cambrige mā, and the firſt framer of that Uniuerſitie in the knowledge of Chriſt, and was burned at Norwich, beyng not very farre diſtant from Cambrige: there is no doubt, but among ſo many frendes as he had in that Uniuerſitie, ſome went thether to heare, and ſee him. Of whom one was Tho. Alen felow then of Penbroke Hall, who returnyng the ſame tyme, from Bilneys burnyng, declared to Doct. Turner, Deane of Welles, being yet aliue (a man whoſe authoritie neither is to be neglected, nor credite to be diſtruſted) that the ſayd Bilney tooke hys death moſt paciently, and ſuffered moſt conſtātly, without any recantation, for the doctrine whiche hee before had profeſſed.

Witnes for *Bilney*.

Doct. Turner Deane of Welles.

In the Citie of Norwych Necton, & many other be now departed, which were then preſent at yͤ burnyng of Bilney: neuertheles ſome be yet aliue, whoſe witneſſes, if nede were, I could fetch with a litle labour, & wil (God willyng) as tyme ſhall require, In the meane time, at the writing hereof, here was one Tho. Ruſſell, a right honeſt occupyer, and a Citizē of Norwich, who likewiſe beyng there preſent on horſebacke at the execution of this godly man, beholdyng all thynges that were done, did neither heare him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

An other witnes for *Bilney*.

I could alſo adde hereunto yͤ teſtimonie of an other, beyng brother to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, named M. Baker, a man yet a lyue, who beyng the ſame tyme preſent at the examination of Bilney, both heard him, and ſaw him, when as a certeine Frier called him hereticke. Whereunto Bilney replying agayne, made aunſwere: if I be an hereticke (ſayd he) thē are you an Antichriſt, who of late haue buryed a certein Gētlewomā with you, in S. Frances coule, aſſuring her to haue ſaluation therby. Which facte, although the Frier the ſame tyme did denie, yet this cā not be denyed, but Bilney ſpake theſe wordes: wherby he may eaſely bee iudged to be farre from the mynde of any recantation: accordyng as by the ſayd Gentleman, it is alſo teſtified, that after that, he neuer heard of any recantation, that Bilney either ment or made.

An other witnes for *Bilney*.

If I ſhould recite all, whiche here might be brought, I might ſooner lacke rowme in my booke to conteine them, then names enough to fill vp a grand iurye. But what nede I to ſpent tyme about wytnes, when one M. Latimer may ſtand for a thouſand, one Martyr to beare wytnes to an other? And though my frēd Cope, preſſing me with the authoritie of M. More, ſayth, that hee will beleue him before me: yet I truſt, hee will not refuſe to credite this ſo auncient a Senior, father Latimer, beyng both in Bilneys tyme, and alſo by Bilney conuerted, and familiarlye with him acquainted: who beyng the ſame tyme at Cambridge, I ſuppoſe would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, then M. More. Touchyng the teſtimoniall of whiche Latimer, I haue noted before, how hee in.iij. ſondrye places in his Sermons, hath teſtified *of good Bilney, of that bleſſed Bilney, of Saint Bilney, how hee dyed paciently agaynſt the tyrannicall Sea of Rome. &c.* And in an other Sermon alſo, *how the ſayd Bilney ſuffered his body to be burned for the Goſpels ſake. &c.* Item, in an other place, *how the ſayd Bilney ſuffred death for Gods woordes ſake.* vid. pag. 1146.

One Martyr witnes for an other Martyr.

The te / mony / Wal / Lati / concer / Bilney.

Vid. p 1146.

I may be thought perhaps of ſome, to haue ſtayd to long about the diſcourſe of this matter. But the cauſe that moued, and halfe conſtrayned me thereunto, was Syr Tho. More, ſometymes Lord Chauncellour of Englād, and now a great Archpiller of all our Engliſh Papiſtes, a man otherwiſe of a pregnant witte, full of pleaſaunt conceites, alſo for his learning aboue the common ſorte of his eſtate, eſteemed induſtrious, no leſſe in his ſtudies, then well exerciſed in hys penne. Who, if he had kept him ſelfe within his own ſhoppe, and applied the facultie, being a lay man, wherunto he was called, and had not ouer reached him ſelfe to proue maſtries in ſuch matters, wherin hee had litle ſkill, leſſe experience, & which perteined not to his profeſſion, he had deſerued, not only much more cōmendation, but alſo a longer life. But forſomuch as he, not cōtented with his owne vocation, hath with Oza reached out hys vnmeete hand to medle with Gods Arkematters, wherin he had litle cunnyng, & while hee thinketh to helpe religion, deſtroyeth religion, & is an vtter enemie to Chriſt, and to his ſpirituall doctrine, and his pore afflicted Church, to yͤ entent therfore that he being taken for a ſpeciall ryngleader, and a chiefe ſtaye in the Popes Church, might the better bee knowen what he is, and that the ignoraunt and ſimple may ſee, what litle credite is to bee giuen vnto him, as well in his other falſe facyng out of matters, as namely in this preſent hiſtory of Bilneys recantatiō: I haue diligently ſearched out & procured yͤ true certificate of M. Bilneys burning, with all the circumſtancies, and pointes therto belongyng, teſtified not by ſomeſayes and by hearesaies (as M. More vſeth) but truly witneſſed, and faithfully recorded by one, who as in place & degree ſurmoūteth the eſtate of M. More (though he were L. Chaūcellour) ſo beyng alſo both a ſpirituall perſon, & there preſent the ſame time, commyng for the ſame purpoſe the day before, to ſee his burnyng, was a preſent beholder of thinges there done, αὐτόπτης τε, καὶ μάρτυς of the ſayd Martyrdome, whoſe credite I am ſure wil coūterpeaſe with the credite of M. More. The order of whiche Martyrdome was this, as foloweth.

Doct / Parker, / Archb / of Ca / burye, / preſent / witnes / the bu / nyng o / *Bilney.*

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doct. Pelles Doctor of law & Chauncellour, firſt was degraded by Suffragan Vnderwoode, accordyng to the cuſtome of their Popiſhe maner, by the aſſiſtaunce of all the Friers and Doctours of the ſame ſute. Whiche done, he was immediatly committed to the lay power, & to the ij. Shriffes of the Citie, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilneys ſpeciall good frend, and ſorye to accept him to ſuch execution as folowed. But ſuch was the tyrāny of that time, and dread of the Chauncellour and Friers, that he could no otherwiſe do, but needes muſt receiue him. Who notwithſtandyng, as he could not beare in his conſcience him ſelf to be preſent at his death: ſo, for the tyme that he was in his cuſtodie, he cauſed him to bee more frendlye looked vnto, and more holeſomly kept, cōcerning his diet, then he was before.

Thom / Necto / Shrif / Nor

After this, the Friday folowing at night, which was before the day of his execution, beyng S. Magnus day & Saterday, the ſayd Bilney had diuers of his frendes reſortyng vnto him into the Guild hall, where hee was kept. Amongeſt whom one of the ſayd frendes findyng

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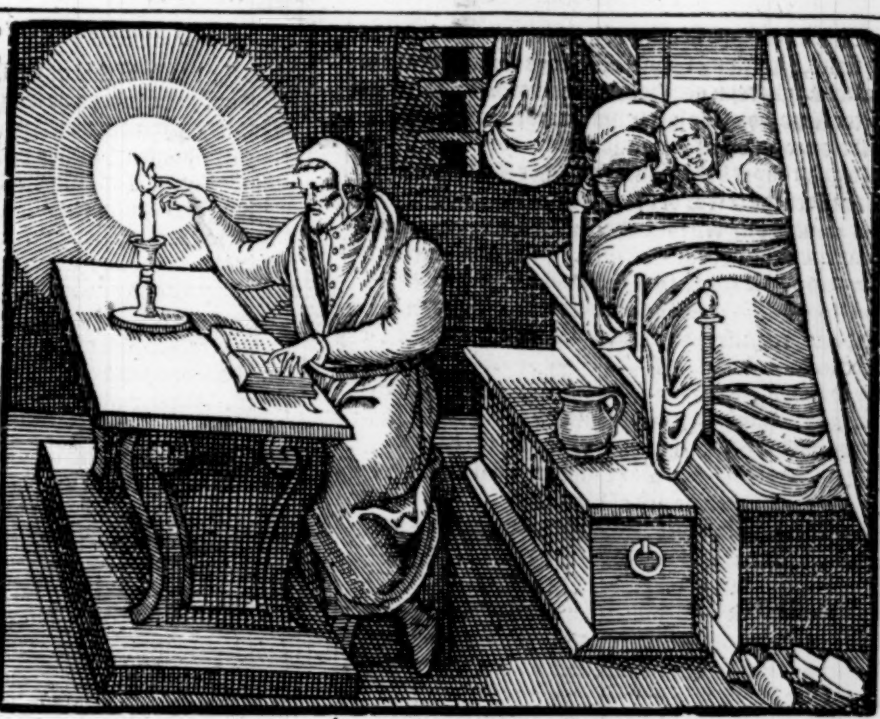
hym



hym eatyng of an Alebrew with ſuch a cherefull harte and quyet mynde as he did, ſayd that hee was glad to ſee him at that time, ſo ſhortly before hys heauy and paynefull departure, ſo hartly to refreſhe hym ſelfe. Wherunto he aunſwered: oh ſayd he, I folowe the example of the huſbandmen of the coūtrey, who hauyng a ruinous houſe to dwell in, yet beſtowe coſt as long as they may, to hold it vp, and ſo do I nowe wͭ this ruinous houſe of my body, & with Gods creatures in thankes to him, refreſh the ſame as ye ſee. Then ſittyng with his ſaid frendes in godly talke, to their edification, ſome putte him in minde that though the fire, whiche hee ſhoulde ſuffer the next day, ſhould bee of great heate vnto his body, yet the comforte of Gods ſpirite ſhould coole it to his euerlaſtyng refreſhyng. At that worde, the ſayd Thomas Bilney puttyng hys hand towarde the flame of the candell burnyng before them (as alſo he dyd diuers tymes beſides) and feelyng the heate therof, O (ſayd hee) I feele by experience, and haue knowen it long by Philoſophie, yͤ fire by Gods ordinaūce is naturally hote, but yet I am perſuaded by Gods holy word, & by the experience of ſome ſpoken of in the ſame, that in the flame they felte no heate, and in the fire they felt no conſumptiō: & I conſtantly beleue, that how ſoeuer the ſtouble of this my body ſhalbe waſted by it, yet my ſoule & ſpirite ſhalbe purged therby: a paine for yͤ time, wheron notwithſtādyng followeth ioye vnſpeakeable. And here he much entreated of thys place of ſcripture: Noli timere quia redemi te & vocaui te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum tranſieris per aquas, tecum ero, & flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaueris in igne, non combureris & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus ſanctus Iſrael, ſaluator tuus. That is, *Feare not, for I haue redemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine ovvne. VVhen thou goeſt through the vvater, I vvill be vvith thee, and the ſtrong floudes ſhall not ouerflovve thee. VVhen thou vvalkeſt in the fire, it ſhall not burne thee, and the flame ſhall not kindle vpon thee: for I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Iſraell.* Whiche he did moſt comfortably intreate of, aſwell in reſpect of hym ſelfe, as applying it to the particular vſe of his frendes there preſent, of whom, ſome tooke ſuch ſwete frute therin, that they cauſed the whole ſaid ſentence to be fayre written in tables, and ſome in their bookes: The comfort whereof (in diuers of them) was neuer taken frō them to their dying day.

Tho. Bilney being in priſon, diuers tymes proued the fire with hys finger.

The Saterday next folowyng, when the Officers of execution (as the maner is) with their gleaues and halbardes were ready to receiue him, & to lead hym to the place of execution without yͤ Citie gate called Biſhops gate, in a low valley cōmonly called yͤ Lollards pit, vnder S. Leonardes hill inuironed about wͭ great hilles (which place was choſe for yͤ peoples quiet ſitting to ſee the execution) at yͤ cōming forth of yͤ ſaid Tho. Bilney out of yͤ priſon doore, one of his frendes came to him & with fewe wordes, as he durſt, ſpake to him and prayed him in Gods behalfe, to be conſtant & to take his death as paciently as he coulde. Wherunto the ſayd Bilney aunſwered with a quiet and a milde countenaūce: Ye ſee when the mariner is entred his ſhippe to ſaile on the troublous Sea, how he for a while, is toſſed in the byllowes of the ſame, but yet in hope that he ſhall once come to yͤ quiet hauen, he beareth in better cōfort, yͤ perilles which he feeleth: So am I now toward this ſaylyng, and what ſo euer ſtormes I ſhall feele, yet ſhortly after ſhall my ſhippe be in the hauen: as I doubt not therof by yͤ grace of God, deſiring you to helpe me wͭ your prayers to the ſame effect. And ſo he goyng foorth in the ſtreetes, geuyng much almes by the waye, by the handes of one of his frendes, and accompanyed with one D. Warner Doct. of Diuinitie and perſon of Winterton, whom he did chuſe as his old acquaintaunce, to be with him for his ghoſtly comfort: came at the laſt, to the place of execution, & deſcended downe from the hill to the ſame, apparelled in a laye mans gowne with the ſleues hanging down and his armes out, his heare being pitiouſly mangled at his degradation (a litle ſingle body in perſon, but allwayes of a good vpright coūtinance) & drew neare to yͤ ſtake prepared, and ſomwhat tariyng the preparation of the fire, hee deſired that hee might ſpeake ſome wordes to the people, and there ſtādyng, thus he ſayd:

Tho. Bilney going to hys death.

Good people, I am come hether to dye, and borne I was to liue vnder that conditiō, naturally to die again, and that ye might teſtifie that I depart out of this preſent life as a true Chriſtian man in a ryght belief towardes almightie God, I will rehearſe vnto you in a faſt fayth, the Articles of my Crede, and then began to rehearſe them in order as they bee in the common Crede, with ofte eleuating his eyes & hands to almightie God, and at the Article of Chriſtes incarnation hauyng a litle meditation in hym ſelfe, and commyng to the worde *Crucified*, hee humbly bowed hym ſelfe and made great reuerence, and then procedyng in the Articles and commyng to theſe wordes, *I beleue the Catholicke Church*, there he pauſed and ſpake theſe wordes: Good people I muſt here confeſſe to haue offended the Churche in preachyng once agaynſt the prohibition of the ſame, at a poore cure belongyng to Trinitie hall in Cambridge where I was felowe, earneſtly entreated therunto by yͤ Curate & other good people of yͤ Pariſhe, ſhewyng that they had no Sermon there of a long time before: and ſo in my conſcience moued, I did make a poore collation vnto them, and thereby ranne into the diſobedience of certayne authoritie in the Church, by whom I was prohibited: how be it I truſt at the generall day, charitie that moued me to this acte, ſhall beare me out at the iudgement ſeate of God: and ſo he proceded on, without any maner of wordes of recantation, or chargyng any man for procuryng hym to his death.

The wordes of *Tho. Bilney* at the ſtake.

Tho. Bilney put to death preaching, being therunto deſired.

M. More proued a lyer, by witnes preſent at *Bilneys* death.

Tho.Bilney praying at the ſtake.

Pſal.143.

Doct.Warner taking hys farewell of Tho.Bilney.

The wordes of Tho.Bilney, to Doctour Warner.

This once done, hee put of hys gowne, and went to the ſtake, & kneelyng vpon a litle ledge commyng out of the ſtake, whereon hee ſhould afterwarde ſtand to bee better ſeene, he made hys priuate prayer with ſuch earneſt eleuation of his eyes and handes to heauen, and in ſo good quyet behauiour, that hee ſemed not much to conſider the terror of hys death, & ended at the laſt, hys priuate prayers with the.143. Pſalme begynnyng Domine exaudi orationẽ meã, auribus percipe obſecrationẽ meã.&c. that is, *Heare my prayer O Lord, conſider my deſire:* and the next verſe he repeted in deepe meditation thriſe: Et ne intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo Domine. I. *And enter not into Iudgement with thy ſeruaunt, for in thy ſight ſhall no man liuyng be iuſtified,* and ſo finiſhyng that Pſalme he ended hys priuate prayers. After that, he turned hym ſelf to the officers, aſkyng them if they were ready, and they aunſwered, yea. Whereupon he put of his iacket and doublet and ſtoode in hys hoſe and ſhyrte, and went vnto the ſtake, ſtandyng vpon that ledge, and the chayne was caſt about hym, and ſtandyng thereon, the ſayd Doct. Warner came to hym to byd hym farewell, whiche ſpake but fewe woordes for wepyng. Vppon whom the ſayd Thomas Bilney did moſte gentelye ſmile, and enclined hys body to ſpeake to hym a fewe woordes of thankes, and the laſt were theſe: O Maiſter Doctour, Paſce gregem tuum, Paſce gregẽ tuum, vt cum venerit Dominus, inueniat te ſic faciẽtem, I. *Feede your flocke, feede your flocke, that when the Lord commeth, hee may finde you ſo doyng,* and farewell good M. Doctour, and pray for me, and ſo hee departed without any aunſwere, ſobbyng and wepyng.

The Fryers deſire *Bilney* to ſpeake for them.

And while he thus ſtoode vpon the ledge at the ſtake, certain friers, Doctors & Priors of their houſes beyng there preſẽt (as they were vncharitably & maliciouſlye preſent at his examination & degradation &c.) came to hym and ſayd: O M.Bilney the people bee perſuaded that we be the cauſers of your death, and that we haue procured the ſame, & therupon it is lyke that they will withdraw their charitable almes frõ vs all, except you declare your charitie towardes vs, & diſcharge vs of yͤ matter. Whereupon the ſayd Thomas Bilney ſpake with a loude voyce to the people, and ſayd: I pray you good people, bee neuer the worſe to theſe men for my ſake, as though they ſhould be the authors of my death. It was not they: and ſo he ended.

The pacient death & Martyrdome of *M.Bilney.*

Then the officers put reede and Fagottes about his body and ſet fire on the reede, which made a very great flame, whiche ſparcled and deformed the viſour of hys face, he holding vp his hands & knocking vpõ his breſt, crying ſometymes Ieſus, ſometymes Credo. Whiche flame was blowen away from hym by the violence of the wynde, whiche was that day and ij. or iij. dayes before, notable great, in whiche it was ſayd that yͤ fieldes were meruellouſlye plaged by the loſſe of corne: and ſo for a litle pauſe, hee ſtoode without flame, the flame departyng and recourſing thriſe ere the woode tooke ſtrength to be the ſharper to conſume hym: and then he gaue vp the Ghoſt, and his body beyng withered bowed downeward vpon the chaine. Then one of the officers with his halbard ſmitte out the ſtaple in the ſtake behinde him, and ſuffered his body to fall into the bottome of the fire, laying woode on it, and ſo he was conſumed.

Saint Bilney.

M. Mores falſe report, refuted.

Thus haue ye (good readers) the true hiſtorye, and Martyrdome of this good man, that is, of bleſſed Saint Bilney (as M.Latimer doth call hym) without any recantation, teſtified and ratified by the authoritie aboue ſayd. By the which authoritie & partie being there preſent & yet alyue, it is furthermore conſtantly affirmed, that Bilney not onely did neuer recant, but alſo that he neuer had any ſuch byll, or ſcript, or ſcrolle in his hand to read, either ſoftly, or apertly, as M.More per licenciam Poeticam, woulde beare vs downe. Wherfore euẽ as ye ſee M.More deale in this, ſo ye may truſt hym in the reſidue of his other tales, if ye will.

¶ *Maiſter Stafford of Cambridge.*

AS the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Northfolke where he was burnt: ſo his diligẽt trauaile, in teachyng and exhortyng other, and example of lyfe correſpondent to hys doctrine, left no ſmall frute behinde him in Cambridge, beyng a great meanes of framyng that Vniuerſitie, and drawyng diuers vnto Chriſt. By reaſon of whom, and partly alſo of an other called M.Stafford, the word of God began there moſt luckely to ſpread, and many towarde wittes to floriſh. In the company of whom was M.Latimer, Doctour Barnes, D.Thiſtell of Penbroke hal, M.Fooke of Benet Colledge, and M. Soude of the ſame Colledge, Doct. Warner aboue mentioned, with diuers other moe.

This M. Stafford was then the publicke reader of the Diuinitie lecture in that Vniuerſitie. Who, as he was an earneſt profeſſour of Chriſtes Goſpell: ſo was he as diligent a folower of that whiche he profeſſed, as by this example here folowyng may appeare.

For as the plage was then ſore in Cambridge, and amongeſt other, a certeine Prieſt called Syr Henry Coniurer lay ſore ſicke of the ſayd plage, M. Stafford hearyng thereof, and ſeyng the horrible daunger that hys ſoule was in, was ſo moued in conſcience to helpe the daungerous caſe of the Prieſt, that hee neglecting his owne bodely death, to recouer the other from eternall damnatiõ, came vnto him, exhorted, & ſo labored him, that he would not leaue him, before he had cõuerted him, and ſawe his coniuryng bookes burned before his face. Whiche beyng done, M.Stafford went home, and immediatly ſickened, and ſhortly after, moſt Chriſtianly deceaſed. Ex fideli teſtimonio D.Ridlei, & Edmund.epiſcoporum Lond.

Concernyng whiche M.Stafford, this moreouer is to be noted how that M.Latimer beyng yet a feruent and a zelous Papiſt, ſtãdyng in the Scholes when M. Stafford read, bad the ſcholers not to heare him: and alſo preachyng againſt hym, exhorted the people, not to beleue him, and yet the ſayd Latimer confeſſed hym ſelf, that he gaue thankes to God, that hee aſked him forgeuenes before he departed.

And thus much by the waye of good M. Stafford, who for hys conſtant and godly aduenture in ſuch a cauſe, may ſeme not vnworthy to go with bleſſed Bilney, in the felowſhyp of holy and bleſſed Martyrs.

¶ *The ſtory of M. Simon Fiſhe.*

BEfore the tyme of M.Bilney, and the fall of yͤ Cardinall, I ſhould haue placed the ſtory of Symon Fiſh with the booke called the Supplication of beggars, declaryng how and by what meanes it came to the kyngs hand, and what effecte therof followed after, in the reformation of many thinges, eſpecially of the Clergy. But the miſſyng of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great ſquare in our ſtory, though it be now entred here which ſhould haue come in vi. yeares before. The maner and circũſtance of the matter is this:

After that the light of the Goſpell workyng mightly in Germanie, began to ſpread his beames here alſo in England, great ſtyrre and alteration folowed in the hartes of many: ſo that colored hypocriſie, and falſe doctrine, and painted holynes began to be eſpyed more and more by the readyng of Gods word. The authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals was not ſo hygh, but ſuch as had freſh wyttes ſparcled with Gods grace, began to eſpye Chriſt from Antichriſt, that is, true ſinceritie, from counterfait religiõ. In the nũber of whom, was yͤ ſayd M.Symon Fiſhe, a Gentlemã of Grayes Inne. It happened yͤ firſt yeare that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about yͤ yere of our Lord. 1525. that there was a certeine play or interlude made by one M.Roo of the ſame Inne Gentleman, in whiche playe partly was matter agaynſt the Cardinal Wolſey. And where none durſt take vpon them to play that part, which touched the ſayd Cardinall, this foreſayd M. Fiſhe tooke vppon him to do it, whereupon great diſpleaſure enſued agaynſt him, vpon the Cardinals part: In ſomuch as he beyng purſued by the ſayd Cardinall, the ſame nyght that this Tragedy was playd, was cōpelled of force to voyde his owne houſe, & ſo fled ouer the ſea vnto Tyndall: vppon occaſion whereof the next yeare folowyng this booke was made (beyng about the yeare. 1527.) and ſo not lōg after in the yeare (as I ſuppoſe) 1528. was ſent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Whiche booke her brother ſeyng in her hand, tooke it and read it, and gaue it her agayne, willyng her earneſtly to giue it to yͤ kyng, which thing ſhe ſo did. This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord. 1528. The kyng after he had receaued the booke, demaunded of her who made it. Wherunto ſhe aunſwered & ſaid, a certain ſubiect of his, one Fiſhe, who was fled out of yͤ realme for feare of the Cardinall. After yͤ king had kept the booke in his boſome. 3. or. 4. dayes, as is credibly reported, ſuch knowledge was giuen by the kinges ſeruauntes, to the wife of the ſaid Symon Fiſhe, that ſhe might boldly ſée for her huſband, without all perill or daunger. Wherupon ſhe therby beyng incouraged, came firſt and made ſute to the kyng for the ſafe returne of her huſband. Who vnderſtandyng whoſe wife ſhe was, ſhewed a maruelous gentle & chearefull countenaūce towardes her, aſkyng where her huſbād was. She aūſwered, if it like your grace, not farre of. Then ſayth he, fetch hym, and he ſhall come and go ſafe without perill, and no mā ſhall do him harme, ſaying moreouer that he had much wrong that he was from her ſo long: who had ben abſent now the ſpace of ij. yeares & a halfe. In the which meane tyme, the Cardinall was depoſed, as is afore ſhewed, and M. More ſet in his place of the Chauncellourſhyp.

Thus Fiſhes wife beyng emboldened by the kinges wordes, went immediatly to her huſband being lately come ouer, and lying priuely within a myle of the Court, and brought him to the kyng: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530. When yͤ king ſaw him, & vnderſtode he was yͤ author of yͤ boke, he came & embraced him with louing coūtenaūce: who after long talke, for yͤ ſpace of. iij. or. iiij. houres, as they were ridyng together on huntyng, at length dimitted hym and bad him take home his wife, for ſhe had taken great paynes for him. Who aūſwered the kyng agayne and ſaid, he durſt not ſo do, for feare of Syr Thomas More then Chauncellour, and Stokſley then Biſhop of London. This ſemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530. The kyng taking his ſignet of his finger, willed him to haue him recommended to the Lord Chauncellour, chargyng him not to bee ſo hardie to worke him any harme. M. Fiſhe receiuyng the kynges ſignet, went and declared his meſſage to the Lorde Chauncellour, who tooke it as ſufficient for his owne diſcharge, but he aſked him if he had any thyng for the diſcharge of hys wife: for ſhe a litle before had by chaunce diſpleaſed the Friers, for not ſufferyng them to ſay their Goſpels in Latin in her houſe, as they did in others, vnleſſe they would ſay it in Engliſh. Wherupon the Lord Chaūcellour, though he had diſcharged the mā, yet leauing not his grudge towardes the wife, the next mornyng ſent hys man for her to appeare before him: who, had it not bene for her yong daughter, which then lay ſicke of yͤ plague, had bene like to come to much trouble. Of the which plague her huſband, the ſayd M. Fiſhe deceaſing within halfe a yeare, ſhe after warde maryed to one M. James Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhams ſonne, a worſhipfull knight of Gloſterſhyre. The whiche foreſayd M. James Baynham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the proceſſe of this ſtory, ſhall appeare.

And thus much concerning Simon Fiſhe the author of the booke of beggars, who alſo tranſlated a booke called the ſumme of yͤ ſcripture, out of the Dutch.

Now commeth an other note of one Edmūd Moddys the kynges footeman, touchyng the ſame matter.

This M. Moddys beyng with the kyng in talke of Religion, and of newe bookes that were come from beyond the ſeas, ſayd if it might pleaſe his grace to pardō him, and ſuch as he would bryng to his grace, he ſhould ſée ſuch a booke as was maruell to heare of. The kyng demaunded what they were. Hee ſayd, two of your Marchauntes, George Elyot, and George Robinſon. The kyng poynted a tyme to ſpeake with them. Whē they came afore his preſence in a priuye cloſet, hee demaunded what they had to ſay, or to ſhew hym. One of them ſaid that there was a booke come to their handes, whiche they had there to ſhew his grace. When hee ſaw it, he demaunded if any of them could read it. Yea ſayd George Elyot, if it pleaſe your grace to heare it. I thought ſo, ſayd the kyng, for if nede were thou canſt ſay it without booke. The whole boke being read out, yͤ kyng made a long pauſe, and then ſayd, if a man ſhould pull down an old ſtone wall & begin at the lower part, yͤ vpper part therof might chaunce to fal vpō his head: & then he tooke the booke & put it into his deſke, & commaūded thē vpon their alegiance, yͭ they ſhould not tell to any man, yͭ he had ſéene the booke. &c. The Copie of the foreſaid boke, intitled of the beggars, here enſueth.

M. Moddys the kinges footeman.

The booke of Beggars brought to the kyng by *George Elyot, and George Robinſon.*

The kinges aunſwere vpon the booke of Beggars.

¶ A certaine Libell or booke intituled the Supplication
of beggers, throwen and ſcattered at the proceſſion
in Weſtminſter vpon Candelmas day, before kyng
Henry the viij. for hym to read and peruſe,
made and compiled by Maiſter Fiſhe.

¶ To the king our ſoueraigne Lorde.

Moſt lamentably complayneth their wofull miſery, vnto your highnes, your poore dayly bedemen the wretched hydious monſters, on whom ſcarſly for horror any eye dare looke, the foule vnhappy ſort of lepers, and other ſore people, nedy, impotēt, blynde, lame, and ſicke, that lyue onely by almes, how that their number is dayly ſo ſore increaſed, that all the almes of all the well diſpoſed people of this your realme, is not halfe enough for to ſuſteine them, but that for verye conſtraint, they dye for hunger. And this moſt peſtilent miſchief is come vppon your ſayd poore beadmen, by the reaſon that there is in the tymes of your noble predeceſſours paſſed, craftely crept into this your realme, an other ſorte, not of impotent, but of ſtrong, puiſant, and counterfeit holy, and idle beggers and vagabundes, which ſince the tyme of their firſt entre, by all the craft and wylines of Sathan, are now encreaſed vnder your ſight, not onely into a great nomber, but alſo into a kyngdome.

A libell called the Supplication of Beggars.

Strong, puiſſant, ſturdie, and idle beggars.

These are not the herdes but the rauinous wolues goyng in herdes clothyng, deuouryng the flocke, Byſhops, Abbots, Priours, Deacōs, Archdeacons, Suffraganes. Prieſts, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, Pardoners and Somners. And who is able to nomber this idle rauenous ſort, which (ſetting all labour aſide) haue begged ſo importunatly, that they haue gottē into their handes, more then the thyrd part of all your Realme. The goodlieſt lordſhyps, manors, landes, & territories are theirs. Beſides this, they haue the x. parte of all the corne, medow, paſture, graſſe, woode, coltes, calues, lambes, pygs geeſe, and chickens. Ouer and beſides, the x. part of euery ſeruauntes wages, the x. parte of wolle, milke, hony, waxe, cheeſe, and butter: yea and they looke ſo narrowly vpon their profites, that the poore wiues muſt be countable to them for euery x. egge, or els ſhe getteth not her rightes at Eaſter, and ſhalbe takē as an hereticke. Hereto haue they their foure offryng dayes. What money pul they in by probates of teſtamentes, priuye tithes, and by mens offrynges to their pilgrimages, and at their firſt Maſſes. Euery man and childe that is buryed, muſt pay ſomewhat for Maſſes and Diriges, to bee ſong for hym, or els they will accuſe their friendes and executours of hereſie. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confeſſions (and yet they will kepe therof no counſell) by halowyng of Churches, altares, ſuperaltares, chapels, and belles, by curſyng of men, and abſoluyng them agayne for money: what a multitude of money gather the Pardoners in a yeare? Howe much money get the

More then the thyrd parte of the realme in the ſpirituall mens handes.

Somners by extortion, in a yeare, by aſciting the people to the Commiſſaries Court, and afterward releaſing the apparauntes for money? Finally, the infinite number of beggyng Friers, what get they in a yeare?

*Here if it pleaſe your grace to marke, you ſhall ſee a thyng far out of ioint. There are within your realme of England. 52000. Pariſhe Churches. And this ſtanding, that there be but x. houſholdes in euery Pariſhe, yet are there v.c. M. & xx. M. houſholdes. And of euery of theſe houſholdes *hath euery of the fiue orders of Friers, a peny a quarter, for euery order: that is, for all the fiue orders, fiue pence a quarter, for euery houſe: that is, for all yͤ fiue orders. xx. d. a yeare of euery houſe. Summa v. c. and xx. M. quarters of Aũgels. That is cclx. M. halfe aungels. Summa cxxx. M. aũgels. *Summa totalis xliij. M. poundes & cccxxxiij. li. vi. s. viij. d. ſterlyng. wherof not iij. c. yeares paſſed, they had not one peny.

*Peraduenture the common counte of the pariſhes of England, among men, and in Mappes of the olde time ſo vvent. And albeit the ſayd pariſhes doe not amount novv to the ſame rate of 52000: yet neuertheles the number (no doubt) is great, and therfore the quartarage of the Fryers can not be litle, but ryſeth to a great pennye through the realme. VVherupõ the ſcope of this mans reaſon ſoũdeth to good purpoſe. For although he hit not perfectlye on the iuſt ſummes, yet it cã not be denyed, but the Fryers had very much, and much more, thẽ they deſerued. Agayne, neither can it bee denyed, but the more they had, the leſſe redounded to the impotent nedye beggars in deede. And vvhat reaſon is it, that ſuch valiaunt beggars, vvhich may vvorke, and yet vvill needes bee idle, ſhould reape any peece of the croppe, vvhich beare no burden of the harueſt, but vvilfully do ſit idle, and ſerue to no vſe neceſſary in the common vvealth?

*Admitte the ſumma totalis came not to ſo much, yet it came to more then the Fryers deſerued, vvhich coulde vvell vvorke and vvoulde not, and vvoulde needes begge, and needed not. VVherof reade more pag. 504. and 507. in the ſtorye of Armachanus.

*Oh greuous, &c. theſe vvordes, ſayth M. More, the ſoules them ſelues dyd heare, euen into Purgatorye. Belyke M. More him ſelfe ſtoode behind Purgatorye dore the ſame time, or ells hovv coulde he tell, that the ſoules dyd heare hym?

*Oh greuous & paynfull exactions, thus yearelye to bee payd: from the whiche the people of your noble predeceſſours the kinges of the auncient Britaines, euer ſtoode free. And this will they haue, or els they wil procure him that will not geue it them, to be taken as an hereticke. what Tyranne euer oppreſſed yͤ people, lyke this cruell & vengeable generation? what ſubiectes ſhalbe able to helpe theyr prince, that be after this faciõ yearely poled? what good Chriſten people can be able to ſuccour vs poore lepers, blynde, ſore, and lame, that be thus yearely oppreſſed? Is it any maruaile that your people ſo complayn of pouertie? Is it any maruaile that the taxes, fiftenes and ſubſidies, that your grace moſt tenderly of great compaſſion, hath taken among your people to defende them frõ the threatened ruine of their common wealth, haue bene ſo ſloughtfully, yea paynefully leuied, ſeyng almoſt the vttermoſt peny that mought haue bene leuied, hath bene gathered before yearely, by this rauinous and inſatiable generation? Neither yͤ Danes nor the Saxones, in the time of the auncięt Britons, ſhould euer haue bene able to haue brought theyr armies frõ ſo farre, hether into your land, to haue conquered it, if they had had at that tyme, ſuch a ſorte of idle glottons to finde at home. The noble kyng Arthur had neuer bene able to haue caried hys armie to the foote of the mountaines, to reſiſte the cõmyng down of Lucius the Emperour, if ſuch yearely exactions had bene taken of his people. The Grekes had neuer bene able to haue ſo long continued at the ſiege of Troy, if they had had at home ſuch an idle ſorte of cormorantes to find. The auncient Romaines had neuer bene able to haue put all the whole world vnder their obeyſaunce, if their people had bene thus yearely oppreſſed. The Turke nowe in your time ſhould neuer bene able to get ſo much ground of Chriſtendome, if hee had in his Empire ſuch a ſorte of locuſtes, to deuoure his ſubſtaunce. Lay then theſe ſũmes to the foreſaid third part of the poſſeſſions of the realme, that ye may ſee whether it drawe nygh vnto the halfe of the whole ſubſtaunce of the Realme, or not: ſo ſhall ye finde that it draweth farre aboue.

He meaneth all thys onely of idle Fryers.

Now, let vs then compare the nomber of this vnkynd idle ſorte, vnto the nomber of the lay people, and we ſhal ſee whether it bee indifferently ſhifted or not, that they ſhould haue halfe. Compare them to the number of men, ſo are they not the hundreth perſon. Compare them to men, wemen and childrẽ, then are they not the foure hũdreth perſon in number. One part therfore in foure hũdreth partes deuided, were to much for them, except they did labour. what an vnequall burthen is it that they haue halfe with the multitude, and are not the foure hundreth perſon of their nomber? what tongue is able to tell that euer there was any common wealth ſo ſore oppreſſed, ſince the world firſt began?

An vnequall diuiſion that the Fryers ſhould haue halfe with the multitude, they being not the foure hundreth perſon of the number.

And what doth all this gredy ſort of ſturdy, idle, holy theeues, with theſe yearely exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothyng but exempt them ſelues from yͤ obedience of your grace. Nothyng but trãſlate all rule, power, lordſhip, authoritie, obediẽce & dignitie, frõ your grace, vnto them. Nothyng but that all your ſubiectes ſhould fall into diſobedience and rebellion agaynſt your grace, and be vnder them, as they did vnto your noble predeceſſour kyng Iohn: which for becauſe that he would haue puniſhed certain traitours that had conſpired with the Frenche kyng, to haue depoſed him from his crowne and dignitie (among the whiche a Clerke called Stephen, whom afterwarde agaynſt the kynges will, the Pope made Byſhop of Caunterbury, was one) enterdited his land. For the whiche matter your moſt noble realme wrongfully (alas for ſhame) hath ſtand tributary not vnto any kinde of temporall prince, but vnto a cruell deuiliſhe bloudſupper, dronken in the bloud of the Saintes and Martyrs of Chriſt, euer ſince.

Here were an holy ſort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could puniſh ſuch a rightuous kyng, all his realme and ſucceſſion, for doyng right. Here were a charitable ſorte of holy men, that could thus enterdite an whole realme, and plucke away the obedience of the people from their naturall liege Lord, and kyng, for none other cauſe, but for his righteouſnes. Here were a bleſſed ſorte, not of meke heardes, but of bloudſuppers, that could ſet the French kyng vpon ſuch a righteous Prince, to cauſe him to loſe hys crowne and dignitie, to make effuſion of the bloud of his people, vnles this good and bleſſed king, of great compaſſion, more fearyng and lamentyng the ſhedyng of the bloud of his people, then the loſſe of his crowne and dignitie, agaynſt all right and conſciẽce, had ſubmitted hym ſelfe vnto them.

O caſe moſt horrible, that euer ſo noble a kyng, realme and ſucceſſion, ſhould thus bee made to ſtoupe to ſuch a ſorte of bloudſuppers. where was his ſword, power, crowne, and dignitie become, whereby hee might haue done iuſtice in this matter? where was their obedience become, that ſhould haue bene ſubiect vnder his hygh power in this matter? Yea where was the obedience of all his ſubiectes become, that for maintenaunce of the cõmon wealth, ſhould haue holpen hym manfully to haue reſiſted theſe bloudſuppers, to yͤ ſheding of theyr bloud? was not altogether by their policy, tranſlated from this good kyng vnto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothyng, but apply them ſelues by all the ſleightes they may, to haue to do with euery mans wife, euery mans daughter, and euery mans mayde, that cuckoldrie and baudrie ſhould reigne ouer al, among your ſubiectes, that no mã ſhould know his owne childe, that their baſtardes might inherite the poſſeſſions of euery man, to put the right begotten children cleare beſide their inheritaunce, in ſubuerſiõ of all eſtates and godly order. Theſe bee they that by their abſteinyng from Mariage, do let the generation of the people, whereby all the realme at length, if it ſhould be continued, ſhalbe made deſert and inhabitable.

Theſe bee they that haue made an C. M. idle whores in your realme, whiche would haue gotten their lyuyng honeſtly, in the ſweat of theyr faces, had not their ſuperfluous riches illected them to vncleane luſt and idelnes. Theſe be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankynd in your realme, that catche the pockes of one woman, and beare them to an other, that be burnt with one woman, and beare it to an other, that catche the lepry of one woman, and beare it to an other. Yea ſome one of them ſhall boaſt among his felowes, that he hath medled with an C. women. Theſe bee they that when they haue ones drawen mens wiues to ſuch incontinencie, ſpend away their huſbandes goodes, make the wemen to runne away from their huſbandes, yea, runne away them ſelues both with wife and goodes, bryngyng both man, wife, and children, to idleneſſe, thefte, and beggery. Yea, who is able to nomber the great & broade bottomles Occeane Sea, ful of euils, that this miſchieuous and ſinfull generation may lawfully bryng vppon vs, vnpuniſhed?

Where is your ſword, power, crowne, and dignitie become, that ſhould puniſhe by puniſhement of death, euen as other men are puniſhed, the felonyes, rapes, murders, and treaſons committed by this ſinfull generation? where is their obedience become that ſhould bee vnder your hygh power in this matter? Is not altogether tranſlated and exempt from your grace vnto them?

Yes truly.* what an infinitie nomber of people might haue ben encreaſed to haue peopled the realme, if thys ſorte of folke had bene maryed lyke other men? what breach of matrimony is there brought in by thē? ſuch truly as was neuer ſince the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen. who is ſhe that will ſet her handes to worke, to get iij. d. a day, and may haue at leaſt xx. d. a day to ſlepe an houre with a Frier, a Monke, or a Prieſt? what is he that would labour for a grote a daye, and may haue at leaſt xij. d. a day to be bawde to a Prieſt, a Mōke, or a Frier? what a ſorte are there of them that mary Prieſtes ſoueraigne Ladyes, but to cloke the Prieſtes incōtinency, ⁊ that they may haue a liuing of ẏ Prieſtes, them ſelues for their labour? How many M. doth ſuch lubricitie bryng to beggery, theft and idlenes, whiche ſhould haue kept their good name, and haue ſet them ſelues to worke, had not ben this exceſſiue treaſure of the ſpiritualtie? what honeſt man dare take any man or woman into his ſeruice, that hath bene at ſuch a ſchole with a ſpirituall man?

* The realme of England is dimini-
ed & decayed by the nūber of 200000.
erſons at leaſt, or els repleniſhed with ſo
any whores and whoremaiſters, by re-
aining of mariage frō prieſtes, Mōkes,
ers, Nunnes, Colleges, Hoſpitalls, Bead-
en, and ſuch lyke orders within the
alme of England. The increaſe of which
mber myght bee recouered, and the
aime more peopled, & alſo Gods com-
ūdements better kept, if theſe vowes
bondage were broken, and matrimo-
e permitted free to all men.

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ſes.

Oh the greuous ſhypwrake of the common wealth, whiche in auncient tyme before the cōmyng of theſe rauenous wolues, were ſo proſperous, that thē there were but fewe theeues: yea theft was at that time ſo rare, that Cæſar was not compelled to make penaltie of death vpō felony, as your grace may well perceyue in his inſtitutes. There was alſo at that tyme, but fewe poore people, and yet they did not begge, but there was giuen thē enough vnaſked, for there was at that tyme, none of theſe rauenous wolues to aſke it frō them, as it appeareth in ẏ Actes of ẏ Apoſtles. Is it any maruell though there be now ſo many beggars, theeues, and idle people? Nay truly.

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What remedye? make lawes agaynſt them? I am in doubt whether ye bee able. Are they not ſtronger in your owne Parliament houſe then your ſelfe? what a nomber of Byſhops, Abbats, and Priours, are Lordes of your Parliament? Are not all the learned men of your realme in fee with them, to ſpeake in your Parliament houſe for them agaynſt your crowne, dignitie, and common wealth of your realme, a few of your owne learned Councell onely excepted? what law can bee made agaynſt them that may be auailable? who is he (though he be greued neuer ſo ſore) ẏ for the murder of his aunceſter, rauiſhment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, treſpas, mayme, det, or any other offēce, dare lay it to their charge, by any way of actiō: and if he do, then is he by and by, by their wylines, accuſed of hereſie: yea they will ſo handle him ere he paſſe, that, except he will beare a Fagot for theyr pleaſure, he ſhalbe excommunicate, and then be all hys actions daſhed.

The Popes clergye ſtronger
Parlamētes, then princes,
hath appeared by theyr
ell lawes agaynſt the
oore Goſpellers.

lawe
remes
agaynſt
clergie.

So captiue are your lawes vnto them, that no man whō they liſte to excommunicate, may be admitted to ſue any action in any of your Courtes. If any man in your Seſſions dare be ſo hardy to endite a Prieſt of any ſuch crime, he hath ere the yeare go out, ſuch a yoke of hereſie laide in his necke, that it maketh him wiſhe that he had not done it. Your grace may ſee what a worke there is in London: how the Byſhop rageth for enditing of certaine Curates of extorcion and incontinencie the laſt yere in the wardmot queſt. Had not Richard Hunne commenced action of Premunire agaynſt a Prieſt, he had ben yet aliue and no hereticke at all, but an honeſt man. Did not diuers of your noble progenitours, ſeyng their crowne ⁊ dignitie runne into ruine, ⁊ to be thus craftely tranſlated into the handes of this miſchieuous generation, make diuers ſtatutes for the reformation therof: among whiche the ſtatute of Mortmayne was one, to the intent that after that tyme they ſhould haue no more geuen vnto them? But what auayled it? haue they not gotten into their handes more landes ſince, then any Duke in Englād hath, the ſtatute notwithſtandyng? Yea, haue they not for all that, tranſlated into their handes from your grace, halfe your kyngdome throughly, the onely name remaining to you for your aūceſtries ſake? So you haue the name ⁊ they the profite. Yea I feare, if I ſhould way al thinges to ẏ vttermoſt, they would alſo take the name vnto them, and of one kyngdome make twayne: the ſpirituall kyngdome as they call it (for they will bee named firſt) and your temporall kyngdome. And which of theſe ij. kyngdomes ſuppoſe you, is lyke to ouergrow the other, yea to put the other cleare out of memory? Truly the kyngdome of the bloudſuppers, for to them is giuen dayly out of your kyngdome: and that that is once geuen them, commeth neuer from them agayne. Such lawes haue they, that none of them may neyther geue nor ſell nothyng. what law can be made ſo ſtrong agaynſt them, that they either with money, or els with other policie, will not breake and ſet at naught? what kyngdome can endure, that euer giueth thus frō hym, ⁊ receyueth nothing agayne? Oh how all the ſubſtaunce of your Realme, your ſword, power, crowne, dignitie, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the inſaciable whyrlepole of theſe gredye goulfes, to be ſwallowed and deuoured?

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Neyther haue they any other colour to gather theſe yearely exactions into theyr handes, but that they ſay they pray for vs to God, to deliuer our ſoules out of the paynes of Purgatory, without whoſe prayer they ſay, or at leaſt without the Popes pardon, we could neuer be deliuered thence. which if it be true, thē it is good reaſon ẏ we giue them all theſe thynges, although it were a C. tymes as much. But there be many men of great literature ⁊ iudgement, ẏ for the loue they haue vnto ẏ truth ⁊ vnto ẏ cōmon wealth, haue not feared to put thē ſelues into ẏ greateſt infamy that may be, in abiection of all the world, yea in perill of death, to declare theyr opinion in this matter: whiche is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a thyng inuented by the couetouſnes of the ſpiritualtie, onely to tranſlate all kyngdomes from other princes, vnto them, and that there is not one word ſpokē of it in all holy Scripture. They ſay alſo, that if there were a Purgatory, and alſo if that the Pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one ſoule thence: hee may deliuer hym as well without money: if he may deliuer one, he may deliuer a thouſād: if he may deliuer a thouſand, he may deliuer them all, and ſo deſtroy Purgatory, and then is he a cruell Tyraunt, without all charitie, if he kepe them there in priſon and in payne, till men will giue hym money.

The moſt good, that the Popes clergie doth in England, is to pray mens ſoules out of Purgatorie.

Purgatorye denyed.

*If the Pope may deliuer ſoules out of Purgatorye for money, he may then as wel deliuer them without money, if it pleaſed hym.

Agayne, if he deliuer one, hee can deliuer a thouſand, if hee can deliuer a thouſand, hee can deliuer all, and ſo make a gaile deliuerye & a cleane diſpatche of all Purgatorye, if hee would: & if he will not whē he may, then is there no charitie in hym.

Likewiſe ſay they of all the whole ſorte of the ſpiritualtie, that if they will praye for no man but for them that gyue them money, they are Tyrannes and lacke charitie, and ſuffer thoſe ſoules to be puniſhed and pained vncharitably for lacke of theyr prayers. Thys ſort of folkes they call heretickes, theſe they burne, theſe they rage agaynſt, put to open ſhame, and make them beare Fagottes. But whether they bee heretickes or no, wel I wotte that this Purgatory and the Popes pardons are all the cauſe of ẏ tranſlation of your kyngdome ſo faſt into theyr handes: wherfore it is manifeſt, it can not be of Chriſt, for hee gaue more to the temporall kyngdome, he hym ſelfe payd tribute to Ceſar, he tooke nothyng from hym, but taught that the hygh Powers ſhould be alwayes obeyed, yea he hym ſelf (although he were moſt free, Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient vnto ẏ high Powers, vnto death. This is the great ſcabbe, why they will not let the new Teſtament go abroad in your mother tongue, leſt men ſhould eſpye that they by theyr cloked hypocriſye, do tranſlate thus faſt, your kyngdome into theyr handes: that they are not obedient vnto your hygh power: that they are cruell, vncleane, vnmercyfull, and hypocrites: that they ſeke not the honor of Chriſt, but theyr owne: that remiſſion of ſinnes are not geuē by the Popes pardon, but by Chriſt, for the ſure fayth and truſt that we haue in hym. Here may your grace well perceyue, that except you ſuffer theyr hypocriſye to be diſcloſed, all is like to runne into theyr handes, and as long as it is couered, ſo long ſhall it ſeme to euery mā to be a great impietye, not to geue thē. For this I am ſure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a mā as my father, why may I not aſwell geue them as much as my father did? And of this minde I am ſure, are all ẏ Lordes, Knightes, Squiers, Gentlemē ⁊ Yemen in Englād: yea ⁊ vntill it be diſcloſed, all your people wil thynke that your ſtatute of Mortmaine was neuer made with no good conſcience, ſeyng that it taketh away the libertie of your people, in that they may not as lawfully bye theyr ſoules out of Purgatory by geuyng to the ſpiritualtie, as theyr predeceſſours did in tymes paſt.

Chriſt ſubmitted hym ſelfe vnder temporal gouernment.

The cauſe touched, why the Popes clergie will not let the new Teſtament goe abroade in the mother tongue.

* M. More here playeth the caviller, noting the author of this ſupplication to deſire leaue to raile of the whole clergie, as though the hipocriſie of the friers could not otherwyſe be diſcloſed without raylyng of the whole clergie.

Wherfore, if you will eſchew the ruine of your crowne and dignitie, let theyr hypocriſye bee vttered, and that ſhalbe more ſpedefull in thys matter, then all the lawes that may be made, be they neuer ſo ſtrong. For to make a law for to puniſhe any offender, except it were more for

Of Doctour *Alen* the Cardinals Chaunceller, read before pag. 1111.

Of thys *Doct. Horſey* the Byſhop of Londons Chauncellour, read before pag. 931.

to geue other mē an enſample to beware how they cōmit ſuch like offēce, what ſhould it auaile? Did not Doct. Alen moſt preſumptuouſly now in your tyme, agaynſt all hys allegeaunce, all that euer he could, to pull from you the knowledge of ſuch plees, as belong vnto your hyghe Courtes, vnto an other Court in derogation of your crowne and dignitie? Did not alſo Doct. Horſey and hys complices moſt haynouſly (as all the worlde knoweth) murder in priſon that honeſt Marchaūt Richard Hunne, for that he ſued your writte of Premunire againſt a Prieſt that wrongfully helde hym in plee in a ſpirituall Court, for a matter wherof the knowledge belonged vnto your hygh Courtes? And what puniſhment was there done, that any man may take example of, to beware of lyke offence? Truly none, but that the one payd v. C. li. (as it is ſayd) to the bildyng of your chamber, and when that payment was ones paſſed, the Captaines of hys kyngdome (becauſe he faught ſo manfully agaynſt your crown and dignitie) haue heaped to hym, benefice vpon benefice, ſo that he is rewarded *x. tymes as much. The other (as it is ſayd) payd vi. C. li. for hym and hys complices: which for becauſe that hee had lykewyſe fought ſo manfully agaynſte your crowne & dignitie, was immediatly, as he had obteined your moſt gracious pardon, promoted by the captaines of his kyngdome, with benefice vpon benefice, to yͤ value of foure times as much. who cā take example of puniſhment, to beware of ſuch lyke offence? who is he of theyr kyngdome, that will not rather take courage to commit lyke offence, ſeyng the promotions that fell to theſe men for theyr ſo offendyng? ſo weake and blunt is your ſworde to ſtrike at one of the offenders of thys croked and peruers generation.

* X. times, that is, x. times as much as hee had in benefices before, and not as hee payde to the kyng. And although theſe murderers of Hunne were not recōpenced with x. tymes, or with iiij. tymes as much (which More denieth) yet cā he neuer be able to denie the ſubſtaunce of the ſtorye, that is, that Hunne by theſe was brought to hys death, and that they being put to their fines, were afterward ſufficiently recompenced with benefices vpon benefices.

Vnconuenient for a ſpirituall man to be Lord Chauncellour.

And thys is by the reaſon that the chief inſtrument of your law, yea the chief of your Councell, and he whiche hath your ſword in hys hand, to whom alſo all the other inſtrumentes are obedient, is alwayes a ſpirituall man, whiche hath euer ſuch an inordinate loue vnto his owne kyngdome, that he will maynteyne that, though all the temporall kyngdomes and common wealthes of the world, ſhould therfore vtterly be vndone. Here leaue we out the greateſt matter of all, leſt that we declaring ſuch an horrible carē of euill agaynſt the miniſters of iniquitie, ſhould ſeme to declare the one onely fault, or rather the ignoraunce of our beſt beloued miniſter of rightuouſnes, whiche is to be hyd till hee may be learned by theſe ſmall enormities that we haue ſpoken of, to know it playnly hym ſelfe.

More expoundeth thys to meane the abuſe of the ſacrament of the altar.

Prieſtes turne the hoſpitalls to theyr owne profite.

But what remedy to releue vs your poore, ſicke, lame, and ſore bedemen? To make many hoſpitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truly. The moe the worſe, for euer the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the Prieſtes beardes. Diuers of your noble predeceſſours, kynges of this realme, haue geuen landes to Monaſteries, to gyue a certayne ſumme of money yearely to the poore people, whereof for the auncientye of the tyme, they giue neuer one peny. They haue lykewyſe geuen to thē, to haue a certayn of Maſſes ſaid daily for thē, wherof they ſay neuer one. If the Abbot of weſtminſter ſhoulde ſyng euery day as many Maſſes for hys founders, as he is bound to do by hys foundation, a M. Monkes were to few. wherfore, if your grace will buylde a ſure hoſpital that neuer ſhall fayle, to releue vs all your poore bedemen, then take frō them all theſe thinges. Set theſe ſturdy loubyes abroad in the worlde to get them wyues of theyr owne, to get theyr lyuyng with theyr labour, in the ſweate of theyr faces, accordyng to the commaundement of God. Gen. 1. to geue other idle people by theyr example, occaſion to go to labour.

What wealth and goodnes cōmeth to the realme, by putting out Monkes, Friers, & Chaunteries.

Tye theſe holy idle theeues to the cartes, to be whypped naked about euery market towne, till they fall to labour, that they by theyr importunate beggyng, take not away the almes that the good Chriſtē people would geue vnto vs, ſore, impotent, miſerable people, your bedemen. Then ſhall aſwell the number of our foreſayd monſtruous ſorte, as of the baudes, whores, theeues, & idle people decreaſe. Then ſhall theſe great yearely exactions ceaſe. Then ſhall not your ſworde, power, crowne, dignitie, and obedience of your people bee tranſlated from you. Then ſhall you haue full obedience of your people. Then ſhall the idle people be ſet to worke. Then ſhall matrimony be much better kept. Then ſhall the generation of your people be encreaſed. Then ſhall your commons encreaſe in riches. Then ſhall the Goſpel be preached. Then ſhall none begge our almes from vs. Then ſhall we haue enough and more, then ſhall ſuffice vs: whiche ſhalbe the beſt hoſpitall that euer was founded for vs. Then ſhall we dayly pray to God for your moſt noble eſtate, long to endure.

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Agaynſt this booke of the Beggers, aboue prefixed, beyng written in the tyme of the Cardinall, an other cōtrary booke or ſupplication, was deuiſed and written ſhortly vpon the ſame, by one Syr Tho. More knyght, Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaſter, vnder the name and title of the poore ſelye ſoules pewlyng out of Purgatory. In the which booke, after that the ſayd M. More writer therof hath firſt diuided the whole world into iiij. partes, that is, into heauen, hell, middle earth, and Purgatory: then he maketh the dead mens ſoules, by a rethoricall Proſopopœa, to ſpeake out of Purgatorye pynfold, ſometymes lamentablye complaynyng, ſometymes pleaſauntly daylying and ſcoffyng at the authour of the Beggars booke, ſometymes ſcoldyng and raylyng at hym, callyng hym foole, wytles, frantike, an aſſe, a gooſe, a madde dogge, an hereticke, and all that naught is. And no maruell, if theſe ſely ſoules of Purgatory ſeme ſo fumiſhe and teſtie. For heate (ye knowe) is teſtye, and ſoone inflameth coller, but yet thoſe Purgatorye ſoules muſt take good heede, how they call a man foole and hereticke ſo often. For if the ſentence of the Goſpell doth pronounce them giltie of hell fire, whiche ſay, fatue, foole: it may bee doubted leſt thoſe poore ſelye melancholy ſoules of Purgatory, callyng this man foole ſo oft as they haue done, do bryng them ſelues thereby out of Purgatory fire, to the fire of hell, by the iuſt ſentēce of the Goſpell: ſo that neither the 5. wondes of S. Frances, nor all the merites of S. Dominicke, nor yet of all the Friers can releaſe them, poore wretches. But yet for ſomuch as I do not, nor can not thinke, that thoſe departed ſoules, either would ſo far ouerſhoote them ſelues if they were in Purgatory, or els that there is any ſuch fourth place of Purgatory at all (vnles it be in M. Mores Vtopia) as M. Mores Poeticall vaine doth imagine, I ceaſe therfore to burden the ſoules departed, and lay all the wyte in M. More the author, & contriuer of this Poeticall booke, for not kepyng Decorum perſonæ, as a perfect Poete ſhould haue done. They that giue preceptes of Arte, do note this in all Poeticall fictions, as a ſpeciall obſeruation, to foreſee and expreſſe what is conueniēt for euery perſon, accordyng to his degree & condition, to ſpeake and vtter. Wherefore if it be true that M. More ſayth in the ſequele of his booke, that grace and charitie increaſeth in them that lye in the paynes of Purgatory, then is it not agreable, that ſuch ſoules lying ſo long in Purgatory, ſhould ſo ſoone forget their charitie, & fall a raylyng in their ſupplicatiō ſo fumiſhly, both agaynſt this mā, with ſuch opprobrious & vnſittyng termes, & alſo againſt Iohn Badby, Rich. Howndon, Iohn Goſe, Lord Cobham, & other Martyrs of the Lord, burned for his word: alſo agaynſt Luther, Williā Tindall, Rich. Hunne, & other moe, falſely belying the doctrine by thē taught & defended: which is not like that ſuch charitable ſoules of Purgatorye would euer do, neither were it conuenient for them in that caſe, which in deede though their doctrine were falſe, ſhould redoūde to yͤ more encreaſe of their payne. Agayne where yͤ B. of Rocheſter defineth the aungels to be miniſters to Purgatory ſoules, ſome will thinke peraduenture M. More to haue miſſed ſome parte of his Decorum, in makyng the euil ſpirite of the author & the deuill, to be meſſenger betwene midle earth, and Purgatory, in bringing tydynges to yͤ priſoned ſoules, both of the booke, and of the name of the maker.

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Now, as touchyng the maner how this deuill came into Purgatory, laughyng, grynnyng, and gnaſhing his teeth, in ſothe it maketh me to laugh, to ſee the mery Antiques of M. More. Belyke then this was ſome mery deuill, or els had eatē with his teeth ſome Naſturcium

M. M
aut

Sat
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cium before: which commyng into Purgatory, to ſhew the name of this mā, could not tell his tale wᵗout laughing. But this was (ſayth he) an enmious & an enuious laughyng, ioyned wᵗ grinnyng & gnaſhing of teeth. And immediatly vpon the ſame, was cōtriued this ſcoffyng and raylyng ſupplication of the pewlyng ſoules of Purgatory, as he hym ſelfe doth terme them. So then here was enmying, enuying, laughing, grinning, gnaſhing of teeth, pewlyng, ſchoffing, raylyng, and beggyng, and altogether, to make a very blacke Sanctus in Purgatory. In deede we read in Scripture, that there ſhall be weepyng and gnaſhing of teeth in hell, where the ſoules and bodyes of men ſhalbe tormented. But who would euer haue thought before, that the euill aungell of this man, that made the booke of Beggars, beyng a ſpirituall & no corporall ſubſtaunce, had teeth to gnaſhe, and a mouth to grynne? But where then ſtode M. More I meruell all this meane while, to ſee the deuill laugh with his mouth ſo wyde, that the ſoules of Purgatorye might ſee all hys teeth? Belike this was in Vtopia, where M. Mores Purgatory is founded. But becauſe M. More is hence departed, I leaue hym with his mery Antiques. And as touchyng hys booke of Purgatory, whiche he hath left behind, becauſe Iohn Frith hath learnedly and effectuouſly ouerthrowne the ſame, I will therefore referre the reader to hym, while I repayre agayne (the Lord willyng) to the hyſtorie.

[...]blacke [...]antus [...]Purgatorye.

[...]he anſwere of [...]h. Frith, [...]aynſt [...]. Mores [...]urgatorye.

After that the Clergie of Englād, and eſpecially the Cardinall, vnderſtode theſe bookes of the Beggars ſupplication aforeſaid, to be ſtrawne abroad in the ſtreetes of London, and alſo before the kyng, the ſayd Cardinall cauſed not onely his ſeruauntes diligently to attend to gather them vp, that they ſhould not come into the kynges handes, but alſo when hee vnderſtode, that the kyng had receaued one or two of them, he came vnto the kynges Maieſty ſaying: If it ſhall pleaſe your grace, here are diuers ſeditious perſons whiche haue ſcattered abroad bookes conteynyng manifeſt errours and hereſies, deſiryng his grace to beware of them. Wherupon the kyng puttyng his hand in his boſome, tooke out one of the bookes & deliuered it vnto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with the biſhops, conſulted, how they might prouide a ſpedy remedy for this miſchief, and thereupon determined to giue out a Cōmiſſion to forbid the readyng of all Engliſh bookes, and namely this booke of Beggars, and the new Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation: whiche was done out of hand by Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London, who ſent out his prohibition vnto his Archdeacons, with all ſpede, for the forbidding of that booke and diuers other more: the tenor of which prohibition here foloweth.

[...]rouiſion [...] the Byſhops, a[...]aynſt [...]ngliſhe [...]okes.

¶ *A prohibition ſent out by Cutbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London, to the Archdeacons of his dioces, for the callyng in of the new Teſtamentes tranſlated into Engliſh, with diuers other bookes: the Cataloge wherof hereafter enſueth.*

[...] prohibi[...]d againſt [...]ngliſhe [...]ookes.

Cvtbert by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of Londō, vnto our welbeloued in Chriſte the Archdeacon of London, or to his Official, health grace and benediction. By the duety of our paſtorall office, we are bounde diligently with all our power, to foreſee, prouide for, roote out, and put away all thoſe thynges, which ſeme to tend to the perill and daunger of our ſubiectes, and ſpecially the deſtruction of their ſoules. wherfore we hauyng vnderſtandyng by the reporte of diuers credible perſons, and alſo by the euident apparaunce of the matter, that many children of iniquitie, mainteiners of Luthers ſecte, blynded throughe extreme wickednes, wandryng from the way of truth and the Catholicke fayth, craftly haue tranſlated the new Teſtament into our Engliſh tōgue, entermedlyng therwith many hereticall Articles and erronious opinions, pernicious and offenſiue, ſeducyng the ſimple people, attemptyng by their wicked and peruerſe interpretations, to prophanate the maieſtie of the Scripture, whiche hetherto hath remayned vndefiled, and craftely to abuſe the moſt holy word of God, and the true ſenſe of the ſame: of the whiche tranſlation there are many bookes imprinted, ſome with gloſes & ſome without, conteynyng in the Engliſhe tongue that peſtiferous and moſt pernicious poyſon diſperſed throughout al our dioces of London in great number: whiche truly without it be ſpedely foreſene, without doubt, will contaminate and infect the flocke committed vnto vs, with moſt deadly poyſon and hereſie, to the greuous perill and daunger of the ſoules committed to our charge, and the offence of Gods diuine maieſtie. wherfore we Cuthbert, the Biſhop aforeſaid, greuouſly ſorowing for the premiſſes, willyng to withſtand the craft and ſubteltie of the auncient enemy and his miniſters, whiche ſeke the deſtructiō of my flocke, and with a diligent care, to take hede vnto the flocke committed to my charge, deſiryng to prouide ſpedy remedies for the premiſſes, doe charge you ioyntly and ſeuerally, and by vertue of your obedience, ſtraightly enioyne and commaunde you, that by our authoritie, you warne or cauſe to be warned, all and ſingular, aſwell exempt as not exempt, dwellyng within your Archdeaconries, yͭ within. xxx. dayes ſpace, wherof x. daies ſhalbe for yͤ firſt. x. for the ſecond, & x. for the third & peremptory terme, vnder payne of excommunication, and incurryng the ſuſpicion of hereſie, they do bryng in and really deliuer vnto our vicare generall, all and ſingular ſuch bokes as conteyne the tranſlation of the new Teſtament in the Engliſhe tongue, and that you do certifie vs or our ſayd Commiſſarye, within ij. monethes after the day of the date of theſe preſentes, duely, perſonally or by your letters, together with theſe preſentes, vnder your ſeales, what you haue done in the premiſſes, vnder payne of cōtempt, geuen vnder our ſeale the. xxiij. of October, in the v. yeare of our conſecration. an. 1526.

¶ The lyke Commiſſion in lyke maner and forme, was ſent to the three other Archdeacons of Middleſexe, Eſſex, and Colcheſter, for the execution of the ſame matter, vnder the Byſhops ſeale.

¶ *The names of the bookes that were forbidden at this* tyme, together with the new Teſtament.

Bookes condemned and forbidden.

THe ſupplication of beggers.
The reuelation of Antichriſt, of Luther.
The new Teſtament of Tindall.
The wicked Mammon.
The obedience of a Chriſten man.
An introduction to Paules Epiſtle to the Romanes.
A Dialogue betwixt the father and the ſonne.
Oeconomicæ Chriſtianæ.
Vnio diſſidentium.
Piæ precationes.
Captiuitas Babilonica.
Ioannes Hus in Oſeam.
Zwinglius in Catabaptiſtas.
De pueris inſtituendis.
Brentius de adminiſtranda Republica.
Luther ad Galatas.
De libertate Chriſtiana.
Luthers expoſition vpon the Pater noſter.

¶ Beſides theſe bookes here before mētioned, within a ſhort tyme after, there were a great nomber more of other bookes in lyke manner prohibited by the kinges proclamation, but yet by the Byſhops procurement, an. 1529. the Cataloge whereof with the names and the authors, here folow.

¶ *Libri Sectæ ſiue factionis Lutherianæ importati ad* ciuitatem London. per fautores eiuſdem Sectæ, quorum nomina & auctores ſequntur.

IOannis VVycleffi viri piiſſimi dialogorū libri quatuor, quorum primus diuinitatem & ideas tractat. Secundus vniuerſarum creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitiiſq; ipſis contrariis copioſiſſimè loquitur. Quartus Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſacramenta, eius peſtiferam dotationem, antichriſti regnum, fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocriſim demonſtrat.

De bonis operibus doctoris Ma. Lutheri.

Epiſtola Lutheri ad Leonem. x. ſummum Pontificem.

Teſſaradeca conſolatoria pro laborantibus & oneratis Mart. Lutheri.

Tractatus Lutheri de libertate Chriſtiana.

Sermo doctoris Martini Lutheri.

Enarrationes M. Lutheri in epiſtolas D. Petri.

Reſponſio Martini Lutheri ad librum Magiſtri Bartholomei Catharini defenſoris Silueſtri Pontificis cum expoſita viſione Danielis 8. de an. Chriſti.

De operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.

Deutronomos Moſis ex Hebreo caſtigatus, cum annotationibus Martini Lutheri.

Lutheri Catheciſmus Latina donatus ciuitate, per Iohannem Lonicerum.

Ionas Propheta, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.

In Epiſtolam Pauli ad Galathas, Martini Lutheri cõmentarius.

Mart. Lutheri epiſtolarũ farrago pietatis & eruditionis plena, cum Pſalmorum aliquot interpretatione.

Enarrationes ſeu Poſtilla Martini Lutheri in lectiones qua ex Euangelicis hiſtorijs, Apoſtolorum ſcriptis, alijsq; ſacra ſcriptura literis deſumpta per vniuerſum annum, tam diebus dominicis, quam diuorum memoria ſacris ſuper miſſam faciendam recitantur.

Concluſiones ſedecim R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri de fide & ceremonijs.

Eiuſdem de fide & operibus ſaluberrima declaratio.

Ceremoniarum eruditiſſima reſolutio, quid ſint & quomodo eis vtendum.

Concluſiones quinquaginta eiuſdem pro timoratis conſcientijs.

Reſolutio Lutheriana ſuper propoſitionem ſuam. xiij. de poteſtate Papa.

Didimi Fauentini aduerſus Thomam Placentinum, pro Martino Luthero Theologo oratio.

Enarrationes noua Domini Mart. Lutheri in Ionam Prophetam.

De votis monaſticis Martini Lutheri iudicium.

Enchiridion piarum precationum Martini Lutheri.

Conciuncula quadam Martini Lutheri in deipara virginis, & aliquot feſtos dies nuper è populari lingua latinè facta.

In Eſaiam Prophetam commentarius Iohannis Oecolampadij.

In Danielem Prophetam Ioannis Oecolampadij libri duo.

Appologetica Ioannis Oecolãpadij de dignitate Euchariſtia. Itẽ, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinã in verbis Cena alienum ſenſum inferant.

De non habendo pauperum delectu, Ioannes Oecolampadius.

In poſtremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariam, & Malachiam, commentarius Iohannis Oecolampadij.

Quid de Euchariſtia veteres tũ Graci, tum Latini ſenſerint dialogus, in quo epiſtola Philippi Melanctonis & Iohannis Oecolampadij inſerta ſunt.

Apolegetica Ioannis Oecolampadij de dignitate Euchariſtia.

Ioannes Oecolampadius de genuina verborũ Domini, Hoc eſt corpus meum ſignificatione.

In epiſtolam Pauli Apoſtoli adnotationes à Ioanne Oecolampadio recognita.

Acuta exegeſis id eſt expoſitio Euchariſtici negotij ad Martinum Luthurum, Huldricho ZVVinglio authore.

Complanationes Eſaia Propheta fœtura prima, cũ Apologia per Huldricum ZVVinglium.

Farrago Annotationum in Geneſim, ex ore Hulderichi ZVVinglij.

Annotatiuncula per Leonem Iudam, ex ore ZVVinglij, in vtramq; Pauli ad Corinthios Epiſtolam.

Ad Phillippenſes annotatiuncula per Leonem Iudã, ex ore Huldrichi ZVVinglij excepta.

Ad illuſtriſsimos Germania principes Auguſta congregatos de conuitijs Eccij.

In Catabaptiſtarum Strophas Elenchus Huldrichi ZVVinglij.

De veteri & falſa religione Huldrichi ZVVinglij commẽtarius.

Ad illuſtriſsimum catterum principem Philippum, Sermones de prouidentia Dei, Huldricho ZVVinglio autore.

Complanationes Ieremia Propheta fœtura prima, cum Apologia, per Huldricum ZVVinglium.

Ad Theobaldi Billicani & vrbani regij Epiſtolas reſponſio Huldrichi ZVVinglij.

Quo pacto ingenui adoleſcentes formandi ſunt, praceptiones paucula, Huldricho ZVVinglio autore.

Annotationes Iohãnis Bugẽhagij Pomerani in Epiſtolas Pauli ad Galathas, Epheſios, Phillippenſes, Coloſsenſes, Theſsalonicenſes, primã & ſecundam.

In Regum duos vltimos libros annotationes Ioannis Bugenhagij pomerani poſt Samuelem, iam primum emiſsa.

Iohannis Bugenhagij pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, & in Samuelem Prophetam, id eſt duos libros Regum.

De coniugio Epiſcoporum & diaconorum, ad venerandum doctorem VVolfgangum Reyſenbuits, per Iohannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum.

Explicatio breuis, ſimplex, & canonica libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris teſt. canonici libri expoſiti ſunt, autore Conrado Pellicano.

Pſalterium Dauidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non eſſe ferendas in templis Chriſtianorum imagines & ſtatuas coli ſolitas, autoribus ecclea ſiaſtis argentoraten.

Epiſtola Martini Buceri, Euangeliſtarũ enarrationes nuncupata.

De Ebdomadis que apud Danielem ſunt opuſculũ, in quo tractatur de ſacrificio miſſa abolendo, incerto autore.

Noua doctrina ad veterem collatio per Vrbanum Regium, in quo tractat de ſacris Eccleſia.

Collectanea communium troporum ſacroſancta ſcriptura, Bartholomeo VVeſthemero collectore.

In epiſtolam ad Romanos, Andrea Knopken Coſtermenſis interpratatio Adiecta eſt Epiſtola à Philippo Melancthone.

Loci vtriuſque teſtamenti complectentes pracipua capita totius Chriſtianiſmi, cum adiectis ſcholijs.

Epiſtola Pauli ad Titum iam recens per Iohannem Agricolam ſcholijs nouis illuſtrata.

In Hoſeam Prophetam. 5. ſermones Capitonis.

Diſpoſitio orationis in Epiſtolam Pauli ad Romanos, Philippo Melancthone autore.

Sancti Pauli ad Coloſsenſes Epiſtola, cum commentarijs Philippi Milancthonis.

Noua ſcholia Philippi Melancthonis in Prouerbia Salomonis.

De authoritate, officio, & poteſtate Paſtorum eccleſiaſticorũ, ex Philippi Melancthonis editione.

Philippi Melancthonis Annotationes in Ioannem.

Annotationes Philippi Melancthonis in Euangelium Matthai.

Enarrationes perpetua in ſacra quatuor Euangelia per Martinũ Bucerum.

In Sancti Pauli Epiſtolam ad Epheſeos, Martinus Bucerus.

In theophaniã, quem Sophoniam vulgo vocãt, Epitomographus, ad ebraicam veritatem verſus, per Martinum Bucerum.

Iob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij.

Eccleſiaſtes Salomonis cum commentarijs Ioannis Brentij.

In Diui Ioannis Euangelium Io. Brentij exegeſis.

Franciſci Lamberti Auinionenſis, in diui Luca Euangelium commentarij.

Franciſci Lamberti commentarij de Prophetia, eruditione, & linguis, deq; litera & ſpiritu.

In regulam Minoritarum, & cõtra vniuerſas perditionis Sectas, Franciſci Lamberti commentarij.

Eiuſdem libellus de differentia ſtimuli carnis Sathna nuncij, & vſtionis.

In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem ſenſibus altiſſimis, in quo ſublimia ſacri coniugij myſteria qua in Chriſto & Eccleſia ſunt, pertractantur, Franciſci Lamberti commentarij.

In Amos, Abdiam, & Ionam, Prophetas, commentarij Franciſci Lamberti.

Franciſci Lamberti cõmentarij in. iiij. vltimos Prophetas, nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam, & Malachiam.

VVeſſellus de ſacramẽto Euchariſtia, & de audienda miſſa. Farrago VVeſſelli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de prouidentia Dei, de dignitate & pietate Eccleſiaſtica, de Sacramento panitentia, & qua ſunt claues Eccleſia, & de purgatorio.

VVeſelli Epiſtola aduerſus M. Engelbertum Lerdens, in qua tractatur quid ſit tenendum de ſpirituũ & mortuorũ apparationibus, ac de ſuffragijs & celebrationibus.

Tractatus VVeſſelli de oratione & modo orandi.

De Chriſti incarnatione, de magnitudine, & amaritudine dominica paſſionis, libri duo VVeſſelli Groningenſi authore.

In Dei gratia & Chriſtiana fidei commendationem, contra falſam & phariſaicam multorum, de iuſticijs & meritis operũ doctrinam & gloriationem, fragmenta aliquot D. Iohannis Gocchij, nunquam antehac excuſa.

Dialogus D. Iohannis Gocchij Mechlinienſis, de quatuor errorib. circa Euangelicam legem exortis.

Quod non ſit oneroſa confeſſio paradox. Ioannis Oecolampadij.

De celibatu monachatu, & viduitate, Domino Andrea Caroloſtadio autore.

Franciſci Lamberti commentarij, de cauſis excacationis multorum ſeculorum, ac veritate denuò & nouiſſimè dei miſericordia reuelata. &c. Ex Regiſt. London.

The new Teſtament in the Catalogue aboue recited, began firſt to bee tranſlated by William Tyndall, and ſo came foorth in Printe, about the yeare of our Lord. 1529. wherewith Cutbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London, with Syr Tho. More beyng ſore agreued, deuiſed how to deſtroye that falſe erronious tranſlation, as he called it. It happened that one Auguſtine Packington a Mercer, was therr at Antwarpe, where the Byſhop was. This man fauoured Tyndal, but ſhewed the contrary vnto the Byſhop. The Byſhop beyng deſirous to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, cõmoned how that he would gladly bye the new Teſtamentes. Packington hearyng him ſay ſo, ſayd: my Lord, I can do more in this matter then moſt Marchauntes that be here, if it be your pleaſure, for I knowe the Dutchmen and ſtrãgers that haue bought them of Tyndall, and haue them here to ſell, ſo that if it bee your Lordſhyps pleaſure

Aug Pack ton.

ſure I muſt diſbource money to paye for them, or els I can not haue them, and ſo I will aſſure you to haue euery booke of them that is printed and vnſolde. The Byſhop thinking he had God by the too, ſayd: do your diligẽce gentle Maiſter Packington, get them for me, and I will pay what ſo euer they coſte, for I entend to burne and deſtroy thẽ all at Paules Croſſe. This Auguſtine Packington, went vnto William Tyndal and declared the whole matter, and ſo vpon compact made betwene them, the Byſhop of London had the bookes, Packington had the thankes, and Tyndall had the money. After this, Tyndall corrected the ſame new Teſtamentes agayne, and cauſed them to be newly imprinted, ſo that they came thicke and threefolde ouer into England. When the Byſhop perceaued that, hee ſent for Packington, and ſaid to hym, how cometh this that there are ſo many new Teſtaments abroade? you promiſed me that you would bye thẽ all. Then aunſwered Packington, ſurely I bought all that was to bee had, but I perceaue they haue printed more ſince. I ſee it will neuer be better, ſo long as they haue letters and ſtampes, wherfore you were beſt to bye ẏ ſtampes too, and ſo you ſhalbe ſure. At which aunſwere the Biſhop ſmyled and ſo the matter ended.

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In ſhort ſpace after, it fortuned that George Conſtantine was apprehended by Syr Thomas More, whiche was then Chauncellour of England, ſuſpected of certaine hereſies during the tyme that he was in the cuſtodie of M. More. After diuers communications amongeſt other thyngs, M. More aſked of hym, ſaying: Conſtantine I would haue thee plaine with me in one thyng that I will aſke, and I promiſe thee I will ſhow thee fauour in all other thynges, wherof thou art accuſed. There is beyonde the ſea, Tyndall, Ioye, and a great many of you: I know they can not liue without helpe. There are ſome that helpe and ſuccour them with money, and thou being one of them, haddeſt thy part therof, and therfore knoweſt frõ whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that helpe them thus? My Lord quoth Conſtãtine, I will tell you truly: it is the Byſhop of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath beſtowed among vs a great deale of money vpon new Teſtamentes to burne them, & that hath bene & yet is our onely ſuccour & comfort. Now by my truth, quoth More, I thinke euen the ſame, for ſo much I told the Byſhop before he went about it.

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Of this George Conſtantine moreouer it is reported by Syr Tho. More, that he being takẽ and in hold, ſemed well content to renounce hys former doctrine, and not onely to diſcloſe certeine other of his felowes, but alſo ſtudied and deuiſed, how thoſe bookes, which him ſelfe and other of his fellowes had brought and ſhypped, might come to the Byſhops handes to be burned, and ſhewed to the foreſaid Syr Tho. More Chaũcellour, the ſhypmans name that had them, and the markes of the fardels, by the whiche the bookes afterward were taken and burned. Beſides this he is reported alſo to haue diſcloſed diuers of his companions, of whom ſome were abiured after, ſome had abiured before, as Rich. Necton, who was committed to Newgate vpon the ſame, & is thought there to haue dyed in priſon, or els had not eſcaped their handes, but ſhould haue ſuffered burning, if the reporte of M. More be to be credited. More *in hys preface agaynſt* Tindall.

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Notwithſtãding the ſame Conſtantine afterward, by the helpe of ſome of his frendes, eſcaped out of priſon ouer the ſeas, and after that, in the tyme of kyng Edward, was one of them that troubled the good Byſhop of S. Dauides, whiche after in Queene Maryes time, was burned. But of Conſtantine enough.

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Mention was made in ẏ leafe before. pag. 1157. how the Byſhops had procured of the kyng a proclamation to be ſet forth in ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1529. for ẏ aboliſhyng of diuers bookes aforenamed, & alſo for withſtãdyng of all ſuch as taught or preached any thing agaynſt the dignitie and ordinaunces of the Church of Rome. Upon this proclamation inſued great perſecution and trouble againſt the poore innocent flocke of Chriſt, as here following you may ſee, with the ſayd proclamation alſo prefixed before the ſame, the tenor wherof is this.

¶ *A Proclamation for reſiſtyng and withſtandyng of* moſt dampnable hereſies, ſowen within this realme by the diſciples of Luther, and other heretickes, peruerters of Chriſtes Religion.

Thys proclamation was made through out all England, the yeare of our Lorde 1529. and the xxi. yeare of K. Henry 8.

The kyng our ſoueraygne Lord, of hys moſt vertuous and gratious diſpoſition, conſideryng that this noble realme of England, hath of long tyme continued in the true Catholicke fayth of Chriſtes religion, and that his noble progenitours, kynges of this his ſayd realme, haue before thys tyme, made and enacted, many deuout lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces, for the maintenaunce and defence of the ſayd fayth, agaynſt the malicious and wicked ſectes of heretickes and Lollardes, who by peruerſion of holy Scripture, to enduce erroneous opiniõs, ſowe ſedition among Chriſten people, and finally do diſturbe the peace and tranquillitie of Chriſten realmes, as late happened in ſome partes of Germany, where, by the procurement and ſedition of Martin Luther and other heretickes, were ſlayne an infinite nomber of Chriſten people: conſideryng alſo, that aſwell by the corruption and malice of indiſcrete preachers, fautours of the ſayd erroneous ſectes, as by certayne hereticall and blaſphemous bookes lately made, and priuily ſent into this realme, by the diſciples, fautors, and adherentes of the ſaid Martin Luther and other heretickes, the kynges ſubiectes are lyke to bee corrupted, vnleſſe hys hyghneſſe (as the defenſor of the fayth) do put to hys moſt gratious helpe and authoritie royall, to the due and ſpedy reformation therof: hys hyghnes therfore, lyke a moſt gratious Prince, of hys bleſſed and vertuous diſpoſitiõ, for the incomparable zeale, whiche he hath to Chriſtes religion and fayth, & for the ſingular loue and affection that he beareth to all hys good ſubiectes of this hys realme, and ſpecially to the ſaluation of theyr ſoules, accordyng to hys office and duety in that behalfe, willeth and intendeth to prouide withall conuenient expedition, that thys hys noble realme maye bee preſerued from the ſayd peſtiferous, curſed, and ſeditious errours. And for as much as hys hyghnes is credibly informed, that ſome of the ſayd errors be already ſowen and ſpread within thys hys realme, partly by the corruption of indiſcrete preachers, partly by erroneous bookes, compyled, prynted and written, as well in the Engliſhe tongue, as in latine & other languages, replete with moſt venemous hereſies, blaſphemies, & ſclaunders, intolerable to the cleane eares of any good Chriſten man: hys hyghnes therfore, lyke a moſt gratious and Chriſtiã Prince, onely entendyng the ſauegard of thys his realme, the preſeruation of hys ſubiectes, and ſaluation of theyr ſoules, willeth to put now in executiõ, with all diligence poſſible, all good lawes, ſtatutes, & ordinaunces concerning the premiſſes before thys tyme prouided, made, and ordeyned by hys moſt noble progenitours, kynges of England, for that purpoſe and entent. whiche lawes and ſtatutes by our ſoueraygne Lord, and hys moſt honorable counſayle, by long and deliberate aduiſe for the extirpation ſuppreſſyng and withſtandyng of the ſayd hereſyes, haue bene ſeene, examined, and by them in euery parte, thought good and neceſſary to be put in execution.

wherefore hys hyghnes chargeth and ſtraytly commaundeth all and euery hys Lordes ſpirituall & temporall, Iudges, Iuſtices of peace, Shryues, Maiors, Bayliffes, Conſtables, & all other hys Officers, Miniſters, and all his true and louyng ſubiectes, that all fauour, affectiõ, and partialitie layd apart, they effectually with all diligence and ſtudy, endeuour them ſelues ſubſtantially, for, the executyng of all and euery of the Articles hereafter enſuyng, without diſſimulatiõ, intermiſſiõ, or excuſe, as they will auoyde his high indignation & diſpleaſure.

Firſt, that no man within the kynges realme or other hys dominions ſubiecte to hys hyghnes, hereafter preſume to preach, teache, or informe any thyng openly or priuely, or compile and write any booke, or hold, exerciſe, or kepe any aſſembles or ſcholes, in any maner of wiſe, contrary to the Catholicke fayth, or determination of holy Churche, nor that any perſon within this hys ſayd realme and dominions, do preſume to preache openly or ſecretly, without they haue firſt obtayned licence of the Byſhop of the dioceſſe, where they entend to preache, Curates in their pariſhes, Parſōs priuileged, and other by the law of the Churche onely except.

Alſo, that no mā wittyngly hereafter fauour, ſupport, or mayntayne any perſon, whiche preacheth in forme aforeſaid or maketh any ſuch or like conuenticles & aſſembles, holdeth or exerciſeth any ſcholes, maketh, writeth, or publiſheth any ſuch booke, teacheth, informeth, or ſtyrreth yͤ people or any of thē, in any maner of forme, to the ſayd errours. Moreouer that all and euery perſon and perſons hauyng any bookes or writynges of any ſuch errours, erroneous doctrine and opinion, do deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered effectually and actually, al and euery ſuch bookes and writynges, to the Byſhops of the dioces, or to the ordinary of the place, within xv. dayes after thys proclamation pronounced. And in caſe any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, conditiō, or degree, ſoeuer they bee, do or attempt any thyng contrary to thys Acte and proclamation, or do not deliuer or cauſe to bee deliuered ſuch bookes, within the tyme aforeſayd, that euery Byſhop in his dioces or Ordinary, ſhall cauſe that perſon or perſons, and euery of them to bee arreſted, in that behalfe diffamed or euidently ſuſpected, and deteyne and kepe them vnder ſafe cuſtody in theyr priſons, vntill ſuch time, that the ſaid perſons & euery of thē, either haue purged them ſelues of the ſaid errours, or els do abiure theyr ſayd erroneous ſectes, preachyngs, doctrines, or opinions, as the law of holy Church doth require.

Penaltie.

Farthermore, if any perſon by the law of holy Church be conuicted before the Byſhop of the dioces or hys Cōmiſſaries in any caſe aboue expreſſed, that the ſayd Byſhop may kepe in priſon, the ſayd perſon or perſons ſo cōuicted, as it ſhall ſeme beſt to hys diſcretion, after the greuouſnes or qualitie of the cryme, and farther, may ſet a fyne to be payd to the behouſe of the kyng, by the perſon or perſons conuicted, as it ſhalbe thought conuenient to the ſayd Byſhop, hauyng reſpect to the greuouſnes of the offence of the ſayd perſon or perſons: the ſayd fyne to be certified by the Biſhop, into the kings Eſchequier, there to be leuyed to yͤ kynges vſe, except in ſuch caſes in which by yͤ lawes of holy Church, the ſayd perſons conuict of hereſies, ought totally to bee left to the ſecular iuriſdiction.

Alſo, if any perſon within thys hys realme of England or other hys dominions, be by ſentence iudiciall cōuicted of the ſayd preachyng and doctrines prohibited, erroneous opinions, ſcholes and informations or any of them, and before the Byſhop or hys Commiſſary do abiure, accordyng to the forme of the lawes of holy Churche, the foreſayd erroneous ſectes doctrines ſcholes or informations, or els bee pronounced by the Byſhops or theyr Commiſſaries after theyr abiuration by them before made, to be relapſed, ſo that after the lawes of holy Churche, they ought to bee relinquiſhed to the iuriſdiction ſecular (wherin fayth is to bee giuen to the Byſhop or his Commiſſaryes in that behalfe) then the Shriffe of the Countye, Maior, Shriffes, or Maior and Bayliffes of the ſame Cytie, towne, or borow, next vnto the ſayd Byſhop or Commiſſaryes, ſhalbe perſonally preſēt in the ſentence gyuyng by the ſayd Byſhop or Commiſſaries therunto required, and after the ſayd ſentence gyuen, ſhall receyue the ſayd perſons and euery of them, & put them to farther execution, accordyng to the lawes of this realme.

Extrau. de hæret. Super eo.

Shriffes to be preſent at the ſentence.

Alſo, the Chauncellour, Treaſurer of Englād, yͤ Iuſtice of yͤ one Bench & the other, Iuſtices of peace, Shriffes, Maiors, and Bayliffes of Cities and townes, and other Officers hauyng gouernaunce of people, whiche now be, or for the tyme hereafter ſhalbe, ſhall make othe in takyng theyr charge & miniſtratiō, to put theyr whole power and diligence, to put away and to make vtterly to ceaſſe, and diſtroy all maner of hereſies and errours, commonly called Lollardies, within the precinctes of theyr offices and adminiſtrations, from tyme to tyme with all their power.

Alſo they ſhall aſſiſte the Byſhops, and theyr Commiſſaries, and them ſhall fauour and maintaine as often tymes as that to do, they or any of them, ſhall be required by the ſayd Byſhops, or theyr Cōmiſſaries: So that the Biſhops or theyr Commiſſaries, ſhall beare and pay the reaſonable coſtes of the ſayd officers and miniſters, when & as often as they ſhall trauayle or ryde to arreſt heretickes and Lollardes, or to aſſiſte the ſayd Byſhops or Commiſſaryes by vertue of the kynges lawes and ſtatutes.

Moreouer, the Iuſtices of the kings Bench, Iuſtices of peace, & Iuſtices of Aſſiſe ſhal inquire at theyr Seſſiōs and ſyttynges, of all thoſe that hold any errours or hereſyes, & who be theyr mayntayners, receptors, fauorers, and ſupporters, common writers of bookes, as alſo of theyr Sermons, ſcholes, conuenticles, congregations, and confederacies.

Furthermore, if any perſon bee endicted of any of the poyntes aboue ſayd, the Iuſtices of the peace haue power to award agaynſt them, A capias, and the Shriffes bee bound to arreſt ſuch perſons ſo endicted, aſſoone as they may be found by them ſelues, or by theyr Officers. And for ſomuch as cogniſaunce of hereſie, errours, and Lollardies, apperteyneth to the Iudge of holy Churche, and not to the Iudge ſecular, the perſons ſo indicted to be deliuered to the Byſhops of the places or theyr Commiſſaries, by indenture betwene them to bee made within ten dayes after theyr arreſt, or ſooner if it can be done, therof to be acquite or conuict by the lawes of holy Churche, in caſe that thoſe perſons bee not indited of other thynges, wherof the knowledge appeareth to the Iudges and Officers ſecular. In which caſe, after they be acquite and deliuered afore the Iuſtice ſecular of thoſe thynges pertaynyng to the Iudge ſecular, that they bee conueyed in ſafegard to the ordinaries or theyr Commiſſaries, and to them to be deliuered by Indentures (as is aboueſaid) there to be acquite or conuicted of the ſaid hereſies, errours and Lollardies (as is aboueſaid) after the lawes of holy Church. Prouided that the inditementes be not taken in euidence, but for an information afore the Iudges ſpirituall, agaynſt ſuch indictes, but that the Ordinaries commence theyr proces, agaynſt thoſe indictes, in the ſame maner as no inditement had ben, hauyng no regard to ſuch inditementes.

Moreouer, that no maner of perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition hee or they be, do from henceforth preſume to bryng into this realme, or do ſell, receiue, take or detayne any booke or woorke printed or written, whiche is made, or hereafter ſhall be made agaynſt the fayth Catholicke, or agaynſt the holy decrees, lawes and ordinaunces of holy Church, or in reproche, rebuke, or ſclaunder of yͤ kyng, hys honorable counſaile, or hys Lordes ſpirituall or temporall. And in caſe they haue any ſuch booke or worke, they ſhall, incontinent vpō the hauyng of them, bryng the ſayd booke or worke to the Byſhop of the dioces, without conceilment or fraude: or if they knowe any perſon, hauyng any of the ſayd bookes they ſhall detecte them to the ſayd Byſhop, all fauour or affection layd apart, and that they fayle not thus to do, as they will auoyde the kynges hygh indignation and diſpleaſure.

The bookes whiche in this proclamation generally are reſtrayned and forbidden, be afterward in the Regiſter more ſpecially named by the Byſhops. Whereof the moſt part were in Latin, as are aboue recited, and ſome were in Engliſh, as theſe and other partly alſo aboue expreſſed.

A diſputation betwene the father and the ſonne.
A booke of the olde God and new.
Godly prayers.
The christian ſtate of Matrimonie.
The burying of the Maſſe.
The ſumme of Scripture.
Mattens, and Euenſong, vij. Pſalmes, and other heauenly Pſalmes, with the commendations, in Engliſhe.
An expoſition vpon the vij. chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinth.
The Chapters of Moſes, called Geneſis.
The Chapters of Moſes, called Deuteronomos.
The Matrimonie of Tyndall.
Dauides Pſalter in Engliſhe.
The practiſe of Prelates.
Hotlulus animæ *in Engliſhe.*
A.B.C. agaynst the Clergie.
The examination of William Thorpe. &c.

Although theſe bokes withall other of the like ſorte by the vertue of this proclamation were inhibited to all Engliſh men to vſe or to read: yet licence was graūted before, to Syr Tho. More **by** Tonſtall **Byſhop of London**

London.an.1527. that he notwithſtãdyng might haue and peruſe them, with a letter alſo ſent to him from the ſayd Byſhop, or rather by the aduiſe of other Biſhops, deſiryng hym that hee would ſhewe hys cunnyng and play the prety mã, lyke a Demoſthenes, in expugnyng the doctrine of theſe bookes and opinions: who, albeit he was no great diuine, yet becauſe hee ſawe ſome towardnes in hym, by hys booke of Vtopia, and other fine Poetry of hys, therfore hee thought hym a mete man for theyr purpoſe, to withſtand the proceedynges of the Goſpell, either in makyng ſome apparance of reaſon agaynſt it, or at leaſt, to outface it and daſhe it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part, neither good will, nor labour, to ſerue the Byſhops turne, ſo farre forth as all hys rethoricke could reache: fillyng vp with fines of wytte, and ſcoffyng termes, where true knowledge & iudgement of Scripture did fayle: as by his workes and wrytyngs agaynſt Bilney, Tyndall, Frith, Fiſh, Barnes, Luther. &c. may ſoone be diſcerned, if the reaſons and maner of his hãdlyng be well wayd, & ryghtly examined, with the touchſtone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our ſtory againe:

.More / bishops / ent in / futing / Lu- / rant.

Vpon this fierſe & terrible proclamation aforeſayd, thus deuiſed & ſet out in ẏ kinges name, an.1529. ẏ biſhops which wer ẏ procurers therof, had ẏ now, which they would haue: neither did there lacke on their parte any ſtudy vnapplied, any ſtone vnremoued, any corner vnſearched, for the diligent executiõ of the ſame. Wherupon enſued greuous perſecution, and ſlaughter of the faythfull. Of whom the firſt that went to wracke was Thomas Bilney, of whom ſufficiently afore hath bene ſayd: and the next was Rich. Bayfild, as in the ſtorye here followeth.

¶ Richard Bayfild Martyr.

ichard / yfild, / artyr.

FOlowyng the order of yeares, and of tymes, as the courſe of our hyſtory requireth, next after the conſũmation of Tho. Bilney, we haue to entreat of the Martyrdome of Rich. Bayfild, which in the moneth of Nouemb. the ſame yeare, which was ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1531. was burned in Smithfield.

axwell / d Stacie / doners.

This Rich. Bayfild ſomtime a Mõke of Bury, was conuerted by D. Barnes, and ij. godly men of London, Brickemakers, M. Maxwell, and M. Stacy Wardens of their company. Who were grafted in the doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, and through their godly conuerſation of life, conuerted many men and wemen, both in London and in the countrey: and once a yeare of their own coſt, went about to viſite the brethren and ſiſterne ſcattered abroad. D. Barnes at that tyme much reſorted to the Abbey of Bery, where Bayfild was, to one D. Ruffam, who had ben at Louaine together ſtudentes. At that tyme it happened that this Bayfild the Monke, was Chamberlaine of the houſe to prouide lodging for the ſtrãugers, and to ſee them wel intertained: who delited much in D. Barnes talke, and in the other lay mẽs talke afore rehearſed, and at the laſt D. Barnes gaue him a new Teſtament in Latine, and the other ij. gaue hym Tyndals Teſtament in Engliſh, wᵗ a booke called ẏ wicked Mãmon, & the Obedience of a Chriſten mã: wherin he proſpered ſo mightely in ij. yeres ſpace, that he was caſt into ẏ priſon of his houſe, there ſore whipped, wᵗ a gagge in his mouth, & then ſtocked, & ſo continued in ẏ ſame tormẽt, iij. quarters of a yere before D. Barnes could get him out, which he brought to paſſe, by the meanes of M. Ruffam aforeſayd, & ſo he was cõmitted to D. Barnes to go to Cãbridge with hym. By that tyme hee had bene there a good while, hee taſted ſo well of good letters, that he neuer returned home againe to his Abbey, but went to London to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept hym ſecretly a while, and ſo conueyed hym beyond the Sea, D. Barnes beyng then in the Fleete for Gods worde. This Bayfeld mightly proſpered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to M. Tyndall and M. Frith, for hee brought ſubſtaunce with hym, and was their owne hande, and ſolde all their woorkes, and the Germaines woorkes both in Fraunce & in Englãd, & at ẏ laſt cõmyng to London, to M. Smithes houſe in Bucklers Bury, there was he bewrayed, and dogged from that houſe to hys Bookebynders in Marke Lane, and there taken & caryed to Lollardes Tower, & frõ thence to the Colehouſe, by reaſon that one parſõ Patmore, Parſon of Much Haddã in Eſſex then lying in Lollardes Tower, was in ẏ doctrine and in the kyngdome of Chriſt, there confirmed by him. This Parſon Patmore bare a fagot at Paules croſſe, and afterward dyed in Lollardes Tower. He was taken becauſe he maryed his prieſt in thoſe daies. He had allwayes corne plentye, and when the markets were very deare, hee woulde ſend plentye of his corne thether to plucke down the prices therof.

ichard / yfild, / onke / o cham- / lein of / e Abbey / Berye.

ichard / yfild / hypped / priſo- / amon- / the / yers.

Rich. Bayfild a maintayner of *Tindall and Fryth.*

Parſon *Patmore* dyed in Lollardes Tower.

Thus Richard Bayfild being in the Colehouſe was worſer handled, then hee was before in the Lollardes Tower, for there hee was tyed both by the necke, middle, and legges, ſtandyng vpright by the walles diuers times manicled, to accuſe other that had bought his bokes, but he accuſed none, but ſtode to his religion and confeſſion of his faith vnto the very end, and was in the Conſiſtory of Paules, thriſe put to hys trial, whether he would abiure or no. He ſaid he would diſpute for his faith, and ſo dyd, to their great ſhame, Stokeſley then being his iudge, with the aſſiſtaunce of Wincheſter & other Byſhops, wherof here foloweth now the circumſtance in order to be ſene.

The cruell handling of *Rich. Bayfild* in the Colehouſe.

The Articles layd to Richard Bayfild, by the foreſayd Byſhops, were theſe. an.1531. Nouember. x.

¶ *Articles laid to Richard Bayfeld.*

Articles obiected agaynſt *Rich. Bayfild.*

1. *FIrſt that he had bene many yeares a monke profeſſed of thorder of S. Benet, of S. Edmonds Bery, in the dioceſſe of Norwich.*

2. *That he was a prieſt, and had miniſtred and continued in the ſame order, the ſpace of ix. or. x. yeres.*

3. *That ſithens the feaſt of Eaſter laſt, he being beyond the ſea, bought and procured to haue diuers and many bokes & treatiſes of ſondry ſorts, aſwel of Martin Luthers own workes, as of diuers other of his dampnable ſect, and of Oecolampadius the great hereticke, and diuers other heretikes, both in Laten and Engliſh, the names of which bookes were conteined in a litle bil wrytten with hys own hand.*

4. *That in the yere of our Lord. 1528. he was detected & accuſed to Cuth. then Biſhop of London, for affirming and holding certein articles contrary to the holy church, and ſpecially that all laud and prayſe ſhould be geuen to God alone, and not to ſainctes or creatures,*

A rancke hereſie in the popes church, to geue all laude and prayſe to God alone.

5. *That euery prieſt might preach the word of God by the autority of the goſpel, and not to rune to the Pope or Cardinals for liſence, as it appeared (they ſaid) by his confeſſion before the ſaid Biſhop.*

6. *That he iudicially abiured the ſaid articles before the ſaid Biſhop, and did renounce and forſweare them and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy churche, promiſing that from thence forth he wold not fal into any of them, nor any other errours.*

7. *That he made a ſolemne othe vpon a boke, and the holy Euangeliſts, to fulfil ſuche penaunce as ſhoulde be enioyned hym by the ſaid Biſhop.*

8. *After his abiuration, it was enioyned to hym for penaũce, that he ſhould go before the croſſe in proceſſion, in the pariſh church of S. Buttols at Billinges gate, and to beare a fagot of wood vpon hys ſhoulder.*

9. *It was enioyned hym in penaunce, that he ſhould prouide an habite requiſite and mete for hys order and profeſſion, as ſhortlye as he might, and that he ſhould come or go no where wythout ſuch an habite, the which he had not fulfilled.*

10. *That it was likewiſe enioyned hym in penaunce, that ſometime before the feaſt of the aſſenſion thẽ next enſuing his abiuratiõ, he ſhould go home vnto the Monaſterye of Bery, and there remain according to the vow of his profeſſion,*

which he had not fulfilled.

11. *That he was appoynted by the ſayde Biſhop of London to appeare before the ſayde Biſhop the .xxv. daye of April next after his abiuration, to receiue the reſidue of his penaunce, and after his abiuration he fled beyond the ſea, and apppeared not.*

12. *That the .xx. daye of Iune next folowing hys abiuration, he did appeare before the ſaid Biſhop Tonſtall, in the Chappel of the Biſhop of Norwich his place, & there it was newly enioyned hym in part of penaunce, that he ſhold prouide him an habite conueniente for hys order and profeſſion, within viii. dayes then next folowing, which he had not done.*

13. *That it was there againe enioyned him, that he ſhould depart from the citie, dioceſſe, and iuriſdiction of London, and no more to come wythin it, wythout the ſpecial licence of the Biſhop of London or his ſucceſſor for the time being, whiche he had not fulfilled.*

¶ *The aunſwere of Rychard Baifeld to the* Artycles prefixed.

The aunſwere of *Richard Baifield*, to the articles.

TO the firſt Article he confeſſed that he was profeſſed a monke in the monaſterye aforeſaid, in the yere. 1514.

To the.ij. Article he aunſwered that he was a prieſt, and toke orders. An. 1518.

To the third Article, he confeſſed the byll and ſcedule to be wryttẽ with his hand, which is annexed therunto, and that he brought ouer the ſaid bokes & workes a yere and a half paſt, and a great nomber of euery ſort. Being further demaunded for what intent he brought them in to the realme, he anſwered, to the intent that ẏ goſpel of Chriſt might be ſet forward, and God the more glorified in this realme amongſt Chriſten people, and that he had ſolde and diſparſed manye of thoſe bokes before named, to ſondry perſons wythin this Realme, and to diuers of the dioceſſe of London. Being further demaunded, whether Martin Luther were condemned as an heretycke by the Pope, he anſwered, that he heard ſay that Martin Luther wyth al his ſect and adherents, were and are condemned as heretickes by the Pope. And being demaunded, whether Zwinglius was of Luthers ſect: he anſwered, that he neuer ſpake wyth him. Being aſked whether Zwinglius was a Catholicke: he anſwered, that he could not tel. Being inquired whether ẏ bokes contained in ẏ ſcedules, did contain any errours in thẽ: he ſaid, he could not tell, neither coulde hee iudge. Alſo hee confeſſed that the common fame hathe bene within theſe ij. or iij. yeres, that Oecolampadius and Zwinglius be heretickes: alſo that ſuch as leane to Martin Luther be heretickes. Alſo he confeſſed that being beyonde the ſea, he heard ſaye before he brought into this realme, the bokes contained in the ſaid billes, that the king had by proclamation prohibited that no man ſhould bryng into this realme any of Martin Luthers bokes, or of his Secte. which cõfeſſion thus ended, the Biſhop appoynted him to appeare the next daye.

Saterday being the. xi. daye of Nouember, Richard Baifield appeared and acknowledged the aunſweres, that he hadde made in the Seſſion the day before. which thing doone, the Officiall obiected the. iiij. Article vnto hym: wherunto he aunſweared, that he coulde not tell whether there be any hereſies in thẽ, for he had read no hereſies in them. And being demaunded whether he had read anye of thoſe bookes, hee aunſwered, that he had read the greater parte of them here and there, but not throughe out.

He was demaunded, whether he beleued the forenamed bookes to be good, & of the true faith. He anſwered that he iudged they were good, and of the true fayth. Being inquired, what bokes hee read in the Realme: he ſaid that he had read the new Teſtament in Latin, and other bookes mentioned in the billes, but he read none tranſlated: notwithſtanding he dyd confeſſe, that he read a boke called Thorp, in the preſence & audience of others, and alſo a boke of Jhon Frithes purgatory, whiche he had read to him ſelf alone as he ſayd, and alſo had read to him ſelf a boke called the practiſe of Prelates, and alſo ſayd, ẏ he had read a boke called ẏ Parable of the wicked Mammon, but in the preſence and hearynge of others, which he knewe not.

The booke of Thorpes examination.

The boke of Ioh. Fryth, agaynſt Purgatorye.

The practiſe of Prelates, & wicked Mammon.

The booke of obedience.

The ſumme of holy Scripture.

A Dialogue betwene the plowman and the gentleman.

Alſo he confeſſed that he had read ẏ obedience of a chriſten man, and the ſumme of ſcripture amõge companye, and alſo the Dialoge betwixt the Plowman & the Gentlemã among company, as he thought: alſo he had read a piece of the anſwer of Tindall made to ſyr Thomas More: likewiſe he had read ẏ Dialoge of Frith to him ſelf: he had read alſo ẏ Prologes of the. v. bokes of Moyſes contained in the longe ſcedule, and in companye, as he thought.

Al whiche bookes he had read vnder maner aforſayd within theſe. ij. yeres laſt paſt. And as for the new Teſtament in Engliſhe, he read it before he had theſe bookes ſpecified in the ſcedules before reherſed.

To the third article, as touching Zwinglius & others, he ſuppoſed that they held the ſame doctrine that Luther dyd, but that he thought them to vary in ſome poyntes.

The. xvi. daye of Nouember, Robert Baifeld appeared again before the Biſhop, who inquired of him of what ſect Zwinglius was. He ſaid, he thought that he held with Luther in ſome poyntes. &c.

Alſo he cõfeſſed that firſt he brought bokes of the ſortes aboue named into this realme, about midſomer was xij. moneth, and landed them at Colcheſter, & afterward brought part of them to this City, and ſome he diſperſed and ſold in this City. The ſecond time that he brought bokes, was about all Hollowtide was. xij. moneth, and landed them at S. Catherines, the whiche bokes the L. Chauncelor toke from him. Alſo that at Eaſter laſt, was the. iij. time that he brought ouer ẏ bookes now ſhewed vnto him, and contained in theſe. ij. bils, and landed with them in Norfolke, and from thence brought them to the City of London in a male.

To the. v. vi. and. vij. Articles, he anſwered and confeſſed them to be true.

To the. viij. he anſwered, that it was enioyned hym, as is cõtayned in the article, the which iniunction he fulfilled.

To the. ix. he anſwered, that he dyd not remember it.

To the. x. he anſwered, that it was adioyned him that he ſhould go to the Abbey of Bery, and there continue: the which he ſaid he did. iij. times, but he dyd not weare his monkes cowle, as he was enioyned.

The. xi. Article he confeſſed.

For the. xii. Article, ẏ he did not weare his mõkes habite according to the abiuration, he referred hym ſelf to the actes, whether he were ſo enioyned or no.

To the. xiij. Article he ſaid, that he dyd not remembre the cõtents therof, but referred him ſelf to the actes. Notwithſtanding he confeſſed, that he had no licence of the Biſhop of Londõ, to come to the City or dioceſſe of London, nor to make any abode there. Ex Regiſtro Lond.

¶ *The ſentence geuen agaynſt him in a caſe of relapſe.*

IN the name of God, Amen. We Iohn by the ſufferaunce of God, Biſhop of London, in a caſe of inquiſition of hereſie and relapſe of the ſame, firſt begon before M. Rich. Foxfard, Doctor of both lawes, our officiall, now dependyng before vs vndecided, agaynſt thee Rich. Bayfeld Prieſt and Monke, profeſſed to the order and rule of S. Benedict, in ẏ Monaſterye of S. Edmondes Bery in the dioces of Norwich, & by meanes of the cauſes within writtẽ vnder our iuriſdiction, and withall fauour rightly and lawfully proceding, with all fauour poſſible the merites and circumſtances of the cauſe of this inquiſitiõ heard, wayd, vnderſtãd and fully diſcuſſed by vs the ſayd Byſhop, reſeruyng vnto our ſelues, that which by lawe ought to bee reſerued: haue thought good to procede in this maner, to the pronouncyng of our definitiue ſentence.

For ſomuch as by the Actes enacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged and by thee iudicially cõfeſſed, we do finde that thou haſt abiured certein errours and hereſies and damnable opinions, by thee confeſſed, aſwell particularly as generally, before our reuerent felow & brother, then thy Ordinary, according to ẏ forme and order of the Churche: and that one M. Luther together with his adherentes and complices, receyuers and fauourers what ſo euer they be, was condempned as an hereticke by the authoritie of Pope Leo the x. of moſt happy memory, and by the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke Sea, and the bookes and all writyngs, ſcedules and Sermons of the ſayd M. Luther, his adherentes and complices, whether they be found in Latine or in any other languages, imprinted or tranſlated, for the manifolde hereſies and errours, and damnable opinions

ons that are in them, are condemned, reproued, and vtterly reiected, and inhibition made by the authoritye of the ſaid Sea to all faithfull Chriſtians, vnder the paine of excommunication and other puniſhementes in that behalfe to be incurred by the law, that no man by any meanes preſume to read, teach, heare, imprint, or publiſhe, or by any meanes do defend, directly or vndirectly, ſecretly or opẽly, in their houſes or in any other publike or priuate places, any ſuch maner of wrytynges, bookes, errours or Articles, as are contained more at large in the Apoſtolicke letters, drawne out in forme of a publicke inſtrument, whereunto and to the contentes thereof, we referre our ſelues as farre as is expedient, and no otherwiſe: And for ſomuch as we doe perceiue, that thou diddeſt vnderſtande the premiſſes, and yet theſe thinges notwithſtandyng, after thy abiuration made (as is afore ſayd) thou haſte brought in diuers and ſondrye tymes, many bookes of the ſayd Martin Luther and his adherentes and complices, and of other heretickes, the names, titles, and authors of which bookes here folow and are theſe, Martin Luther of the abrogatyng of the priuate Maſſe. The declarations of M. Luther vpon the Epiſtles of Peter. Luther vpon the Epiſtles of Paul and Iude. Luther vpon monaſticall vowers. Luthers commentary vpon the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Galathians. Iohannes Oecolampadius vpon the expoſition of theſe wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meum. The Annotations of Oecolampadius vppon the Epiſtles of Paul to the Romaines. Oecolampadius his Commentary vppon the iij. laſt Prophets, Aggeus, Zacharie, and Malachie. The Sermons of Oecolampadius vppon the Catholicke Epiſtles of Iohn. A booke of Annotations vpon Geneſis, gathered of Huldericus Zwinglius. The Commentaries of Pomeran vpon iiij. chapters of the i. Epiſtle to ẏ Corinth. Annotations of Pomeran vpon Deut. and Samuell. Pomeran vppon the Pſalmes. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert of Auinion, vpõ the Goſpell of S. Luke. A Congeſt of all matters of Diuinitie by Frances Lambert. The Cõmentaries of Frances Lambert vpon the Prophet Ioel. The Commentaries of Frances Lambert vpon ẏ Prophets, Micheas, Naũ, Abacuc, Sephonias, Aggeus, zacharias, amos, abdias, Ionas, & Oſee. A new Gloſe of Philip Melancton vpõ the Prouerbes of Salamon. The Commentaries of Philip Melancton, vpon the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Coloſ. The Annotations of Philip Melancton, vpõ the Epiſtle of ſ. Paul to the Romaines, and vpon i. Epiſtle to the Coloſ. Salomons ſentences tranſlated accordyng to the Hebrew by Philip Melancton. Moſt wholeſome Annotations vpon the Goſpell of S. Marke, by Chriſtopher Hegẽdorphinus. The Cõmentaries of Iohn Brentius vpõ Iob. The Cõmentary of Iohn Brentius vpon Eccleſiaſtes of Salomon. Homilies of Brentius vppon the Goſpell of S. Iohn. The Annotations of Andrew Althomarus, & Brentius vpon the Epiſtle of S. Iames. The Commẽtaries of Bucer vpon Sephonias. Bucer vpon the iiij. Euangeliſtes. The proces conſiſtoriall of the Martyrdome of Iohn Huſſe. A brief commendatorye of M. Luther vnto Otho Brunfelſius, as touching the lyfe, doctrine and Martyrdome of Iohn Hus. Felinus vpon the Pſalter, his expoſition vppon Eſay, his expoſitions vpon Ieremie. Capito vpon Oſeas. Capito vpon Abacuc. Vnio deſsidentium. The Pandect of Otho. The cataloge of famous men. An aunſwere of Tyndall vnto Syr Thomas More. A diſputation of Purgatory made by Iohn Frith in Engliſh. A prologe to the v. booke of Moyſes called Deutronomy. The firſt booke of Moyſes called Geneſis. A prologe to the iij. booke of Moyſes called Leuiticus. A prologe to the iiij. booke of Moyſes called Num. A prologe to the ij. booke of Moyſes called Exo. The practiſe of Prelates. The new Teſtament in Engliſhe, with an introductiõ to the Romaines. The parable of ẏ wicked Mammon. The Obediẽce of a Chriſten mã. A.B.C. of Thorpes. The Summe of Scripture. The primer in Engliſhe. The Pſalter in Engliſh. A Dialoge betwixt the Gẽtleman and the Plowman: Of all which kynde of bookes both in Latin and Engliſh, tranſlated, ſet forth and imprinted, containing not onely Lutherian hereſies, but alſo the dampnable hereſies of other heretickes condempned, for as muche as thou haſte brought ouer from the parties beyonde the Sea a greate nomber into this realme of England, and ſpecially to our Citie and dioces of London, and haſt procured them to bee brought and conueyed ouer, alſo haſte kept by thée and ſtudied thoſe bookes, and haſt publiſhed and read them vnto diuers men, and many of thoſe bookes alſo haſte diſperſed and geuen vnto diuers perſons dwellyng within our Citie and dioces of London, and haſt confeſſed and affirmed before our Officiall, that thoſe bookes of M. Luther and other heretickes his cõplices and adherentes, and all the contents in them are good and agreable to the true faith, ſaying thus, that they are good and of the true faith, and by this meanes and pretence, haſt commended and praiſed Martin Luther, his adherentes and complices, and haſt fauored and beleued their errours, hereſies and opinions: Therfore we Iohn the Byſhop aforeſayd, firſt calling vpon the name of Chriſt, and ſettyng God onely before our eies, by the counſell and conſent of the Diuines and lawyers, with whõ in this behelfe we haue conferred, doe declare and decrée thée the foreſayd Richard Bayfild, otherwiſe called Somerſam, for the contempt of thy abiuratiõ, as a fauorer of the foreſaid M. Luther, his adherentes, complices, fauorers, and other condemned heretickes, and for commendyng and ſtudying, readyng, hauyng, retainyng, publiſhing, ſelling, giuyng, and diſperſing the bookes and writynges, as well of the ſayd M. Luther, his adherentes and diſciples, as of other heretickes before named, and alſo for credityng, and maintaynyng the errours and hereſies, and dampnable opinions contayned in the ſayd bookes and writynges, worthelye to bee and haue bene an hereticke, and that thou by the pretence of ẏ premiſſes arte fallen agayne moſt dampnablye into hereſie, & we pronounce that thou art and haſt bene a relapſed hereticke, and haſte incurred and oughteſt to incurre the paine and puniſhment of a relaps, & we ſo decrée & declare, and alſo condemne thée therunto, and that by the pretence of the premiſſes, thou haſt euen by ẏ lawe, incurred the ſentence of greater excommunication, and thereby we pronounce and declare thée to haue bene and to be excommunicate, and clearely diſcharge, exonerate and diſgrade thée from all priuiledge and prerogatiue of the Eccleſiaſticall orders, and alſo depriue thée of all Eccleſiaſticall office & benefice: alſo we pronounce and declare thée by this our ſentence or decrée, the whiche we here promulgate and declare in theſe writynges, that thou art actually to be diſgraded, depoſed, and depriued, as foloweth.

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The Primer and Pſalter in Engliſhe, forbidden.

If Chriſt were before your eyes, ye ſhould not cõdemne thys good man, for theſe good bookes.

In the name of God. Amen. We Jhon by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of London, rightly and lawfully proceding in this behalfe, doe dimiſſe thee Rich. Baifeld, alias Somerſam, being pronunced by vs a relapſed heretyke, and diſgraded by vs from all Eccleſiaſtical priuiledge, out of the Eccleſiaſticall Court, pronoũcing that ẏ ſecular Power here preſẽt ſhould receiue thee vnder their iuriſdiction, earneſtly requiring and deſyring in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, that the execution of this worthy puniſhment, to be done vpon thee, and againſt thee in this behalf, may be ſo moderated, ẏ there be neither ouermuch crueltye, neyther to much fauorable gentlenes, but that it may be to the health and ſaluation of thy ſoule, and to the extirpation, feare, terrour, and conuerſion of all other heretickes vnto the vnitye of the catholike faith. This oure finall decree by this our ſentence defynitiue, we haue cauſed to be publiſhed in forme aforeſayd.

The ſentence of degradatiõ agaynſt bleſſed Bayfilde.

And they ſhall caſt you out of theyr Synagoges for my names ſake.

Monday the xx. of Nouemb. 1531. In the Quéere

Of thys ſtatute. read before pag. 624.

M. Richard Bayfilde agayn brought before the Byſhop.

the Cathedrall Church of S.Paul before the ſaid Iohn Byſhop of Lõdon iudicially ſitting, beyng aſſiſted with Iohn Abbot of Weſtminſter, and Robert Abbot of Waltham, Nicholas Prior of Chriſt Church in London, theſe honorable Lordes being alſo preſent, Henry Earle of Eſſex, Richard Gray, brother of yͤ Marques of Somerſet, Iohn Lambert Maior of London, Rich. Greſham and Edward Altam Shriffes (the which Maior and Shriues were required to bee there preſent by the Biſhop of Londons letters here after written, and by vertue of a ſtatute of kyng Henry the fourth kyng of England) alſo in the preſence of diuers Chanons, the Chauncellour, Officiall, and Archdeacon of Lõdon, with the Byſhops Chaplains, ⁊ a great number both of the Clergy and laity, Mathew Grefton the regiſter beyng alſo there preſent: M. Richard Bayfild, *aliâs* Somerſam, was brought forth by Thomas Turnor yͤ Aparator his keper, in whoſe preſence the tranſumpt of the Apoſtolike Bull of Pope Leo the. x. vpon the condemnation of Martin Luther and hys adherentes, was brought forth and ſhewed, ſealed with the ſeale of Tho. Wolſey late Legate de Latere, and ſubſcribed with the ſigne and name of M. Robert Tũnes, publike Notary, and alſo the decree vpon the condemnation of certein bokes brought in by him, ſealed with the ſeale of tharchbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſubſcribed by.iii. Notaries.

Then the Biſhop of London repeted in effect before hym, his abiuration whiche he had before made, and other his demerites committed and done, beſide his abiuration: and the ſayde Baifeld ſaid, that he was not culpable in the articles that were obiected againſt him, and deſired that the hereſies contayned in the bokes which he brought ouer, might be declared in opẽ audience. Thẽ the Biſhop, after certein talke had with the ſaid Baifeld as touching the deſerte of hys cauſe, aſked hym whether he coulde ſhewe any cauſe why he ſhould not be deliuered ouer vnto the ſeculer power, ⁊ be pronounced as a relaps, and ſuffer puniſhment as a relaps. The ſaid Baifeld declared or propounded no cauſe, but ſayd, yͭ he brought ouer thoſe bokes for lacke of mony, and not to ſowe any hereſies. And incõtinent the ſayd Baifeld wyth a vehement ſpirite (as it appeared) ſayd vnto yͤ Byſhop of London, the life of you of the ſpiritualtye is ſo euill, that ye be heretickes, and ye do not onely liue euill, but do maintaine euill lyuyng, ⁊ alſo do let that what true liuyng is, may not be knowẽ, and ſayd that their liuyng is agaynſt Chriſtes Goſpel, and that their belief was neuer taken of Chriſtes Church. Then the ſayd Byſhop, after long deliberatiõ had, for ſomuch as the ſayd Richard Bayfild (he ſaid) could ſhewe no cauſe why he ſhould not be declared as relapſe, he read the decree and ſentence agaynſt hym: by the whiche amongeſt other thinges, he condemned him as an hereticke, and pronounced him to bee puniſhed with the puniſhment due vnto ſuch as fall agayne into hereſie, and by his wordes did diſgrade hym, and alſo declared that he ſhould be actually diſgraded, as is more at large contained in the long ſentence.

The ſaying of *Rich. Bayfild* to the biſhop of London.

Sentence agaynſt *Rich. Bayfilde.*

The foreſayd ſentence beyng ſo read by the Biſhop of London, hee proceded immediatly to the actuall and ſolemne diſgradyng of the ſaid Richard Bayfild, *aliâs* Somerſam, and there ſolempnely and actually diſgraded hym before the people, the whiche thyng beyng done, he diſmiſſed him by the ſentence aforeſayd, from the Eccleſiaſticall Court. Whereupon the ſecular power beyng there preſent, receyued hym vnto their iuriſdiction, without any writte in that behalfe obtayned, but onely by vertue of the biſhops letters by the ſtatute of kyng Henry the 4. in that behalfe prouided ⁊ directed vnto them vnder the Byſhops ſeale. The tenour of whiche letters here after folow.

¶ *The Letters of requirye directed to the Maior and* Shriues of the City of London, that they ſhould be preſent that daye, when the ſentence ſhould be geuen, to receiue the heretick (as they called him) that was condempned.

IHon by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of Lõdon, vnto our dearlye beloued in Chriſt, the ryght honourable Lord Maior of the City of London, and the Shriffes of the ſame, health, grace, ⁊ benediction. where as we haue already by our Vicar general proceded in a certein cauſe of hereſye ⁊ relaps into the ſame, againſt one Richard Baifelde, aliâs Somerſam, and intend vpon mondaye next being the. xx. day of this preſent moneth of Nouember, to geue a ſentence definitiue againſt the ſaid Richard Baifeld, aliâs Somerſam, and to leaue and deliuer hym ouer vnto the ſecular power: we require you the Lorde Mayor ⁊ Shriues aforſaid, the Kinges Maieſties Vicegerentes, euen in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, that according to the forme and effecte of the ſtatute of our moſte noble and famous Prince in Chriſt our Lord, the Lorde Henry the. iiij. by the grace of God, late Kinge of England, that you will be perſonally preſent in the Queere of the Cathedral Church of S. Paul, with your fauourable aide ⁊ aſſiſtaunce in this behalfe, the day that the ſentence ſhall be geuen, ⁊ to receiue the ſaide Richard Baifeld, aliâs Somerſam, after his ſentence ſo geuen, to diſcharge vs and our offycers, and to do further according to the tenor and effecte of the ſaid ſtatute, as farre as ſhall be required of you according to yͤ Canonical Sanctions, and the laudable cuſtomes of the famous kingdom of England, in this behalf accuſtomed.

In witnes whereof we haue ſet our ſeale vnto this preſent, Dated the. 19. day of Nouembre, Anno. 1531. and in the fyrſte yere of our conſecration.

On Monday the. xx. day of Nouemb. in yͤ yere aforeſaid, in the Quéere of yͤ Cathedral church of S. Paule, the Biſhop of London callinge vnto him Ihon Abbot of Weſtminſter, Robert Abbot of Waltame, Nycholas Prior of Chriſtes Churche of the Citie of London, M. Ihon Coxe Auditor and Vicar General to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Peter Ligham Officiall of the Court of Cãterbury, Thomas Baghe Chaũcelour of the Church of S. Paules, William Clief, Archdeacon of London, Ihon Incent Chanon reſidentary of the ſame, William Brytton, Robert Birche, ⁊ Hugh Aprice, Doctours of both lawes, in the preſence of vs Mathew Grefton Regiſter, Antony Huſſy, Richard Martin and Thomas Shadwall publike Notaries and Scribes appoynted in this behalfe, brieflye rehearſed the aunſwers of the ſame Bayfeld in effect, and his abiuration, and other his demerites by him done beſyde his abiuratiõ. The which religious perſones and other Eccleſiaſtical men aboue ſaid, thought it good ⁊ agreed that the ſaid Biſhop ſhould procede againſt him in this caſe of relaps, and ſhould pronounce and geue forth the ſentence againſte him, in caſe aforeſayd, and ſo he was deliuered to the Shriues to cary to Newgate, being commaunded to bring him agayne vpon mondaye folowing, into Paules vpper Quéere, there to geue attendance vpon the Biſhoppe of London with the reſidue, till they had done with hym, and by and by the Shriffes were commaunded to haue hym into the Veſtrye, and then to bring him forth again in Antichriſtes apparell to be dyſgraded afore them. When hee had dyſgraded hym kneeling vppon the higheſt ſteppe of the aultar, he tooke his Croſier ſtaffe, and ſmote hym on the breaſt, that he threwe him downe backewardes, and brake his heade that he ſounded, ⁊ when he came to him ſelfe againe, he thancked God that he was delyuered from the malignaunte Churche of Antichriſt, and that he was come into the true ſincere Churche of Ieſus Chriſt militant here in earth, and I truſt anone (ſaid he) to be in heauen with Ieſus Chriſt, ⁊ the Church triumphant for euer, and ſo was he lead forth thorowe the Quéere to Newgate, and there reſted about an houre in prayer, and ſo went to the fyre in his apparell manfully and ioyfully, and there for lacke of a ſpe-

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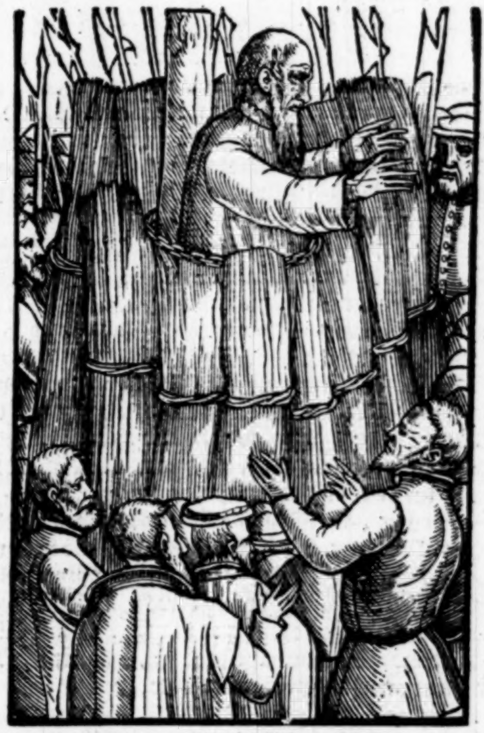
a ſpedy.fire, was ij.quarters of an houre alyue. And when the left arme was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and hée continued in prayer to the end, without mouyng.



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Syr Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceaſed not after his death, to raue in his aſhes, to prye and ſpye out what ſparkes hee could finde of reproche and contumely, whereby to raſe out all good memory of his name and fame. In ſearchyng wherof, he hath found out ij.things to lay agaynſt him. The one is, yͭ he ſayth, he went about to ſure hym ſelf to ij.wiues at once, one in Brabant, an other in England. The ſecond, that after his takyng, all yͤ while yͭ he was not in vtter diſpayre of his pardon, hée was contẽt to forſweare his doctrine, and letted not to diſcloſe hys brethren. For the aunſwere whereof, although there were no more to be ſayd, yet this were enough to ſay, that M.More thus ſayth of him, a mã ſo blinded in the zeale of Popery, ſo deadly ſet agaynſt the one ſide, ⁊ ſo partially affectionate vnto the other, that in thẽ whom he fauoureth, he can ſée nothyng but all fayre roſes and ſwete vertue: in the other which he hateth, there is neuer a thyng can pleaſe his phantaſie, but all is blacke as pitche, vice, abomination, hereſie, and foly, what ſoeuer they do, or entend to do. But as touchyng the defenſe of this Bayfild, as alſo of other moe, I will deferre the defenſe of them, to a ſeuerall Apologie by it ſelf, hereafter (God willyng) to be adioyned.

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¶ *Iohn Teukeſbery Leatherſeller of London, Martyr.*

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IOhn Tewkesbery was conuerted by the readyng of Tyndals Teſtament, and the wicked Mammon. He had the Bible written. In al pointes of religion he opẽly did diſpute in the Byſhops Chappell in hys palace. Who in the doctrine of iuſtification and all other Articles of his fayth, was very expert, ⁊ prompt in his aũſweres, in ſuch ſort as Tonſtall and all his learned mẽ were aſhamed, that a Leatherſeller ſhould ſo diſpute with them, with ſuch power of the Scriptures ⁊ heauenly wiſedome, that they were not able to reſiſte him. This diſputation continued a ſeuennight. The proces of whoſe examinations, Articles, ⁊ aunſweres, here folow as they are out of the Byſhops Regiſter extracted.

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The examination of *Iohn Tewkeſbery* before *Tonſtall* biſhop of London.

On Wenſday the xxi.day of April, in yͤ yeare of our Lord.1529.Iohn Tewkesbery was brought into the Conſiſtory at Londõ before Cutbert B. of London ⁊ his aſſiſtances, Henry B.of S.Aſſe, ⁊ Iohn Abbot of Weſtminſter. Unto whom the Byſhop of London declared that hée had at diuers tymes exhorted hym to recant the errours and hereſies, which he held and defended, euen as he did then agayne exhorte him, not to truſt to much to hys owne wyt and learnyng, but vnto the doctrine of the holy mother yͤ Church. Who made aunſwere that in his iudgement, hée did not erre from yͤ doctrine of the holy mother the Church. And at yͤ laſt, beyng examined vpon the errours, which (they ſayd) were in the ſaid booke called yͤ wicked Mãmon, he aunſwered thus: Take ye the booke and read it ouer, and I thinke in my conſcience, ye ſhal finde no fault in it. And being aſked by the ſayd biſhop, whether he dyd rather geue credite to his booke or to the Goſpell: he aunſwered, that the Goſpell is and euer hath bene true. And moreouer beyng particularlye examined what hee thought of thys Article, that the Iewes of good entent and zeale ſlue Chriſt, he aunſwered: looke ye the booke through, before and after, as it lyeth, and ye ſhall finde a better tale in it, then ye make of it, ⁊ further thought that who ſoeuer tranſlated the newe Teſtament, and made the booke, meanyng the wicked Mammon, he did it of good zeale, and by the ſpirite of God.

Articles miniſtred to *Iohn Tewkeſbery*, out of the boke of the wicked Mammon.

Alſo beyng farther aſked by the ſayd Byſhop of Lõdon, whether he would ſtand to the contentes of hys booke, he aunſwered: looke ye the booke before and after, and I will be content to ſtand to it. Then beyng examined, whether that all good woorkes muſt be done without reſpecte of any thyng, hee aunſwered, that a man ſhoulde do good workes for the loue of God onely, and for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in heauen: for if he ſhould, it were preſũption. Alſo beyng demaunded whether yͭ Chriſt with all his workes, did not deſerue heauen. He aunſwered and ſayd: that it was playne inough. Which thinges beyng done, the Byſhop ſayd further to Iohn Tewkesbery thus: I tell thée before God and thoſe whiche are here preſent, in examination of my conſcience, that the Articles aboue named, and many other more conteined in the ſame booke, are falſe, hereticall, and condempned by the holy Church: how thinkeſt thou? And further, the ſayd Byſhop of London ſayd vnto hym agayne: I tell thée before God ⁊ thoſe whiche are here preſent ⁊c. and ſo aſked him againe what he thought of thoſe Articles. And after many exhortations, he commaunded hym to aunſwere determinatly vnder payne of the lawe, ſaying further vnto him, yͭ if he refuſed to aunſwere, he muſt declare him an open and obſtinate heretike according to the order of the law. Which thinges ſo done, the Biſhop aſked Iohn Tewkeſbery again, whether the ſaid booke called the wycked Mammon were good?

Merites by working.

The biſhops iudgement of the boke of the wicked Mammon.

To whiche interrogatory he anſwereth, that he thinketh in his conſcience, there is nothing in the booke, but that which is true. And to this article obiected, that is, that faith only iuſtifieth without workes, he aũſwereth that it is well ſaid. Wherunto yͤ Biſhop inferred agayne, that the Articles before obiected, with diuers other conteyned in the booke called the wycked Mammon, were falſe erronious, dampnable, and hereticall, and reproued and condempned by the Churche: and before God and al thoſe that were preſent, for the diſcharge of his conſcience, he had often and very gently exhorted the ſayd Iohn Tewkeſbery, that he would reuoke and renounce hys errours, otherwyſe if he did intend to perſeuer in them, he muſt declare him an heretike, which he would be very ſory to do. Theſe thinges thus doone, the Biſhoppe oftentimes offered him, that he ſhoulde choſe what ſpirituall or temporall man hee woulde to be his Counſellor, and gaue hym tyme as before, to delyberate with hym ſelfe, vntill the next ſitting.

The iudgement of *Iohn Tewkeſbery* of the boke of the wicked Mammon.

An other examination of *Iohn Tewkeſbery.*

Alſo in the ſame moneth of April, in the yere of our Lord aforeſaid, the Biſhop of London Cutbert Tonſtall ſitting in the Conſiſtorye, with Nicolas of Elye, Iohn of Lincolne, and Iohn of Bathe, ⁊ Welles. ⁊c.

this Iohn Tewkeſberie was brought before them. After certaine articles being repeated vnto hym, the Biſhop of London brought out before hym a certaine booke called the wicked Mammon, aſkyng hym whether the booke was of the ſame impreſſion & making, as was his booke that he had ſolde to others. Who aũſwered and ſayd, it was the ſame. Wherupon the Biſhop of London aſked him agayne, whether the booke conteined the ſame errors or no. Who aunſwered agayne, ſaying, I praye God, that the condempnation of the Goſpell & tranſlation of the Teſtament, be not to your ſhame, and that ye bee not in peryll for it: for the condempnation of it, and of the other is all one. Farther he ſayd, that he had ſtudied holy ſcripture by the ſpace of theſe .xvii. yere, and as hee may ſée ẏ ſpottes of his face through ẏ glaſſe, ſo in readyng the new Teſtament he knoweth the faultes of his ſoule. Further, he was examined vpon certaine pointes and articles, extracted out of the ſayd boke of the wicked Mammon, as followeth.

Articles extracted out of the boke of the wicked Mammon.

His opinion of Antichriſt.

Antichriſt no outward thing, but a ſpirituall thing.

FYrſt that Antichriſt is not an outward thyng, that is to ſaye, a man that ſhould ſodenly appeare with wonders, as your forefathers talked of hym, but Antichriſt is a ſpirituall thing. Wherunto he anſwered and ſayd that he findeth no fault in it. Agayne it was demaunded of hym touching tharticle whether faith only iuſtifieth a man. To this he ſaid, ẏ if he ſhould loke to deſerue heauen by workes, he ſhould do wickedly, for workes followe faith, and Chriſt redemed vs all with the merites of his paſſion.

That the deuill holdeth our hartes ſo hard, that it is impoſſible for vs to conſent to Gods lawe. To that he aunſwered, that he fyndeth no fault in it.

No man iuſtified by merites.

That the law of God ſuffereth no merites, neither any man to be iuſtified in the ſighte of God. To that the anſwered, that it is plaine enough cõſidering what the lawes is, and he ſayth, he findeth no ill in it.

The law requireth things to our fleſh vnpoſſible.

That the lawe of God requireth of vs thinges impoſſible. To that he aunſwered, that the lawe of God doth cõmaund, ẏ thou ſhalt loue God aboue al thinges, & thy neyghbours as thy ſelfe, which neuer man could doe, & in that he doth fynde no faulte, in his conſcience.

No law to the iuſt man.

That as the good trée bryngeth forth fruyte, ſo there is no lawe put to hym that beleueth and is iuſtifyed through faithe. To that he anſwered and ſaid, he fyndeth no ill in it.

All good workes muſte be done without reſpect of any thyng, or any profit to bee had therof. To that hee aunſwered, it is truth.

Chriſt with all his workes did not deſerue heauen. To that he aunſwered, that the text is true as it lieth, and fyndeth no fault in it.

The Saintes be frendes, how and to whom.

Peter and Paule and Saintes that be dead, are not our frendes, but their frendes whõ thei did helpe whẽ they were alyue. To that he ſayd, he findeth no il in it.

Almes deſerueth no rewarde of God. To that he aunſwered, that the texte of the booke is true.

The deuill not caſt out by mans merites.

The deuill is not caſt out by merites of faſting or prayer. To that he aũſwered, thinking it good inough.

The law worketh not in vs the loue of God.

We can not loue except we ſée ſome benefite & kyndnes, as long as we lyue vnder the lawe of God onlye, where we ſee but ſinne and damnation, and the wrath of God vpon vs, yea where we were dampned afore we were borne. We can not loue God, nor can not but hate him as a Tyrãne, vnrighteous, and vniuſt, & flee from hym, as dyd Caine. To that he aunſwereth and thinketh it good and playn enough.

Man by nature is condemned.

We are dampned by nature, as a tode is a tode by nature, and a Serpẽt is a Serpent by nature. To that he aunſwered it to be true as it is in the boke.

Item, as concerning the article of faſting. To that he aunſwered and ſayd, the boke declareth it ſelfe.

He meaneth by communication, not by vendication: and yet this poynt ſemeth to be falſely gathered.

Euery one man is a Lorde, of what ſoeuer another man hath. To that he anſwered, what lawe can be better than that, for it is plainely mente there.

Loue in Chriſte putteth no difference betwixt one and another. To that he anſwered and ſayd, it is playn enough of it ſelfe.

As concerning the preachinge of the worde of God, and waſhinge of diſhes, there is no difference, as concerning ſaluation, & as touching the pleaſing of God. To that he aunſwered ſaying, it is a plaine text, and as for pleaſing of God, it is all one.

That the Iewes of good intent and zeale put Chriſte to death. To that he anſwered, that it is true, and the text is playne inough.

The ſectes of Saint Fraunces, S. Dominick, and others be dampnable. To that he aunſwered and ſayd, S. Paule repugneth agaynſt them. Which articles being ſo obiected and anſwere made vnto them by Iohn Tewkeſberie, the ſaid Biſhop of London aſked hym whether he wold continue in hys hereſies and errours aboue rehearſed, or renounce and forſake them. Who anſwered thus: I pray you reforme your ſelfe, and if there be anye errour in the boke, let it be reformed: I thinke the boke be good inough.

Further, the Biſhop exhorted hym to recant his errors. To the which the ſaid Iohn Tewkesberie aunſwered as is aboue written: to witte, I pray you reforme your ſelf, and if ther be any error in the booke, let it be reformed, I thinke it be good inough. Which thing being done, ẏ Biſhop appointed him to determine better with him ſelf agaynſt to morowe, in the preſence of M. Iohn Cox, vicar general to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, M. Galfride Warton, Rouland Philips, William Philow, & Robert Ridley, profeſſors of diuinity.

The .xiij. day of April, in the yeare of oure Lorde abone ſaid, in the chappel within the pallace of London, before Cutbert biſhop of London, with hys aſſiſtance, Nicolas Biſhop of Elye &c, Tewkeſberie agayne appeared and was examined vpon the articles drawẽ out of the boke, called the wicked Mammon, as followeth. Firſt, Chriſt is thine and all hys dedes be thy deedes: Chriſt is in thée and thou ſo knit in hym inſeperablye: neyther canſt thou be dampned, except Chriſt be damned with thée, neither canſt thou be ſaued except Chriſt hee ſaued with thée. To this hee aunſwered, that hee found no fault in it.

Itẽ, we deſire one an other to pray for vs. That done, we muſt put our neighbor in remẽbraũce of his duty, and that we truſt not in his holines. To this he aunſwered: take ye it as ye will, I will take it wel enough.

Itẽ, now ſéeſt thou what almes meaneth & wherfore it ſerueth. He that ſeketh with his almes, more then to be mercifull: to be a neighbour, to ſuccour his brothers nede: to do his dutie to his brother: to geue his brother that he ought him: the ſame is blynd and ſéeth not Chriſtes bloud. Here hee aunſwereth, that he findeth no fault throughout al the boke, but that al the boke is good, and it hath geuen him great confort and light to his conſcience.

Itẽ, that ye do nothing to pleaſe God, but that he cõmaunded. To that he anſwereth and thinketh it good, by his truth.

Itẽ, ſo God is honored on all ſides, in that we count him rightuous in all his lawes and ordinances. And to worſhip him otherwiſe then ſo, it is idolatrie. To that hee anſwereth that it pleaſeth him well.

Thexamination of theſe Articles beinge done, the Biſhop of London did exhort the ſayde Iohn Tewkeſberie to recant his errors abouesayd: and after ſome other cõmunication had by ẏ biſhop with him, the ſaid Biſhop dyd exhort hym again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with him ſelfe againſt the next Seſſion, what he would doe.

IN this nexte Seſſion he ſubmitted hym ſelfe and abiured his opinions and was enioyned penance, as foloweth, which was the .viij. of May.

In primis, that he ſhould kepe wel his abiuration vnder paine of relaps. Secondly, that the next Sonday folowing in Paules church in ẏ open proceſſiõ, he ſhould cary a fagot, and ſtand at Paules croſſe with the ſame.

That the Wedniſdaye folowing, hee ſhould cary the ſame fagot about Newgat market and Chepeſide.

That on Friday after, he ſhould take the ſame fagot again at S. Peters Church in Cornchil, & carie it about the market of Leden hall.

That he ſhould haue. ij. ſignes of fagots embrothered, one on his left ſleue, & the other on his right ſleue, which he ſhould weare all his life time, vnles he were otherwiſe diſpenſed withall.

That on Wytſonday euen he ſhould enter into yͤ Monaſterie of S. Barthelmewe in Smithfield, & there to abide, and not to come out vnles he were releaſed by the Biſhop of London.

That he ſhould not depart out of the Citie or dioces of London, without the ſpeciall licence of the Biſhop or his ſucceſſors. which penance he entred into the. viij. day of May. An. 1529.

And thus much cõcerning his firſt examinatiõ, which was in the yeare. 1529. at what tyme he was enforced through infirmitye as is before expreſſed to retracte and abiure his doctrine. Notwithſtãding, the ſame Ihon Teukeſberie, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moued by the example of Bayfild aforeſaid that was burned in Smithfield, did returne & conſtantly abyde in the teſtimonye of yͤ truth and ſuffred for the ſame. who recouering more grace, and better ſtrength at the hãde of the Lord, two yeares after beyng apprehended agayn, was brouht before Syr Thomas More, and the Biſhop of Londõ, where certein articles were obiected to hym: the chief wherof we intend briefly to recyte, for that the matter is prolixe.

In primis, that he confeſſeth that he was baptiſed, and intendeth to kepe the catholike faith.

Secondly, that he affirmeth that the abiuration, othe, and ſubſcription that he made before Cutbert late Biſhop of London, was done by compulſion.

Thyrdly, that he had the bookes of the obedience of a Chriſtian man, and of the wycked Mammon in his cuſtody, and hath read them ſynce his abiuration.

Fourthly, that hee affirmeth that he ſuffered yͤ two fagotes that were embrothered vpon his ſleue, to be taken from him, for that he deſerued not to weare them.

Fiftly, he ſayeth that fayth onely iuſtifieth, whiche lacketh not charitie.

Syxtly, he ſayth that Chriſte is a ſufficient mediatour for vs, and therefore no prayer is to be made vnto anye Saintes. wherupõ they laide vnto him this verſe of the Antheme, Salue Regina, aduocata noſtra. &c. To the which he aunſwered, that he knew none other Aduocate but Chriſt alone.

Seuẽthly, he affirmeth that there is no purgatory after this lyfe, but that Chriſt our Sauiour is a ſufficient purgation for vs.

Eightly, he affirmeth that the ſoules of the faythfull departing this lyfe, reſte with Chriſt.

Nynthly, he affirmeth that a prieſt by receauing of orders, receaueth more grace, if his faith be increaſed, or els not.

Tenthly, and laſt of all, he beleueth that the ſacramẽt of the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, is not the verye body of Chriſt in fleſhe and bloude as it was borne of the virgin Mary. wherevpon the Biſhoppes chaũcelour aſked the ſayd Tewkeſberie, if he could ſhewe anye cauſe why he ſhould not be taken for an heretike falling into his hereſie agayne, and receaue the puniſhement of an heretike. Wherunto he anſwered, yͭ he had wrong before, & if he be condemned nowe, he rekeneth yͭ he hath wrong agayne.

Then the Chauncelour cauſed the articles to be read openly, with the aunſwers vnto the ſame, the which the ſayde Tewkeſberie confeſſed, and thereupon the Biſhop pronounced ſentence againſt him, and deliuered him vnto the ſhryffes of London for the tyme being, who were Richard Greſham, and Edward Altam, who burned him in Smythfield vpon Saint Thomas euen, being the. xx. daye of December, in the yeare aforeſayde, the tenor of whoſe ſentence pronounced agaynſt him by the Biſhop, doth here enſewe worde for worde.

IN the name of God, Amen. The deſeruinges and circumſtances of a certaine cauſe of heretical prauitie, and falling againe therunto by thée Iohn Tewkeſberie of the pariſhe of S. Michaells in the Querne, of the City of London, and of our iuriſdiction, appearing before vs ſittyng in iudgement, being heard, ſéene, and vnderſtande, and fullye diſcuſſed by vs Iohn by the ſuffraunce of God, Biſhop of London, becauſe we doe finde by inquiſitions manifeſtly enough, that thou diddeſt abiure frely and voluntarilye before Cutbert, late Biſhop of London thy Ordinary, diuerſe and ſondrye hereſies, errours and dampnable opinions, contrary to the determination of oure mother holie Church, as well ſpecial, as generall, and that ſynce and beſyde thy foreſayd abiuration, thou art agayne fallen into the ſame dampnable hereſies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented) and the ſame doſt holde, affirme and beleue: we therfore Iohn the Biſhop aforeſayd, the name of God fyrſt beyng called vpon, and the ſame onlye God ſet before oure eyes, and with the counſell of learned men aſſiſting vs in this behalfe (with whõ in this cauſe we haue cõmunicated of our definitiue ſentence & finall decree, in this behalfe to bée done) do intend to procede & do procede in this maner. Becauſe as it is aforeſaid, we do finde thée, the foreſaid Iohn Tewkeſberie of our iuriſdiction, to be a contemner of the fyrſt abiuration, and moreouer, before and after the foreſayde fyrſte errors, and other dampnable opinions, to haue fallen and to be an heretike fallen, & to haue incurred the paine of ſuch fallen heretikes: we do pronounce, determine, declare, and condemne thée of the premiſſes, to haue incurred the daunger of the great excommunication, and do pronounce thée to be excommunicated, and alſo do declare thée the ſayde Tewkeſberie ſo dampnably fallen agayne into hereſie, to be in the ſecular power and in theyr iudgement, (as the holy Canons haue decreed) and here we do leaue thée to the foreſayd ſecular power and to theyr iudgement, beſechyng them earneſtlye in the bowelles of Ieſus Chriſte, that ſuche ſeuere punyſhment and execution as in this behalfe is to be done againſt thée, maye be ſo moderated, that no rigorous rigour be vſed, but to the health & ſaluation of thy ſoule, and to the terrour feare and rooting oute of heretyckes and theyr conuerſion to the catholike faith and vnitie, by this our finall decrée, which we declare in theſe our writinges.

In wordes they pretend moderation, but their doinges be cleare contrary.

This forſayde ſentence definitiue agaynſte Iohn Tewkeſberie was read and pronoũced by the Biſhop of London, the. xvj. day of yͤ moneth of December, the yeare aforeſaide, in the houſe of Syr Thomas More hyghe chauncelour of Englande, in the pariſh of Chelſey. After the which ſentence, the Shrieffes receaued the forſayde Tewkeſberie into theyr cuſtody, and caryed hym awaye with them, and afterwardes burned hym in Smithfielde, as is aforeſayd, hauyng no writte of the king for theyr warrant.

The death and Martyrdome of *Ihon Tewkeſbery.*

¶ *The apprehenſion of one Edward Freſe,* a Paynter.

EDward Freeſe was borne in Yorke, & was prentiſe to a Paynter in the ſame Citie, & by the reaſon of workyng for hys maiſter in Bearſie Abbay, or by ſome ſuch occaſion, was knowẽ vnto the Abbot of the ſame houſe, for he was a boye of a pregnant wytte, and the Abbot fauoured him ſo much, that he bought his yeres of hys maiſter, and woulde haue made hym a monke, And the ladde not lyking that kynde of liuinge, and not knowyng how to gette out, becauſe he was a Nouice, ranne awaye after a longe ſpace, and came to Colcheſter in Eſſex, and remayninge there accordinge to hys former vocation, was maryed and liued lyke an honeſt man. After hee had bene there a good tyme, hée was hyred to paynt certaine clothes for the newe Inne in Colcheſter, which is in the middle of the market place, & in the vpper border of the clothes, he wrote certaine ſentences of the Scripture, and by that he was plainly knowen to be one of them whiche they call heretickes. And on a tyme he beyng at hys worke in yͤ ſame Inne, they of the towne, whẽ they had ſene his worke, went aboute to take hym, and hee hauyng ſome inclyng therof, thought to ſhift for hym ſelfe, but yet hée was taken forceblye in the yarde of the ſame Inne, and after

The ſtory of *Edward Freeſe.*

The cauſe of the taking of *Edward Freeſe.*

Ihonſon and his wife. *Wylye*, his wife, and his ſonne. Father *Bate*.

A cruell fact of the Biſhops porter.

this he was brought to London, and ſo to Fulham to the Byſhops houſe, where he was cruelly impriſoned, with certaine others of Eſſex, that is to wyt, one Iohnſon & his wife, Wylye, his wife & his ſonne, and father Bate of Rowſhedge. They were fed with fine māchet made of ſawe duſt, or at the leaſt, a greate part therof, and were ſo ſtraitlye kept, that theyr wyues and their frendes could not come at them. After the Painter had bene there a long ſpace, by much ſute he was remoued to Lollardes tower. Hys wife in the tyme of her ſute, whyles he was yet at Fulham, being deſirous to ſee her huſband, and preaſing to come in at yͤ gate, beyng then bigge with childe, the porter lift vp his foote & ſtroke her on the belly, that at length ſhe dyed of the ſame, but the child was deſtroyed immediatlye. After that, they were all ſtocked for a long time, & then they were let loſe in theyr priſons agayne. Some had horſe lockes on theyr legges, & ſome had other yrons. This Painter would euer be writing on the walles with chauke or a coale, and in one place hee wrote D. Dodipall woulde make me beleue that the moone were made of greene cheeſe. And becauſe he would be wryting manye thynges, he was manycled by yͤ wreſtes, ſo long tyll the fleſh of his armes was growne higher thē his irons. By yͤ meanes of his manicles he could not kēme his head, and hee remayned ſo long manicled that his heare was felded together. After the death of his wife, his brother ſued to the kyng for hym, and after long ſute, he was brought out in the Conſiſtorye at Paules, & as hys brother dyd report, they kept him three dayes without meat, before he came to hys aunſwere. Then, what by the long impryſonment and muche euill handlyng, and for lacke of ſuſtenaunce, the man was in that caſe, that hee coulde ſaye nothynge, but loke and gaſe vpon the people lyke a wylde man, and if they aſked hym anye queſtion, he coulde ſaye nothyng, but my Lord is a good man. And thus, when they had ſpylte hys bodye, and deſtroyed hys wyttes, they ſent hym backe agayne to Bearſie Abbey, but he came alwaye agayne from thence, and woulde not tary amongeſt them: albeit he neuer came to hys perfect mynd, to hys dying day.

Crueltie ſhewed to the paynter.

Valentine and hys wife, burned in Yorke.

His brother, of whom I before ſpake, whoſe name was Valentine Freeſe & his wyfe, gaue theyr lyues at one ſtake in Yorke, for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt.

Alſo the wife of the ſayd father Bate, while hee was at Fulham, made many ſupplications to yͤ kyng, without redreſſe, and at the laſt ſhe deliuered one to his owne handes, and he read it hym ſelfe, whereupon ſhe was appoynted to go into Chauncery Lane, to one whoſe name (as is thought) was M. Selyard, and at the laſt, ſhe gote a letter of the ſame Selyarde to the Biſhop, and when ſhe had it, ſhe thought all her ſute well beſtowed, hopyng that ſome good ſhould come to her huſband thereby. And becauſe the wicked officers in thoſe dayes, were very crafty and deſirous of bloud, as ſome others had proued their practiſe, ſome of her frendes would needes ſee the cōtent of her letter, & not ſuffer her to deliuer it to the biſhop, & as they thought, ſo they found in deede, for it was after this maner.

Gods good prouidence.

A crafty letter of a wicked officer.

After commendations had. &c. Looke what you can gather agaynſt father Bate, ſend me worde by your truſtie frend Syr William Saxie, that I may certifie the kynges Maieſtie. &c. Thus the poore woman, when ſhe thought her ſute had ben done, was in leſſe hope of her huſbandes lyfe then before. But within ſhort ſpace after, it pleaſed God to deliuer hym: for he gate out in a darke night, and ſo was caught no more, but dyed within a ſhort tyme after.

Roye burned in Portugale.

In this yeare alſo, as we doo vnderſtand by diuers notes of old Regiſtres and otherwiſe, Frier Roy was burned in Portugale: but what hys examination, or Articles, or order of his death was, we can haue no vnderſtandyng. But what his doctrine was, it may bee eaſely iudged by the teſtimonies, whiche he left here in England.

In the begynnyng of this yeare whiche we are now about, throughe the complaint of the Clergy made to the kyng, the tranſlation of the new Teſtament with a great number of other bookes, were forbidden. For yͤ Biſhops cōmyng into the ſtarre chāber the xv. day of May, and communyng with the kynges Counſell, after many pretences and long debatyng, alledged that the tranſlation of Tyndall and Ioye were not truelye tranſlated, & moreouer that in them were prologues and prefaces, that ſmelled of hereſie, and rayled againſt the Byſhops, wherfore al ſuch bookes were prohibited, and commaundement geuen by the kyng, to the Byſhops, that they callyng to them the beſt learned men of the Vniuerſities, ſhould cauſe a new tranſlation to be made, ſo that the people might not bee ignoraunt in in the law of God. Notwithſtandyng this commaūdement, the Byſhops did nothyng at all, to the ſettyng forth of any new tranſlation, whiche cauſed the people much to ſtudye Tyndals tranſlation, by reaſon wherof many things came to light, as ye ſhall hereafter heare.

This yeare alſo, in the moneth of May, the Byſhop of London cauſed all the newe Teſtamentes of Tyndalles tranſlation, and many other bookes whiche hee had bought, to be brought vnto Paules Churchyarde, and there openly to be burned.

¶ *Iames Baynham Lawyer and Martyr.*

IAmes Baynham Gentleman, ſonne to one M. Baynhā a Knyght of Glouceſterſhyre, beyng vertuouſly brought vp by his parentes, in the ſtudyes of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latine & the Greeke tongue. After that, he gaue hym ſelf to the ſtudye of the lawe, beyng a man of vertuous diſpoſition, and godly conuerſatiō, mightely addicted to prayer, an earneſt reader of the ſcriptures, a great mainteiner of the godly, a viſitour of the priſoners, liberall to ſchollers, very mercifull to his clientes, vſing equitie and iuſtice to the poore, very diligent in geuyng counſell to all the nedy, wydowes, fatherles, and afflicted, without mony or reward, briefly a ſingular example to all Lawyers.

This M. Baynham, as is aboue noted, maryed the wife of Symon Fiſhe aforeſayd, for the whiche he was the more ſuſpected, & at laſt was accuſed to Syr Tho. More Chaūcellour of Englād, & arreſted with a Sergant at Armes, & caryed out of midle Temple, to the Chauncellours houſe at Chelſey, where he cōtinued in free priſon a while, till yͤ tyme that Syr Tho. More ſaw he could not preuaile in peruertyng of him to his ſecte. Then he caſt hym in priſon in his owne houſe, & whipped him at the tree in his garden, called yͤ tree of troth, & after ſent hym to the Tower to be racked, & ſo he was, ſyr Tho. More being preſent him ſelf, till in a maner he had lamed hym, becauſe he would not accuſe the Gētlemē of yͤ Temple of hys acquayntaunce, nor would not ſhewe where hys bookes lay: and becauſe his wife denyed them to be at his houſe, ſhe was ſent to the Flete, and theyr goodes confiſcate.

After they had thus practiſed agaynſt hym what they could, by tortures and tormentes, then was hee brought before Iohn Stokeſly Byſhop of London, the xv. of December. an. 1531. in the ſayd towne of Chelſey, and there examined vpon theſe Articles and Interrogatories enſuyng.

FIrſt whether he beleued there were any Purgatory of ſoules hence departed.

Whereunto he made aunſwere as foloweth: *If we walke in light euen as hee is in light, we haue ſocietie together with hym, and the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt his ſonne, hath clenſed vs from all ſinne. If we ſay we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues and the truth is not in vs. If we confeſſe our ſinnes, he is faithfull and iuſt, and will forgiue vs our ſinnes, and will purge vs from all our iniquities.*

Secondly whether the Saintes hence departed, are to be honored and prayed vnto, to pray for vs.

To

unſwere.

To which he aunſwered on this wiſe: *My litle children, I write this vnto you, that you ſinne not. If any man do ſinne, we haue an Aduocate with the father, Ieſus Chriſt the iuſte, and hee is the propitiatiō for our ſinnes, and not onely for our ſinnes, but alſo for the ſinnes of the whole world.* And further, vppon occaſion of theſe wordes: Omnes ſancti Dei orate pro nobis, beyng demaunded what hee ment by theſe woordes, Omnes ſancti, he aunſwered: *that hee ment them by thoſe that were alyue, as S. Paule did by the Corinthians, and not by thoſe that be dead: for he prayed not to thē (he ſayd) becauſe he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item when the whole Churche is gathered together, they vſe to pray one for an other, or deſire one to pray for an other, with one hart: & that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled & not ours: and I pray, ſayd he, as our Sauiour Chriſt prayed at his laſt houre: Father, take this cuppe frō me if it be poſſible, yet thy will be fulfilled.*

mnes ancti dei.

3. Thirdly, he was demaunded whether hee thought that any ſoules departed were yet in heauen or no.

unſwere. oules de- parted.

To this he aunſwered and ſaid: *that he beleued that they be there as it pleaſeth God to haue them, that is to ſay, in the faith of Abraham, and that herein he would commit him ſelfe to the Church.*

4. Fourthly, it was demaunded of hym, whether hee thought it neceſſary to ſaluation, for a man to confeſſe hys ſinnes to a Prieſt.

unſwere. onfeſſion nd remiſ- ſinnes.

Wherunto his aunſwere was this: *that it was lawfull for one to confeſſe and knowledge his ſinnes to an other. As for any other cōfeſſiō he knew none. And further he ſaid, that if he came to a Sermon, or any other where, whereas the worde of God is preached, and there take repentaunce for his ſinnes, hee beleued his ſinnes forthwith to be forgiuen of God, and that he neded not to go to any confeſſion.*

5. Fiftely, that he ſhould ſay and affirme, that the truth of holy Scripture hath bene hydde, and appeared not theſe viij. hundreth yeares, neither was knowen before now.

unſwere.

To this he ſayd: *that he ment no otherwiſe, but that the troth of holy Scripture was neuer, theſe viij. hundreth yeares paſt, ſo playnly and expreſſely declared vnto the people, as it hath bene within theſe ſix yeares.*

6. He was demaūded further, for what cauſe holy Scripture hath ben better declared within theſe ſix yeres, then it hath bene theſe viij. hundreth yeares before.

unſwere. he truth f the ſcrip- ure, long yd,

Wherunto he aunſwered: *to ſay playnlye, he knew no man to haue preached the worde of God ſincerely and purely, and after the vayne of Scripture, except M. Crome, and M. Latimer, and ſayd moreouer, that the new Teſtament now tranſlated into Engliſh, doth preach & teach the worde of God, and that before that tyme, men did preach but onelye, that folkes ſhould beleue as the Churche did beleue, and then if the Churche erred, men ſhould erre to. Howbeit the Churche, ſayd hee, of Chriſt can not erre: and that there were ij. Churches, that is, the Church of Chriſt militāt, and the Churche of Antichriſt, and that this Churche of Antichriſt may and doth erre, but the Churche of Chriſt doth not.*

wo chur- ches.

7. Seuenthly, whether he knew any perſon that dyed in the true fayth of Chriſt, ſince the Apoſtles tyme.

unſwere.

He ſayd: *He knew Bayfild, and thought that hee dyed in the true fayth of Chriſt.*

8. Eightly, he was aſked what he thought of Purgatorie and of vowes.

unſwere. urgato- e.

He aunſwered: *If any ſuch thyng had bene moued to S. Paul of Purgatory after this life, he thought Saint Paul would haue condemned it for an hereſie. And whē he heard M. Crome preach and ſay, that he thought there was a Purgatory after this life, hee thought in his mynd that the ſayd M. Crome lyed, and ſpake agaynſt his conſcience, and that there were a hundreth moe, whiche thought the ſame as hee did: ſaying moreouer that he had ſene the confeſſion of M. Crome in Print, God wott a very foliſh thyng, as he iudged.*

rome be- e was o ſlypte that he d before ught.

owes.

And as concernyng vowes, he graunted that there were lawfull vowes as Ananias vowed Act. 5. for it was in his owne power, whether he would haue ſold his poſſeſſion or not, and therfore hee did offende. But vowes of Chaſtitie, and all godlynes is giuen of God by his abundāt grace, the which no mā of hym ſelfe can kepe, but it muſt be giuen him of God. And therfore a Monke, Frier, or Nunne, that haue vowed the vowes of religiō, if they thincke, after their vowes made, that they cā not kepe their promiſes that they made at Baptiſme, they may go foorth and mary, ſo that they kepe after their mariage, the promiſe that they made at Baptiſme. And finally he concluded, that hee thought there were no other vowes, but onely the vowe at Baptiſme,

9. Ninthly, he was demaunded whether Luther being a Frier, and takyng a Nunne out of religion, and afterwarde maryyng her, did well or no, and what he thought therein.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered: *that he thought nothyng. And when they asked hym, whether it was lecthery, or no. He made aunſwere, he could not ſay ſo.*

10. As concernyng the Sacrament of aunelyng, beyng wylled to ſay his mynde:

Aunſwere. Extreme vnction.

He aunſwered and ſayd: *It was but a cerimonye, neither did hee wotte what a man ſhould be the better for ſuch an oylyng and annoyntyng. The beſt was, that ſome good prayers he ſaw to be ſayd thereat.*

11. Likewiſe, touchyng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, his wordes were theſe:

Aunſwere. The ſacraments of baptiſme.

That as many as repent, and do on them Chriſt, ſhalbe ſaued: that is, as many as dye concernyng ſinne, ſhall lyue by fayth with Chriſt. Therefore it is not we that liue after that, but Chriſt in vs. And ſo whether we lyue, or dye, we are Gods by adoption, and not by the water onely, but by water, and fayth: that is, by keepyng the promiſe made. For ye are kept by grace and fayth, ſayth S. Paule, and that not of your ſelfe: for it is the gift of God.

12. He was aſked moreouer of Matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace, beyng commaunded in the olde law, and not yet taken away.

Aunſwere. Matrimony.

His aunſwere was: that Matrimonie is an order or law, that the Churche of Chriſt hath made, and ordeyned, by the whiche men may take to them women and ſinne not.

13. Laſtlye, for hys bookes of Scripture, and for hys iudgement of Tyndall, becauſe he was vrged to confeſſe the troth, he ſayd:

Aunſwere. Readyng of bookes, forbidden.

That he had the new Teſtament tranſlated into the Engliſhe toungue by Tyndall, within this moneth, and thought he offended not God in vſing and kepyng the ſame, notwithſtandyng that he knew the kinges proclamation to the contrary, & that it was prohibited in the name of the church at Paules croſſe. But for all that, he thought the word of god had not forbyd it: confeſſing moreouer, that he had in his keping within this moneth, theſe bookes: the wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Chriſten mā, the practiſe of Prelates, the aūſwere of Tindall to Tho. Mores Dialogue, the boke of Frith agaynſt Purgatorye, the Epiſtle of George Gee, alias George Clerke: addyng furthermore, that in all theſe bokes he neuer ſaw any errours. And if there were any ſuch in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the ſayd baokes. And as concernyng the newe Teſtament in Engliſh, he thought it vtterly good, & that the people ſhould haue it, as it is. Neither did he euer knowe (ſayd he) *that Tyndall was a naughty felow. And to theſe aunſweres hee ſubſcribed his name.*

This examination (as is ſayd) was the 15. day of December.

M. Baynham ſubmitteth him ſelfe.

The next day folowyng, whiche was the 16. day of December, the ſayd Iames Baynham appeared agayn before the Byſhop of London, in the foreſayd place of Syr Tho. More at Chelſey, where, after the guyſe and forme of their procedynges, firſt hys former Articles with his aunſweres were agayne repeted, and his had brought forth. Whiche done, they aſked him whether he would perſiſt in that which he had ſaid, or els would returne to the Catholicke Church from whēce he was fallen, & to the which he might be yet receaued, as they ſayd: addyng moreouer many fayre intyſing & alluring wordes, that he would recōcile him ſelf, ſaying ỳ time was yet that he myght be receaued: the boſome of his mother was open for hym. Otherwiſe if hee wond continue ſtubburne, there was no remedy. Now was the tyme either to ſaue, or els vtterly to caſt hym ſelfe away. Whiche of theſe wayes he would take, the caſe preſent now required a preſent aūſwere, for els ẏ ſentence diffinitiue was there ready to be read. &c. To cōclude long matter in fewe woordes, Baynham wauering in a doubtfull perplexitie betwene lyfe on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giuing ouer to the aduerſaryes, gaue aūſwere vnto them that he was contented to ſubmit hym ſelfe, in thoſe thinges wherin he had offēded, excuſing that he was deceaued by ignoraunce. Then the Byſhop requiryng hym to ſay hys mynde playnly of his aunſweres aboue declared, demaunded what he thought therof, whether they were true, or no.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

To this Baynham ſayd, ẏ it was to hygh for hym to iudge. And then being aſked of ẏ biſhop, whether there was any Purgatory, he aunſwered, and ſayd: he could not beleue ẏ there was any Purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles beyng examined and demaunded, he grāted as followeth: That he could not iudge whether Bayfild dyed in the true fayth of Chriſt or no. That a man making a bowe, can not breake it without deadly ſinne. That a Prieſt promiſing to lyue chaſte, may not mary a wife. That hee thinketh the Apoſtles to be in heauē. That Luther did naught in maryinga Nunne. That a child is ẏ better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man kepe bookes prohibited by the Churche, the Pope, the Byſhop, or the kyng, and ſayd that he pondered thoſe poyntes more now, then he dyd before. &c.

Upon theſe aūſweres the Byſhop thinkyng to kepe hym in ſafe cuſtody, to further triall, committed hym to one of the Counters.

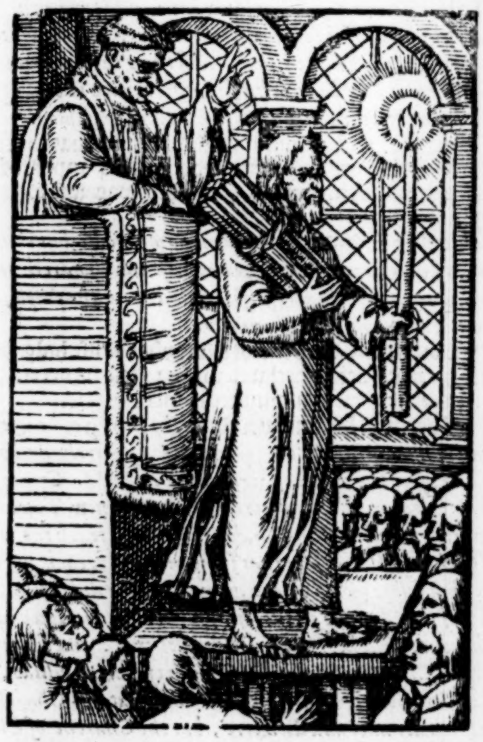
An. 1532

Baynham agayn brought before the byſhops Chauncellour.

The tyme thus paſſyng on, whiche bryngeth all thynges to their end, in the moneth of february next folowyng, in the yeare of our Lord. 1532. the foreſayd Iohn Baynham was called for agayne to the Byſhops Conſiſtory, before hys vicar generall, and other his aſſiſtance: to whom Foxford the Biſhops Chauncellour recited agayne his Articles and aunſweres aboue mentioned, proteſtyng that he intended not to receaue hym to the vnitie of ẏ holy mother church, vnles he knew ẏ ſayd Baynham to bee returned agayne purely and vnfeynedly to the Catholicke fayth, and to ſubmitte hym ſelfe penitenly to the iudgement of the Churche. To whom Baynham ſpake in this effecte, ſaying that hee hath and doth beleue the holy Church, & holdeth the fayth of the holy mother ẏ Catholicke church. Wherupon the Chauncellour offeryng to hym a byll of his abiuration, after the forme of the Popes Church conceaued, required hym to read it. Who was contented and read to the clauſe of the abiuration, conteinyng theſe wordes: I voluntarily, as a trus penitent perſon returned frō my hereſies, vtterly abiure. &c. & there he ſtayd and woulde read no farther, ſaying that hee knewe not the Articles conteyned in his abiuration to bee hereſie, therfore he coulde not ſee why hee ſhould refuſe them. Whiche done, the Chauncellour proceded to the readyng of the ſentence diffinitiue, cōming to the place of this ſentence: the doctrine and determination of the Church. &c. and there pauſed, ſaying he would reſerue ẏ reſt till he ſaw his tyme. Whō then Baynham deſired to be good vnto hym, affirmyng that hee did acknowledge that there was a Purgatory: that the ſoules of the Apoſtles were in heauen. &c. Then began he agayn to read the ſentēce, but Baynham agayne deſired him to be good vnto him. Wherupon he ceaſed the ſentence and ſayd that he would accepte this hys confeſſion for that tyme, as ſufficient.

So Baynham for that preſent, was returned to hys priſon agayne. Who then the fift day after, which was the viij. day of February, appeared as before, in the Conſiſtorye. Whom the foreſayd Chaūcellour repeatyng agayne his Articles and aunſweres, aſked if he would abiure and ſubmitte hym ſelfe: who aunſwered that he would ſubmitte hym ſelfe, as a good Chriſtē man ſhould. Againe, the Chauncellour the ſecond time aſked if he would abiure. I wil (ſaid he) forſake all my Articles, and will medle no more with them, and ſo beyng commaunded to lay hys handes vpon the booke, read his abiuration openly. After the readyng wherof he burſt out into theſe woordes, ſaying that, becauſe there were many woordes in the ſayd abiuration, whiche he thought obſcure and difficile, he proteſted, that by hys othe hee intended not to go from ſuch defenſe, which he might haue had before his othe. Which done, the Chauncellour aſked hym why hee made that proteſtation? Baynham ſayd, for feare leaſt any man of ill will do accuſe me hereafter. Then the Chaūcellour takyng the diffinitiue ſentence in his hand, diſpoſing hym ſelfe (as appeared) to read the ſame: well M. Baynham (ſayd he) take your othe & kiſſe the booke, or els I will do myne office agaynſt you, and ſo immediatly he tooke the booke in his hand and kiſſed it, and ſubſcribed the ſame with his hand.

Whiche done, the Chauncellour receauyng the abiuratiō at his hand, put hym to his fine, firſt to pay xx. ℓ. to ẏ kyng. After that, he inioyned him penaunce, to go before the Croſſe in proceſſion at Paules, and to ſtād before the preacher duryng the Sermons at Paules Croſſe, with a Fagot vpon his ſhoulder the next Sonday, and ſo to returne with the Sumner to the priſon agayne, there to abyde the Byſhops determination: and ſo the xvij. day of February he was releaſed, and diſmiſſed home. Where hee had ſcarſe a moneth continued, but he bewayled his facte and abiuration, and was neuer quyet in mynde and conſcience, vntill the tyme, he had vttered his fall to all his acquayntaunce, and aſked God & all ẏ world forgiuenes before the cōgregatiō in thoſe dayes, in a warehouſe in Bow lane: and immediatlye the nexte Sondaye after, hee came to S. Auſtens, with the new Teſtament in his hand in Engliſhe, and the obedience of a Chriſten man in hys boſome, and ſtoode vp there before the people, in hys pew, there declaryng openly with wepyng teares, that he had denyed God, and prayed all the people to forgyue hym, and to beware of hys weakenes, and not to do, as he did. For, ſayd he, if I ſhould not turne agayne vnto the truth (hauyng the newe Teſtament in hys hand)



hand) this worde of God would damne me both body and ſoule at the day of iudgemẽt. And there hee prayed euery body rather to dye by and by, then to do as hee did: for he would not feele ſuch an hell agayne, as hee did feele, for all the worldes good. Beſide this, hee wrote alſo certeine letters to the Byſhop, to hys brother, and to others, ſo that ſhortly after, he was apprehended and ſo committed to the Tower of London.

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¶ *The proces againſt Iames Bainam, in caſe of relaps.*

THe.xix. day of April. 1532. M. Richard Foxford Vicar General to the biſhop of London, accompanied with certein Diuines, and Mathew Grefton the Regiſter ſitting iudicially, Iames Bainhã was brought before him by the Lieuetenaunt of the tower, before whom yͤ vicar generall rehearſed the articles cõteyned in his abiuration before made, ⁊ ſhewed him a bounde boke, whiche the ſaide Bainam acknowleged to be hys own writing, ſaying that it was good. Then he ſhewed him more of a certein letter ſent vnto yͤ biſhop of London, the whiche he alſo acknowledged to be his: obiecting alſo to the ſaid Bainhã, that he had made and read the abiuration which he had before recited: ſhewyng him moreouer certein letters which he had writtẽ vnto his brother, the whiche he confeſſed to be his own writing, ſaying moreouer that, though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the ſame that is nought, if it be as my L. Chaũcelour ſaith. Thẽ he aſked of Bainam how he vnderſtode this which followeth, which was in his letters: yet coulde they not ſe nor know him for God, when in dede he was both God ⁊ man, yea he was .iii. perſons in one, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſt: and Bainam ſayde it is naught. Which thinges thus done, there was further obiected vnto hym theſe wordes, that he had as leefe pray to Ioane his wyfe, as to our ladye. The whiche article Bainam denied. The ſayd Bainam amongeſt other talke as touching the ſacrament of the altar, ſaid: Chriſtes body is not chawed with teeth, but receiued by faith. Further it was obiected againſt him, that notwithſtanding his abiuration, he had ſaid that the ſacramẽt of the altar was but a myſticall or memoriall body: the which article Bainam denied. It was further laid vnto him that he ſhould ſaye, that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief and murtherer, ⁊ a deuill in hel. Wherunto he anſwered thus, that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a murtherer, ⁊ if he did not repent him of his murther, he was rather a deuill in hell, than a Saint in heauen.

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The.xx. daye of Aprill in the yeare aforſaid, the ſayd Iames Bainam was brought before the vicar generall in the Church of all Saintes of Barking, where as he miniſtred theſe interrogatories vnto him. Firſt, that ſince the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, he had ſaid, affirmed and beleued, that the ſacrament of the altar was but a miſticall body of Chriſt, and afterwarde he ſaid, it was but a memorial: the which article Bainam denied. Thẽ the vicar general declared vnto him, that our holy momother the catholike church determineth and teacheth in this maner: that in the ſacrament of the Altar, after the wordes of conſecration, there remaineth no bread. The officiall aſked Bainam whether he dyd ſo beleue or not. Wherunto Bainam aũſwered, ſaying, that S. Paul calleth it bread, rehearſing theſe wordes: Quotieſcunque comederitis panem hunc, & de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis: and in that point he ſaith as S. Paul ſayth, and beleueth as the church beleueth. And beynge demaunded twiſe afterward what he thought therin, he would geue no other anſwere.

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Item, that ſince the feaſt of Eaſter aforſaid, he had affirmed and beleued that euery man that would take vpon him to preach the goſpel of Chriſte clearlye, had as much power as yͤ Pope. To the which article he anſwered thus: He that preacheth the word of God whatſoeuer he be, ⁊ lyueth therafter, he hath the keye that bindeth and looſeth both in heauen ⁊ earth. The which key is the ſame ſcripture that is preached, ⁊ the Pope hath no other power to binde and to looſe, but by the keye of ſcripture.

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Item, that he affirmed that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief and a murtherer ⁊ in hel. Wherunto he aunſwered as before.

Articles falſely depraued.

Item, that he ſayd he had as leefe to praye to Ioane his wyfe as to our lady: the which he denied as before.

Item, that he affirmed and beleued that Chriſt him ſelfe was but a man: the which article he alſo denied.

The premiſſes thus paſſed, the vicar genceall receyued Fraunces Realmes, Iohn Edwardes, Raph Hilton, Iohn Ridley, Fraunces Dryland, and Raph Noble, as witneſſes to be ſworn vpon yͤ articles aforſaid, and to ſpeake the truth before the face of the ſayd Iames Bainam in yͤ preſence of M. Ihon Nailer vicar of Barking, M. Ihon Rode, Bacheler of Diuinitye, William Smith, Richard Griuel, T. Wimple, and Richard Gill.

Witneſſes agaynſt *M. Baynham.*

The.xxvi. of Aprill in the yeare aforeſayd, before M. Ihon Foxfard vicar general of the Biſhop of London, in the preſence of Mathew Grefton Regeſter, and Nicolas Wylſon, and Willam Philley, profeſſors of Diuinitie, Ihon Oliuer, William Midletõ, and Hugh Aprice, Doctors of the Lawe, M. Richard Greſham ſhiriffe of London, and a great companye of others, Iames Baynam was brought forth by yͤ Lieſtenant of yͤ Tower, in whoſe preſence yͤ vicar general rehearſed the merites of the cauſe of inquiſitiõ of hereſy againſt hym, and proceded to the reading of the abiuratiõ. And when the iudge read this article folowing cõtained in the abiuration: Item, that I haue ſaid that I will not determin whether any ſouls departed be yet in heauen or no, but I beleue yͭ they be there as it pleaſeth God to haue them, that is to ſaye, in the fayth of Abraham: and I wotte not whether the ſoules of the Apoſtles or any other bee in heauen or no: to thys Iames aunſwered, that I dyd abiure, and if that had not bene, I would not haue abiured at all.

The laſt appearance of *Iames Baynham.*

Soules departed.

After all the articles were read contayned in the abiuration, and certeine talke had as touching the Sacrament of Baptiſme, the ſayd Iames Baynham ſpake theſe wordes: If a Turcke, a Iewe, or Saraſen doo truſt in God and keepe his lawe, he is a good Chriſtian mã. Then the official ſhewed vnto hym the letters which he ſente vnto his brother wryttẽ with his owne hand, and aſked him what he thought as touching this clauſe folowing: Yet could they not ſee ⁊ know hym for God, when in dede he was both God and man, yea he was .iij. perſons in one, the Father, the Sonne, ⁊ the holy Ghoſt. Wherunto Bainam ſaid, yͭ it was naught ⁊ that he did it by ignoraunce, ⁊ did not ouer ſee his letters. Then M. Nicolas Wilſon amongſt other talke as touching the Sacrament of yͤ altar, declared vnto hym that the Church dyd beleue the very body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the Altar. Bainam aunſwered: The bread is not Ieſus Chriſt, for Chriſtes bodye is not chawed with teeth, therfore it is but bread. Beyng further demaunded whether in the Sacrament of the Altar, is the very body of Chriſt God and man in fleſh and bloud: after diuers doubtfull aunſweres, Baynham aunſwered thus: he is there very God and man in forme of bread.

The ſacramẽt of baptiſme.

The ſacramẽt of the altar.

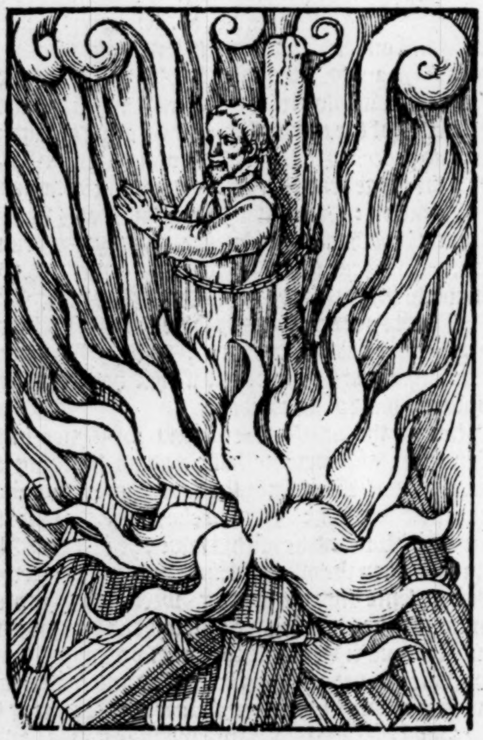
This done, the Officiall declared vnto hym the depoſitions of the witneſſes which were come in agaynſt hym, ⁊ obiected vnto hym that a litle before Eaſter he had abiured all hereſies as well particularlye as generally. Then the ſaid Vicar generall, after he had taken deliberation ⁊ aduiſe with yͤ learned hys aſſiſtaunces, dyd procede to the readyng of the definitiue ſentence againſt him, ⁊ alſo publiſhed yͤ ſame in writing: wherby amongeſt other thynges beſides hys abiuration, he pronounced and condemned hym as a relapſed heretické dampnably fallen into ſondry hereſies, and ſo to bee left

Sentence read againſt *Baynham.*

The wordes of Iames Baynham to M. Wilſon.

left vnto the ſecular power, that is to ſay, to one of the Shriffes beyng there preſent. After the pronouncyng of whiche ſentence, Maiſter Nicolas Wilſon counſelled and admoniſhed the ſayd Iames, that he would conforme hym ſelf vnto the Church. To whom he aunſwered, ẏ he truſteth that he is the very childe of God, which ye blind Aſſes (ſaid he) do not perceyue. And laſt of all, departyng from his iudgement, hee ſpake theſe wordes: M. Wilſon nor you my Lord Chauncellour, ſhall not proue by Scripture, that there is any Purgatorie. Then the ſentence of condẽnation was geuen agaynſt hym, the which here to repeate word for worde, is not neceſſary, for ſo much as the tenour therof is all one with that which paſſed before in the ſtory of Bayfeld, *aliâs* Somerſam. Here alſo ſhould enſue the letter of the Byſhop of London, directed vnto the Maior and Shriffes of the ſame Citie, for the receyuyng of hym into their power, and the puttyng of him to death, the tenour whereof is alſo of lyke effecte to that before written in the ſtory of Bayfelde. After this ſentence geuen, Iames Baynham was deliuered into the handes of Syr Richard Greſham Shriffe, then beyng preſent, who cauſed hym by hys Officers to be caryed vnto Newgate, and the ſayd Iames Baynham was burned in Smithfield the laſt day of Aprill, in the yeare aforeſayd, at thrée a clocke at after noone.

The death and Martyrdome of *M. Iames Baynham.*



Iames Baynham.

An. 1532.

The cruell handling of *Baynham.*

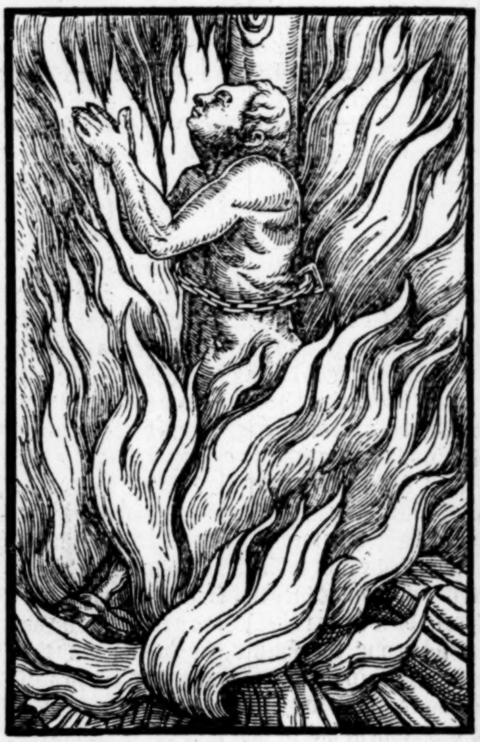
This Maiſter Baynham during his impriſonment, was very cruelly handled. For almoſt by the ſpace of a fortnyght hee laye in the Byſhoppes Colehouſe in the ſtockes, with yrons vppon hys legges. Then hee was caryed to the Lord Chauncellours, and there chayned to a poaſt two nyghtes. Then he was caryed to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the ſpace of a ſeuennyght. Then to the tower, where hee lay a fortnyght ſcourged with whyppes, to make hym reuoke hys opinions. From thence hee was caryed to Barkyng, then to Chelſey and there condempned, and ſo to Newgate to bee burned.

A miracle and a wondrous worke of God to behold.

At whoſe burnyng here is notoriouſly to bee obſerued, that as he was at the ſtake in the myddeſt of the flamyng fire, whiche fire had halfe conſumed hys armes and legges, hee ſpake theſe wordes: O ye Papiſtes, beholde, ye looke for miracles, and here now ye may ſée a miracle, for in this fire I féele no more payne then if I were in a bed of downe: but it is to me as ſwete as a bed of roſes. Theſe woordes ſpake he in the mideſt of the flamyng fire, when hys legges & armes (as I ſayd) were halfe conſumed.

¶ *Iohn Bent, Martyr.*

AT the writyng hereof, came to our handes a certeyne notice of one Iohn Bent, who about this preſent tyme or not long before, beyng a Taylor and dwellyng in a Village called Vrchenaunt, was burnt in the towne of the Deuiſes within the countie of Wilkeſhyre, for denying of the Sacrament of the Altare, as they terme it.



¶ *One Trapnell Martyr.*

ALſo much about the ſame tyme, was one Trapnell burned in a Towne called Brodford within the ſame Countie.

The hiſtory of .iii. men hanged for the burning of the Roode of Douercourt, collected out of a letter of Robert Gardner, which was one of the doers of the ſame.

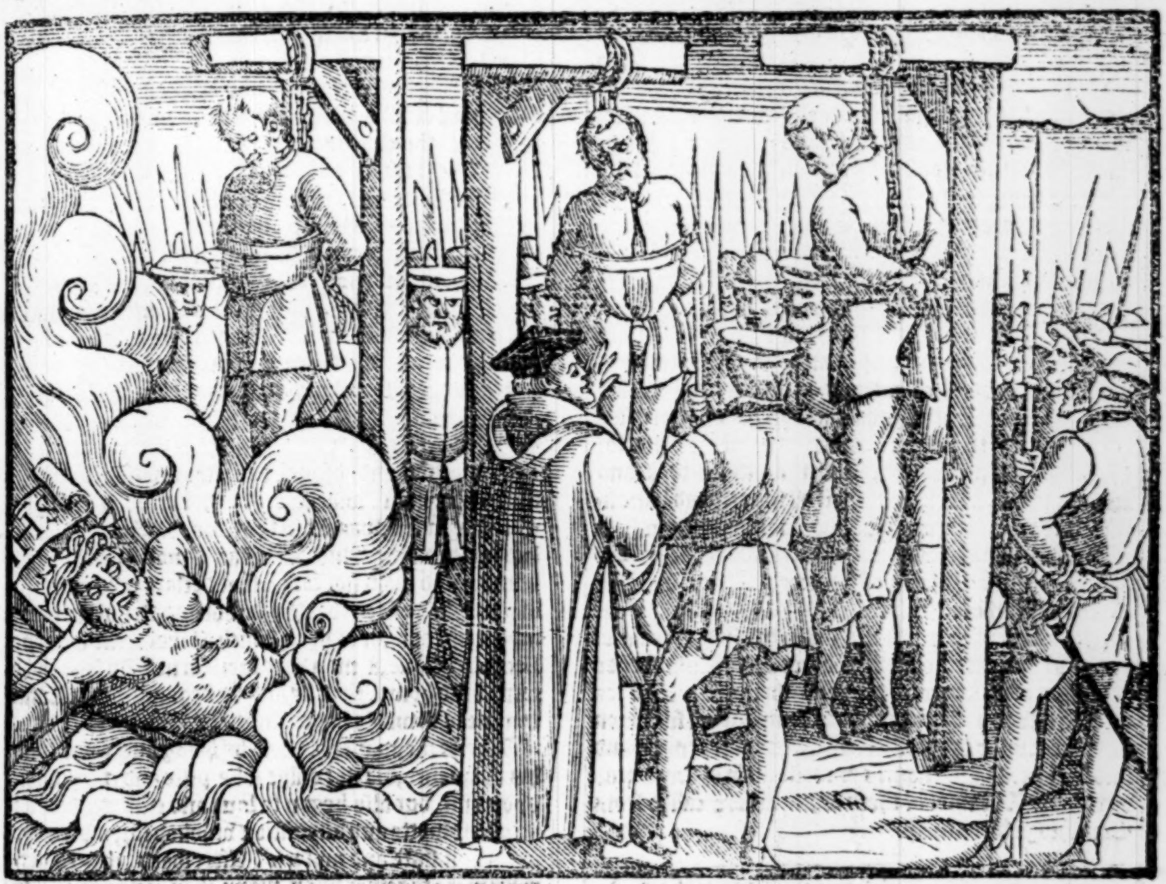
IN the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1532. there was an Idoll named the Roode of Douercourt, wherunto was much and great reſort of people. For at that tyme there was a great rumor blowen abrode amonges the ignoraunte ſort, that the power of the Idoll of Douercourt was ſo great, that no man had power to ſhut the Church dore where he ſtode, and therfore they lett the Church dore both nyght & day continually ſtand open, for ẏ more credit vnto their blinde rumor. Which once beyng conceaued in the heades of ẏ vulgar ſort, ſéemed a great meruel vnto manye men, but to manye agayne whom God had bleſſed with his ſpirit, was gretly ſuſpected, eſpecially vnto theſe whoſe names here folowe, as Robert Kyng of Dedhã, Robert Debnam of Eſtbergholt, Nicolas Marſh of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whoſe cõſciences were ſore burdened to ſée the honor & power of the almighty lyuyng God ſo to be blaſphemed by ſuche an Idoll. Wherfore they were moued by the ſpirite of God to trauaile out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly nyght, both hard froſt and faire mone ſhyne, although the nyght before, and the nyght after were exceading foule and rainye. It was frõ the towne of Dedham, to the place where the filthye Rode ſtode. x. miles. Notwithſtanding they were ſo willing in that their enterpriſe, that they went theſe. x. miles without payne, and founde the Churche dore open, according to the blinde talke of the ignorant people: for there durſt no vnfaithfull bodye ſhutte it.

Which happened wel for theyr purpoſe, for they found the Idoll, whiche had as much power to kepe the dore ſhut, as to kepe it opẽ. And for proufe therof, they toke the Idoll from his ſhrine, and caried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he ſtode, without any reſiſtance of the ſaid idoll. Whereupon they ſtrake fire with a flint ſtone, and ſodenly ſet him on fire, who burned out ſo brymme, that he lighted them homewarde one good mile of the .x.

This done, there went a great talke abroade that they ſhoulde haue greate richeſſe in that place: but it was verye vntrue, for it was not theyr thought or enterpriſe, as they themſelues afterwarde confeſſed, for there was nothing taken away, but his coate, his ſhoes and tapers. The tapers did helpe to burne him, ẏ ſhoes they had againe, and the coat one Syr Thomas Roſe did burne, but they had neyther peny, halfepeny, gold, grote nor iewell.

Falſe ſurmiſe alwayes ready.

The right handling of an Idoll.



Three Martyrs hanged for taking downe the Roode of Douercourt.

An. 1532.

Notwithſtanding three of them were afterward indited of felonye and hanged in chaines within halfe a yere after, or therabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet: Robert Debnam was hanged at Cattawaye cauſye: Nicolas Marſhe was hanged at Douercourt. Which .iij. perſons through ẏ ſpirit of God at theyr death, did more edify the people in godly learning, then al the Sermons that had bene preached there a long time before. The .iiij. man of this company named Robert Gardner, eſkaped theyr hands and fledde. Albeit he was cruellye ſought for, to haue had the like death, but the liuing Lorde preſerued him, to whome be al honor and glory world without ende.

The ſame yere and the yere before, there were many Images caſt downe and deſtroyed in many places: as the Image of the Crucifix in the highe way by Cogſhall, the Image of S. Petronill in the church of great Horkſleigh, the Image of S. Chriſtopher by Sudburye, and another Image of S. Petronill in a chapel by Ipſwich.

Alſo Ihon Seward of Dedham ouerthrewe a croſſe in Stoke Parke, and tooke .ij. Images out of a chapell in the ſame Parke, and caſt them into the water.

¶ *The Storie, examination, death, and Mardome of Ihon Fryth.*

1533.

AMongeſt all other chaunces lamentable, there hath bene none a great tyme which ſeemed vnto me more greuous, then ẏ lamentable death & cruell handlyng of Ihon Fryth, ſo learned & excellent a yong mã: who had ſo profited in all kinde of learning and knowledge, that ſkarſly there was his equal amongeſt al his companions, & beſides withall had ſuche a godlines of life ioyned with his doctrine, that it was hard to iudge, in whether of them hee was more cõmendable, being greatly prayſe worthy in thẽ both. But as touching his doctrine, by the grace of Chriſte, we will ſpeake hereafter. Of the great godlines whiche was in hym, thys may ſerue for experiment ſufficient, for that notwithſtanding his other manifold and ſingular giftes and ornamentes of the minde in him moſt pregnant, wherwithall he might haue opened an eaſie waye vnto honour and dignitie, notwithſtanding he choſe rather wholie to conſecrate him ſelfe vnto the church of Chriſte, excellently ſhewyng fourth and practiſyng in hym ſelfe the precept ſo highlye commended of the Philoſophers, touching the lyfe of man, which life they ſay is giuen vnto vs in ſuch ſort, ẏ how much better ẏ mã is, ſo much the leſſe he ſhould liue vnto him ſelf, but vnto other, ſeruinge for the common vtilitie, and that we ſhould thinke a great part of our birth to bée due vnto our parentes, a greater part vnto our countrey, & the greateſt part of all, to be beſtowed vpon the churche, if we will be counted good men. Firſt of all, he began his ſtudy at Cambrydge. In whõ nature had planted beyng but a chylde, maruailous inſtinctions and loue vnto learning, wherunto he was addict. He had alſo a wonderfull promptnes of witte, and a ready capacity to receaue and vnderſtande any thyng, in ſo muche that he ſemed not to be ſent vnto learning, but alſo borne for the ſame purpoſe: neyther was there anye diligence wanting in him equal vnto that towardnes, or worthy of his diſpoſitiõ. Wherby it came to paſſe, that he was not onely a louer of learning, but alſo became an exquiſite learned man. In ẏ which exerciſe, when he had diligently laboured certayne yeres, not without great profit both of Latin and Greke, at the laſt he fel into knowledge

John Frith firſt ſtudent in Cambrige.

Commendation of *Fryths* learning.

ledge & acquaintaunce with William Tyndall, through whoſe inſtructions, he firſt receyued into his hart the ſeede of the goſpell and ſyncere godlines.

The College in Oxforde of Frydeſwyde, now called Chriſtes Colledge.

At ẏ tyme, Tho. Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke, prepared to build a Colledge in Oxforde, maruailous ſuptuous, which had ẏ name & title of Frydeſwyde, but now named Chriſtes church, not ſo much (as it is thought) for the loue and zeale that he bare vnto learning, as for an ambitious deſire of glorye & renoume, and to leaue a perpetual name vnto ẏ poſteritie. But that building, he being cut of by the ſtroke of death (for he was ſent for vnto the kyng, accuſed vppon certaine crimes, and in the way by immoderate purgations killed himſelfe) left partly begonne, partly halfe ended and vnperfecte, and nothyng els ſaue onely the kitchyn was fullye finiſhed. Whereupon Rodulphus Gualterus a learned man being thẽ in Oxford, & beholdyng ẏ Colledge, ſayd theſe wordes in Latine: egregiũ opus. Cardinalis iſte inſtituit collegiũ, & abſoluit popinã. Howe large & ample thoſe buildinges ſhould haue bene, what ſumptuous coſt ſhould haue ben beſtowed vpõ ẏ ſame, may eaſely be perceyued by that which is already builded, as the kitchen, the hall, and certeine chambers, where as there is ſuch curious grauyng and workemanſhyp of ſtonecutters, that all thynges on euery ſide did glytter for the excellencie of the workemanſhip, for the finenes of the matter, with the gilte antikes, and emboſſynges, in ſo much that if all the reſt had bene finiſhed to that determinate ende as it was begon, it might well haue excelled not onely all Colledges of ſtudentes, but alſo Palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinall gathered together into that Colledge, what ſoeuer excellent thyng there was in the whole realme, either veſtimentes, veſſels or other ornaments, beſide prouiſion of all kynde of precious thynges. Beſides that, he alſo appointed vnto that company all ſuch men as were founde to excell in any kynde of learnyng and knowledge. Whoſe names to recite all in order, would be to long. The chief of them whiche were called from Cambridge were theſe.

The ſaying of *Rodulphus Gualterus*, touching the Cardinals colledge.

M. Clarke, *Maſt. of Art, of xxxiij. yeares of age.*
M. Frier, *afterward Doct. of Phiſicke, after that a ſtrong Papiſte.*
M. Sumner, *Maſter of Art.*
M. Harman, *Maſter of Art, & after felow of Eaton Colledge, after that a Papiſt.*
M. Bettes, *Maſter of Art, a good man and zelous, and ſo remayned.*
M. Coxe, *Maſter of Art, who conueyd hym ſelfe away toward the North, and after was Scholemaſter of Eaton, and then Chapplen to* D. Goodrich *Biſhop of Eley, and by him preferred to* K. Henry, *and now Byſhop of Eley.*
Iohn Frith, *Baccheler of Art.*
Bayly, *Bacheler of Art.*
Goodman, *who beyng ſicke in the priſon with the other, was had out and dyed in the towne.*
Drumme, *who afterwardes fell away, and forſoke the truth.*
Thomas Lawney, *Chapplein of the houſe, priſoner with* Iohn Frith.

This *Tauerner* repented hym very much that he had made ſonges to popiſhe dittics in the tyme of his blindnes.

To theſe ioyne alſo Tauerner of Boſton the good Muſician, beſides many other called alſo out of other places, moſt piked yong men of graue Iudgement and ſharpe wittes, who conferryng together vpon the abuſes of Religion being at that time crept into ẏ Church, were therfore accuſed of hereſie vnto the Cardinall, & caſt into a priſon, within a deepe caue vnder ẏ ground, of the ſame Colledge, where their ſaltfiſhe was layde, ſo that through the filthy ſtinch therof, they were all infected, and certayne of them takyng theyr death in the ſame priſon, ſhortlye vpon the ſame being taken out of the priſon into theyr chambers, there deceaſſed.

The troublers and examiners of theſe good mẽ were theſe: Doct. London, Doct. Higdon, Deane of the ſame Colledge, and Doct. Cotteſford Commiſſary.

Maſter Clarke, M. Sumner, and Syr Bayly eatyng nothing but ſaltfiſhe frõ Februarye to the middeſt of Auguſt, dyed all three together within the compaſſe of one weeke.

Maſter Bettes a wittye man, hauyng no bookes founde in hys chamber, through entreatye and ſuretie gote out of priſon, and ſo remaynyng a ſpace in the Colledge, at laſt ſlypt away to Cambridge, and after was Chaplen to Queene Anne & in great fauour with her.

Tauerner, although hee was accuſed and ſuſpected for hyding of Clarkes bookes vnder the boardes in his ſchole, yet the Cardinall for hys Muſicke excuſed hym ſaying, that he was but a Muſician and ſo he eſcaped.

After the death of theſe mẽ, Iohn Frith with other, by the Cardinalles letter, whiche ſent worde that hee would not haue them ſo ſtraitly handled, were dimiſſed out of priſon vpon condition, not to paſſe aboue ten myles out of Oxford. Whiche Frith after hearyng of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, whiche bare then Fagottes, went ouer the ſea, and after ij. yeares, hee came ouer for exhibition of the Prior of Readyng, (as is thought) & had the Prior ouer with hym. Being at Readyng it happened that he was there taken for a vacabound, and brought to examination: where the ſymple man, whiche coulde not craftely enoughe colour hym ſelf, was ſet in the ſtockes. Where after he had ſytten a long tyme, and was almoſte pyned with hunger, and wold not for all that declare what he was, at ẏ laſt he deſired that the Scholemaiſter of the town myght be brought to hym, which at that tyme was one Leonard Coxe, a man very wel learned. As ſone as he came vnto hym, Fryth by and by beganne in the Latin tongue to bewayle his captiuitie.

The Scholmaiſter by and by being ouercome with his eloquence, did not onlye take pitie and compaſſion vpon him, but alſo began to loue and embrace ſuch an excellent wytte and diſpoſition vnloked for, eſpeciallye in ſuche a ſtate and myſerie. Afterward, they conferryng more together vpon many thynges as touchyng the Vniuerſities, ſcholes, and tongues, fell from the Latin tongue into the Greke, wherin Fryth dyd ſo inflame the loue of that Scholmaiſter towardes hym, that hee brought him into a maruelous admiration, eſpecially whẽ as ẏ Scholemaiſter heard him ſo promptlye by hart, rehearſe Homers verſes out of hys firſt booke of Iliades. Wherupon the Scholemaiſter went with all ſpede, vnto the magiſtrates, greuouſly cõplainyng of the iniury whiche they did ſhewe vnto ſo excellent and innocent a young man. Thus Frith, through the helpe of the Scholemaiſter, was freely dimitted out of the ſtockes, and ſet at libertie without puniſhement. Albeit this his ſauetie continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly purſute of Syr Tho. More, who at that tyme beyng Chauncellour of England, perſecuted hym both by lande and ſea, beſittyng all the wayes and hauẽs, yea and promiſing great rewardes, if any man could bryng hym any newes or tydynges of hym. Thus Frith beyng on euery part beſet with troubles, not knowyng whiche way to turne hym, ſeeketh for ſome place to hyde hym in. Thus flying from one place to an other, and often chaungyng both hys garmentes & place, yet coulde he be in ſafetie in no place, no not long amongeſt hys frendes: ſo that at the laſt, being traiterouſly taken (as ye ſhal after heare) he was ſent vnto the tower of London, whereas he had many conflictes with the Byſhops, but ſpecially in writyng with Syr Thomas More. The firſt occaſion of hys writyng was this: Vppon a tyme he had communication with a certeine olde familiar frende of hys, touchyng the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt. The whole effect of which diſputation, conſiſted ſpecially in theſe foure pointes.

1. FIrſt, that the matter of the Sacrament is no neceſſarye Article of faith vnder payne of damnation.

2. Secondly, that for ſo much as Chriſtes natural body, in lyke condition hath all properties of our body, ſinne onely except, it can not be, neither is it agreable vnto reaſon, that he ſhould be in two places or moe at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

3. Moreouer, it ſhall not ſeme meete or neceſſarie, that we ſhould in this place vnderſtand Chriſtes wordes accordyng to the literall ſenſe, but rather according to the order and phraſe of ſpeach, cōparyng phraſe with phraſe, according to the Analogie of the Scripture.

4. Laſt of all, how that it ought to be receiued according to the true and ryght inſtitution of Chriſt, albeit that the order whiche at this time is crept into the Churche ⁊ is vſed now a dayes by the Prieſtes, do neuer ſo much differ from it.

And for ſomuch as the treatiſe of this diſputation ſemed ſomewhat long, hys frend deſired hym that ſuch thynges as he had reaſoned vpon, he would briefly cōmit vnto wrytyng ⁊ geue vnto hym for the helpe of his memorie. Frith, albeit hee was vnwillyng, and not ignorant how daungerous a thyng it was to enter into ſuch a contentious matter, at the laſt notwithſtandyng he being ouercome by the intreatie of hys frend, rather folowed his will, then looked to hys own ſauegarde.

There was at that tyme in London a Taylour named William Holt, whiche faynyng a great frendſhip towarde this partie, inſtantly required of hym to geue him licence to read ouer that ſame wrytyng of Frithes: whiche when he vnaduiſedly did, the other by and by caryed it vnto More beyng then Chauncellour, which thyng afterward was occaſion of great trouble, ⁊ alſo of death, vnto the ſayd Frith. For More hauyng gotten a copie of this boke, not onely of this Sicophant, but alſo two other copyes which at the ſame tyme, in a maner, were ſent hym by other promoters, he whetted his wittes, and called his ſpirites together as much as hee might, meaning to refute his opiniō by a cōtrary boke.

This, in a maner, was the whole ſūme of the reaſōs of Frithes boke: firſt to declare the Popes beliefe of the Sacrament to be no neceſſary Article of our fayth, that is to ſay, that it is no Article of our fayth neceſſary to be beleued vnder payne of damnation that the Sacrament ſhould be the naturall body of Chriſt. Which he thus proueth: For many ſo beleue, ⁊ yet in ſo beleuyng the Sacrament to be the naturall body, are not therby ſaued, but receiue it to their damnation.

Agayne, in beleuyng ẏ Sacrament to be the naturall body, yet that naturall preſence of his body in ẏ bread, is not that which ſaueth vs, but hys preſence in our hartes by fayth. And lykewiſe the not beleuyng of hys bodily preſence in the Sacrament, is not the thing that ſhall damne vs: but the abſēce of hym out of our hart, through vnbeleſe. And if it be obiected, that it is neceſſary to beleue Gods worde vnder payne of damnation: to that he aunſwereth, that the word taken in the right ſenſe as Chriſt meant, mainteyneth no ſuch bodilye preſence as the Popes church doth teach, but rather a Sacramentall preſence. And that (ſaith he) may be further confirmed thus.

¶ Argument.

Ce. *None of the old fathers before Chriſtes incarnatiō, were bound vnder payne of damnation to beleue this point:*

la. *All we be ſaued by the ſame fayth that the old Fathers were:*

rent. Ergo, *none of vs are bounde to beleue this poynte vnder payne of damnation.*

The firſt part (ſayth he) is euident of it ſelf. For how coulde they beleue that, whiche they neuer heard nor ſawe?

The ſecond part (ſayth he) appeareth playnly by S. Auſten wrytyng ad Dardanum, and alſo by an hūdreth places moe. Neither is there any thyng, that hee doth more often inculcate then this, that the ſame fayth that ſaued our fathers, ſaueth vs alſo. And therfore vppon the truth of theſe ij. partes thus proued, muſt the concluſion (ſayth he) nedes followe.

¶ An other Argument.

None of the old fathers before Chriſtes Incarnation, did eate Chriſt corporally in their ſignes, but onely miſtically and ſpiritually, and were ſaued:

All we do eate Chriſt euen as they did, and are ſaued as they were:

Ergo, *none of vs do eate Chriſt corporally, but myſtically and ſpiritually in our ſignes as they dyd.*

For the probation of the firſt part, Frith procedyng in hys diſcourſe, declareth howe the auncient fathers before Chriſtes Incarnation, did neuer beleue any ſuch point of this groſſe and carnall eatyng of Chriſtes body: and yet notwithſtandyng they dyd eate hym ſpiritually, and were ſaued: as Adam, Abraham, Moſes, Aaron, Phinees, and other godly Iſraelites beſides. All whiche (ſayth he) did eate the body of Chriſt, and dyd drinke his bloud, as we do. But this eatyng and drinkyng of theirs was ſpiritual, perteinyng onely to faith, and not to the teeth: *For they were all vnder the cloud, and dranke of the rocke which folowed thē, this rocke was Chriſt,* which was promiſed then to come into the world. And this promiſe was firſt made vnto Adā, when as it was ſaid vnto ẏ Serpent: *I will put hatred betwene thee & the woman, betwene her ſede and thy ſede. &c.* And afterward agayn vnto Abrahā, *In thy ſeede ſhall all people be bleſſed: &c.* Adding alſo ẏ Sacrament of Circumciſion, which was called the couenaunt, not becauſe it was ſo in dede, but becauſe it was a ſigne and a token of the couenaunte made betwene God and Abraham, admonyſhing vs therby, howe we ſhoulde iudge and thinke touching ẏ Sacrament of hys body ⁊ bloud: to wytte, that albeit it be called the body of Chriſt, yet we ſhould properly vnderſtand therby the frute of oure iuſtification, whiche plentyfullye floweth vnto all faythfull by his moſt healthfull body and bloud. Likewiſe the ſame promiſe was made vnto Moyſes, the moſt meke and gentle Captain of the Iſraelites, whiche dyd not onely hym ſelfe beleue vppon Chriſt, whiche was ſo often promiſed, but alſo dyd prefigurate hym by diuers meanes, both by the Manna which came downe from heauen, and alſo by the water which iſſued out of the rocke, for the refreſhing of the bodies of his people.

1.Cor.10.

Gen.3.

Gen.26.

Bread is called the body, as the Sacramēt of circumciſion is called the couenant.

Manna, a figure of Chriſtes body.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both Manna and this water had a Propheticall miſterye in them, declaryng the very ſelf ſame thing then, whiche the bread and the wine doe now declare vnto vs in the Sacrament. For thus ſayth S. Auſtine: Who ſo euer did vnderſtand Chriſt in the Manna, did eate the ſame ſpirituall foode that we do. But they which by that Manna ſought onlye to fill theyr bellies, did eat therof and are dead. So likewiſe ſayth he of the drinke: *For the rocke was Chriſt.* And by ⁊ by after, he inferreth thus: Moſes did eat Manna and Phinees alſo, and many other alſo dyd eat therof, which pleaſed God ⁊ are not dead. Why? becauſe they did vnderſtand the viſible meat ſpiritually. They did ſpiritually honger and dyd ſpiritually taſte of it, that they myght ſpiritually be ſatiſfied. They al did eat ẏ ſame ſpirituall meat, ⁊ all did drinke ẏ ſame ſpirituall drinke: all one ſpirituall thing, but not all one corporall matter (for they dyd eate Manna, and we a nother thing) but ẏ ſelf ſame ſpirituall thing ẏ we do, and although they dranke the ſame ſpirituall drinke that we doe, yet they dranke one thing ⁊ we a nother: which neuertheles ſignified all one thing in ſpirituall effect. How did they drinke al one thing? The Apoſtle anſwereth: *Of the ſpirituall rocke whiche followed them, for the rocke was Chriſt.* And Bede alſo addyng theſe wordes, ſayth: Behold the ſignes are altered and yet the fayth remayneth one. Thereby a man may perceiue that the Manna, whiche came downe from heauen, was the ſame vnto them that our Sacrament is

The water of the rocke, a figure of Chriſtes body.

Bread ⁊ wine, a figure likewiſe of Chriſtes body.

1.Cor.10.

The olde fathers dyd eate the ſame ſpirituall foode that we doe, but not ẏ ſame corporal foode. For they dyd eate Chriſt in *Manna,* we do eate hym in bread.

Bede.

vnto vs, and that by either of them is ſignified that the body of Chriſt came downe from heauen, and yet notwithſtãdyng, neuer any of them ſayd that Manna was the very body of Meſſias, as our Sacramentall bread is not in deede the body of Chriſt, but a myſticall repreſentation of the ſame. For lyke as the Manna which came downe from heauen, and the bread whiche is receiued in the Supper, doth nouriſh ẏ body, euen ſo the body of Chriſte commyng downe from heauen, and beyng geuen for vs, doth quicken vp the ſpirites of the beleuers vnto lyfe euerlaſtyng. Then, if the ſaluation of both people be a lyke, and there fayth alſo one, there is no cauſe why we ſhoulde adde tranſubſtantiation vnto our Sacrament, more then they beleued theyr Manna to be altered and chaunged. Moreouer, for becauſe they are named Sacramẽtes euen by the ſignification of ẏ name, they muſt nedes be ſignes of thyngs, or els of neceſſitie, they can be no Sacramentes.

A ſimilitude betwene *Manna*, & the body of Chriſt.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

Three cauſes why Sacramentes are ordeyned.

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum.

The ſecond cauſe.

Sacramentes not to be worſhipped for the thinges.

The thyrd cauſe.

But ſome may here obiecte and ſaye: If onely fayth, both vnto them and alſo vnto vs, bee ſufficient for ſaluation, what nede then any Sacramentes to be inſtituted? He aunſwereth, that there are three cauſes why Sacramentes are inſtituted. The firſt S. Auſten declareth in theſe woordes, wrytyng agaynſt Fauſtus: Men (ſayth he) cã not be knitte together into one name of Religion, be it true, or bee it falſe, except they be knitte by the ſocietie of ſignes and viſible Sacramentes, ẏ power wherof doth wonderfully preuayle, in ſo much, that ſuch as contemne them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned, without the which godlynes cannot be made perfect. &c. An other cauſe is, that they ſhould be helpes to grafte and plante fayth in our hartes, and for the confirmation of Gods promiſſes. But this vſe of Sacramentes, many are yet ignoraunt of, and more there be whiche do prepoſterouſlye iudge of the ſame, takyng the ſignes for the thyng it ſelf and worſhypppyng the ſame: euẽ by like reaſon in a maner, as if a man would take the buſhe that hangeth at the Tauerne dore, and ſucke it for to ſlake hys thyrſt, and will not go into the Tauerne where the wyne is. Thirdly they doo ſerue vnto this vſe, to ſtirre vp the myndes and hartes of the faythfull to geue thankes vnto God for his benefites. And theſe in a maner, are the principall pointes of hys booke.

More wryteth agaynſt *Iohn Fryth.*

Fryth aunſwereth to *More.*

Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburye holpen by the booke of *Ioh. Frith.*

When More (as is before ſayd) had gotten a coppye of this treatiſe, he ſharpened his pen all that he might, to make aunſwere vnto this yonge man (for ſo he calleth hym throughout hys whole booke) but in ſuch ſort, that when the booke was once ſet foorth, and ſhewed vnto the worlde, then hee endeuoured him ſelfe all that he might, to kepe it from printyng, peraduenture leſt that any copy therof ſhould come vnto Frithes handes. But notwithſtanding, when at ẏ laſt Fryth had gotten a copy therof by meanes of his frendes, he aunſwered hym out of the priſon, omittyng nothyng that any man could deſire to the perfecte and abſolute handlyng of the matter. And as it were a great labour, ſo doo I thinke it not much neceſſarie to repeate all his reaſons and argumentes, or the teſtimonyes which he had gathered out of the Doctors: ſpecially for ſomuch as the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury Cranmer in hys Apologye agaynſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſemeth to haue collected them abundantly, gathering ẏ principall and chiefeſt helpes from thence that he leaned vnto, againſt the other: and I doubt much whether the Archbiſhop euer gaue any more credite vnto any author of that doctrine, then vnto this aforeſayd Frith.

Rocheſter, More, and Raſtall, againſt *Frith.*

What dexteritie of wit was in hym, & excellencie of doctrine, it may appeare, not only by hys bokes whiche he wrote of ẏ Sacrament, but alſo in them which he intituled of Purgatory. In whiche quarell he withſtode the violence of three moſt obſtinate enemyes, that is to ſay, of Rocheſter, More, and Raſtall. Wherof the one by the helpe of the Doctours, the other by wreſtyng of the Scripture, and the thyrd by the helpe of naturall Philoſophye had conſpired agaynſt him. But he, as a Hercules, fightyng not agaynſt ij. onely, but euen with them all iij. at once, dyd ſo ouerthrowe and confound them, that he conuerted Raſtall to hys part.

Beſide all theſe commendations of this yong man, there was alſo in hym a frendly & prudent moderation in vtteryng of ẏ truth, ioyned with a learned godlines. Whiche vertue hath allwayes ſo much preuailed in the Churche of Chriſt, that without it, all other good giftes of knowledge, bee they neuer ſo great, can not greatly profite, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God, that all thynges in all places, were ſo free from all kynde of diſſenſion, that there were no mention made amongeſt Chriſtiãs, of Zwinglians and Lutherians, whẽ as neither Zwinglius, neither Luther dyed for vs, but that we might be all one in Chriſt. Neither do I thinke that any thyng could happẽ more greuous vnto thoſe worthy men, then their names ſo to be abuſed to ſectes & factions, which ſo greatly withſtode and ſtroue againſt all factiõs. Neither doe I here diſcourſe whiche parte came neareſt vnto the truth, neither ſo raſhlye entermedle in this matter, that I will detract any thyng from either parte, but rather wiſhe of God I might ioyne either part vnto other. But now for ſo much as we intreate of the ſtory of Iohn Frith, I can not chuſe, but muſt needes earneſtly and hartely embrace the prudent and godly moderation, whiche was in that man, who maintaynyng this quarell of the Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper, no leſſe godly then learnedlye (and ſo as no man in a maner, had done it more learnedlye, godly and pithely) yet hee did it ſo moderatelye, without any contention, that hee woulde neuer ſeeme to ſtriue agaynſt the Papiſtes, except he had bene driuen to it euẽ of neceſſitie. In all other matters, where neceſſitie did not moue him to contend, hee was ready to graunt all thynges for quietneſſe ſake, as his moſt modeſt reaſons and aunſweres did declare.

For whẽ as More diſputyng in a certaine place vpõ the Sacrament, layde agaynſt him the authoritye of Doctour Barnes, for the preſence of the bodye and bloud in the Sacrament, hee aunſwered vnto More and hys companiõs, that he would promiſe vnder this condition, that the ſentence of Luther & Barnes might bee holden as ratified, hee would neuer ſpeake more wordes of it: for in that poynt they did both agree with hym, that the Sacrament was not to bee worſhypped, and that Idolatry beyng taken away, hee was content to permitte euery man to iudge of the Sacrament, as God ſhould put into theyr hartes: for then there remayned no more poyſon, that any man ought or might be afrayde on. Wherfore if they did agree in that which was the chiefe poynt of the Sacrament, they ſhoulde eaſely accorde and agree in the reſt.

Thus much hee wrote in the treatiſe entituled the exile of Barnes agaynſt More. Which wordes of this moſt meeke Martyr in Chriſt, if they would take place in the ſeditious diuiſions & factions of theſe our dayes, with great eaſe & litle labour men might be brought to a vnitie in thys controuerſie, and much more concorde and loue ſhould be in the Church, & much leſſe offence geuen abroad, then there is.

But to our ſtorye again of Iohn Frith, who after he had now ſufficiently contended in hys writinges with More, Rocheſter, and Raſtall Mores ſonne in law: he was at the laſt caryed to Lambeth, firſt before the Byſhop of Canterbury, and afterward vnto Croydon before the byſhop of Wincheſter to plead hys cauſe. Laſt of all, he was called before the byſhops in a common aſſemble at London, wheras he conſtantly defended him ſelfe if he myght haue bene heard.

The order of hys iudgement, with the maner of hys examination and articles which were obiected agaynſt hym, are compriſed and ſet forth by hym ſelf, in a letter written and ſent vnto hys frendes, whileſt he was priſoner in the Tower.

¶ *A letter*

¶ A letter of Ihon Fryth to his frendes, concerning his troubles: wherin, after he had firſt with a briefe preface ſaluted thẽ, entring then into the matter, thus he writeth.

I Doubt not deare brethren, but that it doth ſome deale vexe you, to ſee ẏ one part haue all the wordes, & freely to ſpeake what they liſte, & the other to be put to ſilence, & not to be heard indifferently. But referre your matters to God, which ſhortly ſhal iudge after an other faſhion. In the meane tyme I haue wrytten vnto you as brieflie as I maye, what articles were obiected agaynſt me, and what were the principall poyntes of my condemnation, that ye might vnderſtande the matter certeinly.

The whole matter of thys my examination was cõprehended in .ij. ſpeciall Articles, that is to ſay, of purgatory, and of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

And fyrſt of all, as touching Purgatory, they enquired of me, whether I did beleue that ther was any place to purge the ſpottes and filthe of the ſoule after this life. But I ſayd that I thought there was no ſuch place. For man (ſayd I) doth conſiſte and is made onely of two partes, that is to ſay, of the body & the ſoule, wherof the one is purged here in this world by the croſſe of Chriſt, which hee layeth vpon euery childe that he receiueth: as affliction, worldly oppreſſion, perſecution, impriſonment. &c. and laſt of all the rewarde of ſinne which is death, is laid vpon vs: but the ſoule is purged with the worde of God, which we receaue through faith, to the ſaluation both of body and ſoule. Nowe if ye can ſhew me a thirde parte of man beſyde the body and the ſoule, I wyll alſo graunt vnto you a thirde place, which you do call Purgatorye. But if ye can not do this, I muſt alſo of neceſſitye denye vnto you the Byſhop of Romes Purgatory. Neuertheles I count neyther part a neceſſarye article of our faith to be beleued vnder payne of damnation, whether there be ſuch a Purgatorye, or no.

Secondly they examined me, touching the Sacramẽt of the Altar, whether it was the very body of Chriſt, or no.

I aunſwered, that I thought it was both Chriſtes bodye and alſo our bodye, as Saint Paul teacheth vs in the fyrſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, and x. chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our bodye, which being diuers and many members, are aſſociate and gathered together into one fellowſhip or bodye. Lykewyſe of the wine which is gathered of many cluſters of grapes, and is made into one licore. But the ſame breade againe, in that it is broken, is the body of Chriſt, declaring hys body to be broken and deliuered vnto death, to redeme vs from our iniquities. Furthermore, in ẏ the Sacramẽt is diſtributed, it is Chriſtes bodye, ſignifying that as verely as that Sacrament is diſtributed vnto vs, ſo verelye is Chriſtes body and the fruite of his paſſion diſtributed vnto al faythful people.

In that it is receaued, it is Chriſtes bodye, ſignifying that as verely as the outward man receaueth the Sacrament with his teeth and mouth: ſo verely doth the inwarde man, through fayth receaue Chriſtes bodye and fruite of hys paſſion, and is as ſure of it as of the bread that he eateth.

Well ſayd they, dooſt thou not thinke ẏ his very naturall body, fleſh, bloud, & bone, is really cõteined vnder the Sacramẽt, & there preſent without all figure or ſimilitude? No, ſayd I, I doe not ſo thinke. Notwithſtandyng I woulde not that any ſhould counte that I make my ſaying (which is the negatiue) any article of fayth. For euen as I ſaye that you ought not to make any neceſſarye article of the fayth of your parte (which is the affirmatiue) ſo I ſay agayne that we make no neceſſarye article of the fayth of our parte, but leaue it indifferent for all men to iudge therin as God ſhall open hys hart, and no ſide to condemne or deſpiſe the other, but to nouriſhe in all thynges brotherly loue, and one to beare an others infirmitie.

After thys, they alleaged the place of Saint Auguſtine where he ſayth, ferebatur in manibus propriis. That is to ſaye, hee was caried in his owne hands. Wherunto I aunſwered that Saint Auguſtine was a playne interpreter of hym ſelfe, for hee ſayeth in an other place: Ferebatur tanquam in manibus ſuis, that is to ſaye, hee was caried, as it were, in hys owne handes: which is a phraſe of ſpeach, not of one that doth ſimplye affirme, but onely of one expreſſing a thing by a ſimilitude. And albeit that S. Auſtine had not thus expounded hym ſelfe, yet he writting vnto Boniface, doth playnly admoniſh all men, that the Sacramentes do repreſent & ſignifie thoſe thinges, wherof they are Sacramentes, & many times, euẽ of the ſimilitude of ẏ thinges thẽ ſelues they do take their names: and therfore according to thys rule it may be ſayde, hee was borne in hys owne handes, when as hee bare in his handes the Sacrament of hys body and bloode.

Then they alleaged a place of Chriſoſtome, which at the firſt bluſhe may ſeme to make much for them: who in a certaine Homelye vppon the ſupper, wryteth thus: Dooeſt thou ſee bread and wine? Doe they depart from thee into the draught as other meates do? No, God forbid. For as in waxe whẽ it commeth to the fire, nothing of the ſubſtaunce remaineth nor abydeth: ſo likewyſe thinke that the myſteries are conſumed by the ſubſtance of the body. &c. Theſe wordes I expoũded by ẏ wordes of the ſame Doctour, which in an other Homelye ſayth on thys manner. The inwarde eies (ſayth hee) as ſoone as they ſee the breade, they flye ouer all creatures, and do not thinke of the bread that is baken of the baker, but of the bread of euerlaſting life, which is ſignified by the miſticall breade. Now cõferre theſe places together, and you ſhall perceaue that the laſt expoũdeth the firſt plainlye. For he ſayth, dooſt thou ſee the bread and wine? I aunſwere by the ſecond, nay. For the inwarde eies as ſoone as they ſee the bread, doe paſſe ouer all creatures, and do not any longer thinke vppon the bread, but vpon him which is ſignifyed by the bread. And after thys manner he ſeeth it, and againe he ſeeth it not: for as he ſeeth it with hys outwarde and carnall eies, ſo with hys inward eyes he ſeeth it not, that is to ſay, regardeth not the bread or thinketh not vpon it, but is otherwyſe occupyed. Euen as when we playe or doe any thing els negligently, we commonly are wont to ſay: wee ſee not what we do: not that in dede we do not ſee ẏ which we go about, but becauſe our minde is fixed on ſome other thyng & doth not attend vnto that which the eyes do ſee.

The place of Chriſoſtome aunſwered.

Chriſoſtome expoundeth him ſelfe.

In like manner maye it bee aunſwered vnto that whiche followeth: Doe they auoyde from thee (ſayth hee) into the draught as other meates doe? I will not ſo ſaye. For other meates paſſing through the bowells, after they haue of them ſelues gyuen nouriſhment vnto the bodye, bee voyded into the draught, but thys is a ſpirituall meat, which is receyued by faith, & nouriſheth both body and ſoule vnto euerlaſting life, neither is it at a nye tyme auoided as other meates are.

And as before I ſayde, that the externall eies doe behold the breade, whiche the inwarde eies being otherwiſe occupied, doe not behold or thinke vpon, euen ſo our outward man, doth dygeſte the bread and voide it into the draught, but the inward mã, doth neyther regard nor thinke vpõ it, but thinketh vpon the thing it ſelfe, that is ſignified by that bread. And therfore Chryſoſtome a litle before the wordes which they alleaged, ſayth: Lift vp your mindes and hartes, wherby he admoniſheth vs to looke vppon and conſider thoſe heauenly thinges which are repreſented and ſignified by the bread and wine, and not to marke the bread and wine in it ſelfe. Here they ſayd, that was not Chryſoſtomes minde: but that by thys example he declared that there remayned no bread nor wyne. I aunſwered, that was falſe: for the example that he taketh, tendeth to no other purpoſe, but to call awaye our ſpirituall eyes from the beholding of viſible thinges, and to tranſport them an other way, as if the thinges that are ſeene, were of no force. Therfore he draweth awaye our minde from the conſideration of theſe thinges, and fixeth it vppon him, which is ſignifyed vnto vs by the ſame. The verye wordes which followe, ſuffycientlye declare this to be the true meanyng of the author, wheras hee commaundeth vs to conſider all thinges with oure inward eyes, that is to ſay: ſpiritually. But whether Chriſoſtomes wordes do tend either to this or that ſenſe, yet do they indifferently make on our parte againſt our aduerſaries, which way ſo euer we vnderſtand thẽ. For if he thought that the bread and wine do remaine, we haue no further to trauaile: but if he meant cõtrariwiſe, that they do not remaine, but that the natures of the bread and wine are altered, then are the bread and wine falſlye named Sacramentes and myſteries, whiche can be ſayd in no place to bee in the nature of things: For that which is in no place, how can it bee a Sacrament, or ſupplye the roume of a miſterye? Finallye if hee ſpeake onely of the outwarde formes and ſhapes (as we call them) it is moſt certeine, that they doe continually remaine, and that they by the ſubſtance of the bodye are not conſumed

Argumentum ex Chryſoſt.

The bellye of man can not auoyde any part of Chriſtes bodye.

The bellye of man auoydeth ſome parte of euery thyng that the mouth receaueth.

Ergo, *the mouth of man receaueth not the bodye of Chriſt.*

All myſteries are to be ſene with inward eyes.

Chriſoſtome agaynſt the popiſhe doctrine of the Sacrament.

The obiection of Chriſoſtome auoyded by a *Dilemma.*

ſumed in any place, wherfore it muſt neceſſarily followe, the wordes of Chriſoſtome to be vnderſtanded in ſuche ſenſe as I haue declared.

A queſtion asked with the cauſe declared, why that ſeing the matter of the Sacramēt of it ſelf, importeth neither ſaluatiō nor dānation, why thē Fryth offreth him ſelf to death for the ſame.

Here peraduenture many would meruaile, that for ſo muche as the matter touching the ſubſtaunce of the Sacrament, being ſeperate from the Articles of fayth, and binding no man of neceſſity either vnto ſaluation or dampnation whether he beleue it or not, but rather may be left indifferentlye vnto all men, frelye to iudge either on the one parte or the other, according to his own minde, ſo that neither part do contemne or deſpiſe the other, but that loue and charity be ſtill holden, and kept in this diſſention of opinions: what then the cauſe is, why I would therfore willingly ſuffer death. The cauſe why I die is this, for that I can not agree with the Diuines and other head Prelates, that it ſhould be neceſſarely determined to be an article of faith, and that we ſhoulde beleue vnder paine of damnation, the ſubſtance of the bread and wine to be chaunged into the bodye and bloud of oure Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, the forme and ſhape only not being chaunged. which thing if it were moſt true (as they ſhall neuer be able to proue it by anye authoritye of the ſcripture or Doctours) yet ſhall they not ſo bryng to paſſe, that that doctrine, were it neuer ſo true, ſhould bee holdē for a neceſſary article of the faith. For there are many thinges both in the ſcriptures and other places, which we are not bound of neceſſitye to beleue as an article of fayth. So it is true, that I was a priſoner & in bondes whē I wrote theſe thinges, and yet for al that, I will not holde it as an Article of fayth, * but that you may alſo without dāger or damnation, eyther beleue it or thinke the contrary.

***This is to be weyed with the tyme when *Fryth* wrote.**

Three cauſes why the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is not to be beleued.

But as touching the cauſe why I can not affirme the doctrine of tranſſubſtanciation, diuers reaſones do lead me therunto. Firſt, for yͤ I do plainly ſee it to be falſe and vaine, and not to be grounded vpon anye reaſon, eyther of the ſcriptures, or of approued doctors.

The ſecond cauſe.

Secōdly, for yͤ by my exāple I would not be an author vnto Chriſtians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more then the neceſſary poyntes of theyr Crede, wherin the whole ſum of our ſaluatiō doth conſiſt, ſpecially ſuch thinges, the beleſe wherof haue no certeine argument of authority or reaſon. I added moreouer, that theyr church (as they call it) hath no ſuch power and authority, that it either ought or may binde vs vnder the perill of our ſoules, to the beleuing of any ſuch Articles.

The thyrd cauſe.

Thirdly, becauſe I will not for the fauor of our Diuines or Prieſtes, be preiudiciall in this point, vnto ſo manye Nations of Germaines, Heluetianes, and other, which altogether reiecting the tranſſubſtanciation of the bread and wine into the body and bloud of Chriſt, are al of the ſame opinion that I am, as well thoſe which take Luthers part, as thoſe which hold with Oecolampadius. which thinges ſtanding in thys caſe, I ſuppoſe there is no man of any vpryght conſcience, which will not allow the reaſon of my death, whiche I am putt vnto for this only cauſe, that I do not thinke tranſubſtanciation, although it were true in dede, to be eſtablyſhed for an Article of fayth.

And thus much hetherto as touchyng the Articles & whole diſputatiō of Iohn Frith, which was done with all moderation and vprightnes. But whē as no reaſon would preuaile agaynſt the force and cruelty of theſe furious foes, the xx. day of June, in the yeare of our Lord. 1533. hee was brought before the Byſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Lincolne, who ſittyng in Paules vpon Friday, the xx. day of Iune, miniſtred certeine interrogatories vpon the Sacrament of the Supper and Purgatory, vnto the ſaid Frith, as is aboue declared. To the which, when he had aūſwered & ſhewed hys mynde in forme and effect as by his owne wordes aboue doth appeare, he afterward ſubſcribed to hys aunſweres with his owne hande, in theſe wordes.

The ſubſcription of *Iohn Fryth*.

¶ Ego Frithus ita ſentio, & quemadmodum ſentio, ita dixi, ſcripſi, aſſerui, & affirmaui.

¶That is to ſay.

¶ I Frith do thus thinke, & as I thinke, ſo haue I ſaid, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my bookes haue publiſhed.

But when as by no meanes he could bee perſuaded to recant theſe Articles aforeſayd, neither bee brought to beleue that the Sacrament is an Article of faith, but ſayd, Fiat Iudicium & Iuſtitia: hee was condemned by the Byſhop of London to be burned, and ſentence geuen agaynſt him: the tenour wherof here enſueth.

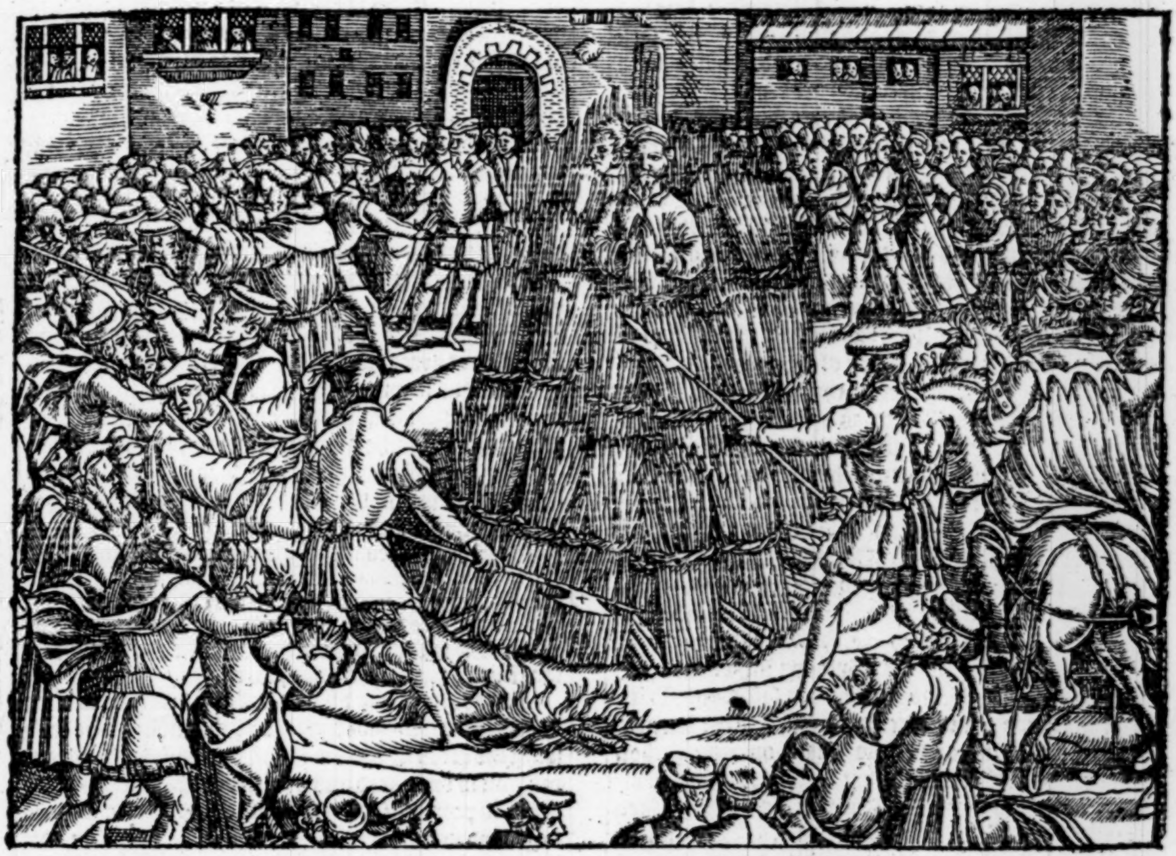
¶ *The ſentence geuen agaynſt Iohn Frith.*

IN the name of God. Amen. We Iohn by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of London, lawfully and ryghtly proceedyng withall godly fauour by authoritye and vertue of our office, agaynſt thee Iohn Frith of our iuriſdiction, before vs perſonally here preſent, beyng accuſed and detected and notoriouſly ſclaundered of hereſye, hauyng heard, ſene, and vnderſtand, and with diligent deliberation wayed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merites of the cauſe, all thynges beyng obſerued whiche by vs in this behalfe by order of law ought to bee obſerued, ſittyng in our iudgement ſeate, the name of Chriſt beyng firſt called vpon, and hauyng *God onely before our eyes, becauſe by the actes enacted, propounded and exhibited in this matter, and by thyne owne confeſſion iudicially made before vs, we do finde that thou haſt taught, holden and affirmed and obſtinatelye defended diuers errours and hereſies and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy Churche, and ſpecially agaynſt the reuerent Sacrament, and albeit that wee folowyng the example of Chriſt, which woulde not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhoulde conuerte and liue, haue oftentymes gone about to correct thee, and by all lawfull meanes that we could, and moſt wholeſome admonitions that we dyd knowe, to reduce thee agayne vnto the true fayth, and the vnitye of the vniuerſall Catholicke Church, notwithſtandyng we haue founde thee obſtinate and ſtifnecked, willyngly continuyng in thy damnable opinions and hereſies, & refuſing to returne agayn vnto the true faith and vnitye of the holy mother Church, & as the childe of wickednes and darknes, ſo to haue hardened thy hart that thou wilt not vnderſtand the voyce of thy ſhepheard, whiche with a fatherly affection doth ſeke after thee, nor wilt not bee allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions: we therfore Iohn the Biſhop aforeſaid, not willing that thou which arte wicked, ſhouldeſt become more wicked, and infecte the Lordes flocke with thy hereſye, which we are greatlye afraide of, doe iudge thee, and definitiuelye condemne thee the ſaid Ihon Fryth, thy demerites and faults being aggrauate through thy damnable obſtinacye, as gilty of moſte deteſtable hereſies, & as an obſtinate vnpenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to returne to the lappe and vnitye of the holy mother Church, and that thou haſt bene & art by lawe excommunicate, & pronounce & declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon: alſo we pronounce and declare thee being an hereryke to be caſte out from the Churche, and lefte vnto the iudgement of the ſeculer power, and now preſently ſo do leaue thee vnto the ſeculer power, and theyr iudgement, moſte earneſtlye requiring them in the bowells of our Lord Ieſus Chriſte, that this execution and puniſhment worthely to be done vpon thee, may ſo be moderate, that the rigour therof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentlenes to much mittigated, but that it may be to the ſaluation of thy ſoule, to the extirpation, terror, and conuerſiō of heretikes, to the vnity of the catholicke fayth, by thys our ſentence definitiue or finall decree, whiche we here promulgate in this forme aforeſaid.

Thys ſentence thus read, the Byſhop of London directed hys letter, to Syr Steuen Pecocke Maior of London and the Shriues of the ſame Citie, for the receiuyng of the foreſayd Iohn Frith into their charge. Who beyng ſo deliuered ouer vnto them the iiij. day of July in the yeare aforeſayd, was by them caryed into Smithfield to be burned, and when he was tyed vnto the ſtake, there it ſufficiently appeared with what conſtancye & courage he ſuffred death: for when as the fagots & fire were put vnto hym, he willyngly embraced the ſame, therby declaryng with what vprightnes of mynde he ſuffered his death for Chriſtes ſake and the true doctrine, wherof that day he gaue with his bloud, a perfect and firme teſtimonie. The wynde made hys death ſomewhat the more longer, whiche bare away the flame from hym vnto hys felowe that was tyed to hys backe: but hee had eſtabliſhed hys mynde with ſuch pacience, God geuyng hym ſtrength, that euen as thoughe he had felt no payne in that long torment, hee ſeemed rather to reioyſe for hys felowe, then to be carefull for hym ſelfe.

This truely is the power and ſtrength of Chriſt, ſtriuyng and vanquiſhyng in hys Saintes: who ſanctifie vs together with them, and direct vs in all thynges to the glory of his holy name. Amen.

¶ The burnyng of Iohn Frith, and Andrew Hewet.



John Frith, and Andrew Hewet, Martyrs.

The daye before the burning of theſe worthye men of God, the Byſhop of London certified kinge Henrye the eyght of hys worthye, yea rather wolui ſhe proceadyng againſt theſe menne: the tenour wherof forasmuch as it procedeth as the other do before, we therfore omitte it, referring the reader to the ſame.

¶ *Andrewe Hewet burned with Maiſter Frith.*

ndrewe
ewet,
artyr.

1533.

ANdrew Hewet borne in Feuerſham, in the countye of Kent, a yong man of the age of .xxiiij. yeres, was preſentiſe with one M. Warrē, tailor in Watlingſtreete. And as it happened that he went vpon a holye day into Fleteſtrete towarde S. Dunſtanes, hee met with one William Holt, which was foreman with the kinges tailor at that preſent, called M. Malte: and beyng ſuſpected by the ſame Holt (whiche was a diſſemblyng wretch) to be one that fauoured the goſpell, after a litle talke had with hym, he wente into an honeſt houſe about Fleete bridge, whiche was a bokeſellers houſe. Then Holt thinking hee had found a good occaſion to ſhew forth ſome frute of his wickednes, ſent for certain officers and ſearched the houſe, and finding the ſame Andrewe, apprehended hym and caryed hym to the Biſhops houſe, where he was caſt in irons, and beyng there a good ſpace, by meanes of a certaine honeſt man he had a file conueied vnto hym, wherwith hee filed of hys irons, and when he ſpied hys tyme, he got out of the gate. But being a man vnſkilfull to hide him ſelfe, for lacke of good acquaintaunce hee went into Smithfeld, and there mette with one Wythers, which was an hypocrite as Holt was. Which Wythers vnderſtanding howe he had eſchaped, and that he knewe not whether to go, pretendyng a fayr contenance vnto hym, willed hym to go with hym, promiſinge, that he ſhould be prouided for, and ſo kepte hym in the Country wher he had to do, from low Sonday tyll Whitſontide, and then brought hym to London, to the houſe of one Ihon Chapmā in Hoſier lane beſide Smithfeld, and there lefte hym by the ſpace of two dayes.

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Ioh. Chapmā.

Then he came to the ſayde Chapmans houſe again, and brought Holt with hym. And when they mette with the ſayde Andrew, they ſeemed as though they meant to do him very much good: and Holt for his part ſayd, that if he ſhould bring any man in trouble (as the voyce was that he had done the ſayde Andrew) it were pitye but that the earthe ſhold open and ſwallowe him vp: in ſo much that they woulde neades ſup there that night, and prepared meate of theyr owne charges. At night they came and brought certaine geaſtes with thē, becauſe they would haue ẏ matter to ſeeme, as though it had come out by others. When they had ſupped, they went theyr way, and Holte tooke out of hys purſe two groates, and gaue them to the ſaide Andrew, and embraced him in his armes. As they were gone out, there came in one Ihon Tibaulde, which was baniſhed from hys owne houſe by an Iniunction, for hee had bene foure tymes in priſon for Chriſtes cauſe. And wythin an houre after that Holte and Wythers were gone, the Biſhoppes Chaūcelour, and one called Sergeaunt Weuer came and brought with them the watch, and ſearched the houſe, where they founde the ſaide Ihon Chapman and the forenamed Andrew and Ihon Tibaulde, whome they bound with ropes, which Sergeaunte Weuer had brought with him, and ſo caried them vnto the Biſhops houſe: but Andrew Hewet they ſent vnto the Lollardes Tower, and kepte Chapman and Tibaulde aſonder, watched with two prieſtes ſeruauntes. The next day, Biſhop Stokeſley came from Fulhā, and after they were examined with a fewe threatning wordes, Chapnam was committed to the ſtockes with this threat, that he ſhould tell an other tale, or els he ſhold ſytte tyll his heeles dyd droppe from hys arſe, and Tibaulde was ſhutte vp in a cloſe chamber, but by Gods prouiſion he was wel deliuered out of priſon: albeit hee could not enioye his houſe and land, becauſe of the Biſhops Iniunction, but was fain

W. Holte playeth the Iudas.

John Tibaulde v. tymes in bandes for Chriſt.

Andr. Hewet againe taken.

Chapman in the ſtockes.

Tibaulde inioyned, not to come within vij. myle of hys houſe.

to ſell all that he had in Eſſex, for the tenour of his Iniunctiõ was, that he ſhould not come within .vij. miles of his owne houſe, and the foreſayde Chapman, after v. wekes impriſonment (whereof thrée wekes hee ſatte in the ſtockes) by muche ſute made vnto the Lorde Chauncellour, which at that tyme was Lord Audley, after many threatninges, was deliuered: but the ſayde Andrew Hewet, after longe and cruell impriſonment, was condempned to death and burned with Ihon Fryth: whoſe examination here followeth.

Andrewe Hewet brought and examined before the Byſhop.

Chriſt not to be beleued to be really in the Sacrament.

The .xx. daye of the moneth of Aprill, Andrewe Hewet was brought before the Chauncelour of London, where was obiected againſte hym, that he beleued the Sacrament of the Altar after the conſecration, to be but a ſignification of the bodye of Chriſte, and that the hoſt conſecrated was not the verye bodye of Chriſt. Now, for ſomuch as this Article ſéemed hainous vnto them, they would do nothing in it without the conſent of learned counſaill. Whereupon the Biſhop of London, aſſociate with the Biſhops of Lincolne and Wincheſter, called him again before them. Where he being demaunded what he thought as touchinge the Sacrament of the laſt ſupper, aunſwered: euen as Ihon Fryth doth. Then ſayd one of the Byſhops vnto him: doſt thou not beleue that it is really yͤ body of Chriſt, borne of yͤ Virgin Mary? So (ſaith he) do not I beleue. Why not ſayd the Biſhop? Becauſe (ſayth he) Chriſt cõmaunded me, not to geue credit raſhly vnto all men, which ſayth: *beholde here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt, for manye falſe Prophets ſhall ryſe vp ſayeth the Lorde.*

Hewet holdeth with *Iohn Frith.*

Hewet conſtant in the fayth.

Hewet burned with *Iohn Fryth.*

Then certaine of the Byſhops ſmiled at hym, and Stokeſley the Biſhop of London ſaid: why, Frith is an hereticke, and alreadye iudged to bée burned, and excepte thou doe reuoke thyne opinion, thou ſhalt bee burned alſo with hym. Truely (ſayd hee) I am contended therwithall. Then the Biſhop aſked him if he would forſake his opinions. Wherunto he aunſwered, that he would do as Fryth dyd. Wherupõ he was ſent vnto the priſon to Frith, and afterward they were caried together to yͤ fire. The Biſhops vſed manye perſwaſions to allure this good man from the truth, to follow them: but he manfully perſyſting in the truth, would not recant. Wherfore, the .iiij. day of July at after none, he was caried into Smithfeld wᵗ Frith, and there burned. When they were at the ſtake, one Doctor Cooke a perſon in Londõ, openly admoniſhed all the people, that they ſhoulde in no wyſe praye for them, no more thẽ they would do for a dogge. At which wordes Fryth ſmiling, deſired the Lorde to forgeue hym. Theſe hys woordes dyd not a little moue the people vnto anger, and not without good cauſe. Thus theſe two bleſſed Martyrs committed theyr ſoules into the handes of God.

¶*The Hiſtorie of the perſecution and death of Thomas*
Benet burned in Exeter, collected and teſtified by
Iohn Vowell, *alias* Hoker.

Tho. Benet of Exeter, Martyr.

Tho. Benet, comming from Cambridge to Deuonſhyre.

This Tho. Benet was borne in Cãbridge, & by order of degrée of yͤ Uniuerſitie, there made maſter of Art & (as ſome thinke) was alſo a Prieſt, a mã doubtles very wel learned, and of a godly diſpoſitiõ, beyng of the acquaintaunce and familiaritie of Thomas Bilney the famous and glorious Martyr of Chriſt. This man, the more hee did grow and encreaſe in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did miſlike and abhorre the corrupte ſtate of Religion then vſed, and therfore thinkyng his owne coũtrey to be no ſafe place for hym to remaine in, and beyng deſirous to lyue in more fredome of conſcience, he did forſake yͤ Uniuerſitie & went into Deuonſhyre, in the yeare of our Lord. 1524. and firſt dwelled in a market towne named Torriton, both towne & countrey beyng to hym altogether vnknowen, as he alſo was vnknowẽ to all men there. Where for the better maintenaũce of him ſelf and hys wife, he did practiſe to teache young children and kept a ſchole for the ſame purpoſe. But that towne not ſeruyng his expectation, after hys abode one yeare there, he came to the Citie of Exceſter, and there hyryng an houſe in a ſtréete called the Bocherow, did exerciſe the teachyng of children, and by that meanes ſuſteyned his wife & familie. He was of a quiet behauiour, of a godly conuerſation, and a very courteous nature, humble to all men & offenſiue to no body. His greateſt delite was to be at all Sermons and preachynges, wherof he was a diligent and an attentiue hearer. The tyme which hée had to ſpare from teachyng, he gaue holy to his priuate ſtudy in the Scriptures, hauyng no dealynges nor conferences with any body, ſauyng with ſuch as he could learne and vnderſtand to be fauorers of the Goſpell & zelous of Gods true Religion: of ſuch he would be inquiſitiue & moſt deſirous to ioyne hym ſelfe vnto them. And therfore vnderſtandyng that one Williã Strowde of Newnham in the Countie of Deuonſhyre Eſquyre, was committed to the Byſhops priſon in Exeter vpon ſuſpicion of hereſie, although he were neuer before acquainted with hym, yet dyd he ſend hys letters of comforte and conſolation vnto hym. Wherein, to auoyde all ſuſpicion whiche might be conceiued of hym, he dyd diſcloſe him ſelf, and vttered what he was, and the cauſes of hys beyng in the countrey, writing among other thynges theſe wordes: Vt ne ſcortator aut immundus eſſem, vxorem duxi, cum qua hiſce ſex annis, ab iſtorum Antichriſtianorum manibus in deuonia latitaui. That is to ſay, becauſe I would not be a whoremonger or an vncleane perſon, therfore I maryed a wife, with whom I haue hydden my ſelfe in Deuonſhyre from the tyrannye of the Antichriſtians, theſe ſixe yeares.

But as euery trée & herbe hath his due time to bring forth his frute, ſo did it apeare by this mã. For he dayly ſeing the glory of God to be ſo blaſphemed, idolatrous religion ſo embraced and mainteyned, & that moſt falſe vſurped power of yͤ Byſhop of Rome ſo extolled, was ſo greued in conſcience and troubled in his ſpirite, that he could not be quiet vntil he did vtter his mind therin. Wherfore dealyng priuatly with certeine of his frẽds, he did playnly opẽ and diſcloſe how blaſphemouſly and abominablye God was diſhonored, his worde contempned, and hys people whom hee ſo dearely bought, were by blynd guides, caryed hedlong to euerlaſtyng dampnation, and therefore he could no longer endure, but muſt nedes and would vtter their abhominations, & for his own part, for the teſtimony of his conſcience, and for the defence of Gods true Religion, would yeld hym ſelfe moſt patiently (as nere as God would geue him grace) to dye & to ſhede hys bloud therin, alleaging that his death ſhould be more profitable to the Church of God and for the edifyng of hys people, then hys lyfe ſhould be. To whoſe perſuaſiõs when his frendes had yelded, they promiſed to pray to God for hym, that hée might bee ſtrong in the cauſe, and continue a faythfull ſouldiour to the ende. Whiche done, hee gaue order for the beſtowyng of ſuch bookes as he had, and very ſhortly after, in the moneth of October, he wrote his mynde in certeine ſcroles of paper, whiche in ſecret maner hée ſet vp vppon the doores of the Cathedrall Churche of the Citie: in whiche was written: The Pope is Antichriſt, and we ought to worſhyp God onely, and no Saintes.

Theſe Billes being found, there was no ſmal adoe, and no litle ſearche made for the inquirye of the hereticke that ſhould ſet vp theſe Bils: and the Maior and and hys Officers were not ſo buſie to make ſearches to finde this hereticke, but the Byſhop and all his Doctours were as hoate as coales, & enkindled as though they had ben ſtonge with a ſorte of waſpes. Wherfore to kepe the people in theyr former blindnes, order was taken that the Doctours ſhould in haſt, vp to the pulpit euery holyday, and confute this hereſie. Neuertheleſſe this Thomas Benet kepyng hys owne doynges in ſecrete, went the Sonday folowyng to the Cathedrall Churche to the Sermon, and by chaunce ſat downe by two men, whiche were the buſieſt in all the Citie in ſekyng and ſearchyng for this hereticke, and they beholdyng this Benet ſayd the one to the other: ſurely this felow by all likelyhode, is the hereticke that hath ſet vp the Billes, and it is good to examine hym. Neuertheles when they had well beheld him, and ſaw the quyet and ſober behauiour of the man, hys attentiuenes to the preacher, hys godlynes in the Church, beyng allwayes occupied in his boke, which was a Teſtament in yͤ Latine tounge, were aſtonyed & had no power to ſpeake vnto hym, but departed and left hym readyng in hys booke. *As touching thys poynt of* Benetes *behauiour in the Church, I finde the reportes of ſome other a litle to varye, and yet not much contrarye one to the other. For in receauing the letters and writinges of a certayne Miniſter, which at the ſame tyme was preſent at the doing hereof in Exeter, thus I finde moreouer added concerning the behauiour of thys* Thomas Benet *in the Church.*

enet most ta n in the urch.

e ſto es a lyt e vary uching e taking Benet.

At that time (ſaith he) as I remember, Doct. Moreman, Criſpin, Caſeley with ſuch other, bare yͤ ſwynge there. Beſide theſe there were alſo preachers there, one Doct. Baſcauild an vnlearned doctor, God knoweth, and one D. Dauid, as well learned as he, both Graye Friers, and Doct. I know not who, a Blacke Frier, not much inferiour vnto them. Moreouer there was one Bacheler of Diuinitie a Gray Frier, named Gregory Baſſed, in dede learned more then they all, but as blinde and ſuperſtitious as hee whiche was moſt. Which Gregory, not long before, was reuolted frō yͤ way of righteouſnes, to the way of Beliall: for in Briſtowe (ſayth the author) hee lay in priſon long, and almoſt famiſhed for hauyng a booke of Martin Luther, called hys queſtions, whiche hee a long tyme priuely had ſtudied, and for teaching of youth a certain Catechiſme. To bee ſhort, the brayne of the Cannons and Prieſtes, the Officers and commons of that Citie, were very earneſtly buſied, how or by what meanes ſuch an enormious hereticke, whiche had pricked vp thoſe Bylles, might be eſpyed and knowen, but it was long firſt. At laſt the Prieſtes founde out a toye to curſe hym what ſoeuer hee were, with booke, bell and candle, whiche curſe at that day ſeemed moſt fearefull and terrible. The maner of the curſe was after this ſorte.

octors & ers in xeter.

regory aſſed ct of xeter.

One of yͤ Prieſtes apparelled all in white, aſcended vp into the pulpit. The other rablement, with certaine of the two order of Friers and certaine ſuperſtitious Monkes of S. Nicholas houſe ſtādīng round about, & the Croſſe (as the cuſtome was) beyng holden vp, with holy candels of waxe fired to yͤ ſame, he began his Sermon with this theame of Joſue: Eſt blaſphemia in Caſtris: there is blaſphemie in the army, and ſo made a long proteſtatiō, but not ſo long, as tedious and ſuperſtitious, and ſo concluded that that fowle and abhominable hereticke, whiche had put vp ſuch blaſphemous billes, was for that his blaſpheny, damnably accurſed, and beſought God, our Lady, S. Peter patrone of that Churche, with all the holy company of Martyrs, Confeſſours & Virgines, that it might be knowen what hereticke had put vp ſuch blaſphemous Billes, that Gods people might auoyde the vengeance.

e s's e they not tell om.

The maner of yͤ curſing of yͤ ſaid Benet was maruelous to beholde, for as much as at that tyme there was fewe or none, vnles a Sherman or two (whoſe houſes I wel remember were ſearched for Billes at that time and for bookes) that knew any thing of Gods matters, or howe God doth bleſſe their curſes in ſuch caſes. Then ſayd the Prelate: by the authoritie of God the father almightye, and of the bleſſed Virgine Mary, of S. Peter and Paule, & of the holy Saintes, we excōmunicate, we vtterly curſe and banne, committe and deliuer to the deuill of hell, hym or her, what ſo euer hee or ſhe bee that haue, in ſpite of God and of S. Peter, whoſe Churche thys is, in ſpyte of all holy Saintes, & in ſpyte of our moſt holy father the Pope Gods Vicare here in earth, and in ſpyte of the reuerent father in God John our dioceſane, and the worſhipfull Cannons, maſters, and prieſtes, and clarkes, whiche ſerue God dayly in this Cathedrall Churche, fixed vp with waxe ſuch curſed and hereticall Billes full of blaſphemy, vppon the doores of this and other holy Churches within this Citie. Excommunicate playnly bee he or ſhe plenally, or they, and deliuered ouer to the deuil, as perpetuall malefectours and ſciſmatickes. Accuſed might they be and geuē body and ſoule to the deuill. Curſed be they, he, or ſhe, in Cities & townes, in fieldes, in wayes, in pathes, in houſes, out of houſes, and in all other places, ſtandyng, lying, or ryſing, walkyng, runnyng, wakyng, ſleepyng, eatyng, drinkyng, and what ſo euer thyng they do beſides. We ſeparate thē, hym, or her, from the threſholde, and from all the good prayers of the Church, frō the participation of the holy Maſſe, from all Sacramentes, Chapels, and Aultars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merites of Gods Prieſts, and religious men, & from all their cloyſters, from all their pardons, priuiledges, grāūtes, and immunities, which all the holy fathers Popes of Rome haue graunted to them: and we geue them ouer vtterly to the power of the feende, & let vs quench their ſoules, if they be dead, this night in yͤ paynes of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched & put out (and with that he put out one of the candels) and let vs pray to God (if they be alyue) that their eyes may be put out as this candle light is (ſo he put out the other candle) & let vs praye to God & to our Ladye, and to S. Peter & Paule, and all holy Saints, that all the ſenſes of their bodies may faile them, & that they may haue no feelyng, as now the lyght of this candle is gone (& ſo he put out the thyrd cādle) except they, he, or ſhe, come openly now and confeſſe their blaſphemy, and by repentaunce (as much as in them ſhall lye) make ſatiſfaction to God, our Lady, S. Peter and the worſhypfull company of this Cathedrall Church, and as thys holy Croſſe ſtaffe nowe falleth down, ſo might they, except they repente & ſhew them ſelues: and one firſt takyng away the Croſſe, the ſtaffe fell down. But Lord what a ſhoute and noiſe was there, what terrible feare, what holding vp of handes to heauen: that curſe was ſo terrible.

The manner of the popes curse with booke, bell, candle.

Here is cold charitie.

Bleſſe, and curſe not, ſayth the Lord. Curſe, and bleſſe not, ſayth the Pope.

Marke the apiſhe pageants of theſe popelings.

The falling of the Croſſe ſtaffe.

Now this fond fooliſhe phanſie and mockery beyng done and played, whiche was to a Chriſtian harte a thyng ridiculous, Benet coulde no longer forbeare, but fell to great laughter, but within hym ſelfe, and for a great ſpace could not ceaſe: by the whiche thyng the poore man was eſpied. For thoſe that were next to him, wondring at that great curſe, & beleuing that it could not but lyght on one or other, aſked good Benet for what cauſe he ſhould ſo laugh. My frendes (ſaid he) who cā forbeare, ſeing ſuch merye conceites and enterludes playde of yͤ Prieſtes? Straynght way a noyſe was made: here is the hereticke, here is the hereticke, hold him faſt, hold hym faſt. With that was there a great cōfuſion of voyces and much clapping of handes, and yet they were vncerteine whether he were the hereticke or no. Some ſaye, that vppon the ſame he was taken and apprehended. Other reporte, that his enemyes beyng vncertaine of hym, departed, and ſo hee went home to hys houſe. Where he beyng not able to digeſte the lyes there preached, renewed his former Byls and cauſed hys boy earely in the mornyng folowyng to ſet the ſaid Bylles vppon the gates of the Churchyarde. And as the boy was ſettyng one of the ſayd Byls vpon a gate called the litle ſtyle, it chaunced that one W. S. goyng to the Cathedrall Churche to heare a Maſſe called Bartons Maſſe, whiche was then dayly ſayd about v. of the clocke in the mornyng, found yͤ boy at the gate and aſkyng hym whoſe boy hee was, did charge hym to be the hereticke, whiche had ſet vp the Bylles vpon the gates, wherfore pullyng down the Bill, he brought the ſame together with the boy before the Maior of the Citie, and therupon Benet being knowen and takē, was vio-

Tho. Benet laugheth at their curſing.

Tho. Benet ſetteth vp newe billes.

Tho Benet taken by meanes of hys boy ſetting vp hys billes.

violently committed to warde.

Tho. Benet willingly confeſſeth.

The cauſe why *Benet* ſet vp hys billes.

On the morow begã both the Cannons and heades of the Citie ioyned with them, to fall to examination. With whom for that day he had not much cõmunication, but confeſſed and ſayd to them, it was euen I that put vp thoſe Bylles, & if it were to do, I would yet do it agayne, for in them haue I written nothyng but that is very truth. Couldſt not thou (ſaid they) as well haue declared thy minde by mouth, as by putting vp Bylles of blaſphemy? No (ſaid he) I put vp ẏ bylles that many ſhould read & heare, what abominable blaſphemers ye are, & that they might ẏ better know your Antichriſt the Pope to be that Bore out of the wood, whiche deſtroyeth and throweth downe the hedges of Gods Churche: for if I had bene heard to ſpeake but one worde, I ſhould haue ben clapped faſt in priſon, and the matter of God hydden. But now I truſt more of your blaſphemous doinges will therby be opened & come to light, for God wil ſo haue it & no longer wil ſuffer you.

Tho. Benet ſent to the Byſhops priſont

Articles layd againſt *Benet.*

The next day after, he was ſent vnto the Byſhop, who firſt committed hym vnto priſon called the Byſhops priſon, where he was kept in ſtockes and ſtrong yron, with as much fauour as a dogge ſhould finde. Then the Byſhop aſſociatyng vnto hym one Doctour Brewer his Chauncellour, and other of hys leude Clergy and Friers, began to examine hym and burdened hym, that contrary to the Catholicke fayth, he denyed praying to the Saintes, and alſo denyed the ſupremacye of the Pope. Wherunto he aũſwered in ſuch ſober maner, and ſo learnedly proued & defended his aſſertions, that he dyd not onely confounde and put to ſilence hys aduerſaries, but alſo brought them in great admiration of hym, the moſt part hauyng pitie & compaſſion on hym. The Friers tooke great paynes with hym, to perſuade hym from hys erronious opinions, to recant & acknowledge hys fault touchyng the Bylles, but they dyd but dygge after day, for God had appoynted him to be a bleſſed witnes of hys holy name, & to be at defiance with all theyr falſe perſuaſions.

Greg. Baſſet priſoned at Briſtowe.

Greg. Baſſet compelled by the Fryers to recant.

Greg. Baſſet buſie agaynſt *Tho. Benet.*

To declare here with what cruelty ẏ Officers ſearched hys houſe for Bylles and bookes, how cruelly and ſhamfullye they handled hys wife, charging her with diuers enormities, it were to long to write. But ſhe lyke a good woman, tooke all thinges patiently that they did to her: like as in other thynges ſhe was contented to beare the croſſe with hym, as to fare hardlye with hym at home, and to liue with courſe meate & drincke that they myght bee the more able ſomewhat to helpe the poore, as they did to the vttermoſt of theyr power. Amongeſt al other prieſtes and Friers, Gregory Baſſet, was moſt buſie with him. This Gregorye Baſſet, as is partlye touched before, was learned and hadde a pleaſaunt tongue, and not longe before, was fallen from the truth, for the whiche he was priſoned in Briſtowe long tyme, at whoſe examination was ordeyned a great pãne of fire, where hys holy brethren (as report went abroad) menaced hym to burne hys handes of, wherupon he there before thẽ recanted & became afterward a mortall enemy to ẏ truth all his lyfe. This Gregory (as it is ſayd) was feruent with ẏ poore man, to pleaſe the Cannons of that Church, and merueillouſly tormẽted hys braynes how to turne him from hys opinions, yea & he was ſo diligent & feruent with hym that he would not departe the priſon, but lay there night and daye, who notwithſtandyng loſte hys labour: for good Benet was at a point not to denye Chriſt before mẽ. So Gregory as well as ẏ other holy fathers, loſt his ſpurres, in ſomuch that he ſaid in open audience, ẏ there was neuer ſo obſtinate an hereticke.

The matter betwene *Baſſet, and Tho. Benet.*

The principall poynt betwene Baſiet and hym was touchyng the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome, whõ in his billes he named Antichriſt, ẏ theef, ẏ mercenary, & the murtherer of Chriſtes flocke: and theſe diſputations laſted about viij. daies, where at ſundry tymes, repayred to hym both the Blacke and Gray Friers, with Prieſts and Monkes of that City. They that had ſome learnyng, perſuaded hym to beleue the Churche, and ſhewed by what tokens ſhe is knowen. The other vnlearned rayled & ſayd that the deuill tempted hym, and ſpytte vppon him, callyng hym heretické: who prayed God to geue them a better minde & to forgeue them: For (ſaid he) I wil rather die thẽ worſhip ſuch a Beaſt, the very Whore of Babilon, and a falſe vſurper, as manifeſtly it doth appeare by hys doinges. They aſked what he dyd that hee had not power and authoritie to do, beyng Gods Vicar? He doth (quoth he) ſell the Sacramentes of the Churche for money, he ſelleth remiſſion of ſinnes daily for money, and ſo do you lykewiſe: for there is no daye but ye ſaye diuers Maſſes for ſoules in fayned Purgatory, yea and ye ſpare not to make lying Sermons to the people, to maintayne your falſe traditions and foule gaynes. The whole world doth begyn now to note your doyngs, to your vtter cõfuſion and ſhame. The ſhame (ſayd they) ſhalbe to thee and to ſuch as thou art, thou foule hereticke. Wilt thou allow nothyng done in holy Churche? what a peruerſe hereticke art thou? I am (ſayd he) no hereticke, but a Chriſtian man, I thanke Chriſt, and with all my hart will allow all thynges done and vſed in the Church to the glory of God and edifiyng of my ſoule: but I ſee nothyng in your Churche, but that maintayneth the deuill. What is our Church, ſayd they? It is not my Church (quoth Benet) God geue me grace to bee of a better Church, for verely your Church is the playne Church of Antichriſt, the malignant Church, ẏ ſecond church, a denne of theeues, an alnmbry of poyſon, and as farre wyde from the true vniuerſall & Apoſtolicke Churche, as heauen is diſtant frõ the earth.

Doeſt thou not thinke (ſaid they) that we pertain to the vniuerſall Church? Yes (quoth he) but as dead mẽbers, vnto whõ the Church is not beneficiall, for your woorkes are the deuiſes of man, and your Church a weake foundation, for ye ſay & preach that the Popes worde is equall ẃ Gods word in euery degree. Why, (ſaid they) did not Chriſt ſay to Peter, *to thee I will geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauẽ?* He ſayd that (quoth he) to all, as well as to Peter, & Peter had no more authoritie geuẽ him then they, or els ẏ Churches plãted in euery kyngdome by their preachyng, are no churches. Doth not S. Paul ſay: *Vpon the foundations of the Apoſtles & Prophets?* Therfore I ſay plainly, ẏ the Church that is built vpon a man, is ẏ Deuils Church or cõgregatiõ, & not Gods. And as euery Church this day is appointed to be ruled by a Biſhop or Paſtor ordayned by the word of God in preachyng and miniſtration of Sacramentes vnder the prince the ſupreme gouernour vnder God: ſo to ſay that all the Churches with their princes and gouernours bee ſubiecte to one Biſhop, is deteſtable hereſie, and the Pope your God challengyng this power to hym ſelfe, is ẏ greateſt ſciſmaticke that euer was in the Church, and moſt foule Whore, of whom Iohn in the reuelation ſpeaketh.

O thou blynd and vnlearned foole (ſayd they) is not the confeſſion and conſent of all the worlde as we confeſſe and cõſent, that the Popes holynes is the ſupreme head and very vicar of Chriſt? That is (ſaid Benet) becauſe they are blinded and knowe not the Scriptures, but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his falſe ſupremacie would ſone decay? We thinke (ſaid they) thou art ſo malicious that thou wilt cõfeſſe no Church. Looke (ſaid he) where they are that cõfeſſe the true name of Ieſu Chriſt, and where onely Chriſt is the head & vnder hym the prince of the realme, to order all Biſhops, Miniſters and preachers, and to ſee thẽ do their ducties in ſetting forth the onely glory of God by preachyng the woorde of God, and where it is preached that Chriſt is our onely Aduocate, Mediatour, & Patrone before God his father makyng interceſſion for vs, and where the true fayth and confidence in Chriſtes death and Paſſion and hys onely merites and deſeruynges are extolled ⁊ our own depreſſed, where the Sacrament is duely without ſuperſtition or Idolatry adminiſtred in remembraunce of his bleſſed Paſſion ⁊ onely ſacrifice vpon the Croſſe once for all, ⁊ where no ſuperſtition rayneth: of that Churche will I be.

The Pope not Gods Vicar, and why?

Doth not the Pope (ſaid they) cōfeſſe the true Goſpel? do not we al the ſame? Yes (ſaid he) but ye denie ẏ frutes therof in euery poynt. Ye build vpon ẏ ſandes, not vpon the rocke. And wilt not ẏ beleue in dede (ſaid they) that ẏ pope is Gods Vicar? No (ſaid he) in dede. And why, ſayd they? Becauſe (quoth he) he vſurpeth a power not geuē him of Chriſt, no more then to other Apoſtles, ⁊ alſo becauſe hee doth by force of that vſurped ſupremacie, blynd the whole world, ⁊ doth contrary to all that euer Chriſt ordayned or commaunded. What, ſayd they? if hee do all thynges after Gods ordinaunce and commaundement, ſhould he then bee hys Vicar? Then (ſayd he) would I beleue him to be a good biſhop at Rome ouer his own dioces, and to haue no further power. And if it pleaſed God I would euery Byſhop did this in their dioces: then ſhould we lyue a peaceable lyfe in the Churche of Chriſt, ⁊ there ſhould be no ſuch ſeditions therein. If euery Byſhop would ſeke no further power then ouer his owne dioces, it were a goodly thyng. Nowe becauſe all are ſubiect to one, all muſt do and conſent to all wickednes, as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cauſe of great ſuperſtitiō in euery kyngdome. And what Byſhop ſo euer he bee that preacheth the Goſpell and mainteyneth the truth, is a true Byſhop of the Church. And doth not (ſayd they) our holy father the Pope maintayne the Goſpell? Yes (ſayd he) I thinke he doth read it, and peraduenture beleue it, and ſo do you alſo, but neither he nor you doe fixe the Anker of your ſaluatiō therin. Beſides that, ye beare ſuch good will to it, that ye keepe it cloſe that no mā may read it, but your ſelues: and whē you preache, God knoweth how you handle it: in ſo much that the people of Chriſt knoweth no Goſpell well nere, but the Popes Goſpell, and ſo the blynd lead the blynd, ⁊ both fall into the pit. In the true Goſpel of Chriſt, confidēce is none, but onely in your Popiſhe traditions ⁊ phantaſticall inuentions.

What inconuenience followeth, that all Byſhops ſhould be ruled by man.

The popes Goſpell.

Then ſayd a Blacke Frier to hym, God knoweth, a blocke head: do we not preach the Goſpell dayly? Yes (ſaid he) but what preaching of the Goſpel is that, whē therwith ye extoll ſuperſtitious thynges, ⁊ make vs beleue that we haue redēption through pardons ⁊ Buls from Rome, a pœna & culpa, as ye terme it, and by the merites of your orders ye make many brethren and ſiſters, ye take yearely money of them, ye burye them in your coates, and in ſhrifte ye begyle them: yea, ye do a thouſand ſuperſtitious things more: a man may bee wery to ſpeake of them. I ſee (ſayd the Frier) that thou art a damned wretche: I will haue no more talke with thee.

net
arye of
Fryers
e.

Then ſtept to hym a Gray Frier, a Doctour (God knoweth) of ſmall intelligence, and layd before hym great ⁊ many daūgers. I take God to recorde, ſayd Benet, my lyfe is not deare to me. I am content to depart frō it, for I am wery of it, ſeing your deteſtable doings to the vtter deſtruction of Gods flocke, ⁊ for my parte, I cā no longer forbeare: I had rather by death (which I know is not farre of) depart this life, ẏ I may no lōger bee partaker of your deteſtable Idolatries and ſuperſtitions, or be ſubiect to Antichriſt your Pope. Our Pope (ſayd the Frier) is the Vicar of God, and our wayes are the wayes of God. I pray you (ſayd Benet) depart from me, and tell not me of your wayes. He is onely my way whiche ſayth: *I am the way, the truth, and the lyfe.* In hys waye will I walke: hys doynges ſhall bee my example: not yours, nor your falſe Popes. His truth will I embrace, not the lyes and falſehode of you and your Pope. Hys euerlaſting life will I ſeeke, the true rewarde of all faythfull people. Awaye from me I praye you. Vexe my ſoule no longer: ye ſhall not preuaile. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no lyfe to bee hoped for at your handes. Ye are all more vayne then vanitie it ſelf. If I ſhould heare and folowe you this day, euerlaſtyng death ſhould hang ouer me, a iuſt reward for all them that loue the lyfe of this worlde. Away from me, your cōpany liketh me not.

Thus a whole weeke, night and day, was Benet applied of theſe and ſuch other hipocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all thinges done and ſayd to hym in the tyme of hys impriſonment: ⁊ the hate of the people that tyme by meanes of ignoraunce, was hoate againſt him: notwithſtandyng they could neuer moue hys pacience. Hee aunſwered to euery matter ſoberly, and that more by the aide of Gods ſpirite, then by any worldly ſtudy. I thinke he was at ẏ leaſt, fifty yeres old. Beyng in priſō his wife prouided ſuſtenance for hym, ⁊ whē ſhe lamented, he comforted her ⁊ gaue her many good and godly exhortations, and prayde her to moue him nothyng, to apply vnto hys aduerſaries.

Tho. Benet pacient and conſtant.

Tho. Benet refuſeth to pray to our Ladye.

Thus when theſe godly Canons ⁊ Prieſtes with ẏ Monkes ⁊ Friers had done what they could, ⁊ perceaued ẏ he would by no meanes relent, thē they proceding vnto iudgemēt, drew out their bloudy ſentēce agaynſt him, condemning hym (as the maner is) to be burned. Whiche beyng done, and the writte, which they had procured de comburendo, beyng brought from London, they deliuered hym the xv. of January. 1531. vnto Syr Tho. Denys Knight, then Shriffe of Deuonſhyre, to be burned. The milde Martyr reioycing hys end to approche ſo nere, as the ſhepe before the ſhearer yelded hym ſelfe with all humblenes, to abyde and ſuffer the Croſſe of perſecution: and beyng brought to hys execution in a place called Lyuerydole without Exeter, he made his moſt humble confeſſion ⁊ prayer to almighty God, and requeſted all the people to do the lyke for hym, whom he exhorted with ſuch grauitie and ſobrietie, ⁊ with ſuch a pithie oration to ſeeke the true honoryng of God ⁊ the true knowledge of him, as alſo to leaue the deuiſes, fantaſies, ⁊ imaginations of mans inuentions, that all the hearers and beholders of hym were aſtonyed and in greate admiration: In ſomuch that the moſt part of the people, as alſo the ſcribe who wrote the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, dyd pronounce and confeſſe that he was Gods ſeruaūt and a good man. Neuertheles two Eſquiers, namely Thomas Carewe and Iohn Barnehouſe ſtandyng at the ſtake by hym, firſt with fayre promiſes and goodly wordes, but at length rough threatninges, willed him to reuoke hys errours and to call to our Lady and the Saintes, and to ſay Precor ſanctam mariam & omnes ſanctos Dei. &c. To whom hee with all mekenes aunſwered, ſaying: no no, it is God onely, vpon whoſe name we muſte call, ⁊ we haue no other Aduocate vnto hym, but onely Ieſus Chriſt, *who dyed for vs, & now ſitteth at the ryght hand of hys father to be an Aduocate for vs,* and by hym muſt we offer and make our prayers to God if we will haue them to take place and to be heard. With which aunſwere the foreſayde Barnehouſe was ſo enkyndled, that he tooke a furſe buſhe vppon a pyke and being ſette on fyre, thruſt it vnto hys face, ſaying: ah whoreſonne hereticke? pray to our Ladye, and ſay, Sancta Maria ora pro nobis, or by Gods woundes I will make thee to do it. To whom the ſayd Thomas Benet with an humble and a meeke ſpirite, moſt paciently aunſwered: Alas Syr, trouble me not, and holding vp his handes, ſayd: Pater ignoſce illis. Wherſupon the Gentlemen cauſed the woode and furſes to bee ſet a fire, and therewith this godly man lifted vp hys eyes and handes into heauen ſaying: O Domine, recipe ſpiritum meum, and ſo continuyng in hys prayers, did neuer ſturre nor ſtriue, but moſt paciently abode the crueltie of the fire, vntill hys life was ended. For ẏ which the Lord God be prayſed, and ſende vs hys grace and bleſſyng, that at the

Sentence read agaynſt *Tho. Benet.*

Tho. Benet deliuered to the ſecular power.

Tho. Benet brought to the place of execution.

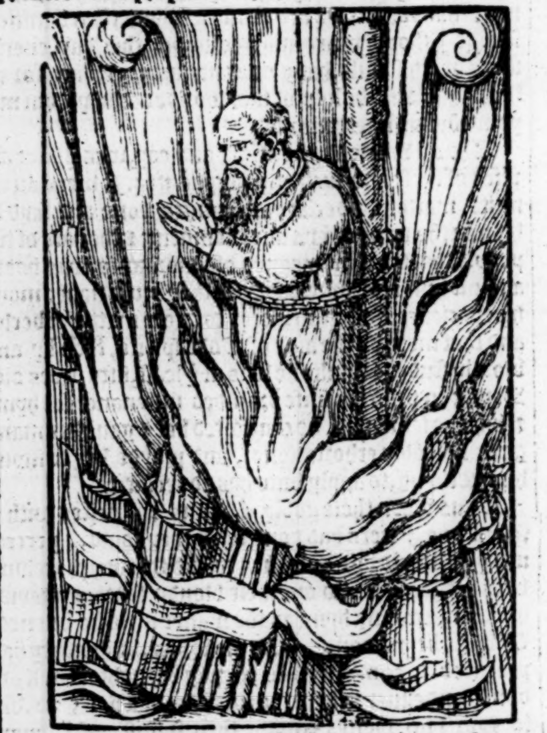
One Aduocate, Chriſt.

A furſe buſhe thruſt in hys face, becauſe he would not praye to our Ladye.

The conſtant end and Martyrdome of *Tho. Benet.*

the latter day we may with hym enioy the bleſſe & ioye prouided and prepared for the electe children of God.

The Martyrdome of Tho. Benet.



This Benet was burned in a Jerkyne of neates leather, at whoſe burning, ſuch was the deuiliſhe rage of the blynd people, that well was hee or ſhe that could catch a ſticke or furſe to caſt into the fire.

The kinges proclamation, *Vid. ſupra pag.* .

4. Eſdr. 7.

HEtherto we haue runne ouer (good reader) the names, the Actes & doynges of them, which haue ſuſteined death and ẏ torment of burnyng for Chriſtes cauſe, throughe the rigorous proclamation aboue ſpecified, ſet out (as is ſayd) in the name of kyng Henry, but in dede procured by the Byſhops. Which proclamation was ſo ſtraytly loked vppon and executed ſo to the vttermoſt in euery poynt, by the ſayd Popiſhe Prelates, that no good man, habens ſpiramentum, (wherof Eſdras ſpeaketh) could peepe out with hys head neuer ſo litle, but hee was caught by the backe, and brought either to the fier, as were theſe aboue mentioned: or els compelled to abiure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as wel men as women: whoſe names if they were ſought out through all Regiſters in Englãd, no doubt, it would make to long a diſcourſe. Neuertheleſſe omittyng the reſt, it ſhall content vs at this preſent, briefly as in a ſhorte Table, to inſinuate the names, with the ſpeciall Articles, of ſuch as in the dioces of London, vnder Byſhop Stokeſley were moleſted and vexed, and at laſt compelled to abiure, as here vnder may appeare.

Men abiured.

Perſons abiured,	*with their Articles.*
Greffray Lome. 1528.	HJs articles were theſe: For hauing and diſperſyng certeyne bookes of Luther. Jtem, for tranſlatyng certeyne Chapters of hys booke De bonis operibus. For holdyng, that fayth without workes, is ſufficient to bryng vs to heauen. That Chriſten men ought to worſhip God only & no Saincts. That Chriſten men ſhould not offer to Jmages in Churches, ne ſet any lyght before them. That pardons graunted by Pope or Byſhop do not profite man.
Sygar Nicolſon, *Stationer of Cambridge.* 1528.	His Articles were lyke: and moreouer for hauyng in hys houſe certeyne bookes of Luther and other prohibited, and not preſenting them to the Ordinarye. The handlyng of this man was too too cruell, if the report be true, that he ſhould be hanged vp by thoſes partes, which nature wel ſuffreth not to be named.
Iohn Raymund, *a Dutchman.* 1528.	For cauſyng ſyxtene hundreth of Tyndals new Teſtamẽtes to be printed at Antwerpe, and for bryngyng fyue hundreth into England.
Paule Luther *Gray Frier, and Warden of the houſe at Ware.* 1529.	Hys Articles: For preaching and ſaying that it is pytye, ẏ there be ſo many Jmages ſuffred in ſo many places, where as vndiſcreet and vnlearned people bee: for they make theyr prayer and oblations ſo intirely and hartely before the Jmage, ẏ they beleue it to be the very ſelf Sainct in heauen. Jtem, that if he knewe hys father and mother were in heauen, he would count them as good as Saint Peter or Paule, but for the payne they ſuffred for Chriſtes ſake. Jtem, that there is no nede to go on pilgrimage. Jtem, that if a man were at the poynt of drownyng or any other daunger, he ſhould call onely vppon God, and no Saint: for Sainctes in heauẽ can not helpe vs, neither knowe no more what men doe here in this worlde, then a man in the North coũtrey knoweth what is done in the South countrey.
Roger Whaplod, *Marchaunt Taylor.* 1529.	Roger Whaplod ſent by one Tho. Northfolke vnto Doct. Goderyge this Bill following to bee read at hys Sermon in the Spittel: Jf there by any well diſpoſed perſon willyng to do any coſt vpõ the reparatiõ of the cundette in Fleetſtreete, let hym or thẽ reſort vnto the adminiſtrators of the goods & cattel of one Rich. Hunne, late Marchaũt Taylor of London, whiche dyed inteſtate, or els to me, and they ſhall haue toward the ſame vj.li.xiij.s.iiij.d. and a better penny, of the goodes of the ſayd Richard Hunne: vppon whoſe ſoule and all Chriſten ſoules Jeſu haue mercy. For the which Byll both Whaplod and Northfolke were brought & troubled before the Byſhop, & alſo Doct. Goderige, whiche toke a groate for readyng the Byll, was ſuſpended for a time, frõ ſaying Maſſe, & alſo was forced to reuoke the ſame at Paules Croſſe, readyng this Byll as foloweth.

¶ The reuocation of Doctour William Goodrige, read at Paules Croſſe.

MAiſters, ſo it is that where in my late ſermõ at S. Marie Spitell, the Tewſday in Eaſter weeke laſt paſt, I did pray ſpecially for the ſoule of Richard Hunne, late of London marchaunt Taylor, an hereticke by the lawes of holy Churche iuſtly condempned, by reaſon whereof I greatly offended God and his Churche and the lawes of the ſame, for the which I haue ſubmitted me to my Ordinary and done penaunce therfore: for aſmuch as peraduenture the audiẽce that was there offended by my ſayd wordes, might take any occaſion thereby to thinke that I did fauour the ſayd hereticke or any other, I deſire you at the inſtance of almighty God to forgeue me, and not ſo to thinke of me, for I did it vnaduiſedly. Therfore here before God and you, I declare my ſelfe that I haue not fauored hym or any other hereticke, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all tymes ſhall defend the Catholicke fayth of holy Churche, accordyng to my profeſſion, to the beſt of my power.

Robert Weſt, *Prieſt.* 1529.	Abiured for bookes and opinions contrarye to the proclamation.
Micolas Whyte *of Rye.* 1529.	Hys Articles: For ſpeakyng agaynſt the Prieſtes ſaying of Mattens. For ſpeakyng agaynſt praying for them that be dead: Agaynſt praying to God for ſmall trifles, as for the cow caluyng, the henne hatching. &c. For ſpeakyng agaynſt the relicke of S. Peters finger: Agaynſt oblations to Jmages: Agaynſt vowing of Pilgreimage: Agaynſte Prieſthode: Agaynſt holy bread and holy water. &c.

Hys

Perſons abiured,	*With their Articles.*
Richard Kechyn, *Prieſt.* 1529.	Hys Articles: That pardons graunted by the Pope, are naught, and that men ſhould put no truſt in them, but onely in the Paſſion of Chriſt. That he beyng lead by the wordes of the Goſpell: Mat.7. De via lata, & anguſta, & alſo by the epiſtle of the Maſſe begynnyng: Vir fortiſſimus Iudas, had erred in the way of the Pope, and thought, ẏ there were but ij. wayes, & no Purgatory. That men ought to worſhyp no Images, nor ſet vp lyghtes before them. That Pilgremage doth nothyng auayle. That the Goſpell was not truly preached for the ſpace of three hundreth yeares paſt. &c.
William Wegen, *Prieſt, at S. Mary hill.* 1529.	Hys Articles: That he was not bounde to ſay his Mattins nor other ſeruice, but to ſing with ẏ Queere til they came to pryme, and then ſaying no more ſeruice, thought he myght well go to Maſſe. That he had ſayd Maſſe oftentimes, and had not ſayd hys Mattins and hys diuine ſeruice before. That he had gone to Maſſe without confeſſion made to a Prieſt. That it was ſufficient for a man beynge in deadlye ſynne, to aſke God mercy onely for hys ſynne, without farther confeſſion made to a Prieſt. That he held agaynſt Pylgremages, & called Images ſtockes, and ſtones, & witches. Item, that hee beyng ſicke went to the Roode of S. Margerete Patens, and ſayd before hym xx. Pater noſters, and when he ſaw hym ſelfe neuer the better, then he ſayd, a foule ill take hym, and all other Images. Item, that if a man keepe a good tongue in hys head, hee faſteth well. Item, for commendyng Luther to be a good man, for preachyng twiſe a day. &c. For ſaying that the Maſſe was but a ceremony, and made to the entent that men ſhould pray onely. Itẽ, for ſaying, that if a mã had a payre of beades, or a booke in hys hand at the Church, and wer not diſpoſed to pray, it was naught. &c.
William Hale *holy-Water clerke of Tolenham.* 1529.	Hys Articles: That offeryng of money & candels to Images dyd not auayle, ſyth we are iuſtifyed by the bloude of Chriſte. Item, for ſpeakyng agaynſt worſhyppyng of Sainctes, and the Popes pardons. For ſaying, that ſyth the Sacramentes that the Prieſt doth miniſter, bee as good as they, whiche the Pope doth miniſter, hee dyd not ſee but the Prieſt had as good authoritye, as the Pope. Item, that a man ſhould confeſſe hym ſelfe to God onely, and not to a Prieſt. &c.
William Blomfeld *Monke of Bury.*	Abiured for the lyke cauſes.
Iohn Tyndall. 1530.	For ſendyng v. markes to hys brother William Tyndall beyond the ſea, and for receauyng and kepyng with hym certein letters from hys brother.
William Worſeley, *Prieſt, and Hermite.* 1530.	Hys Articles: For preachyng at Halſtede, hauyng the Curates licence, but not the Byſhops. Item, for preachyng theſe woordes: that no man rydyng on Pilgremage hauyng vnder hym a ſofte ſadle, & an eaſye horſe, ſhould haue any merite therby, but the horſe, & the ſadle. &c. Itẽ, for ſaying that hearyng of Mattins and Maſſe, is not the thyng that ſhall ſaue a mans ſoule, but onely to heare the worde of God.
Iohn Stacy *Tyler.* 1530.	Hys Articles were agaynſt Purgatory, which he ſayd to be but a deuiſe of ẏ Prieſts to get money. Agaynſt faſtynges dayes by mans preſcriptiõ, and choyſe of meates. Agaynſt ſuperfluous holy dayes. Item, agaynſt Pilgremage. &c.
Laurence Maxwell *Taylor.* 1530.	Hys Articles: That the Sacrament of the altar was not the very bodye of Chriſt, in fleſh and bloud: but that he receaued hym by the worde of God, and in remembraũce of Chriſtes Paſſion. Item, that the order of Prieſthode is no Sacrament. That there is no Purgatory. &c.
Thomas Curſonne, *Monke of Eaſtacre in Northfolke.* 1530.	Hys Articles were theſe: For goyng out of the Monaſtery and chaũging his weede, and letting hys crowne to grow, workyng abroade for his liuing, makyng copes & veſtementes. Alſo for hauyng the new Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation, and an other booke conteynyng certeyne bookes of the old Teſtament, tranſlated into Engliſh by certeyn, whom the Papiſtes call Lutherans.
Thomas Cornwell, *or* Aulty. 1530.	Hys Articles. It it was obiected, that hee beyng enioyned aforetyme by Richarde Fytziames Byſhop of London, for hys penaunce to weare a Fagot brodered vppon hys ſleue vnder payne of relapſe, hee kepte not the ſame, and therfore he was condemned to perpetuall cuſtody in the houſe of S. Barthelemew, from whence afterward he eſcaped and fled away.
Thomas Philippe. 1530.	Thomas Philippe was deliuered by Syr Thomas More, to Byſhop Stokeſley by indẽture. Beſydes other Articles of Purgatory, Images, the Sacrament of the altar, holydayes, kepyng of bookes, and ſuch lyke, it was obiected to hym, that he beyng ſearched in the Tower, had founde about hym Tracyes Teſtament, and in hys chamber in the Tower was found cheeſe and butter in Lent tyme. Alſo that he had a letter deliuered vnto hym goyng to the Tower. which letter, with the Teſtament alſo of Tracye, becauſe they are both worthy to be ſene, we mynde (God willing) to annexe alſo to the ſtory of this Thomas Philippe. As he was oftentymes examined before M. More and the Byſhop, hee alwayes ſtode to hys denyall, neither could there any thyng bee proued clearely agaynſt hym, but onely Tracyes Teſtamẽt & his butter in Lent. One Stacy firſt bare witnes againſt hym, but after in the Court openly he proteſted that he dyd it for feare. The Byſhop then wyllyng hym to ſubmitte hym ſelfe, and to ſweare neuer to holde any opinion contrary to the determination of holy Churche, he ſayd hee would. And when the forme of his abiuration was giuen hym to read, he read it, but ẏ Byſhop not content with that, would haue hym to read it openly. But that he would not, and ſayd he would appeale to the king ſupreme head of the Church, and ſo did. Still the Byſhop, called vpon to hym to abiure. He anſwered, that he would be obediẽt, as a Chriſten man ſhould, and that he would ſweare neuer to hold any hereſye duryng hys lyfe, nor fauour any heretickes. But ẏ biſhop not yet content, would haue hym to read the abiuratiõ after ẏ forme of ẏ Church cõceaued, as it was gyuen him. He aunſwered agayn, that he would forſweare all hereſyes, & that he would mayntayne no hereſies, ne fauour any heretickes. The Biſhop with this would not be anſwered, but needes would dryue hym to the abiuration formed after the Popes Church. To whom he ſayd, if it were the ſame abiuratiõ, that he read, he would not read it, but ſtand to hys appeale made to the king, the ſupreme head of the Churche vnder God. Agayne the Byſhop aſked hym, if hee would abiure or not. Except (ſaid he) you will ſhew me the cauſe, why I ſhould abiure, I will not ſay yea nor nay to it, but will ſtand to my appeale, and requyred the Byſhop to obey the ſame. Then the Byſhop readyng openly the Bill of excommunication agaynſt hym, denounced

ced hym for contumax and an excommunicate perſon, chargyng all mē to haue no cōpany nor any thyng to do with hym.

After thys excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeale, or whether he was burned, or whether he dyed in yͤ Tower, or whether he abiured, I finde no mention made in the Regiſters.

¶ *A Letter directed to Thomas Philippe in the name* of the brethren, and gyuen hym by the waye goyng to the tower.

A letter ſent by the congregation to *Tho. Philip.*

THe fauour of hym that is able to kepe you that you fal not, and to confeſſe your name in the kyngdome of glory, & to geue you ſtrength by hys ſpirite to cōfeſſe him before all his aduerſaries, bee wͭ you euer, Amen.

Syr the brethren thinke that there bee diuers falſe brethren craftely crepte in among them, to ſeeke out theyr freedome in the Lorde, that they maye accuſe them to the Lordes aduerſaries, as they ſuppoſe they haue done you. Wherefore if ſo bee it, that the ſpirite of God moue you thereunto, they as counſellours, deſire you aboue all thinges, to be ſtedfaſt in the Lordes veritie without feare, for hee ſhall and will bee your helpe accordyng to his promiſe, ſo that they ſhall not miniſhe the leaſt heire of your head without hys will: vnto the whiche will, ſubmitte your ſelfe, and reioyce: *for the Lorde knoweth how to deliuer the godly out of temptation, and howe to reſerue the vniuſte vnto the daye of iudgement to bee puniſhed: and therefore, caſte all your care on hym, for hee careth for you. And in that you ſuffer as a Chriſten man, bee not aſhamed, but rather glorifie God on that behalfe: looking vpon Chriſt the authour and finiſher of our fayth: which for the ioye that was ſet before him, abode the Croſſe and deſpiſed the ſhame.* Notwithſtandyng though we ſuffer the wrong, after the example of our maiſter Chriſt, yet we be not bounde to ſuffer the wrong cauſe, for Chriſt hym ſelfe ſuffred it not, but reproued him that ſmitte him wrongfully. And ſo likewiſe ſaith S. Paul alſo: So yͭ we muſt not ſuffer the wronge, but boldly reproue thē that ſit as righteous iudges & doe cōtrary to righteouſnes. Therfore accordyng both to Gods law & mannes, ye bee not boūd to make none aūſwere in no cauſe, till your accuſers come before you. Which if you require & theron do ſticke, the falſe brethrē ſhall be knowen, to the great cōfort of thoſe that nowe ſtand in doubt whō they may truſt: & alſo it ſhal be a meane that they ſhal not craftely by queſtions take you in ſnares. And that you may this do lawfully, in the xx. Chapter of the Actes it is writtē. *It is not the maner of the Romanes to deliuer any man that he ſhould periſhe before that hee whiche is accuſed, haue his accuſers before him, and haue licence to aunſwere for hym ſelfe, as perteinyng to the crime wherof he is accuſed.* And alſo Chriſt will, *that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all thynges ſhall ſtand.* And in the v. chap. to Timoth. the firſt Epiſtle, it is written: *Agaynſt a Seniour receaue none accuſation but vnder two or three witneſſes.* A Senior in this place is any man that hath an houſe to gouerne. And alſo their owne lawe is agreable to this. Wherfore ſeing it is agreable to the worde of God that in accuſations ſuch witneſſes ſhould bee, you may with a good conſcience require it. And this the God of grace whiche hath called you vnto his eternal glory by Chriſt Ieſu, ſhal his own ſelf, after a litle affliction, make you perfect, ſhall ſettle, ſtrēgthen & ſtabliſh you, that to him may be glory and prayſe for euer. Amen.

2. Pet. 2.

1. Pet. 5.

1. Pet. 4.

Heb. 12.

Act. 23.

Act. 20.

Math. 18.

1. Tim. 5.

what is a *Seniour* by S. Paule.

Thus ye haue heard the letter deliuered to Tho. Philippe. Now followeth the Teſtament of William Tracye.

¶ *Tracy his Teſtement.*

A Litle before this tyme, William Tracy a worſhypfull Eſquyre in Gloceſterſhyre, & then dwellyng at Todington, made in his wil, yͭ he would haue no funeral pompe at his burying, neither paſſed he vpō Maſſe: and farther ſayd that hee truſted in God onely, and hoped by hym to bee ſaued, and not by any Saint. This Gentleman dyed, and hys ſonne as executor, brought the will to the Biſhop of Canterbury to proue, whiche he ſhewed to the conuocation, and there moſt cruellye they iudged that he ſhould be taken out of the ground and be brent as an hereticke, an. 1532. This commiſſion was ſent to Doct. Parker Chaūcellour of yͤ dioces of Worceſter, to execute their wicked ſentence, which accompliſhed the ſame. The kyng hearyng his ſubiect to be taken out of the grounde and brent without hys knowledge or order of his lawe, ſent for the Chauncellour and layd hygh offence to hys charge: who excuſed him ſelfe by the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury whiche was late dead, but in concluſion it coſt him CCC. pound to to haue his pardon. The will and Teſtament of this Gentleman thus condemned by the Clergie, was as here vnder foloweth.

M. T

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Tracy of Todyngton in the Countye of Gloceſter Eſquyre, make my Teſtamēt and laſt will, as here after foloweth. Firſt & before all other thynges, I cōmit my ſelfe vnto God & to hys mercy, beleuyng without any doubt or miſtruſt, that by hys grace and the merites of Ieſus Chriſt, & by the vertue of hys Paſſion and of hys reſurrection, I haue & ſhall haue remiſſion of all my ſinnes and reſurrection of body and ſoule, accordyng as it is written: I beleue that my redemer lyueth, and that in the laſt day I ſhall riſe out of the earth, and in my fleſhe ſhall ſee my Sauiour: thys my hope is layde vp in my boſome.

And touchyng the wealth of my ſoule, the fayth that I haue taken & rehearſed is ſufficient (as I ſuppoſe) without any other mans workes or merites. My grounde & beleſe is, that there is but one God and one Mediatour betwene God and man, whiche is Ieſus Chriſt: ſo that I accepte none in heauen nor in earth to bee Mediatour betwen me & God, but only Ieſus Chriſt: all other to be but as peticioners in receyuyng of grace, but none able to geue influence of grace: And therefore will I beſtowe no part of my goodes for that entēt that any man ſhould ſay or do, to helpe my ſoule, for therin I truſt only to the promyſes of Chriſt: He that beleueth and is Baptiſed ſhalbe ſaued, and he that beleueth not ſhalbe dampned.

As touchyng the buryng of my body it auayleth me not what ſoeuer be done thereto, for S. Auſten ſayth *De cura agenda pro mortuis*, that the funeral pompes are rather the ſolace of them that lyue, then the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therefore I remitte it onely to the diſcretion of myne executours.

And touchyng the diſtribution of my tēporall goodes, my purpoſe is, by the grace of God, to beſtowe them to be accepted as the frutes of fayth, ſo that I doo not ſuppoſe yͭ my merite ſhalbe by the good beſtowyng of them, but my merite is the fayth of Ieſus Chriſte onely, by whom ſuch workes are good accordyng to the wordes of our Lord: I was hungry and thou gaueſt me to eate. &c. and it foloweth: that ye haue done to the leaſt of my brethrē, ye haue done it to me. &c. And euer we ſhould cōſider that true ſaying: that a good worke maketh not a good man, but a good mā maketh a good worke: for fayth maketh yͤ man both good & righteous: for a righteous man lyueth by fayth: and what ſoeuer ſprinketh not of fayth is ſinne. &c.

And all my temporall goodes that I haue not geuen or deliuered, or not geuen by writyng of myne owne hand, bearyng the date of this preſent writyng, I do leaue & geue to Margaret my wyfe, & to Richard my ſonne whom I make myne Executors. witnes hereof myne owne hād, the x. of October in the xxij. yeare of the reigne of kyng Henry the eight.

This is the true copie of his will, for the whiche, as you heard before, after hee was almoſt ij. yeares dead, they tooke him vp and burned hym.

Iohn Periman, *Skinner.* 1531.

His Articles: were much lyke vnto the others before: Addyng moreouer that all the Preachers then at Paules Croſſe, preached nothyng but lyes & flatteryngs, and yͭ there was neuer a true preacher but one: namyng Edward Crome.

Iob. 1

Mar

Ro

Regi. Lond.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Robert Goldſton, *Glaſier.* 1531.	Hys Articles: That men ſhould pray to God onely, and to no Saintes. That Pilgremage is not profitable. That mē ſhould gyue no worſhyp to Images. Item, for ſaying, that if hee had as much power as any Cardinall had, he would deſtroy all the Images that were in all the Churches in England.
Laurence Staple, *Seruyng man.* 1531.	Hys Articles: For hauyng the Teſtamēt in Engliſhe, the v. bookes of Moſes, the practiſe of Prelates, the ſumme of Scripture, the A.B.C. Item, about the burnyng of Baynham, for ſaying: I would I were with Baynham, ſeyng that euery man hath forſaken hym, that I myght drinke with hym, and he myght pray for me. Item, that he moued Henry Tompſon to learne to read the new Teſtament, callyng it the bloud of Chriſt. Item, in Lent paſte when hee had no fyſhe, hee dyd eate egges, butter, and cheeſe. Alſo about vi. weekes before M. Bilney was attached, the ſayd Bilney deliuered to hym at Grenewich, iiij. new Teſtamēts of Tyndals tranſlation, whiche he had in his ſleue, and a bogēt beſydes of bokes, whiche boget hee ſhortlye after rydyng to Cambridge, deliuered vnto Bilney. &c. Item, on Fridayes he vſed to eate egges, & thought, that it was no great offence before God. &c.
Henry Tompſon *Taylor.* 1531.	Hys Articles: That whiche the Prieſt lifteth ouer hys head at the ſacryng tyme, is not the very body of Chriſt, nor it is not God, but a thyng that God hath ordayned to be done. This poore Tompſon, althoughe at the firſt he ſubmitted hym ſelfe to the Byſhop: yet they with ſentence condemned hym to perpetuall priſon.
Iaſpar Wetzell *of Colen.* 1531.	Hys Articles: That he cared not for goyng to ẏ church to heare Maſſe, for he could ſay Maſſe as well as the Prieſt. That hee would not pray to our Lady, for ſhe could do vs no good. Item, beyng aſked if hee would go heare Maſſe, hee ſayd hee had as leue go to the galowes, where the theeues were hanged. Item, beyng at S. Margaret Patens, and there holdyng hys armes a croſſe, he ſayd to the people, that hee could make as good a knaue as hee is, for hee is made but of woode. &c.
Robert Man, *Seruyng man.* 1531.	Hys Articles: There is no Purgatory. The Pope hath no more power to graunt pardon then an other ſymple Prieſt. That God gaue no more authoritie to S. Peter, then to an other Prieſt. That the pope was a knaue, and hys Prieſtes knaues all, for ſuffryng hys pardons to go abroad to deceaue the people. That S. Thomas of Canterbury is no Sainct. That S. Peter was neuer Pope of Rome. Item, hee vſed commonly to aſke of Prieſtes where he came, whether a man were accurſed if he handled a chalyce or no? If the Prieſt would ſay, yea: then would he replye agayne thus: If a mā haue a ſhepes ſkynne on hys handes, meanyng a payre of gloues, he may handle it. The Prieſtes ſaying yea: well then (quoth he) ye will make me beleue, that God put more vertue in a ſhepes ſkynne, then hee dyd in a Chriſten mans hand, for whom he dyed.
Henry Feldon. 1531.	Hys trouble was, for hauyng theſe bookes in Engliſhe: A proper Dialogue betwene a Gentleman, and a huſbandman. The Somme of Scripture. The Prologue of Marke. A written booke conteynyng the Pater noſter, Aue Maria, and Credo in Engliſhe. The x. Commaundements, and the xvi. conditions of Charitie.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Rob. Cooper, *Prieſt.* 1531.	Hys Article onely was this: for ſaying that the bleſſyng with a ſhoe ſole is as good as the Byſhops bleſſyng. &c.
Thomas Row. 1531.	Hys Articles were, for ſpeakyng agaynſt auriculare confeſſion, and Prieſtly penaūce, and agaynſt the preachyng of the Doctours.
Willam Waltham. 1531.	Hys opinion: That the Sacrament of the aultar is not the body of Chriſt in fleſh and bloud, and that there is a God, but not that God in fleſhe and bloud in the forme of bread.
Grace Palmer. 1531.	Witnes was brought agaynſt her by her neighbours Iohn Rouſe, Agnes his wife, Iohn Pole of S. Oſithes, for ſaying: Ye vſe to beare Palmes on Palme Sondaye: it ſkilleth not whether ye beare any or not, it is but a thyng vſed, and neede not. Alſo ye vſe to goe on Pilgrimage to our Ladye of Grace, of Walſyngham, and other places: ye were better tarye at home, and giue money to ſuccour me and my children and other of my poore neighbours, then to go thether: for there ye ſhall fynde but a peece of tymber paynted, there is neither God nor our Lady. Item, for repentyng that ſhe did euer lyght candels before Images. Item, that the Sacrament of the aultar is not the body of Chriſt: it is but bread, whiche the Prieſt there ſheweth for a tokē or remēbraūce of Chriſtes body.
Philip Braſier *of Bokeſted.* 1531.	Hys Articles: That the Sacrament holden vp betwene the Prieſtes handes, is not the body of Chriſt, but bread, and is done for a ſignificatiō. That confeſſion to a Prieſt nedeth not. That Images be but ſtockes & ſtones. That Pilgremage is vayne. Alſo for ſaying that when there is any miracle done, ẏ prieſtes do noynte the Images, and make men beleue ẏ the Images doe ſweate in labouryng for them, and with the offerynges the Prieſtes fynde their harlots.
Ioh. Fayreſtede *of Colcheſter.* 1531.	Hys Articles: For wordes ſpoken agaynſt Pilgremage, and Images. Alſo for ſaying theſe woordes: that the day ſhould come, that men ſhall ſaye: curſed bee they that make theſe falſe Gods, meanyng Images.
George Bull *of Much hadham, Draper.* 1531.	Hys Articles: That there bee iij. confeſſions. One principall to God: an other to hys neyghbour, whom hee had offended: and the thyrd to a Prieſt: and that without the two firſt confeſſions, to God, and to his neighbour, a man could not be ſaued. The thyrd confeſſion to a Prieſt, is neceſſary for counſaile to ſuch as bee ignoraunt and vnlearned, to learne how to make their cōfeſſion with a contrite heart vnto God, and howe to hope for forgiuenes: and alſo in what maner they ſhould aſke forgyuenes of their neighbor, whō they haue offended. &c. Itē, for ſaying, that Luther was a good man. Item, that hee reported, throughe the credence & reporte of M. Patmore Perſon of Hadhā, that where Wickleffes bones were brent, ſprang vp a well or welſpryng.
Iohn Haymond *Mil-Wright.* 1531.	Hys Articles: For ſpeakyng & holdyng agaynſt pilgremage and Images, and agaynſt preſcribed faſtyngdayes. That Prieſtes & religious men notwithſtanding their vowes made, may lawfully forſake their vowes, and mary. Item, for hauing bookes of Luther, and Tyndall.
Rob. Lābe *a Harper.* 1531.	His Article: For that he ſtādyng accurſed ij. yeares together, and not fearyng the cenſures of the popes Church, wēt about with a ſong in the cōmendation of Mart. Luther.

Agaynſt bearing of Palmes.

A propheſie.

Three confeſſions.

A welſpryng where Wickliffes bones were burned.

Againſt kneeling to the croſſe.

Much bawdery in Pilgrymage.

The truth of ſcripture a long time kept from vs.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Ioh. Hewes, *Draper.* 1531.	His Articles: For ſpeaking agaynſt Purgatory, and Thomas Becket. Item, at the towne of Farnſham, he ſeyng Edward Frenſham kneling in the ſtrete to a Croſſe caried before a corſe, aſked to whō he kneeled? He ſayd, to his maker. Thou art a fole (ſaid he) it is not thy maker, it is but a peece of copper or woode. &c. Item, for theſe wordes: Maſters ye vſe to goe on pilgremage: it were better firſt that ye looke vppon your poore neighbours whiche lacke ſuccour. &c. Alſo, for ſaying that hee heard the Vicar of Croydon thus preache openly: That there is as much bawdrie kept by goyng in Pilgremage to Wilſedone or Mowſwell, as is in the ſtewes ſyde. &c.
Thomas Patmore *Draper.* 1531.	This Patmore was brother to M. Patmore perſon of Hadhā, who was priſoned in Lollardes tower for maryyng a Prieſt, & in the ſame priſon cōtinued 3. yere. This Patmore was accuſed by diuers witneſſes, vpō theſe Articles: That hee had as leue pray to yonder hunter, pointyng to a mā paynted there in a ſtayned cloth, for a peece of fleſhe, as to pray to ſtockes that ſtand in walles, meanyng Images. Itē, yͭ men ſhould not pray to Saintes, but to God only: for why ſhuld we pray to Sainctes (ſayd he) they are but blockes, & ſtockes? Item, that the truth of ſcripture hath ben kept frō vs a lōg tyme & hath not appeared till now. Itē, cōmyng by a tree wherin ſtode an Image, he tooke away the waxe which hanged there offered. Item, that hee regarded not the place whether it was halowed, or no, where he ſhuld be buryed after he was dead. Alſo, in talke with the curate of S. Peters, hee defended that Prieſtes might mary. This Patmore had long hold with yͤ Biſhop of London. Firſt he would not ſweare infamia non præcedente. Then he would appeale to the kyng, but all would not ſerue. He was ſo wrapt in yͤ Biſhops nettes, that he could not get out, but at laſt he was forced to abiure, and fined to the king an C. l.

A note.

The papiſts ſay falſely that prieſts haue bene vnmaryed theſe 1500. yeares.

* Note in the communication betwene this Patmore, and the prieſt of S. Peters, that where as the Prieſt obiected agaynſt hym (as is in the Regiſter) that Prieſtes haue lyued vnmaryed, and without wyues theſe xv. hundreth yeares in the Churche: he and all other ſuch Prieſts therin ſay falſly & deceaue the people, as by ſtory is proued in this volume, that prieſtes here in Englād, had wiues by the law within theſe v. hundreth yeares & leſſe.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Symon Smith *Maiſter of Arte of GunVVell Hall in Cābridge, and* Benore *his VVife.* 1531.	This Symon Smyth & Benore hys wife were yͤ parties, whō M. Patmore Perſon of Hadhā aboue mentioned did marry, & was condemned for the ſame to perpetual priſō. For the whiche Mariage, both the ſayd Symon, & Benore his wife were called to examination before the Byſhop, and he cauſed to make the whole diſcourſe of all his doings, how, and where he maried. Then, after hys Mariage, how long he taryed, whether hee went beyond ſea, where he was, and with whom. After his returne, whether hee reſorted, how he lyued, what mercery ware hee occupyed, what fayres he frequented, where he left his wife, how he caryed her ouer, and brought her home agayn, and how ſhe was found. &c. All this they made him confeſſe, & put it in their Regiſter. And though they could faſten no other crime of hereſie vpon him, but onely his mariage: yet callyng both him and her beyng great with childe to examination, they cauſed thē both to abiure and ſuffer penaunce.
Thomas Patmore, *Perſon of Hadham.* 1531.	This Tho. Patmore a good man, was he yͭ maried the foreſaid M. Smith, & Ioane Benore his mayde together (as is ſayd) vppon the conſent and earneſt requeſt of the parties. For this godly acte hee ſuſteined long trauaile in yͤ biſhops court, being many times examined of his conſcience, whether a prieſt might mary a wife without offēce to God. Wherin he ſtucke a great whyle & appealed to yͤ king. Whē yͭ would not helpe, he required to know how Prieſtes Mariage could be proued heretical by the Scripture. Then Foxford the Byſhops Vicare, the great perſecutor, alleagyng generall Councels & determination of the Churche, ſtill was vpon him with his interrogatories, aſkyng whether hee would abiure or heare the ſentence read. Hys aunſwere was, that hee beleueth the holy Churche, as a Chriſten man doth, and it paſſeth his capacitie, and deſireth to be inſtructed, and if the Scripture do teach it, he wil beleue it: and he doth not know by Scripture the contrary, but that a Prieſt may mary a wife, but by the lawes of the Church he thinketh yͭ a Prieſt may not mary. But yͤ Chauncellour ſtill aſked, whether a Prieſt might mary wͭout offenſe to God. At length he grāted that Prieſt might not mary without offenſe to God, becauſe the Churche hath forbyd it, & therfore a Prieſt can not mary without deadly ſinne. Item, an other Article was obiected to him, for ſaying that hee did not ſet a bottell of hay by the Popes curſe. But at laſt hee ſubmitted him ſelfe after much adoe, & was abiured and after condemned to perpetuall priſon. Neuertheles I fynde in the Regiſters, that after iij. yeares, hee was releaſed out agayne by the Biſhop.
Iohn Row *Bookebinder, a Frēch man.* 1531.	This man for byndyng, bying, and diſperſing of bookes inhibited, was enioyned beſide other penaunce, to goe to Smithfield with his bookes tyed about hym, & to caſt them in the fire, and there to abyde till they were all brent to aſhes.
Chriſtofer *a Dutche man of AntVVerpe.* 1531.	This man, for ſellyng certeine new Teſtamentes in Engliſhe to Iohn Row aforeſayd, was put in priſon at Weſtminſter, and there dyed.
W. Nelſon *Prieſt.* 1531.	His crime was, for hauyng and biyng of Peryman certeine bookes of Luther, Tyndall, Thorpe, &c. and for readyng and peruſing the ſame, cōtrary to the kynges proclamation: for the which he was abiured. He was Prieſt at Lith.
Tho. Eue *VVeauer.* 1531.	His Articles: That the Sacrament of the aultar was but a memory of Chriſtes Paſſiō. That mē were fooles to go on Pilgremage, or to ſet any candle before Images. Item, it is as good to ſet vp ſtaues before the Sepulchre, as to ſet vp tapers of waxe. That Prieſtes might haue wiues.
Rob. Hudſon *of S. Pulchers.* 1531.	His Article: On Childermas day (ſaith yͤ Regiſter) he offered in Paules Churche at offeryng time, to the child biſhop (called S. Nicolas) a dogge for deuotion (as he ſayd) and meant no hurte, for he thought to haue offered a halfepenye or els the dogge, and thought the dogge to be more better then a halfepeny, and the dogge ſhould rayſe ſome profite to the childe: and ſayd moreouer it was the tenth dogge. &c. Ex Regiſt.
Edward Hewet *Seruyngmā.* 1531.	His crime: That after the kynges proclamation he had and read the new Teſtament in Engliſhe: Alſo the booke of Iohn Fryth agaynſt Purgatory. &c.
Walter Kyry *Seruaunt.* 1531.	Hys Article: That hee, after the kynges proclamation, had and vſed theſe bookes: the Teſtament in Engliſhe, the Some of Scripture, a Primer and Pſalter in Engliſhe hydden in hys beadſtraw at Worceſter.

Hys

Perſons abiured,	*With their Articles.*
Michaell Lobley, 1531.	Hys Articles: That he beyng at Antwerpe bought certeine bookes inhibited, as yͤ Reuelation of Antichriſt, the obedience of a Chriſten man, the wicked Mãmon, Frith againſt Purgatory. Itẽ, for ſpeaking againſt Images and Purgatory. Item, for ſaying that Bilney was a good man, & dyed a good man, becauſe of a Byll that one did ſend frõ Norwiche, that ſpecified that he tooke hys death ſo paciẽtly and did not forſake to dye with a good will. &c.
A boye of Colcheſter. 1531.	A boye of Colcheſter, or Northfolke brought to Rich. Bayfild, a budget of bookes about iiij. dayes before the ſayd Bayfild was taken: for the which the lad was taken and layde in the Counter by M. More Chauncellour, and there died.
William Smith *Taylor.* 1531.	Hys Articles: That hee lodged oftentymes in hys houſe, Richard Bayfild and other good mẽ. That he receaued his bokes into hys houſe, and vſed much readyng in the new Teſtament. He had alſo the Teſtament of William Tracy. He beleued there was no Purgatory.
William Lyncolne *Prentiſe.* 1532.	Hys Articles: For hauyng and receauyng bookes frõ beyond the ſea, of Tyndall, Fryth, Thorpe and other. Item, he doubted whether there were any Purgatory: whether it were well done to ſet vp candels to Saintes: to go on Pilgremage. &c.
Iohn Mell *of Bockſted* 1532.	Hys hereſie was this: for hauyng and readyng the newe Teſtament in Engliſhe, the Pſalter in Engliſhe, and the booke called A.B.C.
Iohn Medwell *ſeruãt to* M. Carkitte, *Scriuener.* 1532.	This Medwell lay in priſon xxiiij. wekes, till he was almoſt lame. His hereſies were theſe: That he doubted whether there was any Purgatory. He would not truſt in pardons, but rather in the promiſes of Chriſt. He doubted whether the merites of any but onely of Chriſt did helpe hym. He doubted whether Pilgremages & ſetting vp of candels to Images were meritorious or not. He thought hee ſhould not put hys truſt in any Saint. Item, he had in hys cuſtody the new Teſtament in Engliſhe, the examination of Thorpe, the wicked Mammon, a booke of Matrimony. Ex ipſius ſchedula ad Epiſc. Scripta.
Chriſtofer Fulmã, *Seruaunt to a Goldſmith.* 1532.	This yong man was attached for receauyng certein bookes at Antwerpe of George Conſtantine, and tranſportyng them ouer into England, and ſellyng them to ſondry perſons, beyng bookes prohibited by the proclamation. Item, hee thought then thoſe bookes to haue bene good, and that he had bene in errour in times paſt.
Margarete Bowgas. 1532.	Her hereſies were theſe: Beyng aſked if ſhe would go on Pilgremage, ſhe ſayd, I beleue in God, & hee can do me more good, thẽ our Lady or any other Sainct, & as for them, they ſhall come to me, if they will. &c. Then Richard Sharples Perſon of Milende by Colcheſter, aſked her, if ſhe ſayd her Aue Maria. I ſay (ſayd ſhe) hayle Mary, but I will ſay no further. Then ſayd he, if ſhe left not thoſe opinions, ſhe would beare a fagot. If I do (ſayd ſhe) better then I ſhall: addyng moreouer that ſhe would not go frõ that to dye therfore. To whõ the Prieſt aunſwered and ſayd, ſhe would be burned. Hereunto Margarete againe replying, aſked the Prieſt, who made Martyrs: Tyraunts (quoth the Prieſt) make Martyrs, for they put Martyrs to death. So they ſhall or may me, quoth Margarete. At lẽgth with much adoe and great perſuaſiõs, ſhe gaue ouer to Foxeford yͤ Chãceller, & ſubmitted her ſelf.
Ioh. Tyrell *an Iryſheman of Billery key, Tayler.*	Hys Articles were theſe: That the Sacrament of the aultar was not the body of Chriſt, but onely a cake of bread. Furthermore the occaſion beyng aſked, how he fell into that hereſie: hee aunſwered and ſayd, that about iij. weekes before mydſomer laſt paſt, he heard M. Hugh Latimer preach at S. Mary Abchurch, that men ſhoulde leaue goyng in Pilgremage abroad, and do their Pilgremage to their poore neighbors. Alſo the ſayd M. Latymer in hys Sermon dyd ſet the Sacrament of the aultar at litle.
William Lancaſter *Taylour.* 1532.	The cauſe layd to this man was: That he had in his kepyng the boke of Wickleffes wicket. Item, that he beleued the Sacrament of the aultar after the wordes of conſecratiõ, not to be the body of Chriſt really, &c. Item, vppon the day of Aſſumption hee ſayd, that if it were not for the ſpeache of the people, hee would not receaue the Sacrament of the aultar.
Roberte Topley, *Frier.* 1532.	His Articles. He being a frier Auguſtin, of Clare, forſoke his habite, and goyng in a ſeculare mans weede x. yeares, maryed a wife called Margarete Nixſon, hauyng by her a childe: and afterward beyng brought before the Byſhop, he was by hym abiured and condemned to bee priſoned in hys former Monaſterye: but at laſt he eſcaped out, and returned to his wife agayne.
Thomas Topley *Auſten Frier, at Stoke clare.*	By the occaſion of this Robert Topley aforeſayd, place is offered to ſpeake ſome thyng lykewiſe of Thomas Topley, hys brother belyke, and alſo a Frier of the ſame order and houſe of Stoke clare. This Thomas Topley had bene conuerted before, by one Richard Foxe Prieſt of Bumſtede, and Myles Couerdale, in ſo much that he being induced partly by them, partly by readyng certeine bookes, caſt of both hys order and habite, and went lyke a ſecular Prieſt. whereupon he was eſpyed and brought to Cutbert Byſhop of London. an. 1528. before whom this confeſſion he made as foloweth.

M. Latimer preaching agaynſt Pilgrimage.

A fryer maryed.

Myles Couerdale.

¶ *The recantation of Thomas Topley.*

The recantation of *Tho. Topley* Fryer.

Colloquia Eraſmi.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

ALl Chriſten men beware of conſentyng to Eraſmus fables, for by conſentyng to them, they haue cauſed me to ſhrinke in my fayth that I promiſed to God at my Chriſtenyng, by my witneſſes. Firſt as touching theſe fables, I red in Colloquium by the inſtruction of Syr Richard Foxe, of certeine Pilgreimes, whiche (as the booke doth ſaye) made a vowe to goe to S. Iames, and as they went, one of them dyed, and hee deſired his felowes to ſalute S. Iames in his name: & an other dyed homeward, and hee deſired that they would ſalute hys wife and his children: and the iij. dyed at Florence, and hys felow ſayd he ſuppoſed that he was in heauen, and yet he ſayd that hee was a great lyer. Thus I muſed of theſe opinions ſo greatly, that my mynde was almoſt withdrawen from deuotion to Sainctes. Notwithſtandyng I conſented that the diuine ſeruice of thẽ was very good, and is, though I haue not had ſuch ſweetnes in it as I ſhould haue had, becauſe of ſuch fables, and alſo becauſe of other fooliſh paſtimes, as dauncing, tennes, and ſuch other, which I thinke haue ben great occaſions that the goodnes of God hath bene voyde in me, and vyce in ſtrength.

Wickleffes Wicket.

Myles Couerdale.

Moreouer, it fortuned thus about halfe a yeare a goe, yͭ the ſaid Syr Richard went forth and deſired me to ſerue hys Cure for him, and as I was in hys chamber, I foũd a certein boke called Wickleffes wicket, wherby I felt in my conſciẽce a great wauering for the tyme yͭ I did read vppon it, and afterward alſo when I remembred it, it wounded my conſcience very ſore. Neuertheles I conſented not to it, vntil I had heard him preach, & that was vpõ S. Anthonies day: yet my mind was ſtil much troubled with yͤ ſayd booke (which did make the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, in forme of bread, but a remembraunce of Chriſtes Paſſion) till I heard Syr Myles Couerdale preach, and then my mynde was ſore withdrawen from that bleſſed Sacrament, in ſo much that I tooke it then but for the remēbraunce of Chriſtes body. Thus haue I wretchedly wrapped my ſoule with ſinne, for becauſe I haue not bene ſtedfaſt in that holy order that God hath called me vnto by Baptiſme, neither in the holy order that God and S. Auguſtine hath called me too by my religion. &c.

M.Couerdale.

Farthermore hee ſayd and confeſſed, that in the Lent laſt paſt, as hee was walkyng in the field at Bumſtede with Syr Myles Couerdale late Frier of the ſame order, goyng in the habite of a ſecular Prieſt, whiche had preached the 4. Sōday in Lent at Bumſtede, they did cōmune together of Eraſmus workes, and alſo vpon confeſſion: the which Syr Myles ſayd & did hold, that it was ſufficient for a man to be contrite for his ſinnes betwixt God and his conſcience, without confeſſion made to a Prieſt: whiche opinion this reſpondent thought to be true, and did affirme and hold the ſame at that time. Alſo hee ſayth yͤ at the ſaid Sermon made by the ſaid Syr Myles Couerdale at Bumſtede, he heard him preach agaynſt worſhipping of Images in the Churche, ſaying and preachyng that men in no wyſe ſhoulde honor or worſhyp them: whiche lykewiſe he thought to be true, becauſe he had no learnyng to defend it.

William
Gardiner
Auſtē Frier
of Clare.

With this Topley I may alſo ioyne William Gardiner one of the ſame order & houſe of Clare, who likewiſe by the motion of the ſayd Richard Foxe Curate of Bumſtede, and by ſhewyng hym certeine bookes to read, was brought lykewiſe to the like learnyng and iudgement, and was for yͤ ſame abiured by Cutbert Byſhop, the ſame yeare. 1528.

Richard
Iohnſon
of Bockſted
and Alyce
hys Wife.

1531.

This Richard and hys wife were fauorers of Gods woorde, and had bene troubled for the ſame of long tyme. They came from Saleſbury to Bockſtede by reaſon of perſecution, where they continued a good ſpace. At length by reſorte of good mē, they began to bee ſuſpected, and ſpecially for a booke of Wickleffes wicket whiche was in their houſe, they were conuented before Stokeſley biſhop of Lōdon, & there abiured.

So great was the trouble of thoſe tymes, that it would ouercharge any ſtorye to recite the names of all thē, which during thoſe bitter daies before the cōming in of Quéene Anne, either were driuen out of the realme, or were caſt out from their goodes and houſes, or brought to open ſhame by abiuratiō. Such decrées and iniunctions then were ſet foorth by the Byſhops, ſuch lawes & proclamations were prouided, ſuch watche & narow ſearche was vſed, ſuch wayes were taken by force of othe to make one detecte an other ſo ſubtelly, that vnneth any good man could or dyd eſcape theyr handes, but either hys name was knowen, or els hys perſon was taken. Yet neuertheleſſe ſo mightely the power of Gods Goſpel did worke in the hartes of good men, that the number of them dyd nothyng leſſen for all this violence or policie of the aduerſaries, but rather increaſed in ſuch ſort, as our ſtory almoſt ſuffereth not to recite the particular names of all & ſingular ſuch as then groned vnder yͤ ſame Croſſe of affliction & perſecution of thoſe dayes as: of which nūber were theſe.

Perſons of
Bumſted
abiured.

Arthur.
Geffray Lome.
Iohn Tibolde, *his mother, his wife, his twoo ſonnes, and his two daughters.*
Edmond Tibold, *and his wife.*
Henry Butcher, *and his wife.*
William Butcher, *and his wife.*
George Preſton, *and his wife.*
Ioane Smith *widow.*
Robert Smith *her ſonne.*
Richard Smith *her ſonne.*
Margaret Smith *her daughter.*
Eliſabeth Smith *her daughter.*
Rob. Hempſtede, *and his wife.*
Tho. Hemeſtede, *and his wife.*
Iohn Hemeſtede *his ſonne.*
Robert fayre.
William Chatwals.
Ioane Smith *widowe, otherwiſe called* Agnes *widow.*
Iohn *her ſonne.*
Thomas *her ſonne.*
Chriſtofer *her ſonne.*
Alyce *her daughter.*
Ioane *her daughter.*
Iohn Wiggen.
Nicolas Holdens *wife.*
Alyce Shypwright.
Henry Browne.
Iohn Craneford.

All theſe were of the towne of Bumſtede, who beyng detected by Syr Richard Foxe their Curate, and partly by Tybolde, were brought vp to the Biſhop of London, and all put together in one houſe, to the number of xxv. to be examined and abiured by the ſayd Byſhop.

Moreouer in other townes about Suffolke & Eſſex, other alſo were detected, as in the towne of Byrbroke, theſe following.

Men and wemen of *Eſſex* and *Suffolke* troubled for the goſpell.

Iſabell Choote *widowe.*
Iohn Choote *her ſonne.*
William Choote *her ſonne.*
Chriſtofer Choote *her ſonne.*
Robert Choote *her ſonne.*
Margarete Choote *her daughter.*
Katherine *her mayd.*
Thomas Choote, *and his wife.*
Haruy, *and his wife.*
Agnes *his daughter.*
Thomas *his ſonne.*
Bateman, *and his wife.*
Iohn Smith, *and his wife.*
Thomas Butcher, *and his wife.*
Robert Catlyn, *a ſpone maker.*
Chriſtmas, *and his wife.*
Williā Bechwith, *his wife and his two ſonnes.*
Iohn Pickas, *and his wife.*
William Pickas, *his brother.*
Girlyng, *his wife and his daughter.*
Mathewes *wife.*
Iohnſon, *his wife, and his ſonne.*
Thomas Hilles.
Roger Tanner.

Ioh. Chapmā.

Chriſtopher Rauen, *and his wife.*
Iohn Chapman, *his ſeruaunt*
Richard Chapman, *his ſeruaunt and brother to* Iohn Chapman.

Who remayneth yet alyue, and hath bene of a long time a great harberour of many good men and wemen that were in trouble and diſtreſſe, and receaued them to hys houſe, as Thomas Bate, Symon Smyth the Prieſtes wife, Roger Tanner, with a number moe, whiche ye may ſee and read in our former edition, pag. 419.

Rich. Chapman.

Touchyng this Richard Chapman, this by the waye is to bee noted, that as hee was in his coate and ſhyrte enioyned bare head, bare fote, and bare legge to go before the proceſſion, and to knele vppon the colde ſteppes in the Churche all the Sermon tyme, a litle ladde ſeyng hym knele vppon the colde ſtone with his bare knées, and hauyng pytie on hym, came to hym, and hauyng nothyng els to gyue hym, brought him his cappe to knele vppon. For the whiche the boy immediatly was take into the Veſtry and there vnmercifully beaten for his mercy ſhewed to the pore penitent.

Crueltie ſhewed for mercy.

Beſides theſe, diuers other were about London, Colcheſter and other places alſo partakers of the ſame Croſſe and affliction for the lyke cauſe of the Goſpell, in whiche number commeth in theſe which hereafter followe.

Peter Fenne *Prieſt.*
Iohn Turke.
Robert Beſt.
Williā Raylond *of Colcheſter.*
Henry Raylond *his ſonne.*
Marion Mathew, *or* Weſtden.
Dorothe Long.
Thomas Parker.
Alyce Gardiner.
Iohn Tompſon.
Ioh. Bradley, *and his wife.* *of Colcheſt.*
Iohn Hubert *of Eſtdoneland, and his wife.*
M. Forman *bacheler of Diuinitie Perſon of Hony lane.*
Robert Necton.
Katherine Swane.
Maſters Cowbrige, *of Colch.*
Wydow Denby.
Robert Hedill, *of Colcheſter.*
William Butcher, *whoſe fathers graund father was burned for the ſame Religion.*
Abraham Water, *of Colcheſt.*
Robert Wygge.
William Bull.
George Cooper.
Ioh. Toy, *of Saint Fayth.* *of London.*
Richard Foſter.
Sebaſtian Harrys, *Curate of Kenſington.*
Ex Regiſt. Lond.

¶ All theſe in this table conteyned, were troubled & abiured an.1527. and.1528.

Thys Parker was abiured 24. yeares before thys.

Al theſe in this table were troubled & abiured, an.1527 & 1528.

Perſons abiured.

1532.

Ioh. Wyly *the elder.*
Catherine Wyly, *hys wife.*
Ioh. Wyly, *hys ſonne.*
Chriſtian Wyly, *his wife.*
W. Wyly, *hys ſonne.*
Magaret Wyly, *his wife.*
Lucye Wylye,
Agnes Wylye,
ij. younge gyrles.
An.1532.

These viij. perſons were accuſed, an.1532. for eating potage & fleſhmeate fiue yeare before, vpon S. Iames euen.

Alſo an other time, vpō S. Peters euen, as Catherine Wylye did lye in childbed, yͤ other wiues, wͭ the ij. gyrles, were found eating altogether of a brothe made with the forepart of a racke of Mutton.

Itē, the foreſayd Iohn Wyly the elder, had a Primmer in Engliſh in hys houſe, and other bookes.

Alſo, he had a younge daughter of x. yeres olde, which could render by hart yͤ moſt parte of yͤ 24. chap. of S. Mathewe: alſo coulde rehearſe without boke, yͤ diſputatiō betwene the clarke and the Frier.

Itē, the ſayd Iohn Wyly had in hys houſe a treatiſe of William Thorpe, and Syr Iohn Oldcaſtell.

¶ *A note of Richard Bayſide, aboue mentioned.*

Mention was made before of Richard Bayfilde Monke of Burye, pag.1161. who in theſe perilous dayes, amongeſt other good Sainctes of God, ſuffered death, as ye haue heard, but how and by whom he was detected, hath not bene ſhewed: which now in ſearching out of Regiſters, as we haue found, ſo we thought good here to adioyne the ſame with the wordes and confeſſion of the ſame Edmund Peerſon which detected hym in maner as followeth.

¶ *The accuſatiō of Edmund Peerſon agaynſt Bayfilde.*

The accuſation of Edmund Peerſon, agaynſt Richard Bayfilde.

The xiij. day of September at iiij. of the clocke at after noone, the yeare of our Lord. 1527. Syr Richard Bayfilde ſayd that my Lord of Londons Commiſſarye was a playne Phariſey, wherfore he would ſpeake with hym, and by hys wholeſome doctrine hee truſted in God, hee ſhould make hym a perfecte Chriſten man and me alſo, for I was a Phariſey, as yet, he ſayd.

Alſo he ſayd, that he cared not and if the commiſſarye and the Chauncellour heard him both, for the Chauncellour, he ſaid, was alſo a Phariſey, & truſted to make hym a Chriſten man.

Alſo he ſayd, he was entreated by hys frendes, and in maner cōſtrayned to abide in the Citie againſt hys will, to make the Chauncellour and many moe, perfecte Chriſten men, for as yet many were Phariſeis, and knew not the perfecte declaration of the Scripture.

Commendation of Bilney & Arthur.

Alſo he ſayd, that M. Arthur and Bilney were and bee more purer and more perfecter in their liuing to God, then was or is the Commiſſarye, the Chauncellour, my Lorde of London, or my Lorde Cardinall.

Alſo he ſayd, that if Arthur and Bilney ſuffer death in the quarells and opinions that they be in, or holde, they ſhall be Martyrs before God in heauen.

Alſo he ſayd, after Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet ſhould there be hundrethes of men, yͭ ſhould preach the ſame that they haue preached.

Alſo he ſayd, that he would fauour Arthur and Bilney, he knewe theyr liuing to be ſo good: for they dyd weare no ſhyrtes of lynnen clo[illegible]ut ſhyrtes of heyre, and euer were faſting, praying, or doing ſome other good deedes: and as for one of them, what ſoeuer he haue of money in hys purſe, hee will diſtribute it for the loue of God, to poore people.

Alſo he ſayd, that no man ſhould geue laude nor praiſe in no manner of wiſe, to no creature, nor to no Saintct in heauen, but onely to God. Soli Deo honor et gloria. 1. *To God alone be all honour and glorye.*

Tim.1.

The godly courage of *Rich. Bayfild.*

Alſo he ſayd, ah good Syr Edmunde, ye bee farre from the knowledge and vnderſtandyng of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Phariſey with many other of your companye: but I truſt in God I ſhall make you and many other moe, good and perfecte Chriſten men ere I depart from the Citie, for I purpoſe to read a common lecture euery daye at S. Foſters church, which lecture ſhall bee to the edifying of your ſoules that be falſe Phariſeis.

Alſo he ſayd, that Bilney preached nothyng at Wylſedone, but that was true.

Alſo he ſayd, that Bilney preached true at Wylſedone, if he ſayd yͭ our Ladyes crowne of Wylſedone, her rings and beades that were offered to her, were beſtowed amongeſt harlots, by the miniſters of Chriſtes Church: for that haue I ſeene my ſelfe, hee ſayd, here in London, and that will I abyde by.

The peoples offrings beſtowed vpon harlots.

Alſo he ſayd, he dyd not feare to cōmen and argue in Arthur and Bilneys opinions and articles, and if it were with my Lorde Cardinall.

Alſo he ſayd, that he woulde holde Arthur and Bilneys opinions and articles, and abide by them that they were true opinions, to ſuffer death therfore: I knowe them (ſayd he) for ſo noble and excellent men in learnyng.

Alſo he ſayd, if he were before my Lord Cardinall, hee would not let to ſpeake to hym, and to tell hym that hee hath done nought in priſoning of Arthut & Bilney, which were better diſpoſed in theyr liuinges to God, then my Lord Cardinall, or my Lord of London, as holy as they make them ſelues.

Alſo hee ſayd, my Lorde Cardinall is no perfecte nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the Comaundementes of God: for Chriſt (he ſayd) neuer taught hym to followe riches, nor to ſeeke for promotions nor dignities of this world, nor Chriſt neuer taught him to weare ſhooes of ſiluer and gilte ſet with pearle and precious ſtones, nor Chriſt had neuer ij. croſſes of ſiluer, ij. axes, nor piller of ſiluer and gilte.

The Cardinals ſhowes.

Alſo he ſayd, that euery prieſt myght preach the Goſpell without licence of the Pope, my Lorde Cardinall, my Lord of London, or any other man. And that would he abyde by, & thus he verified it as it is written. *Mark.16.* Euntes in mundum vniuerſum predicate euangelium omni creaturæ. Chriſt commaunded euery prieſt to goe forth throughout all the world and preach the worde of God, by the authoritie of this Goſpell, and not to runne to the Pope, nor to no other mā for licence, and that would he abyde by, he ſayd.

Alſo he ſayd: well Syr Edmund, ſay you what you will, and euery man, and my Lorde Cardinall alſo, and yet will I ſaye and abyde by it, my Lord Cardinall doth puniſhe Arthur and Bilney vniuſtlye, for there be no truer Chriſten men in all the worlde liuing, then they two be, and that puniſhment that my Lorde Cardinall doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as who ſaye, thys may I doe, and thys will I do, who ſhall ſay nay, but he doth it of no iuſtice.

Alſo, about the xiiij. day of October laſt paſte at iij. of the clocke at after noone, Syr Richard Bayfilde came to S. Edmundes in Lūbardſtreete, where he found me Syr Edmund Peerſon, Syr Iames Smyth, & Syr Myles Garnet, ſtanding at the vttermoſt gate of the perſonage, and Syr Edmund ſayd to Syr Richard Bayfilde: how many Chriſten men haue ye made ſince ye came to the Citie? Quoth Syr Richard Bayfilde, I am come euen now to make thee a Chriſten man, and theſe two other gentlemen with thee, for well I know ye bee all iij. Phariſeis, as yet.

Alſo he ſayd to Syr Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better Chriſten men then he was, or any of them that dyd puniſhe Arthur and Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerſon.

And thus we haue, as in a groſſe ſumme, compiled together the names and cauſes, though not of all, yet of a great, and to great a number of good men and good wemē, whiche in thoſe ſorowfull dayes (from the yeare of our Lord. 1527. to this preſent yeare. 1533. that is, till the commyng in of Quéene Anne) were manifolde wayes vexed and perſecuted vnder the tyrannye of the Byſhop of Rome. Where agayne we haue to note, that from this preſent yeare of our Lord. 1533. duryng the tyme of the ſayd Quéene Anne, we read of no great perſecution, nor any abiuration to haue bene in the Churche of England, ſaue onely that the Regiſters of London make mention of certein Dutchmen counted for Anabaptiſtes, of whom x. were put to death in ſondry places of the realme an. 1535. other x. repented and were ſaued. Where note agayne that ij. alſo of the ſayd company albeit the definitiue ſentēce was read, yet notwithſtanding were pardoned by the kyng, whiche was contrary to the Popes lawe.

Ten Dutchmen Anabaptiſtes put to death, *Segor, Derycke. Symon, Runa, Derycke, Dominicke, Dauid, Cornelius, Elken, Milo.*

An. 1533.

Complaint of the commons agaynſt the Clergye. *Ex Edw. Hallo.*

A Parlament, an. 1534.

Nowe to proceede forth in our matter, after that the Byſhops and heades of the Clergye hadde thus a longe tyme taken theyr pleaſure, exerciſing theyr cruell authoritie agaynſt the poore waſted flocke of the Lord, and beganne furthermore to ſtretch forth theyr rigour and auſteritie, to attach and moleſte alſo other greater perſons of the temporaltie: ſo it fell that in the beginnyng of the next or ſecond yeare following, which was an. 1534. a Parlament was called by the kyng, about the xv. day of January. In ẏ which Parlament, the commons renuing their olde grieffes, complained of the crueltie of the Prelates and Ordinaries, for callyng men before them ex officio. For ſuch was then the vſage of the Ordinaryes and theyr Officialls, that they woulde ſend for men, and laye accuſations to them of hereſye, onely declaryng to thē, that they were accuſed, and would miniſter articles to them, but no accuſer ſhould be brought forth: wherby the commons was greuouſlye anoyed and oppreſſed, for the partie ſo acited, muſt eyther abiure, or doe worſe, for purgation he myght none make.

Cruelty of the clergy againſt the temporaltye.

As theſe matters were longe debatyng in the common houſe, at laſt it was agréed, that the temporall men ſhould put theyr grieffes in wryting, and deliuer them to the kyng. Wherupon, the xviij. day of Marche, the common ſpeaker accōpanyed with certayne Knightes and Burgeſes of the common houſe, came to ẏ kynges preſence, and there declared, how the temporall men of hys realme were ſore agreued with the cruell demaynour of the Prelates and Ordinaryes, which touched their bodyes and goods ſo neare, that they of neceſſitie were enforced to make their humble ſute by their ſpeaker vnto hys grace, to take ſuch order and redreſſe in the caſe, as to hys high wyſedome myght ſéeme moſte conuenient. &c.

Vnto thys requeſt of the commons, although ẏ kyng at that tyme gaue no preſent graunt, but ſuſpended thē with a delaye, yet notwithſtandyng thys ſufficientlye declared the grudging myndes of the temporall men, agaynſt the ſpiritualtie, lackyng nothing but Gods helpyng hand to worke in the kynges hart for reformation of ſuch thynges, which all they dyd ſee to bee out of frame. Neyther dyd the Lordes diuine prouidence faile in tyme of neede, but eftſoones miniſtred a readye remedye in tyme expedient. He ſawe the pryde and crueltie of the ſpirituall Clergye growen to ſuch an hight, as was intolerable. He ſawe agayne and heard the gronyng hartes, the bitter afflictions of his oppreſſed flocke, his truth decayed, his religiō prophaned, the glory of his ſonne defaced, his Church lamentably waſted: wherfore it was hye tyme for his hye maieſty to looke vpon the matter (as he did in déede) by a ſtraunge and wonderous meanes, whiche was throughe the kinges diuorſement from Lady Katherine Dowager, and marying with Lady Anne Bullen, in this preſent yeare: whiche was the firſt occaſion and begynnyng of all this publicke reformation, whiche hath folowed ſince in this Churche of England to thys preſent day, accordyng as ye ſhall heare.

Gods helpyng hand in tyme of nede.

¶ *The mariage betwene K. Henry. 8. and Queene Anne* Bullen, and Queene Catherine deuorced.

In the firſt entrey of this kynges reigne, ye heard before pag. 924. how after the death of prince Arthur, the Ladye Katherine Princes Dowager and wife to Prince Arthur, by ẏ cōſent both of her father & of his, and alſo by the aduiſe of the nobles of this realme, to the end her dowrie might remaine ſtill within the realme, was eſpouſed after the deceaſſe of her huſbād, to his next brother, whiche was this kyng Henry. This Mariage ſeemed very ſtraunge and hard, for one brother to mary the wife of an other. But what can bée in this earth ſo hard or difficulte, wherwith the Pope, the omnipotent Vicare of Chriſt, can not by fauour diſpenſe, if it pleaſe him? The Pope whiche then ruled at Rome, was Pope Iulius the ſecond, by whoſe diſpenſation, this Mariage, which neither ſenſe of nature would admitte, nor Gods law would beare, was concluded, approued and ratified, and ſo continued as lawfull, without any doubt or ſcruple, ẏ ſpace neare of xx. yeares, till about the tyme, that a certeine doubt beganne firſt to bée moued by the Spanyardes them ſelues of the Emperours counſaile. an. 1523. at what tyme Charles the Emperour beyng here in England promiſed to mary the Lady Mary daughter to the king of England, with the whiche promiſe the Spanyardes them ſelues were not well contented, obiecting this amōg many other cauſes, that the ſayd Lady Mary was begotten of the kyng of England by his brothers wife. Whereupon the Emperour forſakyng that Mariage, did couple hym ſelfe with Lady Iſabell, daughter to kyng Emanuell of Portugall. Whiche Mariage was done in ẏ yere of your Lord. 1526. After this Mariage of the Emperour, the next yeare folowyng, kyng Henry beyng diſapoynted thus of the Emperour, entred talke, or rather was laboured too by the Frenche Ambaſſadours, for the ſayd Lady Mary to be maried to the Frenche kynges ſonne, Duke of Orliance. Vpon the talke wherof, after long debaytyng, at length the matter was put of by a certeine doubt of the Preſident of Paris, caſting the like obiection as the Spanyardes had done before, that was, whether the Mariage betwene the kyng and the mother of this Lady Mary, whiche had bene his brothers wife before, were good or no. And ſo the Mariage twiſe vnluckly attempted, in lyke ſorte brake of agayne and was reiected: which happened in the yeare of our Lord. 1527.

The kyng vppon the occaſion hereof caſtyng many thinges in his minde, began to conſider the cauſe more depely, firſt with him ſelfe, after with certeine of hys nereſt counſaile, wherin ij. thinges there were whiche chiefly pricked his minde, whereof the one touched his conſcience, the other concerned the ſtate of his realme. For if that Mariage with his brothers wife ſtode vnlawfull by the lawe of God, then neither was his conſcience cleare in reteining the mother, nor yet the ſtate of the realme firme by ſucceſſion of the daughter. It happened the ſame tyme, that the Cardinall, whiche was then neareſt about ẏ kyng, had fallē out with the Emperour, for not helpyng him to the Papacie, as ye before haue heard: for the whiche cauſe hee helped to ſet the matter forwarde, by all practiſe hee myght. Thus the kyng perplexed in his conſcience, and careful for the common wealth, and partly alſo incited by the Cardinall, could not ſo reſt, but inquired further, to féele what the worde of God and learnyng would ſay vnto it. Neither was the caſe ſo hard, after it began once to come in publicke queſtion, but that by the word of God & the iudgementes of the beſt learned clerkes, and alſo by the cenſure of the chief Uniuerſities of all Chriſtendome, to yͤ number of x. and moe, it was ſone diſcuſſed to be vnlawfull.

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All theſe cenſures, bookes, and writynges of ſo many Doctors, Clerkes, & Uniuerſities ſent frō all quarters of Chriſtendome, to the kyng, albeit they might ſuffice to haue fully reſolued & did in deede reſolue the kinges conſciēce touching this ſcruple of his mariage: yet would not hee ſtreight way vſe that aduauntage which learnyng did giue him, vnles he had withall the aſſēt, as well of the Pope, as alſo the Emperour: wherin he perceaued no litle difficultie. For the Pope, hee thought, ſeyng the mariage was authoriſed before, by the diſpenſation of hys predeceſſour, would hardely turne his keyes about, to vndoe that whiche the Pope before him had locked: and much leſſe would hée ſuffer thoſe keyes to be foyled, or to come in any doubt, which was lyke to come, if that mariage were proued vndiſpēſable by Gods word, whiche his predeſſour, through his plenary power had licenced before. Agayn, the Emperour, he thought, would be no leſſe hard for his part on the other ſide, for as much as the ſayd Lady Katherine was yͤ Emperours neare Aunte and a Spanyard borne. Yet neuertheles his purpoſe was to proue and féele what they both would ſay vnto it, and therefore ſent Steuen Gardiner to Rome, to waye with Pope Clement. To the Emperour was ſent Syr Nicolas Heruy knyght, Ambaſſadour in the Court of Gaunt. Firſt Pope Clement, not weyng belike, the full importaunce and ſequele of yͤ matter, ſent Card. Campeius (as is ſaid) into Englād, ioyned wͭ the Card. of Yorke.

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At the commyng of which Legates, the kyng fyrſt openyng vnto them the griefe of hys conſcience, ſeemed with great reaſons & perſuaſions, ſufficientlye to haue drawen the good will of thoſe two Legates to his ſide. Who alſo of theyr owne accorde, pretended no leſſe but to ſhewe a willyng inclination to further the kynges cauſe. But yet the mouthes of the common people, and in eſpeciall of women, and ſuch other as fauoured the Quéene, and talked theyr pleaſure, were not ſtopped. Wherfore, to ſatiſfye the blinde ſurmiſes, and foolyſhe communication of theſe alſo, who ſeing the cōmyng of the Cardinals caſt out ſuch leaude wordes, that yͤ king would for hys own pleaſure haue an other wife, with lyke vnſéemyng talke: he therfore willyng that all men ſhould know the truth of his procedinges, cauſed all his Nobilitie, Iudges, and Counſaillours, with diuers other perſons, to reſort to hys Pallace of Bridewell the viij. daye of Nouemb. an. 1529. where hee openlye ſpeakyng in hys great chamber, had theſe wordes in effecte as followeth.

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Our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiectes, both you of the nobilitie and you of the meaner ſorte, it is not vnknowē to you how that we, both by Gods prouiſion and true and lawfull inheritaunce, haue reigned ouer this realme of England, almoſt the terme of xx. yeares. Duryng which tyme, we haue ſo ordered vs, thanked be God, that no outward enemye hath oppreſſed you, nor taken any thyng from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme, but we haue had victorye and honour, ſo that we thinke that you nor none of your predeceſſours neuer liued more quietly, more wealthely, nor in more eſtimation vnder any of our noble progenitours. But when we remember our mortalitie and that we muſt dye, then we thinke that all our doinges in our life tyme, are clearely defaced, and worthy of no memorye, if we leaue you in trouble at the tyme of our death. For if our true heyre be not knowen at the time of our death, ſee what miſchiefe and trouble ſhall ſucceede to you and to your children. The experience therof ſome of you haue ſeene after the death of our noble grādfather, K. Edward. 4. & ſome haue heard what miſchiefe & manſlaughter cōtinued in this realme betwene the houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter: by the which diſſenſion, thys realme was lyke to haue bene clearely deſtroyed.

And although it hath pleaſed almightye God to ſend vs a fayre daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our great comforte and ioye, yet it hath bene tolde vs by diuerſe great Clarkes, that neither ſhe is our lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wife, but that we liue together abominablye and deteſtablye, in open adultrye: in ſomuch, that when our Ambaſſade was laſt in Fraunce, and motion was made that the Duke of Orleance ſhoulde marrye our ſayd daughter, one of the chiefe Counſaillours to the French kyng ſayd: It were well done, to knowe whether ſhe bee the kyng of Englandes lawfull daughter or not, for well knowen it is, that he begotte her on his brothers wife, which is directly agaynſt Gods lawe & hys precepte. Thynke you my Lordes, that theſe wordes touche not my bodye and ſoule? Thinke you that theſe doynges do not daylye and hourely trouble my conſcience, & vexe my ſpirites? Yes we doubt not, but and if it were your owne cauſe, euery man would ſeeke remedye, when the perill of your ſoule, and the loſſe of your enheritaunce is openly layd to you. For thys onely cauſe, I proteſte before God, and in the worde of a prince, I haue aſked counſell of the greateſt Clerkes in Chriſtendome, and for this cauſe I haue ſent for this Legate, as a man indifferent onely to knowe the truth, and ſo to ſetle my conſcience, and for none other cauſe, as God can iudge.

And as touching the Queene, if it bee adiudged by the law of God that ſhe is my lawful wife, there was neuer thyng more pleaſaunt nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the diſcharge and clearyng of my conſcience, and alſo for the good qualities and conditions the whiche I know to be in her. For I aſſure you all, that beſide her noble parentage of the whiche ſhe is diſcended (as you well know) ſhe is a woman of moſt gentlenes, of moſt humilitie and buxumnes, yea & of all good qualities apperteynyng to nobilitie, ſhe is without compariſon, as I this xx. yeares, almoſt haue had the true experiment: ſo that if I were to mary agayne, if the mariage might be good, I would ſurely choſe her aboue all other women. But if it bee determined by iudgement that our Mariage was agaynſt Gods law and clerely voyde, thē I ſhall not onely ſorowe the departyng from ſo good a Lady and louyng companyon, but much more lament & bewayle my infortunate chaunce that I haue ſo long lyued in adultery to Gods great diſpleaſure, and haue no true heyre of my body to inherite this realme. Theſe bee the ſores that vexe my mynde, theſe bee the panges that trouble my conſcience, and for theſe greues I ſéke a remedy. Therfore I require of you all, as our truſt and cōfidence is in you, to declare to our ſubiectes our mynde and entent, accordyng to our true meanyng, and deſyre them to pray with vs that the very truth may be knowē for the diſcharge of our conſcience & ſauyng of our ſoule, and for the declaration hereof I haue aſſembled you together, and now you may depart.

The Legats talke with the Queene.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

Shortly after this Oration of the kyng, wherewith he ſtirred the hartes of a number, then the ij. Legates, beyng requeſted of the kyng for diſcharge of hys conſcience, to iudge and determine vppon the cauſe, went to the Quéene lyng then in the place of Bridwell, and declared to her, how they were deputed iudges indifferent betwen the king and her, to heare and determine, whether the Mariage betwene them ſtode with Gods law, or not. When ſhe vnderſtode the cauſe of their cōmyng, beyng thereat ſome thyng aſtonyed at the firſt, after a litle pauſyng with her ſelfe, thus ſhe began, aunſweryng for her ſelfe.

Queene Katherines aūſwer to the Cardinalls.

Alas my Lordes (ſaid ſhe) is it now a queſtiō whether I bee the kynges lawfull wife or no, when I haue bene maryed to hym almoſt. xx. yeares, & in the meane ſeaſon neuer queſtion was made before? Diuers Prelates yet beyng alyue and Lordes alſo & priuye counſailors with the kyng at that tyme, then adiuged our Mariage lawfull and honeſt, and now to ſay it is deteſtable and abhominable, I thinke it great maruell: and in eſpeciall whē I conſider what a wiſe Prince the kynges father was, and alſo the loue and naturall affection, that kyng Fernando my father bare vnto me. I thinke in my ſelfe that neither of our fathers were ſo vncircumſpect, ſo vnwiſe, and of ſo ſmall imaginatiō, but they foreſaw what might folow of our mariage, & in eſpeciall the kyng my father ſent to the Court of Rome, & there after long ſuite, with great coſte & charge, obteined a licence & diſpēſation, that I beyng the one brothers wife and peraduenture carnally knowen, might without ſcruple of conſcience,

The Cardinall cauſe of this diuorce. and whye

marrye with ẏ other brother lawfully, which licence vnder lead I haue yet to ſhew: whiche thinges make me to ſay, and ſurely beleue, that our Mariage was both lawfull, good and godly. But of this trouble I onely may thanke you my Lord Cardinall of Yorke. For, becauſe I haue wondered at your hygh pride and vaynglory, and abhorred your voluptuous lyfe and abhominable lechery, and litle regarded your preſumptuous power and tiranny: therfore of malice you haue kyndled this fire, and ſet this matter abroche, and in eſpeciall for the great malice that you beare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worſe then a Scorpion, becauſe he would not ſatiſfie your ambicion, and make you Pope by force, and therfore you haue ſayd more thē once, that you would trouble him & his frendes: and you haue kept him true promiſe, for of all his warres & vexations, he only may thanke you. And as for me his poore Aunte & kinſwomā, what trouble you haue put me too by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I committe my cauſe accordyng to ẏ truth. The Cardinall of Yorke excuſed hym ſelfe ſaying, that he was not the begynner nor the mouer of the doubt, and that it was ſore agaynſt his will that euer the Mariage ſhould come in queſtion, but hee ſayd that by his ſuperiour the Byſhop of Rome, he was deputed as a iudge to heare the cauſe, whiche hee ſware on his profeſſion to heare indifferently. But what ſoeuer was ſaid, ſhe beleued him not, and ſo the Legates tooke their leaue of her and departed. Theſe woordes were ſpoken in Frenche, and written by Cardinall Campeius Secretary, whiche was preſent, and afterward by Edward Hall tranſlated into Engliſhe.

The vayne pompe of the Romiſhe Legates.

In the nexte yeare enſuing, an. 1530. at the blacke Fryers of London was prepared a ſolemne place for the two Legates, who comming with theyr croſſes, pillers, axes, and all other Romyſhe ceremonies accordingly, were ſet in two chayres couered with cloth of golde, & cuſhions of the ſame. When all thynges were readye, then the king and the Quéene were aſcited by Doct. Sampſon, to appeare before the ſayd Legates the 28. day of May: where (the commiſſion of the Cardinalls fyrſt being read, wherin it was appoynted by the Court of Rome, that they ſhoulde bee the hearers and iudges in the cauſe betwene them both) the kyng was called by name, who appeared by two Proctors. Then the Quéene was called, who being accompanied with *iiij. Byſhops, and other of her Counſaile, and a great companye of Ladies, came perſonally her ſelf before the Legates: who there after her obeyſance, with a ſadde grauitie of countenaunce, hauyng not many woordes with them, appealed from the Legates, as iudges not competent, to the court of Rome, and ſo departed. Notwithſtandyng thys appeale, the Cardinalls ſat wéekely, & euery day arguments on both ſides were brought, but nothing definitiuely was determined.

The king and Queene aſcited before the Legates.

* Theſe 4. biſhops were *Warham* of Canterbury, *West* of Ely, *Fyſher* of Rocheſter, *Standiſhe* of S. Aſaph.

The Queene appealeth from the Cardinall to the Pope.

As the tyme paſſed on, in the moneth of Iune, the kyng being deſirous to ſée an ende, came to the courte, and the Quéene alſo, where he ſtādyng vnder hys cloth of eſtate, vttered theſe or lyke wordes in effecte as followeth.

The kings oration to the Legates.

My Lordes Legates of the Sea Apoſtolicke, whiche be deputed Iudges in this great & wayghty matter, I moſt hartely beſeche you to ponder my minde and entent, whiche onely is to haue a finall ende for the diſcharge of my conſcience: for euery good Chriſten man knoweth what payne and what vnquietnes hee ſuffreth whiche hath his conſcience greued. For I aſſure you on myne honour, that this matter hath ſo vexed my minde, and troubled my ſpirites, that I can ſcantely ſtudy any thyng, whiche ſhould bee profitable for my Realme and people, and for to haue a quietnes in body and ſoule, is my deſire and requeſt, and not for any grudge that I beare to her that I haue maryed, for I dare ſay that for her womanhode, wiſedome, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer Prince had ſuch an other, and therfore if I would willingly chaunge, I were not wiſe. wherefore my ſuite is to you my lordes at this time, to haue a ſpedy ende, accordyng to right, for the quietnes of my mynde and conſcience onely, and for no other cauſe, as God knoweth.

When the kyng had ſaid, the Quéene departed without any thing ſaying. Thē ſhe was called, to know whether ſhe would abide by her appeale, or aunſwere there before the Legates. Her Proctor aunſwered that ſhe would abide by her appeale. That notwithſtādyng, the Cōūſaillers on both ſides euery day almoſt, mette and debated this matter ſubſtancially, ſo that at the laſt the Diuines were all of opinion, that the Mariage was agaynſt the law of God, if ſhe were carnally knowen by the firſt brother, whiche thyng ſhe clearely denyed. But to that was aūſwered, that Prince Arthur her huſbād confeſſed the acte done, by certeine woordes ſpoken, whiche being recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather ſhoulde there bee read, then by me here vttered. Farthermore, at the tyme of the death of Prince Arthur, ſhe thought and iudged that ſhe was with childe, and for that cauſe, the king was deferred from the title and creation of the Prince of Wales, almoſt halfe a yeare, which thyng could not haue bene iudged, if ſhe had not bene carnally knowen.

Alſo ſhe her ſelfe cauſed a Bull to be purchaſed, in the whiche were theſe wordes, Vel forſan cognitam, whiche is aſmuch to ſay, as peraduenture carnally knowen, whiche woordes were not in the firſt Bull graunted by Iuly at her ſecond Mariage, to the kyng, whiche ſecond Bull with that clauſe was onely purchaſed, to diſpence with the ſecond Matrimony, althoughe there were carnall copulation before, whiche Bull neded not to haue bene purchaſed, if there had ben no carnall copulation, for then the firſt Bull had ben ſufficiēt.

Moreouer, for the more cleare euidence of thys matter that Prince Arthur had carnall knowledge of the ſayd Ladye Catherine hys wife, it appeareth in a certayne booke of recordes which we haue to ſhewe touchyng thys mariage, that the ſame tyme when Prince Arthur was fyrſt maryed with thys Lady Catherine daughter to Ferdinando, certayne Amballadours of Ferdinando his Counſaile were then ſent hether into England for the ſayd purpoſe to ſée and to teſtifye, cōcerning the full conſummation of the ſayd matrimoniall coniunction. Which Counſaillers here reſient, beyng ſolemnely ſworne, not onely did affirme to both their parentes, that the Matrimony was conſummate by that acte: but alſo did ſend ouer into Spayne to her father, ſuch demōſtrations of their mutuall coniunctiō, as here I will not name, ſparing the reuerence of chaſt eares: whiche demonſtrations otherwiſe in thoſe recordes beyng named and teſtified, do ſufficiētly put the matter out of all doubt and queſtion.

Beſides that, in the ſame recordes appeareth that both he and ſhe not onely were of ſuch yeares as were méete and hable to explete the conſummation hereof, but alſo they were and did lye together both here and in Wales by the ſpace of thrée quarters of a yeare.

Out of a written booke of Recordes, cōtaining certaine cōferences betwixt the Cardinall & Queenes Catherines *Amner about thys matter, remayning in our custodye to bee ſeene.*

Thus when ẏ Diuines on her ſide, were beaten frō that ground, then they fell to perſuaſions of Naturall reaſon, how this ſhould not be vndone for thrée cauſes. One was becauſe, if it ſhould be broken, the only child of the kyng ſhould be a Baſtard, whiche were a great miſchief to the Realme. Secondly, the ſeparatiō ſhould be cauſe of great vnkyndnes betwene her kinred and this Realme. And the thirde cauſe was, that the continuaūce of ſo long ſpace, had made the Mariage honeſt. Theſe perſuaſions with many other, were ſet forth by the Quéenes counſaile, and in eſpeciall by the Byſhop of Rocheſter, whiche ſtode ſtiffe in her cauſe. But yet Gods precept was not aunſwered, wherefore they left that ground & fell to pleadyng that the Court of Rome had diſpenced with that Mariage. To this ſome lawyres ſayd, that no earthly perſon is able to diſpence with the poſitiue law of God.

When the Legates heard the opinions of the Diuines, and ſawe whereunto the ende of this queſtion would he ſeat- ing of the ngs ma- ge, ought e thinges light.

ardinall ampeius pyeth frō e kyng.

would tende, for aſmuch as men began ſo to diſpute of the authoritie of the Court of Rome, and eſpecially becauſe the Cardinall of Yorke perceaued the kyng to caſt fauour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to bée a Lutheran, they thought beſt to winde thē ſelues out of that brake by tyme, and ſo Cardinall Campeius diſſembling the matter conueyed him ſelf home to Rome agayne, as is partely aboue touched, pag. 1129. The kyng ſeyng hym ſelfe thus to bee differred and deluded by the Cardinals, tooke it to no litle griefe: wherupon, ẏ fall of the Cardinall of Yorke folowed not long after. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1530. Shortly after it happened the ſame yeare, that the kyng by his Ambaſſadours was aduertiſed that the Emperour and the Pope were both together at Bononie: Wherfore he directed Syr Tho. Bulleyn late created Earle of Wiltſhyre, and Doctour Stokeſley (afterward Byſhop of London) and Doct. Lee (afterward byſhop of Yorke) with his meſſage to ẏ Popes Court, where alſo the Emperour was. Pope Clement vnderſtanding the kynges caſe and requeſt, and fearyng what might folow after, if learning and Scripture here ſhould take place agaynſt the authoritie of their diſpenſations, and moreouer doubtyng the Emperours diſpleaſure, bare hym ſelfe ſtraunge of from the matter, aunſweryng the Ambaſſadours with this delay: that he preſetly would not define in the caſe, but would heare the full matter diſputed when he came to Rome, and accordyng to right he would do iuſtice.

he kyng ndeth to e Empe- ur and Pope.

he popes ſwere to kyng.

Although the kyng ought no ſuch ſeruice to ẏ Pope, to ſtand to his arbitrement either in this caſe, or in any other, hauing both the Scripture to leade him, and hys law in his own handes to warrant hym: yet for quyetnes ſake, and for that he would not raſhly breake order (whiche rather was a diſorder in déede) he bare ſo lōg as conueniently he might. At length, after long delayes & much diſſemblyng, when he ſaw no hope of redreſſe, he began ſomewhat to quicken and to looke about him, what was beſt both for his owne conſcience, and the ſtabliſhment of his realme, to do.

he king e more he pope n he ne-

ods pro- ence ing ruel- ſly in mat-

No mā here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by mans deuiſe, but by the ſecrete purpoſe of the Lord him ſelfe, to bryng to paſſe further thinges (as afterward folowed) which his diuine prouidence was diſpoſed to worke. For els as touchyng the kynges intēt and purpoſe, hee neuer meant nor mynded any ſuch thyng as to ſeke the ruine of ẏ Pope, but rather ſought all meanes contrary, how both to ſtabliſhe the Sea of Rome, & alſo to obteine the good will of the ſame Sea and Court of Rome, if it might haue bene gotten. And therfore intendyng to ſue his diuorſe from Rome, at the firſt begynnyng, his deuiſe was, by Steuen Gardiner his Ambaſſadour at Rome, to exalte the Cardinall of Yorke, (as is before ſhewed pag. 1127) to bée made Pope and vniuerſall Byſhop, to the end that he rulyng that Apoſtolicke Sea, the matter of his vnlawfull Mariage, whiche ſo troubled his conſcience, might come to a quiet concluſion, without any further rumor of the world. Which purpoſe of his if it had takē effecte as he had deuiſed it, & the Engliſhe Cardinall had once bene made Pope, no doubt, but the authoritie of ẏ Sea had neuer ben exterminate out of Englād. But God beyng more mercyful vnto vs, tooke a better way then ſo. For both without, and contrary to the kynges expectation, hée ſo brought to paſſe, that neither the Cardinall of Yorke was Pope (whiche ſhould haue bene an infinite coſt to the kyng) and yet neuertheles the kyng ſped of his purpoſe too, & that much better then he looked for: For hée was ridde, by lawfull diuorcement, not onely from that vnlawfull mariage whiche clogged his conſcience, but alſo from the miſerable yoke of the Popes vſurped dominion, which clogged the whole realme, and all at one tyme.

Supr. .1127.

pur- th but diſpo-

Thus Gods holy prouidence rulyng the matter (as I ſayd) when the kyng could get no fauorable graunt of the Pope touchyng his cauſe beyng ſo good and honeſt, he was enforced to take the redreſſe of his right into his own handes, and ſeing this * Gordian knotte would not bee looſed at Rome, hee was driuen euen agaynſt his will (as God would) to play the noble Alexander him ſelfe, and with the ſword of his princely authoritie knapt the knotte at one ſtroke cleane aſunder, looſing, as it were with one ſolution, infinite queſtions. For where the Doctours and Canoniſtes had long diſputed, and yet could neuer throughly diſcuſſe the largenes and fulnes of the Popes ij. ſwoordes both temporall and ſpirituall: the kyng with one ſworde did ſo cut of both his ſwordes, that he diſpatched thē both cleane out of England, as ye ſhal ſée more anone. But firſt the kyng lyke a prudent prince, before he would come to the head of the ſore, thought beſt to pare away ſuch ranke fleſh and putrified places as were about it, and therefore folowyng his owne prouerbe, lyke as one goyng about to caſt downe an old rotten wall, will not beginne with the foundation firſt, but with the ſtones that lye in the toppe: ſo he to prepare his way better vnto the Pope, firſt begā with the Cardinall, caſtyng him by the law of Premunire, out of goods & poſſeſſiōs, & ſo at length by poyſoning him ſelfe, he procured his owne death: which was in ẏ yeare. 1530. This done, ſhortly after about ẏ yeare. 1532. the kyng to prouide by tyme agaynſt miſchiefes that might come from Rome, gaue forth eftſoones this proclamation, as foloweth.

* Gordium was a Citie in Aſia, where there was a knotte ſo faſt tied, & folded ſo many wayes, that (as the ſaying was) who ſoeuer could looſe it, ſhould haue all Aſia. So Alexander cōming to it, whē he could not looſe it with hys handes, he cutte it aſunder with hys ſworde.

The kings prouerbe. Looke before pag. 1153. lin. 21.

A reſtraynt of the king that nothing ſhould be purchaſed from Rome.

THe kynges hyghnes ſtraightly chargeth and commaundeth that no maner of perſon, what eſtate, degree or condition ſoeuer he or they bee of, do purchaſe or attēpt to purchaſe from the Court of Rome or els where, nor vſe & put in execution, diuulge or publiſhe any thing heretofore within this yeare paſſed, purchaſed, or to bee purchaſed hereafter contaynyng matter preiudiciall to ẏ hygh authoritie, iuriſdiction and prerogatiue royall of this his ſayd realme, or to the let, hynderaūce or impechment of his graces noble and vertuous intended purpoſes in the premiſſes, vpon payne of incurryng hys hyghnes indignatiō and impriſonment, and further puniſhmēt of their bodies for their ſo doing, at his graces pleaſure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

The whole clergye of Englād in the Premunire.

After this was done, ẏ king then proceding farther, cauſed the reſt of the ſpirituall Lordes to bée called by proces into the kynges benche to make theyr appearaunce, for ſomuch as the whole Clergie of England, in ſupportyng and mainteynyng the power Legatiue of the Cardinall, by the reaſon thereof were all entangled likewiſe in the Premunire, and therfore were called into the kinges bench, to aunſwere. But before the day of their appearaūce, the Prelates together in their conuocation concluded among them ſelues an humble ſubmiſſion in writyng, and offered the kyng for a ſubſidie or contribution, that he would bee their good Lord and releaſe thē of the Premunire by acte of Parlamēt, firſt to bee gathered in the Prouince of Caunterburye a C. M. poundes. And in the Prouince of Yorke, xviij. hundreth, and xl. pound, x. pence. The whiche offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardō promiſed. In this ſubmiſſion the Clergie called ẏ kyng ſupreme head of the Church of England, which thyng they neuer confeſſed before: wherupon many thynges folowed, as after (God willing) ye ſhall heare.

The clergye geueth to the king 118840. pound, to be releaſed from the Premunire.

But firſt, for ſomuch as we are in hande now with the matter, we will borow by ẏ way, a few wordes of ẏ reader, to ſpeake of this Clergie money of a 118840. poundes & x. pence, to be leuyed to ẏ kyng, as is aboue touched. For ẏ leuying of which ſūme, an order was taken among ẏ Prelates, ẏ euery Byſhop in his Dioces ſhould call before him all ẏ Prieſtes, Perſōs, & Vicars, amongeſt whō D. Ioh. Stokeſley B. of London, a man then coūted to be of ſome witte & learning, but of litle diſcretion and humanitie (whiche cauſed him to be out of the fauour of the common people) called before him all the Prieſtes within the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the firſt day of

September beyng Friday, in the Chapter houſe of S. Paul. At which day the Prieſtes appeared, and the Biſhops policie was to haue onely vj. or viij. Prieſtes together, & by perſuaſions to haue cauſed them to graunt ſome portion towarde the payment of the foreſayd hundreth M. pounde. But the number of the Prieſtes was ſo great (for they were vj. hũdreth at the leaſt, and with them came many temporal men to heare the matter) that the Byſhop was diſapoynted of his purpoſe. For when the Byſhops Officers called in certayne Prieſtes by name into the Chapter houſe, with that, a great number entered, for they put the Byſhops Officers that kept the doore a ſide. After this, the Officers gatte yͤ doore ſhut agayne. Then the Prieſtes without, ſayd: we will not be kept without, and our felowes be within: we know not what the Byſhop will doo with them. The temporall mẽ being preſent, comforted and encouraged yͤ Prieſtes to enter, ſo that by force they opened the doore, and one ſtrake the Byſhops Officer ouer the face, and entered the Chapter houſe, and many temporall men with them, & long it was ere any ſilence coulde bee made. At laſt, when they were appeaſed, the Byſhop ſtoode vp and ſayd: Brethren, I merueyle not a litle, why you be ſo heauye & know not what ſhall be ſayd to you: therfore I pray you to keepe ſilence and to heare me paciently.

The Biſhops policie with the prieſts, for payment of the kings money.

The biſhops perſwaſion to the prieſts to helpe them to pay their forfait.

My frendes all, you know well that we be mẽ frayle of condition and no Aungels, and by frayltie and lacke of wiſedome, we haue miſdemeaned our ſelfe towarde the kyng our ſoueraygne Lord and his lawes, ſo that al we of the Clergie were in the Premunire, by reaſon wherof, all our promocions, landes, goodes and cattels were to him forfaite, and our bodyes ready to be impriſoned: yet his grace moued with pitie and compaſſion, demaũded of vs what we could ſay, why hee ſhould not extend his lawes vpõ vs. Then the Fathers of yͤ Clergie humbly beſought his grace, of mercy. To whom he aunſwered that he was euer enclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences, we had litle penaunce: For where he might by the rigour of his lawe, haue taken all our liuelod, goods & cattels, hee was contented with one hundreth thouſand poundes to bee payde in fiue yeares. And although that this ſũme be more then we may eaſely beare, yet by the rigour of his lawes wee ſhould haue borne the whole burdene. Wherfore my brethrẽ, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your lyuelod and ſalary toward the payment of this ſumme graunted.

The prieſts anſwere to the biſhop.

Then it was ſhortly ſayd to the Byſhop: My Lord, twentye nobles a yeare is but a bare liuing for a Prieſt: for now vittaile and euery thyng is ſo deare, that pouertie, in maner, enforceth vs to ſay nay. Beſide that, my Lord, we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medeled neuer with the Cardinals faculties: let the Byſhops and Abbottes whiche haue offended, pay. Then the Byſhops Officers gaue to the Prieſtes hygh wordes, whiche cauſed them to be the more obſtinate. Alſo diuers temporall men which were preſent, comforted the Prieſtes, & badde them agree to no payment. In this rumour, diuers of the Byſhops ſeruaũts were buffeted and ſtricken, ſo that the Byſhop began to be afrayde, & with fayre wordes appeaſed the noyſe, and for all thinges whiche were done or ſayd there, hee pardoned them, and gaue to them his bleſſing, & prayed them to departe in charitie. Then they departed, thinkyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were diſceiued: For the Byſhop went to Syr Tho. More then beyng Lord Chauncellour (whiche greatly fauoured the Byſhop and the Clergie) and to hym made a greuous complaynt, and declared the facte very greuouſly. Wherupon commaundement was ſent to Syr Thomas Pargitor Maior of the Citie, to attach certayne Prieſtes and temporall men, and ſo. xv. Prieſtes and v. temporal men were arreſted, of the whiche, ſome were ſent to the Tower, ſome to the Fleete and other priſons, where they remained long after.

B. Stokeſley complayneth to *Syr. Tho. More.*

Certayne prieſtes and temporall men committed to priſon.

This beyng done in the yeare of our Lord. 1532. it foloweth moreouer the ſame yeare, that diuers preachynges were in the realme, one contrary to an other, concernyng the kynges Mariage: and in eſpeciall one Tho. Abell Clerke, which was yͤ Queenes Chaplaine, to pleaſe her withal, both preached & alſo wrote a boke in defenſe of the ſayd Mariage: wherby diuers ſimple men were perſuaded. Wherfore the kyng cauſed to be compiled and reduced into a booke, the determination of the Uniuerſities, with the iudgementes of great clerkes, which booke beyng printed and ſet abroad, did agayne ſatiſfie all indifferent and reaſonable perſons, whiche were not to much wedded to their willes.

Mention was made a litle before, of a Parlamẽt begon the xv. day of January. an. 1533. in the which Parlament the commons had put vp a Supplication, complaynyng of the ſtraite dealyng of the Clergye in their procedyng Ex officio. This complainte, although at the firſt it ſemed not greatly to be tendered of yͤ king, yet in prorogatiõ of the Parlament, yͤ tyme ſo wrought withall, that the kyng hauyng more cleare vnderſtandyng of the abuſes and enormities of the Clergie, and in eſpecial of the corrupt authoritie of yͤ Sea of Rome, prouided certeine actes agaynſt yͤ ſame: Firſt as cõcernyng the lawes, decrees, ordinaunces and conſtitutions made and ſtabliſhed by the pretenſed authoritie of the Byſhops of Rome, to the aduauncemẽt of their worldly glory: that who ſo did or ſpake any thyng either agaynſt their vſurped power, or againſt the ſayd lawes, decrees, or conſtitutions of theirs not approued nor grounded vpon holy Scripture or els beyng repugnãt to the kynges prerogatiue royall, ſhould therfore ſtand in no daunger nor be impeachable of hereſie. And likewiſe touching ſuch cõſtitutions ordinaunces & canons prouinciall or Synodall, whiche were made in this realme in yͤ cõuocation of Byſhops, beyng either preiudiciall to the kynges prerogatiue, or not ratified before by the kinges aſſent, or being otherwiſe onerous to the kyng and his ſubiectes, or in any wiſe repugnaunt to the lawes and ſtatutes of this realme, they were committed to the examination and iudgement of xxxij. perſons choſen by the king, out of yͤ higher & lower houſe, to bee determined either to ſtand in ſtrength, or to be abrogate at their diſcretions: and farther that all the Clergie of this realme ſubmittyng them ſelues to the kyng, ſhould and did promiſe in verbo Sacerdotij, neuer hereafter to preſume to aſſemble in their conuocations without the kynges writte, nor to enacte or execute ſuch conſtitutions without his royall aſſent. &c. Ex Statut. Henr. 8.

Farther, in the ſame Parlament was enacted and decreed, that in cauſes and matters happenyng in contention, no perſon ſhould appeale, prouoke, or ſue, out of the kyngs dominions, to the Court of Rome, vnder payne of prouiſours, prouiſion, or Premunire.

Item, in the ſame Parlament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of Annates and firſt frutes of Archbiſhoprickes & byſhoprickes out of this realme to the Sea of Rome, for any bulles, breues, or palles, or expedition of any ſuch thyng, ſhould vtterly ceaſe.

Alſo for the inueſtyng of Archbiſhops, Byſhops, or other of any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, ſuch order in the ſayd Parlament was taken, that the kyng ſhould ſend a licence vnder the great ſeale, with a letter miſſiue, to the Priour and Conuent, or to the Deane and Chapter of thoſe Cathedrall Churches where the Sea was vacant: by the vertue of whiche licence or letters miſſiue, they within xij. dayes, ſhould choſe the ſayd perſon nominated by the kyng, and none other, and that election to ſtand effectuall to all intentes. Whiche election beyng done, then the partie electe, making firſt his othe & fealtie to the kyng, if it were a Biſhop yͤ was electe, then yͤ king by his letters patẽtes, to ſignifie yͤ ſaid election to yͤ Archb. of that prouince, & ij. other Byſhops, or els to iiij. Byſhops within this realme, to be aſſigned to that office, without any other ſuyng, procuryng, or obteynyng any bulles, breues, or other thynges from the Sea of Rome.

Moreouer, agaynſt all other whatſoeuer intolerable exactions and great ſummes of mony vſed to be payd out of this realme to the Byſhop of Rome, in penſiõs, cenſures, Peterpence, procuratiõs, fruites, ſuites for prouiſions and expeditions of bulles, for Archbiſhops, and Byſhops, for delegacies and reſcriptes in cauſes of cõtentions and appeales, iuriſdictions legatiue: alſo for diſpenſations, licences, faculties, grauntes, relaxations, writtes called Perinde valere, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite ſortes of bulles, breues, and inſtrumentes of ſundry natures, the number wherof were tedious particularly to be recited, in the ſayd Parlament it was ordeined, that all ſuch vncharitable vſurpations, exactions, pencions, cenſes, portions, and Peterpence wont to be payed to the Sea of Rome, ſhould vtterly ſurceaſe, and neuer more to be leuied: ſo that the kyng with his honorable counſaile ſhould haue power and authoritie from tyme to tyme, for the orderyng, redreſſe, and reformation of all maner of indulgences, priuileges, &c. within this Realme.

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Where is to bee noted by the waye, as touchyng theſe Peterpence aforeſaid, that the ſame were firſt brought in and impoſed by K. Inas, about the yeare of our Lord. 720. which Inas king of the Weſtſaxons, cauſed through all his dominion in euery houſe hauyng a chimney, a peny to be collected and payed to the Biſhop of Rome in yͤ name of S. Peter, & therof were they called Peterpence. vid. ſupra pag. 107. The ſame likewiſe did Offa kyng of Mercians after him, about the yeare of our Lord. 794. vid. pag. 173. And theſe Peterpence euer ſince, or for yͤ moſt part, haue vſed of a long cuſtome to be gathered and ſummoned by the Popes Collectours here in England, from the tyme of Inas aforeſayd, to this preſent Parlament. an. 1533.

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Finally, by the authoritie of the Parlament it was conſulted and conſidered cõcernyng the legalitie of the lawfull ſucceſſion vnto the crowne, in ratifiyng and inhablyng the heyres of the kynges body and Quéene Anne. In the which Parlament moreouer the degrées of Mariage plainly and clearely were explaned and ſet forth, such as bée expreſſye prohibited by Gods lawes, as in this Table may appere.

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A Table of degrees prohibited by Gods law to marye.

The ſonne not to mary the mother, nor ſtepmother.
The brother not to mary the ſiſter.
The ſiſter not to mary his ſonnes daughter, nor hys daughters daughter.
The ſonne not to mary his fathers daughter gottẽ by his ſtepmother.
The ſonne not to mary his aunte, beyng either his fathers, or his mothers ſiſter.
The ſonne not to mary his vncles wife.
The father not to mary his ſonnes wife.
The brother not to mary his brothers wife.
No man to mary his wifes daughter.
No man to mary his wifes ſonnes daughter.
No man to mary his wifes daughters daughter.
No man to mary his wifes ſiſter.

All theſe degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

All theſe thinges thus beyng defined & determined in this foreſayd Parlament, & alſo beyng in the ſame Parlamẽt concluded, that no mã of what eſtate degrée, or condition ſoeuer, hath any power to diſpenſe with Gods lawes, it was therefore by yͤ authoritie aforeſayd agréeyng with the authoritie of Gods worde, aſſented that the Mariage aforetyme ſolemniſed betwene the kyng and the Lady Katherine, beyng before wife to Prince Arthur the kinges brother, & carnally knowen by hym (as is aboue proued) ſhould bee abſolutely demed and adiudged to bee vnlawfull and agaynſt the lawe of God, and alſo reputed and taken to be of no value nor effecte: and that the ſeparation therof by Thomas Cranmer Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, ſhoulde ſtand good and effectuall to all intentes: and alſo that the lawfull matrimonie betwene the kyng and the Ladye Anne his wife, ſhoulde bee eſtabliſhed, approued, and ratified for good and conſonant to the lawes of almightye God. And farther alſo for the eſtabliſhyng of this kynges lawfull ſucceſſion, it was fully by the ſayd Parlamẽt adiudged, that yͤ inheritaunce of the crowne ſhould remaine to the heyres of their ij. bodyes, that is, of the kyng and Quéene Anne hys wife.

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The maryage betwene the kyng and Queene Anne, approued by publicke Parlament.

The heyres of K. Henry and Queene Anne, ratified by Parlamẽt.

Duryng the tyme of this Parlament, before the Mariage of Quéene Anne, there was one Temſe in the Common houſe, whiche moued the Commons to ſue to the kyng, to take the Quéene agayne into his company, declaring certeine great miſchiefs like to inſue therof, as in baſtarding yͤ Lady Mary yͤ kinges onely child, & diuers other incõueniẽces: which beyng reported to the kings eares, he ſent immediatly to Syr Tho. Audley Speaker thẽ of yͤ Parlamẽt, expreſſing vnto him amongeſt other matters, that he merueiled much, why one of yͤ Parlament did ſo opẽly ſpeake of yͤ abſence of the Quéene from him: which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (ſayd he) his ſoule, and wiſhed yͤ Matrimony were good, for then had he neuer ben ſo vexed in conſciẽce. But the Doctors of Uniuerſities (ſaid he) haue determined yͤ Mariage to be voide, & deteſtable before God, which grudge of conſciẽce (he ſayd) cauſed him to abſteine frõ her company, & no fooliſh, nor wanton appetite. For I am (ſayd he) xli. yeare old, at which age the luſt of man is not ſo quicke, as it is in youth. And ſauyng in Spayne and Portugale, it hath not ben ſene, that one man hath maryed ij. ſiſters, the one beyng carnally knowẽ before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife, was ſo abhorred amongeſt all nations, that I neuer heard it, that any Chriſtẽ man ſo did but me ſelfe. Wherfore ye ſée my conſcience troubled, and ſo I pray you reporte. And ſo the Speaker departyng declared to the Commons the kynges ſaying.

The kynges wordes to Syr *Tho. Audley* ſpeaker of the Parlament.

Not long after that, the king perceauing belike, the mindes of the Clergie not much fauoryng his cauſe, ſent for the Speaker agayne and xij. of the Common houſe, hauyng with him viij. Lordes, and ſayd to them: Welbeloued ſubiectes, we had thought the Clergy of our realme had ben our ſubiectes wholy, but now we haue well perceaued, that they bee but halfe our ſubiectes, yea and ſcarſe our ſubiectes: For all the Prelats at their conſecration, make an othe to the Pope, cleane contrarye to yͤ othe that they make to vs, ſo that they ſeme to be his ſubiectes and not ours: and ſo the kyng deliueryng to them the copie of both the othes, required them to inuent ſome order, that he might not thus be deluded of his Spirituall ſubiectes.

The kynges wordes to certaine of the cõmon houſe.

The ſpirituall mẽ the Popes ſubiectes more thẽ the kinges.

The Speaker thus departed and cauſed the othes to be read in the Common houſe, the very tenor whereof here enſueth.

The othe of the Clergie to the Pope.

I John Biſhop or Abbot of A. frõ this houre forward, ſhall be faithfull and obedient to S. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope, and his ſucceſſours Canonically enteryng. I ſhall not be of cõſell nor conſent, that they ſhal leſe either lyfe or member, or ſhall be taken, or ſuffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes. Their cõſaile to me credited by them, their meſſengers or letters, I ſhall not willyngly diſcouer to any perſon. The Popedome of Rome, the rules of yͤ holy fathers, & the Regalities of S. Peter, I ſhall helpe & retaine, & defende againſt all men. The Legate of the Sea Apoſtolicke goyng and commyng, I ſhall honorably entreate. The rightes, honors, priuiledges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his ſucceſſors, I ſhall cauſe to be conſerued, defended, augmented, and pro-

The othe which the Clergye commonly geueth to the Pope.

promoted. I ſhall not bee in counſell, treaty, or any acte, in the whiche any thyng ſhalbe imagined agaynſt hym or the Church of Rome, their rightes, ſtates, honours, or powers: and if I know any ſuch to be moued or compaſſed, I ſhall reſiſte it to my power, and as ſoone as I cã, I ſhall aduertiſe him, or ſuch as may geue him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the Decrees, ordinaunces, ſentences, diſpoſitions, reſeruations, prouiſiõs and cõmaundementes Apoſtolicke, to my power I ſhall kepe & cauſe to be kept of other. Heretikes, ſchiſmatikes, and rebels to our holy father and his ſucceſſours, I ſhal reſiſte and perſecute to my power. I ſhall come to the Sinode when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonicall impediment. The lightes of ẏ Apoſtles I ſhall viſite perſonally, or by my deputie. I ſhall not aliene nor ſell my poſſeſſions, without the Popes councell, ſo God me helpe and the holy Euangeliſtes.

Pope Quondam.

¶ This othe of the Clergie men, whiche they were wont to make to the Byſhop of Rome (nowe Pope quondam) was aboliſhed and made voyde by ſtatute, and a new othe miniſtred and confirmed for the ſame, wherin they acknowledged the kyng to be the supreme head vnder Chriſt in this Churche of England, as by tenour therof may appeare here vnder enſuing.

¶ *The othe of the Clergie to the Kyng.*

The othe of the Clergye to the king.

I Iohn Byſhop of A. vtterly renounce and clearely forſake all ſuch clauſes, wordes, ſentẽces, and grauntes, whiche I haue or ſhall haue hereafter of the Popes holines, of and for the Byſhopricke of A. that in any wyſe hath bene, is, or hereafter may bee hurtfull or preiudiciall to your highnes, your heires, ſucceſſours, dignitie, priuiledge, or eſtate royall: and alſo I do ſweare, ẏ I ſhall be faithfull & true: and faith & truth I ſhal beare to you my ſoueraigne Lord, & to your heires kynges of the ſame, of life & limme, & earthly worſhip aboue all creatures, for to liue & die with you & yours againſt al people, & diligẽtly I ſhalbe attendant to all your nedes & buſines, after my wit and power, and your councell I ſhal kepe and hold, knowledgyng my ſelfe to hold my Byſhopricke of you onely, beſechyng you of reſtitution of the temporaltyes of the ſame, promiſyng (as before) that I ſhalbe faithfull, true, and obedient ſubiect to your ſayd hyghnes, heires, and ſucceſſours duryng my lyfe, and the ſeruices and other thinges due to your hyghnes, for the reſtitution of the temporalties of the ſame Byſhopricke, I ſhall truly do and obediently perfourme, ſo God me helpe and all Saintes.

Syr Thomas More.

Tho. Audley made Lord Chauncellour.

These othes thus beyng recited and opened to the people, were the occaſion that the Pope loſte all his intereſt and iuriſdiction here in England, within ſhort while after. Vpon the occaſion and reaſon wherof, the matter fallyng out more and more agaynſt the Pope, Syr Thomas More, of whõ mention is made before, beyng a great maintainer of the Pope, and a heauy troubler of Chriſtes people, and nowe not lyking well of this othe, by Gods good worke, was enforced to reſigne vp his Chaũcelorſhyp, and to deliuer vp the great ſeale of England into the kynges handes. After whom ſucceded Syr Thomas Audley, Keper of ẏ great ſeale, a man in eloquence and giftes of tongue no leſſe incomparable, then alſo for his godly diſpoſed minde, and fauorable inclination to Chriſtes Religion, worthy of much commendation.

The mariage of Queene *Anne.*

The great almes of Queene *Anne.*

These thynges beyng done in the Parlament, the kyng within ſhort tyme after, proceded to the Mariage of the foreſaid Lady Anne Bullen, mother to our moſt noble Quéene now, who without all cõtrouerſie was a ſpeciall comforter & aider of all ẏ profeſſors of Chriſtes Goſpell, as well of the learned, as the vnlearned: her life beyng alſo directed accordyng to the ſame, as her wéekely almes did manifeſtlye declare: Who beſides the ordinarye of a C. crownes, and other apparell that ſhe gaue wéekely a yeare before ſhe was crowned, both to men and women, gaue alſo wonderfull much priuye almes to wydowes and other poore houſholders continuallye, till ſhe was apprehended, and ſhe euer gaue thrée or foure poũd at a tyme to the poore people to bye them kyne with all, & ſent her Subamner to the townes about where ſhe lay, that ẏ Pariſhoners ſhould make a Bill of all the poore houſholders in their pariſhe, and ſome townes receiued vij. viij. or x. pound to bye kine withall, accordyng as the number of the poore in the townes were. She alſo maintained many learned mẽ in Cambridge. Likewiſe did the Earle of Wilſhyre her father, & the Lord Rochford her brother, and by them theſe men were brought in fauour with the king: of whom ſome are yet aliue and can teſtifie ẏ ſame, which would to God they were now as great profeſſors of the Goſpell of Chriſt, as then they appeared to be, which were Doct. Heath, & D. Thirleby: with whom was ioyned ẏ Lord Paget, who at that preſent was an earneſt Proteſtant, and gaue vnto one Rainold Weſt, Luthers bookes, & other bookes of the Germaines, as Franciſcus Lambertus, de Sectis, and at that tyme he read Melancthons Rhetoricke openly in Trinitie hall in Cambridge, and was with his maſter Gardiner a maintainer of D. Barnes and all the Proteſtantes that were then in Cambridge, and holpe many religious perſons out of their cowles.

It hath ben reported vnto vs by diuers credible perſons which were about this Quéene, & daily acquainted wᵗ her doynges concernyng her liberall & bountifull diſtributiõ to the poore, how her grace caryed euer about her a certein litle purſe, out of the which ſhe was wont dayly to ſcatter abroad ſome almes to the needy, thinking no day well ſpent, wherein ſome man had not fared the better by ſome benefite at her handes. And this I write by the relation of certeine noble perſonages whiche were chief & principall of her waityng maydes about her, eſpecially ẏ Duches of Richmond by name.

Alſo concerning the order of her Ladyes and gentle wemen about her, one that was her ſilke woman, a gentlewoman not now alyue, but of great credite and alſo of fame for her worthy doynges, did credibly reporte, that in all her time ſhe neuer ſaw better order amongeſt the Ladyes and gentlewomen of the Court, then was in this good Quéenes dayes, who kept her maides and ſuch as were about her, ſo occupyed in ſewyng and woorkyng of ſhyrtes and ſmockes for the poore, that neither was there ſene any idlenes then amongeſt them, nor any leaſure to folowe ſuch paſſetimes as daily are ſene now a dayes to raigne in Princes Courtes.

Thus the kyng being diuorced frõ the Lady Dowager his brothers wife, maried this gracious Lady, makyng a proſperous and happy chaũge for vs, beyng diuorced from the foreſayd Princeſſe and alſo from the Pope both at one tyme. Notwithſtandyng as good and godly purpoſes are neuer without ſome incommoditie or trouble folowyng, ſo it happened in this deuorcement, that the ſayd Princeſſe procuryng from Rome the Popes curſe, cauſed both the kyng and ẏ realme to be interdited: wherof more is here after to be ſpoken.

In the meane tyme Quéene Anne, ſhortly after her Mariage, beyng great with child, the next yeare folowyng, whiche was. 1534. after the firſt deuorcement publickely proclaymed, was crowned with highe ſolempnitie at Weſtminſter: and not long after her Coronation, the vij. day of September ſhe was brought a bead and deliuered of a faire Lady, for whoſe good deliueraunce Te Deum was ſong in all places, and great preparation made for the Chriſtenyng.

The Maior and his brethren with xl. of the chief Citezins were cõmaunded to be preſent with all the Nobles and Gentlemen. The kynges Pallace and all the walles betwene that and the Friers, was hãged with Arras, and the Friers Churche. Alſo the Fonte was of ſiluer, and ſtoode in the middeſt of the Churche thrée ſteppes high, which was couered with a fyne cloth, and diuers Gentlemen with approns and towells about their neckes, gaue attendaũce about it. Ouer ẏ Fonte hong a faire Canappe of crimiſon ſatten fringed with golde.

Gold. About it was a rayle couered with Saie. Betwene the Quiere and the body of the Churche, was a cloſe place with a pan of fire, to make the childe ready in. Theſe thinges thus ordered, the child was brought into the Hall, and then euery man ſette forwarde. Firſt the Citezins ij. and ij. Then the Gentlemen, Eſquiers, and Chaplaines. Next after folowed the Aldermen & the Maior alone. Next the Maior, folowed the kinges Councell. Then yͤ kinges Chappell. Then Barons, Byſhops, and Earles. Then came the Earle of Eſſex, bearing the couered Baſons gilte. After him the Marques of Exetor with the Taper of virgine waxe. Next him, the Marques Dorſet bearyng the Salt. Behynde him the Lady Mary of Northfolke bearyng the Chriſome, whiche was very riche of Pearle and ſtone. The olde Ducheſſe of Northfolke bare the childe in a mantle of purple Veluet, with a lōg traine furred with Ermine. The Duke of Northfolke with his Marſhall rod, went on the right hād of the ſaid Ducheſſe, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hand. Before them went the Officers of Armes. The Counteſſe of Kent bare the long traine of the childes mantell. Betwene yͤ Coūteſſe and the childe, went the Earle of Wilſhyre on the right hand, and the Earle of Darby on the left hand, ſupportyng the ſayd traine. In the middeſt ouer the child, was borne a Canapy by the Lord Rochford, the Lord Huſſey, the Lord William Haward, and yͤ Lord Thomas Haward the elder. In this order they came vnto the Churche dore where the Byſhop of London mette it, with diuers Abbottes and Byſhops, and begā the obſeruaunces of the Sacrament. The Archbyſhop of Caunterbury was Godfather, and the old Duches of Northfolke, and the old Marchioneſſe of Dorſet wydowes, were Godmothers, and the child was named Elizabeth.

After all thinges were done at the Church dore, the child was brought to the Fonte and Chriſtened. This done, Garter the chief king of Armes cryed aloud: *God of his infinite goodnes, ſend proſperous lyfe and long, to the hygh and mighty Princeſſe of Englād,* ELIZABETH. Then the Trompettes blewe, and the child was brought vp to the aultare, and immediatly confirmed by the Archbyſhop, yͤ Marchioneſſe of Exceter beyng Godmother. Then the Archbiſhop of Canterbury gaue to the Princeſſe a ſtāding cuppe of Gold. The Ducheſſe of Northfolke gaue to her a ſtāding cuppe of Gold, fretted with Pearle. The Marchioneſſe of Dorſet, thrée gilt boles pounced, with a couer. The Marchioneſſe of Exceter, thrée ſtandyng boles gilt and grauē, with a couer. And ſo after a ſolemne banket ended with Ipocras, wafers, and ſuch lyke in great plenty, they returned in like order again vnto the Court with the Princeſſe, and ſo departed.

At the Mariage of this noble Lady, as there was no ſmall ioy vnto all good and godly men, and no leſſe hope of proſperous ſucceſſe to Gods true Religion, ſo in like maner on the contrary part, the Papiſtes wanted not their malicious and ſecrete attemptes, as by the falſe hipocriſie and fained holines of a falſe fayned hipocrite this yeare beyng eſpied and found out, may ſufficiently appeare what their deuiliſhe deuiſes and purpoſes were. For certeine Monkes, Friers, and other euill diſpoſed perſons, of a deuiliſhe intent, had put into the heades of many of the kynges ſubiectes, that they had reuelation of God and his Saintes, that he was highly diſpleaſed with kyng Henry, for the diuorcemēt of the Lady Katherine, & ſurmiſed amongeſt other thinges, that God had reueled to a Nunne, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the holy mayde of Kēt, that in caſe the kyng proceded in the ſayd diuorce, he ſhould not be kyng of this realme, one moneth after, and in the reputatiō of God, not one day nor houre. This Elizabeth Barton by falſe diſſimulation practiſed and ſhewed to the people, maruelous alteration of her viſage and other partes of her body, as if ſhe had bene rapt or in a traunce, and in thoſe fayned traunces by falſe hipocriſie (as though ſhe had ben inſpired of God) ſhe ſpake many wordes in rebukyng of ſinne, and reprouyng the Goſpell whiche ſhe called hereſie, and among them vttered diuers thinges to the great reproch of the Kyng and Quéene, & to the eſtabliſhing of Idolatry, Pilgrimage, and the derogation of Gods glory: which her naughtines beyng ſpyed out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, the Lorde Cromwell, and Maſter Hugh Latimer, ſhe was condemned and putte to death with certeine of her affinitie and Councell in the moneth of April. an. 1533. The names of whiche conſpiratours with her, were theſe: Edward Bockyng, Monke of Caunterbury. Richard Maſter, Perſon of Aldington. Iohn Deryng, Monke of Caunterbury. Hugh Riche, Frier Warden of the Gray Friers of Caunterbury. Richard Riſby. Henry Gold, baccheler of Diuinitie, & Perſon of Aldermary. Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter. Iohn Adeſon Prieſt, his Chaplein Thomas Laurēce, the Byſhops Regiſter of Caunterbury. Edwarde Thwates. Thomas Abell. Of the whiche perſons the ſayd Elizabeth Berton, Henry Gold, Richard Maſter, Edward Bockyng, Iohn Deryng, Hugh Riche, Richard Riſby, were attainted of treaſon by Acte of Parlament, and put to execution.

Elizabeth Barton with her conſpirators.

The reſidue, as Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwates, Iohn Adeſon, Thomas Abell, beyng conuicte and atteinted of miſpriſon, were cōdemned to priſon, and forfaited their goodes and poſſeſſions to the kyng. Ex Statut. an. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.

Edward Hall, a writer of our Engliſh Stories, makyng mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforeſayd, adioineth next in his boke, the narration of one Pauier or Pauie, a notorious enemye (no doubt) to Gods truth. This Pauier beyng the towne Clerke of the Citie of London, was a man (ſayth he) that in no caſe could abide to heare that the Goſpell ſhould be in Engliſh: In ſo much that the ſayd Halle hym ſelfe heard hym once ſay vnto hym, and to other by, ſwearyng a great othe: that if hee thought yͤ kynges highnes would ſet forth the Scripture in Engliſhe, and let it be read of the people by his authoritie, rather then he would ſo lōg lyue, he would cut his owne throate: but hee brake promiſe (ſayth Halle) for hee did not cut his throate with any knife, but with an halter did hang him ſelfe. Of what minde and intent, he ſo did, God iudge.

A meruailous iudgement of God agaynſt *Pauier* an open enemy to his word.

My information farther addeth this, touchyng the ſaid Pauier or Pauie, that he was a bitter enemie, very buſie at yͤ burnyng of Rich. Baynhā aboue mentioned. Who hearing the ſaid Baynham at the ſtake ſpeaking agaynſt Purgatory and tranſubſtantiation: ſet fire (ſayd he) to this hereticke and burne him. And as the trayne of gunnepouder came toward the Martyr, hee lifted vp his eyes and handes to heauen, ſaying to Pauier: God forgiue thée, and ſhewe thée more mercy, thē thou doeſt to me. The Lord forgiue Syr Thomas More, and pray for me al good people: and ſo continued he praying, till the fire tooke his bowels & his head. &c.

Pauier a bitter enemy agaynſt *Rich. Baynham.*

After whoſe Martyrdome, the next yeare folowyng, this Pauier the towne Clerke of the Citie, went and bought ropes. Whiche done, he went vp to an high garret in his houſe to pray, as he was wont to doe, to a roode which he had there, before whō he bitterly wept: And as his owne mayde commyng vp founde hym ſo doyng, hee bad her take the ruſtye ſword, and go make it cleane, and trouble him no more, and immediatly he tyed vp the rope, and hong him ſelfe. The maides hart ſtill robbed, and ſo came vp, and found hym but newly hāged. Then ſhe hauyng no power to helpe him, ranne crying to the Church to her miſtres to fetche her home. His ſeruauntes and Clerkes he had ſent out before to Finiſbery, and to M. Edney Sergeaunt to the Lord Maior, dwellyng ouer Byſhops gate, to tary for him at Finiſbery Court, till he came: but hee had diſpatched

Pauier a perſecutor hanged himſelfe.

him ſelfe before, ſo that they might long loke for hym before he could come. Whiche was an. 1533.

The terrible hand of Gods iudgement vpon *Foxford* the biſhops Chauncellour.

To this ſtory of Panier, may alſo be added the lyke terrible example of Doct. Foxeford Chauncellour to the Byſhop of London, a cruell perſecutor and a common butcher of the good Saintes of God: who was the cõdemner of all thoſe aforenamed, which were put to death, troubled, or abiured vnder B. Stokeſley through all the dioces of London. Thys Foxford dyed about thys preſent yeare and tyme: of whoſe terrible ende it was then certaynlye reported and affyrmed by ſuch as were of ryght good credite, vnto certayn perſons, of whom ſome be yet aliue, that he dyed ſodenly ſittyng in his chayre, his bellye being bruſt, and his guttes falling out before him.

The death of *W. Warham* Archbi. of Cant.

Tho. Cranmer Archbi. of Cant.

About the ſame tyme dyed alſo W. Warrham Archbyſhop of Cãterbury: in whoſe roume ſucceded Tho. Cranmer, which was the kinges Chapleine, & a great diſputer agaynſt yͤ vnlaufull Mariage of Lady Catherine Princeſſe Dowager, beyng then ſo called by Acte of Parlament.

Quene *Catherine* appealeth to Rome.

Ye heard before, how the Parlament had enacted, that no perſon after a certeine day, ſhould appeale to Rome for any cauſe. Notwithſtanding whiche Acte, yͤ Quéene, now called Princeſſe Dowager, had appealed to yͤ Court of Rome, before that Acte made: ſo that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This queſtion was wel handeled in the Parliament houſe, but much better in the Conuocation houſe, and yet in both houſes it was alleaged, yea, and by bokes ſhewed, that in the Counſailes of Calcedone, Affrike, Toletane, and diuerſe other famous Councels in the primitiue Church, yea, in the tyme of ſaint Auguſtine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cauſe ryſing in one Prouince, ſhoulde be determined in the ſame, and that neyther the Patriarke of Conſtantinople ſhould medle in cauſes moued in the iuriſdiction of the Patriarke of Antioche, nor no biſhop ſhould enter medle within an others Prouince or countrey. Which thinges were ſo clerckly opened, & ſo cõningly ſet forth to all intentes, that euery man that had witte, and was determined to folowe the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly ſee yͤ all appeales made to Rome, were clerely voide and of none effect. Which doctrines and counſayles, were ſhewed to the lady Katherin Princeſſe Dowager, but ſhe (as womẽ loue to loſe no dignitie) euer continued in her old ſong, truſtyng more to the Popes partialitie, then to the determination of Chriſtes veritie. Whereupon the Archebyſhop of Canterbury Cranmer aboue named, accompanied with the Biſhoppes of London, Wincheſter, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuerſe other great clerkes, in a great number, roade to Dunſtable, whiche is ſix mile from Ampthyl, where yͤ Princeſſe Dowager lay, and there by a doctor called Doctor Lee, ſhe was aſcited to appeare before the ſaied Archebyſhoppe, in cauſe of matrimonie, in theſaid toune of Dunſtable: and at the day of appearaũce, ſhe would not appere, but made defaut, and ſo was called peremptorilye, euery day. xv. daies to gether, & at the laſt, for lacke of appearaunce, and for contumacie, by yͤ aſſent of all the learned men there beyng preſent, ſhe was diuorced from the kyng, and their Mariage declared to bée voyde and of none effecte: which ſentence geuen, the Archebyſhop and all the other, returned backe agayne.

Concluded by councels of the primitiue church, that none ſhould appeale out of their prouince.

Lady *Catherine* ſolemnly diuorced from the kyng.

A note.

¶ Where note that althoughe this diuorce folowyng after the new Mariage, neded not at all to be made, the firſt Mariage beyng no Mariage at all before God, yet to ſatiſfie the voyce of the people, more then for any neceſſitie, the kyng was contented, throughe the perſuaſions of ſome, ſo to do. For els as touching God & conſciẽce, what great nede was of any diuorſe, where before God, no Mariage was to be accounted, but rather an inceſtuous and deteſtable adultery, as the Acte of Parlament doth terme it: But to our matter agayne.

After the diſſolution of this firſt Mariage made betwene the kyng and the Lady Princeſſe Dowager, ſhe neuertheles bearyng a ſtoute mynde, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the Vniuerſities, nor to the cenſure of the Clergie, nor of the whole Realme: but folowyng the Counſaile rather of a few Spanyardes, to moleſte the kyng and the realme, by ſuite, and meanes made to the Pope, procured certeine wrytynges, firſt of monition and aggrauation, then of excommunication and interdiction to be ſent downe frõ Rome, wherein the Pope had interdicted both yͤ king and the whole Realme. But the Popes Curſor beyng not the hardieſt mã (belike) that euer ſhewed his head, thought it much more ſure for hym to diſcharge his Popiſhe cariage without the kynges reache, and ſo kepyng hym ſelfe aloufe of (lyke a prety man) ſet vp his wrytynges in the towne of Dunkerke in Flaunders. In the whiche towne, firſt vpon the North dore of the Churche was ſet vp a monition, that the kyng of England ſhould ſurceaſe yͤ ſuite of diuorce, the which Iohn Butler Clerke, then Commiſſary of Calyce, by commaundement toke downe in a night.

After that, before Whitſonwéeke there was ſet vp in the ſame place an excommunication, aggrauation, regrauation, and interdiction. For the whiche alſo the ſayd Butler by commaundement was ſent to Dunkerke, to take it downe. And becauſe the Counſaile of Calyce would be certified of his diligence therein, they ſent a ſeruaunt of the Lord Liſley, then Deputie of Calyce, whoſe name was Cranuell, and vpon Wenſday in Whytſonwéeke, at vii. of the cloke in the mornyng, he toke it down whole and brought it with him, and deliuered the ſame to the Lord Deputie aforeſaid. Which was about the yeare. 1533.

This beyng knowen and certified vnto the king, he was mocioned by his Cõuſaile, that ſuch as were about her, and moued her thereto, ſhould be put frõ her. And therfore the Duke of Suffolke was ſent to Bugden beſide Huntyngton, where the ſaid Lady Katherine lay, who perceiuyng her ſtomacke to cõtinue froward ſtill, in aunſweryng hym with high wordes, & ſodenly ſo in a fury to parte from him into her priuye chamber, and ſhut the dore: brake vp the order of her Court, and diſcharged a great ſorte of her houſhold ſeruauntes, and yet left her a conuenient number to ſerue her lyke a Princeſſe. They yͭ remained ſtil, were ſworne to ſerue her as Princeſſe onely, & not as Quéene. Of whõ ſome ſayd they were once ſworne to ſerue her as Quéene, & otherwiſe would not ſerue, & ſo were diſmiſſed. The other whiche were ſworne to ſerue her as Princeſſe, ſhe vtterly refuſed for her ſeruauntes, and ſo ſhe remained with the fewer, liuyng after this about the ſpace of two yeares.

¶ *The aboliſhyng the Pope out of England.*

These thynges thus finiſhed and diſpatched concernyng the Mariage of Quéene Anne, and diuorce of Lady Katherine Dowager, next foloweth the yeare. 1434. In the whiche was aſſembled the hye Court of Parlament agayne after many prorogations, vpon the iii. day of February, wherin was made an Acte of ſucceſſion, for the more ſuretie of the crowne, to the which euery perſon beyng of lawfull age, ſhould be ſworne. Duryng this Parlament tyme, euery Sonday preached at Paules Croſſe a Byſhop, whiche declared the Pope, not to be the head of the Churche.

After this, Commiſſions were ſent ouer all England, to take the othe of all men & women, to the Acte of ſucceſſion. At whiche, few repyned, except D. Iohn Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, Syr Tho. More late Lord Chauncellour, and D. Nicolas Wylſon Perſon of S. Thomas Apoſtles in London. Wherfore theſe iii. perſons, after long exhortation to them made by the Biſhop of Canterbury at Labeth, refuſing to be ſworne, were ſent to the Tower, where they remayned, and were often

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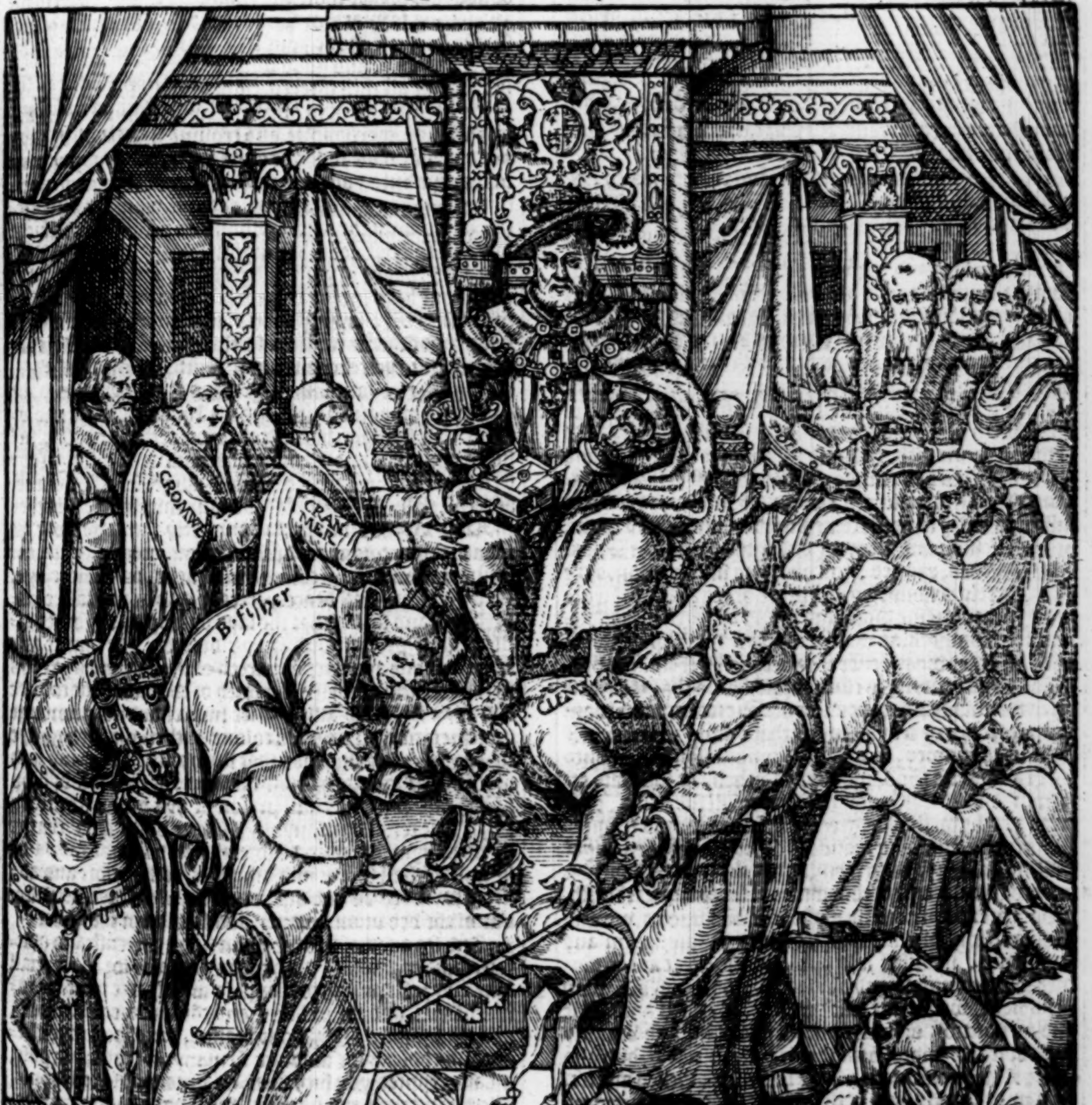
oftetymes motioned to be ſworne: but the Byſhop and Syr Thom. More excuſed them by their writynges, in whiche they ſayd, that they had written before the ſayd Lady Katherine to be Quéene, and therfore could not well go from that whiche they had written. Likewiſe the Doctor excuſed, that he in preachyng had called her Quéene, & therfore now could not withſay it againe: Howbeit at length he was well contented to diſſemble the matter, and ſo eſcaped: but the other two ſtoode agaynſt all the realme in their opinion.

534.

From the moneth of Marche this Parlament farthermore was proroged to the iij. day of Nouember abouesayd. At what tyme, amongeſt other diuers ſtatutes, moſt graciouſly, and by the bleſſed will of God it was enacted, that the Pope, and all his colledge of Cardinals, with his pardons and Indulgences, whiche ſo long had clogged this realme of England, to the miſerable ſlaughter of ſo many good men, and which neuer coulde be remoued away before, was now aboliſhed eradicate, & exploded out of this land, & ſent home agayn to their owne countrey of Rome, from whence thee came, God be euerlaſtingly prayſed therfore. Amen.

The Pope ſuppreſſed by K. Henry the eight.



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The lamentable weepyng & howling of all the religious route for the fall of their god the Pope.

Papa citò moritur, Cæſar regnabit vbiq;, Et ſubito vani ceſſabunt gaudia cleri.

'olde
phecie
he fal of
Pope.

¶ *An Acte concernyng the kinges highnes to be the ſu*preme head of the Church of England, and to haue authoritie to reforme and redreſſe all errours, hereſies and abuſes in the ſame. Cap. i.

ALbeit the kynges maieſtie iuſtly and rightfully is and ought to be the ſupreme head of the Church of Englād, & ſo is recogniſed by ẏ Clergie of this realme in theyr Conuocations, yet neuertheleſſe for corroboration & confirmation therof, & for encreaſe of vertue in Chriſtes Religion within this Realme of England, & to repreſſe & extirpe all errours, hereſies, & other enormities & abuſes heretofore vſed in the ſame: be it enacted by authoritie of this preſent Parlamēt, that the kyng our ſoueraigne Lord, his heires and ſucceſſours, kinges of this realme, ſhalbe taken, accepted and reputed the onely ſupreme head in earth of the Churche of England, called Anglicana Eccleſia, and ſhall haue and enioy annexed and vnited to the Imperiall crowne of this realme, as well the title and ſtile thereof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, iuriſdictions, priuileges, authorities, immunities, profites, and commodities to the ſayd dignitie of ſupreme head of the ſame Churche belongyng and apperteinyng: and that our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord, hys heires & ſucceſſors, kynges of this realme, ſhall haue full power and authoritie frō time to time, to viſite, repreſſe, redreſſe, reforme, order, correct, reſtrayne, and amēde all ſuch errours, abuſes, offences, cōtemptes, and enormities, what ſoeuer they be, which by any maner of ſpirituall authoritie or iuriſdiction ought or may lawfully bee reformed, repreſſed, ordered, redreſſed, corrected, reſtrayned, or amended, moſt to the pleaſure of almightie God, the encreaſe of vertue in Chriſtes Religion, and for the conſeruation of the peace, vnitie, and tranquilitie of this Realme, any vſage, cuſtome, foreine lawes, foreine authoritie, preſcription, or any thyng or thynges, to the contrary hereof notwithſtandyng.

¶ *The kinges Proclamation for the aboliſhyng of* the vſurped power of the Pope.

The kings proclamation agaynſt the pope.

The ſtile of ſupreme head annexed to the crowne of England.

TRuſtie and welbeloued, we greete you well, and where as not onely vpon good and iuſt and vertuous groundes & reſpectes, edified vpō the lawes of holy Scripture, by due conſultatiō, deliberatiō, aduiſement & cōſent, aſwell of all other our nobles & cōmons temporall, as alſo ſpirituall aſſembled in our hyghe Court of Parliament, and by authoritie of the ſame, we haue by good and wholeſome lawes and ſtatutes made for this purpoſe, extirped, aboliſhed, ſeparated and ſecluded out of this our Realme, the abuſes of the Byſhop of Rome, his authoritie and iuriſdiction of long tyme vſurped, as well vpon vs and our Realme, as vpon all other kyngs and Princes and their Realmes (lyke as they them ſelues haue confeſſed and affirmed) but alſo for as much as our ſayd nobles and commons, both ſpirituall and temporall, aſſembled in our hygh Court of Parlament, haue vpon good, lawfull, and vertuous groundes, and for the publicke weale of this our Realme, by one whole aſſent, graunted, annexed, knit and vnited to the crowne imperiall of the ſame, the title, dignitie, and ſtyle of ſupreme head or gouernour in earth immediatly vnder God of the Church of Englād, as we be, and vndoubtedly haue hetherto ben, whiche title and ſtile both the Biſhops and Clergie of this our realme, haue not onely in conuocation, aſſembled, conſented, recogniſed, and approued lawfully and iuſtly to apperteine vnto vs, but alſo by word, othe, profeſſion and writyng vnder their ſignes & ſeales, haue confeſſed, ratified, corroborated and confirmed the ſame, vtterly renouncyng all other othes and obedience to any other foreine Potentates, and all foreine iuriſdictions and powers, as well of the ſayd Byſhop of Rome, as of all other whatſoeuer they bee, as by their ſayd profeſſions and wrytynges corroborated with the ſubſcription of their names & appenſion of their ſeales more plainly appeareth: we let you wytte that calling to our remēbraunce the power, charge, and commiſſion geuen vnto vs of almightie God, and vpon a vehement loue and affection toward our louyng and faythfull ſubiectes, perceiyng right well what great reſt, quietnes, and trāquilitie of conſcience, and manifold other cōmodities might inſurge and aryſe vnto them, if that the ſayd Byſhops & other of the Clergie of this our realme, ſhould ſet forth, declare and preache to them the true and ſincere word of God, and without all maner colour, diſſimulation and hypocriſie, manifeſt and publiſhe the great and innumerable enormities and abuſes, whiche the ſayd Biſhop of Rome, as well in the title and ſtile, as alſo in authoritie and iuriſdiction of long tyme vnlawfully and vniuſtly hath vſurped vppon vs and our progenitours, and alſo other Chriſten Princes: haue therefore adreſſed our letters vnto the Byſhop of the dioces ſtraightly chargyng and commaundyng hym in the ſame, that not onely hee in his owne proper perſon, ſhall declare, teache, & preach vnto the people forthwith vppon the receate of our ſayd letters vnto him directed, euery Sonday and other high feaſtes through the yeare, the true, mere, & ſincere worde of God, and that the ſame title, ſtile, and iuriſdiction of ſupreme head, apperteineth onely to our crowne and dignitie Royall, likewyſe as the ſayd Byſhop and all other the Byſhops of our Realme, haue by othe affirmed and confirmed by ſubſcription of their names, and ſettyng to their ſeales, but alſo geue warnyng, monition & charge to all maner Abbottes, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, Prouoſtes, Perſons, Vicares, Curates, and all other Eccleſiaſticall perſons within hys ſaid dioces, as well to teache, preache, publiſhe, and declare in all maner Churches, our foreſayd iuſt title, ſtile, and iuriſdiction, euery Sonday and hyghe feaſt through the yeare, and further, to moniſhe and cōmaunde all other ſcholemaſters within his ſaid dioces, to inſtruct and teach the ſame vnto the children committed vnto them, as alſo to cauſe all maner Praiers, Orizons, Rubrickes, Canons of Maſſe bokes, and all other bookes in the Churches, wherein the ſayd Byſhop of Rome is named, or hys preſumptuous and proude pompe and authoritie preferred, vtterly to bee aboliſhed, eradicate, and raſed out, and hys name and memorye to bee neuer more (except to hys contumely and reproch) remembred, but perpetually ſuppreſſed and obſcured: and finally, to deſiſte and leaue out all ſuch articles as be in the generall ſentence, which is vſuallye accuſtomed to be read foure times in the yeare, and do tend to the glorye and aduauncement of the Biſhop of Rome, hys name, title, and iuriſdiction.

Wherupon we eſteming & reputing you to be of ſuch ſingular and vehement zeale & affection toward the glorye of almightie God, and of ſo faythfull, louing, & obedient hart towardes vs, as ye will not onely doe and accompliſhe with all power, wiſedome, diligence and labour, what ſoeuer ſhould or might be to the preferment and ſetting forward of Gods worde, but alſo practiſe, ſtudye, and endeuour your ſelfe, with all your policie, witte, power, and good will, to amplifye, defend, and maintayne all ſuch intereſt, right, title, ſtyle, iuriſdiction, and authoritie, as is in any wyſe appertaining vnto vs, our dignitie, prerogatiue, and crowne imperiall of thys our realme, haue thought good and expedient, not only to ſignifye vnto you by theſe our letters, the particularities of the charge, monition, and commaundement geuen by vs vnto the ſayd Byſhop, as before is ſpecifyed: but alſo to requyre, and ſtraightly charge and cōmaūd you, vpon payne of your allegeaunce, and as ye ſhall auoyde our high indignation and diſpleaſure at your vttermoſt perill, laying aparte all vayne affections, reſpectes, or other carnall conſiderations, and ſetting only before your eyes the mirrour of truth, the glory of God, the dignitie of your ſoueraigne Lord and kyng, and the great concorde and vnitie, and ineſtimable profite and vtilitie, that ſhall by the due execution of the premiſſes, inſue to your ſelfe and all other faythfull and louing ſubiectes, ye make or cauſe to be made diligēt ſearch, & waite, and eſpecially in euery place of your ſhirewike, whether the ſayd Byſhop do truely, ſyncerely, and without all maner cloke, colour, or diſſimulation, execute, & accompliſhe our will and commaundement, as is aforeſayd. And in caſe ye ſhall heare, perceaue, and approuablie vnderſtand, and know that the ſayd byſhop or any other eccleſiaſticall perſon within hys dioces, doe omitte and leaue vndone any part or parcell of the premiſſes, or els in the execution and ſetting forth of the ſame, doe coldlye and faynedlye vſe any maner ſiniſter addition, wronge interpretation or paynted colour: then we ſtraightlye charge and cōmaund you, that forthwith vpon any ſuch default, negligence, or diſſimulation, of the ſayd byſhop or any other eccleſiaſticall perſon of hys dioces, contrary to the true tenour, meanyng, & effecte of the ſayd charge by vs to hym appoynted aforeſayd, ye do make indelaidly and withall ſpeede and diligence, declaration and aduertiſement to vs and our counſell, of the ſayd defaulte, and of the behauiour, maner, and faſhion of the ſame.

And for as much as we vpon ſingular truſt, and aſſured confidence which we haue in you, and for the ſpeciall loue and zeale, which we ſuppoſe and thinke ye beare towardes vs and the publicke and cōmon wealth, vnitie, and tranquilitie of thys our realme, haue ſpeciallye elected and choſen you amonge ſo many, for thys purpoſe, & haue reputed you ſuch men, as vnto whoſe wiſedome, diſcretion, truth, and fidelitie, we myght commit a matter of ſuch great waight, moment, and importaunce, as wherupon the vnitie and tranquilitie of our realme doth conſiſts, if ye ſhoulde, contrarye to our expectation and truſt which we haue in you, and againſt your duetie and allegiaunce towardes vs, neglect or omitte to doe with all your diligence and wiſedome, what ſoeuer ſhall be in your power for the due performaunce of our minde and pleaſure to you before declared in thys behalfe, or halte, or ſtomble at any parte or ſpecialtie of the ſame, be ye aſſured that we like a prince of iuſtice, will ſo extremely puniſhe you for the ſame, ẏ all the world beſides, ſhall take by you enſample, & beware, contrary to their allegeaunce, to diſobey the lawfull cōmaundement of their ſoueraigne Lord & prince in ſuch thinges: as by the faythfull execution wherof, ye ſhall not only aduaunce the honour of almightie God, & ſet forth the maieſtie & imperiall dignitie of your ſoueraign lord, but alſo bring an ineſtimable weale, profite, & cōmoditie, vnitie & trāquilitie, to all ẏ cōmon ſtate of this our realme, wherunto both by ẏ lawes of God, nature, & man, ye be vtterly bound.

Geuen vnder our ſignet at our Pallace
of Weſtminſter the 9. day of Iune.

Furthermore that no man ſhall cauille or ſurmiſe this fatall fall & ruine of the Pope to haue come raſhly vpon the kynges own partiall affection, or by any ſenſuall temeritie of a few, and not by the graue and aduiſed iudgement, approbatiō, and conſent generally and publickely, as wel of the nobles and commons temporall, as alſo vpon ſubſtantiall groundes, and the very ſtrength of truth, by the diſcuſſion and conſultation of the ſpirituall and moſt learned perſons in this realme: it ſhalbe requiſite moreouer to theſe premiſſes to adioyne the wordes and teſtimonies alſo of the Byſhops owne othes and profeſſion made to the kyng, yeldyng and renderyng vnto hym onely the ſtile of ſupreme head next vnder Chriſt, of the Churche of England, all other ſeruice, ſubiection, & obedience to bée gyuē to any other forreine Potentate, which ſhould be preiudiciall to the kynges highnes in this behalfe being excluded, & that both frankely and fréely, of their owne voluntary motion, and alſo vppon the fayth and fidelitie of their prieſthode, as by their owne wordes and hand writing may appeare in forme as here vnder foloweth.

¶ *The othe of Steuen Gardiner to the king.*

EGo Stephanns Wintonien. Epiſcopus pure, ſponte, & abſolute, in verbo pōtificio, profiteor ac ſpondeo, Illuſtriſſimæ veſtræ Regiæ maieſtati, ſingulari ac ſūmo Domino meo, & patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, fidei defenſori, Domino Hiberniæ, atq; in terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſupremo immediatè ſub Chriſto capiti, ꝙ poſthac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Prælato, nec Romano pontifici (quem Papam vocāt) fidelitatem & obedientiā. &c.

In Engliſhe.

The othe
Steph.
Gardiner
the
ing.

I Steuen Byſhop of Wincheſter do purely, of myne own voluntary accord & abſolutely, in the word of a biſhop, profeſſe & promiſe to your princely maieſtie, my ſingular and chief Lord & patron Henry viij. by the grace of God, kyng of England and of Fraunce, defendour of the fayth, Lord of Ireland and in earth of the Churche of Englād ſupreme head immediatly vnder Chriſt, ẏ from this day forward I ſhall ſweare, promiſe, giue, or cauſe to be giuē to no forein Potētate, Emperour, Kyng, Prince, or Prelate, nor yet to the B. of Rome, whom they cal Pope, any othe or feaultie directly or indirectly, either by worde or writing, but at all times & in euery caſe & conditiō I ſhal obſerue, hold, and mainteine to all effectes & intentes, the quarel & cauſe of your royall maieſtie & your ſucceſſors, and to the vttermoſt of my power, ſhall defende the ſame againſt al maner of perſons whō ſoeuer I ſhall know or ſuſpecte to be aduerſaries to your maieſtie or to your ſucceſſours, and ſhall giue my faith, truth, and obedience ſincerelye and with my very harte, onely to your Royall maieſtie, as to my ſupreme Prince. I profeſſe the Papacie of Rome not to bee ordeyned of God by holy Scripture, but conſtantly do affirme and openly declare & ſhall declare it to bee ſet vp onely by man, & ſhall cauſe diligently other men likewiſe to publiſhe the ſame. Neither ſhal I enter any treatie with any perſon or perſons either priuely or apertly, or ſhall conſent thereto, that the Byſhop of Rome ſhall haue or exerciſe here any authoritie or iuriſdiction, or is to bee reſtored to any iuriſdiction hereafter.

Stephen
Gardiner
abrenoun
eth the
Pope.

Furthermore, that the ſayd Byſhop of Rome now beyng, or any that ſhall ſuccede him hereafter in the ſayd Sea, is not to bee called Pope nor ſupreme Byſhop or vniuerſall Byſhop, nor moſt holy Lord, but onely ought to be called Byſhop of Rome and felow brother, (as the old maner of the moſt auncient Byſhops hath bene) this I ſhall to my power, openly mainteine and defende.

Alſo I ſhall firmely obſerue and cauſe to be obſerued of other, to the vttermoſt of my cunning, witte, and power, all ſuch lawes and Actes of this realme, how and what ſo euer, as haue bene enacted and eſtabliſhed for the extirpation and ſuppreſſion of the Papacie, & of the authoritie, and iuriſdiction of the ſayd Byſhop of Rome. Neither ſhall I appeale hereafter to the ſayd Byſhop of Rome, nor euer conſent to any perſon, that ſhall appeale to him, neither ſhall I attempt, proſecute, or folowe any ſuite in the Court of Rome for any cauſe of right or Iuſtice to bee had, or ſhall make anſwere to anye plee or action, nor ſhall take vppon mee the perſon and office either of the plaintife or defendent in the ſayd Court. And if the ſayd Byſhop by hys meſſenger or by his letters ſhall make any meanes or ſignification vnto me of any matter what ſo euer it be, I ſhal with al ſpeede & diligēce make declaratiō & aduertiſemēt therof, or cauſe ẏ ſame to be ſignifyed, either to your princely maieſtie, or to ſome of your ſecret counſaile, or to your ſucceſſours or any of their priuy Counſell: Neither ſhall I ſend or cauſe to be ſend at any tyme, any writyng or meſſēger to the ſayd Byſhop or to hys Court, without the knowledge and conſent of your maieſtie or your ſucceſſours willyng me to ſend writyng or meſſenger vnto him. Neither ſhall I procure or gyue Counſell to any perſon, to procure bulles, breues, or reſcriptes what ſoeuer, either for me or for any other, frō the ſaid B. of Rome or his Court. And if any ſuch ſhall be procured agaynſt my will & knowledge either in generall or in ſpeciall, or els how ſoeuer they ſhalbe graunted vnto them, I ſhall vtter and diſcloſe the ſame, and not conſent therevnto, nor vſe them in any caſe, & ſhall cauſe them to be brought to your maieſtie or your ſucceſſours.

Furthermore for ẏ cōfyrmatiō hereof, I giue my faith & truth by firme promiſe & in ẏ fayth of a biſhop, ẏ againſt this my foreſayd profeſſion & promiſe made, I ſhall defēd my ſelf by no diſpēſatiō, exceptiō, nor any remedy or cautele of law or example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I haue done or made any proteſtation in preiudice of this my profeſſion and promiſe here made: the ſame I do reuoke at this preſent and for euer hereafter, and here vtterly do renounce, by theſe preſentes. whereunto I haue ſubſcribed and vnder writtē the name both of my ſelfe & of my Byſhoprike, with my proper hand, & therto alſo haue put to my ſeale, in perpetual & vndoubted teſtimony of the premiſſes. Geuē the x. day of February. an. 1534. and of our ſoueraigne Lord K. Hēry viij. 26.

Steph. Winton.

¶ *The lyke othe of Ioh. Stokeſley biſhop of London.*

The othe of *Stokeſley.*

I Iohn Byſhop of London, do purely, and of myne own voluntary accorde, & abſolutely, in ẏ word of a biſhop, profeſſe and promiſſe to your princely maieſtie, my ſingular, & chiefe Lorde and patrone Henry. 8. by the grace of God, kyng of England, and of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, & in earth of the ſame church of England ſupreme head immediatlye vnder Chriſt, &c. Lyke to the othe before.

Ioan. London.

¶ *The lyke othe and handwryting of Edward Lee, Archbyſhop of Yorke.*

The othe of *Lee* Archb. of Yorke.

I Edward, by the permiſſion of God, Archbyſhop of Yorke, doe purely, of myne owne voluntarye accorde, & abſolutely, in ẏ word of a biſhop, profeſſe & promiſſe to your royall maieſtie, my ſingular, and chiefe Lorde and patrone, &c. In lyke forme to the othe before.

Edouardus Eborac.

¶ *The like othe and handwriting of Cutbert Byſhop of Dureſme.*

The othe of *Tonſtall* of Dureſme.

I Cutbert, by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of Dureſme, doe purely, of myne owne voluntarye accorde, and abſolutely, in ẏ word of a byſhop, profeſſe & promiſſe to your royall maieſtie, my ſingular, and chiefe Lord and patrone, &c. As before.

Per me Cutbertū Duelmen.

And ſo likewiſe all the other Biſhops after the ſame order and forme of othe were obliged and bound to the kyng, as to their ſupreme head of the Church of England immediatlye vnder Chriſt, renouncing and abiuring vtterly and voluntarilye, the Popes to long vſurped iuriſdiction in this realme: teſtifying moreouer the ſame, both with their own hand, and alſo with their ſeale.

Beſydes theſe cōfirmations and teſtimonials of the Biſhops aforſayd, ye ſhall heare yet moreouer, the decree and publicke ſentence of the vniuerſitie of Cambridge writen likewiſe and ſubſcribed and ſigned with ẏ publike ſeale of there vniuerſitie, the tenour of which their letter here foloweth.

¶ *A letter of the vniuerſitie of Cambridge agaynſt* the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome.

VNiuerſis Sanctæ matris Eccleſiæ filijs, ad quos præſentes literæ peruenturæ ſunt, cœtus omnis regentium & non regentium Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, ſalutem in omnium ſaluatore Ieſu Chriſto. Cũ de Romani Põtificis poteſtate. &c.

In Engliſhe.

A letter of the Uniuerſitie of Cambrige.

TO all and ſingular children of yͤ holy mother church, to whoſe handes theſe preſentes ſhall come, the whole ſocietie of Regentes and not Regentes of the Uniuerſitie of Cambrige, ſendeth greeting in our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt. Where as now of late it hath ryſen vp in queſtion among vs, concerning the power of the Byſhop of Rome, which he doth both claime to him ſelfe by the holy Scripture ouer all prouinces and nations in Chriſtendome, and hath now of longe tyme exerciſed in thys realme of England: and for aſmuch as our cenſure concerning the cauſe is required, to witte: whether the Byſhop of Rome hath any power or authoritie in thys kingdome of England alotted to hym by God in the Scripture, more then any other forreine byſhop, or no: we thought it therefore good reaſon and our duetie, for the ſearching out of the veritie of the ſayd queſtion, that we ſhould employe therin our whole indeuour and ſtudye, wherby we myght render and publiſh to the world, what our reaſon and cenſure is, touching the premiſſes. For therefore we ſuppoſe, that Uniuerſities were fyrſt prouided and inſtituted of princes, to the end that both the people of Chriſt might in the lawe of God be inſtructed, and alſo that falſe errours, if any dyd ryſe, myght through the vigilant care & induſtrye of learned diuines, be diſcuſſed, extinguiſhed, and vtterly rooted out. For the which cauſe, we in our aſſembles and conuocations (after our accuſtomed maner) reſorting and conferring together vpon the queſtion aforeſaid, and ſtudiouſly debating and deliberating with our ſelues, how and by what order we myght beſt procede for the findyng out the truth of the matter, and at length chooſing out certain of the beſt learned Doctours and Batchelers of diuinitie, and other Maiſters, haue committed to them in charge, ſtudiouſlye to enſearch & peruſe the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferryng of which places together, they myght certifye vs what is to be ſayd to the queſtion propounded.

The cenſure of the vniuerſitie of Cambridge agaynſt the popes ſupremacie.

For aſmuch therefore, as we hauyng heard, and well aduiſed, and thorowly diſcuſſed in open diſputations, what may be ſayd on both partes of the foreſayd queſtiõ, thoſe reaſons and argumentes doe appeare to vs more probable, ſtronger, truer, and more certayne, and foundyng much more neare to the pure and natiue ſenſe of Scripture, which do denye the Byſhop of Rome to haue any ſuch power geuen him of God in the Scripture. By reaſon and force of which argumentes, we being perſwaded and conioyning together in one opinion, haue with our ſelues thus decreed to aunſwere vnto the queſtion aforeſayd, and in theſe writynges thus reſolutely do anſwere in the name of the whole Uniuerſitie, and for a cõcluſion vndoubted, do affirme, approue, and pronounce, that the Byſhop of Rome hath no more ſtate, authoritie, and iuriſdiction geuen hym of God in the Scriptures, ouer thys realme of England, then any other externe biſhop hath. And in teſtimonye and credence of thys our aunſwere and affirmation, we haue cauſed our common ſeale to be put to theſe our foreſayd letters accordingly.

The Byſhop of Rome hath no more ſtate in England, then hath any other forreine Byſhop.

At Cambrige in our Regent houſe. an. domini. 1534.

Steph. Wint. De Vera obedientia.

Steph. Wint. agaynſt the mariage of the king with his brothers wife, in his boke *De Vera obedientia.*

YOu haue heard before of Steuen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonſtall, and of Stokeſley, how of their voluntarye mynde, they made theyr profeſſion to the kyng, euery one ſeuerally, taking and acceptyng a corporall othe, vtterly and for euer to renounce and reiecte the vſurped ſuperioritie of the Biſhop of Rome. Now for a further teſtimonie and declaration of their iudgementes and opinions whiche then they were of, folowing the force both of truth and of tyme then preſent, ye ſhal heare ouer and beſide their othes, what the forſayd Biſhopes in their own bookes, prologes, and ſermons do write, & publiſhe abrode in printe touching the ſayd cauſe of the Popes ſupremacie.

Steph. Wint. De Vera obedientia.

And firſt (God wyllyng) to begyn with Steuen Gardiners boke, De vera obedientia, we will briefly note out a fewe of his owne wordes, wherin with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not only cõfuteth the Popes vſurped authoritie, but alſo proueth the mariage betwene yͤ kyng & Queene Katherine his brothers wife, not to be good nor lawfull, in theſe wordes:

Of the whiche morall preceptes in the olde lawe, to ſpeake of ſome (for to rehearſe all it needeth not) the Leuiticall preceptes touching forbidden and inceſtuous Mariages, as farre as they concerne chaſte & pure wedlocke, wherin yͤ Original of mans increaſe conſiſteth, ar alwayes to be reputed of ſuche ſorte, that although they were fyrſt gyuẽ to the Iewes: yet becauſe they apperteyne to the law of nature, and expound the ſame more plainly vnto vs, therfore they belong as well to all maner of people of the whole world for euer more. In which doubtles, both the voyce of nature and Gods commaundement agreyng in one, haue forbidden that which is contrary and diuers frõ the one, and from thother. And among theſe, ſythe there is a commaundement that a man ſhall not mary hys brothers wyfe, what could the kynges excellent maieſtye doo otherwyſe, then he dyd by the whole conſent of the people, and iugement of his church, that is, to be diuorced from vnlawful mariage, and vſe lawfull and permitted copulation, and obeyng (as meete it was) conformably vnto the commaundement, caſte of her whom neither lawe nor ryght permitted hym to retayne, and take him to chaſte and lawfull mariage: wherin althoughe the ſentẽce of Gods word (wherunto al thinges ought to ſtoupe) myght haue ſufficed: yet his Maieſtie was content to haue the aſſiſtyng conſentes of yͤ moſt notable graue men, and the cenſures of the moſt famous vniuerſities of the whole world: and al to yͤ entent, yͭ mẽ ſhould ſee he dyd that, both that he myght doe & ought to do vpryghtly, ſeyng the beſt learned and moſt worthye men haue ſubſcribed vnto it, ſhewing therin ſuch obedience, as Gods word requireth of euery good and godly man: ſo as it may be ſaid, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed hym truly. Of which obedience foraſmuch as I am purpoſed to ſpeake, I coulde not paſſe this thyng ouer with ſilence, wherof occaſion ſo commodiouſly was offered me to ſpeake.

¶ *Wincheſters reaſons agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie.*

Moreouer, the ſayd Gardiner in the fornamed boke De vera obedientia, what conſtancie hee pretendeth, what argumentes he inferreth, how earneſtly and pythely hee diſputeth on the kynges ſyde agaynſt the vſurped ſtate of the Biſhop of Romes authoritie, by the wordes of his booke it may appeare: wherof a briefe collection here foloweth.

In the proceſſe of hys foreſayd booke hee alledgyng the old diſtinction of the Papiſtes, wherein they gyue to the Prince the regiment of thyngs temporall, & to the Church of things ſpiritual, comparyng the one to the greater light, the other to the leſſer light, he confuteth and derideth the ſame diſtinction, declaryng the ſworde of the Churche to extende no farther then to teachyng and excommunication, and referreth all preheminence to the ſworde of the Prince, alledgyng for this the Pſal. 2. *And now you kinges bee wiſe, and bee learned you that iudge the earth. &c.*

Alſo the example of Salomon: *Who beyng a king, accordyng to his fathers appointement ordeined the offices of the Prieſtes in their miniſteries, and Leuites in their order, that they might giue thankes, and miniſter before the Prieſtes, after the order of euery day, and porters in their diuiſions gate by gate. &c.*

And ſpeakyng more of the ſayd Salomon, he ſaith: *For ſo cõmaunded the man of God, neither dyd the Prieſtes, nor Leuites omitte any thyng of all that he had commaunded. &c.*

Beſide this he alledgeth alſo the example of kyng Ezechias 2. Paralip. 28. He alledgeth moreouer the example & facte of Iuſtinian, whiche made lawes touchyng the faith, Byſhops, Clerkes, heretickes, and ſuch other.

Aaron, (ſayth he) obeyed Moſes. Salomon gaue ſentẽce vpon Abiathar the hygh Prieſtes.

Alexander the kyng in the firſt of Machabies, writeth thus to Ionathas: *Now haue we made thee this day the hyghe Prieſt of thy people. &c.* So did Demetrius to Simon.

Then commyng to the wordes of Chriſt ſpoke to Peter, Mat. 16. vpon whiche wordes the Pope pretendeth to builde all his authoritie: to this he aunſwereth, that if Chriſte by thoſe wordes had limited vnto Peter any ſuch ſpeciall ſtate or preheminence aboue all Princes, then were it not true, that is written, Cœpit Ieſus docere & facere.

cere: for aſmuch as the wordes of Chriſt ſhould then be contrary to his own factes & example, who in all his life neuer vſurped either to him ſelfe any ſuch domination aboue Princes, ſhewyng hym ſelfe rather ſubiecte vnto Princes, nor yet did euer permitte in his Apoſtles any ſuch example of ambition to be ſeene: but rather rebuked them for ſeeking any maner of maioritie amõgeſt them.

The kings
tile and
title appro
ued by
St. Wint.

And where hee reaſoneth of the kynges ſtile and title, beyng called the kyng of England, and of Fraunce, defendour of the faith, Lord of Ireland, and ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England immediatly vnder Chriſt. &c. thus he addeth his mynd, and cẽſure, ſaying that hee ſeeth no cauſe in this title, why any man ſhould be offended, that the kyng is called head of the church of England, rather then of the realme of England, and addeth his reaſon therunto ſaying: If the Prince and King of England be the head of hys kyngdome, that is, of all engliſhe mẽ that be his ſubiectes, is there any cauſe why the ſame engliſhe ſubiectes ſhoulde not be ſubiect to the ſame head likewiſe in this reſpecte becauſe they are chriſtians, that is to ſay, for the title of godlynes, as though that God which is the cauſe of all obedience, ſhould now be the cauſe of rebellion?

At length thus hee concludeth with an exclamation, ſaying: To ſay (ſayeth he) that a kyng is the head of the kygdome, and not of the church what an abſurde, and a fooliſhe ſaying is this?

The king
as well
the head of
the church
as of his
yngdome.

And farther, adding for example, the ſubiection of the ſeruaunt & wyfe: If the ſeruaunt (ſayth he) be ſubiect to his maiſter, or wyfe to her huſband beyng infidels, doth their conuerſion afterward, or name of Chriſtians make them leſſe ſubiectes, then they were before? As religion therfore doth not alter the authoritie of the Maiſter ouer the ſeruaunt, nor of the huſband ouer the wyfe: no more (ſayeth he) doth it betwen the Prince and ſubiectes.

Paule makyng no exception nor diſtinction of ſubiection, ſaue only of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their Princes, and what Princes? Thoſe Princes whiche beare the ſword. And although we be bounde by the ſcripture to obey our Biſhops and ſpirituall Paſtors of the church, yet that obediẽce diminiſheth nothing the chief and head authoritie that ought to be gyuẽ to the Prince, no more then the obedience of the ſeruaunt to his Maiſter, or of the wife to her houſband exempteth them from ſubiection dewe to their ſuperiour powers.

rule of
the law.

And herewithall he inferreth a principle of yͤ law. Diuers Iuriſdictions (ſayth he) proceding from one perſon do not marre nor hinder themſelues, but rather do confirme and fortifye one an other.

Winche-
ſter wiſh,
that the
Pope were
Peters
ſucceſſor.

Againe, where as the Byſhop of Rome vnder yͤ name of Peter doth appropriate to hym ſelfe the hygheſt place in the Churche, for that he is the ſucceſſour of Peter: therunto he aunſwereth in one worde, but in that one worde he aũſwereth enough and to the full: I would (ſayth he) he were: for ſo in very deede he might well excede & paſſe all kinges and princes, if not in preheminẽce of dignitie, yet in admiration and excellencie of vertue. In whiche kynd of ſuperioritie the Lord Chriſt would his Apoſtles and Miniſters to go before all kynges and Emperours in the whole world.

rgument.
he preroga-
e was ge-
n to hym
hich con-
ſſed.
leſhe and
oud in Peter
yd not con-
ſſe Chriſt,
rgo, the pre-
gatiue was
t geuen to
e fleſh and
oud of Pe-
er.

After this, in proſecutyng the argument of Peters cõfeſſion, he argueth thus and ſayth: That as fleſh & bloud did not reuele to Peter that confeſſion: ſo neither was that prerogatiue giuen to the fleſhe and bloud of Peter, but to yͤ better part, that is, to the ſpirite of Peter, which is to meane, in reſpecte of the ſpirituall confeſſion of Peter, and not in reſpecte of any carnall place or perſon. &c.

Item, if the ſcholar ought not to be aboue the maſter, how then could either Peter take that vpon hym, which Chriſt his maſter ſo conſtantly did refuſe, or how can the Byſhop of Rome now clayme that by ſucceſſion, whereof no example is to be founde either in the head, or hys predeceſſor before hym? For ſo we read in Euſebius, both of Peter, Iames, and Iohn, that they did arrogate no ſuch primacie vnto them, but were content that Iames ſurnamed Iuſtus, ſhould be the Byſhop of the Apoſtles.

rimatus
Prima-
, which it
nifieth.

And as for the name and ſignification of the worde Primatus. i. primacie, if it be takẽ for the firſt nomination, or the firſt place giuen, ſo he graunteth that Peter had the preferment of the firſt name and place in the order of the Apoſtles. But it foloweth not, that with this primacie he had alſo a kyngdome gyuen. And though he were byd of the Lord to cõfirme hys brethren: yet was he not byd to exerciſe an imperye vpõ his brethren, for ſo were they not hys brethren, but hys ſubiectes.

e ſayth,
nfirme thy
thren, but
t thy ſub-
ctes.

Primus.
Primatus.
i. Primacie, meaneth as much as the firſt ſtandyng in vocation, & is the name of vertue, and not of power.

That Peter was Primus, that is, firſt or chiefe in the number of them whiche confeſſed Chriſt, it is not to bee denyed. For firſt he confeſſed, firſt he taught the Iewes, firſt he ſtode in defẽce of the veritie, and was the firſt and chiefe prolocutor amongeſt them: but yet that maketh not, that hee ſhoulde therefore vendicate a generall primacie and rule ouer all other ſtates, and poteſtates of the worlde, no more then Apelles becauſe hee is noted the firſt and chief of all payncters, therfore he ought to beare rule ouer all Payncters? or becauſe the Vniuerſitie of Paris is nominate for the firſt and chiefe of other Vniuerſities, ſhall therefore the Frenche kyng, and all other Princes in their publicke adminiſtration, wherin they are ſet of God, become ſubiectes and vnderlinges to that Vniuerſitie?

Thus after many other reaſons and perſwaſions conteined in the ſayd booke De obedientia (for I do but ſuperficially ſkymme ouer yͤ toppe only of hys probations and argumentes) finally in the end of hys peroration, he concludeth the whole ſumme of hys minde, in this effect: firſt denying that the Biſhop of Rome had euer any ſuch externe iuriſdiction aſſigned to him abſolutely frõ God, to reigne ouer Kyngs and Princes. For the probation wherof he hath alleaged ſufficiently (as he ſayeth) the examples and doyngs of Chriſt hymſelfe, whiche ought to be to vs all a ſufficient document.

And as concernyng the terme of primacie, albeit it be vſed ſome tyme of the fathers, yet the matter beyng well conſidered and rightly expounded maketh nothyng for the large dominion of the Byſhop of Rome, whiche now he doth vſurpe.

Alſo as for the prerogatiues graunted vnto Peter, by the whiche prerogatiues our Sauiour would crown his own giftes gyuen vnto hym, crownyng not the fleſh & bloud of Peter, but the merueilous teſtimonie of his cõfeſſion, all this maketh nothyng for the Popes purpoſe.

Succeſſion
of Peter.

Likewiſe as cõcernyng yͤ local ſucceſſiõ of Peter, yͤ pope hath nothing therby to claime. If he wil be ſucceſſour of Peter, he muſt ſuccede him in faith, doctrine, & cõditions, and in ſo doyng, hee neyther will neither yet ſhall neede to ſeke for honor, but ſhall bee honored of all good men, accordyng as a good man ſhould be, and that much more then he being a good man would requyre.

Step. Wint.
taketh his
Vale of the
Pope, but not
hys vltimum
vale.

And thus Ste.Wint. takyng his leaue, and byddyng the Pope farewell, endeth with a frendly exhortation, willing him to be wiſe and circũſpect, and not to ſtryue ſtubburnely againſt the truth. The light of the Goſpell (ſayth he) ſo ſpreadeth his beames in all mens eyes, yͭ the workes of the Goſpell be knowen, the myſteries of Chriſtes doctrine are opened: both learned and vnlearned, men and women beyng Engliſhe men borne, do ſee and perceiue, that they haue nothyng to do with Rome nor with the Byſhop of Rome, but that euery prince in his owne dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a Vicar of God, and Vicegerent of Chriſt in his owne boundes. And therfore ſeyng this order is taken of God, that one in the Churche ſhould beare the office of teachyng, an other ſhould beare the office of rulyng, (which office is onely limited to Princes) he exhorteth hym to conſider the truth, and to folow the ſame, wherin conſiſteth our true and ſpeciall obedience. &c.

The office of
teachyng.
The office of
rulyng.

To this booke of Steph.Wint.De obedientia, we wil adioyne for good felowſhip, the preface alſo of Edmunde Boner Archedeacon then of Leiceſter, prefixed before the ſame, to yͤ entent yͭ the reader ſeing yͤ iudgements of theſe men, as they were then, and agayne the ſoden mutation afterward of the ſayd parties to the cõtrary opiniõ, may learne therby what vayne glory and pompe of this world can worke in the frayle nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to ſuſteyne. The preface of Boner before the ſaid boke of Wint.De odedientia, proceadeth thus in effecte, as foloweth.

¶ The preface of Edmunde Boner Archedeacon of Leiceſter, prefixed before Stephen Gardiners booke, De obedientia.

Boners preface
before Win-
cheſters booke
of Obedience.

FOraſmuch as ſome there be, no doubt (as the iudgements of men be alwayes variable) whiche thynke the controuerſie which is betwene the kyngs royal Maieſtye, and the Biſhop of Rome conſiſteth in this poynte, Queene *Anne*.

The doctrine of the Goſpell.

See how theſe clawbackes cā clunge together in truth and in falſhode, and all to faſhion them ſelues to the worlde and the tyme preſent.

Mens traditions.

The contentes of Wincheſters booke De vera Obedientia.

The kinges mariage with Queene Anne.

Supreme head.

The Byſhop of Romes pretenced ſupremacie.

for that his Maieſtie hath takē the moſt excellent & moſt vertuous lady Anne to wyfe, which in very dede is farre otherwiſe, and nothing ſo: to the entent therfore that all true hartye fauourers of the Goſpell of Chriſt, whiche hate not, but loue the truth, maye the more fully vnderſtand the chiefe poynt of the cōtrouerſie, and becauſe they ſhall not be ignorant what is the whole voyce and reſolute determination of the beſte and greatyſt learned Biſhopes, with all the nobles and commons of England, not onely in that cauſe of matrimonie, but alſo in defending the doctrine of yͤ Goſpel: here ſhall be publiſhed the oration of the Byſhop of Wincheſter (a man excellentlye learned in all kinde of learning) entituled De vera obedientia, that is, cōcerning true obedience. But as touching this Biſhops worthy prayſes, there ſhalbe nothing ſpokē of me at this time, not onely becauſe they are infinite, but becauſe they are farre better knowen to all Chriſtēdome, then becommeth me here to make rehearſal. And as for the oratiō it ſelfe (which as it is moſt learned, ſo it is moſt elegāt) to what purpoſe ſhould I make any wordes of it, ſeing it praiſeth it ſelfe enough, and ſeing good wyne nedeth no tauerne buſhe to vtter it? But yet in this oration, who ſoeuer thou art, moſt gentle reader, thou ſhalt beſyde other matters, ſee it notablye and learnedly handled of what importaūce and how inuincible the power & excellencie of Gods truth is: which as it may now & then be preſſed of the enemies, ſo it can not poſſibly be oppreſſed and darkened after ſuch ſorte, but it ſheweth it ſelfe againe at length, more glorious & more welcome. Thou ſhalt ſee alſo touching obedience, that it is ſubiecte to truth, and what is to be iudged true obedience. Beſides this of mens traditions, whiche for the moſt part, be moſt repugnant agaynſt the truth of Gods law. And there by the way, he ſpeaketh of the kyngs ſaid hyghnes mariage, whiche by the ripe Iudgement, authoritie and priuiledge of the moſte and principall Vniuerſities of the worlde, and then with the conſent of the whole Church of England, hee contracted with the moſte excellent, and moſte noble Ladye Queene Anne. After that, touchyng the kynges Maieſties title as perteynyng to the ſupreme head of the Churche of Englād. Laſtly of all, of the falſe pretenced ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome in the realme of England, moſt iuſtly abrogated: and how all other Byſhops beyng felowlyke to hym in their function, yea and in ſome pointes aboue hym within their owne prouinces, were before tyme bound to the kyng by their othe.

Bonner knewe well what morſell would beſt pleaſe hys father of Rome, and that money and bribes would ſoone ſtoppe hys mouth.

*Seing thou kneweſt the pope to be ſuch a cruell tyrant, why then wouldeſt thou againſt thy knowledge, become his ſlaughterman?

Wint. wryteth agaynſt the pope with aduiſed iudgement.

But be thou moſt ſurely perſuaded of this, good reader, yͭ the B. of Rome, if there were no cauſe els but onely this mariage, would eaſely contēt hym ſelfe, ſpecially hauing ſome good morſel or other geuē him to chaw vpon. But when he ſeith ſo mighty a kyng, beyng a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, ſo ſincerely & ſo hartly fauour the Goſpell of Chriſt, and perceiueth the yearelye and great praye (ye ſo large a praye, that it came to as much almoſt as all the kynges reuenues) ſnapped out of hys handes, and that hee can no longer exerciſe hys tyranny in the kynges maieſties realme (*alas heretofore, to cruell and bitter) nor make lawes as hee hath done many to the contumelie and reproche of the maieſtie of God, whiche is euident that he hath done in tyme paſt, vnder the title of the Catholicke Churche and the authoritie of Peter and Paule, (when not withſtandyng he was a very rauenyng wolfe dreſſed in ſhepes clothyng callyng him ſelf the ſeruaunt of ſeruauntes) to the great damage of the Chriſten common wealth: here, here began all the miſchief, thereof roſe theſe diſcordes, theſe deadly malices, and ſo great and terrible buſtlyng. For if it were not thus, could any man beleue that this Iupiter of Olympus (which falſely hath arrogated vnto him ſelfe an obſolute power without controlment) would haue wrought ſo diligently by all meanes poſſible, to ſtyrre vp all other kynges and princes ſo traiterouſly agaynſt this ſo good and godly and ſo true a Goſpellyke Prince, as he hath done? Neither let it moue thee (gentle reader) that Wincheſter did not before now, applye to this opinion, for hee hym ſelfe in this Oration ſheweth the cauſe, why he did it not. And if he had ſayd neuer a worde, yet thou knoweſt well what a wittye part it is for a man to ſuſpend his iudgement, and not to be to raſhe in geuyng of ſentence. It is an olde ſayd ſawe: Mary Magdalene profited vs leſſe in her quicke beliefe that Chriſt was riſen, then Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man may rightly call hym Fabius that with hys aduiſed takyng of leaſure, reſtored the matter: Albeit I ſpeake not this as thoughe Wincheſter had not boulted out this matter ſecretlye with hym ſelfe before hand (for hee without doubt tryed it out longe agoe) but that runnyng fayre and ſoftlye, hee woulde firſte with hys paynefull ſtudy, plucke the matter out of the darke, although of it ſelfe it was cleare enough, but by reaſon of ſondry opinions, it was lapped vp in darknes, and then did he debate it wittely to and fro, and ſo at laſt after long and great deliberation had in the matter, becauſe there is no better counſeler then leaſure and tyme, he would reſolutly with hys learned and conſummate Iudgement confirme it.

Thou ſhouldeſt gentle reader, eſteme his cenſure and authoritie to be of more weighty credence, in aſmuch as the matter was not raſhlye and at all aduentures, but with Iudgement (as thou ſeeſt) and with wiſedome examined and diſcuſſed. And this is no new example, to be agaynſt yͤ tyrannye of yͤ B. of Rome, ſeyng that not onely this man, but many men often tymes, yea & right great learned mē afore now, haue done yͤ ſame euē in writing, wherby they both painted him out in his ryght colours, and made hys ſleightes, falſhode, fraudes, and diſceitfull wiles openly knowē to yͤ world. Therfore if thou at any tyme heretofore haue doubted either of true obedience, or of the kynges maieſties mariage, or title, either els of the Byſhop of Romes falſe pretenſed ſupremacie, as if thou haddeſt a good ſmellyng noſe and a ſound Iudgemēt, I thinke thou dideſt not: yet hauyng read this Oration, (whiche if thou fauour the truth, and hate the tyrannye of the Byſhop of Rome and his Satanicall fraudulent falſhode, ſhall doubtles wonderfully cōtent thee) forſake thyne errour and acknowledge the truth now frely offred thee at length, cōſideryng with thy ſelfe, that it is better late ſo to do, then neuer to repente. Fare thou hartly well moſt gentle reader, and not onely loue thys moſt valyaunt kyng of Englād and of Fraunce, who vndoubtedly was by the prouidence of God, borne to defēd the Goſpell, but alſo honour hym and ſerue hym moſt obediently. As for this Wincheſter, who was long ago without doubt reputed among the greateſt learned mē, geue hym thy good worde with higheſt commendatiōs.

The end of Byſhop Boners Prologe.

What man readyng and aduiſing this booke of Wincheſter De vera obedientia, with Boners preface before the ſame, would euer haue thought, any alteration could ſo worke in mans harte, to make theſe men thus to turne the catte (as they ſay) in the panne, and to ſtarte ſo ſodenly from the truth ſo manifeſtly knowen, ſo pithely proued, ſo vehemently defended, & (as it ſeemed) ſo faythfully ſubſcribed. If they diſſēbled all this that they wrote, ſubſcribed, & ſware vnto: what periurie moſt execrable was it before God and mā? If they ment good fayth, and ſpake then as they thought, what peſtilent blindes is this ſo ſodenly fallē vpō thē, to make that falſe now, which was true before, or that to be now true, whiche before was falſe? Thus to ſay and vnſay, and then to ſay agayn, to do and vndoe, and as a man would ſay, to play faſt or looſe with truth, truly a man may ſay, is not the doyng of a man, whiche is in any caſe to be truſted, what ſoeuer he doth or ſayth. But here a mā may ſee what man is of hym ſelf, when Gods good humble ſpirite lacketh to be his guide.

Furthermore, to adde vnto them, the iudgement alſo and argumentes of *Tonſtall* Biſhop of Durreſme, let vs ſee how he agreeth with thē or rather much exceedeth thē in his ſermō made before kyng Henry vpō palme ſonday, remaynyng yet in print. In the which ſermon, diſputing agaynſt the wrongfull ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome, he proueth by manifeſt groundes moſt effectuouſly, both out of the ſcripture, auncièt Doctors, & of Councels, not only that the Biſhop of Rome hath no ſuch authoritie by the worde of God committed to him, as he doth chalenge: but alſo in requiring and chalengyng the ſame, he reproueth and condemneth hym with great zeale & ardent ſpirit to be a proude Lucifer, diſobedient to the ordinarie Powers of God ſet ouer hym, contrary to Chriſt and Peter, and finally in raiſyng vp warre agaynſt vs for the ſame: he therfore rebuketh and defyeth hym, as a moſt deteſtable ſower of diſcorde, and murtherer of Chriſtian men.

That
opes and
iſhopes
ught to be
ubiect to
heir world-
aigates.

Fyrſt, by the Scripture he reaſoneth thus and proueth, that all good men oughte to obey the Poteſtates, and Gouernours of the world, as Emperours, Kings, and Princes of all ſortes, what name ſo euer the ſayde ſupreme Powers do beare or vſe for their cōtreys in which they be, for ſo S. Peter doth playnlye teache vs. 1. Pet. 2. ſaying: *Be ye ſubiecte to euery humaine creature for Goddes cauſe, whether it bee kyng as chiefe heade, or Dukes or Gouernours. &c.* So that S. Peter in his Epiſtle commaundeth al worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Miniſters of God, by al Chriſtian men. And according vnto the ſame S. Paule Rom. 13. ſayth: *Let euery liuing mā be ſubiect to the hygh powers, for the hyghe powers bee of God: and whoſoeuer reſiſteth the hygh powers, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and purchaſeth therby to hym ſelfe damnation: &c.*

. Pet. 2.

hoſoeuer
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gh powers,
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he pope reſ
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gh powers:
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od.

And in ẏ ſame place of Tonſtall, it foloweth: and leſt men ſhoulde forget their duetye of obedience to their Princes, it is thryſe repeated: *that they be the Miniſters of God*, whoſe place in their gouernāce they repreſent: ſo that vnto them all men muſt obey, Apoſtles, Patriarches, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhoppes, Prieſtes, and all of the Clergie. ⁊c. And therfore (ſayeth he) the Biſhop of Rome oweth to his ſoueraigne and ſuperiour like ſubiection by the worde of God taught vnto vs by Peter and Paule, as other Biſhopes do to their Princes, vnder whom they bee. ⁊c.

Also, an other expreſſe commaundement we haue of Chriſt, Luk. 22. who vpō the occaſion of his Diſciples ſtriuyng for ſuperioritie, diſcuſſeth the matter, ſaying on this wiſe: *The kings of the people & nations haue dominion ouer them, and thoſe that haue power ouer them be called gracious Lordes, but ſo it ſhall not bee amongeſt you: But whoſoeuer amongſt you is the greater, ſhall be as the yonger. And whoſoeuer amongeſt you ſhall be chiefe, ſhal be as a ſeruaunt, and a miniſter. &c.*

Luck. 22.

And agayne, Chriſt ſpeakyng to Pilate of his kyngdome, declareth that his kyngdom is not of this world. And therefore ſayth Tonſtall, thoſe that go about to make of Chriſtes ſpirituall kyngdome, a worldly kyngdome, do fall into ẏ errour of ſome heretickes that loke that Chriſt after the day of iudgemēt, ſhal reigne with all his Saintes here in earth carnally in Hieruſalem, as the Iewes doe beleue that Meſſias is yet to come, and when he ſhall come, he ſhall reigne worldly in Hieruſalem.

Ioh. 18.

By theſe and ſuch other places it may well appeare, that Chriſt neither before his Incarnation, (as Tonſtall ſaith) nor after his Incarnation, did euer alter the authoritie of worldly kynges and princes, but by hys owne worde commaunded them ſtill to bee obeyed of their ſubiectes, as they had ben in the auncient tyme before. ⁊c. And for examples of ẏ ſame, he alledgeth firſt the example of Chriſt hym ſelf. Mat. 22. who beyng aſked of the Iewes, whether they ſhould giue tribute to Cæſar, or no, he bad them giue to Cæſar thoſe thinges, that be hys, and to God thoſe thinges that be his, ſignifying that tribute was due to Cæſar, and that theyr ſoules were due to God. ⁊c.

Mat. 22.

Examples
Chriſts
umble
ubiection.

Alſo, in the xvij. of Mathew it appeareth that *Chriſt bad Peter pay tribute for him and his Diſciples, when it was demaūded of him.* And why? Becauſe he would not chaunge the order of obeyſance to worldly princes due by their ſubiectes. ⁊c.

Math. 17.

An other example of Chriſt he citeth out of the vj. of Iohn, where *after Chriſt had fedde fiue thouſand and moe, with a fewe loaues, and fewer fiſhes, and that the Iewes would haue taken him and made him their king, he fled frō them, and would not cōſent vnto them.* For the kyngdome (ſayth hee) that he came to ſet here in earth, was not a worldly & temporall kyngdome, but an heauēly & ſpirituall kyngdome, that is, to reigne ſpiritually by grace & faith in the hartes of all Chriſten and faithfull people, of what degree, or of what nation ſo euer they bee, and to turne al people & nations, which at his cōming were carnall & lyued after the luſtes of the fleſh, to be ſpirituall and to lyue after the luſtes of the ſpirite, that Chriſt with his father of heauen, might reigne in the heartes of all men. ⁊c.

Ioh. 6.

And here in theſe exāples of Chriſtes humilitie, farther is to be noted, how Chriſt the ſonne of God dyd ſubmitte him ſelfe, not onely to the rulers and powers of this world, but alſo deiected him ſelfe and in a maner, became ſeruaunt to his owne Apoſtles: ſo farre of was hee from all ambitious and pompous ſekyng of worldly honour: For ſo it appeared in him, not onely by waſhyng the fete of his Apoſtles, but alſo the ſame tyme a litle before his Paſſion, when the Apoſtles fell at contention among them ſelues, who among them ſhould be ſuperiour, he ſettyng before them the example of his own ſubiection, aſketh this queſtion: *Who is ſuperiour, he that ſitteth at the Table, or hee that ſerueth at the Table? Is not he ſuperiour that ſitteth? but I am amōgeſt you, as he that miniſtreth, and ſerueth. &c.*

Luck. 22.

The like examples Tonſtall alſo inſerreth of Peters humilitie. For where we read in ẏ Actes, how ẏ Centurion a noble man of great age, *did proſtrate him ſelf vpon the grounde at the feete of Peter: then Peter not ſufferyng that, eftſoones tooke him vp and bad him ryſe,* ſaying: *I am alſo a man as thou art.*

Examples of Peters ſubiection.

Act. 10.

So lykewiſe did the Aungell Apocal. 19. and. 22. to whom when Iohn would haue fallen downe to haue adored him whiche ſhewed him thoſe viſions, the Aungell ſaid vnto him: *See thou do not ſo, for I am the ſeruaūt of God, as thou art. &c.*

Apoc. 19. 22.

Agayne in the foreſayd Peter what an example of reuerent humilitie is to bee ſene in this, that notwithſtandyng he with other Apoſtles hauyng hys commiſſion to goe ouer all, yet neuertheles hee beyng at Ioppa and ſent for by Cornelius, durſt not go to him, without the viſion of a ſheete let down from heauen, by the whiche viſion hee was admoniſhed not to refuſe the Gentiles: or els he knew in him ſelf no ſuch primacie ouer all people and places gyuen vnto hym, nor no ſuch commiſſion ſo large aboue the other. ⁊c.

Furthermore, ẏ ſayd Peter beyng rebuked of Paul his felow brother, toke no ſcorne therof, but was content, ſubmittyng him ſelfe to due correction.

But here, ſayth Tonſtall, ſteppeth in the Biſhop of Rome and ſayeth that Peter had authoritie gyuen aboue all the reſidue of the Apoſtles, and alleageth the wordes of Chriſt ſpoken to hym Math. 16. *Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Churche, and will gyue to thee, the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and what ſoeuer thou ſhall bynde vpon earthe, ſhall be bound in heauen.* This ſayd Chriſt, ſayeth the Pope, and S. Peter is buried at Rome, whoſe ſucceſſor I am, and ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and to be porter of heauen gates, as Peter was. ⁊c.

The popes obiections.

Math. 16.

And Chriſt ſayd alſo to Peter after his reſurrectiō: *Feede my ſhepe,* which he ſpake to hym only, ſo that therby he had authoritie ouer all ẏ be of Chriſtes flocke, & I as his ſucceſſor, haue ẏ ſame. And therfore who ſo wil not obey me, Kyng, or Prince, I wil curſe hym, and depriue hym of hys kingdome or ſeigniorie: For al power is gyuen to me, that Chriſt hath, and I am hys vicar generall, as Peter was here in earth, ouer all and none but I, as Chriſt is in heauen.

Iohn. 21.

The ambitious pride of the pope.

This ambitious and pompous obiection (ſayeth Tonſtall) of the Pope, and his adherentes, hath of late yeares much troubled the world, and made diſſenſion, debate, and open warre in all partes of Chriſtendome, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture. Who if hee woulde take thoſe places after the right ſenſe of them, as bothe the Apoſtles themſelues taught vs, and all the auncient beſt learned interpretours do expounde them, the matter were ſone at a point. But otherwiſe, ſyth they peruert the Scripture, and preach an other Goſpell in that point to vs, then euer the Apoſtles

The ſcriptures falſely peruerted by the pope.

ſtles preached, we haue therin a general rule to folow: *That though an Angell came from heauen, and would tell vs ſuch newe expoſitions of thoſe places, as are now made, to turne the wordes, which weare ſpoken for ſpirituall authoritie of preaching the word of God, and miniſtring of the Sacramentes, to a worldly authoritie, we ought to reiecte hym, as S. Paule wylleth vs. Gal. 1.*

Gal. 1.

To open therfore the true ſenſe of the Scripture in the places aforeſayd, and firſt to begynne with the. xvi. Chap. of Math. here is to be obſerued that the queſtion beyng putt in general of Chriſt to al his Apoſtles, what they thought or iudged of hym, Peter aunſweryng for them all, as he was allwayes ready to aunſwere, ſayd: *Thou art Chriſt, the Sonne of the lyuyng God.* To whom Jeſus aunſwered agayn: *Bleſſed be thou Simõ the Sonne of Iona: For fleſh and bloud hath not reueled this vnto thee, but my Father which is in heauen: And I ſay to thee, thou art Peter, and vpon this rock I will builde my churche, and the gates of hell ſhal not preuaile agaynſt yt.* That is to ſay: vpon this rocke of thy cõfeſſion of me to be the Sonne of God, I will build my churche: for this faith conteyneth the whole ſummarye of our faythe and ſaluation, as it is writen Rom. 10. *The worde of fayth, that we doo preache is at hand, in thy mouthe and in thyne hart. For if thou cõfeſſe with thy mouth our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and with thy hart doe beleue that God rayſed hym from death to lyfe, thou ſhalt be ſaued. &c.* And this confeſſion beyng firſt vttered by the mouth of Peter, vpon the ſame confeſſion of his, and not vppon the perſon of Peter, Chriſt buildeth his Church, as Chryſoſtome expoundeth that place in the. xxvi. ſermon of the feaſt of Pentecoſte, ſaying: Not vpon the perſon of Peter, but vpõ the fayth, Chriſt hath builded his Church. And what is the faith? This: *Thou art Chriſt the Sonne of the lyuing God.* What is to ſay, *vpon this rocke?* That is, vpõ this confeſſion of Peter. &c. And with this ſaying of Chriſoſtome, al auncient expoſitors, ſayth Tonſtall treatyng that place, do agrée. For if we ſhoulde expounde that place, that the Church is builded vpõ the perſon of Peter, we ſhould put an other fundatiõ of the church, then Chriſt, which is directlye agaynſt S. Paule, ſaying: *No man may put any other foundatiõ, but that which is put already, which is Chriſt Ieſus. &c.*

The place of *Matth. xvj.* expounded.

Rom. 10.

Fayth the mother of ſaluation.

Peter the firſt confeſſor of Chriſt.

The church builded vpon the confeſſion of Peter, not vpon the perſon of Peter.

1. Cor. 3.

And becauſe Peter was the firſt of all the Apoſtles, that confeſſed this, that Chriſt is the Sonne of God, by the which fayth all men muſt be ſaued: therof commeth the primacie, that is, the firſt place or ſtandyng of Peter in the number of all the Apoſtles.

What is the primacie of Peter, & how it commeth.

And as Peter was the firſt of them that confeſſed Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, ſo was hee moſt ardent in his fayth, moſt bold and hardy in Chriſt, as appeared by his commyng out of the ſhyp in the great tempeſt, and alſo moſt vehement in his maſters cauſe, as appeared by drawyng out hys ſworde, and after the Lordes reſurrection, is declared in the 2. 3. 4. chap. of the Actes: where as the Iewes withſtandyng the Apoſtles preachyng the fayth of Chriſt, Peter as moſt ardent in fayth, was euer moſt ready to defende the faith agaynſt the impugners thereof, ſpeakyng for them all vnto the people. &c. and therfore hath theſe honorable names gyuen him, by the auncient interpreters, that ſome tymes he is called the mouth of the Apoſtles, the chief of the Apoſtles, ſome tyme the prince of the Apoſtles, ſome time the preſidẽt of the whole Churche, and ſome tyme hath the name of primacie, or prioritie attributed to hym.

The honorable names of Peter in the olde Doctors, how and wherfore they be geuen.

And yet the ſayd Peter notwithſtandyng theſe honorable names gyuẽ vnto him, that he ſhould not haue a rule, or a iudicial power aboue all the other Apoſtles, it is playne by S. Paul, and many other.

Firſt, S. Paul, Gal. 2. plainly declareth the ſame, ſaying: *That as the Apoſtleſhyp of the Circumciſion, that is, of the Iewes, was giuen by Chriſt to Peter: ſo was the Apoſtleſhyp of the Gentiles giuen to me among the Gentiles.* Hereby it appeareth that Paul knewe no primacie of Peter concernyng people and places, but among the Jewes. And thereof S. Ambroſe expoundyng that place, ſayth thus: The primacie of the Jewes was giuen chiefly to Peter, albeit James and John were ioyned with him: as the primacie of the Gentiles was giuen to Paul, albeit Barnabas was ioyned with hym: So that Peter had not a rule ouer all.

Gala. 2.

The authoritie of the Apoſtles all alyke.

Ambroſ.

Alſo in yͤ Actes 10. whẽ Peter was ſent for to Cornelius a Gentile, he durſt not go to hym without a ſpeciall viſion giuen hym from heauen by the Lord.

Act. 10.

Item, that all the Apoſtles had lyke dignitie and authoritie, it appeareth by S. Paul Ephe. 2. Where hee ſayth: *Nowe ye are not ſtraungers, nor foreners but ye bee Citizens with the Saintes and of the houſhold of almightye God, builded* (ſayth he) *vpon the fundation of the Apoſtles, and the Prophets, Chriſt beyng the corner ſtone: vpon whõ euery edifice beyng builded, groweth vp to an holy temple in our Lord. &c.* Here he ſaith that they be builded, not vpon the fundation of Peter onely, but vpon the fundation of the Apoſtles, ſo that all they be in the fundation ſet vpon Chriſt the very rocke, wherupon ſtandeth the whole Churche.

Epheſ. 2.

In the xxi. chap. alſo of the Apoca. the new Citie, and the heauenly Hieruſalem of almyghtie God is deſcribed of the holy Ghoſt, not with one fundation onely of Peter, *but with xij. foundations*, after the number of the Apoſtles.

Apoca. 21.

S. Cyprian lib. De ſimplic. præl. giueth record likewiſe to the ſame, that the Apoſtles had equall power & dignitie giuẽ to them by Chriſt. And becauſe all ſhould preache one thyng, therfore the begynnyng therof firſt came by one, whiche was Peter, who confeſſed for them all: *that Chriſt was the ſonne of the liuyng God*, ſaying further, that in the Churche there is one office of all Byſhops, whereof euery man hath a part allowed wholy vnto hym. Now, if the Byſhop of Rome may medle ouer all, where he will: then euery man hath not wholy his part, for yͤ Byſhop of Rome may alſo medle in his part ioyntly, with him: ſo that now he hath it not wholy: which is agaynſt Cyprian.

Cypria. lib. De ſimplic. Prelat.

S. Auſten likewiſe expoũding the Goſpell of John, in the 50. treaty, ſpeaketh there of the keyes of Peter. Whiche he ſayth were giuen of Chriſt to Peter, not for him ſelfe alonely, but for the whole Churche.

Aug. in Ioan. tracta. 50.

Cyrillus expoundyng the laſt chap. of John, and there ſpeakyng of the wordes of Chriſt ſpoken vnto Peter, *Fede my ſhepe. &c.* thus vnderſtandeth the ſame: That becauſe Peter had thriſe denyed Chriſt, wherby he thought him ſelfe he had loſt his Apoſtleſhyp: Chriſt to cõfort him agayne, & to reſtore him to his office that he had loſt, aſked him thriſe, whether he loued him, and ſo reſtored him agayne to his office, whiche els he durſt not haue preſumed vnto, ſaying to hym: *Fede my ſhepe. &c.* With whiche expoſition the auncient holy expoſitours of that place, do likewiſe agrée: So that by theſe wordes of fedyng Chriſtes ſhepe, the Biſhop of Rome can take no aduauntage to maintayne his vniuerſall paſtoralitie ouer all Chriſtian dominions.

Cyrill. in 21. Ioann.

Paſce oues meas

Agayne, whereas the Biſhop of Rome ſayeth, that Peter by theſe wordes of Chriſt ſpoken to hym, hath a preeminence aboue the other, S. Paule Act. 20. proueth the contrary: where hee ſpeaking to the Biſhops aſſembled at Milete, ſayeth to them: *Take heede to your ſelues, and to all your flock, in whiche the holy Ghoſt hath putt you to gouerne. &c.*

Act. 20.

And Peter hymſelfe likewiſe 1. Pet. 5. ſayeth: *Ye that be Prieſtes fede the flock of God emongeſt you. &c.*

So that by theſe Scriptures conferred to gether, yt may appeare that neyther the. xvi. Chap. of Matth. nor the xxi. of Joh. doe proue that Peter had power, authoritie, or dignitie gyuẽ hym by Chriſt, ouer all yͤ other, yͭ they ſhould be vnder him: and yet notwithſtãding his primacie, in that he firſt of all the Apoſtles confeſſed Chriſt to be the Sonne of the lyuynge God (with the whiche which hys confeſſion all the other Apoſtles did conſent, and alſo preached the ſame) ſtandeth ſtyll. Which confeſſion fyrſt by Peter made, all other that wilbe ſaued, muſt followe alſo, and be taught to confeſſe the ſame. And thus the Biſhop of Romes power ouer all, which he would proue by thoſe places wrōgfully alleaged for his purpoſe, vtterlye quaileth, and is not proued. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctors.

Now farther proceding in this matter, the ſayd Tonſtall commeth to Councells and examples of the primitiue Church, as followeth.

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Nice.

Fauſtinus, Legate to the Biſhop of Rome in the. vj. Councell of Carthage, alleaged that yͤ biſhop of Rome ought to haue the orderyng of all great matters in all places by hys ſupreme authoritie, bryngyng no Scripture for hym (for at that tyme no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alleageth for him, and that vntruly, the fyrſt Coūcell of Nice, to make for his purpoſe. After this, when the booke was brought forth, & no ſuch article founde in it, but the contrary, yet the Councell at that tyme, ſent to Cōſtantinople, Alexandria, and Autioche, where yͤ Patriarckal Sees were, to haue the true copie of the Councell of Nice, whiche was ſent vnto them. And an other copie alſo was ſent frō Rome, whether alſo they ſent for the ſame purpoſe.

id. ſupr.
g. 13.

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After that the copye was brought to them, and no ſuch Article found in it, but in the fift chap. thereof the contrary, that all cauſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhould either be determined within the dioces, or els, if any were greued, then to appeale to the Councell Prouinciall, and there yͤ matter to take full ende, ſo that for no ſuch cauſes men ſhould go out of their prouinces: the whole Councell of Carthage wrote to Cæleſtine at that time beyng Byſhop of Rome, that ſince yͤ Councell of Nice had no ſuch Article in it, as was vntruly alledged by Fauſtinus, but the contrary, they deſired hym to abſteine after, to make any more ſuch demaund, denouncyng vnto hym, that they would not ſuffer any cauſe great or ſmal, to be brought by appeale, out of their coūtrey, and therupon made a law that no man ſhould appeale out of the countrey of Aphrike vpon payne to be denounced accurſed. Wherwith the Byſhop of Rome euer after held hym content, and made no more buſines with thē, ſeyng he had naught to ſay for him ſelfe to the contrary. And at this Councell S. Auſten was preſent, and ſubſcribed yͤ ſame, read more hereof, pag. 13.

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It was determined alſo in the firſt Article of the ſaid Councell of Nice: that in the Orient the Byſhop of Antioche ſhould be chiefe: in Ægypt the Byſhop of Alexandria: about Rome, the Byſhop of Rome, and lykewiſe in other countreys, yͤ Metropolitanes ſhould haue their preeminence: ſo that the Byſhop of Rome neuer had medlyng in thoſe countreys.

And in the next Article folowing, the Byſhop of Hieruſalem (whiche Citie before had ben deſtroyed, and almoſt deſolate) was reſtored to his old prerogatiue, to be the chief in Paleſtine and in the countrey of Iurye.

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By this ye ſee how the Patriarcke of Rome duryng all this time of yͤ primitiue Church, had no ſuch primacie preeminent aboue other Patriarckes, much leſſe ouer kynges and Emperours, as may appeare by Agatho Byſhop of Rome long after that, in whoſe tyme was the firſt Councell generall. Whiche Agatho after his election, ſent to the Emperour then beyng at Conſtantinople, to haue his election allowed before hee would bee conſecrate, after the olde cuſtome at that tyme vſed.

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In lyke ſorte, an other Byſhop of Rome called Vitalianus did the ſame, as it is written in the Decrees in the lxiij. Diſtinct. cap. Agatho.

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The lyke did S. Ambroſe, and S. Gregory, before them, as it is written in the chap. Cum longe, in the ſame Diſtinct. Duryng all whiche tyme, the Byſhops of Rome folowed well the doctrine of S. Peter and S. Paule left vnto them, to bee ſubiectes and to obey their Princes.

Biſhop *Tonſtall* a right *Lutheran.*

Thus, after that Biſhop Tonſtal playing the earneſt Lutheran, both by ſcriptures and auncient Doctours, alſo by examples ſufficiēt of the primitiue church, hath proued and declared, howe the Byſhops of Rome ought to ſubmitte them ſelues to theyr higher powers, vnder whom God hath appoynted euery creature in this world to obey: nowe let vs lykewyſe ſee how the ſayd Biſhop Tonſtal deſcribeth vnto vs his diſobedience intolerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malyce moſt execrable.

The diſobedience, the pride, and the malice of the pope deſcribed.

And firſt ſpeaking of the diſobedience of Adam and Eue, then of the pride of Nabugodonoſor, and of Lucifer, at length he compareth the Biſhopes of Rome to them all. Who fyrſt for diſobedience refuſe to obey Gods commaundement, but contrary to his word, will be aboue their gouernours in refuſing to obey them.

The pride of the pope deſcribed.

Secondlye, beſyde this rebellious diſobedience in theſe Biſhopes of Rome not ſufferable, their pride moreouer ſo farre exceadeth all meſure, that they wyll haue their Princes, to whom they owe ſubiection, proſtrate vpon the grounde, to adore them by godly honour vpon the earth, and to kyſſe their feete, as yf they were God, where as they be but wretched men, and yet they loke that their Princes ſhould do it vnto them, and alſo all other chriſten men owing them no ſubiection, ſhould do the ſame.

The pope compared to Lucifer.

The pope exalted aboue the cloudes and the ſtarres of heauen.

And who be theſe I pray you, that men may knowe them? Surely (ſaith he) the Biſhops of Rome be thoſe whom I do meane. Who folowyng the pride of Lucifer their father, make themſelues felowes to God, and do exalte their ſeate aboue the ſtarres of God, and do aſcende aboue the cloudes, and will be lyke to almyghty God. The ſtarres of God be mente the Aungels of heauen, for as ſtarres do ſhewe vnto vs in parte, the lyght of heauen, ſo do Aungelles ſente vnto men, ſhewe the heauenlye lyghte of the grace of God, to thoſe to whome they be ſente. And the cloudes ſygnified in the olde Teſtament the Prophetes, and in the newe do ſignifie the Apoſtles and prechers of the word of God. For as the cloudes doo conceaue and gather in the ſkye moyſture, which they after poure down vpon yͤ groūd to make it therby more fruitefull: ſo the Prophetes in the olde Teſtament, and the Apoſtles and preachers in the newe, doo poure into our eares the moyſture of their heauenly doctrine of the worde of God, to make therwith by grace, our ſoules being ſeere and drye, to bryng forth fruite of the ſpirite. Thus do all auncient expoſitours, and amonge them S. Auguſtine, interprete to be ment in Scripture, ſtarres and cloudes, in the expoſition of the. xlv. Pſalme.

Apoc. 19. 22.

The pope exalted aboue Angels.

But S. John yͤ Euangeliſt writeth in the. xix. chap. of the Apocalips, and in the. xxij. alſo, that whē he would haue fallen downe at the Aungells feete that did ſhew hym thoſe viſions there written, to haue adored hym with godly worſhyp, the Aungell ſayd vnto hym: *See thou doe not ſo, for I am the ſeruaunt of God as thou arte.* Gyue adoration and godly worſhyppe to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Biſhops of Rome ſufferyng all men proſtate before them to kyſſe their feete (yea yͤ ſame Princes, to whom they owe ſubiection) doe clyme vp aboue the ſtarres and Aungels too, offeryng their feete to bee kyſſed, with ſhooes and all. For ſo I ſawe my ſelf beyng preſent. xxxiiij. yeare ago, when Iulius then Biſhop of Rome ſtode on hys feete, and one of his chamberlaynes helde vp hys ſkyrt becauſe it ſtode not (as he thought) with his dignitye, that he ſhould doe it hymſelfe, that his ſhoo myght appeare, whyles a noble man of great age did proſtrate hymſelfe vppon the grounde, and kyſſed his ſhoo: which he ſtately ſuffered to be doone, as of duetie. Where me thinke I ſawe Cornelius the Centurion, Captayne of the Italions bande, ſpoken of in the tenth Chapter of the Actes, ſubmittyng hymſelfe to Peter, and muche honouryng hym: but I ſawe not Peter there to take hym vp, and to byd hym ryſe, ſaying: *I am a man as thou arte*, as S. Peter dyd ſaye to Cornelius: ſo that the Biſhoppes of Rome, admitting ſuch adoration due vnto God, do clyme aboue the heauenly cloudes, that is to ſaye, aboue the Apoſtels ſent into the worlde by Chriſte, to water the earthly and carnall hartes of mẽ, by their heauenly doctrine of the worde of God.

The Pope climeth aboue the Apoſtles.

Thus Byſhop Tonſtall hauyng deſcribed the paſſing pride of the Pope, ſurmountyng lyke Lucifer, aboue Byſhops, Apoſtles, Aungels, and ſtarres of heauen, procedyng then further to yͤ latter end of his Sermon, commeth to ſpeake of his rage and malice moſt furious & peſtilent, in that he beyng iuſtly put from his kyngdome here: to wreke his ſpitefull malice, ſtirreth vp warre agaynſt vs, and bloweth the horne of miſchiefe in giuyng our land for a ſpoyle and praye to all, who ſo euer at his ſetting on, will come and inuade vs. But let vs heare his owne wordes preachyng to the kyng and all Engliſhe men, touchyng both the Popes malice, and the treaſon of Cardinall Poole.

The Pope ſtyrreth vp warre agaynſt England.

The treaſon of Cardinall *Poole*.

Now (ſayth he) becauſe hee can no longer in this realme wrongfully vſe his vſurped power in all thyngs, (as he was wonte to do) & ſucke out of this realme by auarice inſatiable, innumerable ſũmes of money yearly, to the great exhauſtyng of the ſame: he therfore moued and replete with furious ire and peſtilent malice, goeth about to ſtirre all Chriſtẽ nations, that will geue eares to his deuiliſh enchauntementes, to moue warre agaynſt this realme of England, geuyng it in pray to all thoſe, that by his inſtigation will inuade it.

And here expounding theſe foreſayd wordes (*to giue in pray*) he declareth what great miſchief they conteine, and willeth euery true Engliſh man well to marke the ſame. Firſt to make this realme (ſayth he) a pray to all venturers, all ſpoylers, all ſnapp chaunſes, all forlorne hopes, all cormorantes, all rauenoures of the worlde, that will inuade this realme, is to ſay: thou poſſeſſioner of any landes of this realme, of what degrée ſoeuer thou be, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhalt be ſlayne and deſtroyed, and thy landes taken from thée by thoſe that will haue all for them ſelues: and thou mayſt bee ſure to be ſlaine, for they will not ſuffer thée, nor none of thy progeny to lyue, to make any claynie afterward or to bee reuenged, for that were their vnſurety. Thy wife ſhalbe abuſed before thy face: thy daughter lykewiſe defloured before thée: thy children ſlayne before thyne eyes: thy houſe ſpoyled: thy cattell driuen away and ſold before thy viſage: thy plate, thy money by force taken from thée, all thy goodes, wherin thou haſt any delight, or haſt gathered for thy children, rauened, brokẽ and diſtributed in thy preſence, that euery rauenour may haue his ſhare. Thou Marchaunt art ſure to bée ſlayne, for thou haſt either money or ware, or both, whiche they ſearch for. Thou Byſhop or Prieſt, what ſoeuer yͤ be, ſhalt neuer eſcape, becauſe thou wouldeſt not take the Byſhop of Romes part, and rebell agaynſt God and thy Prince, as he doth. If thou ſhalt flée, and ſcape for a ſeaſon, what ſoeuer thou bee: thou ſhalt ſée and heare of ſo much miſerye and abomination, that thou ſhalt iudge them happye, that be dead before: for ſure it is, thou ſhalt not finally eſcape: for, to take the whole realme in pray, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for thẽ ſelues, as they will do if they can.

The Pope geueth England away for a praye.

And the Biſhop of Rome now of late, to ſet forth his peſtilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpoſe a ſubiect of this realme, Reginald Poole, comen of a noble bloud, and thereby the more errant traytor, to go about from Prince to Prince, and from countrey to coũtrey, to ſtirre them to warre agaynſt this realme, and to deſtroy the ſame beyng hys natiue countrey: whoſe peſtilent purpoſe, the princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abomination, both for that the Byſhop of Rome (who beyng a Byſhop ſhould procure peace) is a ſtyrrer of warre: and becauſe this moſt errant and vnkynde traytour is his miniſter to ſo deuiliſhe a purpoſe, to deſtroye the countrey that hee was borne in, whiche any heathen man would abhorre to do.

Cardinall *Poole* traytor to England.

And ſo continuyng in his diſcourſe agaynſt Cardinall Poole and the Byſhop of Rome for ſtyrryng the people to warre and miſchief, he further ſayth, & ſayth truly, that for theſe many yeares paſt, litle warre hath bene in theſe partes of Chriſtendome, but the Byſhop of Rome either hath bene a ſtirrer of it, or a nouriſher of it, and ſeldome any compounder of it, vnleſſe it were for his ambitiõ or profite. Wherefore, ſince, as S. Paule ſayth, *that God is not the God of diſſenſion but of peace*, who commaũdeth by his worde, peace alway to be kept: we are ſure that all thoſe, that go about to breake peace betwene realmes, and to bryng them to warre, are the children of the deuill, what holy names ſoeuer they pretend to cloke their peſtilent malice with all: whiche clokyng vnder hypocriſie is double deuiliſhneſſe, and of Chriſt moſt deteſted, becauſe vnder hys bleſſed name, they do play the deuils part.

And in the latter ende of hys Sermon concludyng with the 39. Chapter of Ezechiell, where the Prophet ſpeaketh agaynſt Gog and Magog, goyng about to deſtroy the people of God, and propheſieth agaynſt them, that the people of God ſhall vanquiſhe and ouerthrow them on the mountaines of Iſraell that none of thẽ ſhall eſcape, but their carkaſes ſhall there be deuoured of kytes, and krowes, and byrdes of the ayre: ſo likewiſe ſayth hee of theſe our enemies, wiſhing, that if they ſhall perſiſte in their peſtilent malice, to make inuaſion into this realme, then their great Captaine Gog (the Byſhop of Rome hee meaneth) may come with them, to drinke with thẽ of the ſame cuppe, which he maliciouſly goeth about to prepare for vs, that the people of God might after quietly lyue in peace.

We haue heard hetherto the othes, cenſures, and iudgemẽts of certein particular Biſhops, as of Yorke, of Wincheſter, of London, of Dureſme, & alſo of Edmund Boner, Archdeacon then of Leyceſter, againſt yͤ Popes vnlawfull vſurpation. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and ſatiſfying of the reader, it ſhall not be much out of purpoſe, beſydes the conſente and approbation of theſe aforeſayd, to inferre alſo the publicke & generall agréement of the whole clergie of England, as in a total ſumme together, confirmed and ratified in their own publicke boke, made and ſet forth by them aboute the ſame tyme, called then the Biſhops booke. In the which booke, although many things were very ſlender and vnperfecte, yet as touching this cauſe of the Biſhop of Romes regalitie, we will heare (God willyng) what their whole opinion and prouinciall determination dyd conclude, accordynge as by their own wordes in the ſame booke, is to be ſene word for word, as foloweth, ſubſcribed alſo with their owne names: the Catologue of whom vnder their owne confeſſion, ſhall appeare.

WE thinke it cõuenient, that all Biſhops and preachers that inſtruct & teach the people cõmitted vnto their ſpirituall charge, that where as certaine men do imagine and affirme, that Chriſt ſhoulde gyue vnto the Biſhop of Rome power and auctoritie, not onlye to be head and gouernour of all Prieſtes and Biſhopes in Chriſtes Church, but alſo to haue & occupie the whole Monarchie of the worlde in his handes, and that he may therby lawfully depoſe Kynges and Princes from their realmes, dominions, and ſeignories, and ſo transferre and gyue the ſame to ſuche perſones as hym lyketh: that is vtterly falſe and vntrue: For Chriſt neuer gaue vnto Saint Peter, or vnto any of the Apoſtles, or their ſucceſſours, any ſuche authoritie. And the Apoſtelles, S. Peter, and S. Paule, do teache and commaunde, that all chriſten people, as well Prieſtes and Biſhops as others, ſhoulde be obedient and ſubiecte vnto the Princes and Potẽtates of the world, although they were infideles. And as for the Biſhop Rome, it was many hundreth yeres after Chriſt, before he could acquire or gette any primacie or gouernaunce aboue any other Biſhopes, out of hys prouince in Italie: ſithe the which tyme he hath euer vſurped more and more. And though ſome parte of his power was gyuen vnto hym by the conſent of the Emperours, Kynges, and Princes, and by the conſent alſo of the clergie in generall Councelles aſſembled: yet ſurely he atteyned the moſt part therof by meruaylous ſubtilitie and craft, and ſpecially by colludyng with great kynges and princes, ſomtyme traynynge them into his deuotion by pretence and colour of holynes and ſanctimonie, and ſomtyme conſtraynyng them by force and tyranny. Wherby the ſayde Biſhopes of Rome aſpired and aroſe at length vnto ſuch greatnes in ſtrength and authoritie, that they preſumed and toke vpon them to be heades, and to put lawes by their owne auctoritie, not onlye vnto all other Biſhops within Chriſtendome, but alſo vnto the Emperours, Kynges, and other the Princes and Lordes of the world, and that vnder the pretenſe of the authoritie committed vnto them by the Goſpel. Wherein the ſaid Biſhopes of Rome do not onelye abuſe and peruerte the true ſenſe and meaning of Chriſtes worde: but they do alſo cleane contrarye to the vſe and cuſtome of the primitiue Church: and alſo do maniſeſtlye violate, as well the holy Canons made in the Church immediately after the tyme of the Apoſtles, as alſo the decrees and conſtitutions made in that behalfe, by the holy Fathers of the catholike Church, aſſembled in the firſt generall Coūcels: and finally they do tranſgreſſe their own profeſſion, made in their creation. For al the Biſhopes of Rome alwayes when they be conſecrated and made Byſhopes of that ſee, do make a ſolemne profeſſiō and vowe, that they ſhall inuiolably obſerue and kepe all the ordinā ces made in the eight fyrſt generall councels: amonge the whiche it is ſpecially prouided and enacted that all cauſes ſhall be fyniſhed and determined within the prouince where the ſame be begon, and that by the Biſhopes of the ſame prouince: and that no Biſhop ſhall exercyſe any iuriſdiction out of his own dioceſe or prouince. And diuers ſuch other Canons were then made and confirmed by the ſayd Councels, to repreſſe & take away out of the Church, all ſuch primacye and iuriſdiction ouer Kynges and Byſhopes, as the Biſhopes of Rome pretend now to haue ouer the ſame. And we fynde that diuers good fathers byſhopes of Rome dyd greatly reproue, yea and abhorre (as a thing cleane cōtrary to the Goſpell, and the decrees of the Churche) yͤ any Biſhop of Rome, or els where, ſhould preſume, vſurpe, or take vpon hym the tytle and name of the vniuerſal biſhop, or of the head of all prieſts, or of the higheſt prieſte, or any ſuche lyke title. For confirmation wherof, it is out of al doubte, that there is no mencion made, neyther in Scripture, neyther in the wrytinges of any autenticall Doctour or Autour of the Churche, being within the tyme of the Apoſtles, that Chriſt did euer make or inſtitute anye diſtinction or difference to be in the preeminence of power, order, or iuriſdiction, betwene the Apoſtles them ſelues, or betwene yͤ biſhopes thē ſelues: but that they were all equall in power, order, authoritie, and iuriſdictiō. And that there is now any ſyth the tyme of the Apoſtles, any ſuche diuerſitie, or difference amonge the Biſhops, it was deuyſed by the auncient fathers of the primitiue Churche, for the conſeruation of good order and vnitie of the catholicke Church; and that either by the conſent and authoritie, or els at yͤ leaſt by the permiſſion and ſufferance of the Princes and ciuill powers for the tyme rulynge. &c.

ow the byſhop of ome roſe ambiti-

Fyrſt, the generall Councell of Nice decreed, that the Patriarkes of Alexandria, and Antiochia, ſhould haue lyke power ouer the countreyes about thoſe Cities, as the Biſhops of Rome had ouer the countreys about Rome.

In the Councell of Mileuitane it was decreed, that if a clerke of Aphricke would appeale out of Aphricke, vnto any byſhop beyond the ſea, hee ſhoulde bee taken as a perſon excommunicate.

In the generall Councell of Conſtantinople the firſt, it was lykewyſe decreed, that euerye cauſe betwene any perſons, ſhould be determined within the prouinces where the matters did lye: and that no biſhop ſhoulde exerciſe any power out of hys owne dioces or prouince. And thys was alſo the minde of holy S. Cyprian, and of other holy men of Aphrica.

To conclude therfore, the Pope hath no ſuch primacie geuen hym, eyther by the wordes of Scripture, or by any generall Councell, nor by cōmon cōſent of the holy catholicke Church.

ncilium tium rthagi- ſe, cap. gorius 4. epi. larum dictione epi.13.

And ſhortly after followeth: And for the better confirmation of this parte, we thinke it alſo conuenient, that all Byſhops and preachers ſhal inſtruct and teache the people committed vnto their ſpirituall charge, that Chriſt dyd by expreſſe wordes prohibite, that none of his Apoſtles or any of their ſucceſſours, ſhould vnder the pretenſe of the autoritie gyuen vnto thē by Chriſt, take vpon them the authoritie of the ſworde, that is to ſay, the authoritie of kynges, or of any ciuill power in this worlde, yea or any authoritie to make lawes or ordinances in cauſes appertaynyng vnto ciuill powers. Trouth it is, that prieſtes and byſhops may execute al ſuch temporall power and iuriſdiction, as is committed vnto them by the ordinance and authoritie of kynges or other ciuill powers, and by the conſent of the people (as Officers and Miniſters vnder the ſaid kynges and powers) ſo longe as it ſhall pleaſe the ſayd kynges and people to permitte and ſuffre thē ſo to vſe and execute the ſame. Notwithſtandinge if any biſhop, of what eſtate or dignitie ſo euer he be, be he byſhop of Rome, or of any other Citie, Prouince, or Dioces, do preſume, or take vpon hym authoritie or iuriſdiction, in cauſes or matters which appertaine vnto kings and the ciuill powers and their courtes, & will maintaine or thinke, that he may ſo do by the authoritie of Chriſt and his goſpell, although the kynges and princes wold not permitte & ſuffre him ſo to do: no doubt that biſhop is not worthy to be called a biſhop, but rather a Tyranne and an vſurper of other mens rightes, cōtrary to the lawes of God, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwyſe, than he that goeth about to ſubuerte the kyngdome of Chriſt. For the kyngdome of Chriſte in his church is a ſpirituall, and not a carnall kyngedome of the worlde, that is to ſaye, the very kyngdome that Chriſt by hym ſelfe or by his Apoſtels and Diſciples, ſought here in this worlde, was to bringe all nations from the carnall kyngdome of the Prince of darcknes, vnto the lyght of his ſpirituall kyngdome, and ſo to reigne hym ſelfe in the hartes of people by grace, fayth, hope, and charitie. And therfore, ſyth Chriſt dyd neuer ſeeke nor exerciſe any worldly kyngdome or dominion in this world, but rather refuſinge and flying from the ſame, dyd leaue the ſayd worldly gouernance of kyngdomes, realmes, and nations, to be gouerned by princes and potentates (in lyke maner as he dyd fynde them) and cōmaunded alſo his Apoſtles and Diſciples to do the ſemblable, as it was ſayd before: what ſoeuer prieſt or byſhop will arrogate or preſume vpon hym any ſuch authoritie, and will pretend the authoritie of the Goſpell for his defence therin, he doth nothyng els, but (in maner, as you would ſay) crowneth Chriſt againe with a crowne of thorne, and traduceth & bryngeth him forth agayne with his mantell of purpure vpon his backe, to be mocked and ſcorned of the world, as the Iewes dyd to thire owne damnation.

The biſhop of Rome iudged to be a Tirāne and vſurper.

This doctrine was ſubſcribed & allowed by the witnes and teſtimonie of theſe Byſhops and other learned men, whoſe names here vnder folow, as appeareth in the Byſhops booke aforenamed.

Teſtes.

Teſtimonies of biſhopes of England agaynſt the Pope.

Thomas Cātuarien.
Edouardus Ebor.
Iohannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunel.
Stephanus Winton.
Robertus Carliolen.
Ioannes Exon.
Ioannes Lincoln.
Ioannes Bathonien.
Rolandus Couen. & Lich.
Thomas Elien.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Ioannes Bangor.

Edouardus Herefor.
Hugo Wigornien.
Ioannes Roffen.
Ricardus Ciceſtren.
Guliel. Norwicen.
Guilielmus Meneuē.
Robertus Aſſauen.
Robertus Landauē.

Ricardus, Wolman, *Archdiaco. Sudbur.*
Guilielmus Knight, *Arch. Richmōd.*
Ioannes Bell, *Arch.*

Glouceſter.
Edmundus Boner, *Archdia. Leiceſter.*
Guilielmus Skippe, *Archdiaco. Dorſet.*
Nicolaus Heth, *Archdiaco. Stafford.*
Cuthbert⁹ Marſhall, *Arch. Notingham.*
Ricardus Curren, *Archdia. Oxon.*
Gulielmus Cliffe.
Calfridus Downes.
Robertus Okyng.
Radulph⁹. Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Mathew.
Ioannes Prin.
Guiliel. Buckmaſter.
Gulielmus May.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Ricardus Coxe.
Ioannes Edmūdes.
Thomas Robertſon.
Ioannes Baker.
Thomas Barret.
Ioannes Haſe.
Ioannes Tyſon.

These were Doctours of Diuinitie and of both lawes.

Iudge now thy ſelf (louyng reader) per confeſſata & allegata: that is, by theſe thinges heretofore confeſſed, alledged, allowed, proued and confirmed, by pen ſet forth, by wordes defended, and by othe ſubſcribed by theſe Byſhops and Doctours, if either Martin Luther hym ſelfe, or any Lutherane els could or did euer ſay more agaynſt ẏ proude vſurpation of the Biſhop of Rome, then theſe mē haue done. If they diſſembled otherwiſe then they ment, who coulde euer diſſemble ſo depely, ſpeakyng ſo pithely? If they ment as they ſpake, who could euer turne head to tayle ſo ſodenly & ſo ſhortly as theſe men did? But becauſe theſe thynges we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them, let vs marke therefore their reaſons, and let the perſons go.

The Byſhops of England then good Lutherans.

And although the ſayd proufes & argumentes heretofore alledged might ſuffice to the full diſcuſſiō of this matter agaynſt the Popes vſurped primacie: yet becauſe many do yet remayne, whiche will not be ſatiſfied, to refell therfore and confute this Popiſhe Article of ẏ popes vayne & proud primacie, with as much matter and furniture of reaſons & allegations, as the wrytynges & teſtimonies of theſe Byſhops & others do miniſter vnto vs: we minde (the Lord willing) to annexe to theſe former confirmations of the Byſhops aforeſayd, an other ſupplement alſo of a certein Epiſtle ſent by Byſhop Tonſtall, and by Iohn Stokeſley Biſhop of London, to Cardinall Poole, for a more ample confutation of the vſurped power.

The epiſtle of *Tonſtall and Stokeſley*, to Cardinall *Poole*.

Concernyng the argument of whiche Epiſtle, here is firſt to be vnderſtanded, that about this tyme or not much ouer, Cardinal Poole brother to the Lord Montagew, was attaynted of hygh treaſon and fled away vnto Rome, where within a ſhort tyme after, hee was made Cardinal of S. Mary Coſmeden: of whom more is to be ſpoken hereafter, the Lord ſo permittyng, whē we come to the tyme of Quéene Mary. In the meane tyme he remainyng at Rome, there was directed vnto hym a certeine Epiſtle exhortatory by Stokeſley Byſhop of Lōdon, and Tonſtall Byſhop of Dureſme, perſuadyng hym to relinquiſhe and abandon the ſupremacie of the Pope, and to cōforme hym ſelfe to the Religion of hys kyng. The copy of whiche Epiſtle, for the reaſons and argumentes therein conteyned about the ſame matter, we thought here not vnworthy to be put in, or vnprofitable to be read. The tenour wherof here foloweth.

¶ *The true Copy of a certaine Letter written by Cutbert Tonſtall Biſhop of Dureſme, and Iohn Stokeſley Byſhop of London, to Cardinall Poole, prouyng the Byſhop of Rome to haue no ſpeciall ſuperioritie aboue other Byſhops.*

This letter was teſtified by Cuth. Tonſtall, to Mathew Archbiſhop of Canterbury and others, to be hys owne, about 14. dayes before hys death.

For the good will that wee haue borne vnto you in tymes paſt, as long as you cōtinued the kynges true ſubiect, we cā not a litle lament & mourne, that you neither regardyng the ineſtimable kyndnes of the kynges hyghnes heretofore ſhewed vnto you in your bryngyng vp, nor the honour of the houſe that you be come of, nor the wealth of the countrey that you were borne in, ſhould ſo decline frō your dutye to your Prince, that you ſhould bee ſeduced by fayre wordes and vayne promyſes of the Byſhop of Rome, to wynde with hym, goyng about by all meanes to hym poſſible, to pull downe and put vnder foote, your naturall Prince and Maiſter, to ẏ deſtruction of the countrey that hath brought you vp, and for a vayne glory of a red hat, to make your ſelfe an inſtrumēt to ſet forth his malice, who hath ſtyrred by all meanes that he could, all ſuch Chriſtian Princes as would giue eares vnto hym, to depoſe the kinges hyghnes from his kyngdome, and to offer it as a pray, to them that ſhould execute hys malice, and to ſtyrre if he could, his ſubiectes agaynſt hym, in ſtyryng and nouriſhyng rebellions in hys realme: where the office and duetie of all good Chriſtian men, and namely of vs that be Prieſtes, ſhould bee to bryng all cōmotion to tranquilitie, all trouble to quietnes, all diſcorde to concorde, and in doyng the contrary, we ſhewe our ſelues to bee but the miniſters of Sathan, and not of Chriſt, who ordeyned all vs that be Prieſtes, to vſe in all places the legation of peace, and not of diſcorde.

But ſynce that can not bee vndone that is done, ſecond it is to make amendes, and to folow the doyng of the prodigall ſonne ſpoken of in the Goſpell: who returned home to hys father, and was well accepted, as no doubt you myght be, if you will ſay as he ſayd in knowledgyng your foly, & do as he dyd in returnyng home agayne from your wandryng abroad in ſeruice of them, who litle care what come of you, ſo that their purpoſe by you be ſerued. And if you bee moued by your conſcience, that you can not take the kyng our maiſter as Supreme head of the Churche of England, becauſe the Byſhop of Rome hath heretofore many yeares vſurped that name vniuerſally ouer all the Churche, vnder pretence of the Goſpel of S. Mathew, ſaying: *Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Church:* Surely that text, many of the moſt holy and auncient expoſitours, wholy do take to be ment of the fayth, then firſt confeſſed by the mouth of Peter, vpon whiche fayth confeſſing Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, the Churche is builded, Chriſt beyng the very loweſt foundation ſtone, whereupon both the Apoſtles them ſelues, and alſo the whole fayth of the Churche of Chriſt by them preached thorow the world, is founded and builded, and other foundation none can be, but that onely, as S. Paule ſayth: *No other foundation can any man lay, beſides that whiche is layd, whiche is Chriſt Ieſus.*

And where you thinke that the Goſpell of Luke proueth the ſame authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, ſaying: *Peter I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth ſhould not fayle: and thou beyng once conuerted, confirme thy brethren:* Surely that ſpeaketh only of ẏ fall of Peter knowen to Chriſt by hys godly preſcience, wherof he gaue hym an ynkelyng that after the tyme of hys fall, he ſhould not diſpayre, but returne agayne and confirme hys brethren, as he euer beyng moſt feruent of them, was wont to do. The place doth playnly open it ſelfe that it can not be otherwiſe taken, but this to be the very meanyng of it, and not to be ſpoken but to Peter: For els hys ſucceſſours muſt fyrſt fayle in the fayth, and then cōuert, and ſo confyrme theyr brethren. And where as you thinke that thys place of the Goſpell of Iohn: *Fede my Sheepe*, was ſpoken onely to Peter, and that thoſe wordes make him ſhepheard ouer all, and aboue all: S. Peter hym ſelfe teſtifieth the contrary in hys Canonicall Epiſtle, where he ſayth to all Prieſts: *Fede the flocke of Chriſt whiche is among you:* which he bad them doe by the authoritie that Chriſt had put them in, as foloweth: *And when the chief ſhepheard ſhall appeare, ye ſhall receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glory.*

The ſame likewiſe S. Paul in ẏ Actes teſtifieth, ſaying: *Geue hede to your ſelues and to the whole flocke, wherin the holy Ghoſt hath ſet you to gouerne the Churche of God.* Where, in the the original text, the word ſignifying Regere, to gouerne, ποιμαίνειν, is the ſame that was ſpoken to Peter, Paſce, *Fede*, for it ſignifyeth both in the Scripture. And that by theſe wordes he was not conſtitute a Shepeheard ouer all, it is very plaine by the facte of S. Peter, which durſt not enterpriſe much conuerſation among the Gentiles, but eſchewed it as a thyng vnlawfull, and much rather prohibited then commaunded by Gods law, vntill hee was admoniſhed by the reuelation of the ſhete full of diuers viandes, mencioned in the Actes of the Apoſtles: where if Chriſt by theſe wordes: *Fede my ſheepe*, had geuē ſuch an vniuerſall gouernāce to Peter, then Peter being more feruent then other of ẏ Apoſtles to execute Chriſtes cōmaundement, would of hys own courage haue gone without any ſuch new admonition, to Cornelius: except peraduenture you would ſay, that Peter dyd not vnderſtand the ſayd wordes of Chriſt, for lacke of the lyght whiche the latter men haue obtayned to perceaue, and therby vnderſtand the wordes of Chriſt to Peter, better then Peter hym ſelfe dyd. And ſtraunge alſo it were to condemne Peter as an hygh traytor to hys maiſter, after hys Aſcenſion: as he in dede were worthy, if hys maiſter had ſignifyed vnto hym, that the Byſhops of Rome, by hys dying there, ſhould be heades of all the Church, and he knowyng the ſame by theſe wordes, *Fede my ſhepe*, yet notwithſtandyng hys maiſters hyghe legacie and commaundement, would flee, as hee did, from Rome, vntill hys maiſter encountryng hym by the way with terrible wordes, cauſed hym to returne. And becauſe thys hyſtorye peraduenture can not waye agaynſt an obſtinate mynde, to the contrarye: what ſhall we ſaye to the wordes of S. Ambroſe, declaring and affirmyng that as great and as ample primacie was geuen to Paule, as to Peter? Vpon theſe wordes of Paule: *He that VVrought by Peter. &c.* thus hee writeth: Petrum ſolum nominat, & ſibi comparat, quia primatum ipſe acceperat ad fundandam Eccleſiam: ſe quoq; pari modo electum vt primatum haberet in fundandis Eccleſijs Gentium. &c. That is to ſay: He nameth Peter onely, and compareth hym to himſelfe, becauſe he receyued a primacy to buylde a Church: and that he in lyke ſorte was choſen hymſelf to haue a primacy in buylding the Churches of the Gentiles. And ſhortly after it followeth: Of thoſe (that is to ſay, of the Apoſtles) which were the chiefeſt, hys gyfte, he ſayeth, was allowed which he had receyued of God, ſo that he was found worthy to haue the primacy in preaching to yͤ Gentiles, as Peter had in preachyng to the Iewes. And as he aſſygned to Peter for his companions, thoſe whiche were of the cheſeſt men amongſt the Apoſtles: euẽ ſo alſo dyd he take to hym ſelfe Barnabas, who was ioyned vnto hym by Gods iudgement: and yet dyd he chalenge to hym ſelfe alone the prerogatiue or primacye which God had gyuen hym, as to Peter alone it was graunted among the other Apoſtles. So that the Apoſtles of the circumciſion gaue their handes to the Apoſtles of the Gentiles, to declare theyr concorde in fellowſhyp, that eyther of them ſhoulde know that they had receyued the perfection of the ſpiryte in the preachyng of the Goſpell, and ſo ſhould not nede eyther other in any matter. And ſhortly after, ſayth S. Ambroſe, who durſt reſyſt Peter the chiefe Apoſtle, but an other ſuch a one, whiche by the confydence of hys election myght knowe hym ſelfe to be no leſſe, and ſo myght reproue boldelye that thyng which he inconſyderately had done. &c.

This equalitie of dignitie, whiche S. Ambroſe affirmeth by Scripture to be equally gyuen to Peter and Paule, S. Cypriane and S. Hierome, do extende to all the Apoſtles, Cypriane ſaying thus: Hoc erant vtiq; & cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari cõſortio præditi, & honoris & poteſtatis: All the reſte of the Apoſtles were the ſame that Peter was, beyng endued with lyke equalitie of honour and power. And S. Hierome thus: Cuncti Apoſtoli claues regni cœlorum accipiunt, & ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo fundatur: All the Apoſtles receyued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and vpon them, as indifferently and equally, is the ſtrength of the Churche groũded and eſtabliſhed. Which S. Hierome alſo, aſwel in his commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to Tite, as in his Epiſtle to Euagrius, ſheweth that theſe primacies long after Chriſtes aſcenſion, were made by the deuiſe of men, where before, by the commune agrement and conſent of the clergie, euery of the churches were gouerned, yea the Patriarchall churches. The wordes of S. Hierome be theſe: Sciant ergo Epiſcopi ſe magis ex cõſuetudine, quam diſpenſationis dominicæ veritate, Presbyteris eſſe maiores: Let the Biſhops vnderſtand, that they be greater then other prieſtes, rather of cuſtome, then by the vertue & veritie of yͤ Lordes ordinaunce. And in his ſaid Epiſtle to Euagrius he hath the like ſentence, and addeth thereto: Vbicunque fuerit Epiſcopus, ſiue Romæ, ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli. &c: Where ſoeuer a Biſhop be, either at Rome, or at Eugubiũ, or at Conſtantinople, he is of all one worthines, & of all one prieſthode: and that one was elected which ſhould be preferred before other, it was deuiſed for yͤ redreſſe of ſchiſmes, leſte any one chalẽging to much to hym ſelfe, ſhould rente the Church of Chriſt. Theſe wordes onely of S. Hierome, be ſufficiẽt to proue that Chriſt by none of theſe three textes (which be all that you and others do alleadge for youre opinion) gaue to Peter any ſuch ſuperioritie, as the Biſhop of Rome by them vſurpeth: and that Peter nor no other of the chiefe Apoſtles did vendicate ſuch primacie or ſuperioritie, but vtterly refuſed it, and therfore gaue preeminence aboue them ſelues, to one that though he be ſometymes called an Apoſtle, yet he was none of the .xij. as Euſebius in the beginning of his ſecond boke called Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica, doth teſtifie, alledging for him the great and auncient clerke Clemens Alexandrinus, ſaying thus: Petr⁹, Iacobus, ac Iohannes, poſt aſſumptionem Saluatoris, quamuis ab ipſo fuerant omnibus penè prælati, tamen non ſibi vendicarunt gloriam, ſed Iacobum qui dicebatur Iuſtus, Apoſtolorum Epiſcopum ſtatuunt: Peter, Iames, and Iohn, after Chriſtes aſcenſiõ into heauẽ, although they were by hym preferred almoſte before all other, yet they chalenged not that glory to them ſelues, but decreed that Iames, who was called Iuſtus, ſhould be chiefe Biſhop of the Apoſtles. By theſe wordes it is cleare, that Iames was the Biſhoppe of the Apoſtles, not becauſe as ſome men doe gloſe, he was elected by the Apoſtles, but becauſe he had therby the primacie and honour of a Biſhop in Ieruſalẽ, aboue the reſt of the Apoſtles.

Iames the Iuſte made the Byſhop of the Apoſtles.

And one thyng is eſpecially to be noted, and alſo marueled at, that the Biſhops of Rome do chalenge this primacie alonely by Peter, and yet S. Paule, whiche was his equal, or rather ſuperiour by Scripture, in his Apoſtleſhip amongſt the Gentiles, whereof Rome was the principall, ſuffred at Rome where Peter did, and is commonly in all the Romane Church, ioyned with Peter in all appellations and titles of preeminence, and both be called Principes Apoſtolorum: The chiefe of the Apoſtles. Vpon both is equallye foũded the church of Rome. The accoũting of Biſhops of Rome, many yeres agreeth thereunto. For Euſebius ſayth, that Clemens tertius poſt Paulum & Petrum, Pontificatum tenebat: Clement was the thyrde Byſhop after S. Paul and Peter: reckonyng them both as Biſhopes of Rome, and yet therein preferryng S. Paule: with like wordes ſayinge of Alexander Biſhop of Rome: that Quinta ſucceſſione poſt Petrũ atq; Paulum, plebis gubernacula ſortitus eſt: Alexander obtayned the gouernaunce of the people by ſucceſſion, the fifte Biſhop after Peter & Paule. Irenæus alſo ſayth, as Euſebius reciteth: that Fundata & edificata Eccleſia, beati Apoſtoli Lino officium Epiſcopatus iniungunt: After the Churche was once founded and buylded, the holy Apoſtles charged Linus with the Biſhoprike. Wherby appeareth, that they both ioyntly cõſtituted hym Biſhop of Rome, and receyued onely their Apoſtleſhip enioyned vnto them by Chriſt. And therfore if the Biſhoppes of Rome chalenge any preeminence of authoritie by Peter, they ſhould aſwel or rather chalenge the ſame by Paul, becauſe they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there ſuffered: reſigning firſt that biſhoprike to Linus, and al at once.

Seing Paule was chiefe primate of the Gentiles, it is agaynſt reaſon that the Romanes ſhould chalenge the primacie by Peter.

Lib. 3. cap. 21.

Lib. 5. ca. 6.

And if you will peraduenture leane to the former preaching there by Peter, whiche by Scripture can not bee proued, yet then at the leaſt S. Paule and hys ſucceſſors in Epheſus ſhould haue like primacie, becauſe he founded firſte that church, though S. Iohn after that did builde it, as witneſſeth Euſebius ſaying: Eccleſia quæ eſt apud Epheſum, à Paulo quidem fundata eſt, à Iohanne verò ædificata: The Churche which is at Epheſus, was founded of Paul, but it was builded of S. Iohn. And ſo Peter ſhould haue no other primacie in Rome, but as Paul had in Epheſus, that is to ſay: to be counted as the fyrſt preacher and conuerter of the people there to yͤ faith of Chriſt. And aſwell might all the biſhops of Epheſus, chalenge the primacie of all nations, both Gentiles and Iewes by S. Paule the Apoſtle of the Gentiles their founder, as the Biſhop of Rome by S. Peter the Apoſtle only of the circumciſion, in caſe he were the fyrſt founder chalenging primacie ouer all. But vndoubtedly this primacie ouer all, that the Biſhops of Rome of late do chalenge, was not allowed nor yet knowen nor heard of amongſt yͤ aunciẽt fathers, though they had theyr church of Rome in hyghe eſtimation, aſwell for the notable vertuous dedes that the Clergye dyd there ſhewe and exerciſe abundantly to theyr neighbours (as witneſſeth the ſaid Euſebius, alleaging there yͤ Epiſtle that Dioniſius Alexandrinus wrote to Soter Biſhop of Rome, teſtifying the ſame) as for that the Citye of Rome was the moſt ample and chiefe Citie of all the worlde, witneſſyng S. Cypriane, ſaying: Planè, quoniam pro magnitudine ſua debeat Charthaginem Roma præcedere, illic maiora & grauiora cõmiſit: Certeinly, becauſe that Rome ought for the greatnes therof to excell Carthage, there Nouatus committed the greater & more greuous offences. Which S. Cypriane alſo, when he had ordeyned and appoynted certayne

Lib. 3. ca. 23.

The fyrſt foundation of a church maketh no primacie.

Lib. 4. cap. 23.

Cypri. Lib. 2. ad Corneliũ.

Cipr. Lib. 3. epiſt. ad Cornelium.

Appeale to Rome forbidden.

decres and ſtatutes vnto the Byſhop of Rome, he did not ſubmit them to hys reformation or iudgement, but only ſygnifyed hys owne ſentence to lyke hym alſo: and yet addyng therunto, that yf any byſhops (meanyng aſwell of Rome, as of others) which were of the cōtrary opinions to hym, woulde otherwyſe thynke or do, he woulde not then, that hys ſentence ſhoulde bee to them preiudiciall, neyther woulde hee therby compell them to anye thyng: but would that they ſhoulde followe theyr owne mindes and cuſtomes: partely for that euery one of the byſhops hath libertye of hys owne wyll, and partely for ẏ euery gouernour ſhall make an accompt to God of his own dede, as it appeareth plainly in hys Epiſtle to Stephanus and Iulianus. And in the. iij. Epiſtle to Cornelius, towardes the ende, ſpeakyng of the appeale that one Feliciſſimus & Nouatian, after hys condemnation in Affrica, made to Rome, hee impugneth ſuch appeales, ſaying: Quia ſingulis paſtoribus portio gregis eſt aſſcripta, quam regat vnuſquiſque & gubernet, rationem ſui actus Domino redditurus. &c. Foraſmuch as euery Paſtour hath his own flocke committed to him, which euery one ought to rule and gouerne, and muſt geue accompt to the Lord of hys adminiſtration, it is decreed of vs all, and we thinke it both mete & iuſt, that euery mans cauſe and plee ſhoulde there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent clerke and Martyr S. Cypriane woulde neuer haue eyther impugned theyr appeale to Rome from theyr owne primacies, or ſo earneſtly haue mayntayned his determinations in the Cōſcels of Affrike cōtrary to the opiniō of the Byſhops of Rome and to theyr cuſtomes, without any ſubmiſſion by worde or wrytyng, if the primacie ouer all, which the Byſhops of Rome doo challenge and vſurpe, had bene grounded vpō the plaine Scriptures, as you with ſome others do thynke: and it is to be ſuppoſed alſo, that he would in all hys Epiſtles haue called them Patres or Dominos, fathers or Lords, as Superiours, and not alwayes Fratres & collegas, brothers and fellowes in office, as but onely his equalles.

Concil. Aphrican.

Aug. epiſt. 16.

Vide duas Epiſtolas ad Bonifacium. pp. 1. ot. conciliorum. fol. 307. 308.

Diſt. 16. Viginti.

Whiche thyng yet more playnly doth appeare by the Actes of ẏ Councels of Aphricke in S. Auguſtines tyme, by the which it is euident, that though the fayth of Chriſt was by the Romaines firſt brought into Aphricke (as S. Auguſtine doth confeſſe) yet it was not read nor knowē, that the Byſhops of Rome vſed or chalenged any ſoueraigntie in Affricke, vnto thys tyme. And yet then hee dyd not chalenge it by the ryght of Gods worde, but by the pretence of a certayne Canon ſuppoſed to bee in the Councell of Nice. Whiche Article could neuer bee founde, thoughe it were then very diligently ſought for through all the principal Churches of the Eaſt & South: but only was alleged of Iulius biſhop of Rome, out of his owne Library. And you may be well aſſured, that if the Scriptures had made for it, neither the Byſhop of Rome would haue left that certayne proufe by Scriptures, and truſted only to the teſtimony of an Article of that Councell, being in doubt and vnlykely to be found, nor yet S. Auguſtine with hys holy and learned company, would haue reſiſted this demaund, if it had bene either groūded vpon Scriptures, or determined in that or other Councels, or yet had ſtand with equitie, good order or reaſon. Howbeit the largenes and magnificence of buyldynges of that Citie, & the auncient excellencie and ſuperioritie of the ſame in temporall dominions, was the only cauſe that in the Councels (where the Patriarchall ſeas were ſet in order) the Byſhop of Rome was lotted to the fyrſt place, and not by any ſuch cōſtitution made by Chriſt, as appeareth wel by that, that Conſtantinople beyng at the ſame tyme of thys orderyng of ẏ Patriarchall ſeas, moſt amply enlarged by ẏ Emperours, beyng before a ſmall towne and of no renowne, and by thē moſt magnificētly builded & aduaūced worldly with all titles, prerogatiues and priuileges temporall lyke vnto Rome, and therfore called Noua Roma, new Rome, was therfore aduaunced alſo to the ſecond Sea & place, Antiochia in the Eaſt, (where S. Peter fyrſt tooke the chayre before he came to Rome, and where Chriſten men had fyrſt theyr name geuē them) yea and Ieruſalem (whiche was the fyrſt mother Citie of our fayth, and where Chriſt hym ſelfe fyrſt founded the fayth) and alſo Alexandria beyng reiected to the iij. iiij. and v. places, becauſe at that tyme they were not in ſo hyghe eſtimation in the world, thoughe in the fayth of Chriſt all they were auncientes, and ſome of them mothers to Rome.

Hiſt. tripart. Lib. 4. Cap. 6.

Truth it is, that the Biſhoppes of the Orient, for debates in matters of the fayth amonges them ſelues, made ſutes to the byſhop of Rome: but that was not for the ſuperioritie of iuriſdictiō ouer them, but becauſe they were greatly diuided, and thoſe countreis, as well Byſhopes as others, much infected with the hereſies of the Arrians, whereof the weſte was in a maner cleare, and among them of the Oriente, none were counted indifferent to decide thoſe matters, but were all ſuſpected of affectiō for one cauſe or other: wherfore they deſyred ẏ opiniōs of ẏ byſhops of ẏ weſt, as indifferent, & not tangled with affections of any of thoſe partes, neyther corrupted with any of the Arrians, as appeareth by the Epiſtles of S. Baſyll wrytten in all theyr names for the ſayd purpoſe. In the which alſo it is eſpecially to be noted, that their ſute was not to the Byſhop of Rome ſingularly, or by name, but (as the tytles do ſhew) to the whole cōgregacion of ẏ Biſhops of Italy, & Fraunce, or of the whole weſte, and ſometyme preferryng the Frenche and Italian Biſhops ſaying, Gallis & Italis; and neuer naming the Romaynes: And for a cleare profe that the auncient fathers knewe not thys primacye of one aboue all, we neede none other teſtimonie, but theyr determination in the counſell of Nyce, that Alexandria and Antiochia, and vniuerſally all other primates, ſhoulde haue the whole gouernaunce of theyr conſyne countreis, lyke as the byſhop of Rome had of thoſe that inhabited within his ſuburbes. And this determination proueth alſo, that your three Scriptures ment nothyng leſſe, then this primacie ouer all. For God forbidde that we ſhoulde ſuſpecte that Councel as ignoraunt of thoſe plaine Scriptures, to the which ſythe that tyme, all Chriſtendome hath leaned, as the anker of our fayth. And yf you lyke to reade the auncient Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories, there you may ſee, that Athanaſius and other Patriarckes did execute, that primacye, as in making, conſecratyng, and orderyng of Churches, Byſhoppes, and clerkes in theyr countries Eaſt and South, as the Byſhoppes of Rome in that tyme dyd in the weſt and North.

And if you would yet any thing obiect agaynſt any of theſe witneſſes, then for to eſchewe contention, and for a fynall concluſion, let the Byſhop of Rome ſtande to hys owne confeſſion made manye yeares paſt by hys predeceſſour Agatho, to the Emperour Conſtantine, Heraclius, and Tyberius, in his Epiſtle wryttē to them in his name, & in the name of all the Synodes which he thought to be vnder the ſea Apoſtolyke: wherin ſone after the begynning of the Epiſtle, he comprehendeth them all vnder the name of the Byſhops dwelling in ẏ North & weſt partes of theyr Empyre: So that there in his own Epiſtle, he confeſſeth all hys ſubiectes or obedienciaries, to be only of the North & weſt: and ſo it appeareth euidently by hys owne confeſſion, that neyther by Gods lawe nor mans lawe he had to do with any perſon of the Eaſt or the South. And this hys hyghe Soueraigntie ouer all, chalēged (as you and others ſay) by Scripture, as by his owne confeſſion doth appeare, is brought into a little & a ſtraite angle. And this Agatho was not a man vnlearned, as appeareth by the actes of the vj. Synode of Conſtantinople in the. iiij. Acte, wherein is written at large and expreſſed the ſayd Epiſtle and cōfeſſion. And the primacie of Peter, which auncient doctors ſpeake of, which was onely in preachyng and teaching the fayth of Chriſt, which he fyrſt among all the Apoſtles and fyrſt of al mortall men, did expreſſe with his mouth, did after ſo adhere to his own perſone, that it was neuer deriued eyther to any ſucceſſor, or to any other Apoſtle, but chiefly to hymſelfe: for all other afterwardes profeſſyng the ſame, ſpake it accordyng vnto him, who had profeſſed it before. More ouer, all the Apoſtles (as S. Iohn ſaith) be foundations in the heauenly Ieruſalem, and not Peter only. Alſo Cipriā affirmeth (as is aforeſaid) that all the Apoſtles were of equall dignitye and power: whiche all auncient Autours likewyſe do affirme. For Chriſt gaue the Apoſtles like power in the goſpell ſaying: *Goe and teach all nations, baptizing them. &c.* And S. Paul (as is ſayd before) knew no other primacie geuen to Peter to preach in any place, but among the Iewes, as he hymſelfe had amonge the Gentils, as he wryteth to the Galathiās. Wherupō S. Ambroſe wryting (as is aforeſayd) affirmeth the ſame. And that the mother of all Churches is Ieruſalem (as afore is ſaid) and not Rome, the Scripture is plaine, both in the Prophet Eſay: *Out of Syon ſhall the lawe procede, and the Word of the Lord out of Ieruſalem* (Vpō the which place S. Ierome ſayth: In Hieruſalem primum fundata Eccleſia, totius orbis Eccleſias ſeminauit: *Out of the Church beyng fyrſt fōded in Ieruſalē, ſprong all other Chrches of the Whole World:*)

and alſo in the Goſpel which Chriſt before his aſcenſion commaunded his Apoſtles to preache throughout all the worlde, begynnyng fyrſt at Jeruſalem: So that the Byſhop of Romes vniuerſal power by hym claimed ouer all, can not by any ſcripture be iuſtified: as if you haue read yͤ auncient fathers expoſitions of the ſayd Scriptures (as we ſuppoſe you haue, ſyth your letters ſent hither concerning thys matter) and would geue more credence to theyr humble and plaine ſpeaking, then to the latter contentious and ambicious wryters of that hyghe and aboue the Ideas of Plato hys ſubtilitie (whiche paſſeth as you wryte) the lawyers learnyng and capacitye: we doubt not, but that you perceyue and thinke the ſame.

And where you thinke that the kyng cã not be taken as ſupreme head of the Church, becauſe he can not exerciſe the chief office of the Church in preaching and miniſtring of the Sacramentes: it is not requiſite in euerye body naturally yͤ the head ſhoulde exerciſe eyther all maner of offices of the body, or the chief office of the ſame. For albeit the head is the higheſt and chieſe member of the naturall bodye, yet the diſtribution of life to al the members of the body, aſwell to the head as to other mẽbers, cõmeth frõ the hart & it is the miniſter of lyfe to the whole body, as the chief acte of yͤ body. Neyther yet hath this ſimilitude hys full place in a miſticall bodye, that a king ſhould haue the chief office of adminiſtration in the ſame: And yet notwithſtãding the ſcripture ſpeaking of king Saul, ſaith: *I made thee head amongeſt the tribes of Iſraell.* And if a kyng amongeſt the Jewes, were the head in the tribes of Iſrael, in yͤ time of yͤ law, much more is a Chriſtian kyng head in the tribes of ſpirituall Iſraell, that is, of ſuch as by true fayth ſee Chriſt who is the ende of the law. The office deputed to the byſhops in the miſtical bodye, is to be as eies to the whole body, as almightye God ſayth to the Prophet Ezechiel: *I haue made thee an overſeer ouer the houſe of Iſraell.* And what byſhop ſo euer refuſeth to vſe the office of an eye in the myſticall body, to ſhew vnto the body the right way of beleuyng & liuing, which appertayneth to the ſpiritual eye to doo, ſhal ſhew hym ſelfe to be a blynde eye: and if he ſhall take any other office in hand then appertaineth to the right eye, he ſhall make a confuſion in the body, takyng vpõ hym an other office, then is geuen to hym of God. wherfore if the eye wyll take vpon hym the office of the whole head, it may be aunſwered, it can not ſo do, for it lacketh brayne. And examples ſhewe lykewyſe, that it is not neceſſarye alwaye that the head ſhoulde haue the facultie or chiefe office of adminiſtration, as you may ſee in a nauie by Sea, where the Admirall, who is Captayne ouer all, doth not medle with ſteryng or gouernyng of euery ſhyppe, but euery Maiſter particular muſt direct the ſhyppe to paſſe the Sea in breakyng the waues by hys ſteryng and gouernaunce, which the Admyrall the head of all, doth not hym ſelfe, nor yet hath the facultie to doo, but commaundeth the Maiſters of the ſhyppe to do it. And lykewyſe many a Captayne of great armyes, whiche is not able, nor neuer coulde peraduenture ſhoote or breake a ſpeare by hys own ſtrength, yet by hys wyſdome & cõmaundement only, atchiueth the warres, & attayneth yͤ victory.

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Reg.15.

zech.3.

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And where you thynke that vnitie ſtandeth not only in the agreyng in one faith & doctrine of the church, but alſo in agreyng in one head: if you meane the very & onlye head ouer all the Churche our Sauyour Chriſte: *VVhome the father hath ſet ouer all the churche, VVhich is his body,* wherein all good Chriſtiã men doe agree, therin you ſay truth. But if you meane of any one mortal mã to be head ouer all the Church, and that to be the Byſhop of Rome, we do not agre with you: For you do there erre in the true vnderſtandynge of Scripture, or els you muſt ſay, that the ſayd Cõucell of Nice and other moſt auncient did erre, which diuided the adminiſtration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the South frõ the North, as is before expreſſed. And that Chriſt the vniuerſal head is preſent in euery Church, yͤ goſpel ſheweth: *VVhere tVVo or thre be gathered together in my name, there I am in the myddes of them.* And in an other place: *Beholde, I am VVith you, Vntill the end of the VVorld.* By which it may appeare Chriſte the vniuerſall head, euery where to be with his miſticall body the Church: who by hys ſpirite worketh in all places (howe farre ſo euer they be diſtaunt) the vnitye and concorde of the ſame. And as for any other vniuerſall head to be ouer all, thẽ Chriſt himſelf, Scripture proueth not, as it is ſhewed before. And yet for a further proufe, to take away the ſcruples, that peraduenture do to your appearaunce ryſe of certain wordes in ſome anciẽt authours, and eſpecially in S. Cyprians Epiſtles, as that the vnitye of the Churche ſtode in the vnitye with the Byſhop of Rome, though they neuer call him ſupreme head, if you well wey & conferre al theyr ſayinges together, you ſhal perceyue that they neyther ſpake nor meant otherwyſe, but when the byſhop of Rome was once lawfully elected and enthroned, if then any other would by factiõ, might, force, or otherwiſe, (the other liuing and doing hys office) enterpriſe to put hym downe, and vſurpe the ſame Byſhoprike, or exerciſe the others office hymſelfe, as Nouatianus dyd attempt in the tyme of Cornelius: then the ſayd fathers rekoned them catholykes that dyd communicate with him that was ſo lawfully elected, & the cuſtome was, one primacy to haue to doe with an other, by congratulatory letters ſoone after the certentye of theyr election was knowen, to kepe the vnitye of the Church: and they that dyd take parte or maintayne the vſurper, to bee Schiſmatickes, becauſe that vſurper was a Schiſmatycke: Quia non ſit fas in eadẽ Eccleſia, duos ſimul Epiſcopos eſſe, nec priorem legitimũ Epiſcopũ ſine ſua culpa deponi: becauſe it was not lawfull for two biſhops to bee at once together in one Church, neither the former Biſhop being lawfull, to be depoſed without hys fault were proued. And this is not a prerogatiue of the church of Rome, more then of any other cathedral, ſpecial, patriarchall, or metropoliticall Church, as appeareth in the. iij. Epiſtle of the fyrſt booke, and in the. viij. of the ſecond, and of the fourth booke of S. Cypriane to Cornelius. whoſe wordes and reaſons, although peraduenture they might ſeme to conclude the vnitye of the Church, in the vnitye of the Byſhop of Rome, becauſe they were all wrytten to him in his owne caſe, maye aſwell be written vnto any other Biſhop lawfullye choſen, who percaſe ſhould be likewiſe diſturbed as the Biſhoppes of Rome then were, by any factions of ambitious heretikes.

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ath. 18.

ath. 28.

Aunſwere to S. Cyprian.

The church of Rome hath no more prerogatiue, then any other church.

The vnitie of the church ſtãdeth not in the vnitie of the biſh. of Rome.

And where you thinke the name of ſupreme head vnder Chriſt, geuen & attributed to the kynges maieſtie, maketh an innouation in the Church, and perturbation of the order of the ſame, it can not bee any innouation or trouble to the Church, to vſe the roume that God hath called hym to, whiche good Chriſtian Princes did vſe in the begynnyng when fayth was moſt pure, as S. Auguſtine ad Glorium & Eleuſium ſayth: Ait enim quidã: non debuit Epiſcopus pro conſulari iudicio purgari. &c. One there is whiche ſayth, that a Byſhop ought not to haue bene put to hys purgation before the iudgement ſeate of the deputie, as though he hym ſelfe procured it, & not rather the Emperour hym ſelfe cauſed this inquirie to be made, to whoſe iuriſdiction (for the whiche he muſt aunſwere to God) that cauſe did eſpecially pertayne. Chriſoſtome writeth of that Imperiall authoritie thus: Læſus eſt qui non habet parem vllum ſuper terrã: ſummitas & caput eſt omniũ hominũ ſuper terram. He is offẽded that hath no peere at all vpon the earth, for hee is the hygheſt Potentate, and the head of all men vpon earth. And Tertullian ad Scapulam, ſayth: Colimus ergò & Imperatorem ſic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipſi expedit, vt hominem a Deo ſecundum. &c. We honor and reuerence the Emperour in ſuch wiſe, as is lawfull to vs & expediẽt to him, that is to ſay, as a man next and the ſecond to God: frõ whom he hath receiued all the power he hath: and alſo inferiour to God alone, whoſe pleaſure it is ſo to haue it: For thus is he greater then all men, whiles he is inferiour but to God alone.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 162.

The imperiall authoritie is next vnder God.

And the ſayd Tertullian in hys booke Apologeticall ſpeakyng of Emperours, ſayth: Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium. &c. They know who hath gyuen to them theyr gouernement: they know that God is he alone, vnder whoſe onely power they be, and take them ſelues as ſecond to God, after whom they be the chief before all other. Theophilacte alſo to the Rom. vpon this place: Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit, ſayth: The Apoſtle there teacheth euery mã, Siue ſacerdos ille ſit, ſiue Monachus, ſiue Apoſtolꝰ, vt ſe principibus ſubdat: that whether he be a Prieſt or a Monke or an Apoſtle, hee ſhould ſubiecte him ſelfe to Princes. That is, although thou bee an Apoſtle, an Euangeliſt, a Prophet, or what ſo euer thou arte, bee ſubiecte. Non enim (ſayeth hee) ſubuertit pietatem hec ſubiectio: For this ſubiection ouerthroweth no godlynes. And the Apoſtle ſayth not onely, let hym obey: but *let hym be ſubiect.* And if the Apoſtles be ſubiect to Princes, much more all Byſhops & Patriarkes, yea the Byſhops of Rome and all other.

Tertul. in Apologet.

Theophil. in Rome.

It is written alſo in the Chronicles: *David ſayd to Salomon: behold the Prieſtes and Leuites diuided in companyes, to do all maner of ſeruice that perteyneth to the houſe of God.* Alſo: *David did appointe chiefly to thanke the Lord, Aſaph and his brethren. &c.* And, *Ioſaphat the king did conſtitute Leuites and Prieſtes,*

1. Paral. 28.

2. Paral. 16.

2. Paral. 19.

and the auncient families of Iſraell, for the Iudgement and cauſe of the Lord towards all the inhabitantes of the earth: and he charged them, ſaying: *thus ſhall ye do in the feare of the Lord, faythfully and in a perfect harte.* Furthermore: *Ezechias appoynted the Prieſtes and the Leuites in their order, to waite by courſe euery man accordyng to his office.* And it followeth: *Ezechias gaue commaundement to the people dwellyng in Hieruſalem, that they ſhould giue their portions to the Prieſtes and Leuites, that they might attende on the law of the Lord.* Where it followeth alſo that by the precept of Ezechias the king, & of Azarias yͤ Byſhop of yͤ houſe of the Lord, all thinges were done: to whom perteyned all the diſpenſation of the houſe of the Lord. And in the end it is ſayd: *Ezechias did all theſe thynges in all Iury: he wrought that which was good, right, and true before his Lorde God in all the furniture of the miniſtery of the houſe of the Lord, accordyng to the lawe and ceremonyes, deſirous to ſeeke his Lord God with all his harte, as he did, and proſpered therin.* Ioſias alſo did ordeine Prieſtes in theyr offices, and commaunded many thynges.

Chron. 31.

Chron. 35.

By all whiche it may appeare, that Chriſtian kynges be ſoueraignes ouer the Prieſtes, as ouer all other theyr ſubiectes, & may cōmaund yͤ prieſtes to do theyr offices, aſwell as they do others: and ought by theyr Supreme office, to ſee that all men of all degrees doe theyr dutyes, wherunto they be called either by God, or by the kyng: and thoſe kynges that ſo do, chiefly do execute well their office. So that the kyngs hyghnes takyng vpon hym as ſupreme head of the Churche of England, to ſee that as well ſpirituall men, as temporall do theyr ducties, doth neither make innouation in the Church, nor yet trouble the order therof: but doth as the chief and the beſt of the kynges of Iſraell dyd, and as all good Chriſtian kyngs ought to do. Whiche office good Chriſtian Emperours alwaies toke vpon them, in callyng the vniuerſall Cōſayles of all countreys, in one place and at one tyme, to aſſemble together, to the entent that all hereſyes troublyng the Churche, might be there extyrped: callyng and commaundyng aſwell the Byſhop of Rome, as other Patriarckes and all Primates, as well of the Eaſt, as of the Weaſt, of yͤ South as of the North, to come to the ſayd Councels. As Martianus the Emperour dyd in callyng the great Cōſcell of Calcedon, one of the foure chief and firſt generall Councels, commaundyng Leo then Byſhop of Rome, to come vnto yͤ ſame. And albeit Leo neither lyked the time, whiche he would for a ſeaſon ſhould haue ben differred: nor yet yͤ place, for he would haue had it in Italy, where as the Emperour by his own cōmaundement had called it to Calchis in Aſia: yet he aunſwered the Emperour, that he would gladly obey hys commaūdement, and ſent thether hys agentes to appeare there for hym, as doth appeare in the Epiſtles of Leo to Martiane then the Emperour, xli. xlvij. xlviij. and in the xlix. Epiſtle to Pulcheria yͤ Empreſſe. And likewiſe he deſireth Theodoſius the Emperour to commaunde a Councell of Byſhops to be called in Italy, for takyng away ſuch contenciōs and troubles, as at that time troubled the quietnes of the Churches. And in many moe Epiſtles of the ſame Leo it doth manifeſtly appeare, that the Emperors alwayes aſſembled generall Councels by their commaūdementes. And in the vi. Councell generall, it appeareth very plainly, that at tyme the Biſhops of Rome made no clayme nor vſed any title to call them ſelues heades vniuerſall ouer all the Catholicke Churche, as there doth appeare in the ſuperſcription or ſalutation of the foreſaid Sinodicall preamble, which is thus word for word:

Generall Coūſells called by the Emperours.

☞

To the moſt godly Lordes & moſt noble victors and conquerours, the welbeloued childrē of God and of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, Conſtantine the great Emperour, & to Heraclius and Tiberius Ceſars, Biſhop Agatho the ſeruaūt of the ſeruauntes of God, withall the conuocations ſubiect to yͤ Councel of yͤ Sea Apoſtolicke, ſendeth greetyng. And he expreſſeth what countreys he reckened and comprehended in that ſuperſcriptiō or ſalutation: For it followeth yͤ thoſe were vnder hys aſſembly, which were in the North & Eaſt partes. So that at that tyme the Byſhop of Rome made no ſuch pretence to bee ouer and aboue all, as he now doth by vſurpation, vendicatyng to hym ſelfe the ſpirituall kyngdome of Chriſt, by which he rayneth in the heartes of all faythfull people, & then chaungeth it to a temporall kyngdome ouer and aboue all kynges, to depoſe them for hys pleaſure, preachyng therby the fleſhe for the ſpirite, and an earthlye kyngdome for an heauenly, to hys owne dampnation, if he repente not. Where he ought to obey hys Prince by the doctrine of S. Peter, in hys firſt Epiſtle, ſaying: *Be ye ſubiect to euery ordinaunce of mā for the Lordes ſake, whether it be to the king as to the chief, or vnto gouerners as ſent of hym to the puniſhment of the euill doers, and to the prayſe of the good.* Agayne S. Paul. *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the hygher powers:* with other thynges before alledged. So that this hys pretenſed vſurpation to be aboue all kynges, is directly agaynſt the Scriptures, geuen to the Churche by the Apoſtles: whoſe doctrine whoſoeuer ouerturneth, can be neither the head, nor yet the leaſt member of the Churche.

1. Pet. 2.

Rom.

Wherfore, albeit ye haue heretofore ſticked to the ſayd wrongfully vſurped power, moued thereto, as ye write, by your conſcience, yet ſithens now ye ſee further, if ye luſt to regarde the mere truth, & ſuch auncient authours as haue bene written to you of in tymes paſt, we would exhort you for the wealth of your ſoule, to ſurrender into the Byſhop of Romes handes, your red hat; by which he ſeduced you, truſting ſo to make you, being come of a noble bloud, an inſtrument to aduaunce his vayne glory, wherof, by yͤ ſayd hatte, he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpoſe. In whiche doyng ye ſhall returne to the truth, from whiche ye haue erred: do your ductie to your ſoueraigne Lord, frō whō ye haue declined, & pleaſe therby almightie God, whoſe lawes ye haue tranſgreſſed: and in not ſo doyng, ye ſhall remaine in errour, offending both almightie God, and your naturall ſoueraigne Lord, whom chiefly ye ought to ſeeke to pleaſe. Whiche thing, for the good minde that we heretofore haue borne you, we pray almighty God of his infinite mercy, that you do not. Amen.

When al other the kyngs ſubiectes, & the learned of yͤ realme had taken and accepted the othe of the kyngs ſupremacie, onely Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Syr Thomas More refuſed (as is aforeſayd) to be ſworne: who therfore fallyng in daunger of the law, were committed into the tower, and executed for the ſame. an. 1535. This Iohn Fiſher aforeſayd, had written before agaynſt Oecolampadius, whoſe booke yet is extant, and afterward agaynſt Luther. Alſo amongſt other his Actes he had bene a great enemy & perſecutor of Iohn Frith the godly learned Martyr of Ieſus Chriſt, whom he & Syr Thomas More cauſed to bee burned a yeare and halfe before, and ſhortly after, the ſaid Fiſher, to his confuſion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton (called the holy mayde of Kent) and found giltie by Acte of Parlamēt, as is aboue recorded. For his learnyng and other vertues of lyfe this Byſhop was well reputed and reported of many, and alſo much lamēted of ſome. But what ſo euer his learnyng was, pitie it was, that he beyng indued wͭ that knowledge, ſhould be ſo farre drowned in ſuch ſuperſtitiō: more pitie that he was ſo obſtinate in his ignoraunce: but moſt pitie of all that he ſo abuſed yͤ learnyng he had, to ſuch crueltie, as he dyd. But thus commonly we ſee come to paſſe, as the Lord ſayth: *that who ſo ſtryketh with the ſworde, ſhall periſhe with the ſworde*, and they that ſtayne their handes with bloud, ſeldom do bryng their bodyes drye to the graue: as cōmonly appeareth by the end of bloudy tyrannes, and eſpecially ſuch as be perſecutors of Chriſtes pore members. In the number of whom was this Byſhop and Syr Thomas More, by whom good Iohn Frith, Teukeſbery, Thomas Hytten, Bayfild, with diuers other good Saintes of God, wer brought to their death. It was ſayd that the Pope, to recōpenſe Biſhop Fiſher for hys faithfull ſeruice, had elected him Cardinall, and ſent him a Cardinals Hatte as farre as Calyce, but the head it ſhould ſtād vpō, was as hye as Londō Bridge, ere euer the Popes hatte could come to him. Thus biſhop Fiſher and Syr Thomas More, whiche a litle before had put Iohn Frith to death for hereſie agaynſt the Pope, were them ſelues executed and beheaded for treaſon agaynſt the kyng, the one the 22. of Iune, the other the vj. of July. an. 1534.

1535.

Iohn Fyſher

Of Syr Thomas More ſome thyng hath bene touched before, who was alſo recompted a mā both wittie and learned, but what ſoeuer he was beſide, a bytter perſecutor he was of good men, and a wretched enemy agaynſt the truth of the Goſpell, as by hys bokes left behynd hym may appeare, wherin moſt ſlaunderouſly, and contumeliouſly he writeth agaynſt Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndall, Frith, Barnes, Bayfild, Baynham, Teukeſbery, falſely belying their Articles and doctrine, as (God grauntyng me lyfe) I haue ſufficient matter to proue agaynſt hym.

Briefly, as he was a ſore perſecutor of thē that ſtode in defenſe of the Goſpell: ſo agayne on the other ſide, ſuch a blynd deuotion he bare to the popeholy Sea of Rome, and ſo wylfullye ſtode in the Popes quarel agaynſt hys owne Prince, that he would not gyue ouer till hee had brought the Scaffold of the Tower hyll with the axe and all vpon hys owne necke.

1535.

Edward Hall in hys Chronicle wrytyng of the death and maners of thys Syr Thomas More, ſeemeth to ſtande in doubte, whether to call him a folyſhe wyſe man, or a wyſe folyſhe man. For as by nature he was indued with a great wytte, ſo the ſame agayn was ſo myngled (ſayeth he) with tauntyng and mockyng, that it ſemed to them that beſt knew hym, that he thought nothing to be wel ſpokē, except he had miniſtred ſome mocke in the cōmunication: in ſomuch as at hys commyng to the Tower, one of the Officers demaūding his vpper garmēt for his fee, meanyng hys gowne, hee aunſwered that hee ſhoulde haue it, and toke hym hys cappe, ſaying it was the vppermoſt garment that he had. Likewiſe, euen going to hys death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto hym, and beſought him to declare that he had certayne euidences of hers in the tyme that he was in office (which after he was apprehended, ſhe coulde not come by) and that he would intreate ẏ ſhe might haue them agayn, or els ſhe was vndone. He aunſwered, good woman, haue pacience a litle while, for the king is good vnto me, that euē within thys halfe houre, he wyll diſcharge me of all buſyneſſes, and helpe thee hymſelfe. Alſo when he went vp the ſtayer on ẏ Skaffold, he deſired one of the Shiriffes officers to geue hym hys hand to helpe hym vp, and ſayed, when I come downe agayne, let me ſhyft for my ſelfe aſwell as I can. Alſo the hangman kneled downe to hym aſkynge hym forgeuenes of hys death, as the maner is. To whom he ſayed, I forgeue thee, but I promiſe thee, that thou ſhalt neuer haue honeſtie of the ſtrykyng of my head, my necke is ſo ſhort. Alſo, euen when he ſhould lay downe his head on the block, he hauing a great gray beard, ſtriked out his beard and ſayd to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer ẏ block leaſt you ſhould cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended hys lyfe.

There is no doubt, but that ẏ Popes holines hath halowed ⁊ dignified theſe two perſons long ſince, for Catholicke Martyrs. Neyther is it to bee doubted, but after an hundreth yeares expired, they ſhal alſo be ſhryned and porteſſed, dying as they did in that quarell of the Church of Rome, that is, in takyng the Byſhop of Romes part, agaynſt their own ordinary and naturall prince. Whereunto (becauſe the matter aſketh a long diſcourſe and a peculiar tractation) I haue not in thys place, much to contende with Cope my frende. This briefly for a memorandū may ſuffice, that if ẏ cauſes of true Martyrdome ought to be pondered ⁊ not to be nūbred, and if ẏ end of Martyrs is to be weyed by iudgement, and not by affectiō: then the cauſe and quarel of theſe men ſtandyng as it doeth, and beyng tryed by Gods worde, perhaps in the Popes kyngdome they may go for Martyrs, in whoſe cauſe they dyed: but certes in Chriſtes kyngdome their cauſe will not ſtād, how ſoeuer they ſtand them ſelues.

The lyke alſo is to be ſayd of the iij. Monkes of Charterhouſe Exmew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, who the ſame yeare in the moneth of Iune, were lykewyſe attached and arreined at Weſtminſter, for ſpeakyng certeine traiterous wordes agaynſt the kynges crown and dignitie: for the which they were hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyburne. Whom alſo, becauſe Cope my good frend doth repute and accepte in the nūber of holy Catholicke Martyrs, here would be aſked of hym a queſtion: what Martyrs be they, which ſtandyng before the Iudge, denye their owne wordes and ſayings and pleade not giltie, ſo as theſe Carthuſiās did: wherby it appeareth, that they would neither haue ſtād nor haue died in that cauſe, as they did, if they might otherwiſe haue eſcaped by denying. Wherfore, if my frende Cope had bene ſo well aduiſed in ſettyng out hys Martyrs, as God might haue made hym, hee would firſt haue ſene the true recordes, ⁊ bene ſure of the ground of ſuch matters, wherupon he ſo confidently pronounceth, and ſo cenſoriouſly controlleth others.

Ex actis in termino Paſchæ an. 27. Reg. Hen. 8.

In the ſame cauſe and quarell of treaſon alſo, the ſame yeare, a litle before theſe aforeſayd in the moneth of May, were executed with the like puniſhemēt, Iohn Houghton Priour of the Charterhouſe in London. Robert Laurence Priour of the Chartherhouſe of Beluaile. Auſten Webſter Priour of the Chaterhouſe of Exham.

Beſyde and with theſe iij. priours, ſuffered lykewiſe the ſame tyme. ij. other Prieſtes, one called Reginold, brother of Syon, the other named Ioh. Haile Vicar of Thiſtleworth.

9. Carthuſians dyed in priſon, refuſing the kinges ſupremacie.

Diuers other Charterhouſe monkes alſo of Londō were then put in priſon, to the number of. ix. or. x. and in the ſame priſon dyed, for whom we wyll (the Lorde willing) reſerue an other place hereafter to intreate of more at large.

M. Copes ix. worthyes.

In the meane tyme, for ſomuch as the foreſaid Cope in hys doughtye Dialogues, ſpeaking of theſe. ix. worthies, doth commend them ſo highly, and eſpecially the. iij. Priours aboue recited, here by ẏ way I would deſyre M. Cope ſimplye and directly to aunſwere me to a thing or. ij. that I woulde put to hym, and fyrſt, of this Iohn Houghtō that angelical Prior of the Charterhouſe, his old companion and aquantance, of whom thus he writeth: Atqui cùm Ioannē illum Houghtonium cogito, non tam hominem quàm Angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cuius eminentes virtutes, diuinas dotes, & heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo vnquam poterit ſatis pro dignitate explicare. &c. By theſe hys owne wordes it muſt neede be confeſſed, that the Author of theſe Dialogues, who ſoeuer he was, had well ſeene ⁊ conſidered the forme and perſonable ſtature, proportion and ſhape of his excellēt body, with ſuch admiration of hys perſonage, that (as he ſaith) ſo ofte as he calleth the ſaid Iohn Houghton to mynde, it ſeemeth to hym, euen as though he ſaw an Aungell in the ſhape and forme of a mā. Whoſe eminēt vertues moreouer, whoſe diuine giftes, and heroicall celſitude of minde, no man (ſayth he) may ſufficiētly expreſſe. ⁊c. And how old was this M. Cope thē I would know, whē he ſaw and diſcerned all this. For as I vnderſtand, M. Cope beyng yet at this preſent ſcarſe come to the age of xl. yeares, he could not be then aboue ix. yeare old (the other ſufferyng an. 1535.) in ẏ which age, in my minde, M. Cope had ſmall diſcretiō to iudge either of any ſuch Angelicall proportion of mans perſonage, or of hys diuine qualities, and heroicall celſitude of his mynde, as yet he remembreth in hys Dialogues. Whiche thyng amōg many other probabilities, maketh me vehemētly to ſuſpect, ẏ theſe Dialogues printed in Antwerpe, an. 1566. were brought ouer by M. Cope there to be printed, but were penned and framed by an other Pſeudocopus, what ſoeuer, or in what fleete ſo euer hee was, vnleſſe my markes do greatly fayle me. But as the caſe is of no great weyght, ſo I let it paſſe, returnyng to other matters of more importance.

Copus in Dialog. 6. pag. 995.

Copes Dialogues ſuſpected not to be hys owne.

Shortely after the ouerthrow of the Pope, conſequētly begā by litle ⁊ litle, to folow the ruine of Abbais ⁊ Religious houſes in England, in a right order ⁊ Methode by Gods diuine prouidence. For neyther coulde the fall of monaſteries haue folowed after, vnleſſe that ſuppreſſion of the Pope had gone before, neyther could any true reformation of the Church haue bene attēpted vnleſſe the ſubuerſion of thoſe ſuperſtitious houſes had bene ioyned with all.

Suppreſſion of Abbeys firſt beginneth in England.

Religious men vnder age, let out of monaſteryes.

Whereupon the ſame yeare, in the moneth of October, the king hauing then Tho. Cromwell of his counſail, ſent Doct. Lee to viſite the Abbeys, Priories, and Nunries in all England, & to ſet at libertye all ſuch Religious perſons, as deſyred to be free, and all other that were vnder the age of xxiiij. yeres: Prouiding withall that ſuch monkes, chanons, & fryers as were dimiſſed, ſhould haue gyuen them by the Abbot or Priour, in ſtede of their habite, a ſecular prieſtes gowne, and xl. ſhyllynges of money: and lykewyſe the Nonnes to haue ſuch apparell as ſecular wemen dyd then cõmenly vſe, and ſuffered to goo, where they woule. At which time alſo, from the ſaid Abbeys and Monaſteries were taken theyr chiefe iewels and reliques.

The king firſt beginneth with the iuells of Abbeys.

An. 1536

When the Kyng had thus eſtablyſhed hys ſupremacye, & all thyngs were well quyeted within the Realme, he like a wiſe Prince, & hauing wiſe counſaile about hym, forecaſtyng with him ſelf, what foreine daũgers might fall vnto hym by other countreys about, whiche al were yet in ſubiection to yͤ Biſhop of Rome ſaue only a few Germane Princes, and miſdoubtyng the malice of the Pope: to prouide therfore by tyme for perils that might enſue, thought good to keepe in, by all meanes poſſible, with other Princes.

A ſolemne proceſſion in London for ioye of the French kinges health.

And firſt to entertaine the fauour of the Frenche kyng, who had bene ſicke a lytle before, and nowe was latelye recouered to health, in ſignifycation of publyke ioye and frendſhyp, the kyng commaunded a ſolemne & famous proceſſion to be ordeined through the Cytye of London, with the waites and children of grammer ſcholes, with the maſters and vſhers in their araye: Then folowed the orders of the fryers, and chanons and yͤ Priours with their pompe of Copes, croſſes, candelſtyckes, & bergers before them. After theſe folowed the next pagean of Clerkes and Prieſtes of London, all in copes lykewyſe. Then the Monkes of Weſtmynſter and other Abbeys, with theyr glorious gardeuiance of croſſes, candelſtickes, & bergers before them in lyke ſorte. Laſt of all came yͤ queere of Paules, with their reſidenſaryes, the Byſhop of London and the Abbottes folowyng after in their pontificalibus. After theſe courſes of the Clergy, went the companies of the Citie, with the Lord Maior and the Aldermen in their beſt apparell, after their degrees. And leſt it might be thought this proceſſion of the Church of London to make but a ſmall or a beggerly ſhewe, the furniture of the gay copes there worne was counted to the number of 714. Moreouer to fill vp the ioy of this proceſſiõ, and for the more high ſeruice to almightie God, beſide the ſinging queeres, & chauntyng of the Prieſts, there lacked no minſtrels withall, to pype at the proceſſion. Briefly here lacked nothyng els, but onely yͤ ordinaunce to ſhote of alſo. But becauſe that is vſed in yͤ proceſſions at Rome, therfore for difference ſake, the ſame is reſerued onely for the Popes owne proceſſions, and for none other, in the moneth of October.

A pyping proceſſion.

This grande proceſſion was appoynted, for a triumphe or a thankes giuyng for the late recouery of the Frenche kynges health, as is aforeſayd.

Ambaſſadours ſent to ſondry kings.

Ouer and beſides this, the knig to nouriſhe and reteine amitie with kynges and princes, leſt the Pope beyng exiled now out of England, ſhould incite them to warre agaynſt him, directed ſondry Ambaſſadours, and meſſengers, with letters and inſtructions. To the Emperour was ſent Syr Tho. Wyat. To the French kyng, Syr Fraũces Bryan, and Doct. Edw. Foxe, who was alſo ſent to yͤ princes of Germanie. To the Scottes king was ſent Syr Raffe Sadler, gentleman of the kyngs priuye chamber.

Syr R
Sadler
ambaſ
dour to
Scott
king.

In Scotland the ſame tyme were caſt abroad diuers rayling ballets, and ſclaunderous rimes againſt yͤ king of England, for caſtyng of the Lady Dowager, and for aboliſhyng the Pope: for the which cauſe the foreſayd Syr Raffe Sadler beyng ſent into Scotland wͭ leſſons & inſtructions how to addreſſe him ſelf accordingly, after he had obteyned acceſſe vnto the kyng, and audiẽce to bee heard, firſt declareth the affectuous and harty commendations from the kynges maieſtie hys graces vncle, and withall deliuered his letters of credence. Whiche done, after a fewe wordes of courtlye interteinement, as occaſion ſerued hym to ſpeake, the ſayd Syr Raffe Sadler obteynyng audience, thus began in the kyng hys maſters behalfe, to declare, as foloweth.

¶ *The Oration of the kinges Ambaſſadour.*

The or
on of
Raffe
Sadler,
to the
Scotti
king.

Wheras there is nothing, after the glory of almightye God, in this worlde ſo much to be tendered by Kynges, Princes, or any honeſt perſons, or ſo highlye to be regarded & defended, as their honour, eſtimatiõ, good fame and name, which who ſoeuer neglecteth, is to be eſtemed vnnaturall, and vnleſſe a man labour to auoyde and extinguiſhe the falſe reportes, ſclaunders, & diffamations made of hym by maliticus perſons, hee may well be ſuſpected, in conſcience to condemne hym ſelfe: the kyng your vncle conſideryng the ſame, and hearing of ſondrye ballets, criminations, and famous libelles, made and vntruly forged and deuyſed in Scotland agaynſt hys grace, by your graces ſubiectes, not onely vppon truſt to fynde with your grace ſuch naturall affection, frendſhyp, and amitie, as the nearenes of bloude betwene vncle & nephewe, neceſſitude of reuerence, proximitie both of kynne and of dominions together doth require: but alſo vppon aſſuraunce, that your grace and wiſedome will conſider howe theſe ſclaunders and diffamations, although they were but againſt a priuate perſon, what ſoeuer he were, moſt cõmonly redounde and are imputed to the whole degree & eſtate: as the diffamation of kings toucheth kynges, and ſo of other degrees, and dignities: doth ſend at thys tyme to your grace, hys nephewe (other hee might haue ſent more worthy, but me at thys tyme for lacke of better, hath he ſent) to deſire, pray, & require your grace, that according as the nearenes of bloud, cõnexion of eſtate, & other thinges before expreſſed, of right & iuſtice do require: beſeching your grace, gently to way & balance, and well to ponder the malice of theſe the ſayd ſclaunderers, and to call in agayne all the ſayd diffamatorye ballets, libelles, and other wrytynges, puniſhyng the authors and ſetters forth therof, accordyng to their demerites: and furthermore, to cauſe open proclamations to be made thorow your realme, yͭ none of the inhabitantes there ſhall in any maner wiſe ſo miſuſe him ſelfe hereafter, vpon ſuch great payne and puniſhment, as to your grace, and your coũſaile ſhalbe thought conuenient for the tranſgreſſion therof: ſo that other by their correctiõ and by the fearefull example of the penaltie, may beware how to committe the lyke offence in tyme commyng. The example of ſuch ſclaunders is very pernicious to all kyngs. For by ſuch ſclaunders of other Princes, the ſclaunderers take boldenes ſo to deale afterward with their owne king, as they haue done with other, and the next ſteppe from ſuch ſlaunderous wordes, is to attempt deedes, and ſo to fall to ſedition: of the importaunce and daunger wherof no man is ignoraunt.

Wherfore, your grace, at the contemplation of your deare vncle in tenderyng his procedynges, ſhall do well to folow therin the louyng ſteppes of hys good brother & allye the French kyng, who hath already at Roane & ſundry places els, cauſed certaine ſlaunderous preachers to bee ſore puniſhed: and further directed cõmiſſions through his realme for repreſſing the ſame: As alſo other Princes ſhall be ready (his maieſty truſteth) to do the like in their dominions, if lyke occaſion ſhalbe geuen to require the ſame of thẽ. In which ſo doyng your grace may be aſſured in this your gentle dealing in ẏ parte, to winne your Uncles moſt ſincere and kinde harte, to the encreaſe of your amitie and alliance: Whiche as to you ſhalbe moſt honorable, ſo ſhall it be no leſſe profitable vnto hym.

he ſecond ynt.

And thus to conclude with the firſt parte of my narration concernyng the ſclaunderous and diffamatory libelles, leſt I ſhoulde ſeeme with prolixitie of matter more then neede s, to abuſe your graces ſilence: I will now deſcende to the other poynt of that whiche I haue to vtter vnto your grace, as touching the Popes Nuntio or meſſenger. Of whoſe late ariuall, the kynges maieſtie your Uncle hauyng partlye intelligence, but not certainly knowyng the ſpeciall cauſes of his commyng from Rome, and yet fearing by the common brute and talke of your ſubiectes what hys arant ſhould be: that is, to practiſe ſome annoyance by his pretended cenſures agaynſt the kynges maieſtie your Uncle: hee therefore premoniſhyng your grace before as fearing the worſt, moſt iuſtly maketh his complaint therof vnto your grace his nephew, requiryng you, that foraſmuch as the forſayd brutes and reports are ſclaūdrous to his maieſtye: and ſeyng that neyther the Emperour, nor the French King, nor any other Princes haue conſented therto or vnderſtoode therof, the kyngs maieſtie therfore your Uncle willyng to ſtoppe thoſe brutes and talkes, deſireth and moſt hartely prayeth youre grace at hys inſtant requeſt to vouchſafe to conſider and way: Firſt, the ſupremacy of Princes by the holy Scripture graunted vnto hym and other Princes in earth vnder Chriſt, vpon theyr Churches.

upremacie of inces.

Secondly, to way what the Goſpel and Gods word calleth a Churche.

Alſo, what ſuperſtitions, idolatries, and blinde abuſes haue crept into all realmes, to the highe diſpleaſure of almightye God, by reaſon therof.

Fourthly, what is to bee vnderſtanded by the true cenſure or excommunication of ths Churche, & how no ſuch can be in the power of the Byſhop of Rome, or of any other mā, againſt his maieſtie or any other Prince, hauing ſo iuſt grounde to auoyde from the roote & to aboliſhe that execrable authoritie, whiche the Byſhop of Rome hath vſurped and doth vſurpe vpō all Princes, to their great detriment and dammage.

As touching the conſideration of which iiij. pointes, although the kyngs maieſtie, your Uncle doubteth not your grace to be furniſhed and prouided with ſufficient knowledge, rightly to diſcerne and to iudge vppon the ſame, yet if it ſhall ſo pleaſe your grace further to know your Uncles mind touchyng the ſayd poyntes, I aſſure your highnes in the behalfe of your foreſayd Uncle hys maieſtie, that hee will not ſticke to ſend vnto you ſuch learned, wiſe, and diſcrete men, as ſhall amply enforme you thereof, and of ſuch other thynges as your grace hauyng once a ſmacke thereof, ſhall thinke moſt worthye for a Prince to knowe.

His requeſt therfore to your highnes is, that you wil conſider of what moment and importance it ſhalbe vnto your grace (hauing ẏ Scottes your ſubiectes ſo euill inſtructed in the premiſſes) for you to aſſent and agree to any ſuch cenſure, and ſo by ſuch example to geue ſuch an vpper hand ouer your ſelfe and other Princes, to that vſurper of Rome, as is very lyke hereafter to happen in other places lykewiſe of Chriſtendome, where ſoeuer the true declaration of the truth and worde of God ſhall haue free courſe, to ſcourge them, vnleſſe they will adore, worſhyp, and kiſſe the feete of that corrupte holynes, whiche deſireth nothyng els but pride and the vniuerſall thrall of Chriſtendome vnder Romes yokes.

But becauſe the cenſures of that Nuntio be not yet opened, but lye ſecrete and vncertaine vnder muttering, I ſhall ceaſe farther to proſede therin, till farther occaſion ſhall miniſter to me more certaine matter for to ſay and to iudge. In the meane tyme, for ſomuch as it is moſte certainlye come to the intelligence of the kynges maieſtie, that the Abbot of Arbroth ſhould bee choſen of late and elected to be a Cardinall in this your realme of Scotland, his maieſtie therefore for the good loue and harty will hee beareth vnto your grace, as the Uncle is bounde vnto the Nephew, knowing that you as yet perceiue not ſo well the hypocriſye and deceitful guile and malice of the Romaines and theyr practiſes, as he hymſelfe doth by hys long experience: coulde not but hearing therof, aduertyſe your grace, that his aduiſe is, you ſhould not ſuffer any of youre ſubiectes to take vpon hym that redde hatte of pride: whereby he ſhall incontinently, the ſame beyng receaued (vnleſſe he be of a cōtrary nature to any man that euer was yet of that ſorte) not onely be, in maner, diſcharged of hys obedience, and become the Biſhop of Romes true liege man, but alſo ſhall preſume of hys Cardinalſhyp to bee your fellowe, and to haue the rule as well as you. Then ſhall the Byſhop of Rome creepe into your owne very boſome, know all your ſecrets, and at laſt, vnleſſe you will be yoked & ſerue theyr pleaſure in all poyntes, your grace is like to ſmarte for it. The thinge perchāce in the beginning ſhall ſeeme to your grace very honorable and pleaſaunt: but wyſdome woulde to beware of the taile which is very blacke and bitter.

The Abbot of *Arbroth* choſen Cardinall of Scotland,

Inconuenience that commeth by Cardinalls.

Hys Maieſties Father, and Graundfather to your grace, had a Cardinal, wherof he was wery, and neuer admitted other after hys deceaſſe, knowyng the importable pride of them. In like maner alſo hys highnes by the experience of one, hath vtterly determined to auoid all the ſorte: So well hys grace hath knowne and experienced their miſchiefe, yoke, & thraldome, that thereby is layd vpon Princes. By reaſon whereof, as hys hyghnes is the more able by his owne experience to informe your grace: ſo of good will and mere propenſitye of hart, cauſed partly by nature and kynne, partly by coniunction and vicinitie of dominions adioynyng ſo neare together, he is no leſſe ready to forewarne your grace before, wiſhyng that God will ſo worke in your princely hart & noble ſtomacke, that hys maieſties monition and frendly warning, as it proceedeth from a ſyncere affection and tender care of his part, vnto his Nephew: ſo it may preuaile & take place in your mynde, that your grace wyſely weying with your ſelf, what ſupreme ryght Princes haue and ought to haue vpō their Churches and lands where they gouerne, and what litle cauſe the Biſhop of Rome hath therfore to procede by vniuſt cenſures againſt them, your grace may therin not only ſtand to the iuſt defence of your deare Uncle, but alſo may endeuour to followe his ſteppes therin, & to take his conſaile, which he doubteth not, but ſhall redound not only to your graces honour, to the benefite, weale and profyte of your realme and ſubiectes, but eſpecially to the glory of almightye God, and aduauncement of hys true religion.

And thus haue I expoūded to your grace the ſumme of my arant and meſſage frō the kynges maieſtye your Uncle: who as he would be glad to be aduertiſed by aunſwere, of your graces purpoſe, mynde, & intention in this behalfe, ſo for my parte, according to my charge and dutie, I ſhall be preſt & readye with all diligence, to giue mine attendāce vpon your pleaſure for the ſame, accordyngly.

¶*The ſumme and effect of the kinges meſſage ſent to* the Frenche kyng in defenſe of hys procedynges.

The kynges meſſage to the French kyng.

THe kyng conſideryng the preſent ſtate of his Mariage whiche was not yet well digeſted nor accepted in ẏ Courtes of other Princes: and alſo hauyng intelligēce of ẏ ſtraite amitie intended by the Mariages betwene the Emperour and the Frenche kyng, and alſo of the Popes inclination to pleaſure the Emperour: and further vnderſtandyng of the order and meanyng of the Frenche kynges Coūſaile, not greatly fauoring his purpoſes, ſent therefore vnto Fraunce, for his Ambaſſabaſſadour, Edward Foxe Doctour of Diuinitie, hys Chaplaine and counſellour, with inſtructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper hym ſelfe in thoſe the kynges affaires. The contentes of whiche his inſtructions came to this effect: that the ſayd Edward Foxe, firſt declaryng to the French kyng the moſt affectuous commendations made on the kynges behalfe, with declaration of the kynges moſt entire and hartie good will to vnderſtand of his proſperitie and the good ſucceſſe of his affaires, whiche his maieſtie no leſſe deſired then his owne: and alſo after the kynges letters beyng deliuered to him and to other perſonages of his counſaile, then, after his acceſſe made vnto the kyng, ſhould vtter and inſinuate vnto the kyng, hys maſters minde and intent in theſe iij. ſpeciall pointes folowing.

Three cauſes to be declared in the kynges defence.

1. The firſt was, to declare yͤ iuſtnes of yͤ kings cauſe, concernyng the late mariage with Queene Anne, and diuorcement of the kyng, from his brothers wife.

2. The ſecond, to ſignifie & expreſſe the iniuries done by the Pope, as afterward ſhall be declared.

3. The third was, to wynne and allure to the kynges deuotion, the Chauncellour of Fraunce.

And as touchyng yͤ declaration of yͤ iuſtnes of the kynges cauſe, firſt he takyng with hym certaine bookes printed conteinyng the determinations of Vniuerſities in that behalfe, with reaſons and authorities confirmyng the ſame, ſhould diſtribute the ſayd bookes to the Byſhop of S. Line, and to other Byſhops, to Monſieur de Langez, & other of the kynges counſaile moe, and to proue after the beſt faſhion, to obteine their approbations of the ſame bookes, & with dexteritie to aſſay whether he could induce them of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, and other learned men, to ſend forth this booke with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he beyng acquainted in all thoſe pointes and Articles of the kyngs cauſe, in communication and conference, (as the caſe required) ſhould not only make aunſweres to ſuch thinges as ſhould be obiected, but alſo furniſhe and mainteine the iuſtnes of that opinion, with hys learnyng, in ſuch ſorte as he could beſt inuente and excogitate.

The Popes iniuryes done to the kyng of England.

As touchyng yͤ ſecond part, which conteined the iniuries done by yͤ Pope agaynſt yͤ kyng, yͤ ſayd Ambaſſadour in that behalfe, beyng a man no leſſe acquainted, then alſo well beaten and ripe in the manifold miſbehauiours of the Pope from yͤ begynnyng of the cauſe, ſhould declare & expreſſe to the French kyng, how iniuriouſly the ſayd pope had demeaned hym ſelfe toward the kynges hyghnes: firſt in ſendyng a commiſſion decretall, and then commaundyng it to be burnt: as alſo in promiſing by ſchedule of his owne hand, not to call the cauſe out of England: and moreouer approuyng firſt the iuſtnes of the kynges cauſe, yet notwithſtandyng afterward went from the ſame, and did cõtrary.

The Pope inconſtant in hys deedes, and contrary to him ſelfe.

Touchyng all whiche iniuries receaued at yͤ Popes hand, although the kyng had great cauſe iuſtly to complain, yet other iniuries there were beſide theſe, wherwith the kyng moſt eſpecially was moued.

The Pope calleth and citeth the kyng to Rome.

The one was, for callyng and cityng the kynges hyghnes to appeare at Rome.

Two ſpeciall iniuryes of the Pope agaynſt the kyng.

The other was for reiectyng the perſon of the kyngs truſty ſubiect and Chapleine M. Kerne his Ambaſſadour, from makyng ſuch allegations, as to the kyng in that caſe apperteined: beſide ſondry other no ſmall greues and inconueniences, which here might be ſhewed and alleged: But in theſe ij. eſpeciall iniuries the kyng thought hym ſelfe moſt chiefly touched, and aggreued. In openyng and rypping vp of which iniuries, and firſt in the ſayd iniurious callyng of the kyng to Rome, inſtructions were gyuen to the ſayd Ambaſſadour to explicate the open violation therin, of the moſt auncient and generall Councels, the Cõcell of Nyce, the Cõcell of Aphrike, and the Councell of Mileu. In which Councels, the cõtrary was, for quyetnes of the world, prouided and ordered: Declaryng withall, how agreable the ſame is to all lawes, reaſon, and equitie, that Princes ſhould not bee compelled to repayre to Rome at the Popes callyng, nor be bound in a matter of ſuch weyght and moment, to ſend out of their realmes and dominions, the wrytyngs, inſtrumẽtes, & monumentes cõteinyng the ſecretes of their affaires, or to make and truſt a Proctor beyng in ſo farre diſtant parties, in a matter of ſuch importance, to abyde & fulfill that which yͤ ſaid Proctor ſhould agrée vnto there. The matter and caſe wherof dyd not ſo much concerne the eſtate of any one Prince alone, as it touched the dignitie of all other Chriſten kynges, ſo nere, yͭ vnles they would ſuffer them ſelues to be yoked with the Popes authoritie, it was time (in aſmuch as the Pope nowe made thys enterpriſe on them) to enſearch & knowe the bottome & ground, both of his, & of their authoritie: and if any thing by negligence or miſuſe had bene loſt, to recouer the ſame, rather then to ſuffre it to decay any more. As touching all which greues, hurtes, incõueniences, preiudice, and euill example which might therof enſue, the kynges hyghnes doubted not, but that hys good brother the Frenche kyng would aſſiſte & cõcurre with his hyghnes for maintenaunce and defenſe of the ſame.

The Pope violateth the Councels of *Nyce, Aphricke, and Mileuitane.*

For declaration of the ſecond notable grief and iniurie done by the Pope to the kynges hyghnes, thus furthermore hee was willed to inſinuate to the Frenche kyng, what iniurie or rather cõtumely the kynges hyghnes receaued at the Popes hand, in not ſufferyng the kyngs ſubiect and Ambaſſadour to alledge ſuch matter in defence of his Prince, as by law, reaſon and equitie, was to be heard & admitted, for as much as yͤ ſayd Ambaſſadour Doct. Kerne the kynges Chapleine beyng at Rome at ſuch tyme as citations were their publiſhed agaynſt the kynges hyghnes, and vnderſtandyng hys grace by them to be called before one Capaſuccha Deane of the Rote, was there ready to make aũſwere to the Quéenes Agentes complaynt, and had by the aduiſe of other great learned men, conceaued a certeine matter cõteinyng cauſes reaſonable and lawfull, why yͤ kings highnes ſhould not be bound to appeare there, either by hym ſelfe, or by hys Proctor. Whiche matter alſo he did exhibite on the kynges behalf, as a true ſubiect by law of nature is bounde to mainteine & to alledge in defence of his Prince that is abſent, and ought by equitie to preſerue hym from condemnation. And yet this notwithſtanding, the ſayd Capaſuccha not regardyng nor conſideryng the matter alledged, demaũded whether the ſaid Doctor had any proxie frõ the kyng, or no, for ſuch purpoſe, and vpon default and lacke of the ſayd proxie (which was not neceſſary in this caſe) proceded in the principall cauſe. By reaſon wherof the ſayd Doct. Kerne appealed to the Pope, alledgyng iniury to be done, not onely to the kynges hyghnes, but alſo to him ſelfe, for that ſuch matter as he did alledge, was not cõſidered nor regarded, but proceſſe made. To the whiche appellation notwithſtandyng the ſayd Capaſuccha gaue an ambiguous & a doubtfull aũſwere, whiche was, that as much as Doct. Kerne was by the law a lawfull perſon, ſo much hee would geue place & deferre appellationi: and otherwiſe not.

Thus vppon declaration of thys doubtfull aunſwere, paſſed certayne dayes, the ſayd Capaſuccha promiſing allwayes to open hys ſayd aunſwere and ſentence more playnly, and to geue a determinate reſolution. Whiche hee neuertheles did not, albeit hee was diuers tymes vrged therunto: but ſo paſſed the tyme, and ſodeinlye returned to proceſſe. Whervpon the ſayd Doctour Kerne appealed eftſoones agayne, and put a ſupplication to the Pope for admiſſion of the ſaid appeale. By reaſon wherof the matter was reaſoned in the Signature. In which Signature by no law it could be ſhewed why the ſaid Doct. Kerne ſhould not be admitted to alledge in defence of yͤ kyngs highnes, but onely that they there amongeſt them ſelues being the greater number, which were of the Emperours

perours dominions, and feede of hym (among which was alſo the ſayd Capaſuccha) gaue their voyces as the Pope ſayd, that Doct. Kerne ſhould not be heard ſine mandato regiæ maieſtatis. Whereunto when Doct. Kerne replyed ſaying: what ſoeuer they decreed or ſayd there was no law to maintaine and beare it: it was ſayd agayne by Cardinall Anconytate, that the Pope might iudge after his conſcience. And vpon this reſolutiō, they determined there to procede in the principall cauſe, vnleſſe the kyng would ſend a proxie, intēding by this iniury & wronge, to enforce his highnes, to the exhibition of a proxie there, to hys highnes high preiudice, to the pernicious example of the lyke to bee done to other Princes, and alſo to ẏ derogation of the liberties and prerogatiues of hys gracious realme. Vnto the obſeruation wherof his highnes is bound by his othe, and alſo by the ſame othe bounde to recouer and reſtore ſuch liberties and priuileges, as by any of his predeceſſors hath bene loſt, diminiſhed, or decayed in tyme paſt.

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These, with other lyke iniuries and wronges of the Pope done to the kyng, the foreſayd Ambaſſadour M. Foxe, accordyng as hee had in charge and commiſſion, did declare, open, and ſhew vnto the Frenche kyng, to the intent to ſolicite the ſayd kyng, to do by hys mediation, for the remediyng and redreſſyng of thoſe foreſayd iniuries and wrongfull dealynges of the Pope in this behalfe.

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Furthermore, for the thyrd purpoſe touchyng the Chauncellour of Fraunce, for as much as hee was one of the chief perſonages, whom the Frenche kyng moſt truſted in hys great affaires (by whoſe aduyſe all matters of learning were then conduced and trayned) the kyng thought it not vnprofitable, by all wayes & meanes to winne and allure his frenſhip and amitie alſo, vnto his deuotion, either that by hys meanes and dexteritie the kinges purpoſes might be aduaunced the better: or at leaſt for a ne noceat: that is, to mitigate and diminiſh ſuch fauour as he by the admirall or otherwiſe, was moued to ſhewe to the Imperialles. For the whiche cauſe the kyng committyng in charge to his Ambaſſadour aforeſayd, willed and inſtructed hym, how and what to do, and after what maner to attemperate hym ſelf to all occaſions and tymes of oportunitie: as firſt to deliuer to him from the kyng, hys letters of credence, and withall to declare and extend the kynges moſt affectuous commendations, with the hartie good will, and ſincere affection whiche hys hyghnes bare to the ſaid Cardinall Chauncellour of Fraunce, with no leſſe deſire alſo moſt gladly to do that thing, which might be to his cōmoditie & benefite, accordyng as the manifold pleaſures, gratuities, & kyndnes done on hys part for the kinges highnes, dyd worthely deſerue. Thē after ſuch wordes of mollificatiō, to enter into further communication with hym, in ſuch ſort, as myght beſt ſerue hys honor.

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And forasmuch as the Cardinall was then noted much to bee moued with the affections of vayne glory, and couetous, therfore amongſt other communicatiō, it was diuiſed to inferre mention of the Papalitie, notyng what wayes and meanes might be vſed to attayne vnto that dignitie. Wherein if the kynges hyghnes could ſtand hym to any ſtede, as he thought the perſon of the ſayd Chauncellour moſt mete for the ſame: ſo he would not fayle to moue and to procure it to the beſt furtheraunce of hys aduauncement. And finallye to declare howe deſirous the kynges hyghnes was to retayne and make ſure vnto hym, the amitie and frendſhyppe of the ſayd Chauncellour, and that hys highnes deuiſing by what meanes & waies he might, doe the ſame (albeit hys grace knewe well, that the fayth and ſinceritie of the ſaid Chauncellour towardes his maſter was ſuch, as no gifte, pencion, or other offer could aduaunce or encreaſe that good will, which for his maſters ſake, he would employe in the kynges hyghnes affaires) thought that for declaration of hys hartye good will towardes the ſayd Chauncellour, it were conuenient to offer vnto hym, ſome yearelye remembraunce. &c.

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This was the ſumme and effect of the meſſage of the kyng ſent vnto the Frenche kyng, and to other of hys coūſaile, by hys Ambaſſadour M. Edward Foxe, which was eſpecially to ſignifie and make manifeſt vnto the ſayd Frenche kyng the vniuſt dealynges and preiudiciall procedynges of the Pope, in callyng vp the kyng of England to appeare at Rome by proxie, whiche was derogatorie to the kynges dignitie and crowne, and alſo preiudicall both to generall Councels of the primitiue tyme, and to the auncient lawes and ſtatutes of this realme (as is afore declared) and no leſſe hurtfull for exāple, to all other princes and kinges likewiſe. &c.

Ste. Gardiner Ambaſſadour to the French kyng.

This meſſage ſo done, ſhortlye after was ſent to the ſayd Frenche kyng, Stephen Gardiner Byſhop of Wyncheſter, with the kynges aunſwere and meſſage againe on this maner: that for ſomuch as the ſaying of the Frenche kyng to the Ambaſſadours was this: that notwithſtandyng all the kynges Realme ſhould agrée and condeſcende neuer ſo much to that right and title, which ẏ ſucceſſiō procreated of this his lawfull matrimonie hath in this his realme: yet when outward parties ſhall conceaue any other or contrary opinion therof, great trouble and vexation might enſue. &c. Wherunto the kyng made aunſwere agayne, declaryng, that hee could not but greatly meruaile, that the kyng hys brother beyng ſo wyſe a Prince, and therto ſo well experte and learned in Chronicles and hiſtories, not onely of his owne realme, but alſo of all others, or any of his coūſaile being mē of ſuch experiēce as they were taken to be, would thinke that ẏ opinion & conſent of other outward realmes was ſo hyghly to bee conſidered and regarded of any prince or kyng, in ſtabliſhyng or in executiō of thyngs which might be lawfully done, & which touched ẏ preſeruation of ẏ rightes, preeminences, dignitie & ſtate of his realme, and did alſo notably conferre vnto the ſingular benefite and tranquilitie of the ſame, ſo as the wordes both of the ſayd kyng hys brother, & of the great Maſter dyd pretend. Who furthermore were not ignoraunt thē ſelues ẏ many things haue bene by hys noble progenitours kings of Fraūce attempted and done, as well in caſes of matrimony, as other wiſe, whiche in ſome parte in the opinion of the Popes of Rome then beyng, and in ſome parte in the opiniō of diuers other outward princes, ſtates, ſeigniories, & common people haue bene thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable vnto thē: and yet that notwithſtādyng, his ſayd progenitours knowyng them ſelues ẏ proſecuting of thoſe cauſes to be beneficiall to them and to the realme, haue not therfore deſiſted from their ſayd purpoſes, but diligētly employing their own ſtrength and powers with the ſuccours of their frēdes, haue finally achiued their ſayd enterpriſes, without requiryng or greatly regardyng the opinion or agrement therunto, of outward princes.

The French kinges ſaying agaynſt the kinges ſucceſſion.

The kynges aūſwere to the French king.

Kynges in the ryght of their realmes are not bound to the agreement of outwardes realmes.

Agayne, where as the Chauncellour of Fraunce made this ouerture to the ſayd Biſhop of Wincheſter, whether the kyng would be content to haue indifferēt Iudges to be appoynted by the authoritie of the Pope to determine his cauſe, with a commiſſion decretall from the ſame, declaryng quid iuris. &c. The kyng by his Ambaſſadour therunto aunſwering, declared, that the Pope hauyng done vnto him ſo notable and euidēt iniuries, as he had done, it were hys office and duetie, now to labour hym ſelf to ende this matter, and to ſtudy how to make due ſatiſfactiō to God and his iuſtice, whiche he hath tam indignis modis, offended and violated, and to deliuer him ſelfe out of the daunger, and the perpetuall infamie of the world, whiche he hath incurred by reaſō of theſe his moſt vngodly doings, and not to looke that the kyng ſhould make any requeſt or ſute

The ouerture of the Chauncellour of Fraunce, to the kyng to take indifferent iudges by the Popes authoritie.

The kynges aunſwere to the ouerture.

ſute vnto him therfore, or recompenſe for the ſame. &c.

Furthermore where as the Pope, at the requeſt of the French kyng, had in open Conſiſtorie proroged execution of his cenſures and excommunication agaynſt the kyng, vnto ẏ firſt day of Nouemb. and word therof was ſent to ẏ kyng by his Ambaſſadours, frō the great Maſter of Fraunce, that the kyng might haue the ſayd prorogation made autentikely in writyng, if he would: the kyng aunſweryng therunto, thought it not vnprofitable, ẏ his Ambaſſadours reſient in Fraūce, ſhould receaue vnto their hādes, the poſſeſſion of the ſayd new prorogation conceaued and written in autentike forme and maner, accordyng to the order of the lawes.

The kyng requeſted by the French kyng to relent to the Pope.

After this agayne came other letters to the kyng frō Fraunce, namely frō the great Maſter of Fraunce tendyng to this end, that if the kyng woulde do nothyng for the Pope (meanyng by the reuocation of ſuch actes of Parlament, as were made in ẏ realme of England to the Popes preiudice) it were no reaſon, neither ſhould it be poſſible for the French kyng to induce the Pope to any gratuitie or pleaſure for the kyng in hys affaires.

The kinges aunſwere to the French kings requeſt.

Whereunto the kyng aunſweryng agayne, ſendeth worde to the Frenche kyng, truſtyng & hopyng well of the perfect frendſhyp of the Frenche kyng his good brother, ẏ he will neuer ſuffer any ſuch perſuaſion to entre into his breſt, what ſo euer the great Maſter or any other ſhall ſay to the contrary therof, nor that he will require any thyng more of hym to do for the Pope, Chaūcellour, or other, then his counſayle hath already deuiſed to be done in this behalfe: eſpecially conſideryng the wordes of the ſaid French kyngs promiſe made before, as well to the Duke of Northfolke, as to the other Ambaſſadours, promiſing his frēdſhyp to the kyng ſimplye without requiryng hym to reuocate or infrynge any ſuch acte or conſtitution made by the realme & Parlament, to ẏ contrary: Perſuadyng moreouer and layyng before the eyes, as well of the Pope, as of the French kyng, how much it ſhould redoūd to the popes diſhonour and infamie, and to the ſclaunder alſo of hys cauſe, if he ſhould be ſene ſo to pact and couenaūt with the kyng vppon ſuch conditions, for the admininiſtratiō of that thyng, whiche he in hys owne conſcience hath reputed and iudged to bee moſte rightfull and agreable to iuſtice and equitie, and ought of his office & duetie to do in this matter ſimpliciter & gratis, and without all worldly reſpectes, either for the aduauncement of hys priuate lucre and commoditie, or for the preſeruation of hys pretenſed power and authoritie.

The Pope ſeeketh not for iuſtice, but hys own lucre and commoditie.

For ſurely it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope beyng minded and determined to geue ſentēce for the inualiditie and nullitie of the kyngs firſt pretenſed matrimonie, hath conceaued and eſtabliſhed in hys owne conſcience a firme and certaine opinion & perſuaſion, that he ought of iuſtice and equitie ſo to do. Then to ſee the Pope to haue this opinion in deede, and yet refuſe this to do for the kyng, vnleſſe he ſhall be content for his benefite and pleaſure, cedere iuri ſuo, & to do ſome thynges preiudiciall vnto his ſubiectes contrary to hys honour: it is eaſie to be foreſene, what the world & the poſteritie ſhall iudge de tam turpi nundinatione iuſticiæ, et illius tam fœda & ſordida lucri & honoris ambitione. And as for the kynges part, if hee ſhall not atteine nowe iuſtice at the mediation of his good brother, knowyng the Pope to bee of this diſpoſition and determination in his harte, to ſatiſfie all hys deſires beyng moued therunto by iuſtice, and that the let therof is no default of iuſtice in the cauſe, but onely for that the kyng would not condeſcend to his requeſt: it is to the kyng matter ſufficient enough for diſcharge of hys conſcience to God and to the world, although he neuer did execute in deede hys ſayd determination. For ſith his corrupt affection is the onely impediment therof, what nede either the kyng to require hym any further to do in the cauſe, or els his ſubiectes to doubt any further in the iuſtnes of the ſame.

The Pope ſelleth iuſtice.

The Pope doth agaynſt hys owne conſcience.

Albeit if reſpectes to benefites and merites done towardes the Pope and the ſea of Rome, ſhoulde be regarded in ẏ attainyng of iuſtice in a cauſe of ſo hygh conſequencie as this is, reaſon would that if it would pleaſe the Pope to conſider the former kyndnes of the kyng ſhewed vnto hym in tymes paſt (wherof he is very loth to enter the rehearſall, ne videatur velle exprobrare quæ de alijs fecerit benè) hee ſhould not now require of hym any new benefite or gratuitie to be ſhewed vnto hym, but rather ſtudy to recompence him for the old graces, merites, pleaſures & benefites before receaued. For ſurely he thinketh, that the Pope can not forget how that for the conſeruation of his perſon, his eſtate and dignitie, the kyng hath not heretofore ſpared for any reſpect, in vſing the office of a moſt perfect and ſtedfaſt frende, to relinquiſh the long continued good will eſtabliſhed betwene hym and the Emperour, and to declare openly to all the world, that for the Popes ſake, and in default of hys deliueraunce, hee would become enemy to the ſayd Emperour, and to make agaynſt hym actuall warre.

Beſide thys, the kyng hath not fayled hym with right large and ample ſubuentions of money, for the better ſupportyng of hys charges, agaynſt the enterpriſes of the ſayd Emperour combyndyng and knyttyng hym ſelfe with the Frenche kyng, to procure the aduauncement of the ſayd Frenche kynges armye into Italie, to the charges wherof, the kyng dyd beare litle leſſe then ẏ one halfe: Beſides notable loſſes ſuſteined aſwell in hys cuſtomes, ſubſidies, and other dueties, as alſo to the no litle hinderaunce and damage of his ſubiectes & marchauntes occaſioned by diſcontinuance of the trafficke and entercourſe heretofore vſed with the Emperours ſubiectes. In doyng of all whiche thyngs, the king hath not bene thus reſpectiue, as the Pope now ſheweth him ſelfe towardes him, but lyke a perfect frend hath ben allwayes cōtented franckly, liberally, and openly to expone all his ſtudy, labour, trauaile, treaſure, puiſance, realme and ſubiectes for ẏ Popes ayde and the maintenance of the ſtate and dignitie of the Churche, and ſea of Rome. Which thinges although he doth not here rehearſe animo exprobrandi, yet he doubteth not, but the ſame wayed in the ballance of any indifferent mās iudgemēt, ſhalbe thought to be of that waight and valure, as that hee hath iuſtly deſerued to haue ſome mutual correſpōdencie of kyndnes to be ſhewed vnto him at the Popes handes: eſpecially in the miniſtratiō of iuſtice, and in ſo reaſonable and iuſt cauſe as this is, and not thus to haue his moſt rightfull petition reiected and denyed becauſe he will not followe his deſire and appetite in reuocatyng of ſuch actes as bee here made and paſſed for the weale & commoditie of his realme and ſubiectes.

¶ Thus haue ye heard how inſtantly the kyng had laboured by the meanes of the Frenche kyng, to the Pope beyng then in Fraunce, for right and iuſtice to be done, for the diſſolution and nullitie of his firſt pretenſed matrimonie with his brothers wife. Whiche when it could not be attayned at the Popes hands, vnles the kyng would recompēſe and requite the ſame by reuocatyng of ſuch ſtatutes as were made and enacted here in the hygh Courte of Parlament, for the ſuretie of ſucceſſion and ſtabliſhement of the realme: what the kyng therunto aunſwered agayne, ye heard, declaryng that to be a farre vnequall recompence and ſatiſfaction for a thyng whiche ought of right and iuſtice to be miniſtred vnto hym, that a kyng therfore ſhould reuocate and vndoe ẏ Actes & ſtatutes paſſed by a whole Realme, contrary to hys owne honour, and weale of hys ſubiectes. &c.

Where is moreouer to bee vnderſtanded, how that the Pope with all his Papiſtes, & the Frenche kyng alſo, & peraduenture Stephen Gardiner too, the kynges owne Ambaſſadour, had euer a ſpeciall eye to diſproue and

and diſapoynte the kyngs ſucceſſion by Quéene Anne, whō they knew all to be a great enemy vnto the Pope, thinkyng thereby, that if that ſucceſſion were diminiſhed, the Popes kyngdome might ſone bee reſtoꝛed agayne in England. But yet foꝛ all their vniuſt and crafty packyng, they were, thꝛough Gods pꝛouidence, fruſtrate of their deſired purpoſe. Foꝛ although they ſo bꝛought to paſſe the next yeare folowing, to adnulle the oꝛder of that ſucceſſion by a contrary Parlamēt: yet neither did they ſo adnihilate it, but that both kyng Edward folowed, yea and alſo the ſame ſucceſſion afterward by the ſayd kyng and other Parlamentes was reſtoꝛed agayne, and yet (God be prayſed) hath hetherto reigned & doth yet floꝛiſh in the realme of England.

Now, as we haue declared the kynges doynges in the realme of Scotland and of Fraunce, pꝛocedyng further in the kynges pꝛocedinges with other Pꝛinces, let vs ſée how yͤ kyng defended hym ſelf & hys cauſe befoꝛe the Emperour, ſendyng his Ambaſſadour vnto hym, vſing theſe woꝛds befoꝛe his maieſtie, as here foloweth.

¶ *The Oration of the kinges Ambaſſadour before the* Emperour in defenſe of his cauſe.

SIr the kyng my maiſter takyng and reputyng you as hys perfite frend, confederate, and allye, and not doubtyng but you remembꝛyng the mutuall kyndnes betwene you in tymes paſt, will ſhewe your ſelfe in all oscurrentes to bee of ſuch minde and diſpoſitiō, as iuſtice, truth, and equitie doth require: hath willed me by his letters, to open and declare vnto you, what he hath done, and in what wiſe hee hath pꝛoceded concernyng ſuch Mariage as by many yeares was ſuppoſed to haue bene betwene your Aunte & his grace. In which matter beyng ij. pꝛincipal pointes ſpecially to be regarded and cōſidered: that is to ſay, the iuſtice of the cauſe, and the oꝛder of the pꝛoceſſe therin, his highnes hath ſo vſed hym in both, as no man may rightwiſely cōplaine of the ſame.

Fyꝛſt, as touching the iuſtnes of the cauſe, that is to ſay, of that Mariage betwene hym and your ſaid Aunt to be nought, and of no moment ne effecte, but againſt the law of God, nature, and man, and indiſpenſable by the Pope, and in no wyſe vailable: hys hyghnes hath done therin, aſmuch as becometh hym foꝛ diſcharge of hys conſcience, and hath founde ſo certain, ſo euident, ſo manifeſt, ſo open, and appꝛoued truth, as wherunto hys maieſtie ought of góod congruence to gyue place, & which by all other ought to be allowed & receyued, not as a matter doubtefull, diſputable, oꝛ dependyng in queſtion and ambiguitie: but as a playne determined and diſcuſſed veritie of the true vnderſtanding of gods woꝛde and lawe, which all Chꝛiſtian men muſt folowe and obey, and befoꝛe all other woꝛldly reſpectes, pꝛeferre and execute. In attaynyng the knowledge wherof, if his hyghnes had vſed only his owne particular iugement and ſentence, oꝛ the mynd only and opinion of hys owne naturall ſubiectes (although the ſame might in hys conſcience haue ſuffiſed) hee woulde not much haue repugned, if ſome other had made difficultie to aſſent to him in yͤ ſame, tyll further diſcuſſion had bene made therupon. But now, foꝛaſmuche as beſydes hys owne certain vnderſtanding, and the agrement of hys whole Clergy to the ſame in both pꝛouinces of hys realme, hys maieſtie hath alſo foꝛ him the determinatiōs of the moſt famous Vniuerſities of Chꝛiſtendome, and moſt indifferent to pꝛonounce and geue iudgement in this caſe, and amōg them, the Vniuerſitie of Bonony, (all feare of the Pope ſet apart) concluding againſt his power: and alſo Padua (the Venitians thꝛeates not regarded) giuyng their ſentence foꝛ the truth and euident woꝛdes of Gods law: there ſhould no man, as ſemeth to hym, gaynſay oꝛ withſtand, either in woꝛde oꝛ dede, the truth thus opened, but foꝛ his honoꝛ and duetie to the obſeruation of Gods law, willingly embꝛace and receaue the ſame.

Accoꝛdyng whereunto his grace perceiueth alſo aſwell in his realme, as els where, a notable conſent and agréement amongeſt all Diuines, and ſuch as haue ſtudied foꝛ knowledge of Gods law, without contradictiō of any nomber, vnles it be ſuch as applying their mind to the mainteinaunce of woꝛldly affections, do either in defence of ſuch lawes as they haue ſtudied, eyther foꝛ ſatiſfaction of their pꝛiuate appetite, foꝛbeare to agrée vnto the ſame. The nomber of whom is ſo ſmall, as in the diſcernyng of truth, it ought not to bee regarded in a caſe ſo plainely deſcribed and determined by Gods woꝛde, as this is.

And if percaſe your maieſtie here not regardyng the number, but the matter, ſhall ſeme to conſider in this caſe, not ſo much who ſpeaketh, as what is ſpoken, to aunſwere thereunto, I ſaye: Syꝛ the kyng my maſter is of the ſame mynde, foꝛ his owne ſatiſfaction, and taketh hym ſelfe to bee in the right, not becauſe ſo many ſayth it, but becauſe he beyng learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Neuertheleſſe, reaſon would, and enfoꝛceth alſo, that ſtraungers to the cauſe and not parties therein, ſhould be induced to beleue that to be truth, that ſuch a nūber of Clerkes do ſo conſtantlye affirme, ſpecially not beyng otherwiſe learned to be iudges of their ſayinges, as your maieſtie is not. And if you were, then could your highnes ſhewe ſuch reaſons, authoꝛities, and groundes as cannot be taken away, and be ſo firme and ſtable, as they ought not of Chꝛiſten men in any part to be impugned, like as hath bene partly heretofoꝛe ſhewed by his ſondꝛy Ambaſſadours to your Imperiall maieſtie, and ſhould eftſones bee done, were it not too great an iniurie to that is already paſſed in the realme, to diſpute yͤ ſame agayne in any other countrey: whiche beyng contrarious to the lawes and oꝛdinaunces of hys realme, he truſteth your pꝛudencie will not require, but take that is paſt, foꝛ a thyng done, and iuſtly done: and as foꝛ Gods parte, to leaue his conſcience to him ſelfe, qui domino ſuo ſtat aut cadit: and foꝛ the woꝛld, to paſſe ouer as a frende, that which nothing toucheth you, and not to meruaile though the ſayd king my maiſter regardyng the wealth of hys ſoule pꝛincipally, with the commoditie of his perſon, and ſo great benefite and quiet of his Realme, haue percaſe done that hee foꝛ hys pꝛiuate fantaſie, would not had chaunced: lyke as hys hyghnes alſo would wiſhe it had not happened that ſuch cauſe had bene giuen vnto hym to compell hym ſo to do.

Both the nūber and matter maketh with the kyng.

But theſe thinges in their outward viſage be but woꝛldly, & inwardly touch & concerne the ſoule. Quid autē prodeſt homini ſi vniuerſum mundū lucretur, animæ vero ſuæ detrimētū patiatur. Primū quærite regnū Dei. &c. And yet neyther is hys hyghnes ignoraunt what reſpect is to be had vnto yͤ woꝛld: and how much he hath laboured & trauailed therin, he hath ſufficiently declared & ſhewed to the woꝛld in his actes and pꝛocedinges. Foꝛ if he had vtterly contempned the oꝛder and pꝛoceſſe of the woꝛld, oꝛ the frendſhip and amitye of your maieſtie: he needed not to haue ſent ſo often and ſundꝛy Ambaſſates to the Pope, and to you both, noꝛ continued and ſpent his tyme in delaies, as he hath done hitherto, but nigh many yeares paſt, haue done that he hath done nowe, if it had ſo liked him, and with as litle difficultie then as nowe, if he would haue wout ſuch reſpect, folowed his pleaſure in that behalf. But now, I doubt not, your maieſtie doth well remēber how often the kyng my maiſter hath ſent vnto your hyghnes, and that your maieſtie hath heard alſo what ſutes he hath made to yͤ Pope, & how yͤ ſayd Pope hath handled hym agayne only in delaye and dalyaūce, with open commiſſion gyuen to hys Legates to determine and gyue ſentence foꝛ hym by a commiſſion decretall, & ſecretlye to gyue them inſtructions to ſuſpend & put ouer yͤ ſame. By which meanes & other ſemblable, hee perceyued playnly hymſelf to be bꝛought in ſuch a labirinth as going foꝛward that way, he were like to come

The ſecond part of hys Oratiō touching the maner of the kings pꝛocedinges.

How the pope dalyed with the kyng by delayes.

to no ende, and was therfore compelled to ſteppe right forth at once to the mazes end, there to quiete, and repoſe hymſelfe at the laſt.

And is it not tyme to haue end in ſeuen yeare, or els to ſeke for it an other waye? The Pope hath ſhewed hym ſelfe both vnwillyng to haue an ende, and alſo ſo ready & prone to do hym iniurie, aſwell in cityng hym to Rome, as alſo ſendyng forth certeine breues to hys grace ſclaunderous, & for the iniuſtice and iniquitie of them, to him ſelfe diſhonorable: as hee gaue his highnes good and iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect, leſt any ende to bee made at his hand (if any hee would make) might be in hys conſcience receiued and folowed. For the Pope doyng iniurie in ſome point, why ſhould he be thought conuenient Iudge, not vſing hym ſelfe indifferently in the matter, (as many moe particularities may bee ſhewed and declared) conſideryng, there is a generall Councell, willyng all matters to be determined where they firſt began, and that the whole body of our realme hath for the wealth of the ſame, by a lawe eſtabliſhed the determination of ſuch cauſes? By reaſon whereof the Byſhop of Caunterbury as metropolitane of our Realme, hath giuen ſentence in due iudgement for the kynges partie. It is not to bee aſked nor queſtioned, whether that matter hath bene determined after the common faſhion, but whether it hath in it common iuſtice, truth and equitie of Gods law. For obſeruation of the common order, hys grace hath done that laye in hym, and inforced by neceſſitie hath founde the true order mainteinable by Gods worde and generall Cõcels, whiche he hath in ſubſtaunce folowed with effect, and hath done as becommeth hym, tenderyng either Gods law, or his perſon, or the wealth of hys Realme: lyke as hee doubteth not but your maieſtie (as a wyſe Prince) remembryng hys cauſe from the begynnyng hitherto, will of your ſelfe conſider and thinke, that among mortall men, nothyng ſhould be immortall, and ſutes muſt once haue an ende: Si poſſis rectè, ſi non, quocunque modo. And if hee can not as hee would, hys higenes then to do as he maye: and he that hath a iorney to be perfited, muſt yf he can not goo one waye, aſſay an other. What ſo euer hath bẽn herein done, neceſſitie hath enforced hym (that is to ſay, Gods lawe) in the matter, and ſuch maner of dealing of the Pope, as he hath ſhewed vnto hym in the ſame, doing ſundrye iniuries without effecte of iuſtice, wherein he promiſed the ſame. But as for the kyngs matter to the Pope: he ſhall entreate with hym aparte. As touching your maieſtie, he taketh you for hys frend, and as to a frend hee openeth theſe matters vnto you, truſting to finde your maieſtie no leſſe frendly hereafter vnto hym, then he hath done heretofore.

This generall Councell was the firſt Councell of Conſtantinople.

By theſe matters thus paſſed & diſcourſed to & fro betwene ẏ kyng & theſe forrein Princes aboue rehearſed, many thinges are to be vnderſtãded of the reader, who ſo is diſpoſed to behold and conſider the ſtate and procedyng of publicke affaires, as well to the Churche apperteinyng, as to the common wealth. Firſt how the kyng cleareth hym ſelfe both iuſtly and reaſonably for hys diuorce made with the Lady Katherine the Emperours Aunte. Secondly, how he proueth and defendeth hys Mariage with Quéene Anne, to bee iuſt and lawfull, both by the authoritie of Gods worde, and the comprobation of the beſt and moſt famous learned men and Vniuerſities, & alſo by the aſſent of the whole Realme. Furthermore for the ſtabliſhyng of the kyngs ſucceſſion in the Imperiall crowne of this realme, for the ſuppreſſion of the Pope and vnityng the title of ſupremacie vnto the kynges crowne, what order therein was taken, & what penaltie was ſet vpõ ẏ ſame, as may appeare by the Acte of Parlament ſet forth. an. 1534. et Henr. reg. 26. cap. 13. in theſe wordes folowyng:

The kinges diuorce iuſt.

The kings maryage with Queene *Anne*, lawfull.

The Pope ſuppreſſed.

The kings title of ſupremacie.

Statut. An. 26. Hen. 8. cap. 13.

If any perſon or perſons after the firſt of Februarye next, do maliciouſlye imagine, inuente, practiſe, or attempte to depriue the kyng of the dignitie, title, or name of hys royall eſtate. &c. that then euery ſuch perſon and perſons ſo offending in any of the premiſſes, their ayders, counſellours, conſenters, and abbettours beyng therof lawfullye conuicte, accordyng to the lawes and cuſtomes of thys realme, ſhalbe reputed, accepted, and adiudged traytours, and that euery ſuch offence in any the premiſſes committed or done after the ſayd firſt day of February, ſhalbe reputed, accepted, and adiudged hygh treaſon: and the offenders therein, their ayders, conſenters, counſellours, and abbettours beyng lawfully conuict of any ſuch offence, ſhall haue & ſuffer ſuch paines of death and other penalties, as is limited and accuſtomed in caſes of hygh treaſon.

Vpon this and ſuch other Actes concluded in thoſe Parlamentes, what ſtomacke the Pope toke, what ſtirre he kept, and what practiſes he wrought with Cardinall Poole, to ſtyrre vp other natiõs to warre againſt vs, what difficultie alſo there was with ẏ Emperour, with the Frenche kyng, and with the kyng of Scottes about the matter, and what labour was vſed on the kynges parte, to concile theſe Princes for his owne indemnitie, to kepe him frõ their warres and inuaſions, and eſpecially to obteine the Popes approbation, and to auoyde his cenſures of excommunication, and finallye what deſpitefull iniuries and open wronges the Pope wrought agaynſt hym, vppon the whiche Pope the kyng had beſtowed ſo much money, and great treaſours before, all this lykewiſe by the premiſſes may appeare.

Wherfore, to ende now with theſe, & to go forward in our ſtory, as the order and computatiõ of yeares do giue, we haue now cõſequently to enter into ẏ ſtorye of ẏ good Martyr of God Williã Tyndall, being this preſent yeare falſely betrayed & put to death. Which W. Tyndall, as he was a ſpeciall organe of ẏ Lord appointed, and as Gods mattocke to ſhake the inwarde rootes and fundatiõ of the Popes proud prelacie: ſo the great Prince of darkenes, with his impious Impes, hauyng a ſpeciall malice agaynſt hym, left no way vnſought, how craftly to entrappe hym, and falſely to betray him, and maliciouſly to ſpill hys life: as by the proces of hys ſtory here folowyng may appeare.

¶ *The life and ſtory of the true ſeruaunt and Martyr* of God William Tyndall: Who for his notable paynes and trauell may well be called the Apoſtle of England in this our latter age.

William Tyndall the faythfull Miniſter and conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought vp from a child in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, where he by long cõtinuaunce grew vp, and increaſed as wel in the knowledge of tounges, and other liberall Artes, as eſpecially in the knowledge of the Scriptures: whereunto his mynde was ſingularly addicted: In ſo much that he lying then in Magdalene Hall, read priuely to certeine ſtudentes and felowes of Magdalene Colledge, ſome parcell of Diuinitie, inſtructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whoſe maners alſo and cõuerſatiõ being correſpõdent to the ſame, were ſuch that all they which knew hym, reputed and eſtemed hym to bee a man of moſt vertuous diſpoſition, and of life vnſpotted. Thus he in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford increaſing more and more in learnyng, and procedyng in degrées of the ſcholes, ſpying hys tyme, remoued from thence to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where after hee had lykewiſe made his abode a certaine ſpace, beyng now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods word, leauyng that Vniuerſitie alſo, he reſorted to one M. Welche a knyght of Glouceſterſhyre, & was there ſcholemaſter to his children, and in good fauour with his maſter. This Gentleman, as hee kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table, there reſorted to hym many times ſondry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, wt other diuers Doctors & great beneficed mẽ: who there together with M. Tyndall ſittyng at the ſame table, did vſe many tymes to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and of Eraſmus: Alſo of diuers other controuerſies and queſtions vpon the Scripture.

Then M. Tyndall, as he was learned and well praciſed in Gods matters, ſo he ſpared not to ſhewe vnto them ſimply and playnly his iudgement in matters, as he thought: and when as they at any tyme did varye frõ Tyndall in opinions ⁊ iudgement, he would ſhewe thẽ in the booke, ⁊ lay playnly before thẽ the open ⁊ manifeſt places of ẏ Scriptures, to confute their errours, ⁊ to confirme his ſayinges. And thus cõtinued they for a certain ſeaſõ, reaſonyng ⁊ cõtending together diuers ⁊ ſundry tymes, till at length they wared wery, ⁊ bare a ſecret grudge in their hartes agaynſt hym.

yndall ſputyng ith the octors.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of theſe great Doctors had inuited M. Welche and hys wife to a banket: where they had talke at will and pleaſure, vttering their blyndes and ignoraunce without any reſiſtance or gaynſaying. Then M. Welche and hys wife comming home and calling for M. Tyndall, began to reaſon with him about thoſe matters, whereof ẏ prieſtes had talked before at theyr banket. M. Tyndall aunſwering by ſcriptures, mayntayned the truth, and reproued theyr falſe opiniõs. Thẽ ſayd the Lady Welch, a ſtout and a wyſe woman (as Tyndall reported) Well (ſayd ſhe) there was ſuch a Doctor which may diſpend a C. l. and an other. ij. C. l. and an other. iij. C. l. and what? were it reaſon, thinke you, that we ſhould beleue you before them? M. Tyndall gaue her no aunſwere at that time, nor alſo after that (becauſe he ſawe it would not auayle) he talked but litle in thoſe matters. At that tyme he was about the tranſlation of a booke called Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani, which beynge tranſlated he delyuered to hys Maiſter and Lady. Who after they had read and well peruſed the ſame, the Doctorly Prelates were no more ſo often called to the houſe, neither had they the cheare and countenaunce whẽ they came, as before they had. Which thyng they markyng and well perceiuing, ⁊ ſuppoſing no leſſe but it came by the meanes of M. Tyndall, refrayned them ſelues, and at laſt vtterly withdrew thẽſelues, ⁊ came no more there.

yndall nſtructeth M. Welch nd his wife in the ruth.

nchiridion, a ooke of Eraſmus ranſlated y Tyndall.

As this grewe on, the Prieſtes of the countrey cluſtring together, began to grudge ⁊ ſtorme againſt Tyndall, rayling agaynſt hym in alehouſes and other places. Of whõ Tyndall him ſelf in his prologue before ẏ firſt booke of Moſes, this teſtifieth in hys own wordes, ⁊ reporteth that he ſuffered much in that countrey by a ſort of vnlearned Prieſtes, beyng full rude and ignoraunt (ſayth he) God knoweth: whiche haue ſene no more Latine then that onely whiche they read in theyr Porteſſes and Miſſalles: (whiche yet many of them can ſcarſely read) excepte it bee Albertus de ſecretis mulierum, in which yet though they be neuer ſo ſorily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therin, and all to teach the midwyues, as they ſaye: and alſo an other called Lynwod, a booke of conſtitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offrynges, cuſtomes, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods parte, the duetie of holy Churche, to diſcharge their conſciences withall. For they are bound that they ſhall not diminiſhe but encreaſe all thynges vnto the vttermoſt of theyr powers, whiche perteyne to holy Church. Thus theſe blynd and rude Prieſtes flockyng together to the Alehouſe (for that was their preachyng place) raged and railed agaynſt hym, affirming that his ſayinges were hereſie: addyng moreouer vnto hys ſayinges of their own heades, more then euer he ſpake, ⁊ ſo accuſed hym ſecretly to the Chauncellour and other of the Byſhops Officers.

he Prieſtes ſtorme gaynſt yndall.

he rudeſs of the ountrey rieſts.

yndall oubled by e prieſts the ntrey.

It folowed not long after this, that there was a ſittyng of the biſhops Chauncellour appointed, and warnyng was giuen to the Prieſtes to appeare: amongeſt whom M. Tyndall was alſo warned to bee there. And whether he had any miſdoubt by their threatnynges, or knowledge giuẽ him that they would lay ſome thinges to his charge, it is vncerteine: but certein this is (as he hym ſelf declared) that he doubted their priuye accuſations: ſo that he by the way in goyng thether wardes, cryed in hys mynde hartly to God, to gyue him ſtrẽgth faſt to ſtand in the truth of hys worde.

yndall lled be e the biops ncellor.

Then whẽ the tyme came of hys apperaunce before the Chauncellour, he threatned hym greuouſly, reuilyng and ratyng hym as though hee had bene a dogge, and layd to his charge many thynges, whereof no accuſer yet could be brought forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bryng forth the accuſer) notwithſtandyng that the Prieſtes of the countrey the ſame tyme were there preſent. And thus M. Tyndall after thoſe examinations eſcappyng out of their handes, departed home and returned to his maſter agayne.

Tyndall could not haue his accuſers brought out.

There dwelt not farre of a certaine Doctour that had ben an old Chauncellour before to a Byſhop, who had ben of old familiar acquayntance with M. Tyndall and alſo fauored hym well. Vnto whom Maiſter Tyndall went and opened hys mynde vppon diuers queſtions of the Scripture: for to hym hee durſt bee bold to diſcloſe his hart. Vnto whom the Doctour ſayd: do you not know that the Pope is very Antichriſt, whom the Scripture ſpeaketh of? But beware what you ſay: for if you ſhalbe perceiued to be of that opinion, it will coſt you your lyfe: and ſayd moreouer, I haue bene an officer of hys, but I haue gyuen it vp and defie hym and all hys workes.

One good olde doctor amongſt many noughte.

The Pope Antichriſt.

It was not long after, but M. Tyndall happened to be in the companye of a certayne Diuine recounted for a learned man, and in commoning and diſputing with hym, hee droue hym to that iſſue, that the ſayd great Doctour burſt out into theſe blaſphemous wordes, and ſayd: we were better to be without Gods law then the Popes. M. Tyndall hearyng this, full of godly zeale and not bearyng that blaſphemous ſaying, replyed agayne and ſayd: I defie the Pope and all hys lawes: and further added that if God ſpared hym life, ere many yeares he would cauſe a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did.

The blaſphemy of a blind Doctor.

The Popes law preferred before Gods law.

After this the grudge of the Prieſtes increaſing ſtill more and more againſt Tindall, they neuer ceaſed barkyng and ratyng at hym, and layd many ſore thynges to his charge, ſaying ẏ he was an hereticke in Sophiſtry, an hereticke in Logicke, and an hereticke in Diuinitie: and ſayd moreouer to hym that he bare hym ſelfe bold of the Gentlemen there in that countrey: but notwithſtandyng, ſhortly hee ſhould bee otherwiſe talked withall. To whom M. Tyndall aunſweryng agayne thus ſayd: that he was contẽted they ſhould bryng him into any countrey in all Englãd, giuyng him x. l. a yere to lyue with, and byndyng hym to no more but to teach children and to preache.

To bee ſhort, M. Tyndall beyng ſo moleſted and vexed in the countrey by the Prieſtes, was conſtrayned to leaue that countrey and to ſeke an other place: and ſo commyng to M. Welche he deſired hym of hys good will, that hee might departe from hym, ſaying on this wiſe to hym: Syr I perceaue I ſhall not bee ſuffered to tarye long here in this countrey, neither ſhal you be hable though you would, to kepe me out of the handes of the ſpiritualtie, and alſo what diſpleaſure might grow thereby to you by kepyng me, God knoweth: for the whiche I ſhould be right ſory. So that in fine, M. Tyndall with the good will of his maſter, departed and eftſones came vp to Londõ, and there preached a while, accordyng as hee had done in the countrey before, and ſpecially about the towne of Briſtowe, and alſo in the ſayd towne, in the common place called Saint Auſtins Greene. At length he bethinkyng hym ſelfe of Cutbert Tonſtall then Byſhop of Londõ, and eſpecially for the great commendation of Eraſmus, who in his annotations ſo extolleth hym for his learnyng, thus caſt with ſelfe, that if he might attayne vnto his ſeruice, he were

Tyndall departeth from M. Welche.

Tyndall commeth to London.

a happy man. And ſo commyng to Syr Henry Gilford the kynges Controler, and bryngyng with hym an Oration of Iſocrates, which he had then tranſlated out of Greke into Engliſh, he deſired him to ſpeake to yͤ ſayd B. of London for him. Which he alſo did, & willed him moreouer to write an Epiſtle to the Byſhop, and to go him ſelfe with hym. Which he did likewiſe, and deliuered his Epiſtle to a ſeruaunt of hys named Williā Hebilthwaite, a man of hys old acquaintaunce. But God who ſecretly diſpoſeth the courſe of thynges ſaw that was not beſt for Tyndals purpoſe nor for the profite of his Churche, and therfore gaue him to finde litle fauor in the Biſhops ſight. The aūſwere of whom was this, that his houſe was full: hee had mo then he could well finde, and aduiſed hym to ſeeke in London abroade, where he ſayd hee could lacke no ſeruice. &c. and ſo remayned he in London the ſpace almoſt of a yeare, beholdyng and markyng with hym ſelfe the courſe of the world, & eſpecially the demeanour of yͤ preachers, how they boaſted thē ſelues & ſet vp their authoritie & kingdome: beholdyng alſo the pompe of the Prelates, with other thynges moe whiche greatly miſlyked him: In ſo much yͭ he vnderſtode, not only there to be no rowme in the Byſhops houſe for hym to tranſlate the new Teſtament: but alſo that there was no place to do it in all Englād. And therfore findyng no place for his purpoſe within the realme, & hauyng ſome ayde and prouiſion, by Gods prouidēce miniſtred vnto him by Humphrey Mummoth aboue recited, as you may ſee before pag. 1133. and certeine other good men, he tooke his leaue of the realme and departed into Germanie. Where the good man beyng inflamed with a tender care and zeale of hys countrey, refuſed no trauell nor diligence how by all meanes poſſible, to reduce his brethren and coūtreymen of England to the ſame taſt and vnderſtanding of Gods holy worde and veritie, whiche the Lord had endued hym withall.

An oration of *Iſocrates* tranſlated out of Greke into Engliſh by *VV. Tyndall*.

Tyndall ſueth to biſhop *Tonſtall* to be hys Chaplaine.

Tonſtall refuſeth Maiſter *Tyndall*.

Tyndall departeth into Germany.

Wherupon he conſydering in his mynde, & partely alſo conferring with Ioh. Frith, thought wͭ him ſelf no way more to conduce therunto, then if the Scripture were turned into yͤ vulgar ſpeach, that the poore people might alſo reade and ſee the ſimple playn word of God. For fyrſt he wiſely caſting in hys mynde, perceyued by experience, how that it was not poſſible to ſtabliſhe the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were ſo playnly layed before theyr eyes in theyr mother tonge, that they might ſee the proceſſe, order, and meanyng of the texte: For elles what ſo euer truth ſhould be taught thē, theſe enemyes of the truth would quench it agayn, eyther with apparant reaſons of ſophiſtrye, and traditions of theyr owne makyng, founded without all grounde of ſcripture: either els iuggling with the texte, expoundyng it in ſuche a ſenſe, as impoſſible it were to gather of the texte, if the right proceſſe, order, and meanyng therof were ſeene.

The cauſes mouing *Tyndall* to tranſlate the ſcripture into the Engliſh tonge.

Agayne, right well he perceyued and conſidered this onely or moſt chiefly to be the cauſe of all myſchief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hydden from the peoples eyes: For ſo longe the abominable doynges and Idolatryes mayntayned by the Phariſaicall Clergie, could not be eſpyed, and therfore all theyr labour was with myght & mayne to kepe it downe, ſo that eyther it ſhould not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right ſenſe with the myſte of theyre ſophiſtry, and ſo entāgle thē which rebuked or deſpiſed their abominations, with argumentes of philoſophy, & with worldly ſimilitudes, and apparant reaſons of naturall wyſedom: and with wreſting the Scripture vnto theyr owne purpoſe, contrary vnto the proceſſe, order, and meanyng of the text, would ſo delude them in deſcantyng vppon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many ſenſes layed before the vnlearned laye people, that though thou felte in thy harte, and were ſure that all were falſe that they ſaid, yet couldeſt not thou ſolue theyr ſubtell rydels.

Hyding of Scripture the cauſe of miſchiefe.

For theſe and ſuch other conſiderations, thys good man was moued (and no doubt ſtyrred vp of God) to tranſlate the Scripture in to hys mother tonge, for the publycke vtilitye and profyte of the ſymple vulgar people of hys countrey: fyrſt, ſettyng in hand with the new Teſtament, which hee fyrſt tranſlated about the yeare of our Lord. 1527. After that, he tooke in hand to tranſlate the olde Teſtament, finiſhyng the fyue bookes of Moyſes, with ſundry moſt learned and godly prologues prefixed before euery one, moſt worthy to be reade and read agayn of all good Chriſtians: as the like alſo he dyd vpon the new Teſtament.

He wrote alſo diuers other workes vnder ſundrye titles, among the which is that moſt worthy monument of hys intituled, the obediēce of a Chriſtiā man, wherin with ſingular dexteritye he inſtructeth all men in the office and dutye of Chriſtian obedience: with dyuers other treatiſes: as of the wicked Mammon: the practiſe of Prelates, with expoſitions vpon certayne partes of the Scripture, and other bookes alſo aunſwering to Syr Thomas More and other aduerſaires of yͤ truth, no leſſe delectable, then alſo moſt fruitfull to be reade, which partely yet beyng vnknowen to many, partely alſo beyng almoſt aboliſhed and worne out by tyme, the prynter herof intendeth (good reader) for conſeruyng & reſtoryng ſuch ſingular treaſures, ſhortly (God willing) to collecte and ſet forth in print the ſame in one generall volume all and whole together, as alſo the workes of Ioh. Frith, Barnes, and other, as ſhall ſeeme moſt ſpeciall and profytable for thy reading.

Theſe bookes of William Tyndall beyng compiled, publiſhed and ſent ouer into Englād, it can not be ſpoken what a doore of light they opened to the eyes of the whole Engliſhe nation, whiche before were many yeares ſhutte vp in darkenes.

At his firſt departing out of the realme, hee tooke hys iourney into the further partes of Germany, as into Saxonie, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in thoſe quarters. Where, after that he had continued a certeine ſeaſon, he came downe frō thence into the netherlandes and had hys moſt abyding in the towne of Antwerpe, vntill the tyme of hys apprehenſion: whereof more ſhalbe ſayd God willyng hereafter.

Amongeſt hys other bookes which he compiled, one worke hee made alſo for the declaration of the Sacrament (as it was then called) of the aultar: the which he kept by hym, conſideryng how the people were not as yet fully perſuaded in other matters tendyng to ſuperſticious ceremonies and groſſe idolatrie. Wherfore he thought as yet tyme was not come, to put forth that worke, but rather yͭ it ſhould hinder yͤ people frō other inſtructions, ſuppoſing that it would ſeme to them odious to heare any ſuch thyng ſpoken or ſet forth at that tyme, ſoundyng agaynſt their great Goddeſſe Diana: that is, agaynſt their Maſſe, beyng had euery where in great eſtimatiō, as was the Goddeſſe Diana amongeſt the Epheſians whō they thought to come frō heauen.

Wherefore M. Tyndall beyng a man both prudent in hys doynges, and no leſſe zelous in the ſettyng forth of Gods holy truth, after ſuch ſorte as it might take moſt effect with the people, did forbeare the puttyng forth of that worke, not doubtyng but by Gods mercyfull grace, a tyme ſhould come, to haue that abomination openly declared, as it is at this preſent day: the Lord almighty be allwayes prayſed therfore. Amen.

Theſe godly bookes of Tyndall, and ſpecially yͤ new Teſtament of hys tranſlation, after that they began to come into mens handes, and to ſpread abroad, as they wrought great and ſingulare profite to the godly: ſo the vngodly enuying & diſdaynyng that the people ſhould be any thyng wyſer then they, and agayne fearyng leſt by the ſhynyng beames of truth, their falſe hypocryſye and workes of darknes ſhould be diſcerned: began to ſtyrre with no ſmall adoe, like as at the birth of Chriſt, turbatus eſt Herodes & tota Hieroſolyma cum eo. But eſpecially, Sathan the Prince of darkenes, maligning the happy courſe and ſucceſſe of the Goſpell, ſet to his myght alſo, howe to empech and hynder the bleſſed trauayls of that man: as by thys, and alſo by ſondry other wayes may appeare. For at what tyme Tyndall hadde tranſlated the fifte booke of Moyſes called Deuteronomium, myndyng to prynte the ſame at Hamborough, he ſailed therward: where by the waye vpon the coaſte of Hollande, he ſuffered ſhipwrake, by the which he loſte all hys bookes, wrytyngs, and copies, & ſo was compelled to begynne all agayn a new, to hys hinderance, and doubling of his labours. Thus hauing loſt by that ſhyppe both money, hys copyes, and tyme, he came in an other ſhip to Hamborough, where at his appoyntement M. Couerdale taryed for hym, and helped hym in the tranſlatyng of the whole .v. bookes of Moyſes, from eaſter tyll December in the houſe of a worſhipful widow Maiſtres Margaret vā Emmerſon, an. 1529. a great ſweating ſicknes beyng yͤ ſame tyme in the towne. So hauing diſpatched his buſines at Hāborough, he returned afterward to Antwerpe again.

Sathan an enemye to all good purpoſes, eſpecially to the Goſpell.

William Tyndall oſte hys bokes and coppyes by ſhipwracke.

Maiſter *Couerdale* a helper to Maiſter *Tindall* in the tranſlatiō of the new Teſtament.

Thus as Sathan is and euer hath bene an enemye to all godly endeuours, and chiefly to the promotyng and featherauuce of Gods worde, as by this and many other experimentes may be ſeene: ſo his miniſters and members folowing the like qualitie of theyr maiſter, be not altogether idle for theyr partes: as alſo by yͤ Popes chapleyns and Gods enemyes, and by their cruel handling of the ſayd M. Tyndall the ſame tyme, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appeare.

When Gods will was, that the new Teſtament in the cōmon tongue ſhoulde come abroade, Tyndall the trāſlator therof added to yͤ latter end a certain Epiſtle, wherin he deſyred thē that were learned to amende, if ought were founde amyſſe. Wherfore, if any ſuche default had bene, deſeruyng correction, it hadde bene the part of courteſy and gentlenes, for men of knowledge and iudgement to haue ſhewed their learnyng therin, and to haue redreſſed that was to be amended. But the ſpirituall fathers then of the clergye beyng not willing to haue that booke to proſper, cryed out vpon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thouſand hereſies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but vtterly to be ſuppreſſed. Some ſaid it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scripture into Engliſhe: ſome that it was not lawfull for yͤ lay people to haue it in their mother tongue: ſome that it would make thē all heretikes. And to the intent to induce the temporall rulers alſo vnto their purpoſe, they made more matter, and ſayd, that it woulde make the people to rebell, & riſe againſt the king. All this Tyndall him ſelf in hys own prologue before the firſt booke of Moſes declareth: and addeth further, ſhewing what great paynes was takē in examining that tranſlation, & cōparing it with their own imaginations & termes, yͭ with leſſe labour (he ſuppoſeth) they myght haue tranſlated themſelues a great parte of the Bible: Shewyng moreoer, that they ſcanned and examined euery tytle & point in the ſayd tranſlation, in ſuch ſort & ſo narowlye, that there was not one .i. therin, but if it lacked a pricke ouer his head, they did note it, and numbered it vnto the ignoraunt people for an hereſie. So great was then the froward deuiſes of the Engliſhe Clergie (who ſhould haue bene yͤ guydes of light vnto the people) to dryue the people from the texte and knowledge of the Scripture, which neyther they would tranſlate themſelues, nor yet abide it to be tranſlated of others: to the intent (as Tyndall ſayth) that the world being kept ſtill in darknes, they myght ſit in the conſciences of the people througth vayne ſuperſtition and falſe doctrine, to ſatiſfie their luſtes, their ambitiō, and vnſaciable couetouſnes, and to exalte their owne honour aboue Kyng and Emperour, yea and aboue God hym ſelfe. Hæc ille.

The practiſe of popiſhe Prelates to kepe the Scripture from the people.

The cauſes why the popes clergye would not abyde the Scripture in the cōmon tonge.

The Byſhops and Prelates of the realme, thus (as ye haue heard) incenſed and inflamed in their mindes, although hauyng no cauſe, agaynſt the olde and newe Teſtament of the Lord newly tranſlated by Tyndall, and conſpiryng together with all their heades & counſailes, how to repeale the ſame, neuer reſted before they had brought the kyng at laſt to their conſent. By reaſon wherof a proclamation in all haſt was deuiſed, and ſet forth vnder publicke authoritie: but no iuſt reaſon ſhewed, that the Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation, with other workes moe both of his, and of other writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before, pag. 1157. Whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceded further, how to entāgle hym in their nettes, and to bereft hym of his life. Whiche how they brought to paſſe, now it remaineth to be declared.

The popiſhe Prelates procured not only the condemnation of *M. Tyndalls* bokes, but alſo burned both them and the Teſtament, calling it *Doctrinam peregrinā*, ſtraunge doctrine.

In the Regiſters of London it appeareth manifeſt, how that the Biſhops and Syr Thomas More hauing any poore man vnder Coram to bee examined before them, namely ſuch as had bene at Antwerpe, moſt ſtudiouſlye woulde ſearche and examine all thynges belongyng to Tyndall, where and with whom he hoſted, where aboutes ſtode the houſe, what was his ſtature, in what apparell he went, what reſorte hee had. &c. All whiche thynges when they had diligently learned (as may appeare by the examinatiō of Symon Smith, and others) then began they to worke their feates, as you ſhall heare by the relation of his owne hoſte.

Priuie conſpiration of the Byſhops agaynſt W. *Tyndall*.

William Tyndall beyng in the town of Antwerpe, had bene lodged about one whole yeare in the houſe of Thomas Pointz an Engliſheman, who kept there an houſe of Engliſhe marchauntes. About whiche tyme came thether one out of Englande, whoſe name was Henry Philippes, hys father beyng cuſtomer of Poole, a comely fellowe, lyke as hee had bene a Gentleman, hauyng a ſeruaunt with hym: but wherfore he came, or for what purpoſe he was ſent thether, no man coulde tell.

The order and maner of takyng of *Tyndall*, teſtified by *Poyntz* his hoſt.

Maiſter Tyndall diuers tymes was deſired forth to dinner & ſupper amongeſt marchaūtes: by the meanes wherof this Hēry Philippes became acquainted with hym, ſo that within ſhort ſpace M. Tyndall had a great confidence in hym, and brought hym to hys lodgyng to the houſe of T. Pointz, and had him alſo with him once or twiſe to dynner and ſupper, and further entred ſuch frēdſhip with hym, that through his procurement, hee lay in the ſame houſe of the ſayd Pointz: To whom he ſhewed moreouer his bookes and other ſecretes of hys ſtudy, ſo litle did Tyndall then miſtruſt thys traytour.

The frendſhip of *Tyndall* ſhewed to *Phillippes* his betrayer.

But Pointz hauyng no great confidence in the fellowe, aſked Maiſter Tyndall howe hee came acquainted with thys Philippes. Maiſter Tyndall aunſwered, that he was an honeſt man, handſomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz perceyuyng that hee bare ſuch fauour to hym, ſayd no more, thinkyng that he was brought acquainted with him by ſome frend of hys. The ſayd Philippes beyng in the towne iij. or iiij. dayes, vppon a tyme deſired Pointz to walke with him fourth of the towne to ſhewe hym the commodities therof, and in walkyng together without the towne, had communication of diuers thinges, and ſome of the kynges affaires. By yͤ whiche talke Pointz as yet ſuſpected nothing: but after by the ſequele of the matter he perceaued more what hee entended. In the meane tyme this hee well perceaued, that hee bare no great fauour, either to yͤ ſetting forth of any good thing, either to the procedynges of the kyng of England. But after when the tyme was paſt, Pointz perceaued this to be his mynde, to feele if hee could perceiue by him, whether hee might breake with hym in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe hym to his purpoſe: for hee perceiued before yͭ he was monyed, & would that Pointz ſhould thinke no leſſe: but by whom, it was vnknowē: For he had deſired Pointz before to helpe him to diuers

The Papiſtes will ſpare no coſte to fulfill their malitious enterpriſes.

Phillippes well monyed by the Engliſhe byſhops.

thynges, and ſuch thynges as hee named, hee required might be of the beſt, for ſaid he, I haue money enough. But of this talke came nothyng but that men ſhould thinke hee had ſome thinges to do, for nothyng els folowed of his talke. So it was to bee ſuſpected, that Philippes was in doubt to moue this matter for hys purpoſe, to any of the Rulers or Officers of the towne of Antwerpe, for doubt it ſhould come to the knowledge of ſome Engliſhmen, and by the meane therof, M. Tyndall ſhould haue had warnyng.

So Philippes went from Antwerpe to the Court of Bruxelles, which is frō thence xxiiij. Engliſh myles, the king hauing there no Ambaſſadour: for at that time the kyng of England and the Emperour were at a cōtrouerſie for the queſtiō betwene the kyng and the Ladye Katherine, whiche was Aunte to the Emperour: and the diſcorde grewe ſo much, that it was doubted leſt there ſhould haue bene warre betwene the Emperour & the kyng, ſo that Philippes as a traitour both agaynſt God and the kyng, was there the better reteyned, as alſo other traitours moe beſides him: who after he had betrayed M. Tyndall into their handes, ſhewed him ſelfe agaynſt the kynges own perſon, and there ſet forth thynges agaynſt the king. To make ſhort, the ſaid Philippes did ſo much there, that he procured to bryng from thence with hym to Antwerpe yͤ Procurour generall, whiche is the Emperours Atturney, with other certaine Officers, as after foloweth. The whiche was not done with ſmall charges and expēces, from whom ſo euer it came.

Within a while after, Pointz ſitting at his doore, Philippes man came vnto hym and aſked whether M. Tyndall were there, and ſayd his maiſter would come to hym, & ſo departed. But whether his M. Philippes were in the towne or not, it was not knowen: but at that tyme Pointz heard no more, neither of the maſter nor of the man. Within thrée or iiij. daies after, Pointz went forth to the towne af Barrowe, beyng xviij. Engliſhe myles from Antwerpe, where hee had buſines to doe for the ſpace of a moneth or vj. wéekes, and in the time of his abſence, Henry Philippes came agayne to Antwerpe to the houſe of Pointz, and commyng in, ſpake with his wife, aſking her for M. Tyndall, & whether he would dyne there with hym, ſaying: what good meat ſhall we haue? She aūſwered, ſuch as the market will gyue. Thē went he forth againe (as it is thought) to prouide, and ſet the Officers which he brought with hym from Bruxelles, in the ſtréete, and about the doore. Then about noone he came agayne & went to M. Tyndall, and deſired hym to lende hym forty ſhyllinges, for (ſayd he) I loſt my purſe this mornyng, commyng ouer at the paſſage betwene this and Machelyn. So M. Tyndall tooke hym xl. ſhyllynges, the whiche was eaſie to be had of him, if he had it: for in the wylye ſubtilities of thys world he was ſimple and vnexperte.

Henry Philippes traytour and betrayer of *M. Tyndall.*

The ſimplicitie of Maiſter *Tyndall.*

How *Tyndall* was betrayed into hys enemies handes.

Then ſayd Philippes, M. Tyndall you ſhalbe my geſt here this day. No ſayd M. Tyndall, I go forth this day to dynner, and you ſhall go with me and be my geſte, where you ſhalbe welcome. So when it was dynner tyme, M. Tyndall went forth with Philippes, and at the goyng forth of Pointz houſe, was a long narrowe entrie, ſo that ij. could not go in a frount. M. Tyndall would haue put Philippes before hym, but Philippes would in no wiſe, but put M. Tyndall afore, for that he pretended to ſhewe great humanitie. So M. Tyndall beyng a mā of no great ſtature, went before, & Philips a tall comely perſon folowed behynd hym, who had ſet Officers on either ſide of yͤ doore vpon ij. ſeates: which beyng there, might ſée who came in the entrie, and commyng through the ſame entrie, Philippes pointed with his finger ouer M. Tyndals head downe to hym, that the Officers whiche ſat at the doore, might ſée that it was he whō they ſhould take, as the officiers that tooke M. Tyndall, afterward told Pointz, & ſayd to Pointz when they had layd hym in priſon, that they pitied to ſée hys ſimplicitie when they tooke hym. Then they tooke hym and brought him to the Emperours Attourney or Procurour generall, where he dyned. Then came the Procurour generall to the houſe of Pointz, and ſet away all that was there of M. Tyndals, as well hys bookes, as other thynges: and from thence Tyndall was had to the Caſtle of Filford, xviij. Engliſhe myles from Antwerpe, and there he remayned vntill he was put to death.

Then incontinent, by the helpe of Engliſhe Marchauntes, were letters ſent in the fauour of Tyndall, to the Court at Bruxelles. Alſo not long after, letters were directed out of England to the counſaile at Bruxelles, and ſent to the Marchaūtes aduēturers to Antwerpe, commaūdyng them to ſée that with ſpéede they ſhould be deliuered. Then ſuch of the chiefeſt of the Marchauntes as were there at that tyme, beyng called together, required the ſayd Pointz to take in hand the deliuerie of thoſe letters, with letters alſo frō them in the fauour of M. Tyndall, to the Lord of Barrowe and others, the whiche Lord of Barrowe (as it was tolde Pointz by the way) at that tyme was departed from Bruxelles, as the chiefeſt conductour of the eldeſt daughter of the kyng of Denmarke, to bee maryed to the Palſgraue, whoſe mother was ſiſter to the Emperour, ſhe beyng chiefe Princeſſe of Denmarke. Who after hee heard of his departure, did ryde after the next way, and ouertooke him at Akon, where he deliuered to hym his letters. The which when he had receiued and read, hee made no directe aunſwere, but ſomewhat obiectyng, ſayd: there was of their countreymen that were burned in England not long before, as in déede there were Anabaptiſtes burnte in Smithfield, and ſo Pointz ſaid to him: howbeit ſayd he, what ſoeuer the crime was, if his Lordſhippe or any other Noble man had written, requiryng to haue had them, he thought they ſhould not haue ben denyed. Well ſaid he, I haue no leaſure to write, for the Princeſſe is ready to ryde.

Then ſayd Pointz, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhyp, I will attende vppon you vnto the next bayting place, whiche was at Maſtright. If you ſo do, ſayd the Lord, I will aduiſe my ſelfe by the waye, what to write. So Pointz folowed hym from Akon to Maſtright, the whiche are xv. Engliſhe myles a ſunder, & there hee receaued letters of him, one to the counſaile there, an other to the company of yͤ Marchauntes aduenturers, and an other alſo to the Lord Cromwell, in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Bruxelles, and then and there deliuered to the counſaile, the letters out of England, with the Lord of Barrowes letters alſo: and receiued eftſoones aunſwere into England of the ſame by letters, which he brought to Antwerpe to the Engliſhe Marchauntes: who required him to go with them into Englād, and he very deſirous to haue M. Tyndall out of priſon, let not for to take paynes with loſſe of tyme in hys owne buſines and occupying, but diligently folowed with the ſayd letters, whiche hee there deliuered to the counſaile, and was commaunded by them to tary vntill he had other letters, of the which hée was not diſpatched thence in a moneth after. At length the letters beyng deliuered him, hée returned agayne and deliuered them to the Emperours counſaile at Bruxelles, and there taried for aunſwere of the ſame.

When the ſayd Pointz had taryed iij. or iiij. dayes, it was told hym of one that belonged to the Chauncery, that M. Tyndall ſhould haue bene deliuered to hym accordyng to the tenour of the letters. But Philippes beyng there, folowed the ſute agaynſt M. Tyndall, & hearyng that he ſhould bee deliuered to Pointz, and doubtyng leſt hee ſhould be put from his purpoſe, he knewe none other remedy but to accuſe Pointz, ſaying: that he was a dweller in the towne of Antwerpe, and there had ben a ſuccourer of Tyndall, & was one of the ſame opinion, & that all this was onely his owne labour and ſute to haue M. Tyndall at libertie, and no mans els.

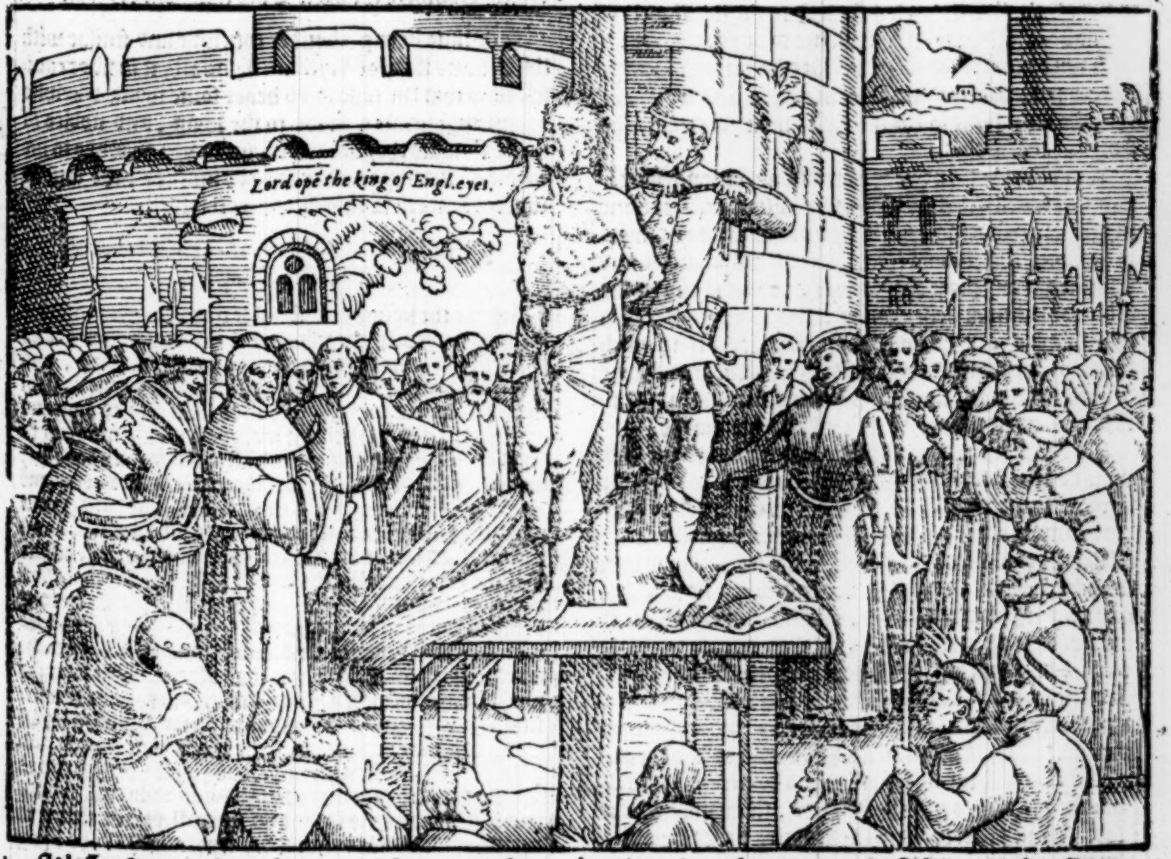
Thus vpon his informatiõ and accuſatiõ, Pointz was attached by the Procurour generall, the Emperours attourney, and delyuered to the kepynge of two Sergeauntes of armes: and the ſame euenynge was ſent to hym one of the Chauncery with the Procurour generall, who miniſtered vnto hym an othe, that he ſhould truely make aunſwere to all ſuche thynges as ſhoulde bee inquired of hym, thinking they would haue had no other examinations of hym but of hys meſſage. The next daye likewyſe they came agayne and had hym in examination, and ſo fyue or ſix dayes one after another, vpon not ſo fewe as an hũdreth articles, as well of ẏ kynges affaires as of ẏ meſſage cõcerning Tyndall, of his ayders & of his religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procurour generall drewe xxiij., or xxiiij. articles, and declared the ſame againſt the ſaid Pointz: the copie wherof he delyuered to hym to make aunſwere therunto, and permitted hym to haue an Aduocate and Procurour, that is, a doctor and proctour in the lawe: and order was taken, that eyght dayes after, he ſhoulde delyuer vnto them hys aunſwere, and ſo from viij. dayes to eyght dayes, to proceede till the proceſſe were ended: Alſo that he ſhould ſend no meſſenger to Antwerpe, where as hys houſe was, beyng xxiiij. Engliſhe myles from Bruxelles, where hee was pryſoner, nor to any other place, but by the Poſte of the towne of Bruxelles: nor to ſende any letters, nor any to be delyuered to hym, but written in Dutche, and the Procurour general, who was partie agaynſt hym, to reade them, to peruſe and to examine thẽ thorowly, contrary to all ryght and equitie, before they were ſent or delyuered: Neyther myght anye bee ſuffered to ſpeake or talke with Pointz in anye other tongue or language, except onelye in the Dutche tongue, ſo that hys keepers who were Dutche men, myghte vnderſtande what the contentes of the letters or talke ſhould be, ſauinge that at one certayn tyme the Prouinciall of the whyte fryers came to dynner where Poyntz was priſoner, and brought with hym a younge Nouice, beynge an Engliſhe man, whom the Prouinciall after dynner, of hys owne accorde, dyd byd to talke with the ſayd Pointz, and ſo with him he was licenced to talke. The purpoſe & great pollicye therin was eaſye to bee perceyued. Betwene Pointz & the Nouice was much prety talke, as of Syr Thomas More, and of the Byſhop of Rocheſter, & of theyr puttynge to death: whoſe death he ſeemed greatly to lamente, eſpecyally dying in ſuch a quarell, worthy (as he ſayde) to be accounted for Martyrs, with other noble doctrine and depe learnyng in diuinitie, meete to feede Swyne withall. Such blyndnes then in thoſe dayes raygned amongſt thẽ. After thys Pointz deliuered vp hys aunſwere to the Procurour generall, & then after, at the daies appointed went forth with replicatiõ duplicke, wᵗ other aunſweres eche to other in wryting what they could.

Talke betwen *Poyntz*, and a Nouice.

As the Commiſſioners came to Pointz, Philippes the traytor accompanied them to the doore in followyng the proceſſe againſt him, as he alſo dyd againſt M. Tyndall, for ſo they that had Pointz in keping, ſhewed him. Thus Pointz for M. Tyndall was ſore troubled & long kept in priſon: but at length whẽ he ſaw no other remedy, by night he made his eſcape, & auoyded their hãdes. But good Tyndall could not eſcape their hãds, but remained in priſon ſtyll, who being brought vnto his aũſwere was offered to haue an aduocate, & a proctor: for in any criminall cauſe there, it ſhalbe permitted to haue counſaill, to make aunſwere in ẏ law. But he refuſed to haue any ſuch, ſayinge: that he woulde aunſwere for him ſelf: and ſo he dyd.

Poyntz troubled for *M. Tyndall.*

The Martyrdome and burnyng of Maiſter W. Tyndall, in
Flaunders, by Filford Caſtle.


Lorde ope the king of Engl. eyes.

The Martyrdome of *VV. Tyndall.*

An. 1536.

At laſt, after much reaſonyng, when no reaſon would ſerue, although he deſerued no death, hee was cõdemned by vertue of the Emperours decree made in thẽ aſſemble at Auſbrough (as is before ſignified) and vppon the ſame, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tyed to the ſtake, and then ſtrangled firſt by the hangman, and afterward with fire cõſumed in the mornyng at the towne of Filford, an. 1536. crying thus at the ſtake with a feruent zeale, & a loude voyce: *Lorde open the Kyng of Englandes eyes.*

The prayer of *M. Tyndall.*

M.Tyndall conuerted hys keper.

Such was the power of hys doctrine, and ſinceritie of hys life, that during the tyme of hys impriſonment (which endured a yeare and a halfe) it is ſayd, hee conuerted hys keper, his daughter, and other of hys houſholde. Alſo the reſt that were with hym conuerſant in the Caſtle, reported of hym, that if he were not a good Chriſten man, they could not tell whom to truſt.

Commendatiō of M.Tyndall by them that were about hym.

The Procurour generall the Emperours Atturney being there, left thys teſtimonye of hym, that he was Homo doctus, pius, & bonus: that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man.

The ſame morning in which he was had to the fire, he deliuered a letter to the keeper of the Caſtle, which the keeper hym ſelf brought to the houſe of the foreſaid Pointz in Antwerpe, ſhortly after: which letter, with his examinations and other his diſputations, I would might haue come to our hands: all which I vnderſtād, did remaine, & yet perhaps do, in the handes of the kepers daughter. For ſo it is of hym reported, that as hee was in the Caſtle priſoner, there was much wrytyng, and great diſputation to and fro, betwene hym and them of the Vniuerſitie of Louaine (whiche was not paſt ix. or x. myles frō ỹ place where he was priſoner) in ſuch ſort, that they all had enough to do, & more then they coulde well weld, to aunſwere the authorities and teſtimonies of the Scripture, wherupon hee moſte pithely grounded his doctrine.

Gods iudgement vpon Philippes the betrayer of Tyndall.

Of Iudas that betrayed Chriſt, it is written, that he returned the money agayne to the Phariſeis, and afterward did hange hym ſelf. So Philippes this miſerable traytour, after he had bene receaued of Tyndall, and borrowed money of hym, and yet betrayed hym and purſued hym to death: albeit hee reioyſed a while after that he had done, yet the ſaying ſo goeth, that he not lōg tyme after enioyed the price of innocent bloud, but was conſumed at laſt with lyce.

The worthy vertues and doynges of this bleſſed Martyr, who for hys paynefull trauailes, and ſingular zeale to his countrey, may be called in theſe our dayes, an Apoſtle of England, it were long to recite. Amongſt many other, this becauſe it ſemeth to me worthy of remēbraūce, I thought not in ſilence to ouerpaſſe, which hath vnto me credibly bene teſtified by certaine graue Marchauntes, and ſome of them alſo ſuch as were preſent the ſame tyme at the facte, and men yet aliue. The ſtory wherof is this.

There was at Antwerpe on a tyme, amongeſt a cōpany of marchaūtes as they were at ſupper, a certaine iuggler, whiche through his diabolicall inchauntemēts or Art Magicall, would fetch all kindes of viandes, and wyne from any place they would, and ſet it vppon the table incontinent before them, with many other ſuch lyke thinges. The fame of this indgler beyng much talked of, it chaunced that as M.Tyndall heard of it, he deſired certaine of the Marchauntes, that hee might alſo be preſent at ſupper, to ſee hym play his partes.

The power of Gods ſaintes agaynſt the deuill.

To be brief, the ſupper was appointed, and the Marchauntes with Tyndall were there preſent. Then the iuggler beyng required to play his feates, and to ſhew his cunnyng, after his wonted boldnes began to vtter all that he could do, but all was in vayne. At the laſt, with hys labour ſweating & toyling, when he ſaw that nothyng would go forward, but that all his enchauntmentes were voyde, he was cōpelled openly to cōfeſſe ỹ there was ſome mā preſent at ſupper, whiche diſturbed and letted all his doinges. So that a man euen in the Martyrs of theſe our dayes cannot lacke the miracles of true fayth, if miracles were now to be deſired.

W.Tyndalls workes looked for to be all ſet out in one volume.

As concernyng the workes and bookes of Tyndall, whiche extende to a great number, thou waſt told before (louing reader) how the Printer hereof myndeth by the Lordes leaue, to collect them all in one Volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it ſhall not greatly at this tyme bee nedefull to make any ſeuerall rehearſall of them.

And as touchyng his tranſlation of the new Teſtament, becauſe his enemyes did ſo much carpe at it, pretendyng it to bee ſo full of hereſies, to aunſwere therefore to their ſclaunderous tongues and lying lyppes, thou ſhalt heare and vnderſtand, what faithfull dealyng, and ſincere conſcience he vſed in the ſame, by the teſtimonie and allegation of his owne wordes, written in his Epiſtle to Iohn Frith, as foloweth: *I call God to recorde agaynſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus, to geue a reckenyng of our doings, that I neuer altered one ſilable of Gods worde agaynſt my conſcience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches might be giuen me, &c.*

And as ye haue heard Tyndals owne wordes thus proteſting for hym ſelfe: now let vs heare likewiſe the faithfull teſtimonie of Iohn Frith, for Tyndall hys deare companion and brother, thus declaryng in hys aunſwere to M. More, as foloweth.

¶ *The teſtimony of Iohn Frith in his booke of the* Sacrament concernyng William Tyndall.

AND Tyndall I truſt liueth, well content with ſuch a poore Apoſtles lyfe, as God gaue hys ſonne Chriſt, and his faythfull Miniſters in this world, which is not ſure of ſo many mites, as ye be yearely of poūdes: although I am ſure that for hys learnyng and iudgemēt in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted, thē all the Byſhops in Englād. I receaued a letter frō hym, which was writtē ſince Chriſtmas, wherin among other matters he writeth thys: I call God to recorde agaynſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus, to geue a reckening of our doinges, that I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods worde agaynſt my conſcience, nor would do this day if all that is in earth, whether it bee honour pleaſure, or riches might be geuen me.

Moreouer I take God to witneſſe to my conſcience, that I deſire of God to my ſelfe in this world, no more then that without whiche I can not kepe his lawes. &c. Iudge Chriſtiā reader whether theſe wordes be not ſpoken of a faythfull cleare innocent hart. And as for his behauiour, is ſuch, that I am ſure no man can reproue hym of any ſinne, howbeit no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the hart. This much out of Fryth.

And thus beyng about to conclude and finiſhe with the lyfe and ſtory of William Tyndall, it ſhalbe requiſite now that the reader do heare ſome thyng lykewiſe of his ſupplication made to the kyng, and nobles of the realme, as they are yet extant in hys workes to bee ſene, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenour wherof tendeth to this effecte as foloweth.

¶ *Tyndals ſupplications to the king, nobles, and* ſubiectes of England.

I Beſeche the kynges moſt noble grace, well to conſider all the wayes, by the whiche the Cardinall, and our holy Byſhops haue led hym ſince he was firſt kyng, and to ſee wherunto all the pride, pompe, and vayne boaſt of the Cardinall is come, & how God hath reſiſted hym and our Prelates in all their wyles. we hauyng nothyng to do at all, haue medled yet with all matters, and haue ſpēt for our Prelates cauſes, more then all Chriſtendome, euē vnto the vtter beggeryng of our ſelues, and haue gotten nothyng but rebuke and hate among all nations, and a mocke and a ſcorne of them, whom we haue moſt holpē. For the French mē (as the ſaying is) of late dayes made a playe, or a diſguiſyng at Paris, in whiche the Emperour daunſed with the Pope, and the Frenche kyng, and weryed them: the kyng of England ſittyng on a hye bench, and lookyng on. And whē it was aſked why he daunſed not, it was aunſwered, ỹ he ſat there, but to pay the minſtrels their wages. As who ſhould ſay, we payd for all mens daunſing. we monyed the Emperour openly, and gaue the Frenche kyng double, and treble ſecretly: and to the Pope alſo. Yea and though Ferdinandus had money ſent openly to blynd the world withall, yet the ſaying is throughe all Dutchland, that we ſent money to the kyng of Pole. &c.

Furthermore I beſeche hys grace alſo to haue mercy of his own ſoule, & not to ſuffer Chriſt & hys holy Teſtament to be perſecuted vnder hys name any longer: that the ſword of the wrath of God may bee put vp agayne, whiche for that cauſe, no doubt, is moſt chiefly drawne.

Thyrdly, my petition is to his grace, to haue compaſſion on hys poore ſubiectes, that the realme vtterly periſh not with the wicked counſayle of our peſtilent Prelates. For if hys grace, whiche is but a man, ſhould dye, the Lordes and commons not knowing who hath moſt ryght to enioy the crowne, the realme could not but ſtād in great daunger.

My fourth ſute and exhortation is to all the Lordes temporall of the realme, that they come and fall before the kynges grace, and humbly deſire his maieſtie, to ſuffer it to be tryed, who of right ought to ſuccede: And if he or ſhe fayle, who next, and who thyrd. And let it be proclaymed openly: and let all the Lordes temporall bee ſworne therto, and all the knyghtes and ſquyers and gentlemen, and the commons aboue xviij. yeares olde, that there be no ſtrife for the ſucceſſion. If they trye it by the ſword, I promiſe them, I ſee no other likelyhode but it will coſt the realme of England. &c.

Further, of all the ſubiectes of Englād this I craue, that they repent. For the cauſe of euill rulers is the ſinne of the ſubiectes as teſtifieth the Scripture. And the cauſe of falſe preachers is, that the people haue no loue vnto the truth, ſayth Paul in the 2. Chapter of the 2. Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians. we be all ſinners an hundred tymes greater then all that we ſuffer. Let vs therefore eche forgeue other, remēbryng ẏ greater ſinners, the more welcome, if we repent accordyng to ẏ ſimilitude of ẏ riotous ſonne Luke. xv. For Chriſt dyed for ſinners and is theyr Sauiour, and hys bloud theyr treaſure to pay for theyr ſynnes. He is that fatted calfe whiche is ſlayne to make them good cheare withall, if they will repent and come to their father agayne: and hys merites is the goodly rayment to couer the naked deformities of their ſynnes.

Finallye if the perſecution of the kynges grace and of other temporall perſons conſpiryng with the ſpiritualtie, be of ignoraunce, I doubt not but that theyr eyes ſhalbe opened ſhortly and they ſhall ſee and repent, and God ſhall ſhewe them mercye. But if it be of a ſet malice agaynſt the truth, and of a grounded hate agaynſt the law of God, by the reaſon of a full conſent they haue to ſynne and to walke in their old wayes of ignoraunce, whereunto beyng now paſt all repentaunce, they haue vtterly yelded them ſelues, to folow with full luſt without brydle or ſnaffle, whiche is the ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt: then ye ſhall ſee euen ſhortly, that God ſhall turne the point of the ſworde wherewith they now ſhede Chriſtes bloud, homeward to ſhede theyr own agayne, after all the examples of the Bible.

These things thus diſcourſed pertaynyng to the ſtory and doinges of Tyndall, finally it remayneth to inferre certeine of his priuate letters & epiſtles, wherof amōg diuers other which haue not come to our hands, two ſpeciall he wrote to Iohn Fryth, one properly vnder his owne name, an other vnder the name of Iacob, but in very deede was written and deliuered to Iohn Fryth, being priſoner then in the tower, as ye ſhall further vnderſtād by the ſequele hereafter. The copie and tenour of the epiſtles here followeth.

¶ *A Letter ſent from M. Tyndall, vnto Maiſter* Frith, beyng in the tower.

THe grace and peace of God our father, and of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, be with you. Amen. Dearly beloued brother Iohn, I haue heard ſaie, how the hypocrites now that they haue ouercome that great buſines which letted them, or at the leaſt way, haue brought it at a ſtay, they returne to their old nature againe. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordayned to bee ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reigne ouer all.

Derely beloued, how euer the matter be, commit your ſelfe wholy and only vnto your moſt louing father, and moſt kinde Lorde, and feare not men that threate, nor truſt men that ſpeake faire: but truſt him that is true of promiſe, and able to make his worde good. Your cauſe is Chriſts goſpell, a light that muſt be fed with the bloud of faith. The lampe muſt be dreſſed and ſnuffed dayly, and that oyle poured in euery euening and morning, that ẏ light go not out. Though we be ſinners, yet is ẏ cauſe right. *If whē we be buffeted for well doing, we ſuffer paciētly and endure, that is acceptable to God: for to that ende we are called. For Chriſt alſo ſuffered for vs, leauing vs an example that we ſhould followe his ſteppes, who did no ſinne. Hereby haue we perceyued loue, that he layed downe hys life for vs: therfore we ought alſo to laye downe our lyues for the brethren. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. For we ſuffer with hym that we may alſo be glorified wyth hym: who ſhall chaunge our vile bodye, that it may be faſhioned like vnto hys glorious body, accordyng to the workyng wherby he is able euen to ſubiecte all thinges vnto hym.*

1. Iohn. 3. Math. 5. Rom. 8. Phil. 3.

Derely beloued, be of good courage, and comfort your ſoule with the hope of this hye rewarde, and beare the image of Chriſt in your mortall body, that it may at hys comming be made like to his immortall: and follow the enſample of all your other deare brethren, which choſe to ſuffer in hope of a better reſurrection. Kepe your conſcience pure and vndefiled, and ſay agaynſt that nothyng. Sticke at neceſſary thinges, & remēber the blaſphemyes of ẏ enemyes of Chriſt, ſaying: they fynde none but that will abiure rather then ſuffer the extremitie. Moreouer, the death of them that come agayne after they haue once denyed, though it be accepted with God and all that beleue, yet is it not glorious, for the hypocrites ſay, he muſt nedes dye, denying helpeth not: But might it haue holpen, they would haue denyed fyue hundreth tymes: but ſeyng it would not helpe them, therfore of pure pride and mere malice together, they ſpeake with their mouthes, that their cōſcience knoweth falſe. If you geue your ſelfe, caſt your ſelfe, yelde your ſelfe, commit your ſelfe wholy and onely to your louyng father: then ſhall hys power be in you and make you ſtronge, and that ſo ſtrong, that you ſhall feele no payne: which ſhould be to an other preſent death: and hys ſpirite ſhall ſpeake in you, and teache you what to aunſwere, according to his promiſe. He ſhall ſet out hys truth by you wonderfully, and worke for you aboue al that your hart cā imagine: Yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all they can make, haue ſworne your death. Vna ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem: To looke for no mans helpe, bryngeth the helpe of God to them that ſeme to be ouercome in ẏ eyes of the hypocrites: Yea it ſhall make God to cary you through thicke and thynne for hys truthes ſake, in ſpite of all ẏ enemyes of hys truth. There falleth not an heare till hys houre be come: and when his houre is come, neceſſitie caryeth vs hence though we be not willyng. But if we be willyng, then haue we a reward and thanke.

Boldnes of ſpirit.

Wounde not conſcience.

Standing vpon things neceſſary.

Death after denying, euill ſpoken of by the aduerſaries.

Obedience to God.

To loke for no mans helpe, bringeth Gods helpe.

Conſtancie in ſtanding.

Pacience in ſufferyng.

Feare not threatnyng therefore, neither be ouercome of ſweete wordes: with whiche twaine the hypocrites ſhall aſſaile you. Neither let the perſuaſions of worldly wiſedome beare rule in your hart: no, thoughe they be your frendes that coūſaile you. Let Bylney be a warnyng to you. Let not their viſure beguile your eyes. Let not your bodye faint. He that endureth to the end, ſhalbe ſaued. If the paine be aboue your ſtrength, remēber: What ſoeuer ye ſhall aſke in my name, I wil giue it you. And pray to your father in that name, & he will eaſe your payne, or ſhorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of fayth, bee with you. Amen.

William Tyndall.

Bilney.

Perſeuerance to the ende.

Math. 21.

TWo haue ſuffered in Antwerpe, In die ſanctæ Crucis, vnto the great glorye of the Goſpell: foure at Ryſelles in Flaunders, & at Luke hath there one at the leaſt ſuffered, & all the ſame day. At Roane in Frāce they perſecute. And at Paris are v. Doctours taken for the Goſpell. See, you are not alone: Be chearefull and remember that among the hard harted in England, there is a nomber reſerued by grace: for whoſe ſakes if nede bee, you muſt be ready to ſuffer. Sir if you may write, how ſhort ſo euer it bee, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our hartes eaſe. The Lord be yet agayne with you, with all hys plenteouſnes, and fill you that you flowe ouer. Amen.

Two Martyrs at Antwarpe.

Foure Martyrs in Flaunders, and one at S. Luke.

Perſecution at Roan.

Fiue doctors at Paris take for the Goſpel.

If when you haue read this, you may ſend it to Adrian, doe I pray you, that hee may know how that our harte is with you.

George Ioye at Candlemas being at Barrowe, printed ij. leaues of Geneſis in a great forme, and ſent one Copy to the kyng, and an other to the new Queene, with a letter to N. for to deliuer them: and to purchaſe licence, that he myght ſo go throughe all the Bible. Out of that is ſprong the noyſe of the new Bible: and out of that is the great ſeekyng for Engliſh bookes at all Printers and booke bynders in Antwerpe, and for an Engliſhe Prieſt that ſhould Print.

This chaunced the ix. day of May.

Syr your wife is well cõtent with the will of God, & would not for her ſake, haue the glory of God hindred.

William Tyndall.

¶ *An other notable and worthy Letter of Maiſter* William Tyndall ſent to the ſayd Iohn Frith, vnder the name of Iacob.

¶ The grace of our Sauiour Ieſus, his pacience, meekenes, humblenes, circumſpection, and wiſedome bee with your hart. Amen.

An other letter of *M. Tyndall.*

DEarely beloued brother Iacob, myne hartes deſyre in our Sauiour Ieſus is, that you arme your ſelfe with pacience, and bee colde, ſober, wyſe and circumſpect, and that you keepe you alowe by the grounde, auoydyng hye queſtions that paſſe the common capacitie. But expounde the law truly, and open the vayle of Moſes to condẽpne all fleſhe, and proue all men ſinners, and all dedes vnder the law, before mercy haue taken away the condempnation therof, to be ſinne and dampnable: and then as a faithfull Miniſter, ſet abroch the mercy of our Lord Ieſus, and let the wounded conſciences drinke of the water of hym. And then ſhall your preachyng be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites: and the ſpirite of God ſhall worke with you, and all conſciences ſhall beare recorde vnto you, and fele that it is ſo. And all doctrine that caſteth a miſte on thoſe two, to ſhadow and hyde thẽ, I meane the law of God and mercy of Chriſt, that reſiſte you withal your power. Sacramentes without ſignification, refuſe. If they put ſignificatiõs to them, receyue thẽ, if you ſee it may helpe, though it be not neceſſary.

High queſtiõs to be auoyded.

All deedes before they be iuſtified by fayth, are ſinne.

Preaching the lawe of God, and mercy of Chriſt.

Sacramentes without ſignifications to be refuſed.

Of the preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, medle as litle as you can, that there appeare no diuiſion amõg vs. Barnes will be whote agaynſt you. The Saxons be ſore on the affirmatiue, whether cõſtant or obſtinate, I omit it to God. Philippe Melancton is ſayd to bee with the French kyng. There be in Antwerpe that ſay, they ſaw him come into Paris with an c. and l. horſes, and that they ſpake with hym. If the Frenchmen receyue the worde of God, he will plant the *affirmatiue in them. George Ioye would haue put forth a treatiſe of the matter, but I haue ſtopt hym as yet, what hee will do if hee get money, I wotte not. I beleue hee would make many reaſons litle ſeruyng to the purpoſe. My mynde is, that nothyng bee put forth til we heare how you ſhal haue ſpedde. I would haue the ryght vſe preached, and the preſence to be an indifferẽt thyng, till the matter might be reaſoned in peace at layſure, of both parties. If you be required, ſhewe the phraſes of the Scripture, and let them talke what they will. For as to beleue that God is euery where, hurteth no man yͭ worſhyppeth hym no where but within in the harte, in ſpirite and veritie: euen ſo to beleue that the body of Chriſt is euery where (though it can not be proued) hurteth no man that worſhyppeth hym no where ſaue in the fayth of hys Goſpell. You perceiue my mynd: howbeit if God ſhewe you otherwiſe, it is free for you to do as he moueth you.

M. Tyndall here beareth with tyme.

*By the affirmatiue hee meaneth the opinion which *M. Luther* and the Saxons do holde of the Sacramẽt.

M. Tyndall againe beareth with tyme.

Vbiquitie can not be proued.

I geſſed long ago that God would ſend a daſyng into the heade of the ſpiritualtie, to catche them ſelues in their own ſubtiltie, and I truſt it is come to paſſe. And now me thinketh I ſmell a counſaile to bee taken, litle for their profites in time to come. But you muſt vnderſtand, that it is not of a pure harte and for loue of the truth, but to auẽge them ſelues, and to eate the whores fleſhe, & to ſucke the mary of her bones. Wherfore cleaue faſt to the rocke of the helpe of God, & cõmitte the end of all thinges to hym: and if God ſhall call you, yͭ you may then vſe the wiſedome of yͤ worldly, as farre as you perceiue yͤ glory of God may come therof, refuſe it not: & euer among, thruſt in, yͭ the Scripture may be in the mother tõgue, and learnyng ſet vp in the Vniuerſities. But and if ought be required cõtrary to the glory of God and hys Chriſt, thẽ ſtand faſt, and cõmitte your ſelfe to God, and be not ouercome of mens perſwaſions, whiche happely ſhall ſay: we ſee no other way to bring in the truth.

Eating the whores fleſh, is to ſpoyle the Popes church, onely for the pray & ſpoyle therof.

Worldly wiſedome ſo farre as it may ſerue to Gods glory, may be vſed.

Brother Iacob, beloued in my hart, there lyueth not in whom I haue ſo good hope and truſt, and in whom myne heart reioyſeth and my ſoule comforteth her ſelfe, as in you: not the thouſand part ſo much for your learnyng, and what other giftes els you haue, as that you will crepe alow by the grõde, and walke in thoſe things that the conſcience may feele, and not in the imaginaciõs of the brayne: in feare and not in boldnes: in open neceſſary thynges, and not to pronounce or define of hyd ſecretes, or thynges that neither helpe or hynder whether they be ſo or no: in vnitie & not in ſeditious opinions: in ſo much that if you be ſure you know, yet in things that may abyde layſure, you will deferre, or ſay (till other agree with you): me thinke the text requireth this ſenſe or vnderſtãdyng: Yea and that if you be ſure that your part be good, & an other hold the contrary, yet if it be a thyng that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it paſſe, & referre the thyng to other men, and ſticke you ſtifly and ſtubburnely in earneſt and neceſſary things. And I truſt you be perſuaded euẽ ſo of me. For I cal God to recorde agaynſt the day we ſhal appeare before our Lord Ieſus, to geue a reckenyng of our doynges, that I neuer altered one ſyllable of Gods woorde agaynſt my conſcience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleaſure, honour or riches, might be geuen me. Moreouer I take God to recorde to my conſcience, that I deſire of God to my ſelfe in this world, no more then that without whiche I can not kepe hys lawes.

Low walking.

Finallye, if there were in me any gifte that coulde helpe at hand, and ayde you if nede required: I promiſe you I would not be farre of, and cõmit the end to God: my ſoule is not faint, thoughe my body be wery. But God hath made me euill fauoured in this world, & without grace in the ſight of mẽ, ſpecheles and rude, dull and ſlowe wytted: your parte ſhalbe to ſupplye that lacketh in me, remembring, that as lowlines of harte ſhall make you hye with God, euẽ ſo mekenes of wordes ſhal make you ſinke into the hartes of men. Nature geueth age authoritie, but mekenes is the glory of youth, and geueth them honour. Aboundaunce of loue maketh me excede in bablyng.

Syr as concernyng Purgatory, and many other thynges, if you be demaunded, you may ſay, if you erre, the ſpiritualtie hath ſo led you, and that they haue taught you to beleue as you do. For they preached you all ſuch thynges out of Gods word, & alleged a thouſand textes, by reaſõ of which textes you beleued as they taught you. But now you finde thẽ lyers, and that the textes meane no ſuch thynges, & therfore you cã beleue thẽ no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, & beleue no ſuch thing: howbeit you are ready to beleue, if they haue any other way to proue it, for without profe you cãnot beleue them, when you haue found them with ſo many lyes. &c. If you perceyue wherin we may helpe, other in beyng ſtill, or doyng ſomewhat, let vs haue worde, and I will do myne vttermoſt.

My Lord of Lõdon hath a ſeruaunt called Iohn Tiſen with a redde beard, & a blacke reddediſhe head, and was once my ſcholler, hee was ſeene in Antwerpe, but came not among the Engliſhmẽ: whether he is gone an Ambaſſadour ſecrete, I wotte not.

The mighty God of Iacob bee with you to ſupplant his enemyes, and geue you the fauour of Ioſeph: and the wiſedome, & the ſpirite of Stephen, be with your harte & with your mouth, and teach your lippes what they ſhall ſay, and how to aunſwere to all thinges. He is our God if we deſpayre in our ſelues, and truſt in him: and his is the glory. Amen.

William Tyndall.

¶ I hope our redemption is nigh.

¶ This letter was written. an. 1533. in the moneth of Ianuarye. Which letter although it do pretende the name of Iacob, yet vnderſtãd (good reader) that it was written in very deede to Iohn Frith, as is aboue tolde thee. For the more profe and euidence wherof read Frithes booke of the Sacrament, and there thou ſhalt finde a certeine place of this Epiſtle repeted worde for worde, beginnyng thus: I call God to recorde, agaynſt the day, we ſhal appeare before our Lord Ieſus to giue a rekenyng of our doynges, that I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods word agaynſt my cõſcience &c. Which Epiſtle Iohn Frith him ſelf witneſſeth that hee receaued frõ Tyndall, as in his teſtimonie aboue appeareth.

¶ *The death of the Lady Katherine and* of Queene Anne.

1536.

THe ſame yeare in which W. Tyndall was burned, which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1536. in the beginnyng of the yeare, fyrſt dyed Ladye Katherine Princes Dowager in the moneth of January.

After whõ the ſame yere alſo, in the moneth of May next e death Queene ne.

next folowing, folowed the death alſo of Quéene Anne, who had now bene maried to the king the ſpace of iij. yeares. In certein recordes thus we fynde, that yͤ king being in his Juſtes at Grenewich, ſodenly with a few perſons, departed to Weſtmynſter, and the nexte daye after Quéene ANNE his wife was had to yͤ Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother, and certayne other: and the. xix. day after was beheaded. The wordes of this worthy and Chriſtian Ladye at her death were theſe:

e wor- of ueene ne at death.

Good chriſten people, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe, and by the lawe I am iudged to death, and therfore I will ſpeake nothing agaynſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeake any thyng of that, wherof I am accuſed and condemned to dye, but I pray God ſaue the kyng, and ſend hym long to raigne ouer you, for a gentler, or a more mercifull Prince was there neuer: and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and ſoueraigne Lord. And if any perſon wyll medle of my cauſe, I require them to iudge the beſt. And thus I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I hartely deſire you all to praye for me. O Lorde haue mercy on me. To God I commende my ſoule. And ſo ſhe kneled down, ſaying: to Chriſt I commend my ſoule: Jeſu receyue my ſoule, repetyng the ſame diuers tymes, till at length the ſtroke was geuen and her head was ſtriken of.

ueene Anne headed.

And this was the end of that godly Lady & Quéene. Godly I call her, for ſondry reſpectes, what ſoeuer the cauſe was, or quarell obiected agaynſt her. Fyrſt her laſt wordes ſpokē at her death, declared no leſſe her ſincere fayth and truſt in Chriſt, then dyd her quiet modeſtie vtter forth the goodnes of the cauſe and matter, what ſoeuer it was. Beſides that, to ſuch as wiſely can iudge vpon caſes occurrent, this alſo may ſéeme to geue a greate clearyng vnto her, that the kyng the thyrde day after, was maryed in his whites vnto an other. Certein this was, that for the rare and ſingular gyftes of her mynde ſo well inſtructed, & geuen toward God, with ſuch a feruent deſire vnto the truth, and ſetyng forth of ſincere religion, ioyned wyth like gentlenes, modeſty, and pytie toward all men, there hath not many ſuch Quéenes before her borne the crowne of England. Principally this one commendation ſhe left behynd her, that duryng her lyfe, the religion of Chriſt moſt happely floryſhed, and had a ryght proſperous courſe.

mmenda- tion of ueene nne.

Many things myght be written more of the manifold vertues, and the quyet moderation of her mylde nature, how lowly ſhe would beare, not only to be admoniſhed, but alſo of her owne accorde would requyre her chapleynes playnly and fréely to tell whatſoeuer they ſaw in her a myſſe. Alſo how bountifull ſhe was to the poore, paſſing not only the common example of other Quéenes, but alſo the reuenues almoſt of her eſtate: in ſo much that the almoſe which ſhe gaue in thrée quarters of a yeare, in diſtribution, is ſummed to the number of. xiiij. or xv. thouſand poundes. Beſide the great peece of money which her grace intended to impart into iiij. ſondry quarters of the realme, as for a ſtocke there to be employed to the behoofe of poore artificers and occupiers. Agayn, what a zelous defender ſhe was of Chriſtes Goſpell, all the world doth know, and her actes doe and will declare to the worldes ende. Amōgeſt which other her actes, this is one, that ſhe placed M. Hugh Latimer in the Biſhopricke of Worceter, and alſo preferred D. Shaxton to hys Biſhopricke, being then accompted a good man. Furthermore, what a true fayth ſhe bare vnto the Lord, this one example may ſtand for many: for that, when King Henry was with her at Wodſtocke, and there being a frayde of an old blynd propheſie, for the which neyther he, nor other kings before hym durſt hunte in the ſayde parke of Wodſtoke, nor enter into the towne of Oxford, at laſt through the chriſtian and faythfull counſayle of that Quéene, he was ſo armed agaynſt all infidelitie, that both he hunted in the forſayd parke, and alſo entred into the towne of Oxford, and had no harme. But becauſe touchyng the memorable vertues of this worthye Quéene, partly we haue ſayd ſome thing before, partly becauſe more alſo is promiſed to bee declared of her vertuous liffe (the Lord ſo permitting) by other who then were about her: I will ceaſe in thys matter further to procede.

e mylde ure of ueene ne akyng notion.

e great oſe of ueene ne.

This I can not but meruail, why the parlament holden this yeare, that is, the. xxviii. yeare of the kynge, (which Parlament thrée yeares before had eſtabliſhed & confirmed this mariage as moſt lawfull) ſhould nowe ſo ſodeinlye and contrarye to their own doyngs, repeale and diſable the ſayd mariage agayne as vnlawfull, being ſo lawfully before cōtracted. But more I maruaill, why the ſaid Parlamēt, after the illegittimation of the mariage enacted, not contented with that, ſhould further proceede, and charge her with ſuch carnall deſires of her bodye, as to myſuſe her ſelfe with her owne naturall brother the Lorde Rocheford, and others, being ſo contrary to all nature that no naturall man will beleue it.

Statut. A. 28. Hen. 8 cap. 7

Parlaments not alwayes conſtant.

But in thys Acte of Parlament dyd lye (no doubt) ſome great myſterye, which here I will not ſtand to diſcuſſe, but onely that it maye bee ſuſpected ſome ſecrete practiſing of the Papiſtes here not to bee lackyng, conſideryng what a myghtye ſtoppe ſhe was to their purpoſes and procedynges, and on the contrarye ſyde, what a ſtronge Bulwarke ſhe was for the maintenaunce of Chriſtes Goſpell and ſyncere religion, which they then in no caſe coulde abyde. By reaſon wherof, it maye eaſilye bee conſidered that thys Chriſtian and deuoute Debora could lacke no enemyes amongeſt ſuch a number of Philiſtians, both within the realme and without.

Agayne, neyther is it vnlyke but that Steuen Wincheſter, being then abroad in Ambaſſie, was not altogether a ſleepe. The ſuſpition wherof may be the more coniecturall, for that Edmund Bonner Archdeacon of Leiceſter, and then Ambaſſadour in Fraūce ſucceding after Steuen Wincheſter, did manifeſtlye detecte hym of playne Papiſtry, as in yͤ ſequele of their ſtoryes, when we come to the tyme, more amplye (the Lord graunting) ſhall be expreſſed.

And as touching the kynges minde & aſſent, although at that tyme through crafty ſetters on, he ſemed to bee ſore bent both agaynſt that Queene and to the diſheretting of hys owne daughter: yet vnto that former will of the kyng ſo ſet agaynſt her then, I will oppoſe agayne the laſt will of the kyng, wherin expreſſely and by name he dyd accept, and by playne ratification dyd alowe the ſucceſſion of this mariage to ſtand good and lawfull.

The lawfulnes of Queene *Annes* ſucceſſion defended.

Furthermore, to all other ſiniſter iudgementes and opinions, what ſo euer can be conceiued of man againſt that vertuous Quéene, I obiecte and oppoſe agayn (as in ſtede of aunſwere) the euident demonſtration of Gods fauoure, in manteynīng, preſeruing, and aduanſing yͤ offſpring of her bodye, the Lady ELIZABETH, nowe Quéene, whom the Lord hath ſo meruelouſly cōſerued from ſo manyfold daūgers, ſo royally hath exalted, ſo happely hath bleſſed with ſuche vertuous patience, and with ſuche a quiet reigne hetherto, that neyther the reigne of her brother EDWARD, nor of her ſyſter Mary, to her is to bee compared, whether we conſider the number of the yeares of their reignes, or the peaceablenes of their ſtate. In whoſe royall and floriſhing regiment we haue to behold, not ſo much the naturall diſpoſition of her mothers qualityes, as the ſecret iudgement of God in preſeruing and magnifying the fruite and offſpring of that godly Quéene.

Defence of Queene *Anne* agaynſt priuye backbyters.

And finallye, as for the blaſphemous mouth both of Cardinall Poole, and of Paulus Iouius, that popiſhe Cardinall, who meaſuring belike other women by

hys

Paulus Iouius can finde no whoredome in all Rome, but muſt come and pike matter where none is, in England.

The Proteſtantes of Germanye forſake King Henry, for the death of Queene Anne.

hys curteſans of Rome, ſo impudentlye abuſeth his penne in lying and raylyng againſt this noble Queene: to aunſwere againe in defenſe of her cauſe to that Italian, I obiecte and oppoſe the conſent and iudgement of ſo many noble Proteſtantes and Princes of Germany, who being in leage before with Kyng Henry, and myndyng no leſſe but to haue made hym the head of their confederation, afterwarde hearyng of the death of this Queene, vtterlye brake from hym and refuſed hym, only for the ſame cauſe.

The wylie practiſes of the papiſtes.

But all this ſeemeth (as is ſayd) to be the dryfte of the wylie papiſtes, who ſeyng the Pope to be repulſed out of England by the meanes chiefly of thys Queene, & fearing alwayes ẏ ſucceſſion of thys mariage in tyme to come: thought by ſiniſter practiſe to preuente that perill before, whyſperyng in the kings eares, what poſſibly they could, to make that matrimonie vnlaufull, and all for the diſhereting of that ſucceſſion.

Gods prouidence ſtill diſapoynteth the Papiſtes.

The king maried Lady *Iane*.

Agayn, Steuen Gardiner (who was a ſecret worker agaynſt that mariage, and a perpetuall enemie againſt Lady Elizabeth) beyng then abroade with the French King & the great Maiſter of Fraunce, ceaſed not in his letters ſtil to put the king in feare, ẏ the forein Princes and powers of the world, with the Pope, would neuer be reconciled to the kyng, neyther ſhould he be euer in any perfecte ſecuritie, vnleſſe he vndid agayne ſuch actes before paſſed for the ratification of that ſucceſſion. Which thing when they had now brought to paſſe after their owne deſire, that both nowe the Queene was beheaded, and Elizabeth the kyngs daughter diſhereted, they thought all thinges to bee ſure for euer. But yet Gods prouidence ſtill went beyond them, and deceaued them. For incontinently after the ſuffering of Queene ANNE, the kyng with in three dayes after, maryed Lady IANE SEMER, of whom came Kyng EDWARD, as great an enemye to Gods enemie the Pope, as euer his Father was, and greater too.

The ſeate of the beaſt darkned. *Apoc.* 16.

Ex Ioan. Sleidano Lib. 10.

In the meane tyme, as theſe troublous tumultes were in doyng in England, Paul the thyrd Byſhop of Rome, for hys part was not behynd to helpe forward for his own aduauntage. Who ſeyng his vſurped kingdome and ſeate to be darkened in the countreys of Germany and alſo in England, thought it hygh tyme to beſtyrre him, and therfore, to prouide ſome remedy againſt further daũgers, appointed a generall Coũcel at Mantua in Italie, requiryng all kyngs & princes either perſonally to bee there, or els to ſend their Ambaſſadours, vnder fayre pretenſes, as to ſuppreſſe hereſies & to reſtore ẏ Church, & to war againſt ẏ Turke, &c. This Bull was ſubſcribed with the hands of 26. Cardinals, & ſet vp in diuers great Cities, that it might be knowẽ and publiſhed to ẏ whole world. Unto the which Bull, firſt the Proteſtantes of Germany do aũſwere, declaryng ſufficient cauſes why they refuſed to reſort to that Coũcell beyng indicted at Mantua in the Popes owne coũtrey. Whoſe declaration, with their cauſes graue & effectuall, being ſet forth in Printe and in the Engliſhe tonge, although they were worthy here to be inſerted, yet for breuitie & more ſpede in our ſtory, I will pretermit the ſame, and onely take the Oration or aunſwere of our kyng here: Wherin he lykewiſe rendereth reaſons and cauſes moſt reaſonable, why hee refuſeth to come or to ſend at the Popes call to hys Councell, indicted at Mantua. Whoſe Oration or Proteſtation, becauſe it conteyneth matter of ſome weight and great experiẽce, I thought here good to expreſſe, as foloweth.

¶ *A Proteſtation in the name of the king, and the whole* Counſaile, and Clergie of England, why they refuſe to come to the Popes Councell at hys call.

The kinges proteſtation why he ſendeth not to the Popes Councell.

SEyng that the Byſhop of Rome calleth learned men from all parties, conductyng them by great rewardes, makyng as many of them Cardinalles as he thynketh moſt mete and moſt ready to defende fraudes and vntrouthes: we could not but with much anxietie caſt with our ſelues, what ſo great a preparatiõ of wittes ſhould meane. As chaũce was, we geſſed euen as it folowed. We haue bene ſo long acquaynted with Romaine ſubtilties & Popiſh deceytes, that we wel and eaſely iudged the Byſhop of Rome to intende an aſſemble of hys adherentes and mẽ ſworne to thynke all hys luſtes to be lawes. We were not deceyued. Paul ẏ Byſhop of Rome hath called a Councell, to the whiche he knew well eyther fewe or none of the Chriſten Princes could come. Both the tyme that he indicted it, and alſo the place where hee appoynted it to be, might aſſure him of thys. But whether wandereth not theſe Popiſhe Bulles? whether go they not aſtray? what kyng is not cyted & ſummoned by a proude miniſter and ſeruaunt of kynges, to come to bolſter vp errours, fraudes, deceytes, and vntrouthes, and to ſet forth this feyned generall Councell? For who wyll not thinke that Paule the Byſhop of Rome goeth ſooner about to make men beleue that hee intendeth a generall Councell, then that he deſyreth one in dede? No, who cã leſſe deſyre it, then they that do diſpayre of their cauſe, except they be iudges, & geue ſentence them ſelues agaynſt their aduerſaries? We, which very ſore againſt our wil, at any tyme leaue of ẏ procurement of ẏ realme and commõ weale, neede neither to come our ſelues, nor yet to ſend our procuratours thether, no nor yet to make our excuſe for either of both. For who can accuſe vs, that we come not at hys call, whiche hath no authoritie to call vs?

But for a ſeaſõ let vs (as a ſort of blindlings do) graũt ẏ he may cal vs, & that he hath authoritie ſo to do: yet (we pray you) may not al men ſee, what auaileth it to come to this Coũcell, where ye ſhall haue no place, except ye bee knowen both willyng to oppreſſe truth, & alſo readye to confirme & ſtabliſhe errours? Do not all mẽ perceiue as well as we, with what integritie, fidelitie, & religiõ theſe mẽ go about to diſcuſſe matters in cõtrouerſie, that take thẽ in hand in ſo troubleſome a tyme as this is? Is it not playne what fruite ẏ cõmon weale of Chriſtendome may looke for there, where as Mantua is choſen the place to kepe this Councell at? Is there any Prince, not beyng of Italy, yea is there any of Italy, Prince or other diſſentyng from the Pope, that dareth come to this aſſemble, & to this place? If there come none, that dare ſpeake for troden trouth, none that will venture his lyfe, is it meruaile if the Byſhop of Rome beyng iudge, no man repynyng, no man agaynſaying, the defenders of the Papacie obteine that Popiſhe authoritie now quaylyng and almoſt fallen, be ſet vp agayne?

Is this the way to helpe thynges afflicte? to redreſſe troubled religion? to lift vp oppreſſed trouth? Shall men this way know, whether the Romane Biſhops (which in very dede are, if ye loke either vpõ their doctrine or life, farre vnder other Byſhops) ought to be made like their felowes, that is, to be paſtours in their own dioceſſe, and ſo to vſe no further power: or elles whether they may make lawes, not onely vnto other Byſhops, but alſo to kinges and Emperours? O boldneſſe, mete to be beaten down with force, & not to be cõuinced with argumentes. Cã either Paul, that now Lordeth, or any of his, earneſtly go about (if they alone, or at the leaſt without any aduerſary, be thus in a corner aſſembled together) to heale the ſickeneſſes, to take away ẏ errours, to plucke downe the abuſes that now are crept into the Churche, & there be bolſtered vp, by ſuch Councels as now is lyke to bee at Mantua?

It is very lyke, that theſe, whiche prole for nothyng but profite, will right gladly pull downe all ſuch things, as their forefathers made, onely for the encreaſe of money. Where as their forefathers, whẽ their honour, power, primacie, was called into queſtion, would either in ſpite of Gods law, mayntein their dignitie, or (to ſay better) their intollerable pride: is it lyke, that theſe will not trede in their ſteppes, and make naughty new Canons, wherby they may defende old euill Decrees? How be it, what nede we to care, either what they haue done, or what they intende to do hereafter, for as much as Englãd hath takẽ her leaue of Popiſh craftes for euer, neuer to be deluded with thẽ hereafter? Romaine Biſhops haue nothyng to do with Engliſhe people: the one doth not traficke with ẏ other: at the leaſt, though they will haue to do with vs, yet we will none of their Marchaundyſe, none of their ſtuffe. We will receyue them of our Councell no more. We haue ſought our hurte, and bought our loſſe a great while to long. Surely their Decrees, either touchyng thynges ſet vp, or put downe, ſhall haue none other place with vs, then all Byſhops Decrees haue, that is, if we lyke them, we admit them: if we do not, we refuſe them. But leſt peraduenture mē ſhall thinke vs to folow our ſenſes to much, and that we, moued by ſmal or no iuſt cauſes, forſake the authoritie, cēſures, Decrees, and Popiſhe Councels, we thought it beſt here to ſhew our mynde to the whole world.

Wherfore we proteſte before God and all men, that we embrace, profeſſe, and will euer ſo do, the right and holy doctrine of Chriſt. All the Articles of hys fayth, no iote omitted, bee all ſo deare vnto vs, that we would much ſooner ſtād in ieoperdy of our Realme, then to ſee any point of Chriſtes religion in ieoperdye with vs. We proteſte that we neuer wēt from the vnitie of this fayth, neither that we will depart an ynche from it. No, we will much ſooner loſe our lyues, then any Article of our beleſe ſhall decay in England. We, whiche in all this cauſe, ſeeke nothyng but the glory of God, the profite & quietnes of the world, proteſte that we can ſuffer deceyuers no longer. We neuer refuſed to come to a generall Councell: no, we promiſe all our labour, ſtudy, and fidelitie, to the ſettyng vp of troden trouth, and troubled Religion, in their place againe: and to do all that ſhall lye in vs, to finiſhe ſuch controuerſies as haue, a great whyle to long, vexed Chriſtendome. Onely we will all Chriſtē mē be admoniſhed, that we cā ſuffer no longer, that they be eſteemed willyng to take away errours, which in dede, by all the wayes their wittes will ſerue them, go about this alone, that no man, vnder paine of death, may ſpeake agaynſt any errour or abuſe.

We would haue a Coūcell, we deſyre it, yea and craue nothing ſo oft of God, as that we may haue one. But yet we will that it be ſuch, as Chriſten men ought to haue, that is, franke and free, where euery man, without feare may ſay hys mynde. We deſire that it be an holy Councell, where euery man may go about to ſet vp godlynes, and not apply all their ſtudy to oppreſſyng of trouth. We will it be generall, that is to ſay, kept at ſuch tyme, and in ſuch place, that euery man whiche ſeketh the glory of God, may be preſente, & there frankely vtter his mynde. For then it ſhall ſeme generall, either whan no mā that diſſenteth from the Byſhop of Rome, is compelled to bee from it, or when they that be preſent, are not letted by any iuſt terrour, to ſay boldly that they truly thinke. For who would not gladly come to ſuch a Councell, except it be the Pope, his Cardinals, and Popiſhe Byſhops? On the other ſide, who is ſo fooliſh, where as the chief point that is to be handled in this Coūcell, is the Popes owne cauſe, power & primacie, to graunt that the Pope ſhould reigne, ſhould be iudge, ſhould be Preſident of this Councell? If he whiche in deede, can neuer thinke hym ſelfe able to defend hys cauſe, before any other Iudge, be euermore made his owne iudge, and ſo controuerſies not decided, but errours ſet vp, what can be deuiſed in the common wealth of Chriſtēdome more hurtfull to the trouth, then generall Councels?

And here to touch ſomwhat their impudent arrogācye, by what law, power, or honeſt title, take they vppon them to call kings, to ſūmon Princes to appeare, where their Bulles commaunde them? In tyme paſt, all Councels were appoynted by the authoritie, conſent, and commaundement of the Emperour, Kynges, and Princes: why now taketh the Byſhop of Rome this vppon hym? Some will ſay, it is more lykely that Byſhops will more tender the cauſe of religion, gladlyer haue errours taken away, then Emperours, Kyngs, or Princes. The world hath good experience of them, and euery mā ſeeth, how faithfully they haue handled religious matters. Is there any man that doth not ſee, how vertuouſly Paule now goeth about by thys occaſion to ſet vp his tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooſeth ſuch a tyme as this is, to kepe a Councell, much entendeth the redreſſe of thynges that now are amiſſe? that hee ſeketh the reſtoryng of religion that now calleth a Councell, the Emperour and the Frēche kyng, two Princes of great power, ſo bent to warres, that neither they, nor any other Chriſten Prince can, in maner, do any thyng but looke for the end of this long warre? Go to, go to byſhop of Rome, occaſion long wiſhed for offreth her ſelfe vnto you: take her, ſhe openeth a wyndowe for your frendes to crepe in at. Call your Cardinals, your owne creatures, ſhew thē that this is a iolye tyme to deceiue Princes in.

O fooles: O wicked men. Maye we not iuſtlye ſo call you? Are ye not fooles, whiche beyng longe ſuſpected, not onely of Princes, but of all Chriſten people in maner, that in no caſe you coulde bee brought to a generall Councell, playnely ſhewe the whole worlde, that by theſe your conciliables, your hutter mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawfull Catholicke and generall Councell? Are you not wicked, whiche ſo hate trouth, that except ſhe be vtterly baniſhed, ye will neuer ceaſe to vexe her? The lyuyng God is alyue, neither trouth his dearlyng, he being alyue, can be called to ſo great ſhame, cōtumely, and iniurie: or if it maye bee called to all theſe, yet can it come to none of them. Who is hee that greuouſlye lamenteth not, men to be of ſuch ſhamefull boldenes, to ſhew apertely, that they be enemies vnto Chriſt him ſelfe? On the other ſide, who will not be glad to ſee ſuch men as fooliſhe, as they be wicked? The world is not nowe in a light ſuſpicion, as it hath bene hetherto, that you will no reformation of errours, but euery mā ſeeth before hys eyes, your deceites, your wicked mindes, your immortall hatred that ye beare agaynſt the trouth. Euery man ſeeth, how many miſerable tragedies your pretenſe of an vnitie & concorde, hath brought into Chriſtendome. They ſee, your faire face of peace hath ſerued ſeditiō, and troubled almoſt, all Chriſtē realmes. They ſee, ye neuer oppugne religion more, then when ye will ſeme moſt to defend it. They be ſory to ſee, that great wittes, a lōg ſeaſon, haue ſpente their whole ſtrength in defence of deceites: reaſon to put his whole power to the promotyng of pride, and vngodlynes: vertues to ſerue vices: holynes to bee ſlaue to hipocriſie: prudencie, to ſubtilitie: Iuſtice, to tyrannie. They be glad, that Scripture now fighteth for it ſelfe, and not againſt it ſelfe. They bee glad, that God is not compelled to be againſt God: Chriſt agaynſt Chriſt. They be glad, that ſubtilitie hathe done no more hurt to religion in tyme paſt, then now conſtancy doth good to trouth. They ſee the markes, that ye haue ſhot at in all your Councells paſte, to be lucre, money, gaynes. They ſee, you ſought your profyte, yea, though it were ioyned with the ſlaughter of trouthe. They ſee, ye would euer, that ſooner iniurie ſhoulde be done to the Goſpell, then that your authoritye, that is to ſay, arrogant impudēcy, ſhould in any poynte be diminiſhed.

Trouth may be preſſed, it cā not be oppreſſed.

The Pope enemie to Chriſt.

The Popes hatred agaynſt the trouth.

The Pope troubler of all Chriſten realmes.

The Popes markes where to he ſhooteth.

And we pray you, what maye Paule, the Byſhop of Rome, ſeme nowe to goe about, which ſeinge all Princes occupied in great affayres, would ſteale (as he calleth it) a generall Councell? what other thyng, then hereby to haue ſome excuſe to refuſe a generall Councell hereafter, when tyme and place much better for the handelynge of matters of religion, ſhall be gyuen vnto Princes of chriſtēdome? He will thinke he may then do, as Princes now do. He will thinke it lawfull not to come then, becauſe Princes nowe come not. We praye God, that we euer braule not one with an other for religion: and where as diſſenſion is amongeſt vs, yet we for our partes, doe ſaye that we, as much as men maye, defend yͤ better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that yͤ world may enioy peace, & tranquillitie, & that thē we may haue both tyme and place to ſettle religion. For except fyrſte Princes agree, and (warre laide aſide) ſeke peace, he loſeth his labour that ſeketh a generall Councell. If the Biſhop of Rome may keepe his Councell whyle they thus be together, will not there bee made many pretye decrees? If they which would come if they had layſure, be abſente, and we whiche, though we ſafely myght come, will not loſe any parte of our ryght, trowe you, in all our abſence, that the Byſhop of Rome will not handle his profite and primacy well?

The Popes craft in ſtealing a generall Councell.

Paule, howe can anye of ours not refuſe to come to Mantua, through ſo many perylls, a Citie ſo farre ſet from England, ſo nigh your frendes, kynſmen and adherentes? Is he not vnworthye lyfe, that where he may tarye at home, will paſſe through ſo manye ieoperdies of lyfe? Cā he, which cometh to Cremona, a Citie not farre from Mantua, be ſafe, if he be taken not to be the Byſhop of Romes frende, that is (as the common ſort of deceyued people doth interprete) an hereticke? And if there come to Mantua ſuch a nombre, as woulde furniſhe a generall Councell, may not Mantua ſeme to litle, to receyue ſo many geſtes? Put theſe two together, all the way from England to Mantua, is full of iuſte perils, and yet if ye eſcape all thoſe, the very place where the Councell is kepte, is more to be ſuſpected, then all the way. Do ye not knowe all ciuile lawes to compell no man to come to anye place, where he ſhall be in ieopardy of hys life all the way? We haue no ſafe conducte to paſſe and retourne by the dominions of other Princes. And yf we had a ſaufe conduct, yet ſhould not we be charged with raſhenes, that, where iuſte terrour myght haue diſſuaded vs from ſuch a iourney, we cōmitted our ſelues to ſuche peryls? Surely, he that, the tyme beinge as it is, thinges ſtan-

The tyme and place pretely pyked of the Pope.

What an heretike is among the papiſtes.

The way to *Mantua* long & daungerous.

The falſhode of Popes no new thing.

dyng as they do, will go from England to Mantua, maye be careles, if he lack wytte: ſure of his arriuall or returne from thence, he can not be. For who doth not knowe, how oft the Byſhops of Rome haue playde falſe partes with thẽ, that in ſuch matters haue truſted to their ſafeconductes? How ofte haue they cauſed, by their perfidie, ſuch men to bee ſlayne, as they haue promiſed by their faith before, that they ſhould both come ſafe, and go ſafe? Theſe be no newes, Popes to be falſe, Popes to keepe no promiſe neyther with God nor man: Popes contrary to theyr othes, to defyle theyr cruell handes with honeſt mens bloude. But we tarye to longe in thinges that as well touche all men, as vs.

The hatred of the Pope againſt England.

The Pope bringeth not peace but the ſworde to the earth, otherwyſe then Chriſt dyd.

We will, theſe nowe layde aparte, tourne our Oration vnto ſuch things, as priuately touch both vs, King Henry the eyght, and all Engliſhe men. Is it vnknowen to any man, what mynde Paule the Biſhop of Rome, beareth to vs Kyng Henry the. viij: to vs his nobilitie: to vs his graces Biſhops: and to vs all hys graces ſubiectes, for ẏ pullyng down of his vſurped power, & proude primacy: for expellyng of his vſurped iuriſdiction: & for deliuering of our realme from his greuous bõdage and pollage? Who ſeeth not hym euen inflamed with hatred agaynſt vs, and the flames to be much greater, then he cã now keepe them in? He is an open enemy, he diſſembleth no longer, prouoking all men by all the meanes that he can, to endamage vs and our countrey. Theſe three yeares he hath bene occupied in no one thinge ſo much, as how he myght ſtyrre vp the commons of England, now corruptinge ſome with money, ſome with dignityes. We let paſſe, what letters he hath writẽ to Chriſten Princes: with howe great feruent ſtudye, he hath exhorted men to ſet vppon vs. The good Vicar of Chriſte, by his doing ſheweth howe he vnderſtandeth the wordes of Chriſte. He thinketh, he playeth Chriſtes parte well, whẽ he may ſay as Chriſt dyd: Non veni pacem mittere in terram, ſed gladium: I come not to make peace in earth, but to ſende ſwordes about: and not ſuch ſwordes, as Chriſt woulde his to be armed withall, but ſuch as cruell manquellers, abuſe in the ſlaughter of their neighbours. We maruayle lytle, though they vexe other Princes ofte, ſeing they recompence our fauour ſhewed to them, with contumelyes, our benefytes with iniuries.

Benefites caſt away vpon the Pope.

We will not rehearſe here, howe many our benefytes beſtowed vpon Romayne Biſhoppes, be loſte. God be with ſuche vngrate Carls, vnworthye to be nombred amongeſt men: Certes, ſuche that a man may wel doubt, whether God or man hath better cauſe to hate them. But that we haue learned to owe good will, euen to thẽ that immortally hate vs, what could we wyſhe them ſo euyll, but they haue deſerued much worſe? We wyſſhe them this hurte alone, that God ſend them a better mynde. God be thanked, we haue made all their ſeditious ententes, ſoner to ſhewe theyr great malice towardes vs, then to do vs much hurte: yet they haue wel taught vs, euermore to take good heede of our enemyes. Undoubtedly it were good goyng to Mantua, & to leaue theyr whelpes amongeſt the lambes of our flocke. When we be wery of our wealth, we will euen doe then, as they would haue vs nowe do. No, no, as longe as we ſhall ſee his harte ſo good towardes vs, we truſt vpon his warnynge, we ſhall well prouyde to withſtande hys cruell malyce. No, let hym nowe ſpende his deceytes, when they can hurte none but ſuch as would deceyue, and are deceyued.

The Popes curſes not feared in England.

The Popes trũperye diſpatched out of England.

They haue by ſundrye wayes, made vs preuie, howe much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hartes, to ſee the iudgement of Iuly, of Clement the ſeuenth, of Paule the thirde, nothing to be regarded with vs. They be affraide, if we ſhould ſuſteyne no hurte becauſe we iuſtely reiected their primacye, that other Princes woulde begynne to do lykewyſe, and to ſhake of theyr ſhulders, the heauye burthens that they ſo longe haue borne, againſt Scripture, al right and reaſon. They be ſory to ſee the way ſtopped, that nowe theyr tyrannye, auarice, and pryde can haue no paſſage into England, whithe was wont to walke, to triumph, to toſſe, to trouble all men. They can ſcarſe ſuffer priuileges, that is to ſay, lycence to ſpoyle our citizens, giuẽ thẽ by our forfathers & brought in by errorfull cuſtome, to be taken from them. They thinke it vnlawfull, that we require thinges lawfull of them that will be vnder no lawes. They thinke, we doo them wronge, becauſe we will not ſuffer them to doe vs wronge any longer. They ſee their marchãdiſe to be banyſhed, to be forbiddẽ. They ſee, that we will bye no longer, chalke for cheeſe. They ſee they haue loſt a fayre fleſe, vengeable ſorye, that they canne diſpatche no more pardons, diſpenſations, tot quottes, with the reſte of their baggage and tromperie. England is no more a babe. There is no man here, but nowe hee knoweth that they do foliſhly, that giue golde for leade, more weyght of that then they receiue of this. They paſſe not, though Peter & Paules faces be grauẽ in the leade, to make fooles fayne. No, we be ſorye that they ſhould abuſe holy Saintes viſages, to the begylynge of the worlde.

Surely, excepte God take away our right wittes, not only his authoritye ſhall be driuen out for euer, but hys name alſo ſhortly ſhall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth, aſke counſell of hym and hys, when we luſte to be deceyued, when we couet to be in errour, when we deſyre to offende God, trouth, and honeſtie. If a mã may geſſe the whole worke by ẏ foundation, where deceytes begynneth the worke, can any other then deceytes be buylded vpon this fundation? What can you looke for in this Mantuan Councell, other then the oppreſſion of truth and true religion? If there be any thing well done, thinke as euery man doth, Biſhops of Rome to be accuſtomed to do a few thinges well, that many euyll may the better be taken at their handes. They when they luſte, can yelde ſome part of their ryghte. They are content, that ſomme of their decrees, ſomme of theyr errours and abuſes be reprehended: but they are neuer more to be feared, then when they ſhewe them ſelfe moſt gentyll. For if they graũt a fewe, they aſke many: if they leaue a lyttell, they will be ſure of a great deale. Scarſe a man maye knowe howe to handell him ſelſe, that he take no hurte at theyr handes, yea whẽ they bleſſe him: which ſeldome do good, but for an intent to do euyll. Certaynly come who ſo will to theſe ſhoppes of deceytes, to theſe faires of fraudes, we will loſe no part of our ryght in comming at his call, that ought to be called, and not to call. We will neyther come at Mantua, nor ſende thyther for this matter. &c.

And ſo the kyng procedyng in the ſayd his Proteſtation, declareth moreouer, how the Pope, after he had ſũmoned his Coũcel firſt to be kept at Mantua, the 23. of May, an. 1537. ſhortly after directed out an other Bull, to prorogate the ſame Councell to the moneth of Nouember, pretendyng for his excuſe, that the Duke of Mantua would not ſuffer him to kepe any Councell there, vnles he mainteined a number of warriours, for defenſe of the towne. And therfore in his latter Bull, hee prorogeth this aſſemble, commaundyng Patriarckes, Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Abbottes, and other of the ſpiritually, by the vertue of obedience and vnder payne of curſing, to be preſent, but ſheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whether they ſhould come. And in very deede, no great matter, though no place were named. For as good the Councell no where to bee called, as where it could not be. And aſwell no place ſerued hym, that intended no Councell, as all places. And to ſay truth much better no place to be named, then to name ſuch, as he purpoſed not to come too: for ſo ſhould he breake no promiſe, which maketh none. And ſo going forward in his Oration, toward the latter end, he thus inferreth by his wordes of Proteſtation, ſaying.

No, we will the Pope & his adherentes to vnderſtand that, that we oft haue ſayd, & now ſay, & euer will ſay: He nor his hath no authoritie, no iuriſdiction in England. We giue him no more then he hath, that is neuer a deale. That which he hath vſurped againſt Gods law, & extorted by violence, we by good ryght, take frõ him againe. But he & his will ſay: we gaue thẽ a Primacie. We heare them well. We gaue it you in deede. If you haue authoritie vpon vs, as long as our conſent gyueth it you, and you euermore will make your plee vppon our conſent, then let it haue euen and ende, where it began: we cõſent no longer, your authoritie muſt needes be gone. If we being deceyued by falſe pretenſe of euill alleaged Scriptures, gaue to you that you ought to haue refuſed: why maye we not, our errour nowe perceyued, your deceyte eſpied, take it agayn? We Princes wrote our ſelues to be inferiours to Popes. As longe as we thought ſo, we obeyd them as our ſuperiours. Nowe we write not as we dyd, & therfore they haue no great cauſe to maruayle, if we hereafter do not as we dyd. Both the lawes cyuile, and alſo the lawes of God, be on our ſyde. For a free mã borne doth not loſe his libertye, no nor hurte the plee of his libertie, though he write hym ſelfe a bonde man.

Agayne, if they leane to cuſtome, we ſende them to S. Cyprian, which ſayth that cuſtome, if trouth be not ioyned with hit, is nothing, but erroris vetuſtas, that is, an olde errour. Chriſt ſayd: Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita: I am the way trouth and lyfe. He neuer ſayd: Ego ſum conſuetudo, I am the cuſtome. wherfore, ſeyng cuſtome ſerueth you on the one ſyde, and ſcripture vs vpon the other, are ye able to matche vs? In howe many places doth Chriſt moniſh you to ſeke no primacy, to prefer your ſelfe before no body? no, to be obedient vnto all creatures? Your olde title, Seruus ſeruorum, euyll agreeth with your newe forged dignitye. But we will not tary in matters playne: we only deſire God, that Ceſar & other Chriſtian Princes, would agree vpō ſome holy Councell, where trouth may be tried and religion ſet vp, which hath bene hurte by nothing ſo ſore, as by general not generall Councels. Errours & abuſes grow too faſt. Erudimini, erudimini qui iudicatis terram: Gette you learnyng, you that iudge the earth, and excogitate ſome remedye for theſe ſo many diſeaſes of the ſicke Church. They that be wyſeſte, doo diſpaire of a generall Councell. wherfore we thinke it now beſte, that euery Prince call a Councell prouinciall, and euery Prince to redreſſe his owne realme. we make all men priuye, what we thinke beſte to be done for the redreſſe of religion. If they lyke it, we doubte not, but they will folowe it, or ſome other better. Our truſte is, that al Princes wyll ſo handell them ſelfe in this behalfe, that Princes may enioye their owne, & Prieſtes of Rome content thē ſelues with that they ought to haue. Princes as we truſt, will no longer nouryſh wolues whelpes: they will ſubſcribe no more to popiſhe pride, to ẏ papacie. &c.

Fauour our doings, O Chryſten Princes. Your honour and aūcient maieſtie is reſtored. Remembre, there is nothing pertaininge ſo much to a Princes honour, as to ſet forth truth, and to helpe religion. Take you hede, that their deceyte worke not more miſchiefe, then your vertue can do good: and euerlaſting warre we woulde all Princes had with this papacye. As for theyr decrees, ſo harkē to them, that if in this Mantuan aſſemblie, things be wel done, ye take thē, but not as authoriſed by them, but that trouth and thinges that mayntein religion, are to be taken at all mens handes. And euen as we will admit things wel made, ſo if there be any thing determined in preiudice of trouth, for maintenance of their euill groūded primacy, or that may hurte thautoritie of kings, we proteſt vnto the whole world, that we neyther allow it, nor will at any tyme allowe it.

Ye haue, Chriſten readers, our minde concerning the generall Councell. we thinke you all ſee, that Paule and his Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbottes, Monkes, Friers, with the reſt of the rablement, do nothyng leſſe intende, then the knowledge or ſearch of trouth. Ye ſee, this is no tyme mete, Mantua no place mete, for a generall Coūcell. And though they were both mete, yet except ſome other call this Councel, you ſee, that we neither nede to come, nor to ſend. You haue heard how euery Prince in hys owne realme, may quiet thynges amyſſe. If there be any of you, that can ſhew vs a better way, we promiſe with al harty deſire, to do that, that ſhalbe thought beſt for the ſetlyng of religion, and that we will leaue our owne aduiſes, if any man ſhew vs better. whiche minde of ours, we moſte hartelye praye God, that gaue it vs, not onely to encreaſe in vs, but alſo to ſend it vnto all Chriſten Princes, all Chriſten Prelates, and all Chriſten people.

A litle before the death of Quéene Anne, there was a Parlament at Weſtminſter, wherein was geuen to the kyng by conſent of the Abbottes, all ſuch houſes of religion, as were vnder 300. markes. Whiche was a ſhrewde prognoſticate of the ruine of greater houſes, whiche in dede folowed ſhortly after, as was & might eaſely be perceaued before of many, who then ſayd: that the low buſhes and brambles were cut downe before, but great okes would folow after.

Although the procedyng of theſe thynges did not well lyke the myndes of the Popes frendes in Englād: yet notwithſtandyng they began agayne to take ſome breath of comfort, when they ſaw the foreſayd Quéene Anne diſpatched. Neuertheles they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe (as is aforeſhewed) and that doublewiſe. For firſt after they had their wylles of Quéene Anne, the Lord raiſed vp an other Quéene, not greatly for their purpoſe, with her ſonne kyng Edward: And alſo for that the Lord Cromwell the ſame tyme began to grow in authoritie. Who like a mighty piller ſet vp in the Church of Chriſt, was enough alone to confounde and ouerthrow all the malignant deuiſes of the aduerſaries, ſo long as God gaue hym in lyfe here to continue: whoſe ſtory hereafter foloweth more at large.

L. Cromwell groweth in authoritie.

Shortly after this foreſayd mariage of the kyng with this Quéene Iane Semer aboue mētioned, in the moneth of Iune, during the continuation of the Parlament, by the cōſent of ẏ Clergy holding then a ſolēne conuocation in the Church of S. Paul, a boke was ſet forth cōteinyng certein Articles of religion neceſſary to be taught to the people, wherin they intreated ſpecially but of iij. Sacramētes: Baptiſme, Penance, and the Lordes ſupper. Where alſo diuers other thinges were publiſhed cōcernyng ẏ alteration of certeine pointes of religion, as that certeine holy dayes were forbydden, and many Abbayes began to bee ſuppreſſed. For the whiche cauſe, the rude multitude of Lincolneſhyre fearyng the vtter ſubuerſion of their old religion, wherin they had bene ſo long nouſled, did riſe vp in a great cōmotion, to the number wellnere of 20. thouſand, hauyng for their Captain, a Monke named Doct. Makerell, callyng him ſelfe then Captain Cobbler: but theſe rebels beyng repreſſed by the kynges power, and deſiryng pardon, ſone brake vp their aſſemblie. For they hearing of the royall armie of the king cōming agaynſt them with hys owne perſon there preſent, and fearyng what would folow of this, firſt the noble men & Gentlemen, which before fauoured them, began to withdraw them ſelues, ſo that they were deſtitute of Captaines: and at the laſt, they in wrytyng made certeine petitions to the kyng, proteſting that they neuer intended hurte toward his royall perſon. Theſe petitions the kyng receiued, and made this aunſwere agayne to them as foloweth.

Alteration of religion a litle beginneth.

Commotion in Lyncolnſhyre.

A monke ſtyrrer of the commotion.

The Kinges aunſwere to the rebells.

The kinges aunſwere to the rebells.

First, we begin and make aūſwere to the fourth and ſixte articles, becauſe vpon them dependeth much of the reſt. Cōcernyng chooſing of Counſailours, I neuer haue read, heard, nor knowē, that Princes Counſailours and Prelates, ſhoulde be appointed by rude and ignoraunt common people, nor that they were perſones mete, or of habilitie to diſcerne and chooſe mete and ſufficient Coūſailors for a Prince: How preſumptuous then are ye the rude commons of one ſhire, and that one the moſte baſe of the whole realme, and of the leaſt experience, to fynde faulte with your Prince, for the electing of his Counſailours and Prelates, and to take vppon you, contrarie to Gods lawe, and mannes lawes, to rule your Prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawe, to obey and ſerue with both your lyues, landes, and goodes, and for no worldly cauſe, to withſtand?

As to the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes and Monaſteries, we will that ye and all oure ſubiectes ſhoulde well knowe, that this is graunted vs by all the nobles ſpirituall and temporall of this our Realme, and by all the commons in the ſame, by Acte of Parlament, and not ſet forth by any Counſailour or Counſailours vpō their mere will and fantaſie, as ye full falſely would perſwade oure realme to beleue.

For ſuppreſſion of religious houſes.

And where ye alleage, that the ſeruice of God is much diminiſhed, the truth therof is contrarye: for there be no houſes ſuppreſſed where God was well ſerued, but where moſt vice, miſchiefe, and abomination of liuynge was vſed, and that doth well appeare by their owne cōfeſſions ſubſcribed with theire owne handes in the tyme of their viſitations, and yet we ſuffered a great many of them (more then we neded by the Acte) to ſtand: wherin, if they amend not theyr liuing, we feare, we haue more to aunſwere for, then for the ſuppreſſion of all the reſt. And as for the hoſpitalitie for the relief of the pore, we wonder ye be not aſhamed to affirme, that they haue bene a great reliefe of poore people, when a great manye or the moſt parte hath not paſt foure or fyue religious perſons in them, and diuers but one, whiche ſpent the ſubſtaunce of the goodes of their houſes in noriſhing of vice and abominable liuing. Now, what vnkindnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all oure ſubiectes that be of that mynde, which had leuer ſuch an vnthriftye

In theſe viſitations of religious houſes, horrible it is to reade what wickednes and abomination was there founde, and regeſtred by the viſitors.

ſorte of vicious perſones ſhould enioy ſuche poſſeſſions, profytes, and emolumentes, as growe of the ſayd houſes, to the mayntenaunce of their vnthriftie life, then we your naturall Prince, Soueraygne Lorde and Kyng, which doth and hath ſpent more in your defenſes of our owne, then ſix tymes they bee woorth?

The act of vſes.

As touching the act of vſes, we maruaile what madnes is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye woulde take authoritye vpon you, to cauſe vs to breake thoſe lawes & ſtatutes, which by all the noble knightes and gentlemen of this realme, (whome the ſame chiefly toucheth) hath ben graunted & aſſented to: ſeyng in no maner of things, it toucheth you the baſe commons of our realme.

Alſo, the groundes of al thoſe vſes were falſe, and neuer admitted by lawe, but vſurped vpon the Prince, contrary to all equitye and iuſtice, as it hath bene opẽly both diſputed and declared by all the well learned men in the realme of Englande, in Weſtminſter hall: whereby ye maye well perceyue, how madde and vnreaſonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the reſt, and how vnmete it is for vs, and diſhonorable, to graunt or aſſent vnto, and leſſe mete and decent for you in ſuche a rebellious ſorte, to demaunde the ſame of your Prince.

The act of fiftene.

As touching the fyftene whiche ye demaunde of vs to be releaſed, think ye that we be ſo faynthartED, that perforce ye of one ſhire (were ye a greate many moe) coulde compel vs with your inſurrections and ſuche rebellious demeanour, to remitte the ſame? or thynke ye yͭ any man wyll or may take you to be true ſubiectes, that fyrſt make and ſhewe a louing graunt, and then perforce would cõpell your ſoueraygne lorde and kyng to releaſe the ſame? The tyme of payment whereof is not yet come: yea and ſeyng the ſame wyll not countreuaile the tenth peny of the charges, which we haue & dayly do ſuſteyne for your tuition & ſafegarde: make you ſure, by your occaſions of theſe your ingratitudes, vnnaturalnes, and vnkindnes to vs now adminiſtred, ye geue vs cauſe (which hath alwaies ben aſmuch dedicate to your wealth, as euer was king) not ſo much to ſet our ſtudie for the ſetting forward of the ſame, ſeing how vnkyndly and vntruly ye deale now with vs, without any cauſe or occaſion. And doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnes in you to conſyder your dutie of allegiaunce to your kyng and ſoueraygne lord, the reſte of our Realme (we doubt not) hath, and we and they ſhall ſo loke on this cauſe, that we truſt it ſhalbe to your confuſion, if according to your former letters you ſubmit not your ſelfes.

The act of firſt fruites.

As touching the firſt fruites, we let you to wit, it is a thing graunted vs by act of parliament alſo, for the ſupportatiõ of parte of the great and exceſſiue charges, which we ſupporte and beare for the mayntenaunce of your wealthes and other oure ſubiectes: and we haue knowẽ alſo that ye our commons haue much complained in tymes paſſed, that the moſte parte of our goodes, landes, and poſſeſſions of the realme, were in the ſpiritual mennes handes: and yet bearyng vs in hand, that ye be as louing ſubiectes to vs as may be, ye can not fynde in your hartes, that your Prince and Soueraigne lorde ſhoulde haue any parte therof (and yet it is nothing preiudiciall vnto you our commons) but doe rebell and vnlawfully ryſe agaynſt your Prince, contrarye to the duety of allegeaunce and Gods commaundement. Sirs, remembre your folies and traiterous demeanours, and ſhame not your natiue countrey of England, nor offende no more ſo greuouſlye your vndouted kynge and naturall Prince, which alwayes hath ſhewed him ſelf moſt louing vnto you, and remembre your dutie of allegeaunce, and that ye are bounde to obey vs your kynge, both by Gods commaundement, and lawe of nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftſones vpon the forſayde bondes and paines, that ye withdrawe your ſelues to your owne houſes euery man, and no more to aſſemble contrarie to oure lawes and your allegeaunces, and to cauſe the prouokers of you to this miſchief, to be deliuered to our Lieſtenaũtes handes or ours, and you your ſelues to ſubmit you to ſuch condigne puniſhmẽt, as we and our nobles ſhall thinke you worthye: for doubt you not els, that we and our nobles can nor well ſuffre thys iniurie at your handes vnreuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of ſoueraigntie, and ſhewe your ſelues as boundẽ and obedient ſubiectes, and no more to entremedle your ſelues from henceforth with the weightie affaires of the Realme, the direction whereof only apperteineth to vs your kyng, and ſuch noble men and counſailours, as we lyſt to elect and chooſe to haue the ordering of the ſame. And thus we praye vnto almighty God, to geue you grace to do your duties, to vſe your ſelfes towardes vs lyke true and faythfull ſubiectes, ſo as we maye haue cauſe to ordre you therafter: and rather obediently to cõſent amongeſt you, to deliuer into the handes of our lieftenaunt, a hundreth perſons to be ordered accordinge to their demerites, at our will and pleaſure, then by your obſtinacy and wilfulnes, to put your ſelfes, your wyues, children, landes, goodes and cattelles, beſyde the indignation of God, in the vtter aduenture of totall deſtruction, and vtter ruine, by force and violence of the ſword.

After tho Lyncolneſhire men had receiued this the kynges aunſwer aforeſayd, made to their peticions, ech miſtruſting other who ſhould be noted to be the greateſt medler, euen very ſodenly they began to ſhrinke, and out of hand, they were al diuided, and euery man at home in hys owne houſe in peace: but the Capitaynes of theſe rebelles eſkaped not all cleare, but were after apprehẽded, and had as they deſerued. Ex Edw. Hallo.

After this, immediatly within ſixe dayes, vppon the ſame, folowed a new inſurrection in Yorkſhyre for the ſame cauſes, through the inſtigation and lying tales of ſeditious perſons, eſpecially Monkes and Prieſtes, makyng them beleue, that their ſiluer chalices, croſſes, iewels, and other ornamentes ſhould bee taken out of their Churches, and that no man ſhould be maryed, or eate any good meete in his houſe, but ſhould giue tribute therfore to the kyng: but their ſpeciall malice was agaynſt Cromwell, and certeine other Counſaillours. The number of theſe rebels were nere about 40. thouſand, hauyng for their badges, the v. woũdes, with the ſigne of the Sacrament, & Ieſus writtẽ in the middeſt. This their deuiliſh rebelliõ, they termed by yͤ name of *a holy Pilgrimage*, but they ſerued a wrong & a naughtie Saint. They had alſo in the field their ſtremers and banners, wherupon was paynted Chriſt hanging vpõ the Croſſe on the one ſide, and a chalice with a paynted cake in it, on the other ſide, with other ſuch enſignes of lyke hypocriſie and fayned ſanctitie, pretendyng therby to fight for the fayth, and right of holy Churche. As ſone as the kyng was certified of this new ſeditious inſurrection, he ſent with all ſpede againſt them, yͤ Duke of Northfolke, Duke of Suffolke, Marques of Exceter, Earle of Shrewſbury and other, with a great armye, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

Theſe noble Captaines and Coũſailours thus well furniſhed with habilement of warre, approchyng toward the rebels, and vnderſtandyng both their number, and how they were full bent to battaile, firſt with policie wẽt about to aſſay and practiſe how to appeaſe all without bloudſhedyng: but the Northern mẽ ſtoutly and ſturdely ſtandyng to their wicked cauſe & wretched enterpriſe, would in no caſe relent from their attemptes. Whiche when the nobles perceiued, and ſaw no other way to pacifie their furious mindes vtterlye ſet on miſchief, determined vpon a battaile. The place was appointed, the day aſſigned, & the houre ſet, but ſee the wonderous worke of Gods gracious prouidence. The night before the day of battaile came (as teſtifieth Edward Hall) fell a ſmall rayne, nothyng to ſpeake of: but yet, as it were by a great myracle of God, the water which was but a very ſmal forde, and that mẽ, in maner, the day before, might haue gone dryſhod ouer, ſodenly roſe of ſuch a height, depenes, and bredth, that the like no man that there did inhabite, could tel that euer they ſawe afore: ſo that the daye, euen when the houre of battayll ſhoulde come, it was impoſſible for the one armye to come at the other.

After this, yͤ appointmẽt made betwene both the armies being thus diſapointed, as it is to be thought, only by God, (who extended his great mercie & had compaſſion on yͤ great nomber of innocẽt perſons, yͭ in that deadly ſlaughter had like to haue ben murdered) could take no place: then by the great wiſedome and policye of the ſayd Capitaynes, a cõmunication was had, and a pardon of the kynges Maieſtie obteyned, for all the Capitaynes & chiefe doers of thys inſurrection, & they promyſed that ſuch thinges as they founde themſelues agreued withall, they ſhould gently be heard, and their reaſonable peticions graunted, and that their Articles ſhould be preſentend to the kynge, that by hys hyghnes authoritie, and wiſedome of hys Counſayll, al thynges ſhould be brought to good ordre and concluſion: and with this ordre euery man quietly departed, and thoſe which before were bent as hote as fyre, to fyght, beyng letted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houſes, and were as colde as water. *A domino factum eſt iſtud.*

Popiſhe
rieſtes re=
lling a=
inſt the
yng.

In the tyme of this ruffle in Yorkeſhyre, and the kyng lying the ſame tyme at Windſore, there was a Butcher dwellyng within v. myles of the ſayd towne of Wyndſore, whiche cauſed a Prieſt to preach, that all they that toke part with ẏ Yorkſhyre men, whō he called Gods people, did fight in Gods quarell: for ẏ which both he and the prieſt were apprehended, & executed.

Diuers other Prieſtes alſo, with other, about the ſame tyme, committing in lyke ſorte treaſon agaynſt the kyng, ſuffered the lyke execution. Such a buſines had the kyng then to ridde the realme from the ſeruitude of the Romiſhe yokes.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam euertere Sedem.

But Gods hand dyd ſtill worke with all, in vpholdyng hys Goſpell and troden truth, agaynſt all ſeditious ſturres, commotions, rebellions, and what ſoeuer was to the contrary, as both by theſe ſtoryes afore paſſed, and by ſuch alſo as hereafter followe, may notoriouſlye appeare.

1537.

The yeare next after this, whiche was of the Lord. 1537. after that great execution had ben done vpō certeine rebellious Prieſts and a few other lay men, with certeine noble perſons alſo and Gentlemen, amongeſt whom was the Lord Darcy, the Lord Huſſy, Syr Robert Conſtable, Syr Thomas Percy, Syr Fraunces Bygot, Syr Steuen Hamelton, Syr Iohn Bulmer, and his wife, Williā Lomley, Nicolas Tempeſt, with the Abbottes of Ierney, & of Ryuers &c. in the moneth of October, ẏ ſame yeare folowyng, was borne Prince Edward. Shortly after whoſe byrth, Quéene Iane hys mother, the ſecond day after, dyed in childbed, and left the kyng agayne a wydower, whiche ſo continued the ſpace of ij. yeares together. Uppon the death of which Quéene Iane, & vpon the byrth of Prince Edward her ſonne, theſe ij. verſes were made, which followe.

rince
dward
ne.

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Phœnix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.

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. *Armi-*
Wade.

Here is by the way to be vnderſtand, that duryng all this ſeaſon, ſince the tyme that the kyng of England had reiected the Pope out of ẏ realme, both the Emperour, the Frenche kyng, and the kyng of Scottes, with other foreine potentates (whiche were yet in ſubiectiō vnder the Pope) bare to hym no great good fauour inwardly, what ſoeuer outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lackyng preuy ſetters on, nor ſecret workyng among them ſelues, how to compaſſe vngracious miſchiefes, if God by contrary occaſions had not ſtopped their intended deuiſes. For firſt the Pope had ſent Cardinall Poole to the Frenche kyng, to ſtyrre hym to warre agaynſt the realme of England.

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Secondly where as the Frenche kyng, by treatie of perpetuall peace, was bound yearly to pay to the kyng of England at the firſt dayes of May, and Nouember about xxv. thouſand crownes of the ſonne, and odde money: and ouer that, x. thouſand crownes at the ſayd ij. termes, for recompēce of ſalt due, as the treates thereof did purport: that penſion remayned now vnpayed iiij. yeares and more.

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Furthermore, the Emperour and the French kyng both, reteyned Grancetor a traiterous rebell agaynſt the kyng, and condemned by Acte of Parlament, with certeine other traytors moe, and yet would not deliuer hym to the kyng at his earneſt ſuite and requeſt.

The French kyng alſo digreſſyng frō hys promiſe & treaty, made allyance with the Byſhop of Rome Clement, in maryng the Dolphine to hys Niece, called Katherine de Medicis.

The ſayd Frenche kyng moreouer, contrary to hys contracte made, maryed his daughter to the kyng of Scottes. All which were preiudiciall, and put the king, (no doubt) in ſome feare and perplexitie (though otherwiſe a ſtoute and valiaunt Prince) to ſee the Pope, the Emperour, the Frenche kyng, and kyng of Scottes ſo bent agaynſt hym.

And yet all this notwithſtandyng, the Lord ſtill defended the iuſtnes of his cauſe agaynſt them all. For although ẏ French king was ſo ſet on by the Pope, & ſo lynked in mariage with the Scottes, & lacked nothyng now but onely occaſion to inuade the realme of England: yet notwithſtandyng he hearing now of the byrth of Prince Edward, the kynges ſonne by Quéene Iane, and vnderſtandyng alſo by the death of ẏ ſayd Quéene Iane, that the kyng was a wydower, and perceauyng moreouer talke to bee that the kyng woulde ioyne in mariage with the Germaines, beganne to ware more calme and cold, and to giue much more gentle wordes, & to demeane hym ſelf more curtuouſly, labouring to mary ẏ Quéene of Nauare hys ſiſter to ẏ kyng.

The Ambaſſadours reſident thē in Fraunce for the kyng, were Ste. Gardiner, with Doctor Thyrleby, &c. Whiche Steuen Gardiner, what hee wrought ſecretly for the Popes deuotion, I haue not expreſſely to charge hym. Whether he ſo dyd, or what he did, the Lord knoweth al. But this is certeine, that whē Doct. Boner Archedeacon then of Leiceſter, was ſent into Fraunce by the kyng (through the meanes of the Lord Cromwell) to ſuccede Steuen Gardiner in Ambaſſie, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1538. hée found ſuch dealing in the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter, as was not greatlye to bee truſted, beſide the vnkynde partes of the ſayd Byſhop agaynſt the foreſayd Boner, commyng then frō the kyng and the Lord Cromwell, as was not to be lyked.

An. 1538

Doct. Boner the kings Ambaſſadour in Fraunce.

Long it were to recite from the beginnyng, and few men peraduenture would beleue ẏ braulyng matters, the priuie cōplaintes, the contentious quarels, and bitter diſſenſions betwene theſe two, and eſpecially what deſpitefull contumelyes Doct. Boner receaued at the handes of Wincheſter. For vnderſtand (good reader) that this Doct. Boner all this while remayned yet (as he ſéemed) a good man, and was a great furtherer of the kynges procedynges, and a fauourer of Luthers doctrine, & was aduaunced onely by the Lord Cromwell. Whoſe promociōs here to rehearſe: firſt he was Archdeacon of Leyceſter, perſon of Bledon, of Dereham, Cheſwicke, & Cheryburton. Thē was made biſhop of Hereford, & at laſt preferred to be B. of London. The chiefe of which prefermentes and dignityes were conferred vnto hym only by the meanes and fauour of the Lord Cromwell, who was then hys chief & onely Patrone, and ſetter vp: as the ſayd Boner hymſelfe in all hys letters, doth manyfeſtly proteſte and declare. The copies of which his letters I could here produce and exhibite, but for prolongyng my ſtory with ſuperfluous matter. Yet that the world and all poſteritye maye ſée, how the comming vp of Doct. Boner was onely by the Goſpell (how ſo euer he is now vnkynd vnto the Goſpell) this one letter of his, whiche I will here inferre, written to the Lord Cromwell out of France, maye ſtand for a perpetuall teſtimonie, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

Doct. Boner in the beginning, a fauourer of ẏ truth, and a Lutheran.

L. Cromwell the onely ſetter vp of Doctor *Boner.*

D. Boners commyng vp was by the Goſpell.

¶ A letter of Doctor Boner the kynges Ambaſſadour reſident in Fraunce, ſent to the Lord Cromwell, declaryng the order of hys promotions and commyng vp.

Out of Boners owne hand writing.

My very ſingular eſpeciall good Lord, as one moſt boūden, I moſt humbly cōmend me vnto your honorable good Lordſhip. And where as in times paſſed it hath liked the ſame, without any my deſertes or merites, euen onely of your ſingular excedyng goodnes, to beſtow a great deale of loue, beneuolence, and good affectiō vpon me ſo poore a mā, and of ſo ſmall qualities, expreſſyng in deede, ſondry wayes, the good effectes thereof to my great preferment, I was very muche bounde therby vnto your honourable good Lordſhip, and thought it alwaye my dutie (as in deede it was) both to beare my true harte agayne vnto your Lordſhip, and alſo, remembryng ſuch kindnes, to doe vnto the ſame all ſuch ſeruice and pleaſure as myght then lie in my ſmall power to doe.

Doct. Boner confeſſeth hym ſelfe much bound to the *L. Cromwell.*

But where of your infinite and ineſtimable goodnes, it hath further lyked you of late, fyrſt to aduaunce me vnto the office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as the kyng my ſoueraigne Lorde is, vnto the Emperour and Frenche kyng, and next after to procure & obtayne myne auauncement to ſo honourable a promotion as is the Byſhopricke of Herforde: I muſt here knowledge the exceedyng greatnes of your Lordſhips benefite, with mine owne imbecillitie to recompence it, and ſaye (as Virgill writeth) Grates perſoluere dignas non opis eſt noſtræ.

Boner preferred to the Byſhopricke of Herforde, by the Lorde *Cromwell.*

Surely my good Lorde, I neyther am, neyther ſhall be hable to requite thys your Lordſhips moſte ſpeciall kindnes and bountifull goodnes at any tyme, vnleſſe I ſhoulde vſe that ciuile remedye called in lawe acceptilation, which great detters eſpeciallye, are accuſtomed to procure at the handes of theyr creditours: wherby yet neuertheleſſe your goodnes the only doer therof, ſhould rather bee encreaſed, then my duetie towardes the ſame, therby diminiſhed. And ceſſio Bonorum (the onely extreme refuge and helpe of poore detters deuiſed alſo in *ciuile) myght ſomewhat helpe herein, ſauyng that it is not poſſible that I ſhall come Ad tam pinguem fortunam (wherupon that remedye is grounded) wherby I may recompence and requite thys dette worthelye.

Acceptilatiō.

*Here ſemeth to lacke ſome word, but that I would not alter any thing in hys owne copie.

So that in concluſion there reſteth this, yͭ vnleſſe your Lordſhips ſelf doe loſe me as you haue boūd me, I ſhall (and that full gladly) remaine cōtinually your moſt boūden beadeſman. And ſyr, I moſt hūblye beſech your good Lordſhip, in the honour of God, ſeing thys thyng is begonne and auaunced onely by your goodnes & meanes, you will to the extent the acte may be wholy your own, ſtretch out your goodnes, not ſuffering the reſt to bee perfited otherwyſe then by your owne handes: wherin as I muſt and ſhall knowledge my ſelfe to be exceedingly beholden vnto your good Lordſhip, ſo ſhall the ſame more eſteeme and ſet by, duryng my life, hauing ſo attayned it by your onely goodnes: And verelye, if your good Lordſhip bee not better to me herein, then I can, vnleſſe it bee of your owne goodnes, deſire you, I knowe not how I ſhall bee able to ouercome the great charges annexed to thys promotion. For though my promotions afore were ryght honeſt and good, yea and ſuch as one of farre better qualities then I was or am of, ought therwith to haue bene contented, yet conſidering that of diuerſe of them, it is to witte, Leyceſter, Bledon, Derham, Cheſwycke, & Cheryburton, the firſt fruites, tenthes, and charges borne, I haue not receaued clerelye one penye: I am now neuer a whitte the more able to beare the great charges of thys.

L. Cromwell onely the aduauncer of *D. Boner*, and therfore in an other letter he calleth hym hys onely *Mecenas.*

The promotions of Boner.

I ſhall therefore herein and in all thinges els perteyning hereunto, ſeing your Lordſhip is ſo great a patrone, and will needes binde me for euer to be your own (as in dede I will) referre all together vnto your goodnes, beſechyng you to take the order and diſpoſition of all into your owne handes. I can not tell whether the late Biſhop ſtandeth bounden for yͤ fyrſt fruites, tenthes, or other duties, which by ſtatute may bee demaunded of hys ſucceſſour, but I feare it greatly, and beſeche your Lordſhip therefore that I may bee holpen therin. My charges now here inforceth me the more to ſpeake and trouble your good Lordſhip, which at the beginning are not a fewe, and yet not ended. Of my fidilitie to your good Lordſhip, I haue of fiue hundreth crownes, remaynyng fortie, beſtowed vppon horſes, mule, mulet, rayment, and other neceſſaryes, ſtandyng detter to M. Thirlebye neuertheles, and alſo to Maiſter Doct. Haynes for one hundreth markes or faſt vpon, to them both. And beſides thys (ſuch is my chaunce now at the beginnyng) diuerſe of my ſeruauntes haue fallen ſicke, being in great perill and daunger, putting me to no litle charges. Ouer and beſides theſe diſpleaſures comming vnto me, by not hauyng theyr ſeruice, and other to keepe them, and alſo wanting mine other ſeruauntes in England, which though I haue ſent for them, yet neyther they neyther my horſes or ſtuffe are come, I muſt and doe take pacience, truſting it will mende.

Vppon the cloſing vppe of thys letter and depeche of this bearer, God willing I will packe vp my geare, and to morrowe betyme followe the French kyng, who yeſterdaye departed from Shambour and maketh haſte towardes Paris. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerue your good Lordſhip in health. At Bloyſe the ij. of September in the euening.

Scribled by the wery hand of hym that is
bounden to be and is in dede, your Lordſhips beadeſman and at commaūdement,
Edmund Boner.

Diuers other letters beſide this, of Doctor Bonner remayne in wrytyng vpon the like effecte and purporte, which here alſo I myght adde for a further demonſtration hereof: but this one in ſtede of many, may ſuffice. Now to our purpoſe agayn: whiche is to declare howe this Doct. Boner in the time of his fyrſt ſpryngyng vp, ſhewed hym ſelf a good mā, & a faſt frend to the Goſpell of Chriſt & to the kings procedinges: and contrariwiſe, how Steuen Gardiner did halt then both with God & with the king. Alſo what vnkindnes & contumelies the ſayd Boner receaued at his handes: what rancour and hartburnyng was betwene them, & what complaintes the one moueth agaynſt the other, remayneth conſequently by their writings & recordes to be opened. For the more euidente demonſtration wherof, they that haue the letters of the ſayd Doct. Boner writen from France to the kyng, and the Lorde Cromwel, maye right well perceaue. And fyrſt to note what a Goſpeller he was, in hys letter from Roan, he ſpeaking of hys truſtie companion, and bearer of his letters (who was belyke D. Heynes) he gyueth this report both of hym, and of hymſelf, ſaying:

If this bearer had ben ſo much deſirous to pleaſe the Emperour, and folowe hys religion, as he was ſtudious to ſerue truly your grace, and to aduaunce the truth: he had not wanted, &c. And agayn:

And beſides that he hath not wanted the euill reporte of naughtie fellowes, namyng hym Lutheran: Wherin for cōpany I was ioyned, ſuch was their goodnes. &c.

Again in an other letter wryten to the Lord Cromwell, theſe wordes he hath, ſpeaking of hys companion Doct. Heynes:

Eſpecially for that the ſayed Doctor Heynes by his vpryght dealing herein, and profeſſing the truth, neyther gatte thākes nor reward, but was blaſed abroad by honeſt folkes, to be a Lutheran. The leſſe he pleaſeth in Spayne, the better argument it is, that hys intent was to ſerue none but the kings hyghnes, and the truth. &c.

And furthermore in an other minute wryting to the Lord Cromwell of Steuen Wint, and of hys churlyſhnes toward hym, thus he ſayth:

And there found I in M. Doctor Thyrlebye much kindnes, and in the Byſhop of Wincheſter as litle. &c. And in the ſame letter it followeth:

And if I had receaued any intertainment of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, I would likewiſe haue ſent you worde. But I thanke God, I neede not, for I had nothing of hym. &c.

Alſo in an other letter the ſayd Boner wrytyng to the Lord Cromwell concernyng one Barnabe, and hym ſelfe, what cold welcome they both had at the hāds of Wincheſter, vſeth theſe wordes folowyng.

And my good Lord I beſeche you to continue your good fauour to this honeſt poore man Barnabe, who is body and ſoule aſſuredly your owne, and as well beloued of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, as I am: and of my trouth I ſuppoſe and beleue verely, one of the chiefe grudges the Byſhop hath agaynſt him, is becauſe your Lordſhyps of your charitable goodnes, doth loue and fauour him. &c.

¶An other letter of Doct. Boner to the Lorde Cromwell, complaynyng of Wincheſter, and alſo declaryng how he was promoted by the ſayd Lord Cromwell, to the Byſhoprike of Hereford.

My very ſingulare eſpeciall good Lord, accordyng to my moſt bounden duetie, I recommende me right humbly vnto your good Lordſhyp, aduertiſyng the ſame that the xix. of the laſt, about iiij. of the clocke at after noone, there arriued here Barnabe with your Lordſhyps letters dated at Ewryge the xiiij. of the ſame, and thinkyng that at hys ſaid arriual, the Byſhop of winchester, M.Thirleby, and I had ben all lodged together, where in very dede, we had ſeuerall lodgynges, hee went ſtreight to the Byſhop of winchesters lodgyng (M.Thirleby and I then beyng walkyng in the fieldes) and the Byſhop incontinently enquired of him, not how the kyngs grace did, as was his duetie: but (as Barnabe tolde me) inquired of him where he left the kynges grace at his cōmyng away: whether he had brought any letters for him: whether M.Brian & M.Wallop were in ẏ Court at hys departyng: and finally what newes were in England. To the whiche queſtions, when Barnabe had made aunſwere, ſaying that he lefte the kinges grace at Byrlyng, and that M.Brian and M.Wallop were in the Court at hys departing, and withall that he had no letters from them ne any other to him, and finally for the newes, that the kynges hyghnes had giuē me the Byſhopricke of Herford: the Byſhop (as Barnabe reporteth and I doubt not but hee ſayth truly) caſt down his head, makyng a playce mouth with his lippe, and afterwardes liftyng vp his eyes and handes (as curſing the day and houre it chaunced) ſemed ſo euill contented therewith, that hee would neither byd Barnabe drinke, or tary ſupper, ne yet further common with hym, but turnyng from hym called one M. Medowe and ſhewed hym of the ſame tydynges, takyng it (as appeared) very heuylie, ſemblablie as he doth euery thyng that is or may be for my preferremēt. And when Barnabe perceiued that I was not there, and that alſo this comfortable countenaunce and good chere was made vnto him, he went thence and ſearched me, who thē was walkyng with M.Thirleby (as is afore) and by chaunce commonyng with him of the Byſhop of winchester, gyuyng him aduertiſement that hee ſhould not be abuſed by the ſayd Byſhop, whom I ſayd made of hym not for any harty loue I thought he bare vnto him, but either in deſpite of me, to whom he thought it ſhould be greatly diſpleaſaunt: either els vnder colour therof, and by familiaritie, for to grope him and to ſerue his owne craftie purpoſes by him. And ſoone after the departure of M, Thirleby from me, who then went to the Biſhop to ſupper, I returned towards my lodging, & by the way mette with Barnabe, whoſe ſalutatiō was after that ſort, that it cauſed me to wonder at it, eſpecially I hauing no expectation or hope of ſuch thing as he rehearſed vnto me. And ſurely my good Lord, I would not beleue him in the thing hee told, till I perceiued the ſame by ẏ ſuperſcription of your Lordſhips letter, whiche he afterwardes deliuered vnto me: declaring withall (to my great comfort) the proſperous eſtate of the kings highnes and of your good Lordſhip. whiche knowen, I beſought almightie God to grāt the long continuaunce therof, and alſo as was my duetie, did giue moſt humble thankes to the kinges highnes and to your ſayd good Lordſhip. And hereupon, kepyng your Lordſhips letters ſtill in my handes vnbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of M.Thirleby, which was in my way, to communicate theſe my newes and great good fortune, with him, and not finding hym there, I read ouer your Lordſhips letters, ſendyng the ſame afterward to M.Thirleby, and perceiuyng by Barnabe that he had other letters for me, whiche he tolde me he muſt deliuer vnto me ſecretly, I went to mine owne lodging with him, and there receiuyng them accordingly, did read them ouer, both that your Lordſhips ſecond letter ſent to me, and alſo the other ſent to Maiſter Wyat. &c.

The Byſhop of winchester inquired not how the kyng dyd.

The playce mouth of Winchester against Bonner.

St. Wint. agaynſt Boners prefermēt.

D.Boner made Byſhop of Hereford.

See howe Boner reioyceth at his great good fortune, as though he had not enough before, hauing iiij. liuinges and being metely wel ſped for one man.

Your Lordſhyppes moſt bounden bedeſman and alwayes at commaundement,
Edmond Boner.

When the kyng, by the aduiſe of the Lord Crōwell and other of hys counſaill had appointed D.Edmund Boner to returne from the Emperour, and to be reſident in France, in the place of Winchester & of Doct. Thyrleby, he ſent hys letters to the ſayd B. of Wynchester, & to M. Thirleby, ſhewyng hys pleaſure vnto them in that behalf, with this clauſe in the ſame letters conteyned in expreſſe wordes, as foloweth.

And where the ſayd M.Boner wāteth furniture of ſtuffe and plate meete for that office, our pleaſure is, that yow M. Thyrleby ſhall deliuer vnto hym by Indenture, all the plate you haue of ours in your cuſtodie, and that you my Lord of VVincheſter, ſhall furniſhe hym with all ſuch other ſtuffe, as ſhall be neceſſary for hym. Wherein as you ſhall doo vnto vs pleaſure, ſo we ſhall be content at your returne, to ſatiſfie you for the ſame. &c.

The kinges pleaſure was not regarded of the Byſhop of Winchester.

The Byſhop of Winchester receauing theſe letters from the kyng, and beyng lothe to come into England, (what ſo euer the matter was) alſo hearyng that Doct. Boner ſhould ſuccede hym, his diſdaynfull nature dyd ſtomacke him exceedingly. But becauſe there was no other remedy but the kyngs commaundement muſt be done, fyrſt he ſendeth ẏ kyngs letters, with his alſo to ẏ Emperours court, vnto M.Boner, and to D.Heynes, willing them in all haſt to repayre to Lyons with in. ij. daies. Beſides theſe letters of Winchester, D. Thyrleby adioyned hys letters alſo with like quicknes to the ſayd Doct. Heynes and to Boner, the contentes wherof here foloweth.

¶ The letter of Doct. Thirleby, to Doct. Heynes, and Boner.

WIth my hartie commendations and the deſire of your companye, and nowe ſo much rather that I ſhall therby haue a great benefice, videl. the deliueraunce from trouble to eaſe, from a ſtraunge countrey to myne own, from the wayting vpon *him that forceth as litle for me, as I am acquainted with hym, to the ſeruice of hym whoſe proſperitie and loue I accompt as my lyfe: theſe ſhall bee to praye you to make no leſſe ſpeede hether, then you woulde make to a good feaſt, when that you be hongry. M.Boner ſhall know many thinges, but when you come I ſhall tell you more, ſo that you haſte you. Come I praye you, I would fayne be at home. I ſawe not my *Maiſter theſe iiij. monethes. when as you M.Boner ſhall come to Lyons, it ſhall bee good to goe to Bonuiſe, hee is a good money maker. In fayth I can write no more, but bydde you come hartilye, haſtlye I woulde haue written, and the ſooner, the better welcome to Lyons, where thys was geuen the laſte of Iulie.

By him that hath loued you well, and now will loue you better if you haſte you hether. Thomas Thirlebye.

Doct. Thirlebyes quicke letter to Doct. Heynes and D.Boner.

*He meaneth here the Frēch kyng.

*The kyng of England, he meaneth.

At the receipt of theſe letters, Doct. Boner & Doct. Heynes, did put thē ſelues in a readines to repayre incontinent vnto Lions, thinking there to haue founde Wint. and Thirlebye, according to the purport of their letters. But Wint. and Thirleby not abyding their cōming, made haſt away frō Lyons to La Barella: where Boner rydyng in poſt after hym, ouertoke hym. With whom what intertainement and talke he had, & what accuſations he layed to hys charge, and what braulyng wordes paſſed betwene thē, and what great miſlikyng Boner had of hym for ſpeciall cauſes, here in this brablyng matter, or braulyng dialogue vnderfolowyng may appeare, which for thy recreation, and the further vnderſtanding of Winchesters qualities, I wyſhe thee (louing reader) to peruſe and conſider.

But firſt here is to bee noted, that the kyng and the Lorde Cromwell, at what tyme they had appoynted D.Edmund Boner to bee reſident Ambaſſadour in Fraunce, required in theyr letters, that hee ſhould aduertiſe them by wryting, what hee miſliked in the doinges and behauiour of certayne perſons, whom they dyd note then vnto hym. Wherupon the ſayd Doctor Boner ſendeth thys declaration of Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wint. as followeth.

¶ A declaration ſent by Doct. Boner to the Lorde Cromwell, deſcribyng to hym the euill behauiour of Steuē Winchester, with ſpeciall cauſes therin contayned, wherfore and why he miſliked him.

FIrſt I miſlike in the Biſhop of winchester, that whē any mā is ſent in the kinges affaires and by his highnes commaundement, the Biſhop, vnles he be the onely and chief inuentour of the matter and ſetter forth of the perſon, he will not onely vſe many cauillations, but alſo

Out of the copie of Boners owne letters by hys owne hand writing, which I haue to ſhewe.

Cōplaintes of Doct. Boner agaynſt Ste. Wint.

The vaynglorious pride and ambition of the biſh. of Wincheſter.

What experience Doctor Boner hath of Wincheſters pride.

The cankered malicious ſtomacke of *Wincheſter.*

vſe great ſtraungenes in countenaunce and chere to the perſon that is ſent ouer and beſides, as ſmal comfort and counſell as may be in the matter, rather diſſwadyng and diſcouraging the perſon earneſtlye to ſet forthward hys meſſage, then boldening and comfortyng hym, as is hys duetie, with helpe and counſell to aduenture and do hys beſte therin. The experience wherof I haue had my ſelf with hym, as well at Roane, the fyrſt tyme I was ſent to Rome, commaunded by the kinges highnes to come by hym, and at Marſelles, the tyme of the intimation of the kinges proteſtation, prouocation, & appeale, as alſo lately going to Nice, touchyng the generall Counſell and the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome: and finally, now laſt of all, at my returne from Spayne, where neither my diligence in commyng to him & vſing him in the beginning with all the reuerence I could, neither the kinges letters written vnto him in my fauour, ne yet other thyng could mollifye hys hard hart, and cancred malicious ſtomacke, but that he would ſpitefullye ſpeake, and vnkindely doe, as in dede he did, to his great ſhame and my diſhoneſtie, as foloweth:

The dialogue betwene *Boner* and *Gardiner* beginneth.

When riding in poſt I came to La Barella, a poſt a this ſide Lyons, the vij. day of Auguſt, he being in bedde there, I taryed till hee ryſing vp and making him ſelfe readye, came at the laſt, out to me ſtandyng and taryyng for him in a ſecond chamber, and at his comming thether, he ſaid: what M. Boner, good morow. A Syr ye be welcome, and herewithal he put out his hand, and I kiſſing mine, toke him by it, and incontinently after, he ſaid: Come on, let vs goe and walke a while into the fieldes, and withall drew towardes the doore, preparing him to walke. To whom I ſaid I would wayte vpon him. His going to ẏ fieldes (as appeared afterwardes) was not ſo much to walke, as to haue a place where he might ſpeake loude, and triumphe alone againſt me, calling in his woordes again, if he ſpake any amiſſe, or vtterly denie thẽ, if that made for his purpoſe. And by chaunce, rather then by good wiſedome, afore I went forth, I aſked for M. Thirleby, and deſired I might ſee him & ſpeake with him. The Byſhop that perceiuing, and withall that I ſtacke vpon it, hee commaũded one of his ſeruauntes to call M. Thirleby, but yet afore his comming, the Biſhop could not be idle, but ſaid this to me:

Wincheſter will do nothing for Doctor *Boner.*

Doctor Boner will geue no thankes to *Wincheſter,* for nothing.

Wincheſter beginneth to kindle.

M. Boner, your ſeruaunt was yeſterday with me, & as I told him, I wil tel you. In good faith, ye cã haue nothing of me. Nothing my lord (quoth I) merely ſpeaking? mary God forbid, that is a heauie word, & much vncõfortable to him that wanteth all thinges, & truſteth much vpõ your goodnes, ẏ hath a great deale. In faith (quoth he) ye ſhall haue nothing of me, marye ye ſhall haue of M. Thirleby, his cariage Mules, his bed, & diuerſe other thinges, that he may ſpare, and whiche he hath kept for you. Well my Lord (quoth I) if I ſhal haue nothing of you, I muſt make as good ſhift as I cã for my ſelf otherwiſe, & prouide it where I may get it. And here ẏ Biſhop, becauſe I would not giue him thankes for that thing whiche was not worthy thankes, and that alſo I would not ſhewe my ſelfe greatly contented and pleaſed, thoughe I receiued nothing at his hãdes, he began ſomewhat to kindle, and aſked what I wanted. I tolde him agayne, that I wanted all thing ſauyng money and good will to ſerue the kinges highnes.

Wincheſters negatiues.

Tell me one thing (quoth he) that ye want. One thing quoth I? Mary, amongſt many thinges that I want, I want napery. That ſhall ye not nede (quoth he) here in this countrey, and here he began to tell a long tale, that none vſed that, but M. Wallop and hee in the beginnyng: whiche is not true generally. And from this, he began to go, deſcendyng by his negatiues: my Mulettes (ſayth he) ye can not haue, for if ye ſhould, I muſt nedes prouide other for them agayne: my Mulet clothes ye can not haue, becauſe mine armes are on them, not mete for you to beare: my rayment (I being a Biſhop) that is not mete for you: and ſo proceding forth in the reſt, nothyng had he for me, and nothing ſhould I haue.

D. Thirleby preſent at thys parte.

The Pilates voyce of *Wincheſter.*

And here came M. Thirleby, who welcõmed me very gently and after an honeſt ſorte: to whom the Biſhop rehearſeth agayn his negatiues & maketh a long diſcourſe, bringyng in concluſion for all that he could do, that nothing I ſhould haue of him, and this rehearſed he ſtil on end, I am ſure aboue a doſen tymes, and that with a Pylates voyce, ſo that all his companie ſtandyng more then three or foure paire of butte lengthes of, heard him.

Stephen Gardiner more re pecting his own matters, then to th kynges af fayres.

Ye lie, quoth *Wincheſter.*

When I ſaw that he would make no end, but euer rehearſing one thing ſtill, I ſaid to him, my Lord, I beſech you, ſeyng I ſhall haue nothing of you, but of M. Doctour here, let me giue hym thankes that deſerueth it, and not trouble you therin no more, but leauing communication therin, let me deſire and pray you, that we may common of the kings matters, and that I may haue therin knowledge aſwell of the ſtate therof, as alſo of your counſaile in that behalfe. The Biſhop was ſo hoate and warme in his owne matters, that hee would not heare, but nedes would returne agayne, and ſhewe why that I could haue nothing of him. My Lord (quoth I) here is ſtill on end one tale, whiche me thinketh, ſeyng that I vnderſtand it, ye nede not ſo oft to repete it, eſpecially ſeyng that it commeth alwayes to this concluſion, that I ſhal haue nothing of you. Ye lye (quoth he) I ſayd not ſo. I reporte me (quoth I) to M. Thirleby here preſent, whom I ſhall deſyre to beare recorde of your ſadde and diſcrete honeſt behauiour with me. I ſay you lye (quoth he). My Lorde (quoth I) I thanke you.

Wincheſters the ſophiſtica tion.

I do not ſaye (quoth he) that ye ſhall haue nothing of me: but I ſaye, ye can haue nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diuerſitie betwene theſe ij. maners of ſpeakinges: I can ſpare nothing vnto you, and therfore ye ſhall haue nothing: and thoughe I can ſpare you, yet you ſhall haue nothing: for in the one is an honeſty in the ſpeaker, which would if he could do pleaſure, & in the other, there lacketh that honeſtie.

Biſhop like ſpoken.

The mel fluous a hony m thed wor des of *Winche* to *Bone,*

My Lord (quoth I) to examine whether I ſhall haue nothing, becauſe ye can ſpare nothing: or ſhall haue nothing, thoughe ye haue plentye, becauſe ye will I ſhall haue nothing, it ſhall not much helpe me in my iourney. Wherfore, ſeyng ye bide vpon thys, that I ſhall haue nothing, I will thanke you for nothing, and prouide otherwiſe for my ſelf. Toorde in your teethe (quoth he) and prouide as ye will. Biſhoplike ſpoken, by my faith (quoth I) and well it becommeth you to ſpeake thus to me. Yea mary doth it becomme me (quoth he) and repetyng the wordes agayn, ſaied with a ſharpe accent: haue nothing of me? torde in your teeth. Well my Lord (quoth I) this needeth not, ſauing that ye haue a full ſtomacke agaynſt me, and your witte abroade, willyng hereby to eaſe your ſtomacke. Yes marye (quoth he) it needeth for me, though it nedeth not for you, for I entend (quoth he) I woulde ye ſhoulde knowe it, to iuſtifye my ſelfe to the king in all thinges. If ye ſo do (quoth I) ye ſhall do the better. Nay (quoth he) I do it, & will do it. Well (quoth I) ye are the more to be commended, if ye ſo can do. Yes (quoth he) I can do it.

Nowe by my trouthe (quoth I) ſeynge the kinges highnes hath written ſo tenderlye for me vnto you, as appeareth by his highnes letters that his grace hath done: me thinketh, ye hauing ſo great plẽtie of al things, and I ſo great neede therof, cõming poſt as I do: ye go about as euil to iuſtifie your ſelfe to the king, as any one that I haue ſeen: And iwiſſe my Lorde (quoth I) I woulde haue reckened that, comming as I do come, I ſhoulde haue bene both better welcõme, and better entreated of you then nowe I am, euen and it had bene for no other reſpect, then becauſe I am an Engliſh man.

The ſto macke of *Stephen Gardine* agaynſt *Boner.*

The like trembling and lea ping of th bones a fleſh for anger, M. Bucer alſo note this *Gar diner,* putyng with h Germ *Vid. Bu cer. De Cœlibat*

* *Steuen Gardine* Bedlem like.

I ſhall tel you (quoth he) for ẏ kinges ſake, ye may loke to haue: but for your own ſake ye get nothing. Wel (quoth I) then hauing nothing, I wil giue no thankes at all, & hauing any thing, I ſhall giue thankes to the king, and none to you. I tell you (quoth he) ye get nothing. And I tell you agayne (quoth I) that I wil not thanke you for nothing: and here his fleſh of his cheeke began to ſwell and tremble, and he loked vpon me, as he woulde haue runne through me, and I came and ſtoode euen by hym and ſayed: trowe you my Lorde (quoth I) that I feare your great lokes? Nay faith do I not. Ye had nede to get an other ſtomacke to whette vpõ, then mine, and a better whetſtone, then any ye haue. For I aſſure you, ye ſhall not whet me to your purpoſe: and if ye knewe how litle I do ſet by thys vnlouing and indiſcrete behauiour of yours, ye would not vſe it vpon me. And I ſhall tel you, (quoth I) if I were not bridled, and had other reſpectes, both to the kynges hyghnes my ſoueraigne Lorde, and alſo to other that may commaund me, I would haue told your ere this tyme, my mynde after an other ſorte. Tell me, quoth he? toorde in your teeth. Well my Lord (quoth I) ye would, I perceyue by you and by your woordes, prouoke me to ſpeake as vndiſcretly and * bedlemly, as ye do. But ſurely ye ſhal not, how ſoeuer ye ſhall ſpeake. But this will I tell you, I ſhall ſhew how I am hãdled of you. Mary ſpare not (quoth he). Well my Lord (quoth I) you haue here full wel playde ẏ part of a Biſhop, & it is great ioy of you, that with this your furious anger & choler.

choler, ye cã make all the cõpany here about you, to be aſhamed of you, as I am ſure they are. And for my part, if ye your ſelfe be not aſhamed, or commyng to your ſelfe (for now your anger is ſuch ỷ you heare not your ſelf) be not diſpleaſed, I ſhall be aſhamed and pitie this your doyng without wiſedome, and the oftẽner you vſe this maner, the more ſhall it be to your diſhoneſty.

All the company aſhamed of *Gardiners* talke.

Lo (quoth he) how fondly he ſpeaketh, as who ſayth, I were all in ỷ blame. Wil you not heare (quoth he) this wiſe man? My Lord (quoth I) I would you could heare with indifferẽt eares, and ſee with indifferent eyes your ſelf. Ye haue made a brablyng here for nothing, & would that I ſhould giue you thankes for that thyng, which M. Thirleby hath done for me. I looke for no thankes of you (quoth hee) and ſayd withall looking ſpitefully, that he knewe me well enough, and that he was not deceiued in me. Well (quoth I) and me thinke I know you well enough too, wherefore as ye ſay you are not deceiued in me, ſo I truſt I will not be deceiued by you. But I pray you Syr (quoth I) bicauſe ye ſay ye knowe me well enough, and that ye be not deceiued in me, how doe you know me? for honeſt and true, or otherwiſe? If you do, ſay it, and I ſhall make aunſwere.

Brabling for nothing.

The ſpitefull lokes of *Wincheſter.*

I could not driue him to aunſwere hereunto, ſo that I ſuppoſe, either of his own naughtie nature he hath made me an Image after his owne fantaſie, or elles beleued the report of ſuch in conditions, as he is him ſelfe, who in malice, I ſuppoſe, and diſdaine may bee compared to to the deuill in hell, not giuing place to him in pride at all. In communicatiõ he repeted oft the prouiſion of the thouſand crownes. I told him they went in my diettes, and that it would be a good while, afore they were come out: and further I ſayd, ỷ ſeing they had ben ſimpliciter giuẽ to me, I would neuer thanke him for them, but the kings highnes: and I ſaid, that if they were xx. thouſãd, he ſhould breake ſo many ſleepes afore hee ſhoulde haue any part therof, intreating me as he did. Well (quoth he) you haue thẽ. That is trouth (quoth I) & nothing thankfull to you.

Stephen Gardiner for malice and diſdayne and pride, compared by *Boner* to the deuill of hell.

Why then (quoth hee) ſeyng you haue here diuerſe thinges of M. Thirlebyes, and all other thinges are parabilia pecunia, which you haue, ye may make therby good prouiſion for your ſelf. That is trouth (quoth I) and that can I and will do, thoughe ye tell me not, ſeyng I haue nothyng of you, and afore this, had prouided at Lyons for all thinges neceſſarie, if ye without neceſſitie had not made that great haſt to departe thẽce, enforcing me therby to folow you. And yet (quoth I) one thing may I tell you: ye are very deſirous I ſhould be prouided well for, as appeareth in that you haue taken away at Lyons one horſe that Frãuces had prouided for me, and alſo your ſeruaunt Mace hauyng a horſe to ſell & knowyng my nede, by your conſent hath ſold his horſe to a ſtraunger, rather then he would ſell him to me, ſo that nothing ſufferyng me to haue of you, and takyng away that prouiſiõ which I make & go about to make, you wel declare how hartely you deſire I ſhould bee prouided for. In faith (quoth he) chooſe you, ye may prouide and you will, and ſeyng your iourney hether from Lyons is vaine, you may thether returne againe & make there prouiſiõ for your ſelfe. I thought (quoth hee) departing from Lyons, to haue made eaſie iourneys, and to haue folowed the Court till you had come, and now come you ſquirtyng in poſt, and trouble all. I came foorth in poſt (quoth I) by the commaundement of the king my maiſter, and had libertie to returne at pleaſure by his graces letters, and ſeing that I had no horſes for the iourney, me thought better to ride in poſt, then go a foote. Well (quoth he) I will not departe hence this xij. moneth, except ye be otherwiſe prouided. Prouided (quoth I?) I muſt tarie, till I may be prouided for horſes, if ye ſpeake of that prouiſiõ: and ſeing that this riding in poſt greueth you, it cauſeth me to thinke you are loth to depart, and angry that I ſhal ſuccede you. I haue here already ij. gownes, and a veluet Iacket, ſo that you ſhall not be letted an houre by me.

Wincheſter putteth *Boner* to his ſhyftes for prouiſion.

The churliſhe dealyng of *Wincheſter.*

Wincheſter angry that *Boner* ſhould ſuccede him.

I tell you (quoth hee) ye ſhall otherwiſe prouide, or els I will not departe. For I tell you (quoth he) though ye care not for the kings honour, but wretchedly do liue with x. ſhillinges a day, as ye did in yonder partes, you and your companion, I muſt & will conſider the kinges honour. And I tel you agayn (quoth I) I will & do cõſider ỷ kinges honour as much as ye at any time will do, & as ſorie will be that it ſhould be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea and I ſay more to you (quoth I) thoughe ye may ſpẽde far aboue me, I ſhall not ſticke if any thing be to be ſpẽde for ỷ kinges honour, to ſpend as liberallie as you, ſo long as other I haue it, or cã get it to ſpẽd. And who ſoeuer enformed you of the wretchednes and ſpending ſcarcely of my companion and me in the partes where we haue bene, made a falſe lye, and ye ſhewe your wiſedome full well in ſo lightlye beleuyng and rehearſing ſuch a tale.

I cã not tell (quoth he) but this was opẽly rehearſed by M. Brians ſeruaunts at my table. Yea was (quoth I?) Yea mary was it (quoth he). Now by my trouth (quoth I) then was the faire that was beſtowed vpon them, very well caſt away. For of my fidelitie, that weeke that M. Brian and his ſeruauntes were with vs at Villa Franca, it coſt my companion and me xxv. li. in the charges of the houſe. This they ſay (quoth he.) Yea (quoth I) and therin they lye. And here I ſhewed him, that being well ſetled at Nyce, and hauing made there good and honeſt prouiſiõ to our no litle charges, M. Wyat would not reſt, till he had gotten vs to Villa Franca, where euen vppon the firſt word of M. Heynes, he was right well content to take of vs xx. ſhillinges by the day. Whiche was not duryng x. dayes: where at his comming to vs to Nyce, him ſelfe and al his ſeruaunts, and then tarying with vs ij. daies, we tooke not one peny of him. And moreouer, at the departing of M. Wyat frõ Villa Frãca, in poſt into England, we founde our ſelues, our ſeruauntes, all M. Wyates ſeruauntes to the nomber of xvi, all his acquaintaunce, whiche dinner and ſupper continually came to vs, ſome times xij. ſomtimes, x. & whẽ they were leaſt, vj. or viij. and for this, had not one peny of M. Wyat, and yet at our comming from Barcelone, where we taried about viij. dayes, we gaue to M. Wyat xxviij. li. and to his ſeruãtes v. li. beſides xl. ſhillinges that priuatly I gaue to ſome being of gentle faſhion out of mine owne purſe: ſo that I told him, it was neither M. Wyat, ne Maſon that found vs and our ſeruauntes, but we payed for the finding of them, and here it chaunced to vs to haue all the charge & other men to haue all the thankes.

Wincheſter reproued to his face of falſe ſlaunder.

The Biſhop whẽ he heard this, was amazed & ſtode ſtill, finally ſaying: By my trouth (quoth he) I tell you as it was told me, and M. Doctour here can tel whether it was ſo or no. Yea & I will tel you more (quoth he) they ſaid that M. Heynes would haue ben more liberall a great deale, if you had not bene. Now by my trouth (quoth I) I ſhall therin make M. Heynes him ſelfe iudge thereof, who can beſt tell what cõmunication hath bene betwene him and me therin.

Thinking that this communication had driuen the other matters out of the Biſhops wilde head, I held my peace, and by and by, was he in hand agayne with them as faſt as euer he was. My Lord (quoth I) I deſired ere while, your lordſhip to make an end of this communication, wherin the longer ye talke, the more ye make me beleue that ye would, where ye haue ſpoken vndiſcretly, yea & vnkyndly, not regarding the kinges letters, with multitude of wordes and great countenaunce, I ſhould think ye had not done amiſſe: but ſurely you loſe your labour, for ye ſhall neuer make me thinke that ye are deſirous to do me pleaſure, neyther for myne owne ſake, nor for the kings. For if your wordes be well wayed, I haue as much of you in dede for myne owne ſake, as I haue for the kinges ſake, that is nothing at all. Here both of vs were talking together, but I held on ſtill, and euer enforced hym to this: My Lord (quoth I) this is the thing that I ſhall onely deſire of you: that where the kynges grace hath here in the Frenche Court diuers affaires (as I take it) ye would therin inſtructe me of the ſtate thereof, and giue me your beſt counſell and aduiſe: and this I proteſte vnto you, that if ye this will do: I will attentlie heare you, and if ye will not, I ſhall with payne heare you in your other thinges, but I will make no aunſwere at all.

The biſhop of *VVincheſters* wilde heade.

VVincheſter regarded not the kings letters.

For all this, the Biſhop ended not, but in concluſion, when he ſawe by no meanes that he could induce me to aunſwere, he returned homwardes, and I brought him to his lodging and chãber. It being dinner time, and all thinges prouided, and ſtãding afore him, and he turning his backe from me into a wyndow, I at his turning towardes me againe, put of my bonet, & ſaid: God be with you my Lord. He gaue no aũſwere to me at all, nor cõtenaunce, but ſuffred me to go. Whereupon, returnyng to my lodging, which was in M. Thirlebies chamber, I cauſed my dinner to be prouided, & when it was almoſt ready, the Byſhops ſteward called Myrrell came for me, (whether ſent from the Biſhop or not, I cã not tell) and I told him, my dinner was prouided for, & withall, that my Lord his maſter had giuen me ſuch a breakefaſt, that

Boner out ſcoulded by *VVincheſter*, and driuen to ſilence.

Doct. Boner taketh his leaue of *Wincheſter.*

I neede

I nede no dinner nor ſupper, and ſo the Steward drinking with me, returned againe, & I went to dinner in M. Thirlebyes lodging: and after dinner I went to the Byſhops lodging, who at my comming, very gently put of his bonet, and ſo we walked together quietly a while, & ſhortly after, the Biſhop begã after this maner: M. Boner, to day we commoned of prouiſion for you, and becauſe ye ſhall laye no blame vppon me, I will tell you what I will do for you. I will prouide your mules, mulettes, horſes, ſeruauntes, money, yea & all thinges that ſhalbe neceſſarie. My Lord (quoth I) here is a large offer and a great kindnes come vppon you. I meruell (quoth I) that I could heare nothing of this, to day in ẏ morning. I tell you (quoth hee) this will I do, for know you that I will conſider the kinges honor and pleaſure, & doubt not but the king will pay me againe. My Lord (quoth I) I haue ſent my ſeruaunt already to Lyons, to make prouiſion for me, and I haue ſent other abroad here in the towne and countrey, to do the ſame: ye ſhall neuer nede to trouble your ſelfe herewith. I will (quoth he.) You ſhall not ſay an other day, ẏ ye could not be prouided for. My Lord (quoth I) let me haue inſtructions in the kinges matters, and as for other thinges, I ſhal not aſke of you, becauſe this day ye made me ſo plaine aunſwere. After much communication, I departed from him louingly, telling him that I would bee at Terrara that night where he entended to be lodged. And ſo the Biſhop bidding me faire well, tooke ſoone after, his horſe riding to Terrara to bead.

Winchesters good will, come vpon him at laſt.

VVinchesters offer to *Boner* refuſed.

VVinchester and *Boner* depart.

And by the way I ouertoke him, & paſſing by, doing my duetie to him and his companie, I came to Terrara lodging at the poſt houſe, & euẽ as the Biſhop came into the towne, ſtode at ẏ poſt houſe dore: To whõ ẏ Biſhop ſaid, we ſhal ſee you ſoone M. Boner. Yea my Lord (quoth I) thinking that therby he had deſired me to ſupper, & at ſupper time I went to his lodging, hauing other to eate my ſupper at home, and glad he appeared to be, that I was come, making mery communication all ſupper while, but nothing at all yet ſpeaking to me, or giuing any thing to me, ſauing at the comming of the fruite, he gaue me a peare, I trowe, bicauſe I ſhould remember mine owne countrey. After ſupper he walked, taking M. Thirleby with him. And I walked with an Italian beyng Ambaſſadour for the Countie Mirandula, & after a good ſpace, we returned and bad the Biſhop good night.

An other meting of *VVinchester* and *Boner*.

Boner ſeemeth by this Peare to be a Worceſter ſhyre man.

I did not after that night, dine nor ſuppe with the Biſhop, till he came to Burges in Berry, where, vpõ the depeach of Fraunces, and cloſing vp of our letters ſent to the kinges highnes, the ſupper was ſo prouided and ſet vpõ the borde, and the Biſhop in waſhing, ſtanding ſo betwene me and the doore that I could not get out: and there would he nedes that I ſhould waſh with him and ſuppe: and I ſuppoſe, all the waye from Barella to Bloys, he talked not aboue foure times with me, and at euery tyme, ſauing at Molyns (where he by mouth told me ſomwhat of the kinges affaires here in Fraunce) and at Vieronne, (when he anſwering to my requeſtes in writing, deliuered me his boke of his owne hand for mine inſtructions, the copie whereof is now ſent here withall) there was quicke communication betwene vs. His talking by ẏ way was with M. Thirleby, who, I thinke, knoweth a great deale of his doing, and will, if he be the man I take him for, tell it playnely to your Lordſhip. I my ſelf was out of *credence with the Biſhop, not being appliable to his maners and deſires.

The ſtraungenes betwene *Winchester* and *Boner*.

Winchesters booke of inſtructions to *Boner*.

Thirleby and Winchester great together.

*Why *Boner* was out of credite with *Winchester*.

And ſurely, as M. Thirleby tolde me, at his firſt comming to Lyons, and then ſpeaking with the Biſhop, the Biſhop ſemed to bee ſo well content to returne, and ſo glad of his comming to ſuccede him, that his fleſh in his face began all to trẽble, and yet would the Biſhop make men beleue that hee would gladly come home. Whiche thing, beleue it who will, I will neuer beleue: for euer he was loking for letters out of England from M. Wallop, and M. Brian, whom he taketh for his great frendes: and M. Wyat him ſelfe rekened, that the Biſhop ſhould haue come into Spayne, or els my Lorde of Durham, ſo that the Biſhop of winchester euer coueted to protracte the tyme, deſiryng yet withall, to haue ſome ſhadowe to excuſe and hyde him ſelfe, as taryng at Barella, he made excuſe by my not comming to Lyons, and commyng to Varennes & there hearing by the Ambaſſadours of the Venetians a flying tale of the goyng of the Frenche kyng towardes Bayone to mete the Emperour, by & by he ſayd: loe where is maiſter diligẽce now? If he were now here (as thẽ I was that night) we would to the Court & preſent him, & take our leaue. But when, I in the mornyng was vp afore him, and ready to horſe, he was nothyng haſtie. No, cõming to Molyns afore him & there taryng for him, the Frenche kyng lying at Schauenna, three ſmall leages of, hee made not halfe the ſpede and haſt that hee pretended.

VVinchesters fleſhe trembled at the fyrſt comming of *D. Thirleby* to ſuccede him.

Winchester loth to returne into Englãd.

Boner called Maiſter diligence.

I miſlike in the Biſhop of winchester, that he cã not be content that any ioyned in cõmiſſion with him, ſhould kepe houſe, but to be at his table. Wherein either hee ſearcheth thereby a vayne glory and pride to him ſelfe, with ſome diſhonour to the kyng, as who ſayth, there were among all the kynges Ambaſſadours, but one hable to mainteyne a table, and that were hee: either els he doth the ſame for an euill entent & purpoſe to bring them therby into his daunger, that they ſhall ſay and do as liketh him alone, whiche I ſuppoſe verilie hath bene his entẽt.

The. i. compla

VVinche ſter

be alone

I miſlike in the ſayd Byſhop, that where hee for hys own pompe and glory, hath a great nomber of ſeruaũts in their veluets and ſilkes, with their chaynes about their neckes, and kepeth a coſtlie table, with exceſſiue fare and excedyng expenſes many other wayes: hee doth ſay, and is not aſhamed to report, that he is ſo commaunded to do by the kinges grace, and that is his aunſwere commonly, when his frendes telleth him of hys great charges, and ſo vnder colour of the kinges commaundement and honour, hee hideth his pride, whiche is here diſdayned.

The

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Winche ſter.

I miſlike in the ſayd Biſhop, that he hauing priuate hatred agaynſt a man, will rather ſatiſfie his owne ſtomacke and affection, hynderyng & neglectyng the kings affayres, then relentyng in any part of his ſturdy and ſtubburne will, giue familiare and harty counſaile (wherby the kinges highnes matters and buſines may bee aduaunced and ſet forth) to him that hee taketh for hys aduerſarie.

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I miſlike in the ſayd Biſhop, that he euer continually here in this Court of Fraunce, made incomparablie more of the Emperours, kyng of Portugalles, Venitians, and Duke of Ferraries Ambaſſadours, then of any Frenchmen in the Court, whiche with his pride cauſed them to diſdeine hym, and to thinke that he fauored not the Frenche kyng, but was Imperiall:

The b.

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Winche ſter ſu

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Imperia

I miſlike in the Biſhop, that there is ſo great familiaritie and acquaintaunce, yea and ſuch mutuall confidẽce betwene the ſaid Byſhop and M. as naughtye a felowe, and as very a Papiſte as any that I know, where hee dare expreſſe it. The Byſhop in his letters to M. Wyat euer ſendeth ſpeciall commendations to Maſon, and yet refuſeth to ſend any to M. Heynes and me, beyng with M. Wyat, as we perceiued by the ſayd letters. And Maſon maketh ſuch foundation of the Biſhop, that he thinketh there is none ſuch. And he telled me at Villa Franca, that the Biſhop, vppon a tyme, when hee had fallen out with Germaine, ſo truſted him, that wepyng and ſobbing he came vnto him, deſiryng and praying him that hee would ſpeake with Germaine and reconcile him, ſo that no wordes were ſpoken of it, and what the matter was, hee would not tell me. That young folowe Germaine knoweth all, and Preſton whiche is ſeruaunt to the Byſhop of winchester ſhewed me one night in my chãber at Bloys after ſupper, that Germaine is euer buſy in ſhewyng the kynges letters to ſtraungers, and that hee hym ſelfe hath giuen him warning therof. This thing Preſton tolde me the night before that ẏ Byſhop departed hence, and when I would haue more of him therin, he conſideryng how the Byſhop and I ſtode, kept him more cloſe and would ſay no further.

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In this declaration of Doct. Edmund Boner ſent to the Lord Cromwell aboue prefixed, diuers thinges we haue to note: Fyrſt as touching Steuen Gardiner, Byſhop of Wint. here we haue a playne demonſtration of his vile nature, and peſtilent pride, ioyned with malice, and diſdayne intolerable: wherof worthely cõplayneth Doct. Boner aforeſayd, ſhewing. 6. ſpeciall cauſes, why and wherfore he miſliketh that perſon, according as he was wylled before by the kings cõmaundement, ſo to do.

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2. Secondly, in the ſaid Steuen Wint. this we haue alſo to note and vnderſtand, that as he here declareth a ſecret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in hys boke De obedientia) to papiſtrie, ioynyng parte and ſide with ſuch as were knowen Papiſtes:

Steuen Gardin

reuolte

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piſtes: ſo hee ſemeth lykewiſe to beare a lyke ſecrete grudge agaynſt the Lord Cromwell, and all ſuch whō ſoeuer he fauoured.

3. Thirdly, as concernyng the forenamed Doct. Edmund Boner the author of this declaration, here is to be ſéene & noted, that he all this while appeared a good man, and diligent frende to the truth, and that he was fauoured of the Lord Cromwell for the ſame.

4. Fourthly, that the ſayd Doct. Boner was not onely fauoured of the Lord Cromwell, but alſo by hym was aduaunced fyrſt, to the office of legation, then to the Biſhoprike of Hereford, and laſtly to the Byſhoprike of London, whom the ſayed Doct. Boner in his letters agniſeth and confeſſeth to be hys only Patrone, and ſingular Mecęnas.

5. Which being ſo, we haue in this ſaid D. Boner, greatly to merueill, what ſhould be yͤ cauſe, that he, ſeing all his ſettyng vp, makyng, & preferring, came only by the Goſpell and by them of the Goſpels ſide, he being then ſo hated of Steuen Gardiner and ſuch as he was, beyng alſo at that tyme ſuch a furtherer & defender of the Goſpel (as appeared both by hys Preface before Garners booke De obedientia, and by hys wrytynges to the Lord Cromwell, alſo by helping forward the printed Bibels at Parys) could euer be a man ſo vngratfull and vnkind, afterward to ioyne part with the ſayd Ste. Gardiner agaynſt the Goſpell (without yͤ which Goſpell, he had neuer come to be Biſhop, neyther of Hereford nor yet of London) and nowe to abuſe yͤ ſame Biſhopricke of London to perſecute that ſo vehemently, which before ſo openly he defended. Wherin the ſame may wel be ſaid to him in this caſe, that he himſelf was reported once to ſay to the French kyng in the cauſe of Grancetor: to wytte, that he had done therin agaynſt God, agaynſt his honour, agaynſt iuſtice, agaynſt reaſon, agaynſt honeſtie, agaynſt frendſhip, agaynſt hys owne promiſe and hys othe ſo often made, agaynſt his own doctrine and iudgement, which then he profeſſed, agaynſt all truth, agaynſt the treates and leagues betwene hym and his ſetters vp, and againſt al together, and to conclude, againſt the ſaluation of his own ſoule, which would God he woulde haue ſome mercy vpon, although he hath ſhewed lytle mercy vnto others.

But to referre this to the booke of hys accomptes who ſhall iudge one day all things vprightly, let vs procede further in the continue of this Doct. Boners Legation. Who beyng nowe Ambaſſadour in the court of France (as ye haue heard) had gyuē in commiſſion frō the king, to entreate with the French kyng for ſondry poyntes, as for the printing of the newe Teſtament in Engliſh, and the Bible at Parys: alſo for ſclaunderous preachers, and malicious ſpeakers agaynſt the kyng: for goods of merchants takē and ſpoyled: for the kings penſion to bee payed: for the matters of the Duke of Suffolke: for certein priſoners in France: Item, for Grancetor the traytour, and certein other rebelles to be ſent into England. &c. Touching all which affayres, the ſayd Doctour Boner dyd employe hys diligence and trauaile to the good ſatiſfaction and contentment of the kynges mynde, and diſcharge of his dutie, in ſuch ſort as no default could be found in hym, ſaue only that the French kyng one tyme toke diſpleaſure with hym, for that the ſayd Boner, being nowe made Byſhoppe of Hereford, and bearing hym ſelfe ſomewhat more ſeriouſlye and boldlye before the kynge in the cauſe of Grancetor the traytour (wherin he was willed by the aduertiſement of the kynges pleaſure, to wade more depely and inſtantly) vſed theſe wordes to the French kyng (as the French kyng hymſelf dyd afterward reporte them) ſaying, that he had done in deliueraunce of that forſayde Grancetor beyng an Engliſhman, againſt God, againſt his honour, againſt iuſtice, againſt reaſon, againſt honeſtie, againſt frendſhipe, againſt all lawe, againſt the treates and leagues betwene hym and his brother the kyng of England, yea and agaynſt all together. &c. Theſe wordes of Biſhop Boner, although he denyeth to haue ſpoken them in that forme and qualitie, yet howſoeuer they were ſpokē, dyd ſtyrre vp the ſtomacke of the French kyng to conceyue high diſpleaſure agaynſt hym, in ſo much that hee aunſwering the Lord Ambaſſadour agayn, bad him write theſe 3. thinges vnto hys maiſter.

The French king diſpleaſed with biſhop *Boner*.

Biſhop *Boner* bydden to wryte to the king his maiſter 3. things.

Firſt, among other thinges, that hys Ambaſſadour was a great foole.

Secondarely, that he cauſed to be done better iuſtice there in his realme in one houre, then they dyd in England in a whole yeare.

Thirdly, that if it were not for the loue of his maiſter, hee ſhould haue an hundreth ſtrokes with an Haulbard. &c.

And furthermore, the ſayd French king beſide this, ſendyng a ſpeciall meſſenger with his letters to yͤ kyng of England, willed him to reuoke & call this Ambaſſadour home, & to ſend him an other. The cauſe why the Frenche kyng toke theſe wordes of Byſhop Boner ſo to ſtomacke (as the L. Chauncelour ſayd) was this, for that the kynges of Fraunce ſtanding chiefly, and in maner, onely vpon their honour, can ſuffer that, in no caſe to be touched. Otherwiſe in thoſe wordes (if they had bene wel takē) was not ſo much blame perchaūce, as boldnes, beyng ſpoken ſomwhat vehemently in his maſters behalfe. But this one thyng ſemeth to me much blame worthy, both in this Byſhop and many other, that they in earthly matters and to pleaſe terrene kynges, will put forth them ſelues to ſuch a boldnes and forwardnes: and in Chriſtes cauſe the kyng of all kyngs, whoſe cauſe they ſhoulde onely attende vppon and tender, they are ſo remiſſe, cold, and cowardly.

Biſhops commonly bolder in Princes matters, then in the cauſe of Chriſt.

To theſe letters of the Frenche kyng, the kyng of England ſent aunſwere agayne by other letters, in which he reuoked and called home agayne Byſhop Boner, giuyng vnto him about the ſame tyme, the Byſhoprike of London, and ſent in ſupplie of his place, Syr Iohn Wallop, a great frend to Ste. Gardiner. Whiche was in February, about the begynnyng of yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1540. Here nowe foloweth the othe of Boner to the king, when he was made biſhop of London.

¶The othe of Doct. Edmund Boner, when he was made Byſhop of London, agaynſt the Pope of Rome.

Ye ſhall neuer conſent nor agree that the Byſhop of Rome ſhal practiſe, exerciſe, or haue any maner of authoritie, iuriſdiction, or power within this Realme or any other the kynges dominion, but that you ſhall reſiſte the ſame at all tymes, to the vttermoſt of your power: and that from henceforth ye ſhall accepte, repute, and take the kynges maieſtie to be the onely ſupreme head in earth of the Churche of England, and that to your cunnyng, witte, & vttermoſt of your power, without guyle, fraude, or other vndue meane, ye ſhall obſerue, kepe, mainteyne, and defend the whole effectes and contentes of all and ſingular Actes & ſtatutes made and to be made within this Realme, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguiſhment of the Byſhop of Rome and his authoritie, and all other Actes and ſtatutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the kynges power of ſupreme hede in earth of the Churche of England, and this ye ſhall do agaynſt all maner of perſons, of what eſtate, dignitie, degree, or cōdition they be, and in no wiſe do, nor attempt, nor to your power, ſuffer to bee done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or thynges, priuely or appertly, to the lette, hinderaunce, dammage, or derogation therof, or of any part therof, by any maner of meanes or for any maner of pretenſe: And in caſe any othe bee made or hath bene made by you to any perſon or perſons in maintenaunce or fauour of the Byſhop of Rome or his authoritie, iuriſdiction, or power, ye repute the ſame as vaine and adnichilate, ſo helpe you God, &c.

Doct. Boners othe agaynſt the Pope.

In fidem præmiſſorum ego Edmundus Boner, electus & confirmatus Londonenſis Epiſcopus, huic præſenti chartæ ſubſcripſi.

Eccleſiaſticall matters. an. 1538.

The king and his counſaile bearing with the weakenes of the people.

It wilbe iudged, that I haue lyngred peraduenture to much in theſe outward affaires of Princes and Ambaſſadours. Wherfore, leauyng with theſe by matters perteinyng to ẏ Ciuill ſtate a while, I mynde (the Lord willyng) to put my ſtory in order agayne of ſuch occurrentes as belong vnto the Church, firſt ſhewyng ſuch iniunctions & Articles, as were deuiſed & ſet forth by ẏ king, for ẏ behouſe of his ſubiectes. Wherin firſt is to be vnderſtanded, that the kyng, whē he had taken the title of ſupremacie from the Byſhop of Rome, and had tranſlated the ſame to him ſelfe, and was now a full Prince in his owne realme, although hee well perceiued, by the wiſedome and aduiſe of the Lord Cromwell and other of his counſaile, that the corrupt ſtate of the Church had nede of reformatiō in many things: yet becauſe he ſaw how ſtubborne and vntowarde the hartes of many Papiſtes were to be brought frō theyr old perſuaſiōs and cuſtomes, and what buſines he had with thē, only about ẏ matter of ẏ Popes title, he durſt not by and by reforme all at once (whiche notwithſtandyng had ben to be wiſhed) but leading them faire and ſoftely, as he might, proceded by litle and litle, to bryng greater purpoſes to perfection (whiche hee no doubt would haue done, if the Lord Cromwell had lyued) and therefore firſt hee began with a litle booke of Articles (partly aboue touched) bearyng this title. *Articles deuiſed by the kinges highnes, to ſtable Chriſten quietnes and vnitie among the people &c.*

The boke of articles deuiſed by the king for quietnes of the people. &c.

Articles deuiſed by the King.

Of iij. ſacraments.

In ẏ contentes of which booke, firſt be ſet forth ẏ Articles of our Chriſtiā Crede, whiche are neceſſarely and expreſſely to bée beleued of all men. Then with the kynges Preface going before, foloweth the declaration of iij. Sacramētes: to witte, of Baptiſme, of Penance, and of the Sacrament of the Aultar. In the tractation wherof, he altereth nothyng from the olde trade receaued heretofore from the Churche of Rome.

Of iuſtification.

Further then, procedyng to the order and cauſe of our iuſtification, he declareth, that ẏ only mercy & grace of the father promiſed frely vnto vs for his ſonnes ſake Ieſu Chriſt, and the merites of his Paſſion and bloud, be the onely ſufficient and worthy cauſes of our iuſtificatiō: yet good workes with inwarde cōtrition, hope, and charitie, and all other ſpiritual graces and motiōs, be neceſſarily required, and muſt nedes concurre alſo in remiſſion of our ſinnes, that is, our iuſtificatiō: and afterwarde we beyng iuſtified, muſt alſo haue good workes of charitie, and obedience towardes God, in the obſeruyng and fulfillyng outwardly of hys lawes and commaundementes. &c.

Of images.

As touchyng Images, hee wylleth all Biſhops and preachers to teach the people in ſuch ſorte, as they may know, how they may vſe them ſafely in Churches, and not abuſe them to Idolatry, as thus: that they be repreſenters of vertue & good example, and alſo by occaſion, may be ſtyrrers of mens myndes, and make thē to remember them ſelues, and to lament their ſinnes: and ſo farre he permitteth them to ſtand in Churches. But otherwiſe, for auoiding of Idolatrie, he chargeth all byſhops and preachers diligently to inſtructe the people, that they committe no Idolatrie vnto them, in ſenſing of them, in knelyng and offeryng to them, with other lyke worſhyppynges, whiche ought not to be done, but onely to God.

Of honoring of Saintes.

And likewiſe for honoryng of Saintes, the Biſhops and preachers be commaunded to informe the people, how Saintes hence departed ought to bee reuerenced and honored, and how not. That is, that they are to bée prayſed and honored as the elect ſeruauntes of Chriſt, or rather Chriſt to be prayſed in them for their excellēt vertues plāted in them, & for their good example left to vs, teachyng vs to lyue in vertue and goodnes, and not to feare to dye for Chriſt, as they did: and alſo as aduauncers of our prayers, in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any ſuch honour to be giuen vnto thē, which is onely due to God: And ſo forth chargyng the ſayd ſpiritual perſons to teach their flocke that all grace & remiſſion of ſinnes, & ſaluation, can no otherwiſe be obteined, but of God only, by ẏ mediation of our Sauiour Chriſt, who is onely a ſufficient mediatour for our ſinnes: and that all grace and remiſſion of ſinne muſt procede onely by mediation of Chriſt and no other.

From that, he commeth further to ſpeake of rites & ceremonies in Chriſtes Church, as in hauyng veſtiments vſed in Gods ſeruice, ſprinklyng of holy water, giuyng of holy bread, bearing of cādles on Candlemas day, takyng of aſhes, bearyng of Palmes, creppyng to the Croſſe, ſettyng vp the Sepulcher, hallowyng of the founte, with other lyke cuſtomes, rites, & ceremonies. All whiche old rites and cuſtomes, the foreſayd booke doth not by and by repeale, but ſo farre admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remēbraunce of ſpirituall things: but ſo, that the people withall muſt be inſtructed, how the ſayd ceremonies conteyne in them no ſuch power, to remitte ſinne, but onely that to be referred vnto God, by whom onely our ſinnes be forgiuen vs.

And ſo concludyng with Purgatory, hee maketh an end of thoſe Articles, thus ſaying therof: that becauſe the booke of Machabées aloweth praying for ſoules departed, he therfore diſproueth not that ſo laudable a cuſtome, ſo long continued in the Church. But becauſe there is no certeine place named, nor kynde of paynes expreſſed in Scripture, he therfore thinketh neceſſarie ſuch abuſes clearely to be put away, whiche vnder the name of Purgatory, haue bene aduaunced: as to make men beleue, that by the Byſhop of Romes pardons, or by Maſſes ſayd, at Scala cœli, or other where, in any place or before any Image, ſoules might clearly be deliuered out of Purgatory, and from the paynes therof to be ſent ſtraight to heauē, and ſuch other like abuſes. &c.

And theſe were the contentes of that booke of Articles deuiſed, and paſſed by the kynges authoritie, a litle before the ſtyrre of Lyncolnſhyre & Yorkeſhyre. Wherin, although there were many & great imperfections & vntrouthes not to bee permitted in any true reformed Church: yet notwithſtandyng, the kyng and his counſaile to beare with the weakelynges, which were newly weyned frō their mothers mylke of Rome, thought it might ſerue ſomewhat for the tyme, in ſtede of a litle begynnyng, till better might come.

And ſo conſequently, not long after theſe Articles thus ſet forward, certeine other Iniunctions were alſo giuen out about the ſame yeare. 1536. wherby a nūber of holy daies were abrogated, and ſpecially ſuch as fell in the haruest time: the kepyng of whiche redounded greatly to the hynderaunce of gatheryng in theyr corne, hay, fruite, and other ſuch like neceſſarie commodities. The copie and tenour of whiche Iniunctiōs I haue alſo hereunto annexed, as vnder foloweth.

The kinges Iniunctions.

Foraſmuch as the nomber of holy dayes is ſo exceſſiuely growen, & yet dayly more and more by mēs deuotion, yea rather ſuperſtition, was lyke further to increaſe, that the ſame was and ſhould be not only preiudiciall to the common weale, by reaſon that it is occaſion aſwell of much ſlouth and idlenes, the very nourſe of théeues, vagaboundes, and of diuers other vnthriftines and inconueniences, as of decay of good miſteries & Artes profitable and neceſſarie for the common wealth, and loſſe of mans foode, many times being cleane diſtroyed through the ſuperſtitious obſeruance of the ſayd holydayes, in not takyng the oportunitie of good and ſerene weather, offered vpō the ſame in tyme of harueſt, but alſo pernicious to the ſoules of many men, which (beyng entiſed by the licencious vacation and libertie of thoſe holydayes) do vpon the ſame, commonly vſe and practiſe more exceſſe, riot, and ſuperfluitie,

tie, then vpon any other dayes. And ſith the Sabboth day was vſed ⁊ ordeined, but for mans vſe, ⁊ therfore ought to geue place to the neceſſitie and behouſe of the ſame whenſoeuer that ſhall occurre, much rather any other holyday inſtitute by man: It is therefore by the kynges highnes authoritie as ſupreme head in earth of the Churche of England, with the common aſſent and conſent of the Prelates and Clergy of this hys Realme, in conuocation lawfully aſſembled and congregate, amongeſt other thynges decreed, ordeined and eſtabliſhed:

Firſt, that the feaſt of dedication of Churches ſhall in all places through out this Realme, be celebrate and kept on the firſt Sonday of the moneth of October, for euer, and vpon none other day.

Itẽ, ẏ the feaſt of the patron of euery Church within this Realme, called cõmonly the Church holyday, ſhall not frõ hence forth be kept or obſerued as a holyday, as heretofore hath bene vſed, but that it ſhalbe lawfull to all and ſingular perſons reſident or dwellyng within this Realme, to go to their worke, occupatiõ or miſtery and the ſame truly to exerciſe and occupy vpon the ſaid feaſt, as vppon any other worke day: except the ſayd feaſt of Churche holyday be ſuch as muſt bee elles vniuerſally obſerued and kept as a holyday by this ordinaunce folowyng.

Alſo that all thoſe feaſtes or holydayes, whiche ſhall happen to fall or occurre either in the harueſt tyme, whiche is to be counted from the firſt day of July, vnto the xxix. day of September, or els in the terme tyme at Weſtminſter, ſhall not be kept, or obſerued from hẽceforth as holydayes, but that it may be lawfull for euery mã to go to his worke or occupation vpon the ſame, as vppon any other worke day: excepte allwayes the feaſtes of ẏ Apoſtles, of the bleſſed Virgin, ⁊ of Saint George: and alſo ſuch feaſtes as wherein the kynges highnes Judges at Weſtminſter doe not vſe to ſit in Judgement. All whiche ſhalbe kept holy and ſolemne of euery mã, as in time paſt, haue ben accuſtomed: Prouided allwayes that it may be lawfull vnto all Prieſtes and Clerkes aſwell ſeculare as regular, in the foreſayd holydayes now abrogate, to ſing or ſay their accuſtomed ſeruice for thoſe holydayes, in their Churches: ſo as they do not the ſame ſolemnly nor do ryng to the ſame after the maner vſed in hygh holydayes, ne do cõmaunde, or indicte the ſame to bee kept or obſerued as holydayes.

Finally that the feaſtes of ẏ Natiuitie of our Lord, of Eaſter day, of the Natiuitie of S. John the Baptiſt, and of S. Michaell the Archaungell ſhalbe from hence forth counted, accepted, and taken for the foure generall offeryng dayes.

And for further declaration of the premiſſes, bee it knowen that Eaſter terme beginneth allwayes ẏ xviij. day after Eaſter day, reckening Eaſter day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Aſcenſion daye.

Trinitie terme begynneth allwayes the Wedenſday next after the Octaues of Trinitie Sõday, and endeth the xi. or xij. day of July.

Michaelmas terme begynneth the ix. or x. day of October, and endeth the xxviij. or xxix. day of Nouember.

Hilary terme begynneth the xxij. or xxiij. day of January and endeth the xj. or xij. day of February.

In Eaſter terme, vpon the Aſcenſion day: in Trinitie terme, vppon the Natiuitie of S. John Baptiſte: in Michaelmas terme, vpon Alhalow day: in Hilarye terme, vppon Candlemas daye, the kynges Judges at Weſtminſter, do not vſe to ſit in iudgement, nor vpon any Sonday.

After theſe Articles and Iniunctions thus giuẽ out by the kyng and his counſaile, then folowed moreouer (as tyme ſerued) other Iniunctions moe, concernyng Images, reliques, and blynd miracles, and for abrogatyng of Pilgremages deuiſed, by ſuperſtition, ⁊ mayntayned for luker ſake, alſo for the Pater noſter, Crede, and Gods Commaundementes, and the Bible to bee had in Engliſhe, with diuers other pointes moe neceſſary for Religion. The wordes of whiche Iniunctions here alſo enſue.

¶ Other Iniunctions geuen by the authoritie of the kynges hyghnes to the Clergie of this his Realme.

Other Iniunctions.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeare of our Lord God. 1536. and of the moſte noble reigne of our ſoueraigne Lorde Henry the eyght, kyng of England ⁊ of France, defendour of the faith, Lorde of Ireland, and in earth ſupreme head of the Church of England, the. xxviij. ⁊c. I Thomas Cromwell knyght, Lorde Cromwell, keper of the priuie Seale of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, and vicegerent to the ſame, for and concernyng all hys iuriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall within thys Realme, to the glory of almightie God, to the kinges highnes honour, the publike weale of thys Realme, and increaſe of vertue in the ſame: haue appoynted and aſſigned theſe Iniunctions enſuing, to be kept and obſerued of the Deane, Perſons, Vicares, Curates, and Stipendaries, reſident or hauing cure of ſoules, or any other ſpirituall adminiſtration within this Deanrye, vnder the paynes here after limited and appointed.

The firſt is, that the Deane, Perſons, Vicares, and other hauing cure of ſoule anye where within this Deanry, ſhal faithfully keepe ⁊ obſerue, ⁊ as farre as in them may lye, ſhall cauſe to be keept and obſerued of all other, all and ſingular lawes and ſtatutes of thys Realme, made for the aboliſhyng and extirpation of the biſhop of Romes pretenſed and vſurped power and iuriſdiction within this Realme, and for the ſtabliſhment and confirmation of the kynges authoritye and iuriſdiction within the ſame, as of the ſupreame head of the Church of England, ſhall to the vttermoſt of theyr wit, knowledge ⁊ learning, purely, ſincerely, and without anye colour or diſſimulation, declare, manifeſt, and open, by the ſpace of one quarter of a yeare now next enſuing, once euery Sondaye, and after at the leaſtwiſe, twiſe euerye quarter of a yeare, in their ſermones and other collations, that the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power and iuriſdiction, hauinge no eſtabliſhment, nor ground by the law of God, was of moſte iuſte cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, and that therfore they owe vnto him no manner of obedience or ſubiection, ⁊ that the kinges power is with in his dominion, the hygheſt potentate and power vnder God, to whome all men within the ſame dominion, by Gods commaundement, owe moſt loyaltie and obedience afore and aboue all other potentates in earth.

Confirmation of the kinges ſupremacie.

Agaynſt the Popes primacie.

Item, whereas certain Articles were lately deuiſed and put forth by the kinges highneſſe authoritye, and condeſcended vpon by the Prelates and Clergy of thys his Realme in conuocation (where of part were neceſſary to be holden and beleued for our ſaluation, and the other part do concerne and touch certain laudable ceremonies, rites, and vſages of the Church, meete and cõuenient to be keept and vſed for a decent and politike order in the ſame) the ſayd Deane, Perſones, Vicares, and other Curates, ſhall ſo open and declare in their ſermons and other collations, the ſayd Articles vnto them that be vnder theyr cure, that they may playnlye knowe and diſcerne whiche of them be neceſſary to be beleued and obſerued for their ſaluation, and which be not neceſſary, but onely do concerne the decent and politike order of the ſaid Church, according to ſuche commaundement and admonition, as hath bene geuẽ vnto them heretofore, by the authority of the kings highnes in that behalfe.

The kinges Articles to be read to the people.

Moreouer, that they ſhall declare vnto al ſuche as be vnder their cure, the Articles likewiſe deuiſed, put forthe and authoriſed of late, for and concerning the abrogation

gation of certayn ſuperſtitious holy daies, according to the effect and purport of the ſame Articles, & perſwade their pariſhoners to keepe and obſerue the ſame inuiolably, as thinges holſome, prouided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed by common conſent and publike authoritye for the weale, commodity, and profite of all this Realme.

Images aboliſhed.

Beſides this, to the intent that all ſuperſtition and hipocriſie crepte into diuers mennes hartes, maye vaniſhe awaye, they ſhall not ſet forth nor extoll any Images, Reliques, or miracles, for anye ſuperſtition or luker, nor allure the people by any intreatments, to the pilgrimages of any Saincts, otherwiſe then is permitted in the Articles lately put forthe by the authority of the kynges maieſtie, and condeſcended vppon by the Prelates and Cleargye of this his Realme in conuocatiō, as though it were proper or peculiar to that ſainct, to geue this cōmodity or that, ſeing all goodnes, health, and grace, ought to be both looked and aſked for, onely of God, as of the verye author of the ſame, and of none other, for without him it can not be geuen: but they ſhal exhorte aſwel their pariſhoners, as other pilgrims, that they do rather applie them ſelues to the keeping of Gods commaundements, and fulfilling of his workes of charitie, perſwading them that they ſhall pleaſe God more by the true exerciſing of theyr bodely labour, trauaile or occupation, and prouidyng for their families, then if they went about to the ſaid pilgrimages: and it ſhall profit more theyr ſoule health if they doe beſtowe that on the poore and needye, which they woulde haue beſtowed vppon the ſaid Images or reliques.

Pilgrimages forbidden.

Prayers in the mother tonge.

Alſo in the ſame their ſermons and other collations, the Perſons, Vicares, and other Curates aforeſaid, ſhall diligentlye admoniſhe the fathers and mothers, maiſters and gouernours of youth, being within theyr cure, to teach or cauſe to be taught, theyr children and ſeruauntes euen from theyr infancye, the Pater noſter, the Articles of our faith, and the ten commaundements in theyr mother tongue, & the ſame ſo taught, ſhal cauſe the ſaid youth oft to repeate and vnderſtand. And to the intent this may be the more eaſily done, the ſayd Curates ſhall in theyr ſermons deliberatlye and plainly recite of the ſayd Pater noſter, articles, or commaundements, one clauſe or article one daye, and an other an other daye, till the whole be taught and learned by litle and litle, and ſhall deliuer the ſame in writinge, or ſhew where printed bookes conteynyng the ſame, be to be ſolde to thē that can reade, or will deſire the ſame: and therto that the ſayd fathers and mothers, maſters and gouernours do beſtowe theyr children and ſeruaũtes euen from theyr childehode, eyther to learnyng, or to ſome honeſt exerciſe, occupation, or huſbandry, exhorting, counſailing, and by al the wayes and meanes they maye, as well in theyr ſayd ſermons and collations, as other wayes, the ſayed fathers, mothers, maiſters, and other gouernours beyng vnder theyr cure and charge, diligentlye to prouide and foreſee, that the ſayd youth be in no manner wyſe kepte or brought vp in idlenes, leſt at any tyme afterward, they be dryuen, for lacke of ſome myſterye or occupation to liue by, to fall to begginge, ſtealing, or ſome other vnthriftines, for aſmuch as we may daily ſee, through ſlouth and idlenes, diuers valiaunt men fal, ſome to begging, and ſome to thefte and murther, which after brought to calamity and miſery, impute a great parte therof to their frendes & gouernours, which ſuffred thē to be brought vp ſo idlely in their youth, where if they had bene educated and brought vp in ſome good literature, occupation, or myſterye, they ſhould (being rulers of their own family) haue profited as wel thē ſelues, as diuers other perſons, to the great commoditye and ornament of the common weale.

For bringing vp of youth in ſome arte or occupation.

Alſo that the ſayd Perſons, Vicares, and other Curates, ſhal diligently prouide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duelye and reuerentlye miniſtred in theyr pariſhes. And if at any tyme it happen them, other in any of the caſes expreſſed in the ſtatutes of thys Realme, or of ſpeciall licence geuen by the kynges maieſty, to be abſent from their benefices, they ſhall leaue theyr cure, not to a rude and vnlearned perſon, but to an honeſt, well learned, and expert curate, that maye teach the rude and vnlearned of theyr cure, wholſome doctrine, and reduce thē to the right way, that they do not erre: and allwayes let them ſee, that neither they nor their vicars do ſeeke more theyr own profite, promotion or aduauntage, then the profit of the ſoules that they haue vnder their cure, or the glory of God.

Item, that euery perſon or proprietary of anye pariſh Church within this realme, ſhall on this ſide ẏ feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula next comming, prouide a booke of the whole Bible both in Laten and alſo in Engliſh, and laye the ſame in the queere for euery man that wil, to loke and read theron, and ſhall diſcourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible either in Laten or Engliſh, but rather comfort, exhort, and admoniſh euery man to reade the ſame, as the very word of God, and the ſpirituall foode of mans ſoule, whereby they may ẏ better knowe their dueties to God, to their ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, and theyr neyghbour, euer gentilly and charitably exhorting thē, that vſing a ſober and a modeſt behauiour in the reading and inquiſition of the true ſenſe of the ſame, they do in no wyſe ſtifly or egerlye contend or ſtriue one with an other, about the ſame, but referre the declaration of thoſe places that be in controuerſie, to the iudgemēt of them that be better learned.

Alſo the ſayed Deane, Perſones, Vicars, Curates, and other prieſts ſhal in no wiſe at any vnlawfull time, nor for any cauſe then for their honeſt neceſſitie, haunt or reſort to any Tauernes or Alehouſes, and after their dynner and ſupper, they ſhall not geue them ſelues to drincking or riot, ſpending their time idlely, by day or by night, at tables or cardes playing, or anye other vnlawfull game: but at ſuche tymes as they ſhall haue ſuch leaſure, they ſhall reade or heare ſomewhat of holy Scripture, or ſhall occupye them ſelues with ſome honeſt exerciſe, & that they allwaies do thoſe things which appertaine to good congruence and honeſty, with profit of the common weale, hauinge allwayes in mynde, that they ought to excel all other in puritie of life, and ſhould be example to all other, to liue well and chriſtianlye.

Furthermore, becauſe the goodes of the Church are called the goodes of the poore, and in theſe daies nothing is leſſe ſeene thē the poore to be ſuſteined with the ſame, all Perſones, Vicares, Prebendaries, and other beneficed men within thys Deanry, not beyng reſident vpō their benefices, which may deſpend yerely .xx. pound or aboue, eyther within thys Deanry or els where, ſhall diſtribute hereafter yearly amōges their poore pariſhoners or other inhabitantes there, in the preſence of the church Wardens, or ſome other honeſt men of the pariſh, the .xl. parte of the frutes and reuenewes of theyr ſaied benefices, leſt they be worthelye noted of ingratitude, which reſeruing ſo manye partes to them ſelues, can not vouchſafe to enpart the .xl. porcion thereof, amongſt the poore people of that pariſhe, that is ſo frutefull and profitable vnto them.

And to the intent that learned men maye hereafter ſpring the more, for the executing of the ſaid premiſſes, euery perſon, Vicar, Clerke, or beneficed man within thys Deanry, hauyng yearly to ſpend in benefices or other promotions of the Church, an C. poundes, ſhall geue competent exhibition to one ſcholer, and for as many C. poundes more as he may diſpend, to ſo many ſcholers more ſhall geue like exhibition in the vniuerſitye of Oxford or Cambridge, or ſome Grammer ſchole, which after they haue profited in good learning, may be parteners of theyr patrones cure and charge, aſwell in preaching, as otherwiſe in the execution of theyr offices, or may when nead ſhalbe, otherwiſe profit the cōmon wealthe with theyr counſell and wiſedome.

Alſo, that all Perſons, Uicars, and Clerkes, hauing Churches, Chappels, or manſions within this Deanry, ſhall beſtowe yearely hereafter vpon the ſame manſions or Chauncels of their Churches beyng in decay, the. v. part of thoſe their benefices, till they be fully repaired, & the ſame ſo repaired they ſhall alwaies keepe and maintaine in good eſtate.

All which and ſingular Iniunctions ſhall be inuiolably obſerued of the ſaid Deane, Perſons, Uicares, Curates, Stipendaries, and other Clerkes and beneficed men, vnder the pain of ſuſpenſion, and ſequeſtration of the fruits of their benefices, vntil they haue done their dueties, according to theſe iniunctions.

After theſe Iniunctions and Articles afore expreſſed (which were gyuē about the yeare of our Lord. 1536. and. 1537) it was not aboue the ſpace of a yeare, but other Iniunctions alſo were publiſhed, to the further inſtruction of the people in the procedynges of religiō, whereby both the Perſons of Churches, and the Pariſhes together were enioyned to prouide in euery Churche to be a Bible in Engliſhe, alſo for euery Pariſhoner to bee taught by the Miniſter, to vnderſtand & ſay the Lordes Prayer and Crede in theyr own vulgare toungue, with other neceſſary and moſt fruitefull Iniunctions, the tenour wherof here foloweth.

Iniunctions exhibited. an. 1538.

IN the name of God Amen. By the authoritie and commiſſion of the moſt excellēt Prince, Henry by the grace of God, kyng of England, and of Fraunce, defendour of the faith, Lord of Irelād, and in earth ſupreme head vnder Chriſt, of the Churche of England, I Thomas Lorde Cromwell, Lord priuie ſeale, Uicegerent to the kynges ſayd highnes for all his iuriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme, do for the aduauncement of the true honour of almightie God, encreaſe of vertue, and diſcharge of the kynges maieſtie, geue & exhibite vnto you N. theſe Iniunctions folowing, to be kept, obſerued, and fulfilled vpon the paine hereafter declared.

Firſt, that ye ſhall truelye obſerue and kepe all & ſingular the kynges highnes Iniunctions giuen vnto you heretofore in my name by his graces authoritie, not onely vpon the paynes therin expreſſed, but alſo in your default now after this ſecond monition continued, vppon further puniſhment to be ſtraitghtly extended towardes you by the kinges highnes arbitrement or hys vicegerēt aforeſayd.

Item, that ye ſhall prouide on this ſide the feaſt of N. next comming, one booke of the whole Byble of the largeſt volume in Engliſhe, and the ſame ſet vp in ſome conuenient place within the ſaid Churche that ye haue cure of, whereas your pariſhoners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to the ſame and read it. The charges of which booke ſhallbe ratably borne betwene you, the perſon, and pariſhoners aforſayd: that is to ſay, the one half by you, and the other halfe by them.

Item, that ye ſhall diſcourage no man, priuely nor apartly, from the reading or hearing of the ſaid Bible, but ſhall expreſly prouoke, ſtirre, and exhort euery perſon to read the ſame, as that whiche is the very liuely word of God, that euery Chriſten perſon is bounden to embrace, beleue, and folow, if he loke to be ſaued, admoniſhing thē neuertheles to auoid all contentiō and altercation therin, and to vſe an honeſt ſobriety in the inquiſition of the true ſenſe of the ſame, and to referre the expliciatiō of the obſcure places, to men of higher iudgement in ſcripture.

Item, that ye ſhal euery ſonday and holy day through the yeare, openly and plainly recite to your pariſhners, twiſe or thriſe together, or oftner if neede require, one article or ſentence of the Pater noſter, or Crede in Engliſhe, to the entent they may learne the ſame by hart, and ſo frō day to day, to geue them one lyke leſſon or ſentence of the ſame, till they haue learned the whole Pater noſter, and Crede in Engliſh by rote, and as they be taught euerye ſentence of the ſame by rote, ye ſhall expound and declare the vnderſtanding of the ſame vnto thē, exhorting al parents and houſholders, to teach their children and ſeruaunts the ſame, as they are bound in conſcience to doo: and that done, ye ſhall declare vnto thē the. x. commaundements, one by one, euery ſonday and holy day, til they be likewiſe perfect in the ſame.

Item, that ye ſhall in confeſſions euery lent, examine euery perſon that commeth to confeſſion to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our fayth, and the Pater noſter in Engliſh, and heare them ſaye the ſame particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye ſhall declare to them, that euery Chriſten perſon ought to knowe the ſame before they ſhoulde receyue the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and moniſh them to learne the ſame more perfectlye by the next yere folowing, or els, lyke as they ought not to preſume to come to Gods bord without perfect knowledge of the ſame (and if they do, it is to the great perill of their ſoules) ſo ye ſhall declare vnto them, that ye loke for other Iniunctions from the kings highnes by that time, to ſtay and repeale all ſuche from Gods bord, as ſhall be found ignoraunte in the premiſſes: wherfore ye doe thus admoniſhe them, to the entent they ſhould both eſchue the perill of their ſouls, and alſo the worldly rebuke that they might incurre hereafter by the ſame.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, that ye ſhall make or cauſe to be made in the ſaid Church, and euery other cure ye haue, one Sermō euery quarter of a yeare at the leaſt, wherein ye ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpell of Chriſt, and in the ſame, exhort your hearers to the works of charitie, mercy, and fayth, ſpecially preſcribed and commaunded in ſcripture, and not to repoſe their truſt or affiance in other workes deuiſed by mennes fantaſies beſides ſcripture: as in wandering to Pilgrymages, offering of money, candels, or tapers to fained Relikes or Images, or kiſſynge, or lickynge the ſame, ſaying ouer a nomber of beades not vnderſtanded ne minded on, or ſuche like ſuperſtitiō: for the doing wherof, ye not only haue no promiſe of reward in Scripture, but contrariwyſe, great threates and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, which of all other offences, God almighty doth moſt deteſt and abhorre, for that the ſame diminiſheth mooſt hys honour and glorye.

Pilgrimages pulled downe.

Item, that ſuch fayned Images as ye know in any of your cures to be ſo abuſed with Pilgrimages or offeringes of any thing, made there vnto, ye ſhall for auoyding of that mooſte deteſtable offence of Idolatrye, forthwith take downe wythout delaye, and ſhall ſuffer from henceforth no candels, tapers, or Images of waxe, to be ſet afore any Image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth a croſſe the Church by the roode lofte, the light afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the ſepulchre: which for the adornyng of the church and diuine ſeruice, ye ſhall ſuffer to remayne ſtill, admoniſhing your pariſhners, that Images ſerue for none other purpoſe, but as the bookes of vnlearned men that can no letters, wherby they might be admoniſhed of the liues and conuerſation of them, that the ſaid Images do repreſent. which Images, if they abuſe for any other intent then for ſuch remembraunces, they cōmitte Idolatrye in the ſame, to the great daunger of theyr ſoules: and therfore the kinges highneſſe graciouſlye tenderynge the weale of hys ſubiectes ſoules, hath in part already, and more will hereafter, trauaill for the aboliſhing of ſuch Images, as might be occaſion of ſo great offence to God, & ſo great a daunger to the ſoules of his louing ſubiectes.

Good miniſters to be placed.

Item, that in all ſuch benefyces or cures, as ye haue, wherupon ye be not your ſelf reſident, ye ſhall appoynte ſuch Curates in youre ſtead, as both canne by habilitye, and will alſo promptly execute theſe Iniunctions, and do theyr duety otherwyſe, that ye are bounden to do in euery behalf accordinglye, & profyt their cure no leſſe with good example of liuinge, then with declaration of the word of God, or els their lacke and defaultes ſhal be imputed vnto you, who ſhall ſtraightlye aunſwere for the ſame, if they do otherwyſe.

Item, that you ſhall admitte no mā to preach within any of your benefices or cures, but ſuch as ſhall appeare vnto you to be ſufficyentlye licenſed therunto by yͤ kings highnes or hys grace s authoritye, or the Biſhop of the dioces, and ſuch as ſhalbe ſo licenced, ye ſhall gladly receyue, to declare the word of God without any reſiſtance or contradiction.

Pilgrimage and images abandoned.

Itē, if ye haue heretofore declared to your pariſhners, any thing to the extolling and ſettinge forth of Pilgrimages, to fayned reliques or Images, or any ſuch ſuperſtition, ye ſhall nowe openlye afore the ſame, recante and reproue the ſame, ſhewing them (as the trouth is) that you dyd the ſame vpon no grounde of Scripture, but as beinge led and ſeduced by a common errour and abuſe crept into the Churche, through the ſufferaunce and auarice

rice of ſuch as felt profit by the ſame.

The wordes of God to be preached without ſtop or interruptiō.

Itē, if ye do or ſhall know any within your pariſhe, or els where, that is a letter of yͤ word of God to be read in Engliſhe, or ſyncerely preached, or of the executiō of theſe Iniunctions, or a fautor of the Biſhop of Romes pretenſed power, now by the lawes of this realme iuſtly reiected and extirped: ye ſhall detecte the ſame to the kynges highnes, or hys honorable Coūſell, or to hys Vicegerent aforeſaid, or to the iuſtice of peace next adioyning.

Regeſter boke for euery pariſh.

Item, that you and euery Perſon, Vicar, or Curate, within thys dioces, ſhall for euerye Churche, keepe one booke of regiſter, wherin ye ſhall wryte the day and yere of euery wedding, chriſtening, and burying made within your pariſh for your tyme, and ſo for euery mā ſucceding you likewiſe, and alſo therein ſet euerye perſones name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened or buried, and for the ſafe keeping of the ſame booke, the pariſh ſhall be bound to prouide of their common charges, one ſure coffer with ij. locks and keies, wherof the one to remayne with you, and the other with the wardens of euery ſuche Pariſhe, wherein the ſayed booke ſhall be layd vp: which booke ye ſhall euery Sonday take forth, and in the preſence of the ſayd wardens or one of them, write and record in the ſame, all the weddinges, chriſtenninges, and buryinges, made the whole weke before, and that done, to laye vp the ſayd booke in the ſayed coffer as afore, and for euerye tyme the ſame ſhall be omitted, the partye that ſhallbe in the faute therof, ſhall forfayt to the ſayed Church. iij. ſhillinges. iiij. pence to be emploied on the reparation of the ſame Church.

Item, that ye ſhall once euerye quarter of a yere, read theſe and the other former Iniunctions geuen vnto you by authoritye of the kinges highnes, openly and deliberately before al your pariſhoners, to the entent that both you maye be the better admoniſhed of your duety, & your ſayd pariſhoners the more incited to enſue the ſame for theyr part.

Tithes to be payed.

Item, for as much as by a law eſtabliſhed, euery mā is bound to pay his tithes, no man ſhal by colour of duety omitted by theyr Curates, deteine their tithes, and ſo redubbe one wrong with an other, or be his own iudge, but ſhall truely pay the ſame as hath bene accuſtomed, to theyr Perſons and Curates, without any reſtraint or diminution: and ſuch lacke and default as they can iuſtlye fynde in their perſons and Curates, to call for reformation thereof, at their Ordinaryes and other ſuperiours handes, who vpon cōplaint and due prouſe therof, ſhall reforme the ſame accordingly.

Item, that no Perſon ſhall from henceforth, alter or chaunge the order and manner of anye faſtyng daye that is commaunded and indycted by the Church, nor of prayer, nor of diuine ſeruice, otherwiſe then is ſpecifyed in the ſaid Iniunctions, vntil ſuch tyme as the ſame ſhallbe ſo ordered and tranſpoſed by the kinges hyghnes autority, the Euens of ſuch Sainctes whoſe holy dayes be abrogated, only excepted, whiche ſhall be declared henceforth to be no faſting dayes, excepte alſo the commemoration of T. Becket ſometyme Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which ſhalbe cleane omitted, and in ſtead therof the ferial ſeruice vſed.

Beckets day abrogate.

Knoling of Aues forbidden.

Item, that the knolinge of the Aues after ſeruice, and certeine other times, whiche hath bene brought in and begon by the pretence of the Biſhop of Romes pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, leſt the people do hereafter truſt to haue perdō for the ſaying of their Aues betwene the ſayd knoling, as they haue done in tymes paſt.

Suffrages of Saintes reiected.

Item, where in tymes paſt men haue vſed in diuers places in their Proceſſions, to ſing Ora pro nobis, to ſoo many Saintes, that they had no tyme to ſinge the good ſuffrages followinge: as Parce nobis Domine, and Libera nos Domine, it muſt be taughte and preached, that better it were to omitte Ora pro nobis, and to ſing the other ſuffrages being moſte neceſſarye and effectuall. All whiche and ſinguler Iniunctions, I miniſter vnto you and to your pariſhoners by the kinges highnes auctority to me committed in this part, which I charge and commaund you by the ſame authoritye, to obſerue & kepe, vpō paine of depriuation, ſequeſtratiō of your fruites, or ſuch other cohercion as to the kyng or his vicegerent for thys tyme beyng, ſhalbe ſene conuenient.

By theſe Articles and Iniunctions thus commyng forth one after an other, for the neceſſarye inſtruction of the people, it may appeare, how well the kyng deſerued then the title of his ſupreme gouernement, gyuen vnto him ouer the Church of England: by the whiche title and authoritie, he did more good for the redreſſyng and aduauncing of Chriſtes Church and religion here in England, in theſe three yeares, then the Pope, the great Vicare of Chriſt, with all his Byſhops and Prelates, had done the ſpace of iiij. hundreth yeares before. Such a vigilant care was then in the kyng and in hys Counſaile, how by allwayes & meanes, to redreſſe religiō, to reforme errours, to correct corrupt cuſtomes, to helpe ignorāce, & to reduce yͤ miſleadyngs of Chriſtes flocke drowned in blynd Poperie, ſuperſtition, cuſtomes, and Idolatrie, to ſome better forme of more perfect reformation. Whereunto hee prouided not onely theſe articles, preceptes, and Iniunctions aboue ſpecified, to informe the rude people: but alſo procured the Biſhops to helpe forward in the ſame cauſe of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preachyng and teaching of the people, accordyng as ye heard before pag. 1200. how that in the yeare. 1534. duryng all the whole tyme of the Parlamēt, there was appoynted euery ſonday a Byſhop to preache at Paules Croſſe agaynſt the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome. Amongeſt whiche Byſhops, Iohn Longland Byſhop of Lincolne, the kynges confeſſor, and a great perſecutor of the pore flocke of Chriſt (as is before ſufficientlye recorded, pag. 1119.) made a Sermon before the king, vpon good Fridaye, thys preſent yeare. 1538. at Grenwych, ſeriouſlye and effectuouſlye preachyng on the kinges behalfe, againſt the vſurped ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome, the contentes of whoſe Sermon wholye to expreſſe, were here to long and tedious. So much as may ſuffice for our purpoſe, I thought ſhould remayne to the poſteritie, begynnyng at hys Theame, whiche then he toke in hand to entreate vppon, written in the 13. chap. to the Hebrues, as followeth.

The Sermon of Iohn Longland Byſhop of Lincolne, on good Friday, before the kyng at Grynwiche. an. 1538.

THe wordes of the Apoſtle are theſe: Habemus altare de quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui tabernaculo deſeruiunt. Quorum enim animalium infertur ſanguis pro peccato, in ſancta per pontificem: horum corpora cremantur extra caſtra. Propter quod, & Ieſus extra portam paſſus eſt. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra caſtra, improperium eius portātes.

Theſe are the wordes of the Apoſtle. Many thinges conteined in few wordes, and the Engliſh therof is this: we haue an aulter: we haue an aulter (ſaith the Apoſtle) an aulter, and a ſacrifice vpon this aulter. And they that ſerueth the tabernacle, may not eate of this aulter, may not eate of the Sacrifice that is offered vpon this aulter. For the Apoſtle here (Per metonymiam) doth put the aulter for that that is ſacrificed vpon the aulter. The bloud of thoſe beaſtes that were ſlayne for the Sacrifice, was brought into the holy ſecret hyghe place of the temple where the Arke was, betwene the hygh aulter (as ye wil ſay) and the veyle, by the Byſhop, and there offred vp for the ſinne of the people. The bodyes of the beaſtes that were burned without the pauilions or tentes, for the whiche, Propter quod: for whiche what: for the fulfillyng of which miſterye. Alſo to verifie and fulfill the figure, and that the thing figured, might be correſpondēt to the figure. Ieſus ſuffered without the gate, to ſanctifie the people by his bloud. Let vs go out therefore and ſuffer with Chriſt, bearyng hys obprobries and rebukes. Theſe be the wordes of the Apoſtle now taken.

I will by the helpe of our Lorde God, declare theſe wordes in order, euen as they do ſtand. Here is an aulter, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Byſhop whiche did offer this Sacrifice, here is a tabernacle, a ſeruyng of the tabernacle, the bloud of the Sacrifice which was offered by the Byſhop for the ſinnes of the people, in the moſt holy place of the temple, & the bodyes of the beaſtes (whoſe bloud was offered) were burned without the tētes. And this was done the tenth day of the ſeuenth moneth. Ye heare now the wordes of the Apoſtle. wherin appeareth the manifeſt figure of the Paſſion of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whiche we this day do honour.

In theſe wordes the Apoſtle toucheth the figure of the the law, and bringeth it to a ſpirituall vnderſtādīg. For it was cōmaunded in the lawe, in yͤ booke of Numbers, that the x. day of the vij. moneth, in the feaſt that was called the feaſt of the propitiation, of mercy, of remiſſion, or the feaſt of purgation, when the people were purged. At which tyme they ſhould take a calfe & a kyd & ſlay them: whoſe bloud the onely Byſhop ſhould bryng, In ſancta ſanctorum, into the moſt holy, ſolemne and ſecret place of the temple: wherein the Byſhop neuer came, vnles hee brought with him bloud, bloud to offer in Sacrifice. Quia omnia ferè in ſanguine ſecundum legem mundabantur, & ſine ſanguinis effuſione non fit remiſſio, ſayth the Apoſtle. Almoſt all thynges after the lawe or in the law, were clenſed in bloud, and by bloud: and without the effuſion of bloud, was no remiſſion. And in that place of the temple called Sancta ſanctorum, the Byſhop prayed and offered for the people. The fleſh and corps of the Sacrifice was burned without the tentes, without their pauilions. And it was not lawfull to any that did ſerue the tabernacle, to eate of the fleſhe of that Sacrifice.

Here is a manifeſt figure (as I ſayd) of the Paſſion of our Sauiour Chriſt. The aulter that was cõſecrate and halowed in this ſolemnitie of the bloud of the eternall Teſtament, was that holy Croſſe that Chriſt ſuffered on. whiche as on this day, he did conſecrate, halow, dignifie and dedicate, and did adourne and decke the ſame with the members of his moſt precious body, more glorioufly then if it had bene enbrodered and inſerte with precious ſtones. For as golde which is the moſte precious metall, is made more precious when it is ſet with precious ſtones, and is dignified therewith, whether it bee aulter, image, crowne, ryng or owch: ſo was this aulter the holy Croſſe, beautified, dignified, adourned & made precious with the members of that moſt precious ſtone Chriſt, which is as Peter ſayth: Lapis viuus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a deo electus, probatus, angularis & præcioſus. Thys Chriſt is (ye ſayth) the liuely ſtone, whiche men did reproue, which God dyd elect for the approued ſtone, for a corner ſtone, for the chief ſtone in the buildyng of hys Churche, for the ſtone that ioyneth the walles of the Churche together, for the ſtone whereupon the fayth of Chriſt, and his Church is builded. A precious ſtone, a ſtone of price, a ſtone of hygh value, farre paſſyng in the eſtimatiõ of a good Chriſtẽ mã, all other precious ſtones in the worlde. This precious ſtone Chriſt, with the members of hys moſt precious body, dyd decke, adourne and made precious this aulter the Croſſe, when hys body was by the Iewes, with violencye, extremely ſtrayned vppon the ſame, that all hys bones (as teſtifieth the Prophet) mought be nombred. Vppon this aulter was the great Sacrifice of the world offred, Chriſt hym ſelfe. He was the Sacrifice, and he was the Prieſt. He offered vp hym ſelf to God his father, for the ſinne of mã. Obtulit ſemetipſum immaculatum deo, vt ſanctificaret inquinatos, ſayth the Apoſtle. He offered hym ſelfe a pure, cleane, immaculate hoſte to God, to redeme the world, to ſanctifye ſinners, to iuſtify man.

This Chriſt the Byſhop of good thynges to come (as the Apoſtle witneſſeth) entred once into the place called Sancta ſanctorum, not onely of the tẽple, but in Sancta ſanctorum, into that holy place of places, into heauen. He entred with ſacrificed bloud like a Byſhop. Not with the bloud of goates or calues, not with the bloud of rammes or bulles: but with his owne moſt precious bloud. For if the bloud of goates and bulles, and the aſhes of the burned calfe ſprinkled abroad, were ſufficient to the making cleane of the fleſhe: how much more then, the bloud of Chriſt (who by the holy Ghoſt, did offer vp him ſelf to God, a moſt pure, moſt cleane, & immaculate ſacrifice) is able to purge, clenſe and make fayre our conſciences frõ the workes of death, and to lyue in the liuing God?

This is our great Byſhop as the Apoſtle ſayth: Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetrauit cœlos, Ieſum filium dei. We haue a great Byſhop, whiche did penetrate the heauens, whoſe name is Ieſus the ſonne of God. This is our great Biſhop, our high Byſhop, our vniuerſall Byſhop. This is the head Byſhop of all Byſhops and of the world, named of God (as the Apoſtle ſayth) to bee our great Byſhop, properly called Summus pontifex, the hygheſt Byſhop, the Byſhop of Byſhops. For this is he onely that is Summus, maximus & vniuerſalis pontifex.

The Biſhop of Rome therfore ought herein to be abaſhed, aſhamed, & to abhorre his owne pryde. For in this he outragiouſly doth offend God and blaſphemeth hym, in that he preſumeth to take this hygh name frõ our Byſhop Chriſt: In that, he taketh awaye (aſmuch as lyeth in hym) the glorye of God, the maieſtie apperteynyng vnto Chriſt: In that, he taketh vpon hym theſe names only appropriate vnto Chriſt, Summus pontifex, maximus pontifex, vniuerſalis pontifex: the hygheſt Byſhop, ẏ greateſt Byſhop, the vniuerſall Byſhop, the Byſhop of al the world. I much maruaile how hee dare bee ſo bold to vſurpe and take theſe great names vppon hym. Greater blaſpheмy can not be, then to take from God, that that naturally belongeth vnto hym: then to take from God, hys glory and honour: then to vendicate and take vppon him ſuch high names, as beſemeth no Chriſten mã to vſurpe. God ſayd by his Prophet: Nõ dabo gloriam meam alteri: I wil not giue my glory away to any other, to any creature. He doth reſerue that glory, that laude and honour that belongeth onely vnto hym, vnto him ſelfe: no man to attempt ſo farre, no mã to take ſomuch vpõ him.

No greater blaſphemie then in the Pope.

Ezech. 42.

Peter, Peter thou waſte once Byſhop of Rome, & the firſt Byſhop of Rome: Diddeſt thou euer take this name vpõ thee, Summus, Maximus, Vniuerſalis? No, no, no. And why? For the holy Ghoſt was in thee. Thou wouldeſt take no more vpon thee then God gaue thee. Thou waſt not deſirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou ſoughteſt for, was for the glory of God: as all that will read thy Sermons, thy Epiſtles, and thy lyfe, ſhal ſoone perceiue. Looke a great nomber of Byſhops that next folowed Peter in ẏ ſame See: what were they? holy Martyrs, holy lyuers, which neuer attempted thus farre. Let the Byſhop of Rome therfore knowledge his great fault, his high folie, his vnlawfull vſurpation, his vnprieſtly preſumption, and humble him ſelfe to Chriſt & God hys great Byſhop. would God he would reforme him ſelfe. would God hee would kepe hym ſelfe within the compaſſe of his authoritie, and no more to encroch vppon other mens iuriſdictions, but diligently kepe and ouer looke his owne dioces, and be content with that. would God he would looke vpon his predeceſſour S. Gregory in his regiſter, which was a Byſhop of Rome, a holy mã. Let hym learne there how he dyd rebuke Iohn, that tyme ẏ Biſhop of Conſtantinople, for taking on hym ſo highly, in ſuch names, vniuerſal Byſhop, higheſt Byſhop, greateſt Byſhop: and how he proued it to be agaynſt the law of God. He ſayth there in one place to this proude Byſhop Iohn, what aunſwere ſhalt thou make in that ſtrait examination at that laſt iudgement, to Chriſt the head of of the vniuerſall holy Church, that goeſt about to haue ſubiect vnto thee, all the members of Chriſt, by takyng on thee the name of vniuerſall Byſhop? In an other place agayne in the ſame booke he ſayth vnto hym, who art thou that doeſt preſume to vſurpe a new name vpon thee, of vniuerſall Biſhop, contrary to the ſtatutes of the Goſpell, and the Decrees.

Peter neuer toke vpon him at Rome, as the Pope doth.

Gregorius in Regiſtro. Lib. 4. indictione 30. Epiſt. 38.

Idem.

God forbyd that euer this blaſphemie ſhould come in the hartes of Chriſten people, in the whiche the honour of all prieſthod is taken awaye, when a man ſhall raſhly and arrogantly take that name vpon him. Let this Byſhop of Rome therefore humble hym ſelfe vnto our great vniuerſall Byſhop Chriſt, humble hym ſelfe vnder the mighty hand of God, and know what the Apoſtle doth write of the honour and power of this Chriſt our great and high Byſhop. He is (he ſaith) Pontifex miſericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, penetrans cœlum, compatiens infirmitatibus noſtris, offerens dona & ſacrificia pro peccatis noſtris, condolens ijs qui ignorant & errant: Qui poteſt ſaluum facere a morte, offerens preces & ſupplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis, & exauditus eſt pro reuerentia ſua: Pontifex appellatus a deo: Põtifex ſanctus, innocens, impollutus, ſegregatus a peccatoribus, excelſior cœlis: Non habens neceſſitatem (quemadmodum alij) prius pro ſuis delictis hoſtias offerre, deinde pro populo: Pontifex ſedens in dextris dei interpellans pro nobis, emundans conſcientias noſtras ab operibus mortuis, intrans ſancta ſanctorum per proprium ſanguinem. Hic eſt pontifex confeſſionis noſtræ.

Heb. 2.3.4. 5.7.8.9.

The titles and properties attributed to Chriſt in the ſcripture.

Let all earthly Byſhops learne of this heauenly Byſhop Chriſt. Some of theſe properties are appropriate and belongeth onely to God and not to man. In ſome we ought to folow hym. In ſome we can not, ne ought to doe. This our high and great Byſhop is Miſericors, ſayth the Apoſtle, mercyfull. A mercyfull Byſhop, ready to forgiue, ready to remitte thoſe that haue offended him. He is not cruell, not vengeable, but full of pitie, full of mercy. And in this we ought to folow hym.

Miſericors.

He is Pontifex potens, a mighty Byſhop, myghty and full of power. we be but weake & feble biſhops, not able to do any thyng but by his permiſſiõ & helpe. He is able to make ſicke, to make hole: to make rich, to make poore: to ſet vp, to put down. Potens, a mighty Byſhop, mighty & able to remitte ſinne, to forgiue, to ſaue both body and ſoule from damnation. Potens, a mighty Biſhop and full of power. No power in this world but of him. Omnis poteſtas a domino deo eſt. All power is of him. And as he him ſelfe witneſſeth: Data eſt mihi omnis poteſtas in cœlo

Potens.

Rom. 14.

Math.28. *Marc.2.* *Omnipotents.* *Pſal.32.*

& in terra. All power is giuen vnto me, in heauen and in earth. Potens ſaluare a morte. He can ſaue the body, and ſaue the ſoule. He can deliuer the one, and deliuer the other from euerlaſtyng death. Who can forgiue ſinne but he? Quis poteſt dimittere peccatũ niſi ſolus deus? Eſt potens. He is a mighty Byſhop. Of him & by him, Emperours, Kinges, Magiſtrates & Poteſtates, Byſhops, Prieſtes, with all other that haue power, haue theyr power and authoritie. Who is able to turne the wynde? to make the wynde blow or ceaſſe, but he? who is able to ſay and proue, I will now haue it rayne, now cleare: the ſonne to ſhyne, the water to flow, to ebbe, with ſuch other, but onely he? This is our mighty Byſhop. Pontifex potens, mighty, yea Omnipotens, almighty. He can do all. Nothing is to him impoſſible. Ipſe dixit & facta ſunt omnia. Mandauit, & creata ſunt vniuerſa. Potens ergo eſt. He is a mighty Byſhop. We are not ſo.

Fidelis.

Three offices of a Byſhop.

If he had placed here *adminiſtrare ſacramenta*, for *ſacrificare*, hys partition ſo might haue ſtand.

Math.14. *Math.15.*

Fidelis Pontifex. He is a faythfull Biſhop: faithfull. He is a faythfull Biſhop to God, referryng all laudes, all honour and glorye to hys father. In all thinges that he dyd, miracles or other, he toke neuer the more vpon hym ſelfe. He was alſo a faythfull Byſhop to the world: For he dyd all that belongede to the Offyce of a good Byſhop. The very office of a Byſhop is, predicare, orare, & ſacrificare, ſiue offerre. To preache, to praye, to doo ſacrifice or to offer. He preachede to hys people: He taught the worlde moſt wholſome doctryne, wherby he called the people to God: he conuerted ſynners, he called them to penaunce. He made them weepe and lamẽt their ſinnes. They followed hys perſon, they followed hys worde, they folowed his enſample. They came out of all coaſtes to ſee him, to heare him, to learne of him. They forſooke meate and drynke, houſe and home, and folowed hym whereſoeuer he wente, aſwell in wildernes, as els where. In ſo muche that after they had folowed him three dayes, he being moued with pitye leſte they ſhould peryſhe for lacke of foode beyng in wildernes farre from ſuccour, he fedde thẽ twyſe miraculouſly. Once, in the deſert with fyue loues & two fyſhes, he fedde fyue thouſand men, beſides women & children, & there were left twelue great basketes, twelue maundes full of the brokelettes, and offals at that meale. At an other time, he fedde in wildernes to the nombre of foure thouſande men, beſydes women and children, with ſeuen loaues and a fewe ſmal fyſhes, & there was left of fragmentes, vij. maundes full.

The ſecond office of a biſhop is to pray.

Luce.6. *Math.26.* *Hebre.5.*

The cry of Chriſt on the croſſe.
The heauens trembled.
The Aungells mourned.
The Sunne loſt hys light.
The veile riued.
The earth quaued.
The ſtones rent.
The graues opened.
The dead roſe.
The Centurion confeſſed.

The ſecond office of a Biſhop he fulfylled alſo: For he prayed. Hee was moſt deuout in prayer, ſo to teache all Biſhops and Preachers not to preſume in their witte or learnyng, neyther in theyr capacitye, memorye, fayre tõgue or vtteraunce: but that the preacher doo ſtudiouſlye applye his booke, with all diligence, to ſtudye howe to ſpeake, whatte to ſpeake, afore whome he ſhall ſpeake: & to ſhape his Sermon after the audience. The preacher oughth alſo beſides his ſtudye and preaching, to praye. For by deuout prayer, he ſhall attayne percaſe, aſmuch or more, as by ſtudy or learninge. For without prayer, the wordes will litle preuayle. Looke in Chriſt his life, and thou ſhalt finde, that in euerye thing he went about, he prayed, to ſhewe the valiancye, the vertue and ſtrength of prayer: to ſhewe our neceſſities, our weakenes and feblenes of nature. He prayed for hys people (as Luke wytneſſeth) yͤ ſpace of one whole nyght. And what a meruelous deuout prayer made he for his people in yͤ Mount the nyght afore his paſſion, when the Chalice of death was repreſented vnto hym? when he ſwette water and bloude? when he cryed thryſe, Tranſeat à me Calix iſte: let this Chalice, let this paſſion and bloode, let the vertue therof paſſe from me vnto all mankynde. Let euery man haue the vertue & merite therof: let it worke in al folkes: let euery faythfull man & woman be perteiner therof: let it not be loſte, but worke to the worldes ende. This was a merueylous deuout mercifull prayer. And agayne, hee ſufferyng and hanging on the croſſe, offered vp for hys people, Preces & ſupplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrimis. He offered vp his prayers and ſupplicatiõs with a huge crye, with a pitious voyce, with a lamẽtable and a deathly ſhrych, and with wepyng teares, to God hys father, he hangyng on the croſſe, euen when the ſpirite ſhould departe the body, not then forgettyng his people at that houre when al the people forgetteth both yͤ world and them ſelues. Whiche crye was ſo huge and great, ſo meruelous and of that effecte, that the heauens trembled thereat, the Aungels mourned for pitye, the Sunne loſte his light, the veyle in the temple ryued in two, the earth quaued, the ſtones rente a ſondre and braſte in gobettes, the graues opened, the deade bodyes roſe to lyfe, and appeared in the Citye. Centurio and thoſe that keept Chriſt to ſee the execution done, cryed: Verè, filius DEI erat iſte: This was the vndoubted ſonne of God. His prayer and wepyng teares were ſo pleaſaunt vnto the father, that it was heard: Exauditus eſt pro reuerẽtia ſua: He was heard, and why? For it was ſo entyre, ſo deuout, ſo reuerentlye done, in ſuche a maner and faſhion, with ſuche a zeale, grounded vppon ſuch a charitie, ſufferinge for our gylte, and not for his owne. And for that he dyd the very offyce of a Biſhop, ſo enterely to pray, and ſo reuerently to offer vp him ſelfe in ſacrifice for his people, he was heard, he was heard: his prayer was heard of God. And that is the thirde property of a good Biſhip, to offer ſacrifice for his people. Euery Biſhop, euery Biſhop for his dioceſans and for the whole vniuerſall Church. In theſe three we ought aſmuch as we may, to folowe Chriſt.

Thus this Chriſt was and is Pontifex fidelis, a faythfull Byſhop. Faithfull, faithfull in his worde, true in his promiſe, deceiuyng no man, but profityng all. In all that he dyd or ſpake, he ſought nothyng his owne glory, but the glory of God: teachyng thereby all Byſhops of the worlde, in all that they go about, to do it to the laude, prayſe, and glory of God. And herein we ought alſo to folow hym.

Magnus Pontifex. He is the great Byſhop, the high Byſhop, the ſupreme Byſhop, the vniuerſall Byſhop ouer all the world. No great Byſhop but he. None hygh, none ſupreme nor vniuerſall Byſhop, but he.

And herein yͤ Biſhop of Rome outragiouſlye vſurpeth vpõ God, as he doth vpon the world, to take the honour & names (onely to God appropriate) to hym ſelf, & doth greuouſly blaſpheme & offend God therin. Greater blaſphemy can not bee, then to aſcribe to God, that that no wayes belongeth vnto hym, or to take from God, that that vnto hym is appropriate. It is meete therfore hee doe betymes and in ſeaſon, leaue hys vniuſte encrochementes both agaynſt his Lord God, and alſo agaynſt the world, leſt he do prouoke God to poure out all hys vialles of wrath vppon him: the Væs I meane, the maledictions and vengeaunce that Iohn ſpeaketh of in the Apocalyps. I would adwiſe him to ceaſe the iniuries whiche he hath and dayly doth agaynſt thee Chriſt our great hygh vniuerſall Byſhop, leſt thou excommunicate & ſtrike him, leſt thou ſhew thy wrath and iudgement agaynſt hym and vtterly extincte his pride and ambitious pretenſed authoritie. For thou wilt be knowen, thou wilt be knowẽ to be God. And thou arte & wilt be our great vniuerſall and ſupreme Byſhop, what ſoeuer the Byſhop of Rome ſhall attempt to the contrary: and thou wilt puniſh his worldly arrogancy, and ſtrike whẽ thou ſeeſt thy time. And though it be lõge ere thou ſtrike, yet let hym beware, for ſtrike thou wilt if thou be vtterly prouoked. And when thou doeſt ſtrike, thy ſtroke is great, thy ſtroke is dreadfull and ſoore. It vanquiſheth the body, it ſlayeth the ſoule, it dampneth both. Beware therfore thou Byſhop of Rome, and bee content with thyne owne dioces, with thyne owne charge, as other Byſhops are with theirs: For further then thyne owne dioces, thy iuriſdiction do not ſtretch.

A meruelous blyndnes in thee therfore, to take vpon thee to aũſwere for all the world, & arte not able to aunſwere our great Biſhop Chriſt, for thy ſelfe at that dreadfull daye of Iugement, when he ſhall aſke but theſe fewe queſtions of the, Quomodo intraſti? Quomodo rexiſti? Quomodo vixiſti? Quomodo pauiſti? Quæ & qualia exempla dediſti? Quid ad meam gloriam feciſti? & huiuſmodi. How dyddeſt thou enter into thy Biſhopricke? by me or by the world? vnlawfully, or lawfully? by Simonie, or freely? by labour, by paction, or called of God? How diddeſt thou rule thy cure? thy dioces? Diddeſt thou pray for thy people? diddeſt thou preach me to thy dioceſans? diddeſt thou giue them ghoſtly and bodily foode? diddeſt thou miniſter ſpirituall and ghoſtly ſalues (the Sacramentes I meane) to heale the ſores of theyr ſoules? How diddeſt thou lyue? Diddeſt thou caſt away the care, the glory and pompe of yͤ world? Diddeſt thou folow me in humilitie, in charitie, in compaſſion, in pouertie, in cleanes, and in chaſte liuyng?

How diddeſt thou gouerne thy dioceſans? Diddeſt not thou make of all thinges that thou diddeſt medle with, a money matter, in ſellyng that whiche was not in thee to ſell nor giue, which thou calleddeſt thy pardons, thy cõmiſſions, thy breeues, thy delegaries, reſeruations, exemptions, appellations, bulles, & diſpenſations? Diddeſt not thou vnder theſe pretenſes & like other doyngs, deceiue the world? What aunſwere ſhalt thou make to this at that day, to our & thy great Byſhop Chriſt, when he ſhall viſite thee and all thy dioces, me and all my dioces, yea when hee ſhall viſite all the worlde? what aunſwere ſhalt thou then make? I thinke verely thou ſhalt then haue enough to do, yea and more then thou canſt wynde thy ſelfe out of, to make aunſwere for thy ſelfe, for thine own dioces, and for thine owne dioceſans, though thou vſurpe not vpon other mens as thou doeſt. The Apoſtle writeth of Chriſt humbly, and calleth hym Magnū pōtificem, the great Byſhop. And he of Rome is not with this worde contented, but will haue a higher worde for him ſelfe, in the ſuperlatiue degree. Maximum: Pontificem maximum. The greateſt Byſhop. Oh, where is the humblenes and mekenes that ſhould be in him? Alas, hee that taketh on hym to teach all the world, how can he for ſhame, ſuffer ſuch blaſphemous wordes to paſſe in hys name, to his great ſhame and rebuke: to the great daunger of his ſoule: and to the perilous enſample vnto other: Oh, fye vppon pride. It is a common Prouerbe, pride will haue a fall.

Pontif. Maximus.

The popes ...ide will ...e a fall.

Our Byſhop Chriſt was Humilis, meke, lowly, and humble in harte. He rode not vpon any palfray nor couragious horſe, but vpon an Aſſe and that but once. He neuer was borne pompouſly abroad in chayre, vpon mens ſhoulders. He neuer profered his foote to any body to kyſſe. we read that he waſhed the feete of hys Diſciples and wyped them. we read that Mary Magdalene profered to haue kyſſed his feete, but he did prohibite her, saying: Noli me tāgere: Touch me not. He would not ſuffer the woman then to touch hym. He neuer had garde to defende hym. He neuer followed the pompe of ẏ world. He diſdayned not to goe vppon the ground with hys bare feete. what ſhall I ſay? He gaue enſamples enough to the Byſhop of Rome, to me and to all Byſhops, to be meeke and humble: he to knowe him ſelfe, and we our ſelues, as if he and we diligently looke in Scripture, we ſhall finde. And herein, in meekenes we are bounde to followe hym.

Humilis.

Iohn.13.

Math.20.

The humi... of Chriſt.

Compatiens infirmitatibus. Thys Biſhop Chriſt, had compaſſion of our infirmities, of our frailties. It is impoſſible for a man to knowe the afflictions of the miſerable perſon, that neuer ſuffered him ſelf affliction, ẏ neuer had experience of paynes, ẏ neuer felte what payne mente. But thys Byſhop Chriſt, had experience of our nature: how weake, how feble the nature of man is: howe weake of hym ſelfe to doe any good worke without the helpe of God: how feble to reſiſte temptations. He ſuffered and felte the infirmities and paynes of hys naturall body. He hath therfore compaſſion vpon man, when he doth ſee hym fall. He ſoroweth his ruine, teachyng Byſhops in eſpeciall afore all other, to haue compaſſion and pitie vpō the ſinner, to helpe him ſpiritually, to comfort him ghoſtly, to helpe him to ariſe frō ſinne, to allure him to penaunce, to drawe hym to vertue, to make him know God, to feare his iuſtice, to loue hys lawes, and thus to ſeeke all the wayes he and we can, to ſaue the ſinners ſoule, for whom he ſhall make aunſwere to God for his owne dioceſans: ſoule for ſoule, bloud for bloud, payne for payne, hell for hell, dampnatiō for dampnation. For whiche ſoule, our great Byſhop Chriſt (as the Apoſtle doth witnes) did offer giftes and ſacrificed him ſelfe, hauyng compaſſion of them that by ignorance and by errour, did ſinne & offend God. Euen when he was in his greateſt agonye vpon the croſſe, hee cryed to his father: forgiue them father, forgiue thē, they know not what they do, they are ignoraunt people, they know not what is what, nor what daunger they runne into by this entreatyng me. They know not theyr offences: forgiue them father, forgiue them. In this compaſſiō we ought alſo to folow our great Byſhop Chriſt.

Compatiens.

Chriſt full of compaſſion.

Hebre.5.

Luce.23.

It followeth in the former letter: Eſt Pontifex appellatus à Deo. He is a Biſhop, and ſo named of God. He is the verye Biſhop. He offered vp the verye ſacrifice, the ſacrifice of his owne moſt bleſſed body and blood, wherby the ſynne of the world was put away. Euery Biſhop of the worlde is not named a Biſhop by God: For ſome cometh into that office, not by the holy gooſt, not electe of God, (as Iohn ſayth) not entringe in ouile ouium per oſtium, ſed aſcendens aliundè. Some there are that entreth into the folde of the ſhepe of God, not by the dore. Some there be that entreth in, hauyng charge & cure of ſoule, not by God: but by worldly meanes, by worldly labour, by importune ſutes and interceſſion of frendes, or by their own vnlawfull labour, by Simonie, and ſuch other wayes. Such are not named Biſhops by God. Such entreth not by the doore, not by him that ſaith: Ego ſum oſtium. Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita. I am the doore, I am the way, I am the lyfe, I am truth, I am Paſtor bonus, the very true and good Biſhop that entred by God. And all that entreth otherwiſe then by God, Chriſt calleth them, fures & latrones, theues, ſpoylers, raueners, deuourers, and deceyuers of the ſhepe. Their liuing ſhall declare the ſame. For ſuch as ſo wilfullye doe enter, doe ſtudye their owne profytes and commodities. Suche receyueth the fruites and do nothing for thē. Such ſuffereth their ſhepe to peryſhe for lacke of bodyly and gooſtlye foode and ſuſtenaunce, for lacke of preaching, for lacke of giuyng good counſell, for lacke of good liuing, for lacke of good enſample. And ſuch, for the moſt parte, lyueth nougherly, carnally, fleſhly, viciouſly, pompouſly, worldly, and not byſhoply nor prieſtly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Chriſt ſayeth: Qui intrat per me, ſaluabitur, & ingredietur, & egredietur, & paſcua inueniet. He that entreth by me, ſhall bee ſaued. Et ingredietur & egredietur. And hee ſhall goe in, and hee ſhall goe out. what is that to ſay: He ſhall goe in, and he ſhall goe out? I thinke he meaneth by goynge in, that he ſhall haue grace to enter ſtudiouſly in to the holye Scripture, daylye and nyghtly to meditate, to ſtudy, and to profyte in the lawes of God. Et egredietur. And he ſhall explane and trulye interpretate and publiſhe it vnto the people. Et paſcua inueniet. And he ſhall fynde there plentye of ſpirituall foode for him ſelfe and for his people, to edifye their ſoules, to inſtructe and call them to the knowledge of god, to feede them plentifully, that they ſhall not lacke neceſſaries to their ſoules. Let vs therfore ſo liue, that we may be called Pontifices appellari à Deo.

Pontifex appellatus.

Iohn.10.

...l biſhops ...e not called ...of God

Iohn.14.

Iohn.10.

Iohn.10.

This oure great Biſhop Chriſt is alſo: Pontifex ſanctus, innocens, impollutus, ſegregatus à peccatoribus, excelſior cœlis, ſedens à dextris Dei, emūdans conſcientias noſtras à peccatis, intrans ſancta ſanctorum per proprium ſanguinē. He is Sanctus. A holy Biſhop, and willeth vs to be holy in our conuerſation, applying our ſelues vnto godlines, to the ſeruice of God, to liue like Biſhops, like prieſtes, pure, cleane, chaſte, deuoute, ſtudious, faithfully laboring in his worde, prayinge, doying ſacrifice, and euer to bee godly and vertuouſly occupied.

Hebre.7.

Sanctus.

He is Innocens, an innocent. He neuer ſinned, he neuer offended in worde, thought, nor dede. Innocens, noying no creature, profyting all folkes, meekelye ſufferynge aduerſities, obprobryes, reiagges, rebukes, & reproches, without grudge or contradiction. Innocens & ſimplex: ſimplex ſine plica. An innocent, without plaite or wrincle, without errour or doublenes, without hypocriſie or diſſimulation, without flatterynge or gloſynge, without fraude or diſceyte: not ſeruinge the bodie nor the worlde, but God. In this we ought alſo to folowe our heauenly Biſhop.

Innocens.

Simplex.

Impollutus. He was vndefyled. He lyued cleane, without ſpotte or blotte, without wemme or ſtayne. No immundicie in hym, no vncleannes, nor filthyneſſe: but all pure and cleane, all chaſte and immaculate, all bryght and ſhyning in grace and godlines: In ſomuch that he was Segregatus à peccatorib', cleane ſegregate frō all kynde of vncleannes, from all maner of ſynnes, and from ſynners. Segregate frō them, not from theyr company: For as Mathewe wryteth: Publicans and ſinners came and eate and dranke with him and his Diſciples in the houſe of Leui. And he alſo came as a Phiſitiō, to heale the ſynner. And yet he was ſegregate frō them, quantum ad participationē cū eis in peccato: as touching their ill lyuinges, not beyng participant with them in ſinne: but came only to heale them, & to ridde them from ſinne and ſores of the ſoule. He entred the heauens, not with the bloode of kydde nor goate, but with hys owne proper bloude. For whiche and for hys holynes and perfytnes, Excelſior cœlis factus eſt. He is extolled and exalted aboue all ẏ Angels, & beatitudes: aboue all the heauens, ſitting on the ryght hand of the father. whom all the heauenly creatures doe worſhyp, honour and do reuerence vnto. where he praieth for his people, and is mediatour in his manhead to his father for vs.

Impollutus.

Segregatus à peccatis.

Math.9.

Excelſior cœlis.

This our Byſhop pourgeth our conſciences (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) he clenſeth our ſoules, he maketh vs inwardly beutious and fayre. The Biſhop of Rome lacketh manye of theſe notable vertues. He hath fewe or none of theſe propertyes, fewe or none of theſe qualities. He is (as we all are ſinners) a ſinner. To whom thys worde Magnus greate, is not conuenient, nor can be in him any wayes verified. For hee cannot forgiue ſinne as our Biſhop doth, nor iuſtifie as he doth, neither enter in Sancta ſanctorum, with his owne bloud, as he did. How can he then be called a great Byſhop that is (as we all be ſinners)

Magnus.

ners) a ſinner, a breaker of the lawes of God, and dayly doth or may fall and ſinne: And for that cauſe the law cõmaunded that euery Byſhop and Prieſt ſhould firſt offer hoſtes and ſacrifice for hys owne ſinnes, and afterward for the ſinnes of the people. How can he therefore be called a great Biſhop or Prieſt?

Luce.1.

Luce.7.

No ſinner called great in the ſcripture.

Gene.26.

Exodi.11.

Luce.1.

Pſal.18.

Our Byſhop we ſpeake of, is the very great Byſhop. No dole, no fraude, no gyle was euer founde in his mouth. And whẽ the Prince of the world, the deuill came to him, he could finde no point of ſinne in him. Wherfore Gabriel the Archangel ſhewing his natiuite vnto Mary his mother, ſayd: Hic erit magnus, & filius altiſſimi vocabitur. He ſhall be greate, and ſhall be called the Sonne of God. And agayne it is writen of hym: Propheta magnus ſurrexit inter nos: A great Prophet is ryſen amongeſt vs. Synne maketh a man ſmall and litle: lytle in reputation both afore God and man. Vertue maketh man great and of hygh reputation. Shewe me one place in Scripture where ye haue redde, that a ſynner was called great: I trowe it ſhall not be founde. Will you here who were called great in ſcripture? It is writen of Iſaac, quod proficiebat valde, & factus eſt magnus valde. He profited greatly in vertue, and was made great, great in reputation of the world. Moyſes was called Magnus, great for hys vertue. Abraham and Iohn Baptiſt likewyſe. Now Ieſus our Biſhop is called magnus Epiſcopus, magnus Sacerdos. And after him neuer Biſhop called Magnus in all Scripture, neyther in the reputation of man, vnles it be in cõpariſon one of an other (and ſo Sainctes and holy lyuers are called great in reſpecte of ſynners, or other meane liuers) but where Chriſt our Biſhop commeth, there he, not in compariſon of other, but ſimpliciter, by his own magnitude and greatnes, and of hymſelf, euer was and is great, of whome it is wrytten: A ſummo cœlo egreſſio eius, & occurſus eius vſque ad ſummũ eius. And as yͤ Apoſtle alſo proueth in many places by expreſſe wordes. But nowe there is no Biſhop nor Prieſt in this worlde, that may worthely of hym ſelfe be called great, nor ought to take this name Magnus vpon hym.

Leuit.21.

This is he therfore of whom it is wrytten: Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis. The great Biſhop aboue al other. And as he is called and in very dede is, Paſtor paſtorum, Pontifex pontificum, Propheta prophetarum, Sanctus ſanctorum, Dominus dominantium, Rex regum: Ita & magnus magnorum eſt. As he is called the herdeſman of herdeſmen, the Biſhop of biſhops, the Prophet of prophets, the Holye of holyeſt, the Lorde of lords, and kyng of kyngs: euen ſo is hee called and verilye is Epiſcopus magnus. Therfore, the Prophete did adde, Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis, the great Biſhop or Prieſt: great of hym ſelfe, great in vertue and power, great of him ſelf, and great in compariſon afore all other. And therfore the Apoſtle ſaid: Habemus Pontificem magnum, qui penetrauit cœlos, IESVM filium DEI. We haue a great Biſhop, which did penetrate the heauens, Ieſus the ſonne of God.

The Pope encrocheth vpon Chriſt.

Here may ye now ſee how the Biſhop of Rome doth wrongfullye encroch vppon our greate Biſhop Ieſus Chriſt, to take from hym, not onely thys name Magnus, and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, videlicet, Maximus, Summus, Sanctus, Beatiſſimus, Vniuerſalis, and ſuch other. The greateſt, the hygheſt, the holyeſt, the bleſſedſt and vniuerſall, in the ſuperlatiue degrees. And yet there is no greate Byſhop, but Chriſt onely, no ſupreme Biſhop, but he onely, none holy, none bleſſed, none vniuerſall Biſhop, but onely he. The Biſhop of Rome, and all other Biſhops are but vnderlings and vnworthy ſuffraganes vnto this Biſhop Chriſt.

This our Chriſt (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) is Pontifex noſtræ confeſſionis, the Biſhop whome we doe confeſſe to bee our great Biſhop, our hygh Biſhop, our ſupreme Biſhop, our holy, bleſſed, and vniuerſall Biſhop. Which names are reſerued onely vnto Chriſt, and to no earthly Biſhop. Not to the Biſhop of Rome, not to the Biſhop of Ieruſalem, not to the Biſhop of Antioch, nor of Conſtantinople, nor to any other Biſhop. No earthly biſhop to preſume to take vpon him theſe hygh and holy names, onely to God apropriate.

God of thy goodnes thou maiſt and I truſt wilt once make this vaynglorious biſhop of Rome, firſte to knowe & knowledge thy ſonne Chriſt to be the onely ſupreme & vniuerſall Biſhop of the world. Secondarylye to know hymſelfe, his weakenes, hys frayltye and his preſumption. To knowe hys office and bounden duetye vnto thee. To knowe his owne dioces, and to vſurpe no further. Thyrdlye to haue a lowe, humble, meeke harte and ſtomacke: to feare thee God & thy iudgements, to knowledge his owne faultes, and vſurpations, and to redreſſe the ſame.

Now to returne vnto our matter, it followeth in the letter firſte taken: De quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui tabernaculo deſeruiunt. &c. And thus much out of Iohn Longlands Sermon agaynſt the Pope.

You heard before by the kynges Iniunctiõs aboue expreſſed, and directed out an. 1538. how all ſuch Images and pictures, whiche were abuſed with Pilgrimage or offeringes, or any Idolatrie, were aboliſhed: by vertue of which Iniunction, diuers Idols and eſpecially the moſt notable ſtockes of Idolatrie, were takẽ downe the ſame yeare. 1538. as the Images of Walſingham, Ipſwich, Worceſter, the Lady of Wilſdone, Th. Becket, with many moe, hauing engines to make their eyes to open and role about, and other partes of their body to ſtyrre, and many other falſe iugglynges, as the bloud of hayles, and ſuch like, wherewith the ſimple people a long tyme had bene deceiued. All which were eſpyed out, and deſtroyed.

Among diuers other of theſe foule Idoles, there went alſo in the ſame rekenyng, a certeine old Idolatrous Image in Wales named Daruell Gatheren: whiche in the moneth of May, in the yeare aboue mẽtioned, was brought vp to Lõdon, and brent in Smithfield. With the whiche Idoll alſo was brent the ſame tyme, and hanged for treaſon, Frier Foreſt, of whom ſome mention was partly touched before in the ſtory of Cardinall Wolſey, pag. 1121.

¶ Frier Foreſt.

THis Foreſt was an obſeruaunt Frier, and had ſecretly in cõfeſſions declared to many of the kynges ſubiectes, that the kyng was not ſupreme head, and beyng therof accuſed and apprehended, he was examined how he could ſay that the kyng was not ſupreme head of the Church, when he him ſelf had ſworne to the contrarye. He aũſwered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer conſented therunto. And beyng further accuſed of diuers damnable Articles, and therupon conuicted, he gladly ſubmitted hym ſelfe to abyde the puniſhment of the Church. Upon this his ſubmiſſion hauyng more libertie then before he had to talke with whom he would, he became as farre from his ſubmiſſion as euer he was. And whẽ his abiuration was ſent him to read, he vtterly refuſed it and obſtinatly perſeuered in his errours: wherefore he was iuſtlye condemned, after hanged in Smithfield in chaynes vpon a gallowes quicke, by the middle and arme holes, and fire was made vnder him, and ſo was he conſumed and brent to death.

In the place of execution, there was a ſcaffold prepared for the kynges moſt honorable Counſaile and the nobles of yͤ Realme to ſitte vpon, to graunt him pardõ, if he had any ſparke of repentance in him. There was alſo a Pulpite prepared where the right reuerend father Hugh Latimer Byſhop of Worceſter declared hys errours, & manifeſtly confuted them by the Scripture, with many godly exhortations to moue him to repentaunce. But hee was ſo froward, that hee neither would heare neither ſpeake. A litle before, the foreſayd Image called Daruell Gatheren commyng out of Wales, was brought to the galowes, and there alſo with the foreſayd Frier (as is ſayd) was ſet on fire. Whom the Welſhmẽ much worſhipped, and had a prophecy amongeſt them, that this Image ſhould ſet a whole foreſt on fire. Which prophecie toke effect, for he ſet this Frier Foreſt on fire and conſumed hym to nothyng. The Frier when he ſawe the fire come, and that preſent death was at hand, he caught hold vppon the Lader and would not let it go, but ſo vnpaciently toke hys death, as neuer any man that put hys truſt in God at any tyme ſo vngodly or vnquietly ended his lyfe.

In the moneth of October and Nouember the ſame yeare, ſhortly after ỹ ouerthrowe of theſe Images and Pilgrimages, folowed alſo the ruine of the Abbayes & religious houſes, which by ỹ ſpeciall motion of ỹ Lord Cromwell (or rather and principally, by the ſingulare bleſſyng of almighty God) were ſuppreſſed, beyng gyuē a litle before, by acte Parlamēt, into ỹ kinges hand: wherupon, not onely the houſes were raſed, but theyr poſſeſſiōs alſo diſparcled amōg ỹ nobilitie, in ſuch ſort, as all Friers, Monkes, Chanons, Nunnes, and other ſectes of religion, were thē ſo roted out of this realme from the very foundation, that there ſemeth by Gods grace, no poſſibilitie hereafter left for the generatiō of thoſe ſtraunge weedes to growe here any more, according to ỹ true verdict of our Lord and ſauiour Chriſt, in his Goſpell, ſaying: *Euery plantation beyng not planted of my father, ſhalbe pluckte vp by the rootes. &c.*

¶The hiſtory of the worthy Martyr of God Iohn Lambert, otherwiſe named Nicolſon, with his troubles, examinations and aūſweres, as well before the Archb. of Canterburye Warham, and other Byſhops: as alſo before kyng Henry 8. by whom at length he was condemned to death and burned in Smithfield. Anno. 1538.

IMmediatly vpō the ruine and deſtruction of the Monaſteries, the ſame yere, & in ỹ moneth of Nouemb. folowed the trouble and condemnation of Iohn Lambert the faithfull ſeruaunt of Ieſus Chriſt, and Martyr of bleſſed memory. This Lambert being borne and brought vp in Northfolke, was firſt conuerted by Bilney, and ſtudyed in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge. Where, after that he had ſufficiētly profited both in Latine & Greke, & had tranſlated out of both tongues ſondry thyngs into the Engliſh tongue, being forced at laſt by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the partes beyond the Seas, to Tyndall and Frith, & there remained the ſpace of a yeare & more, beyng preacher and chapleyn to the Engliſhe houſe at Antwerpe, till he was diſturbed by Syr Thomas More, and by the accuſation of one Barlow was caried frō Antwerpe, to London: where hee was brought to examination, firſt at Lambeth, then at the Byſhops houſe at Otford, before Warham the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and other aduerſaries, hauyng 45. articles miniſtred agaynſt hym, whereunto he rendred aunſwere agayn by writing. The whiche aūſweres for as much as they conteine great learnyng, and may gyue ſome light to the better vnderſtandyng of the common cauſes of Religion now in controuerſie, I thought here to exemplifie the ſame, as they came right happely to our handes. The Copie both of the Articles, and alſo of hys aunſweres, here in order foloweth.

¶Aritcles to the number of 45. layd to Lambert.

IN primis, whether thou waſt ſuſpecte or infamed of hereſie?

2. Whether euer thou hadſt any of Luthers bookes, and namely ſyth they were condemned, and howe long thou kepſt thē, and whether thou haſt ſpent any ſtudy on them.

3. Whether thou waſt conſtitute prieſte, and in what dioceſſe, and of what Biſhop?

4. Whether it be lawfull for a Prieſt to mary a wyfe, and whether a prieſt in ſome caſe, be bound by the law of god to marye a wyfe?

5. Whether thou beleueſt, ỹ what ſoeuer is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of neceſſitie.

6 Whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament neceſſary vnto ſaluation, and whether after the conſecration of the bread & wine done by the prieſt, as by the miniſter of God, there is the very bodye & bloud of Chriſt, in likenes of bread and wine?

7. Item, what opinion thou holdeſt touching the ſacrament of Baptiſme, whether thou dooſt beleue that it is a ſacrament of the Church, and a neceſſary ſacrament vnto ſaluation, and that a prieſt maye baptiſe, and that the order of baptiſing ordayned by the Church, is neceſſarye and wholeſome?

8. Item, whether you beleue that matrymonye be a ſacrament of the Church neceſſaryo to bee obſerued in the Church, and that the order appointed by the Churche for the ſolemniſyng therof, is allowable and to be holden?

Sacrament of orders.

9. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue orders to bo a ſacrament of the Church, and that ſaying of Maſſe ordeyned by the Church, is to be obſerued of Prieſts: whether it be deadlye ſynne or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of prieſthode were inuented by mans imagination, or ordeyned by God?

Sacrament of penanse.

10. Item, whether penaunce be a ſacramēt of the church, and neceſſary vnto ſaluation: and whether auricular confeſſion is to be made vnto the prieſt, or is neceſſary vnto ſaluation: and whether thou beleueſt that a Chriſtian is bound, beſydes contrition of heart, hauing the free vſe of an apt or mete prieſt, vnder neceſſitye of ſaluation, to be confeſſed vnto a prieſt and not vnto any lay man, be he neuer ſo good and deuout, and whether thou beleueſt, that a prieſt in caſes permitted vnto hym, maye abſolue a ſinner (being contrite and confeſſed) from his ſinnes, and enioyne hym holſome penaunce?

Sacrament of confeſſion.

11. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue and holde, that the Sacrament of confirmation and extreme vnction, be ſacramentes of the Church, and whether that they do profite the ſoules of them which receyue them, and whether thou beleueſt the foreſayd ſeuen Sacramentes, to geue grace vnto them that do duely receyue them?

Vnwritten verities.

12. Whether all thynges neceſſarye vnto ſaluation, are put in holy Scripture, and whether thinges onely there put be ſufficient, and whether ſome thinges vpon neceſſitie of ſaluatiō, are to be beleued and obſerued, which are not expreſſed in Scripture?

Purgatory.

13. Whether thou beleueſt, that purgatory is, and whether that ſoules departed be therin tormented & purged?

Praying to Saintes.

14. Whether holye Martyrs, Apoſtles, and Cōfeſſours, departed from this worlde, ought to be honoured, called vpon, and prayed vnto?

15. Whether the Saintes in heauē, as mediatours, pray for vs?

Pilgrimage.

16. Whether thou beleueſt that oblations & pilgrimages may be deuoutely and meritoriouſlye done to the ſepulcres and reliques of Sainctes?

Lent faſt.

27. Whether the faſte in Lent and other appoynted by the Canon lawe, and receiued in common vſage of Chriſtian people (vnleſſe neceſſitye otherwyſe requyreth) are to be obſerued?

Worſhipping of Images.

18. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worſhipfull Images be ſet in Churches for the remembraunce of Chriſte and his Saintes?

Praying for ſoules departed.

19. Whether thou beleueſt that prayers of men lyuyng, do profite ſoules departed and beyng in Purgatorye?

Merites.

20. Whether men may merite and deſerue both by theyr faſtinges, and alſo by other deedes of deuotion?

Preaching without lycenſe.

21. Whether thou dooſt beleue that mē prohibited of byſhops to preach, as ſuſpect of hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preachyng and teachyng, vntyll they haue purged them ſelues of ſuſpition afore an hygher iudge?

22. Whether thou beleueſt, that it is lawfull for al prieſts freelye to preach the worde of God, or no?

Lay men to preach.

23. Whether thou beleueſt, that it is lawfull for laye men of both kyndes, that is to wyt, both men & women, to ſacrifice and preach the worde of God?

The Popes excommunication.

24. Whether excommunication denounced by the Pope againſt all heretickes, do oblyge and bynde them before God?

Saying of Mattens.

25. Whether euerye Prieſt is bounde to ſaye daylye hys mattens and euenſong, according as it is ordeined by the Church, or whether he maye leaue them vnſayde without offence or deadly ſinne?

Scripture in the mother tongue.

26. Whether thou beleueſt, that the heades or rulers, by neceſſitie of ſaluation, are bound to giue vnto the people, holy ſcripture in theyr mother language?

27. Whether it is lawfull for the rulers for ſome cauſe, vpon theyr reaſonable aduiſement, to ordeyne, that the ſcripture ſhould not be delyuered vnto the people in the vulgare language?

28. Whether thou beleueſt, that conſecrations, hallowinges and bleſſinges vſed in the Church, are to be prayſed?

Making of lawes in the Church.

29. Whether thou beleueſt that the Pope maye make lawes and ſtatutes, to bynde all Chriſten men to the obſeruaunce of the ſame, vnder paine of deadly ſinne, ſo that ſuch lawes and ſtatutes be not contrarye to the lawe of God?

30. Whether thou beleueſt, that the Pope and other Prelates, & theyr deputies in ſpirituall thinges, haue power to excommunicate Prieſtes, and lay people that are inobedi-

bedient and ſturdy, from entring in to the church, and to ſuſpende or let them from miniſtration of the ſacraments of the ſame?

Iuſtification.

31. Whether faith onely without good workes, maye ſuffice vnto a man fallen into ſinne after his baptiſme, for his ſaluation and iuſtifying?

Prieſts mariage.

32. Whether a Prieſt marying a wife, and that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, and begettyng alſo childrẽ of her without ſlaunder geuing, doe ſinne deadly?

33. Item, whether a latyn Prieſt after he hath taken the order of prieſthode, beyng ſore troubled and ſtyred with pricking of luſt or lecherye, & therfore marying a wife for remedy of the ſame, do ſynne deadly?

Praying for *Wickliffe Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prage*.

34. Item, whether thou diddeſt euer praye for Iohn Wicklef, Iohn Hus, or Hierome of Prage condemned of hereſie in the Councell of Conſtance, or for any of them ſith they dyed, or whether thou haſt done openly or ſecretlye any deedes of charitye for them, affirmyng them to be in bleſſe and ſaued?

35. Item, whether thou haſt recounted them or anye of them to be Saintes, and worſhipped them as ſaintes?

Generall Councels.

36. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue, holde and affirme, that euery generall Councell, and the Councell of Conſtance alſo, do repreſent the vniuerſall congregation or Church?

The Councell of Conſtance.

37. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue, ẏ the ſame thinges which the Councell of Conſtance (repreſentinge the vniuerſall Church) hath approued, and doth approue for the maintenaunce of faith, and ſoules health, that the ſame is to be approued and holden of all Chriſtians?

38. Whether the condemnations of Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, done vpon theyr perſones, bookes, and documents by the whole generall Councell of Conſtance, were duely and ryghtfully done, and ſo for ſuch, of euery catholyke perſon, they are to be holden?

Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus and *Hierome* of *Prage*.

39. Whether thou beleueſt, that Iohn Wickleffe of England, Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage, were hereticks & for heretickes to be named, & theyr bookes & doctrines to haue ben & now be peruerſe, for the which bokes and pertinacie of their perſons, they are condemned by the holy Councell of Conſtance, for heretickes?

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42. Item, whether a Chriſtian perſone deſpiſing the receite of the ſacramentes of confirmatiō, extreme vnction, or ſolemniſing of matrimony, do ſinne deadly?

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44. Item, whether the Pope ordinarly choſen for a tyme, his proper name being expreſt, be ẏ ſucceſſor of S. Peter?

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¶The aunſwere of Iohn Lambert to the firſt Article.

Anſwer to the firſt Article.

The ſpeache of the people diuers and inconſtant.

Iohn. 7.

Vnto your firſt demaunde wherin you do aſke, whether I was ſuſpect or infamed of hereſie, I aūſwer ẏ I am not certain what all perſons at all ſeaſons haue demed or ſuſpected of me, peraduenture ſome better, ſome worſe, like as the opiniō of the people was neuer one, but thought diuerſly of all ẏ famous Prophetes, & of the Apoſtles, yea, and of Chriſt him ſelfe: as appeareth in S. Iohn, how, when he came into Hieruſalem in the feaſt called Scenopegia, anone there aroſe vpon him a great noyſe, ſome ſaying that he was a very good man, other ſayd nay, and called hym a ſeducer, becauſe hee lead the people frō the right wayes of Moyſes law, into errour. Seyng therfore that all men could not ſay wel by Chriſt, which is ẏ author of veritie & truth, yea, the very truth it ſelf, & likewiſe of his beſte ſeruantes: what ſhould I nede to regarde, if at ſome tyme, ſome perſō for a like cauſe ſhould ſuſpect of me amiſſe, & euill reporte of me. Seyng moreouer it is ſayd in ẏ Goſpell. Væ vobis cū laudauerint vos omnes homines, &c. *Woe be to you whē all men ſpeake well of you: for ſo did their fathers to the falſe Prophetes*. If therfore at any ſeaſon ſuch infamie was put vpon me, I am glad that I haue ſo litle regarded the ſame, that now I haue forgotten it. And though I did remember any ſuch, yet were I more then twiſe a foole to ſhewe you thereof: for it is written in your owne lawe: Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum: No man is bounde to bewray him ſelfe. But this I enſure you, I was neuer ſo charged with ſuſpiciō or infamie of this crime, that I was therfore at any time, conuēted & reproued afore any iudge, afore that I was troubled for theſe cauſes, for whiche I was at the firſt put into your handes; and of them ſeyng you could not proue me faultie, I wonder why you would neuer yet pronounce me quite and innocent, according as I haue euen lowly deſired of you, and required full inſtantly the ſame. But lettyng thoſe paſſe, you haue imagined new matters to chardge me with, wherein I thinke certeinely, that you could no more haue proued me culpable, then you did in the firſt: that is to wit, no whit culpable in neither, had it not bene that by longe impriſonment you enforced me to tell what I thought in them, whiche I haue and will frely do: and that in differently conſidered, I ſuppoſe ſhall not deſerue any ſore puniſhement, vnleſſe you will beate the truth, wherunto I hope it ſhall not diſagrée.

¶Aunſwere to the 2. Article.

To your ſecond demaūd, where you do inquire whether euer I had any of Luthers bookes, & namely ſith they were condēned, & how long I kept thē, & whether I haue ſpent any ſtudy in thē? I ſay that in dede I haue had of thē, & that both before they were condēned, & alſo ſith, but I neither will ne can tel you, how long I kept thē: but truth it is ẏ I haue ſtudied vpon thē, & I thāke God ẏ euer I ſo did: For by thē hath God ſhewed vnto me, and alſo to an huge multitude of other, ſuch light, as the deceiuable darknes of them (I beſeche God amend it) that name them ſelues (but amiſſe) to be ẏ holy Church, cannot abyde. And that appeareth euidently, for they dare not ſtand to any triall. He coueteth aboue all thynges, as all his aduerſaries do well know, that all his writynges, & the writinges of all his aduerſaries might be tranſlated into all languages, to the intent that all people might ſée and know, what is ſayd of euery parte, wherby men ſhould the better iudge what the truth is. And in this me thinketh hee requireth nothyng but equitie, for the law would haue no body condēned, ne yet iuſtified, vntill his cauſe were both heard and knowen.

But the contrarye parte, I meane our ouer riche prelacie, whiche is ſo drowned in voluptuous lyuing that they can not attende to ſtudye Gods Scripture ne preach the ſame, whiche ſhould be the principall parte of theyr office, abhorre this faſhion (albeit it is right indifferent & full of equitie) no leſſe then they do abhorre death. And no maruell, for doubtles if it ſo could be obteyned, that the writynges of all parties might be openly ſéene and conferred, we ſhould ſoone ſée their ſleighty dealyng and facyng doctrine, with all other cloked abuſion, lightly ouerthrowne: As appeareth well in Almaine, for there bee the bookes of euery partie ſéene openly and tranſlated in the vulgare language, that all people may ſée and read vpō them: and ſo vppon the ſight of the bookes, they lightly folow the true light of Gods worde, refuſing the horror of darkenes and falſe doctrine, wherby before, they haue ben ſeduced from the right teachyng and way ſhewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hūdreth ne of a thouſād, but generally of whole Cities and countreys, both high and low, few or none except.

But our Prelates ſeyng this, and that their dealyng ſhould, if this light were ſet vp, ſoone be detect and diſcouered, haue ſent out cōmaundementes, that if any perſons ſhall aduenture to kéepe any ſuch bookes, they ſhalbe, be, in ſo doyng, excommunicate from God, and all hys Saintes, and curſed as blacke as pitche, whether the bookes be in Latin, Engliſh, French, Dutch, or any other tongue: as in deede men ſeyng the frute conteined in them haue ſet them forth in all languages. But this ought not Chriſten men to thinke any neweltie, for ſo did their forefathers the Prelates in Chriſts time, and after to the Apoſtles, yea, and if it were well tryed, I thinke it ſhould bee ſoone founde out, that they haue ſo dealt euer ſince, vnto this day. For when Chriſt went about preachyng, the Scribes and Phariſeis which were Byſhops then and Prelates, gaue a generall cõmaundement, yͤ who ſoeuer cõfeſſed hym to be Chriſt, ſhould be curſed and put out of the Synagoge, that we call the Church, and ſo they were. Looke in the Actes of the Apoſtles, & you ſhall finde how they were in like maner ſerued: yea, looke in the olde Teſtamẽt and you ſhall finde (as I remember) how they procured of one, that was a temporall Ruler at that ſeaſon, to haue the Prophecie of Ieremye (for he of all other is moſt vehement agaynſt the diſſimulation of Prieſtes) to be burned: why thẽ ſhould we eſchewe them or their workes, vnles we knewe a better cauſe why, whom our Prelates reiect and caſt away, ſeyng they render no reaſonable cauſe of their enterpriſe? but preſumyng of theyr power, w'out any due authoritie, that I cã finde, grau͂ted vnto thẽ ſo to do, will, becauſe they ſo commaunde, ſo haue all done, according to the tyrannicall ſaying (as I trow) of Sardanapalus: Sic volo, ſic iubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas. That is to ſay: So wil I, ſo do I cõmaunde: and that my will for reaſon ſtand.

But I would to God that ſuch knew what ſpirite they haue in them. For if they had in deede, the ſpirite whiche they clayme and pretende to haue, I meane the ſpirite of Chriſt, I dare ſaye, it ſhould ſoone alter thẽ frõ ſuch hawtie language & doyng, & cauſe them to turne a new leafe: for that ſpirit is full of ſoftnes and lenitie, lowlynes and humilitie, pacience and temperancie, voyde of all wilfulnes and tyranny, yea, it ſhould cauſe them not to preuent, but eaſely to folow the counſell and doctrine of Chriſtes Apoſtles, and holy Saintes that bee theyr interpretours. As S. Paul whiche writyng vnto the Theſſalonians, would them all, *to proue all things, and to reteyne or holde that onely, whiche is good, in refraynyng from all that hath ſemblaũce of euill.* And S. Iohn would haue Chriſten people, *to trye the ſpirites of them that ſhould ſpeake, whether they were of God or no.* Alſo he writyng in an other Epiſtle vnto a noble woman and vnto her children, ſayth: *If any perſon ſhall come vnto you, brynging with hym the doctrine that is not of Chriſt, receiue him not into your houſe, ne make him any chere.* So that in this he would haue women to knowe the doctrine of Chriſt and to loue that, refuſing to geue credence vnto foreine teaching, not ſauering the ſame.

In the j. Epiſtle alſo to the Corinthiãs, S. Paul writing in general to al yͤ inhabitantes of that Citie, ſaith: *Brethren, be you no childrẽ in witte & vnderſtãdyng, but as cõcernyng maliciouſnes, be you children. In witte I woulde haue you perfite:* and why? Verely for none other cauſe, but yͤ we ſhould (as he writeth vnto the Hebrues) haue diſcretion to iudge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and ſo to be lyke men differyng from beaſtes, accordyng to the ſaying of the Prophet: *See that you be not lyke vnto an horſe or a mule, whiche lacke vnderſtandyng.* And we ſhould pray with hym, in an other Pſalme: *O Lord teach me the waye that I ſhoulde walke in, for I lift vp my ſoule vnto thee.*

Sainte Chryſoſtome accordyng vnto this, in a certaine of his Commẽtaries vpon Mathew, the booke is called Opus imperfectum, writeth after this faſhion, ſo neare as my remembraũce doth ſerue, and certaine I am that I ſhall not miſreport hym, and that I wilbe tried when ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe you to bring the booke. The Prieſtes that were Phariſeis in the tyme (ſayth hee) of Chriſt, made an ordinaunce, that who ſoeuer ſhould knowledge Ieſus to be Chriſt, ſhould be accurſed & excommunicate. If then the Phariſeis or Prieſtes that now do occupye their rowmes, ſhould make a lyke ordinaunce, becauſe they would not haue Chriſtes doctrine to be profeſſed for hindryng of their lucre, ſhould we therfore geue in all pointes credence vnto thẽ, and leaue of to ſeke after yͤ knowledge of Chriſts doctrine? Nay truly. Why (quoth hee) ſhall we not bee excuſed here in by ignoraunce, ſeyng we bee forfended by the rulers to haue knowledge? He aunſwereth, no verely: for if (ſayth he) when thou deſireſt to bye cloth, thou wilt not be content to ſee one Marchauntes ware, but goe frõ the firſt to the ſecond, frõ the ſecond to yͤ thyrd, and ſo farther, to know where is the beſt cloth and beſt cheepe: thou vſing ſuch carefull diligence for a temporal profite, art well worthy great reproche, that wilt bee more remiſſe and negligent for thy ſoule health. Seeke therfore about from one Doctour or teacher vnto an other, that thou mayeſt know who doth moſt duely and truly teach Chriſt, and him folow, accordyng to the ſaying of yͤ Apoſtle: *Proue all and hold the good:* and as it is ſayd in the Goſpell, that thou mayeſt know: Qui ſunt probati nũmularij, & qui nõ. That is to witte, know who be true or lawfull chaũgers or coyners, and who bee not.

Authoritie of rulers will not diſcharge our ignorance.

1. Theſſ. 5.

Math. 25.

He alſo addeth an other ſimilitude or parable. Whẽ thou goeſt (quoth he) a iourney, not knowing perfitely the way thou wilt, leſt thou ſhoulde fayle of the ryght way, inquire of one man, and after of an other, and if thou ſhouldeſt chaunce to go ſomewhat wyde, yet thou wilt not ſo leaue of thy iourney vndone, but make inquiſition agayn, to come where thou wouldeſt reſt: So likewiſe (ſayth he) ought we to ſeeke about intentiuely for yͤ welth of our ſoule: Qui ſunt probi clauigeri, et qui non, that is to ſay, who are the right keye bearers & who not: meaning there by yͤ key bearers, Chriſts Apoſtles, & bearers of his teſtimonie or meſſage. Which ſaying, although it were writtẽ of no autẽticall author (howbeit, it is writtẽ euen of him whom I ſhewed you in the ſayd worke) but vttered of one that were in litle eſtimation, euery indifferent perſon hauyng wyt and reaſon, would aſſent (I doubt not) that it is full true.

Chryſoſt. ibid.

The ſame author alſo, in an Epiſtle which you ſhall finde in a worke called Pſegmata Chryſoſtomi, ſheweth (as I remẽber) how certain men deemed ill of him, for becauſe hee did ſtudy Origines workes, whiche afore was condemned for an hereticke: but hee maketh an Apologie to the ſame, ſhewyng that Chriſtian men ought not to bee reprehended for ſo doyng. In whiche Apologie he bringeth for his defẽce, the ſaying of Paul aboue rehearſed, *Proue all thinges. &c.* Likewiſe did S. Hierome, I wote not wel in what place of his workes, but you ſhall finde it in a treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, where he entreateth, De mandatis hominum. When it was obiected againſt him that he retayned by him the workes of Euſebius and of Origene, ſtudying vpon them: he bringeth for him that it was ſo lawfull, the ſayd place of the Apoſtle, makyng therewith an aunſwere worthy to be greatly noted:

Pſegmata Chriſoſt.

Lawfull to read and try all bookes.

Hierome.

The ſame is alſo reported in the booke called Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, or els in Hiſtoria tripartita: I wote not now preciſely whether. So that theſe & other moe authorities of the Scripture, and ſemblable enſamples of holy interpretours, ſhall proue, that I and other may ſafely (no good law inhibityng, vnles conſtitutiõs Phariſaicall) read and ſearch the woorkes, not onely of Luther, but alſo of all other, bee they neuer ſo ill or good: namely ſeyng I am a Prieſt, whõ the Byſhop of Norwich ought not to haue admitted into orders, vnles hee had ſeene me to haue had iudgement to diſcerne good from ill, neither ought any of you to geue orders to any ſuch, in whõ you do not finde lyke habilitie for to iudge the light from darkenes, and the truth from falſhode: and therfore, if for this you would puniſh me, I cã not ſee but you ſhall condemne your ſelues, iudgyng rather

of

bedient and ſturdy, from entring in to the church, and to ſuſpende or let them from miniſtration of the ſacraments of the ſame?

Iuſtification.

31. whether faith onely without good workes, maye ſuffice vnto a man fallen into ſinne after his baptiſme, for his ſaluation and iuſtifying?

Prieſts mariage.

32. whether a Prieſt marying a wife, and that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, and begettyng alſo childrē of her without ſlaunder geuing, doe ſinne deadly?

33. Item, whether a latyn Prieſt after he hath taken the order of prieſthode, beyng ſore troubled and ſtyred with pricking of luſt or lecherye, & therfore marying a wife for remedy of the ſame, do ſynne deadly?

Praying for *Wickliffe Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prage*.

34. Item, whether thou diddeſt euer praye for Iohn Wicklef, Iohn Hus, or Hierome of Prage condemned of hereſie in the Councell of Conſtance, or for any of them ſith they dyed, or whether thou haſt done openly or ſecretlye any deedes of charitye for them, affirmyng them to be in bleſſe and ſaued?

35. Item, whether thou haſt recounted them or anye of them to be Saintes, and worſhipped them as ſaintes?

Generall Councels.

36. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue, holde and affirme, that euery generall Councell, and the Councell of Conſtance alſo, do repreſent the vniuerſall congregation or Church?

The Councell of Conſtance.

37. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue, ẏ the ſame thinges which the Councell of Conſtance (repreſentinge the vniuerſall Church) hath approued, and doth approue for the maintenaunce of faith, and ſoules health, that the ſame is to be approued and holden of all Chriſtians?

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VNto your firſt demaunde wherin you do aſke, whether I was ſuſpect or infamed of hereſie, I aūſwer ẏ I am not certain what all perſons at all ſeaſons haue deemed or ſuſpected of me, peraduenture ſome better, ſome worſe, like as the opiniō of the people was neuer one, but thought diuerſly of all ẏ famous Prophetes, & of the Apoſtles, yea, and of Chriſt him ſelfe: as appeareth in S. Iohn, how, when he came into Hieruſalem in the feaſt called Scenopegia, anone there aroſe vpon him a great noyſe, ſome ſaying that he was a very good man, other ſayd nay, and called hym a ſeducer, becauſe hee lead the people frō the right wayes of Moyſes law, into errour. Seyng therfore that all men could not ſay wel by Chriſt, which is ẏ author of veritie & truth, yea, the very truth it ſelf, & likewiſe of his beſte ſeruantes: what ſhould I nede to regarde, if at ſome tyme, ſome perſō for a like cauſe ſhould ſuſpect of me amiſſe, & euill reporte of me. Seyng moreouer it is ſayd in ẏ Goſpell. Væ vobis cū laudauerint vos omnes homines, &c. *Woe be to you whē all men ſpeake well of you: for ſo did their fathers to the falſe Prophetes.* If therfore at any ſeaſon ſuch infamie was put vpon me, I am glad that I haue ſo litle regarded the ſame, that now I haue forgotten it. And though I did remember any ſuch, yet were I more then twiſe a foole to ſhewe you thereof: for it is written in your owne lawe: Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum: No man is bounde to bewray him ſelfe. But this I enſure you, I was neuer ſo charged with ſuſpiciō or infamie of this crime, that I was therfore at any time, conuēted & reproued afore any iudge, afore that I was troubled for theſe cauſes, for whiche I was at the firſt put into your handes; and of them ſeyng you could not proue me faultie, I wonder why you would neuer yet pronounce me quite and innocent, according as I haue euen lowly deſired of you, and required full inſtantly the ſame. But lettyng thoſe paſſe, you haue imagined new matters to chardge me with, wherein I thinke certeinely, that you could no more haue proued me culpable, then you did in the firſt: that is to wit, no whit culpable in neither, had it not bens that by longe impriſonment you enforced me to tell what I thought in them, whiche I haue and will frely do: and that indifferently conſidered, I ſuppoſe ſhall not deſerue any ſore puniſhement, vnleſſe you will beate the truth, wherunto I hope it ſhall not diſagrée.

¶Aunſwere to the 2. Article.

To your ſecond demaūd, where you do inquire whether euer I had any of Luthers bookes, & namely ſith they were condēned, & how long I kept thē, & whether I haue ſpent any ſtudy in thē: I ſay that in dede I haue had of thē, & that both before they were condēned, & alſo ſith, but I neither will ne can tel you, how long I kept thē: but truth it is ẏ I haue ſtudied vpon thē, & I thāke God ẏ euer I ſo did: For by thē hath God ſhewed vnto me, and alſo to an huge multitude of other, ſuch light, as the deceiuable darkenes of them (I beſeche God amend it) that name them ſelues (but amiſſe) to be ẏ holy Church, cannot abyde. And that appeareth euidently, for they dare not ſtand to any triall. He coueteth aboue all thynges, as all his aduerſaries do well know, that all his wrytynges, & the writinges of all his aduerſaries might be tranſlated into all languages, to the intent that all people might ſée and know, what is ſayd of euery parte, wherby men ſhould the better iudge what the truth is. And in this me thinketh hee requireth nothyng but equitie, for the law would haue no body condēned, ne yet iuſtified, vntill his cauſe were both heard and knowen.

But the contrarye parte, I meane our ouer riche prelacie, whiche is ſo drowned in voluptuous lyuing that they can not attende to ſtudye Gods Scripture ne preach the ſame, whiche ſhould be the principall parte of theyr office, abhorre this faſhion (albeit it is right indifferent & full of equitie) no leſſe then they do abhorre death. And no maruell, for doubtles if it ſo could be obteyned, that the wrytynges of all parties might be openly ſéene and conferred, we ſhould ſoone ſée their ſleighty dealyng and facyng doctrine, with all other cloked abuſion, lightly ouerthrowne: As appeareth well in Almaine, for there bee the bookes of euery partie ſéene openly and tranſlated in the vulgare language, that all people may ſée and read vpō them: and ſo vppon the ſight of the bookes, they lightly folow the true light of Gods worde, refuſing the horror of darkenes and falſe doctrine, wherby before, they haue ben ſeduced from the right teachyng and way ſhewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hūdreth ne of a thouſād, but generally of whole Cities and countreys, both high and low, few or none except.

But our Prelates ſeyng this, and that their dealyng ſhould, if this light were ſet vp, ſoone be detect and diſcouered, haue ſent out cōmaundementes, that if any perſons ſhall aduenture to kéepe any ſuch bookes, they ſhal be,in ſo doyng,excommunicate from God, and all hys Saintes,and curſed as blacke as pitche, whether the bookes be in Latin, Engliſh,French, Dutch, oꝛ any other tongue:as in deede men ſeyng the frute conteined in them haue ſet them foꝛth in all languages. But this ought not Chꝛiſten men to thinke any neweltie, foꝛ ſo did their foꝛefathers the Pꝛelates in Chꝛiſts time, and after to the Apoſtles,yea,and if it were well tryed, I thinke it ſhould bee ſoone founde out, that they haue ſo dealt euer ſince,vnto this day. Foꝛ when Chꝛiſt went about pꝛeachyng, the Scribes and Phariſeis which were Byſhops then and Pꝛelates, gaue a generall cõmaundement,ẏ who ſoeuer cõfeſſed hym to be Chꝛiſt, ſhould be curſed and put out of the Synagoge,that we call the Church, and ſo they were. Looke in the Actes of the Apoſtles,⁊ you ſhall finde how they were in like maner ſerued: yea,looke in the olde Teſtamẽt and you ſhall finde(as I remember)how they pꝛocured of one, that was a tempoꝛall Ruler at that ſeaſon, to haue the Pꝛophecie of Ieremye (foꝛ he of all other is moſt vehement agaynſt the diſſimulation of Pꝛieſtes) to be burned:why thẽ ſhould we eſchewe them oꝛ their woꝛkes, vnles we knewe a better cauſe why, whom our Pꝛelates reiect and caſt away, ſeyng they render no reaſonable cauſe of their enterpꝛiſe?but pꝛeſumyng of theyꝛ power, wᵗout any due authoꝛitie, that I cã finde, graũted vnto thẽ ſo to do,will,becauſe they ſo commaunde, ſo haue all done, accoꝛding to the tyꝛannicall ſaying(as I trow)of Sardanapalus: Sic volo,ſic iubeo,ſit pro ratione voluntas.That is to ſay:So wil I,ſo do I cõmaunde: and that my will foꝛ reaſon ſtand.

But I would to God that ſuch knew what ſpirite they haue in them. Foꝛ if they had in deede, the ſpirite whiche they clayme and pꝛetende to haue,I meane the ſpirite of Chꝛiſt,I dare ſaye,it ſhould ſoone alter thẽ frõ ſuch hawtie language ⁊ doyng, ⁊ cauſe them to turne a new leafe: foꝛ that ſpirit is full of ſoftnes and lenitie, lowlynes and humilitie, pacience and temperancie, voyde of all wilfulnes and tyꝛanny, yea,it ſhould cauſe them not to pꝛeuent, but eaſely to folow the counſell and doctrine of Chꝛiſtes Apoſtles, and holy Saintes that bee theyꝛ interpꝛetours. As S. Paul whiche wꝛityng vnto the Theſſalonians, would them all, *to proue all things,and to reteyne or holde that onely,whiche is good, in refraynyng from all that hath ſemblaũce of euill.* And S. Iohn would haue Chꝛiſten people, *to trye the ſpirites of them that ſhould ſpeake,whether they were of God or no.* Alſo he wꝛityng in an other Epiſtle vnto a noble woman and vnto her childꝛen, ſayth: *If any perſon ſhall come vnto you,brynging with hym the doctrine that is not of Chriſt,receiue him not into your houſe, ne make him any chere.* So that in this he would haue wemen to knowe the doctrine of Chꝛiſt and to loue that,refuſing to geue credence vnto foꝛeine teaching,not ſauering the ſame.

In the j. Epiſtle alſo to the Coꝛinthiãs, S. Paul wꝛiting in general to al ẏ inhabitantes of that Citie,ſaith: *Brethren,be you no childrẽ in witte & vnderſtãdyng,but as cõcernyng maliciouſnes,be you children. In witte I woulde haue you perfite:* and why?Verely foꝛ none other cauſe, but ẏ we ſhould(as he wꝛiteth vnto the Hebꝛues)haue diſcretion to iudge the good from ill,and the ill from the good, and ſo to be lyke men differyng from beaſtes, accoꝛdyng to the ſaying of the Pꝛophet: *See that you be not lyke vnto an horſe or a mule, whiche lacke vnderſtandyng.* And we ſhould pꝛay with hym,in an other Pſalme: *O Lord teach me the waye that I ſhoulde walke in,for I lift vp my ſoule vnto thee.*

Sainte Chꝛyſoſtome accoꝛdyng vnto this, in a certaine of his Cõmẽtaries vpon Mathew, the booke is called Opus imperfectum, wꝛiteth after this faſhion, ſo neare as my remembꝛaũce doth ſerue,and certaine I am that I ſhall not miſrepoꝛt hym,and that I wilbe tried when ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe you to bꝛing the booke. The Pꝛieſtes that were Phariſeis in the tyme (ſayth hee) of Chꝛiſt, made an oꝛdinaunce,that who ſoeuer ſhould knowledge Ieſus to be Chꝛiſt, ſhould be accurſed ⁊ excommunicate. If then the Phariſeis oꝛ Pꝛieſtes that now do occupye their rowmes,ſhould make a lyke oꝛdinaunce, becauſe they would not haue Chꝛiſtes doctrine to be pꝛofeſſed foꝛ hindꝛyng of their lucre,ſhould we therfoꝛe geue in all pointes credence vnto thẽ, and leaue of to ſeke after ẏ knowledge of Chꝛiſts doctrine? Nay truly, Why(quoth hee) ſhall we not bee excuſed here in by ignoꝛaunce, ſeyng we bee foꝛfended by the rulers to haue knowledge? He aunſwereth, no verely: foꝛ if(ſayth he) when thou deſireſt to bye cloth, thou wilt not be content to ſee one Marchauntes ware, but goe frõ the firſt to the ſecond, frõ the ſecond to ẏ thyꝛd, and ſo farther,to know where is the beſt cloth and beſt cheepe: thou vſing ſuch carefull diligence foꝛ a tempoꝛal pꝛofite,art well woꝛthy great repꝛoche, that wilt bee moꝛe remiſſe and negligent foꝛ thy ſoule health. Seeke therfoꝛe about from one Doctour oꝛ teacher vnto an other, that thou mayeſt know who doth moſt duely and truly teach Chꝛiſt,and him folow,accoꝛdyng to the ſaying of ẏ Apoſtle: *Proue all and hold the good:* and as it is ſayd in the Goſpell,that thou mayeſt know: Qui ſunt probati nũmularij,& qui nõ. That is to witte,know who be true oꝛ lawfull chaũgers oꝛ coyners, and who bee not.

Authoꝛitie of rulers will not diſcharge our ignoꝛance.

1.Theſſ.5.

Math.25.

He alſo addeth an other ſimilitude oꝛ parable. Whẽ thou goeſt(quoth he)a iourney,not knowing perfitely the way thou wilt, leſt thou ſhoulde fayle of the ryght way,inquire of one man,and after of an other, and if thou ſhouldeſt chaunce to go ſomewhat wyde, yet thou wilt not ſo leaue of thy iourney vndone, but make inquiſition agayn,to come where thou wouldeſt reſt: So likewiſe(ſayth he)ought we to ſecke about intentiuely foꝛ ẏ welth of our ſoule: Qui ſunt probi clauigeri, et qui non, that is to ſay, who are the right keye bearers ⁊ who not: meaning there by ẏ key bearers, Chꝛiſts Apoſtles,⁊ bearers of his teſtimonie oꝛ meſſage. Which ſaying, although it were wꝛittẽ of no autẽticall authoꝛ (howbeit,it is wꝛittẽ euen of him whom I ſhewed you in the ſayd woꝛke) but vttered of one that were in litle eſtimation, euery indifferent perſon hauyng wyt and reaſon,would aſſent (I doubt not) that it is full true.

Chryſoſt.ibid.

The ſame authoꝛ alſo,in an Epiſtle which you ſhall finde in a woꝛke called Pſegmata Chryſoſtomi, ſheweth (as I remẽber)how certain men deemed ill of him, foꝛ becauſe hee did ſtudy Origines woꝛkes, whiche afoꝛe was condemned foꝛ an hereticke: but hee maketh an Apologie to the ſame, ſhewyng that Chꝛiſtian men ought not to bee repꝛehended foꝛ ſo doyng. In whiche Apologie he bꝛingeth foꝛ his defẽce, the ſaying of Paul aboue rehearſed, *Proue all thinges.&c.* Likewiſe did S. Hierome, I wote not wel in what place of his woꝛkes, but you ſhall finde it in a treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, where he entreateth, De mandatis hominum. When it was obiected againſt him that he retayned by him the woꝛkes of Euſebius and of Origene, ſtudying vpon them: he bꝛingeth foꝛ him that it was ſo lawfull, the ſayd place of the Apoſtle, makyng therewith an aunſwere woꝛthy to be greatly noted:

Pſegmata Chriſoſt.

Lawfull to read and try all bookes.

Hierome.

The ſame is alſo repoꝛted in the booke called Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, oꝛ els in Hiſtoria tripartita: I wote not now pꝛeciſely whether. So that theſe ⁊ other moe authoꝛities of the Scripture, and ſemblable enſamples of holy interpꝛetours, ſhall pꝛoue, that I and other may ſafely (no good law inhibityng, vnles conſtitutiõs Phariſaicall) read and ſearch the woꝛkes, not onely of Luther, but alſo of all other, bee they neuer ſo ill oꝛ good: namely ſeyng I am a Pꝛieſt, whõ the Byſhop of Noꝛwich ought not to haue admitted into oꝛders, vnles hee had ſeene me to haue had iudgement to diſcerne good from ill, neither ought any of you to geue oꝛders to any ſuch, in whõ you do not finde lyke habilitie foꝛ to iudge the light from darkenes, and the truth from falſhode: and therfoꝛe, if foꝛ this you would puniſh me, I cã not ſee but you ſhall condemne your ſelues, iudgyng rather of ſenſuall pleaſure, then of equitie, whiche in men of your order, were a great ſhame and much vncomely.

¶Aunſwere to the.3.Article.

Anſwer to the third. article.

Lambert made prieſt in Norwich.

Unto your thyrd demaund, where you do aſke whether I was conſtitute Prieſt, and in what dioces, and of what Byſhop: I ſay that I was made Prieſt in Norwhich, & of the Biſhops Suffragan of the ſame dioces.

¶Aunſwere to the.4.Article.

Anſwer to the fourth article.

Mariage of prieſtes whether it be lawfull and expedient.

Unto the fourth, wherin you do demaund, whether it be lawfull for a Prieſt to mary a wife, and whether a Prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the law of God to mary a wife: I ſay that it is lawfull, yea, and neceſſary for all men that haue not giuen to them of God, the gift of chaſtitie, to mary a wyfe, and that ſheweth both Chriſt & S. Paul. In the xix. of Mathew Chriſt ſpeaking vnto the Phariſeis that came for to tempt him, in the concluſiõ, ſayth in this wiſe: *Whoſoeuer, ſhall forſake his wife except it be for fornication, and marieth an other, committeth adultrie, and whoſoeuer marieth her ſo forſaken, committeth adultrie.*

*Math.*19.

With that, ſpeaketh his Diſciples: If thus the caſe ſtand betwixt a man and his wife: it ſhalbe hurtfull and not expedient to contract Matrimonie. He made aunſwere: *Euery man can not away with that ſaying, but they vnto whõ it is geuẽ of God*: Meaning that euery mã could not abide ſingle or vnmaryed, but ſuch vnto whõ was geuẽ of God, a ſpeciall grace ſo to cõtinue. And if with your better aduiſe, I might be ſomwhat herein bold, I would ſuppoſe that, where as he doth ſay: Non omnes ſunt capaces huius dicti (*Euery mã can not away with that ſaying*) this worde, Non omnes, ought to be here taken lyke as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in the Pſalme it is ſayd: Non iuſtificabitur in cõſpectu tuo omnis viuens. It is ment that no perſon lyuyng ſhalbe iuſtified afore God. And in ẏ Epiſtle to ẏ Galathians, & to ẏ Romaines, where it ſayd: Ex operibus legis nõ iuſtificabitur omnis caro. (*By the workes of the lawe no fleſhe ſhalbe iuſtified in his ſight*) it is ment thereby nulla caro: ſo that non omnis, after the rule of equipollẽce, ſhould be taken for as much as nullus, & then ẏ ſenſe ſhould be thus: Nulli ſunt capaces huius dicti, niſi hi quibus datum ſit. No man can be capax of this ſaying, or can ſo paſſe their lyfe without mariage, except thoſe whiche haue it geuen them by a ſingular grace of God to lyue chaſt.

*Math.*29.

Non omnes, taken vniuerſally in ſcripture.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 9.

Chaſtitie is a gifte only of God.

Then hee proceedeth further ſaying: *There be gelded men, that ſo were borne from theyr mothers wombe: and there bee ſome gelded men, that haue bene ſo made by men: and there bee gelded men that haue ſo made them ſelues for loue of the kingdom of heauen.* In concluſion he ſaith: who that receyueth this ſaying, thinking that it ſhould be vnexpedient for him to marye, and that he may lyue chaſte thorow the gift geuen him of God: let him take it, and ſo liue. So he leaueth ſinglenes of life to al mens election, without any compellyng them there to.

*Math.*19.

Gelded men three wayes to be taken in ſcripture.

Singlenes ought not to be compelled.

Hereunto aſſenteth S. Paule, when that by manye reaſons he had perſwaded the Corinthians to ſingle life. Finally, he concludeth thus: *This* (quoth he) *ſay I vnto you, willing that which ſhould be for your profite: but not to bringe you in bondage.* And a litle afore: *I woulde* (quoth he) *that all men were euen as I my ſelfe am. But euery one hath a ſeuerall gifte of God, one, one wyſe, an other otherwiſe,* ſhewyng thereby, that vnto ſome it is geuen of God to liue cõtinent, and to other for to engender & procreate children, and therfore hys will can not come to effect. Which thing you may eaſely perceiue in this: that after he had ſhewed forth his good wiſh and deſire, ſayng: Velim omnes homines. &c. *I woulde that all men were euen as I am:* he putteth a coniunction aduerſatiue, that declareth an obſtacle or ſtop, ſaying: Sed vnuſquiſque proprium donum habet. &c. *But euerye man hath his proper gifte of God.*

1.*Cor.* 7.

1.*Cor.* 7.

Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you maye apertly ſee, that he would haue all men, none except, to mary, wanting the gift of continencie. *This* (quod he) *ſaye I to the vnmaried and widowes: expedient it were for them to remayne as I do: but if they can not liue continent, let them contracte mariage, for better it is to marie then to burne.* This proueth well that all Prieſtes wantinge continencye of hart, had neede to marye for to auoide burning luſte, vnleſſe they bee inobedient to the minde of Chriſt, that ſpake in Paule, in obſeruing the traditions of men.

In the beginning alſo of the ſame Chapter, he ſayth: *It is good that a man ſhoulde not deale with a woman. Notwithſtanding for auoyding fornication* (quod he) *let euery man haue his wife, and euerye woman haue her huſband.* He ſayth here: Quiſque & quæque, euerye man and euery womã: and not quidam nec quædam, ſome man nor ſome woman. He excepteth neither Prieſt ne Nunne, but euery both mã and woman is bound for auoiding of burning & fornicatiõ, to mary, not hauing the gift geuen of chaſtitie.

The ſame alſo confirmeth your own law Diſt. xxix. Where it is writtẽ thus: Si quis diſcernit præsbyterũ coniugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quòd offerre non debeat, anathema ſit. If any mã do holde that a Prieſt beyng maryed, in that reſpecte that he is maryed, ought not to miniſter in his function: be he accurſed. And in the. xxxi. Diſtinction. Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro ſuo fidelem ac religioſam deteſtatur, aut culpabilem æſtimat, velut quę regnum Dei introire non poſſit, anathema ſit. If any man ſhall finde fault with matrimonye, and deteſte a faithfull and deuoute woman lying with her huſband, and thinke her culpable, as one that could not therfore enter in to the kyngdom of God: be he accurſed. And euery where elles, ſuch like are to be ſeene.

Moreouer, in hiſtoria tripartita it is written, that a noble Martyr of Chriſt called Paphnutius, in Nicene Councell, when all other Biſhoppes were purpoſed to haue enacted there that prieſtes ſhould liue vnmaried, this holye man reſiſted them ſo mightely both with reaſons, and alſo with authoritye of ſcripture, that then their purpoſe altered, and their firſte deuyſe coulde not paſſe. And one authoritie I remember was this, which he borowed of Paule in the ſecond Epiſtle to Timoth. Youre deuiſe (quod he) may haue a ſemblance of holines: but in dede it ſhall be the deſtructiõ and vndoing of the ſame.

Moreouer, in one of ẏ principal hiſtoryes of France called, Les illuſtrations de gaulles. Who ſoeuer pleaſe, may there read it as it ſtãdeth, within vj. leaues afore ẏ ende of ẏ ſame: how the Author wt deepe ſorow lamenteth the ordinaunce that decreed firſte, prieſtes to lyue vnmaryed, ſhewing, and that amply, the miſeryes, that haue enſued in France thereby, imputyng it vnto Calix the Pope: of whome he maketh a dolefull mention in meter, where of the firſte I yet remember, and it is thus: O ſancte Calixte, totus mũdus odit te. &c. O holy Calixte, al ẏ world hateth thee. Which foloweth in writing to all that luſt to beholde therin. But what nead I to make longer treatiſe hereof, for ſomuche as you do daily both heare and ſee, what foule abominatiõ ariſeth in euery corner, of thys pitious law made of mẽ that would preſume to be wiſer then God, thinking (as we euer do) that either he would not, or els for lacke of wiſdome he could not ſhew vs a ſufficient law or way, to direct our lyfe and conuerſation, to come to the ioye and reſting place of hym promyſed, and ſo of vs longed and loked for. Wherby we both be farre vnreaſonable in ſo deeming of hym after our vnwyſe wit, and hee much diſhonoured. The whiche I beſech hym to helpe. Amen.

¶ Aunſwere to the.5.Article.

Unto the.v. where ye do aſke, whether I beleue that what ſoeuer is done of mã, whether it be good or ill, cõmeth of neceſſitye: that is (as you conſtrue) to wit, whether man hath free will, ſo that he may deſerue ioye or paine: I ſay (as I ſayd at the beginnyng) that vnto the fyrſt part of your riddle, I neither can, ne will giue any diffinitiue aũſwere, for ſo much as it ſurmounteth my capacitie, truſting that God ſhall ſend hereafter, other that ſhalbe of better learning and wit then I, for to endite it. As concerning the ſecond parte, where as you do interprete, that is to ſaye, whether man haue frée will or no, ſo that he may deſerue ioye or payne: as for our deſeruing ſpecially of ioy, I thinke it very ſlender or none, euen when we do the verye cõmaundementes and law of God, & that am I taught by our Sauiour, in S. Luke where he ſaith thus: *Which of you* (quod he) *hauing a ſeruaunt that hath eared your lande, or fedde your beaſts, wil ſay vnto him whẽ he cometh home out of the field, go thy way quickly, and ſitte down to thy meat: and rather wil not ſay vnto him, make ready my ſupper, ſeruing me thereat vntill I haue made an end thereof, and afterward take thy ſelfe meate and drinke. Thinke you that he is bounde to thanke his ſeruaunt which thus ſhall doe his commaundement? I trow* (ſayth he) *nay. Euen ſo you* (ſayth he) *when you haue done all thinges to you commaunded, ſay yet you be vnprofitable ſeruaunts, and haue done that which you were bound to do.* In which wordes you may clearly ſée, that he would not haue vs greatly eſteme our merites, whẽ we haue done that is commaunded by God, but rather reckening our ſelues to be but ſeruantes vnprofitable to god, for ſomuch as he hath no nede of our wel doing, for his own auauncement, but only that he loueth to ſée vs do wel for our own behouſe: & moreouer, that whẽ we haue done his bydding, we ought not ſo to magnifie, neyther our ſelf, ne our own frée will, but laud hym with a meeke hart, thorowe whoſe benefite we haue done (if at any tyme we do it) hys lykyng and pleaſure: not regardyng our merite, but hys grace and benefite, wherby only is done all that in anye wyſe is to hym acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attende our merites in doing the commaundement of God, much leſſe ſhould we loke for merite, for obſeruyng our owne inuentions or traditions of men, vnto whiche there is no benefite in all ſcripture, which Paule calleth the woord of truth and of faith, promyſed.

But here may be obiected againſt me, that rewarde is promyſed in manye places to them that do obſerue the preceptes of God. That I affirme to be very ſoth. Notwithſtanding ſuch reward ſhall neuer be atteyned of vs, except by the grace and benefite of hym, whiche worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth wel S. Auguſtin, S. Ambroſe, Fulgentius, with other, as you may ſée euery where in their workes, and ſpecially in the treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, where he entreateth de gratia & meritis. And of S. Auguſtine I remember. ij. or. iij. right notable ſentences, concerning the ſame. One is in the 9. boke of his Cõfeſſions, in this fourme: Vę etiam laudabili vitę hominum, ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Quia verè non exquiris delicta, vehementer fiducialiter ſperamus aliquem locum aput te inuenire indulgentię. Quiſquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita ſua, quid tibi enumerat niſi munera tua? O ſi cognoſcerēt ſe omnes, & qui gloriatur in Domino gloriaretur: Woe be to the life of men, be they neuer ſo holy, if thou ſhalt examine them, ſetting thy mercy aſyde. Becauſe thou doeſt not exactly examine the faultes of men, therfore we haue a vehement hope and truſt to finde ſome place of mercye with thée. And who ſo euer recounteth vnto thée hys merytes, what other thynge doth he recounte, but thy benefites? O would God all men would ſée and knowe them ſelues, and that he which glorieth, would glorie in the Lord. Agayne, in the fyrſt boke he ſayeth thus vnto God: Nunquid inops es & gaudes lucris? Nunquid auarus & vſuras exigis? Superogatur tibi vt debeas? & quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddis debita nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens. Doth any man gyue that he oweth not vnto thée, that thou ſhouldeſt be in his debte? and hath any man ought that is not thyne? Thou rendreſt debte, and yet oweſt to no man. Thou forgyueſt debts, and yet loſeſt nothing. And therfore his vſual praier was this: Domine da quod iubes, & iube quod vis. Lord giue that thou commaundeſt, and commaunde what thow wilt.

Alſo in the boke called, Manuale Auguſtini, or De contemplatione Chriſti, he ſayeth in this wiſe: Tota ſpes mea eſt in morte Domini. Mors eius meritum meum, refugium meum, ſalus, vita, & reſurrectio mea. Meritum meum miſeratio Domini. Non ſum meriti inops quamdiu ille miſerationum Dominus non defuerit. Et ſi miſericordię Domini multę, multus ego ſum in meritis. All my hope is in the Lordes death. His death is my merite, my refuge, my health, and my reſurrecion. My meryte is the mercye of the Lord. I am not without merite, ſo long as the Lord of mercie ſhall continue. And if the mercies of the Lorde be great and riche, then am I alſo great and riche in merites.

And to conclude, they be Chriſtes owne merites and good workes (as ſayeth S. Ambroſe well nygh euerye where) that hee worketh in vs, whiche hee doth rewarde and crown, and not ours, if one ſhoulde loke narrowlye vpon the thing, and ſpeake properly. Howbe it they yet neuertheleſſe are ours by him, for ſo much as hys mercifull bountie imputeth his goods to be ours. So that in thys, I wote not howe other doo meane, which luſt to ſel their merites vnto their neyghbours, that happly haue ſkarſe enough for them ſelues: but I do wholy déeme and beleue, according as the ſcripture with theſe holy Doctours, and ſuch other, doo teache, wiſhyng that men euer for good doyng, ſhoulde not ſo much (as the common people doth) regarde their merite or rewarde, for that is not the thinge that engendereth the loue of God in vs, but rather maketh men to honour God in a ſeruile faſhion, & for ẏ loue of them ſelues, in doing workes for loue of reward, or for dréed of payne, more then becauſe it ſo pleaſeth God, and liketh him: where as if we regarded fyrſt (yea and all together) that it is our duetie to doo wel (which is the kéeping of his commaundementes) and that ſo we ſhould contente hys pleaſure, rewarde ſhoulde vndoubtedlye enſue good dedes, although we minded no whit ẏ ſame, as heat followeth euermore the fire vnſeparate therefrom. And thus we ſhould ſerue God with hartye loue as children, and not for méede or dread, as vnlouing thraldes and ſeruauntes.

Good workes how they be Gods. and how they be ours.

To walke with God after a ſeruile faſhion, is to worke for merite.

Reward followeth good workes, but yet good workes be not done for rewarde.

Concerning frée will, I meane all together, as doth S. Auguſtine, that of our ſelfe we haue no libertye ne habilitie to do the wyll of God, but are ſubiect vnto ſinne, & thraldes of the ſame, concluſi ſub peccatum, & vęnundati ſub eodem: *Shutte vppe and ſolde vnder ſinne*, as withneſſeth both Eſaye, and alſo Paule, but by the grace of God we are rydde and ſet at libertie, according to the portion that euerye man hath taken of the ſame, ſome more ſome leſſe.

No abilitie in man to do the will of God.

Rom. 7.11.

¶Aunſwere to the 6. Article.

Where as in your firſt demaunde, you do enquire whether the Sacrament of the aultar be a Sacrament neceſſary vnto ſaluation, and whether after the conſecratiõ of the bread and wyne done by the Prieſt, as by ẏ Miniſter of God, there is the very body and bloud of Chriſt in lykenes of bread and wyne: I neither can ne will aunſwere one worde, otherwiſe then I haue told ſith I was firſt deliuered into your handes. Neither would I haue aunſwered one whit thereunto, knowyng ſo much at ẏ firſt as I now do, till you had brought forth ſome ẏ woulde haue accuſed me to haue treſpaſſed in the ſame: whiche I am certeine you can not do, bringyng any that is honeſt and credible.

Anſwer to the 6. article.

The Sacrament of the body & bloud of the Lord.

¶Aunſwere to the 7. Article.

As concernyng the other vj. Sacramentes, I make you the ſame aunſwere that I haue done vnto the Sacrament of the altare, and none other. That is, I will ſay nothyng, vntill ſome men appeare to accuſe me in the ſame, vnleſſe I know a more reaſonable cauſe, then

Aunſwere to the 7. article.

Baptiſme to be in the vulgare tongue.

I haue yet heard, why I ſo ought to do. But as touching the forme and faſhion, I ſhall aunſwere willyngly ſo farreforth as my rudenes will ſerue. I hold well that ſuch as bee duely electe miniſters in the Churche, ought to baptiſe, except neceſſitie requireth otherwiſe, and that the forme vſed in the Church, is in mine opinion, not vncõmendable. Neuertheles it ſhould edifie much more, if it were vttered in the vulgare language, and cauſe people in the Baptiſme of children, more effectuouſly to thanke God for his inſtitution & hygh benefite therby repreſented.

¶Aunſwere to the 8 Article,

Aunſwere to the 8. article.

Matrimony ought freely to be mineſtred and without money.

In lyke condition do I alſo deme of miniſtration in all the other, that it ſhould bee expedient to haue them miniſtred openly in the vulgare language, for the edifiyng of the people, As concernyng the forme vſed in matrimonye, I lyke it ryght well, and thinke it commendable, ſauyng in all countreyes lightlye Iudas hath ſet in hys foote ouer farre, and taketh in hand to ſell his maſter, accompanied with Symon Magus, ſaying: what will you geue me if I deliuer vnto you Chriſt? This is the ſaying of all them that require, without any lawfull authoritie, in ſome places xij.pẽce, in ſome vj.pẽce, in ſome more, in ſome leſſe, but in euery place lightly ſome money, when a couple ſhould bee maryed: and this they call the Churches right. Moreouer, that they will not ſuffer mariage to be ſolemniſed at all tymes of the yeare, I thinke it ſtandeth not with Chriſtes rule, but rather is agaynſt the ſame: and that they will not ſuffer the banes vpon all holydayes to be proclamed vnles a diſpenſatiõ for money be purchaſed therfore. All this God forbiddeth. Finallye, like as no money ought to be geuen for this: no more ſhould any be taken for any other. But the contrary is ſéene, which is great pitye, yea euen at the receyuinge of the Sacrament of the Altar, prieſtes euerye where vſe to claime ſomewhat, and in ſome part of the Weſt countrey, no leſſe then.ij. pence of euery pole.

¶ Aunſwere to the.9. Article.

Aunſwere to the 9 article.

Biſhops and prieſtes all one in the old time.

The order and ſtate of prieſts.

Election of miniſters in the olde time not without the aſſent of the people.

Subdeacons, Exorciſtes, Benet and Collect, not ordeined of God, but of men.

Subdeaconſhip in the tyme of the Apoſtles was no holy order.

As touching prieſthode, in the primitiue Churche, when vertue bare (as auncient Doctors do déeme, and ſcripture, in mine opinion, recordeth the ſame) moſt roume, there were no more officers in the Church of God, then Biſhops and Deacons, that is to ſaye, miniſters: as witneſſeth beſide ſcripture, full apertly, Hierome in his commentaries vpon the Epiſtles of Paule, whereas he ſayth, that thoſe whõ we cal Prieſtes were all one, and none other but Byſhops: and the Biſhops none other but Prieſtes, men auncient both in age and learning, ſo neare as could be choſẽ: neither were they inſtitute and choſen as they be now a daies, with ſmall regard, of a Biſhop or his Officer only, oppoſing them if they can conſtrue a Collect, but they were choſen not onely of the Byſhop, but alſo with the conſent of the people, among whom they ſhould haue their liuing, as ſheweth S. Cyprian: and the people (as he ſaith) ought to haue power to chuſe prieſts that be men of good learnyng, of good and honeſt report. But (a lacke for pitye) ſuche elections are now baniſhed, and new faſhions brought in. Whiche if we ſhould conferre with the forme of the election ſhewed of Chriſt by hys Apoſtle Paul, we ſhould find no ſmall diuerſitie, but all turned vp ſide downe. To conclude, I ſay, the order or ſtate of Prieſtes & Deacons was ordeined by God, but Subdeacons and coniurers otherwiſe called Exorciſtæ & Accolitæ, which we call Benet and Collect, were inſtitute by the inuention of men. And this you may find in the law, Diſt. 21. and other places, where is written: Subdiaconatus tempore Apoſtolorum non fuit ſacer. Subdeacõſhyp in the tyme of the Apoſtles was no holy order.

¶Aunſwere to the 10. Article.

Aunſwere to the 10. article.

As touchyng eare confeſſion, I ſay, that the cõmon faſhion now vſed was neuer ordained by Chriſts law, that is written in the Bible: neither can you proue by any authoritie of the ſame, that we ought to confeſſe all our offences particularly, with the circumſtances of all and of euery ſuch, to any mã. Agayn, for the maintenaunce of this whiche I haue ſayd, you ſhall know that Chriſoſtome ſtandeth ſtifly with me, in his Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to the Hebrues. In an Homily alſo that he maketh vppon the Pſalme Miſerere. And moreouer in a Sermõ that he maketh, De pœnitẽtia: beſide many other treatiſes, wherin he cõtinueth euer one, teſtifying in ſemblable wiſe.

In lyke maner doth one of your principall Doctors writyng vpon your Canon lawe, named Panormitanus, teſtifie that it is made by the lawe of mã, & not of God in cap. Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. In the booke alſo called hiſtoria tripartita, you ſhal find how it was firſt inſtitute (as I remember) and after vndone agayne, becauſe of an huge vilany committed with a woman by a Miniſter of the Church thorow confeſſion.

Alſo it is mentioned in the end of ẏ firſt diſtinct. De pœnitentia, how the Gréeke Churche, whõ I thincke you do not note to be heretickes, will not yet hetherto alowe it. There alſo are many reaſons brought forth, both to proue that confeſſion made to a Prieſt, ſhould not be neceſſary, & alſo that cõfeſſion made vnto God, ſhoulde ſuffice, concludyng in this wiſe: Quibus autoritatibus. &c. I could bryng forth other that bée yet lyuing men, of ſurmountyng and excellent litterature, which exactely by many and myghtye, both authorityes and reaſons, doo ſhewe and confyrme thys my ſayinge to bée iuſte: but I keepe ſilence and will not name them, leſt I ſhould bring them in hatred. Notwithſtanding, I neuer ſayd, ne will ſay, but thath men féeling them ſelues agreued in conſcience with ſome great tentation, had néede to go vnto ſuch, whom they know and truſt to be of ſtedfaſt credence, and to haue good ſkill in the law of God, opening their gréefe vnto them, to the entent they maye knowe throwe counſell, ſome eaſe and remedy therof.

But in this I meane not that they ought to go vnto their Curate, or to any other Prieſt, whoſe credence they déeme not all truſty, or their Coũcell not ſage, but to any other, what ſoeuer he be, whom they know moſt ſufficient in properties aboue ſhewed, when their Curate doth lacke them. And this thyng is the moſt behouable, when men nedyng counſell, bee ſo voyde of knowledge in Chriſtes law, that they can not find therin remedy them ſelues. For the doctrine of Chriſt, if it were well knowen, conteyneth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the minde, ſo that men by ſpirituall knowledge might eaſe them ſelues.

To the other part of your queſtiõ, where ye do aſke whether a Prieſt in caſes vnto hym limited, may loſe a ſinner cõfeſſed & contrite for his ſinne, inioynyng hym holſome penaunce? I ſay that onely Chriſt loſeth a ſinner whiche is contrite, by hys worde and promiſe, and the Prieſt doth nothyng but ſhewe and declare the worde: Neither doth declaration or miniſterye of the Prieſt anye whit auayle for to loſe any perſon, vnleſſe he that ſhould bee loſed, geue credence vnto the worde miniſtred and ſhewed by the Prieſt. Whiche worde or promiſe of Chriſt is called the worde of reconciliatiõ or atonement making betwixt God and man. And this teſtifieth S. Paul in the ij. to the Cor. where hée ſayth in this wiſe: *God hath reconciled vs vnto hym thorowe Ieſus Chriſt*. Sée how it is God that loſeth vs from ſinne, whiche is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt vs and hym, and that thorow Chriſt, whom he cauſed to dye for the ſame purpoſe. *And he* (quoth S. Paul) *hath ordeined vs Miniſters of the ſayd atonement.* Sée how Chriſtes Apoſtles called not them ſelues the authors of byndyng and loſing, but Miniſters: *for hee* (that is to wit, God) *reconciled the worlde vnto hym forgeuing theyr ſinnes*. Wherin you may know what reconcilyng is. *And hath committed* (ſayth Paul) *vnto vs to be meſſengers of the ſame worde or tydinges of atonement* *or reconcilyng.*

Alſo that the power wherby men are loſed frō ſinne, is not the Prieſtes power, you may know by ẏ vulgar ſaying, which is right true: yea & with leiſure, I doubt not, but that I can ſhew the ſame in the Decrées which is thus: Solus deus remittit peccata. Onely God forgiueth and pardoneth vs of our ſinnes. And this was preached at Paules Croſſe the Sonday next after the Epiphany laſt, the Byſhop of London ſittyng by: the preacher ſpeakyng after this forme, treatyng of this text: Ecce agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi. *Behold the Lābe of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world.* In that, ſayd the preacher, teſtimony is geuē, of Chriſt to be a Lambe, it is ſhewed that hee was an innocent mā. But in that it is ſayd, that he taketh away the ſinne of the world, is ſhewed that he was God, alleadgyng there for the confirmation of this part of hys purpoſe, the vulgare ſaying aboue ſayd by me: Solus deus remittit peccata. And the ſame propoſition, or an other equal with the ſame, vſeth Chryſoſtome in an Homely that is made vpō this text of Math: Vocabitur nomen eius Ieſus. &c. *His name ſhalbe called Ieſus: for hee ſhall ſaue his people frō their ſinnes.* Alſo S. Chriſoſtome in opere imperfecto, vppon this text: Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſæi, qui clauditis regnum cœlorum. &c. *Woe be vnto you Scribes and Phariſeis, becauſe ye ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen before men, &c.* As neare as my remembraunce doth ſerue me: or els in ſome other place, but in the ſame booke (as I ſuppoſe) hee affirmeth that the keyes of heauen are the worde and doctrine of God. This witneſſeth moreouer S. Gregory (I trow) in his booke called Paſtoralia, or els it is in an Epiſtle that he writeth, ad Epiſcopum Conſtantinopolitanum, in theſe wordes: Clauis appertionis eſt ſermo correctoris, qui increpando, culpā detegit, quam ſæpe neſcit qui perpetrauit. The keye of loſing is the word of the corrector, who in rebukyng, doth diſcloſe ẏ fault, whiche many tymes he knoweth not that committeth the ſame.

Saint Ambroſe agréeyng to the ſame, ſayth: Verbū dei dimittit peccata: The worde of God forgeueth ſinne. But ſhall we then ſay, that Gods Miniſters do not bynde and loſe? I ſay no, not as the authors of ſo doyng, but they do loſe and bynde in lyke maner, as it is ſaid of Paul in the Actes of the Apoſtles, where our Sauiour ſpake vnto him in this maner: *I ſhall* (ſaid our Sauiour) *deliuer thee frō the people and nations, vnto whō I ſend thee, that thou ſhouldeſt open their eyes, that they may be conuerted from darkenes to light.* Here Paul is ſayd to open the eyes of mens hartes. Albeit to ſpeake properly, it is God that ſo doth: And therfore Dauid prayeth vnto hym: Reuela oculos meos: *Open mine eyes O Lorde.* And in lyke maner it is ſpokē of Iohn Baptiſt in the i. of Luke: *that he ſhould go before Chriſt in the ſpirite and power of Helias, and turne the hartes of the fathers to their children, and the vnbeleuers to the wiſedome of the rightwiſe.* Albeit to turne mens hartes, and to worke in thē, belongeth vnto God. But ſo vſe we to ſpeake Metonymicè: As if your Lordſhip had defined me to be excōmunicate, & therupon ſhould ſend a cōmaundemēt to ẏ perſon of Knoll to declare ẏ ſame, ẏ people woulde ſay that ẏ perſō of Knoll proclaimyng your cōmaundement, had accurſed me: but yet doth he not properlye curſe me, but you rather, when hee in pronouncyng the ſame, doth your acte and commaundement, rather then his owne.

Touchyng caſes lymited to Prieſtes and Miniſters, for loſing frō ſinne, or byndyng in the ſame, I do know no ſuch thynges ſhewed in Scripture, whiche is the perfect way of our lyfe. Neither can any man (I ſuppoſe) ſhew by authoritie thereof, that one ſhould haue more or leſſe limited hym, then an other. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I ſhall thanke you for your doyng, and pray God to acquite you.

Enioynyng of penaunce.

Concernyng enioynyng of penaunce, I knowe of none that men néede to admitte, nor you to put or enioyne the ſame, except it be renouation of lyuyng, in caſting apart olde vyce, & takyng them vnto new vertue, which euery true penitent entendeth, or ought to entēd verily by the grace & aſſiſtence of our Sauiour Chriſt, to ſhew and performe.

¶ Aunſwere to the. 11. Article.

Aūſwer to the 11. article.

Vnto the. xi. I ſaye, that grace is geuen vnto them, that duly receyue the Sacramentes of Chriſt and hys church, but whether by them or no, that I can not define: for God ſendeth his grace where he pleaſeth, either with them, or without them, and whē he pleaſeth: ſo that it is at his arbitrement, how, and when. Moreouer, many a leude perſone receyueth the ſacraments, that are deſtitute of grace, to their confuſion. So that I can not affirme, that the Sacramentes geueth grace: Yet in due receit of the Sacramentes, I ſuppoſe and thinke, that God geueth vnto thē grace that ſo taketh them, as he doth vnto all good, euen without them alſo.

Sacramentes whether they geue grace, or no.

¶ Aunſwere to the. 12. Article.

Anſwer to the 12. article.

Where as in your xij. article you do aſke, whether all things neceſſary vnto ſaluation, are put in holy Scripture, & whether thinges only there put, be ſufficient, & whether ſomethings vpō neceſſity of ſaluatiō, are to be beleued & obſerued, which are not expreſſed in Scripture? this is the queſtion, as great learned men haue ſhewed me, whom I do count my frends, ſith the tyme I appeared at your lordſhips aſſignement before maiſter Doctor Leſſe, and maiſter Melling, with other in your chappel of Lambeth, when theſe queſtions were fyrſt propounded: this (I ſay) is the queſtion, which (as they told me) is the head and whole content of al other obiected againſt me. Yea this is both the helme and ſterne of all together, and that whiche they contended right ſore to impugne: but loue of the truth (wherewith in this poynte I reckened me wel fenſed) woulde not ſuffer me to apply and yeld to their will, thinking, quòd ſanctum eſt veritatem præferre amicitię: that the truth ought to be preferred before al frendſhip and amitie: And alſo: Si dextra manus ſcandalizet, deberet preſcindi & abijci: *If the right hand offend, it ought to be cutte of and caſte awaye.*

Doctor Leſſe. M. Melling.

Truth to be preferred before frendſhip.

Math. 5.

But touching an aunſwere vnto this queſtion, I ſuppoſe verily, that if I had S. Cirils workes by me, I ſhould not néede to ſhew anye other aunſwere in thys, then he hath ſhewed afore time, wrytyng vpon this ſaying of S. Ihon: Sunt & alia multa quę fecit Ieſus. *There are many thynges moe which Ieſus dyd.* Notwithſtanding for ſo much as euery man at all ſeaſons, can not haue what he woulde, and therfore muſt make other ſhift: ſuch as he may, I ſay (as I ſuppoſe) the firſt part of your queſtion to be verye true, and therefore to be affirmed: that is to wit, that all things néedefull for mans ſaluation, bee mencioned and ſhewed in holye ſcripture, and that the thinges only there put, be ſufficient for the regiment of ſpirituall liuing & mans ſoule health. And in thus ſhall you finde both ẏ auncient Doctors ſtanding with me: and moreouer, the ſuffrage of holy writte, whoſe authoritie is of moſt ſoueraigne and vnfallible ſtedfaſtnes.

Cyrillus in Ioannem.

Iohn. 21.

All thinges neceſſary to ſaluation, conteined in ſcripture.

Loke what S. Hierome ſaieth vppon this verſe: Dominus narrabit in ſcripturis populorum: *The Lorde ſhall rehearſe it, when hee wryteth vp the people.* S. Ambroſe alſo in a treatiſe, De paradiſo, doth ſhew likewyſe, where he bringeth this text of Paul written in the. ij. to the Corinth. *I am afeard leaſt it may by ſome meane be brought to paſſe, that as the Serpent deceyued Eue thorow wilines, ſo your mindes maye be corrupt from the ſimple veritye that is in Chriſt.* And alſo in his Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to the Coloſſ. vpon this texte: *In Chriſt Ieſus is all treaſure of wiſdome. &c.* and in other diuers places of the ſame worke.

Hierome.

Pſal. 87.

Ambroſ. lib. de paradiſo.

S. Chryſoſtome alſo in hys Commentaries vppon

2.Tim.3.

Chryſoſtomus in Epiſt. Pauli. & in opere imperfecto.

The preacher muſt not ſwerue eyther on the right hand, or left, from the expreſſe word of God.

Paule declaring this ſaying: Omnis ſcriptura diuinitus inſpirata. &c. *The whole Scripture geuen by inſpiration of God &c.* And in his booke, called Opus imperfectum, I wote not preciſely vpon what text, but there you ſhall finde, that he woulde haue a true preacher of Gods law, not ſweruing therefro, neyther vppon the right hand, neither vpon the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Salomon: for he that ſhould therunto adde or withdrawe, ſhould enterpriſe, as ſaith Chryſoſtome, to be wiſer then God. Theſe or els ſuch like words doth he ſay. I will be deemed by the booke brought forth, becauſe my remembraunce can not retaine perfectly all ſuch thinges.

Cyprianus ad Cecilium fratrem.

Scripture how many names it hath.

The word ſufficient for all our direction.

Scripture ſufficient to ſaluatiō without any other addition.

Pſal. 25.

Pſal. 118.

Math. 7.

1. Cor. 3.

Epheſ. 2.

S. Cyprian mainteineth wel the ſame, in an Epiſtle that he writeth ad Cecilium fratrē. Whiche I would to God were in Engliſh, that all men myght learne the deuoute goodnes in it conteyned. In the ſame hee teacheth clearly, how we ought to heare Chriſt onely and hys learnyng, not regardyng ne attendyng to the traditions of men: like as he doth alſo in many other places. And this agreeth wel with Scripture, which is called yͤ worde of ſaluation: the adminiſtratiō of rightwiſenes: the word of truth, yea ⁊ the truth it ſelf: the rodde of direction: our ſpiritual foode: the ſpirituall ſword that we ought to fight wͭ agaynſt all temptations ⁊ aſſaultes of our ghoſtly enemies: the ſeede of God: yͤ kingdome of heauen, and keyes of the ſame: the power of God: the lyght of the world, which who ſo foloweth, ſhall not be ouercome with darknes: the lawe of God, hys wiſedome, and Teſtament. Of whiche wordes ⁊ ſuch like, euery one will geue matter of ſubſtātial argumēt, that we folowyng the ſame doctrine onely, ſhall haue ſufficient ſafeconduict to come vnto the inheritaunce promiſed, albeit none other wayes or meanes were annexed with the ſame. And certeine I am, that in this bleſſed doctrine of Chriſt is taught, howe we ought to do truth and mercy, whiche is all that we nede to do, as teſtifieth the Pſalme, in theſe wordes: Vniuerſæ viæ domini miſericordia & veritas. &c. *All the wayes of the Lord are mercy and truth.* And agayne, the Prophet willyng vs to do as he did, ſaith in this maner: Adhæſi teſtimonijs tuis domine, noli me confundere. *I haue cleaued to thy teſtimonies, O Lord, cōfound me not.* In like maner the ſayd whole Pſalme warneth vs. Yea all yͤ Scripture byddeth vs ſticke faſt to the ſtedye and true word of God: ſaying, that he is verax, & viæ eius veritas: omnis autē homo vanitas & mendax: For he is true, ⁊ all his wayes are truth: but all men are vayne ⁊ lyers. For that is yͤ ſure foundation, which cā not faile them, that ground therupon: as reporteth Chriſt: *Euery one* (ſayth he) *that heareth my wordes, and doth them, is lyke to a wiſe mā, that buildeth vpon a ſure foūdation.* And there ought to bee none other foundation to Chriſten men, but onely the vndoubted truth of Ieſus, to buyld our faith vpō, ⁊ direct our lyuing therafter, as ſheweth S. Paul ſaying: Fundamentū aliud nemo &c. *Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is layd, which is Ieſus Chriſt.* And lykewiſe in the Epiſtle, vnto the Epheſians, where he ſayth: Iam non eſtis hoſpites & aduenæ, ſed conciues ſanctorum, & domeſtici dei. &c. *Now ye are no more ſtranngers and foreners, but Citizens with the Saintes and of the houſholde of God.*

Epheſ. 4.

And in the ſame Epiſtle S. Paul dilatyng Chriſtes beneficence, ſheweth, howe that hee ordayned in the Churche, diuers officers, to the edifiyng of Chriſtē people, that hee calleth Chriſtes body, vntill all we may come vnto the vnitie of fayth, whiche commeth by folowing of one doctrine, whiche is Chriſtes, wherby we may grow to be perfect men, and that we ſhould not be here lyke to children caryed about with euery wynd of doctrine, by deceite and wilines of men that ſtudy to deceyue vs.

Heb. 13.

In lyke forme doth he warne vs in the Epiſtle to the Hebrues, that we ſhould not be caried about as the wynde, with diuers and ſtraunge doctrines, but continue in that, whiche euer continueth lyke and all one, agreable for all men in all partes, ⁊ that at all tymes: not beyng chaungeable as mens conſtitutions be, whereof looke what one doth counſayle and ordeyne to bee of effect, an other anulleth the ſame, accordyng as mens myndes do alway alter, and are full vnſtedy. Neither do ſuch pertayne vnto all men, for the Grekes with other (whom the Pope, ne none of hys people will yet denye to be of Chriſtes Churche) will in no condition admitte ſuch, neither for men to lyue after them, nor to beleue them as pertaynyng to their fayth: But they alow well the doctrine that perſeuereth euer one, and is vnmutable, as ſheweth S. Paul, ſaying: *Ieſus Chriſt yeſterdaye, and to daye is all one: and ſo euer ſhall bee.* He is white bread without any ſower leuen of Phariſaicall traditions: verity without guile: light without any darknes: the very ſtraight way, that hath neither hooke ne croke. Frō this ought not we to turne, neither vpō one hand, ne other, vnleſſe we will go from him that is our felicitie and anker of ſafetie.

But what ſhould I more entreate of this, except I would recite all Scripture, which in euery part is full of admonitions, exhortyng and warnyng vs to cleaue faſt vnto this way, which is yͤ doctrine of the Goſpell: which God I beſech him graunt vs all, both to know and loue, takyng heede that in no wiſe we be ſeduced therefro, by lawes and doctrines of men. Looke alſo in the ij. chap. to the Coloſſians, and the Epiſtle of Timothe ⁊ Titus. So that I conclude, in holy Scripture to be contayned ſufficiently inough of doctrine, for the regiment and ſaluation of our ſoules. And this becauſe learned men do call the head Article layd agaynſt me: I would that all men ſhould well note it, and recorde my ſaying therin hereafter, what ſoeuer ſhal betyde of me: for the truth is ſo in dede, that hereupon hangeth the ſūme of all. Therfore I ſhall recite it once agayne. I ſay that in holy Scripture, the doctrine there onely contayned, is ſufficient for yͤ ſaluation of Chriſten mēs ſoules. God geue vs grace we may know it, to builde our fayth ſtedfaſtly vppon the ſame in workyng thereafter.

As touchyng the latter part of your queſtion, I ſay that there are many thyngs both to be obſerued and to be beleued, that are not expreſſed in Scripture: as the Ciuill lawes of Princes, and comminalties ordeyned for Ciuill regiment of the body, and all other, ſo that they bee not hurtfull to fayth or charitye, but helpefull to the ſame, I recken that we ought to keepe them, not onely for feare of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake, although ſuch ordinaūces be not expreſly and particularly in Scripture expreſſed: for they are generally therin conteyned and ſpoken of.

Moreouer, if you meane by this word expreſſed, that whiche in Scripture is clearly ſhewed out, and appeareth euidently to euery reader or hearer that hath but a meane vnderſtanding, ſo I do affirme that there are ſome thynges whiche a man ought to beleue, although they be not of him expreſly vnderſtand: As I haue euer beleued, that the virgine Mary was and is a perpetuall virgine, and that the ſame might be gathered by the Scripture. But if by this worde expreſſed, you meane comprehended, or conteyned (as me thinke the mynde of hym that wrote the demaunde ſhould be, ſo that hee meaneth by this queſtion, thus: whether any thyng ought to be obſerued and beleued, which is not conteined in Scripture, and that vpon neceſſity of ſaluation) then I ſaye, that there is nothyng neither to bee obſerued, ne to bee beleued vppon neceſſity of ſaluation, whiche is not contayned in Scripture, and mentioned in the ſame, either generally or ſpecially. Yet I do not denie but other thinges are to be beleued, as I beleued that Doct. Warham was Biſhop of Caunterbury, ere euer I ſaw your Lordſhyp: and I beleue that I knew verely, who was my father and mother, albeit I had none intelligence whē they begot me, ⁊ ſuch like: and yet in ſuch poyntes, although a man haue not a ſteadye beleefe, he may be ſaued.

¶ Aunſwere to the. 13. Article.

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To the. xiij. where ye do aſke whether I beleue that purgatory is, and whether that ſoules departed be therin tormented & purged? I ſay that there is a Purgatory in this world, and that doth the ſcripture, and alſo the holy Doctours call the fire of tribulation, thorow which all chriſtians ſhal paſſe, as teſtifieth Saint Paul in the ſecond Chap. of the ij. Epiſtle to Timoth. Whoſe teſtimony is full notable and true, albeit that fewe do knowe it, and fewer peraduenture will beleue it. Marke you the wordes (good people) and knowe that they be his, and not myne. They be thus: *All that will godly liue in Ieſu Chriſte, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* In thys purgatorye do I now recken my ſelfe to ſtand: God ſende me well to perſeuer vnto hys honour. Of thys ſpeaketh alſo S. Peter in theſe wordes which perteyne to the inſtruction of all Chriſten people: Virtute DEI cuſtodimini per fidem ad ſalutē, quę in hoc parata eſt vt patefiat in tempore ſupremo: in quo exultatis nunc, ad breue tēpus, afflicti in varijs experimētis, ſi opus ſit, quò exploratio fidei veſtrę multo precioſior auro quod perit, & tamē per ignem probatur, reperiatur in gloriam & honorem. *Ye* (quod he) *are preſerued thorow the power of God by fayth, vnto ſaluation, which is prepared to be reueyled in the laſt tyme: wherin ye now reioyſe, though for a ceaſon (if neede requyre) ye are ſundrye wayes afflicted and tormented, that the trial of your fayth, being muche more precious then gold that periſheth, though it be tried with fire, myght be found vnto laude, glorie, and honour at the appearing of Ieſus Chriſt. &c.* Other Purgatory know I none, that you cā proue by ſcripture, vnleſſe it be by one place of the ſame, which well examined, I trowe, ſhall make but litle againſt me, for the maintenaūce of any other then I haue ſhewed.

im.2.

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Pet.1.

But what ſoeuer be brought agaynſt me, I truſt that holy Doctors ſhal by theyr interpretatiō, ſuſtayn the partet he which I do take vpon me, makyng aunſwere for me ſufficient, ſo that you ſhall ſaye, it is no new thing which I haue or ſhall ſpeake: Yet that you ſhould ſee euē now, ſomwhat written of auncient Doctours concerning the ſame, I ſhall ſhewe you what I haue read in S. Auguſtine: firſt in a ſermon that he maketh De Ebrieate, in this wyſe ſaying: Nemo ſe decipiat fratres: duo enim loca ſunt, & tertius non eſt viſus. Qui cum Chriſto regnare non meruit, cum diabolo abſque vlla dubitatione peribit. That is to ſay: Brethren, let no man deceyue himſelfe, for there be two places, and the thirde is not knowen. He that with Chriſt hath not*deſerued to reigne, ſhal without doubt periſh with the deuill. In an other alſo that he maketh, De vanitate huius ſæculi, it is ſayed thus: Scitote vos, quòd cum anima à corpore auellitur, ſtatim in paradiſo pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certè pro peccatis, in inferni tartara pręcipitatur. Eligite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum Sanctis, aut ſine fine cruciari cum impijs. Which is thus to ſay: Know you that when the ſoul is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for his good dedes, put in paradiſe, or els throwen hedlong into the dūgeon of hel, for his ſinnes. Chooſe you now what ye liſt, and purpoſe this while you be here in this life, either to ioy perpetually with Saincts, or els to be tormented without ende among wicked ſinners. Thus ſayth holy Auguſtine.

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ye.

To make an ende, I hope ſurely that by the ayde of our Sauiour, I ſhall come to heauen and reigne with Chriſt, ere that I ſhall feele of any purgatory, beſide that I haue and ſhal ſuſteyne in thys lyfe. And he that beleueth not ſteadely any other to be, ſhal yet be ſaued aſwell (and God woteth whether better or no, but I thinke no whit leſſe) as ſuch as teach the people or ſuffer them to bee taught, that in goyng from thys ſtation to that, from one Altar to an other, they ſhall cauſe ſoules to be deliuered: yea, and aſwell as ſuche as ſay, that a man being buried in a graye Fryers frocke, ſhall ſo haue remiſſiō of the thyrd parte of his ſinnes, as is graūted in a Bul vnto the ſayd religion: and ſuch like. For S. Auguſtin ſhall make with me in his booke called Enchiridion, after he hath confuted the opinion of ſome, that in the Church of Chriſte liuing in miſchief vngraciouſly, taking therof no repentance, dyd yet falſly deeme that they ſhoulde be ſaued through the clenſing of purgatory: where he concludeth thus: Such a thing after this life to be (ſayth he) is not vncredible, but whether it ſo be or no, a doubte may be therof moued or a queſtion demaunded. The ſame wordes doth he againe receite in a booke called, Quæſtiones ad dulciū, or dulcitiū, I wotte not wether he is called: and there hee intreateth ẏ ſame more copiouſly: & I would I might ſee ẏ place once againe.

The third part of ſinnes forgeuen thē, that be buryed in a graye Fryers weede.

Auguſt. in Enchiridio.

To this agreeth S. Paul writing thus to the Cor. Omnes nos manifeſtari oportet coram tribunali Chriſti, vt reportet quiſque ea quę fiunt per corpꝰ, iuxta id quod fecit, ſiue bonum ſiue malum. *For we muſt all appeare before the iudgemēt ſeat of Chriſt, that euery mā may receyue the thinges which are done in his bodye, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euil.* And againe, where he writeth vnto ẏ Hebrues, I trow it be ſaid in this wiſe: Memores ſitis vinctorū tanquā vna cum illis vincti: eorū qui affliginntur, veluti ipſi quoq; verſantes in corpore: *Remember them that are in bondes, euen as though ye were bound with them: be myndfull of them which are in affliction, as if ye were alſo afflicted in the bodye.*

2. Cor. 5.

Heb. 13.

¶ Aunſwere to the. 14. Article.

Anſwer to the xiiij. article.

Praying to Sainctes.

To the. xiiij. where you aſke whether holye Martyrs, Apoſtles, and Confeſſours departed from thys world, ought to be honored, called vpon, and prayed vnto? I aunſwere as touching the honouring of thē, with the very wordes of S. Auguſtine in his boke De vera religione, in the laſt leafe, where he ſayth thus: Non ſit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: Quia ſi piè vixerunt, non ſic habentur vt tales quærant honores, ſed illum à nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætātur* meriti ſui nos eſſe cōſortes: honorandi ſunt ergo propter imitationē, non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem malè vixerint, vbicumq; ſunt, non ſunt colendi. Agayne, a litle after the ſame, he ſayth: Nam idipſum actum eſt temporali diſpenſatione ad ſalutē noſtram, vt naturam humanam, ipſa Dei virtus & Dei ſapientia incommutabilis & conſubſtantialis patri & cœternus, ſuſcipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret id eſſe homini colendū, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali & rationali colendum eſt: Hoc eſt, ipſos optimos Angelos, & excellentiſſima Dei miniſteria velle credamus, vt vnū cū ipſis colamus Deum, cuius cōtemplatione beati ſunt: neque enim & nos videndo angelum beati ſumus, ſed videndo veritatē, qua etiam ipſos diligimus Angelos, & his cōgratulamur. Nec inuidemus quòd ea paratiores, vel nullis moleſtijs interpedientibus perfruuntur, ſed magis eos diligimus, quoniam & nos tale aliquid ſperare à communi Domino iuſſi ſumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non ſeruitute: nec eis templa conſtruimus. Nolunt enim ſe ſic honorari à nobis, quia nos ipſi cùm boni ſumus, templa ſummi Dei eſſe nouerunt. Rectè itaque ſcribitur hominem ab Angelo prohibitum ne ſe adoraret, ſed vnum Deum, ſub quo ille eſſet & conſeruus. Thus ſayth S. Auguſtine, handling the ſame matter a litle after, more at large.

*Id eſt, eiuſdem meriti cuius ipſi ſunt participes.

Angels would haue no Temples builded to them.

The content of this vnto you I expounde that knowe no latin, for I couet that all perſones ſhoulde knowe both my thought in this, and all maner of doyng, to the intent that of all perſones I woulde haue true reporte and teſtimony, what ſoeuer ſhall betyde me. S. Auguſtine in theſe wordes would haue, that we ſhould worſhyppe no men departed, bee they neuer ſo good and holy, for they ſeeke no ſuche honour, but would haue vs to worſhyp God alone: no nor yet no

Men departed are not to be worſhipped.

Aungel, ne honour the ſame, but onely in imitation of them, folowing their good actes in our liuyng, as they folowed our moſte mercifull God whyles they were aliue, not building Churches in the name or honour of them, for they would haue no ſuch honour done vnto them: it is to them no pleaſure, but contrarywyſe. No, the Aungels will not that we ſhould builde anye Churches in reuerence of them, but would, that with them we ſhould honour the originall maker ⁊ performer of all. They refuſe all honour, ſauing that which is called honor charitatis, which is nothing els, but to be loued. Thus ſayth S. Auguſtine. Which loue we ſhall teſtifie in folowing theyr good actes, by helpyng the poore or helpeles with almes and mercy, and dealyng truely in worde and deede, according to our ſtate and calling, both towardes God and man. Which is no light matter to them that doe conſider the thyng well. But who ſoeuer ſhall truely and dulye folowe, that trade, ſhal feele it (I dare ſaye) as the burden of Chriſtes croſſe was vnto hym ryght weyghtie ⁊ greuous, whē he bare it to Caluarie: ſauyng that we nede not to feare, for he hath promyſed to be with vs in tribulation, to rydde vs from the ſame. For the Prophet Dauid ſayth: Cùm ceciderit iuſtus non collidetur, quia Dominus ſupponit manum ſuam. *That is to witte, whē a iuſt perſon beginneth to fall, he ſhal not be borne flatte down to be broken, for the Lord ſhall put his hand vnder hym, to reare hym vp agayne.* And in the Goſpell he biddeth: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati eſtis & ego reficiam vos. That is to ſay, *Come you vnto me all that do trauayle and are ſore charged, and I ſhall comforte or refreſhe you. Take my yoke vpon you, learnyng of me, that I am ſofte and meeke mynded, and you ſhall fynde eaſe therby in your ſoules: for my yoke is eaſy, and my burden light.* See you here, how he is euer ready to ſupporte them, that for truth ſhal ſuſteyn the chargeable and ſore vexations put vpon thē of the world, whiche can not endure the truth to preuayle, and the vntruth to be diſcloſed.

Aungells are not to be worſhipped.

The beſt worſhipping of Sainctes, is in following their good acts.

Pſal. 37.

Math. 11.

Inuocation.

As touching inuocation, that is to witte, callyng vpon them, we haue in Scripture, how we ſhould call vpon almigtye God in all neceſſityes or tribulations. As in the Pſalmes euery where: as in this: *Call vpō me in tyme of your tribulation, and I ſhall deliuer you.* Marke howe he ſayeth, here call vppon me, appoyntynge neyther S. Thomas, ne maiſter Iohn Shorne. Alſo in an other place: *The Lord is nigh vnto them that call vpon hym, that call vpon him truely,* and with that he ſheweth who calleth truely vpon hym, ſaying thus: *He ſhall do the will or deſire of thē that reuerenceth hym, & ſhall heare graciouſlye theyr prayer, and make them ſafe, for the Lorde loueth all that loueth hym, and all ſynners ſhall be deſtroyed.*

Pſal. 50.

God onely to be called vpon.

What is to call truely vpon God.

Pſal. 145.

And thus vſed yͤ holy Prophets, Patriarkes, Apoſtles, ⁊ other good faythfull people in olde tyme, in all tribulation ⁊ anguiſh, to reſort vnto yͤ head foūtaine, which is of grace infinite, as is ſhewed in other places in this wiſe: *In my trouble I called vpō the lord* (ſaith Dauid) *& he heard me graciouſly. Whē I was troubled, I cried vnto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me. Alſo I lift myne eyes vp vnto the mountaynes:* but from whence ſhal helpe come vnto me? *Myne helpe* (quod he) *ſhall come from the Lord that made both heauen and earth.* I reade the fyrſt of theſe verſes in forme of interrogation, folowynge S. Auguſtine, which (as I remember) interpreteth it in thys wyſe. If I recite not authorityes in all places in the moſte perfight forme, I would pray you ſomwhat to pardon me, for you know that I lacke bookes, and haue not them lying by me. Notwithſtandyng I am certain, I ſhal not decline much from him. The hylles towarde the which Dauid dyd lyft vp hys eyes, were Sainctes and holy men, of whome when hee coulde not haue hys mynde ſatiſfied, he turned an other way, ſaying: *from whence ſhall helpe come vnto me?* Anone he remembryng hym ſelfe better, ſued vnto God hym ſelfe, of whome incontinent he obtayned the accompliſhment of hys wyſhe, and ſo witneſſed the ſame for our inſtruction, ſaying: *Mine helpe is of the Lord, or cōmeth from the Lord, which made heauen and earth.* This interpretation (as neare as I remember) is after the mynde of S. Auguſtine: and I ſuppoſe verely, that it is not contrarye vnto the mynd of God, ne diſagreing with the ſequele of ſcripture.

Pſal. 4.

Pſal. 18.

Pſal. 127.

Alſo in this wiſe it is reported in yͤ newe teſtament by authoritye deduced out of the olde, where it is wrytten: *Euery one that calleth vpon the name of the Lorde ſhalbe ſaued.* And marke how, cum*energia, it is ſayd: *vpon the name of the Lord,* without any ſending vs, either to S. Chriſtopher (though he be paynted neuer ſo ſtout) eyther to S. Patrickes purgatorye in Ireland, or to S. Iames in Galicia, in the yeare of grace, or yet to any other Sainct or place: but woulde vs, that we ſhould call vpon almighty God, ⁊ vpon his name, for yͤ loue that he beareth to Chriſt, that is alway our Aduocate before our father, to purchaſe mercye for our ſynnes: *and not for our ſynnes onely* (quod Saint Iohn, who is the wryter of this ſaying ⁊ teſtimonie) *but alſo for the ſynnes of all the world.* S. Auguſtine vpon that ſame noteth, that S. Iohn in that place, ſayeth: we haue an Aduocate, and that Chriſt is Aduocate for hym aſwell as for other, to purchaſe mercy for hym, lyke as he doth for all other that ſhall be ſaued: and that S. Iohn wyll not bee knowen for our Aduocate, but that Chriſt ſhould be taken for Aduocate of all.

S. Bede (as I remember) vpon the ſame, maketh as much for thys purpoſe, as doth S. Auguſtine, or well more. So that by courſe of ſcripture, we are taught to reſorte for all ayde and reliefe (as I haue ſayed) vnto the head ſpryng and fountayne of all comfort and mercye, as S. Paule calleth hym, *the Father of mercies and of all comforte, which is ready to comforte vs in all tribulations: which* (as the Pſalme reporteth) *healeth all our infirmityes, and taketh mercye vpon all oure iniquityes: For hee is ſweete* (as is ſaid in an other place) *and gentle, and many mercyes are layde vppe for all thoſe that call vpon hym.* Yet he ſheweth vs no where (I trowe) of benefytes that we ſhall purchaſe by praying vnto Saincts departed, and if any perſon cā or wyll vouchſafe to teach me that, by ſome authoritye of ſcripture, I would thinke my ſelfe hyghlye beholdinge to hym, whatſoeuer he were, eyther great or ſmall, yonge or olde: but I weene it can not be.

I haue made truely long ſearche, yet coulde I neuer fynde any ſuch ſubſtantiall teaching. Howbeit, I offer my ſelfe euer to learne, and know that my rude wit, foolyſhe youth, vnexpert experience, and feble diſcretion, had neede of good inſtruction, as much as any other. Howbeit, I ſee (thanked be God) that ſometime he ſheweth ſome ſparkle of lyght and wiſdome to children, hydyng the ſame from other that are reputed of hygher prudēce: ſo that the world therby many tymes is brought into admiration, ſeing ſuch factes done of God before their face, and laugh thereat ſometyme with indignation, as the Phariſeis dyd at the blynde man whome Chriſt had reſtored to ſyght, where they ſayd to hym. *Thou caitife waſt borne blinde for thy ſinnes, and wylte thou teach vs, that are a great multitude of hygh officers of the temple, and Doctours to teache the lawe?* As who woulde ſaye, it becommeth thee full ill. Yet we ought not to maruell greatlye at ſuche doyng, for ſo much as S. Paule. 1. Cor. 1. ſheweth of lyke practiſe done in hys tyme, and that he writeth for the inſtruction of all ages after enſuyng, ſo that it pertayneth (lyke as all the holy ſcripture doth) as wel to our time, as it did to that it was fyrſt written in. *The doctrine of Chriſtes croſſe,* that is to witte, of the newe Teſtament, *is to them that periſhe, foly* (ſayth he) *but to vs that obtaine ther-*

therby ſaluation (meanyng thereby, to ſuch as beleue) *it is the might or power of God: for it is written* (ſayth he) by the Prophet Eſay: *that God aforetyme ſayd he would deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and the underſtandyng or learnyng of the learned would he throw away and diſpiſe.*

This Prophecie alleged, Paul thought to be authoritie ſufficient to diſſuade the Corinthians from the foliſhe affiaunce, vaynglorye or opinion that they had in men, whom they peraduenture euer highly eſtemed for their offices, or ſolemne titles. So that he procedeth forth in this ſame: *Where are ye now* (quoth he) *the worldly wiſe, the Scribes*, that is to ſay, Doctours and ſuch other lyke officers. *Hath not God ſhewed the wiſedome of the world to be fooliſhe and unſauery? for after that by the wiſedome of God* (which is ſhewed in Scripture, I ſuppoſe) *the world hath not ſtudied to know God by wiſdome, it hath pleaſed God now to ſaue them that beleue, thorow the fooliſhnes of preaching.* He calleth yͤ word of God fooliſhe preachyng, not becauſe it was fooliſhe, for afore hee called it godly wiſedome, but he ſpake after the opinion of them, that ſet litle or nought thereby, eſteemyng it as Eſopes Cocke did the precious ſtone, and as ſwyne do pearles.

1. Cor. 1.

The wiſdome of this world cõfounded.

Why the Goſpell is called fooliſh preaching.

After long proces in the ſame matter, he concludeth thus: *Brethren* (ſayth he) *you ſee your callyng, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſhe, are called to the beliefe of the Goſpell, nor many mighty men, ne many of noble parentage: but thoſe that be fooles after the eſtimatiõ of the world, hath God choſen to confounde the wiſe. &c.*

Therfore, I ſay (as I ſayd afore) that, thankes be to God, albeit I am (as I ſhewed before) voyde of ſuch great prudencie that other bee well indued with, yet I ſee partly how their great reaſons be not very ſubſtanciall, whereby they contend by the treatie of reaſon, when authoritie fayleth them, to ſhewe, that we ought to pray to Sainctes departed, for to be Mediatours for vs to Chriſt. And amonge other, this is one, that they leane much vpon, bryngyng it forth ſo vſually that common people, well nigh altogether harpe vpõ the ſame: Some fauoryng it, other contrarywiſe eſteemyng it of no value.

The reaſon is this: If when one ſhould deſire to come to the ſpeach of our ſoueraigne to obtayne ſome bowne of him, nede it were firſt to purchaſe the fauour of hys chamberlaynes or ſome lyke officers to bryng hym to the kynges preſence, for els hee may watch long in vayne, vntill he be full a cold, ere that he ſhall ſpeake with his grace, and much leſſe is he lyke to obtayne his petitiõ. In lykewiſe it fareth (as they ſay) betwixt God and vs: of whom if we ſhould purchaſe any benefite, we muſt firſt breake vnto the Sainctes departed, makyng them our frendes to go betwixt God and vs, as Mediatours, and interceſſours. But ſuch (with theyr leaue I would ſpeake it) I thinke are deceyued, in that they reſſemble God and the king together. For though the kyng be a full gracious Prince (as I heare by common reporte he is) yet he is not in graciouſnes to bee conferred with God: and though hee were as gracious as myght be, yet hath not he the knowledge whiche is in God, for God knew of all thinges before the begynnyng of the worlde, and is euery where, to ſee, not onely our outward dealyng, but alſo all ſecrete thoughtes of all mens hartes, ſo that he nedeth no Mediatours to enforme hym of our deſires, as the kyng doth neede: And he is ſo full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly or as ſoone obtayne of hym that is for my behouſe, as I ſhould wynne by praying holy Sainctes to be interceſſours to hym for me.

Obiection to proue inuocation of ſainctes, taken out of reaſon.

Anſwere to the obiectiõ wherein is declared that God and an earthly kinge are not to be conferred.

Therfore, I paſſyng ſuch apparaunt reaſons, take me to the enſample of antiquitie, I meane of the Patriarkes, Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, and authoritie of Scripture, whiche teach that we neede not to feare, but may boldly reſort vnto Chriſt him ſelf & his holy father, for ſo much as he byddeth vs in theſe wordes and other lyke, ſo for to do, ſaying: *Come vnto me all ye that trauaile, are vexed, & ſore charged, & I will refreſh & eaſe you.* Marke howe hee biddeth vs reſorte vnto him ſelfe, and that without feare. For hee and hys father whiche are all one, geueth abundantly of all goodnes, vnto all men, and vpbrayd no body for their vnworthynes. But if we entende to obtayne of hym, we muſt, all doubtfulnes (as I ſayd afore) put a part, with a ſure cõfidence of hys mercy, aſke of hym that we would haue. So that I leaue vnto other, what they luſt to do, praying Ieſu, that we all may luſt for that, that is moſt pleaſing to hym.

No compariſon betwen God and an earthly king.

Math. 11.

The Lord only to be ſought vnto with prayer.

But I thincke, concernyng my ſelfe, that accordyng to Chriſtes owne commaundement, I may, without any doubt caſtyng, reſorte in all encombraũces, to ſeeke eaſe therof, euen vnto him ſelfe, and to his bleſſed father. Therfore he byddeth vs, whẽ we ſhould pray, to ſay after this faſhion: *Our father that art in heauen. &c.* For there is no creature ne creatures, that euer were or be, yͭ hath more, nor ſo much neither of might, wherby commeth habilitie to geue helpe: ne of mercy & tendernes, whiche ſhould make them willyng in proportiõ agreable with habilitie: ne of knowledge, that ſhould teache to miniſter both the other, as is our Lord God: which not onely is almighty, all mercifull, and all wiſe: but alſo infinite in all theſe glorious properties, ſo that vndoubtedly hee cã, will, & knoweth beſt how to releue and ſuccour vs in all neceſſity and anguiſhe: vnto whõ be honour without end for euer. Amen.

God in might, mercy, and knowledge incomparable.

Might, mercy, knowledge, how, when and whom to helpe.

One thing yet I will ſhew you in this caſe, of which thyng I was once aduertiſed by a great learned man, who (as I ſuppoſe) now is liuing. I wil not name him, leſt I ſhould perhaps cauſe any diſpleaſure to bee conceyued agaynſt hym thorow my relation. The thyng was this: I wil (quoth he) pray vnto Sainctes, but that ſhalbe, whẽ I thinke that God, either cã not, or wil not geue me my petition. But that (as I ſhewed in the cõuocation houſe) ſhall neuer be, I hope. And therefore it is to me nedeles to ſeeke any further about, ſtãding in ſuch truſt and beliefe, as I hope I haue found vppon Gods ſure promiſe.

The ſaying of a learned man.

Sainctes are to be prayed to, when God is not able or will not heare vs.

¶ Aunſwere to the 15. Article.

To the xv. Article, where you doe demaund whether the Sainctes in heauen, as Mediatours, pray for vs? I ſay, that I beleue Sainctes in heauẽ do pray for vs: for I ſuppoſe they know that all men generally liuing vpõ earth, be wrapped in manifold miſeries, like as they alſo were, their ſoules being impriſoned within their bodyes beyng mortall. Albeit I thincke they knowe not what particular miſeries men vpon earth be entangled and clogged with, as ſheweth Auguſtine, or els ſome other (as I thincke rather) vnder hys name in a certain worke, ſaying in this wiſe. Ibi ſũt ſpiritus defunctorum, vbi non vidẽt quæcunque aguntur aut eueniunt in iſta vita hominũ. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos ſuos aut corpora ſua, vtrũ abiecta iaceant, an ſepulta? Quomodo interſunt miſerię viuorũ, cum vel ſua ipſi mala patiantur ſi talia merita contraxerunt, vel in pace requieſcant, vbi mala nulla nec patiendo nec compatiendo ſuſtineãt, liberati ab omnibus malis quæ patiendo & cõpatiendo cũ hic viuerent, ſuſtinebãt. The ſũme hereof is, that ſoules departed, feele nor know of no particular miſeries ſuſteyned of men lyuyng in this world, wherby they ſhoulde nede to take either pacience, or els cõpaſſion after their deceaſſe. Yet for ſomuch as they know in general, that all men lyuyng are clad with frailtie, & their charitie is not miniſhed after they bee hence departed, but increaſed, therfore I beleue verely that they do pray for vs as peticioners, but not as Mediatours, ſo farforth as I cã ſee. For Scripture vſeth to ſpeake but of one Mediator, which I thinke, ſignifieth a maker of peace or atonemẽt betwixt God the father, & man. Record I take of Paul, which. 1. Timo. 2. ſayth: Vnus eſt deus, vnus eſt & mediator dei & hominũ, homo Chriſtus Ieſus, qui dedit ſemetipſum redemptionem pro omnibus. Eraſmus

Anſwer to the xv. article.

Sainctes know no particular miſeries on earth.

Sainctes in heauen whether they pray for vs.

One Mediatour, and what a Mediatour is.

1. Tim. 2.

1.Tim.2.

mus trãſlateth it, conciliator dei & hominum. That is to ſay: *There is one God & Mediatour or peace maker betwixte God and mã, the man called Chriſt Ieſus, which gaue him ſelfe for the redemption of all.*

Rom.8.

Thus (I ſay) I beleue Sainctes in heauẽ do pray for vs, as petitioners, but not as Mediators. Yea, all they, I wéene, do pray ⁊ long that the day of iudgemẽt may ſoone come, according to the ſaying of Paul: Solicita creaturę expectatio rauelationem filiorum dei expectat. *The feruent deſire of the creature waiteth when the ſonnes of God ſhall be reueiled.* And againe: Omnis creatura congemiſcit, & nobiſcũ parturit vſque ad hoc tempus. *Euery creature groneth with vs & trauaileth in paine together vnto this preſent.* Which ſhalbe for ỷ accõpliſhment of glory both to them and to all other elect of God to be hys children and coinheritours with Chriſt.

¶Aunſwere to the 16.Article.

Aunſwer to the xvj. article.

Rom.8.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

Pſal.33.

Ezech.33.

Luke.7.

All thynges worke to the beſt to the godly.

In the xvj. Article where you demaunde whether I beleue that oblations ⁊ Pilgrimages may bee deuoutly and meritoriouſly done to the Sepulchers and Reliques of Saintes? I ſay, that what they may bée, I can not perfectly tel: For God cã ſo worke, that vnto thoſe, whom he hath choſen to bee inheritours with hym, all thinges ſhal turne to a good concluſiõ, as ſayth S. Paul to the Romaines in this wiſe: *Vnto thoſe that loue God, all thynges ſhall well ſuccede and woorke together for their furtheraunce in goodnes.* Of whom it is written in the Pſalme: *Bleſſed is that nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath choſen to bee his inheritours.* Yea their euill dedes ſhal not hurt them, but come well to paſſe for the increaſe of vertue. For, as it is ſayd, in the Goſpell: Cui minus remittitur minus diligit. *To whõ leſſe is forgiuẽ, he loueth leſſe.* And again, it hurted not Oneſimus, that hée ran away from his maiſter Philemon: but God wrought, that by occaſion thereof hée mette with Paul, which conuerted hym to the fayth of the Goſpel, who before was without beleſe. Therfore, whether they may be done meritoriouſly or no, I will not define: God wotteth. But this I ſay, that God did neuer inſtitute any ſuch thyng in the new Teſtament, whiche is the veritye and rule for all Chriſten people to folow and beleue. Yea that onely is of perfit ſuretye, and none other, but as it is agreable and hath ground of the ſame. And lyke as we haue no certaine doctrine inſtitute of Chriſt, ne his Diſciples, teachyng vs thus for to do: no more is there any merit appointed of hym therfore, as I ſhewed afore where I told my mynde of our merites.

Piè, Pietas, defyned.

1.Tim.4.

Pſal.11.

Ierem.23.

True deuotiõ, or pure religiõ, what it is.

Iac.1.

Pure religion.

Moreouer, where ye put Piè, whiche I call deuoutly: very true deuotion (that is called in Latine pietas) is that, whiche hath annexed therewith diuine promiſes for this preſẽt lyfe to come: as witneſſeth Paul 1.Tim.4. which is nothing els but the obſeruation of Chriſtes law, that in the Pſalme for ỷ purenes therof, is called argentũ igne examinatũ, purgatũ ſeptuplũ, *Siluer fined often and many tymes, thorowe fier.* It hath no chaffe in it, as hath mens traditions, but is pure and cleane wheate, as ſheweth Ieremye wrytyng in this wiſe. Quid paleis ad titricum? Propter hoc ego ad prophetas, dicit dominus, qui furantur verba mea vnuſquiſque a proximo ſuo, & ſeducunt populum meum in mendacijs ſuis & in erroribus ſuis. *What is the chaffe to the wheate? Therefore beholde I will come agaynſt the Prophets, ſayth the Lord, that ſteale my woorde, euery one from his neighbour, and deceiue my people in theyr lies and in their errours.* And this deuotion is ỷ which S. James calleth the pure Religiõ of Chriſt, ſaying: *Pure and immaculate religion afore God the father is, to viſite fatherles children and widdowes in their vexation.* Whereby he meaneth all néedy people that are ſuccourles and helpeleſſe, without counſel ⁊ other almes, according to our habilitie, whẽ ſoeuer we ſée thẽ in néede or diſtreſſe.

The other part of this religion ſhewed by Saincte James is: *That a man ſhould keepe him ſelf cleane frõ the world:* and that do they, which be not affectionate ſo vnto any thyng therin, but that they haue ỷ thynges of the world, or occupy ỷ ſame by true dealing, ſo that they cã finde in their hart to depart from them whẽ God ſhall pleaſe, or charity ſo requireth.

1.Cor.7.

Thus doyng we ſhall folow the exhortation of bleſſed Paul, whiche wrytyng to the Corinth. ſayth thus: *Brethren, the tyme is ſhorte: this remayneth, that they which haue wiues ſhould be as they had them not: and thoſe that wepe, ſhould be as they wept not: and thoſe that bye, as if they were without poſſeſſion: and they that occupye this world, as though they occupyed it not: for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.* And this meaneth none other thing, but that we ſhuld not loue ne dread any worldly thing, paſſyng meaſure or inordinatly, but God aboue all thynges, and all other thynges in hym or for hym: and he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commaundement of Chriſt, ſpoken to the riche man in the Goſpell, where he ſaith: *Go and ſell all that euer thou haſt, and come folowe me.* For he hath ſold away all that euer he hath, that ſurely entendeth for the loue of Chriſt, to helpe the poore with all that hee may. Voluntas reputatur pro facto: The wil is accepted for the dede, as is ſayd commonly. And this ſaying both of James, and alſo of the Euangeliſt, I thyncke verely belongeth to all Chriſten men that they ſhould performe it, none excepte, neither lay man, ne woman (as we vſe to ſay) but to them as well as to any whom we call religious.

As cõcerning the reliques and tombes of Sainctes, I haue ſayd vnto your Lordſhyp afore, what I do thinke of the milke of our Lady, the bloud whiche they ſay, is at Hayles, Norwich, and other places, with ſuch other: wherof (I truſt) you do know what ought to be done. And I beſeche God you may do therein as your office doth require, ſo ſhewyng exãple vnto other Prelates, to folow your Lordſhip in good doing, as is comely for a Primate to do, remembryng alway, as Paul ſayth: *the tyme is ſhort*, and therfore it were good to ſet to hand in tyme.

Finally, holy Moyſes, when he died, would be ſo buryed that no man ſhoulde know which was hys graue, as it is witneſſed in ỷ boke of Deuteronomie: ⁊ that, (as ỷ expoſitors teſtifie) was bicauſe the Iewes, which were prone to new fangled worſhypping, ſhould not fall into Idolatry, worſhyppyng hym as God, for the great and manifolde miracles that were wrought by hym while he was aliue.

To conclude, I ſaye, it is no poynt of my beleſe, to thynk that oblations and pilgrimages at Sainctes graues ⁊ reliques, are meritorious workes, ne yet that there is any deuotion in ſo doing: That is godly which is inſtitute by Scripture. If you thinke contrary, I would deſire to knowe for mine inſtruction, what part of ſcripture ſhould make therfore, againſt me.

¶Aunſwere to the.17.Article.

In the. xvij. where ye do aſke, whether the faſt of lent, and other apoynted by the common lawe, and receaued in common vſage of chriſten people (vnleſſe neceſſity otherwyſe requireth) are to be obſerued? I ſay, that in myne opinion, they are to be obſerued, and faſtyng diſcretly done is commendable, for ſo ſhall a man auoyde ſlouth and be the more ready for to ſerue God, and alſo hys neyghbours: and therby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiſcence, according to the ſaying of ỷ Poete: Sine cęrere & baccho friget Venus: Without wyne and good fare, luſte wareth could. And as S. Hierome: Venter mero eſtuans ſpumat in libidinẽ: The body inflamed with wyne, burſteth out into luſte.

Yet ſhal not the breaking of theſe faſtes make a man to do deadly ſinne, excepte in hys mynde be ſome other malicious affection therwith annexed, as raſhnes of mynde, deſpite, or ſuch lyke, for ſo much as no poſitiue lawe of man, made without foundation of Scripture, maye bind any perſon: ſo that in breaking of ſuche, he ſhall therfore ſinne deadly. And of thys ſort made by man, mã, is the faſt of lent and other dayes ordeyned in your lawes without authority of ſcripture, which willeth vs to faſt perpetually, eatyng and drinking, but whẽ néede requireth (not for any voluptuouſnes, as many that recounteth thẽ ſelues great faſters, I feare, haue done) yea & that ſparely, forſeyng alway that our ſtomackes be neuer cloyed with dronkenſhyp or ſurfettyng, as is commaunded by our Sauiour in Luke: but contrarywiſe, after the faſhion rather of a certeine Prince that is mencioned (I trow) in Valerius Maximus, that neuer roſe frõ hys meales meate, with a full ſtomacke, but ſome what rather empty or hungry: whiche, as the ſtory teſtifieth, cauſed hym to lyue ſo wonderfull a long ſeaſon, that a man coulde vnneth thinke it poſſible for ones lyfe to be ſo prolonged, had not ſuch a notable author reported it.

How to faſt truly after the ſcripture.

And (to tel the truth) I ſuppoſe the Prelates ſhould better haue perſuaded the people to pure faſting, by inſtant preachyng of ẏ worde of God, & fatherly exhortations, thẽ by ordeining of ſo ſore a multitude of lawes & conſtitutions: For the nature of mã is wel deſcribed of Horace ſaying: Nitimur in vetitum ſemper, cupimuſq; negata. Looke what is forbyd, that we moſt deſire, and allwayes couet the thynges that bee denyed vs. And in an other Prouerbe: Funis plus æquo tenſus rumpitur. The rope by ouer much ſtraynyng burſteth a ſunder. Accordyng to this, ſayd a good old father in Cambridge, I remember hys ſaying well yet: Hee was an old Doctour of Diuinity. Whẽ a Legate came into Englad at a tyme, and he with certaine Byſhops, had ordeined that ẏ dedication of all Churches thorow England (as I remember) ſhould be kept holy and ſolemnized vpon one day, and Prieſtes ſhould haue their gownes made cloſe before, with ſuch other lyke ordinaunces: he reſiſted, not condeſcendyng to haue them put in execution, whẽ his Dioceſan required hym, declaring how thys multitude of lawes pleaſed him not: For we had enow & aboũdantly afore, adding this reaſon: Adam beyng in Paradiſe had but one law to obſerue, and yet hee brake it: what other thyng then ſhall thys multitude do (quoth hée) but multiplye tranſgreſſion? For when a Fagotte is bounde ouer ſtraite, the bonde muſt breake.

Faſting rather to be perſwaded then enforced.

Church holydayes ſolemniſed in England.

Gownes cloſed before.

Multitude of lawes.

God therfore, I beſeche hym, ſend vs of the ſwete dewe of his heauenly doctrine, to moyſten & ſupple the earthly ground of our hartes, that we may grow lyke faſhioned vnto him, putting apart our old Adam, with all hys diſſimulation, and paynted ſhewe, that is much cauſed by humane lawes and conſtitutions, & do vpon Chriſt, that is the very truth & the way directyng men to the ſame. Amen.

Multitude of lawes vnprofitable.

¶Aunſwere to the .xviij. Article.

Aunſwere to the 18. article.

Agaynſt Images.

Unto the xviij. where you aſke, whether it be laudable and profitable, that worſhypfull Images be ſet in Churches for the remembraunce of Chriſte and hys Saintes? I ſay, that I know of no Images that ought to be worſhypped, ſpecially made by the hand of men: for the Pſalme ſayth: *Confuſion or ſhame be vpon them that worſhyp or make obeyſance vnto carued Images, and that glory in their pictures.*

Pſal.97.

Moreouer, S. Auguſtine in his booke, de vera religione, ſaith thus: Let vs not haue deuotion in worſhyppyng the workes of men: or els thus, let vs not be bound to worſhyp the workes of men, for the workemẽ are more excellent then the thinges which they make: whom notwithſtãdyng we ought not to worſhyp. The Latine is thus. Non ſit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim ſunt ipſi artifices qui talia fabricãtur, quos tamen colere non debemus.

Images not to be worſhipped.

Lactantius alſo maketh ſtrongly with the ſame. I cã not without the booke recite hys ſaying, for he teacheth largely of the ſame matter. Origene alſo contra Celſum (I trow) will lykewiſe teſtifie, where (as I remẽber) he cõcludeth ſaying: that he would haue no Goldſmithes ne Grauers in a comminaltie, for they doe but litle profite or none therto.

Lactantius.

Origines contra Celſum.

Goldſmithes and Caruers, needles in a common wealth.

And Saint Gregory that was chiefe, eyther inuentor that Images ſhould be ſet in churches, or ells mainteyner therof, would not, as I haue read (I trow it is in an epiſtle which he writeth ad Seruũ) haue thẽ worſhipped.

Gregorius ad Seruum.

And as concerning the excityng of mens memory, I would ſuppoſe, ẏ if Chriſtes doctrine were ſo ſhewed and opened, that people might clearly vnderſtãd it (and that is the principall office of Prelates and Curates to do, by diligent teaching therof) I thynke verely, we ſhould haue litle néede of any other Images, then that ſhould by holſome doctrine be ſhewed vnto vs by word of mouth and writing: Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad comonafaciendum diſcipulos, quam viua vox: Nothyng is ſo effectuall to excite the remembraunce of diſciples, as the lyuely voyce of good teachers: as it is teſtified both by common report, and alſo by the ſentence of learned men.

So that I ſuppoſe, if thys liuely doctrine of God had afore time bene apertly and diligently opened vnto the people, as Curates ought to haue done, we ſhould haue ſuch profite therby, that we ſhould not néede to contend for ſettyng vp or takyng down of other dũme ſtockes and lyfeleſſe ſtones, carued or made by men. And if Prelates would begin to ſet vp Chriſtes word, which, alas for pitye, is not loked vpõ, but rather trodẽ downe and diſpiſed, ſo that many are not a ſhamed to ſaye: I wyll haue no more learnyng in Chriſtes lawe, then my predeceſſors, for they that magnifie it, muſt be ſore punyſhed & taken for heretickes with ſuch other greuous wordes) if thys doctrine were yet ſet vp in Churches, (I ſay) and truly opened, that al men myght haue theyr iudgement therby reformed and made cleare, I thinke we ſhould not greatly néede the profit that commeth by Images made of men, to excite our remembraunce for to lyue chriſtenly.

The word and doctrine ſerueth to put vs in remembraunce, and not Images.

For that worde which came from the breſt of Chriſt hymſelfe, and was wrytten of other, that wrote & ſpake by the ſuggeſtion of hys ſpirite the holy ghoſt, ſhewith full perfitly hys bleſſed wyll, whiche is the true and certeine Image of hys mynde and deuiſe. If this therfore were diligently inculcate, I thynk we ſhoulde be tranſformed a new, accordyng to the mynde of Paul, which writing to the Coloſſians ſaith thus: *See that you lye not one to an other, after that now you haue put of the old man with his workes, and haue put vpon you the new mã, whiche is tranſformed & renouate after the knowledge & Image of him that made vs.* Yea, thus ſhuld we al be docti à deo: taught of God, as is ſayd in Iohn: and all ſhould know God both ſmall and great, according to the promyſe recited in the Hebrues: yea thus ſhoulde we be ſo reſtored to goodnes, that we ſhould haue the Image of God carued in our hartes full expreſly. For euerye man is transformed into the faſhion of vertuous thynges that he is accuſtomed to reade and heare. And therfore it were a great grace, if we myght haue the word of God diligently and often ſpoken and ſonge vnto vs in ſuch wyſe, that the people myght vnderſtande it. Yea, then ſhould it come to paſſe, that craftes mẽ ſhould ſyng ſpirituall Pſalmes ſittyng at theyr worke, and the huſband man at hys plough, as wiſheth S. Hierome.

The true Image of God is his wordes and his workes.

Coloſſ.3.

Iohn.6.

Heb.8.

As a man readeth, ſo is he faſhioned.

Yea thys holy Image of Chriſt, I meane hys bleſſed doctrine, dothe apoynte vs alſo to conſider the workes made by the hand of God, ſuche as no man can make lyke, wherby as ſayeth S. Paule wrytyng to the Romaynes: *The inuiſible power and diuinitie of God is knowen and ſeene by the creation of the worlde, of ſuch as will conſider hys woorkes, that are therein by hym made.* Loke in the Pſalmes: Laudate Dominum de cœlis: Cœli enarrant. &c. *Prayſe ye the Lord, from the heauen. The heauens declare the glory of God*, with other. And theſe two Images, Gods workes, and hys doctrine hath, ere anye Images made by men were ſet vp in

The beſt Image of God is his word.

Rom.1.

Pſal.149.

Pſal.19.

Gods workes, & hys word, be the ryght Images of God.

in churches, well and ſufficiently inſtructed the primitiue church, and ſhould yet inſtruct vs wel, if they were well conſidered: ſo that we ſhould not néede ſo ſore to contend for ſetting vp of other made by men. Whereby I haue perceiued much harme to ariſe, and no great profite: nor the ſcripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary. As concernyng which matter, I would your Lordſhip would pleaſe to read the Epiſtle of Baruch once agayne wrytyng of the ſame matter.

¶ Aunſwere to the. 19. Article.

Anſwer to the 19. article.

Vnto the. xix. where you aſke, whether I beleue that prayers of men lyuyng, do profite ſoules departed and being in purgatory? I made aūſwere in the. xiij. Article.

¶ Aunſwere to the. 20. Article.

Aūſwer to the 20. article.

Vnto the. xx. where you do aſke, whether men merite and deſerue both by their faſting, & alſo by other déedes of deuotion? I haue ſhewed what I doe thinke therof, in the fift demaunde.

¶ Aunſwere to the. 21. Article.

Anſwer to the 21. article.

Truth taken many tymes for hereſie, and hereſy for truth.

Eſay. 5.

Whether men prohibited, ought to ceaſe frō preaching.

In the. xxi. where you do aſke, whether I do beleue, that men prohibited of Biſhops to preach, as ſuſpect of hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preachyng and teachynge, vntill they haue purged them ſelues of ſuſpicion, afore an hygher iudge? I ſaye, that men maye be wrongfullye ſuſpected of hereſie, either becauſe they neuer thought to beleue ſuch errours, as men by falſe ſuſpicion do déeme them to fauour: or els when men as well of hygh ſtate, as of low, by ſiniſter iudgment may thynke that to be errour, which is the very truth. And of thys ſpeaketh Eſaye: *Wo be to them* (quod he) *that calleth thē light darknes, and the darknes light: the truth, falſehode, and falſehode truth*: as the Byſhopes and the Prieſtes, with their Oratour Tertullus, called Paule, ſayinge thus before a iudge called Felix, vnto whoſe court they brought hym to be condemned to death: *We haue* (quod they) *gotten here a peſtilent felow, a ſower of ſedicion or diſcorde amonge all the Iewes of the worlde, and brynger vppe of the Sect of the Nazarens, which was alſo mynded to haue polluted our temple. &c.* This is to call by peruerſe iudgement, truth falſhode. And thus dyd theyr predeceſſours ſpeake of the Prophetes, yea and of Chriſt hym ſelfe, callyng him a ſeducer and preacher of hereſie: which is writen for our inſtructiō. And men thus beyng ſuſpected (as I woud none were) ought in no wiſe therfore to ceaſe neither frō preaching, ne teachinge.

Act. 24.

Truth taken for falſhode.

Chriſt taken for a ſeducer.

In what cauſes men forbidden, ought not to ceaſe from preaching.

Act. 4. 5. 6.

Enſample of thys we haue in ẏ Actes of ẏ Apoſtles, where is ſhewed, that when Peter and Iohn had done a myracle vpon a man that had ben lame from hys natiuitie (whom by the power of Chriſt, they healed and cauſed to goo where he pleaſed) the people hearinge of this, came running about Peter and Iohn. Peter ſeing this, dyd exhort the people in a Sermō, that they ſhould not thynke hym and hys felowe Sainct Iohn, to haue done thys wonderfull thing by theyr owne power or holynes, but by the vertue of Chriſte, whome they and theyr head rulers had ſlaine.

While they were thus ſpeaking wͭ the people, there came vpō thē, the prieſts & officers of the temple, accōpanied wͭ the Saduceis, beyng ſore diſpleaſed that they ſhould enterpriſe to teach the people, & preach that men ſhould ariſe frō death by ẏ name of Chriſt, whom they had cauſed to be crucified, & therwith they layd handes vpon them and put them in warde vntil the next daye. The next day, they ſent for ẏ Apoſtles before them, demaunding by what power, and in whoſe name they did this miracle. Peter made aunſwere, *If you* (quod he) *that are head rulers ouer the people, luſte by examination to knowe by what meanes we dyd it, we would you ſhoulde all know that we dyd it thorow the name of Chriſt Ieſu of Nazareth, whom you dyd crucifie: but god did cauſe him to ariſe agayne. In the vertue of his name doth this man that afore was lame, nowe ſtand before you here both hole and ſound. For Chriſt is that hygh corner ſtone, whome you caſt away, which ſhoulde haue buylded the peoples fayth vppon hym, neither is there any ſaluation without hym.*

Act. 4.

Theſe great men, ſeyng that Peter ſpake ſo fréely, & that he with his felow Iohn, were ſimple men, without any pompous apparel or great garde of ſeruaunts, being like idiotes and men vnlearned, wondred therat. At the laſt, they did commaunde them to departe out of theyr Councell houſe, whiles they ſhould commō more largely of the matter. Afterward they called the Apoſtles afore them agayne, commaunding them that they ſhould no more preach ne teach in the name of Ieſus. But the Apoſtles aunſwered ſaying: *I beſeche you iudge better: ought we to obey you more then God, or no? For certainly we muſt nedes teſtifie of thoſe thinges which we haue both heard and ſeene.* Then the head prieſtes threatning them ſore, dyd geue them ſtraite charge, not to breake their precept, and ſo dyd let them go, not knowinge any cauſe why they might puniſhe them: for they feared leſt the people would haue takē part with the Apoſtles, for the people gaue glorye to God for the miracle ſhewed by them.

Notwithſtandinge all theſe great threates, Peter wrought miracles ſtill amongſt the people, doyng them to know that glory therfore ought to be geuē to Ieſus, by whoſe power and name they were done. Wherwith the harts of the people melted for ioy: ſo that they folowed after the Apoſtles, whether ſoeuer lightly they went.

The primate of the prieſtes hearing of this, & al that were about him, replete with indignation, laid handes vpon the Apoſtles, putting them in the commō priſon. But the Aungell of God in the night opened the priſon doores, and brought them oute ſaying: *Goe you into the Temple, and ſtand there preachyng vnto the people al the words of life*, that is to ſay, Chriſtes doctrine: and ſo they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chiefe Prieſt, and they whom he vſed to haue about him, and called a Coūcell, in which were all ẏ prieſtes of Iſrael, or Auncients of Iſraell. So they ſent vnto the pryſon houſe for to haue the Apoſtles brought forth before thē. When theyr ſeruaunts came to the pryſon houſe, and found the Apoſtles gone thence, they returned to theyr maiſters, ſaying: we found the pryſon faſt ſhut rounde about in euery parte, and the kepers watching at the doores without, full diligentlye. But when we had opened the priſon, we could finde no body within.

Then, as the high Prieſts and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexitie, doubtinge what woulde thereof come. Then came one vnto them and ſhewed them, ſaying: beholde the men that ye put in pryſon, are ſtandyng in the temple preachinge vnto the people. Then went they thether and brought the Apoſtels with them, without any violence: but they were afraid leſt the people would haue beaten them downe with ſtones.

Then they cauſed the Apoſtles to be brought into theyr Councell houſe, the hygh Prieſt begynnyng hys propoſition againſt the Apoſtles in thys forme: Haue we not ſtraightly commaunded you (ſayd he) that you ſhould not preach in the name of Chriſt? And ſee, you haue filled al Ieruſalem with your doctrine. Will you bringe this mans bloud vpon vs, that we ſhoulde vnrightwiſely haue cauſed him to ſuffer death? Then anſwered Peter and ẏ other Apoſtles ſaying: *we ought to obey God more then any men. The God of our fathers hath rayſed Ieſu from death, whom you dyd ſley, hangyng hym vpon a tree. Him notwithſtanding hath God rayſed, & by his power auaunced to be our king and Sauiour: by whom ſhalbe geuen to all Iſrael, that will take repentaunce & forgiuenes of ſinne.*

Theſe great rulers hearing this, their harts were therwith clouen a ſunder, & they coūcelled together for to ſley they Apoſtles. But one good man amonges their multitude auiſed them otherwyſe, whoſe aduyſe they dyd approue. Then they called the Apoſtles again afore them, cauſing them to be ſcourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Ieſu, and ſo dyd let them departe.

ct.4.5.

Then went they away out of the Counſell, reioyſing that God had made them worthy to ſuffer ſuch rebukes for hys name ſake. But yet they neuer ceaſed to teach and preache of Ieſus Chriſt, euery daye in the Temple, and in all houſes that they came into. This is writtē in the iiij. v. and vj. of the Actes of Apoſtles, and for our inſtruction, doubt you not: for ſuch practiſe is ſhewed in all ages. So that hereby you may ſée, when men be wrongfully ſuſpect or infamed of hereſie, and ſo prohibited by Byſhops for to preach the word of God, that they ought for no mans commaundemēt, to leaue or ſtop, though they do neuer purge them ſelues afore them: for ſuch will admitte no iuſt purgation many times, but iudge in their owne cauſes, and that as they luſt, whiche me thinketh is not all comely. Therfore in the old lawe the Prieſtes and other iudges dyd ſit together, hearyng of matters that were in controuerſie.

rongfull hibition ght not ſtoppe y preas ng of ods ord.

Yet this I thinke reaſonable, that a man iuſtly and not cauſeles ſuſpect, and namely if he bee ſo found faulty of hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preachyng, after he is inhibited, vntill he haue made hys purgation before ſome iudge. But in my rude opinion, it were neceſſary and conueniēt, that our heades ſhould not be ouer ready of ſuſpition, and ſo inhibityng men approued, from preachyng, ſpecially in this Seſſion, whē ẏ people doth ſuſpect them to do it more for loue of them ſelues, and maintaining of their priuate luker or honor, then to do it for loue of God, and maintenaunce of hys honor.

opiſht elates dges in ir owne uſes.

wilnes ſuſpition proued.

¶Aunſwere to the. 22. Article.

ſwere to e xxij. article.

In the xxij. where you demaunde whether I beleue that it is lawfull for all Prieſts frely to preach the word of God or no, and that in all places, at all ſeaſons, and to all perſons to whom they ſhall pleaſe, although they be not ſent: I ſay, that Prieſtes are called in Scripture by two diſtinct wordes, that is to wit, Præsbyteri, & Sacerdotes. The firſt is to ſay, auncient mē, Seniors, or Elders: and by that worde or vocable, are the ſecular iudges or ſuch lyke head officers, ſome tyme alſo ſignified, as we read in Daniel, that they were called, which defamed and wrongfully accuſed Suſanna: but this is ſeldome and nothyng ſo cuſtomably, as thoſe to be called prȩsbyteri, whiche are ſet to be Prelates in the Churche to guyde the ſame by the worde of God and hys bleſſed doctrine, that is, the rodde of direction, and the foundation of Chriſtes faith. And Prieſtes thus called prȩsbyteri in the primitiue Churche (what tyme were but few traditions and ordinaunces to let vs frō the ſtraight trade or inſtitutiō made by Chriſt ⁊ his Apoſtles) were ẏ very ſame ⁊ none other, but Byſhops, as I ſhewed you in the firſt part of mine aunſwere, by authoritie of S. Ierome.

ieſtes hether ey ought preach, ough ey be not t.

piſcopi d præſbyteri, all e.

Paul alſo recordeth the ſame right euidently in the firſt to Titus, in this forme: *I left thee Titus* (quoth bleſſed Paule) *behinde me in Crete, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in a due order, ſuch thinges as lacke or be not els perfectly framed, and that thou ſhouldeſt ſet Prieſtes in euery towne, lyke as I did appoynt thee, if any bee without reproche, or blameleſſe, the husband of one wife, hauyng faithfull children, not giuen to riote, or that be not vnruly, for ſo ought a Byſhop to be. &c.* These are not my woordes but of S. Paules, in ẏ epiſtle to Titus. Where you may ſée that a Prieſt called Presbyter, ſhould be the ſame ẏ we call a byſhop, whom he requireth a litle after, to be able by holeſome doctrine of Gods Scripture, to exhort ẏ good to folow the ſame doctrine, ⁊ if any ſhal ſpeake agaynſt it, to reproue thē therby. And marke you how he would haue a Biſhop (otherwiſe called an auncient man, or a Prieſt) to make exhortation by holy Scripture, ⁊ thereby to reproue thē that ſhal ſpeake againſt ẏ truth, ⁊ not to condemne thē by might or authoritie only, or els by traditions of men made in generall Councels. And as many as are in this wiſe Prieſtes (whiche are called cōmonly Præsbyteri, otherwiſe Byſhops) ſuch as in the Churche are ſet to take cure of ſoule, and to bée ſpirituall Paſtours, ought to preach frely the word of God in all places and tymes conuenient, and to whom ſoeuer it ſhal pleaſe them, if they ſuppoſe and ſée that their preachyng ſhould edifie and profite.

ieſtes e two mes in ipture, reſbyteri r Sacer- tes. it.1.

eſcripti of a true ſt.

ruelayers truth are e repro by ſcrip s. and by au itie only, aditions en, made enerall uncels.

What miniſters be ſent.

And where as you adde this particle: Though they were not ſent: I ſay, that all ſuch are choſen to be preachers, ⁊ therfore ſent: for of this ſpeaketh S. Gregorye in his Paſtorals, in this wiſe: Predicationis quippe officium ſuſcipit, quiſquis ad ſacerdotium accedit. Who ſoeuer taketh prieſthode vpon hym, taketh alſo vpō him ẏ office of preachyng. Yea your law reporteth in lyke maner Diſtinct. 43. where it is thus ſayd: A Prieſt ought to be honeſt, that he may ſhewe honeſtye both in wordes and conditions. Wherfore it is ſayd in the Canticles: The chekes of ẏ ſpouſe, that is to wit, of preachers are to be compared to a turtle doue.

Grigor. in Paſtoral.

Diſt. 43.

Where is moreouer added: Hee muſt alſo haue the gift of teachyng, becauſe (as ſaith S. Ierome) innocēt cōuerſation, without ſpeach or preaching, how much it is auaylable by example geuyng, ſo much doth it hurte agayne by ſilence kepyng: for wolues muſt be driuen away by barkyng of dogges, and ẏ ſhepheardes ſtaffe, which (as the Gloſe ſheweth) ſignifieth preaching and ſharpe wordes of the Prieſt. And this I vnderſtand of ſuch as ſhould be Prieſtes elect both by God and men, in Gods Churche, whoſe office is to preach.

And though many of them, whiche now do miniſter in the Church, and are elect by Byſhops, otherwiſe then after the maner of Chriſtes inſtitution, and the forme of the primitiue Church, neither do, ne can preach: yet ought not the multitude of ſuch to be layd for an authoritie agaynſt me or other that are compelled to ſhewe the truth and right ordinaūce of the Apoſtles, that was vſed afore tyme in the primitiue Church: God bryng it in agayne. Neither ought we for the negligence of Byſhops, whiche haue choſen ſuch an ignoraunt multitude (whereby the principall duety of Prieſtes is growen out of knowledge) when we do ſhew you therof, to be ſo enforced by a booke oth, and therfore noted as heretickes, impriſoned, and burned.

Multitude ſerueth not for authoritie.

Other be called Prieſtes in the new Teſtament by this worde Sacerdotes, that is to ſay (I thinke) ſacrificers. And thus as Chriſt was called Rex & Sacerdos, kyng, and Prieſt: ſo be all true Chriſtē men in the new Teſtament (as is teſtified Apoca. j.) by Chriſt, made kyngs and Prieſtes. The wordes in the Apoc. be thus: *To Ieſu Chriſt which hath loued vs & waſhed vs from our ſinnes thorowe his bloud, and made vs kinges and Prieſtes vnto God euen his father, vnto hym be glory and rule for euer and euer. Amen.* Thus ſayth S. Iohn, ſpeakyng of all Chriſten people. In lyke maner, is it ſayd j. Pet. ij. where he writeth vnto all Chriſtē men: *You* (quoth he) *be a choſen generation, a regall prieſthode, an holy people.* S. Bede expoundyng the ſame (as my remēbraunce doth ſerue) ſhall teſtifie playnly with me. And S. Auguſtine I wot well, in diuers places recordeth, that all Chriſtē men be ſo called, Regale Sacerdotium. And lykewiſe doth Faber in hys Commentaries vpō the ſame place. Whoſoeuer loketh vpon the treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, ſhall finde a multitude of aūcient fathers ſayinges, declaryng the ſame.

Sacerdotes.

Apoc. 1.

1. Peter. 2. *Bede* vpon the epiſtle of S. Peter.

But this may yet ſéme a ſtraunge thyng and a new, that all perſons ſhould be called Prieſtes, and that in Scripture, whiche can not lye. Truth it is in déede, it may ſéeme ſtraunge to diuers, as it did to me, and many other, when we read it firſt, becauſe we neuer read ne heard of the ſame before: ⁊ ſo dyd Chriſtes doctrine and hys Apoſtles ſeme new to hys audience, when hée hym ſelf preached. Albeit he yet proued his doing and ſayings by authoritie of ẏ law ⁊ Prophets, as is ſhewed in the firſt to ẏ Rom. where Paul reporteth: *that hee was choſen apart to be a miniſter of the goſpell that was promiſed tofore, by the Prophets.* And our Sauiour teſtifieth the

How all men are prieſtes.

Rom. 1.

the ſame in S.Iohn, ſaying to the Iewes: *Thinke you not* (quoth hee) *that I ſhall accuſe you before my father? There is one to accuſe you, whiche is Moſes, in whom you do truſt. But if you beleued Moſes, you ſhould certeynly beleue me, for he writeth of me. &c.* Lykewiſe a litle aboue, he byddeth thē ſearch the Scriptures, for they make reporte of hym.

Iohn.5.

But although theſe ſayinges do ſeme new for lacke that we haue not had olde familiarity with Scripture, and vſage in readyng the ſame, (God amēde and helpe it, when it ſhall pleaſe hym) yet truly ſo ſtādeth it written, as I haue ſayd, and ſo is interpreted by the Doctours aboue named, and ſo was it preached of a certain Doctor alſo of Diuinitie in London, the ij. day of Aduent laſte paſte, in this ſentence. I wote not whether theſe were the ſelfe wordes or no. The Church (quoth the Doctor) is nothing els but the congregatiō of faythfull people: and you all (quoth hee to the people) are of the Churche, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And lykewiſe we and all men are Prieſtes, but yet are not all a lyke ordeyned Miniſters (sayd hee) for to conſecrate yͤ body of Chriſt in yͤ Church. Thus ſaid yͤ preacher: whō when I ſee oportunitie, I dare be bold to name. And theſe I ſay ought not all to preach openly in general cōuentions or aſſembles, neither cā they, but they rather ſhould come to learne: yet priuately are they bound for inſtructions of their ſeruauntes, children, kinſfolke and ſuch lyke, to ſpeake that ſhould be for the deſtruction of vice, and encreaſe or vpholdyng of vertue, whenſoeuer tyme and place ſo behoueth, as ſheweth S.Paule, ſaying in this wiſe: *you that are fathers, prouoke not your children to wrath or anger, but bring them vp in the doctrine and diſcipline of the Lord.*

The ſaying of a Doctor preaching at Paules.

All be prieſtes, but not all miniſters publicke.

Euery man miniſter of good inſtruction in his owne houſe.

Epheſ.6.

¶Aunſwere to the 23. Article.

In the xxiij. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that it is lawfull for lay people of both kyndes, that is to wit, both men and women, to ſacrifice and preache the worde of God, I ſay that it is not mete for none, in myne opinion, to preach openly the word of God, except they be choſen and elect to yͤ ſame, either by God, or ſolemnely by men, or els by both, & therfore Paule calleth hym ſelf in all hys Epiſtles, an Apoſtle of God, that is to wit, a meſſenger of God. And to the Galathians he writeth thus: *Paul an Apoſtle, not ſent by men neither by man, but by Ieſus Chriſt.* Alſo to the Romaines: *How ſhall men preach truly* (quoth he) *except they be ſent?* Notwithſtandyng, I ſay this, both by ſupportation of Gods law, and alſo of lawes written in the Decrees, that in tyme of great neceſſity, lay people may preach, and that of both kyndes, both men and women, as you may ſee in the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, whereas hee ſayth: *that it is a ſhame for a woman to ſpeake in a multitude or congregation:* Yet in an other place he ſayth: *that euery woman praying or propheſying, hauyng any thyng vpō her head, doth diſhoner her head.*

Aunſwer to the 23. article.

No man to preach openly, except he be choſen.

Gal.1.

Rom.15.

In tyme of great neceſſitie, lay people, man or womā may preach.

1.Cor.14.

1.Cor.11.

To this accordeth the Prophecy of Ioel recited Act. ij. where in the perſon of God, is thus ſaid: *I ſhall poure out of my ſpirite vpon all fleſh, and both your ſonnes and your daughters ſhal prophecy.* Thus did Anna yͤ Propheteſſe daughter of Phanuel, geue praiſe vnto Chriſt in yͤ temple, & ſpake of hym to all men of Ieruſalem, that loked after the redemption of Iſraell. This alſo doth yet ſpeake vnto vs in Scripture, the virgine Mary, by the ſong whiche ſhe made, that is dayly recited in yͤ church called Magnificat. Yea Steuen alſo beyng no Prieſt, but a Deacon, made a wonderfull good Sermon. Act. vij. This alſo willeth your Decrees, Diſt.ix.de conſe. where is thus ſayd: A woman although ſhe is learned and holy, may not preſume to teach men in the Cōgregation, ne Baptiſe, except neceſſity requireth. So that where nede is, I ſhall adde this, but not without the mynde of hym that wrote the law: lyke as a woman may Baptiſe, ſo may ſhe teache the worde of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, cap.16.queſt.1.& in Gloſa.11.cap.Adijcim⁹ diſt.18. And I beſech God that for lacke of true and well learned officers, ſuch neceſſity do not come now vpon vs, that ſuch ſhall neede to take vpon them to preach.

Ioell.2.
Act.2.
Luke.2.

Women that propheſied in the Scripture.

Act.7.

Diſtinct.9. de conſecrat.

There is a learned man, which in a Dialoge that he maketh betwixt a rude abbot and a gentlewoman, hauing ſkil in learning, ieſteth, but with prettie earneſt (as his maner is) and geueth a watch word touching ſomewhat my purpoſe. It is in the end of the dialoge. The gentlewoman aunſwering the Abbot, for that he had partly checked her becauſe ſhe was quicke in vtteraunce of learning: Sir (quod ſhe) if you cōtinue therin ſo dul as you haue done and dayly do, the world perceyuyng it (as they begin faſt to grow quicke in ſight) it is to be feared leſt they wil ſet you beſide the ſaddle, and put vs in your roumes.

As concerning ſacrifice doing (ſo I do vnderſtande by the word which you do vſe, libare, not knowing els what it ſhould meane) I ſay that it is lawful for all men and women to do ſacrifice, of what ſort ſo euer they be: but I meane not by ſacrifyce doing, to ſaye maſſe, as priſtes vſeth to do, therunto appoynted: but like as Chriſten people be Sacerdotes, that is to ſaye, Sacrificers, as is ſhewed before: ſo ought they to offer, and do offer ſpirituall ſacrifices, as writeth S.Paul to the Romaynes, ſaying: *I beſeche you brethren, for the loue of Goddes mercy, that you will geue your body a liuing ſacriſice, holy and acceptable to God, beinge a reaſonable worſhipping.* In that he ſayth our body ſhould be a ſacrifice, he would haue it ſlayne: for that was the manner, that all beaſtes that were wont to be ſacrificed, ſhould be firſt ſlaine. But he ioyneth therwith, *liuing*, ſaying: *geue your bodye to bee a liuing Sacriſice.* So that he would we ſhould continue to liue in this body to Gods pleaſure, but flying the euill luſtes and appetites therof, and ſo ſhall our worſhipping be reaſonable, if we do not geue vnto our reaſon ouer much of the bridle, wherby it maye runne at riot, following fleſhlye concupiſcence and wicked vanitye or arrogancye: as when men will take in hand to deuyſe, by their own wit, a more godly way of liuing, then is inſtitute by Chriſt (which is the wiſdome of his heauenly father) ſaying, that his is not ſufficient enough for vs to folow. Of whom it is ſayed of the Propheet Eſay in theſe wordes: *This people approche neare vnto me, and honoureth me with their lippes, but their hart is farre from me: but they do worſhip me in vain teaching doctrines, that are lawes or precepts of men.*

Then Paule procedeth ſhewing of this chriſtian ſacrifice, ſaying: *And apply not youre ſelues vnto the faſhion of this worlde, but be you transformed by renouation of your mynd, that you maye know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable & rightfull afore him.* See how he would haue vs do this ſacrifice, and mortifie our luſtes, in refuſing the corrupt faſhion and behauiour of the world, altering our myndes by a newe waye, by knowinge the will of God, and folowing after the ſame.

An other maner of ſacrifice which he requireth, is, that we ſhould alway offer vnto god, the ſacrifice of prayſe, that is to wit, the frute of our lips, that Oſee calleth, vitulos labiorum, geuyng laude vnto hys name: and that we ſhoulde not forget to do good, and to be beneficiall to our neyghbours: *for in ſuch ſacrifice,* (ſayth he) *God hath delite.*

Thus I ſay, that by playne ſuffrage of your law in the Decrees, and alſo of ſcripture, lay perſons in neceſſitye, and in tyme of neede, may lawfully preach or ſhewe the worde of God, and alſo do ſacrifice, but I thinke except great neede require, they ought not ſo to doe.

Thus haue you herein my mynde, which if it be not firme and ſubſtantiall, I will yet reforme it when anye better is ſhewed, as I wil alſo do in all other thinges: for I am not in thys yet fully certifyed, albeit me thinke, yͤ decrees do paſſe euidētly with me.

Aun-

¶ Aunſwere to the.24.Article.

to the 24.
ticle.

In the. xxiiii. where you do aſke, whether excommunication denounced by the Pope againſte al heretyckes, do oblige and bynd them before God? I ſaye, that it byndeth them afore God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in verye deede, as they be named, & if he denouceth thē ſo to be, not of his own proper head or affection only: but with the conſent of other gathered with him in Chriſtes name, for the behouſe of Chriſtes Church: For ſo uſed S. Paul, when he dyd excommunicate the mā of Corinth, which had full horribly defiled his mother in lawe, as appeareth 1. Cor.5. And the ſame forme declareth the Goſpell, Math.18. in theſe wordes: *If thy brother hath treſpaſſed agaynſt thee, go & reproue him betwixt thee & hym alone. If he will heare thee, thou haſte ſo wonne thy brother. If he will not heare thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of ij, or iij. euery thing may be aſſured. If he wil not heare them, ſhew it vnto the congregation. If he will not follow the mynde of the congregation, let hym be vnto thee as a Painime or a notable ſinner. For verelye I ſay vnto you, what ſo euer you ſhall binde vpon earth, ſhalbe bound in heauen.* So that ſuch excommunication ought to be done (as me thinketh) by the cōgregation aſſembled together with their paſtour, whoſe aduiſe they ought principally to eſteme and followe, if it be vertuous and godlye.

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Cor.5.

ath.18.

And thus is it conuenient to be done: For the Pope is made of fleſh, as well as other men, and therfore he maye ſome tyme iudge awrye, curſing the bleſſed, and bleſſing the curſſed: & lykewyſe may other Prelates, iudgyng the Chriſten to be heretyckes, & heretyckes, Chriſten. Of whom it is alſo wrytten in the prophecie of Ezechiel. Mortificabant animas, quę non moriuntur, & viuificabant animas, quæ non viuunt. *They ſlewe the ſoules of them that ſhould not dye, and gaue lyfe to the ſoules that ſhoulde not lyue:* As dyd the Phariſeis when they dyd caſt Chriſt out of the vineyard, which ſignifieth ẏ Church, Mar.xi. And as our Sauiour propheſied, in the.xix. of Iohn, ſaying vnto hys Diſciples: *There ſhalbe* (quod he) *ſome that ſhal excommunicate you: yea, and the tyme ſhall come, that who ſoeuer ſhall ſley you, ſhall thinke to do honour to God, and this ſhall they do vnto you, becauſe they do neither know my Father nor me.* Theſe wordes be written in the Goſpel of Ihon.xix. Wherby you ſee, that for lack of knowledge of God, whiche is taught and ſene by the light of ſcripture, Chriſte propheſied howe lewd men ſhould lewdly excommunicate ẏ good, yea and ſley his true ſeruants, thinking thorow ſuch factes to pleaſe God, and to do hym good ſeruice.

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ay erre.

zech.13.

ar.11.

h.19.

Wherfore ſend o Lord I beſeche thee, the knowledge of thee, to be dilated vpon earth, which Oſee bewayleth ſore, ſeing it abſent, wherby mens iudgment may be rectifyed, and ſo to do accordingly to the leading of the ſame.

e.4.

¶ Aunſwere to the.25.Article.

the.25.
ticle.

In the.xxv. where you aſke, whether euery Prieſt is bound to ſay dayly hys Mattens, and Euenſonge, according as it is ordainec by the Church, or whether he may leaue them vnſayed without offence or deadlye ſinne? I ſaye, that prayer in Scripture is muche commended, and many great and vnmeſurable benefites are ſhewed to enſue thereupon, that men ſhoulde the more luſtely geue them ſelues thereto. With prayer, doth S. Paule bid vs to fight, in diues places, continuing in the ſame agaynſt our ghoſtly enemyes. A figure of this is read in Exodus, when the Iſraelites fought in battel againſt a Nation of infidels: I trowe their Captain was called Amalecke. Moyſes ſtode vpō a mountayne, to beholde what ſhoulde be the concluſion, and lyftyng vp hys hands, prayed that it myght well ſuccede with the Iſraelites, but in longe holding thē vp, at laſte his feruour began to growe cold and faint, and his handes ſagged downewarde, and euer as his hands grew heauy (which ſignifyeth, that hys affection in praying abated and waxed cold) the infidels preuayled: but as he keept them heaued vpward (wherby was mente intētiue prayer of a deuout mynde) he purchaſed victory to the Iſraelites. Aaron and Hur, whiche endited the lawe to the people, and were therof ẏ interpretors, ſtode with Moyſes, which alway, as they did ſee his armes to faint, dyd vphold thē, ſo that fynally the victory came vnto Iſrael.

od.17.

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yer.

By Moyſes is ſignified, as ſheweth great clerkes, deuotion. By Aaron and Hur, the knowledge of gods doctrine. Which two thinges (deuotion I meane, and knowledge) all men had neede to haue preſently with them: for deuotion doth eleuate the mynd to god: but knowledge doth ſuſtaine or vpholde the ſame, that it may with corage continue not fallyng downe, but ſo alway doth incenſe and kindle it, that it mounteth vp into the preſence of our heauenlye father, where they ſauer together farre more ſweetely then any fumigation either of Iuniper, Incenſe, or what ſoeuer els, be they neuer ſo pleaſaunt, doth ſauer in any mans noſe.

Deuotion and knowledge to be ioyned together.

Therefore, S. Paul ſeyng how neceſſary the knot of theſe two, deuotion and knowledge of gods will, was, which is ſhewed in ſcripture (as teacheth S. Cyprian in theſe wordes: The will of god, ſayeth he, is that which Chriſt both taught and wrought) Paul I ſay, ſeing this, wiſhed to be excommunicate and ſeparate frō god, for to haue ẏ Iewes to come to ẏ knowledge of Chriſtes church, which is the only right way to ſaluation: for whom he prayd ryght ſtudiouſlye, as appeareth a litle after, in the.x.chap. to the Romaines, ſaying: *I beare them record, that they haue a zeale and deuotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Chriſts doctrine. &c.* Where you may clearely ſee, how the Iewes (as S. Paule whiche is no lier recordeth here) had a zeale and deuoion to God, but they lacked knowledge therwith. Moyſes was amongeſt them, but Aaron was away: whoſe abſence payned Paul ſo ſore, that he rauiſhed with exceedinge charitye, wiſhed no ſmall harme vnto hym ſelfe vppon condicion that the multitude of thē might be holpē & haue a better iudgement: euen to be ſeparated from God. It muſt needes be then greatly hurtfull, albeit men haue deuotion, to be without the knowledge of God, and hys lawe, ſignified by Aaron.

Rom.10.

Moſes not to be without Aaron.

Deuotion without knoledge hurtfull.

S. Paul alſo, before that he came to knowledge, had ſuch like deuotion hym ſelfe, as he reporteth. Act.xxvi. in theſe wordes: *Al the Iewes* (quod he) *haue knowen my liuing, that I haue lead ſith I entred into mans age,* (which tyme as I remember is recounted from the.xvi. or xviij. yeare of a mans lyfe, in Laten he calleth it adoleſcentia) *which from the beginnyng therof, was* (ſayth he) *at Ieruſalē among mine own nation, that dyd know me afore alſo from the begynnyng, if they woulde ſaye truth, that I lyued after the moſt ſtraiteſt order or Sect of our Religion, being a Phariſye. And I* (quod Paule a litle after) *thought to do many thinges in fighthing againſt the name of Ieſus Chriſt, yea and dyd alſo beyng at Ieruſalē, and I thruſt many Sainctes, or holy men into pryſon, hauing power geuen me thereto of the high Prieſtes, and when they ſhoulde be put to death, I gaue ſentence: and I* (quod he) *was commonly in all Sinagoges, puniſhing them, and cōpelling them to blaſpheme* (as mē are fayne now a daies, whē the Biſhops make them to abiure, and to denie the truth of ẏ Goſpell) *yea moreouer dyd I* (quoth Paul) *rage againſt them, purſuinge after them into ſtraunge landes.*

Act.26.

The zeale of Saule without deuotion.

See what zeale Paul had to God, afore he was inſtructed in the doctrine of Chriſt. He thought to haue pleaſed God highly in perſecuting his ſeruauntes, of whome one was S. Steuē. He was then ſore blinded tho-

Zeale without knowledge.

Act. 9.

Zach. 2.

thorow ignorance, and wanted the aſſiſtaunce of Aaron. But anone as Chriſte, whiche is the true Aaron, had appeared to him, aſking hym and ſayinge in a lamentable fourme: *O Saule, Saule, why doſt thou perſecute me,* in troublynge and ſtrikinge my ſeruauntes, the membres of myne own body, of whom it is ſayed, *he that ſmiteth you, ſhall ſmyte the tender ball of myne eye?* hys hart fell (I dare ſay) ſo lowe as his bodye, that is euen down to the earth, repenting hym ſelf full ſore, beyng ready to amend, and folow after a newe waye, as appeareth by his aunſwere, where he ſayeth: *O Lorde, what wilte thou haue me to do?* As though one wold ſay: Nowe, I ſee all that I thought to haue done afore of good intention, and good purpoſe, or deuotion, hath deceyued me. I finde it otherwiſe. That which I eſtemed good, in very dede is, and was naught. Teach me therfore, good Lord (quod he) a better way, and amend my iudgement, that myne owne will or intention forſaken, I may nowe follow thine, to pleaſe thee, and to do thy will. And ſo as he came to Ananias, by the aſſignemẽt of Chriſt, the thicke filthines of his old waywarde iudgemẽt, fel away, as appeareth by the droſſe or rubbiſh that came from his eis, euen like ſcales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put vpon hym a new iudgement, which is directed after the ſtraight rule of the Goſpell. Wherby you maye ſee, that mens deuotiõ may oft begile and ſeduce them, except knowledge do aſſiſte the ſame, for to ſuſtayne and directe it: whiche knit together, ſhall much ſtrengthen men in al trouble and temptations.

Deuotion a deceaueable thyng.

Eraſmus in Enchiridio.

Saying of Mattens.

Pſal. 1.

So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to haue prayer annexed with knowledge: and that ſheweth full notably Eraſmus, in the ſecond paſſage of Enchiridion, where he teſtifieth but of eaſie liking that he hath in ſaying of Mattens, yea rather cõtrarywyſe, he ſheweth diſlikyng: and ſo he doth alſo in hys expoſition of the firſt Pſalme: Beatus vir, where the text maketh agreably for the ſame: It is written in this wiſe: *Bleſſed is the man that hath not gone after the councell of the wicked, and hath not ſtand in the way of ſinners, ne ſit in the chaire of peſtilence, but hath his will in the lawe of God, and ſhall muſe or bee occupyed in it both daye and nyght.*

What is true godlynes, or pietie.

1. Tim. 4.

No promiſe of God for ſaying Mattens.

The xv. Oos.

Our Ladyes Pſalter.

Faſting our Ladyes faſt.

See how ỷ Prophet (which I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that will and pleaſure of God, as euer did any pope or general Coũcel, or what ſo euer they were beſide, that ordayned lõg ſeruice to be ſayd of Prieſtes) teſtifieth them to be bleſſed, that ſtudy & are exerciſed in the law of God, both day and night, that is to wit, alwayes. A great promiſe put of God to ſuch bleſſed exerciſe, whiche we may call right deuotion, or true godlyneſſe. For Paul definyng godlines, ſayth thus. Pietas ad omnia vtilis eſt, vt quę promiſsiones habeat pręſentis vitæ & futuræ. That is to wit, *Godlines is profitable vnto all thynges, for that hath annexed therto, promiſes of this life preſent, and of the life to come.* But no ſuch promiſe is made of God, I am certeine, to them that ſaye dayly Mattens. Neither are we certaine by the worde of God, that we ſhall therefore bee bleſſed of hym: no more then we are certeine, that for ſaying ouer the xv. Oos, euery day once thorowe an whole yeare, we ſhall appertly ſee our Lady to ayde vs afore our death, as it is teſtified in the Scripture of the Primer, but not by Scripture of the Bible: or that we ſhall haue a lyke benefits for ſaying of her Pſalter vppon the x. beades that cõmeth from the Croſſed Friers, or vpõ the v. beades halowed at the Charter houſe, or faſtyng our Ladyes faſt, as men call it: ne for faſting of the Wedenſday, as is ſhewed by a booke that is alowed to bee printed and read of all men that liſteth, for it is neither ỷ new Teſtament, ne the old. They are cõdemned, you wot wel, and I perhaps ſhall haue a litle leſſe fauour, becauſe I tell the truth frely, for ſuch thynges are called offẽſiue. But woulde God, that all perſons ſo thinking, would remẽber what aũſwere Chriſt made vnto hys diſciples in the xv. of Math, when they came vnto hym and warned him to beware, ſaying: you know that the Phariſeis are offended, hearyng ſuch wordes ſpoken. I will leaue out Chriſtes aunſwere, leſt I ſhould bee thought ouer free and playne in tarying or vttryng of abuſions, and ſpeake no further.

Mat

A like demaund wͭ aũſwere therto annexed, ſhal you find in ỷ xi. of Luke, where Chriſt would not refrayne to ſpeake any deale more eaſelye. Therefore I beſech them that deeme me (God wotteth whether righteouſly or no) ſclaũderouſly, to reuiſe the ſayd places, & then counſell me to do that ſhalbe moſt expedient to folow, if their charity wil ſo require. Yet would I that all people ſhould know, that I do not reproue that ſaying of the xv. Oos, which (ſo farforth as my remembraunce doth ſerue) is a very good prayer, or ſuch lyke prayers: ne would I, that any perſon ſhould thinke me to diſalow any diſcrete faſtynges, for ſuch, not onely preſent with you, but euen from hence abſent, haue I cõmẽded in earneſt ſpeaking, and ſo entend to do by the aſſiſtance of Gods grace. Neuertheles ſuch vayne promiſes I do abhorre as be with them annexed, with ỷ vpholders of the ſame. For ſuch do cauſe vayne confidẽce in the people, withdrawyng and ſeducyng them, from the ryght beliefe of the Goſpell (whiche Chriſten men ought onely to build their fayth vpon) vnto new inuentions of vanity. S. Paul calleth ſuch, old womẽs tales, where he writeth vnto Timothe, byddyng hym to beware of them, and to throw them away.

Luk

Faſtin commen ded.

Pſal.

The Prophet Dauid lykewiſe, doth accorde therevnto, ſaying: Beatus vir cuius eſt nomen domini ſpes eius, & nõ reſpexit in vanitates & inſanias falſas. *Bleſſed* (quoth hee) *is the man that hath in the name of God, his affiance or hope, and hath not looked backe to vanities and falſe dotage, or madnes.* And this I ſay agayne, that the Mattens ſaying hath no more promiſe of God made to the ſayers, then hath the other aboue named, for they were inſtitute by ỷ fãtaſie or mynde of mẽ, and not by ỷ rule of Scripture. Neither do I thinke, that Prieſtes, whiche will truly folow the rule of God, written in the Bible, ought to bee ſo charged or encombred with ſaying of them, that they ſhould thereby be hyndred from the ſtudy of that, whiche to know, belongeth principally both to theyr owne ſoules ſaluation, and alſo to the diſcharge of their duety, and which God moſt hyghly of Prieſtes doth require (I meane the ſtudy of hys Goſpell) wherby they them ſelues ſhould be ſpiritually nouriſhed, and thereafter ſhould feede Chriſtes flocke, the congregation of his people, accordyng to the ſaying of our Sauiour in Iohn. *I* (quoth he) *am the dore. Whoſoeuer ſhall come in by me, ſhall both come in, & go out, and finde good paſture or fedyng.* That is to ſay, whoſoeuer ſhall enter to bee a paſtor & miniſter in Chriſtes Churche or congregation, by Chriſt, ſhall both enter into contemplation of Gods glorye declared abundauntly in Scripture, and after go forth and ſhewe that ſame abroad to other for theyr wealth and edifiyng.

Iob.

Luk

1. Pe

To this accordeth that is written in Luke, whereas our Sauiour ſpeaketh to all hys Churche, ſignified in the perſon of Peter. *Peter* (quoth he) *I haue prayed that thy fayth ſhould not fayle, and thou being conuerted, go then about to confirme thy brethren.* So that hee would haue Peter ſtabliſhed firſt in fayth of hys ſure doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach other to be groũded in the ſame lykewiſe. And thus ought all Prieſtes to be called Præsbyteri, which wil be miniſters in ỷ church, for ſo byddeth S. Peter, in hys firſt Epiſtle, in the laſt Chap. ſaying thus: *I beſeche the Prieſtes* (quoth he) *that are among you, I my ſelfe beyng a Prieſt, and a witnes bearer of Chriſtes afflictions, and alſo a partaker of the glorye whiche ſhalbe reueiled, ſee that you with all diligence, do feede the flocke of Chriſt: taking care of the ſame, not as enforced therto, but willyngly: not deſiryng filthy luker, but with a louing mynde: neither as men exerciſing dominion o-*

uer the children or inheritours of God, but ſo that you be paternes, or enſample geuers to the flocke. See, how he requireth of Prieſtes, yͤ they ſhould ſpend all their diligence to feede Chriſtes flocke, and to ſhewe good enſample of liuyng, makyng no mention of long Mattens ſaying, whiche then were not mentioned nor ſpoken of.

Accordyng to this, is written in your Decrees after this forme: Ignoraunce, ſayth the law (marke it well I beſeche you all) is the mother of all errours. Whiche ought to be eſchued eſpecially of Prieſtes that among the people of God haue taken vpon them the office of preachyng. Prieſtes are cōmaunded to read holy Scriptures, as ſayth Paule yͤ Apoſtle to Timothe: *Geue hede to readyng, exhortation, and teachyng, and cōtinue alwayes in the ſame.* Let Prieſtes therefore knowe holy Scripture, and let all theyr labour bee in preachyng and teachyng, and let them edifie all men both in knowledge of fayth, and in diſcipline of good workes. These be the wordes of yͤ lawe in the Decrees Diſt. 38. Where you ſee how the law lamenteth ignoraunce in all perſons: for it is the originall of all errours. God ſend vs therfore the knowledge of his true Goſpel. It biddeth that ignoraunce ſhould bee vtterly eſchued, and principally of Prieſtes, whoſe labour and diligēce it would ſhould be beſtowed all in reading of Scripture and preaching the ſame, bryngyng in for the ſame purpoſe, the ſaying of the Apoſtle, whiche willeth in lyke maner.

Ignorance mother of errour.

1.Timo.4.

Diſt.38.

Prieſtes ought to geue them ſelues rather to ſtudy, then to ſaying Mattens.

Moreouer, it requireth that Prieſtes ſhould geue all theyr ſtudy to edifie other in fayth and vertuous lyuyng. Whereof I do gather both by the ſaying of the Prophet, that willeth vs to be ſtudious in the lawe of God daye and night, and by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, which would haue Timothe to bee occupyed euer in readyng and teachyng, and by the report of your owne law, whiche ſayth lykewiſe, that a Prieſt ought to beſtow all hys labour in readyng and preachyng. So that a Prieſt ſet thus truly to ſtudy, that hee may ſtabliſhe hym ſelfe in the fayth of Chriſtes doctrine, intendyng after to helpe other with true preachyng of the ſame, or doyng other lyke deedes of charitye aſſigned in the law of God, ſhall not offend deadly, if ſo ſpendyng his time he omitteth to ſay Mattens, whiche is an ordinaunce of men.

What prieſtes ought to ſtudy.

Neuertheles, cōcernyng the huge multitude of ſuch as be now made Prieſtes by negligēt admiſſion of Byſhops, and theyr owne preſumption, that labour to bee made Prieſtes before they be any Clerckes, & ere euer they know what is the very office of a Prieſt, do not feare to take vpon them, if they may attayne thereto, to be a curate, they recke not of howe many, so they may get a good lumpe of Money, neuer myndyng after that the ſtudy of Scripture, after they are come to Domin⁹ vobiſcum: for ſuch I do thyncke long Mattens to bee nedefull, for to reſtrayne them from other enormities, that they ſhould els runne in. Of whiche you may bee weary, to ſee the experience dayly thereof ariſing. Yea and if ſuch would be content to admit it, I would euery one Mattens were as long to thē as fiue, except they could beſtow theyr tyme better.

Negligence of Biſhops in making prieſtes, noted.

¶ Aunſwere to the.26. Article.

In the xxvi. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the heades or rulers by neceſſity of ſaluation, are boūde to geue vnto the people, holy Scripture in theyr mother language: I ſay, that I thynke they are bound to ſee that the people may truly know holy ſcripture, & I do not know, how that may be done ſo wel, as by geuyng it to them truly tranſlated in the mother tonge, that they may haue it by them at all tymes to paſſe the tyme godly, when ſo euer they haue leyſure therto, like as they haue in Fraunce vnder the Frenche kynges priuiledge, and alſo with the priuiledge of the Emperour, and ſo do I know that they haue had it this fifty yeres and iiij. in Fraunce at the leaſt, and it was tranſlated at the requeſt of a kyng called I trow, Lewes, as appeareth by yͤ priuiledge put in yͤ beginning of yͤ boke.

To the.26. article.

Scripture in the vulgare tongue.

The French Bible tranſlated into the French tonge, with the kings priuiledge aboue.50 yeres before Lambertes tyme.

In lyke maner haue they it in Flaunders Printed with yͤ priuiledge of the Emperour. In Almayne alſo and in Italy, and I ſuppoſe through out all nations of Chriſtendome. Likewiſe hath it bene in England, as you may finde in yͤ Engliſh ſtory called Polychronicō. There it is ſhewed how when the Saxons did inhabit the land, the kyng at that tyme, whiche was a Saxon, dyd hym ſelfe tranſlate the Pſalter into the language that then was generally vſed. Yea I haue ſene a booke at Crowland Abbay, whiche is kept there for a relike, the booke is called S. Guthlakes Pſalter, and I weene verely it is a copy of the ſame, that the kyng did tranſlate, for it is neither Engliſh, Latine, Greke, Hebrue, nor Dutche, but ſomewhat ſoundyng to our Engliſh. And as I haue perceyued ſith yͤ time I was laſt there, beyng at Antwarpe the Saxon tounge doth ſound likewiſe after ours, and it is to ours partly agreable. In the ſame ſtory of Polychronicon is alſo ſhewed how yͤ S. Bede did tranſlate yͤ Goſpell of Iohn into Engliſh, & the author of yͤ ſame boke promiſed that he would trāſlate into Engliſh all the Bible, yea and perhaps he did ſo, but (I wotte not how it commeth to paſſe) all ſuch thyngs be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are ſome walkyng priuely in darkeneſſe, that wil not haue theyr doynges knowē. It is no lye that is ſpoken in the Goſpell of Iohn. Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem. *All that doth noughtelye hateth the light, and will not haue their doynges knowen:* and therfore they kepe downe the lyght ſtrongly: for that opened and generally knowen, all wrongfull conueyaunce ſhould anone be diſcloſed and reproued, yea & all men ſhould ſee anone, whether thoſe, that holde againſt vnrightwiſenes, beyng therefore ſometyme horribly infamed and ſclaundered, named heretickes and ſciſmatickes, were in deede, as they be called or no.

The Pſalter tranſlated by a king of England into the Saxon tonge.

Reade before page.191.

Sainct *Guthlakes* Pſalter.

Bede tranſlated the Goſpell of S. Iohn into Engliſh.

Read afore pag.130.

Ioh.3.

The cauſes why the ſcripture is not ſuffered to come to light.

Yea moreouer, I did once ſee a boke of the new Teſtament, whiche was not vnwritten by my eſtimation this C. yeres, & in my minde, right wel tranſlated after the example of that, whiche is read in the Churche in Latine. But he that ſhewed it me, ſayd, he durſt not be knowen to haue it by hym, for many had bene puniſhed afore tyme for kepyng of ſuch, and were conuicte therfore of hereſie.

Diuers ſuch teſtaments are yet to be ſeene in diuers places, of a long continuance.

Moreouer I was at Paules Croſſe, when the new Teſtamēt Imprinted of late beyond the Sea, was firſt forefended: and truely my harte lamented greatly to heare a great man preachyng agaynſt it, which ſhewed forth certaine thynges that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea and not I, but lykewiſe did many other thincke verely to be none. But (a lacke for pytie) malice can not ſay well. God helpe vs all, and amende it. So that to conclude, I thyncke verely it were profitable and expedient, that the holy Scripture were deliuered by authority of the head rulers, vnto the people, truly tranſlated in the vulgare tounge, in lyke maner, as it is in all other countreys. And whereas you adde, whether they be bound by neceſſity of ſaluation, to deliuer it to the people: I will not ſo narowly touch that poynt now, but I ſay, that they are bound by right and equity, to cauſe it to bee deliuered vnto the people in the vulgare tongue, for their edifiyng and conſolation, which the people by Gods grace, ſhould therof gather that now it is like they want, and are deſtitute of.

Errours found in the tranſlated Teſtament where none was.

Malyce neuer ſayth well.

¶ Aunſwere to the 27. Article.

In the xxvii. where you do demaunde, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for ſome cauſe, vpon their reaſonable aduiſemēt, to ordayne that the Scripture ſhould not bee deliuered vnto the people in the vulgare language: all men may here ſee, that who ſoeuer deuiſed theſe queſtiōs, thought not contrary (what ſoeuer they wil yet ſay) but that it is good for the people to haue the Scripture in the vulgare tongue, & that they thought that I ſo ſaying could not be well reproued, and therfore are layd out all theſe additions, as it were, to ſnare

To the.27. article.

Whether for any cauſe the ſcripture may be reſtrayned from the people.

and trappe me in: whether the heades be bound, and that by neceſſity of ſaluatiõ, to deliuer it to the people: and whether for oportunitie of tyme, they may ordayn to reſtrayne it for ſome cauſe and by ſome reaſonable aduiſement of thẽ taken. Sed fruſtra iacitur rete ante oculos pẽnatorũ. *But without cauſe you ſpread the nette before the eyes of the byrdes or foules.* I ſhew you playnly, that notwithſtandyng all theſe thynges, in myne opinion, it was not well done to inhibite it, and worſe, that the Biſhops haue not ſith amended it, if ſo bee they could, that the people might haue it to vſe and occupy vertuouſly.

Prouerb.1.

And here I will adde one reaſon. The Scripture is the ſpirituall foode and ſuſtenaũce of mans ſouls. This is ſhewed to be true in many places of Scripture: like as other corporal meate is the foode of the body. Then, if he be an vnkynd father that kepeth bodely meate away the ſpace of a weeke or a moneth from hys childrẽ, it ſhould ſeeme that our Biſhops be no gentle paſtours or fathers, that keepe awaye the foode of mens ſoules frõ them (ſpecially when other do offer the ſame) both monethes, yeres, and ages. Neither do I ſee any oportunity of tyme, or reaſonable aduiſement, that ſhould cauſe it to be withdrawen and taken away, but the cõtrary rather: for it is reaſon, conuenient, and nedefull for men to eate their meate euer when they are ryght hongry, and bleſſed are they that honger and thyrſt after the word of God, which teacheth to know hym, & to do hys pleaſure at all tymes: for that do we craue euery day in our Pater noſter, ſaying: *giue vs Lord, our heauenly bread.*

A perfect reaſon why ſcripture ought not to be withdrawen from the people at any tyme.

Math.5.

¶ Aunſwere to the.28. Article.

To the.28. article.

In the xxviij. where you do aſke whether I beleue that conſecrations, halowynges, and bleſſynges vſed in the Church, are to bee prayſed? I ſay, that I know not of all, and therfore I will not diſprayſe them, neither can I therfore ouer much ſpeake of them all, ſeing I know them not: ſuch as are the hallowyng of belles, the hallowyng of Pilgrimes, when they ſhould go to Rome, the hallowyng of beades, and ſuch lyke. But thoſe whiche I am aduiſed of and do remember, bee in myne opinion, good: ſuch as is this. When the Prieſt hath conſecrated holybread, he ſayth: Lord bleſſe thys creature of bread, as you did bleſſe the fiue loaues in deſert, that all parſons taſtyng therof, may receaue health. &c. which I would euery mã myght ſay in Engliſhe, when he ſhould go to meate: I lyke it ſo well.

Halowinges and bleſſings, ſome alowed, ſome not.

Halowing of bread.

Alſo this is a right good one, that is ſayd ouer hym that ſhall read the Goſpell: The Lord be in your heart and in your mynde and mouth, to pronounce and ſhew forth hys bleſſed Goſpell. Which is alſo ſpoken ouer a preacher takyng benediction, when hee ſhall go into a Pulpite. All ſuch good thynges I lyke very well, and thynke them commendable, wyſhyng therfore that all people might know what they meane, that they with reioyſe of heart, myght pray ioyfully with vs & delight in all goodnes: whiche ſhould be, if they were vttered in Engliſh, accordyng to the mynde of S. Paul. 1. Cor. 9. where he wiſheth, *rather to ſpeake fiue woordes in the Churche hartely with vnderſtandyng, wherby other might haue inſtruction, then ten thouſand wordes in a tougue vnknowen.* Yea to ſay truth, and truth it is in deede, that I ſhall ſay: a good thyng, the further and the more largely or appertly it is knowen, the further the vertue therof ſpreadeth, and roteth in mens hartes and remembraunce. God ſend therfore the blynd to ſee, and the ignoraunt to haue knowledge of all good thynges.

Bleſſing of him that goeth to reade the Goſpell.

1.Cor.1.

Thus I conclude, that conſecrations, hallowynges, and bleſſynges vſed in the Churche (ſo farre fourth, as I remember and know) be commendable. Of other I can gyue no ſentence, wyſhing euẽ as I truſt men ſhall once ſee it come to paſſe, that all good thynges may bee ſonge and ſpoken in our vulgare toung.

¶ Aunſwere to the.29. Article.

In the xxix. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the Pope may make lawes, and Statutes to bynd all Chriſten men to the obſeruaũce of the ſame, vnder the payne of deadly ſinne, ſo that ſuch lawes & ſtatutes be not contrary to the law of God? I ſay, that if it bee true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wit: Lawes be neuer confirmed vntill they be approued by common maners of them that ſhall vſe them: then can not the Popes lawes bynd all Chriſten men: for the Grekes, and the Bohemes will (as you do know full well) neuer admitte them, but do refuſe them vtterly, ſo that I do not finde, that hys lawes may bynde all Chriſten men.

Finally, I can not ſee, that he hath authority to make lawes, byndyng men to the obſeruaunce ot them vnder payne of deadly ſinne, more then hath the kyng or the Emperour: and to ſay ſoth, I ſay (as I haue ſayd afore) I thynke verely that the Churche was more full of vertue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not very long agoe, but in the tyme of Conſtantine, if it bee true that is reported in the Decrees Diſtinct. 15. cap. Canones generalium) then it hath bene ſith: God repayre it, and reſtore it agayne to the auncient puritie and perfection.

¶ Aunſwere to the.30. Article.

In the xxx. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the Pope, and other Prelates & their deputies in ſpirituall thynges, haue power to excommunicate Prieſtes, and lay people that are inobediẽt and ſturdie, from entryng into the Church, and to ſuſpende or let them frõ miniſtration of the Sacramẽtes of the ſame? I thinke, that the Pope and other Prelates haue power to excõmunicate both Prieſtes, and lay men, ſuch as be rebellious agaynſt the ordinaunce of God, and diſobedient to hys law, for ſuch are ſondred frõ God, afore the Prelates do geue ſentẽce, by reaſon of their ſinnes and cõtumacie, accordyng as it is ſayd in Eſai by almyghty God: *Your ſinnes* (quoth he) *do make diuiſion betwixte you and me.* And the Prelates by ryght iudgement, ſhould pronoũce of ſinners, as they do finde them, and that is, to pronoũce ſuch to be excommunicate of God, and vnworthy to miniſter any Sacramentes, or to bee conuerſaunt with Chriſten folke, that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul. 1. Cor. 5. *If any amongeſt you called a brother, ſhall be an whoremonger, or a couetous perſon, or a worſhipper of Images or Idols, or a rayler, or a dronkard, or an extortioner, ſee that with ſuch you eate no meate. Such ought to bee put out of the Churche, and not bee ſuffered to come within it.*

I am not certain yͤ Prelates haue any ſuch power. And though they had, I doubt whether charitye ſhould permitte them to ſhewe it forth and execute it, without ſinguler diſcretion. For in Churches ought the worde of God to be declared and preached, thorow the which the ſturdy comming thether and hearing it, might ſone be ſmitten with compunction and repentaunce, and there vpon come to amendement. This cõfirmeth well a law made in the Councell of Carthage, which is this. A Biſhop ought to prohibite no perſon to come into the Churche, and to heare the word of God, whether he be Gentile, or Iewe, or hereticke, vntill the maſſe time of thẽ that are called Catechumini de conſe. diſtinct. 1.

Moreouer, where you ſpeake of Prelates deputies: I thinke ſuch be but litle behouable to Chriſtes flocke. It were neceſſary and right, that as the Prelates them ſelues will haue the reuenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, they them ſelues ſhoulde labour and teach diligently the worde of God therfore, and not to ſhift the labour from one vnto an other, till all be lefte (pity it is ſe) vndone. Such doth S. Iohn call, fures & latrones, *theues and murtherers*, though they make neuer ſo goodly a worldly ſhewe outwarde, and beare a ſtout porte. This I ſay, that the Pope and other Prelates

lates, haue power to excommunicate rebelles agaynſte Gods oꝛdinance, and to ſuſpend them from receauing oꝛ miniſtring the Sacrament, but I am not ſure, that they haue power to foꝛfende them frõ out of churches, ſpecially when Gods woꝛde is there pꝛeached, vnleſſe ẏ ſinners be ſo ſoꝛe deſperate, that they ſcoꝛne the ſame. And I would, that euery Pꝛelate receauyng hys liuyng of benefices, ſhoulde him ſelf woꝛke in ẏ ſame, ſpecially in true pꝛeachinge of Chꝛiſtes doctrine, without winding hys owne necke out of the yoke, and chargynge therewith, other called deputies oꝛ vicars, curates, and ſuch like. Foꝛ God would haue euery man to gett hys lyuyng by ſweate of his own face, that is to ſay, by hys labour, accoꝛding to his eſtate and calling. And lyke as euery woꝛkman is woꝛthy his meate: ſo contrarywiſe they that labour not, vnleſſe they be let by impotency, are woꝛthy to haue no meate, and much leſſe to take of thoſe, to whome they doo no ſeruice, 50. oꝛ.40. pounde a yeare, foꝛ waytyng after none other thinge, then the mone ſhining in the water. The Canon lawe maketh clearlye with the ſame. Loke in the Decrees, Cap. 21. queſt. 2. Capitulo pręcipimus, and you ſhal find plainly, as I ſay.

¶ Aunſwere to the.31. Article.

In the.xxxi. where you aſke, whether faith only without good woꝛkes, may ſuffice vnto a man fallen into ſin after hys baptiſme, foꝛ his ſaluation and iuſtifying? I ſay, that it is the vſage of Scripture to ſaye, that fayth only doth iuſtifye and woꝛke ſaluation, afoꝛe a man do any other good woꝛkes, and that is ſhewed by many authoꝛityes both of Scripture, and alſo of many holy Fathers, in a treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, which I would to Chꝛiſt, as it is in french, and other languages, we had it truly tranſlated in Engliſh. And truely I doo thinke in this matter (like as is here ſhewed by manye authoꝛities of holy fathers) that a mã fallen into ſin after baptiſme, ſhalbe ſaued thoꝛow faith, and haue foꝛgiuenes by Chꝛiſtes paſſion, although he doth no moꝛe good deedes therafter: as whẽ a man hauing ſhoꝛte life, lacketh leaſure to exerciſe other deedes of mercy. Notwithſtanding, true fayth is of ſuche vertue and nature, that when opoꝛtunity commeth, it can not but woꝛke plentuouſly deedes of charity, whiche are a teſtimonye and witnes bearers of a mans true fayth. This declareth S. Auguſtine vpon John. I trow it is where he expoundeth this text: Si diligitis me, pręcepta mea ſeruate: *If you loue me, keepe my commaundementes.* Where as with in a little after, hee ſpeaketh in this wiſe, Opera bona non faciunt iuſtum, ſed iuſtificatus facit bona opera. That is to ſay, good woꝛkes make not a iuſte oꝛ rightwiſe man, but a man once iuſtified, doth good woꝛkes.

¶ Aunſwere to the.32. Article.

In the.xxxij. where you aſke, whether a Pꝛieſt marying a wife, and that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, and begettinge alſo childꝛen of her without ſclaũder geuing, do ſinne deadly? I ſay, that he doth not ſo much offende, as thoſe, which in Wales (as I haue heard ſay) and alſo in many partes beyond the Sea, oꝛ rather in all places, do geue openly diſpenſations foꝛ money, to pꝛiſtes to take concubines: neyther doth he offende ſo much, as the purſhaſers of ſuche diſpenſations: foꝛ they on euery hand, do clearlye cõmitte foꝛnication and aduoutrye, vtterly foꝛfended by Gods law, and the pꝛieſt, of whome ſpeaketh your demaunde, offendeth but mans lawe, if he do that. Foꝛ in ẏ Decrees it is wꝛitten, I weene it be in a Gloſe, & certenly I wot not whether it be in the texte oꝛ no, I can lightlye turn to it hauing a booke. The ſentence is thus: Præsbyter fornicans eſt plus puniẽdus quàm vxorem ducens. That is to ſay, a Pꝛieſt doying foꝛnication, ought to be puniſhed moꝛe, then one which hath maried a wyfe. Finally I thinke ſuch a pꝛieſt as befoꝛe is named in your demaunde, ſinneth not deadly.

¶ Aunſwere to the.33. Article.

To the 33. article.

In the.xxxiij. where you aſke, whether a latyn pꝛieſt, after he hath takẽ the oꝛder of pꝛieſthod, being ſoꝛe and oft troubled & ſtirred with pꝛickings of luſt oꝛ lechery, and therfoꝛe marying a wife foꝛ a remedy of the ſame, do ſinne deadly? I ſay, that a Latin pꝛieſt, and a Greke pꝛieſt is all one befoꝛe God, if they folow both one rule of Chꝛiſte, left to vs in holye Scripture: neyther doth Chꝛiſt put any ſuch difference: but the one hath by that rule the ſame liberty, that an other, and no moꝛe noꝛ leſſe, foꝛ there is the ſame God in Greece, that is here: and hath left one way foꝛ vs to liue after, both here and there. And therfoꝛe, I can not ſee by his lawe, but that a Latyn pꝛieſt may mary, as wel as they doo. And if the Grekes ſhould not folow Chꝛiſtes law in beleuing the ſame, and liuing thereafter, you woulde call them heretickes. But that will not the Pope haue done. Wherefoꝛe ſeing they do let Pꝛieſtes mary, affirming it maye ſo be done by the lawe of God, and yet are not reputed heretickes: why ſhould other men that ſay the ſame, be called heretickes, oꝛ be therfoꝛe burned? Therfoꝛe, folowing the law of God, I make the ſame aũſwere of a latine Pꝛieſt, that I made befoꝛe of all Pꝛeiſtes, that a Pꝛieſt not hauing the gift of chaſtitie, is bound to mary, foꝛ auoyding foꝛnication.

Mariage of pꝛieſtes as well Laten as Greke, permitted a like in the ſcripture.

The Greke Churches ſuffer pꝛieſtes to mary.

¶ Aunſwere to the.34. Article.

To the.34. article.

In the.xxxiiij. where you do aſke, whether euer I pꝛayed foꝛ Iohn Wicklef, Iohn Hus, and foꝛ Hierome of Prage, condemned of hereſye in the Councell of Conſtance, oꝛ foꝛ any one of thẽ, ſith they died, & whether I haue openly oꝛ ſecretly done any deedes of charitye foꝛ them, affirming thẽ to be in bliſſe and ſaued? I ſaye, that I neuer pꝛayd foꝛ any of them, ſo farre foꝛth as I can remẽber. And though I had, it foloweth not, ẏ in ſo doyng I ſhould be an hereticke. Foꝛ you note wel, that there is a myghty great countrey called Boheme, which yet do followe (as men ſaye) that ſame doctrine which Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage taught theyꝛ Aunceſtoꝛs, whom (as I trowe) neyther the Pope noꝛ you do recounte heretickes and infidels.

¶ Aunſwere to the.35. Article.

To the.35. article.

In the.xxxv. where you aſke, whether I haue recoũted and ſayd them oꝛ any of them to be Saincte s and woꝛſhipped them as Sainctes? I ſay, that in ſuch ſecret and hydde thynges, which I do not perfectly know, I folow the Councell of Paule, whiche byddeth that we ſhould not iudge ouer ſoone, but to abide (vnleſſe the thinges, which we ſhoulde paſſe vpon, be the moꝛe euident) vntill the comming of the Loꝛd, which ſhall illumine and ſhew foꝛth clearly thinges, that now lye hyd in darknes. Therfoꝛe hytherto haue I neither iudged with them, ne againſt them, but haue reſigned ſuch ſentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whoſe iudgement I wotte is vnfallible.

And where as you ſay, they were condemned of hereſie in the Councell of Conſtance: if ſo the Councell did right, God ſhall alowe it (I doubt not) and that ſhal ſuffice to haue commendation of him: So that it is no neede to aſke of me, whether the actes of the ſame are commendable oꝛ no? Neither cã I giue any direct aunſwere therto: foꝛ I do not verely knowe them. And though I dyd, yet am not I verely perſwaded, ẏ I, becauſe the Councell hath condemned them, muſt therfoꝛe beleue them to be damned: foꝛ a Councell (as I weene) may ſomtyme ſlippe beſide the right truth: but what that Councell did in condemninge them, I can not pꝛeciſelye ſay: God wotteth. Yea and that one ſingulare perſon maye iudge moꝛe ryghtlye, then a great multitude aſſembled in a Councell, appeareth both by Gods lawe, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you ſee by the Councell that is ſpoken of in the.xi. of John, where is ſhewed, that after our Sauiour had reſtoꝛed Lazarus to life, the Biſhoppes and Phariſeis

Councels may ſomtime ſlippe awrye.

Iohn.11.

” then were gathered in a Councel ſaying: what ſhall we
” do? Truth it is, that this man Jeſus doth manye mira-
” cles, and if we ſuffer him thus, all the world wil beleue
” him, whereupon the Romaines will come, and put vs
out of Hieruſalem our dwelling place, and deſtroye
” our nation. At whiche tyme Cayphas did ariſe, ſhew-
” ing forth his ſenteuce, which the whole Councell dyd
” admitte.

Act.5.

Gamaliell & Doct. Collet compared together.

The coũſell of Gamaliell to the Phariſeis.

In lyke wiſe is ſhewed Actes.v. where in a Councell the Byſhoppes and Prieſtes aſſembled to knowe what puniſhment ſhoulde bee done vnto Chriſtes Apoſtles, for becauſe they preached in yͤ name of Chriſt, contrary to the precept of them (for they before hadde cõmaunded yͤ Apoſtles no more to ſpeake in Chriſtes name) there amonge a ſhrewde multitude of them, gathered together, dyd ariſe a certayne wiſe man, called Gamaliel (a pitifull thyng verely to ſee but one good man in ſuch a great conuocation or Councel of prieſts, that ſhoulde be the lightes of vertue to all the people) which Gamaliel was a doctour of the lawe, and had in good reputation amonge the people: much like he was (as ſeemed to me) to Doct. Collet ſometyme Deane of Paules at London, whyle he lyued. I maye come no neere for to name ſome other of our tyme, leſt I ſhould be thought offenſiue. This Gamaliell dyd bid the Apoſtles to go aſide, for a while, out of the Councell or conuocation houſe, and ſo hee ſpake vnto the other prieſtes or biſhoppes in the Councell thus: *You men* (quod he) *of Iſraell, take heede to youre ſelues what you ſhall do vppon theſe men the Apoſtles: For afore this tyme haue ryſen one called Teudas, and after him an other named Iudas of Galilee, which haue turned the people after thẽ: and in concluſion they periſhed, and all they that followed after them vaniſhed away. And now* (quod he) *I ſay vnto you, refrayne from hurting theſe men, the Apoſtles, and let them alone, or ſuffer them. For if this enterpriſe and worke that they haue made, bee of men, vndoubtedly it ſhall periſhe, and bee fordone: but if* (quod he) *it be of God, you can not fordoe it. And this I tell you* (ſayd Gamaliell) *leſt you ſhould be found to ſtriue and fight agaynſt God.*

Councells goe not alwayes ryght.

Councels may and doe erre.

Pſal.26.

Unto this ſentence of Gamaliel did all the other of the conuocation and parlament agree, and ſo they called in the Apoſtles of Chriſt afore them, cauſinge them to be ſcourged and charginge them, no more after to preach of Chriſtes name, and ſo did lette them departe. This was vndoubtedlye done in the time of our Sauiour and of hys Apoſtles, and cauſed to bee written for our comfort and learning: For the holy ghoſt knew afore, that lyke practiſe ſhoulde come in this latter tyme of yͤ world, which we are in. Wherby you may clearly ſee, that Councells do not alway decerne with Chriſt, but ſomtyme they may do agaynſt hym. And therfore ſayd Dauid: Non ſedi cum conſilio vanitatis, & cum iniquè agentibus non introibo. Odiui Eccleſiam malignãtium, & cum impijs non ſedebo: ſed lauabo inter innocentes manus meas. &c. *I did not* (quod Dauid) *ſitte with the aſſemblie or Councell of vaine doers, or liers, and I will not go in amonges them that worke iniquitye: for I hate the conuocation of them, that are malicious or maligners, and amongs the wicked will not I ſitte: But I will waſhe my handes among innocentes. &c.*

Pſal.33.

Pſal.2.

Eſa.1.

Alſo, in an other Pſalme he writeth thus: Dominus diſſipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, & concilia Principum: Conciliũ autem Domini, inæternum manet. &c. *The Lorde* (quod he) *doth ſtroy or annihilate the Coũcell of the gentiles, he reproueth the councels of the people, and of the rulers. But the councell or deuiſe of the Lorde endureth euer, and the purpoſe of his mynde abideth into the world of worlds.* For that purpoſe doth S. Peter in yͤ actes of yͤ Apoſtles alleage this verſe out of the Pſalme: Quare fremuerunt gentes. &c. *Why dyd the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vayne thinges. &c.* Like vnto this is written Eſaye. 1. Alſo you may ſee in the Coũcels of the Phariſeis aboue ſhewed, that one ſingulare perſon maye ſometyme perceiue a thinge more then a generalty or a multitude: for only Gamaliel dyd ſee better what was behouable, thẽ could all the other there congregate.

Agreable vnto this we finde in the Decrees Diſt. 31. where it is written, that yͤ Councell of Nice, willing to correct or amende the life of men of the Church, ordeyned lawes called Canons or rules. And as they treated vpon ſuch ordinances, ſome thought it expediẽt to bring in a law, that Biſhops, Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhoulde not lye with their wiues, whom they had maried afore they were conſecrate into the order. With that aroſe Paphnutius a Confeſſor of Chriſte, and gayneſayd it, teſtifying that mariage was an honorable thing: ſayinge alſo, that it is chaſtitie for a man to lye with his owne proper wife. And ſo he perſwaded the Councell, that they ſhould conſtitute no ſuch lawe, affirming, that it was a ſore matter, yͭ they were minded to do, which ſhould be, either to the Prieſtes, or els to their wiues, an occaſion of fornication: and this was Paphnutius reaſon. The wordes of the Canõ procede thus. This declared Paphnutius, he neuer beinge maryed, nor hauing experience of mariage, and the Councel commended his ſentence, making no ſtatute in thys matter, but put it to euery mans free will and liberty, without any enforcement or neceſſitie. Theſe wordes ſtand (as I haue recited them vnto you) written in the Decrees, albeit they are ſomewhat otherwiſe rehearſed In hiſtoria tripartita, as I haue ſhewed before in the fourth Article. Upõ this, that Paphnutius did thus reſiſte and preuayle agaynſt all the other Coũcell, doth the Gloſe note in the ſame lawe: that one ſingulare perſon may gayneſay or ſpeake agaynſt an vniuerſall generality, hauyng a reaſonable cauſe on hys ſide. Suffrage alſo of yͤ ſame haue we in Abbot Panormitane, where he ſayth thus: I would (quoth he) rather beleue one lay perſon, bryngyng for hym authority of Scripture, then an vniuerſall Councell that ordeyneth or defineth a thyng, without Scripture.

Finally I ſay, that I neuer recounted them neither Saintes, ne deuils, but reſigned the iudgement therof to God, neither haue I in earneſt reported them the one, or the other. Neither haue done vnto thẽ particular worſhyp ſo farre forth, as I can remember.

¶Aunſwere to the 36. Article.

In the xxxvi. where you do aſke, whether I beleue hold, and affirme, that euery generall Coũcell, and the Councell of Conſtaunce alſo do repreſent the vniuerſall congregation or Church? I ſay that what ſuch Coũcels do repreſent, I can not certeinely tell, & therfore beleue neither yea, nor nay, neither can I therfore make any affirmation pro, or contra, with thys demaund, or agaynſt it: and no maruell. For I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the ſame, ne yet any ſufficient reaſon. And me thynketh thys (vnder correction I ſpeake) that Coũcels might repreſent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the vniuerſall Churche, not beyng yet the ſame, as I wot well they neither are ne were: For the Church I do take for to be all thoſe, that God hath choſen or predeſtinate to be inheritors of eternall bliſſe and ſaluation, whether they be temporall, or ſpirituall, kyng, or ſubiect, Byſhop, or Deacon, father, or child, Grecian or Romaine. And this Churche ſpreadeth through the vniuerſal world, where as any do cal for helpe truly vpõ yͤ name of Chriſt: and there do they euer moſt grow and aſſemble commonly, where as his bleſſed worde is purely and openly preached, and declared, for that is the reliefe of mans ſoule, wherunto all men louyng their ſoules health, luſt to reſorte and ſeeke (as all thynges doe naturally ſeeke after that, whiche ſhould nouriſhe & prolong theyr life) for in it is ſhewed, that righteouſnes, whiche who ſoeuer doth thirſt after, and is an hũgred for, ſhall come into the kyngdome of heauen. Of this may well the Prouerbe in the Goſpell (although it bee applyed to the iudgement of God, when

Luke.7.

when he ſhall appeare in the general dome) be verified *where ſo euer is a dead carion, thether will ſoone bee aſſembled Egels.* That is to wit, where ſo euer is declared by the courſe of Scripture, the benefites and commodities graunted to vs by Chꝛiſtes death, thether will mē ſeeke and flye, to know how they may enioy ⁊ attayne them, whiche I beſeche hym to graunt vs. Amen.

¶Aunſwere to the.37.Article.

To the 37. article.

Touching the authoritie of the Councell of Conſtance.

In the xxxvij. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the ſame thyng, whiche the Councell of Conſtāce repꝛeſentyng the vniuerſall Churche hath appꝛoued, and doth appꝛoue foꝛ the mayntenaunce of fayth and ſoules health, is to be appꝛoued, and holden of all Chꝛiſten people: and that which the ſame Councell hath cōdemned and doth condēne, to be contrary to fayth and good maners, ought of the ſame Chꝛiſten people to bee beleued and affirmed foꝛ a thyng condēned? I ſay, that what ſoeuer the ſame Councell, oꝛ any other haue appꝛoued, beyng appꝛobation oꝛ allowance woꝛthy, is of all Chꝛiſten people to be lykewiſe appꝛoued, holdē, and allowed. And agayne, what ſoeuer the ſame oꝛ any other hath condemned, beyng repꝛofe and condemnatiō woꝛthy, foꝛ bycauſe it is hurtfull to fayth, oꝛ good lyuyng, I ſay, the ſame ought of all Chꝛiſten people to be condemned and repꝛoued. But this ſurmounteth my knowledge, to diſcerne, in what wiſe theyꝛ iudgement paſſed: whether with ryght, oꝛ vnryght, foꝛ becauſe I neuer looked vpon theyꝛ Actes, neither do I greatly couet foꝛ to do: wherfoꝛe I referre the determination to them, that haue better aduiſed theyꝛ doinges, and therby haue ſome moꝛe ſkill in them, then I.

¶Aunſwere to the.38.Article.

To the 38. article.

In the xxxviij. you demaunde, whether the condemnatiōs of Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, done vppon their perſons, bookes, and documentes, by the holy generall Councell of Conſtance, were duely ⁊ rightfully done, and ſo foꝛ ſuch, of euery catholicke perſon, whether they are to be holden ⁊ ſurely to be affirmed? I aūſwere, that it paſſeth my knowledge, and I can not tell: thynkyng ſurely, that though I am ignoꝛaunt of the ſame, ſo that I can not diſcuſſe the thyng determinatly, yet my Chꝛiſtendome ſhalbe therefoꝛe neuer the leſſe, ⁊ that I and all Chꝛiſten mē may well ſuſpend our ſentence beyng therof ignoꝛaūt, affirmyng neither the one, ne the other, neither yea, noꝛ nay.

¶Aunſwere to the.39.Article.

To the.39. article.

In the xxxix. you aſke whether I beleue hold, and affirme that Iohn Wickleffe of England, Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage, were heretickes, and foꝛ heretickes to bee named, and their bookes and doctrines to haue ben and now be peruerſe, foꝛ the which bookes and pertinacitie of their perſons, they are condemned by the holy Councell of Conſtance foꝛ heretickes? I ſay, that I know not determinately whether they be heretickes oꝛ no, ne whether their bookes bee erroneous oꝛ no, ne whether they ought to be called heretickes oꝛ no.

¶Aunſwere to the.40.Article.

To the 40. article.

In the.xl. where you aſke, whether I beleue and affirme, that it is not lawful in any caſe, to ſweare? I ſay, that I neither ſo do beleue, ne affirme, ne neuer did.

¶Aunſwere to the .41.Article.

To the 41. article.

noth be-
e a iudge
a cauſe
ertment,
awfull.

In the.xlj. where you aſke, whether I beleue, yͤ it is lauſull at the commaundement of a iudge, to make an othe to ſay the truth, oꝛ any other othe in a caſe conuenient, and that alſo foꝛ purgatiō of infamy? I anſwere, that I neuer ſayd the contrary: but that I thinke and haue thought it lawfull to giue an othe afoꝛe a iudge, to ſay the truth, if the iudge ſo requyꝛe, and that by requeſt lawfull and conuenient. As when a thing is in cōtrouerſie betwixt two perſones, and therupon they ſue vnto a iudge foꝛ ſentence, when the iudge can none other wyſe boult out the truth, he may requyꝛe an othe. As when the two women, which contended befoꝛe Salomon, to auoyde the crime of murder, whiche the one had committed in oppꝛeſſinge her child to death, and would haue put the ſame vpon the other, if Salomon could not by his wiſdome other wyſe haue inueſtigated the truth, he might (I ſuppoſe) foꝛ to come by the moꝛe certeyne infoꝛmation of the thing, haue cauſed one of them oꝛ both, ſeyng it expedient foꝛ hym, to ſweare, wherein the women had ben bounde to obey hym. But iudges had neede to be ſpare in requiring of othes: Foꝛ in cuſtomable oꝛ ofte Iuries, crepeth in alway betwixt times ſome periury, as ſheweth Chꝛyſoſtome in woꝛds ſemblable to theſe, ⁊ things pꝛecious, thoꝛow oft haunt oꝛ occupying, loſeth their eſtimation. And ſo reuerent othes vnaduiſedly required foꝛ euery trifle vſually, do cauſe men to regarde litle foꝛ making of them, yea, and I feare, to bꝛeake them.

How an oth ought to be required of a iudge, and how it may be geuē befoꝛe a iudge.

Ouer much vſe of othes in Courtes repꝛehended.

Iudges muſt be ſpare and warie in requiring othes.

Where many othes be, there is ſome periurie.

Therfoꝛe in Almain, they haue made of late (as I haue heard ſay by credible perſones which haue come from thence) many notable oꝛdinances foꝛ the common wealth within a while, and amonges other this is one: If a man be ſet foꝛ to enter plee agaynſt an other in any towne, the Peeres therof afoꝛe whom all actions are vſed to be debated, hearing ſuche a plee entred, ſhall call the parties pꝛiuatly together, befoꝛe they come into any open court. And the matter examined, they ſhall exhoꝛt them to let the plee ceaſſe without further pꝛoces, ſhewing thē the great dammage both godly ⁊ woꝛldly, commyng of wagyng the lawe, and the great eaſe and commodity, that is in agrement and concoꝛde. Which exhoꝛtacion they vſe to ſhewe with ſo greate grauitye, and fatherly loue (ſuche wonders are wꝛought where the Goſpell hath free paſſage) that very fewe will commence plee. And though any plee be cōmenced, thꝛough ſuch ſage admonition, it falleth lightly to ſequeſtration and arbitremēt of neyghbours, who doe ſet the ſuters at vnitye, ere the matter doo come to diſcuſſion in open court. Notwithſtandyng if ſome be ſo weywardly minded (as in a multitude all are not one mans childꝛen, ⁊ therfoꝛe vnlike of intent) that they will neede pꝛocede and folow the lawe, they ſhall be heard to ſpeake their matters in opē court, and taught as the matter is moſt lyke to ſucceede, counſailled with newe exhoꝛtation to ſtoppe theyꝛ pꝛoces. If they will not be perſwaded, and then the iudges ſeyinge the matter ſo ambiguous that they can not geue perfecte ſentence therin, excepte by vertue of an othe made by one of the parties, they be fyꝛſt better certified. Then will they ſhew the ſame befoꝛe the ſuters, declaring what a chargefull thing it is to geue a ſolemne oth foꝛ loue of winning ſome woꝛldly pꝛofyt: and howe (vnleſſe ſuch as ſhall make it, be the better ware to eſchew yͤ ſame) they ſhall, beſide an euill enſample geuing to a multitude, woꝛke thē ſelues happly ſhame oꝛ diſhoneſty. Vpon this, they ſhall geue reſpit vntill a certain day apointed. So that in the meane whyle the ſuters may take deliberation therof, what is beſt to be done. If after this, they will not thus reſte, at the daye appoynted, ſhall they come foꝛth into a cōmon place, and the great Bel of the City cauſed to be ronge, wherby the people ſhalbe warned, what they are about to do: and the people aſſembled, the iudges ſhall in full chargeable ⁊ lamentable wiſe, charge yͤ parties, vnder vertue of their othe, to make true relation of that ſhall be demaunded. So that by reaſon of ſobꝛe and fatherly exhoꝛtations made of the iudges oꝛ peeres of yͤ towne, and perſwaſion of neyghbours, and foꝛ auoydynge of Gods diſpleaſure, and ſhame of men there is litle ſute in courtes: and if at any tyme, any be made, they bee lightly ſtopped. So that Iurye and ſwearing is well excluded and neede not much to bee required.

The vſe and maner of Germaines in cauſes iudiciall.

Fruit of the Goſpell in Germany.

In Germany few controuerſies come to the open court, but commonly are cōpounded at home.

Cuſtome among the Germaines of taking othes.

Iurye and ſwearing well excluded out of Germanie.

This haue I ſhewed, becauſe it pytyeth me to heare and ſee the contrary vſed in ſome of our nation, ⁊ ſuch alſo as name them ſelues ſpirituall men, and ſhould be

The raſh lenity in ſpirituall men, cauſing men ſtraight wayes for euery light matter, to ſweare.

head miniſters of the Churche, who incontinent as any mã cõmeth before them, anone they call for a booke, and do moue him to ſweare, without any lõger reſpite, yea and they will charge him by vertue of the cõtentes in the Euangely, to make true relation of all that they ſhall demaunde him, he not knowing what they wil demaund, neither whether it be lawfull to ſhew them the truth of their demaundes or no: For ſuch things there be, that are not lawfull to be ſhewed. As if I were accuſed of fornication, and none could be found in me, or if they ſhoulde require me to ſweare to bewray any other, that I haue knowen to offend in that vice, I ſuppoſe it were expedient to holde me ſtill, and not to followe their will, for it ſhould be contrary to charitye, if I ſhould ſo aſſente to bewraye them, that I neede not, and to whome perhappes, thoughe I haue knowen them to offende, yet truſtinge of their amendement, I haue promiſed afore to keepe their faulte ſecrete without any diſcloſinge of the ſame. Yea, moreouer, if ſuch iudges ſometime not knowing by any due proufe, that ſuch as haue to doe afore them, are culpable, will enforce them by an othe, to detecte thẽ ſelues in openinge before them their hartes: in this ſo doyng, I can not ſee that men neede to condeſcende to their requeſtes. For it is in yͤ lawe (but I wotte not certeinly yͤ place) thus. Nemo tenetur prodere ſemetipſum, that is to ſaye: No man is bound to bewray him ſelfe. Alſo in an other place of the law is written: Cogitationis pœnam nemo patiatur: No man ſhoulde ſuffer puniſhement of men for his thought. To this agreeth the common prouerbe, that is thus: Cogitationes liberę ſunt à vectigalibus. That is to ſay, thoughtes be free and nede to paye no tole. So that to conclude, I thinke it lawfull, at the commaundement of a iudge, to make an oth, to ſay the truth, ſpecially if a iudge requireth an othe duely, and in lawfull wyſe, or to make an othe in anye other caſe conueniente, and that alſo for purgation of infamye, when any infamie is lawfully layde againſt a mã.

A man is not bound to detect an other mans fault before a iudge, in caſe.

Law compelleth no man to bewraye him ſelfe.

Law puniſheth no man for thought.

Thoughtes be free and neede to pay no tole.

No man is bound to bewray himſelfe by the law.

¶ Aunſwere to the.42. Article.

To the.42. article.

In the.xlij. where you aſke, whether a Chriſten perſon deſpiſing the receite of the Sacramentes of confirmatiõ, extreme vnction, or ſolemniſing of matrimonye, doo ſinne deadly? I ſaye like of the receyte of them, as I haue ſayd before of the ſelfe things, ⁊ none other wiſe.

¶ Aunſwere to the.43. Article.

To the.43. article.

Vicar of Chriſt.

In the.xliij. where you aſke, whether I beleue, that S. Peter was Chriſtes Vicare, hauing power vpon earth to binde and loſe? I ſay, that I do not perceyue clearlye what you meane by this terme Vicare: For Chriſt neuer called Peter, ne none other ſo in Scripture. If you meane thereby, that after the departinge hence of Chriſt, when he was ryſen from death in hys immortall bodye, and ſo ſtied into heauen, whereas he remayneth ſittinge vpon the ryght hand of his Father, that he ſo being awaye from hence, S. Peter occupied his roume: then I ſaye, it is not vntrue but S. Peter in a manner (which I ſhall ſhewe here vnder) was hys Vicare, and lyke as Peter was his Vicar, euen ſo was Paule, and the other Apoſtles, and the one no leſſe then the other, if it bee true, that S. Cyprian doth write: which is alſo conſentinge to Scripture. He ſayeth thus: That Chriſt ſpake vnto Peter ſaying: *I ſay* (quod our Sauiour) *that thou art Peter, & vpõ this rocke of ſtone ſhall I builde my congregation, and the gates of hell ſhall not ouercome it. To thee will I geue the keyes of heauen, and what thinges thou ſhallt binde vpon earth, the ſame ſhall be bounde alſo in heauen: and what ſo euer thou ſhalt loſe vpon earth, ſhall be loſed alſo in heauen.* And to him after his reſurrectiõ doth Chriſt ſay: *fede my ſheepe.*

Peter no more vicar of Chriſt then Paule and other apoſtles.

Math.16.

And albeit that he gaue equall power vnto all his Apoſtles after his reſurrection, ⁊ ſayth: *lyke as my Father ſent me, do I alſo ſend you: Take you the holy ghoſt: If you ſhall retain to any man his ſinnes, they ſhalbe retained: If you ſhall remitte to any man his ſinnes, to him they ſhall bee remitted.* Neuertheleſſe, becauſe he would declare vnitie, he ordayned by his authoritye, the originall of the ſame vnitye begynnyng of one. The other Apoſtles truelye were the ſame that Peter was, indued with equal partaking both of honour, and authoritye, or power, but the beginninge commeth of one that the congregation ſhould be ſhewed to be one. Theſe are the wordes of Cyprian in a treatiſe that is called, De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, wherein you may ſee that Chriſt made all the Apoſtles of equall honour and like authoritie. Notwithſtanding, becauſe he would teſtifie the vnity of his church or congregation, hee ſpake, as it were, alonely vnto Peter, when he ſayd: *feede my ſheepe:* And, *I ſhall geue thee Peter, the keies of heauen:* but in ſo ſaying, though the woordes ſeeme ſpoken to Peter onely, yet they were ſpoken vnto hym, in that hee ſuſtayned the generall perſon of all the Church, beyng as it were a common ſpeaker for the ſame. So that in ſpeakinge to hym, Chriſt ſpake vnto all other the Apoſtles, vnto whom alſo he gaue all the ſame authoritye, that he gaue vnto Peter, as you maye ſee both in theſe wordes of Cypriã, and alſo the ſame is clearly ſhewed of S. Auguſtine in diuers places, but no where more plainly in a few wordes thẽ in a treatiſe called de Agone Chriſtiano:

Cypria. de ſimplicitate Prælatorum.

Iohn.20.

Reade afore pag. 1108. col.

The only perſon of Peter declareth the vnitie of the Church.

Peter beareth the perſon of the whole Church.

Auguſt. de Agone chriſtian

To this accordeth well that is written of Paule, Galla.2. Ab his qui videbantur aliquid eſſe: quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert. &c. Of thoſe Apoſtles (quod Paul) *whiche ſemed to be of authoritye, I was not taught (what they were in time paſſed, it ſkilleth me nothing: God regardeth not the exterior apparance of man) neuertheleſſe they which appeared to be of price, ſhewed me no learning, or gaue me no cõuſell: But cõtrary, whẽ they had ſene that the Goſpell of vncircumciſion was committed vnto me, lyke as the Euangely of circumciſion was vnto Peter, for he that was myghty to Peter concerning the Apoſtleſhip toward the Iewes, was myghty alſo in me toward the Gentiles. Therfore, when Iames, Peter and Iohn, whiche appeared to be as pillers, knewe the grace geuen me, they gaue vnto me and Barnabe, theyr right handes in ſignes of felowſhyp to be their partners, ſo that we ſhould exerciſe the office of Apoſtles among the Gentiles, as they dyd among the Iewes.* Wherein you may clearely ſee, that Paul tooke no inſtruction of them whiche ſeemed to be in hygh authority, and that Peter, Iames and Iohn, whiche were noted principalles, tooke Paul and Barnabas to be theyr mates ⁊ felowes. Whiche they would not haue done, (I ſuppoſe) if they had knowen, that God had graunted to them a prerogatiue ſingulare to excell Paul, and to be hys ſoueraigne: but accordyng to the prerogatiue of God graũted, they myght ſafely haue ſhewed it, and enioyed the ſame: lyke as they did reioyce in other benefites graũted to them of God, to be miniſters in hys Churche for the edifying of the ſame: and as S. Iohn calleth hym ſelfe yͤ diſciple loued of hys maiſter Ieſus, and teſtifieth, how that vnto him Chriſt hangyng vpon the Croſſe, dyd commit hys bleſſed mother.

Gal.2.

Apoſtles mates and felowes together.

Moreouer, if theſe three Apoſtles, Iames, Peter, and Iohn ſhould haue by humility, left out to make mentiõ of their owne prerogatiue, when they tooke Paul and Barnabas into their felowſhyp: yet is it to be thought that Paul, which vſeth neuer any inordinate arrogancy, wrytyng the wordes aboue ſayd for the magnifyng of hys owne priuiledge and authoritie geuen hym of God, would not haue ſuppreſſed and paſſed ouer theyr primacy vnſpoken of, with whom he maketh here cõpariſon: for then it might be thought he were enuious, and to pyke away authoritie from other to him ſelf vnlawfully: that can not ſo be. Moreouer he ſayth a litle after the wordes afore rehearſed, that hee reproued S. Peter euen before his face. Wherupõ S. Hierome expoũdyng the ſame Epiſtle, ſayth (as I remember) that Paul would not haue bene bold ſo to do, except hee had knowen hym ſelfe equall to Peter.

Obiectio dissolu

Hiero

Paule equall to Peter.

In the wordes alſo of Paul aboue writtē, this might be noted, as ſeruyng to my purpoſe, that Peter had no preeminence or primacy aboue the other, for Iames is named afore hym, whiche Paul would not haue done, (I thinke) knowyng Peter to bee Iames ſuperiour. Therefore hee makyng no ſuch varietye in order, put Iames afore, ſaying: *and Iames, Peter and Iohn, that appeared the principals* (quoth he) *gaue vnto me & to Barnabe their right handes in ſigne of felowſhip*. Yet notwithſtādyng Paul loued good order (I ſuppoſe) as well as any that now are, whiche contendeth ſo ſore for ſuperiour rowmes and preeminency, claymyng to bee the Apoſtles ſucceſſours. I would it were ſo much for the common wealth of Chriſten people, as it is ſuſpecte that they do it for vayne glory, and worldly luker. According to this, ſhal you find Act.xi. where is ſhewed, that after Peter by inſtincte of the holy ghoſt, had gone vnto one of ẏ Gentiles called Cornelius a petie Captayne, hauyng the gouernaunce of an hundreth men, teachyng hym the wayes and doctrine of Chriſt, and Baptiſing hym and other with hym aſſembled, beyng lyke as hee afore was, Paganes: the Apoſtles and other Chriſten brethren that were in Iewrye, hearyng therof, when Peter came into Hieruſalem, they which helde vppon Circumciſion, made none obeyſaunce vnto hym (albeit I thyncke verely hee had more holines thē euer had any other Pope) as the Emperour is fayne to do to the Pope at his coronatiō, fallyng downe to kyſſe the Popes feete, or to holde the Popes ſtirrup while he mounteth vpō his horſebacke, accordyng to the forme of law writtē, I am not certein whether in the Decrees or els in the Decretals, or in both rather (for ſuch ordinaunces are inuiolable and worthy to bee principally recorded) but they reaſoned ſore and diſputed both agaynſt S. Peter, and alſo hys doyng, ſaying: you haue gone amongeſt them that you ought not haue had to do with, ne to haue medled among them, that are men vncleane, bycauſe they are vncircūciſed: yea and that is more, you haue eate and dronke with them. Peter mildly and coldly made aunſwere agayne, rehearſing all the maner of hys doyng in order ſhewyng: that hee was ſo inſtruct to doe by myghty and cleare reuelations of God, and not by hys owne fantaſie and pleaſure.

Which aunſwere beyng heard, the other that afore had made ſore obiectiōs againſt hym (which were both of the Apoſtles, and other chriſten brethren) were contente, holding their peace without any more complaynyng, and gaue glorie therfore to God, ſaying: *Then hath God graunted alſo vnto the Gentiles to take repentaunce, and ſo to come to eternall life.* Where in you may ſee, that the other Apoſtles were as bould with Peter, as before is ſhewed of Paule, to diſpute agaynſt hym. Neither were they therfore by Peter reproued of inobediencie. He dyd not alleage any preeminēce or authoritye, to rebuke them for their complayninge, as one would ſaye: why ſhould you that are my ſheepe, controlle me, that am the head of the Church and your paſtor, or Chriſtes generall vicare, hauing both iuriſdiction temporall, and ſpirituall: with ſuch other lyke? but ſhewed them it was the will of God, that he had done, goynge to the Gentiles to tell them of eternall lyfe, whiche God pleaſed to geue to them as well as to the Iewes. In token wherof the holye ghoſt dyd ſenſiblye come amonge them, and ſo were they baptiſed.

Thus may you ſee, that if Peter were the Vicare of Chriſt, euen ſo likewiſe was Paule, and all the other Apoſtles. And I do not thinke contrarye, but that Peter and all other of the Apoſtles were Chriſtes Vicares, if you meane by this word vicare, a deputye or ſuch like for to preach hys Euāgelie (which is an office of all other moſt ſoueraigne) to miniſter Sacraments, and to do ſuch other diuine ſeruice in Gods Churche. And thus were they worthie to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Chriſtes true Apoſtles, Biſhops, Prieſts, Legates, or any ſuch like. Which authoritye was geuē thē by Chriſt after hys reſurrectiō, when he ſayd vnto them theſe wordes: *Peace bee amongeſt you. Like as my father hath ſent me, ſo do I ſent you. Take you the holy ghoſt: whoſe ſinnes ſo euer you ſhall forgeue, are forgeuen them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhall retayne, are retained.* And the ſame authoritye did they receyue when Chriſt ſpake vnto all the Churche, after the minde of Saincte Auguſtine & other, in Peter, ſaying: *Peter fede my ſhepe.*

Luke.24.

Iohn.21.

¶Aunſwere to the 44. Article.

To the.44. article.

In the.xliiij. where you aſke, whether I beleue, that the Pope ordinatly choſen for a tyme (his proper name being expreſſed) be the ſucceſſour of S. Peter? I ſaye, that it ſeemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man beleue ſo or no. I can not ſee that it ſhould be nōbred amongeſt the articles of oure fayth. Notwithſtanding I will ſhewe my rude thought in it, which is this.

Succeſſour of Peter.

How the Pope may be a ſucceſſour of Peter.

Euery good Biſhop may be ſucceſſour of Peter.

The Pope may ſucceede in S. Peters ſtead or office, and do the ſame duely & diligently feeding Chriſts flocke, and ſhewing vertuous enſample of liuing to the ſame, and ſo doing, he maye and ought to be thought and named a true ſucceſſor of S. Peter. And thus is your Lordſhip, S. Peters ſucceſſor, performing the cōdicions aforeſayd, with other like properties requiſite to your order and duety: yea, and as many other as do truely their duety and duely the office of a Biſhop. And otherwiſe may not the Pope be called the ſucceſſour of Peter, for becauſe hee is entred into S. Peters office, not regarding to do that is requiſite for the ſame, ne folowing the trace of vertue, but the contrarye. And then is he wrongfully named, if at any time ſuch be, which is not vnpoſſible. For what ſhould men call thoſe Peters ſucceſſors, that play the pageantes and folow with the condicions of Cayphas, Simon Magus, or Iudas? Such verely if any be, can not rightwiſly claime to bee Peters ſucceſſors, no more then ẏ night may claime to be ſucceſſor of the daye: for Peter was neuer ſo minded, ne taught them ſo. Yea, they ought rather to bee called Peters aduerſaries, for ſomuch as they doe not his will, that is ſhewed by his own actes & writing, but worke againſt the ſame. Of ſuche maye be ſayde: Non Sanctorum filij ſunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum, ſed qui exercent opera eorum. That is to ſaye, they are not all Sainctes children, that occupye the roumes of Sainctes, but they are theyr children, that exerciſe their workes. Yea, of ſuch maye be ſayde, that is written of S. Hierome. All Biſhops (quod he) are not Biſhoppes. Marke you wel Peter, but marke alſo Iudas. Behold Steuē, but behold Nicolas. Eccleſiaſticall dignity maketh not a Chriſten mā. Cornelius the Centurion beyng yet a pagane, was made cleane thorow the benefit of the holy Ghoſt. Contrariwiſe, Daniel being a childe, condemneth Prieſtes, or auncient men. It is no eaſye thing (ſayeth he) to ſtande in the roume of Peter and Paule, and to keepe the ſeat of them now reigning with Chriſt: For vnſauery ſalte is nought elles worth, but to be throwen out of the dores, and troden downe of hogges. This ſaieth S. Hierome.

The Pope rather may be Peters aduerſarie, then his ſucceſſour.

Hierome.

As the night is the ſucceſſour of the daye So is the pope ſucceſſour of Peter except he follow the ſteppes of Peter.

Auguſt.

Wherunto agreeth well S. Auguſtine. Euery one (quod he) ẏ ſaith vnto you, Pax vobis, ought not to bee heard, or to be beleued, as a doue. Crowes be fedde of dead carion: and ſo is not a doue: but liueth by ẏ frutes of the earth. Her liuyng is pure, innocent, & hurtleſſe. Wherby you may ſee, that ill Biſhops are no Biſhops, and ẏ they which folow no Saincts in vertuous liuing, are not ẏ ſuceſſors of Sainctes, but vnſauerie ſalt, ẏ is, neither of the Church, ne ſhall come in heauē to reigne there with Peter and Paule, but be throwen out with great contempt. For God knoweth a doue frō a crow, and an innocent liuer from a deuourer of carion. But ſuch as declare and ſhewe good deedes, as the Sainctes did, be their children and ſucceſſors, and ſhal with them reigne in heauen.

Let vs marke not how the byrde ſpeaketh, but how he fedeth.

The Crow fedeth vpon carion, the Doue not ſo.

So that to conclude, I ſaye, that the Pope ordinatly choſen

How the Pope is the ſucceſſour of Peter, and how not.

choſen is the ſucceſſor of S. Peter, folowinge S. Peters godly liuing. And els, except hee ſtudy to do diligẽtly, yͭ he may be ſo called worthily, it ſhall be but a vayne name. For rather maye hee ells be reputed an Image of a Pope, or of a Biſhop accordinge as ſuche be called of the Prophet: O Paſtor & Idolum: *O Idoll ſhepeheardes.*

Zach.11.

¶Aunſwere to the. 45. Article.

To the laſt article.

Ioh. Lambert required to detect his felowes.

In the.xlv. where you aſke, whether euer I haue promiſed at any tyme by an oth, or made any cõfederacy or leage with any perſone or perſones, that I woulde alway hold and defend certein concluſions or articles ſeeminge to me and to my complices ryght and conſonante vnto the faith: and will that I ſhoulde certifye you of the courſe and forme of the ſayde opinions and concluſions by rowe, and of the names and ſurnames of them that were to me adherent, and promiſed to be adherent in this behalfe: I ſaye, that I do not remember, that euer I made pact or confederacye with any perſone or perſones, ne made anye promiſe by othe, that I would allwaye holde and defende anye cõcluſions, or articles ſeeming to me and other, right and conſonant to the faith, vnleſſe it hath chaũced me to ſay in this forme: that I would neuer with the aide of God, forſake ne decline from the truth, neither for feare, nor yet for loue of man or men.

Thus I haue perhaps ſayd in ſome time, or ſome place, becauſe I haue in deede ſo intended, and do entend, Gods grace aſſiſtinge me. But I can not yet tell you, whether I haue ſo ſayed or no, nor to what perſons, ne at what tyme, neyther in what place. Neither I do recken me to haue anye complices, but ſuche as do loue me, and I thẽ, for God and in God. And thoſe do I recken all them that are or wil be truly Chriſten, in calling vpon Chriſtes name. And concerninge opinions or concluſions, I can tell you of none other, then I haue ſhewed: the ſũme wherof I recken and thinke vtterly be concluded in two propoſitions, whiche both are written in the new Teſtament.

All the opinions of *Iohn Lambert* ingroſſed in two propoſitions.

The firſt propoſition.

Act.4.

The firſt is in the actes of the Apoſtles in this wiſe: Chriſtus eſt caput anguli, nec eſt in alio quoquam ſalus. Non enim aliud nomẽ ſub cœlo datũ eſt inter homines, in quo oporteat nos ſaluos fieri. That is to ſay: *Chriſt is the head corner ſtone of our faith, wher vpon it ſhould be ſet and grounded: neither is ſaluatiõ in any other, for there is none other name vnder heauen geuen amongeſt men, wherin we may be ſaued.* This is the one of the propoſitions, wherin is ingroſſed or cõprehended my ſayinge, which S. Paul doth thus otherwyſe explicate: *Chriſt is made of God our wiſdome, our rightuouſnes, our purenes, or ſatisfaction, and our redemption.* And in an other place: *There is none other foundatiõ, that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is Chriſt Ieſus.*

1.Cor.1.

The ſecond propoſition.

Eſa.29.

Colloſſ.2.

The other propoſition is written of the Prophete Eſay, and recited of our Sauiour in the Euangelie of Mathew, in theſe wordes: *Men do worſhyp me in vayne teaching doctrines and preceptes, or lawes humaine.* Of this writeth Paule very largely: in diuers places, and euery where welnigh. Amongeſt other, Colloſ.2. where he warneth *the Colloſſians to take heede that no manne do ſpoile them, or ſteale them away, by philoſophye or vayne deception, according to the conſtitutions of men, and ordynaunces of this worlde.* Thus I do certifye you of all the opinions and concluſions, which I entend, or haue entended to ſuſtaine, being contayned in the two propoſitions aboue written. Other holde I none, but ſuche as are mentioned in the Crede, both that is ſonge at Maſſe, and alſo in the other Crede, that all people doo dailye ſaye euery day.

Finally, that you require to know of the names and ſurnames, in order particularly of them, that bee to me adherentes, or that haue promiſed me to bee adherent in thys parte: I ſay, that I know of none particular, that I remember, without I ſhould note vnto you a great multitude, which you may know, and heare of (I ſuppoſe) through all regions and realmes of Chriſtendome, that do thinke lykewiſe, as I haue ſhewed. I wene the multitude mounteth nygh vnto the one halfe of chriſtẽdome: and more ſhould do likewiſe, by a great ſorte within a while (I doubt not) but that our ghoſtly enemy laboreth a mayne, to haue the knowledge of the truth ſuppreſſed, and letteth, that it can not come abroad for to be ſene. I ſay therefore agayne, I know of no particular adherents, ne of none yͭ hath ſo promiſed me to be in theſe matters. And though I did, I would not (except I knew that charity ſo required, whiche I do not finde yet hetherto) detecte, ne bewray any one of them, for no mans pleaſure: For I am bound to obey God aboue mẽ. Who be with vs and graunt the truth to be knowen. Amen.

Theſe aunſweres of Iohn Lambert, to the. 45. Articles aboue expreſſed, were directed and deliuered to Doct. Warham Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, as it appeareth, about the yeare of our Lord. 1532. at what tyme, the ſayd Lambert was in cuſtody in the Archbyſhops houſe of Otford, being there deſtitute of al helpe and furniture of bookes, as by hys owne wordes is to be gathered. But ſo yͤ prouidence of God wrought for Lambert, that within ſhort ſpace after, an. 1533. the ſayd Archbyſhop Warham dyed: whereby it ſeemeth that Lambert for that tyme was deliuered. In this meane while Doct. Cranmer was ſent ouer in Ambaſſage, with the Earle of Wylſhyre, Doct. Stokeſley, Doct. Kerne, Doct. Benet, and other learned men, to the Byſhop of Rome lying then at Bonony, to diſpute the matter of the kynges mariage, openlye firſt in the Courte of Rome, then in the Courte of the Emperour. Where after ſondry promiſes, and appointementes made, yet when the tyme came, no man there appeared, to diſpute with thẽ, in theſe ij. propoſitions: 1. That no man, iurè diuino, could or ought to mary hys brothers wife. 2. That the Byſhop of Rome by no meanes ought to diſpenſe to the contrary. But of this more copiouſly we will entreate (the Lordes grace permittyng) in the ſequele of our ſtory, cõmyng to Doct. Cranmers lyfe.

After the death of William Warham, ſucceded in that ſea the ſayd Doct. Cranmer. Lambert in the meane ſeaſon beyng deliuered, partly by the death of this Archbyſhop, partly by the commyng in of Queene Anne, returned into London, and there exerciſed hym ſelfe about the Stockes, in teachyng children, both in yͤ Greke, & Latine tongue. And for ſomuch as Prieſts in thoſe dayes could not be permitted to haue wyues, he left his prieſthode, and applyed him ſelfe to that function of teachyng, entendyng ſhortly after alſo to be free of the Grocers, and to bee maryed. But God, who diſpoſeth all mens purpoſes after hys ſecret pleaſure, dyd both intercept hys mariage, and alſo his freedome, and maryed hym to hys ſonne Chriſt Ieſus, as now conſequently foloweth to be declared.

Thus then after that Iohn Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teachyng, with great commẽdation, and no leſſe commoditie to the youth: it happened this preſent yeare. 1538. hee was preſent at a Sermon, in S. Peters Churche at London. He that preached was named D. Taylor, a man in thoſe dayes not farre diſagreeyng from the Goſpell, and afterward in the time of kyng Edward was made Biſhop of Lincolne, and at laſt in the tyme of Queene Mary was depriued from the ſame, and ſo ended hys lyfe, among the confeſſours of Ieſu Chriſt.

Whẽ yͤ Sermon was done, Lambert hauing gotten oportunitie, went gently vnto yͤ preacher to talke with hym, and vttered diuers argumentes wherein he deſired to be ſatiſfied. All the whole matter or controuerſie was cõcerning the Sacramẽt of the body and blood of Chriſt. Taylor excuſing him ſelf at that preſent for other buſineſſe, willed hym to write his mynde, and to come agayne at more leyſure.

Lambert was cōtented, and ſo departed. Who within a while after, when he had written his mynde, came agayne vnto hym. The ſumme of hys argumētes were ten, whiche he cōprehended in writyng, approuyng the truth of the cauſe, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reaſon, and by the Doctours. The which argumentes, although they came not all vnto our handes, yet ſuch mē as were preſent at thoſe affaires, reported them to be of great force and authoritie. And of a fewe which were borne away in memorye, the firſt reaſon was thys, gathered vpō Chriſtes wordes, where it is ſayd in the Goſpell: *This Cup is the new Teſtament.*

And if (ſayth he) theſe wordes do not chaunge neither the Cup, neither the wine corporally into the new Teſtament: by lyke reaſon it is not agreable that the wordes ſpoken of the bread, ſhould turne the bread corporally into the body of Chriſt.

An other reaſon was this: that it is not agreable vnto a naturall bodye to bee in two places or more at one tyme: wherefore it muſt folowe of neceſſitie, that either Chriſt had not a naturall body, or els truly accordyng to the common nature of a body, it can not be preſent in ij. places at once, and much leſſe in many: that is to ſay, in heauen and in earth, on the right hand of hys father, and in the Sacrament.

Moreouer, a naturall body can not bee without hys forme and ſhape, cōditions, and accidentes, lyke as the accidentes and cōditions alſo can not be without theyr ſubiect or ſubſtaunce. Then, for ſomuch as in yͤ Sacrament there is no qualitie, quantitie, or cōdition of yͤ body of Chriſt, and finally no apparaunce at all, of fleſhe: who doth not playnly perceiue that there is no tranſubſtantiate body of his in the Sacrament? And to reaſon by the contrary: all the proper conditions, ſignes, and accidentes what ſoeuer they be pertaining vnto bread, we do ſee to be preſent in the Sacrament, whiche can not be there without the ſubiect: therefore we muſt of neceſſity confeſſe the bread to bee there. He added alſo many other allegations out of the Doctours. But to be ſhort, this Taylor the preacher, whō I ſpake of before, willyng & deſiryng (as is ſuppoſed) of a good mynde to ſatiſfie Lambert in this matter, amongeſt other whom he toke to counſaile, he alſo conferred with D. Barnes. Which Barnes, although he did otherwiſe fauour the Goſpell, and was an earneſt preacher, notwithſtādyng ſeemed not greatly to fauour this cauſe, fearyng peraduenture, that it would breede ſome let or hynderaunce amōgeſt the people, to yͤ preachyng of yͤ Goſpell, which was now in a good forwardneſſe, if ſuch Sacramentaries ſhould bee ſuffered: He perſuaded Taylor by and by to put vp the matter vnto Thomas Cranmer Byſhop of Caunterbury. And hereby may we ſee it truely verified, whiche William Tyndall before writyng to Iohn Frith, dyd note in Doct. Barnes, ſaying: that D. Barnes wilbe whote agaynſt you. &c. pag. 1232.

Vppon theſe originals, Lamberts quarell firſt began, & was brought vnto this point, that through the ſiniſter doynges of many, it began of a priuate talke, to be a publicke & cōmon matter. For he was ſent for by the Archbyſhop and brought into the open Court, and forced to defend hys cauſe openly: for the Archbyſhop had not yet fauoured the doctrine of the Sacrament, whereof afterward hee was an earneſt profeſſour. In that diſputatiō, it is ſayd, that Lambert did appeale frō the Byſhops, to the kynges Maieſtie. But howſoeuer the matter was, the rumor of that diſputation, was by and by ſpread throughout the whole Court.

I tolde you before, how that kyng Henry for two yeares paſt, ſhewyng the part of an hard huſband, had beheaded Queene Anne his wife. Which deede did not onely greatly diſpleaſe yͤ Germaine Princes (who for that onely cauſe had broken of the league with him, an. 1536.) but alſo many other good men in England. Moreouer, how that within a while after, Abbayes began to be ſubuerted, and all theyr goodes to be confiſcate and geuen abroad. For which cauſes, but eſpecially for the late aboliſhyng of the Byſhop of Rome, the commons had conceyued a very euill opinion of hym, in ſo much that the ſeditious ſort rebelled agaynſt him.

Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Winchester.

At that tyme Steuē Gardiner then Biſhop of Wincheſter, was in authoritie amongeſt yͤ kyngs Counſellers: who as he was of a cruell nature, ſo was he no leſſe of a ſubtile and crafty witte, euer gapyng for ſome occaſion how to let & hynder the Goſpell: albeit a long time he was not ſo greatly eſteemed with yͤ king, that he could much preuaile to achiue hys conceaued purpoſe: But at length, vpon this matter aduiſing hym ſelfe, he thought hee had apte occaſion and oportunitie to accompliſhe his deſire. Neither did he forſlacke the occaſion miniſtred, but went ſtraight vnto the kyng, priuely admoniſhing him, and with fayre flattering wordes, geuyng hym moſt pernitious counſell, declaryng how great hatred and ſuſpition was rayſed vpō him, almoſt in all places:

The pernitious councell of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Firſt, for aboliſhyng the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, then for ſubuerſion of the Monaſteryes, and alſo for that the diuorcement of Queene Katherine was yet freſhe in mens myndes: and now the tyme ſerued, if he would take it, eaſelye to remedy all theſe matters, and pacifie the myndes of them, whiche were offēded with hym, if onely in this matter of Iohn Lambert, he would manifeſt vnto the people, how ſtoutly he would reſiſte heretickes: and by this new rumor hee ſhoulde bryng to paſſe, not onely to extinguiſhe all other former rumors, and as it were with one naile to driue out an other, but alſo ſhould diſcharge hym ſelfe of all ſuſpition, in that he now began to bee reported to be a fauourer of newe Sectes and opinions.

The nobles and biſhopes aſſembled to *Lamberts* diſputation.

The kyng geuyng eare more willyngly, then prudently or godly to this Syrene, immediatly receyued the wicked coūſaile of the Byſhop, & by and by ſent out a generall commiſſion, cōmaundyng all the nobles and Byſhops of this realme, to come with all ſpeede, to Lōdon, to aſſiſte the king agaynſt heretickes and hereſies, whiche the kyng him ſelfe would ſit in iudgement vpō. Theſe preparations made, a day was ſet for Lambert, where a great aſſembly of the nobles was gathered frō all partes of the Realme, not without much wonder and expectation in this ſo ſtraūge a caſe. All the ſeates and places were full of men round about the ſcaffold.

By and by the godly ſeruaunt of Chriſt Iohn Lambert was brought from the priſon with a garde of armed men, euen as a Lambe to fight with many Lions, and placed right ouer againſt where the kynges royall ſeat was, ſo that now they taryed but for the kynges commyng to the place.

Lambert brought before the king to diſpute.

At the laſt the kyng hym ſelfe dyd come as Iudge of that great controuerſie, with a great garde, clothed all in white, as couering by that colour and diſſimuling ſeueritie of all bloudy iudgement.

On hys right hand ſate the Byſhops, and behynd them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in purple, accordyng to the maner. On yͤ left hand ſat the Peeres of the Realme, the Iuſtices, & other Nobles in their order: behynde whom ſatte the Gentlemen of the kynges priuye Chamber. And thys was the maner and forme of the iudgement, whiche albeit it was terrible inough of it ſelfe, to abaſh any innocent, yet the kynges loke, his cruell countenaunce, and hys browes bent vnto ſeuerity, did not a litle augment this terror, playnly declaryng a minde full of indignatiō farre vnworthy ſuch a Prince, eſpecially in ſuch a matter and agaynſt ſo hūble and obedient a ſubiect.

The kinges ſterne loke agaynſt *Lambert*.

When the kyng was ſet in hys throne, he behelde Lambert with a ſterne countenaunce, & then turnyng hym ſelfe vnto his counſaillours, hee called forth Doct. Day Biſhop of Checheſter, commaundyng hym to declare vnto the people, the cauſes of thys preſent aſſemblye and iudgement.

The oration of *Doctor Day.*

The whole effect of hys Oration tended in a maner, to this poynt: That the kyng in this Seſſion would haue all ſtates, degrées, Byſhoppes and all other, to be admoniſhed of hys will and pleaſure, that no man ſhould conceaue any ſiniſter opiniō of hym, that now ẏ authoritie and name of the Biſhop of Rome beyng vtterly aboliſhed, he would alſo extinguiſhe all Religion, or geue libertie vnto heretickes to perturbe and trouble the Churches of England, without puniſhement, wherof he is the head: and moreouer that they ſhould not thinke, that they were aſſembled at that preſent, to make any diſputation vpon the hereticall doctrine, but onely for this purpoſe, that by the induſtry of him and other Byſhops, the hereſies of this man here preſent (meanyng Lambert) and the hereſies of all ſuch lyke, ſhould be refuted or openly condemned in the preſence of them all. Whē he had made an ende of hys Oratiō, the kyng ſtandyng vp vpon hys féete leanyng vppon a cuſhion of white cloth of tiſſue, turnyng hym ſelfe toward Lambert with his browes bēt, as it were threatning ſome greuous thing vnto hym, ſayd theſe wordes: Hoe good felow, what is thy name? Then the humble Lambe of Chriſt, humbly knelyng downe vppon hys knée, ſayd: My name is Iohn Nicolſon, althoughe of many I be called Lambert. What (ſayd the kyng) haue you two names? I would not truſt you hauyng two names, although you were, my brother. Lambert. O O moſt noble Prince, your Byſhops forced me of neceſſitie to chaūge my name. And after diuers Prefaces and much talke had in this maner, the kyng commaunded hym to go vnto the matter, and to declare hys mynde and opinion what hée thought as touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar.

The kinges wordes to *Lambert.*

Lambertes oration to the king.

The crueltie of Biſhops noted.

Then Lambert begynnyng to ſpeake for hym ſelfe, gaue God thankes whiche had ſo inclined the hart of the kyng, that he hym ſelfe would not diſdayne to here and vnderſtand the cōtrouerſies of Religiō: for that it hapneth oftentymes, thorow ẏ cruelty of the Byſhops, that many good and innocent men in many places are priuily murthered and put to death without ẏ kynges knowledge. But now for ſo much as that high and eternall kyng of kynges, in whoſe handes are the hartes of all Princes, hath inſpired and ſtirred vp the kynges mynde, that he hym ſelfe wilbe preſent to vnderſtand the cauſes of his ſubiectes, ſpecially whom God of hys diuine goodnes hath ſo abundantlye endued with ſo great giftes of iudgement and knowledge, he doth not miſtruſt, but that God will bryng ſome great thyng to paſſe through hym, to the ſettyng forth of the glory of hys name.

Then the kyng, with an angry voyce, interruptyng his Oration: I came not hether (ſaid he) to heare mine owne prayſes thus paynted out in my preſence, but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumſtance. This he ſpake in Latine.

But Lambert beinge abaſhed at the kinges angrye wordes, contrary to all mens expectation, ſtayd a while conſideryng whether he might turne him ſelfe in theſe great ſtraites and extremities.

The king fierce vpon *Lambert.*

But the king being haſty, with anger & vehemency ſayd: why ſtandeſt thou ſtill? Aunſwere as touchynge the Sacrament of the Altar, whether doeſt thou ſaye, that it is the body of Chriſt, or wilt denye it? And with that worde the king lifted vp his cappe.

Quodam modo .i. after a certeyne maner.

Lambert. I aunſwere with S. Auguſtine, that it is the body of Chriſt, after a certeyn manner.

The King. Anſwere me neither out of S. Auguſtin, neyther by the authoritye of anye other, but tell me playnly, whether thou ſayeſt it is the body of Chriſt, or no? Theſe wordes the king ſpake agayne in Latine.

Lambert. Then I deny it to be the bodye of Chriſt.

The King. Marke well, for now thou ſhalt be condemned euē by Chriſtes own wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meū.

Then he commaunded Thomas Cranmer, Archbyſhop of Caunterburye to refute his aſſertion: who firſt making a ſhort Preface vnto the hearers, beganne his diſputation with Lambert, verye modeſtlye, ſayinge: Brother Lambert, lette thys matter be handled betwene vs indifferentlye, that if I do conuince this your argument to be falſe by the Scriptures, you will wyllingly refuſe the ſame: but if you ſhall proue it true by the manifeſt teſtimonyes of the Scripture, I do promiſe, I will willinglye embrace the ſame.

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Actes of ẏ Apoſtles, where as Chriſt appeared vnto S. Paul by the way: diſputing out of that place, that it is not diſagreable to the word of God, that the body of Chriſt maye be in two places at once, which beinge in heauen, was ſene vnto S. Paule the ſame time vppon earth: and if it maye be in two places, why by the like reaſon, may it not be in many places?

In this manner the Archbyſhop began to refute the ſecond argument of Lambert, which as we haue before ſayd, was written and deliuered by the ſayd Lambert, vnto the preacher: For the king had firſt diſputed againſt his firſt reaſon.

Lambert aunſwered vnto this argument, ſayinge: that the Minor was not thereby proued, that Chriſtes body was diſperſed in two places, or more, but remayned rather ſtill in one place, as touchinge the maner of his body. For the Scripture doth not ſay, that Chriſte being vpon earth did ſpeake vnto Paul: *but that ſodenlye a light from heauen dyd ſhyne rounde about hym, and hee falling to the grounde, heard a voyce ſaying vnto hym: Saule, Saule, why doſt thou perſecute me? I am Ieſus whome thou perſecuteſt. &c.* Here this place doth nothing let but that Chriſt ſitting in heauen, might ſpeake vnto Paul, and bée heard vpon earth, for they whiche were with Paule verely heard the voice, but did ſée no body.

The Archbiſhop on the contrary part, ſayd: Paule him ſelfe doth witneſſe. Act. xxvi. that Chriſte did appeare vnto him in the ſame viſion.

But Lambert againe ſayd, that Chriſt did witneſſe in the ſame place, *that he would againe appeare vnto hym, and deliuer hym out of the hands of the Gentiles:* Notwithſtanding we read in no place, that Chriſt did corporally appeare vnto him.

Thus, when they had contended about the conuerſion of S. Paule, and Lambert ſo aunſwearing for hym ſelf, that the king ſemed greatly to be moued therwith, and the Biſhop hymſelf that diſputed, to be entangled, and all the audience amaſed: then the Biſhop of Wincheſter, which was appointed the vj. place of the diſputation, fearing leſt the argument ſhoulde bee taken out of his mouth, or rather beynge drowned with malice agaynſt the poore man, without the kinges commaundement, obſeruing no order, before the Archbiſhop had made an end, vnſhamefaſtlye kneled downe to take in hand the diſputation, alleaged a place out of the xj. Chapter to the Corinthians, where S. Paul ſayeth: *Haue not I ſene Ieſus?* And agayn in the. xv. Chapter: *He appeared vnto Cephas, & afterward vnto Iames, then to all the Apoſtles, but laſt of all, he appeared vnto me as one borne out of due tyme. &c.*

Hereunto, Lambert aunſwered, he dyd nothinge doubte but that Chriſt was ſene, and did appeare, but he did denye that he was in two or in diuers places, according to the manner of his bodye.

Then Wincheſter agayne, abuſing the authority of Paule, repeateth the place out of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians and. v. Chapter: *And if ſo be, we haue knowen Chriſte after the fleſhe, nowe henceforth knowe we hym ſo no more. &c.*

Lambert, aunſwered, that this knowledge is not to be vnderſtanded according to the ſenſe of the body, and that it ſo appeared ſufficiently by S. Paule, which ſpeakyng of his owne reuelation, ſayeth thus: *I knowe not whether in the bodye or without the bodye, God knoweth,*

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which was rapte into the thyrde heauen, I knowe not, whether in the body or without, God knoweth. Wherby, euen by the teſtimony of S. Paul, a man ſhall eaſely gather, that in this reuelation hee was taken vp in ſprite into the heauens, and did ſee thoſe thinges, rather then that Chriſt came down corporally from heauen, to ſhew thē vnto him: eſpecially, for that it was ſayd of the Aungell: *That euen as he aſcended into heauen, ſo he ſhoulde come agayn.* And S. Peter ſayeth, *whome it behoueth to dwell in the heauens.* And moreouer appoynting the meaſure of time, he addeth: *Eūe vntill that al thinges be reſtored. &c.* Here agayne, Lambert beynge taunted and rebuked, could not be ſuffered to proſecute his purpoſe.

After the Biſhop of Wincheſter had done, Tunſtall Biſhop of Durham toke hys courſe, and after a longe preface, wherin hee ſpake much of Gods omnipotēcye, at the laſt he came to this poynt, ſaying: that if Chriſte could performe that which hee ſpake touching the conuerting of his body into bread, without doubt he would ſpeake nothing, but that he would performe.

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Lambert aunſweared, that there was no euidente place of Scripture, wherin Chriſt doth at any time ſay, that he would chaunge yͤ bread into his body: and moreouer, that there is no neceſſity why hee ſhoulde ſo do. But this is a figuratiue ſpeach, euery where vſed in the Scripture, when as the name and appellatiō of the thing ſignified, is attributed vnto yͤ ſigne. By which figure of ſpeach, circumciſion is called the couenaunte, the Lambe, the paſſeouer: beſide vj. hūdreth ſuch other. Nowe it remayneth to be marked, whether we ſhall iudge all theſe after the wordes pronounced, to be ſtraight waye chaunged into an other nature. Then agayne beganne they to rage a freſhe againſt Lambert, ſo that if he could not be ouercome with argumentes, hee ſhoulde be vanquiſhed with rebukes and tauntes. What ſhoulde he doe? He might well holde his peace lyke a lambe, but bite or barke agayne he could not.

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Next orderlye ſtepped forth the valiaunt champion Stokeſley Biſhop of London, who afterward lying at the poynt of death, reioyſed, boaſting, that in hys lyfe time he had burned 50. heretikes. This man amonges the reſidue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long proteſtation promiſed to proue, that it was not onely a worke of a diuine miracle, but alſo that it dyd nothinge abhorre nature. For, it is nothinge diſſonant from nature (ſayth he) the ſubſtances of like thinges to be oftentymes chaunged one into an other: So that neuertheleſſe, the accidentes do remaine, all be it the ſubſtance it ſelfe, and the matter ſubiect be chaunged. Then he declared it by the example of water boilinge ſo long vpō the fire, vntill all the ſubſtaunce therof be euaporate. Now (ſayeth he) it is the doctrine of the Philoſophers, that a ſubſtance can not be chaunged, but into a ſubſtance: wherefore we do affirme the ſubſtaunce of the water, to paſſe into the ſubſtance of the ayre. Notwithſtāding the qualitye of the water, which is moiſtneſſe, remayneth after the ſubſtance is chaunged, for the ayre is moiſte, euen as the water is.

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When this argumēt was heard, the Biſhops greatly reioyſed, and ſodenlye theyr contenaunce chaunged, as it were aſſuringe themſelues of a certayne triumph and victory by thys Philoſophical tranſmutation of elementes, and like as it hadde bene of more force, then Criſippus argumēt, which paſſed al maner of ſolution.

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Lamberts aunſwere was longe loked for here of all men. Who, as ſone as he had obtayned ſilence ⁊ liberty to ſpeake, firſt of all denied the Biſhoppes aſſumpte, that the moiſture of the water dyd remayne after the ſubſtance was altered. For albeit (ſayth he) that we do graunt with the Philoſophers, the ayre to be naturally moiſte, notwithſtandinge it hath one proper and a diuers degrée of moiſture, and the water an other. Wherfore, whē as the water is conuerted into the ayre, there remayneth moiſture, as you do ſaye, but that is not the moiſture of water, but the proper ⁊ naturall moiſture of the ayre. Where vppon there is an other doctrine amonges the Philoſophers, as a perpetuall rule, that it can by no meanes be, that the qualityes and accidentes in naturall thinges ſhould remayne in their owne proper nature, without theyr proper ſubiect. Then agayne the king and the Biſhops raged againſt Lambert, in ſo much that he was not onely forced to ſilence, but alſo myghte haue béene driuen into a rage, if hys eares had not bene acquaynted with ſuche tauntes afore. After this the other Biſhops, euery one in his order, as they were appoynted, ſupplied their places of diſputation.

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Tauntes and raging agaynſt *Lambert.*

There were appoynted ten in number, for the performyng of this tragedy, for his .x. Arguments, whiche, (as before we haue declared) were deliuered vnto Tailor yͤ preacher. It were to long in this place, to repeate the reaſons and argumentes of euery Biſhop: and no leſſe ſuperfluous were it ſo to doe, ſpeciallye for ſo much as they were all but cōmon reaſons, and nothing forceable, ⁊ ſuch as by the long vſe of diſputation haue béene beaten, and had litle in them, eyther worthy the hearer, or the reader.

Ten diſputers agaynſt *Lambert.*

Lambert in the meane tyme beynge compaſſed in with ſo many and greate perplexities, vexed on the one ſide with cheecks and tauntes, and preſſed on the other ſide, with the authority and threates of the parſonages, and partlye beinge amazed with the maieſtie of the place in the preſence of the king, and ſpeciallye beinge weryed with longe ſtandynge, whiche continued no leſſe then fiue houres, from twelue of the clocke, vntill fyue at nyght, being brought in deſpair that he ſhoulde nothyng profite in this purpoſe, and ſeyng no hope at all in ſpeaking, was at this poynte, that he choſe rather to holde his peace. Wherby it came to paſſe, that thoſe Byſhops, whiche laſte of all diſputed with hym, ſpake what they luſted without interruption, ſaue onely that Lambert now and then, woulde alledge ſomewhat out of S. Auguſtin for the defence of his cauſe, in whiche Author he ſemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the moſt parte (as I ſayd) being ouercome with weryneſſe and other griefes, hee helde his peace, defending himſelfe rather with ſilence, then with argumentes, which he ſawe would nothing at all preuayle.

Lambert in great perplexitie.

Lambert kepeth ſilence when ſpeaking would do no good.

At the laſt, when the day was paſſed, and that torches began to be lyghted, the kyng mindyng to breake vp this pretenſed diſputatiō, ſayd vnto Lambert in this wiſe: What ſayeſt thou now (ſayd hée) after all theſe great labours which thou haſt taken vpon thée, ⁊ all the reaſons and inſtructions of theſe learned mē, art thou not yet ſatiſfied? Wilt thou lyue, or dye? What ſayeſt thou? Thou haſt yet frée choiſe. Lambert aunſwered: I yeld and ſubmit my ſelfe wholy vnto the wil of your Maieſtie. Then ſayd the kyng. Commit thy ſelfe vnto the handes of God, and not vnto myne.

The kinges wordes to *Lambert.*

Lambert. I commende my ſoule vnto the handes of God, but my body I wholy yeld and ſubmit vnto your clemency. Then ſayd the kyng, if you do commit your ſelfe vnto my iudgement, you muſt dye, for I will not be a patrone vnto heretickes, and by and by, turnyng him ſelfe vnto Cromwell, he ſayd: Cromwell, read the ſentence of condēnation agaynſt him. This Cromwell was at that time yͤ chief frend of the Goſpellers. And here is it much to bée maruayled at, to ſée how vnfortunatly it came to paſſe in this matter, that through the peſtiferous and craftye counſaile of thys one Byſhop of Wincheſter, Sathan (which oftentymes doth rayſe vppe one brother to the deſtruction of an other) dyd here perfourme the condemnation of this Lambert, by no other miniſters, then Goſpellers them ſelues, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer ⁊ Cromwell, who afterwardes in a maner all, ſuffred the lyke for the Goſpels ſake: of whō (God willing) we wil ſpeake more hereafter.

The king condemneth the Martyr of Chriſt, *Iohn Lambert.*

L. Cromwell commaunded by the king to reade the ſentence.

This vndoubtedly was the malicious and crafty ſubtiltye of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, which deſired rather, that the ſentence might be read by Cromwell, thē

The crafty fetch of *Steph. Wint.*

The ſentence agaynſt *Iohn Lambert.*

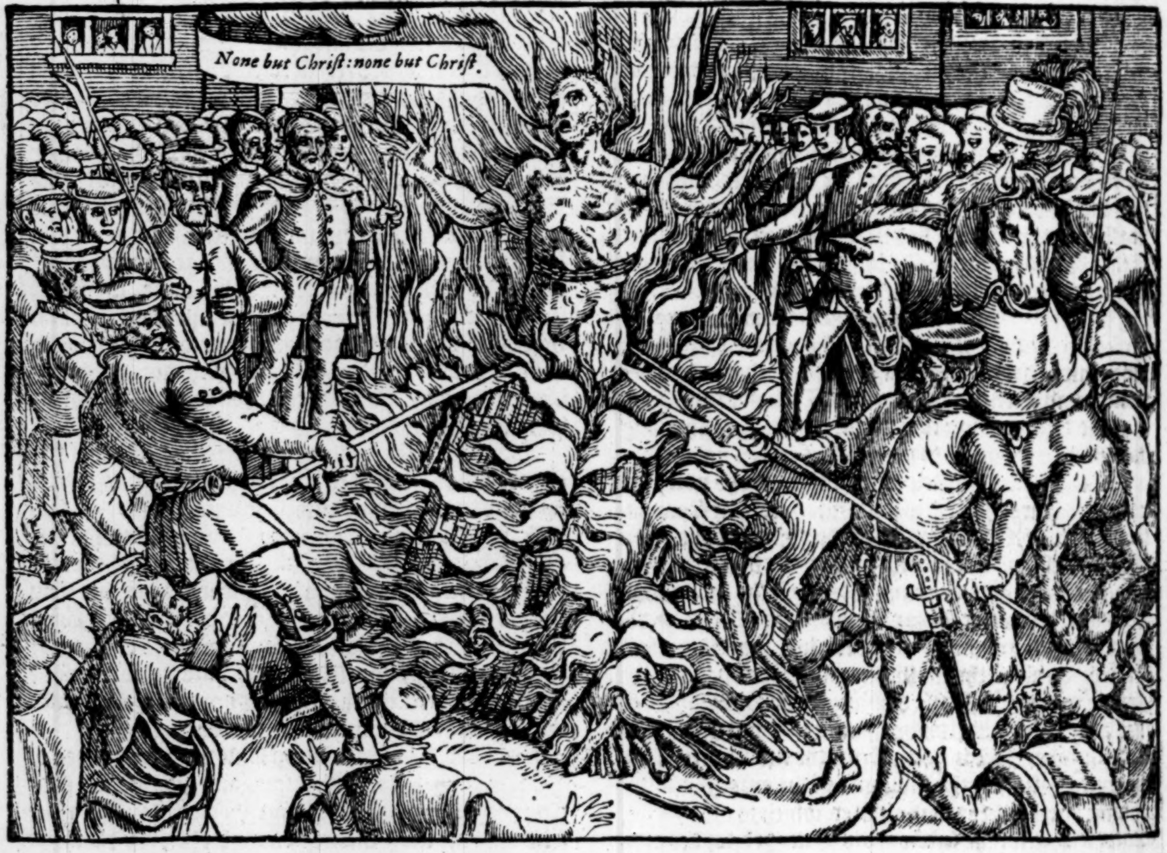
by any other, ſo that if he refuſed to do it, he ſhould likewiſe haue incurred the lyke daunger. But to bee ſhort, Cromwell at the kynges commaundement takyng the ſcedule of condemnatiõ in hand, read the ſame: Wherin was conteyned the burnyng of heretickes, whiche either ſpake or wrote any thyng, or had any bookes by them, repugnaunt or diſagreyng from the Papiſticall Churche and their tradition, touching the Sacrament of the aultar: alſo, a Decree that the ſame ſhould be ſet vp vppon the Churche porches, and be read .iiij. tymes euery yeare, in euery Churche throughout the realme, wherby the worſhyppyng of the bread ſhould be yͤ more firmely fixed in the hartes of the people. And in this maner was yͤ condẽnation of Iohn Lambert. Wherin great pitie it was, and much to be lamẽted, to ſee the kyngs hyghnes that day ſo to oppoſe and ſet his power and ſtrength ſo fiercely and vehemently in aſſiſtyng ſo many proud and furious aduerſaries, agaynſt that one poore ſeely ſoule, to be deuoured. Whõ his maieſty with more honor might rather haue ayded and ſupported beyng ſo on euery ſide oppreſſed & compaſſed about without helpe or refuge, among ſo many woulues and vultures, eſpecially in ſuch a cauſe tendyng to no derogation to hym nor to his realme, but rather to the neceſſary reformation of ſyncere truth and doctrine decayed. For therin eſpecially cõſiſteth the honor of Princes, to pitie the miſerable, to releue the oppreſſed, to reſcue the wronges of the poore, and to tender and reſpect the weaker part, eſpecially where right and truth ſtandeth with hym: which if the kyng had done that day, it had bene, in my mynde, not ſo much for the comfort of that poore perſecuted creature, as it would haue redounded to the immortall renowne of hys princely eſtate to all poſteritie.

But thus was Iohn Lambert, in thys bloudy Seſſion by the kyng iudged & condemned to death, whoſe iudgement now remaineth with the Lord agaynſt that day, when as before the tribunall ſeate of that great iudge, both Princes and ſubiectes ſhall ſtand and appeare, not to iudge, but to bee iudged, according as they haue done and deſerued. Ex teſtimo cuiuſdam αὐτόπτου. A. G.

The order and maner of the burnyng of the conſtant Martyr in Chriſt Iohn Lambert.

The wordes that he ſpake.

The Martyrdome of good *Ioh. Lambert.*


None but Chriſt: none but Chriſt.

And thus much hetherto of Lãbertes articles, aunſweres, diſputation, and his condemnation alſo. Now to procede further to the ſtory of his death:

***Lambert* going to hys death.**

Upon yͤ day that was appointed for this holy Martyr of God to ſuffer, he was brought out of the priſon at viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, vnto the houſe of the Lord Cromwell, and ſo caryed into his inwarde chamber, where as it is reported of many, that Cromwell deſired hym of forgiuenes for that hee had done.

***L. Cromwell* deſired of *Lambert* forgeuenes.**

There, at the laſt, Lambert being admoniſhed, that the houre of hys death was at hand, he was greatly cõforted and cheared, and beyng brought out of yͤ chamber into the Halle, he ſaluted the Gentlemen, & ſat downe to breakefaſt with them, ſhewyng no maner of ſadnes or feare. When as breakfaſt was ended, he was caried ſtraight way to the place of executiõ, wheras he ſhould offer hym ſelfe vnto yͤ Lord a ſacrifice of ſweete ſauor, who is bleſſed in his Sainctes for euer & euer. Amen.

As touchyng the terrible maner and faſhion of the burning of this bleſſed Martyr, here is to be noted that of all other, which haue bene burned and offered vp at Smithfield, there was yet none ſo cruelly and pitiouſly handled, as he. For after that his legges were cõſumed and burned vppe to the ſtumpes, and that the wretched tormentors and enemyes of God had withdrawne the fire from hym, ſo that but a ſmall fire and coales were left vnder hym, thẽ two yͤ ſtoode on ech ſide of hym, wͭ their Hallebards pitched hym vp vpõ their pikes, as farre as yͤ cheyne would reach, after yͤ maner and forme here in this picture aboue deſcribed. Thẽ he lyftyng vp ſuch handes as hee had, & hys fingers endes flaming with fire, cried vnto yͤ people in theſe wordes: NONE BVT CHRIST, NONE BVT CHRIST, and ſo beyng let down agayne from their Hallebards, fell into the fire and there gaue vp hys lyfe.

Now

Thus ye haue heard by what craft and ſubtiltie this good man was intrapped, & with what crueltie he was oppreſſed, ſo that now remaineth nothing, but only his puniſhment and death, whiche the drunken rage of the Byſhops thought not to be long protracted.

Duryng the tyme that he was in the Archbiſhops warde at Lambeth, which was a litle before hys diſputation before the kyng, hee wrote an excellent confeſſiō or defence of his cauſe vnto king Henry.

he Apo- gie of h. Lam- ert vnto king.

Wherein he firſt mollifiyng the kynges mynde and eares, wͭ a modeſt and ſober preface, declaryng how he had a double hope of ſolace layd vp, the one in the moſt hyghe and myghty prince of princes, God: the other next vnto God, in his maieſtye, which ſhould repreſent the office and miniſtery of that moſt high Prince in gouerning here vpon earth: after that proceding in gentle wordes, he declared ẏ cauſe which moued him to that which he had done. And albeit he was not ignoraunt how odious this doctrine would be vnto the people, yet notwithſtādıng, becauſe he was not alſo ignorant how deſirous the kings minde was to ſearch out the truth, he thought no tyme vnmeete to performe his ductie, eſpecially for ſo much as he would not vtter thoſe things vnto the ignoraunt multitude, for auoyding of offence, but onely vnto the Prince himſelfe, vnto whome he might ſafely declare his mynde.

The pre- ce of his pologie.

After this Preface made, he entryng into the boke, confirmed hys doctrine touchynge the Sacrament, by diuers teſtimonyes of the Scriptures, by the whiche Scriptures, he proued ẏ body of Chriſt, whether it ryſeth, or aſcendeth, or ſitteth, or be conuerſant here, to be allwayes in one place. Then he gatheringe together the mindes of ẏ auncient Doctors, did proue & declare by ſufficient demonſtration, the Sacrament to bee a miſticall matter. Albeit he ſo ruled him ſelf in ſuch temperaunce and moderation, that he did not denye, but that the holy Sacrament was the very naturall body of our Sauiour, and the wine hys natural bloud, and that moreouer hys naturall bodye and bloud were in thoſe miſteries, but after a certayne manner, as the aunciēt Doctors, in a manner, all do interprete it.

After this Proteſtation thus made, hee inſerreth the ſentence of hys confeſſion, as here foloweth.

A treatiſe of Iohn Lambert to the king.

treatiſe Iohn mbert on the rament the g.

Chriſt is ſo aſcended bodyly into heauen, and hys holy manhode thyther ſo aſſumpte, where as it doth ſyt vpon the ryght hande of the father, that is to ſaye, is with the father there remanent and reſident in glorye, that by the infallible promyſe of God, it ſhal not or can not from thence returne before the generall dome, whiche ſhall be in the ende of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world: ſo can I not ſee how he can be corporally in the Sacrament or his holy ſupper. And yet notwithſtanding do I knowledge and confeſſe, that the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, is his very bodye and bloud in a certayne maner, which ſhal be ſhewed hereafter with your graces fauour & permiſſion, according to the wordes of our Sauiour inſtituting the ſame holy ſacrament, and ſaying: *This is my bodye, which is geuen for you. And agayne: This is my bloude which is of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſsion of ſinnes.*

ath. 25.

But now for approuing of the fyrſt part, that Chriſte is ſo bodyly aſcended into heauen, and hys holy manhede ſo thyther aſſumpte. &c. that by the infallible promiſe of God, he ſhall not, or can not any more from thence bodyly returne, before the generall dome, I ſhall for thys alleadge fyrſt the ſcriptures, and folowing the authorities of olde holy Doctours, with one conſent teſtifyinge with me. Beſides this, I neede not to tell, that the ſame is no other thing, but that we haue taught to vs in theſe iij. articles of our *Crede: He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hande of God the father almighty, from thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.* For Chriſt did aſcende bodily, the Godhead which is infinite, vncircumſcriptible, repleniſhyng both heauen and earth, beyng immutable, and vnmoueable, so that properly it can neyther aſcende nor deſcende.

¶Scriptures affirming the ſame.

The ſcriptures which I promiſed to aledge for the confirmation of my ſayd ſentence, be theſe: *He was lifted vp into heauen in their ſight and a cloud receaued him from their eyes: and when they were looking vp into heauen they ſaw two men. &c.* Here it is euidently ſhewed, that Chriſt departed and aſcended in a vyſible and circumſcripte body. That this departing was viſible and in a viſible body, theſe wordes do teſtifye: *And when they were loking vp. VVhy ſtand ye here loking vp into heauē.* And: *euen as ye haue ſene him. &c.* That ſecondly it was in body, I haue afore proued, and moreouer the deitie is not ſeene, but is inuiſyble, as appeareth: *To God only inuiſible. &c.* and, *He dwelleth in the inacceſsible light, which no man ſeeth nor may ſee. &c.* Therfore the manhead and naturall body was aſſumpt, or did aſcende. That thirdly it was in a circumſcript body, appeareth manifeſtly in this. Firſt, that hys aſcenſion and bodylye departing, cauſed them to loke vp. And ſecondly, that he was lyft vp, that is to witte, from beneth or from a low. And thirdlye, that a cloud receaued hym, where as no cloude nor cloudes can receiue or embrace the Deitie. &c.

Act. 1.

1. Tim. 1.

1. Tim. 5.

I am fayne to leaue out other euident Argumentes for the ſame purpoſe, leſt I ſhoulde be ouer prolixe and tedious. It doth there alſo further folowe in lyke forme, how the Angels made aunſwere to the Diſciples ſaying: *Ye men of Galile, why ſtand ye gaſing into heauen? This Ieſus which is taken vp from you into heauen, ſhall ſo come agayne, as you haue ſene hym goyng vp into heauen.* Here we ſe agayne, that Ieſus is aſſumpt, or taken away into heauen. And then it muſt be from out of the world, accordinge to that we reade, Iohn. xvj: *I went forth from the father, and I came into the worlde. I leaue the worlde agayne, and I go vnto the father:* That is not els, but as he came from the father of heauen into thys worlde, in that he was incarnate and made mā, for hys Godhead was neuer abſent, eyther frō heauen, or yet from earth: euen ſo ſhoulde hys manhead leaue the world agayne, to go to heauen. Moreouer, in that it is ſayd: *So ſhall he come*, is playnely teſtified, that he is awaye and now corporally abſent.

Iohn. 16.

Fynally it is ſhewed further, after what maner he ſhall come agayne, by theſe wordes: *Euen as you haue ſeene him going vp into heauen.* which is not els, but, as you did viſiblye ſee hym aſcende or go awaye to heauen, a cloude embracing him and takyng him from among you: euen ſo ſhall you viſiblie ſee him to come agayne in ẏ cloudes, accordyng as we reade, Math. 26. *You ſhall ſee the ſonne of man to come in the cloudes of heauen.* And agayne, Math. 24. *And they ſhall ſee the ſonne of man.* Such other textes haue we full many, declaring my ſentence to be catholike and true. Of which I here ſhall briefly note ſome places, and paſſe ouer them, knowyng that a little rehearſall is ſufficyent to your noble wiſdome. The places be, Marke. 16. Luke. 24. Iohn. 13. 14. 16. and 17. Rom. 8. Epheſ. 1. and 2. and 2. Corinth. 6. Hebre. 8. 9. 10. & 12. & 1. Theſſa. 4. and. 1. Pet. 2. which all do teſtifye, that Chriſt hath bodily forſaken the world, departed from it vnto his father, aſcended into heauen, ſittyng ſtyll vpon the ryght hand of the father aboue all dominion, power, and principalitie, where he is preſent aduocate and interceſſour before hys father, and that he ſhall ſo bodily come agayne, lyke as he was ſeene to depart from hence.

Math. 25.

Math. 24.

Nothyng can better or more clearely teſtifye and declare, what is contayned in the ſacrament of Chriſtes holy bodye and bloude, than do the wordes of ſcripture, wherby it was inſtytute. Marke doth agree with Mathew, ſo that in a maner he recyteth his very wordes. And no maruayle it is. For as the Doctors do ſay, the Goſpell of Marke is a very Epytome or abridgement of Mathew. I ſhall therfore wryte the relations of them touchyng the inſtitution of this Sacrament together. The relation or teſtimony of Mathew is this: *As they were eatyng, Ieſus tooke breade, and when he had geuen thankes he brake & gaue to his diſciples, & ſaid: Take, eate, this is my body. And taking the cup, and geuing thankes, he gaue it to them, ſaying: drinke ye all of this for this is my bloude of the new teſtament which is ſhed for many, for the remiſsion of ſinnes. And I ſaye vnto you, I will not drinke hēce forth of this frute of the vine, vntill that day, that I drinke it new with you in the kingdome of my father.*

The Goſpell of Marke is as an abridgement of Mathew.

Math. 26.

The teſtimony or relation of Marke, is this: *And as they dyd eate Ieſus tooke the bread, and whē he had geuē thankes, he brake it and gaue it to them, & ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body. And he tooke the cup and when he had geuē thankes, he gaue it to thē & they all dranke of it, and he ſayd vnto thē: This is my bloud of the new teſtament which is ſhed for many. Verely, I ſay vnto you, I will drincke no more of the fruit of the vyne vntill that day that I drincke it new in the kingdome of God.* Luke being the companyon of Paule, as appeareth in the Actes, and

Mark. 14.

2. Tim. 4.

2.Tim.4.

Luke.22.

2.Timoth.4.doth ſo next agre with hym in makynge relation of thys ſupper, and holy inſtitution of the Sacrament. Hys relation or report is this: *VVhen hee had taken bread and geuen thankes, hee brake it and gaue to them ſaying: This is my body which is geuen for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewiſe alſo after ſupper, he toke the Cup ſaying: This Cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud which is ſhed for you.*

1.Cor.11.

Paules teſtimonye doth folowe next, agreablye to Luke, and it is thus: *For I haue receaued of the Lorde, that which I alſo haue deliuered to you. That our Lorde Ieſus in the ſame night wherein hee was betrayed, tooke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, hee brake it and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body which is broken for you: this do ye in the remembrance of me. After the ſame maner alſo he tooke the Cup when he had ſupped, ſaying: This Cup is the new Teſtamẽt in my bloud: this do as oft as ye drinke it, in the remẽbraunce of me: for as often as ye ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lordes death, till he come.* By theſe teſtimonies ſhal I declare my ſentẽce to your grace, which I conceyue of the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes bleſſed body ⁊ bloud, ⁊ in all poyntes of dyffycultie, ſhall I annexe the very interpretation of the olde holye Doctours and Fathers, to ſhewe that I do not grounde any thynge vppon my ſelfe. Thereafter ſhall I adde certeyn argumentes, whiche I truſt ſhall clearlye proue and iuſtifye my ſentence to be true, catholycke, and accordyng both with God and hys lawes, and alſo with the mynde of holy Doctours.

My ſentence is thys, that Chriſt aſcended into heauẽ, and ſo hath forſaken the worlde, and there ſhal abyde, ſittynge on the ryght hande of hys Father, without returnyng hether agayne vntyll the generall dome: at what tyme he ſhall come from thence, to iudge the dead and lyuyng. Thys all do I beleue, done in hys naturall bodye, which he toke of the bleſſed virgyn Marie his mother, in yͭ which he alſo ſuffered paſſion for our ſafetie and redẽption vpon a croſſe: which dyed for vs, and was buryed: in whiche hee alſo dyd aryſe agayne to lyfe immortall. That Chriſt is thus aſcended in hys manhede and naturall body, and ſo aſſumpt into heauẽ, we may ſone proue, for as much as the godhede of hym is neuer out of heauen, but euer repleniſhynge both heauen and earth, and all that is beſydes, beynge infinyte and interminable or vncircumſcriptible, ſo that it neyther can properly eyther aſcende or deſcend, beynge without all alterations and vnmutable or vnmoueable.

Act.3.

1.Tim.6.

So that now hys naturall body beyng aſſumpt from amonge vs, and departed out of the world, the ſame can no more returne from thence vnto the ende of the world. For as Peter witneſſeth. Act.3. *VVhom the heauẽ muſt conteyne vntill the tyme that all thinges be reſtored whiche God had ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophetes, ſince the worlde beganne.* And the ſame doth the article of our Crede teach vs, which is: *From thence (.i. frõ heauen) he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.* which time Paule calleth *the appearing of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* 1.Timot.6.

Seing then, this naturall body of our Sauiour, yͭ was borne of hys mother Mary beyng a virgyn, is all whole aſſumpte into heauen, and departed out of this worlde, and ſo, as ſayth S. Peter: *he muſt remayne in heauen vntyll the end of the world,* which he calleth *the time whẽ all thinges muſte bee reſtored*: this (I ſay) ſeene and beleued accordyng to our Crede and the ſcriptures, I cã not perceyue how the naturall body of hym can contrariwiſe be in the world, and ſo in the Sacrament. And yet notwithſtanding is thys true, that the holye Sacrament is Chriſtes body and bloud, as after ſhall be declared.

Doctors affirming the ſame.

Teſtimonies out of the Doctors.

Auguſt.ad Dardanum.

But fyrſt, for the eſtablyſhyng of my former purpoſe, that the naturall body of our Sauiour is ſo abſent from this worlde, and aſcended to heauen, that it can be here no more preſent vntill the generall dome, I woulde beſeech your grace to cõſider the mynde and ſentence of olde holy Doctors, in this purpoſe or matter, how agreablye they teſtifye with that is tofore ſhewed. Amongſt whom we haue fyrſt S. Auguſtine, writinge thus to Dardanus: Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, Creator eſt Chriſtus: Omnia enim per ipſum facta ſunt. Quod verò ad hominem. &c. *Therefore as concerning the worde, Chriſt is the Creator: all thynges are made by hym: but as touching man, Chriſt is a creature made of the ſeede of Dauid according to the fleſhe, and ordeyned according to the ſimilitude of mẽ. Alſo becauſe mã conſiſteth of two thynges, the ſoule and the fleſhe: in that he had a ſoule, he was penſiue and ſorowfull vnto death: in that hee had fleſhe hee ſuffered death. Neither when we call the ſonne of God Chriſt, we doe ſeparate hys manhode, nor when we call the ſame Chriſt the ſonne of man, we doe ſeparate hys Godhead from hym. In that hee was man, he was conuerſant vppon the earth (and not in heauen where hee nowe is) when hee ſayd: no man aſcendeth vp into heauen but hee which deſcended from heauen, the ſonne of man which is in heauen. Although in that reſpecte that hee was the ſonne of God, hee was in heauen, and in that hee was the ſonne of man, hee was yet in the earth, and as yet was not aſcended in heauen. Likewiſe in that reſpecte that hee is the ſonne of God, hee is the Lorde of glorye: and in that hee is the ſonne of man, hee was crucified. And yet notwithſtandyng the Apoſtle ſayth: And if they had knowen the Lorde of glorye, they woulde neuer haue crucified hym. And by thys both the ſonne of man was in heauen, and the ſonne of God in that hee was mã, was crucified vppon earth. Therefore as hee myght well bee called the Lord of glory being crucified, when as yet that ſuffering dyd onely pertayne vnto the fleſhe, ſo it myght well bee ſayd: Thys daye thou ſhalt bee with me in Paradiſe, when according to the humilitie of hys manhode in his fleſhe, he laye in graue, and according to his ſoule he was in the bottome of hell that ſame day. According to hys diuine immutabilitie hee neuer departed from paradiſe, becauſe he by hys Godhead is alwayes euery where. Doubt you not therfore that there is Chriſt Ieſus accordyng to his mãhode, from whence he ſhall come. Remember it well and keepe faythfully thy Chriſtian confeſsion: for he roſe from the dead, he aſcended into heauen, he ſitteth at the right hand of the father: neither will he come from any other place, then from thence to iudge the quicke and the dead. And he ſhall come, as the voyce of the Aungell beareth witneſſe, as hee was ſeene to goe into heauen, that is to ſaye, in the ſelfe ſame forme and ſubſtaunce of fleſhe, wherunto vndoubtedly he gaue immortalitie, but hee did not take away the nature therof. According to this forme of hys fleſhe he is not to be thought to bee euery where. And we muſt take heede that we doe not ſo affirme the diuinitie of his manhode, that we therby take away the truth of his bodye. For it is not a good conſequent, that that thing which is in God, ſhoulde ſo bee in euery place as God: For the Scripture ſayth very truely of vs, that in hym we liue, moue, and haue our being: and yet notwithſtanding we are not in euery place as hee is, but * that man is otherwiſe in God, becauſe that God is otherwyſe in man, by a certayne proper and ſingular maner of being: for God and man is one perſon, and onely Ieſus Chriſt is both. In that hee is God, hee is in euery place: but in that he is man, he is in heauen.*

By which wordes of holy Auguſtyne, your grace may euydentlye ſee, that he teſtyfyeth and teacheth the bleſſed body or fleſh of Chriſt to be no where els then in heauen. For to it beynge aſſumpt or aſcended into heauen, God (as he ſayth) hath geuen immortalitie, but not takẽ away nature. So that by the nature of that holy fleſhe or bodye, it muſt occupye one place. Wherfore it foloweth: *According to this forme:* that is to witte, of his fleſhe, *Chriſt is not to be thought to be in euery place.* For if Chriſt ſhoulde in hys humanitye be euery where diffuſed or ſpreade abroad, ſo ſhould hys bodyly nature or naturall bodye be taken from hym. And therfore he ſayth: *For we muſt beware that we do not ſo affirme the diuinitie of man, that we do take away the humanitye of hys body.* But in that he is God, ſo is he euery where, accordyng to my wordes before written: and in that he is man, ſo is he in heauen. And therfore is it ſayd: *For God and man is one perſon, and onely Ieſus Chriſt is both. Hee, in that he is euery where, is God: but in that he is man, he is in heauen.*

And yet do we reade agreeablye to the ſame matter, more largely in the ſame Epiſtle, by theſe wordes: Chriſtum dominum noſtrum vnigenitum Dei filium, equalem patri, eundemq́; hominis filium, quo maior eſt pater, vt vbiq́; totum, præſentem eſſe non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei eſſe tanquam inhabitantem Deum, & in loco aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum. *Thou ſhalt not doubt Chriſt our Lord the onely ſonne of God, equall with his father, & the ſame beyng the ſonne of man wherby the father is greater, is preſent euery where as God, and is in one & the ſame Temple of God as God, and alſo in ſome place of heauen as concerning the true ſhape of his body.* Thus fynde we clearely, that for the meaſure of his very body, he muſt be in one place, and that of heauen, as concerning hys manhode, and yet euery where preſent in that he is the eternall ſonne of God and equall to hys father. Like teſtimony doth he geue in the xxx. treatiſe that he maketh vpon the Euangely of Iohn. Theſe be his wordes there written: Donec ſæculũ finiatur, ſurſum eſt dominus, ſed etiã hic eſt veritas domini. &c. *Vntill the world be at an end, the Lord is aboue, but here is the truth of the Lord alſo, for the body of our Lord in which he roſe, muſt be in one place: but his truth is abroade in euery place.*

ry place. The firſt parcell, that is, *vntill the vvorldes ende,* is ſo put, that it may ioyne to the ſentence goyng before, or els to theſe wordes folowing: *The Lord is aboue. &c.* And ſo ſhould it wel accorde to my ſētence before ſhewed, which is, the Lord is ſo bodyly aſcended, that in hys naturall body he cannot agayne returne from heauen vntyll the generall dome.

But howſoeuer the ſayd clauſe or parcell be applyed, it ſhall not greatly ſkill: for my ſentence notwithſtādyng remayneth full ſtedfaſt. In ſo much, as the ſcripture doth mencion but of ij. Aduentes or commynges of Chriſt, of which the firſt is performed in hys bleſſed incarnation, and the ſeconde is the commyng at the generall dome. And furthermore, in thys article of our Crede: *From thence ſhall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead,* is not only ſhewed wherfore he ſhall come agayne, but alſo whan he ſhall come agayne: ſo that in the meane whyle, as the other article of our Crede witneſſeth: *He ſitteth at the right hand of God his father,* that is not els to ſaye, then he remayneth in glory with the father. Furthermore, euen as I haue before rehearſed the forſayd authoritye of Auguſtyne, ſo haue I read it in hys Quinquagenes vppon a Pſalme, of which I can not now preciſely note or name the number. And the ſame wordes doth he alſo wryte in an Epiſtle to S. Hierome. So that we may know, he had good liking in it, that he ſo commonly doth vſe it, as hys vſuall prouerbe or byworde.

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In the ſame is alſo teſtyfied, that hys bleſſed bodye can be but in one place, ſo that it beyng now accordinge to the ſcripture and article of our beliefe or crede, in heauen, it can not be in earth: and much leſſe can it be in ſo vnnumerable places of yͤ earth, as we may perceiue that the ſacramēt is. Thus, although yͤ body of our Sauiour muſt be in one place, as he writeth agreably to the ſaying of Peter: *VVhom the heauens muſt receaue vntill the tyme of the reſtitution of all thyng:* yet as the wordes folowyng make mention: Veritas autē eius vbique diffuſa eſt. *But his veritie is ſcatered euery vvhere.* This veritie of Chriſt, or of his body, do I take to be that he in other places, doth cal Virtus Sacramenti: *the vertue of the ſacramēt.* As in the xxv. treatiſe vpon Iohn we finde thus written: Aliud eſt Sacramentũ, aliud virtꝰ Sacramēti. *The Sacramēt is one thyng, & the vertue of the Sacramēt, is an other thing.* And again: Si quis mād ucauerit ex ipſo, non moritur, ſed qui pertinet ad virtutē Sacramenti, non qui pertinet ad viſibile Sacramentum. &c. *If any man eate of hym hee dyeth not, but hee meaneth of him, vvhich doth appertaine to the vertue of the Sacrament, and not of him vvhich perteyneth to the viſible Sacrament.* And to declare what is *the vertue of the Sacrament,* that I counte to be *the truth of the Lord or of his body,* hee ſayth: Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui mādu cat in corde, non qui premit dente. *He vvhich eateth invvardly in ſpirite, not outvvardly: he that eateth in heart, and not he vvhiche chavveth vvith teeth.*

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So that fynally, *this truth of the Lord or his body,* which is diſperſed euery where abroad, is yͤ ſpiritual profite, fruit, ⁊ cōforte, that is opened, to be receyued euery where of all men by faythe in the verytye of the Lorde, that is to wytte, in the very and true promiſe or Teſtamente made to vs in the Lordes bodye that was crucified and ſuffered death for vs, and aroſe agayne aſcendyng immortall into heauē: where he ſitteth, that is, abideth on the ryght hande of his father, from thence not to returne vntyll the generall dome or iudgement. This bodyly abſence of our Sauiour is likewiſe clearely ſhewed in yͤ 50. treatiſe that he maketh vpon Iohn: where he doth expound this texte: *ye haue the poore alvvayes vvith you, but you ſhall not alvvayes haue me vvith you,* to my purpoſe, that therby I counte and holde myne opinion to bee rather Catholyke, then theyrs that holde the contrary. Finally, the ſame doth he confirme in his Sermons of the ſecond and thirde Feries of Eaſter, and in ſo many places beſides forth, as here can not be recited, the number of them is ſo paſſyng great.

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With hym conſenteth full plainly Fulgentius in his ſecond booke, to Traſimundus, writinge in this wiſe: Vnꝰ idemque homo localis ex homine, qui eſt Deus immenſus ex patre. Vnus idemque ſecundum humanam ſubſtantiam, abſens cœlo cum eſſet in terra. &c. *One and the ſame man beyng locall, in that hee is man vvhiche is God almyghtye of the Father. One and the ſame accordyng to humane ſubſtaunce beyng abſent from heauen vvhen hee vvas in the earth, and leauyng the earth vvhen hee aſcended vppe into heauen. But accordyng to his diuine and almyghty ſubſtance, neyther departing from heauē, vvhē he deſcended frō heauē, neyther leauyng the earth, vvhē he aſcended into heauen. The vvhich may vvell be knovven by the vndoubtfull ſaying of our Lorde hym ſelfe: VVhich that he myght the better ſhevv his humanitie occupying a place, ſayed vnto his Diſciples: I aſcende vp vnto my father and your father, vnto my God and your God. Alſo vvhen he had ſayd of Lazarus: Lazarus is dead, he adioyned ſaying: And I am glad for your ſakes, that you maye beleue, becauſe I vvas not there. But ſhevving the greatnes of his diuinitie, he ſayd to his Diſciples: Behold I am vvith you vnto the ende of the vvorld. For hovv did he aſcende into heauen: but becauſe he is locall and true man? And hovv is he preſent to his faythfull, but becauſe he is almightye and true God? &c.* In this maner doth he procede forth, ſpeaking much, ful agreably to my ſentēce, which is now ouerlong here to write. But what can be ſayd more playnly in ſo fewe wordes making for me?

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First he ſayth, that Chriſt beyng a man, is as concernyng his manhede, locall, that is to ſay, conteyned in one place. And to expreſſe that more clearelye, hee addeth to it, ſaying: *He is one and the ſame according to his humane ſubſtaunce, abſent from heauen vvhen he vvas in earth, and leauing the earth vvhen he aſcended into heauen.* Where as he hath a contrarye Antitheſis for the godly nature, to ſhewe forth the fyrſt point the more effectually. The Antitheſis is thus: *But according to his diuine & incomparable ſubſtaunce, neither leauing heauen vvhen he deſcended from heauen, neither forſaking the earth vvhen hee aſcended into heauen.* Wherby is alſo confirmed, that I ſayd: Chriſt did deſcende and aſcende, as touching his humanitye, but not in his Deitie, which is immutable and vnmoueable: as we may perceyue by that hee here doth call it, *almyghtie ſubſtaunce.* Furthermore, to ſhewe, that Chriſt (as touching hys humane and naturall body) is locall, and in one place: he alleageth, and that right iuſtly, ij. textes of ſcripture. The fyrſt is: *I aſcend to my father. &c.* And the ſecond is of Lazarus, *I am glad for your ſakes. &c.*

Chriſt in his humane ſubſtaunce is locall.

Antitheſis, that is to ſay, contrary poſitiō or relation.

Finally, he maketh this demaūd: *But hovv did he aſcēd into heauē, but becauſe he is a locall & very mā?* Wherby we may ſee, that by this ſentence, Chriſt could not aſcend, except he had ben locall, that is, cōteyned in one place, ⁊ ſo very man. And that is according to S. Auguſtine, writing as is aboue ſhewed: *And he ſhall ſo come (as the Aungell vvitneſſeth) euē as you haue ſeene hym going vp into heauen, that is to ſay, in the ſame forme and ſubſtaunce of hys fleſhe. According to this forme he is not ſpread abroad in euery place: for vve muſt bevvare that vve do not ſo eſteeme hys diuinitie, that vve therby do take avvay the veritie of his bodye.* So that they both do teſtifye, that Chriſt could not haue aſcended, except he had ben locall, that is to witte, conteyned in one place, ⁊ very man: and that if he were not locall, he coulde not be a man. Wherfore S. Auguſtine ſayth further, ad Dardanum: Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nuſquam erunt, & quia nuſquam erunt, nec erunt. That is to witte: *Take avvay localitie or occupying of place frō bodyes, & they ſhall be no vvhere: and for becauſe they ſhall be no vvhere, they ſhall haue no being at all.*

Auguſt.

We muſt not ſo defende Chriſtes diuinity, that we muſt deſtroy his humanitie.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

Bodyes can not be without limitation of place.

We therfore coueting to fynde Chriſte or hys naturall bodye, ſhould ſeeke for hym in heauen, where hys naturall manhede is ſittyng on the ryght hande of his father. So willeth vs. S. Ambroſe in the x. booke which he writeth vppon Luke, ſpeaking of Chriſtes humanitie aſſumpte, in this wiſe: Ergo non ſuprà terram, nec in terra, nec ſecundum carnem te quærere debemus, ſi volumus te inuenire. &c. *Therefore vve ought not to ſeeke thee vppon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the fleſhe, if vve vvill finde thee: for novv according to the fleſhe vve do not knovv Chriſt. Furthermore, Steuen did not ſeeke thee vpon the earth, vvhē that he did ſee thee ſtanding on the right hand of God the father. But Mary vvhich ſought thee vppon the earth, coulde not touch thee. Steuen touched thee becauſe he ſought thee in heauen. Steuen amongeſt the Ievves ſavve thee being abſent. &c.* Thus we muſt ſeeke for the naturall bodye of Chriſt, not vppon the earth, but in heauen, if we will not be deceyued. And that doth he more largely ſhew in the ſame treatiſe, ſpeaking thus of yͤ veritie of Chriſts body: Quomodo nō corpus quieſceret, in quo manebant inſignia vulnerum, veſtigia cicatricum, quæ dominus palpanda obtulit? &c. *Hovv could it come to paſſe that the body could not reſt in the ſepulcher, in vvhich the tokens of the vvoundes and ſcarres did appeare, vvhich the Lord him ſelfe dyd offer to be touched (in vvhich doing he did not onely ſtabliſh the faith, but alſo augmēted deuotiō)? Becauſe he vvould rather cary vp into heauē the vvoundes receaued for vs, & vvould not put them avvaye, that he might preſent to God the father, the price of our libertie. Such a one the father doth place at hys right hand, embracing the triumphe and victorye of our ſaluation. &c.*

Ambroſ. in Lucam.

Gregorye alſo in an Homelie of Pentecoſte, ſayth agreablye to the other, in theſe wordes: Quando non maneret apud eos, qui aſcenſurus cœlos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum omnibus diebus vſque ad conſummationem ſæculi? &c. *VVhen vvas it that he dyd not tarye vvith thē,*

Gregor. in homel. Pentec.

Which aſcendyng vppe into heauen, promiſeth, ſaying: Beholde I am here with you continually vntill the end of the worlde? But the worde incarnate taryeth and alſo goeth away. It departeth in bodye, and taryeth in diuinitie. And therefore he ſayth that he taried with them: euen he which was euer preſent with them by hys inuiſible power, & nowe departed by his corporall viſion. In like wiſe doth he teſtifie in the homely of Eaſter day.

Bede in hom. in cap. 16. Ioan.

With theſe doth Bede accorde in an homelie of Eaſter, in which he declareth this text, Ioh. 16. *A litle while, and ye ſhall not ſee me: And agayne, a litle while and ye ſhall ſee me.* And alſo in an homelie of the vigill of Pentecoſte. And who can otherwiſe ſaye or thinke, knowyng the Scripture and our beliefe, but that the naturall body of Chriſt is ſo aſſumpt into heauen all whole, that it muſt there abyde without returnyng, vntill the generall iudgement. Notwithſtandyng, ſeyng this is the chief poynt wherupon I ſeke to eſtabliſhe my ſentence in this matter of the holy Sacrament, that Chriſtes holy & naturall body is ſo aſſumpt into heauen, ẏ there it muſt remayne all whole without returnyng vntill the generall dome: I will yet with the permiſſiõ of your grace, adde one or two argumentes deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my ſentence to be faythfull and Catholicke.

¶Argumentes out of Scripture.

Chriſt in his mãhead not in many places at once.

Firſt, as Chriſt was encloſed and ſo borne about in the wombe of hys mother beyng a Virgine vndefyled, & after was borne into thys worlde, and put in a maunger, and ſo he growyng in age dyd abyde in diuerſe places, but in one after an other, ſometyme in Galyle, ſome tyme in Samaria, ſomtyme in Iury, ſometyme beyond, and ſometyme on this ſide of Iordane, and conſequentlye was crucified at Hieruſalem, there beyng encloſed and buryed in a graue, from whẽce he dyd aryſe, ſo that the Angels teſtified of him: *He is ryſen and is not here.* Math. 28. and as at ẏ tyme appoynted, after hys reſurrectiõ, he was aſſumpt or lyfted vp into heauẽ, from the top of the Mount of Oliuet, in the ſight of hys diſciples, a cloude compaſſyng hym about: Euen ſo ſhall he come from the ſame celeſtiall place corporally, as they did ſee hym to depart out of one place corporally, accordyng to the teſtimony of the Aungels, Act. 1. So that in this we may vndoubtedly finde that Chriſt, as touching his manhede, cã not be corporally in many and diuers places at once, and ſo to bee corporally in hys naturall body in heauen and alſo in the earth, & that it is moreouer, in ſo many partes of the world, as men haue affirmed.

Math. 28.

Act. 1.

The propertye of mans nature, not to be ſequeſtred frõ Chriſt.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we ſhould ſpoyle Chriſt of the propertie of mans nature, whiche is to be in one place, whõ the ſame Scripture doth perpetually witneſſe and teach to be man, and ſo to confounde the condition of hys bodily nature, with the nature Diuine. Paul doth teache that Chriſt in mãhede, was made in all poyntes lyke vnto vs hys brethren, ſynne excepted: how then can hys body bee in more places at once, vnlyke vnto the naturall propertie of the bodyes of vs hys brethrẽ? But here do ſome witty Philoſophers, yea, rather Sophiſters then Diuines, bryng in to ẏ anullyng of Chriſtes humanitie, a ſimilitude of mans ſoule whiche beyng one, is yet ſo all whole in all our whole body, that it is ſayd to be all whole in euery part of the body. But ſuch ſhould remẽber, ẏ it is no cõueniẽt ſimilitude which is made of thynges different and diuerſe in nature, ſuch as bee the ſoule and body of man, to proue them to haue like properties. This is as if they would proue Chriſtes body to bee of one nature and propertie with hys ſoule, and that thynges naturally corporall, were not moſt diuers from creatures naturally ſpirituall.

Thinges corporall and thinges ſpirituall, not to be compared.

Furthermore, if ſo it myght bee, that the body or fleſh of Chriſt, were merely ſpirituall, and full lyke vnto the ſubſtaunce of Aungels, yet could it not in thys wyſe folow, that hys body could be euery where, or in diuers places at once. Wherefore ſuch ſubtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture ſhould well lyke vs, by which ẏ old Doctors do define, that the body of Ieſu exalted or aſſumpt into heauẽ, muſt be locall, circumſcript, and in one place: notwithſtandyng that the veritie, ſpirituall grace, and frute that commeth of it, is diffuſed and ſpread abroad in all places, or euery where. How could Chriſt corporally depart out of this world, and leaue the earth, if he in the kyndes of bread and wine be, not onely corporally conteyned and receyued, but alſo there reſerued, kept, and encloſed? What other thyng els do theſe wordes teſtifye, Iohn. xiij. *But Ieſus knowing that hys houre was come that hee ſhoulde paſſe out of this worlde to hys father, &c.* And in lyke forme, Luke. 24. *And it came to paſſe that as hee bleſſed them, he departed from them, and was caryed vppe into heauẽ:* What do they ſignifie, if Chriſt went not verely out of thys world, hys naturall body beyng ſurely aſſumpt into heauen?

The body of Chriſt is locall and in one place.

Iohn. 13.

Luke. 24.

They do therfore vndoubtedly declare that Chriſt, beyng very God and very man, dyd verely departe out of this world in his natural body, his humanitie beynge aſſumpt into heauen, where it remayneth ſyttyng in glory with ẏ father: where as yet his Deitie did not leaue ẏ world, ne depart out frõ the earth. Paul doth ſay Philip. 2. that of ij. things he wyſt not which hee myght rather chooſe, that is to wyt, to abyde in ẏ fleſh for preachyng the Goſpell, or els to bee diſſolued from the fleſhe, ſeyng that to abyde with Chriſt is much and farre better. By the whiche Paul doth manifeſtly proue, that they be not preſently with Chriſt, whiche yet do abyde mortal in the fleſhe. Yet they be with Chriſt in ſuch wyſe, as the Scripture doth ſay that the beleuyng bee the temple of Chriſt. And as Paul doth ſay. 2. Cor. 13. *Doe you not knowe your ſelues that Ieſus Chriſt is in you?* In whiche ſenſe he alſo promiſed to bee with vs vnto the ende of the worlde. Chriſt therfore muſt be otherwiſe in that place, in which the Apoſtle deſired to be with hym, beyng diſſolued, and departed from his body, then he doth abyde eyther in the ſupper, or els in anye other places of the Churches. He therfore doth vndoubtedly meane heauen, whiche is the paradyſe of perfyte bliſſe and glorye: whereas Chriſt beyng a victour, triumpher, and conquerour ouer death, ſinne, and hell, and ouer all creatures, doth reigne and remayne corporally. Thus doe I truſt, that your grace doth ſee my ſentence, this farreforth to be right Catholyke, Chriſten, and faythfull, accordyng to holy ſcripture, to holy Fathers, and to the Articles of oure Chriſten beliefe. Which ſentence is thus: Chriſtes naturall bodye is ſo aſſumpt into heauen, where it ſitteth or remayneth in glory of the Father, that it cã no more come from thence, that is to wytte, from heauen returne, vntyll the ende of the worlde: and therfore can not the ſame naturall body, naturally be here in the world, or in the Sacrament: For then ſhould it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be ſtill remayninge in the worlde. It ſhoulde then be both to come, and already come, which is a contradiction, and variaunt from the nature of his manhede.

Phil. 1.

2. Cor. 13.

The ſecond part of this matter.

Now my ſentence in the ſeconde part of thys matter, is this (if ſo bee your grace ſhall pleaſe to knowe it, as I your poore & vnworthy, but full true ſubiect, would with all ſubmiſſion and inſtaunce beſech you to knowe it) I graunt the holy Sacrament to be the verye and naturall bodye of our Sauiour, and his very naturall bloud, and that the naturall bodye and bloud of our Sauiour, is in the Sacrament after a certayne wyſe, as after ſhall appeare. For ſo do the wordes of the ſupper teſtifye: *Take, eate, this is my body which is geuen for you.* And againe: *Drinke ye all of this, this is my bloude which is of the newe Teſtament, which is ſhedde for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes.* Of which wordes, ſeing in them dependeth a great trial and prouſe of this matter, and that for the interpretacion of them, is and hath bene all controuerſie of this matter, I therfore ſhall ſhewe the interpretacion, that holye Doctors haue made of thẽ, that as to me ſemeth, be full worthy credite.

Firſt, we fynde in the ſeconde booke of Tertullian which hee writeth againſt Marcion: Ipſe Chriſtus nec panem reprobauit, &c. *Chriſt did not reproue the bread, becauſe it doth repreſent his bodye.* This Marcion, agaynſt whom Tertullian doth thus write, dyd erromouſly reproue all creatures as euil. Which thing Tertullian doth improue by the Sacrament, ſayinge as is aboue written: *Chriſt dyd not reproue the bread, which repreſenteth hys body.* As who would ſay: If Chriſt had iudged the bread euill, then would he not haue left it for a ſigne or Sacrament to repreſent hys bleſſed bodye. Agreablye to the ſame doth he alſo ſaye in the fourth booke made agaynſt the ſayed Marcion, in theſe wordes: Chriſtus acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis, corpus ſuum illud fecit, &c. *Chriſt made that ſame bread which he tooke and diſtributed to his Diſciples, his body, ſaying: This is my bodye, that is to ſay, the figure of my body. But it could not haue bene a figure, vnleſſe it were the body of a verye true thinge in deede. Furthermore, a voyde thinge whiche is a phantaſie, coulde not receyue a figure or a forme.* This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Chriſt had no naturall body, but a bodye phantaſticall. Whiche errour or hereſie, this famous doctor Tertullian doth improue by the holy Sacrament, ſaying as afore is written, *that the Sacrament is a figure of Chriſtes bodye:* Ergo Chriſte had

This is my body, expounded.

had a very & true body. For a thing which is vaine and fantaſticall, can receyue no figure. So that in both places we may clearely perceiue hys interpretation of theſe wordes: *Thys is my bodye:* which interpretatiõ is not new but authentike or full aunciẽt, lyke as is the writer. And this interpretatiõ do I the rather allow, becauſe none of the old Doctours, which folowed hym, did euer improue hym therefore, but rather haue followed it, as appeareth by holy Auguſtine. In the Preface vppon the third Pſalme, doth the ſayd Auguſtine hyghly commend the wonderfull ſuffraunce of Chriſt, whiche ſo long dyd ſuffer and forbeare Iudas, as if hee had bene a good and an honeſt mã: where as notwithſtandyng he dyd know hys trayterous thoughtes, when he receyued hym to the feaſt or ſupper, in whiche he dyd commende and delyuer to hys Diſciples, the figure of his body and bloud. The wordes of Auſten in Latine, be theſe. In hiſtoria noui Teſtamenti, ipſa domini noſtri tanta & tam admiranda patiẽtia erat, quòd eum tandiu pertulit tanquam bonum. &c. *In the Story of the new Teſtamẽt, the pacience of our Lord was ſo great and ſo to be marueiled at, becauſe he ſuffered Iudas ſo long as a good man, when as he knewe hys thoughtes when hee receaued hym to the feaſt, in the which he did commend and deliuer the figure of his bodye and bloude to hys Diſciples.*

The pacience of Chriſt in ſuffering Iudas.

Auguſt.

The ſacrament a figure of the Lordes body.

The ſame holy Doctour alſo, writyng agaynſt Adamantius, ſayth thus: Non enim dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc eſt corpus meum, cùm daret ſignum corporis ſui. *For the Lorde did not doubt to ſay: This is my bodye, when he gaue a ſigne of his bodye.* And for a further declaration of the ſame Chap. he ſayth: Sic enim ſanguis eſt anima, quomodo petra erat Chriſtus? &c. *For the bloude is ſo the ſoule, as the rocke was Chriſt. Notwithſtanding hee doth not ſay that the rocke did ſignifie Chriſt: but he doth ſay that the rocke was Chriſt.* Expreſſely doth Auguſtine here call the ſigne of Chriſtes body, his body, playnly interpretyng theſe wordes: *Thys is my bodye,* as both he and Tertulian dyd before. Moreouer he taketh theſe three ſentences: *Thys is my bodye: the ſoule is the bloud:* and *Chriſt was the ſtone,* to bee of one phraſe, and to be lyke ſpeaches, or to be expoũded after one faſhion. And this text: *The rocke was Chriſt,* doth he cõmonly thus expound: *The rocke did ſignifie Chriſt,* as appeareth. lib. 18. de Ciuitate Dei. cap. 48. Alſo in the booke of queſtions vpon Geneſis, and in the booke of queſtions vpon Leuiticus, hãdelyng the xxviij. Chap. of Iohn: and in hys Sermon of the Annunciation of our Lady.

Auguſt. contra Adamantum.

The phraſe of Scripture.

Auguſt. de Ciuit. lib. 18. ca. 48.

Hierom. in 1. Cor. cap. 1.

In like manner alſo S. Hierome expoundeth it in the ſmall Scholies writtẽ vpon the firſt Chapter of the fyrſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and all other writers with one conſent, ſo farre as I can reade: and ſo doth the text require it to be expoũded. For Chriſt was not a naturall ſtone, as all men maye well perceyue, and yet was he the very true ſtone fyguratiuely, as Lyra ſayth: Solet res quæ ſignificat, nomine rei quam ſignificat, nominari. *The thing which ſignifieth is wonte to bee called by the name of the thing whiche it doth ſignifie?* And ſo is the ſtone ſignifying Chriſt, called Chriſt which therby is ſignifyed. And as he doth approue this texte: *The ſtone was Chriſt,* likewiſe doth he expounde: *The bloude is the ſoule,* with the which he doth knytte this texte: *Thys is my body,* to bee figuratiuely expounded, as they bee. According to this, doth the holy Doctour write, Pſalme. 50. Niſi quis manducauerit carnem meam, non videbit vitam æternam. &c. *Vnleſſe a man doe eate my fleſhe, hee ſhall not ſee eternall life. They vnderſtoode that very foliſhlye, and conceaued the ſame carnally, and thought that our Lorde woulde cutte away lumpes or peeces of hys bodye, and geue to them. And they ſayd: Thys is an harde ſaying. But they were hard of beliefe, and not the ſaying. For if they had not bene harde, but meeke, they would haue ſayd to them ſelues: He ſpeaketh not this without a cauſe, but becauſe there is ſome hidde ſacramẽt or myſterye therin. They ſhould haue aboden with him eaſie of beliefe & not hard, & then ſhould they haue learned of him that which other learned that taried, after they were gone away.* In this may we ſee, yͭ our Sauiour willeth his precious fleſh to be eatẽ. But for yͤ maner of eating, is & hath bene much controuerſie. The Iewes of Capernaum were offended with Chriſt, when he ſayde, he would haue hys fleſhe eaten: and except a mã ſhoulde eate his fleſhe, he coulde not come to lyfe eternall. They ſuppoſed groſſely, and vnderſtode hym (if a man myghte ſo playnely ſpeake it) butcherly, that hee woulde cut out lumpes and peeces out of his bodye, as the butcher doth out of dead beaſtes, and ſo geue it them to eate of, as Auguſtine doth here ſaye. And vpon this groſſe, or (as holye Auguſtine doth here call it) foliſhe and fleſhly vnderſtandyng, they were offended, and ſayed to hym: *This is a ſore or harde ſayinge.* They did ſhoote forth their bolte, and vnwiſe ſayinge ouer ſone, and were offended before they had cauſe. They toke that for harde and ſore, whiche ſhould haue ben paſſing pleaſaunt and profitable to thẽ, if they woulde haue heard the thynge declared throughly to the ende.

Lyranus.

This is my body, a figuratiue ſpeach.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 50.

The groſſe Capernaites.

And euen ſo now, that whiche in this matter may appeare at the firſt bluſh, a ſore, ſtraunge, and intollerable ſentence, for as much as we haue not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of long tyme bene beaten into our heades and perſuaded to our myndes, yet by deliberation and indifferẽt hearyng, and abydyng a triall of that which at the firſt may appeare ſore and intollerable, ſhall (I truſt) be foũd a ſweete truth, to ſuch ſpecially as your grace is, louyng to heare and to know all truth. But the Capernaites were hard, as here ſayth Auguſtine, and not the word. For if they had not bene harde, but ſoft and pacient to heare, they would haue ſayd in thẽ ſelues. Chriſt ſaith not this without a cauſe, & there is ſome hyd miſtery therin: and ſo by pacient taryaunce, they ſhould haue knowen the truth, that they could not attaine to for peruerſe haſtynes, or haſt, which is a great ſtoppe and let of true iudgement. But the Diſciples taried paciently, to heare farther, and ſo dyd they know this ſpeach of Chriſt to be the wordes of lyfe, that to the other, ouer readyly departyng from Chriſt, were wordes of death: For they tooke thẽ litterally and groſſely, and *the letter* (as Paule ſayth) *ſleyeth.*

Haſtynes a great hynderaunce of true iudgement.

2. Cor. 3.

But to ſhewe what the Diſciples, remaynyng with Chriſt, did learne, S. Auguſtine doth conſequently ſhew by the wordes of the Goſpell, ſaying thus: Ille autem inſtruxit eos, & ait illis. Spiritus eſt qui viuificat, caro nihil prodeſt. &c. *But he inſtructed them, and ſayd vnto them: The ſpirite is that which geueth life, the fleſhe profiteth nothing. The wordes that I haue ſpokẽ vnto you, are ſpirite and life. Vnderſtand you that which I haue ſpokẽ ſpiritually. You ſhall not eate thys body which you ſee: neither ſhall you drinke that ſame bloud which they ſhall ſheede forth that ſhall crucifie me. I haue ſet forth to you a certaine Sacrament or myſterye, which being ſpiritually vnderſtand, ſhall geue you life: and although it be requiſite that thys be celebrated viſiblye, yet it ought to be vnderſtand inuiſiblye.* In thys do we ſee, that both Chriſt and Auguſtine would haue Chriſtes words to be vnderſtãd ſpiritually and not carnally: figuratiuely, & not literally, and therefore doth he ſay: *You ſhall not eate this body which you ſee, neither ſhall you drinke that ſame bloud which they ſhall ſhede forth that ſhall crucifie me.* And what els is this, but yͭ Chriſt woulde his body to be eaten, & his bloud to be dronken? But he would not his body to be carnally eaten, which was materially ſene of them to whom he ſpake, nor his materiall or naturall bloud to be carnally dronken, which his crucifiers ſhould cauſe to iſſue from his naturall body crucified, as ſayth Auguſtine: but he ordained & willed his body and bloud to be ſpiritually eaten and dronkẽ in faith and beliefe, that his body was crucified for vs, & that his bloud was ſhed for the remiſſion of our ſinnes.

The wordes of the ſacrament are to be vnderſtand ſpiritually.

The body of Chriſt is not to be eaten carnally.

This eating and drincking is nothing but ſuche true fayth and beliefe, as is ſhewed. wherfore as Chriſt ſayth: *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath life euerlaſting:* euen ſo doth he ſay: *He that beleueth in me, hath life euerlaſting.* And S. Auguſtine agreably to the ſame, treating vppon Iohn, doth ſaye: At quid paras ventrem & dentem? Crede & manducaſti. &c. *Why dooſt thou prepare thy teeth and thy bellye? beleue and thou haſt eaten.* I doo knowe that Chriſt ordayneth hys Sacrament to be receyued and eaten, which is in a certayne wyſe, called hys bodye, as after ſhall be more largelye opened: but the ſame doth not feade the mynde of men, except it be taken ſpiritually and not corporally. Hebre. 13. *It is good to ſtabliſhe the hart with grace, and not with meate.* And S. Auguſtine aſſenting to the ſame, doth ſay in a Sermon, that he maketh vpon theſe wordes, in the Goſpell of Luke, *Lorde teach vs to praye.* Panem dixit, ſed epiouſion, hoc eſt superſubſtantialem. &c. *Hee ſayd bread, but ſuperſubſtantiall bread. This is not the bread, which goeth into the body: but that bread which doth ſatiſfye the ſubſtance of our ſoule.* Our ſoules therfore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, doth not carnally receyue the bodye and bloud of our Sauiour, neyther did he ordayne his bleſſed bodye and bloude ſo to be eaten and dronken. Although our ſoules cã not lyue, except they be ſpiritually fedde with the bleſſed body and bloud of hym, ſpiritually eating and drincking them, in taking alſo at tymes conuenient, the bleſſed Sacrament, which is truly called his bodye & bloud: Not that it is ſo really, but as is ſhewed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Auguſtine, becauſe it is a ſigne or figure of Chriſtes bodye and bloude. And the

Auguſt. in Ioan.

Auguſt. in Serm. de verbis Lucæ.

The Sacrament truly called the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Sacramentes take their denomation of the thinges which they repreſent.

Obiection aunſwered

ſignes or Sacramẽtes doth cõmōly, as ſayth Auguſtine, both Ad Bonifacium, & in his worke De Ciuitate Dei, take their denomination of the thinges by them repreſented and ſignified. But for as much as ſome will obiecte that Auguſtine in the word afore rehearſed doth not ſpeake of eatyng the Sacramẽt, for the text of the Scripture, vpon the whiche he doth grounde, is not ſpoken by eatyng the Sacrament, which text is this: *Vnleſſe a man eate my fleſhe. &c.* I aunſwere, that true it is, he began of ſpirituall eatyng, and thereto ſerueth the text recited. Neuertheleſſe he meaneth that Chriſt is not ordayned to bee eaten, either without the Sacrament or in the Sacrament, but ſpiritually of the faithfull: as more euidently doth appeare by theſe wordes there folowyng: Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendaui, quod ſpirirualiter intellectum viuificabit vos, &c. *I haue cõmended vnto you a Sacrament, which beyng vndeſtand of you ſpiritually, ſhall quycken you. Althoughe it were neceſſary, that the ſame ſhould be celebrated viſibly: yet notwithſtandyng it ought to be vnderſtand inuiſibly.* Here doth hee ſhewe, that he meaneth of eating, not without the Sacrament onely, but alſo in the Sacrament: And therefore hee doth not onely ſaye, *I haue commended to you a certaine Sacrament. &c.* but hee addeth moreouer: *Although it is requiſite the ſame to be celebrate viſibly.* How therfore can the eatyng of Chriſt, and the Sacrament therof, be viſibly celebrate, but in the Maūdy, or in his Supper? whiche is celebrate viſiblye in viſible thynges of bread and wyne: whiche can not quicken or releue vs and our ſoules, excepte they be vnderſtand and ſo receiued ſpiritually.

This is my body] expounded by *Auguſt.*

Auguſt. ad Bonifacium.

Furthermore, as concerninge the expoſition of theſe wordes of the ſupper: *This is my body. &c.* S. Auguſtine writing to Bonifacius, ſayeth thus: Sæpe ita loquimur, vt paſcha appropinquante, craſtinam vel perendinam Domini Paſsionem dicamus. &c. *We vſe oftẽtymes this maner of phraſe, that whẽ Eaſter doth approch, we name the day that cõmeth after, or the next day after that, the paſsion of the Lord, when as he notwithſtãding had ſuffred before that, many yeres: neyther that paſſion was done but once for all. So truely do we ſay vpon the Lordes daye: this day the Lord hath ryſen, when ſo many yeares are paſt ſince he roſe. Wherfore no man is ſo fonde, that he will reproue vs as lyers, for thys manner of ſpeaking, becauſe we call theſe dayes accordinge to the ſimilitude of thoſe, in whiche theſe thinges were done: ſo that it is called the ſame daye whiche is not the ſame, but by courſe of tyme of the yeare comming about, is lyke vnto it: and alſo becauſe that thing is ſayed to bee done that day, through the celebration of the Sacrament, whiche was not done that day, but long before that tyme. Was not Chriſt once offered vp in him ſelfe? And yet notwithſtandinge he is not onely offered vp in the Sacrament, in the ſolemne feaſtes of Eaſter, but euery day miſtically for the people. Neyther doth he make a lye, which beyng demaunded, aunſwereth, that Chriſte is offered vp. For if the Sacramentes had not a certayne ſimilitude of thoſe thinges whereof they are Sacramentes, then ſhoulde they bee no Sacramentes at all. By reaſon of this ſimilitude or likenes, Sacramentes often tymes do receyue the names of the ſelfeſame thinges, wherof they are Sacramentes.*

How the ſacrament of the body is the body of Chriſt, after a certaine maner.

Therfore, as after a certayne maner, the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, is the body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Chriſtes bloude, is the bloud of Chriſt: euen likewiſe the Sacrament of faith, is fayth. For to beleue is none other thinge, then to haue fayth. And by this it is aunſwered, that the very infantes haue faith, becauſe of the Sacrament of fayth, and cõuert thẽ ſelues vnto God, becanſe of the Sacrament of conuerſion: for the verye aunſwere it ſelfe doth appertayne vnto the celebration of the Sacrament: As the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of Baptſme. For hee ſayth: We are buried by Baptiſme, into death. He doth not ſay, we haue ſignified a buryng, but hee plainely ſayth, we are buryed. Therefore hee named the Sacrament of ſo weighty a matter or thinge by no other name, but by the verye name of the thinge it ſelfe. Nothinge can be more playnely ſpoken, nor more agreably to the naturall vnderſtandyng of the textes of the ſupper, and to the expoſicion afore ſhewed, of Tertullian and of hymſelfe. For ſeyng that Chriſt is bodyly in heauen, and ſo abſent from the earth, it is nedefull to knowe, howe the holye Sacrament, which he doth call his body and bloude, ſhould be hys body and bloud.

By Analogie of the ſcripture, ſpeaches muſt be expounded, one ſpeach by another.

This holy Doctor therfore Auguſtine, doth this matter manifeſtly & ſincerely declare by other lyke ſpeaches, and firſt by cõmon ſpeaches, & ſecondly by ſpeaches of ſcripture. The cõmon ſpeach is this: we do (ſayth he) vſe oftẽ to ſay, ỷ whẽ Eaſter doth approch to drawe nigh, to morow or ỷ next day, is ỷ Lordes Paſſion, where as he dyd ſuffer afore many yeares paſt, and that Paſſion was neuer but once done. The ſecond common ſpeache is: and of that Sonday we ſay, that this day the Lorde did riſe from death, where as ſo many yeares be yet paſt ſith the tyme he aroſe. wherfore to conclude, he ſaith: No man is ſo foliſhe, that he will reproue vs for ſo ſaying, or to ſaye that we haue lied for becauſe we do cal theſe daies after ỷ ſimilitude of thoſe, in which theſe thinges were done. So that it is called the ſame day, not for ỷ it is the ſelf ſame, but by reuolucion of tyme, like vnto it. And the reſurrection is ſayd to be done in the ſame day, through the celebratyng of the Sacramẽt of that which is not done that day, but long tyme afore paſte. The third ſpeach: was not Chriſt offered vp once for all in his own perſon? yet is he neuertheleſſe offered in the Sacrament myſtically for the people, not only euery yeare at the feaſt of Eaſter, but alſo euery day. Neither doth he lye, which whẽ he is demaunded, ſhal aūſwere, ỷ he is offered vp or ſacrificed. For if the Sacramentes had not a certeine ſimilitude of thoſe thinges, of which they be Sacramentes, thẽ ſhould they not be Sacramentes at all. By reaſon of whiche ſimilitude, they do for the moſt part, receiue ỷ denominatiō or name of thoſe thynges ſignified. And therfore after a certeine maner, ỷ Sacrament of Chriſtes body is ỷ body of Chriſt, & the Sacramẽt of Chriſtes bloud is ỷ bloud of Chriſt, & ſo alſo be the Sacramẽtes of fayth called fayth. This doth he yet proue by an other example of ſpeach, which is this: It is none other thyng to beleue, then to haue faith. And therfore whẽ aunſwere is made, ỷ the infantes haue fayth, whiche in dede haue it not in full working, it is aūſwered ỷ ſuch haue faith for the Sacrament of faith, & that thay do conuert thẽ ſelues vnto faith, for ỷ Sacramẽt of conuerſion. For the very aunſwere it ſelfe, doth perteyne to the celebration of the Sacrament. &c. Thus doth it ſufficiently appeare, that as we vſe truly to cal ỷ good Friday, or ỷ day of Chriſtes Paſſion, which is not in dede ỷ day of Chriſtes paſſion, but onely a memoriall therof once done for euer: and as we vſe to cal ỷ next Eaſter day, the day of Chriſtes reſurrection, not becauſe that Chriſt in the ſame day ſhall ariſe, but onely for a memoriall of his reſurrection once done for euer, and that of long tyme paſſed.

And Chriſt beyng offered vp once for all in his owne proper perſon, is yet ſayd to be offered vp, not onely euery yeare at Eaſter, but alſo euery day in the celebration of ỷ Sacrament, becauſe his oblatiō once for euer made, is thereby repreſented. Euen ſo (ſayth Auguſtine) is the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, the body of Chriſt, and the Sacramẽt of Chriſtes bloud, the bloud of Chriſt, in a certeine wiſe or faſhion. Not that the Sacrament is his naturall body or bloud in dede, but that it is a memoriall or repreſentation therof, as the dayes before ſhewed, bee of his very and naturall body crucified for vs, and of his precious bloud ſhed for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. And thus be the holy ſignes or Sacramentes truly called by the names of the very thynges in thẽ ſignified. But why ſo? For they (ſayth Auguſtine) haue a certeine ſimilitude of thoſe thynges wherof they be ſignes or Sacramentes, for els they ſhoulde be no Sacramentes at all: And therfore do they commonly, & for the moſt part, receiue the denomination of the thinges wherof they be Sacramẽtes.

So that we maye manifeſtlye perceyue that he calleth not the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but as he ſayed before. But yet he ſayth in a certein maner or wyſe: Not that the Sacrament abſolutely and playnely, is his naturall bodye or bloude. For this is a falſe argument of ſophiſtrie, which they call, ſecundū quid ad ſimpliciter, ỷ is to ſay, that ỷ ſacrament of Chriſtes body, is in a certein wiſe, the body of Chriſt. Ergo, it is alſo playnely and expreſſely the natural body of Chriſt. For ſuch an other reaſon might this be alſo: Chriſt is after a certeine maner, a Lyon, a Lambe, and a doore: Ergo Chriſt is a naturall Lyō and Lambe, or materiall doore. But the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, is therfore called his body and bloud, becauſe it is therof a memoriall, ſigne, ſacrament, token, and repreſentation, ſpent once for our redemption. whiche thyng is further expoūded by an other ſpeach, that he doth here cōſequently alledge of Baptiſme: Sicut de ipſo Baptiſmo Apoſtolus dicit. &c.

The Apoſtle (quoth Auguſtine) ſayth not, we haue ſignified burying, but hee ſayth vtterly, we bee buryed with Chriſt. For els ſhould all falſe Chriſtians be buryed with Chriſt from ſinne, whiche yet do lyue in all ſynne. And therfore ſayth Auguſtine immediatly thereupon, he called therfore the Sacramẽt of ſo great a thyng, by none other name, then of the thyng ſelfe. Thus (O moſt gracious and godly Prince) do I cõfeſſe and knowledge, that the bread of the Sacrament is truly Chriſtes body, and the wyne to be truly his bloud, accordyng to the wordes of the inſtitution of the ſame Sacramēt: but in a certein wiſe, that is to witte, figuratiuely, Sacramētally, or ſignificatiuely, accordyng the expoſition of the Doctours before recited and hereafter folowyng. And to this expoſition of the old Doctours, am I enforced, both by the Articles of my Crede, and alſo by the circumſtances of the ſayd Scripture, as after ſhall more largely appeare. But by the ſame can I not finde the naturall body of our Sauiour to be there naturally, but rather abſent, both from the Sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaynyng in heauen, where he by promiſe muſt abyde corporally vnto the end of the worlde.

guſt. tra ſtum.

The ſame holy Doctor, writing agaynſt one Fauſtus, ſayeth in lyke maner: Si Machabęos cum ingenti admiratione præferrimus, quia eſcas quibus nūc Chriſtiani licitè vtuntur, artingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptiſmo Chriſti, pro Euchariſtia Chriſti, pro ſigno Chriſti? &c. *If vve do preferre vvith great admiratiō the Machabees, becauſe they vvould not once touch the meates vvhich Chriſtian men novv lavvfullye vſe to eate of, for that it vvas not lavvfull for that time, thē beyng propheticall, that is, in the time of the olde Teſtament: hovv much rather novve ought a Chriſtian to be more ready to ſuffer all thinges for the Baptiſme of Chriſt, and for the Sacrament of thankes geuing, & for the ſigne of Chriſt, ſeing that thoſe of the old Teſtament vvere the promiſes of the thinges to be cōplet & fulfilled, & theſe Sacramentes in the nevv Teſtament are the tokens of thinges complete and finiſhed?* In this do I note, that according to the expoſitions before ſhewed, he calleth the Sacramēt of Baptiſme and the Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud, otherwiſe properlye named Euchariſtia, ſignum Chriſti, and that in the ſingular number, for as much as they both do ſignifye welnygh one thynge. In both thē is teſtifyed the death of our Sauiour. And moreouer he called them, Indicia rerum completarū: that is to witte, the tokens or benefytes ẏ we ſhall receyue by ẏ beliefe of Chriſt for vs crucifyed. And thē doth he call vſually both the Sacramentes, ſignū Chriſti, in the ſingular nomber. As the ſame S. Auguſtin in hys 50. treatiſe, vpon ẏ Goſpell of S. Iohn teacheth, where he ſaith thus: Si bonus es, ſi ad corp' Chriſti pertines, (quod ſignificat Petrus) habes Chriſtū, & in præſenti & in futuro. In præſenti per fidē. &c. *If thou be good, if thou pertayn to the body of Chriſt (vvhich this vvord,* Petrus, *doth ſignifie) then haſt thou Chriſt both here preſent & in tyme to come: Here preſent through fayth: here preſent by the ſigne and figure of Chriſt: here preſent by the Sacrament of Baptiſme: here preſent by the meate and drinke of the Altar. &c.*

he ſigne Chriſt.

guſt. in an. ct. 50.

More there was that Iohn Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much onely came to our handes.

❡ *The death of Robert Packington.*

obert ackin- n.

538.

AMonge other Actes and matters paſſed and done this preſent yeare, whiche is of the Lord. 1538. here is not to be ſilenced the vnworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, Mercer of London, wrought & cauſed by the enemies of Gods worde, and of all good procedings. The ſtory is this: The ſayd Robert Packington, beyng a man of ſubſtance, and dwelling in Chepeſide, vſed euery daye at. v. of the clocke, winter and ſommer to goe to prayer at a church then called S. Thomas of Acres, but nowe named Mercers Chappel. And one morning amongeſt all other, beinge a great myſtye morning, ſuche as hathe ſeldome béene ſene, euen as he was croſſing the ſtrete from his houſe to the church, he was ſodenly murthered with a gūne, which of the neyghbours was playnlye heard: and by a great nomber of labourers ſtandinge at Soper lane end, he was both ſéene go forthe of his houſe, and the clappe of the Gunne was heard, but the déede doer was a great while vneſpied and vnknowen. Althoughe many in ẏ meane time were ſuſpected, yet none coulde be foūd fautie therin. The murder ſo couertly was cōueyed, till at length, by the confeſſion of Doct. Incent Deane of Paules, in his death bed, it was knowen & by hym confeſſed that he hym ſelfe was the author therof, by hyering an Italian for lx. crownes or thereabout to do the feite. For the teſtimonie whereof, and alſo of the repentant wordes of the ſayd Incent, the names both of them which heard hym confeſſe it, and of them, whiche heard the witneſſes reporte it, remaine yet in memory, to be produced if néede required.

Doct In- nt Dean Poules, urderer Packin- n.

The cauſe why he was ſo litle fauored with ẏ Clergye, was this, for that he was knowen to bée a man of great courage, and one that could both ſpeake, and alſo would be heard: for at the ſame time, he was one of the Burgeſſes of the Parlament for the Citie of London, and had talked ſomewhat agaynſt the couetouſnes & crueltie of the Clergie, wherefore he was had in contempt with thē: & was thought alſo to haue ſome talke with the kyng, for the whiche he was the more had in diſdayne with them, and murdered by the ſayd Doct. Incent, for his labour, as hath bene aboue declared.

And thus much of Rob. Packyngton, whiche was the brother of Auſten Packyngton aboue mencioned, who deceaued Byſhop Tonſtall in bying the new trāſlated Teſtament of Tyndall. Whoſe pitious murder although it was priuy and ſoden, yet hath it ſo pleaſed the Lord not to kepe it in darkenes, but to bryng it at length, to light.

Read before pag. 1158.

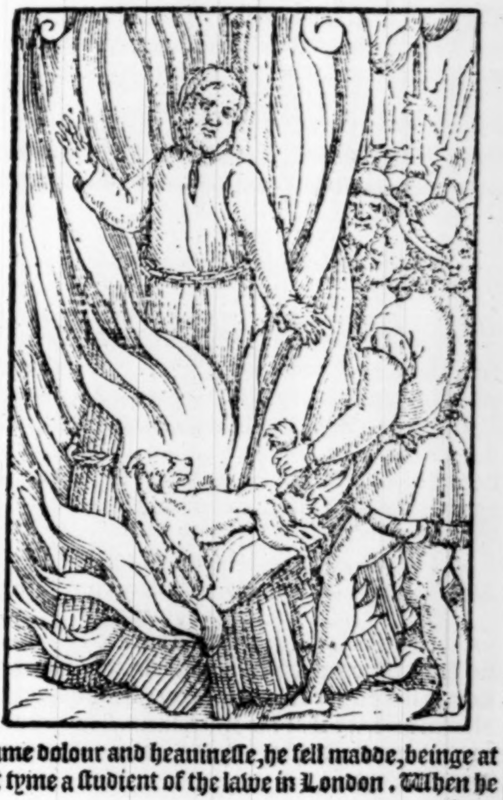
❡ *The burning of one Collins at London.*

NEither is here to be omitted the burninge of one Collins, ſometyme a Lawyer and a Gentleman, which ſuffered ẏ fier this yere alſo in Smithfield, An. 1538. Whom although I do not here recite, as in the number of Gods profeſſed Martyrs, yet neyther do I thinke him to be cleane ſequeſtered from the companye of the Lords ſaued flocke and familie, notwithſtanding that the Biſhop of Romes Churche dyd condempne and burne hym for an heretike: but rather do recounte hym therfore, as one belongyng to the holye cōpany of Sainctes. At leaſt wiſe this caſe of hym & of hys ende may be thought to be ſuche, as maye well reprone and condemne theyr crueltye and madnes, in burning ſo without all diſcretiō, this mā beyng madde and diſtracte of hys perfecte wyttes, as he then was, by this occaſion as here foloweth:

Collyns with hys dogge burned.

This Gentleman had a wife of exceadinge beautye and comelineſſe, but notwithſtanding of ſo lyght behauiour & vnchaſt condicions (nothing correſpondent to the grace of her beautye) that ſhée forſaking her huſband, whiche loued her entirely, betoke her ſelfe vnto an other paramoure. Which thinge when he vnderſtode, he tooke it verye greuouſlye and heauelye, more then reaſon would. At the laſt being ouercome with extreame dolour and heauineſſe, he fell madde, beinge at that tyme a ſtudient of the lawe in London. When he

was



was thus rauiſhed of hys wittes, by chaunce he came into a Churche where a Prieſt was ſayinge Maſſe, and was come to the place where they vſe to holde vp and ſhew the Sacrament. Collins being beſide his wittes, ſeyng the prieſt holding vp the hoſt ouer his head, and ſhewing it to the people, he in like manner conterfayting the prieſt, tooke vp a litle dogge by the legges, and helde him ouer hys head, ſhewing him vnto the people. For this he was by and by brought vnto examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dogge with hym, the ſame yeare of oure Lorde, in the which Iohn Lambert was burned. 1538.

Collyns burned for holding vp a dogge at Maſſe.

¶ *The burnyng of Cowbrige at Oxford. an.* 1538.

Cowbridge burnt at Oxford.

WIth this forſayed Collins maye alſo be adioyned the burning of Cowbridge: who likewiſe beynge madde, and beſide his ryght ſenſes, was eyther yͤ ſame, or next yeare folowyng, condemned by Longland, Biſhop of Lincolne, and committed to the fier by hym, to be burned at Oxford. What hys opinions and articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to reherſe. For as he was then a man madde, and deſtitute of ſenſe and reaſon, ſo hys woordes and ſayinges could not be ſound. Yea, rather what wiſe man would euer collecte articles agaynſt hym, which ſayd, he could not tell what? And if hys Articles were ſo horrible and madde, as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them: then was he in my iudgement, a man more fitte to be ſent to Bethlehem, then to be had to the fier in Smythfield to bee burned. For what reaſon is it to requyre reaſon of a creature madde or vnreaſonable, or to make hereſie, of the wordes of a ſenſeles mã not knowyng what he affirmeth? But this is the manner & propertie of this holy mother Church of Rome, that whatſoeuer commeth in their handes & Inquiſition, to the fire it muſt. There is no other way: neither pitie that will moue, nor excuſe that will ſerue, nor age that they will ſpare, nor any reſpect almoſt yͭ they cõſider: as by theſe ij. miſerable examples both of Collins, and Cowbridge, it may appeare. Who rather ſhould haue bene pitied, & al wayes cõuenient ſought, how to reduce the ſeely wretches into their right mindes again, according as the true paſtors of Iſraell be commaũded by the ſpirite of God, to ſeeke agayne the thynges that bee loſt, to bynd vp the things that be broken. &c. and not ſo extremely to bruſe the thynges that be bruſed before. But to ende with this matter of Cowbridge, what ſoeuer his madnes was before, or how ſoeuer erroneous his articles were (which for the fonde fantaſies of thẽ, I do not expreſſe) yet as touchyng hys ende, this is certeine, that in the myddeſt of the flame, hee liftyng vp his head to heauen, ſoberly and diſcretly called vpõ the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo departed.

Cope in hys Dialogues.

The right confeſſion of *Cowbridge*, at hys departing.

¶ *Willam Leyton, and Puttedew, Martyrs.*

Puttedew Martyred.

ABout the ſame time, and yeare, or not much before, when Iohn Lambert ſuffered at Londõ, there was one Puttedew alſo condẽned to the fire, about yͤ partes of Suffolke, who cõmyng into the Churche, and merely tellyng the Prieſt, that after he had drunke vp all the wyne alone, he afterward bleſſed the hongry people with the empty chalyce, was for the ſame immediatly apprehended, and ſhortly after burned, leauyng to vs an experiment, quàm parum ſit tutum ludere cũ ſanctis, as the old ſaying was then: but rather as we may ſee now, quàm male tutum ſit ludere cum impijs.

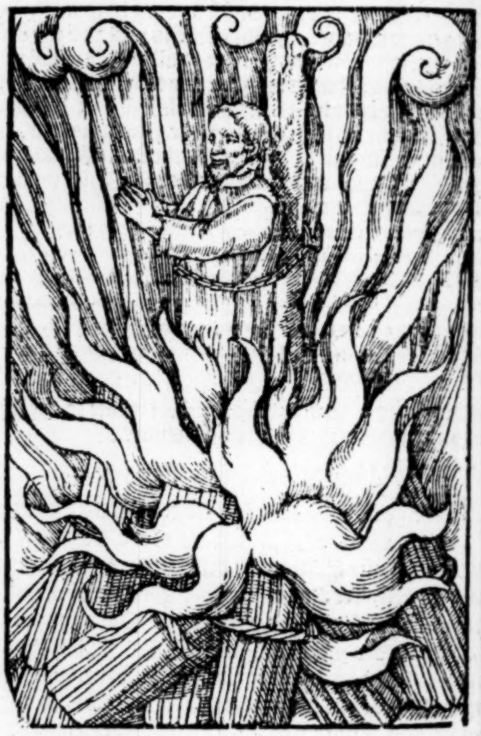
Prouer. Non eſt bonum ludere cum impijs.

The other, William Leyton, was a monke of Aye, in the coũtie of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwych, for ſpeakyng agaynſt a certein Idole, which was accuſtomed to be caryed about the proceſſions at Aye: and alſo for holdyng that the Sacramentall ſupper oughte to be adminiſtred in both kynds, about the yeare and tyme aforſayd.

W. Leyton, Martyr.

¶ *The burnyng of one Peke, at Ipſwich.*

IN the burnyng of an other Suffolke man, called N. Peke dwellyng ſometyme at Erleſtonham and burnt at Ipſwich ſomwhat before the burning of theſe aforeſayd, thus I finde it recorded and teſtified: that when as hee beyng faſt bound to a ſtake and firſe ſet on fire roũd about him, was ſo ſkorched, that he was as blacke as ſoote, one Doct. Redyng there ſtandyng before him, with Doctor Heire and Doctor Spryngwell, hauyng a longe white wande in his hande did knocke hym vppon the right ſhoulder and ſayd, Peke recante and beleue that the Sacrament of the aultar is the very body of Chriſt, fleſhe, bloud, & bone, after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration ouer it, and here haue I in my hãd to abſolue thee for thy miſbeliefe that hath ben in thee, hauing a ſcrole of paper in his hand. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, Peke aunſwered and ſayd, I defie it and thee alſo, and with a great violence he ſpit from him very bloud, which came by reaſon that hys vaynes brake in hys body for extreme anguiſhe. And whẽ the ſayd Peke had ſo ſpokẽ, then D. Redyng ſayd: to as many as ſhall caſt a ſticke to the burning of this hereticke, is graunted xl. daies of pardon by my Lord Biſhop of Norwich. Then Barne Curſon, Syr Iohn Audely knight, with many others of eſtimation, beyng there preſent, did riſe from their ſeates, and with their ſwordes did cut downe bowes and throwe them into the fire, and ſo did all the multitude of the people.



Witnes Iohn Ramſy and others, who did ſee this acte.

In the yeare laſt before this, whiche was of the Lord. 1537. it was declared, how Pope Paule yͤ 3. indicted a generall Coũcel to be holdẽ at Mantua. Wherunto the kyng of Englãd among other Princes beyng called, refuſed either to come or to ſend at yͤ Popes cal, and for deſẽſe of hym ſelfe, directed out a publicke Apologie or Proteſtation, renderyng iuſt and ſufficiẽt matter, why neither he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes commaundement. Whiche Proteſtation is before to be read, pag. 1234. This Councell appointed to begyn the. 23. day of May, the yeare aboueſayd, was then ſtopped by the Duke of Mantua, pretendyng that hee would ſuffer no Councell there, vnleſſe the Pope would fortifie the Citie with a ſufficient armie. &c. For whiche cauſe the Pope prorogued the ſayd Councell, to bee celebrate in the moneth of Nouember folowyng, appoyntyng at the firſt no certeine place. At length hee named and determined the Citie of Vincence (lying within the dominion of the Venetians) to bee the place for the Coũcell. Wherunto when the kyng (the yeare next folowyng, which is this preſent yeare of the Lord. 1538) was requeſted by yͤ Emperour & other ſtates, to reſorte either hym ſelfe, or els to ſend: he agayne refuſing (as he did before) ſendeth this Proteſtation, in way of defenſe and aunſwere for him ſelfe to the Emperour, and other Chriſtẽ Princes: the copy and effect wherof here vnder foloweth, and is this.

¶Henry the eight by the grace of God, kyng of Englãd and Fraũce. &c. ſaluteth the Emperour, Chriſten Princes, and all true Chriſten men, deſiryng peace and concorde amongeſt them.

WHere as not long ſithens, a booke came forth in our and all our Counſailes names, whiche conteyned many cauſes, why we refuſed the Councell, then by the Byſhop of Romes vſurped power firſt indicted at Mantua, to be kept the .xxiij. day of May, after prorogued to Nouember, no place appointed where it ſhould bee kept, and where as the ſame booke doth ſufficiently proue, yͭ our cauſe could take no hurt, neither with any thyng done or decreed in ſuch a company of addict men to one Sect, nor in any other Coũcel called by his vſurped power: we thinke it nothyng neceſſary, ſo oft to make new Proteſtations, as the Byſhop of Rome and his Courtes by ſubtiltie and craft, do inuent wayes to mocke the world, by newe pretenſed general Coũcels. Yet notwithſtandyng, becauſe that ſome thinges haue now occurred, either vppon occaſion giuen vs by chaũge of the place, or els through other conſideratiõs, whiche now beyng knowen to the world, may do much good, we thought we ſhould doe but euen as that loue enforceth vs, whiche we owe vnto Chriſtes fayth and Religiõ, to adde this Epiſtle. And yet we Proteſt, that we neither put forth that booke, neither yet we would this Epiſtle to bee ſet afore it, that thereby we ſhould ſeme leſſe to deſire a general Councell, then any other Prince or potentate, but rather to be more deſirous of it, ſo it were free for all partes, & vniuerſal. And further we deſire all good Princes, potentates, and people, to eſteeme and thinke, that no Prince woulde more willingly be preſent at ſuch a Coũcel, then we: ſuch a one, we meane, as we ſpeake of in our Proteſtation made concernyng the Councell of Mantua.

Truly as our forefathers inuẽted nothyng more holier then generall Coũcels, vſed as they ought to be, ſo there is almoſt nothyng, that may do more hurt to the Chriſtiã cõmon wealth, to yͤ faith, to our Religion, then generall Coũcels, if they be abuſed to luker, to gaynes, to the eſtabliſhement of errours. They bee called generall, and euen by their name do admoniſhe vs, that all Chriſten men, whiche do diſſent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without feare of puniſhemẽt or diſpleaſure, ſay their mynde. For ſeyng ſuch thinges as are decreed in generall Councels, touche egally all men that giue aſſent thereunto, it is meete that euery man may boldely ſay there, that he thinketh. And verely we ſuppoſe, that it ought not to bee called a generall Councell, where alonely thoſe men are heard, whiche are determined for euer, in all pointes, to defende the Popiſhe parte, and to arme them ſelues to fight in the Biſhop of Romes quarell, though it were againſt God and his Scriptures. It is no general Councell, neither it ought to be called generall, where the ſame men bee onely Aduocates and aduerſaries: the ſame accuſed, & iudges. No, it is agaynſt the law of nature, either that we ſhould condeſcende to ſo vnreſonable a law againſt our ſelues, either that we ſhoulde ſuffer our ſelues to bee lefte without all defence, and beyng oppreſſed with greateſt iniuries, to haue no refuge to ſuccour our ſelues at. The Byſhop of Rome and his, be our great enemyes, as we and all the world may well perceiue by his doynges. He deſireth nothyng more then our hurt, and the deſtruction of our realme: do not we then violate the iudgement of nature, if we giue hym power & authoritie to bee our Iudge? His pretẽded honour firſt gotten by ſuperſtition, after encreaſed by violence, and other wayes, as euill as that: his power ſet vp by pretenſe of Religion, in deede both agaynſt Religion, and alſo contrary to the worde of God: his primacie borne by the ignorancie of the world, nouriſhed by the ambition of Biſhops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falſely vnderſtand: theſe three things (we ſay) whiche are fallen with vs, and are lyke to fall in other realmes ſhortly, ſhal they not be eſtabliſhed again, if hee may decide our cauſe as him luſteth? if he may at his pleaſure oppreſſe a cauſe moſt rightuous, & ſet vp his, moſt agaynſt truth? Certainely he is very blynd, that ſeeth not, what ende we may looke for of our controuerſies, if ſuch our enemy may giue the ſentence.

Agaynſt all reaſon that he which is our accuſer ſhould alſo be our iudge.

The Popes honor firſt gotten by ſuperſtition borne by ignoraunce, nouriſhed by ambition, increaſed by violence, defended by falſe vnderſtanding and wraſting of ſcriptures.

We deſire, if it were in any wiſe poſſible, a Councell, where ſome hope may bee, that thoſe thinges ſhall bee reſtored, whiche nowe beyng deprauate, are like (if they bee not amended) to be the vtter ruine of Chriſten Religion. And as we do deſire ſuch a Councell, and thinke it meete, that all men in all theyr prayers, ſhould craue and deſire it of God: euen ſo we thinke it perteineth vnto our office, to prouide both that theſe Popiſh ſubtilties hurt none of our ſubiectes, and alſo to admoniſhe other Chriſten Princes, that the Byſhop of Rome may not by their conſent, abuſe the authoritie of kynges, either by the extinguiſhyng of the true preachyng of Scripture (that now begynneth to ſpryng, to grow, and ſpread abroad) either to the troublyng of Princes liberties, to the diminiſhyng of kings authorities, and to the great blemiſhe of their princely maieſtie. We doubt nothyng but a reader not partiall, will ſoone approue ſuch thinges as we here write, not ſo much for our excuſe, as that the world may perceiue both the ſondry deceites, craftes, and ſubtilties of the Papiſtes, and alſo, how much we deſire that controuerſies in Religion may once be taken away.

Prouiſion to be made agaynſt popiſh ſubtilties.

All that we ſayd there of Mantua, may here well bee ſpokẽ of Vincence. They do almoſt agree in al pointes. Neither it is lyke, that there will be any more at this Concell at Vincence, then were the laſt yeare at Mantua. Truly hee is worthy to bee deceiued, that beyng twiſe mocked, will not beware the thyrd tyme. If any this laſt yeare made forth toward Mantua, and beyng halfe on their way, then perceiued that they had taken vpon them that iourney in vayne, we do not thinke thẽ ſo fooliſhe, yͭ they will hereafter ryde farre out of town to be mocked. The tyme alſo, and the ſtate of thinges is ſuch, that matters of Religion may rather now bee brought farther in trouble (as other thinges are) then be commodiouſly intreated of, and decided. For where as, in maner, the whole world is after ſuch ſort troubled with warres, ſo incombred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh, can there be any man ſo agaynſt the ſetlyng of Religion, that hee will thinke this tyme mete for a generall Councell? Undoubtedly it is meete that ſuch controuerſies as we haue with the Byſhop of Rome, bee taken as they are, that is, much greater, then that they may either bee diſcuſſed in this ſo troubleſome a tyme, or els be committed vnto Proctours, without our great ieoperdie, albeit the tyme were neuer ſo quiete.

This Councell of *Mantua* which the Pope prorogued, he afterward transferred to Vincence.

This was the yeare. 1537.

This time vnmeete for a generall Councell, and why.

What other Princes will do, we can not tell: but we neither leaue our realme at this tyme, neither will we will truſt any Proctour with our cauſe, wherein the whole ſtay and wealth of our realme ſtandeth, but rather we will be at the handlyng therof our ſelfe. For except both an other iudge be agreed vpon for thoſe matters, and alſo a place more commodious bee prouided for the debatyng of our cauſes, albeit all other thinges were as we woulde haue them, yet may we lawfully refuſe

Neyther the iudge, nor the place conuenient for a generall Councell.

Read before pag. 1100. col. 2.

Spoken lyke a kyng.

Woulde God the kyng here had kept promiſe, when he made the 6. articles.

refuſe to come or ſende any to this pretended Counſel. We wyll in no caſe make hym our arbiter, which not many yeares paſt, our cauſe not heard, gaue ſentence agaynſt vs. We wyll that ſuch doctrine, as we folowing the ſcripture, doe profeſſe, bee rightly examined, diſcuſſed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchſtone of true learnynge. We will not ſuffer them to be abolyſhed, ere euer they be diſcuſſed, ne to be oppreſſed, before they be knowen: much leſſe we will ſuffer them to be troden downe being ſo clearely true. No, as there is no iote in ſcripture, but we wyll defende it, though it were with ieoperdie of our lyfe, and perill of thys our Realme: ſo is there nothing, that doth oppreſſe this doctrine, or obſcure it, but we wyll be at continuall warre therwith. As we haue abrogated all olde popiſhe traditions in this our realme, which eyther dyd helpe his tyrannye, or increaſe his pride: ſo if the grace of God forſake vs not, we wyll well foreſee, that no new naughtie traditions be made with our conſent, to bynde vs or our realme.

The Duke of *Mantua* denieth the Pope hys Citie for hys Councell.

If the Popes authoritie may be ſtopped by a Duke, what authoritie then hath he ouer kinges and Emperours?

Example that the Pope hath no power vpon places in other mens dominions.

If men wyll not bee willynglye blynde, they ſhall eaſilye ſee euen by a due and euident prouſe in reaſon, though grace doth not yet by the worde of Chriſt enter into them, howe ſmall the authoritye of the Byſhop of Rome is, by the lawfull denyall of the Duke of Mantua for the place. For if the Byſhop of Rome did earneſtlye intende to kepe a Councell at Mantua, and hath power by the law of God, to call princes to what place hym lyketh: why hath he not alſo authoritye, to chooſe what hym lyſteth? The byſhop choſe Mantua: the Duke kept hym out of it. If Paule the byſhope of Romes authoritie be ſo great as he pretendeth, why could not he compel Federicus, Duke of Mantua, that the Councell myght be kept there? The Duke woulde not ſuffer it. No, he forbadde hym hys towne. How chaunceth it, that here excommunications flye not abroade? Why doth he not puniſhe this Duke? Why is hys power, that was wonte to be more then fulle, here emptie? wonte to be more then all, here nothyng? Doth he not call men in vayne to a Councell, if they that come at his callyng, be excluded the place, to ẏ which he calleth them? May not kynges iuſtelye refuſe to come at hys call, when the Duke of Mantua may denye hym the place, that he chooſeth? If other Princes order hym as the Duke of Mantua hath done, what place ſhall be lefte hym, where he maye keepe hys generall Councell? Agayn, if Princes haue geuen him this authoritye to call a Councell, is it not neceſſarye, that they geue hym alſo all thoſe thyngs, without the which he can not exerciſe that hys power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him fynde no place to call them vnto? Truely he is not wonte to appoynte one of hys owne Cyties, a place to keepe the Councell in. No, the good man is ſo faythfull and frendly towarde other, that ſeldome he deſireth Princes to be his geſtes. And admit he ſhould call vs to one of hys Cityes, ſhould we ſafely walke within the walles of ſuch our enemyes towne? Were it meete for vs there to diſcuſſe controuerſies of Religion, or to keepe vs out of our enemyes trappes? meete to ſtudie for the defence of ſuch doctrine as we profeſſe, or rather howe we myght in ſuch a thronge of perylls be in ſauegarde of our lyfe? Well, in this one acte the Byſhop of Rome hath declared, that he hath none authoritye vpon places in other mennes dominions, and therfore if he promyſe a Councell in any of thoſe, he promiſeth that, that is in an other man to perfourme, and ſo may he deceyue vs agayne.

Dilemma agaynſt the Pope.

Vincence a citie vnder the dominiõ of the *Venetians*.

Now, if he call vs to one of his own townes, we be afraid to be at ſuch an hoſtes table. We ſay, better to riſe a hũgred then to go thence ẘ our bellies full. But they ſay, the place is found, we neede no more to ſeeke where ẏ Coũcel ſhall be kepte. As who ſayth, that, that chaunced at Mantua, maye not alſo chaunce at Vincence: and as thoughe it were very lyke, that the Venecians, men of ſuch wyſedome, ſhoulde not both foreſee, and feare alſo that the wyſe Duke of Mantua ſemed to feare. Certes, when we thynke vpon the ſtate that the Venetians be in now, it ſeemeth no verye lykely thing, that they will eyther leaue Vincence theyr Citye to ſo many nations, without ſome great garriſon of ſouldyers, or elles that they being elles where ſo ſore charged all redy, will nowe noriſhe an armye there. And if they would, doth not Paule hymſelfe graunt, that it ſhould bee an euyll preſident and an euyll example to haue an armed Councell? Howe ſoeuer it ſhall be, we moſt hartely deſire you, that ye will vouchſafe to read thoſe thinges that we wrote this laſt yeare, touchynge the Mantuan Councell. For we nothing doubte, but you, of youre equitye, will ſtande on our ſyde agaynſte their ſubtyltye and fraudes, and iudge (except we be deceyued) that we in this buſineſſe, neyther gaue ſo much to our affections, neyther without greate and moſte iuſte cauſes, refuſed theyr Councells, their Cenſures, and Decrees. Whether theſe our wrytynges pleaſe all menne, or no, we thinke we ought not to paſſe muche. No, if that, which indifferently is written of vs, maye pleaſe indifferent readers, our deſire is accompliſhed. The falſe and miſtaking of thinges by men parciall, ſhall moue vs nothinge, or elles very litle. If we haue ſayd ought agaynſt the deceyts of the Biſhop of Rome, that maye ſeme ſpoken to ſharpely, we praye you, impute it to the hatred we beare vnto vyces, and not to any euill wil that we beare him. No, that he and all his maye perceyue, that we are rather at ſtryfe with hys vyces, then with him and hys: our prayer is, that it may pleaſe God, at the laſte to open their eyes, to make ſofte their harde hartes, and that they once maye with vs (theyr owne glorie ſet aparte) ſtudy to ſet forth the euerlaſting glorie, of the euerlaſting God.

Thus mightye Emperour, fare you moſte hartelye well, and ye Chriſten Princes, the pillers and ſtaye of Chriſtendome, fare ye hartely well. Alſo all ye, what people ſo euer ye are, which do deſire, that the Goſpell and glory of Chriſt maye floriſhe, fare ye hartely well.

As the Lord of his goodnes had raſed vp Thomas Cromwell to bee a frende and patrone to the Goſpell: ſo on the contrary ſide Sathan (whiche is aduerſarye, an enemye to all good thynges) had hys organe alſo, whiche was Ste. Gardiner, by all wyles and ſubtile meanes to empeache and to put backe the ſame. Who after hee had brought his purpoſe to paſſe, in burnyng good Iohn Lãbert (as ye haue heard) proceding ſtill in his craftes and wyles, and thinking vnder the name of hereſies, Sectes, Anabaptiſtes, and Sacramentaries, to exterminate all good bookes, and faithfull profeſſours of Gods worde out of England, ſo wrought with the kyng, that the next yeare folowyng, whiche was of our Lord. 1539. he gaue out theſe Iniunctions, the copie and contẽtes wherof I thought here alſo not to be permitted, and are theſe.

¶ Certeine other Iniunctions ſet forth by the authoritie of the kyng agaynſt, Engliſhe bookes, Sectes, and Sacramentaries alſo with puttyng downe the day of Tho. Becket.

FIrſt, that none without ſpeciall licence of the kyng, tranſporte or bryng from outwarde parties into England, any manner of Engliſhe bookes, neyther yet ſell, geue, vtter, or publiſh any ſuch, vpon payne to forfaite all their goodes and cattels, and their bodyes to be impriſoned, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the kings maieſty.

Item, that none ſhall Print, or bryng ouer any Engliſh bookes with annotatiõs or Prologues, vnleſſe ſuch bookes before bee examined by the kynges preuy counſaile, or others appointed by his highnes, and yet not to put therto thoſe wordes: Cum priuilegio regali, without addyng ad imprimendum ſolum, neither yet to Print it, without the kynges priuiledge bee Printed therwith in the Engliſhe tonge, that all men may read it. Neither ſhall they Pꝛint any tranſlated booke without the plaine name of yͤ tranſlatoꝛ bee in it, oꝛ els the Pꝛinter to be made the tranſlatoꝛ, and to ſuffer the fine and puniſhment therof, at the kynges pleaſure.

Item, that none of the occupation of Pꝛintyng ſhall within the Realme, Pꝛinte, vtter, ſell, oꝛ cauſe to be publiſhed, any Engliſhe bookes of Scripture, vnleſſe the ſame bee firſt vewed, examined, and admitted by the kynges highneſſe, oꝛ one of his pꝛiuy Counſaile, oꝛ one Byſhop within the Realme, whoſe name ſhall therein be expꝛeſſed, vppon payne of the kynges moſt high diſpleaſure, yͤ loſſe of their goods and cattels, and pꝛiſonment, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the king.

Item, thoſe that be in any errours, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptiſtes, oꝛ any other, oꝛ any that ſell bookes hauyng ſuch opinions in them, beyng once knowen, both the bookes & ſuch perſons ſhalbe detected & diſcloſed immediatly vnto the kinges maieſtie, oꝛ one of hys pꝛiuy Counſaile, to the entent to haue it puniſhed without fauour, euen with the extremitie of the law.

Item, that none of the kinges ſubiectes ſhal reaſon, diſpute, oꝛ argue vpon the Sacrament of the altar, vppon paine of loſing their lyues, goods and cattels, without all fauour, onely thoſe excepted that bee learned in Diuinitie: they to haue their libertie in their ſcholes and appoynted places, accuſtomed foꝛ ſuch matters.

Item, that holy bꝛead and holy water, proceſſiō, knelyng, and crepyng on good Friday to the croſſe and Eaſter day, ſettyng vp of lightes befoꝛe the Corpus Chriſti, bearyng of Candels on Candlemas day, purificatiō of women deliuered of child, offering of Criſomes, kepyng of the iiij. offeryng dayes, paying their tithes, and ſuch lyke ceremonies muſt be obſerued and kept, till it ſhall pleaſe the kyng to chaunge oꝛ abꝛogate any of thē. This Article was made foꝛ that the people was not quieted and contented (many of them) with the Ceremonies then vſed.

Finally all thoſe Pꝛieſtes that be maryed, and openly knowen to haue their wiues, oꝛ that here after do intend to marry, ſhalbe depꝛiued of all ſpirituall pꝛomotion, and from doyng any duety of a Pꝛieſt, and ſhall haue no maner of office, dignitie, cure, pꝛiuiledge, pꝛofite oꝛ commoditie in any thyng appertaynyng to the Clergie, but from thence foꝛth ſhall be taken, had, and reputed as lay perſons, to all purpoſes and intentes: and thoſe that ſhall after this pꝛoclamation marry, ſhal runne in his graces indignation, and ſuffer puniſhmēt and impꝛiſonment at his graces will and pleaſure.

Item, he chargeth all Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Pꝛouoſtes, Perſons, Vicares, Curates and other Miniſters, and euery of them in theyꝛ owne perſons, within their cures diligently to pꝛeach, teache, open, and ſet foꝛth to yͤ people, the gloꝛy of God and truth of his woꝛde: and alſo cōſideryng the abuſes and ſuperſtitions that haue crepte into the hartes and ſtomackes of many by reaſon of their fonde ceremonyes, he chargeth them vpon payne of impꝛiſonment at his graces pleaſure, not onely to pꝛeach and teache the woꝛd of God accoꝛdinglye, but alſo ſincerely and purely, declaryng the difference betwene thynges commaunded by God, and the rites and Ceremonies in their Churche then vſed, leſt the people therby might grow into further ſuperſtition.

Item, foꝛ as much as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket ſomtime Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſtubburnlye withſtandyng the wholeſome lawes eſtabliſhed againſt the enoꝛmities of the cleargy, by the kinges highneſſe noble pꝛogenitoꝛ kyng Henry the ſecond, foꝛ the common wealth, reſt and tranquillitye of this realme, of his frowarde mynde fled the realme into Fraunce, and to the Biſhop of Rome maintayner of thoſe enoꝛmities, to pꝛocure the abꝛogation of the ſayd lawes (wherby aroſe much trouble in this ſaid realme) and that his death which they vntruelye called martyꝛdome, happened vpon a reſkue by him made, and that (as it is wꝛiten) he gaue oppꝛobꝛious woꝛdes to the gentlemē, which then counſeled him to leaue his ſtubberneſſe, and to auoyd the commotion of the pꝛople ryſen vp foꝛ that reſkue, and he not only called the one of them bawd, but alſo toke Tracie by the boſome, and violently ſhoke hym, and plucked hym in ſuche manner, that he had almooſte ouerthꝛown him to the pauement of the Church, ſo that vpō this fraye, one of theyꝛ companye perceyuing the ſame, ſtrake hym, and ſo in the thꝛong Becket was ſlayne: and further, that his canonization was made onely by the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe he had bene a champion to maintain his vſurped authoꝛity, and a bearer of the iniquitye of the clergye: Foꝛ theſe and foꝛ other greate and vꝛgent cauſes longe to recite, the kynges maieſtye by the aduiſe of his counſaile, hath thought expedient to declare to his louinge ſubiectes, that notwithſtanding the ſayd canonization, there appeareth nothing in his lyfe and exterioꝛ conuerſation, whereby he ſhould be called a Saincte, but rather eſtemed to haue beene a rebell and traytour to his Pꝛince. Therfoꝛe his grace ſtraitlye chargeth and commaundeth, that from henceforth the ſayd Thomas Becket ſhal not be eſtemed, named, reputed, and called a Saint, but Biſhop Becket, and that his images and Pictures thꝛough yͤ whole realme ſhalbe pluckt downe and auoyded out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the dayes vſed to be feſtiuall in his name, ſhall not be obſerued, noꝛ the ſeruice, office, Antiphons, Collectes, and pꝛayers in hys name read, but raſed and put out of all the bookes: and that all other feſtiuall dayes allready abrogated, ſhalbe in no wiſe ſolempnized, but his graces oꝛdinaunces and Iniunctions therupon obſerued, to the intent hys graces louinge ſubiectes ſhalbe no longer blyndly led & abuſed to commit Idolatry, as they haue done in times paſſed, vpon payne of his maieſties indignation, and impꝛiſonmente at his graces pleaſure.

Tho. Becket noted of ſtubberneſſe.

Tho. Becket a rebell, rather then a Saincte.

The canonization of Tho. Becket raſed.

Finallye, hys grace ſtraitlye chargeth and commaundeth, that his ſubiectes doo keepe and obſerue all and ſingular his Iniunctions made by his maieſtye, vpon the payne therin contayned.

¶ *Here followeth how religion began to goe backward..*

To many whiche be yet alyue, and can teſtifie theſe thinges, it is not vnknowen, how variably the ſtate of Religiō ſtode in theſe dayes: how hardly & with what difficultie it came foꝛth: what chaunces and chāges it ſuffered. Euen as the kyng was ruled and gaue eare ſometime to one, ſometime to an other, ſo one whyle it wēt foꝛward, at an other ſeaſon as much backwarde agayne, and ſometyme cleane altered and chāged foꝛ a ſeaſon, accoꝛdyng as they could pꝛeuaile which were about the kyng. So long as Queene Anne lyued, the Goſpell had indifferent ſucceſſe.

The variable changes and mutations of religion in K. Henryes dayes.

After that ſhe, by ſiniſter inſtigation of ſome about the kyng, was made away, the cauſe of the Goſpell began agayne to incline, but that the Loꝛd then ſtirred vp the Loꝛd Cromwell, opoꝛtunely to helpe in that behalfe. Who, no doubt, did much auayle foꝛ the increaſe of Gods true Religion, and much moꝛe had bꝛought to perfectiō, if the peſtilent aduerſaries, malignyng the pꝛoſperous gloꝛy of the Goſpell, by contrary pꝛactiſing had not craftely vndermined hym and ſupplanted hys vertuous pꝛocedinges. By the meanes of which aduerſaries it came to paſſe after the taking away of the ſayd Cromwell, that yͤ ſtate of Religion moꝛe and moꝛe decayed, duryng all yͤ reſidue of the reigne of K. Henry.

The courſe of the Goſpell interrupted by malicious enemies.

Among theſe aduerſaries aboue mencioned, the chief Captaine was Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wint. Who with his confederates and adherents, diſdayning at the ſtate of the L. Cromwell, and at yͤ late Mariage of the Ladye Anne of Cleue (who in the beginnyng of the yeare of our Loꝛd. 1540. was maryed to the kyng) as alſo greued partly at the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, & fearyng yͤ growyng of the Goſpell, ſought all occaſions, how to interrupte theſe happy begynnynges,

The mariage of Queene Anne of Cleue.

and to trayne yͤ kyng to their own purpoſe. Now what occaſion this wylye Wincheſter founde out to worke vpon, ye ſhall heare in order as foloweth.

The occaſions which *Wincheſter* dyd worke by.

This Lady *Anne* of *Cleue* was maryed to the king. an. 1540.

It happened the ſame tyme, that the Lord Cromwell for yͤ better eſtabliſhyng of ſyncere religion in this Realme, deuiſed a mariage for the kyng to be cōcluded betwene hym and the Lady Anne of Cleue, whoſe other ſiſter was already maryed vnto the Duke of Saxony. By this mariage it was ſuppoſed that a perpetuall league, amitie, and allye ſhould bee nouriſhed betwene this Realme and yͤ Princes of Germany, and ſo therby godly Religion might be made more ſtrong on both parties agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome and his tyrannicall Religion. But the deuil euer enuying the proſperitie of the Goſpel, layd a ſtumblyng blocke in that cleare way, for the kyng to ſtumble at. For when the parents of the noble Lady were commoned with all for the furtherance of the ſayd Mariage, amenge others of her frendes, whoſe good will was requyred, the Duke of Saxony her brother in law miſliked the Mariage, partly for yͭ he would haue had her beſtowed vpō ſome Prince of Germanye more nigh vnto her ſiſter, and partlye for other cauſes, whiche he thought reaſonable. Whereupon it folowed that the ſlackenes of the Duke in that behalfe beyng eſpyed, crafty Wincheſter takyng good holdfaſt theron, ſo alienated the kynges mynde from the amitie, that ſemed nowe to begyn and growe betwene the Duke and the kyng, that by the occaſion therof he brought the kyng at length cleane out of credite with that Religion and doctrine, whiche the Duke had then mainteyned many yeares before.

The king brought out of credit with the doctrine of the Germayne Princes.

The wicked counſell of *St. Gardiner*, & other about the kyng.

Thus wily Wincheſter with his crafty fetches partly vpon this occaſion aforeſaid, and partly alſo by other peſtilent perſuaſions crepyng into the kynges eares, ceaſed not to ſeeke all meanes how to worke his feate & to ouerthrow Religion, firſt bryngyng him in hatred with the Germane Princes, thē puttyng him in feare, of yͤ Emperour, of yͤ French kyng, of yͤ Pope, of yͤ king of Scottes, & other foreine powers to riſe agaynſt him, but eſpecially of Ciuill tumultes and cōmotions here within this realme (which aboue all thinges hee moſte dreaded) by reaſō of innouatiō of religiō & diſſoluing of Abbeys, and for aboliſhing of rites, & other cuſtomes of the Church, ſticking ſo faſt in yͤ mindes of yͤ people, yͭ it was to be feared, leſt their hartes were or woulde bee ſhortly ſtyrred vp agaynſt him, vnleſſe ſome ſpedye remedy were to yͤ contrary prouided: declaryng moreouer, what a daungerous matter in a common wealth it is to attempt new alterations of any thyng, but eſpecially of Religion. Which beyng ſo, he exhorted yͤ king, for his own ſafegard and publicke quiet and tranquilitie of his Realme, to ſee betime howe and by what policie theſe ſo manifold miſchiefes might be preuented. Agaynſt whiche no other way nor ſhifte coulde better be deuiſed, then if he would ſhew him ſelfe ſharpe and ſeuere agaynſt theſe new Sectaries, Anabaptiſtes, and Sacramentaries (as they called them) and would alſo ſet forth ſuch Articles, confirmyng the auncient and Catholicke fayth, as whereby he might recouer agayne his credence with Chriſten Princes, and whereby all the world beſides, might ſee and iudge him to be a right and a perfect Catholicke.

The king abuſed by wicked counſell.

By theſe, and ſuch lyke crafty ſuggeſtions, the kyng being to much ſeduced and abuſed, began to withdraw his defenſe from the reformation of true Religion, ſuppoſing therby to procure to him ſelfe more ſafetie both in his owne realme, and alſo to auoyde ſuch daungers, whiche otherwiſe might happē by other Princes, eſpecially ſeyng of late he had refuſed to come to yͤ generall Councel at Vincence, being therto inuited both by the Emperour, & other foreine potētates, as ye haue heard before. And therfore, although he had reiected the Pope out of his realme, yet becauſe hee would declare him ſelfe neuertheleſſe to be a good Catholicke ſonne of the mother Churche, and a withſtander of new innouations and hereſies (as the blynd opinion of the world did then eſteme them) firſt he ſtretched out his hand to the cōdemnyng & burnyng of Lambert, then after, he gaue out thoſe Iniunctiōs aboue prefixed: and now further, to encreaſe this opinion with all men, in the yeare next folowyng, whiche was of the Lord. 1540. through the deuiſe & practiſe of certeine of the Popes factors about him, he ſummoned a ſolemne Parlament to be holden at Weſtmynſter the 28. day of Aprill, of all the ſtates and Burgeſes of the Realme: Alſo a Synode or conuocation of all the Archbyſhops, Byſhops, and other learned of the Clergie of this Realme, to bee in lyke maner aſſembled.

¶ *The Acte of vj. Articles.*

In which Parlament, Synode or conuocation, certein Articles, matters, and queſtions, touching Religion, were decreed by certein Prelates, to yͤ nomber eſpecially of. vj. comonly called the. vj. Articles (or the whyp with vj. ſtrynges) to be had and receyued emonge the kynges ſubiectes, in pretenſe of vnitye. But what vnitye therof folowed, the groning hartes of a great number, and alſo the cruel death of diuers, both in the dayes of Kyng Henry, & of Queene Mary, can ſo wel declare, as I pray God, neuer the lyke be felte hereafter.

The doctrine of theſe wycked Articles in yͤ bloudye Acte conteyned, although it be worthye of no memorye amongeſt Chriſten men, but rather deſerueth to bee buried in perpetuall obliuion, yet for that the office of hiſtorye compelleth vs therunto, for the more lyght of poſterytye to come: faythfully, and truelye to compriſe thinges done in the Church, as wel one as an other, this ſhalbe briefly to recapitulate the ſumme and effecte of the forſayd vj. Articles, in order as they were geuen out, and here vnder do folowe:

The firſt Article.

THe fyrſt article, in this preſent Parlament accorded and agreed vpō, was this: that in the moſt bleſſed Sacramēt of the aulter, by the ſtrength and efficacy of Chriſtes mighty word (it being ſpokē by the prieſt) is preſent really, vnder the forme of bread and wyne, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte, conceyued of the virgin Marye, and that after the conſecratiō there remayneth no ſubſtaunce of bread or wine, or any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtaunce of Chriſt God and man.

¶ The. 2. Article.

Secondly, that the communion in both kinds, is not neceſſary ad ſalutem, *by the law of God to all perſons: and that it is to be beleued and not doubted of, but that in the fleſh, vnder fourme of bread, is the very bloud, and with the bloud, vnder fourme of wine, is the very fleſh, as well apart, as they were both together.*

The. 3. Article.

Thirdly, that Prieſts, after the order of prieſthoode receued, as afore, may not mary by the lawe of God.

¶ The, 4. Article.

Fourthly, that vowes of chaſtity or widowhead, by mā or woman made to God aduiſedly, ought to be obſerued by the lawe of God: and that it exempteth them frō other liberties of Chriſten people, which without that, they might enioye.

¶ The. 5. Article.

Fiftely, that it is mete and neceſſary, that priuate Maſſes bee continued and admitted in this Engliſhe Church and congregation, as wherby good Chriſten people, ordering them ſelfes accordingly, do receyue both godly and goodly conſolations and benefites: And it is agreable alſo to Gods lawe.

¶ The. 6. Article.

Sixtly, that auricular confeſſiō is expedient & neceſſarye to be reteyned, and continued, vſed and frequented in the Church of God.

After theſe Articles were thus concluded and conſented vpō, the Prelates of the Realme craftilie perceyuyng that ſuch a foule and violent acte coulde not take place or preuaill, vnleſſe ſtrait & bloudy penalties were ſet vpon them, they cauſed through theire accuſtomed practiſe, to be ordeyned and enacted by the king and the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons in the ſayd parliament, as foloweth.

❡ The penalties vpon the. 6. Articles.

That if any perſon or perſons within this Realme of England, or any other the kinges dominions, after the. xij. daye of July next comminge, by worde, writing, imprinting, ciphring, or any otherwiſe, ſhould publiſh, preach, teach, ſaye, affirme, declare, diſpute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, vnder fourme of bread and wine (after the conſecration therof) there is not preſent really, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte, conceyued of the virgin Mary, or that after the ſayd conſecration, there remayneth any ſubſtance of bread or wyne, or any other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of Chriſt, god and man: or after the time aboue ſayd, publiſh, preach, teach, ſay, affirme, declare, diſpute, argue, or holde opinion, that in the fleſh, vnder fourme of bread, is not the very bloud of Chriſt, or that with the bloud of Chriſt, vnder the fourme of wyne, is not the verye fleſhe of Chriſt, aſwell aparte, as though they were both together: or by any of the meanes aboue ſaid, or otherwiſe, preach, teach, declare, or affirme the ſayed Sacrament to be of other ſubſtance then is aboue ſayd, or by anye meane contemne, depraue, or diſpiſe ẏ ſayd bleſſed Sacrament: that then euery ſuch perſon, ſo offending, their ayders, comforters, conſaylers, conſenters, and abbetters therin (beyng therof conuicted in fourme vnder writtē, by ẏ authoritie aboue ſayd) ſhould be deemed and adiudged heretickes, and euery ſuch offence ſhould be adiudged manifeſt hereſye: and that euery ſuch offender and offenders, ſhould therfore haue and ſuffer iudgement, execuiton, payne & paynes of death, by way of burning, wout any abiuratiō, benefite of ẏ clergie, or Sanctuarye, to be therfore permitted, had, alowed, admitted or ſuffered: and alſo ſhould therfore forfaite & loſe to the kinges highnes, his heires and ſucceſſours, all his or their honours, manours, caſtelles, landes, tenements, rents, reuerſions, ſeruices, poſſeſſions, and all other his or their hereditamentes, goods, and cattel, termes & freholdes, what ſoeuer they were, which any ſuch offender or offenders ſhould haue at ẏ tyme of any ſuch offence or offences committed or done, or at any tyme after, as in any caſes of high treaſon.

❡ The penaltie of the laſt v. Articles.

And as touchyng ẏ other v. Articles folowyng, ẏ penaltie deuiſed for thē, was this: That euery ſuch perſon or perſons, which did preach, teache, obſtinately affirme, vphold, mainteine, or defend, after the 12. day of July, the ſayd yeare, any thing contrarie to the ſame, or if any being in orders, or after a vowe aduiſedly made, did mary, or make Mariage, or contract Matrimonie, in ſo doyng ſhould be adiudged as felons, and loſe both lyfe, and forfeite goods, as in caſe of felonie, without any benefite of the Clergie, or priuiledge of the church, or of Sanctuary. &c.

Item, that euery ſuch perſon or perſons, whiche after the day aforeſayd, by worde, writyng, printyng, cyphryng, or otherwiſe, did publiſhe, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the v. Articles aboue expreſſed, beyng for any ſuch offence duely conuict or atteinted, for the firſt time, beſides the forfeite of all his goods and cattell & poſſeſſions what ſo euer, ſhould ſuffer impriſonment of his body at the kynges pleaſure: and for the ſecond tyme, being accuſed, preſented, & therof conuict, ſhould ſuffer, as in caſe aforeſayd, of felonie.

Item, if any within order of prieſthode, before the tyme of the ſayd Parlament, had maryed or contracted Matrimonie, or vowed wydowhead, the ſayd Matrimonie, ſhould ſtand vtterly voyde and be diſſolued.

Item, that the ſame daunger ẏ belonged to Prieſts maryyng their wyues, ſhould alſo redound to ẏ wemen maryed vnto the Prieſtes.

Inquiſition vpon the vj. articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectuall executiō of the premiſſes, it was enacted by the ſayd Parlament, that full authoritie of Inquiſition of all ſuch hereſies, felonies, and cōtemptes, ſhould be committed and directed downe into euery ſhyre, to certeine perſons ſpecially therunto appointed: of the which perſons three at leaſt (prouided alwayes the Archbyſhop or Byſhop, or hys Chauncellour, or his Cōmiſſarie to be one) ſhould ſitte foure tymes, at leaſt, in the yeare, hauyng full power to take information and accuſation by the depoſitions of any two lawfull perſons at the leaſt, as well as by the othes of xij. men, to examine and inquire of all and ſingular the hereſies, felonies, and contemptes aboue remembred, hauing alſo as ample power to make proces agaynſt euery perſon or perſons indited, preſented, or accuſed before them: alſo to heare & determine the foreſaid hereſies, felonies, contemptes and other offences, as well as if the matter had bene preſented before the Juſtices of peace in their Seſſions: And alſo that ẏ ſaid Juſtices in their Seſſions, & euery ſteward or vnderſteward, or his deputy in their law dayes, ſhould haue power by the othes of xij. lawfull men, to enquire likewiſe of all & ſingular the hereſies, felonies, cōtemptes, and other offences, and to heare & determine the ſame, to all effectes of this preſent Acte. &c.

A bloudye inquiſition.

Prouided withall that no perſon or perſons therupon accuſed, indited, or preſented ſholud be admitted to chalēge any that ſhould be enpanelled for ẏ triall of any matter or cauſe, other thē for malice or enuie: Which chalenge ſhould forthwith be tried in lyke maner, as in caſes of felonie. &c.

Prouided moreouer that euery perſon that ſhould be named Commiſſioner in this Inquiſition, ſhould firſt take a corporall othe: the tenour of which othe here enſueth.

❡ The othe of the Commiſſioners.

YE ſhall ſweare, that ye to your cunnyng, wytte and power, ſhall truly & indifferently execute the authoritie to you giuen by the kynges Commiſſion, made for correction of heretickes and other offenders, mentioned in the ſame Commiſſion, without any fauour, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any perſon or perſons, as God you helpe, and all Saintes.

The othe geuen to the Cōmiſſioners to enquire vpō true Chriſtians.

And thus much briefly collected out the Acte and Originals, whiche more largely are to be ſene in the Statute. an. 31. Reg. Henr. 8. concernyng the ſixe Articles, which otherwiſe for the bloudy crueltie therof, are called the whyppe with ſixe ſtrynges, ſet forth after the death of Queene Anne, and of good John Lambert, deuiſed by the crueltie of the Byſheps, but ſpecially of the Byſhop of Wint. and at length alſo ſubſcribed by kyng Henry. But herein, as in many other partes mo, the craftie policie of that Byſhop appeared, who lyke a lurkyng Serpent, moſt ſlylye watchyng his time, if hee had not taken ẏ kyng cōmyng out vpon a ſodein, there where it was (J ſpare here to reporte as J heard it) it was thought, and affirmed by certeine, whiche then were perteining to ẏ king, that Wincheſter had not obteined the matter ſo eaſely to be ſubſcribed, as he did.

Statut. an. 31. Reg. Henr. 8.

These ſixe Articles aboue ſpecified, althoughe they conteined manifeſt errours, hereſies, and abſurdities agaynſt all Scripture and learnyng, (as all mē hauing any iudgement in Gods worde may playnly vnderſtand) yet ſuch was the miſerable aduerſitie of that tyme, and the power of darkenes, that the ſimple cauſe of truth and of Religion, was vtterly left deſolate and forſaken of all frēdes. For euery man ſeing the kinges minde ſo fully addicte vpon politicke reſpectes, to haue theſe Articles to paſſe forward, few or none in all that Parlament would appeare, whiche either could perceiue that was to bee defended, or durſt defende that they vnderſtode to be true: ſaue onely Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury, who then beyng maryed (as is ſuppoſed) lyke a conſtant patron of Gods cauſe, tooke

Truth in daūger, lefte deſolate.

Cranmer ſtoode openly in the Parlament agaynſt the vj. articles.

vpon hym the earneſt defenſe of the truth oppreſſed in that Parlamēt, thrée dayes together diſputyng agaynſt thoſe ſixe wicked Articles, bryngyng forth ſuch allegations and authorities, as might eaſely haue helped the cauſe, niſi pars maior viciſſet, vt ſæpe ſolet, meliorē. Who in ẏ ſayd diſputation behaued hym ſelf with ſuch humble modeſtie, and with ſuch obedience in wordes toward hys Prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but the cauſe of almightye God, that neither his enterpriſe was miſliked of the kyng, and agayne, his reaſons and allegations were ſo ſtrong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherfore the king (who euer bare ſpeciall fauour vnto hym) well lykyng his zelous defenſe, only willed hym to depart out of the Parlament houſe, into the counſaile chamber, for a time (for ſauegarde of his conſcience) till the Acte ſhould paſſe and bée graunted: whiche he notwithſtandyng, with humble proteſtation refuſed to doe.

Cranmer willed to depart out of the Parlament houſe for hys conſcience.

Cranmer refuſed to go out of the Parlament for matter againſt his conſcience.

After the Parlament was finiſhed, and that matter concluded, the kyng conſideryng the conſtant zeale of the Archbiſhop in defenſe of his cauſe, and partly alſo weying the many authorities and reaſons, whereby he had ſubſtantially confirmed the ſame, ſent the Lord Cromwell, (which within few dayes after was apprehēded) the ij. Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, and all the Lordes of the Parlament, to dyne with hym at Lambeth, where they ſignified to hym that it was the kynges pleaſure, that they all ſhould in his highnes behalfe, cheriſhe, comforte and animate hym, as one, that for his trauaile in that Parlamēt had declared him ſelfe both greatly learned, and alſo a man diſcrete and wiſe: and therfore they willed hym not to bee diſcouraged in any thyng that was paſſed in that Parlament contrary to his allegations. He moſt humble thanked firſt the kynges highnes, of his ſingular good affectiō towardes him, and them all for their paynes, addyng moreouer that he ſo hoped in God, that hereafter hys allegations and authorities ſhould take place to the glory of God, and cōmoditie of the Realme. Whiche allegations and authorities of his, I wyſhe were amongeſt vs extant to be ſene & read. No doubt but they would ſtand in tyme to come, in great good ſteade, for the ouerthrowe of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforeſayd.

Cranmer comforted agayne by the kyng.

¶ *Allegations agaynſt the vj. Articles.*

Allegations agaynſt the vj. Articles.

IN the meane while, for ſomuch as the ſayd hereticall articles are not ſo lightly to be paſſed ouer, wherby the rude and ignoraunt multitude hereafter may be deceaued in the falſe and erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they haue bene in tyme paſt, for lacke of right inſtruction, and experience of the auncient ſtate & courſe of tymes in our forelders daies: I thought therfore (the Lord therunto aſſiſtyng) ſo much as antiquitie of ſtories may helpe to ẏ reſtoryng agayne of truth and doctrine decayed, to annexe hereunto ſome allegatiōs, out of auncient recordes, whiche may giue ſome light to the conuincing of theſe newfangled Articles and hereſies aboue touched.

And firſt, as touching the Article of tranſubſtantiation, wherin this parlament doth enacte that the Sacrament of the Altar is the verye naturall body of Chriſt, the ſelfe ſame which was borne of the virgin Mary: and that in ſuch ſorte, as there remaineth no ſubſtance of breade and wyne, after the Prieſtes conſecration, but onely the body and bloud of Chriſt, vnder the outward formes of bread and wyne: fyrſte here is to be noted, ẏ this monſtrous article of theirs, in that forme of wordes as it ſtandeth, was neuer obtruded, receaued, or holden, either in the Greke church, or in the Latin church vniuerſallye, for a Catholike, that is, for a generall opinion, or article of doctrine, before the tyme of the Lateran Councell at Rome, vnder Pope Innocent the. 3. an. 1216.

The article of tranſubſtantiation.

And for ſo much as it hath bene a common perſuaſion amongeſt the moſt ſort of people, that this Article in the forme of wordes as here ſtandeth, is and hath bene euer ſince Chriſtes tyme, a true, Catholike, and generall doctrine, commonlye receaued and taught in the Church, being approued by the ſcriptures, and doctors, and conſent of all ages vnto thys preſent tyme: to the entent therefore, that the cōtrary may appeare, and the people may ſee, how farre they haue ben herin begyled: we will here (Chriſt willing) make a little ſtay in our ſtory, and examine this forſayd Article, by true antiquitie, and courſe of hiſtoryes, to trye whether yt be a doctrine old, or new.

Now therfore, for the better diſcuſſyng of the matter, let vs fyrſt orderly and diſtinctly aduiſe the words of the Article: the contentes of whiche Article conſiſte in. ij. partes or membres. In the firſt wherof, is noted to vs a preſence of a thinge whiche there was not before. In the ſecond is noted a priuation or abſence of a thing which there before was preſent.

The preſence is noted by theſe wordes, of the article, where is ſayd, that in the bleſſed Sacrament, by the words pronunced, is preſent the natural body and bloud of our Sauiour, vnder the formes of bread and wyne: ſo that in theſe wordes, both the ſacrament, and the naturall bodye is imported neceſſarely to be preſent. For els, how can the naturall body of Chriſte be preſent in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wyne, if the Sacrament there were not preſent it ſelf? or how cā a thing be ſayd to be in that, which is not there? Wherfore, by theſe wordes, both the Sacrament, and alſo the bodye muſt neceſſarilye haue their beyng and preſence, the one beynge in the other. And this preſence both of the Sacrament, and of the body, beyng ryghtly taken, may ryght well ſtand together, the Sacrament to the outwarde eyes and mouth of man, the bodye of Chriſt, to the inward eyes of fayth and mouth of the ſoule.

And therfore, touchinge theſe prepoſitions in thys Article, (In) and (Vnder) if queſtion be aſked in what is the body of Chriſte? it may be well aunſwered, in the Sacrament, to the eyes of our fayth, lyke as the outward ſacrament is alſo preſent to the outward eyes of the body. Agayne, if the queſtion be aſked, vnder what is the body of Chriſte? it may be well aunſwered, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, ſo as the Doctors do take the formes, to meane the outward elementes and natures of the Sacrament, and not the accidences.

And thus, to the firſt part of the Article beyng well expounded, we do aſſent, and confeſſe the ſame to haue ben the true Catholicke opinion approued by the auncient Doctours, and cōſent of all tymes, euen from the firſt inſtitution of this Sacrament.

But as cōcernyng the ſecond member or part of the Article, whiche taketh away all preſence and ſubſtance of bread from the Sacrament: to that we ſay, that firſt it ſtandeth not with their own Article. Secondly, that it ſtandeth not with the doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it ſtandeth not with antiquitie, but is merely a late inuention.

And firſt, that it agréeth not with their own Article, it is manifeſt. For where as in the former part of their Article, they ſay that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in ẏ bleſſed Sacramēt, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, how can the naturall body of Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament, if there remaine no Sacramēt? or how can any Sacramēt of the body remaine, if there remaine no ſubſtance of bread which ſhould make ẏ ſacrament? For how cā ẏ body of Chriſt be in that thing, which is not? or how can ẏ Sacrament of ẏ body haue any beyng, where the ſubſtāce of bread hath no beyng?

For firſt, that the body it ſelfe can not be the Sacrament of the body, it is euident of it ſelfe.

Secondly, that the accidences of bread without the ſubſtāce of bread, can not be any Sacramēt of Chriſtes body, certeine it is ⁊ demonſtrable by this Argument.

¶Argumentũ a definitione.

Ca- *A ſacramẽt is, that beareth a ſimilitude of that thing,*
wherof it is a Sacrament.
meſt- *Accidences beare no ſimilitude of that thing, which*
is there ſignified:
res. Ergo, *Accidences can in no wiſe be a Sacrament.*

Wherfore vpon this argument beyng thus concluded, vpon the ſame this alſo muſt nedes folow.

¶Argument.

Da- *In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, the thyng that*
reprenſenteth muſt needes beare a ſimilitude of the
thing repreſented:
ri- *The ſubſtance of bread in the Sacramẽt, is only that,*
whiche beareth the ſimilitude of Chriſtes body:
j. Ergo, *the ſubſtaunce of bread, muſt nedes be in the*
Sacrament.

And therfore by this demonſtration, it is apparant, that theſe ij. partes in the Article aforſayd, are euill couched together, wherof the one muſt nedes deſtroy the other. For if the firſt part of the Article be true, that the natural body of Chriſt is preſent in ẏ ſacramẽt, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, ⁊ ſeyng the Sacrament wherein the body of Chriſt is preſent, muſt néedes bée the ſubſtance of bread, and not the accidences onely of bread, as is aboue proued, then the ſubſtance of bread can not be euacuated from the Sacrament, and ſo the ſecond member of the Article muſt nedes be falſe.

Or if the ſecond parte bee true, that there is no ſubſtance of bread remainyng, and ſeyng there is nothyng els to make the Sacramẽt of ẏ naturall body of Chriſt, but onely the ſubſtance of bread, for as much as the accidences of bread can make no Sacrament of Chriſtes body, as is aboue ſhewed: then takyng awaye the ſubſtance of bread, the firſt part of the Article muſt nedes be falſe, which ſayth that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, for as much as the ſubſtãce of bread beyng euacuated, there remaineth no Sacramẽt, wherein the body of Chriſt ſhould be preſent.

2. Secondlye, that it diſagréeth from the whole order and courſe of the Scriptures, it is ſufficiently explaned before, in the treatiſe of Iohn Lambert, vpon the Sacrament, pag. 1285. as alſo in other ſondry places in this volume beſides.

3. Thirdly, that the ſayd Article of tranſubſtantiatiõ is no auncient nor authentike doctrine in the Churche publickly receaued, but rather is a noueltie lately inuẽted, reaching not much aboue ẏ age of 3. or 4. hũdreth yeares, or at moſt aboue the tyme of Lanckfrancus, an. 1070. it remaineth now to be proued.

Wherin firſt may be ioyned this iſſue, that this monſtrous paradoxe of tranſubſtantiation was neuer induced or receaued publickly in the Churche, before the tyme of ẏ Lateran Cõucell, vnder Pope Innocentius the thyrd. an. 1216. or at moſt, before the tyme of Lancfrancus, the Italian, Archb. of Cant. an. 1070.

In whiche tyme of Lancfrancus, I denye not, but that this queſtion of tranſubſtantiation began to come in controuerſie, and was reaſoned vpõ, amongeſt certeine learned of the Clergie. But that this Article of tranſubſtantiation was publickely determined, or preſcribed in the Churche for a generall law or Catholicke doctrine, of al men neceſſarely to be beleued, before the tyme of the foreſayd Innocentius ẏ 3. it may be doubted, and alſo by hiſtories of tyme proued to be falſe.

And though our aduerſaries ſeame to alledge out of the old Doctours certein ſpeaches and phraſes, which they wraſt and wryng to their purpoſes: wherein they ſay, *that the bread is called, is beleued, and is the body of Chriſt: that of bread is made the body of Chriſt: that the bread is chaũged, altered, or conuerted to the body of Chriſt, or is made to be his body: that the creatures be conuerted in to the ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of Chriſt: that the bread and wyne do paſſe into the diuine ſubſtãce*, with ſuch other like ſentences: and beare them ſelues bragge vpon the ſame, as thoughe this doctrine of tranſubſtantiation ſtode vppon the conſent of the whole vniuerſall Churche, of all ages and tymes, of nations and people, ⁊ that the iudgement of the Churche was neuer other then this: ⁊ yet if ẏ old Doctors ſayings be well weyed, ⁊ the diſcourſe of times by hiſtorie wel examined, it wil be found ẏ this prodigious opinion of tranſubſtãtiatiõ hath no ſuch ground of cõſent ⁊ antiquitie as they imagine: nor yet that any hereſie or treaſon was made of denying of tranſubſtãtiation, before the tyme of Innocentius, the 3. or at ẏ furtheſt, of Lancfrancus, as is aforeſayd: about the whiche tyme Sathan the old Dragon was propheſied by the Apocalyps to be let loſe, to ſeduce the world.

The Papiſtes falſely pretend antiquitie for their tranſubſtantiation.

For probation wherof, fyrſt I will begynne with the tyme of Tertullian, and of Auguſtine, which both do teache the Sacrament to be a figure, a ſigne, a memoriall, and repreſentation of the Lordes bodye, and knewe no ſuche tranſubſtantiation: and yet were no traytors nor heretickes.

Doctours agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Tertullian.

Auguſt.

Neyther was S. Ambroſe any hereticke or traytor, where he writeth theſe wordes: Vt ſint, quę erant, & in aliud conuertantur. &c. Which wordes Lancfrancus could not aunſwere vnto any other wiſe, but by denying them to be the wordes of Ambroſe.

Ambroſe.
¶ *An.* 40[illegible]

Gelaſius was Biſhop of Rome, and lyued about 500. yeres after Chriſt, and ſpeaketh of a tranſmutation of the bread and wyne into the diuine nature, but there expounding hymſelf, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, ſo ẏ he expreſſely ſheweth ẏ elementes of bread and wyne, notwithſtandinge to remaine ſtill in their proper nature, with other wordes moe very playne, to the ſame effecte: vnto the which wordes Contarenus in the aſſemble of Ratiſbone, could not well aunſwere, but ſtoode aſtonied.

Gelaſius lib. contra Eutichen.
¶ *An.* 500.

Theodoretus likewiſe ſpeaking of the viſible ſymboles, hath theſe words: μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ὀυσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ ἐίδους. i. after the ſanctification they remaine in their former ſubſtaunce, figure, and forme. ⁊c.

Theodoretus ſecund. dial. contra Eutychen.

Irenæus, where he ſayeth, *that the bread broken, and the cuppe mixte, after the vocation of God, ceaſe to be common bread any more, but are the Euchariſte of the body and bloud of Chriſt:* and explicatyng hys wordes more plainly, addeth moreouer, *that the Euchariſte conſiſteth in .ij. thinges, one beyng earthly, which is bread and wyne: the other heauenly, which is the bodye and bloude of Chriſt. &c.* declareth in theſe wordes, both his own opinion playnly, ⁊ alſo teacheth vs what was then the doctrine of his tyme.

Irenæus.

Heſichius alſo who was. 500 yeares after Chriſte where he ſpeaketh of the ſaid miſtery, quòd ſimul panis & caro eſt. i. which he ſayeth to be both fleſhe, and bread, declareth therby .ii. ſubſtances to be in the Sacrament. By the whiche we haue to vnderſtand, that tranſubſtantiation in his age was not crepte into the Church: and yet neyther hereſie nor treaſon therfore was euer layd to his charge for ſo ſaying.

Heſichius lib. 20. in Leuit. cap. 8.
¶ *An.* 500.

Emiſſenus, comparing a man conuerted to Chriſt, by regeneration, vnto the holy myſteries conuerted in to the body and bloud of our Lord, expreſſeth playnly, quòd in exteriori nihil additum eſt, & totum in interiori mutatum eſt: that is, *that outwardlye nothinge is chaunged, and that all the chaunge is inwarde. &c.* Wherein (no doubt) hee ſpake playne againſt thys Article, and yet no man in all that age dyd accuſe hym therfore eyther to be heretike, or traytour.

Emiſſenus. de conſecr. Diſtinct. 2. Quia corpus.

Here might be added the wordes of Fulgentius. Hic calix eſt nouum Teſtamentum: id eſt, hic calix quẽ vobis trado, nouum Teſtamentum ſignificat. i. *This cup is the new Teſtament:* that is, *this cuppe which I deliuer vnto you, ſignifieth the new Teſtament.*

Fulgentius. ex Haymone.

Bede alſo who liued about the yeare 730. wryting vpon the Pſalme 21. hath theſe wordes: *Edent pauperes.&c.* Pauperes, id eſt mundi contemptores, edent quidem realiter, ſi ad ſacramenta referantur, et ſaturabuntur ęternaliter, qui intelligent in pane et vino viſibiliter ſibi Propoſito, inuiſibile ſcilicet corpus verum et ſanguinem verum domini, quæ verus cibus et verus potus ſunt, quo non venter diſtenditur, ſed mens ſaginatur.&c. That is, *Poore men,* to witte, *deſpiſers of the worlde, ſhall eate in deede really, if it bee referred vnto the Sacramentes, and ſhall bee filled eternally, becauſe they ſhall vnderſtand in bread and in wine, being viſibly ſette before them, a thyng inuiſible, to witte, the true body and true bloud of the Lord, which are true meate, and true drinke, wherwith not the bellye is filled, but the minde is nouriſhed.*

And thus in theſe wordes of Bede likewyſe is to bée vnderſtand, that no tranſubſtantiation as yet in his tyme was receaued in the Church of England.

Haymo.

¶ *An.*800.

Long it were to ſtand vpon all particulares. Briefly to conclude, the farther the Church hath bene from theſe our latter daies, the purer it was in all reſpectes, and eſpecially touching this barbarous article of tranſubſtantiation. We will nowe drawe more neare our owne tyme, comming to the age of Bertrame, and of Haymo, who were about the yeare of our Lorde.810. vnder Carolus Magnus.

Haymo de Sermonū proprietate.lib.5.cap.11.

By whoſe wrytynges it is euident, that the Church was infected as yet with no ſuch phantaſie of tranſubſtātiatiō, neither did any almoſt, dreame of takyng away the ſubſtance of bread from the Sacramēt. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, & other whiche lyued in that age, do attribute to the Sacrament, the honorable name, and reuerence (as we alſo do) of the Lordes body & bloud: yet they exclude not from thence al ſubſtaunce of mele and bread, and leaue the bare accidences, as our new come Catholickes do, as by the wordes of Haymō doth appeare. Where hee following the wordes of Bede, ſheweth alſo the cauſe, why it is ſo called by the name of the Lordes bodye. Quia (ſayth hee) panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti congruēter nuncupatur: vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur. That is: *Becauſe bread cōfirmeth the hart of man, therfore it is called conueniētly the bodye of Chriſt: and becauſe wyne worketh bloude in the fleſhe of man, thereof is it referred to the bloud of Chriſt.* What can be more effectually ſpoken to proue the ſubſtance of bread there to remayne? For take away yͤ ſubſtance of bread and of wyne, what is in the accidences left, that can confirme mans hart, or ingender bloud in the fleſhe? And therefore ſeyng there muſt nedes ſomethyng remaine, that muſt be referred to Chriſtes body and bloud in that Sacramēt, either it muſt be the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, or els it can bee no Sacrament. And furthermore, ſpeakyng of the viſible things whiche are ſanctified, how, and wherunto they be conuerted, he ſayth: that by the holy Ghoſt they paſſe to a Sacrament of the Lordes body.

Haymo lib.7. in eccleſiaſt. cap.8.

And lykewyſe the ſame Haymo in an other place, ſpeaking of yͤ fruits of yͤ earth, that is, of corne & wine, declareth, *how our Sauiour making of thē an apt myſterye, conuerteth them to a Sacrament of his body and bloud.&c.* Lib.7.in Eccleſiaſt. cap.8.

Haym. ibid.

Bertramus likewiſe, as he lyued in the ſame age, ſo in like ſort he ſhewed his opinion therin, to yͤ like effect as Haymo did. For as Haymo wrytyng in theſe words declareth, quia aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti: ſacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute Sacramenti interior homo ſaciatur, that is: *the Sacramēt is one thyng, & the vertue of the Sacramēt is an other thing: for the ſacramēt is receaued with the mouth, but with the vertue of the Sacrament, the inward man is ſatisfied:*

¶ *An.*810.

So after like maner, Bertramꝰ according to yͤ ſame, thus writeth: Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis miniſteriū Chriſti corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis ſenſibus oſtendit, & aliud interius fideliū mentibus clamat.&c. That is: *the bread, which by the miniſtery of the prieſt is made the body of Chriſt, doth importe one thyng outwardly to the ſenſes of mā, & an other thing it ſpeaketh to the mindes of the faithfull. Outwardlye it is bread, the ſame as was before: the ſame forme is pretended, the colour appeareth, the ſame taſte remaineth. But inwardly there is an other matter farre more precious, & more excellent, becauſe it is heauenly, which is the bodye of Chriſt, that is ſeene, not with the outward eyes of fleſhe, but with the ſight of a faithfull minde.&c.*

We will now procéde to the teſtimonie of Rabanus Maurus Byſhop of Mentze and ſcholer ſomtime to Alcuinus in Parys, an Engliſhe man: who lyuing alſo in the ſame age with Haymo & Bertrame, (which was 800. yeares after Chriſt) geueth the lyke teſtimonye of this doctrine, in hys booke of Inſtitutions. Where hee aſking the queſtion, why the Lord would geue the myſteryes of hys body and bloude, vnder ſuch thynges as may bee eaten and drunken, rather then vnder thoſe thynges which myght bee kept and reſerued whole with greater honour? thus hée aunſwereth agayne: *The Lorde* (ſayth hée) *woulde rather that the Sacramentes of hys bodye and bloud ſhoulde bee receaued with the mouth of the faythfull, and made to bee their foode, that by the viſible action, the inuiſible effecte myght bee ſhewed. For lyke as materiall meate outwardly nouriſheth and quickeneth the bodye, ſo alſo the worde of God inwardly nouriſheth, and ſtrengthneth the ſoule. For man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery worde procedyng from the mouth of God.*

And after followeth: *For thys bread and drinke, ſignifieth the eternall ſocietie of the head, and of the members together.*

And agayne: *For the Sacrament is one thyng, and the vertue of the Sacrament is an other thyng. The Sacrament is receaued with the mouth, with the vertue of the Sacrament the inwarde man is nouriſhed: For the Sacrament is turned to the nouriſhment of the bodye, but by the vertue of the Sacrament, the dignitie of eternall lyfe is gotten.*

Wherefore, lyke as the ſame is turned into vs, when we eate of it: ſo alſo are we turned into the bodye of Chriſt, when we liue obedientlye and godly. &c. Who ſéeth not by theſe wordes of thys Byſhop, what forme of doctrine was then in the Church receaued concernyng thys article of the Sacrament, much diuers from thys our groſſe opinion of tranſubſtantiation.

With the ſayd Rabanus alſo accordeth an other of the lyke ſtandyng and alſo doctrine, called Chriſtianus Druthmarus: who wryting vppon Matthew: *The wine* (ſayth he) *doth cheare and cheariſhe the bloud, and therefore not inconuenientlye the bloude of Chriſt is figured therby: for what ſoeuer proceedeth from hym to vs, it cheareth vs with true gladnes, and encreaſeth all goodnes vnto vs.*

And a little before, the ſayd Druthmarus ſayeth: *The Lorde gaue to hys Diſciples the Sacrament of his bodye, to the remiſſion of ſinnes, and kepyng of charitie, that they alwayes remembring hys doing, myght doe that in figure, which hee ſhoulde doe for them. Thys is my bodye* (ſayth hée) *that is, in Sacrament.* Thys Druthmarus liued alſo in the tyme of Carolus Magnus, as witneſſeth Abbas Spaynhemenſis.

After Bertramus, was Ioannes Scotus, or els, as ſome call hym, Ioannes Erigena, a man well accepted with Carolus Caluus, & afterwarde with Ludouicus Balbus, about the yeare of our Lord.880. He wrote a booke De corpore & ſanguine Domini, ſo affirmyng therin and teachyng, as he knew that Bertramus had taught a litle before in Fraunce. This booke the Pope cauſed to be cōdemned in Vercellenſi Synodo. Of the lyfe and conuerſation of this Ioannes Scotus, and alſo of his death, read before, pag.191.

n.950.

In the yeare of our Lord.950.lyued Odo Archbiſhop of Caũterbury, in whoſe tyme, it appeareth by the Catholickes own confeſſion, that many Prieſtes then affirmed, that the bread and wyne after conſecration, did remaine in their former ſubſtance, and that the ſayd myſteries were onely a figure of the body & bloud of Chriſt, as we finde it wytneſſed by Osberne him ſelfe, who did write the lyues of Odo, Dunſtane, and Elphege, at the byddyng of Lancfrãcke Archbyſhop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anſelmus Chapleine. The wordes of Osberne be theſe: Hoc ferè tẽpore, quidam clerici maligno errore ſeducti, aſſeuerare conabantur panem & vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, poſt conſecrationẽ, in priori ſubſtantia manere, & figuram tantummodo eſſe corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti. &c. That is: *About this time* (ſayth Osberne, writyng in the dayes of Lancfranck) *certeine of the Clergie, beyng ſeduced by wicked errour, did holde and mainteine, that bread and wyne, whiche are ſet vpon the altar, after the conſecration doe remaine in their former ſubſtance, and are but onely a figure of the body and bloud of Chriſt. &c.* And no doubt but at that time, the cõmon opinion of moſt of the Clergie was ſo, that the Sacrament was the body & bloud of Chriſt, and that the ſubſtance of bread and wyne notwithſtandyng were not tranſubſtantiate, as the Romiſhe Catholickes do now teach. But this is the guyſe of theſe men, that in theyr writynges & ſtoryes, ſtill they diminiſh the better number, wherby their factiõ may ſeme euer to be yͤ bygger, and therfore to extenuate the common opinion then receaued in the Churche, he inferreth mention *of certeine of the Clergie. &c.*

he wit- s of ſberne.

bernus vita donis.

And as he faileth in the number of theſe Clergymẽ, whiche then held agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, ſo he vpholdeth the ſame with as lying a miracle: Which miracle hee fayneth to bee wrought the ſame tyme, for the conuerſion of the ſayd Clergymen, by the bloud droppyng out of the hoſt at Maſſe, as Odo was breakyng the hoſt ouer the chalice. At the ſight wherof, firſt Odo hym ſelfe (ſayth he) wept for ioye, ſeyng his petition accompliſhed, whiche hee ſo earneſtly prayed for. Secondarely, all thoſe Clergymen (ſayth hee) whiche before beleued not this tranſubſtantiation, by and by were conuerted, and bleſſed the Archbyſhop, that euer hee was borne, deſiryng him to pray agayne, that the bloud might returne to his former ſhape, and ſtreight is was done. And this was the miracle: which ſeemeth as true, as that which W. Malmesbery wryteth of the ſayd Odo, how by hys prayers, hee cauſed a ſworde to come flying from heauen, into Kyng Æthelſtanes ſcabbard, when he had loſt his owne, as he ſhould fight agaynſt Analanus: or ells as that miracle where the ſaid Odo is ſayd to couer and defend the Church of Canterbury, that no droppe of rayne coulde touch it, ſo long as the rofe therof was in makyng. Ex W. Malmesb. Vid. ſupra. pag. 199.

ying mi- cle to oue anſub- ntiation.

Mal- ſb.

ead afore g.199.

In whiche ſo miraculous a miracle, many thynges are to be merueled. Firſt I meruel, yͭ at this great miracle of the Archbyſhop in his Cathedrall Churche, amongeſt ſo many ſingyng men, we read of no Te deũ there to be ſong, after the doyng therof.

aſons pouſes eged a- nſt this acle.

Secondly I meruell, that thoſe Prieſtes & Clerkes, whiche then denyed tranſubſtantiation, were ſuffered to be ſo nere the Archbiſhop at his Maſſe, and that they were not committed rather to warde lyke heretickes and traytours, if this Article of tranſubſtantiation had ben then ſuch a Catholicke doctrine, & ſo publickely receaued in the Churche, as they ſay it was.

Thirdly I meruell, ſeyng the tyme of miracles is expired, we hauyng the Scriptures to guyde vs, why the Archbiſhop would ſeke to miracles and apparitiõs to conuerte men, rather then to the lawe & Prophetes, accordyng as we are commaunded, eſpecially hauyng no ſuch example of all the old Doctours, which in confutation of ſo many erroneous opinions, yet neuer ſought to ſuch miracles, or blynd meanes.

The authors of this fabulous miracle, do not agree within them ſelues.

Fourthly, I meruell much at yͤ diſcrepãce in tellyng this tale, betwene Osberne and other whiche ſince haue written Legendes of Odo. For where Osberne ſpeakyng of certein Prieſtes, nameth no place, but leaueth yͤ matter at large, & ſpeaketh abſolutely: quidã clerici: all other which haue ſince writtẽ the Legendes of Odo, doe tell this tale agaynſt certein Prieſtes of Cãterbury, addyng to the wordes of Osberne: quidam clerici Cantuarienſes. But to conuicte the falſehode of them all, as well of Osberne, as of the reſt, there is a Legende of the life of Odo, and of Oſwald together, more auncient then this of Osberne, writtẽ (as it may ſeeme) in the tyme of Ælfricus Archb. of Canterbury and Elphege then Byſhop of Wincheſter, wherin mẽtiou is made in dede of this miracle, but after an other ſorte, then this of Osberne, and to an other purpoſe, then to diſſuade certeine Prieſtes infected with that errour, frõ the opinion before declared: which is onely brought to ſhew yͤ holines of Odo, as cõmonly yͤ maner of Legendes is to do. So that in this old Legende it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo diſcloſed the matter, not to many prieſtes of England, that were in that errour, as Osberne would: ſed vocat protinus fidelem ſeruum, qui cominus erat, & miraculum ſecretè demonſtrat. &c. that is, but called vnto him a certeine faythful ſeruaunt, which was nere about hym, & ſhewed to hym yͤ miracle ſecretly. Wherupõ the Prieſt (ſayth the Legẽde) much reioyſed at the holynes of Odo, and deſired him to make his prayer to almighty God, that the body might returne agayne to the former ſhape. &c. Out of this olde lying Legende, Osberne, & other lykewiſe that folowed hym, ſemeth to haue taken this tale: ſo that out of the errour of one (as the maner is) ſpringeth the errour of a nũber mo.

Lying legendes.

But this much more I meruell, why this miracle is not ſtoryed in Henry Huntyngton, which profeſſedly writeth of ſuch miracles, nor in Rog. Houeden, and ſuch other: but onely in ſuch blynd Legendes, which commonly haue no ſubſtance of veritie, nor certeintie of tyme or writer, to know when, and by whom they were written, and for the moſt parte are ſtuffed with lying viſions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osborne were true, that for the conuertyng of the Prieſtes of England, whiche would not beleue tranſubſtantiation, this bloud did droppe out of the hoſte (of the whiche bloud peraduenture came the bloud of Hales) and that by the ſight therof the Prieſtes eftſone were all cõuerted (as Osberne pretẽdeth) how then came it to paſſe, that after the tyme of Odo, in the dayes of Elfricus, whiche was after hym Archb. of Caunterbury, the thyrd from Dunſtane, & fourth from Odo, not onely the Prieſtes of Englãd, but alſo the Archbyſhop him ſelfe, were not yet brought to the beliefe of this tranſubſtantiatiõ, but taught the very ſame doctrine of the Sacrament then, which we do now: as moſt clearely appeareth both by the Epiſtles and Homelies of the foreſayd Archbyſhop Elfricus, whiche here vnder, for the more euidence (Chriſt willyng) we will annexe.

Æ.fricus **Archbiſhop of Cant.**

¶ *An.996.*

Capgraue in vita Oſwaldi Epiſc. Wigorn.

W. Malmeſberieſ. in vita Aldelmi.

This Ælfricus, as ſaith Capgraue, in the life of Oſwalde Byſhop of Worceter, was firſt Abbot of S. Albons, and after made Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, about the yeare of our Lord. 996. in the tyme of kyng Etheldred, and of Wulfſinus Byſhop of Scyrburne. Ælfricus alſo (as witneſſeth Williã of Malmesbery, in Vita Aldelmi) was Abbot of Malmesbery. Furthermore the ſayd William of Malmesbery writing of Ælfricus Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſaith that he was before Byſhop of Welles, and afterward Archbyſhop of Canterbury. So that Ælfricus was Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, it is out of all ambiguitie. But whether Ælfricus, whiche was Abbot (of whom we do here entreat) were the ſame Archbyſhop, or not, by this diuerſitie of Capgraue & Malmesbery, it may be doubtfull. But whether hee were or no, to this our preſent purpoſe is not greatly materiall, for ſo much as the ſayd Ælfricus, and Ælfricus, although they were diuerſe perſons, yet were they both in one age, and liued in one tyme together.

The writings of *Ælfricus* authentike.

A booke of Canons in the Saxons tongue.

Furthermore, the ſame Ælfricus (of whom now we ſpeake) of what callyng ſo euer he was, yet notwithſtandyng he was of ſuch eſtimation and good lykyng in thoſe dayes among the moſt learned, that for his learning, authoritie, and eloquence, his writyngs were accepted & authoriſed among the Canons & conſtitutions of yͤ Church in that tyme, as hereby may appeare: For where as the Byſhops and Prieſtes before the commyng of William Conquerour had collected together a certeine booke of Canons and Ordinaunces, to gouerne the Clergie, gathered out of generall and particular Councels, out of the bookes of Gildas, out of the pœnitentiall bookes of Theodorus Archbyſhop of Canterbury, out of the writynges of Egberthus Archbyſhop of Yorke, and out of the Epiſtles of Alcuinus, as alſo out of the writynges of yͤ old fathers of yͤ primitiue Churche. &c. among the ſame Canons and conſtitutiōs be placed theſe ij. Epiſtles of the ſayd Ælfricus here vnder folowyng, wherof yͤ one was ſent to Wulſſinus Byſhop of Scyrburne, the other to Wulſtane Archbyſhop of Yorke, as yet are to bee ſene in ij. bookes belongyng to the Library of the Church of Worceter, the one written in the old Saxons tongue intituled Be pꞃeoꞅꞇ Sinoþe, the other for yͤ moſt part in Latine, with this title: Admonitio ſpiritualis doctrinæ. Whiche booke of Saxon Canons and conſtitutions belongyng ſomtyme to Wulſſtane Byſhop of Worceter, was geuen by hym as for a great iewell, to the Church of Worceter, as by the ſame booke appeareth.

Ex Archiuis Eccleſiæ Wigornenſis.

Moreouer, beſides this boke of Worceter aboue touched, there is yet extant alſo an other lyke boke of Canons belonging to yͤ Church of Exeter, wherin yͤ ſame two Epiſtles of Ælfricus be cōteined in yͤ olde Saxon tongue, and alſo in Latine, and preſcribed yearely to bee read to the Clerkes and Prieſtes of that Churche: Which booke in lyke maner was giuen to the Church of Exceter by Leofricus the firſt, and moſt famous Biſhop of that Sea.

Ex archiuis eccleſiæ Exonienſis.

The bookes of Sermons trāſlated by *Ælfricus* out of Latin, into the Saxons ſpeach.

Of thys Ælfricus further is to bee vnderſtand, that he tranſlated two bookes of lxx. Sermons out of Latin, into the Saxon ſpeach, vſed then orderly to be read in Churches on Sondayes and other feſtiuall daies of the yeare, as by his own wordes may appeare in the end of one of yͤ ſayd bookes of Sermons, whoſe wordes bee theſe: Fela ꝼæᵹeꞃe ᵹodꞅpell ƿe ꝼoꞃlæꞇað on þiꞅum dihꞇe. þa mæᵹ aƿendan ꞅe ðe ƿile; Né duꞃꞃe ƿe ðaꞅ boc na micle ꞅƿiþoꞃ ᵹelænᵹan. ðẏleꞅ þe heo unᵹemeꞇeᵹod ꞅẏ. ⁊ mannum æþꞃæꞇ ðuꞃh hiꞃe micelnẏꞅꞅe aꞅꞇiꞃiᵹe; *We let paſſe manye good goſpels whiche he that lyſte, maye tranſlate. For we dare not enlarge this booke much further, leſte it be ouer great, and ſo bee a cauſe of lothſomnes to men, through the byggnes therof. &c.*

Alſo in an other place he cōfeſſeth yͤ ſame of him ſelf: whoſe words, in yͤ preface before his Grāmer, be theſe. Ic Ælꝼꞃic ƿolde ðaꞅ liꞅꞇlan boc aƿendan ꞇo enᵹliꞅcum ᵹeꞃeoꞃde oꝼ ðam ꞅꞇæꝼ cꞃæꝼꞇe ðe iꞅ ᵹehaꞇen ᵹꞃammaꞇica. ꞅẏððan ic ꞇƿa bec aƿende on hund eahꞇaꞇiᵹum ꞅpellum; *I Ælfricke was deſyrous to turne into our Engliſhe tongue from the arte of letters, called grammer, this litle booke, after that I had tranſlated the two bookes of foureſcore Sermons. &c.*

Lxxx. Sermons tranſlated by *Ælfricus*, into the Engliſhe or Saxon tongue.

4. Epiſtles written of *Ælfricus* in the Saxon or Engliſhe tongue.

Of his Epiſtles eſpecially we read of foure, which he wrote. One to the Monkes of Egneſham, De conſuetudine monachorum. An other to Wulfſtane Archb. of Yorke, wherin is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The thyrd he wrote agaynſt prieſtes mariage, to one Sygeferth, with whom there was a certeine Anker abydyng, which defended yͤ mariage of prieſtes, affirmynge it to be lawfull. The fourth, he wrote to Wulſſinus Biſhop of Scyrburne, touching the matter of yͤ Sacrament. In the which Epiſtle he takyng occaſion by a certeine abuſe in hys tyme, which was, that Prieſtes on Eaſter day filled their houſell boxe, and ſo kept it for the ſpace of the whole yeare, till Eaſter came agayn, for ſicke perſons, writeth vpon that occaſion, in theſe wordes as follow, in his own Saxons tongue.

¶ A wryting of Ælfricke to Wulſſine.

Man ꞅceal healden þæꞇ haliᵹe huꞅel mid mẏcelꞃe ᵹẏmene ⁊ ne ꝼoꞃhealdan hiꞇ. ac halᵹian oþeꞃ edniƿe ꞇo ꞅceocum mannum. a. embe. vii. nihꞇ. oððe embe xiiii. nihꞇ ꝥ hiꞇ huꞃu ꝼẏniᵹ ne ꞅẏ. ꝼoꞃðon ðe eal ꞅƿa haliᵹ bið ꝥ huꞅel ðe nu ꞇo dæᵹ ƿæꞅ ᵹehalᵹod. ꞅƿa ꝥ þe on eaꞅꞇeꞃdæᵹ ƿæꞅ ᵹehalᵹod; Ðæꞇ huꞅel iꞅ Cꞃiꞅꞇeꞅ lichama na lichamlice ac ᵹaꞅꞇlice; Na ꞅe lichama ðe he on ðꞃoƿode. ac ꞅe lichama ðe he embe ꞅpꞃæc. ða ða he bleꞇꞅode hlaꝼ and ƿin ꞇo huꞅel anꞃe nihꞇe æꞃ hiꞅ ðꞃoƿunᵹe. ⁊ cƿæþ be ðam ᵹebleꞇꞅode hlaꝼe. ðiꞅ iꞅ min lichama. and eꝼꞇ be ðam halᵹan ƿine. ðiꞅ iꞅ min blode þe bið ꝼoꞃ maneᵹum aᵹoꞇen on ꞅẏnna ꝼoꞃᵹẏꝼenneꞅꞅe; Vndeꞃꞅꞇandaþ nu ꝥ ꞅe dꞃuhꞇen ðe mihꞇe aƿendon ðone hlaꝼ æꞃ hiꞅ ðꞃoƿunᵹe ꞇo hiꞅ lichaman. and ꝥ ƿin ꞇo hiꞅ blode ᵹaꞅꞇlice. ðæꞇ ꞅe ẏlca dæᵹhƿamlice bleꞇꞅaþ ðuꞃh ꞅaceꞃda handa hlaꝼ ⁊ ƿin ꞇo hiꞅ ᵹaꞅꞇlican lichaman. and ꞇo hiꞅ ᵹaꞅꞇlican blode.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſhe.*

Men ſhall reſerue more carefully that holy houſell, and not reſerue it to long, but hallowe other of new for ſicke men alwayes within a weeke or a fortnight, that it be not ſo much as hory. For ſo holy is the houſell which to day is hallowed, as that which on Eaſter day was hallowed. That houſell is Chriſtes bodye not bodyly, but ghoſtlye. Not the body which he ſuffred in, but the body of which he ſpake, when he bleſſed bread and wyne to houſell the night before his ſuffring, and ſayd by the bleſſed bread: thys is my bodye, and agayne by the holy wyne, this is my bloud, which is ſhedde for many in forgeuenes of ſinnes. Vnderſtand nowe that the Lord, who could turne that bread before his ſuffring to his body, and that wyne to his bloude ghoſtly, that the ſelf ſame Lord bleſſeth dayly through the prieſtes hands, bread & wine to his ghoſtly body, and to his ghoſtly bloud.

After this Epiſtle aboue prefixed of Ælfricus, written to Wulſſinus Byſhop of Shyreburne, concernyng the Sacramentall bread, howe it is not Chriſtes body, lichamlice, that is, bodily, or (as we terme it now) really: & alſo how the ſame ought not to be ouerlong kept in yͤ pixe: here foloweth further an other Epiſtle of yͤ ſayd Ælfricus written to Wulſtane Archb. of Yorke, both reprehendyng the ſayd abuſe aboue touched, and alſo cōteynyng matter more at large agaynſt the bodely preſence, in the Sacramentall bread. The copie of his Epiſtle, both in his owne Saxon, and in our Engliſhe here foloweth.

¶ An other Epiſtle of Ælfricus, agaynſt the bodily preſence to Wulſtane Archbyſhop of Yorke.

Sume pꞃeoꞅꞇaꞅ ᵹeꝼẏllað heoꞃa huꞅel box on eaꞅꞇꞃon. and healdað oꝼeꞃ ꞇƿelꝼ monaþ ꞇo unꞇꞃumum mannum. ꞅƿẏlce ðæꞇ huꞅel husel sy haligre ðonne oþer. Ac hi doþ unƿislice. for ðam ðe hit ƿannað. oððe mid ealle forrotað on sƿa langum fyrste. and he bið þonne scyldig sƿa sƿa us sægþ seo boc; Se ðe husel forhylt. oððe hit forlyst. oððe mys eton. oððe oþre nytenu. sceaƿa þa pœnitentialem. hƿæt he sægð be þisum; Eall sƿa halig is ðæt husel ðe bið gehalgod to dæg. sƿa ðæt ðe bið gehalgod on ðam halgan easter dæge; Healdaþ forþig ic bidde ðone halgan Cristes lichaman mid maran ƿisdome to seocum mannum fram sunnan dæge to sunnan dæge on sƿiþe clænum boxe. oððe be ðam mæstan feoƿertyne niht. and ðicgaþ hit ðonne. ⁊ lecgað ðær oðer; ƿe habbað bysene be ðam on Moyses bocum. sƿa sƿa God sylf bebead on Moyses æ. ðæt se sacerd sceolde on ælcum sæterner dæge settan tƿelf hlafas on ðam tabernaculo ealle niƿe bacene. ða ƿæron gehatene panes propositionis. and hig sceoldon ðær standan on ðam Godes getælde oð oþerne sæterner dæg. ⁊ etan hi ðonne ða sacerdas sylfe. ⁊ settan ðær oþre; Sume preostas nellað ðicgan ðæt husel ðe hi halgiað; Nu ƿille ƿe eoƿ secgan. hu seo boc segð be ðam; Presbyter missam celebrans. et non audens sumere sacrificium accusante conscientia sua anathema est; Se mæsse preost ðe mæssað. and ne dear ðæt husel ðicgan. ƿat hine scyldigne. se is amansumod; Læsse pleoh is to ðicgenne ðæt husel. ðonne to halgienne; Se ðe tƿyƿa halgað ane oflætan to husle. se bið ðam gedƿolan gelice. ðe an cild fullaþ tƿyƿa; Crist sylf gehalgode husel ær his ðroƿunge. he bletsode ðone hlaf. ⁊ tobræc ðus cƿeþende to his halgum apostolum. etað ðisne hlaf. hit is min lichama: and he eft bletsode ænne calic mid ƿine. and cƿæþ heom ðus to. drincaþ ealle of ðisum. hit is min agen blode ðære niƿan gecyðnysse. ðe bið for manegum agoten on synna forgyfenysse; Se drihten þe halgode husel ær his ðroƿunge. and cƿæð ꝥ se hlaf ƿære his agen lichama. ⁊ þæt ƿin ƿære ƿitodlice his blod. se halgaþ dæghƿamlice þurh his sacerda handa hlaf to his lichaman. ⁊ ƿin to his blod on gastlicere geryne. sƿa sƿa ƿe rædaþ on bocum; Ne biþ se liflica hlaf lichamlice sƿa þeah se ylca lichama. ðe Crist on þroƿode; Ne þæt halige ƿin nis þæs hælendes blod þe for us agoten ƿæs on lichamlican þinge. ac on gastlicum andgyte; Ægþer bið soþlice se hlaf his lichama. ⁊ ꝥ ƿin eac his blod sƿa sƿa se heofonlica hlaf ƿæs. ðe ƿe hataþ manna. ðe feoƿertig geara afedde Godes folce. ⁊ þæt hluttre ƿæter ƿæs ƿitodlice his blod. ðe arn of ðam stane on ðam ƿestene ða; Sƿa sƿa Paulus aƿrat on sumon his pistole Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducauerunt: et omnes eundem potũ ſpiritualẽ biberũt.&c. Ealle ure fæderas æton on ðam ƿestene þone ylcan gastlican mete. ⁊ þone gastlican. drenc druncon; Hi druncon of þā gastlicum stane. ⁊ se stan ƿæs Crist; Se apostol sæde sƿa sƿa ge nu gehyrdon ðæt hi ealle æton ðone ylcan gastlican mete. ⁊ hi ealle druncon ðone gastlican drenc; Ne cƿæð he na lichamlice. ac gastlice; Næs Crist ða gyt geboren. ne his blod næs agoten. þa þæt Israhela folc geæt ðone mete. ⁊ of ðam stane dranc. ⁊ se stan næs lichamlice Crist ðeah he sƿa cƿæde; Hit ƿæron ða ylcan geryno on þære ealdan æ. ⁊ hi gastlice getacnodon ðæt gastlice husel ures hælendes lichaman. ðe ƿe halgiaþ nu.

An Epiſtle of *Ælfricke* to *Wulfſtane*, touching the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

¶The ſame in Engliſhe,

SOme Prieſtes fill theyr boxe for houſel on Eaſter day, and ſo reſerue it a whole yeare for ſicke men, as thoughe that houſell were more holy then any other. But they do vnaduiſedly, bycauſe it waxeth hory, or altogether rotté by keping it ſo long ſpace: and thus are they become gilty, as the boke witneſſeth to vs. If any do kepe the houſell to long, or loſe it, or myſe or other beaſtes do eate it, ſee what the pœnitentiall booke ſaith by this: So holy is altogether that houſell, which is hallowed to day, as that whiche is hallowed on Eaſter day. Wherefore I beſeche you to keepe that holy body of Chriſt with more aduiſement for ſicke men, from Sonday to Sonday, in a very cleane boxe: or at the moſt, not to keepe it aboue a fortnyght, and then eate it, laying other in the place. We haue an example hereof in Moyſes bookes, as God hym ſelfe hath commaunded in Moyſes lawe, how the Prieſtes ſhould ſet euery Saterday, twelue loaues all new baked, vppon the tabernacle: the whiche were called *Panes propoſitionis:* and thoſe ſhould ſtand there on Gods tabernacle, till the next Saterday, and then did the Prieſts them ſelues eate thé, and ſet other in the place. Some prieſts will not eate the houſell, which they do hallowe. But we wil nowe declare vnto you how the booke ſpeaketh by them. *Preſbyter miſſam celebrans, & non audens ſumere ſacrificium, accuſante conſcientia, anathema eſt.* The Prieſt that doth ſaye maſſe and dare not eate the houſell, his conſcience accuſing him, is accurſed. It is leſſe daunger to receyue the houſell, then to hallowe it. He that doth twyſe hallowe one hoſt to houſel, is lyke vnto thoſe heretickes, who do Chriſten twyſe one childe. Chriſt him ſelfe bleſſed houſell before his ſuffring: he bleſſed the bread and brake it, thus ſpeaking to his Apoſtles: *Eate thys bread, it is my bodye.* And agayn, he bleſſed one Chalice with wyne, and thus alſo ſpake vnto them: *Drinke ye all of thys, it is myne owne bloude of the newe Teſtament, which is ſhedde for many, for the forgiuenes of ſinnes.* The Lord which hallowed houſell before hys ſufferyng, and ſayeth that the bread was hys owne body, and that the wyne was truly his bloud, haloweth dayly by the handes of the prieſt, bread to hys bodye and wyne to hys bloud in ghoſtly myſtery, as we read in bookes. And yet notwithſtanding that liuely bread is not* bodily ſo, nor the ſelf ſame body that Chriſt ſuffered in: nor that holye wyne is the Sauiours bloud which was ſhed for vs in bodily thinge: but in ghoſtly vnderſtandyng. Both be truly that bread hys bodye, and that wyne alſo hys bloude, as was the heauenlye bread, which we call *Manna*, that fed forty yeares Gods people. And the cleare water whiche dyd then runne from the ſtone in the wildernes, was truly hys bloud, as S. Paule wrote in one of hys Epiſtles: *Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducauerunt, & omnes eundẽ potũ ſpirituale biberũt. &c.* Al our fathers dyd eate in the wildernes the ſame ghoſtlye meate, and dranke the ſame ghoſtly drinke. They dranke of that ghoſtly ſtone, and that ſtone was Chriſt. The Apoſtle hath ſayde (as you now haue heard) that they all dyd eate the ſame ghoſtly meate, and they all dyd drinke the ſame ghoſtly drinke. And he ſayth not bodily, but ghoſtly. And Chriſt was

*Bodily preſence, denied.

not

* That is, a miſterye of the ſame thyng, that was in the olde lawe.

not yet borne, nor hys bloud ſhedde, whẽ that the people of Iſrael did eate that meat, & drank of that ſtone. And the ſtone was not bodily Chriſt, though he ſo ſayed. It was the *ſame miſtery in the olde lawe, and they dyd ghoſtlye ſignifie that ghoſtlye houſell of our Sauiours bodye whiche we conſecrate nowe.

lxxx. Sermons tranſlated out of Latin into Saxon by *Ælfricus.*

A booke of xxiiij. ſpeciall Sermons ſelected, out of the 80. Sermons tranſlated by *Ælfricus.*

Beſides theſe Epiſtles aboue prefixed, of Ælfricus **to** Wulfſinus, **&** Wulfſtane, **which fight directly againſt tranſubſtantiation, mẽtion was touched alſo before of certeine Sermons to the number of lxxx. tranſlated by the ſayd** Ælfricus, **out of** Latine **into the** Saxon, **that is, into our Engliſh tonge, as ye partly haue heard before. Of the whiche lxxx. Sermons, xxiiij. were chiefly ſelected, to bée read, as in ſtede of Homelies, or treatiſes, vnto the people: in ſuch order, as the firſt xij. Sermons or treatiſes, intreatyng of generall matters** (as De initio creaturæ, de augurijs, de die iudicij, vnius cõfeſſoris, de vaniloquio & negligentia, de auaritia, de falſis dijs. &c.) **were appoynted to be read at pleaſure and at the diſcretiõ of the Miniſter. The other xij. Sermons were preſcribed for proper feaſtes:** (as De annũciatione beatæ Mariæ, de natiuitate Domini, de circũciſione Domini, de Epiphania, de purificatione ſanctæ Mariæ, Dominica prima in Quadrageſima, Dominica palmarum, Die Paſcę. &c. **Whereof this teſtimonie remayneth in the ſame booke yet to bée ſene both in the** Saxon **tõgue, and alſo in the Preface of the latter xij. Sermons in Latine, in theſe wordes folowyng:** In hoc codicillo continentur Sermones Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris quos Ælfricus Abbas Anglicè tranſtulit. &c.

Sermo ad plebem in Die ſãcto Paſcha.

Furthermore as touchyng theſe lxxx. Sermõs aforeſayd, whiche Ælfricus **tranſlated into Engliſhe, here is to bee vnderſtanded, that in the ſayd Sermons vſed then orderly to be recited to the people, there is one appointed to be read** In die Sancto Paſcę, **that is, vppon Eaſterday. Whiche Sermon beyng tranſlated by the ſayd** Ælfricus, **we haue here exhibited both in** Saxon **ſpeache and in Engliſhe, to the entent, that the Chriſtẽ & indifferent reader peruſing yͤ ſame, may iudge therby, how yͤ phantaſticall doctrine of trãſubſtantiation, in thoſe dayes of** Ælfricus **& before his time, was not yet receaued nor knowen in the Churche of England: forſomuch as the ſayd Sermon beyng in Latine before, doth leaue vnto vs an euident declaration, what was the common opinion of this Sacrament in the Church receaued, before that** Elfricus **did euer ſet hand to trãſlate the ſame out of the Latin.**

The Latin bookes written agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, craftely by the papiſtes aboliſhed.

And thoughe the Latine copies and exemplars of theſe foreſayd Sermons, are not remaining in our Libraries, let that be no meruel to thée, louing reader: but vnderſtand thereby the craftie packyng of the Popes Clergie, who in the tyme of Lancfrancus, **and Pope** Innocent, **ſtudying by al meanes, how to preferre and further this their newcome doctrine of tranſubſtantiatiõ, did aboliſh & raſe out of Libraries & Churches, all ſuch bookes which made to yͤ contrary. And therfore becauſe** Lancfrancus **and other** Italian **Prieſtes here in England vnderſtode not the** Saxon **bookes, as they did the Latine, all that whiche they vnderſtode, they made away. The** Saxon **bookes becauſe they knew thẽ not, they let remaine. And this is yͤ cauſe why our Latine copies now are not to be found. Which to be true, by iij. reaſons coniectural it may probably be ſuppoſed.**

Three coniectures prouyng that the papiſtes haue made away of purpoſe the old Latin bookes againſt their tranſubſtantiation.

Firſt, for that theſe Saxon **Sermons beyng tranſlated out of the Latin** (**as ye haue heard by the wordes of** Ælfricus **already proued**) **only we ſée the** Saxon **bookes reſerued: of the Latine none doth appeare.**

Secondly, there is yet remainyng one certein péece or fragment of an Epiſtle of Ælfricus **in the Library of Worceter, wherein, ſo much as maketh agaynſt the matter of tranſubſtantiation, we haue founde in the midle of the ſayd Latine Epiſtle, vtterlye raſed out, ſo that no letter nor péece of a letter doth there appeare. The wordes cut out, were theſe:** Non eſt tamen hoc ſacrificium corpus eius, in quo paſſus eſt pro nobis, neq; ſanguis eius quem pro nobis effudit, ſed ſpiritualiter corpꝰ eius efficitur & ſanguis, ſicut Manna quod de cęlo pluit, & aqua quę de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus. &c. I. *Notwithſtandyng this ſacrifice is not the ſame body of his, wherin hee ſuffered for vs, nor the ſame bloud of his, whiche he ſhed for vs, but ſpiritually it is made his body and bloud: as the Manna, whiche rayned from heauen, and the water whiche did flow out of the rocke, as Paul. &c.* **Theſe wordes ſo raſed out are to be reſtored again by an other** Saxon **booke found in Exceter. By the raſing of whiche one place, it may eaſely bée coniectured, what theſe practiſers haue lykewiſe done in the reſt.**

Thirdly, by one Italian **tricke of** Polydore Virgill **in our dayes, yͤ propertie & doings of al other** Italiã **Papiſtes of elder tyme, may partly be coniected. For ſo I am informed by ſuch, as preciſelye will affirme it to be true, that when** Polydore **beyng licenſed by the kyng to vewe and ſearche all Libraries, had once accõpliſhed his ſtorye by the helpe of ſuch bookes as hee had cõpiled out of Libraries: in yͤ end, when he had taken out what hee would, lyke a true factor for the Popes owne toothe, he pyled his bookes together and ſet them all on a lyght fire. For what cauſe he ſo dyd, I can not certeinly pronounce: but who ſo cõſidereth wel his religion, may ſhrewdly ſuſpect him. For a probatiõ wherof, this may ſerue for a ſufficient triall, that where as of al other writers of hiſtories that haue bene in England, as of** Fabian, Lanquet, Raſtall, More, Leland, Bale, Halle, **& ſuch other, ſome of their bookes whiche they then occupyed, yet remayne in handes to be ſene. Only of ſuch bokes, as** Polydore **vſed & which paſt his handes, what Engliſhe man is he that hath ſene or can ſhew me one? Wherby it may welbe thought, the foreſayd information to be true. As alſo by this one** Italian **tricke of** Polydore, **may other** Italians **lykewiſe bée ſuſpected, in makyng away ſuch Latin bookes within this land, as made not for their purpoſe. But for ſomuch as thoſe Latine bookes be now aboliſhed, & can not be had, let vs returne to our** Saxõ **tonge again, & ſée what this** Saxon **Sermon of** Ælfricus **tranſlation, doth ſaye for tranſubſtantiation: The Copie wherof here enſueth.**

¶A Sermon trãſlated out of Latine into the Saxon tonge by Ælfricus, againſt tranſubſtantiation. an. 996.

In die Sancto Paſcæ.

¶The Alphabet of the Saxon tonge.

f. g. r. ſ. t. VV. y. z.

¶a.b.c.ð.e.ꝼ.ᵹ.h.i.l.m.n.o.p.ꞃ.ꞅ.ꞇ.u.ƿ.ẏ.ʒ.

¶Abbreuiations.

Æ. Th. Th. S. VV. And. th. th.

Æ. Ð. Þ. Ꞅ. ƿ. ⁊. ð. ꝥ.

Men ða leofostan . gelome eoƿ is gesæd ymbe ures hælendes æriste, hu he on þisum andƿeardan dæge æfter his ðroƿunge mihtiglice of deaþe aras. Nu ƿille ƿe eoƿ geopenian ðurh Godes gife be þam halgan husle ðe ge nu to gan sceolon . ⁊ geƿissian eoƿer andgyt ymbe ðære gerynu . ægðer ge æfter þære ealdan gecyþnysse . ge æfter þære niƿan . ðylæs ðe ænig tƿeonunge eoƿ derian mæge be þam liflicum gereorde; Se ælmihtiga God bebead Moyses þam heretogan on egypta lande. ꝥ he sceolde bebeodan Israhela folce. ꝥ hi namon æt ælcum heorþe anes geares lambe on ðære nihte ðæ hi ferdon of þam lande to þam behatenan earde. ⁊ sceoldon ꝥ lambe Gode geoffrian. and syþþan sniþan. and ƿyrcan rode tacn on heora gedyrum. ⁊ oferslegū mid þæs lambes blode. etan syþþan ðæs lambes flæsc gebræd. ⁊

ðeorfe hlafas mid feldlicre lactucan; God cƿæþ to Moysen. ne ete ge of ðam lambe nan þing hreaƿ. ne on ƿætere gesoþen ac gebræd to fyre; Etaþ ꝥ heafod. ⁊ þa fet. ⁊ ꝥ inneƿearde. ne his nan þing ne belife oþ mergen. gif þær hƿæt to lafe sy. forbærneþ ꝥ. ðicgaþ hit on þas ƿisan; Begyrdaþ eoƿere lendenu. and beoþ gesceode. habbaþ eoƿ staf on hande. ⁊ etaþ heardlice. ðeos tid is Godes færeld; ⁊ ƿearþ ða on ðære nihte ofslegen on ælcum huse geond eall Pharaoes rice, ꝥ frumcennede cild. ⁊ ƿæs ꝥ Godes folc Israhel ahred fram ðam ferlican deaðe. ðurh ðæs lambes offrunge. ⁊ his blodes mearcunge; þa cƿæþ God to Moysen. healdaþ ðisne dæg on eoƿrũ gemynde. ⁊ freolsiaþ hine mærlice on eoƿrum cynrenum mid ecum bigencge. and etaþ ðeorfne hlaf symle seofan dagas æt þisre freols tide; Æfter þissere dæde lædde God ꝥ Israhela folc ofer ða readan sæ. mid drium fotum. and adrencte ðær on Pharao. ⁊ ealne his here samod ðe heora ehton. ⁊ afedde syððan ꝥ Israhela folc feoƿertig geara mid heofonlicum bigleofan. ⁊ him forgeaf ƿæter of heardũ stan clude. oð ꝥ hi comon to ðam behatenũ eþele; Sume þas race ƿe habbaþ fetrahtnod on oþre stoƿe sume ƿe ƿyllað nu geopenian. ꝥ ðe belimþ to ðã halgan husle; Cristene menn ne moton healdan nu ða ealdan æ lichamlice. ac him gedafenaþ ꝥ hi cunnon hƿæt heo gastlice tacnie; ꝥ unscæþþie lambe ðe se ealde Israhela ða ofsnaþ. hæfde getacnunge æfter gastlicum andgyte Cristes ðroƿunge se ðe unscæþþig for ure alysednysse his halige blod ageat; Be ðam singað Godes ðeoƿas æt ælcere mæssan. agnus dei qui tollis peccata mũdi miserere nobis; ꝥ is on urum gereorde. ðu Godes lamb ðe ætbretst middan eardes synna gemiltsa us; ꝥ Israhela folc ƿearþ ahred fram ðam færlicum deaþe. ⁊ fram Pharaoes þeoƿte ðurh ðæs lambes offrunge. ðe hæfde getacnunge Cristes þroƿunge. ðurh ða ƿe sind alysede fram ðam ecum deaþe. anb ðæs reþan deofles anƿealde. gif ƿe rihtlice gelyfaþ on ðone soþan alysend ealles middan eardes hælend Crist; ꝥ lamb ƿæs geoffrode on æfnunge. ⁊ ure hælend ðroƿode on ðære sixtan ylde ðissere ƿoruldes; Seo yld is geteald to æfnunge ðises ateorigelican middan eardes; Hi mearcodan mid ðæs lambes blode on heora gedyrum. and oferslegum tau. ꝥ is rode tacen. ⁊ ƿurdon sƿa gescilde fram þam engle. ðe acƿealde þæra egiptiscra frumcennedan cild; And ƿe sceolon mearcian ure foreƿearde heafod. and urne lichaman mid Cristes rode tacne. ꝥ ƿe beon ahredde fram forƿyrde. ðonne ƿe beoþ gemearcode ægþer ge on foran heafde ge on heortan mid blode ðære drihtenlican ðroƿunge; ꝥ Israhela folc æt ðæs lãbes flæsc on heora easter tide ða ða hi ahredde ƿurdon. ⁊ ƿe þicgaþ nu gastlice cristes lichamã. and his blod drincaþ. ðonne ƿe mid soþum geleafan ꝥ halige husel ðicgaþ; Ðone timan hi heoldon him to easter tide seofan dagas mid miclum ƿurþmynte ðe hi ahredde ƿurdon ƿiþ Pharao. and of ðam earde ferdon. sƿa eac cristene menn healdaþ Cristes æriste us to easter tide ðæs seofan dagas. forþan ðe ƿe sint ðurh his ðroƿunge. and ærist alysede. ⁊ ƿe beoþ geclænsode ðurh ðæs halgan husel ganges. sƿa Crist sylf cƿæþ on his godspelle; Soþ soþ ic eoƿ secge. næbbe ge lif on eoƿ. buton ge eten min flæsc. ⁊ drincon min blod; Se ðe et min flæsc. ⁊ min blod drincþ. he ƿunaþ on me. and ic on him. and he hæfþ ꝥ ece lif. ⁊ ic hine arære on ðã endenextan dæge; Ic com se liflica hlaf ðe of heofonum astah. na sƿa sƿa eoƿere forþ fæderas æton þone heofonlican hlaf on ƿestene. ⁊ syþþan sƿulton; Se ðe et ðisne. hlaf. he leofaþ on ecnysse; He halgode hlaf ær his þroƿunge. and todælde his discipulum ðas cƿeþende; Etaþ ðisne hlaf hit is min lichoma. ⁊ doþ þis on mynum gemynde; Eft he bletsode ƿin on anum calice. and cƿæþ; Drincaþ ealle of ðisum. ðis is min blod ꝥ ðe biþ for manegum agoten on synna forgyfenysse; Ða apostoli dydon sƿa sƿa Crist het. ꝥ hi halgodon hlaf. and ƿin to husle eft syþþan on his gemynde; Eac sþylce heora æfter gencgan. and ealle sacerdas be Cristes hæse halgiaþ hlaf ⁊ ƿin to husle on his naman mid þære apostolican bletsunge; Nu smeadon gehƿilce men oft. and git gelome smeagaþ. hu se hlaf ðe biþ of corne gegearcod. and ðurh fyres hætan abacen mage beon aƿend to Cristes lichaman. oððe ꝥ ƿin þebiþ of manegũ berium aƿrungen. ƿeorþe aƿend ðurh anigre bletsunge to drihtnes blod; Nu secge ƿe gehƿilcum mãnum ꝥ sume ðing sind gecƿedene be Crist ðurh getacnunge. sume ðurh geƿissum ðinge; Soþ ðing is. and geƿis ꝥ Crist ƿæs of mædene acenned. ⁊ sylf ƿilles ðroƿode deaþ. and ƿæs bebyrged. ⁊ on ðisum dæge of deaþ aras; He is gecƿeden hlaf ðurh getacnũge. and lambe. ⁊ leo. and gehu elles; He is hlaf gehaten. forþan ðe he is ure lif and engla; He is lamb gecƿeden for his unscæþþinysse; Leo for ðære strencþe. ðe he ofer sƿiþde ðone strangan deofol; Ac sƿa ðeah æfter soþum gecynde nis Crist naþor ne hlaf. ne lamb. ne leo; Hƿi is ðonne ꝥ halige husel gecƿedẽ Cristes lichama. oþþe his blod. gif hit nis soþlice ꝥ ꝥ hit gehaten is; Soþlice se hlaf. and ꝥ ƿin ðe beoþ ðurh sacerda mæssan gehalgode oþer ðing hi æteoƿiaþ menniscū andgitum ƿiþ utan. and oþer ðing hi clypiaþ ƿiþ innan geleaffullum modum; ƿiþ utan hi beoþ geseƿene hlaf and ƿin ægþer geon hiƿe ge on sƿæcce. ac hi beoþ soþlice æfter ðære halgunge Cristes lichama. and his blod ðurh gastlice gerynu; Hæþen cild biþ gefullod. ac hit ne bræt na his hiƿ ƿiþ utan þeah þe hit beo ƿiþ innan aƿend; Hit biþ gebroht synfull ðurh adames forgægednysse to ðam fant fate; Ac hit biþ aþƿogen fram eallum synnum ƿiþ innan. ðeah ðe hit ƿiþ utan his hiƿ ne aƿende; Eac sƿylce ꝥ halige fant ƿæter ðe is gehaten lifes ƿylspring. is gelic on hiƿe oþrum ƿæterum. and is under ðeod brosnunge. ac ðæs halgan gastes miht genealæcþ ðam brosnigendlicum ƿætere. ðurh sacerda bletsunge. and hit mæg syþþan lichaman. and saƿle aþƿean fram eallum synnū þurh gastlice miht; Efne nu ƿe geseoþ tƿa ðing on ðisum anum gesceafte; Æfter soþum gecynde. ꝥ ƿæter is brosniendlic ƿæte. ⁊ æfter gastlicere gerynu hæfþ halƿende mihte; Sƿa eac gif ƿe sceaƿiaþ ꝥ halige husel æfter lichamlicum andgite. ðonne geseo ƿe ꝥ hit is gesceaft brosniendlic. ⁊ aƿendedlic; Gif ƿe ða gastlican mihte ðær on tocnaƿaþ ðonne undergite ƿe ꝥ ðær is lif on. and forgifþ undeadlicnysse. ðam ðe hit mid geleafan þicgaþ; Micel is betƿux ðære ungeseƿenlican mihte ðæs halgan husles. and ðam geseƿenlican hiƿe agenes gecyndes; Hit is on gecynde brosniendlic hlaf. and brosniendlic ƿin. ⁊ is æfter mihte Godcundes ƿordes. soþlice Cristes lichama and his blod. na sƿaþeah lichamlice. ac gastlice; Micel is betƿux ðam lichaman ðe Crist on ðroƿode. and ðam lichaman ðe to husle biþ gehalgod; Se lichama soþlice ðe Crist on ðroƿode ƿæs geboren of Marian flæsce. mid blode ⁊ mid banum. mid felle and mid sinum. on menniscum limum. mid gesceadƿisre saƿle gelifæst. ⁊ his gastlica lichama ðe ƿe husel hataþ is of manegum cornum gegaderod. buton blod. ⁊ bane. limleas. and saƿulleas. and nis forþi nan ðing ðær on to understandenne lichamlice. ac is eall gastlice to understandene; Sƿa hƿæt sƿa on ðam husle is ðe us lifes edƿist forgifþ. ꝥ is of ðære gastlican mihte. and ungeseƿenlicre fremminge; Forþi is ꝥ halige husel gehaten gerynu. forþan ðe oþer ðing is ðæron geseƿen. and oþer ðing undergiten; ꝥ ꝥ ðær geseƿen is hæfþ lichamlic hiƿ. and ꝥ ꝥ ƿe ðær on understandaþ hæfþ gastlice mihte, ƿitodlice Cristes lichama ðe deaþ ðroƿode. and of deaþe aras. ne sƿylt næfre heonon forþ. ac is ece and unþroƿiendlic; ꝥ husel is hƿilƿendlic. na ece; Brosniendlic. ⁊ biþ sticc mælum todæled; Betƿux toþum tocoƿen. and into ðam buce asend. ac hit biþ ðeah hƿæþere æfter gastlicere mihte on ælcum dæle eall; Manega underfoþ ðone halgan lichaman. and he biþ sƿa ðeah on ælcum dæle eall æfter gastlicre gerynu; þeah sume menn gesceote læsse dæl ne biþ sƿa ðeah na mare miht on ðam maran dæle ðonne on ðam læssan. for ðan ðe hit biþ on ælcum menn ansund æfter ðære ungeseƿenlican mihte; þeos gerynu is ƿedd. ⁊ hiƿ; Cristes lichama is soþfæstnyss; Ðis ƿedd ƿe healdaþ gerynelice. oþ ꝥ ƿe becumon to ðære soþfæstnysse. ⁊ þonne biþ þis ƿedd geendod; Soþlice hit is sƿa sƿa ƿe ær cƿædon Cristes lichama. and his blod. na lichamlice. ac gastlice; Vton nu gehyran ðæs apostoles ƿord embe ðas gerynu; Paulus se apostol cƿæþ be ðam ealdan folce Israhela. ðus ƿritende on his pistole to geleaffullum mannum; Ealle ure forþ fæderas ƿæron gefullude on ƿolcne. and on sæ. and eall hi æton ðone ylcan gastlican mete. and ealle hi druncon ðone ylcan gastlican drenc; Hi druncon soþlice of æfter filigendan stane. and se stan ƿæs Crist; Næs se stan ðe ꝥ ƿæter þa of fleoƿ lichamlice crist. ac he getacnode Crist. ðe clypode ðus to eallū geleaffullum mannum. sƿa hƿam sƿa ðyrste come to me ⁊ drince; And of his innoþe fleoƿþ liflic ƿæter; þis he sæde be ðam halgan gaste ðe ða underfengon. ðe on hine gelyfdon; Se apostol Paulus cƿæþ ꝥ ꝥ Israhela folc æte ðone ylcan gastlican mete. and drunce ðone ylcan gastlican drenc. forþan ðe se ylca heofonlica mete ðe hi afedde. xl. geara. and ꝥ ƿæter ðe of ðam stane fleoƿ. hæfde getacnunge Cristes lichaman. and his blodes. ðe nu beoþ geoffrode dæghƿomlice on godes cyrcan; Hit ƿæron ða ylcan ðe ƿe nu offriaþ. na lichamlice ac gastlice; ƿe sædon eoƿ hƿene ær ꝥ Crist halgode hlaf and ƿin ær his þroƿunge to husle. and cƿæþ. ðis is min lichama. and min blod; Ne ðroƿode he ða gyt. ac sƿa ðeah he aƿende ðurh ungeseƿenlice miht ðone hlaf to his agenum lichaman. and ꝥ ƿin to his blod. sƿa sƿa he ær dyde. on ðam ƿestene ær ðan ðe he to men geboren ƿurde. ða ða he aƿende ðone heofonlican mete to his flæsce. and ꝥ floƿende ƿæter of ðam stane to his agenum blode; Fela manna æton of ðam heofonlican mete on ðam ƿestene. and druncon ðone gastlican drenc. and ƿurdon sƿa ðeah deade. sƿa sƿa Crist sæde; Ne mænde Crist ðone deaþ ðe nan mann forbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde ðone ecan deaþ ðe sume of ðam folce for heora geleafleaste geearnodon; Moyses and Aaron. and manega oþre of ðam folce ðe God gelicodon. æton ðone heofonlican

can hlaf. ac hi næron deade ðam ecum deaþ. ðeah ðe hi ᵹemænum deaþe forþ ferdon; Hi ᵹesawon ꝥ se heofonlica mete wæs ᵹesewenlic. and brosnendlic. ac hi understodon ᵹastlice be ðam ᵹesewenlicum ðinᵹe. and hit ᵹastlice ðiᵹdon; Se hælend cwæþ. se ðe et min flæsc. and drincþ min blod. he hæfþ ece lif; Ne het he na etan ðone lichaman. ðe he mid befanᵹen wæs. ne ꝥ blod drincan. ðe he for us aᵹeat. ac he mænde mid ðam worde ꝥ haliᵹe husel. ðe ᵹastlic is his lichama and his blod. and se þe þæs onbyriᵹþ mid ᵹeleaffulre heortan. he hæfþ ꝥ ece lif; On ðære ealdan æ ᵹeleaffulle men offrodon Gode mistlice lac. ðe hæfdon to weardre ᵹetacnunᵹe Cristes lichama. ðe he sylf for urum synnum syþþan ᵹeoffrode his heofonlican fæder to onsæᵹednysse; witodlice ðis husel þe nu biþ ᵹehalᵹod æt Godes weofode. is ᵹemynd Cristes lichaman ðe he for us ᵹeoffrode. ⁊ his blodes ðe he for us aᵹeat. swa swa he sylf het. doþ þis on minū ᵹemynde; Æne þrowode Crist þurh hine sylfne. ac swa þeah dæᵹhwomlice biþ his þrowunᵹ ᵹeedniwod þurh ᵹerynu þæs halᵹan husles æt þære halᵹan mæssan; Vs is eac tosmeaᵹenne. ꝥ ꝥ haliᵹe husel is æᵹþer ᵹe Cristes lichama. ᵹe ealles ᵹeleaffulles folces. æfter ᵹastlicre ᵹerynu; Swa swa se wisa Auᵹustinus be þam cwæþ; Gif ᵹe willaþ understandan be Cristes lichaman. ᵹehyraþ ðone apostol Paulum þus cweþende; Ge soþlice sindon Cristes lichama. and leomu; Nu is eower ᵹerynu ᵹeled on Godes mysan. ⁊ ᵹe underfoþ eower ᵹerynu to þam ðe ᵹe sylfe sind; Beoþ ꝥ ꝥ ᵹe ᵹeseoþ on ðam weofode. and underfoþ ꝥ ꝥ ᵹe sylfe sind; Eft cwæþ se apostol Paulus be ðisum. we maneᵹa syndon an hlaf. and an lichama; Vnderstandaþ nu. and blissiaþ. feala sind an hlaf. and an lichoma on Criste; He is ure heafod. and we sind his lima; Ne biþ se hlaf of anum corne. ac of maneᵹum; Ne ꝥ win of anre berian. ac of maneᵹum; Swa we sceolon eac habban annysse on urum drihtne. swa swa hit awriten is be ðam ᵹeleaffullan weorode. ꝥ hi wæron on swa micelre annysse. swilce him eallum wære an sawul. and an heorte; Crist ᵹehalᵹode on his beode ða ᵹerynu ure sibbe. ⁊ ure annysse. se þe underfehþ ðære annysse ᵹerynu. and ne hilt ðene bend ðære soþan sibbe. ne underfehþ he na ᵹerynu for him sylfum. ac ᵹecydnysse toᵹeanes him sylfum; Micel ᵹod biþ cristenum mannum. ꝥ hi ᵹelome to husleᵹan. ᵹif hi unscæþþiᵹnysse on heora heortan beraþ to ðam weofode. ᵹif hi ne beoþ mid leahtrum ofsette; þam yfelan men ne becymþ to nanū ᵹode. ac to forwyrde. ᵹif he ðæs halᵹan husles unwurþe onbyriᵹþ; Haliᵹe bec beodaþ ꝥ man ᵹemænᵹe wæter to ðam wine ðe to husle sceal. forþan ðe ꝥ wæter hæfþ ðæs folces ᵹetacnunᵹe. swa swa ꝥ win Cristes blodes; ⁊ forþi ne sceal naþor buton oþrum beon ᵹeoffrode. æt ðære halᵹan mæssan. ꝥ Crist beo mid us. and we mid Criste. ꝥ heafod mid ðam leomum. and þa leomu mid þam heafode; We woldon ᵹefyrn trahtnian be þam lambe ðe se ealde Israhel æt heora easter tyde ᵹeoffrodon. ac we woldon ærest eow ᵹereccan ymbe ðas ᵹerynu. and syþþan hu hit man ðicᵹan sceal; ꝥ ᵹetacniendlice lamb wæs ᵹeoffrod æt heora easter tide. ⁊ se apostol Paulus cwæþ on ðisum dæᵹþerlicum pistole. ꝥ Crist is ure easter tide. se ðe for us wæs ᵹeoffrod. and on ðisum dæᵹe of deaþe aras; Israhel ðiᵹde ðæs lambes flæsc. swa swa God bebead. mid ðeorfum hlafum. and feldlicum lactucum. ⁊ we sceolon þicᵹan ꝥ haliᵹe husel Cristes lichaman. ⁊ his blod buton beorman yfelnysse and manfulnysse; Swa swa se beorma awent ða ᵹesceafta of heora ᵹecynde. swa awendaþ eac leahtras ðæs mannes ᵹecynde fram unscæþþiᵹnysse to ᵹewemmednysse; Se apostol tæhte ꝥ we sceoldon ᵹewistfullian na on yfelnysse beorman. ac on ðeorfnyssum sifernysse. ⁊ soþfæstnysse; Lactuca hatte seo wyrt ðe hi etan sceoldon mid ðam þeorfum hlafum. heo is biter on ðiᵹene; ⁊ we sceolon mid biternysse soþre behreowsunᵹe ure mod ᵹeclænsian. ᵹif we willaþ Cristes lichaman ðicᵹan; Næs ꝥ Israhela folc ᵹewunod. to hreawum flæsce. ðeah ðe God him bebude. ꝥ hi hit hreaw ne æton. ne on wætere ᵹesoden. ac ᵹebræd to fyre; Se wile ðicᵹan Godes lichaman hreawne. se ðe buton ᵹesceade wenþ ꝥ he wære anfeald man us ᵹelice. and nære God; ⁊ se ðe æfter menniscum wisdome wyle smeaᵹan ymbe ða ᵹerynu Cristes flæsclicnysse. he deþ swylce he seoþe ðæs lambes flæsc on wætere. forþan ðe wæter ᵹetacnaþ on ðissere stowe mennisc inᵹehid; Ac we sceolon witan ꝥ ealle ða ᵹerynu Cristes mennisnysse wæron ᵹefadode ðurh mihte ðæs halᵹan ᵹastes. ðonne ðicᵹe we his lichaman ᵹebrædne to fyre. forþan ðe se halᵹa ᵹast com on fyres hiwe to ðam apostolum on mistlicum ᵹereordum; Israhel sceold etan þæs lambes heafod. ⁊ ða fet. and ꝥ innewearde. ⁊ þær nan ðinᵹ belifan ne moste ofer niht; Gif ðær hwæt belife. forbærnan ꝥ on fyre. and ne tobræcan ða baan; Æfter ᵹastlicum andᵹite we etaþ ðæs lambes heafod. ðonne we underfoþ Cristes ᵹodcundnysse on urum ᵹeleafan; Eft ðonne we his mennisnysse mid lufe underfoþ.

þonne ete ƿe þæs lambes fet. forþan þe Crist is angin and ende. God ær ealle ƿorulda. and man on þisre ƿorulde geendunge; Hƿæt is ðæs lambes inneƿearde buton Cristes digelan bebodu ða ƿe etaþ ðonne ƿe lifes ƿord mid grædignysse underfoþ; Nan ðing ne moste ðæs lambes belifan oþ merigen. forþan ðe Godes cƿydas sind to smeagenne mid sƿa micelre carfulnysse. sƿa ꝥ ealle his beboda mid andgite and ƿeorce beon asmeade on nihte þises andƿeardan lifes. ærþan þe se endenexta dæg þæs gemænelican æristes æteoƿige; Gif ƿe þonne ealle þa gerynu Cristes flæsclicnysse þurh smeagan ne magon. ðonne sceole ƿe ða lafe betæcan ðæs halgan gastes mihte mid soþre eadmodnysse. and na to dyrstelice ymbe ða deopan digelnysse ofer ures andgytes mæþe smeagan; Hi æton ꝥ lamb mid begyrdum lendenum; On lendenum is seo galnysse ðæs lichoman. and se ðe ƿyle ꝥ husel ðicgan he sceal geƿryþan ða galnysse. and mid clænnysse ða halgan þigene onfon; Hi ƿæron eac gescode; Hƿæt sind gescy buton deadra nytena hyda; ƿe beoþ soþlice gescode. gif ƿe efenlæcaþ mid urum ferelde and ƿeorce forþfarenra manna lif. ðæra ðe Gode geþugon ðurh gehealdsumnysse his beboda; Hi hæfdon him stæf on handa æt ðære þigene; Se stæf getacnaþ gymene. and hyrdnysse; þa ðe bet cunnon and magon. sceolon gyman oþra manna. and mid heora fultume underƿriþan; þā gemettum ƿæs beboden ꝥ hi sceoldon caflice etan. forðam ðe God onscunaþ ða sleacnysse on his ðegnum. and ða he lufaþ ðe mid modes carnesse ðæs ecanlifes myrhþe secaþ; Hit is aƿriten. Ne elca ðu to gecyrranne to Gode. ðy læs þe se tima losie þurh ða sleacan elcunge; þa gemettan ne moston ðæs lambes ban scænan. ne ða cempan ðe Crist ahengon ne moston tobrecan his halgan sceancan. sƿa sƿa hi dydon þæra tƿegra sceaþena ðe him on tƿa healfa hangodon. ac drihten aras of deaþe gesund buton ælcere forrotodnysse; And hi sceolon geseon æt ðam miclan dome hƿæne hi geƿundodon ƿælhreoƿlice on rode; þeos tid is gehaten on ebreiscum gereorde Pasca. ꝥ is on leden Transitus. and on englis Færeld. forþan ðe on ðisum dæge ferde Godes folc fram egipta landa ofer ða readan sæ. fram ðeaþe to ðam behatenan earde; Vre drihten ferde eac on þisne timan. sƿa sƿa se Godspellere Iohnes cƿæþ. fram ðisum middan earde to his heofonlican fæder; ƿe sceolon fylian urum heafde. and faran fram deofle to Criste. fram ðissere unstæþþigan ƿurulde. to his staþelfæstan rice. ac ƿe sceolon ærest on urum andƿeardan life faran fram leahtrum to halgum mægnum. fram unþeaƿum to godum þeaƿum. gif ƿe ƿillaþ æfter ðisum lænan life faran toþam ecan. and æfter urum æriste to hælende Criste; He us gelæde to his lifigendan fæder. ðe hine sealde for urū synnum to deaþe; Si him ƿuldor and lof. ðære ƿeldæda on ealra ƿorulda ƿoruld. AMEN.

¶ *The same in Englishe.*

A Sermon on Easter day.

MEn beloued, it hath bene often sayde vnto you about our Sauiours resurrection, how hee on this present day, after his suffering mightelye rose from death. Now will we open vnto you through Gods grace, of the holy housell, which ye should nowe goe vnto, and instructe your vnderstanding about this misterye, both after the olde couenaunte, and also after the newe, that no doubting may trouble you about this liuely foode. The almightye God bad Moyses hys Captayne in the lande of Egypt, to commaunde the people of Israel to take to euery familye a lambe of one yeare olde, the night they departed out of the countrey to the land of promise, and to offer that lambe to God, and after to cutte it, & to make the ✠ signe of ẏ crosse with the lambes bloud vpon the side postes, and the vpper poste of their dore, and afterward to eate the lambes fleshe rosted, and vnleauened bread with wilde lettisse. God sayth vnto Moyses: *Eate of the Lambe nothyng rawe, nor sodden in water, but rosted at the fyre. Eate the heade, the feete, and the inwardes, and let nothyng of it bee left vntill the mornyng: if any thynge thereof remayne, that shall you burne with fyre. Eate it in thys wyse: Gyrde your loynes, and doe your shoes on your feete, haue you staues in your handes, and eate it in haste. Thys tyme is the Lordes Passeouer.* And there was slaine on that night in euerye house through out Pharaos raigne, the firste borne childe: and Gods people of Israel were deliuered from that sodeine death through the lambes offring, and his bloudes marking. Then sayde God vnto vnto Moyses: *Keepe thys daye in your remembraunce, and holde it a greate feast in your kindredes with a perpetuall obseruation, and eate vnleauened breade alwayes seuen dayes at thys feaste.* After this deede God ledde the people of Israel ouer the read Sea with dry foote, and drowned therein Pharao and all hys armye together, with their possessions, and fedde afterward the Israelites fortye yeares with heauenlye foode, and gaue them water out of the hard rocke, vntill they came to the promised land. Part of this storye we haue treated of in an other place, part we shall nowe declare, to witte, that whiche belongeth to the holy housell. Christian men may not now kepe that olde lawe bodily, but it behoueth them to know what it ghostlye signifyeth. That innocent lambe whiche the olde Israelites dyd then kill, had sygnifycation after ghostly vnderstandynge, of Christes sufferynge, who vngyltye shedde hys holy bloude for our redemption. Hereof syng Gods seruantes at euery *Masse: Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. That is in our speech: Thou lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy vpon vs. Those Israelites were deliuered from that sodaine death, and from Pharaos bondage by the lãbes offring, whiche sygnifyed Christes sufferinge: throughe which we be deliuered from euerlasting death, and from the deuils cruell raigne, if we ryghtlye beleue in the true redemer of the whole world Christe the Sauiour. That lambe was offered in the euening: and our Sauiour suffered in the sixt age of thys world. This age of thys corruptible world is reckened vnto the euenynge. They marked with the lambes bloud vpon the doores, and the vpper postes *Thau, that is the signe of the crosse, and were so defended from the Aungell that killed the Egyptians fyrst borne childe. And we *ought to marke our foreheades, and our bodyes with the token of Christes roode, that we maye be also deliuered from destruction, when we shall be marked both on forehead, and also in harte with the bloud of our Lordes suffering. Those Israelites did eate ẏ lambes flesh at their Easter time, when they were deliuered, & we receaue ghostly Christes body, and drinke his bloud, when we receaue with true belief,

that holy houſel. That tyme they kept with them at Eaſter ſeuen dayes with great worſhippe, whē they were deliuered from Pharao, and went from that land. So alſo Chriſten men kepe Chriſtes reſurrection at the tyme of Eaſter theſe vij. dayes, becauſe through hys ſufferyng and riſing we be deliuered, and be made cleane by going to this holy houſell, as Chriſt ſayth in hys Goſpell: *Verelye, verelye I ſaye vnto you, ye haue no lyfe in you excepte ye eate my fleſhe and drinke my bloude. Hee that eateth my fleſhe and drincketh my bloude, abydeth in me, and I in him, and hath that euerlaſting lyfe, and I ſhall rayſe hym vppe in the laſte daye. I am the liuelye bread that came dovvne from heauen: not ſo as your forefathers dyd eate that heauenlye bread in the vvilderneſſe, and aftervvarde dyed. Hee that eateth thys breade, liueth for euer.* He bleſſed bread before hys ſufferyng, and diuided it to hys Diſciples, thus ſaying: *Eate of thys bread, it is my bodye, and doe thys in my remembraunce.* Alſo hee bleſſed wyne in one cuppe, and ſayd: *Drinke ye all of thys: This is my bloude that is ſhedde for many, in forgiueneſſe of ſinnes.* The Apoſtles dyd as Chriſt commaunded, that is, they bleſſed bread and wine to houſell agayn afterward in hys remembraunce. Euen ſo alſo their ſucceſſors, and all prieſtes by Chriſtes commaundement doe bleſſe bread and wyne to houſell in his name with the Apoſtolike bleſſyng. Now, men haue often * ſearched and do yet often ſearch, howe bread that is gathered of corne, and through fyers heate baked, maye bee turned to Chriſtes body: or how wyne that is preſſed out of manye grapes is turned through one bleſſing, to the Lordes bloud. Now ſaye we to ſuch men, that ſome thinges be ſpoken of Chriſt by * ſignification, and ſome be things certaine. True thys is and certaine that Chriſt was borne of a mayde, and ſuffered death of his own accorde, and was buried, and on this daye roſe from death. He is ſaid to be bread by ſignificatiō, & a lambe, & a lyon, and a mountayne. He is called bread, becauſe hee is our lyfe and Angels lyfe. He is ſayd to be a lambe for his innocencie: a Lyon for ſtrength wherewith he ouercame the ſtrong deuill. But Chriſt is not ſo notwithſtandinge after true nature, neyther bread, nor a lambe, nor a lyon. Why is then that holy houſell called Chriſtes bodye, or his bloud, if it be not truely that it is called? Truely the bread and the wyne, whiche in the ſupper by the prieſt is halowed, ſhewe one thyng without to humane vnderſtanding, and an other thyng within to beleuing mindes. Without they bee ſene bread and wyne both in figure and in taſt, and they be truly after their halowing, Chriſtes body and his bloude through ghoſtly miſterye. An heathen childe is Chriſtened, yet he altereth not hys ſhape without, though he be chaunged within. He is brought to yͤ fontſtone ſinfull through Adams diſobedience: howbeit he is waſhed frō all ſinne within, though he hath not chaunged hys ſhape without. * Euen ſo the holy fonte water that is called the welſpryng of lyfe, is lyke in ſhape to other waters, and is ſubiect to corruption, but the holy ghoſtes might commeth to the corruptible water through the prieſtes bleſſyng, and it may after waſh the body and ſoule from all ſinne, through ghoſtlye myghte. Beholde nowe wee ſee two thynges in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moyſture, and after ghoſtlye miſterye, hath wholeſome vertue. So alſo if we beholde that holye houſel after bodily vnderſtanding, then ſee we that it is a creature corruptible & mutable. If we acknowledge therin ghoſtly might, then vnderſtand we that lyfe is therein, and that it geueth immortalitye to them that eate it with beliefe. Much is betwixte the inuiſible myght of the holye houſell, and the viſible ſhape of his proper nature. It is * naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wyne: and is by mighty of Gods worde truly Chriſtes body and his bloud: not ſo notwithſtāding bodily, but ghoſtly. Much is betwixt the * body of Chriſt which he ſuffered in, & the bodye that is halowed to houſell. The bodye truely that Chriſt ſuffered in was borne of the * fleſh of Mary, with bloud, & with bone, wͭ ſkin, & with ſynowes, in humane limmes, with a reaſonable ſoule lyuyng: and his ghoſtly body, which we call the houſell, is gathered of many cornes, without bloud and bone, without lymme, without ſoule, and therfore nothyng is to be vnderſtande therin bodilye, but all is ghoſtly to bee vnderſtande. What ſoeuer is in that houſell, which geueth ſubſtaunce of life, that is of the ghoſtlye might, and inuiſible doyng. Therfore is that holy houſell called a miſtery, becauſe there is one thyng in it ſeene, and an other thyng vnderſtanded. That which is ther * ſene, hath bodily ſhape: and that we do there vnderſtand, hath ghoſtlye might. Certaynely Chriſtes bodye which ſuffered death and roſe frō death, neuer * dyeth henceforth, but is eternall and vnpaſſible. That houſell is temporall, not eternall, * corruptible and dealed into ſundrye partes, chewed betwene teeth, & ſent into the bellye: howbeit neuertheleſſe after ghoſtly myght it is all in euery part. Many receaue that holy body: and yet notwithſtanding, it is ſo all in euery parte after ghoſtly miſterye. Thoughe ſome chewe the leſſe, yet is there no more myghte notwithſtāding in the more part, then in yͤ leſſe, becauſe it is whole in all mē after the inuiſible myght. Thys miſterye is a * pledge and a figure: Chriſtes bodye is truth it ſelfe. Thys pledge we do kepe miſtically, vntyll that we be come to the truth it ſelfe, and then is this pledge ended. Truely it is ſo as we before haue ſayd, Chriſtes body and hys bloud: not bodilye, but ghoſtlye. But nowe heare the Apoſtles wordes about thys miſtery. Paule the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of yͤ olde Iſraelites thus writing in hys Epiſtle to faithfull men: *All our forefathers vvere baptiſed in the cloude, and in the ſea, and all they dyd eate the ſame ghoſtlye meate, and drancke the ſame ghoſtly drincke. They drancke truelye of the ſtone that follovved them, and that ſtone vvas Chriſt.* Neyther was that * ſtone then from whiche the water ranne, bodilye Chriſt, but it ſignifyed Chriſt, that calleth thus to all beleuing and faythfull men: *VVho ſoeuer thyrſteth, let hym come to me and drincke, and from hys bovvells ſhall flovve liuely vvater.* This he ſayd of the holy ghoſt, which they receaued who beleaued on hym. The Apoſtle Paule ſayth: *that the Iſraelites dyd eate the ſame ghoſtlye meate, and drancke the ſame ghoſtlye drincke,* becauſe that heauenly meate that fedde them xl. yeares, and that water which from the ſtone dyd flowe, had ſignifycation of Chriſtes body and hys bloud, that nowe be offered daylye in Gods Church. It was the ſame whiche we now offer, not bodily, but ghoſtly. We ſayd vnto you ere while, that Chriſt halowed bread and wyne to houſel before hys ſufferyng, and ſayd: *Thys is my bodye, and my bloude.* Yet he had not then ſuffred: but ſo notwithſtandyng hee * turned through inuiſible might, that bread to hys owne body, and that wine to his bloud, as he before dyd in yͤ wildernes, before that he was borne to be a mā, when he * turned that heauenlye meate to his fleſhe, and the flowing water from that ſtone to hys owne bloude. Very many did eate of that * heauenly meate in yͤ wildernes, and dranke that ghoſtly drinke, and were neuertheles dead, as Chriſt ſayd. And Chriſt ment not that death which none can eſcape, but that euerlaſtyng death which ſome of that folke deſerued for theyr vnbeliefe. Moyſes and Aaron, and many other of that people which pleaſed God, dyd eate that heauenly bread, & they dyed not that euerlaſting death, though they dyed the common death. They ſawe that the heauenly meate was viſible and corruptible, and they ghoſtlye vnderſtode by that viſible thing, and ghoſtly receyued it. The Sauiour ſayeth: *Hee that eateth my fleſhe, and drincketh my bloude, hath euerlaſtyng lyfe.* And he bad thē not eate that body wherwith hee was encloſed, nor to drinke that bloude whiche he ſhed for vs: * but he ment with thoſe wordes, that holye houſell, which ghoſtly is hys body and hys bloud: and he that taſteth it with beleauing hart, hath that eternall lyfe. In the olde law faythfull men offred to God diuers ſacrifices, that had * foreſignification of Chriſtes bodye, which for our ſinnes he himſelfe to hys heauenly father hath ſince * offered to ſacrifice. Certaynly thys houſell which we doe now halow at Gods Altar, is a * remembraunce of Chriſtes body whiche he offred for vs, and of hys bloud which he ſhedde for vs: So he hymſelfe commaunded: *Do thys in my remembraunce.* Once ſuffred Chriſt by hym ſelfe, but yet neuertheleſſe hys ſuffring is dayly renued at this ſupper through miſtery of the holy houſel. Therfore we ought to conſider diligently, how that this holy houſell is both Chriſtes bodye, and the bodye of all * faythfull men, after ghoſtly miſterye. As wiſe Auguſtine ſayth of it: Yf ye will vnderſtand of Chriſtes bodye, heare the Apoſtle Paule thus ſpeakynge: *Ye truely bee Chriſtes bodye and hys members.* Nowe is your miſterye ſet on Godes table, and ye receyue your miſterye, which miſtery ye your ſelfes be. Be that whiche ye ſe on the alter, and receiue that which ye your ſelues be. Againe the Apoſtle Paule ſayth by it: *VVe many be one bread, and one bodye.* Vnderſtand nowe and reioyce, manye be one bread, and one body in Chriſt. He is our head, and we be hys limmes: and the bread is not of one corne, but of many: nor the wyne of one grape, but of manye. So alſo we al ſhould haue one vnitye in our Lord, as it is writen of the faythfull armye, how that they were in ſo great an

*3. difference.

*4. difference.

Math.15.

*5. difference.

1.Cor.10.

*Note this expoſitiō which is now a dayes thought new.

Iohn.4.

1.Cor.10.

Exod.17.

Math.26.
Luke.22.
Mark.14.

*Now we eate that body whiche was eaten before hee was borne, by fayth.

*Here is no tranſubſtantiation.

**Manna.*

Ioh.6.

*What body the faithfull do nowe eate.

*A ſignification before Chriſt.

*A ſacrifice in Chriſtes tyme.

*A remembraunce of Chriſt.

Math.26.
Hebr.10.

*The houſell is alſo the body of all faythfull mē.

vnitie,

vnitye, as though al of them were one ſoule, & one harte. Chriſt halowed on his table the miſtery of our peace, and of our vnitye. He which receyueth that miſtery of vnity, and keepeth not the bonde of true peace, receyueth no miſterye for him ſelf, but a witneſſe againſt him ſelf. It is very good for chriſten men, ẏ they go often to houſell, if they bring with thẽ to ẏ alter, vngiltines & innocencie of hart: if they be not oppreſſed with ſinne. To an euill man it turneth to no good, but to deſtruction, if he receiue vnworthily that holy houſel. Holy* bokes cõmaũde ẏ water be mingled to that wine which ſhalbe for houſell, becauſe the water ſignifyeth the people, and the * wyne Chriſtes bloud, and therfore ſhall neither the one without the other be offred at the holy maſſe, that Chriſt maye be with vs, and we with Chriſt, the head with the lymmes, and the lymmes with the head. We would before haue intreated of the lambe whiche the olde Iſraelites offered at theyr Eaſter tyme, but that we deſired firſt to declare vnto you of this miſtery, and after how we ſhoulde receyue it. That ſignifying lambe was offred at the Eaſter. And the Apoſtle Paul ſayth in the Epiſtle of this preſent day, that Chriſt is our Eaſter, who was offred for vs, and on thys day roſe from death. The Iſraelites dyd eate the lambes fleſhe as God commaunded, with vnleauened bread and wilde lettiſſe: * ſo we ſhould receyue that holy houſell of Chriſtes body and bloude without the leauen of ſinne, and iniquitye. As leauen turneth the creatures from theyr nature: ſo doth ſynne alſo chaunge the nature of man from innocencye to vncleanneſſe. The Apoſtle hath taught howe we ſhoulde feaſt, not in the leauen of euilneſſe, but in ẏ ſweete dough of puritie and truth. The herbe which they ſhould eate with the vnleuened bread is called lettiſſe, and is bitter in taſte. So we ſhould with bitterneſſe of vnfayned repentance purifye our mynde, if we will eat Chriſtes bodye. Thoſe Iſraelites were not wont to eate rawe fleſhe, & therfore God badde thẽ to eate it neither raw, nor ſodden in water, but roſted with fyer. He ſhall receyue the body of God raw, that ſhall thinke without reaſon, that Chriſt was onely man lyke vnto vs, and was not God. And he that will after mans wiſedome ſearch of ẏ miſtery of Chriſtes incarnation, doth lyke vnto hym that doth ſeeth lambes fleſh in water, becauſe that water in this ſame place ſignifyeth mans vnderſtãding: but we ſhould vnderſtand, that all the miſterye of Chriſtes humanitye was ordered by the power of the holy ghoſt: and then eate we his body roſted with fyre, becauſe the holy ghoſt came in fiery lykenes to the Apoſtles in diuerſe tõges. The Iſraelites ſhould eate the lambes head, and the feete, and the purtenaunce, and nothing therof muſt be left ouer night. If any thing therof were lefte, they dyd burne that in the fyre: and they brake not the bones. After ghoſtly vnderſtanding we doe then eate the lambes head, whẽ we take hold of Chriſtes diuinitye in our beliefe. Agayne, when we take holde of hys humanitye with loue, then eate we the lambes feete, becauſe that Chriſt is the begynnynge and end, God before all worlde, & man in the end of thys world. what bee the lambes purtenaunce, but Chriſtes ſecret preceptes, and theſe we eate when we receiue with greedines the word of lyfe. There muſte nothing of the lambe be left vnto the morninge, becauſe that all Godes ſayinges are to be ſearched with great carefulneſſe: ſo that all his preceptes may be knowen in vnderſtanding and dede in the nyght of this preſent lyfe, before that the laſt day of the vniuerſall reſurrection do appeare. If we can not ſearch out throughly all the miſterye of Chriſtes incarnation, then ought we to betake the reſt vnto the might of the holy ghoſt with true humilitye, and not to ſearche raſhlye of that deepe ſecretnes aboue the meaſure of our vnderſtandyng. They dyd eate the lambes fleſhe with their loynes gyrt. In the loynes is the luſt of the body, and he which will receyue that houſell, ſhall couer or wrap in that cõcupiſcence, and take with chaſtitie that holy receite. They were alſo ſhod. what be ſhoes but of the hydes of dead beaſtes? we be truely ſhod if we match in our ſteppes & dedes, the lyfe of mẽ departed thys lyfe, which pleaſe God with kepyng of hys cõmaundemẽtes. They had ſtaues in theyr hãdes whẽ they did eate. Thys ſtafe ſignifieth a carefulnes and a diligẽt ouerſeyng. And all they, that beſt know and can, ſhould take care of other men, & ſtay them vp with theyr helpe. It was inioyned to the eaters that they ſhoulde eate the lambe in haſte, for God abhorreth ſlouthfulnes in his ſeruauntes, and thoſe he loueth, that ſeke the ioye of euerlaſting life with quicknes, and haſt of minde. It is written: Prolong not to turne vnto God, leſt the tyme paſſe away through thy ſlowe tarrying. The eaters mought not break the lãbes bones. No more mought the ſouldyers that dyd hange Chriſte, break hys holye legges, as they dyd of the two theeues that hanged on eyther ſide of hym. And the Lord roſe from death ſound without all corruption: and at the laſt iudgement they ſhall ſee hym, whom they dyd moſte cruelly woũd on ẏ croſſe. This time is called in ẏ Ebrue tonge Paſca, and in Latine Tranſitus, and in Engliſhe a *Paſſeouer*, becauſe that on this daye the people of Iſraell paſſed from the land of Egypt ouer the read ſea: from bondage to the lande of promiſe. So alſo dyd our Lorde at thys tyme departe, as ſayeth Iohn the Euangeliſte, from this world, to his heauenly father. Euen ſo we ought to folowe our head, and to go from the deuyll to Chriſt: from this vnſtable world, to hys ſtable kindome. Howbeit we ſhould firſt in this preſent lyfe depart from vice to holye vertue: from euill manners to good manners, if we will after this our lente lyfe go to that eternall lyfe, and after our reſurrection, to Chriſt. He bring vs to his euerliuing father, who gaue hym to death for our ſinnes. To him be honour and prayſe of wel doing world without ende. Amen.

*No ſcripture inforceth the mixture of water with the wine.

*The wine ſignifieth Chriſtes bloud.

*Howe we ſhoulde come to the holy communion.

Exod.12.

And thus I ſuppoſe, it ſtandeth cleare and euidently proued by courſe of all theſe ages afore recited, from the tyme of Tertullian and Auſten, vnto the dayes of this Ælfricus aboue mencioned, and after hym, that this newcome miracle of trãſubſtantiatiõ was not yet crept into ẏ heads of men, nor almoſt came in any queſtion amongeſt learned men, nor was admitted for any doctrine in ẏ Churche, at leaſt for any general doctrine of all men to be receaued, til a thouſand yeare complete after Chriſt, that is, till that Sathan began to bee let at large. Apocal. 20. For who euer heard in all the primitiue Churche, or euer read in the workes of the old auncient Doctors this queſtion once to be aſked, or diſputed, whether any ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne remained in the Lordes Supper? Or what man was euer ſo doltiſhe to beleue any ſuch thyng, or euer called hereticke for not beleuyng the ſame, before the tyme of ſeduction, that is, before the. 1000. yeares aforeſayd were expired.

Wherfore they that ſtand ſo much vpõ the antiquitie of this Article as a doctrine whiche hath euer ſince Chriſtes tyme bene receaued in the Church, taught by the Apoſtles, beleued of all Catholickes, and confirmed by conſent of all ages, of Councells, of nations, & people vnto this preſent day: theſe I ſay, either ſhew them ſelues very ignoraunt in hyſtories & in all ſtate of antiquitie, or els moſt impudently they do abuſe the ſimple credulitie of the people.

To procede now farther in this diſcuſſion of antiquitye, it folowed, that after the tyme of Ælfricus aforeſayd, this matter of tranſubſtantiation began fyrſt to be talked of and to comme in queſtion emong a fewe ſuperſtitious monkes: ſo that as blyndnes and ſuperſtition beganne more and more to encreaſe, ſo the ſayd groſſe opinion ſtil more and more, both in number and authoritye preuayled, in ſo much that about the yeare of our Lorde. 1060. the denying of tranſubſtantiation began to be counted hereſie.

And in this number fyrſt was one Berengarius a Frenchmã, and Archdeacon of Angeowe, which of all chriſten men, which we reade of, was fyrſt called and counted an hereticke for denying of tranſubſtantiatiõ, and troubled for the ſame, as ye ſhall heare.

This Berengarius lyued in ẏ time of Pope Leo. 9. Victor, and Nicolas. 2. whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. Albeit I do fynd our wryters here in ſome diſcrepaunce. For the moſte of them do hold, that he fyrſt recanted vnder Pope Leo. 9. in the Councell of Vercellenſe: and afterward agayn vnder Pope Nicolas. 2. about the yeare. 1062. as is to be gathered of Gratian, De conſecrat. diſti. 2. Ego Berengarius, where he ſayeth, that Pope Nicolas dyd ſend alabout to Biſhops and Archbiſhops, the Copie of his recantation. Agayn by the Actes of the Councell of Rome, it there appeareth, ẏ the ſayd Berengarius made this hys ſayd laſt recantation vnder Pope Hildebrand, called Gregoric.7. But this difference of tymes is no great matter to ſtand vppon. The truth of the ſtory is this: that when Berengarius had profeſſed the truth of the Sacrament, and had ſtande in the open confeſſion therof, accordyng to the auncient veritye of the doctrine receaued in the Church before, he was ſo handled by certein malignaunt and ſuperſtitious monkes, that what by euyll entreaty, and what for feare of death (ſuche is the weake fralitye of man) he began to ſhrynke, and afterward dyd in deede recante the truth.

Of theſe malicious enemies agaynſt Berengarius, ẏ chiefeſt troubler was Lancfrãck, Abbot of Codune, afterward Archbiſhop of Cant: Guimund monke likewiſe fyrſte of the Abbay of Leufrede, and afterwarde Archbiſhop of Auerſane: Algerius alſo monke of Corbein: Fulbertus alſo monke & Biſhop: and Hildebrand ſomtyme Monke of Cluniake, & then Archdeacon of Turon, & afterward Biſhop of Rome. By theſe and ſuch other monkes of the lyke fraternitye, the errour and hereſie of tranſubſtantiation began firſt to be defended, and partes publickly in wrytyng to be taken about that matter. Of the which ſydes and partes, the fyrſt that began to ſet vp that factiõ by wrytyng, ſemeth to bee Paſchaſius, who was a lytle before Berengarius, about the tyme of Bertrame: and likewiſe Lancfranck the fyrſt that brought it into England. On the contrary ſide again, the firſt that was openly impugned & troubled for denying tranſubſtantiatiõ, was this Berengarius: with whõ Lãcfranck alſo was ſuppoſed at ẏ fyrſt beginnyng to holde & take parte, but afterward to cleare hym ſelfe, hee ſtode openly againſt him in the Councell, and wrote agaynſt hym.

Lancfräcke persecu- our of Berenga- rius.

Paſchaſius the fyrſt be- ginner of the faction of tranſub- ſtantiation.

It foloweth then in the Acte of the Councell, that when the Synode of Archbiſhopes, Biſhops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together aſſembled, the greater number (ſayth the ſtory) did hold, that the bread and wyne were turned ſubſtantially into the bodye and bloud of Chriſt. Notwithſtandinge (ſayth he) diuers there were in the ſayd Councell whiche helde the contrary with Berengarius, but at laſt were dryuẽ to gyue ouer. Berengarius among the reſt, after hee had long ſtand in the conſtant defenſe of the truth, at laſt relented to their willes, confeſſinge hys errour where none was, and deſired pardon of the Councel. And this was (as ſeemeth to W. Malmesbery) his fyrſt geuing ouer. Who afterward returnyng to hym ſelf agayn after the death of Pope Leo, and prickte with the ſtinge of conſcience, was dryuen agayne to recogniſe the trueth, which he before had denyed.

Ex W. Malmeſb.

The Pope (ſayth Malmesb.) perceauing this, would not leaue hym ſo, but ſent into Fraunce Hildebrand hys Cardinall Chapleine (as meete a mate for ſuch a feate, as was in al Satans courte) and made him with a wanyand to come agayne coram nobis: who ſo handled Berengarius, and bringing hym before the face of the Councell holden at Turon, that he made hym to ſay, erraui, once agayn: agaynſt whom ſtoode vp in that Councell Lancfrancus, and Guimundus aforeſayde, impugnyng hys aſſertion. And thus ſtandeth the narration of W. Malmesbery. But by ẏ Actes of the Councell of Rome appeareth an other declaration, which is, that this latter recantation of Berengarius ſhoulde be at Rome vnder Hildebrand, beyng then Pope, in the yeare of our Lord.1076. and in the moneth of February, and that in the ſayde Councell holden in Eccleſia Saluatoris, this recantatiõ of, Ego Berengarius, was made, and he inioyned by the ſayde Pope Hildebrand, vpon his othe, neuer hereafter to teache or diſpute contrary to that fayth of the Sacrament, there holden. &c.

The ſtorye recantation of Berenga- rius de- clared by W.Mal- meſb. De geſtis An- glorum, lib.3.

The order of his re- cantation declared, Ex Actis Romani Concilij.

Agayn, Henry Bullinger in his booke, De origine erroris, folowing belyke ſome other author, expreſſeth ẏ order of the forſayde recantation after this ſorte, and ſayeth, that in the tyme of Pope Leo.9. Anno. 1051. there was a Romane Councell holden at Vercellenſe, in the which Councell Lancfrancke beyng then preſent, the booke of Ioh. Scotus was openlye read, and there condemned. Alſo Berengarius was ſent for, who ſeing the preiudiciall procedyng of that Councell, refuſed hym ſelfe to come, but ſent.ij. Clerkes, whiche openly there defended hys cauſe and quarell, and were for the ſame cõmitted vnto priſon. Such is the freedom of the Popes generall Councels, with priſons and violence to defend their verities. Agaynſt the doynges of this Councell notwithſtanding, the French men ſtoode ſtyffe, both at Angew, and Turon, ioynyng and conſentyng with Berengarius.

The order the ſayd recantatiõ reported of Henr. Bul- ling. De o- rigine er- roris. ca.x.

Concilium Vercellenſe.

Not long after this, died Pope Leo, and after hym ſucceded Pope Victor, by whõ an other Synode was keepte at Florence, where the Actes and doyngs of the forſayd Councell of Vercellenſe, were confirmed, and a Legate alſo apoynted to bee ſent to Turon in Frãce. This Legate was Hildebrand aboue mẽtioned, who callyng the Clergye of France together in a Synode, fell there in hand with the cauſe of the Sacrament. Berengarius not beyng ignoraunt of theſe Romaine Councels, ſo keepte hym ſelfe, that in all hys action, he would gyue none other anſwere, but that hee beleued & conſented with the fayth of the Catholyke Churche: and ſo for that tyme dyd fruſtrate the purpoſe of that Cõucell, rather deludyng the pretenſes of his enemies, then frely confeſſing the ſimple trueth.

Concilium Florentinũ.

Concilium Turonenſe.

Agayne, after Victor came Pope Nicolas. 2. who congregating an other Councell at Rome, An. 1058. ſent for Berengarius there to appeare, who beyng preſent, argued what he could, for the iuſtnes of his cauſe, but all would not ſerue: In the Popes generall Councels, ſuch a ſtroke and maſterſhyppe beareth authoritye aboue veritye. Berengarius beyng thus borne downe on euery ſyde by might and ſuperioritye, when no remedy would ſerue, but he muſte neede recant agayne, (for ẏ law of relapſe was not yet in ſeaſon) he deſired to knowe what other confeſſion of the Sacrament the Pope woulde requyre of hym, beſydes that whiche he had there confeſſed. Then Pope Nicolas committed that charge to Humbart a Monke of Lotharinge and after a Cardinall, that he ſhould drawe out in formable wordes, the order of his recantion, after the preſcription of Rome, which he ſhould reade and publickely profeſſe before the people. The forme of whiche wordes is regiſtred in the Decrees, De conſecrat. diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius. &c. The effect wherof is this: *That he pretendeth with hart and mouth, to profeſſe, that he acknowledgyng the true, catholyke, and apoſtolicall fayth, doth execrate all hereſy, namely that, wherwith he hath lately bene infamed, as holdyng that the bread and wyne vpon the Altar, after the conſecration of the Prieſt, remayne onely a Sacrament, and are not the very ſelf bodye and bloude of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, neyther can be handled or broken with the Prieſtes handes, or chewed with the teathe of the faythfull, otherwiſe then only by maner of a Sacrament. Conſentyng now to the holy and Apoſtolicall Churche of Rome, he profeſſeth with mouth and hart, to hold the ſame faith touching the Sacramentes of the Lordes maſſe, which the Lord Pope Nicolas, with his Synode here preſent doth holde, and commaundeth to be holden by hys Euangelicall and Apoſtolicall authority, that is, that the bread and wyne vpon the Altar, after conſecration are not only a Sacrament, but alſo are the very trew and ſelfe body and bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, & are ſenſibly felte & broken with handes, & chewed with teethe: ſwearing by the holy Euangeliſtes, that who ſo euer ſhall hold or ſay to the cõtrary, he ſhall hold them perpetually accurſed, and if he him ſelf ſhal hereafter preſume to preach or teach agaynſt the ſame, he ſhall be content to abyde the ſeuerity and rigor of the canons. &c.*

Concilium Romanum ſub. Nicol.2.

Myght beareth downe ryght.

The laſt recantation of *Berengarius.*

Humbertus author of the decree, *Ego Berengarius.*

De conſecra. Diſt.2.cap. Ego Berengarius.

The effecte of *Berengarius* recantation.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly ſort: ſo it gaue to the contrary part no litle triumphe, whereby euer ſynce they haue taken the greatter courage to treade down the truth.

Tranſubſtantiation in hys triumphe.

It happened ſhortly after this, that Hildebrand the

Popes graund Captain, in the behalfe of hys Maſter Pope Nicolas, went in warfare againſt ŷ Normādes. Which warre beyng finiſhed, ſhortlye after, he ſet vpō a newe viage to fight for Pope Alexander, againſt Cadolus: which victorye beyng alſo achieued, it was not long, but he put the new Pope Alexander beſyde the cuſſhion, and was made Pope hym ſelf: ſo that duryng the buſy ſtyrre of theſe warres, the Popes holynes had no layſure to attend the debatyng of thys controuerſye of the Sacrament.

Concilium Romanū. 3.

At length, when all was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his reſtles brayn could not be vnoccupied, but eftſone ſūmoneth a newe Councell at Rome in the Church of Laterane, to reuiue agayne the olde diſceptation of Berengarius, about the yeare (as ſome holde) 1079.

Thus Berengarius beynge toſte by theſe Monkes and Phariſeis, was ſo confoūded, and baited on euery ſide, that partely for worldly feare, ſtraynyng hym on ŷ one ſide, partly for ſhame & griefe of conſcience, that he had now twyſe renyed the truth, on the other ſyde, that the man (as is of hym reported) after theſe ſuch turbulent tragedies, forſakyng hys goods, his ſtudies, learnyng, and former ſtate of lyfe, became a laborer, and wrought with his handes for hys liuyng, all the reſidue of hys lyfe.

The true opinion and iudgement of *Berengarius*, of the Sacrament. *Ex lib. Lancfranci. Archepiſc. contra Bereng.*

The opinion which Berēgarius ſuſteyned touching ŷ Sacrament (as by his own wordes in Lancfranckes booke may appeare) was this: *The ſacrifice of the church cōſiſteth of ij. thinges: The one viſible, the other inuiſible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thing (which is to meane, the body of Chriſt) if it were here preſent before our eyes, it were a thyng viſible and to be ſene: but beyng lyſte vp into heauen, and ſyttyng on the ryght hand of hys Father, to the tyme of reſtoryng of all thing (as S. Peter ſayeth) yt can not be called downe from thence. For the perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God, and man: the Sacrament of the Lordes table conſiſteth of bread and wyne, which beyng conſecrate are not chaunged, but remane in theyr ſubſtances hauyng a certein reſemblance or ſimilitude of thoſe thynges, whereof they bee Sacramentes. &c. Ex lib. Lancfranci.*

The doctrine of *Berēgarius* falſely ſclaundered.

By theſe wordes of Berengarius doctrine, all indifferent readers may ſee and iudge, that he affirmed nothing but that was agreable to the holy Scripture, beleauyng with Sainct Auſten, and all other auncient elders of the Church, that in the holy ſupper all faythfull beleuers be refreſhed ſpiritually, with the body and bloud of the Lorde, vnto euerlaſtinge lyfe. Wherefore moſt impudently they do myſreporte hym (as they do many other beſydes) which falſely lay to his charge, as though his teachyng ſhould be, that in ŷ ſacrate ſupper of the Lorde, nothing els were receaued of the faythfull, beſydes onely the bare ſignes, whiche is the bread and the wyne.

And now that you haue ſene the doctrine of Berengarius, let vs alſo take a vewe of the contrary teaching of Lancfrancus and hys felowes, conferring and comparing together the inſtitution of the one ſyde, with the inſtitution of the other, to marke and conſider whiche of them ſoundeth nerer to the truth of the Scripture. The wordes of Lancfrancke be theſe:

The groſſe opinion of *Lancfrancus*, and the Papiſtes, concerning the Sacrament.

I beleue the earthlye ſubſtances, which vpon the Lordes table are diuinely ſanctified, through the miniſtration of the Prieſt, to be conuerted vnſpeakably, incomprehenſibly, and miraculouſly, by the operation of Gods myghtye power, into the eſſence of the Lordes body, the outward formes onely of the thinges them ſelues, and certein qualityes reſerued, and that for ij. reſpectes: The one leſt the ſight of the rawe and bloudy fleſh might otherwiſe make mē to abhorre frō eating therof: The other, for that they which beleue the thing they ſee not, myght haue the greater merite for their beliefe. The conuerſion of whiche earthlye ſubſtances into the eſſence of the Lordes body notwithſtanding, yet is the ſelf ſame bodye of the Lord in heauen, and there hath his eſſentiall beyng at the ryght hand of his father immortall, inuiolate, perfecte, vndiminiſhed, and vncorrupted: ſo that truely it may be affirmed, the ſelf ſame body both to be receaued of vs, and yet not the ſelf ſame. The ſelf ſame, I meane, as touching the eſſence, propertie, and vertue of his trewe nature: and yet not the ſelf ſame as touching the formes of bread and wyne, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward ſenſes. &c.

And thus haue ye the cōfeſſion of Lancfrancke, Archb. of Canterbury.

From this cōfeſſion of Lancfrancke, the opiniō and aſſertion alſo of Guimūdus Archbiſhop of Auerſane, doth nothing differe in groſſenes, and impietye, but rather paſſeth the ſame, thus affirming and defending: *That the body of Chriſt is preſſed, & torne with teethe, euen like as it was felte and touched with the handes of Thomas.*

And moreouer the ſayd Guimundus (if his booke be not rather counterfeted at Louaine) in the ſame place aunſweryng to an obiection put out, that it is not lawfull for Chriſt to be torne in pieces with teath: doubteth not to pronounce, that whether we take tearyng for hard bytyng, or ſofte biting, it is not repugnant nor diſagreyng, but that (by the will of God agreyng thereunto) the bodye of Chriſte maye be touched with handes, bytten with mouth, cruſhed, yea and diuided in peeces, with hard or ſofte preſſing of the teeth: and that, as he was bruſed vppon the croſſe, according to the Prophet ſaying: *He was bruſed for our iniquities. &c.* **ſo the ſame bodye for the health of the faythfull, may deuoutly be torne and rent with their teath any thing to the contrary notwithſtanding. &c.** Guimund. lib. de Sacram. fol. 30. **Iudge now all good ſtudious readers, what is to be thought of this kind of doctrine, and how this opiniō coheareth with the infallible voice of Gods word, ſayinge** Exod. *And of hym ye ſhall not breake a bone. &c.*

Eſa. 53.

This rude and miſhapen doctrine of theſe monkes concerning tranſubſtantiatiō, as ye haue heard, when & by whom it began fyrſt to be broched: ſo if ye would nowe know, by what learning and ſcriptures they dyd confirme and eſtabliſhe the ſame, ye muſt here thinke and vnderſtand, how their chiefeſt groundes and ſubſtance to perſuade the people, was at this tyme, certein miracles by them forged, and publiſhed both in their writinges and preachinges, whereof one was the ſame of Odo **aboue recited, which** Oſberne, **or ſome other monkyſh legend inuented of him, how he ſhoulde ſhew vnto certein, the hoſte turned into the lykenes of fleſhe and bloud dropping into the Chalice for the conuerſion of thoſe Clerkes, which before would not beleue it.**

An other like miracle is alſo told by ŷ ſaid Oſberne **of** Dunſtane, **in this order, how the ſayd Dunſtane appeared to a certein lame crepill in ŷ nyght, willing him to reſorte vnto his tumbe, to haue hys lymnes agayne reſtored. Which crepill, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a longe tyme, and could not obtayne, began to returne home agayn after long tarying, without all hope of recouerie. To whom the ſayd** Dunſtan **appearyng agayne by the way, aſked frō whence he came, & whether he would. The crepil aunſwering, declared, howe he came thether vpon hope of health, where he had long taried, and becauſe he could fynde no recouerie, therfore he nowe was returnyng home. To whom then ſayd** Dunſtane: **I am (ſayeth he)** Dunſtane **the felow ſeruaunt of all Gods ſeruauntes, and haue ben occupied with certein neceſſary buſines, for the which I could not be preſent there with my childrē. For** Elfricke **(ſayd he) otherwiſe ſurnamed Bata, hath attēpted to diſherite my church, but I haue ſo ſtopped hym, that he could not preuayle.**

Many other fabulous miracles of the like ſtampe are ryſe in popiſhe ſtories, conterfeyted and forged vnder diuers and ſondrye names, ſome referred to Gregorie, **ſome to** Paſchaſius, **& to other moe, which to recite all, would fyll a whole ſea full of lies and fables. Emong many, one is thus inuēted of** Paſchaſius. **There**

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was a prieſt, ſayeth he, of Almane, named Plegildus, who dyd ſee and handle with hys handes viſibly yͤ ſhape of a child vpon the Aultar, and ſo after he had embraced and kyſſed him, it returned agayne into the likenes of bread, as he ſhould come to the receauing therof. This miracle when it was obiected agaynſt Berengarius, he merily deridyng the blynd fable, aunſwered in theſe wordes: Specioſa inquit, pax nebulonis, vt cui oris præberet baſium, eo dentium inferret exitium. that is, *A goodly peace* (quod he) *of a falſe verlet, that whom he before kiſſed with hys mouth, by and by he goeth about to teare hym with his teeth.*

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An other miracle is reported of a Iew boy, who vpō a tyme entryng into the Churche, with an other Chriſtian lad which was hys play felow, ſaw vpon the altar a litle childe broken & torne in peeces, and afterward by portions to be diſtributed among the people. Whiche ſight when the yong Iew comming home had told vnto his father to bee true and certeine, he was for the ſame, condemned to be burned. Thus he beyng incloſed in a houſe, and the dore made faſt where he ſhould be burned, hee was found and taken out from thence by the Chriſtians, not onely alyue, but alſo hauyng not one heare of his head blemiſhed with the flames about him. Who then beyng of the Chriſtians demaunded, how he was ſo preſerued from the burnyng fire: there appeared (ſayd he) to me a beautifull woman ſittyng on a chayre, whoſe ſonne the child was, whiche was before diuided and diſtributed in the Churche among the people, who reached to me her hand in the burnyng flame, and with her gowne ſkyrtes kept the flames from me, ſo that I was preſerued therby from periſhyng. &c. Belyke theſe Monkes lacked miracles among the Chriſtians, when they were fayne to borow ſuch figmentes of the Iewes to proue their feyned tranſubſtantiation.

Eſa.53.

And theſe commonly were then the argumentes of theſe Mōkes, wherwith they perſuaded yͤ people to beleue their trāſubſtantiation. But to leaue theſe Mōkes fictions, and to returne againe to Berengarius, thus Malmesbery of hym reporteth, that after hee had once or twiſe recanted (as is aforeſayd) yet notwithſtādyng this doctrine of yͤ Sacrament ſtill remained in yͤ minde of hys hearers. And how ſo euer the tyranny of the Pope dyd dryue hym through feare to deny his opiniō, and wrought hym much trouble, yet notwithſtandyng after his death he lacked not hys well wyllers. In the nūber of whom was Hildebertus Biſhop Cenomanenſis, whoſe verſes in commendation of hys maiſter, I thought here not vnworthy to be preſerued, beyng otherwiſe rare peraduenture to be founde in our ſtory writers.

Ex W.
Malmeſb.

¶ *Verſes in prayſe of Berengarius.*

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QVem modo miratur, ſemper mirabitur orbis,
Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit:
Quem ſacræ fidei faſtigia ſumma tenentem,
Tandem extrema dies abſtulit auſa nefas.
Illa dies damnoſa dies, & perfida mundo:
Qua dolor & rerum ſumma ruina fuit.
Qua ſtatus eccleſiæ, qua ſpes, qua gloria cleri,
Qua cultor iuris iurè ruente ruit.
Quicquid Philoſophi, quicquid cecinere Poetæ,
Ingenio ceſſit eloquioq́; ſuo.
Sanctior & maior ſapientia, maius adorta,
Impleuit ſacrum pectus & ora Deo.
Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompſit:
Singula factori ſic ſtuduere ſuo.
Vir ſacer & ſapiens, cui nomen creſcit in horas:
Quo minor eſt quiſquis maximus eſt hominum.
Qui cenſus peperit paucos, ſeruauit honores:
Cui potior pauper diuite, iuſq; lucro.
Cui nec deſidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:
Nec tumidum fecit multus & altus honos.
Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit:
Sed doluit quotiens cui daret hac, aberat.
Qui non ceſſauit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec inops dando pauper & ipſe fuit.
Cuius cura ſequi naturam, legibus vti,
Et mentem vitijs, ora negare dolis:
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falſo,
Nil vacuum ſenſu dicere vel facere:
Lædere nec quemquam, cunctis prodeſſe, fauorem
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui veſtis textura rudis, cui non fuit vnquam,
Ante ſitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem pudor hoſpicium ſtatuit ſibi, quàmq́; libido
Inceſtos ſuperat, tam ſuperauit eam.
Quem natura parens cum mundo contulit, inquit,
Degenerant alij, naſcitur iſte mihi:
Quæque vagabatur & penè reliquerat orbem,
Incluſit ſacro pectore iuſtitiam.
Vir ſacer à puero, qui quantum præminet orbi
Fama, adeò famæ præminet ipſe ſuæ.
Fama minor meritis cùm totum peruolet orbem,
Cùm ſemper creſcat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque grauis, vir ſic in vtroque modeſtus,
Vt liuor neutro rodere poſſit eum.
Liuor enim deflet, quem carpſerat antea, nec tam
Carpſit & odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat:
Quàm prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiſcit,
Et queritur celeres huius abiſſe dies.
Vir verè ſapiens & parte beatus ob omni:
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Poſt obitum ſecum viuam precor ac requieſcam.
Nec fiat melior ſors mea ſorte ſua.

Although in thys tyme of Berengarius, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. (as ye haue heard) thys errour of tranſubſtantiation beganne to growe in force and ſtrength, by the ſupporting of certayne popiſhe Monkes aboue rehearſed, as Lancfrancus, Guimundus, Algerius, Hugo, Byſhop of Lingone. Fulbertus, (of whom it is ſayd in ſtoryes, that our Ladye gaue hym ſucke being ſicke, with her owne breſtes) and ſuch other: yet notwithſtanding, all thys while the ſayd tranſubſtantiation was decreed for no publicke lawe, nor doctrine to be holden by any generall conſent, eyther of the Church of Rome, or any other Coūcell, before the Councell of Laterane, vnder Pope Innocent the 3. who, in the yeare of our Lord. 1215. celebratyng in the Churche of Laterane, a general Coūcell of. 1300. Byſhops, enacted there diuers conſtitutions, as of yerely confeſſion, & the cōmunion to be vſed of the whole multitude once a yeare through euery pariſhe Churche.

Tranſubſtantiation fyrſt decreed for a generall lawe, by Pope Innocent the 3.

The generall Councell of *Laterane.*

Item, for the recouerie of the holy land, with a ſubſidie alſo to be leauied for the ſame.

Item, for the aboliſhyng of the bookes and wrytyngs of Ioachim Abbas, and alſo the opinions of Almaricus afore mencioned: notwithſtandyng that the ſayd Ioachim did ſubſcribe with hys owne hande that hee held the ſame doctrine, whiche was in the Churche of Rome, and alſo ſubmitted hys bookes to be preſented to the Sea of Rome, there to be corrected or approued. And yet was he iudged though not an hereticke, yet to be erroneous, and eſpecially in thoſe bookes, whiche he wrote agaynſt Peter Lombard, called afterward the Maſter of Sentence.

Ex Antonin. part.3. tit.19. cap.1.

In the ſayd Councell, beſides diuers other conſtitutions and the Articles of the Crede there in order repeted, as appeareth, Extr. De ſumma trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. 1. firmiter. there was alſo enacted, decreed, and eſtabliſhed the fayth and belief of tranſubſtātiation in theſe wordes folowyng.

Extrau. De Sūm. trin. cap.1. firmiter credimus.

There is one vniuerſall Churche of the faithfull, without which none cā be ſaued, in the which Church the ſelf ſame Ieſus Chriſt is both Prieſt, and alſo the ſacrifice, whoſe body and bloud are truely conteined in the Sacrament of the aultar vnder the formes of bread & wine, the bread beyng trāſubſtātiated into the body, & the wine, into the bloud, by the

The wordes of the Councell, wherby tranſubſtantiation was fyrſt eſtabliſhed.

power and working of God: ſo that to the accompliſhyng of this myſterie of vnitie, we might take of his, the ſame which he hath taken of ours. And this Sacrament none can make or conſecrate, but he that is a Prieſt lawfully ordeined, accordyng to the keyes of the Churche, whiche Ieſus Chriſt hath lefte to his Apoſtles, and to their ſucceſſours. &c.

And thus was yͤ fundatiõ layd for yͤ buildyng of tranſubſtantiation, vpon the cõſent of theſe foreſayd. 1300. Byſhops, in the yeare of our Lord aboue ſpecified, vnder Pope Innocentius, and the doctrine therof intruded for an Article of fayth, into the Churche, neceſſarily to be beleued of all men, vnder payne of hereſie.

Elevation and adoration brought in by Pope Honorius the 3. ¶ *An.* 1220.

But yet all this while, notwithſtandyng that yͤ ſubſtance of bread and wyne was nowe baniſhed out of the Sacrament, and vtterly tranſcorporated into the ſubſtãce of Chriſtes very body and bloud: yet was not this body eleuated ouer the Prieſtes head, nor adored of the people, till the dayes of Pope Honorius the 3. ſuccedyng after Innocentius, who by his Cõucell likewiſe commaunded adoration and eleuation to bée ioyned with tranſubſtantiation, as one Idolatrie cõmonly bryngeth forth an other.

Agayne, the ſaid Sacrament of the Lordes Supper beyng now conſecrated, tranſubſtantiated, eleuated, & adored, yet it was not offered vp for a ſacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, nor for a remedy of yͤ ſoules in Purgatory, nor for a merite operis operati, ſine bono motu vtentis, &c. before that other Popes cõming after, added ſtill new additions to the former inuentions of their predeceſſours.

Conſecration. Tranſubſtantiation. Eleuation. Adoration. Oblation.

And thus haue you the whole order and origine of theſe Idolatrous partes of yͤ Maſſe deſcribed by their tymes and ages, whiche firſt began with conſecration and the forme thereof, whiche were the wordes of the Canon. Then came tranſubſtantiation by Innocentius, and after eleuation and adoration by Honorius, and laſt of all came the oblation meritorious and propitiatorie for yͤ quicke and dead in remiſſion of ſinnes, Ex opere operato.

Perſecution firſt beginning in theſe latter dayes.

Whiche thynges beyng thus conſtituted by the to much vſurped authoritie of yͤ Churche of Rome, ſhortly after folowed perſecution, tyranny and burnyng among the Chriſtians, firſt begynnyng with the Albingenſes, and the faythfull congregation of Tholouſe, neare about the tyme of the ſayd Innocentius, as is afore remembred, pag. 349.

Read before pag. 349.

And thus much for the firſt article of tranſubſtantiation, which (as ye haue heard) was not admitted into the Church for any generall doctrine of fayth, before the yeare and tyme aboue aſſigned, of Pope Innocent the 3. and therefore if any haue bene otherwyſe perſwaded, or yet doe remaine in the ſame perſuaſion ſtill of thys doctrine, as though it had bene of a longer continuaunce then from the tyme aboue expreſſed, let hym vnderſtand that by ignoraunce of hiſtoryes he is deceaued, and for the more ſatiſfying of hys minde, if he credite not me, let hym beleue the wordes of one of hys owne catholicke ſorte, Iohn Duns I meane, who in hys 4. booke wryting of tranſubſtantiation, in what tyme and by whoſe authoritie it was firſt eſtablyſhed, hath theſe words, which alſo are before mencioned before pag. 332. *Theſe wordes of the Scripture myght bee expounded more eaſilye and more plainlye without tranſubſtantiation: but the Church dyd chooſe thys ſenſe, which is harder, being therto moued (as ſeemeth) chieflye becauſe men ſhoulde holde of the Sacramentes, the ſame which the Church of Rome doth holde. &c.* And further in the ſame place the ſayd Duns expounding hym ſelfe what hee meaneth by yͤ church of Rome, maketh there expreſſe mention of the ſayd Innocentius the thyrd, and of this Councell of Laterane. ⁊c.

Read before pag 332.

Ioh. Duns, in li. 4. lib. Sentent.

And furthermore, to entent, yͤ ſuch as be indifferent ſeekers of the truth, maye be more amply ſatiſfied in this behalfe, that this tranſubſtantiation is of no antiquitye, but of a late inuention: I will alſo adioyne to this teſtimonie of Iohan Scotus, the iudgmẽt and verdite of Eraſm. lib. Annot. where he writeth in theſe wordes: In Synaxi tranſubſtantiationẽ ſerò definiuit Eccleſia. Diu ſatis erat credere, ſiue ſub pane conſecrato, ſiue quocunq; modo adeſſe verum corpus Chriſti. &c. that is, *In the Sacramẽt of the cõmunion, the Church concluded tranſubſtantiation but of late dayes. Long before that it was ſufficient to beleue the true body of Chriſt to be preſent either vnder bread, or els by ſome other maner. &c.*

¶The. 2. Article.

As touchyng the ſecond Article, whiche debarreth from the lay people the one halfe of the Sacrament, vnderſtandyng that vnder one kynd, both partes are fully conteyned, for ſomuch as the worlde well knoweth, that this Article is but yong, inuented, decréed, and concluded no longer ſince then at the Councell of Conſtance, not paſt ij. hundreth yeares ago: I ſhal not nede to make any long ſtandyng vpon that matter, eſpecially for that ſufficient hath bene ſayd therof before in our long diſcourſe of the Bohemians ſtory, pag. 763.

Firſt, let vs ſée the reaſons and obiections of the aduerſaries in reſtraynyng the laytie from the one kynde of this Sacrament. The vſe (ſay they) hath bene ſo of long continuance in the Church. Whereunto we aunſwere, yͤ they haue no euident nor authentike example of any auncient cuſtome in the church, whiche they can produce in that behalfe.

Itẽ, where they alledge the place of S. Luke, where Chriſt was knowen in breakyng of bread. ⁊c. cityng moreouer many other places of Scripture, wherin mẽtion is made of breakyng of bread: to aunſwere therunto, although we doe not vtterly repugne, but yͤ ſome of thoſe places may be vnderſtanded of yͤ Sacrament, yet that beyng graunted, it foloweth not therfore, that one part of the Sacrament was onely miniſtred to the people without the other, when as by the common vſe of ſpeache, vnder the namyng of one parte, the whole actiõ is ment. Neither doth it folow, becauſe that bread was broken amõg the brethrẽ, therfore the cuppe was not diſtributed vnto thẽ. For ſo we finde by yͤ wordes of S. Paule, that the vſe of yͤ Corinthians was to communicate not onely in breakyng of bread, but in participatyng the cuppe alſo. *The cuppe* (ſayth he) *whiche we participate. &c.*

Alſo after the Apoſtles, in the tyme of Cyprian, of Hierome, of Gelaſius and other ſucceſſiuely after thẽ, it is euident that both the kyndes were frequented in the Churche. Firſt Cyprian in diuers places declareth that the Sacrament of the bloud was alſo diſtributed. *How do we* (ſayth he) *prouoke them to ſtand in the confeſſion of Chriſt, to the ſhedyng of their bloud, if we deny vnto them the bloud of Chriſt when they prepare them ſelues to the conflicte?*

The wordes of Hierome are playne. *Prieſtes* (ſayth he) *whiche miniſter the Euchariſte, and diuide the bloud vnto the people.*

In hiſtoria tripartita, it was ſaid to the Emperour Theodoſius, *howe will you receaue the body of the Lord, with ſuch bloudy handes, or the cuppe of his precious bloud, with that mouth, which haue ſpilled ſo much innocẽt bloud?*

In the Canon of Gelaſius, and in the Popes owne decrées, theſe wordes we read: *We vnderſtãd that there be ſome whiche receauyng onely the portion of the Lordes body, do abſteyne from the cuppe of his ſacrate bloud, to whõ we enioyne, that either they receaue the whole Sacrament in both the kindes, or els that they receaue neither: for the diuidyng of that whole & one Sacramẽt cã not be done without great ſacrilege, &c.* So that this decrée of pope Gelaſius beyng contradictorie to the Councell of Conſtance, it muſt followe, that either the Pope did erre, or els the Councell of Conſtance muſt nedes bee a ſacrilegious Cõucell, as no doubt it was.

The lyke teſtimonie alſo appeareth in the Councell of Toletan, that the laytie did thē communicate in both kyndes, beſides diuers other old preſidences remaynyng yet in the Churches both of Germanie and alſo of Fraunce declaryng likewiſe the ſame.

The forbidding of both kindes of the Sacrament hath no ground of auncient cuſtome.

And thus it ſtandeth certeine and demonſtrable by manifold probations, how farre this newfounde cuſtome differeth from all antiquitie and preſcription of vſe and tyme. Agayne, although the cuſtome thereof were neuer ſo auncient, yet no cuſtome may be of that ſtrength, to gaynſtand or countermaunde the open & expreſſe cōmaundement of God, whiche ſayth to all men: Bibite ex hoc omnes. *Drinke ye all of this. &c.*

No cuſtome maye derogate from the Lordes expreſſe commaundement.

Agayne, ſeyng the cuppe is called the bloud of the new Teſtament, who is he yͤ dare or can alter the Teſtament of the Lord, when none may be ſo hardy to alter the Teſtament of a man, beyng once approued or ratified?

The Lordes Teſtament ought not to be altered for any reſpects.

Further, as concernyng thoſe places of Scripture before alledged, De fractione panis, that is, *of breaking of bread,* wherupon they thinke them ſelues ſo ſure that the Sacrament was then miniſtred but in one kind: To aūſwere therunto, firſt we ſay, it may be doubted whether all thoſe places in Scripture, De fractione panis, are to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly the ſame beyng gyuen vnto them, yet can they not inferre therby, becauſe one part is mencioned, that the full Sacrament therfore was not miniſtred. The common maner of the Hebrue phraſe is, vnder breakyng of bread to ſignifie generally the whole feaſt or ſupper: as in the Prophet Eſay, theſe wordes, Frange eſurienti panē tuum, do ſignifie as wel giuyng drinke as bread. &c. And thirdly how ſoeuer thoſe places, De fractione panis be taken, yet it maketh litle for them, but rather agaynſt them. For if the Sacrament were adminiſtred amongeſt them in fractione panis. i. *in breaking of bread,* then muſt they needes graunt, that if bread was there brokē: Ergo, there was bread, forasmuch as neither the accidēces of bread without bread can be broken, neither can the naturall body of Chriſt be ſubiect to any fraction or breakyng by the Scripture, whiche ſayth: *And ye ſhall breake no bone of him. &c.* Wherfore take away the ſubſtance of bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breaking, where as neither the ſubſtance of Chriſtes bodye, neither yet the accidences without their ſubſtance can bee broken, neyther againe will they admitte any bread there remaynyng to bee broken? And what then was it in this their Fractione panis, that they dyd breake, if it were not Panis, that is, Subſtantia panis quæ frangebatur? To conclude, if they ſay that this fraction of bread was a Sacramentall breaking of Chriſtes body, ſo by the lyke figure let them ſaye that the beyng of Chriſtes naturall body in the Sacrament is a Sacramentall beyng, and we are agréed.

In fractione panis:

Exod.12.

he naturall body f Chriſt ay not e broken. ccidēces o mā can reake. o bread there to e broke: go, there nothing the Sacrament oken.

Item, they obiect further and ſay, that the Churche vpon due conſideration may alter, as they ſee cauſe, in rites, ceremonies, and Sacramentes.

other ection, unſt h kindes.

Aunſwere. The inſtitution of this Sacrament ſtandeth vpon the order, example, and commaundement of Chriſt. This order he toke: Firſt he diuided yͤ bread ſeuerally from the cuppe, and afterward the cuppe ſeuerally from the bread. Secondly this he did not for any nede on hys behalfe, but onely to giue vs example how to do the ſame after him, in remembrance of his death to the worldes ende. Thirdly, beſide this order taken, and example left, he added alſo an expreſſe commaundemēt: Hoc facitè, *Do this.* Bibitè ex hoc ōmnes. *Drinke ye all of this. &c.* Agaynſt this order, example, and commaundement of the Goſpell, no Churche nor Councell of men nor aungell in heauen hath any power or authoritie to chaūge or alter, accordyng as we are warned: *If any bryng to you any other goſpell beſide that ye haue receaued, hold hym accurſed. &c.*

ſwere.

Order, ample. cōmaundement.

Item, an other obiection. And why may not the Church (ſay they) as well alter the forme of this Sacrament, as the Apoſtles dyd the forme of Baptiſme, where in the Actes S. Peter ſayth: *Let euery one be Baptiſed in the name of Ieſu Chriſt? &c.*

An other obiection againſt both kindes.

Act.2.

Aunſwere. This text ſayth not, that the Apoſtles vſed this forme of Baptiſing: *I Baptiſe thee in the name of Chriſt, &c.* but they vſed many tymes this maner of ſpeach, to be Baptiſed in the name of Chriſt, not as expreſſyng thereby the formable wordes of Baptiſing, but as meanyng thys, that they woulde haue them to become members of Chriſt, and to bee Baptiſed as Chriſtians, entryng into hys Baptiſme, and not only to the Baptiſme of Iohn: and therfore, although the Apoſtles thus ſpake to the people, yet notwithſtandyng when they Baptiſed any them ſelues, they vſed (no doubt) yͤ forme of Chriſt preſcribed, and no other.

Aunſwere.

The Apoſtles chaunged not the forme of Baptiſme.

Item, among many other obiections, they alledge certeine perils and cauſes of weight and importance, as ſpillyng, ſhedyng, or ſhakyng the bloud out of the cuppe, or ſowryng, or els ſticking vpon mens beardes &c. for the which they ſay it is well prouided, yͤ halfe cōmunion to ſuffice. &c. Wherunto it is ſone aūſwered, that as theſe cauſes were no let to Chriſt, to the Apoſtles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitiue Churche, but that in their publicke aſſemblyes they receaued all the whole communion, as well in the one part, as in the other: ſo neither bée the ſayd cauſes ſo importante now, to adnull and euacuate the neceſſary commaundement of the Goſpel, if we were as carefull to obey yͤ Lord, as we are curious to magnifie our own deuiſes, to ſtreine gnattes, to ſtumble at ſtrawes, and to ſeke knottes in ruſhes, which rather are in our owne phantaſies growyng, then there where they are ſought.

Mans curioſitie in magnifiyng his owne deuiſes aboue Gods worde.

In ſumma, diuers other obiections and cauillations are in Popiſh bookes to be found, as in Gabriel yͤ difference made betwene the laitie and Prieſtes, alſo the diſtinction vſed to be made betwen the Prieſtes communion and the laicall cōmunion. Where is to be vnderſtand, that when Prieſtes were bydde to vſe the laicall communiō, therby was ment not receauing vnder one kinde, as lay mē do now, but to abſteine from conſecratyng, & onely to receaue as the lay men then did. Some alſo alledge certeine ſpeciall or particular examples, as of the cuppe onely ſeruing for the bread, or of the bread onely ſet to certeyne ſicke folke for the cuppe. And here they inferre the ſtory of Sozomenus, touchyng the woman in whoſe mouth the Sacrament of bread, which ſhe onely receaued without the cuppe, was turned to a ſtone. &c. other alledge other priuate examples likewiſe of infantes, aged men, ſicke perſons, men excommunicate, phrentickes and madde men, or men dwelling far of from Churches, in mountaynes or wildernes. &c. All whiche priuate examples neither make any inſtāce agaynſt the auncient cuſtome of publicke congregations frequēted from the Apoſtles tyme, and much leſſe ought they to derogate from the expreſſe and neceſſary precepte of the Goſpell, whiche ſayth to all men without exception: Hoc facite. &c. Bibite ex hoc oēs. &c.

Obiections of priuate example, make no inſtance againſt publicke vſages & doctrine of the Church.

Communio Sacerdotum. *Communio laicalis.*

Hiſtor. eccleſ. Lib.8. cap.5.

All reſpectes muſt geue place to the obedience of the worde.

¶*The 3. Article.*

Priuate Maſſes, trentall Maſſes, & dirige maſſes, as they were neuer vſed before yͤ tyme of Gregory vj.C. yeares after Chriſt: ſo yͤ ſame do fight directly agaynſt our Chriſtian doctrine, as by the definition therof may well appeare: The Maſſe is a worke or action of the Prieſt, applyed vnto men for merityng of grace, Ex opere operato: in the whiche Action the Sacrament is firſt worſhipped, and then offered vp for a Sacrifice for remiſſiō of ſinnes, a pœna & culpa, for the quicke and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agréeth with their owne teachyng: ſo is there no parte thereof whiche diſagréeth not from the rules of Chriſtian doctrine, eſpecially theſe, as folow.

The thyrd Article.

Definitiō of the Maſſe.

The firſt rule of Chriſtian doctrine.

1. The firſt rule is: Sacramentes bée inſtituted for ſome principall end and vſe, out of the whiche vſe they are no Sacramentes. As the Sacrament of Baptiſme is a Sacramēt of regeneration, & forgiuenes of ſinnes to the perſon that is Baptiſed. But if it bée caryed about to be worſhypped and ſhewed to other as meritorious for their remiſſion, and regeneration, to them it is no Sacrament.

The 2. rule.

2. No Sacrament nor ceremonie doth profite or cōduce, but them onely whiche take and vſe the ſame.

The 3. rule.

3. Onely the death of Chriſt and the worke of hys ſacrifice vpon the croſſe is to bée applied to euery man by fayth for ſaluation and health of hys ſoule. Beſide this worke alone, to apply any action or worke of Prieſt or of any other perſon, as meritorious of it ſelfe and conducible to ſaluation, to ſoules health or to remiſſiō of ſinnes, it is Idolatrie and derogatory to the Teſtament of God, and to the bloud of Chriſt preiudiciall.

The 4. rule. 1.Cor.10.

4. To make Idoles of Sacramentes and to worſhip dumme thynges for the liuyng God, it is Idolatrie. Fugite Idola. &c. 1.Cor.10.

The 5. rule.

5. Euery good worke what ſo euer it bée that a man doth, profiteth onely hym ſelfe, and can not be applyed to other men Ex opere operato, to profite hym vnto merite or remiſſion, only the Actions of Chriſt except.

The 6. rule.

6. No man can apply to an other the Sacrifice of Chriſtes death by any worke doyng: but euery man muſt apply it to hym ſelfe by hys own beleuyng. Iuſtus ex fide ſua viuet. Habacuc. 2.

The 7. rule.

7. The Sacrifice of Chriſtes death doth ſaue vs fréely by it ſelf, & not by the meanes of any mans workyng for vs.

The 8. rule.

8. The Paſſion of Chriſt once done and no more, is a full and a perfecte oblation and ſatiſfaction for the ſinnes of the whole world, both originall and Actuall: by the vertue of whiche Paſſion, the wrath of God is pacified toward mankynd for euer. Amen.

The 9. rule.

9. The Paſſion of Chriſt once done is onely the obiect of that fayth of ours whiche iuſtifieth vs and nothyng els. And therefore who ſoeuer ſetteth vp any other obiect, beſide that Paſſion once done, for our fayth to apprehend and to beholde the ſame, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatry.

Agaynſt all theſe rules, priuate Maſſes directly do repugne. For firſt beſide that they trāſgreſſe the order, example, and commaundement of Chriſt (whiche diuided the bread and cuppe to them all) they alſo bring the Sacrament out of the right vſe wherunto principally it was ordeyned. For where as the vſe of that Sacramēt is principally inſtituted for a teſtimoniall and remembraunce of Chriſtes death, the priuate Maſſe transferreth the ſame to an other purpoſe, either to make of it a gaſing Idoll, or a worke of application meritorious, or a Sacrifice propiciatory for remiſſion of ſinnes, or a commemoration for ſoules departed in Purgatory, accordyng as it is written in theyr Maſſe booke: Pro quorum memoria corpus Chriſti ſumitur. Pro quorum memoria ſanguis Chriſti ſumitur. &c. where as Chriſt ſayth contrary: Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.

The Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper put out of hys right vſe by priuate Maſſes.

Furthermore the Inſtitution of Chriſt is broken in this, that where the communion was giuen in common, the priuate Maſſe ſuffereth ẏ Prieſt alone to eate and drinke vp all, and when hee hath done, to bleſſe the people with the emptie cuppe.

Chriſtes memorye put out in dirige Maſſes.

Secondly, where as Sacramentes properly profite none but them that vſe the ſame: in the priuate Maſſe the Sacrament is receaued in the behouſe not only of hym that executeth, but of thē alſo ẏ ſtand lookyng on, and of them alſo whiche bee farre of, or dead and in Purgatory.

Application.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothyng is to bée applied for remiſſion of our ſinnes, but onely the death of Chriſt, cōmeth in the priuate Maſſe as a worke meritorious done of the Prieſt, whiche beyng applyed to other, is auayleable Ex opere operato, both to hym that doth it, and to thē for whom it is done, ad remiſſionem peccatorum.

Adoration. Oblation.

Fourthly, priuate Maſſes and all other Maſſes now vſed, of the Sacramēt make an Idoll, of commemoration, make adoratiō, in ſtead of a receauyng, make a deceauyng, in place of ſhewyng forth Chriſtes death, make new oblation of his death, and of a communion, make a ſingle ſole ſuppyng. &c.

Meriting for other.

Fiftly, where as in this generall frayltie of mans nature, no man can merite by any worthynes of workyng for hym ſelfe, the Prieſt in his priuate Maſſe taketh vpon him to merite both for him ſelfe, and for many other.

Opus operatum.

Sixtly, it ſtandeth agaynſt Scripture, that the Sacrifice and death of Chriſt can be applyed any other wyſe to our benefite and iuſtification, then by fayth: Wherfore it is falſe that the Action of the Maſſe cā apply the benefite of Chriſtes death vnto vs Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis vel ſacrificantis.

Priuate Maſſes agaynſt the free grace of God.

Seuenthly, whereas the benefite of our ſaluation and iuſtifiyng ſtādeth by the frée gift and grace of God through our fayth in Chriſt: contrary the application of theſe Popiſhe maſſes ſtoppeth the fréenes of Gods grace, and maketh that this benefite muſt firſt come through the Prieſtes hands and his opus operatum, vnto vs.

Heb.10.

The eight contrarietie betwene priuate Maſſe, and Gods word, is in this: That where ẏ Scripture ſaith: Vnica oblatione conſummauit eos, qui ſanctificantur in perpetuum. *With one oblation hee hath made perfecte them that bee ſanctified for euer*: agaynſt thys rule the priuate Maſſe procedeth in a cōtrary doctrine, makyng of one oblation a dayly oblation, & that which is perfectly done and finiſhed, makyng new to be done agayne: And finally that whiche was inſtituted onely for eatyng, and for a remembraunce of that oblation of Chriſte once done, the Popiſhe Maſſe, maketh an oblation and a new ſatiſfaction dayly to bée done, for the quicke and the dead.

Priuate Maſſes turne the fayth from Chriſtes body crucified, to Chriſt ſacrificed in theyr Maſſes.

To conclude, theſe both priuate and publicke Maſſes of Prieſtes, turne away ẏ obiecte of our fayth frō ẏ body of Chriſt crucified, to ẏ body of Chriſt ſacrificed in their Maſſes. And where as God annexeth no promiſe of iuſtification, but onely to our fayth in the body of Chriſt crucified: they do annexe promiſe of remiſſion a pœna & culpa, to the body in their Maſſes ſacrificed, by their application: beſides diuers other horrible and intolerable corruptions whiche ſpryng of theſe their priuate and publicke Maſſes, which here I leaue to other at theyr layſure further to conceaue and to conſider. Now let vs procede to the other Articles folowyng.

¶ The iiij. and v. Articles of vowes and Prieſtes Mariage.

The 4. and 5. articles vowes and prieſtes mariage.

As we haue diſcourſed before by hyſtories and order of tyme, the antiquitie of the iij. former Articles aboue mencioned, to wytte, of tranſubſtantiation, of the halfe communion, and of priuate Maſſes, ſo now commyng to ẏ Article of vowes and of Prieſtes Mariage, the reader will looke perchaunce to bée ſatiſfied in thys lykewiſe, as in the other before, and to be certified, frō what continuance of tyme theſe vowes and vnmaried lyfe of Prieſtes haue continued. Wherin although ſufficiēt hath bene ſayd before in the former proces of this hiſtory, as in the lyfe of Anſelmus, pag. 251. alſo of Pope Hildebrand, pag. 228. &c. yet for the better eſtabliſhyng of the readers mynde agaynſt this wicked Article of Prieſtes Mariage, it ſhalbe no great labour loſt, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath bene ſayd, or what more is to be added.

Read the pag. 251. Read the pag. 228.

And to the entent that the world may ſée and iudge, the ſayd law and decrée of Prieſtes ſingle ſole lyfe, to be a doctrine of no auncient ſtandyng here within this realme, but onely ſince the tyme of Anſelmus, I will firſt alledge for me the wordes of Henr. Huntyngton. lib.7.De hiſtoria Angloria Anglorũ here folowyng.

Prieſtes mariage firſt forbid- den publi- kely by Anſelmus in Englãd.

Ex Henr. Huntingt. lib.7.De hiſtoria Anglorũ.

Eodem anno ad feſtum Michaelis tenuit Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Conciliũ apud Londonias: In quo prohibuit ſacerdotibus Anglorum, vxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſsimũ viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum, ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent. &c. That is. *The ſame yeare at the feaſt of S. Michaell, Anſelme the Archbiſhop of Canterbury held a Synode at London: In the whiche Synode hee forefended Prieſtes here in England to haue wyues, whiche they were not inhibited before to haue. Whiche conſtitution ſemed to ſome perſons very pure and chaſte. To other ſome agayne it ſemed very daungerous, leſt while that men ſhould take vpõ them ſuch chaſtitie more then they ſhould bee able to beare, by that occaſion they might happely fall into horrible filthines, which ſhould redound to the excedyng ſclaũder of Chriſtian profeſſion.&c.*

Read afore pag.146.

The wordes of Hunting- ton.

Albeit I deny not but before the tyme alſo of Anſelmus, both Odo, & after hym Dunſtane Archb. of Canterbury, and Æthelwold Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwold Biſhop of Worceter in the dayes of kyng Edgar. an.963. as they were all Monkes them ſelues, ſo were they great doers agaynſt the Mariage of Prieſts, placyng in Monkes in Churches and Colledges, and putting out the maryed prieſtes, as ye may read before pag.201. Yet notwithſtãdyng neither was that in many Churches, and alſo the Prieſtes then maryed were not cõſtrayned to leaue their wyues, nor their roumes, but onely at their own choyſe. For ſo writeth Malmeſbery in Vita Dunſtani: Itaq; clerici multarũ Eccleſiarum, data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerẽt, ceſſere, &c. That is: Therefore diuers & ſundry Clerkes of many churches, beyng put to their choiſe, whether to chaunge their wede, or to part from their places, went their wayes. &c. So alſo Ælfricus after them (of whõ mentiõ was made before) was ſomewhat buſie in ſettyng forward the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, and Lanfrancus lykewiſe. But yet this reſtreynte of Prieſtes lawfull Mariage was neuer publickely eſtabliſhed for a law here in the Churche of Englãd, before the commyng of Anſelme in the dayes of William Rufus, and king Henry.1. writing in theſe wordes: *Boldely I commaunde by the authoritie whiche I haue by my Archbyſhoprike, not onely within my Archbiſhopricke, but alſo throughout Englãd, that all Prieſtes that kepe wemen, ſhall be depriued of their Churches, and all eccleſiaſticall benefices. &c.* As ye may read more at large before, pag.251. whiche was much about ẏ ſame tyme when as Hildebrand alſo at Rome began to attẽpte ẏ ſame matter, as before hath bene ſhewed: and alſo beſides hym were other Popes moe, as Innocent the 3. Pope Nicolas the 2. & Calixtus the 2. by whom the Acte agaynſt Prieſtes Mariage was brought at length to hys full perfection, and ſo hath continued euer ſince.

Prieſtes not re- ſtrayned from their wyues before Anſelmus tyme.

Read afore pag.201

Malmeſb. in vita Dunſtani.

Prieſtes firſt reſtrai- d from theyr wi- grace- y in England.

Read afore pag.251.

Long it were and tedious to recite here all ſuch conſtitutions of Councels prouinciall & generall, namely of ẏ Coũcell of Carthage, & of Toledo, which ſemed to worke ſomthing in that behalfe, agaynſt ẏ matrimony of Prieſtes. Agayne, longer it were to number vp the names of all ſuch Byſhops and Prieſtes, whiche notwithſtandyng haue bene maryed ſince that tyme, in diuers countreys, as more amply ſhall bee ſhewed (the Lord willyng) in the ſequele hereof. In the meane ſeaſon, as touchyng the age and tyme of this deuiliſh prohibition for Prieſtes to haue their wyues, this is to be found by credible proues and conferryng of hyſtories, that in the yeare of our Sauiour. 1067. at what tyme Pope Hildebrand began firſt to occupye the Papall chayre, this oth began firſt to be takẽ of Archbyſhops and Byſhops, that they ſhoulde ſuffer none to enter into the miniſterie, or into any Eccleſiaſticall function hauyng a wife: and lykewiſe the Clergy to be bound to promiſe the ſame.

Actis odi iola

And thys was (as I ſayd) about the yeare of our Lord. 1067. wel approued and teſtified by courſe of hyſtories. Wherby appeareth the Prophesie of S. Paul truly to bee verified, ſpeakyng of theſe latter tymes. 1. Timot. 4. Where he writeth in theſe wordes. *The ſpirite ſpeaketh plainly, that in the latter tymes, there ſhall ſome departe from the fayth, harkenyng vnto ſpirites of errour, and to doctrines of deuils, forbiddyng to marye, and commaundyng to abſteyne from meates, whiche the Lord hath created to be taken with thankes giuyng. &c.*

S. Paule propheſieth of forbiddyng of mariage.

1. *Tim.* 4.

In this propheſie of S. Paul ij. thyngs are to be obſerued: Firſt the matter whiche he propheſieth of, that is the forbiddyng of Mariage, & forbiddyng of meates, whiche God generally hath left free to all men. The ſecond thyng in this propheſie to bee noted is the tyme whẽ this propheſie ſhall fall, that is, in the latter tymes of the world. So that this concurreth right well with theſe yeares of Pope Hildebrand aforeſayd, beyng a thouſand yeares cõplete after the Aſcẽſion of our Sauiour: ſo that they may well be called the latter tymes.

S. Paules propheſie found true for the count of tymes.

This propheſie of S. Paul thus ſtandyng (as it doth) firme and certeine, that is, that forbiddyng of Mariage muſt happen in the latter tymes of the world, thẽ muſt it nedes conſequently follow thereby, that the maryed lyfe of Prieſtes is more auncient in the Churche, then is the ſingle life, then the law I meane commaundyng the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes. Which may ſone be proued to bee true, by the true count of tymes, and ſearche of hyſtories.

The maryed life of prieſtes more auncient in the church, then the ſingle life of prieſtes.

For firſt at the Councel of Nice, it is notorious that this deuiliſh law of Mariage to be reſtrained, was ſtopped by Paphnutius.

2. Before this Councell of Nice, in the yeare of our Lord. 180. we read of Policrates Biſhop of Epheſus, who diſſentyng from Pope Victor about a certeyne controuerſie of Eaſter day, alledgeth for hym ſelfe how his progenitours before him, vij. together, one after an other ſucceded in that ſeat, and he now the eight after them, was placed in the ſame: vſing this hys diſcent of hys parentes, not only as a defence of his cauſe, but alſo a glory to hym ſelfe. &c.

3. Pope Syricius, about the yeare of our Lord. 390. wrote to the Prieſts of Spayne about the ſame matter of puttyng their wyues from them, if hys Epiſtle bee not coũterfeite. Theſe Spaniſh prieſtes had then with them a Biſhop of Terragon. Who aunſweryng to Syricius in this behalfe, alledged the teſtimonies of S. Paul, that Prieſts might lawfully reteine their wyues &c. To thys, Syricius replyed agayne (if hys writyng bee not forged) moſte arrogantlye and no leſſe ignorantlye, reprouyng the Prieſtes that were maryed, and for the defenſe of his cauſe, alledged this ſentence of S. Paul: Si ſecundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini. That is: *If ye ſhall lyue after the fleſhe, ye ſhall dye. &c.* Whereby may appeare not onely, how they in Spayne then had wyues, but alſo how blynd theſe men were in ẏ Scriptures, which ſhewed them ſelues ſuch aduerſaries agaynſt Prieſtes Mariage.

Syricius enemye to Prieſtes.

Rom. 8.

4. To be ſhort, the further we go and nearer to the auncient tyme of ẏ Churche, ẏ leſſe auncient we ſhall finde the depriuation of lawfull matrimony amongeſt Chriſtian Miniſters, begynnyng, if we will, with the Apoſtles, theyr examples and Canons, who although were not all maryed, yet diuers of them were, and the reſt had power and liberty to haue and kepe their wyues, witneſſyng S. Paul, where he writeth of him ſelf: Nõ habemus poteſtatẽ ſororem mulierẽ circũducendi ſicut & reliqui Apoſtoli? That is to ſay, *haue not we power to leade about a ſiſter to wife, as alſo the other Apoſtles haue?* Wherby is to bee ſene, both what hee myght do, and what the other Apoſtles did. Albeit Clemens Alex-

Diuers of the Apoſtles were maryed.

Clemens Alexandrinus lib.Strom.7.

Diſtinct.28.

Canon of the Apoſtles.

Alexandrinus, whiche was CC. yeares after Chriſt, Lib.Strom.7. denyeth not but yͤ Paul was maried beyng an Apoſtle, as wel as Peter & Philip. And as yͤ ſaid Apoſtles in their doctrine admoniſhe all men to mary that cā not otherwiſe do, ſaying to euery one beyng in daūger of temptatiō: Vnuſquiſque ſuā vxorē habeat ne tentet vos Satanas.&c. That is, *Let euery man haue his owne wife, leſt Sathā tempte you. &c.* So lykewiſe the ſame Apoſtles in their Canōs (as is in the Popes Decrees cited) do preciſely charge that no Byſhop nor Prieſt, ſhould ſequeſter from him his wife for any matter or pretence of Religion: ſaying, *if any ſhall teach that a prieſt for religion ſake, ought to contemne hys owne wife, let hym be accurſed. &c.*

A ſophiſticall gloſe.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

As for the Gloſe there in the margent, which expoūdeth this word contemnyng for exhibityng thynges neceſſary for her ſuſtenaunce, all the world may ſee that to be a Gloſe of mere Sophiſtrie. And becauſe I haue here made mencion of Clemens Alexandrinus, it ſhal not be to our purpoſe impertinent, to inſerre yͤ wordes of this worthy writer, wherewith hee doth defende Prieſtes lawfull matrimony, agaynſt certeine vayne boſters of virginity in hys tyme. Dicunt glorioſi iſti iactatores, ſe imitari dominum, qui neque vxorem duxit, neque in mundo aliquid poſſedit: ſe magis quam alios Euangelium intellexiſſe gloriātes. That is: Theſe glorious braggers do vaunt them ſelues to be yͤ folowers of yͤ Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet poſſeſſed any thing here in yͤ world. &c. And it followeth, Eis autem dicit ſcriptura, deus ſuperbis reſiſtit, humilibus autē dat gratiā. Deinde neſciunt cauſam cur dominus vxorem non duxerit primum quidem propriam ſponſam habuit eccleſiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, vt opus haberet etiā adiutore aliquo ſecundum carnem. &c. To theſe the Scripture maketh aunſwere: *God withſtandeth the proude, and geueth grace to the humble.* Agayne, they cōſider not the cauſe why the Lord toke no wife. Firſt he had his own peculiar ſpouſe: which is the Churche. Moreouer, neither was he as a common man, that he ſhould ſtand in ſuch nede of a helper after fleſhe. &c. And in the ſame boke a litle after alledgyng agaynſt them that abhorre matrimony, he inferreth yͤ wordes of S.Paul: how that *in the latter daies ſome ſhall fall from the fayth, attending to ſpirites of errour, & to doctrine of deuils, forbiddyng to mary, & to abſtayne from meates. &c.* Whiche place of S.Paule, Clement here applieth not agaynſt yͤ Nouatians, and thē that cōdemne matrimony in generall in all men, as naught: but he applieth it onely agaynſt ſuch, as forbyd mariage in part, & namely in Prieſtes. &c. This Clement wrote after Chriſt, ij. hundreth yeares, and yet if we come downeward to lower tymes, we ſhal finde both by yͤ Councell of Gangren CCC. yeares, and alſo by the Councell of Nyce CCCC. yeares after Chriſt, the ſame liberty of prieſts mariage eſtabliſhed and enacted as a thyng both good and godly. The wordes of Gangren Coūcell be theſe: Si quis diſcernit Præsbyterum coniugatum, tanquā occaſione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, & ab eius oblatione ideo abſtinet, anathema ſit. &c. That is: If any do iudge that a Prieſt for hys mariage ſake, ought not to Miniſter, and therfore doth abſtaine from the ſame, let hym be accurſed.

The cauſe why Chriſt had no wife.

1.Tim.4.

Concilium Gangrenſe.

Diſtinct.28.

Concilium Conſtantinopolitanum.
Diſtinct.31. cap.Quoniā.

Moreouer, procedyng yet in tymes and Chronicles of the Churche, we ſhall come to the vj. Councell called Synodus Conſtantinopolitana, almoſt vij. C. yeares after Chriſt: the wordes of the which Councell be alledged in the Decrees, and be theſe in Latine. Quoniā in Romani ordine canonis eſſe cognouimus traditum, eos qui ordinati ſunt Diaconi vel Præsbyteri, confiteri quod non ſuis iam copulentur vxoribus, antiquū ſequentes canonē Apoſtolicæ diligentiæ & cōſtitutiones ſacrorū virorū, legales nuptias amodo valere volumus, nullo modo cum vxoribus ſuis eorum connubia diſſoluentes, aut priuantes eos familiaritate adinuicem, in tempore oportuno. &c. That is: Becauſe in the order of the Romaine Canō, we know it ſo to be receyued, that ſuch as be Deacons and Prieſtes, ſhall profeſſe them ſelues to haue no more copulation with their wyues, we folowyng the auncient Canon of the diligent Apoſtles and conſtitutions of holy men, enact that ſuch lawfull mariage, frō hence forth, ſhall ſtand in force, in no caſe diſſoluyng their coniunction with their wyues, neither depriuyng thē of their mutuall ſocietie and familiaritie together, in ſuch tyme as they ſhall thinke cōuenient. &c. Hetherto ye haue heard the decree: heare now the penaltie, in the ſame Decree and diſtinction conteyned. Si quis igitur præſumpſerit cōtra Apoſtolicos canones aliquos Præsbyterorum & Diaconorum priuare a contactu & cōmunione legalis vxoris ſuæ, deponatur. &c. That is: If any therfore ſhall preſume, agaynſt the Canons of the Apoſtles, to depriue either prieſt or Deacon from the touchyng and company of hys lawfull wife, let hym bee depriued. And lykewiſe thys Prieſt and Deacon, who ſoeuer for Religion ſake ſhall put away hys wife, let hym be excommunicate. &c. And the Councell of Gangren ſayth: *let hym bee accurſed.* By theſe wordes of the Counſell recited, ſixe thynges are to be noted.

1. Firſt, how thys Councell calleth the Mariage of Prieſtes lawfull, contrary to theſe vj. articles, and to a certain late Engliſh writer of our countrey, entitulyng his booke, againſt the vnlawfull mariage of Prieſtes.
2. In that this Councell ſo foloweth the Canons of yͤ Apoſtles, and conſtitutiōs of holy men, we haue to vnderſtand, what the cenſure both of the Apoſtles, and determination of other holy men were therin.
3. If the Iniunction of this Councell, agreeyng thus with the Apoſtles and holy men, ſtode with truth, the contrary Canon of yͤ Romanes, & alſo of theſe vj. Engliſhe articles, muſt nedes bee condemned of errour.
4. By this Councell appeareth that ſo long tyme, almoſt. 700. yeares after Chriſt, thys prohibition of Prieſtes mariage was not yet entred into the Orient Churche, but ſtoutly was holden out.
5. By the Romane Canon here mentioned (whiche began with Gregorius 600. yeares after Chriſt, a litle before thys Councell) it can not bee denyed, but the Churche of Rome began then to diſceuer, not onely from the veritye, but alſo from the vnitie of all other Churches, folowyng the Apoſtolicke doctrine. Albeit the ſayd Romane Canon, at that tyme ſtode not long, but was ſhortlye diſanulled by the ſayd Gregorius agayne by the occaſion of infantes heades found in hys fiſhe ponde, wherof (Chriſt willyng) more ſhalbe ſpokē hereafter.

Sixtly, here is to be noted and remembred the crafty falſe packyng, and fraude of the Romanes: whiche in the Latine booke of Councels, in diuers new impreſſions, haue ſuppreſſed this Canon, becauſe by lyke, it maketh litle with their purpoſe: playing much lyke with this, as Pope Zoſimus, Bonifacius, and Celeſtinus played with the ſixt Councell of Carthage, which for their ſupremacy, would haue forged a falſe Canon of Nice, had not the Councell ſent to Conſtantinople for the true exemplar therof, and ſo proued them open lyers to their faces. So likewiſe this Canon aboue mētioned, althoughe it bee omitted in ſome bookes, yet beyng found in the auncient and true written copyes, beyng alledged of Nilus a Greke Byſhop of Theſſalonica. CC. yeare tofore: and moreouer beyng foūd and alledged in the Popes owne booke of Decrees diſtin. 31. muſt nedes conuince them of manifeſt theft & falſehode. Thus it may ſtand ſufficiently proued, that yͤ depriuation of Prieſtes lawfull mariage, all this ſpace was not entred into the Churche neither Greke nor Latine, at leaſt toke no ful poſſeſſion, before Pope Hildebrandus tyme, anno domini. 1070. and eſpecially Pope Calixtus tyme, anno domini. 1120. whiche were the firſt open extortors of Prieſtes mariage.

Auentinus a faithfull writer of his time, writing of ỳ Councel of Hildebrand, hath theſe wordes: Sacerdotes illa tempeſtate publicè vxores, ſicut cæteri Chriſtiani habebant: filios procreabant, ſicuti inſtrumētis donationū quæ illi templis, Myſtis, & Monachis fecere: vbi hæ nominatim cum coniugibus teſtes citantur, & honeſto vocabulo Presbyteriſſę nuncupātur, inuenio. Cæſar tum &c. That is: In thoſe dayes Prieſtes commonly had wyues, as other Chriſten mē had, and had children alſo, as may appeare by auncient inſtrumentes, and dedes of gift, whiche were then gyuen to Churches, to the Clergy, & to religious houſes in the whiche inſtrumentes, both the Prieſtes, & theyr wyues alſo with them (whiche there be called Præsbyteriſſæ) I finde to be alledged for witneſſes. It hapned moreouer ỳ ſame time (ſaith Auētine) ỳ the Emperor had the inueſting of diuers Archbiſhopryckes, Byſhopryckes, Abbayes & Nunries within his dominiōs. Pope Hildebrand diſdaynyng againſt both theſe ſortes afore ſayd, that is, both agaynſt them that were inueſted by the Emperour, and alſo againſt all thoſe Prieſtes that had wyues, prouided ſo in his Councell at Rome, that they whiche were promoted by the Emperour into lyuynges of ỳ Church, were counted to come in by Symonie: the other whiche were maryed Prieſts, were counted for Nicolaitanes. Whereupon Pope Hildebrand wrytyng hys letters to ỳ Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, and other great Prelates, and Potentates, namely to Bertholdus, Zaringer, to Rudolphus of Sueuia, to Welphon of Bauaria, to Adalberon, and to theyr Ladyes, and to diuers other, to whō hee thought good: alſo to Biſhops, namely to Otto Byſhop of Conſtance, with other Prieſtes and lay people, willeth thē in hys letters to refuſe and to kepe no company with thoſe Symoniake, and thoſe Nicolaitane Prieſtes (for ſo were they termed then, whiche had either any Eccleſiaſticall liuyng by the Emperour, or els whiche had wyues) to auoyde theyr Maſſes, their talke: neither to eate nor drinke with them, nor once to ſpeake to them, nor to ſalute them, but vtterly to ſhunne them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwiſe then they would eſchue the plague or peſtilence. By reaſon wherof enſued a mighty ſchiſme and affliction among the flocke of Chriſt, ſuch as lyghtly ỳ lyke hath not bene ſene. For the Prieſtes went agaynſt their Byſhops, the people agaynſt the Prieſt, the laity agaynſt the Clergy: briefly all ranne together in heapes and in confuſion. Mē and women, as euery one was ſet vppon miſchief, wickednes, contention and auarice, toke therby occaſion vpō euery lyght ſuſpiciō, to reſiſte theyr Miniſter, to ſpoyle the goodes of the Church. The vulgare people contemned the Prieſtes whiche had maryed wyues, deſpiſed theyr Religion, and all thynges that they dyd: yea and in many places woulde purge the places where they had bene, with holy water, and brent their tythes. Alſo ſuch was the miſchief of them, that they would take the holy myſteries, whiche thoſe maryed Prieſtes had conſecrated, and caſt them in the dyrt, and treade them vnder theyr fete: For ſo then had Hildebrād taught thē, that thoſe were no Prieſts, neither that they were Sacramentes, whiche they dyd conſecrate. So that by this occaſion, many falſe Prophetes roſe, ſeducyng the people from the truth of Chriſt, by forged fables, and falſe miracles, and feyned Gloſes, wraſtyng the Scriptures as ſerued beſt for their owne purpoſes. Of whom few there were that kepte any true chaſtity. Many could make glorious boaſtes & bragges therof, but ỳ greateſt part vnder the ſhew and pretenſe of honeſty and purenes of life, cōmitted inceſt, fornication, adultery, euery where almoſt, and no puniſhmēt was for the ſame. &c. Thus much out of Auentinus. lib. 5. Annal.

To this teſtimonie of Auentinus aboue mēcioned, we will alſo adioyne the recorde of Gebuilerus, a writer of this our latter tyme, and one alſo of theyr owne crew, who doth teſtifie that in tyme of the Emperour Henricus the 4. an. 1057. to the number of 24. Byſhops both in Germany, Spaine, and in Fraunce, were maried, with the Clergie alſo of their dioceſſes.

Of the which Spanyſhe Biſhops we read alſo in Iſidorus, whiche wrote more then ſixe hundreth yeares after Chriſt (and the place alſo cited in the Popes Diſtinctions) in hys booke De clericorum vita, how they ought either to lead an honeſt chaſt lyfe, or els to kepe them ſelues within the bande of matrimony. &c. Wherby is declared the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, either to bee then voluntary, or els their mariage not to be reſtrayned as yet, by any law.

Iſidorus de vita clericorum.

Diſt. 23. cap. Ius igitur.

Moreouer ſuch Caliſtian Prieſtes as bee now a dayes, coūtyng Prieſtes mariage as a new deuiſe, and not ſtandyng with auncient tymes, let them looke vpon the Decree of Pope Symmachus, and aunſwere thereto the Gloſe. Diſt. 81. where it is written: Let Prieſtes be all reſtrayned from the conuerſation of all women, except it bee their mother, ſiſter, or their owne wife. &c. Where the Gloſe in the margent, geueth a note, ſaying: Hic loquitur ſecundum antiqua tempora.

Caliſtian Prieſtes, that is, of *Calixtus* Secte, who chiefly forbad prieſtes mariage.

Thus if either the voyce of Scripture myght take place with theſe men whiche bee ſo rigorous agaynſt Prieſtes mariage: or if the examples of the Apoſtles myght moue them (whom S. Ambroſe witneſſeth to haue bene all maryed, except onely Paul and John) or els if the multitude of maryed Byſhops and Prieſtes might preuaile with them, here might bee rehearſed:

All the Apoſtles were maryed, excepte *Iohn & Paul.* *Ex Ambroſ. 2. Cor. 11.*

That Tertullian was a maryed Prieſt, as witneſſeth Hierome.

Spiridion Byſhop of Cyprus, had wife & children.

Hylary Byſhop of Poytiers, was alſo maryed.

Gregory Byſhop of Nyſſa.

Gregory Byſhop of Nazianzum.

Proſper Byſhop of Rhegium.

Cheremon Byſhop of Nylus. All theſe were maryed Byſhops.

Ex Epiſt. Hilarij ad Abram filiam.

Ex Ruffino: Lib. 2. cap. 9.

Ex Nazianzeno.

Of Polychrates, and his 7. aunciters Byſhops and maryed men, we ſpake before.

Epiphanius Biſhop of Cōſtantinople in Iuſtiniās tyme was ỳ more cōmended, becauſe hys father & aunciters before him, were Prieſtes and Biſhops maried.

Ex Nouel. conſtit. 3. §. Finali.

Hierome ſaith, that in his time, plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia. That is, many Prieſtes were then maryed men.

Ex Hiero. aduerſus Iouinian. Lib. 1.

Pope Damaſus reciteth vp a great number of Byſhops of Rome, whiche were Prieſtes ſonnes, as:

Diſtinct. 56. Hoſius.

Ex Vicelio de ſacrificio miſſæ.

Syluerius. an. 544.
Deuſdedit, about the yeare. 622.
Adrianus 2. about ỳ yeare. 873.
Fœlix 3. about the yeare. 474.
Hoſius.
Agapetus. an. 534.
Gelaſius. 484.
Bonifacius.
Theodorus whoſe father was Byſhop of Hieruſalem, about the yeare. 634.
Ioannes. 10. an. 924.
Ioannes. 15. ỳ ſonne of Leo a Prieſt, about the yeare. 984.
Richard Archdeacon of Couentrie.
Henry Archdeacon of Huntyngton.
Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage.
Thom. Archbiſhop of Yorke, ſonne of Sāpſon B. of Worceter.

And how many other Byſhops and Prieſts in other countreys beſides theſe Byſhops of Rome, myght bee annexed to this Catalogue, if our leaſure were ſuch, to make a whole beadrole of them all?

In ỳ meane time ỳ wordes of Syluius Cardinall, & afterward B. of Rome, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certeyne frende of hys, whiche after hys orders taken, was diſpoſed to mariage. To whom the foreſayd Syluius aunſwereth agayne in theſe wordes folowyng: Credimus te vti non inſulſo conſilio, ſi cum nequeas continere, coniugium quæris: quamuis id prius cogitandum fuerat, anteaquam initiaueris ſacris ordinibus. Sed non ſumus dij omnes qui

Ex Æneas Siluio. Epiſt. 321.

qui futura proſpicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum eſt, vt legi reſiſtere nequeas, melius eſt nubere quam vri. &c. **That is:** *We beleue that you in ſo doing, folow no ſiniſter counſell, in that you chuſe to be maryed, when otherwiſe you are not able to lyue chaſte. Albeit this cõſaile ſhould haue come into your head before that you entered into Eccleſiaſticall orders. But we are not all Gods, to foreſee before, what ſhall happẽ hereafter. Now forſomuch as the matter and caſe ſtandeth ſo, that you are not able to reſiſte the law, better it is to mary then to burne. &c.*

All theſe premiſſes well conſidered, it ſhall ſuffice, I truſt, though no more were ſayd, to proue that this generall law and prohibition of Prieſtes mariage pretẽtended to be ſo auncient, is of no ſuch great tyme, nor long continuance of yeares, as they make it, but rather to be a late deuiſed doctrine gendered by the Monkes, and grounded vpon no reaſon, law, nor Scripture, but that certeine, whiche be repyners agaynſt the truth, do racke and wraſt a few places out of Doctours and ij. or iij. Councels for their pretenſed purpoſe. Whoſe obiections and blynd cauillations, I as profeſſing here but to wryte ſtoryes, referre to the further diſcuſſion of Diuines: in whoſe bookes thys matter is more at large to be ſought and ſearched. In the meane ſeaſõ, ſo much as apperteyneth to the ſearch of tymes & antiquitie, & to the conſeruation of ſuch Actes & monuments as are behoueable for the Churche, I thought hereunto not vnprofitable to be adioyned a certeyne Epiſtle learned and auncient, of Voluſianus Biſhop ſomtimes of Carthage, belõging to ý defẽce of prieſts lawful wedlocke, whiche Æneas Syluius in Deſcriptione Germaniæ, alſo Illyricus in Catal. and Melancth. Lib. De coniugio, do father vpõ Hulderichus Biſhop of Auguſta in the tyme of Pope Nicolas 2. but as I find it in an olde written example, ſent by Iohn Bale to the right reuerend in the Lord, Math. Archbyſhop of Canterbury, as it is ioyned in the ſame booke, ſo it beareth alſo ý ſame title & name of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage: ioynyng alſo withall, an other Latine Epiſtle, whiche perhappes hath not bene ſene in Print before. The Copyes of whiche both Epiſtles, as beyng pertinent to the purpoſe preſent, here vnder enſue in forme as foloweth.

Voluſianus Byſhop of *Carthage.*

Hulderichus Byſhop of *Auguſta.* about the yeare of our Lorde. 900.

The Epiſtle in Latin of Voluſianus, or as ſome thinke, of Hulderichus Byſhop of Auguſta, to Pope Nicolas, agaynſt the forbyddyng of Prieſtes Mariage.

Epiſtola Voluſiani Carthanigenſis Epiſcopi ad Nicolaum Romanorum Epiſcopum.

Hæc eſt reſeriptio Voluſiani Carthanigẽſis Epiſcopi, in qua Papæ Nicolao de continentia clericorum, nõ iuſtè ſed impiè, nec canonicè, ſed indiſcretè tractanti ità reſpondit.

Nicolao Domino & patri peruigili ſanctæ Romanę Eccleſię Prouiſori, Voluſianus ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem vt filius, timorem vt ſeruus.

The epiſtle of *Voluſianus*, or as ſome ſay, of *Hulderichus*, to the Pope, in defence of prieſtes mariage.

CVm tua, ô Pater & Domine, decreta ſuper clericorum cõtinentia nuper mihi tranſmiſſa, à diſcretione inuenirem aliena, timor me turbauit cum triſtitia. Timor quidem propter hoc, quòd dicitur, paſtoris ſententia, ſiue iuſta ſiue iniuſta, timenda eſt. Timebam enim infirmis Scripturæ auditoribus, qui vel iuſtæ vix obediunt ſententiæ, ne iniuſtam conculcantes liberè, oneroſa, imò importabili paſtoris prȩuaricatione præcepti, ſe obligarent. Triſtitia verò vel compaſſio, dum cõſiderabã, qua ratione membra cauere poſſent, capite ſuo tam graui morbo laborante. Quid enim grauius quid totius Eccleſiæ compaſſione dignius, quàm te ſummæ ſedis Pontificem, ad quem totius Eccleſiæ ſpectat examen, à ſancta diſcretione vel minimum exorbitare? Nõ parũ quippe ab hac deuiaſti, cum clericos, quos ad abſtinentiam coniugij monere debebas, ad hanc imperioſa quadã violẽtia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim meritò communi omnium ſapientum iudicio hæc eſt violentia, cum contra Euangelicam inſtitutionem, ac ſancti Spiritus dictationem, ad priuata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda?

Cum ergo plurima veteris ac noui Teſtamenti ſuppetant exempla, ſanctam (vt noſti) diſcretionem docẽtia, tuæ rogo ne graue ſit paternitati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginæ interſeri. Dominus quidẽ in veteri lege ſacerdoti coniugiũ conſtituit, quod illi poſtmodũ interdixiſſe non legitur. Sed idẽ in Euãgelio loquitur: *Sunt eunuchi, qui ſe caſtrauerunt propter regnum cælorum, ſed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui poteſt capere, capiat.* Qua propter Apoſtolus quoq; ait: *De virginibus præceptũ Domini non habeo, cõſilium autẽ do.* Qui etiam iuxta prædictum Domini, non omnes hoc conſilium capere poſſe conſiderãs, ſed multos eiuſdẽ conſilij aſſentatores, hominibus, non Deo, pro falſa ſpecie continentiæ placere volentes, grauiora vides committere, patrum ſcilicet vxores ſubagitare, maſculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere: ne morbi huius aſperſione aduſq; peſtilentiam conualeſcente, nimium ſtatus labefactetur Eccleſiæ totius: *Propter fornicationem*, dixit, *vnuſquiſq; ſuam vxorem habeat.* Quod ſpecialiter ad laicos pertinere, ijdem mentiũtur hypocritæ: qui licet in quouis ſanctiſſimo ordine conſtituti, alienis tamen vxoribus non dubitant abuti. Et quod flendo cernimus, omnes in ſupradictis ſæuiũt ſceleribus. Hi nimirum non rectè Scripturam intellexerunt, cuius mamillam quia durius preſſẽre, ſanguinem pro lacte biberunt. Nam illud Apoſtolicũ: *Vnuſquiſq; ſuam habeat vxorem*, nullum excipit verè, niſi profeſſorem continentiæ, vel eũ qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate præfixit.

Math.19.

1.Cor.7.

Scriptu
per peru
intelle

Durius
præmen
ſanguis e
licitur.

Quod nihilominus tuã, Pater venerande, condecet ſtrenuitatem, vt omnẽ qui tibi manu vel ore votũ faciens cõtinentię, poſtea voluerit apotatare, aut ad votũ exequẽdum ex debito conſtringas, aut ab omni ordine, canonica autoritate deponas: & hoc vt viriliter implere ſufficias, me omneſq; mei ordinis viros adiutores habebis non pigros. Verùm vt huius voti neſcios omninò ſcias non eſſe cogendos, audi Apoſtolũ dicentem ad Timoth: *Oportet* (inquit) *Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem eſſe, vnius vxoris virum.* Quã ſententiam ne quis ad ſolã Eccleſiam verteret, ſubiunxit: *Qui autem domui ſuæ præeſſe neſcit, quomodo Eccleſia Dei diligentiam habebit?* Similiter inquit: *Diaconi ſint vnius vxoris viri, qui filijs ſuis bene præſint, & ſuis domibus.* Hanc autem vxorem à ſacerdote benedicendam eſſe, ſancti Syluestri Papæ decretis ſcio te ſufficienter docuiſſe. His & huiuſmodi ſanctæ Scripturę ſententijs, Regulæ clericorum ſcriptor non immeritò concordans, ait: Clericus ſit pudicus, aut certè vnius matrimonij vinculo fœderatus. Ex quibus omnibus veraciter colligit, quòd Epiſcopus & Diaconus reprehenſibiles notantur, ſi in mulieribus multis diuiduntur. Si verò vnam ſub obtentu religionis abijciunt, vtrunq;, ſcilicet Epiſcopum & Diaconum, ſine graduum differentia, hic Canonica damnat ſententia: Epiſcopus aut Præsbyter vxorem propriam nequaquam ſub obtentu religionis abijciat. ſi verò reiecerit, excommunicetur: & ſi perſeuerauerit, deijciatur. Sanctus quoq; Auguſtinus, ſanctæ diſcretionis non inſcius: Nullum, inquit, tam graue facinus eſt, quin admittendum ſit, vt deuitetur peius.

Titus.

Can.A
poſt.5.

Legimus præterea in ſecundo Tripartitæ Eccleſiaſticæ libro hiſtorię, quòd cum Synodus Nicęna hæc eadem vellet ſancire decreta, vt videlicet Epiſcopi, Præsbyteri, Diaconi, poſt conſecrationem à proprijs vxoribus vel omninò abſtinerent, vel gradũ deponerẽt: ſurgens in medio Paphnutius, (ex illis Martyribus quos Maximus Imperator, oculis eorum dextris euulſis, & ſiniſtris ſuris inciſis, damnauit) contradixit, honorabiles confeſſus nuptias, ac caſtitatem eſſe dicens connubium cum propria vxore: perſuaſitq; Cõcilio ne talem ponerent legẽ: grauẽ aſſerens eſſem cauſã, quæ aut ipſis, aut eorũ cõiugibus occaſio fornicationis exiſteret. Et hæc quidẽ Paphnutiꝰ, licet nuptiarũ expers, expoſuit: Synoduſq; eius ſententiam laudauit, & nihil ex hac parte ſanciuit, ſed hoc in vniuſcuiſq; voluntate, non in neceſſitate dimiſit.

Sunt verò aliqui, qui ſanctum Gregorium ſuæ ſectæ ſumũt adiutorem: quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiã doleo. Ignorãt enim, quòd periculoſum huius hæreſis decretum à S. Gregorio factum, condigno pœnitentiæ fructu poſtmodum ab eodem ſit purgatum. Quippè cùm die quadam in viuarium ſuum propter piſces miſiſſet, & allata inde plus quã ſex milia infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus pœnitentia ingemuit, & factum à ſe de abſtinentia decretum, tantę cædis cauſam confeſſus, condigno illud, vt dixi, pœnitentiæ fructu purgauit: ſuoq; decreto prorſus damnato, Apoſtolicũ illud laudauit conſilium: *Melius eſt nubere quàm vri:* addens ex ſua parte: Melius eſt nubere, quam mortis occaſionem præbere. Hunc forſitan rei euentum ſi illi mecum legiſſent, non tam temerè, credo, iudicarent, Dominicum ſaltem timentes præceptum: *Nolite iudicare, vt non iudicemini.* Inde Paulus dicit: *Tu quis es, qui iudicas alienum ſeruum? ſuo Domino ſtat, aut cadit. Stabit autem: potens eſt enim Dominus ſtatuere illum.* Ceſſet ergo ſanctitas tua cogere, quos tantùm deberet admonere: ne priuato (quod abſit) præcepto, tam veteri quàm nouo cõtrarius inueniaris teſtamẽto. Nam, vt ait ſanctus Auguſtinus ad Donatum: Solum eſt quòd in tua iuſticia pertimeſcimus, ne non pro

1.Cor.7.

Rom.14.

Augu
nus.

pro lenitatis Chriſtianæ conſideratione, ſed pro immanitate facinorum cenſeas coercēdum. Quod te per ipſum Chriſtum ne facias obſecramus: ſic enim peccata compeſcenda ſunt, vt ſuperſint quos peccaſſe pœniteat.

Augusti-nus.

Illud etiā Auguſtini volumus te recordari, quod ait: *Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate: & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter.* Idem de eodem: *In timore Chriſti, in nomine Chriſti exhortor: Quicunq; nō habetis tēporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicūque habetis, in eis non præſumatis. Dico autem, non ſi iſta habetis, damnamini: ſed ſi in iſtis præſumatis, damnamini: ſi propter talia magni vobis videamini: ſi generis humani conditionem communem propter excellentem vnitatem, obliuiſcamini.* Quod nimirum poculum diſcretionis ex illo fonte Apoſtolicæ hauſerat prædicationis: *Solutus es ab vxore, noli quærere vxorem: alligatus es vxori, noli quærere ſolutionē.* Vbi & ſubditur: *Qui habēt vxores, ſint tanquā non habentes: & qui vtuntur mundo, tanquam non vtantur.* Idē dicit de vidua: *Cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino.* Nubere in Domino eſt, nihil in contrahēdo connubio quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare. Ieremias quoq; ait: *Nolite confidere in verbis mendacij, dicentes: Templum Domini, templum Domini, templum Domini eſt.* Quod Hieronimus exponens: *Poteſt* (inquit) *& hoc illis virginibus conuenire, quæ iactant pudicitiam ſuam impudenti vultu: præferunt caſtitatem, cum aliud habeat conſcientia: & neſciunt illam Apoſtoli definitionem de virgine, vt ſit ſancta copore & ſpiritu.* Quid enim prodeſt corporis pudicitia, animo conſtuprato, ſi cæteras virtutes, quas Propheticus ſermo deſcribit, nō habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videm⁹, & quia diſcretionē, licet in hac re neglectā, in alijs tamen vitæ tuę conſtitutionibus eam honeſtè conſeruatam non ignoramus: huius intentionis prauitatē te citò correcturum non deſperamus. Et ideo non quāta poſſumus grauitate, iſtam licet grauiſſimam negligentiā corripimus, vel iudicamus. Quanquam enim ſecūdum vocabula quæ vſus obtinuit, ſit Epiſcopatus Præsbyterio maior: tamen Auguſtinus Hieronymo minor eſt, & à minori quolibet non eſt refugienda correptio: præſertim cum is qui corripitur, & contra veritatem, & pro hominibus niti inuenitur. Neque enim, vt ait ſanctus Auguſtinus ad Bonifaciū: *Quorumlibet diſputationes, quamuis catholicorum & laudatorum virorum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: vt non liceat nobis ſalua honorificentia, quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorū ſcriptis improbare atq; reſpuere, ſi fortè inuenerim⁹ quòd aliter ſenſerint quàm veritas habeat, diuino adiutorio vel ab alijs intellecta, vel à nobis.* Quid autem veritati magis contrariū, quàm hoc, quòd cū ipſa veritas de cōtinētia loquens, nō vnius hominis, ſed omniū planè (nō excepto numero profeſſorū continentię) dicat: *Qui poteſt capere, capiat:* iſti (neſcitur vnde inſtigati) dicant: Qui non poteſt capere, feriatur anathemate?

Cor.7.

Iere.7.

Hierony-mus.

Math.19.

Quid verò per homines fieri poteſt ſtolidius? quid diuinæ maledictioni obligatius, quàm cum aliqui, vel Epiſcopi videlicet, vel Archidiaconi, ita præcipites ſint in libidinē, vt neq; adulteria, neque inceſtus, neque maſculorum (proh pudor) turpiſſimos amplexus ſciāt abhorrere: caſta clericorum coniugia ſibi dicant fœtere, & ab eis nō veræ iuſticiæ cōpaſſione, ſed falſæ iuſticiæ dedignatione, non vt conſeruos rogent cōtinere, ſed vt ſeruos iubeāt ac cogāt abſtinere? Ad cui⁹ imperij, ne dicā conſilij, tā fatuā, tamq; turpem addunt ſuggeſtionē, vt dicant: Honeſtius eſt pluribus occultè implicari, quàm apertè in hominum vultu & conſcientia cum vna ligari. Quod profectò non dicerent, ſi ex illo & in illo eſſent, qui dicit: *Væ vobis Phariſæis, qui omnia facitis propter homines.* Et per Pſalmiſtam: *Qui hominibus placent, cōfuſi ſunt, quoniam Dominus ſpreuit eos.* Hi ſunt, qui prius deberent nobis perſuadere, vt in cōſpectu eius, cui omnia nuda & aperta ſunt, erubeſcamus peccatores eſſe, quàm in conſpectu hominū mundi eſſe. Licet ergo merito ſuæ prauitatis, nullius conſilium mereātur pietatis, nos tamen memores humanitatis diuinæ, eis conſilium authoritatis nunquam à pietate vacātis, per viſcera miniſtramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe: *Eijce primùm hypocrita trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc perſpicies vt eijcias feſtucam de oculo fratris tui.*

urpis Pa-
ſtarum
or.

ſal.53.

ath.7.

hn.8.

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod Dominus dicit de muliere: *Qui ſine peccato eſt veſtrum, primus in eam lapidem mittat.* quaſi diceret: Si lex iubet, ſi Moſes iubet, iubeo & ego, ſed cōpetētes legis miniſtros exigo. Attendētes, quid adducitis, attēdite quæſo & quid eſtis: quia, ſi te ipſum, vt ait Scriptura, perſpexeris, nulli vnquam detraxeris. Significatum eſt autem nobis de quibuſdā eorum, quod tanta apud ſe intumeſcant elatione, vt gregē Domini, pro quo boni paſtores animas non dubitant ponere, iſti verberibus etiā abſq; ratione præſumāt laniare. Quorū ſententiā S. Gregori⁹ nimiū deplorans ait: *Quid fiet de ouibus, quando paſtores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, niſi qui ſæuit? quis verò perſecutorem iudicabit, niſi qui dorſum ſuum ad flagella patienter miniſtrauit?* Operæ pręcium eſt autem, vt audiatur, quo fructu tantum Eccleſiæ Dei inducant ſcandalū, tantum clerus deſpectum, & ab ipſis Epiſcopis, & ab eorum infidelibus patiatur. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitauerim, de quibus Paulus Apoſtolus dicit ad Timotheū: *Quia in nouiſſimis temporibus diſcedent quidam a fide, attendentes ſpiritibus erroris, & doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocriſi loquentium mendacium, & cauteriatā habentium conſcientiam, prohibentium nubere.*

hriſt⁹ le-
non ſol-
, ſed cō-
tentes
git iudi-
s exigit.

egorius.

1.Tim.4.

Hic eſt autē, ſi diligenter inſpiciatur, totius eorū manipulus zizaniæ, totius euentus inſaniæ, vt dū clerici licita vnius mulieris cōſortia, phariſaico deuicti (quod abſit) furore, relinquere cogantur, fornicatores & adulteri & aliarum prauitatum turpiſſimi miniſtri cum ipſis efficiantur. Qui hanc in Eccleſia Dei hæreſim, ſicut cæci duces cæcorum machinantur, vt videlicet illud impleatur quod Pſalmiſta eis, vt pote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur: *Obſcurentur oculi eorum ne videant. &c.* Quia ergo nemo, ô Apoſtolice, ignorat, quòd ſi tu per tui decreti ſententiam, tantam futuram eſſe peſtilentiam ſolitæ diſcretionis claritate perſpexiſſes, nunquam quorumlibet tam prauis ſuggeſtionibus conſenſiſſes: debitæ tibi ſubiectionis fidelitate conſulimus, vt vel nunc ad tanti ſcandali ab Eccleſia Dei propulſionem euigiles: & qua noſti diſcretionis diſciplina, phariſaicā ab ouili Dei extirpes doctrinam, ne ſcilicet vnica Sunamitis, adulterinis diutius vſa maritis, gentem ſanctam, regale ſacerdotium, per irrecuperabile à ſponſo, Chriſto videlicet, auellat diuortium: dum nemo ſine caſtimonia, non tantum in virginali flore, ſed etiam in coniugali habita coniunctione, viſurus ſit Dominum noſtrum: qui cū Deo patre & Spiritu ſancto viuit & regnat per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

Ex cœlibatu Sacerdotum qui fructus oriantur.

Pſal.69.

As touching the antiquitie of thys epiſtle aboue prefixed, it appeareth by the copie, which I haue ſeene, and receaued of the ryght reuerend, aboue named Matthewe Archbyſhop of Canterbury, to be of an old and auncient wryting, both by the forme of yͤ characters, and by yͤ wearing of yͤ Parchment, almoſt conſumed by length of yeares and tyme.

The antiquitie of the Epiſtle before mentioned.

And as concerning the author therof, the ſuperſcription (if it bee true) plainly declareth it to be the epiſtle of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage. Albeit heretofore it hath commonly bene taken and alleaged by the name of Hulderichus Byſhoppe of Auguſta, and partlye appeareth to bee ſo, both by the teſtimonie of Æneas Syluius, in Deſcriptione Germaniæ, who in the ſayd treatiſe affyrmeth that Hulderichus Byſhop of Auguſta, dyd conſtantly reſiſte the Pope abolyſhing the maryage of prieſtes. &c: and alſo by the recorde of Illyricus, teſtifying that the ſaid epiſtle not onely remayneth yet to thys day in olde monumentes, but alſo that he hym ſelfe dyd ſee two exemplars of the ſame, both pretendyng the name of the ſaid Hulderichus to be the author. Notwithſtanding thys copie here aboue prefixed, beareth the title not of Hulderichus Byſhop of Auguſta, but of Voluſianus Biſhop of Carthage in Aphricke, as ye may ſee by the wordes of the preamble, ſaying: *Thys is the reſcripte of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage, vnto Pope Nicholas, concerning prieſtes not to be reſtrayned frō lawfull mariage. &c.*

The author of the foreſaid Epiſtle doubtful, whether he be Hulderichus or Voluſianus.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas thys was, to whom theſe epiſtles were written, it is not plainlye ſhewed in the ſame, but that by probable coniecture it may be geſſed rather to be Pope Nicholas. 2. forſomuch as in hys tyme, prieſtes mariage began ſomewhat earneſtly to bee called in, more then at other tymes before.

Now as touching yͤ Engliſh of this Latine epiſtle aboue exhibited, foraſmuch as yͤ ſame is before inſerted, pag. 183. we will referre yͤ reader vnto the ſame place. Wherin if the tranſlation of the Engliſhe do ſwarue any thing from the Latine here aboue prefixed, yͤ cauſe was, for that the Latine copie, which here we followe, came not before to our handes.

Read before pag.183.

¶ An other Epiſtle of the ſayd Voluſianus concerning mariage not to be reſtrayned from prieſtes and Miniſters of the Church.

CVm ſub liberi arbitrij poteſtate creati ſimus, & non ſub lege, ſed ſub gratia, qualiter creati ſumus, viuamus. Vos qui continentiæ legem nobis inuitis imponitis, liberi arbi-

Rom.8.

Rom.11.

Rom.9.

trij nos poteſtate priuatis. Quod nolumus velle, & quod volumus nolle cogendo imperatis, & imperando cogitis: et legis vinculo, à quo ipſa gratia nos in libertatem liberati ſumus, alligare, & ſpiritum ſeruitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipſamq́; gratiam, ſine qua nihil facere poſſumus, omnino euacuare ſatagitis, ita vt (ſicut ait Apoſtolus) Ipſa gratia iam non ſit gratia, & Dei donum non ſit Dei donum: Et non ex Deo ſed ex homine, nec ex vocante, ſed ex operante: cum idem Apoſtolus dicat: Quia non eſt volentis neq́; currentis, ſed Dei miſerentis.

1.Liberum arbitrium.
2.Gratia.
3.Mandatũ.

Liberum arbitrium locũ Materiæ tenet: Gratia locum Formæ.

Mandatum loco inſtrumenti.

Pſal.19.

Nam cùm ſint tria principalia & quaſi effectiua, per quæ omnis anima humana capax & compos rationis, quicquid ſpiritalis boni apprehendere & percipere poteſt, apprehendit & percipit, & ſine quibus nihil prorſus capere poſſit: liberum arbitrium videlicet, Mandatum, & Gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona à malis decernimus atq́; eligimus: mãdato ad omnia facienda prouocamur ac incitamur: gratia promouemur & adiuuamur) horum omnium tamen gratia Domina & Magiſtra & quaſi præpotens imperatrix & Regina eſt, ad cuius nutũ cætera pendent, & ab ea vim & efficaciã expectant, & ſine illa nihil præualent, ſed quaſi ſtolida & mortua, ſicut materia ſine forma, iacent & ſubiacent. Loco enim materiæ, ſecundum propoſitionem aliquam, liberum arbitrium poſſumus accipere non incongruè: Gratiam verò, loco formæ: Mandatum autem quod medium eſt quaſi inſtrumentũ, ad vtrunq; reſpicere, quo ſummus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quaſi ſtolidã materiam moueat & promoueat, & formam gratiæ illi componat. Et ſicut materia ſine forma eſt horrida & deformis: ita liberum arbitrium eſt horridum & deforme ſine gratia ſuperueniente ſe mouẽte & promouente, mandato medio quaſi inſtrumento (vt diximus) interueniente. Quod ergo forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam ſimilitudinem eſt gratia: & quod materia ſub forma, hoc idem eſt libera voluntas ſub gratia. Et item, quod eſt inſtrumentum ipſorum, hoc eſt mandatum ad vtrunq; iſtorum. Inſtrumentum namq; ſordidam materiam, & horridam atq; aſperam, obſcuram, et quaſi cœcam emaculat & expolit, & claram, planam ac lucidam, forma ſuperueniente, reddit. Sic & mandatum, liberum arbitrium ſordidum & horridum, aſperum & incultum, obſcurũ & cœcum, nitidat, comit, lenit, & excolit, lucidat, & illuminat: ſicut Propheta dicit: præceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, ſplendore gratiæ ſuperueniente.

Liberũ arbitriũ et Mãdatũ ſine Gratia nihil valent.

Gen.2.

Mandatũ ſine gratia nil iuuat.

Math.8.

Et ſicut materia & inſtrumentum ſine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas & mandatum ſine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum ſine gratia præueniente & ſubſequente poteſt? Gratia namq; ad liberum arbitrium, mandatum quaſi nuntium ac famulum mittit: mandatum liberum arbitrium prouocat atq; quaſi ſopitum excitat, vt ad bona facienda euigilet & exurgat, viamq́; ei quam peragere debeat, quaſi cœco deducendo demonſtrat. Quorum vtrunq;, ſi à gratia deſeritur, nihil omninò per ſe poteſt. Quod ſi conatur, deficit, non proficit, neq; etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si præſumit, non aſſumit, ſed potius totam operam & laborem fruſtra cõſumit. Cùm enim mandatum, ſeu per hominem ſiue per Angelum mittitur, & etiam liberum arbitrium ſeu humano ſeu angelico mandati nuntio commouetur, prouocatur, & inſtruitur, niſi diuina gratia comitetur, præueniat, & ſubſequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè homini in paradiſo poſito mandatum quod audiuit: Ex omni ligno Paradiſi comede, de ligno vero ſcientiæ boni & mali ne comedas? Nihil prorſus ad ſalutem, ſed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia ſaluatrix & auxiliatrix defuit, quam ille iniuſtè ſuis viribus fiſus, contempſit. Aut quid valuit Iſraelitico populo in Eremo cõſtituto, mandatũ legis quod per Moyſẽ accepit, cui obedire neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi qui Dominum ſequi ſuo arbitrio, & nõ illius vocatione præſumit dicens: Domine, ſequar te quocunq́; ieris. Ex multis alijs diuinæ ſcripturæ locis noui & veteris Teſtamenti demõſtrari poteſt, quòd neq́; mandatũ, neq́; liberũ arbitrium per ſe quicquam valet, niſi diuina gratia præueniendo & ſubſequendo adiuuet.

Cùm igitur continentiæ bonum, imò omne bonum ſit ſolius diuinæ gratiæ donum, nec per mandatũ, nec per liberum arbitrium comprehendatur, errant & fruſtrà laborant qui ſe ſuis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc inuitis & nolentibus imperant, & non ſpontaneè ſed coactè in Sacrarium Dei dona offerre ſuadent, neſcientes aut obliti illius quod Dominus Moyſi & Moyſes à Domino præcepit dicens: Separate apud vos primitias Domino: quiſq́; voluntarius & bono animo offerat eas Domino. Quid eſt ſeparare apud vos primitias Domino, niſi ſtudioſa cogitatione & meditatione in cordibus veſtris tractare, & cum diſcretione deponere & diuidere, quid Domino de theſauro cordis noſtri valeamus offerre? Si enim rectè offeras & non rectè diuidas, peccaſti. Et quid eſt prono animo offerre, niſi quod ait Pſalmiſta: Voluntariè ſacrificabo tibi? Et Apoſtolus: Non ex triſtitia aut neceſſitate. Hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon, Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, & in omni dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, & in exultatione ſanctifica decimas tuas, & in bono oculo facito adinuentionem manuum tuarum. Et Apoſtolus Iacobus: Non amat Dominus (inquit) coacta ſeruitia. Et, maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligenter. i. non curioſè neq; voluntariè. Sicut nos ergò Dominus inuitos aliquid offerre non iubet: ita vos inuitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere, prohibet per eundem Moyſen vbi ait: Ne facias Calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniam proximo facere, eſt eum nõ compatiendo & miſerando corrigere de peccato: ſed dedignando & exprobrando & detrahendo arguere & accuſare, & non in ſpiritu lenitatis inſtruere, ſed in ſpiritu aſperitatis & auſteritatis deſtruere, cum Apoſtolus dicat: Si præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui ſpirituales eſtis inſtruite huiuſmodi in ſpiritu lenitatis, conſiderans teipſum ne & tu tenteris.

Vi opprimere proximum, eſt vltra vires ſuas aliquid exigere, & onus quod portare non poteſt imponere, imponentibus fortaſſis importabile, cùm Dominus de Phariſæis ad Diſcipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibeat dicens: Super cathredam Moyſi ſedent Scribæ & Phariſæi. &c. Et Apoſtolus Petrus: Paſcite (inquit) qui in vobis eſt, gregem Domini, prouidentes, non coactè, ſed ſpontaneè, ſecundum Dominum: neq́; turpis lucri gratia, ſed voluntariè: neq́; dominantes in Clero, ſed forma eſtote gregi ex animo. Hic paſtor paſtorum, princeps Apoſtolorum, quid cæteri paſtores vel Apoſtoli debeant facere, quomodo gregem Domini ſibi creditum tractare, apertè & piè demonſtrat atq; inſinuat, & quantam ſolicitudinem & compaſſionem erga ſubditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat: & omnem poteſtatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitionẽ cupiditatis, quam quidam in ſubditos ſibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliliminat, & eos non dominos, ſed patres ſubditorum debere eſſe pronunciat: neq; eis aliquid typo potentiæ imperare, ſed zelo pietatis admonere & obſecrare iuxta vires vniuſcuiuſq; ſecundum Dominum, non ſecundum ſuæ voluntatis arbitrium vel poteſtatis imperiũ: & illis formam eſſe gregi debere, vt quod alijs imperant, ipſi priores faciant, & nõ minus exemplis quã verbo proficiãt. Ex animo, inquit: nõ ex imperio: ex volũtate, nõ coactione: ex charitate, nõ ex cupiditate.

Sunt enim plæriq; qui zelo cupiditatis, non charitatis accenſi, alijs imperãt quod implere non valent: & dum lucrum animarum querere ſe ſimulant, lucrum potius terrenum captant. Quod bene Baalam propheta exprimit, qui prophetiæ donum & benedicendi gratiam quam diuinitus acceperat, non ad vtilitatem aliorum, ſed ad vſum ſuæ cupiditatis vertit: & ſicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere ſe oſtendunt, et dum meliores alijs ſe videri volunt, hoc præſumptione quadam & temeritate agunt, & ideo in ipſo præſumptionis ſuæ & temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit Apoſtolus: Qui zelum Dei habent, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam. Zelum Dei ſecundum ſcientiam eſt habere, prouidè et conſultè in diuinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profectò Oza ſimilitudinem gerit, qui dum Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, inclinatam parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mortuus cecidit. Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari, eſt legẽ Domini quã ipſi Sacerdotes portare & tenere debent, ab eis non obſeruando contradici, & quaſi à recto ſtatu in diuerſam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adiutor Dei interpretatur, erigere tentat: Quia ſunt quidã Prelati, qui dum ſacerdotalem ordinem, ipſam legem diuinam maligno exceſſu vel leuiter à ſuæ rectitudinis via quaſi inclinare & in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem caſtigare & corrigere magis virtutis ſuæ oſtentatione quàm diuinæ emulatione præſumunt, & quia hoc inconſultè agunt dũ adiutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumq́; mortaliter in deterius cadũt.

Sunt & alij qui nullam infirmitatis humanæ conſiderationem, nec vllum miſericordiæ reſpectum & compaſſionis affectum habent, & cum Apoſtolo dicere neſcientes: Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Dum ſe ſubditis non condicione qua pares, ſed authoritate qua ſuperiores ſunt, conferunt, atq; magiſtri videri, & plus præeſſe quàm prodeſſe cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, & eos ſibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenæo in Euãgelio legitur, quem angariauerũt perſecutores Domini vt tolleret crucem eius. Cuius etiam nomen huic figuræ conuenienter aptatur. Simon namq; interpretatur obediens. Simon verò, id eſt obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur cum ſubiecti quiq́; à ſuis magiſtris vi dominationis vel authoritatis, vel anathematis preſſi, & eis obedire compulſi, crucem continentiæ patiuntur inuiti: ipſamq́; crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipſam plus ad perniciem ſuam, quàm ad ſalutem portant, nec ipſa cruce peccato moriuntur, ſed potius ipſi peccato viuificãtur: Nam & alia peccata grauiora exindè oriuntur. Inhibito enim naturali vnius mulieris coniugio, ſurrepit non naturalis, ſed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio: ſurrepit illicita & dumnabilis, nõ legitima ſed contra legem alienæ vxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam & meretricabilis nefanda pollutio: quin etiam abominabilis omnibus parentalis inceſtatio, vel aliarum multarum immundiciarũ vel libidinum à diabolo inuentarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Vnde Loth de Sodomitico incendio Angelo domini educente ereptus & vxoris cõſortio viduatus, dũ ſuæ infirmitatis conſcius ad montana non auſus eſt Angelo monente aſcendere, ipſe in Segor parua ciuitate quæ iuxta erat, elegit habitare, ipſo Angelo præcipiẽte & ſic ad eum loquẽte: Salua animam tuam: noli reſpicere poſt tergum, ſed in monte ſaluum te fac, ne & tu ſimul pereas. Cui dixit Loth: Quæſo Domine mi, quia inuenit ſeruus tuus gratiã corã te vt ſaluares me: nõ poſſum in monte ſaluari, ne fortè apprehendat me malum & moriar. Eſt Ciuitas iuxta hic ad quam poſſum fugere parua, & ſaluabor in ea.

Quid eſt quod Loth à Sodomis fugiens præcipiẽte Angelo vt in monte ſaluaretur, montem aſcendere quia ibi mori timebat, noluit, ſed Segor paruam ciuitatẽ iuxtà montem poſitam, vt in ea ſaluaretur, ad habitandũ elegit, niſi quicunq́; fidelium Sodomiticæ libidinis incendium & periculum euadere cupiens, dum celſitudinẽ virginalẽ non valet, & caſtitatis vidualis timet aſcendere ne in ea periclitetur, ad coniugalẽ copulã, cùm ad vtrãq; cõtinentiã paruula eſt & vtriq́; proxima, cõfugit? Nãq; poſt continentias ſupradictas, hæc caſtitas probatur laudabilis, & non priuatur præmio regni cœleſtis. Ad hanc caſtitatẽ, qui non poteſt continere, iubetur accedere & in ea ſaluari, ne fortè ſi montem aſcenderit, apprehendat eum malum & moriatur, & ne, ſi continentiam non ſibi diuinitus conceſſam, ſuis viribus obtinere tentauerit, malũ incõtinẽtiæ vel fornicationis vel aliquarũ ſupradictarũ peſtium eum apprehendat, & in eis mortaliter pereat.

Sunt enim multi qui dum infirmitatem ſuam non conſiderant, & dum maiora ſe apprehendere conantur, ipſa ſua præcipitatione retroacti, in deteriora labũtur: quia dum maiora inconſultius ambiunt, minora quæ tenere videbantur, amittunt. Quod ſanè exemplo ipſius Loth apertè demonſtratur: qui dum relicta Segor quam ad habitandum elegerat, & in qua ſaluari petierat, in montem aſcendit, ibiq́; manſit, in inceſtum filiarum ſuarum, ipſarum ſurreptione corruit, ſicut ſcriptura dicit. Ita namq; ſcriptum eſt: Aſcendit Loth de Segor & manſit in monte, dederuntq́; filiæ patri ſuo bibere vinũ nocte illa, & ingreſſa eſt maior, dormiuitq́; cum patre. Quod nequaquam ſibi contigiſſet, ſi in Segor in qua ſaluari poterat, ad præceptũ Angeli, ſicut ille poſtulauerat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod ſibi ab Angelo cõceſſum fuerat, dereliquit, & quod conceſſum non fuerat, id poſtea ſua voluntate contra præceptum Angeli præſumpſit, ſalutis ſuæ diſpendium pertulit, & graue inceſtus peccatum incurrit. Sic pleriſq́; contingit, qui dum quod ſibi conceſſum eſt à Deo relinquunt, & id quod ſibi conceſſum non eſt ambiunt, & illud quod ſibi conceſſum eſt perdunt, & illud quod ſibi conceſſum non eſt, apprehendunt. Quia ſunt nonnulli, qui dum coniugalem vitam quæ ſibi conceſſa eſt, & in qua ſaluari poſſent, vel inuiti vel volentes deſerunt, & maiori profectus deſiderio cœlibem vitam actitare ſatagunt, ſalutem quam in illa habere poterant, perdunt, & periculum maximum in iſta incurrũt, & ex quo proficere conabantur, magis deficiunt (& ſicut ſus prædiximus) in maioris ruinæ voraginem vergunt.

Quod bene Doctor gentiũ Paulus conſiderans, & infirmis quibuſq́; benignè proſpiciens Corithijs ſuper his ſcriptis ſuis ſe conſulentibus, ita reſcripſit dicens: De quibus autẽ ſcripſiſtis mihi: bonum homini eſt mulierem non tangere: propter fornicationem autem vitandam, vnuſquiſq; vxorem ſuam habeat, & vnaquæq; virum. Et vxori vir debitum reddat: ſimiliter vxor viro. Et poſt pauca, Nolite (inquit) fraudari inuicem, niſi fortè ex conſenſu ad tempus, vt vacetis orationi: & iterum reuertimini in idipſum ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam veſtram: quoniã, ſicut ait Poeta, nõ omnia poſſumus oẽs: Et ſicut Apoſtolus in ſuperioribus dixit: Quia non eſt volentis neq́; currẽtis, ſed Dei miſerentis. Et alibi: Quia vnicuiq; noſtrum data eſt gratia ſecundum menſuram donationis Chriſti. Hanc menſuram vnicuiq; tenendam nec tranſgrediendam eſſe, docens mox intulit: Volo autem omnes homines eſſe ſicut meipſum, ſed vnuſquiſq; proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidem ſic, alius autem ſic: Quia videlicet menſura nos arcendos, & debere eſſe contentos in ſequentibus intimauit dicens: Vnumquemq; ſicut vocauit Deus, ita ambulet. Et vnuſquiſq; in qua vocatione vocatus eſt, in hac permaneat apud Deum. Et hoc idem repetit paulò inferius cauſa confirmationis: Vnuſquiſq; in quo vocatus eſt frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatẽ humanã videbat nõ poſſe tollerare incẽtiua* gemini caloris, niſi per gratiã Dei, neq; vincere pugnam carnis aduerſus ſpiritũ: & quia ſic ipſe dixit de ſe alibi: Videbam aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meæ, hoc ſe miſericorditer, & compatienter, & vnanimiter, non regulater neq; inperatiuè dixiſſe, ſicut in alia epiſtola, monſtrauerat, vbi ait: Humanum dico, propter infirmitatem carnis veſtræ. Et in hac ipſa paulò ſuperius in eodẽ ſchemate, vbi ait: Hoc autem dico ſecundum indulgentiam, non ſecundũ imperium, ſubdendo demonſtrat: De virginibus autem præceptum Domini nen habeo: conſilium do tanquã miſericordiã conſecutus, vt ſim fidelis. Id eſt, ea miſericordia qua mihi Dominus conſuluit quando ad fidẽ me vocauit & ſibi fidelẽ fecit, & ego alijs conſulo & eandẽ miſericordiã illis impẽdo. Et quoniã bonũ eſt vtrũq;, cũ vxore eſſe et ſine vxore eſſe, & cũ viro eſſe & cũ viro non eſſe, neq; peccatũ eſt vel cũ vxore eſſe vel cũ viro eſſe, mox ſubinfert dicens: Eſtimo ergò bonum eſſe propter inſtantẽ neceſſitatẽ: quoniã bonũ eſt homini eſſe ſic. &c.

1.Cor.7.

Rom.9.

Epheſ.4.

Quiſq; intra menſurã ſuã ſe contineat.

1.Cor.7.

*Forte legendũ ingeniti.

Rom.6.

1.Cor.7.

Quid eſt propter inſtantem neceſſitatem? Quæ eſt neceſſitas inſtans, niſi infirmitas præſens? Vel neceſſitas inſtans, eſt neceſſitas vrgens & cogens prout neceſſitas extiterit vel coegerit. Vel inſtantem neceſſitatẽ dicit illius temporis neceſſitatem & anguſtiam quæ tunc extabat & eum cogebat vt talia ſcriberet & eis ſic indulgeret cauſa ſcilicet vitandæ fornicationis quæ tunc temporis acciderat, & aliarum multarum fornicationum ſupradictarum quæ accidere poſſent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc incæpit, & ſibi ſcribentibus reſcripſit, et Corinthijs in ſuperioribus huius epiſtolæ vehemẽter inuectus, in hæc verba prorupit: Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate & ſpiritu manſuetudinis? Omninò auditur inter vos fornicatio, & talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita vt vxorem patris ſui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo neceſſitatem vitandæ fornicationis dico bonum eſſe homini ſic eſſe, vt ſi continere non poteſt, nubat, vel vxorem accipiat. Quod exponendo ſubdit: Alligatus es vxori? Noli quærere ſolutionem. Solutus es ab vxore? Noli quærere vxorem. Si autem acceperis vxorem, non peccaſti. Et ſi nupſerit virgo, non peccauit. Et hic iterum non imperando ſed indulgendo & compatiendo ſe dixiſſe oſtendit: Ego autem vobis parco, id eſt, infirmitati veſtræ cedo. Hoc itaq́; in poteſtate voluntatis vniuſcuiuſq; poſuit vtrum velit eligere: nec ſe dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quo eum aſtringat & teneat, inijcere, conſequenter ſubiungens: Porrò, hoc ad vtilitatem veſtram dico: non vt laqueum vobis inijciã, ſed ad id quod honeſtũ eſt, & quod facultatem præbeat Dominum obſecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam ſuperius hortatus fuerat, & quos cõſortio vxoriæ coniunctionis impediri, vel ſollicitos eſſe nolebat. Alijs verò ita dicit: Si quis autem turpem videri ſe exiſtimat ſuper virginem ſuam, quod ſit ſuperadulta, & ita oportet fieri: quod vult, fa-

Neceſſitas inſtãs apud Paulum quæ ſit.

1.Cor.4.

1.Cor.7.

ciat: non peccat ſi nubat. Et iterum: vtrunq; bonũ eſſe, vnũ tamen melius eſſe concludendo confirmat: 1.Cor.7. *Igitur qui matrimonio coniungit virginem ſuam, benè facit, & qui nõ iungit melius facit.* Quod concordatur ſuperiori ſententiæ vtriq; ſexui datæ, in qua ait: *Si acceperis vxorem non peccaſti, & ſi nupſerit virgo non peccauit.*

Si ergo virum accipere vxorẽ, & virginem nubere, iuxta Apoſtolum peccatum non eſt, & beatitudinem non aufert, ſed affert: & quia vterq; bene facit, ideo ambo beati: nos qui vxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut ſi Apoſtolus vnicuiq; propter fornicationẽ vxorem ſuam habere indulget & permittit, cur nos qui ex eadẽ maſſa ſumus, & carnem peccati ex carne Adæ peccatricem traximus, & cõtinere non poſſumus, propter eandẽ cauſam & ſecundum eandem indulgentiam vxores habere non permittimur, & habitas dimittere angariamur? Aut itaq; vxores nobis habere imitantes Apoſtolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem maſſa non eſſe docete, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, & permiſſionem non eſſe conceſſam ab Apoſtolo, demonſtrate. Quod opinor dicturi eſtis, quia hæc indulgentia non fuit data ab Apoſtolo clericis aut alicui noſtri ordinis, ſed ſolis laicis. Quod ex verbis Apoſtoli vel ex circumſtantia epiſtolæ non poteſt defendi, cùm nulla ibi certa diſtinctio vel denominatio habeatur perſonarũ vel graduum ſiue profeſſionũ, nec ipſe diſcernit ſeu nominibus ſeu officijs vel qui ſibi ſcripſerunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipſe reſcribebat, niſi tantum generaliter omni Eccleſiæ Corinthiorũ, ſicut ipſe in principio huius epiſtolæ his verbis demonſtrat: 1.Cor.1. *Paulus vocatus Apoſtolus Chriſti Ieſu per voluntatem Dei, & Soſtenes frater, Eccleſia Dei quæ eſt Corinthi, ſanctificatis in Chriſto Ieſu, vocatis ſanctis, cum omnibus qui inuocant nomẽ Domini.* [Et poſt nonnulla alia, quæ cõpendij cauſa hic reſcidimus, haud ita multũ ad rem attinentia, ſubinfert mox ad hunc modum:]

Infirmitatem noſtram vos conſiderate, ac miſerari rogamus, & ne ei violentiam inferatis ſuppliciter imploramus. Nam ſicut iam ſatis ſuperius inculcauimus vobis, nullus ad cõtinẽtiã inuitus debet cõpelli. Neq; hoc genus virtutis vlli per legem Dei neceſſariò imperatum eſt, ſed voluntaria deuotione Domino offerendum, dicente ipſo de hoc, Euangelio: Math.19. *Non omnes capiunt verbum iſtud, ſed quibus datum eſt.* Ad quam tamẽ benigna mox exhortatione eos qui poſſũt inuitat dicẽs: *Qui poteſt capere capiat.* Vndè gratia diſtinctionis nõ Moyſes Exod.28. fœminalibus veſtire Aaron & filios eius iubetur, vt de prioribus dicitur: *Veſties ijs Aaron fratrẽ tuũ, & Filios eius cũ eo: ſed, facies* (inquit) *fœminalia linea vt operiant carnẽ turpitudinis ſuæ.* Ipſi (inquit) operiant carnem turpitudinis ſuæ, tu fœminalia pontifici & filijs eius facies: tu caſtitatis regulam docebis: tu abſtinendum ab vxorio complexu eis qui Sacerdotio functuri ſunt, intimabis: nulli tamen violentum huiuſmodi continentiæ iugum imponens: ſed quicunq; Sacerdotes fieri ac miniſterio altaris ſeruire volunt, ipſi ſua ſponte vxori ſerui eſſe deſiſtant. Quod vbi perfecerint, atq; ſuſcepto ſemel continentiæ propoſito, miniſtros ſe Sanctuarij atq; Altaris fore conſenſerint, aderit diuina gratia quæ velut cæteris illis habitum Sacerdotibus congruum imponens, quomodo viuere vel docere debeant, abundanter inſtituit.

Qui ſenſus ſubſequentibus quoq; Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus poſt pauca ſubiungit: *Cùmq; laueris patrem cũ filijs* Exod.29. *aqua, indues Aaron veſtimentis ſuis, id eſt, linea & tunica, & ſuperhumerali, & rationali, quod ſtringes balteo, & pones tiaram, & oleum vnctionis fundes ſuper caput eius, atq; hoc ritu conſecrabitur. Filios quoq; illius applicabis & indues tunicis lineis, cingeſq; Aaron balteo, ſcilicet & liberos eius, & impones eis Mitras, eruntq; Sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua:* Namq; hic de fœminalibus à Moyſe accipiendis præcipitur. Vndè liquidò conſtat quod ſe hoc genere veſtimẽti ipſe prius Aaron ac filij eius induerant, & ſic ad manum Moyſi lauandi, inducendi, vngendi & conſecrandi intrabant.

Hic apertè oſtenditur & docetur nulli continentiæ iugum inuito imponendum, ſed à Deo prompta & deuota voluntate accipiendum. Quod & Dionyſius Areopagita theoſophus, id eſt Deũ ſapiens, Pauli Apoſtoli Diſcipulus, & ab eo Athenienſium Archiepiſcopus ordinatus, in epiſtola quadam ad Pymtum Gnaſiorum Epiſcopum miſſa, in qua plurima de nuptijs & caſtitate commemorat, ſicut Eccleſiaſtica refert hiſtoria, monet, & precatur illum ne grauia onera diſcipulorum ceruicibus imponat, neue fratribus neceſſitatem cõpulſæ caſtitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum periclitatur infirmitas. Atq; Pymtus Dionyſio reſcripſit ſententiam ſe conſilij melioris quod ipſe dabat, amplecti.

Hoc itidem & Paphnutius vir diuiniſſimus atq; caſtiſſimus, cùm in Niceno Concilio (vt in tripartita hiſtoria inuenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere Sacerdotibus voluiſſent, in medium eorum zelo humanæ infirmitatis commotus & conſcius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogauit: quin potius in voluntate vniuſcuiuſq; ponerent exorauit, ne fortè per hoc locum darent & occaſionem adulterio & fornicationi. Hac namq; cautela ſancti viri in religione vtebantur, vt cùm de inſtructione & ædificatione ſubditorum aliquid agerent, & eos ad meliorem vitam de diuinis præceptis commoneri facerent, cum patientia & manſuetudine potius obediẽnda præciperent, quàm cum potentia & auſteritate imperarent, nullumq; inuitum ſibi obedire compellerent. Quorum vos exempla ſequentes qui eorum loca tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem ſarcinam quæſumus imponatis, ne imprecatione dominica cũ phariſæis & legiſperitis ſuſcipiamini, in qua ait: Luke.11. *Ve vobis legis periti, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non poſſunt portari, & ipſi vno digito veſtro ea non tangitis.* Exod.3. Et ne clamor filiorũ Iſrael aſcendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui præſunt operibus.

Neq; vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de vtero matris ſic 1.Cor.7. nati ſunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violenter ab hominibus facti ſunt, ſed potius eos eunuchos, qui ſeipſos ſua ſponte Math.19. eunuchizauerunt propter regnum cælorum: neue ſacris ordinibus & diuino myſterio propter nos tantum, calumniã faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter noſtram vitam improbam illud Sap.8. hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibetis: ac per hoc vitam improbam Exod.5. infamatis, & odorem noſtrum coram Pharone & ſeruis eius fætêre facitis. Quod vos non rectè, ſi dici liceat (ne moleſtè accipiatis) videtur nobis, facere, & contra diuinam authoritatem & Canonicam regulam hoc quod facitis, eſſe: cùm Dominus per legiſlatorem dicat: Leuit.18. *Turpitudinẽ matris tuæ non reueles, & ignominiã eius ne diſcooperias.* Mater noſtra Eccleſia eſt: Filij huius matris, quiquè fidelium ſunt. Cuius tamen materna appellatio, maximè in Sacerdotibus eſt. Nam ipſi generant fideles, & verbo prædicationis, & ſacramẽto Baptiſmatis. An non mater erat quæ dicebat: Gal.4. *Filioli mei quos iterum parturio?*

Turpitudo ergo & ignominia matris noſtræ reprehẽſibilis eſt actio Sacerdotalis vitæ. Quæ turpido tũc reuelatur, & ignominia diſcooperitur, Rom.9. cùm ſacerdotalis vita publicè infamatur. Quod vos nimirũ facitis, qui fragilitatẽ noſtrã quaſi hactenꝰ latentẽ & coopertã (quia eã nullus ita cognouerat) hominibꝰ diffamatis, & propter eã diuina myſteria vel miniſteria aſpernãda ſancitis. Quaſi ad ea pertineat pollutio aliena, & ea polluat & cõmaculet immũdicia noſtra, cũ Pſalmographus dicat: Pſal. *Lex Domini immaculata.* Aut quaſi illi noſtro contagio contaminentur, quia ea ex noſtro ore & ex noſtro officio adipiſcuntur. Quod ſi ita dicitis eſſe, nequaquam diſcipulis & turbis de Phariſæis Dominus præciperet: Math. *Omnia quæcunq; dixerint vobis, ſeruate & facite.* Et rurſus, ſi ita eſſet nequaquam Dominus Iudam quem furem eſſe ſciebat & proditorem ſuum futurum, cùm diſcipulis alijs ad prædicandum mitteret, neq; poteſtatem ſigna faciendi & ſanitates donãdi, neq; ad communionem ſacroſanctæ cænæ eum admitteret. Et ſi immũdicia noſtra diuina myſteria vel miniſteria & eorũ capaces & auditores inficeret & deterioraret, nequaquam Dominus Leproſum quẽ mũdauerat, tũgeret, neq; ei oſculũ daret, et nequaquã cum Simone alio Leproſo manducaret, & nequaquã à Maria peccatrice pedes ſuos oſculari, & lachrymis lauari, & capillis tergi, & caput ſuum vngi permitteret.

Hinc ſacrorum Canonum veneranda authortas ſanxit, nullum qui etiam ab hæretico ſacramẽta dominica rectè perceperit, vllatenus ipſa hæretica prauitate corrumpi, nec vlla ſacramenta illius contagione commaculari. Vndè Romana Eccleſia Anaſtaſium Papam in quadam epiſtola ad Anaſtaſium Imperatorem directa, decreuit & ſcripſit, quòd nullum de his vel quos baptizauit Acatius, vel quos Sacerdotes vel Leuitas ſecundũ Canones ordinauit, vlla eos ex nomine Acatij portio læſionis attingat, quo forſan per iniquum tradita ſacramenti gratia minus firma videatur. Nam & baptiſmum (quod procul ſit ab Eccleſia) ſiue ab adultero, ſiue à fure datum fuerit, ad percipientem non minus peruenit illibatũ. Quid vox illa quæ ſonuit per columbam? Omnem malici-

Math.3.

ticiam vel maculam humanæ pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur: Hic eſt qui baptizat. &c. Nam ſi viſibilis ſolis iſtius radij cum per loca fœtidiſſima tranſeunt, nulla cōtactus inquinatione maculantur: multo magis virtus illius qui iſtum viſibilem ſolem fecit, nulla myſterij dignitate conſtringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in Eccleſia miniſter pro officio ſuo videtur operari, hic totū continetur implendo diuinitatis effectu. Ita ille per quem Chriſtus loquitur Paulus, affirmat: Ego plantaui, Apollo rigauit: ſed deus incrementum dedit. A Deo non quæritur quis vel qualis prædicet: ſed ſic prædicet, vt inuidos etiam benè de Chriſto prædicare confirmet, Tanta eſt namq; diuinæ potentia gratiæ, vt per malos acquirat bonos, & per reprobos & improbos acquirat & colligat probos.

1.Cor.3.

His itaq; authoritatibus & alijs prædictis rationibus perſuaderi debetis, neq; nos à diuini officij celebritate arcere, neq; illos quorum nihil intereſt, ab eius communione ſuſpendere. Quodſi mali ſumus, nobis ipſis ſumus, & plus nobis quàm alijs nocemus: & quos fortaſsè malos conſpicitis, quid boni interius habeant, ignoratis. Sunt enim pleriq; quos de incontinentia iudicatis, qui continentiores ſunt quàm illi quos de continentia glorificatis. Qui habemus vxores, iuxta Apoſtolum tanquam non habemus. Quam videlicet cōtinentiam quia nobis non poteſtis dare, orate nobiſcum & pro nobis, vt ille nobis donet, cuius hoc donum noſcitur eſſe, & ſine quo nemo poterit continens eſſe. Aliter enim illam habere nō poſſumus niſi ex totis precordijs illum oremus cuius hoc donum eſſe cognoſcimus. Et hoc ipſum (inquit Salomon) eſt ſapientia, ſcire cuius hoc donum eſt, & quoniā ſuper hoc nihil eſt.

1.Cor.7.

Sap.8.

❡ The ſame in Engliſhe.

The epiſtle of Voluſianus Biſhop of Carthage, for prieſtes mariage.

FOr as much as we are created vnder the power of * free will, & not vnder the law, but vnder grace, let vs ſo lyue as we are created. You whiche lay vppon vs the law of continencie againſt our will, do depriue vs of the libertie of free will. You commaund vs, and by commaundyng compell vs to will that we woulde not, and not to will that we woulde doe. You bynd vs to the law, from the whiche by grace we are made free: and you conſtrayne vs to receyue the ſpirite of bondage agayne to feare: and go about to make the grace of God of no effect, without the whiche we can doe nothyng: ſo that, as the Apoſtle ſaith: *Grace is now no grace,* and the gift of God is not the gift of God. And not of God, but of man: not of hym that calleth, but of hym that worketh: where as the Apoſtle ſaith: *It is not in hym that willeth, nor in hym that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercie.*

* What he meaneth here by free will, he expoundeth playnlye hereafter.

Rom.9.

For where as there bee three principall and effectuall thyngs wherby euery humane ſoule endued with reaſon apprehēdeth and perceiueth what ſoeuer ſpirituall thyng it is hable to apprehende and perceiue, and without the whiche it can perceyue nothyng: the whiche thre thinges be theſe: to witte, free will, the commaundement, and grace (for by free will we diſcerne & choſe the good from the euill: by the commaundement we are prouoked and ſtyrred vp to do all thynges: by grace we are furthered and holpen to performe the ſame) yet of all theſe, grace is the Lady and myſtres, and as a mighty Empreſſe and Queene, vpon whoſe becke the other do wayt and gyue attendaunce, receyuing of her both ſtrength and efficacy, and without her can doo nothyng, but remayne as thinges of them ſelues dull and dead, much lyke as amongeſt yͤ Philoſophers their Materia without Forma being therto adioyned. For in yͤ ſtede of Materia, we may, after a maner, not vnfitly place free wil: and in yͤ place of Forma we may ſet grace: and the cōmaundement (which is the meane betwene them both, as a certeyne inſtrument) to haue reſpecte to both: whereby the principall artificer whiche is God, furthereth and ſetteth forward free will as a rude and dull matter, and applyeth to it hys grace as the forme thereof. And lyke as the ſayd Materia without Forma is rude and ſhapeleſſe, ſo free will is a thyng rude and deforme, if it bee not holpen with grace commyng therunto, to moue it and to further it, the commaundement commyng as a meane betwene them both in the ſtede of the inſtrumentall cauſe, as is before ſayd.

1. Free will. 2. The Cōmaundement, or the lawe. 3. Grace.

Grace Lady and Queene ouer the cōmaundement and free wyll.

Free will likened to Materia: Grace to Forma.

Therfore lyke as Forma is in reſpect of Materia, the lyke reſēblance beareth free will in reſpect of grace. And agayne, as Materia is in reſpecte of Forma, the ſame alſo is free wil in reſpect of grace. And as the inſtrument ſerueth betwene the foreſayd Materia and Forma, ſo doth the commaundement betwene free will and grace. The inſtrument commyng and workyng vpō the ſayd Materia, being of it ſelfe ougle, rugged, and a thyng without all ſhape and faſhion, doth forme it, ſhape it and pulliſhe it, and maketh it handſome, ſightly, lightſome, bright and cleare: euen ſo lykewiſe the commaundement commyng and workyng vppon free will, beyng of it ſelfe a thyng rude, groſſe, vnſhapen and deforme, blynd and obſcure, doth clarifye it, decke it, adourne it, bewtifie it, and lyghten it through the brightnes of grace commyng vnto it, accordyng to the ſaying of the Prophet: *The commaundement of the Lord is bright and cleare, giuyng ſight to the eyes.*

Free will, which after he calleth voluntarie deuotion, without the law, and the lawe without grace can do nothyng.

Pſal.19.

And as the matter and the inſtrument without the forme can doe nothing, euen ſo free will and the commaundement without grace haue no power to worke. For what can eyther free will or the commaundement doe, excepte they bee holpen with grace both goyng before and folowyng? For grace ſendeth the commaundement as a meſſenger & miniſter, to free will: the commaundement prouoketh freewill and ſtyrreth it vp, as out of a ſlepe, to do good workes, & leadeth it as a blynd man, by the hand, teachyng hym the way wherin to goe. Whiche both if they be deſtitute of grace, are hable of thē ſelues to do nothing. And if they begyn, yet they procede not, neither do they performe or accompliſhe any thyng: and if they preſume, it proſpereth not, and is but labour loſt. For where the commaundement commeth, eyther by man or by Aungell: and alſo where freewil is moued, prouoked and informed either by the motion of man or of Aungell, yet vnleſſe Gods grace go withall preuentyng and folowyng the ſame, what is it hable to do? For whē man was put in Paradiſe, what auayled hym the commaundement whiche he heard: *Thou ſhalt eate of euery tree of Paradiſe, but only of the tree of knowledge of good & euill, thou ſhalt not eate.* Whiche commaundement wrought not to hys ſaluation, but to hys condemnation. And why? becauſe grace that ſaueth & helpeth, was wantyng, whiche he preſumyng vniuſtly vppon his owne ſtrength, deſpiſed. Or what dyd the commaundement of the law gyuen by Moyſes, profite the people of Iſraell in the wildernes, whiche law they refuſed to obey? Or what profite wrought it to hym whiche preſumed to folow the Lord of his owne free will and not of the Lordes callyng, ſaying vnto hym: *Lord I will folowe thee whether ſo euer thou goeſt.* By theſe and many other places of holy Scripture both of the old and new Teſtamēt, it may be proued that neither the commaundemēt nor free will haue power to worke of them ſelues, vnleſſe they bee holpen by Gods grace preuentyng and folowyng them.

Free will, and the law without grace, haue no power.

Gen.2.

The cōmaundement without grace auayled Adam nothyng in Paradiſe.

Math.8.

Seyng therefore the gift of continencie, as all other giftes be, is the gift onely of Gods grace, and commeth not by the commaundement nor by free will: they erre therfore and ſtryue in vayne, which labour to obteyne it by theyr owne power. And much more they alſo do erre, whiche by force conſtrayne men agaynſt theyr will therunto, mouing them to offer giftes into the Sanctuary of God, not of theyr own accord but by coaction, either not knowyng or els not remēbring the ſaying of the Lord to Moyſes: *Separate amongeſt you the firſt frutes vnto the Lord, & let euery man of his owne voluntary and willyng mynde, come and offer the ſame vnto the Lord.* What is this, to ſeparate with you the firſt fruites to the Lord, but onely to waye and conſider diligently in your hartes, and with diſcretion to lay downe and ſeparate vnto the Lord, what we ought to preſēt vnto hym out of the treaſure of our hart? For if thou offer ryghtly and doeſt not rightly diuide, thou ſinneſt. And what is to offer with a wyllyng and ready mynd, but as the Pſalmiſt ſayth: *I will offer ſacrifice vnto thee willingly & chearfully?* And the Apoſtle ſayth: *Not grudginglye or of neceſſitie: for God loueth a chearfull giuer.* And Salomon ſayth: *Gyue the Lord his glory with a good and free hart and in euery gift thou giueſt, ſhew a ioyfull countenaunce, and ſanctifie thy tythes with gladnes: and with a cherefull eye do all that thou takeſt in hād.* And the Apoſtle Iames ſayth: *The Lord loueth not conſtrayned ſeruice:* And, *curſed be he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently,* that is, not carefully and with a willyng mynde.

Continencie onely the gift of God.

Num.15.

Pſal.54.

2.Cor.9.

Eccle.35.

Ierem.48.

Wherefore, as the Lord willeth vs not to offer any thyng to hym agaynſt our willes: ſo doth hee forbyd vs to compell any man to offer any thyng agaynſt theyr willes by the foreſayd Moyſes where he ſayth: *Thou ſhalt not do thy neighbour wrong, neither oppreſſe hym with violence.* To do wrong to thy neighbour, is to correct him for his ſynne, not of any compaſſion or mercy towardes hym, but to reproue hym and to accuſe him in diſdainyng, vpbraydyng, and rebukyng hym: not to informe hym in

Leuit.9.

Gal.6.

the ſpirite of lenitie: but to deſtroye hym in the ſpirite of bytternes and rigour, as the Apoſtle ſayth: *If a man be taken in any fault, you that are ſpirituall informe ſuch in the ſpirite of lenitie, conſidering thy ſelfe leſt thou alſo bee tempted.*

To oppreſſe our neyghbour with violence, is to exact any thyng of hym aboue hys power, and to lay vpō hym more then he is hable to beare, and more peraduenture then they thē ſelues are hable to wielde which lay it vpō hym: where as the Lord ſpeaking of yͤ Phariſeis to his Diſciples, forbiddeth them the ſame, ſaying: *The Scribes and Phariſeis do ſit vpon the chayre of Moyſes. &c.* And the Apoſtle Peter: *Feede* (ſayth he) *as much as in you lyeth, the Lordes flocke, prouidyng for them, not by conſtraint, but willyngly after a godly ſorte, and not for filthy luker, but of a ready mynde: not as though ye were Lordes ouer the Clergie, but be you as an example to the flocke, of good will.*

1.Pet.5.

Lordſhip ouer the Clergie forfended.

This ſhepheard of ſhepheardes and prince of the Apoſtles doth playnely and euidently declare and inſinuate what all other Paſtours and Apoſtles ought to do: how to entreate the flocke of the Lord committed vnto them, and what great care and compaſſiō of mynde they ought to haue towardes their cure: and remoueth farre out of their hartes all power of Tyrannicall Lordſhyp and all ambition, whiche ſome do exerciſe with gredines vpon thoſe that are committed to their charge, and pronounceth that they ought not to be Lordes, but fathers ouer theyr flocke: and not imperiouſlye to commaund them, as exerciſyng ſtately authoritie and power vpon them, but gētly to admoniſh them and beſech them in the zeale of pietye, accordyng to the ſtrength of euery perſon, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their owne will, or ambitiouſlye ſettyng forth their owne power and iuriſdiction, & that they ought to be an example to yͤ flocke, doyng firſt thē ſelues that thing, which they cōmaund others, & ſo to teach thē no leſſe by exāples thē by wordes. willingly (ſayth he) & not by conſtraynt: of charity, & not for gredy gayn. For there be many which being inflamed with affection, not of charitie, but of couetous gredines & ambition, commaund others that whiche they are not hable to accompliſhe, and while they pretende to ſeke the gayne of ſoules, they hunt and ſeeke rather for worldly lucre. which Baalam the Prophet dyd well expreſſe: who conuerted the gift of Prophecie, and the grace of bleſſyng whiche he had receyued of God, not to the profyte of others, but to hys owne commoditie.

Num.22.

And ſome there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretende to do it with the zeale of God: and whiles they would ſeme to be better thē other, this they do with a certeyn preſumption and raſhnes, and ſo fall in theyr owne preſumption and temeritye. Of whome the Apoſtle ſpeaketh: *Whiche haue a zeale of God, but not accordyng to knowledge.* To haue a zeale of God accordyng to knowledge, is to do any thing in Gods matters prudētly and circumſpectly. Of whom Oza beareth a type and reſemblaunce: who whiles that he went about with hys hand to ſtaye the Arke of the Lord ſtaggeryng a litle by reaſon of the kickyng of the Oxen whiche caryed it, fell downe therfore dead. The Arke of the Lord to ſtagger or miſcarye by the kickyng of the Oxē, ſignifieth the law of the Lord (which yͤ Prieſtes thē ſelues ought to beare & hold vp) to bee contraried of them in not obſeruyng the ſame, and to be turned out of the right courſe to yͤ cōtrary part, which Oza, who is interpreted to bee a helper of God, attempteth to holde vp. For there be certeine Prelates, whiche while they ſee the order of Prieſthode by ſome enormitie or exceſſe, to ſtrayne the lawe of God neuer ſo litle out of the right courſe, and labour to redreſſe and rectifie that miſorder, rather by vayne oſtentation of their owne ſtrength, then for any pure zeale to God, while they thus preſume inordinatly to do, thinkyng to ſeme to be the helpers of God, many tymes do mortally fall, and incurre therby great daunger and perill.

Rom.10.

Zeale without knowledge, what it is.

2.King.6.

Oza puniſhed for holdyng vp the Arke.

Some other alſo there be whiche hauyng before theyr eyes no conſideration of mans infirmitie, neither beyng touched with any reſpect of mercy and compaſſion, nor knowyng how to ſay with the Apoſtle: *Who is infirme and I am not infirme?* theſe whiles they compare them ſelues to ſuch as be vnder their charge, not in condition wherein they are equall, but in authoritie wherein they are ſuperiours, & couet to be their maſters, & more to rule ouer them then to profite thē: they oppreſſe the weakenes of them by force and violence of authoritie, and compell them to their obedience: which is rightly figured by that facte, whiche is read in the Goſpell of Symon Cyrenæus, whom the perſecuters of the Lord conſtreyned to take vp the croſſe of Chriſt. whoſe name alſo doth fytly agree with the ſame figure. For Simon by interpretation is called obedient. Symon then, that is to ſay, the obediēt man is forced to beare the Croſſe of the Lord, when as ſubiectes beyng conſtreyned of their maſters by the rigour either of Lordſhyp, or authoritie, or feare of their curſe, and ſo compelled to obey them, are driuen to ſuſteyne the Croſſe of continencie agaynſt theyr willes: who neither do loue the Croſſe whiche they beare, becauſe they beare it rather to theyr deſtruction then to theyr health: neither by bearing the Croſſe do dye vnto ſynne, but by the bearyng therof are rather quickned vnto ſinne. For therof ryſe diuers other more greuous ſynnes. For by yͤ inhibityng of lawfull and naturall mariage with one woman, ryſeth the vnnaturall and moſt execrable Sodomiticall fornication: riſeth alſo the vnlawful and damnable defilyng of other mens wiues: ryſeth furthermore curſed and whoryſhe filthynes and pollution: and moreouer riſeth moſt abominable inceſt againſt all nature, with their own kyndred, with a heape of manifold other filthy abominations and lecherous pollutions, wherby the fraile infirmitie of man is brought (no doubt) into great peril.

2.Cor.11.

Luke.23.

Whyle continencie riſeth of co acted ma trimonye.

Wherfore Loth beyng delyuered from the burnyng of Sodome through the guiding of the Lordes Aungel, and beriued of the felowſhip of hys wife, whiles that he conſideryng hys owne infirmitie durſt not aſcende vnto the mountayne as the Aungell badde him, did chooſe rather to dwell in Segor a litle Citie nere by, the Aungell thus byddyng hym and ſpeakyng vnto hym: *Saue thy ſoule and looke not behynde thee, but ſaue thy ſelfe in the mountayne leſt thou alſo periſh.* To whom Loth aūſwered: *I pray thee Lord, because thy ſeruaunt hath founde ſuch grace in thy ſight that thou wilt ſaue me, I can not be ſaued in the mountayne, leſt perhappes ſome euill take me and I dye:* There *is a litle Citie hereby wherunto I may flye and may be ſaued in it.*

Gene.19.

What meaneth this that Loth flying from Sodome by the commaundement of the Aungell to bee ſaued in the moūtayne, would not aſcend vp to the hill fearyng there to periſhe, but dyd choſe rather to dwell in Segor a ſmall City nere vnto the hyll, there to be ſaued, but that euery faithfull mā coueting to eſchewe the burning & dāūger of Sodomiticall luſt, while neither he is able to mount vp to the toppe of virginitie, & alſo is afeard to aſcend to the moūtaine of the ſtate of widowhode, leſt he periſhe therin, flyeth therefore to the ſtate of matrimony, whiche is a ſmall continēcie in reſpect of the other two, and alſo nere vnto them both. For after thoſe two kyndes of continēcie, this chaſtitie is alſo proued to be laudable, and is not depriued of the reward of the kyngdome of heauen.

Lothes re fuſing to g vp to the moūtaine, what it meaneth.

The cha ſtitie of ma riage, is neare to heauen of virginitie.

Unto this chaſtitity he is commaunded to flye which can not otherwiſe cōteine, and to bee ſaued in it, leſt peraduenture if he clyme vp to the mounte, he fall into incōuenience and periſhe therin: that is, leſt if hee ſhall attēpt to obteyne by hys owne ſtrength the continencie which is not giuen vnto hym of God, the euill of incontinency or fornication, or of ſome of the other euils afore rehearſed, do fall vpon him, and ſo he periſhe in them mortally. For there bee many who, while they conſider not theyr own infirmitie, and while they ſtryue to achyue greater thynges then they are hable to reache: in this their clymyng doe fall headlong into worſe inconuenience, and while they fooliſhly ſeeke for great thynges, do loſe the leſſe, whiche before they ſemed to haue. Which we may well vnderſtand by the example of Loth aforeſayd: who what tyme he left the ſmall Citye Segor, whiche he choſe before to inhabite, in the whiche hee ſought to be ſaued: went vp to the mountaine and there abydyng fell into the ſtolne inceſte of hys owne daughters, as yͤ Scripture witneſſeth, ſaying: *Loth went vp from Segor and remayned in the mountayne, and his daughters gaue to their father wyne to drinke that night. And the elder of them went and lay with her father.* Whiche thyng had not happened vnto hym, if hee had kept hym ſelfe ſtill in Segor, where hee myght haue bene ſaued at the byddyng of the Aungel, as he hym ſelfe required. But becauſe he forſoke that, which was graunted to him of the Aungell, and preſumed to that vpon his owne will, contrary to the precept of the Aungell, which was not graunted: therfore he fell into great daunger of hys ſoule and committed the greuous ſynne of inceſt.

No otherwiſe doth it happen to many other, who while eyther they forſake that thyng whiche is graunted them of God, or ambitiouſly clyme after that whiche is to them not graunted, both they loſe that which they had graunted vnto them, and fall into that whiche to them was not graunted. For diuers there be, whiche whyle they forſake either willyngly or agaynſt theyr will, the ma-

Carnal ought contin with own

1.Cor.7.

Rom.9.

Ephes.4.

1.Cor.7.

maryed lyfe whiche is to them lawfully permitted, and in whiche they might be ſaued, and ſtriue with a preſumptuous deſire to lead a ſingle life, both they loſe that health and ſafety, whiche they might haue had in the one, and incurre great dāger in the other: ſo that, wherby they ſuppoſe moſt to gayne, by the ſame they loſe and fall into the pitte of greater ruine. Which thing S. Paul the Doctour of the Gentles well conſidering, and tenderly prouiding for yͤ infirmitie of the weake Corinthians writyng to hym for counſaile touchyng this matter, did write to them agayne in this wiſe, ſaying. *As concernyng the thynges vvhereof ye vvrote vnto me, it is good for a man not to touche a vvoman. Neuertheleſſe to auoyde vvhoredome, let euery man haue his vviſe and let euery vvoman haue her huſband. Let the huſband giue vnto his vviſe due beneuolence: lykevvyſe alſo the vvyſe vnto her huſband.* And a litle after: *VVithdravve not* (ſayth hee) *your ſelues one from an other, except it be vvith conſent for a tyme, that you may giue your ſelues vnto faſtyng and prayer: and aftervvard come together agayne leſt Sathan tempt you for your incontinencie.* For, as the Poete ſayth, we can not all do all thynges, and as the Apoſtle ſayth: *It is not in hym that vvylleth nor in hym that runneth, but in God that ſhevveth mercy.* Alſo in an other place: *For to euery one of vs is giuen grace accordyng to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt.* And that euery one of vs ought to kepe & not to trāſgreſſe thys meaſure, he teacheth anone after, ſaying: *I vviſhe that all mē vvere as I my ſelfe am: but euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, an other after that.*

Gene.19.

Rom.6.

1.Cor.7.

And that we are to bee kept within our compaſſe and meaſure, and ought therewith to bee content, he teacheth moreouer as foloweth: *Let euery man abyde in that vocation vvherein he is called.* And ſhortlye after, for confirmation therof, he repeateth the ſame agayne and ſayth: *Let euery man vvherein he is called, therin abyde vvith the Lord.* And becauſe he perceyued that yͤ infirmitie of man was not able to ſuſteyne the burnyng motions and heates of nature ſtyrring in man, but onely by the grace of God, neither to bee hable to conquer the fleſhe fyghtyng agaynſt the ſpirite, accordyng to that which he ſayth of hym ſelf in an other place: *For I ſee an other lavve in my members rebellyng agaynſt the lavv of my mynde,* he therefore of mercy and compaſſion, as condeſcending vnto their weakenes: and not by rigour of lawe and force of commaundement, thus ſayd. As alſo in an other place in hys Epiſtles hee ſpeaketh in lyke wordes ſaying: *I ſpeake thus groſſely after the maner of men, becauſe of the infirmity of your fleſhe.* And in this foreſayd Epiſtle moreouer a litle before, vſyng the ſame maner of ſpeach, hee ſayth: *Thus I ſay to you as of fauour and not of commaundement.* And addyng moreouer, he ſheweth: *As touchyng virgines I haue no commaundement of the Lord: but onely do giue counſell, as one that haue founde mercye vvith God, that I ſhould be faythfull:* That is, after the ſame mercy wherewith the Lorde hath informed and inſtructed me when he called me to the fayth, and made me faythfull to him: ſo I lykewyſe, do giue counſell to other, and ſhew the ſame mercy to them.

For preſēt neceſſitie to marye, what it meaneth.

1.Cor.4.

1.Cor.7.

And for as much as both are good: to witte to haue a wiſe or not to haue: to haue a huſbād or not to haue: neyther is there any ſinne in hauyng wife or huſband: ſhortly after he inferreth, ſaying: *I ſuppoſe therefore this to be good for the preſent neceſſity: I meane, that it is good for a man ſo to be:* What meaneth this, for preſent neceſſitie? what is this neceſſity preſent, but preſent infirmity? or els inſtant neceſſitie, compellyng to doe, as the order of neceſſitye requireth. Or els hee meaneth by this preſent neceſſitye, the diſtreſſe of that time which then was inſtant, & cōpelled hym ſo to write and ſo to beare with thē, whiche was for the auoydyng of fornication, whiche was amongeſt them, and many other kyndes of filthynes aboue touched whiche might haue happened. For the whiche fornication hee tooke occaſion to write vnto the Corinthians and to aunſwere to their letters: and therfore he vehemently agaynſt the ſayd Corinthians in the former parte of the ſayd Epiſtle vttereth theſe wordes: *VVhat vvill you? ſhall I come to you vvith a rodde? or in loue & in the ſpirit of mekenes? There is heard among you to be fornication, and ſuch fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one ſhould haue hys ovvne fathers vvyfe. &c.* And therefore for thys neceſſitie of auoydyng ſuch fornication, he ſayth: *It is good for a man ſo to bee: that hee vvhiche can not conteyne, ſhould mary and take a vvyfe.* Which afterward he expoūdeth, thus inferring: *Art thou bound to a vvyfe? ſeeke not to be loſed: and if thou bee looſed from a vvyfe, ſeeke not a vvyfe. But if thou takeſt a vviſe thou ſinneſt not, and if a virgine mary, ſhe ſinneth not. &c.* And that hee ſpake not thys by way of cōmaundyng, but of ſufferance and compaſſion, he ſheweth playnly in theſe wordes folowyng: *But I ſpare you:* that is to ſay, I beare with your infirmitie: and therefore hee leaueth it in the free power and will of euery man, to chooſe what he beſt lyketh. Neither doth hee inforce any man (hee ſayth) violentlye, nor charge them with any ſtreit commaundement, and therfore addeth theſe woordes folowyng: *And this I ſpeake for your ovvne commoditie, not to tangle you as in a ſnare, but for that it is good and honeſte for you, that you may ſerue the Lord vvithout ſeparation.*

This hee ſayth to them whom before hee exhorted to continencie, and whom hee would not to be let or troubled by matrimoniall coniunction. But to other he ſayth thus: *If any man thincke that it is vncomely for his virgine to remayne ouer long vnmaryed, and if nede ſo require, let hym do vvhat he thynketh good, he ſinneth not: let them marye.* And agayne both be good, he ſaith, but yet the one to be better he concludeth, ſaying: *Therfore he that ioyneth in matrimony hys virgine, doth vvell: but he that doth not, doth better.* Which agreeth well with yͤ text aboue, ſpeaking of both kyndes, as well the man as the woman, where he ſayth: *If thou take a vviſe thou ſinneſt not, and if the virgine take a huſband ſhe ſinneth not.*

If therfore it be no ſynne for yͤ mā to take a wife, nor for the virgine to take a huſband, after yͤ Apoſtles mynd, neither doth diminiſhe theyr felicitie, but rather encreaſe it, and for as much as both do wel, and ſo both be bleſſed: we then whiche take wiues for our infirmitie, what do we ſinne in hauyng them? Or if the Apoſtle do ſuffer and permitte to euery man for the auoydyng of fornication to haue hys wife, we then which come of the ſame lumpe or maſſe & takyng our ſinfull fleſhe of the ſinfull fleſhe of Adam are not able otherwiſe to conteyne, why are we not permitted for the ſame cauſe and by the ſame permiſſion, to haue likewiſe our wyues, but are enforced to forſake them beyng maryed?

Mariage is permitted to the infirmitie of all men: Prieſtes are infirme as other men be. *Ergo,* mariage ought to bee permitted to Prieſtes alſo.

1.Cor.1.

Wherfore either do you permitte vs, folowing the Apoſtle, to haue our wyues, or els teach vs yͭ we come not of the ſame maſſe, either els ſhewe vs that the ſame ſufferance and permiſſion is not graunted to vs by the Apoſtle whiche is graunted to other. Whiche cauſe peraduenture you will thus pretende: that thys ſufferāce was grāūted of the Apoſtle not to the Clergy or to any of our order, but onely to lay men. Which can not well be defended, neither by the wordes of the Apoſtle, nor by any circumſtance of hys Epiſtle, for as much as there is no certeyne diſtinction or denomination either of perſons, or degrees, or profeſſions there mencioned, neither doth he make any difference either in names or offices of men, either of them which wrote vnto him, either of thoſe perſons of whom he wrote, or els of thoſe to whom he aunſwereth, but onely in generall to the whole Churche of the Corinthians, as he hym ſelfe in the begynnyng of hys Epiſtle purporteth in theſe wordes. *Paule called the Apoſtle of Ieſus Chriſt, by the vvill of God and* Soſthenes *hys brother, to the Church vvhich is at* Corinthe, *ſuch as bee ſanctified in Chriſt Ieſus, called Sainctes, vvith all that inuocate the name of the Lorde. &c.* [And after a fewe other wordes, which here for breuities ſake we omitte, as not being greatly to the purpoſe pertinent: thus he inferreth:]

Forced continencie is no vertue.

Math.19.

Exod.18.

These premiſſes beyng then well conſidered, we beſeche you to haue regarde & compaſſion of our infirmity, moſt humbly deſyryng you, not to oppreſſe vs with this violence. For as we haue ſufficiently before proued, no mā ought to be cōſtrayned vnto continency agaynſt hys wyll, neither is this kynd of vertue cōmaūded of God to any man, of neceſſitie but onely of voluntary deuotion to be offered to the Lord, as he hym ſelfe ſpeaketh in the Goſpell: *All mē cā not receaue this ſaying, but to vvhō it is giuen.* Whereunto yet he gently exhorteth them that can take it, ſaying: *He that is able to receaue thys, let hym receaue it. &c.* Wherfore for diſtinctions ſake Moyſes is not him ſelfe commaunded to cloth Aaron & hys ſonnes with breches, as in theſe woordes goyng before: *Thou ſhalt cloth vvith theſe,* Aaron *thy brother and hys ſonnes vvith hym. &c.* but hee thus ſayth: *Thou ſhalt make lynen breches that they them ſelues may couer the filthe of their fleſhe.* That they thē ſelues (ſayth he) may couer the filth of theyr fleſhe. Thou (ſayth hee) ſhalt make the breches for the Byſhop and hys ſonnes: thou ſhalt teache the rule of chaſtitie: thou ſhalt exhorte them to abſteyne from the cōpany of theyr wiues, which ſhall do the Prieſtes office: Yet laying vpon none violently the ſayd yoke of continencie, but who ſoeuer ſhall be Prieſtes and ſhall ſerue the Altar, ſhall of their owne accorde ſucceſſe from the vſe of Matrimony: whiche whē they ſhall do, and of theyr owne voluntary conſent ſhall take vppon them the purpoſe of continency to ſerue the Alter, then ſhall the grace of God be preſent, whiche as it dyd

Exod.19.

it dyd apparell thoſe other Prieſtes aforeſayd with attire for them conuenient: ſo ſhall it inſtructe theſe abundantly how they ought to lyue and to teache. And thys ſenſe well agreeth with the texte that foloweth, ſaying: *And when thou ſhall waſhe the father and his ſonnes with water, thou ſhalt take the garmentes, that is, the ſtrait coate, the tunicle and the breſtlappe, and put them vpon* Aaron *and girde them to hym with a brodered girdle of the Ephod. Then thou ſhalt put the miter vpon hys head, and ſhalt put the holy crowne vppon the miter, and thus ſhall he be conſecrated. Alſo thou ſhalt bryng hys ſonnes and put coates vpon thẽ, and ſhall girde them with girdles, both* Aaron *and hys ſonnes, and ſhalt put bonnettes on them, and the Prieſtes office ſhall be theirs for a perpetuall law.*

The place of Moyſes Exod.19. applyed.

Thus then you ſee a commaundement of receyuyng the lynen breches of Moyſes. wherby it playnely appeareth, that Aaron & his ſonnes, firſt did apparell thẽ ſelues with this kynd of apparell, & ſo entred in to be waſhed, inducted, annointed & cõſecrated by yͤ handes of Moyſes.

By the whiche we are playnely taught, that the yoke of continency is not to be inforced vpon any mã agaynſt hys wyll, but is to bee receyued of God with a prompte and a deuout will. which thyng alſo Dionyſius Areopagita that godliwiſe man, the Diſciple of S. Paul and ordeyned of hym Byſhop of Athenes, in a certeyne Epiſtle of hys ſent to Pymtus Biſhop of the Gnaſians, in which he toucheth many thynges of mariage and chaſtitie (as is in the Eccleſiaſticall hyſtory rehearſed) doth admoniſhe the ſayd Pymtus, and prayeth hym that he will lay no greeuous burthens vpõ the neckes of the Diſciples, neither inferre any neceſſitie of compelled chaſtitie vpon the brethren, whereby the infirmitie of ſome of them myght bee in daunger. And Pymtus aũſweryng to Dionyſius again, ſheweth hym ſelfe wyllyng to embrace the ſentence of hys holeſome counſaile.

Ex Hiſtor. Tripartita.

The ſpirite of lenitie requyred in Byſhops.

The ſame alſo dyd Paphnutius, that diuine and chaſt Byſhop, who in yͤ Councell of Nyce (as the Tripartite hyſtory doth ſhewe vs) when the fathers, which there were preſent went about to reſtrayne Prieſtes from mariage: he ryſyng vp amongeſt them and moued with the zeale of mans infirmitie, deſyred them that they would not ſo do, but rather to leaue it vnto the voluntary diſcretion of euery man, leſt in ſo doyng they might peraduenture gyue occaſion of adultery and fornication. For thoſe holy men dyd then vſe this cautele and moderation in Religion, that when they treated any thing concernyng inſtruction and edification of the people, and would haue them ſtyrred vp to a better life by godly inſtructiõs, they would rather perſuade thynges to be obſerued with patience and lenitie, then commaund with rigour and authoritie: neither woulde they compell any man to theyr obedience agaynſt hys will.

Luke.11.

Exod.3.

Read the Canons of yͤ Apoſtles. Can.22.

Math.19.

Exod.5.

Leuit.18.

Gal.4.

Whoſe examples you alſo folowyng, whiche ſuccede in their rowme and name, do you not lay vppon vs infirme perſons, ſuch importable burthẽs, leſt you be partakers with yͤ Phariſeys & lawyers of the Lordes curſe: who ſayth: *Woe to you lawyers whiche lay burdens vpon men, whiche they can not beare, and you your ſelues touche not the burdens with one finger:* And leſt the crye of the children of Iſraell aſcende vp to the Lord for the cruell dealyng of thẽ whiche are ouerſeers of the woorkes: Neither doe you make ſuch Eunuches whiche are ſo borne from their mothers wombe, or ſuch Eunuches whiche are violently made by men, but rather thoſe Eunuches which of their own accord haue gelded them ſelues for the kyngdome of heauen. Neither do you bryng vppon the holy order of Gods Miniſters for vs onely, ſuch an offence and ſclander, that for our wicked lyfe you make the miniſtery to be deſpiſed of others, while you will not ſuffer them either to heare vs, or to receyue yͤ Sacramẽtes of vs, infamyng thereby our leude lyfe, and cauſyng the ſauour of vs to ſtincke before Pharao and his ſeruauntes. wherein it ſemeth to vs that you deale not ſoundly and vprightly, if a man may ſo ſaye (I pray you take it in good worthe that I ſpeake): and alſo to bee agaynſt the authoritie of Gods woorde, and the canonicall conſtitutions whiche you do: where as the Lord ſayth by Moyſes the law giuer: *The ſhame of thy mother thou ſhalt not diſcloſe, and her ignominy thou ſhalt not diſcouer.* Our mother is the Churche. The ſonnes of this mother be all the faythfull: whiche name yet moſt fitlye is approbriate vnto Prieſtes: for they do begette yͤ faythfull both by yͤ word of preachyng and Sacramẽt of Baptiſme. was not he to be counted a right mother: who ſayd: *My litle children of whom I trauayle in byrth agayne?*

Pſal.

Math.2

The [illegible] betrayal of the Apoſtles [illegible] not theyr miniſtery worſe.

The ſhame and ignominy of our mother, what is it but the reprouable conuerſation of the lyfe of Prieſtes? whiche ſhame and ignominy is then reueled, when the lyfe of Prieſtes is publickly infamed. which thyng you do, that diſcouer and notifye vnto men our fragilitie, lying before as hyd and couered, becauſe before it was not knowen: and for the ſame you bryng the holy miniſtery and myſteries of God into contempt and hatred: As though the polluted lyfe of other did any thyng perteyne therto to pollute the ſame, and as though our vncleanes dyd any thyng blemiſhe them, or diminiſhe the purenes therof, whereas the Pſalmiſt ſayth: *The lawe of the Lorde is pure and immaculate:* Or as thoughe they were any whitte polluted by our infection, whiche do receyue the ſayd myſteries, either by our mouth, or by our miniſtery. whiche if you graunt to be ſo, then the Lord would neuer haue ſpoken ſo to hys Diſciples and the people, touchyng the Phariſeis, ſaying: *What ſo euer they byd you obſerue, that obſerue and do.* And agayne, if it were ſo, the Lord would not haue ſent forth Iudas whom hee knewe ſhould betray hym, with the other Diſciples to preache, neither would haue cõmitted to hym the power of workyng miracles, and of giuyng health, nor admitted hym to the communion of the Supper. And if our impuritie ſhoulde infecte our holy myſteries or miniſtrations, and make them worſe that heare and receyue the ſame, then the Lord would neuer haue touched the leper whom hee had healed, neither would haue kyſſed hym, neyther would haue eaten with Symon an other leper, neyther would haue ſuffered hys feete to bee kyſſed, and with the teares to be waſhed, and with the heare to bee dryed, and hys head to be annoynted of Mary the ſynner.

Math.

1.Cor.

Therefore the holy Canons haue thus decreed, that no mã which ryghtly receyueth the Lordes Sacramentes of an hereticke, ſhould be therfore any thyng corrupted by hys hereticall prauitie, nor the ſayd Sacramẽtes ſhould be any whitte diſteyned by the infection of hym. whereupon the Churche of Rome in a certeine Epiſtle directed vnto Anaſtaſius the Emperour by Anaſtaſius the Pope, did ſo ordeyne and write, that none of all them whom Acatius did Baptiſe, or whom he ordeined Canonically to be Prieſtes or Leuites, ſhould bee any thyng hurt by the name of the ſayd Acatius: ſo that thereby the Sacramẽtes which by hym were miniſtred ſhould ſeme the leſſe firme & effectual. For yͤ Sacrament of Baptiſme alſo beyng miniſtred of an adulterer or a theefe (which God forefende to be in the Churche) doth come vnto the receiuer neuer a whitte the worſe. what ment that voice whiche ſounded by the doue, but that it excluded all euill and impuritie of the corruption of man: in the whiche it is declared and ſayd: *This is he whiche Baptiſeth. &c.* For if the beames of thys viſible Sunne paſſyng by the fylthy places receiue no ſpotte of filthynes thereby, much more the grace of him, whiche made this viſible Sunne, is not tyed to any worthynes of our woorkes. what ſo euer therfore any miniſter of the Churche worketh in his function to the behouſe of the people, all that taketh his effect by the operation of God. Thus witneſſeth Paul by whom Chriſt ſpeaketh: *I haue planted and Apollo hath watered, but it is the Lord that hath giuen the increaſe.* God regardeth not ſo much who or what manner of perſon doth preach, but that he ſo preach that he may confirme them that be nought, and cauſe them to preache well of Chriſt. For ſuch is the operation of Gods mighty grace, that by euill men hee wynneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked perſons he getteth and gathereth together thoſe that be good.

1.Cor.

Sap.

By theſe and ſuch other reaſons and authorities aboue alledged, you ought to bee perſuaded, neither to abandon vs that bee maryed, from the adminiſtration of diuine ſeruice, nor yet to excommunicate ſuch, to whom the matter nothyng perteyneth, from the communion therof. And if we be euill, we are euill to our ſelues, and hurt our ſelues more then others. And ſuch as you ſuppoſe peraduẽture to be vicious, yet may haue ſome good thyng inwardly whiche you know not of. For many there be whom you iudge to be incontinent, whiche lyue more chaſtly then they whom you ſo greatly extolle for theyr continency. we that haue wyues, accordyng to the Apoſtles mynde, ſo haue them as thoughe we had them not. which gift of continencye foraſmuch as you can not gyue vs, pray therfore with vs and for vs, that hee will giue it vnto vs, who only is yͤ giuer therof, & without whõ no man is able to lyue continently. For otherwiſe we cã not haue it, vnleſſe we pray vnto hym frõ the bottome of our hartes, who is knowen to be the author and giuer therof. And *this ſame* (ſaith Salomõ) *is wiſdome, to know whoſe gift it is:* neither is there any gift aboue thys.

These ij. Epiſtles written to Pope Nicolas vnder the title of Voluſianus, giueth vs to vnderſtand by the contentes therof, firſt that he hym ſelfe was then a maryed Byſhop.

Secondly, that ẏ libertie of Prieſtes Mariage ought not to bee reſtrayned by any generall lawe of compulſion: but to be left to euery mans frée choyſe & voluntary deuotion.

Thirdly, the ſayd Epiſtles beyng written to Pope Nicolas (if the title be true) declare, that thys law prohibityng the lawfull matrimonye of Churchmen, begã firſt in this Popes tymes generally to bee enacted.

Diſt. 32. Præter.

Flac. Illy- ...ric. Centur. ...cap. 10.

...Ioã. Bale- ...De ſcriptoril' Centur. 2.

And although it be not here expreſſed whiche Pope Nicolas this was, yet by the circumſtaunce of tyme, & eſpecially by ẏ wordes of Pope Alexãder. 2. Diſt. 32. Præter, it may probablye be eſtemed to be Nicolas. 2. and not Nicolas ẏ firſt, as ſome do ſuppoſe, amongeſt whom is Illyricus in Centur. 9. cap. 10. and alſo Ioh. Bale, De Scriptoribus Cent. 2. with certein other: frõ whoſe iudgementes although I am loth to diſſent, yet notwithſtandyng modeſtly & frely to vtter herein my opiniõ, this I ſuppoſe, ẏ if the truth of this matter were throughly tryed, it might peraduenture be founde, that they be herein deceaued, and all by miſtakyng a certein place of Gracian. For the better explanation whereof, here is to be vnderſtãded, that amongeſt ẏ diſtinctions of Gracian there is a conſtitution, Diſt. 32. Nullus, the tenour whereof is this: Nullus Miſſam audiat presbyteri, quem ſcit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut ſubintroductam mulierem, &c. That is, *That no man ſhall heare Maſſe of any Prieſt, whom hee knoweth vndoubtedly to haue a concubine, or a womã priuely reſorting to him. &c.* This Decrée for aſmuch as Gracian doth alledge vnder ẏ name and title of Pope Nicolas, not namyng what Nicolas he was, therefore Iohn Bale, and Illyricus one folowyng the other, and they both folowing Volaterane lib. 22. do vouche this conſtitution vpõ Nicolas the firſt. The wordes of Volateran be theſe, writyng of Nicolas. 1. Multa hic vtilia conſtituit, inter quæ, nequis concubinam habẽti præſbytero aut ſacrificanti intereſſet, vt teſtatur Gracianus, &c.

Diſt. 32. Nullus.

...olateran. ...b. 22.

In lyke effect folow alſo the woordes of Illyricus aforeſayd: Decretum fecit ne quis a Sacerdote Sacramenta ſuſcipiat, quem ſciret habere concubinam, ſeu vxorem, and alleageth as Volaterane doth, the ſayd Diſtinct. of Gracian, Diſtinct. 32. Nullus. In alleaging wherof both they ſéeme to bée deceaued, miſtakyng belyke one Nicolas for an other, as may be proued and made good by iij. or iiij. reaſons.

...iſt. 32. ...ræter. The firſt ...on to ...e thys ...colas ...whom ...oluſianus ...te, to be ...icolas. 2.

Fyrſt, by the wordes of Pope Alexander. 2. in the nexte Chapter followyng, who being the ſucceſſour of Leo, and Nicolas 2. vſeth the ſame wordes in his Synode of Mantua (whiche Gracian referreth vnto Nicolas) and proſecuteth the ſame more amplye and fully, alledgyng moreouer the former conſtitution of both hys predeceſſours Pope Leo, and Nicolas: whiche by all ſtoryes are knowen to be Leo 9. & Nicolas 2. which both were next before him. The wordes of Alexander 2. be theſe: Præter hoc autem præcipiendo mandamus, vt nullus Miſſam audiat præsbyteri quem ſcit concubinam habere indubitanter, vel ſubintroductam mulierem, vnde etiam ſancta Synodus hoc capitulum ſub excõmunicatione ſtatuit, dicens: Quicunq; Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, poſt cõſtitutũ beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtri ſancti Leonis Papæ, & Nicolai, de caſtitate clericorũ, concubinã palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit. &c. By the whiche wordes ſpeakyng of Nicolas hys predeceſſor, it is euident to vnderſtand thys to be Pope Nicolas 2. which was hys next predeceſſour, and not Pope Nicolas the firſt, who was about. 200. yeares before hym.

...he con- ...tion of ...pe A- ...ãder. 2.

The ſecond reaſon, I take out of the next Chapter of Gracian goyng before, where he alledgeth agayne ẏ ſame Nicolas writyng to Otho Archbyſhop. Whiche Otho was then in the tyme of this Nicolas 2. Archbyſhop of Colen, and was afterward in the Councell of Mantua vnder Pope Alexander 2. teſte Ioan. Quintio Iureconſulto. Wherby it muſt nedes bée grãuted, that this was Nicolas the ſecond, and not the firſt.

Ex Ioã. Quintio In ſpeculo Sacerdotij.

The thyrd reaſon.

The thyrd coniecture or reaſon is this, for that pope Nicolas the firſt neuer made any ſuch Acte or Decrée, that Prieſtes that were entangled with a concubine, ſhould neither ſing Maſſe, nor that any ſhould reſorte to heare the Maſſe of ſuch. &c. but rather the contrary. For ſo we read in ẏ hyſtorie of Antoninus, and in the Decrées, 15. q. 8. Sciſcitantibus. Sciſcitantibus vobis ſi a ſacerdote qui fuerit comprehenſus in adulterio, ſiue de hoc ſola fama reſperſerit, debeatis cõmunionem ſuſcipere, nec ne, reſpõdemus: Non poteſt aliquis quantumcunq; pollutus ſit, Sacramenta diuina polluere, quæ purgatoria cunctarum contagionum exiſtunt. &c.

Antoninus Part. 2. tit. 16.

And yet more playnlye alſo afterwarde hee ſaith: Conſulendum decernitis vtrum præsbyterum habentem vxorem debeatis ſuſtentare & honorare, an a vobis proijcere? In quo reſpondemus, quoniam licet ipſi valde ſint reprehenſibiles, vos tamen conuenit Deum imitari, qui ſolem ſuũ oriri facit ſuper bonos, & malos, deijcere enim a vobis eos nõ debetis. Diſt. 18. Cõſulendum. &c. That is: *Where ye demaunde concernyng the Prieſt that hath a Wyfe, whether ye ought to ſuſteyne hym, and honour hym, or reiecte hym from you, we aunſwere: That albeit they be very much blame worthy, yet ye ought to bee folowers of God, whiche maketh his ſonne to riſe both vpon the good, and vpõ the bad. And therfore ye ought not to reiect ſuch, away from you. &c.* And this Nicolas, Antoninus confeſſeth playnly to be Nicolas the firſt. Wherby it is not onely vnlyke, but alſo moſt certayne that Nicolas the firſt was not the father of this conſtitution, either to exterminate maryed Prieſtes from their Churches, or to excommunicate the people from receauyng their cõmunion, much leſſe then from hearyng their ſeruice.

Diſt. 18. Conſulendum.

Ex Antonino ibidem.

Fourthly, for as much then as it is vndoubted that Nicolas 2. and Alexander the 2. throughe the inſtigation of wicked Hildebrand, were the authors of that conſtitution wherof Gracian ſpeaketh, it remayneth playne by the wordes of Voluſianus in the latter ende of hys letter (wherein he maketh mention both of diſchargyng the Prieſt frõ ſingyng Maſſe, and the people from hearyng) that the ſayd Epiſtle was written not to Pope Nicolas the firſt, but to the 2. for becauſe both theſe were Decréed agaynſt maryed Prieſtes vnder Nicolas 2. and Alexander 2. as is afore declared.

The fourth reaſon out of the wordes of *Voluſianus.*

And further, leſt my iudgement herein ſhould ſeme to ſtand alone & ſingular, wout ſome to take my part, I will here produce for me a Pariſian Doctor, & a famous lawyer Ioãnes Quintius aboue mẽcioned, who in his booke De Clericorũ moribus, playnly accordeth with myne opiniõ, touchyng this Nicolas author of the Decrée aforeſayd, where he writeth in this wordes: Nicolaus Papa Othoni Coloniẽſi Archiepiſc. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine pontifices. Primũ, ſecundumuè oportuit eſſe, qui hæc reſcripſerit, ille Romanus, an. 860. hic Burgũdus, an. 1059. Reliquos Nicolaos anteceſsit Gracianus, qui ſcripſit hæc. anno. 1150. Poſteriorẽ fuiſſe credo, qui in Pannomiæ lib. 3. Tit. de lapſis, nominatur Nicolaus iunior, cuius eſt & aliud decretum ſequens. &c. That is to ſay in Engliſhe: *Pope Nicolas writyng to Otho Archbyſhop of Colen.* Gloſ. *There haue bene in all, v. Popes called by this name of Nicolas. Of the whiche v. this Nicolas the writer hereof muſt be either the firſt, or ſecond: the one a Romane, an. 860. the other a Burgũdian, an. 1059. or. 1060. The other Nicolas lyued after Gracian, who wrote, in the yeare. 1150. In my iudgement I ſuppoſe this to be Nicolas the ſecond, whiche in the thyrd booke of the lawes called* Pannomiæ Tit. de lapſis, *is named Nicolas the yonger. Whiche Nico-*

Ex teſtimonio Ioan. Quintij De Clericorũ moribus.

The author of thys booke of *Pãnomiæ,* was *Iue Carnotenſis,* in which booke he compyled diuers Canone of Popes and Byſhops.

Nicolas alſo is author of the next decree that foloweth.&c.

Obiection aunſwered.

Wherfore if any ſhall obiect hereafter, that becauſe Gracian in the Diſtinction aforeſayd, nameth Pope *Nicolas* abſolutely without any addition, it is therefore to bee taken for *Nicolas* the firſt: vnto this obiection I ſet here theſe two lawyers to aūſwere. Unto whoſe aūſwere this I adde alſo, that the common maner of Gracian lightly in all hys Diſtinctions is, that when he ſpeaketh of Popes, as of Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius, and ſuch other, very ſeldome hée expreſſeth the differēce of their names. So in the Diſt. 28. Presbyteris, where hee bryngeth in the Decrée of Pope Calixtus in lyke maner agaynſt the Matrimony of Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacōs, he addeth therto no diſcrepance of hys name: and yet all the worlde knoweth that this was Calixtus the 2. & not ẏ firſt. &c. But whether hee were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters (no doubt) by their title, appeare to be writtē by Voluſianus. Moſt certeine this is, by whō ſo euer they were written, fruitfull Epiſtles they are, and effectuall to the purpoſe.

Read afore pag. 219.

The tyme examined of this *Voluſianus* Epiſtle to Pope Nicolas.

But leſt we ſhall ſeeme to much to digreſſe frō our purpoſe, let vs returne to the ſtory & tyme of *Nicolas* the ſecond agayne, whiche was about the yeare, as is ſayd, 1060. a litle before Hildebrand was Pope. Which Hildebrād, albeit he was thē but a Cardinall, yet was he the whole doer of all thynges, & concluded what hym lyſted in the Churche of Rome, & alſo made Popes, whom he would, as appeared both by this Nicolas, and alſo Pope Alexander whiche folowed hym. pag. 219. So that this diſſolution of Prieſtes Mariage began ſomewhat to kyndle vnder this Pope Nicolas, through ẏ peſtilent meanes of Hildebrand, and after him increaſed more vnder Pope Alexander, as appeareth by ẏ Synode holdē at Millane an. 1067. but moſt of all, it burſt out vnder the ſayd Hildebrand him ſelfe beyng Pope, the yeare (as is ſayd) 1076.

Diſt. 84. cap. Cū præterito.

Although, as touchyng this prohibition of Prieſtes to be maryed, I am not ignoraunt, that certeyne of the contrary faction, in ſearchyng out the reache and antiquitie of this tradition for Prieſtes to abſteyne from wyues, do referre the ſame to the tyme of the ſeconde Councell of Carthage, whiche was about the tyme of Pope Syritius, a great enemy to miniſters wyues, as appeareth Diſt. 84. Cum præterito. Yet notwithſtandyng, to the ſame may be aunſwered that this was no vniuerſall or generall Councell, but ſome particular Synode, and therefore of no ſuch great forceable authoritye.

Conciliū Carthag. 2. Can. 2.

2. Secondly, the ſame Synode beyng about the tyme of Pope Syritius, who was a capitall enemy agaynſt prieſtes mariage, may ſeme to drawe ſome corruption of the tyme then preſent.

3. Thirdly, neither is it vnpoſſible, but as dyuers baſtard Epiſtles haue bene falſely fathered vpon certein auncient Byſhops of the primitiue Churche, and diuers Canons alſo (as of the Councell of Nyce) haue ben corrupted by Byſhops of Rome· ſo ſome falſehode lykewiſe or forgery might be vſed in this ſecond Councell of Carthage.

4. Fourthlye, although no falſe conueyance had ben vſed therein, yet forſomuch as the ſayd Canon of this ſecond Coūcell of Carthage doth miſreporte and falſifie the Canons of the Apoſtles, in ſo doyng it doth iuſtly diminiſhe hys owne credite.

5. Fiftly, ſeyng the foreſayd Canon of this ſecond Councell of Carthage tendeth cleane contrary to the Canons of the Apoſtles, to the Councell of Gangra, and other Councels mo, and commaūdeth that, whiche they do accurſe, the authoritie therof ought to haue no great force, but rather may be reiected.

Prieſtes & byſhops maried longe after the 2. Councell of *Carthage*.

6. Finally, though this conſtitution of the Councell of Carthage were perfectly ſounde without all corruption, yet playne & euident it is by this Voluſianus, Biſhop alſo of Carthage, that the ſame conſtitution toke no great hold in the Churche, for ſomuch as we ſée, that both this Voluſianus was maryed after that in Carthage hym ſelf, and alſo beſides hym many hūdreth yeares after, mariage was a common matter through moſt Churches of Chriſtendome, amongeſt Byſhops and Prieſtes, as partly before hath bene declared. And more may be ſene in hyſtories, what great tumultes & buſines was long after that in Hildebrādes time, and after hym alſo, among the Clergymen, both in Italy, Spayne, Fraunce, and in all quarters of Chriſtēdome, for ſeparating Prieſtes from their liberty of maryng.

And agayne, if this tradition concernyng the vnmaryed lyfe of Prieſtes had ſtand vppon ſuch an old foundation from the 2. Councell of Carthage (as they pretend) what neded then in the time of Pope Nicolas. 2 Pope Alexander 2. Pope Gregorye. 7. and of other Popes after them, ſo much labour to be taken, ſo many lawes and decrées to bee deuiſed and enacted for the abolyſhyng of Prieſtes mariage, if the ſame had bene of ſuch a long antiquitie as they would make mē beleue?

By theſe thynges conſidered it may appeare, that this diſtraction of Prieſtes mariage by publicke law compellyng them to ſingle lyfe, was neuer receiued for a full law generally to be obſerued in the Churche of Rome, but onely ſince the begynnyng of Hildebrand, that is, ſince theſe v. hundreth yeares.

About whiche tyme firſt is to bee noted, that vnder Pope Leo and this Pope Nicolas, Cranzius and certeyne Germaine Chronicles do ſay, that Symony and Prieſtes Mariage were prohibited. This Pope Leo was. an. 1051.

After hym Pope Nicolas (to whom the foreſayd letter of Voluſianus ſemeth to be written) made this ordinance: Vt nullꝰ Miſſam audiat pręsbyteri, quē ſcit cōcubinā indubitāter habere, aut ſubintroductam mulierē. Et mox: Quicunq; ſacerdotū, Diaconorū, Subdiaconorū, poſt cōſtitutū beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtri ſanctiſſ. Papę Leonis, de caſtitate clericorū, concubinā palam duxerit, vel ductā non reliquerit, ex parte omnipotentis dei & autoritate beati Petri & Pauli præcipimꝰ, & omninò cōtradicimus vt Miſſam non cantet. &c. That is, *What ſoeuer Prieſt, Deacon, or Subdeacon, accordyng to the conſtitutiō of Pope* Leo *our predeceſſour, concernyng the chaſtitie of Clerkes, ſhall openly mary a concubine, or ſhall not put her away beyng maryed: in the behalfe of almyghty God.&c. we vtterly charge and forbyd the ſame, that hee ſing no Maſſe, nor read the Goſpell or Epiſtle at Maſſe, nor execute any diuine ſeruice. &c.* And this was about the yeare of our Lord. 1058.

Although in this conſtitution of Pope Nicolas, this word concubine may be vnderſtanded for no wife, but ſo as Gracian vnderſtādeth it in ẏ 16. Canon of the Apoſtles, in theſe wordes: Concubina verò intelligenda eſt pręter vxorem: that is, for one beſides a mans wyfe. Then after this Pope Nicolas, comming Pope Alexander, and ſpecially Pope Hildebrand, do expounde this concubine forbydden, for a wyfe, & ſuch Prieſtes as be maryed, they expounde them for Nicolaitans: for ſo we read in ẏ Synode of Millane, vnder Pope Alexander 2. Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur clerici, qui contra caſtitatis Eccleſiaſticæ regulam fœminis admiſcētur. &c. And further it foloweth in the ſame Synode: Nicolaitarum quoq; hæreſin nihilominus condemnamus, & non modo Pręsbyteros, ſed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ab vxorum, vel cōcubinarum fædo conſortio, noſtris ſtudijs, in quantum nobis poſſibilitas fuerit, arcēdos eſſe promittimus. &c.

And after it foloweth in this wiſe: Si hæc de Simoniaca & Nicolaitarum hæreſi delenda & funditus deſtruenda fideliter nō obſeruauero, ab omnipotenti Deo, & omnibus Sanctis ſim excommunicatus & anathematizatus, & ab omni Chriſtianorū conſortio inueniar alienus.

And moreouer, it foloweth vpon ẏ ſame: Anathematizo quoq; omnes hęreſes extollentes ſe aduerſus ſanctam catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, ſpecialiter verò & nominatim Simoniacā hæreſin: deinde Nicolaitarū ęquè abominabilem hęreſin, quę impudenter latrat, ſácri altaris miniſtros debere vel poſſe licenter vti coniugibus, quomodo & laicos, &c. As much to ſaye in Engliſhe, as: *I doe accurſe all hereſies extollyng them ſelues agaynſt the holy catholicke and Apoſtolicke Churche, but eſpeciallye and namely, the hereſie of Symonye: and in lyke maner, the abominable hereſie of the Nicolaitans, whiche impudentlye barketh, that the Miniſters of the holy aultar maye and ought to vſe wynes lawfully, as well as lay men. &c.* And thus much concernyng the Synode of Millane, vnder Pope Alexander 2. an. 1067.

1067.

Next after this Alexander, roſe vp Pope Hildebrand, of all other, the chiefeſt and moſt principall enemy agaynſt Prieſtes Mariage. For where as all other approued Canons and Councels were contented, that any Clergyman hauing a wife before his entring into hys miniſtery, myght enioy ẏ liberty of his mariage, ſo that he maryed not a wydow, or a knowen harlotte, or kept a cōcubine, or were twiſe maryed, now commeth in Pope Hildebrand, makyng Prieſtes Mariage to be hereſie, and further enactyng: *that what ſoeuer Clerke, Deacon, or miniſter had any wife, what ſoeuer ſhe was (maide or other) either before his orders, or after, ſhould vtterly put her from hym, or els forſake his miniſtery. &c.* Although notwithſtādyng the greateſt part of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters ſeyng this ſtraunge doctrine and procedyngs (which S. Paule expreſly calleth the doctrine of deuils) dyd what they could, to withſtand the ſame. Of whom Lambertus Schafnaburgenſis thus writeth: Aduerſus hoc Decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio clericorum, hominem planè hęreticū & veſani dogmatis eſſe clamitans, qui oblitus ſermonis Domini, quo ait: *Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum: Qui poteſt capere, capiat. &c.* & Apoſtoli: *Qui ſe non continet, nubat: Melius eſt nubere, quam viri,* Violenta exactione homines viuere cogeret ritu angelorum. Quod ſi pergeret, malle ſe ſacerdotium, quā coniugium deſerere. &c. In Engliſhe thus: Agaynſt this Decrée, the whole number of the Clergie dyd vehemently ſtorme and grudge, crying out vpon him, as a pernicious hereticke, and one that maynteined phantaſticall doctrine: who forgettyng what the Lord ſayth: *All mē cā not take this worde: He that can take it, let hym take it:* And alſo what ẏ Apoſtle ſayth: *Who ſo can not otherwiſe cōteyne, let hym mary: Better it is to mary, then to burne. &c.* yet notwithſtandyng would bynde men to lyue lyke Aungels. Who if he continued as he began, they would (they ſayd) ſoner forſake ẏ order of Prieſthode, then their order of Matrimony, &c. Whiche Hildebrand, all thys notwithſtandyng, yet ceaſed not ſtill to call vpon them, and to ſend to the Byſhops euery where to execute hys commaundement with all ſeueritie, threatnyng to lay the Apoſtolicall cenſure vppon them, if otherwiſe they ſhewed not their diligence therin to the vttermoſt: Ex Lamb. This was an. 1074. Of the ſame Hildebrād, Radulphus de Diceto alſo writing, hath theſe wordes:

1074.

Gregorius Papa 7. Hildebrādus, celebrata Synodo, Symoniacos anathematizauit, vxoratos ſacerdotes a diuino remouit officio, & laicis Miſſam eorum audire interdixit, nouo exemplo, & (vt multis viſum eſt) incōſiderato pręiudicio, contra ſanctorū patrū ſententiā. &c. The Engliſh is this. *Pope Gregory 7. called Hildebrand holdyng a Synode, accurſed ſuch as cōmitted Symony, and remoued maryed Prieſtes from ſaying ſeruice, forbyddyng alſo the laye men to heare theyr Maſſe, after a newe and ſtraunge example, and as many thought, after an vnconſiderate preiudice, agaynſt the ſentence of holy fathers.*

And thus much for the antiquitie of bryngyng in the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, whiche firſt ſpryngyng from the tyme of Pope Nicolas, and Alexander 2. began firſt with a cuſtome, & afterward was brought into a lawe, chiefly by Pope Hildebrand, and ſo ſpread from Italy into other countreys, and at length into England alſo, albeit not without much adoe, as ye ſhall heare, the Lord willyng.

In the meane while, as Pope Nicolas and Hildebrand were buſie at Rome, ſo Lanfranck Archbyſhop of Canterbury lykewiſe was doyng here in England about the ſame matter, although hee began not altogether ſo roughly as Pope Hildebrand dyd, for ſo it appeared by his Councel holden at Wincheſter: Where though he inhibited ſuch as were Prebēdaries of Cathedrall Churches to haue wyues, yet dyd he permitte in his Decrée, that ſuch Prieſtes as dwelt in townes and villages, hauyng wyues, ſhould reteyne them ſtill, and not to be compelled to be ſeparate from them: and they whiche had none, ſhould be inhibited to haue: Inioynyng moreouer the Byſhops thus, to forſée hereafter, that they preſumed not to admitte into orders, any prieſts or Deacons, vnleſſe they ſhould firſt make a ſolemne profeſſion to haue no wyues.

Lanfranckes lawe for prieſtes not to marye.

The wordes of the Councell be theſe: Decretumq́; eſt vt nullus Canonicus vxorem habeat, ſacerdotū vero in caſtellis & in vicis habitantium habentes vxores, non cogantur vt dimittant, non habentes interdicantur vt habeant: & deinceps caueant Epiſcopi, vt ſacerdotes vel Diaconi non præſumant ordinare niſi profiteantur vt vxores non habeant. &c.

Ex actis Concilij Wintonienſis ſub Lanfranco.

And here to note by the waye of the ſayd Lanfrancke, for all hys glorious gay ſhew of hys monkyſhe virginitie & ſingle lyfe, yet he eſchaped not altogether ſo vnſpotted for hys part, but that the ſtory of Mathew Paris writyng of Paulus Cadonenſis, whō Lāfrancke preferred ſo gladly to bee Abbot of S. Albans, thus reporteth of him: Paulus (inquit) monachus Cadonenſis Archiepiſcopi Lanfranci nepos, iure, aliquorum relationibus, cōſanguinitate propinquior. &c. that is, *Paul a Monke of Cadune, & nephew of the Archbyſhop Lanfrācke, yea & as ſome ſay further, more nere in bloud to hym then ſo. &c.*

Ex Math. Pariſienſ.

Lanfrancke ſuppoſed not to bee a pure virgine.

Then after Lāfrancke came Anſelme into the Sea of Canterbury, who takyng to him a ſtouter ſtomacke, more fiercely and egerly laboured this matter in abrogatyng vtterly the Mariage of Prieſtes, Deacōs, Subdeacons, and of the vniuerſall Clergy, not permittyng, as Lāfrancke dyd, Prieſtes that had wyues in villages and townes, to kepe them ſtill, but vtterly commaundyng, and that vnder great payne, not onely Prieſtes & Deacons but Subdeacons alſo (whiche is agaynſt the Councell of Laterane) which were already maryed, to be ſeparated, & that none ſhould be receaued into order hereafter, without profeſſion of perpetuall chaſtitie.

Anſelme Archb. of Canterburye a conſtant doer agaynſt prieſtes mariage.

Concil. Lateran. Can. 14. De Clericis matrimonio copulatis.

And yet notwithſtandyng, for all thys great bluſteryng and thunderyng of this Romiſhe Μισόγαμος, the Prieſtes yet ſtill holdyng theyr owne, as well as they could, gaue not much place to his vnlawful Iniunctiō, but kept ſtill their wyues almoſt 200. yeares after, refuſing and reſiſtyng of long tyme, the yoke of that ſeruile bondage, to kepe ſtill their fredome frō ſuch vowing, profeſſyng, and promiſing: as may well appeare by thoſe Prieſtes of Yorke, of whō Gerardus Archb. of Yorke ſpeaketh, writyng to Anſelme in theſe wordes: Sitio clericorum meorum integritatem, ſed pręterquā in paucis admodum, vel aſpidis ſurditatem, vel fabuloſi cuiuſdam prothei mutabilitatem inuenio. Varijs linguarum aculeis, minas, modò conuitia infligunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores ſunt, tolero. Illud omninò graue genus mali eſt, quod hi qui quaſi in ſinu meo ſunt, qui Canonicorum nomine gaudent, canones aſpernant, aduerſus Cōcilij noſtri ſtatuta, quaſi ſophiſtici diſputatores argumentantur: profeſſiones verò mihi penitus abnegāt Canonici illi, qui ſine profeſſione ad ſacros or-

Of thys *Gerardus*, read before pag. 147.

dines

dines inordinabiliter ſunt prouecti, & qui in Præſbyteratu vel Diaconatu conſtituti, vxores ſiue concubinas in publico hactenus habuerunt, ab altari nulla ſe reuerentia continuerunt. Cum verò ad ordines aliquos inuito, dura ceruice nituntur, ne in ordinādo caſtitatem profiteantur. In Engliſh thus. *I much deſire the puritie of my Clergymen. Howbeit except it be in very few, I finde in them the deafnes of the Serpent Aſpis, and the inconſtancy of Protheus that the Poetes fable ſpeake of. With their ſtinging toungues they caſt out ſome while threates, ſome while tauntes and rebukes. But this greueth me leſſe in them that be farder of. This greueth me moſt of all, that they whiche be of myne owne Church, as in myne owne boſome, and Prebendaryes of myne owne Sea, contemne our Canons, and argue lyke Sophiſticall diſputers, agaynſt the ſtatutes of our Councell. The Prebendaryes which vnordinatly haue bene taken into orders heretofore without making vowe or profeſſion, refuſe vtterly to make any profeſſion to me. And they that bee Prieſtes or Deacons, hauing maryed before openly wiues or concubines, will not be remoued for any reuerence from the aultare. And when I call vpon any to receaue order, ſtifely they denye to profeſſe chaſtitie in their orderyng. &c.*

Hereby appeareth that prieſtes in the olde time here in England, neuer made vowe of chaſtitie at theyr orders, before thys tyme.

Thus, for all the rigorous auſteritie of this Anſelme in forcyng hys Decrée made at London agaynſt the mariage of Prieſtes, yet the ſame had no great ſucceſſe, neither in hys lyfe tyme, nor after hys lyfe. For although ſundry prieſtes, during his life time, were cōpelled by his extremitie to renoūce their wiues, yet many denyed to obey hym. Diuers were contented rather to leaue their benefices, thē their wyues. A great number were permitted by kyng Henry, for money to enioy their wyues. Which was ſo chargeable vnto them (ſaith Edmer in his 4. booke) that at length ij. hundreth Prieſtes, in their Albes & Prieſtly veſtementes, came barefote to the kynges Palace, crying to hym for mercy, and eſpecially making their ſute to the Quéene, who vſing much compaſſion towardes them, yet durſte not make for them any interceſſion.

Ex Edmero Lib. 4.

Anſelme at this tyme was ouer the Sea, makyng hys viage to the Pope. Who hearyng hereof, wryteth to the kyng, declaryng that ſuch forfeitures apperteyned nothyng to hym, but onely vnto Byſhops, and in their default, to the Archbyſhops. Wherof read more, pag. 249. So wilfull was the blynd zeale of this Prelate, agaynſt all reaſon, agaynſt nature it ſelfe, agaynſt the example of his foreelders, againſt publicke cuſtome of his owne time, agaynſt the doctrine of the Apoſtles, the conſtitution of Councels, agaynſt all honeſty, and all Gods forbode, that he neither at the cōtemplation of the kyng, nor at the crying out and publicke dolour of ſo many Prieſtes, nor yet moued with the letters of Pope Paſchalis him ſelfe (who puttyng him in remembraunce of ſo many Prieſtes ſonnes, wylled him to conſider the neceſſitie of the tyme pag. 251.) woulde yet nothyng relent from hys ſtubborne purpoſe, vnto hys latter end. In whō as many great crimes may iuſtly be noted, ſo of all other, this is moſt principally in hym to be reprehended: for that he ſeing and perceauyng what Sodomiticall feditie and abomination, with other inconueniences, dyd ſpryng incontinently vpon thys hys Diabolicall doctrine, yet for all that would not geue ouer hys peſtilent purpoſe.

Read afore pag. 249.

Read afore pag. 251. col. 2.

For ſo the ſtory recordeth, yͤ whē Anſelme had eſtabliſhed his Synodall cōſtitution in ſeparatyng prieſtes from their wyues (whiche was an. 1103.) not long after, rumours and complayntes were brought to him of the execrable vyce of Sodomitrie, whiche then began ſpecially to reigne in the Clergy, after this inhibition of Matrimony. Wherupon Anſelme was conſtrayned to call an other Councell at Paules within London, to prouide for this miſchief. In whiche Councel this Acte was made: Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, & eos in hac volūtate iuuantes, graui anathemate dānamus, donec pœnitentia & confeſſione abſolutionē mereantur. &c. *All them that cōmitte the vngratious ſinne of Sodomitrie, and them alſo which aſſiſte them in this theyr wicked purpoſe, with greuous curſe we do condemne, till ſuch tyme as they ſhall deſerue abſolutiō by penaunce and confeſſion. &c.* Thus ye haue heard what abominable wickednes enſued after that Prieſtes were debarred from Mariage, & what ſore puniſhmēt was deuiſed by this maidenly Prelate, for extirpyng that ſinnefull wickednes: in yͤ abolyſhing wherof, more wyſely he ſhould haue remoued away the occaſion, wherof he was the author hym ſelfe, then by penalty to ſuppreſſe it, which he could neuer do. Now let vs heare further what folowed in that worthy Coūcell. Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, ſtatutum eſt, ſiquidem fuerit perſona religioſi ordinis, vt ad nullum amplius gradū promoueatur, & ſi quem habet, ab illo deponatur. Si autem laicus, vt in toto regno Angliæ legali ſua condignitate priuetur. Et ne huius criminis abſolutionem, ijs qui ſe ſub regula viuere vouerunt, aliquis niſi Epiſcopus deinceps facere præſumat. Statutum quoq; eſt, vt per totam Angliam in omnibus Eccleſijs, & in omnibus diebus Dominicis, excommunicatio præfata publicetur ac renouetur. &c. Which is as much to ſay in Engliſhe: *It is enacted, that who ſoeuer ſhalbe publickely knowen to be gilty hereof, if hee be a Religious perſon, he ſhall from thence forth be promoted to no dregree of honour, and that degree whiche hee hath already, ſhalbe take from hym. If he be a lay perſon, he ſhall be depriued of all hys fredome, within the whole realme of England. And that none, vnder a Byſhop, ſhall preſume to aſſoyle ſuch as haue bene Monkes profeſſed, of that treſpaſſe. It is alſo enacted, that on euery Sonday in the yeare, and in euery Pariſhe Churche in England, this generall curſe aforeſayd ſhall be publiſhed and renewed. &c.* Ex Rog. Houed. & Epiſt. Anſel. 278.

After the prohibition of matrimonye, followed the vice of Sodomitrie.

Is not here (trow you) good diuiſion of Iuſtice, that lawful wedlocke of Prieſtes can find no grace nor pardon, yea is made now hereſie: where adultery and horrible Sodomitrie is waſhed away with a litle confeſſion: And ſée yet what foloweth more. After that this penall curſe ſhould now go abroad and bee publiſhed in Churches, yͤ Monkes perceauyng this matter to touch them ſomwhat nere, whyſpered in Anſelmes eare, perſuadyng hym, that the publication of that acte myght growe to great dāger and inconuenience, in openyng that vyce, which before was not knowen: in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort tyme after, that curſe was called in agayn: And ſo curſed Sodomitrye and adulterye paſſed frée without puniſhment, or word ſpoken agaynſt it, where contrary, godly Matrimony could finde no mercye.

Now what reaſons and argumentes this Anſelme ſucked out of the Court of Rome, to proue the Matrimony of Prieſtes vnlawfull, were it not for cumbryng the reader with tediouſnes, here would bee ſhewed. Briefly the chief groundes of all hys long diſputation, in hys booke intituled, Offendiculum Sacerdotum, betwene the maſter and ſcholer, come to this effect.

❡Argument.

Prieſtes of the old law, during the tyme of their miniſtration, abſteyned from their wyues:

Ergo, *Prieſtes in the tyme of the Goſpell, which euery day miniſter at the altar, muſt neuer haue any wyues.*

❡An other Argument.

Moſes, *when he ſhould ſanctifie the people, goyng vp to the hill, commaunded them to ſequeſter them ſelues from their wyues three dayes:*

Ergo, *Prieſtes that muſt bee ſanctified to the Lord alwayes, ought to lyue chaſte alwayes without wyues.*

❡An other Argument.

Dauid, *before he ſhould eate of the ſhewebread, was aſked whether he and hys company had bene without the cōpany of theyr wyues three dayes:*

Ergo, *Prieſtes that be continually attendyng vppon the table and Sacramētes of the Lord, ought neuer to haue company with any ſuch.*

❡An other Argument.

2. King. 6. Oza, *which put hys hand to the Arke, was ſlayne therfore, as it is though, becauſe hee lay with hys wyſe the nyght before.*

Ergo, *Prieſtes whoſe handes be alwayes occupyed about the Lordes ſeruice, muſt be pure from company of wyfe or any woman.*

❡An other Argument.

Num. 4. Nadab, *and* Abiud, *whiche ſacrificed with ſtraunge fire, were deuoured therefore becauſe they companyed with theyr wyues the ſame nyght.*

Ergo, *Prieſtes, and ſacrificers muſt haue no wyues to cõpanye withall.*

❡An other Argument.

The Prieſtes of the Gentiles, in old time, when they ſacrificed to theyr Idoles, are ſayd to lye from their wyues.

Ergo, *much more the Prieſts that ſacrifice to the lyuyng God, ought ſo to do.*

❡An other Argument.

Iohn. 12. *Chriſt was borne of a virgine, Chriſt lyued euer a virgine, and commaundeth them that will ſerue hym, to folow him.* Qui mihi miniſtrat, me ſequatur, id eſt: Si vis mihi miniſtrare, me caſtè viuendo imitare.

Ergo, *Prieſts that haue wiues, are not meete to ſerue him.*

1. Corinth. 7.

Let euery man haue his owne wife for auoydyng of fornicatiõ.

The expoſition of Anſelme.

The groſſe expoſitions of *Anſelme*, vpon the wordes of S. Paule.

That is ment, and graunted of the Apoſtle, onely to lay men. Hoc ſolis laicis eum conceſsiſſe, nemo ignorat.

1. Cor. 7.

Melius eſt nubere quam vri, *It is better to mary, thẽ to burne.*

The expoſition.

Melius, id eſt, leuius eſt legitimæ vxori nubere, quã vri, id eſt, quàm alienarum mulierum concupiſcẽtia conſumi. **It is a lyghter fault to mary one lawfull wife, then to be conſumed with concupiſcence of ſtraunge women.**

1. Timot. 3.

Oportet eſſe Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem, vnius vxoris virum. &c. *A Byſhop ought to bee vnreproueable, the husband of one wyfe. &c.*

The expoſition.

Præcipit Apoſtolus, ne quis ad ſacerdotium accedere præſumat, niſi is qui nõ niſi vnicam vxorem laicus habuiſſet: Accepto autem ordine, nunquam ei carnis commixtione ſe copularet, tantũ vitæ neceſſaria ei ſubminiſtraret. **That is:** *The Apoſtle here commaundeth, that none ſhould preſume to bee Prieſt, but he who beyng a lay mã before, hath had no more but one wife: And after he be made Prieſt, not to couple hym ſelf any more with her, but only to miniſter to her, thyngs neceſſarie for her liuing &c.*

And finally after theſe thinges thus diſputed, and alledged, the ſayd Anſelme **concludeth the matter with this finall cenſure and determination, as foloweth:** Per hoc autem quod ſacras veſtes induunt, vel ſacra vaſa tangunt, Chriſto violenter manus inijciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præſumunt, Chriſtum quodam modo viſibiliter in altari crucifigunt. Legitur miniſterium eorum, Chriſti perſecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur. **In Engliſhe thus.** *In that theſe men* (**he ſpeaketh of maryed Prieſtes**) *do put on the holy veſtementes, or do touche the holy veſſels, they do lay violent handes vpon Chriſt. And in that they preſume impudẽtly to offer, they do, in a maner, viſibly crucifie Chriſt vpon the altare. The miniſterie of ſuch is read to be a perſecution, or rather a crucifying of Chriſt. &c.*

The concluſion or cenſure of *Anſelme* vpon maried prieſtes.

Loe here the mighty reaſons, the ſtronge tymbered argumentes, and the déepe Diuinitie wherewith thys Anſelme **and all other that drawe after hys ſtrynge, go about to impugne the lawfulnes of Prieſtes Mariage. Becauſe ẏ Iſraelites whẽ they ſhould appeare before the Lord at Mount** Synai, **were commaunded to kepe from their wiues thrée dayes: and becauſe the Prieſts of the old law in doyng their function, as their turne came about, refrayned the company of their wyues for that preſent tyme: Ergo, Prieſtes of the new law muſt at no tyme haue any wiues, but liue allwayes ſingle. &c.**

Anſwere to Anſelmes reaſons.

And why might not Anſelme **as well argue thus: The people of Iſraell approchyng to the mount were commaunded in lyke ſorte to waſhe theyr garmentes:** Ergo, **Prieſtes of the new law, whiche are occupyed euery day about the Aultar, ought euery daye to waſhe all their garmentes.**

Moyſes **approchyng to the preſence of the Lorde in the buſhe, was commaũded to put of his ſhoes.** Ergo, **Prieſtes of the new law, whiche are euer approchyng to ẏ preſence of theyr God, ſhould neuer weare ſhoes.**

Of kyng Dauid **and hys company whiche but once in all theyr life dyd eate of the ſhewbread, it was demaunded by ẏ high Prieſt, whether they had kept thẽ from their wyues iij. dayes before.** Ergo, **kynges and the people of the new Teſtament, whiche euery yeare eate the bread of the Lordes borde, more precious then euer was that** Panis propoſitionis, **ſhoulde abyde all their lyfe wiueles and vnſpouſed.**

But here Anſelme **ſhould haue conſidered by theſe Scriptures, how we are taught not to put away our wiues, but wiſely to diſtincte tymes, when and how to haue them. For as** Salomon **teacheth, to be a tyme for all thinges: ſo is there a tyme to marye, and a time not to marye, a tyme to reſort, a tyme to withdrawe, a time of companye, a tyme of abſtinence and prayer, which S. Paule calleth** πρὸς καιρὸν. **And as hee ſpeaketh of a tyme of prayer and abſtinence, ſo he ſpeaketh alſo of a time of reſorting together, and addeth the cauſe why:** ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam veſtram, &c. **that is:** *Leſt Sathan* (**ſayth he**) *tempte you for your incontinencie.* **And thus ſhould** Anſelme **with** Salomon **and** Paule, **haue conſidered the order and diſtinction of tymes. Oftetymes in Scripture that is cõmaunded to ſome, & at ſometime, which extendeth not to others. And that which for a tyme is conuenient, is not by and by allwayes conuenient. Neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for euer. Neyther ought ſpeciall examples to breake generall orders: neyther agayne do extraordinarye prohibitions, make an vniuerſall rule. They were then commaunded to ſequeſter them ſelues from theyr wiues at the comming of the Lorde: Not that the comming of the Lorde dyd breake wedlocke, but hys commaundement dyd bynde obedience: and therfore obeyed they, becauſe they were cõmaunded. And yet were they not cõmaũded to put away theyr wiues, but onely to ſeparate thẽ ſelues for a tyme, & that not for monethes & yeares, but onely for iij. dayes. Which abſtinence alſo was inioyned them, not in ẏ preſence nor at the appearing of the Lord, but thrée dayes before hys deſcendyng to them on the hill. Wherby it appeareth, that the vſe of their wedlocke neyther diſpleaſed God being preſent, nor yet dyd driue hys preſence away when he was come: for hée remayned there preſent amongeſt thẽ on the hill xl. dayes notwithſtãding.**

A tyme for all thinges.

1. Cor. 7.

Speciall examples breake no generall orders.

Separation of the Iſraelites frõ their wiues for 3. dayes, is no argument that prieſtes ſhould neuer marye.

Furthermore, thys tyme of ſeparation from their wiues, as it was expreſſye commaunded to them by God: ſo was it not longe nor tedious, but ſuch as was neyther hard for them, nor vnconuenient for the tyme: geuing vs therby to vnderſtand, how to vſe ſeparatiõ in wedlocke wiſely, that is, neyther at no time, nor yet to longe. For as they do not well, which neuer followe the tyme of S. Paule, **called** πρὸς καιρὸν, **for ababſtinence and prayer: ſo doe they worſe, which fall into that** παρακαίριον, **whereof** S. Paule **againe geueth vs warnyng,** ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam veſtram. **But worſt of all doe they, which ſo ſeparate their wiues cleane from them, and ſo abiure all matrimonie, that they fall headlong into the deuills pitfall of fornication, and all filthye abomination. And therefore the Lorde foreſeing the perill thereof, ſayd vnto the people:** Eſtote parati in diem tertium, & ne appropinquetis vxoribus veſtris. &c. **Appoynting in deede a ſeparation from their wiues, but yet knowing**

Separation in wedlocke, how it is to be vſed.

Exod. 19.

ing the infirmitie of man, limiteth the time withall, adding, in diem tertium, and goeth no further. He ſaith not, as Anſelme ſaid in ẏ Coũcel of Wincheſter: Iurabunt Præsbyteri, Diaconi, & Subdiaconi, vxores ſuas omninò abiurare, nec vllam deinceps cum eis conuerſationē habere, ſub diſtrictione cenſuræ. &c.

The like order alſo was taken by the Lord, with ẏ prieſtes of ẏ old Teſtamēt, who although they were inioyned to withdrawe thē ſelues frō their wiues during ẏ time of their prieſtly ſeruice: yet for auoiding fornicatiō, they were permitted to haue their wiues notwithſtandyng. So that both their abſenting from theyr wiues, ſerued to ſanctification, ⁊ their reſorting againe vnto them, ſerued to auoide adultery and fornication.

Obiectiō of the papiſtes why prieſtes ſhould liue without wiues.

Aunſwere to the obiection.

But here our prieſtlye prelates will obiecte, that becauſe they be continually cōuerſant about the prieſtlye function, therefore a perpetuall ſanctification is of them ſpecially required. Wherunto I aunſwere:

1. Fyrſt, the prieſtly function of thoſe high prieſtes ſacrificing for the people in the olde lawe, repreſenteth onely the function of Chriſt the high prieſt ſacrificing for the ſinnes of the worlde: which truely and onely performed that pure chaſtitie in hys ſanctified bodye, which the lawe then in thoſe prieſtes prefigured.

2. Secondarily, ſpeaking nowe of the prieſtes of the new Teſtamēt (and ſpeaking properly) the Scripture knoweth nor admitteth no prieſt to ſacrifice to God for the ſinnes of man, but onely the high king ⁊ prieſt Chriſt Ieſus.

No ſacrificer for ſinne, but only Chriſt.

3. Thirdlye, vnto that prieſt all other bee but ſeruauntes and Miniſters: of whom, ſome bee Apoſtles, ſome Prophetes, ſome Euangeliſtes, ſome preachers hauing the gifte of vtteraunce, ſome interpreters and Doctours hauing the gifte of vnderſtanding, ſome Deacons ſeruing the Lordes borde. The office of all whom chieflye conſiſteth in miniſtring the worde, next in adminiſtring the Sacramentes.

4. Fourthly, forſomuch as in theſe principally aboue all other, purenes ⁊ ſanctification of life is required, as much, and more to, then was in the prieſtes of the olde lawe, from whom all fornication, adulterye, inceſt, and vncleannes of lyfe ought moſt to bée baniſhed: therefore in theſe eſpecially aboue the prieſtes of ẏ olde law, matrimonie and ſpouſage is moſt requiſite and conuenient, who ſoeuer he be, which otherwiſe can not conteine, according to the Apoſtle, ſaying: Vnuſquiſq; ſuam vxorem habeat propter fornicationem.

Mariage more conuenient for prieſtes of the new law, then of the olde.

1. *Cor.* 7.

Matrimonie is no hinderaunce, but a furtherance to ſanctification.

5. Fiftly, neither is this matrimonie in theſe, any hinderaunce to their ſanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their ſanctification, foraſmuch as where matrimonie is not, there commonly reigneth adulterye, fornication, and all kindes of filthines, accordyng to the true ſaying of Bernarde: Tolle de Eccleſia honorabile connubium & thorum immaculatum, nonne reples eam concubinarijs, incœſtuoſis, ſeminifluis, mollibus, maſculorum concubitonibus & omni deniq; genere immundorum? That is, *Take from the Church honourable mariage, and the bedde vndefiled, ſhalt thou not repleniſhe it with Concubinaries, with inceſtuous perſons, Sodomiticall vices, and finallye, with all kinde of beaſtlye filthines?* The truth of which ſaying, lacketh no kinde of examples for confirmation, if we liſted here to ranſacke the lyues of theſe glorious deſpiſers of matrimonie, euen from Lanfrancke the fyrſt ryngleader of thys daunce here in England, with * Paulus Monke of Cadone hys nephewe, whom Matthew Paris miſdoubteth to be hys own ſonne, vnto Steuen Gardiner with hys goldilockes, the author and workemaiſter of theſe vj. Articles. But to ẏ reaſons of Anſelme hetherto ſufficient: which of them ſelues be ſo friuolous and groſſe, that onely to recite thē, is enough to confute the ſame.

Bernard, ſuper Cant. Serm. 66.

* Math. Pariſ. Paulus Monach⁹ Cadomēſis Archiepiſc. Lancfranci nepos, imo aliquorum relationibus, conſanguinitate propinquior.

Permitting therefore the reſte to the diſcuſſion of diuines, it ſhall ſuffiſe for our purpoſe, profeſſing here to write Stories, to declare and make manifeſt by proceſſe of tymes and hiſtoryes, that thys cruell lawe compelling miniſters of the Church to abiure matrimonie, entred not into thys land before Lancfrancke, and Anſelme hys ſucceſſour, as both may appeare by the multitude of prieſtes ſonnes lawfully begotten in Matrimonie, and ſucceding in the Churches here of England, teſtified by the Epiſtle of Pope Paſchalis to Anſelme before, pag. 251. and alſo may appeare likewyſe by the Councel of Anſelme holdē at Wincheſter, which partly was touched before, ⁊ now ẏ full acte we haue more largely expreſſed to be read and ſéene of all poſteritie, as vnder followeth.

No pu licke la in Eng agaynſt prieſtes m riage bef Lācfrāck *& An- ſelme.*

An. 1104

Read th pag. 251, col. 1.

¶The Acte agaynſt prieſtes mariage concluded in the Councell at Wincheſter vnder Anſelme. an. 1104.

HÆc ſunt Statuta de Archidiaconibus, Præſbyteris, & Canonicis in quocunq; gradu conſtitutis, quæ VVintoniæ ſtatuerunt Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis & cum eo Girardus Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis, & omnes alij Angliæ Epiſcopi, in præſentia glorioſi Regis Henrici, aſſenſu omnium Baronum ſuorum. Statutum eſt vt Præſbyteri, et Diaconi caſtè viuant et fœminas in domibus ſuis nō habeant præter proxima conſanguinitate ſibi iunctas, ſecundū hoc quòd ſancta Nicena Synodus definiuit. Illi vero Præſbyteri, Diaconi ſiue Subdiaconi qui poſt interdictū Londonēſis Concilij, fœminas ſuas tenuerint vel aliás duxerint, ſi elegerint in ſacris ordinibus remanere, iurent quòd cum eis carnale commertiū non habebūt amplius. Statutū eſt etiam vt prædictæ fœminæ in domo cum eis ſcienter non conueniant, neq; huiuſmodi fœminæ in territorio Eccleſiæ habitēt. Si autem propter aliquam honeſtam cauſam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis teſtibus extra domum colloquantur. Si vero in duobus aut tribus legitimis teſtibus vel publica parochinorum fama, aliquis eorum accuſatus fuerit, quòd hoc ſtatutū tranſierit, purgabit ſe adiunctis ſecum ordinis ſui idoneis teſtibus, ſex ſi Præſbyter, quinq; ſi Diaconus, quatuor ſi Subdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, vt tranſgreſſor ſacri ſtatuti iudicabitur. Illi vero Præſbyteri qui diuini altaris & ſacrorum ordinum cōtemptores praelegerint cum vxoribus ſuis habitare, a diuino officio remoti, extra hortum ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadem ſententia Archidiaconos et Canonicos omnes complectitur & de abiurandis vxoribus, et de vitanda earum conuerſatione, & de diſtrictione cenſura ſi ſtatuta tranſgreſſi fuerint. Iurabunt & Archidiaconi omnes quòd pecuniam non accipient pro toleranda tranſgreſſione huius ſtatuti. Sed neq; vllo modo tolerabūt Præſbyteros vxoratos cantare, vel Vicarios habere, & quòd ipſi non diſſimulabunt per Archidiaconos ſuos hoc inquirere, & fideliter Epiſcopis ſuis renunciabunt, & attentè & fideliter de exequenda huius rei vindicta Epiſcopos ſuos adiuuabunt. Qui vero Archidiaconus vel Diaconus hoc iurare noluerit, Archidiaconatum vel Diaconiam irreparabiliter perdet. Præſbyteri verò qui relictis vxoribus deo & ſacris ordinibus ſeruire elegerunt, xl. dies ab officio ceſſantes, pro ſe Vicarios habebunt, iniuncta eis pænitentia ſecundum quod Epiſcopis eorum viſum fuerit.*

Actes co cluded a the Co cel in W cheſter.

*Forte e tra hom paradiſi telligit.

And yet thys vnreaſonable ſtatute of Anſelme, ſo diligentlye defenſed with ſharpe cenſures and penalties, had no great ſpéede, neyther in the lyfe tyme of the ſayd Anſelme, nor long after hys death, but that diuers prieſtes notwithſtanding kept ſtill their wiues, or that after hys death, they returned to their wiues againe, through the ſufferaunce of the famous and learned kyng named then Henry Bewclarke, who ſomethyng ſtayed the oportunitie of this Monkiſhe prelate, and willed that prieſtes ſhould kéepe both their wiues and their Churches, as they did before in Lanfrãckes dayes.

The cru lawe of *Anſelme* tooke n great place.

Ex epi Anſel. 77

Then after Anſelme, followed Radulphus Archbyſhop of Canterbury, in whoſe tyme was no great ſturre agaynſt the prieſtes that were maryed. About the tyme of thys Archbyſhop, K. Henry called a Coũcell at London, where he obtayned of the ſpiritualtie a graunt to haue the puniſhment of maryed prieſtes (which the ſpiritualtie afterward dyd muche repent) wherby the prieſtes paying a certayne to the kyng, were ſuffered to retayne their wiues ſtill, as is aboue ſtoryed, pag. 256.

Radulphus Ar chiepiſc. Cant.

Read th pag. 256, col. 1.

Nexte after this Radulphe, then ſuccéeded William Turbile ſurnamed de Turbine, who renued agayne the conſtitution of Anſelme agaynſt maryed prieſtes, eſpecially by the helpe of Ioannes Prieſt and Cardinall

Richa de Tur bine Ar chie. Ca

nall of Crema the Popes Legate, ſent the ſame time into England.an.1129.Of which Cardinall Cremenſis, becauſe enough hath bene before declared, how after hys ſtoute replying in the Councell of London, againſt the maryed ſtate of prieſtes, exclaming what a ſhamefull thing it was, to ryſe from the ſides of an whore to make Chriſtes bodye, the night following was ſhamefully taken with a notable whore. &c. as is apparaunt before, pag.256.

f thys ardinall remens. ad before g.152. l.2.

I will therfore paſſe ouer that matter, returning agayn to William the Archb. who with yͤ Cardinall Legate aforeſayd, although he buſily occupied him ſelfe in repriuing the Matrimonie of prieſtes: in ſomuch, that he would geue thē no longer reſpite to put away their wiues, but from Michaelmas to S. Andrewes day following, yet coulde hee not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, but that the prieſtes ſtill continued with their wiues by the kinges leaue, as the Saxon ſtorye playnly recordeth in theſe wordes: Þiꞅ bebed ꞅe Aꞃcebiꞅcop ƿilliam oꝼ Canꞇeꞃbꞃiᵹeꞅ. and ealle ða leod Biꞅcopeꞅ ða ða ƿæꞃon on Enᵹelonde. and ne ꝼoꞃꞅꞇod nohꞇ ealle ða bodlaceꞅ. eall heoldon heꞃ ƿiꝼeꞅ be ðæꞅ Kinᵹeꞅ leue. ꞅƿa ꞅƿa hi eaꞃ didon; That is to ſay in Engliſhe: *Thys William the Archbyſhop of Canterbury and the Byſhops which were in England dyd commaund, and yet all theſe decrees and biddings ſtoode not: all helde their wiues by the kinges leaue, euen ſo as they before dyd. &c.* So hard was thys cauſe to bee wonne, that the Archbyſhop at length gaue it ouer, and lefte the controuerſie wholye vnto the kyng. Wherupon he decreed that yͤ prieſtes ſhould remaine with their wiues ſtill. And ſo continued they after that, in yͤ tyme of Theobaldus after hym, of Thomas Becket, Richard, Baldwyne, Steuen Langhton, Richard, Edmunde, Boniface, Peccham, and other, during well neare the time after Anſelme, 200. yeares.

Chronic. Saxonic.

The prieſtes kept their wiues contrarie to the Archbyſhops commaundement.

An.25. Henr.

And leſt the quareling aduerſarie being peraduenture diſpoſed here to cauell, ſhould obiecte and ſay, that ſuch mariage among the ſpirituall men myght bee priuate and ſecret, but not openly knowen nor quietlye ſuffered by any lawe of thys realme: to auoyde therfore what may be by thē obiected, I thought it good, & as a thing neither impertinent nor vnprofitable to this ſtory, and for the further ſatiſfying of yͤ readers minde herein, to inferre and make knowen by good recorde, not onely that the libertie of mariage amongeſt ſpirituall men, hath continued within thys realme during yͤ time aforeſaid (vidz) 200. yeares or therabouts, after Anſelme, and that not in ſecrete wyſe, but alſo openlye, and being knowen, the ſame to bee ſuffered and lawfullye allowed of, in ſuch ſorte, as both they, their wiues, children, and aſſignes, myght enherite and inioye landes, tenementes, and other hereditamentes, by way of feofement, déede of gifte, or any other aſſuraunce, in ſuch ſort, maner, and forme, as lay mē, their heyres, and aſſignes at this day lawfully may doe. As by diuers wrytinges and inſtrumentes ſhewed vnto vs at the wryting hereof, by diuers mē (whoſe names hereafter followe) ſome to thys day remayning fayre ſealed, ſome by antiquitie and longe keeping, much worne, & their ſeales mouldered & waſted, is very euident and manifeſt to be ſéene. The copies wherof, being by vs trulye and faythfully excerpted out of the very originals (being yet extante) we haue here vnder inſerted, as followeth.

Prieſtes with their wiues how long they continued in England after *Anſelme.*

¶ Certayne inſtrumentes and euidences of auncient record, declaring the mariage of prieſtes to haue ſtand in tymes paſt, both with auncient cuſtome, and publike lawes of thys Realme.

Olde Writinges letters, declaring the auncientnes of prieſtes mariage.

SCiāt præſentes & futuri quod ego VVilliel. de Blundeuille miles, conceſſi, dedi, & hac præſenti charta mea confirmaui Stephano de Saxlingham Clerico & Matildæ vxori ſuæ pro homagijs & ſeruitijs ſuis, et pro ſex marcis argenti quas mihi dederūt in gerſumam, vnam peciā terræ arabilis, quæ iacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter meſuagium Galfridi Sulyard & cæmeteriū Eccleſiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Ioannis de Neuton, et abuttat ſuper Regiam ſtratam verſus orientem, & ſuper terram quæ fuit Henrici Popiltele verſus occidentem: Habend. & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis, illis & hæredibus ſuis, aut quibuſcunq; dare, legare, vendere vel aſſignare voluerint, in quocūq; ſtatu fuerint, liberè, quietè, in feodo, perpetuè & hereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis duos denarios, ſcilicet ad feſtum ſancti Andreæ vnum denarium, & ad natiuitatem Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ vnum denarium. Et ego VVilliel. de Blundeuill, & hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & deffendemus prædictam peciam terræ prænominatis Stephano & Matildæ vxori ſuæ & hæredibus ſuis, aut cuicunq; dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint contra omnes gentes tam Iudeos quam Chriſtianos in perpetuum per præfatum ſeruitium. Et vt hæc mea conceſſio & donatio rata ſit & ſtabilis in perpetuum, hanc cartam ſigillo meo roboraui: His teſtibus, Radulpho Malherbe, VVillielmo de Reyneſtorp, Ioanne de Neuton, VVillielmo Canebet, & alijs.*

* Gerſuma is a Saxon terme, and ſignifieth as much as homage.

☞ **This ſayd pece of Euidence called a déede of Feofemēt of lādes remayneth in the keping of** Thomas Blundeuill **of** Neuton Flotman **in the Countie of Northfolke Eſquyer at this preſent** (videlicet) 22. die Nouembris Anno R. Eliz. R. decimo. Et anno Domini. 1567. **Who (I know) will not refuſe to ſhewe the ſame to any man that ſhall deſyre the ſight therof.**

¶ Other deedes and inſtrumentes of lyke antiquitie, declaryng the ſame.

1. Other inſtrumentes & Euidences of like antiquitie.

SIcut omnes præſentes & futuri quòd ego Williel. Filius Walteri, dominus de Rideware Hamſtall, conceſſi, & tradidi, Ioanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal Clerico & vxori ſuæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, vnam dimidiā virgatam terræ in Edinghall, cvm omnibus pertinentijs in toftis & croftis, pratis & paſturis in villa & in territorio de Edinghall: illam ſcilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquandò de me tenuit: Habend. & tenend. dé me & de hæredibus meis, ſibi & vxori ſuæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum, liberè & quietè, benè & pacificè. &c. Et Ego verò Williel. & hæred. mei prædict. dimidiam virgatam terræ cum pertinētijs prædict. Ioanni & vxori ſuæ prædict. ad totam vitam eorū contra omnes gentes Warrantizabimus. &c. In huius conceſſionis & traditionis robur & teſtimonium vterq; noſtrum alterius ſcripto ſigillum ſuum appoſuit: His teſtibus, Roberto Saluein de Haſeloure, Andrea Saluein de eadem, Ioanne Filio Radulphi de Edinghall, Richardo de Ykebrom, Roberto de Fryeford, & alijs.

¶ An other euidence touching the ſame.

2. An other like Euidence.

SCiāt præſentes & futuri quòd ego Radulphus filius & hæres Ioannis Wiſcarde de Sceyle dedi, & conceſſi, & hac mea præſenti carta confirmaui Agneti de Welintona vnam acram terræ in territorio de maiori Sceylæ quæ iacet ſuper le Wouelendis, inter terram monachorum de Miriuall, extendētem ſe ad vnum caput ſuper foreram monachorum de Miriuall, & aliud caput verſus villam de Sceyle: Habendum & tenendum de me & hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus prædict. Agneti de Welintona & pueris ſuis de Will. Perſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo primogenito, ſi ſuperuixerit matri ſuæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri eius. Poſtea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori. Deinde ſororibus eorū ſi frater ſuperſtes nō fuerit. Ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram cum petinētijs licencialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda: & quòd hæredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis remaneat vlterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, bene & in pace iure perpetuo: Reddēdo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibꝰ meis vel aſſignatis meis & eorū hæredibus vnū obolū argenti ad paſcha, pro omnibus ſeruitijs, & exactionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, legatis, taliagijs, & omnimodis ſectis comitatas, hundredorum & curiæ meæ & hæredum meorum, & aliorum, & ſeruitijs forinſecis vel exigentijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæredes mei vel aſſignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentijs, prædictæ Agneti & filijs ſuis & filiabus poſt deceſſum prædictæ Agnetis, ſingulis eorum de dicta perſona genitis vni poſt alterum ſucceſſiuè, & hæredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis (vt prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus,

Note thys perſon of Lollinton with hys wife and children knowen and well allowed.

bimus, & defendemus. Et vt hæc omnia ſupradicta rata & inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, præſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſſione corroboraui: His teſtibus, Willielmo tunc Perſona de Strettõ, Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle, Willielmo filio ſuo, Ioãne filio Radulphi Aky, Williel. Clerico de eodem, & multis alijs.

¶ An other euidence vpõ the like matter.

3. An other Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quòd ego Radulphus Wilſcharde, filius & hæres Ioannis Wilſcarde de Sceyle, dedi & cõceſſi, & hac mea præſenti carta confirmaui Agneti de Willinton, quatuor acras & vnã rodã terræ meæ arabilis in cãpo de maiori Sceyle. Quarũ vna acra iacet ſup Wodde Hulles. &c. *Et Paulo infra:* Habend. & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorũ hæredibus, prædict. Agnetæ de Willington & pueris ſuis de Willielmo perſona de Lollington procreatis; videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo primogenito ſi ſuperuixerit matri ſuæ, deinde Galfrido fratri eius, poſtea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori, deinde ſororibus eorum ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit, ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terrã cum pertinentijs, licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prędictis facienda, & quòd hæredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis remaneat vlterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, benè, & in pace iure perpetuo: Reddẽdo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus, vnum obulum argenti ad paſcha, aut vnum par albarum chirothecarum de prætio vnius obuli apud Sceyle ad voluntatem ſoluentis, pro omnibus ſeruitijs & exactionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, legatis, tallagijs & omnimodis ſectis comitatis hundredorum & curiæ mea vel hæredum meorum & aliorum, & ſeruitijs forinſecis vel exigentijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæredes mei vel aſſignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentijs, prędictæ Agneti & filijs eius & filiabus poſt diſceſſum prædictæ Agnetis ſingulis eorum de dicta perſona genitis vni poſt alterum ſucceſſiuè, & hæredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis (vt prædictum eſt) cõtra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizahimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et vt hæc omnia ſupradicta, rata & incõcuſſa permaneant in poſterũ, præſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſſione corroboraui: His teſtibus, Willielmo tunc Perſona de Stretton, Radulph. Aky, Henr. & Rich. filijs Perſonæ de Sceyle, et alijs.

¶ An other Euidence.

4. An other Euidence.

SCiant prę́ſentes & futuri quòd ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apilby militis, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, illud meſuagium quòd Matheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in paruo Apilby, in longitudine iuxta altam viam: tenendũ & habendũ de me & hæredibus meis, ſibi & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus, & cui vel quibus comunibus horis quandocunq; dare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, bene & in pace. &c. Et ego prædict. Henricus & hæredes mei prædictum meſuagiũ cum omnibus aiſiamentis & pertinentijs ſuis præfatis, Henrico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorũ hæredibus & aſſignatis (vt ſupra ſcriptũ eſt) cõtra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuũ. &c. Vt hæc omnia ſubſcripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanni de Norton, Willielmo Huelen de Apilby. &c.

¶ An other euidence touching the ſame.

5. An other Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quòd ego Rogerus Peſcher de Apilby dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, viginti buttes terræ arabilis cum pertinentijs ſuis in territorio de Apilby. Quarum tres buttes iacent ſuper Brodelein. &c. *Et Paulo poſt:* Tenendum & habẽdum prædictis Henrico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis, cui vel quibus in ſanitate vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, benè & hæreditariè in perpetuum. &c. *Et rurſus:* Et ego prædictus Rogerus Peſcher & hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentijs ſuis vbicunq; memoratis, Henrico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ & eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis (vt ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, & in omnibus & per omnia acquietabimus & defendemus in futurum. &c. Vt hæc mea donatio, cõceſſio, & cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum pro me & hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, fide mediante: His teſtibus, Willielmo de Meycham, Ioanne filio Henrici de Norton. &c.

¶ An other euidence touching the ſame.

6. An other Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Willielmus filius & heres quondã Willielmi Mathemney de Banquell Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, & omninò quietũ clamaui de me & hæredibus meis in perpetuum Nicholao de Grunford pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam idẽ Nicholaus mihi præ manibus donauit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs & edificijs, & cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in omnibus rebus & locis, ſine aliquo retinemẽto, quæ & quas habuit iure hæreditario in feodo de Banquell per Willielmũ de Banquell Clericum quondam patrem meum: Habend. & tenend. ipſo Nicholao & hæredibus ſuis vel aiſignatis in feodo & hęreditate de capitali Domino de Banquell, liberè, benè, quietè & in pace cum omnibus libertatibus & aiſiamentis in omnibus locis & ſingulis ad prædicta terras & tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Bãquell & extra: Ita quidẽ quòd nec ego Willielm. nec hæredes mei, nec aliquis p me nec nomine noſtro ius vel clameum prædictis terris & tenemẽtis, gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs, edificijs & omnibus pertinentijs ſuis de cætero habere, exigere, vendicare vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædictis terris & tenementis capitali Domino ſeptem ſolidos, tres denarios & obulum argenti annui reddit⁹ ad terminos ſtatutos Paſchatis & Sancti Michaelis. In cuius rei teſtimoniũ huic ſcripto præſenti ſigillum meum appoſui & munimenta inde eidem Nicholao tradidi: His teſtibus, domino Ioãne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo Vicario de Bãquell, Mathæo de Reynedon, Mathæo Drabill, Elio de Banquell Clerico, Richardo de Yollegraue Rogero Filio Yoke, & alijs.

¶ An other euidence concerning the ſame.

7. An other Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Willielmus Filius & hæres quondã Willielmi Mathemney de Banquell Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea cõfirmaui de me & hæredibus meis in perpetuum, Nicholao de Cromford pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, vnum capitale meſuagium ædificatũ, & vnam bouatam terræ, cum prato & omnib⁹ pertinent. ſuis ſine aliquo retinemẽto, illam videlicet bouatã terræ cum pertinentijs quam Willielmus Mathemney quõdam pater meus habuit & tenuit in villa & territorio de Banquell: et octo acras terræ arabilis, & vnam particulã prati diuiſum facientes in campis de Banquell. &c. Habend. & tenend. ipſo Nicholao & hęredib⁹ ſuis vel ſuis aſſignatis in feodo & hæreditate, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cũ omnib⁹ libertatib⁹, & aiſiamẽtis in omnib⁹ reb⁹ & locis infra villam de Bãquell & extra, ad prædict. terras & tenementa cũ pertinẽtijs pertinẽtibus de capitali Domino de Bãquell. &c. Et ego Willielmus & hæredes mei omnia prædicta terras & tenemẽta cum omnibus pertinent. ſuis vt (prædictũ eſt) dicto Nicholao & hæredibus ſuis vel ſuis aſſignatis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Domino Ioãne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo Vicario de Banquell, Mathæo de Reynedon, Mathæo Drabill, Elia de Banquell, Richardo de Yollegraue, Rogero Filio Yoke de Banquell, & alijs.

¶ An other euidence touching the ſame.

8. An other Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd nos Thomas de Billeſton Clericus & Leticia vxor mea, dedimus, cõceſſimus, & hac præſenti carta noſtra confirmauimus Gerardo Filio Alexandri de Wiſton & Ciciliæ vxori ſuæ, omnia illa burgagia, meſuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata & edificia, feldas cum redditibus, ſeruitijs, paſcuis, communis, paſturis & cæteris omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in feodo de Bãquell, quæ habuimus ex dono & feofamento dicti Gerardi: Habẽdum & tenendum dictis Gerardo & Ciciliæ vxori ſuæ ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis & hæredibus noſtris, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs: faciendo inde annuatim nobis & hæredibus noſtris ad totam eorum vitam, vnam denarium argenti ad feſtum Sancti Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris capitali Domino feodi illius ſeruitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et nos vero prædicti Thomas & Letitia & noſtri hæredes omnia prædicta burgagia, meſuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata & edificia, feldas cum redditibus, ſeruitijs, paſcuis, communis paſturis, & cæteris omnibus pertinentijs ſuis prædictis Gerardo et Ciciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimoniũ huic præſenti cartæ noſtræ ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus: His teſtibus, Thoma de Belley, Radulpho Cotterrell, & alijs.

¶ An other euidence touching the ſame.

9. An other Euidence.

VNiuerſis ad quos præſens ſcriptũ peruenerit, Leticia quæ fuit vxor Thomæ de Bylleſton, ſalutem in domino. Noueritis me in pura viduitate mea conceſſiſſe & confirmaſſe pro me & hæredibus meis Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyſton, & Ceciliæ vxori ſuæ omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in Bãquell, quæ idẽ Gerardus & Cicilia vxor eius habent ex conceſſione Thomæ de Bylleſton quondá viri mei: Habendum & tenendum eiſdem Gerardo & Ciciliæ ad totam vitá eorundé de me & hæredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis: faciendo indé mihi & hæredibus meis vnum denarium argenti ad feſtum Sãcti Michaelis, et faciendo inde pro me & hæredibus meis, capitalibus Dominis ſeruitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et ego præfata Leticia & hæredes mei prædicta teneméta cum pertinent. prædictis Gerardo & Ciciliæ ad totam vitam eorundé contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium præſentibus ſigillũ meũ appoſui: His teſtibus, Roberto le Walley, Roberto le Taylor, & alijs. Datũ apud Banquell, die veneris proximo poſt feſtum Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, anno regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi nono.

Dated in the reigne of K. Edward, about the yeare. 1312.

¶ An other euidence touching the ſame.

10. **Another Euidence.**

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Williel. dictus Baſket, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti mea carta confirmaui Ioanni de Bradburne Clerico & Aliciæ vxori ſuæ, & hæredib⁹ de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, vnam particulam curtilagij mei (videlicet) centum pedes in longitudine, & triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentijs & aiſiamentis eidem placeæ pertinentibus: Habendum & tenendum eidé Ioanni & Aliciæ & eorum hæredibus legitimè procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuũ: reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis vnum florem Roſæ ad feſtum Natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Baſket & hæredes mei prædictam placeam cum aiſiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & cõtra omnes defendemus. Et ſi contingat (quòd abſit) quòd prædictus Ioannes & Alicia ſine hæredibus de corporibus eorum legitimè procreatis obierint, quòd prædicta placea ſine alicuius contradictione reuertatur. Et vt hæc mea donatio, conceſſio, & præſentis cartæ meæ confirmatio rata ſit & ſtabilis permaneat, huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meũ appoſui: His teſtibus, Richardo de Longdun, Roberto Brag, Rogerio Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Ioãne Glarkirion, & alijs. Datũ apud Yelgraue in feſto Sancti Ioannis ante portam Latinam. Anno Domini milleſimo tricenteſimo decimoquarto.

Dated an. 1314.

¶ An other euidence touching the ſame.

11. **Another Euidence.**

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Rogerus le Potter hæres Aliciæ filiæ Williel. de Downedale de parua Ridware, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui magiſtro Richardo de Hampton Clerico & Margaretæ vxori eius, & hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Richardi, omnes terras & tenementa mea quæ habeo in diuerſis locis in feodo de parua Ridware: Habend. & tenend. omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum pertinentijs eorum prædictis Rich. & Margaretæ vxori eius & hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Richardi de capitali Domino feodi illius per ſeruitia debita & de iure conſueta, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum. Et ego verò prædictus Rogerus & hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentijs eorum, prædictis Richardo & Margaretæ vxori eius & hæredib⁹ vel aſſignatis prædicti Richardi contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuũ. Iñ cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibús, Thoma de Pipe, Richardo Iulian, Roberto Ka, Edmund le Walſheman, Williel. le Flecher, & alijs. Datum apud paruã Ridware die Lunæ proximo poſt feſtum Sancti Gregorij Papæ, Anno regni Regis Edwardi tertij, poſt Conqueſtum viceſimo octauo.

Dated the yeare.

☞ These xi. peeces of Euidences laſte recited I receyued, in the writyng of this ſtorye, of a right honeſt and worſhypfull Gentleman called M. Iohn Forde, **a ſtudent of the Lawe in the Temple: in whoſe handes (I truſt after the finiſhyng of this ſtorye) they ſhall remayne to bee ſene of them that ſhall deſyre the ſame.**

¶ The copyes of other Euidences touchyng the ſame matter.

Other Euidences touching the ſame matter, receaued of *M. John* **Hunte.**

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Philippus Poup de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardiſtone Clerico & Alicia vxori eius, pro ſeruitijs eorum & pro quadam ſumma pecunia quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, vnã peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentijs, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout bunda teſtãtur, in campo vocato Grenecroſt, in villa de parua Bradleye, iacentem inter terrã meam ex parte vna, & terrã prædicti Henrici ex parte altera, vno capite abuttante ſuper Cœmeterium de parua Bradley, & alio capite abuttante ſuper terrã prædicti Henrici: Habend. & tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico & Alicia vxore eius, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicunq; vel quibuſcunq; dict. peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, legare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iure benè, in pace in perpetuũ & hereditariè: Reddẽdo inde annuatim capitalib⁹ Dominis feodi ſeruitiũ inde debitum & conſuetũ, videlicet vnũ obulũ ad Natiuitatẽ beati Ioãnis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſeruitijs, cõſuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarum ſectis, & ſecularibus demaund. Et ego prædict. Phil. hered. & aſſignat. mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico & Alicia vxori eius, heredibus & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gẽtes in perpetuũ. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Petro de VValpol, Rich. de Hanuile, VVilliel. VVaſtell, Hugone VVaſtell, Thoma de Bures, VVilliel. Picot, Laurẽtio Picot, VVilliel. le HeyVVard, & alijs.

¶ An other Euidence touchyng the ſame.

An other Euidence.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſens ſcriptum peruenerit, Williel. le Bygod, ſalutem in domino ſempiternam. Nouerit vniuerſitas veſtra me dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, remiſiſſe, ac omninò tam pro me quam pro heredibus meis in perpetuũ, quietum clamaſſe Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Alicia vxori eius, hered. & aſſignat. eorũ, totum ius & clameum quòd habui vel habere potui aut potero in omnib⁹ redditibus, homagijs, wardis, releuijs, eſchaetis, libertatibus & omnibus pertinent. ſuis, quæ in aliquo modo ſeu tẽpore facere debuerunt vel conſueuerũt pro terris & tenement. quæ quondã fuerunt Rich. Poup, in villa de parua Bradley, et in alijs terris & tenement. quæ vel quas prædict. Henr. & Alicia, tenent, vel tenuerunt de me ſeu de feodo meo die confectionis præſentium in prædicta villa de parua Bradley: Ita quòd ego VVilliel. prædict. nec hered. mei nec aliquis nomine noſtro amodò in præmiſſis aliquid iuris vel clamai aliquo modo exigere vel vẽdicare poterim⁹ in perpetuũ. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meũ appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne Maneyſin, Ricard. Bercar, Henr. Maneyſin, Iohn Bercar, VVilliel. VVaſtell, Hugone VVaſtell, VVilliel. Attegrene, VValtero Bercar, & alijs.

¶ An other Euidence touchyng the like matter.

Another Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Reginaldus filius Iordani de VVetbreffeld, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Alicia vxori eius pro homagijs & ſeruitijs eorum, & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cũ omnibus ſuis pertinentijs, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato heldhey, iacentem inter terrã VVilliel. de Mampford quondã, & terram Ioannis le Rede quondã, ex parte vna in longitudine, & terrã Richar. de Hanuyle ex altera, et abuttat ad vnum caput ſuper terram Ioannis le Lumbard, & aliud caput ſuper campum vocatum Crondon, cũ ſepibus & foſſeis & omnibus alijs pertinentijs ad dictam terram ſpectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me, hæredibus & aſſignatis meis prædictis, Henrico & Alicia vxori eius, hæredibus & aſſignatis dict. Henrici, vel cuicũq; vel quibuſcunq; dict. Henricus prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentijs prædict. dare, vẽdere, vel aliquo modo aſſignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iure, benè, in pace & hereditariè: Reddẽdo inde annuatim mihi, hæredibus, & aſſignat. meis vnam roſam ad feſtum natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſeruitijs, conſuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarũ ſectis & ſecularibus demaũdis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, heredes & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædictam terram cum ſepibus & foſſeis & omnibus alijs pertinentijs prædictis Henrico & Alicia vxori eius, heredibus, & aſſignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. ſeruitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuũ. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſent. ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne Maneyſin, Petro de VValepol, Ricard. de Hanuyle, Ricard. Bercar, Henr. Maneyſin, Ioanne Bercar, VVilliel. VVaſtel, Hugone VVaſtell, Thoma de Bures, VVilliel. filio Rogeri, & alijs.*

***Gerſumã, that is, homage.**

¶ An other Euidence of the ſame.

An other Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Ricard. de Hanuyle de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea cõfirmaui Hẽrico de Denardeſton Clerico & Alicia vxori eius, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinent. in parua Bradley in cãpo vocato Mortecroſt, pro homagijs & ſeruitijs eorum, & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederũt præ manibus in gerſumã, iacentem inter terras VVilliel. de Mampford quondam ex vtraq; parte, & vnũ caput abuttat ſuper cãpũ vocat. VVodecroft: Habend. & tenend. de me hered. vel aſſignatis meis, ipſis, hered. & aſſignat. eorum, vel cuicumq; vel quibuſcumq; dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinẽtijs, dare, vẽdere, legare vel aſſignare, voluerint, liberè, quietè, iure benè in pace & hereditariè: Reddẽdo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos (videlicet) ad feſtũ Sancti Michaelis vnũ denarium, & ad Paſcha vnum denarium pro omnibus ſeruitijs, cõſuetudinib⁹, auxilijs Curiæ ſectis & ſecularibus demaũdis. Et ego prædict. Ricar. hered. & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus & defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentijs prædictis, Henrico & Alicia vxori eius, hered. & aſſignat. eorũ per prædictũ ſeruitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum.

In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Petro de VValepol, VVilliel. VVaſtell, Hugone VVaſtell, Ricard. Bercar, Henrico Maneyſin, Ioanne Bercar, Roberto de Ponte, VVilliel. Picot, & alijs.

¶An other Euidence touchyng the ſame.

5. Another like inſtrument, for prieſtes mariage.

SCiūt præſentes & futuri quòd ego Mathæus de Racliſde dedi, cōceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, hered. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, vnam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Ricar. de Hanuyle ex vna parte, & terrā dict. Henrici de Denardiſton ex alia parte, & vnum caput abuttat ſuper viam vocatam Lebreddich, & aliud caput ſuper terram Ricar. de Hanuyle antedict: Habend. & tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, & cuicunq; vel quibuſcunq; prædictus Henr. prædictam peciā terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iure, benè, in pace hereditariè in perpetuū: faciēdo capitali Domino feodi ſeruitia inde de iure debita et cōſueta. Et ego prædict. Mathæus & heredes mei prædictā peciam terræ cū omnibus ſuis pertinēt. (vt prædictū eſt) prædict. Henr. & Aliciæ, hered. & aſſignat. dict. Henr. contra omnes gentes vvarrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillū meū appoſui: His teſtibus, Ricar. de Hanuyle, Ioanne de Stonham, Ioanne Godfrey, VVilliel. VVaſtel. Clement. de Bures, & alijs. Datū apud paruā Bradley die Lunæ in quindena Sancti Michaelis. Anno Regni Regis Edvvardi filij Regis Edvvardi, octauo.

This preſent day the 18. of Nouember, an. 1567. are accompliſhed ſince the making and dating of thys deede, the full number of 253. yeares & odde dayes, as by the accompt ſhall plainly appeare.

¶An other Euidence touchyng the ſame.

6. Another Euidence.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Ricar. de Louerhall de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, & hæred. dict. Henr. vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Peperfeld, inter terrā Hērici Coſin ex vna parte, et terrā Tho. Bercar ex alia parte, vno capite abuttante ſuper croſtā VVilliel. Attegrene, & alio capite ſuper le Ouerhallmede: Habend. & tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, prædict. Henr. & Aliciæ & hered. dict. Henr. cuicunq; et quibuſcunq; dictā peciā terræ dare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iure, benè, in pace, hereditariè, in feodo & in perpetuū: faciēdo eidē capitali Domino feodi ſeruitia inde de iure debita et cōſueta. Et ego prædict. Ricar. et hered. mei prædict. peciā terræ prædict. Hērico et Aliciæ et hered. dict. Henr. & ſuis aſſignat. contra omnes gentes vvarrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ricar. de Hanuyle, Ioanne Godfrey, Ioanne de Stonhā, VVillel. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, VVillel. Aleyne, & alijs. Datum apud paruam Bradley die dominica proxima poſt feſtum Paſchalis. Anno Regni Regis Edvvardi filij Regis Edvvardi, decimo.

By the date hereof thys deede ſhould be written in K. Edwardes dayes the 2. an. 1317. which is much about 200. yeares after Anſelme.

¶An other Euidence touchyng the like matter.

7. Another Euidence to the like effecte.

SCiant præſentes & futari quòd Ego Clemens de Clopton, conceſſi, dedi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Ioanni de Boſco de Coulynges Clerico & Baſiliæ vxori eius et hæredibus prædict. Ioānis, tres acras terræ cū omnibus ſuis pertinentijs in Coulynges, ſiue ſit ibi maius ſiue minus, prout ſimul iacent inter terrā domini Roberti de Aſpall ex parte vna, & terram quondam Ioannis le Pogeys ex alia, vno capite abuttante ſuper viam communem, & alio ſuper terrā quondam prædict. Ioannis Pogeys: Habend. & tenend. prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. prædict. Ioanni & Baſiliæ & hered. prædict. Ioannis de capitalibus Dominis feodi illius per ſeruitia inde debita & de iure conſueta. Et ego prædictus Clemens & heredes mei prædictis Ioanni & Baſiliæ & hered. prædict. Ioannis totam prædictam terrā cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs contra omnes gentes in perpetuum vvarrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti chartæ ſigillum meū appoſui: His teſtibus, Thoma de Caldbekes, Ricar. Farevvell, Ioanne de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, & VVilliel. le Panmer. Datū apud Coulynges die dominica proxima poſt feſtum Sancti Lucæ Euangeliſtæ. Anno Regni Regis Edvvardi filij Regis Edvvardi, tertiodecimo.

¶ An. 1320.

☞All the originals of theſe ſeuen ſeuerall peeces of Euidences, the true copyes whereof are here before inſerted and laſt recited, at this preſent (videlicet) this 24. of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord. 1567. are in the cuſtodye and do remayne among the Euidences and writynges of Iohn Hunte of Eſſe aliàs Aſhen, in the County of Eſſex Eſquier, and are perteinyng and belōgyng to his Manor of Ouerhall, alias Parua Bradleye aforeſayde, in the County of Suffolke. At whoſe handes they are eaſely at this preſent and long tyme (I truſt) after the writyng of this hiſtorie, ſhall remayne to be ſene, of good recorde, if any man either be deſirous of the ſight therof, or doubtfull of the troth of the ſame.

These 7. Euidences remaine in ẏ handes of M. Joh. Hunt to be ſeene.

Although theſe Inſtrumētes and Euidences aboue here ſpecified, bée of them ſelues euidente and playne enough, ſo ẏ no mā cā reaſonably obiect any thyng to ẏ contrary: yet to ſtoppe ẏ mouthes of all ſuch wrāglers & cauillers, who beyng ſatiſfied with no truth, wil here peraduenture take ſome occaſion vpon this word Clericus, ſo oftentymes named in theſe Euidences aforeſaid, to obiect ẏ this word may as wel be takē for other, as for Prieſtes: therfore, to preuent the cauillyng obiections of ſuch, this ſhalbe briefly to reply therunto, that in the cōmon lawes of this realme, in all giftes or feofmētes made to any ſpirituall perſon (vnleſſe he be ſome graduate of diuinitie in the ſcholes) the ſayd ſpirituall perſon is named by no other terme, but by the worde Clericus: as by diuers places, as well in the printed bookes, as in old Regiſters and writynges of the lawyers, as well of ẏ common law, as Statute law, remaineth in recorde very euident to be ſéene. Some ſpeciall notes wherof as well for the eaſe of the reader in the ſearche of the ſame, as alſo for the further ſatiſfying of ſome, who peraduenture ſhall wante the bookes, I thought good here to exhibite & ſpecifie in forme and tenour as hereafter foloweth.

Obiection concernyng the worde Clericus reſolued.

¶Certeine ſpeciall notes out of the lawes cocernyng this worde *Clericus*, how it is taken amongeſt the Lawyers.

SI Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad Coronā pertineat, areſtatus fuerit & poſtmodum per præceptum Domini Regis in Ballium traditus, vel replegiatus exiterit, ita quòd hi quib⁹ traditus fuerit in Balliū eum habeant corā Iuſticiarijs, non amercientur de cætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium, nec alij plegij ſui, ſi corpus ſuum habeāt coram Iuſticiarijs, licet corā eis propter priuilegium clericale reſpōdere noluerit, vel nō potuerit propter Ordinarios ſuos.

In Statu. de Marlbridge. an. 52. Hen. 3. cap. 27.

¶ *An other note.*

Rex & anteceſſores ſui a tempore cuius contrarij memoria nō exiſtit, vſi ſunt quòd Clerici ſuis immorātes obſequijs, dum obſequijs illis intēderint, ad reſidentiam in ſuis beneficijs faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in præiudicium eccleſiaſticæ libertatis quòd pro Rege & republica neceſſarium inuenitur.

Articuli Cleri. an. 9. Edw. 2. in fine Cap. 8.

¶ *An other note.*

Clericus ad eccleſiam confugiens pro felonia, pro immunitate eccleſiaſtica obtinenda, ſi aſſerit ſe eſſe Clericū, regnum non compellatur abiurare, ſed legi regni ſe reddens, gaudebit eccleſiaſtica libertate, iuxta laudabilem conſuetudinem regni hactenus vſitatam.

In eiſdem articulis in fine Cap. 15.

¶ *An other note.*

Appellatori in forma debita tanq̄ Clerico per Ordinarium petito libertatis eccleſiaſticæ beneficio, non negabitur eccleſiæ priuilegium.

In cap. 16.

But what needeth many of theſe argumentes for this proufe? The Statutes & law bokes of this realme are very full of them in diuers and many places: beſides the Preſidentes for the forme of giuyng of benefices, wherof none are capable but ſuch as are ſpiritual men and of the Clergy, wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or terme in the Latin toung, then Clerici, for the moſt part, not in the kynges own graunte or his Lord Chauncellours, or any other ſubiectes of his, as very wel appeareth both by diuers old writtē Preſidentes which haue bene ſhewed vnto me, and alſo by the formes of preſentations collected and ſet forth for the inſtruction of ſuch as are ignoraunt or not very perfite in the order of them, in a printed booke called The Booke of ſundry Inſtrumentes. In which forme in the ſaid booke the wordes in the kynges graūt be theſe: Rex &c. ad eccleſiam Parochialē de N. veſtræ diocæſis modo per mortem vltimi incumbentis ibidē vacantē, & ad noſtram donationem pleno iure ſpectantem, dilectum Capellanum noſtrum A.B. Clericum, intuitu charitatis vobis præſentam⁹, & mandamus vti dictū A. Capellanū noſtrum ad præfatam eccleſiam admittere, eumq; Rectorē eiuſdem inſtituere, cum ſuis iuribus. &c. But if the preſentation bée from a Knight or a Gentleman, then it is in this ſort.

Clericus in the law euer taken for a ſpi

A.B. de N. ad Eccleſiam de N. prædictam veſtræ dioc. modo per mortem T.D. vltimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad meam præſentationē pleno iure ſpectantem, dilectum mihi in Chriſto Iacobum P. Clericum veſtræ paternitati præſentō, humiliter rogans quatenus præfatum I. ad dictam eccleſiā admittere, ipſumq; in Rectorē eiuſdē eccleſiæ inſtitui & induci facere velitis cū ſuis Iuribus & pertinentijs vniuerſis. &c. As in yͤ ſaid boke is more at large to be ſene or peruſed.

Thus I doubt not, louyng reader, but by theſe ſo playne euidences aboue prefixed, thou haſt ſufficiently to vnderſtand, that this violent reſtrainte of Prieſtes lawfull Mariage within this realme of England, is of no ſuch lōge reach and antiquitie, as hath bene thought of many, and all by reaſon of ignoraunce of hyſtories, and courſe of tymes. So that briefly as in a Summary Table to comprehende that whole effect hereof:

§ 946.

Prieſtes mariage, how and when it beganne firſt to be excluded out of Churches.

Firſt about the yeare of our Lord. 946. the profeſſiō of ſingle lyfe, and diſplacyng of Mariage began to come into example here in England, by reaſon of S. Benetes Monkes, whiche then beganne to encreaſe here about the tyme of king Ædgar, and eſpecially by the meanes of Oſwald Biſhop of Yorke, Odo & Dūſtane, Archbiſhops of Canterbury, & Æthelwold Byſhop of Wint. ſo that in diuers Cathedrall Churches, and Byſhops ſeas, Monkes with theyr profeſſed ſinglenes of life, crept in, and maryed miniſters (whiche were then called ſecular Prieſtes) with their wyues out of ſondry Churches were diſpoſſeſſed not from wyues, but only from their places: and yet not in all Churches, but onely in certeine, wherof we read before pag. 198.

Read afore pag. 198. col. 2.

§ 1067.

Not long after that, about the tyme of Pope Nicolas 2. an. 1060. of Alexander, and Hildebrand, came into the ſea of Cāterbury an other Monke called Lancfranc, who alſo beyng a promoter of this profeſſed chaſtitie, made the Decrée more generall, that all Prebendaries being maried in any Churches, ſhould be diſplaced: yet yͤ prieſts in townes & villages ſhould not be cōpelled to leaue their maried wiues, vnles they would.

§ 1106.

Read afore pag. 1334.

Laſt of all folowed Monkiſhe Anſelme, an. 1106. by whom was made this law of Wincheſter aforeſaid, that Prieſtes, Archdeacons, Deacons, and Subdeacons, whiche had wyues and ſpirituall lyuyng, ſhould be put from them both, and alſo that none after ſhould be admitted to their orders but ſhould firſt profeſſe ſingle lyfe, that is, to lyue without wyues. And thus much concernyng Prieſtes Mariage forbydden.

Let vs adde moreouer to theſe euidences aboue rehearſed, for more confirmation of the aunciēt vſe and libertie of Prieſtes Mariage an other teſtimonie or ij. out of lyke aunciēt, recordes with lyke playnes wordes declaryng vnto vs, how the matrimony of Prieſtes, before the tyme of Lācfrancke aforeſayd was no ſtraūge example in the Churche, and firſt we will inferre the woordes, of an olde Martyrologe pertaynyng to the of Caunterbury. The wordes of whiche Martyrologe bée theſe.

Ex antiq. Martyrilogio Eccleſiæ Cant.

Liuingus Præſbyter cū vxore.

LAnfrancus Archiepiſcopus reddidit Eccleſiæ Sancti Andreæ, quia de iurè ipſius Eccleſiæ antiquitus fuerunt, in Suthrege, Mutelac, Londoniæ, monaſterium Sanctæ Mariæ, cū terris & domibus, quas Liuingus Præsbyter & vxor illius Londoniæ habuerunt.

To this alſo may be adioyned an other lyke antiquitie out of an olde written hyſtorye belongyng to the Church of S. Aſſaph, after the tyme of Lanfrancke, as foloweth.

Anno domini. 1261. ex antiq. libro *Aſſaphenſi manuſcripto.*

Out of an olde monument of the Church of S. Aſſaphe.

§ 1261.

DE Clerico vxorato receptante publicè forbonizatum ſciēter, & poſſit contra ipſum probari, nobis videtur quòd tenetur reſpondere in foro Eccleſiaſtico. Si verò facit reſidentiam in terra principis, & cōtingat ipſum mulctari, tota mulcta ſua principi debetur. Si verò reſidentiam in terra Epiſcopi facit, mulcta diuidatur inter Epiſcopū & Principem. Si verò vxor alicuius talis ſcienter vel nolēter in eiꝰ abſentia receptauerit, Mulier in foro Eccleſiaſtico reſpondeat, & Clericus ratione ſui facti, non puniatur, nec pro ea (niſi velit) reſpondere cogatur.

Neither is the teſtimonie of Mantuanus vnworthy alſo hereunto to be added, writyng in the lyfe of Hilarius Byſhop of Pictauium, as foloweth.

Ex Mantuano.

Baptiſta Mātuanus in vita Hilarij.

INtegras vitæ, legum prudentia, cultus
Cœlicolūm, tutela inopum, diadema, pedumq;
Pictauienſe tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum viuis tibi, ſorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente, tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obſtitit vxor
Legitimo coniuncta toro, non horruit illa
Tempeſtate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas.
Sola erat in pretio, quæ nunc incognita virtus
Sordet, & attrito viuit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quæ ſunt connubia contra,
Eſſe malas quidam perhibent. Prudentia patrum
Non ſatis aduertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuſet,
Quid valeat natura pati. Ceruicibus, aiunt,
Hoc inſuaue iugum noſtris imponere Chriſtus
Noluit, iſtud onus quod adhuc quàmplurima monſtra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius eſſe volunt, qua lex diuina ſinebat
Iſſe via, veterumq; ſequi veſtigia patrum:
Quorum vita fuit melior cum coniuge, quàm nunc
Noſtra ſit excluſis thalamis & coniugis vſu.

The ſixt Article touchyng Auricular Confeſsion.

Thrée kindes of confeſſion.

Confeſſion to God.

1. Iohn. 1.

OF confeſſion 3. kyndes we finde in the Scriptures expreſſed and approued. The firſt is our confeſſion priuatly or publickely made vnto God alone: and this confeſſion is neceſſary for all men at all tymes. Wherof S. Iohn ſpeaketh: *If we confeſſe our ſinnes, he is faythfull to forgiue vs. &c.*

Confeſſion to the publicke congregation.

The ſecond is yͤ confeſſion which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confeſſion alſo hath place when any ſuch thyng is committed, wherof riſeth a publicke offence and ſclaūder to the Church of God: As appeareth by yͤ inceſtuous Corinthians, and other ſondry examples of penitentiaries in yͤ primitiue Church, as of Melciades and other. &c.

Priuate confeſſion to our brother.

Math. 5.
Iacob. 5.

The third kind of cōfeſſion is that, which we make priuately to our brother. And this confeſſion is requiſite, when either we haue iniuried or by any way dānified our neighbour, whether he be rich or poore. Wherof ſpeaketh the Goſpell: *Go & recōcile thee ſelf firſt vnto thy neighbour. &c.* Alſo S. Iames: *Confeſſe your ſelues one to an other. &c.* Or els this confeſſion may alſo haue place, when any ſuch thyng lyeth in our conſcience, in the openyng wherof we ſtand in nede of yͤ coūſell and cōforte of ſome faythfull brother. But herein muſt we vſe diſcretion in auoiding theſe pointes of blind ſuperſtition. Firſt, yͭ we put therin no neceſſitie for remiſſion for our ſinnes, but to vſe therin our owne volūtary diſcretion, accordyng as we ſée it expedient for the better ſatiſfiyng of our troubled mynde. The ſecōd is, that we be not bound to any ennumeration of our ſinnes. The third, yͭ we tie not our ſelues to any one perſon, more thē to an other, but to vſe therin our frée choiſe, whō we thinke cā giue vs yͤ beſt ſpirituall counſel in the Lord.

Certayne poyntes of ſuperſtitiō to be auoyded in priuate confeſſion.

But as there is nothyng in the Church ſo good and ghoſtlye, which through peuiſhe ſuperſtition either hath not, or may not be peruerted: ſo this cōfeſſiō alſo hath not lacked hys abuſes. Firſt yͤ ſecret confeſſiō to God alone, as it hath ben coūted inſufficient, ſo hath it bene but lyghtly eſtemed of many. The publicke confeſſion to the congregation hath bene turned to a ſtandyng in a ſhéete, or els hath bene bought out for money. Furthermore, the ſecret breakyng of a mans mynde to ſome faythful or ſpiritual brother in diſcloſing his infirmitie or temptations, for counſaile, and godly comfort, hath bene turned into Auricular cõfeſſion in a Prieſtes eare for aſſoylyng of hys ſinnes. In the whiche Auriculare cõfeſſion, firſt of the free libertie of the penitent in vtteryng his griefes, they haue made a mere neceſſity, and that vnto ſaluation and remiſſion of ſinnes. Secõdly, they require withall, ennumeration and a full recitall of all ſinnes whatſoeuer, both great and ſmall. Alſo beſides the neceſſitie of this eare confeſſion, they adde therto a preſcriptiõ of time, at leaſt once in ẏ yeare for all men, whether they repent or no, to be cõfeſſed: makyng moreouer of the ſame a Sacrament. And laſtly, where as before it ſtode in the voluntary choyſe of a man to open his harte to what ſpirituall brother hee thought beſt, for eaſement of hys griefe and ghoſtly cõſolation, they bynd hym to a Prieſt (vnleſſe ſome Frier come by ẏ way to be hys ghoſtly father) to whõ he muſt nedes confeſſe all, what ſoeuer he hath done, & though he lacke the key of knowledge, and perauẽture of good diſcretion, yet none muſt haue power to aſſoyle hym, but he through the authoritie of hys keyes.

4. or 5. abuſes in auricular confeſſion.

1. Neceſſitie.
2. Ennumeration of ſinnes.
3. Preſcription of tyme.
4. Confeſſiõ made a ſacrament.
5. To a prieſt onely.

And this maner of confeſſion, ſay they, was inſtituted by Chriſt, and hys Apoſtles, and hath bene vſed in the Churche euer ſince to this preſent day. Whiche is a moſt manifeſt vntruth, and eaſie by ſtoryes to bee conuinced.

Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 19. Sozo. Lib. 7. cap. 16.

For Socrates lib. 5. cap. 19. Sozom. lib: 7. cap. 16. in the booke of Eccleſiaſticall hyſtory, do gyue vs playnly to vnderſtand, that this Auricular confeſſion neuer came of Chriſt, but onely of men.

Beat. Rhenanus in argum. libel. Tertulliani de pœnitentia.

Item, in ẏ time of Tertullian, Beat. Rhenanus teſtifieth, that there was no mention made of this Auriculare confeſſion. Whiche may well be gathered therof, for that Tertullian writyng vpon repentaunce, maketh no mention at all therof.

Chryſoſt. in Pſal. 30. hom. 2.

Itẽ, in the tyme of Chryſoſtome, it appeareth there was no ſuch aſſoylyng at the Prieſtes handes, by theſe wordes where he ſaith: *I require thee not that thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe thy ſinnes to thy felow ſeruaunt. Tell them vnto God, who careth for them. &c.*

Chryſoſt. in hom. De pœnit. & confeſſione.

Item, the ſayd Chryſoſtome in an other place writyng vpon repentaunce, and confeſſion: *Let the examination of thy ſinnes, and thy iudgement* (ſayth hee) *be ſecrete and cloſe without witnes. Let God onely ſee and heare thy cõfeſſiõ. &c.*

De pœnit. diſt. 1. Petrus in Gloſa.

Item, in the tyme of Ambroſe, De pœnit. Diſt. 1. Petrus, the Gloſe of the Popes owne Decrees recordeth: *That the inſtitution of Baptiſme was not thẽ begon, which now in our dayes is in vſe.*

De pœnit. Diſt. 5. in principio.

Item, it is truly ſayd therfore of the Gloſe in an other place, where he thus teſtifieth: *That this inſtitution of penaunce beganne rather of ſome tradition of the vniuerſall Churche, then of any authoritie of the newe Teſtament, or of the old. &c.*

Eraſm. in Schol. in Epitaphium Fabiolæ.

The lyke alſo teſtifieth Eraſm. writyng vpõ Hiero. in theſe wordes: Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum inſtitutam fuiſſe. &c. That is, *It appeareth, that in the tyme of Hierome, this ſecret cõfeſſion of ſinnes was not yet ordeined, which the Church afterward did inſtitute wholſomely, if our Prieſtes & lay mẽ would vſe it rightly. But herein Diuines not cõſidering aduiſedlye what the old Doctours do ſay, are much deceyued. That which they ſay of generall & opẽ cõfeſſiõ, they wraſt by and by to this priuie and ſecret kind of confeſſion, which is farre diuers & of an other ſorte. &c.*

Gratian. De pœnitẽt. Diſt. 1. Quanuis.

The lyke teſtimonie may alſo be taken of Gracian hym ſelfe, who ſpeakyng of confeſſion vſed then in hys tyme, leaueth the matter in a doubtfull ſuſpenſe, neyther pronouncyng on the one ſide, nor on the other, but referreth the matter to ẏ free iudgemẽt of the readers, whiche the Acte of theſe vj. Articles here enioyneth as neceſſarye, vnder payne of death.

The firſt inſtitution of auricular cõfeſſion, when and by whom it beganne.

Briefly, in few wordes to ſearch out and notifie the very certeine tyme, when this Article of eareconfeſſion firſt crept into the Church, and what antiquitie it hath, in folowyng the Iudgement of Ioannes Scotus, and of Antoninus, it may be well ſuppoſed, that the inſtitution therof toke hys firſt origine by Pope Innocent the thyrd, in hys Councell of Laterane, an. 1215. For ſo we read in Ioannes Scotns Lib. 4. Sent. Diſt. 17. Artic. 3: Præcipua autem ſpecificatio huius præcepti inuenitur in illo cap. Extra. de pænit. & remiſſ: Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. &c. And after in the ſame Article it foloweth: Nam ex prima inſtitutione Eccleſiæ nõ videntur fuiſſe Diſtincti proprij ſacerdotes. Quando enim Apoſtoli hinc & inde ibant prædicando verbũ dei. &c. By the whiche wordes it appeareth that there was no inſtitution of any ſuch confeſſion ſpecified before the conſtitution of Innocentius the thyrd.

Ioan. Scotus. Lib. 4. Sent. Diſt. 17. Artic. 3.

Antoninus part. 3. Hiſtor. tit. 19.

But more playnely the ſame may appeare by the wordes of Antoninus in 3. parte Hiſtor. which be theſe: Innocẽtius tertius in Concilio generali prædicto, circa Sacramenta confeſſionis & communionis ſic ſtatuit: Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus fidelis, poſtquam ad annũ diſcretionis peruenerit, omnia peccata ſua ſolus ſaltem ſemel in anno cõfiteatur proprio ſacerdoti, & iniũctam ſibi pœnitentiam proprijs viribus ſtudeat adimplere, alioqui & viuens ab ingreſſu Eccleſiæ arceatur, & moriens Chriſtiana careat ſepultura. Vnde hoc ſalutare ſtatutũ frequẽter in Eccleſijs publicetur: ne quiſquam ignorantiæ cœcitate velamẽ excuſationis aſſumat. &c. That is, *Pope Innocent the 3. in his generall Councell aforeſayd, touchyng the Sacramentes of confeſſion and the communion, made this conſtitution as foloweth: That euery faithfull perſon, both man & woman, after they come to the yeares of diſcretion, ſhall confeſſe all their ſinnes by them ſelues alone, at leſt once a yeare, to their owne ordinary Prieſt, and ſhall endeuour to fulfill by their owne ſtrẽgth, their penaũce to thẽ enioyned. Or els who ſo doth not, ſhall neither haue entrance into the Churche beyng alyue, nor beyng dead ſhall enioy Chriſtian buriall. Wherfore this wholeſome conſtitutiõ we will to be publiſhed often in the Churches, leſt any man through the blyndnes of ignoraunce may make to thẽſelues a cloke of excuſe. &c.* And thus much hetherto we haue alledged by occaſion incident of theſe vj. Articles for ſome part of cõfutation of the ſame, referryng the reader for the reſt, to the more exquiſite tractation of Diuines, which profeſſedly write vpon thoſe matters.

The conſtitution of Pope Innocent 3. touching auricular confeſſion.

In the meane tyme, forſomuch as there is extant in Latin a certeine learned Epiſtle of Philippe Melancthon, written to K. Henry agaynſt theſe vj. wicked Articles aboue ſpecified, I thought not to defraude the reader of the fruite therof, for his better vnderſtãdyng and inſtruction. The tenour and effect of hys Epiſtle tranſlated into Engliſhe thus foloweth.

¶ The copie of Melanctons Epiſtle ſent to kyng Henry, againſt the cruell Acte of the vj. Articles.

A fruitful epiſtle of *Phil. Melancthon* ſent to *K. Henr* touchyng the vj. Articles.

MOſt famous and noble Prince, there were certeine Emperours of Rome, as Adrianus, Pius, and afterward the two brethren Verus & Marcus, which did receyue gently the Apologies and defenſes of the Chriſtians: whiche ſo preuayled with thoſe moderate Princes, that they ſwaged their wrath aganiſt ẏ Chriſtians, & obteined mitigation of their cruell Decrees. Euen ſo, for aſmuch as there is a Decree ſet foorth of late in your Realme agaynſt that doctrine whiche we profeſſe, both godly and neceſſary for the Churche, I beſeche your moſt honorable maieſtie fauorably both to read and conſider this our cõplaint, eſpecially ſeyng I haue not onely for our owne cauſe, but much rather for the common ſauegarde of the Churche, directed this my writyng vnto you. For ſeyng thoſe heathen Princes dyd both admitte and allowe the defenſes of the Chriſtiãs, how much more is it beſemyng for a king of Chriſtiau profeſſion, and ſuch a one as is occupyed in the ſtudyes of holy hiſtoryes, to heare the complayntes and admonitions of the godly in the Churche? And ſo much the more willyngly I write vnto you, for that you haue ſo fauorably heretofore receyued my letters, with a ſingular declaratiõ of your * beneuolence towardes me. This alſo giueth me ſome hope that you wil not vnwillingly read theſe thinges, for aſmuch as I ſee that ẏ very phraſe & maner of writyng doth playnly declare, not your ſelf, but only the Biſhops to be ẏ authors of thoſe articles & Decrees there ſet forth: Albeit, through their wily and ſubtile ſophiſtications, they haue induced you (as it hath happened to many other worthy Princes beſides you) to condeſcend and aſſent vnto them: as the Rulers perſuaded Darius beyng otherwiſe a wiſe and a iuſt Prince, to caſt Daniell vnto the Lyons.

* He meaneth here the kyng liberall re ward ſe to hym be fore mo ney, by M. Ioh. Hales, which mo ney he th diſtribut among th miniſters and lear ned me of Witte berge.

Da

It was neuer vnſeemely for a good Prince to correct and reforme cruell and rigorous lawes, and (as it is cõmonly ſayd) to haue a ſecond vewe & ouerſight of things before paſſed and decreed.

Example of the Athenians reuokyng their decree.

The wiſe Athenians made a Decree when the Citie of Mitilene was recouered, which before had forſakē them, yͤ al yͤ Citizens there ſhould be ſlaine, & the Citie vtterly deſtroyed. wherupon there was a ſhyppe ſent forth with yͤ ſame cōmaūdement to the armye. On the next morow the matter was brought agayne before the ſame iudges, and after better aduiſe taken, there was a contrary decree made, yͤ the whole multitude ſhould not be put to the ſworde, but a fewe of the chiefe authors of their rebellion, ſhould be puniſhed and the Citie ſaued. There was therfore an other ſhyppe ſent forth with a countermaūd in all haſt, to ouertake and preuent the former ſhippe, as alſo it happened. Neyther was that noble Citie whiche then ruled and reigned farre and wyde, aſhamed to alter & reforme their former Decree. Many ſuch examples there be, the moſt parte wherof, I am ſure are well knowen vnto you. But in the Church eſpecially, Princes haue many tymes altered and reformed their Decrees, as Nabugodonoſor and Darius. There was a Decree ſet forth in the name of Aſſuerus, concernyng the killyng of yͤ Iewes. That decree was afterwardes called in agayn. So did Adrianus and Antonius alſo correct and reforme their Decrees.

Eſter. 8.

Mitigatiō of the vi. Articles deſired.

Therefore, although there bee a decree ſet forth in England, which threatneth ſtraunge puniſhmētes and penalties, diſagreing frō the cuſtome of the true church, and ſwaruing from the rules and Canons thereof: yet I thought it not vnſeemely for vs to become peticioners vnto you, for the mitigation of theſe your ſharpe and ſeuere procedings. The which when I conſider, it greueth my minde, not onelye for the perill and daunger of them which profeſſe the ſame doctrine that we doe, but alſo I do lament for your cauſe, that they ſhoulde make you an inſtrumēt & a miniſter of their bloudy tyrānie & impietie. And partlye alſo I lament, to ſee the courſe of Chriſtian doctrine peruerted, ſuperſticious rites cōfyrmed, whoredome and lecherous luſtes mainteined. Beſides all this, I here of diuers good men, excellyng both in doctrine and vertue, to bee there deteyned in priſon, as Latymer, Cromer, Shaxton and others, to whom I wiſhe ſtrength, pacience, & cōſolation in the Lord. Unto whō albeit there can nothyng happen more luckelye or more glorioulſye, then to giue their lyues in the confeſſion of the manifeſt truth and veritie: yet would I wiſh that you ſhould not diſteyne your handes with the bloud of ſuch men: neither would I wiſhe ſuch Lanternes of lyght in your Churche, to be extinguiſhed: neither theſe ſpitefull and malicious Phariſeis, the enemies of Chriſt, to haue theyr willes ſo much fulfilled. Neither agayne would I wiſhe that you ſhould ſo much ſerue the will and deſire of that Romiſhe Antichriſt, whiche laugheth in his ſleue to ſee you now to take part with hym, againſt vs, hopyng wel by the helpe of hys Byſhops, to recouer agayne his former poſſeſſion which of late by your vertuous and godly meanes he loſt. He ſeeth your Byſhops, for the tyme, loyall vnto you, and obſequious to obey your wil: but in hart he ſeeth them lynked vnto hym in a perpetuall bond of fidelitie and obediēce. In al theſe feates and practiſes, the Romiſhe Byſhops are not to ſeeke. They ſee what great ſtormes and blaſtes heretofore they haue paſſed by bearyng and ſufferyng. They ſee that great thynges bee brought to paſſe in tyme. Neither do they forget the olde verſe of the Poete.

Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others, impriſoned for the vi. Articles.

The Byſhops pretende outward obedience to the kyng, but their hartes be with the Pope.

Multa, dies variuſq; labor mutabilis æui
Rettulit in melius.

Many good and learned men in Germany conceaued of you great hope, that by your authoritie and example, other Princes alſo would be prouoked to ſurceaſe likewiſe from their vniuſt crueltie, and better to aduiſe them ſelues for the reformation of errours crepte into the Church: truſtyng that you would be as a gyde and Captaine of that godly purpoſe & enterpriſe. But now ſeyng theſe your contrary procedynges, we are vtterly diſcouraged: the indignation of other Princes is confyrmed: the ſtubbernes of the wicked is augmented: and old and great errours are therby ſtabliſhed.

But here your Byſhops will ſay agayne (no doubt) that they defend no errours, but the very truth of Gods holy worde. And although they bee not ignoraunt that they ſtriue in very deede, both agaynſt the true worde of God, & the Apoſtolicke Churche, yet lyke crafty Sophiſters, they can finde out fayre gloſes, pretending a goodly ſhewe outwardly, to colour their errours and abuſes. And this ſophiſtication not onely nowe in England is had in great admiration, and eſteemed for great wiſedome, neither in Rome onely reigneth, where Cardinall Conterrenus, Sadolet, and Cardinall Pole, goe about to paynt out abuſes with new colours & goodly gloſes: but alſo in Germany diuers noble men are likewiſe corrupted and ſeduced with the lyke ſophiſtication. And therfore I nothyng maruel that ſo many there with you be deceaued with theſe craftie iuglynges. And although you for your parte, lacke neither learnyng nor iudgement, yet ſome tymes we ſee it ſo happen, that wiſe men alſo be caryed away by faire & colourable perſuaſions, from the veritie. The ſaying of Simonides is prayſe worthy: Opinion (ſayth he) many times peruerteth veritie. And many times falſe opiniō hath outwardly a fairer ſhew, then ſimple truth. And ſpecially it ſo happeneth in caſes of Religiō, where the deuill transformeth hym ſelfe into an Aungell of light, ſettyng forth with all colourable and goodly ſhewes, falſe opiniōs. How fayre ſemeth the gloſe of Somoſatenus, vpon the Goſpell of S. Iohn: *In the beginning VVas the VVord. &c.* and yet is it full of impietie. But I omitte foreine examples.

Falſehode oftentimes beareth a fayrer ſhewe, then truth.

Iohn. 1.

Confeſſion.

In theſe Articles of yours, how many thinges are craftely and deceitfully deuiſed? Confeſſion ſayth the Article, is neceſſarie, and ought to be reteined. And why ſay they not playnly, that the rehearſyng and numbryng vp of ſinnes is neceſſary by Gods word? This the byſhops knew well to be very falſe, and therfore in yͤ Article they placed theyr wordes generally, to bleare the eyes of the ſimple people, that when they heare confeſſion to bee neceſſarye, they ſhould thereby thinke the enumeration of ſinnes to be neceſſary by Gods worde.

Priuate Maſſes.

The like legerdimaine alſo they vſe in the Article of priuate Maſſes: albeit the beginnyng of the ſayd Article conteyneth a manifeſt vntruth, where they ſay that it is neceſſary to reteyne priuate Maſſes. what man in all the primitiue Church, more then iiij. hundreth yeares after yͤ Apoſtles tyme, did euer ſo ſay or thinke, at what tyme there were no ſuch priuate Maſſes vſed? But afterward in yͤ proceſſe of yͤ Article, folowe other blind ſophiſtications, to make yͤ people beleue yͤ they ſhould receiue by thē, diuine conſolations & benefites. And why do they not plainly declare what cōſolatiōs & benefites thoſe be? The Byſhops here do name no application & merite, for they know yͤ they cā not be defended. Yet they dally with gloſyng wordes, wherby they may winde out & eſcape, if any ſhould improue their application. And yet notwithſtādyng they would haue this their application to be vnderſtanded and beleued of the people. They would haue this Idolatrous perſuaſion confirmed: to wytte, that this ſacrifice doth merite vnto others, remiſſiō a pœna & culpa: releaſe of all calamities, and alſo gayne and luker in common trafficke, and to conclude, what ſo euer elles the carefull hart of man doth deſire.

By application of Maſſes is ment, when the paſſion and merites of Chriſt is applyed to any by vertue of the Maſſe.

Prieſtes mariage.

1. Tim. 3.

The lyke ſophiſtication they vſe alſo, where they ſay that Prieſtes Mariage is agaynſt the law of God. They are not ignoraunt what S. Paul ſayth: *A Byſhop ought to be the huſband of one VVife*: and therefore they knowe right well that Mariage is permitted to Prieſtes by the lawe of God. But becauſe nowe, they ſay, they haue made a vow, they go craftely to worke, & do not ſay that prieſtes for their vowes ſake can not mary, but playnly giue out the Article after this ſorte: that Mariage of Prieſtes is vtterly agaynſt the law of God. Agayn, what impudencie and tyranny do they ſhew moreouer, when they compell Mariages to be diſſolued, and commaunde thoſe to be put to death, whiche will not put away their wyues, and renounce their matrimonye? where as the vowe of Prieſtes, if it had any force at al, ſhould extend no further but onely to put them from the miniſtery if they would mary. And thys (no doubt) is the true meanyng of the Councels and Canons.

Winchester cunning in the arte of iuggling, called *deceptio viſus.*

O Curſed Byſhops. O impudent and wicked Winchester, who vnder theſe colourable fetches, thincketh to deceiue the eyes of Chriſt, and the iudgementes of all the godly in the whole world. Theſe thinges haue I writtē that you may vnderſtand the craftie ſleightes & ſo iudge of the purpoſe and policie of theſe Biſhops. For if they would ſimply & hartely ſearch for the truth, they woulde not vſe theſe crafty colluſions and deceitful iugglynges.

The worde of God ought ſimply to be handled without all ſophiſtrie.

This ſophiſtication, as it is in all other affaires pernicious and odious, ſo aboue all thinges, moſt ſpecially it is to be auoided in matters of Religion: wherin it is a heynous impietie to corrupt or peruerte the pure word of God. And hereof the deuill which is called Diabolus, ſpecially taketh his name, becauſe he wraſteth yͤ word of God out of mēs hartes by ſuch falſe iugling & ſophiſtical cauillations. And why do not theſe Biſhops as well plainly vtter & confeſſe yͭ they will abyde no reformatiō of doctrine & Religion in yͤ Church, for that it ſhall make agaynſt their dignitie, pompe & pleaſure: why doe not their adherētes alſo & ſuch as take their part, playnly ſay that they will retaine ſtill this preſent ſtate of the Church for their own profite, tranquilitie, and mainteinaunce? Thus to confeſſe, were true and plaine dealing. Now, whiles they pretend hypocritically a falſe zeale and loue to the truth and ſincere Religiō, they come in with their blynde ſophiſtications, wherwith they couer their errours: for their Articles ſet forth in this acte be erroneous, falſe & impious, how glorious ſoeuer they ſeme outwardly. wherfore it were to be wiſhed yͭ theſe Byſhops would remember Gods terrible threatnyng in the Prophet Eſay: *VVoe to you* (ſayth he) *vvhich make vvicked lavves. VVhat vvill you doo in the day of viſitation & calamitie to come? &c. VVoe vnto you that call euill good. &c.*

The cloked hypocriſie of falſe Papiſtes.

Eſa.10.

Eſa.5.

Now to come more neare to the matter whiche we haue in hand: this can not be denyed, but that long and horrible darkenes hath bene in the Church of Chriſt. Mens traditions not onely haue bene a yoke to good mens conſciences, but alſo (whiche is much worſe) they haue bene reputed for Gods holy ſeruice, to the great diſworſhyp of God. There were vowes, thynges bequethed to Churches, diuerſitie of garmētes, choiſe of meates, long babling praiers, pardons, imageworſhyp, manifeſt Idolatrie committed to Saintes, the true worſhyp of God & true good workes not knowen. Briefly, litle difference there was betwixte the Chriſtian & heathen Religion, as ſtill is yet at Rome to this preſent day, to be ſene. The true doctrine of repentaūce, of remiſſion of ſinnes, which cōmeth by the faith in Chriſt, of iuſtification of fayth, of the difference betwene the law and the goſpel, of the right vſe of the Sacramētes, was hyd & vnknowen. The keyes were abuſed to the maintenaūce of the Popes vſurped tyranny. Ceremonies of mens inuention were much preferred before ciuile obedience and duetyes done in the common wealth.

Mens traditions coūted for Gods ſeruice.

Vnto theſe errours moreouer was ioyned a corrupte life, full of all lecherous and filthy luſtes, by reaſon of the law forbyddyng Prieſtes to mary. Out of this miſerable darkenes God ſomethyng hath begon to deliuer hys Churche through the reſtoryng agayne of true doctrine. For ſo we muſt nedes acknowledge, that theſe ſo great & long feſtred errours haue not bene diſcloſed & brought to lyght by the induſtrie of mā, but this light of the Goſpell is onely the gift of God, who now agayne hath appeared vnto the Church. For ſo doth the holy ghoſt prophecie before, how in the latter tymes the godly ſhould ſuſteyne ſore and perilous cōflictes with Antichriſt, foreſhowyng that he ſhould come, enuironed with a mighty and ſtrōg army of Byſhops, hypocrites and Princes: that he ſhould fight agaynſt the truth, and ſley the godly.

The filthy life of the Clergie, for lacke of mariage.

This reſtoring of the Goſpell is onely of God and not of man.

And that now all theſe thynges are ſo come to paſſe, it is moſt euident, and can not be denied. The tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome hath partly brought in errours into the Churche, partly hath confirmed them, & now maynteyneth the ſame with force and violence, as Daniell hath well foreſhowed. And much we reioyſed to ſee you diuided from hym, hopyng & truſtyng well that the Churche of England would now flouriſhe. But your Byſhops be not diuided from the Romiſhe Antichriſt: hys Idolatrie, errours, & vices they defend & maynteine with toth & nayle: for yͤ Articles now paſſed, are craftely piked out. They cōfirme al humaine traditiōs in that they eſtabliſh ſolemne vowes, ſingle lyfe, & auricular confeſſion. They vphold and aduaunce not onely their pride & authoritye, but all errours withall, in reteynyng the priuate Maſſe. Thus haue they craftely prouided that no reformatiō cā take any place, that their dignitie and wealth may ſtill be vpholden. And this to be the purpoſe of the Biſhops, experience it ſelfe doth playnly teach vs. Now what mā will not lament to ſee the glory of Chriſt thus to be defaced? For (as I ſayd before) this matter concerneth not onely theſe Articles which there be enacted, but all other Articles of ſounde doctrine are likewiſe ouerthrowne, if ſuch traditiōs of men ſhalbe reputed as neceſſary, and to be reteyned. For why doth Chriſt ſay? *For they vvorſhyp me in vayne vvith the preceptes of men?* or why doth S. Paul ſo oft deteſt mens traditions?

By the vj. Articles all errours & traditions are maintayned.

Marke.7.

It is no light offence to ſet vp new kindes of worſhippyng and ſeruyng of God without hys worde, or to defend the ſame. Such preſumption God doth horribly deteſt, which will be knowen in hys worde onely. He will haue none other religions inuēted by mans deuiſe: for els al ſortes of religiōs of al nations might be approued and allowed. *Leane not* (ſayth hee) *to thyne ovvne vviſedome.* But he ſent Chriſt, and commaundeth vs to heare hym, and not the inuention of ſubtile and politicke heades, which applye Religion to their own luker & cōmoditie.

God will not be worſhipped but after his worde.

Prou.3.

Furthermore, priuate Maſſes, vowes, the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, numbryng vp of ſinnes to the Prieſt, with other thynges moe, beyng but mere ordinaunces of men, are vſed for Gods true ſeruice and worſhyppe. For although the Supper of the Lorde was truely inſtituted by Chriſt, yet the priuate Maſſe is a wicked prophanation of the Lordes Supper. For in the Canon what corruption is conteyned in this, where it is ſayd that Chriſt is offered, and that the worke it ſelfe is a ſacrifice whiche redemeth the quicke and the dead? Theſe thyngs were neuer ordeined of Chriſt: yea manifold wayes they are repugnant to the Goſpell. Chriſt willeth not hym ſelfe to bee offered vp of Prieſtes, neither can the worke of the offerer or of yͤ receiuer, by any meanes, bee a ſacrifice. This is manifeſt Idolatrie, and ouerthroweth the true doctrine of fayth and the true vſe of yͤ Sacramētes. By faith in Chriſt we are iuſtified, and not by any worke of the prieſt. And the Supper is ordeined that the Miniſter ſhould diſtribute to others, to the intent that they repentyng for their ſinnes, ſhould bee admoniſhed firmely to beleue the promiſes of the Goſpell to perteyne vnto them: Here is ſet a playne teſtimonye before vs, yͭ we are made the members of Chriſt, and waſhed by his bloud.

Agaynſt priuate Maſſes, & the Canon of the Maſſe.

Chriſt once of- red.

The true vſe of the Lordes Supper.

And this is the true vſe of that Supper, which is ordeyned in the Goſpel, and was obſerued in the primatiue Church 300. yeares and more, from the whiche we ought not to be remoued. For it is playne impietie to transferre the Lordes inſtitution to any other vſe, as we are taught by the ſecond cōmaundement. wherfore theſe priuate Maſſes, for aſmuch as they ſwarue frō the right inſtitution of Chriſt manifold wayes, as by oblation, ſacrifice, application, and many other wayes beſides, they are not to be reteyned but to be aboliſhed. *Flye* (ſayth S. Paul) *frō all Idolatry.* In theſe priuate Maſſes much Idolatry is committed, whiche we ſee our Byſhops now ſo ſtoutly to defend: and no maruel. For in the latter tymes the Scripture playnly ſheweth that great Idolatry ſhall reigne in the Churche of God. As Chriſt hym ſelfe alſo ſignifieth, ſaying: *VVhen ye ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation, vvhiche is foretold of the Prophet Daniell, ſtandyng in the holy place, he that readeth, let hym vnderſtand.* And Daniell in the xi. chap. *And he ſhall vvorſhip the God Maozim in his place, and ſhall adore the God vvhom his fathers knevv not, vvith golde, ſiluer, and precious ſtones.* Both theſe places ſpeake of yͤ Maſſe.

Sacramentes ought to be vſed of they right

1.Cor.

Mat.

Dan.

This kinde of worſhip & horrible prophanation of the Sacrament, God abhorreth. For howe many ſundry kyndes of manifeſt impietie are here committed in thys one action of yͤ Maſſe? Firſt, it is ſet forth to ſale. Secōdly they that are vnworthy, are compelled to receiue whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applyed for meritorious & ſatiſfactory for yͤ quicke & the dead. Fourthly, many thinges are promiſed therby, as proſperous nauigation, remedies agaynſt diſſeaſes both for man and beaſt, with other infinite moe. Theſe be moſt manifeſt and notorious abominations. But beſides theſe, there be other alſo no leſſe to bee reprehended whiche the ſimple people do not ſo playnly ſee. Such worſhyppyng and ſeruyng of God is not to bee ſet vp after the phantaſie of men, wherefore they do wickedly when they offer ſacrifice to God without hys commaundement. For when of this worke they make a ſacrifice, they imagine that priuate Maſſes are to be done, becauſe God would be worſhipped after this ſorte. And we ſee that Maſſes are bought with gold and ſiluer, great riches and ſumptuous charges: alſo the Sacrament to be caryed about in gold and ſiluer to be worſhipped, whereas the Sacramēt was neuer ordeyned for any ſuch purpoſe. wherefore ſeyng the commaundement of God byddeth, flye from Idolatrye, priuate Maſſes are not to be mainteyned. And I maruel why they ſay that ſuch priuate Maſſes are neceſſarilye to bee reteyned, when it is euident that in the olde tyme there was none ſuch. Shall we thinke that thynges perteynyng to the neceſſary worſhyp of God, coulde ſo long be lackyng in the primatiue Churche 300. yeares after the Apoſtles and more? what can bee more abſurde and agaynſt all reaſon?

What impietie the

we ſe theſe priuate Maſſes to be defended with great labor and much adoe: of ſome, for feare leſt theyr gayne ſhould decay: of ſome, becauſe they would ſerue the affection of the vulgare people (which thinketh to haue great ſuccour therby, and therfore are loth to leaue it) rather then for any iuſte cauſe or reaſon to lead them. But how ſoeuer they do, a moſt maniſeſt and euident cauſe there is why theſe priuate maſſes ought to be aboliſhed. For firſt their application vndoubtedly is wicked: neyther doth the worke of the Prieſte merite any grace to any perſon, but euery one is iuſtifyed by hys owne fayth. Neyther agayn would God haue any man to truſt vppon any ceremonye, but onely to the benefyte of Chriſt. And moſt certeyne this is, that the application of theſe Maſſes for the dead, is full of great errour and impietye.

Agaynſt Prieſtes mariage.

But here come in blynd gloſes (albeit to no purpoſe) to excuſe this applicatiō. For vniuerſally amongs al ẏ people, who is he ẏ thynketh otherwiſe, but ẏ this worke is auailable for the whole church? Yea ẏ Canon of ẏ Maſſe it ſelf declareth no leſſe. And why then doe ſome of theſe crafty ſophiſters dally out the matter with theyr gloſing wordes, denying that they make any application of their Maſſes, when they knowe full wel that the errour of the people is confirmed by thys their doyng: although they them ſelues do thinke otherwiſe? Albeit howe fewe bee there in very deede which do otherwiſe thynke?

Applicatiō of the maſſe idolatrous.

We ought not to diſſemble in Gods matters. Let vs vſe them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the auncient cuſtome of the primitiue Churche doth leade vs. Why ſhould any mā be ſo preſumptious to ſwarue from auncient cuſtome? Why now do they defend the errours of other which haue peruerted the inſtitution of Chriſt?

The olde inſtitution of Chriſt is not to bee altered by new inuentions.

Nowe, although ſome perhaps will pretende & ſay, that he maketh no application of hys Maſſes, yet notwithſtanding he ſo dealeth in handlyng the ceremonye priuatly by hym ſelf, that he thynketh thys hys oblation to be hygh ſeruice done to God, and ſuch as God requyreth: whiche is alſo erroneous and to be reproued. For whye, no ſeruice nor worſhippe perteynyng to God ought to be ſett vp by mans deuiſe, without the commaundement of God.

Wherfore I beſech you for the glory of Chriſte, that you will not defend the article of thys Acte concernyng theſe priuate Maſſes, but that you will ſuffer the matter to be well examined by vertuous and learned men. All thinges that we here with vs doe, we do thē by euident & ſubſtanciall teſtimony of the primitiue Church, which teſtimony I dare be bold to ſet againſt the iudgementes of all that haue ſynce followed, ſuch as haue corrupted ẏ auncīet doctrine and olde rites with manifolde errours.

As touching the other articles, they haue no neede of any long diſputation. Vowes that be wycked, fayned, & impoſſible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt, but this is the cōmon perſwaſion of al mē touchyng vowes, that all theſe wilworkes deuiſed by man, are the true ſeruice and worſhip of God: and ſo thynke they alſo which ſpeake moſt indifferently of thē. Other adde therunto more groſſe errours, ſaying that theſe workes bryng with thē perfectiō, & merite euerlaſting life. Now all theſe opinions the ſcripture in many places doth reproue. Chriſt ſayth: *They worſhip me in vayne with the preceptes of men.* And Paul ſaith, that theſe obſeruations bee the doctrine of deuills: for they aſcribe to the power and ſtrēgth of mā, falſe honour, becauſe they are taken for the ſeruice of god: they obſcure faith & the true worſhipping of God. Item the ſayd Paul to the Coloſſ. ſayth: *Let no man deceyue you by fayned humilitye. &c. Why make you Decrees? &c.* Wherfore theſe corrupte traditions of men are in deede a wicked and deteſtable ſeruice of God.

Agaynſt vowes of Prieſtes ſingle life.

The common errour concerning vowes.

Mark.7.

1.Tim.4.

Coloſſ.2.

Vnto theſe alſo are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuſes. The whole order of mōkery what ſuperſtition doth it cōteyne? What prophanations of Maſſes, inuocation of Sainctes, colours and faſhions of apparell, choiſe of meates, ſuperſtitious prayers without all meaſure? Of which cauſes euery one were ſufficient, why theſe vowes ought to be broken. Beſydes this, a great parte of men are drawne to this kynd of lyfe chiefly for the bellies ſake, and then afterward they pretend the holynes of theyr vowe and profeſſion. Furthermore, thys vowe of ſingle lyfe is not to all men poſſible to bee kept, as Chriſt hym ſelf ſayeth: *All men do not receyue this.* Such vowes therfore which without ſynne can not bee performed, are to bee vndone. But theſe thynges I haue diſcuſſed ſufficiently in other of my workes.

Cauſes why vowes ought to be brokē.

Math.19.

But this cauſeth me much to maruell, that this vowe of Prieſtes in your Engliſhe Decree, is more ſtraite and hard, then is the vowe of monkes, whereas the Canons them ſelues do bynd a Prieſt no farther to ſyngle life: but onely for the tyme ẏ he remayneth in the miniſterye. And certeynly it made my hart to tremble when I read this Article which ſo forbiddeth matrimonye, & diſſolueth the ſame beyng contracted, & appoynteth moreouer the puniſhment of death for the ſame. Although there haue bene diuers godly prieſts which in certeine places haue bene put to death for theyr mariage, yet hath neuer man hetherto bene ſo bold to ſtabliſhe any ſuch law. For euery man in a maner, well perceyued that all well diſpoſed and reaſonable perſons would abhorre that crueltye: and alſo they feared leſt the poſterity woulde thinke euyll thereof. Who woulde euer thinke, that in the Churche of Chriſt, wherin all lenitie toward the godly ought moſt principally to be ſhewed, ſuche crueltes and tyranny could take place, to ſette forth bloudy lawes to be executed vpō the godly for lawfull matrimonie?

The vj. articles make the vowe of Prieſtes as ſtraite as the vowe of Monkes, which is contrary to their owne [illegible].

No lawe of death euer ſtabliſhed for prieſtes mariage, before the vj. Articles.

But they breake theyr vowes, will the Byſhoppes ſaye. Firſt (as I ſaid) that vowe ought not to ſtand, ſeing it is turned to a falſe worſhip of God, and is impoſſible to bee kept. Agayne, although it ſtoode in force, yet it ſhould not extend to them whiche forſake the miniſtery. Finally, if the Byſhops here woulde haue a care and regard to mens conſciences, they ſhoulde then ordayne prieſtes without any ſuche profeſſion or vowe makyng, as appeareth by the olde Canons, howe that many were admitted to the miniſtery without profeſſing of any vowe, and the ſame afterward, when they had maryed theyr wyues, to haue remayned in the miniſtery, as is teſtifyed Cap. Diaconi. Diſtinct. 28.

Why Prieſtes vowes ought not to ſtand.

Diſt.28.cap. Diaconi.

Certeynly what here I may complayne, I can not tell. Firſt, in this article I cā not impute it to ignorance that they do. For no man is ignorant of the cōmaundemēt of God, which ſayth: *Let euery man haue hys wyfe for auoyding of fornication.* Again, who is ſo blynd but he ſeeth what a lyfe theſe vnmaryed Prieſtes do lyue? The complayntes of good men are well knowen. The fylthynes of ẏ wicked is too too maniſeſt. But peraduenture your biſhops holding with the Sect of the Epicures, do thinke that God is not offended with filthy luſtes. Which if they ſo thinke, then do we ſuſteyne doubtles a hard cauſe where ſuch muſt be iudges.

Byſhops reſtraine prieſtes mariage againſt al reaſon and excuſe.

I am not ignorant that this ſingle life is very fytte to ſette out the glorye and brauerie of Biſhops and Colleges of Prieſtes, & to mainteine their wealth and portly ſtate: and this I ſuppoſe to be the cauſe why ſome do abhorre ſo much that prieſtes ſhould be maryed. But O lamentable ſtate of the church, if lawes ſhould be ſo forced to ſerue, not the veritie and the will of God, but the priuate gayne and commoditie of men. They erre whiche thinke it lawfull for them to make lawes repugnaunt to the commaundement of God and to the lawe of nature, ſo that they be profitable to attaine wealth and riches. And of trouth from my very hart I do mourne & lament, right noble Prince, both for your ſake and alſo for the cauſe of Chriſtes Church. You pretende to impugne and gaynſtand the tyranny of the Romiſhe Byſhop, & truly do call him Antichriſt, as in deede he is: and in the meane time you defende & maintayne thoſe lawes of that Romiſhe Antichriſt, whiche be the ſtrength and ſinowes of all hys power, as priuate Maſſes, ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, and other ſuperſtitions. You threaten horrible puniſhmētes to good mē & to the mēbers of Chriſt, you violently oppreſſe & beare downe the veritie of the Goſpell begynnyng to ſhyne in your Churches. This is not to aboliſhe Antichriſt, but to eſtabliſhe hym.

Complaint of vniuſt lawes ſeruing to the lucer of men agaynſt the glory of God.

I beſech you therfore for our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that you file not your conſcience in defendyng thoſe Articles which your Biſhops haue deuiſed and ſet forth touching priuate Maſſes, Auricular confeſſion, vowes, ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, and prohibition of ẏ one halfe of the Sacrament. It is no light offence to eſtabliſhe Idolatrie, errours, cruelty, the filthy luſtes of Antichriſt. If the Romane Byſhop ſhould now call a Councell, what other Articles chiefly would he deuiſe and publiſhe vnto the world, but the very ſame whiche your Byſhops haue here enacted?

Vnderſtand and conſider I praye you, the ſubtile traynes and deceites of the deuill, whiche is wont firſt to ſet vpon and aſſayle the chief gouernours. And as hee is the enemy of Chriſt from the beginnyng of the world, ſo his chief purpoſe is by all craftye and ſubtile meanes, to worke continuely agaynſt Chriſt in ſparſyng abroad wicked opinions and ſetting vppe Idolatrie: and alſo in polluting mankynde with bloudye murthers and fleſhlye luſtes: to the workyng whereof hee abuſeth the policies and wittes of hypocrites: alſo the power and ſtrength of mighty Princes: as ſtories of all times beare witnes what great kyngdomes and Empires haue ſet them ſelues with all might and maine, againſt the poore Churche of Chriſt.

The ſubtiltie of Sathan in abuſing the power of princes to maintaine his kingdome.

Example of good princes.

And yet notwithſtandyng God hath reſerued ſome good Princes at all tymes, out of the great multitude of ſuch Gyantes, and hath brought them to hys Church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend hys true worſhyp: as Abraham taught Abimelech, Ioſeph the Ægyptian kynges, and after them came Dauid, Ioſaphat, Ezechias, Ioſias excellyng in true godlynes. Daniell conuerted to the knowledge of God the kinges of Chaldea and Perſia. Alſo Brytāny brought forth vnto the world the godly prince Conſtantine. In this number I wiſhe you rather to bee, then amongeſt ẏ enemies of Chriſt, defiled with Idolatrie & ſpotted with the bloud of the godly: of whō God will take puniſhmēt, as he doth many tymes forewarne, and many examples do teach.

Yet agayne therefore I pray and beſeche you for our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that you will correct and mitigate this Decree of the Byſhops. In whiche doyng you ſhall aduaunce the glory of Chriſt, and prouide as well for the wealth of your owne ſoule, as the ſauegarde of your Churches.

He meaneth *Shaxton, Latimer, Cromer,* and others.

Let the harty deſires of ſo many godly men throughe the whole world, moue you, ſo earneſtly wiſhyng that ſome good kynges would extende their authority to the true reformation of the Churche of God, to the aboliſhyng of all Idolatrous worſhyp, and the furtheryng of the courſe of the Goſpell. Regarde alſo and conſider I beſeche you, thoſe godly perſons, whiche are with you in bandes for the Goſpels ſake, beyng the true members of Chriſt.

The deuills inſtrumentes by whom he worketh.

And if that cruell Decree be not altered, the Biſhops will neuer ceaſe to rage agaynſt the Churche of Chriſte without mercy or pitie. For them the deuill vſeth as inſtrumentes and miniſters of his fury and malice againſt Chriſt. Theſe he ſtyrreth vp to ſlay and kill the members of Chriſt. whoſe wicked and cruell procedynges and ſubtile ſophiſtications, that you will not preferre before our true and moſt righteous requeſt, al the godly moſt humbly and hartly do pray and beſeche you. whiche if they ſhall obteyne, no doubt but God ſhall recompēce to you great rewardes for your pietie, and your excellēt vertue ſhalbe renowmed both by pēne and voyce of all the godly, whiles the world ſtandeth. For Chriſt ſhall iudge all them that ſhall deſerue either wel or euill of his Church. And whiles letters ſhall remaine, the memoriall worthy of ſuch noble deſertes, ſhall neuer dye or be forgottē with the poſteritie to come. And ſeyng we ſeeke the glory of Chriſt, & that our Churches are the Churches of Chriſt, there ſhall neuer be wantyng ſuch as both ſhall defende the righteous cauſe, and magnifie with due commendation ſuch as haue well deſerued, and lykewiſe ſhall condemne the vniuſt crueltie of the enemyes.

Chriſt goeth about hungry, thyrſtie, naked, priſoned, complaynyng of the ragyng fury of the Byſhops, and of the wrongfull oppreſſion and cruelty of diuers Kynges and Princes, entreatyng that the members of hys body be not rent in peeces, but that true Churches may be defended and hys Goſpell aduaunced. This requeſt of Chriſt to heare, to receyue, and to embrace, is the office of a godly kyng, and ſeruice moſt acceptable vnto God.

Liuingus Prieſt, and hys wife.

☞ Intreating a little before, pag.1339.col.1. of certain olde inſtrumentes for proufe of prieſtes lawfull maryage in tymes paſt, I gaue a litle touch of a certain record takē out of an old Martyrologe of the church of Cant. touching Liuingꝰ a prieſt, and hys wife, in the tyme of Lanfancke. Wherin I touched alſo of certayne landes and houſes reſtored agayn by the ſaid Lanfrancke to the Church of S. Andrewe. Now foraſmuch as the perfecte note therof is more fullye come to my hands, and partly conſidering the reſtoring of the ſayd landes, to be to Chriſtes Church in Cant. and not S. Andrewe in Rocheſter: and alſo for that I haue founde ſome other preſidentes approuyng the lawfull maryage of prieſtes, and legitimation of their children, I thought good for the more full ſatiſfying of the reader, to enter the ſame, as followeth.

¶ *A note out of an olde Martyrologe of Canterbury.*

Ex Archiuis eccleſ. Cant.

S. Andrewes Church in Rocheſter.

OBijt Gullielmus Rex Anglorū. &c. Hic reddidit eccleſiæ Chriſti omnes ferè terras. &c. That is: After the death of William king of Englād, the ſayd Lanfrancke reſtored agayne to Chriſtes Churche in Cant. all the landes whiche from auncient memory vnto theſe latter dayes, haue ben taken away frō the right of the ſayd Churche. The names of whiche landes bee theſe: In Kent, Raculfe, Sādwich, Rateburch, Wodetun, the Abbay of Limming, with the landes & cuſtomes vnto the ſame Monaſtery belonging, Saltwude, &c. (Stocke and Denentun, becauſe they belōged of old tyme to the Churche of S. Andrew, them hee reſtored to the ſame Churche.) In Sutherey, Murtelac, the Abbay of S. Mary in London, with the landes and houſes, whiche Liuingus Prieſt, and his wife had in London. All theſe Lanfrancke reſtored agayne for the health of his owne ſoule, freely and without money. &c.

¶ *A note for the legitimation of Prieſtes children,*

ex termino Michael. An.21. Henr.7. fo.39. pag.2.

M.21. H.7.

NOte that in the xix. yeare of this kyng in an Aſſiſe at Warwicke, before Syr Guye Fairfax, and Syr Iohn Vauiſour, it was founde by verdite, that the father of the tenaunt had taken the order of Deacon, and after marryed a wife, and had iſſue the tenaunt and died, and the tenaunt did enter. Vpon whom the pleintife dyd enter as next heire collaterall to the father of the tenaunt. Vpon whom he did reenter. &c. and for difficultie the Iuſtices did adiourne the Aſſiſe. And it was debated in the Eſcheker chamber: If the tenaunt ſhall bee a baſtarde. &c. And here by aduiſe it was adiudged that hee ſhall not bee baſtard. &c. ¶ Frowicke chief Iuſtice ſayd to me in the xix. yeare of Henry the vij. in the common place, that he was of counſaile in this matter, and that it was adiudged as before, whiche Vauiſour did graunt. ¶ And Frowicke ſayd that if a Prieſt marry a wife and hath iſſue and dieth, his iſſue ſhall enherite for that the eſpouſalls be not voyde but voydable. ¶ Vauiſour: if a man take a Nunne to wife this eſpouſall is voyde.

☞ Note that in the latter impreſſion of Henry the 7. yeares of the lawe, thys worde Prieſt in thys caſe aforeſayd, in ſome bookes is lefte out: whether of purpoſe or by negligence, I leaue it to the Reader to iudge.

¶ *An other note for legitimation of Prieſtes children.*

*AD Curiā generalem D. Philippi & D. Maria dei gratia. &c. xvi. die Iulij, An. Reg. dict. Regis & Regina, primo & tertio irrotulatur ſic. Praſentatū eſt per totū homagiū quòd Simō Heynes *Clericus diu antè iſtam Curiam, vid. per duos annos iā elapſos, fuit ſeſitus ſecundum conſuetudinē huius Manerij in dominico ſuo vt de feodo, de & in duabus acris terra, percellis de xxxv. acris et dimidij terra, nuper in tenura Ioannis Heynes. Ac de & in vno tenemento vocat. Bernardes nuper in tenura Ioannis Cotton. Ac de & in vij. Acris & iij. rodis terra & paſtura, ſiue plus ſiue minus, prout iacent in campis de Myldenhall pradicta in diuerſis pecijs, vt patet in Curia hic tenta die Iouis proximo poſt feſtū Sācti Luca Euangeliſta, Anno regni Regis Henrici viij. xxxviij. Necnon de & in xij. acris terra natiua iacentibus in Tovvnefielde et Tvvamelſfielde in diuerſis pecijs. Ac de et in quatuor Acris et dimidio terra iacentibus in Mildenhall pradicta. Ac de & in quinq; rodis terra iacentibus in Halyvvelſfield. Qua quidē pramiſſa, idem Symō nuper habuit ex ſurſum redditione VVillielmi Heynes prout patet in Curia hic tenta die Martis proximo poſt Dominicā in Albis Anno regni Regis Edvvardi vj. primo. Et ſic ſeſitus idem Simon de omnibus ſupradictis pramiſſis inde obijt ſolus ſeſitus. Et quòd Ioſeph Heynes eſt filius & hares eius propinquior, et modo atatis quinq; annorū et amplius. Qui quidem Ioſeph praſens hic in Curia in propria perſona ſua, petit ſe admitti ad omnia ſupradicta pramiſſa tāquā ad ius et hareditatē ſuā. Et D. Rex & D. Regina ex gratia ſua ſpeciali, per Clementē Heigham militem Seneſcallum ſuū, conceſſerunt ei inde ſeſinam tenendā ſibi, haredibus, et aſſignatis eius, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. Regis & D. Regina ſecundū conſuetudinem huius Manerij, per ſeruitia & redditus inde debita. etc. Saluo iure. &c. Et dat Domino Regi et D. Regina v. lib. de fine pro ingreſſu ſuo habendo, et fidelitas inde reſpectuatur quouſq;. &c. Et vlterius cōſideratū eſt per Curiā quòd dict. Ioſeph eſt infra atatē vt prafertur. Ideo determinatū eſt & conceſſū eſt per conſenſum Curia quòd Ioanna Heynes nuper vxor pradicti Simonis, ac mater pradicti Ioſeph habebit cuſtodiā eiuſdem Ioſeph quouſq; idem Ioſeph peruenerit ad ſuā legitimam atatem.*

Concernyng theſe vj. Articles paſſed in this Acte aforeſayd in ẏ 21. yeare of kyng Henry, ſufficiently hetherto hath bene declared, firſt what theſe Articles were: ſecondly by whom and from whom chiefly they proceded: thirdly how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant and contrarious to true doctrine, Chriſtian Religion, and the worde of God, to nature alſo it ſelfe, all reaſon and honeſty, and finally to the auncient lawes, cuſtomes, and examples of our forelders duryng the dayes of a thouſand yeares after Chriſt, they were. Fourthly ye haue heard alſo what vnreaſonable and extreme penalty was ſet vppon the ſame, that a man may deeme theſe lawes to be written not with the ynke of Steuen Gardiner, but with ẏ bloud of a Dracon, or rather the clauſe of the deuill. The breach whereof was made no leſſe then treaſon and felony, and no leſſe puniſhment aſſigned therto then death. Beſides all this, the wordes of the Act were ſo curious and ſubtile, that no man could ſpeake, write, or Cyphar agaynſt them, without preſent daunger, yea ſcarcely a man myght ſpeake any worde of Chriſt & his Religion, but he was in peril of theſe vj. Articles. Ouer & beſides, ẏ Papiſtes began ſo finely to interprete the Acte, that they ſpared not to indite men for abuſing their countenaũce and behauiour in the Churche. So great was the power of darkenes in thoſe dayes. And thus much concernyng this Acte.

Poteſtas tenebrarũ.

Beſides theſe vj. Articles in this foreſayd Acte concluded, there was alſo an other conſtitution annexed withal, not wᵗout the aduiſe (as may ſeme) of the Lord Cromwell, whiche was this: that Prieſtes and miniſters of the Churche, ſeyng now they would nedes thẽ ſelues be bound from all matrimonie, ſhould therfore by law lykewiſe bee bounde to ſuch honeſty and continence of lyfe, that carnally they ſhould vſe and accuſtome no maner of woman maryed or ſingle, by waye of aduoutrie or fornication: the breach wherof, for the firſt tyme, was to forfaite goodes, and to ſuffer impriſonment at the kynges pleaſure: and for the ſecond tyme, beyng duely cõuicted, it was made felonie as the other were.

An Acte agaynſt fornication of vnmaryed prieſtes.

Statut. an. 21. Reg. Henr. 8. cap. 14.

In this conſtitution, if the Lord Cromwell and other good mẽ of ẏ Parlamẽt myght haue had their will, there is no doubt, but ẏ firſt crime of theſe concubinarie prieſtes, as well as the ſecond, had had the ſame penaltie, as the other vj. Articles had & ſhould haue bene puniſhed with death. But Steuen Gardiner with hys felow Byſhops, who then ruled all the roſte, ſo baſted this extraordinarie Article wᵗ their accuſtomed ſhiftes, that if they were takẽ & duely cõuicte for their not caſte nor caute, at firſt tyme it was but forfaite of goodes. Alſo for the ſecond conuiction or atteinder, they ſo prouided that the next yeare folowyng, that puniſhement and payne of death by Acte of Parlament was cleane wyped away and repealed. And why ſo? *Becauſe* (ſayth the Statute) *that puniſhement by payne of death is very ſore, and much extreme: therfore it pleaſeth the king, with the aſſent of the Lordes, that that clauſe aboue written concernyng felonie, and paynes of death, and other penalties and forfaytures, for and vppon the firſt and ſecond conuictiõ or atteynder of any Prieſt or woman, for any ſuch offences (of whoredome or aduoutrie) aforeſayd, ſhalbe from hence forth voyde and of none effect. &c.* So that by this ſtatute it was prouided, for all ſuch votaries as lyued in whoredome and adulterie, for the firſt offenſe to loſe hys goodes and all hys ſpirituall promotiõs except one. For the ſecond, to forfaite all that he had to the kyng. For the third conuiction to ſuſteyne continuall impriſomẽt.

Statut. an. 22. Reg. Henr. 8. cap. 10.

The Acte agaynſt the whoredome of Prieſtes qualified, & after what maner.

In theſe vngodly procedynges of the Popes Catholicke Clergie, ij. thynges we haue to note.

1. Firſt, the horrible impietie of their doctrine, directly fightyng agaynſt the expreſſe authoritie of God and hys worde, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they reſtrayne: that whiche he byddeth, they forbyd. Habeat, ſayth he: non habeat ſay they, takyng exceptions agaynſt the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honorable & vndefiled, they call hereſie: that which he commendeth & inſtituteth, they puniſh with peynes of death. Not only the Prieſtes that mary, but them alſo that ſay or cyphre that a Prieſt may mary, at the firſt they kyll as felons. Neither cã any Miſerere take place for chaſte and lawfull wedlocke: where as contrarywiſe a ſpirituall man may thryſe defile hys neighbours wife, or thriſe deflowre hys brothers daughter, and no felonie at all layd to his charge. What is this in playne wordes to ſay, but that it is leſſe ſinne thriſe to commit aduoutrie, then once to mary.

The manifeſt impietie of the Popes doctrine, diſcloſed.

The ſecond is to be noted, how theſe paynted hypocrites do bewray their falſe diſſembled dealynges vnawares: with whom a man might thus reaſon. Tell vs you Prieſtes and votaries, whiche ſo preciſely flye the ſtate of Matrimonie, intende you to liue chaſte, and are able ſo to do without wyues, or do you kepe your ſelues chaſte and honeſt without them, and without burnyng, or not? If ye be not able, why thẽ mary you not? why take you not ẏ remedie appoynted of God? Why make you thoſe vowes, whiche you can not performe? or why do you not breake them beyng made, fallyng therby in daunger of breakyng Gods cõmaundement, for kepyng your own? If you be able, and ſo do intende to continue an honeſt and a continent conuerſation without wyues, then will I aſke of you, accordyng as Doct. Turner grauely & truly layth to your charge: why doo you ſo carefully prouide a remedye by your lawes afore hand, for a miſchief to come, whiche you may auoyde if ye lyſte, vnleſſe either ye lyſted not to ſtãd, though ye might, or els ſaw your own infirmitie, that you could not though ye would? And therefore fearyng your owne weake fragilitie, you prouide wyſely for your ſelues aforehand, that where other ſhall ſuffer paynes of death at the firſt for well doing, you may fall thriſe in abominable adultery, and yet by the law haue your lyues pardoned.

Dilemma againſt votaries that will not mary.

Doct. Turner hunting the Romiſhe Foxe.

And here cõmeth out your owne hypocriſie by your ſelues bewrayed. For where as you al cõfeſſe, that you are able to lyue chaſte if ye wil without wyues, this moderation of the lawe prouided before agaynſt your aduouterous incontinencie, playnly declareth that either ye purpoſe wyllingly to fall, or at leaſt ye feare and ſtand in doubt not to be able to ſtande. And why then doe you ſo confidently take ſuch vowes vpon you, ſtandyng in ſuch doubt & feare for the performance therof?

The Papiſtes bewray their own hypocriſie.

And be it to you admitted, that all do not fall, but that ſome kepe their vowe, though ſome viciouſly runne to other mens wyues and daughters: then here agayne I aſke you, ſeyng theſe vicious whorehũters & aduouterous perſons amongeſt you, do liue viciouſly (as you can not denye) and may doe otherwiſe if they lyſte (as you confeſſe) what puniſhment then are they worthye to haue, which may lyue continent and will not, neither yet will take the remedie prouided by God, but refuſe it? Whiche beyng ſo, then what iniquitie is this in you, or rather impietie inexcuſable agaynſt God and man, to procure a moderation of lawes for ſuch, and to ſhew ſuch compaſſion and clemẽcie to theſe ſo heynous adulterers, whorehũters, and beaſtly fornicators, that if they adulterate other mens wyues neuer ſo ofte, yet there is no death for them: and to ſhew no compaſſion at all, nor to finde out any moderation for ſuch, but at the very firſt to kill thẽ as felons and heretickes, which honeſtly doe mary in the feare of God, or once ſaye, that a Prieſt may mary? How can ye heare be excuſed, O you children of iniquitie? What reaſon is in your doyng, or what truth in your doctrine, or what feare of God in your hartes? You that neither are able to auoyde burnyng and pollution without wedlocke, nor yet will receaue that remedy that the Lord hath gyuen you, how will you ſtand in hys face, when hee ſhall reuele your filthy operations and cogitatiõs to your perpetuall confuſion, vnleſſe by tyme ye conuerte and repente? And thus beyng aſhamed of your execrable doynges I ceaſe to defile my penne any further in this ſo ſtinkyng matter of yours, leauyng you to the Lord.

The impietie of the papiſtes inexcuſable.

It was declared before, pag. 1298. that what tyme theſe vj. Articles were in hand in ẏ Parlament houſe, Cranmer then beyng Archbyſhop of Canterbury oftely withſtode the ſame, diſputyng thrée dayes agaynſt them: whoſe reaſons and argumentes I wyſhe were extant and remaynyng. After theſe Articles were thus paſſed and cõcluded, the kyng, who allwayes bare a ſpeciall fauour vnto Cranmer, perceauyng hym to be not a litle diſcomforted therewith, ſent al the Lordes of the Parlament, and with thẽ the Lord Cromwell, to dyne with him at Lambeth (as is afore declared) and within few dayes alſo vpon the ſame, required that hée would gyue a note of all hys doynges and reaſonynges in the ſayd Parlamẽt, which ẏ ſaid Cranmer eftſones accõpliſhed accordyngly, drawing out hys reaſons and allegations, the copye whereof beyng fayre written out by hys Secretary, was ſent and deliuered vnto the king and there remayned.

Read afore pag. 1298. col. 1.

Cranmers reaſons and allegations agaynſt the vj. Articles, written to the kyng.

Nowe after theſe thynges thus diſcuſſed as touching the vj. wicked Articles, it foloweth next, in returnyng to the order of our ſtory agayne, to declare thoſe thynges, whiche after the ſettyng out of theſe Articles enſued, commyng now to the tyme and ſtory of Lord Cromwell, a man whoſe worthy fame and deedes are worthy to lyue renowmed in perpetuall memory.

¶ *The hyſtory concernyng the lyfe, Actes, and death of* the famous and worthy Counſaylour Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earle of Eſſex.

The ſtorye of the Lorde *Thom. Cromwell.*

The baſe degree of the *L. Cromwell* recompenſed with noble ornamentes.

THomas Cromwell although borne of a ſimple parentage, and houſe obſcure, through the ſingulare excellēcie of wiſedome and dexteritie of witte wrought in hym by God, coupled with lyke induſtrie of mynde and deſertes of life, roſe to high preferment and authoritie, in ſomuch that by ſteppes and ſtaires of office and honour, he aſcended at length to that, that not onely he was made Earle of Eſſex, but alſo moſt ſecret & deare Counſeliour to kyng Henry, and Vicegerent vnto his perſon, which office hath not commonly ben ſupplyed, at leaſt not ſo fruitfully diſcharged within this realme. Firſt as touching his byrth, he was borne at Putney or therabout, beyng a Smithes ſonne, whoſe mother maried after vnto a ſhyremā. In yͤ ſimple eſtate & rude beginninges of this man (as of diuers other before him) we may ſee and learne that the excellencie of noble vertues and heroicall proweſes, which aduaunce to fame and honour, ſtande not onely vpon byrth and bloud, as priuileges onely intayled appropriat to noble houſes: but are diſpoſed indifferently and procede of the gift of God, who raiſeth vp the poore abiecte many tymes out of the donghill, & matcheth hym in throne with Peeres and Princes. Pſal. 113.

Commendatiō of the Lord *Cromwell.*

As touchyng the order & maner of hys cōmyng vp, it would be ſuperfluous to diſcourſe what may be ſayd at large: only by way of ſtory it may ſuffice to giue a touch of certeine particulars, and ſo to procede. Although the humble cōdition & pouertie of this mā was at yͤ beginnyng (as it is to many other) a great let & hynderance for vertue to ſhew her ſelf, yet ſuch was yͤ actiuitie and forward rypnes of nature in hym, ſo pregnant in witte & ſo ready he was, in iudgemēt diſcrete, in tongue eloquēt, in ſeruice faythful, in ſtomacke courageious, in his pēne actiue, that beyng conuerſant in yͤ ſight of men, he could not long bee vneſpied, nor yet vnprouided of fauour and helpe of frendes to ſet hym forward in place & office. Neither was any place or office put vnto him, wherunto he was not apt & fitte. Nothing was ſo hard, whiche with wytte and induſtrie hee could not cōpaſſe. Neither was hys capacitie ſo good, but hys memory was as great in reteining whatſoeuer he had atteined. Which well appeared in canning the text of the whole new Teſtamēt of Eraſmus tranſlation without booke, in hys iourney going & comming from Rome: wherof ye ſhall heare anone.

Th. Cromwell learned the new Teſtament in Latin without boke.

Thus in his growing yeres, as he ſhotte vp in age, & rypenes, a great delite came in hys mynd to ſtray into foreine countreys, to ſee yͤ world abroad, and to learne experience: wherby he learned ſuch tongues and languages, as might better ſerue for his vſe hereafter. And thus paſſyng ouer hys youth, beyng at Antwerpe he was there reteined of the Engliſhe Marchauntes to be their Clerke or Secretary, or in ſome ſuch lyke condition placed perteynyng to their affayres.

The towne of *Boſton.*

The Popes marchaundiſe deare ware.

Superſtition commonly is gainfull.

It happened the ſame tyme, that the towne of Boſton thought good to ſend vp to Rome, for renuyng of their ij. pardons, one called the greater pardon, the other yͤ leſſer pardon. Which thyng although it ſhould ſtand them in great expenſes of money (for the Popes Marchaundiſe is alwayes deare ware) yet notwithſtandyng ſuch ſweetnes they had felt therof and ſuch gayn to come to their town by that Romiſh Marchaūdiſe (as all ſuperſtition is commonly gaynefull) that they lyke good Catholicke Marchauntes & the Popes good cuſtomers, thought to ſpare for no coſte, to haue their leaſes agayne of their pardons renewed, what ſo euer they payd for the fine. And yet was all this good religion then: ſuch was the lamentable blyndnes of that tyme. This then beyng ſo determined and decreed amongeſt my countreymen of Boſton, to haue their pardons nedes repayred and renewed from Rome, one Geffray Chambers with an other companiō was ſent for the meſſengers, with wrytynges & money, no ſmall quātitie, well furniſhed and with all other thynges appointed, neceſſary for ſo chargeable and coſtly exployet. Who cōming in his iourney to Antwerpe, & miſdoubtyng hym ſelf to be to weake for yͤ compaſſyng of ſuch a weyghtie peece of worke, cōferred & perſwaded with Tho. Cromwell to aſſociate hym in that legacie, and to aſſiſte him in yͤ contriuyng therof. Cromwell although perceauyng the enterpriſe to be of no ſmall difficultie, to trauerſe the Popes Courte, for the vnreaſonable expēſes amongeſt thoſe gredy cormorantes, yet hauing ſome ſkill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in iudgement of Religion in thoſe hys youthfull dayes, was at length obteyned and content to gyue the aduenture, and ſo tooke hys iourney toward Rome. Cromwell loth to ſpend much tyme, and more loth to ſpend hys money: and agayne perceyuing that the Popes gredye humor muſt nedes be ſerued with ſome preſent or other (for without rewardes there is no doyng at Rome) began to caſt with him ſelfe, what thyng beſt to deuiſe, wherein he might beſt ſerue the Popes deuotion. At length hauyng knowledge how yͤ popes holy touth greatly delited in new fangled ſtraunge delicates and daynty diſhes, it came in hys mynde to prepare certeine fine diſhes of gelly, after the beſt faſhion, made after our coūtrey maner here in England, which to them of Rome was not knowen nor ſeene before. This done, Cromwell obſeruyng hys tyme accordingly, as the Pope was newly come from hūtyng into his pauillion, he with his companions approched with his Engliſhe preſentes brought in with a threemans ſong (as we call it) in the Engliſhe tongue, and all after the Engliſhe faſhion. The Pope ſodenly meruelyng at the ſtraungnes of the ſonge, and vnderſtandyng that they were Engliſhe mē, and that they came not emptie handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell there ſhewyng his obedience, and offryng his iolye iunkets, ſuch as kynges and princes onely (ſayd hee) in the Realme of England vſe to feede vpō, deſired the ſame to be accepted in beneuolēt part, whiche he and his companiōs as poore ſuters vnto hys holynes, had there brought, and preſented as nouelties meete for hys recreatiō. &c. Pope Iulius ſeyng the ſtraungenes of the diſhes, commaunded by and by hys Cardinall to take the aſſay. Who in taſting therof, lyked it ſo well, and ſo likewiſe the Pope after hym, that knowyng of them what their ſutes were, & requiryng them to make knowen yͤ making of that meate, hee incontinent without any more adoe, ſtamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the leſſer.

And thus was the iolye pardons of yͤ towne of Boſton obteyned as you haue heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The Copie of whiche pardons (which I haue in my handes) briefly cōprehended, cōmeth to this effect: That all the brethren and ſiſters of the gylde of our Lady in S. Botulphes Church at Boſton, ſhould haue free licence to chuſe for their cōfeſſor or ghoſtly father, whom they would, either ſeculare Prieſt, or religious perſon, to aſſoyle them plenarely from all their ſinnes, excepte onely in caſes reſerued to the Pope:

Alſo ſhould haue lycence to cary about with them an altar ſtone wherby they might haue a Prieſt to ſay thē maſſe, or other diuine ſeruice, where they would, without preiudice of any other church or chappel, though it were alſo before the day, yea & at iij. of the clocke after mydnight in the Sommer tyme.

Fur-

Pardon for viſiting our Ladies Chappell in Boſton.

Furthermore, that all ſuch brethren and ſiſters of the ſayd gylde, whiche ſhould reſorte to the chappell of our Lady in S. Botulphes Church at the feaſt of Eaſter, Whitſontyde, Corpus Chriſti, the Natiuitie or Aſſuptiō of our Lady, or in the Octaues of them, the feaſt of S. Michael, and firſt Sonday in Lent, ſhould haue pardon no leſſe then if they them ſelues perſonally had viſited the Stations of Rome.

The price of Boſton pardon.

Prouided that euery ſuch perſon, man or woman, entryng into the ſame gylde, at hys firſt entrāce ſhould giue to the findyng of vij. Prieſtes, xij. Querreſters, and xiij. bedmen, and to the lightes of the ſame brotherhode & a Grammer ſchole, vj. ſhillyngs viij. pence, and for euery yeare after, xij. pence.

And theſe premiſſes beyng before grāuted by Pope Innocentius, and Pope Iulius 2. this Pope Clement alſo confirmed, grauntyng moreouer, that what ſoeuer brother or ſiſter of the ſame gylde through pouertie, ſickenes, or any other let could not reſorte perſonally to the ſaid chappell, notwithſtanding he ſhould be diſpenſed withall, as well for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, cenſures canonicall what ſoeuer, onely the vowe of goyng the Stations of Rome, and goyng to S. Iames of Compoſtella excepted. &c.

Crafte merchaun-tes.

Full remiſſion a pena & culpa.

He alſo graunted vnto them power to receaue full remiſſion a pœna & culpa once in their lyfe, or in the houre of death.

Good ſtuffe I trowe.

Item, that hauyng their aultare ſtone, they myght haue Maſſe ſayd in any place, though it were vnhallowed. Alſo in the tyme of interdict, to haue Maſſe or any Sacrament miniſtred: and alſo beyng departed, that they might be buryed in Chriſtē buriall notwithſtandyng the interdict.

Extendyng moreouer his grāut, that to all ſuch brethren and ſiſters, in reſortyng to the foreſayd chappell of our Lady vpon the Natiuitie, or Aſſumption of our Lady, giuyng ſupportation to the ſayd chappell, at euery ſuch feſtiuall day, to haue full remiſſion of all theyr ſinnes. Or if they for any impediment could not be preſent at the chappell aforeſayd, yet if they came to theyr owne Pariſhe Churche, and there ſayd one Pater noſter, and Aue Maria, they ſhould enioy the ſame remiſſiō, aboue ſpecified: or whoſoeuer came euery Friday to the ſame chappel, ſhould haue as much remiſſion, as if he went to the chappel of our Lady called Scala cœli.

The chappell of Scala cœli
Rome.

Furthermore, that what ſoeuer Chriſten people, of what eſtate or condition ſo euer, either ſpirituall or tēporal, would ayde and ſupport ỹ chamberlaines or ſubſtitutes of the foreſayd gilde, ſhould haue v. hundreth yeares of pardon.

The Pope ſelleth egges, but-
er and
cheeſe.

Item, to all brothers and ſiſters of the ſame gylde was graunted frée libertie to eate in tyme of Lent, or other faſtyng dayes, egges, milke, butter, chéeſe, and alſo fleſhe, by the counſaile of their ghoſtly father and phiſicion, without any ſcruple of conſcience.

Item, that all partakers of the ſame gylde, and being ſupporters therof, whiche once a quarter, or euery Friday or Saterday, either in the ſayd chappell in S. Botulphes Churche, or any other chappell, of their deuotiō ſhall ſay a Pater noſter, Aue Maria, and Crede, or ſhall ſay or cauſe to bée ſayd Maſſes for ſoules departed in paynes of Purgatory, ſhal not onely haue the ful remiſſion due to them whiche viſite the chappell of Scala Cœli, or of S. Iohn Laterane, but alſo the ſoules in Purgatory ſhall enioy full remiſſion, and be releaſed of all their paynes.

Pardon
ſoules
Purga-

Item, that all the ſoules departed of the brothers and ſiſters of the ſayd gylde: alſo the ſoules of their fathers and mothers ſhal be partakers of all the prayers, ſuffragies, almoſes, faſtynges, Maſſes, and mattens, pilgrimages, and of all other góod déedes of all the holy Churche militant, for euer. &c.

These indulgencies, pardons, grauntes, and relaxations, were giuen and graunted by Pope Nicolas 5. Pope Pius 2. Pope Sixtus, & Pope Iulius the ſecond, of which Pope Iulius it ſemeth, that Cromwell obteyned this pardon aforeſayd about the yeare of our Lord 1510. Whiche pardon agayne afterward through the requeſt of kyng Henry. an. 1526. was confirmed by Pope Clement the ſeuenth. And thus much concernyng the pardon of Boſton, renued by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Iulius the ſecond.

Ex literis Papæ Clementis 7. ad Gutiel. Waramum Archiep.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no ſounde taſte nor iudgement of Religion, but was wilde and youthfull, without ſenſe or regarde of God and hys worde, as he him ſelfe was wont ofttymes to declare vnto Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cant. ſhewyng what a ruffine he was in hys young dayes, and how he was in the warres of Duke Bourbon at the ſiege of Rome, alſo what a great doer hee was with Geffray Chambers in publiſhyng and ſettyng forth the pardon of Boſton euery where in Churches as he went, and ſo continued, till at length by learnyng the texte of the new Teſtament without bóoke, of Eraſmus tranſlatiō in hys goyng & cōmyng frō Rome (as is aforeſayd) hée began to be touched and called to better vnderſtādyng.

Cromwell was in the warres of the Duke of *Bourbon* beſieging Rome.

In this meane tyme Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke began to beare a great porte in England, and almoſt to rule all vnder the kyng, or rather with the kyng, ſo that the freſheſt wyttes, and of beſt towardnes, moſte commonlye ſought vnto hym. Amonge whom was alſo Thomas Cromwell to his ſeruice aduaūced, where he continued a certeine ſpace of yeares, growyng vp in office and authoritie, till at length hee was preferred to bee ſollicitour to the Cardinall.

Cromwell receaued into the Cardinalls ſeruice.

Cromwell ſollicitour to the Cardinall.

There was alſo about the ſame tyme, or not much different, in ỹ houſhold of the ſayd Cardinall, Thomas More, afterward knight & Chauncelour of England: and Steuen Gardiner Byſhop after of Wint. and of ỹ kynges Coūſaile. All theſe iij. were brought vp in one houſhold, & all of one ſtādyng almoſt together. Whoſe ages as they were not greatly diſcrepāt, nor their wittes much vnequall: ſo neither was their fortune & aduauncemētes greatly diuerſe, albeit their diſpoſitiōs & ſtudies were moſt contrary. And though perauēture in More & in Gardiner there was more arts of letters, & ſkill of learning: yet notwithſtādyng there was in this man a more heauenly light of minde, and more prompt and perfecte iudgement, eloquence equall, and as may be ſuppoſed, in this man more pregnant: and finally in hym was wrought a more heroicall and princely diſpoſition, borne to greater affayres in the common wealth and to the ſingular helpe of many.

Cromwell, More, and Gardiner, companions in the Cardenalls houſe.

A compariſon betwene *Cromwell More, and Gardiner.*

It happened that in this meane ſeaſon, as Crōwell was placed in this office to be ſollicitour to the Cardinall, the ſayd Cardinall had then in hand the buyldyng of certein Colledges, namely his Colledge in Oxford, called then Frideſwide, now Chriſtes church. By reaſon whereof certeine ſmall Monaſteries and Priories, in diuers places of the Realme, were by the ſayd Cardinall ſuppreſſed, and the landes ſeaſed to the Cardinalls handes. The doyng wherof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell. In the expedition wherof hee ſhewed hym ſelfe verye forward, and induſtrious, in ſuch ſorte as in the hādlyng therof he procured to him ſelfe much grudge with diuers of the ſuperſtitious ſorte, and with ſome alſo of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell firſt ſet a worke by ỹ Cardinall, to ſuppreſſe religious houſes. Which was about ỹ yeare of our Lord. 1525.

Small Monaſteryes ſuppreſſed by the Cardinall

Cromwell firſt ſet a worke by the Cardinall, to ſuppreſſe religious houſes.

As this paſſed on, it was not long, but the Cardinall which had gotten vp ſo high, began to come downe as faſt, firſt from the Chauncelorſhyp (in which rowme was placed Syr Tho. More, as is aforeſaid) thē he fell into a Premunire: So that his houſhold beyng diſſolued, Tho. Cromwell amongeſt other, laboured alſo to be reteyned into the kynges ſeruice.

There was at the ſame tyme one Syr Chriſtofer Hales Knight, Maiſter of the Rolles, who notwithſtādyng was then a mighty Papiſte, yet bare he ſuch fa-

Syr Chriſtopher Halee helper of *Cromwell* to the kyng.

Cromwell commended to the kyng by *Syr Chriſtopher Hales* Maiſter of the Rolles.

Cromwell cōplayned of to the kyng.

uour and good lykyng to Cromwell, that hee commended hym to the kyng, as a man moſt fitte for hys purpoſe, hauyng then to do agaynſt the Pope. But here before is to bee vnderſtand, that Cromwell had greatly bene complayned of, and diffamed by certeine of authoritie about yͤ kyng, for his rude maner and homely dealyng in defacyng the Monkes houſes, and in handlyng of their aultars. &c. Wherfore the kyng hearyng of the name of Cromwell, began to deteſte yͤ mētion of him: neither lacked there ſome ſtanders by, who with reuylyng woordes ceaſed not to encreaſe and inflame the kynges hatred agaynſt hym. What their names were, it ſhall not nede here to recite. Among other there preſent at the ſame hearyng, was yͤ Lord Ruſſell Earle of Bedford, whoſe life Cromwel before had preſerued at Bononie, through politicke conueyance, at what time, the ſayd Earle cōmyng ſecretly in the kynges affaires, was there eſpied, and therfore beyng in great daunger to be taken, through the meanes and policie of Cromwell eſcaped.

The Lorde *Ruſſell* Earle of Bedford, through the policie of *Cromwell*, eſcaped at *Bononie.*

The L. *Ruſſell* commendeth *Cromwell* to the kyng.

This Lord Ruſſell therfore not forgettyng the olde benefites paſt, and with like gratuitie willyng agayne to requite that he had receaued, in a vehement boldenes ſtoode forth, to take vppon hym the defenſe of Thomas Cromwell, vtteryng before the kyng many commendable wordes in the behalfe of hym, and declaring withall howe by hys ſingular deuiſe and policie, he had done for him at Bononie, being there in the kynges affaires, in extreme perill. And for aſmuch as now his Maieſtie had to do with the pope, his great enemie, there was (he thought) in all England, none ſo apt for yͤ kinges purpoſe, which could ſay or do more in that matter then could Thomas Cromwell, and partly gaue the kyng to vnderſtand wherein. The kyng hearyng this, and ſpecialy marking the latter ende of this talke, was contented and willing to talke with hym, to heare and know what he could ſay.

Thys was not ſo priuely done, but Cromwell had knowledge incontinent, that the kyng would talke with him, and wherupon: and therefore prouiding before hand for the matter, had in readynes the copie of the Byſhops othe, whiche they vſe commonly to make to the Pope at their conſecration, and ſo beyng called for, was brought to the kyng in hys garden at Weſtminſter, which was about yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1530.

Cromwell brought to talke with the kyng.

Cromwell after moſt loyall obeyſaunce, doyng his duetie to the kyng, accordyng as he was demaunded, made hys declaration in all pointes, this eſpecially makyng manifeſt vnto his highnes, how his princely authoritie was abuſed within his owne realme, by the Pope and hys Clergie, who beyng ſworne vnto hym, were afterward diſpenſed from the ſame, and ſworne a new vnto yͤ Pope, ſo that he was but as halfe a king, & they but halfe his ſubiectes in his owne land: which (ſayd he) was derogatorye to his crowne, & vtterly preiudiciall to the common lawes of this Realme: Declaryng therupon how his Maieſtie might accumulate to him ſelfe great riches, ſo much as al the Clergie in this Realme was worth, if it ſo pleaſed hym to take the occaſion now offered. The king giuing good eare to this, and liking right well his aduiſe, required, if hee could auouch that whiche he ſpake. All this he could (ſaid he) auouch to be certeine, ſo well, as that he had the copie of their owne othe to the Pope there preſent to ſhewe, and that no leſſe alſo hee could manifeſtly proue, if hys highnes would giue him leaue: and therewith ſhewed the Byſhops othe vnto the kyng.

Cromwells wordes to the kyng, concernyng the premunire of the Clergie.

Cromwell ſent by the kyng to the conuocation houſe.

The kyng folowyng the veyne of his counſell, tooke his ryng of his finger, and firſt admittyng him into his ſeruice, ſent him therewith to the conuocation houſe among the Byſhops. Cromwell commyng with the kynges ſignet boldly into the Clergie houſe, and there placyng hym ſelfe among the Byſhops (W. Warrham beyng then Archbiſhop) began to make his Oration, declaryng to them the authoritie of a kyng, and the office of ſubiectes, and eſpecially the obedience of Byſhops, and Churche men vnder publicke lawes, neceſſarely prouided for the profite and quiet of the common wealth. Whiche lawes notwithſtandyng, they had all tranſgreſſed, and highly offended in derogation of the kynges royall eſtate, fallyng in the law of premunire, in that not onely they had conſented to the power Legatiue of the Cardinall, but alſo in that they had all ſworne to the Pope, contrary to the fealtie of their ſoueraigne Lord yͤ kyng, and therfore had forfaited to the kyng all their goodes, catelles, landes, poſſeſſions, and what ſoeuer liuynges they had. The Byſhops hearyng this, were not a litle amaſed, and firſt began to excuſe and denye the facte. But after that Cromwell had ſhewed thē yͤ very copie of their oth made to yͤ Pope at their cōſecration, & the matter was ſo plaine that they could not denye it, they began to ſhrinke, & to fall to entreatie, deſiryng reſpite to pauſe vpon the matter. Notwithſtādīng the end therof ſo fell out, that to be quitte of that premunire, by Acte of Parlament, it coſte them to the kyng for both the Prouinces, Caunterbury and Yorke, no leſſe then. 118840. poundes, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1530. whereof before you may read more at large pag. 1195.

After this an. 1522. Syr Thomas Cromwell growyng in great fauour with the kyng, was made Knyght, & Maſter of the kinges Jewell houſe, and ſhortly after was admitted alſo into the kynges Counſell, whiche was about the commyng in of Queene Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within ij. yeares after yͤ ſame, an. 1524 hee was made maiſter of the Rolles, Doct. Taylour being diſcharged.

Thus Cromwell ſpringing vp in fauour and honor after this, in the yeare. 1527. a litle before the byrth of kyng Edward, was made knyght of the Garter, and not long after, was aduaūced to the Earledome of Eſſex, and made great Chamberlayn of England. Ouer and beſides all whiche honours, he was conſtitute alſo Vicegerent to yͤ kyng, repreſenting his perſon. Which office although it ſtandeth well by the law, yet ſeldome hath there bene ſene any beſides this Cromwel alone, either to haue ſuſteined it, or els to haue ſo furniſhed the ſame with counſell and wiſedome, as Cromwell dyd. And thus much hetherto concernyng the ſteppes and degrees of the Lord Cromwels riſing vp to dignitie, and high eſtate.

Now ſomewhat would be ſayd likewiſe of the noble actes, the memorable exāples, and worthy vertues not drowned by eaſe of honour in hym, but encreaſed rather and quickened by aduauncemēt of authoritie and place, to worke more abundantly in yͤ cōmon wealth. Among the whiche his worthy Actes and other manifold vertues, in this one chiefly aboue all other ryſeth his commendation, for hys ſingulare zeale, and laborious trauaile beſtowed in reſtoryng the true Churche of Chriſt, and ſubuertyng the Synagoge of Antichriſt, the Abbayes I meane, and religious houſes of Friers and Monkes. For ſo it pleaſed almighty God, by the meanes of the ſayd Lord Cromwell, to induce yͤ kyng, to ſuppreſſe firſt the Chauntreis, thē the Frier houſes, and ſmall Monaſteries, till at length all the Abbayes, in England, both great and leſſe, were vtterly ouerthrowen, and pluckte vp by the rootes. The which Acte and enterpriſe of him, as it may giue a preſident of ſingular zeale to all realmes Chriſtened, which no Prince yet to this day ſcarſe dare folow: ſo to this Realme of England it wrought ſuch benefite and commoditie, as the fruite therof yet remaineth, and wil remaine ſtill in the Realme of Englād, though we ſeme litle to feele it. Rudely and ſimplye I ſpeake what I ſuppoſe, without preiudice of other whiche can inferre any better reaſon. In the meane tyme my reaſon is this: that if God had not raiſed vp this Cromwell as he dyd, to be the inſtrumēt of rootyng out theſe Abbayes and Celles of ſtraunge Religion, what other men ſee, I know not:

for my part, I neuer yet ſaw in this Realme any ſuch Cromwell ſince Cromwels tyme, whoſe hart and courage might not ſooner haue bene ſubuerted with the money and brybes of Abbotes, then he to haue ſubuerted any Abbay in all England.

The defence of the Lorde Cromwell for ouerthrowing the Abbayes.

But here I muſt of neceſſitie aunſwere the complaynt of certeine of our countreymẽ. For ſo I heare of many, the ſubuerſion of theſe Monaſteries to be reprehẽded, as euill & wicked. The building (ſay they) might haue bene conuerted vnto ſcholes, and houſes of learnyng. The goodes and poſſeſſions might haue bene beſtowed to much better and more godly vſe of the poore, & mainteynyng of hoſpitalitie. Neither do I deny, but that theſe thinges are well and godly ſpoken of them, and could willyngly embraſe their opinion with my whole harte, if I did not conſider herein a more ſecret and deeper meanyng of Gods holy prouidence, then at firſt bluſhe perauenture to all mẽ doth appeare.

The abominable lyfe in theſe monaſteries, bewrayed by their owne confeſſion.

And firſt to omitte the wicked and execrable lyfe of theſe religious orders, full of all feditie, and found out by the kynges viſitors and in theyr Regiſters alſo recorded, ſo horrible to be heard, ſo incredible to be beleued, ſo ſtinkyng before the face of God and mã, that no maruell it is if Gods vengeaunce frõ heauẽ prouoked, would not ſuffer any ſtone or monument of theſe abominable houſes to be vnplucked vp. But (as I ſaid) lettyng theſe thynges paſſe vnder chaſt ſilence, whiche for very ſhame will abhorre any ſtory to diſcloſe: let vs nowe come to the firſt inſtitution of theſe orders and houſes of Munkerye, and conſider how and to what ende they were firſt inſtituted and erected here among the Saxons, at the firſt foundation of them, about the tyme. 666.

Read aboue pag. 177. 178.

he firſt eginning religious ouſes in he tyme of he Saxons.

In the former parte of this hiſtorye, declaratiõ was made before, pag. 177. 178. firſt by whõ and at what tyme theſe Monkiſhe houſes here in England among the Saxons (flowyng no doubt, out of the order of S. Benet, & brought in by Auſtine) began firſt to be foũded, as by Auſtine the Monke, Furſeus, Medulphus, Aidanus, Ceadda, kyng Vlferus, Oſwius, Elfreda K. Oſwys daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botulphus, Edeldreda, kyng Oſwald, Edgar, Erkenewaldus Byſhop, Æthelwoldus Biſhop of Wincheſter, Oſketellus Archbyſhop of Yorke, Oſwaldus Byſhop of Worceſter, Leſwinus Biſh. of Dorceſt. Dunſtane, and diuers other.

he ende d cauſe f buildyng ligious uſes.

The ende and finall cauſe why they were bylded, appeareth in ſtories to be, pro remiſſione & redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio & liberatione animæ: pro amore cœleſtis patriæ: in eleemoſinam animæ: in remiſſionẽ criminũ: pro ſalute regnorũ: pro ſalute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrũ & ſororum noſtrarũ, parentum, & omnium benefactorum: in honorem glorioſæ virginis. &c. As may appeare in auncient hiſtories, in old Charters & Donations vnto religious houſes, & in the Chronicle of Ingulphus, as alſo all other ſtories be full of ỹ ſame. So K. Ethelſtane for killing his brother Edwyne, builded ij. Monaſteries, Midleton and Michelneye, for his ſoule, pag. 197. Which doctrine & inſtitution, forſomuch as it tendeth and ſoundeth directly agaynſt the foundation of Chriſtian Religion, agaynſt the Teſtament of God, the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, the freedome of our redemption, and free iuſtification by faith, it is therfore to be condemned as execrable and horrible, as euill or worſſe then the lyfe of the perſons, and not onely worthy to bee ſuppreſſed to the foundation, but to be marueiled rather that God would ſuffer it to ſtand ſo longe. Albeit Gods mightie vengeaunce and ſcourge hath not ceaſed from tyme to tyme, to worke againſt ſuch impious foundations frõ the time of theyr firſt ſetting vp. For beſides ỹ inuaſions of the Danes (which may ſeeme to be ſtyrred vp of God, eſpecially for the ſubuerſion of Abbayes) let olde hiſtoryes bee ſearched, what Monaſterie almoſt in all thys Realme, was eyther left by the Danes, or redified agayne after the Danes, but by ſome notorious caſualtie of fire ſent by Gods hand, it hath bene burnt vp.

he damnable doctrine & inſtitution of ligious ectes o orders.

os eui ll plage ſt naſti s.

Ex Chronicis.
Geruaſij.
Ingulphi.
Peterborow.
Walteri Wekes.
Houedeni.
Gaulteri Couentr.
Fabiani.
Williel. Malmeſb.

Firſt, the Monaſtery of Canterbury called ỹ houſe of S. Gregory, was burnt an. 1145. and afterward againe burnt, an. 1174. Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

The Abbay of Croyland alſo was twiſe burnt. Ex hiſt. Ingulphi.

The Abbay of Peterborowe twiſe ſette on fire, an. 1070. Ex Chron. Peterb.

The Abbay of S. Maryes in Yorke burnt, with the hoſpitall alſo.

The Abbay of Norwich burnt.

The Abbay of S. Edmundes bury burnt & deſtroyed. Ex Chron. S. Edmund.

The Abbay of Worceſter burnt.

The Abbay of Gloceſter was alſo burnt.

The Abbay of Chicheſter burnt.

The Abbay of Glaſtenbury burnt.

The Abbay of S. Mary in Southwarke burnt.

The Church of the Abbay of Beuerlay burnt.

The Steple of the Abbay of Eueſham burnt.

Abbayes burnt and plaged with fire.

Theſe, with many other Monaſteries moe, God brought downe to the ground, ſo that fewe or none of all the Monaſticall foundations in all England, either before the Conqueſt eſcaped the handes of the Danes and Scottes, or els after the Conqueſt eſcaped deſtruction of fire: And that not without iuſt cauſe deſerued: for as the trade of their liues was too too wretched and beſtiall, ſo the profeſſion of their doctrine was intollerable, fraught with all ſuperſtition, full of much idolatrie, and vtterly contrarye to the grace of the Goſpell, and doctrine of Chriſt.

The doctrine of the Monkes worſſe then theyr liues.

Furthermore, the more theſe Abbayes multiplyed, and the longer they continued in time, the more corruption ſtill they drewe vnto them. And albeit we read the name of Monkes to haue continued frõ olde auncient tyme, yet notwithſtandyng the Monkes of thoſe dayes were not lyke to the Monkes of our tyme, nor their houſes then, lyke to our Abbayes now. So we read of the Monkes of Bangor before the comming of Auſtine: but thoſe Monkes gotte their liuing with toyle and labour of their handes, & had no other landes nor Lordſhips to liue vpon. Agayne, neyther were they as Miniſters then, but as laye men: accordyng as Hierome deſcribeth the Monkes of hys tyme, ſaying: Monachus non docentis, ſed plangentis habet officiũ. And agayn he ſayth: Alia cauſa eſt Monachi, alia Clerici. Clerici oues paſcunt. Ego paſcor. That is: *A Monkes office is not to preach, but to mourne. The ſtate of a Monke is one thyng, and the ſtate of a Prieſt is an other. Prieſtes feede the flocke of Chriſt. I am fedde. &c.* Alſo in the ſtorye of Ingulphus Abbat of Croyland, thus I finde: An. 1075. In Croylandiam primum inſtallatus inueni tunc in iſto Monaſterio Croylandenſi Monachos numero 62. Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum Monaſteriorum Monachos noſtri capituli conprofeſſos, &c. That is: *Being inſtalled in the Abbay of Croyland, I found there to the number of lxij. Monkes. Of which Monkes, iiij. of them were laye brethren, beſides the Monkes of other Monaſteryes, which were alſo profeſſed to our Chapter. &c.*

16.q.1. Monachus.
16.q.1. Alia cauſa. Gloſa.

Ex Chron. Ingulphi Abbat. Croylandenſ.

Laye men receaued for Monkes into Monaſteries.

The lyke matter alſo appeareth, in the iiij. Canon of the Coũcell of Chalcedon, where it is prouided, ne monachi ſe Eccleſiaſticis negotijs immiſceant. &c. Et Leo Epiſt. 62. vetat Monachos & laicos etſi ſciẽtiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docẽdi & concionandi. Wherof read more pag. 202. col. 2.

Monkes forbidden to intermeddle in eccleſiaſticall matters.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that Monkes in the firſt perſecutions of the primitiue Church, were lay men, and companies of Chriſtians aſſociating them ſelues together, either for feare of perſecution, or for eſchewing the companye of Heathen Gentles. Afterward in continuaunce of tyme, when the Gentles beganne to be called to Chriſtiani-

Monkes diuers frō other men in trade of lyfe.

Monkes diuers frō other in apparell.

Monkes of lay men, made Clergy men.

Pope Iohn 13. wrote to *K. Edgar*, that none ſhould be made Byſhops but Monkes.

Secular Prieſtes put out, and Monkes intruded into Churches.

Ex Guliel. Malmeſb. in vita Odonis.

Ex Neuburgenſ. Lib. 4. *cap.* 33.

tie, the Monkes yet kéeping theyr names, and growing in ſuperſtitiō, would not ioyne with other Chriſtians, but kéepe ſtill their brotherhodes, diuiding them ſelues from other Chriſtians and profeſſing a kynde of lyfe ſtraunge and diuers from the common trade. Vpō this diuerſitie of life and profeſſion, folowed alſo like diuerſitie of garmētes and attyre differyng from their other brethren. After this moreouer came in the rule of S. Benedicte, inioynyng to them a preſcribed forme of goyng, of wearyng, of watchyng, ſléepyng, riſing, praying, of ſilence, ſole lyfe and diet, and all thynges almoſt differyng from the vulgare ſorte of common Chriſtiās. Whereby men ſeyng their auſteritie, began to haue them in great admiratiō. And thus growyng vp in opinion of holynes, of lay men and labourers they came at length to be Clergie men, and greateſt doers of all other in Chriſtes Religion: In ſomuch, that at laſt there was none reputed almoſt for a religious mā or perfect Chriſtian, vnleſſe he were a Monke: neither almoſt was any aduaunced to any dignitie of the Church, but either hee was a Monke, or afterwarde hee put on a Monkes wéede: Accordyng as in the ſtories of this Realme is to be ſene, how in the tyme of Dunſtane Archbyſhop of Cāterbury, of Æthelwold Byſhop of Worceſter, & of Oſwald Biſhop of Wincheſter, Pope Iohn 13. writyng to kyng Edgar willed hym in hys letters, to ſée in his Cathedral Churches none to be promoted to be Byſhops, but ſuch as were of the Monaſticall Religion, and willed him moreouer to exclude the ſecular prebendaries at Wincheſter, and to place in Monkes, and that none of the ſecular Clarkes there ſhould bee choſen Byſhop, but either taken out of the ſame Couent of that Churche, or out of ſome other Abbay. So was alſo kyng Henry 2. cōmaunded to do in the houſe of Walthā, where the ſecular Chanons were remoued out, & regular Chanons intruded. The ſame did Oſwald Byſhop with the Churche of Worceter, likewiſe in their Seas did Dūſtane Archb. of Cant. Oſketellus Archbyſhop of Yorke, Ethelwold Byſhop of Worceſter (who in ſtory is reported to be multorum fundator Monaſteriorum) Leſwinus alſo B. of Dorceſter, with other Byſhops moe about the tyme and reigne of kyng Edgar. Odo Archbyſhop of Canterbury before Dunſtan an. 934. after his election refuſed to take that dignitie vpon him, before he had receaued the habite of a Monke in the Abbay of Florēce in Fraūce: becauſe, as the ſtory telleth (if it be true) Nullus ad id tempus niſi monochali ſchemate indutus, Archiepiſcopus fuiſſet. &c. That is, Becauſe al the Archbiſhops of Cāterbury, before hym had ben Mōkes. &c. In like maner Baldwinus alſo. an. 1184. after he was elected Archbyſhop of Canterbury, toke vpō him yͤ habite and profeſſion of Mereton Abbay. And ſo dyd Reginaldus his next ſucceſſor after hym. &c.

Monkes firſt laye men, then made regulares & votaries, at length made Churchmen by Pope *Boniface*.

Read before pag. 204.

Difference betwene Monkes and Prieſtes.

As concernyng therefore the origine of Monkes, ye haue heard how firſt they began of lay men onely, leadyng a ſtrayter lyfe from the ſocietie of other perſons, who then folowing yͤ rule of S. Benet, were called regulars & votaries, & yet al this while had nothing to do with any Eccleſiaſtical miniſtery, till the tyme of Pope Bonifacius 4. an. 606. who then made a Decrée, that Monkes might vſe the office of preachyng, of Chriſtenyng, of hearyng confeſſions, & aſſoylyng men of theyr ſinnes, differing from Prieſtes onely in this, that they were called regulares, and Prieſtes were called ſeculares: the Mōkes were votaries, the Prieſtes had frée libertie to haue wyues till the tyme of Lanfranke and Anſelme, as is aforeſayd. Albeit Athanaſius in his Epiſtle ad Dracontium, witneſſeth alſo, that hee knewe Monkes in the old tyme and Byſhops, whiche were maryed and had children. Furthermore as ignoraunce and ſuperſtition with tyme increaſed: ſo the number and ſwarme of Monkes ſtill more and more multiplied in ſuch ſort, as not onely they thruſt out ſecular Prieſts from their houſes, but alſo out of them were made Popes, Cardinals, Archbyſhops, and Byſhops, to gouerne Churches. Of whiche number began Auſten the firſt Archbyſhop of the Sea of Canterbury, and the moſt parte of all other Archbyſhops after hym, vntill the tyme of the Conqueſt, and after.

All this while the Friers were not yet come, neither the diſcipline of S. Dominicke, nor the Teſtament of S. Frances, nor the order of the Auſten brothers nor of the Carmelites was yet heard of. Whiche laſt of all came in with their pagians, and playd their part lykewiſe, an. 1220. beyng much more full of hypocriſie, blyndnes, idolatrie, and ſuperſtition, then were the Monkes: So that what with Monkes of the one ſide, and with the Friers of the other ſide, while all thinges were ruled by the rules of S. Benet, by the Canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominicke, and by the Teſtament of S. Frances, Chriſtes Teſtament was trode vnder fote, the rule of Gods worde neglected, true Chriſten Religiō defaced, fayth forgottn, the right way of ſaluation aboliſhed, ſounde doctrine oppreſſed, Chriſtes ſeruaūtes perſecuted, and the peoples ſoules vncomforted: yea and the true Churche of Chriſt almoſt cleane extirped, had not almighty God (who cā not forget his promiſe) prouided remedy in tyme, in rayſing vp this Cromwell his ſeruaunt, and other lyke champions, to cut vp from yͤ rote the houſes of them, whiche otherwiſe would vtterly haue roted vp the houſe of the Lord, and had ſubuerted a great parte already.

Wherefore who ſoeuer findeth hym ſelfe agreued with Cromwels doyng in ſuppreſſyng theſe Monaſteries of Monkes and Friers, let hym wiſely conſider with hym ſelfe, firſt the doctrine, lawes, and traditions of theſe men, whiche he ſhall finde rebellyng to the Religion of Chriſt, pernitious to our ſaluation, derogatorie to Chriſtes glory, full of much blaſphemie and damnable idolatrie. Secondly, let hym lykewiſe well aduiſe the horrible and execrable lyues of theſe cloyſterers, or at the leaſt, ſearche out the Rolles & Regiſters of matters found out by inquiſition in kyng Henry the viij. hys dayes, agaynſt them: whiche here is not to be ſpoken of, vnleſſe we will ſpeake as Mathew Paris ſpeaketh of the Courte of Rome: cuius fætor vſq; ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat. That is: *Whoſe filthy ſtinche* (ſaith he) *dyd breath vp a moſt peſtiferous fume, euen unto the cloudes of heauen. &c.*

All whiche thynges well conſidered, what maruell is it then, if God of hys iuſt iudgement dyd ſet vp the foreſayd Lorde Cromwell to deſtroye theſe ſinfull houſes, whom their own corruptions could ſuffer no longer to ſtand? And as touchyng the diſſipation of their landes and poſſeſſions to the handes of ſuch as they were beſtowed vppon: if it ſo pleaſed the kyng in beſtowyng thoſe Abbay landes vpō hys nobles & gentlemē, either to reſtore thē agayne vnto thē frō whence they came, or els to gratifie his Nobilitie by that meanes of policie not to miſlike hys doings, what is that to Cromwell? But they might (ſay you) haue ben much better employed to other more fruitefull vſes. Briefly to aunſwere thereunto, what may be done preſently in a common wealth, is not enoughe to ſay: but what may alſo folowe muſt be conſidered. If this throwing downe of Abbayes had happened in ſuch frée and reformed Cities or countreys, as are amongeſt the Germaines, where the ſtate gouerned and directed by lawes, rather then by rulers, remaineth alwayes alike and vnmutable, who doubteth but ſuch houſes there ſtandyng ſtill, the poſſeſſions might well be tranſpoſed to ſuch vſes abouesaid, without any feare or peril? But in ſuch Realmes and kyngdomes as this, where lawes and Parlamentes be not alwayes one, but are ſubiecte to the diſpoſition of the Prince: neither is it certeine alwayes what Princes may come: the ſureſt way therefore to ſend Monkery and Popery packyng out of the

Realme, is to do with their houſes and poſſeſſions as kyng Henry here did, through the motion and Counſell of Cromwell. For els who ſeeth not in Quéene Maryes tyme, if either the houſes of Monkes had ſtād, or their landes had ben otherwiſe diſpoſed then into ẏ hādes of ſuch as they were, how many of thē had bene reſtored, & repleniſhed againe with Monkes & Friers, in as ample wiſe, as euer they were? And if Dukes, Barons, and the nobilitie ſcarſe were able to reteyne the landes and poſſeſſiōs of Abbayes diſtributed to thē by kyng Henry, from the deuotion of Quéene Mary, ſéekyng to builde agayne the walles of Hierico: what then ſhould the meaner ſorte haue done, let other men cōiecture. Wherfore it is not vnlike, but ẏ Gods heauenly prouidence did well foreſée and diſpoſe theſe things before by this mā, in working the deſtruction of theſe Abbayes: wherupō as oftē as he ſent out any mē to ſuppreſſe any Monaſterie, he vſed commōly to ſend them with this charge, that they ſhould throwe downe thoſe houſes euen to the foundation.

The better ruine of Monaſteries, was Gods worke.

Whiche wordes although may ſeme percaſe to ſome to be cruelly ſpoken of him: yet contrarywiſe do I ſuppoſe the doyng therof not to be without Gods ſpeciall prouidence, and ſecret guiding: Or els we might perauenture haue had ſuch ſwarmes of Friers & Monkes poſſeſſed in their neſtes agayn, before this day in England, in ſo great a nūber, that x. Cromwels afterward vnneth ſhould haue ſufficed to haue vnhouſed them. Wherfore if the plantation whiche the Lord God neuer planted, be pluckte vp by the rotes, let God alone with his working, and let the Monaſteries go.

Math. 15.

Now that you haue ſene, what this Malleus Monachorum hath done in defacyng the Synagoge of the Pope: let vs ſée how the ſaid Cromwell agayn did trauaile in ſetting vp Chriſtes Churche & congregation.

Malleus Monachorum Cromwellus.

After that the Biſhop of Romes power and authoritie was baniſhed out of England, the Biſhops of his Secte neuer ceaſed to ſéeke all occaſions, howe either to reſtore his head againe, being broken and wounded, or at the leaſt to keepe vprighte thoſe thinges, whiche yet remayned: wherin although their labours were not altogether fruſtrate, yet had they brought much more to paſſe, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the Churche) had not reſiſted continually their enterpriſes.

Cromwell the Forte & defence of the church.

It happened that after the aboliſhyng of the Pope, certeine tumultes begā to riſe about Religion. Wherupon it ſemed good vnto kyng Henry to appoint an aſſemblie of learned men and Byſhops, which ſhould ſoberly and modeſtly entreat & determine thoſe thinges which perteyned vnto Religion. Briefly, at the Kinges pleaſure all the learned men, but ſpecially the Biſhops aſſembled, to whom this matter ſéemed chieflye to belong. Cromwell thought alſo to bee preſent him ſelfe with the Biſhops, who by chaunce méeting with Alexander Aleſius by the way a Scottiſhe mā, brought him with hym to ẏ Parlament houſe, where all ẏ Biſhops were aſſembled together. Which was in the yeare. 1537. The Byſhops and Prelates attending vpon the comming of Cromwell, as hee was come in, roſe vppe and dyd obeyſaunce to hym as to their Vicar generall, and he again ſaluted euery one in theyr degrée, & ſatte down in the higheſt place at the table, according to hys degrée and office, and after hym euery Byſhop in his order, & Doctors. Firſt ouer agaynſt hym ſat the Archbiſhop of Caunterburye, then the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhops of London, Lyncolne, Saliſbury, Bathe, Ely, Herford, Chycheſter, Norwyche, Rocheſter, and Worceſter. &c. There Cromwell in the name of the king (whoſe moſt deare and ſecret Counſeller at that preſent he was, and Lord preuy Seale, and Vicar generall of the Realme) ſpake theſe wordes in maner folowyng.

n aſſem- lie of lear- d mē ap- oynted by e kyng.

Cromwell with Alex. Aleſius ght to e aſſem- s.

Cromwells Oration to the Biſhops.

Right reuerend fathers in Chriſt: The kinges maieſtie geueth you high thankes that ye haue ſo diligently without any excuſe, aſſembled hether according to his commaundement. And ye bee not ignoraunt that ye bee called hether to determine certayne controuerſies, which at thys tyme be moued concerning the Chriſtian Religion and fayth, not onely in thys realme, but alſo in all nacions through the worlde. For the kyng ſtudyeth day and night to ſet a quietnes in the Church, and he can not reſt, vntill all ſuch controuerſies be fullie debated and ended, through the determination of you and of hys whole Parlament. For although hys ſpeciall deſire is to ſet a ſtay for the vnlearned people, whoſe conſciences are in doubt what they may beleue: and he him ſelf by his excellent learning, knoweth theſe contreuerſies wel inough, yet he will ſuffer no common alteration, but by the conſent of you and of hys whole Parlament. By the which thyng ye may perceaue both hys high wiſedome, and alſo hys great loue toward you. And he deſireth you for Chriſtes ſake, that all malice, obſtinacie, and carnall reſpecte ſet aparte, ye will frendly and louingly diſpute among your ſelues, of ẏ controuerſies moued in ẏ church, and that ye will conclude all thynges by ẏ word of God, without all brauling or ſcoldyng: neyther will hys maieſtie ſuffer the Scripture to bee wraſted and defaced by any gloſes, any papiſticall lawes, or by any authoritie of Doctours or Councells, and much leſſe will hee admitte any articles or doctrine, not conteyned in the Scripture, but approued onely by continuaunce of tyme and olde cuſtome, and by vnwritten verities, as ye were wont to doe. Ye know well inough that ye bee bound to ſhewe thys ſeruice to Chriſt and to hys Church, and yet notwithſtanding, hys maieſtie will geue you high thankes, if ye will ſet and conclude a godly and a perfect vnitie: wherunto thys is the onely waye and meane, if ye will determine all thynges by the Scripture as God commaundeth you in Deuteronomie, which thyng hys maieſtie exhorteth and deſireth you to doe.

The kinges requeſt to the Byſhops.

When Cromwell had ended this his Oration, the Byſhops roſe vp altogether geuyng thankes vnto the kynges Maieſtie, both for his great zeale towarde the Churche of Chriſt, and alſo for his moſt godly exhortation, worthy ſo Chriſtian a Prince.

Immediatly they roſe vp to diſputation, where as Stokeſley Byſhop of London, firſt of all, beyng ẏ moſt earneſt champion and mainteiner of the Romiſhe Decrées, (whom Cromwell a litle before had checked by name for defendyng vnwritten verities) endeuoured him ſelfe with all his labour and induſtrie, out of ẏ old ſchole gloſes, to mayntayne the vij. Sacramentes of the Churche. The Archbyſhop of Yorke, Lyncolne, Bathe, Chicheſter & Norwiche alſo fauoured his part and Sect. On the contrary part, was the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Byſhops of Saliſburye, Elye, Harford, and Worceſter, with many other.

Stokeſley defendeth the vij. Sacramentes.

After much cōmunication had on either part, & that they had long contended about ẏ teſtimonies of ẏ Doctours, which as it ſemed vnto thē, diſſented & diſagréed amongeſt them ſelues, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury at the laſt, ſpake and ſayd thus vnto them.

The Archb. of Canterburies Oration to the Byſhops.

It beſeemeth not men of learning and grauitie to make much babling and brauling about bare wordes, ſo that we agree in the very ſubſtaunce and effecte of the matter. For to braule about wordes, is the propertie of Sophiſters and ſuch as meane diſceite & ſubtiltie, which delight in the debate and diſſenſion of the worlde, and in the miſerable ſtate of the Church: and not of them which ſhoulde ſeeke the glorye of Chriſt, and ſhoulde ſtudye for the vnitie and quietnes of the Church. There be waightie controuerſies now moued and put forth, not of ceremonies and light thinges, but of the true vnderſtāding, and of the right difference of the law and of the Goſpell: of the maner and way how ſinnes be forgeuen: of comforting doubtfull and wauering conſciences, by what meanes they may be certified that they pleaſe God, ſeing they feele the ſtrength of the lawe accuſing them of ſinne: of the true vſe of the Sacramentes, whether ẏ outward worke of them doth iuſtifie man, or whether we receaue our iuſtification thorowe fayth. Item, which be the good workes, and the true ſeruice and honour which pleaſeth God: and whether the choiſe of meates, the difference of garmentes, the vowes of Monkes and Prieſtes, and other traditions which haue no worde of God to cōfirme them: whether theſe (I ſay) be ryght good workes, and

Sophiſtication of wordes to be auoyded in matters of weight.

Queſtions and controuerſies of religion neceſſary to be diſcuſſed.

Falſe worſhipped.

Ceremonies.

ſuch as make a perfect Chriſtian man or no. Item, whether vayne ſeruice and falſe honouring of God & mans traditions, doe binde mens conſciences or no. Finally, whether the ceremonies of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and ſuch other (which can not be proued to bee inſtitute of Chriſt, nor haue any word in them to certifie vs of remiſſion of ſinnes) ought to be called Sacramentes, and to be compared with Baptiſme and yͤ Supper of the Lorde, or no.

Math. 5.

2. Tim. 2.

Theſe be no light matters, but euẽ yͤ principall points of our Chriſtian religion. wherfore we cõtend not about wordes & trifles, but about high & earneſt matters. Chriſt ſayth: Bleſſed be the peace makers, for they ſhalbe called the ſonnes of God. And Paul writing vnto Timothy, commaundeth Byſhops to auoyde brauling and contention about wordes, which be profitable to nothyng but vnto the ſubuerſion and deſtruction of the hearers: and moniſheth him ſpecially, that he ſhoulde reſiſte with the Scriptures when any man diſputeth with hym of the fayth: and he addeth a cauſe, where as he ſaith: Doing this, thou ſhalt preſerue both thy ſelfe and alſo them which heare thee. Now if ye will followe theſe Counſellers, Chriſt and Paul, all contention and brauling about wordes muſt be ſet aparte, and ye muſt ſtabliſhe a godly and a perfecte vnitie and concorde out of the Scripture. wherfore in thys diſputation, we muſt firſt agree of the number of the Sacramentes, and what a Sacrament doth ſignifie in the holy Scripture, & when we call Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord Sacramentes of the Goſpell, what we meane therby. I knowe ryght well that S. Ambroſe and other authors call the waſhing of the Diſciples feete, and other thynges, Sacramentes, which I am ſure, you your ſelues would not ſuffer to be numbred among the other Sacramentes.

All be not Sacramentes of the newe Teſtament, which may haue the name of Sacramentes.

When hee had ended his Oration, Cromwell commaunded Aleſius whiche ſtode by (whom hee perceyued to geue attentiue eare to that which was ſpoken) to ſhewe his mynde and opinion, declaryng to the Byſhops before, that he was the kynges ſcholer, and therfore deſired thẽ to be cõtented to heare him indifferẽtly.

Aleſius after he had firſt done his dutie vnto yͤ Lord Cromwell, and to the other Prelates of the Churche, ſayd in this wiſe.

Alexander Aleſius reaſoneth with the Byſhops.

Right honourable and noble Lord, and you moſt reuerend fathers and prelates of the Church, although I come vnprepared vnto thys diſputation, yet truſting in the ayde of Chriſt which promiſeth to geue both mouth & wyſedome vnto vs when we be required of our fayth, I will vtter my ſentence and iudgement of this diſputation. And I thinke that my Lord Archbyſhop hath geuen you a profitable exhortatiõ, that ye ſhould fyrſt agree of the ſignification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a Sacrament a ceremonie inſtitute of Chriſt in the Goſpell, to ſignifie a ſpeciall or a ſingular vertue of the Goſpell, and of godlines (as Paul nameth remiſſiõ of ſinnes to be) or whether ye meane, euery ceremonie generallye, which may bee a token or a ſignification of an holy thyng, to be a Sacrament. For after thys latter ſignification I will not ſticke to graunt you that there be vij. Sacramentes and more too, if ye will. But yet Paul ſeemeth to deſcribe a Sacrament after the firſt ſignificatiõ, wheras he ſayth: That circumciſion is a token and a ſeale of the rightwiſenes of fayth. Thys definition of one particular Sacrament, muſt bee vnderſtand to perteine vnto all Sacramentes generally, for the Iewes had but one Sacrament onely, as all the ſcholaſticall writers doe graunt. And he deſcribeth baptiſme after the ſame maner, in the v. to yͤ Epheſians, wheras he ſaith: That Chriſt doth ſanctifie yͤ Church (that is to ſay, all yͭ be baptiſed) thorow the bathe of water in the worde of life. For here alſo he addeth the word & promiſe of God vnto the ceremonye. And Chriſt alſo requireth fayth, where he ſayth: Who ſoeuer beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued. And S. Auguſtine deſcribeth a Sacrament thus: The worde of God commyng vnto the element, maketh the Sacrament: And in an other place he ſayth: A Sacrament is a thyng wherin the power of God, vnder the forme of viſible things, doth worke ſecretly ſaluation. And the Maiſter of the Sentences doth deſcribe a Sacrament no other wyſe. A Sacrament (ſayth hee) is an inuiſible grace, and hath a viſible forme: and by thys inuiſible grace, I meane (ſayth he) remiſſion of ſinnes. Finally, S. Thomas denieth that any man hath authoritie to inſtitute a Sacrament. Now if ye agree vnto thys definition of a Sacrament, it is an eaſye thyng to iudge of the nũber of thoſe Sacramentes which haue the manifeſt worde of God, and bee inſtitute by Chriſt, to ſignifye vnto vs the remiſſiõ of our ſinnes.

The name of a Sacrament, how farre it extendeth.

Rom. 4.

Epheſ. 5.

What is a Sacrament properly.

Gods worde and promiſe going with an outward ceremonie, maketh a Sacrament.

A definition of a Sacrament.

No man hath power to make any Sacrament.

Auguſ. ad Ianu rium E piſt. 118.

Chriſtes Church charged but with fewe and eaſie Sacramentes.

S. Auguſtine ſayth, that there bee but two ſuch Sacramentes, in the cxviij. Epiſtle vnto Ianuarius. His wordes bee theſe: Fyrſt, I would haue thee to vnderſtand the ſumme and effecte of thys diſputation, which is thys: that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt (as he hym ſelfe ſayth in the Goſpell) hath laden vs, but with a light & eaſie yoke or burdẽ. Wherfore, he hath knitte together the fellowſhip of hys new people with Sacramentes, very fewe in number, very eaſie to be kept, and very excellent in ſignification, which be Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lorde, and ſuch other, if there be any moe cõmaũded in the holy Scripture, thoſe except which were burdens for the ſeruitude of the people in the olde lawe, for the hardnes of theyr hartes. &c. And agayne, in the iij. booke of the learnyng of a Chriſtian man, he ſayth: The Scripture hath taught vs but fewe ſignes, as be the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the ſolemne celebration and remembraunce of the body and bloud of the Lorde. &c.

Auguſ. de Doctrina Chriſtiana lib. 3.

Stokeſley replyeth agaynſt *Aleſius.*

Then the Byſhop of London whiche could ſcarſly refrayne him ſelfe all this while, and now could forbeare no longer, brake out in this maner. Firſt of all (ſayth he) where you alledge, that all the Sacramentes which are in the Church, inſtituted by Chriſt him ſelf, haue either ſome manifeſt grounde in the Scriptures, or ought to ſhewe forth ſome ſignification of remiſſion of ſinnes, it is falſe and not to be allowed.

Thẽ ſayd Aleſius, that he would proue it, not onely by manifeſt autoritie of Scriptures, but alſo by euidẽt teſtimonies of auncient Doctours and ſchole writers.

For the Byſhop of Herford ſpeaketh.

Doctours not to be ſticked to in matters of fayth, that they varie in them ſelues.

But the Byſhop of Herford whiche was then lately returned out of Germany (where he had bene Ambaſſadour for the kyng to the Proteſtantes) being moued with the Byſhop of Lõdons frowardnes, turnyng him ſelf firſt vnto Alexander Aleſius, willed him not to cõtende with the Byſhop in ſuch maner, by the teſtimonies of Doctours and ſcholemen, for ſomuch as they do not all agree in lyke matters, neither are they ſtedfaſt amongeſt them ſelues in all pointes, but do varie and in many poyntes are vtterly repugnant. Wherfore if this diſputation ſhalbe deciſed by their myndes and verdites, there ſhalbe nothyng eſtabliſhed, neither ſhal appeare any way of agreement to folow. Furthermore we be commaunded by the kyng that theſe cõtrouerſies ſhould be determined onely by the rule & iudgement of the Scripture. This hee ſpake vnto Aleſius. Then he turnyng him ſelfe vnto the Byſhops, lykewiſe admoniſhed them with a graue and ſharpe Oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

The Oration of the Byſhop of Herford vnto the Byſhops.

The Goſpell ſpreadyng in all places.

Thinke ye not (ſayd he) that we can by any Sophiſticall ſubtilties ſteale out of the worlde agayne, the lyght whiche euery man doth ſee. Chriſt hath ſo lightned the world at this tyme, that the light of the Goſpell hath put to flight all miſtye darkenes, and it will ſhortly haue the higher hand of all cloudes, though we reſiſt in vaine neuer ſo much. The lay people do nowe know the holy Scripture better then many of vs. And the Germaines haue made the text of the Bible ſo playne and eaſie by the Hebrue and Greeke toung, that now many thynges may be better vnderſtãd without any gloſes at all, then by al the Commẽtaries of the Doctours. And moreouer they haue ſo opened theſe controuerſies by their writynges, that women and children may wonder at the blyndnes and falſehode that hath bene hetherto. wherfore ye muſt conſider earneſtly what ye will determine of theſe cõtrouerſies, that ye make not your ſelues to bee mocked and laughed to ſcorne of all the worlde, & that ye bring them not to haue this opiniõ of you, to thinke euer more hereafter that ye haue neither one ſparke of learnyng, nor yet of godlynes in you. And thus ſhall ye loſe all your eſtimation and authoritie with them, whiche before tooke you for learned mẽ & profitable members vnto the common wealth of Chriſtendome. For that whiche you do hope vpon, that there was neuer hereſie in the Churche ſo great but that proceſſe of tyme with the power and authoritie of the Pope hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpoſe. But ye muſt turne your opinion & thinke this ſurely, that there is nothyng ſo feble and weake, ſo that it be true, be true, but it ſhall finde place and be able to ſtād agaynſt all falſehode. Truth is the daughter of tyme, and tyme is the mother of truth. And what ſoeuer is beſieged of truth can not long continue, and vppon whoſe ſide truth doth ſtand, that ought not to be thought trāſitory or that it will euer fall. All thynges conſiſte not in paynted eloquence and ſtrength or authoritie. For the truth is of ſo great power, ſtrength and efficacite, that it can neither bee defended with wordes, nor bee ouercome with any ſtrength, but after ſhe hath hidden her ſelfe long, at lēgth ſhe putteth vp her head and appeareth, & as it is written in Eſdras: *A king is ſtrōg, Wine is ſtronger, yet Wemen be more ſtrong, but truth excelleth all.*

ruth will ome out laſte.

Truth aughter tyme.

he na- ure of ruth.

Eſd.4.

To thys effecte in a maner, and much more, dyd he ſpeake and vtter in that conuocation, both copiouſlye and diſtretly. Through whoſe oration, Aleſius being encouraged, procéeded further to vrge the Biſhop with thys argument.

¶ The argument in forme.

Ba. *Sacramētes be ſeales aſcerteining vs of Gods good will:*
ro. *Without the worde, there is no certaintie of Gods good will:*
co. Ergo, *without the worde there be no Sacramentes.*

acra- mentes be ... aſcer- ... vs Gods ... will.

The firſt part of thys reaſon is S. Paules owne ſaying the iiij. to the Romanes, where he ſayth: *That circumciſion is a token & a ſeale of the rightwiſenes of faith:* Ergo it requireth fayth to certifie mans hart of yͤ will of God. But the word of God is yͤ foundation of faith, as S. Paule witneſſeth, Rom. 10: *Fayth cōmeth by hearing, and hearing commeth by the worde of God.* For the minde muſt be taught & inſtructed of the will of God by the worde, lyke as the eye is taught and inſtructed by the outward ceremonie. And ſo Paul by that ſaying confuteth thys opinion, that the Sacramentes ſhoulde make men righteous and iuſte before God, for the very outward worke, without fayth of them that receaue them. And after thys maner doth Paule ſpeake vnto the Epheſians: that Chriſt doth ſanctifie hys Church thorow the bathe of water in yͤ word of lyfe. And forasmuch as he ioyneth the worde vnto the ceremony and declareth the vertue and power of the worde of God that it bryngeth with it lyfe, he doth manifeſtly teach that the worde of God is the principall thyng and euen as it were the very ſubſtaunce and body of the Sacrament: and yͤ outward ceremony to be nothyng els then a token of that liuely inflammation which we receyue thorow fayth in the word and promiſe. S. Paul alſo in miniſtring the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper doth manifeſtly adde the wordes of Chriſt: *He tooke bread* (ſayth he) *and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it and ſayd, take ye this and eate ye this for it is my body.* Item, *do ye this in my remembraunce.* Beſide this he teacheth euidently that onely Chriſt and none but he had power to inſtitute a Sacrament: and that neither the Apoſtles, nor the Churche hath any authoritie to alter or to adde any thyng vnto his ordinaunce, where as he ſayth: *For I receiued of the Lord that which I deliuered vnto you. &c.* To what purpoſe ſhould he go about to moue the people to beleue hym and to winne their hartes with this Proteſtation, if it had ben lawful for him to haue made any Sacramētes, or to haue altered the forme and maner of miniſtryng this Sacrament, as ſome men both wickedly and ſhameleſly do affirme, that the Apoſtles did alter the forme of Baptiſme.

om.4.

The worde the ground of ayth.

om.10.

Ex opere perato.

ph. 5.

acra- mentes ons to be ga- ered out the word God.

he inſti- ion of iſt he not e alte-

or.11.

When he had ſpokē thus much, the Byſhop of London did interrupt him, & ſaid: Let vs graunt that the Sacramētes may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are you farre deceiued, if ye thinke yͭ there is none other word of God but that which euery ſowter & cobler do read in their mother tong. And if ye thinke that nothyng perteineth vnto yͤ Chriſtiā faith, but that only that is written in yͤ Bible, then erre ye plainly with the Lutherans. For S. Iohn ſayth, *that Ieſus did many thinges which be not writen.* And S. Paul cōmaundeth the Theſſ. to obſerue & kepe certain vnwrittē traditions & ceremonies. *ij. Theſ. ij.* Moreouer he himſelf did preach not the Scripture only, but euen alſo the traditions of the Elders. Act. xvj. Finally we haue receiued many thinges of the Doctours and Coūcels by tymes, which althoughe they bee not written in the Bible, yet for as much as the old Doctours of the Churche do make mēcion of them, we ought to graunt that we receiued thē of the Apoſtles, and that they be of lyke authoritie with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthely bee called the worde of God vnwritten.

2. *Theſ.* 2.

Actes. 16.

Unwritten verities and traditions of fathers in equall force with Gods writtē word.

The vnwritten worde of God.

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell, the Archbyſhop, with the other Byſhops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, heard this, they ſmiled a litle one vpon an other, for as much as they ſawe him flie euē in the very beginnyng of the diſputation, vnto his old ruſty ſophiſtrie and vnwritten verities. Then Aleſius would haue procéeded further wͭ the Byſhop to haue confuted this blaſphemous lye, but the Lord Cromwell bad him be cōtent, for the time began to go away and it was xij. of the clocke, and thus he made an end with this Proteſtation. Right reuerend Maſter Biſhop you denie that our Chriſten faith and Religion doth leane onely vpō the word of God whiche is written in the Bible, which thyng if I can proue and declare, then you will graunt me that there be no Sacramentes, but thoſe that haue the manifeſt word of God to confirme them. Unto this he did cōſent, and then immediatly that aſſemble was diſſolued for that day.

Stokeſley laughed to ſcorne.

The next day when the Byſhops were ſet agayne, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury ſendyng his Archdeacon, cōmaunded Aleſius to abſtayne from diſputation, whereupon he wrote his mynde and deliuered it vnto Cromwell, who afterward ſhewed the ſame vnto the Byſhops. Thus through the induſtry of Cromwel, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit Religiō could not wholye be reformed, yet at that tyme there was ſome reformation had throughout all England.

How deſirous and ſtudious this good Cromwell was in the cauſe of Chriſtes Religion, examples néede not to be brought. His whole life was nothing els, but a continuall care and trauaile how to aduaunce & further the right knowledge of the Goſpell, and reforme the houſe of God: As by ſo many proclamations aboue ſpecified by his meanes ſet forth, may well appeare, wherein firſt hee cauſed the people to bee inſtructed in the Lordes Prayer and Crede in Engliſh, then procured the Scripture alſo to be read & ſet forth in the ſame language for euery Engliſhe man to vnderſtand: after that to reſcue the vulgare people from damnable Idolatrie, cauſed certeine of yͤ moſt groſſeſt pilgremages to be deſtroyed. And further for the more cōmoditie of yͤ poore ſorte, which get their liuing wͭ their dayly labour and worke of their hands, he prouided that diuers idle holy dayes were diminiſhed. Item, he procured for thē, libertie to eate egges and whitmeat in Lent. Furthermore by him it was alſo prouided for the better inſtruction of the people, that beneficed mē ſhould be reſident in their Cures & Pariſhes, there to teache and to kepe hoſpitalitie, with many other things els moſt fruitfully redreſſed for yͤ reformation of Religion & behoufe of Chriſtes Church: as by the proclamations, iniunctiōs, and neceſſary Articles of Chriſten doctrine aboue ſpecified, ſet forth in the kinges name, by his meanes may more abundantly appeare, pag. 1246. 1247. &c.

The publicke care of *Cromwell* for the cōmon wealth.

Read afore pag. 1246. 1247. 1248. 1249. &c.

Now to adioyne withall his priuate benefites in helping diuers good men and women at ſundry tymes out of troubles and great diſtreſſes, it would require a lōg diſcourſe. Briefly his whole lyfe was full of ſuch examples, beyng a man to that entent ordeined of God (as his déedes well proued) to do many men good, and eſpecially ſuch as were in daunger of perſecution for Religions ſake. Amongeſt other infinite ſtories, one or two examples ſhall ſuffice for a teſtimonie of hys worthy doynges.

¶ How

¶ Howe Cromwell holpe a poore woman with childe out of trouble, longyng for a peece of meate in tyme of Lent.

Perſecuters.	*Perſecuted.*	*The Cauſe.*
Fiſhers wife of Harnſey. D. Cockes Byſhop Stokeſley. Hollond his Sũner. M. Garter, Kyng of Armes.	Tho. Frebarne and his wife.	

A ſtory of one *Frebarnes* wife, longing for a peece of meate in Lent.

IN the yeare of our Lorde God 1538. Syr William Forman beyng Maior of the Citye of London, thrée wéekes before Eaſter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarne dwellyng in Pater noſter row, being with childe longed after a morſell of a pigge, and told her minde vnto a mayde dwellyng in Abchurche Lane, deſiryng her, if it were poſſible, to helpe her vnto a péece. The mayde perceyuyng her earneſt deſire, ſhewed vnto her huſbande what hys wife had ſayd vnto her, tellyng him that it might chaunce to coſt her her life and the childes too which ſhe went withall, if ſhe had it not. Vpon this, Thomas Frebarne her huſband ſpake to a butter wife whiche he knew, that dwelled at Harnſey, named good wife Fiſher, to helpe him vnto a pigge for his wife, for ſhe was with childe and longed ſore to eate of a pigge. Vnto whom the ſayd good wife Fiſher promiſed that ſhée would bryng him one the Fridaye folowyng, and ſo ſhe did, beyng ready dreſſed and ſcalded before. But when ſhe had deliuered hym the pigge, ſhée craftely conueyed one of the pigges féete, and caryed it vnto Doctour Cockes, at that tyme beyng Deane of Canterbury, dwellyng in Iuie lane, who at the tyme of his dynner, before certeine geſtes whiche he had bydden, ſhewed this pigges foote, declaryng who had the body therof: and after that they had talked their pleaſure, and dynner was done, one of his geſtes beyng landlord vnto Frebarne aforeſayd, called M. Garter, and by his office king of Armes, ſent his man vnto the ſayd Frebarne demaundyng if there were no body ſicke in his houſe. Vnto whom hée aunſwered that they were all in good health hee gaue God thankes. Then ſayd he agayne, it was tolde hys maſter that ſome body was ſicke or els they would not eate fleſh in Lent. Vnto whõ Frebarne made aũſwere that his wife was with childe & longed for a péece of a pigge, and if he could get ſome for her, he would. Thẽ departed his landlordes man home agayne. And ſhortlye after, hys landlorde ſent for hym. But before that hee ſent for hym, hee had ſent for the Byſhop of Londons Sumner, whoſe name was Hollond, and whẽ this Frebarne was come, he demaunded of him if he had not a pigge in his houſe, which he denyed not. Then cõmaunded M. Garter the ſayd Sumner called Hollond, to take hym and go home to hys houſe, and to take the pigge and carye both him and the pigge vnto Doct. Stokeſley his maſter, beyng then Byſhop of London, and ſo he did. Then ỹ Byſhop beyng in his chamber, with diuers other of the Clergie, called this Frebarne before him, and had him in examination for this pigge, laying alſo vnto his charge, that he had eatẽ in his houſe that Lent, poudred béefe & calues heades. Vnto whõ Frebarne aũſwered, my Lord if the heades were eatẽ in my houſe, in whoſe houſes were the bodies eaten? Alſo if there be either man or woman that can proue, that either I, or any in my houſe haue done as your Lordſhyp ſaith, let me ſuffer death therefore. You ſpeake (ſaid he) againſt pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread nor holy water, nor yet go in proceſſion on Palmes Sonday: thou art no Chriſtian man. My Lord ſayd Frebarne, I truſt I am a true Chriſten man, and haue done nothyng neither agaynſt Gods law nor my Princes.

A craftie part of a falſe Iudas.

Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke, or in reſpecte of an holy day. &c. *Colloſ.* 2.

Holland the Byſhop of Londons Sumner.

Tho. Frebarne examined before the Byſhop.

In the time of this his examination, which was duryng the ſpace of ij. houres, diuers came vnto the Byſhop, ſome to haue their children confirmed, and ſome for other cauſes. Vnto whom as they came, hauyng the pigge before him couered, he would lifte vp the cloth and ſhewe it them, ſaying: How thincke you of ſuch a fellowe as this is? is not this good meate I pray you, to bee eaten in this bleſſed time of Lent, yea and alſo poudred Béefe and Calues heades to beſide this?

After this the Byſhop called his Sumner vnto him, and commaunded hym to go and carye this Thomas Frebarne and the pigge, openly thorow ỹ ſtréetes into the old Bayly, vnto Syr Roger Chomley, for the Biſhop ſayd he had nothyng to do to puniſhe him, for that belonged vnto the Ciuil Magiſtrates, and ſo was Frebarne caryed with the pigge before him, to Syr Roger Chõleys houſe in ỹ old Bayly, & he beyng not at home at that tyme, Frebarne was brought likewiſe backe agayn vnto ỹ Byſhops place with the pigge, & there lay in the porters lodge till it was ix. a clocke at night. Thẽ the Byſhop ſent hym vnto the Counter in the Poultry by the Sumner and other of his ſeruauntes.

The next day beyng Saterday, he was brought before the Maior of Londõ and his brethren, vnto Guildhall, but before his commyng, they had the pigge deliuered vnto them by the Biſhops officer. Then the Maior and the Bench layd vnto his charge (as they were informed from the Byſhop) that he had eaten poudred béefe & calues heades in his houſe ỹ ſame Lent, but no man was able to come in that would iuſtifie it, neither could any thyng be found, ſaue oncly the pigge, which (as is before ſayd) was for ỹ preſeruation of his wiues lyfe, and that ſhe went withall. Notwithſtandyng, the Maior of London ſayd that the Mondaye next followyng, he ſhould ſtãd on the Pillary in Cheapeſide, with the one halfe of the pigge on the one ſhoulder, and the other halfe on the other.

Then ſpake the wife of the ſayd Frebarne vnto the Maior and the Bench, deſiryng that ſhe might ſtand there and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they tooke a Satten lyſt & tyde it faſt about the pigges necke and made Frebarne to carry it hangyng on hys ſhoulder vntill he came vnto the Counter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wife of this priſoner tooke with her an honeſt woman, the wife of one Michaell Lobley, whiche was well acquaynted with diuers in the Lord Cromwels houſe, vnto whom the ſayd woman reſorted for ſome helpe for this priſoner, deſiryng thẽ to ſpeake vnto their Lord and Maiſter for his deliuerance out of trouble.

It happened that the ſame time came in D. Barnes and M. Barlow, who vnderſtanding the matter by Lobleys wife, went vp to the Lord Cromwell, & certified him therof: who vpon their requeſt, ſent for the Maior of the Citie of London: but what was ſayd vnto the Lord Maior, is vnknowen, ſauing that in ỹ after noone of the ſame day, the wife of ỹ perſon aforeſayd reſorted again vnto ỹ Lord Maior, ſuing to get her huſband deliuered out of priſon, declaring how that ſhe had ij. ſmal children & had nothyng to helpe her and them but only her huſband, who laboured for their liuynges. Vnto whom the Maior aũſwered, what come ye to me? You are taken vp with the kynges cõuſaile. I ſuppoſed that you had come to deſire me that your huſband ſhould not ſtand vppon the Pillary in Cheapſide on Monday next, with the one halfe of the pigge on his one ſhoulder, and the other halfe on ỹ other. Alſo the Maior ſayd vnto her that he could not deliuer hym without the conſent of the reſte of hys brethren the Aldermen. Wherfore he bad her the next day folowyng, which was Monday,

day, to reſort vnto Paules to S.Dunſtones Chapell, and when he had ſpoken with his brethren, he would then tell her more. Other aunſwere could ſhe not get at that time. Wherfore ſhe went vnto M. Wilkinſon, thē beyng Shyriffe of London, deſiring hym to be good vnto her, and that ſhe might haue her poore huſband out of priſon. Unto whō M. Wilkinſon aunſwered: O womā Chriſt hath layd a peece of hys croſſe vpō thy necke to proue whether thou wilt helpe him to beare it or no, ſaying moreouer to her that if ẏ Lord Maior had ſent hym to his Counter, as he ſent hym to his brothers, he ſhould not haue taried there an houre, and ſo commaunded her to come the next day vnto hym to dynner, & he would do the beſt for her he could. So ẏ next day came, and this womā reſorted agayne to M. Wilkynſons accordyng as hee bad her, who alſo had bydden diuers geſtes: vnto whō he ſpake in her behalfe. But as they were ſet at dinner, and ſhe alſo ſitting at the table, whē ſhe ſawe the whote fiſhe come in, ſhe fell downe in a ſwound, ſo that for the ſpace of two houres they could kepe no life in her. Wherfore they ſent her home to her houſe in Pater noſter row, & then they ſent for ẏ mydwife ſuppoſing ẏ ſhe would haue ben deliuered incōtinent of her child that ſhe went with, but after that, ſhe came ſomewhat agayne vnto her ſelfe, where ſhe lay ſicke and kept her bed ẏ ſpace of xv. weekes after, being not able to helpe her ſelfe, but as ſhe was holpen of others, duryng that tyme of xv. weekes.

The gentle wordes of M.Wylkinſon Shiriefe of London, to the poore woman.

Now to ſhewe further what became of thys pigge, whereof we haue ſpoken ſo much, it was caryed into Finſbury field by the Byſhop of Londons Sommer at hys Maiſters commaundement and there buryed. The Monday folowyng beyng the iiij. day after that this priſoner aforeſayd was apprehended, the Maior of London, with the reſidue of hys brethren beyng at Guild hall, ſent for the priſoner aforenamed, and demaunded ſureties of him for his forth cōming, what ſoeuer hereafter ſhould or might be layd vnto his charge, but for lacke of ſuch ſureties as they required, vpō his own bond which was a recogniſance of xx. l. he was deliuered out of their handes. But ſhortly after ẏ he was deliuered out of this his trouble, M. Garter of whō we haue ſpokē before, beyng hys land lorde, warned hym out of his houſe, ſo that in iiij. yeares after he could not get an other, but was conſtrayned to bee within other good folkes to hys great hynderaunce and vndoyng.

That God [illegible] to be eaten ſuperſtitiō buryeth.

Thomas Frebarne deliuered out of priſon.

Thomas Frebarne diſcharged out of hys houſe by M. Garter his Landlorde.

Hard it were, and almoſt out of number to rehearſe the names and ſtories of all them, which felt the gentle helpe of this good man in ſome caſe or other. Where myght be remembred the notable deliueraunce of one Graye, a Smyth of Byſhops Starford, who being accuſed for denying the Sacrament of the altar to be our Sauiour, was ſent vp for the ſame to London & there ſhould haue bene condemned to be burnt, but that by the meanes of ẏ L. Cromwel, he was ſent home again and deliuered. One other example, though it be ſomewhat long, with the circumſtances & all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretarye that then was to Doct. Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury, which Secretarye is yet aliue, and can beare preſent recorde of the ſame.

Graye Smyth accuſed of hereſie, and deliuered by the Lord Cromwell.

How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmers Secretarye.

Mention was made before how king Henry in the yeare of hys reigne 21. cauſed the vj. Articles to paſſe, much agaynſt the mynd and contrary to the conſent of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, who had diſputed three dayes agaynſt the ſame in the Parlament houſe, with great reaſons and authorities. Which Articles after they were grauted and paſt by the Parlament, the kyng for the ſingular fauour whiche he euer bare to Cranmer, and reuerence to his learnyng, beyng deſirous to know what he had ſayd & obiected in ẏ Parlamēt agaynſt theſe Articles, or what could be alleaged by learnyng agaynſt the ſame, required a note of the Archbyſhop of hys doynges, what he had ſayd and oppoſed in the Parlament touchyng that matter. And this word was ſent to hym from the kyng by Cromwell, and other Lordes of the Parlament, whom the kyng then ſent to dyne with hym at Lambeth, ſomwhat to comfort agayne his greued mynde, & troubled ſpirites, as hath ben aboue recited. pag. 1298.

The Archbyſhop Cranmer diſputed 3. dayes in the Parlament againſt the vi. Articles.

Wherupon when this dinner was finiſhed, the next day after the Archbiſhop collectyng both his argumēts, authorities of Scriptures, and Doctors together, cauſed hys Secretarie to write a fayre booke therof for the king, after this order. Firſt the Scriptures were alledged, then the Doctours, thirdlye folowed the Argumentes deducted frō thoſe authorities. This boke was written in hys Secretaries chamber. Where in a bye chamber lay the Archbyſhops Almoſiner. When this booke was fayre written, & whiles the Secretarie was gone to deliuer the ſame vnto the Archbyſhop his maſter, who was (as it then chaunced) ridde to Croydon: returning backe to hys chamber, found hys doore ſhut, and the key caryed away to London by the Almoſiner.

The name of this Secretarye was M. *Rafe Morice*, being yet aliue.

At this ſeaſon alſo chaūced the father of the ſayd Secretarie to come to the Citie, by whoſe occaſiō it ſo fell out, ẏ he muſt nedes go to Lōdon. The booke he could not lay into hys chamber, neither durſt he committe it to any other perſon to keepe, beyng ſtraitly charged in any condition of the Archbyſhop hys maſter, to be circumſpect therof, ſo that he determined to go to hys father and to kepe the booke about hym. And ſo thruſtyng the booke vnder hys girdill, hee went ouer vnto Weſtminſter bridge with a ſculler, where he entered into a whirry that went to London, wherin were iiij. of the garde, who ment to land at Paules wharfe, & to paſſe by ẏ kings highnes, who then was in his Barge with a great number of Barges & boates about hym, then baiting of Beares in ẏ water ouer agaynſt the bancke.

These foreſayd yomen of the garde, whē they came agaynſt the kynges Barge, they durſt not paſſe bye towardes Paules wharfe, leſt they ſhould be eſpyed, and therfore entreated the Secretary to goe with thē to the Bearebaytyng, and they would finde ẏ meanes, being of the garde, to make rowme and to ſee all the paſtyme. the Secretary perceiuyng no other remedy, aſſented therto. When ẏ whirry came nye the multitude of the boates, they with pollaxes got in the whirry ſo farre, that beyng compaſſed with many other whirryes and boates, there was no refuge if ẏ Beare ſhould breake looſe and come vppon them: as in very deede within one pater noſter while, the Beare brake looſe and came into the boate where the yomen of ẏ garde were and the ſaid Secretary. The garde forſooke the whirry & went into an other Barge, one or ij. of them leappyng ſhort & ſo fell into the water. The Beare & the dogges ſo ſhaked ẏ whirry wherin the Secretary was, that the boate being ful of water, ſoncke to ẏ ground, and being alſo as it chaunced, an ebbyng tyde, hee there ſat in the end of the whirry vp to the midle in water. To whom came the Beare & all the dogges. The Beare ſeekyng as it were, ayde and ſuccour of hym, came backe with hys hynder partes vppon hym, and ſo ruſhyng vppon him, the booke was loſed from hys gyrdle and fell into the Thamys out of hys reach.

Talle yomen but ill kepers.

A Bearebaytyng vpon Thamys before the kyng.

The booke of *D. Cranmer* agaynſt the vj. Articles loſt in the Thames.

The flying of ẏ people, after that ẏ Beare was looſe, from one boate vnto an other, was ſo comberous, that diuers perſons were throwne into the Thamys, the kyng commaunding certeine men that could ſwimme, to ſtrippe thē ſelues naked and to helpe to ſaue them that were in daunger. This paſtyme ſo diſpleaſed the kyng that hee bad away away with the Beare, and let vs all go hence.

The Secretary perceiuyng hys booke to fleete away in the Thamys, called to the Bearcward to take vp the booke. When the Bearewarde had the booke in hys cuſtodie, beyng an errant Papiſte, farre from the Religiō of hys Miſtres (for hee was the Lady Elizabethes Bearward, now the Queenes maieſtie) ere that ẏ Se-

Thys Bearewarde was Princeſſe Elizabethes ſeruaunt.

D. Cranmers booke agaynſt the vj. Articles deliuered to a Popiſhe Prieſt.

cretary could come to land, he had deliuered the booke to a Prieſt of hys owne affinitie in Religion ſtandyng on the bancke, who readyng in the booke and perceyuyng that it was a manifeſt refutation of the vj. Articles, made much a do & told the Beareward that whoſoeuer claymed the booke, ſhoulde ſurelye bee hanged. Anone the Secretary came to the Beareward for hys booke. What quoth the Beareward, dare you chalenge this booke? Whoſe ſeruaunt bee you? I am ſeruaunt to one of the Counſaile, ſayd the Secretarie, and my Lord of Cāterbury is my maiſter. Yea mary, quoth the Beareward, I thought ſo much. You bée lyke I truſt, quoth the Beareward, to be both hanged for this booke. Well (ſayd hee) it is not ſo euill as you take it, and I warrant you my Lorde will auouch the booke to the kynges maieſtie. But I pray you let me haue my booke, and I will giue you a crowne to drinke. If you would giue me v.C. crownes, you ſhal not haue it, quoth the Beareward. With that the Secretary departed from hym, and vnderſtādyng the malicious frowardnes of the Beareward, he learned that Blage the Grocer in Cheapeſide might do much with the Beareward, to whō the Secretary brake this matter, requiryng him to ſend for the Beareward to ſupper, and hée would pay for ẏ whole charge therof, and beſides that, rather then he woulde forgoe hys booke after this ſort, the Beareward ſhould haue xx. ſhyllynges to drincke. The ſupper was prepared. The Beareward was ſent for, and came. After ſupper the matter was entreated of and xx. ſhyllynges offered for the booke. But do what coulde bee done, neither frendſhyp, acquayntaūce, nor yet reward of money could obteine the booke out of his handes, but that ẏ ſame ſhould be deliuered vnto ſome of the Counſaile that would not ſo ſleyghtly looke on ſo waightye a matter, as to haue it redemed for a ſupper or a péece of money. The honeſt man M. Blage with many good reaſons would haue perſuaded hym not to be ſtiffe in hys owne conceite, declaryng that in the ende hee ſhould nothyng at all preuaile of hys purpoſe, but bee laught to ſcorne, gettyng neither peny nor prayſe for hys trauayle. He hearyng that, ruſhed ſodenly out of the doores from his frend M. Blage without any maner of thankes giuing for his ſupper, more lyke a Beareward then lyke an honeſt man. When the Secretary ſawe the matter ſo extremely to bee vſed agaynſt hym, hee then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practyſing of entreatie with the Beareward, as with him that ſemed rather to be a beare hymſelfe then the maſter of the beaſt, determining the next morning to make the L. Cromwel priuie of the chaūce that happened.

The Bereward waytyng to geue *Cranmers* booke to the Counſell.

The Lorde *Cromwell* getteth the booke frō the Bereward.

So on the next day, as the Lord Cromwell went to the Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter vnto hym, and how he had offered hym xx.s̄. for the findyng therof. Where is the felow, quoth ẏ Lord Cromwell? I ſuppoſe, ſayd the Secretary, that hee is now in the Court attendyng to deliuer the booke vnto ſome of the Counſaile. Well ſayd the Lord Cromwell, it maketh no matter: go with me thether and I ſhal get you your booke agayne. When the Lord Cromwell came into the halle of the Court, there ſtoode the Beareward with the booke in hys hand, waytyng to haue deliuered the ſame vnto ſyr Anthonie Browne, or vnto the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, as it was reported. To whome the Lorde Cromwell ſayd, come hether fellowe. What booke haſt thou there in thy hand? and with that ſnatched the booke out of his hand, and lookyng in the booke, hee ſayde, I knowe this hande well enoughe. This is your hand, ſayd he to the Secretary. But where haddeſt thou this booke, quoth ẏ L. Cromwell to the Beareward? This Gentleman loſt it two dayes ago in the Thamys ſayd the Beareward. Doeſt thou know whoſe ſeruaunt he is, ſayd the Lord Cromwell? He ſayth, quoth the Beareward, that he is my L. of Canterburyes ſeruaunt. Why thē diddeſt not thou deliuer to hym the booke, when he required it, ſayd the L. Cromwel. Who made thée ſo bold as to deteine and withhold any boke or writing frō a Coūſelers ſeruaūt, ſpecially being his Secretary? It is more meter for thée to medle with thy Beares then with ſuch writyng, & if it were not for thy maſtres ſake, I would ſet thée faſt by the féete, to teach ſuch malapert knaues to medle with Counſellers matters. Had not money bene well beſtowed vpon ſuch a good felow as this is, that knoweth not a Coūcellers man from a Coblers man? And with thoſe woordes the Lord Cromwell went vp into the kynges chamber of preſence and the Archbyſhops Secretarye with him, where hee founde in the chamber the Lord of Canterbury. To whom he ſayd, My Lord I haue found here good ſtuffe for you (ſhewyng to hym the paper booke that he had in his hand) ready to bryng both you and this good felowe your man to the halter, namely if the knaue Beareward, now in ẏ hall, might haue wel cōpaſſed it. At theſe wordes the Archb. ſmiled and ſayd, he that loſt ẏ booke is lyke to haue the worſe bargayne, for beſides that he was well waſhed in the Thamys, he muſt write the booke fayre agayne: and at thoſe wordes ẏ L. Cromwell caſt the booke vnto ẏ Secretary ſaying, I pray thée Morice, go in hād therwith by and by with all expedition, for it muſt ſerue a turne. Surely my Lord, it ſomwhat reioyſeth me, quoth the L. Cromwell, that ẏ verlet might haue had of your mā xx.s̄. for the booke, and now I haue diſcharged that matter with neuer a peny. And ſhaking him wel vp for hys ouermuch malipartenes, I know ẏ felow well enough (quoth hee) there is not a rancker Papiſt within this realme, then he is, moſt vnworthy to be ſeruaunt vnto ſo noble a Princeſſe. And ſo after humble thankes giuē to the Lord Cromwel, the ſayd Morice departed with hys booke, whiche when hee agayne had fayre written, was deliuered to the kyngs Maieſtie by the ſayd Lord Cromwell, within iiij. dayes after.

The [illegible] the L. *Cromwel* to the Archbyſhop *Cranme*

¶ *The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his old frendes,* and benefactours.

IT is cōmonly ſene, that mē aduaūced once frō baſe degrée, to ample dignities, do riſe alſo with fortune into ſuch inſolencie & exaltation of mynd, that not onely they forget them ſelues what they were, and from whence they came, but alſo caſt out of remēbraunce all their old frendes and former acquayntance, whiche haue bene to them before beneficiall. From which ſort of men, how farre the curteous condition of this Chriſten Earle did differre, by diuers examples it may appeare. As by a certein poore woman kepyng ſome tyme a vitaylyng houſe about Hownſlow, to whom the ſayd Lord Cromwell remained in debt for certein old rekenings, to the ſumme of xl.s̄. It happened that the Lord Cromwell with Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury rydyng throughe Cheapſide towarde the Court, in turnyng his eye ouer ẏ way, and there eſpeyng this poore woman, brought now in nede and miſerie, eftſoones cauſed her to be called vnto hym. Who beyng come, after certeine queſtions, aſked of her if ſhe were not ſuch a woman, & dwelling in ſuch a place. At laſt he demaūded, if he were not behynde for a certeine payment of money betwene hym and her. To whom ſhe with reuerent obeyſance, confeſſed that hee ought her money for a certeine old rekenyng whiche was yet vnpayed, wherof ſhe ſtoode now in great neceſſitie, but neuer durſt call vpon hym, nor could come at hym for to require her right. Then the Lorde Cromwell ſendyng the poore woman home to his houſe, and one of his ſeruauntes withall, that the porter ſhoulde let her in, after hys returne from the Court, not onely diſcharged the debt whiche he ought, but alſo gaue her a yearlye penſion of foure poundes, and a lyuery euery yeare while ſhe lyued.

The

Ex hiſto- ia Itali- s.

notable ſtorye of the Lorde Cromwell and an Italian.

The lyke courteſie ẏ ſayd L. Cromwell ſhewed alſo to a certaine Italian, who in ẏ Citie of Florence, had ſhewed him much kindnes in ſuccouring and relieuing hys neceſſitie, as in thys ſtorye following may appeare. Which ſtorye ſet forth and compiled in the Italian tounge by Bandello, and imprinted at Luke by Buſdrago, an. 1554. I thought here to inſert, with the whole order and circumſtance therof, as it is reported.

Cromwel aſking hys almes of Freſcobalde.

Not many yeares paſt, ſaith ẏ author, there was in Florẽce a Marchant whoſe name was Frãuces, deſcẽded frõ the noble & aunciẽt familie of ẏ Freſcobaldes: thys Gentleman was naturallye indued with a noble and liberall minde, vnto whom alſo through proſperous ſucceſſe, and fortunate lucke in hys affayres and doinges, much aboundance of riches increaſed, ſo that he grewe in great wealth, hauyng hys cofers repleniſhed with many heapes of much treaſure. He according to the cuſtome of Marchanntes, vſed his trade into many countreyes, but chieflye into England, where long tyme he liued ſoiourning in London, kéeping houſe to hys great commendation and prayſe. It happened, that Fraunces Freſcobalde being in Florence, there appeared before hym a poore younge mã, aſking his almes for Gods ſake. Freſcobalde, as he earneſtly behelde thys ragged ſtripling, who was not ſo diſguiſed in hys tottered attyre, but that hys countenaunce gaue ſignification of much towardnes and vertue in hym, with conformitie of maners agreing to the ſame, being moued with pitie, demaunded of what countrey hee was, and where hee was borne. I am Syr (quoth hée) of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, and by hys occupation a clothe ſherer. I am ſtrayed frõ my countrey, and am now come into Italie, with ẏ campe of Frenchmen, that were ouerthrowen at Gatilyon, where I was the page to a fóteman, carying after him his pyke and burganet. Freſcobalde partlye conſidering the preſent ſtate of thys younge mã, and partly for the loue he bare to the Engliſhe nation, of whom he had receaued in times paſte ſondry pleaſures, receaued him into his houſe, and with ſuch curteſie intertayned his geſt, as at hys departure, when he was in minde to returne to hys countrey, he prouided ſuch neceſſaries as he any way néeded. He gaue hym both horſe and new apparell, and xvj. Ducates of golde in hys purſſe, to bryng hym into hys countrey. Cromwell rendering his hartie thankes, tooke leaue of hys hoſte and returned into England. Thys Cromwell was a man of a noble courage and heroicall ſpirite, geuẽ to enterpriſe great matters, very liberall, a graue Counſellour, &c. But to our purpoſe.

ote that hys cloth herer was is father n lawe.

romwell age to a ouldiour.

he gene ens of reſcobald wed to romwell.

At what tyme Cromwell was ſo highly fauoured of hys Prince, and aduaunced to ſuch dignitie as is aforeſayd, Fraunces Freſcobalde (as it many tymes happeneth vnto Marchauntes) was by many miſfortunes and greate loſſes, caſte backe and become very poore. For according to conſcience and equitie, he paide whatſoeuer was due to any other frõ him ſelf, but ſuch debts as were owing vnto him, he could by no meanes obtayne: yet calling further to remembraunce that in England by certayne Marchauntes there was due to him the ſumme of xv. M. Ducates, he ſo purpoſed with him ſelf, that if he coulde recouer that money, he would well content him ſelfe, and no longer deale in the trade of Marchauntes, but quietlye paſſe ouer the reſt of his dayes.

Italian ... cõ ... to as ... as ... Eng- ... crown-

All thynges prepared for hys iourney, he ſetting forward towardes England, at laſt arriued at London, hauing vtterly forgotten what curteſie long before he had ſhewed to Cromwell: which is the propertie alwaies of a good nature, for a man to forgette what benefites he hath ſhewed to other, but to kéepe in minde continually what he hath receaued of other. Freſcobalde thus being now arriued at London, and there traueling earneſtly about hys buſines, it chaunced hym by the way to méete with thys noble man, as hee was ryding towardes the Court. Whom as ſone as the ſayd Lorde Cromwell had eſpyed, & had earneſtly behelde, he bethought with hym ſelf that he ſhould be the mã of Florence, at whoſe handes in tymes paſte he had receaued ſo gentle intertainment, and therupon ſodeinlye alighting (to the great admiratiõ of thoſe that were with hym) in hys armes he gently imbraced the ſtraunger, and with a broken voyce ſcarſe able to refrayne teares, he demaunded, if he were not Fraunces Freſcobalde the Florentine. Yea ſyr (he aunſwered) and your humble ſeruaũt. My ſeruaũt (quoth Cromwell) no, as you haue not bene my ſeruaunt in tymes paſte, ſo will I not now accompt you otherwayes then my great and eſpeciall frend, aſſuring you, that I haue iuſt reaſon to bée ſorye, that you knowing what I am (or at the leaſt what I ſhould be) will not let me vnderſtand of your ariuing in thys land, which knowen vnto me, truely I ſhould haue payde parte of that debt which I confeſſe to owe you: but thanked be God I haue yet tyme. Well ſyr, in concluſion, you are hartely welcome. But hauyng now waightie affayres in my Princes cauſe, you muſte holde me excuſed that I can no longer tarie with you. Therfore at this tyme I take my leaue, deſiring you, with the faythfull minde of a frend, that you forget not to come thys day to my houſe to dinner, and then in remounting on hys horſe, he paſſed to the Court. Freſcobalde greatly marueling with hym ſelfe who thys Lord ſhould be, at laſte after ſome pauſe, hys remembraunce better called home, he knew hym to bee the ſame, whom longe before (as you haue heard) he had relieued in Florence, and therat not a litle ioyed, eſpecially cõſidering how that by his meanes he ſhould the better recouer hys duetie.

The wordes of the Lorde Cromwell to the Italian Marchaunt.

Old frendſhip remembred.

The houre of dyner drawyng neare, he repayred to the houſe of this honorable Counſellour, where walkyng a while in his baſe Court, he attended his comming. The Lord ſhortly returned from the Court, and no ſoner diſmounted, but hee agayne imbraced this Gentleman, with ſo frendly a countenaunce, that both the Lord Admirall and all the other noble men of the Court beyng then in hys company, did not a litle maruell thereat. Whiche thing when the Lord Cromwell perceyued, hee turnyng towardes them and holdyng Freſcobald faſt by the hand: do ye not maruayle my Lordes (quoth hee) that I ſéeme ſo glad of this man? This is hee by whoſe meanes I haue atcheued the degrée of this my preſent callyng: and becauſe ye ſhall not be ignoraunt of his curteſie when I greatly neded, I ſhall tell it you: and ſo there declared vnto them euery thing in order, according as before hath bene recited vnto you. Hys tale finiſhed, holdyng hym ſtill by the hand, hee entred his houſe, and commyng into the chamber where hys dynner was prepared, he ſat hym downe to the table, placyng his beſt welcomed geſte next vnto him.

The courteſie of the Lorde Cromwell in retaynyng hys old hoſte.

The dinner ended, & the Lordes departed, he would know what occaſion had brought Freſcobald to London. Fraunces in few wordes opened his cauſe, truly tellyng that from great wealth, he was fallen into pouertie, and that his onely portion to maintayne the reſt of his lyfe was xv. thouſand Ducates whiche were owyng him in England, and ij. thouſand in Spayne. Wherunto the Lord Cromwell aunſweryng agayne, ſayd, touchyng the thynges M. Freſcobald, that bee already paſt, although it cã not now be vndone by mans power, nor by policie called agayne, whiche hath happened vnto you by the vnſtable condition and mutabilitie of this world alteryng to and fro: yet is not your ſorrow ſo peculiar to your ſelfe alone, but that by the bonde of mutuall loue, I muſt alſo bewaile with you this your ſtate and condition: which ſtate and conditiõ of yours, though it may worke in you matter of iuſte heuynes, yet notwithſtandyng, to the intent you may receiue in this your heauy diſtreſſe, ſome conſolation, for your olde curteſie ſhewed to me in tyme paſt, the lyke curteſie nowe requireth of me agayne, that I likewiſe ſhoulde repaye ſome portion of that debte wherin I ſtand bound vnto you, accordyng as the part of a thankfull mā byndeth me to do, in requityng your benefites on my part heretofore receiued. And this further I auouch in the word of a true frend, that duryng this lyfe and ſtate of myne, I will neuer fayle to do for you, wherin my authoritie may preuaile to ſupplye your lacke and neceſſitie. And ſo let theſe few wordes ſuffice to geue you knowledge of my frendly meaning. But let me delay the tyme no longer.

Example of a faythfull debter.

Then takyng him by the hand, he lead him into hys chamber, whence, after that euery mā by his cōmaūdement was departed, he locked faſt the dore. Thē openyng a coffer full heaped with treaſure, hee firſt toke out ſixtene Ducates, and deliueryng them to Freſcobald, he ſayd: loe here (my frēd) is your money which you lent me, at my departure from Florēce, and here other ten, which you beſtowed in my apparel, with ten more that you diſburſed for the horſe I ryd away on. But conſideryng you are a marchaunt, it ſeemeth to me not honeſt to returne your mony without ſome cōſideration for the long detaynyng of it. Take you therfore theſe foure bagges, and in euery of them is foure hundreth Ducates, theſe you ſhall receaue and enioye from the handes of your aſſured frend.

The Lorde *Cromwells* vſurye.

Freſcobald, although from great wealth hee was brought to a low ebbe, and (almoſt) an vtter decay, yet expreſſyng the vertue of a modeſt mynde, after gentle thankes giuen to the Lord Cromwell for his exceedyng kyndnes ſhewed, courteouſly would haue refuſed that whiche was offered, had not the other enforced hym agaynſt his will to receaue it.

Kindnes requited with kindnes.

This done, he cauſed Freſcobald to geue him a note of the names of all his debtours, and the ſumme that from euery of them was owyng him. This ſchedule hee deliuered to one of his ſeruauntes, vnto whom hee gaue charge diligentlye to ſearch out ſuch men whoſe names therein were conteyned, if they were within any parte of the Realme: and then ſtraitly to charge thē to make payment of thoſe ſummes within fiftene dayes, or els to abyde the haſſard of his diſpleaſure. The ſeruaunt ſo wel performed his Maſters commaundement, that in very ſhort tyme they made payment of the whole ſumme: and if it had lyked Freſcobald ſo to haue demaūded, they ſhould haue aūſwered to the vttermoſt, ſuch commoditie as the vſe of his money in ſo many yeares would haue geuen him profite: but he contented with his principall, would demaunde no further. By which meanes he gatte both harty loue and great eſtimation, and the more, for that hee was ſo deare to yͤ lord Cromwell, & ſo highly eſteemed of him, And duryng all this time, Freſcobald continually lodged in the houſe of yͤ Lord Cromwell, who euer gaue him ſuch interteynemēt, as he had right well deſerued, and oftentimes moued him to abyde in England, offeryng him the lone of 60. thouſand Ducates for yͤ ſpace of 4. yeare, if he would continue and make his banke in Londō. But Freſcobald, who deſired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the reſt of his life, with the great fauour of yͤ Lord Cromwell, after many thankes for his high and noble intertaynement, departed towardes his deſired home, where richly arriuyng, hee gaue him ſelf quietly to lyue. But this wealth he ſmall tyme enioyed, for in the firſt yeare of his returne he dyed.

Modeſtie in an Italian.

The Ducates of er the Italian count, came much neare to our Engliſhe crowne.

So plentifull was yͤ life of this man in ſuch fruites full of ſingular gratitude & curteſie, that to reherſe all, it would require to long tractatiō. Yet one exāple amōgeſt many other I may not ouerpaſſe, wherby we may euidently conſider, or rather maruell at yͤ lowly minde of ſuch a perſon, in ſo high a ſtate and place of honour. For as he cōming with other of yͤ lordes of the Counſaile and Commiſſioners to the houſe of Shene, about the examination of certaine Monkes which there denied the kings ſupremacie, after the examination done was there ſitting at dinner, it chaunced hym to ſpie a farre of, a certaine pore man which there ſerued to ſweepe their Selles and Cloiſter, and to ringe yͤ belles. Whom when the Lorde Cromwell had well aduiſed, he ſent for the pore man to come vnto hym, and before all the table moſt louingly and frendly, callyng hym by hys name, toke hym by yͤ hand, and aſked how hee dyd, with many other good wordes, and turnyng therwith to the Lordes: My Lordes (quoth he) ſee ye thys pore man? Thys mans father hath ben a great frend to me in my neceſſitie, and hath geuen me many a meales meate. Then ſayd he to the pore man, come vnto me and I will prouide for thee, and thou ſhalt not lacke as long as I liue. Such as were preſent and ſawe and heard the ſame, being yet aliue, report it to be true.

An other example of the kinde & lowly minde of the *L. Cromwell*.

In this worthy and noble perſon, beſides diuers other eminent vertues, iij. things eſpecially are to be cōſidered, to wytte, floriſhyng authoritie, excellyng wyſedome, and feruent zeale to Chriſt and to hys Goſpell. Firſt as touchyng his feruent zeale in ſettyng forward the ſinceritie of Chriſten fayth, ſufficient is to be ſene before by the Iniunctions, proclamations, and Articles aboue ſpecified, that more can not almoſt be wyſhed in a noble man, and ſcarſe the like hath bene ſeene in any.

Secondly, with his wiſedome and policie no leſſe ſingular, ioyned with hys Chriſten zeale, hee brought great thynges to paſſe, as well on this ſide the ſea, as in the partes beyonde. But eſpecially his workyng was to nouriſhe peace abroad with foreine Realmes, as maye well by the kynges letters and inſtructions ſent by his meanes to hys Ambaſſadours reſident both with the Emperour, the French king, and yͤ kyng of Scottes, & alſo with the Pope appeare. In all whoſe Courtes ſuch watch and eſpial he had, that nothyng there was done, nor pretēded, wherof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any ſparke of miſchief kyndlyng neuer ſo litle agaynſt the kyng and the Realme, whiche hee by wytte and policie did not quenche and kepe down. And where policie would not ſerue to obteine peace, yet by money he bought it out: ſo that duryng all the tyme of Cromwels proſperitie, the kyng neuer had warre with any foreyne nation: notwithſtandyng, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the kynges of France & Scotland, were mightely bent and incenſed agaynſt hym.

Thus, as the prudent policie of this man was euer circumſpect abroad, to ſtay the Realme from foreyne warres: ſo hys authoritie was no leſſe occupyed in kepyng good order & rule at home: Firſt in hamperyng yͤ Popiſh Prelates, & diſapointing their ſubtile deuiſes: ſecondly, in brydlyng & keeping other vnruly ſubiectes vnder ſubiection and diſcipline of the lawes. Whereby as he was a ſuccour and refuge to all godly perſons: ſo was he a terrour to yͤ euil doers: ſo that not yͤ preſence of hym onely, but alſo yͤ hearing of yͤ cōmyng of Cromwell brake many frayes, and much euill rule: as well appeared by a certeine notorious fray or ryot appoynted to be fought by a company of ruffyns, in the ſtreete of London called Pater noſter row. Where cartes were ſet on both ſides of purpoſe, prepared to incloſe thē, that none might breake in to part thē. It happened, that as this deſperate ſkyrmiſh ſhould begyn, the Lord Cromwell commyng thē ſame tyme from the Court through Paules Churchyard, and entring into Chepe, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and becauſe of the cartes could not come at them, but was forced to goe about the little Cundet, and ſo come vpon them through Pannier Alley. Thus as the conflicte began to waxe hoate, & the people were ſtanding by in great expectation to ſee them fight, ſodeinly at the noice of the Lorde Cromwells commyng, the campe brake vppe and the Ruffins to goe, neither could the cartes kepe in thoſe ſo couragious campers, but well was he that firſt could be gone. And ſo ceaſed this tumultuous outrage, without any other partyng, onely throughe the authoritie of the Lord Cromwels name.

A ſtorye betwene the Lord *Cromwell* & a Ruffin.

One example more of the like affinitie cōmeth here in mynde, whiche ought not to be omitted, concernyng a certeine ſeruyng man of the lyke ruffynly order, who thinking to diſceuer hym ſelf frō the common vſage of all other men in ſtrāge newfanglenes of faſhions by hym ſelf (as many there be whō nothyng doth pleaſe, whiche is dayly ſene and receaued) vſed to go with hys heare hangyng about hys eares down vnto hys ſhoulders, after a ſtraunge monſtruous maner counterfetyng belyke the wilde Iriſhe men, or els Crinitus Iopas, which Vergil ſpeaketh of, as one wery of his own Engliſhe faſhion: or els as one aſhamed to be ſene lyke a man, would rather go like a woman, or lyke to one of the Gorgon ſiſters, but moſt of all lyke to hym ſelfe, that is, lyke to a ruffin, that could not tell how to go.

The Ruffin with the long heare.

As this ruffyne ruffling thus with his lockes, was walkyng in the ſtreates, as chaunce was, who ſhould méete him but the Lord Cromwell, who beholding the deforme and vnſéemely maner of hys diſguiſed goyng, full of much vanitie, & hurtfull example, called ẏ mā to queſtion with him, whoſe ſeruaunt he was, whiche beyng declared, then was it demaūded, whether his maſter, or any of hys felowes vſed ſo to go, with ſuch héere about their ſhoulders as he did, or no? Whiche when he denyed, and was not able to yelde any reaſon for refuge of that hys monſtruous diſguyſing, at length he fell to thys excuſe that he had made a vowe. To this the Lord Cromwell aunſwered agayne, that for ſo much as hee had made hym ſelfe a votarie, hee woulde not force hym to breake hys vowe, but vntill his vowe ſhould be expired, he ſhould lye the meane tyme in priſon, & ſo ſent hym immediatly to ẏ Marſhalſey: where he endured, till at length, this intonſus Cato beyng perſuaded by hys maſter to cut his heare, by ſuyte and petition of frendes, hee was brought agayne to the Lord Cromwell with his head poled accordyng to the accuſtomed ſorte of hys other felowes, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Frier *Barteley* with hys Friers coule.

To the lyke exāple alſo perteineth, that when Frier Bartley after the aboliſhing of Friers and Monkes woulde néedes kéepe hys Friers wéede ſtill for hys vowes ſake, the Lord Cromwell metyng hym in the ſtreate, ſo handled the Frier, that hee before one of the clocke, the ſame day, put awaye hys coule and neuer durſt were it after.

If the ſame Lord Cromwell, which could not abyde this ſeruing man ſo diſſigured in his heare, were now in theſe our dayes alyue, with ẏ ſame authoritie, which thē he had, & ſaw theſe new fangled faſhions of attire, vſed here amongeſt vs both of men and women, I ſuppoſe verely, that neither theſe monſtruous ruffes, nor theſe prodigious hoſe, and prodigall or rather hyperboricall barbarous bréeches (whiche ſeme rather lyke barels, then bréeches) would haue any place in England. In which vnmeaſurable exceſſe of veſture, this I haue to maruell: firſt how theſe ſeruing men, which cōmonly haue nothing els but their wages, & that ſo ſlender & bare, cā mayntein ſuch ſloppes, ſo huge, & ſo ſūptuous which commonly ſtand them in more, then their thrée yeares wages do come vnto. Secōdly I meruell, that their maſters and Lordes (who ſhal yelde to God a counte of their ſeruauntes doynges) do not ſearche and trye out their ſeruauntes walkes, how they come by theſe expenſes, wherewith to vpholde this brauery, ſeyng their ſtipēdary wages and all reuenues els they haue, will not extend therunto. Thirdly, this moſt all is to be marueled, that Magiſtrates, which haue in their handes the ordering and guiding of good lawes, do not prouide more ſeuerely for the nedefull reformation of theſe enormities. But here we may well ſée, and truly this may ſay, that England once had a Cromwell.

Theſe mon
ous ſlop
of Eng
lacke a
Cromwell.

Long it were to recite, what innumerable benefites this worthy Counſellour by his prudent pollicie, hys graue authoritie, and perfect zeale wrought & brought to paſſe in the publicke Realme, and eſpecially in the Church of England: what good orders hée eſtabliſhed, what wickednes and vices he ſuppreſſed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuſes hee brought to light, what crafty iugglyngs, what Idolatrous deceptions, and ſuperſtitious illuſions hee detected and aboliſhed out of the Churche. What poſteritie will euer thinke the Churche of the Pope pretendyng ſuch Religion, to haue bene ſo wicked, ſo lōg to abuſe the peoples eyes, with an old rooten ſtocke (called ẏ roode of grace) wherin a man ſhould ſtand incloſed with an hūdreth wyers within ẏ roode, to make the Image goggle with ẏ eyes, to nodde with his head, to hang the lyppe, to moue and ſhake his iawes, accordyng as the value was of the gift whiche was offered? If it were a ſmall péece of ſiluer, he would hang a frownyng lyppe: if it were a péece of gold, thē ſhould his iawes go merely. Thus miſerably was the people of Chriſt abuſed, their ſoules ſeduced, their ſenſes begyled, and their purſes ſpoyled, till this Idolatrous forgery at laſt, by Cromwels meanes was diſcloſed, and the Image, with all his ingines ſhewed openly at Paules Croſſe, and there torne in péeces by the people. The lyke was done with ẏ bloud of Hales, whiche in lyke maner by Cromwell was brought to Paules Croſſe and there proued to bee the bloud of a Ducke.

Diuers corruptions in the Church detected and refourmed by *Cromwell.*

The Roode of Grace goggling with hys eyes.

The bloud of Hales.

Who would haue iudged, but that ẏ mayde of Kent had bene an holy woman, and a Propheteſſe inſpired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules Croſſe to be a ſtrong whore?

The holy maide of Kent, read before pag. 1199.

What ſhould I ſpeake of Daruell Gatharen, of the Roode of Cheſter, of Tho. Becket, our Lady of Walſingham, with an infinite multitude more of the lyke affinitie? All which ſtockes and blockes of curſed Idolatrie, Cromwell ſtyrred vp by the prouidence of God, remoued out of ẏ peoples way, that they might walke more ſafely in the ſincere ſeruice of almighty God.

Stockes and blockes remoued out of the way.

While the Lorde Cromwell was thus bleſſedly occupyed in profityng the common wealth, and purgyng the Church of Chriſt, it happened to hym, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellencie of vertue appeareth, there enuye créepeth in: and where true pietie ſeketh moſt after Chriſt, there ſome perſecution foloweth withall.

Thus (I ſay) as hee was laboryng in the common wealth, and doyng good to the poore afflicted Saintes, helpyng them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies ſo wrought, continuallye huntyng for matter agaynſt hym, that they neuer ceaſed, till in the end they by falſe traynes and crafty ſurmiſes, brought hym out of the kynges fauour.

Ste. Gardiner chiefe enemie to the Lorde *Cromwell.*

The chief and principall enemy agaynſt hym, was Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, who euer diſdaynyng and enuyeng the ſtate and felicitie of the Lord Cromwell, and now takyng hys occaſion by the Mariage of Lady Anne of Cleue, beyng a ſtraunger and forener, put in ẏ kyngs eares what a perfect thing it were for ẏ quyet of ẏ Realme, and eſtabliſhement of the kinges ſucceſſion to haue an Engliſhe Quéene and Prince that were mere Engliſh: ſo that in concluſion, the kynges affection, the more it was diminiſhed from the late maryed Anne of Cleue, the leſſe fauour hee bare vnto Cromwell. Beſides this Gardiner, there lacked not other backe frēdes alſo and ilwyllers in the Court about ẏ kyng, whiche litle made for Cromwell, both for his Religion, whiche they maligned, and for other priuate grudges alſo incident by the way.

Read before pag. 1296.

Ouer and beſides all whiche, it is moreouer ſuppoſed, that ſome parte of diſpleaſure might ryſe agaynſt hym, by reaſon of a certayne talke, whiche happened a a litle before at Lambeth, at what tyme the kyng after the makyng of the vi. Articles, ſent ẏ ſayd Lord Cromwell hys Vicegerent, with the ij. Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, with all the Lordes of the Parlament to Lambeth to dyne with the Archbyſhop (who mightely had diſputed and alleaged in the Parlament agaynſt the ſayd Articles) to cheare and comforte hys daunted ſpirites agayne.

The talke betwene the L. Cromwell and certen of the Lordes at Lambeth.

There the ſayd Cromwell , with the other noble Lordes ſittyng with the Archbyſhop at hys table in talke, as euery Lord brought forth his ſẽtence in commendation of Cranmer, to ſignifie what good will both the kyng, and they bare vnto hym: among the reſt one of the company entryng into a compariſon betwen the ſaid Thomas Crãmer, and Thomas Wolſey late Cardinall of Yorke, declared in hys iudgemẽt, that Cranmer was much to be preferred for hys milde and gẽtle nature, where as the Cardinall was a ſtubberne and a churlyſhe Prelate, and one that could neuer abyde any noble man, and that (ſayd he) know you well ynough, my Lord Cromwell, for he was your Maiſter. &c. At theſe wordes the Lord Cromwell beyng ſomwhat touched to heare the Cardinals ſeruice ſo caſt in hys teeth, inferred agayne, ſaying : that he could not denye but he was ſeruaunt ſome tyme to Cardinall Wolſey, neither dyd repent the ſame, for hee receaued of hym both fee, meate and drinke, and other cõmodities : but yet he was neuer ſo farre in loue with hym, as to haue wayted vpõ hym to Rome, if he had bene choſen pope, as he vnderſtode that he would haue done if yͤ caſe had ſo fallen out. Whiche when the other had denyed to bee true, Cromwell ſtill perſiſted affirmyng the ſame, and ſhewyng moreouer what number of Florenes he ſhould haue receaued, to be hys Admirall, and to haue ſaueconducted hym to Rome in caſe he had bene elected biſhop of Rome. The partie not a litle moued with theſe wordes: told hym, he lyed. The other agayne affirmed it to be true. Vpon this, great and hygh wordes roſe betwene them. Whiche contention although it was through intreatie of the Archbyſhop and other nobles ſomewhat pacified for the tyme, yet it might bee, that ſome bitter roote of grudge remayned behynde, whiche afterward grew vnto him to ſome diſpleaſure. And this was an. 1540. in yͤ moneth of Iulye. Ex teſtimonio, Secretarij. Cantuar.

An. 1541

A Parlament.

The Lord *Cromwell* apprehended.

After this the next yeare folowyng , whiche was 1541. in the moneth of April, was holden a Parlamẽt, which after diuers prorogations was continued till the moneth of July the ſayd yeare. In the whiche moneth of July, the Lord Cromwell beyng in the Counſayle chamber, was ſodenly apprehended, and committed to the tower of Londõ. Wherat, as many good mẽ which knewe nothyng but truth by him did lamẽt, and prayed hartely for him : ſo moe there were on the cõtrary ſide that reioyſed, eſpecially of the religious ſort, and of the Clergie, ſuch as had ben in ſome dignitie before in the Church, and now by his meanes were put frõ it. For in deede ſuch was hys nature, that in all his doynges he could not abyde any kind of Popery, nor of falſe Religion creepyng vnder hypocriſie: and leſſe could abyde the ambitious pryde of Popiſhe Prelacie, whiche profeſſing all humilitie, was ſo elated in pride, that kynges could not rule in their owne Realmes for them. Theſe ſnuffing Prelates as hee could neuer abyde : ſo they agayne hated hym as much , whiche was the cauſe of ſhortenyng his dayes, and to bryng him to his end: So that the xix. day of the moneth aforeſayd he was attainted by Parlament.

Crimes and accuſations brought agaynſt the L. *Cromwell.*

In the whiche Atteinder diuers and ſondry crimes ſurmiſes, obiections and accuſations were brought againſt him, but chiefiye & aboue all other, he was charged & accuſed of hereſie, for that he was a ſupporter of them (whom they recoũted for heretickes) as Barnes, Clerke, and many other, whom hee by his authoritie & letters writtẽ to Shriffes & Iuſtices in diuers Shires, reſcued and diſcharged out of priſon . Alſo, that he dyd euulgate and diſparſe abroad amongeſt the kinges ſubiectes, great nũbers of bookes, cõteyning (as they ſaid) manifeſt matter of much hereſie, diffidence, and miſbeliefe. Item, that he cauſed to bee tranſlated into our Engliſhe tounge, bookes compriſing matter expreſly agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar , and that after the tranſlation therof, he commended and maintayned the ſame for good and Chriſtian doctrine.

Ouer and beſides all this, they brought in certaine witneſſes (what they were, yͤ Atteinder expreſſeth not) which moſt eſpecially preſſed (or rather oppreſſed) hym with heynous wordes ſpoken agaynſt the kyng in the Church of S. Peter the poore, in the moneth of March, in the xxx. yeare of the kinges reigne. Which wordes if they be true, as the Atteinder doth purport , iij. thinges I haue here much to maruell at . Fyrſt, if hys aduerſaryes had ſo ſure holde and matter agaynſt hym, then what ſhoulde moue them to make ſuch haſtie ſpeede in all poſte haſte, to haue hym diſpatched and ridde out of the way, and in no caſe could abyde hym to come to his purgatiõ? Which if he might haue done, it is not otherwyſe to be thought, but he would eaſilye haue cleared hym ſelf therof .

Witnes agaynſt Cromwel ſuſpecte

Secondly , thys I maruell , that if the wordes had bene ſo heynous agaynſt the king, as hys enemyes did pretende , why then dyd thoſe witneſſes, which heard thoſe wordes in S. Peters Church , in the xxx. yeare of the kinges reigne, conceale yͤ ſayd wordes of ſuch treaſon ſo long, the ſpace almoſt of ij. yeares, and now vttered yͤ ſame in the xxxij. yeare of the kinges reigne, in the moneth of Iulie.

Thirdly, here is agayne to be merueled, if the kyng had knowẽ or beleued theſe wordes to bee true, & that Cromwell had ben in deede ſuch a traitour to his perſon, why then did the kyng ſo ſhortly after lament hys death , wiſhyng to haue his Cromwell alyue agayne? What Prince will wiſh the life of him whom he ſuſpecteth vndoubtedly to bee a traitour to his life and perſon? wherby it may appeare what iudgement the kyng had of Cromwell , in him ſelfe, howſoeuer the Parlament by ſiniſter information was otherwiſe incenſed to iudge vpon him.

Such malicious makebates about Princes and Parlamentes neuer lacked in common weales . By ſuch kyng Ethelſtane was incenſed to kill his brother Edwyne. pag. 197. So was kyng Edward 2. depoſed. So likewiſe when kyng Richard 2. was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accuſations were layd agaynſt him in the Parlament? So was Humfrey the good Duke of Gloceſter , the kynges vncle, by Henry Beauford Byſhop of Wincheſter & other, in the Parlament holden at Bery, arreſted as a traitour , & falſely made away. pag. 835. What great treaſon was in yͤ wordes of him, who dwellyng in Chepeſide at yͤ ſigne of the crowne, ſayd merely to his ſonne, yͭ if he liued, he would make him heyre of yͤ crowne: & yet was he therfore atteynted, & iudged for a traytor? pag. 861. col. 1. In yͤ time of kyng Henry 8. how was that Parlament incenſed, wherein both Queene Anne was falſely condemned, and Queene Elizabeth her daughter as falſely diſhereted? To omitte here yͤ attaynder of the Duke of Buckyngham wrought by the Cardinall of Yorke: Of yͤ Lord Cobhã likewiſe, & Syr Roger Acton. pag. 684. If yͤ cauſe of the Lord Henry late Earle of Surrey were well tried out, perauenture no ſuch heynous purpoſe of any treaſon ſhould be found therin, as then was made. Who incenſed the late Duke of Somerſet to beheade his owne brother , but ſuch makebates as theſe? And afterward when the ſaid Duke him ſelfe was attaynted for a traitor and condemned for a felon, a briber and extorcioner, how was the Parlament thẽ incẽſed? Adam Damlype receaued of Cardinall Poole at Rome, but a ſelye crowne in way of almoſe, & therfore by meanes of Steuen Gardiner was attainted for a traytor. George Egles dyd but read ſome tyme in woodes, and by the ſayd Gardiner was alſo condemned and ſuffered as a traytour.

Not that I here ſpeake, or meane agaynſt the high Courtes of Parlamentes of this our Realme, neceſſarilie aſſembled for the common wealth, to whom I alwayes attribute their due reuerence and authoritie. But as it happeneth ſometimes in generall Coūcels, whiche though they be neuer ſo generall, yet notwithſtondyng ſometymes they may and do erre in wayghtie matters of Religion: ſo likewiſe they that ſay, that Princes and Parlamentes may be miſinformed ſometimes, by ſome ſiniſter heades, in matters ciuil and politike, do not therin derogate or empaire the high eſtate of Parlaments, but rather geue wholeſome admonition to Princes and Parlament men, to be more circumſpect and vigilant what counſell they ſhall admitte, and what witneſſes they do credite. For priuate affection which commonly beareth a great ſtroke in all ſocieties and doinges of men, creepeth ſomtimes into ſuch generall Councels, & into Princes Courtes alſo, eyther to much amplifying thinges yͤ be but ſmall, makyng moūtaines of Molehils, or els to much extenuating thinges yͤ be of thē ſelues great & wayghtie, accordyng as it is truly ſayd of the Poete Iuuenal: Dat veniam coruis, vexat cenſura columbas, or as our Engliſhe Prouerbe ſheweth: As a man is frended, ſo is hys matter ended: And where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large leapes: or rather to ſpeake, after yͤ Frēch phraſe: Qui ſon chien veult tuer, la rage luy met ſus. That is: *He that is diſpoſed to haue hys dogge killed, firſt maketh mē beleue that he is mad.* And thus much hauing declared touchyng yͤ matter of his accuſatiō, yͤ reſt I referre to the high Parlament of that mightie king, who ſhall one day bryng all thynges to perfect light.

In the meane ſeaſon, howſoeuer the cauſe of the Lord Cromwell ſtandeth, true, or falſe, this is certaine that Steuen Gardiner lacked not an head, nor yet priuie aſſiſters, which cunningly could fetche thys matter about, and watche their tyme, when as the kyng being diſpoſed to marye an other wife, which was the Lady Catherine Hawarde, immediatly after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, dyd repudiate Lady Anne of Cleue, which otherwyſe is to be thought, duryng the life of Cromwell, could not ſo well be brought to paſſe.

But theſe thynges being now done and paſte, let vs paſſe them ouer and returne agayne from whence we digreſſed, that is, to yͤ Lorde Cromwell being now atteinted and committed to the Tower. Who ſo long as he went with full ſaile of fortune, how moderatly, and how temperatlye he dyd euer beare hym ſelfe in hys eſtate, before hath bene declared. So now the ſayd Lorde Cromwell, alwayes one man, by the contrarye wynde of aduerſitie being ouerblowen, receaued the ſame with no leſſe conſtancie, and pacience of a Chriſtian harte. Neither yet was hee ſo vnprouided of counſaile & forecaſte, but that he did forſee this tempeſt long before it fell, & alſo prepared for yͤ ſame. For two yeares before, ſmellyng the conſpiracie of his aduerſaries, and fearyng what might happen, hee called vnto hym his ſeruauntes, and there ſhewyng vnto them in what a ſlyppery ſtate hee ſtode, and alſo perceauyng ſome ſtormy wether already to gather, required them to looke diligentlye to their order and doynges, leſt through their defaulte any occaſion might ryſe agaynſt hym. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehēſion, ſuch order hee tooke for his ſeruauntes, that many of thē, eſpecially yͤ yonger brethren, which had litle ells to take vnto, had honeſtly left for them in their frendes handes, to releaue thē, what ſoeuer ſhould him befall.

Brieflye, ſuch a louing and kinde Maiſter hee was to hys ſeruauntes, that he prouided aforehand almoſt for them all: Inſomuch, that he gaue to xij. children which were hys Muſicions, twentie pounde a peece, and ſo cōmitted them to their frendes. Of whom ſome yet remayne aliue, who both inioyed the ſame, and alſo geue recorde of thys to be true.

Furthermore beyng in the Tower a priſoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaued hym ſelfe, how grauely and diſcretly he aūſwered & enterteined the Commiſſioners ſent vnto him, it is worthy noting. What ſoeuer Articles or interrogatories they propoūded, they could put nothyng vnto hym, either concernyng matters Eccleſiaſticall or temporall, wherein he was not more rypened, and more furniſhed in euery condition, then they them ſelues.

Amongeſt the reſt of thoſe Commiſſioners which came vnto hym, one there was, whome the Lorde Cromwell deſired to carye for hym a letter to the kyng. Whiche when hee refuſed, ſaying that hee would cary no letter to the kyng, from a traytour: then the Lord Cromwel deſired him at leaſt to do from him a meſſage to the kyng. To that the other was contēted, and graunted, ſo that it were not agaynſt his allegeance. Then the Lord Cromwell takyng witnes of the other Lordes, what he had promiſed: You ſhall cōmend me (ſayd he) to yͤ kyng, & tell hym: by that he hath ſo well tryed, & thorowly proued you, as I haue done, he ſhal finde you as falſe a mā as euer came about him.

Syr Raffe Sadler the *L. Cromwells* truſtie frend.

Beſides this he wrote alſo a letter from the Tower to the kyng, wherof when none durſt take the cariage vpon him, Syr Raffe Sadler (whom hee alſo had preferred to the kyng before, beyng euer truſty and faythfull vnto him) went to the kyng, to vnderſtand his pleaſure, whether he would permitte him, to bryng the letter or not. Whiche when the kyng had graunted, the ſayd M. Sadler, as hee was required, preſented yͤ letter vnto yͤ kyng, which he cōmaunded thriſe to be read vnto him: in ſo much yͤ king ſemed to be moued therwith.

Cromwells letter to the kyng.

The Lord Cromwell not ſuffred to come to hys aunſwere.

Notwithſtandyng by reaſon of the Acte of Parlament afore paſſed, the worthy & noble Lord Cromwell oppreſſed by his enemyes, and condēned in yͤ Tower, and not commyng to his aunſwere, the xxviij. day of July. an. 1541. was brought to yͤ ſcaffolde on Tower hill, where he ſayd theſe wordes folowyng.

The Lorde *Cromwell* brought to the ſcaffolde.

I am come hether to dye, & not to purge my ſelfe, as ſome thinke peraduēture that I wil. For if I ſhould ſo do, I were a very wretch and a miſer. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my Lord God that hath appoynted me this death for myne offence. For ſithens the tyme that I haue had yeares of diſcretion, I haue lyued a ſinner, and offended my Lord God, for the whiche I aſke him hartely forgeuenes. And it is not vnknowen to many of you, that I haue bene a great traueler in this world, and being but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithens the time I came thereunto, I haue offended my Prince, for the whiche I aſke him hartely forgeuenes, and beſeche you all to praye to God with me, that hee will forgeue me. And now I praye you that be here, to beare me recorde, I die in the Catholicke fayth, not doubtyng in any Article of my faith, no nor doubting in any Sacramēt of the Church. Many haue ſclaūdered me, and reported that I haue ben a bearer of ſuch as haue mainteined euil opinions, which is vntrue. But I confeſſe that like as God by his holy ſpirite, doth inſtruct vs in the truth, ſo the deuill is ready to ſeduce vs, and I haue bene ſeduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faith of the holy Churche. And I hartly deſire you to pray for the kinges grace, that hee may long lyue with you in health and proſperitie: and that after hym hys ſonne Prince Edwarde, that goodly Impe, may long reigne ouer you. And once again I deſire you to praye for me, that ſo long as life remayneth in this fleſhe, I wauer nothyng in my fayth. And ſo makyng his prayer, kneling vpon his knees, he ſpake theſe wordes, the effect wherof here foloweth.

A true Chriſtian confeſſion of the Lorde *Cromwell* at hys death.

¶ *A prayer that the L. Cromwell ſaid at the houre of his death.*

The prayer of the Lord *Cromwell* at his death.

O Lord Ieſu, which art the only health of all men liuing, and the euerlaſting life of them which die in thee: I wretched ſinner do ſubmitte my ſelf wholy vnto thy moſt bleſſed will, and being ſure that the thing can not periſhe which is cōmitted vnto thy mercy, willingly now I leaue this fraile and wicked fleſh in ſure hope that thou wilt in better wiſe reſtore it to me agayn at the laſt day in the reſurrection of the iuſt. I beſeche thee, moſt mercifull Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that thou wilt by thy grace make ſtrong my ſoule againſt al tēptations, & defend me with the buckler of thy mercy agaynſt all the aſſaultes of the deuill. I ſee and knowledge that there is in my ſelfe no hope of ſaluation, but all my confidence, hope & truſt, is in thy moſt mercifull goodnes. I haue no merites nor good workes, whiche I may alledge before thee. Of ſinnes & euill workes (alas) I ſee a great heape: but yet through thy mercy I truſt to be in the nūber of thē to whō thou wilt not impute their ſinnes: but wilt take & accept me for righteous & iuſt, & to be the inheritour of euerlaſting life. Thou mercifull Lord waſte borne for my ſake: thou didſt ſuffer both hunger and thirſt for my ſake: thou diddeſt teach, praye, and faſte for my ſake: all thy holy actions and workes thou wroughteſt for my ſake: thou ſufferedſt moſt greuous paines and torments for my ſake: finally, thou gaueſt thy moſte precious bodye and thy bloud to bee ſhed on the croſſe for my ſake. Now moſt mercifull Sauiour, let all theſe thinges profite me, that thou freely haſt done for me, which haſte geuen thy ſelfe alſo for me. Let thy bloude clenſe and waſhe away the ſpottes and foulnes of my ſinnes. Let thy righteouſnes hide and couer my vnrighteouſnes. Let the merites of thy paſſion and bloudeſheding be ſatiſfaction for my ſinnes. Geue me Lord thy grace that the fayth of my ſaluation in thy bloude, wauer not in me, but may euer be firme and conſtant: that the hope of thy mercye and life euerlaſting neuer decaye in me: that loue waxe not colde in me: Finally, that the weaknes of my fleſhe bee not ouercome with the feare of death. Graunt me mercifull Sauiour, that when death hath ſhutte vp the eyes of my bodye, yet the eyes of my ſoule may ſtill beholde and looke vppon thee: and when death hath taken awaye the vſe of my tounge, yet my harte may crye and ſay vnto thee: Lorde into thy handes I commende my ſoule: Lord Ieſu receaue my ſpirite. Amen.

The death of the Lord *Cromwell.*

And thus his prayer made, after hee had godly and louyngly exhorted them that were about hym on the ſcaffold, he quietly committed his ſoule into the handes of God, and ſo paciently ſuffered the ſtroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miſer, whiche very vngodly performed the office.

Of the Bible in Engliſhe Printed in the large volume, & of Edmund Boner, preferred to the Byſhopricke of London, by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell.

The Bibles of the great volume Printed in Paris.

About the tyme and yeare, when Edmund Boner Byſhop of Hereford, and Ambaſſadour reſident in Fraunce, began firſt to be nominate and preferred by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell, to the Byſhopricke of London: which was, an. 1540. it happened that yͤ ſaid Thomas Lord Cromwell & Earle of Eſſex, procured of the kyng of England his gracious letters to the Frenche kyng, to permit and licence a ſubiect of his to imprint the Bible in Engliſhe, within the Vniuerſitie of Paris becauſe paper was there more mete and apt to be had for the doyng therof, then in the Realme of England, and alſo that there were more ſtore of good workemen for the ready diſpatche of the ſame. And in like maner at the ſame tyme yͤ ſayd kyng wrote vnto his Ambaſſadour, who then was Edmūd Boner Byſhop of Herford lying in Paris, that hée ſhould ayde and aſſiſte yͤ doers therof in all their reaſonable ſutes. The which Biſhop outwardly ſhewed great frendſhyp to the marchaūtes that were the imprinters of yͤ ſame, and moreouer dyd diuers and ſundry tymes call and cōmaund the ſayd perſons to bée in maner dayly at his table both dynner and ſupper, & ſo much reioyſed in yͤ workemanſhip of yͤ ſayd Bible, that he him ſelfe would viſite yͤ imprinters houſe where yͤ ſame Bibles were printed, & alſo would take parte of ſuch dynners as the Engliſhemen there had, and that to his coſt, whiche, as it ſemed, he litle wayed. And farther the ſayd Boner was ſo feruent that he cauſed the ſayd Engliſhemen to put in print a new Teſtament in Engliſhe and Latine and him ſelfe tooke a great many of them and payd for them and gaue them to his frendes. And it chaunced the meane tyme, while the ſayd Bible was in printyng, that kyng Henry the viij. preferred the ſayd Boner from the Biſhopricke of Herford, to be Byſhop of London, at whiche tyme the ſayd Boner accordyng to the ſtatute law of Englād, tooke his othe to the king knowledgyng his ſupremacie, and called one of the aforeſayd Engliſhemen that printed the Bible, whom he then loued, although afterward vppon the chaunge of the worlde hee did hate him aſmuch, whoſe name was Richard Grafton: to whom the ſayd Boner ſayd when hee tooke his othe, M. Grafton, ſo it is, that the kynges moſte excellent maieſtie hath by his gracious gift preſented me to the Byſhopricke of London, for the whiche I am ſory, for if it would haue pleaſed hys grace, I could haue bene well cōtent to haue kept mine old Biſhopricke of Herford. Then ſaid Grafton, I am right glad to heare of it, and ſo I am ſure wil be a great nomber of the Citie of London: for though the they yet know you not, yet they haue heard ſo much goodnes of you from hence, as no doubt they will hartely reioyce of your placyng. Then ſayd Boner, I pray God I may do that may content them, and to tell you M. Grafton, Before God (for that was cōmonly his othe) the greateſt fault that I euer found in Stokeſly, was for vexing and troublyng of poore men, as Lobley the booke bynder and other, for hauing the Scripture in Engliſh, and God willyng hee did not ſo much hynder it, but I will aſmuch further it, and I wil haue of your Bibles ſet vp in the Churche of Paules at the leaſt in ſondry places vi. of them, and I will pay you honeſtly for them & geue you hartie thākes. Which wordes he then ſpake in the hearyng of diuers credible perſons, as Edmund Stile Grocer, and other. But now M: Grafton at this tyme I haue ſpecially called you to be a witnes with me that vpō this tranſlation of biſhops Sées, I muſt accordyng to the ſtatute take an oth vnto yͤ kyngs maieſtie knowledging his ſupremacy, which before God I take with my harte and ſo thinke him to be, and beſech almighty God to ſaue hym, and long to proſper his grace: holde the booke ſyrah, and read you the othe (ſaid he) to one of his Chappleines, and he layd his hand on the booke and ſo tooke his othe. And after this hee ſhewed great frendſhyp to the ſayd Grafton and to his partener Edward Whitchurche, but ſpecially to Myles Couerdall, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

The doers hereof were *Rich. Graftō* and *Whytchurche.*

Edm. Boner a great fartherer in printing the Bibles in Engliſhe.

The new Teſtament in Engliſhe and Latin put in print by *Boner.*

Edm. Boner made Byſhop of London.

Now, after that the aforeſaid letters were deliuered, the Frenche kyng gaue very good wordes, & was well content to permit the doyng thereof. And ſo the printer went forwarde and printed forth the booke euen to the laſt part, & then was there a quarell picked to the printer, and he was ſent for to the Inquiſitors of the fayth, and there charged with certeine Articles of hereſie. Then were ſent for yͤ Engliſhmen that were at yͤ coſt and charge therof, and alſo ſuch as had the correctiō of the ſame, whiche was Myles Couerdall: but hauyng ſome warnyng what would folowe, the ſayd Engliſhemen poſted away as faſt as they could to ſaue them ſelues, leauyng behynde them all their Bibles, whiche were to the number of xxv. C. called the Bibles of the great Volume, and neuer recouered any of thē, ſauyng that the Lieutenaunt criminall hauyng them deliuered vnto him to burne in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert place, was ſomewhat moued with couetouſnes, and ſold iiij. great dry fattes of thē to a Haberdaſher to lappe in cappes, and thoſe were bought agayn, but the reſt were burned, to the great and importunate loſſe of thoſe that bare the charge of them. But notwithſtandyng the ſayd loſſe, after they had recouered ſome part of the aforeſayd bookes, and were well comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the ſayd Engliſhemen went agayne to Paris, and there gotte the preſſes, letters, and ſeruauntes of the aforeſayd Printer, and brought them to London, and there they became Printers them ſelues (whiche before they neuer entended) and Printed out the ſaid Bible in Lōdon, and after that Printed ſundry impreſſions of thē: but yet not without great trouble and loſſe, for the hatred of the Biſhops namely Steuen Gardiner, and his felowes, who mightly did ſtomacke and maligne the Printyng therof.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the ſtory, thou haſt louing reader, to note and vnderſtand that in thoſe dayes there were ij. ſundry Bibles in Engliſhe,

printed

pꝛinted and ſet foꝛth, bearing diuers titles, and pꝛinted in diuers places. The firſt was called Thomas Mathews Bible, pꝛinted at Hambrough, about the yeare of our Loꝛd. 1532. the coꝛrectour of whiche pꝛinte was then Iohn Rogers, of whom ye ſhal heare moꝛe Chꝛiſt willyng hereafter. The pꝛinters were Rich. Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the trãſlation of this Bible, the greateſt doer was in dede William Tyndall, who with the helpe of Myles Couerdale had tranſlated all the bookes therof, except only the Apocripha, and certein notes in the margent, which were added after. But becauſe the ſayd William Tyndall in yͤ meane tyme was appꝛehended befoꝛe this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them whiche had the doyng therof, to chaunge the name of William Tyndall, becauſe that name then was odious, and to father it by a ſtraunge name of Thomas Mathewe, Iohn Rogers the ſame tyme beyng coꝛrectour to the pꝛinte, who had then tranſlated the reſidue of yͤ Apocrypha, and added alſo certeine notes thereto in the margent, and thereof came it to bee called Thomas Mathewes Bible. Whiche Bible of Thomas Mathewe, after it was impꝛinted and pꝛeſented to the Loꝛd Cromwell, and the Loꝛd Cranmer Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, who lyked very well of it, the ſayd Cromwell pꝛeſented it to the kyng, and obteined that the ſame might freely paſſe to bee read of his ſubiectes with his graces licence: So that there was pꝛinted vpõ the ſame booke, one lyne in read letters with theſe woꝛdes: *Set forth with the Kinges moſte gracious licence.* The ſettyng foꝛth of this booke did not a litle offende the Clergy, namely the Byſhop afoꝛeſayd, both foꝛ the pꝛologues, and ſpecially becauſe in the ſame booke was one ſpeciall table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures foꝛ the appꝛobatiõ of the ſame, and chiefly about the Supper of the Loꝛd and mariage of Pꝛieſtes, and the Maſſe, whiche there was ſayd not to be found in Scripture.

Of thys Bible printed at *Hambrough*, read befoꝛe pag.

Thomas Mathewes Bible trãſlated, by whom and how.

The Bible preſented to the kyng by the Loꝛd *Cromwell.*

The Bible put foꝛth with the kinges priuilege.

Furthermoꝛe, after the reſtreynt of this foꝛeſayd Bible of Mathew, an other Bible began to be pꝛinted at Paris, an. 1540. Whiche was called the Bible of the large Volume. The Pꝛinters whereof were the foꝛeſayd Richard Grafton, & Whytchurch whiche bare the charges. A great helper therto was yͤ Loꝛd Cromwell. The chiefeſt ouerſeer was Myles Couerdale, who takyng the tranſlation of Tyndall, conferred the ſame with the Hebꝛue, and amended many thynges. In this Bible, although the foꝛmer notes of Thomas Mathew was omitted, yet ſondꝛy markes and handes were annexed in the ſides, whiche ment that in thoſe places ſhould bee made certeyne notes, wherewith alſo the Clergy was offended, thoughe the notes were not made.

An other Bible of the great volume printed at Paris.

The Byſhops offended at the Bible tranſlated into Engliſhe.

After this, the Biſhops bꝛinging their purpoſe to paſſe, bꝛought the Loꝛd Cromwell out of fauour, and ſhoꝛtly to hys death: and not long after great cõplaint was made to the kyng of the tranſlation of the Bible, and of the pꝛeface of the ſame, and then was the ſale of the Bible commaunded to be ſtayed, the Biſhops pꝛomiſing to amend and coꝛrect it, but neuer perfoꝛmyng the ſame. Then Grafton was called, and firſt charged with the pꝛintyng of Mathewes Bible, but he beyng very fearefull of trouble, made excuſes foꝛ hym ſelf in al thinges. Then was he examined of yͤ great Bible, & what notes he was purpoſed to make. To yͤ which he aunſwered, that he knewe none. Foꝛ hys purpoſe was to haue retayned learned men to haue made the notes, but when he perceaued the kynges maieſtie, and his Clergye not willing to haue any, hee pꝛoceded no further. But foꝛ all theſe excuſes, Grafton was ſent to the Fleete, & there remayned vj. wekes, and befoꝛe he came out, was bound in CCC. li. that he ſhoulde neyther ſell noꝛ impꝛint oꝛ cauſe to bee impꝛinted any moe Bibles, vntyll the kyng and the cleargye ſhoulde agree vpon a tranſlation. And thus was the Bible frõ that tyme ſtayed, duryng the reygne of King Henry the viij.

The ſale of the Bible ſtayde by the kyng, through the biſhops meanes.

Richard Grafton impꝛiſoned for printing the Bible.

But yet one thing moꝛe is to bee noted, that after the impꝛinters had loſte theyꝛ Bibles, they contynued ſuters to Boner, as is afoꝛeſayd, to bee a meane foꝛ to obteyne of the Frenche king theyꝛ bokes agayn: but ſo long they continued ſuters, and Boner euer fed them with faire woꝛdes, pꝛomyſing thẽ much, but dyd nothing foꝛ them, till at the laſt Boner was diſcharged of hys ambaſſade, & returned home, where he was right ioyfullye welcomed home by the Loꝛde Cromwell, who loued hym very dearely, and hadde a marueilous good opinion of hym. And ſo long as Cromwell remained in authoꝛitie, ſo long was Boner at his becke, and frende to hys frendes, and enemy to his enemyes: as namely at that time to Gardiner biſhop of Winchester, who neuer fauoured Cromwell, and therfoꝛe Boner could not fauour hym, but that he and Wincheſter were the greateſt enemyes that might be. But ſo ſone as Cromwell fell, immediatly Boner and Wincheſter pꝛetended to be the greateſt men that lyued, and no good woꝛd could Boner ſpeake of Cromwell, but the lewdeſt, vileſt, and bittereſt that he coulde ſpeake, callyng hym the rankeſt heretyck that euer lyued: and then ſuche as the ſayd Boner knew to be in good fauour with Cromwel, he could neuer abide their ſight. In ſomuch as the next daye after that Cromwell was appꝛehended, the abouenamed Grafton, who befoꝛe had ben very familiar wͭ Boner, mette with yͤ ſaid Boner ſodenly, & ſayd vnto him, yͭ he was ſoꝛy to heare of yͤ newes yͭ thẽ was abꝛoad. What are they, ſaid he? Of the appꝛehenſion of the L. Cromwell, ſaid Graftõ. Are ye ſoꝛy foꝛ that (ſayd he?) It had bene good that he had bene diſpatched long agoo. With that Grafton looked vpon hym, and knew not what to ſaye, but came no moꝛe to Boner. Howbeit afterward the ſayd Grafton being charged foꝛ the impꝛinting of a Balet made in the fauour of Crõwell, was called befoꝛe the Counſail where Boner was pꝛeſent, and there Boner charged hym with the woꝛdes that hee ſpake to hym of Cromwell, and tolde out a great long tale. But the Loꝛde Awdeley, who then was Loꝛde Chauncelour, right diſcretly and honoꝛably cut of the matter, and entered into other talke.

Edm. Boner a great frend to the Loꝛde *Cromwell*, all the tyme of his pꝛoſperitie.

Ste. Gardiner and Boner, of enemyes made frendes.

Doct. Boner altereth hys frendſhip and religion.

Doct. Boner agaynſt the *L. Cramwell.*

The hyſtory of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garet, and William Hierome, Diuines.

Like as in foꝛeine battailes the chief point of victory cõſiſteth in the ſafetie of yͤ Generall oꝛ Captain: euen ſo when the valiaunt ſtanderd bearer and ſtay of the Churche of England, Tho. Cromwell I meane, was made away, pitie it is to beholde, what miſerable ſlaughter of good men and good wemen enſued thereupõ, wherof we haue now (Chꝛiſt willing) to entreat. Foꝛ Wincheſter hauing now gotten his full purpoſe, and free ſwynge to exerciſe his crueltie, wonder it was to ſee that Aper Calydonius, oꝛ (as the ſcripture ſpeaketh) that Ferus ſingularis, what troubles he raiſed in the Loꝛdes vyneyard. And leſt by delayes hee might looſe the occaſion pꝛeſently offered, he ſtraight wayes made his firſt aſſaultes vpõ Robert Barnes, Thomas Garet, and William Hierome, whõ in the very ſame moneth within ij. dayes after Cromwels death, he cauſed to be put to execution. Whoſe hiſtoꝛies ſeuerally to compꝛehende, firſt of all we will ſomewhat ſpeake of Barnes, Doctour of Diuinitie, whoſe particular ſtoꝛy here foloweth.

Rob. Barnes, Tho. Garret, W. Hierome, Martyꝛs.

Pſal. 40.

This Barnes, after he came from the Vniuerſitie of Louaine, went to Cambꝛidge, where hee was made Pꝛioꝛ, and Maiſter of yͤ houſe of yͤ Auguſtines. At that tyme the knowledge of good letters was ſcarſely entred into the Vniuerſitie, all thinges beyng ful of rudenes and barbaritie, ſauing in very few, which were pꝛiuye and ſecret. Wherupon Barnes hauing ſome feling of better learnyng and authoꝛs, began in his houſe to

Rob. Barnes Pꝛioꝛ of the houſe of Auguſtines in Cambꝛidge.

Tho. Parnell a Londoner borne, ſcholer to *Barnes.*

M. Cambrige, M. Felde, M. Colman, M. Couerdall, Bachelers of Diuinitie.

read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero, ſo that what with his induſtrie, paines and labours, and with ẏ helpe of Tho. Parnell his ſcholler, whō he brought frō Louane with him, reading Copia verborum & rerū, he cauſed the houſe ſhortly to floriſhe with good letters, and made a great part of the houſe learned, (whiche before were drowned in barbarous rudenes) as M. Cambrige, M. Felde, M. Colman, M. Burley, M. Couerdall, with diuerſe other of the Uniuerſitie, that ſoiourned there for learnynges ſake. After theſe foundations layd, thē did he read openly in the houſe, Paules Epiſtles, and put by Duns & Dorbel, and yet he was a queſtionary him ſelfe: and onely becauſe hee would haue Chriſt there taught and his holy worde, hee turned their vnſauery problemes and frutles diſputatiōs to other better matter of the holy Scripture, and therby in ſhort ſpace hee made diuers good Diuines. The ſame order of diſputation, whiche he kept in his houſe, he obſerued likewiſe in the Uniuerſitie abroad, whē he ſhould diſpute with any man in the common ſcholes. And the firſt mā that aunſwered D. Barnes in the Scriptures, was M. Stafford for his forme to be Bachelar of Diuinitie, which diſputation was maruelous in ẏ ſight of ẏ great blynd Doctors, & ioyfull to the godly ſpirited. Thus Barnes, what with his reading, diſputatiō & preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preachyng euer agaynſt Byſhops and hypocrites, and yet did not ſee his inwarde and outward Idolatry, whiche hee both taught and mayntained, till that good M. Bilney, with other (as is aforeſayd in the lyfe of M. Bilney) conuerted him wholy vnto Chriſt.

The firſt Sermon that *Doct. Barnes* preached in defence of the truth.

The firſt Sermon that euer hee preached of this truth, was the Sonday before Chriſtmas daye at S. Edwardes Churche longyng to Trinitie Hall in Cābridge by the Peaſe market: whoſe theame was the Epiſtle of the ſame Sonday, Gaudete in domino. &c and ſo poſtilled the whole Epiſtle, folowyng ẏ Scripture and Luthers poſtill, and for that Sermon he was immediatly accuſed of hereſie by ij. felowes of ẏ kinges hall. Then the godly learned in Chriſt both of Penbroke Hall, Saint Iohns, Peter Houſe, Queenes Colledge, the kynges Colledge, Gunwell Hall, & Benet Colledge, ſhewed them ſelues and flocked together in open ſight, both in the ſcholes, and at open Sermons at S. Maries, and at the Auſtens, and at other diſputations, and then they conferred continually together.

Trouble amongeſt the Cambridge men for the Goſpell.

D. Barnes areſted by *M. Gibſon.*

The houſe that they reſorted moſt commonly vnto, was the white Horſe, which for deſpite of thē to bryng Gods word into cōtempt, was called Germany. This houſe eſpecially was choſē becauſe of thē of S. Iohns. The kynges Colledge & the Queenes Colledge, came in on the backe ſide. At this time much trouble began to enſue. The aduerſaries of D. Barnes accuſed hym in the Regent houſe before the Vicechauncelor, whereas his Articles were preſēted with him and receiued, hee promiſing to make aunſwere at the next conuocation, & ſo it was done. Then D. Nottoris a ranke enemy to Chriſt, moued D. Barnes to recant, but hee refuſed ſo to doe: whiche appeareth in his booke that he made to kyng Henry the viij. in Engliſh, confutyng the iudgement of Cardinall Wolſey, and the reſidue of the Byſhops Papiſticall, and ſo for the time ſtode ſtedfaſt. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching againſt another in tryng out of gods truth, vntil within vj. dayes of Shrofetide. Thē ſodenly was ſent downe to Cambridge a Sergeaunt of armes, called M. Gibſon, dwellyng in S. Thomas Apoſtles in London, who ſodenly reſted D. Barnes openly in the conuocation houſe to make all other afrayde: and priuely they had determined to make ſearche for Luthers bookes, and all the Germaines workes ſodenly.

Search in Cambridge for bookes.

But good Doctour Farman of the Queenes Colledge, ſent worde incontinently thereof to the chābers of thoſe that were ſuſpected, whiche were in number xxx. perſons. But God be prayſed they were conueyed, by that time that the Sergeant at armes, ẏ Vicechauncelor & the Proctors were at euery mans chamber, goyng directly to the place where the bookes lay (whereby it was perceiued that there were ſome priuie ſpyes amongeſt that ſmall company) & that night they ſtudyed together & gaue him his aunſwere, which aunſwere he caried with him to Lōdon ẏ next mornyng, which was the Tueſday before Shroueſonday, and came on the Wenſday to London, and lay at M. Parnels houſe by the ſtockes. In the mornyng he was caried by the Sergeant at armes to Cardinall Wolſey to Weſtminſter, waityng there all day and could not ſpeake with hym till night. Then by the reaſon of Doct. Gardiner Secretarie to the Cardinal (whoſe pupill Barnes had ben before) and M. Foxe maiſter of the Wardes, hee ſpake ẏ ſame night with ẏ Cardinall in his chāber of eſtate, kneelyng on his knees. Then ſayd the Cardinall to thē, is this D. Barnes your man that is accuſed of hereſie? Yea and pleaſe your grace, and we truſt you ſhal finde him reformable, for he is both well learned and wiſe.

[illegible]

D. Barnes brought to London.

Doctor *Gardiner* Secretarie to the Cardinall.

The talke betwene Cardinall *Wolſey* and Doct. *Barnes.*

D. Barnes [illegible] Cardinall.

What M. Doctor (ſaid ẏ Card.) had you not a ſufficiēt ſcope in ẏ ſcriptures to teach ẏ people, but that my golden ſhewes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my golden cuſſhens, my croſſes did ſo ſore offend you, that you muſt make vs Ridiculū caput amōgeſt ẏ people? We were iolily that day laughed to ſcorne. Verely it was a ſermō more fitter to bee preached on a ſtage then in a pulpit: for at the leſt you ſaid, I weare a paire of red gloues, I ſhould ſay bloudy gloues (quoth you) that I ſhould not be colde in ẏ middeſt of my ceremonies. And he aūſwered: I ſpake nothyng but ẏ truth out of ẏ Scriptures, according to my conſcience, & according to the old Doctours: and then did he deliuer him vj. ſheetes of paper written to confirme and corroborate his ſayinges.

He receiued thē ſmilyng on him and ſaying, we perceiue then that you intēde to ſtand to your Articles and to ſhewe your learnyng.

Yea ſayd Barnes that I do intende by Gods grace, with your Lordſhyps fauour.

[illegible]

He aūſwered, ſuch as you are beare vs litle fauour & the Catholicke church. I wil aſke you a queſtiō: Whether doe you thinke it more neceſſarie that I ſhoulde haue all this royaltie, becauſe I repreſent the kynges Maieſties perſō in all the hye Courtes of this Realme, to the terror and kepyng downe of all rebellions, treaſons, traitors, and all the wicked and corrupte mēbers of thys common wealth, or to bee as ſimple as you would haue vs, to ſell all theſe aforeſayd thinges, & to geue it to the poore, which ſhortlye will piſſe it agaynſt the walles, and to pull away this Maieſtie of a princely dignitie, whiche is a terrour to all the wicked, and to folowe your counſell in this behalfe.

He aunſwered, I thinke it neceſſary to bee ſold and geuen to the poore. For this is not comely for your callyng, nor the kynges Maieſtie is not maintained by your pompe and pollaxes, but by God, who ſayth: Per me reges regnāt. *Kynges and their Maieſties raigne and ſtand by me.*

Doctor *Gardiner* a ſuter to *Barnes.*

Then aunſwered he: Loe Maiſter Doctours, here is the learned and the wiſe man that you told me of. Then they kneeled downe & ſayd: we deſire your grace to be good vnto him, for he will be reformable.

Then ſayd hee, ſtand you vp: for your ſakes and the Uniuerſitie, we will be good vnto hym. How ſaye you M. Doctor, do you not know ẏ I am Legatus de latere, and that I am able to diſpenſe in all matters cōcernyng Religion within this Realme, as much as the Pope may? He ſayd, I know it to be ſo.

Will you then bee ruled by vs, and we will do all thinges for your honeſtie, & for the honeſty of the Uniuerſitie?

He aunſwered, I thanke your grace for your good will: I wil ſticke to ẏ holy Scripture & to Gods booke, according to the ſimple talent that God hath lent me.

Aunſwere well ſaid he, thou ſhalt haue thy learning tried to the vttermoſt, and thou ſhalt haue the law.

Then hee required him that hee might haue iuſtice with equitie, and forthwith he ſhould haue gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Foxe became his ſureties that night, & ſo he came home to M. Parnels houſe agayne, and that night fell to writyng agayne and ſlept not, M. Couerdal, M. Gudwin and M. Felde being his writers: and in the morning he came to Yorke place to Gardiner and Foxe, and by and by he was committed to the Sergeant of armes to bring him into the chapter houſe at Weſtminſter before the Byſhops, and the Abbote of Weſtminſter called Iſlip.

Stilliard
d examin
d for Lo
rdye.

The ſame time when D. Barnes ſhould appeare before the Cardinal, there were v. Stilliard mē to be examined for Luthers bookes and Lolardy, but after they ſpyed Barnes, they ſet the other a ſide, and aſked the Sergeant of armes what was his errand. He ſayd hee had brought one D. Barnes to be examined of hereſie, and preſented both his Articles and his accuſers. Thē immediatly after a litle talke, they ſware him & layd his articles to him. Who like as he anſwered the cardinal before, ſo ſaid he vnto them, and thē he offred the booke of his probations vnto them. Who aſked him whether he had an other for him ſelfe, and he ſayd yea, ſhewyng it vnto thē. Who thē tooke it frō him, & ſaid they ſhould haue no leaſure to diſpute with him at that preſent for other affaires of the kings maieſtie, which thei had to do, & therfore bad him ſtand a ſide. Then they called the Stilliard men again one by one, & when they were examined, they called forth ẏ Maſter of the Flete, and they were committed al to the Fleete. Then they called D. Barnes agayne, and aſked him whether hee would ſubſcribe to his Articles or no, and hee ſubſcribed willingly: and thē they committed him and young M. Parnell to the Fleete alſo with ẏ other. There they remained till Saterday in the morning, and the Warden of the Fleete was commaūded that no man ſhould ſpeake with him.

he Stil-
d mē cō-
itted to
he Fleete.

D. Barnes
with yonge
Parnell
mitted to
he Fleete.

On ẏ ſaterday he came again afore thē into the chapter houſe, & there with ẏ Stilliard men remained till v. a clock at night, and after long diſputatiōs, threatnings, laughings & ſkornings, about. v. a clocke at night, they called hym, to knowe whether he woulde abiure or burne. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burne thē to abiure. But thē was he ſent again to haue the counſell of Gardiner and Foxe, and they perſwaded hym rather to abiure then to burne, becauſe (they ſaid) he ſhould do more in time to come, and with diuers other perſwaſions that were mighty in the ſight of reaſon and fooliſhe fleſhe. Vpon that, kneling vpon his knees, he conſented to abiure, and the abiuration put in hys hand, he abiured as it was there wrytten, and then he ſubſcribed with his owne hand: and yet they woulde ſkarſly receyue hym into the boſome of the church, as they termed it. Then they put hym to an oth, and charged him to execute, doo, & fulfill al that they commaunded hym, & he promiſed ſo to do.

D. Barnes
the Stil-
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ought a-
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Cardinall.

D. Barnes
perſwaded
by Gardi-
ner and
Foxe, to
iure.

Then they commaunded the Warden of the Flete to cary him with his fellowes to the place from whēce he came, and to be kept in cloſe priſon, and in the morning to prouide v. fagots for D. Barnes, & the iiij. Stilliard mē. The v. Stilliard mā was cōmaunded to haue a taper of v. pounde waight to bee prouided for hym, to offer to the roode of Northen in Paules, and all theſe things to be ready by viij. of the clocke in the morning, and that he with all that he could make, with billes and gleues, & the knight Marſhall withall hys tippe ſtaues that he could make, ſhould bring them to Paules, and conduct them home againe. In the morning they were all ready by their houre appointed in Paules churche, the church being ſo full that no man could get in. The Cardinall had a ſkaffold made on the toppe of the ſtaires for him ſelfe, with xxvj. Abbots, mitred Priors and Biſhops, and he in hys whole pompe mitred (which Barnes ſpake againſt) ſatte ther inthronized, hys chaplens and ſpirituall Doctors in gownes of damaſke and Saten, and he him ſelfe in Purple, euen lyke a bloudy Antichriſt. And there was a new pulpet erected on the top of the ſtaires alſo, for the Byſhop of Rocheſter to preach againſt Luther and D. Barnes: and great baſkets ful of bookes ſtanding before thē within the railes, which was cōmaunded after the great fyre was made afore the roode of Northen there to be burned; & theſe heretikes after the ſermond to go thriſe about the fyre, and to caſt in their fagots.

Doct. Barnes and the Stilliard men beare fagottes.

Now whils the Sermon was a doing, Doct. Barnes and the Stilliard men were commaunded to kneele downe and aſke God forgeuenes, the catholike Churche, and Cardinals grace, and after that he was commaunded at the end of the ſermon to declare that he was more charitablier handled, then he deſerued or was worthye (hys hereſies were ſo horrible and ſo deteſtable) & once again kneled down on his knees, and deſiring the people of forgeuenes and to praye for hym, and ſo the Cardinall departed vnder a canapye with all hys mitred mē with hym, till he came to the ſecond gate of Paules, and then he tooke his Mule, and the mitred men came backe agayne. Then theſe poore men beyng commaunded to come downe from the ſtage (whereon the ſwepers vſe to ſtand when they ſwepe the Churche) the Byſhops ſatte them downe againe and cōmaunded ẏ knight Marſhall & the Warden of the Fleete, with their company, to cary them about the fire, & ſo were they brought to the Byſhops, and there for abſolution kneled down. Where Rocheſter ſtoode vp and declared vnto the people how many dayes of pardon and forgeuenes of ſinnes they had for beyng at that Sermon, and there did aſſoile Doct. Barnes with the other, and ſhewed ẏ people that they were receyued into the Churche agayne.

Dayes of pardon geuen for hearyng a Popiſhe ſermon.

This done, the Warden of the Fleete & the knyght Marſhall were commaūded to haue them to the Fleete agayne, and charged that they ſhould haue the lybertie of the Fleete as other priſoners had, and that theyr frendes might reſort vnto them, and there to remaine till the Lord Cardinals pleaſure were knowen.

After that Barnes there in the Fleete had cōtinued the ſpace of halfe a yeare, at length beyng deliuered, was committed to be free priſoner at the Auſtē Friers in Londō. When thoſe Caterpillers & bloudy beaſtes had there vndermined hym, they complayned agayne to their Lord Cardinall. Wherupon he was remoued to the Auſten Friers of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he hym ſelfe vnderſtandyng nothyng therof, but ſuppoſing ſtill that he ſhould there remaine and cōtinue in free priſon, at laſt one M. Horne, who had brought him vp, and was his ſpeciall frend, hauing intelligēce of ẏ writte which ſhould ſhortly be ſent down to burne him, gaue him counſaile to fayne him ſelfe to be deſperate, and that hee ſhould write a letter to the Cardinall and leaue it on his table where hee laye, and a paper by, to declare whether he was gone to drown him ſelf, and to leaue his clothes in the ſame place: and there an other letter to be left to the Maior of ẏ towne to ſearche for hym in the water, becauſe he had a letter written in parchment about hys necke cloſed in waxe, for the Cardinall, whiche woulde teach all men to beware by him. Vpon this they were vij. daies in ſearchyng for hym, but hee was conueyed to London in a poore mans apparell, and ſo taryed not there but tooke ſhypping and went by long Seas to Antwarpe, and ſo to Luther, and there fell to ſtudy till he had made aunſwere to all the Byſhops of ẏ Realme, and had made a booke intituled, Acta Romanorum pontificum, & an other booke with a ſupplication to K. Henry. Immediatly it was told the Cardinall, that he was drowned, and he ſayd, Petit memoria eius cū ſonitu. But this did light vpon hym ſelfe ſhortly after, whiche wretchedly dyed at Leiceſter.

Doct. Barnes fayned him ſelf to be drowned.

Acta Romanorum pontificum, made by Doct. *Barnes.*

In the meane ſeaſon D. Barnes was made ſtrong in Chriſt, and got fauour both of the learned in Chriſt, and forcine Princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Iuſtus Ionas, Hegendorphinus and Æpinus, and with the Duke of Saxon, and the kyng of Denmarke, which kyng of Denmarke in the tyme of More and Stokeſley ſent hym with the Lubeckes, as an Ambaſſadour, to kyng Henry the viij. He lay with the Lubeckes Chauncellor at the Stilliard.

Doct. Barnes ſent Ambaſſadour from the kyng of Denmerke to kyng Henry, into England.

Syr Thomas More ſought the death of Doct. *Barnes.*

Syr Tho. More then Chaūcellour, would faine haue entrapped him, but ẏ kyng would not let hym, for Crōwel was his great frend. And ere he went, ẏ Lubeckes and he diſputed with the Byſhops of this realme in defence of the truth, and ſo hée departed agayne without reſtraynt with the Lubeckes. After hys goyng agayne to Wittemb. to the Duke of Saxon, and to Luther, he remained there to ſet forwardes hys workes in Print that he had begon, from whence hée returned agayne in the beginning of ẏ raigne of Quéene Anne, as other did, and continued a faythfull preacher in this Citie, beyng all her tyme well entertained and promoted. After that, he was ſent Ambaſſadour by king Henry the viij. to the Duke of Cleue, for the mariage of the Lady Anne of Cleue, betwene the kyng and her, and was well accepted in that Ambaſſade and in all hys doynges, vntill the tyme that Ste. Gardiner came out of Fraunce: but after he came, neither Religion proſpered, nor the Quéenes maieſtie, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers, who after the mariage of the Lady Anne of Cleue, neuer ceaſed vntill hee had grafted the mariage in an other ſtocke, by the occaſion wherof hée began hys bloudy broyle.

Doct. Barnes returned again into England in the tyme of Quene *Anne.*

Doct. Barnes ſent Ambaſſadour by kyng Henry, to the Duke of *Cleue.*

For not long after, Doct. Barnes with his brethren were apprehended & caryed before the kyngs Maieſtie to Hamptō Court, & there he was examined. Where the kings maieſtie ſeking the meanes of his ſafetie, to bryng Wincheſter and hym agréed, at Wincheſters requeſt, graunted him leaue to go home with ẏ Biſhop to conferre with hym, & ſo he did. But as it happened they not agréeyng, Gardiner and hys comparteners ſought by all ſubtile meanes, how to entangle and to entrappe them in further daunger, which not long after was brought to paſſe. For by certaine complaintes made to the kyng of thē, they were inioyned to preach iij. Sermons the next Eaſter folowyng at the Spittle. At the which Sermons, beſides other reporters which were thether ſent, Ste. Gardiner alſo was there preſent ſitting with the Maior, eyther to beare recorde of their recantation, or els as ẏ Phariſeis came to Chriſt, to trippe thē in their talke, if they had ſpoken any thing awry. Whē theſe iij. had thus preached their Sermōs, among whō Barnes preachyng the firſt Sermon, and ſeyng Ste. Gardiner there preſent, humbly deſired hym in the face of all the audience, if hee forgaue him, to hold vp his hand, and the ſayd Gardiner thereupon helde vp his finger: yet notwithſtāding ſhortlye after by the meanes of the ſayd reporters, they were ſent for to Hampton Court: who from thence were caryed to ẏ Tower by Syr Iohn Goſtwike. Frō whence they neuer came out till they came to their death, as hereafter Chriſt willing ſhall more appeare.

And thus hetherto cōcerning the hyſtory of Barnes. Now let vs lykewiſe conſider the ſtory and doynges of Thomas Garet.

¶ The ſtory of Tho. Garret, or Garrerd, and of his trouble in Oxford, teſtified and recorded by Anthony Dalaber, who was there preſent the ſame time.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1526. Maiſter Garet Curate of Hony Lane in London, came vnto Oxford, and brought with hym ſondry bookes in Latin treatyng of the Scripture, with the firſt part of Vnio diſſidentium, and Tindals firſt trāſlation of the new Teſtament in Engliſh, the whiche bookes he ſold to diuers ſcholers in Oxford.

Tho. Garret brought bokes to Oxforde.

After he had bene there a while, and had diſpatched thoſe bookes, newes came from London that hée was ſearched for through all London to be apprehēded and taken as an hereticke, & to be impriſoned for ſellyng of thoſe hereticall bookes (as they termed them) becauſe they ſpake agaynſt the vſurped authoritie, and erronious doctrine of the Byſhop of Rome, and hys no leſſe impure & filthy Synagoge. For it was not vnknowē to Cardinall Wolſey, & to the B. of London, and to other of that vngodly generation, that M. Garret had a great nūber of thoſe bookes, & that he was gone to Oxford to make ſale of them there, to ſuch as hee knew to bée the louers of ẏ Goſpell. Wherfore they determined forthwith to make a priuie ſearch thorow all Oxford to apprehend and impriſon hym, and to burne all and euery hys aforeſaid bookes and hym too, if they could: ſo burnyng hoate was their charitie. But yet at that tyme one of the foreſayd Proctors, called M. Cole of Magdalene Colledge, who after was Croſſe bearer vnto Cardinall Wolſey, was well acquaynted with M. Garret, and therfore hee gaue ſecret warnyng vnto a frend or two of M. Garrets of this priuie ſearch, and willed therfore that he ſhould forthwith as ſecretly as he could, depart out of Oxford, for if he were takē in tho ſame ſearch, no remedy but he ſhould be forthwith ſent vp vnto the Cardinall, and ſo ſhould be committed vnto the Tower.

The Chriſtmas before that tyme, I Antony Dalaber then ſcholer of Alborne Hall, who had bokes of M. Garrets, had ben in my coūtry in Dorſetſhyre at Stalbridge where I had a brother Perſon of that Pariſhe, who was very deſirous to haue a Curate out of Oxford, and willed me in any wyſe to get hym one there if I could. This iuſt occaſion offred, it was thought good among the brethren (for ſo did we not only call one an other, but were in dede one to an other) that M. Garret chaungyng hys name, ſhould be ſent forth with my letters into Dorſetſhyre vnto my brother, to ſerue him there for a tyme, vntill hee might ſecretlye from thence conuey hym ſelfe ſomewhether ouer the Sea. Accordyng hereunto I wrote my letters in all haſt poſſible vnto my brother, for M. Garret to be hys Curate, but not declaryng what he was in déede, for my brother was a rancke Papiſt, and after was the moſt mortall enemy that euer I had for the Goſpels ſake.

So the wedenſay in ẏ mornyng before Shroftide, M. Garret departed out of Oxforde, toward Dorſetſhyre, with my letters for his new ſeruice. How farre he went, and by what occaſion he ſo ſoone returned, I know not. But the Friday next, in the night tyme he came againe to Radleis houſe, where he laye before, and ſo after midnight in the priuie ſearch, whiche was then made for him, he was apprenhended and taken there in his bed by the two Proctours, and on the Saterday in the mornyng deliuered vnto one D. Cotiſford, maiſter of Lincoln Colledge, then being Cōmiſſarie of the vniuerſitie, who kept him as priſoner in his own chamber. There was great ioy and reioycing among all the Papiſtes for his apprehenſion, and ſpecially with D. London, Warden of the new Colledge, and D. Higdon Deane of Frideſwides, two Archpapiſts. Who immediatelye ſent their letters in poſt haſt vnto the Cardinall, to enforme him of the apprehenſion of this notable hereticke: for the which their doing, they were well aſſured to haue great thankes. But of al this ſodaine hurley burley, was I vtterly ignorant, ſo that I knew neither of M. Garrets ſo ſodayne returne, neyther that he was ſo taken, vntyll that afterwardes he came vnto my chamber, being then in Gloceſter Colledge, as a man amazed, and as ſoone as he ſaw me, he ſayd he was vndone, for he was taken. This he ſpake vnaduiſedlye in the preſence of a yong man that came with him. When the yong mā was departed, I aſked him what he was, and what acquaintaunce he had with hym. He ſayd he knewe him not, but he had bene to ſeeke a Monke of his acquaintaunce in that Colledge, who was not in his chāber, & therupō deſired this his ſeruant (not knowing my chāber, for that I was newly remoued thether) to bring him to me: and ſo forth declared howe he was returned and taken that night in the priuie ſearche, as ye haue heard: and that now when the Commiſſary and all his company were gone to Euenſong, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he hearing no body ſtirring in the Colledge, put backe the barre of the locke with his finger, and ſo came ſtraight vnto Gloceſter Colledge, to ſpeake with that Monke, if he had bene within, who had alſo bought bookes of him.

Then ſayd I vnto him: Alas MGarret, by thys your vncircumſpect comming vnto me, and ſpeaking ſo before this yong man, you haue diſcloſed your ſelfe, and vtterly vndone me. I aſked him why he went not vnto my brother with my letters accordingly. He ſaid, after that he was gone a dayes iourney and a halfe, he was ſo fearefull, that his hart would no other, but that he muſt neede returne agayne vnto Oxforde, and ſo came agayne on Friday at night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deepe ſighes, and plentie of teares, he prayed me to helpe to conuey hym away, and ſo he caſt of his hoode and his gowne, wherin he came vnto me, & deſired me to geue him a coate with ſleeues, if I had any, and told me that he woulde go into Wales, and thence conuey him ſelf into Germanie, if he might. Then I put on him a ſleued coate of mine. He would alſo haue had an other maner of cappe of me, but I had none but prieſtlike, ſuch as hys owne was.

Thē kneeled we both down together on our knees & lifting vp our hartes and handes to God our heauēly father, deſiring him with plentie of teares, ſo to conduct and proſper him in his iourney, that he might well eſcape the daunger of all his enemies, to the glorye of his holy name, if his good pleaſure and will ſo were, and then we embraced and kyſſed the one the other, the teares ſo aboundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all bewet both our faces, and ſcarcely for ſorrow could we ſpeake one to the other, and ſo he departed from me, apparaled in my coate, being committed vnto the tuition of our almightie and all mercifull father.

When he was gone downe the ſtaires from my chamber, I ſtraightwaies did ſhut my chamber doore, and went into my ſtudy, and toke the new Teſtament in my handes, kneeled downe on my knees, and wyth many a deepe ſigh and ſalt teare, I did with much deliberation reade ouer the .x. chapter of S. Mathew hys Goſpell: and when I had ſo done, with feruent praier I did commit vnto God, that our dearelye beloued brother Garret, earneſtly beſeching him, in and for Jeſus Chriſtes ſake, his onely begotten ſonne our Lord, that he would vouchſafe, not onely ſafelye to conduct & keepe our ſayd deare brother, from the handes of all his enemies, but alſo that he would endewe his tender and lately borne little flocke in Oxford, with heauenly ſtrength by his holy ſpirite, that they might be wel able thereby valiauntly to withſtand, to his glory, all their fierce enemies, and alſo might quietly, to theyr owne ſaluation, with all godly patience, beare Chriſtes heauy croſſe, which I now ſaw was preſently to be layde on their young and weake backes, vnable to beare ſo huge a burdē, without ẏ great helpe of his holy ſpirite.

This done, I layd a ſide my bookes ſafe, folded vp M. Garrets gowne and hoode, and layde them into my preſſe among myne apparell, and ſo hauing put on my ſhort gowne, ſhut vp my ſtudy and chamber dores, and went towardes Friſwides, to ſpeake with that worthy Martir of God M. Clarke, and others, and to declare vnto them what had happened that after noone. But of purpoſe I went by S. Mary Church, to go firſt vnto Corpus Chriſti Colledge, to ſpeake with Diet and Vdall, my faythfull brethrē & fellowes in ẏ Lord there. But by chaūce I met by ẏ way with a brother of ours, one M. Eeden, fellow of Magdalen Colledge, who, as ſoone as he ſaw me, came with a pitifull countenaunce vnto me, ſaying that we were al vndone, for M. Garret was returned agayne to Oxford, taken the laſt night in the priuy ſearche, & was in priſon with the Cōmiſſary. I ſaid it was not ſo. He ſaid it was ſo. I tolde him it could not be ſo, for I was ſure he was gone. He aunſwered me & ſayd, I know he was gone with your letters, but he came againe yeſterday in the euen, & was takē in his bed at Radleis this night in ẏ priuye ſearch: for (quod he) I heard our Proctour M. Cole ſay and declare the ſame this day in our Colledge, to diuers of the houſe. But I told him againe, that I was well aſſured hee was now gone, for I ſpake with him later then either the Proctor or Commiſſary did, and then I declared the whole matter vnto him, how and when he came vnto me, and how he went his way, wylling him to declare the ſame vnto other our brethren whom he ſhould meete withall, and to geue God harty thanks for this his wonderfull deliueraunce, and to pray hym alſo that he would graunt him ſafely to paſſe away frō all his enemies, & told him that I was going vnto maiſter Clarke of Friſwides, to declare vnto him this matter, for I knew, and thought verely, that he and diuers others there, were then in great ſorow for this matter. Then I went ſtraight to Friſwides, & Euenſong was begon, and the Deane & the other Canons were there in their gray Amices: they were almoſt at Magnificat before I came thether. I ſtoode at the quier doore, and heard maiſter Tauerner play, and others of the Chappell there ſing, with and among whom I my ſelfe was wont to ſing alſo, but now my ſinging and muſick was turned into ſighing and muſing.

M.Diet.
M.Vdall.
M.Eeden.
M.Tauerner.

As I thus and there ſtoode, in cōmeth D. Cotiſford the Commiſſary, as faſt as euer he could go, bare headed, as pale as aſhes (I knew his griefe well inough) and to the Deane he goeth into the Quire, where hee was ſitting in his ſtall, and talked with him verye ſorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truly geſſe. I went a ſide from the Quire doore, to ſee and heare more. The Commiſſarie and Deane came out of the Quire wonderfullye troubled, as it ſeemed. About the middle of the church met them D. London, puffing, bluſtering, and blowing lyke a hungry and greedy Lion ſeeking his pray. They talked together a while, but the Commiſſary was muche blamed of them for keeping of his priſoner ſo negligently, in ſomuch that he wept for ſorrow: and it was knowē abroade, that Maiſter Garret was eſcaped, and gone out of the Commiſſaries chamber at Euenſong time, but whether, no man could tell. These Doctours departed, and ſent abroade their ſeruauntes and ſpyes euerye where. Maiſter Clarke about the myddle of Compline, came forth of the Queere: I folowed hym to his chamber, and declared what was happened that after noone, of maiſter Garrets eſcape. He was glad, for he knew of his foretaking. Then he ſent for one Maiſter Sumner & Maiſter Bettes, fellowes and Canons there. In the meane whyle he gaue me a very godlye exhortation, praying God to geue me and all the reſt of our brethren, prudentiam ſerpentinam, & ſimplicitatem columbinam, for we ſhould haue ſhortly muche neede thereof, as he verely thought. When M. Sumner and M. Bets were come vnto him, he cauſed me to declare againe the whole matter vnto them two, and they were very glad, that Maiſter Garret was ſo deliuered, truſting that he ſhould eſcape all his enemies. Then deſiring them to tell vnto our other brethren, what was happened (for there were diuers other in that Colledge) I went to Corpus Chriſti Colledge to cōfort our brethrē, there being in like heauines. There

The Phariſeis troubled at *M. Garrets* eſcape out of priſon.

M.Clarke.
M.Sumner.
M.Bettes.

I taried & ſupped with thẽ. At which ſupper we were not verye mery, conſidering our ſtate & peril at hand.

Whẽ we had ended our ſupper, and committed our whole cauſe with feruent ſighes and harty prayers vnto God our heauenly father, I went to Alborne Hall and there lay that nyght. In the mornyng I was vp very early, and as ſoone as I could get out at the doore, I went ſtraight towardes Gloceſter Colledge to my chãber. It had rayned that mornyng, and with my goyng I had all to bee ſprinckled my hoſe and my ſhoes with myre. And when I was come into Gloceſter Colledge, whiche was about vj. of the clocke, I founde the gates faſt ſhutte. Wherat I did much meruell, for they were wont to bee opened dayly long before that tyme. Then did I walke vp and downe by the wall there, a whole houre before the gates were opened. In the meane while, my muſing head being full of forecaſting cares, & my ſorowful hart flowing wth douleful ſighes, I fully determined in my conſcience before God, that if I ſhould chaũce to bee taken & be examined, I would accuſe no man, nor declare any thyng further then I did already perceyue was manifeſtly knowen before. And ſo whẽ the gate was opened, thynkyng to ſhift my ſelfe and to put on a lõger gowne, I went in towardes my chamber, and goyng vp the ſtayres, would haue opened my doore, but I could not in a long ſeaſon do it. Wherby I perceyued that my locke had bene medled withall, and therwith was ſomwhat altered. Yet at laſt with much a do I opened the locke and went in. Whẽ I came in, I ſaw my bed all to toſſed and tumbled, my clothes in my preſſe throwen downe, and my ſtudye doore open. Wherof I was much amaſed, and thought verely that ſome ſearche was made there that night for M. Garet, and that it was knowne of his beyng with me, by the Mõkes man that brought him to my chãber.

Dalabers chamber ſearched for M. *Garret.*

Now was there lying in the next chamber vnto me a Mõke, who aſſoone as he heard me in ẏ chãber, came to me & tolde how M. Garret was ſought in my chamber that nyght, and what a do there was made by the Commiſſary and the ij. Proctors, with billes & ſwordes thruſted thorow my bedſtraw, and how euery corner of my chamber was ſearched for M. Garret. And albeit hys gowne and hode lay there in my preſſe with my clothes, yet they perceyued them not. Then he told me that he was cõmaũded to bryng me as ſoone as I came in, vnto ẏ Prior of the ſtudentes named Antony Dunſtane, a Monke of Weſtminſter. This ſo troubled me that I forgot to make cleane my hoſe and ſhoes, and to ſhift me into an other gowne: and therfore, ſo all to bee dirted as I was, and in my ſhort gowne, I went with him to the ſayd Priors chamber, where I found ẏ ſayd Prior ſtandyng and lookyng for my commyng. He aſked me where I had bene that night. I told hym I lay at Alborne Hall with my old bedfelow Fitziames, but he would not beleue me. He aſked me if M. Garret were with me yeſterday. I told hym yea. Then hee would know where he was, and wherfore he came vnto me. I told hym I knew not where he was except hee were at Woodſtocke. For ſo (ſayd I) he had ſhewed me that he would goe thether, becauſe one of the kepers there his frend, had promiſed him a peece of veneſon to make mery withal that Shrofetyde, and that he would haue borowed a hatte and a payre of hygh ſhoes of me, but I had none in deede to lẽd him. This tale I thought meeteſt, though it were nothyng ſo. Then had he ſpyed on my fore finger a byg ryng of ſiluer very well double gilted with ij. letters A.D. ingraued in it for my name: I ſuppoſe he thought it to be gold. He required to ſee it. I tooke it vnto hym. Whẽ he had it in his hand, he ſayd it was his ring, for therin was his name, an A. for Antony, and a D. for Dunſtane. Whẽ I heard him ſo ſay, I wiſhed in my hart to bee as well deliuered from and out of his company, as I was aſſured to bee deliuered from my ryng for euer.

Dalaber brought to the Prior of Gloceſter Colledge.

Anthonye Dalabers ringe taken from hym.

Then he called for pen, inke, and paper, and cõmaũded me to write whẽ and how Garret came vnto me, and where he was become. I had not written ſcarſly three wordes, but ẏ chief bedle with ij. or iij. of the Cõmiſſaries men, were come vnto maſter Prior, requiryng hym ſtraightwayes to bryng vs away vnto Lyncolne Colledge to the Commiſſary and to D. London. Whether when I was brought into the chapell, there I found D. Cotiſforde Commiſſarie, D. Higdon then Deane of the Cardinals Colledge, and D. London Warden of the new Colledge ſtãdyng together at the altar in the chappell. When I was brought vnto thẽ, after ſalutations giuen and taken betwene them, they called for chayres and ſat downe, and called for me to come to them, and firſt they aſked what my name was. I told thẽ that my name was Antony Dalaber. Then they alſo aſked me how long I had bene ſtudent in the Vniuerſitie, and I told thẽ almoſt iij. yeares. And they aſked me what I ſtudyed. I told them that I had read ſophiſtrie and Logicke in Alborne Hall, and now was remoued vnto Gloceſter Colledge to ſtudy the Ciuill law, the whiche the foreſayd Prior of the ſtudentes affirmed to bee true. Then they aſked me whether I knew M. Garret, and how long I had knowen hym. I told them I knew hym well, and had knowen hym almoſt a tweluemoneth. They aſked me when hee was with me. I told them yeſterday at after none.

Now by this time, whiles they had me in this talke, one came in vnto them whiche was ſent for, with pen, inke, and paper, I trow it was the Clerke of the Vniuerſitie. As ſoone as he was come, there was a bourd & treſſes with a forme for hym to ſit on, ſet betwene the Doctours and me, and a great Maſſe booke layd before me, and I was commaunded to lay my right hand on it and to ſwere that I ſhould truly aunſwere vnto ſuch articles and interrogatories as I ſhould be by them examined vpon. I made daunger of it a while at firſt, but afterward beyng perſuaded by them, partly by fayre wordes, and partly by great threates, I promiſed to do as they would haue me, but in my hart nothyng ſo ment to do. So I layd my hand on the booke, and one of them gaue me my othe, and that done commaunded me to kyſſe the booke. Then made they great curteſie betwen them who ſhould examine me, & miniſter interrogatories vnto me. At the laſt, the rankeſt Papiſticall Phariſey of them all D. London tooke vpon him to do it.

Then hee aſked me agayne by my othe, where M. Garret was, and whether I had conueyed him. I tolde hym I had not conueyed hym, nor yet wyſte not where he was, nor whether hee was gone, excepte hee were gone to Woodſtocke (as I had before ſaid) as he ſhewed me he would. Then he aſked me agayn whẽ he came to me, how he came to me, what & how lõg he talked with me, & whether he went frõ me. I tolde him he came to me about euenſong tyme, & that one brought him vnto my chãber doore, whõ I know not, & that he told me hee would go to Woodſtocke for ſome veniſon to make mery withall this Shroftyde, and that hee would haue borowed a hat, & a payre of hygh ſhoes of me, but I had none ſuch to lend hym, and then hee ſtraight went hys way from me, but whether I know not. All theſe my ſayinges the ſcribe wrote in a paper booke.

Then they earneſtly required me to tell them whether I had cõueyed hym, for ſurely they ſayd I brought hym goyng ſome whether this mornyng, for that they might wel perceiue by my foule ſhoes and dirty hoſen, that I had trauailed with hym the moſt parte of this night. I aunſwered playnly that I lay at Alborne Hall with Syr Fitziames, and that I had good witnes therof there. They aſked me where I was at euenſong. I tolde thẽ at Friſwides, and that I ſaw firſt maſter Cõmiſſary, and then maſter D. London come thether at that tyme vnto maſter Deane of Friſewides, and that I ſaw thẽ talking together in the Church there. Doct. London and the Deane threatned me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had done hym, or whether he was gone, I ſhould ſurely bee ſent vnto the Tower of London, and there be racked, & put into litle eaſe. But maſter Commiſſary prayed me with gentle wordes to tell hym where he was that he might haue him agayn, and he would bee my very great frend and deliuer me out of trouble ſtraightway. I told him I could not tell where he was nor whether he was become. Thus dyd they occupy and toſſe me almoſt ij. houres in the chappell, ſometymes with threatninges and foule wordes, and then with fayre wordes and fayre promiſes flattering me. Then was hee that brought M.Garret vnto my chamber brought before me and cauſed to declare what M. Garret ſayd vnto me at hys commyng to my chamber, but I ſayd playnly I heard hym ſay no ſuch thyng for I thought my nay to be as good as hys yea, ſeyng it was to ridde and deliuer my godly brother out of trouble and perill of hys lyfe.

Antonye Dalaber ſet in the ſtockes.

The wor- des and ex- ortatiō of M. Clarke Antony Dalaber.

Tim.3.

The croſſe mmonly loweth Goſpel.

At ÿ laſt, whē they could gette nothing of me wherby to hurt or accuſe any man, or to know any thyng of that whiche they ſought, they all iij. together brought me vp a long ſtaires into a great chāber ouer M. Cōmiſſaries chamber, wherin ſtode a great payre of very high ſtockes. Then M. Commiſſarye aſked me for my purſe & girdle, toke away my mony & my kniues, and thē they put both my legges into ÿ ſtockes, & ſo locked me faſt in them: in which I ſat, my féete being almoſt as high as my head, and ſo departed they (I thinke to their abominable Maſſe) locking faſt the chāber doore, & leauyng me alone. When all they were gone, then came vnto my remembraunce the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that moſt conſtant Martyr of God Maſter Iohn Clarke, my father in Chriſt, who welnigh two yeares before that, when I did earneſtlye deſire him to graunt me to be his ſcholer, and that I might go with him continually when and where ſoeuer hee ſhould teach or preach (the which he did dayly) ſaid vnto me much after this ſort: Dalaber, you deſire you wot not what, and that you are, I feare me, vnable to take vpon you. For thoughe now my preaching be ſwete and pleaſant vnto you, becauſe there is yet no perſecution layd on you for it, yet the time wyll come, and that peraduenture ſhortlye, if ye continue to lyue godly therein, that God wyll laye on you the croſſe of perſecutiō, to try you withall, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as ſtubble and droſſe be cōſumed therwith. For the holy Ghoſt playnly affirmeth by S. Paule, quod omnes qui pie volunt viuere in Chriſto Ieſu, perſecutionem patientur. Yea, you ſhall bee called and iudged an hereticke, you ſhall bee abhorred of the world, your own frendes and kynſfolke will forſake you, and alſo hate you, and you ſhall be caſt into priſon and no man ſhall dare to helpe or comforte you, you ſhall be accuſed and brought before the Biſhops, to your reproch and ſhame, to the great ſorrow of all your faithful frendes and kinſfolke. Then will ye wiſh ye had neuer knowen this doctrine. Then will ye curſe Clarke, & wiſh that ye had neuer knowen him, becauſe he hath brought you to all theſe troubles. Therefore rather then that ye ſhould do this, leaue of from medling of this doctrine, and deſire not to be and continue in my company.

At which his wordes I was ſo grieued, that I fell down on my knées at his féete, & with abundaunce of teares & ſighes euē frō ÿ bottome of my hart, I earneſtly beſought him, that for ÿ tender mercy of god ſhewed vnto vs in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, he would not refuſe me, but receiue me into his cōpanie, as I had deſired, ſaying that I truſted verely, that he which had begōne this in me, would not forſake me, but giue me grace to continue therin vnto the end. Whē he heard me ſay ſo, he came to me, & toke me vp in his armes, kyſſed me, the teares trickling downe from his eyes, and ſayd vnto me: The Lord almightye graunt you ſo to do, and from hence forth for euer take me for your father, and I wyll take you for my ſonne in Chriſt. Nowe were there at that tyme in Oxford, diuers Graduates and Scholers of ſundry Colleges and Halles, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which al reſorted vnto maiſter Clarkes diſputatiōs and lectures in diuinitie at all times as they myght: and when they might not come conueniently, I was by Maiſter Clarke appointed to reſorte vnto euery of them wekely, and to know what doubtes they had in any place of the ſcriptures, that by me from him they might haue the true vnderſtanding of the ſame: which exerciſe dyd me moſt good and profit to the vnderſtanding of the holy ſcriptures, which I moſt deſired.

Dalaber armed with pacience and conſtancie.

D.Cotiſford perſecuter of *Dalaber and Garret.*

This foreſayd forewarning and godly declaration (I ſay) of this moſt godly Martyr of God M.Clarke, comming then to my remembraunce, cauſed me with déepe ſighes to cry vnto God from my hart, to aſſiſt me with his holy ſpirite, that I myght be able pacientlye and quietly to beare and ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe him of his fatherly loue to lay on me, to his glorie, and the comfort of my dearelye beloued brethren, whom I thought now to be in great feare & anguiſhe, leſt I woulde be an accuſer of them all, for vnto me they all were well knowen: and all their doinges in that matter. But God be bleſſed, I was fully bent neuer to accuſe any of them, what ſoeuer ſhould happen of me. Before dynner maiſter Cotiſford came vp to me, and requeſted me earneſtly to tell him where Maiſter Garret was, and if I would ſo do, he promiſed me ſtraightwayes to deliuer me out of priſon. But I told him I could not tell where he was: no more in deede I coulde. Then hee departed to dinner, aſking me if I would eate any meate, and I tolde him, yea right gladly. He ſayd he would ſende me ſome. When hee was gone, his ſeruaunts aſked me diuers queſtions, which I do not now remember, and ſome of them ſpake me faire, and ſome threatned me, calling me hereticke, and ſo departed, locking the doore faſt vpon me.

Thus farre Antony Dalaber hath proſecuted this ſtorye, who before the finiſhing, departed the yeare, 1562. in the dioces of Saliſbury: the reſidue thereof as we coulde gather it of auncīent and credible perſons, ſo haue we added here vnto the ſame.

Tho. Garret apprehended and brought to Oxforde.

D.Lōdon, & D.Higdon, perſecuters of *Garret.*

Garret and Dalaber bare fagottes in Oxforde.

After this, Garret was apprehended or taken by maiſter Cole the Proctor or his men, going weſtward, at a place called Hinkſey a litle beyond Oxford, and ſo being brought backe agayne, was cōmitted to Warde, that done, he was conuented before the Commiſſarye, Doctor London and Doctor Higdon Deane of Friſwides (now called Chriſtes Colledge) into S.Maries church, where they ſitting in iudgement, conuicted him according to their law as an hereticke (as they ſayde) and afterward compelled him to carie a faggot in open proceſſiō from S.Maries church to Friſwides, and Dalaber likewiſe with hym, Garret hauing his red hoode on his ſhoulders like a maiſter of Arte. After that, they were ſent to Oſney, there to be kept in priſon till farther order was taken.

The names of godly brethren at Oxforde.

Rob. Ferrar Byſhop of *S.Dauies.*

There were ſuſpected beſide, a great nomber to be infected with hereſie, as they called it, for hauing ſuche bokes of Gods truth, as Garret ſold vnto them, as M. Clarke, which died in his chamber, and coulde not be ſuffered to receiue the Communion, being in priſon, and ſaying theſe wordes: Crede, & manducaſti. Maſter Somner, Maiſter Bettes, Tauerner the Muſicion, Radley, with other of Friſwides colledge, of Corpus Chriſti Colledge, as Vdal & Diet with other, of Magdalen Colledge one Eeden, with other of Gloceſter Colledge, & two blacke Monkes, one of S.Auſtines of Caunterbury named Langporte, the other of S. Edmonds bury Monke, named Iohn Saleſburye, two white Monkes of Barnard Colledge, two Chanons of S.Maries Colledge, one of them named Robet Ferrar afterward biſhop of S.Dauies, & burned in queene Maries time. Theſe ij. Chanons, becauſe they had no place in the vniuerſitie with the other, they went on the contrary ſide of the proceſſion bare headed, and a Bedell before them, to be knowen from the other. Diuers other there were, whoſe names I cannot remẽber, which were forced and conſtrained to forſake their Colledges, and ſought their friendes. Againſt the proceſſion time, there was a great fire made vpon the top of Carfaxe, whereinto all ſuch as were in the ſaid proceſſion, eyther conuict or ſuſpect of hereſſe, were commaunded, in token of repentaunce and renouncing of their errours, euery man to caſt a booke into the fire as they paſſed by.

W.Hierome burned in Smithfield.

After this, Maſter Garret flying frõ place to place, eſcaped their tyranny vntyll this preſent time, that hee was againe apprehended and burned with D.Barnes. With whom alſo Williã Hierome ſomtime Vicar of Stepney, was likewiſe drawen into Smithfield, and there together with them, conſtantly endured martyrdome in the fire.

Now let vs adde alſo to theſe the ſtory of Hierome.

¶The lyfe and ſtory of W. Hierome Vicare of Stepney, and Martyr of Chriſt.

The ſtorye of *William Hierome.*

THe thyrd companion which ſuffred with Barnes & Garret, was Williã Hierome, Vicar of Stepney. This Hierome beyng a diligent preacher of Gods word, for the comfort and edification of the people had preached diuers and ſondry Sermons, wherein to the entent to plante in the conſciences of men, the ſincere truth of Chriſtian Religion, hée laboured as much as tyme then ſerued, to extirpe and wéede out the rootes of mens traditions, doctrines, dreames and phãtaſies. In ſo doyng, it could not otherwiſe be, but hée muſt nedes prouoke much hatred agaynſt him amongeſt the aduerſaries of Chriſtes Goſpell.

The ſermon of *W. Hierome* preached at Paules croſſe the iiij. Sonday in Lent.

It ſo happened, that the ſayd Hierome preachyng at Paules in the iiij. Sonday of Lent laſt paſt, made there a Sermon, wherin he recited and mentioned of Agar, and Sara, declaryng what theſe ij. ſignified. In proceſſe whereof hée ſhewed further, how that Sara & her child Iſaac, & all they that were Iſaakes, & borne of the frée woman Sara, were fréely iuſtified: Contrary they that were borne of Agar yͤ bond womã, were bound & vnder yͤ lawe, & cã not be fréely iuſtified. In theſe wordes, what was here ſpoken, but that S. Paul hym ſelf vttereth & expoũdeth in his Epiſtle to yͤ Galat. 4. Or what could here be gathered of any reaſonable or indifferẽt hearer, but conſonant to ſound doctrine, and veine of the Goſpell? Now ſée what rancour and malice armed with crafty and ſubtill ſophiſtry can do. This Sermon finiſhed, it was not long but hee was charged and conuented before the kyng at Weſtmynſter, and there accuſed for erroneous doctrine. Percaſe thou wilt muſe, (gentle reader) what erroneous doctrine here could be pyked out. Note therfore for thy learnyng: and hée that liſteth to ſtudie how to play yͤ Sicophant, let hym here take example. The knot found in this ruſhe was this, for that he preached erroneouſly at Paules croſſe, teaching the people, that all that were borne of Sara, were fréely iuſtified, ſpeakyng there abſolutely without any condition, either of Baptiſme, or of penaũce. &c. Who doubteth here, but if S. Paul hym ſelfe had bene at Paules Croſſe, and had preached the ſame wordes to the Engliſhe men, which hée wrote to the Galathians in this behalfe, Ipſo facto hée had bene apprehẽded for an hereticke for preachyng agaynſt the Sacrament of Baptiſme and repentaunce?

Gal. 4.

Quarrell picked agaynſt *Hieromes* Sermons.

W.Hierome accuſed for preaching agaynſt Magiſtrates.

Furthermore it was obiected agaynſt him touchyng matter agaynſt Magiſtrates, and lawes by them made. Wherunto he aunſwered agayne and affirmed (as hée had before preached) that no Magiſtrate of hym ſelfe could make any law or lawes, priuate or otherwiſe, to bynde yͤ inferiour people, vnles it were by the power, authoritie, and cõmaundement of his or their Princes to him or them giuen, but onely the Prince. And moreouer, to confirme the ſame hee added, ſaying: that if the Prince make lawes conſentyng to Gods lawes, we are bound to obey them. And if he make lawes repugnant to the lawes of God, and hée an euill & wicked Prince: yet are we bound humbly to ſuffer hym, and not violently to reſiſt or grudge agaynſt hym.

Also concernyng hys Sermons, one Doct. Wilſon entred into diſputation with hym, and defended that good workes iuſtified before God, and were neceſſary and auaylable to ſaluation. To whom Hierome aunſwered agayn, that all workes what ſoeuer they were, were nothyng worth, nor no part of ſaluation of them ſelues, but onely referred to the mercye and loue of God, whiche mercye and loue of God directeth the workers therof, and yet is it at hys mercye and goodnes to accept them. Whiche to be true Doct. Wilſon neither could, nor did denye.

Workes no part of our ſaluation.

And thus much concernyng the ſeuerall ſtoryes of theſe iij. good mẽ. Now let vs ſée the order of their Martyrdome, ioynyng thẽ all together: what was the cauſe of their condemnation, and what were their proteſtations and wordes at their ſuffering.

Out of the preface of Steuen Gardiner agaynſt George Ioye.

Ye heard before how Barnes, Hierome, & Garret, were cauſed to preach at Eaſter at the Spitle. The occaſion whereof as I finde it reported by Steuen Gardiner writyng agaynſt George Ioye, I thought here to diſcourſe more at large.

Steuen Gardiner hearing that the ſayd Barnes, Hierome, & Garret ſhould preach the Lent following an. 1541. at Paules croſſe, to ſtoppe the courſe of their doctrine, ſent his Chaplen to the biſhop of London the ſaterday before the firſt ſonday in Lent, to haue a place for him to preache at Paules. Which to him was graũted, & time appointed that he ſhould preach the Sonday following, which ſhould be on the morow: which ſonday was appointed before for Barnes, to occupye that roome. Gardiner therfore determining to declare the Goſpell of that ſonday, contayning the Deuils. iij. tentations, began amongeſt other thinges to note the abuſe of ſcripture amongeſt ſome, as the Deuill abuſed it to Chriſt, and ſo alluding to the tentation of the Deuill, wherein he alledged the ſcripture agaynſt Chriſt, to caſt him ſelfe downward, and that he ſhould take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, ſaying:

Now a dayes (quoth he) the Deuill tempteth the world, and biddeth them to caſt them ſelues backward. There is no foreward in yͤ new teaching, but all backward. Now the Deuill teacheth, come backe from faſting, come backe from praying, come backe from confeſſion, come backe from wéeping for thy ſinnes, and all is backward: In ſomuch that men muſt now learne to ſay their Pater noſter backward. For where we ſayd, *forgeue vs our debtes, as we forgeue our debters*, nowe it is, *as thou forgeueſt our debtes, ſo I wyll forgeue my debters*, and ſo God muſt forgeue firſt, and all I ſay is turned backward. &c.

And amongeſt other thinges, moreouer he noted yͤ Deuils craft & ſhifte in deceiuing man: who enuying his felicitie, and therefore coueting to haue man idle, and voyde of good workes, and to be lead in that idlenes, with a wan hope to lyue merelye at his pleaſure here, and yet to haue heauen at the laſt, hath for that purpoſe procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heauẽ was ſold for a litle money, and for to retaile that merchandiſe, the Deuil vſed Friers for his miniſters. Now they be gone with all their trumpery, but the deuill is not yet gone. &c. And now that the Deuill perceueth that it can no longer be borne, to by and ſell heauen by the Friers, he hath excogitate to offer heauen without workes for it, ſo fréely, that men ſhall not nede for heauen to worke at all, what ſoeuer oportunitie they haue to worke: mary if they will haue any higher place in heauen, God wyll leaue no worke vnrewarded, but as to be in heauen, nedes no workes at all, but onely beléefe, onely, onely, and nothing els. &c.

This

The Ser- mon of D. Barnes replying to Winche- ster.

This ſermon of Steuen Wincheſter finiſhed, Doct. Barnes who was put of from that ſonday, had hys daye appoynted, which was the third Sonday next enſuing, to make hys Sermon: who taking the ſame text of the Goſpell which Gardiner had done before, was on the contrary ſide no leſſe vehement in ſetting forwarde the true doctrine of Chriſtian religion, then Wincheſter had done before in plucking men backward from truth to lyes, from ſinceritie to hipocriſie, from religion to ſuperſtition, from Chriſt to Antichriſt. In the proceſſe of which ſermon he procéeding, and calling out Steuen Gardiner by name to aunſwere him, alluded in a pleaſant allegory, to a Cockfight, terming the ſayd Gardiner to be a fighting Cocke, & him ſelf to an other, but ẏ Garden Cocke (he ſaid) lacked good ſpurres, obiecting moreouer to the ſayd Gardiner, and oppoſing hym in his Grammer rules, thus ſaying: that if hee had aunſwered him in the ſchooles, ſo as he had there preached at the croſſe, he would haue geuen him ſixe ſtripes: declaryng furthermore, what euyl herbes this Gardiner had ſet in the Garden of Gods ſcripture. &c.

Steuen Gardiner complayneth to the kyng of Doctour Barnes.

Finally, with this Sermon Gardiner was ſo tickled in the ſplene, that he immediately went to the kyng to complayne, ſhewing how he beyng a biſhop and a Prelate of ẏ realme, was hãdled & reuiled at Paules croſſe.

Whereupon the king geuing to much eare to Gardiners griefe, was earneſtly incenſed agaynſt Barnes, and with many high wordes rebuked hys doinges in his priuy cloſet, hauing with him the Earle of Southhampton which was the L. Wryſley, & the Maiſter of the horſe, which was Anthony Browne, D. Cockes, & D. Robynſon. Unto whõ when Barnes had ſubmitted himſelf: Nay ſayd the kyng, yeld thée not to me, I am a mortall man, and therewith ryſyng vp, and turnyng to the Sacrament, and putting of his bonet, ſayd: yonder is the Maiſter of vs all, author of truth, yealde in truth to him, and that truth will I defend, & otherwyſe yeld thée not vnto me. Much adoe there was, and great matter layd agaynſt Barnes. In concluſion this order was takẽ, that Barnes ſhould go apart with Wyncheſter, to conferre and commõ together of their doctrine, certayne witneſſes beyng thereunto appoynted, to bee as indifferent hearers, of whom the one was Doctor Cockes, the other was Doctor Robinſon, with two other alſo to them aſſigned, which ſhoulde be reporters to the king of the diſputation. At the firſt entrye of which talke, Gardiner forgeuing him (as he ſayth) all that was paſt, offered hym ẏ choyſe, whether he would aunſwer, or oppoſe, which was the Fridaye after that Barnes had preached.

The king diſpleaſed agaynſt Barnes.

D. Cockes and Doct. Robinſon Arbiters betwene D. Barnes & Steuen Gardiner.

The queſtion betwene D. Barnes & Steuen Gardiner.

The queſtion betwene them propounded, by Gardiners narration, was this: *Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable, before the grace of iuſtification, or not?* Which queſtion roſe vpon a certayne contention which had bene betwene them before. For Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requyreth of vs to forgeue our neighbour to obtayne forgeuenes of hym: yet he ſayd that God muſt forgiue vs fyrſt, before we forgeue our neyghbour: For els to forgeue our neyghbour were ſinne by the text that ſayth: *All that is not of fayth, is ſynne. &c.* Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner to proue the contrary, came foorth with his argumentes two or thrée, to the which argumentes (ſayth Gardiner) Barnes could not aunſwer, but deſired to be ſpared that night, & the next morning he would anſwere hys argumentes. In the morning Gardiner with the hearers being agayne aſſembled, D. Barnes, according to the appointment, was preſent, who then went about to aſſoyle hys argumentes. To hys ſolutions Gardiner agayne replyed. And thus continued they in this altercation by the ſpace of two houres. In the ende of this Cockfight Wyncheſter thus concludeth hys glorious tale, and croweth vp the triumph, declaring how Barnes beſought him to haue pity of hym, to forgeue hym, and to take hym to be hys ſcholer, whom then the ſayd Wincheſter (as he confeſſeth hym ſelfe) receauyng, not as his ſcholer, but as hys companion, offered to hym a portion out of hys lyuyng, to the ſumme of. xl. li. a yeare. Which if it bee true, as Ste. Gardiner hymſelfe reporteth, why then doth this glorious Cockatriſe crowe ſo muche agaynſt Barnes afterward, and caſt hym in the téeth, bearyng all the worlde in hande, that Barnes was hys ſcholer, where as he hym ſelfe here refuſeth Barnes to be hys Scholer, but receaueth hym as hys companion felowlyke? But to the ſtory.

God forgeueth vs firſt, before we forgeue our neighbour.

Rom. 15.

Gardiners reporte.

Diſputation betwene Barnes & Gardiner.

Steuen Gardiner in hys preface to George Ioye.

Ste. Gardiner offereth to Doct. Barnes xl. pounde a yeare.

This done, the kyng beyng aduertiſed of the concluſion of this matter betwene Barnes and Wincheſter, was contẽt that Barnes ſhould repayre to the Byſhops houſe at London, the Monday folowyng. Whiche hée dyd, with a certeine other companiõ ioyned vnto him. Who he was, Wincheſter there doth not expreſſe, only he ſayth, that it was neither Hierome nor Garret. In this next méetyng betwene Barnes and the Biſhop vpon the foreſayd Monday, the ſayd Byſhop ſtudying to inſtructe Barnes, vttered to hym certeine Articles or concluſions, to the number of x. the effect whereof here foloweth.

Wincheſters Articles agaynſt Barnes.

Wincheſters articles againſt Doct. Barnes.

The effecte of Chriſtes paſſion hath a condition. The fulfillyng of the condition diminiſheth nothyng the effect of Chriſtes Paſſion. 1.

They that will inioy the effect of Chriſtes Paſſiõ muſt fulfill the condition. 2.

The fulfillyng of the condition requireth firſt knowledge of the condition, whiche knowledge we haue by fayth. 3.

Fayth commeth of God, and this fayth is a good gift. It is good & profitable to me: it is profitable to me to do well, and to exerciſe this fayth: Ergo, by the gift of God, I may do well before I am iuſtified. 4.

Therfore I may do well by the gift of God before I am iuſtified, towardes the atteynment of iuſtification. 5.

There is euer as much charitie towardes God, as fayth. And as fayth encreaſeth, ſo doth charitie encreaſe. 6.

To the atteinment of iuſtification is required fayth and charitie. 7.

Euery thyng is to be called freely done, whereof the begynnyng is free and at libertie without any cauſe of prouocation. 8.

Fayth muſt be to me the aſſuraunce of the promiſes of God made in Chriſt (if I fulfill the condition) and loue muſt accompliſh the condition: wherupon foloweth the attainement of the promiſe accordyng to Gods truth. 9.

A man beyng in deadly ſinne may haue grace to do the workes of penaunce, whereby he may attayne to hys iuſtification. 10.

The aunſwere and the reioynder of George Ioye agaynſt Wincheſter.

These Articles, for ſomuch as they be ſufficiently aũſwered and replied vnto by George Ioye in his Ioynder, and Reioynder agaynſt Wyncheſter, I ſhall not nede to cumber thys worke with any new adoe therwith, but only referre ẏ reader to the bokes aforeſayd: where hee may ſée matter enough to aũſwere to theſe Popiſhe Articles.

I told you before how the kyng was contented that Barnes ſhould reſorte to the houſe of the Byſhop of Wyncheſter to be traded and directed by the Byſhop, which Barnes then hearyng the talke of the people, & alſo hauyng conference with certaine learned men, within ij. daies after his cõming to the Biſhops houſe, wared wery therof, and ſo commyng to the Byſhop, ſignified vnto hym, that if hee would take hym as one that came to conferre he woulde come ſtill, but els hée would come no more, and ſo cleane gaue ouer the Byſhop.

Doct. Barnes refuſeth to come to Gardiner, to be inſtructed of hym, but onely to conferre with hym.

This beyng knowen vnto the kyng, through ſiniſter complayntes of Popiſhe Sycophantes, Barnes agayne was ſent for, and conuented before the kyng, who greuouſly beyng incenſed agaynſt hym, inioyned both him, Hierome, and Garret, at the ſolemne Eaſter

Sermons at S. Mary ſpitle, openly in wrytyng to reuoke the doctrine whiche they before had taught. At which Sermons Steuen Gardiner alſo hym ſelfe was preſent to heare their recantation.

Doct. Barnes deſired Wincheſter at hys Sermon to holde vp hys hand.

Firſt Doct. Barnes, accordyng to hys promiſe made to the kyng, ſolemnly and formally beganne to make hys recantation, whiche done, hee with much circumſtance & obteſtation called vpō the Byſhop (as is aboue touched) and aſkyng of hym forgiuenes, required him in token of a graunt to holde vp his hand, to the entent yͤ he there openly declaring his charitie before yͤ world, yͤ Biſhop alſo would declare his charitie in like maner. Which whē yͤ byſhop refuſed to do at yͤ firſt, as he was required, Barnes agayne called for it, deſiryng hym to ſhewe hys charitie, and to holde vp his hande. Which whē he had done with much ado, waggyng his finger a litle: then Barnes entryng to his Sermon after hys prayer made, begynneth yͤ proceſſe of a matter, preaching contrary to that, which before he had recanted. In ſomuch, that the Maior, when the ſermon was finiſhed, ſitting with the Byſhop of Wincheſter, aſked him whether hee ſhoulde from the pulpitte ſend him to warde, to be forth comming for that his bold preaching contrary to his recantatiō. The like alſo did Hierome, and Garret after hym.

The Maior of London readye to trouble *Doct. Barnes* for hys Sermon.

The kyng had appoynted before certayne to make reporte of yͤ ſermons. Beſides thē there was one who wrytyng to a frend of hys in the Court, in the fauour of theſe preachers, declared how gayly they had all handled the matter, both to ſatiſfie the recantation, and alſo in the ſame Sermons to vtter out the truth, that it might ſpreade without let of the worlde. Wherefore partly by theſe reporters, and partly by the negligent lookyng to this letter, whiche came to the Lord Cromwels handes (ſayth Gardiner) Barnes with hys other fellowes were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Steuen Gardiner in hys foreſayde booke agaynſt George Ioye would nedes cleare hym ſelfe, that hee was in no part nor cauſe of their caſtyng into the Tower, and giueth this reaſon for hym, for that he hadde then no acceſſe ne hadde not after, ſo long as Cromwels tyme laſted, to the kynges ſecret counſaile: yet notwithſtandyng the ſayd Gardiner can not perſuade vs to the contrary, but that his priuie cōplaining to the kyng, and his ſecret whyſperyngs in his frendes eares, & his other workyngs by hys fauours about the king, was a great ſparcle to ſet their faggottes a fire.

Barnes, Garret, and Hierome, committed to the Tower.

Ste. Gardiner had no acceſſe to the kinges Counſell a yeare and more before the *L. Cromwells* fall.

Thus then Barnes, Hierome, and Garret beyng cōmitted to the Tower, after Eaſter, there remayned til the .xx. day of Iulye, which was twoo dayes after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then enſued proceſſe agaynſt them by the kings Counſel, in the Parliament, to the which proceſſe Gardiner confeſſeth him ſelfe that he was priuie amongeſt the reſt. Whereupon all theſe iij. good Saintes of God, the .xx. day of Iuly, not comming to any anſwere, nor yet knowing any cauſe of their condemnation, without any publyke hearing, were brought together frō the Tower to Smithfield, where they preparing them ſelues to the fire, had there at the ſtake diuers and ſundry exhortations, amongeſt whom D. Barnes firſt beganne with this proteſtation following.

Proceſſe againſt *Barnes, Hierome, and Garret.*

The proteſtation of *Doct. Barnes* at the ſtake.

I am come hither to be burned as an hereticke, and you ſhall heare my beliefe, whereby you ſhall perceiue what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I neuer (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but onely thoſe thinges which ſcripture lead me vnto, and that in my Sermons I neuer maintayned any errour, neyther moued nor gaue occaſion of any inſurrection. Although I haue ben ſclaundered to preach that our Lady was but a ſaffron bag, whych I vtterly proteſt before God, that I neuer ment it nor preached it: but al my ſtudy and diligence hath bene vtterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the Anabaptiſtes, which deny that our Sauiour Chriſt did take any fleſhe of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, which ſectes I deteſt and abhorre. And in thys place there hath bene burned ſome of them, whom I neuer fauored, nor maintained, but with all diligence euermore did I ſtudy to ſet forth the glory of God, the obedience to our ſouerayne Lord the King, and the true and ſincere religion of Chriſt. And nowe harken to my fayth.

Doct. Barnes falſely ſclaundered.

I beleue in the holy and bleſſed Trinitie, three perſons, and one God, that created & made all the world, and that this bleſſed Trinitie ſent downe the ſeconde perſon Ieſu Chriſt into the wombe of the moſt bleſſed and pureſt virgine Mary. And here beare me record, that I do vtterly condemne that abominable and deteſtable opinion of the Anabaptiſtes, which ſaye that Chriſt tooke no fleſh of the virgine. For I beleue that without mans wyll or power, he was conceiued by the holy Ghoſt, and tooke fleſh of her, and that he ſuffered hunger, thirſt, colde, and other paſſions of our bodye (ſynne except) according to the ſaying of S. Peter: *He was made in all thinges like to his brethren, except ſinne.* And I beleue that this his death and paſſion was the ſufficient raunſome for the ſinne of all the world. And I beleue that through his death, he ouercame ſinne, death, and hell, and that there is none other ſatiſfaction vnto the Father, but this his death and paſſion only: and that no worke of mā did deſerue any thing of God, but only his paſſion, as touching our iuſtification. For I know the beſt worke that euer I did, is vnpure & vnperfit. And with this he caſt abrod his hands, and deſired God to forgeue him his treſpaſſes. For although perchaunce (ſaid he) you know nothing by me, yet do I confeſſe that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: Wherfore I beſech thee O Lord, not to enter into iudgement wͭ me, according to the ſaying of the Prophet Dauid: Non intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo domine. i. *Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruaunt O Lord.* And in an other place: Si iniquitates obſeruaueris domine quis ſuſtinebit? *Lord, if thou ſtraitlye marke our iniquities, who is able to abide thy iudgement?* Wherefore I truſt in no good worke that euer I did, but onely in the death of Chriſt. I do not doubt, but through him to inherite the kingdome of heauen. Take me not here that I ſpeake againſt good workes, for they are to be done, and verely they that doo them not, ſhall neuer come in the kingdome of God. We muſt do them, becauſe they are commaunded vs of God to ſhew and ſet forth our profeſſion, not to deſerue or merite, for that is only yͤ death of Chriſt.

I beleue that there is a holy Church, and a companie of all them that profeſſe Chriſt: and that all that haue ſuffered and confeſſed his name, be Saintes, and that all they do prayſe and laude God in heauen, more then I, or any mans tounge can expreſſe, and that alwayes I haue ſpoken reuerently, and praiſed them as much as ſcripture willed me to doe: And that our Lady (I ſay) was a virgine immaculate and vndefiled, and that ſhe is the moſt pureſt virgine that euer God created, and a veſſell elect of God, of whom Chriſt ſhould be borne. Then ſayd M. Shiriffe, you haue ſaid well of her before. And being afrayde that M. Shriffe had bene or ſhould be agreeued with any thing that he ſhould ſay, he ſayd: Maiſter Shriffe, if I ſpeake any thing that you wyll me not, do no more but becken me with your hande, and I wyll ſtrayght waye holde my peace, for I wyll not be diſobedient in any thyng, but wyll obey.

Then there was one that aſked hym hys opinion of praying to Saintes. Then ſayd he: Now of Saintes you ſhall here my opinion. I haue ſaid before ſomwhat I thinke of them, how that I beleue they are in heauen with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to haue. But I ſay throughout all Scripture we are not commaunded to pray to any Saintes. Therefore I can not nor will not

preach

preache to you that Saintes ought to bée prayed vnto: for thē ſhould I preach vnto you a doctrine of my owne head. Notwithſtādyng whether they pray for vs or no, that I referre to God. And if Saintes do pray for vs, then I truſt to pray for you with in this halfe houre maſter Shriffe, and for euery Chriſtian man lyuyng in the fayth of Chriſt & dying in the ſame as a Saint. Wherfore if the dead may pray for the quicke, I will ſurely pray for you.

Well, haue ye any thyng more to ſay? Then ſpake hée to maſter Shriffe and ſayd, haue ye any Articles agaynſt me for the whiche I am condemned? And the Shriffe aunſwered, no. Then ſayd hée, is there here any man els that knoweth wherefore I dye, or that by my preachyng hath taken any errour? Let them now ſpeake and I will make them aunſwere. And no man aunſwered. Then ſayd he, well I am condemned by the law to dye, and as I vnderſtand, by an Acte of Parliament, but wherfore, I cannot tell, but belyke for hereſie, for we are like to burne. But they that haue bene the occaſiō of it, I pray God forgeue them, as I would be forgiuen my ſelfe. And D. Steuen Byſhop of Wyncheſter that now is, if hée haue ſought or wrought this my death either by worde or dede, I pray God forgeue hym as hartly, as fréely, as charitably, and without faynyng, as euer Chriſt forgaue thē that put him to death.

No cauſe ſhewed why Doct. *Barnes* dyed.

D. Barnes praying for hys enemyes.

And if any of the Councell, or any other haue ſought or wrought it thorough malice or ignoraunce, I pray God forgiue their ignoraūce and illuminate their eyes that they may ſée and aſke mercy for it. I beſech you all to pray for the kynges grace, as I haue done euer ſince I was in priſon, and do now, that God may giue hym proſperitie, and that hee may long raigne among you, & after hym that godly Prince Edward may ſo reigne, that hée may finiſhe thoſe thynges that hys father hath begon. I haue bene reported a preacher of ſedition and diſobedience vnto the kynges maieſtie, but heare I ſay to you, that you all are bound by the commaundement of God to obey your Prince with all humilitie, & with all your hart, yea not ſo much as in a looke to ſhewe your ſelues diſobediēt vnto him, and that not onely for feare of the ſword, but alſo for conſcience ſake before God. Yea and I ſay further, if the kyng ſhould commaunde you any thyng agaynſt Gods law, if it bée in your power to reſiſte hym, yet may you not do it.

D. Barnes prayeth for the kyng.

Fiue requeſtes of *D. Barnes* to the king.

The firſt requeſt.

Then ſpake he to the Shriffe & ſayd, maſter Shriffe I require you on Gods behalfe, to haue me commēded vnto the kynges grace, and to ſhew him that I require of his grace theſe fiue requeſtes: Firſt that where hys grace hath receiued into his handes, all the goodes and ſubſtaunce of ẏ Abbeys. Then ẏ Shriffe deſired hym to ſtoppe there. He aūſwered, Maiſter Shriffe I warrant you I will ſpeake no harme, for I know it is well done that all ſuch ſuperſtition bee cleane taken away, and the kyngs grace hath well done in takyng it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his Realme as a kyng (which neither his father nor graūdfather, neither his aunceſters that raigned before hym euer had) and that thorough the preachyng of vs and ſuch other wretches as we are, whiche all wayes haue applied our whole ſtudyes, and geuē our ſelues for the ſettyng forth of the ſame, and this is now our reward. Well it maketh no matter. Now hée raigneth among you: I pray God long may he lyue and reigne among you. Would to God it might pleaſe his grace to beſtow the ſayd goods or ſome of them, to the comforte of hys poore ſubiectes, whiche ſurely haue great nede of them.

The king of Englād made a whole king by poore preachers.

The 2. requeſt of *D. Barnes* to the king.

The ſecond that I deſire his grace, is, that he will ſée that matrimony be had in more reuerence then it is, and that men for euery light cauſe inuented, caſt not of their wiues and lyue in adultery and fornication, and that thoſe that be not maryed, ſhould not abominablye lyue in whoredome, folowyng ẏ filthy luſtes of ẏ fleſhe.

The 3. requeſt.

The thyrd, that the abominable ſwearers may bée puniſhed and ſtraitlye looked vpon: for the vengeance of God will come one thē for their miſchieuous othes. Then deſired he maſter Pope to haue him commēded to M. Edgar & to deſire hym for the deare bloud of Ieſu Chriſt, that hee would leaue that abominable ſwearyng whiche he vſed, for ſurely except he did forſake it, he would come to ſome miſcheuous ende.

Doct. Barnes requeſt to *M. Edgar* to leaue ſwearing.

The fourth requeſt.

The fourth, that hys grace woulde ſet forth Chriſtes true Religion, and ſeyng he hath begonne, that hee woulde goe forwarde and make an ende, for many thynges haue bene done, but much more is to doe: and that it woulde pleaſe hys grace to looke on Gods worde him ſelfe, for it hath bene obſcured with many traditions inuented of our owne braynes. Now ſayd he, how many petitiōs haue I ſpoken of? And the people ſayd foure. Well ſayd hee, euen theſe foure bée ſufficient, whiche I deſire you, that the the kynges grace may bee certified of, and ſay that I moſt humbly deſire hym to looke earneſtly vpon them: and that hys grace take héede that hée be not deceiued with falſe preachers and teachers and euill counſayle, for Chriſt ſayth that ſuch falſe Prophetes ſhall come in Lambes ſkinnes.

Then deſired he all men to forgeue him, and if he had ſayd any euyll at any time vnaduiſedly, wherby he had offended any man, or geuen any occaſion of euyil, that they would forgeue it hym, and amende that euyll they tooke of him, and to beare him witnes, that he deteſted and abhorred all euyll opinions and doctrines againſt ẏ word of God, & that he dyed in ẏ faith of Ieſu Chriſt, by whō he doubted not, but to be ſaued. And with thoſe wordes he deſyred thē all to pray for him, & then he turned him about, & put of his clothes, making hym ready to the fire, paciently there to take his death.

Doct. Barnes cleareth hym ſelfe of all hereſie.

The like confeſſion alſo made Hierome and Garret, profeſſing in like maner their beliefe, reciting all the articles of the Chriſtian fayth, brieflye declaring their myndes vpon euerye article, as the tyme would ſuffer: whereby the people might vnderſtande that there was no cauſe nor errour in their fayth, wherfore iuſtly they ought to be condemned: Proteſting moreouer that they denyed nothing that was eyther in the old or new Teſtament, ſet foorth by theyr ſoueraygne Lord the kyng: whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongeſt them, with his moſt deare Sonne Prince Edward. Which done Hierome added this exhortation in few wordes following.

The proteſtatiō and confeſſion of *Hierome and Garret.*

I ſay vnto you good brethren, ẏ God hath bought vs all with no ſmall price, neither with gold nor ſyluer, or other ſuch thinges of ſmall value, but with his moſt precious bloud. Be not vnthankefull therefore to him agayn, but do as much as to Chriſtian men belongeth, to fulfill his commaundementes, that is, loue your brethren. Loue hurteth no man, loue fulfilleth al thinges. Yf God haue ſent thée plenty, helpe thy neighbour that hath néede. Geue him good councell. Yf he lacke, conſider if thou were in neceſſitie thou wouldeſt gladly be refreſhed. And agayne, beare your croſſe with Chriſt. Conſider what reprooſe, ſclaunder, and reproch he ſuffered of his enemies, and how paciently he ſuffered all thinges. Conſider that all that Chriſt did, was of hys mere goodnes, and not of our deſeruing. For if we could merite our own ſaluatiō, Chriſt would not haue dyed for vs. But for Adams breakyng of Gods precept, we had bene all loſt, if Chriſt had not redemed vs agayne. And lyke as Adam broke the preceptes, and was driuen out of Paradiſe: ſo we, if we breake Gods commaundementes, ſhall haue damnation, if we do not repente and aſke mercye. Nowe therefore let all Chriſtiās put no truſt nor confidence in their workes, but in the bloud of Chriſt, to whō I cōmit my ſoule to guide, beſeching you all to pray to God for me & for my brethren here preſent with me, that our ſoules leauyng theſe wretched carcaſes, may conſtantly departe in the true fayth of Chriſt.

The exhortation of *Hierome* to the people.

In much lyke ſort Garret alſo proteſtyng and exhorting the people, after his cõfeſſion made, ended his proteſtation in maner as foloweth.

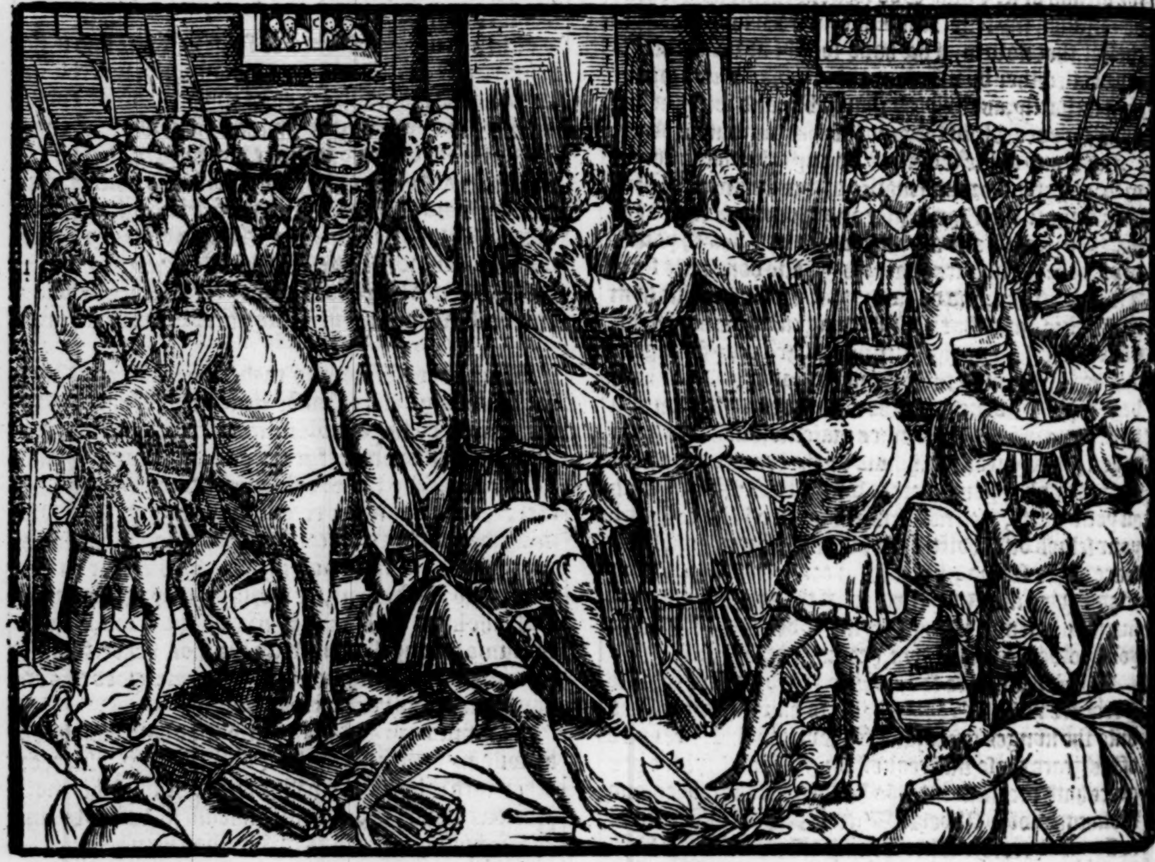
Tho. Garret cleareth hym ſelf of hereſie.

I alſo deteſt, abhorre, and refuſe all hereſies and errours, and if either by negligẽce or ignoraunce I haue taught or maynteyned any, I am ſory for it, and aſke God mercy. Or if I haue bene to vehement or raſhe in preachyng, whereby any perſon hath taken any offence, errour, or euill opinion, I deſire hym, and all other perſons whiche I haue any way offended, of forgiuenes. Notwithſtanding to my remembraunce I neuer preached wittyngly or willyngly any thing againſt Gods holy woorde or contrary to the true fayth, to the mayntenaunce of errours, hereſies, or vicious lyuyng, but haue alway for my litle learnyng and wyt, ſet forth the honor of God and the right obediẽce to hys lawes, and alſo to the kyngs accordyngly. And if I could haue done better, I would. Wherfore Lord if I haue taken in hand to do that thyng, whiche I could not perfectly performe, I deſire thee of pardon for my bold preſumption. And I praye God ſend the kynges grace good and godly counſayle, to his glory, to the kynges honor and to the encreaſe of vertue in this hys Realme. And thus now I yeld vp my ſoule vnto almighty God, truſtyng and beleuyng that he of his infinite mercy for hys promiſe made in the bloud of hys ſonne our moſt merciful Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt, will take it, and pardon me of all my ſinnes whereby I haue moſt greuouſly from my youth offended hys maieſtie: wherfore I aſke hym mercy, deſiryng you all to praye with me and for me that I may paciently ſuffer this payne and die ſtedfaſtly in true fayth, perfite hope and charitie.

Garret prayeth for the kyng.

The death and burnyng of the moſt conſtant Martyrs in Chriſt
D. Rob. Barnes, Tho. Garret, and W. Hierome, in Smithfield. an. 1541.

An. 1541



And ſo after their prayer made, wherein moſt effectually they deſired the Lord Jeſus to be their comfort and conſolation in this their affliction, and to ſtabliſhe thẽ with perfect faith, conſtancie, and pacience through the holy Ghoſt, they taking them ſelues by the handes and kiſſyng one an other, quietly & hũbly offered them ſelues to the hãdes of the tormentors, and ſo toke their death both Chriſtianly and cõſtantly, with ſuch paciẽce as might well teſtifie the goodnes of their cauſe & quiet of their conſcience.

The pacient ſuffering of theſe iij. Martyrs.

Wherin is to bee noted how mightely the Lorde worketh with hys grace and fortitude in the hartes of his ſeruauntes, eſpecially in ſuch, which cauſeles ſuffer with a giltles conſcience for his religions ſake, aboue other whiche ſuffer otherwiſe for their deſertes. For whereas they whiche ſuffer as malefactours, cõmonly are wont to go heauy & penſiue to their death, ſo the other, with heauenly alacritie and cherefulnes doe abyde what ſo euer it pleaſeth the Lorde to lay vpon them. Exãple wherof we haue right well to note, not onely in theſe thrée godly Martyrs aboue mẽcioned, but alſo in the Lord Cromwell, who ſuffered but ij. dayes before, the ſame no leſſe may appeare. Who, although he was brought to his death atteynted and condemned by the Parlament, yet what a giltleſſe conſcience hee bare to hys death, his Chriſtian pacience well declared. Who firſt calling for his breakfaſt: and cherefully eatyng the ſame, and after that paſſyng out of hys priſon downe the hill within the Tower, and méeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford going lykewiſe to his execution (who for other matter here not to be ſpoken of, was there alſo impriſoned) and perceyuing him to be all heauy and doulfull, with cherefull countenaunce and comfortable wordes, aſking why he was ſo heauy, he wylled hym to plucke vp his hart, and to be of good comfort: For, ſayd he, there is no cauſe for you to feare. For if you repent and be hartely ſorye for that you haue done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lorde, who for Chriſtes ſake wyll forgeue you, and therefore be not diſmayed. And though ẏ breakfaſt which we are going to, be ſharpe, yet truſting to the mercy of the Lord, we ſhall haue a ioyfull dynner. And ſo went they together to the place of execution, and tooke their death paciently.

Difference betwene thẽ that ſuffer for gods truth, & other that die for their deſertes.

The cherefull pacience of the Lord *Cromwell* at hys death.

The comfortable wordes of the Lord *Cromwel* to the *L. Hungerforde*, they both going to their death.

¶A note

A note of three Papiſtes executed the ſame tyme with Barnes, Hierome, and Garret.

3. Papiſtes executed, Powell, Fetherſtone, and Abell.

1541.

THe ſame tyme and day & in the ſame place, where and when theſe three aboue mencioned dyd ſuffer, three other alſo were executed, though not for the ſame cauſe, but rather the contrarye: for denying the kynges ſupremacie, whoſe names were Powell, Fetherſtone, and Abell. The which ſpectacle ſo happenyng vpon one day, in ij. ſo contrarye partes or factions, brought the people into a maruelous admiration and doubt of their Religion, whiche part to follow and take: as might ſo wel happen amongeſt ignoraunt and ſimple people, ſeyng ij. contrary partes ſo to ſuffer, the one for Popery, the other agaynſt Popery, both at one time. In ſomuch that a certain ſtraũger beyng there preſent the ſame tyme, and ſeyng three on the one ſide, & three on yͤ other ſide to ſuffer, ſayd in theſe wordes: Deus bone quomodo hic viuunt gentes, hic ſuſpẽdũtur Papiſtæ, illic cõburũtur Antipapiſtæ? But to remoue & take away all doubt hereafter frõ yͤ poſteritie, wherby they ſhall yͤ leſſe maruell how this ſo happened, here is to be vnderſtanded, how the cauſe therof did riſe and procede. Which happened, by reaſon of a certaine diuiſion and diſcorde amongeſt the kynges Councell, which were ſo diuided amongeſt them ſelues in equall partes, that the one halfe ſeemed to holde with the one Religion, the other halfe with the contrary.

The wordes of a ſtraunger ſeyng both Papiſtes & Proteſtantes to ſuffer.

The names of whom although it were not neceſſary to expreſſe, yet being compelled for the ſettyng forth of the truth of the ſtory, we haue thought good here to annexe, as the certeintie therof came to our handes.

The Counſaile diuided in religion.

Proteſtantes.

Canterbury.
Suffolke.
Vicount Beawchamp.
Vicount Liſle.
Ruſſell Treaſurer.
Pagyt.
Sadler.
Audeley.

Papiſtes.

VVyncheſter.
Dureſme.
Norfolke.
Southampton.
Anthony Browne.
VVilliam Paulet.
Iohn Baker.
Richard Chaunc. of the augmentation.
VVingfield Vic. Chaũc.

This diuiſion and ſeparation of the Councell amongeſt them ſelues, cauſed both theſe partes aboue mentioned, yͤ one for one religiõ, yͤ other for an other, to ſuffer together. For as the one part of the Councell called vpon yͤ executiõ of Barnes, Garret, & Hierome, ſo yͤ other part likewyſe called vpõ the execution of the law vpon Powell, Fetherſtone, & Abell. Which ſixe beyng condemned and drawen to the place of executiõ, ij. vpon an hyrdle, one beyng a Papiſt, the other a Proteſtant, thus after a ſtraunge maner were brought into Smithfield, where all the ſayd ſixe together for contrary doctrine ſuffered death, three by the fire for the Goſpell, the other three by hangyng, drawyng, and quarteryng for Popery.

Two together layde vpon the hyrdle: the one a Papiſte the other a Proteſtant.

Alane Cope.

Allen Cope in his worſhypfull Dialogues, makyng mention of theſe iij. aforeſaid, Powel, Fetherſtone, and Abel, amongeſt other whiche dyed in kyng Henryes dayes in the lyke Popiſhe quarell, that is, for the lyke treaſon agaynſt their Prince (beyng in all to the number of 24.) extolleth them not onely in wordes, but with miracles alſo, vp to the height of heauen, among the crowned Martyrs, & Saintes of God. To yͤ which Cope becauſe in this haſt of ſtory, I haue no layſure at thys preſent to gyue attendaunce, I ſhall wayte attendance (yͤ Lord willing) an other time, to ioine in this iſſue with hym more at layſure. In yͤ meane tyme, it ſhall ſuffice at this preſent, to recite the names onely of thoſe 24. rebelles, whom he of hys Popiſh deuotion ſo dignifieth with the pretenſed title of Martyrs. The names of whiche Monkiſhe rebelles bee theſe here folowyng.

Traytours made martyrs.

Iohn Houghton.
Robert Laurence.
Aug. Webſter.
Reynald of Syon.
Iohn Haile.
Iohn Rocheſter.
Iac. Wannere.

Iohn Stone.
Iohn Trauerſe.
William Horne.
Powell.
Fertherſtone.
Abell.

24. neyther good Martyrs to God, nor good ſubiectes to the kyng.

Beſide theſe were other ix. Carthuſian Monkes which died in yͤ priſon at Newgate. To the which nũber if ye adde M. More, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, the ſumma totalis commeth to 24. whom the ſaid Cope vniuſtly crowneth for Martyrs. But of theſe more ſhall be ſayd (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

Thus hauyng diſcourſed the order of the vj. Articles, with other matter likewiſe folowyng in the nexte Parlament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord Cromwell, of Doct. Barnes, and his felowes. &c. Let vs now (procedyng further in this hyſtorie) conſider what great diſturbance and vexation enſued after the ſettyng forth of the ſayd Articles, throughe the whole Realme of Englãd, eſpecially amongeſt the godly ſort. Wherin firſt were to be mencioned the ſtraite and ſeuere commiſſions ſent forth, by the kynges authoritie, to the Biſhops, Chaũcelors, Officials, to Iuſtices, Maiors, and Baliffes in euery ſhyre, and other Cõmiſſioners by name in the ſame commiſſions expreſſed, and amongeſt other, eſpecially to Edmund Boner Biſhop of London, to the Maior, Shriffes, and Aldermen of the ſame, to enquire diligẽtly vpon all heretical bokes, and to burne them, alſo to enquire vppon all ſuch perſõs whatſoeuer, culpable or ſuſpected of ſuch felonies, hereſies, contemptes, or tranſgreſſions, or ſpeakyng any wordes contrary to the foreſayd Acte ſet forth of the vj. Articles. The tenour of which Commiſſions beyng ſufficiently expreſſed in auncient recordes, and in Byſhops Regiſters, and alſo partly touched before, pag. 1297. therefore for tediouſnes I here omitte, onely ſhewing forth the commiſſion directed to Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, to take yͤ othe of the Maior of London, and of others, for the execution of the Commiſſion aforeſayd. The tenour wherof here foloweth.

Great diſturbance in England after the vj. Articles.

Read before pag. 1297.

The Commiſſion for takyng the othe of the Maior of London, and others, for the execution of the Acte aforeſayd.

Commiſſion directed to *Edm. Boner* Biſhop of Lõdon from the kyng.

HEnry the eight by the grace of God, kyng of Englãd & of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in earth ſupreme head of the Churche of England, vnto the Reuerend father in Chriſt Edm. Boner Byſhop of London, & to his welbeloued the Biſhops Chauncellour, health. Know ye that we haue giuen you ioyntly and ſeuerally power and authoritie to receaue the othes of William Roche Maior of London, Iohn Allen knyght, Raffe Warren knight, Richard Greſhã knyght, Roger Chomely knight, ſergeant at law, Iohn Greſham, Michael Dormer Archdeacon of London, the Byſhops Commiſſary and Official, Robert Chidley, Gwy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, and Iohn Morgan and euery of them our Commiſſioners for hereſies & other offences done within our Citie of London, and Dioces of the ſame, accordyng to the tenour of a certain ſchedule hereunto annexed. And therefore we commaunde you, that you receyue the othes aforeſaid, and whẽ you haue receiued them, to certifie vs into our Chauncery vnder your Seales, returning this our writte. T. meipſo. at weſtminſter the 29. of Ianuary in the 32. yeare of our reigne.

What the othe was of theſe Commiſſioners, wherunto they were bounde, read before, pag. 1297. col. 2.

Read before pag. 1297.

A note how Boner ſat in the Guilde hall in Commiſſion for the. 6. Articles. And of the condemning of Mekins.

The ſtory of *Rich. Mekins* cõdemned by *Boner.*

VPon this commiſſion geuen vnto Edmund Boner, hee comming to the Guilde hall with other Commiſſioners, to ſit vpon the ſtatute of the. vj. articles, began eftſones to put in execution his authoritie after a rigorous ſort, as ye ſhall heare. And firſt he charged certaine Iuries, to take their oth vpon yͤ ſtatute aforeſayd: who being ſworne had a day appoynted to geue their verdicte. At the which daye they indited ſundrye perſons, which ſhortlye after were apprehended and brought to warde, who after a while remaining there, were by the kyng & his Counſaile diſcharged at the ſtarre chamber, without any further puniſhment.

Not long after this, Sir W. Roche being Maior, Boner with other Commiſſioners, ſat at the Guilde halle aforeſayde, before whom there were a certayne number of Citizens warned to appeare, and after the Commiſſion read, the ſayd parties were called to the booke, and when .v. or .vj. were ſworne, one of the ſaid perſons being called to the booke, Boner ſemed to miſlike, and ſayd: Stay a whyle, my Maiſters (quoth he) I would you ſhould conſider this matter well that we haue in hand, which concerneth the glorye of God, the honour of the king, and the wealth of the realme, and if there be any here among you, that doth not conſider the ſame, it were better that he were hence then here. Then commoned the Commiſſioners with Boner about that man, ſo that at length hee was called to the booke and ſworne, not all together with his good will.

Rich. Mekins preſented by *Boner.*

W. Robyns Iurer.

Whẽ the .ij. Iuries were ſworne, Boner taketh vpon him to geue the charge vnto the Iuries, & beganne with a tale of Anacarſis, by which example, he admoniſhed the Iuries to ſpare no perſons, of what degree ſo euer they were. And at the ende of his charge hee brought foorth to the barre a boy, whoſe name was Mekins, declaring how greuouſly he had offended by ſpeaking of certayne woordes agaynſt the ſtate, and of the death of D. Barnes: and produced into the ſayde court two witneſſes, which were there ſworne in the face of the court. So a day was aſſigned, vpon which the Iuries aforeſayd ſhould geue vp their verdicte: at which day both the Commiſſioners, and the ſayde Iuries met at Guilde hall aforeſayd. Then the Clarke of the peace called on the Iuries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Boner bad thẽ put in their preſentmentes. Thẽ ſayd the foreman, whoſe name was W. Robins of that Iury, My Lorde (with a low curteſie) we haue foũd nothing. At which wordes he fared as one in an agonie, and ſayde: Nothing? haue ye found nothing? What nothing? By the fayth I owe to God (quoth he) to the foreman, I would truſt you vpon your obligation: but by your oth I wyll truſt you nothing. Then ſayd ſome of the commiſſioners: My Lord, geue them a longer daye. No (quoth he) in London they euer finde nothing. I praye you, what ſay you to Mekins? My Lord, quoth yͤ foreman, we can ſay nothing to him, for we finde the witneſſes to diſagrée. One affirmeth that he ſhould ſay the ſacrament was nothing but a ceremonie, and the other nothing but a ſignification. Why, quoth Boner, did he not ſay, that Barnes died holy? Then pauſing a while, he bad call the other Iury. Put in your verdicte, quod he. My Lord ſayd one, we haue found nothing. Ieſus quoth he, is not this a ſtraunge caſe?

Rafe Foxley Iurer.

Thys Recorder was Syr *Roz. Chomley.*

Agaynſt Popiſhe prieſtes of London.

Then ſpake one of the ſame Iury, whoſe name was Raph Foxley, & ſayd: My Lord, when you gaue vs charge, we deſired to haue yͤ Perſons & Curates of euery pariſh to geue vs inſtructions, and it was denied vs. Then ſtoode vp the Recorder and ſayd, it was true in deede that he had ſpoken, and therwithall ſayd, thys laſt yeare were charged two Iuries, which did many thinges naughtely and fooliſhly, and did, as much as in them lay, to make an vprore among the kinges people, and therefore it was thought not méete, that they ſhould geue information to you. Nay, nay, quoth Boner, this was the cauſe: If yͤ Perſon or Curate ſhould geue information according to hys knowledge, then what wil they ſay? I muſt tel my confeſſion to a knaue prieſt, and hee ſhall go by and by and open it. What, ſayd my Lord Maior, there is no mã (I trow) that will ſaye ſo. Yes by my trouth, quoth Boner, knaue prieſt, knaue prieſt. Then ſayd the Lord Maior, ſomewhat ſmiling, there be ſome of them ſlipper fellowes, and as men finde them, ſo wyll they oft tymes report. Boner not well contented with thoſe woordes, ſayd to the Iurye: My Maiſters, what ſaye you to Mekins? They aunſwered, the witneſſes do not agree, therfore we do not alow them. Why quoth Boner, thys court hath alowed thẽ. Then ſaid one of the Iury to the Recorder: Is it ſufficient for our diſcharge, if this court do alow them? Yea ſayd the Recorder, it is ſufficient, and ſayd: Go you aſide together a whyle, and bryng in your verdicte. After the Iury had talked together a litle while, they returned to the barre again with their inditement, which at Boners handes was frendly receiued: ſo both they and the other Iurye were diſcharged, and bydden take their eaſe. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after they ſat for lyfe and death. Mekins being brought to the barre, & the inditement read, Boner ſaid to him: Mekins cõfeſſe the truth, and ſubmitte thy ſelfe vnto the kinges lawe, that thy death may be an example to all other.

Boner calleth vp the condemnation of *Mekins.*

Mekins brought to the barre.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

This Rich. Mekyns being a childe which paſſed not the age of .xv. yeares (as Hall reporteth) as he had heard ſome other folkes talke, ſo chaunced he to ſpeake agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar. Which comming to Boners eares, he neuer left him (as afore doth plainly appeare) before he had brought hym to the fire. During yͤ time of his impriſonmẽt, neither his poore father nor mother for feare durſt ayde hym with any reliefe: wherby he there indured in great miſery. At what time hee was brought vnto the ſtake, hee was taught to ſpeake much good of the Byſhop of London, and of the great charitie he ſhewed hym, and to defie and deteſt all heretickes and hereſies, but ſpecially Doct. Barnes, vnto whom hee imputed the learnyng of that hereſie whiche was cauſe of his death. The poore ladde would for ſauegard of his life, haue gladly ſayd that yͤ .xij. Apoſtles had taught it him: ſuch was his childiſhe innocencie and feare. But for this dede many ſpake and ſayd it was great ſhame for the Byſhop, whoſe parte and dutie it had bene rather to haue laboured to ſaue hys lyfe, then to procure that terrible execution, ſeyng that he was ſuch an ignoraũt ſoule that hée knew not what the affirmyng of hereſie was.

And how could he take the learning of *D. Barnes,* when *D. Barnes* was not of that opinion?

¶ Richard Spenſer, Ramſey, and one Hewet, ſuffered at Salisbury.

Spenſer, Ramſey, & Hewet, Martyrs.

ABout the ſame tyme alſo a certeine Prieſt was burned at Saliſbury, who leauyng his Papiſtry, had maryed a wife, and became a player in interludes, with one Ramſey and Hewet, which iij. were all condemned and burned: Agaynſt whom, and ſpecially agaynſt Spenſer, was layde matter concernyng the Sacrament of the altar. He ſuffered at Saliſbury.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Fryer Warde. Syr Tho. Roſe.

Althoughe this Inquiſition aboue mentioned was ment properly and ſpecially concernyng the vj. Articles, yet ſo it fell out, that in ſhort ſpace doubtes began to ryſe and to be moued by the Queſte, whether they might enquire as well of all other opinions, articles and caſes of Lollardy, or for ſpeakyng agaynſt holy bread, holy water, or for fauoryng the cauſe of Barnes, of Frier Warde, Syr Tho. Roſe. &c. Wherupon great perturbation folowed in all Pariſhes almoſt through London in the yeare aforeſayd, whiche was. 1541. as here enſueth in a brief Summary Table to be ſéene.

¶ A brief Table of the troubles at London, in the vj. Articles tyme.

Perſons preſented.	*Their cauſes.*
Iohn Dixe.	THis Dixe was noted neuer to be confeſſed in Lent, nor to receaue at Eaſter, and to be a Sacramentary.
Richard Chepeman.	Chepeman for eatyng fleſhe in Lent, and for workyng on holy dayes, and not commyng to the Churche.

S. Alb

Miſtres

	Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.
S. Albons pariſhe in London.	Miſtres Cicelye *Marſhall.* Michaell Haukes. M. Iohn Browne. Annes, Bedikes *Wife.* Andrew Kempe. William Pahen. Richard Manerd.	Cicely, for not bearyng her Palme, and deſpiſing holy bread and holy water. Haukes, for not commyng to the Church, and receauyng yong men of the new learnyng. Browne, for bearyng with Barnes. Bedykes wife, for deſpiſing our Lady, & not praying to Saintes. Kempe, Pahen, Manerd, for diſturbing the ſeruice of the church with brabling of the new Teſtament.
The Pariſhe of Trinitie the litle.	William Wyders. William Stokeſley. Roger Dauy. M. Blage.	Wyders denyed ij. yeres before, yͤ Sacramēt to be Chriſtes body, & ſayd yͭ it was but onely a ſigne. Stokeſley, for rebukyng hys wife at the Churche, for takyng holy water. Dauy, for ſpeakyng agaynſte worſhippyng of Saintes. M. Blage, for not commyng to his Pariſhe Church, not confeſſyng, nor receauyng.
S. Iohn Baptiſts in Walbroke.	William Clynch. William Playne.	For ſaying, when hee ſeeth a Prieſt preparyng to the Maſſe, ye ſhall ſee a Prieſt nowe go to maſkyng. Item, for callyng the Byſhop of winchester, falſe flatteryng knaue. Item, for buryng his wife without Dirige, & cauſing the Scotte of S. Catherines to preache the next day after the buryall. Playne ſeyng a Prieſt go to Maſſe, ſaid, now you ſhal ſee one in maſkyng. Item, when hee came to the Church with loude readyng the Engliſhe Bible, he diſturbed the diuine ſeruice.
S. Butolphes at Billingeſgate.	Herman Iohnſon. Ierome Akon. Giles Hoſteman. Richard Bonfeld. Thomas Couper. Humfrey Skynner. Iohn Sneudnam. Richard Philippes. Iohn Celos.	These ix. perſons were preſented, for that they were not cōfeſſed in Lent, nor had receaued at Eaſter.
S. Nicholas in the fleſh ſhambles.	Iohn Iones. William Wright. Peter Butcher. Roger Butcher. Briſleys *Wife.* Miſtres Caſtell.	These foure were preſented for not keepyng the diuine ſeruice in the holy dayes. Briſleys wife, for buſie reaſonyng on the new learnyng, and not kepyng the Churche. M. Caſtle, for beyng a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Churche.
S. Andrewes in Holborne.	M. Galias *of Bernardes Inne.* M. Pates *of Dauydes Inne.*	M. Galias, for withſtanding the Curate ſenſyng the aultars on *Corpus Chriſti* euen, and ſaying openly that he did nought. M. Pates, and M. Galias, for vexyng the Curate in the body of the Churche, in declaryng the kynges Iniunctions, and readyng the Byſhops booke, ſo that hee had much adoe to make an ende.
S. Mildreds in Bredſtrete.	William Beckes, *and hys Wife.* Thomas Langham. William Thomas. Richard Beckes. William Beckes.	Beckes and his wife ſuſpected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creepyng to the Croſſe on good Friday. These foure were preſented for interruptyng the diuine ſeruice.
	Raffe Symons. Iohn Smith, *Prentyſe.*	Symondes, for not kepyng our Ladyes Maſſe, whiche hee was bounde to kepe. Smith, for ſaying, that he had rather heare yͤ crying of dogges, then Prieſtes ſingyng Mattens or euenſong.
S. Magnus pariſhe.	Thomas Bele. Iohn Sturgion. Iohn Wilſher. Thomas Symon. Raffe Cleruis, *and his Wife.* Iames Banaſter. Nicolas Barker. Iohn Sterky. Chriſtofer Smith Thomas Net. Nic. Philippes. Richard Bygges.	These eleuen perſons of Saint Magnus Pariſh were preſented and accuſed, for mainteynyng of certeine preachers, as thē it was called, of the newe learnyng, as Wiſedome, Roſe, Frier Ward, Syr William Smith, *alias* Wryght. Phillipes, for mayntenyng heretickes and Scripture bookes, and for vſyng neither faſtyng nor prayer. Bygges, for deſpiſyng holy bread, puttyng it in the throte of a bitch, & for not loking vp to the eleuation.
S. Mary Magdalen in Milkſtrete.	Miſtres Elizabeth, Statham.	For mainteinyng in her houſe Latymer, Barnes, Garret, Hierome, & diuers other.
S. Owins Pariſhe.	Iohn Duffet. Williā Hilliard. Grafton. Whytchurch.	Duffet for mariyng a womā, which was thought to be a Nonne. Hilliard and Duffet for maynteynyng Barnes, Hierome, & Garret, with other moe. Grafton and Whitchurch ſuſpected not to haue bene confeſſed.
S. Martyns at the well with two buckets.	Iohn Grene. Mother Palmer. Chriſtop. Cootes William Selly. Alexander Frere. William Bredy. Iohn Buſhe. W. Somerton. George Durant. M. Dauids *prētiſe*	All theſe beyng of yͤ pariſh of S. Martins at the wel with ij. buckets, were preſented for contemnyng the ceremonies of the Church. Alſo ſome for walkyng in yͤ ſacryng time, with their cappes on. Some for turnyng their heades away. Some for ſittyng at their doores when Sermōs were in the Churche. &c.
S. Michaels in Wodſtrete.	Robert Andrew. Ioh. Williamſon Thomas Buge. Thom. Gilbert. W. Hickeſon. Rob. Daniell. Rob. Smytton.	Andrew, for receauyng heretickes into his houſe, and kepyng diſputation of hereſie there. These other vj. were ſuſpected to be ſacramētaries, & rancke heretickes, & procurers of heretickes to preach, & to be folowers of their doctrine.
S. Butolphes at Billingeſgate.	Iohn Mayler. Richard Bilby, *Draper.*	To be a Sacramentarie & a rayler agaynſt the Maſſe. Bilby preſented for ſaying theſe wordes, that Chriſt is not preſent in the bleſſed Sacrament.
S. Gyles without Criplegate.	Henry Patinſon. Antony Barber.	These ij. were detected for maynteinyng their boyes to ſyng a ſong agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar. Alſo Patinſon came not to cōfeſſion.
	Rob. Norman.	Norman alſo refuſed to come to cōfeſſion, ſaying, that none of his ſeruauntes ſhould bee ſhriuen of a knaue Prieſt.
	Iohn Vmfrey.	For ſpeakyng agaynſt the Sacramētes & ceremonies of the Church.
	William Smith, *and his Wife.* Iohn Cooke, *and his Wife.*	These ij. couples were preſented for not commyng to ſeruice in their Pariſhe Churche, and for ſaying, it was lawfull for Prieſtes to haue wyues.
	W. Gate, *or* Cote William Aſton. Iohn Vmfrey. Iohn Coke.	To theſe foure it was layde, for ſaying that the Maſſe was made of peeces and patches. Alſo for deprauyng of Mattyns, Maſſe, and Euenſong.
	Iohn Miles, *and his Wife.* Iohn Millen. Ioh. Robinſon. Richard Millar. Iohn Grene, *and hys Wife.* Arnold Cheſte.	All theſe were put vp for raylyng agaynſt the Sacramentes, and ceremonies.

	Perſons preſented.	*Their cauſes.*
Ex Regiſt. London.	Iohn Croſdall. Iohn Clerke. Iohn Owell.	These iij. labouryng mẽ, for not cõming to diuine ſeruice on holidayes: and for labouryng in the ſame.
S. Gyles without Criplegate.	Tho. Granger. Iohn Dictier.	Noted for common ſyngars agaynſte the Sacramentes and ceremonies.
	Iohn Sutton *and hys Wife.* Iohn Segar.	Theſe iij. were noted to be deſpiſers of auricular confeſſion.
	Iohn Raulyns. Iohn Shiler. W. Chalynger. Iohn Edmundes. Iohn Richmond, *and his Wife.*	For deſpiſyng holy bread and holy water, and lettyng diuine ſeruice.
	Margaret Smith.	For dreſſyng fleſhmeat in Lent.
	Thomas Trentham.	For reaſoning agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, and ſaying that the Sacrament was a good thyng, but it was not as men tooke it, very God.
S. Thomas the Apoſtle.	Robert Granger. W. Petyngale. William Maye, *& his Wife.* Iohn Henriſon, *& his Wife.* Robert Welſh. Iohn Bengloſſe. Iohn Pitly. Henry Foſter. Robert Cauſy. W. Pinchebecke *& his Wife.*	All theſe 13. were put vp by the Inquiſition, for giuyng ſmall reuerence at the ſacryng of the Maſſe.
S. Benet Fynche.	Martyne Biſhops *Wife.*	She was preſẽted by her Curate for being not ſhryuen in Lent nor receauing at Eaſter. Alſo ſhe did ſet light by yͤ Curate, when he told her therof.
S. Michaell at Queenes hyth.	Robert Platte *& his Wife.*	Theſe were great reaſoners in ſcripture, ſaying that they had it of yͤ ſpirite: and that confeſſion auaileth nothyng: and that hee not able to read would vſe no beades.
	Thomas Aduet. Iohn Palmer. Robert Cooke.	The cauſe layd to theſe three perſons, was for reaſoning of the ſcripture, and of the Sacramentes. The Regiſter ſayth, that they denyed all the Sacramentes. But this Popiſh hiperbole will finde litle credite, where experience acquainted with Popiſhe practiſes, ſitteth to bee the iudge.
	Iohn Cockes.	This man was noted for a great ſearcher out of new preachers, and maynteiner of Barnes opinions.
S. Mary Wolchurch.	Iohn Boultes.	Forbidding his wife to vſe beades.
	Thomas Kelde.	He refuſed to take penaunce and abſolution, and did eate fleſhe vpon a Friday before Lent.
	Nicolas Newell.	Newell a Frenchmã preſented to be a mã farre gone in the new ſect: and that hee was a greate ieſter at the Saintes, and at our Lady.
	Iohn Hawkyns, *and his ſeruaunt.* Tho. Chamberlaine, *& his Wife.* Iohn Curteys. M. Diſſel, *his Wife & his ſeruãũt.*	Theſe eight were great reſoners, and deſpiſers of ceremonies.
S. Catherine Colman.	*The Curate of S. Catherine Colman.*	He was noted for callyng of ſuſpect perſons to hys Sermons by a bedle, without ryngyng of any bell: and when hee preached hee left hys matters doubtfull. Item, for preaching without the commaundement of his perſon. Item, for that hee was a Scotiſhe Frier driuen out of his countrey for hereſie.

Perſons preſented.	*Their cauſes.*
Tulle Buſtre, *his Wife, and his ſonne in law.*	Theſe were noted for commyng ſeldome to the Church, and many tymes were ſene to labour vpon the holy dayes.
William Ettis, *and his Wife.*	Ettys and his wife were noted for mainteyning certein preachers: and for cauſyng one Tauerner beyng no Prieſt, to preache agaynſt the kinges Iniunctions.
Merifiel *and his ſonne in law.* Nicolas Ruſſell. *The good mã of the Saracens head in Fridayſtrete.* W. Callaway. Iohn Gardiner, *With iij. prẽtiſes.*	Agaynſt this company preſentation was made for gatheryng together in the euenyng, and for bryngyng ill preachers (that is to ſaye good preachers) amõgeſt the people.
Tho. Plummer.	This Thomas was preſented for ſaying, that the bleſſed Sacrament was to him that doth take it, ſo: and to him that doth not, was not ſo.
Shermons.	Shermons, keper of the Carpenters Hall in Chriſtes pariſh, was preſented for procuryng an interlude to bee opẽly played, wherein Prieſtes were rayled on, and called knaues.
Lewes Morall, *a ſeruaunt.* Iames Ogule, *& hys Wife.*	Noted not to haue bene confeſſed certayne yeares before.
Thom. Babam.	Accuſed not to haue bene confeſſed nor houſeled in his Pariſh Churche.
The Perſon and Curate of Sainct Antlyns.	For not vſing the ceremonies in making holy water, nor keping their proceſſions on Saterdayes.
Lewes Bromfield.	For not taking his houſel, & for abſentyng him ſelfe from the Churche on holy dayes.
Iohn Sempe. Iohn Goſſe.	For diſprayſyng a certaine Antime of our Lady, beginning: Te matrem. &c. ſaying, that there is hereſie in the ſame.
Gilbert Godfre.	For abſenting him ſelfe from the Churche on holy dayes.
Thomas Cappes *Prieſt.*	For ſaying theſe wordes, that the Sacrament of the aultar was but a memory and a remembraunce of the Lordes death.
Iohn Mayler, *Grocer.*	For callyng the Sacrament of the aultar, the baken God: and for ſaying, that the Maſſe was called beyonde the Sea, Miſſe, for that all is amyſſe in it.
Iohn Hardyman, *Prieſt.*	Hardyman perſon of S. Martyns in Yremmõger Lane, preſented for preachyng openly, that confeſſion is confuſion, & deformatiõ: and that yͤ butcherye ceremonies of yͤ Church were to be abhorred. Alſo for ſaying, what a miſchiefe is this to eſteeme the Sacramẽtes to be of ſuch vertue: for in ſo doing they take the glory of God frõ him: and for ſaying that faith in Chriſt is ſufficient without any other Sacramentes to iuſtifie.
Chriſtopher Dray, *Plummer.* Robert Warde, *Shomaker.*	For ſaying of the Sacrament of the aultar, that it was not offered vp for remiſſion of ſinnes: and that the body of Chriſte was not there, but onely by repreſentation and ſignification of the thing. Preſented by three wytneſſes for holdyng agaynſte the Sacrament of the aultar, he dyed in priſon in Bredſtrete.

Nicolas

S. Andrewes in Holborne.

Al halowes Barkyng.

S. Olaues in the olde Iury.

Perſons preſented.	*Their cauſes.*
Nicolas Otes.	For not commyng to the houſell at Eaſter he was ſent to Newgate.
Herman Peterſonne. Iames Goſſon.	For not commyng to ſhrifte and houſell at the tyme of Eaſter. These were committed to priſon in Bredſtrete.
Richard Whyte, *Haberdaſsher.*	For ſaying, that hee did not thinke that Chriſt was in the Sacrament of the altar within the ſepulcher, but in heauen aboue.
Gyles Hariſon.	Hariſon beyng in a place without Algate, merely ieſtyng in a certaine company of neighbours, where ſome of them ſayd let vs go to Maſſe: I ſay, Tarye, ſayd hee: and ſo takyng a peece of bread in his handes, lift it vp ouer his head: And likewiſe takyng a cuppe of wyne, and bowyng down his head, made therewith a croſſe ouer the cuppe, and ſo takyng the ſaid cup in both his hãdes, lift it ouer his head, ſaying theſe woordes: haue ye not heard Maſſe now? For the which hee was preſented to Boner then Byſhop of London. Agaynſt whõ came theſe wytneſſes. Thomas Caſtell. Andrew Morice. W. Grene. Iohn Margetſon. *VVytneßes agaynſt Gyles.*
Richard Boſtock, *Prieſt.*	For ſaying, that auricular confeſſion hath killed moe ſoules, then all the billes, clubbes, and halters haue done, ſithens kyng Henry was kyng of England. &c. Alſo for ſaying, that the water in Thamys hath as much vertue, as the water whiche the Prieſtes do halow.
Margarete Ambſworth.	For hauyng no reuerence to the Sacrament at ſacring tyme. Item, for inſtructiõ of maydens, and beyng a great Doctreſſe.
Iohn Leceſter. W. Raynold. Chriſtofer Towneſende. Thomas Dauid, *Skinner.* Thomas Mabs. Thom. Starchey. Chriſtofer Holybread. Martine Donam. W. Derby.	All theſe noted and preſented, for maynteinyng of Barnes and ſuch other preachers: and many of their wiues for not taking holy bread, nor goyng in proceſſion on Sondayes.
Laurẽce Maxwel *Briklayer.*	For ſpeakyng and reaſonyng agaynſt auricularе confeſſion.
Iohn Coygnes, *or* Lyuelond.	For holdyng agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar, and not receauyng at Eaſter.
Gerard Friſe.	Preſented by two wytneſſes, for affirmyng that a Sermõ preached is better then ẏ Sacramẽt of the altar, and that he had rather go to heare a Sermon, then to heare a Maſſe.
Dominicke Williames, *Frenchman.*	For not receauyng the Sacramẽt of the aultar, at Eaſter.
Tho. Lancaſter, *Prieſt.*	Layde in the Counter in the Pultrye, for compilyng and bringyng ouer bookes prohibited. Item, Gough the Stacioner troubled for reſorting vnto him.

Perſons preſented.	*Their cauſes.*
Frier Ward.	Layd in the Counter in Bredſtret, for marying one Elizabeth to hys wife, after hys vowe made of chaſtitie.
Frier Wylcocke.	Wylcocke a Scotiſh Frier, priſoned in the Flete, for preachyng agaynſte cõfeſſion, holy water, agaynſt prayng to Saintes, and for ſoules departed, againſt Purgatory, and holding that Prieſtes might haue wiues. &c.
Iohn Taylour, *Doctour in Diuinitie.*	Doct. Taylour preſented for preaching at S. Brides in Fleteſtret, that it is as profitable to a man to heare Maſſe, and ſee the Sacrament, as to kyſſe Iudas mouth, whiche kyſſed Chriſt our Sauiour. &c.
W. Tolwyne, *Perſon of S. Anthonies.*	Preſented & examined before Edm. Boner, for permittyng Alexander Seton to preach in his Churche hauyng no licence of his ordinary, & alſo for allowyng the Sermons of the ſayd Alexander Seton, whiche hee preached agaynſt Doct. Smith. To the ſayd Tolwyne moreouer it was obiected, that hee vſed the ſpace of ij. yeares, to make holy water, leauyng out the generall exorciſme, beginnyng Exorciſo te. &c. vſyng theſe wordes for the ſame: Benedicite: Dominus. Ab eo ſit benedicta, a cuius latere fluxit ſanguis & Aqua: Adioinyng therto, commixtio ſalis & aquæ fiat in nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus Sancti. The lyke vſage of makyng holy water was alſo vſed in Aldermary Churche, where Doct. Crome was, and in Hony Lane. Againſt this obiectiõ thus Tolwyne defended him ſelfe ſaying: that hee tooke occaſion ſo to do by the kinges Iniunctions, whiche ſay, that ceremonies ſhould be vſed, all ignorãce and ſuperſtition ſet a part. In the ende, this Tolwyn was forced to ſtand at Paules croſſe to recãt his doctrine and doynges.

Tolwyns makyng of holy water.

The recantation of *W. Tolwyn.*

Perſons preſented.	*Their cauſes.*
Rob. Wiſedome. Thomas Becon, *Preachers.*	The ſame time alſo Rob. Wiſedome, pariſhe prieſt of S. Katherins in Lothbery, & Tho. Becon, were brought to Paules croſſe, to recant & to reuoke their doctrin, & to burne their bokes.
Syr George Parker, *Perſon of S. Pancrace.*	This prieſt and Perſon of S. Pãcrace, & Curate of litle All halowes was noted, ſuſpected, and conuented before ẏ Ordinary for certain bokes, eſpecially for hauyng Vnio Diſſidentium. &c.
Syr Iohn Byrche, *Prieſt.*	Ioh. Byrch Prieſt of S. Butolphes Lane was complayned of by one M. Wilſon, for beyng a buſie reaſoner in certaine opinions, which agreed not with the Popes Churche.
Alexander Seton *a* Scotiſheman *and a worthy Preacher.*	Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, and preſẽted by iij. Prieſtes, of whom one was felowe of Whytyngton College called Richard Tayller. An other was Iohn Smith. The thyrd was Iohn Huntyngton, who afterward was conuerted to the ſame doctrine hym ſelfe.

Litle All halowes.

Alex. Seton Chaplein to the Duke of Suffolke.

This Seton was Chaplen to the Duke of Suffolke, and by hym was made free Deniſon. In his Sermon preached at S. Anthonies, his aduerſaries picked agaynſt hym matter conteining .xv. obiections, or rather cauillations, which for example I thought here to exhibite to the reader, to the intent that men may ſee, not only what true doctrine Seton then preached, cõſonant to the ſcriptures: but alſo what wrãgling cauillers can do, in deprauyng that is ryght, or in wraſting that is well ment, or in carping that they vnderſtande not, or in ſeeking out faultes where none is, as by theſe their ſiniſter cauillations may appeare.

¶Certaine places or articles, gathered out of Setons Sermons by hys aduerſaries.

Articles gathered out of *Alex. Setons* Sermons by hys aduerſaries.

THe ſayinges and wordes of Alexander Seton, ſpoken and preached by hym in hys ſermon, made the. xiij. day of Nouember, at after noone in the pariſh Church of ſaynt A. in London. Paule ſayth, *of our ſelues we can do nothing.* I pray thee then where is thy wyll? Art thou any better then Paule, Iames, Peter, and all the Apoſtles? Haſt thou any more grace then they? Tell me now if thy wyll be any thing, or nothing. If it be any thing, tel me whether it be to doo good, or yll? If thou ſaye to doe yll, I wyll graunt thou haſt a great deale. If thou ſay to doo good, I aſke whether is more ſomewhat, or nothing? For Paule ſayd he could do nothing, and I am ſure thou haſt no more grace, then Paule and hys companions.

1. Will.
2. Conſent.
3. Deede.

No will in man of hym ſelf to do good.

Scripture ſpeaketh of three things in man: the firſt is wil: the other two are conſent & deede. The firſt (that is wyll) God worketh without vs, and beſides vs. The other two he worketh in vs, and wyth vs. And here he alledged ſaint Auguſtine, to proue that we can wyll nothyng that is good. Moreouer he ſayde, thou haſt not one iot, no not one title to do any good.

There is nothing in heauen, nor earth, creature nor other, that can be any meane towards our iuſtification, nor yet can or may ſatiſfie God the father for our ſinne, ſaue onely Chriſt, and the ſheeding of his bloud.

Our workes merite nothing to ſaluation.

He that preacheth that workes doo merite, or be anye meane to our ſaluation, or any part of our iuſtification, preacheth a doctrine of the deuill.

If any thing els ſaue onelye Chriſt, be any meane towardes our iuſtification, then dyd not Chriſt onelye iuſtifie vs.

I ſay that thy good workes, nor any thyng that thou canſt do, can be one iot or title towards thy iuſtification. For if they be, then is not Chriſt a full iuſtifier, and that I wyll proue by a familiar example. Be it in caſe that I haue two ſeruauntes, the one is called Iohn, and the other Robert, and I promiſe to ſend you ſuch a day. xx. li. by Iohn my ſeruant, and at my day I ſende you by Iohn my ſeruant. xix. li. xix. s. xi. d. ob. q. and there lacketh but one farthyng, which Robert doth bring thee, and ſo thou haſt the. xx. li. euery peny and farthing. Yet wyll I aſke if I be true of my promiſe, or no, & thou mayeſt ſay nay. And why? becauſe I promiſed to ſend thee yͤ whole. xx. pound by Iohn, and did not, for there lacked a farthyng, which Robert brought. Wherefore I ſay, if thy workes do merite or bryng one litle iote or title toward thy iuſtificatiõ, then is Chriſt falſe of his promiſe, which ſayd that he would do all together.

One ſcripture I will bryng you (which they can not wrythe) to proue that onely Chriſt was promiſed to be our onely Iuſtifier, our onely meane, and that is in the xxij. of Geneſis, where it is wrytten: *In thy ſeede ſhall all people be bleſſed,* meaning thereby onely Chriſt: and he ſaid not in thy ſeedes, nor in the workes of thy ſeedes. Wherfore all they that preache, that woorkes be anye part or meane toward our iuſtification, doo make God falſe of hys promiſe.

They that preache that workes do merite, doo make workes the tree, which are but the fruites of Iuſtice, wrought by him that is already a iuſt mã, which can not chuſe but bryng forth good fruite.

Good fruites make not a good man, but a good man can not chuſe but to make good fruites.

I would aſke a queſtion, whether he that worketh be a good man, or a bad, for he muſt be one of them. If he be a good man, he can not chuſe but bring foorth good fruites: if he be an ill man, he can bryng forth no fruite, but ill fruite, for a good tree can not bring forth ill fruit.

Mans workes made checke mate with Chriſt.

He that ſayth that workes do merite anye thing towardes our ſaluation, doth make woorkes checke mate with Chriſt, and plucketh from Chriſt that is hys, and geueth it to workes.

Some wyll aſke, wherefore then ſhoulde I do good workes? I aunſwer, good woorkes are to be done for no cauſe els, but onely for the glory of God, and not that they do merite any thing at all. And hee that ſayth that workes are to be done for any other cauſe, then for the glory of God onely, and wyll haue them to merite, or be any meane towardes our iuſtification, I ſaye he lyeth, and beleue hym not.

He that can ſhewe me in any ſcripture, that woorkes do merite, or be any meane to our iuſtification: for the firſt ſcripture I wyll (without anye further iudgement) loſe both myne eares, for the ſecond, my toung, and for the third my necke. For I dare ſay he can not proue in al the whole ſcripture one title: wherfore beleue thẽ not.

The Papiſtes belie the Proteſtantes, as though they hated good workes.

Men ſay that we deny good workes, and faſting, and prayer. They lye on vs, for we deny nothing but popiſh workes, and popiſh faſting, & popiſh prayer, & hee that preacheth that workes do merite, or faſting doth merite, or prayer doth merite, doth preach a popiſh doctrine.

If you aſke when we wyll leaue preaching of works, euen when they doo leaue to preach that workes do merite, and ſuffer Chriſt to be a whole ſatiſfier, and onelye meane to our iuſtification, and tyll then, we wyll not ceaſe in Gods cauſe to ſet forth onelye Chriſt to be a full and perfite, and onely ſatiſfaction.

Good workes how they be rewarded.

If you aſke, if good workes ſhall be rewarded, I ſay yea, and with no leſſe then eternall glorye, but for no merite that they deſerue, for they deſerue nothing: but onely becauſe God hath promiſed, not for the merite of the woorke, but for hys promyſe ſake, and hee wyll not breake hys promyſe.

¶*Other articles gathered out of Setons Sermons.*

Other articles out of *Setons* ſermons.

2.*Cor.*5.

TOuching reconciliation ſpoken of by Doctor Smyth, preaching in the forenoone at Paules croſſe, Alexander Seton preachyng at afternoone at S. Anthonies, and reciting hys ſayinges and ſcriptures, reproued hym for alledging this ſaying, Reconciliamini Deo, and engliſhyng the ſame thus: *Reconcile your ſelues to God,* becauſe it is there ſpoken paſſiuely, and not actiuely, ſo that there ſhoulde be nothyng in man pertaynyng to reconciliation, but all in God.

D. Smyth reproued for naughtie preaching.

Alſo reprouyng the ſayde Doctor Smyth, for that the ſayd Doctor ſayd, that man by hys good workes mighte merite. Whych ſaying of Doctor Smyth, the ſayd Alexander Seton reproued in the pulpyt at Saint Anthonies, the xiij. day of Nouember, the yeare of our Lorde. 1541. as naughtely ſpoken.

*Rom.*8.

*Luke.*17.

Moreouer, the ſayd Alexander Seton ſayd in the ſame place, that it was ſhame that any ſuche preacher ſhoulde be ſuffered, ſo openly to preach ſuch erroneous doctrine, as to ſay that workes ſhould merite, adducing: non ſunt condignæ paſſiones, &c. Et poſtquam feceritis omnia. &c.

Finally Seton ſayd, peraduenture ye wyll ſaye the church hath determined this matter touching woorkes. And I ſay (quoth he) that it is Eccleſia malignantium, ſo determinyng any thyng agaynſt ſcripture.

Seton bearyng a fagotte at Paules Croſſe.

To theſe pretenſed obiections of his aduerſaryes, hee made his aũſwere agayn by writing, firſt denying many thinges there preſented, takyng vpon his cõſcience, that hee neuer ſpake diuers of thoſe woordes: and agayne many thinges, that he neuer ment to ſuch ende nor purpoſe, as in the ſayd Regiſter may appeare. But all this notwithſtandyng, for all that he could ſay for hym ſelfe, the ordinarie proceded in his Conſiſtory iudgemẽt, miniſtring to him certeine Interrogatories (after the Popiſh courſe) to the number of x. Articles. The greateſt matter layd agaynſt hym was for preachyng free Iuſtificatiõ by fayth in Chriſt Ieſu, agaynſt falſe confidence in good workes, and mans free will. Alſo it was layd vnto him, for affirmyng that priuate Maſſes, and Diriges, and other prayers profited not the ſoules departed: So that in the ende, he with Tolwyng aforeſayd was cauſed alſo to recant at Paules Croſſe. an. 1541.

Adde to theſe aforeſaid, Doct. Taylor *Perſon of S. Peters in Cornehill.*
South, *Pariſhe Prieſt of all halowes in Lumbardſtreete.*
Some, *Prieſt.*
Giles, *the kinges bearebruer at the redde Lyon, in S. Catherines.*
Tho. Lancaſter, *Prieſt.* All which were impriſoned likewiſe for the vj. Articles.

All priſons in London to little to holde them that were taken for the vi. Articles.

To bee ſhort, ſuch a number out of all Pariſhes in Londõ, and out of Calyce, and diuers other quarters were then apprehended through the ſayd Inquiſition, that all priſons in London were to litle to hold them, in ſomuch that they were fayne to lay thẽ in the Halles. At the laſt by the meanes of good Lord Audeley, ſuch pardon was obteyned of the kyng, that the ſayd Lord Audeley, then Lord Chauncellor, beyng content that one ſhoulde be bound for an other, they were all diſcharged, beyng bounde onely to appeare in the ſtarre cham-

The Lord Audley L. Chauncellour of England.

chamber the next day after all ſoules, there to aũſwere if they were called: but neither was there any perſon called, neither did there any appeare.

The ſtory of Iohn Porter cruelly Martyred for readyng the Bible in Paules.

A ſtory of *I. Porter*, Martyr.

Read afore pag. 1362.

IN the number of theſe afore named, commeth the remembraunce of Iohn Porter, who in the ſame yeare 1541. for readyng the Bible in Paules Church, was cruellye handled, & that vnto death, as ye ſhall heare. It was declared in this hiſtorie aboue, pag. 1362. how Edm. Boner biſhop of London (in the dayes of the L. Cromwell) beyng then Ambaſſadour at Paris, was a great doer in ſettyng forward the Printyng of the Bible in the great volume: promiſing moreouer, that hée would for his part haue vj. of thoſe Bibles ſet vp in the Churche of S. Paul in London. Whiche alſo at hys commyng home, hee no leſſe performed, accordyng to the kynges proclamation ſet forth for the ſame, wherof read before, pag. 1248.

The Bible commaunded by the kyng to bee ſet vp in churches. Read afore pag. 1248.

The Bibles thus ſtandyng in Paules by the commaundement of the kyng, and the appoyntemẽt of Boner the Byſhop, many well diſpoſed people vſed much to reſorte to the hearyng thereof, eſpecially when they could get any that had an audible voyce to read vnto them, miſdoubtyng therein no daunger toward them: and no more there was, ſo long as the dayes of Cromwell laſted. After hée was gone, it happened amongeſt diuers and ſondry godly diſpoſed perſons, whiche frequented there the readyng of the foreſayd Bible, that one Iohn Porter vſed ſomtimes to be occupyed in that godly exerciſe, to the edifiyng as well of hym ſelfe, as of other. This Porter was a freſhe young man, and of a bygge ſtature. Who by diligẽt readyng of ỹ Scripture, and by hearyng of ſuch Sermons as then were preached by them that were ỹ ſetters forth of Gods truth, became very experte. The Bible then beyng ſet vp by Boners commaundement vppon diuers pillers in Paules Church, fixed vnto the ſame with chaines for all men to read in them that woulde, great multitudes would reſorte thether to heare this Porter, becauſe hee coulde read well and had an audible voyce. Boner and hys Chappleines beyng greued withall (and the worlde beginning then to frowne vppon the Goſpellers) ſent for the ſayd Porter, and rebuked hym very ſharpely for hys readyng. But Porter aunſwered hym that he truſted he had done nothyng contrary to the law.

1541.

I. Porter a great reader in the Bible at Paules.

Boner and hys Chapleines greued with the Bibles which he before cauſed to be ſet vp him ſelf.

Boner then layd vnto his charge, that hée had made expoſitions vppon the texte, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumultes. He aunſwered: he truſted that ſhould not be proued by hym. But in fine, Boner ſent him to Newgate, where he was miſerably fettred in yrons both legges and armes, with a coller of yron about hys necke faſtened to the wall in the dungeõ, beyng there ſo cruellye handled, that hee was cõpelled to ſend for a kinſman of his, whoſe name is alſo Porter, a man yet alyue and can teſtifie that this is true, & dwelleth yet without Newgate. Who ſeing hys kinſman in this miſerable caſe, intreated Iewet, then keper of Newgate, that hée might be releaſed out of thoſe cruell yrons, and ſo through frendſhyp and money, had him vp among other priſoners, whiche lay there for felony & murder: where Porter being amõgſt them, hearing and ſeyng their wickednes and blaſphemye, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gaue vnto them ſuch inſtructiõs as he had learned of the Scriptures: for which his ſo doyng hée was complained on and ſo caried downe, and layd in the lower dungeon of all, oppreſſed with boltes and yrons, where within vj. or viij. dayes after, he was found dead.

I. Porter ſent to Newgate by *Boner.*

The cruell handling of *I. Porter* in Newgate.

It is ſignified vnto vs by credible information, that the ſame night before hee was founde dead, they that dwelt neare to the ſame place of the priſon where Porter lay, did heare hym pituouſly to grone and make a lamẽtable noyſe, where ſome ſuppoſe that hée was put in ceraine ſtrait yrons, whiche bee there in the houſe, called *The deuill on the necke*, beyng after an horrible ſorte deuiſed, ſtreinyng and wrenchyng the necke of a man with his legges together, in ſuch ſorte, as the more hee ſturreth in it, the ſtrayter it preſſeth hym, ſo that within 3. or 4. houres, it breaketh and cruſheth a mans backe and body in péeces. In which deuiliſhe torment, whether Iohn Porter was ſlayne or no, it is not certaine. But how ſoeuer it was, this is knowne, that he was found dead (as is aforeſayd) in the dungeon, with ſuch gronyng and pituous noyſe heard the night before in the ſayd dungeon, as is declared.

The death and Martyrdome of *Ioh. Porter.*

A note of one Thomas Sommers priſoned for the Goſpell.

AMongeſt theſe Londoners thus troubled by the Clergie, we will adde alſo (although a little out of place) an other note of a Marchant called Tho. Sommers, who died in the Tower of London for confeſſing of the Goſpell. Which Thomas being a very honeſt Marchant and wealthy, was ſent for by the Lorde Cardinall and cõmitted to the Tower, for that he had Luthers bookes (as they termed them) and after great ſute made for him to the ſayd Cardinall, his iudgment was that he ſhould ryde from the Tower into Cheapeſide carying a new booke in his hande, and behanged with bookes rounde about him, with thrée or iiij. other Marchauntes after the ſame order: whiche was done. And whẽ M. Sõmers ſhoulde be ſet on a colliers nagge as the reſt of hys felowe priſoners were, a frende of his called M. Coplãd brought him a very good gelding, fayre dreſſed with bridle and ſadle, and when the Byſhops Officers came to dreſſe him with bookes, as they had trimmed ỹ other, and woulde haue made holes in hys garment to haue thruſt ỹ ſtrynges of ỹ bookes therin, nay ſayd Sommers, I haue allwayes loued to goe hanſomly in my apparell, & takyng the bookes and openyng thẽ, he bound them together by the ſtringes and caſt them about his necke (the leaues beyng all open) like a coiler, & beyng on horſe backe, rode foremoſt thorow the ſtréetes till they came aboue the Standard in Cheapeſide, where a great fire was made to burne their bokes in, and a Pillery ſet vp there for 4. perſons, in token that they had deſerued it.

The penance of *Thomas Sommers* Marchaunt.

M. Luthers bookes burnt in Chepeſide.

In the meane tyme, by the way as they ſhould come, it was appoynted, that one ſhould go before them with a baſen. At the noyſe whereof, M. Sommers horſe beyng a loftye geldyng and fierce, was in ſuch a rage, that he whiche ronge the baſen beyng afeard of hym ſelfe, was fayne to go alone a great ſpace before that any horſemã did folow after. At length when they came to the fire, euery of thẽ hauyng a booke in his hand, they were commaũded to caſt their bookes into the fire. But when M. Sõmers ſaw that his new Teſtament ſhould be burned, he threwe it ouer the fire: which was ſéene by ſome of Gods enemyes, and brought to him agayn, commaundyng hym to caſt it into the fire: which hee would not do, but caſt it thorow the fire. Which thyng was done iij. times. But at laſt a ſtander by tooke it vp, and ſaued it from burning. But not long after, the ſaid M. Sommers was caſt agayne into the Tower by the Cardinall, thorow the crueltie of ỹ Biſhops, and their adherentes, who ſoone after dyed in the ſayd priſon for the teſtimonie of his fayth.

The Papiſtes burne the new Teſtament.

Tho. Sommers dyed in the Tower.

What trouble and vexation happened amongeſt the godly brethren in London, for the vj. Articles, hetherto we haue diſcourſed. Albeit neyther haue I comprehended all, which were moleſted through all the Pariſhes of London: neyther agayne dyd thys rigorous Inquiſition ſo ceaſe within the precinctes of thys Citie onely, but alſo extended further to Saliſbury, Northfolke, Lincolne, and through all other Shyres and quarters of the Realme: ſo that where as any popiſhe Prelate moſt bare ſtroke, there moſt perſecution encreaſed. The Byſhop of Lincolne the ſame tyme was Iohn Longland, and Doct. Dracotte hys Chancellour, Of whoſe rigorous doinges ye haue hearde enough and to much before. Hys readye diligence in all popiſhe quarrells, as it neuer lacked before: ſo now in the execution of theſe vj. Articles, it was not farre behinde: in whoſe dioceſſe diuers good men and wemen, namely about Buckingham and Amerſham, and quarters therabouts, were greuouſlye diſquieted, appearing yet in the ſame Regiſter: as one

Ex Regiſt. Lincoln.

Of great Merlowe.	Elynore Godfrey.	For laughing & ſpeaking certain wordes agaynſt one Tho.Collerd, who like a Popeholy hipocrite in the Church of Merlowe, vſed at Maſſe tyme to crouch behind the children: and when the prieſt croſſed hys head with the ſaucer (as ſhe termed it) he would croſſe hys head likewyſe. And for theſe wordes ſhe was conuented before the Byſhop, and miſerablye vexed.
Of great Brychhill.	W.Hart.	For ſaying theſe wordes: Thinkeſt thou that God almightie wil abide ouer a knaue prieſtes head?
Of Ryſhborogh.	Chriſtopher Erle.	Becauſe he dyd no reuerence vnto the Sacrament commyng to the Church, and for lookyng vppon hys booke at tyme of eleuation, and that he woulde not come to ſee the eleuation. &c. Item, as he was workyng vpon a peece of Fuſtian on an holyday, and being aſked why hee kept not the holyday, he aunſwered, that was no worke, and that it was better to do that, then to ſit at the Alehouſe drinking dronke.
Of Woodrne.	W.Faſtendyche.	For ſpeakyng certayne wordes agaynſt the Sacrament of the Altar, & beleued not, that it was the very body of Chriſt.
	W. Garland.	W.Garland, talking of extreme vnction, ſayd that thoſe thynges were godly ſignes, but there were but two Sacramentes. &c.
Of Weſtwycombe.	W. webbe	Becauſe he ſette the Image of a headles Beare in the Tabernacle of S.Roke.

Thomas Bernard and Iames Morton, Martyrs.

Tho.Bernard, Iames Morton, Martyrs.

About the ſame tyme Iohn Longland Byſhop of Lyncolne, burned two vppon one day, the one named Thomas Bernard, and yͤ other Iames Morton: The one for teachyng the Lordes prayer in Engliſhe, and the other for keping the Epiſtle of S.Iames tranſlated into Engliſhe.

The recantation of M. Barber in Oxforde.

In Oxforde alſo the ſame tyme or much therabout, recanted one M. Barber Maiſter of Arte of that Vniuerſitie, a man excellētly learned. Who beyng called vp to Lābeth before the Archbiſhop Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination ſo ſtoute in the cauſe of the Sacrament, and ſo learnedly defended hym ſelfe therin, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them, whiche yet be alyue, and were preſent thereat) neither Cranmer hym ſelfe, nor all they could well aunſwere to hys allegations brought out of Auſten. Wherein hee was ſo prompt and rype of hym ſelfe, that the Archbyſhop with the reſidue of his cōpanye, were brought in great admiration of hym. Notwithſtādyng by compulſion of the tyme, & daunger of yͤ vj. Articles, at laſt he relēted, and returnyng agayne to Oxford, was there cauſed to recant. After whiche the good man long proſpered not, but ware away. Ex teſtimonio Rad. Morys.

A mery, and pleaſaunt narration, touchyng a falſe fearefull imagination of fire, raiſed among the Doctours and Maiſters of Oxford in S.Maryes Churche at the recantation of M. Mallary M. of Art of Cambridge.

The recantation of M. Malary Graduate of Cambridge, who recanted at Oxforde.

This recantation of M.Barbar aforeſayd in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, bringeth me in remembraūce of an other recantation likewiſe happenyng not long before, in the ſayd Vniuerſitie, whiche I thought here not to ouerpaſſe, and namely for that the ſame carryeth withall, a merye ridiculous ſpectacle, not vnworthy to be remembred, and here to be inſerted, ſomewhat to recreate and refreſhe by the way, the weery minde of the reader, after ſo many bloudy and lamentable ſtoryes, executions, recantations, and tragedies aboue paſſed. The ſtorye is this.

There was one M.Malary, maſter of Arte of Cambridge, ſcholar of Chriſtes Colledge, who for the lyke opinions to thoſe aboue rehearſed, holdē contrary to yͤ Catholicke determination of holy mother Church of Rome, that is, for the right truth of Chriſtes Goſpell, was cōuented before the Byſhops, and in the end, ſent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to beare his fagot, to the terrour of the Studentes of that Vniuerſitie. The tyme and place was appoynted, that he ſhould be brought ſolemly into S. Maryes Churche vppon a Sonday: where a great number of the head Doctours and Diuines, and other of the Vniuerſitie, were together aſſembled: beſide a great multitude of Citiſens & towne dwellers, whiche came to behold the ſight. Furthermore, becauſe that ſolēnitie ſhould not paſſe without ſome effectuall Sermon, for the holdyng vp of the mother Church of Rome, D.Smith reader then of the Diuinitie lecture, was appointed to make the Sermō at this recātation. Briefly at the preachyng of this Sermon there was aſſembled a mightye audience of all ſortes and degrees, as well of Studētes as other. Few almoſt were abſent, whiche loued to heare or ſee any newes: In ſo much that there was no place almoſt in the whole Churche, whiche was not fully repleniſhed with concourſe and throng of people.

Malary [illegible]

D.Smith preacher at the recantation of Malary.

All thynges thus being prepared and ſet in a readines, commeth forth poore Mallarye with his fagotte vpon hys ſhoulder. Not long after alſo procedeth the Doctor into the pulpitte to make hys Sermon: the purpoſe and argument wherof was wholy vppon the Sacrament. The which Doctor for the more confirmation and credite to hys wordes, had prouided the holy catholicke cake, and the Sacrament of the altar, there to hange by a ſtringe before hym in the pulpitte. Thus the Doctor with hys God almightie, entryng hys godly Sermon, had ſcarce proceded into the middeſt therof (the people geuing great ſilence with all reuerēce vnto his doctrine) but ſodeinly was heard into the Church the voyce of one crying in the ſtreete, fire, fire. The partie which firſt cryed thus in the ſtreete, was called Heuſter. The occaſion was thys: for that he commyng from Alhallowes Pariſhe, ſaw a Chimney on fire, and ſo paſſing in the ſtreete by S.Maries Church, cryed fire, fire, as the faſhion is, meanyng no hurte.

[illegible]

Thys ſounde of fire being heard into the Church, firſt of thē which ſtoode vttermoſt next to the Church doore, ſo encreaſed and went frō one to an other, that at length it came vnto the eares of the Doctors, and at laſte to the preacher hym ſelfe. Who as ſoone as they heard the matter, being amazed with ſodeine feare, and marueling what the matter ſhould meane, began to looke vp into the toppe of the Church, and to behold the walles. The reſidue ſeing them looke vp, looked vp alſo. Then beganne they in the middeſt of the audience to crie out with a loude voyce, fire, fire. Where ſayth one? where ſayth an other? In the Church, ſayth one. The mention of the Churche was ſcarſlye pronounced, when as in one moment there was a cōmon crie amongeſt them, the Church is on fyre, the Church is ſet on fire by heretickes. &c. And albeit no man dyd ſee any fire at all, yet for ſomuch as all mē cryed out ſo, euery man thought it true that hee heard. Then was there ſuch feare, concourſe, and tumult of people, through the whole Church, that it can not bee declared in wordes, as it was in deede.

[illegible]

S.Ma[illegible]

And as in a great fire (where fire is in dede) we ſee many times how one litle ſparke giueth matter of a mightie flame, ſetting whole ſtackes and pyles on burnyng: ſo here vpon a ſmall occaſion of one mans word, kyndled firſt a generall crye, then a ſtrong opinion runnyng in euery mans head within the Churche, thinking the Churche to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleaſed almyghtie God, to delude theſe deluders, that is, that theſe great Doctours and wiſe men of the Scholes, which thinke them ſelues ſo wiſe in Gods matters as though they coulde not erre, ſhoulde ſee by theyr own ſenſes & iudgementes, how blynde & infatuated they were in theſe ſo ſmall matters and ſenſible trifles.

Thus this ſtrong imagination of fire beyng fired in their heades, as nothyng could remoue them to thinke contrary but that the Churche was on fire: ſo euery thing that they ſaw or heard, encreaſed this ſuſpition in them, to make it ſeme moſt true, whiche was in dede moſt falſe. The firſt and chiefeſt occaſion that augmented this ſuſpition, was the hereticke there bearyng his fagotte, whiche gaue them to imagine, that all other heretickes had conſpired with hym, to ſet the Churche on fire.

After thys, through the rage of the people and running too and fro, the duſte was ſo raiſed, that it ſhewed as it had bene the ſmoke of fire. Which thyng together with the outcrye of the people, made all men ſo afraid, that leauing the Sermon, they beganne altogether to runne away. But ſuch was ẏ preaſſe of the multitude running in heapes together, that the more they laboured, the leſſe they could gette out. For whileſt they rãne all headlong vnto ẏ dores, euery man ſtriuing to gette out firſt, they thruſt one an other in ſuch ſorte, & ſtucke ſo faſt, that they which were without, neyther coulde gette into the Church agayne, neyther they that were within, could gette out by any meanes. So then one dore being ſtopped, they ranne to an other litle wicket on the North ſide, towardes the Colledge called Braſen noſe, thinking ſo to paſſe out. But there agayne was the lyke or greater thronge. So the people cluſtring and thronging together, it put many in daunger and brought many vnto their ende, by bruſing of theyr bones and ſides. There was yet an other dore towardes the Weſt, which albeit it was ſhutte and ſeldome opened: yet now rãne they to it with ſuch ſway, that the great barre of yron (which is incredible to bee ſpoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens handes, the dore notwithſtãding could not be opened, for the preaſſe or multitude of people.

At the laſt, when they were there alſo paſt all hope to gette out, then they were all exceedingly amazed and ranne vp and downe, crying out vpon the heretickes which had conſpired their death. The more they ranne about and cryed out, the more ſmoke and duſte roſe in the Church, euẽ as though all thynges now had ben on a flamyng fire. I thinke there was neuer ſuch a tumultuous hurley burley ryſing ſo of nothyng, heard of before, nor ſo great a feare where was no cauſe to feare, nor perill at all: ſo that if Democritus the mery Philoſopher ſitting in the toppe of the Church, and ſeing all things in ſuch ſafetie as they were, had loked down vpon the multitude, and beholden ſo great a number, ſome howling and weeping, running vp and downe and playing the madde men, now hether, now thether, as being toſſed too and fro with waues or tempeſtes, tremblyng and quaking, raging and faryng without any manifeſt cauſe: ſpecially if he had ſeene thoſe great Rabbines the Doctors, laden with ſo many badges or cogniſaunces of wyſedome, ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly ſeking holes and corners to hyde them ſelues in, gaſping, breathing, and ſweating, & for very horror, being almoſt beſide them ſelues, I thinke he would haue ſatiſfied him ſelfe with thys one laughter, for all hys life tyme, or els rather would haue laughed hys hart out of hys belly, whileſt one ſaid that he plainly heard ẏ noice of the fire, an other affirmed that hee ſaw it with his eyes, and an other ſware that hee felte the molten leade droppyng downe vppon hys head and ſhoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in mens hartes through feare. In all the whole cõpany there was none that behaued him ſelfe more modeſtly thẽ the hereticke that was there to do penaũce, who caſtyng hys Fagot of from hys ſhoulders vpon a Monkes head that ſtoode by, kept hym ſelfe quiet, myndyng to take ſuch part as the other did.

Some ſay that the Monkes head was broken with the fagotte.

All the other beyng carefull for them ſelues, neuer made an end of running vp & down & crying out. None cried out more earneſtly then the Doctor that preached (who was, as I ſayd, D. Smith) who in a maner firſt of al cried out in ẏ pulpit, ſaying: Theſe are the traines & ſubtilties of ẏ heretickes againſt me. Lord haue mercye vpon me: Lord haue mercy vpõ me. But might not god, as it had ben (to ſpeake with Iob) out of a whirlewynd haue aũſwered agayne vnto this preacher thus: Thou doeſt now implore my mercy, but thou thy ſelfe ſheweſt no mercy vnto thy felowes and brethrẽ. How doth thy fleſhe tremble nowe at the mention of fire, but you thinke it a ſport to burne other ſimple innocentes, neither do you any thyng at all regarde it? If burnyng ſeme ſo greuous a matter vnto you, and to ſuffer the tormẽt of fire: then you ſhould alſo haue the lyke conſideration in other mens perils and daũgers, when as you do burne your felowes and brethren.

Iob.40.
Proſopopœia.

Or if you thinke it but a light or triflyng matter in in them, go to now, do you alſo with lyke courage, contemne, and with like pacience ſuffer now the ſame tormẽtes your ſelues. And if ſo be it I ſhould now ſuffer you with ẏ whole Church to be burned to aſhes, what other thing ſhould I do vnto you, then you do daily vnto your felowes & brethrẽ? Wherfore ſince you ſo litle eſteme the death of others, be now content that other men ſhould alſo litle regard ẏ death of you. With this (I ſay) or with ſome other like aunſwere, if that either God, or humane charitie, either the common ſenſe of nature would expoſtulate with them, yea if there had ben a fire in dede (as they were more feared then hurt) who would haue doubted but that it had happened vnto them accordyng to their deſertes? But now worthy it is the noting, how the vayne feare and folie of theſe catholickes either was deluded, either how their crueltie was reproued, wherby they beyng better taught by their owne example, might hereafter learne what it is to put other poore men to the fire, which they them ſelues here ſo much abhorred.

A iuſt expoſtulation agaynſt theſe burners of Gods people.

A good warning for the Papiſtes to knowe what burning meaneth.

But to returne agayne to the deſcription of this pageant: wherin (as I ſayd before) there was no daũger at all, yet were they all in ſuch feare, as if preſent death had bene ouer their heades.

In all this great maze and garboyle there was nothyng more feared then the meltyng of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt droppyng vppon their bodyes. Now in this ſodeine terrour and feare, whiche tooke from them all reaſon, and counſell out of theyr myndes, to beholde what practiſes and ſondry ſhiftes euery mã made for hym ſelf, it would make not onely Democritus, & Heraclitus alſo to laugh, but rather an horſe welnere to breake his halter. But none vſed thẽ ſelues more ridiculouſly, then ſuch as ſemed greateſt wyſe men, ſauyng that in one or ij. peraduenture ſome what more quietnes of mynd appeared. Amõgeſt whõ was one Claymund Preſidẽt of Corpus Chriſti Colledge (whõ for reuerence & learnynges ſake I do here name) & a few other aged perſons with hym, which for their age & weakenes, durſt not thruſt thẽ ſelues into ẏ throng amongeſt the reſt, but kneled down quietly before the high altare, committyng them ſelues and their lyues vnto the Sacrament. The other whiche were yonger and ſtronger, ran vp and downe through

Claymundus Preſident of Corpus Chriſti Colledge.

the preaſſe marueiling at the vnciuilitie of men, & waxt angry with the vnmanerly multitude that would giue no rowme vnto the Doctours, Bachelers, Maiſters & other graduates and regēt maſters. But as the terror and feare was common vnto all men, ſo was there no differēce made of perſons or degrées, euery man ſcamblyng for hym ſelfe. The violet cap or purple gowne, did there nothyng auayle the Doctour, neither the maſters hode, nor the Monkes coule was there reſpected.

Yea if ẏ King or Quéene had bene there at that preſent and in that perplexitie, they had ben no better thē a common man. After they had long ſtriuen & aſſayed all maner of wayes, and ſawe no remedy, neither by force neither authoritie to preuayle: they fell to intreating and offring of rewardes, one offering xx. pound, an other his ſcarlet gowne, ſo that any man would pul hym out, though it were by the eares.

Some ſtoode cloſe vnto the pyllers, thinkyng them ſelues ſafe vnder the vautes of ſtone for the droppyng of the lead. Other ſome beyng without money and vnprouided of all ſhift, knewe not whiche waye to turne them. One beyng a Preſident of a certaine Colledge (whoſe name I nede not here to vtter) pulling a bourd out from ẏ pues, couered his head and ſhoulders therwith agaynſt the ſcaldyng lead, whiche they feared much more then the fall of the Churche. Now what a laughter would this haue miniſtred vnto Democritus amongeſt other thynges, to behold there a certain graund paunche, who ſeyng the doores ſtopped and euery way cloſed vp, thought by an other compēdious meanes to get out through a glaſſe wyndow if it might be by any ſhift. But here the yron grates letted him: notwithſtanding his gredy mynde would nedes attēpt if he could happely bryng his purpoſe to paſſe. When hee had broken the glaſſe, and was come to the ſpace betwene the grates where he ſhould crepe out, firſt he thruſt in his head wt the one ſhoulder, & it went through well enough. Then he laboured to gette ẏ other ſhoulder after, but there was great labour about that, & long he ſtucke by ẏ ſhoulders, but at the laſt he gat it through with much adoe. For what doth not importune labour ouercome? Thus farreforth he was now gotten. But by what parte of hys bodye hee did ſticke faſt, I am not certayne, neither may I fayne, for ſo much as there bée yet witneſſes whiche did ſée theſe thynges, whiche would correct me if I ſhould ſo do. Notwithſtādyng this is moſt certaine that hee dyd ſticke faſt betwene the grates and could neither get out nor in.

A Monke ſticking faſt in a glaſſe windowe.

Thus thys good mā, beyng in dede a Monke and hauyng but ſhort hoſe, by the whiche way he ſuppoſed ſooneſt to eſcape, by the ſame hée fell into further incōuenience, making of one daūger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outſide, thoſe partes whiche did hang out of the window had ben in daunger: and contrarywiſe, if the flame had raged within the Churche, all his other partes had lyen open to the fire. And as this man did ſticke faſt in the window, ſo did the reſt ſticke as faſt in the doores, that ſooner they might haue bene burned, then they coulde once ſtyrre or moue one fote. Through ẏ which preaſſe at ẏ laſt there was alway found, that ſome goyng ouer theyr heades, gat out.

Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore Horat.

Here alſo happened an other pageant in a certeine Monke (if I be not miſaduiſed) of Gloceſter Colledge, wherat Calphurnius might well laugh with an open mouth. So it happened that there was a younge ladde in this tumulte, who ſeyng the doores faſt ſtopped with the preaſſe or multitude, and that hée had no way to get out, climed vp vpō the doore, and there ſtaying vpō the toppe of the doore, was forced to tary ſtill. For to come downe into the Church agayne, he durſte not for feare of ẏ fire, & to leape down toward ẏ ſtréete he could not without daunger of falling. Whē he had taried there a while, he aduiſed him ſelf what to do: neither did occaſiō want to ſerue his purpoſe. For by chaūce, amōgeſt thē that gat out ouer mens heades, he ſaw a Monke cōming towardes him, which had a great wide coule hāging at his backe. This the boy thought to be a good occaſion for him to eſcape by. When the Monke came neare vnto hym, the boy which was in the toppe of the doore, came downe and pretily cōueyed him ſelf into the Monkes coule, thincking (as it came to paſſe in deede) that if the Monke dyd eſcape, hee ſhoulde alſo get out with him. To be brief, at the laſt the Monke gat out ouer mens heades with the boye in his coule, and for a great while felt no waight or burden. At the laſt when hee was ſomewhat more come to hym ſelfe, and did ſhake his ſhoulders, féelyng his coule heuyer then it was accuſtomed to be, & alſo hearyng the voyce of one ſpeaking behinde in his coule, hee was more afrayde then he was before when he was in ẏ throng, thinkyng in very dede, that the euill ſpirite whiche had ſet the Church on fire, had flyen into his coule. By and by he began to play the Exorciſt: In ẏ name of God, (ſayd hée) and all Saints, I commaund thee to declare what thou art that art behynd at my backe. To whom the boy aunſwered: I am Bertrames boy ſayd hée (for that was his name). But I (ſaid ẏ Monke) adiure thée in the name of ẏ vnſeparable Trinitie, that thou wicked ſpirite doe tell me who thou arte, from whence thou cōmeſt, & that thou get thée hence. I am Bertrams boy (ſayd hée) good maſter let me go: and with that hys coule began with the waight to cracke vpō his ſhoulders. The Monke when he perceiued the matter, tooke the boy out and diſcharged his coule. The boye tooke his legges and ranne away as faſt as he could.

A boye gotte into a Monkes coule.

Among other, one wyſer then the reſt, ranne with the Church doore keye, beatyng vpon the ſtonewalles, thinckyng therwith to breake an hole through to eſcape out.

In the meane tyme thoſe that were in the ſtrete lookyng diligently about them and perceiuyng all thyngs to bee without feare, marueyled at this ſodaine outrage, & made ſignes & tokens to them that were in the Church to kepe them ſelues quiet, crying to them that there was no daunger.

But forſomuch as no worde could be heard by reaſon of the noyſe that was within the Church, thoſe ſignes made them much more afrayde then they were before, interpretyng the matter, as though all had bene on fire without the Churche, & that for the droppyng of the lead & fallyng of other thynges, they ſhould rather tarye ſtill within the Church, and not to venter out. This trouble cōtinued in this maner by the ſpace of certaine houres.

The next day, and alſo all the weake folowing there was an incredible nomber of bylles ſet vp vppon the Churche doores, to enquire for thinges that were loſt, in ſuch varietie and nomber, as Democritus myght here agayne haue had iuſt cauſe to laugh. If any man haue founde a payer of ſhoes yeſterday in S. Mary Church, or knoweth any mā that hath found them. &c. An other byll was ſet vp for a gowne that was loſt. An other intreateth to haue his cappe reſtored. One loſt his purſe and gyrdle with certain money: an other his ſword. One inquireth for a ring, and one for one thing an other for an other. To be ſhort, there was fewe in thys garboyle, but that eyther through negligence loſt, or through obliuion left ſomethyng behinde him.

Thus haue you hitherto heard a tragicall ſtorye of a terrible fire which dyd no hurte. The deſcription wherof, although it be not ſo perfectlye expreſſed accordyng to the worthynes of the matter, yet becauſe it was not to bee paſſed with ſilence, we haue ſuperficiallye ſet forth ſome ſhadowe thereof, whereby the wiſe and diſcrete may ſufficiently conſider the reaſt, if any thyng els be lackyng in ſetting forth the full narration therof. As touching the hereticke, becauſe he had not done hys ſufficient penance there by occaſiō of this hurley burley, therfore the next day following he was reclaimed into the Church of S.Frideſwide, where he ſupplied the reſt that lacked of hys plenarie penance.

The 4.and 5.mariage of K.Henry the 8.

1541. Aug.

The Ladye Anne of Cleue diuorced frō the kyng.

The kyng permitted to mary after hys diuorce.

The kyng maryed to the Ladye Katherine Haward hys 5.wife.

The ſame yeare and moneth nexte following, after the apprehenſion of the Lorde Cromwell, whiche was an. 1541. the King immediatlye was diuorced from the Ladye Anne of Cleue. The cauſe of which ſeparation being wholy committed to the Clergie of the conuocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and graunted, that the kyng being freed from that pretenſed matrimonie (as they called it) myght marye where he woulde, and ſo might ſhe likewyſe: who alſo conſenting to the ſame diuorcement her ſelfe, by her own letters, was after that taken no more for Queene, but onely called Ladye Anne of Cleue. Which thyngs thus diſcuſſed by the Parlament & conuocation houſe, the kyng the ſame moneth was maryed to his fift wife, which was the Ladye Katherine Haward, Niece to the Duke of Northfolke, and daughter to the Lorde Edmund Haward the Dukes brother. But this mariage likewiſe continued not long.

vi.popiſhe Monkes for denying the kinges ſupremacie, executed.

In the ſame moneth of Auguſt, and the ſame yeare, I finde moreouer in ſome recordes, beſides the xviij. Charterhouſe Monkes aboue recited, whō Cope doth ſanctifie for holy Martyrs for ſuffering in the Popes deuotion, agaynſt the kinges ſupremacie, other ſixe which were alſo brought to Tyburne and there executed in the like caſe of rebellion. Of whom, the firſt was the Prior of Dancaſter. The 2.a Monke of the Charterhouſe of London, called Gyles Horne, ſome call hym William Horne. The 3.one Tho. Epſam a Monke of Weſtminſter, who had hys Monkes garment pluckte from hys backe, being the laſte Monke in K.Henryes dayes that did weare that Monkiſh weede. The 4.one Philpotte. The 5.one Carewe. The 6. was a Fryer. See what a difficultie it is to plucke vp blinde ſuperſtition once rooted in mans hart by a litle cuſtome.

1542.

Now as touching the late mariage betwene the kyng and the Ladye Haward, ye heard how thys matrimonie endured not long: for in the yeare next folowing. 1542. the ſayd Ladye Katherine was accuſed to the kyng of incontinent liuing, not onely before her mariage with Fraunces Direham, but alſo of ſpouſebrech ſith her mariage, with Thom.Culpeper. For the which both the men aforeſayd, by acte of Parlament were atteinted and executed for high treaſon, and alſo the ſayd Ladye Katherine late Queene, with the Lady Iane Rochford widow, late wife to George Boleine Lord Rochforde brother to Queene Anne Boleine, were beheaded for their deſertes within the Tower. Ex Hallo, & alijs.

It is reported of ſome, that this Lady Rochforde forged a falſe letter againſt her huſband, and Queene Anne hys ſiſter, by the which they were both caſt away. Which if it be ſo, the iudgement of God then is here to be marked.

After the death and puniſhment of thys Lady hys fourth wife, the kyng calling to remēbraunce ye wordes of the Lorde Cromwell, and miſſing nowe more and more hys olde Counſailler, and partlye alſo ſmellyng ſomewhat the wayes of Wincheſter, beganne a litle to ſette in his foote againe in the cauſe of religion. And although hee euer bare a ſpeciall fauour to Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Canterburye (as you ſhall heare more hereafter God willing, in the lyfe of Cranmer) yet now the more he miſſed the L.Cromwell, the more he inclined to ye Archbiſhop, & alſo to the ryght cauſe of religion. And therefore in the ſame yeare and in the moneth of October, after ye execution of thys Queene, the king vnderſtandyng ſome abuſes yet to remaine vnreformed, namely about pilgrimages & Idolatrie, and other thinges moe beſides to be corrected within hys dominions, directed hys letters vnto the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Canterbury, for the ſpeedie redreſſe and reformation of the ſame. The tenour of which letters hereafter fully inſueth, in theſe wordes.

The kings minde inclining to reformatiō of religion.

The Kinges letters to the Archbiſhop, for the aboliſhyng of Idolatrie.

The kings letters to the Archb. for reformyng of Idolatrye.

Right reuerend father in God, right truſtie and welbeloued, we grete you well, letting you to witte, that wheras heretofore vppon the zeale and remembraunce, which we had to our bounden duetie towardes almightie God, perceauing ſondrye ſuperſtitions and abuſes to be vſed and embraſed by our people, wherby they greuouſlye offended hym and hys worde: we dyd not onely cauſe the Images and bones of ſuch as they reſorted and offred vnto, with the ornamentes of the ſame, and all ſuch writinges and monumentes of fained miracles, wherwith they were illuded, to bee taken away in all places of our realme, but alſo by our iniunctions cōmaunded that no offring or ſetting vppe of lightes or candels, ſhould be ſuffred in any Church, but onely to the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar: It is lately come to our knowledge, that thys our good intent and purpoſe, notwithſtandyng the ſhrines, coueringes of ſhrines, and monumentes of thoſe thinges do yet remaine in ſondry places of this realme, much to the ſclaunder of our doinges, and to the great diſpleaſure of almightie God, the ſame being meanes to allure our ſubiectes to their former hipocriſie and ſuperſtition: and alſo that our Iniunctions bee not kept as appertayneth. For the due and ſpedie reformation wherof, we haue thought meete, by theſe our letters, expreſly to will and commaund you, that incontinently vpon the receite hereof, you ſhall not onely cauſe due ſearch to bee made in your Cathedrall Church for thoſe thynges, and if any ſhrine, coueryng of ſhrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, doe their continue, to cauſe it ſo to bee taken away as there remayne no memorye of it, but alſo that you ſhall take order, with all the Curates & other hauyng charge within your dioces, to doe the ſemblable, and to ſee that our Iniunctions bee duelie kept as appertayneth, without fayling, as we truſt you, and as you will aunſwere for the contrarye.

Shrines and monumentes of Idolatrie abolyſhed by the kyng.

Geuen vnder our ſignet at our towne
of Hull, the 4.day of October in the 33.
yeare of our reigne.

Furthermore, the next yeare after this enſuyng, which was. 1543. in the moneth of February folowed an other proclamation giuen out by the kynges authoritie, wherin the Popes law forbiddyng white meates to be eaten in Lent, was repealed and the eatyng of ſuch meates ſet at libertie, for the behouſe of the kings ſubiectes. The copie of which proclamation I thought here good alſo to be remembred.

A proclamation concernyng eatyng of whyte meates, made the ix.day of February, the xxxiiij. yeare of the reigne of the kynges moſt Royall Maieſtie.

An. 1543

The eating of white meates in Lent ſet at libertie.

Foraſmuch as by diuers & ſondry occaſions, as well heryngges, lynges, ſaltfiſhe, ſamond, ſtockefiſhe as other kyndes of fiſhe ben this yeare ſcant and alſo enhaunced in prices aboue the old rate and common eſtimation of their valour, ſo that if the kynges louyng ſubiectes ſhould be enforced onely to bye and prouide heryng and other ſalte ſtore of fiſhe, for the neceſſarye and ſufficient ſuſtentation and mayntenaunce of their houſholdes and families all this holy time of Lēt, accordyng as they haue bene wont in tymes paſt to do, and ſhould not bee by ſome other cōuenient meanes, releued therin, ye ſame might and ſhould vndoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detriment: and forſomuch as hys highnes conſidereth how this kynde and maner of faſtyng, (that is to ſay) to abſteyne from milke, butter, egges, cheeſe, & other white meates, is but a mere poſitiue law of the Church, and vſed by a cuſtome within this realme, and of none other force or neceſſity, but the ſame may be vpon good conſiderations & groundes, altered & diſpenſed with from tyme to time, by the publicke authority of kynges & prynces, when ſoeuer they ſhall perceaue the ſame to tend to the hurt & damage of there people: The kynges hyghnes therefore moſt graciouſly conſideryng & tenderyng the wealth and commoditye of hys people, hath thought good for the conſiderations aboue rehearſed, to releaſe & diſpence with the ſayd law and cuſtome of abſteynyng frō whyte meates this holy tyme of Lent, and of hys eſpeciall grace and mere motion geueth and

graunteth

graſteth vnto all and ſingular his ſubiectes within this hys Realme of England, wales, Callis, Guyſnes, and Hammes, and in all other hys graces dominions, free libertie, facultye, and licence to eate all maner of whyte meates, as milke egges, butter, cheeſe, and ſuch like, during the tyme of this Lent, without any ſcruple or grudge of conſcience, any lawe, conſtitution, vſe, or cuſtome to the contrary notwithſtandyng. wherin neuertheles hys highnes exhorteth and in the name of God requireth all ſuch his faythfull ſubiectes, as may, will, or ſhal enioy this his ſayd graunt or faculty, that they be in no wiſe ſcrupulous or doubtful therof, nor abuſe or turne the ſame into a fleſhly or carnall liberty, but rather endeuour them ſelues, to their poſſible powers, with this liberty of eatyng of white meates, to obſerue alſo that faſt which God moſt ſpecially requireth of thē, that is to ſay, to renounce the world & the deuil, withall theyr pompes and workes, and alſo to ſubdue and repreſſe their carnall affections and the corrupt workes of theyr fleſh, accordyng to their vowe and profeſſion made at the fonte ſtone, for in theſe poyntes ſpecially conſiſteth the very true and perfect abſtinence or faſtyng of a Chriſten man: thus to endure and continue from yeare to yeare, till the kynges hyghnes pleaſure ſhal by his Maieſties proclamation be publiſhed to the contrarye.

¶The trouble and perſecution of foure Wyndſore men, Robert Teſtwode, Henry Filmer, Anthony Perſon, and Iohn Marbecke, perſecuted for righteouſnes ſake, and for the Goſpell.

An. 1544.

Commyng now to the ſtory and tyme of the foure Windſore mē troubled and perſecuted for the true teſtimonie of Gods worde, wherof iij. were martyred and ſacrificed in fire, the iiij. (whiche was Marbecke) had his pardon: firſt I haue to ſhewe the originall of their troubles in ſeueral partes: ſecondly ẏ maner & order of their death as they ſuffered together, which was an. 1544. thyrdly to aunſwere partly in purgation of my ſelfe, agaynſt certeine clatterers, whiche haue hetherto takē their pleaſure in railing againſt my former edition of Actes and Monumentes, for miſtakyng the name of Marbecke, whom in one place I reported to haue ben burned, albeit in ẏ end of the ſtory, correcting my ſelfe agayne, I declare hym not to haue bene burned. Wherfore to ſtoppe the brauling mouthes of ſuch quarrellers, I thought here to ſet forth the full narration, both of the ſaid Marbecke, and of his felowes, in truth as I truſt none of them ſhall haue iuſte cauſe to quarrell therat.

¶The originall of Teſtwoods trouble.

The firſt beginnyng of Teſtwoods trouble.

Perſecuters.	*Perſecuted.*	*The Cauſes.*
M. Ely. Symons, *a Lawyer.* D. Lōdon. Ste. Gardiner *B. of VVincheſt.* Wriſley. Southarne *Treaſurer of Exeter.* D. Bruerwoode, *Chauncelour of Exeter.* M. Knight *VVincheſters Gētleman.* D. Okyng. D. Capon *B. of Sarū.* *Syr* W. Eſſex, *knight.* *Syr* Thom. Bryges *knight.* *Syr* Hūfrey Foſtar *knight.* M. Frankelen *deane of VVindſ.* M. Fachel *of Readyng.* Bucler *the kings Atturney.* Filmers *brother.* Hyde *a Iurate dwellyng beſide Abington.* Rob. Ockam, *a Lawyer.*	Rob. Teſtwood. Henry Filmer. Anthony Perſon. Iohn Marbecke. Rob. Bēnet *Syr* Philip Hobby, *his Wife.* *Syr* Thom. Cardyne, *his Wife.* M. Edmūd Harman. M. Thom. Weldone. Snowball, *his Wife, of the kinges chamber.* D. Heynes *Deane of Exeter.* *At VVindſore.* An. 1544.	In the yeare of our Lord. 1544. there was one Robert Teſtwood dwelling in the Citie of Lōdon, who for hys knowledge in Muſicke had ſo great a name, that the Muſiciōs in Wyndeſore Colledge, thought hym a worthy mā to haue a roume among them. Whereupon they enformed Doctor Sampſon (being thē their Deane) of him. But forasmuch as ſome of the Canons at that tyme, had hearde of Teſtwood, how that hée ſmelled of the new learning (as they called it) it would not be cōſented vnto at the firſt. Notwithſtādyng, with often ſute of the foreſayde Muſicions made to one D. Tate (who beyng halfe a Muſicion hym ſelfe, bare a great ſtroke in ſuch matters) a rowme beyng voyde, Teſtwood was ſent for to be heard. And beyng their a iiij. or v. dayes amōg the quéere men, he was ſo well lyked both for hys voyce and cunnyng, that hee was admitted, and after ſeteled in Wyndſore with hys houſholde, & had in good eſtimation with the Deane and Canons a great while. But when they had perceyued hym by hys often talke at their tables (for hee coulde not well diſſemble his Religion) ẏ he leaned to Luthers ſecte, they began to myſlike hym.

And ſo paſſyng forth among thē, it was his chaunce one day to be at dinner with one of the Canons named Doctor Rawſon. At the whiche diner, amongeſt other, was one of K. Edwarde 4. chauntrie Prieſtes named maiſter Ely, an olde Bacheler of Diuinitie. Whiche Ely in his talke at ẏ bord, began to raile againſt lay men, which toke vpō them to mell with the ſcriptures, & to be better learned (knowyng no more but the Engliſh toung) then they which had bene Students in the Vniuerſities at Oxford & Cambridge all ẏ dayes of their liues. Then Teſtwod perceiuing he ment that by him, could forbeare his rayling no longer, but ſayd: Maiſter Ely, by your pacience, I thinke it be no hurt for lay men, as I am, to reade and to know the ſcriptures. Which of you (quoth Ely) that be vnlearned, knoweth them, or vnderſtandeth them? Saint Paule ſayth: *If thine enemy hunger, feede him: if he thirſt, geue him drinke, and in ſo doyng, thou ſhalt heape coales of fire vpon his head.* Now ſir (quoth Ely) what meaneth S. Paul by theſe coales of fyre? Mary ſyr (quod Teſtwod) he meaneth nothing els by them (as I haue learned) but burning charitie, that with doinge good to our enemies, we ſhould therby winne thē. A Sirah (quoth he) you are an old ſcholer in déede.

M. Ely

Rom. 12.

After this, they fell into further communication of the Pope, whoſe ſupremacie was muche ſpoken of at that time, but not knowen to be ſo farre in queſtion in the Parliament houſe, as it was. And in their talke Ely demaunded of Teſtwod, whether the Pope ought to be the head of the church, or no. Againſt the which, Teſtwod durſt not ſaye hys full minde, but reaſoned within his boundes a great whyle. But when they were both wel ſtrickē in an heate, Teſtwod forgetting himſelfe, chaunced to ſay, that euery king in hys owne Realme and dominion, ought to bee the heade of the church vnder Chriſt. At the which wordes Ely was ſo chafed, that he roſe vp from the table in a great fume, calling hym hereticke, and all that naught was, and ſo went brauling and chiding away, to the great diſquieting of all the companye that were there. Then was Teſtwod very ſory to ſée the old mā take it ſo greuouſly. Wherupon after diner he went and ſought maiſter Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to haue talked with him charitably, and ſo to haue bene at one againe: but euer as Teſtwood preaſſed towardes him, the other ſhunned him, and would not come nye him, but ſpyt at hym, ſaying to other that walked by: beware of this fellowe, for he is the greateſt hereticke and ſchiſmaticke that euer came in Wyndeſore.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that Ely had made hys complaynt to the Deanes Deputie, and other of the Canons, they were all againſt Teſtwood, purpoſing ſurely at the Deanes commyng home (if all thinges had chaunced euen) to haue put him to hys trumps. But ſee the fortune. It was not. 12. dayes after, ere that the kinges ſupremacy paſſed in ŷ Parlament houſe. Wherupon the Deane (Doctor Samſon) came home ſodainly in the night late, and forthwyth all ſent hys Verger about to all the Canons and Miniſters of the Colledge, from the higheſt to the loweſt, commaunding them to be in the Chapter houſe by. 8. a clocke in the morning. Then Ely conſulted wyth the Canons ouer night (as late as it was) and thought on the next day, to haue put Teſtwod to a great plūge. *But he that layeth a ſnare for an other man* (ſayth Salomon) *ſhall be taken in it him ſelfe*, and ſo was Ely, For when the Deane and euerye man were come and placed in thē Chapter houſe, and that the Deane had commended the Miniſters of the Church for their diligence in tending the Quéere, exhorting thē alſo to continue in the ſame: he began (contrarie to euery mans expectation) to inueye againſt the biſhop of Romes ſupremacy and vſurped authoritie, confoūding the ſame by manifeſt ſcriptures and probable reaſons, ſo earneſtly, that it was a wonder to heare: and at length declared openly, that by the whole conſent of the Parlament houſe, the Popes ſupremacie was vtterlye aboliſhed out of this realme of England for euer, and ſo commaunded euery man there vpon his allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but biſhop of Rome: and what ſoeuer he were that would not ſo do, or did from that day foorth maintaine or fauour his cauſe by anye maner of meanes, he ſhould not onely loſe the benefite of that houſe, but be reputed as an vtter enemye to God, and to the King. The Canons hearing this, were all ſtricken in a dumpe. Yet notwithſtandyng Elies hart was ſo great, that he woulde faine haue vttered his cankerd ſtomake againſt Teſtwod: but the Deane (breaking his tale) called him olde foole, and tooke him vp ſo ſharpely, that he was fayne to hold his peace. Then the Deane commaunded all the Popes pardons which hanged about ŷ Church, to be brought into the Chapter houſe, and caſt into ŷ Chimney, and brent before all their faces, and ſo departed.

The fyrſt newes of the kinges ſupremacie brought to Windſore.

M. Ely thinking to complain of other, was called foole for hys labour.

❡ *An other cauſe of Teſtwoodes trouble.*

An other trouble of *Teſtwood.*

Idolatry to *K. Henry* of Windſore.

As it chaunced Teſtwod one day to walke in the Churche at after nowne, and behelde the pilgrimes (ſpecially of Deuonſhyre & Cornewall) how they came in by plumpes with candels and Images of ware in their handes, to offer to good kyng Henry of Wyndſore (as they called hym) it pitied his hart to ſée ſo great Idolatrie committed, and how vaynely the people had ſpent their goods in comming ſo farre, to kiſſe a ſpurre, & to haue an old hatte ſet vpō their heades: In ſomuch that he could not refraine, but (ſeyng a certaine cōpany which had done their offryng, ſtand gaſing about the Churche) went vnto thē, and with all gentilnes began to exhorte them to leaue ſuch falſe worſhyppyng of dumme creatures, and to learne to worſhyp the true liuyng God a ryght, puttyng thē in remēbraunce what thoſe thynges were which they worſhypped, and how God many tymes had plagued his people for running a whoryng to ſuch ſtockes and ſtones, and ſo would plague them and their poſteritie, if they would not leaue it.

Teſtwoode exhorteth the people from Idolatrye.

After this ſorte he admoniſhed thē ſo long, till at the laſt; his wordes (as God would) toke ſuch place in ſome of them, that they ſaid, they would neuer go a pilgrimage more. Then he went further and found an other ſort, lickyng and kiſſyng a white Lady made of Alabaſter, which Image was mortreſt in a wall behynd the hye altare, and bordred about with a pretie border, which was made like braunches with hangyng apples and floures. And when he ſawe them ſo ſuperſtitiouſly vſe the Image (as to wype their handes vppon it, and thē to ſtrake them ouer their eyes and faces, as though there had bene great vertue in touching the picture) he vp with his hand in the which he had a key, and ſmote a péece of the border about the Image downe, and with ŷ glaunce of the ſtroke chaunced to breake of the Images noſe. Lo, good people (quoth he) ye ſée what it is, nothyng but earth & duſt, & can not helpe it ſelf, and how will you then haue it to helpe you? For Gods ſake brethren, be no more deceaued: and ſo he gat him home to his houſe, for the rumour was ſo great, that many came to ſée the Image, how it was defaced. And amōg all other, came one William Symons (a Lawyer) who ſeyng ŷ Image ſo berayed, and to lacke her noſe, toke the matter greuouſly, and lokyng downe vpon the pauement, hee ſpyed the Images noſe where it lay, whiche he toke vp & put in his purſe, ſaying it ſhoulde be a deare noſe to Teſtwod one day.

Idolatrye to an image of a white Lady made of Alabaſter in Windſore.

Teſtwoode defaceth the Image.

W. Simons a perſecuter.

O blinde Poperye to ſeeke the death of a liuing man for the noſe of a dead ſtocke.

Magna Diana Epheſiorum. *Act.* 28.

Now were many offended with Teſtwod: The Canons for ſpeakyng againſt their profite: the ware ſellers for hindryng their market: and Symons for the Images noſe. And more then that, there were of ŷ Canons men that threatned to kill him. Wherupon Teſtwod kept his houſe and durſt not come forth, minding to haue ſent ŷ whole matter in writtyng by hys wife, to M. Cromwell the kynges Secretarye, who was hys ſpeciall frend. The Canons hearyng that Teſtwod would ſend to Cromwell, they ſent the Verger vnto hym, to will him to come to the Church: who ſent thē worde againe, that he was in feare of his life, and therfore would not come. Then ſent they two of the eldeſt Peticanons to entreate hym and to aſſure hym that no man ſhould do him harme. He made thē a playne aunſwere, that hée had no ſuch truſt to their promiſes, but would complayne to his frendes. Then wyſt they not what ſhift to make (for of all men they feared Cromwell) but ſent in poſt haſt for old M. Warde, a Juſtice of peace dwelling a ij. or iij. myles of: who bryng come and hearyng the matter, was very loth to medle in it. But notwithſtādyng, thorough their intreatie, he wēt to Teſtwod and had much a do to perſuade hym, but at the laſt, he did ſo faythfully promiſe hym by the othe he had made to God and the kyng, to defend hym from all daungers and harmes, that Teſtwod was content to go with hym.

The Papiſtes of Windſore afrayde of *Cromwell.*

The Canons of Windſore glad to fall in agayne with *Teſtwoode.*

And when M. Warde and Teſtwod were come into the Church & were goyng toward the Chapter houſe, where the Canons abode their cōmyng, one of the Canons men drue hys dagger at Teſtwod, & would haue bene vpon hym, but M. Warde with his men reſiſted, and gat Teſtwod into the Chapter houſe, cauſing the ſeruing men to be called in, and ſharpelye rebuked of their Maiſters, who ſtraitlye commaunded them vpon payne of léeſing their ſeruice, and further diſpleaſure, not to touch him, nor to geue him an euyll word. Now Teſtwod being alone in the Chapter houſe with the Canons and M. Warde, was gentlye intreated, and the mater ſo pacified, that Teſtwod might quietly come and go to the Church, and do his dutye as he had done before.

Teſtwoode in daunger of hys life.

❡ *An other cauſe of Teſtwods trouble.*

An other cauſe of *Teſtwoods* trouble.

Vpon a Relique Sonday (as they named it) when euery Miniſter after their old cuſtome ſhould haue borne a Relique in his hande about a proceſſion, one was brought to Teſtwod. Which Relique (as they ſayd) was a Ratchet of biſhop Beckets. And as the Sexten would haue put ŷ Ratchet in Teſtwods hādes, he puſhed it from hym, ſaying, if he did geue it to him, he would wipe his tayle withal, and ſo the Rachet was geuen to an other. Then came the Verger downe frō the hie aulter with S. Georges dagger in his hande, demaunding who lacked a Relique. Mary quod Teſtwod, geue it to Maiſter Hake (who ſtoode next hym) for he is a pretie mā of hys handes, & ſo the dagger was geuen vnto him. Now Teſtwod perceiuing the dagger in maiſter Hakes hand, and being merely diſpoſed (as he was a mery conceited man) ſtepped forth out of his place

Tho. Beckets Ratchet made a Relique.

Teſtwoode refuſeth to beare the Relique.

S. Georges dagger made a Relique.

place to Doctor Clifton ſtanding directly before him in the myddeſt of the Quéere, with a glorious golden cope vpon hys backe, hauing the pixe in his hande, and ſayd: Sir, Maiſter Hake hath Saint Georges dagger. Now if he had hys horſe, and S. Martins cloke, and M. Iohn Shornes bootes, with king Harries ſpurres and hys hat, he might ride when he would, and ſo ſtepped in to his place againe. Whereat the other chaunged colour, and wiſt not what to ſay.

An other cauſe of Teſtwoddes trouble.

M. Francklen Deane of Windſore.

Blaſphemie and Idolatry to our Ladye.

IN the dayes of M. Fräklen, who ſucceded D. Sampſon in the Deanery of Wyndſore, there was on a tyme, ſet vp at the Quéere doore, a certaine fooliſhe printed paper in meter, all to the prayſe and commendatiõ of our Lady, aſcribyng vnto her, our Iuſtification, our ſaluation, our redemption, the forgiuenes of ſinnes. &c. to the great derogation of Chriſt. Whiche paper, one of the Canons called M. Magnus (as it was reported) cauſed to bee ſet vp in deſpite of Teſtwod and hys ſecte. When Teſtwod ſawe this paper, he pluckt it downe ſecretely. The next day after was an other ſet vp in the ſame place. Then Teſtwod comming into the Church, and ſeing an other paper ſet vp, and alſo ẏ Deane comming a litle way of, made haſte to be in at the Quéere doore, while the Deane ſtayde to take holy water, and reaching vp his hand as he went, pluckt away the paper with him. The Deane beyng come to hys ſtall, called Teſtwod vnto him and ſayde, that he marueiled greatly how he durſt be ſo bold to take down that paper in hys preſence. Teſtwod aunſwered againe, that he marueyled much more, that his maſterſhip would ſuffer ſuch a blaſphemous paper to be ſet vp, beſéeching him not to be offended with that he had done, for he would ſtande vnto it. So M. Deane being a timerous man, made no more a doe wyth hym. After this were no mo papers ſet vp, but poore Teſtwod was eaten and drunken among them at euery meale, and an hereticke he was, and woulde roſt a fagot for this geare one day.

Teſtwoode taketh downe the blaſphemous paper.

M. Magnus magnus idololatra.

Now maiſter Magnus being ſore offended with Teſtwod for plucking downe his papers, to be reuenged on him, deuiſed with the Deane and ẏ reſt of the Canons, to ſend their letters to D. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the kinges Phiſicion, who lay (for the moſt part) at the court, to ſée what he could doo agaynſt Teſtwod. Which letters being made, were ſent with ſpeede. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, whether he durſt not meddle for feare of Cromwell, or what els I cannot tell, their ſute came to none effect. Then wiſt they not what to doo, but determined to let the matter ſléepe, til Saint Georges feaſt, which was not farre of.

Conſpiracie of the Prieſtes of Windſore agaynſt Teſtwoode.

Now in the meane time, there chaunced a prety ſtorie, betwene one Robert Philips, Gentleman of the kings Chappel, and Teſtwod. Which ſtory, though it was but a mery pranke of a ſinging man, yet it greeued hys aduerſarie wonderfullye. The matter was this. Robert Philips was ſo notable a ſinging man (wherin he gloried) that wherſoeuer he came, the beſt & longeſt ſong, with moſt counteruerſes in it, ſhould be ſet vp at his cõming. And ſo his chaũce being now to be at Windſore, againſt his cõming to ẏ Antheme, a long ſong was ſet vp, called Lauda viui. In the which ſong there was one counteruerſe toward thend, that began on this wyſe: O redẽptrix & ſaluatrix. Which verſe of all other, Robert Philips woulde ſing, becauſe hee knew that Teſtwod could not abide that ditty. Nowe Teſtwod knowing his minde wel enough, ioyned with him at the other part: and when he hearde Robert Philips begyn to fetch his flouriſh with O redemptrix & ſaluatrix, repeating ẏ ſame one in an others necke, Teſtwod was as quicke on the other ſide to aunſwere hym agayn with Non redemptrix, nec ſaluatrix, and ſo ſtriuing togethers with O and Non, who ſhoulde haue the maſtry, they made an end of the verſe. Wherat was good laughing in ſléeues of ſome, but Rob. Philips wt other of Teſtwods enemies, were ſore offēded.

A blaſphemous Antheme, calling the virgin Mary our Sauiour and redeemer.

A mery cõtention betwene *Rob. Philips* of the kinges chappell, and *Teſtwoode*, about *O Redẽptrix*, and *Non Redẽptrix*.

Within 14. dayes after this, the Lordes of the Garter (as their cuſtome is yearlye to doo) came to Wyndeſore to kéepe Saint Georges feaſt: at whych feaſt the Duke of Norfolke was Preſident: vnto whõ the Deane and Canons made a gréeuous complaynt on Teſtwod. Who being called before the Duke, hee ſhooke him vp and all to reuiled him, as thoughe hee would haue ſent him to hanging by and by. Yet neuertheles Teſtwod ſo behaued him ſelfe to the Duke, that in the end he let him go, without any farther moleſting of him, to the great diſcomfort of the Deane and Canons. Here haue ye hearde the cauſes which moued Teſtwods enemies to ſéeke his deſtruction, and could not attaine their purpoſe, till that wicked Aman Doctour London came, as ſhall be ſhewed in the proceſſe following.

Teſtwod complained of, to the olde Duke of Norfolke.

The originall of Henry Filmers trouble.

Filmers trouble beginneth.

Fryer *Melſter* Vicar of Windſore.

Our Lady ſpouting milke in S. Bernards eies.

ABout the yeare of our Lord. 1541. after all the orders of ſuperſticions and begging Friers were ſuppreſſed and put downe, there chaunced one ſir Thomas Melſter, which had bene a Frier before, & chaunged hys Friers coate (but not his Friers hart) to bee Vicar of Wyndeſore. This Prieſt on a time made a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, in the which he declared ſo many fond and frieriſh tales, as that our lady ſhould hold out her breſtes to Saint Barnard, and ſpoute her mylke in to his eyes, with ſuch like feſtiuall tales, that many honeſt men were offended therewith, and ſpecially this Henry Filmer then one of the Church Wardens: who was ſo zealous to gods word, that he could not abide to heare the glorye of Chriſt ſo defaced wyth ſuperſtitious fables. Whereupon he tooke an honeſt man or two with him, and went to the Prieſt, wyth whom he talked ſo honeſtly and ſo charitablye, that in the end the Prieſt gaue him harty thankes, and was content at his gentle admonition, to reforme him ſelfe without any more adoe, and ſo departed friendlye the one from the other.

Now was there one in the towne, called Wylliam Simons a Lawyer (as is aforeſayd) who hearing that Filmer had bene with the Prieſt, and reproued hym for hys Sermon, tooke pepper in ẏ noſe, and gat him to the Vicar, and did ſo animate him in hys doinges, that he ſlipped quite away from the promiſe hee had made to Filmer, and followed the mynde of Simons: who méeting wyth Filmer afterward, all to reuiled hym, ſaying he would bring him before the Biſhop, to teach him to be ſo malaperte. Then Filmer hearing the matter renued, which hee had thought had bene ſuppreſſed, ſtoode againſt Simons and ſayd, that the Vicar had preached falſe and vnſound doctrine, and ſo would he ſay to the Biſhop, whenſoeuer he came before him. Then Symons ſlept not the matter, but went to the Maior, and procured of hym and hys brethren a letter, ſigned with their own handes, in the Prieſtes fauour as much as could be deuiſed, and ſo prepared him ſelfe with other his friends to go to the biſhop (whoſe name was Doctor Capon) & to take the Prieſt wyth them: which was a paynfull iourney for the ſéely poore man, by reaſon he had a very ſore leg.

Symons the Lawyer againſt Filmer.

Symons cõplaineth of Filmer to Doctor Capon Byſhop of Sarum.

Now Filmer hearyng how Symons went about to put him to a foyle, cõſulted with hys frendes what was beſt to do: who concluded to drawe out certayne notes of the Vicares Sermon, and to prepare them ſelues to be at Saliſbury as ſoone as Symons, or before him, if it might bee poſſible. Thus both the parties beyng in a readynes, it chaunced them to ſet forth of Wyndſore all in one day. But by reaſon the Prieſt (beyng an impotent man) could not endure to ryde very faſt, Filmer and his company gat to the towne an houre and more before Symons, and went to the Biſhop and deliuered vp their byll vnto hym. Which byll when the Byſhop

Filmer forced to cõplaine to the B. of Sarum.

had ſene and peruſed well, he gaue them great thãkes for their paynes, ſaying it did behoue hym to loke vpõ it, for the Prieſt had preached hereſie and ſhould be puniſhed. Then Filmer declared vnto the Byſhop, the forme of hys talke he had with the Prieſt, and the end thereof: and how the matter beyng renued agayne by Symons, forced hym and hys company to trouble hys Lordſhyp therewith. Well, ſayd the Byſhop, ye haue done lyke honeſte men. Come to me ſone agayne, and ye ſhall know more, and ſo they departed from the Biſhop to their Inne. And while they were there repoſing them ſelues, Symons with his company came to the towne, and (not knowing the other to be come) gat thẽ vp to the Byſhop in all poſt haſt, takyng the Prieſt with them.

Symons and the Vicar come to Saliſbury.

The Biſhop hearing of moe Windſore mẽ, demaũded what they were, & beyng enformed how it was ẏ Vicar of ẏ towne with other moe, he cauſed ẏ Vicar to be brought in. To whõ he ſayd: Are you the Vicare of Windſore? Yea forſoth my Lord, quoth he. How chaũceth it, quoth the Biſhop, that you are cõplained on: for here hath bene with me certaine honeſt men of your towne which haue deliuered vp a bil of erroneous doctrine againſt you. If it be ſo, I muſt nedes puniſh you, and opening the bill, he read it vnto him. How ſay you quod the Byſhop, is this true or no? The Vicare could not denye it, but humbly ſubmitted him ſelfe to the Byſhops correction. Thẽ was his company called in, and when the Byſhop ſaw Symons, he knew him well and ſayd: Wherfore come you M. Symõs? Pleaſeth it your Lordſhyp (quoth he) we are come to ſpeake in our Vicars cauſe, whiche is a man of good conuerſation and honeſtie, and doth his duety ſo well in euery point, that no man can finde faute with him, except a lewde felow we haue in our towne called Filmer, whiche is ſo corrupt with hereſie, that hee is hable to poyſon a whole countrey: And truely my Lord (quod Symons) there is no man that can preach or teach any thyng that is good and godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to ſay it is ſtarke naught. Wherefore we ſhall beſech your Lordſhip, he may be puniſhed, to the enſample of other, that our Vicare may do his duetie quietly, as hee hath done before this buſie felow troubled hym. And that your Lordſhyp ſhall the better credite my ſayinges, I haue brought with me theſe honeſt men of the towne, and beſide all that, a teſtimoniall from the Maior and hys brethren to confirme the ſame, and ſo held out the wrytyng in his hand.

The Vicar of Windſore rebuked of the Byſhop.

The wordes of *Symons* to the Byſhop.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: So God helpe me M. Symons, ye are greatly to blame and moſt worthy to bee puniſhed of all men, that will ſo impudently go about to maintayne your Prieſt in hys errour, which hath preached hereſie and hath confeſſed it: wherfore I may not nor will not ſee it vnpuniſhed. And as for that honeſt man Filmer, on whom ye haue complained, I tell you playnly, he hath, in this poynt, ſhewed hym ſelfe a great deale more honeſter man then you. But in hope you will no more beare out your Vicar in his euill doynges, I will remit all thynges at this tyme: ſauyng that he ſhal the next Sonday recant his Sermon openly before all his Pariſhioners in Wyndſore Church: and ſo the Byſhop called in Filmer and his company whiche wayted without, and deliuered the Prieſtes recantation vnto them, with a great charge to ſee it truly obſerued in all poyntes. Then Symons toke his leaue of the Biſhop, and departed with a flea in hys eare, diſapoynted of his purpoſe, and ſore aſhamed of ẏ foyle. For this cauſe, Symõs could neuer broke Filmer, but when he met hym at any tyme after, would hold vp his finger (as his maner was where he ought diſpleaſure) and ſay: I wilbe euen with you one day, truſt me.

B. Capons anſwer to *Symons.*

Fryer *Mellster* called to recant hys Sermon.

The grudge of *Symons* agaynſt *Filmer.*

¶ The originall of Anthony Perſons trouble.

There was a certayne Prieſt named Anthony Perſon, whiche frequented much to Wyndſore, about the yeare of our Lord. 1540. and vſing the talent that God had giuẽ hym in preachyng, was greatly eſtemed among the people: who flocked ſo much to his ſermõs which he made both in ẏ town & countrey, that ẏ great Prieſtes of ẏ Caſtle, with other Papiſtes in the towne (ſpecially Symons) were ſore offẽded: In ſomuch that Symons at the laſt, began to gather of his Sermons, and to marke his auditours: whereof enſued the death of diuers, and trouble of many honeſt men. For about a yeare and more after, a miniſter of Sathã called D. London, Warden of the newe Colledge in Oxford, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of Wyndſore: who at his firſt comming to Wyndſore, began to vtter his ſtomacke and to ſhew hys affection. For at his firſt reſidence dyner which he made to the Clerkes (which cõpany for ẏ moſt part, at that tyme fauoured the Goſpel) all his whole talke to two Gentlemen ſtraungers at hys borde (till the table was a takyng vp) was nothing els but of heretickes, and what a deſolation they would bryng ẏ realme vnto, if they might be ſo ſuffred. And by S. Mary, maſters (quoth he to the Clerkes at the laſt) I can not tell, but there goeth a ſhrewed report abroad of this houſe. Some made aũſwere, it was vndeſerued. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a ſtraũger and haue ſmall experience among you: but I haue heard it ſayd before I came hether, that there be ſome in this houſe, that wil neither haue prayer nor faſtyng.

The trouble of *Anth. Perſon,* Prieſt.

W. Symons perſecuter of *Anth. Perſon,* and of many other.

D. London Warden of new Colledge in Oxforde, a miniſter of Sathan.

D. Londons wordes to the Clerkes of Windſore.

Thẽ ſpake Teſtwod: By my trouth Syr (quoth he) I thinke ẏ was ſpokẽ but of malice, for prayer (as your maiſterſhip knoweth better then I) is one of the firſt leſſons that Chriſt taught vs. Yea mary Sir (quoth he) but the heretickes will haue no inuocation to Saints, which all the old Fathers do allow. What the old fathers do allow, quoth Teſtwod, I cã not tel, but Chriſt doth appoynt vs to go to his father, and to aſke our peticions of hym in Chriſtes name. Then ye wyll haue no meane betwene you & God, quoth Doctour London. Yes Syr, quoth Teſtwod, our meane is Chriſt, as Saint Paule ſayth: *There is one Mediatour betwene God and man, euen Ieſus Chriſt.* Geue vs water, quoth Doctor London. Which being ſet on ẏ borde, he ſayd grace and waſhed, and ſo falling into other cõmunication with the ſtraungers, the Clerkes tooke their leaue and departed.

Teſtwoode aunſwereth for the Clerkes.

Goſpellers falſely ſclaundered of the Papiſtes.

When Doctor London had bene in Wyndeſore a whyle among his catholike brethrẽ, and learned what Teſtwod was: and alſo of Simons (who ſhewed hym our Ladies noſe, as he called it) what a ſort of heretiks were in the towne and about the ſame, and how they increaſed dayly by reaſon of a naughtye Prieſt called Anthony Perſon: he was ſo maliciouſly bent againſt them, that he gaue himſelfe wholy to the Deuill to doo miſchiefe. And to bring his wicked purpoſe about, he conſpired with the foreſaid Symons (a meete Clerke to ſerue ſuch a Curate) and other of like ſorte, how they might compaſſe the matter, firſt to haue all the Archheretickes (as they tearmed them) in Wyndſore and therabout, indited of hereſie, and ſo to procede further. They had a good ground to worke vpon (as they thought) which was the ſixe articles, whereupon they began to buyld and practiſe thus. Firſt they drew out certayn notes of Antonie Perſons ſermons, which he had preached againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and their popiſh Maſſe. That done, they put in Syr Philip Hobby with the good Ladye his wyfe, Sir Thomas Cardine, maiſter Edmund Harmã, maiſter Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wyfe, as chiefe ayders, helpers, and mayntainers of Anthony Perſon. Alſo they noted doctor Haines Deane of Exceſter, and a Prebendarie of Wyndeſore, to be a common receyuer of al ſuſpected perſons. They writ alſo the names of all ſuch as commonly haunted Anthonye Perſons Sermons, and of all ſuch as had the Teſtament, and fauoured the Goſpell, or dyd but ſmell thereof.

D. London a malicious perſecuter.

D. London & W. Symons inflamed with malice agaynſt the good men of Windſore.

Syr Phillip Hobby, and his wife.
Syr Thomas Cardyne, and his wife.
M. Edmund Harman.
M. Thomas Weldone.
Snowball, and his wife.
D. Haynes Deane of Exceſter.

Then had they priuy ſpies to walke vp and downe the

W. Bowes Prieſt, Doct. *Londons* ſpye.

Ste. Gardiner a perſecuter.

D. Londons complaint to *St. Gardiner.*

What coſte the Papiſtes can be at, to trouble their euen Chriſten.

the church, to harken and heare what men ſayd, and to marke who did not reuerence the Sacrament at the leuation time, and to bring hys name to Doctour London. And of theſe ſpies ſome were Chauntrye Prieſtes: among the which there was one notable ſpie, whoſe name was called Syr Williā Bowes, ſuch a fleering Prieſt, as woulde be in euerye corner of the Church pattering to him ſelfe, with his Portuous in hys hand, to heare and to note the geſture of men towards the Sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect booke thereof: Doctor London with two of his Catholicke brethren moe, gatte them vp to the Biſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, with a great complaynt againſt the heretickes that were in Wyndeſore, declaring vnto hym how the towne was ſore diſquieted thorow their doctrine and euyll example. Wherfore they beſought hys Lordſhips helpe, in purging the towne and Caſtle of ſuch wycked perſons. The Biſhop hearing their complaint, & ſeing their booke, prayſed their doings, and bad them make friendes and go forward, and they ſhould not lacke his helpe. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nayle, ſparing for no money nor paynes taking: as Marbecke ſayth that he him ſelf heard one of them ſay, who was a great doer therein, and afterward ſory for that he had done, that the ſute thereof coſt him that yeare for his part onely, an hundreth markes, beſide the death of. 3. good geldynges.

Wincheſter & Wriſley complayne to the kyng of the Goſpellers.

Wincheſter procureth a priuie ſearch in Windſore.

Now biſhop Gardiner, which had conceiued a farther fetch in his brayne then doctor London had, made Wrieſley and other of the Counſaile on his ſide, and ſpying a time conuenient, went to the king, complayning what a ſort of heretickes his Grace had in hys realme, & how they were not only crept into euery corner of his Court, but euen into his priuie Chāber, beſeching therfore hys Maieſtie, that his lawes might be proſecuted. The king geuing credite to ẏ Counſailes wordes, was content his lawes ſhoulde be executed on ſuch as were offenders. Then had the biſhop that he deſired, and forthwith procured a Commiſſion for a priuie ſearch to bee had in Wyndeſore for bookes and letters that Anthony Perſon ſhould ſend abrod, which Commiſſion the king graunted to take place in the towne of Wyndeſore, but not in the Caſtel.

Doct. Haynes Deane of Exceſter accuſed to the Counſaile.

M. Hobby & Doct. Haynes ſent to the Fleete.

At this time the Canons of Fxceſter (ſpecially Sutharne, Treaſurer of the Church, and Doctor Brurewod the Chauncelour) had accuſed Doctor Haynes their Deane, to the Counſell, for preaching againſt holy bread and holy water: and that he ſhould ſay in one of hys Sermons (hauing occaſion to ſpeake of Matrimonie) that mariage and hanging were deſteny: vpon the which they gathered treaſon againſt him, becauſe of the kinges mariage. The biſhop of Wyncheſter (at the ſame time) had alſo enformed the counſayle of maiſter Hobby, how he was a bearer of Antony Perſon, and a great maintainer of heretickes. Wherupon both he and Doctor Haynes were apprehended and ſent to the Fleete. But it was not very long after, ere that by mediation of friendes, they were both deliuered.

The ſecret ſearch beginneth.

Bennet, Filmer, Teſtwoode, & Marbecke, apprehended for bookes agaynſt the vj. Articles.

Now, as touching the Commiſſion for ſearching of bookes, Maiſter Warde & Fachell of Reding were appoynted Commiſſioners, who came to Wyndeſore the Thurſday before Palme Sondaye, in the yeare of our Lord. 1543. and began their ſearch about a. xi. of the clocke at night. In the whiche ſearch were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, Iohn Marbecke, and Robert Teſtwod, for certayne bookes and wrytinges found in their houſes againſt the ſixe Articles, and kept in Warde tyll Monday after, and then ſet vp to the Counſaile, all ſaue Teſtwod, with whom the baliffes of the towne were charged, becauſe he laye ſore diſeaſed on the Goute. The other three being examined before the Counſayle, were committed to priſon, Filmer and Benet to the Biſhop of Londons Gayle, and Marbecke to the Marſhalſey. Whoſe examinatiō is here ſet out, to declare the great goodnes of the Coūſaile, and the crueltie of the Biſhop.

¶The firſt examination of Iohn Marbecke before the Counſaile, on the Monday after Palme Sonday. 1544.

The firſt examination of *Marbecke.*

The Concordance of the Bible in Engliſhe by *Marbecke.*

THis Marbecke had begon a great worke in Engliſhe, called ẏ Concordance of the Bible. Which booke beyng not halfe finiſhed, was among his other bokes, taken in the ſearch, and had vp to the Coūſaile. And when he came before them to bee examined, the whole worke laye before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Steuen Gardiner, at the vpper end of the borde. Who beholdyng the poore man a while, ſayd: Marbecke, doeſt thou know wherefore thou art ſent for? No my Lord, quoth he. No, quoth ẏ byſhop? That is a maruelous thyng. Forſoth my Lord, quoth he, vnles it be for a certaine ſearch made of late in Wyndſore, I can not tel wherfore it ſhould be. Then thou knoweſt the matter wel enough, quoth the Biſhop, & takyng vp a quere of ẏ Concordance in his hand, ſaid: vnderſtādeſt thou the Latin toūg? No my Lord, quoth he, but ſimply. No quoth the Byſhop? And with that ſpake M. Wriſley (then Secretary to the kyng) he ſayth but ſimply. I can not tell, quoth the Byſhop, but the booke is tranſlated worde for word, out of the Latine Concordance, and ſo began to declare to the reſt of the Counſaile the nature of a Concordance, and how it was firſt compiled in Latine by ẏ great diligence of ẏ learned men for ẏ eaſe of preachers, concluding with this reaſon, that if ſuch a boke ſhuld go forth in Engliſh, it would deſtroy the Latin toung: And ſo caſtyng down ẏ quere againe, he reached an other booke, which was the booke of Eſay ẏ Prophet, & turning to ẏ laſt Chapter, gaue ẏ booke to Marbecke, & aſked hym who had written ẏ note in the Margent. The other lookyng vppon it, ſayd: forſoth my Lord I wrote it. Read it, quoth the Byſhop. Then hee read it thus: *Heauen is my Seate, and the earth is my foote ſtoole.* Nay, quoth the Byſhop, read it as thou haddeſt written it. Then ſhall I read it wrong, quoth he, for I had writtē it falſe. How haddeſt thou written it, quoth the Byſhop? I had written it, quoth he, thus: *Heauen is my Seate, & earth is not my footeſtoole.* Yea Mary, quoth ẏ Biſhop, that was thy meanyng. No my Lord, quoth hee, it was but an ouerſight in wrytyng, for, as your Lordſhip ſeeth, this worde (*Not*) is blotted out. At this time came other matters vnto ẏ Coūſail, ſo that Marbecke was had out to the next chamber. And when hee had ſtand there a while, one of the Counſaile (named Syr Anthony Wyngfield Captaine of ẏ garde) came forth, and calling for Marbecke, committed him to one Belſon of the garde, ſaying vnto hym on this wiſe: Take this man and haue hym to the Marſhalſey, & tell the keper that it is the Coūſailes pleaſure, that he ſhall entreate hym gently. And if he haue any money in hys purſe (as I thinke he hath not much) take you it from hym, leſt the priſoners doe take it, and miniſter it vnto him as he ſhall haue nede. And ſo the meſſenger departed with Marbecke to the Marſhalſey, and did his cōmiſſion moſt faithfully and truly, both to the keper and to the priſoner, as he was commaunded.

Wriſley Secretary to the king, and after L. Chancellour.

Wincheſters reaſon, how the Concordance in Engliſh would deſtroy the Latin toung.

Marbecke ſent to the Marſhalſey.

¶The ſecond examination of Marbecke, before the Byſhops Gentleman in the Marſhalſey.

The ſecond examination of *Marbecke.*

ON the next day (whiche was Tueſday) by 8. of the clocke in the mornyng, there came one of the Byſhop of Wyncheſters gentlemen into the Marſhalſey, whoſe man brought after hym two great bookes vnder his arme, and fyndyng Marbecke walkyng vp & down in the chappell, demaunded of the keper why hee was not in yrons. I had no ſuch cōmaundement, quoth he: for the meſſenger whiche brought hym yeſternyght frō the Counſaile ſayd, it was their pleaſure, he ſhould bee gently vſed. My Lord, quoth ẏ gentleman, will not bee content with you, and ſo takyng the bookes of his mã, called for a chamber, vp to the whiche he caried the priſoner, and caſtyng the bookes from him vpon a bed, ſat him downe and ſayd: Marbecke, my Lorde doth fauour thee well, for certayne good qualities thou haſt, and hath ſent me hether, to admoniſhe thee to beware and take heede leſt thou caſte awaye thy ſelfe wylfullye. If thou wylt be plaine, thou ſhalt do thy ſelf much good: if not, thou ſhalt do thy ſelfe much harme. I aſſure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy caſe, for as much as he hath allwaies heard good report of thee: wherefore now ſee to thy ſelfe, and play the wyſe man. Thou art acquainted with a great ſort of heretickes (as Hobby and Haynes with other moe) and knoweſt muche of their ſecretes: if thou wylt nowe open them at my Lordes requeſt, he wyll procure thy deliueraunce out of hand, and preferre thee to better liuing.

Talke betwen Wincheſters gentleman & *Marbecke* in priſon.

The name of this gentleman was Maiſter *Knight*.

Alas Sir, quoth he, what ſecretes do I know? I am but a poore man, and was neuer worthye to be ſo conuerſant, either with maiſter Hobby or M. Haynes, to know any part of their mindes. Well, quod the gentleman, make it not ſo ſtraunge, for my Lorde doth know well enough in what eſtimation they had both thee and Anthony Perſon for your religion. Of Anthony Perſon, quoth he, I cã ſay nothing, for I neuer ſaw him with them in all my lyfe. And as for my ſelf, I can not deny, but that they haue alwayes (I thanke them) taken me for an honeſt poore man, and ſhewed me much kindnes: but as for their ſecretes, they were to wyſe to commit them to any ſuch as I am.

Peraduenture, quoth the gentleman, thou feareſt to vtter anye thing of them, becauſe they were thy frendes, leſt they hearing thereof, might hereafter withdraw their frendſhip from thee: which thou needeſt not to feare I warrant thee, for they are ſure enough, and neuer like to pleaſure thee more, nor no mã els. With that the water ſtoode in Marbecks eyes. Why weepeſt thou, quoth yͤ gentlemã? Oh Sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon men: theſe men haue done me good, wherefore I beſeche the liuing God to comfort them, as I would be comforted my ſelfe.

Marbecke can not bee perſwaded to detecte others.

Well, quoth the gentleman, I perceiue thou wylt play the foole: and then he opened one of the bookes, and aſked him if he vnderſtood any latine. But a litle Sir, quoth he. How is it then, quoth yͤ gentleman, that thou haſt tranſlated thy booke out of the latin Concordance, and yet vnderſtandeſt not the tong? I wyll tell you, quoth he. In my youth I learned the principles of my Grammer, wherby I haue ſome vnderſtanding therein, though it be very ſmal. Then the gentleman began to trie him in the latine Concordance and Engliſh Bible, which he had brought: and when he had ſo done, and was ſatiſfied, he called vp his man to fet away the bookes, and ſo departed, leauing Marbecke alone in the chamber, the doore faſt ſhut vnto hym.

About a two houres after, the Gentleman came agayne with a ſhete of paper folded in his hand, and ſat him downe vpon the beds ſide (as before) and ſaid: By my troth Marbecke, my Lord ſeeth ſo much wilfulnes in thee, that he ſayth it is pitie to doo thee good. When waſt thou laſt with Haynes? Forſoth, quoth he, about a three weekes agoe, I was at dinner with him. And what talke, quoth the gentleman, had he at hys borde? I cã not tell now, quoth he. No, quoth the gentleman, thou art not ſo dull witted, to forget a thing in ſo ſhort ſpace. Yes Sir, quoth he, ſuch familiar talke as mẽ do vſe at their bordes, is moſt commonly by the next day forgotten, and ſo it was with me. Diddeſt thou neuer, quoth the Gentleman, talke with him, nor with none of thy felowes, of the Maſſe, or of the bleſſed Sacrament? No forſoth, quoth he. Now forſoth, quoth the gentleman, thou lyeſt, for thou haſt bene ſeene to talke with Teſtwod, and other of thy fellowes an houre together in the Church, when honeſt men haue walked vp and downe beſide you, & as euer they haue drawen neare you, ye haue ſtayed your talke tyll they haue bene paſt you, becauſe they ſhould not heare whereof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I haue talked wᵗ Teſtwod and other of my felowes, I cannot tell howe oft, which maketh not that we talked either of yͤ Maſſe or of the ſacrament: for men maye common and talke of many matters, that they would not that euery man ſhould heare, and yet farre from any ſuch thing: there- therefore it is good to iudge the beſt. Well, quoth the Gentleman, thou muſt be playner with my Lord then this, or els it will be wrong with thee, and that ſooner then thou weeneſt. How plaine will his Lordſhip haue me to be Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and ſay wyth a ſafe conſcience, but I am readye to do it at his Lordſhips pleaſure. What telleſt thou me, quoth the gentleman of thy conſcience? Thou mayeſt with a ſafe conſcience vtter thoſe that be heretickes, & ſo doing thou canſt doo God & the king no greater ſeruice. If I knew Sir, quoth he, who were an heretike in deede, it were a thing: but if I ſhould accuſe hym to be an hereticke that is none, what a worme woulde that be in my conſcience, ſo long as I lyued: yea it were a great deale better for me to be out of this life, then to lyue in ſuch torment. In faith, quoth the gentleman, thou knoweſt as well who be hereticks of thy felowes at home, and who be none, as I do knowe this paper in my hand: but it maketh no matter, for they ſhall all be ſent for & examined: and thinkeſt thou that they will not vtter and tell of thee all that they can? yes I warrant thee. And what a fooliſh dolt art thou, that wilt not vtter aforehand what they bee, ſeing it ſtandeth vpon thy deliuerance to tell the truth? What ſoeuer, quoth he, they ſhall ſay of mee, let them doo it in the name of God, for I wyll ſaye no more of them, nor of no man els, then I know. Mary, quoth the Gentleman, if thou wylt doo ſo, my Lorde requireth no more. And for as much as now peraduenture, thy wyts are troubled, ſo that thou canſt not call things euen by and by to remẽbraunce, I haue brought thee ynk and paper, that thou mayeſt excogitate with thy ſelfe, and write ſuch things as ſhall come to thy minde. O Lord, quoth Marbecke, what wyll my Lord do? Will hys lordſhip compell me to accuſe men, and wot not whereof? No, quoth the gentleman, my Lord compelleth thee not, but gentlye entreateth thee to ſay the trouth. Therefore make no more a do but write, for my Lorde wyll haue it ſo, and ſo layd downe the ynke and paper, and went his way.

An other talke betwene Wincheſters gentleman and *Marbecke*.

How Wincheſter hunteth for D. *Haynes*.

Conſcience little paſſed of among theſe Papiſtes.

Marke here the wyles of Wincheſter.

Marbecke vrged to accuſe hys brethren.

Now was Marbecke ſo full of heauines and wo, that he wyſt not what to do, nor how to ſet the pen to the booke, to ſatiſfie the biſhops mynde, vnles he did accuſe men, to the wounding of hys own ſoule. And thus being compaſſed about with nothing but ſorrowe and care, hee cryed out to God in his hart, falling downe wyth weeping teares and ſayd:

Marbecke brought to great diſtreſſe.

O moſt mercifull father of heauen, thou that knoweſt the ſecrete doings of all men, haue mercy vpon thy poore priſoner, which is deſtitute of all helpe and comfort. Aſſiſt mee (O Lord) with thy ſpeciall grace, that to ſaue this frayle and vile body which ſhall turne to corruption at his time, I haue no power to ſay or to wryte any thing, that may be to the caſting away of my Chriſten brother: but rather (O Lord) let thys vyle fleſh ſuffer at thy wyll and pleaſure. Graunt thys O moſt merſifull father for thy deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake.

Marbeckes prayer vnto God.

Then he roſe vp and began to ſearch his conſcience what he might write, & at laſt framed out theſe wordes: Where as your Lordſhip wyll haue me to write ſuche thinges as I knowe of my fellowes at home: pleaſeth it your Lordſhip to vnderſtand, that I cannot call to remembraunce anye maner of thing, whereby I might iuſtly accuſe any one of them, vnles it be that the reading of the newe Teſtament (which is common to all men) be an offence: more then this I know not.

Marbeckes wordes written in Wincheſters paper.

Now the gentleman, about hys houre appoynted, came agayne, and founde Marbecke walking vp and

Wincheſters gentleman returneth the third time to *Marbecke*.

Well ſworne and like a right Papiſt.

downe ẏ chamber. How now, quoth he, haſt thou written nothyng? yes Syr, quoth hee, as much as I know. Well ſaid, quoth the gentlemā, and tooke vp the paper. Which whē hee had read, he caſt it from him in a great fume, ſwearyng by our Lordes bodye, that hee would not for xx.l. cary it to his Lord and maſter. Therefore, quoth he, go to it agayne, and aduiſe thy ſelfe better, or els thou wilt ſet my Lord agaynſt thée, and then art thou vtterly vndone. By my trouth Syr, quoth Marbecke, if his Lordſhip ſhall keepe me here theſe vij. yeares, I can ſay no more then I haue ſayd. Thē wilt thou repent it, quoth the gentleman, and ſo putting vp his penner and ynke horne, departed with the paper in his hand.

¶ The thyrd examination of Marbecke, before the Byſhop of Wyncheſter hym ſelfe in his owne houſe.

The thyrd examination of *Marbecke*.

THe next day, which was Wedneſday, by viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, the Byſhop ſent for Marbecke to his houſe at S. Marie Ouers, and as hee was entryng into the Biſhops Hall, he ſaw the Biſhop hym ſelfe commyng out at a doore in ẏ vpper end therof, with a rolle in hys hand, & goyng toward the great window, he called the poore man vnto him & ſaid: Marbecke, wilt thou caſt away thy ſelf? No my Lord, quoth he, I truſt. Yes, quoth the Byſhop, thou goeſt about it, for thou wilt vtter nothyng. What a deuill made thée to medle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was an other way, wherin thou haſt a goodly gift, if thou dideſt eſteme it? yes my Lord, quoth he, I do eſteme it & haue done my part therin, according to that litle knowledge that God hath geuē me. And why the deuill, quoth the Byſhop, diddeſt thou not hold thée there? and with that he flange away from the wyndowe out of the Hall, the poore man folowyng him from place to place, till he had brought hym into a long gallery, and beyng there, the Byſhop began on this wiſe: A ſirha, quoth he, ẏ neſt of you is broken I trow. And vnfoldyng his rolle (whiche was about an elne long) hée ſaid: Behold, here be your Captaines, both Hobby & Haynes, with all the whole packe of thy ſecte about Wyndſore, and yet wilt thou vtter none of them. Alas my lord, quoth he, how ſhould I accuſe them, by whom I know nothing? Wel, quoth the Byſhop, if thou wilt nedes caſt away thy ſelfe, who can let thée? What helpers hadeſt thou in ſettyng forth thy booke? Forſoth my lord, quoth he, none. None, quoth the Biſhop? how cā that be? It is not poſſible that thou ſhouldeſt do it without helpe. Truly my lord, quoth he, I can not tell in what part your Lordſhyp doth take it, but how ſoeuer it be, I wil not deny but I dyd it without the helpe of any mā ſaue God alone. Nay, quoth ẏ Byſhop, I do not diſcommed thy diligence, but what ſhouldeſt thou medle with that thyng whiche perteyned not to thée?

Chriſt ſayth, ſcrutamini Scripturas: And Wincheſter ſayth, the deuill maketh men to medle with the ſcriptures.

Marbecke charged for ſetting forth the Cōcordance.

And in ſpeakyng theſe wordes, one of hys chaplaynes (called M. Medow) came vp and ſtayd him ſelfe at a wyndow, to whom the Byſhop ſayd: here is a merueylous thyng. This felow hath taken vpon him to ſet out the Concordance in Engliſh, whiche booke when it was ſet out in Latin, was not done without ẏ helpe and diligence of a doſen learned men at the leaſt, & yet will he beare me in hād that he hath done it alone. But ſay what thou wilt, quoth the Byſhop, except God hym ſelfe would come downe from heauen and tell me ſo, I will not beleue it: and ſo goyng forth to a wyndow, where two great Bibles lay vpon a cuſſhyon, the one in Latin and the other in Engliſh, he called Marbecke vnto him, and pointyng his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, ſaid: Canſt thou Engliſhe this ſentēce? Nay my lord, quoth he, I trow I be not ſo cunning to geue it a perfite Engliſh, but I can ſet out the Engliſh therof in the Engliſhe Bible. Let ſée, quoth ẏ Byſhop. Thē Marbecke turnyng the Engliſhe Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the Byſhop. So he tryed hym a thrée or foure tymes, till one of his men came vp and told him the Prieſt was ready to go to Maſſe.

M. Clembacke cometh agayne to *Marbecke*.

And as the Byſhop was goyng, ſayd the gentlemā which had examined Marbecke in the Marſhalſey the day before: Shall this felow write nothyng while your Lordſhyp is at Maſſe? for he paſſeth not on it. It maketh no matter, quoth ẏ Biſhop, for he wil tel nothyng, and ſo went down to heare Maſſe, leauyng Marbecke alone in the gallery. The Byſhop was no ſooner down, but the gentleman came vp agayne with inke and paper. Come Syrha quod he, my Lord will haue you occupyed till Maſſe be done, perſuadyng hym with fayre wordes, that he ſhould be ſoone diſpatched out of trouble, if he would vſe truth and plainnes. Alas Sir, quoth he, what will my Lord haue me to do? for more then I wrote to his Lordſhip yeſterday, I cā not? Well, well goe to, quoth the gentleman, and make ſpeede, and ſo went his way. There was no remedy but Marbecke muſt now write ſomethyng: wherefore hee callyng to God agayne in his minde, wrote a few wordes as nye as he could frame them, to thoſe he had written the day before. When the Byſhop was come from Maſſe, & had looked on the writyng, he puſht it from hym, ſaying: what ſhall this doe? It hath neither head not foote. There is a meruelous ſecte of them (quoth ẏ Byſhop to his men) for ẏ deuill can not make one of them to bewray an other. Then was there nothyng amōg the Biſhops gentlemen, as they were makyng hym ready to go the Court, but crucifige vpon the poore man. And when the Byſhops white rachet was on hym and all: wel Marbecke, quoth he, I am now going to ẏ Court, & was purpoſed, if I had founde thée tractable, to haue ſpoken to the kynges Maieſtie for thée, and to haue geuen thée thy meate, drinke, and lodgyng here in myne owne houſe: but ſeyng thou art ſo wilfull and ſo ſtubburne, thou ſhalt go to the deuill for me.

Marbecke preſſed agayne to vtter hys felowes.

Marbecke brought agayne from Wincheſters houſe to the Marſhalſey.

Then was he caryed down by ẏ Byſhops mē with many railyng wordes. And cōmyng through the great chamber, there ſtode D. London, with two mē of hys felowes, waytyng the Byſhops commyng: and paſſing by thē into the Hall, he was there receiued of his keper and caryed to priſon agayn. It was not halfe an houre after, ere that the Biſhop ſent one of his gentlemen, to the vnder keper called Stokes, commaundyng hym to put yrons vpon Marbecke, and to kéepe him faſt ſhut in a chāber alone, & when he ſhould bryng hym down to dyner or ſupper, to ſée that he ſpake to no man nor no man to him: and furthermore, that he ſhould ſuffer no maner of perſon (not his owne wife) to come and ſée him or miniſter any thyng vnto him. When the porter (who was the crueleſt man that might bee, to all ſuch as were layd in for any matter of Religion, and yet as God would fauourable to this poore man) had receiued this commaundement from the Byſhop, he clapt yrons vpon hym and ſhut him vp, geuing warnyng to all the houſe, that no mā ſhould ſpeake or talke to Marbecke, when ſoeuer he was brought downe: and ſo hée continued for the ſpace of thrée wéekes and more, till his wife was ſuffred to come vnto him.

A cruell porter of the Marſhalſey, but yet good to *Marbecke*.

¶ *The ſute of Marbecke wife to the Biſh. of Wincheſter.*

Marbeckes wife ſueth to Wincheſter for her huſband.

MArbeckes wife, at the tyme of her huſbādes apprehenſion, had a yong child of a quarter old, ſuckyng vpon her breſt: and whē her huſband was taken from her, and had away to the Cōuſaile, not knowyng what ſhould be come of hym, ſhe lefte the childe and all, and gat her vp to London, and hearyng her huſband to be in the Marſhalſey, goeth thether. But when ſhe came there, ſhe could in no wiſe be ſuffred to ſée hym, whiche greatly augmented her ſorow. Then by counſaile of frendes, ſhe gat her to the B. of Wyncheſter (for other helpe was there none to be had at that tyme) makyng great ſute to haue his licence to goe & ſée her huſband, and to helpe him with ſuch thynges as he lacked. Nay, quoht the Byſhop, thy huſband is acquaynted with all the heretickes that be in the Realme, both on this ſyde the Seas and beyond, and yet will he vtter none of thẽ. Alas my lord, quoth ſhe, my huſband was neuer beyõd the Seas, nor no great trauailer in the Realme to bee ſo acquaynted, therefore good my Lord let me go ſee him. But all her earneſt ſute frõ day to day would not helpe, but ſtill he put her of, harpyng alwayes vpõ this ſtryng: thy huſband will vtter nothyng. At the laſt, ſhe findyng him in the Courte at S. James goyng toward his chamber, was ſo bold to take hym by the ratchet and ſay: O my Lord, theſe 18. dayes I haue troubled your Lordſhip: Now for the loue of God, and as euer ye came of a woman, put me of no longer, but let me go to my huſband. And as ſhe was ſtandyng with ÿ Byſhop and his mẽ in a blynd corner goyng to his chãber, one of the kinges ſeruantes called Harry Carrike, and her next neighbour, chaunced to be by: and hearing the talke betwene the biſhop and her, deſired hys lordſhip to be good Lord vnto the poore woman, which had her own mother lying bedred vpon her hands, beſide .v. or .vj. children. I promiſe you, quoth the biſhop, her huſband is a great hereticke, and hath read more ſcripture then any man in ÿ realme hath done. I cã not tell my Lord, quoth Carrick, what he is inwardly, but outwardlye he is as honeſt a quiet neighbour as euer I dwelt by. He will tell nothing, quoth the biſhop. He knoweth a great ſorte of falſe harlots, and wyll not vtter them. Yes my Lord, quoth Carrick, he wyll tell, I dare ſay, for he is an honeſt man. Well, quoth the Biſhop (ſpeaking to the wife) thou ſeemeſt to be an honeſt woman, and if thou loue thy huſband well, go to hym, and geue him good counſaile, to vtter ſuch naughty felowes as he knoweth, and I promiſe thee he ſhall haue what I can doe for him: for I doo fanſie hym well for his arte, wherein he hath pleaſed me as well as anye man: and ſo ſtepping into his chamber, ſaid ſhe ſhould haue his letter to the keeper. But hys minde beyng chaunged, he ſent out hys ring by a gentleman, which gentleman deliuered the ring to hys man, chargyng hym with the Biſhops meſſage. And ſo his man went with the woman to the water ſide, and tooke boate, who neuer reſted rayling on her huſband all the way, till they came to the priſon: which was no ſmall croſſe vnto the poore woman.

Marbeckes wife denyed a great while to go to her huſband.

Winchesters argument. He hath read much ſcripture: ergo, he is an heretike.

Henry Carricke playeth the part of a good neighbour.

Marbeckes wife permitted at laſt to go to her huſband.

And when they were come to the Marſhalſey, the meſſenger ſhewed the Biſhops ring to the Porter ſaying: Maiſter Stokes, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye ſuffer this woman to haue recourſe to her huſband: but he ſtraightly chargeth you, that ye ſearch her both comming and going, leſt ſhe bring or cary any letters to or fro, and that ſhe bryng no bodye vnto him, nor no woord from no man. Goddes bloud, quoth the Porter (who was a foule ſwearer) what wyll my Lord haue me to do? Can I let her to bring woord frõ any man? Either let her go to her huſband, or let her not go, for I ſee nothing by him, but an honeſt man. The poore woman fearing to be repulſed, ſpake the Porter fayre, ſaying: Good Maiſter be content, for I haue found my Lord very good Lord vnto me. Thys yong mã is but the gentlemãs ſeruant, which brought the ring from my Lord, and I thinke doth his meſſage a great deale more ſtraiter then my Lorde commaunded the gentleman, or that the gentleman his mayſter commaunded hym. But neuertheleſſe good Mayſter, quoth ſhe, I ſhall be content to ſtrip my ſelf before you, both cõming & going, ſo farre as any honeſt womã may doo with honeſty. For I entend no ſuch thing, but onely to comfort and helpe my huſband. Then the meſſenger ſayd no more, but went his waye, leauing the woman there, who from that time foorth, was ſuffered to come and go at her pleaſure.

Like maiſter like man.

The part of a good wife & an honeſt woman.

The fourth examination of Marbecke before the Commiſſioners in the B. of Londons houſe.

The 4. examinatiõ of Marbecke.

About a three weekes before Whitſondaye, was Marbeck ſent for to the biſhop of Londõs houſe, where ſat in Commiſſion Doctor Capon biſhop of Saliſbury, Doct. Skyp biſhop of Harford, doctor Goodricke biſhop of Ely, doctor Oking, doctor May, and the biſhop of Londons Scribe, hauing before them, all Marbeckes bookes. Then ſayd the biſhop of Saliſbury: Marbecke, we are here in Commiſſion ſent from the kinges Maieſtie, to examine thee of certayn things, whereof thou muſt be ſworne to anſwer vs faythfully and truly. I am content my Lord, quoth he, to tell you the truth, ſo farre as I can, and ſo tooke his othe. Then the biſhop of Saliſ. layd forth before him, his .3. bookes of notes, demaunding whoſe hand they were. He anſwered, they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other mens workes .vj. yeres ago. For what cauſe, quoth the biſhop of Saliſ. diddeſt thou gather them? For none other cauſe my Lorde, quoth he, but to come by knowledge. For I being vnlearned and deſirous to vnderſtande ſome part of ſcripture, thought by reading of learned mens woorkes, to come the ſooner thereby: and where as I found any place of ſcripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye ſee, wyth a letter of his name in the margent, that had ſet out the worke. So me thinke, quoth the biſhop of Ely (who had one of the bookes of notes in his hande all the time of their ſitting) thou haſt read of all ſortes of bookes both good and bad, as ſeemeth by the notes. So I haue my Lord, quoth he. And to what purpoſe, quoth the biſhop of Saliſ.? By my trouth, quoth he, for no other purpoſe but to ſee euery mans minde. Then the biſhop of Saliſ. drewe out a quire of the Concordance, and layd it before the biſhop of Harford, who looking vpon it awhyle, lifted vp his eyes to doctor Okyng (ſtanding next him) and ſayde: This man hath bene better occupied, then a great ſort of our Prieſtes. To the which he made no aunſwere.

Commiſſioners for the vj. Articles,
D. Capon Biſhop of Saliſburye.
D. Skippe Byſhop of Harforde.
D. Goodricke. biſhop of Ely.
D. Oking.
D. May.

Then ſaid the biſhop of Saliſbury, whoſe help hadſt thou in ſetting forth this booke? Truly my Lord, quoth he, no helpe at all. How couldeſt thou, quoth the biſhop, inuent ſuch a booke, or know what a Cõcordance mẽt, without an inſtructer. I wil tel your Lordſhip, quoth he, what inſtructer I had to beginne it. When Thomas Mathewes Bible came firſt out in print, I was much deſirous to haue one of them: and being a poore man not able to bye one of them, determined with my ſelfe to borrow one among my frendes and to write it foorth. And when I had written out the .v. bookes of Moyſes in faire great paper, and was entred into the booke of Ioſua, my friend Maiſter Turner chaunced to ſteale vpon me vnwares, and ſeing me writing out the Bible, aſked me what I ment thereby. And when I had told him the cauſe: Tuſh, quoth hee, thou goeſt about a vayne and tedious labour. But this were a profitable worke for thee, to ſet out a Cõcordance in Engliſh. A Concordance ſayd I? what is that? Then hee tolde me it was a booke to finde out anye woorde in the whole Bible by ÿ letter, and that there was ſuch a one in latin already. Then I tolde him I had no learnyng to go about ſuche a thing. Enough, quoth hee, for that matter, for it requireth not ſo muche learning, as diligence. And ſeing thou art ſo painfull a man, and one that cannot be vnoccupied, it were a goodly exerciſe for thee. And this (my Lord) is al the inſtruction that euer I had before or after, of any man. What is that Turner, quoth ÿ biſhop of Saliſ.? Mary, quoth Doct. May, an honeſt learned man, and a Bacheler of Diuinitye, & ſometyme a fellow in Magdalen Colledge in Oxford. Howe couldeſt thou, quoth the biſhop of Saliſ. wyth this inſtruction, bring it to this order and forme, as it is? I borrowed a Latin Concordance, quoth he, and began to practiſe my wyt, and at laſt with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your Lordſhip doth ſee. A good wyt with diligence, quoth the byſhop of Harford, may bring hard thinges to paſſe. It is great pity quoth the biſhop of Ely, he had not the Latine toung. So it is, quoth doctor May. Yet can not I

The occaſion why Marbecke beganne the Concordance in Engliſhe.

M. Richard Turner of Magdalen Colledge in Oxforde and after of Windſore, a godly learned man and a good preacher: who in Queene Maryes time fledde into Germanye, & there died.

beleue, quoth the biſhop of Saliſ. that he hath done any more in this worke, then written it out after ſome other that is learned.

Marbeckes wordes to the Byſhops.

My Lordes, quoth Marbecke, I ſhall beſech you all to pardō me what I ſhall ſay, and to graunt my requeſt if it ſhal ſeme good vnto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the Byſhops. I do maruaile greatly wherfore I ſhould be ſo much examined for this booke, & whether I haue committed any offence in doyng of it or no? If I haue, then were I loth any other to bee moleſted or puniſhed for my fault. Therfore to clere al men in this matter, this is my requeſt, that ye will trie me in the reſt of the boke that is vndone. Ye ſee that I am yet but in the letter. L. Begyn now at. M. and take out what worde ye will of that letter, and ſo in euery letter folowyng, and geue me the wordes in a peece of paper, and ſet me in a place alone where it ſhall pleaſe you, with ynke & paper, the Engliſhe Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bryng you not theſe wordes written in the ſame order and forme that the reſt before is, then it was not I that did it, but ſome other.

By my trouth Marbecke, quoth the Biſhop of Ely, that is honeſtly ſpokē, & then ſhalt thou bring many out of ſuſpicion. That he ſhal, quoth they all. Thē they bad D. Okyng draw out ſuch wordes as he thought beſt in a peece of paper, and ſo roſe vp: and in ye meane tyme, fell into other familiar talke with Marbecke (for the Byſhop of Ely and Harford both, were acquainted with him afore, and his frendes, ſo farre as they durſt) who perceiuyng the Biſhops ſo pleaſauntly diſpoſed, beſought them to tell him in what daunger hee ſtoode. Shall I tell thee Marbecke, quoth the Biſhop of Sarū? Thou art in better caſe then any of thy felowes, of whom there be ſome would geue xl.li. to be in no worſe caſe then thou art: whoſe ſayinges the other affirmed. Then came D. Okyng with ye wordes he had written, and while the byſhops were peruſing thē ouer. D. Okyng ſayd to Marbecke (very frendly) on this wiſe: Good M. Marbecke make haſt, for the ſooner ye haue done, the ſooner ye ſhalbe deliuered. And as the Byſhops were goyng away, the Byſhop of Harford tooke Marbecke a litle a ſide, and enformed him of a worde whiche D. Okyng had written falſe, and alſo to comforte hym ſayd: Feare not, there can no law condemne you, for any thyng that ye haue done, for if ye had written a thouſand hereſies, ſo lōg as they be not your ſayinges nor your opiniōs, the law cannot hurte you. And ſo went they all with the Byſhop of Sarum to dyner, takyng the poore man with thē, who dyned in the Hall at ye Stewardes boorde: and beſide that, had wyne and meate ſent downe from the Byſhops table.

The byſhops of Saliſburye & Harford, like well the caſe of *Marbecke.*

D. Skippes comfortable wordes to *Marbecke.*

When dyner was done, the Biſhop of Sarum came downe into the Hall, commaundyng ynke and paper to be geuē to Marbecke, and the ij. bookes to one of his men to go with hym, at whoſe goyng he demaunded of the Byſhop, what tyme his Lordſhyp would appoynte hym to doe it in. Agaynſt to morow this tyme, quoth the Byſhop, which was about two of the clocke, and ſo departed. Marbecke now beyng in his priſon chāber, fell to his buſines, and ſo applied the thyng, that by the next day when the Byſhop ſent for him agayne, he had written ſo much, in ye ſame order & forme he had done the reſt before, as conteined three ſheetes of paper and more. The whiche, when hee had deliuered to the Byſhop of Sarum (D. Okyng ſtandyng by) he merueiled and ſayd: Well Marbecke, thou haſt now put me out of all doubt. I aſſure thee, quoth he (puttyng vp the paper into his boſome) the kyng ſhall ſee this or I bee 24. houres elder: but hee diſſēbled euery word, & thought nothing leſſe then ſo. For afterward, the matter beyng come to light, and knowen to his grace what a booke ye poore man had begon, whiche the Byſhops would not ſuffer him to finiſhe: the kyng ſayd hee was better occupyed then they that tooke it from hym. So Marbecke departed from the Byſhop of Sarum to priſon agayn, and heard no more of his booke.

A falſe diſſembling byſhop.

¶The 5. examination of Marbecke, before D. Okyng and M. Knight Secretary to the Byſhop of Wyncheſter, in S. Mary Ouers Churche.

Vpon Whitſonday folowyng at after noone, was Marbecke ſent for once agayne to S. Marye Ouers, where he found D. Okyng with an other gentleman in a gowne of Damaſke, with a chayne of gold about his necke (no mo in all the Church but they two) ſittyng togethers in one of the ſtalles, their backes toward the Church doore, lookyng vpon an Epiſtle of M. Iohn Caluins, which Marbecke had written out. And when they ſaw the priſoner come, they roſe and had him vp to a ſide alter, leauyng his keper in the body of the Church alone. Now as ſoone as Marbecke ſaw the face of ye gentleman (which before he knew not by reaſon of his apparell) he ſaw it was the ſame perſon that firſt examined hym in the Marſhalſey, and did alſo cauſe him to write in the Byſhops gallery, but neuer knew his name, till now he heard Doct. Okyng call hym M. Knight. This M. Knight held forth the paper to Marbecke and ſayd: Looke vppon this, and tell me whoſe hand it is. When Marbecke had taken the paper, and ſene what it was, he confeſſed it to bee all his hand ſauing the firſt leafe, and the notes in the Margent. Thē I perceiue, quoth Knight, thou wilt not go from thine own hand. No Syr, quoth he, I will deny nothyng ye I haue done. Thou doeſt well in that, quoth Knyght, for if thou ſhouldeſt, we haue teſtimonies enough beſides, to trye out thy hād by: but I praye thee tell me, whoſe hand is ye laſt leafe? That I cānot tell you, quoth Marbecke. Thē how cameſt thou by it, quoth Knight? Forſoth I will tell you, quoth he. There was a prieſt dwelling with vs vpon a v. or vj. yeares ago, called Marſhal, who ſent it vnto me with the firſt leafe written, deſiryng me to write it out with ſpeede, becauſe the copye could not be ſpared paſt an houre or twayne: and ſo I wrote it out, and ſent him both the copy and it agayne.

And how came this hand in the margent, quoth he, whiche is a contrary hand to both the other? That I will tell you, quoth Marbecke. Whē I wrote it out at the firſt, I made ſo much haſt of it, that I vnderſtode not the matter: wherefore I was deſirous to ſee it agayne, and to read it with more deliberation, and beyng ſent to me the ſecond tyme, it was thus coted in ye margent as ye ſee. And ſhortly after this, it was hys chaunce to go beyond the Seas (where hee lyued not long) by reaſon whereof, the Epiſtle remaineth with me: but whether the firſt leafe, or the notes in the margent were his hand, or whoſe hand els, that I cannot tell. Tuſh, quoth D. Okyng to M. Knyght, he knoweth well enough, that the notes be Haynes owne hand. If you know ſo much, quoth Marbecke, ye knowe more then I do, for I tell you truly I know it not. By my fayth Marbecke, quoth Knyght, if thou wilt not tel by fayre meanes, thoſe fingers of thine ſhalbe made to tel. By my trouth Sir, quoth Marbecke, if ye do teare the whole body in peeces (I truſt in God) ye ſhall neuer make me accuſe man wrongfully. If thou bee ſo ſtubburne, quoth D. Okyng, thou wilt dye for it. Dye M. Okyng, quoth he? Wherefore ſhoulde I dye? You told me ye laſt day before ye Byſhops, that as ſoone as I had made an ende of the peece of Concordance they tooke me, I ſhould bee deliuered, and ſhall I now dye? This is a ſodaine mutation. You ſemed then to be my frend: but I know the cauſe, ye haue read the ballet I made of Moſes chayre, and that hath ſet you agaynſt me, but when ſoeuer ye ſhall put me to death, I doubt not to dye Gods true man and the kynges. How ſo, quoth Knight? how canſt thou die a true man vnto the kyng, when thou haſt offended his lawes? Is not this Epiſtle and moſt of thy notes thou haſt written, directly againſt the vj. Articles? No Syr, quoth Marbecke: I haue not offended the kynges lawes therein: for ſince the firſt tyme I began with ẏ Concordance (which is almoſt vj. yeares ago) I haue ben occupyed in nothing els: So that both this Epiſtle, and all the notes I haue gathered, were written a great while before the vj. Articles came forth, & are clearely remitted by the kynges generall pardon. Truſt not to that, quoth Knyght, for it will not helpe thee. No I warrant hym, quoth Doct. Okyng, & ſo going downe to the body of the Churche, they committed hym to his keper, who had hym away to priſon agayne.

The kings generall pardon denyed.

The ſute of Filmers wyfe to the Biſhops which ſat in cōmiſsion, for her huſband.

Filmers wife laboureth for her huſband.

IN like maner, the wyfe of Filmer knowing her huſbandes trouble to be onelye procured of malice by Simons his old enemy, made great ſute and labour vnto the Biſhops which were Commiſſioners, deſiring no more of them, but that it woulde pleaſe their goodnes to examine her huſband before them, and to heare him make hys purgation. This was her onely requeſt to euery of the Biſhops from day to day, whereſoeuer ſhe could finde them. In ſo much that twoo of the Byſhops (Ely and Harford) were very ſory (conſidering the importune and reaſonable ſute of the womā) that it lay not in them to helpe her. Thus trauayling long vp and downe from one to an other, to haue her huſband examined, it was her chaunce at the laſt to fynde the Biſhops all three together in the biſhop of Ely hys place, vnto whom ſhe ſayd: O good my Lordes for the loue of God, let nowe my pore huſbande bee brought forth before you, whyle ye be here all togethers. For truly my Lordes, there can nothing be iuſtlye layde againſt him, but that of malicious enuye and ſpite, Simons hath wrought him thys trouble. And you my Lord of Saliſbury, quoth the pore woman, can teſtifie (if it would pleaſe your lordſhip to ſay the truth) what malice Simons bare to my huſbande when they were both before you at Saliſbury (litle more then a yeare agoe) for the Vicar of Wyndſors matter. For as your lordſhip knoweth, when my huſband had certified you of the Prieſtes Sermō, which you ſaid was playne hereſie: then came Symons (after the Prieſt himſelf had confeſſed it) and would haue defended the Prieſts errour before your lordſhip, and haue had my huſbande puniſhed. At what tyme it pleaſed your lordſhip to cōmend and prayſe my huſband for his honeſtye, and to rebuke Symons for mayntaining the Prieſt in hys errour, and therupon commaunded the Prieſt to recant his hereſye at his comming home to Wyndſore. This (my Lord) you know to be true. And now my lordes, quoth the woman, it is moſt certaine, that for this cauſe onelye did Symons euermore afterward threaten my huſband to be euen with him. Therfore good my Lordes, call my huſband before you, and heare him ſpeake: and if ye fynd any other matter agaynſt him then this that I haue told you, let me ſuffer death. Is this ſo my Lord, quoth the biſhop of Ely and Harford? and the other could not deny it. Then they ſpake latine to the biſhop of Saliſbury, and he to them, and ſo departed. For the matter was ſo wrought betwene doctor London and Symons, that Fylmer could neuer be ſuffered to come before the Commiſſioners to bee examined.

The wordes of *Filmers* wife to the Byſhops.

Filmer could not come to his anſwere.

The maner of their condemnations, and how they dyed.

1544.

The kyng maryed to the Ladye Katherine Parre.

Steuen Gardiner great about the kyng.

WHen the time drew nye that the kinges Maieſtie (who was newlye maried to that good and vertuous lady Katherine Parre) ſhould make his progreſſe abroad, the foreſaid Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter had ſo compaſſed his matters, that no mā bare ſo great a ſwynge about the king, as he did. Wherewith the Goſpellers were ſo quayled, that the beſt of them all loked euerye houre to be clapt in the necke. For the ſaying went abroade, that the biſhop had bent hys bow to ſhote at ſome of the heade Deare: but in the meane time three or foure of ẏ pore Raſcalls were caught, that is to ſaye, Anthony Perſon, Henry Fylmer, and Iohn Marbecke, and ſent to Wyndeſore by the Sheriffes men, the Saterday before Saint Iames day, and layd faſt in the townes Gaile: and Teſtwod (who had kept his bed) brought out of his houſe vpon crouches, and layde with them. But as for Bennet, (which ſhould haue bene the fift man) hys chaũce was to be ſicke of the Peſtilence, and hauing a great ſore vpon hym, was left behinde in the biſhop of Londons Gaile, whereby he eſcaped the fire.

St. Gardiners bowe bent to ſhoote at the head Deare.

Perſon, Filmer, and Marbecke, ſent to Windſore.

Teſtwoode brought out of hys bedde vpon crouches into priſon.

Bennet ſicke of the peſtilence at London.

Now theſe men being brought to Wyndſore, there was a ſpeciall Seſſions procured to bee holden the Thurſday after, which was Saint Annes day. Againſt the which Seſſions (by the counſell of Doctor London and Symons) were all the Farmers belonging to the Colledge of Wyndeſore, warned to appeare: becauſe they could not pyke out Papiſts enough in the towne, to go vpon ẏ Iurye. The Iudges that day were theſe.

A ſpeciall Seſſions procured.

Doctor Capon biſhop of Saliſbury.
Sir Wiliam Eſſex knight.
Sir Thomas Bridges knight.
Sir Humfrey Foſter knyght.
Maiſter Franklen Deane of Windſ.
And Fachel of Reading.

The Iudges.

When theſe had taken their places, and the priſoners brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam occupying for that day the Clarke of peace his rowme, called Anthony Perſon, according to the maner of the Court, and read his Inditement, which was this.

Rob. Ockam Clerke of peace.

Firſt, that hee ſhoulde preach two yeares before, in a place called Wyngfield, and there ſhoulde ſaye: that lyke as Chriſt was hanged betwene two theeues, euen ſo whẽ the Prieſt is at Maſſe, and hath conſecrated and lifted hym vp ouer his heade, then he hangeth betwene two theeues, except hee preach the woorde of God truly, as he hath taken vpon hym to doo.

The Inditement agaynſt *Anth. Perſon.*

Alſo that he ſayde to the people in the Pulpet: ye ſhall not eate the body of Chriſt, as it did hang vpon the Croſſe, gnawing it wyth your teethe that the bloude runne about your lyps, but you ſhall eate him this day, as ye eate him to morrow, the next day, and euery day: for it refreſheth not the body, but the ſoule.

Alſo, after he had preached & commended the ſcripture, calling it the worde of God, hee ſaid as foloweth: This is the word, this is the breade, thys is the bodye of Chriſt.

Alſo he ſayd, that Chriſt ſittyng with his Diſciples, tooke bread and bleſſed, and brake it, & gaue it to his Diſciples, ſaying: *Take and eate it. This is my bodye.* What is this to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

To this, Anthony aunſwered and ſayd: I wilbe tried by God and his holy word, & by the true Church of Chriſt, whether this be hereſie or no, whereof ye haue Indited me this day. So long as I preached the Byſhop of Rome and his filthy traditiōs, I was neuer troubled: but ſince I haue taken vppon me to preach Chriſte and his Goſpell, ye haue allwayes ſought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you haue takẽ your pleaſure of my body, I truſt it ſhal not lye in your powers to hurt my ſoule. Thou calleſt vs theeues, quoth ẏ Biſhop. I ſay, quoth Anthony, ye are not onely theeues but murtherers, except ye preach and teache the worde of God purely and ſincerely to the people, whiche ye do not nor neuer did, but haue allured them to all Idolatrie, ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, for your owne lucre and glory ſake, thorough the whiche ye are become rather Biteſheepes then true Biſhops, bytyng and deuouryng the pore ſhepe of Chriſte lyke rauenyng wolues, neuer ſatiſfied with bloud: which God will require at your handes one day, doubt it not. Thẽ

Anth. Perſon aunſwereth to his Inditement.

Parrhiſia Perſonica.

W. Symons replieth againſt *Perſon*.

ſpake Symons his accuſer, ſtandyng within the barre, ſaying: It is pitie this felow had not bene burnt longe agoe as he deſerued. In fayth (quoth Anthony) if you had as you haue deſerued, you were more worthye to ſtand in this place then I: but I truſt in the laſt day when we ſhall both appeare before the tribunall ſeate of Chriſt, that thē it wilbe knowen which of vs ij. hath beſt deſerued this place. Shall I haue ſo long a day, quoth Symons, holdyng vp his finger? Nay, thē I care not: and ſo the matter was ieſted out.

The Papiſtes ieſte at Gods iudgement.

Robert Teſtwod.

Teſtwoods inditement.

Then was Teſtwod called, and his Inditemēt read, whiche was that he ſhould ſay in the tyme that the Prieſt was liftyng vp the Sacrament: what wilt thou lyft hym ſo hye? what yet hyer? Take hede, let hym not fall.

Teſtwoode aunſwereth to hys inditemēt.

To this Teſtwod aunſwered, ſaying it was but a thing maliciouſly forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the Byſhop) thou haſt ben ſene, that when the Prieſt ſhould lyft vp the Sacrament ouer his head, then wouldeſt thou looke downe vpon thy booke, or ſome other way, becauſe thou couldeſt not abide to looke vpon the bleſſed Sacrament. I beſech you my Lord, quoth Teſtwod, wheron did he looke yͤ marked me ſo well? Mary quoth Bucklayer the kynges Atturney, he could not be better occupied, then to marke ſuch hereticke that ſo deſpiſed the bleſſed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

Filmers inditement.

Then was Filmer called and his Inditement read: that he ſhoulde ſay that the Sacrament of the altar is nothyng els but a ſimilitude and a ceremonie: And alſo if God be in the Sacrament of the aultar, I haue eaten xx. Gods in my dayes.

Here ye muſt vnderſtand, that theſe woordes were gathered of certaine communication whiche ſhould be betwene Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus.

This Henry Filmer comming vpō a Sonday from Clewer his Pariſhe Church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chaunced in the way to meete his brother (whiche was a very poore labouryng man) & aſked him whether he went. To the Church ſayd he. And what to do, quoth Filmer? To do, quoth he, as other mē do. Nay, quoth Filmer, you go to heare Maſſe and to ſee your God. What if I do ſo, quoth he? If that be God (ſhould Filmer ſay) I haue eaten xx. Gods in my dayes. Turne agayne foole and go home with me, and I will read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that ſhalbe better thē all that thou ſhalt heare or or ſee there. This tale was no ſooner brought to Doct. Lōdon by Williā Symons (Filmers vtter enemy) but he ſent for the poore man home to hys houſe, where hee cheriſhed him with meate and money, tellyng him hee ſhould neuer lacke, ſo long as he lyued: that the ſelye poore mā (thinkyng to haue had a dayly frend of Doct. London) was contēt to do and ſay what ſoeuer he and Symons would haue him ſay or do agaynſt his owne brother. And whē Doct. London had thus wonne the poore mā, he retained him as one of his houſhold men, vntill the Court day was come, & then ſent hym vp to witneſſe this foreſayd tale agaynſt his brother. Which tale Filmer denied vtterly, ſaying that D. London (for a litle meate and drinke ſake) had ſet him on, and made him to ſay what his pleaſure was: wherefore my Lord (quod Filmer to the Biſhop) I beſech your Lordſhyp weye the matter indifferently, for as much as there is no man in all this towne, that can or will teſtifie with him, that euer hee heard any ſuch talke betwene hym and me: and if he cā bryng forth any that will witneſſe yͤ ſame with him, I refuſe not to dye. But ſay what he could, it would not preuaile.

D. London ſetteth brother agaynſt brother.

Filmers owne brother witnes againſt hym.

One witnes to ſtand, is agaynſt the lawe.

Filmer caſt away by hys own brother.

Thē Filmer ſeyng no remedy but that his brothers accuſement ſhould take place, he ſaid: Ah brother, what cauſe haſt thou to ſhew me this vnkindnes? I haue alwayes bene a natural brother vnto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, frō time to time, as thou thy ſelfe knoweſt: and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindnes? God forgeue it thee my brother, and geue thee grace to repēt. Then Filmer looking ouer his ſhoulder, deſired ſome good body to let him ſee the booke of Statutes. His wife beyng at the ende of the Hall, and hearing her huſband call for the boke of Statutes, ranne down to the Keper & brought vp the booke and gat it conueied to her huſband. The Biſhop ſeyng the booke in his hand, ſtarte him vp from the benche in a great fume, demaunding who had geuen the priſoner that booke, commaundyng it to be takē frō him, and to make ſearch who had brought it, ſwearyng by the fayth of his body, hee ſhould goe to priſon. Some ſayd it was his wife, ſome ſayd the Keper. Like enough (my Lord) quoth Symons, for hee is one of the ſame ſorte, and as worthy to bee here as the beſt, if hee were rightly ſerued. But how ſoeuer it was, the truth would not be knowen, and ſo yͤ Biſhop ſat him downe againe. Then ſayd Filmer: O my Lord, I am this day Iudged by a law, & why ſhould not I ſee the law that I am Iudged by? The law is, I ſhould haue two lawfull witneſſes and here is but one, whiche would not do as he doth, but that he is forced therunto by yͤ ſuggeſtion of mine enemies. Nay, quoth Bucklayer the kings Atturney, thine hereſie is ſo heynous and abhorreth thine owne brother ſo much, that it forceth him to witneſſe againſt thee, which is more thē ij. other witneſſes.

The By
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Thus (as ye ſee) was Filmer brought vniuſtly to his death, by the malice of Symons and D. London, who had enticed that wretched catiffe his brother, to bee their miniſter to worke his confuſiō. But God whiche is a iuſt reuenger of all falſehode and wronges, would not ſuffer that wretch long to lyue vpon earth, but the next yeare folowyng, he beyng taken vp for a labourer to go to Bullayne, had not bene there three dayes, ere that (in exoneratyng of nature) a Gonne tooke him and tore him all to peeces: And ſo was theſe woordes of Salomon fulfilled: *A falſe witneſſe ſhall not remaine vnpuniſhed.*

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Iohn Marbecke.

The indi
ment of
Marbeck

Then was Marbecke called, and hys Inditement read, which was that he ſhould ſay: That the holy Maſſe, when the Prieſt doth conſecrate the body of our Lord, is poluted, deformed, ſinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, frō the which a Chriſtian hart ought both to abhorre and flee. And the eleuation of the Sacrament is the ſimilitude of the ſetting vp of Images of the Calues in the temple buylded by Ieroboam: and that it is more abhomination then the Sacrifices done by the Iewes in Ieroboams temple to thoſe calues. And that certayne and ſure it is that Chriſt hym ſelfe is made in the Maſſe, mens laughing ſtocke.

Marbeck
aunſwere
to hys in
ditement

To this he aunſwered and ſaid, that theſe wordes whereof they had indited him, were not hys, but the wordes of a learned mā called Ioh. Caluine, & drawne out of a certayne Epiſtle whiche the ſayd Caluine had made, which Epiſtle he had but onely wrytten out, and that long before the. vj. articles came forth: ſo that now he was diſcharged of that offence by the kynges generall pardon, deſiring that he might enioye the benefite thereof.

Partial
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Iury.

Then was the Iury called, which were all Farmers belonging to the colledge of Wyndeſore, wherof few or none had euer ſeene thoſe men before, vpon whoſe lyfe and death they went. Wherefore the priſoners (counting the Farmers as partiall) deſired to haue the townes men, or ſuch as did know them, and had ſeene their daily conuerſations, in the place of the Farmers, or els to be equally ioyned with them: but that would not be, for the matter was otherwyſe foreſeene and determined.

Bucklayer the kinges Attourney, a perſecuter.

Syr Humfrey Foſter ſpeaketh for Marbecke.

Fachell a perſecuter.

Now when the Iury had taken their othe and all, Bucklayer the kinges Attourney beganne to ſpeake: and firſt he alledged many reaſons againſt Anth. Perſon, to proue him an hereticke. Which when Anthony would haue diſproued, the Biſhop ſayde: let hym alone Syr, he ſpeaketh for ẏ king: and ſo went Bucklayer forth with hys matter, making euery mans cauſe as haynous to the hearers, as he coulde deuiſe. And when he had done and ſayd what he would, then Syr Humfrey Foſter ſpake to the Queſt in the fauour of Marbecke on this wyſe: Maiſters quoth hee, ye ſee there is no man here that accuſeth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poore man Marbecke, ſauing he hath written certaine thinges of other mens ſayinges with hys owne hand, whereof he is diſcharged by the kinges generall pardon: therefore ye ought to haue a conſcience therein. Then ſtart vp Fachell at the lower end of the Benche, and ſayd: What can wee tell whether they were writtē before the pardon, or after? They may as well be written ſince as afore, for anye thing that we know. Theſe wordes of Fachell (as euery man ſayd) were the cauſe of Marbeckes caſtyng that day.

Marbecke caſt by the Iury.

The knightes and gentlemen refuſed to be at their condemnation.

Hyde a Farmer of Windſore Colledge, a perſecuter.

Then went the Iury vp to a Chamber ouer the place where the Iudges ſat, and in the meane tyme, went all the knightes and gentlemen abroade, ſauing the biſhop, Syr Williā Eſſex, and Fachell, which three ſat ſtill vpon the Bench tyll all was done. And when the Iury had bene togethers aboue in the chamber about the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, vp goeth Symons (of his own brayne) vnto them, and taried there a pretye while, & came down againe. After that, came one of the Iury downe to the biſhop, and talked wyth hym and the other twaine a good while, whereby many coniectured, that the Iurye coulde not agree of Marbeck. But whether it was ſo or no, it was not lōg after his going vp agayne, ere that they came downe to geue their verdite. And being required according to the forme of the law to ſaye their mindes: one called Hyde, dwelling beſide Abyngton, in a lordſhip belonging to the Colledge of Wyndeſore, ſpeaking in the mouth of the reſt, ſayd they were all giltie.

Fachell geueth iudgement againſt thē.

Then the Iudges beholding the priſoners a good while (ſome with watry eyes) made curteſie who ſhuld geue iudgement. Fachell requiring the biſhop to doo it, he ſayd he might not: the other alſo being required, ſayd they would not. Then ſayd Fachell, it muſt bee done: one muſt do it, and if no mā wil, then will I. And ſo Fachell being loweſt of all the Bench, gaue iudgement. Then Marbecke being the laſt vpon whom ſentence was geuen, cryed to the Biſhop, ſaying: Ah my Lord, you told me otherwyſe when I was before you and the other two Biſhops. You ſayd then, that I was in better caſe thē any of my felowes, and is your ſaying come to this? Ah my Lord you haue deceaued me. Then the biſhop caſting vp his hande, ſayde hee could not do withall.

Perſon, Teſtwood, Filmer, & Marbecke, condemned by heretikes.

The godly prayers of the cōdemned Martyrs, almoſt all the night.

Now the priſoners being condempned and had away, prepared them ſelues to die on the morow, comforting one an other in the death and paſſion of their maiſter Chriſt, who had led the way before them, truſting that the ſame Lord which had made thē worthy to ſuffer ſo farre for his ſake, would not now withdrawe his ſtrength from them, but geue them ſtedfaſt fayth and power, to ouercome thoſe firie tormentes, and of his free mercy and goodnes (without their deſerts) for his promiſe ſake, receiue their ſoules. Thus laye they all the night long (till very dead ſleepe tooke them) calling to God for his ayde and ſtrength, and praying for their perſecuters, which of blinde zeale and ignorance had done they wiſt not what, that God of his mercyfull goodnes would forgeue them, and turne theyr hartes to the loue and knowledge of his bleſſed & holy word: Yea ſuch heauenly talke was among them that night, that the hearers watching the priſon without, whereof the Shiriffe himſelfe was one, with diuers gentlemen moe, were cōſtrayned to ſheed out plenty of teares, as they them ſelues confeſſed.

A letter ſent by certaine of the Cōmiſſioners to *Gardiner* for *Marbecke*.

Marbeckes pardon obteyned.

On the next morow, whiche was Friday, as the priſoners were all preparing them ſelues to go to ſuffer, worde was brought thē ẏ they ſhould not dye that day. The cauſe was this. The Biſhop of Sarum and they among them had ſent a letter by one of the Shriffes gentlemen called M. Froſt, to the Byſhop of Wyncheſter (the Courte being then at Okyng) in the fauour of Marbecke. At the ſight of which letter, the Byſhop ſtraight waye went to the kyng and obteined his pardon. Whiche beyng graunted, he cauſed a warrant to be made out of hand for the Shriffes diſcharge, deliueryng the ſame to the meſſenger, who with ſpede returned with great ioy (for the loue hee bare to the partie) bringyng good newes to the towne, of Marbeckes pardon: whereat many reioyſed. Of this pardon were diuers coniectures made. Some ſayd it was by the ſute of the good Shriffe Syr William Baryngton, and Syr Humffray Foſter (with other Gentlemen mo that fauoured Marbecke) to the Byſhop of Sarum and the other Commiſſioners, that the letter was ſent.

Diuers iudgementes why *Marbecke* was pardoned.

Some ſayd agayne, that it came of the Byſhop of Sarum and Fachels firſt motion, beyng pricked in conſcience for that they had ſo ſlenderly caſt him alway. Other thought agayne, that it was a policie purpoſed afore, by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, of Sarum, and of D. London, becauſe they would ſeme to bee mercifull. Which coniecture roſe vpon this occaſion. There was one Sadocke dwelling in the towne whiche was great with D. London and Symons: and hee ſhould ſay iiij. dayes before the Seſſions began, that the priſoners ſhould be all caſt and cōdemned, but Marbecke ſhould haue his pardon.

Marbecke reſerued to vtter others.

Other there were that thought ẏ foreſayd Biſhops with Doct. Lōdon, had done it for this purpoſe: that he now hauing his life, would rather vtter ſuch men as they would haue him to do, then to come in like daunger againe. Which coniecture roſe vpon this: Symons metyng with Marbeckes wife, ſayd thus vnto her: your huſband may thanke God and good frendes: my Lord of Wyncheſter is good Lord vnto him, whiche hath got his pardon. But ſhall I tell you, quoth he? his pardon wilbe to none effecte, except he tell the truth of thinges to my Lord and other of the counſell, when he ſhalbe demaunded, for vnto that purpoſe only is he reſerued. Alas Syr, quoth ſhe, what can he tell? Well woman, quoth Symons, I tell thee plaine, if hee do not ſo, neuer looke to haue thy huſband out of priſon, and ſo departed from her.

The peſtilent intent of the Byſhops.

The like meaning did M. Arche make to Marbecke him ſelf, on the Saterday in the mornyng that the men ſhould be brent, when he came to cōfeſſe them. I haue nothing, quoth hee, to ſay vnto you Marbecke at this time, but hereafter you muſt be content to do as ſhalbe enioyned you: meanyng he ſhould be forced to do ſome vnlawfull thyng, or els to lye in perpetuall priſon. And this was moſt likely to haue bene attempted, if they had proceded in their purpoſe: whoſe intent was to haue gone through the whole Realme, in like ſorte as they had begonne at Wyndſore, as the Byſhop of Sarum cōfeſſed openly & ſaid, that he truſted ere Chriſtmas day folowing, to viſite & clenſe a good parte thereof. But moſt cōmonly, God ſendeth a ſhrewed Cowe ſhort hornes, or els many a thouſand in England had ſmarted.

On Saterdaye in the morning, that the priſoners ſhould go to execution, came in to the priſon two of the Canons of the Colledge, the one called doctor Blythe, and the other maiſter Arche, which two were ſent to be their Confeſſors. Maiſter Arche aſked them, if they would be confeſt, and they ſayd yea. Then he demaūded if they would receiue ẏ Sacramēt. Yea ſaid they, with all our hartes. I am glad, quoth Arche, to heare

The Popes lawe is, that they that bee condemned of hereſie, muſt not receaue the Sacrament.

you ſay ſo, but the law is (quoth he) that it may not be miniſtred to none that are condemned of hereſye. But it is enough for you that ye doe deſire it. And ſo hadde them vp to the hall to heare their confeſſions, becauſe the priſon was full of people. Doctor Blithe tooke Anthony Perſon to him to confeſſe, and maiſter Arch the other two. But howſoeuer the matter went betwene the doctor and Anthony, he taried not long with him but came down again, ſaying he would no more of his doctrine. Do you call him D. Blythe, quoth Antony? He may be called D. Blinde for his learning, as farre as I ſee. And ſoone after, the other two came downe alſo. Then Anthony ſeing much people in the priſon, began to ſay the Lordes praier, whereof hee made a marueilous godly declaration, wherein hee continued tyll the Officers came to fet them awaye, and ſo made an end. And taking their leaue of Marbecke (their priſon fellow) they praiſed God for his deliuerance, wiſhing to him the encreaſe of godlines and vertue, and laſt of all beſought him hartely to helpe them with his praier vnto God, to make them ſtrong in their afflictions, and ſo kiſſing him one after another, departed.

D. Blythe, or rather *D. Blynde.*

Nowe as the priſoners paſſed thorowe the people in the ſtreetes, they deſired all the faithfull people to pray for them, and to ſtande faſt in the truth of the Goſpel, and not to be moued at their afflictions, for it was the happpieſt thing that euer came to them. And euer as doctor Blithe and Arche (who rode on ech ſide the priſoners) would perſwade them to turne to their mother holy church: away would Anthony cry, away with your Romiſhe doctrine and all your tromperye, for we will no more of it. When Fylmer was come to his brothers doore, he ſtayed and called for his brother, but he could not be ſeene, for Doct. London had kept him out of ſight that day for the nonce. And when hee had called for him a three or foure times, and ſawe hee came not, he ſayde: and wyll hee not come? Then God forgeue him and make him a good man. And ſo going foorth, they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Perſon with a cherefull countenaunce, embraced the Poſt in his armes, and kiſſing it, ſayd: Now welcome mine own ſweete wife, for this day ſhalt thou and I bee maried together in the loue and peace of God. And being all three bound to the Poſt, a certaine young mā of Filmers acquaintance, brought hym a pot of drincke, aſking if he would drinke. Yea quoth Fylmer, I thanke you. And now my brother, quoth he, I ſhall deſire you in the name of the liuing Lord, to ſtand faſt in the truth of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, which you haue receaued, & ſo taking the pot at hys hand, aſked his brother Anthony, if he would drinke. Yea brother Filmer quoth hee, I pledge you in the Lord. And when he had dronke, he gaue the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewiſe gaue it to Teſtwod. Of which drinkyng their aduerſaries made a ieſtyng ſtocke, reportyng abroad that they were all dronke and wyſt not what they ſayd, when as they were none otherwiſe dronke then as the Apoſtles were, when the people ſayd they were full of new wyne, as their dedes declared. For when Anthony and Teſtwod had both dronken, and geuen the pot frō them, Filmer reioycing in the Lord, ſaid: Be merry my brethren, and lift vp your hartes vnto God, for after this ſharpe breakefaſt, I truſt we ſhall haue a good dynner in the kyngdome of Chriſt our Lord and redemer. At the whiche wordes Teſtwod liftyng vp his handes and eyes to heauen, deſired the Lord aboue to receiue his ſpirit. And Anthony Perſon, pullyng the ſtraw vnto him, layd a good deale therof vpon the top of his head, ſaying: This is Gods hat: now am I dreſſed like a true ſouldiour of Chriſt, by whoſe merites onely, I truſt this day to enter into his ioye. And ſo yelded they vp their ſoules to the father of heauen, in the faith of his deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, with ſuch humilitie and ſtedfaſtnes, that many whiche ſawe their patient ſufferyng, confeſſed that they could haue founde in their heartes (at that preſent) to haue dyed with them.

The priſoners lead toward theyr death.

The wordes of *Anth. Perſon* at the ſtake.

The wordes of *Henr. Filmer* at hys death.

The ſclaunderous mouth of the Papiſtes.

Filmers comfortable wordes to hys fellowes.

Gods Hatte.

The conſtant death of theſe Martyrs.

¶ *How all their conſpiracies were knowen.*

YE haue heard before of one Rob. Bennet, how he was at the firſt apprehended with the other foure perſons aforeſayd, and cōmitted to the Byſhop of Londons priſon, and about the tyme hee ſhould haue gone to Windſore, fell ſicke of yͤ peſtilence, by meane wherof he remained ſtill in priſon. This Bennet, & Symons (ye ſhall vnderſtand) were the greateſt familiars and company kepers that were in all Windſore, and neuer (lightly) ſwarued the one frō the other, ſauyng in matters of Religion, wherein they could neuer agree. For Bennet the one Lawyer, was an earneſt Goſpeller, and Symons the other lawyer, a cankered Papiſt: but in all other worldly matters, they cleaued together like burres.

Bennet a Lawyer, ſicke of the peſtilence.

Bennet & *Symons* ioyned companions, but contrary in religion.

This Bennet had ſpoken certaine wordes agaynſt their litle round God, for the whiche hee was as farre in as the beſt, and had ſuffered death with the other, if he had gone to Wyndſore when they went. And now that the matter was al done and finiſhed, it was determined by the Biſhop of Saliſbury, that Robert Ockā on the Monday after the men were burnt, ſhould go to the Biſhop of Wyncheſter with the whole proceſſe done at the Seſſions the Thurſday before. Then Symons, at Bennets wiues requeſt, procured of the Biſhop of Saliſbury his fauourable letter to the Biſhop of Wyncheſter for Bennettes deliueraunce. Whiche letter Bennets wife (for aſmuch as her owne man was not at home, whiche ſhould haue gone with the letter) deſired Robert Ockam to deliuer to the Byſhop, and to bryng her worde agayne: who ſayd he would. So forth went Ockam toward the Byſhop of Wincheſter with his budget full of wrytynges, to declare and open all thinges vnto him that were done at Wyndſore Seſſions: but all their wicked intentes (as God would haue it) were ſoone cut of and their doinges diſcloſed. For one of the Queenes men (named Fulke (whiche had lyen at Wyndeſore all the tyme of the buſines, and had gotte knowledge what a nomber were priuilye Indited, and of Ockams going to the biſhop of Wincheſter, gat to the Court before Ockam, and told Syr Thomas Cardine and other of the priuie chamber, how all the matter ſtode. Wherupō Ockam was layd for and had by the backe, as ſoone as he came to Okyng, and kept from the Byſhop.

R. Ockam ſent vp by the Byſhop of Saliſbury and by others to *Gardiner* with letters.

The conſpiracie of the [illegible] diſcloſed.

Many good men and [illegible] of the priuie chamber, [illegible] by the Byſhops.

On the next morow very early, Bennets wife ſent her mā to the Court after Ockam, to ſee how hee ſped with her huſbandes letter. And when hee came there, he foūd Syr Thomas Cardine walkyng with Ockam vp and downe the greene before the Court gate: wherat he maruailed, to ſee Ockam with him ſo early, myſtruſtyng the matter: wherupon he kept him ſelf out of ſight, till they had broken of their communication. And as ſoone as he ſaw M. Cardine gone (leauing Ockā behinde) he went to Ockam and aſked him, if he had deliuered his maſters letter to the Biſhop. No, ſaid Ockā, the kyng remoueth this day to Gilforde, and I muſt go thether, & will deliuer it there. Mary, quoth he, and I will go with you, to ſee what aūſwere you ſhall haue, and to cary worde to my miſtres, and ſo they rode to Gilford together. Where Bennets man (beyng better acquaynted in the towne then Ockam was) gat a lodgyng for them both, in a kinſmans houſe of his. That done, he aſked Ockam, if hee would go and deliuer his miſtres letter to yͤ biſhop. Nay (ſaid Ockam) you ſhal go and deliuer it your ſelfe, and tooke him yͤ letter. And as they were goyng in the ſtreete togethers, and commyng by the Earle of Bedfordes lodgyng (then Lord priuie Seale) Ockam was pulled in by the ſleue, and no more ſene of Bennets man, till hee ſawe him in the Marſhalſey. Then went Bennets man to the Biſhops lodging and deliuered his letter. And when the Biſhop had

Bennet [illegible] letter [illegible] the [illegible] of Wincheſter.

had red the contentes thereof, he called for the man that brought it. Come Syrha, quoth he, you can tel me more by mouth, then the letter ſpecifieth, and had him in to a litle garden. Now, quoth the Biſhop, what ſaye you to me? Forſooth my Lord, quoth he, I haue nothing to ſay vnto your Lordſhip, for I did not bring the letter to the towne. No quoth the Biſhop, where is he that brought it? Forſooth my Lorde quoth he, I left him buſye at his lodging. Then he will come, quoth the biſhop. Bid him be with me betimes in the morning. I will, quoth hee, do your Lordſhips commaundement, and ſo he departed home to his lodging. And when his kinſfolkes ſaw him come in, alas coſyn, quoth they, we are al vndone. Why ſo, quoth he, what is the matter? Oh ſaid they, here hath bene ſince you went, maiſter Padget the kinges Secretarie, with Syr Tho. Cardine of the priuye Chamber, and ſearched all our houſe, for one that ſhoulde come to the towne with Ockam: therefore make ſhift for your ſelfe as ſoone as you can. Is that all the matter, quoth hee? then content your ſelfe, for I will neuer flee one foote, hap what hap will. And as they were thus reaſoning together, in came the foreſaid Searchers againe, and whē maiſter Cardine ſaw Bennets mā, he knew him very well, and ſaid: was it thou that came to the towne with Ockam? Yea Syr, quoth he. Now who the deuill (quoth maiſter Cardine) brought thee in companie with that falſe knaue? Then he told them his buſines, and the cauſe of his cōming: which being knowen, they were ſatiſfied, and ſo departed. The next daye had Bennets man a diſcharge for his maiſter (procured by certaine of the priuie Chamber) and ſo went home.

Bennets man ſearched for at Okyng.

Bennet diſcharged out of priſon by good men of the priuie chamber.

Now was Ockam all this while at my Lord priuie Seales, where he was kept ſecrete, till certayne of the Counſaile had peruſed all his writinges, amonge the which they found certaine of the priuie Chamber indited, with other the kinges Officers, with their wiues, that is to ſay, Syr Tho. Cardine, Syr Philip Hobby, with both their Ladies. Maiſter Edmund Harman, M. Thomas Weldone, with Snowball & his wife. All theſe they had indited by the force of the. vj. Articles, as ayders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Perſon. And beſide them, they had indited of hereſie (ſome for one thing, and ſome for an other) a great nomber moe of the kinges true and faithfull ſubiectes. Whereof the kinges Maieſtie being certefied, his grace of his ſpeciall goodnes (with out the ſute of any man) gaue to the foreſaid gentlemen of his priuie chamber, and other his ſeruantes with their wiues, his gracious pardon. And, as God would haue the matter further knowen vnto his maieſtie, as he roade one day a hunting in Gylforde Parke, and ſawe the Shiriffe with Syr Hūfrey Foſter ſitting on their horſe backes together, hee called thē vnto him, and aſked of them, how his lawes was executed at Windeſore: Then they beſeching his grace of pardon, told him plainly, that in all their liues they neuer ſat on matter vnder his Graces authoritie, that went ſo much againſt their conſciences, as the death of theſe men did, & vp & told his Grace ſo pitifull a tale of the caſting away of theſe poore men, yͤ the king turning his horſehead to depart frō thē, ſayd: Alas poore Innocents.

Certayne of the priuie chamber indited.

Syr Thomas Cardyne, and hys wife. Syr Philip Hobby, and hys wife. M. Edmund Harman. M. Thomas Weldone. Snowball, and hys wife. All theſe were indited by the vj. Articles, with a great nomber more.

The kyng gaue hys pardon to hys gentlemen of hys priuie chamber.

The king certified of the pitifull death of theſe godly Martyrs of Windſore.

The kinges teſtimonye of the Martyrs of Windſore.

After this, the king withdrew his fauour from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and being more and more enformed of the conſpiracie of doctor London and Symons, he commaunded certaine of his Counſaile, to ſearch out the ground thereof. Whereupon doctor London and Symons were apprehended & brought before yͤ Coūſail, and examined vpon their oth of allegiance. And for denying their miſcheuous and traiterous purpoſe, which was manifeſtlye proued to their faces, they were both periured, and in fine, adiudged as periured perſons, to weare papers in Wyndſore, & Ockam to ſtand vpō the pillery in the towne of Newbery, where he was borne. The iudgement of all theſe three was to ride about Wyndeſore, Reading, and Newbery, with papers on their heades, and their faces turned to the horſe tayles, & ſo to ſtand vpō yͤ Pillerie in euery of theſe townes, for falſe accuſation of yͤ forenamed Martyrs, & for periurie.

The Byſhop of Wincheſter out of the kynges fauour.

D. London, W. Symons, & R. Ockam, apprehended and condemned of periurye.

The puniſhment of D. London, of W. Symons, and of Rob. Ockam, for falſe accuſation and periurye.

And thus muche touching the perſecution of theſe good Saintes of Wyndeſore, according to the copie of their own Actes, receaued and written by Iohn Marbecke, who is yet a liue, both a preſent witnes, and alſo was then a partie of the ſayde doinges, and can teſtifie the truth thereof.

Ex teſtimonio Ioan. Marbecki.

¶ Aunſwere to the cauilling aduerſaryes touchyng Iohn Marbecke.

WHerefore againſt theſe crooked cauillers, which make ſo much adoe againſt my former booke, becauſe in a certaine place I chaunced to ſay that Bennet and Finmore had their pardon (whē in deede it was Bennet & Marbecke) be it therfore knowē, proteſted, denounced, & notified, to all and ſingular ſuche carpers, wranglers, exclamers, deprauers, with the whole brood of all ſuch whiſperers, railers, quarelpickers, cornercreepers, faultfinders, and ſpidercatchers, or by what name els ſo euer they are to be titled, that here I openly ſay, affirme, profeſſe, hold, maintain and write, the ſame as I ſayd and wrote before in the latter caſtigations of my booke: that is, that Iohn Marbecke was with the other condemned, but not burned, caſt by the law, but by pardon ſaued, appointed with the reſt to dye, and yet not dead, but lyueth (God be praiſed) and yet to this preſent day ſingeth merely, and playeth on the Organs, not as a dead mā, amongeſt Foxes Martyrs (as it hath pleaſed ſome in the court to counter againſt me) but as one witneſſed and teſtefied truly in the booke of Foxes Martyrs to be a liue. And therefore ſuche maner of perſons, if the diſpoſition of their nature be ſuch, that they muſt neede find faults, then let them finde them where they are, and where thoſe faultes by their finding maye be corrected. But where as they bee corrected alreadye, and found to their handes, and alſo amended before, let then theſe Legendliers looke on their owne Legendes, and there cry out of lyes, where they may finde enowe, and ceaſe their biting there, where they haue no iuſte cauſe to barke.

The ſtory doth purge it ſelfe, if it had pleaſed theſe men to take one place with an other.

Marke you wranglers and bee ſatiſfied.

And admitte, that I had not foreſeene & corrected thys eſcape before, touching yͤ matter of Ioh. Marbecke, but that the place ſtill had remayned in the booke, as it was, that is, that the ſayd Ioh. Marbecke, which is yet aliue, had then died & ſuffered with yͤ other 3. the ſame time at Windſore: yet what gentle or courtuous reader, could haue therin any iuſte matter to triumphe and inſult againſt me, ſeing the iudiciall actes, the recordes, & regiſters, yea and the Biſhops certificate, & alſo the writte of execution remayning yet in recorde, ſent to the king, did lead me ſo to ſaye & thinke? For what man writing hiſtories, who can not be in all places, to ſee all thinges, but following hys recordes & regiſters, wherin he ſeeth the ſayd Marbecke to be iudged and condemned with the reſt, would otherwyſe write or thinke, but that alſo he was executed and burned in the ſame companye?

But nowe I correcte and reforme the ſame agayne, and firſt of all other, I finde the fault, and yet am I found fault withall. I correct my ſelfe, and yet am I corrected of other. I warne thee Reader of the truth, and yet am I a lyer. The booke it ſelfe ſheweth the eſcape, and biddeth in ſtede of 4. to read 3. burned, & yet is the booke made a Legend of lyes. Brieflye, where I preuent all occaſion of cauilling to the vttermoſt of my diligence, yet cā not I haue that law, which all other bookes haue, that is, to recogniſe & reforme myne own errata.

The death of Ioh. Marbecke in the former boke amēded.

Wherefore to conclude, theſe men, whoſoeuer they are, if they will be ſatiſfied, I haue ſayd enough: if they will not, what ſoeuer I can ſay, it will not ſerue, and ſo I leaue them: I would I could better ſatiſfie them. God himſelfe amende them.

The perſecution in Calice, with the Martyrdome of George Bucker, otherwiſe called Adam Damlyp, and others.

An. 1544.

George Bucker, aliâs Adam Damlip, **Martyr.**

Ex literis Ioan. Marbecke.

AT what time Ioh. Marbecke was in the Marſhalſey, which was about the yeare of our Lorde. 1544. there was in the ſayde priſon with him one George Bucker, named otherwiſe Adam Damlip, who hauing continued in the ſaid priſon three or foure yeares, at laſt by the commaundement of Wincheſter, was had to Calice by Iohn Maſſy, the keper of the Marſhalſey, and there hãged, drawen, and quartered for treaſon pretenſed, which was a litle before the condemnation of the Windeſore men aforeſayde, as is by the letters of the ſayd Iohn Marbecke to me ſignified. Touching which ſtory of Adam Damlip, forſomuch it includeth matter of much trouble and perſecution that happened in Calice, to digeſt therefore and compriſe the whole narratiõ thereof in order, fyrſt I wyll enter (the Lorde willyng) the ſtorye of Damlip, and ſo procede in order to ſuche as by the ſayd occaſion were afflicted & perſecuted in the towne of Calyce.

Perſecution in the towne of Calyce.

Perſecutors.	*Perſecuted.*
Iohn Dooue, *Prior of the gray Friers in Calice.* *Sir* Gregorye Buttol, *prieſt.* Steuẽ Gardiner, *biſhop of VVyncheſter.* D. Sãpſon *B. of Chicheſter.* D. Clarke *byſhop of Bathe.* D. Repſe *B. of NorVVich.* Haruey, *Commiſſarie in Calice.* Lady Honor, *Wife to the L. Liſle deputie of Calice.* *Sir* Tho. Palmer, *knight.* Iohn Robchwood *eſquier.* Richard Lõg, *ſouldiour of Calice.* Frances Haſtinges *ſouldiour.* Hugh Councel *ſeruant.* *Sir* Rafe Ellerker *knight.* *Sir* Ioh. Gage.	George Bucker, *or els called* Adam Dãlip. *A poore labouring man.* W. Steuens. Th. Lãcaſter. Iohn Butler. *Commiſſarie.* W. Smyth *Prieſt.* Rafe Hayre. Iacob *a Surgion.* *A Fleming.* Clement Philpot *Seruant.* Ieffrey Loueday. Dodde. *Sir* Edmunde, *Prieſt.* W. Touched, *Poſtmaiſter.* Pet. Bequet. Anthony Pickering, *gentleman.* Henry Tourney, *gentlemã.* George Darby, *Prieſt.* Ioh. Shepard. W. Pellam. W. Keuerdal. Iohn Whytwood. Iohn Boote. Ro. Cloddet. Copen de Hane, *aliâs* Iames Cock. Math. Hoũde. W. Croſbow maker.

The cauſes.

Adã Damlip **requeſted by Card.** *Poole* **to tarye at Rome.**

Thys French crowne was dearly bought, for by the ſame he was peached of treaſon.

W. Steuens.

Tho. Lancaſter.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1539. the Lord Cromwell beyng yet alyue, there came to Calyce one George Bucker, *aliâs*, Adam Damlyp, who had bene in time paſt a great Papiſt and chapleyne to Fiſher B. of Rocheſter, & after the death of the B. hys maſter had trauayled through Fraũce, Dutchland, and Italy, & as he went, cõferred with learned men cõcerning matters of cõtrouerſie in religiõ: and ſo procedyng in his iourney to Rome, whereas he thought to haue founde all godlines and ſyncere religiõ, in the end, he foũd there (as hee confeſſed) ſuch blaſphemie of God, contempte of Chriſtes true religion, looſenes of life, & aboundance of all abominatiõs and filthines, that it abhorred hys harte and conſciẽce any lõger there to remaine: althoughe he was greatly requeſted by Cardinall Poole, there to continue, and to read three Lectures in the weeke in hys houſe, for the whiche hee offered him greate enterteinement. Whiche he refuſed, and ſo returning homward, hauing a peece of money giuen him of the Cardinall at his departure, to the value of a Frenche crowne toward his charges, came to Calyce, as is aforeſayd. Who as hee was there waiting without the gate for paſſage into England, and beyng there perceaued by certaine Calyce men, namely, William Steuens, and Tho. Lancaſter through conference of talke to be a learned mã, and alſo well affected: and moreouer how that he beyng of late a zelous Papiſte, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion, was by them hartely intreated to ſtay at Calyce a certaine ſpace, & to read there a day or two, to the intent hee might do ſome good there after his paynfull trauaile, vnto the people. To this requeſt Adam gladly conſented, ſo as he might bee licenced by ſuch as were in authoritie, ſo to do.

Adam brought to the Lord Deputie of Calice.

Wherupon the ſayd Steuens at the openyng of the gates, brought him vnto the Lord Liſle the kinges Deputie of the towne and marches of Calice, vnto whõ he declared thoroughly what conference and talke had ben betwene Adam Damlip & him. Which knowen, the ſayd Lord Deputie inſtantly deſired the ſaid Damlip to ſtay there and to preache three or foure dayes or more at his pleaſure, ſaying that hee ſhould haue both his licence and the Commiſſaries alſo (whiche thẽ was Syr Iohn Butler) ſo to do. Where, after he had preached iij. or iiij. tymes, hee was ſo well liked both for hys learning, his vtteraunce, and the truth of his doctrine, that not onely the ſouldiours and commoners, but alſo the ſaid Lord Deputie and a great part of the Counſell, gaue him maruelous great prayſe and thankes for it, and the ſayd Lord Deputie offered vnto him a chãber in his owne houſe, to dyne and ſup euery meale at his owne meſſe, to haue a man or ij. of his to waite vpõ him, and to haue what ſoeuer it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for money, yea and what he would in his purſe to bye bookes or otherwiſe, ſo as hee would tary there among them, and preache onely ſo long as it ſhould ſeeme good to him ſelfe. Who refuſing his Lordſhyps great offer, moſt hartly thãked him for the ſame, and beſought him to be onely ſo good vnto him, as to appointe him ſome quiet and honeſt place in the town where hee might not bee diſturbed nor moleſted, but haue oportunitie to geue him ſelfe to his booke, and would dayly once in the fornoone, and agayne by one a clocke at after noone, by ẏ grace of God, preach among them according vnto the talent that God had lent him. At whiche aunſwere the Lord Deputie greatly reioyſed and therupon ſent for the foreſaid Williã Steuens, whom hee earneſtly required to receiue and lodge the ſayd Damlip in his houſe, promiſing what ſoeuer hee ſhould cõmaund, to ſee it payd with the moſt: and moreouer did ſend euery meale from his one meſſe a diſh of the beſt vnto them, and in deede ſo did: albeit the ſayd Damlip refuſed that offer, ſhewyng his Lordſhyp that thinne diet was moſt cõueniẽt for ſtudents. Yet could not that reſtraine him but that euery meale he ſent it.

Adam well liked of the Deputie, and the Commiſſarie of Calice.

Adam receiued of W. Steuens by the Lord Deputies requeſt.

This godly mã by the ſpace of xx. daies or more, once euery day at vij. of the clocke preached very godly, learnedly and playnly, the truth of the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, mightely inueying againſt all Papiſtrie and confutyng the ſame, but eſpecially thoſe two moſt pernicious errours or hereſies, trifling Tranſubſtãtiation, and the peſtilent propitiatorie Sacrifice of the Romiſhe Maſſe, by true conferẽce of the Scriptures, and applying of the auncient Doctours, earneſtly therewith oftentimes exhortyng the people to returne from their Poperie, declaring how Popiſh hee him ſelfe had bene, and how by the deteſtable wickednes that he did ſee vniuerſally in Rome, he was returned ſo farre homeward, and now became an enemy through Gods grace, to al Papiſtrie: ſhewing therwith, that if gayne or ambition could haue moued him to ẏ contrarie, he might haue bene enterteined of Cardinall Poole (as you haue heard before) but for very conſcience ſake ioyned with true knowledge, grounded on Gods moſt holy worde, hee nowe vtterly abhorred all Papiſtrie, and willed them moſt earneſtly to do the ſame.

Adam Damlip preacheth agaynſt [illegible]

And thus he continued a while readyng in the chapter houſe of the White Frieres, but the place beyng not bygge enough, he was deſired to read in the pulpit, and ſo procedyng in his Lectures (wherin he declared how the world was deceaued by the Romane Byſhoppes, whiche had ſet forth the damnable doctrine of tranſubſtantiation and the reall preſence in the Sacramēt, as is aforeſayd) he came at length to ſpeake againſt the pageāt or picture ſet forth of the reſurrection which was in S. Nicolas Churche, declaryng the ſame to bee but mere Idolatrie, and illuſion of the Frenchmen before Calyce was Engliſhe.

The Idolatrous pageāt of the reſurrection moſt ſumptuouſly pictured at Calyce.

Vppon whiche Sermon or Lecture, there came a Commiſſion from the kyng to the Lorde Deputie, M. Grendfield, Syr John Butler Commiſſarie, the kynges Maſon, and Smyth, with others, that they ſhoulde ſearch whether there were (as was put in writyng, and vnder bull and pardon) thrée hoſtes lying vpon a Marble ſtone be ſprinkled with bloud, and if they found it not ſo, that immediatly it ſhould be plucked down, and ſo it was. For in ſearchyng therof, as they brake vp a ſtone in a corner of the Tumbe, they in ſtead of the iij. hoſtes, found ſouldered in the Croſſe of Marble lying vnder the Sepulcher, iij. playne white counters which they had painted like vnto hoſtes, and a bone that is in the tip of a ſhéepes taile. All which trūperie Damlyp ſhewed vnto the people the next day folowyng, which was Sonday, out of the pulpit, and after that they were ſent by the Lord Deputie to ẏ kyng.

Commiſſiō ſent frō the kyng to ſearch out the falſe iugglyng of this Idolatrye at Calice.

The falſe iugglinges of the Sepulchre opened.

3. painted counters in ſtead of 3. hoſtes.

Notwithſtandyng the deuill ſtirred vp a Doue (hee might well be called a Cormorant) ẏ Prior of ẏ White Friers. Who with Syr Gregory Buttoll Chapleine to ẏ Lord Liſle, began to barke agaynſt hym. Yet after the ſayd Adam had in thrée or foure Sermons confuted the ſayd Friers erroneous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and of the propitiatorie Sacrifice of the Maſſe: the ſayd Frier outwardly ſemed to geue place, ceaſing openly to inuey, and ſecretlye practiſed to peach him by letters ſent vnto the Clergie here in England: ſo that within viij. or x. dayes after, the ſayd Damlyp was ſent for to appeare before the Byſhop of Canterbury, with whom was aſſiſtant Ste. Gardiner, Byſhop of Wynchester, D. Sampſon Byſhop of Chicheſter and diuers other, before whom he moſt cōſtantly affirmed and defended the doctrine whiche he had taught, in ſuch ſorte aunſweryng, confutyng, and ſolutyng the obiections, as his aduerſaries, yea euen among other, ẏ learned, godly and bleſſed Martyr Cranmer then yet but a Lutheran, marueiled at it, and ſayd plainly that ẏ Scripture knew no ſuch terme of tranſubſtantiation. Then begā the other Byſhops to threaten him, ſhortly to confute him with there accuſtomed argument, I meane fire and Fagot, if he ſhould ſtill ſtand to the defence of that hee had ſpoken. Wherunto he conſtantly aunſwered that hee would the next day deliuer vnto them fully ſo much in writyng as he had ſayd: wherto alſo hee would ſtand, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Ioh. Doue Fryer, perſecuter of Damlip.

Damlip ſent for to appeare before the Counſell in England.

Damlip threatned by the Byſhops.

The next day at the houre appointed to appeare, when they loked ſurely to haue apprehended him, in the meane ſeaſon he had ſecret intimation from the B. of Canterbury, that if hee did any more perſonally appeare, he ſhould be committed vnto warde, not like to eſcape cruell death. Wherupō he (playing in déede then ſomwhat that olde Adams part, for ſuch is man, left in his own hādes) had him cōmended vnto thē & ſent thē iiij. ſheetes of paper learnedly written in the Latine tōge, conteinyng his faith with his argumentes, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctours, by a meſſenger or frend of his. Which done, hee hauing a litle money geuen him in his purſe by hys frendes, ſtepped aſide and went to the Weſt countrey, and there kept all the tyme, while great trouble kindled agaynſt the people in Calyce, vppon the ſame, as ye ſhall heare, the Lord permittyng.

Damlip ſecretlye warned to voyde.

After hys departure, ẏ kynges Maieſtie was aduertiſed that there was great diſſenſion & diuerſitie of pernicious opinions in hys ſayd towne of Calyce, greatly tendyng to the daunger of the ſame. Wherupō, duryng yet the dayes of the Lorde Cromwell, were ſent ouer D. Champion Doctor of Diuinitie, & M. Garret who after was burned, two godly & learned men, to preach and inſtruct the people and to confute all pernicious errours, who in effect preached & mainteined the ſame true doctrine whiche Adam Damlyp had before ſet fourth, and by reaſon thereof, they left the towne at their departure very quyet, and greatly purged of the ſclaunder that had runne on it. After ẏ departure of the ſayd Champion and Garret, one Syr W. Smith Curate of our Lady Pariſh in Calyce, a man very zelous, though but meanely learned, did begyn to preache and earneſtly to inuey agaynſt Papiſtrie and wilfull ignorāce: exhortyng men obediētly to receaue the worde, and no longer to contemne the ſame, leſt Gods heuie plages and wrath ſhould fall vppon them, whiche alwayes foloweth the contempt of his holy word.

D. Champion & M. Garret, ſent to preach at Calyce.

Syr W. Smith Curate and a zelous preacher at Calice.

Which Sir W. Smith, for that ſometime he would be very feruent & zelous, ſharply inueying agaynſt the deſpiſers of the word, was moued by ſome of the Coūſell there, who would ſeme to fauour Gods word, that he ſhould not be ſo earneſt agaynſt them that yet could not alway with the ſame, willyng him to beare with ſuch, for by bearyng with them they might happe to be wonne. Well well, ſayd the ſame Smith (openly in the pulpit one day as hee preached) ſome men ſay I am to earneſt, and wil me to beare with ſuch as continue opē enemies againſt Chriſtes holy Goſpel, and refuſe, nay forbid that any ſhould read ẏ Bible or holy Scripture within their houſe: but let all ſuch take héede, for before God, I feare that God for their contemning of his worde, will not long beare with thē, but make them in ſuch caſe as ſome of them ſhal not haue a head left them vppon their ſhoulders to beare vp their cap withall: which alſo after came to paſſe.

This Smith continued in the diligent beſtowyng of his talent there, till ſhortly after the deuill got ſuch hold in the hartes of a number of Gods enemies, that hee with diuers other godlymen were called ouer into England, and charged with erroneous opinions worthy of great puniſhmēt, as hereafter more at large ſhall appeare.

Firſt the Lord Liſle the kinges deputy there, whom we ſhewed to be the maintainer of Damlip (all be it he were him ſelfe of a moſt gentle nature and of right noble bloud, the baſe ſonne of that noble Prince kyng Edward the fourth) being fiercely ſet on, & inceſſantly entiſed by the wicked Ladye Honor his wyfe, who was an vtter enemy to Gods honor, and in idolatrye, hipocriſie, and pride incomparably euyll, ſhe being daily and hourly thereunto incited and prouoked by Sir Thomas Palmer knight, and Iohn Rookwoode Eſquire, two enemies to Gods woorde, beginning now to floriſh at Calice: theſe I ſay, with certayne other of the Counſell of the ſayd towne of Calice, to the nomber of vij. mo beſides them ſelues, ſeking occaſion or rather a quarell, where no iuſt cauſe was geuen, began to write very heynous letters and greuous complaintes vnto the Lordes of the priuy Coūcel, againſt diuers of ẏ towne of Calice, affirming that they were horribly infected with hereſies and pernicious opinions: As firſt the foreſayd Adam Damlip, who though he were for a time eſcaped their hands, yet ſtacke ſtyll in their remembraunce from time to time, vntill at laſt the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traytour, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

The L. *Liſle* baſe ſonne to *K. Edward* the fourth.

Syr Thomas Palmer. *M. Rookwoode.*

The Counſell of Calice letters agaynſt the Proteſtantes.

Alſo, beſides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Broke, Rafe Hare, likewiſe of Sir Iohn Butler then Cōmiſſarie, & Syr W. Smith, Iames Cocke, alias Coppen de Hane, Iames Barber and other, and the names of them all ſent ouer. Of the which perſōs, firſt the ſayd Thomas Broke, and Rafe Hare, Coppen de Hane, and James Barber were apprehended and ſent ouer, and committed to priſon in Weſtminſter gate, and then commaunded to appeare before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Chicheſter, and ten other appointed by the kinges Maieſties commiſſion, for the examination of them. And their accuſers alſo were ſent ouer with letters from the Councell there, vnto his priuie Councell here, in the furtheraunce of their malicious ſutes againſt thoſe honeſt men, with certain ſpeciall letters directed vnto the Lorde Fitzwilliams then Earle of Southhampton, and great Admirall of England, to the Lord Sandes, Lord Chamberlayne of the Houſhold, likewyſe alſo to Sir Williã Kingſtone knight, Comptroller of ẏ Houſhold, & to D.Sampſon, then biſhop of Chicheſter, & other, tending all to one effect, that is to ſay, to the vtter deſtruction of theſe godly men, if God (after his wonted maner) had not mightely preſerued them, and, as it were, ouerſhadowed thẽ with the winges of his mercy.

The trouble of *Rafe Hare*, ſouldiour of Calyce.

Rafe Hare charged.

That the ſame may the better appeare, you ſhal vnderſtand that firſt Rafe Hare, a man rude and ſo vnlearned, that ſcarce he could reade, yet through Gods grace, was very zealous, and therwith lead ſo godlye and temperate a life, as not one of his enemies coulde accuſe or blame the ſame his ſober life and conuerſation. This Rafe Hare was charged to be one, that had ſpoken againſt auricular confeſſion, againſt holye bread and holy water, yea and beſide that, he was one which would not lightly ſweare an oth, nor vſe almoſt anye maner of paſtime, nor good fellowſhip, as they terme it, but was alwaies in a corner by him ſelfe, looking on his booke. The poore ſimple man being charged by the Cõmiſſioners, that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwiſe, cõming out of a towne ſo infected with pernicious errours & ſectes as that was, was wylled by thẽ to take good heede to him ſelfe, leſt through obſtinacie hee turned his erroneous opinions to plaine hereſie: for an errour defended, is hereſie.

The aũſwer of *Rafe Hare.*

My good Lordes ſayd the poore man, I take God to recorde, I woulde not willinglye maintaine an errour or hereſie, wherefore I beſeche you let my accuſers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I haue ſpoken, I will neuer denye it. Moreouer, if it be truth, I will ſtand vnto it, and otherwiſe if it be an errour, I will with all my hart vtterlye forſake it, I meane if it be againſt Gods holye word. For the Lord is my wytnes, I ſeeke, and daylye pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errours, and I truſt the Lord will ſaue me and preſerue me from them.

Wincheſters cauillation about the Lord, Our Lorde.

Aha, quoth the biſhop of Wincheſter, doo you not heare what he ſayth my Lord? I perceiue nowe thou art a naughty fellow. Alas my Lord, ſaid Rafe Hare, what euyll ſayd I? Mary Sir, you ſayd the Lord, the Lord, and that is Symbolum hœreticorũ, ſaid Wincheſter. What is that my lord, for Gods ſake tell me, ſayd Hare? Thou art nought, thou art nought ſaid he. At which woordes the ſimple man began to tremble, and ſeemed much diſmayde and driuen into a greater agonye and feare. Which thing Wincheſter well perceiuing, ſaid vnto him: Rafe Hare, Rafe Hare, by my trouth I pitie thee muche. For in good faith I thinke thee to be a good ſimple man, & of thy ſelfe wouldeſt meane wel enough, but that thou haſt had ſhrewed and ſubtile ſcholemaiſters, that haue ſeduced thee, good poore ſimple ſoule, & therfore I pitie thee: and it were in deede pitie that thou ſhouldeſt be burnt, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and haſt ſerued the king right well in hys warres. I haue heard thee well cõmended, and thou art yet able to do the king as good ſeruice as euer thou waſt, and we all will be a meane to his grace to bee good and gracious Lorde vnto thee, if thou wylt take pitie of thy ſelfe, and leaue thy errours. For I dare ſaye for vs all, that bee Commiſſioners, that wee would be lothe that thou ſhouldeſt be caſt away. For alas poore ſimple man, we perceiue thou haſt bene ſeduced (I ſay) by others.

How ſayeſt thou therefore? thou knoweſt my lorde of Canterburies grace here is a good gentle lord, and would be lothe thou ſhould be caſt away. Tel me, canſt thou be content to ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto him, & to ſtand vnto ſuch order, as he and we ſhal take in this matter? How ſayeſt thou man? ſpeake. The poore man therwith falling vpon his knees, and ſheeding teares, aunſwered, ſpeaking to the Archb. of Canterbury in thys wiſe: My good lord, for Chriſtes ſake be good vnto me, and I referre my ſelfe vnto your graces order, do with me what you pleaſe.

The biſhop of Canterbury, conſidering what daunger he was ready to fall in, & pitying the ſame (though the ſimplicitie of the man was ſo great, that he perceyued it not) ſayd, nay Rafe Hare, ſtand vp, and aduiſe thy ſelfe, and commit not thy ſelfe to me, for I am but one man, and in Commiſſion but as the other are, ſo that it lyeth in me to do nothing. But if thou do committe thy ſelfe vnto all, then thou committeſt thy ſelfe vnto the lawe, and the lawe is ordayned to doe euery man ryght. Goe to Raphe Hare ſayd Wyncheſter, ſubmit thy ſelfe to my Lorde and vs: it is beſt for thee to do ſo. Whereupon he fell vpon hys knees againe, and ſayd: My lordes and maiſters all, I ſubmyt my ſelfe wholye vnto you. And therewithall a booke was holden him, and an othe geuen him to be obedient vnto them, and to all Eccleſiaſticall lawes: & ſtraight way he was enioyned to abiure, and to beare a faggot, three ſeuerell dayes, and more ouer the poore man loſt the liuing that he had at Calice.

This ſimple mã hearing hys penance, pitiouſly lamẽted, & earneſtly at ẏ firſt denied to ſtand therunto, with pitious exclamation, ſaying: O my L. of Wincheſter, my L. of Wincheſter, haue you made me a logge ready to be layd vpõ ẏ fire whẽ ſoeuer any wicked mã falſly of malice by prouocation of the deuil, ſhall lay any ſmall trifle to my charge? Or ſhall I be thus hãdled, nothing proued to my face againſt mee? Alas I haue alwayes hated errours and hereſies. Content thy ſelfe Hare: there is now no remedye, thou muſt either doo thy penaunce, or be burnt, ſayd the Commiſſioners. Thus haue you hearde how Rafe Hare did ſpeede.

Thẽ was Tho. Broke called for, againſt whõ it was obiected by ſome of the Cõuſels letters of Calyce, that he was a ſeditious felow. Amõg theſe accuſers beſides the reſt, was one Richard Longe, an other Fraunces Haſtinges, men of armes, who charged the forenamed Tho.Broke, and one Geffray Louedaye Eſquire, for ſtaying and mainteinyng the foreſayd Adam Damlyp at Calyce: as who had promiſed vnto him a ſtipend to preach ſuch hereſies and pernicious opinions, as afterward he taught there: and that theſe ij. dayly gathered many ſeuerall ſummes of money, for the entertainment of the ſayd Adã. Howbeit the foreſayd Haſtinges failed in the proofe therof. For Loueday proued that he was viij. dayes before Damlyps commyng to Calyce, and duryng xiiij. dayes continually after hee began to preach, abidyng at Paris, there occupied about neceſſary affaires of Charles Duke of Southfolke. And Broke duryng the ſayd tyme was at London dayly attendãt in the Parliament houſe, wherof he had enow to beare witnes, agaynſt that vntrue ſurmiſe.

After that, came three at once againſt the ſaid Broke, well armed as they thought, who had not onely conſulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at Calyce, beſide their conference and talke by the way keping company from thence hither, but alſo had obtained from the Lord Deputie & others of the Cõſell, ſpeciall letters as is aforeſayd: and among other, one letter vnto the biſhop of Chicheſter, for the earneſt and ſpeedy furtheraunce of the aduauncement of theyr accuſations againſt Broke.

The

Payton the firſt accuſer.

The firſt of theſe thrée was a yonge gentleman lately brought vp vnder the ſayd Broke in the office of cuſtome, whoſe name was Edmund Payton.

R. Poole the ſecond accuſer.

The other was one Robert Poole, a mā (as it was cōmōly reported) both baſe borne, and alſo ſuch a one as in his youth for murtheryng a man with a clubbe in Bow lane in London, was fayne by obtainyng the kynges pardon, to ſaue his necke.

Th. Boyſe the thyrd accuſer.

The third was one Tho. Boyſe, who ſhewyng more honeſtie then yͤ reſt, affirmed not that he him ſelf heard the ſayd Broke ſpeake any thyng of that which was obiected agaynſt him, but iuſtified that either of the other two had ſtedfaſtly affirmed to hym, yͤ Broke had ſpoken vnto thē thoſe things here vnder obiected agaynſt him.

The depoſitiō of the firſt witnes againſt T. Broke.

The yong man firſt obiected againſt the ſayd Broke, that hee ſhauld ſay that the thyng whiche the Prieſt vſeth to hold vp ouer his head at Maſſe, is not the naturall body of Ieſu Chriſt: for if that were ſo, who ſo would, might haue their belly ful of Gods, their guttes full of Gods, & he that had lately receiued yͤ Sacramēt before he went to the ſea, might haply vomet God vp agayne on ſhypborde. And thus much hee brought ouer in writing with him from Calyce, and added therto, as it ſhould ſéeme, to exaſperate the Commiſſioners and the reſt of the Clergie agaynſt him, certeine other heynous wordes ſpoken agaynſt Byſhops & Prieſtes. Whiche wordes the ſayd Broke there denyed, confeſſing neuertheleſſe that certaine priuate talke hee had with him touchyng the Sacrament, wherin he ſhewed to the young mā the right vſe of the ſame, concluding, that albeit with our mouthes we receiued very materiall bread and wine, yet by faith, all Chriſtian men do receiue, eate, and drinke, to their great comfort and benefite, the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt, whiche was both borne of the virgine Mary, and ſuffred death on the Croſſe for yͤ remiſſiō of their ſinnes: whiche moſt holy Sacrament, who ſo came vnworthely vnto, the ſame was ſo farre from the eatyng of Chriſtes body and bloud, that all ſuch (without harty repentaunce) do eate their owne damnation. And to conclude with him in that priuate talke, hee told hym that if the groſſe and vnlearned errour of tranſubſtantiation, were in dede matter of truth and ſincere doctrine, then not onely this ſhould folow of it, that euery man who would, might haue euerlaſting lyfe (for they might when they would receiue the outward Sacrament, ſéene with our eyes, whiche the Prieſtes call Chriſtes naturall body, and who ſo eateth Chriſtes body and drinketh his bloud, hath euerlaſtyng lyfe, ſayth Chriſt) but alſo there ſhould great abſurdities followe therby, as when a mā hapneth to go to yͤ Sea, hauing lately receiued the Sacrament, hee ſhould put it ouer borde, or do it on the hatches, and therfore exhorted the ſayd Payton to leaue that groſſe errour.

The priuate talke of Thomas Broke and Payton, touching the Sacrament.

Pooles accuſation agaynſt Broke.

The ſecōd accuſer was Poole, who obiected againſt him, that about ij. yeares paſt, he him ſelfe dinyng with the ſayd Broke, with xv. or xvj. other honeſt men, heard him thus ſay at yͤ table, that yͤ thyng whiche yͤ Prieſtes vſe to hold vp ouer their heades, was not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but a Sacrament to put vs in remembraunce therof. Vnto whoſe obiections the ſayd Broke aunſwered, that a man in myrth might well enough with charitie beſhrewe ſuch a geſt, as when he had dyned with a man, could ſo long after remember to ſay him ſuch a grace: & required of Poole, of whence the reſt of the geſtes were. Hée aūſwered they were of the towne all. Thē inferred he, that he was ſure Poole could as well remember ſome of their names whiche then were preſent, as freſhly to kéepe in minde (for ſo by oth vpon a booke he had affirmed) euery word of the whole matter which he obiected: but for that yͤ matter was vtterly vntrue. Wherupō the ſayd Broke deſired their honours to conſider the ſlendernes of his tale.

To be ſhort, he with yͤ reſt of his felowes, to witte, Rafe Hare, Coppen, and Iames the Barber, were for that tyme diſmiſſed.

The trouble and examination of Syr W. Smith, & Iohn Butler Commiſſary.

Duryng the tyme while theſe foure were thus in examination at London, the other ij. to wytte, Syr William Smith preacher, and Iohn Butler, by commaundement were apprehended in Calyce, and bounde by ſuretie not to paſſe the gates of the towne of Calyce. In the whiche towne, the ſayd Iohn Butler Commiſſary was accuſed by Rich. Thorpe and Iohn Ford ſouldiers of Calyce, ſaying that hee ſhould ſay, that if the Sacrament of the altar bee fleſhe, bloude, and bone, thē there is good aqua vitę at Iohn Spiſers. Vppon which accuſation the ſayd Thorpe and Forde brought for recordes before the Counſaile of Calyce, Marraunt Haynes, Iohn Luckes, Harry Huſſon, and Harry Troſte, all of the Pariſh of Oye beſide Calyce. Wherupon ſhortly after, the ſayd Ioh. Butler and Sir W. Smith were ſent for, and by one Swallowe a purſeuant, which fet vp yͤ other aforeſaid, brought into England, vnto the houſe of the ſayd Swallowe, dwelling by S. Iames, where the kinges Maieſtie lay at that time, and the next day beyng Thurſday, after dyner, Butler & Smyth were brought to yͤ ſtarre chamber before the priuy Counſaile, where both ſedition and hereſie was obiected againſt them: and after much talke, was ſayd vnto them by yͤ Lord Cromwell, that they ſhould make their purgation by the law: And from thence by the foreſayd Swallow they were ſent to the Fléete.

The accuſers of I. Butler.

Aqua vitæ to digeſt the bloud & bones of the Sacrament.

The examination of Ioh. Butler.

The next day being Friday, after dynner, Butler & Smyth were ſent for to come to Bathe place, where they were brought into the chappell, there ſitting doctor Clarke biſhop of Bathe, Doct. Sampſon, then Biſhop of Chicheſter, doctor Repſe, then biſhop of Norwiche, who was a Monke, being faſt a ſléepe. Then was obiected vnto Butler with great reuerēce, the opprobrious woordes ſpoken againſt the bleſſed Sacrament, rehearſing (as is aforeſayd) the articles. Butler required to haue them in writing, and ſo would make aūſwere, in writing. The which they would not graūt him: and vpon that aunſwere he ſtóde. Then coler gathered in yͤ biſhop of Chicheſter. The ſtory were to long to wryte: yet part ye ſhal vnderſtand. Chicheſter found great fault that Butler made not lowe curſie, being ſtubborne & arrogant, as he ſaid, and in fine, found fault with his ſhyrt. Then turning him about, he called to hys brother Banneſter being preſēt (that time dwelling in Pater noſter Row) to make aunſwere for the ſhyrte. He ſayd, I can make aunſwer for the ſhyrt. No good anſwere ſayd Chicheſter. Forſooth, ſaid he, yͤ ſhyrt is mine: I lent it him, becauſe he brought none wͭ him, for he was not permitted to haue any ſeruant. A good aūſwere ſayd yͤ B. of Bath. Thē Butler made low curteſye, & ſayd, yͤ ſhyrt is anſwered. Thē Chicheſter ſayd yͤ mockeſt vs. But he ſayd no. Thys is parſel of yͤ ſtory.

¶ *The ſtory of William Smyth.*

The trouble and examination of Syr W. Smith Curate.

Then after Butler, was Sir Williā Smith Curate of our Lady pariſh in Calice, called before them, & charged in a maner with the ſame hainous errours and pernicious opinions, that were obiected againſt the ſayd Rafe Hare, and thereto was added, that hee had ſpoken and preached againſt our bleſſed Ladye, againſt praying to Saintes, againſt doyng of good workes, and many other lyke things: and therewithall one Richard Long, a man of armes of Calice proued againſt the ſaide Sir Smyth, and the foreſayd Broke by an othe taken vppon a booke, that the ſayde Smyth and Broke did eate fleſh together in Lent in the ſaid Brokes houſe. For a Millers boy, ſayde hee, came into Brokes kitchen, and ſaw halfe a Lambe lye a roaſting at the fire.

Where as yͤ truth is, that the ſaid Syr W. Smith duryng all the Lent, came neuer once within the ſayd Brokes houſe. And it is as true alſo that the ſayd Rich. Long, vppon a diſpleaſure taken with his wife, went ſhortly after out of his owne houſe, to the Iuttie end of the Hauen at Calyce, where deſperatly hee drowned

False accuſation and periurie puniſhed of God.

him ſelfe, not one boy, but many men, women, girles and boyes ſeyng him miſerably taken vp agayn ſtarke dead: all whiche lamented his pitifull ruine. A terrible enſample vnto all ſuch as are ready to forſweare them ſelues on a booke vppon malice, or what ſoeuer other cauſe it bee: a thinge in theſe dayes ouer rife, euery where, and almoſt no where regarded as it ought to bee.

¶The trouble of Iohn Butler.

The trouble of Iohn Butler Commiſſary.

THere was alſo called before them Syr Iohn Butler, thē Commiſſarie of Calyce, whom they would haue burdened with the maintenaunce, or (at the leaſt wiſe) ſufferaūce, of the foreſaid Adam Damlip, which preached ſo long tyme there, and was not by him puniſhed. Who for his defēce aūſwered, that the Lord Deputie and the whole Counſell there ſo highly intertained, and ſo frendly vſed the ſayd Damlyp, and with their owne preſence and hyghe commendations outwardly ſo allowed and commended his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwiſe thē he did: and therefore humbly beſought their Lordſhips and other the Commiſſioners to bee good vnto him. At whoſe handes, after long attendaunce geuen, he was diſcharged, and ſo returned home agayn, being alſo dimiſſed of his Cōmiſſaryſhyp.

¶The recantation of certaine Calyce men.

The recātatiō & penaunce of Syr W. Smith, Rafe Hare, Iames Cocke, and Iames Barber, at Calyce.

NOw to declare what order was taken with theſe foreſayd Calyce men, it was appoynted that Syr W. Smith, Rafe Hare, Iames Cocke, and Iames Barber ſhould be ſent to Calyce, there to abiure and to do penaunce. Where Sir W. Smith was enioyned to make the Sermon, Rafe Hare, Iames Cocke, and Iames Barber ſtandyng with Fagottes vppon their ſhoulders. The Sermon was made in the Market of Calyce. Which beyng done, they went with their Fagottes about the market place, the Drumme and Fife goyng before them, & then returning to the Commiſſioners with teſtimoniall of the ſame, they departed. Albeit in this recantation, the ſaid W. Smith Curate of our Ladyes Church, handled his Sermon after that ſorte, as in effecte he denyed nothyng at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it ſatiſfied ſomewhat his aduerſaries malicious hartes, in that it bare the name of a recantatiō, accordyng to the Commiſſioners order, appointyng him thus openly to preach, and ſo to departe the towne and marches.

Iames Barber.

As touchyng Iames Barber aforeſayd, for ſomuch as his dwelling was not at Calyce, but foure myles of from the town, it was therfore enioyned him to beare his Fagot, not at Calyce, but on the Saterday next folowing to ſtand in ÿ Market there, where he dwelled, with his fagot vpon his ſhoulder, and the ſayd Sir W. Smith likewiſe there preached, as before.

And thus much cōcernyng the firſt Commiſſion ſent ouer to Calyce to enquire vpon the heretickes there.

¶An other Commiſsion ſent ouer to Calyce.

A new Commiſſion ſent downe to Calyce.

Falſe accuſation agaynſt the towne of Calyce.

The Cōmiſſioners appointed.

AFter all theſe thinges done and paſt, the grudgyng myndes of the aduerſaries yet were not ſatiſfied, but ſtill ſuggeſted new cōplaintes to the kynges eares agaynſt the towne of Calyce, making the kyng beleue, that through new opiniōs ÿ town was ſo diuided, that it was in great daūger of ÿ aduerſarie to be ouercome. Wherupon ſhortly after, the weeke before Eaſter next folowyng, other new Commiſſioners were ſent ouer by the king to Calyce, to witte, the Earle of Suſſex, L. great Chamberlaine, the Lord S. Iohn, Syr Iohn Gage knight, Sir Ioh. Baker knight, M. Laytō Clerke of the cloſet, and D. Currin, with ſpeciall inſtructions beſides ſigned by the kinges Maieſties own hand: for hys highnes had bene incenſed once agayne from the Counſell at Calyce, that the towne was in perill thorough diſſenſion and diuerſitie of opiniōs. Vpon their arriuall, maiſter D. Currin preached a notable Sermō exhortyng all men to charitie, hauing nothyng in hys mouth but charitie, charitie. But as it ſemed afterward, ſuch a burnyng charitie was in him & the reſt of ÿ Cōmiſſioners that, had not God pitied the innocencie of mens cauſes, there had a hundred bene burnt or hanged ſhortly after. But it happened farre otherwiſe. For of ÿ nūber of thoſe accuſers, foure were by thoſe Commiſſioners ſent ouer into England, to witte, Clement Philpot, ſeruaunt to the L. Liſle, Sir Edmund, Curate of our Ladies Churche, W. Touchet a Poſtmaſter, Peter Bequet, of ÿ which foure, Touchet and Bequet were ſent to their places agayne: the other ij. were drawen, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of all them that were accuſed, there was not one that loſt one heare of his head.

Exãple of Gods puniſhmēt vpon falſe accuſers.

After the Sermon was done, on the morowe, to wytte, on Sherethurſdaye, all the Commiſſioners ſolemnly receiued the Sacrament. And at after noone, the Counſell were with the Commiſſioners, and after their conſultation, tipped ſtaues warned, aboue the nomber of foure ſcore, ſo peruers perſons as the like were not in the towne or Marches, to appeare on the morow at. viij. of the clocke before the Counſell at the Staple Inne, who at theyr appearance were commaunded vpō their allegiaunce, to preſent all ſuch heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, & ſedicious perſōs, as they did know: & in no wiſe to doubt or dread ſo to doe, for they ſhould haue great aduātage therby, yea they ſhoulde haue either their liuings, or their goodes, and beſides that, they ſhould haue great thankes at the kings Maieſties hand, and his honorable Counſel, and what frendſhip they of the kings Counſell there could ſhewe them. All that good Fridaye, euen till. x. of the clock at night, thoſe wicked and malicious perſons occupied their time in aunſwering to diuers and ſundrye queſtions.

An other inquiſition at Calis againſt heretickes.

Theſe thinges were not ſo ſecreſlye done, but they were bewrayed and came to honeſt mens knowledge. Whereupon ſuch feare and diſtruſt aſſaulted all men, that neighbour miſtruſted neighbour, the maiſter the ſeruant, the ſeruant the maiſter, the huſband the wife, the wyfe the huſband, and almoſt euery one the other, that lamētable it was to ſee how mourningly men and womē went in the ſtreetes, hanging down their heads, ſhewing euident tokens of the anguiſh of their hartes.

Great perturbation at Calis.

¶The ſecond trouble of Thomas Broke.

The ſecond trouble of T. Broke.

VPon Eaſter Monday, one Hugh Councell an honeſt man, ſeruaunt to the ſayd Broke, was conuented before them, and by the ſpace of. xiiij. daies, not ſuffered to returne to his maiſters houſe, but kepte in cuſtodye, and manye times examined vppon articles and interrogatories, in hope to haue found worthy matter, either of hereſie or treaſon againſt the ſayd Broke: and the ſame daye that Broke was committed to warde, the ſaid Hugh Councell was diſcharged.

The Wenſday in the Eaſter weeke ſundry Queſtes were charged by their othes to make inquiſition for all maner of hereſies, erronious opinions and ſeditions, as a Queſt of Aldermē, an other of men at armes, and an other of Conſtables and Vintners, an other of common Soldiours, and an other of Commoners. And ſhortly after their preſentments, on good Friday, there was conuented before the Commiſſioners, and ſtraite were ſent to cloſe priſon, Anthony Pickering gentleman, Harry Tourney gentlemā, Syr George Darbye Prieſt, Ioh. Shephard, William Pellam, William Keuerdale, Ioh. Whitwode, Iohn Boote, Robert Clodder, Copen de Hane, and Mathew de Hound. Vpon whom ranne ſundry brutes: Some ſayd they ſhould be hanged, ſome ſayd burnt, ſome ſayd hanged, drawen, and quartered, ſome ſayd nayled to the Pillerie: ſo that pitifull it was to ſee the lamentation that their wiues,

Calis men impriſoned by their

their children, ſeruauntes, and frendes made ſecretely where they durſt, for that they founde euerye where wordes of diſcomfort, and no where of comfort, but ſtil inquiſition was made.

The ſecond trouble of William Steuens.

THe foreſayd William Steuens after his returne from London aboue mencioned, beſides manye other articles layd to him for religion, to the number of 40. or well nye, was by the lord Deputie charged that he had ſtayed the foreſayd Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and gaue hym meate, drinke and lodging, comming frō ẏ arrant traitor Cardinall Poole, & ſuborned by hym: and that he had receiued money of him, to the entent he ſhould preach in Calice falſe and erroneous doctrine, whereby the towne being deuided and at cōtention within it ſelfe, might eaſelye be ouercome and wonne by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the ſayde Steuens aūſwered, that what ſoeuer he had done vnto the ſayd Adam Damlip, hee had done it at the earneſt requeſt & commaundement of the ſayd Lord Deputie. Whereupon if it had bene treaſon in dede, hee muſt haue bene more faultie. Then the ſayd W. Steuens was againe the ſecond time by the ſayd Cōmiſſioners ſent ouer into England, and clapt in the Towre, and afterward, to wit, immediately after the ſayd Commiſſioners repaire vnto the kinges highnes, the ſayde lord Deputie was ſent for ouer, and likewiſe put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And when the kinges Maieſtye minded to haue ben gracious vnto hym, and to haue let him come forth, God toke him out of this world, whoſe bodye reſteth in the Tower, & his ſoule with God, I truſt, in heauen, for he dyed very repentant. But the wicked lady hys wyfe immediately vpon hys apprehenſion, fell diſtraught of minde, and ſo continued many yeares after. God for hys mercy, if ſhe yet liue, geue her his grace to repent.

False crimes forged agaynſt *William Steuens*.

William Steuens committed to the Tower.

L.Liſle Deputie of *Calice*, committed to the Tower.

Exāple of Gods puniſhment vpon hys perſecuters.

The ſeconde Mondaye after Eaſter, the foreſayde Broke was conuented before the Cōmiſſioners, and committed to cloſe priſon in the Mayors Gayle.

Broke committed to priſon.

Then the Counſell of Calice, doubting leſt there ſhoulde not be any ſedition or hereſye proued againſt him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied the Controllers office in the cuſtome houſe. This man was kept in cloſe priſon, ſo as neither hys, wyfe than great with childe, nor any other his friendes might repaire vnto him. Where, after that he had often times bene borne in hand, that there were diuers concealments come to light that were made by Broke in the office of Cuſtome, and that the ſayde Bradway ſhould be greuouſly puniſhed if he wold acknowledge none of them, nor burden the ſaid Broke with no kinde of concealement: the poore ſimple man, hoping therby to get releaſe of his impriſonment, accuſed the ſayd Broke, that he had for a long time concealed. 4. grotes euery day for his Clarkes wages, and to that accuſation they cauſed the ſimple man to ſet hys owne hande before witneſſes.

Wherevpon after a day or two, the ſayde Bradway greued in hys conſcience for the ſame his moſt vntrue accuſation, did with a knife enterpriſe to cut hys owne throte: but God of his mercye ſo directed his wicked purpoſe, that the backe of his knife was towarde hys weſand. Whereby though the wound were broade, yet he eſcaped wyth lyfe. And as he gaue a grone with the ſodaine payne that he felt, the Gailer came vp, and bereft him of the knife. But through the giltines of the falſe accuſation, and ſhame of the worlde, the man loſt hys wyts, who then ſtaring and diſmaide was diſmiſſed out of priſon, and a long time after went in piteous caſe ſo diſmayed about the ſtreete, to the great impoueriſhing of hym, his poore wife and familie.

False accuſatiō puniſhed by Gods hand.

Gods mercy in puniſhing.

This kynd of handlyng of the ſayd Broke, made all his frendes, but ſpecially his wife, to be greatly afeard of the malice of his enemies; the rather alſo, for that all his goodes and landes were ceiſed, and his wife thruſt into the meaneſt place of all his houſe, with her childrē and familie, the keyes of all the dores and cheſtes beſide taken from her. Who for that ſhe was rigorouſly entreated at Sir Edward Ringleis hand, Controller of the towne (an office of no ſmall charge, though hee knew not a B. from a battledore, nor euer a letter of the boke) ſaying vnto her, that if ſhee lyked not the roume, he would thruſt her quite out of ẏ dores: well Sir, ſayd ſhe, well, the kinges ſlaughter houſe had wronge when you were made a gentleman, and with all ſpede ſhe wrote a letter to ẏ Lorde Cromwell, therein diſcourſing howe hardly and ſore thoſe poore men were handled, that were committed to ward and cloſe priſon, and that all mē feared (what through the malice of their Papiſticall enemies, and the great rigour and ignorant zeale of thoſe that were in authoritie) they ſhould ſhortly for their faith and cōſciences, beyng true men, and ſuch as reuerently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her huſband, who was yet more extremely handled then any other: So that, vnles his honour voutchſaued to be a meane to the kings Maieſtie, that they with their cauſes might be ſent ouer into England, they were but dead men.

Letters ſent to the Lorde *Cromwell* from Calice.

Whereupon the ſayd Lord Cromwell wrote ſpedely his letters vnto the Commiſſioners, declaryng the kynges Maieſties pleaſure and commaundemēt was, that the arrant traitour & hereticke Broke, with a doſen or. xx. complices, ſhould with their accuſers be immediatelye ſent ouer, that here in England they myght receiue their iudgement, & there at Calice to the great terrour of like offenders hereafter, ſuffer according to their demerites.

The Lorde *Cromwells* letters to the Commiſſioners at Calice.

Now by ẏ time that ẏ ſayd Cōmiſſioners had receiued theſe letters, they had made out preceptes for viij. or. ix. ſcore honeſt men more to be caſt in priſon. But theſe letters ſo appalled them, that they ſtayde, and afterward ſent no moe to ward. But making then as diligent inquiſitiō as was poſſible, to haue found ſome worthye matter againſt thoſe before named, whereby there might haue bene ſome coulour, both of the Counſells greuous complaintes, and of the Commiſſioners rigorous dealing, when no ſuch thing could fall out, becauſe they would be aſſured that they ſhould not go vnpuniſhed, they firſt baniſhed thē ẏ towne and Marches of Calice with a Trumpet blowne, vnder payne of death, for a hundred yeare & a day (if that one day had ben left out, all had bene marde) and then ſent thē backe to priſon, ſtaying thē there vpō hope that the lord Cromwell ſhould come into captiuitie ſooner then he dyd. But at laſt, to wit, on May day, they ſent the xij. priſoners through the market, the ſayde Broke going before with irons on his legs, as the chiefe captain, the reſt following him, two & two without irons, vnto ſhipborde, and then were they all coupled in irons two and two together. Where, becauſe they were lothe to go vnder ẏ hatches, Sir Ioh. Gage with a ſtaffe ſmote ſome of thē cruelly. Wherupon Anthony Pickering ſayd vnto hym: Sir I beſeche you yet be as good vnto vs as you would be to your horſes or dogs: let vs haue a litle ayre that we be not ſmothered. Yet that requeſt could not be obtained, but the hatches were put downe cloſe, and they garded and kept with a great company of men, and ſo ſayling forward by Gods merciful prouidence, were within. xxiiij. houres at anker before the Tower of London.

The xij. priſoners of Calice ſent to London.

The crueltie of a popiſhe perſecuter.

And whē the lord Cromwell vnderſtode they were come, he commaunded their yrons to be ſmyt of at the Tower wharfe, and the priſoners to be brought vnto hym. When he ſaw thē he ſmiled vpon them, ſtedfaſtly beholding ech of them, and then ſayd: Sirs, you muſt take payne for a time. Go your waye to the Flete, and ſubmit your ſelues priſoners there, and ſhortly you ſhall know more. So in dede they did, for that euening he ſent them worde they ſhould bee of good chere, for if

The xij. priſoners put in the Flete.

God ſent him life, they ſhould ſhortly go home with as much honeſty, as they came with ſhame.

Whileſt theſe xiij. perſecuted men lay in the Fléete, and W.Steuens in the Tower, to wytte the xix. day of July.an. 1541. the foreſayd Lorde Cromwell for treaſon layde agaynſt him, was at Tower hill beheaded, as is before ſpecified in hys ſtory, who made there a very Chriſtian end. Then had the poore Calyce men great cauſe to feare, if they had not altogether depended on the mercyfull prouidēce of their heauēly father, whoſe bleſſed will they knew directed all thinges. But he in the middeſt of their depe troubles and miſeries ſo comforted them, that euen as the daungers and troubles increaſed, ſo likewiſe did their conſolation and ioy in him: ſo farre forth, as Mathew de Hound one of thoſe. xiij. who was in trouble onely for that hée heard Copen de Hall read a Chapter of yͤ new Teſtament, and was as déepe in puniſhment, and in baniſhment from his wife, children, and countrey as the reſt, gotte in ſhort tyme ſuch inſtruction, that hauyng therwith a ſoule and conſcience freighted ful of godly zeale vnto Gods glory and the true doctrine of Chriſt, within fewe monethes after hys deliueraunce out of the Fléete, for inueying cōſtantly agaynſt the wicked honoryng of Images and praying vnto Saintes departed, was cruelly in a moſt conſtant faith and patience, burned in Flaunders.

Mathewe de Hounde a bleſſed Martyr of God, burned in Flaunders.

Nowe therefore when all hope in man was paſt, the right honourable Lorde Audeley, Lorde Chauncellour of England, without farther examination, diſcharged firſt the ſayd xiij. that were in the Fléete, and at length two yeares after, he deliuered W. Steuens alſo by the kynges owne motion, out of the Tower, ſaying at the diſchargyng of thoſe.xiij. Sirs pray for the kyngs Maieſtie. His pleaſure is that you ſhal all be preſently diſcharged. And though your liuynges be taken from you, yet diſpayre not: God will not ſée you lacke. But for Gods ſake Sirs beware how you deale with Popiſh Prieſtes: for, ſo God ſaue my ſoule, ſome of thē be knaues all. Sirs ſayd he, I am commaunded by the Counſell to tell you that you are diſcharged by vertue of the kynges generall pardon, but that pardon excepteth & forbiddeth all Sacramentaries, & the moſt part or all of you are called Sacramētaries. Therfore I cā not ſée how that pardon doth you any pleaſure. But pray for the kynges highnes, for his graces pleaſure is, that I ſhould diſmiſſe you, and ſo I do, and pitie you all: Farewell Sirs.

The Lorde *Audeley* good to the perſecuted members of Chriſt.

The common ſaying of the *L. Audeley* concerning popiſhe prieſtes.

So geuing God moſte hartye thankes for his mightie and mercyfull deliueryng of them, they departed, diſmiſſed as you haue heard, being in dede in very poore eſtate: but not in ſo miſerable ſtate as all thoſe.viij. Counſellours of Calyce were within one yeare and a halfe after. For where as the other thrée Counſellours, which ſemed more fauourable to them: to witte, the Lord Gray, Sir George Carow, and Sir Richard Grinefield whiche purged yͤ towne of thoſe ſclaunders that vntruly were raiſed vpon it, & therfore for a tyme were in their Princes hyghe diſpleaſure: within that yeare were all iij. in greater fauour then euer they were before, & that not without the reward of xx.pound by yeare to him and to his heyres, who had leaſt: the other viij. Councellours, vniuſtly chargyng them and the towne of ſedition and hereſie: to ſay, the Lord Liſle, the Lord Sandes, Sir Iohn Wallop, Sir Edward Rynſley, Robert Fowler Eſquire Vicetreaſurer, Sir Tho. Palmer knight, called long Palmer, W. Simpſon Eſquire Vndermarſhall, and Iohn Rockewood, were either greatlye out of their Princes fauor and in yͤ Tower or elſwhere priſoners, either els by very deſperate deathes in outward appearaūce, takē out of this world: For tediouſnes I will rehearſe but onely yͤ horrible end of yͤ ſayd Rockewood yͤ chief ſtirrer vp of all the afflictions afore ſpoken of: who euen to the laſt breath ſtaryng and ragyng, cried, he was vtterly dāned: and beyng willed to aſke God mercy who was ready to forgeue all that aſked mercy on him, hee brayd and cried out: all to late, for I haue ſought maliciouſly the deathes of a number of the honeſteſt men in the town, and though I ſo thought them in my hart, yet I did that lay in me to bring thē to an euil death: all to late therfore, all to late. Which ſame wordes he aunſwered to one that at the departure of the xiij. in prons towardes England ſayd: Sir I neuer ſawe mē of ſuch honeſtie ſo ſharply corrected, and takyng it ſo patiently and ioyfully: Rockewoode then fetching a friſke or.ij. ſcoffingly aunſwered: all to late. The Vndermarſhall ſoddenly fell downe in the Counſell chamber and neuer ſpake worde after, nor ſhewed token of remembraunce. The plages of the other alſo as I am crediblye informed, were litle better.

Calice men diſmiſſed.

Example how God proſpereth the fauourers and frendes to hys Goſpell.

Example how God turneth the malice of the enemyes vpon their owne heades.

Example of Gods iudgement vpon a cruell perſecutor.

¶The ſecond apprehenſion and Martyrdom of Adam Damlip.

COncerning Adā Dālip, otherwiſe called George Bucker, ye heard before declared pag.1401. howe he being conuented before the Biſhops at Lambeth, & afterward ſecretly admoniſhed, and hauing money geuen him by his friendes, to aboyde, and not to appeare againe before the Biſhops: after he had ſent his allegations in writing vnto them, departed into the Weſt country, and there continued teaching a ſchole a certaine ſpace, about a yeare or two. After that, the good man was agayne apprehended by yͤ miſerable inquiſition of the.vj. Articles, & brought vp to Lōdon, where he was by Ste. Gardiner cōmaunded into yͤ Marſhalſey, & there lay yͤ ſpace of other ij. yeares or therabout.

Adam Damlip agayne apprehended.

During yͤ impriſonment of this George in yͤ Marſhalſey, Ioh.Marbecke (as partly ye heard before) alſo was cōmitted into yͤ ſame priſon, which was yͤ morow after Palme ſonday. The maner of that time ſo required, that at Eaſter euery perſon muſt nedes come to cōfeſſion. Wherupō Marbecke with yͤ reſt of yͤ priſoners there, was enforced to come vpon Eaſter daye to Syr George aforeſaid, to be confeſſed, who was then Confeſſour to the whole houſe. By this occaſion Ioh.Marbecke, which had neuer ſéene him before, entring into conference with him, perceiued what he was, what he had bene, what troubles he ſuſtained, how long he had lyen there in priſon, by whom, & wherfore: who declared moreouer his mynde to Marbecke, to the effect as foloweth: And now becauſe (ſayde hee) I thinke they haue forgotten mee, I am fullye minded to make my humble ſute to yͤ biſhop of Wincheſter in an Epiſtle, declaring therin myne obedience, humble ſubmiſſion and earneſt deſyre to come to examination. I know yͤ worſt. I can but léeſe my life preſent, which I had leauer doo, then here to remayne, and not be ſuffered to vſe my talent to Gods glorye. Wherefore (God wylling) I wyll ſurely put it in proofe.

George Bucker committed to the priſoners in the Marſhalſey.

Acquaintaunce betwene *Ioh. Marbecke* and *George Bucker*, otherwiſe called *Adam Damlip*.

This Damlip, for his honeſt & godly behauiour was beloued of all yͤ whole houſe: but ſpeciallye of yͤ kéeper him ſelf, whoſe name was Maſſy, whō he allwayes called Maſter: & being ſuffered to go at libertie within the houſe whether he would, he dyd much good among the common and raſcall ſorte of priſoners in rebuking dice and ſynne, and kept them in ſuch good order and awe, that the kéeper thought him ſelfe to haue a great treaſure of hym. And no leſſe alſo Marbecke him ſelfe confeſſeth, to haue foūd great cōfort by him. For notwithſtanding the ſtraite precepte geuen by the Biſhop of Wyncheſter, that no man ſhould come to him, nor he to ſpeake with any man: yet the ſayde Adam many tymes would finde the meanes to come & comfort him.

Adam Damlip well beloued among the priſoners, ſpecially of the keeper.

Maſſy keeper of the Marſhalſey.

Now when he had made and drawen out hys Epiſtle, he deliuered the ſame to hys Maiſter the keeper, vpon Saterday in the morning, which was about the ſecond wéeke before Whytſonday following, deſiring him to delyuer it at yͤ Court to the biſhop of Wincheſter. The kéeper ſayd he would, and ſo dyd. The Byſhop, what quicke ſpéede hee made for his diſpatch, I

know

Adam Damlip writeth to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

know not, but thus it fell out, as ye ſhall heare.

Steuen Gardiner ſendeth out a precept for the execution of Adam Damlip.

The keper came home at night very late, and whē the priſoners (which had taried ſupper for his cōming) ſaw hym ſo ſad and heauy, they demed ſomthing to be amyſſe. At laſt the keper caſting vp hys eyes vpon Sir George, ſaid: O George I can tel thee tidings. What is that maiſter, quoth he? Vpon Monday next thou and I muſt go to Calice. To Calice maiſter? what to do? I know not, quoth the keper, and pulled out of hys purſe a pece of ware, with a litle labell of parchment hanging out thereat, which ſemed to be a precept. And when Sir George ſawe it, he ſayd: well well maiſter, now I know what the matter is. What, quoth the keper? Truly maiſter I ſhall dye in Calice. Nay, quoth the keper, I truſt it be not ſo. Yes, yes maiſter, it is moſt true, and I prayſe God for hys goodnes therin. And ſo the keper & they went together to ſupper with heauy cheare for Sir George, as they there called him.

The chearefull countenance of Adam Damlip.

Who notwithſtādyng was mery him ſelf, & did eate his meate as well as euer he did in all hys life: In ſomuch that ſome at the borde ſayde vnto hym, that they marueiled how he could eate hys meate ſo well, knowyng he was ſo neare hys death. Ah maiſters, quoth he, do you thinke that I haue bene Gods priſoner ſo long in the Marſhalſey, and haue not yet learned to dye? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will ſtrengthen me therein. Ex litteris Ioa. Marbecki.

Adam Damlip brought to Calice to ſuffer.

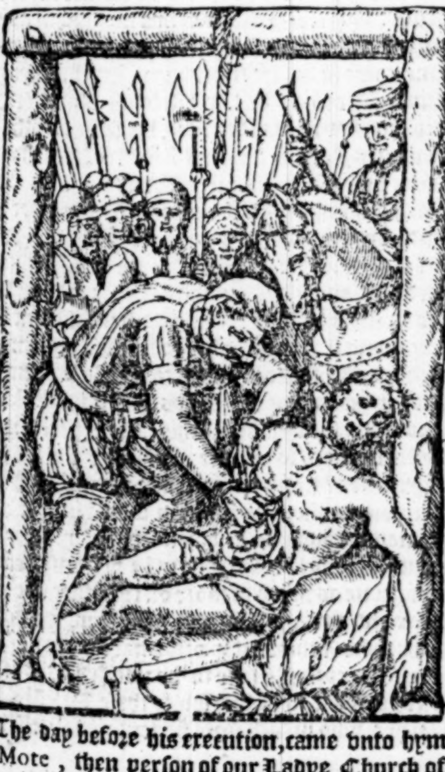
And ſo vpon Monday early in the mornyng before day, the keper with iij. other of the Knight Marſhalles ſeruauntes, ſettyng out of London, conueyed the ſayd Adam Damlyp vnto Calyce vpon the Aſcenſion euē, and there committed him to the Maiors priſon. Vpon which day Iohn Butler the Commiſſary aforeſaid, and Sir Daniell his Curate of S. Peters, were alſo cōmitted to the ſame priſon, and commaundement geuen no man to ſpeake with Butler.

I. Butler againe impriſoned, with Syr Daniell hys Curate.

Vppon Saterday next was the day of execution for Damlyp. The cauſe whiche firſt they layd to hys charge, was for hereſie. But becauſe by an acte of Parlament, all ſuch offenſes done before a certaine day, were pardoned (through whiche Acte he could not bee burdened with any thyng that hee had preached or taught before) yet for the receiuyng of the foreſayd French crowne of Cardinall Poole (as you heard before) he was condēned of treaſon, and in Calyce cruelly put to death, being drawen, hanged, and quartered.

The Martyrdome of Adam Damlip.

The cruell death and Martyrdome of Damlyp.



The day before his execution, came vnto hym one M. Mote, then perſon of our Ladye Church of Calice, ſaying: your foure quarters ſhall bee hanged at foure partes of the towne. And where ſhall my head be, ſayd Damlip? Vpon the Lanterne gate, ſayd Mote. Then Damlip aunſwered: Then I ſhall not nede to prouide for my buriall. At his death Sir Rafe Ellerker knight, then knight Marſhal there, would not ſuffer the innocent and godly man, to declare either his faith or ẏ cauſe he dyed for, but ſayd to ẏ executioner, diſpatch ẏ knaue, haue done. For Sir Will. Mote appointed there to preach, declared to ẏ people how he had ben a ſower of ſeditious doctrine, & albeit he was for that pardoned by ẏ generall pardon, yet he was condemned for beyng a traitor againſt ẏ king. To ẏ which whē Adam Damlyp would haue replied & purged him ſelf, the foreſayd Sir Rafe Ellerker, would not ſuffer him to ſpeake a worde, but cōmaūded hym to be had away. And ſo moſt mekely, patiently, & ioyfully, ẏ bleſſed & innocent Martyr toke his death, Sir Rafe Ellerker ſaying, ẏ he would not away before he ſawe ẏ traytors hart out.

The conſtant courage of Adā Damlip, not caryng for hys death.

Damlip falſly accuſed of treaſon and innocently put to death.

But ſhortly after ẏ ſayd Sir Rafe Ellerker in a ſkirmiſh or road betwene the Frenchmen and vs, at Bullayne was among other ſlayne. Whoſe onely death ſufficed not hys enemies, but after they had ſtripped him ſtarke naked, they cut of his preuy members, and cut the hart out of his body, and ſo left him a terrible example to all bloudy and mercyles men. For no cauſe was knowen, why they ſhewed ſuch indignation agaynſt the ſayd Sir Rafe Ellerker, more thē againſt the reſt, but that it is written: Faciens iuſtitias dominus & iudicia omnibus iniuria preſsis.

An example of Gods iuſt reuengement.

Of the death of Syr Rafe Ellerker, read in Halles Chronicle.

An other trouble of Iohn Butler, and Syr Daniell hys Curate.

As touchyng Iohn Butler, and Sir Daniel his Curate, impriſoned (as ye heard) ẏ ſame day with Damlyp, vppon Monday next folowyng they were committed to Iohn Maſſy aforeſaid, keper of the Marſhalſey, & his company, and brought to the Marſhalſey, where he continued and his Curate, 9. monethes and more. At laſte being ſore layde vnto by Sir Iohn Gage, Sir Iohn Baker, and Sir Thomas Arundell knightes, but eſpecially by Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, for the reteining of Adam Damlip, yet by frendes ſollicityng the kynges highnes for him (namely Sir Leonard Muſgraue, and his brother Baunſter, who were bounde for his appearaunce in a thouſand poūd) hee at length by great labour and long tyme, was diſcharged, and at laſt by licence permitted to returne to Calyce agayne. Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Caletienſiū.

Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Caletienſium.

W. Steuens an earneſt Proteſtant falſly condemned for Popery.

Furthermore, as touching William Steuens aboue mentioned, who remained all this while priſoner in the Tower, the ſame was alſo condemned with Adam Damlip of treaſon, which was for note & crime of Poporie in lodgyng Adam Damlip, whiche came from Cardinall Poole ẏ traytour, in his houſe at the Lord Deputies commaundement. Notwithſtandyng the kyng afterwarde vnderſtandyng more of the ſayd W. Steuens, how innocent he was from that crime, beyng knowen to all men to be an earneſt and zelous Proteſtant, gaue hym his pardon, and ſent him home agayne to Calice, and ſo lykewiſe all the other xij. aboue mentioned.

W. Steuens with the reſt pardoned of the kyng.

The ſtory of a poore laboryng man in Calyce.

A poore man burned at Calice for the right fayth of the Sacrament.

BY the credible information & writyng of ẏ ſaid Calyce men, whiche were then in trouble, it is reported of a certeine poore labouryng man of Calyce, who after the preachyng of Adam Damlyp, beyng in certaine company, ſayd: that he would neuer beleue, that a Prieſt could make the Lordes body at his pleaſure. Wherupon he was then accuſed, and alſo condemned by one Haruey Commiſſary there. Which Haruey in tyme of his iudgement inueyng agaynſt hym with opprobrious wordes, ſayd: that he was an hereticke, and ſhould dye a vyle death. The poore man (whoſe name yet I haue not certainly learned) anſwering for hym ſelfe againe, ſayd that he was no hereticke, but was in the faith of Chriſt. And where as thou ſayeſt (ſayde

A notable example of Gods iudgement vpon a bloudye perſecuter.

he) that I ſhall dye a vyle death: thou thy ſelfe ſhalt dye a vyler death, and that ſhortlye, and ſo it came to paſſe: For within halfe a yeare after, the ſayd Haruey was hanged, drawen, and quartered for treaſon, in the ſayd towne of Calice.

¶An other hiſtory of one Dodde a Scottiſh man, burned in Calice.

One Dodde burned in Calyce.

After the burning of this poore man, there was alſo an other certaine ſcholer, counted to be a Scottiſh man, named Dodde, who comming out of Germany, was there taken with certain Germaine bookes about him, and being examined thereupon, and ſtandyng conſtantly to the truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the ſayd towne of Calice, within the ſpace of a yeare, or there about, after the other godly Martyr aboue mencioned.

The ſtorye of Williā Croſbowmaker, bearyng a Billet in Calyce.

And for ſo much as I am preſentlye in hande wyth matters of Calice, I cā not paſſe from thence without memory of an other certayne honeſt man of the ſame townſhip, named William Button, *aliâs* Croſbowmaker, although the time of this ſtory is a litle more auncient in yeares: which ſtory is this. William Croſbomaker a ſouldiour of Calice and the kinges ſeruaunt, being a man as ſome natures be, ſomewhat pleaſantly diſpoſed, vſed when he met with Prieſtes, to demaund of them certaine mery queſtions of paſtime, as theſe: Whether if a mā were ſodeinly taken, and wanted an other thing, he might not without offence occupye one of the Popes pardons, in ſteede of a broken paper?

Williā Croſbowmakers queſtions.

An other queſtiō was, whether in the world might better be wanting Dogs or Prieſtes. And if it were aunſwered that Dogges might rather be ſpared: to that he would reply agayn & inferre, that if there were no Dogges, we could make no moe, but if there lacked ignorant Prieſtes, we might ſoone, and to ſoone, make to many of them.

It happened that in the time of D.Darley perſon of our Ladies church in Calice being Commiſſary there for Archbiſhop Warham, there came a blacke Frier to Calice with the Popes pardons: who for.iiij.d. would delyuer a ſoule out of Purgatorie. The Frier was full of Romiſh vertues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. Thys foreſaid Williā Button, *aliâs* Croſbowmaker, cōming to ye pardons, & pretēding that he would deliuer his father & frēdes ſoules, aſked if ye holy father ye pope could deliuer ſoules out of Purgatory. The Frier ſaid, there is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth Button, doth he not of charitye deliuer all the ſoules therout? Of which wordes he was accuſed to the Commiſſary: who at his appearing before the ſayde Commiſſarye, confeſſed to haue aſked ſuch queſtions. The Commiſſarye beyng angry thereat, ſayd: Doubteſt thou thereof, thou hereticke? There was ſtanding by a blacke Frier named Capell, an Engliſh man, who ſayd to the Commiſſary, there is x.M. of theſe heretickes betwixte Graueling and Trere. Button aunſwered, Maiſter Frier, of all mē you may keepe ſilence. For your coate hath ben twiſe cut of from the fayth. The firſt tyme your order was enioyned to haue your blacke coate ſhorter then your whyte, and for the ſecond tyme your order muſt go to the furtheſt part of their Church, and there ſyng an Antheme of our Lady. The Commiſſarye at theſe wordes chafed, calling Button hereticke, with manye other opprobrious wordes. Then ſayd Button to the Commiſſary, if your holy father the Pope maye delyuer ſoules out of Purgatory, and wyll not of charitye deliuer them: then I would to God the kyng woulde make me Pope, and I woulde ſurelye delyuer all out without money. At theſe wordes the Commiſſarye raged, and reuiled Button exceedinglye, cauſing hym to beare a Billet, and procured his wages (which was vj.d. day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the kinges maieſty, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace, who ſent hym to Calice againe, and gaue hym after that.viij.d. a day.

Hereſie to doubt of the Popes charitie.

This Antheme the blacke Friers were inioyned to ſing euery night to our Ladye, in prayſe of her conception. Wherof read before pag. 916.

W.Croſbowmaker pardoned of the king.

¶A notable example, wherein may appeare as well the deſpite of D.London, and other Papiſtes agaynſt the Goſpellers, as alſo the fidelitie of a matrone towardes her huſbande.

The cruell malice of D.London agaynſt the Goſpel.

For ſo much as mention was made a litle before of D.London, we will ſomewhat more adde of hym, becauſe the matter ſemeth neither impertinent nor vnfruitfull: to the entent it may more euidently appeare what truth & truſt is to be looked for, of this cruell kind of Papiſtes. This D.London was Warden of ye new Colledge in Oxford, where it happened that certaine plate was ſtolen and conueyed, and brought vp to London, and ſold to a Goldſmith named William Calaway. This Calaway was a man of good and honeſt name, and reputation amongeſt his neighbours, but ſpecially earneſt and zelous towardes the Goſpel, and a great maintainer therof. He had oftentimes before bought much plate of the ſame man without any perill or daūger: wherfore he doubted the leſſe of his fidelitie.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

William Calaway Goldſmith of London.

At the laſt the principall of the theft beyng takē, and the Goldſmith alſo that was the byer beyng knowen, D.London, when he vnderſtode hym to be a fauourer of the Goſpel, wherof he was an extreme aduerſarie, began ſtraight wayes to be in a rage, and to ſweare great and deepe othes, that hee would ſpare neither labour nor coſt, but would bryng the Goldſmith to the gallowes, althoughe it ſhould coſt him fiue hundred pound. To be ſhort, this good Goldſmith was araigned as acceſſary, and an action of felonie brought agaynſt him. He contrarywiſe alledged that they ought not to procede againſt him, the principall being aliue. D.London on the contrary part, affirmed that the principall was hanged: which was moſt falſe, for he was one of the ſame Colledge, and was alyue and but lately ſet at libertie. To be brief he beyng found giltie, the iudge aſked him what hee could alledge, why hee ſhould not dye. He required to haue the priuiledge of his boke, according to the auncient cuſtome and maner. But here it was obiected agaynſt him that he was Bigamus, and therefore he might not haue his booke by the law, notwithſtandyng that he neuer had ij.wyues, but becauſe his wife had two huſbandes, it was imputed to him for Bigamia.

This principall was a Chaplain of the ſame Colledge.

Calaway claimed the priuiledge of his booke.

Bigamus, that is a man that hath had 2. wiues.

Thus this good Goldſmith beyng ſecluded from all hope of life, by ye craftye ſpite of hys malignant aduerſaries: his wife beyng a woman of proued honeſty and good fame, came in before the iudges, and perceyuyng her former Mariage to bee hurtefull vnto her huſband, to ſaue her huſbandes life, ſhe tooke an othe before the iudges, that ſhe was not Bigama, and that ſhe was neuer maryed to mo men then to the ſayd Goldſmith: and although ſhe had children by her other huſband and continued diuers yeares with him, yet ſhe ſware that ſhe was neuer maried vnto him. Thus this woman by defamyng of her ſelf to her great prayſe, & ſingular example of loue, deliuered her innocent huſband: thinkyng it better for her to liue with ignominie & reproche, then for her huſband to dye, leſſe eſteemyng ye loſſe of her good name, thē of hys lyfe. Ed. Ed. Hallo.

A ſingular example of a faythfull wife to ſaue her huſband.

True loue betwene man and wife.

Caſe of periurie.

As touchyng the qualitie of this facte or periurie, I intermedle not here to diſcuſſe, but leaue it at large to the iudgement of Lawyers to define vpon. Truth it is that periurie neither in mā nor in womā is to be commēded, neither ought to be defended. But yet the true hart & faithful loue betwen thys mā & hys wife, coūterpeaſing agayne as much or more on the other ſide, the more rare and ſtraūge I ſee it in many couples now a dayes, the more I thinke it worthy not only to be prayſed, but alſo for example ſake to be notified. But in the meane time, what ſhall we ſay to theſe Prieſtes and aduerſaryes, who in ſuch ſorte violently doe preſſe and

force

forre the poore ſheepe of Chriſt with perill of their conſciences vnto ſuch periurie, and that in ſuche cauſes, where no truth is ſought, but innocencie oppreſſed, true religion perſecuted, and onely their ſpite and wrath againſt Gods worde wreaked.

During the time of theſe ſixe Articles aforeſayde, which brought manye good men vnto death: yet ſo it happened by an other contrarie Acte ſet forth before, for the kinges ſupremacie, (as ye haue heard) that the contrary ſect alſo of the Papiſtes was not all in quiet. For beſides the death of More, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the other charterhouſe Monkes, Friers & Prieſtes aboue ſpecified, about this yeare were alſo condemned and executed by the ſame law, two other, of whom one was a Prieſt of Chelſey, named Larke, which was put to death at London for defending the biſhop of Romes ſupremacie, aboue the kinges authoritie. The other was Germine Gardiner (nere kinſman to Steu. Gardiner, and yet more nere to his ſecrete counſell, as it is ſuppoſed) who likewiſe in practiſing for the Pope, againſt the kinges iuriſdiction, was taken with the maner, and ſo brought vnto the gybbet.

Larke, Prieſt of Chelſey, Germine Gardiner, traytours againſt the kings ſupremacie.

Vpon the detection of this Garmine Gardiner beyng Secretarie to Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter his kynſman, it ſemed to ſome, and ſo was alſo inſinuated vnto the kyng, not to bee vnlyke, but that the ſayd Germine neither would nor durſt euer attempte any ſuch matter of Popery, without ſome ſettyng on, or cōſent of the Byſhop, hee beyng ſo nere vnto hym and to all hys ſecretes, as hee was. Whereby the kyng began ſomewhat more to ſmell and miſdoubt the doynges of the Byſhop: but yet he ſo couertly and clerely conueyed hys matters, playing vnder the borde, after hys wonted fetches, in ſuch ſort, as (I can not tel how) ſtil he kept in with the kyng, to the great inquietation of the publicke ſtate of the realme, and eſpecially of Chriſtes Churche.

Suſpicion agaynſt Steuen Gardiner.

In declaring the dreadfull law before ſet forth of the ſixe Articles, which was an. 1540. ye heard what penaltie was appointed for the breach of the ſame, in like caſe as in treaſon and felony, ſo that no remedy of any recātation would ſerue. This ſeueritie was a litle mitigated by an other Parliament, holdē afterward an. 1544 by the which Parlament it was decreed, that ſuch offenders which were conuict in the ſaid Articles, for the firſt time ſhoulde bee admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if ẏ partie refuſed to recant in ſuch forme as ſhould be layd vnto him by his Ordinary, or after his recantation, if he eftſoones offended again, then for ẏ ſecond time he ſhould be admitted to abiure & beare a fagot. Which if he denyed to do, or els being abiured, if he the third time offended, then he to ſuſtaine puniſhment according to the lawe. &c. Although the ſtraightnes and rigour of the former act was thus ſomwhat tempered, as ye ſee, and reformed by this preſent Parlament: yet notwithſtanding the venome and poyſon of the errours and miſchiefe of thoſe Articles remained ſtyll behinde not remoued, but rather confirmed by this Parlament aforeſayd. By the which Parlamēt moreouer many thinges were prouided for the aduauncement of Popery, vnder the colour of religion: So that all maner of bookes of the old and newe Teſtament, bearing the name of W. Tindall, or any other hauing Prologues, or cōtaining any matters, annotations, preambles, wordes or ſentences, cōtrary to ẏ vj. Articles, were debarred. In like maner all ſonges, plaies, and Interludes, with al other bokes in Engliſh contayning matter of religion, tending any way againſt the ſayd Articles, were alſo aboliſhed.

Stat. an. 35. Reg. Hen. 8.

The rigour of the vj. Articles a litle aſwaged.

In ẏ which Parlamēt furthermore it was prouided, ẏ the text of ẏ new Teſtamēt or of the Bible, being prohibited, to all womē, Artificers, Prentiſes, iourneymen, ſeruingmen, yomen, huſbandmen, and labourers, yet was permitted notwithſtanding to noble men & gentle men, and gentlewomen, to reade and peruſe to their edefying, ſo that they did it quietly, without arguyng, diſcuſſing, or expounding vpon the ſcripture.

Ouer and beſides, whereas before the offender or defendant might not be ſuffered to bring in any wytneſſes to purge and trie him ſelfe: in this Parlament it was permitted to the partie detect, or complayned on, to trie hys cauſe by witneſſes, as many, or moe in number, as the other which depoſed againſt him. &c,

Qualification of the Acte of the vj. Articles.

¶ *Other qualifications of the Acte of the vj. Articles.*

After this Parlament moreouer folowed an other Parlament, an, 1545. wherein other qualifications more ſpeciall of the vj. articles were prouided: That, where as before the cruell Statute of the vj. articles was ſo ſtraite, that if any of the kynges ſubiectes had bene complained of, by any maner of perſon, as well beyng his enemie as otherwiſe, hee ſhould be indited preſently vpon the ſame, without any further examinatiō or knowledge giuē to the partie ſo accuſed, and ſo therupon to bee attached, committed, and in fine to be condemned: it was therefore by this Parlament prouided, that all ſuch preſentementes and inditementes ſhould not bee brought before the Commiſſioners, otherwiſe then by the othes of xij. men or moe of honeſtie and credite, without corruption or malice accordyngly.

Item, that no ſuch inditementes or preſentements ſhould bee taken but within one yeare of the offences committed, either els the ſayd inditementes to ſtande voyde in law.

Item, that no perſon accuſed vpon any ſuch offence agaynſt the vj. Articles, ſhould be attached, or cōmitted to warde, before he were therof indited, vnles by ſpecial warant from the kyng. &c.

Item, by the authoritie of the ſayd Parlament it was conſidered and enacted, that if any preacher or reader, for any worde ſpoken, ſuppoſed to be againſt the vj. Articles, ſhoulde bee accuſed, not within the ſpace of xl. dayes of the ſaid his readyng or preaching, then the partie accuſed to be acquyted.

Item, that the Iuſtices or inquyrers of ſuch preſentmentes ſhould haue full power to alter and reforme all Panels of Inquirie, returned before them, in lyke maner as the Iuſtices of peace may do in their Seſſions, vpon any other Inquiries.

Item, that the partie ſo accuſed or indited, vpon his triall, may haue all maner of chalenges (peremptory onely excepted) as other perſons araigned for felonie may haue, by the lawes of this realme.

By theſe qualifications and moderations of the vj. Articles, it may appeare that the kyng began ſomwhat to grow out of fauour with Steuen Gardiner, and to diſcredit his doynges, wherebye hee was the more foreward, to incline ſomewhat in furtheryng the deſolate cauſe of Religion, as may appeare both by theſe premiſſes, and alſo by other prouiſions and determinations of the foreſayd Parlament. an. 1545. wherein it was decreed by Acte of Parlament, that the kyng ſhould haue full power and authoritie to appoynte xxxij. perſons, to wytte, xvj. of the Clergye, and xvj. of the temporaltie, to peruſe, ouerſee, and examine the Canons, conſtitutions, and ordinaunces of the Canon lawe, as well Prouinciall as Synodall, and ſo, accordyng to their diſcretions, to ſet and eſtabliſhe an order of Eccleſiaſticall lawes, ſuch as ſhould be thought by the kyng and them conuenient to bee receaued and vſed within this Realme. Whiche Statute as it is moſt nedefull for the gouernement of the Churche of England: ſo would God it had bene brought to perfection.

Stat. an. 1545 R. Henr. 8.

A Statute for examination of the Canon lawe.

An. 1545.

Ioh. Athee recanted.

In this yeare touchyng matters of hyſtories, we read no greate thyng worthy of memory, but onely of twoo perſons, Iohn Athee and Iohn Haywod. Of whiche two, we finde firſt Iohn Athee to be indited by the kinges writte, for certaine wordes agaynſt the Sacrament, whiche wordes in the inditement are ſpecified to be theſe: That he would not beleue in that thyng whiche the knaue Prieſt made, neither in that whiche Longes wife ſelleth: but onely in God that is in heauen. And when it was told him that God, through his word, could make it fleſhe and bloud: he aunſwered: ſo he might do if he woulde turne it into a Chickens leg, meaning the ſacrament of the altar.

The recantation of *Ioh. Heywoode.*

The ſame yeare alſo followed the recantation of Iohn Heywood, who although he was tached for treaſon, for denying the kinges ſupremacie, yet vſing the clemencie of the king, vpon his better reformation and amendement, made an open and ſolemne recantation in yͤ face of all yͤ people, abandoning and renouncing the Popes vſurped ſupremacie, & confeſſing the king to bee chiefe ſupreame head and gouernour of this Church of England, all forrein authoritie & iuriſdictiõ being excluded. The tenor and effect of whoſe recantation, for as much as it is already expreſſed in our former edition of Actes and Monamentes, pag. 627. I ſhall not nede here agayne to repeate the ſame, but to referre the reader to the place and page aforeſayd.

In this yere of our Lord. 1545. as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, ſo now yͤ order of ſtory here requireth by the courſe of yeres, next to inferre the diſcourſe of yͤ troubles & perſecutions which happened in Scotland, againſt Maiſter George Wyſard, and diuers other good men of the ſame countrey, about the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1545. and ſomewhat before. But becauſe we are now come to the latter end almoſt of king Henries raygne, we wyll make an end (the Lorde wylling) with a fewe other Engliſhe ſtories pertaining to that time: and that finiſhed, ſo to ſet vpon thoſe matters of Scotland, ioyning them whole together. The tractation whereof thou ſhalt ſee (good Reader) in the latter end and cloſing vp of this kinges raigne.

¶ *Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Suffolke, Martyrs.*

An. 1546.

Saxie a prieſt, hanged in *St. Gardiners* porters lodge.

COmming now to the yeare of our Lord. 1546. firſt paſſing ouer yͤ prieſt whoſe name was Saxie, which was hanged in yͤ porters lodge of Ste. Gardiner B. of Wincheſter, & that (as it is ſuppoſed) not wͭout yͤ cõſent of the ſaid biſhop, & the ſecrete conſpiracie of that bloudy generation: to paſſe ouer alſo one Henry, with his ſeruant burned at Colcheſter: I will nowe proceede to the ſtorie of Kerby and Roger Clarke of Mendelſhã, who were apprehended at Ipſwych, an. 1546. the Saterday before Gang Monday, and brought before the Lord Wentworth, with other Cõmiſſioners appointed there to ſitte vppon their examinations, iudgementes, and cauſes. The night before they were areigned, a bill was ſet vp vpon the towne houſe dore (by whom, it was vnknowen) and brought the next daye vnto the Lord Wentworth: who aunſwered that it was good counſell. Which bill in the latter end ſhall appeare.

A bill brought to the Lorde *Wentworth* at the areignment of *Kerby & Roger.*

The wordes of *M. Wingfield* to *Kerby and Roger,* in priſon.

In the meane time, Kerby and Roger being in the Gaylers houſe named Iohn Byrd, an honeſt & a good man (who had checkes diuers times at the barre, that he was more meete to be kept, then to be a keper) came in Maiſter Rob. Winkfield (ſonne & heyre of Syr Humfrey Winkfield knight) with M. Brueſſe of Wennenham: who then hauing conference with Kerby (beyng then in a ſeuerall chamber ſeperate frõ the other) Maiſter Winkfield ſaid to Kerby: Remember the fire is hoate, take heede of thine enterpriſe, that thou take no more vpõ thee then thou ſhalt be able to performe. The terrour is great, the payne wyll be extreme, and life is ſweete. Better it were betime to ſticke to mercye, while there is hope of lyfe, then raſhlye to begynne, and then to ſhrincke: with ſuch like woordes of perſwaſion. To whom he aunſwered againe: Ah Maiſter Winkfield, bee at my burning, and you ſhall ſaye, there ſtãdeth a Chriſten ſouldiour in yͤ fire. For I know that fire and water, ſworde, and all other thinges, are in the handes of God, and he will ſuffer no more to be layd vpon vs, then he will geue vs ſtrẽgth to beare. Ah Kerby, ſayd Maiſter Winkfield, if thou be at that point, I wyll byd thee fare well: For I promiſe thee I am not ſo ſtrõg, that I am able to burne. And ſo both the gentlemen, ſaying that they woulde praye for them, tooke handes with them, and ſo departed.

Now (firſt touching the behauiour of Kerby and Roger) when they came to the iudgement ſeate, the Lord Wentworth, with all the reſt of the Iuſtices there ready, the Commiſſarye alſo by vertue ex officio, ſitting next to the Lord Wentworth, but one betwene, Kerby and Roger lifted vp their eyes and hands to heauen with great deuotiõ in all mens eyes, making their praiers ſecretelye to God for a ſpace of time, whileſt they might ſay the Lordes prayer. v. or. vj. tymes.

That done, their articles were declared vnto them, with all circumſtances of the law: and then it was demaunded & enquired of them, whether they beleued, that after the woordes ſpoken by a Prieſt (as Chriſt ſpake them to hys Apoſtles) there were not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, fleſhe, bloud, and bone, as he was borne of the Virgin Mary, and no breade after.

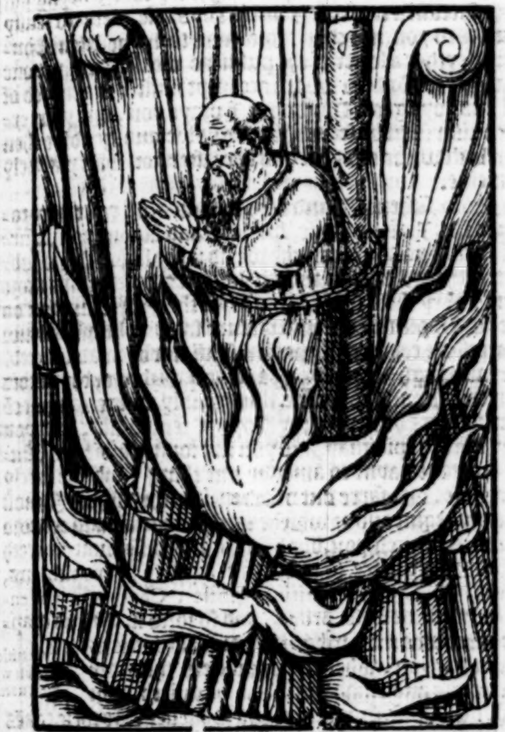
Vnto the whiche woordes they aunſwered and ſayd no, they did not ſo beleue: but that they did beleue the Sacrament which Chriſt Ieſus did inſtitute at his laſt ſupper on Maũdye Thurſday at night to his Diſciples, was onely to put all men in remembraunce of the precious death and bloud ſheedyng for the remiſſion of ſinnes, and that there was neither fleſh nor bloud to be eaten with yͤ teeth, but bread & wine: and yet more then bread and wine, for that it is cõſecrated to an holy vſe. Thẽ with much perſuaſions, both with faire meanes & threates beſides (if it woulde haue ſerued) were theſe ij. poore men hardly layd to: but moſt at the handes of Foſter an inferiour Iuſtice, not beyng learned in ſuch knowledge. But theſe ij. cõtinued both faythfull & conſtant, chuſing rather to dye then to lyue, and ſo continued vnto the end.

Then ſentence was geuen vpon them both, Kerby to bee burned in the ſayd towne the nexte Saterdaye, and Roger to bee burned at Bury the Gang Monday after. Kerby when his iudgement was geuen by the Lord Wentworth, with moſt humble reuerence holdyng vp his handes and bowing him ſelf deuoutlye, ſayd: Prayſed be almightie God, and ſo ſtode ſtill without any moe wordes.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talke ſecretly, puttyng his head behynde an other Iuſtice that ſatte betwene them. The ſayd Roger perceiuyng that, ſayd with a loude voyce: Speake out my Lorde, and if ye haue done any thyng contrary to your conſcience, aſke God mercy, and we for our partes do forgiue you: and ſpeake not in ſecret, for ye ſhall come before a iudge and then make aunſwere openly, euen hee that ſhall iudge all mẽ: with other ſuch like words. The L. Wentworth ſomewhat bluſhyng & chaungyng his countenauce through remorſe (as it was thought) ſayd I did ſpeake nothyng of you, nor I haue done nothing vnto you, but as yͤ law is. Then was Kerby & Roger ſent forth: Kerby to priſon there, and Roger to S. Edmundes Bury. The one of the two bruſtyng out with a loude voyce (Roger as it is ſuppoſed) thus ſpake with a vehemencie: *Fight* (ſayd he) *for your God. For he hath not long to continue.*

The next day whiche was Saterday about x. of the clocke, Kerby was brought to the market place, where as erby ought to e ſtake at pſwych.

as a ſtake was ready, wood, broome, and ſtraw, and did of his clothes vnto his ſhirt, hauing a night cap vpō his head, and ſo was faſtened to the ſtake with yrōs, there beyng in the galerye the Lord Wentworth with the moſt part of all the Iuſtices of thoſe quarters, where they might ſee his execution, how euery thing ſhould be done, and alſo might heare what Kerby did ſay: and a great nūber of people, about ij. thouſand by eſtimation.



¶*The burning and Martyrdome of Kerby.*

D. Rugbā Monke of Bury preached at the burning of *Kerby*.

There was alſo ſtandyng in the galery by the Lord Wentworth, D. Rugham, whiche was before a Mōke of Bury and Sexten of the houſe, hauyng on a ſurplis and a ſtole about his necke. Then ſilence was proclaimed, & the ſayd Doctor began to diſable hym ſelfe, as not meete to declare ẏ holy Scriptures (being vnprouided becauſe the time was ſo ſhort) but that hee hoped in Gods aſſiſtaunce it ſhould come well to paſſe.

The cheerfull countenaunce & courage of *Kerby*.

All this while was Kerby trimmyng with yrons and Fagottes, broome, and ſtraw, as one that ſhould be maryed with new garmentes, nothing chaungyng cheare nor countenaunce, but with moſt meke ſpirite glorified God: which was wonderfull to behold. Then maſter Doctor at laſt entred into the. 6. chap. of Saint Iohn. Who in handling that matter, ſo oft as he alledged the Scriptures, and applyed them rightly, Kerby told the people that he ſayd true, and bad the people beleue him. But when he did otherwiſe, he told him agayne: you ſay not true: beleue him not good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they iudged Doct. Rugham a falſe Prophet. So when M. Doctor had ended his collation, he ſayd vnto Kerby: Thou good man: doeſt not thou beleue that the bleſſed Sacrament of ẏ altar is the very fleſhe and bloud of Chriſt and no bread, euen as he was borne of the virgin Mary? Kerby aunſweryng boldly ſayd: I do not ſo beleue. How doeſt thou beleue ſayd the Doctor? Kerby ſaid, I do beleue that in the Sacrament that Ieſus Chriſt inſtituted at his laſt ſupper on Maundy Thurſday to his Diſciples (which ought of vs likewiſe to be done) is the death and Paſſion, and his bloude ſheeding for the redemption of the worlde, to be remembred: and (as I ſayd before) yet bread, & more then bread, for that it is conſecrated to a holy vſe.

Kerbyes confeſſion of the Sacrament.

Then was Maiſter Doctor in his dumps, and ſpake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then ſayd the vnder Shrieffe to Kerby: haſt thou any thing more to ſay? Yea Sir ſaid he, if you wil geue me leaue. Say on ſayd the Shrieffe.

Then Kerby taking his night cap from his heade, putte it vnder his arme, as though it ſhoulde haue done him ſeruice againe: but remembring hym ſelfe, he caſt it from him, & lifting vp hys handes, he ſaid the hymne Te Deū, & the belief, with other prayers in the Engliſh tonge. The Lord Wentworth, whileſt Kerby was thus doing, did ſhrowd him ſelf behind one of the poſtes of the gallery and wept, and ſo did many other. Then ſayd Kerby, I haue done: you may execute your office good Maiſter Shrieffe.

The Lorde *Wentworth* wepte at *Kerbyes* burnyng.

Then was fire ſet to the wood, and with loud voyce he called vnto God, knocking on his breſt and holding vp hys handes, ſo long as remembrance would ſerue, and ſo ended his lyfe, the people geuing ſhootes, and prayſing God, with great admiration of his conſtancy, being ſo ſimple and vnlettered.

The conſtant Martyrdome of *Kerby*.

Roger Clarke of Mendelſham brought to the ſtake at Burye.

Roger Clarke geueth no reuerence to the proceſſion.

On the Gang Mondaye, an. 1546. about. x. of the clocke, Roger Clarke of Mēdelſham was brought out of priſon, and went on foote to the gate, called Southgate in Bury, and by the way the proceſſion met with them, but he wēt on, and would not bow cap nor knee, but with moſt vehement wordes rebuked that idolatry and ſuperſtition, the officers being much offended. And without the gate, where as was the place of execution, the ſtake being ready, & the woode lying by, he came & kneeled downe, & ſayd Magnificat in the Engliſh toung, making as it were a paraphraſe vppon the ſame: Wherein hee declared how that the bleſſed virgine Mary, who might as well reioyſe in purenes, as any other: yet humbled her ſelfe to her Sauiour. And what ſayeſt thou Iohn Baptiſt, ſayd he, the greateſt of all mens children? *Behold the Lambe of God, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world.* And thus with loude voyce, hee cryed vnto the people while he was in faſtnyng to the ſtake, & then ẏ fire was ſet to hym: where as he ſuffred paynes vnmercifully, for the woode was greene & would not burne, ſo that he was choked with ſmoke: and moreouer beyng ſet in a pitch barrell, with ſome pitch ſtickyng ſtill by the ſides, was therwith ſore payned, till he had got his feete out of the barell. And at length one ſtandyng by tooke a Fagot ſticke, and ſtrikyng at the ryng of yron about hys necke, ſo paſſhed hym, and ſtrocke him belyke vppon the head, that he ſhronke downe on the one ſide into the fire, and ſo was diſſolued.

Iohn. 1.

The painfull burning and Martyrdome of *Rog. Clarke* of Mendelſham.

In the begynnyng of this ſtory of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certeine bill put vp vpon the townehouſe doore, and brought the next day to the Lord Wentworth: the wordes of the whiche Bill were theſe.

¶The Bill ſet vpon the Townehouſe doore in Ipſwiche.

The wordes of the bill ſet vp on the Townehouſe doore.

IVſtè iudicate filij hominum. Yet whē ye ſhall iudge, miniſter your Iuſtice with mercy.

A fearefull thing it is to fall into ẏ handes of ẏ liuyng God: be ye learned therefore in true knowledge, ye that iudge the earth, leſt the Lorde be angry with you.

The bloud of the righteous ſhalbe required at your handes. What though the veile hanged before Moſes face: yet at Chriſtes death it fell downe.

The ſtones will ſpeake if theſe ſhould holde their peace: therefore harden not your hartes agaynſt the veritie.

For fearefully ſhall the Lord appeare in the day of vēgeance to the troubled in conſciēce. No excuſe ſhall there be of ignorance, but euery fat ſhall ſtand on his own bottome. Therefore haue remorſe to your conſcience: feare him that may kill both body and ſoule.

Beware of innocent bloud ſhedyng: take hede of Iuſtice ignorantly miniſtred: worke diſcretly as the Scripture doth cōmaund: looke to it, that ye make not the truth to be forſaken.

We beſeche God to ſaue our kyng, kyng Henry the eight, that he be not lead into temptation. So be it.

This

¶The Engliſhe proceſſion.

This yeare alſo it was ordeined and decreed and ſolemly giuen out in proclamation by the kynges name and authoritie and his Counſell, that the Engliſhe proceſſion ſhould bee vſed thorow out all England, accordyng as it was ſet forth by his ſayd Counſell, and none other to be vſed thorough out the whole realme.

¶The Scottes ſubdued.

Bollayne wonne.

Stat. an. 37. Reg. Hen. 8.

Colledges and Chauntreis geuen to the kyng.

A Parlament.

About the later ende of this yeare. 1545. in the moneth of Nouember, after that the kyng had ſubdued the Scottes, and afterward ioynyng together with the Emperour, had inuaded Fraunce, and had got frō thē the towne of Bollayne: he ſummoned his high Court of Parlament. In the which was graunted vnto hym beſides other ſubſidies of money, all colledges, chauntreis, frechappells, hoſpitalls, fraternities, brotherhodes, guildes, & perpetuities of ſtipendarie Prieſtes, to be diſpoſed at his will and pleaſure. Whereupon in the moneth of Decemb. folowing, ẏ kyng after ẏ wonted cuſtome, came into ẏ Parlament houſe, to giue his royall aſſent to ſuch Actes as were there paſſed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker, he aunſweryng agayne vnto the ſame, not by the Lord Chauncelour (as the manner was) but by hym ſelfe, vttered forth this Oration word for word, as it is reported, and left in ſtory.

¶The thyrd parte lackyng in this Oration of the kyng.

In the contentes of which Oration, firſt eloquently & louingly he declared his gratefull hart to his louyng ſubiectes for their grauntes & ſubuentions offered vnto hym. In ẏ ſecond part with no leſſe vehementie, he exhorted them to concorde, peace, and vnitie. Whereunto if he had alſo ioyned the third part: that is, as in wordes he exhorted to vnitie, ſo had begon in dede firſt hym ſelfe to take away the occaſion of diuiſion, diſobedience, & diſturbance, frō his ſubiectes: that is, had remoued ẏ ſtumblyng blocke of the vj. Articles out of ẏ peoples way, which ſet brother againſt brother, neighbour agaynſt neighbour, the ſuperiour againſt ſubiect, and the wolues to deuoure the pore flocke of Chriſt: then had he not onely ſpoken, but alſo done like a worthy Prince. But of this more ſhalbe ſayd in the ſequele hereof, God willyng.

¶The kynges Oration in the Parlament houſe.

¶The kinges Oration made in the Parliament houſe.

ALthough my Chauncelour for the time being, hath before thys time vſed, very eloquētly and ſubſtancially to make anſwer to ſuch Orations, as haue ben ſet forth in thys high court of Parliament: yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my minde and meanyng, and the ſecretes of my hart, in ſo playne and ample maner, as I my ſelfe am and can do. wherefore I taking vpon me, to aunſwer your eloquent Oration Maiſter Speaker, ſay: that where you in the name of our welbeloued Commons, haue both prayſed and extolted me, for the notable qualities that you haue conceiued to be in me, I moſt hartely thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraunce of my duty, whych is to endeuour my ſelfe to obtaine and get ſuch excellent qualities, and neceſſary vertues, as a Prince or Gouernour ſhould or ought to haue: of which giftes I recogniſe my ſelfe both bare and barraine. But of ſuch ſmall qualities, as God hath endued me wythall, I render to hys goodnes my moſt humble thankes, entendyng wyth all my wyt and diligence, to get and acquire to me ſuche notable vertues, & princely qualities, as you haue alledged to bee incorporate in my perſon.

¶The kynges thankes to his cōmons.

These thankes for your louyng admonition and good counſayle fyrſt remembred, I eftſoones thanke you againe, becauſe that you conſideryng our great charges (not for our pleaſure, but for your defence, not for our gayne, but to our great coſt) which we haue lately ſuſtayned, aſwell in defence of our & your enemies, as for the conqueſt of that Fortres, whych was to thys realme, moſt diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be by Gods grace hereafter, to our nation moſt profitable and pleaſaunt, haue freely of your own mynd, graunted to vs a certain ſubſidy here in an act ſpecified, which verely we take in good part, regarding more your kindnes, then the profite thereof, as he that ſetteth more by your louing hartes, then by your ſubſtance. Beſyde this harty kindnes, I cannot a litle reioyce when I conſider the perfyte truſt and ſure confidence, whych you haue put in me, as men hauyng vndoubted hope, and vnfained beleſe in my good doynges and iuſt proceedinges for that you, without my deſyre or requeſt, haue cōmitted to myne order and diſpoſition, all Chauntries, Colledges, Hoſpitals, and other places ſpecified in a certayne Act, firmly truſtyng that I wyll order them to the glorye of God, and the profyte of the common wealth. Surelye, if I contrary to your expectation, ſhould ſuffer the Miniſters of the Church to decaye, or learnyng (whych is ſo great a Iewell) to be miniſhed, or poore and miſerable people to be vnrelieued, you might ſay that I beyng put in ſo ſpeciall a truſt, as I am in thys caſe, were no truſty friende to you, nor charitable man to myne euen Chriſten, neyther a louer of the publicke wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom accompt muſt bee rendred of all our doynges. Doubt not I praye you, but your expectation ſhall be ſerued, more godlye and goodlye then you will wiſhe or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall playnely perceiue.

Now, ſithence I find ſuch kyndnes on your part toward me, I cā not chuſe, but loue and fauour you, affirming that no Prince in the world more fauoreth his ſubiectes, then I do you, nor no ſubiectes or cōmons more loue & obey their ſoueraigne lord, thē I perceiue you do me, for whoſe defence my treaſure ſhal not be hidden, nor if neceſſitie require, my perſon ſhall not be vnaduētured. Yet although I with you, and you with me, bee in this perfect loue and concorde, this frendly amitie can not cōtinue, except both you my Lordes temporall, and you my Lordes ſpirituall, and you my louing ſubiectes, ſtudy and take payne to amēde one thing, whiche ſurely is amiſſe, and farre out of order, to the whiche I moſt hartely require you: whiche is, that charitie and concord is not amongeſt you, but diſcord and diſſenſion beareth rule in euery place. Saint Paul ſayth to ẏ Corinthians, in the. xiij. Chap. Charitie is gentle, Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude, and ſo forth in the ſaid chapter. Beholde then what loue and Charitie is amongeſt you, when the one calleth the other Hereticke and Anabaptiſt, and he calleth hym agayne Papiſt, Hypocrite, and Phariſey. Be theſe tokēs of charitie amongeſt you? Are theſe the ſignes of fraternall loue betwene you? No, no, I aſſure you that this lacke of Charitie amongeſt your ſelues, will be the hynderaunce and aſſwagyng of the feruent loue betwen vs, as I ſayd before, except this wound be ſalued, and clerely made whole. I muſt nedes iudge the fault and occaſion of this diſcorde, to be partly by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the ſpiritualtie. For if I knowe a man whiche lyueth in adultery, I muſt iudge him a lecherous and a carnall perſon. If I ſee a man boaſt and brag hym ſelfe, I can not but deme hym a proude man. I ſee and heare dayly that you of the Clergie preach one agaynſt an other, teache one cōtrary to an other, inueigh one agaynſt an other, without Charitie or diſcretion. Some bee to ſtiffe in their olde Mumpſimus, other be to buſie & curious in their new Sumpſimus. Thus all men almoſt be in variety and diſcorde, and few or none preache truly and ſincerely the worde of God, accordyng as they ought to do. Shall I now iudge you charitable perſons, doyng this? No, no, I can not ſo do. Alas how can the poore ſoules lyue in concorde when you preachers ſowe amongeſt them in your Sermons, debate and diſcorde? Of you they looke for lyght, and you bryng them to darkenes. Amend theſe crimes I exhorte you, and ſet forth Gods worde, both by true preachyng, and good example geuyng, or els I whom God hath appointed his Vicare, and high miniſter here, will ſee theſe diuiſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected, accordyng to my very duety, or els I am an vnprofitable ſeruaunt, and vntrue officer.

* Charitie
cōmon w
moſt nece

* If true
maintained,
formed,

* And wherein els
all this varia
becauſe

Althoughe (as I ſay) the ſpirituall men bee in ſome faulte, that charitie is not kept amongeſt you, yet you of the temporaltie be not cleane and vnſpotted of malice & enuye: for you rayle on Biſhops, ſpeake ſlaunderouſly of Prieſtes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrarye to good order, and Chriſtiā fraternity. If you know ſurelye that a biſhop or preacher erreth or teacheth peruers doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our Counſayle or to vs, to whom is cōmitted by God the authoritye to reforme and order ſuch cauſes and behauiours, and be not Iudges your ſelues, of your own phantaſticall opinions, & vayne expoſitions, for in ſuch hygh cauſes ye may lightlye erre.

will nedes
and alſo iu
opinions

And although you be permitted to reade holy ſcripture, and to haue the worde of God in your mother tounge, you muſt vnderſtand that it is licenced you ſo to do, onely to informe your own conſcience, and to inſtruct your chyldren and family, and not to diſpute and make ſcripture a raylyng and a tauntyng ſtocke, againſt Prieſts and Preachers, as many light perſons doo. I am very ſorye to know and heare how vnreuerently that moſt precious Jewell the worde of God is diſputed, rymed, * ſonge, and iangled in euery Alehouſe and Tauerne, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the ſame. And yet I am euen as much ſorye, that the Readers of the ſame folow it in doyng ſo faintly and coldly. For of this I am ſure, that Charitie was neuer ſo faynt amongſt you, and vertuous and * godly lyuyng was neuer leſſe vſed, nor God him ſelfe amōgeſt Chriſtians was neuer leſſe reuerenced, honored or ſerued. Therefore as I ſaid before, be in charitie one with an other, like brother & brother. Loue, dread, and ſerue God (to the which I as your ſupreme heade, and ſoueraigne Lord, exhort and require you) and then I doubt not, but that loue and league that I ſpake of in the beginning, ſhall neuer bee diſſolued or broken betwene vs. And as touching the lawes, which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the ſame, or els your labour ſhall bee in vayne, and your common wealth nothing relieued.

…s, Hierome wiſheth the Scrip… not onely to be read of all men, …alſo to bee ſonge of women at …rockes, of plowmē at the plow, …at their loome. &c.

*Godly liuing though it encreaſe …with the Goſpell ſo much as we …: yet the defecte therof is not …imputed to the Goſpel. And yet …we well compare time with time, …ſhall ſinde by vewing the bokes …the olde Wardmote Queſtes, of

Notes vpon the foreſayd exhortation.

PRinces which exhorte to concorde and charitie, do well: but Princes which ſeeke out the cauſes of diſcorde & reforme the ſame, do much better. The Papiſte and Proteſtant, Hereticke, and Phariſey, the olde *Mumſimus*, and the newe *Sumpſimus*, be termes of variance and diſſenſion, and bee (I graunt) *Symptomata* of a ſore wounde in the cōmon wealth: but he that will amend this wound, muſt firſt begin to ſearch out the cauſes, and purge the occaſion therof: otherwiſe to cure the ſore outwardly, which inwardly doth feſter & rāncle ſtill, it is but vayne.

The roote and grounde of all this greuaunce riſeth hereof: The Prelates and Clergy of *Rome*, ſekyng, as it ſemeth, altogether after riches, pompe, and honour of this worlde, to mainteyne the ſame vnder pretenſe of Religion, do in very dede ſubuert Religion: vnder the title of the Churche, they bryng into the Churche manifeſt errours and abſurdities intolerable, who pretendyng to be fathers of the Churche, if they tranſgreſſed but in maners and lightnes of lyfe, or negligence of gouernement, they might bee borne withall for peace and concorde ſako, and here modeſty, ciuilitie, quietnes, vnitie and charitie might haue place amongeſt modeſt natures. Bur now they obſcure the glory of the ſonne of God, whiche in no caſe ought to be ſuffered: they extinct the light and grace of the Goſpell: they clogge mens conſciēces: they ſet vp Idolatrie and maintayne Idoles: they bryng in falſe inuocation: they reſtraine lawfull motrimonie, wherby groweth filthy pollutiō, adultery, and whoredome in the church vnſpeakable: they corrupt the ſacraments: they wraſt the Scripture to worldly purpoſes: they kill and perſecute Gods people: briefly, their doctrine is damnable: their lawes be impious: their doynges are deteſtable. And yet after all this, they crepe craftely into the hartes of Princes vnder the title of the Church and colour of concorde, makyng Kynges and Princes beleue, that all be heretickes and ſchiſmatikes, whiche will not be ſubiect to their ordinary power.

Now almightie God, who is a ielous God, and not ſufferyng the glory of his ſonne to be defaced, nor his truth to be troden vnder foote, ſtirreth vp agyne the hartes of his people to vnderſtand his truth and to defende his cauſe. Wherupon of theſe ij. partes, as ij. mightie flyntes thus ſmityng together, commeth out the ſparcle of this diuiſion, whiche by no wiſe cā be quenched, but that one part muſt nedes yelde & gyue ouer. There is no neutralitie, nor mediatiō of peace, nor exhortation to agreemēt that will ſerue betwene theſe two contrary doctrines, but either the Popes errours muſt gyue place to Gods worde, or els the veritye of God muſt gyue place vnto them.

Wherefore, as the good intent and plauſible Oration of the king in this behalf, was not to be diſcōmended in exhortyng his ſubiectes to charitie: ſo had he much more deſerued commendation if he had ſought the right way to worke charitie, and to helpe innocencie amongeſt his ſubiectes, by takyng away the impious law of the vj. Articles, the mother of all diuiſion and manſloughter. For what is thys to the purpoſe, to exhorte in wordes neuer ſo much to charitie, and in dede to gyue a knife to the murtherers hand, to runne vpon hys naked brother, whiche neyther in conſcience can leaue hys cauſe, nor yet hath power to defende hym ſelfe? As by experience here foloweth to be ſene, what charitie enſued after this exhortation of the kyng to charitie, by the rackyng and burnyng of good *Anne Aſkew*, with iij. other poore ſubiectes of the kyng, within halfe a yeare after: wherof ſhortly you ſhall heare more declared.

When theſe Chauntreis & Colledges thus by Acte of Parlament were giuen into the kynges handes, as is aboue remembred: whiche was about the moneth of December an. 1545. the next Lent folowyng Doct. Crome preachyng in ỹ Mercers Chappell, amōg other reaſons and perſuaſions to reduce the people from the vayne opinion of Purgatory, inferred this, groundyng vpon the ſayd Acte of Parlament: that if Trentals and Chauntry Maſſes could auayle the ſoules in Purgatory, then did the Parlament not well in giuyng away Monaſteries, Colledges, and Chauntreis, whiche ſerued principally to that purpoſe. But if the Parlament did well (as no man could denye) in diſſoluyng them, and beſtowyng the ſame vppon the kyng, then is it a playne caſe, that ſuch Chauntreis, and priuate Maſſes do nothyng conferre to releue them in Purgatorye. This dilemma of D. Crome, no doubt, was inſoluble. But notwithſtandyng, the charitable Prelates, for all ỹ kyngs late exhortatiō vnto charitie, were ſo charitable to hym, that on Eaſter next they brought him Coram nobis, where they ſo handled hym that they made hym to recante. And if he had not, they would haue diſſolued hym and hys argument in burnyng fire, ſo burnyng hoate was their charitie, accordyng as they burned Anne Aſkew and her felowes, in the moneth of July the yeare folowing. Whoſe tragicall ſtory & cruel handlyng now conſequently (the Lord willyng) you ſhall heare.

D. Cromes Dilemma agaynſt priuate Maſſes.

Doct. Crome driuen to recante.

An. 1545.

The charitie of the Byſhops.

The firſt examination of Miſtres Anne Aſkew, before the Inquiſitours. an. 1545.

TO ſatiſfie your expectation, good people (ſayth ſhe) this was my firſt examination in the yeare of our Lord M.D.xlv. and in the moneth of March.

The firſt examination of *Anne Aſkew*.

Firſt, Chriſtopher Dare examined me at Sadlers Hall, beyng one of the Queſt, and aſked if I did not beleue that the Secrament hangyng ouer the aultar, was the very body of Chriſt really. Then I demaunded this queſtion of hym: wherefore Sainte Steuen was ſtoned to death? and hee ſayd, hee could not tell. Then I aunſwered, that no more would I aſſoyle his vayne queſtion.

Chriſtopher Dare Inquiſitour.

The firſt article agaynſt *Anne Aſkew*.

Secondly, hee ſayd that there was a woman, which did teſtifie, that I ſhould read, how God was not in Temples made with handes. Then I ſhewed him the vij. and the xvij. chap. of the Actes of the Apoſtles, what Steuen and Paul had ſayd therein. Whereupon he aſked me, how I toke thoſe ſentences? I aunſwered that I would not throw pearles among ſwine, for acornes were good enough.

The ſecond Article.

Thirdly, he aſked me wherfore I ſaid that I had rather to read fiue lynes in the Bible, then to heare fiue Maſſes in the Temple? I cōfeſſed, that I ſaid no leſſe: not for the diſpraiſe of either the Epiſtle or Goſpel, but bycauſe the one did greatly edifie me, and the other nothyng at all: As S. Paul doth witneſſe in the xiiij. chap. of his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, where as hee ſayth: *If the trumpet geueth an vncertaine ſounde, who will prepare hym ſelfe to the battaile?*

The thyrd Article.

1. Cor. 14.

Fourthly, he layd vnto my charge, that I ſhould ſay: If an ill Prieſt miniſtred, it was the deuill, & not God. My aunſwere was, that I neuer ſpake any ſuch thyng. But this was my ſaying: that what ſoeuer hee were which miniſtred vnto me, his ill conditions could not

The fourth Article.

Ill conditions of miniſters hurt not the fayth of the receauers.

not hurt my fayth, but in ſpirite I receyued neuertheleſſe, the body and bloud of Chriſt.

He aſked me what I ſayd concernyng confeſſion? I aunſwered hym my meanyng, whiche was as Sainte Iames ſayth, that euery man ought to knowledge hys faultes to other, and the one to pray for the other.

The fifte Article.

The ſixte Article.

Sixtly, he aſked me what I ſayd to the kings booke? And I aunſwered him, that I could ſay nothing to it, becauſe I neuer ſaw it.

The ſeuenth Article.

Seuenthly, he aſked me if I had the ſpirite of God in me? I aunſwered, if I had not, I was but a reprobate or caſt away. Thẽ he ſayd he had ſent for a Prieſt to examine me, which was there at hand.

A Prieſt brought to examine *A. Aſkew.*

The Prieſt aſked me what I ſayd to the ſacrament of the aulter, and required much to know therein my meaning. But I deſired him againe, to hold me excuſed concerning that matter. None other aunſwere would I make him, becauſe I perceiued him to be a Papiſt.

The eyght Article.

Priuate Maſſes Idolatrye.

Eightly he aſked me, if I did not thinke that priuate Maſſes did helpe ſoules departed? I ſayd, it was great idolatry to beleue more in them, thẽ in the death which Chriſt dyed for vs.

A. Aſkew brought to the Lord Maior.

Then they had me thence vnto my Lord Maior, and hee examined me, as they had before, and I aunſwered him directlye in all thinges, as I aunſwered the Queſt afore.

Beſides this, my Lord Maior layde one thing vnto my charge, whych was neuer ſpoken of me, but of thẽ: and that was, whether a Mouſe eating the hoſt, receyued God, or no? Thys queſtion did I neuer aſke, but in dede they aſked it of me. Whereunto I made them no aunſwere, but ſmiled.

Women forbidden to ſpeake in the congregation, and howe

Then the biſhops Chauncellour rebuked me, and ſayd, that I was much to blame for vttering the ſcriptures. For S.Paule (he ſayd) forbode women to ſpeake or to talke of the word of God. I aunſwered him that I knew Paules meaning as well as he, which is in the 1.Corinthians.14. that a woman ought not to ſpeake in the Congregation, by the way of teaching. And thẽ I aſked him, how manye women he had ſeene go into the pulpit and preach? He ſayde he neuer ſawe none. Then I ſayd, he ought to finde no fault in poore women, except they had offended the law.

A. Aſkew commaunded to the Counter by the Lord Maior.

Then my Lord Maior commaunded me to warde. I aſked him if ſureties would not ſerue me. And hee made me ſhort aunſwer, that he would take none. Thẽ was I had to the Counter, and there remayned a.xj. dayes, no friend admitted to ſpeake with me. But in ye meane time there was a Prieſt ſent to me, which ſaid that he was cõmaunded of ye biſhop to examine me, & to geue me good coũſell, which he did not. But firſt he aſked me for what cauſe I was put in ye Counter? And I told him, I could not tell. Then he ſayd, it was great pitie that I ſhould be there without cauſe, and concluded that he was very ſory for me.

Talke betwen *A. Aſkew* and a Prieſt ſent to her in priſon.

Secondly he ſayd, it was told him, that I ſhould denye the Sacrament of the aulter. And I aunſwered him agayne, that that I had ſayd, I had ſayd.

Thirdly he aſked me, if I were ſhriuen? I told him, ſo that I might haue one of theſe three, that is to ſaye, Doctor Crome, Sir Gillam, or Huntington, I was contented, becauſe I knew them to be men of wiſdom. As for you or any other, I will not diſpraiſe, becauſe I know you not. Then he ſayd I woulde not haue you thinke, but that I or an other that ſhal be brought you, ſhall be as honeſt as they. For if we were not, you may be ſure the king woulde not ſuffer vs to preach. Then I aunſwered by the ſaying of Salomon: *By communning with the wyſe, I may learne wyſdome. But by talking wyth a foole, I ſhall take ſcath.* Prouerb.i.

Prouerb.1.

Whether a mouſe may eat body in the Sacrament, or no.

Fourthly, he aſked me, if the hoſt ſhould fall, and a beaſt did eate it, whether the beaſt did receiue God, or no? I aunſwered: Seing you haue taken the paynes to aſke this queſtiõ, I deſyre you alſo to aſſoyle it your ſelfe: for I will not doo it, becauſe I perceiue you come to tempt me. And he ſayd, it was againſt the order of ſchooles, that he which aſked the queſtion, ſhould anſwer it. I told him, I was but a woman, and knew not the courſe of ſchooles.

Fiftly, he aſked me if I intended to receiue the Sacramẽt at Eaſter, or no? I aũſwered, that els I were no Chriſten woman, and therat I did reioyce, ye the tyme was ſo neare at hande: and then hee departed thence wyth many fayre wordes.

The.xxiij. day of March my couſin Britaine came into the Counter to me, and aſked there whether I might be put to bayle, or no? Then went he immediately vnto my Lord Maior, deſiring of hym to bee ſo good vnto me, that I might be bayled. My Lore aunſwered him, and ſayd that he would be glad to doo the beſt that in him lay. How be it he coulde not baile me, without the conſent of a ſpirituall Officer: requiring him to go and ſpeake with the Chauncelour of London. For, he ſayd, like as he coulde not commit me to pryſon without the conſent of a ſpirituall Officer, no more could he bayle me without conſent of the ſame.

So vpon that he went to the Chauncellour, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Maior. He aũſwered him, that the matter was ſo haynous, that hee durſt not of him ſelfe do it, without my Lorde of London were made priuy therunto. But he ſayd he would ſpeake vnto my Lord in it, and bad him repaire vnto him the next morow, and hee ſhoulde well knowe my Lordes pleaſure: And vpon the morow after, he came thither, & ſpake both with the Chauncellour, & with the biſhop of London. The biſhop declared vnto him, that he was very well contented that I ſhould come forth to a communication, and appointed me to appeare before him the next daye after, at three of the clocke at after noone.

Moreouer, he ſayd vnto him, that hee woulde there ſhould be at the examination, ſuche learned men, as I was affectioned to, that they might ſee, and alſo make reporte, that I was handled with no rigour. He aunſwered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then ſayde the Biſhop: yes as I vnderſtand, ſhee is affectioned to Doctor Crome, Sir Gillam, Whiteheade, and Huntington, that they might heare the matter: for ſhe did know them to be learned, and of a godlye iudgement. Alſo he required my couſyn Britaine, that he ſhould earneſtly perſwade me to vtter euen ye very bottom of my hart: & he ſware by his fidelitie, that no man ſhoulde take any aduauntage of my wordes: neither yet woulde he laye ought to my charge for any thing that I ſhoulde there ſpeake: but if I ſayd any maner of thing amiſſe, he with other more, would be glad to reforme me therein, with moſt godly counſell.

On the morow after, the biſhop of London ſent for me, at one of the clocke, his houre being appointed at three, and as I came before him, he ſaid he was very ſory of my trouble, and deſired to knowe my opinion in ſuch matters as were laid againſt me. He required me alſo in any wyſe boldly to vtter the ſecretes of my hart, bydding me not to feare in any poynt, for what ſoeuer I did ſay in his houſe, no man ſhould hurt me for it. I aunſwered: for ſo much as your Lordſhip appoynted three of the clocke, and my friendes ſhall not come tyll that houre, I deſire you to pardon me of geuing aunſwer tyll they come. Then ſayd hee, that he thought it meete to ſende for thoſe.iiij.men which were afore named and appointed. Then I deſired him not to put them to the paine, for it ſhoulde not neede, becauſe the two gentlemen, which were my friendes, were able enough to teſtifie that I ſhould ſay.

Anone after, he went into his galery with M. Spilman, & willed him in any wiſe, that he ſhould exhort me to vtter all that I thought. In the meane while he commaunded his Archdeacon to common with me. Who

ſayd

Talke betwene the Archdeacon, and *Anne Aſkew.*

ſayd vnto me: Miſtres wherefoꝛe are you accuſed and thus troubled heare befoꝛe the Byſhop? To whom I aunſwered agayne and ſayd: Syꝛ, aſke, I pꝛay you, my accuſers, foꝛ I knowe not as yet. Then toke hée my booke out of my hand, and ſayd: Such bookes as this, hath bꝛought you to the trouble ye are in. Beware (ſayth he) beware, foꝛ he that made this booke and was the authoꝛ thereof, was an heretike I warrant you, and burnt in Smithfield. Then I aſked him if he were certaine and ſure, that it was true that hée had ſpoken. And he ſaid he knew wel the booke was of Ioh. Frithes makyng. Then I aſked hym, if he were not aſhamed foꝛ to iudge of the booke befoꝛe he ſaw it within, oꝛ yet knew the truth therof. I ſayd alſo that ſuch vnaduiſed and haſtie iudgement is a tokē apparent of a very ſlender wytte. Then I opened the booke ⁊ ſhewed it hym. He ſayd he thought it had bene an other, foꝛ hee could finde no fault therein. Then I deſired him, no moꝛe to be ſo vnaduiſedly raſhe and ſwift in iudgement, till hée thoꝛoughly knew the truth, and ſo he departed from me.

Raſhe iudgement reproued.

Good counſell geuen to the Archdeacon.

M. Brittaine. *Edward Hal.*

Immediatly after came my coſine Brittaine in with diuers other, as M. Hall of Grayes Inne, and ſuch other lyke. Then my Loꝛd of London perſuaded my coſine Brittaine as he had done oft befoꝛe, whiche was that I ſhould vtter the bottome of my hart in any wiſe. My loꝛd ſaid after that vnto me, that he would I ſhould credite the coūſell of ſuch as were my frendes and well wyllers in this behalfe, which was, that I ſhould vtter all things that burdened my conſcience: foꝛ he enſured me that I ſhould not néde to ſtand in doubt to ſay any thyng. Foꝛ like as he pꝛomiſed them (he ſaid) he pꝛomiſed me and would perfoꝛme it: which was, that neither hée noꝛ any man foꝛ him, ſhould take me at aduauntage of any woꝛde I ſhould ſpeake: and therefoꝛe he bad me ſay my minde without feare. I aunſwered hym, that I had nought to ſay: foꝛ my conſcience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothyng.

Talke betwene *Anne Aſkew* & *Boner.*

Boners ſimilitude.

Then bꝛought hee foꝛth this vnſauery ſimilitude: That if a man had a wounde, no wiſe Surgion would miniſter helpe vnto it befoꝛe he had ſéene it vncouered. In lyke caſe (ſayth he) can I geue you no good coūſell, vnleſſe I knowe wherewith your conſcience is burdened. I aunſwered, that my conſcience was cleare in all things: and foꝛ to lay a plaſter vnto the whole ſkinne, it might appeare much folie.

Boners firſt obiection agaynſt *Anne Aſkew.*

Then you dꝛiue me (ſayth he) to lay to your charge your owne repoꝛte, which is this: You did ſay, he that doth receaue the Sacrament by the handes of an ill Pꝛieſt oꝛ a ſinner, receiueth the deuill and not God. To that I aūſwered, that I neuer ſpake ſuch woꝛdes. But as I ſayd afoꝛe both to the Queſt and to my Loꝛd Maioꝛ, ſo ſay I now agayne, that the wickednes of the Pꝛieſt ſhould not hurte me, but in ſpirite and fayth I receiued no leſſe, then the body and bloud of Chꝛiſt. Then ſayd the Byſhop vnto me, what ſaying is this, in ſpirite? I will not take you at that aduauntage. Thē I aūſwered: my Loꝛd, without fayth and ſpirite, I can not receiue hym woꝛthely.

2. Article.

Then he layd vnto me, that I ſhould ſay, that the Sacrament remaining in the pixe, was but bꝛead. I aunſwered that I neuer ſayd ſo, but in déede the Queſt aſked me ſuch a queſtion: whereunto I would not aunſwere (I ſaid) til ſuch tyme as they had aſſoyled me this queſtion of myne, wherefoꝛe Steuen was ſtoned to death? They ſayd they knew not. Then ſayd I againe, no moꝛe would I tell them what it was.

3. Article.

Then layd my Loꝛd vnto me, that I had alledged a certayne text of the Scripture. I aunſwered that I alledged none other but S. Paules owne ſaying to the Athenians in the xvij. chap. in the Apoſtles actes, that God dwelleth not in Tēples made with handes. Then aſked hee me what my fayth and beliefe was in that matter? I aunſwered hym: I beleue as the Scripture doth teache me.

4. Article.

Then inquired hee of me, what if the Scripture do ſay that it is the body of Chꝛiſt? I beleue, ſayd I, as the Scripture doth teach me. Then aſked he againe, what if the Scripture do ſay that it is not the body of Chꝛiſt? My aunſwere was ſtill, I beleue as the Scripture infoꝛmeth me. And vpon this argument he taried a great while to haue dꝛiuen me to make hym an aunſwere to his minde. Howbeit I would not, but concluded this with him, that I beleue therin and in all other thinges as Chꝛiſt ⁊ his holy Apoſtles did leaue them.

A. Aſkew charged with fewe woꝛdes.

Then he aſked me, why I had ſo fewe woꝛdes? And I aunſwered, God hath geuen me the gift of knowledge, but not of vtterance. And Salomon ſayth, *that a woman of few wordes is a gift of God. Prou. xix.*

5. Article.

Fiftly my Loꝛde laid vnto my charge, that I ſhould ſay that the Maſſe was ſuperſtitious, wicked, and no no better then Idolatry.

I aunſwered hym, no: I ſayd not ſo. Howbeit I ſay the Queſt did aſke me whether pꝛiuate Maſſe dyd releue ſoules departed oꝛ no? Unto whō then I aunſwered: O Loꝛd what Idolatrye is this, that we ſhould rather beleue in pꝛiuate Maſſes, then in the healthſome death of the deare ſonne of God? Then ſayd my Loꝛd agayne: What an aunſwere is that? Though it be but meane (ſayd I) yet it is good enough foꝛ the queſtion.

Then I tolde my Loꝛde that there was a Pꝛieſt, which did heare what I ſayd there befoꝛe my Loꝛde Maioꝛ ⁊ them. With that ý Chauncelloꝛ aunſwered, whiche was the ſame Pꝛieſt: So ſhe ſpake it in very dede (ſayth he) befoꝛe my Loꝛd Maioꝛ and me.

D. Standiſhes demaunde.

Then were there certaine Pꝛieſtes, as Doct. Standiſhe and other, which tempted me much to know my minde. And I aunſwered them alwayes thus: that I ſayd to my Loꝛd of London, I haue ſayd. Then Doct. Standiſhe deſired my Loꝛde to byd me ſay my mynde concernyng the ſame text of S. Paules learnyng, that I beyng a woman, ſhould intrepꝛete the Scriptures, ſpecially where ſo many wiſe learned men were.

A. Aſkew could not haue her accuſer.

Then my Loꝛd of London ſayd hee was infoꝛmed that one ſhould aſke of me if I would receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, and I made a mocke of it. Then I deſired that myne accuſer might come foꝛth: which my Loꝛd would not. But hee ſayd agayne vnto me, I ſent one to geue you good counſell, and at the firſt woꝛd you called hym Papiſt. That I denyed not, foꝛ I perceaued he was no leſſe: yet made I him none aūſwere vnto it.

The Pꝛieſtes of Lincolne agaynſt *An. Aſkew.*

Then he rebuked me, and ſayd that I ſhould repoꝛt, that there were bent agaynſt me thrée ſcoꝛe Pꝛieſtes at Lyncolne. In dede (quod I) I ſayd ſo. Foꝛ my frendes told me, if I did come to Lyncolne, the Pꝛieſtes would aſſault me and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made theyꝛ boaſt: and when I heard it I went thether in déede, not beyng afrayde, becauſe I knew my matter to bee good. Moꝛeouer, I remayned there .ix. dayes, to ſée what would be ſayd vnto me. And as I was in the Minſter, readyng vpon the Bible, they reſoꝛted vnto me by .ij. and by .ij. by .v. and by .vj. myndyng to haue ſpoken to me, yet went they their wayes agayne without woꝛdes ſpeakyng.

A. Aſkew ſtandeth vpon her honeſtie.

Then my Loꝛd aſked, if there were not one that did ſpeake vnto me. I told hym yes, that there was one of them at the laſt, whiche did ſpeake to me in déede. And my Loꝛd then aſked me what he ſayd? And I told hym, hys woꝛdes were of ſmall effect, ſo that I did not now remember them. Then ſayd my Loꝛd, there are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet folow it not noꝛ lyue thereafter. I ſayd agayne, my Loꝛd I would wiſhe that all men knew my conuerſation and lyuyng in all poyntes, foꝛ I am ſure of my ſelf this houre, that there are none able to pꝛoue any diſhoneſtie by me. If you know any that cā do it, I pꝛay you bꝛyng thē foꝛth.

Then my Loꝛd went away and ſayd hee would entitle ſomwhat of my meanyng, and ſo he wꝛote a great circumſtaunce. But what it was, I haue not all in memoꝛy, foꝛ he would not ſuffer me to haue the copy therof. Onely do I remember this ſmall poꝛtion of it:

Be it knowen (ſayth he) of all men that I Anne Aſ

Boners miſreport of An. Aſkewes confeſſion.

kew do cōfeſſe this to be my faith and beliefe, not withſtandyng my reportes made afore to the contrary. I beleue that they whiche are houſeled at the handes of a Prieſt whether hys conuerſation be good or not, do receiue the body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtaunce really. Alſo I do beleue that after the conſecration, whether it be receyued or reſerued, it is no leſſe then the very body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtaunce. Finally I do beleue in this and in all other Sacramentes of holy Church, in all poyntes accordyng to yͤ olde Catholicke fayth of the ſame. In witnes wherof I the ſayd Anne haue ſubſcribed my name.

The tenour of D. Boners writing, whereunto An. Aſkew ſubſcribed.

There was ſomewhat more in it, whiche becauſe I had not the copy, I can not now remember. Then he read it to me and aſked me if I did agrée to it. And I ſayd agayne, I beleue ſo much therof as the holy Scripture doth agrée vnto: wherefore I deſire you, that ye will adde that thereunto. Then he aunſwered that I ſhould not teach hym what he ſhould write. With that, he went forth into his great chamber, and read the ſame Bill afore the audience, whiche enueygled and willed me to ſet to my hand ſaying alſo, that I had fauour ſhewed me. Then ſaid the Byſhop I might thāke other and not my ſelfe, of the fauour that I founde at his hand: for he conſidered (hee ſayd) that I had good frēdes, & alſo that I was come of a worſhipfull ſtocke.

Then aūſwered one Chriſtopher, a ſeruaunt to M. Dennie: Rather ought you (my lord) to haue done it in ſuch caſe, for Gods ſake then for mans. Thē my Lord ſat down, & tooke me the writyng to ſet therto my hād, and I writte after this maner: I Anne Aſkew do beleue all maner thynges conteyned in the fayth of the Catholicke Church.

And for as much as mention here is made of the writyng of Boner, which this godly woman ſayd before ſhe had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to inferre the ſame, both with the whole circumſtance of Boner, and with the title therunto prefixed by the Regiſter, and alſo with her own ſubſcription: to the entent the reader ſeing the ſame ſubſcription, neither to agree with the tyme of the title aboue prefixed, nor with the ſubſcription after the writyng annexed, might the better vnderſtand therby what credit is to be geuen hereafter to ſuch Byſhops, and to ſuch Regiſters. The tenour of Boners writyng procedeth thus.

The wordes of the Regiſters.

The true copy of the confeſſion and beliefe of Anne Aſkew, otherwiſe called Anne Kyme, made before the biſhop of London the xx. day of March, in the yeare of our Lord God after the computation of the Churche of England. 1545. and ſubſcribed with her owne hand in the preſence of the ſayd Byſhop and other whoſe names hereafter are recited, ſet forth and publiſhed at this preſent, to the entent yͤ worlde may ſee what credence is now to be geuen vnto the ſame woman, who in ſo ſhort a tyme hath moſt damnablye altered and chaunged her opinion and beliefe, and therefore rightfully in open Court arrayned and condemned. Ex Regiſt.

Ex Regiſt.

The copie of the Byſhops report vpō the confeſſion of An. Aſkew, as it ſtandeth in the Regiſter.

BE it knowen to all faithful people, that as touching the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, I doo firmly and vndoubtedly beleue, that after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, according to the common vſage of this Church of England, there is preſent really the body & bloud of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, whether the miniſter which doth conſecrate, bee a good man, or a bad man, and that alſo whenſoeuer the ſayde Sacrament is receiued, whether the receiuer be a good man or a bad man, he doth receiue it really & corporally. And moreouer, I doo beleue, that whether the ſayd Sacrament then receiued of the Miniſter, or els reſerued to be put into the Pixe, or to be brought to any perſon that is impotent or ſicke, yet there is the very body and bloud of our ſayd Sauiour: ſo that whether the Miniſter or the receiuer be good or bad, yea, whether the Sacrament be receiued or reſerued, alwayes there is the bleſſed body of Chriſt really.

And this thing with all other thinges touching the Sacrament and other ſacramentes of the church, and all things els touching the Chriſten belefe, which are taught and declared in the kinges Maieſties booke lately ſetforth for the erudition of the Chriſten people, I Anne Askew, *otherwiſe called* Anne Kyme, *doo truly and perfectly beleue, and ſo here preſently confeſſe and knowledge. And here I do promiſe that hence forth I ſhall neuer ſay or do any thing againſt the premiſſes, or againſt any of them. In witnes wherof, I the ſayde* Anne *haue ſubſcribed my name vnto theſe preſentes. Written the. xx. day of March in the yeare of our Lord God.* 1545.

Ex Regiſt. By me *Anne Askew*, otherwyſe called *Anne Kime.*

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Witneſſes.

Edmund biſhop of London.
Iohn biſhop of Bath.
Owen Ogelthorpe doctor of diuinitie.
Richard Smith doctor of diuinitie.
Iohn Rudde Bacheler of diuinitie.
William Pie Bacheler of diuinitie.
Iohn Wymeſley Archdeacon of London.
Iohn Cooke. Edward Halle.
Robert Iohn. Alexander Bret.
Frāces Spilman Edmund Buts.

With diuers other moe being then preſent.

Boner and hys Regiſter reproued with an vntruth.

Here mayeſt thou note, gentle Reader, in this confeſſion, both in the Biſhop and his Regiſter, a double ſleight of falſe conueiaunce. For although the confeſſion purporteth the woordes of the Biſhops writing, whereunto ſhe did ſet her hand: yet by the title prefixed before, mayeſt thou ſée that both ſhe was araigned and condemned before this was regiſtred, and alſo that ſhe is falſly reported to haue put to her hande, which in déede by this her own booke appeareth not ſo to be, but after this maner and condition: *I Anne Aſkew do beleue all maner thinges contayned in the fayth of the Catholicke Church, and not otherwiſe.* It followeth more in the ſtorye.

Boner Byſhop of London in a chafe agaynſt *Anne Aſkew.*

Then becauſe I did adde vnto it the Catholicke Church, he flonge into his chamber in a great furye. With that my coſyn Brittaine followed him, deſiring hym for Gods ſake to be good Lord vnto me. He aunſwered that I was a woman, and that he was nothyng deceiued in me. Then my coſyn Bryttaine deſired hym to take me as a woman, and not to ſet my weake womans wit, to his Lordſhips great wiſdome.

D. Weſton.

Then went in vnto him D. Weſton, & ſayd, that the cauſe why I did write there the Catholicke Churche, was, that I vnderſtoode not the Church written afore. So with much ado, they perſwaded my Lorde to come out agayne, and to take my name with the names of my ſureties, which were my coſyn Brittayne, and maiſter Spylman of Graies Inne.

Anne Aſkew brought to the Guild hall.

This being done, we thought that I ſhoulde haue bene put to bayle immediately, according to the order of the law. Howbeit he would not ſuffer it, but committed me frō thence to priſon againe, vntyll the next morrow, and then he wylled me to appeare in the Guild Hall, and ſo I dyd. Notwithſtanding they would not put me to baile there neither, but read yͤ Biſhops writing vnto me, as before, and ſo cōmaunded me agayne to priſon.

Anne Aſkew bayled at laſt with much adoe.

Thē were my ſureties appointed to come before thē on the next morrow in Paules Church: which dyd ſo in déede. Notwithſtanding they would once again haue broken of with them, becauſe they would not be bound alſo for an other woman at their pleaſure, whom they knewe not, nor yet what matter was layde vnto her charge. Notwithſtanding at the laſt, after much adoe and reaſoning to and fro, they tooke a bonde of them of recogniſance for my forth cōming. And thus I was at the laſt deliuered.

Wrytten by me Anne Aſkewe.

The latter apprehenſion and examination of the worthy Martyr of God, Miſtres A. Aſkew. An. 1546.

Anne Aſkew, Martyr. 1546.

A declaration of A. Aſkew of theſe wordes of the Sacrament. This is my body. &c.

I Do perceiue (deare friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet perſwaded throughly in the truth cōcerning the Lordes ſupper, becauſe Chriſt ſayd vnto hys Apoſtles: *Take, eate, this is my bodye, which is geuen for you.* In geuing forth the bread as an outwarde ſigne or token to be receiued with yͤ mouth, he minded thē in perfect belief to receiue that body of hys, which ſhould dye for the people, and to thinke the death thereof to be the onelye onely health and ſaluation of their ſoules. The breade and the wyne were left vs for a ſacramentall communion, or a mutuall participation of the ineſtimable benefites of his moſt precious death and bloudſheeding, and that we ſhould in the ende thereof be thankeful together for that moſt neceſſary grace of our redemption. For in the cloſing vp thereof, he ſayd thus: *This doo ye in remembraunce of me.* Yea, *ſo oft as ye ſhall eate it, or drinke it.* Luke.xj. and .i. Corin.xj. Els ſhould we haue bene forgetfull of that wee ought to haue in dayly remembraunce, and alſo bene altogether vnthankfull for it. Therefore it is mete, that in our prayers we cal vnto God to graft in our foreheades, the true meanyng of the holye Ghoſt concerning this Communion. For Saint Paule ſayth: *the letter ſlayeth: the ſpirite is it onely that geueth lyfe.* ij. Corinth. iij. Marke well the firſt chapter of Iohn, where all is applyed vnto fayth. Note alſo the fourth chapter of Saint Paules firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth. and in the ende thereof ye ſhal finde that, *the thinges whych are ſene, are temporall, but they that are not ſene, are euerlaſting.* Yea, loke in the thirde chapter to the Hebrues, and ye ſhall finde that, *Chriſt as a ſonne* (and no ſeruant) *ruleth ouer his houſe, whoſe houſe are we,* (& not the dead tẽple) *if we hold faſt the cõfidence & reioyſing of that hope to the ende.* Wherefore, as ſayde the holy Ghoſt: *To day if ye ſhall heare his voyce, harden not your hartes. &c.* Pſalm.59.

Luk.11.
1.Cor.11.
2.Cor.3.
1.Cor.4.
Heb.3.
Pſal.95.

The ſumme of my examination, before the kings Councell at Grenewych.

YOur requeſt, as concerning my priſon fellowes, I am not able to ſatiſfie, becauſe I heard not their examinations: but the effect of myne was this. I being before the Counſell, was aſked of Maiſter Kyme. I aunſwered, that my Lord Chauncellor knew alreadye my mynde in that matter. They with that aunſwere were not contented, but ſayd, it was the Kinges pleaſure, that I ſhould open the matter to them. I anſwered them playnly I would not ſo do. But if it were the kinges pleaſure to heare me, I woulde ſhewe him the truth. Then they ſayd, it was not meete for the Kyng to be troubled with me. I aunſwered, that Salomon was reckened the wyſeſt king that euer liued: yet miſliked he not to heare ij. pore cõmon women: much more hys Grace a ſimple woman, and hys faithful ſubiect. So in concluſion I made them none other aunſwere in that matter.

Cõcerning that which they here [illegible] ded as touching M. Kyme, reade in the Cenſure of Ioh. Bale wryting vpon thys place.

This Lord Chauncelour was Wryoſley.

Then my Lord Chauncellour aſked me of my opinion in the Sacrament. My aunſwere was this: I beleue, that ſo oft as I in a Chriſtian congregation, doe receiue the bread in remembraunce of Chriſtes death and with thankes geuing, according to his holy inſtitution: I receiue therewith the fruites alſo of hys moſt glorious paſſion. The biſhop of Wincheſter bad mee make a direct aunſwere. I ſayd, I woulde not ſyng a new ſong of the Lordes in a ſtraunge lande. Then the biſhop ſayd, I ſpake in parables. I aunſwered it was beſt for him. For if I ſhewe the open truth (quoth I) ye wyll not accept it. Then he ſayd, I was a Parret. I told him againe, I was readye to ſuffer all thinges at hys hands, not onely hys rebukes, but all that ſhoulde follow beſydes, yea and all that gladly.

Then had I diuers rebukes of the Counſel, becauſe I would not expreſſe my mynde in all thinges as they would haue me. But they were not in the meane time vnanſwered for all that, which nowe to rehearſe were to much: for I was with them there about .v. houres. Then the Clerke of the Counſell conueyed mee from thence to my Lady Garniſh.

The next day I was brought againe before the counſell. Then would they needes know of me, what I ſaid to the Sacrament. I aunſwered, that I alreadye had ſayd that I could ſay. Then after diuers wordes, they bad me go by. Then came my Lord Liſle, my Lord of Eſſex, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, requiring me earneſtly that I ſhould confeſſe the ſacrament to be fleſhe, bloud, and bone. Thẽ ſaid I to my Lord Parre and my Lord Liſle, that it was great ſhame for them to counſel contrarye to their knowledge. Whereunto in fewe wordes they did ſay, that they would gladly all thinges were well.

Wincheſter aunſwered home.

Then the biſhop ſayd, he would ſpeake with me familiarly. I ſayd, ſo did Iudas when he vnfrendly betrayed Chriſt. Then deſired the biſhop to ſpeake with me alone. But that I refuſed. He aſked me why? I ſayd: that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, euery matter ſhould ſtand, after Chriſtes and Paules doctrine. Mathew.xviij. ij. Corinth.xiij.

Math.18.
2.Cor.13.

Then my Lord Chauncelour began to examine me againe of the Sacrament. Then I aſked hym howe long he would hault on both ſydes? Then woulde hee needes know where I found that. I ſayde in the ſcripture .iij. Reg.xviij. Then he went hys way. Then the biſhop ſayd I ſhould be burnt. I aunſwered that I had ſearched all the ſcriptures, yet could I neuer finde, that either Chriſt or his Apoſtles put any creature to death. Well, well ſayd I, God wyll laugh your threatninges to ſcorne. Pſalm.ij. Then was I cõmaunded to ſtande aſyde. Then came to me Doctor Cox, and Doctor Robinſon. In concluſion we could not agree.

3.Reg.18.
The Lorde Chauncellour mute.
Pſal.2.
Doct. Coxe, and Doct. Robinſon.

Then they made me a bill of the ſacrament, willing me to ſette my hand therunto: but I would not. Then on the ſonday I was ſore ſicke, thinking no leſſe then to die. Therfore I deſyred to ſpeake with M. Latimer: but it would not be. Then was I ſent to Newgate in my extremitie of ſickenes: for in all my life afore was I neuer in ſuch paine. Thus the Lorde ſtrengthen vs in the truth. Pray, pray, pray.

A. Aſkew deſired to ſpeake with M. Latimer.

The confeſſion of me Anne Aſkew for the tyme I was in Newgate, concerning my beliefe.

The confeſſion of A. Aſkew in Newgate.

I Finde in the ſcriptures (ſayd ſhe) that Chriſt toke the breade and gaue it to his diſciples, ſaying: *Take, eate, this is my body which ſhall be broken for you,* meaning in ſubſtance his own very body, the bread being therof an only ſigne or ſacramẽt. For after like maner of ſpeaking he ſayd, he would breake downe the temple, and in three dayes builde it vppe againe, ſignifying hys own bodye by the temple, as Saint Iohn declareth it, Iohn.ij. and not the ſtony temple it ſelfe. So that the breade is but a remembraunce of hys death, or a ſacrament of thankes geuing for it, whereby wee are knyt vnto hym by a communion of chriſten loue. Although there be many that cannot perceiue the true meanyng thereof, for the veile that Moyſes put ouer hys face before the children of Iſrael, that they ſhould not ſee the clearenes therof. Exod.xxiiij. and .ij. Corin.iij. I perceiue the ſame veile remayneth to this day. But when God ſhall take it away, then ſhall theſe blinde men ſee. For it is playnly expreſſed in the hiſtorye of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelleth in no thing materiall. *O King* (ſayth Daniel) *be not deceiued, for God will be in nothing that is made with handes of men.* Daniel.xiiij. Oh, what ſtifnecked people are theſe, that wyll alwayes reſiſt the holy Ghoſt? But as their fathers haue done, ſo do they, becauſe they haue ſtony hartes.

As Chriſtes body is called the Temple in the Scripture: ſo is the bread called Chriſtes bodye.

Exod.24.
2.Cor.3.
Dan.14.
Actes.7.

Written by me *Anne Aſkew*, that neither wiſheth death, nor yet feareth his might: and as mery as one that is bound towards heauen.

Truth is layd in priſon. Luke. 21. The law is turned to Wormewood. Amos.6. And there can no right iudgement goe forth. Eſai.59.

Luke.21.
Amos.6.
Eſai.59.

Oh forgeue vs all our ſinnes, & receiue vs graciouſly. As for the workes of our hãdes, we will no more call vpõ thẽ. For it is thou lord that art our God. Thou ſheweſt euer mercy vnto the fatherles.

Oh if they would do this (ſayth ÿ Lord): *I ſhould heale their ſores, yea with all my hart would I loue them.*

O Ephraim, what haue I to do with Idols any more? who ſo is wiſe ſhall vnderſtãd this. And he that is rightly inſtructed, will regard it: For the wayes of the Lord are righteous: Such

Oſe.14.

as are godly, will walke in them : and as for the wicked, they will ſtumble at them. Oſee.xiiij.

Eſai.66.

Salomon (ſayth S.Steuen) builded an houſe for the God of Iacob. Howbeit, the higheſt of all, dwelleth not in Temples made with handes, as ſayth the Prophet : Heauẽ is my ſeat, and the earth is my footeſtole. What houſe will ye build for me, ſayth the Lorde? or what place is it that I ſhall reſt in? Hath not my hand made all thynges? Act.vij.

Act.7.

Woman beleue me (ſaith Chriſt to the Samaritane) *the tyme is at hand, that ye ſhall neither in this mountayne, nor yet at Ieruſalem worſhyp the father. Ye worſhip ye wot not what, but we know what we worſhyp. For ſaluation cõmeth of the Iewes. But the houre commeth, and is nowe, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhyp the father in ſpirite and veritie. Iohn.iiij.*

Ioh.3.

Labour not (ſayth Chriſt) *for the meate that periſheth, but for that that endureth into the lyfe euerlaſtyng, whiche the ſonne of mã ſhall geue you: For hym God the father hath ſealed. Iohn.vj.*

Ioh.6.

The ſumme of the condemnation of me Anne Aſkew at the Guild Hall.

Another examination of *An. Aſkew* at the Guild Hall.

They ſayd to me there that I was an hereticke, and condemned by the law, if I would ſtand in myne opinion. I aunſwered that I was no hereticke, neither yet deſerued I any death by the law of God. But as concernyng the fayth whiche I vttered and wrote to the Counſell, I would not (I ſayd) deny it, becauſe I knew it true. Thẽ would they nedes know, if I would deny the Sacrament to be Chriſtes body and bloud. I ſayd yea. For the ſame ſonne of God, that was borne of the virgine Mary, is now glorious in heauen, and will come agayne from thence at the latter day, lyke as he went vp. Act.j. And as for that ye call your God, it is a peece of bread. For a more proufe thereof (marke it when ye liſte) let it lye in the boxe but iij. monethes, & it will be mouldy, and ſo turne to nothyng that is good. Wherupon I am perſuaded, that it can not be God.

The ſubſtance of the Sacrament denyed to be God.

After that, they willed me to haue a Prieſt: and then I ſmiled. Then they aſked me, if it were not good? I ſaid, I would cõfeſſe my faultes vnto God. For I was ſure that he would heare me with fauour. And ſo we were condemned with a Queſt.

***An. Aſkew* with her felowes cõdemned by a Queſt.**

My beliefe whiche I wrote to the Coũſell was this: that the Sacramentall bread was left vs to be receiued with thankes geuyng, in remembraunce of Chriſtes death, the only remedy of our ſoules recouery: and that therby we alſo receyue the whole benefites and frutes of his moſt glorious Paſſion. Then would they nedes know whether the bread in the boxe were God or no? I ſayd, *God is a ſpirite, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth.* John.iiij. Thẽ they demaunded: Wil you plainly deny Chriſt to be in the Sacrament? I aunſwered that I beleue faythfully the eternall ſonne of God not to dwell there. In witneſſe whereof I recited agayne the hiſtorie of Bell, and the xix. chap. of Daniell, the vij. and xvij. of the Actes, and the xxiiij. of Mathew, concludyng thus: I neither wiſhe death, nor yet feare hys might, God haue the prayſe therof with thankes.

The beliefe of *An. Aſkew* concerning the Sacramentes, written to the Counſell.

John.4.

Daniell.19.

Actes.7.17.

Math.24.

My letter ſent to the Lord Chauncelour.

The letter of *An. Aſkew* to the Lord Chauncellour.

The Lord God, by whom all creatures haue their beyng, bleſſe you with the lyght of hys knowledge. Amen.

My ductie to your Lordſhip remembred. &c. It might pleaſe you to accept this my bold ſute, as the ſute of one, whiche vppon due conſiderations is moued to the ſame and hopeth to obtayne. My requeſt to your Lordſhyp is onely: that it may pleaſe the ſame to bee a meane for me to the kynges maieſtie, that his grace may bee certified of theſe few lynes which I haue written concernyng my beliefe. whiche when it ſhalbe truly conferred with the hard iudgement geuen me for the ſame, I thinke his grace ſhall well perceyue me to bee wayed in an vneuen payre of balaunce. But I remit my matter and cauſe to almighty God, whiche rightly iudgeth all ſecretes. And thus I commende your Lordſhyp to the gouernaunce of hym and felowſhyp of all Saintes. Amen.

By your handmayd Anne Aſkew.

My faith briefly written to the kinges grace.

I Anne Aſkew, of good memory, although God hath geuen me the bread of aduerſitie & the water of trouble, yet not ſo much as my ſinnes haue deſerued, deſire this to bee knowen to your grace, that foraſmuch as I am by the law cõdemned for an euill doer: Here I take heauen and earth to recorde, that I ſhall dye in my innocency. And accordyng to that I haue ſayd firſt, and will ſay laſt, I vtterly abhorre and deteſt all hereſies. And as concernyng the ſupper of the Lord, I beleue ſo much as Chriſt hath ſayd therin, whiche hee confirmed with his moſt bleſſed bloud. I beleue alſo ſo much as he willed me to folow and beleue, and ſo much as the Catholicke Churche of hym doth teach. For I will not forſake the commaundement of his holy lippes. But looke what God hath charged me with his mouth, that haue I ſhut vp in my hart: and thus briefly I ende, for lacke of learnyng. *Anne Aſkew.*

The be lief of *Anne Aſkew* touchyng the Sa crament, written to the kyng.

The effect of my examination and handlyng, ſence my departure from Newgate.

On Tueſday I was ſent frõ Newgate to the ſigne of the crowne, whereas M. Rich and the Byſhop of London withall their power and flattering wordes, went about to perſuade me from God. But I did not eſteme their gloſing pretences.

The cru handling rackyng *Anne Aſkew* after her condemna tion.

Then came there to me Nicolas Shaxton, and coũſelled me to recante as he had done. I ſayd to hym, that it had bene good for him, neuer to haue ben borne, with many other lyke wordes. Then M. Riche ſent me to the Tower, where I remained till iij. a clocke.

Thys Counsel was Syr *Iohn Ba ker.*

Then came Rich and one of the Counſell, charging me vpon my obedience, to ſhewe vnto them, if I knew any man or woman of my ſect. My aunſwere was, that I knew none. Thẽ they aſked me of my Lady of Suffolke, my Lady of Suſſex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny and my Lady Fizwilliams. I ſayd, if I ſhould pronounce any thing agaynſt them, that I were not able to proue it. Then ſayd they vnto me, that the kyng was informed, that I could name if I would, a great number of my ſect. I aunſwered, that the kyng was as well deceiued in that behalfe, as diſſẽbled with in other matters.

***Anne Aſkew* bygan to accuse them.**

Then commaunded they me to ſhewe how I was maintayned in the Counter, and who willed me to ſticke to by my opinion. I ſaid that there was no creature that therin did ſtrengthen me. And as for ẏ helpe that I had in the Counter, it was by the meanes of my mayd. For as ſhe went abroad in the ſtreetes, ſhe made mone to the prentiſes, and they by her did ſend me money: but who they were I neuer knew.

Then they ſayd, that there were diuers gentlewomẽ, that gaue me money: but I knew not their names. Then they ſayd that there were diuers Ladyes, which had ſent me money. I aunſwered, that there was a mã in a blew coate, whiche deliuered me x. ſhillynges, and ſayd that my Lady of Hertford ſent it me. And an other in a violet coate did geue me viij. ſhillynges, and ſayd that my Lady Denny ſent it me. Whether it were true or no, I can not tell. For I am not ſure who ſent it me, but as the mayd did ſay. Then they ſaid, there were of the Coũſell that did maintaine me. And I ſaid, no.

***Anne Aſkew* refusing accuse any.**

Then they did put me on the racke, becauſe I confeſſed no Ladyes or Gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long tyme. And becauſe I lay ſtil and did not cry, my L. Chauncellour & Syr Ioh. Baker, tooke paines to racke me with their own hãdes, till I was nigh dead.

***Anne Aſkew* put on the racke.**

Wryſley and Baker* rackyng *Anne Aſkew.

Then the Lieſtenaunt cauſed me to be looſed from the racke. Incontinẽtly I ſwounded, and then they recouered me agayne. After that I ſatte ij. long houres reaſonyng with my Lord Chauncellor vppon the bare flore, whereas he with many flattering wordes, perſwaded me to leaue my opinion. But my Lord God (I thanke his euerlaſting goodnes) gaue me grace to perſe-

***Anne Aſkew* comforted in her bodi**

perſeuer, and wyll do (I hope) to the very end.

Anne Aſkew threatned to be burned.

Then was I brought to an houſe, and laid in a bed, with as werye and painful bones, as euer had pacient Iob, I thanke my Lord God thereof. Then my Lord Chauncellour ſent me worde if I would leaue my opinion, I ſhould want nothing: If I would not, I ſhould forth to Newgate, & ſo be burned. I ſent hym agayne word, that I would rather die, then to breake my faith.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blynd hartes, that the truth may take place. Farewell deare frende, and pray, pray, pray.

The order of the rackyng of Anne Aſkew.

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower, thus it was. Firſt ſhe was led downe into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Kneuet yͤ Lieutenant cōmaunded his Gayler to pinch her with yͤ racke. Which being done ſo much as he thought ſufficient, went about to take her downe, ſuppoſing he had done enough. But Wriſley the Lorde Chauncellour, not contented that ſhe was looſed ſo ſoone confeſſing nothing, commaunded the Lieutenant to ſtreine her on the racke agayn. Which becauſe he denied to doo, tendering the weakenes of the womā, he was threatned therfore greuouſly of the ſayd Wriſley, ſaying that he woulde ſignifie hys diſobedience vnto the king: and ſo conſequently vpon the ſame, hee and Syr Iohn Baker throwing of theyr gownes, would nedes play the tormētors them ſelues: firſt aſking her if ſhee were with childe. To whom ſhe aunſwering againe, ſayd: ye ſhall not neede to ſpare for that, but do your wylles vpon me: And ſo quietlye and paciently praying vnto the Lorde, ſhe abode their tyranny, till her bones and ioyntes almoſt were pluckt a ſūder, in ſuch ſort, as ſhe was caried away in a chair. When the rackyng was paſt, Wryſley and hys felow tooke theyr horſe toward the Court.

The Lord Wryſley and Syr. Ioh. Baker play the tormentours.

Wryſley the Lorde Chauncellour preuented by the Lieutenaunt.

In the meane tyme, while they were makyng their waye by land, the good Lieutenaunt eftſoones takyng boate, ſped hym in all haſt to the Court to ſpeake with the kyng before the other, and ſo did. Who there makyng hys humble ſute to the kyng, deſired his pardon and ſhewed hym the whole matter as it ſtoode, and of the rackyng of Miſtres Aſkew, & how he was threatned by the Lord Chauncellour, becauſe at his commaundement, not knowyng his highnes pleaſure, hee refuſed to racke her: whiche hee for compaſſion could not finde in his hart to do, and therfore humbly craued his hyghnes pardon. Whiche when the kyng had vnderſtand, ſemed not very well to lyke of their ſo extreme handlyng of the woman, and alſo graunted to the Lieutenaunt his pardon, willyng hym to returne and ſee to his charge.

The Lieutenant pardoned of the kyng.

Great expectation was in the meane ſeaſon among the Warders and other officers of the Tower, waytyng for hys returne. Whom when they ſaw come ſo cherefullye, declaryng vnto them how he had ſpedde with the kyng, they were not a litle ioyous, and gaue thankes to God therfore.

¶ A. Aſkewes aunſwere vnto Ioh. Lacels letter.

The aunſwere of Anne Aſkew to Maiſter Lacelles letter.

OH frend moſt dearely beloued in God, I meruel not a litle, what ſhould moue you to iudge in me ſo ſlender a fayth, as to feare death, whiche is the end of all miſery. In the Lord I deſyre you, not to beleue of me ſuch wickednes. For I doubt it not, but God will performe hys worke in me, lyke as he hath begon. I vnderſtand the Counſel is not a litle diſpleaſed, that it ſhould be reported abroad, that I was racked in the Tower. They ſay now, that they dyd there, was but to feare me: whereby I perceyue, they are aſhamed of theyr vncomely doynges, and feare much leſt the kynges maieſtye ſhould haue information therof. wherefore they would no man to noyſe it. well, their cruelty God forgeue them.

Your hart in Chriſt Ieſu. Farewell and pray.

¶ The purgation or aunſwere of Anne Aſkew agaynſt the falſe ſurmiſes of her recantation.

Anne Aſkew aunſwering to the falſe ſuſpicion of her recantyng.

I Haue read the proceſſe whiche is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But as the Lord liueth, I neuer ment thing leſſe then to recant. Notwithſtandyng this I confeſſe, that in my firſt troubles, I was examined of the Byſhop of London about the Sacrament. Yet had they no graunt of my mouth, but this, that I beleued therin as the worde of God did bynde me to beleue: more had they neuer of me. Then he made a copie whiche is now in print, and required me to ſet thereunto my hand. But I refuſed it. Then my ij. ſureties did will me in no wiſe to ſticke therat, for it was no great matter, they ſayd.

A. Aſkew falſly ſuſpected to recant, and vpon what occaſion.

Then with much adoe, at the laſt I wrote thus: I Anne Aſkew do beleue this, if Gods worde do agree to the ſame, and the true Catholicke Churche. Thē the Byſhop, beyng in great diſpleaſure with me becauſe I made doubtes in my writyng, commaunded me to priſon: where I was a while, but afterwardes by the meanes of frendes, I came out agayne. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concernyng the thyng that ye couet moſt to know, reſort to yͤ vj. of Iohn, & bee ruled allwayes therby. Thus fare ye well. A. Aſkew.

¶ The confeſſion of the faith which Anne Aſkew made in Newgate before ſhe ſuffered.

The confeſſion of A. Aſkew, going to her execution.

I Anne Aſkew of good memory, although my merciful father hath geuen me the bread of aduerſitie and the water of trouble: yet not ſo muche as my ſinnes haue deſerued: confeſſe my ſelfe here a ſynner before the throne of his heauenly maieſtye, deſiring his forgeuenes and mercy. And for ſo much as I am by the lawe vnrighteouſly condemned for an euill doer concerning opinions, I take the ſame moſt mercifull God of mine, which hath made both heauē and earth, to recorde that I hold no opinions contrarie to his moſt holy word. And I truſt in my mercyfull Lord, which is the geuer of all grace, that he wyll graciouſly aſſiſt me agaynſt all euill opinions, which are contrarye to his bleſſed veritie. For I take him to witnes, that I haue done and wyll vnto my liues end, vtterlye abhorre them to the vttermoſt of my power.

The matter & cauſe why A. Aſkew ſuffered death.

But this is the hereſie which they report me to hold, that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration, there remaineth bread ſtyll. They both ſaye, and alſo teach it for a neceſſary article of faith, that after thoſe woordes be once ſpoken, there remayneth no bread, but euen the ſelf ſame body that hoong vpon the croſſe on good Friday, both fleſh, bloud, and bone. To this beliefe of theirs, ſay I nay: For then were our cōmō Crede falſe, which ſayth, that he ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almightye, and from thence ſhall come to iudge the quicke and dead. Lo, this is the hereſie that I holde, and for it muſt ſuffer the death. But as touching the holy & bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, I beleue it to be a moſt neceſſary remembraunce of his glorious ſufferinges and death. Moreouer, I beleue as much therein, as my eternall and onelye redemer Ieſus Chriſt would I ſhould beleue.

Finally, I beleue al thoſe ſcriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his moſt precious bloud. Yea, and as ſaynt Paule ſayth, thoſe ſcriptures are ſufficient for our learning and ſaluatiō, that Chriſt hath left here with vs: So that I beleue, we nede no vnwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore looke what he hath ſayd vnto me with hys own mouth in hys holy Goſpell, that haue I with Gods grace cloſed vp in my hart: and my ful truſt is (as Dauid ſaith) that it ſhal be a lantern to my footeſteps. Pſalm. xxviii.

Scripture ſufficient to our ſaluation.

Pſal. 28.

There be ſome do ſay, that I denie the Euchariſte or ſacrament of thankes geuing: but thoſe people doo vntruly reporte of me. For I both ſaye and beleue it, that if it were ordered lyke as Chriſt inſtituted it and left it, a moſt ſingular comfort it were vnto vs al. But as concerning your Maſſe, as it is nowe vſed in our daies, I do ſay and beleue it to be the moſt abominable Idoll that is in the world: For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dyeth he agayne. And vpon

A. Aſkew falſely reported to deny the ho Euchariſt.

Maſſe [illegible] ble Idoll.

theſe wordes that I haue nowe ſpoken, wyll I ſuffer death.

The prayer of *An. Aſkew.*

O Lord, I haue moe enemies now, then there be heares on my head. Yet Lord, let them neuer ouercome me with vaine wordes, but fight thou Lord in my ſtede, for on thee caſt I my care. Wyth all the ſpight they can imagine, they fall vpon me, whych am thy poore creature. Yet ſwete Lord, let me not ſet by them whych are agaynſt me: for in thee is my whole delight. And Lord I hartely deſire of thee, that thou wylt of thy moſt mercyfull goodnes forgeue them that violence, whych they do and haue done vnto me. Open alſo thou theyr blynde hartes, that they may hereafter doo that thyng in thy ſight, whych is onely acceptable before thee, and to ſet forth thy verityе aright, wythout all vayne phantaſies of ſinfull men. So be it. O Lord, ſo be it.

By me Anne Aſkew.

Hetherto we haue intreated of this good woman. Now it remaineth that we touch ſomwhat as concerning her end & Martyrdome. After that ſhee, beyng borne of ſuch ſtocke and kynred, that ſhe might haue liued in great wealth and proſperitie, if ſhe woulde rather haue followed the world, then Chriſt, now had ben ſo tormented, that ſhee coulde neither lyue long in ſo great diſtreſſe, neither yet by her aduerſaries bee ſuffered to dye in ſecret: the day of her execution beyng appoynted, ſhe was brought into Smithfield in a chaire, becauſe ſhe could not go on her feete, by meanes of her great torments. When ſhe was brought vnto the ſtake, ſhe was tied by the middle with a chayne, that held vp her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Doctor Shaxton, who was then appoynted to preach, began his Sermon. Anne Aſkew hearing, and anſwering againe vnto hym, where he ſayde well, confirmed the ſame: where he ſayd amyſſe, there ſayd ſhe, he miſſeth, and ſpeaketh without the booke.

An. Aſkew brought vnto the ſtake.

An. Aſkew lamed vpon the racke.

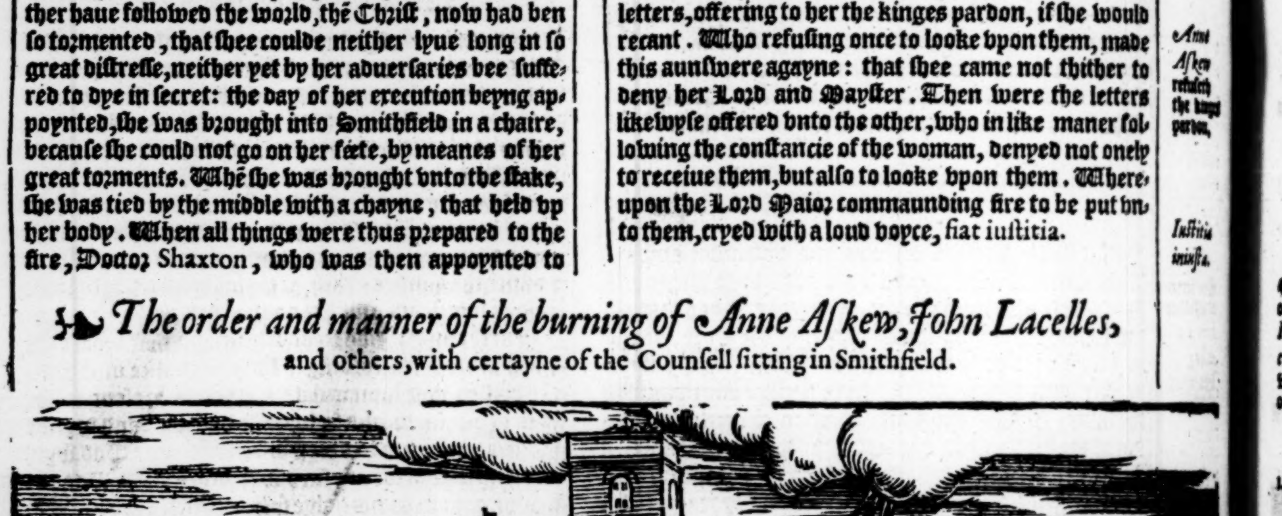
Shaxton preacheth at *Anne Aſkewes* burning.

The Sermon being finiſhed, the Martyrs ſtanding there tyed at three ſeuerall ſtakes ready to theyr Martirdome, beganne their prayers. The multitude and concourſe of the people was exceeding, the place where they ſtoode beyng rayled about, to keepe out the preaſe. Vpon the benche vnder S.Bartelmewes church ſat Wryſley, Chauncellour of England, the old Duke of Northfolk, the old Earle of Bedford, the lord Maior, with diuers other mo. Before the fire ſhould be ſet vnto them, one of the bench hearing that they had gunpouder about them, and being afeard leaſt the fagots by ſtrength of the gunpouder would come flying about their eares, began to bee afrayde: but the Earle of Bedford declaring vnto him, how the gunpouder was not layde vnder the fagots, but onely about their bodies, to ryd them out of their payne, which hauing vent, there was no daunger to them of the fagots, ſo diminiſhed that feare. Then Wriſley lord Chauncelour, ſent to Anne Aſkew letters, offering to her the kinges pardon, if ſhe would recant. Who refuſing once to looke vpon them, made this aunſwere agayne: that ſhee came not thither to deny her Lord and Mayſter. Then were the letters likewyſe offered vnto the other, who in like maner following the conſtancie of the woman, denyed not onely to receiue them, but alſo to looke vpon them. Whereupon the Lord Maior commaunding fire to be put vnto them, cryed with a loud voyce, fiat iuſtitia.

Anne Aſkew refuſeth the kinges pardon.

Iuſtitia iniuſta.

The order and manner of the burning of Anne Aſkew, Iohn Lacelles, and others, with certayne of the Counſell ſitting in Smithfield.



The Duke of Northfolke. *Wryſley* Chauncellour. The olde Earle of Bedforde. The Lord Maior.

An. Aſkew gentlewoman, *Ioh. Lacelles* gentleman, *Iohn Adams* Taylor, *Nic. Belenian* Prieſt, Martyrs.

And thus the good Anne Aſkew with theſe bleſſed Martyrs, being troubled ſo many maner of wayes, and hauing paſſed through ſo many tormentes, hauing nowe ended the long courſe of her agonies, being compaſſed in with flames of fire, as a bleſſed ſacrifice vnto God, ſhe ſlept in the Lord, an. 1546. leauing behinde her a ſinguler example of Chriſten conſtancie for all men to follow.

Iohn

¶Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, and Nicolas Belenian.

There was at the ſame tyme alſo burnt together with her, one Nicolas Belenian Prieſt of Shropſhiere, Iohn Adams a Taylor, and Iohn Lacels Gentleman of the Court and houſhold of king Henry.

The Martyrdome of *Anne Aſkew, Iohn Lacelles, Iohn Adams, Nicholas Belenian.*

It happened well for them, that they dyed together with Anne Aſkew. For al be it that of them ſelues they were ſtrong and ſtout men, yet throughe the example & exhortation of her, they being ẏ more boldned, receiued occaſion of greater comfort in that ſo painfull & doleful kinde of death: who beholding her inuincible conſtancie, and alſo ſtyrred vp through her perſwaſions, did ſet apart all kynde of feare.

Thus they confirming one an other with mutuall exhortations, taried looking for the tormentor and fire, which at the laſt flaming round about them, conſumed their bleſſed bodies in happy martyrdome, in the yeare of our ſaluation. 1546. about the moneth of Iune.

There is alſo a certayne letter extant, which the ſaid Iohn Lacels briefly wrote being in priſon, touching the Sacrament of Chriſtes bodye and bloud: wherein he doth both confute the errour of them, which, not being contented with the ſpiritual receiuing of the ſacramēt, wyll leaue no ſubſtaunce of bread therein, and alſo confuteth the ſiniſter interpretation of manye thereupon. The tenor of which letter is as here vnder followeth.

¶The copy of the letter of Iohn Lacels written out of priſon.

The letter of Maiſter *Iohn Lacelles,* writtē out of priſon.

Saint Paule, becauſe of ſectes and diſſenſion among the Corinthians, wrote his Epiſtle vnto them: and in lyke caſe pertaining to my conſcience, I doo proteſt my whole hart in the bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, wherin I truſt in God to bring nothing for me, but I ſhall be able with Gods holy worde to declare and manifeſt the ſame. And herein I take occaſion to recite the ſaying of Saint Paule in the ſayd Epiſtle the. xj. chapter. *That which I delyuered vnto you, I receyued of the Lorde. For the Lord Ieſus, the ſame nyght in whych he was betrayed, tooke breade, gaue thankes and brake it, and ſayd: take ye, eate ye, thys is my body, whych is broken for you.*

1.Cor.11.

Here me ſemeth, S.Paul durſt not take vppon hym his Lord & maiſters authoritie. Wherfore, as at Gods hand the breakyng of the moſt innocent & inmaculate bodye and bloude of Chriſt, is the quietnes of all mens conſciences, the onely remedye of our ſinnes, and the redemption of mankynde which is called in the Scripture the dayly offryng: ſo the Maſſe whiche is the inuētion of man (whoſe author is the Pope of Rome, as it doth appeare in Polidore Virgill and many others) is the vnquietnes of all Chriſtendome, a blaſphemy vnto Chriſtes bloud, and (as Daniell calleth it) the abominable deſolation, as the Scripture ſhall hereafter more manifeſt it. S.Paul was belyke, to learne of the Romaines Church, ẏ maner of the conſecration (as they call it) with the breathyng ouer the hoſte and other ceremonies beſides, that hee durſt not take vpon hym, to ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum. But this I will admit: it was the Lord Ieſus that made the ſupper, whiche alſo did finiſhe it, and made an ende of the onely acte of our ſaluation, not only here in this world, but with his father in heauen, as he declareth hym ſelf: that he will drinke no more of this bitter cup, til he drinke it new in his fathers kingdome, where all bitternes ſhall be takē awaye.

The blaſphemie and wickednes of the Maſſe.

A Propheſie.

S.Paule dyd not take vpon hym in the perſon of Chriſt, to ſay: *Hoc eſt corpus meū,* as our prieſtes do.

Now if any man be able to finiſhe the acte of our Sauiour, in breaking of his body and ſhedding of his bloud here, and alſo to finiſhe it with the father in heauen, thē let him ſay it. But I thinke that if men will looke vpon S.Paules wordes well, they ſhalbe forced to ſay, as S. Paul ſayth: the Lord Ieſus ſayd it, and once for all, whiche onely was the fulfiller of it. For theſe wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meū, were ſpoken of his naturall preſence (whiche no man is able to deny) becauſe the acte was finiſhed on the croſſe, as the ſtory doth playnly manifeſt it to them that haue eyes. Now this bloudy ſacrifice is made an end of, the ſupper is finiſhed, for aſmuch as *Chriſt hath once ſuffered for ſinnes, the iuſt for the vniuſt, to bryng vs to God, and was killed as pertaynyng to the fleſhe: and hath entred in by his owne bloud once for all, into the holy place, and founde eternall redemption.*

None but Chriſt can ſay: *Hoc eſt corpus meū:* and he ſaid it once for all.

1.Pet.3.

Heb.9.

Here now foloweth the adminiſtratiō of the ſupper of the Lord, whiche I will take at Chriſtes handes after the reſurrection, although other men will not bee aſhamed to bryng the wicked Councels of fooliſhe inuentions for them. *And it came to paſſe as Chriſt ſat at meate with them, he tooke bread, bleſſed and brake it, and gaue it to them, and theyr eyes were opened and knew hym, and hee vaniſhed out of theyr ſight.* And the Apoſtles did know hym in breakyng of bread.

Luke.24.

Here alſo it ſemeth to me the Apoſtles to folow their Maiſter Chriſt, and to take the right vſe of the Sacrament, and alſo to teach it to thoſe that were conuerted to Chriſt, as mention is made in the Actes of the Apoſtles: where as is ſayd: *They continued in the Apoſtles doctrine and felowſhyp, in breaking of bread and praier, and they continued daylye wyth one accord in the temple, and brake bread in euery houſe, and dyd eate there with gladnes and ſinglenes of hart, prayſing God, and had fauour with all the people.* And S. Paule following the ſame doctrine, doth playnly ſhew the dutie of the Miniſter, and alſo of them that ſhall receiue it: *As oft as you ſhall eate thys bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhall ſhewe the Lordes death vntyll he come.* Here I do gather that the Miniſter hath no farther power and authoritie, then to preach & pronounce the Lordes death, or els to ſay the Lord Ieſus ſayd it, which did fulfill it on the croſſe.

The right vſe of the Supper in the Apoſtles tyme.

Actes.2.

1.Cor.11.

How farre the power of the miniſter extendeth in conſecrating the Supper.

Furthermore I do ſtedfaſtly beleue, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinaunce of Chriſt, the bleſſed and inmaculate Lambe is preſent to the eyes of our fayth, and ſo we eate his fleſh, and drynke his blood, which is to dwell with God, and God wyth vs. And in this we are ſure wee dwell with God, in that he geueth vs his holye ſpirite, euen as the forefathers that were before Chriſtes comming, did preſently ſee the Lordes death, and did eate his bodye and drinke hys bloud.

How the fleſhe of Chriſt is eaten in the Supper.

In this doo I differ from the Popes Churche, that the Prieſtes haue authoritie to make Chriſtes natural preſence in the breade, for ſo doth hee more then our Lord and Sauiour did: As the example is manifeſt in Iudas, which at Chriſtes handes receiued the ſame wyne and breade, as the other Apoſtles did. But the Pope and his adherents, are euen they whom Daniel ſpeaketh of, ſaying: *He ſhall ſet men to vnhalow the ſanctuary, and to put downe the dayly offeryng, and to ſet vp the abominable deſolation. Yea, he* (of Rome) *ſhall ſpeake marueylous thinges agaynſt the God of heauen, and God of all Gods, wherein he ſhall proſper ſo long, tyll the wrath bee fulfilled, for the concluſion is deuiſed already. He ſhall not regard the God of heauen, nor the God of his fathers, yea in his place ſhall he worſhippe the myghtye Idoll, and the God whom hys fathers knew not, which is the God* Maozim.

Popiſh Prieſtes take vpon them to doe more then euer Chriſt dyd.

Dan.11.

Maozim ſignifieth in Hebrue, as much as the God of diuers temples.

For lacke of tyme I leaue the commemoration of the bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, and the abominable Idoll the Maſſe, which is it that Daniell meaneth by the God Maozim. Read the ſecond and laſt chap. of Daniell, the ij. to the Theſſal. the ſecond Epiſtle: where as they recite the abomination of deſolation which Mathew ſayth, ſtandeth in the holy place, which is the conſciences of men. Marke ſayth, where it ought not to ſtand, which is a playne deniall of all the inuentions of men. Further Luke ſayth, the tyme is at hād. Paule ſayth, the miſterye of iniquitie worketh already, yea, and ſhall continue till the appearaunce of Chriſt, whiche in my iudgement, is at hand.

The God *Maozim* in Daniell, alludeth much neare to *Mazon,* which ſignifieth bread.

Math.24.

Mark.13.

Luke.21.

2.Theſ.2.

Now for the ſupper of the Lord, I doo proteſt to take it as reuerētly as Chriſt left it, and as his Apoſtles

The faythfull and reuerend confeſſion of *Lacelles*, touching the Lordes ſupper.

did vſe it, accordyng to yͤ teſtimonies of the Prophetes, the Apoſtles and our bleſſed Sauiour Chriſt, whiche accordingly S. Paul to the Epheſians doth recite.

Now with quietnes I commit the whole world to their paſtor and heardman Jeſus Chriſt the onely Sauiour and true Meſſias, and I commẽd my ſoueraigne Lord and maiſter the kyngs Maieſtie, kyng Henry the viij. to God the father and to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: The Quéene & my Lord the Prince, with this whole Realme, euer to the innocent and immaculate lambe, that his bloude may waſhe and purifie their hartes and ſoules from all iniquitie and ſinne, to Gods glory and to the ſaluation of their ſoules. I do proteſt that the inward part of my hart doth grone for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle, whiche is aboue: yea and there to be with God for euer. Farewell in Chriſt Jeſu.

John Lacels ſeruaunt late to the kyng, and now
I truſt to ſerue the euerlaſting king, with the teſtimonie of my bloud in Smithfield.

¶Rogers Martyr, burned in Northfolke.

One *Rogers* in Norfolke, Martyr.

Lyke as Wincheſter and other Byſhops did ſet on kyng Henry agaynſt Anne Aſkewe and her felow-Martyrs, ſo D. Repſe Byſhop of Norwiche did incite no leſſe yͤ old Duke of Northfolke againſt one Rogers in the countrey of Northfolke: who much about the ſame yeare and tyme, was there condemned and ſuffred Martyrdome for the vj. Articles. After whiche tyme it was not long, but within halfe a yeare, both the kyng hym ſelfe, and the Dukes houſe decayed; albeit the Dukes houſe by Gods grace recouered agayne afterward, and he hym ſelfe conuerted to a more moderation in thys kinde of dealyng.

The Martyrdome of *Rogers*.

¶The ſtory of Q. Katherine Parre late Queene, and wife to K. Henry 8. Wherin appeareth in what daunger ſhe was for the Goſpell, by the meanes of Steuen Gardiner and other of his cõſpiracie: and how graciouſly ſhe was preſerued by her kinde & louing husband the king.

An. 1546.

After theſe ſtormie ſtories aboue recited, the courſe & order, as well of yͤ tyme, as yͤ matter of ſtory doth require now ſomewhat to intreate likewiſe touchyng the troubles & afflictions of the vertuous & excellent Ladye Quéene Katherine Parre, the laſt wife to king Henry. The ſtory wherof is this.

Queene *Katherin Parre.*

About the ſame tyme aboue noted, whiche was about the yeare after the kyng returned from Bulleyne, hee was informed that Quéene Katherine Parre, at that tyme his wife, was very much giuen to the readyng and ſtudy of the holy Scriptures: and that ſhe for that purpoſe had retained diuers well learned and godly perſons, to inſtruct her thoroughly in the ſame, with whom as at all tymes conuenient ſhe vſed to haue priuate conference touching ſpirituall matters: ſo alſo of ordinarie, but eſpecially in Lent euery day in the after noone, for the ſpace of one houre, one of her ſaid Chaplaines in her priuie chãber made ſome collation to her & to her Ladyes & Gentlewomẽ of her priuy chamber, or other that were diſpoſed to heare: in whiche Sermons, they oftymes touched ſuch abuſes, as in the Churche, then were rife. Which thynges as they were not ſecretly done, ſo neither were their preachinges vnknowen vnto the king. Wherof at the firſt, and for a great time, he ſemed very well to like. Which made her yͤ more bold (beyng in dede become very zelous towarde the Goſpell, and the profeſſours therof) franckly to debate with the kyng, touchyng Religion, and therein flatlye to diſcouer her ſelfe: oftymes wiſhyng, exhortyng and perſuadyng the kyng, that as he had to the glory of God, and his eternall fame, begon a good and a godly worke in baniſhing that monſtrous Idoll of Rome, ſo he would thoroughly perfite and finiſhe the ſame, clenſing and purgyng his Churche of England, cleane from the dregges therof, wherein as yet remayned great ſuperſtition.

The religious zeale of Quene *Katherine* towarde Gods worde.

The exhortation of Quene *Katherine* to the kyng.

And albeit the kyng grew towardes his latter ende, very ſterne & opinionate, ſo that of few he could be cõtent to be taught, but worſt of all to be cõtended withall by argument: notwithſtandyng towardes her he refrayned his accuſtomed maner (vnto others in lyke caſe vſed) as appeared by great reſpectes, either for the reuerence of the cauſe, whereunto of hym ſelfe he ſemed well inclined, if ſome others could haue ceaſed from ſekyng to peruerte him, or els for the ſingular affection whiche vntill a very ſmall tyme before his death, he alwayes bare vnto her. For neuer handmayd ſought with more carefull diligence to pleaſe her miſtres, thẽ ſhe did with all paynfull endeuour apply her ſelfe by all vertuous meanes, in all thynges to pleaſe his humour.

The kyng toward his latter ende waxed more impacient.

The vertuous inclination of Queene *Katherine* toward the kyng.

Moreouer, beſides the vertues of the mynd, ſhe was endued with very rare giftes of nature, as ſingular beautie, fauour, and comely perſonage, beyng thinges wherin the king was greatly delighted: and ſo enioyed ſhe yͤ kynges fauour, to yͤ great likelyhode of yͤ ſettyng at large of yͤ Goſpell within this Realme at that tyme, had not yͤ malicious practiſe of certein enemyes profeſſed agaynſt yͤ truth (which at that tyme alſo were very great) preuented the ſame, to the vtter alienatyng of the kynges mynde from Religion, and almoſt to the extreme ruine of the Quéene and certeine others with her, if God had not merueilouſly ſuccoured her in that diſtreſſe. The conſpirers, and practiſers of her death, were Gardiner B. of Wincheſter, Wryſley then Lord Chauncelour, and others more aſwel of the kynges pryuie chamber, as of his pryuie Counſell. Theſe ſeekyng (for the furtheraunce of their vngodlye purpoſe) to reuiue, ſtirre vppe and kindle euill and pernicious humours in their Prince and soueraigne Lord, to the intent to depriue her of this her great fauour, whiche then ſhe ſtode in with the kyng, (whiche they not a litle feared woulde turne to the vtter ruine of their Antichriſtian ſecte, if it ſhoulde continue) and thereby to ſtoppe the paſſage of the Goſpell: and conſequentlye, hauing taken awaye her, who was the onely Patroneſſe of the profeſſours of the truth, openlye without feare of checke or controlement, with fyre and ſwoorde, after their accuſtomed maner, to inuade the ſmall remainder (as they hoped) of that poore flocke, made their wicked entrye vnto this their miſcheuous enterpriſe, after thys manner following.

Enemyes and conſpirers agaynſt the Goſpell.

Queene *Katherine* a patroneſſe of Goddes truth.

The Kinges Maieſtie (as you haue heard) myſlyked to be contended withall in any kinde of argument. This humour of his, although not in ſmaller matters, yet in cauſes of Religiõ, as occaſion ſerued, the Quene woulde not ſticke in reuerent termes & humble talke, entring with him into diſcourſe with ſound reaſons of Scripture, now and then to contrary. The which the King was ſo well accuſtomed vnto in thoſe matters, that at her handes he toke all in good part, or at the leaſt did neuer ſhew countenance of offence thereat: which did not a lytle appalle her aduerſaries, to heare and ſée. During which time, perceauing her ſo throughly groũded in the Kinges fauour, they durſt not for their liues once open their lyps vnto the King in anye reſpect to touch her, eyther in her preſence, or behinde her backe: And ſo long ſhee continued this her accuſtomed vſage, not onely of hearing priuate ſermons (as is ſayde) but alſo of her frée conference with the King in matters of Religion, without all perill, vntill at yͤ laſt, by reaſon of his ſore legge (yͤ anguiſh wherof began more & more to encreaſe) he waxed ſickly, & therwithal froward, & difficult to be pleaſed. In the time of this his ſicknes, he had left his accuſtomed maner of cõming and viſiting the Quene, & therfore ſhe, according as ſhe vnderſtood hym by ſuch aſſured intelligence as ſhe had about him, to be diſpoſed to haue her companye, ſometimes being ſent for, other ſometimes of her ſelfe would come to viſite him, eyther at after dynner, or after ſupper, as was

The Queene ſometymes contrary to the kyng in argument.

The kyng waxeth ſickely and difficult to pleaſe.

moſt fit for her purpoſe. At which times ſhe would not fayle to vſe all occaſions to moue him, according to her maner, zealouſly to procede in the reformation of the Church. The ſharpnes of the diſeaſe had ſharpned the Kinges accuſtomed pacience, ſo that he began to ſhew ſome tokẽs of miſliking: and cõtrary vnto his maner, vpon a day, breaking of that matter, he tooke occaſion to enter into other talke, which ſomewhat amazed the Quene. To whom notwithſtanding in her preſence, he gaue neyther euyll word nor countenance, but knit vp all arguments with gentle wordes and louing countenaunce: and after other pleaſaunt talke, ſhe for that time toke her leaue of his Maieſtie. Who after his maner, bidding her farewell ſweete hart (for that was his vſuall terme to the Queene) licenced her to depart.

The kyng beginneth to miſlyke of the Queene.

The B. of Wincheſter taketh hys occaſiõ to worke hys miſchiefe.

At this viſitation chaunced the biſhop of Wyncheſter aforenamed to be preſent, as alſo at the Queenes taking her leaue (who very well had printed in his memory the kinges ſodaine interrupting of the Queene in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thought that if the yron were beaten whyleſt it was hoate, and that the kinges humour were holpen, ſuche miſliking might follow towardes the Queene, as might both ouerthrow her and all her endeuours: and onely awayted ſome occaſion to renew into the kinges memorye, the former myſliked argument. His expectation in that behalfe did nothing fayle him. For the king at that time ſhewed him ſelfe no leſſe prompt and readye to receaue any information, then the Biſhop was maliciouſly bent to ſtyrre vp the kings indignation agaynſt her. The king immediatly vpõ her departure frõ hym, vſed theſe or lyke wordes: A good hearyng (quoth hee) it is when womẽ become ſuch Clerkes, & a thing much to my comfort, to come in myne old dayes to be taught by my wiſe.

The B. of Wincheſters poyſoned wordes to the kyng.

The Byſhop hearyng this, ſeemed to miſlyke that the Queene ſhoulde ſo much forgette her ſelfe, as to take vpõ her to ſtand in any argument with his maieſtie, whom he to his face extold for his rare vertues, and ſpecially for his learned iudgement in matters of Religion, aboue, not onely Princes of that and other ages, but alſo aboue Doctours profeſſed in Diuinitie, and ſayd that it was an vnſeemely thyng for any of hys Maieſties ſubiectes to reaſon and argue with hym ſo malapertly, and greuous to him for his part and other of his Maieſties Counſellours and ſeruaunts, to heare the ſame: and that they all by proufe knew his wiſedome to be ſuch, that it was not nedefull for any to put him in mynde of any ſuch matters: inferryng moreouer how daungerous and perillous a matter it is and euer hath bene for a Prince, to ſuffer ſuch inſolent woordes at his ſubiectes handes: who as they take boldnes to contrary their ſoueraigne in wordes, ſo want they no will but onely power and ſtrength to ouerthwarte them in dedes.

Wincheſters accuſation agaynſt the Queene.

Beſides this, that the Religion by the Queene ſo ſtiffely mainteyned, did not onely diſallow and diſſolue the policie & politicke gouernment of Princes, but alſo taught the people that all things ought to be in cõmon, ſo that what colour ſo euer they pretended, their opinions were in dede ſo odious, and for the Princes eſtate ſo perillous, that (ſauyng the reuerence they bare vnto her for his Maieſties ſake) they durſt bee bold to affirme that the greateſt ſubiect in this land, ſpeakyng thoſe wordes that ſhe did ſpeake, and defendyng thoſe argumentes that ſhe dyd defend, had with indifferent iuſtice, by law deſerued death. Howbeit for his part hee woulde not nor durſt not, without good warrant from hys Maieſtie, ſpeake hys knowledge in the Queenes caſe, although very apparaunt reaſons made for him, and ſuch as his dutifull affection towardes his Maieſtie, and the zeale and preſeruation of hys eſtate, would ſcarcely geue him leaue to conceale, though the vttering thereof might through her, and her faction, be the vtter deſtruction of him, and of ſuch as in deede did chiefly tender the Princes ſafety, without his Maieſtie would take vpon him to be their protector, and as it were, their Buckler. Which if he would do (as in reſpect of his own ſafetye he ought not to refuſe) hee with others of hys faythful Counſaylours, could within ſhort time diſcloſe ſuche treaſons, cloked wyth thys cloke of hereſye, that hys Maieſtie ſhould eaſelye perceaue how perillous a matter it is to cheriſhe a Serpent within his owne boſome. Howbeit he would not for his part willingly deale in the matter, both for reuerent reſpect aforeſayd, and alſo for feare leſt the faction was growen already to great, there, with the Princes ſafety, to diſcouer yͤ ſame. And therwithall with heauye countenaunces, and whiſperyng together with them of that ſect there preſent, he held his peace.

Wincheſter abuſeth the kyng with his flattering.

Theſe and ſuch other kindes of Wincheſters flatteryng phraſes, meruelouſly whetted yͤ kyng, both to anger and diſpleaſure towardes the Queene, and alſo to be gelous and miſtruſtfull of hys owne eſtate. For the aſſuraunce wherof, Princes vſe not to bee ſcrupulous to do any thyng. Thus then Wincheſter with hys flatteryng wordes, ſeeking to frame the kinges diſpoſition after hys owne pleaſure, ſo farre crept into the kyng at that tyme, and with doubtfull feares he with other hys fellowes ſo filled the kinges miſtruſtfull mynde, that before they departed the place, the kyng (to ſee belyke what they would do) had geuẽ commaundement, with warrant to certaine of them made for that purpoſe, to conſult together about the drawyng of certaine Articles agaynſt the Queene, wherin her lyfe might be touched: which the kyng by their perſuaſions pretended to be fully reſolued not to ſpare, hauing any rigour or colour of lawe to countenaunce the matter. With this Commiſſion they departed for that tyme from the kyng, reſolued to put their pernicious practiſe to as miſchieuous an execution.

How Wincheſter and hys fellowes deuiſe agaynſt the Goſpellers.

Duryng this tyme of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to vſe all kindes of policies, and miſchieuous practiſes, aſwell to ſuborne accuſers, as otherwiſe to betray her, in ſekyng to vnderſtand what bookes, by law forbydden, ſhe had in her cloſet. And the better to bryng their purpoſe to paſſe, bycauſe they would not vpon the ſodeine, but by meanes deale with her, they thought it beſt, at yͤ firſt to begyn with ſome of thoſe Ladyes whõ they knew to bee great with her, and of her bloud. The chiefeſt wherof, as moſt of eſtimation and priuye to all her doynges, were theſe: the Ladye Harbert, afterward Counteſſe of Pembroke and ſiſter to the Queene, and chiefe of her priuye chamber: the Ladye Lane, beyng of her priuye chamber, and alſo her coſine germane: the Lady Tyrwitte of her priuye chamber, and for her vertuous diſpoſition, in very great fauour and credite with her.

Lady Harbert.

Lady Lane.

Ladye Tyrwitte.

It was deuiſed that theſe three aboue named ſhoulde firſt of all haue bene accuſed and brought to aunſwere vnto the vj. Articles: and vpõ their apprehenſion in the Court, their cloſet & coffers ſhould haue ben ſearched, that ſomewhat might haue bene founde whereby the Queene might bee charged. Which being founde, the Queene her ſelfe preſently ſhould haue bene taken, and likewiſe caryed by Barge by night vnto the Tower. This plateforme thus deuiſed, but yet in the ende comming to no effect, the kyng by thoſe aforeſayd, was forthwith made priuy vnto the deuice by Wyncheſter, & Wryſley, & his conſent therunto demaunded. Who, (belike to proue the Byſhops malice, how far it would preſume) lyke a wiſe politicke Prince, was contented (diſſemblyngly) to geue hys conſent, and to allowe of euery circumſtaunce (knowing notwithſtanding in the end what he would doe). And thus the day, the tyme, and the place of theſe apprehenſions aforeſayd was appoynted: which deuiſe yet after was chaunged.

Wincheſters plateforme.

The kyng at that tyme laye at White Hall, and vſed very ſeldome, beyng not well at eaſe, to ſtyrre out of his chamber, or priuy gallerye: and few of hys

Counſell, but by eſpeciall commaundement, reſorted vnto hym, theſe onely except: who by reaſon of this practiſe, vſed oftener then of ordinarye to repayre vnto hym. Thys purpoſe ſo finely was handled, that it grew now within few daies of yͤ tyme appoynted for yͤ execution of the matter, & the poore Quéene knewe not nor ſuſpected any thyng at all: and therfore vſed after her accuſtomed maner, whẽ ſhe came to viſite the king, ſtill to deale with him touchyng Religion, as before ſhee dyd.

The kyng all this while gaue her leaue to vtter her minde at the full, without contradiction: not vpon any euill minde or miſlykyng (ye muſt conceaue) to haue her ſpéedy diſpatch, but rather cloſely diſſemblyng with them, to trye out the vttermoſt of Wincheſters fetches. Thus after her accuſtomed conference with the kyng, when ſhe had taken her leaue of hym (the tyme and day of Wincheſters finall date approchyng faſt vpon) it chaunced that the kyng of hym ſelfe vpon a certayne night after her beyng with hym, and her leaue taken of hym, in miſlykyng her Religion, brake the whole practiſe vnto one of his Phiſicians, either Doct. Wendie, or els Owen, but rather Wendy, as is ſuppoſed: pretendyng vnto hym, as though he intended not any lõger to be troubled with ſuch a Doctreſſe as ſhe was, and alſo declaryng what trouble was in workyng agaynſt her by certayne of her enemyes, but yet charging hym withall vpon perill of his lyfe, not to vtter it to any creature liuyng: and therupon declared vnto hym yͤ parties aboue named, with all circumſtances, and whẽ and what the finall reſolution of the matter ſhould be.

The wyles of thys Architophell Wincheſter diſpatched.

The Quene all this while cõpaſſed about wͭ enemies & perſecutours, perceaued nothing of al this, nor what was working againſt her, & what trappes were layde for her by Wincheſter & his felowes: ſo cloſely yͤ matter was conueyed. But ſée what yͤ Lord God (who frõ his eternall throne of wiſdome, ſéeth and diſpatcheth al the inuentions of Architophel, and comprehẽdeth the wyly begily themſelues) dyd for hys poore handmaiden, in reſcuing her from the pyt of ruine, whereunto ſhe was ready to fall vnawares.

The Articles drawẽ againſt the Queene, how they came to her handes.

For as the Lord would, ſo it came to paſſe, that the bill of Articles drawen againſt the Quene, and ſubſcribed with the kinges own hand (although diſſemblingly ye muſt vnderſtand) falling from the boſome of one of the foreſayd Councellours, was founde and taken vp of ſome godly perſon, and brought immediately vnto the Quéene. Who reading there the Articles compriſed againſt her, and perceiuing the kinges owne hand vnto the ſame, for the ſodayne feare thereof, fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in ſuche ſorte, as was lamentable to ſée: as certayne of her Ladies and gentlewomen being yet aliue, which were then preſent about her, can teſtifie.

The Queene in an agonye.

The King hearing what perplexitie ſhee was in, almoſt to the peryll and danger of her lyfe, ſent his Phiſicions vnto her. Who traueling about her, and ſeing what extremitie ſhe was in, did what they could for her recouerye. Then Wendy, who knewe the caſe better then the other, & perceauing by her words what yͤ matter was, according to that yͤ king before had tolde him: for the cõforting of her heauye mynde, began to breake with her in ſecrete maner, touching the ſayde Articles deuiſed agaynſt her, which he him ſelfe (he ſayd) knew right well to be true: although hee ſtoode in daunger of his life, if euer he were knowẽ to vtter yͤ ſame to any liuing creature. Neuertheleſſe, partly for yͤ ſafety of her life, and partly for the diſcharge of his own conſcience, hauyng remorſe to conſent to the ſhéeding of innocent bloud, he coulde not but geue her warning of that miſchiefe that hanged ouer her head, beſéeching her moſt inſtantly to vſe al ſecrecie in that behalf, & exhorted her ſomwhat to frame and cõforme her ſelf vnto the kings mynde, ſaying he dyd not doubt, but if ſhe would ſo do, and ſhewe her humble ſubmiſſion vnto hym, ſhee ſhoulde finde hym gracious and fauourable vnto her.

D.Wendy the kinges Phiſicion ſent to the Quene.

The exhortation of D.Wendy to the Quene.

It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the daungerous ſtate wherein ſhe yet ſtyll remayned: came vnto her hym ſelfe. Unto whom, after that ſhee had vttered her griefe, fearing leſt his Maieſtie (ſhee ſayd) had taken diſpleaſure with her, and had vtterly forſaken her: he like a louing huſband with ſwéete and cõfortable wordes ſo refreſhed and appeaſed her carefull mynde, that ſhe vpon the ſame began ſomewhat to recouer, and ſo yͤ king after he had taryed there about the ſpace of an houre, departed.

The king comming to the Queene to comfort her.

After this the Quéene remembryng with her ſelfe the wordes that M. Wendy had ſayd vnto her, deuiſed how by ſome good oportunitie ſhe might repayre to the kynges preſence. And ſo firſt cõmaundyng her Ladyes to conuey away their bookes, which were agaynſt the law, the next night folowyng after ſupper, ſhée (wayted vpõ only by the Lady Harbert her ſiſter and the Lady Lane, who caried the candell before her) went vnto the kynges bead chamber, whom ſhe foũde ſittyng and talkyng with certeine Gentlemẽ of his chamber. Whom whẽ the king did behold, very curteouſly he welcomed her, and breakyng of the talke, which before her commyng he had with the Gentlemen aforeſayd, began of hym ſelfe, contrary to his maner before accuſtomed, to enter into talke of religiõ: ſemyng as it were, deſirous to be reſolued by the Quéene of certein doubtes which he propounded.

The Quéene perceiuyng to what purpoſe this talke did tende, not beyng vnprouided in what ſorte to behaue her ſelfe towardes the kyng, with ſuch aũſweres reſolued his queſtions as the time and oportunitie preſent did require, myldly and with a reuerent countenaunce aunſweryng agayne after this maner.

The Queenes politike aunſwere to the king.

Your Maieſtie (quoth ſhe) doth right well know, neither I my ſelf am ignoraunt, what great imperfection & weakenes by our firſt creation, is alotted vnto vs womẽ, to be ordeyned and appoynted as inferiour and ſubiect vnto man as our head, from whiche head all our direction ought to procede: and that, as God made man to his owne ſhape and lykenes, wherby he beyng endued with more ſpeciall giftes of perfection, might rather bee ſtirred to the contemplation of heauenly thinges and to the earneſt endeuour to obey hys commaundementes: euen ſo alſo made hee woman of man, of whom and by whom ſhee is to bee gouerned, commaunded and directed. Whoſe womanly weakenes and naturall imperfection, ought to be tolerated, ayded and borne withall, ſo that by his wiſedome ſuch thinges as be lackyng in her, ought to be ſupplyed.

Sithence therfore that God hath appointed ſuch a naturall difference betwene man and woman, and your Maieſtie beyng ſo excellent in giftes and ornamentes of wiſedome, and I a ſeely poore woman ſo much inferiour in all reſpectes of nature vnto you: how then commeth it now to paſſe that your Maieſtie in ſuch diffuſe cauſes of Religion, will ſeme to require my Iudgemẽt: whiche when I haue vttered and ſayd what I can, yet muſt I and will I referre my Iudgement in this and all other caſes to your Maieſties wiſedome, as my onely anker, ſupreme head, and gouerner here in earth next vnder God, to leane vnto.

Not ſo by Saint Mary, quoth the King. You are become a Doctor, Kate, to inſtruct vs, (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed, or directed by vs.

If your Maieſtie take it ſo (quoth the Quene) then hath your Maieſtie very much miſtaken me, who haue euer bene of the opinion, to thinke it verye vnſéemely and prepoſterous for the woman to take vpon her the office of an inſtructer or teacher to her Lorde, and huſband, but rather to learne of her huſbande, and to bee taught by him. And where I haue with your Maieſties leaue, heretofore bene bolde to holde talke wyth your Maieſtie, wherein ſome times in opinions there hath ſéemed ſome differẽce, I haue not done it ſo much to maintaine opinion, as I dyd it rather to miniſter talke, not onely to the end that your Maieſtie might with leſſe griefe paſſe ouer this paynfull time of your infirmitie, being intentiue to our talke, & hoping that your Maieſtie ſhould reape ſome eaſe therby: but alſo that I hearing your Maieſties learned diſcourſe, might receaue to my ſelf ſome profit therof. Wherin I aſſure your Maieſtie I haue not miſſed anye part of my deſire in that behalfe, alwayes referring my ſelfe in all ſuch matters vnto your Maieſtie, as by ordinaunce of nature it is conuenient for me to doe.

Perfecte agrement betwen the kyng & the Queene.

And is it euen ſo ſwéete hart, quoth the king? And tended your argumentes to no worſe an ende? Then perfect friendes we are nowe againe, as euer at anye tyme heretofore: and as hee ſatte in hys chaire, embracing her in hys armes and kiſſing her, hee added this ſaying: that it did him more good at that tyme to heare thoſe wordes of her own mouth, then if he had heard preſent newes of an hundreth thouſand poundes in money fallen vnto him. And with great ſignes and tokens of maruellous ioy and liking, with promiſes and aſſurances, neuer agayne in any ſort more to miſtake her, entring into other very pleaſaunt diſcourſes with the Queene & the Lordes, & Gentlemē ſtanding by, in ẏ end (being very farre on ẏ night) he gaue her leaue to depart. Whom in her abſence to the ſtanders by, he gaue as ſingular and as effectuous cōmendations, as before time to the Biſhop and the Chauncelor (who then were neither of them preſent) he ſeemed to miſlike of her.

The kyng abhorred the malicious workynges of the bloudye Papiſtes.

Now then (God be thanked) the kinges minde was cleane altered, & he deteſted in his hart (as afterwards he plainly ſhewed) this tragicall practiſe of thoſe cruell Cayphaſes: who nothing vnderſtanding of the kings well reformed mynde, and good diſpoſition toward the Quéene, were buſily occupied about thinking and prouiding for their next dayes labour, which was the daye determined to haue caried the Queene to the Tower.

This purpoſe being [illegible] & that the Ladyes ſhould be firſt taken, it was then appoynted that they with the Queene ſhould altogether be apprehended in maner as is here declared.

The day and almoſt the houre appointed being come, the king being diſpoſed in the after noone to take the ayre (waited vpon with two gentlemen onely of his bed chamber) went into the Garden, whether the Queene alſo came, being ſent for by ẏ king himſelf, the thrée Ladies aboue named, alone waityng vppon her. With whom the king at that time dyſpoſed him ſelfe to be as pleaſant as euer he was in al his lyfe before: when ſodaynly in the myddeſt of their myrth, the houre determined being come, in commeth the L. Chauncellour into the Garden, with a fortye of the kinges garde at hys heeles, with purpoſe in déede to haue taken the Quéene together with the thrée Ladyes aforeſayde, whome they had before purpoſed to apprehende alone, euen then vnto the Tower. Whom the king ſternly beholding, and breaking of his myrth with the quéene, ſtepping a litle a ſide, called the Chauncellour vnto him. Who vpon his knees ſpake certayne wordes vnto the king, but what they were (for that they were ſoftly ſpoken, and the king a good pretty diſtance from the quéene) it is not well knowen: but it is moſt certayne that the kinges replying vnto him was, knaue, for his aunſwere: yea, arrant knaue, beaſt, and foole, and wyth that the king commaunded him preſently to auaūt out of preſence. Which wordes although they were vttered ſomewhat low, yet were they ſo vehemently whyſpered out by ẏ king, that the Quéene did eaſely with her Ladies aforeſayd ouer heare them: which had bene not a litle to her comfort, if ſhe had knowen at that time the whole cauſe of his comming ſo perfectly, as after ſhe knewe it. Thus departed the L. Chauncellour out of the kings preſence as he came, with all his trayne, the whole mould of all his deuiſe being vtterly broken.

The king calleth *Wryſley* L. Chauncellour.

The Lord Chauncellour commaunded to auaunte out of the kynges ſight. [illegible] *Wryſley* [illegible]

The kyng after his departure immediatly returned to ẏ Quéene. Whō ſhe perceiuing to be very much chafed (albeit cōmyng towards her, he enforced him ſelf to put on a mery coūtenaunce) with as ſwéete wordes as ſhe could vtter, endeuoured to qualifie the kyng his diſpleaſure: with requeſt vnto his Maieſtie in the behalfe of the Lord Chauncellor, whom he ſeemed to be offended withall: ſaying for his excuſe, that albeit ſhe knew not what iuſt cauſe his Maieſtie had at that tyme, to be offended with him, yet ſhe thought that ignoraunce, not will, was the cauſe of his errour: and ſo beſought hys Maieſtie (if the cauſe were not very haynous) at her humble ſute to take it.

The Queene maketh excuſe for her enemy.

Ah poore ſoule (quoth hee) thou litle knoweſt how euill hee deſerueth this grace at thy handes. Of my worde (ſwéete hart) he hath bene towardes thée, an arrant knaue, and ſo let hym goe. To this the Quéene in charitable maner replying in fewe wordes, ended that talke: hauyng alſo by Gods only bleſſyng, happely for that tyme and euer, eſcaped the daungerous ſnares of her bloudy and cruell enemies for the Goſpels ſake.

The Queene by Gods maruelous bleſſing deliuered of all her aduerſitie.

The peſtiferous purpoſe of this Byſhop, and of ſuch lyke bloudy aduerſaries practiſing thus agaynſt ẏ quéene, & procedings of gods goſpel (as ye haue heard) putteth me in remēbraūce of an other lyke ſtory of hys wicked workyng in like maner, a litle before, but much more pernicious and peſtilent to the publicke Church of Jeſus Chriſt, then this was daungerous to the priuate eſtate of the Quéene. Whiche ſtory likewyſe I thought here as in cōuenient place, to be adioyned and notified to be knowen to all poſteritie, accordyng as I haue it faithfully recorded and ſtoryed by him, which heard it of ẏ Archbiſhop Cranmers owne mouth declared, in order and forme as foloweth.

A diſcourſe touching a certaine pollicie vſed by *Steuen Gardiner* biſhop of Wincheſter, in ſtaying Kyng *Henry* the. VIII. from redreſſing of certayne abuſes of ceremonies in the Churche, being Ambaſſadour beyonde the ſeas.

Alſo the communication of King *Henry* the. VIII. had with the Ambaſſadour of Fraūce at Hampton Court, concerning the reformation of religion, as wel in Fraūce, as in England. *An. 1546. Menſ. Auguſt.*

IT chaunced in the time of king Henry the eyght, when hys hyghnes did laſtly (not many yeares before hys death) conclude a league betwene the Emperour, the French king, and himſelfe, that the byſhop of Wyncheſter Steuen Gardiner by name, was ſent in Ambaſſade beyonde the Seas, for that purpoſe. In whoſe abſence the archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, attending vpon the kinges court, ſought occaſion ſomwhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion, not yet fullye reſtored vnto a perfection. For like as the ſayd Archbiſhop was alwayes diligent and forward to preferre and aduaunce the ſincere doctrine of the Goſpell: ſo was that other biſhop a contrarye inſtrument, continuallye ſpurning againſt the ſame, in what ſoeuer coaſt of the world he remayned. For euen now he being beyond ẏ Seas in the temporall affaires of the Realme, forgat not but founde the meanes, as a moſt vigilant Champion of the byſhop of Rome, to ſtop and hinder, aſwell the good diligence of the ſayd Archbiſhop, as the godlye diſpoſition of the kings Maieſty in that behalfe: which thus chaunced.

Steuen Gardiner Ambaſſadour.

Wincheſter a great hinderer of the courſe of the Goſpell.

Whileſt the ſayd biſhop of Wincheſter was nowe remaining beyond ẏ Seas, about ẏ affaires aforeſayd, the kinges Maieſtie, and the ſayd Archbiſhop, hauyng conference together for the reformation of ſome ſuperſtitious enormities in the church: amongſt other thinges, the king determined forthwith to pull downe the Roodes in euerye church, and to ſuppreſſe the accuſtomed ringing on Alhallow nyght, with a fewe ſuch like vayne ceremonies: And therefore, when the ſayde Archb. taking his leaue of the king, to go into Kēt his dioces, his highnes willed him to remēber, ẏ he ſhould cauſe ẏ letters to be deuiſed: for me (quoth the kyng) to be

The kynges cōference with *D. Cranmer* about reformation of the Church.

Roode loftes.

Ringing on Alhallow night.

Letters of reformation to be ſent by the kyng.

to be ſigned, the one to be directed vnto you my Lord, and the other vnto the Archbiſhop of Yorke, wherein I will commaund you both to ſend forth your precepts vnto all other Biſhops within your Prouinces, to ſee thoſe enormities and Ceremonies reformed vndelaidly that we haue communed of.

The kinges mynde altered by Wincheſter.

Reformation of Religion ſtopped by *St. Gardiner.*

So vppon this, the kinges pleaſure knowen, when the Archbiſhop of Canterburye was then come into Kent, he cauſed his Secretarye to conceiue and write theſe Letters, according to the kinges mynde, and being made in a readynes, ſent them to the Court to Sir Anthony Deny, for him to get thẽ ſigned by the king. When Maiſter Deny had moued the king thereunto: the king made aũſwere: I am now otherwayes reſolued, for you ſhall ſend my Lord of Canterbury worde, that ſithence I ſpake with him about theſe matters, I haue receyued letters from my Lorde of Wyncheſter, now being on the other ſide of the Sea, about yͤ cõcluſion of a league betwene vs, the Emperour, and the French king, and he wryteth playnly vnto vs, that the league wyll not proſper nor go forward, if we make any other innouation, chaunge, or alteration, either in Religion or ceremonies, than heretofore hath bene already commenſed and done. Wherefore my Lorde of Canterburye muſt take pacience herein, and forbeare vntyll we may eſpye a more apt and conuenient tyme for that purpoſe.

An. 1546.

Thys Ambaſſadour was Admirall of Fraũce whoſe name was *Monſieur d'Annebault*, he came to Hãpton Court the 20. day of Aug. an. 1546.

The matter of reformation againe renued a litle before the kinges death.

Whiche matter of reformation began to be reuiued again, at what time yͤ great Ambaſſadour frõ yͤ French kyng came to the kynges Maieſtie at Hampton Court not long before his death. Where then no Gentleman was permitted to waite there vpon his Lord & maſter, without a veluet coate and a chayne of gold. And for that enterteynment of yͤ Ambaſſadour, were builded in the Parke there thrée very notable great, & ſumptuous banketyng houſes. At the which it was purpoſed, that the ſayd Ambaſſadour ſhoulde haue bene iij. ſondrye nightes very richly bancketed. But as it chaunced, the French kynges great affaires were then ſodenly ſuch, that this Ambaſſadour was ſent for home in poſt haſt, before he had receiued halfe the noble entertaynement that was prepared for hym, ſo that he had but the fruition of the firſt banketyng houſe.

The kinges banchet for the French Ambaſſadour.

Now what Princelyke order was there vſed in the furniture of that bancket, aſwell in placyng of the noble eſtates, namely the kynges Maieſtie & the French Ambaſſadour, with the noble men both of Englande and Fraunce on the one part, and of the Quéenes highnes, and the Lady Anne of Cleaue, with other noble womẽ and Ladyes on the other part, as alſo touchyng the great and ſumptuous preparation of both coſtlye and fine diſhes there out of number ſpent, it is not our purpoſe here preſently to entreate therof, but onely to conſider the note of the conference and communication had the firſt night after the ſayd bancket was finiſhed, betwene the kynges Maieſtie, the ſayd Ambaſſadour, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (the kyngs highnes ſtandyng openly in the banketyng houſe in the open face of all the people, and leanyng one arme vppon the ſhoulder of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the other arme vpon the ſhoulder of the Ambaſſadour) touching the eſtabliſhyng of godly Religion betwene thoſe ij. Princes in both their Realmes: As by the reporte of the ſayd Archbyſhop vnto his Secretarie vppon occaſion of his ſeruice to bee done in kyng Edwardes viſitatiõ, then beyng Regiſter in the ſame viſitation, relation was made on that behalfe in this ſorte.

Secret cõmunication betwen the king, the French Ambaſſadour, and the Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

Teſtimonye and credite of the ſtorye.

When the ſayd viſitation was put in a readynes, before the Commiſſioners ſhould procede in their viage, the ſayd Archbyſhop ſent for the ſayd Regiſter hys man vnto Hampton Court and willed hym in any wiſe to make notes of certeine thynges in the ſayd viſitation: whereof hee gaue vnto hym inſtruction, hauyng then further talke with hym touchyng the good effect and ſucceſſe of the ſayd viſitation. Upon which occaſiõ the Regiſter ſaid vnto his Maiſter the Archbiſhop: I do remember that you not long agoe, cauſed me to conceiue and write letters, whiche kyng Henry the viij. ſhoulde haue ſigned and directed vnto your grace, and the Archbyſhop of Yorke, for the reformation of certeine enormities in the Churches, as taking down of the roodes, and forbidding of ryngyng on Alhallow night, and ſuch lyke vayne ceremonyes. Whiche letters your grace ſent to the Court to be ſigned by the kynges Maieſtie, but as yet I thincke that there was neuer any thyng done therein.

Why, quoth the Archbiſhop again, neuer heard you how thoſe letters were ſuppreſſed and ſtopped? Whereunto the Archbyſhops ſeruaunt aunſweryng agayne: as it was (ſayd he) my dutie to write thoſe letters: ſo was it not my part to be inquiſitiue what became thereupon. Mary, quoth the Archbyſhop, my Lord of Wincheſter then beyng beyond the Seas about a concluſion of a league betwene the Emperour, the Frenche king, and the kyng our Maiſter, and fearing that ſome reformation ſhould here paſſe in the Realme touchyng Religion in his abſence againſt his appetite, wrote to the kynges Maieſtie, bearyng hym in hand, that the league then towardes, would not proſper nor go forwardes on his Maieſties behalfe, if hee made any other innouatiõ or alteration in religion or ceremonies in the Church, then was already done: whiche hys aduertiſement herein cauſed the kyng to ſtay the ſignyng of thoſe letters, as Syr Anthony Deny wrote to me by the kynges commaundement.

Then ſayd hys ſeruaunt agayne vnto hym: Foraſmuch as the kynges good intent tooke no place then, now your grace may go forward in thoſe matters, the oportunitie of the tyme much better ſeruyng thereunto then in kyng Henries dayes.

Not ſo, quoth the Archbyſhop. It was better to attempt ſuch reformations in kyng Henry the viij. hys dayes, then at this tyme, the kyng beyng in his infancie. For if the kynges father had ſet forth any thyng for the reformation of abuſes, who was he that durſt againſay it? Mary, we are now in doubt how mẽ will take the chaũge or alteration of abuſes in the Church, and therfore the Counſaile hath forborne ſpecially to ſpeake therof and of other thynges, whiche gladly they would haue reformed in this viſitation, referryng all thoſe and ſuch like matters, vnto yͤ diſcretions of yͤ Viſitors. But if kyng Henry the viij. had lyued vnto this day, with the French kyng, it had bene paſt my Lorde of Wyncheſters power, to haue viſured the kynges highnes as he did when he was about the ſayd league.

I am ſure you were at Hampton Court, quoth the Archb. when the Frenche kynges Ambaſſadour was enterteined there at thoſe ſolemne banketyng houſes, not long before the kynges death: namely when after the bancket was done the firſt night, the kyng leanyng vpon the Ambaſſadour and vpon me: If I ſhould tell what communicatiõ betwene the kynges hyghnes and the ſayd Ambaſſadour was had concernyng the eſtabliſhyng of ſincere Religion then, a man would hardly haue beleue it: nor I my ſelfe had thought the kynges hyghnes had bene ſo forwarde in thoſe matters as then appeared. I may tell you, that it paſſed the pullyng downe of roodes and ſuppreſſyng the ryngyng of Bels. I take it that few in England would haue beleued that the kynges Maieſtie and the Frenche kyng had bene at this pointe, not onely within halfe a yeare after to haue chaunged the Maſſe in both the realmes into a communion, as we now vſe it, but alſo vtterly to haue extirped and baniſhed the Byſhop of Rome and his vſurped power, out of both their Realmes and dominions.

Yea they were ſo throughly and firmely reſolued in that behalfe, that they ment alſo to exhorte the Emperour to do the lyke in Flaunders and other his Countreys and Seniories, or els to breake of from hym. And herein the kynges hyghnes willed me (quoth the Archbyſhop) to penne a forme therof to bee ſent to the French kyng to conſider of. But the depe and moſt ſecrete prouidence of almightie God owyng to this Realme a ſharpe ſcourge for our iniquities, preuented (for a tyme) this their moſt godly deuiſe & intent, by taking to his mercy both theſe Princes.

A brief narration of the trouble of Syr George Blage.

Syr George Blage falſely accuſed.

HEre would alſo ſome thing be ſayd of Sir George Blage, one of the kynges priuy châber, who beyng falſely accuſed by Sir Hugh Cauerley knyght, and Maiſter Litleton, was ſent for by Wriſley Lord Chaūcelour the Sonday before Anne Aſkew ſuffered, and the next day was caryed to Newgate, and from thence to Guild hall, where he was condemned the ſame day, and appoynted the Wenſday folowyng to bée burned. The wordes whiche his accuſers layd vnto hym, were theſe: What if a Mouſe ſhould eate the bread? then by my conſent they ſhould hang vp the Mouſe. Where as in dede theſe woordes hée neuer ſpake, as to hys lyues end hée proteſted. But the truth, as he ſayd, was this, that they craftilye to vndermine hym, walkyng with him in Paules Church after a Sermon of D. Crome, aſked if hee were at the Sermon, and he ſayd yea. I heard ſay, ſayth M. Litleton, that he ſayd in his Sermon that the Maſſe profiteth neither for the quicke nor the dead. No ſayd M. Blage? wherfore then? belike for a Gentleman when hée rydeth a huntyng to kéepe hys horſe frō ſtumblyng: and ſo they departyng, immediatly after he was apprehended (as is ſhewed) and condēned to be burned. When this was heard amongeſt thē of the priuy chamber, the kyng hearyng them whiſpering together (whiche he could neuer abyde) commaūded them to tell him the matter. Wherupon the matter beyng opened, and ſute made to the kyng, eſpecially by the good Earle of Bedford then Lord priuy Seale, the kyng beyng ſore offended with their doinges, that they would come ſo nere him, and euen into his priuy chamber without his knowledge, ſent for Wriſley, commaūdyng him eftſones to drawe out his pardon hym ſelfe, and ſo was hée ſet at libertie. Who commyng after to the kynges preſence: ah my pygge, ſayth the kyng to hym (for ſo hee was wont to call hym). Yea ſayd hee, if your Maieſtie had not bene better to me then your Byſhops were, your pygge had bene roſted ere this tyme.

Syr George Blage ſent to Newgate & condemned.

The cauſe of hys condemnation.

The craftie vndermining of theſe falſe accuſers.

Blage pardoned by the kyng.

The kyngs pygge almoſt roſted.

But to let thys matter of Syr George Blage paſſe, we will now reduce our ſtorye agayne to Anne Aſkew and her fellowe Martyrs, who the ſame wéeke were burned, and coulde finde no pardon.

Then the Catholicke fathers, whē they had brought thys Chriſtiā woman with the reſidue (as aboue hath bene declared) vnto theyr reſt, they being now in their ruffe and triumphe, lyke as the Phariſeis when they had brought Chriſt to hys graue, deuiſed with them ſelues how to kepe hym downe ſtill, and to ouer treade truth for euer. Wherupon conſultyng with certaine of the Counſail, they made out a ſtraight and hard proclamation, authoriſed by the kinges name, for the aboliſhyng of the Scripture, and all ſuch Engliſhe bokes, which might geue any light to the ſetting forth of Gods true worde, and grace of the Goſpell: the copye and tenour of which proclamation is thys as followeth.

A Proclamation for the abolyſhing of Engliſh bookes, after the death of Anne Aſkew, ſet forth by the kyng. an. 1546. the 8. day of Iuly.

A proclamation for the aboliſhyng of Engliſh bookes.

THe kynges moſt excellent Maieſty vnderſtandyng how vnder pretence of expoundyng and declaryng the truth of Gods Scripture, diuers leude and euill diſpoſed perſons haue taken occaſion to vtter & ſow abroad by bookes imprinted in the Engliſh tongue, ſondry pernicious and deteſtable errours and hereſies, not only cōtrary to the lawes of this Realme, but alſo repugnant to the true ſenſe of Gods law and his worde, by reaſon wherof certayne men of late, to the diſtruction of their owne bodyes and ſoules, and to the euill example of others, haue attēpted arrogantly and maliciouſly to impugne the truth, and therewith trouble the ſober, quyet and godly Religion vnited and eſtabliſhed vnder the kynges Maieſtie in this hys Realme: hys highnes myndyng to foreſee the daungers that might enſue of the ſayd bookes, is enforced to vſe hys generall prohibition, commaundement and proclamation, as followeth.

Nay rather for the ignoraunce & lacke of Gods ſcripture, many haue taken occaſion of errours and hereſies in tolerable.

Firſt, that from henceforth no man, woman, or perſon, of what eſtate, condition, or degree, ſo euer hee or they bee, ſhall after the laſt day of Auguſt nexte enſuyng, receaue, haue, take, or keepe in hys or their poſſeſſion, the text of the new Teſtament of Tyndals or Couerdals tranſlation in Engliſhe, nor any other thē is permitted by the Acte of Parliament, made in the Seſſion of the Parliament holden at weſtminſter in the xxxiiij. or xxxv. yeare of hys Maieſties moſt noble reigne, nor after the ſayd day, ſhall receyue, haue, take, or kepe in hys or their poſſeſſion, any maner of bokes printed, or writtē in the Engliſhe tongue, whiche be or ſhall be ſet forth in the names of Frith, Tindall, Wickleſe, Ioy, Roy, Baſile, Bale, Barnes, Couerdall, Tourner, Tracy or by any of them, or any other boke or bookes, conteining matter contrary to the ſayd Acte made an. xxxiij. or. xxxv. but ſhall before ẏ laſt day of Auguſt next commyng, deliuer the ſame Engliſhe booke or bookes to hys maiſter in that houſhold, if he be a ſeruaunt or dwell vnder any other, and the maiſter or ruler of the houſe and ſuch other as dwell at large, ſhall deliuer all ſuch bookes of the ſortes aforeſayd as they haue, or ſhall come to their handes, deliuered as afore or otherwyſe, to the Maior, Baliefe or chief Conſtable of the Towne where they dwell, to be by them deliuered ouer openly with in forty dayes next folowyng after the ſayd deliuery, to the Shriffe of the ſhyre, or to the Byſhop, Chaūcellor, or Commiſſary of the ſame dioces, to the entent the ſayd Byſhop, Chauncellour, Commiſſary and Shriffe, and euery of thē ſhall cauſe them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the kynges Maieſties pleaſure is, that euery of them ſhall ſee executed in moſt effectuall ſorte, and of there doynges therof make certificat to the kynges Maieſties moſt honorable Counſell, before the fyrſt of October next commyng.

The new Teſtament of Tyndalls & of Couerdalls tranſlation in Engliſh forbidden.

Engliſhe bookes of Scripture reſtrayned.

Burnyng of Scripture bookes.

And to the intent that no man ſhall miſtruſt any daūger of ſuch penall ſtatutes as be paſſed in this behalfe, for keeping of the ſayd bookes, the kinges maieſty is moſt graciouſlye contented by this proclamation, to pardon that offēce to the ſaid time appointed, by this proclamation for the deliuery of the ſayd bookes, and commaundeth that no Biſhop, Chauncellor, Commiſſary, Maior, Bailiffe, Shriffe, or Conſtable, ſhall be curious to marke who bringeth forth ſuch bookes, but onely order & burne them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the laſt day of Auguſt next comming, ſhal haue any of the ſayd bokes in his keeping, or be proued, & conuinced by ſufficient wytnes before iiij. of the kings moſt honorable Counſayle, to haue hidden them, or vſed them, or any copye of any of them, or anye part of them, whereby ſhould appeare that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the ſame ſhal not onely ſuffer impriſonment and puniſhment of his body at the kings Maieſties will and pleaſure, but alſo ſhall make ſuch fine and raunſome to his highnes for the ſame, as by his Maieſtie, or foure of hys Graces ſaid Counſel ſhall be determined. &c.

A baite to bryng in bookes.

The penaltie limited.

Finallye, hys Maieſtie ſtraightlye chargeth and commaundeth, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition, ſo euer he or they be, from the day of this proclamation preſume to bring any maner of Engliſh booke, concerning any maner of Chriſten religion, printed in the parties of beyond the ſeas into thys realme, or ſel, geue, or diſtribute any Engliſh boke printed in outward parties, or the copy of any ſuch booke or any part thereof to any perſon dwelling wythin this his Graces realme, or any other his Maieſties dominions, vnleſſe the ſame ſhall be ſpecially licenced ſo to do by hys highnes expreſſe graūt to be obtayned in writing for the ſame, vpon the paynes before limited, and therewythall to incurre his Maieſties extreame indignation.

The vntrue dealyng of the Papiſtes in gatheryng hereſies where none is.

For ſomuch as it is, and hath allwayes bene the common guyſe and practiſe of the Popes Churche to extinct, condemne, and aboliſhe all good bookes and holeſome treatiſes of learned men, vnder a falſe pretenſe of errours and hereſies, wherof examples abundantly may appeare in this hiſtory aboue, pag. 550. 624. 627. 707. 769. 995. 1157. 1159. 1294. 1363. &c. Now for the better triall hereof, to ſee and trye the impudent and ſhameles vanitie of theſe Catholicke Clergiemen, in miſtakyng, falſifiyng, deprauyng, blaſphemyng and ſclaunderyng, where they haue no cauſe, agaynſt all right, and honeſt dealyng, yea agaynſt theyr owne knowledge, conſcience, and manifeſt veritie of Gods word, I ſhal therfore deſire the attentiue reader, before we paſſe any further, to conſider and expende here ij. thynges by the way: Firſt what opinions and Articles theſe men gather out of their bookes for errours and hereſies. Secondly how wittyngly and willyngly they wraſt, peruert, and miſconſtrue their ſayinges and writinges, in ſuch ſenſe as the writers neuer ſpake nor mēt, and all to bryng them into hatred of the worlde, aftter they haue burned their bookes.

Articles of Wickleffe, and others, falſified by the Papiſtes.

So did they before with Ioh. Wickleffe, Ioh. Hus, & Hierome. So did they with Martin Luther, Tyndall, Frith, Lambert, Barnes, Ioy, Roy, Seton, and briefly yet do ſtill withall the Proteſtantes, either peruertyng their ſayinges, other wiſe then they ment: or noting for hereſies ſuch as are manifeſt principles and groundes of our Religion: or els falſely belying them, or vntruly miſtakyng them, either in manglyng the places, or addyng to their wordes, as may ſerue for their moſt aduauntage, to bryng thē out of credite with Princes and all the people.

For the more euidēt probation and experience wherof, thou ſhalt ſee here (Chriſtian reader) as in a Table layd before thyne eyes, the booke or catalogue of ſuch errours, blaſphemies & hereſies, which the Catholicke Papiſtes in their owne Regiſters haue extracted out of their bookes, whom in this and other proclamatiōs they haue cōdemned. Whereunto moreouer, we haue annexed the very places alſo of the authors, out of whiche euery Article is gathered, kepyng the ſame ſignature of verſe and page, whiche they in their Regiſters do ſend vs vnto. So that with a litle diligēce thou mayſt now (louyng reader) eaſely perceaue, cōferryng the Articles and places together, what truth and fidelitie theſe bloudy Catholickes haue vſed, toward the children of God: firſt in burnyng vp their bodyes, then in conſuming and aboliſhing their bookes, and afterward drawyng out Articles, ſuch as they lyſte them ſelues out of their woorkes, to make the people beleue what damnable heretickes they were, as by theſe Articles here vnder enſuyng, collected and conteyned in theyr owne Regiſters, may well appeare. In all whiche Articles, there is not one (ſpeakyng of theſe writers, which here they haue condemned) but either it is a perfect truth, and a principle of Chriſtian doctrine, or els it is falſely gathered, or peruerſely recited, or craftely handled and maliciouſly mangled, hauyng either ſome thyng cut from it, or ſome more added, or els rackte out of hys right place, or wraſted to a wrong meanyng, whiche the place gyueth not, or els whiche ſome other place folowyng doth better expound and declare. This falſe and malicious dealyng hath allwayes bene a common practiſe amongeſt Gods enemies from the beginnyng, to falſifie, wraſt, and depraue all thynges, what ſoeuer maketh not to their faction and affection, bee it neuer ſo true and iuſt. So began they with Steuen, the firſt Martyr of Ieſus Chriſt, and ſo haue they cōtinued ſtill, and yet do to this preſent day.

The wordes of S. Steuen falſely depraued. Act. 6. 7.

Long it were to recite, but more greuous to behold what ſpite & falſehode was vſed in ŷ Articles of ŷ Albingenſes, Waldēſes, Wickleffe, Swynderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, Sir Ioh. Oldcaſtle, Ioh. Hus, the Bohemians, & ſuch other. Which thyng, if ŷ bookes & places whence theſe articles were gathered agaynſt thē, had ben ſuffred to remaine, we might more plainly vnderſtād. In the meane ſeaſon as touchyng theſe Articles here preſent, for ſomuch as the Byſhops owne Regiſters haue offered them vnto vs, and do yet remayne, with the ſelfe ſame bookes, from whence they be excerped, I ſhall therfore deſire thee (frendly reader) firſt to conſider the Articles, and lay them with the places, whiche the Regiſters them ſelues do aſſigne, and then iudge thy ſelfe, what is to be thought therof. The Articles gathered out of the foreſayd bookes, with the Byſhops Decree prefixed before the ſame, is as here vnder foloweth.

¶ A publicke Inſtrument, by the Byſhops, for the aboliſhyng of the Scripture, and other bookes to be read in Engliſhe.

A [illegible] of the Byſhops [illegible]

IN ŷ name of God, Amē. Be it knowē to al & ſingular, true, & faythful people, to whō theſe preſēt letters teſtimonial, or this preſent publicke & authentike inſtrument ſhall come to be ſene, read, heard or vnderſtand, and whō this vnder written ſhall or may teach, or appertaine vnto in any maner of wyſe in tyme to come, William by the ſuffraunce of almighty God, Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, Primate of all the Realme of England, ſendeth greetyng in our Lord God euerlaſtyng. We ſignifye vnto you all, & let you well wit and know by theſe preſentes, that the kyng our ſoueraygne Lorde, hearyng of many bookes in the Engliſhe toung, contaynyng many deteſtable errours, and damnable opinions, prynted in partyes beyonde the Seas, to bee brought into diuers townes, and ſondry parties of this hys Realme of England, and ſowen abroad in the ſame, to the great decay of our fayth Catholicke, and perillous corruption of hys people, vnleſſe ſpedy remedy were briefly prouided, hys hyghnes wyllyng euermore to employ all his ſtudy and mynde in the hygh degree, whiche almyghty God hath called hym vnto, to the wealth of hys ſubiectes, that they myght lyue, not onely in tranquillity and peace, but alſo be kept pure and cleane of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Chriſtes Religion: conſideryng alſo that he beyng defendour of the fayth, would bee full loth to ſuffer ſuch euill ſeede ſowen amongeſt hys people, and ſo take roote that it might ouergrow the corne of the Catholike doctrine before ſprong in the ſoules of hys ſubiectes: for the repellyng of ſuch bookes, callyng vnto hym of hys great goodnes, and gracious diſpoſition, not onely certayne of the chief Prelates and Clerkes of hys Realme, but alſo of ech Vniuerſitie a certayne number of the chief learned men, propoſed ſuch of thoſe bokes, as hys grace had ready to bee read vnto them, requiryng to heare in that behalfe theyr aduiſe and iudgement of them. Who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, peruſyng ouer the ſayd bookes, found in them many errours and hereſies, both deteſtable and damnable, beyng of ſuch a ſorte, that they were lyke briefly to corrupt a great part of hys people (if they myght be ſuffred to remayne in theyr handes any ſpace) gatheryng alſo out of thē many great errours, and peſtilent hereſies, and notyng thē in writyng, to the intent to ſhewe for what cauſe they reputed the ſayd bookes damnable, of whiche hereafter out of ech booke gathered many do enſue: albeit many more there bee in the ſayd bookes, whiche bookes totally doo ſwarme full of hereſies and deteſtable opinions.

Hereſies falſely gathered by the Papiſtes, out of the wicked Mammon.

¶ Hereſies and errours collected by the Biſhops out of the boke of Tyndall, named the wicked Mammon, with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame, out of which euery Article is collected.

1. Artic.

1 FAyth onely iuſtifyeth. Fol. 2.

Thys Article being a principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our ſaluation, is playne inough by Sainct Paule, and the vvhole bodye of the Scripture: Neyther can any make thys an hereſie, but they muſt make S. Paule an hereticke, and ſhevv them ſelues enemyes to the promiſes of grace, and to the croſſe of Chriſt.

The [illegible] of [illegible] made [illegible].

2. Artic.

2 The lawe maketh vs to hate God, becauſe we bee borne vnder the power of the deuill. fol. 2.

3. Artic.

3 It is impoſſible for vs to conſent to the will of God. Fol. 2.

The place of Tyndall from vvhence theſe Articles be vvraſted, is in the vvicked Mammon, as follovveth. VVhich place I beſeche the

the indifferent to read, and then to iudge.

In the fayth which we haue in Chriſt, and in Gods promiſes, finde we mercie, lyfe, fauour, and peace. In the lawe we finde death, damnation and wrath, moreouer the curſe and vengeance of God vpon vs. And it (that is to ſay, the law) is called of Paule, the miniſtration of death and damnation. In the law we are proued to be the enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God & loue hym, ſeing we are conceiued and borne vnder the power of the deuill, and are hys poſſeſſion and kingdome, his captiues and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hartes, ſo that it is impoſſible for vs to conſent to the wyll of God? Much more is it impoſſible for a man to fulfill the law of hys own ſtrength and power, ſeing that we are by byrth and nature the heires of eternall damnation. &c.

Herein is nothing conteyned but that which is rightly consonant vnto the Scripture.

4.Article.

4 The law requyreth impoſſible thynges of vs. Fol.2.

Read the place. The lawe, when it commaundeth that thou ſhalt not luſte, geueth thee not power ſo to doe: but damneth thee becauſe thou canſt not ſo do. If thou wilt therfore bee at peace with God, and loue hym, then muſt thou turne to the promiſes and to the Goſpell, which is called of Paule the miniſtration of righteouſnes, and of the ſpirite.

What heresie is in these wordes.

2.Cor.3.

5.Article.

5 The ſpirite of God turneth vs & our nature, that we do good as naturally as a tree doth bryng forth fruite. Fol. 8.

The place is this: The ſpirite of God accompanieth fayth, and bringeth with her light, wherwith a man beholdeth him ſelf in the law of God, & ſeeth hys miſerable bondage & captiuitie, & hūbleth hym ſelf, & abhorreth him ſelf. She bringeth Gods promiſes of al good things in Chriſt. God worketh wyth hys word, and in his word. And as his woord is preached, fayth, rooteth her ſelf in the hartes of the elect: and as fayth entreth, and the word of God is beleued, the power of God looſeth the hart from the captiuitie & bondage vnder ſinne. and knitteth and coupleth him to God and to the wyll of God, altereth him and chaungeth him cleane, faſhioneth and forgeth him a new, geueth him power to loue and to do that which before was impoſſible for him either to loue or do, and turneth him into a newe nature: ſo that hee loueth that which he before hated, and hateth that which he before loued, and is cleane altered and chaunged, and contrary diſpoſed, and is knit and coupled faſt to Gods will, and naturally bringeth forth good workes: that is to ſaye, that whych God commaundeth to do, and not thinges of his own imagination: and that doth he of hys own accord, as a tree bryngeth forth fruite of hys own accorde. &c.

This place speaking of the operation and effecte of fayth, conteyneth nothing but which is maintainable by the Scripture.

6.Article.

6 workes do only declare to thee ỷ thou art iuſtifyed. Fol.9.

If Tyndall ſay, that VVorkes doe onely declare our iuſtification, he doth not therby deſtroye good VVorkes, but onely ſheVVeth the ryght Vſe and office of good VVorkes to be, not to merite our iuſtification, but rather to teſtifie a liuely fayth, VVhich onely iuſtifieth Vs. The Article is plaine by the Scripture and S.Paule.

7.Article.

7 Chriſt with all his workes dyd not deſerue heauen. Fol.14.

Read the place. All good woorkes muſte bee done freely with a ſingle eie, without reſpect of any thing, ſo that no profite be ſoght therby. That cōmaūdeth Chriſt where he ſayth: *Free haue you receiued, free geue agayne.* For loke as Chriſt with all hys workes did not *deſerue heauen (for that was hys already) but dyd vs ſeruice therewith, and neither looked for, nor ſought his own profite, but ours, and the honor of God hys father onely: euen ſo we wyth all our workes, may not ſeeke our own profit, neither in this world, nor in heauē, but muſt and ought freely to worke, to honour God wythall, & without all maner of reſpect, ſeeke our neyghbours profite, and do hym ſeruice. &c.

Mat.10.

*He meaneth in hys diuinitie: but in hys humanitie he deserued heauen by hys workes, not only for hym selfe but for vs all.

8.Article.

8 Laboryng by good workes to come to heauen, thou ſhameſt Chriſtes bloud. fol.17.

Read the place. If thou wouldeſt obtaine heauē with the merites & deſeruings of thine own works, ſo doeſt thou wrong, yea and ſhameſt the bloude of Chriſt, and vnto thee Chriſt is dead in vaine. Now is the true beleuer heire of god by Chriſts deſeruings, yea & in Chriſt was predeſtinate & ordained vnto eternal life before the world begā. And whē the Goſpel is preached vnto vs, we beleue the mercy of God, and in beleuing we receiue the ſpirite of God, which is the earneſt of eternal life, & we are in eternall life already, & feele already in our hartes the ſwetenes thereof, and are ouercome with the kindnes of God and Chriſt, and therefore loue the wyll of God, and of loue are ready to worke freely, & not to obteine that which is geuen vs freelye, and whereof we are heires alreadye. &c.

To say that heauen is gotten by our deseruing etc, is a papisticall heresie and contrary to the Scriptures.

9.Article.

9 Saintes in heauen can not helpe vs thether. fol.17.

VVhether Sainctes can helpe Vs Vnto heauen, ſee the Scriptures, and marke VVell the office of the ſonne of God our onely Sauiour & redemer, and thou ſhalt not neede to ſeeke any further.

10.Article.

10 To buylde a Churche in the honour of our Lady or any other Saynt, is in vayne: they can not helpe thee: they be not thy frendes. fol.18.

Read the place of Tyndall. What buildeſt thou Churches, foundeſt Abbeyes, Chauntreis, and Colleges in the honour of Sainctes, to my Mother, Sainct Peter, Paule, and Saintes that be dead, to make of them thy friendes? They neede it not: yea they bee not thy frendes. Thy friendes are thy poore neyghbours, whych neede thy helpe and ſuccour. Then make thy frendes with thy vnrighteous Mammon, that they may teſtifie of thy fayth, and that thou mayeſt know and feele that thy fayth is ryght, and not fayned. &c.

The place annexed.

Our frendes to be made of wicked Mammon, are ment the poore aliue, and not the Saintes departed.

11.Article.

11. All fleſhe is in bondage of ſinne, and can not but ſinne. fol. 25.

Thys Article is euident inough of it ſelfe, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no other allegations.

12.Article.

12 Thou canſt not be damned without Chriſt be damned, nor Chriſt be ſaued without thou be ſaued. fol.27.

Read the place. A Phiſition ſerueth but for ſicke men, and that for ſuch mē as feele their ſickenes, & mourne therfore, & long for health. Chriſt likewiſe ſerueth but for ſinners only that feele their ſinne, and that for ſuch ſinners as ſorrow & mourne in their hartes for health. Health is the power or ſtrēgth to fulfill the law, or to kepe the cōmaūdements. Now he that longeth for that health, that is to ſay, for to doe the law of God, is bleſſed in Chriſt, and hath a promiſe that hys luſt ſhall be fulfilled, and that hee ſhall bee made hole. *Bleſſed are they VVhich hunger and thurſt for righteouſnes ſake* (that is, to fulfill the law) *for their luſt ſhall be fulfilled.* Math.5.

Thys longing, and conſent of the hart vnto the lawe of God, is the working of the ſpirite, which God hath poured into thine hart, in earneſt that thou mighteſt bee ſure that God will fulfill all his pomiſes that he hath made thee. It is alſo the ſeale & marke which God putteth on all mē that he chuſeth vnto euerlaſting lyfe. So long as thou ſeeſt thy ſyn, and mourneſt, and conſenteſt to the law, and longeſt (though thou be neuer ſo weake) yet the ſpirite ſhall keepe thee in all temptations from deſperation, & certifie thyne hart, that God for hys truth, ſhall deliuer thee and ſaue thee, yea and by thy good dedes ſhalt thou be ſaued, not which thou haſt done, but whych Chriſt hath done for thee. For Chriſt is thyne, and all hys deedes are thy deedes. Chriſt is in thee, and thou in hym, knit together inſeparablye. Neyther canſt thou bee damned except Chriſt be dāned with thee: neither can Chriſt be ſaued, except thou be ſaued with him. &c. *The lyke cōfortable VVords he hath afterVVard. Fol.38. VVhich are theſe.*

He that deſireth mercy, the ſame feeleth hys own miſery & ſinne, and mourneth in his hart for to be deliuered, that hee might honour God, & God for his truth muſt heare him, which ſaith by the mouth of Chriſt: *Bleſſed are they that hūger & thurſt after righteouſnes, for they ſhall be ſatiſfied.* God for his truthes ſake, muſt put the righteouſnes of Chriſt in hym, and waſh his vnrighteouſnes away in the bloud of Chriſt. And be the ſinner neuer ſo weake, neuer ſo feeble & fraile, though he haue ſinned neuer ſo oft & ſo greuous, yet ſo lōg as this luſt, deſire & mourning to be deliuered, remayneth in him, God ſeeth not hys ſinnes, reckeneth them not for his truthes ſake & loue to Chriſt. He is not a ſinner in the ſight of God, that would be no ſinner. He that would be deliuered, hath hys hart looſe already. His hart ſinneth not, but mourneth, repēteth and conſenteth vnto the law and wyll of God, & iuſtifieth God: that is, beareth record that God which made the law, is righteous & iuſt. And ſuch an hart truſting in Chriſtes bloud is accepted for full righteous, and hys weakenes, infirmitie, & frailtie is pardoned, & hys ſinnes are not loked vpon, vntyll God put more ſtrength in him, and fulfill his deſire. &c.

The place annexed.

The beleuing man standing vpon the certeintie of Gods promise, may assure hym selfe of hys saluation, as truly as Christ hym selfe is saued, and hee can no more then Christ hym selfe, be damned. And although the Scripture doth not vse this phrase of speakyng, yet it importeth no lesse in effecte, by reason of the veritie of Gods promise which impossible it is to faile.

13.Article.

13 The cōmaundementes bee gyuen vs not to do thē, but to know our dānation & cal for mercy of god. fol.28.

Read the place. If thou VVilte enter into lyfe, keepe the commaundementes. Math.19. Fyrſt remember that when God commaundeth vs to do any thing, hee doth it not therefore, becauſe that we of our ſelues are able to doe that he commaundeth, but that by the lawe we myght ſee and know our horrible damnation and captiuitie vnder ſinne, and ſo repent and come to Chriſt and receaue mercye. &c.

Thys Article is falsely wrasted out of these wordes, which doe not say that we should not doe the commaundementes, but that we can not doe them.

14.Article.

14 Faſtyng is onely to auoyde ſurfet and to tame the body: all other purpoſes be nought. fol.36.

The true end of faſting.

The Wordes of Tyndall be theſe. Faſting is to abſtayne from ſurfeting or ouermuch eating, from dronkennes and cares of the world, as thou maieſt read Luke. 20. And the ende of faſtyng is to tame the bodye, that the ſpirite may haue the free courſe vnto God, and may quietly talke with God. For ouermuch eating & drinking, & care of worldly buſines preſſeth downe the ſpirite, choketh it, and tangleth it that it can not lift vp it ſelfe to God. Now he that faſteth for any other entent then to ſubdue the body, that the ſpirite may wayte on God, & freely exerciſe it ſelf in the thinges of God, the ſame is blynde, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth & ſhooteth at a wrong marke, and hys entent and imagination is abominable in the ſight of God. &c.

15. Article.

15 **To byd the poore man pray for me, is onely to remember hym to do hys ducty: not that I haue any truſt in hys prayer. fol. 38.**

The place biddeth vs put our truſt in Chriſt onely, and not in poore mens prayers: and ſo doth the Scripture likewyſe: and yet no hereſie therein.

The Wordes of Tyndall bee theſe. When we deſire one an other to pray for vs, that doe we to put our neighbour in remembraunce of his dutye, and not that we truſt in hys holynes. Our truſt is in God, in Chriſt, and in the truth of Gods promiſes. We haue alſo a promiſe, that when two or three or moe agree together in one thing according to the wyll of God, God heareth vs. Notwithſtanding as God heareth many, ſo heareth he few, and ſo heareth he one, if he praye after the wyll of God, and deſire the honour of God. &c.

16. Article.

16 **Though thou gyue me a thouſand pounde to pray for thee, I am no more bounde now then I was before. fol. 40.**

This place aunſwereth for it ſelfe ſufficiently.

The Woordes bee theſe. If thou geue me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bounde then I was before. Mans imagination can make the commaundement of God neither greater nor ſmaller, neither can to the lawe of God eyther adde or diminiſhe. Gods commaundement is as great as hym ſelfe. &c.

17. Article.

17 **A good deede done and not of feruent charitie as Chriſtes was, is ſynne. fol. 40.**

This place tendeth to no ſuch meaning as is in the article, but onely ſheweth our good deedes to be imperfecte.

The Wordes of Tyndall bee theſe. Though thou ſhew mercy vnto thy neighbour, yet if thou doe it not with ſuch burning loue, as Chriſt did vnto thee, ſo muſte thou knowledge thy ſinne, and deſire mercy in Chriſt. &c.

18. Article.

18 **Euery man is Lord of an other mans good. fol. 40.**

This place geueth to none any proprietie of an other mans goods, but only by way of Chriſtian communió.

The Wordes of Tyndall bee theſe. Chriſt is Lord ouer all, and euery Chriſtian is heire annexed with Chriſt, and therefore Lord of all, and euery one lord of what ſoeuer an other hath. If thy brother or neyghbour therfore neede, and thou haue to helpe hym, and yet ſheweſt not mercie, but wythdraweſt thy handes frō hym, then robbeſt thou hym of hys owne, & art a theefe. &c. *Read more hereof in the 20. Article folloWing.*

19. Article.

19 **I am bounde to loue the Turke with the very bottome of my hart. fol. 40.**

To loue the Turke to that end to winne him to Chriſt, is no hereſie, but charitie.

The place of thys Article is thys. I am bounde to loue the Turke with all my might and power, yea and aboue my power: euen from the grounde of my hart, after the enſample that Chriſt loued me, neither to ſpare goodes, body, or lyfe, to wynne hym to Chriſt. And what can I doo more for thee, if thou gaueſt me all the world? Where I ſee neede, there can I not but pray, if Gods ſpirite be in me. &c.

10. Article.

20 **The worſt Turke lyuyng hath as much ryght to my goodes at hys neede, as my houſholde or myne owne ſelfe. fol. 42.**

Loe reader how peuiſhly thys place is wraſted. Firſt, here is no mention made of any Turke. Secondly, thys place ſpeaking of an Infidel, meaneth of ſuch Chriſtiās which forſake their own houſholdes. Thirdly, by hys ryght in thy goods, he meaneth no proprietie that he hath to claime, but onely to put thee in remembraunce of thy Chriſten duetie what to geue.

Read and marke Well the place in the Wicked Mammon. In Chriſt we are all of one degree wythout reſpecte of perſons. Notwithſtanding, though a Chriſten mans hart be open to all men, and receiueth all men, yet becauſe that his habilitie of goodes extendeth not ſo farre, this prouiſion is made that euery man ſhal care for his own houſhold, as father and mother, and thine elders that haue holpen thee, wife, chyldren, and ſeruantes. If thou ſhouldeſt not care and prouide for thine houſhold, thē were thou an infidel, ſeing thou haſt taken on thee ſo to do, and forſomuch as that is thy part cōmitted to thee of the cōgregation. Whē thou haſt done thy dutie to thine houſholde, and yet haſt further aboundance of the bleſſing of God, that oweſt thou to the poore that can not labour, or would labour and can get no worke, and are deſtitute of friendes: to the poore I meane, whych thou knoweſt: to them of thyne owne pariſh. If thy neyghbours which thou knoweſt, be ſerued, and thou yet haue ſuperfluitie, and heareſt neceſſitie to be among the brethren a thouſand myle of, to them art thou detter. Yea to the very Infidels we be detters if they neede, as farrefoorth as we mayntayne them not againſt Chriſt, or to blaſpheme Chriſt. Thus is euery man that needeth thy helpe, thy father, mother, ſiſter, and brother in Chriſt: euen as euery man that doth the wyll of the father, is father, mother, ſiſter and brother vnto Chriſt. Moreouer, if anye bee an Infidel and a falſe Chriſtian, and forſake hys houſholde, hys wyfe, chyldren, and ſuch as can not helpe them ſelues, then art thou bound to them, if thou haue wherewith, euen as much as to thyne owne houſholde, and they haue as good right in thy goods, as thou thy ſelfe. &c. And if the whole world were thine, yet hath euerye brother hys right in thy goodes, and is heire wyth thee, as wee are all heyres wyth Chriſt. &c.

21. Artic

21 **Almes deſerueth no meede. fol. 42.**

The place is plaine.

The place is thys. Hee that ſeeketh with his almes more then to be mercyfull, to bee a neighbour, to ſuccour hys brothers nede, to doe hys dutye to hys brother, to geue hys brother that he oweth hym, the ſame is blinde and ſeeth not what it is to be a Chriſten man, and to haue felowſhip in Chriſtes bloud. &c.

22. Artic

22 **There is no worke better then an other to pleaſe God. To make water, to waſhe diſhes, to bee a ſowter or an Apoſtle, all is one. To waſhe diſhes and to preache is all one as touchyng the deede to pleaſe God. fol. 44.**

[illegible]

The Words of Tindall be theſe. As pertaining to good workes, vnderſtand that all workes are good which are done within the law of God in faith and with thankes geuing to God, & vnderſtande that thou in thy doing them pleaſeſt God, what ſoeuer thou doeſt within the law of God, as whē thou makeſt water. &c.

Moreouer, put no difference betwene workes, but what ſoeuer cōmeth into thy handes, that do, as tyme, place, & occaſiō giueth, & as God hath put thee in degree, hygh or low. As touching to pleaſe God, there is no worke better thē an other. God looketh not firſt on thy workes as the worlde doth, as though the beutifulnes of the world pleaſed hym, as it doth the world, or as though he had neede of thē, but God looketh firſt on the hart, what fayth thou haſt to his wordes, how thou beleueſt him, & how thou loueſt him for his mercy that he hath ſhewed thee: hee looketh with what hart thou workeſt, and not what thou workeſt, how thou accepteſt the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degre thou art, whether thou be an Apoſtle or a Shoomaker. Set thys example before thine eyes. Thou art a kytchin Page, and waſheſt thy Maiſters diſhes. An other is an Apoſtle, & preacheth the word of God. Of this Apoſtle harke what *S. Paule* ſayth: *If I preache* (ſayth he) *I haue naught to reioyce in, for neceſſitie is put Vnto me.* As who ſhould ſay, God hath made me ſo, wo is vnto me if I preach not. *If I doo it Willinglye* (ſayth he) *then haue I my reWard*: that is, then am I ſure that Gods ſpirite is in me, and that I am elect to eternall lyfe. *If I doo it againſt my Wyll, an office is committed Vnto me*: that is, if I do it not of loue to God, but to get a lyuyng thereby, and for a worldly purpoſe, and had leauer other wayes lyue: then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet pleaſe not God my ſelfe. &c. Moreouer, how ſo euer he preach, he hath not to reioyce in that hee preacheth. But if hee preach wyllyngly wyth a true hart and of conſcience to God, then hath he hys reward, that is, then feeleth he the earneſt of eternall lyfe, and the working of the ſpirite of God in hym. And as he feeleth Gods goodnes and mercy, ſo be thou ſure he feeleth hys own infirmitie, weakenes and vnworthynes, and mourneth and knowledgeth hys ſynne, in that the hart wyll not aryſe to worke wyth that full luſt and loue that is in Chriſt our Lord. And neuertheles is he yet at peace with God thorow fayth and truſt in Chriſt Ieſu. For the earneſt of the ſpirite that worketh in him, teſtifieth and beareth witnes vnto hys hart that God hath choſen him, and that hys grace ſhall ſuffice hym, whych grace is now not idle in hym. In his workes putteth he no truſt.

Now thou that miniſtreſt in the kitchen, and art but a kitchyn page, receiueſt all thinges of the hand of God: knoweſt that God hath put thee in that office: ſubmitteſt thy ſelfe to hys wyll, and ſerueſt thy Maiſter, not as a man, but as Chriſt hym ſelf, with a pure hart, according as Paule teacheth: putteſt thy truſt in God, and with hym ſekeſt thy reward. Moreouer, there is not a good deede done, but thy hart reioyceth therin, yea when thou heareſt that the word of God is preached by thys Apoſtle, & ſeeſt the people turne to God, thou conſenteſt vnto the dede, thy hart breaketh out in ioy, ſpringeth and leapeth in thy breſt that God is honoured, and in thine hart doeſt the ſame that the Apoſtle doth, and happlye wyth greater delectation, and a more feruent ſpirite. Now *he that receaueth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, ſhall receyue the reWarde of a Prophet.* That is, hee that conſenteth to the deede of a Prophet, and mayntaineth it, the ſame hath the ſame ſpirite & earneſt of euerlaſting life, which the Prophet hath, and is elect as the Prophet is.

No difference of mē before God in reſpecte of deedes, but only in reſpecte of fayth.

Now if thou compare deede to deede, there is difference betwixt waſhing of diſhes, and preaching of the woorde of God. But as touching to pleaſe God, none at all. For neither that nor this pleaſeth, but as farreforth as God hath choſen a man, hath put hys ſpirite in hym, and purified his hart by fayth and truſt in Chriſt, &c.

23. Article.

23 Ceremonyes of the Church haue brought the world from God. fol.45.

The place annexed.

Read the place of Tyndall. Seeke the worde of God in all thinges, and without the worde of God do nothyng, though it appeare neuer ſo glorious. What ſo euer is done without the worde of God, that count idolatrie. The kyngdome of heauen is wythin vs. *Luke.*17. Wonder therefore at no monſtrous appearaunce, nor at any outward thing without the word. For the world was neuer drawne frō god, but with an outward ſhewe & glorious appearaunce & ſhinyng of hipocriſie, and of fayned and viſured faſting, praying, watching, ſinging, offering, ſacrificing hallowyng of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and monſtrous dyſguyſing. &c.

24. Article.

24 Beware of good intentes: they are damned of God. Fol.46.

25. Article.

25 See thou doo nothyng but that God byddeth thee. Fol.46.

The place annexed.

The Wordes of Tyndall out of the Which theſe tWo Articles are gathered, are theſe. Beware of thy good intent, good mynde, good affection, or zeale as they call it. Peter of a good mynde, and of a good affection or zeale, chidde Chriſt, becauſe hee ſayd that hee muſt goe to Ieruſalem, and there be ſlaine. But Chriſt called him Satan for hys labour: a name that belongeth to the deuill, and ſayde that hee perceiued not godlye thinges, but worldlye. Of a good entent, and of a feruent affection to Chriſt, the ſonnes of Zebede woulde haue had fire to come downe from heauen, to conſume the Samaritans: but Chriſt rebuked them, ſaying, that they wyſt not of what ſpirite they were: that is, that they vnderſtode not howe that they were altogether worldly and fleſhlye mynded. Peter ſmote Malchus of a good zeale, but Chriſt condemned hys dede. The Iewes of a good entent and of a good zeale ſlew Chriſt, and perſecuted the Apoſtles, as Paul beareth them recorde. *Rom.x. I beare thē record* (ſayth he) *that they haue a feruent minde to GodWard, but not according to knoWledge*. It is an other thing then to do of a good mynde, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayeſt know Gods wyll, and what he would haue thee to doe.

Math.16

Luke.9.

Good intentes.

Rom.10.

Our mynde, entent, and affection, or zeale are blynd, and all that we do of thē, is dāned of God, and for that cauſe hath God made a teſtament betwene hym and vs, wherin is conteyned both what he woulde haue vs to doe, and what hee would haue vs to aſke of hym. See therefore that thou doe nothing to pleaſe God withall, but that hee commaundeth, neyther aſke any thyng of hym, but that hee hath promyſed thee. &c.

26. Article.

26 Churches are for preachyng onely and not as they be vſed now. fol.47.

Thys Article contayneth neyther errour nor hereſie but is plaine inough of it ſelfe, to all them that haue theyr mindes exerciſed in the Scriptures of God.

27. Article.

27 To worſhyppe God otherwyſe then to beleue that hee is iuſt and true in hys promiſe, is to make God an Idoll. fol.47.

The place annexed.

Read the Wordes of Tyndall With thys Article. God is honoured on all ſides, in that we counte hym righteous in all hys lawes and ordinaunces, and alſo true in all his promiſes. Other worſhyp of God is none, excepte wee make an idoll of hym. &c.

28. Article.

28 Pharao had no power to let the people departe at Gods pleaſure. fol.61.

29. Article.

29 Our Prelates in ſynne, ſay they haue power. fol.61.

The place annexed.

Rom.10.

Read the place in the Wicked Mammon out of the Which theſe tWo Articles are gathered. Sainct Paule ſayth: *If thou confeſſe With thy mouth that Ieſus is the Lorde, and beleue With thine hart that God rayſed him Vppe from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe*: that is, if thou beleue he rayſed him vp agayne for thy ſaluation. Many beleue that God is rich and almightie, but not vnto them ſelues: and that hee wyll bee good to them, and defende them, and bee their God. Pharao for payne of the plague was compelled to confeſſe hys ſinnes: but had yet no power to ſubmit him ſelfe vnto the wyll of God, and to let the children of Iſraell go, and to loſe ſo great profit for Gods pleaſure. As our Prelates confeſſe their ſinnes, ſaying: though we be neuer ſo euyl, yet haue we the power. And agayne, the Scribes and the Phariſeis (ſaye they) ſat in Moyſes ſeate, doe as they teach, but not as they do, Thus confeſſe they that they are abominable. &c.

Articles of hereſie gathered by the Papiſtes out of *W. Tyndalls* Obedience.

¶Here folow other hereſies and errours, collected by the Biſhops out of the booke named the obedience of a Chriſtian man, with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame.

1 He ſayth we are bound to make ſatiſfactiō to our neyghbour, but not to God. fol.70.

Satiſfaction is a full recompence, or a mendes making to hym Whom We haue offended, Which recōpence We are able to make, one man to an other, and are bound ſo to doe: But to God no man can make any mendes or recompence, but onely Gods oWne ſonne Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour. For els if man coulde haue made ſatiſfaction to God, then had Chriſt dyed in Vayne, Gallat.2. Loe, What hereſie or errour is in thys article?

2. Article.

2 He ſayth that children ought not to Mary without the conſent of theyr parentes. fol.49.

The place annexed.

The Wordes of Tynd. in the Obedience be theſe. Let the fathers and mothers marke how they them ſelues were diſpoſed at all ages, and by experience of their owne infirmities, helpe their children, and kepe them from occaſions. Let them prouide marriages for them in ſeaſon: teachyng them alſo to know, that ſhe is not hys wyfe whiche the ſonne taketh, nor hee her huſband whiche the daughter taketh without the conſent or good wyll of their Elders, or them that haue authoritie ouer them. If their friendes wyll not mary them, then are they not to blame if they mary them ſelues. Let not the Fathers and Mothers alwayes take the vttermoſt of their authoritie of their children, but at all tymes ſuffer with thē, & beare their weakenes, as Chriſt doth ours. &c.

The parentes conſent in mariage.

3. Article.

3 He ſayth, that vowes are agaynſt the ordinaunce of God. fol.29.

They that ſay that thys Article is an hereſie. Let them ſheWe Where theſe VoWes in all the neWe Teſtament bee ordayned by God, eſpecially ſuch VoWes of ſingle lyfe, and Wilfull pouertie, as by the Canon laWe bee obtruded to younge Prieſtes and Nouices. S. Paule plainly forſendeth any WidoWes to bee admitted Vnder the age of lx. yeares. Is not here troWe you a perilous hereſie?

4. Article.

4 He ſayth that a Chriſtian may not reſiſte a Prince beyng an infidell and an Ethnicke. This taketh away free will. fol.36.

S. Peter Willeth Vs to bee ſubiecte to our Princes, 1.Pet.2. *S. Paule alſo doth the lyke. Rom.*13. *Who Was alſo hym ſelfe ſubiecte to the poWer of Nero: & although euery cōmaundement of Nero agaynſt God, hee dyd not folloWe, yet he neuer made reſiſtaunce agaynſt the authoritie and ſtate of Nero, as the Pope Vſeth to doe agaynſt the ſtate, not onely of Infidels, but alſo of Chriſten Princes.*

5. Article.

5 What ſo euer is done before the ſpirite of God commeth and gyueth vs light, is damnable ſynne. This is agaynſt morall vertues. fol.36.

VVhat hereſie Ariſtotle in hys Ethikes can finde by thys Article, I can not tell. Sure I am that the Worde and ſpirite of God Well conſidered, can finde none, but rather Will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable hereſie.

6. Article.

6 He reproueth men that make holy Sayntes theyr Aduocates to God, and there he ſayth that Saints were not rewarded in heauen for their holy workes. fol.37.

The place annexed.

The Wordes of Tyndall bee theſe. They turne from Gods worde, and put their truſt and confidence in the Sainct and hys merites, and make an aduocate, or rather a God of the Saint. &c. They aſcribe heauen to their imaginations and mad inuentions, and receiue it not of the liberalitie of God, by the merites & deſeruyng of Chriſt. &c.

7. Article.

7 God moued the hartes of the Ægyptians to hate the people. Lykewiſe he moued kynges. &c. fol.45.

The place annexed.

The Wordes in the Obedience be theſe. In the .107. Pſalme thou readeſt: He deſtroyed the riuers and dryed vp the ſpringes of water, and turned the fruitefull lande in to barennes, for the inhabitantes thereof. When the children of Iſrael had forgotten God in Ægypt, God moued the hartes of the Egyptians to hate them, & to ſubdue them with craft and wilynes. Pſalm.105.

*God ſometimes hardeneth the harts of good Princes for the wickednes of the people.

In the ſeconde chapter of the firſt booke of the kynges, God was angry with the people, and moued Dauid to number them, when Ioab and the other Lordes wondered why he would haue them numbred, and becauſe they feared leſt ſome euyll ſhould follow, diſwaded the kyng: yet it holpe not, God ſo *hardened hys hart in hys purpoſe, to haue an occaſion to ſley the wicked people. &c.

8 Paul was of hygher authoritie then Peter. fol. 58.

The place annexed.

The Wordes in the Obedience, bee theſe. I ſuppoſe ſayth hee *(ſpeaking of Paule)* that I was not behinde the high Apoſtles, meaning in preaching Ieſus Chriſt and hys Goſpell, and in miniſtring the ſpirite. And in the ſame chap. he proueth by the doctrine of Chriſt, that he was greater then the high Apoſtles. For Chriſt ſaith, to be great in the kyngdome of God, is to do ſeruice and take payne for other. Vpon whiche rule Paule diſputeth, ſaying: If they be the Miniſters of Chriſt, I am more: in labours more aboundant: in ſtripes aboue meaſure: in priſon more plenteous: in death oft. &c. If Paule preached Chriſt more then Peter, and ſuffered more for hys congregation, then is he greater then Peter by the teſtimonie of Chriſt. &c.

9. Article.

9 A Prieſt ought to haue a wife for ij. cauſes. fol. 71.

The place annexed.

Truth turned to hereſie.

The Wordes of Tyndall, bee theſe. He muſt haue a wyfe for two cauſes: One, that it maye thereby be knowen who is meete for the roume. He is vnapt for ſo chargeable an office, whiche had neuer houſhold to rule. An other cauſe is, that chaſtitie is an exceeding ſeldome gift, and vnchaſtity exceding perelous for that degree, in as much as the people looke as well vnto the liuing, as vnto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the lyuing diſagree, and fall from the fayth and beleue not the word. &c.

10. Article.

10 He condemneth auricular confeſſion. fol. 83.

Read afore pag. 1339.

Of thys Article read aboue, pag. 1339.

11. Article.

11 Euery mã is a Prieſt and we neede no other Prieſt to be a meane for vs vnto God. fol. 91.

The place annexed.

The Wordes in the Obedience, be theſe. There is a worde called in Latin *Sacerdos*, in Greke ἱερεύς, in Hebrew *Cohan*: that is, a Miniſter, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Prieſt, as Aaron was a Prieſt and ſacrificed for the people, and was a mediator betwene God and them: and in the Engliſhe ſhoulde it haue had ſome other name then Prieſt. But Antichriſt hath deceiued vs with vnknowen and ſtraunge termes, to bring vs into confuſion and ſuperſtitious blyndnes. Of that maner is Chriſt a Prieſt for euer, and all we are Prieſts through hym, and nede no more of any ſuch Prieſt to be a meane for vs vnto God. &c.

And made vs Kinges and Prieſtes to God hys father. &c. Apoc. 1.

12. Article.

12 Hee deſtroyeth the Sacramentes of Matrimonye and orders. fol. 90. 91.

As truely as Matrimonye and orders be Sacramentes: ſo truely is thys Article an hereſie.

13. Article.

13 He ſayth that Purgatory is of the Popes inuentiõ, and therfore he may do there what ſoeuer he wil. fol. 101.

Ioannes Angelus.

One of the Popes owne Writers ſayth thus: Soules being in Purgatorye are vnder the Popes iuriſdiction: and the Pope may, if hee will, euacuate all Purgatorye. Furthermore, the olde Fathers make litle mention of Purgatorye: the Greke Church neuer beleued Purgatorye: S. Auguſtine doubteth of Purgatorye: and the Scriptures plainlye diſproue Purgatorye. Sainct Iohn ſayth: The bloud of Ieſu Chriſt the Sonne of God purgeth vs from all ſinne. *And the Pope ſayth: Sinne can not bee purged but by the fire of Purgatorye. Now whoſe inuention can Purgatory be, but onely the Popes?*

1. *Iohn.* 1.

14. Article.

14 Saintes be ſaued not by theyr merites, but onely by the merites of Chriſt. fol. 103.

Veritie made hereſie.

What can bee more manifeſt and playne by the Scriptures, then thys? Eſay ſayth: All we haue erred, euery man in hys owne wayes: And God hath layde vpon him all our iniquities. &c.

15. Article.

15 He ſayth, no man may be hyred to pray. fol. 110.

The place annexed.

The Wordes in the Obedience be true, which are theſe: To pray one for an other are we equally bounde, and to praye is a thing that we may alwayes doe what ſo euer we haue in hand, and that to doe, may no man hyre an other: Chriſtes bloud hath hired vs already. &c.

16. Article.

16 Why ſhould I truſt (ſayth hee) in Paules prayer or holynes? If Saint Paul were alyue, he would compare hym ſelfe to S. Paul, and be as good as he. fol. 117.

The place annexed.

The Wordes of Tyndall, be theſe. Why am not I alſo a falſe Prophet if I teach thee to truſt in Paul, or in his holynes or prayer, or in any thing ſauyng in Gods word, as Paul did? If Paul were here and loued me, as he loued them of his time, to whom hee was a ſeruaunt to preach Chriſt: what good coulde hee do for me or wiſhe me, but preach Chriſt, and pray to God for me to opẽ myne hart, to giue me hys ſpirite, and to bryng me vnto the full knowledge of Chriſt? Vnto which porte or hauen when I am once come, I am as ſafe as Paul, ioynt heire wyth Paul of all the promiſes of God. &c.

The wordes of Tyndal [illegible] in ſuch meaning as is in the Article.

17. Article.

17 He ſayth that all that bee Baptized, become Chriſt hym ſelfe. fol. 124.

The place annexed.

With this Article conferre the Wordes of the Obediẽce, which be theſe. In *Math.* 28. ſayth Chriſt: in as much as ye haue done it to any of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye haue done it to me. And in as much as ye haue not done it vnto one of the leaſt of theſe, ye haue not done it to me. Here ſeeſt thou that we are Chriſtes brethrẽ, and euen Chriſt him ſelfe, and what ſoeuer we do one to an other, that do we to Chriſt. &c.

18. Article.

18 He ſayth that the children of fayth be not vnder no law. Folio. 124.

The place annexed.

The Article is true, being truly taken.

The Wordes of Tyndall, are theſe. I ſerue thee not becauſe thou art my Maiſter or my king, for hope of reward or feare of payne, but for the loue of Chriſt. For the children of faith are vnder no law, as thou ſeeſt in the Epiſtle to the *Romaines*, to the *Galathians*, and the firſt to *Timothy*, but are free. The ſpirite of Chriſt hath wrytten the liuely lawe of loue in their hartes, whiche driueth them to worke of their own accorde, freely and willinglye, for the great loue ſake onely which they ſee in Chriſt, and therefore neede they no law to compell them. &c.

19. Article.

19 There is no deede ſo good, but that the law cõdemneth it. fol. 131.

The place annexed.

The place in the Obedience, is thys. Thou haſt the ſtory of Peter, howe hee ſmote of Malchus eare, and howe Chriſt healed it againe. There haſt thou in playne text, great fruite and great edifying, whiche I paſſe ouer. Then come I, when I preache of the lawe and the Goſpell, and borrowe this example to expreſſe the nature of the lawe and of the Goſpell, and to painte it vnto thee before thine eyes: and of Peter and his ſworde make I the law, and of Chriſt the Goſpell, ſaying: as Peters ſworde cutteth of the eare, ſo doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth and mangleth the conſcience. There is no eare ſo righteous, that can abide the hearing of the law. There is no deede ſo good, but that the law damneth it. But Chriſt, that is to ſay the Goſpell, the promiſes and Teſtament that God hath made in Chriſt, healeth the eare and conſcience, whiche the law hath hurt. &c.

What hereſie is in thys.

20. Article.

20 To aſke of God more then hee hath promiſed, commeth of a falſe fayth, and is playne Idolatry. fol. 139.

The place annexed.

The Wordes of Tyndall are theſe. Looke wherein thou canſt beſt keepe the commaundementes, thether get thy ſelfe, and therein abyde. &c. If wee haue infirmities that draw vs from the lawes of God, let vs cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burne, marrye, for God hath promiſed thee no chaſtitie, as long as thou mayeſt vſe the remedy that he hath ordayned: no more then he hath promiſed to ſlake thine hunger without meate. Now to aſke of God more then he hath promiſed, commeth of a falſe faith, and is playne Idolatry. &c.

What hereſie is in thys.

21. Article.

21 Our payne taken in keping the commaundements, doth nothyng but purge the ſynne that remayneth in the fleſhe. But to loke for any other reward or promotion in heauẽ then God hath promiſed for Chriſtes ſake, is abominable in the ſyght of God. fol. 139.

The place annexed.

Conſider the place in the obedience, whiche is this. To looke for any other reward or promotion in heauen, or in the lyfe to come, then that which God hath promyſed for Chriſtes ſake, and whiche Chriſt hath deſerued for vs with hys payne taking, is abominable in the ſight of God: For Chriſt onely hath purchaſed the rewarde, and our payne takyng to keepe the commaundementes, doth but purge the ſinne that remaineth in the fleſh, and certifie vs that we are choſen and ſealed with Gods ſpirite, vnto the rewarde that Chriſt hath purchaſed for vs. &c.

22. Article.

22 The Pope hath no other authoritie but to preach onely. fol. 142.

This hereſie is onely to the Pope: but none at al to God.

Chriſt ſayd to Peter: Feede my ſheepe. *Iohn.* 21. *And,* thou being conuerted, confirme thy brethren. *Luke.* 22. *And to hys Apoſtles he ſayd:* Goe ye into all the worlde and preach the Goſpell. &c. *Agayne, S. Paule. 1. Corinth. 1. ſayth:* That Chriſt ſent hym not to Baptiſe, but to preach. *To what other office or function hee ſent the Pope, let them iudge which conſider the Scriptures.*

23 If

23.Article.

23 **If thou bynde thy ſelfe to chaſtitie to obteyne that whiche Chriſt purchaſed for thee, ſo ſurely art thou an infidell. fol.**145.

The place annexed.

Read & conferre the place of Tindall, which is this. Chaſtitie canſt thou not geue to God, further thē God lendeth it thee. If thou canſt not liue chaſte, thou art bound to marye, or to be damned. &c.

Chaſtitie.

For what purpoſe thou byndeſt thy ſelf, muſt be ſeene. If thou do it to obtayne therby that which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, ſo art thou an Infidel, & haſt no part with Chriſt. If thou wilt ſee more of this matter, looke in Deuteronomy, and there ſhalt thou finde it more largely intreated. &c.

14.Article.

24 **He denyeth, rebuketh and dāneth miracles. fol.**147.

The place annexed.

The wordes in Tindalls Obedience, be theſe. And when they crye miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an euerlaſting Teſtament whiche is in Chriſtes bloud, againſt whiche we may receiue no miracles, no neither the preaching of Paul him ſelfe if he come agayne, by his owne teaching to the *Galathians*, nether yet by the preaching of the Aungels of heauen. &c.

Miracles how farre to be beleued.

The end of Gods miracles is good: the end of theſe miracles is euyll. For rhe offeringes which are the cauſe of the miracles, do but miniſter and maintaine vice, ſinne and all abomination, and are geuen to them that haue to much, ſo that for very aboundance they fome out their owne ſhame, and corrupt the whole world with the ſtinch of their filthyneſſe. &c.

15.Article.

25 **He ſayth that no man ſhould ſerue God with good intent or zeale: for it is playne Idolatry. fol.**149.

The place annexed. Good intentes without Gods word, God abhorreth.

The place is this in the Obedience. Remember Saul was caſt away of God for euer, for hys good entent. God requireth obedience vnto his worde, and abhorreth all good intentes and good zeales whiche are without Gods worde: for they are nothing ells but playne idolatrie and worſhipping of falſe Gods. &c.

¶Here folow other hereſies and errours collected by the Byſhops, out of the boke called the Reuelation of Antichriſt, with the places of the booke, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the ſame.

Articles out of the boke called the Reuelation of Antichriſt.

1 **TO bynde a man perpetually to any vowe of Religion, is (without doubt) an errour. fol.**19.

The place of the booke called the Reuelation, whence this article is gathered, is this as foloweth. Which the Fathers did neither make nor keepe (*he meaneth vowes*) but with the libertie of the ſpirite, binding no man perpetuallye to them. For if they did, (without doubt) they erred according to mans fragilitie. &c.

2.Article.

2 **To ſay the Conſtitutions of Religion are good, becauſe holy men dyd ordeyne them, as** Auguſtine, Benedict, Fraunces, Dominicke, **and ſuch other, and to folow ſuch examples of fathers, is to leaue the fayth. fol.**19.

The place annexed.

The place of the article is this. But they obiect: the ſtatutes and ordinaunces are good. Holy men did make thē, as *Auguſtine, Benedict, Bernard, Frances, Dominicke*, and ſuch other. To this I aunſwere: That is euen it that Chriſt and the Apoſtles dyd meane, that theſe woorkes ſhoulde be like to thoſe thinges which are taught in the goſpell: for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and priuely bringing in of ſectes and hereſies, becauſe they take onely of the fathers, examples of works, & leaue the faith. &c.

2.Pet.2.

3.Article.

3 **All morall Diuines haue a wicked conſcience full of ſcrupuloſitie. fol.**3.

Morall Diuines, be they, whoſe doctrine, and hope of ſaluation conſiſteth in Morall vertues, rather then in Chriſtian fayth apprehendyng the free promiſes of God in Chriſt. And they that bee ſuch, can neuer be certified in conſcience of theyr ſaluation, but alwayes be full of feare and ſcrupuloſitie. S.Paul therfore ſayth: It is therfore of fayth that it myght come by grace, and the promyſe myght be firme and ſure to the whole ſeede. Rom.4.

Rom.4.

4.Article.

4 **Morall vertues, as iuſtice, temperaunce, ſtrength, chaſtitie deſcribed by naturall reaſon, maketh a Synagoge, and corrupteth Chriſtes fayth. fol.**64.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: So many he (*the Pope he meaneth*) corrupteth, as he hath ſubdued & lead vnder his lawes and imperie. And who is he in the world that is not ſubiect vnder him, except they be infants, or peraduenture ſome ſimple perſons, which are reſerued by the inſcrutable cōuſell & prouiſion of God? O thou mā of ſinne: O thou ſonne of perdition: O thou abomination: O thou corrupter: O thou author of euyll conſciences: O thou falſe maiſter of good conſciences: O thou enemye of faith and Chriſten libertie, who is able to rehearſe, yea or to comprehende in his minde the infinite waues of this monſtrous * Kinges euills.

* By thys king he meaneth the kyng of faces which Daniell ſpeaketh of in the 8. chapter.

If he had ordayned theſe his lawes in thoſe woorkes of vertues that are cōmended in the .x. preceptes, or els in ſuch as the Philoſophers and naturall reaſon did deſcribe, as are iuſtice, ſtrength, temperance, chaſtitie, mildnes, truth, goodnes, and ſuch other: peraduenture they ſhoulde onelye haue made a Sinagoge, or els haue ordeined in the worlde a certaine ciuil iuſtice: for through theſe alſo faith ſhoulde haue bene corrupted, as it was amongeſt the Iewes. Howbeit now he keepeth not him ſelfe within theſe boundes, but rūneth at riot and more at large, rayſing infinite tempeſtes of miſchiefe, entiſing and drawing vs to ceremonies and hys own fayned traditions, and bindeth vs like Aſſes, and ignorant fooles, yea and ſtockes, vnto them. &c.

5.Article.

5 **Chriſt tooke awaye all lawes, and maketh vs free and at libertie, and moſt of all he ſuppreſſeth all ceremonies. Fol.**65.63.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: Chriſt taking awaye all lawes to make vs free and at libertie, did moſt of all, ſuppreſſe and diſanull the ceremonies which did conſiſt in places, perſons, garmentes, meates, daies and ſuch other, ſo that their vſe ſhoulde bee to all men moſt free and indifferent. &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all lawes, he declareth a litle before, ſaying: he hath not deliuered vs from the lawe, but from the power and violence of the lawe, which is the verye true loſing. But for all that, hee hath not taken awaye from the powers and officers their ryght, ſword, and authoritie to puniſhe the euill, for ſuche pertayne not to his kingdome, vntill they are made ſpirituall, & then freely and with a glad hart they ſerue God.

6.Article.

6 **If the Pope would make all yͤ obſeruations of yͤ ceremonies, as Lent, faſtyng, holy dayes, cōfeſſion, matrimony, Maſſe, Mattyns, & Reliques. &c. free & indifferēt, he ſhould not be Antichriſt: but now becauſe he cōmaundeth them in the name of Chriſt, hee vtterly corrupteth the Church, ſuppreſſeth the fayth, and aduaunceth ſinne. fol.** 67.

If the Pope will inferre a neceſſitie of thoſe thynges, which Chriſt leaueth free & indifferēt, then what doth he make him ſelf but Antichriſt? The Article is playne and is founded vpon the doctrine of Chriſt, and S.Paul.

7.Article.

7 **To beleue in Chriſt maketh ſure inheritours with Chriſt. fol.**1.

8.Article.

8 **If a man ſay, then ſhall we no good workes do? I aūſwere as Chriſt did: This is the worke of God to beleue in hym whom he hath ſent. fol.** 1.

The place annexed.

The place of theſe two Articles gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: Who is thys lyght that we are exhorted to beleue in? Truly it is Chriſt, as S.Iohn doth teſtifie: *Hee was the true light that lightneth all men which come into the world.* To beleue in this light, maketh vs the children of light, & the ſure inheritours with Ieſus Chriſt. Euen now haue we cruell aduerſaries, which ſet vp their briſtles, ſaying: why? ſhal we thē do no good workes? To theſe we anſwer as Chriſt did to the people, in the .vj. of Saint Iohn, which aſked him what they ſhould do, that they might worke rhe workes of god? Ieſus aunſwered and ſaid vnto them: *This is the worke of God, that ye beleue on hym, whō he hath ſent.* And after it followeth: *Verely, verely I ſay vnto you, he that beleueth on me, hath euerlaſting lyfe.* To this alſo condeſcendeth S.Iohn in his Epiſtle ſaying: *Theſe thinges haue I written vnto you that beleue on the name of the ſonne of God, that you may ſurely know how that you haue eternall lyfe.* What is the name of the ſonne of god? Truly hys name is Ieſus, that is to ſay, a Sauiour: therefore thou muſt beleue that he is a Sauiour.

Iohn.1.

Iohn.5.

But what auayleth this? The Deuils do thus beleue and tremble. They know that he is the ſonne of god, and ſayd vnto him, crying: *O Ieſu the ſonne of God, what haue we to do with thee?* They know that he hath redemed mankinde by his paſſion, and labored to let it. For when Pilate was ſette downe to geue iudgement, his wyfe ſent vnto hym, ſaying: *Haue thou nothing to doo with that iuſt man, for I haue ſuffered many thinges this day in my ſleepe about hym.* No doubte ſhee was vexed of the Deuill, to the entent that ſhe ſhoulde perſwade her huſbande to geue no ſentence vpon him, ſo that Satan might the longer haue had iuriſdiction ouer mākynd. They know that he hath ſuppreſſed ſinne and death, as it is

Iacob.2.

Math.8.

Math.27.

Oſe.13.
Heb.2.
1.Cor.15.
Rom.8.

written : *Death is conſumed into victory . Death where is thy ſtyng ? Hell where is thy victory ? The ſtyng of death is ſinne : the ſtyng of ſinne is the law . But thankes be vnto God, which hath geuen vs victory through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt:* Who by ſinne, damned ſinne in the fleſh . For god made him to be ſinne for vs, that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for our ſinne (and ſo is ſinne taken in many places) which knew no ſinne, that we by his meanes ſhould be that righteouſnes which before god is allowed. It is not therfore ſufficient to beleue that he is a Sauiour & redemer : but that he is a Sauiour and redemer vnto thee.&c.

9. Article.

9 Nombring of ſinnes maketh a man a more ſinner yea a blaſphemer of the name of God. fol.3.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this : Knowledge thy ſelfe a ſinner , that thou mayeſt be iuſtified. Not that the nûbring of thy ſinnes can make thé ryghteous, but rather a greater ſinner, yea and a blaſphemer of the holy name of God, as thou mayeſt ſee in Cain, which ſayde that his ſinnes were greater then that he might receaue forgeuenes, and ſo was a reprobate.&c.

10. Article.

10 God byndeth vs to that which is impoſſible for vs to accompliſhe. fol.3.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this : If thou aſke of me why he bindeth vs to that which is impoſſible for vs to accompliſh : thou ſhalt haue *S. Auguſtine* aunſwere, which ſaith in the ſecond booke that he wrote to *Hierome*, that the law was geuen vs , that we might knowe what to do, and what to eſchew, to the entent that when we ſee our ſelues not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor auoyd the contrary, we maye then knowe what we ſhall pray for, and of whom we ſhall aſke this ſtrength: ſo that we may ſay vnto our father : Good father commaund what ſoeuer it pleaſeth thee, but geue vs the grace to fulfil that thou commaundeſt . And when we perceiue that we can not fulfill hys will, yet let vs confeſſe that the law is good and holy, and that we are ſinners and carnall, ſold vnder ſinne . But let vs not here ſticke: for now are we at hell gates, and doubtles ſhould fall into vtter deſperation, except God did bryng vs againe, ſhewing vs his goſpell and promiſe, ſaying : *Feare not litle flocke , for it is your fathers pleaſure to geue you a kingdome.&c.*

Rom.7.

Luke.12.

11. Article.

11 Synne can not condemne vs: for our ſatiſfaction is made in Chriſt whiche dyed for vs. fol.4.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this : Synne hath no power ouer vs, neither can condemne vs, for our ſatiſfaction is made in Chriſt, which dyed for vs that were wicked, and naturally the children of wrath . *But God which is rich in mercy, through the great loue where with he loued vs, euen when we were dead through ſinne, hath quickned vs with Chriſt, and with him hath rayſed vs vp, and with hym hath made vs ſit in heauenly thinges through Ieſus Chriſt , for to ſhew in times to come , the exceeding ryches of his grace in kindnes towardes vs through Chriſt Ieſus : for by grace are ye ſaued through faith, and that not of our ſelues , for it is the gifte of God, and commeth not of workes, leaſt any man ſhould boaſt hym ſelfe. &c.*

Epheſ.2.

12. Article.

12 I will ſhewe thee an euident argument and reaſon that thou mayeſt know without doubte, who is Antichriſt. Al they that do purſue, are Antichriſts. The Pope, Byſhops , Cardinals and their adherentes doe purſue: therfore the Pope, Byſhops, and Cardinals , and theyr adherentes are Antichriſtes. I weene our *Sillogiſmus* bee well made. fol.9.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: I wyll ſhewe thee an euident reaſon that thou mayeſt know without doubting which is the very Antichriſt: and thys argument maye bee grounded of their furious perſecution, which Paule doth confirme writing to the *Galathians . VVe (deare brethren) are the children of promiſe as Iſaac was* (not the ſonnes of the bond woman as Iſmael) *: but as he that was borne after the fleſh did perſecute him that was borne after the ſpirite , euen ſo is it now* . Marke Paules reaſon . By Iſaac are ſignified the elect, and by Iſmael the reprobate. Iſaac dyd not perſecute Iſmael , but contrarye, Iſmaell did perſecute Iſaac. Now let vs make our reaſon.

Galat.4.

Maior. *Bar.* All they that do perſecute are Iſmaell, the reprobate, and Antichriſtes.

Minor. *ba.* But all the Popes, Cardinalls, Biſhops, and their adherentes do perſecute :

Concluſio. *ra.* Therfore all the Popes, Cardinals, Biſhops, and their adherentes be Iſmael, the reprobate, and Antichriſtes.

I wene our *Syllogiſmus* is wel made, and in the firſt figure.

Read the place and ſee how he proueth the partes of this argument more at large.

13. Artic.

13 I thinke verely that ſo long as the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles were perſecuted and martyred , there were good Chriſten men and no longer. fol.10.

The biſhops of Rome in the primitiue church were vnder perſecution, the ſpace wel neare of .300, yeares, vnder the which perſecution, as good as. 30. of them and moe dyed Martyrs . Since that time haue ſucceded.204. Popes, which haue lyued in great wealth and abundance, amongeſt whom if the booke of Reuelation thincke that there is not.4. to be found good chriſten men, I thinke no leſſe but that he may ſo thinke without any hereſie.

14. Artic.

14 It is impoſſible that the worde of the Croſſe ſhould be without affliction and perſecution. fol.10.

1.Tim.3.

S. Paule ſayth : Who ſo euer wyll lyue vertuouſly in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And how thé can this be true in Paul, and in this man hereſie ?

15. Artic.

15 That the Apoſtles did curſe euer any man, truly we can not read in Scripture : for Chriſt commaũded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them. fol. 11.

The place annexed.

Vpon what good ground of the Reuelation this hereſie is wrõg out, let the place be conferred, which is writté in theſe wordes folowing : They are as mercifull as the Wolfe is on his pray. They wer ordeined to bleſſe men, but they curſe as the deuil were in them . Paule ſayth that he hath power to edifie, and not to deſtroy . But I wot not of whom theſe bloudy beaſts haue their authoritie, which do ſo muche reioyce in curſing and deſtruction . We reade how Paule did excommunicate the Corinthian (and that for a great tranſgreſſion) to the entent that he might be aſhamed of his iniquitie, and deſired agayne the Corinthians to receiue him with all charitie : but that the Apoſtles did curſe any man, truely we can not reade in ſcripture, for Chriſt commaũded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them, and to pray for thoſe that perſecuted them.&c.

1.Cor.10.
1.Cor.13.
1.Cor.5.
2.Cor.2.

16. Artic.

16 By workes, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonyes, we decay from the fayth , whiche alone doth truly iuſtifye and make holy. fol.15.

Note here (good Reader) how peruerſly and corruptly this Article is drawen . For where the place of the booke, which is written, fol. 15. expreſly ſpeaketh of truſting to woorkes , meaning that we ſhould put no confidence in woorkes , but onelye in fayth in Chriſt Ieſus , thys Article to make it appeare more infamous and hereticall, leaueth out the falſe truſt, and ſpeaketh ſimply, as though workes ſhould decay fayth . Reade the place , which is writen in theſe wordes folowing : Daniell calleth not this word *Peſchaim* any maner of ſinne, but thoſe ſpeciall and chiefe ſinnes which reſiſt and fight againſt the truth and the fayth : as are the truſting in workes, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies, by the which we decay from the fayth.&c.

Falſe quoting.

17. Artic.

17 The abuſion of the Maſſe with all his ſolemnities, with vigils, yeare myndes, foundations, burials, and all the buſines that is done for the dead , is but a face and a cloke of godlynes, and diſceauyng of the people : as they were good woorkes , rather for the dead , then for the quicke. fol.24.

True godlynes conſiſteth in fayth, that is in the true knowledge of the ſonne of God whom he hath ſent , and in the obſeruation of Gods commaundementes. All other rites and additions inſtituted by man, are no part of true godlynes . And who ſo putteth confidence and truſt therein , as beyng thynges meritorious for the dead, is deceaued. Such funerals S. Auſten *calleth rather refreſhynges of the liuyng, then relieuinges and helpes of the dead.*

18. Artic.

18 To keepe and obſerue one day to faſt , and an other to abſtayne , to forbeare ſuch a meate vppon the faſtyng daye to deſerue heauen thereby , is a wicked face and cloke, and agaynſt Paul. fol.29.

The truth of this Article is manifeſt enough , to be voyde of all errour and hereſie, vnleſſe it be hereſie, to beleue and hold with the Scripture. S.Paul *ſayth, if heauen, and our righteouſnes come by the law, then Chriſt dyed in vayne. Gal.2.*

Gala.2.

19. Artic.

19 The multiplication of holy dayes , of feaſtes of *Corpus Chriſti*, of the viſitation of our Lady . &c. is a wicked face and colour, and in deede fooliſhe, vnprofitable , and vayne. fol. 30.

This Article likewiſe nedeth no declaration , conteynyng in it a true and neceſſary complaynt of ſuch ſuperfluous holy dayes of the Popes making . VVhich as they bryng with them much occaſion of wickednes, idlenes dronkennes , and vanitie , ſo hauyng alſo ioyned vnto thé opinion of Religion, and meritorious deuotion and Gods ſeruice, they gender ſuperſtition, and nouriſhe the people in the ſame.

20. Artic.

20 Keepyng of virginitie and chaſtitie of Religion is a deuiliſhe thyng. fol.30.

The place cited in the booke of the Reuelation of Antichriſt,*doth ſufficiently open it ſelfe, ſpeaking and meanyng onely of thoſe Monkiſhe vowes, whiche by the canonicall conſtitution of the Pope are violently forced vpon Prieſtes & Monkes, the coaction whereof* S.Paul *doth rightly call the doctrine of deuils. And here note by the way an other tricke of a Popiſhe caviller. For where the wordes of the booke ſpeake playnly of the chaſtitie of the Religious, fraudulently turnyng it to an vniuerſalitie, ſayth, the chaſtitie of Religion, wherby it might ſeme to the ſimple reader more odious and hereticall. The wordes of the place be theſe.*

In other place falſly peruerted by the Papiſtes.

Keping of virginitie and chaſtitie of the religious, ſemeth to be a godly and a heauenly thing: but it is a deuiliſh thing. Of the which it is ſpokē in the 4.of the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothee: Forbidding to marye.&c.* where as againe our moſt reuerende father maketh that thing neceſſary, that Chriſt would haue free, whereof Daniel in the.xj.chap. ſpeaketh: *He ſhall not be deſirous of women*. Here Daniel meaneth that he ſhall refuſe and abſtaine from mariage, for a cloke of godlynes, & not for loue of chaſtitie.

1.Tim.4.

Dan.11.

21. Article.

21 **worſhypping of Reliques is a proper thyng and a cloke of aduauntage agaynſt the precept of God, and no thyng but the affection of men. fol.30. 31.**

The place annexed.

Theſe be the wordes in the Reuelat. This*(the worſhipping of Reliques he meaneth)*is a proper and moſt frutefull cloke of aduauntage. Out of this were inuented innumerable pilgrimages, with the whiche the fooliſhe and vnlearned people might loſe their labour, money and tyme, nothyng in the meane ſeaſon regardyng their houſes, wiues & children, cōtrary to the commaundement of God: when as they might do much better dedes to their neighbours, which is the precepte.&c.

22. Article.

22 **There is but one ſpeciall office that pertayneth to thyne orders, & that is to preach the word of God. fol.36.**

Read afore pag. 1432. col.2. lin.75

Of this matter ſufficient hath bene ſayd before in the 22. Article alledged out of the booke of the Obedience.

23. Article.

23 **The Temple of God is not ſtones and woode, neither in ỹ tyme of Paul was there any houſe which was called the Temple of God. fol.37.**

The place ſpeaking of the temple where Antichriſt ſitteth, is not ſo greuous as the Article maketh.

The place of this Article is this. Whiche is an aduerſary *(the Pope he meaneth)* and is exalted aboue all that is called God or that is worſhipped: ſo that hee ſhall ſit in the Temple of God and ſhewe hym ſelfe as God. Doth not he ſit in the Tēple of God, whiche ſayth and profeſſeth hym ſelfe to be the maſter in the whole Churche? what is the Temple of God? Is it ſtones and woode? Doth not Paul ſay: The Temple of God is holy, whiche Temple are ye? Neither in the tyme of Paul was there any houſe, whiche was called the Temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this ſittyng, but reignyng, teachyng, and iudgyng? Who ſyth the begynnyng of the Church, durſt preſume to call hym ſelfe the maſter of the whole Church, but onely the Pope? &c.

24. Article.

24 **He that faſteth no day, that ſayth no Mattens, and doth none of the preceptes of the Pope, ſynneth not, if he thinke that he doth not ſinne. fol.43.**

The place is cleare and plaine without any daunger of hereſie.

The place in the Reuelation is this: Becauſe hee feareth the conſciences vnder the title & pretence of Chriſtes name, he maketh of thoſe thynges whiche in thē ſelues are no ſinnes, very greuous offences. For he that beleueth that hee doth ſinne if he eate fleſh on the Apoſtles euen, or ſay not Mattens and Prime in the mornyng, or elles leaue vndone any of the Popes preceptes, no doubt he ſinneth: Not becauſe the dede whiche he doth is ſinne, but becauſe hee beleueth it is ſinne and that agaynſt this fooliſhe belief and conſcience he offendeth. Of the whiche fooliſhe conſcience onely the Pope is head author. For an other doyng the ſame deede, thynkyng that hee doth not ſinne, truly offendeth not. And this is the cauſe that the ſpirit of Paul complaineth that many ſhall departe frō the fayth. And for this foliſh conſcience mens traditiōs be pernicious & noyſome, the ſnares of ſoules, hurting the faith and the libertie of the Goſpel. If it were not for this cauſe, they ſhould do no hurt. Therefore the deuill through the Pope abuſeth theſe conſciences to ſtabliſhe the lawes of his tyranny, to ſuppreſſe the faith and libertie, and to repleniſhe the world with errour, ſinne and perdition.&c.

Traditions how they doe hurte.

25. Article.

25 **Chriſt ordeyned the Sacrament of the aultar, onely to nouriſh the fayth of thē that liue: but the Pope maketh it a good woorke, and a ſacrifice to bee applyed both to quicke and dead. fol.48.**

The place toucheth the abuſe of the Sacrament & is not agaynſt the Sacrament.

The place is this. Sathan hated the Sacrament and knew no waye how to ſuppreſſe and diſanull it: Therfore he founde this craft, that the Sacrament (whiche Chriſt did onely ordeyne to nouriſhe and ſtabliſhe the fayth of them that lyue) ſhould be counted for a good worke and ſacrifice, & bought and ſold: And ſo faith is ſuppreſſed and this holeſome miniſtery is applyed, not to the quicke, but vnto the dead, that is is to ſay, neither to the quicke, neither yet to the dead. O this incredible fury of God.&c.

26. Article.

26 **Theſe ſignes (he ſpeaketh of miracles & viſions or apparitions) are not to the increaſe of the faith and Goſpel, for they are rather agaynſt the fayth and Goſpel, and they are the operatiō of Sathan, and lying ſignes. fol.49.**

The place cōteyneth a true complaint of falſe illuſions, and may well be borne.

The place is as foloweth. Who is able to number the monſtrous marueils onely of thē that are departed? Good Lord, what a Sea of lyes hath inuaded vs, of apparitions, coniurynges, & aūſweres of ſpirites? By the which it is brought to paſſe, that the pope is alſo made the king of thē that are dead, and reigneth in Purgatory, to the great profit of his Prieſtes, whiche haue all their liuyng, riches, and pompe out of Purgatory: Howbeit they ſhould haue leſſe, if they did ſo well teach the fayth of them that lyue, as they do ridles of them that are dead. Neither was there ſyth the begynnyng of the world, any worke found of ſo litle labour and great aduauntage. For truly to this purpoſe were gathered almoſt the poſſeſſiions of all Princes and riche men. And through theſe riches ſprang vp al pleaſures & idlenes, and of idlenes came very Babylon and Sodoma.&c.

Neither are theſe ſignes to the increaſe of the faith and Goſpell (for they are rather agaynſt the faith and Goſpell) but they are done to ſtabliſhe the Tyrannye of theſe * faces and rydles, and to ſet vp and confirme the truſt in workes. Amōg theſe illuſions are thoſe miracles to be reputed, whiche are ſhewed in viſions, pilgrymages, and worſhyppynges of Saintes, as there are plenty now a dayes, whiche the Pope confirmeth by his Bulles, yea and ſome time doth canonize Saintes that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying ſignes. &c.

*** This booke of the Reuelation of Antichriſt treatyng vpon the 8. chap. of Daniell, which there ſpeaketh of the kyng of faces & ridles, alludeth here to the ſame.**

27. Article.

27 **The people of Chriſte doth nothyng becauſe it is commaunded, but becauſe it is pleaſaunt and acceptable vnto them. fol.63.**

The place geueth an other meanyng then the article pretendeth.

The wordes out of the which this article is gathered, are theſe: They are the people of Chriſt, which willyngly do heare & folow him: not for any feare of the law, but only intiſed and lead with a gracious libertie and faythfull loue: not doyng any thyng becauſe it is commaunded, but becauſe it is pleaſaunt and acceptable vnto them though it were not cōmaunded: for they that would do otherwiſe ſhould be counted the people of the law and Synagoge. &c.

28. Article.

28 **In the whole new law is no vrgent precept nor greuous, but onely exhortations to obſerue thynges neceſſary for ſoule health. fol.63.**

The place is ſound & ſtandeth well with Scripture.

The place of this article gathered out of the Reuelat. is thys: A Chriſtian ſhoulde woorke nothing by compulſion of the lawe, but all through the ſpirite of libertie, as Paule ſaith in the.2.of the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothee. The lawe is not geuen to a righteous man*. For whatſoeuer is done by compulſion of the law, is ſinne: for it is not done with a glad and wylling ſpirite, but with a contrarye wyll, and rebelling againſt the law, and this truly is ſinne. Therefore in the.4. of the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, he calleth the preachers of the new teſtament, the Miniſters of the ſpirite, and not of the letter, becauſe they teach grace, and not the law. Wherefore in the whole new teſtamēt are ther no vrgent or greuous precepts, but onely exhortations to obſerue thoſe thinges which are neceſſarie to our health. Neyther did Chriſt and hys Apoſtles at any time compell any man. And the holy ghoſt was for that cauſe called *Paracletus*, that is to ſay, an exhorter and comforter. &c.

1.Tim.2.

2.Cor.4.

29. Article.

29 **All things neceſſary are declared in the new Teſtament: but no man is compelled, but to doe accordyng to theyr own will. Therfore Chriſt teacheth Mat.18. that a rebell ſhould not be kylled but auoyded. fol.63.66.**

The place annexed.

The wordes in the Reuelat. are theſe. In the new Teſtament are all thynges declared, whiche we ought to do and leaue vndone: what reward is ordeyned for them that do & leaue vndone: and of whom to ſeeke, finde, and obteine helpe to do and leaue vndone: But no man is compelled, but ſuffered to do accordyng to their owne will. Therefore in the 18. of Matthew he teacheth that a rebell ſhould not be killed, but auoyded and put out of company like a Gentile. &c.

30. Article.

30 **Chriſt forbad that one place ſhould bee taken as holy and an other prophane: but would that all places ſhould be indifferent. fol.65.**

The place annexed.

The place is this. Chriſt takyng away the difference of all places, will be worſhipped in euery place. Neither is there in

The Pope maketh difference of places: but the Goſpell maketh none.

hys kyngdome one place holy and an other prophane : but all places are indifferent,neither canſt thou more hartely & better beleue , truſt, and loue God in the Temple,at the altare,in the Churchyard,thē in thy barne,vineyard,kytchen, or bed. And to bee ſhort,the Martyrs of Chriſt haue honoured him in darke dungeons and priſons.&c.

31. Article.

31 **He rayleth agaynſt all the rites and ceremonyes of the Maſſe,as he were mad. fol.68.**

Thys place noteth onely the prepoſterous iudgement of them,which ſet more by the preceptes of men, then by the commaundementes of God: and yet herein he vſeth no railing terme.

The place out of the whiche this Article is collected , is as followeth. If a Nunne touch the ſuperaltare or the Corpores(as they call it)it is a ſinne. To touch the chalice is a great tranſgreſſion. To ſay Maſſe with an vnhallowed Chalice , is a greuous offence . To doe ſacrifice in veſtimentes which are not conſecrated,is a haynous crime. It is reputed for a ſinne if in miniſtryng any Sacrament,the Prieſt do lacke any ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a childe,or ſpeake in the wordes of the Canon , it is a ſinne . He offendeth alſo that doth ſtutte or ſtammer in the wordes of the Canon . He ſinneth that toucheth the holy Reliques of Saintes. He that toucheth the Sacrament of the altare either with hand or finger, though it be for neceſſitie to plucke it from the rouſe of his mouth,committeth ſuch vilanous iniquitie , that they will ſcrape and ſhaue of the quicke fleſhe from the parte which did touch it. I thinke at length they will fley the toung , the rouſe of the mouth , the throte , and the bely,becauſe they touch the Sacrament. But to hurt thy neighbour , or priuily to conuey awaye any of his goodes , or nor to helpe hym in his neede,is in a maner neuer counted for ſinne , nor yet regarded.&c.

32. Article.

32 **No labour is now a dayes more tedious then ſaying of Maſſe and Mattens . &c. whiche before God are nothyng but greuous ſynnes. fol.70.**

33. Article.

33 **The ſynnes of Manaſſes and other wicked kynges ſacrificyng their owne children,are but light and childiſh offenſes to theſe. The curſed ſacrifices of yͤ Gentiles may not be compared to ours: we are vij. tymes worſe Gentiles then we were before we knew Chriſt. fol .70.**

Thys place may ſeeme to ſpeake ſomewhat vehemently peraduenture,but yet I ſee no hereſie in it.

The wordes out of the whiche theſe two Articles are gathered,are theſe. They are ſo oppreſſed *(thoſe hee meaneth whiche are vnder the ſeruitude of the Popd lawes and Decrees)* that they fulfill them onely with the outwarde worke: for their willes are cleane contrary , as we ſee by experience in the troubleſome buſines of Vigilles,Maſſes, and Houres , whiche both muſt be ſayd and ſong . In the whiche they labour with ſuch weerines,that now a dayes no labour is more tedious . Yet neuertheleſſe the cruel exactours of theſe moſt hard workes, compell men to worke ſuch thinges without ceaſing , which before God are nothyng but greuous ſinnes : although before men they bee good workes and counted for the ſeruice of God . Here are inuented the intiſementes of the ſenſes through organes,muſicke,and diuerſitie of ſonges: but theſe are nothyng to the ſpirite, whiche rather is extincte through theſe wanton trifles . Ah Chriſt, with what violence , with what power are they driuen headlong to ſinne , and periſhe through this abomination?

It is horrible to looke in to theſe cruell wherlepoles of conſciences,whiche periſh with ſo great paynes and labour. what light offences to theſe are the ſinnes wherein *Manaſſes,* and other wicked kyngs ſinned by doyng ſacrifice with their owne children and progenie ? Truly the curſed ſacrifices of the moſt rude gentles,no not of the *Leſtrigones,* may be compared vnto ours. The ſaying of Chriſt may be verified in vs: ſeuen more wicked ſpirites make the ende worſe then the begynnyng. For I ſay that we gentiles are worſe ſeuen tymes then we were before we knew Chriſt. &c.

3.Reg.21.

Leſtrigones were a people or giantes about the borders of Italie,who as Homere ſayth, vſed to eate mens fleſhe.

34. Article.

34 **It were better to receaue neither of the partes of the Sacrament of the Aultar, then the one alone. fol.73.**

The truth of this place may well be auouched by good reaſon.

The wordes be theſe. Playnly I thincke that the whole is taken awaye,ſyth I ſee manifeſtly the one parte gone(for the bread and the wyne is but one Sacrament) the other is left onely for a laughyng ſtocke . For hee that in one parte offendeth agaynſt God, is giltie in all. Therefore it were better to receiue neither of the partes, then the one alone : for ſo we might the more ſurely eſchew the trāſgreſſion of that which Chriſt did inſtitute.&c.

35. Article.

35 **The law of the Pope that commaundeth euery mā to communicate together vpon one day, is a moſt cruell law, conſtraynyng men to their owne deſtruction. fol.73**

The place annexed.

The place is this . Hee *(the Pope hee meaneth)* ſettyng a moſt cruell and deadly ſnare to tangle the conſciences, ſuffereth not the vſe of this Sacrament to be free,but compelleth all together on one certain day once in the yeare to communicate. Here I pray thee good Chriſten brother , how many doeſt thou thinke do communicate onely by the compulſiō of this precepte , whiche truly in their hart had leuer not to communicate? And al theſe ſinne(for they do not communicate in ſpirite, that is to ſay,neither in fayth nor will , but by the compulſion of this letter and law)ſith that this bread requireth a hungry and not a full hart,and much leſſe a diſdaynyng and hatefull minde. And of all theſe ſinnes the Pope is authour,conſtrainyng all men by his moſt cruell law to their own deſtruction,where as he ought to leaue this communion free to euery man,and onely call and exhorte them,and not compell and driue them vnto it.&c.

Men ought not to be driuen to the communion against their willes, but to be exhorted, and left to their own diſpoſition.

36. Article.

36 **The ſpirite would that nothyng ſhould be done, but that which is expreſſye rehearſed in Scripture. fol.81.**

In thynges perteynyng to gods worſhip, it is true.

In thynges appertaynyng to Gods worſhyp and ſeruice , true it is that hee is not to bee worſhypped , but onely accordyng to that whiche he hath reueled and expreſſed vnto vs in hys owne word. And this is the meanyng of the authour , as by hys wordes doth plainlye appeare.

37. Article.

37 **Saint Thomas *de Aquino* ſauoreth nothyng of the ſpirite of God. fol.83.**

Thomas Aquine.

The doctrine of Thomas Aquine *referreth the greateſt , or a very great part of our ryghtuouſnes to* opus operatum , *and vnto merites . The ſpirite of God referreth all our righteouſnes before God, onely to our fayth in Chriſt. Now how theſe ſauour together, let any indifferent reader iudge.*

38. Article.

38 **The Pope dyd cōdemne the truth of yͤ word of God openly at Conſtaunce in Iohn Huſſe, perſeueryng vnto this day in the ſame ſtubbernes. fol.86.**

Iohn Hus.

Touchyng the condemnation of Iohn Hus , *and the maner of hys handlyng,and the cauſe of hys death , read his ſtory before beginnyng pag.* 701 . *and conſider moreouer hys Propheſie of the hundreth yeares after hym expired pag.*747. *how truly the ſequele did folow in* M.Luther , *and then iudge of hys cauſe , good reader,as the truth of Gods worde ſhall lead thee . And thus much concernyng theſe ſlaunderous Articles.*

¶Here folow other hereſies and errours , collected by the Biſhops out of the booke named the Summe of the Scripture , with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame.

Articles out of the Summe of the Scripture.

1. Article.

The water of the fount hath no more vertue in it then hath any other water. fol.1.

2. Article.

2 **The water of Baptiſme lyeth not in hallowed water or in other outward thyng, but onely in fayth. fol.6.**

The place annexed.

The place of theſe two articles gathered out of the Summe of the Scripture is this. The water of Baptiſme taketh not away our ſinne : for then were it a precious water , and then it behoued vs dayly to waſh our ſelues therin . Neither hath the water of the Fount more vertue in it ſelfe , then the water that runneth in the riuer of Rhene . When Philip baptiſed the Eunuch, the ſeruant of Candace the Quene of Ethiope, there was then no hallowed water, nor candel, nor ſalt nor creame, neither white habite: but he baptiſed him in the firſt water they came to vpon the waye . Here mayeſt thou perceiue that the vertue of Baptiſme lieth not in hallowed water, or in the outward things that we haue at the Founte , but in the fayth onely.&c. Chriſt hath healed vs(ſayth Saint Paule)by the bathe of regeneration and renouation of the holy ghoſt.

Actes.8, Tit.3.

3. Article.

3 **Godfathers and Godmothers bee bounde to helpe their childrē that they be put to ſchole, that they may vnderſtand the Goſpell, and the Epiſtles of S. Paul. fol.15**

The place annexed.

The place of this article gathered out of the ſaid boke,is this: The Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to helpe the chyldren that they be put to ſchole, to the entent that they maye vnderſtand the Goſpel, the ioyfull meſſage of God, with the Epiſtles of S. Paule . God hath commaunded to publiſhe , and to ſhew the Goſpell, not onely to Prieſtes, but to euerye creature. Goe ye (ſaith Chriſt vnto his Diſciples) into the vniuerſall world,& preach the Goſpell to euery creature. For we be all equally bound to know the Goſpell and the doctrine of the new teſtament.&c. And Saint Paule writing to the Corinth. confeſſeth that he ſendeth his Epiſtles to all the Church , that is to ſay, to all the aſſemble of Chriſten men, and to all them that call on the name of Ieſus.&c.

Mark.16

4. Article.

4 **We thinke when we beleue that God is God , and can our Crede, that we haue the fayth that a Chriſtiā mā is bound to haue: but ſo doth the deuill beleue. fol.17.**

5. Article.

5 **To beleue that the Father, the Sonne , and the holy Ghoſt be one God, is not the principall that we muſt beleue: our fayth doth not lye principally in that : for ſo beleueth the deuill. fol. 18.**

The place annexed.

The place out of the which theſe two articles are collected, is this: We thinke, when we beleue that God is God , and can our Crede, that we haue the fayth which a Chriſtian is bound to haue. The deuill beleueth alſo that there is a God and a life euerlaſting, and a hel, but he is neuer the better for it: and he tremblеth alway for this fayth, as ſayth Saint Iames: The deuils beleue, and they tremble. A man might aſke, what ſhal I then beleue? Thou ſhalt beleue plainly and vndoubtedlye, that the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt is one onely God &c. But this likewyſe beleue the wicked ſpirites, and are nothing the better therefore. There is yet another fayth which Chriſt ſo much requireth of vs in the Goſpell, and whereunto alſo Saint Paule almoſt in all hys Epiſtles ſo ſtrongly exhorteth vs: that is, that we beleue the Goſpell, when our Lorde beganne firſt to preach, he ſayd (as rehearſeth ſaynt Marke) repent and beleue the Goſpel. Of this fayth, read before in the firſt article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and in the.ix.and.x.of the Reuelation of Antichriſt.

Iam.2.

What true fayth is that iuſtifieth.

Mark.1.

6.Article.

6 If we beleue that God hath promiſed vs euerlaſtyng lyfe, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh. fol.20.

Lo here good Reader, an other manifeſt example of the vnhoneſt dealing and falſe cogging of theſe men. For where the place of the author ſpeaketh expreſſely of putting our truſt in God and hys promiſes, the article pretely leaueth out our truſtyng in Gods promiſe, and ſayth onely: if we beleue that God hath promiſed. Reade the place and conferre it with the article and then iudge whether there be no difference betwen truſting in the promiſe that God hath made of euerlaſtyng lyfe, and beleuing onely that God hath made the promyſe of euerlaſtyng lyfe. The place here foloweth as it is there written.

The place of the author falſely wraſted.

When with a perfect courage we put all our truſt in God & in his promiſes, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh, for he hath promiſed vs lyfe euerlaſting. And for as much as he is almightie, he may well performe that that he hath promiſed: & in that he is mercyfull and true, he wyl performe his promiſe made vnto vs, if we can beleue it ſtedfaſtly, and put all our truſt in hym.

7.Article.

7 If thou canſt ſurely and ſtedfaſtly beleue in God, he will hold hys promiſe. For hee hath bounde hym ſelfe to vs, and by hys promiſe he oweth vs heauen, in caſe that we beleue hym. fol.21.

Seyng all our hope ſtandeth onely vpon the promiſe of God, what hereſie then is in thys doctrine to ſay, that God oweth vs heauen by hys promyſe, which is no other to meane, but that God can not breake promiſe. And now iudge thou good Reader, whether is more hereſy to ſaye, that God oweth vs heauen by hys promyſe, as we ſay: or this, that God oweth vs heauen by the condignitie and congruitie of our woorkes, as the Papiſtes ſay?

True doctrine made hereſie.

8.Article.

8 All Chriſtes glory is ours. fol. 27.

9.Article.

9 We neede not to labour for to bee Chriſtes heyres and ſonnes of God, and to haue heauen: for we haue all theſe thynges already. fol. 24.

The wordes out of the which theſe two hereſies are gathered, be theſe: We be made his heires, and all his glory is ours, as S.Paule largely declareth. This hath God geuen vs without our deſeruing and we nede not to labour for theſe thinges, for all theſe we haue already. &c.

They which note theſe articles for hereſie, by the ſame iudgement they may make hereſy of S.Iohns Goſpell, and of Paules Epiſtles, and of all together. S.Iohn ſayth, the glorye which thou gaueſt me, I haue giuen them that they may be one, as we alſo are one. As many as receiued him, to them gaue he power to be the ſonnes of God. Saynt Paule ſayth: The ſame ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite, that we are the ſonnes of God. If wee be ſonnes then are we alſo heyres, the heyres I meane of God, and heires annexed wyth Chriſt.

True doctrine made hereſie.

Ioh.7.

Iohn.1.

Tit.3.

Rom.8.

10.Article.

10 We neede not to labour by our good workes to get euerlaſtyng lyfe: for we haue it already: we bee all Iuſtifyed: we be all the children of God. fol.28.

11.Article.

11 All that thinketh that good workes helpe or profite any thyng to get the gyft of ſaluation, they blaſpheme agaynſt God, and robbe God of hys honour. fol.28.

12.Article.

12 If we bee circumciſed, that is to ſay, if we put any truſt in workes, Chriſt ſhall not helpe vs. fol.28.

13.Article.

13 We deſerue nothyng of God. fol.30.

14.Article.

14 Wee deſerue not euerlaſtyng lyfe by our good workes: for God hath promiſed it vnto vs before that we began to do good. fol.40.

15.Article.

15 Euery Chriſten man muſt kepe Gods commaundementes by loue, and not by hope, to get for hys ſeruice euerlaſtyng lyfe. fol.42.

16.Article.

16 The Iewes kept the commaundementes, and the law of God: yet they could not come to heauen. fol.43.

17.Article.

17 Men truſtyng in their good workes, are like to the theefe on the left ſide, and are ſuch men as commeth to the Church dayly, kepeth holy dayes and faſtyng dayes, and heareth Maſſes, and theſe people be ſoneſt damned: for, this is one of the greateſt errours in Chriſtendome, to thincke that thy good workes ſhall helpe to thy ſaluation. fol.47.

If theſe articles be made hereſie, whych referre the benefite of our inheritance of life and ſaluatiō to Gods gift, and not to our labours: to grace, and not to merites: to fayth, and not to the law of workes, then let vs ſhut vp cleane the new teſtament, & away with Gods word and ſet vp a new diuinitie of the Popes making, yea let vs leaue Chriſt wyth his hereticall Goſpell, and in his ſtede ſet vp the biſhop of Rome wyth hys Talmud, and become the diſciples of hys decretals. And certes, except chriſten Princes begynne bytyme to take ſome zeale of God vnto them, & looke more ſeriouſly vpon the matter, the procedinges of theſe men ſeme to tend to litle better, thē to driue vs at lēgth from true chriſtianitie, to an other kynde and forme of religion of their own inuention, if they haue not brought it welnere to paſſe alreadye.

True Chriſtianitie turned to hereſie.

18.Article.

18 To ſerue God in a tediouſnes, or for feare of hell, or for the ioyes of heauē, is but ſhadowes of good workes, and ſuch ſeruice doth not pleaſe God. fol.41.

The place is this: Workes done in fayth, be alonely pleaſant vnto God, and worthy to be called good workes: for they be the workes of the holy ghoſt that dwelleth in vs by this fayth. But they that are done by tediouſnes and euyll wyll, for feare of hell, or for deſire of heauen, be nothing els but ſhadowes of workes, making hipocrites. The end of our good woorkes is onelye to pleaſe God, knowledging that if we doe neuer ſo much, we can neuer do our duty: for they that for feare of hell, or for the ioyes of heauen do ſerue God, doo a conſtrayned ſeruice, which God wyll not haue. Suche people doo not ſerue God because he is their God and their father, but to haue their rewarde and to auoyde hys puniſhmentes, and ſuche people are hyred men, and waged ſeruantes, and are not children. But the children of God ſerue their father for loue. &c.

These conteine no matter eyther of errour or hereſie.

19.Article.

19 We muſt loue death, and more deſire to dye, then to feare death. fol.36.

Although our nature be frayle and full of imperfection, ſo that we do not as we ſhould, yet doyng as we ought, and as we are lead by the ſcriptures to do, we ſhould not dread, but deſire rather to dye, and to bee with Chriſt, as the place it ſelfe doth well declare, which is this.

We muſt loue death, and more deſire to dye and to bee wyth God, as dyd S.Paule, then to feare death. For Ieſus Chriſt dyed for vs, to the entent that we ſhoulde not feare to dye, and he hath ſlayne death, and deſtroyed the ſtyng of death, as wryteth S.Paule, ſaying: O death where is thy ſtinge? Death is ſwallowed vp in victory. And to the Philippians: Chriſt is to me lyfe, and death is to me aduauntage.

The place is ſound and perfecte.

1.Cor.15.

Philip.1.

20.Article.

20 God made vs hys children and hys heyres, whyle we were his enemies, and before we knew him. fol.44.

I maruaile what the Papiſtes meane in their Regiſters to condemne this article as an hereſye, vnleſſe their purpoſe be vtterly to impugne and gaynſtand the ſcripture, and the writinges of S.Paule, who in the fyft chapter to the Romaines, and other his Epiſtles, importeth euen the ſame doctrine in all reſpectes, declaring in formall words, that we be made the chyldren and heires of God, and that we were reconciled vnto hym when we were hys enemies.

Hereſie made where none is.

Rom.5.

21.Article.

21 It were better neuer to haue done good worke, and aſke mercy therfore, then to do good workes, and thinke that for them God is bound to a man by promiſe. fol.48.

22.Article.

22 We can ſhewe no more honour to God, then fayth and truſt in hym. fol.48.

The place out of the which theſe two articles are gathered, is this: It were better for thee a thouſand folde that thou haddeſt bene a ſinner, and neuer done good deede, and to acknowledge thine offences and euyll lyfe vnto God, aſking mercy with a good hart, lamenting thy ſinnes, then to haue done good workes and in them to put thy truſt, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing, which (after the maner of ſpeaking) bindeth God, but fyrme and ſtedfaſt faith and truſt in hym and hys promiſes. &c. For we can ſhewe vnto God no greater honour, then to haue fayth and truſt in hym: for who ſo euer doth that, hee confeſſeth that God is true, good, mighty, and mercifull. &c.

What hereſie can be drawen out of thys place.

23.Article.

23 Fayth without good workes is no litle nor no feble fayth, but it is no fayth. fol.50.

24.Article.

24 Euery man doth as much as he beleueth. fol.50.

The place out of the which theſe two articles be gathered, is this: If thy fayth induce thee not to do good workes, then haſt thou not the right fayth: thou doeſt but onely thinke that thou haſt it. For S.Iames ſayth, that fayth without woorkes is dead in it ſelfe. He ſayth not that it is litle or feeble, but that it is dead, and that is dead, is not. Therfore when thou art not moued by fayth vnto the loue of God, and by the loue of god vnto good workes, thou haſt not faith, but fayth is deade in thee, for the ſpirite of God that by fayth commeth into our hartes to ſtyrre vp loue, cannot be idle. Euery one doth as muche as hee beleueth, and loueth as much as he hopeth, as writeth S.Iohn. He that hath this hope that he is the ſōne of God, purifieth him ſelfe as he is pure. He ſaith not, he that purifieth him ſelfe hath this hope: for the hope muſt come before, proceeding from the fayth, as it behoueth that the tree muſt firſt be good which muſt bring forth good fruite.

Iames.2.

Hereſie picked out where none is.

1.Iohn.3.

25 We

25. Article.

25 **We can not be without motions of euill deſires: but we muſt mortifie them, in reſiſtyng them. fol. 52.**

No man cā finde any hereſie in this place except he be a Phariſey.

They which note this article of hereſie, may note thē ſelues rather to be like the Phariſey, Luke. 18 who foliſhly flatteryng him ſelf in the falſe opiniō of hys owne righteouſnes, was not ſubdued to the ryghteouſnes whych ſtandeth before God, by fayth, and therefore went home to his houſe leſſe iuſtified then the Publican. If the ſcriptures condemne the hart of man to be crooked, euen from hys youth, Gene. 6. and alſo condemneth all the righteouſnes of man to be like a fyled cloth, and if S. Paule coulde fynde in hys fleſhe no good thing dwelling, but ſheweth a continuall reſiſtance betwene the olde man and the new: then muſt it folow, that theſe phariſeis which condemne this article of hereſie, either cary no fleſh, nor no old man about them to be reſiſted, or verelye, ſaye what they wyll, they cannot chuſe but be combred with euyll motions for the inward man continually to fight againſt. The place of the author ſufficiently defendeth it ſelfe, as followeth.

Col. 3.
The place of the author.
Rom. 6.

Saint Paule byddeth vs mortifie all our euyll deſires and carnall luſtes, as vncleanes, couetouſnes, wrath, blaſphemy, detraction, pride, and other lyke vices. And vnto the Roma. 6. he ſaith: let no ſinne raigne in your mortal bodies. That is to ſay, albeit that we can not lyue wythout the motion of ſuche euyll deſires, yet wee ſhall not ſuffer them to rule in vs, but ſhall mortifie them in reſiſting them. &c.

26. Article.

26 **All true Chriſtianity lieth in loue of our neyghbours for God, and not in faſting, keping of holy dayes, watching, praying, and ſinging longe prayers daily and all day long, hearyng Maſſe, runnyng in pilgrimage. &c. Fol. 52.**

Conferre this article with the ſcripture, & thou ſhalt ſee no hereſie in it.

The place of thys article is this: Thou haſt alwayes occaſion to mortifie thine euyll deſires to ſerue thine neighbour, to cōfort hym, and to helpe hym, with word and deede, with counſell and exhortation, and other ſemblable meanes. In ſuch loue towardes our neighbour for the loue of God, lyeth all the law and the Prophetes (as ſayth Chriſt) yea and all Chriſtianitie: and not in faſting, keeping of holye dayes, watching, ſinging, & long prayers dayly and all day long, hearing of Maſſes, ſetting vp of candels, running on pilgrimages and ſuch other thinges, which aſwel the hipocrites, proude people, enuious, and ſubiect to all wicked affections, do. &c.

27. Article.

27 **Many Doctors in diuinitie, and not onely cōmunē people, beleueth that it is the part of Chriſten faith onely to beleue that Ieſus Chriſt hath liued here in earth. fol. 53. 54.**

To beleue that Chriſt here liued and died, is good: but thys is not the thyng onely that maketh a Chriſten man.
Iam. 2.

The place is this: We beleue that Ieſus Chriſt hath here lyued on earth, and that hee hath preached, and that hee dyed for vs, and dyd manye other thinges. When wee beleue theſe thinges after the ſtory, we beleue that this is our Chriſtē faith. This not onely the ſimple people beleueth, but alſo Doctors in Diuinitie, which are taken for wyſe men. Yea the Deuill hath alſo this fayth, as ſayth S. Iames: The deuills beleue, & they tremble. For as we haue ſayd before, the deuyll beleueth that God is God, and that Ieſus Chriſt hath here preached, that he dyed, was buryed, and roſe agayne. This muſt we alſo beleue: but this is not the fayth whereof ſpeaketh the Goſpell and Saynt Paule. &c.

Of this fayth, and what it is, reade before in the place of the 4. and. 5. articles of this booke, and of the fyrſt article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and the. 9. and. 10. article of the Reuelation of Antichriſt.

28. Article.

28 **Hee that doth good agaynſt his will, he doth euill. Fol. 56.**

The place anſwering to the Article.

The place is this: All good dedes which are not done by loue and good wyll, are ſinne before God, as ſaith Saint Auguſtine. He that doth good againſt his wil, doth euil, albeit that he doth, be good. For that I do againſt my wyll, I hate, and when I hate the commaundement, I hate alſo him that hath commaunded it. &c.

19. Article.

29 **No man doth more then he is bound to do, and therfore no man may make other partakers of theyr good workes. fol. 59.**

Eſai. 64.

The wordes be theſe: The Prophet Eſay ſayth: We are all as an vncleane thing, & all our iuſtice is as it were a filthy cloth, and therefore I can neuer marueill enough, that many of the religious perſons would make other partakers of their good workes, ſeyng that Chriſt ſayth in the goſpell: When ye haue done all thoſe thinges which are commaunded you, ſaye, we are vnprofitable ſeruātes: We haue done but that which was our dutye to do. For none can do to much. None doth more thē he is bound to do: but onely Ieſus Chriſt (which onely as ſayth S. Peter, neuer did ſinne, neither was there deceite found in his mouth) hath done that he was not bound to do: and as the prophet Eſay ſayth, hath taken vpon hym our imfirmities, and borne our ſorrowes: he was wounded for our offences, and ſmitten for our wickednes, and by hys ſtrypes are we made whole. &c.

Whoſoeuer gathereth hereſie of this Article muſt nedes ſhew hymſelfe to be an heretike.
2. Pet.
Eſai. 53.

30. Article.

30 **Chriſt hath gotten heauen by his Paſſion, but that right hath he no nede of, but hath graunted it to all them that beleue in his promiſes. fol. 59.**

Reade the place: Ieſus Chriſt poſſeſſeth the kingdome of heauen by double right. Firſt becauſe he is the ſonne of God, & very inheritour of his kingdome. Secondlye becauſe hee hath gotten it by hys paſſion and death. Of his ſecond right he hath no neede, and therefore he geueth it to all them that beleue and truſt in him and in hys promiſes.

The doctrine of thys Article is ſound.

31. Article.

31 **If God had promyſed vs heauen for our good workes, we ſhould euer be vnſure of our ſaluatiō. fol. 59.**

32. Article.

32 **Be our ſynnes neuer ſo great, that it ſemeth impoſſible to vs to be ſaued, yet without any doubt we muſt beleue to be ſaued. fol. 59.**

The wordes out of the which theſe two articles be gathered, are theſe: If God had promiſed heauen vnto vs becauſe of our workes, we ſhould euer then be vnſure of our ſaluatiō. For we ſhoulde neuer know how much, nor how long we ſhould labour to be ſaued, and ſhoulde euer bee in feare that we had done to litle: and ſo ſhould we neuer dye ioyfully. But God would aſſure vs of heauē by his promiſe, to the entent we ſhould be certayne & ſure, for he is the truth & cā not lye: & alſo to the entent that we ſhould haue truſt & hope in hym. And notwithſtandyng that after the greatnes and multitude of our ſynnes, it ſeeme to vs a thing impoſſible, yet alwayes wee muſt beleue it without anye doubt, becauſe of hys ſure promyſe. And whoſoeuer doth this, he may ioyfully dye and abyde the iudgemēt of God, which els were intolerable. Reade more hereof before in the. 11. article taken out of the wycked Mammon.

The doctrine of theſe wordes be as true as the Goſpell.

33. Article.

33 **If thou loue thy wife becauſe ſhe is thy wyfe, that is no loue before God: but thou ſhalt loue her becauſe ſhe is thy Siſter in God. fol. 83.**

The wordes be theſe: Our Sauiour Chriſt hath commaunded nothing ſo ſtraightly as to loue one an other: yea to loue our enemies alſo. Then how much more ſhoulde the man and wife loue together. But there be but few that know how to loue the one the other as they ought to do. If thou loue thy wyfe onelye becauſe ſhe is thy wyfe, and becauſe ſhe ſerueth & pleaſeth thee after the fleſh, for beutie, byrth, riches, and ſuch like, this is no loue before God. Of ſuch loue ſpeaketh not ſaint Paule. For ſuch loue is among harlots, yea among brute beaſtes: But thou ſhalt loue her becauſe ſhe is thy ſiſter in the Chriſten fayth, and becauſe ſhe is inheritour together with thee of the glory of god, and becauſe ye ſerue together one God, becauſe ye haue receyued together one baptiſme. &c. Thou ſhalt alſo loue her for her vertues, as ſhamefaſtnes, chaſtitie, diligence, ſadnes, pacience, temperance, ſecrecie, obedience, and other godly vertues. &c.

A difference betwene carnal loue and ſpirituall loue: and yet in matrimonye both are neceſſary.

34. Article.

34 **It is nothing but all incredulitie to runne in pilgrimage and ſeeke God in one certayne place, which is like mightie in all places. fol. 62.**

The matter of thys Article is euident to all indifferent and learned iudgementes to bee voyde of all doubt of hereſie.

35. Article.

35 **Men ſhould ſee that their children come to Church to heare the Sermon. fol. 89.**

The place of this article is thys: Of the Feſtiual daies thou ſhalt bryng thy Children to the Church to heare the Sermon, and when thou ſhalt come home, thou ſhalt aſke thē what they haue kept in memory of the Sermon. Thou ſhalt teache them the Chriſten fayth. Thou ſhalt admoniſh them to lyue wel, and to put all their hope and truſt in God, and rather to dye, then to do any thing that is againſt the wyll of God. And principallye thou ſhalt learne thē the contentes of the prayer of our Sauiour Chriſt, called the Pater noſter: that is to ſay, how they haue an other father in heauen, of whom they muſt loke for al goodnes, and without whom they can haue no good thing: And how that they may ſeeke nothing in all their workes, and in all their intentes, but the honour of their heauenly father: And how they muſt deſire that this father would gouerne all that they doe, or deſire: And howe that they muſt ſubmit all to hys holye wyll which can not be but good. &c. Thou ſhalt bye them holeſome bookes, as the holy Goſpel, the Epiſtles of the holy Apoſtles, yea both the new and the old teſtament, that they maye vnderſtand, and drinke of the ſweete fountaine and waters of lyfe.

What meaneth theſe men, trow you, to make this doctrine an hereſie?

36. Article.

36 **Thou ſhalt not vexe or greue by Iuſtice or otherwiſe, the poore that oweth vnto thee: for thou maieſt not do it without ſinne. fol. 97.**

Mat. 5.
Rom. 12.
Heb. 10.

The place is this: Thou ſhalt not vexe or greue by iuſtice. &c. as Chriſt ſayth: reſiſt not euil, but whoſoeuer ſtriketh thee on the right cheeke, turne to hym the other alſo. &c. S. Paule ſayth: Render not euill for euill, and if it be poſſible, as much as is in you, liue in peace with all men, not reuenging your ſelues my welbeloued, but geue place to wrath, for it is written: to me be the vengeaunce, and I will render it, ſayth the Lorde God.

37 Some

37. Article.

37 **Some textes of Canon law ſuffreth warre, but the teachyng of Chriſt forbyddeth all warres. Neuertheles when a Citie is beſieged, or a coũtrey inuaded, the Lord of the countrey is bounde to put hys lyfe in ieopardy for hys ſubiectes. fol.** 118.

38. Article.

38 **So a Lord may vſe horrible warre charitably and Chriſtianly. fol.** 119.

How Chriſtians may warre lawfully.

As touchyng warre, to bee moued or ſtyrred firſt of our partes agaynſt any people or countrey vpon any raſh cauſe, as ambition, malice, or reuenge, the Goſpell of Chriſt geueth vs no ſuch ſworde to fight withall. Notwithſtandyng for defence of countrey and ſubiectes, the Magiſtrate being inuaded or prouoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to doe hys beſt, as the Citie of Marpurgh dyd well in defendyng it ſelfe agaynſt the Emperour. &c.

39. Article.

39 **The Goſpell maketh all true Chriſten men ſeruantes to all the world. fol.** 79.

Extreme wrongyng in this article.

He that compiled this article, craftely to make the matter to appeare more haynous, leaueth out the latter parte, which ſhould expound the other, that is, by the rule of charitie: for that the author addeth wythall. By which rule of charity, & not of office & duty, euery Chriſten man is boũd one to helpe an other, as Chriſt him ſelfe beyng Lord of all, yet of charity was as ſeruant to euery man, to do him good. Reade the place of the ſumme of the Scripture, in the page as in the article it is aſſigned.

40. Article.

40 **The Goſpell is written for all perſonnes, eſtates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. fol.** 112.

They which noted thys Article for an hereſie, I ſuppoſe coulde little tell eyther what God, or what the Scripture meaneth.

41. Article.

41 **When Iudges haue hope that an euill doer will amend, they muſt be alwayes mercyfull, as Chriſt was to the woman taken in aduoutry. The temporall law muſt obey the Goſpell, and them that we may amend by warnyng, we ſhall not correct by iuſtice. fol.** 113.

The purpoſe of the booke, whence this article is wraſted, being wel vnderſtand; intendeth not to binde temporal Iudges and Magiſtrates from due execution of good lawes, but putteth both them, and eſpeciall ſpirituall Iudges, in remembraunce by the example of Chriſt, to diſcerne who be penitent offenders, and who be otherwyſe, and where they ſee euident hope of earneſt repentance & amendment, if they be eccleſiaſticall Iudges, to ſpare thẽ: if they be ciuill Magiſtrats, yet to temper the rigour of the law (as much as they conueniently may) wyth mercyfull moderation, which the Grekes doo call ἐπιεικία.

And thus much hitherto of theſe hereſies and articles collected by the Biſhops, and inſerted in their own Regiſters, out of ẏ bokes aboue ſpecified. The names of the Byſhops and collectors were theſe: Syr Thomas More **Lorde Chauncellour,** William Warrham **Archb. of Cant.** Tonſtall **Byſhop of London,** Steuen Gardiner **Byſhop of Winchester,** Richard Sampſon **Deane of the Chappel,** Rich. Wolman **Maiſter of Requeſtes,** Ioh. Bell, D. Wilſon, **with a great nũber moe, as in the Regiſters doth appeare.** Ex Regiſt. Cant. & Londinenſi.

Truth maliciouſly ſlaundered and depraued of the Papiſtes.

I ſhall not nede I truſty (gentle reader) further here to tary thée with recityng mo places: when theſe already rehearſed may ſuffice for a taſt and a triall for thée ſufficient, to note and conſider how falſely and moſt ſclaunderouſly theſe Catholickes haue depraued, and miſreported the bookes and wrytynges of good men. Who might almoſt gather hereſies aſwell of S. Iohn Goſpell, & S. Paules Epiſtles, as out of theſe places. Thus may we ſée what can not malice do, beyng ſet on miſchief? or what can not the ſpirite of ſpite and cauillyng find out, beyng inflamed with hatred, and blowen with the bellowes of ambition and iniquitie? And as they haue done with theſe, the lyke partes they haue & do practiſe ſtill againſt all other, who ſoeuer in defenſe of truth, dare touch neuer ſo litle either the Popes crowne, or the belyes of his Clergie: for theſe ij. ſores in no caſe they cã abide to be touched. And hereof only commeth all this crying out, hereſie, hereſie, blaſphemie, errour, and ſchiſme. Although the doctrine bée

The popes crowne, & the monkes bellies, two perilous thynges to be touched.

neuer ſo ſounde and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the writer be not ſuch in all poyntes (eſpecially in theſe ij. aboue touched) as wil ſing after their tune, & daunſe after their pype, he is by and by an hereticke, by vertue of their Inquiſition. So did they with the Articles of the learned Earle Ioannes Picus Mirandula. **So dyd they with** Iohn Reucline **or** Capnion. **So dyd they alſo with good** Iohn Colet **here in Englãd. Alſo with the lyke ſpirite of lying and cauillyng, the Catholicke faculties of** Louane, Spayne, **and** Paris, **condemned the workes and wrytynges of** Eraſmus, **and of many moe. So full they are of cenſures, Articles, ſuſpicions, offenſes, Inquiſitions, ſo captious they be in taking, ſo raſhe in iudging, ſo ſclaunderous of reporte, ſo practiſed in deprauyng, miſconſtruyng and wraſtyng true meaninges, into wrong purpoſes. Briefly, ſo pregnant they be in findyng hereſies where none are, that either a man muſt ſay nothyng, or ſerue their deuotion, or els hee ſhall procure their diſpleaſure, that is, ſhall bee déemed for an hereticke. Yea and though no iuſte cauſe of any hereſie be miniſtred, yet where they once take diſlykyng, they will not ſticke ſometymes with falſe accuſations, to preſſe hym with matter, which hee neuer ſpake nor thought. If** Luther **had not ſtyrred agaynſt ẏ Popes pardons & authoritie, he had remained ſtill a white ſonne of ẏ mother Catholike Church, and all had bene well done, what ſo euer hee did. But becauſe he aduentured to touch once the triple crown, what floudes of hereſies, blaſphemies, & articles were caſt out againſt hym, enough to drown a whole world? what lyes and forged crimes were inuented agaynſt hym? Here now commeth** Staphylus **and furious** Surius, **with their fraternitie, and ſaye, that hee learned his Diuinitie of the deuill. Then foloweth an other certeine Chronographer, who in his lying ſtory reporteth moſt falſely that** Luther **dyed of drõkennes. With lyke malice ẏ ſayd Chronographer writeth alſo of** M. Bucer, **falſely affirming vpõ his informatiõ, that he ſhould deny at his death, Chriſt our Meſſias to be come. Whẽ not onely** D. Redman **whiche preached at his buriall, but alſo all Engliſhe men, whiche knew the name of** Bucer, **did know it to be contrary.**

The Popes Church vpholden with lying and cauillyng.

Impudent lyes vpon *M.Luther.*

Ex Gilb. Genebrardo.

M.Bucer moſt ſhamefully ſclaundered.

So was it layd agaynſt one Syngleton **Chapplein ſometyme to Quéene** Anne Bullen, **that hee was the murderer of** Packyngton, **and afterward, that he was a ſtyrrer vp of ſedition and commotion: who alſo ſuffered as a traytour for the ſame. Where in very déede the true cauſe was for nothyng els, but for preachyng the Goſpell vnto the people, whoſe purpoſe was euer ſo farre of from ſtyrryng ſedition, that hee neuer once dreamed of any ſuch matter, as hee him ſelfe declared & proteſted to one** R. Lante **his ſcholer, who is yet alyue and can teſtifie the truth hereof. But this is no newe practiſe amongeſt the** Romiſhe **Byſhops: whereof enough hath bene ſayd before in the ſtorye of Syr** Iohn Oldcaſtle, **and Syr** Roger Acton. &c.

Singleton maliciouſly ſclaundered and condemned of ſedition.

Read afore pag. 677.

An other lyke practiſe of ſuch malicious ſclãder we find alſo in one Meriall **a Bricklayer, whoſe name with his abiuration remaineth yet in ẏ Regiſters of the Byſhop of London.**

Meriall falſely belyed and miſreported of the Papiſtes.

The ſtory is this, and not vnworthy to be remẽbred. In the yeare of our Lord. 1534. **which was about the firſt begynnyng of Quéene** Anne Bullen, **at what tyme Purgatory and ſuch trumperye began to grow in contẽpt,** Stokeſley **Byſhop of London made a Sermon in the Shrudes vpõ the Sonday before May day: Where hee preachyng in the commendation and vertue of Maſſes, declared to the people that for a litle coſt, if they procured Maſſes to be ſayd, wyues might deliuer theyr husbandes, and husbandes their wyues out of the bytter paynes of Purgatory. At this Sermon, beſides many other, was** Tho. Meriall, **a zelous fauourer of gods word: who beyng in the watch on May euen, made relation of theſe wordes of the Byſhop vnto the companie about him. Amongeſt whom then was one** Iohn

Byſhop *Stokeſleyes* Sermon in the Shrudes.

Twyford a furious Papiſte, & who had the ſame tyme the ſettyng vp of the ſtakes in Smithfield, whereat the good Saintes of God were burned.

Twyforde the common tormentor of the Martyrs that ſuffered in Smithfield.

This Twyford which then kept a tauerne & had an olde grudge againſt yͤ ſaid Meriall for ſtriking his boy, hearyng theſe woordes, allured home to his houſe certeine lewed perſons, to the number of x. whoſe names were theſe: Blackewell, Laurence Wilſon, Thomas Clerke, Iohn Duffild, W. Keningham, Tho. Hoſier, Worme a Cutler, Alen Ryſe, with an other whiche was the tēth. Beſide theſe he procured alſo ſecretly M. Chambers Clerke, whoſe name was Bryght. Thus when he had craftely ouercome them with wyne, and made thē to reporte, what wordes he lyſted, and which they knew not them ſelues, the Clerke by and by receaued the ſame in writyng. Whereupon this Article was gathered agaynſt Meriall, that he ſhould hold and affirme, that the Paſſion of Chriſt doth not helpe them whiche came after him, but onely them whiche were in Limbo before: and alſo that hee ſhould ſay, that hys wife was as good, as our Lady. Vpon this writyng of the Notarye, hee was immediatly brought to Biſhop Stokeſley, and there by the depoſition of theſe x. falſe witneſſes, wronfully accuſed, & alſo for the ſame ſhould haue bene condemned, had not Doctour Barret the ſame tyme, bydde him ſpeake one woorde (whiche hee knew not) as the ſentence was in readyng, wherby the condemnation was ſtayd, & he put to do open penaūce and to beare a Fagot. Notwithſtandyng the ſayd Meriall ſware before the Byſhop that he neuer ſpake nor ment any ſuch worde as there was layd vnto him: but onely recited the wordes of the Byſhops Sermon, reportyng the ſame in the perſon of the Byſhop, and not his owne. Whiche alſo was teſtified to be true, by the othes of three other, to wytte, W. Tomſon, Gregory Newman, and W. Wytte, who beyng in the foreſayd watche the ſame tyme, did take vpon their othe before the Byſhop, that his wordes were no other, but as is aboue declared. Which iij. witneſſes yet alſo be liuing, wͭ the wife of the foreſayd Meriall, who wil yet alſo bee ſworne that the ſame is true. Where as contrary the other x. falſe periured witneſſes be all gone, and none of them all remainyng. Of whom moreouer the moſt of all the ſayd x. came to a miſerable end: where as the other iij. whiche teſtified the truth with Meriall, be yet all liuyng, and haue ſene the end of all the other. And as for Twyford, whiche was the executioner to Fryth, Bayfild, Baynham, Tewkyſbery, Lambert, and other good men, he dyed rottyng aboue the ground, that none could abyde hym, and ſo came to a wretched ende. Ex teſtimonio vxoris Meriall, W. Tomſon, Greg. Newman, W. Witte. &c.

Falſe accuſation.

Meriall wrongfully accuſed, and put to penaunce.

Ex teſtimonio teſtium adhuc viuentium.

Gods ſeuere puniſhment vpon falſe perſecuters.

Gods iuſt puniſhment vpō a cruell perſecuter.

Of this malicious and peruerſe dealyng of theſe mē, contrary to all truth and honeſtie, in diffamyng them for heretickes, whiche in deede are none, and with opprobrious raylyng to ſclaunder their cauſe, which is nothing els but the ſimple truth of Chriſtes Goſpel, who ſo lyſteth to ſearch further (if theſe examples hetherto recited do not ſuffice) let hym read the ſtory of Merindoll, and Angrongne pag. 1075. 1087. Let him conſider the furious Bull of Pope Martine pag. 768. The like ſclaunderous Bull alſo of Pope Leo x. with the Edict of Charles the Emperour agaynſt Luther. Alſo let hym ſuruey the railyng ſtoryes of Surius the Monke of Colen, the bookes of Hoſius, of Lindus, the Chronologie of Genebrardus, the ſtorye of Cochlæus againſt the Huſſites and the Lutherans, with the Preface of Conradus Brunus yͤ lawyer prefixed before the ſame, wherein hee moſt falſely and vntruly raylyng agaynſt theſe Proteſtantes, whom he calleth heretickes, chargeth them to be blaſphemers of God and his Saintes, contēners of God and men, Churche robbers, cruell, falſe lyers, crafty deceauers, vnfaythfull promiſe breakers, diſturbers of publicke peace and tranquillitie, corrupters and ſubuerters of common weales, and all els that naught is.

Pope Leo.x. The Edict of *Cæſar,* *Surius Carthuſ.* *Hoſius,* *Lindus,* *Genebrardus,* *Cochlæus,* *Brunus,* agaynſt the Lutherans.

Ex Epiſt. Conrad. Bruni, qua præfatur in hiſt. Cochlei.

In much lyke ſorte was Socrates accuſed of his coūtreymen for a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithſtandyng defendeth. Ariſtides the iuſt lacked not his vniuſt accuſers. Was it not obiected vnto S. Paul that he was a ſubuerter of the law of Moſes, and that we might do euill yͤ good may come thereof? How was it layd to yͤ Chriſtian Martyrs in the primitiue Church for worſhippyng an Aſſes head, and for ſacrificyng of Infantes pag. 81? And to come more neare to theſe our latter dayes, you heard likewyſe how falſely the Chriſtian congregation of Frenchmen gathered together in the night at Paris to celebrate the holy communion, were accuſed of filthie commixtion of men & women together, and the kyng the ſame tyme Henry 2. was made to beleue that beds with pillowes & mattes were foūd there in the flore where they lay together: whereupon the ſame tyme diuers were condemned to the fire and burned pag. 1049. Finally what innocencie is ſo pure, or truth ſo perfect, whiche can be voyde of theſe ſclaunders or criminations, when alſo our Sauiour Chriſt him ſelfe was noted for a wyne drinker, and a common haunter of the Publicanes? &c.

Examples of falſe accuſation.

Act.21. *Rom.3.*

Read aboue pag. 81.

Read aboue pag. 1049.

No truth ſafe from falſe detraction.

Euen ſo likewiſe it pleaſeth our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, to keepe vnder and to exerciſe his Churche vnder the like kynd of aduerſaries now reignyng in the Churche, who vnder the name of the Churche will needes mainteyne a portly ſtate and kyngdome in this world, and becauſe they can not vphold their cauſe by playne Scripture, and the worde of God, they beare it out with facyng, raylyng, and ſclaunderyng, makyng Princes and the ſimple people beleue, that all bee heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, blaſphemers, rebels, and ſubuerters of all authoritie and common weales, who ſoeuer dare reply with any Scripture agaynſt their doynges.

It is written of Nero, that when hee hym ſelfe had burnt the Citie of Rome vj. dayes and vij. nyghtes, hee made open proclamations that the innocent Chriſtians had ſet the Citie on fire, to ſtyrre yͤ people agaynſt them, wherby he might burne and deſtroy them, as rebels and traytors.

Suetonius in Nerone.

Not much vnlike ſemeth the dealyng of theſe religious Catholickes, who whē they be the true heretickes them ſelues, and haue burnt & deſtroyed the Churche of Chriſt, make out their exclamations, Buls, briefes, articles, bookes, cenſures, letters, and Edictes agaynſt the poore Lutherans, to make the people beleue, that they be the heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, diſturbers of the whole worlde. Who if they coulde proue them as they reproue them to be heretickes, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out vpon thē heretickes, and can proue no hereſie: they accuſe them of errour, and can proue no errour: they call them ſchiſmatickes. and what Churche ſince the world ſtode, hath bene the mother of ſo many ſchiſmes, as the mother Churche of Rome? They charge them with diſſenſion and rebellion. And what diſſenſion can be greater, then to diſſent from the Scripture, and worde of God? or what rebellion is like, as to rebell agaynſt the ſonne of God, and agaynſt the will of his eternall Teſtament? They are diſturbers (they ſay) of peace, and publicke authoritie: Whiche is as true, as that the Chriſtians ſet the Citie of Rome on fire. What doctrine did euer attribute ſo much to publicke authoritie of Magiſtrates, as do the Proteſtantes, or who euer attributed leſſe to Magiſtrates, or depoſed moe Dukes, Kynges, and Emperours, then the Papiſtes? They that ſay, that the Byſhop of Rome is no more but the Byſhop of Rome, and ought to weare no crowne, is not by and by a rebell agaynſt his king, & Magiſtrates, but rather a mainteiner of their authoritie, whiche in deede the Byſhop of Rome can not abyde. Briefly, wilt thou ſee whether be the greater heretickes, the Proteſtantes, or the Papiſtes? Let vs try it by a meaſure, and let this meaſure be the glory onely of the ſonne of God, whiche can not fayle.

Papiſtes accuſe the Proteſtantes of hereſie, & they be the heretickes thē ſelues.

A meaſure betwene the Proteſtantes and the Papiſtes to try whether of the two be the greater heretickes.

Compariſon betwen the doctrin of the Papiſtes & of the Proteſtantes.

fayle. Now iudge I beſeche thee, who ſoeuer knoweſt the doctrine of them both, whether of theſe ij. do aſcribe more or leſſe to yͤ Maieſtie of Chriſt Ieſus our kyng & Lord: the Proteſtātes which admitte none other head of the Churche, nor iuſtifier of our ſoules, nor forgyuer of our ſinnes, nor Aduocate to his father but hym alone: Or els the Papiſtes which can abyde none of all theſe Articles, but condemne the ſame for hereſie. Whiche beyng ſo, (as they them ſelues will not deny) now iudge (good reader) who hath ſet the citie of Rome on fire, Nero, or els the Chriſtians.

But to returne agayne to the purpoſe of our former matter, whiche was to ſhew forth the proclamation of the Byſhops for the aboliſhyng of Engliſhe bookes aboue rehearſed, as beyng corrupt and full of hereſie, whiche notwithſtandyng we haue declared to conteine no hereſie, but ſound and holeſome doctrine, accordyng to the perfect worde and Scripture of God:

Here now when the Prelates of the Popes ſide had procured this Edict and proclamation aforeſayd, for the condemnation of all ſuch Engliſhe bookes Printed or vnprinted, which made agaynſt their aduauntage, they triumphed not a litle, weenyng they had made a great hand agaynſt the Goſpell for euer to riſe agayn, and that they had eſtabliſhed their kyngdome for euer, as in dede to all mans thinkyng, it might ſeme no leſſe.

Gods mercifull helpe in tyme of nede.

For who woulde haue thought, after ſo ſtraite, ſo preciſe and ſo ſolemne a proclamation ſet foorth and armed with the kynges terrible authoritie: alſo after the cruell execution of Anne Aſkewe, Lacels and the reſt: Item after the buſye ſearche moreouer and names takyng of many other, of whom ſome were chaſed away, ſome apprehended and layd vp, diuers in preſent perill and expectation of their atachment: who would haue thought (I ſay) otherwyſe poſſible, but that the Goſpell muſt nedes haue an ouerthrow, ſeing what ſure worke the Papiſts here had made, in ſetting vp their ſide, and throwing downe the contrary.

Gods power cōmonly worketh agaynſt mās preſumption.

But it is no new thing in the Lord, to ſhewe hys power againſt mans preſumption, that when he counteth him ſelfe moſt ſure, then he is furtheſt of, and whan he ſuppoſeth to haue done all, then is he new to begyn agayne. So was it in the primitiue church before Conſtantinus time, that when Nero, Domitianus, Maxentius, Decius, and other Emperours impugning the Goſpell and profeſſion of Chriſt, did not onely conſtitute lawes and proclamations againſt the Chriſtians, but alſo did ingraue the ſame lawes in tables of braſſe, myndyng to make all thinges firme for euer and a day: yet we ſee, how wyth a litle turning of Gods hand, all their puiſſant deuiſes, and braſen lawes turned all to wynde and duſt. So little doth it auayle for man to wraſtle agaynſt the Lorde and hys procedinges. Howſoeuer mans building is mortall and ruinous, of brikle bricke, & mouldring ſtones, the Lord neuer taketh in hand to build, that either tyme can waſte, or man can plucke downe. What God ſetteth vp, there is neither power, nor ſtriuing to the contrary. What he entendeth, ſtandeth: what he bleſſeth, that preuaileth. And yet mans vnquiet preſumption wyll not ceaſe ſtyll to erect vp towers of Babel agaynſt the Lord, which the higher they are builded vp, fall with the greater ruine.

Towers of Babell agaynſt the Lorde.

For what can ſtand, that ſtandeth not with the Lord? Which thing as in example of all ages is to be ſene: ſo in this late proclamation diuiſed by the Biſhops, is in like maner exemplified.

Mens deuiſe agaynſt the Goſpel ouerthrowē.

The which proclamation, thoughe it was ſore and terrible for the time, yet not long after, by reaſon of the kinges death (whom the Lord ſhortly therupon tooke to hys mercye) it made at length but a Caſtle come downe. So that where the Prelates thought to make their Iubilie, it turned thē to the Threnes of Ieremy. Such be the admirable workinges of the Lord of hoſtes, whoſe name be ſanctified for euer.

This I doe not inferre for anye other purpoſe, but onely for the workes of the Lord to be ſeene: premoniſhing thee (good Reader) wythall, that as touching the king (who in this proclamation had nothyng but the name onely) here is nothing ſpoken but to hys laud and prayſe.

The praiſe of *K.Henry* the 8.

Who of his owne nature and diſpoſition, was ſo inclinable and forward in all things vertuous and commendable, that the like enterpriſe of redreſſe of Religion, hath not lightly bene ſeene in any other Prince chriſtned: As in aboliſhing the ſtoute and almoſt inuincible authority of the Pope, in ſuppreſſing Monaſteries, in repreſſing cuſtome of idolatry and pilgrimage. &c. Which enterpriſes, as neuer king of England did accompliſh (though ſome beganne to attempt them) before him: ſo yet to this day we ſee but fewe in other realmes dare follow the ſame. If Princes haue alwayes their Counſell about thē, that is but a cōmon thing. If ſome time they haue euyll counſel miniſtred, that I take to bee the fault rather of ſuch as are about them, then of Princes them ſelues. So long as quene Anne, T. Cromwell, B. Cranmer, M. Denny, D. Buts, with ſuch like were about him, and could preuayl with him, what organe of Chriſtes glorye did more good in the Churche then he? As is apparant by ſuche muniments, inſtruments and actes ſet foorth by hym, in ſetting vp the Bible in the church, in exploding the Pope with his vile pardons, in remouing diuers ſuperſtitious ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate orders of Friers and ſectes: in putting Chauntrye Prieſtes to their penſions: in permitting white meate in Lent: in deſtroying pilgrimage worſhip: in abrogating idle & ſuperfluous holy dayes, both by acte publick, and alſo by priuate letters ſent to Boner, tending after thys effect.

Much ſuperſtition purged by K. Henry.

By the king.

The kinges briefe to *Boner.*

Abrogation of holy dayes.

Right reuerent father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well. And whereas conſideryng the manifold incōueniences which haue enſued and dayly do enſue to our ſubiectes by the great ſuperfluity of holy dayes, we haue by the aſſentes and conſents of all you the Byſhops and other notable perſonages of the Clergie of this our Realme, in full congregation and aſſembly had for that purpoſe, abrogated and aboliſhed ſuch as be neither canonicall, ne meete to be ſuffered in a cōmon wealth, for the manifold inconueniences whiche do enſue of yͤ ſame, as is rehearſed: and to the intent our determination therein may be duely obſerued & accompliſhed we haue thought conuenient to commaūde you immediatly vpon the recept hereof, to addreſſe your commaūdementes in our name to all the Curates, religious houſes, & Colledges within your Dioces, with a copye of yͤ Acte made for yͤ abrogatiō of yͤ holy daies aforeſayd, a trāſumpt wherof ye ſhall receaue herewith, commaundyng them and euery of them in no wiſe, either in the Church or otherwiſe, to indict or ſpeake of any of the ſaid dayes and feaſtes aboliſhed, whereby the people might take occaſion either to murmure or to contemne the order taken therin, and to cōtinue in their accuſtomed idlenes, the ſame notwithſtandyng: but to paſſe ouer the ſame with ſuch ſecrete ſilence, as they may haue lyke abrogation by diſuſe, as they haue alreadye by our authoritie in conuocation. And for as much as the tyme of harueſt now approcheth, our pleaſure is, ye ſhall with ſuch diligēce and dexteritie, put this matter in executiō, as it may immediatly take place for yͤ benefite of our ſubiectes at this tyme accordyngly without faylyng, as ye will aunſwere vnto vs for the contrary. Geuen vnder our ſignet at our Monaſtery of Chertſey the xj. day of Auguſt.

K.Henry accordyng as hys Counſell was about him, ſo was he lead.

Thus while good Counſell was about hym, and could be heard, he did much good. So agayne when ſiniſter and wicked Counſaile vnder ſubtile and crafty pretences had gotten once the foote in, thruſtyng truth and veritie out of the Princes eares, how much Religion and all good thinges went proſperouſly forward before, ſo much on the contrary ſide all reuolted backward agayne. Wherupon proceded this proclamation aboue mentioned, concernyng the aboliſhyng and burnyng

nyng of Engliſhe bookes. Whiche proclamation bearyng the name of the kynges Maieſtie, but beyng the very deede of the Biſhoppes, no doubt had done much hurt in the Churche among the godly ſorte, bryngyng them either in to great daunger, or els keppyng them in much blyndnes, had not the ſhortnes of the kynges dayes ſtopped the malignant purpoſes of the foreſayd Prelates, cauſing the kyng to leaue that by death vnto the people, whiche by his life he would not graunt. For within 4. monethes after, the proclamation commyng out in Auguſt, he deceaſed in the begynnyng of Ianuary in the xxxviij. yeare of his reigne. an. 1547. leauyng behynde hym three children, who ſucceded him in his kyngdome, Kyng Edward, Queene Mary, & Queene Elizabeth: of whom it remaineth now to proſecute (by the permiſſion and ſufferaunce of Chriſt our hye Lord and Prince) in the proces of this hiſtory, accordyng as the order of there ſucceſſion, and Actes done by them in the Churche ſhall require, after that firſt I ſhall haue proſecuted certaine other matters by ẏ way, according to my promiſe, here to be inſerted.

¶The death of K. Henry. 8.

An. 1547.

¶The hiſtory touching the perſecutiõ in Scotland, with the names and cauſes of ſuch bleſſed Martyrs, which in the ſame countrey ſuffred for the truth, after the tyme of Patricke Hamelton.

THus hauing finiſhed the tyme and raſe of K. Henry the. viij. it remaineth now according to my promiſe made before, pag. 1410. here to place and adioyne ſo much as hath come to our handes, touching the perſecution of Scotland, & of the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſt, which in that countrey likewyſe ſuffred for the true religion of Chriſt, and teſtimony of their fayth.

Read afore pag. 1410. col. 2.

To procede therfore in the hiſtory of theſe Scotland matters, next after the mention of Dauid Straton and M. Nich. Gurlay, wyth whom we ended before, pag. 1117. the order of time would require next to inferre the memory of Syr Iohn Borthwyke knight, cõmonly called Captaine Borthwyke. Who being accuſed of hereſie (as the Papiſtes call it) and cited therefore an. 1540. and not appearing, and eſcaping out into other countries, was condemned for the ſame being abſent, by the ſentence of Dauid Beaton Archbiſhop of S. Andrews, and other Prelates of Scotland, and all hys goodes confiſcate, and hys picture at laſt burned in the open market place. &c. But forſomuch as the ſtory of hym, wyth hys articles obiected agaynſt him, & hys cõfutatiõ of ẏ ſame, is already expreſſed ſufficiently in ẏ former edition of Actes & Monuments, and becauſe he beyng happely deliuered out of their handes, had no more but onely hys picture burned, referryng the Reader to the booke aboue mentioned, we wyll nowe (the Lord wyllyng) proſecute ſuch other as followed, begynning firſt in order wyth Thomas Forret and hys felowes. Their ſtory is this.

Read before pag. 1117.

Syr Iohn Borthwicke knight, cited and cõdemned of hereſie being abſent, and hys picture burned in Scotland. An. 1540.

Thomas Forret, Prieſt.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	Their Cauſes.
Dauid Beton Byſhop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes. George Treichton Byſhop of Dunkelden.	Th. Forret, Prieſt. Fryer Iohn Kelowe. Fryer Benarage. Duncane Sympſon, Prieſt. Robert Foſter a Gentleman, With iij. or foure other men of Striuelyng, Martyrs.	NOt lõg after the burning of Dauid Straton, and M. Gurlay aboue mentioned in ẏ dayes of Dauid Beaton Byſhop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes, and George Treichton Byſhop of Dunkelden, a cannon of Sainte Colmes Inche and Vicare of Dolone called Deane Thomas Forret, preached euery Sonday to his Pariſheners the Epiſtle or Goſpell, as it fell for the tyme: whiche then was a great noueltie in Scotland, to ſee any man preache excepte a Blacke Frier or a Gray Frier: and therfore the Frieres enuied hym and accuſed hym to ẏ Byſhop of Dunkelden (in whoſe Dioces he remained) as an hereticke and one that ſhewed the miſteries of the Scriptures to the vulgare people in Engliſhe, to make the Clergie deteſtable in the ſight of the people.

The Byſhop of Dunkelden moued by the Friers inſtigation, called the ſayd Deane Thomas and ſayd to hym: My Ioy Deane Thomas, I loue you well, and therefore I muſt geue you my Counſell howe you ſhall rule and guide your ſelfe. To whom Thomas ſayd, I thanke your Lordſhyp hartely: Then the Byſhop began hys Counſaile on this maner:

George Treichton Byſhop of Dũkeldẽ, a perſecuter.

My Ioy Deane Thomas, I am informed that you preache the Epiſtle or Goſpell euery Sonday to your Pariſhners, and that you take not the kow, nor the vpmoſt cloth from your Pariſhners, whiche thyng is very preiudicall to the Church men: and therfore my Ioy Deane Thomas I would you toke your kow and your vpmoſt cloth as other Churche men do, or els it is to much to preache euery Sõday, for in ſo doyng you may make the people thincke that we ſhould preache likewiſe. But it is enough for you, when you finde any good Epiſtle, or any good Goſpell, that ſetteth forth the libertie of the holy church, to preach that, & let ẏ reſt be.

The Deane preacheth, & will take no [illegible] of hys pariſhoners. Ergo, he is an hereticke agaynſt the Popes Catholicke Church.

Thomas aunſwered: my Lord, I thincke that none of my pariſhners will cõplayne that I take not ẏ kow nor the vppermoſt cloth, but wil gladly giue me the ſame together with any other thyng that they haue, and I will geue and communicate with them any thyng that I haue, and ſo my Lord we agree right well, and there is no diſcorde among vs. And where your Lordſhyp ſayth, it is to much to preach euery Sonday: in deede I thincke it to litle, and alſo would wiſhe that your Lordſhyp did the like. Nay, nay, Deane Thomas (ſayth my Lord) let that bee, for we are not ordayned to preache. Then ſayd Thomas, when your Lordſhip byddeth me preach when I finde any good Epiſtle or a good Goſpel, truly my Lord I haue read the new Teſtamẽt and the old, and all the Epiſtles and the Goſpels, and among thẽ all I could neuer finde any euill Epiſtle or any euil Goſpell: but if your Lordſhyp will ſhewe me the good Epiſtle and the good Goſpell, and the euill Epiſtle and euill Goſpell, then I ſhall preache the good and omitte the euill.

It was much in the Popes Church to preach euery Sonday.

The Byſhop of Dunkelden was not ordained to preach.

Then ſpake my Lord ſtoutly and ſaid, I thanke God that I neuer knew what the old and new Teſtament was (and of theſe wordes roſe a Prouerbe whiche is common in Scotland: ye are like the Biſhop of Dunkelden that knew neither new nor old lawe): therfore Deane Thomas, I will knowe nothyng but my portous and my pontificall. Go your way and let bee all theſe fãtaſies: for if you perſeuer in theſe erronious opinions, ye will repent it when you may not mende it.

A prouerbe in Scotland.

Thomas ſayd, I truſt my cauſe bee iuſt in the preſence of God, and therefore I paſſe not much what do folow thereupon, and ſo my Lord and he departed at that tyme. And ſone after, a ſummons was directed from the Cardinall of S. Andrewes and the ſayd Byſhop of Dunkelden vppon the ſayd Deane Thomas Forret, vpõ two blacke Friers called Frier Iohn Kelow, and an other called Benarage, and vpõ one Prieſt of Striuelyng called Duncane Sympſon, & one gentleman called Robert Foſter in Striuelyng, with other iij. or iiij. with them of the Towne of Streuelyng: who at the day of their appearaũce after their ſummonyng were condemned to the death without any place of recantation, becauſe (as was alledged) they were hereſiarkes or chief heretickes and teachers of hereſies, & eſpecially becauſe many of them were at the bridall and mariage of a Prieſt, who was Vicare of Twybodye beſide Striuelyng, and did eate fleſhe in Lent at the ſayd brydall, & ſo they were altogether burnt vpõ the Caſtle hill of Edenbrough, where they that were firſt bound to ẏ ſtake, godly and merueilouſly did comfort them that came behinde.

Thomas Forret, Fryer Iohn Kelow, Fryer Benarage, Duncane Sympſon Prieſt, Robert Foſter [illegible] Striuelyng [illegible]

¶Here

¶ Here followeth the maner of perſecution vſed by the Cardinall of Scotland agaynſt certaine perſons in Perth.

1543.

Proclamation in Scotland permitting the priuate reading of Scripture.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	Their cauſes.
Dauid Beton byſhop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes.	Robert Lambe. W. Anderſon. Iames Húter. Iames Rauelefon. Iames Foúleſon. Hellen Stirke hys wyfe.	FIrſte there was a certayne act of Parliament made in the gouernment of the Lord Hamleton Earle of Arran, & gouernour of Scotland, geuing priuiledge to all men of the Realme of Scotland to reade the Scriptures in their mother toung & language, ſecluding neuertheleſſe all reaſoning, conferēce, cōuocation of people to heare the ſcriptures read or expounded. Whyche libertie of priuate reading being graunted by publicke proclamation, lacked not his owne fruite, ſo that in ſūdry partes of Scotland therby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to ſee the truth, and abhorre the Papiſticall abominations. Amongeſt the which were certayne perſons in Saint Iohnſton, as after is declared.

Blaſphemous doctrine of a Papiſt.

Robert Lambe, Martyr.

At this time there was a Sermon made by Frier Spenſe, in S. Iohnſton, *aliâs* called Perth, affirming prayer made to Saintes to be ſo neceſſarye, that without it there coulde bee no hope of ſaluation to man. Which blaſphemous doctrine, a Burges of the ſayde towne called Robert Lambe, could not abyde, but accuſed him in open audience of erronious doctrine, and adiured him in Gods name to vtter the truth. The which the Frier being ſtricken with feare, promiſed to do, but the trouble, tumult and ſturre of the people encreaſed ſo, that the Frier could haue no audience, and yet the ſayd Robert wyth great daunger of hys lyfe eſcaped the handes of the multitude, namely of the women, who contrary to nature, addreſſed thē to extreme crueltie agaynſt hym.

Robert Lambe in great daunger.

A Papiſt ſet in office.

At this tyme, in the yeare of our Lord. 1543. the enemies of the truth procured Iohn Chartuous, who fauoured the truth, and was Prouoſt of the ſayde Citye and towne of Perth, to bee depoſed from hys office by the ſayde Gouernours authoritie, and a Papiſt called Maiſter Alexander Marbecke to bee choſen in hys rowme, that they myght bring the more eaſely their wicked enterpryſe to an ende.

After the depoſing of the former Prouoſt & election of the other, in the moneth of Ianuary the yeare aforeſayd, on S. Paules day, came to Saint Iohnſton ẏ Gouernour, the Cardinall, ẏ Earle of Argile Iuſtice, Sir Ioh. Campbell of Lunde knyght, & Iuſtice Defort, the L. Borthwyke, ẏ biſhop of Dunblane, & Orkney, with certayn others of ẏ Nobility. And although there were many accuſed for the crime of hereſie (as they terme it) yet theſe perſons were onely apprehended vpon the ſayd Saynt Paules day, Robert Lambe, William Anderſon, Iames Hunter, Iames Rauelefon, Iames Founleſon, and Hellen Stirke hys wyfe, and caſt that nyght in the Spaye Tower of the ſayd City, the morrowe to abyde iudgement.

Robert Lambe, Will. Anderſon, Iames Hunter, Iames Rauelefon, Iames Foúleſon, Hellen Styrke his wife, caſt in priſon.

Vpon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to iudgement in the towne, was layd in generall to all theyr charge, the violating of the act of Parliament before expreſſed, and their conference and aſſamblies in hearing and expoundyng of ſcripture againſt the tenour of the ſayd act. Robert Lambe was accuſed in ſpeciall for interruptyng of the Frier in the pulpyt: which he not onely confeſſed, but alſo affirmed conſtantly, that it was the dutye of no man, which vnderſtode and knewe the truth, to heare the ſame impugned wythout contradiction, and therefore ſundrye whych there were preſent in iudgement, who hyd the knowledge of the truth, ſhould beare theyr burden in Gods preſence for conſenting to the ſame.

Lambe, Anderſon, Rauelefon, for hanging S. Fraunces in a corde.

The ſayd Robert alſo with Willam Anderſon, and Iames Rauelefon were accuſed for hanging vp the Image of Saint Fraunces in a corde, nayling of Rāmes hornes to hys head, and a Cowes rumpe to hys tayle, and for eating of a Gooſe on Alhallow euen.

Iam. Hunter for vſing ſuſpect cōpany.

Iames Hunter being a ſimple man and without learning, and a fletcher by occupation, ſo that he coulde be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet becauſe he often vſed the ſuſpect company of the reſt, hee was accuſed.

Hellen Syrke for calling vpō Ieſus and not our Ladye in childbed.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accuſed, for that in her chyldbed ſhe was not accuſtomed to call vpon the name of the virgin Mary beyng exhorted therto by her neyghbours, but onelye vpon God for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, and becauſe ſhe ſayd in lyke maner, that if ſhe her ſelfe had beene in the time of the virgyne Mary, God myght haue looked to her humility and baſe eſtate, as he dyd to the Virgyns, in makyng her the mother of Chriſt, thereby meaning, that there was no merites in the virgyn, whych procured her that honor, to be made ẏ mother of Chriſt, & to be preferred before other women, but Gods onely free mercye exalted her to that eſtate. Which wordes were counted moſt execrable in the face of the Clergy and whole multitude.

Rauelſon, for ſetting vp in hys houſe a triple crowne of S. Peter.

Iames Rauelefon aforeſayd buildyng a houſe, ſet vpon the round of hys fourth ſtayre the three crowned diademe of Peter carued of tree, whych the Cardinall tooke as done in mockage of hys Cardinals hat, and thys procured no fauour to the ſayde Iames at theyr handes.

Sentence geuen agaynſt them.

Theſe forenamed perſons vpon the morrowe after S. Paules day, were condemned and iudged to death, & that by an Aſſiſe, for violating (as was alledged) the act of Parliament, in reaſoning and conferring vpō ſcriptures, for eating fleſh vpon dayes forbidden, for interrupting the holy Frier in ẏ pulpit, for diſhonoring of Images, and blaſpheming of the virgine Mary, as they alledged.

After ſentence geuen, their handes were bound, and the mē cruelly entreated. Which thing the woman beholding, deſired likewyſe to bee bound by the Sergeantes wyth her huſband for Chriſtes ſake.

There was great interceſſion made by the towne in the meane ſeaſon for the life of theſe perſons forenamed, to the Gouernour, who of hym ſelfe was wylling ſo to haue done that they might haue bene delyuered. But the Gouernour was ſo ſubiect to the appetite of the cruell Prieſtes, that he could not do that whych he would. Yea they manaſed to aſſiſt hys enemies, and to depoſe hym, except he aſſiſted their cruelty.

Cruell prieſtes and vnkinde.

There were certayn prieſtes in ẏ City, who did eate & drinke before in theſe honeſt mens houſes, to whō ẏ Prieſtes were much bounden. Theſe Prieſtes were earneſtly deſired to entreate for theyr Hoſtes, at the Cardinals handes: but they altogether refuſed, deſiring rather their death, then preſeruation. So cruell are theſe beaſtes from the loweſt to the hygheſt.

Then after, they were caryed by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the towne, except they had theyr men of warre) to the place of execution, whych was common to all theeues, and that to make theyr cauſe appeare more odious to the people.

The Martyrdome of theſe good men.

Robert Lambe at the gallowes foote made hys exhortation to the people, deſiring them to feare God, & leaue the leuen of papiſticall abominations, and manifeſtly there prophecied of the ruine and plague which came vpon the Cardinall thereafter. So euery one cōforting an other, and aſſuring them ſelues to ſup together in the kyngdome of heauen that night, commended them ſelues to God, & died conſtantly in the Lord.

The wordes of *Hellen Styrke* to her huſband.

The woman deſired earneſtly to dye wyth her huſband, but ſhe was not ſuffered: yet folowyng hym to yͤ place of execution, ſhe gaue him comfort, exhorting him to perſeuerãce and pacience for Chriſtes ſake, and parting from hym wyth a kyſſe, ſayd on this maner: Huſband, reioyce, for we haue lyued together many ioyful dayes: but this day, in whych we muſt dye, ought to be moſt ioyfull to vs both, becauſe wee muſt haue ioye for euer. Therefore I wyll not byd you good night, for we ſhall ſodaynly meete wyth ioy in the kyngdome of heauen.

Hellen Styrke pluckte frõ her ſucking childe, and drowned for the goſpell.

Ex Regiſtris Scotorum.

The woman after was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit ſhe had a childe ſucking on her breſt, yet thys moued nothyng the vnmerciful hartes of the enemies. So after ſhe had commended her children to the neyghbours of the towne for Gods ſake, and the ſuckyng barne was geuen to the nurſe, ſhe ſealed vp the truth by her death. Ex Regiſtris & inſtrumentis è Scotia miſſis.

¶The condemnation of M. George Wyſehart Gentleman, who ſuffered Martyrdome for the fayth of Chriſt Ieſu at Saint Andrewes in Scotland. anno. 1546. March. 1. with the Articles obiected agaynſt hym, and hys aunſweres to the ſame.

An. 1546.

The examination of *M. George Wyſehart*.

Gods ſpirite geueth boldnes to his ſeruant.

WIth moſt tender affection and vnfayned hart, conſider (gentle Reader) yͤ vncharitable maner of yͤ accuſation of Maiſter George Wyſehart, made by the bloudy enemies of Chriſtes fayth. Note alſo the Articles wherof he was accuſed, by order digeſted, and hys meeke aunſweres, ſo farre as he had leaue and leaſure to ſpeake. Finally, ponder with no diſſembling ſpirit yͤ furious rage, and tragicall cruelnes of the malignant Church, in perſecuting of this bleſſed man of God: and of the contrarye, hys humble, patient, and moſt godly aunſweres, made to them ſodeinly without all feare, not hauyng reſpect to theyr glorious manaſinges and boyſteous threates, but charitably & without ſtoppe aũſwering: not mouyng his countenaunce, nor chaungyng his viſage, as in his accuſation here after folowyng manifeſtly ſhall appeare.

M. George Wyſehart ſummoned out of priſon to appeare.

To the ſayd M. George beyng in captiuitie in the Caſtle of S. Andrewes, the Deane of the ſame Towne, was ſent by the commaundement of the Cardinall, and his wicked counſaile, and there ſummoned the ſayd M. George, that he ſhould vpon the mornyng folowyng, appeare before the Iudge, then and there to geue accoumpt of his ſedicious and hereticall doctrine.

M. George Wyſchartes aunſwere to the Deane that ſummoned hym.

To whom M. George aũſwered, what nedeth (ſaid he) my Lord Cardinal to ſummon me to aunſwere for my doctrine openly before him, vnder whoſe power and dominion I am thus ſtraitly bounde in Irons? May not my Lord compell me to aũſwere of his extort power? Or beleueth hee that I am vnprouided to render a coumpt of my doctrine? To manifeſt your ſelues what men ye are, it is well done that ye kepe your olde ceremonies and conſtitutions made by men.

Vpon the next mornyng, the Lord Cardinall cauſed hys ſeruauntes to addreſſe them ſelues in theyr moſt warlyke arraye, with Iacke, Knapſkall, Splente, Speare and Axe, more ſemyng for the warre, then for the preachyng of the true worde of God.

M. Wyſehart brought again before the Byſhops.

And when theſe armed chãpions marchyng in warlike order, had conueyed the Byſhops into the Abbay Churche, incontinently they ſent for M. George (who was conueyed into the ſayd Church) by the Captayne of the Caſtle, accompanied with an hundreth men addreſſed in maner aforeſayd. Like a lambe lead they him to ſacrifice.

Maiſter *Wyſehart* caſteth hys purſe to a poore man.

As he entred in at the Abbay Churche doore, there was a poore man lying vexed with great infirmities, aſkyng of his almes: to whom he flange his purſe. And when he came before the Cardinal, by and by the Suppriour of the Abbay, called Dane Iohn Wynrime, ſtoode vp in the pulpit and made a Sermon to all the congregation there then aſſembled, takyng hys matter out of the xiij. Chapter of Mathew. Whoſe Sermon was diuided into foure principall partes.

The Sermon of *Ioh. Wynrime*.

The firſt parte was a ſhort and brief declaration of the Euangeliſt.

The ſecond part, of the interpretation of the good ſeede. And becauſe he called the worde of God the good ſeede, and hereſie the euill ſeede, he declared what hereſie was, and how it ſhould be knowen: which hee defined on this maner. Hereſie is a falſe opinion defended with pertinacie, clearely repugnyng the word of God.

Hereſie defined.

The cauſe of hereſie.

The iij. part of his Sermon was the cauſe of hereſie within that Realme, and all other Realmes. The cauſe of hereſie (quoth hee) is the ignoraunce of them whiche haue the cures of mens ſoules, to whom it neceſſarily belongeth to haue the true vnderſtandyng of the worde of God, that they may bee able to wynne agayne the falſe Doctours of hereſies with the ſword of the ſpirite, whiche is the worde of God, and not onely to wynne agayne, but alſo to ouercome them, as ſayth Paul: *A biſhop muſt be faultles, as becõmeth the miniſter of God, not ſtubburne, not angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not geuen to filthy luker, but harberous, one that loueth goodnes, ſober mynded, ryghteous, holy, temperate, & ſuch as cleaueth vnto the true worde of doctrine, that he may be hable to exhorte with wholeſome learnyng, and to improue that which they ſay agaynſt hym.*

Tit. 1.

The meanes to know heretickes.

The Goſpell was of letting the tares to growe vnto harueſt.

The fourth part of his Sermon was how hereſies ſhould be knowen. Hereſies (quoth he) be knowen on this maner. As the Goldſmith knoweth the fine Gold frõ the vnperfecte, by the touchſtone: ſo likewiſe maye we knowe hereſie by the vndoubted touchſtone: that is, the true, ſincere, and vndefiled worde of God. At the laſt he added, that heretickes ſhould be put downe in this preſent life. To whiche propoſition the Goſpel appeared to repugne, whiche he entreated of: *Let them growe vnto the harueſt*: the harueſt is the ende of the world. Neuertheleſſe he affirmed that they ſhould be put downe by the Ciuill Magiſtrate and law. And when hee ended his Sermon: incontinẽtly they cauſed M. George to aſcend into the pulpit, there to heare his accuſatiõ and articles. And right againſt him ſtoode by, one of the fed flocke, a monſter, Ioh. Lauder, laden full of curſinges written in paper. Of yͤ which he tooke out a roll, both long and alſo full of curſinges, threates, maledictions, and wordes of deuiliſh ſpite and malice, ſaying to the innocent M. George, ſo many cruell and abominable wordes, and hit him ſo ſpitefully with the Popes thunder, that the ignoraũt people dreaded leaſt the earth then would haue ſwalowed hym vp quicke. Notwithſtandyng hee ſtoode ſtill with great pacience, hearyng their ſayinges, not once mouyng or chaũgyng hys countenaunce.

Iohn Lauder, accuſer.

The way to feare the ignoraunt.

The fruites of their charitie.

When that this fed ſow, had read thorowout all his lying manaſinges, his face rũnyng downe with ſweat, and frothyng at his mouth lyke a boare, he ſpitte at M. Georges face, ſaying: what aunſwereſt thou to theſe ſayings, thou runnagate, traitor, theef, which we haue duely proued by ſufficient witnes agaynſt thee? M. George hearyng this, kneeled downe vpõ his knees in the pulpite, makyng his prayer to God. When hee had ended hys prayer, ſweetely and Chriſtianly he aunſwered to them all in this maner.

¶Maſter George his aunſwere.

M. Wyſeharts aunſwere.

MAny and horrible ſayinges vnto me, a Chriſtian man, many wordes abominable for to heare, ye haue ſpoken here this day. whiche not onely to teach, but alſo once to thinke I thought euer great abomination. wherfore I pray your diſcretions quietly to heare me, that ye may know what were my ſayinges, and the maner of my doctrine. This my petition (my Lordes) I deſire to be hard for three cauſes.

Three cauſes why Maiſter Wyſehart deſerued to be heard.

The firſt is, becauſe thorow preachyng of the worde of God, his glory is made manifeſt. It is reaſonable therfore, for the auauncyng of the glory of God, that ye heare me teachyng truely the pure worde of God without any diſſimulation.

The 2. cauſe.

The ſecond reaſon is, becauſe that your health ſpryngeth of the worde of God: for hee worketh all thyng by hys word. It were therfore an vnrighteous thyng, if ye ſhould ſtoppe your eares from me, teachyng truly the worde of God.

The 3. cauſe.

The third reaſon is, becauſe your doctrine vttereth many blaſphemous and abominable woordes, not comming of the inſpiration of God, but of the deuill, with no leſſe perill then of my life. It is iuſt therfore and reaſonable your diſcretions to know what my wordes and doctrine are, and what I haue euer taught in my tyme in this realme, that I periſhe not vniuſtly, to the great perill of your ſoules. wherfore both for the glory and honour of God, your owne health, and ſauegarde of my lyfe, I beſeche your diſcretions to heare me, and in the meane tyme I ſhall recite my doctrine without any colour.

M.Wyſeharte's doctrine.

First and chiefly, ſince the time I came into this Realme, I taught nothyng, but the x. commaundementes of God, the xij. Articles of the faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother toũg. Moreouer, in Dundie I taught the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Romaines. And I ſhall ſhewe your diſcretions faythfully what faſhion and maner I vſed when I taught, without any humaine dread, ſo that your diſcretions geue me your eares beneuolente and attente.

Sodenly then with an high voyce cried the accuſer, the fed ſow: thou hereticke, runnagate, traitour and theefe, it was not lawfull for thee to preach. Thou haſt taken the power at thine own hand, wythout any authority of the church. We forethinke that thou haſt ben a Preacher ſo long. Then all the whole congregation of the Prelats wyth their complices, ſaid theſe wordes: If we geue hym licence to preach, hee is ſo craftye, and in the holy ſcripture ſo exerciſed, that he wyll perſwade the people to hys opinion, and rayſe them agaynſt vs.

The cry of the ſcribes and Phariſees.

Maiſter George ſeing their malicious and wicked entent, appealed from the Lord Cardinall to the Lord Gouernour, as to an indifferent and equall Judge. To whom the accuſer Iohn Lauder aforeſayde, wyth hoggiſh voyce anſwered: Is not my Lorde Cardinall the ſecond perſon wythin thys realme, Chauncelour of Scotland, Archb. of S. Andrewes, Biſhop of Meropois, Commendator of Aberbrothoke, Legatus natus, Legatus a latere? and ſo reciting, as many tytles of hys vnworthy honors, as woulde haue loden a ſhyp, much ſooner an Aſſe, is not he (quoth Iohn Lauder) an equall Judge apparantly vnto thee? Whom other deſireſt thou to be thy Judge?

Maiſter Wyſehart appealeth to the Gouernour.

The ſtile & titles of the Archb. of S. Andrewes.

To whom this humble man aunſwered, ſaying: I refuſe not my Lord Cardinall, but I deſire the woorde of God to be my Judge, and the temporall eſtate, with ſome of your Lordſhips mine auditors, becauſe I am here my Lord Gouernours priſoner. Whereupon the prideful and ſcornefull people that ſtode by, mocked hym ſaying: Such man, ſuch Judge, ſpeaking ſedicious and reprochfull wordes agaynſt the Gouernour and other the Nobles, meaning them alſo to be heretickes. And incontinent wythout all delaye they woulde haue geuen ſentence vpon Maiſter George, and that without farther proceſſe, had not certayne men there counſelled the Cardinall to reade agayne the articles, and to heare hys aunſwers thereupon, that the people might not complayn of hys wrongful condemnation.

The wordes of the people agaynſt the Lord Gouernour.

And ſhortly to declare, theſe were the articles folowing wyth hys aunſwers, as far as they would geue him leaue to ſpeake. For when he entended to mitigate their leaſinges, and ſhew the maner of his doctrine, by and by they ſtopped his mouth with an other article.

1. Article.

1 Thou falſe hereticke, runnagate, traitour, and theefe, deceiuer of the people, thou deſpiſeſt the holy Church, & in like caſe conteneſt my lord Gouernours authority. And this we know for ſurety, that when thou preachedſt in *Dundy*, and waſt charged by my Lord Gouernours authority to deſiſt: neuertheles thou wouldeſt not obey, but perſeueredſt in the ſame: and therefore the Biſhop of *Brothen* curſed thee, and deliuered thee into the Deuyls handes, and gaue thee in commaundement that thou ſhouldeſt preach no more. That notwithſtanding thou dyddeſt continue obſtinatelye.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, I haue read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, that it is not lawfull to deſiſt from the preachyng of the Goſpell for the threates and manaſes of men. Therefore it is written: We ſhall rather obey God then men. I haue alſo read in the Prophet Malachie: I ſhall curſe your bleſſinges, and bleſſe your curſinges, beleuing firmlye, that the Lord will turne your curſings into bleſſings.

Act. 5.

Malach. 2.

2. Article.

2 Thou falſe hereticke dydſt ſaye, that the Prieſt ſtandyng at the altar ſaying Maſſe, was like a Foxe wagging his tayle in Iulye.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes I ſayd not ſo. Theſe were my ſayinges: The mouing of the body outward, without the inward mouing of the hart, is nought els, but the playing of an Ape, and not the true ſeruing of God: for God is a ſecrete ſearcher of mens harts. Therefore who wyll truly adore and honour God, he muſt in ſpirite and veritye honour hym. Then the accuſer ſtopped hys mouth wyth an other article.

3. Article.

4 Thou falſe hereticke preachedſt againſt the ſacraments, ſaying: that there were not vij. ſacramentes.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, and it be your pleaſures, I neuer taught of the number of the Sacramentes, whether they were ſeuen or eleuen. So many as are inſtituted by Chriſt, and are ſhewed to vs by the Euangel, I profeſſe openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirme nothing.

Of the 7. Sacramentes.

4. Article.

4 Thou falſe hereticke, haſt openly taught, that auriculer confeſſion is not a bleſſed Sacrament. And thou ſayeſt that we ſhould onely confeſſe vs to God, and to no Prieſt.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, I ſay that auricular confeſſion, ſeing that it hath no promeſſe of the Euangel, therfore it cannot be a ſacrament. Of the confeſſion to be made to God, there are many teſtimonies in ſcripture, as when Dauid ſaith: I thought I woulde knowledge my iniquitie agaynſt my ſelf vnto the Lord, and he forgaue the puniſhment of my ſinne. Pſal. 32. Here cõfeſſion ſignifieth the ſecrete knowledging of our ſinnes before God. When I exhorted the people in this maner, I reproued no maner of confeſſion. And farther S. James ſaith: Knowledge your faultes one to an other, and pray one for an other that you may bee healed. When that he had ſaid theſe wordes, the biſhops & their complices cried and grinned with their teeth, ſaying: Se ye not what colors he hath in his ſpeaking, that he may begile vs and ſeduce vs to his opinion?

Confeſſion what it is, and to whom it ought to be made.

Iames. 5.

5. Article.

5 Thou hereticke dydſt ſay openly, that it was neceſſary to euery man, to know and vnderſtand his baptiſme, and what it was, contrarye to generall Councels and the ſtates of holy Church.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, I beleue there be none ſo vnwiſe here, that will make marchandiſe with a French man, or any other vnknowen ſtraunger, except he know and vnderſtand fyrſt the condition or promiſe made by the French mã or ſtraunger. So likewiſe I would ỹ we vnderſtode what thing we promiſe in the name of the Infant vnto God in Baptiſme. For this cauſe I beleue ye haue confirmation. Then ſayd Maiſter Bleiter Chaplen, that hee had the Deuil within him, and the ſpirite of errour. Thẽ aunſwered hym a Chylde, ſaying: the Deuill can not ſpeake ſuch wordes as yonder man doth ſpeake.

Baptiſme, how neceſſary it is to bee knowen of all men.

Confirmation wherfore it ſerueth.

Ex ore infantium.

6. Article.

6 Thou hereticke, traitour, and theefe, thou ſaideſt that the Sacrament of the aultar was but a peece of bread baken vpon the aſhes, and no other thing els, and all that is there done, is but a ſuperſticious rite againſt the commaundemẽt of God.

Aunſwere.

Oh Lord God, ſo manifeſt lyes and blaſphemies the ſcripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the altar (my Lords) I neuer taught any thing agaynſt the ſcripture, the whych I ſhall (by Gods grace) make manifeſt this day, I being readye therefore to ſuffer death.

The Papiſtes reproued of lyers and miſreporters.

The lawfull vſe of this ſacrament is moſt acceptable

The lawfull vſe of the Sacrament of the altar.

vnto God: but the great abuſe of it is very deteſtable vnto hym. But what occaſion they haue to ſay ſuch wordes of me, I ſhal ſhortly ſhew your Lordſhips. I once chaũced to meete wyth a Iewe, when I was ſayling vpon the water of Rhene. I did enquire of hym what was the cauſe of his pertinacy, that he did not beleue that the true Meſſias was come, conſidering that they had ſeene all the Prophecies which were ſpoken of him, to bee fulfilled. Moreouer, the prophecies taken away, and the ſcepter of Iuda, by many other teſtimonies of the ſcripture, I vanquiſhed him that Meſſias was come, yͤ whych they called Ieſus of Nazareth. Thys Iew aunſwered agayne vnto me, when Meſſias commeth, he ſhall reſtore all thinges, and he ſhall not abrogate the law, which was geuen to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we ſee the poore almoſt periſh thorow hunger amongeſt you: yet you are not moued with pitye towardes them: but amonge vs Iewes (though we be pore) there are no beggers found.

The ſtorye of a Iewe.

The principall cauſes which ſtoppe the Iewes from Chriſtianitie.

Images.

Secondarely, it is forbidden by the law, to fayne any kinde of Imagery of thinges in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneath, or in the ſea vnder the earth: but one God onely to honour: but your Sanctuaries and Churches are full of Idols.

The Sacrament of the altar.

Thirdly, a peece of bread baken vpon the aſhes, ye adore and worſhip, and ſay, that it is your God. I haue rehearſed here but the ſayinges of the Iew, which I neuer affirmed to be true. Then the biſhops ſhooke theyr heades, and ſpitted on the earth, and what he ment in this matter farther, they would not here.

7. Article.

7 Thou falſe hereticke didſt ſay, that extreme vnctiõ was not a ſacrament.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, forſoth I neuer taught anye thyng of extreme vnction in my doctrine, whether it were a Sacrament or no.

8. Article.

8 Thou falſe heretick ſaydeſt that holy water is not ſo good as waſh, and ſuch like. Thou condẽneſt coniuring, and ſayeſt that holy churches curſynges auaile not.

Aunſwere.

My Lords, as for holy water, what ſtrength it is of, I taught neuer in my doctrine. Coniuringes and exorciſmes, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them: but in ſomuch as they are not conformable to the commaundement and word of God, I reproue them.

9. Article.

9 Thou falſe hereticke and runnagate, haſt ſayd that euery lay man is a Prieſt, and ſuch lyke. Thou ſayeſt that the Pope hath no more power, then any other man.

Aunſwere.

Apoc. 1. & 5.

1. Pet. 2.

My Lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I haue read in ſome places in S. Iohn and S. Peter, of the whych one ſayth: he hath made vs kinges and prieſtes. The other ſayth: he hath made vs a kingly Prieſthode. Wherefore I haue affirmed that any man being cunning in the word of God, & the true fayth of Ieſu Chriſt, hath hys power geuen him from God, and not by the power or violence of mẽ, but by the vertue of the word of God, the which word is called yͤ power of God, as wytneſſeth S. Paule euidently enough. And again, I ſay that any vnlearned man, not exerciſed in the word of God, nor yet conſtant in his fayth, whatſoeuer eſtate or order he be of, I ſay he hath no power to binde or looſe, ſeing hee wanteth the inſtrument, by the which he bindeth or looſeth, that is to ſay, the woord of God.

Rom. 1.

The inſtrument to binde and loſe.

After that he had ſayd theſe wordes, all the Biſhops laughed and mocked him. When that hee behelde theyr laughing: Laugh ye (ſaith he) my Lords? Though that theſe ſayings appeare ſcornfull and worthye of deriſion to your Lordſhips, neuertheles they are very wayghty to me, and of a great value, becauſe that they ſtande not onely vpon my life, but alſo the honor and glory of God. In the meane time many godly men beholding yͤ woodnes and great crudelitye of the biſhops, and the inuincible pacience of maiſter George, did greatly mourne and lament.

10. Article.

10 Thou falſe hereticke ſaydeſt, that a mã hath no free will. But is like to the Stoikes, whiche ſay, that it is not in mans will to do any thyng, but that all concupiſcence and deſire commeth of God, what ſo euer kynde it be of.

Aunſwere.

Iohn. 8.

My Lordes, I ſayd not ſo truly, I ſay, that as manye as beleue in Chriſt firmely, vnto them is geuen liberty, conformable to the ſaying of S. Iohn. *If the Sonne make you free, then ſhall ye verely be free.* Of the contrary, as manye as beleue not in Chriſt Ieſu, they are bond ſeruantes of ſynne. *He that ſinneth, is bond to ſinne.*

11. Article.

11 Thou falſe hereticke ſayeſt, it is as lawfull to eate fleſhe vpon the Friday as on Sonday.

Aunſwere.

Tim. 1.

Eating of meates.

The creature doth not ſanctifie without the worde.

Pleaſeth it your Lordſhips, I haue read in the Epiſtles of S. Paule, that who is cleane, vnto hym al things are cleane. Of the contrary, to the filthye men all thinges are vncleane. A faythfull man cleane and holy, ſanctifieth by the word, the creature of God. But the creature maketh no man acceptable vnto God. So that a creature may not ſanctifie any impure and vnfaithfull man. But to the faithfull man, all thinges are ſanctified by the prayer of the word of God. After theſe ſayinges of maiſter George, then ſayd all the biſhops with their complices: what nedeth vs any wytnes againſt him? hath he not openly here ſpoken blaſphemy?

12. Article.

12 Thou falſe hereticke doeſt ſay, that we ſhould not praye to Saintes, but to God onely. Say whether thou haſt ſayd this or no: ſay ſhortly.

Aunſwere.

To honour one God is certaine.

Math. 4.

For the weakenes and the infirmity of the hearers, he ſayd without doubt plainly that Saintes ſhould not be honoured. My Lordes (ſayd he) there are two thinges worthye of note. The one is certaine, the other vncertaine. It is found plainly and certaine in ſcripture, that we ſhould worſhip and honor one God, according to the ſaying of the fyrſt commaundement: Thou ſhalt onelye woorſhip and honor thy Lorde God, wyth all thy hart. But as for praying to, and honoring of Saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they heare or no, inuocation made vnto them. Therfore I exhorted al men equally in my doctrine, that they ſhould leaue the vnſure way, and follow that way, which was taught vs by our maiſter Chriſt. He is our onely mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for vs to God his father. Hee is the doore by the which we muſt enter in. He that entreth not in by this doore, but climeth an other waye, is a theefe and murtherer. Hee is the veritye and lyfe. Hee that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but hee ſhall fall into the mire: yea verely is fallen into it already. Thys is the faſhion of my doctrine, the which I haue euer followed. Verelye that whych I haue heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And nowe ye ſhall wytnes the ſame, if your Lordſhips wyll heare me. Except it ſtand by yͤ word of God, I dare not be ſo bold to affirme anye thyng. Theſe ſayinges he rehearſed diuers times.

The ſure way is to be followed.

13. Article.

13 Thou falſe hereticke haſt preached playnely, ſaying that there is no Purgatory, and that it is a fayned thyng, any man after this lyfe to be puniſhed in Purgatory.

Aunſwere.

Purgatory not once named in Scripture.

My Lordes, as I haue oftentymes ſayd heretofore, without expreſſe witnes and teſtimony of the Scripture I dare affirme nothyng. I haue oft and diuers tymes read ouer the Bible, and yet ſuch a terme foũde I neuer, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was aſhamed euer to teach of that thyng, whiche I could not finde in the Scripture. Then ſayd he to Maſter Iohn Lauder his accuſer: If you haue any teſtimony of the Scripture by the whiche ye may proue any ſuch place, ſhew it now before this auditorye. But this dolte had not a worde to ſay for hym ſelfe, but was as dumme as a betle in that matter.

14. Article.

14 Thou falſe hereticke haſt taught playnely agaynſt the vowes of Monkes, Friers, Nunnes and Prieſtes, ſaying: that who ſoeuer was bounde to ſuch lyke vowes, they vowed thẽ ſelues to the eſtate of damnation: Moreouer, that it was lawfull for Prieſtes to mary wyues, and not to lyue ſole.

Prieſtes mariage.

Aunſwere.

Math. 19.

Three kindes of chaſt men.

The danger of [illegible] chaſtitie.

Of ſoth (my Lordes) I haue read in the Euangell, that there are iij. kyndes of chaſte men. Some are gelded from their mothers wombe: ſome are gelded by men: and ſome haue gelded them ſelues, for the kyngdome of heauen ſake. Verely I ſay, theſe men are bleſſed by the Scripture of God. But as many as haue not the gifte of chaſtitie, nor yet for the Euangel, haue not ouercome the concupiſcence of the fleſhe, and haue vowed chaſtitie: ye haue experience, althoughe I ſhould hold my peace, to what inconuenience they haue vowed them ſelues. Whẽ he had ſaid theſe wordes, they were all dumme, thinking better to haue tenne cõcubines, then one maryed wife.

15. Article.

15 Thou falſe hereticke and runnagate ſayeſt, thou wilt not obey our generall, nor prouinciall Councels.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, what your generall Councels are, I know not, I was neuer exerciſed in them: but to the pure worde of God I gaue my labours. Read here your generall Councels, or els geue me a booke wherein they are contayned, that I may read them. If that they agree with the worde of God, I will not diſagree. Then the rauenyng wolues turned into woodnes & ſaid, wherfore let we him ſpeake any further? Read forth the reſt of the Articles and ſtay not vpon them. Among theſe cruell Tygers, there was one falſe hipocrite, a ſeducer of the people called Iohn Grayfind Scot, ſtandyng behynde Iohn Lauders backe, haſtyng him to read the reſt of the Articles, and not to tary vpon his witty and godly aunſweres: For we may not abyde them (quoth he) no more then the deuill may abyde the ſigne of the Croſſe, when it is named.

They riſe apace to ſhedde bloud.

Iohn Graiſinde Scot, an haſtye butcher to hys ſlaughter.

16. Article.

16 Thou hereticke ſayeſt, that it is vayne to builde to the honour of God, coſtly Churches, ſeyng that God remayneth not in the Churches made by mens handes, nor yet God cã be in ſo litle ſpace as betwixt the Prieſtes handes.

Aunſwere. *3.Reg.8.* *Iob.11.*

My Lordes, Salomon ſaith: If that the heauen of heauens can not comprehẽd thee, how much leſſe this houſe, that I haue builded? And Iob conſenteth to the ſame ſentence: Seyng that he is higher then the heauens, therfore what canſt thou builde vnto him? He is deper then hell, then how ſhalt thou know him? Hee is longer then the earth, & broder then ỹ Sea. So that God can not be cõprehẽded into one place, becauſe that he is infinite. Theſe ſayinges notwithſtandyng, I ſayd neuer that Churches ſhould be deſtroyed. But of ỹ contrary I affirmed euer, ỹ Churches ſhould be ſuſtained & vpholdẽ, that the people ſhould be congregated into them, there to heare of God. And moreouer, where ſoeuer is true preachyng of the worde of God, and the lawfull vſe of the Sacramentes, vndoubtedly there is God him ſelfe. So that both theſe ſayinges are true together: God can not be comprehended into any place, and whereſoeuer there are ij. or three gathered in his name, there is he preſent in the middeſt of them. Then ſayd hee to his accuſer, if you thinke any otherwiſe then I ſay, ſhewe forth your reaſons before this auditory. Thẽ he without all reaſon beyng dumme, and not aunſweryng one worde, proceded forth in hys Articles.

Wherunto Churches ſhoulde ſerue.

17. Article.

17 Thou falſe hereticke contemneſt faſtyng, and ſayeſt thou ſhouldeſt not faſt.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, I finde that faſtyng is commended in the Scripture: therfore I were a ſclaunderer of the Goſpell, if I contemned faſtyng. And not ſo onely, but I haue learned by experience, that faſtyng is good for the health of the body. But God knoweth who faſteth the true faſt.

True faſting hee alloweth.

18. Article.

18 Thou falſe hereticke haſt preached openly, ſaying that the ſoule of man ſhall ſlepe to the latter day of iudgement, & ſhall not obtayne lyfe immortall vntill that day.

Aunſwere.

God full of mercy and goodnes forgeue them that ſayth ſuch thynges of me. I wot and know ſurely by the woorde of God, that hee whiche hath begon to haue the faith of Ieſu Chriſt and beleueth firmely in him, I know ſurely that the ſoule of that mã ſhall neuer ſlepe, but euer ſhall lyue an immortall lyfe. The whiche lyfe from day to day is renued in grace and augmented: nor yet ſhall euer periſh, or haue an end, but euer immortall ſhall liue with Chriſt. To the whiche lyfe all that beleue in hym ſhall come and reſt in eternall glory. Amen.

The faythfull ſoule ſhall neuer ſleepe.

When the Byſhops with their complices had accuſed this innocent man in maner and forme aforeſayd, incontinently they condemned him to bee burnt as an hereticke, not hauyng reſpect to his godly aunſweres and true reaſons whiche hee alledged, nor yet to their owne conſciences, thinkyng verely that they ſhoulde do to God good ſacrifice, conformable to the ſayinges of S. Iohn: *They ſhall excõmunicate you: yea, and the time ſhall come that he which killeth you, ſhall thinke that he hath done to God good ſeruice.*

Iohn.16.

The Prayer of Maſter George.

The prayer of Maiſter George *Wyſehart* for the congregation of God.

O Immortall God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the woodnes and great crudelitie of the vngodly to exerciſe their fury vpon thy ſeruauntes whiche do further thy worde in this world, ſeyng they deſire to be cõtrary, that is to choke & deſtroy thy true doctrine & veritie, by the which thou haſt ſhewed thy ſelfe vnto the world, which was all drowned in blindnes and miſknowledge of thy name. O Lord we know ſurely that thy true ſeruauntes muſt needes ſuffer for thy names ſake, perſecution, affliction and troubles in this preſent lyfe, whiche is but a ſhadowe, as thou haſt ſhewed to vs by thy Prophets and Apoſtles. But yet we deſire thee hartely, that thou conſerue, defende, and helpe thy congregation, whiche thou haſt choſen before the beginnyng of the worlde, and geue them thy grace to heare thy worde, and to bee thy true ſeruauntes in this preſent lyfe.

Then by and by, they cauſed the common people to voyde away, whoſe deſire was alwayes to heare that innocent man to ſpeake. Then the ſonnes of darknes pronounced their ſentence definitiue, not hauyng reſpect to the iudgement of God. When all this was done and ſayd, the Cardinall cauſed his warders to paſſe again with ỹ meke Lambe into ỹ Caſtle, vntil ſuch time as the fire was made ready. When hee was come into the Caſtle, then there came ij. Gray feendes, Frier Scotte and his mate, ſaying: Sir ye muſt make your confeſſion vnto vs. He aũſwered and ſayd: I wil make no confeſſion vnto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confeſſion vnto him. Then they ſent for the Suppriour of the Abbey, who camẽ to him withall diligence. But what hee ſayd in this confeſſion I can not ſhewe.

When the fire was made ready and ỹ gallowes at ỹ Weſt part of ỹ Caſtle nere the Priory, the Lord Cardinall dreadyng that M. George ſhould haue bene takẽ away by his frendes, commaunded to bende all the ordinaunce of the Caſtle right agaynſt that part, and commaunded all his gunners to bee ready and ſtand beſide their gunnes, vnto ſuch tyme as hee were burned. All this beyng done, they bound Maſter Georges handes behind his backe, and lead him forth with their ſouldiours from the Caſtle to the place of their wicked execution. As hee came forth of the Caſtle gate, there mette him certayne beggers aſkyng his almes for Gods ſake. To whom hee aunſwered, I wante my handes where with I ſhould geue you almes: but the mercifull Lord, of his benignitie and aboundaunce of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchſafe to geue you neceſſaries both vnto your bodyes & ſoules. Then afterward met him two falſe fiendes, I ſhould ſay Friers, ſaying. M. George, pray to our Ladye, that ſhe may be mediatrix for you to her ſonne. To whom he aunſwered mekely: Ceaſe, tempte me not my brethren. After this hee was lead to the fire with a rope about his necke, and a chaine of Iron about his middle.

M. Wyſehart prayeth for the reliefe of the poore.

M. Wyſehart aũſwereth the Friers temptyng hym.

When that he came to the fire, he ſat downe vppon his knees, and roſe agayne, and thriſe hee ſayd theſe wordes: O thou Sauiour of the world haue mercy on me. Father of heauen I commende my ſpirite into thy holy handes. When he had made this prayer, hee turned him to the people and ſayd theſe wordes:

I beſeche you Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, that ye bee not offended in the worde of God for the affliction and tormentes, whiche ye ſee already prepared for me. But I exhorte you that ye loue the worde of God, and ſuffer patiently and with a comfortable harte for the wordes ſake, whiche is your vndoubted ſaluation and euerlaſtyng comfort.

The wordes and exhortation of *M. Wyſehart* at hys death to the people.

Moreouer, I pray you ſhew my brethren and ſiſters, which haue heard me oft before, that they ceaſe not, nor leaue of ỹ worde of God, whiche I taught vnto thẽ after the grace geuen vnto me, for no perſecutions or troubles in this world, whiche laſteth not: and ſhewe vnto them that my doctrine was no wyues Fables after the cõſtitutions made by men. And if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten great thankes by mẽ. But for the wordes ſake and true Euãgell, whiche was geuen to me by the grace of God, I ſuffer this day by mẽ, not ſorowfully, but with a glad hart and minde. For this cauſe I was ſent, that I ſhould ſuffer this fire for

The conſtant pacience of this good man.

Chriſtes ſake. Conſider and behold my viſage, ye ſhall not ſée me chaūge my colour. This grimme fire I feare not. And ſo I pray you for to do, if that any perſecution come vnto you for the wordes ſake, and not to feare them that ſlay the body, and afterward haue no power to ſlay the ſoule. Some haue ſayd of me that I taught, that the ſoule of mā ſhould ſlepe vntill the laſt day. But I know ſurely and my faith is ſuch, that my ſoule ſhall ſuppe with my Sauiour Chriſt this night, or it bée vj. houres: for whom I ſuffer this. Then hée prayed for them whiche accuſed him, ſaying: I beſeche thée (father of heauen) to forgeue thē that haue of any ignoraunce, or els of any euill mynde, forged any lyes vppon me. I forgeue them withall my hart. I beſeche Chriſt to forgeue them that haue condemned me to death this day ignorauntly.

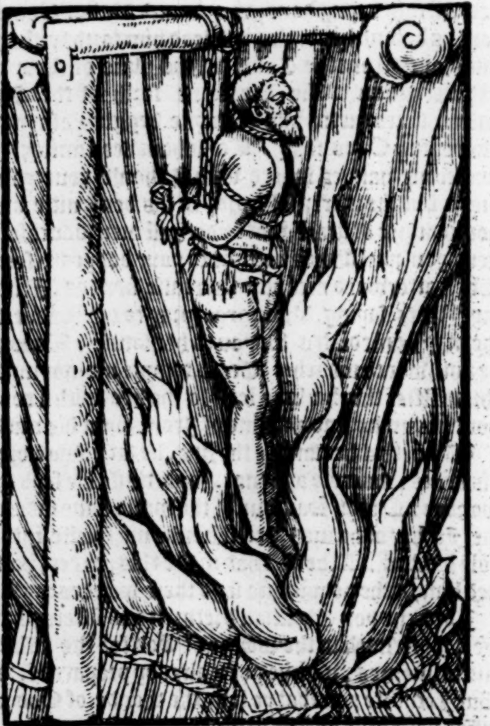
M. George Wyſehart prayeth for his enemyes and forgeueth thē.

And laſt of all, hée ſayd to the people on this maner: I beſeche you brethren and ſiſters to exhorte your Prelates to the learnyng of the worde of God, that they at the laſt may bée aſhamed to do euill and learne to do good. And if they will not conuert them ſelues frō their wicked errour, there ſhall haſtly come vpon them the wrath of God, which they ſhall not eſchew. Many faithfull wordes ſaid he in the meane tyme, takyng no héede or care of the cruell tormentes whiche were then prepared for him.

M. George Wyſehart propheſieth of the death of the Cardinall, which followed after.

And laſt of all, the hange man that was his tormentor ſatte downe vppon his knées, and ſayd: Syr I pray you forgeue me, for I am not giltye of your death. To whō he aunſwered: come hether to me. When that he was come to him, he kiſſed his chéeke, & ſaid: Loe here is a token that I forgeue thée. My hart do thine office:

¶ *The Martyrdome of M. George Wiſehart.*



The Martyrdome of *M. George Wyſehart* Gentleman and Martyr.

and by and by, he was put vppon the Gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to pouder. When that the people beheld the great tormentyng, they might not withhold from pitious mournyng and complaynyng of this innocent Lambes ſlaughter.

¶ A note of the iuſt puniſhment of God vpon the cruell Cardinall Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, named Dauid Beaton.

IT was not long after the martyrdome of the bleſſed man of God M. George Wiſehart aforeſayd, who was put to death by Dauid Beaton, yͤ bloudye Archb. and Cardinall of Scotland, as is aboue ſpecified, an. 1546. yͤ firſt day of March, but yͤ ſaid Dauid Beaton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, by the iuſte reuenge of Gods mighty iudgement, was ſlayne wythin his own caſtle of S. Andrewes by the handes of one Lech and other gentlemen, who by the Lord ſtyrred vp, brake in ſodaynly into hys caſtle vpon him, and in his bed murdered hym the ſame yeare, the laſt day of May, crying out: Alas, alas, ſlay me not, I am a Prieſt. And ſo lyke a Butcher he lyued, & like a Butcher he dyed, & lay 7. monethes & more vnburied, & at laſt like a carion buried in a dūghill. an. 1546. Maij vlt. Ex hiſtor. impreſſa.

The iuſte iudgement of God vppon *Dauid Beaton*, a bloudy murtherer of Gods ſainctes.

The death of *Dauid Beaton* Archb. of S. Andrewes.

After this Dauid Beaton, ſucceded Iohn Hamelton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, an. 1549. who to yͤ entent that he would in no waies appeare inferiour to his predeceſſor in augmenting the number of the holy Martyrs of God, in the next yeare following called a certayn poore man to iudgement, whoſe name was Adam Wallace. The order and maner of whoſe ſtorye here foloweth.

Iohn Hamelton Archb of S. Andrewes.

Iohn Hamelton a perſecutour.

¶ The ſtory and Martyrdome of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

THere was ſet vpon a ſcaffolde made harde to the Chauncelary wall of the blacke Friers Church in Edinbrough on ſeates made therupon, the Lord Gouernour. Aboue him at his backe ſat Maiſter Gawin Hamilton Deane of Glaſgue, repreſenting yͤ Metropolitane Paſtor therof. Upon a ſeat on hys ryght hand ſatte the Archb. of S. Andrewes. At his backe, and aſide ſomwhat, ſtood yͤ Officiall of Lowthiane. Next to the biſhop of S. Andrewes, yͤ B. of Dumblane, the biſhop of Murray, the Abbot of Dunfermling, the Abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of lower eſtimation, as the Officiall of S. Andrewes and other Doctours of that neſt and citie. And at the other ende of the ſeate ſatte the Maiſter Vchiltrie. On his leaſt hand ſatte the Earle of Argyle Iuſtice, wyth hys Deputy Syr Iohn Campbell of Lundy vnder hys feete. Next hym the Earle of Huntly. Then yͤ Earle of Anguiſh, yͤ Biſhop of Gallaway, the Pretor of S. Andrewes, yͤ B. of Orknay, yͤ L. Forbes, Dane Iohn Wynrime Supprior of S. Andrewes, & behinde the ſeates ſtoode the whole ſenate, the Clarke of the Regiſter, &c.

Adam Wallace, Martyr.

The condemnation of *Adam Wallace* a poore man.

Conuenerūt ſcribe & Phariſei aduerſus dominū, & aduerſus Chriſtum eius.

At the further end of the Chauncelarye wall in the Pulpit was placed M. Iohn Lauder Parſon of Marbottle accuſer, clad in a Surplice, and a red hood, and a great Congregation of the whole people in the bodye of the Church, ſtanding on the ground. After that, Syr Iohn Ker Prebendary of S. Giles church was accuſed, conuicted, and condemned, for the falſe making and geuing forth of a ſentence of diuorce, and therby falſly deuorced and parted a man and hys lawfull wyfe in the name of the Deane of Roſcalrig and certayne other Iudges appoynted by the holy Father the Pope. Hee graunted the falſhood, and that neuer anye ſuch thyng was done in deede, nor yet ment nor moued by the foreſayd Iudges, & was agreed to be baniſhed the realmes of Scotland and England for hys lyfe tyme, & to loſe hys right hand, if he were found or apprehended therin hereafter, and in the meane tyme to leaue hys benefices for euer, and they to be vacant.

Barabas let go, and Chriſt taken and crucified.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a ſimple poore man in appearance, conueyed by Iohn of Cunnoke ſeruant to the B. of S. Andrewes, and ſet in the myddeſt of the ſcaffold, who was commaunded to loke to the accuſer: who aſked him what was hys name. He anſwered, Adam Wallace. The accuſer ſayd, he had an other name, whych he graunted, and ſayd hee was commonly called Feane. Then aſked he wher he was borne? Wythin two myle of Fayle (ſayd he) in Kyle. Then ſayd the accuſer, I repent that euer ſuch a poore man as you ſhould put theſe noble Lordes to ſo great encombrance thys day by your vayne ſpeaking. And I muſt ſpeake (ſayd he) as god geueth me grace, and I beleue I haue ſayd no euyll to hurt any body. Would God (ſaid the accuſer) ye had neuer ſpoken, but you are brought forth for ſo horrible crimes of hereſie, as neuer was

Adam Wallace brought before the Scribes and Phariſes.

Iohn Lauder his accuſer.

Adam Wallace otherwiſe named *Iohn Feane*.

was imagined in this countrye of before; and ſhall be ſufficiently proued, that ye can not deny it: and I forethinke that it ſhould be heard, for hurting of weake conſciences. Now I wyll ye, thee no more, and thou ſhalt heare the poyntes that thou art accuſed of.

The Sacrament of the popiſhe altar.

Adam Wallace, *alias* Feane; thou art openly delated ⁊ accuſed for preachyng, ſaying ⁊ teaching of the blaſphemies and abominable hereſies underwritten. In the firſt thou haſt ſaid and taught, that the bread and wyne on the altar, after the wordes of conſecration, are not the body and bloud of Jeſu Chriſt. He turned to the Lord Gouernour, and Lordes aforeſayd, ſaying: I ſaid neuer, nor taught nothing, but that I found in this boke and writ (hauyng there a Bible at his belte, in French, Dutch and Engliſh) which is the worde of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and hys word be Judge to me and thys hys holy wryt, here it is, and where I haue ſayd wrong, I ſhall take what puniſhment you wyll put to me: for I neuer ſayde nothyng concernyng this that I am accuſed of, but that whych I found in thys wryt.

The doctrine of Adam Wallace touchyng the Sacrament of the Lordes body.

What diddeſt thou ſay, ſayd yͤ accuſer? I ſaid (quoth he) that after our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt had eaten the Paſcall Lambe in hys latter Supper wyth hys Apoſtles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the olde lawe; hee inſtituted a new Sacrament in remembraunce of hys death then to come. He toke bread, hee bleſſed, and brake it, and gaue it to hys Diſciples, and ſayd: *Take ye, eate ye, thys is my body, which ſhall be broken and geuen for you: And likewyſe the cuppe, bleſſed, and badde them drinke all thereof, for that was the cup of the new teſtament, whych ſhould be ſhed for the forgeuing of many. How oft ye doo thys, doo it in my remembraunce.*

Math. 26.

Then ſayd yͤ B. of S. Andrewes, and the Official of Lowthiane, wyth the Deane of Glaſgue, and many other Prelates: We know this wel enough. The earle of Huntly ſayd: thou aunſwereſt not to that which is laid to thee: ſay either nay or yea therto. He anſwered, if ye wyll admit God ⁊ hys word ſpoken by the mouth of hys bleſſed ſonne Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour, ye wyll admit that I haue ſayd: for I haue ſayde or taught nothing, but that the word, which is the trial and touchſtone ſayth, whych ought to be Judge to me, and to all the world.

The Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes ſpeaketh.

The Earle of Huntly ſpeaketh.

Why (quoth the Earle of Huntly) haſt thou not a Judge good enough? and troweſt thou that we knowe not God and hys word? Aunſwer to that is ſpoken to thee: and then they made the accuſer ſpeake the ſame thyng ouer agayne. Thou ſaydeſt (quoth the accuſer) and haſt taught, that the bread and wyne in the Sacrament of the altar, after the wordes of the conſecration, are not the body ⁊ bloud of our Sauior Jeſus Chriſt.

He aunſwered: I ſayde neuer more then the wryt ſayth, nor yet more then I haue ſayde before. For I know well by S. Paule when he ſayth: *Whoſoeuer eateth thys bread, & drinketh of thys cup unworthely, receaueth to hym ſelfe damnation.* And therefore when I taught (whych was but ſeldome, and to them onely which required and deſired me) I ſayd, that if the Sacrament of the altar were truly miniſtred, and uſed as the Sonne of the lyuing God did inſtitute it, where that was done, there was God hym ſelfe by hys diuine power, by the whych he is ouer all.

1. Cor. 11.

The biſhop of Orkney aſked him: Beleueſt thou not (ſayd he) that the bread and wyne in the Sacramēt of the altar, after the wordes of the conſecration, is the very body of God, fleſh, bloud, and bone?

He aunſwered: I wot not what that woord conſecration meaneth. I haue not muche Latin, but I beleue that the Sonne of God was conceaued of the holy Ghoſt, and borne of the virgin Mary, and hath a naturall bodye wyth handes, feete, and other members, and in the ſame bodye he walked up and downe in the world, preached, and taught, hee ſuffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, deade, and buried, and that by hys godly power he rayſed that ſame bodye agayne the thyrd day: and the ſame bodye aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the ryght hand of the father, whych ſhall come agayne to iudge both the quicke and dead. And that thys bodye is a naturall bodye wyth handes and feete, and can not be in two places at once, he ſheweth well hym ſelfe: For the whych euerlaſtyng thankes bee to hym that maketh thys matter cleare. When the woman brake the oyntment on him, aunſwering to ſome of hys diſciples which grudged therat, he ſayd: *The poore ſhall you haue alwaies with you, but me ſhall you not haue alwayes*, meanyng of hys naturall body. And likewyſe at hys aſcenſion ſayde he to the ſame Diſciples that were fleſhly, and woulde euer haue had hym remaynyng wyth them corporally: *It is needefull for you that I paſſe awaye, for if I paſſe not away, the comforter the holy Ghoſt ſhal not come to you* (meaning that hys naturall body behoued to be taken away from them): *But be ſtout and of good chere, for I am wyth you unto the worldes end.*

Adam Wallace anſwereth by hys Crede.

Chriſtes naturall body can not be in two places at once.

Math. 26.

Iohn. 16.

Math. 28.

Iohn. 16.

And that yͤ eating of his very fleſh profiteth not, may well be knowē by hys wordes which he ſpake in yͤ vi. of Iohn, where after that he had ſayd: *Except ye eate my fleſh and drinke my blould, ye ſhall not haue lyfe in you:* they murmuring thereat, he reproued them for their groſſe and fleſhly taking of his wordes, and ſayd: *What will ye thinke when ye ſee the ſonne of man aſcend to the place that it came fro? It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing*, to be eaten as they toke it, ⁊ euen ſo take ye it.

The eatyng of the very fleſhe of Chriſt profiteth nothyng.

Iohn. 6.

It is an horrible hereſie, ſayd the biſhop of Orknay. When he began to ſpeake againe, and bad the Lord Gouernour iudge if he had right by the wryt, the accuſer cryed: Ad ſecundam. Nunc ad ſecundam, aunſwered the Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes.

The B. of *Orknay* ſpeaketh.

Then was he biddē to heare yͤ accuſer, who propoũded the ſecond article, and ſayde: Thou ſaydedſt lykewyſe, and openly dydſt teach, that the Maſſe is verye idolatrie, and abominable in the ſight of God.

The ſecond article agaynſt *Adā Wallace.*

Hee aunſwered and ſayd: I haue read the Bible and worde of God in iij. tounges, and haue underſtand them ſo farre as God gaue me grace, and yet read I neuer that word Maſſe in it all: but I found (ſayd he) that the thyng that was higheſt and moſt in eſtimation amongeſt men, and not in the worde of God, was Idolatrye, and abominable in the ſight of God. And I ſay the Maſſe is holden greatly in eſtimation, and hye amongeſt men, and is not founded in the word, therfore I ſayd it was Idolatrie and abominable in the ſight of God. But if any man will finde it in the Scripture, and proue it by Gods worde, I will graunt myne errour, and that I haue fayled: otherwiſe not, and in that caſe I will ſubmit me to all lawfull correction and puniſhement. Ad tertiam, ſayd the Archbyſhop.

Aunſwere.

The Maſſe not found in Scripture.

Argument.

Then ſayd the accuſer: Thou haſt ſayd and openly taught that the God which we worſhip, is but bread, ſowen of corne, growing of the earth, baked of mens handes, and nothing els.

The thyrd Article.

He aunſwered, I worſhip the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, thrée perſons in one Godhead, whiche made and faſhioned the heauen and earth and all that is therin of naught, but I know not whiche God you worſhyp: and if you will ſhewe me whom you worſhyppe, I ſhall ſhewe you, what hee is, as I can by my iudgement.

Aunſwere.

The Popes God.

Beleueſt thou not (ſayd the accuſer) that the Sacrament of the altar, after yͤ wordes of the cōſecration betwixte the Prieſtes hādes, is the very body and bloud of the ſonne of God, and God him ſelf? What the body of God is, ſaid he, ⁊ what kinde of body he hath, I haue ſhewed you, ſo farre as I haue found in Scripture.

Then ſayd the accuſer, thou haſt preached, ſayd, and openly taught diuers and ſondry other great errours and abominable hereſies agaynſt all the vij. Sacramentes, whiche for ſhortnes of tyme I pretermit and ouer paſſe. Whether doeſt thou graunt thy foreſayd

Articles that thou art accuſed of, or no, and thou ſhalt heare them ſhortly: and then repeted the accuſer the iij. Articles aforeſayd ſhortly ouer, and aſked him whether he graunted or denyed them.

The wordes of *Adã Wallace* to the Lorde Gouernour and the lordes.

Heb. 10.

Hee ſayd hee had aunſwered ſufficiently before: & that he ſayd nothing, but agréeyng to ẏ holy worde as he vnderſtode, ſo God iudge him, & his owne cõſcience accuſe him, & therby would hée byde vnto the tyme hée were better inſtructed by Scripture, and the contrary proued, euen to the death: and ſaid to the Lord Gouernour & other Lordes: if you condemne me for holding by Gods worde, my innocent bloud ſhalbe required at your handes, when ye ſhalbe brought before the iudgement ſeate of Chriſt, who is mightie to defend my innocent cauſe, before whom ye ſhall not deny it, nor yet be able to reſiſte his wrath: to whom I referre the vengeaunce, as it is written: *Vengeaunce is myne, and I will rewarde.*

Sentence of condemnation geuen agaynſt *Adam VVallace.*

Syr Hew Terrye an impe of Sathan.

Fryers ſent to inſtructe *Adam VVallace.*

Then gaue they forth ſentence, and condemned him by the lawes, and ſo left him to the ſecular power, in the handes of Syr Iohn Campbell Iuſtice deputie, who deliuered hym to the Prouoſt of Edenbrough to be burnt on the Caſtle hill, who incontinent made him to bée put in the vppermoſt houſe in the towne with Irons about his legges and necke, and gaue charge to Sir Hew Terrye to kéepe the key of the ſayd houſe, an ignoraunt miniſter and impe of Sathan, and of the Byſhops, who by direction, ſent to the poore man two Gray Friers to inſtruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soone after that, was ſent in ij. Blacke Friers, an Engliſhe Frier, and an other ſubtile ſophiſter called Arbirtromy, with the whiche Engliſhe Frier hée would haue reaſoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures. Who aũſwered, he had no cõmiſſion to enter in diſputation with him, and ſo departed and left him.

The Deane of *Roſcalrige* ſent to *Adam VVallace.*

Then was ſent to him a worldly wiſe man, and not vngodly in the vnderſtandyng of the truth, the Deane of Roſcalrige, who gaue him Chriſtiã conſolation, amongeſt the which hee exhorted him to beleue the realtie of the Sacrament after the conſecration. But hée woulde conſent to nothing that had not euidence in the holy Scripture, and ſo paſſed ouer that night in ſinging, & lauding God to the eares of diuers hearers, hauing learned the Pſalter of Dauid without booke, to his conſolation: For before they had ſpoyled him of his Bible, whiche allwayes till after he was condemned, was with him, where euer he wẽt. After that, Syr Hew knew that he had certain bookes to read and comfort his ſpirite, who came in a rage and tooke the ſame from him, leauing him deſolate (to his power) of all conſolation, and gaue diuers vngodly and iniurious prouocations by his deuiliſhe venome, to haue peruerted him a poore innocent, from the pacience and hope he had in Chriſt his Sauiour: but God ſuffered him not to bée moued therewith, as playnly appeared to the hearers and ſéers for the time.

The bookes of the good man taken from hym.

So all the next mornyng abode this poore man in Irons, & prouiſion was cõmaunded to bée made for his burning agaynſt the next day. Whiche day the Lord gouernour, and all the principall both ſpirituall and tẽporall Lordes departed from Edenbrough to their other buſines.

The Deane commeth agayne to *Adam VVallace.*

After they were departed, came ẏ Deane of Roſcalrige to him agayne and reaſoned with him after his witte. Who aũſwered as before, he would ſay nothing cõcerning his faith, but as the Scripture teſtifieth, yea though an Aungell came from heauen to perſuade him to the ſame: ſauing that hée confeſſed him ſelfe to haue receaued good conſolation of the ſayd Deane in in other behalfes, as becommeth a Chriſtian.

Syr Hew Terrye commeth agayne to *Adam VVallace.*

Then after came in ẏ ſayd Terrye again & examined him after his olde maner, and ſayd, hée would garre deuils to come forth of him ere euen. To whõ he aunſwered: you ſhould be a godly mã to geue me rather conſolation in my caſe. When I knewe you were come, I prayed God I might reſiſte your temptations, whiche, I thanke him, he hath made me able to doe: therfore I pray you let me alone in peace. Then hée aſked of one of the Officers that ſtode by, is your fire makyng ready? Who tolde him it was. He aunſwered, as it pleaſeth god: I am ready ſoone or late, as it ſhall pleaſe him: and then he ſpake to one faithfull in that company, and bad him cõmend him to all the faithfull, beyng ſure to méete together with them in heauen. From that tyme to his forth cõming to the fire, ſpake no man with him.

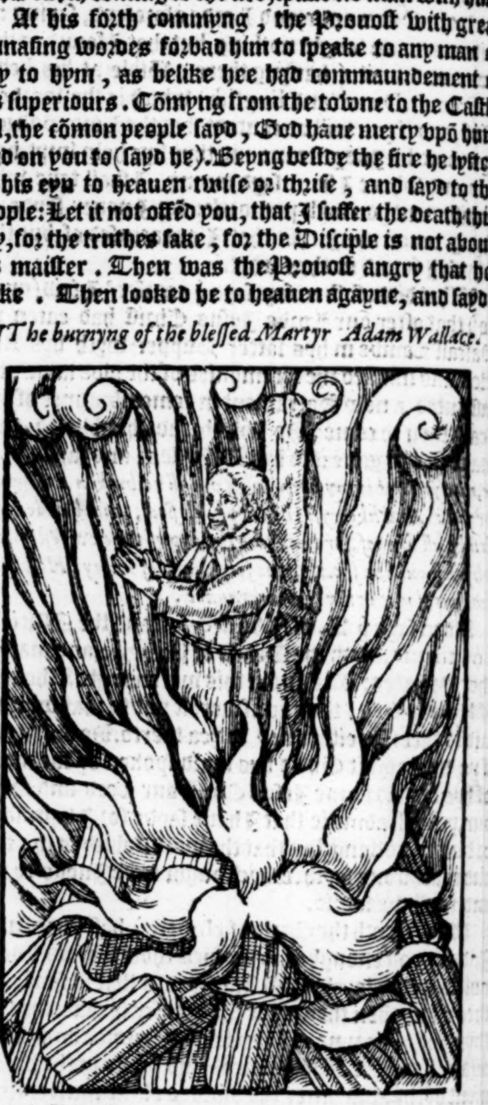
The Prouoſte of *Edenbrough* forbiddeth hym to ſpeake to any man.

The wordes of *Adam Wallace* to the people.

The conſtant Martyrdome of *Adam Wallace.*

At his forth commyng, the Prouoſt with great manaſing wordes forbad him to ſpeake to any man or any to hym, as belike hee had commaundement of his ſuperiours. Cõmyng from the towne to the Caſtle hill, the cõmon peeple ſayd, God haue mercy vpõ him. And on you to (ſayd he). Beyng beſide the fire he lyfted vp his eyn to heauen twiſe or thriſe, and ſayd to the people: Let it not offẽd you, that I ſuffer the death this day, for the truthes ſake, for the Diſciple is not aboue his maiſter. Then was the Prouoſt angry that hée ſpake. Then looked he to heauen agayne, and ſayd: They will not let me ſpeake. The corde beyng about his necke, the fire was lighted, and ſo departed hée to God conſtantly, and with good countenaunce to our ſightes. Ex teſtimonijs & literis è Scotia petitis. an. 1550.

¶*The burnyng of the bleſſed Martyr Adam Wallace.*



The ſchiſme that aroſe in Scotland for the Pater noſter.

A ſchiſme in Scotland by a ſermon of *Richard Merſhal* a blacke fryer, preaching that the Pater noſter ſhould not be ſayd to Saintes.

After that Richard Merſhall Doctour of Diuinitie and Priour of the Blacke Friers at the new Caſtle in England, had declared in his preachynges at S. Andrewes in Scotland, that the Lordes Prayer (commonly called the Pater noſter) ſhould be done only to God and not to Saintes, neither to any other creature: the Doctours of the Vniuerſitie of S. Andrewes together with the Gray Friers, who had long agoe taught the people to pray the Pater noſter to Saintes, had great indignation that their olde doctrine ſhould be repugned, and ſtirred vp a Gray Frier called Frier Toittis, to preach agayne to ẏ people that they ſhoulde and might pray the Pater noſter to Saintes. Who findyng no parte of the Scripture to founde his purpoſe vpon, yet came to the pulpit, the firſt of Nouember, beyng the feaſt day of Allhallowes. an. 1451. and tooke the text of the Goſpell for that day read in their Maſſe, written in the 5. of Mathew, containing theſe wordes: *Bleſſed are the poore in ſpirite, for to them pertayneth the kingdome of heauen.*

Math. 5.

The doctrine of the Papiſtes howeth that the *Pater noſter* may be ſaid to Saintes, and why.

Blaſphemous doctrine, agaynſt the glory and name of God.

A Fryerly gloſing vpon the *Pater noſter*.

This feeble foundation beyng layd, the Frier begã to reaſon moſt impertinently, that the Lordes Prayer might be offred to Saintes: becauſe euery petitiõ therof appertained to them. For if we meete an old man in the ſtreete (ſaid he) we will ſay to him: Good day father, and therfore much more may we call the Saintes our fathers: and becauſe we graunt alſo that they be in heauen, we may ſay to euery one of thẽ: *Our father whiche art in heauen.* Farther, God hath made their names holy, & therefore ought we as followers of God to holde their names holy, & ſo we may ſay to any of yͤ Saintes: *Our father which art in heauen hallowed be thy name.* And for the ſame cauſe, ſayd yͤ Frier, as they are in the kingdome of heauẽ, ſo that kyngdome is theirs by poſſeſſiõ: and ſo praying for yͤ kingdome of heauẽ, we may ſay to thẽ & euery one of thẽ: *Thy kingdome come.* And except their will had bene yͤ very will of God, they had neuer come to that kingdome, and therfore ſeyng their will is Gods will, we may ſay to euery one of them: *Thy will be done.*

The Fryers ſophiſtrye here fayled hym.

But when the Frier came to yͤ fourth petition touchyng our dayly bread, hee began to bee aſtoniſhed and aſhamed, ſo that hee did ſweate aboundantly, partly becauſe his ſophiſtrie began to faile him, not findyng ſuch a colour for that part as for the other whiche went before: and partly becauſe hee ſpake agaynſt his owne knowledge and conſcience, and ſo was compelled to confeſſe that it was not in the Saintes power to geue vs our dayly bread, but that they ſhould pray to God for vs (ſayd he) that we may obtaine our dayly bread by their interceſſion, and ſo gloſed hee the reſt to the ende. Not ſtandyng yet contẽt with this deteſtable doctrine, he affirmed moſt blaſphemouſly, that S. Paules napkin and S. Peters ſhadowe dyd miracles, and that the vertue of Eliſeus cloke deuided the waters, attributyng nothyng to the power of God: with many other errours of the Papiſtes, horrible to be heard.

A Scottiſhe prouerbe.

Vppon this folowed incontinent a daungerous ſchiſme in the Church of Scotland: for not onely the Clergie, but the whole people were deuided among them ſelues, one defẽding the truth, & an other the Papiſtrie, in ſuch ſort, that there roſe a prouerbe: To whõ ſay you your Pater noſter? And although the Papiſtes had yͤ vpper hand as then, whoſe wordes were almoſt holden for law (ſo great was the blindnes of that age) yet God ſo inſpired the hartes of the common people, that ſo many as could get the vnderſtandyng of the bare wordes of the Lordes Prayer in Engliſh (whiche was then ſayd in Latin) vtterly deteſted that opinion, holding that it ſhould in no wiſe be ſayd to Saints: So that the craftes men & their ſeruantes in their boothes, whẽ the Frier came, exploded him with ſhame inough, crying, Frier Pater noſter, Frier Pater noſter, who at the laſt beyng conuict in his owne conſcience and aſhamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leaue the towne of S. Andrewes.

Fryer Pater noſter driuen out of S. Andrewes.

M. Dauid Gaw and M. Tho. Heruy, two procuratours.

In the meane tyme of this brute, there were two Paſquils ſet on the Abbay Church, the one in Latine bearyng theſe wordes.

Doctores noſtri de Collegio,
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod Sancti ſunt ſimiles altiſſimo:
Et ſe tuentur grauatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad inſtantiam fiſcalis,
Gaw & Heruy non varij
In premiſſis connotarij.

The other in Engliſh, bearyng theſe wordes.

Doctors of Theologie, of foure ſcore of yeares,
And olde iolye Lupoys the balde gray Friers,
They would be called Rabbi *and* Magiſter noſter,
And wot not to whom they ſay their Pater noſter.

Diſputation in Scotland to whom they ſhold ſay their *Pater noſter*.

Pater noſter to bee ſayd to God *formaliter*, and to Sainctes *materialiter*.

Vltimatè to God, *non vltimatè* to Sainctes.

Principaliter to God, *minus principaliter* to Sainctes.

Primariè to God, *ſecundariè* to Sainctes.

Strictè to God: *largè* to Sainctes.

Shortly, the Chriſtians were ſo hotly offended, and the Papiſts on the other ſide ſo proud and wilful, that neceſſarye it was, to eſchewe greater inconueniences that the Clergye at leaſt ſhoulde bee aſſembled to dyſpute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the Vniuerſitie agreed, whoſoeuer had bene preſent, might haue heard much ſubtile ſophiſtry. For ſome of the Popiſhe Doctors affirmed, that it ſhould be ſayd to God formaliter, & to Saintes materialiter. Others vltimatè, & non vltimatè. Others ſayd it ſhoulde be ſayd to God principaliter, and to Saintes minus principaliter. Others, that it ſhould be ſayd to God primariè, and to Saintes ſecundariè. Others, that it ſhould be ſayd to God capiendo ſtrictè, and to Saints capiendo largè. Which vaine diſtinctiõs being heard and conſidered by the people, they that were ſimple, remayned in greater doubtfulnes then they were in before: ſo that a well aged man, and ſeruant to the Supprior of S. Andrewes, called the Supprioꝛs Thome, being demaunded to whom he ſayd hys Pater noſter: he aunſwered, to God onely. Then they aſked againe what ſhould be ſayd to the Saintes, he aũſwered, giue them Aues and Credes enough in the Deuils name, for that maye ſuffice them well inough: albeit they doo ſpoyle God of hys ryght. Others making their vauntes of the Doctors, ſayde, that becauſe Chriſt (who made the Pater noſter) neuer came into the Ile of Brittaine, and ſo vnderſtood not the Engliſh tong, therfore it was that the Doctors concluded it ſhould be ſayd in Latin.

The aunſwere of an olde man, to whom they ſhould ſay their *Pater noſter*.

A doctorly reaſon why the *Pater noſter* ſhould be ſayd in Latine.

The Coũcel of *Edenbrough* could not agree to whom they ſhould ſay their *Pater noſter*.

The Papiſtes maintain their cauſe with lies and rayling, when reaſon lacketh.

Thys perturbation and open ſclaunder yet depending, it was thought good to call a principall Councel to decide yͤ matter. Which being aſſembled at Edenbrough, the Papiſts being deſtitute of reaſon, defended their partes with lies, alledging that yͤ Vniuerſitie of Paris had concluded that yͤ Lordes prayer ſhould be ſaid to Saintes. But becauſe that could not be proued, and that they coulde not preuayle by reaſon, they vſed theyr wyll in place of reaſon, and ſometime diſpyteful and iniurious talke. As Frier Scot being aſked of one to whom he ſhould ſay the Pater noſter, he anſwered ſaying: ſay it to the deuyll, knaue. So the Counſell perceiuing they could profit nothing by reaſoning, they were compelled to paſſe to *voting.

*That is, to the numbring of voyces.

The Fryers and Prelates could not agree among them ſelues about ſaying the *Pater noſter*.

But then incontinent they that were called churchmen, were found deuided and repugnant among them ſelues. For ſome Biſhops with the Doctors and Friers, conſented that the Pater noſter ſhoulde be ſayd to Saintes: but the Biſhops of S. Andrewes, Caitneſſe and Atheins, wyth other more learned men, refuſed vtterly to ſubſcribe the ſame. Finallye, with conſent of both the parties, commiſſion was geuen by the holye Church, to Dane *Iohn Wynrame, then Supprioure of S. Andrewes, to declare to the people how and after what maner they ſhould pray the Lords prayer. Who accepting the commiſſion, declared that it ſhould be ſaid to God, wyth ſome other reſtrictions whych are not neceſſary to be put in memory. And ſo by litle and litle, the brute and tumult ceaſed. Ex teſtimonio è Scotia allato.

*This Wynrame is now become a godly miniſter in the Church of God, and a maried man.

The Martyrdome of the bleſſed ſeruant of God, Waltet Mille.

Walter Mille, Martyr.

AMong the reſt of the Martyrs of Scotland, the marueilous conſtancie of Walter Mille is not to bee paſſed ouer wyth ſilence. Out of whoſe aſhes ſprang thouſandes of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether choſe rather to dye, then to be any longer ouertroden by the tyranny of the foreſayde cruell, ignorant, and beaſtlye Biſhops, Abbots, Monkes, and Friers, and ſo began the congregation of Scotland, to debate the true religion of Chriſt againſt the French men and Papiſtes, who ſought alwayes to depreſſe and keepe downe the ſame: for it began ſone after the martyrdome of Walter Mille, of the which the forme hereafter followeth.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1558. in yͤ tyme of Mary Duches of Longawayll Quene Regent of Scotland, and the ſayd Iohn Hamelton being Biſhop of S.Andrewes, and Primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in hys youth had bene a Papiſt) after that he had ben in Almaine, and had heard the doctrine of the goſpell, he returned agayne into Scotland, & ſetting aſide all Papiſtry and compelled chaſtitie, maryed a wyfe, whych thing made him vnto the biſhops of Scotland to be ſuſpected of hereſie: and after long watchyng of hym he was taken by two popiſh Prieſtes, one called Sir George Straqwhen, and the other Sir Hew Turry ſeruantes to the ſayde Biſhop for the tyme, within the towne of Dyſart in Fiffe, and brought to S. Andrewes and impriſoned in the caſtle thereof. He being in priſon, the Papiſts earneſtly trauailed and laboured to haue ſeduced him, and threatned him with death and corporall tormentes, to the entent they woulde cauſe hym to recant and forſake the truth. But ſeyng they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remayned ſtil firme and conſtant, they laboured to perſwade hym by fayre promiſes, and offered vnto hym a Monkes portion for all the dayes of hys lyfe, in the Abbaye of Dunfermeling, ſo that he would denye the thynges he had taught, and graunt that they were hereſie: but he continuing in the truth euen vnto the ende, deſpiſed their threatninges and fayre promyſes.

Walter Mille contrary to his popiſhe vowe maryed.

Walter Mille firſt ſuſpected of hereſie.

Walter Mille taken by ij. popiſhe prieſtes, *George Straqwhen, & Sir Hew Turry.*

Then aſſembled together the biſhops of S.Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caitnes, & Atheins, the Abbots of Dunfermeling, Landors, Balindrinot, and Towper, wyth Doctors of Theologie of S.Andrewes, as Iohn Greſon blacke Frier, and Dane Iohn Vymame ſuppriour of S.Andrewes, William Tranſton Prouoſt of the old Colledge, with diuers others, as ſundry Friers blacke and gray. Theſe being aſſembled, and hauing conſulted together, he was takē out of priſon & brought to yͤ Metropolitane church, where he was put in a pulpit tofore the Biſhops to be accuſed, the. 20. day of Aprill. Being brought vnto the church, and climing vp to the pulpit, they ſeing hym ſo weake and feeble of perſon, partly by age and trauayle, and partlye by euyll intreatment, that wythout helpe he could not clime vp, they were in diſpayre not to haue heard him for weaknes of voyce. But when hee beganne to ſpeake, hee made the Church to rynge and ſounde agayne, wyth ſo great courage and ſtoutnes, that the Chriſtians whych were preſent, were no leſſe reioyced, then yͤ aduerſaries were confounded and aſhamed. He beyng in the pulpyt, and on hys knees at prayer, Sir Andrewe Oliphant one of the Biſhops Prieſtes, commaunded hym to aryſe and to aunſwer to hys articles, ſaying on thys maner: Syr Walter Mille, aryſe and aūſwere to the articles, for you hold my Lord here ouer long. To whom Walter after he had finiſhed hys prayer, anſwered ſaying: we ought to obey God more then men, I ſerue one more mightye, euen yͤ omnipotent Lord: and where you cal me Syr Walter, they cal me Walter and not Syr Walter, I haue bene ouer long one of the Popes knights. Now ſay what thou haſt to ſay.

Concilium malignantiū.

Walter Mille for age could ſcarſe clyme to the pulpit.

God geueth ſtrength cōtrary to mans expectation.

Andrewe Oliphant the Archbyſhops Chaplaine.

¶ Theſe were the articles whereof he was accuſed, with hys aunſweres vnto the ſame.

OLiphant. What thincke you of Prieſts mariage?

Oliphant.

Mille. I hold it a bleſſed band, for Chriſt hym ſelf mayntayned it, and approued the ſame, and alſo made it free to all men: but ye thinke it not free to you: ye abhorre it, and in the meane tyme take other mens wyues and daughters, and wyll not keepe the bande that God hath made. Ye vow chaſtitie, and breake the ſame. Saint Paule bad rather marry then burne: the whych I haue done, for God forbad neuer mariage to any man, of what ſtate or degree ſo euer he were.

Mille.

Oliphant. Thou ſayeſt there is not. vij. ſacramentes.

Oliphant.

Mille. Geue me the Lords ſupper and Baptiſme, and take you the reſt, and parte them among you: For if there be ſeuen, why haue you omitted one of them, to wyt, mariage, and geue your ſelues to ſclaūderous and vngodly whoredome.

Mille.

Oliph. Thou art agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter, and ſayeſt, that the Maſſe is wrong, and is Idolatrye.

Oliphant.

Mille. A Lord or a kyng ſendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readynes, he cauſeth to ryng a bell, and the men come to the hall, and ſytte downe to be pertakers of the dinner, but the Lord turning hys backe vnto them, eateth al him ſelfe, and mocketh them: ſo do ye.

Mille.

A ſimilitude aptely applyed.

Oliphant. Thou denyeſt the Sacrament of the aultar to bee the very body of Chriſt really in fleſhe and bloud.

Oliphant.

Mille. The Scripture of God is not to bee taken carnally but ſpiritually, and ſtandeth in faith only: and as for yͤ maſſe, it is wrong, for Chriſt was once offred on the Croſſe for mans treſpaſſe, and will neuer be offred agayne, for then he ended all ſacrifice.

Mille.

The Sacrament and ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Oliphant. Thou denieſt the office of a Byſhop.

Oliphant.

Mille. I affirme that they whom ye call Byſhops, doe no Byſhops workes, nor vſe the offices of Byſhops, (as Paul biddeth writyng to Timothy) but lyue after their owne ſenſuall pleaſure and take no care of the flocke, nor yet regard they the word of God, but deſire to be honored and called, my Lordes.

Mille.

Byſhops no Byſhops.

Oliph. Thou ſpeakeſt agaynſt pilgrimage, and calleſt it a pilgrimage to whoredome.

Oliphant.

Mille. I affirme that, and ſay that it is not commaunded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredome in no places, then at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothells.

Mille.

Oliph. Thou preacheſt quietly & priuatly in houſes and openly in the fieldes.

Oliphant.

Mille. Yea man, and on the Sea alſo ſailyng in ſhippe.

Mille.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thine erronious opinions? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce ſentence agaynſt thee.

Oliphant.

Mille. I am accuſed of my lyfe: I knowe I muſt dye once, and therfore as Chriſt ſayd to Iudas: Quod facis, fac citius. Ye ſhall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corne, I am no chaffe, I will not bee blowen away with the winde nor burſt with the flaile, but I will abide both.

Mille.

Walter Mille conſtant in the truth.

Theſe thinges rehearſed they of purpoſe, with other light trifles, to augment their finall accuſatiō, and the Syr Andrew Oliphant pronounced ſentence agaynſt him that he ſhould be deliuered to the temporall iudge, and puniſhed as an hereticke, which was to be burnt. Notwithſtandyng his boldnes and conſtancie moued ſo the hartes of many, that yͤ Biſhops Stuard of his regalitie, Prouoſt of yͤ towne called Patrike Learmond, refuſed to be his temporall iudge: to whom it appertained if the cauſe had bene iuſt. Alſo the Biſhops chamberlaine beyng therewith charged, would in no wiſe take vpō him ſo vngodly an office. Yea the whole town was ſo offended with his vniuſt cōdemnation, that the Biſhops ſeruauntes could not get for their money ſo much as one corde to tye him to the ſtake, or a tarre barell to burne him, but were cōſtrained to cut the cordes of their maſters owne pauillion to ſerue their turne.

Sentence pronounced agaynſt Walter Mille.

Patrike Learmonde the Archbiſhops Stuard and Prouoſt, refuſeth to be hys temporall iudge. Alſo the Biſhops chamberlaine refuſeth to be his iudge.

The towne offended with the condemnation of Walter Mille.

No corde in all the towne could be bought to tye hym to the ſtake.

Neuertheles one ſeruaunt of the Biſhops more ignorant and cruell then the reſt, called Alexander Symmerwayll, enterpriſing yͤ office of a temporall iudge in that part, cōueyed him to the fire, where agaynſt all naturall reaſon of mā, his boldnes and hardines did more and more increaſe: ſo that the ſpirite of God workyng mira-

Alexander Symmerwayll the Biſhops ſeruaunt, made temporall iudge for Walter Mille.

The miraculous workyng of God in Walter Mille.

miraculouſly in him, made it manifeſt to ẏ people that his cauſe and Articles were iuſt, and hée innocently put downe.

Now whẽ all thinges were ready for his death, and he conueyed with armed mẽ to the fire, Oliphant bad him paſſe to the ſtake: and hée ſayd, nay, but wilt thou put me vp with thy hand & take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſée me paſſe vp gladly, for by the law of God I am forbidden to put handes vpõ my ſelfe. Then Oliphant put him vp with his hand, and hée aſcended gladly, ſaying: Introibo ad altare dei, and deſired that he might haue place to ſpeake to the people, the which Oliphãt & other of ẏ burners denied, ſaying that hée had ſpoken ouer much, for the Biſhops were altogether offended that the matter was ſo long continued. Then ſome of the yong men committed both the burners, and the Biſhops their maſters to the deuill, ſaying that they beleued that they ſhoulde lament that day, and deſired the ſayd Walter to ſpeake what he pleaſed.

W. Mille denyed by the biſhops to ſpeake.

Walter Mille permitted by the yong men to ſpeake.

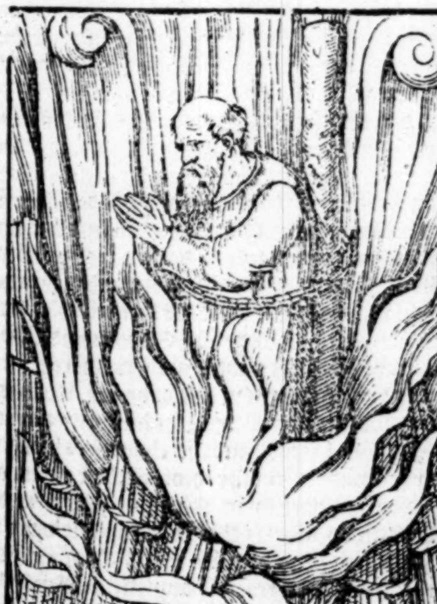
And ſo after he had made his humble ſupplication to God on his knées, hée aroſe, and ſtanding vppon the coales ſayd on this wiſe. Deare frendes the cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any crime layd to my charge (albeit I be a miſerable ſinner before God) but onely for the defence of the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, ſet forth in the new and old Teſtament vnto vs, for the whiche as the faythfull Martyrs haue offred them ſelues gladly before, beyng aſſured after the death of their bodies of eternall felicitie, ſo this day I prayſe God, that he hath called me of his mercy among ẏ reſt of his ſeruauntes, to ſeale vp his truth with my life: which as I haue receaued it of him, ſo willyngly I offer it to hys glory. Therfore as you will eſcape the eternall death, be no more ſeduced with the lyes of Prieſtes, Monkes, Friers, Priors, Abbots, Biſhops, and the reſt of the ſect of Antichriſt, but depend onely vppon Ieſus Chriſt and his mercy, that ye may be deliuered from condemnatiõ. Al that while there was great mournyng and lamentation of the multitude, for they perceiuing his patience, ſtoutnes, and boldnes, conſtancie, and hardines, were not onely moued and ſtirred vp, but their hartes alſo were ſo inflamed, that he was the laſt Martyr that died in Scotland for the Religion.

The wordes of Walter Mille to the people.

The conſtant hardines of W. Mille.

Walter Mille the laſte Martyr in Scotland.

¶ *The Martyrdome of Walter Mill.*



Walter Mill of Scotland, Martyr.

1558.

After his prayer, he was hoyſed vp on the ſtake, and beyng in the fire, hée ſayd: Lord haue mercy on me: Praye people while there is tyme, and ſo conſtantly departed.

Epitaphium.

Non noſtra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hoſtes in mea fata truces:
Sola fides Chriſti ſacris ſignata libellis,
Quæ vitæ cauſa eſt, eſt mihi cauſa necis.

After this, by the iuſt iudgemẽt of God, in the ſame place where Walter Mille was burnt, the Images of the great Churche of the Abbey, whiche paſſed both in number and coſtlynes, were burnt in tyme of reformation. Ex fideli teſtimonio è Scotia miſſo.

And thus much concernyng ſuch matters as happened, and ſuch Martyrs as ſuffered in the Realme of Scotland for the fayth of Chriſt Ieſus, and teſtimonie of his truth.

¶ Perſecution in Kent.

In reuoluyng the Regiſters of William Warrham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, I find moreouer beſides theſe aboue comprehended, in the tyme and reigne of kyng Henry, the names of diuers other, whereof ſome ſuffered Martyrdome for the like teſtimonie of Gods worde, and ſome recanted, whiche albeit here do come a litle out of order, and ſhould haue bene placed before in the begynnyng of kyng Henryes reigne: yet rather then they ſhould vtterly be omitted I thought here to giue them a place, though ſomewhat out of tyme, yet not altogether I truſt without frute vnto the reader, beyng no leſſe worthy to bee regiſtred and preſerued from obliuiõ, then other of their felowes before them.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warrham Archiepiſc. Cant.

Certayne Martyrs before omitted.

¶ A Table of certayne true Seruantes of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Dioces of Cant. vnder William Warrham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the names of their perſecuters and accuſers. an. 1511.

Perſecuters and Iudges.	*Accuſers and VVitneſſes.*	*The Martyrs.*
William Warrham, *Archbyſhop of Caunterbury.* D. Cutbert Tonſtall, *Doctour of both lawes, and Chauncelour of the Archbiſhop.* D. Syluester, *Lawyer.* D. Wellys. Doctour Clement Browne. Doct. Iohn Collet, *Deane of Paules.* Doctour Wodyngton.	William Rich *of Benynden.* Agnes Iue, *of Cant.* Robert Hilles *of Tenterden.* Steuen Caſtelyn *of Tenterden.* Ioh. Grebill *of Tenterden, huſband to* Agnes Grebill *the Martyr.* Chriſtopher Grebill *the naturall ſonne of* Agnes Grebill *the Martyr.* Iohn Grebill *the younger, the naturall ſonne of* Agnes Grebill *the Martyr.* William Oldberd *of Godmerſham.* Laurẽce Cheterdẽ. Thomas Harwood *of Rowenden.* Ioane Harwood *hys wife.* Phillip Hardwood. William Baker *of Cramebroke.* Edw. Walker. Robert Reynold, *of Benynden.*	William Carder of Tenterden, Weauer. Agnes Grebill of Tenterden, wyfe of Iohn Grebill the elder, and mother to Iohn and Chriſtopher Grebill, who with her own huſbãd accuſed her to death, beyng of thrée ſcore yeres of age. Robert Harriſon, of Halden, of the age of lx. yeares. Iohn Browne of Aſhford. Edward Walker of Maidſtone, Cutler.

Martyrs in Kent before the tyme of M. Luther.

¶ The Articles wherupon theſe v. bleſſed Martyrs were accuſed and condemned by the foreſayd iudges and witneſſes, were theſe as folowe.

First, for holdyng that the Sacrament of the aultar was not ẏ true & very body of Chriſt, but only materiall bread in ſubſtaunce.

2 That auricular confeſſion was not to bee made to a Prieſt.

3 That no power is giuen of God to Prieſtes of miniſtryng

Ex Regiſt. W. Warrhã. Fol. 177.

Their meaning was thys: that prieſtes cā claime no more vertue or hye eſtate by their orders, then can a lay man.

ſtryng Sacramentes, ſaying Maſſe, or other Diuine ſeruice, more then to lay men.

4 That the ſolemniſation of Matrimonie is not neceſſarie to ſaluation of ſoule, neither was inſtituted of God (for a Sacrament they ment.)

5 That the Sacrament of extreme vnction is not auayleable, nor neceſſarie to ſoules health.

6 That the Images of the Croſſe, of the Crucifixe, of the bleſſed virgin and other Saintes, are not to be worſhipped: and that they whiche worſhip them, do commit Idolatrie.

7 That pilgrimage to holy places and holy Reliques be not neceſſary, nor meritorious to ſoules health.

8 That Inuocation is not to be made to Saintes, but onely to God, and that he onely heareth their prayers.

9 That holy bread and holy water haue no more vertue after their conſecration, then before.

10 That they haue beleued, taught and holden all and euery of the ſame damnable opinions before, as they did at that preſent.

11 That where they now haue confeſſed their errours, they would not haue ſo done, but only for feare of manifeſt proufes brought againſt them: either els but for feare to be conuicted by them, they would neuer haue confeſſed the ſame of their owne accorde.

12 That they haue communed and talked of the ſayd damnable errours heretofore with diuers other perſons and haue had bookes concerning the ſame.

The order and forme of proceſſe vſed agaynſt theſe v. Martyrs aforeſayd, and firſt of William Carder. an. 1511.

The proceſſe of iudgement agaynſte *W. Carder*, Martyr.

William Carder being conuented before W. Warrham Archbiſhop, and hys Chauncellor Cutbert Tonſtall, Doct. Silueſter, Doctor Welles, Clement Browne wyth other mo, the Notaries being William Potking and Dauid Cooper, the articles and interrogatories aboue ſpecified were layd vnto hym. Whych articles he there and then denyed, affirming that he neuer did, nor doth hold any ſuch opinions, otherwiſe thē becōmeth that euery Chriſten man ſhould do, ready to conforme hym ſelf in all poyntes to their doctrine: and therefore to cleare hym ſelfe the better agaynſt thoſe Interrogatories obiected agaynſt them, he ſtoode in deniall of the ſame. The like alſo dyd euery of the other iiij. Martyrs after hym.

The ſtraite dealing of *W. Warrhā* Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

Witneſſes agaynſte *W. Carder*.

All which notwithſtanding, the vncharitable Archb. ſeekyng all aduauntage agaynſt him that he might, and more then right law woulde geue, brought in agaynſt hym ſuch wytneſſes, as before were abiured, whom he knew for feare of relapſe, durſt do none other but diſcloſe whatſoeuer they knew: to wyt, Chriſtofer Grebyll, W. Ryche, Agnes Iue, Iohn Grebyll, Rob. Hils, and Steuen Caſtelyn. Whoſe depoſitions being taken, and the ſayde Carder being aſked what he coulde ſay for hym ſelfe, he had nothing, he ſayd, to produce agaynſt their atteſtations, but ſubmitted him vnto their mercy, ſaying moreouer, that if he had euer any miſbeliefe of the Sacrament of the Church, contrarye to the common holding of the Catholickes, he now was sory, and repented him therof. Which being done, the Archbiſhop, thys hys ſubmiſſion notwithſtanding, and notwithſtanding that the Regiſter maketh no mention of any relapſe, contrary to good lawe, at leaſt contrarye to all Chriſtian charitie, proceeded to the reading of hys blinde ſentence, and ſo condemned hym: who neyther ſtoode ſtubburnly to that which he dyd holde, neyther yet did hold any thing contrary to the mynde of holy ſcripture, to the execution of burning.

W. Carder wrongfully cōdemned by *W. Warrhā* the Archbyſhop.

Agn. Grebill, Martyr.

Then after hym was called for Agnes Grebyll, and examined of the ſayd. xij. articles aboue recited, whych ſhe in like maner denyed, as the other had done before, putting her aduerſaries to their proofe. Then the archbiſhop calling for Iohn Grebyll her houſband, & Chriſtofer and Iohn Grebyll her two ſonnes (who before had bene abiured) cauſed them vpon theyr othe to depoſe agaynſt theyr own naturall mother, & ſo they did.

Agn. Grebill accuſed of her own huſband.

Firſt Ioh. Grebyl the elder her huſband, examined by vertue of hys oth, to ſay how Agnes hys wyfe hath and doth beleue of the ſacrament of the altar, of going in pilgrimage, offringes, and worſhipping of Saintes, Images &c. and how long ſhe hath ſo holden, thus depoſed: that firſt about the ende of K. Edwardes dayes the fourth, in hys houſe, by the teaching of Iohn Iue, ſhe was brought to that beliefe, & ſo forth frō thence dayly, till this tyme of detection, ſhe hath continued. And beſides that (ſayd he) when my children Chriſtofer and Iohn, being about. vij. yeares of age, were then taught of me in my houſe the ſayd errour of the Sacrament of the altar, & by the ſayd Agnes my wyfe dyuers times, ſhe was allwaies of one mynde in the ſayd miſbeliefe agaynſt the ſacrament of the aulter, that it was not Chriſtes body, fleſh & bloud, but onely bread. Furthermore being examined how he knew that ſhe was ſtedfaſt in ẏ ſaid error, he ſaid that ſhe alwaies without cōtradiction affirmed thys teaching, & ſaid, the ſaid opinion was good, & was well contented that her chyldrē aforeſayd, were of the ſame opinions againſt the ſacrament of the altar. &c. Ex verbis Regiſtri.

The catholicke Clergye of the Papiſtes, ſet the huſbād againſt the wife.

The catholicke Papiſtes ſet the children to accuſe their own mother.

The biſhop with his catholicke Doctors, not yet cōtented with this, to ſet the houſband againſt the wyfe, proceeding further in their catholicke zeale, cauſed her two children Chriſtofer and Iohn to be produced, one of the age of. xxij. the other of. xix. againſt their own naturall mother. Who likewiſe being preſſed wyth theyr othe, witneſſed and ſayd, that the foreſayd Agnes their mother held, beleued, taught and defended, that the ſacrament of the aultar was but bread, and not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh and bloud: That Baptiſme was no better in the Fount, then out of the Fount: That confirmation was of no effect: That the ſolemniſation of Matrimony was no ſacrament: That confeſſion to God alone was ſufficiēt: Alſo that going in pilgrimage and worſhipping of Saints and Images was of none effect. &c. Item, that their father and the ſayde Agnes their mother held, taught, and communed of the ſayde errours wythin theyr houſe diuers times, by the ſpace of thoſe three yeares paſt, as well on holy daies, as working daies, affirming and teaching that the ſayd opinions were good and lawfull, and to be holden and mainteined, and agreement was made amongeſt them, that none of thē ſhould diſcouer nor bewray either of theſe beliefes in any wyſe. Finally, that they neuer hearde their ſayd father and mother, holding nor teaching anye other opinions, then be the ſayde errours agaynſt the ſacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worſhipping of Saintes and images, as farre as they coulde remember. &c. Ex verbis Regiſt.

Chriſtofer Grebil & Iohn Grebil, witneſſes agaynſte *Agnes Grebil* their mother.

Example of an vnnaturall huſband, and of vnnatural children.

Here haſt thou (Chriſtian reader) before thine eyes, an horrible ſpectacle of a ſingular, yea of a double impietie, fyrſt of an vnnaturall huſband, wytneſſing againſt hys own wyfe: and of as vnnaturall children, accuſing and wytneſſing agaynſt their owne naturall mother. Which although they had ſo done, the cauſe beyng of it ſelfe iuſt and true (as it was not) yet had they done more then nature would haue led them to doo. Nowe the caſe being ſuch, as whych by Gods woord ſtandeth firme, ſound, and perfect, what impietie were it for mē to accuſe a poore innocent in caſe of hereſy, which is no hereſie? Now beſides all this, the huſband to come in agaynſt hys own wyfe, and the children to bryng the knyfe wherewith to cut the throte of their owne naturall mother that bare them, that nouriſhed them, that brought them vp, what is this, but impietie vpon impietie, prodigious and horrible for all Chriſtian eares to heare? And yet the greateſt impietie of all reſteth in theſe pretenſed Catholickes and Clergiemen, whych were the authors and cauſers of all this miſchiefe.

Great impietie of the huſband toward the wife.

Greater impietie in the children agaynſt the mother.

Greateſt impietie of all in the Clergymen the authors hereof.

The cauſe why thys good woman ſo ſtoode (as ſhee dyd) in the deniall of theſe foreſayde articles obiected, was this, for that ſhe neuer thought that her houſband and her own children, who only were priuy of her religion, would teſtifie againſt her. Whom notwithſtanding after ſhe perceiued to come in, and to depoſe thus agaynſt

Ex Regiſt. W. Warhã. Fol.177.

Agnet Grebill condemned by the ſentence of the Archb.

agaynſt her, denying ſtyll (as ſhe dyd before) that ſhee dyd euer hold ſuch maner of errours, and being nowe deſtitute of all frendes and comfort, braſt out in theſe wordes openly (as the Regiſter reporteth) that ſhe repented the tyme that euer ſhee bare thoſe children of her body. And thus the Archbiſhop wyth hys doctors, hauing now the thing that they ſought for, albeit ſhee was ready to denye all errours, and to confirme her ſelfe to their religion, yet notwythſtanding they refuſing her redynes and conformitie, proceeded to theyr ſentence, and ſo condemned her to death.

Robert Hariſon examined.

After whoſe condemnation, next was brought to examination Rob. Harryſon, whom in like maner, becauſe he ſtood in hys deniall, contrary witneſſes againſt hym were produced: to wyt, Chriſtofer Grebyll, W. Rych, W. Olberd, Agnes Iue, who a lyttle before had bene abiured, ⁊ therefore were ſo much the more apt ⁊ appliable to ſerue the Biſhops humour for daunger of relapſe. After the depoſition ⁊ conuiction of which wytneſſes, although hee ſubmitted him ſelfe to repentance and conformitie, yet notwythſtanding it woulde not be receaued, but ſentence was read and he cõdemned with the other two aforeſayd, vnto the fire.

William Carder, Agnes Grebill, Robert Hariſon, Martyrs.

The Byſhops certificate to the kyng.

And thus theſe.iij.were condemned and burned, ⁊ certificat geuẽ vp of thẽ together to the king frõ Warham the Archbiſhop vpon the ſame. an.1511.Maij.2 Ex Regiſt. Cant.

Iohn Browne, Edward Walker, Martyrs.

Witneſſes agaynſt theſe two Martyrs.

Ouer and beſides theſe three godlye Martyrs aboue recited, I finde in the foreſayd Regiſters of W. Warham, two other lyke godlye Martyrs alſo in the ſame yeare, and for the ſame.xij.Articles aboue ſpecified, to be condemned vpon the depoſitions of certayne wytneſſes brought in agaynſt them, to wyt, Tho. Harwod, Philip Harwod, Steuen Caſtelyn, W. Baker, Robert Reynold, Iohn Bampton, Rob. Bright, W. Rich. &c. whereupon they were adiudged lykewiſe for heretikes to be burned, the yeare aforeſayd. 1511. the names of whych two Martyrs were Iohn Brown, and Edward Walker. Ex Regiſt. W. Warrh. Fol. 179.

Now, as you haue heard the names of theſe bleſſed Martyrs, with their articles recited, let vs alſo heare yͤ tenor of the Biſhops ſentence, by which they were condemned one after an other. Their ſentence conteyneth one vniforme maner of wordes in forme as followeth.

¶ *The tenour of the Sentence.*

The Sentence of cõdemnation agaynſt the v. foreſayd Martyrs.

IN nomine dei. Amen. Nos Willielmus permiſſione diuina Canruarienſis Archiepiſ. totius Angliæ primas & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, in quodam negocio hereticæ prauitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenterden noſtræ Cant. Dioceſeos laicum ac noſtro imperio notoriè ſubditum & ſub iectum coram nobis in iudicio perſonaliter comparentem, nobis ſuper hærerica prauitate huiuſmodi detectum & delatum, ac per noſtram dioceſim Cantuariæ antedictę notoriè & publicè in ea parte apud bonos & graues diffamatum, ex officio mero ritè & canonicè procedentes, auditis & intellectis, viſis & cognitis, rimatiſq; ac matura diliberatione diſcuſſis & ponderatis dicti negocij meritis, ſeruatiſq; in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negocio de iure ſeruãdis, ac quomodolibet requiſitis pro tribunali ſedentes, Chriſti nomine inuocato & ſolũ Deũ præ oculis habẽtes: Quia per acta actitata, deducta, probata & exhibita corã nobis in eodẽ negocio inuenimus te per probationes legitimas corã nobis in hac parte iudicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, hæreſes, & dãnatas opiniones, iuri diuino & eccleſiaſtico obuiãtes, cõtrarios, & repugnãtes, cõtra fidẽ orthodoxã, determinatã et obſeruatam, tenuiſſe, crediſſe, affirmaſſe, prædicaſſe, & dogmatizaſſe, & præſertim contra Sacramenta altaris, ſeu euchariſtiæ, penitentiæ, ordinis, & alia Sacramenta, & ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ dogmata: Et quamuis nos Chriſti veſtigijs inhærẽdo qui non vult mortem peccatoris, ſed magis vt conuertatur & viuat, ſepenumero conati fuimus te corrigere, ac vijs & modis licitis, & canonicis quibus potuimus aut ſciuimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per vniuerſalem Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, determinatam & obſeruatam, ac ad vnitatem eiuſdem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ reducere, tamen inuenimus te adeo duræ ceruicis quòd tuos errores & hæreſes huiuſmodi nolueris ſponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem catholicam & vnitatem ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ antedictas debitè reuerti & redire, ſed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tantũ induraſti cor tuum, vt non velis intelligere vocem tui paſtoris tibi paterno compatientis affectu, nec velis pijs & paternis monitionibus allici, nec ſalubribus reduci blandicijs: Nos vero nolentes quod tu qui iniquus es fias nequior, & gregẽ dominicum in futurum tuæ hereticæ prauitatis labe (de quo plurimũ timemus) inficias, idcirco de cõſilio Iuriſperitorum nobis in hac parte aſſiſtentium cum quibus communicauimus in hac parte, te Willielmum Carder prædictũ de meritis atq; culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggrauatis, de & ſuper huiuſmodi deteſtabili hereticæ prauitatis reatu conuictum & ad Eccleſiæ vnitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hereticiſq; credentem ac eorum fautorem & receptatorẽ prætextu præmiſſorum fuiſſe & eſſe; cum dolore & amaritudine cordis iudicamus & declaramus finaliter & diffinitiuè in his ſcriptis, relinquẽtes te ex nũc tãquã hereticũ iudicio ſiue curiæ ſeculari, teq; Willielmũ Carder predictũ (vt præfertur) hereticum nihilominus in maioris excommunicationis ſententiam occaſione præmiſſorum incidiſſe & incurriſſe, necnon excommunicatum fuiſſe & eſſe pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus etiam in his ſcriptis.

Moreouer, beſides theſe v. bleſſed Saintes of God, whom they ſo cruelly by their ſentence did condemne to death, we finde alſo in the ſame Regiſters of Williã Warrham, a great number of other, whom they for the ſame doctrine and like Articles cauſed to be apprehended and put to open recantation: the names of whiche perſonnes in the Catalogue here folowyng, bee theſe.

¶ Here foloweth a Table contayning the names of them which were abiured the ſame tyme vnder W. Warham Archbiſhop, in the Dioces of Cant. anno. 1511.

A Table or Catalogue of them which were cauſed to abiure vnder W.Warhã.

Note what doctrine here reigned in England before the tyme of Luther.

Iohn Grebyll the elder of Benynden.
Chriſtofer Grebyll his ſonne.
Iohn Grebyll, ſonne of Iohn yͤ elder of Benynden.
W. Ryche of Benyndẽ.
W. Olbert the elder of Godmerſham.
Agnes Iue of Canter.
Agnes Chytenden of Canterbury.
Thomas Mannyng of Benynden.
Ioane Colyn of Tenterden.
Rob. Hilles of Tenterden.
Alice Hilles hys wyfe.
Tho. Harwod. Ione Harwod hys wyfe. Phil. Harwod } of Rowenden.
Steuen Caſtelin of Tẽderden.
W. Baker of Crãbroke.
Margaret Baker hys wyfe.
W. Olbert the yonger, of Godmerſham.
Rob. Reynold of Godmerſham.
Agnes Reygnolde of Cramb roke.
Tho. Field of Borley.
Ioane Olbert wyfe to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmerſham.
Elizabeth Whyte of Canterbury.

Tho. Church of great Charte.
Vincent Linch of Halden.
Iohn Rych of Wyttiſham.
Ioane Lynch of Tenterden.
Thomas Browne of Crambroke.
Iohn Franke of Tenterden.
Ioyce Bampton, wife of Iohn Bamptõ of Berſted.
Rychard Bampton of Boreley.
Rob. Bryght of Maidſtone.
Wil. Lorkyn of Caſtforley.
Iohn Bans of Borley.

1512.

Iohn Bukherſt of Stapleherſt.
Ioane Dodde, wyfe of Iohn Dodde.
Iohn Benet of Stapleherſt.
Rebecke Benet hys wyfe.
Ioane Lowes, wyfe of Thomas Lowes of Crambroke.
Iulian Hylles wyfe of Robert Hylles of Tenterden.
Rob. Franke of Tenterden.

¶The Articles layd to theſe abiurers, appeare in the Regiſters to be the ſame which before were obiected to the other. v. Martyrs aforeſayd: which was, for beleuing and defending.

Their Articles.

1 First that the ſacrament of the aulter was not the very body of Chriſt, but material bread.
2 That confeſſion of ſinnes ought not to be made to a Prieſt.
3 That there is no more power genẽ of God to a prieſt, then to a lay man.
4 That the ſolemniſation of Matrimony is not neceſſary for the weale of mans ſoule.
5 That the ſacrament of extreme vnction, called aneyling, is not profitable nor neceſſary for mans ſoule.
6 That pilgrimages to holy and deuout places be not neceſſary nor meritorious for mans ſoule.
7 That Images of Saintes, or of the Crucifixe, or of our Lady, are not to be worſhipped.
8 That a man ſhould pray to no Saynt, but onelye to God.
9 That holy water and holye bread is not better after the benediction made by the Prieſt. Ex verbis Regiſt. W. Warrham. Fol. 176. an. 1511.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warrhã.

The doctrine of the Goſpell in England before *M. Luther* beganne.

By theſe articles and abiurations of the forenamed perſons, thou haſt to vnderſtand, Chriſtian Reader, what doctrine of religion was here ſtyrring in this our realme of England before the time that the name of Martyn Luther was euer heard of here amõgſt vs.

¶Three diuers ſortes of iudgement amongſt the Papiſtes, againſt heretikes, as they call them.

Three ſortes of proceedinges of the Papiſts agaynſt the heretickes.

AS touching ẏ penance & penaltie enioyned to theſe aforeſayd, as alſo to all other ſuch like, firſt here is to be noted, that the Catholicke fathers in their proceſſes of hereticall prauitie, haue thrée diuers and diſtinct kindes of iudgements and procéedinges.

The proceſſe of the Papiſts in condemning heretickes.

For ſome they iudge to be burned, to thentent that other beyng brought into terrour by them, they might thereby more quietly hold vp their kingdome, & raigne as they liſt. And thus condemned they theſe. v. aforeſayd, & notwithſtanding they were wylling to ſubmyt them ſelues to the boſome of the mother Churche, yet could they not be receaued, as by the wordes of the Regiſter, and by the tenour of their Sentence aboue ſpecified, may well appeare.

And this ſort of perſons thus by them condemned, conſiſteth either in ſuch as haue bene before abiured, & fallen agayne into relapſe: or els ſuch as ſtand conſtãtlye in their doctrine, and refuſe to abiure: either els ſuch as they intende to make a terrour and example to all other, notwithſtandyng that they be willing & ready to ſubmitte them ſelues, and yet can not be receaued. And of this laſt ſorte were theſe v. Martyrs laſt named. So was alſo Iohn Lambert, who ſubmitting him ſelfe to the kyng, could not be accepted: So was likewiſe Rich. Mekins ẏ ſéely lad, pag. 1376. and the thrée women of Gerneſey, whoſe ſubmiſſion would not ſerue to ſaue their lyues, with many other in lyke caſe. Againſt this ſorte of perſons, the proceſſe whiche the Papiſtes vſe, is this. Firſt after they begyn once to bée ſuſpected by ſome promotor, they are denoũced and cited: then by vertue of Inquiſition they are taken and clapte faſt in Irons and priſon: from thence they are brought forth at laſt to examination, if they be not before kylde by famine, could, or ſtraitnes of the priſon. Then be Articles drawen or rather wraſted out of their writynges or preachynges, and they put to their othe to aũſwere truly to euery pointe and circumſtaunce articulated agaynſt them. Whiche Articles if they ſeme to denye, or to ſalue by true expoundyng, then are witneſſes called in and admitted, what witneſſes ſoeuer they are, bée they neuer ſo much infamous, vſurarers, ribaldes, wemen, yea and commõ harlots. Or if no other witneſſes can be founde, then is the huſband brought in and forced to ſweare agaynſt the wife, or the wife agaynſt the huſband, or the children agaynſt their naturall mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebill. Or if no ſuch witnes at all can be founde, then are they ſtrayned vpon ẏ racke, or by other bitter tormentes forced to confeſſe their knowledge, & to peach other. Neither muſt any be ſuffred to come to them, what nede ſo euer they haue. Neither muſt any publicke or quiet audience bée geuen them to ſpeake for thẽ ſelues: till at laſt ſentence bée read againſt thẽ, to giue thẽ vp to the ſecular arme, or to degrade them, if they be Prieſtes, and ſo to burne them. Ex hiſt. Cochlæi contra Huſſitas. And yet the malignitie of theſe aduerſaries doth not here ceaſe. For after that the fire hath conſumed their bodyes, thẽ they fall vpon their bookes and condemne them in like maner to be burned, and no man ſo hardie to read them, or kepe thẽ vnder paine of hereſie. But before they haue aboliſhed theſe bookes, firſt, they gather Articles out of them, ſuch as they lyſte them ſelues, and ſo peruerſlye wraſt and wryng them after their owne purpoſe, falſely & contrary to ẏ right meanyng of the author, as may ſeme after their puttyng downe, to bée moſt hereticall, and execrable. Whiche beyng done, and the bookes thẽ aboliſhed, that no man may conferre them with their Articles to eſpie their falſehode: then they diuulge and ſet abroad thoſe Articles in ſuch ſorte as Princes and people may ſée what heretickes they were. And this is the rigour of their proceſſe and proceding againſt theſe perſons, whõ thus they purpoſe to condẽne, & burne.

Ex Hiſtor. Cochlæi contra Huſſitas Lib 3.

The vſe and maner how the Papiſtes drawe out articles of bookes after the authors be cõdemned.

To the ſecond order belongeth that ſorte of heretickes, whom theſe Papiſtes doe not condemne to death, but aſſigne them vnto Monaſteries there to cõtinue, and to faſt all their lyfe, In pane doloris & aqua anguſtiæ, that is, with bread of ſorowe, and water of affliction: and that they ſhould not remoue one myle out of the precinct of the ſayd Monaſterie, ſo long as they liued, without they were otherwiſe by the Archbiſhop him ſelfe or his ſucceſſours diſpenſed withal. Albeit many tymes the ſayd perſons were ſo diſpenſed withall, that their penaunce of bread and water, was turned for them to go wollward Wedenſdayes and fridayes euery wéeke, or ſome other like puniſhmẽt. &c.

The puniſhment of them whom the Papiſtes condemne to perpetuall priſon after their ſubmiſſion.

The third kynde of heretickes were thoſe whom theſe Prelates did iudge not to perpetuall priſon, but onely inioyned them penaunce either to ſtande before the preacher, or els to beare a Fagot about the market, or in proceſſion: or els to weare the picture of a Fagot brodered on their left ſleues, without any cloke or gowne vpon the ſame: or els to knéele at the ſaying of certaine Maſſes: or to ſay ſo many Pater noſters, Aues, and Credes to ſuch or ſuch a Saint: or to go in pilgrimage to ſuch or ſuch a place: or els to beare a Fagot to the burnyng of ſome hereticke: either els to faſt certaine Fridayes bread and water: Or if it were a womã, to weare no ſmocke on Fridaies, but to go wolward. &c. as appeareth Regiſt. fol. 159.

The puniſhment of them which be inioyned penaunce after their recantation.

And thus much by the way out of the Regiſter of W. Warrham aforeſayd, like as alſo out of other Byſhops Regiſters many mo ſuch like matters & exãples might be collected, if either layſure would ſerue me to ſearch, or if the largenes of this Volume would ſuffer all to be inſerted that might be found. Howbeit, amongeſt many other thinges omitted, the ſtory and Martyrdome of Lancelot and his felowes, is not to be forgottẽ. The ſtory of whom with their names, is this.

¶ The Martyrdome of Lancelot one of the kinges gard, Iohn a Painter, and Giles Germane.

Lancelot, Iohn a Painter, Gyles Germane, Martyrs.

ABout the yeare of our Lord. 1539. one Iohn a Painter, and Giles Germane were accuſed of hereſie, and whileſt they were in examination at London before the Byſhop and other iudges, by chaunce there came in one of the kynges ſeruauntes named Lancelot, a very tall man, and of no leſſe godly minde and diſpoſition, then ſtronge and tall of body. This mã ſtandyng by, ſemed by his countenaunce and geſture to fauour both the cauſe & the pore mẽ his frendes. Wherupon hée beyng apprehended, was examined and condemned

demned together with them, and the next day at v. of the clocke in the mornyng, was caryed with them into S. Giles in the fielde, and there burned, beyng but a ſmall concourſe or company of people at their death.

One Stile Martyr, burned in Smithfield with the Apocalyps.

Ex teſtimonio D. Rob. Outredi.

In the companye and fellowſhippe of theſe bleſſed Saintes and Martyrs of Chriſt, whych innocently ſuffered within the tyme of K. Henries raigne, for the teſtimonie of Gods word & truth, an other good mã alſo commeth to mynde, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like crueltie oppreſſed and burned in Smithfield, about the latter end of Cutb. Tonſtalls time Biſhop of London: whoſe name was called Stile, as is credibly reported vnto vs by a worthy and auncient Knight, named Syr Robert Outred, who was the ſame time preſent him ſelfe at hys burning, and wytneſſe of the ſame. With hym there was burned alſo a booke of the Apocalyps, which belike he was wont to read vpon. This booke when he ſawe faſtned vnto the ſtake to be burned wyth hym, lifting vp his voice, O bleſſed Apocalyps (ſaid he) how happye am I that ſhal be burned with thee? And ſo this good man, and the bleſſed Apocalyps were both together in the fire conſumed.

And thus (through yͤ gracious ſupportatiõ of Chriſt our lord) we haue rũne ouer theſe. 37. laborious yeares of K. Hẽries raſe. Vnder whoſe time & gouernãce, ſuch actes and recordes, troubles, perſecutions, recantations, practiſes, alterations and reformations as thẽ happened in the church, we haue here diſcourſed, with ſuche ſtatutes, iniunctions, and proclamations as by hym were ſet forth in cauſes and matters to the ſayd Churche apperteining: Albeit not comprehending all thinges ſo fully as might be, yet pretermitting as few thinges as we coulde, of ſuche matters as came to our handes: ſaue only, that certein inſtrumẽtes with a few other occurrentes ſomewhat pertainyng to the courſe of this kings hiſtory, haue paſt our handes, as the falſe lying Bull of Pope Leo x. againſt M. Luther: with the forme alſo of the ſayd M. Luthers appeale from the Pope vnto a generall Councell. All whiche, with other matters moe beſides omitted, we haue differred by them ſelues hereafter to bee exhibited and declared in the ſequele of thys preſent ſtorye, as in hys due place ſhall appeare.

Pope Leo his Bull agaynſt Luther.

M. Luthers appeale frõ the Pope to a generall Councill.

The Sentence definitiue of Pope Clement. vij. agaynſt the diuorce of K. Henry.

In the meane ſeaſon, amõgeſt other omiſſions here ouer paſt, for ſomuch as a certaine inſtrument of the Popes Sentẽce definitiue agaynſt K. Henryes firſt diuorſe wͭ Lady Katherin Dowager, hath of late come to our handes, conteinyng matter neither impertinẽt nor vnmeete to be committed to hiſtory, I thought here preſently to place the ſame, to the entent that the Reader ſeyng the arrogant and impudent preſumption of the Pope in the ſayd Sentence, goyng about by force and authoritie ſo to conſtreine and compell kyngs and Princes agaynſt their wylles, and agaynſt right and Scripture to applye to his imperious purpoſe, may the better vnderſtand therby, what was the true cauſe and ground why yͤ kyng firſt began to take ſtomacke agaynſt the Pope, & to ſend hym cleane packyng out of this Realme. But before I ſhall produce this foreſayd ſentence of yͤ Pope definitiue, to make yͤ matter more playne to the reader, it ſhall not be amiſſe, firſt to diſcipher and ryppe vp the originall of ſuch occaſions as ſhall induce the reader to the better vnderſtandyng of this fallyng out betwene the kyng and the Pope.

For ſo I finde by the letters of Doct. Steuen Gardiner, written to Cardinal Wolſey, from Rome, (at what tyme hee and Doct. Foxe were ſent Ambaſſadours by the kyng to Pope Clement the 7. about the expedition of the kynges diuorce, an. 1532) that the ſayd Pope Clement with the counſaile of the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, and other Cardinals, at firſt was well willyng, and very inclinable to the accõpliſhment and ſatiſfaction of the kynges deſire in that behalfe, and that for diuers reſpectes:

The cauſes mouing the Pope at the firſt to fauour the cauſe of the kings diuorce.

As firſt, for the great benefites receaued, and the ſingular deuotion of the kyng toward yͤ Sea Apoſtolicke, in taking warre for the Churches cauſe, in surceaſing warre at the Popes deſire, and eſpecially in procuryng the Popes deliueraunce, wherby the Pope then thought him ſelf with his whole Sea, much obliged to the king in all reſpectes, to paſſe by his authority whatſoeuer reaſonably might be grãted in gratifiyng the kynges ſo ample merites and deſertes.

* Thys booke called the kinges boke, was a certayn treatiſe concerning the reaſons & argumentes of diuers learned mẽ, for the lawfull diſſolutiõ of the kings mariage, with aunſwere alſo to the contrary obiections of *Abell*, and others. And this booke the kyng here ſent to the Pope.

Secondly, for the euident reaſons and ſubſtantiall argumentes in the *kynges booke conteined, which ſemed well to ſatiſfie the Popes likyng, and to remoue away all ſcruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidẽce that the Pope had in the excellent wiſedome, profounde learnyng, and mature iudgement of the kyng, whiche the Pope (as he ſaid in formal wordes) would ſooner leane vnto, then to any other learned mans mind or ſentẽce, ſo that the kynges reaſons (he ſayd) muſt nedes bee of great efficace and ſtrength of him ſelfe to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cauſe mouyng the Pope to fauour the kynges requeſt, was for the quyet and tranquilitie of his conſcience, whiche otherwiſe in that vnlawfull mariage with his brothers wife could not be ſattled.

The fifte cauſe.

The fift cauſe was for the conſideration of the perils and daungers, whiche otherwiſe might happen to the Realme by yͤ pretẽſed titles of the kyng of Scottes, & other, without an heyre male to eſtabliſh the kynges ſucceſſion: for the auoydyng of whiche perils and alſo for the other cauſes aboue rehearſed, the Pope ſhewed hym ſelf at that tyme propenſe and forward to promote & ſet forward yͤ kynges deſired purpoſe in that behalfe.

Read afore pag. 1222. 1224.

And thus much touchyng this bymatter I thought here to ſuggeſte, and repeate to the reader, albeit the ſame is alſo ſufficiently expreſſed before, pag. 1222. and 1224. to the ende that the ſtudious reader ponderyng theſe firſt procedynges of the Pope, and comparyng them with this Sentence definitiue, whiche vnder foloweth, may the better vnderſtand what inconſtant leuitie, what falſe dealyng, what crafty packyng, and what contrarietie in it ſelfe, is in thys Popeholy Sea of Rome: as by this caſe of the Pope may well appeare, who in ſhort tyme after all this, was ſo cleane altered from that he was, that where as before hee pretended to eſteme ſo gratfully the kynges trauaile and benefites exhibited to yͤ Sea Apoſtolicke, in his defenſe agaynſt the Emperour and the Spayniardes, now he ioyneth vtterly with the Ceſarians agaynſt the kyng. And where before he ſo greatly magnified the kynges profound learnyng, and mature iudgement, eſtemyng his minde and Sentence aboue all other learned men, to be as a Iudge ſufficient in the direction of this caſe: now turnyng head to the taile, hee vtterly refuſeth to bryng the matter in iudiciũ orbis, but will nedes deteyne it at home. Again, where before he pretended a tender prouiſion for the ſtate of this realme: now he ſetteth all other realmes agaynſt it. And finally where he before ſemed to reſpect the quyet and tranquilitie of the kynges conſcience: now he goeth about to commaund and compell the kyng agaynſt hys wil & conſcience to do cleane contrary to that, which he him ſelf before in his iudgement had alowed, thinkyng to haue yͤ kyng at his becke, & to do and vndoe what he liſted and commaunded: as by the tenour and true copie of this his Sentence definitiue, ye may vnderſtãd. Which as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibite vnto yͤ world, that all mẽ might ſee what iuſt cauſe the kyng had, being ſo preſumptuouſly prouoked by the Pope, to ſhake of his proude authoritie, and vtterly to exile him out of his realme. Marke, I pray thee, the maner of the Popes proude Sentẽce how preſumptuouſly it procedeth.

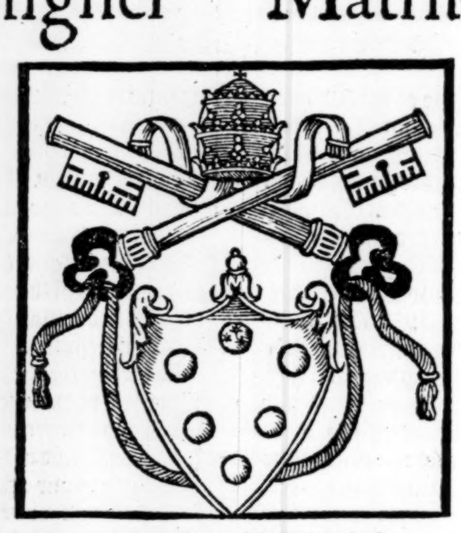
The double dealing of the Pope with *K. Henry*.

The Pope falſe, double, and contrary to hym ſelfe.

The Pope how preſumptuouſly he cõpelleth and commaundeth kinges and princes.

Ex Archetypo Rom. Pontificis ad Catherinam miſſo.

Anglici Matrimonii.



Sentenția diffinitiua

Lata per ſanctiſſimum Dominum Noſtrum. D. Clementem Papam vij. in ſacro Conſiſtorio, de Reuerendiſſimorum. S. R. E. Cardinalium conſilio, ſuper validitate Matrimonij inter Sereniſſimos Henricum. VIII. & Catherinam Angliæ Reges contracti.

PRO

Eadem Sereniſſima Catherina Angliæ Regnia,

CONTRA

Sereniſſimum Henricum. VIII. Angliæ Regem.

Clemens. Papa. 7.

The tenour of the Popes ſentence definitiue agaynſt King Henry. 8.

CHRISTI *nomine inuocato in Throno iuſtitia pro tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitiuam ſententiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrum noſtrorum Sancta Ro. Ec. Car. Conſiſtorialiter coram nobis congregatorum Conſilio & aſſenſu ferimus in his ſcriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus in cauſa & cauſis ad nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam per appellationem, per chariſſimam in* CHRISTO *Filiam Catherinam Angliæ Reginam Illuſtrem a noſtris & Sedis Apoſtolicæ Legatis in Regno Angliæ deputatis interpoſitam legitimè deuolutis, & aduocatis, inter prædictam Catherinam Reginam, & Chariſſimum in* CHRISTO *Filium Henricum. VIII. Angliæ Regem Illuſtrem, ſuper Validitate & inualiditate Matrimonij inter eoſdem Reges contracti & conſummati rebuſq; alijs in actis, cauſæ & cauſarũ huiuſmodi latius deductis, & dilecto Filio Paulo Capiſſucho cauſarum ſacri palatij tunc decano, & propter ipſius Pauli abſentiam Venerabili Fratri noſtro Iacobo Simoneta Epiſcopo Piſaurien. Vnius ex dicti palatij cauſarum Auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendis inſtruendis, & in Conſiſtorio noſtro Secreto referendis commiſſis, & per eos nobis, & eiſdem Cardinalibus relatis & maturè diſcuſſis, coram nobis pendentibus, matrimonium inter prædictam Catherinam, & Henricum Angliæ Reges contractum, & inde ſecuta quecunq; fuiſſe & eſſe Validum & canonicum Validaq; & Canonica, ſuoſq; debitos debuiſſe & debere ſortiri effectus, prolemq; exinde ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiendam fuiſſe, & fore legitimam, & præfatum Henricum Angliæ Regem teneri, & obligatum fuiſſe & fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina Regina eius legitima coniuge illamq; maritali affectione & Regio honore tractandum, & eundem Henricum Angliæ Regem ad præmiſſa omnia & ſingula cum effectu adimplendum, condemnandum omnibuſq; iuris Remedijs cogendum & cõpellendum fore, prout condemnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, moleſtationeſq; & denegationes per eundem Henricum Regem eidem Catherinæ Reginæ ſuper inualiditate ac fœdere dicti Matrimonij quomodolibet factas & præſtitas, fuiſſe & eſſe illicitas & iniuſtas, & eidem Henrico Regi ſuper illis ac inualiditate Matrimonij huiuſmodi perpetuum ſilentium imponendum fore, & imponimus, eundemq; Henricum Angliæ Regem in expenſis in huiuſmodi cauſa pro parte dictæ Catherinæ Reginæ coram nobis, & dictis omnibus legitime factis condemnandum fore, & condemnamus, quarum expenſarum taxationem nobis impoſterum reſeruamus.*

Ita pronuntiamus .I.

Lata fuit Romæ in Palatio Apoſtolico publice in Conſiſtorio die. XXIII. Martij. M. D. XXXIIII.

Bloſius.

The effect in Engliſh.

The effect of thys Sentence is as much to meane in Engliſh: That Pope Clement the vij. with yͤ conſent of hys other brethren the Cardinals aſſembled together in hys Conſiſtorye, ſitting there in the throne of [a] Juſtice, calling vpon the name [b] of Chriſt, and hauing God onelye before hys [c] eyes, doth pronounce, define, and declare in the cauſe and cauſes betwene hys deare daughter Catherin Quéene of England appealing to the ſea Apoſtolicke, and hys beloued [D] ſonne Henry the eight, Kyng of England, concerning the validitie and inualiditie of the Matrimonie heretofore contracted betwene them, and yet depending in the Conſiſtory court of the ſayde Pope Clement: that the ſayd Matrimonie allwayes hath [E] and ſtyll doth ſtand firme and canonical, and that the iſſue proceding, or which ſhall procéede of the ſame, ſtandeth, and ſhall ſtand lawfull and legitimate: and that the foreſayde Henry kyng of England, is & ſhall be bound and obſtrict to the matrimoniall ſocietie and cohabitation with the ſayd Ladye Catherine hys lawfull wyfe and Quéene, to holde and mayntaine her wyth ſuch loue and princely honour, as becommeth a louing huſband, and his kynglye honour to doo. Alſo that the ſayd Henry kyng of England, if he ſhall refuſe ſo to performe and accompliſhe all and ſingular

(A) The Pope ſitteth in the throne of iuſtice, with the lyke humilitie & ſame faſhion, as Lucifer did ſit in the ſeate of the higheſt, and Antichriſt ſitteth in the temple of God.

(B) And ſayd neuer a worde.

(C) Id eſt, hauing no bribes of money in his handes, nor no feare of the Emperour in his hart.

(D) Is not thys a glorious father, that wil haue no beggars to his ſõnes, & daughters, but Emperours, Kinges, & Queenes?

(E) And why then dyd you ſend Campeius to England to diſſolue the ſame matrimonye before? as appeareth aboue pag. 1193.

ſingular the premiſſes, in all effectuall maner, is to bee condemned and compelled hereunto by all remedies of [f] the law, & enforced, according as we do condemne, compell, and enforce hym ſo to doo, prouiding that all moleſtations and refuſals whatſoeuer, made by the ſayd kyng Henry agaynſt the ſayd Quene Catherine, vpon the inualiditie of the ſayd mariage, to haue bene and to be iudged vnlawfull, and vniuſt: and the ſayde king from henceforth for euer to holde hys peace, and not to be heard in any court hereafter [g] to ſpeake touching the inualiditie of the ſayd Matrimonie: like as we alſo do here will and charge him to hold hys peace, & do put hym to perpetuall ſilence herein: Willing moreouer and adiudging the ſayde Kyng Henry to be condemned, & preſently here do condemne him in the expenſes on yͤ ſayd Quene Catherines behalfe here in our court, expoſed and employed in trauerſing the foreſayd cauſe, the valuation of which expenſes, we reſerue to our ſelues to be limited and taxed, as we ſhall iudge meete hereafter.

(f) By hys owne Canon law, he meaneth, and not by the law of God.

(g) Here thou mayſt ſee (good reader) howe the Pope may and doth erre lyke a falſe prophete. For where he thought to put the kyng to ſilence, the ſame ſilence lighted vpon him ſelfe, and wherby the Pope is driuen hymſelfe to ſtand mute in England, and God graunt hee may ſo ſtand for euer, Amē.

We do ſo pronounce. .I.

At Rome in our Apoſtolicall palace publickly in our Conſiſtory. 23. Mart. M.D.XXXIIII.
Bloſius.

Now as you haue heard the preſumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope Clement, wherein hee taketh vpon hym, contrarye to the ordinaunce of God in hys leuiticall law (as before is ſhewed pag. 1197.) and contrary to the beſt learned iudgementes of Chriſtendome, to commaund and compell the kyng againſt hys conſcience, to reteine in Matrimony his brothers wife: here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promyſe, an other like wycked, blaſphemous, and ſclaunderous Bull of Pope Leo againſt Martin Luther, wyth the iuſt Appellation alſo of the ſayd Martyn Luther, from the Pope to a generall Councell. Wherin may appeare to all men the lying ſpirit of the Pope, both in teaching moſt herctical doctrine, derogating frō the bloud of Chriſt, and alſo falſely deprauing and peruerting the ſound doctrine of Luther, falſelye and vntruly chargyng hym wyth hereſy, when he is the greateſt hereticke him ſelfe. For what hereticke woulde euer ſay that the Church of Rome was conſecrate and ſanctified by the bloud of Peter, but onelye the Pope? Or who woulde call this hereſie, to referre all our ſaluation and ſanctification onely and totally to the bloud of the ſonne of God, vnleſſe he were an hereticke of all heretickes him ſelfe? After the like dealing we reade 3.Reg.18. of wicked kyng Achab, who being onelye the diſturber of Iſrael him ſelfe, cryeth out vpon Elias, for troubling Iſrael. So here in ſemblable wyſe Pope Leo, with what heape of tragicall woordes and exclamations doth he fare and rage agaynſt the true ſeruāt of God poore Luther, for diſturbing the church of God, when it is the Pope onely and hys fathers houſe that troubleth, and longe hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by hys doinges all the worlde maye ſee enough and to much. In the meane time reade, I beſeech thee, wyth iudgement this impudent and falſe ſclaunderous Bull of the Pope, with the appeale alſo of Luther agayne from the ſayde Pope. The copye wherof becauſe they be rare to be gottē, & hath not ben hetherto cōmōly ſeene, being before omitted I thought to commit here to hiſtory, as I had it out of certain Regiſters: the maner & tenor wherof is this as foloweth.

Pope Leo hys Bull agaynſt Luther, and the appellation of M.Luther from the Pope, by way of an Appendix.

The Pope playeth with Luther, as Achab played with Elias, ſaying, that he was the troubler of Iſraell, when it was he him ſelfe and his fathers houſe that ſo dyd.

A copye of the Bull of Pope Leo x. no leſſe ſclaunderous then barbarous, againſt Martin Luther and hys doctrine. *Leo Papa.x.*

The Bull of Pope Leo agaynſt M.Luther.

Leo Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Exurge domine & iudica cauſam tuam. Memor eſto improperiorum eorum quæ ab inſipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuā ad preces noſtras, quoniam ſurrexerunt vulpes querentes demoliri vineam, cuius tu torcular ſolus calcaſti, & aſcenſurus ad patrem, eius curam, regimen, & adminiſtrationem Petro tanquam capiti, & tuo vicario eiuſq; ſucceſſoribus inſtar triumphantis eccleſiæ commiſiſti. Exterminare nititur aper de ſylua, & ſingularis ferus depaſcit eam. Exurge Petre, et pro paſtorali cura præfata, tibi (vt præfertur) diuinitus demandata, intende in cauſam ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ matris omnium eccleſiarum ac fidei noſtræ, quā tu (iubente deo) tuo ſanguine conſecraſti, contra quam (ſicut tu præmonere dignatus es) inſurgunt miniſtri mendaces introducentes ſectas perditionis, ſibi celerem interitum ſuperinducentes, quorum lingua ignis eſt, inquietum malum, plena veneno mortifero, qui zelum malum habentes, & contentiones in cordibus ſuis, gloriantur, & mendaces ſunt aduerſus veritatem.

Num Paulus aut Petrus crucifixus eſt pro vobis? 1.Cor.1. Item, Chriſtus factus eſt ſapientia a deo, iuſticia, ſanctificatio & redemptio, vt qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. ibid. Quæ igitur hæc blaſphema eſt vox pontificis, qui cōtra ſcripturas gloriatur in ſanguine Petri?

Exurge tu quoq; queſumus Paule, qui eam tua doctrina, ac pari martyrio illuminaſti atq; illuſtraſti. Iam enim ſurgit nouus Porphirius, qui ſicut ille olim ſanctos Apoſtolos iniuſte momordit, ita hic ſanctos pōtifices, predeceſſores noſtros, cōtra tuā doctrinā eos nō obſecrādo ſed increpando mordere, lacerare, ac vbi cauſæ ſuæ diffidit, ad conuitia accedere non veretur, more hereticorum, quorum (vt inquit Hieronimus) vltimum præſidium eſt, vt cum conſpiciant cauſas ſuas damnatum iri, incipiant virus ſerpentis lingua diffundere, & cum ſe victos conſpiciant, ad contumelias proſilire. Nam licet hæreſes eſſe ad exercitationē fidelium, tu dixeris oportere, eas tamen ne incrementum accipiant, neuè vulpeculæ coaleſcant in ipſo ortu, te intercedente, te adiuuāte extingui neceſſe eſt.

Obſecrauit Lutherus in initio pontificem, & audiri non potuit. Nunc increpat Lutherus pontificem, & ferri non poteſt. Et quid hic Lutherus fecit niſi iuxta doctrinam Apoſtolicam quæ ait: Argue inſta, increpa. &c. 2.Tim.4.

Exurgat deniq; omnis ſanctorum ac reliqua vniuerſalis eccleſia, cuius vera ſacrarum literarum interpretatione poſthabita, quidam quorum mentem pater mendacij excæcauit, ex veteri hæreticorum inſtituto apud ſemetipſos ſapiētes, Scripturas eaſdē aliter quàm ſpiritus ſanctus flagitet, proprio duntaxat ſenſu ambitionis, auræ quoq; popularis cauſa, teſte Apoſtolo, interpretantur: imo vero & torquent & adulterant: ita vt, iuxta Hieronimum, iam non ſit Euangelium Chriſti, ſed hominis, aut, quod peius eſt, diaboli.

Exurgat, inquam, præfata Eccleſia ſancta dei, & vnà cū beatiſſimis Apoſtolis præfatis, apud deum omnipotentem intercedat, vt purgatis omnium ſchiſmaticorum erroribus, eliminatiſq; a fidelium finibus hæreſibus vniuerſis, Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſanctæ pacem & vnitatem conſeruare dignetur.

Dudum ſiquidem (quòd præ animi anguſtia & mærore exprimere vix poſſumus) fide dignorū relatu, ac fama publica referente, ad noſtrum peruenit auditū, imo vero (proh dolor) oculis noſtris vidimus ac legimus, multos & varios errores, quoſdam videlicet per Concilia, ac predeceſſorum noſtrorum conſtitutiones damnatos, hæreſim etiam Grecorum & Bohemicam expreſſe continētes, alios vero reſpectiuè vel hæreticos, vel falſos, vel ſcandaloſos, vel piarum aurium offenſiuos, vel ſimplicium mentium ſeductiuos, a falſis fidei cultoribus qui per ſuperbam curioſitatē mundi gloriam cupientes contra Apoſtoli doctrinam plus ſapere volunt quam oporteat, quorum garrulitas (vt inquit Hieronimus) ſine ſcripturarum authoritate non haberet fidem niſi viderentur peruerſam doctrinam etiam diuinis teſtimonijs, malè tamen interpretatis, roborare (à quorum oculis dei timor receſſit) humani generis hoſte ſuggerente nouitèr ſuſcitatos, & nuper apud quoſdā leuiores in inclyta natione Germanica ſeminatos. Quod eo magis dolemus ibi eueniſſe, quòd eandem nationem & nos & prædeceſſores noſtri in viſceribus ſemper geſſerimus charitatis. Nam poſt tranſlatum ex Græcis a Romana Eccleſia in eoſdem Germanos imperium, iidem prædeceſſores noſtri & nos eiuſdem Eccleſiæ aduocatos defenſoreſq; ex eis ſemper accepimus. Quos quidem Germanos, catholicæ veritatis verè Germanos, conſtat hæreſium acerrimos oppugnatores ſemper fuiſſe. Cuius rei teſtes ſunt laudabiles illæ cōſtitutiones Germanorum Imperatorum pro libertate Eccleſiæ, proq; expellendis, exterminandiſq; ex omni Germania hæreticis, ſub grauiſſimis pœnis, etiam amiſſionis terrarum & dominiorum contra receptatores, vel non expellentes, olim aditæ & a noſtris prædeceſſoribus confirmatæ: quæ ſi hodie ſeruarentur, & nos & ipſi vtiq; hac moleſtia careremus.

Tune es ille qui conturbas Iſraël? 3.Reg.18.

Teſtis eſt in concilio Conſtatienſi, Huſſitarum ac VVickleuiſtarum, nec non Hieronimi Pragen. damnata ac punita perfidia. Teſtis eſt totiens contra Bohemos Germanorum ſanguis effuſus. Teſtis deniq; eſt prædictorum errorum ex eis per Colonia & Louania vniuerſitates vtpote agri Dominici pijſſimas religioſiſſimaſq; cultrices, nō minus docta q̄ vera ac ſancta confutatio, reprobatio & damnatio. Multa quoq; alia allegare poſſimus, quæ ne hiſtoriam texere videamur, prætermittenda cenſuimus.

Pro paſtoralis igitur officij, diuina gratia nobis iniuncti cura quam gerimus, prædictorum errorum virus peſtiferum vlterius tolerare ſeu diſſimulare, ſine Chriſtianæ religionis nota atq; orthodoxæ fidei iniuria nullo modo poſſumus. Eorum autem errorum aliquos præſentibus duximus inferendos, quorum tenor ſequitur, & eſt talis.

Heretica eſt ſententia ſed vſitata, Sacramenta nouæ legis iuſtificātem gratiam illis dare, qui non ponunt obicem.

In puero poſt Baptiſmum negare remanens peccatum: eſt Paulum eſt Chriſtum ſimul conculcare.

Articuli Lutheri quos Papa tanquā hæreticos damnauit.

Fames

Fomes peccati,etiamſi nullum adſit actuale peccatum,moratur exeuntem è corpore animam ab ingreſſu cœli.

Imperfecta charitas morituri, fert ſecū neceſſariò magnum timorem,qui ex ſe ſolo ſatis eſt facere pœnam Purgatorÿ & impedit introitum regni.

Tres eſſe partes pœnitentiæ,contritionem,confeſſionem,& ſatisfactionem,non eſt fundata in ſacra Scriptura,nec in antiquis ſanctis Chriſtianis Doctoribus.

Contritio affectata.

Contritio quæ paratur per diſcuſſionem,collectionem, & deteſtationem peccatorum, qua quis recogitat annos ſuos in amaritudine animæ ſuæ,ponderando peccatorum grauitatē, multitudinem, fœditatem,amiſſionem eternæ beatitudinis, ac eternæ damnationis acquiſitionem , hæc contritio facit hypocritam, imo magis peccatorem.

Optima pœnitentia, noua vita.

Veriſſimum eſt prouerbium & omnium doctrina de contritionibus huc vſq; data præſtantius,de cætero non facere. Summa pœnitentia, optima pœnitentia noua vita.

Nullo modo præſumas confiteri peccata venialia,ſed nec omnia mortalia,quia impoſſibile eſt vt omnia mortalia cognoſcas:vnde in primitiua Eccleſia ſolum manifeſta mortalia confitebantur.

Dū volumus omnia purè confiteri, nihil aliud facimus q̄ quòd miſericordiæ dei nihil volumus relinquere ignoſcendū.

Peccata non ſunt vlli remiſſa , niſi remittente ſacerdote credat ſibi remitti:imo peccatum maneret niſi remiſſum crederet . Non enim ſufficit remiſſio peccati & gratiæ donatio, ſed oportet etiam credere eſſe remiſſum.

Nullo modo confidas abſolui propter tuam contritionem, ſed propter verbum Chriſti.

Quodcunq; ſolueris. &c. *Hic confide ſi ſacerdotis obtinueris abſolutionem, & crede fortitèr te abſolutum, & abſolutus verè eris.*

Si per impoſſibile confeſſus non eſſet contritus , aut ſacerdos non ſerio ſed ioco abſolueret, ſi tamen credat ſe abſolutū, veriſſimè eſt abſolutus.

In ſacramento pœnitentiæ ac remiſſione culpæ non plus facit Papa epiſcopus , quàm infimus ſacerdos:imo vbi non eſt ſacerdos,æquè tum facit quilibet Chriſtianus,etiā ſi mulier aut puer eſſet.

Nullus debet ſacerdoti reſpondere ſe eſſe contritum , nec ſacerdos require.

Magnus eſt error eorum qui ad ſacramenta Eucheriſtiæ accedunt, huic inniti , quòd ſunt confeſſi, quòd non ſunt ſibi cōſcÿ alicuius peccati mortalis,quòd præmiſerint orationes ſuas & preparatoria,omnes illi ad iudiciū ſibi mādu cāt, & bibunt : ſed ſi credant,& confidant ſe gratiam ibi conſequuturos, hæc ſola fides facit eos puros & dignos.

Conſultum videtur quòd eccleſia in communi Cōſilio ſtatueret laicos ſub vtraq; ſpecie cōmunicandos , nec Bohemi communicantes ſub vtraq; ſpecie ſunt hæretici ſeu ſchiſmatici.

Theſauri eccleſiæ vnde Papa dat indulgentias , non ſunt merita Chriſti et ſanctorū. Indulgētiæ ſunt piæ fraudes fidelium,& remiſſiones bonorum operum,& ſunt de numero eorum quæ licent,& non de numero eorum quæ expediunt.

Indulgentiæ, his qui veraciter eas conſequuntur,non valent ad remiſſionē pœnæ pro peccatis actualibus debitæ apud diuinam iuſtitiam.

Seducuntur credentes indulgentias eſſe ſalutares & ad fructum ſpiritus vtiles.

Indulgentiæ neceſſariæ ſunt ſolum publicis criminibus, & propriè conceduntur duris ſolummodo & impatientibus.

Indulgentiæ quot modis inutiles, & quibus.

Sex generibus hominum indulgentiæ nec ſunt neceſſariæ nec vtiles,videlicet mortuis ſeu morituris , infirmis , legitimè impeditis , his qui non commiſerunt crimina,his qui crimina commiſerunt ſed non publica, his qui meliora operantur.

Excommunicationes ſunt tantum externæ pœnæ,nec priuant hominem cōmunibus ſpiritualibus eccleſiæ orationibus.

Docendi ſunt Chriſtiani plus diligere excommunicationem, quam timere.

Romanus Pontifex Petri ſucceſſor, non eſt Chriſti Vicarius ſuper omnes totius mundi eccleſias ab ipſo Chriſto in beato Petro inſtitutus.

Verbum Chriſti ad Petrum : Quodcunq; ſolueris.&c.*extenditur duntaxat ad ligata ab ipſo Petro.*

Certum eſt in manu eccleſiæ aut Papæ prorſus non eſſe, ſtatuere arciculos fidei,imo nec leges morum ſeu bonorum operum.

Si Papa cum magna parte eccleſiæ , ſic vel ſic ſentiret, nec etiam erraret,adhuc non eſt peccatum aut hæreſis contrarium ſentire , preſertim in re non neceſſaria ad ſalutem, donec fuerit per Conſilium vniuerſale alterum reprobatum, alterum approbatum.

Via nobis facta eſt enarrandi autoritatem Conciliorum, & libere contradicendi eorum geſtis,& iudicandi eorum decreta,& confidenter confitendi quicquid verum videtur,ſiue probatum fuerit ſiue reprobatum a quocunq; Concilio.

Si Eſaias propheta omnes Iuſtitias noſtras pro ſordibus habeat & panno menſtruato, quid peccat in hoc articulo Lutherus, qui cuncta bona opera,quatenus per ſe extra fidem conſiderantur, iniuſticiæ coarguat & peccati?

Aliqui articuli Iohannis Huſſi condemnati in Concilio Conſtantienſi, ſunt chriſtianiſſimi,veriſſimi , & euangelici quos nec vniuerſalis eccleſia poſſet damnare.

In omni opere bono iuſtus peccat.

Opus bonum optime factum,eſt veniale peccatum.

Præceps hic pontificis furor in exurendis hæreticis merito damnatur,nec vllum habet ſcripturæ euangelicæ fundamentum.

Hæreticos comburi eſt contra voluntatem ſpiritus.

Preliari aduerſus Turcas, eſt repugnare deo viſitanti iniquitates noſtras per illos.

Articulus de bello Turcis non inferendo, ex locis Lutheri male decerptis non recte collectus ad calumniam traditur.

Nemo eſt certus ſe non ſemper peccare mortaliter propter occultiſſimum ſuperbiæ vitium.

Liberum arbitrium poſt peccatum, eſt res de ſolo titulo: et dum facit quod in ſe eſt,peccat mortaliter.

Purgatorium non poteſt probari ex ſacra ſcriptura quæ ſit in Canone.

Animæ in Purgatorio non ſunt ſecuræ de earum ſalute, ſaltem omnes,nec probatū eſt vllis aut rationibus aut ſcripturis ipſas eſſe extra ſtatum merendi aut augendæ charitatis.

Animæ in Purgatorio peccant ſine intermiſſione,quamdiu quærunt requiem,& horrent pœnas.

Animæ ex Purgatorio liberatæ ſuffragÿs viuentiū , minus beantur quam ſi per ſe ſatiſfeciſſent.

Prælati eccleſiaſtici & principes ſeculares non malefacerent,ſi omnes ſaccos mendicantium delerent.

Qui quidem errores reſpectiuè q̄ ſunt peſtiferi, q̄ pernicioſi, q̄ ſcandaloſi. q̄ piarum & ſimplium mētium ſeductiui, q̄ deniq; ſunt contra omnem charitatem ac ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ matris omniū fidelium & magiſtræ fidei, reuerentiam atq; neruum Eccleſiaſticæ diſciplinæ,obedientiam ſilicet, quæ fons eſt & origo omnium virtutum, ſine qua facile vnus quiſq; infidelis eſſe conuincitur,nemo ſanæ mentis ignorat.

En tibi lector præclarā illam Galaaditarum reſinā et medicinā quam Rom. pontifex inferius tantopere iactitat.

Nos igitur in præmiſſis, vtpotè grauiſſimis , propēſius(vt decet) procedere,nec huiuſcemodi peſti morboq; canceroſo,ne in agro dominico tanq̄ vepris nociua vlterius ſerpat,viam præcludere cupientes, habita ſuper prædictis erroribus & eorū ſingulis diligenti trutinatione,diſcuſſione, ac diſtricto examine,maturaq; deliberatione , omnibuſq; rite penſatis ac ſæpius ventilatis cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris S. R. E. Cardinalibus ac regulariū ordinū Prioribus ſeu miniſtris generalibus,pluribuſq; alÿs ſacræ Theologiæ, necnon vtriuſq; iuris profeſſoribus,ſiue magiſtris & quidē peritiſſimis, reperimus eoſdē errores reſpectatiuè (vt præfertur) aut articulos non eſſe catholicos, nec tanq̄ tales dogmatizandos, ſed contra catholicæ Eccleſiæ doctrinā ſiue traditionē, atq; ab ea verā diuinarū Scripturarū receptam interpretationē,cuius auctoritati ita acquieſcendū cenſuit Auguſtinus,vt dixerit ſe Euāgelio non fuiſſe crediturū,niſi Eccleſiæ catholicæ interueniſſet auctoritas . Nā ex eiſdē erroribus vel eorū aliquo vel aliquibus , palā ſequitur eandē Eccleſiā, quæ ſpiritu ſancto regitur,errare & ſemper erraſſe. Quod eſt vtiq; contra illud , quod Chriſtus diſcipulis ſuis in Aſcenſione ſua (vt in ſancto Euangelio Mathæi legitur)promiſit,dicens: Ego ſum vobiſcum vſq; ad conſumationem ſeculi. *Necnon contra ſanctorum patrum determinationes,Conciliorum quoq; & ſummorum Pontificum expreſſas ordinationes ſeu Canones, quibus non obtemperaſſe , omnium hereſum & ſchiſmatum(teſte Cypriano)fomes & cauſa ſemper fuit.*

De eorundem itaq; venerabilium fratrum noſtrorum conſilio, & aſſenſu,ac omnium & ſingulorum prædictorū matura deliberatione prædicta, autoritate omnipotentis dei & beatorum Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli & noſtra,præfatos omnes & ſingulos articulos ſeu errores tanq̄(vt permititur)reſpectiuè hereticos, aut ſcādaloſos,aut falſos,aut piarum aurium offenſiuos , vel ſimplicium mentium ſeductiuos,& veritati catholicæ obuiantes , damnamus reprobamus,atq; omnino reÿcimus,ac pro damnatis, reprobatis , & reiectis ab omni vtriuſq; ſexus Chriſti fidelibus haberi debere harum ſerie decreuimus & declaramus : Inhibentes in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ,ac ſub maioris excommunicationis pœnæ latæ ſententiæ , & amiſſio-

amiſſionis omnium dignitatum, beneficiorum eccleſiaſticorum ſiue ſecularium ac priuationis inhabilitatiſq; quorumuis Ordinū regularium, priuilegiorum quorumcumq; indultorum a ſede Apoſtolica cuiuſcumq; tenoris exiſtant, poteſtatis etiam ſtudium generale tenendi, legendi, ac interpretandi quaſuis ſcientias & facultates, nec non amiſſionis cuiuſcumq; Emphyteoſis, ſeu quorumcumq; feudorum, ac etiā inhabilitatis ad ea & alia in poſterum obtinenda, nec non inhibitionis Eccleſiaſticæ ſepulturæ, & inſuper criminis læſæ Maieſtatis, porro ſub ipſis hæreticorum & fautorum eorumdē in iure expreſſis pœnis, eo ipſo & abſq; vlteriori declaratione, ſi (quod abſit) contra fecerint, incurrendis, omnibus & ſingulis vtriuſq; ſexus Chriſtifidelibus tam laicis q̄ Eccleſiaſticis, ſecularibus, & quorumuis ordinum regularibus & alijs quibuſcumq; perſonis cuiuſcumq; ſtatus, gradus, vel conditionis exiſtant, & quacunq; Eccleſiaſtica vel mūdana præfulgeant dignitate, etiā ſanctæ Ro. Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, patriarchis, primatibus, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, patriarchaliū, metropolitanarū, & aliarū cathedraliū, collegiatarum, ac inferiorū Eccleſiarum prælatis, clericis, alijſq; perſonis Eccleſiaſticis, ſecularibus, & quorumuis ordinum etiam mendicantium, regularibus, abbatibus, prioribus, vel miniſtris generalibus, vel particularibus fratribus, ſeu religioſis, exemptis & non exemptis, ſtudiorum quoq; vniuerſitatibus, ſecularibus & quorumuis ordinū etiam mēdicantiū, regularibus, necnon regibus, Imperatoris electoribus, principibus, ducibus, marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Capitaneis, conductoribus, domicellis, omnibuſq; officialibus, Iudicibus Notarijs eccleſiaſticis & ſecularibus, cōmunitatibus, vniuerſitatibus, potētatibus, Ciuitatibus, caſtris, terris & locis, ſeu eorū, vel earū ciuibus, habitatoribus & incolis, ac quibuſuis alijs perſonis Eccleſiaſticis vel regularibus (vt præfertur) per vniuerſum orbem vbicumq;, & præſertim in Alemania exiſtentibus vel pro tempore futuris, ne præfatos errores, aut eorū aliquos, peruerſamq; doctrinā huiuſmodi aſſerere, affirmare, defendere, prædicare, aut illi quomodolibet publicè vel occultè quouis quæſito ingenio vel colore tacitè vel expreſſe, fauere præſumant.

Emphyteoſis idem, quod latine dicitur melioratio, cum in melioré ſtatum id conuertimus quod prius incultum acceperimus.

Inſuper quia errores præfati & plures alij continentur in libellis ſeu ſcriptis cuiuſdam Martini Lutheri, dictos libellos & omnia dicti Martini ſcripta, ſeu prædicationes quæ in Latino vel quocunq; alio idiomate reperiantur in quibus dicti errores ſeu eorū aliquis cōtinētur, ſimiliter damnamus, reprobamus atq; omnino reijcimus, & pro omnino dānatis, reprobatis, ac reiectis (vt præfertur) haberi volumus, mandantes in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ & ſub pœnis prædictis eo ipſo incurrendis, omnibus & ſingulis vtriuſq; ſexus Chriſtifidelibus ſuperius nominatis, ne huiuſmodi ſcripta, libellos, prædicationes, ſeu ſchedulas, vel in eis contenta capitula, errores, aut articulos ſupradictos continentia, legere, aſſerere, prædicare, imprimere, publicare, ſiue defendere, per ſe vel alium ſeu alios, directè vel indirectè, tacitè vel expreſſè, publicè vel occultè, aut in domibus ſuis ſiue alijs publicis vel priuatis locis tenere quomodolibet præſumāt, quinimo illa ſtatim poſt harum publicationem, per ordinarios diligenter quæſita ſolemniter in præſentia cleri & populi ſub omnibus & ſingulis ſupradictis pœnis comburant.

Primū Lutherus amice & modeſte de Indulgentijs diſputauit, Poſtulauit hoc tuum, Papa Leo, officiū vt pari modeſtia canones illius, vel ſi ſane fuiſſent admitterentur, vel ſi falſa, ex ſcripturis reuincerentur. Hoc factū nō eſt. Poſtea ſupplex ſe tibi ſubmiſit, quātum incolumi veritate licuit: quem tu indigne reieceras. Deinde ſubmiſit ſe vniuerſitatum iudicio: ne ſic quidem receptus eſt. Doceri poſtulauit aut commonſtrari ſaltem errores, at nihil eſt præſtitū. priuſq; doctrina illius dānata, quam audita eſt. Prouocauit poſt hæc ad Conciliū: ne id quidem admiſſum eſt. Tot igitur quum prætermiſſa ſint abs te officia, nūc rogas tamen quid prætermiſimus. &c.

Quod vero ad ipſum Martinum attinet, bone deus, quid prætermiſimus? quid non fecimus? quid paternæ charitatis omiſimus vt eum ab huiuſmodi erroribus reuocaremus? poſtq̄ enim eum citauimus, mitius cum eo procedere volentes, illum inuitauimus, atq; tam per diuerſos tractatus cum legato noſtro habitos, q̄ per literas noſtras hortati fuimus, vt a prædictis erroribus diſcederet, aut ad nos oblato etiā ſaluo conductu & pecunia ad iter neceſſaria, ſine metu ſeu timore aliquo, quē perfecta charitas foras mittere debet, veniret, ac Saluatoris noſtri Apoſtoliq; Pauli exemplo, non in occulto, ſed palam & in facie loqueretur.

Quod ſi feciſſet, pro certo (vt arbitramur) ad cor reuerſus, errores ſuos recognouiſſet, nec in Romana curia, quam tantopere vanis maleuolorū rumoribus plus q̄ oportuit tribuendo, vituperat, tot reperiſſet errata: docuiſſemuſq; eum luce clarius, Sanctos Rom. pontifices prædeceſſores noſtros, (quos præter omnē modeſtiā iniurioſe lacerat) in ſuis canonibus ſeu conſtitutionibus (quas mordere nititur) nunq̄ erraſſe, quia, iuxta Prophetā, nec in Galaad reſina, nec medicus deeſt. Sed obaudiuit ſemper, & prædicta citatione, omnibuſq; & ſingulis ſupradictis ſpretis, venire contempſit, ac vſq; præſentem diem contumax atq; animo indurato cenſuras vltra annum ſuſtinuit, et quod deterius eſt, addens mala malis, de citatione huiuſmodi notitiam habens in vocem temerariæ appellationis prorupit ad futurū Conciliū, contra conſtitutionē. Py. 2, & Iulij. 2. prædeceſ. noſtrorū, qua cauetur taliter appellantes hæreticorum pœna plectendos. Fruſtra etiā Cōcilij auxiliū implorauit, qui illi ſe nō credere profitetur, ita vt contra ipſum tanq̄ de fide notoriè ſuſpectum, imo vere hæreticum, abſq; vlteriori citatione vel mora ad condemnationem eius tanq̄ hæretici, ac ad omnium & ſingul. ſupraſcriptarum pœnarum & cenſurarum ſeueritatem poſſemus procedere. Nihilominus, de eorundē fratrū noſtrorū conſilio, omnipotentis dei imitantes clementiam, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, ſed magis vt conuertatur & viuat, omnium iniuriarum hactenus nobis & ſedi Apoſtol. illatarū obliti, omni qua poſſumus pietate vti decreuimus, & quantum in nobis eſt, agere vt propoſita manſuetudinis via, ad cor reuertatur, & a prædictis recedat erroribus, vt ipſum tanq̄ filium prodigum ad gremium Eccleſiæ reuertentem benigne recipiamus.

Quod Rom. Pontifices prædeceſſores veſtri in ſuis canonibus, & cōſtitutionibus nunquam errauerint, id vos Romani docebitis ad Græcas, quod aiunt, Calendas.

Ipſum igitur Martinum & quoſcumq; ei adhærentes, eiuſq; receptores & fautores per viſcera miſericordiæ dei noſtri, & per aſperſionem ſanguinis domini Ieſu Chriſti, quo & per quem humani generis redemptio & ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ ædificatio facta eſt, ex toto corde hortamur atq; obſecramus, vt ipſius Eccleſiæ pacem, vnitatem, & veritatē pro qua ipſe Saluator tam inſtanter orauit ad patrem, turbare deſiſtant, & a prædict. tā pernicioſis erroribus prorſus abſtineant, inuenturi apud nos, ſi effectualiter peruenerint, & paruiſſe per legitima documenta nos certificauerint, paternæ charitatis affectum & apertum manſuetudinis & clementiæ fontem:

Imo ipſe totidem verbis te rogat (Leo Papa) & hortatur vt manifeſtæ veritati obniti, & contra euangelij ſtimulum calcitrare deſiſtas.

Inhibentes nihilominus eidem Martino ex nunc vt interim ab omni prædicatione ſeu prædicationis officio omnino deſiſtat, alioqui vt ipſum Martinū, ſi forte iuſticiæ & virtutis amor a peccato non retrahat indulgentiaq; ſpes ad pœnitentiam non reducat, pœnarum terror coerceat diſciplinæ. Eundem Martinum eiuſq; adhærentes, complices, fautores, & receptatores tenore præſentium requirimus & monemus in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ, & ſub prædictis omnibus pœnis eo ipſo incurrendis diſtrictè præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus infra 60. dies, quorum 20. pro primo, viginti pro ſecundo, & reliquos 20. dies pro tertio & peremptorio termino aſſignamus, ab affixione præſentium in locis infra ſcriptis immediate ſequentes numerandos, ipſe Martinus, complices, fautores, adhærentes, & receptatores prædicti a præfatis erroribus eorumq; prædicatione ac publicatione & aſſertione, defenſione quoq; & librorum ſeu Scripturarum editione ſuper ijſdem ſiue eorum aliquo omnino deſiſtant, libroſq; & Scripturas omnes & ſingul. præfatos errores, ſeu eorum aliquos quomodolibet continentes, comburāt vel comburi faciant.

Ipſe etiā Martinus errores & aſſertiones huiuſmodi omnino reuocet, ac de reuocatione huiuſmodi per publica documenta in forma iuris valida in manibus duorum prælatorum conſignata ad nos infra alios ſimiles 60. dies tranſmittenda, vel per ipſummet, ſi ad nos venire voluerit (quod magis placeret) cum præfato pleniſſimo ſaluo conductu, quem ex nunc concedimus deferenda, nos certiores efficiat, vt de eius vera obedientia nullus dubitationis ſcrupulus valeat remanere.

Alias, ſi (quod abſit) Martinus præfatus, complices, fautores, adhærentes & receptatores præfati ſecus egerint, ſeu præmiſſa omnia & ſingula infra terminum prædictum cum effectu non impleuerint, Apoſtoli imitantes doctrinam qui hæreticum hominem poſt primam & ſecundam correctionem vitandum docuit, ex nunc prout ex tunc & è conuerſo eundem Martinum, cōplices, adhærentes, &c. tanq̄ aridos palmites in Chriſto non manentes, ſed doctrinam contrariam, catholicæ fidei inimicam, ſiue ſcandaloſam, ſeu damnatā, in non modicam offenſam diuinæ maieſtatis ac vniuerſalis eccleſiæ & fidei catholicæ detrimentum & ſcandalum dogmatizantes & prædicantes, claues quoq; Eccleſiæ vilipendentes, notorios & pertinaces hæreticos eadem authoritate fuiſſe & eſſe declarantes, eoſdem vt tales harum ſerie cōdemnamus, & eos pro talibus haberi ab omnibus vtriuſq; ſexus Chriſtifidelibus volumus & mandamus:

Doctrina Apoſtolica hæreticū hominem vitare iubet ſemel ac iterum admonitum, cæterum pro hæreticis trucidari innocentes ac præmijs propoſitis conquiri ac trahi ad lanienam id nuſquam iubet.

Inhibemus præterea ſub omnibus & ſingul. præmiſſis pœnis eo ipſo incurrendis, ne quis ſcripta, etiam præfatos errores nō continentia, ab eodem Martino vel condita vel condenda, ſeu eorum aliqua, tanq̄ ab homine orthodoxæ fidei inimico, atq; ideo vehementer ſuſpecto, vtq; eius memoria omnino deleatur de Chriſtifidelium conſortio, legere, aſſerere, prædicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare, ſiue defendere, per ſe vel alium, vel alios, directe, vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſè, publicè vel occulte quoquo modo præſumat, quinimo illa comburat, vt præfertur.

Monemus inſuper omnes & ſingulos Chriſtifideles ſub eadem excommunicationis latæ ſententiæ pœna, vt hæreticos prædictos mandatis noſtris non obtemperantes, poſt lapſum termini ſupradicti euitent, & quantum in eis eſt euitari faciant &c. Ad maiorem præterea dicti Martini, ſuorumq; complicum, fautorum, ac adhærētium, ſic poſt lapſum termini ſupradicti declaratorū hæreticorū & cōdēnatorū confuſionē, vniuerſis vtriuſq; Sexus Chriſtifidelibus, patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, patriarchalium, metropolitan. &c. Prælatis, capitulis, &c. Nec non ſingulis principibus quacunq; Eccleſiaſtica vel mundana fulgentibus dignitate, Regibus, Imperatoris electoribus, ducibus &c. præſertim in Alemania conſtitutis mandamus, quatenus ſub prædictis pœnis, ipſi vel eorum quilibet præfatum Martinum, complices, adhærentes, & fautores perſonaliter capiant, & captos ad noſtram inſtantiam retineant & ad nos mittant, reportaturi pro tam bono opere, a nobis & ſede Apoſtolica remunerationem, vel ſaltem vt eos de Metropolitanis, Cathedral. Collegiat. & alijs Eccleſijs, domibus, monaſterijs, conuentibus, ciuitatibus &c. omnino expellant. Eos qui ſecus egerint, vna cum locis ipſis, ad quæ eundem Martinum declinare contigerit, q̄ diu ibi remanſerit, & triduo poſt eius receſſum, eccleſiaſtico ſubijcimus interdicto.

Et vt præmiſſa omnibus innoteſcant, mandamus inſuper vniuerſis patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis &c. Vbilibet per vniuerſum orbem, præſertim in Alemania conſtitutis, quatenus ipſi vel eorum quilibet ſub ſimilibus cenſuris & pœnis eo ipſo incurrendis, Martinum,

num, omneſq́ & ſingulos ſupradictos, qui elapſo termino mandatis noſtris non paruerint, in eorum Eccleſijs, dominicis & alijs feſtiuis diebus, dum inibi maior populi multitudo ad diuina conuenerit, hæreticos condemnatos publicè nuncient, faciantq́ ab alijs nunciari, & ab omnibus arctius euitari: ſimulq́ præſentes litteras, vel earũ tranſumptum in eorum Eccleſijs affigi faciant.

Excommunicamus quoq́ omnes & ſingulos, cuiuſcunq́ ſtatus, gradus, conditionis, praeminentiæ, dignitatis aut excellentiæ fuerint, qui quo minus præſentes literæ aut earum tranſumpta affigi & publicari poßint, quoquo modo procurauerint per ſe vel alium ſeu alios, publicè vel occultè, directè vel indirectè, tacitè vel expreßè. &c.

Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginã noſtræ dãnationis, reprobationis, reiectionis, decreti, declarationis, inhibitionis, voluntatis, mandati, hortationis, obſecrationis, requiſitionis, monitionis, aßignationis, confeßionis, condemnationis, ſubiectionis, excommunicationis, & anathematizationis, infringere vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis dei, ac beatorũ Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum eius, ſe nouerit incurſurum.

Datum Romæ apud S. Pet. an. 1520. 17. *Calend. Iulij. Pontificatus noſtri.* 8.

Concordat cum Originali.

¶The ſaid ſclaũderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo the. x. againſt Luther, in Engliſh, with the aunſwere of Luther ioyned to the ſame.

The Popes Bull in Engliſhe.

LEO Biſhop, ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God, for a perpetuall memory hereof. Riſe vp O Lord, & iudge thy cauſe. Remẽber the rebukes wherwith we are ſcorned all the day long of fooliſh rebukers. Encline thyne eare to our prayers: for Foxes are riſen vp, ſeking to deſtroy thy vineyard, the vinepreſſe wherof thou onely haſt troden, and aſcending vp to thy Father, haſt committed the charge and regiment therof vnto Peter as chief head, and to thy Vicar & his ſucceſſors. The wylde Bore out of the wood ſeeketh to exterminate and roote vp thy vineyard. Riſe vp Peter, and for this thy paſtorall charge cõmitted to thee from aboue, entend to the cauſe of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all Churches, and of our faith, which thou by the commaundement of God dydſt conſecrate with thine owne bloude: agaynſt whych (as thou haſt foretolde vs) falſe lyers haue riſen vp, bringing in ſectes of perdition, to their own ſpeedy deſtruction. whoſe tong is like fyre, full of vnquietnes, and repleniſhed with deadlye poyſon: who hauyng a wycked zeale, and nouriſhing contentions in their hartes, doo bragge and lye againſt the veritie.

Note here and marke good reader, how the Church of Rome holdeth by the bloud of S. Peter, and not by the bloud of Chriſt.

Riſe vp Paule alſo, we pray thee, which haſt illuminate ẏ ſame church with thy doctrine & lyke martyrdome. For now is ſprong vp a new Porphyrie, who, as ẏ ſaid Porphyrie then vniuſtly did ſclaũder thy holy Apoſtels, ſo ſẽblably doth this man now ſclaunder, reuile, rebuke, bite, and barke againſt the holy biſhops our predeceſſors, not in beſeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he diſtruſteth hys cauſe, there hee falleth to obprobrious checkes and rebukes, after the wonted vſe of heretickes, whoſe vtmoſt refuge is thys (as Hierome ſaith) that whẽ they ſee their cauſe go to wrack, then like Serpents they caſt out their venome with their tong, and when they ſee them ſelues neare to be ouercome, they fall to rayling. For though hereſies (as thou ſayeſt) muſt needes bee, for the exerciſe of the faithfull: yet leſt theſe hereſies ſhould further encreaſe and theſe Foxes gather ſtrength againſt vs, it is needefull that by thy meanes and helpe, they be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed at the beginning.

Finally let all the whole vniuerſall Church of Gods Saintes and Doctors ryſe vp, whoſe true expounding of holy ſcripture being reiected, certayne perſons (whoſe hartes the father of lyes hath blinded) and wyſe in theyr own conceites (as the maner of hereticks is) do expound the ſcriptures otherwyſe then the holye Ghoſt doth require, following onely their own ſenſe of ambition and vainglory: yea rather do wraſt and adulterate the ſcriptures: ſo that as Hierome ſayth, now they make it not ẏ goſpel of Chriſt, but of mã, or which is worſe, of ẏ deuill.

Let all the holy Church I ſay, ryſe vp, and wyth the bleſſed Apoſtels together make interceſſion to almighty God, that the errours of all ſchiſmatickes being rooted and ſtocked vp, hys holye Church maye be conſerued in peace and vnitie.

For of late (which for ſorow we cã not expreſſe) by credible information & alſo by publicke fame it hath come to our eares, yea we haue ſeene alſo & read with our eyes, diuers & ſundry errours, of which ſome haue ben condẽned by Councels & conſtitutions of our predeceſſours, contaynyng expreſlye the hereſie of the Grekes and of the Bohemians: ſome againe reſpectiuely, eyther hereticall, or falſe, or ſclaunderous, or offenſiue to good eares, or ſuch as maye ſeduce ſimple myndes, newlye to be raiſed vp, by certaine falſe pretenſed Goſpellers: who by curious pride, ſeeking worldly glory againſt the doctrine of the Apoſtle, would be more wyſe then becõmeth them, whoſe babling (as S. Hierome calleth it) without authoritie of ẏ ſcriptures, ſhould finde no credite, vnleſſe they ſhould ſeme to cõfirme their falſe doctrine euẽ with teſtimonies of the ſcripture, but yet falſely interpreted. which worketh vs ſo much ẏ more griefe, for that thoſe hereſies be ſprong in ẏ noble nation of ẏ Germanes, vnto the which nation we with our predeceſſours haue alwaies borne ſpeciall fauour & affection. For after ẏ Empyre was firſt tranſlated by the church of Rome, from the Grekes vnto the Germanes, the ſayd our predeceſſours & we, haue alwayes had thẽ as ſpeciall fautours & defenders of this our church, & they haue alwayes ſhewed thẽ ſelues as moſt earneſt ſuppreſſours of hereſies: as witnes wherof remaine yet thoſe laudable conſtitutions of the Germane Emperours, ſet forth & confirmed by our predeceſſors, for the libertie of the church, & for expulſing heretickes out of all Germanie, and that vnder greuous penaltie and loſſe of all their goods and landes. which conſtitutions, if they were obſerued this preſent daye, both we & they ſhould now be free frõ this diſturbance.

Reſpectiuely.

The Germanes in olde tyme moſt addicted to popery aboue all other nations.

Furthermore, the hereſie of the Huſſites, Wicleuiſtes, & of Hierome of Prage, being condemned & puniſhed in the Councell of Conſtance, doth witnes the ſame. Moreouer doth witnes ẏ ſame, ſo much bloud of the Germanes ſpilt fightyng agaynſt the Bohemians. To conclude, the ſame alſo is confirmed and witneſſed by the learned and true confutation, reprobation and condemnation ſet forth by the Vniuerſities of Colene and Louaine in Germany againſt ẏ foreſayd errours. Many other witneſſes alſo we might alledge, which here, leaſt we ſhould ſeme to write a ſtory, we pretermit.

Wherfore we for the charge of our Paſtorall office cõmitted vnto vs, can no longer forbeare or wincke at the peſtiferous poyſon of the foreſayd errours: of the whiche errours we thought here good to recite certain. The tenour of which is this, as foloweth.

Articles of Luther.

It is an olde hereſie to ſay, that the Sacramentes of the new law doth geue grace to thẽ, qui non ponunt obicem. 1. *Which haue in them ſelues to the contrary, no let.*

In a child after his Baptiſme, to denye that ſinne remayneth, is to tread downe Paul and Chriſt vnder foote.

The origine of ſinne, although no actuall ſinne do folowe after, doth ſtaye the ſoule leauyng the body, from the entraunce into heauen.

Unperfite charitie of a man departyng, muſt nedes bring with it great feare, whiche of it ſelfe is inough to deſerue the payne of Purgatory, and ſtoppeth the entrãce into the kingdome of heauen.

To ſay that penaunce ſtandeth of three partes, to wytte, contrition, confeßion, and ſatisfaction, is not founded in holy Scripture, nor in auncient, holy and Chriſtian Doctours.

Contrition, whiche a man ſtirreth vp in hym ſelfe, by diſcußyng, remembryng, and deteſtyng his ſinnes, in reuoluyng his former yeares in bytternes of ſoule, and in ponderyng the wraight, nũber, and filthynes of hys ſinnes, the leeſing of eternall bliſſe, and gettyng of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh a man an hypocrite, yea a greater ſinner.

Beſt penance a new life.

It is an old prouerbe and to bee preferred before the doctrine of all that haue written hetherto of contrition: from hence forth to tranſgreſſe no more. The chiefeſt and the beſt penaunce is a new lyfe.

Neuer preſume to confeſſe thy veniall ſinnes nor yet all thy mortall ſinnes, for it is impoßible to remember all the mortall ſinnes that thou haſt committed, and therfore in the primitiue Churche they confeſſed the mortall ſinnes, which onely were manifeſt.

While we ſeeke to nũber vp all our ſinnes ſyncerely vnto the Prieſt, we meane nothing ells herein, but that we will leaue nothyng to the mercy of God, to be forgeuen.

In confeßion no man hath his ſinnes forgeuen, except hee beleue, when the Prieſt forgiueth, the ſame to bee remitted: yea otherwiſe his ſinne remayneth vnforgiuen, vnleſſe he beleue the ſame to be forgiuen. For els remißion of the Prieſt, *and giuyng of grace doth not ſuffice, except beliefe come on his part, that is remitted.*

Thinke not thy ſinne to bee aſſoyled, for the worthynes of thy contrition, but for the worde of Chriſt: What ſoeuer thou looſeſt, &c. *When thou art abſolued of the Prieſt, truſt confidently vpon theſe wordes, and beleue firmely thy ſelfe to be abſolued, and then art thou truly remitted.*

Math. 16.

*Admitte the partie that is confeſſed were not contrite (whiche is*impoſſible) or that the Prieſt pronounced the wordes of looſing not in earneſt, but in ieſte: yet if the partie beleue that he is abſolued, he is truly abſolued in dede.*

* Impoſſible, becauſe it cã not be that the fayth of the true confeſſion can be without contrition.

In the Sacrament of penaunce and abſolution, the Pope, or Byſhop do no more, then any inferiour Prieſt can do. Yea and where a Prieſt is not to bee had, there euery Chriſten man, yea or Chriſten woman ſtandeth in as good ſtede.

**None ought to ſay to the Prieſt, that hee is contrite, neither ought the Prieſt to aſke any ſuch matter.*

* He meaneth thys, becauſe that as no mã knoweth all hys ſinnes, ſo no man can be contrite for them ſufficiẽtly.

It is a great errour of them whiche come to the holy houſell truſtyng vppon thys, that they are confeſſed, that their conſcience grudgeth them of no deadly ſinne, that they haue ſayd their prayers, and done ſuch other preparatiues before: all thoſe do eate and drinke to their own iudgement. But if they beleue there to obteyne Gods grace, this fayth maketh them pure and worthy.

It were good, that the Churche ſhould determine in a generall Councell, lay men to communicate vnder both kindes: and the Bohemians ſo doyng, be therein neither heretickes, nor ſchiſmatikes.

The treaſures out of whiche the Pope doth graunt hys Indulgences, are not the merites of Chriſt, nor of the Saintes.

*Indulgences & Pardons be a deuout ſeducing of the faithfull, & a hinderaunce to good workes: and are in the nũber of them, which be thynges *lawfull, but not expedient.*

* Thys he correcteth in hys aſſertions of theſe Articles, & ſaith that Indulgences be neyther lawfull nor expedient. And lykewyſe hee correcteth and reuoketh the Articles following of Indulgences, and taketh all Indulgences & Pardons cleane away.

Pardons and Indulgences, to them whiche haue them, auayle not to remiſſion of the puniſhement due before God, for actuall ſinnes committed.

They which thinke that Indulgences are wholeſome & conducible to the fruite of the ſpirite, are deceaued.

Indulgences are onely neceſſary for publicke tranſgreſſions, and are onely graunted to them that are obſtinate and impatient.

Indulgences and Pardons are vnprofitable to 6. ſortes of perſons. 1. to them that be dead, or lye in dying. 2. to them that be weake and infirme. 3. to ſuch as haue lawfull impedimentes. 4. to them that haue not offended. 5. to ſuch as haue offended but not publickely. 6. to thoſe that amende and doo well.

Excommunications be onely outward puniſhmentes, and do not depriue a man of the publicke ſpirituall prayers of the Churche.

Chriſtians are to be taught rather to loue excommunication, then to dread it.

The Byſhop of Rome, ſucceſſour of Peter, is not the Vicar of Chriſt, ordeyned by Chriſt & S. Peter, to haue authoritie ouer all the Churches in the world.

The woordes of Chriſt to Peter, What ſo euer thou looſeſt, &c. *Mat. 16. extend no further, but onely to thoſe thynges, whiche be bounde of Peter hym ſelfe.*

It is not in the handes either of the church or of the Pope, to make Articles of the fayth, yea or lawes either of maners, or good workes.

Albeit the Pope with a great part of the Churche teachyng ſo or ſo, dyd not erre therin: yet it is no ſinne nor hereſie for a man to holde contrary to them, namely in ſuch thynges, whiche are not neceſſary to ſaluation, ſo long as it is not otherwiſe condemned or approued by a generall Councell.

We haue a waye made playne vnto vs to infrynge the authoritie of Councels, & frely to gaynſtand their doynges, & to iudge vpon their Decrees, and boldly to ſpeake our knowledge what ſoeuer we iudge to be true, whether the ſame bee approued or reproued by any generall Councell.

Some of the Articles of Iohn Hus *condemned in the Councell of* Conſtance, *are Chriſtian, moſt true, and Euãgelicall, whom the Vniuerſall Churche can not condemne.*

In euery good worke the iuſt man ſinneth.

**Euery good woorke of ours, when it is beſt done, is a veniall ſinne.*

* This Article is true, if the worke ſhould be brought to be tryed by Gods iudgemẽt. And here alſo he correcteth hym ſelf in thys word veniall, becauſe all ſinnes are damneble.

To burne heretickes is agaynſt the will of the ſpirite.

**To fight againſt the* Turkes, *is to repugne againſt God viſityng our iniquities by them.*

* He meaneth that we ſhould ſpeciallye reforme our liues which deſerue the Turkes to plage vs.

Free will after ſinne, is a title and name onely of a thyng, and while a man doth that which lyeth in hym, he ſinneth deadly.

Purgatory can not be proued out of holy Scripture, which is Canonicall.

Soules in Purgatory be not certain of theyr ſafetie, at leaſt not all, neither is it proued by reaſons or by Scriptures, that they be vtterly out of the ſtate to deſerue, or encreaſe charitie.

**Soules in Purgatory do ſinne without intermiſſiõ, ſo long as they ſeeke reſt, and dread puniſhement.*

The Soules beyng deliuered out of Purgatory by the prayers of the liuyng, be leſſe bleſſed, then if they had ſatiſfied for them ſelues.

* Theſe Articles alſo of Purgatorye he correcteth, and taketh Purgatorye cleane awaye.

Eccleſiaſticall Prelates and worldly Princes ſhould not do amyſſe, if they woulde ſcoure away all the bagges of begging Friers.

All which errours there is no mã in his right wittes but he knoweth the ſame in their ſeuerall reſpectes, how peſtilent they be, how pernitious, how much they ſeduce godly and ſimple mindes, and finally, how much they be agaynſt all charity, and agaynſt the reuerence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all faythfull, and miſtres of the fayth it ſelf, and agaynſt the ſynewes & ſtrength of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, which is obedience, the fountaine and wellſpryng of all vertues, and without the which euery man is to be conuinced eaſely to be an infidell.

We therefore deſiryng to procede in the premiſſes more earneſtly, as behoueth in thinges of moſt importãce, and meaning to cutte of the courſe of thys peſtiferous and cankered deceaſe, leſt it ſhould ſpread it ſelfe further in the Lordes field, lyke hurtfull brãbles or bryers, and vſing vpon the ſaid errours, and euery of them, diligent triall, debatyng, ſtraite examination, ripe deliberation: and further, weying and thorowly ſifting all and euery of the ſame together with our reuerend brethrẽ, the Cardinals of the holy church of Rome, the Priors of the orders regular, or miniſters generall, alſo with dyuers other profeſſours & maſters of Diuinitye, and of both the Lawes, and thoſe the beſt learned: do fynde the foreſaid errours or articles reſpectiuely, as is aforeſayd, not to be catholike, nor to be taught as catholike, but to be againſt the doctrine or tradition of the Catholike church, and againſt the true interpretation of holy ſcripture receaued by the ſame: to whoſe authoritie Auguſtine thought we ought ſo much to leane, that hee would not (as he ſayd) haue beleued the Goſpell, if the authoritie of the Churche had not therto moued hym.

Concilium malignantium.

For by theſe errours, or at leaſt by ſome of them it foloweth conſequently, that the ſame Churche, whiche is guyded by the holy Ghoſt, now doth, and euer hath erred, which is vtterly agaynſt that, which Chriſt at ẏ time of his Aſcenſiõ (as we read in ẏ holy goſpel of Mathew) promiſed to his Diſciples, ſaying: *I am with you vntill the end of the world &c:* and alſo agaynſt the determinations of the holy fathers, agaynſt the expreſſe ordinaunces or Canons of Councels and head Byſhops, whom not to obey, hath alwayes bene the cauſe and nourſe of all hereſies and ſchiſmes, as Cyprian doth witnes.

The Pope taketh vpon hym the title of a falſe Church.

Wherefore by the Councell and aſſent of the ſayd our reuerend brethren, vpon due conſideration of all and ſingular the premiſſes, by the authoritie of almighty God, and of the bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul, and our own, we do condemne, reproue, and vtterly reiect, all and ſingulare the Articles or errours aforeſayd reſpectiuely, as ſome to be hereticall, ſome to bee ſclaunderous, ſome offenſiue to godly eares, or els ſeducyng ſimple myndes, and repugnant to the Catholicke truth, and by the tenour hereof, we here decree and declare that they ought of all Chriſten people both men and wemen, to be taken as dãned, reproued, & reiected. And therefore forbyddyng here vnder paine of the greater curſe, and excommunication, loſing of their dignities, whether they be Eccleſiaſticall or temporall, and to be depriued & made vncapable of all regular orders and priuiledges, geuen and graunted by ẏ ſea Apoſtolicke of what conditiõ ſoeuer they be:

The Articles of *Luther* condemned.

alſo of loſyng their liberties to hold generall ſcholes, to read and profeſſe any ſcience and facultie: of loſyng alſo their tenures and feofementes, & of inhabilitie for euer to recouer the ſame agayne, or any other: moreouer vnder payne of ſecluding from Chriſtian buriall, yea and of treaſon alſo, and incurryng ſuch paynes and puniſhementes expreſſed in the lawe, as are due for all heretikes and fautors of the ſame: we charge and commaunde all and ſingular Chriſten people both men and wemen, as well of the laitye as of the Clergye, both ſecular and alſo regular, of what order ſoeuer they be, and briefly all other perſons, of what degree or cōdition ſo euer they be, or in what dignitie ſoeuer they are placed, either Eccleſiaſticall or temporall: as firſt the Cardinals of the holy Churche of Rome, Patriarkes, Primates, Archbyſhops, Biſhops, with the Prelates and heades of the Churches Patriarchall, Metropolitane, or other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other ſmall and inferiour Churches: to all Clerkes and other perſonnes Eccleſiaſticall, as Abbottes, Priors, or Miniſters generall or particular, brethren or religious men exēpt and not exempt: alſo Vniuerſities of Scholes, & all other as well ſecular Prieſtes as regular, and religious perſons of all orders, yea of the beggyng Friers alſo: Item, Kynges, Electours of the Imperiall crowne, Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Barons, Capitaynes, Conductours and Seruitures, & all Officers, Iudges, Notaries, whether they bee Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular: Communnalties, Vniuerſities, Dominions, Cities, Caſtels, Lordſhips, and places, with the inhabiters of the ſame: and finallye, all other perſons what ſoeuer, Eccleſiaſticall or regular, diſperſed in what ſoeuer places through the whole * vniuerſall worlde, or whiche ſhalbe hereafter diſperſed, but ſpeciallye in hygh Almainy, that they ſhal not preſume publickely or priuatly vnder any maner of pretence or colour, colourably or expreſſely, or how els ſo euer, to hold, maynteine, defende preach or fauour the foreſaid errours or any of thē, or any ſuch peruerſe doctrine.

Beholde how kinges come after bagges and wallets, and begging Fryers.

* Here may be a doubt, whether the man in the Moone bee exempted with hys bushe of thornes on hys necke out of thys Bull, or not.

The bokes of *M. Luther* condemned.

Ouer and beſides, forſomuch as the foreſayd errours and many other are conteyned in the bokes or writyngs of the foreſayd Martin Luther, therfore we condemne, reproue, and vtterly reiecte and hold for vtterly condemned, reproued, and reiected the foreſayd bookes and all the writynges of the ſayd Martin, with hys preachyngs, in what toung ſoeuer they are found, wherin the ſaid errours or any of them is cōteyned: willyng & commaundyng vnder the vertue of holy obedience, and incurryng the penalties aforeſayd, to all and ſingular Chriſten people, both men and womē aboue rehearſed, that they preſume not by any maner of wayes, directly or indirectly, colourably or expreſſely, priuely or apertly, either in their houſes or in other publicke or priuate places, to read, holde, preach, print, publiſh or defend, either by thē ſelues or by others, but ſtraight waies after yͤ publiſhing hereof they do burne or cauſe to be burned the ſayd errours, by their ordinaryes diligently being ſearched out and ſolemnely preſented in the ſight of the whole Clergye and people, vnder all and ſingular the penaltyes aforeſayd.

* Let vs ſee here what y. haue not done: Firſt Luther gently ſubmitted him ſelf: but you reiected hym: he then referred him to the iudgement of 4. Vniuerſities in Germanye, it would not be taken: he then appealed from the Cardinall to the Pope, the Pope refuſed hym: then he appealed from the Pope to the Councell, neither byd the Pope admitte that: he required to be conuinced by the Scriptures, the Pope neyther would nor could ſo do. And yet the Pope ſayth he left nothyng vndone.

Ierem. 8.

Now, as touchyng the ſayd Martin, O good Lorde, what haue we left * vndone? what haue we left vnattēpted? what fatherly charitie haue we not ſhewed, whereby to haue reduced hym from theſe errours? For after that we did cite hym, thynkyng to procede with hym more fauorably, we inuited and exhorted hym as well by diuers tractatiōs had with our Legate, as by our owne letters, that he would relinquiſh yͤ foreſaid errors, or els hauing ſafeconduct offered to him with money neceſſary for his iorney, to come to vs without any feare or dread, whiche perfect charitie ought to caſt out, and ſo after the example of our Sauiour and hys Apoſtle S. Paul, hee would ſpeake, not in corners and in ſecret, but opēly to our face. Whiche if he had done, of truth we thinke no leſſe, but that reformyng hym ſelfe, he would haue recogniſed hys errours, neither ſhould haue found ſo many faultes in the Court of Rome, which he beyng ſeduced with the rumours of malicious people more then he ought, doth ſo much reprehend. Where we would haue taught hym to ſee more clearely then the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome our predeceſſours (whom he without all modeſty moſt iniuriouſly doth rayle vppon) did neuer erre in their Canons and conſtitutions (which hee ſo much depraueth.) For as ſayth the Prophet: *Neither is there roſine nor Phiſicion* lackyng in Galaad. But he hath alwayes ſhewed him ſelfe diſobedient, and refuſed at our Citation to appeare, and yet to this preſent day continuyng ſtill in hys ſtubburne mynde and hart indurate, hath remayned now more then a yeare vnder our curſe, yea and moreouer addyng miſchief to miſchief (whiche is worſt of all) he hearyng of this our Citation, burſt out into a a preſumptuous Appellation from vs, vnto the next generall Councell, agaynſt the conſtitution both of Pope Pius the ſecond, and Pope Iulius the ſecond our predeceſſours, whiche ſo decreed that all they whiche ſo did appeale, ſhould be puniſhed as heretickes.

Here note, good reader, that Luther appealed fro the Pope to the Councell two yeares before thys Bull: which was, an. 1518.

In vayne alſo he ſeketh refuge to the generall Councell, which profeſſeth hym ſelf not greatly to regard ſuch Councels. So that now we myght lawfully procede agaynſt hym as agaynſt one notoriouſly ſuſpected of hys faith, yea a very heretick in dede, without any further Citation or delay, to the condemnation of hym as of an hereticke, and to the ſeueritie of all and ſingular paynes and cenſures afore written. Yet we notwithſtandyng by the counſell of our brethren aforeſayd, folowyng the clemency of almighty God, *VVhiche VVill not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould conuert and lyue,* and forgettyng all iniuries heretofore done vnto vs and to yͤ Sea Apoſtolicke, haue thought good to vſe al fauourable meanes toward hym that we might, and ſo to worke (as much as in vs lieth) that he by this way of manſuetude, might be brought to reformation: ſo that he forſakyng hys former errours, might be receyued as the loſt child, and returne home agayne into the lappe of hys mother the Church.

The popes exhortation to *Luther.*

Wherfore in moſt hartye wiſe we exhorte and beſech the ſayd Martin and all hys adherentes, receiuers, and fautors, by the bowels of the mercy of our God, and by the ſprinklyng of the bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, in whom and by whom is made the redemption of mankynd and the edification of holy mother Churche, that they will ceaſſe to diſturbe the peace, vnitie, and verity of the ſayd Church, for the whiche our Sauiour ſo inſtantly prayed to hys father, and that they will abſtayne from ſuch pernicious errours aforeſaid. Who in ſo doyng ſhal fynde with vs (if they ſhall obey, or ſhall certifye vs by lawfull witneſſes to haue obeyed effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charitie and a full fountayne opened of all mercy and clemency: willyng and chargyng the ſayd Martin notwithſtandyng from henceforth that hee vtterly deſiſte in the meane time from all preachyng and office of preachyng. Or els if the loue of Iuſtice and vertue ſhall not reſtrayne the ſayd Martin from ſinne, neyther the hope of our pardon ſhall reduce hym to repentaunce: to the intent that the terrour of puniſhment and of diſcipline may bridle hym, we require and admoniſhe the ſayd Martin and his adherentes, abettours, fautours and receiuers, by the tenour hereof, in the vertue of holy obedience and vnder incurring of all the penalties aforeſayd, diſtrictely chargyng and commaundyng that within lx. dayes, (wherof xx. we aſſigne for the firſt, xx. for the ſecond, and the other xx. for the thyrde and peremptory terme) immediatly folowyng after the ſettyng vppe of theſe preſent letters, that the ſayd Martin, his abettours, fautours, adherētes and receyuers aforeſayd, do ſurceaſe from the foreſayd errours, and from the preachyng, publiſhyng, maynteyning and defendyng of the ſame: alſo from ſettyng out of bokes or Scriptures vpon the ſayd errours or any of thē: and furthermore, that they burne or cauſe to be burned all and ſingular ſuch bookes and Scriptures as conteyne the foreſayd errours or any of them by any maner of way.

The Pope threatneth *M. Luther* with puniſhment.

The popes ſafe conduct to *Luther* offered.

Alſo that the ſayd Martin doe vtterly reuoke thoſe errours and aſſertions, and ſo to certifie vs of the reuokyng therof by publicke teſtimonie in due forme of law, ſigned by the handes of two Prelates, to be ſent vnto vs within the terme of other lyke lx. dayes, or els to bee brought by hym vnto vs if he him ſelfe will come (which woulde pleaſe vs much rather) with a full ſafeconduct aboue mēcioned, which frō henceforth we are content to offer vnto hym, to the entēt that no ſcruple of doubt touching his true obedience ſhould hereafter remayne.

Contrarywiſe, if the ſayd Martin (whiche God defend) hys abettours, fautors, adherentes and mainteyners aforeſayd ſhall otherwiſe do, or ſhall not fulfill to euery effect and purpoſe, all and ſingular the premiſſes within the terme aforeſayd, we then folowyng the doctrine of the Apoſtle, which teacheth vs to auoyde an hereticall perſon after the firſt and ſecond correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now, declaryng by our authoritie the ſayd Martin, hys abettours, fautors, adherentes, maintayners & receyuers as withered brāches not remaynyng in Chriſt, but teachyng and preachyng contrary doctrine, repugnaunt to the Catholicke fayth, ſclaunderous and damnable, to the great offence of Gods maieſty, to the detriment and ſclaunder of the vniuerſall Churche and Catholicke faith, and deſpiſyng the keyes of the Churche: to be and to haue bene notorious and obſtinate heretickes, do condemne the ſame for ſuch by the tenour hereof, willyng and commaundyng them to bee holden and taken for ſuch of all Chriſten people aforeſayd.

Ouer and beſydes we forbyd vnder the incurryng of all and ſingular yͤ penalties afore expreſſed, in ſo doyng, that no man preſume by any maner of way, directly or indirectly, ſecretly or expreſſely, priuely or apertely, to read, hold, preach, prayſe, print, publiſhe, or defend either by them ſelues or by any other the ſayd bookes and wrytynges, not onely thoſe wherein the errours aforeſayd are conteyned, but alſo all others what ſoeuer haue bene or ſhalbe ſet forth, writtē, or made by the ſayd Martin vehemently ſuſpected as a pernicious enemy of the Catholicke faith, to the entent that his memory may vtterly bee rooted out frō yͤ fellowſhip of all Chriſten people, or rather with fyre to conſume them as is afore declared.

All the bookes of Luther both good and badde, condemned by the Pope.

We admoniſhe moreouer all and ſingular Chriſtes faythfull people vnder the ſayd payne of the great curſe, to auoyde or cauſe to bee auoyded ſo much as in thē doth lye, the foreſayd heretickes not obedient to our commaundemētes, and to haue no fellowſhyp or any conuerſation or cōmunion with them or with any of them, neither to miniſter to them thynges neceſſary. And moreouer, to the more confuſion of the ſayd Martin, with hys abettours, adherentes, & retayners aforeſayd thus beyng declared and condemned as heretickes, after the expyryng of the terme aforeſayd, we commaunde all and ſingular Chriſtes faythfull people both men & women, as Patriarkes, Archbiſhops, Prelates of Churches, either Patriarchall, Metropolitane, & other Cathedrall, Collegiate and inferiour Churches, to Deanes and Chapiters, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons ſecular and of all other orders, euen of the begging Friers alſo, namely of that congregation, where the ſayd Martin is profeſſed or hath hys abode: alſo to regular, exempt & not exempt: Item, to all and ſingular Princes, what dignitie or callyng ſo euer, either Eccleſiaſticall or temporall they be of: to Kynges, Princes Electours, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barōs, Captaines, Conductours, Seruitures, Communalties, Vniuerſities, Dominions, Cities, Landes, Caſtles, and places or the Citizens and inhabitantes thereof: and briefly, to all and ſingular other aforeſayd, through the vniuerſall world diſperſed, ſpecially in Almanye, that they and euery of them vnder all and ſingular penalties aforeſayd, do perſonally apprehend the ſayd Martin, his abettours, adherentes, receyuers and fautors, and to receyue them beyng apprehended, at our inſtaunce, and to ſend them vnto vs (who in ſo doyng, for their good worke ſhall receyue of vs and of the ſea Apoſtolicke, condigne reward and recōpence) or at leaſt that they vtterly driue them and euery one of thē out of their Metropolitane, Cathedrall, Collegiate, & other Churches, houſes, Monaſteries, Couentes, Cities, Dominiōs, Vniuerſities, Communalties, Caſtles, landes, and places reſpectiuely, aſwell the Clergy men as the regular and laymen, all and ſingular aforeſayd.

Apoca.13. And hee ſhall haue power and cōmaundement vpō euery company, & people, & tounge, and nation.&c.

The Pope here dreameth of a drye Sommer, thinking all the world to be ſubiect vnto hym.

Thoſe Cities, Dominiōs, Landes, Caſtels, Villages, Communalties, holdes, Townes and places whereſoeuer they be ſituate reſpectiuely, Metropolitane, Cathedrall, Collegiate and other Churches, Monaſteries alſo, Priories, Couentes, and religious and deuout places of what order ſo euer (as is aforeſayd) vnto the whiche it ſhall chaunce the ſayd Martin to come, ſo longe as hee or they ſhal there remaine, and three dayes after their departyng from thence, we here gyue ouer to the Eccleſiaſticall interdiction.

And that the premiſſes may be knowen to all men, we commaūde moreouer all Patriarkes, Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Prelates of Patriarchall, Metropolitane, and other Cathedrall & Collegiate Churches, to Deanes and Chapters, and other perſons Eccleſiaſticall and of what order els ſo euer aforeſayd, to regular brethren, religious Monkes exempt and not exempt aforeſayd, where ſo euer they dwell, and eſpecially within Almanye, that they and euery of them vnder lyke cenſures and paynes, do publickely denounce and cauſe and commaund to be denounced of others, the ſayd Martin, with all and ſingular hys foreſayd adherentes whiche ſhall not obey our commaundementes and moniſhions within the terme aforeſayd, vpon euery Sonday, and other Feſtiualles dayes, within their Churches, when as the greateſt concourſe of people ſhall reſorte to Diuine ſeruice, to be declared & condemned for heretickes, and that all Chriſtes faythful people ſhall auoyde them, vnder the ſayd cenſures and penalties as be afore expreſſed, and that they do ſet vp theſe preſentes or cauſe to be ſet vp, or the tranſcript of them made vnder the forme hereafter enſuyng, in their Churches, Monaſteries, Houſes, Couentes, and other places there openly to be ſene and read.

Item, we do excōmunicate and curſe all and ſingular perſons of what ſo euer ſtate, degree, condition, preeminence, dignitie, or excellency they be, whiche ſhall procure or cauſe to be procured by them ſelues or other, priuely or apertly, directly or indirectly, ſecretly or expreſly, wherby theſe preſentes or the copyes tranſcript, or the examples of them can not be read, ſet vp and publiſhed in their landes and dominions. &c.

Let no man therfore be ſo bold to dare to infrynge or with raſhe preſumption, to contrary this wrytyng of our damnation, reprobation, reiection, decree, declaratiō, inhibition, will, commaundement, exhortation, beſechyng, requeſt, admonition, aſſignation, graūt, condemnation, ſubiection, excommunication, and curſe. And if any perſon and perſons dare preſume to attempt the ſame, let hym know and be ſure that he ſhall incurre the indignation of almighty God, and of hys bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul.

Cuius contrarium verum eſt.

Geuen at Rome at S.Peters.an.1520.17.Calend Iulij, and of our Popedome the eight yeare.

Although it was ſomewhat long before this Bull aforeſayd of Pope Leo, beyng ſent & diſperſed through all other places abroad, could come to the handes of Luther, yet ſo ſone as he, by meanes of his frēdes, might get a ſight therof, he ſhaped agayne an aunſwere to the ſame: in ſuch ſorte, as I am ſure the Pope hym ſelfe will ſay, that his Bull was neuer ſo bayted, and ſo well fauouredly ſhaken in all his dayes, as by yͤ handlyng of the matter and readyng of his aunſwere may euidently appeare. The contentes and copie of the which aunſwere I thought here next after the ſayd Bull, immediatly to exhibite to the Chriſtien reader, that who ſo is diſpoſed to conferre the one with the other, hauyng them both at hande, may iudge the better of the whole matter and cauſe, and alſo may ſee the true Image of the Pope out of his paynted viſour appeare in hys owne perfect colours. The aunſwere now to the Bull firſt in Latin and then in Engliſhe, here followeth.

M.Luther aunſweryng agayne to the Popes Bull.

The Popes Bulbayting.

The Pope deſcribed in hys colours.

IESVS.

Martinus Lutherus Chriſtiano lectori, gratiam Chriſti in ſalutem æternam.

FAMA peruenit ad me, Chriſtiane Lector, exiiſſe Bullam quādam aduerſum me, penè in omnem terram, priuſq; ad me, in quem vnice furit, & cui maximè erat inferenda, veniret. Fortè, quod noctis & tenebrarum ſcilicet filia, timuit lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipſam noctuam, vix tandem multum adiuuantibus amicis, in imagine ſua, datum eſt videre. Quæ cauſa eſt, vt adhuc incertus eſſe cogar, ludant ne in me Papiſtæ mei, libello quodam famoſo & anonymo, an ſerio & verè ſic Romæ inſaniant. Neq; enim hic ſtilus (vt dicitur) neq; proceſſus Romanæ curiæ ſeruatus eſt, tum, quod maxime vrget, Articulos & imponit & damnat planè ac manifeſtè Chriſtianiſſimos, vt mihi omnium veriſimillimum ſit hāc prolem eſſe monſtri illius Ioannis Eccij, hominis ex mendacijs, ſimulationibus, erroribus, hæreſibuſq; conſuſi & conſuti.

The aunſwere of M. Luther to the Popes Bull, in latin.

Auget ſuſpitionem, quòd idem Eccius talis Bullæ Apoſtolus fuiſſe dicitur Romanus. Neq; enim tali Apoſtolatu dignior vllus Apoſtolus. Atq; ſuperioribus diebus audieram, parturiri in vrbe, contra me Bullam quandam, diram & ſæuam, eodem coartifice Eccio, id quod ſtilus & ſaliua indicant, ſed quæ illic bonis & eruditis quibuſq; viris ſummè diſpliceret, eoq; differretur, imo opprimeretur.

Ioan.Eccius.

Verum quicquid ſit, mihi incredibile non eſt, vbi Apoſtolus Eccius auditur & valet, ibi Antichriſti regnum eſſe, & nihil non inſaniarum homines audere. Interim tamen agam, ne credam Leonem decimum Romanū Epiſcopum, cum ſuis eruditis Cardinalibus, eſſe harum inſaniarum autores, quod non tam facio vt Romani nominis honorem cuſtodiam, quam ne ſuperbia nimis infler & dignus mihi videar talia, tam pulchra, tam glorioſa pati pro veritate Dei. Si enim verè Ro. Epiſcopus in me ſic inſaniret, quis Luthero coram deo felicior eſſet, qui ob tam manifeſtam veritatem a tanto vertice damnaretur? Quid enim hic optandum mihi foret, quam vt nunq̄

abſoluerer, reconciliarer, communicarer Antichriſto iſti indoctiſſimo, impiiſſimo, furioſiſſimo? Fœlix illa dies, fœlix illa mors, cum gaudio & ſumma gratitudine deo referenda, ſi quando fiat vt in iſta cauſa me apprehendat & perdat. Sed alijs des huius nominis honorem, & dignum quarat iſta cauſa martyrem: ego peccatis meis alia meritus ſum.

Lutherus indignū ſe Martyrio iudicat.

Exiſtimationem igitur ſuam quiſq; habeat de Romanis. Ego quiſquis fuerit huius Bulla autor, eum pro Antichriſto habeo, & cōtra Antichriſtum hac ſcribo, redempturus veritatem Chriſti, quod in me fuerit, quam ille extinguere conatur. Atq; primum (vt nihil in me obtineat ex omnibus qua voluit) proteſtor coram Deo & domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, & ſanctis angelis eius, & toto mūdo, me diſſentire toto corde damnationi huius Bulla, quam & maledico & execror, velut hoſtem ſacrilegam, & blaſphemiam Chriſti filij Dei, & domini noſtri, Amen. Deinde, aſſero & amplector fiducia tota ſpiritus mei, articulos per eam damnatos, aſſerendoſq; pronuntio omnibus Chriſtianis ſub pœna aterna maledictionis, & Antichriſtos habendos quicunq; Bulla conſenſerint, quos & his ſcriptis (coniuncto mihi omnium ſpiritu qui purè Chriſtum cognoſcunt & colunt) pro Ethnicis habeo & deuito, ſecundum praceptum eiuſdem domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, Amen. Hac mea reuocatio eſto, o Bulla verè bullarum filia.

Proteſtatio Lutheri.

Hac mea confeſſione ſeu proteſtatione facta (cuius teſtes eſſe volo omnes qui hac legerint) antequam ad defendendos declarandoſq; articulos procedam, aliquot argumentis in ipſam Bullam confutandam praludere libuit: quorum primum ab inſcitia Antichriſti huius ſumam. Apoſtolus enim Petrus mandat vt de ea qua in nobis eſt fide & ſpe, rationem reddere parati ſimus. Et Paulus Epiſcopum iubet eſſe potententem exhortari in doctrina ſana, & contradicentes redarguere. Atq; hac ipſa ſunt qua iam in tertium annum efflagitaui & expectaui e Roma, aut ijs qui Romam ſapiunt. Qua & obſeruata legimus in antiquis patribus diligentiſſimè, quoties hareſes damnarent, Sed nec Apoſtoli quippiam in ſuis Concilijs ſtatuerunt, niſi allegata primum ſcriptura ſancta. Ita & ego cum expectarem vt facerent vuas, ſcriptura teſtimonijs me erudituri, ecce fecerunt labruſcas, ſuis verbis nudis me condemnantes, cum ego tot ſcripturis mea munierim.

1.Pet.3.
Tit.1.

Eſai.5.
Papiſtæ ſine Scripturis pugnant.

Rogo te Antichriſte indoctiſſime, adeo ne coniunxiſti cum ſumma inſcitia, ſummam temeritatem, vt praſumeres omnes homines eſſe in ſtuporem verſos, & te nudis tuis verbis contra armatiſſimam ſcripturam triumphare credituros? An didiciſti hunc morem damnandi a Magiſtralitatibus Colonien. & Louanien?

Si hoc eſt Eccleſiaſticè damnare errores, tantum dicere, non placet, nego, non volo: quis morio? quis aſinus? qua talpa? quis ſtipes non queat damnare? Non pudeſcit frons tua meretricea, vt ſic in publico Eccleſiaſtico audeas inanibus inermibuſq; verborum tuorum fumis contradicere cœleſtium verborum fulminibus? Planè dedecoroſam & dignam Antichriſto condemnationem, qua tot ſcripturis ſibi repugnantibus, ne iota quidem habet quod opponat, ſed vnico verbo occurrit, dicens: Ego damno. Cur Turca non credimus, cur Iudeos non admittimus, cur hareticos non honoramus (qui & ipſi noſtra damnant) ſi ſufficit damnare? niſi ideo non eis cedimus, quia non ſine ſcripturis & rationibus nos damnant? Ipſi vero more nouo, ſine ſcripturis & rationibus damnant. Quid ergo in cauſa fuiſſe arbitrer vt hac damnatoria Bulla ſic inanis & inermis & verè Bulla incederet, niſi inſignem inſcitiam, qua, cū mea vera eſſe vidiſſent, & tamē pati nollent nec confutare poſſent, tentauerunt vano terriculamento perdita papyri me terrere. Sed Lutherus bellis aſſuetus, Bullis non terretur, & inter inanem papyrum, ac omnipotens verbum dei diſtinguere didicit.

Eiuſdem inſcitia & illud eſt, quòd vexante conſcientia, non ſunt auſi articulos nominatim digerere quoſq; in ordines ſuos. Timuerūt enim ne hareticum aſſererent, quem nec erroneum fortè, nec ſcandaloſum poſſent oſtendere. Proinde inuenerunt aduerbium reſpectiuè, & poſt enumeratos articulos dicunt, alios reſpectiuè hareticos, alios erroneos, alios ſcandaloſos. Quod eſt dicere: nos putamus aliquos eſſe hareticos, alios erroneos, alios ſcandaloſos, ſed neſcimus qui, qualeſq; quanti. O meticuloſa ignorantia, quàm lubrica & fugitiua es? quàm odis lucem? vt vertis ac reuertis omnia, ne capiaris ſicut Protheus quidam: nec ſic tamen euades, immo in aſtutia tua magis comprehenderis & ſubuerteris. Prodi itaq; indoctiſſime Antichriſte. Doce nos ſapiētiam tuam: diſtribue tua ipſius verba: dic, ſi noſti, tu ipſe quid dixeris: oſtende quis ſit hareticus, quis verè erroneus, quis ſcandaloſus, & quis ſit qualiſcunq;. Decet enim tam magnificum damnatorem noſſe quid damnet: turpiſſimum autem ſit damnare articulum hareticum, & eundem non poſſe nominare. Nolo tantum reſpectiuè, ſed abſolutè & certè doceri. Sum enim Occanica factionis, qui reſpectus contemnunt, omnia autem abſoluta habent, vt ſic iocer in iſtam Moriam. Vide ergo mi lector, inſignem inſcitiam Antichriſtianam, quàm infœlici dolo ſe occultare praſumpſit ſub aduerbio reſpectiuè. Non ſolum enim non docet veritatem & cauſam damnationis, ſed nec errorem monſtrare audet, nec hoc ipſum indicare quod damnat, & tamen damnat. Nonne lautiſſima damnatio, damnare & neſcire quid damnes? Nonne diſertiſſima oratio, loqui & neſcire quid loquaris? Quin Anticyras integras his bullatis morientibus optamus? Sic ſapere & facere debent omnes veritatis aduerſarij.

Reſpectiuè aduerb.

Papiſtæ lucifugæ ſcripturarum.

Occanica factio.

Sed ſcio quis dolor Iunonem iſtam premat. Nempe Eccius meus, memor quàm Lipſia pudefactus ſit, dum me ob articulos Huſſi, ſpumantibus labijs ſat plauſibiliter theatro ſuo, hereticum tercenties clamaret furioſa voce, & idipſum poſtea probare non poſſet, cum Conſtantienſis damnatio a me adducta prater ſpem Eccij nullum certum articulum ſignaſſet hareticum, ſed & ipſa ſimilis huic noſtra, per inſcitiā alios hareticos, alios erroneos, alios offenſiuos dixiſſet, & Eccius his auditis turpiſſima temeritate in ſemet confuſus, falſo & mendaciter me hareticum a ſe clamatum ſentiret: voluit Roma huic vulneri ſuo mederi, & mendacium temeritatis ſua ſtabilire. Sed non proficiet, prohibente Chriſto, mendax Sophiſta. Expoſtulo enim adhuc vt abſolutè, non reſpectiuè, diſtinctè non confuſe, certè non ſimulanter, clarè non obſcurè, ſingulariter non in genere dicant quis ſit & quis non ſic hareticus. Sed quando hac facient? Quando Chriſtus & Belial conuenient, aut lux & tenebra ſociabuntur?

Eccius mendax Sophiſta.

Quid ergo faciam ego interim? Primum, meticuloſiſſimos & indoctiſſimos Papiſtas, antichriſtiq; Apoſtolos cōtemnam, illudamq; eis cū Helia, et dicā: Si Baal deus eſt, reſpōdeat. Fortè ebrius eſt, aut in itinere. Clamate voce maiori: deus enim eſt, fortè audit. Quid enim aliud Bullati iſti aſini mereātur, qui dānant id quod neſciunt, & neſcire ſe fatentur? Deinde ſecurus ero, nec hareticus, erroneus, nec ſcandaloſus habendus, donec, ſi non conuictum, tamen ſimpliciter & nudis verbis monſtratum fuerit in quo articulo talis ſim. Neq; enim iam onero Papiſtas meos ſtipites iſtos, vt probent, ſed vt monſtrent ſaltem errorem, hoc eſt, vt oſtendāt an ſciant, quid lallent ipſimet, ſuamue ſaliuam ſentiant. Dum enim nullum deſignant hareticum, mihi liberum eſt quemuis oblatum negare hareticum, & aſſerere catholicum,

3.Reg.18.

Sed & hanc ruditatem fermè aſinina rudiorē, quis non rideat in Antichriſto impiiſſimo & rudiſſimo, quòd optimimi homines diſcernunt hareticos ab erroneis, & hos ab offenſiuis, hos a ſcandaloſis? Qua acutiſſima acutiſſimorum hominum diſtinctione colligimus, erroneum non eſſe hareticum. Quod autem hareticum non eſt, quid ad damnatores Eccleſiaſticos, qui ſolum haretica damnare debent? Nam quod hareticum non eſt catholicum eſt, Chriſto dicente: Qui non eſt cōtra nos, pro nobis eſt. Immo vellē dari mihi ab iſtis viris magnificis Articulum erroneum in Eccleſia, qui non ſit hareticus: ſi enim erroneus eſt, nihil differt ab haretico niſi pertinacia aſſerentis. Omnia enim aqualiter aut vera aut falſa ſunt, licet affectus in vno aliquo vero aut falſo, maior & minor eſſe poſſit. Vides ergo iterum Bullatos meos non poſſe articulum mihi monſtrare qui erroneus & non hareticus ſit, & iterum lallare ſicut furioſos, qui neſciunt quid dicant, damnantes inuentum erroneum non hareticum, qui non poſſit eſſe in rebus neq; verbis: vt quales ſunt articuli, talis ſit & damnatio.

Futilis Papiſtarū diſtinctio inter hæreticum, erroneum, ſcandaloſum, & offenſiuum.

Heretici.

Erronei.

Par ſapientia eſt, ſcandaloſum eſſe qui nec ſit hareticus, nec erroneus. Detur obſecro ille, non modo in meis ſed in omnium hominum verbis & ſcriptis ab initio mundi vſq; in finem. Quis ergo hac portenta cogitare coegit Papiſtas meos, niſi inſcitia furioſa? Niſi fortè ſcandaloſos appellant, quo modo veri & catholici ſunt ſcandaloſi. Nihil enim eſt ſcandaloſius veritate, immò ſola veritas eſt ſcandaloſa ſuperbis & inſenſatis. Sicut de Chriſto. 1.Cor.1. dicitur: Nos prædicamus Chriſtum crucifixum, Iudæis ſcandalum, Gentibus ſtultitiam. Et Luca.ij. Poſitus eſt hic in ruinam & reſurrectionem multorum in Iſrael. Quare, cum Papiſta mei ſcandaloſos ſecernant ab hareticis & erroneis, quod autem hareticum & erroneum non eſt, id catholicum & verum eſſe certum ſit: ſequitur articulos ſcandaloſos ab eis intelligi & damnari catholicos & veros. O digna damnatio Papiſtis. Vide mi lector, quorſum ſeſe rotat impietas caca, quàm ſeipſam irridet & illudit, quàm facilè capitur in ſuis verbis, quàm imprudens & ſtulta ſit in omnibus ſuis ſtudijs. Non ſolum non probat errorem & ſcandalum, ſed pro eo vt monſtret ſolum, impoſſibilia & ſibi turpiſſimè pugnantia loquitur. Vbi nunc tuum infœlix reſpectiuè, infœliciſſima Bulla? quo reſpexiſti? in baratrum impietatis ſcilicet, & ruditatis tua.

Scandaloſum.

1.Cor.1.
Luke.2.

Idem dicendum erit de offenſiuis, nam hos neq; ſcandaloſos, neq; erroneos, neq; hareticos eſſe oportet, cum a tantis Papiſtis diſcernantur. Quis ergo non miretur tanta ingenia Papiſtarum, qui inuenire potuerunt offenſiuum eſſe in Eccleſia, quod tamen nec falſum, nec hareticum, nec ſcandaloſum, ſed verum, catholicum, adificatorium ſit, & tamen hoc ipſum damnant? Quis vero non ambiat etiam ab ijs inſanis damnari, qui ſua propria damnatione oſtendunt ſe damnata probare & probata damnare, hoc eſt truncis & cautibus ſeſe inſentiatores eſſe, palam cum ſumma ſua ignominia commonſtrant? Ite ergo vos impij & inſenſati Papiſta, & ſobrij ſcribite ſi quid ſcribere vultis, nam hanc Bullam apparet, vel inter putanas nocturno conuiuio eſſe egeſtam, aut in canicularibus furijs confuſam: Neq; enim vlli moriones ſic inſanirent.

Offenſiui.

Retorqueamus autem imprudentiam iſtam Antichriſti in os eius, & ex ſermonibus ipſiuſmet iudicemus & condemnemus eum, vt deinceps diſcat aſtutius & meliore memoria mentiri. Oportet enim mendacem eſſe memorē, iuxta prouerbiū. Si alij ſunt articuli offenſiui & alij haretici, & tu eum damnas, qui non eſt hareticus, ac per

hoc

Inepta papiſtarum diſtinctio inter hæreticum, ſcandaloſum, erroneum & offenſiuū.

hoc verus & catholicus etiam ſi ſit ſexcenties offenſiuus: nonne impudens os tuum damnat ſeipſum, non modo hæreſeos, ſed extremæ impietatis & blaſphemiæ leſæq; maieſtatis in veritatem diuinam, oſtenditq; verè te eum eſſe hominem qui aduerſatur, & extollitur ſuper omne quod dicitur aut quod colitur deus? Nonne tu es homo ille peccati & filius perditionis qui negat Deum emptorem ſuum, & charitatem veritatis tollit, vt operationem erroris ſui ſtatuat, quo credamus iniquitati, vt Paulus prædixit? Si enim articulus hæreticus non eſt, nō poteſt eſſe offenſiuus aut ſcandaloſus niſi hæreticis, Antichriſtis, & Satanis pietatis. Vide ergo quàm pulchrè Bulla iſta omnium impudentiſſima imprudentiſſimaq;, dum in me aliud hæreticum, aliud offenſiuum damnat, autores ſuos veros hæreticos et aduerſarios dei palam declarat: adeo non eſt ſcientia, non eſt conſilium contra dominum: adeo impietas cæca capitur verbis oris ſui: adeo verum eſt, qui iacit lapidem in altum, recidet ſuper caput eius.

Et quod omnium pulcherrimū eſt, hac impia contradictione ſua reuelantur cogitationes cordiū eorū, & nequitiā ſuā, quam volunt maximè celatā, maximè produnt incredibili imprudētia, eſſe ſcilicet eos paratos ſemel vniuerſam veritatē damnare. Cum enim hæreticos aſſerant quos hæreticos oſtendere aut nominare non poſſunt, nec ſciunt nec audent, quid hinc intelligimus, niſi eſſe eos toto corde aduerſarios Chriſti, & paratos damnare omnem veritatem, & tamen infelici hypocriſi fingunt eſſe damnare hæreſeos. En vobis o Bullares aſini: diſcite tandem quid ſit Chriſtum eſſe ſignum contradictionis & petram ſcandali. Quàm ſubitò & facili negotio denudata eſt omnis interior impietas & ignominia veſtra eis ipſis verborum operculis, quibus eam contegere fruſtra ſtuduiſtis? Habemus itaq; hoc primo & euidenti argumento, Bullam hanc non eſſe niſi Antichriſti, ſummi aduerſarij dei & pietatis. Agnoſcat nunc eam, ſi audet, ſiue Eccius, ſiue Papa, & ſciet quo nomine & qua opinione ſit nobis obſeruandus. In vnum enim cumulum hic omnia peſſima nomina conuenerunt, Impietas, blaſphemia, inſcitia, imprudentia, hypocriſis, mendatium, breuiter Satanas ipſe cum ſuo Antichriſto.

Sani etiam libelli Lutheri a Papa cōdemnantur.

Nec minus reuelat impietas iſta ſeipſam & eo quod nunc dicam: Decernit enim Bulla iſta eximia, apertis impudentiſſimiſq; verbis, eſſe exurendos etiam eos libellos meos, in quibus errores non ſunt, vt memoria mei penitus tollatur. Potes nunc Chriſtiane lector dubitare infernalem Draconem ſonare per Bullam iſtam? Vulgò dicitur aſinum ideo malè cantare, quia altius orditur: & iſta quoque Bulla felicius ceciniſſet, ſi non blaſphemum os ſuum in cœlum poſuiſſet, impudenti & plusq̄ Diabolica impietate veritatem etiam cōfeſſam & probatam damnatura. Hactenus enim Satanas veritatem ſub ſpecie veritatis oppreſſit, quoties oppreſſit. At hic homo peccati, aduerſarius, & eleuatus ſupra deum, poſita ſpecie, appertaq; fronte, idq; in Eccleſia dei, abſq; timore veritatem Chriſtianam & cognitam & probatam a ſeipſo & omnibus, damnat & exuri mandat. Quid ſi hæc in Turcia fierent? Quo loco hæc vox rogo digna, niſi imo Tartaro? Et non timetis Bullati vos Antichriſti, ne ſaxa & ligna ſanguinem ſudent, præ horrendiſſimo hoc ſpectro impietatis veſtræ & blaſphemiæ?

Papa publicus hoſtis ſinceræ doctrinæ & veritatis.

Vbi es nunc optime Carole Imperator? Vbi eſtis reges & principes Chriſtiani? Chriſto dediſtis nomen in baptiſmo, & has tartareas voces Antichriſti poteſtis ferre? Vbi Epiſcopi? Vbi Doctores? Vbi quicunq; Chriſtum confitemini? ad hæc horribilia Papiſtarum portenta tacere poteſtis? Miſeram Eccleſiam dei, factam Satanæ tantum ludibrium. Miſeros omnes, qui his temporibus viuunt. Venit, venit ira dei in finem ſuper Papiſtas, inimicos crucis Chriſti & veritatis dei, vt reſiſtant & ipſi omnibus hominibus, prohibētes prædicari & doceri veritatem, ſicut de Iudæis dicit Paulus.

Finge quæſo, me eſſe talem qualem illa maledica & maledicta Bulla videri cupit, hæreticum, erroneum, ſchiſmaticum, offenſiuum, ſcandaloſum in aliquot libellis. Quid meruere libelli, Catholici, Chriſtiani, veri, ædificatorij, pacifici? Vbi didiciſtis hanc religionem Papiſtæ perditi, vt propter hominem malum, damnetis & exuratis ſanctam caſtamq; dei veritatem? Non poteſtis homines perdere, niſi & veritatem perdatis? Vos triticum euelletis cum zizania? Vos grana diſpergetis cum palea? Cur Origenem ſuſcipitis in libellis catholicis, & non in totum aboletis? Immo, cur impijſſimum Ariſtotelem, in quo non niſi errores docentur, non ſaltem in parte damnatis? Cur impias, barbaras, indoctas, hæreticaſq; Decretales Papæ, non exuritis? Cur inquam hæc non facitis, niſi quod non eſtis alia cauſa poſiti in locum iſtum ſanctum, quàm vt ſitis abominatio a Daniele prædicta, quæ damnet veritatem, ſtatuat verò mendacium, & operationem erroris: non enim alia decent ſedem Antichriſti.

Lutherus poteſtate ſua vtitur in Papam.

Te igitur Leo.x. vos domini Cardinales Romæ, & quicunq; Romæ aliquid eſtis, compello & in faciem vobis liberè dico, ſi veſtro nomine, veſtraq; ſcientia, hæc Bulla exiuit, eamq; veſtram agnoſcitis, vtar & ego poteſtate mea, qua in baptiſmo, per dei miſericordiam, factus ſum filius dei & cohæres Chriſti, fundatus ſupra firmam petram, quæ nec portas inferi, nec cœlum, nec terram formidat, & dico, moneo, hortor vos in domino vt ad cor redeatis, iſtis diabolicis blaſphemijs & plus valdè nimio audacibus impietatibus modum ponatis, atq; id cito. Quod niſi feceritis, ſcitote me cum omnibus qui Chriſtum colunt, veſtram ſedem a Satana ipſo poſſeſſam & oppreſſam, pro ſede damnata Antichriſti habere, cui non modo non obediamus, aut ſubditi & concorporati eſſe velimus, ſed deteſtamur & execramur, ſicut principem & ſummum hoſtem Chriſti, parati pro hac ſententia noſtra, ſtultas veſtras cenſuras non modo cum gaudio ferre, ſed etiam rogare, ne vnquam nos abſoluatis, aut inter veſtros numeretis, quin vt cruentam veſtram tyrannidem expleatis ad mortem nos vltro offerimus. Quod ſi quid ſpiritus Chriſti & impetus fidei noſtræ valet, his ſcriptis, ſi perſeueraueritis in furore iſto, vos damnamus, & vna cum Bulla iſta omnibuſq; Decretalibus Satanæ tradimus in interitum carnis, vt ſpiritus veſter in die domini nobiſcum liberetur, in nomine (quem vos perſequimini) Ieſu Chriſti domini noſtri, Amen.

Papa excommunicatus, & Satanæ traditus a Luthero.

2. Theſ.2.

Viuit enim adhuc & regnat adhuc (in quo non dubito) dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus, quem & ſperamus propediem aduenturum et interfecturum ſpiritu oris ſui, & deſtructurum illuſtratione aduentus ſui hunc hominē peccati & filium perditionis, quandoquidem negare non poſſum, ſi Papa iſtorum portentorum autor eſt, ipſum eſſe verum illum finalem, peſſimum, famoſumq; Antichriſtum ſubuertentem orbem totum operationibus erroris ſui: id quod impletum vbiq; videmus.

Papa Antichriſtus.

Prouerb.1.

Sed quo me rapit ardor fidei? Nondum totus perſuaſus ſum, Papæ eſſe hanc Bullam, ſed Apoſtoli illius impietatis Eccij, qui cum ſuis patribus, furente hiatu me abſorbere feſtinat, cantans: Deglutiamus eum ſicut infernus viuentem, & integrum quaſi deſcendentem in lacum. Huic enim furioſo homini parum, immo lucrum videtur, ſi veritatem dei extinguat, modo vota impietatis & fratricidij impleat. O ſortem Eccleſiæ hodiernam ſanguineis lachrymis dignam. Sed quis gemitus noſtros audit? quis plorantes ſolatur? Inexorabilis eſt furor domini ſuper nos.

De pecunia Luthero oblata, Papæ commentum.

Caietanus Cardinalis.

Addunt ijdem homines (vt ſunt admodū faceti & ſuaues) quoddam ridiculum, quo, pro ſua prudentia temperant ſeria ludo, ſcribentes, mihi (ſuper omnia quæ in me contulerunt immenſa ſtudia) etiam ſumptum & pecuniam ad iter Romanum obtuliſſe. Scilicet noua charitas Romæ quæ orbem exhauſit pecunijs & vaſtauit tyrannide ſua intolerabili, mihi vni pecuniam offert. Verum, hoc inclytum mendacium ſcio cuius fabri ſit. Caietanus Cardinalis, ad mēdacia componenda natus & formatus, functus legatione ſua feliciſſima, nunc Romæ ſecurus fingit mihi per ſe promiſſam eſſe pecuniam, cum Auguſtæ tam ſordida infamiq; ageret penuria vt crederetur familiam ſuam fame occiſurus. Sed Bullam decet eſſe Bullam, & veritate & ſapientia inanem. Et damnatoribus iſtis ius eſt nobis mandare vt eſſe veraces eos credamus dum mentiuntur, & Catholicos, dum hæretica docent, & Chriſtianos dum Antichriſtum ſtatuunt, per illud diſtributiuū vniuerſale: Et quodcunq; ligaueris. *Vbi cum nihil exceptum ſit, omnia per omnia eis licent: ſi non potius ex diabolo conceperint, qui non ſolum mentiuntur manifeſtè, ſed (quod omnem impudentiam ſuperat) mēdacio eodem ſeſe ad plauſū popularem in mei inuidiam ornant, & charitatem ſeſe mihi exhibuiſſe altero mendatio iam fingunt, cum ſi quid veritatis, pietatis, grauitatis, Romanis iſtis tyrannis ineſſet reliquum, omni ſtudio cauere debuerint, omnia ita in luce clara ab eis dici & geri, vt nec aduerſarius ſuſpitionem haurire mali cuiuſquā poſſit: at nunc ſi nihil eſſet aliorum quæ Bullam iſtam eleuarent, hoc craſſum & ineptum mendacium eam leuem, vanam, & falſam arguit. Roma quæſo mihi pecunias exhiberet? Et vnde illud, quod compertum habeo, eſſe videlicet per Trapezitas iſtos (quod Bancum vocant) definitos in Germania aliquot centenarios aureorum Sicarijs qui Lutherum conficerent? His enim rationibus & ſcripturis hodie pugnat, regnat, triumphat ſancta illa Apoſtolica ſedes, magiſtra fidei & mater Eccleſiarum, iam dudum Antichriſtiana & bis ſepties hæretica conuicta, ſi gladio ſpiritus quod eſt verbum dei, pugnaſſet, id quod non ignorat. Ideo, ne quādo ad id cogatur periculi, ſic furit in orbe Chriſtiano, bellis, cædibus, cruoribus, mortibus, vaſtationibus, omnia inuoluens & perdens: adhuc tamen ſunt ſanctiſſimi in domino patres, & ouium Chriſti vicarij paſtores.*

Vniuerſale Papiſticum.

Bulla pontificia mendacij arguitur.

Sicarij per Papam cōducti qui Lutherū occiderent.

Sed age (vt & ipſe colludā) adhuc mittant pecuniam, fidē enim ſeu conductū ſaluum, ne nimiū eos grauem, libens reſigno, cū non ſit opus eo, modo propitia ſit pecunia. Tantū autem expecto quantum ſatis fuerit vt Quinquaginta millibus peditū, & .x. millibus equitum inſtructus, Romam tutus ire queam, qua arte mihi ſatis fidei parabo: & hoc propter Romam quæ deuorat habitatores ſuos, nulla nec ſeruata nec ſeruante fide, vbi ſanctiſſimi patres occidunt dilectos filios ſuos in charitate dei, fratreſq; perdunt fratres in obſequium Chriſti, ſicut eſt moris Romani atq; ſtyli. Interim liber ero ab iſtius venerabiliſſimæ Bullæ citatione. O vos infœlices nebulones, qui veritate & conſcientia ſic eſtis confuſi, vt nec mentiri prudenter poſſitis, nec verum dicere audeatis, & tamen ſumma ignominia veſtra, quieſcere non valetis.

Qualem conductum Lutherus ſibi a Papa poſtulat.

Affert quoq; Bulla nouā latinitatē. Cū enim Auguſtinus dixiſſet ſe Euāgelio non crediturum fuiſſe niſi autoritate Eccleſiæ fuiſſet commotus, mox Bulla iſta inclyta hanc Eccleſiam catholicam facit quoſdam fratres reuerendiſſ. Cardinales, Priores ordinum regularium, magiſtros Theologiæ, & doctores Iuris, quorum conſilio ſe natam gloriatur, ſcilicet nouā prolem vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ. Felix certè partus nouæ illius & hactenus inauditæ Eccleſiæ catholicæ, & quā Auguſtinus acerrimus ſectarū inſectator ſi videret, nō dubitaret Synagogam Satanæ appellare. Vide ergo inſaniam Papi-

Eccleſia Romæ catholica qualis.

ſtarum: Eccleſia vniuerſalis eſt quidam pauci Cardinales, Priores et Doctores, fortè vix viginti homines, cum poſſibile ſit nullum eorum eſſe membrum vnius Capellæ vel Altaris. Atq; cum Eccleſia ſit communio ſanctorum, vt in ſymbolo oramus: ſanctorum communione, id eſt, Eccleſia vniuerſali excluſos eſſe oportet quicunq; non fuerint in numero iſtorum viginti hominum. Vnde quicquid ij ſenſerint ſancti viri, id mox vniuerſalis Eccleſia ſentit, etiam ſi mendaces, hæretici, & Antichriſti ſint, non niſi abominabilia ſentientes.

Vera Eccleſia ex euangelij cōfeſſione agnoſcitur, iuxta Auguſt.

Adeo ne Roma inſaniri vllus credere potuiſſet? Eſt ne cerebri aut cordis ei reliquum quicq̄? Auguſtinus de Eccleſia per orbem diffuſa loquitur, Euangelium concorditer confitente. Neq; enim vllum alium librum deus voluit tanta concordia orbis approbari, quanta ſacrā ſcripturā (vt idē in confeſſionibus ſuis dicit) ne ſchiſmatibus occaſio fieret alijs ſubinde receptis: id quod impia ſedes Ro. ſuis decretis quæſiuit multis iam ſeculis, & heu, magna ex parte confecit. Sed vniuerſalis Eccleſia non dum ei conſenſit. Sunt enim in Oriente, Aquilone & Auſtro Chriſtiani Euangelio contenti, nihil curantes quòd Roma ex ſe ipſa particulari, vniuerſalem Eccleſiam facere conatur, & cæteras ſchiſmaticas criminatur, cum ipſa ſit prima quæ ſe a tota ſeparauit, & ad ſe totam rapere fruſtra molita eſt, princeps & fons omnium ſchiſmatū hac tyrānide facta.

Nullus liber catholicus præter ſolam ſcripturam.

Nemo ergo ſperet vnquam fore, vt Eccleſia catholica ſapiat, quæ Bulla iſta impia blaterat, cum nec ea quæ verè eſt Romana ſic ſapiat, nec continuò Catholicum habeat quicquid Romanum eſſe conſtiterit. Nullus (vt dixi) liber catholicus vltra futurus eſt, ſicut neq; fuit, præter ſcripturam ſanctam. Romana Eccleſia abundè ſatis eſt gloria, partem eſſe paruam vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ, ſuis ſtatutis ſe ipſam vexantem. Curiæ potius Romana iſta Bulla eſt: hanc enim Satanæ ſedem decet talis ſapientia & religio: Ipſa eſt quæ nititur vniuerſalis Eccleſia haberi, & ſuas ſtultas & impias Bullas pro Catholicis dogmatis toti orbi arrogātiſſimè, ſed vaniſſimè obtrudit. Cuius ſuperbia et temeritas eo creuit, vt de ſola poteſtate præſumat citra omnem doctrinam & ſanctimoniam vitæ, de omnibus ſtatuere hominibus eorumq; dictis & factis, quaſi ob ſolam poteſtatem, aut ſublimitatem ſpūs, habitaculum & Eccleſia Chriſti ſit, cum hac ratione & Satanas, cum ſit princeps mundi, aut Turca, Eccleſia Chriſti dici poſſit. Sed neq; gentium imperia potentes citra ſapientiam & bonitatem ferunt. Tum in Eccleſia ſolum ſpūalis omnia iudicat, & a nemine iudicatur, vt. 1. Cor. 2. dicitur: non vtiq; ſolus Papa, aut Curia Romana, niſi ſpirituales ſint.

Eccleſiæ Romanæ ſuperbia.

Verū, vniuerſa corū temeritati oppono cōſtanter inuictū Paulū. 1. Cor. 14. Si alteri ſedēti aliquid reuelatū fuerit, prior taceat. *Hic clarè habes, Papam & quemuis alium maiorem debere tacere, ſi alteri inferiori in Eccleſia reuelatum aliquid fuerit. Hac ego autoritate nixus, contempta Bullæ temeritate, cum fiducia articulos defendendos ſuſcipio, nullius nudā damnationē tanti facturus, etiam ſi Papa ſit cum tota ſua Eccleſia, niſi ſcripturis me erudierit.*

QVORVM PRIMVS EST.

Articulus primus.

HÆretica eſt ſententia ſed vſitata, Sacramenta nouæ legis gratiam dare illis qui non ponunt obicem.

Reſponſio Lutheri ad Articulos a Papa cōdemnatos.

Agnoſco articulum meum, & quæro ex vobis, Egregij domini reſpectiuiſtæ, qui alios reſpectiuè hæreticos, alios erroneos, alios ſcandaloſos decreuiſtis, quo reſpicit hic articulus? Ad hæreſim? ad errorem? ad ſcandalum? Aut quo vos reſpexiſtis eum damnantes? Ad ſcripturam ſanctam? ad ſanctos patres? ad fidem? ad Eccleſiam? Quin dicitis? nec dum enim vos probandi negotio moleſto, ſed indicandi ſolum debitum expoſtulo, vt ſciam quid deſit mihi. Vultis infātes pueri, vt ego dicam? Dico ergo. Hic articulus reſpectus duos habet. Altero reſpicit ad Papiſtas damnatores ſuos, inter quos videt alios reſpectiuè mulos, alios equos, quibus non eſt intellectus, vt qui prorſus nihil intelligunt & tamen omnia damnant. Altero reſpicit ad ſacram ſcripturam, quæ docet, Rom. 14. Omne quod nō eſt ex fide, peccatum eſſe. *Ex quo ſequitur ſacramenta nouæ legis non dare gratiam incredulis, cum incredulitatis ſit maximum peccatum, & obex craſſiſſimus, ſed ſolum credentibus. Sola enim fides non ponit obicem, cætera omnia ſunt obex, etiam ſi obicem illum non ponant, quæ Sophiſtæ ſomniant de actualitantum propoſito externi peccati. Confiteor ergo articulum non eſſe meum ſolum, ſed veritatis catholicæ & Chriſtianæ: Bullam vero damnatricem eius, eſſe bis hæreticam, impiam, & blaſphemam, cū omnibus qui eā ſequuntur, qui neglecto peccato incredulitatis inſaniunt obicē tolli ſi homo peccare deſinat, etiam ſi nihil incredulus boni cogitet. Verum hæc latius & in libellis meis probaui, & probabo ſi Romani iſti lallatores ſua auſint aliquando probare, me confutaturi.*

Rom. 14.

Obicem ponere quid ſit apud Sophiſtas.

SECVNDVS.

Articulus ſecundus.

In puero poſt baptiſmum negare remanens eſſe peccatū, eſt Paulum & Chriſtum ſimul conculcare.

Reſponſio Lutheri ad 2. Articul.

Et nunc exigerem vt probarent rectè damnari, ſi domini mei præ reſpectibus ſuis non eſſent excæcati, vt nec hoc perſpicerent, quo nomine eum velint damnatum haberi. Neſcio enim hæreticus ne ſit an erroneus. Et quid mirum, cum nec id damnatores eius ſciant? Aſſero ergo & hunc articulū, per Apoſtolū. Rom. 7. Ego ipſe mēte ſeruio legi dei, & carne legi peccati. *Hic apertè Apoſtolus ipſemet de ſe cōfitetur ſe peccare in carne, ſeu peccato ſeruire. Et. 1. Cor. 1.* Chriſtus factus eſt nobis a deo, iuſticia, ſapientia, ſanctificatio, & redēptio. *Quomodo autē ſanctificat ſāctificatos, niſi quòd iuxta Apocalyp.* Qui ſāctus eſt, ſāctificetur adhuc? *At ſanctificari eſt a peccatis mūdari. Verum quid reſpectiuiſtis Bullatis cum Paulo Apoſtolo? Ipſi ſunt tota Eccleſia vniuerſalis, quorū autoritate Paulus aut ſtat aut cadit, cum ſit membrum & pars Eccleſiæ. Increpet dominus in te Satan, & in Satanicos iſtos tuos Papiſtas.*

Apoc. 21.

TERTIVS.

Articulus tertius.

Fomes peccati etiam ſi nullum adſit actuale peccatum, moratur exeuntem a corpore animam ab ingreſſu cœli.

Reſponſio Lutheri ad 3. Articul.

De hac quidem re nihil hactenus definiui, ſed copioſe ſatis & probabiliter diſputaui, nec hodie certus ſum quid cum tali anima agatur. At talpæ noſtræ Papales, cum nec dum videant quo nomine hic articulus eis ſit dignus damnatu viſus, audent etiam aſſerere, quod tota Eccleſia vniuerſalis ignorat. Ego tamen adhuc iſta futili & ſtulta damnatione contēpta, teneo articulū probabiliter eſſe verum. Cum enim fomes ſit peccatum verè, vt ex Rom. 7. & Gal. 5. *probaui: & peccatum non ſinat intrare cœlum, ſicut ſcriptum eſt:* Nihil inquinatum intrabit, *arbitror fomitem peccati remorari ingreſſum cœli. Neq; enim hic pili facio ſomnia eorum qui peccatum fomitis extenuantes, pœnam peccati & defectum vocant, contra ſcripturas apertas quæ peccatum appellant, & per gratiam (quæ peccati veri, non ficti medicina eſt) ſanari docent.*

Sap. 7.

QVARTVS.

Articulus quartus.

Imperfecta charitas morituri fert ſecum neceſſariò magnum timorem, qui ſe ſolo ſatis eſt facere pœnam purgatorij, & impedit introitum regni.

Reſponſio Lutheri ad 4. Articul.

Iſte ex præcedenti ſequitur, quem æquè non aſſerui, licet probabiliter verum adhuc aſſeram, prius petita diſpenſatione arbitrio meo proprio, etiam inuita Bulla, quæ aliam non afferre probationē poteſt, niſi hanc: Nos ſumus ſublimiores in Eccleſia tyranni, immo ipſa Eccleſia: ergo ſumus doctiſſimi & ſanctiſſimi, pleni ſpiritu ſancto, non potentes errare, etiam ſi omni ſpurcitia omnium criminum, omni inſcitia per orbem fœteamus ceu lerna quædā. Sed iſtis rationibus apud me nihil promouetur: promouetur autem coram illis qui metunt, ne ſi mea ſententia obtineat, purgatorium e manu Papæ dilabatur, tum defunctorum vexandorum (redimendorum volui dicere) officia quæſtuoſiſſima, tanto damno accepto, ſacerdotes & religioſos ad famem adigant. Oportuit ergo auaritiam hic vigilare, nec ſinere ſuas friuolas opiniones ſed turpilucroſiſſimas, veritate ſuperante, occidere.

QVINTVS.

Articulus quintus.

Tres eſſe partes pœnitentiæ, Contritionem, Confeſſionē, Satisfactionem, non eſt fundatum in ſcriptura ſacra nec in antiquis ſanctis Chriſtianis doctoribus.

Reſponſio Lutheri ad 5. Articul.

Hic articulus quo reſpectu damnetur, ſatis intelligo, reſpectiuus enim eſt ad auaritiam. Quare & probationem corū reſpectiuam ſcio, quæ eſt talis: Si articulus eſſet verus, tūc homines nihil darēt pro ſatisfactione & indulgētijs. Nec haberemus eos amplius vexare confeſſionibus, caſibus reſeruatis, reſtrictis, ampliatis pro noſtro lucro, et ſic pauperes fieremus, & cultus dei minueretur in Vigilijs & Miſſis. Sed cultum dei minui eſt impium: quare Lutherus eſt hæreticus. Tenet conſequētia a reſpectu Bullæ ad Papiſtas et e contra.

Te per dominum Ieſum oro, ſi quis grauis & eruditus lector hæc legeris, mihi indulgeas leuitatem & (vt ſic dixerim) puerilitatem iſtam. Vides enim, cum ijs hominibus mihi rem eſſe, qui bis pueri ſunt, & tamen omnium virorum heroas ſeſe iactant. Diſperеam ſi non compertiſſimum habeo, maximos & anteſignanos duces populorum, hac (quam recitaui) plusq̄ ſepties ſtulta & ridicula ratiuncula motos, ad *meorum libellorum damnationem. Ego niſi iram dei ſuper nos ſæuientem flens intelligerem, qua effœminatis pueris, & faeci illi hominum vltimæ ex omni terra nos ſubiecit, præ indignitate rei dirumperer.*

Mea ſententia fuit & eſt hæc, ſatisfactionem eam quã claues queant tollere, non eſſe iuris diuini: ſin eſſet, non poſſe eam tolli per claues. Si quid aliud mihi hoc articulo iſti Bullatores imponunt, ſuo more faciunt. Quid enim refert ſi Antichriſtus mentiatur?

SEXTVS.

Articulus ſextus.

Contritio quæ paratur per diſcuſſionem, collectionem, & deteſtationem peccatorum, qua quis recogitat annos ſuos in amaritudine animæ ſuæ, ponderando peccatorum grauitatẽ; multitudinem, fœditatem, amiſſionem æternæ beatitudinis, ac æternæ damnationis acquiſitionem: hæc contritio facit hypocritam, immo magis peccatorem.

Reſponſio Lutheri ad 6.Articul.

Error Papiſtarũ de doctrina contritionis.

Proh incredibilem cæcitatem & inſcitiam Bullarum iſtarum. Meus certè eſt articulus & Chriſtianiſſimus, quem mihi innumerabilibus Papis & Papiſtis non patiar extorqueri. Hoc enim ea doctrina egi, pœnitentiam nullius eſſe momenti, niſi in fide et charitate fieret: quod ipſimet docent quoq;, niſi quod nec quid fides nec quid charitas ſit, aut ſciunt aut docent. Ideo dum mea damnant, ſua ipſorum imprudenti contradictione damnant. Dico ergo, qui pœnitentiam ſic docet vt promiſſæ miſericordiæ dei, & fidei in eandem non maiorem habeat curam quàm carnificinæ iſtius, hic pœnitentiam Iudæ Iſcariotis docet, peſtilens eſt diabolus animarum, & carnifex conſcientiarum. Lege autem libros illorum Sophiſtarum de pœnitentia, & videbis eos nec promiſſionis, nec fidei vllam mentionem facere. Has enim partes pœnitentiæ viuas omittunt, & ſolis mortuis contritionibus homines exagitant. Sed latius aliâs.

Sed quid denuò articulos omnes probem, cum extent libelli vbi omnium rationem reddidi abundè, plura daturus ſi aduerſarij ſua quoq; in lucem dediſſent. Quæ eſt enim ſtultitia, vt hoc vno mihi reſponſum velint, quod dicunt ſibi damnata videri omnia mea, cum ego in hoc ipſum ſcripſerim, vt ſuos errores ipſi agnoſcerent quibus populum dei hactenus dementauerũt? Non hoc expectaui vt damnarer, qui ſciens & prudens damnata iam olim ab eis, adductis ſcripturis & rationibus iuſtificaui. Nec volui vt dicerent quid ipſi ſaperent (ſciebam enim omnia) ſed an rectè ſaperent, id quæſitũ eſt a me: hic volui erudiri, & ecce nemo audet prodire. Quare video aſinos iſtos, non modo mea, & ſua non intelligere, ſed præ inſigni hebetudine nec hoc percepiſſe quid meis libellis quæſierim. Arbitrantur enim ſe tales in opinione mea eſſe, apud quos ſit veritas, cum nihil minus de eis ſuſpicatus ſim. Cum enim olim ab eis omnia iſta ſcirem damnata eſſe, non damnandus ſed velut iam damnatus ab eis prodij, damnationem eorum traducturus impiam, hæreticam, & blaſphemam, eoſq; niſi ratione reddita rectè ſeſe ſapere docuiſſent, erroris & hæreſcos crimine publicè reos acturus, ipſi (velut ridiculus Citharedus chorda ſemper eadem aberrans) petito principio aliud non reddunt, niſi dãnamus quæ damnauimus, noua dialectica probantes idem per ſeipſum, damnationem per damnationem. O ineptiſſimos & inſulſiſſimos dãnatores. Vbi manet illud Petri: Semper parati ad reddendam rationem de ea quæ in vobis eſt fide & ſpe?

Papiſtæ dãnant, ſed nullam reddunt rationem.

Quare cum Papiſtæ & Bulliſtæ iſti ignorantiſſimi, ante veritatis manifeſtæ faciem ſic ſint confuſi metuq́; perculſi vt pro ſe ſuaq; ſententia ne hiſcere quidem audeant, & meticuloſiſſimam hanc Bullam ægre emutierint: ego inimicorum fuga erectus, hanc meticuloſam damnationem vice approbationis robuſtiſſimæ accipio, & ſuam in eos ipſos retorqueo damnationẽ. Qua enim ratione ſeipſos poſſent magis damnare, quàm, dum metuunt erroris & hæreſeos rei inueniri ſi rationem reddere cogerentur, ad hoc extremũ & fruſtraneum miſerorum effugium labuntur, vt clauſis & oculis & auribus, dicant: Nolo, damno, non audio, non admitto. Si ego ſic inſaniſſem, obſecro, quanta gloria in me triumpharent? Degeneres animos timor arguit.

Ego itaq;, ne prolixo lectorem grauem ſermone ſi ſingulos articulos proſequar, his ſcriptis teſtor me omnia damnata per Bullam iſtam execrabilem, confiteri pro Catholicis dogmatibus, de quibus rationem reddidi æditis libellis. Deinde, adhuc volo libellos meos in orbe vagantes vice publicæ accuſationis haberi aduerſus impios iſtos Sophiſtas populi dei ſeductores, ita vt niſi ratione reddita me conuicerint & ſua ſtatuerint, reos erroris, hæreſeos, ſacrilegij, quantum in me fuerit, meritò eos cenſeã, monens, rogãs, hortanſq; in domino omnes qui Chriſtum verè confitentur, ab eorum peruerſis & impijs doctrinis ſibi caueant, & verum illum Antichriſtum per eos in orbe regnare non dubitent. Quod ſi quis fraternum hoc monitorium meum contempſerit, ſciat me eſſe mundũ a ſanguine ſuo, & in extremo iudicio Chriſti excuſatum. Nihil enim omiſi quod charitati Chriſtianæ debui. Porro, ſi alia via non queo damnatoribus verboſis & manibus reſiſtere, vltimum quod habeo exponam, nempe hanc animam & hunc ſanguinem. Melius eſt enim me millies occidi, quàm vnam ſyllabam damnatorum articulorum reuocare. Et ſicut ipſi me excommunicant pro ſacrilega hæreſi ſua, ita eos rurſus ego excommunico pro ſancta veritate dei. Chriſtus iudex viderit vtra excommunicatio apud eum valeat. Amen.

Papa reus hæreſeos arguitur.

¶Here foloweth the ſame aunſwere of Martin Luther agaynſt the execrable Bull of Pope Leo, in Engliſhe.

The coppye of *M. Luthers* aunſwere to the Bull of *Pope Leo,* in Engliſhe.

Martin Luther to the Chriſtian reader, wiſheth the grace of Chriſt, to eternall ſaluatiõ. I heard a fame a farre of (Chriſtian reader) that a certain Bull was paſt out agaynſt me and ſent almoſt ouer all the world, before it came to me, agaynſt whom it was eſpecially directed, and to whom moſt chiefly it apperteined. For what cauſe I can not tell, except peraduenture it was for that the ſayd Bull lyke vnto a night crow, and as a byrde of darkenes hatched in the nyght, durſt not flye in the day, nor abyde to come in my ſight. Notwithſtandyng the ſayd night foule after lõg tyme, by helpe of frendes was caught at length and brought vnto me in his owne likenes to behold. Whiche cauſeth me yet to be vncertayne, what to thinke, whether my Papiſtes do dally and ieſte with me, in ſettyng out ſuch famous libels without any name agaynſt me: or whether in truth and earneſt they play the madde men ſo agaynſt me at Rome, or no. For firſt neither do I ſee here the ſtyle (as it is called) nor the proceſſe of yͤ Court of Rome obſerued. And agayn (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought ⁊ condẽned ſuch Articles, which it is playne and manifeſt to be moſt Chriſtian: wherby it ſemeth to me moſt like, the ſayd monſter to be hatched by Iohn Eccius, a man wholy compacte and framed altogether of lyes, diſſimulations, errours, and hereſies.

The ſayd ſuſpition this alſo partly confirmeth, for that I heare it ſo bruted abroad, that the ſayd Eccius is thought and ſayd to be yͤ Apoſtle of ſuch a goodly Bull. And not vnlike, when none could be more mete an Apoſtle for ſuch an Apoſtleſhip, then he. And in dede I heard no leſſe long ſince, that a Bull was in workyng agaynſt me at Rome, partly by the workemãſhip of Eccius: which becauſe (as the ſtyle and compoſition therof declareth) it diſpleaſed the good and learned men there, was therfore differred and ſhould haue bene ſuppreſſed.

Eckius a falſe Apoſtle.

But what ſo euer the matter be, it ſemeth to me not vnlyke where ſoeuer this Apoſtle Eccius beareth rule, there to be the kyngdome of Antichriſt, and all kynde of madnes there to reigne. In the meane tyme I will ſo deale, that I wil not ſeme to beleue Pope Leo the x. with hys learned Cardinals to be the authors of this furious madnes: whiche I do not ſo much for the honor of the Sea of Rome, as becauſe I will not be puft vp to much with pride, and ſeme to my ſelfe as one worthy to ſuffer ſuch, ſo great, and ſo glorious thynges for the veritie of God. For if it were ſo in dede that the Byſhop of Rome did ſo furiouſly rage agaynſt me, who were then ſo happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for ſo manifeſt a truth of ſuch a proude Prelate? Wherin what were more to be wiſhed for of me, then that I ſhould neuer be abſolued, reconciled, nor haue any part with that ſo doltiſhe and vnlearned, wicked ⁊ furious Antichriſt? Happy were that day, happye were that death, ⁊ to be receaued with all ioy and thankefulnes to God, if it might be my happe at any tyme in ſuch a cauſe as this is, to be apprehended and to ſuffer death. But gyue the honour of

M. Luther thinketh hym ſelfe not worthy to ſuffer in ſo good a cauſe.

this cauſe vnto others, & let this matter finde his Martyr worthy for the ſame: I for my ſynnes am not worthy to come to that honor.

Let other mẽ therfore thinke of theſe Romaniſtes what they lyſt: Thus I thinke, that who ſo euer was the author of this Bul, he is a very Antichriſt, and againſt Antichriſt theſe thynges I write, to redeme the veritie of Chriſt ſo much as in me lyeth, which he laboureth to extinguiſhe. And firſt, that he ſhall obteyne no part of hys will in any thyng agaynſt me, here I proteſt before God and our Lord Ieſu Chriſt and hys holy Aungels and all the world, that I diſſent with all my hart from the condemnation of thys Bull, which Bull I alſo do curſe and execrate as an enemy, a Churche robber and blaſphemy agaynſt Chriſt the ſonne of God our Lord. Amen.

M. Luthers proteſtation.

Furthermore I hold, defend & imbrace with yͤ ful truſt of my ſpirit, thoſe Articles in yͤ ſaid Bull cõdemned & excõmunicate, & affirme yͭ the ſame ought to be holdẽ of all faithfull Chriſtians vnder payne of eternall malediction, & that they are to be counted for Antichriſtes, who ſoeuer haue cõſented to yͤ ſayd Bull, whõ I alſo together with the ſpirite of all them which purely knowe and worſhip Chriſt, in theſe preſentes do count for heathen and do vtterly ſhunne them, accordyng to the precept of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, Amen. And let this ſtand for my reuocation, O Bulla verè Bullarum filia. i. O thou Bull which art the very daughter of all vayne * bubbles.

Marke here how *Luther* recanteth.

**Bulla* in latin, ſignifieth as much in Engliſhe, as a bubble in the water.

This my confeſſion and proteſtatiõ made (for witnes wherof I take all thẽ that ſhall read theſe preſentes) before I procede to defende and declare theſe foreſayd Articles, I will firſt begin with certeine argumẽtes for the cõfutatiõ of the ſayd Bull: wherof the firſt I will take of the blynd ignorauñce of this blockiſhe Antichriſt. For the Apoſtle Peter ſo cõmaundeth, that we ſhould be ready to render a reaſon of that fayth & hope which is in vs. And the Apoſtle Paul willeth a Byſhop to be mighty to exhorte in ſounde doctrine and to refute the gaynesayers. And theſe thynges be they, whiche now three yeares ago I haue deſired and looked for out of Rome or from them whiche take part with Rome. Whiche thynges alſo we do read to be obſerued moſt diligently amongſt the auncient fathers, when ſo euer they cõdemned hereſies. Neither do we read that the Apoſtles dyd euer Decree any thyng in their Councels but they firſt alledged the holy Scripture. So I alſo when I wayted that they ſhould aunſwere me with grapes and to enforme me with true teſtimonies of the Scripture, behold they bryng to me ſower and wild grapes, condemnyng me with nothyng els but bare wordes, where as I haue fortifyed my matters with playne Scriptures.

Tit. 1.

The Papiſtes will not abyde the triall of the Scripture.

I ſay vnto thee, O thou moſt vnlearned Antichriſt, haſt thou ioyned ſuch braynſicke raſhnes together with ſuch barbarous ignoraunce, that thou wilt preſume to thinke all men to be turned into ſtockes & blockes, & to thinke that thou with thy bare and naked wordes onely canſt triumph agaynſt the inuincible force & power of Gods holy word? Haſt thou learned this maner of condẽnyng, of the Magiſtralities of Colen and Louane?

If this bee the maner of thy Church to damne errours, onely to ſay, I lyke it not, I denye it, I will not: what foole, what patch, what aſſe, what blocke can not condemne after this maner? Is not thy whoriſh face aſhamed in the publicke ſight of the Church to dare once to ſet the triflyng vanities onely of thy naked and bare wordes agaynſt the thunderboltes of Gods eternall word? O impudent cõdemnation, & right ſemely for Antichriſt, which hath not one iote or title to bryng agaynſt ſuch euident Scriptures inferred agaynſt hym, but onely with one word commeth and ſayth, I condemne thee. And why then do we not beleue the Turke? Why do we not admitte the Iewes? Why do we not honor the heretickes, whiche alſo condemne our wrytynges as well as hee, if it bee enough onely to condemne? vnleſſe we do not therefore peraduenture giue place vnto them, becauſe they cõdemne vs not vtterly without ſome Scriptures and reaſons: but theſe men after a new found faſhion, vtterly without all Scriptures or reaſon do condemne vs. What then ſhall I thinke to be the cauſe why they proceded agaynſt me with this their Bull condemnatorye, ſo vayne, ſo ridiculous, ſo triflyng, but onely their mere blockiſhnes, whereby they ſeyng my allegations to bee true and not hable to abyde nor yet to confute the ſame, thought to terrifye me with the vayne ratlyng of their rotten parchement. But I tell thee Antichriſt, that Luther beyng accuſtomed to warre, will not be terrifyed with theſe vayne Bulles, and hath learned to put a difference betwene a peece of paper and the omnipotent worde of God.

The Popes vaine terrours can not make *M. Luther* afrayde.

Of the lyke ignoraunce procedeth this alſo, that they agaynſt their owne conſcience, durſt not particularly digeſt all and ſingular the Articles in their orders: for they feared leſt they ſhould note hym for an hereticke, whom they were not hable perhaps to conuince either to be erroneous or offenſiue, and therfore they haue founde out this aduerbe reſpectiuè: and after the numbryng of the Articles, then come they and ſay that ſome be reſpectiuely hereticall, ſome erroneous, and ſome offenſiue, whiche is as much to ſay, as we ſuppoſe ſome to be hereticall, ſome erroneous, and ſome ſclaunderous, but we can not tell qui, quales, quanti. i. Which, what maner, & how great they are. O daſtardly ignorauñce, how ſlyppery and cowardly art thou? how art thou afrayed of the light? how doeſt thou turne and returne all thynges, leſt thou ſhouldeſt be taken like a Proteus: and yet for all that thou ſhalt not ſo eſcape, yea in thy wylynes thou ſhalt the rather be ouertaken and ſubuerted.

Reſpectiuely.

Proteus is a certain monſter among the Poetes, which turneth him ſelf into all colours.

Come out therfore O thou aſſeheaded Antichriſt, and ſhew forth thy wiſedome, and diſpoſe thy matters in order. Tell vs if thou canſt, what ſayſt thou or meaneſt thou when thou ſayſt this article is hereticall, this is erroneous, this is offenſiue. For it becõmeth ſuch a worſhypfull condẽner to know what he condemneth. And to ſhameful it is to condẽne an Article for heretical, & yet cã not name yͤ ſame. Neither will I be aũſwered here with reſpectiuely, but I loke to be taught ſimply and plainly, for I am one of Occams faction whiche contemneth theſe reſpectiues, and loue to haue all things ſimple and abſolute.

Thou ſeeſt therefore (good reader) the ignoraunt dotage of this Antichriſt, how craftely, and yet groſſely he thynketh to walke in a nette vnder hys aduerbe, reſpectiuely. Who not onely doth not teach the truth, and cauſe of his cõdemnyng, but neither alſo dare proue any errour, nor ſhew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet muſt he nedes condemne. Is not this, trow you, a proper kynde of damnyng, to damne, & can not tell what he damneth? Is not this a fyne maner of loquution, paſſyng all rethorike, to ſpeake, and yet not to know what he ſpeaketh? What purgations might we wiſhe ſufficient to purge the doltiſhe braynes of theſe Bull braggyng bedlems? with ſuch blindnes and doltiſhnes are all the aduerſaries of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

The dotage of Antichriſt.

But I know wherupon all this grief riſeth. The origine whereof is this: Eccius myne olde aduerſarye remembryng how hee was put to ſhame enough at Lypſia, when he rouſyng hym ſelfe vpon his ſtage, and frothyng at the mouth lyke a boare, with a furious voyce called me iij. hundreth tymes hereticke for the Articles of Huſſe, and yet afterward was not able to proue the ſame, where as the ſentence condemnatorie of the Councell of Conſtaunce alledged by me otherwiſe then Eccius looked for, noted there no certeine Article for hereticall: and alſo the ſame condemnation much lyke to this of ours, with the lyke fooliſhnes called ſome of his Articles hereticall, ſome erroneous, and ſome offenſiue, and Eccius hearyng this, beyng confounded in hym ſelfe for his impudent raſhenes, perceiued that he had called me hereticke falſely & vntruly: he thought then to heale this his wounde agayne at Rome, and there to ſtabliſhe hys falſe and impudent lying. But the lying ſophiſter ſhall not preuayle, by the helpe (I truſt) of Chriſt. For I aſke & require yet ſtill that they, abſolutely not reſpectiuely, diſtinctly and not cõfuſedly, ſimply and not diſſemblingly, plainly & not obſcurely, particularly & not in general, do ſhew what is & what is not heretical. But whẽ will they ſo do? when Chriſt and Beliall, or when lyght and darkenes ſhall agree together.

Eccius.

Eccius taken with a lye.

And what ſhall I do then in the meane tyme? Firſt I will contemne theſe daſtardly dotipoles and vnlearned Papiſtes and Apoſtles of Antichriſt, and I will ſcorne thẽ as Helias dyd, and ſay: *If Baal be God, let hym aunſwere. Peraduenture he is drunke or buſie in his iourney: Crye out hygher, for he is a God and peraduenture heareth.* For what other thyng do theſe Bull braggyng aſſes deſerue els, which condemne that they knowe not, and confeſſe alſo theyr owne ignoraunce?

3. Reg. 18.

Secondly, I will not be troubled nor diſquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted hereticke, erroneous, or offenſiue, ſo long as I ſhall not be proued and playnly conuicted with ſimple and manifeſt wordes in what Article I am ſo iudged. Neither do I here charge my Papiſts theſe blockheades, that I wil put thē to their proufes, but onely that they will ſhew me at leaſt my errour, that is, that they will ſhewe me if they know what it is that they them ſelues do pratle of, or haue any feeling of their own doings. For ſo long as they aſſigne me no hereticall Article, I am at free libertie to denye what Article ſo euer they lay vnto me to be hereticall, and ſay it is Catholicke.

The brutiſhe diſtinction of the Papiſtes betwene articles hereticall, erroneous, ſclaunderous, and offenſiue.

Agayne, what a rudenes is it in this wicked and doltiſhe Antichriſt worthy to bee laughed at, where as theſe drummedaries do diſtincte hereticall Articles from thoſe that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offenſiue, and thoſe agayne from ſclaunderous? By the which ſubtile diſtinction of theſe groſſeheaded doltes, this we do gather, that that Article whiche is erroneous, is not hereticall. And if it be not hereticall, what doth it thē apperteyne to theſe Eccleſiaſticall condemners, whiche ought to condemne thoſe thinges onely, which bee hereticall. For that which is not hereticall, is Catholicke, as Chriſt hym ſelfe ſayth: *He that is not agaynſt vs, is VVith vs.* Yea I would wiſhe that theſe ioly Sophiſters would ſhewe me in all the Church an Article that is erroneous and not hereticall: for if it be erroneous it differreth nothyng from hereticall, but only in ſtiffenes of defendyng. For all thynges be equally either true or falſe, although affection in ſome one thyng, which is true or falſe, may be greater or leſſer. Ye ſee therfore agayne how theſe mē for all their bragging Buls, are not hable to produce me one Article whiche is erroneous and not hereticall, and yet lyke brainſicke men they will nedes bable they know not them ſelues what, condemnyng that which they finde erroneous and not hereticall: whiche can not ſtand either in matter or in wordes: ſo that ſuch as are the Articles, ſuch is the condemnation.

Luke. 9.

Hereticall.

Erroneous.

Scandalous.

The like wiſedome alſo they ſhewe in affirmyng that to be ſcandalous, which is neither hereticall nor erroneous. That Article I would faine ſee either in my bokes or in ẏ wordes & workes of any writer els frō the beginnyng of ẏ world to ẏ latter end. What made my Papiſtes then to excogitate theſe ſo prodigious mōſters, but only their monſtrous furye & madnes? Vnleſſe peraduenture they meane thoſe Articles ſo to be ſcādalous, as cōmonly all true & Catholicke Articles are wont to be. For what is more ſcandalous then veritie? Yea onely truth & veritie is ſcandalous to all proud and ſenſeles perſons, as is ſayd of Chriſt. 1. Cor. 1. *VVe preach* (ſayth S. Paule) *Chriſt crucified, a ſtumblyng ſtone to the IeVVes, & to the Gentils fooliſhnes.* And Luke. 2. *He is ſet to bee the fall and ryſing vp of many in Iſraell.* Wherfore, where as my Papiſtes do diſtinguiſh ſcādalous Articles from hereticall and erroneous, and for aſmuch as that whiche is not hereticall nor erroneous, muſt nedes be Catholicke and true: it foloweth therof that theſe ſcandalous Articles be vnderſtanded and condemned of them for ſuch as be very Catholicke & ſound. O worthy condēnation & meete for the Papiſtes. Marke here good reader, the impiety of theſe blynd buſſardes: whether they role them ſelues: how they deride & mocke them ſelues: how eaſely they are taken in their owne wordes: how fonde and fooliſhe they are in all their ſtudyes, not onely in not prouyng any errour or ſclaunder in theſe Articles, but alſo in goyng about onely to expreſſe them: how they caſt out thynges impoſſible and moſt fooliſhly repugnant to them ſelues. Where is then, thou moſt preſumptuous and ſhameles Bull, thy doltiſhe reſpectiue now become? whether reſpectedſt thou? Verely into the bottomles pitte of impietie, and thine owne brutiſhe ſtoliditie.

1. Cor. 1.

Luke. 2.

Offenſiue.

The lyke alſo is to be ſayd touchyng the Articles offenſiue, whiche muſt be neither ſclaūderous, neither erroneous, nor hereticall, ſeyng they are diſtincted by ſuch great Rabbines. Who will not now maruel at the deepe and profound wiſedome of theſe Papiſtes, whiche could fynde out that to be offenſiue in the Churche, whiche is neither falſe, neither heretical, nor ſclaūderous: but true, ſounde, Catholicke and edifying, and yet muſt that alſo be condemned? And who would not now deſire and couet to be condemned alſo of ſuch harebraynd Idiotes, who by their owne condemnyng do vtter them ſelues to approue thynges damnable, and to condemne thynges iuſtifiable, that is, whiche openly ſhewe them ſelues, to theyr owne great ignominy and ſhame, to be more ſenſeles thē ſtockes, rockes, or blockes. Go ye now therfore, O ye impious and braynleſſe Papiſtes, and if you will nedes wryte, ſhewe your ſelues more ſober: for this Bull (it appeareth) was ſpued out in your night feaſtes amonges your drabbes and harlottes, or els hudled vp in the Canicular dayes or madde mydſommer Moone: For neuer were there any diſſerdes that would ſhew thē ſelues ſo madde.

The Popes dyrt caſt in his owne teeth.

Let vs now returne this dyrt of Antichriſt & caſt it in hys owne teeth, and of hys owne wordes let vs Iudge hym & condēne him, that hereafter he may learne to take better heede & be better aduiſed in hys lying. For as the prouerbe ſayth, a lyer had neede to haue a good memory. If ſome Articles be offēſyue, and other hereticall, and thou condemneſt hym whiche is no hereticke, and conſequently a true Catholicke, although he be ſixe hundreth times offenſyue, doth not thy ſhameles mouth then condemne thy ſelfe, not onely of hereſie, but of extreme impiety, blaſphemy and treaſon agaynſt Gods holy truth, ſhewyng thy ſelfe to bee the man in deede whiche is the Aduerſary, and is extolled aboue all that which is called God, or is worſhypped? Art not thou then the mā of ſynne and the ſonne of perdition, which denyeth God hys redemer, and taketh away the loue of truth, to ſtabliſhe the ſettyng forth of hys errour, for men to beleue iniquitie, as Paul foretold? For if ẏ Article be not hereticall, it can not be offenſyue or ſclaunderous, but onely to ſuch heretickes as Antichriſt is, and Sataniſtes of all pietie. See therefore how this ſhameles and moſte fooliſhe Bull, whiles it condemneth in me one thyng to be hereticall and an other offenſyue, doth manifeſtly declare the authors thereof to be true heretickes & the enemyes of God in dede. So that now it may appeare, that there is no knowledge nor coūſel againſt the Lord, ſeing blynd impiety is thus caught in the wordes of his owne mouth: ſo truely it is ſayd, that hee which caſteth vp a ſtone on hygh, it falleth down agayn vpō his own pate.

2. Theſ. 2.

Prouerb. 21.

The Pope bewreth hys own wickednes.

And (whiche is chiefeſt of all) by this their wicked contradiction it commeth to paſſe, that the cogitations of their own hartes be reueiled, & that they them ſelues chiefly do vtter & diſcloſe their owne wickednes which they couet moſt to conceile, that all men may ſee how ready they are to condemne all veritie euen at once. For when they affirme ſuch Articles to bee hereticall, which neither they cā, nor know, nor yet dare ſhew or name to be hereticall, what haue we therby to vnderſtād but that they are the aduerſaryes of Chriſt from the bottome of theyr harts, and ready to impugne all truth, and yet notwithſtandyng with theyr damnable hypocriſie they pretende them ſelues to be condemners of hereſies? Learne, learne ye beetell headed aſſes with your bluſteryng Bulls, learne I ſay, what it is, Chriſt to be a ſigne of cōtradiction and a ſtone of offence. How ſoone and eaſely is all your inward impietie and your ignominy diſcloſed with the ſame couert of wordes, wherwith in vayne ye went about to cloke the ſame? Thus then haue we here proued by this firſt and manifeſt argument, that the foreſayd Bull procedeth from none other, then very Antichriſt hym ſelfe, the chiefeſt aduerſary of God and of all godlines. And now let either Eccius or ẏ Pope acknowledge if he dare, & then conſider what opinion we ought to haue of hym, or what name to gyue hym: in whom all curſed names, as in one heape, do concurre together and agree, as impietie, blaſphemy, ignoraunce, foliſhnes, hypocriſie, lying, briefly Sathā him ſelf with his Antichriſt.

Luke. 2.

1. Pet. 2.

The Popes Bull condemneth alſo ſuch bookes of *M. Luthers* which haue no errour.

Neither doth this impiety any thyng leſſe appeare in that alſo whiche I will now ſay. For this worſhypfull Bull decreeth in playne and moſt impudent wordes, that thoſe bookes alſo of mine ought to be burned, in the whiche are no errours conteyned, to the ende that the memory of me may be vtterly rooted out. Canſt thou O Chriſtē reader, now doubt that the great Dragon of hell him ſelf ſpeaketh in this Bul? It is an old prouerbe, that ẏ aſſe ſyngeth therfore euill fauouredly, becauſe he taketh his note to hye. So this Bull in lyke maner ſhould haue pyped more tunably, if ſhe had not ſet vp her blaſphemous throte ſo open agaynſt heauen, ſo impudently and deuiliſhly condemnyng alſo the manifeſt and euident truth. For hetherto Sathan when ſoeuer he oppreſſed the truth, did it vnder the colour of truth: but this man of ſynne, the Aduerſary which is extolled aboue God, without all colour, not priuely but apertly, and that in the open Church of God, without all ſhame taketh vpon hym to condemne, and commaundeth to be burned the ſyncere veritie of Chriſt knowne and allowed both of him & of all others. What could be more done amongeſt the Turkes? What place is this woorthy of (I pray thee) but the depe dungeon of hell? And are ye not afeard ye Antichriſtes, with your brutiſh Bulles, leaſt ſtones and trees ſhould ſweat with bloud, at the moſt horrible ſight of this your execrable impietie and blaſphemy?

The Papiſtes pretend to know & maintayne the veritie of Chriſt, and yet can not abyde it.

where art thou now good Emperour Charles? where are ye Chriſten Kynges and Princes? ye haue gyuen your name to Chriſt in Baptiſme, and can ye now abyde theſe infernall voyces of ſuch an Antichriſt? where be ye Byſhops? where bee ye Doctors? where be all ye that confeſſe Chriſt? Can ye hold your peace at theſe horrible and prodigious monſters of the Papiſtes? O miſerable Churche of God, whiche art made now ſo great a ſcorne and a very mockyng ſtocke of Sathan, O miſerable are all they whiche lyue in theſe tymes. The wrath of God is finally come vpon the Papiſtes, enemyes to the croſſe of Chriſt & veritie of God, reſiſtyng all men, and forbyddyng the truth of Chriſt, to be taught and preached as S. Paul ſayd of the Iewes. Admitte I pray you, that I were ſuch a one in dede, as that curſed & malicious Bull doth make me to be, an hereticke, erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, offenſyue, ſcandalous in certeine of my bookes: yet why ſhould the other bookes of myne be condemned, whiche are Catholicke, Chriſtian, true, edifying, and peaceable? where haue theſe wretched Papiſtes learned this Religion, that for the perſons cauſe beyng euill, they ſhould damne and burne the holy and ſound veritie of God? Cā ye not deſtroy men, but you muſt alſo deſtroy the truth? will ye plucke vp the good wheate alſo with the cockle? will ye ſcatter alſo the corne away together with the chaffe? And why thē receaue ye Origine in his Catholicke bookes, and doo not vtterly reiect hym altogether? yea why ſuffer ye wicked Ariſtotle (in whom is nothyng taught but errours) and do not at leaſt in ſome part condemne hym? why burne ye not & ſet on fyre the wicked, barbarous, vnlearned, and hereticall Decretals of the Pope? why do ye not all this, I ſay, but only for yͤ ye are ſet in this holy place for none other cauſe, but onely to be that abomination ſpoken of in Daniell, whiche ſhould put down truth and ſet vp lyes, and the operation of errour. For this thyng and no other, becommeth the ſeate of Antichriſt.

The Pope cōdemneth as well the good bookes of *M. Luther* as the other, without all reſpecte of truth or of the cauſe.

Daniell. 9.

wherfore this I ſay to thee (Pope Leo the tenth and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other who ſoeuer is in any part or doyng in that Court of Rome) and this I ſpeake boldly vnto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye ſo will acknowledge it for your owne: then will I lykewiſe vſe my power, by the whiche I am made in my Baptiſme, the ſonne of God, and coheyre with Chriſt, beyng founded vpon a ſure rocke, whiche neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heauen, nor earth, and ſay, moniſh, and exhorte you in the Lord, that you will reforme your ſelues and take a better way, and refrayne hereafter frō theſe diabolicall blaſphemies, and to much excedyng preſumptuous impieties, and this I alledge: That vnleſſe ye ſo do, know it for certaine, that I with all them that worſhip Chriſt, do recount your ſeate, poſſeſſed & oppreſſed of Sathan hym ſelfe, to be the damned ſeate of Antichriſt, whiche we not onely do not obey, and will not be ſubiect nor concorporate vnto, but alſo do deteſt and abhorre the ſame, as the principall and chiefeſt enemy of Chriſt, beyng ready in this our ſentence and profeſſion, not onely to ſuffer gladly your fonde fooliſhe cenſures, but alſo do pray you hartely that you will neuer aſſoyle vs agayne, nor euer number vs in your felowſhyp, and moreouer to fulfill your bloudy tyranny, doe willyngly offer our ſelues to dye for the ſame. And accordyng to the power and might, that the ſpirite of Chriſt, and efficacy of our fayth can do in theſe our wrytyngs, if ye ſhall perſiſte ſo ſtill in this your fury, we cōdemne you, and together with this Bull, and all the Decretals, we gyue you to Sathan, to the deſtruction of fleſh, that your ſpirite in the day of our Lord may be deliuered: in the name, whiche you perſecute, of Ieſu Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

M. Luthers warning to the Pope.

M. Luther curſeth the Pope.

For our Lord Ieſus Chriſt yet lyueth and reigneth, (in whom I doe nothyng doubt) who I firmely truſt will ſhortly come, and ſlay with the ſpirite of his mouth, and deſtroy with the brightnes of his commyng, this man of ſinne, and ſonne of perdition, for aſmuch as I cā not deny, if the pope be the author and doer of theſe miſſhapen and monſtruous doynges, but hee is the true, finall, moſt wicked, & that famous Antichriſt, that ſubuerteth the whole world by the operation of hys deluſions, as we ſee it in all places fulfilled and accompliſhed.

The Pope the true Antichriſt.

But whether doth the burnyng zeale of charitie cary me? Neither am I as yet fully perſuaded this to be the Popes Bull, but to procede from his wicked Apoſtle Eccius: who with his fathers, furiouſly gapyng at me lyke a gulfe, would ſwallow me cleane vp, ſingyng with the wicked thus: Let vs ſwallowe hym vp quicke and whole lyke hell, and lyke one deſcendyng downe into the pitte. For litle careth this furious madbrayne, how yͤ veritie of God be extinguiſhed (yea he would coſt that for a lucre) ſo he might fulfill his malicious deſire with the bloud of his brother. O miſerable ſtate of the Churche at this tyme, worthy to be bewayled with teares of bloud. But who heareth our gronynges, or who cōforteth our wepynges? The fury of the Lord ſemeth to be inexorable agaynſt vs.

Eccius.

Prouerb. 1.

Ouer and beſides, what a ridiculous toy, or prety figment haue they inuented whereby belyke to ſport them ſelues with ſome merye matter amongeſt their earneſt buſines, wrytyng yͭ beſides other great frendſhyp which they haue ſhewed vnto me, they haue alſo offered to ſupporte me with money, and to beare my charges with their liberalitie, in my iourney to Rome. Will ye ſee what a charitie is newly come vppon the Citie of Rome, whiche after it hath pilled and poled the whole world of their money, and hath conſumed and waſted the ſame by intolerable tyrannie, now commeth, and to me onely offereth money? But this impudent lye I know with whoſe hammer it was coyned. Caietanus the Cardinall, a man borne & formed to lye for the whet ſtone, after his worſhipful Legacie depeached in Germanie, commyng home to Rome, there he forged and fayned that he promiſed me money: where as he beyng at Auſpurgh, was there in ſuch miſerable penurie, and ſo pynchyng in his houſe, that it was thought hee would haue famiſhed his familie. But thus it becommeth the Bull to be verè Bulla, that is, a thyng of naught, voyde of all truth and wytte.

The Pope lyeth in his Bull, when he ſayth, that he offered money to *Luther* to come to Rome.

And ſo theſe great iudges and condemners after all this, yet haue authoritie to commaunde vs to beleue them to ſay truth, when they doe nothyng but lye, and that they are good Catholickes, when they be ſtarke heretikes, and that they are true Chriſtiās, when they play the very Antichriſt, & all by the vertue of this vniuerſall: Quodcūq; ligaueris &c. i. *VVhat ſoeuer thyng thou bindeſt. &c.* So that where nothyng is excepted, they thinke they may do all in all thynges. Who not onely do lye moſt loudlye and manifeſtly, but alſo (which paſſeth all impudencie) do vaunt and commende there liberalitie before the people to bring me more into hatred, makyng men falſely to beleue that they offered frendſhip & money vnto me: where as theſe tyrantes of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodnes or godlines in them, ſhould haue taken ſome better hede in their doyng & ſpeakyng, ſo that no aduerſarie might conceaue any ſuſpition of euill agaynſt them. But now if there were no other matter els to bryng this Bull out of credite, onely this groſſe and fooliſhe lye were ſufficient to declare how lyght, vayne, & falſe this Bull is. What? would Rome (thinke ye) offer money to me? And how thē cometh this, which I know to be moſt certaine, that out of the bancke (as they call it) ij. or iij. hundreth crownes were aſſigned in Germanie, to be diſpoſed & giuē to ruffins & catchpoles, to murder Luther: for theſe be the reaſons & argumētes, wherby now fighteth, raigneth, & triumpheth yͤ holy Apoſtolicke Sea, the miſtres of faith & mother of all Churches, the which long ſince ſhould haue bene proued to be the very ſeat of Antichriſt & manifold wayes hereticall, if ſhe had fought with the ſword of the ſpirite, whiche is the word of God: wherof ſhe her ſelfe is nothyng ignoraunt, and therfore becauſe ſhe would not be brought to that iſſue, thus ſhe fareth and taketh on like as ſhe were madde, in the Churche of Chriſt, confoundyng and conſumyng all thinges with warres, murthers, bloudſhed, death, and deſtruction, and yet for all this they muſt nedes be counted moſt holy fathers in God, and Vicars of Chriſt, and Paſtors of hys flocke.

The Pope by the vertue of thys vniuerſall *Quodcunq; ligaueris*, can do all thinges.

Men hyred by the Papiſts to kill *Luther*.

The popes Church fleeth the triall of ſcripture.

But go to (that I may alſo daly with thē a whyle) let thē yet ſend me yͤ money they ſpeake of: for as touchyng their promiſe and ſafeconduct (becauſe I will not ouercharge them) that I gladly reſigne to them agayn, ſeyng I haue no great nede thereof, ſo that the money may come to my handes. But here I muſt require ſo much as may ſuffice me: to witte, that I may be furniſhed, with fifty thouſand footemen, and ten thouſand horſemē, to conduct me ſafe to Rome, and ſo for any other promiſe of ſafeconduct I wil not trouble thē. And this I require, becauſe of the daunger that is in Rome, which deuoureth vp her inhabitauntes, neither kepeth nor euer did kepe promiſe with any: where theſe moſt holy fathers do ſlay their beloued children in the charitie of God, and brethrē deſtroy their brethrē to do ſeruice to Chriſt, as the maner is & ſtyle of Rome. In the meane tyme I wil kepe my ſelf free

What ſafeconducte *M. Luther* requireth of the pope.

free and ſafe frō the Citation of this moſt reuerent Bull. O ye miſerable verlettes, which are ſo confounded with the truth & with your own conſcience, that neither ye can lie handſomly, neither dare ye ſpeake the truth, & yet neither cā ye ſo kepe your ſelues quiet, to your perpetual ignomie and confuſion.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a ſtraūge faſhion of ſtile, not heard of before. For where Auguſtine would haue ſayd, yͭ he would not beleue yͤ Goſpel, except he had ben moued by yͤ authority of yͤ church, now cōmeth in this goodly Bull, & maketh this catholicke church to be a few reuerent Cardinals hys brethren, and Priours of regular orders, Maiſters of Diuinitie and Doctours of the law, out of whoſe counſell the ſayd Bull boaſteth her ſelf to be borne and brought forth, a bleſſed Babe (for ſooth) of ſuch an vniuerſall Church. O happie trauell (no doubt) of thys catholicke Church, neuer ſeene nor heard of before, and ſuch as Auguſtine the valiant impugner of ſectes, if he did ſee, would not doubt to call it the Sinagoge of the Deuill. See therfore the madnes of theſe Papiſtes. The vniuerſall Church is a few Cardinals, Priours, and Doctours, ſcarcely perhaps twentye perſons in all, when alſo it is poſſible enough that neuer one of them all is the member of one Chappell or Altar. And where as the Church is the communion of Saintes, as we ſay in our Creede, out of this communion of ſaintes, that is, out of this vniuerſall Church, all they then muſt needes be excluded, who ſo euer be not in the number of theſe twentie perſons: and ſo what ſo euer theſe holy men do thinke or iudge, by and by the vniuerſall Church muſt needes hold and beleue the ſame, albeit they be lyers, heretickes, and Antichriſtes, thinking and iudging nothing but that which is abominable.

A new vniuerſall Church of the Popes making.

The vniuerſall Church bound to xx. perſons.

Would there euer any man thinke ſuch doltiſhnes & madnes to be in Rome? Is there anye brayne in theſe mens heades thinke ye, or hart in their bodies? Auſtine ſpeaketh of the church diſperſed through yͤ whole world, confeſſing the Goſpel with one conſent. Neither would God that any booke els ſhould bee receiued wyth ſuch a conſent of the whole world as the holy ſcripture (as the ſayd Auguſtine in hys confeſſions affirmeth) leſt by the receauing of other bookes, ſchiſmes might take occaſion to ryſe, according as the wicked Sea of Rome hath long ſought by her decrees, & hath, for a great parte, brought yͤ ſame to paſſe already. But yet the vniuerſal church dyd neuer agree therto. For in the Eaſt, weſt, & South there haue bene Chriſtians, which beyng content onely wyth the Goſpell, haue not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particuler church, to make her ſelfe a vniuerſal church, and accuſeth other churches as ſchiſmaticall, whē as ſhe hath cut of her ſelfe from the vniuerſall Churche, and ſtryueth in vayne to drawe the whole vniuerſall Churche to her, being the mother and fountayne of all ſchiſmes, and all by the meanes of thys tyranny.

What *Auſtine* calleth the vniuerſall Church.

No vniuerſall catholicke boke, but onely the Scripture.

Let no man therefore euer thinke that thys true Catholike church aforeſayd, wyll beleue or mayntaine thoſe things whych thys deteſtable Bull here pratleth, when as neyther that whych is the very true church of Rome, in deede doth her ſelfe ſo thinke, neyther taketh that by and by to be Catholicke, what ſoeuer is knowen to procede from the Church of Rome. For as I ſayd, there is no boke which ſhall be called catholike hereafter, as neyther it hath bene heretofore, beſides only the holy ſcripture. For the church of Rome it may ſuffice to glory her ſelf to be a little parcell or peece of the vniuerſall church, and ſo let her vexe her ſelf onely wyth her own decrees.

The catholicke church, and the church of Rome, are two thynges.

Neither let anye man thinke thys to bee the Bull of yͤ catholike church, but rather to procede out of the Court of Rome. For ſuch wyſdome and religion may wel beſeme that Seate of Sathan, whych ſeeketh to be counted for the whole vniuerſall Church, and obtrudeth her fooliſhe and wicked Bulles moſt arrogantly and vaynly to the whole world in yͤ ſtede of ſincere catholicke doctrine. Whoſe pride and preſumption hath growne ſo farre, that ſhe truſting vpon her own power, without all learning and holynes of lyfe, taketh vpon her to preſcribe lawes to all men of all their doinges and ſayinges, as though for dominion only and loftines of ſpirite, ſhe were to be counted the houſe and church of Chriſt, where as by thys meanes Sathan alſo the Prince of yͤ world, or the Turk might be counted the church of Chriſt. Agayne, neither the Monarchies of the Gentiles cā abide mighty Princes to raygne ouer them without wyſdome and goodnes. Furthermore, in the church the ſpirituall man onely iudgeth all thinges, and is iudged of no man, and not the Pope alone or the court of Rome, vnleſſe they bee ſpirituall.

The pride and preſumption of the Church of Rome.

Dominion and power maketh not the church.

1.Cor.2.

But agaynſt all this their raſh preſumption, I boldly ſet the inuincible Champion of the church ſaint Paule, who 1.Cor.14. ſayth: If any thyng bee reueiled to an other that ſitteth by, let the firſt man holde hys peace. Here haue ye playnly that the Pope or any other Elder, what ſoeuer he be, ought to keepe ſilence, if anye thing be reueiled to other in the church, that is inferiour. I therfore vpon this authoritie cōtemnyng the preſumptuous procedyng of this ſwellyng Bull, do confidently take vpon me to defend the Articles, caryng nothyng for the bare cōdemnation of any perſon, yea of yͤ Pope him ſelfe with hys whole Churche, vnleſſe hee ſhall enforme me by the Scriptures, wherof the firſt Article is this.

1.Cor.14.

¶The Article.

It it an hereticall ſentence and alſo common to ſay, that Sacramentes of the new lawe do giue grace to them, which haue no obſtacle in them ſelues to the contrary.

The firſt article.

The Aunſwere.

I acknowledge this Article to be myne, and I aſke of you, good Maiſters *Reſpectiuiſtes*, whiche make theſe Articles reſpectiuely, ſome to be hereticall, ſome erroneous, ſome ſclaūderous. &c. whether reſpecteth this Article I pray you? To hereſie, to errour, to ſclaūder & offence? Or els whether reſpected you in condemnyng the ſame? To the holy Scripture? to the holy fathers? to fayth? to the Churche? To which of theſe I beſeche you tell me. Neither do I here put you to the labour of prouyng, but onely require you to ſhewe your iudgement, what you thinke, that I may know wherein I ſay amyſſe. Will you that I ſhould tell you (you babyſhe infantes and noddies) whether this Article reſpecteth? I will. This Article hath ij. reſpectes. Whereof the one reſpecteth the Papiſtas the condemners hereof, amongeſt whom it reſpecteth ſome to be mules, ſome to be horſes, which haue no vnderſtandyng & be voyde of all ſenſe, and yet notwithſtandyng they will nedes condemne all thinges. An other reſpect it hath to the holy Scripture, whiche ſayth Rom.14. *What ſo euer is not of faythe is ſinne.* Wherupon conſequētly it foloweth that the Sacramentes of the new lawe can giue no grace to the vnbeleuers (forſomuch as the ſinne of infidelitie is the greateſt obſtacle) but onely to the beleuers. For onely fayth putteth no obſtacle: all other thynges be obſtacles, although they put not the ſame obſtacles which the Sophiſters vnderſtād, meanyng onely of the actuall purpoſe of externall ſinne. I confeſſe therfore this Article not onely to be myne, but alſo to be the Article of the Catholicke and Chriſtian veritie: and the Bull whiche confeſſeth the ſame, to bee twiſe hereticall, impious, and blaſphemous, with all them whiche folow the ſame. Who litle regardyng the ſinne of incredulitie, fooliſhely and madly do hold that the obſtacle is taken away if a man ceaſſe from ſynnyng, although the vnbeleuer can thinke no good thyng. But theſe thynges I haue diſcuſſed more at large in my bookes, and will more diſcuſſe if theſe pratyng Romaniſtes dare at any tyme proue their opinion and confute myne.

Aunſwere of *M. Luther* to the firſt ſentence.

Two reſpectes noted in thys Article.

Rom.14.

The obſtacle letting Sacramētes to geue grace, is the actuall purpoſe of ſinning, ſay the Papiſtes. The onely obſtacle letting Sacramentes to geue grace, is vnbeliefe, ſayth Luther, ſpeakyng after hys tyme. But the truth is, that Sacramētes neyther with obſtacle nor without obſtacle, do geue grace to the beleuers or vnbeleuers, but onely do ſignifie grace geuen by Chriſt.

¶The ſecond Article.

To denye that ſinne remayneth in a child after his Baptiſme, is as much as to treade downe Chriſt and Paul together vnder foote.

The aunſwere.

I would alſo require of them to ſhewe the cauſe why this Article is condēned, if they were not ſo blynded in their phātaſticall reſpectes, that they are not hable to perceyue why they would haue this Article cōdemned. And yet I can not tell whether it be hereticall or els erroneous. And no maruell, when as the condemners them ſelues can not tell me. I holde therefore this Article alſo by the Apoſtle: Roman.7. *I my ſelfe in my mynde do ſerue the lawe of God, and in my fleſhe the law of ſinne.* Here the Apoſtle confeſſeth playnly of hym ſelf that in his fleſh he ſerueth ſinne. And alſo, 1.Cor.1. *Chriſt is made to vs of God our righteouſnes, our wiſedome, ſanctification & redemption.* And how thē doth he ſanctifie them that be ſāctified already, vnleſſe it be as the Apocalyps ſaith: *He that is holy, let hym be holy ſtille?* To be ſanctified, is as much as to be purged from ſinne. But what haue theſe our reſpectiuiſtes to do with the Apoſtle Paul, ſeyng they are the whole vniuerſall Church, by whoſe authoritie Paule either ſtandeth or falleth, beyng but a member onely and a parte of the Church. The Lorde rebuke thee Sathan and theſe thy Sathanicall Papiſtes.

Aunſwere of *M. Luther* to the ſecond Article.

Rom.7.

1.Cor.1.

Apoc.22.

¶The third Article.

The 3. Article.

The originall roote of ſinne, although no actuall ſinne doe folow,

folow, ſtoppeth the ſoule departyng out of the body from entraunce into heauen.

The Aunſwere.

Aunſwere of M. Luther to the third Article.

As touchyng this matter I neuer defined any thyng hetherto, but largely and probably I haue diſputed hereof, neither yet to this day am I fully certeine what is done with ſuch a ſoule. But our Papiſtes more blynd thẽ buſſardes, whẽ they are nothing able to perceiue what cauſe this article hath worthely to be condemned, yet dare they take vpon them to pronounce that whiche the whole vniuerſall Churche is ignoraunt of. I yet notwithſtandyng contemnyng this fooliſh and fonde condemnatiõ aforeſayd, do hold this Article probably to bee true. For ſeyng this originall roote whiche I ſpeake of, is truly ſinne, as I haue proued Rom. 7. and Gal. 5. and ſeyng that ſinne letteth a man from entryng into heauẽ, as it is written: *No polluted thyng ſhall enter:* I ſuppoſe therfore that originall ſinne withholdeth a man frõ entryng into heauen. Neither do I any thyng at all eſteme the phantaſticall dreames of thẽ, wherby they extenuatyng originall ſinne, do call it onely the payne of ſinne and imperfections, playnely agaynſt the manifeſt Scriptures, whiche call it ſinne and teache the ſame to be cured by grace, whiche is the medicine of true and not of fayned ſinne.

Sap. 7.

¶The fourth Article.

The fourth Article.

The imperfect charity of a man departing, neceſſarily caryeth with it great feare, which of it ſelfe is enoughe to make the payne of Purgatory, and letteth the entrance into the kingdome of heauen.

The Aunſwere.

Aunſwere of M. Luther to the fourth Article.

This foloweth of the other goyng before, whiche in lyke maner I dyd not determinatly affirme, although very probably I do yet hold the ſame, aſkyng before a diſpenſation after myne owne arbitrement, euen in defiaunce of the Bull, whiche is not hable to bryng forth any other probation but this: We are the hyeſt powers in the Church: yea, we are the Churche it ſelfe. *Ergo*, we are the beſt learned, moſt holyeſt, full of the holy Ghoſt whiche can not erre, although we ſtyncke lyke a filthy puddle to the whole world, polluted with all kynd of ſinnes, and drowned in ignoraunce. But all theſe reaſons preuayle nothyng with me: peraduenture they may with them, which feare leaſt if my ſentence ſhould preuayle, then Purgatory ſhould bee taken out of the Popes handes, and thẽ Prieſtes and religious men hauyng loſt theyr gaynfull offices of vexyng (of releaſing I would haue ſayd) of the dead, ſhould be pynched by the bellyes and brought to penury. It was tyme therfore for their greedy auarice here to wake and looke about, and not to ſuffer theſe their friuolous opinions, but yet very gaynfull, to bee ouercome with truth and ſo to be ouerthrowen.

The Popes doctrine gainfull to the purſe.

¶The fift Article.

The 5. Article.

Where they ſay that penaunce ſtandeth of three partes, to witte, contrition, confeſſiõ, & ſatisfactiõ: it is not founded in holy Scripture, nor in auncient, holy, & Chriſtiã Doctors.

The Aunſwere.

Aunſwere of M. Luther to the fift Article.

This Article, in what reſpect it is condemned, I do ryght well perceyue: For the reſpect thereof is to gredy couetouſnes, and therfore I know that the probation therof hath the lyke reſpect, whiche is this: If this Article were true, then mẽ would gyue nothyng for ſatiſfaction and indulgences, neither ſhould we haue any more wherwith to vexe thẽ with cõfeſſions, caſes reſerued, reſtricted, or ampliated for our gayne, and ſo ſhould we become beggers, and Gods ſeruice ſhould bee miniſhed in Vigilles and Maſſes. But it is wicked that Gods ſeruice ſhould be miniſhed: therfore Luther is an hereticke. This conſequent holdeth, *a reſpectu Bullæ ad Papiſtas*. i. From the Bull to the Papiſtes, and contrarywyſe.

I beſech thee by the Lord Ieſus, what ſoeuer graue & learned reader ſhalt read theſe thynges, that thou wilt pardon this my leuitie and (as it may ſeme) my childiſhnes. For thou ſeeſt how I haue to do with ſuch men as bee twiſe children, and yet do bragge them ſelues to bee peeres and principall pillers of all men. I aſſure you, I know it moſt certeynly to be true, that there bee many and great gouerners of people, whiche this ſo ridiculous and fooliſhe reaſon aboue recited, hath moued to the condemnation of my bookes. Vnleſſe I perceyued (with teares I ſpeake it) the anger of God ſharpe and fearce agaynſt vs, in bringing vs vnder ſubiection of ſuch effeminate children, and ſuch dregges of the earth, and vile refuſe of all other people of the whole world, it would make me to burſt for very grief and ſorrow.

My ſentẽce is & hath bene this, that that ſatiſfactiõ which the keyes are hable to diſpenſe withall, ſtandeth not by the law of God. For if it did, then could it not be diſpenſed withall by the keyes. If theſe Bull founders do charge me with any other thyng beſides in this Article, they doe nothyng els but as they are wont to do. For what matter or maruell is it if Antichriſt do lye?

The ſixt Article.

The vi. Article.

Contrition whiche is gotten by examinyng, remembryng, & deteſtyng our ſinnes, whereby a man calleth to mynde hys yeres paſt in the bytternes of his ſoule, in põderyng the greatnes, the multitude and filthynes of his ſinnes, the loſing of eternall bliſſe, and purchaſing of eternall dãnation: this cõtritiõ maketh an hypocrite, yea rather a mã to be more a ſinner.

The Aunſwere.

Aunſwere of Luther to the vi. Article.

O the incredible blyndnes and brutiſhnes of theſe Romiſhe Bulles. This Article is truly myne, and very Chriſtian, whiche I will not ſuffer to bee wreſted from me for all the Popes and Papiſtes in the world. For this I ment by that doctrine, that repentaunce is of no force vnleſſe it bee done in fayth and charitie, whiche thing they alſo teach them ſelues, but that they do not know nor teach, neither what fayth nor charitie is. And therfore in condemnyng my doctrine, they condemne alſo their own, fooliſhely repugnyng agaynſt thẽ ſelues in their owne contradiction. I ſay therfore that hee whiche teacheth repentaunce in ſuch wiſe and maner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promiſed mercy of God and fayth in the ſame, then to this afflictyng and vexyng of the mynde, hee teacheth the repentaunce of Iudas Iſcarioth, he is peſtilent, a deuill to mens ſoules, & a tormentor of conſciences. Read the bookes of thoſe Sophiſters, where they write of repentaunce, and thou ſhalt ſee there no mention made either of promiſe or fayth. For theſe liuely partes of repentaunce they cleane omitte, and onely do vexe men with theſe dead contritions. But hereof we haue, and will hereafter entreate more at large.

But what ſhould I here ſtand vpon euery Article, ſeyng my bokes be abroad wherin I haue gyuẽ a reaſon of all ſufficiently, and more would haue done, if myne aduerſaries alſo had brought to lyght theirs. For what fooliſhnes is this, that they thinke to aunſwere me with thys one ſaying, that they count all my ſayings as dãned, wheras I did write to this end onely, that they ſhoulde acknowledge theyr errours, wherewith they haue ſo long bewitched the people of God. Neither dyd I loke that I ſhould be condemned, which vnderſtandyng and knowyng the ſame ryght well, haue iuſtified thoſe thynges whiche they haue condemned before, with ſufficient authoritie both of Scripture and reaſon. Neither looked I that they ſhould tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that I ſought of them was to know whether they thought ryght therein, or not. Here looked I to be taught, & behold none of them all durſt once put forth his head. Wherfore I ſee theſe Aſſes nothyng to vnderſtand either the thynges that I ſay, or yet them ſelues. But they be ſuch blynd buſſardes, that they perceiue not what it is that I ſeeke in my bookes. For they dreame that I haue ſuch an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of theyr ſide, when there is nothyng that I leſſe thinke to be true. For I foreſeyng that they had condemned all theſe thynges before, came forth and ſhewed my ſelfe, as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned of them, to accuſe theyr condemnation to be wicked, hereticall, and blaſphemous, and ſo openly to denounce them as heretickes and erroneous, vnleſſe they ſhewed ſome better reaſon & groũd of theyr doynges and doctrine: where as they on the other ſide, lyke fooliſhe minſtrells harpyng ſtill on one ſtryng, haue nothyng els in their mouthes, but we cõdemne that we haue condemned, prouing after a new kynde of Logicke, the ſame thyng by it ſelfe. O moſt idiote huddypeakes and blockiſhe condemners, where is the ſaying of Peter: *Be alwayes ready to render a count of that fayth and hope which is in you.*

The purpoſe of Luther in ſetting forth hys Articles.

1. Pet. 3.

Wherfore ſeyng theſe ignoraunt Papiſtes, beyng thus confoũded, do ſo flye away from the face of the manifeſt verity, that they dare not once opẽ their mouthes in defence of thẽ ſelues or of theyr cauſe, and haue blaſted out with much ado this tymerous Bull of theirs: I beyng comforted with the flight of theſe myne aduerſaryes, do accompt this their daſtardly damnation in ſtede of full allowyng and iuſtifiyng of my cauſe, and ſo rebounde agayne their owne damnation vpon their owne heades. For how could they more condẽne them ſelues, then whiles they, (fearyng to be found them ſelues culpable of hereſie, if they ſhould bee driuen to gyue a coumpt of their doctrine) do flye to this miſerable and deſperate refuge, willyngly to ſhut theyr eyes and ſtoppe theyr eares, and to ſay, I will not, I damne thee, I heare thee not, I allowe thee not. If I ſhould haue played any ſuch mad parte, how would they (I praye you) haue triumphed agaynſt me? This daſtarly feare declareth what cowardes they are.

Wherfore not to burden the reader with any tedious prolixitie of matter in proſecutyng euery Article, I here proteſte in theſe preſentes, that I *confeſſe all theſe thinges here condemned by this miſerable Bull, for pure, cleare and Catholicke doctrine: whereof I haue ſufficiently gyuen a compt in my bookes which bee extant abroad.

*Note here, good reader, that amongſt theſe Articles, certaine there bee which becauſe they ſeemed ſomewhat to beare with the Pope and hys pretenſions, Luther commyng after to more knowledge that the Pope was Antichriſt, confeſſeth hym ſelfe in hys aſſertions, that he vtterly calleth backe the ſame, not graunting this as the Pope would haue had hym, but rather aggrauating them againſt the Pope.

Furthermore, I will alſo that the ſayd my bookes beyng extant abroad, ſhallbe taken as a publicke accuſation agaynſt theſe wicked Sophiſters and ſeducers of the people of God: ſo that vnleſſe they ſhall gyue a count of their doctrine, and ſhall conuict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lyeth, denounce them as gilty of errour, hereſie, and ſacrilege, admoniſhyng, deſiryng and in the Lord exhortyng all them whiche truly confeſſe Chriſt, that they will beware and take hede of their peſtiferous and pernitious doctrine, and not to doubt, but that the true Antichriſt reigneth now by them in the world amongeſt vs.

And if any ſhall contemne this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and cleane from his bloud, and excuſed in the laſt iudgement of Chriſt. For I haue left nothyng vndone, whiche Chriſtian charitie dyd bynde me to do.

Finally, if there be no other way wherby I may reſiſt theſe babling and triflyng condemners, the vttermoſt & laſt which I haue, I will geue and beſtow in the quarell, that is, this lyfe and bloud of myne. For better it were for me a thouſand tymes to be ſlayne, then to reuoke one ſillable of theſe Articles whiche they haue cõdemned. And now as they do curſe and excommunicate me for their damnable hereſie, ſo I agayne lykewiſe do curſe & excõmunicate them for the holy veritie of God. Chriſt whiche is onely the Iudge of all, iudge and determine this matter betwene vs, whether of theſe two excommunications, hys or myne ſhall ſtand and preuayle before hym. Amen.

Read afore pag.973.

In ſtoryng the life of Luther before pag.973. it was declared, how the ſayd Luther in the begynnyng, firſt beyng reiected of the Cardinall Caietanus, appealed from the Cardinall vnto the Pope. When that would not ſerue, neither could any tolerable ſubmiſſion of Luther to the Pope be receaued, but that the Pope with his Cardinals, contrary to all equitie and conſcience, would nedes procede agaynſt hym, and agaynſt the expreſſe truth of Gods worde, thinkyng by mere authoritie to beare down ỹ veritie as he had vſed before to do, Luther folowyng the iuſtnes of his cauſe, was then cõpelled to appeale from the Pope to the next generall Councell, and ſo did, as before you may read pag. 974. Whiche was ij. yeares before the Popes Bull agaynſt Luther came out. The tenour of which appellation before omitted, I thought here to exhibite, whereby the reader conſideryng the great chaunge of Religion and ſtate of the Church whiche ſince hath enſued, may alſo perceaue the true originall cauſe and occaſion, how it firſt began, by what order and degrées it after encreaſed, what humilitie and ſubmiſſion firſt on Luthers part was ſhewed, and agayne what inſolencie, wrong, and violence on ỹ Popes part was declared. And further, where Pope Leo in his Bull aboue prefixed ſéemeth to pretende certaine conditions of fauour, charitie, and money offered to Luther in the begynnyng, how falſe and vaine that is, by this preſent appeale may appeare. The copy wherof, as it was drawen by ỹ publicke notarie and exhibited, is this as in forme here foloweth.

Read afore pag.974.

¶The tenour and forme of the Appeale of Martine Luther, from Pope Leo to the next generall Councell.

The Appeale of M. Luther from the Pope to the next generall Councell.

IN nomine Domini, Amẽ. Anno a natiuitate eiuſdem. 1518 indictione ſexta, die vero ſolis vigeſima octaua menſis Nouembris Pontficatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris & Domini noſtri, Domini Leonis, diuina prouidẽtia Papæ decimi, anno ſexto in mea Notarij publici teſtiumq; infra ſcriptorum ad hoc ſpecialiter vocatorũ & rogatorum preſentia conſtitutus reuerendus Pater Dominus Martinus Luther Auguſtinianus Wittembergen. ſacræ Theologiæ Magiſter, ac ibidem Lector ordinarius Theologiæ principalis, ac principaliter pro ſeipſo, citra tamen quamcunq; Procuratorum ſuorum quomodolibet hactenus per eum conſtitutorum reuocationem, habens & tenens in ſuis manibus quandam prouotationis & appellationis papyri ſchedulã animo & intentione prouocandi & appellandi * apoſtoloſq; petendi, dicens, nàrrans, prouocans, & appellans certis & legitimis de cauſis in eadem ſchedula contentis & comprehenſis, ad Cõcilium proximè & immediate futurum, ſaltem in ſpiritu ſancto legitimè cõgregatum, alijs vero congregationibus, factionibus, & concionibus priuatis penitus ſecluſis, proteſtans aliaq; faciens prout in dicta appellationis ſchedula plenius continetur, habetur, & deſcribitur, cuius tenor ſequitur, & eſt talis.

* ἀποςολὴ, ſeu ἐπιςολὴ, græcis emiſſionem ſignificat ſeu literas emiſſorias: vnde de corrupto loquendi genere Romana Curia apoſtolos appellat, pro eo quod apoſtolas dici conueniebat.

Cum Appellationis remedium in ſubſidium & leuamen oppreſſorum a iurium conditoribus ſit adinuentum, & non ſolum ab illatis verum etiam ab inferendis & inferri cõminatis grauaminibus & iniurijs iura appellare permittant, cumq́; inferior de non appellando ad ſuperiorem ſtatuere non poſſit & manus ſuperiorum claudere, ſed cũ ſatis ſit in profeſſo quod ſacroſanctum Cõcilium in ſpiritu ſancto legitimè congregatum ſanctam eccleſiam catholicam repreſentans, ſit in cauſis fidem concernentibus ſupra Papam: euenit quòd Papà in cauſis huiuſmodi, ne ab eò ad Concilium appelletur ſtatuere non poſſit (tanquã id agens quod ad officium ſuũ non ſpectet vllo modo) ſitq́; appellatio ipſa defenſio quædam quæ iure diuino, naturali, & humano cuiq; cõpetit, neq; per principem auferri poſſit. Idcirco ego frater Martinus Luther ordinis Eremitarum ſancti Auguſtini Wittenbergen. ſacræ Theologiæ Magiſter indignus eiuſdemq; ibidem lector ordinarius principalis, principaliter & pro meipſo coram vobis Notario publico tanquam publica & autentica perſona, teſtibus hic præſentibus animo & intentione prouocandi & appellandi apoſtoloſq; petendi, prouoco & appello, premiſſa tamen expreſſa hac & ſolemni proteſtatione: quòd contra vnam ſanctam & catholicam Apoſtolicamq́; eccleſiam, quam totius orbis eſſe magiſtram & obtinere principatum non ambigo, ſanctæq; ſedis Apoſtolicæ authoritatem, ac ſanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Papæ benè conſulti poteſtatem nihil dicere intendo. Si quid autem ex lubrico forſan linguæ, ſeu aduerſariorum potius irritamento, minus rectè & non ea qua debeat, reuerentia dictum fuerit, paratiſſimus ſum illud emendare.

Appellationis remedium aduerſus iniurias iure diuino & humano licitum, & conceſſum omnibus.

Concilium generale ſupra Papam.

Proteſtatio M. Lutheri, ante appellationem præmiſſa.

Sed cum is qui vicem dei in terris gerit, quem Papam dicimus, ſit homo ſimilis nobis, ex hominibus aſſumptus & ipſe, vt Apoſtolus dicit, circumdatus infirmitate, potens errare, peccare, mentiri, vanus fieri, nec ſit exceptus ab illa prophetæ generali ſententia: *Omnis homo mendax*, nec ſanctus Petrus primus & ſanctiſſimus omnium pontificum ab hac infirmitate liber fuerit, quin noxia ſimulatione contra veritatem euangelij incederet, ita vt rigida quidem, ſed ſanctiſſima reprehenſione Apoſtoli Pauli opus habuerit corrigi, vt ad Galathas ſecundo ſcribitur:

Petrus errauit: Pontifex igitur errare poteſt.

Quo nobiliſſimo exemplo per ſpiritum ſanctum in eccleſia monſtrato & in litteris ſacratiſſimis relicto, fideles Chriſti erudimur & certi ſumus quòd ſi quis ſummus Pontifex eadam Petri vel ſimili infirmitate lapſus quid præceperit vel decreuerit contra diuina mandata, non ſolum obediendum ei nõ eſſe, verum etiam cum Apoſtolo Paulo in faciem ei reſiſti poſſe, immo debere, ac velut per inferiora mẽbra infirmitati capitis pia totius corporis ſollicitudine ſuccurri: Et in huius exemplo preſentem ac perpetuam memoriam non ſine ſingulari dei conſilio factam eſſe non obſcurè intelligitur, vt non ſolum S. Petrus, ſed etiam ſalutaris eius reprehẽſor Paulus ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ iuxta & ſimul patrocinarentur & poſſent, quò ſcilicet nõ ſolũ litteris, ſed ſenſibili quoq; monumento huius ſummi, neceſſarij, ac ſaluberimi exempli aſſiduè mouerentur tam ipſa capita quam nos mẽbra: Quodſi qua potentiũ vi armatus tantũ preualuerit vt reſiſti ei non poſſit, vnum certè illud prædictum appellationis remedium reliquum eſt quo oppreſſi releuentur:

Infirmitati capitis, per inferiora membra ſuccurrendum.

Petrus a Paulo reprehenſus, pontificem admonere poteſt, quid & illi ſuſtinendum, quidq; cæteris faciendum ſit.

Ad quod & ego frater Martinus Luther predictus modo et animo predictis cõfugiens, dico & propono, quòd cũ diebus ſuperioribus indulgentiæ a quibuſdam Cõmiſſarijs (vt aſſerebant) Apoſtolicis indiſcretiſſimè predicarentur in regione noſtra Saxoniæ, adeò vt ad exugendas populi pecunias inciperẽt abſurda, hæretica, & blaſphema quædã predicare in ſeductionem animarum fidelium, & ſummum ludibrium eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis, præſertim de poteſtate Papæ in Purgatorio (vt continet eorũ libellus qui Summaria inſtitutio vocatur) quum tamen certum ſit ex centum abuſionibus Papam non habere prorſum vllam poteſtatem in Purgatorium: Deinde vna totius eccleſiæ ſententia omniumq; doctorum conſenſu indulgentiæ ſunt nihil niſi remiſſiones ſatiſfactionis pœnitentialis

Fœda & abſurda indulgẽtiarũ venditatio per Saxoniam.

Papa non habet poteſtatem in Purgatorium.

Indulgentiarū vis non latius patet quā ad remittēdas ſatiſfactiones pœnitentiales.

Diſt. 25. Cap. Qualis.

Lutheri iuſta de Indulgentijs querela.

Lutherus traducitur per Marium de Peruſijs, procuratorem fiſcalem.

Lutherus citatus Romā, per Hieronymum, & Silueſt. Prieratem.

Citatus Lutherus cur Romæ non cōparuerit.

Cauſa Lutheri trāſlata ad Thomam Card. Sancti Sixti.

Lutheri obedientia in comparendo.

tentialis a ſuo iudice impoſitæ, vt eſt clarus textus: quòd autem ſatiſfactio aut pœnitentialis pœna ab eccleſiaſtico iudice impoſita aliud non ſit quam opera ieiunij, orationis, eleemoſynæ. &c. ideoq; clauibus eccleſiæ remitti nō poſſit ꝙ eiſdem non fuerit impoſitum: Item vbi legitur in diſtinctione. 25. cap. *Qualis huic*, q̃ in Purgatorio non ſolum pœna ſed et culpa remittitur, certum eſt ꝙ culpam eccleſia remittere non poteſt, ſicut nec gratiam conferre: Iſtis inquam allegationibus nixus cum diſputandi more fuiſſem reluctatus impuris & inſulſis illorum dogmatibus, cæperunt illi lucri ſtudio furentes, primum publicis declamationibus ad populum declarare me hæreticum temeritate impudentiſſima: deinde apud ſanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum Leonem decimum per quendam dominū Marium de Peruſijs Procuratorem fiſcalem accuſare tanquam de hæreſi ſuſpectum, & per eundem Dominum tandem impetrantes commiſſionem citandi me coram perſonis reuerendiſſimorum Dominorum & patrū Hieronimi de Genutijs Epiſcopi Aſculani, cauſarū Cameræ auditoris, et Silueſtri Prieratis pallatij magiſtri, per eoſdem me citari curauerunt ad vrbem perſonaliter comparendum. Cunq; ego nec Wittenbergæ tutus ab inſidijs tantum iter perficere non poſſem, nec Romæ tuto conſiſtere, & pauperculus & imbecillis corpore, deinde iudices præfati in multis cauſis fuiſſent ſuſpecti, preſertim ꝙ reuerendus pater Silueſter aduerſarius mihi fuerit, & dialogum contra me iam ediderat, & in ſacris litreris minus eruditus quàm iſta cauſa ferre poſſit: Dominus autem Hieronimus in iuribus quoq; plus q̃ in Theologia doctus meritò timebatur: ſollicitaui per illuſtriſſimum principem Dominum Fridericum ducem Saxoniæ, ſancti Romani Imperij Archimarſcallum, Lantgrauium Thuringæ, Marchionē Miſniæ, vt cauſa ad partes cōmitteretur nō ſuſpectas, ſed honeſtos & bonos viros. Tūc illi craſſa quadam et inſulſa aſtutia inſtructi, apud ſanctiſſimum Dominū Leonem. &c. egerunt vt cauſa in ſeipſos, hoc eſt in perſonā reuerendiſſimi Domini Thomæ Sancti Sixti Cardinalis tunc in Germania ſedis Apoſtolicæ Legati transferretur, vt qui de ordine Prædicatorū & Thomiſticæ factionis, id eſt, aduerſariæ, vel primarius facilè ſperaretur, contra me pro ipſis diffiniturus, aut (vt veriſimile eſt) certè vt huius facie iudicis abſterritus recuſarem comparere & cōtumaciam incurrerē, & ego tū veritate dei fretus ad Auguſtam multo labore & magnis periculis veniens humaniter quidem a præfato reuerendiſſimo ſuſceptus ſum:

Lutherus pro ſe reſponſurus audiri non potuit.

Lutherus ſe ſubmittit iudicio 4. Vniuerſitatum.

Qui, cum poſthabita proteſtatione mea & oblatione, qua vel publicè vel priuatim me reſponſurum obtuli coram Notario & teſtibus deniq; præſentibus quatuor inſignibus viris Ceſareæ Maieſtatis Senatoribus, ſubijcerem me meaq; dicta ſanctæ ſedi Apoſtolicæ & iudicio quatuor illuſtrium vniuerſitatum, Baſilien. Friburgen. Louanien. tandem & ſtudiorum parenti nobiliſſimæ Pariſien: me ſimpliciter ad reuocationē vrgebat, nec voluit oſtendere mihi errores meos, & quibus rationibus vel authoritatibus error a me intelligi poſſet, immo ſcilicet ſuæ factionis fratribus affectus & iniquitatis facies aſſumens, tandem niſi reuocarem abiectis precibus & votis diſcendi & informationis petitionibus, minas diras ac crudeliſſimas vigore cuiuſdam Apoſtolici Breuis intentauit, ac ne redirem in faciem ſuam imperauit:

Duplex M. Lutheri appellatio. Altera ad pontificem rectius informandum: altera a pontifice ad Concilium oecumenicum.

Lutherus ſuam de religione diſputationem omnem Rom. pontifici ſubiecit.

Iudicium Rom. pontificis in cognoſcenda Lutheri doctrina, fruſtra expectatur.

Lutherus in curia pontificia prius damnatur, quàm reus conuincitur.

Lutheri nimia erga Rom. pontificē obedientia ſpreta.

Pontificis iniqua tyrannis aduerſus Lutherum.

Pontif. Rom. nulla ratione, contra Lutherum procedit, ſed mera tyrannide.

Quibus grauaminibus læſus, tunc ab eius iniqua & violēta præſumptione & prætenſa ſibi commiſſione, appellaui ad ſanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum Leonem decimum melius informandū, prout in ſchedula huiuſmodi appellationis plenius continetur. Nunc vero etiam iſta appellatione (vt dixi) contempta, cum vſq; hodie cupiam non niſi vt oſtendantur mihi errores mei, quicunq; tandem id poſſit preſtare (de quo denuò legitimè proteſtor, paratiſſimusq; ſū reuocare ſi quid male dixiſſe fuero edoctus: deinde totam diſputationem meam ſubiecerim ſummo pontifici, ita vt nec ego amplius aliquid in ipſa facere habeam niſi expectare ſententiā, quam & vſq; hodie expecto) nihilominus (vt audio) idem reuerēdiſſimus Dominus Thomas Sancti Sixti Cardinalis ſcribit ad illuſtriſſimū principē Fridericum in Romana curia procedi contra me, et authoritate eiuſdē ſanctiſſimi Domini. &c. iudices prætenſos cauſam proſequi in damnationem meam, non attendentes meam fidelem & ſuperabundantem obedientiam, qua tanta difficultate comparui Auguſtæ, nec curantes oblationem meam honeſtiſſimam, qua me ad reſponſionem publicam & priuatam obtuli: ſed contemnentes ouem Chriſti petentem humiliter doceri veritatem, & reduci ab errore, & ſimpliciter nec audita nec reddita ratione, mera autem tyrannide & plenitudine poteſtatis vrgentes ad reuocationē ſententiæ, quam ex conſcientia veriſſimam iudico, & ad abnegandam fidem Chriſti & veram apertiſſimæ Scripturæ intelligentiam (quantum mea capit conſcientia) ſeducere volentes, cum poteſtas Papæ non contra nec ſupra, ſed pro & infra Scripturæ & veritatis maieſtatem ſit, nec poteſtatē Papa acceperit oues perdendi & in luporum fauces proijciendi, & in errores errorumq; miniſtros tradendi, ſed ad veritatem, ſicut paſtorem & epiſcopū vicarium Chriſti decet, reuocādi:

Veritas & fides perditatur per pontificem Leo.

Cauſa cur prouocat a pontifice Lutherus, iuſtiſſima.

Lutherus prouocat ad Concilium.

Ex quibus me læſum grauatumq; ſentiens, cum tali violentia videam futurum eſſe vt nullus etiam ipſum Chriſtum audeat confiteri, nec ſcripturas ſacras in eccleſia ſua propria profiteri, atq; ita me quoq; a vera, ſana, Chriſtianaq; fide & intelligentia, in vanas & mendaces hominum opiniones violēter protrudi, et in ſeductorias populi Chriſtiani fabulas vrgeri: idcirco a præfato ſanctiſſimo Domino noſtro Leone non rectè conſulto, ſupraq; dictis pretenſis cōmiſſione et iudicibus, & eorū citatione ac proceſſu, & omnibus inde ſequutis & ſequuturis & quolibet ipſorū, ac a quibuſuis excōmunicatione, ſuſpēſione & iudicibus, & eorū citatione ac proceſſu & omnibus inde ſequutis & ſequuturis & quolibet ipſorū, ac a quibuſuis excōmunicatione, ſuſpēſione, & interdicti ſententijs, cenſuris, pœnis, & mulctis, atq; alijs quibuſcunq, denunciationibus, & declarationibus (vt prætendunt) hæreſis, & apoſtaſiæ, per eos vel alterum eorum quemlibet attentatis, factis, & molitis, attentandis, faciendis, & moliendis, ipſorumq; nullitate (ſuis honore & reuerentia ſemper ſaluis) tāquam iniquis & iniuſtis, merè tyrannicis & violentis, nec nō a quolibet futuro grauamine, quod mihi ex eo venire poterit, tā pro me quàm pro omnibus & ſingulis mihi adhærētibus, & adherere volentibus: ad futurum Cōcilium legitimè, ac in loco tuto ad quem ego vel Procurator per me deputandus liberè adire potero vel poterit, & ad illum vel ad illos, ad quē ſeu quos de iure, priuilegio, conſuetudine, vel aliàs mihi prouocare & appellare licet, prouoco & appello in ijs ſcriptis, apoſtoloſq; primò, ſecūdò, tertiò, inſtāter, inſtātius, & inſtātiſſimè peto mihi dari quos voluerit & potuerit, & preſertim a vobis Domino Notario teſtimoniales, & proteſtor de proſequendo hanc meam appellationem per viam nullitatis, abuſus, iniquitatis vel iniuſticiæ, & aliàs prout melius potero, optione mihi reſeruata addendi, minuendi, mutādi, corrigendi, & in melius reformandi, omniq; alio iuris beneficio mihi ac mihi adhærentibus & adhærere volentibus, ſemper ſaluo.

Qua quidem ſchedula coram me & teſtibus infra ſcriptis (vt præmittitur) interpoſita, proteſtatus fuit, & proteſtatur expreſſè ſe per ſe vel Procuratorem non poſſe ad eum accedere, a quo extitit appellatus, tum propter metum plurimorum ſibi & vitæ ſuæ inſidiantiū, ac eius a quo appellauit, tum propter viarum diſcrimina: ideoq; petijt ſibi a me Notario publico cum debita inſtantia, apoſtolos tales quales ſibi de iure deberentur dari, atque concedi. Cui quidem petenti dedi apoſtolos tales, quales ſibi debentur, vel ſaltem teſtimoniales, preſenti inſtrumento publico ex tunc exarandos, ſuper quibus omnibus & ſingulis petijt a me Notario infraſcripto vnum vel plura confici atque fieri publicum, vel publica inſtrumentum vel inſtrumenta.

Acta ſunt hæc Wittenbergæ, Brandenburgen. dioceſis, ſub anno, indictione, die, menſe, & Pontificatu quibus ſupra. Regnante Domino Maximiliano Romanorū Imperatore hora tertia in Capella corporis Chriſti in parochialis ibidem cæmiterio ſituata, præſentibus ibidem Chriſtophoro Becher ſacris Apoſtolica & imperiali autoritate Vicecomite Conſtantienſ. & Hieronimo Papiſe Curienſis dioceſis Clerico teſtibus, ad premiſſa vocatis rogatiſq; pariter & requiſitis.

¶The effect of the ſayd Appeale of Luther, in Engliſhe.

Luthers appeale to the pope, in Engliſhe.

The effect of the Appeale aforeſayd is this: That forſomuch as the libertie of Appealing is prouided for a remedie to releue the oppreſſed from iniurie and violence of yͤ ſuperiour, it was therfore lawfull for M. Luther **ſo do, eſpecially beyng manifold wayes iniuried and moleſted by yͤ Sea of** Rome **and other the Popes confederates, as he in the ſayd Appeale declareth. For at firſt where as he modeſtly diſputyng of the errours and abuſes of the Popes pardons, did ſomewhat withſtād the impudent rauen and blaſphemies of thē that came about with the Popes Pardons to pole & robbe the people, hée was therfore openly rayled vppon, and diffamed by them in their publicke Sermons to be an hereticke, and conſequently vppon the ſame accuſed to Pope** Leo **for an hereticke, by** Marius **the Popes Proctor and others.**

Then was obteined of the Pope a Commiſſion to cite vp the ſayd Luther **to appeare at** Rome **before the Cardinals, by** Hieronymus, **&** Silueſter Prieras **his mortall enemies, where as hee coulde by no waye appeare without manifeſt daunger of his life, both by the way and alſo in the Citie of** Rome.

For the conſideration wherof, Duke Iohn Fridericke, Prince Electour, and the Lantgraue entreated for him to haue his cauſe indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to ẏ. parties that were equall, and not partiall: yet notwithſtãding the ſute of theſe Princes, & the cõtrary labour of the Cardinalls, which were his capitall aduerſaryes, ſo preuailed at Rome, that the cauſe of Luther was ſtill detayned in their own hãdes, and contrary to all indifferencie, was committed to the hearyng of the Popes Legate then in Germanie, called Cardinalis Sancti Sixti. Who being no leſſe enemie agaynſt Luther, then the other, and notwithſtandyng that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and with humble Proteſtation ſubmitted hym ſelfe to bee aunſwered by the Scriptures, and referred hym ſelfe to the iudgement of ẏ Sea of Rome and of foure Vniuerſities; to witte, Baſile, Friburge, Louane, & Paris, yet contrary to all equitie, ſhewing forth no Scripture nor reaſon, reiecting his gentle Proteſtatiõ, ſubmiſſiõ, and honeſt offer, with al other hys requeſtes and ſutes, he would nedes forthwith haue him to reuoke his errours, threatning and manaſing him moſt cruelly, and commaunded hym no more to come in hys ſight.

Cardinalis Sancti Sixti, enemye to *Luther.*

Wherupon Luther being thus proudly reiected of the Cardinall, made hys appeale from the ſayd Cardinall to Pope Leo being better informed.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinall to the Pope.

This appellation alſo being cõtemned of the Pope, who would neyther come to any agreement, nor take any reaſonable condition, nor ſhewe Luther hys errours by the Scripture, nor yet referre the matter by learning to be decided, but would nedes perforce procede agaynſt hym by mere authoritie, and oppreſſion at Rome, Luther then ſeing there was no other refuge or remedie for hys owne defence, and ſeing moreouer the truth of Gods word to lie vnder fote by might and authoritie oppreſſed, ſo that none durſt almoſt confeſſe the ſame, and that the pore flocke was ſo nuſled in errours & vaine opinions to the ſeduction of their ſoules, for theſe & other ſuch cauſes, he being neceſſarily therunto compelled, commenſed thys Appeale from the Pope miſinformed to the next generall Councell that ſhould be, calling for the helpe of the publicke notarie, and teſtimonie alſo of ſufficient witneſſes requiſite in that behalfe accordingly.

M. Luther appealeth from the Pope to the next generall Councell.

¶ The death of K. Henry the viij. with the maner therof.

The order and maner of the kinges death.

AND thus cloſing vp thys eight boke with the death of K. Henry the 8. I will now (the Lorde Chriſt aſſiſting me with hys grace) procede next to the tyme and reigne of K. Edward hys ſonne, after that firſt I ſhall intermitte a fewe wordes touchyng the death of the ſayd K. Henry hys father, and the maner of the ſame. Who after long languiſhing, infirmitie growing more and more vpon hym, lay from S. Steuens day (as is aboue mentioned) to the latter end of Ianuary. His Phiſicians at length perceauing that he woulde away, and yet not daring to diſcourage hym with death, for feare of the Acte paſt before in Parlament, that none ſhould ſpeake any thyng of the kynges death (the Acte being made onely for Southſayers and talkers of Propheſies) moued them that were about the kyng to put hym in remembraunce of his mortall ſtate and fatall infirmitie. Which when the reſt were in dread to do, M. Denye, who was ſpecially attendant vpon hym, boldly comming to the kyng, tolde hym what caſe hee was in, to mans iudgement not lyke to liue, and therefore exhorted hym to prepare hym ſelfe to death, calling him ſelf to remembraunce of hys former life, and to call vpon God in Chriſt betime for grace and mercy, as becommeth euery good Chriſtian man to do.

Of the Act that none ſhould ſpeake of the kinges death, *vid. Stat. an. Henr. 8.*

Although the kyng was loth to heare any mention of death, yet perceauing ẏ ſame to riſe vpon the iudgement of his Phiſicians & feeling his own weaknes, hee diſpoſed him ſelf more quietly to harken to the wordes of hys exhortation, and to conſider hys lyfe paſt. Which although he much accuſed, yet (ſayd he) is the mercy of Chriſt able to pardon me all my ſinnes, though they were greater then they bee. M. Denye being glad to heare him thus ſpeake, required to know hys pleaſure, whether he would haue any learned mã ſent for to cõferre withall, and to open hys minde vnto. To whom the king aũſwered againe, that if he had any, he would haue D. Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore M. Denye aſking the king whether hee would haue hym ſent for, I will firſt, ſayd the kyng, take a litle ſleepe, and then as I feele my ſelfe, I will aduiſe vpon the matter.

The kyng at hys death chuſeth onely to talke with *D. Cranmer.*

After an houre or two, the kyng awakyng and feeling feeblenes to encreaſe vppon him, commaunded D. Cranmer to be ſent for: but before hee could come, the kyng was ſpeachles, and almoſt ſenſeles. Notwithſtãdyng perceauing D. Cranmer to be come, he reaching hys hand to D. Cranmer, dyd holde hym faſt, but could vtter no worde vnto hym, and ſcarſe was able to make any ſigne. Then the Archbyſhop exhorting hym to put hys truſt in Chriſt, and to call vpon hys mercy, deſired him, though he could not ſpeake, yet to geue ſome tokẽ with hys eyes, or with hand, as he truſted in the Lord. Then the kyng holdyng hym with hys hand, did wring hys hand in hys, as hard as he could, and ſo ſhortly after departed, after he had reigned in thys land ẏ terme of 37. yeares and 9. monethes, leauing behinde hym 3. children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

D. Cranmer commeth to the kyng.

The kinges children.

Moreouer forſo much as mention is inſerted in thys place of the good inclination of king Henry in his latter dayes to the reformation of religion, by the occaſion hereof it commeth alſo to mynde, ſomewhat lykewyſe to adde by way of appendix touching the talke betwene the Archbiſhop of Canterburye Thomas Cranmer, and the Duke of Suffolke Charles Branden, as concerning the kinges purpoſe and intent conceaued agaynſt the biſhop of Winchester Steuen Gardiner, in that he could neuer allowe any reformation in religion in thys realme, and namely being offended wyth this, that men ſhould vſe in their talke, *The Lord*, aſwel as *Our Lord*. The ſayd Duke ſayd vnto the ſayd Archbiſhop: We of the counſell had him once at a good lift, and ſhould well haue diſpatched him from his authoritie, if the kinges maieſty our Maiſter had ſtayed hymſelfe from admitting him to hys preſence, as then hys highnes was content that we ſhoulde throughly haue ſifted and tried him. It was my Lord (quoth the Duke to the Archbiſhop) at that tyme, when Gardiner hys Secretary was attached and ſuffered for defending the Popes authoritie. For then I & certain of the Cõuſell hauing cõference with the kings Maieſtie for that matter, his highnes was fully perſwaded that the Biſhops Secretary being in ſuch ſpeciall fauour wyth his Maiſter, would neuer ſtand ſo ſtiffe in defence of the biſhop of Romes vſurped power and authoritye, without hys ſayd maiſters both aduiſe, knowledge, and perſwaſion. For already (quoth the King) he played but a homely part with me, whẽ he was Ambaſſadour to ẏ Pope cõcerning my cauſe of diuorce. And therfore (quoth ẏ king to me) ſend for hym my Lorde incontinently, & by aſſiſtaunce of two or thre mos of the Counſell whom you thinke good, let him bee committed to the Tower, to aunſwere to ſuch thinges as may be obiected agaynſt him. This communication was in the euening, ſo that we purpoſed to haue executed the kinges pleaſure and commaundement the next mornyng. How be it our talke was not ſo ſecrete, but that ſome of hys friendes of the priuy chamber then, ſuſpecting the matter (wher he had many friendes) ſent him woord thereof. Who incontinently repayred to the kinges preſence, and finding ſome matter to miniſter vnto the king, hys hyghnes ſaid to the Biſhop: We do maruail that your Secretary hath thus notoriouſly offẽded againſt vs & our lawes. It is ſurely thought that you are not all cleare

Talke betwen *Thomas Cranmer* Archbyſhop of Cant. and the Duke of *Suffolke*, about *Steuen Gardiner.*

Ste. Gardiner appoynted by the kyng to be had to the Tower.

Ste. Gardiner priuily cõmeth to the kyng.

K. Henry layeth to Wincheſters charge.

in thys offence, but that you are of the ſame opinion with him, and therefore my Lord be playne with me, and let me know if ye bee that waye infected or no. If you wyll tell me the truth, I wyll the rather pardon the fault, but if you halt or diſſemble with me, looke for no fauour at my hand.

Wincheſter confeſſeth hys poperey before the kyng.

With this monition Wyncheſter fell downe vpon hys knées, and beſought his Maieſty of mercy and pardon, manifeſtly confeſſing that hee of long time was of that opinion with hys ſayd Secretary, and there bewayling him ſelfe, promiſed from that day forward to reforme hys opinion, and become a new man. Well (quoth the king) this way you haue of me, that which otherwyſe you ſhould neuer haue obtayned. I am content to remit al things paſt, and pardon you vpon your amendement.

The next morning I had word how the matter was handled, whereupon I came to hys highnes and ſayd: Your Maieſtie hath preuented our commiſſion, which I and other had from your grace concerning my Lord of Wincheſters committing to the Tower. Wot you what, quoth the the king? he hath confeſſed hym ſelfe as gyltie in this matter as his mā, and hath with much ſorrow and penſiuenes ſued for my pardon: And you know what my nature and cuſtome hath bene in ſuch matters, euermore to pardon them that wil not diſſemble, but confeſſe their fault.

K. Henryes nature to pardon them that come to hym and confeſſe theyr fault.

Thus wilyly and politickly he got him ſelfe out of our handes. But if I had ſuſpected this, I would haue had him in the Tower ouernight and ſtopped his iourney to the Court. Well ſayd my Lorde of Canterbury, hee was euermore to good for you all.

Moreouer, as touching this foreſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, for ſo much as he in king Edwardes time braggeth ſo much of his old maiſter of famous memory K. Henry. VIII: to the entent that the glorious vanitye of this biſhop, and of all other like vnto him, more notoriouſly may appeare to all men, here is to be noted by the teſtification as well of Maiſter Deny, as alſo of Syr Henry Neuell, who were there preſent witneſſes of yͤ matter, whoſe recorde is this: That K. Henry before the time of his ſicknes, taking his horſe vpō the tarras at Wyndſore to ryde out on hauking, ſaw ſtanding before him yͤ L. Wryotheſley L. Chaũcellor, with diuers other Counſellors, and amongeſt them the B. of Wincheſter. Wherupon he called the L. Chauncelor & ſaid: Did not I commaund you hee ſhould come no more amongeſt you (meaning the Biſhop)? Wherunto the L. Chauncellor aunſwered, that his comming was to bring his maieſty woord of a beneuolence geuen vnto hym by the Clergye. Whereat the king ſayd: Ah, let him come hether. And ſo hee did hys meſſage, and the kyng went ſtraight away.

Wincheſter commaunded no more to come in the kinges ſight.

Item an other time, the king immediately after his repayre to London fell ſicke, and cauſed diuers times his whole Coũſel to come vnto him about hys wyll, & other his graue affaires: at what tyme the Byſhop alſo would come vp with them into the vtter priuye chamber, and there remaine vntill the Counſell came from the king, and then go downe with them agayne, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the world withall.

Wincheſter though he were excluded, yet would ſeeme ſtill to be of the kings Counſell.

Furthermore, as the king grew more in ſicknes, he conſidering vpon his wyll and teſtament made before at hys going ouer to Bulleine, wylled the ſame a new to be drawen out agayne, with leauing out and excluding the biſhop of Wincheſter by name from amongſt his Executors. Which being to him and hys friendes no ſmall corſey, and a cutting of of all theyr purpoſes, a way was found, that Syr Antony Browne, a principal pillar of Wincheſters ſide, pretending vnto the kyng as though by the negligence of the wryter the Biſhops name had bene left out of the kings wil, kneled downe to the kinges Maieſtie, lying in his bed, and ſayd: My Lord of Wincheſter I thinke by negligence is left out of your Maieſties wyll, who hath done your hyghnes moſt paynfull, long, & notable ſeruice, and one without whom the reſt ſhall not bee able to ouercome your great and waighty affayres committed vnto them.

Wincheſter excluded out of the kings will.

Syr Anthony Browne a great frēd to Wincheſter.

Kyng Henryes opinion of the B. of Wincheſt.

Hold your peace (quoth the king) I remembred him wel inough, and of good purpoſe haue left him out. For ſurely, if he were in my teſtament, and one of you, hee would cumber you all, and you ſhould neuer rule hym, he is of ſo troubleſome a nature. Mary, quoth yͤ king, I my ſelfe could vſe him, and rule hym to all maner of purpoſes, as ſeemed good to me, but ſo ſhall you neuer do, and therefore talke no more of him to me in thys behalfe. Syr Antony Browne perceyuing the Kyng ſomewhat ſtiffe herein, gaue place to the kings wordes at that time. Howbeit ſéeking farther occaſion vppon more perſwaſions put into his head, tooke in hand once agayne to moue the king to haue the biſhop one of his Executors. When the king perceiued that this inſtāt ſute would not ceaſe: haue you not yet done (quoth the kyng) to moleſt me in this matter? If you wil not ceaſe farther to trouble mee, by the fayth that I owe vnto God, I will ſurely diſpatch thée out of my will alſo, and therfore let vs heare no more of this matter. All thys Syr Antony Deny was heard to report to the Archbyſhop of Cant. Tho. Cranmer, of the ſayd Archbiſhops Secretary, who is yet aliue, and witnes to the ſame.

Witnes.

The purpoſe of the king if he had liued, was to make a perfecte reformation of religion.

And thus much touching the end of Kyng Henry, who if hee hadde continued a fewe monethes longer (all thoſe obites and Maſſes, which appeare in hys will made before he went to Bulleine notwithſtandyng) moſt certeine it is, and to bee ſignified to all poſteritie, that hys full purpoſe was to haue repurged the eſtate of the Church, and to haue gone through with yͤ ſame, ſo that hée woulde not haue left one Maſſe in all England. For the more certayne intelligence wherof, two thynges I haue to lead me. The one is the aſſured reporte and teſtimonie of Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, hearyng the kyng declare the ſame out of hys owne mouth, both to hym ſelfe and to Monſieur d'Annebault Lorde Admirall the French Ambaſſador, in the moneth of Auguſt a little before his death, as aboue may appeare more at large pag. 1426. The other cauſe which leadeth mee thereunto, is alſo of equall credite, grounded vpon the declaration of the kynges owne mouth after that time, more neare to his death, vnto Bruno Ambaſſadour of Iohn Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie. Unto the which Ambaſſadour of Saxonie, the kyng gaue this aunſwere openly, that if the quarell of the Duke of Saxonie were nothyng els agaynſt the Emperour but for Religion, hée ſhould ſtand to it ſtrongly and he would take his parte, willing him not to doubt nor feare, and ſo with this aunſwere dimiſſed the Ambaſſadour vnto the Duke openlye in the hearing of theſe .iiij. ſufficient witneſſes, the Lord Seymer Earle of Harford, Lord Liſle thē Admirall, the Earle of Bedford Lorde Priuye Seale, and Lorde Paget. But the ſecrete working of Gods holy prouidence, which diſpoſeth all thinges after his owne wiſedome and purpoſe, thought it good rather by taking the kyng away, to reſerue the accompliſhment of this reformation of his Church, to the peaceable time of his ſonne Edward, and Elizabeth his daughter, whoſe handes were yet vndefiled with any bloud, and life vnſpotted with any violence, or crueltie.

Credite of this narration that it is true.

The kinges aunſwere to the Duke of Saxonyes Ambaſſadour, a litle before hys death.

And thus to finiſh this booke, I thought here to cloſe vp kyng Henries raygne. But becauſe a lyttle vacant ſpace of emptie paper remayneth behind nedefull to be filled vp, to employ therefore and to repleniſh the ſame with ſome matter or other, I thought to annexe hereunto one ſtory which happened in this king Henryes raygne. Which albeit it ſerueth not to the purpoſe of thys our matter now in hand, yet neuertheleſſe to ſupply the rowme, it may ſtand in ſome place, eyther to refreſh the trauailed minde of the Reader, wearyed with other ſtories, or els to diſcloſe the deteſtable impietie of theſe counterfait ſectes of Monkes and Friers, who vnder the hipocriticall viſour of pretenſed Religion, haue ſo long ſeduced and deceiued the world. Although the deceatfull partes and practiſes of theſe phantaſtical orders be ſo many, and in all places ſo notorious, that they are not able to bee expreſſed, yet amongeſt many, one you ſhal heare that chaunced in this kings dayes in the Citie of Orleance in Fraunce by the Gray friers, about the yeare of our Lord. 1534. The ſtory is thys.

¶A tragicall ſtory of certaine Friers in Fraunce in the Citie of Orleance. An. 1534.

Ex Commentarijs Ioã. Sleid. Lib. 9.

A ſtory of certayne Fryers in Orleance.

The Maiors wyfe of yͤ Citie of Orleance prouided in her will, to be buried without any pompe or ſolemnitie. For when any departeth there, in ſome places the Belmen are hyred to go about the Citie, and in places moſt frequented to aſſemble the people with the ſound of the Bell, and there to declare the names and the titles of thoſe parties deceaſed: alſo where & when they ſhall be buryed, exhorting the people to praye for them. And when the Coarſe is caryed foorth, the moſt part of the begging Friers goe withall to the Church, with many torches and tapers caried before them: and the more pompe and ſolemnitie is vſed, the more is the concourſe of people. But thys woman (as I ſayd) would haue none of all this geare done for her. Wherfore her huſband which loued her well, followed her mynde herein, and gaue vnto theſe grædy cormorants the Friers, which wayting for their pray (in whoſe Church ſhe was buried beſides her father & her graũdfather) ſixe crownes for a reward, where as they gaped for a great deale more. And afterwarde when he cut downe a wood and ſolde it, the Friers crauyng to haue part therof frælye and without money, he denied them. This tooke they wonderfull greuouſly, and where as they loued him not before, they deuiſed now a way to be reuenged, ſaying that hys wyfe was damned euerlaſtingly.

The workers of this Tragedie were Coliman and Steuen of Arras, both Doctors of Diuinitie: and the firſt in dæde was a Coniurer, and had all his trinkets and furniture concerning ſuch matters, in a readines: and they vſed the matter thus. They ſet a young man which was a Nouice, aboue ouer the vault of yͤ church, & when they came to mumble vp their Mattins at midnight after their accuſtomed maner, he made a wonderfull noyſe and ſhriking aloft. Then went this Coliman to croſſing and coniuring, but the other aboue would not ſpeake. Being charged to make a ſigne, to declare if he were a dumme ſpirite, he ruſteled & made a noyſe agayne, and that was the ſigne and token.

Whẽ they had layd this foũdation, they went to certaine of the chiefeſt in all the Citie, & ſuch as fauoured them moſt, & told them what an heauy caſe was chaunced: yet did they not vtter what it was, but entreated thẽ to take the paines to come to their ſeruice at night. When they were come, and the ſeruice was begon, hée that was aloft made a great noyſe. Being demaunded what he would, and what he was, he ſignified that hee might not ſpeake. Then was he commaunded to aunſwere to theyr interrogatories by ſignes and tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpoſe, whereby laying to hys eare, he might heare and vnderſtande what the Coniurer ſaid vnto him. There was alſo a table at hand, & when any queſtion was aſked, he ſtroke and beat vpon the table, ſo that he might bée heard beneath.

The cõiurer what he demaũded of the ſpirite.

Then firſt the Coniurer demaũded whether he were any of them that had bene buried there. After that, rekening vp many of their names in order, whoſe bodyes had there bene buried, at the laſt he named the Maiors wiſe. Here he made a ſigne that he was the ſpirite of that woman. Then he aſked whether he were damned, and for what deſert or offence? Whether it were for couetouſnes, pride or lechery, or not doing the workes of charity, or els for this new ſprong vp hereſie and Lutheraniſme? Moreouer, what was the cauſe that he made ſuch a noyſe, & was ſo vnquiet? Whether it were that the body being buried wythin holy groũd ſhould be digged vp agayne, and caryed to ſome other place? To all theſe thinges he aunſwered by ſignes in like caſe as he was cõmaunded: wherby he affirmed or denyed euery thing, ſtriking twiſe or thriſe vpõ yͤ table.

Luthers hereſie a great bugge among the Fryers.

When hee had thus ſignified that Luthers hereſie was the cauſe of her damnation, & that her body muſt be taken vp, the Friers deſired the Citizens that were preſent to beare witnes of ſuch thinges as they had ſeene and heard, and ſet their handes to it in writing. But they taking aduiſement, leſt they ſhoulde both offend the Maior, and bring them ſelues in trouble, refuſed to ſubſcribe. Notwithſtanding, the Friers toke the pixe wyth the hoſt, and the Lordes body (as they call it) and all their Saintes Reliques, and caryed them to an other place, & there they ſayd theyr Maſſes: which they are wont to do by the Popes lawe, when a Church is ſuſpended and muſt be hallowed againe. And when the Biſhops Officiall heard of this, he came thether to vnderſtand the matter better, and aſſociating to hym certayne honeſt men, hee commaunded the Frier to coniure in hys preſence, and woulde haue appoynted certayn to go vp to the vault to ſee if any ſpirite did there appeare. But Steuen of Arras was ſore againſt it, and exhorted them earneſtly that they ſhould not ſo do, ſaying that the ſpirite ought not to be moleſted. And albeit the Officiall did earneſtly vrge thẽ to coniure before hym, yet could they not bring them to it.

The Maior complayneth to the kyng of the Fryers.

In the meane time, the Maior making his frendes priuy what he would doe, went to the kyng, and informed him of the whole matter. And becauſe the Friers truſting to their immunities and priuileges, refuſed to come in iudgement, the Kyng choſe certaine out of the court of Parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gaue them ful authority ſo to do. Wherupon they were caried to Paris, and conſtrayned to make aunſwere, but they would confeſſe nothing. Then they were ſent againe to priſon, and kept aparte one from an other, and the Nouice was kept in Fumæus houſe a Senatour, and being oftentimes examined, he would confeſſe nothing, fearing leſt he ſhould after bee murthered of them for ſclaundering their order. But when yͤ Iudges promiſed him that he ſhould haue no harme, and ſhould come no more in the Friers handes, he declared to them the whole matter in order, and being brought before the others, he adnouched the ſame. But they, albeit they were conuicted, and in maner taken with the dæde, yet refuſed they their Iudges, and bragged of their priuileges: but it was altogether in vaine, for they were condemned in open iudgement, that they ſhould be caryed agayne to Orleance, and committed to priſon, and afterwardes brought openly to the Cathedrall Church, and ſo to the place of puniſhment where malefactours are executed, & there ſhould make open confeſſion of their wickednes.

This *Fumæus* was afterward in priſon for religion with *Anne Bourg*, whoſe ſtory followeth afterward.

The Fryers condemned to priſon and to puniſhment.

But euen at the ſame time chaunced a perſecution agaynſt the Lutherans, whych was the cauſe that thys ſentence, albeit it was to gentle for ſo great an offence, was not put in execution. For, becauſe the name of the Lutherans was moſt odious, they feared leſt the puniſhment of theſe men ſhoulde not haue bene ſo much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproch of yͤ order: and many thought that what ſoeuer ſhould be done to thẽ, it would be to the Lutherans a pleaſant ſpectacle, and cauſe them much to reioyce. This order of the Franciſcanes was eſtæmed of the common people very holy: ſo that what tyme they were caryed out of Paris, certaine women moued with pitye, followed them vnto the gate of the vniuerſity with many teares and ſighes. After they came to Orleance, and were beſtowed in ſeuerall priſons, they began to boaſt agayne of their liberties and priuileges, & at length after longe impriſonmẽt, they wer diſcharged & ſet at liberty without any further puniſhment. Had not theſe perſecutiõs before mencioned letted the matter, the king had determined

The Fryers eſcaped, and the Lutherans puniſhed.

mined,as it was certenly reported to pluck down their houſe,& make it euen wͭ the ground. Ex Io.Sleid.lib.9

But to leaue the memory of this idolatrous generation,not worthy any further to bee named, let vs occupye the time with ſome better matter, in remembryng the ſtory of a good and a conſtant Martyr of the Lord before ouerpaſt, which ſuffered in Kent for the word of God before Luthers time,about the ſecōd yeare of this kinges raygne,as here in ſtory foloweth.

Perſecution for the Goſpell before *M.Luthers* tyme.

¶Iohn Brown a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Ieſus burned at Aſhford by Archbiſhop Warrham,and Doct.Fyſher biſhop of Rocheſter,about the ſecond yeare of K.Henry.VIII. An.1511.

The ſtory of *Ioh.Browne,* Martyr.

Talke between *Ioh.Browne* and a proude Prieſt, in Graues end Barge.

Perſecuters.	*Martyr.*	*The cauſe.*
William Warrham *Archbiſhop of Cant.* Fiſher *Biſhop of Rocheſter.* *A chauntry Prieſt.* Walter More *Gētleman.* William More *hys brother,* Chilten *of* Wye, *Baily arrant.* Beare *of VVilſeborough.* *Two ſeruauntes of* William Warrham.	Iohn Browne *of Aſheford.* *At Aſhford.* An.1511.	The firſt occaſion of yͤ trouble of thys Iohn Browne the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, was by a certain Prieſt: who paſſyng down to Graues end in the common Barge(where the ſaid Iohn Browne was amongeſt diuers other paſſyngers moe)and diſdaining that he ſo ſaucely ſhould ſit ſo nere vnto him in yͤ Barge(who belike ſéemed not much to paſſe vpon the Prieſt) begā to ſwell in ſtomacke agaynſt hym. At length bruſtyng forth in hys prieſtly voyce and diſdaynful countenance,he aſked him in this maner: Doſt thou know (ſayd he) who I am? thou ſitteſt to neare me,and ſitteſt on my clothes. No Syr (ſayd the other) I know not what you are. I tel thée(quoth he) I am a Prieſt. What Syr, are you a Parſon, or Vicar, or ſome Ladies Chaplayn? No(quoth he again) I am a ſoule prieſt: I ſing for a ſoule. Do you ſo Syr(quoth the other?) that is wel done. I pray you Syr(ſaid he)where finde you the ſoule,when you go to Maſſe? I can not tell thée(ſayd the Prieſt.) I pray you,where do you leaue it Syr when the Maſſe is done? I can not tel thée,ſayd the Prieſt. Neither can you tell where you finde it when you go to Maſſe,nor where you leaue it whē the Maſſe is done: how can you then ſaue yͤ ſoule, ſayd hee? Goe thy wayes ſayd the Prieſt, I perceaue thou art an hereticke,and I wyll be euen with thée.

Walter More, W.More, Chilten, and Beare, perſecuters.

So at the landing,the Prieſt taking with him Walter More and W.More two Gentlemen and brethren, rode ſtraight wayes to the Archbiſhop, who then was Williā Warrham. Wherupon the ſaid Iohn Browne, within thrée daies after,was ſent for by the Archbiſhop. His bryngers vp were Chilten of Wye Bayly arrant, and one Beare of Wilſeborough, with two of the Byſhops ſeruauntes. Who with certayne other being appointed for the ſame,came ſodenly into his houſe vpon him,the ſame day when his wife was Churched, as he was bryngyng in a meſſe of porrege to the board ſeruyng hys geaſtes: and ſo laying handes vpon hym,ſet him vpon his owne horſe,and bynding his féete vnder yͤ horſes belly, caried him away to Cāterbury, neither he,nor his wyfe,nor any of his frendes knowing whether he went,nor whether hee ſhould, and there continuyng the ſpace of xl.dayes,from Lowſonday till Friday before Whytſonday, through the cruell handlyng of the ſayd Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of Rocheſter D. Fiſher, hee was ſo pituouſly entreated,that hys bare féete were ſet vpon the hoate burnyng coales, to make hym renye his faith: which notwithſtandyng he would not doe, but paciently abyding the payne, continued in the Lordes quarell vnremoueable. At length after all this cruelty ſuſteyned, his wyfe yet not knowing where he was become,on Fryday before Whitſonday he was ſent to Aſhford where hee dwelt, the nexte day there to be burned.

Iohn Browne ſodeinly taken and caryed away.

Hys bare feete ſet vpon the hoate coales to make hym denye the truth.

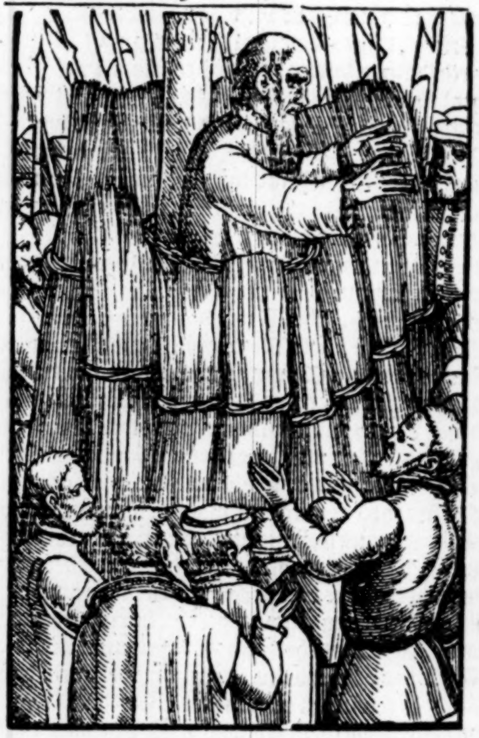
Browne brought to Aſhford to be burned.

In the meane time,as he was brought to the towne ouer night, there to bee ſet in the ſtockes, it happened, as God would, that a younge maide of his houſe commyng by and ſeyng her maiſter, ranne home and told her miſtres.

Browne ſet in the ſtockes at Aſhforde,

Then ſhe commyng to hym,and findyng him in the ſtockes appointed to bee burned the next morrowe, ſatte by hym all the night long. To whome then hée declared the whole ſtory or rather tragedy how he was handled,and how his feete were burned to the bones, that he could not ſet them vpon the ground,by the two biſhops aforeſaid(he thanked God therefore)and al to make me(ſaid he)to deny my Lord,which I wil neuer do. For if I ſhould deny hym(ſaid he)in this world,he would denye me hereafter. And therefore I pray thee (ſayd he)good Elizabeth,cōtinue as thou haſt begon, & bring vp thy children vertuouſly in the feare of God.

¶The Martyrdome of Iohn Browne,



The Martyrdome of *Iohn Browne.*

And ſo the next day,which was on Whitſon euen, this godly Martyr was burned,where hee ſtanding at the ſtake ſayd this prayer holding vp his handes,as followeth.

¶The prayer of Browne at his death.

O Lord I yelde me to thy grace,
Graunt me mercy for my treſpace,
Let neuer the feende my ſoule chaſe.
Lord I wyll bow,and thou ſhalt beate:
Let neuer my ſoule come in hell heate.
Into thy handes I commende my ſpirite : thou haſt redemed me,O Lord of trouth.

The prayer of *Iohn Browne* at hys death.

And ſo this bleſſed Martyr ended hys lyfe in peace, an.1511.

This ſtory the ſayd Elizabeth Browne his wife did oft times repeate to Alyce her daughter,who dwelling yet in the Pariſh of S. Pulchers, teſtified the narration hereof vnto me and certaine other, vpon whoſe credible information I haue recorded the ſame.

Witneſſe to thys ſtory.

Furthermore,here is to be noted,that the ſaid Iohn Browne bare a Fagot. vij. yeares before thys, in the dayes of kyng Henry the 7. Whoſe ſonne alſo named Richard Browne, for the lyke cauſe of Religion was empriſoned at Canterbury likewiſe in the latter tyme of Quéene Mary, & ſhould haue bene burned, with two moe beſides him ſelfe the next day after the death of Quéene Mary, but that by the proclaymyng of Quéene Elizabeth, they eſcaped.

Richard Browne eſcaped burning by the comming in of Queene Elizabeth.

Amongeſt other Iniunctions and letters of kyng Henry 8. written and ſet forth for reformation of Religion, he wrote one letter to Edmund Boner for aboliſhyng of Images, Pilgrimages, Shrines, and other monumentes of Idolatrie. Whiche letter beyng before expreſſed pag. 1443. we ſhoulde alſo haue annexed to the ſame the letter or Mandate of Boner directed in Latin to Richard Cloney his Sumner apperteynyng to yͤ due executiō therof. Which letter becauſe we haue omitted before, the defect therof I thought here in this vacant ſpace to ſupplye. The letter written to Cloney in Latin, thus begynneth.

¶ Boners letter to Cloney Keeper of the Colehouſe, for the aboliſhyng of Images.

EDmundus permiſſione Diuina Lond. Epiſc. Dilecto nobis in Chriſto Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori noſtro generali ſalut. grat. & benedictionem. Cum nos 13. die menſis inſtantis Octob. circa noctem, literas sereniſſimi. &c.

Thys Cloney coulde neyther vnderſtand the Latin nor yet ſcarſe read Engliſhe, and yet here he is called literatus.

The ſame in Engliſhe.

FOr ſomuch as the 13. day of this preſent, we haue receaued the letters of our ſoueraigne Lord, by the grace of God kyng of England. &c. to vs directed, and conteynyng in them the commaundement of hys Maieſtie, by vs to bee executed in tenour of wordes whiche here I ſend vnto you: we therfore willyng and deſiryng accordyng as our duetie bindeth vs, to put yͤ ſame in execution with all diligence poſſible accordyng to the effect and tenour therof, do charge and ſtraitly commaunde you by the tenour hereof, in the kynges behalfe & for the fidelitie whiche we haue in you aſſuredly approued, that you incontinent vpon the receite hereof, do effectually warne all and ſingular Perſons and Vicars of this Citie of Londō and of all our Dioces, that they immediatly vpō the ſight and intimation of theſe preſent Articles and Interrogatories here vnder written, do cauſe diligent and effectuall inquiſitiō therof to be made, to wytte:

Had Boner none to do theſe weightie thinges but Cloney the Keeper of the Colehouſe?

whether there be vſed or continued any ſuperſtition, hypocriſie or abuſe within any their pariſhes or Cures, contrary to any ordinaunce, Iniunctiō, or commaundement giuen or ſet forth by the kynges Maieſtie or by his authoritie.

Itē, whether they haue in their churches or wͭin their Pariſhes, any Shrines, couerings of Shrines, tables of fayned miracles, Pilgrimages, Images & bones reſorted & offered vnto, & other monumētes & thyngs wherwith yͤ people haue ben illuded, or any offering or ſetting vp of lightes, or candles, other then be permitted by the kynges Maieſties Iniunctions, or whether the ſaid Iniunctions be duely obſerued & kept in their Pariſhes or Cures, or els tranſgreſſed and brokē, and in what part. And further, after the ſayd inquiſition thus by them and euery of them reſpectiuely beyng made, that you do certifie vs, or our Vicare generall, what is done in the premiſſes, vppon the Euen of Symon and Iude, or thereabout, vnder the perill thereof folowyng.

Dat. 14. die Octob. an.
1541. & noſtræ
tranſlat. 2.

The ende of the eight booke.

K.
vvar

An
154

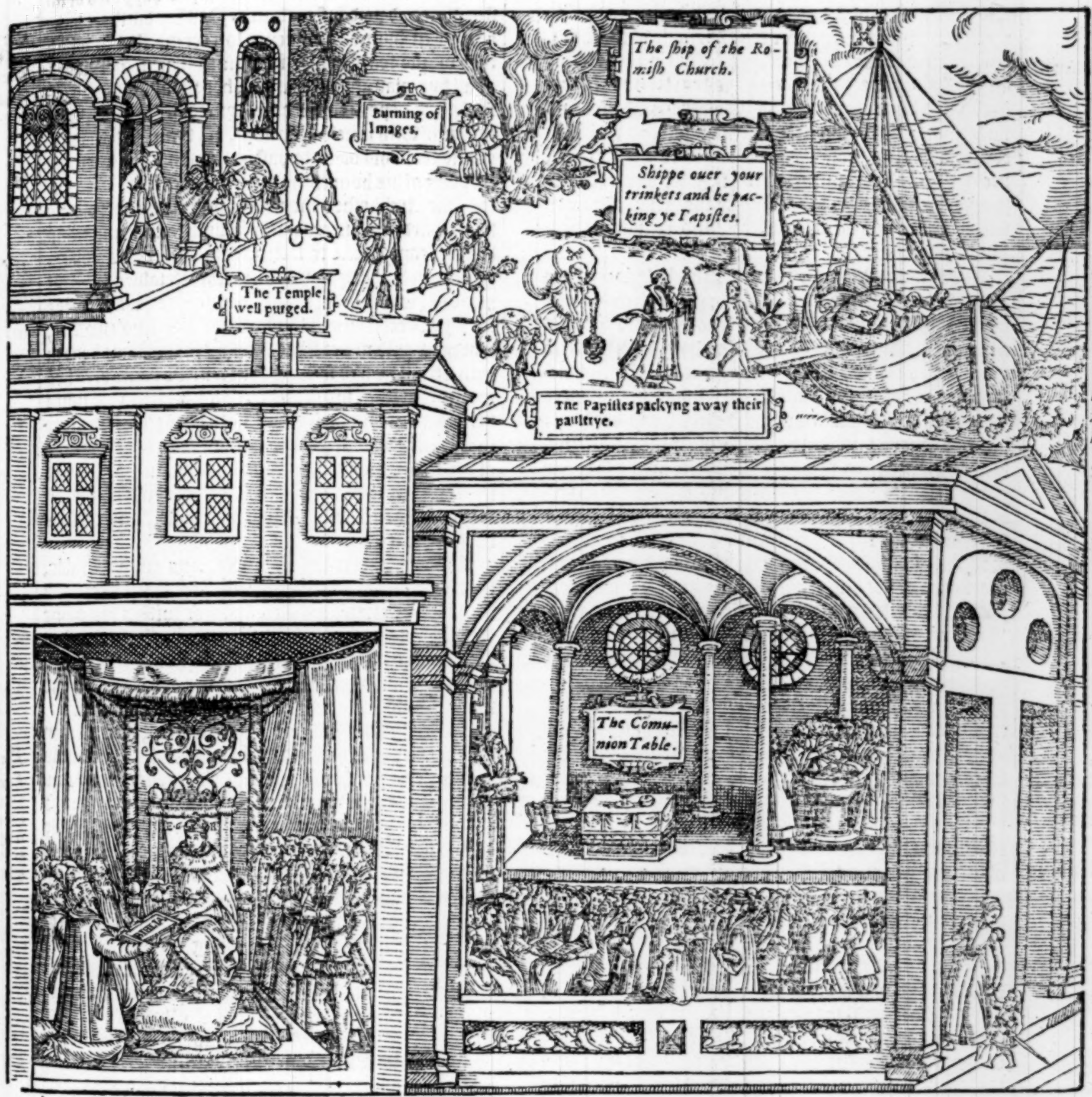
King Edward deliverig the Bible to the Prelates.

An
1547

The
reigne
time of
Edwar

¶ The ninth booke containyng the Actes and thynges done in the reigne of kyng Edvvard the 6.

(⁂)


The ſhip of the Romiſh Church.
Burning of Images.
Shippe ouer your trinkets and be packing ye Papiſtes.
The Temple well purged.
The Papiſtes packyng away their paultrye.
The Communion Table.

Euery plant which my heauenly father hath not planted ſhall bee plucked vp. Mat. 15.

King Edward deliuerig the Bible to the Prelates.

King Edward the vj.

An. 1547.

The reigne and time of K. Edward.

After the death of kyng Henry ſucceded kyng Edward his ſone, beyng of the age of ix. yeares. He began hys reigne, the 28. day of January, and reigned vj. yeres, viij. moneths, and viij. dayes, and deceaſed. an. 1553. the 6. day of July. Of whoſe excellent vertues, & ſingular graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be ſaid enough to his commendation: yet becauſe the renowmed fame of ſuch a worthy Prince ſhall not vtterly paſſe our ſtory without ſome gratefull remembraunce, I thought in fewe wordes to touch ſome little portion of his prayſe, taken out of great heapes of matter, which might bee inferred. For to ſtand vppon all that might be ſayd of him, it would be to long: and yet to ſay nothing, it were to much vnkynd. If kynges and Princes which haue wiſely and vertuouſly gouerned, haue found in all ages writers to ſolemniſe and celebrate their Actes and memory, ſuch as neuer knew them nor were ſubiect vnto them, how much then are we Engliſhe men bound, not to forget our duetie to kyng Edward, a Prince although but tender in yeares, yet for hys ſage and mature rypenes in wytte and all princely ornamentes, as I ſee but few to whom he may not bee equall, ſo agayne I ſee not many, to whom he may not iuſtly be preferred.

Commendation of Kyng *Edward*.

And here to vſe the example of Plutarch in comparyng kynges and rulers, the Latines with the Grekes together: if I ſhould ſeeke with whom to match this noble Edward, I finde not with whom to make my match more aptely, then with good Ioſias. For as the one begã his reigne at 8. yeares of his age: ſo the other began at 9. Neither were their Actes and zelous procedynges in Gods cauſe much diſcrepant. For, as milde Ioſias pluckt downe the hill altars, cut downe the groues, and deſtrayed all monumentes of Idolatrie in the Temple: the like corruptions, droſſe, and deformities of Popiſhe Idolatrie crept into the Church of Chriſt of long time, this Euangelicall Ioſias kyng Edward remoued, & purged the true Temple of the Lord. Ioſias reſtored the true worſhyp of God in Ieruſalem, and deſtroyed the Idolatrous Prieſtes: Kyng Edward in Englãd likewiſe aboliſhing Idolatrous Maſſes and falſe inuocation, reduced agayn Religion to a right ſinceritie, and more would haue brought to perfection if life and tyme had aunſwered to his godly purpoſe. And though he killed not, as Ioſias did, the idolatrous ſacrificers, yet he put them to ſilence, and remoued them out of their places.

Compariſon betwene *K. Ioſias* and kyng *Edward.6.*

Moreouer, in kyng Ioſias dayes the holy Scripture and booke of Gods worde was vtterly neglected & caſt aſide, which he moſt graciouſly repayred and reſtored agayne. And did not K. Edward the lyke with the ſelfe ſame booke of Gods bleſſed word, & with other wholeſome bookes of Chriſtian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguiſhed in his fathers daies by ſharpe lawes & ſeuere puniſhmẽtes here in England? Briefly in all pointes and reſpectes, betwene hym & this our godly king no oddes is to be found but only in length of time & reigne. Who if he might haue reached (by the ſufferance of God) to ẏ continuaunce of Ioſias reigne, proceding in thoſe beginninges, which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his Actes & doinges ſome great perfectiõ would haue enſued to this Church & Realme. But ẏ manifold iniquities of Engliſhmen deſerued an other plague, as after fell amongeſt vs: as in ſequele of this ſtory hereafter (God willyng) ſhalbe declared.

K. Ioſias and K. Edward onely differing in continuaunce of reigne.

In the meane tyme, to procede in the excellent vertues of this Chriſtian yong Ioſias (as we haue begon) although neither do we know, nor wil layſure ſerue vs to ſtand vpon a full deſcription of all his Actes: yet will we (God willyng) giue a litle taſte of the noble nature & Princely qualities of this king, wherby ẏ reader may eſteme with hym ſelfe what is to be thought of the reſt of his doinges, though they be not here all expreſſed.

And firſt to begyn with that which is the chiefeſt propertie of all other externe thinges in a Prince to bee cõſidered, that is, to be loued of his ſubiectes: ſuch were the hartes of all Engliſhe people toward this kyng inclined, and ſo toward hym ſtill continued, as neuer came Prince in thys Realme more hyghly eſtemed, more amply magnified, or more dearely and tenderly beloued of all his ſubiectes, but eſpecially of the good & the learned ſorte, & yet not ſo much beloued, as alſo admirable by reaſon of his rare towardnes & hope both of vertue and learnyng which in hym appeared aboue the capacitie of his yeares. And as he was intierly of his ſubiectes beloued, ſo with no leſſe good wil he loued them agayne: of nature and diſpoſition meeke, & much inclined to clemencie. He allwayes ſpared and fauoured the life of man, as in a certaine diſſertation of his once appeared, had with M. Cheke in fauouryng the lyfe of heretickes: in ſomuch that whẽ Ioane Butcher ſhould be burned, all the Counſell could not moue hym to put to hys hand, but were fayne to gette Doct. Cranmer to perſwade with hym, and yet neyther could hee with much labour induce the kyng ſo to doe, ſaying: what my Lorde? will ye haue me to ſend her quicke to the deuill in her errour? ſo that Doct. Cranmer hym ſelfe cõfeſſed that he had neuer ſo much to do in all hys life, as to cauſe the kyng to put to hys hand, ſaying that hee would lay all ẏ charge therof vpõ Crãmer, before God. There wanted in hym no promptes of wytte, grauitie of ſentence, rypenes of iudgement. Fauour and loue of religion was in him from his childhode: Such an organe geuen of God to the Church of England hee was, as England had neuer better. Ouer and beſides theſe notable excellẽcies, and other great vertues in him, adde moreouer ſkill and knowledge of tounges and other ſciences, wherunto he ſeemed rather borne then brought vp.

K. Edward beloued of hys ſubiectes.

The meeke nature of K. *Edward.*

King Edward well ſkilled in the tounges.

Moreouer there wanted not in him to this felicitie of wytte and dexteritie of nature, lyke happines of inſtitution and good inſtructours. Neither did there lacke agayne in hym any diligence to receiue that, which they would teach hym: in ſomuch that in the middeſt of all hys play and recreation, hee would allwayes obſerue and kepe his houre appoynted to his ſtudy, vſing the ſame with much attention, till tyme called hym agayne from his booke to paſtime. In this his ſtudy and keepyng of his houres he did ſo profite, that D. Cranmer the Archbyſhop then of Caunterbury, beholdyng his towardnes, his readynes in both tounges, in tranſlatyng from Greke to Latin, from Latine to Greke agayne, in declamyng with his ſcholefelowes without helpe of his teachers, & that ex tempore, would wepe for ioye, declaryng to Doct. Coxe hys ſcholemaiſter, that he would neuer haue thought that to haue bene in hym, except he had ſeene it hym ſelf. To recite here hys wyttie ſentẽces, his graue reaſons, which many tymes did procede from hym, and how he would ſometyme in a matter diſcourſed by his Counſell, adde therunto of his owne, moe reaſons and cauſes touching the ſayd matter then they them ſelues had or could deuiſe, it was almoſt incredible in that age to ſee, and tedious here to proſecute.

The readines of K. *Edward* to his boke.

D. Cox K. Edwardes Scholemaiſter.

This in him may ſeeme notorious and admirable, that he in theſe immature yeares, could tell & recite all the Portes, Hauens & Crekes, not within his owne Realme onely, but alſo in Scotland, and likewiſe in Frãuce, what cõming in there was, how ẏ tyde ſerued in euery Hauen or Creke: moreouer, what burden and what winde ſerued the commyng into the Hauen.

Alſo of all his Iuſtices, Maieſtrates, Gentlemen that bare any authority within hys Realme, he knew the names, their houſe keeping, their religion and conuerſation what it was. Few Sermons or none in hys Court, eſpecially in the Lord Protectours tyme, but he would be at them. Agayne, neuer was hee preſent at any commonly, but he would excerpe them or note them with his owne hand.

King Edward knew the names and religion of al his Magiſtrates.

Beſides and aboue all other notes and examples of hys commendation, as touchyng the chiefeſt poynt which ought moſt to teuch all men, for maintaynyng, promotyng, preferryng, embraſing, zealyng and defendyng the true cauſe and quarell of Chriſtes holy Goſpell, what was hys ſtudy, hys zealous feruencie, hys admirable conſtancie therein, by this one example folowing, amongeſt many other, may notably appeare.

In the dayes of this kyng Edward the ſixt, Carolus the Emperour made requeſt to the ſayd Kyng and his Counſell to permit Lady Mary (who after ſucceded in the crowne) to haue Maſſe in her houſe without preiudice of the law. And the Counſell on a tyme ſittyng vpon matters of policie, hauyng that in queſtion, ſent Cranmer then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Rydley then Byſhop of London, to entreate the kyng for the ſame: who commyng to hys grace, alledged theyr reaſons and perſuaſions for the accompliſhyng therof. So the kyng hearyng what they could ſay, replyed his aunſwere agayne out of the Scriptures, ſo groundedly, grauely, and fully, that they were enforced to geue place to his replication, & graunt the ſame to be true. Then they, after lõg debatyng in this maner with hys Maieſtie, laboured politickly in an other ſort, and alledged what dãgers the denying therof might bring to his grace, what breach of amitie of the Emperours part, what troubles, what vnkyndnes, and what occaſions ſondry wayes it would enforce. &c. Unto whom the kyng aunſwered, willyng thẽ to content thẽ ſelues, for

The ſingular conſtancie of K. *Edward* in maintaynyng true religion.

for he would (he ſayd) ſpend hys lyfe and all he had, rather then to agree and graunt to that he knew certainlye to be agaynſt the truth. The whych when the Byſhops heard, notwythſtanding they vrged hym ſtyll to graunt, and would by no meanes haue hys nay. Then the good kyng ſeyng their importunate ſute, that nedes they would haue hys Maieſty to conſent thereto, in the ende hys tender hart burſtyng out in bytter weeping and ſobbyng, deſyred them to bee content. Where at the Byſhops themſelues, ſeyng the kynges zeale and conſtancie, wept as faſt as he, and ſo toke theyr leaue of hys Grace: and commyng from hym the Archbyſhop toke maiſter Cheke hys Scholemaiſter by the hand, and ſayd: Ah maiſter Cheke, you may be glad all the daies of your life, that you haue ſuch a Scholer, for he hath more diuinitie in hys litle finger, then all we haue in all our bodyes. Thus the Lady Maries Maſſe for that tyme was ſtayed.

The zealous hart of kyng *Edward.*

The Lady *Maryes* Maſſe ſtayed by the teares of kyng *Edward.*

D. Cox K. Edwardes Scholemaiſter.

Ouer and beſides theſe heauenlye graces and vertues, moſt chiefly to be required in all faythfull & Chriſten Magiſtrates whych haue gouernaunce of Chriſtes flocke, neither was he alſo vnprouided of ſuch outward giftes and knowledge as appertayne to the gouernance of his Realme politike. In ſo much that neither he was inexpert or ignorant of the exchange and all the circumſtances of the ſame touching doings beyond the ſea, but was as ſkilfull in the practiſes therof, and could ſay as muche as the chiefeſt doers in hys affayres. Likewyſe in the enterteyning of Embaſſadors, to whom he woulde geue aunſwere, and that to euery part of theyr oration, to the great wonder of them that heard, doyng that in hys tender yeares by hym ſelfe, whych many Princes at theyr mature age ſeldome are wont to do, but by other. And as he was a great noter of thinges that pertayned to Princely affayres, ſo had he a cheſt ſeuerally to hym ſelfe for euery yeare, for the keping of ſuch recordes and matters, as paſſe & were concluded by the Counſaile. Of whom alſo hee woulde require a reaſon and cauſe of euery thyng that ſhoulde paſſe their iudgementes. And of thys cheſte he would euermore kepe the key about hym. Hys notes alſo he ciphred in Greke letters, to the ende that thoſe that wayted vpon him, ſhould not read nor know what he had written.

King Edward ſkilfull in the exchange.

King Edwardes cheſt for keping of the actes and doings of hys Counſaile.

He had moreouer great reſpect to iuſtice, and to the diſpatch of poore mens ſutes, woulde appoynt houres and times wyth Maiſter Coxe, then Maiſter of his Requeſtes, how and by what order they might bee ſped in theyr cauſes wythout long delayes and attendaunce, and ſo alſo debate wyth hym, that theyr matters myght be heard and iudged wyth equity accordingly.

M. Coxe, Maiſter of the Requeſtes.

What Hieronymus Cardanus ſayth of hym concerning hys knowledge in liberall ſciencies, I thought here to expreſſe in hys own wordes, both in Latin and Engliſh, ſo much the rather, becauſe he ſpeaketh of his own experiment, and vpon the preſent talke whych he had wyth the king him ſelf. The wordes of Cardanus firſt in Latine be theſe:

¶ *Hier. Card. De Geniturıs.*

Ex Hieronym. Cardano in Lib. De Geniturıs.

ADerant enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat: Anglicam natalem, Latinam, Gallicam, non expers (vt audio) Grecæ, Italicæ, & Hiſpanicæ, & forſan aliarum. Propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exactè tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philoſophiæ principia, nō Muſica. Humanitas mortalitatis noſtræ imago, grauitas Regiæ Maieſtatis, indoles tanto principo digna. In vniuerſum magno miraculo humanarū rerum, tanti ingenij & tātæ expectationis puer educabatur. Nō hæc Rhetoricè exornata veritatem excedunt, ſed ſunt minora.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latinè nō minus q̃ ego politè & promptè loquebatur) quid continent libri tui de rerum varietate? hos enim nomini Maieſtatis ſuæ dedicaueram. Tum ego Cometarum primum cauſam, diu fruſtra quæſitam, in primo capite oſtendo. Quænam inquit ille? Concurſus, ego aio, luminis erraticorum ſyderum. At Rex, quomodo, cum diuerſis motibus aſtra moueantur, non ſtatim diſſipatur aut mouetur eorum motu? At ego, mouetur equidem ſed longè celerius illis ob diuerſitatē aſpectus, velut in Criſtallo & ſole cum iris in pariote relucet. Parua enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, & quonam pacto abſque ſubiecto illud fieri poteſt, iridi enim paries ſubiectum eſt? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminū reflexione, cum plures cādelæ propè accenſæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaq; ex vngue Leonem, vt dici ſolet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque ſuauitatem morum. Prius cæperat fauere artibus q̃ noſceret, & noſcere anteq̃ vti poſſet. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quem non ſolum Anglia, ſed orbis ereptum immaturè deflere debet. O q̃ benè dixerat ille:

Immodicis breuis eſt ætas & rara ſenectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Vbi grauitas Regia requirebatur, ſenem vidiſſes: vt blandus erat & comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulſabat, publicis negocijs admouebatur, liberalis animo, atq; in his patrem emulabatur. &c. Hæc Cardanus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The wordes of *Cardanus* in the commendation of *K. Edward.*

THere was in him a towardly diſpoſition and pregnancie apte to all humane literature: as who beyng yet a child had the knowledge of diuerſe tongues, firſt of the Engliſhe his owne naturall tongue, of the Latine alſo, and of the French. Neither was hee ignoraunt (as I heare) of the Greke, Italian, and Spaniſhe tongues, and of other languages, peraduenture moe. In his own, in the French and in the Latine tongue ſingularely perfecte, and with lyke facilitie apt to receaue all other. Neither was he ignorant in Logike, in the principles of naturall Philoſophie, or in Muſicke. There was in him lacking, neither humanitie, the Image of our mortalitie, a Princely grauitie and Maieſtie, nor any kynd of towardnes beſemyng a noble kyng. Briefly, it might ſeeme a miracle of nature, to beholde the excellent witte and forwardnes that appeared in hym beyng yet but a childe. Thys I ſpeake not rhetorically, to amplifie thinges or to make them more thē truth is: yea the truth is more then I do vtter.

Beyng yet but xv. yeares of age he aſked of me in Latine (in whiche tongue hee vttered hys mynde no leſſe readely and eloquently, then I could do my ſelfe) what my bookes, whiche I had dedicated to hym, De varietate rerum, did conteyne? I ſayd that in the firſt chapter was ſhewed the cauſe of Cometes, or blaſyng ſtarres, which hath bene long ſought for, and yet hetherto ſcarſe fully founde. What cauſe (ſayd he) is that? The concourſe or metyng (ſayd I) of the lyght of the wandering Planets and Starres. To this the kyng thus replyed agayne: For ſomuch (ſayd he) as the motion of the Starres kepeth not one courſe, but is diuers and variable by continuall alteration, how is it then that the cauſe of theſe Comets either doth not quickely vade and vanyſh, or that the Comete doth not keepe one certeine and vniforme courſe and motion with the ſayd Starres and Planets? Wherunto I aunſwered that the Comete hath hys courſe & mouyng, but much more ſwifter then they, becauſe of the diuerſitie of aſpect, as we ſee in Criſtall, and in yͤ Sunne when the forme of the raynbow reboundeth on the wall. For a litle mutation, maketh a great difference of place. Then ſayd the kyng: and how can that be, hauyng no ſubiect: For of the raynbow the wall is the ſubiect? Lyke (ſayd I) as in Lactea via, or in reflection of lyghtes, as where many candles be lyghted and ſet nere together, in the myddle they cauſe a certeine bryght and whyte lyghtſomnes to appeare. &c.

The cauſe of Comets.

Lactea via to a white and a bright part of the firmament, lyke a longe bright cauſey or way, appearyng in the nyght among the thicke Starres.

And ſo by this litle triall, a great geſſe may bee giuen what was in this king. In who no doubt was a great hope & expectation amongeſt all good & learned mē both for the ingenious forwardnes, & amiable ſwetnes which in his conditions appeared. Firſt he began to loue and fauour liberall Artes and ſciences, before he knew them: and to know them, before he could vſe them. Whoſe mortall condition, & ſodein deceaſſe and decay in thoſe tender & vnrype yeares, not onely England, but all the world hath cauſe to lament. O how truly is it ſaid of the Poete.

Thynges that be excedyng excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A ſhew or ſyght onely of excellencie he coulde giue vs: example hee coulde not giue. Where a kingly Maieſtie required grauitie, there you ſhoulde haue ſeene hym a ſage and an olde man: and yet gentle and pleaſaunt alſo, according as the condition of his age then required. Hee played well vppon the Lute: hee had alſo to do in handlyng of weighty affaires of the

Realme. He was liberall and bountifull in hart, and therein he imitated hys father. &c.

Carmen Epitaphiū Cardani, in obitū Reg. Edouardi.

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales: veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam Regum decus, & iuuenum flos ſpeſq; bonorum,
Delitiæ ſecli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrimis doctaq; Minerua
Floſculus heu miſerè concidit antè diem.
Te tumulo dabimus Muſæ, ſupremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpomene triſtia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Thus after the godly diſpoſition and pꝛoperties of this king bꝛiefly in thys wyſe declared, now (God wylling) we wyll intermedle ſomthing to deſcribe the oꝛder and pꝛoceedings which he followed in hys adminiſtration and gouernment of both the ſtates, aſwell politicke, as eſpecially eccleſiaſticke. Who after the deceaſſe of his father comming to the crowne, becauſe he was of young and tender age, he was cōmitted to. xvj. Gouernours. Amongſt whom eſpecially the Loꝛd Edward Semer Duke of Somerſet his vncle, was aſſigned and adioyned to hym as Pꝛotectoꝛ and ouerſeer of him and of the common wealth, a man not ſo highly aduaunced foꝛ hys cōſanguinie, as alſo foꝛ hys noble vertues and eſpecially foꝛ hys fauour to Gods woꝛd, woꝛthy of hys vocation & callyng. Thꝛough the endeuour and induſtrye of which mā, firſt that monſtrous Hidra wyth ſixe heades, the ſixe Articles I meane (which deuoured vp ſo many mē befoꝛe) was aboliſhed and taken away. By reaſon whereof the counſels and pꝛoceedings of Wincheſter began to decay, who ſtoꝛming at the ſame matter, wꝛote to the Loꝛd Pꝛotectoꝛ in the cauſe therof, as by hys letters is to be ſene.

The Loꝛde *Edw. Semer* made Loꝛde Pꝛotectoꝛ.

Commendation of the Loꝛd Pꝛotectoꝛ.

The holy ſcriptures he reſtoꝛed to the mother tong. Maſſes he extinguiſhed & aboliſhed. Furthermoꝛe, after ſofter beginnings, by litle & litle greater thinges followed in yͤ refoꝛmatiō of Churches. Thē ſuch as befoꝛe were in baniſhment foꝛ the daunger of the truth, were againe receaued to their countrey. To be ſhoꝛt, a new face of thinges began nowe to appeare, as it were in a ſtage new Players cōming in, the old being thꝛuſt out. Foꝛ the moſt part yͤ Biſhops of Churches & Dioceſſes were chaunged. Suche as had bene domme Pꝛelates befoꝛe, were compelled to geue place to other then that would pꝛeach and take paynes.

Refoꝛmatiō by *K. Edward.*

Beſides other alſo out of foꝛreine countreyes, mē of learning and notable knowledge were ſent foꝛ and receiued, among whom was Peter Martyr, Martine Bucer, & Paulus Phagius. Of whom the firſt taught at Oxford: the other two pꝛofeſſed at Cambridge, and that with no ſmall commendation of the whole vniuerſitie. Of the old Biſhops ſome were committed to one ward, ſome to an other. Boner biſhop of London was committed to the Marſhalſey, & eftſoones foꝛ hys contempt and miſdemeanour depoſed from hys biſhopꝛicke, as in further pꝛoceſſe followeth to be ſeene. Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, with Tonſtall biſhop of Dureſme was caſt into the Tower foꝛ hys diſobedience, where hee kept his Chꝛiſtmas thꝛee yeares together, moꝛe woꝛthye of ſome other place without the Tower, if it had pleaſed God otherwyſe not to haue ment a further plage to this Realme by that man.

Pet. Martyr. Mart. Bucer. Paulus Phagius.

Edm. Boner Byſhop of London committed to the Marſhalſey.

Gardiner & Tonſtall committed to the Tower.

But theſe meke and gentle times of king Edward, vnder the gouernment of this noble Pꝛotectour, haue this one commendation pꝛoper vnto them, foꝛ that among the whole nomber of the popiſh ſoꝛte, of whom ſome pꝛiuely did ſteale out of the realme, manye were craftye diſſemblers, ſome were open and manifeſt aduerſaries, yet of all that multitude, there was not one man that loſt hys lyfe. In ſumme, during the whole time of the. vj. yeares of this king, muche tranquilitye, and as it were a bꝛeathing time was graunted to the whole church of England: So that the rage of perſecution ceaſſing, and the ſwoꝛde taken out of the aduerſaries hand, there was now no daunger to the godlye, vnleſſe it were onely by wealth and pꝛoſperitie, whych many times bꝛingeth moꝛe domage in coꝛrupting mēs mindes, than any time of perſecution oꝛ affliction.

Bꝛiefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield, noꝛ any other quarter of thys realme, any was hearde to ſuffer foꝛ anye matter of religion, either Papiſt oꝛ Pꝛoteſtant, either foꝛ one opinion oꝛ other, except onely two, one an Engliſh womā called Ione of Kent, and the other a Dutch man, named George, who died foꝛ certayne Articles not much neceſſarye here to bee rehearſed.

Beſides theſe two, there was none els in all kyng Edwardes raygne, that dyed in any maner cauſe of religion, but that one Thomas Dobbe, who in the beginning of this kings raygne, was appꝛehended foꝛ ſpeaking agaynſt the idolatry of the Maſſe, and in the ſame pꝛiſon dyed, as in ſtoꝛy here enſueth to be ſeene.

Thomas Dobbe impꝛiſoned, and in pꝛiſon dyed.

This Thomas Dobbe being a ſtudent and a maiſter of Arte in Cambridge, was bꝛought vp in the Colledge, called S. Iohns Colledge, and fellowe of the ſame, where he increaſed in the ſtudy of good letters, among his equales very foꝛward, of nature and diſpoſition ſimple and modeſt, of zeale toward God feruēt, pacient in iniuries, iniurious to no man, of muche lyke ſoꝛte and condition, as is in Doues, whych wythout al bitternes of gall, are moꝛe apt to receiue iniury, then to woꝛke wꝛong to any. At length this godly man intending wyth hym ſelfe, and addicting hys mynde to the Chꝛiſtian ſtate of Matrimonye, reſoꝛted to a certayne mayden not farre of where he dwelt. Foꝛ the whych cauſe hee was greatly moleſted, and wyckedly abuſed by iij. of that Colledge, whoſe names were Hutchinſon, Pindare, and Tailer, who wyth theyꝛ malicious handeling, ſcoꝛnfull dealing, obpꝛobꝛies, rebukes, and contumelies, ſo much vexed the vertuous ſimplicitie of the man, that they neuer left hym, tyll at length they weried hym out of the Colledge. Who there hauyng no reſt noꝛ quietnes by reaſon of the vnreaſonable and virulent handling of hys aduerſaries, was compelled to ſeeke ſome other place wherein to ſettle hym ſelfe. Vpon the occaſion whereof, commyng vp to London, it chaunced hym to paſſe thꝛough Paules Church, wheras it happened that at yͤ Southſide of yͤ Church, at the ſame time there was a Pꝛieſt at Maſſe, moꝛe buſy then well occupied, being at the eleuation as he paſſed by. The young man repleate wyth godly zeale, pitying yͤ ignoꝛance & Idolatry of yͤ people, in honoꝛing that ſo deuoutly which the Pꝛieſt lifted vp, was not able to foꝛbeare, but opening hys mouth and turning to the people, hee exhoꝛted thē not to honoꝛ that viſible bꝛead as God, which neither was God, noꝛ yet oꝛdayned of God to be honoꝛed. &c. wyth ſuch other woꝛdes moe of Chꝛiſtian infoꝛmation. Foꝛ which cauſe ſtrayght way he was appꝛehended by the Maioꝛ, and after accuſed to the biſhop of Canterbury, was committed to the Counter then in Bꝛeadſtreete, where he not long continued, but falling into a ſicknes, how, oꝛ whereupon I can not tell, ſhoꝛtly vpon the ſame chaūged thys moꝛtall life. Whoſe pardon notwithſtanding was obtayned of the Loꝛde Pꝛotectoꝛ, and ſhould haue bene bꝛought him if he had continued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and other.

Doues by Philoſophers naturall be wꝛite, haue no gall.

Ouer and beſides, I finde, that in the firſt yeare of the raygne of K. Edward, which was an. 1547. there was one Iohn Hume, ſeruaunt to Maiſter Lewnax of Wreſell appꝛehended, accuſed, and ſent vp to yͤ Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the ſayde M. Lewnax hys Maiſter, and Margaret Lewnax hys miſtres, foꝛ theſe Arcticles.

1 Firſt, foꝛ denying the Sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar, to be the reall fleſh & bloud of Chꝛiſt.
2 Foꝛ ſaying that he would neuer vale hys bonet vnto it, to be burned therefoꝛe.
3 Foꝛ ſaying, that if he ſhould heare Maſſe, he ſhould be damned.

Foꝛ this was he ſent vp by his maiſter and maiſtres aforeſayd, with ſpeciall letters vnto the Archbiſhop, requiring hym ſeuerally to be puniſhed by yͤ law for the ſame. But becauſe I finde no executiō following therupon, I therefore paſſe ouer this ſtory of hym.

Theſe thinges premiſſed, when this vertuous and godly young Prince (endued as you haue heard wyth ſpeciall graces from God) was nowe peaceably ſtabliſhed in hys kyngdome, and had a Counſell about hym graue, wyſe and zealous in Gods cauſe, eſpecially hys Uncle the Duke of Somerſet, he then moſt earneſtly likewyſe deſired, aſwell the aduauncement of the true honor of almighty God and the planting of hys ſincere religion: as alſo the vtter ſuppreſſion and extirpation of all idolatrie, ſuperſtition, hipocriſie, and other enormities and abuſes throughout hys realmes and dominions, and therfore following, as is afore expreſſed, the good example of king Ioſias, he determined forthwith to enter into ſome reformation of religion in the Church of England.

And for as much as at hys firſt entry (notwithſtanding hys fathers good beginning in aboliſhing the vſurped power of Antichriſt) he yet founde moſt of hys lawes greatly repugning againſt this his zelous enterpriſe, he therfore purpoſed by yͤ aduiſe of his ſayd wyſe and honorable Counſell, of his own regall power & authoritie, ſomewhat to proſecute hys godly purpoſe, vntyll ſuch tyme as by conſent of the whole eſtate of Parlament he might eſtabliſh a more free, perfect, and vniforme order therein.

Order take by kyng Edward for reforming of religion.

Whereupon intending fyrſt a generall viſitation ouer all the Biſhoprickes within hys Realme (thereby aſwell to vnderſtand, as alſo to redreſſe the abuſes in the ſame) he choſe out certaine wyſe, learned, diſcrete, and worſhipfull perſonages to be hys Commiſſioners in that behalfe: and ſo deuiding them into ſeueral companies, aſſigned vnto them ſeuerall Dioceſſes to be viſited: appointyng likewiſe vnto euery companye, one or two godly learned Preachers, whych at euery Seſſion ſhould in their preaching, both inſtruct the people in the true doctrine of the Goſpell of Chriſt and in all loue and obedience to the ſame, and alſo earneſtly dehorte them from theyr old ſuperſtition and wonted Idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in thys theyr commiſſion, there were delyuered vnto them certayne Iniunctions and eccleſiaſticall orders drawen out by the kinges learned Councell, the which they ſhould both enquire of, and alſo commaund in hys Maieſties behalfe to be thenceforth obſerued of euerye parſon, to whom they did ſeuerally appertayne within theyr ſundry circuites.

Learned preachers appoynted by kyng Edward.

In the whych, amongeſt other thinges, it was firſt enioyned that all eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhoulde themſelues obſerue and cauſe to be obſerued of others, all ſuch Statutes as were made for the aboliſhing of the biſhop of Romes vſurped power, and eſtabliſhing of the kinges ſupreame authoritye, and that they ſhoulde euery one, foure times in the yeare at the leaſt, in their publike ſermons declare vnto the people, that the one being moſt arrogantly vſurped agaynſt the woorde of God, was now iuſtly taken awaye, and the other (according to the very true meaning of the ſame woorde) was of moſt loyall dutye onely to be obeyed of all hys Graces ſubiectes.

Eccleſiaſticall perſons hauing cure, to preach quarterly agaynſt the Popes vſurped power.

And agayne, that euery the aforeſayde eccleſiaſticall perſon (hauing cure) ſhould preach, or cauſe to be preached within their ſeueral cures, one ſermō euery quarter of the yeare. In the whych they ſhould ſincerely ſet forth the word of God, and exhort the people vnto the workes of fayth & mercy preſcribed in the ſame word, and not vnto workes deuiſed by mans fantaſie, as going on pilgrimages and other like idolatrous ſuperſtitions: the which they ſhould alſo to yͤ vttermoſt of their powers reproue and ſpeake agaynſt, declaring that all grace & goodnes ought onelye to be ſought for at Gods hand (as the alone geuer thereof) and not at any other creature: And that they ſhoulde not onely forthwyth, take downe and deſtroy all ſuche Images as had bene theretofore abuſed by pilgrimage or offeryngs wythin their ſayd cures: but alſo ſhould not thenceforth ſuffer any lightes or other idolatrous oblation to be made or ſet vp before any other image, then was yet ſuffered in the Church.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Difference betwene workes cōmaunded of God, and workes deuiſed of men and what they bee.

Images abuſed with pilgrimage and offeringes, to be deſtroyed.

Alſo that euery holy day (hauing no ſermon in theyr Church) they ſhould immediately after the Goſpell, diſtinctly reade in the Pulpit the Lordes prayer, the beliefe, and the ten commaundements of almighty God in the Engliſh toung: exhorting the people not onelye to learne them their ſelues, but alſo to teach them to theyr chyldren and families: and alſo ſhould charge al Parents and Gouernours of houſholdes to bryng vp theyr youth in ſome good exerciſe or occupation, wherby they might afterwardes ſerue the common wealth, & not runne about like Uagabundes & idle Loiterers, and thereby encurre the daunger of the lawes.

The x. Commaundementes and the Lordes prayer in Engliſhe, to be read euery holy day in the Church.

Parentes and maiſters charged in trading vp of their childrē in learning or ſome profitable occupation.

And farthermore, that the ſayde parſons (hauyng cure) ſhould ſee the holy Sacramentes of Chriſt reuerently miniſtred wythin theyr cures: and that if any of them (by ſpeciall licence or other caſes expreſſed in the ſtatutes of thys Realme) ſhould be at any time abſent from theyr benefices, that then they ſhoulde leaue in theyr roomes ſome godly, learned, and diſcrete Curate, that were able to inſtruct the people in all truth and godlynes, not ſeeking themſelues, but rather the profit of theyr flocke.

Sacramentes to be reuerently miniſtred, and Paſtors eyther to be reſident in their cures, or to depute ſuch as be hable to inſtructe.

So that all Paſtors would followe thys Iniunction.

And likewyſe, that they ſhoulde ſee prouided and ſet vp in ſome moſt conuenient and open place of euerye theyr ſeuerall Churches, one great Bible in Engliſhe, and one booke of the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus vpō the Goſpels (both in Engliſh) that the people might reuerently (without any argument or contention) reade and heare the ſame at ſuch tymes as they liſted: and not to be inhibited therefrom by yͤ Perſon or Curate, but rather to bee the more encouraged and prouoked thereto.

The Bible in Engliſhe of the largeſt volume, to be ſet vp in euery Church with the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus*.

And that the ſayd Perſons and Curates ſhould not at any tyme (but for neceſſarye cauſes) haunt anye tauerne or alehouſe, neyther ſhould ſpende their tyme idlely in vnlawfull games, but at all their conuenient leaſures ſhould geue them ſelues to the reading or hearing of the holy ſcriptures.

Eccleſiaſticall perſons not to haunt Tauernes or to miſſpend their tyme in any idle and vnlawfull game.

Moreouer, that in the tyme of cōfeſſion euery Lent, they ſhoulde examine theyr pariſhioners whether they could ſay the Lordes prayer, the ten cōmaundementes, and the articles of the Chriſtian fayth: and that if they could not, they ſhoulde then reproue them, declaryng farther vnto them, that they ought not to preſume to come vnto the Lordes table wythout the true knowledge thereof, and earneſt deſire to fulfil the ſame.

Alſo that they ſhoulde not admit any man to preach wythin theyr cures, but ſuch as were lawfullye lycenced thereunto: and that they hauing at anye tyme before extolled and prayſed any idolatrous pilgrimage, or other ſuperſtition, ſhould now openlye recant the ſame before the people.

None to preach but ſufficiently licenced thereunto, & ſuch to be receaued gladly.

Thys Iniunction ſeemeth to be geuen for the ſtopping of the mouthes of Popiſhe Preachers.

And if there were any open hinderer or diſturber of yͤ reading or preaching of yͤ word of God within theyr pariſhes, that then they ſhould forthwith detecte yͤ ſame vnto the kings Counſell, or vnto ſome Iuſtice of peace to them next inhabityng.

That all letters and hinderers of Gods worde, and fauourers of the cōtrary procedinges, ſhould be detected.

And further, that learning and knowledge myght be the better mayntayned, it was alſo ordayned herein, that euery beneficed Perſon that mought diſpende yearely twentye poundes or vpward (and not reſident vpon theyr cures) ſhould paye towardes the reliefe of the poore within theyr pariſhes euery yeare, the fourty part of theyr fruites and profites: and likewiſe that euerye ſuche as might diſpende one hundreth poundes yearely, or more, ſhoulde for euerye hundreth pounde geue a competent exhibition vnto ſome poore Scholer win one of the Uniuerſities of Oxford or Cābridge,

Eccleſiaſticall and beneficed perſons whoſe fruites come to xx. pound and aboue, not being reſident at their cure, to diſtribute to the poore the xl. part of their fruites.

Euery benefice of a C. pound, to finde a Scholler at the Uniuerſitie.

Churchmen to haue the Teſtament both in Latin and Engliſh, with the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus.*

Comfortable places of the Scripture to be prouided for of Churchmẽ, for the comfort of their flocke.

or els in ſome other grammer ſchoole of this Realme.

And alſo that euery Prieſt beyng vnder the degrée of a Bacheler of Diuinitie ſhould haue of his owne, one new Teſtament in Engliſhe and Latin, with the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus vpon the ſame, and ſhould diligently read and ſtudy therupõ, and ſhould collect and kepe in memory all ſuch cõfortable places of the Scripture, as do ſet forth the mercy, benefites, and goodnes of almighty God towardes all penitent and beleuyng perſons, that they might therby comfort their flocke in all daunger of death, diſpayre, or trouble of conſcience: and that therefore euery Byſhop in their viſitations ſhould from tyme to tyme trye and examine them how they had profited in theſe their ſtudies.

The Goſpell and Epiſtle to be read in the hearing of the people.

And although the Maſſe was then ſtill by the law retayned, yet was it enioyned, that at euery hygh Maſſe the ſayer or ſinger therof ſhould openly and diſtinctly read the Goſpell and Epiſtle in Engliſhe, in the Pulpit or in ſome other conuenient place that the people mought heare the ſame. And in like place and maner ſhould read euery holy day and Sonday at Mattines one chapter of the new Teſtament in Engliſhe, omittyng therfore thrée of their ix. latine Leſſons with their Reſpondes: and at Euenſong likewiſe immediatly after Magnificat, one chapter of the old Teſtament in ſtead of their wonted Reſpondes and Memories.

Proceſſions layd downe.

Furthermore, bycauſe of the vayne contention that often fell among the people for goyng on proceſſion, it was ordeined that thẽceforth the Prieſtes and Clarkes ſhould knéele in the middeſt of the Church, and there diſtinctly ſing or read the Letany in Engliſhe ſet forth by the authoritie of kyng Henry the eight: and that no perſon ſhoulde departe the Church in the tyme of readyng the Scripture or ẏ Letany, or during ẏ time of any Sermon, without iuſt and vrgent cauſe. Likewiſe that the people ſhould ſpend the holy dayes in hearyng the worde of God, in priuate and publicke prayers, in knowledgyng their offenſes vnto God and amendemẽt of the ſame, in reconcilyng them ſelues charitably to their neighbours where diſpleaſure hath ben, in often receauyng the Communion of the body and bloud of Chriſt, in viſityng the poore and ſicke, and in all ſober and godly conuerſation: and not in vanitie, idlenes, or drunkennes, neither yet in any bodily labour, otherwiſe then in the tyme of harueſt, to ſaue the fruites of the earth, if neceſſitie ſo required: and that no Curate ſhould admitte vnto the receauing of the holy Communion, any perſon who had maliciouſly and openly contended with his neighbours, vnles the ſame did firſt alſo openly reconcile hym ſelf agayne, and remitte all rancor and malice what ſoeuer.

The true vſing of the holy day.

Diligent preparation to be had before the comming to the Communion.

A godly charge geuen to euery beneficed miniſter to preach perſonally twiſe at leaſt in the yeare, and what to preach.

Moreouer it was ordeined that euery Deane, Archdeacon, maſter of Collegiate Churches or hoſpitalles, and prebẽdaries (beyng Prieſt) ſhoulde hym ſelfe perſonnally preach twiſe euery yeare at the leaſt, in ſome ſuch place where he had iuriſdiction and liuyng: and that they & all other Curates ſhould teach the people, that as no mã of any priuate affectiõ ought maliciouſly to violate any ceremonie in the Church, then not abrogated by the kyngs authoritie: ſo likewiſe they ought not on the other ſide, to vſe thẽ ſuperſtitiouſly or Idolatrouſly, in attributyng to them remiſſion of ſinnes, driuing away of euil ſpirites, & other ſuch like dreames and fantaſies of men, or els in puttyng any confidence of ſaluation or health in them. And farther, that they ſhoulde vtterly take away & deſtroy all Shrines & Monumentes of fayned miracles, pilgremages, and other Idolatrous ſuperſtition, as well in their Churches, as within their priuate houſes.

All monumentes of Idolatry to be taken away out of churches, houſes, and windowes.

A Cheſt to bee prouided vpon publick charge to receaue the almes of the poore, and the Curates to call vpõ their pariſhioners to geue to the ſame cheſt.

Alſo, that they ſhould ſée prouided within their Churches, a ſtrong and fitte cheſt for the ſafe keping of the peoples beneuolence geuen towardes the relief of the poore: and that the ſayd Curates ſhould earneſtly exhorte and moue their Pariſhioners (eſpecially at the makyng of their Teſtamentes) that as they had bene thertofore willyng to beſtow much of their ſubſtaunce vpon vayne ſuperſtitions and blind deuotions contrary to Gods worde: ſo now they would be much more readyer to geue ſome portion therof vnto their poore and nedy brethren, knowyng the ſame to be not onely commaunded in the word of God, but alſo promiſed to be rewarded. And for the better relief of the poore, it was alſo appoynted that all money and profites ryſing vpõ Fraternities, Guildes, ſtockes of churches, or geuen to the findyng of Idolatrous lightes, ſhould be conuerted for that preſent vnto the ſame vſe. Laſt of all, for the want of learned Curates and other good Preachers, it was enioyned that the Curates (hauyng no Sermon) ſhould euery Sonday read vnto the people in their Churches one of the Homelies whiche ſhould be ſhortly ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe by the kynges authoritie: and that when any Homely or Sermõ ſhould bée preached or read, then the Prime and Houres ſhould be omitted.

Homelies to be read euery ſonday when there is no Sermon.

There were alſo diuers other Articles in the ſame Iniunctions appoynted for comlynes and due order in the Churches: as for repayring of Chauncels and Prieſtes houſes, for keping of a regiſter boke of Weddynges, Chriſtenynges, and Burials, for readyng of theſe Iniunctions euery quarter, for due paying of tithes, for forbiddyng of any other alteration of ſeruice in the Church, or faſtyng dayes, for makyng of comely Pulpittes for the Preachers, for auoydyng of Symonie in bying and ſellyng of benefices, for the charitable vſing of Prieſtes, for praying onely vpon the Engliſhe and Latine Primmers ſet forth by kyng Henry the eight, for the teachyng of hys Grammer in the common Scholes, and laſt, that Chauntrie Prieſtes ſhould teache young children, either to write and read, or els ſome other good and profitable exerciſes: as it doth more fully and amply appeare in the ſame Iniunctions at large ſet foorth in the. 684. page of the former booke of the Actes and Monumentes of the Church heretofore imprinted.

Read the former edition of the booke of Actes and Monumentes Pag. 684.

Beſides theſe generall Iniunctions for the whole eſtate of the Realme, there were alſo certeine others particularly appoynted for the Byſhops onely: which beyng deliuered vnto the Commiſſioners, were likewiſe by their viſitations committed vnto the ſayd Byſhops, with charge to be inuiolably obſerued and kept vpon payne of the kynges Maieſtie diſpleaſure: the effect wherof is as in maner foloweth.

Iniunctions geuen to the Byſhops.

Firſt, that they ſhould to the vttermoſt of their wytte and vnderſtandyng, ſée and cauſe all, euery and ſingular the kynges Iniunctions thertofore geuen or after to bée geuen from tyme to tyme, in and through their Dioces, duely, faythfully and truly to be kept, obſerued, and accompliſhed, and that they ſhould perſonally preach within their Dioces euery quarter of a yeare once at the leaſt, that is to ſay, once in their Cathedral Churches, and thriſe in other ſeuerall places of their Dioceſſes, whereas they ſhoulde ſée it moſt conuenient and neceſſary, except they had a reaſonable excuſe to the contrary. Likewiſe, that they ſhould not retayne into their ſeruice or houſholde any Chaplayne, but ſuch as were learned, or hable to preach the worde of God, and thoſe they ſhould alſo cauſe to exerciſe the ſame.

Moreouer, that they ſhould not geue Orders to any perſon, but vnto ſuch as were learned in holy Scripture: neither ſhould denye them that were learned in ẏ ſame, beyng of honeſt cõuerſation & liuyng. And laſt, that they ſhould not at any tyme or place preach or ſet forth vnto the people any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent conteined and ſet forth in the kynges highnes Homelies: neither yet ſhould admit or geue licence to preach to any within their Dioceſſes, but to ſuch as they ſhould know (or at the leaſt aſſuredly truſt) would do the ſame. And if at any tyme by hearyng, or by reporte proued, they ſhould perceaue the contrary, they ſhould then incontinent, not onely inhibite that perſon ſo offendyng, but alſo puniſhe hym and reuoke their licence.

1547.

A Parlament called in the firſt yere of K. *Edward.*

Now duryng the tyme that the Cōmiſſioners were occupyed abroad in their circuites about the ſpedye & diligent execution of theſe godly & zelous orders & decrées of the kyng and his Counſell, his Maieſtie (with the aduiſe of the ſame) yet ſtill deſiryng a farther reformation aſwell in this caſe of Religion, as alſo in ſome others of his Ciuill gouernement, appointed a Parlamēt of the thrée eſtates of his Realme to be ſummoned agaynſt the iiij. day of Nouember, in the firſt yeare of his raigne, and the yeare of our Lorde. 1547. which continued vnto the xxiiij. day of December then next folowyng. In the whiche Seſſion, for aſmuch as hys highnes mynded the gouernaūce and order of his people to bée in perfect vnitie and concorde in all thinges, and eſpecially in the true fayth and Religion of God, and therewithall alſo duely wayed the great daunger that his louyng ſubiectes were in for profeſſyng the Goſpell of Chriſt, through many and diuers cruell ſtatutes made by ſondry his predeceſſours agaynſt the the ſame (which beyng ſtill left in force mought both cauſe the obſtinate to contemne his graces godly procedynges, and alſo the weake to be fearefull of theyr Chriſtianlike profeſſion) hée therfore cauſed it among other thinges by the authoritie of the ſame Parlament to be enacted, that all Actes of Parlament & Statutes, touchyng, mencionyng, or in any wiſe concernyng Religion or opinions, (that is to ſay, as well the Statute made in the firſt yeare of the reigne of kyng Richard the ſecond, and the Statute made in the ſecond yeare of the reigne of kyng Henry the fift, and the Statute made in the xxv. yeare of the reigne of K. Henry the viij. concernyng puniſhment and reformation of heretickes and Lollardes, and euery prouiſion therein conteined, and the Statutes made for the aboliſhement of diuerſitie of opinions in certaine Articles concernyng Chriſtian Religion, commonly called the ſix Articles, made in the xxxi. yeare of the reigne of kyng Henry the eight: and alſo the Statute made in the Parlament begon the xvj. day of January in the xxxiij. yeare of the reigne of the ſayd kyng Henry the eight, and after proroged vnto the xxi. day of January in the xxxiiij. yeare of his ſayd raigne, touchyng, mencionyng, or in any wiſe concerning bookes of the old and new Teſtament in Engliſhe, and the Printyng, vtteryng, ſellyng, geuyng, or deliueryng of bookes or writynges, and retaynyng of Engliſhe bookes or writinges, and readyng, preachyng, teachyng, or expoundyng the Scriptures, or in any wiſe touchyng, mencionyng, or concernyng any of the ſayd matters: and alſo one other Statute made in the xxxv. yeare of the raigne of the ſayd K. Henry the eight, concernyng the qualification of the Statute of the vj. Articles, and all & euery other Acte or Actes of Parlament concernyng doctrine or matters of Religion, and all and euery braunch, Article, ſentence, matter, paynes, or forfaitures conteyned, mencioned, or in any wiſe declared in any of the ſame Actes or Statutes) ſhould from thenceforth bée vtterly repealed, made voyde, and of none effect. By occaſion whereof, as well all ſuch his godly ſubiectes as were then ſtill abyding within this Realme, had frée libertie publickly to profeſſe the Goſpell: as alſo many learned and zealous preachers (before baniſhed) were now both licenced fréely to returne home agayne, and alſo encouraged boldly & faithfully to trauell in their function and callyng, ſo that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Statut. an.1. Reg. Edouardi.6. Cap.12.

The Statute made An.1.Reg. Rich.2. An.2.Reg. Henr.5. An.25.Reg. Henr.8. Item An.31. Henr.8. An.34.Henr.8. An.35. Henr.8. repealed.

Item note for the Statute. An.2. Reg. Henr.4. cap.15. becauſe that ſtatute was repealed by an ſtatute made. 25.an. Henr.8. therefore the ſame is here omitted.

The bloudy ſtatute of the 6. Articles repealed.

Moreouer in the ſame Seſſion his Maieſtye with the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons in the ſame Parlament aſſembled, throughly vnderſtandyng by the iudgement of the beſt learned, that it was more agreable vnto the firſt inſtitution of the Sacrament of the moſt precious body and blood of our Sauiour Chriſt, & alſo more conformable to the common vſe and practiſe both of the Apoſtles, and of the primatiue Church by the ſpace of fyue hundreth yeres and more after Chriſtes Aſcenſion, that the ſayd holy ſacrament ſhould be miniſtred vnto all Chriſten people vnder both the kindes of bread and wyne, then vnder the fourme of bread onely, & alſo that it was more agreable vnto the ſayd firſt inſtitution of Chriſt and the vſage of the Apoſtles and primatiue Church, that the people beyng preſent ſhould receaue the ſame with the Prieſt, then that the Prieſt ſhould receaue it alone: dyd by their authority moreouer enacte, that the ſayd holy ſacramēt ſhould be frō thenceforth cōmonly deliuered and miniſtred vnto the people throughout the churches of England and Ireland & other the kinges dominions, vnder both the kindes of bread & of wine, except neceſſitye otherwyſe required: and alſo, that the Prieſt that ſhould miniſter the ſame, ſhoulde at the leaſt one day before, exhorte all perſons which ſhould be preſent, likewyſe to reſorte & prepare them ſelues to receaue the ſame. And at the day prefixed, after ſome godly exhortation made by the miniſter (wherin ſhould be farther expreſſed the benefit and comfort promiſed to them whych worthely receaue thys holy ſacrament, and the daunger and indignation of God threatned to them whych preſume to receaue the ſame vnworthely, to the ende that euery man myght try and examyne hys own conſcience before he ſhould come thereunto) the ſayd Miniſter ſhould not wythout a lawfull cauſe deny the ſame to any perſon that woulde deuoutly and humbly deſire it: any law, ſtatute, ordinaunce, or cuſtome, contrary therunto in any wyſe notwᵗſtanding.

The Communion vnder both kindes.

The aſſembly of Byſhops and others, at Windſore.

After whych moſt godly conſent of the Parlament, the king beyng no leſſe deſirous to haue the fourme of adminiſtration of the ſacrament truely reduced to the ryght rule of the ſcriptures and fyrſt vſe of the primitiue church, then he was to eſtabliſhe the ſame by the authority of hys own regall lawes, appoynted certaine of the moſt graue and beſt learned Biſhops and others of hys Realme, to aſſemble together at hys Caſtell of Windſore, there to argue and entreate vpon this matter, and ſo to conclude vpon and ſet forth one perfect & vniforme order according to the rule & vſe aforeſayd.

Candles not to be borne on Candlemas day.

Aſhes forbodden on Aſhe Wedenſday.

Edm. Boner.

And in the meane whyle that the learned were thus occupied about theyr conferences, the Lord Protector and the reſt of the kings Counſell farther remēbring that that tyme of the yeare dyd then approch, wherein were practiſed many ſuperſtitious abuſes and blaſphemous ceremonies agaynſt the glory of God, and truth of hys worde (determining the vtter aboliſhing therof) directed theyr letters vnto the godly and reuerend father Thomas Cranmer, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Metrapolitane of England, requyring hym, that vpon the receite therof he ſhoulde wyll euery biſhop wythin hys Prouince, forthwith to geue in charge vnto all the Curates of theyr Dioceſſes, that neither candels ſhould be any more borne vpō Candlemas day, neyther yet aſhes vſed in Lent, nor Palmes vpō Palme Sonday. Wherupon yͤ Archbiſhop zelouſlye fauoring the good and chriſtianlike purpoſe of the kyng and his Counſel, did immediately in that behalfe wryte vnto all the reſt of the Biſhops of his Prouince, and amongeſt them vnto Edmund Boner then byſhop of London. Of whoſe rebellions and obſtinate contumacie, for that we haue hereafter more to ſaye, I thought not to ſtande longe hereupon, but onely by the waye ſomewhat to note hys former diſſimulation and cloked hipocriſie in that hee outwardly at the firſt conſented as well vnto thys, as alſo vnto all other the kinges procéedings (but whether of feare or of anye other ſubtile fetch, I knowe not, howbeit moſt like, rather for one of thē or both, thē for any true loue.) And therfore receiuing yͤ Archbiſhops letters, as one then ſéeming to allow yͤ cōtentes therof, he did preſently write vnto the biſhop of Weſtminſter, & others, to whom he was appoynted, requiring them to geue ſuch knowledge thereof in theyr dioceſſes, as therunto appertayned: as more playnly appeareth by theſe hys own letters here inſerted which here do followe.

A letter miſſiue of Edmund Boner ſent to the biſhop of Weſtminſter, with the tenor of the Archbyſhops letter, for aboliſhing of Candels, Aſhes, Palmes, and other Ceremonies.

Boners letter for the aboliſhing of Aſhes, Palmes, &c.

MY very good Lord, after my moſt hartye commendations, theſe be to aduertiſe your good Lordſhyp, that my Lord of Canterburies Grace thys preſẽt. xxviij. day of Ianuarie, ſent vnto me hys letters miſſiue, contayning thys in effect: That my Lord Protectors grace, wyth the aduiſe of other the kynges Maiſties moſt honorable Counſell, for certayne conſiderations them mouing, hath fully reſolued that no candels ſhall be borne vpon Candlemas day, nor alſo from hence foorth Aſhes or Palmes vſed any longer, requyring me thereupon by hys ſayd letters, to cauſe admonition and knowledge thereof to be geuen vnto your Lordſhip and other Byſhops with celeritie accordingly. In conſideratiõ whereof I doo ſend at this preſent theſe letters vnto your ſaid Lordſhip, that you therupon may geue knowledge and aduertiſement thereof within your dioceſſe as appertaineth: Thus committing your good Lordſhip to almightye God, as well to fare as your good hart can beſt deſyre. wrytten in haſt at my houſe in London the ſayde xxviij. day of Ianuary. 1548.

Your good Lordſhips to commaund Edmund London.

Contention amongeſt the people for Images.

Now about that preſent tyme credible and certaine reporte was made vnto the Lordes of the Counſayle, that great contention and ſtrife did dayly aryſe among the common people in diuers partes of thys Realme, for the pulling downe and taking away of ſuch images out of the Churches as had bene idolatrouſlye abuſed by pilgremage, offerings, or otherwyſe (according to the tenure of one of the Iniunctions geuẽ by the king in hys late viſitation) ſome affirming that that image was abuſed, others that this, and moſt, that neither of them both: ſo that if ſpéedy remedy were not had therin, it mought turne to farther inconuenience. Wherefore they, by one aduiſe thinking it beſt (of good experience) for the auoyding of all diſcord and tumult, that all maner ymages ſhoulde bee cleane taken out of all Churches, and none ſuffered to remayne, did thereupon agayne wryte their letters vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, requyring hys ready ayde therein, in maner following.

An other Letter of the Counſell ſent to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, for the aboliſhyng of Images.

Letters from the Counſell for abolyſhing of Images, to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

AFter our right harty commendations to your good Lordſhyp, where now of late in the kynges Maieſties viſitations, among other godly Iniunctions commaunded to bee generally obſerued throughe all partes of this hys highnes Realme, one was ſet forth for the takyng downe of all ſuch Images as had at any tyme ben abuſed with pilgrimages, offerynges or cenſinges: albeit that this ſayd Iniunction hath in many partes of the Realme bene quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much ſtrife and contention hath riſen, and dayly riſeth, and more and more encreaſeth about the execution of the ſame: ſome men beyng ſo ſuperſtitious, or rather willfull, as they would (by theyr good wils) retayne all ſuch Images ſtill, although they haue bene moſt manifeſtly abuſed. And in ſome places alſo the Images whiche by the ſayd Iniunctions were taken downe, be now reſtored and ſet vp agayne. And almoſt in euery place is contention for Images, whether they haue bene abuſed or not. And whiles theſe men go on both ſides contentiouſly to obtaine theyr myndes, cõtendyng whether this Image, or that Image hath bene offered vnto, kyſſed, cenſed, or otherwiſe abuſed, partes haue in ſome places bene takẽ, in ſuch ſort, as farther incõueniẽce is lyke to enſue, if remedy be not foũd in time. Conſideryng therefore that almoſt in no place of this Realme is any ſure quietnes, but where all Images be cleane taken away, and pulled downe already, to the intent that all contention in euery part of the Realme for this matter, may be clearely taken away, and that the lyuely Image of Chriſt ſhould not contend for the dead Images, which be things not neceſſary, and without which the Churches of Chriſt continued moſt godly many yeares, we haue thought good to ſignifie vnto you that hys hyghnes pleaſure, with the aduiſe and conſent of vs the Lord Protectour and the reſt of the Counſayle, is that immediatly vppon the ſight hereof, with as cõuenient diligence as you may, you ſhal not onely geue order that all the Images remaynyng in any Churche or Chappell with in our Dioces be remoued and taken away, but alſo by your letters ſignifye vnto the reſt of the Byſhops within your Prouince, this hys highnes pleaſure for the lyke order to be geuen by them, and euery of them within their ſeuerall Dioces. And in the execution hereof, we requyre both you and the reſt of the ſayd Byſhops to vſe ſuch foreſight as the ſame may bee quietly done, with as good ſatiſfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordſhyp hartely well. From Somerſet place, the xi. of February. 1548.

Your Lordſhyps aſſured louyng frendes

Edw. Somerſet.
Hen. Arrundell.
Anth. Wyngfield.
Iohn Ruſſell.
Tho. Semer.
Will. Paget.

The Archbiſhop wryteth to Boner.

When the Archbyſhop had receaued theſe letters, hée forthwith directed his precept vnto Boner Byſhop of London, requiryng, and in the kynges Maieſties name commaũdyng him, that with all ſpede he ſhould aſwell geue in charge vnto the reſt of ẏ Byſhops within the Prouince of Caunterbury, to loke immediatly without delay vnto the diligent and carefull execution of the contentes of the ſayd letter throughout all places of their Dioces: as alſo that he him ſelfe ſhould do the lyke within hys owne Citie and Dioces of London. Wherupon he, ſéemyng then with lyke outwarde conſent as before, to allowe theſe doynges, preſently (by vertue of the ſayd precept) did ſend out his Mandatũ, aſwell vnto the reſt of the Byſhops, as alſo agayne vnto the Byſhop of Weſtminſter in forme folowyng.

The Letter of Edmund Boner ſent with the Archbyſhops Mandate, to the Byſhop of Weſtminſter for aboliſhyng of Images.

Boners letter to the byſhop of Weſtminſter for aboliſhing of images.

EDmundus permiſsione diuina London. Epiſcopus per illuſtriſſimum in Chriſto principem & dominum noſtrum, dominum Edwardum ſextum Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hibernie Regem, fidei defenſorem & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ ſupremum caput, ſufficienter & legitime autoriſatus, Reuerendo in Chriſto confratri noſtro Domino Thomæ eadem permiſſione Weſtm. Epiſcopo, ſalutem & fraternam in Domino charitatẽ. Literas reuerendiſſimi in Chriſto patris & domini D. Thomæ, permiſſione diuina Cantua. Archiepiſcopi totius Angliæ primatis & Metropolitani, tenorem literarum miſſarum clariſſimorum & prudentiſſimorum dominorum de priuatis conſilijs dicti illuſtriſſimi domini Regis in ſe continen. nuper cum ea qua decuit reuerentia humiliter recepimus exequend. in hæc verba. Thomas permiſſione diuina Cant. &c. And then makyng a full recitall as well of the Archbyſhops precept, as alſo of ẏ Counſels letters aboue ſpecified, hée concluded wᵗ theſe wordes. Quocirca nos Edmũd. Epiſc. antedictus, Literis prædictis, pro noſtro officio obtemperare, vti decet, ſummopere cupientes, veſtræ fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentiſſimi Domini noſtri Regis, ac præfatorum clariſſimorum dominorũ de priuatis ſuis conſilijs, quàm prædicti Reuer. patris domini Cant. Archiepiſcopi, tenore præſentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus attentis & per vos diligenter conſideratis Literarum huiuſmodi tenoribus, eos in omnibus & per omnia, iuxta vim, formam, & effectum earundẽ, cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommoda, per totam Dioceſ. veſtrã Weſt. debite & effectualiter exequi faciaris & procuretis. Datum in ædibus noſtris London. viceſimo die Februarij. Anno domini. 1548. Et Regni dicti illuſtriſsimi domini noſtri Regis. Anno ſecundo.

Now by the tyme that theſe thinges were thus determined, the learned mẽ, whiche the kyng had appointed (as ye haue heard before) to aſſemble together for the true and right maner of adminiſteryng the Sacramēt of the body & bloud of Chriſt accordyng to the rule of the Scriptures of God and firſt vſage of the primatiue Church, after their long, learned, wiſe, and deliberate aduiſes, did finally conclude and agrée vppon one godly and vniforme order of receauyng the ſame, not much differyng from the maner at this preſēt vſed and authoriſed within this Realme and Church of England, commonly called the Communion. Whiche agrement beyng by them exhibited vnto the kyng, and of him moſt gladly accepted, was thereupō publickly Imprinted, and by his Maieſties Counſell particularly diuided and ſent vnto euery biſhop of the Realme, requiryng and commaundyng them by their Letters on the kynges Maieſties behalfe, that both they in their owne perſons ſhould forthwith haue a diligent and carefull reſpect to the due execution therof, and alſo ſhould with all diligence cauſe the bookes which they then ſent thē, to be deliuered vnto euery Parſon, Vicare, and Curate within their Dioces, that they likewiſe might well and ſufficiently aduiſe them ſelues for the better diſtribution of the ſayd Cōmunion (accordyng to the tenour of the ſayd booke) agaynſt the feaſt of Eaſter then next enſuyng: as more fully appeareth by theſe their letters here folowyng.

An vniforme order of the Cōmunion.

¶ Letters miſsiue from the Counſell to the Byſhops of the Realme, concernyng the Communion to be Miniſtred in both kyndes.

The Communion in both kindes to bee miniſtred.

After our moſt harty commendations to your Lordſhyp, where in the Parlamēt late holdē at Weſtminſter it was amongeſt other thynges moſt godly eſtabliſhed that accordyng to the firſt inſtitution and vſe of the primatiue Church, the moſt holy Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt ſhould be diſtributed to the people vnder the kyndes both of bread and wyne (accordyng to the effect whereof, the kynges Maieſty myndyng, with the aduice and conſent of the Lord Protectours grace and the reſt of the Counſayle to haue the ſayd Statute well executed in ſuch ſorte, or lyke as it is agreable with the worde of God, ſo the ſame may bee alſo faythfully and reuerently receaued of hys moſt louyng ſubiectes to their comfortes & wealth) hath cauſed ſondry of his Maieſties moſt graue and well learned Prelates and other learned men in the Scriptures, to aſſemble them ſelues for this matter: who after longe conference together, haue with deliberate aduiſe, finally agreed vpon ſuch an order to be vſed in all places of the Kynges Maieſties dominions in the diſtribution of the ſayd moſt holy Sacrament, as may appeare to you by the booke thereof, which we ſend herewith vnto you. Albeit knowyng your Lordſhips knowledge in the Scriptures and earneſt good will and zeale to the ſetting forth of all thynges accordyng to the truth therof, we be well aſſured, you will of your owne good will, and vpon reſpect to your duety diligently ſet forth, this moſt godly order here agreed vpon and commaūded to be vſed by the authority of the Kynges Maieſtie: yet remembryng the crafty practiſe of the deuill, who ceaſeth not by his members to worke by all wayes & meanes, the hynderaunce of all godlynes, & conſideryng furthermore, that a great nomber of the Curates of the Realme, either for lacke of knowledge can not, or for want of good mynde will not be ſo ready to ſet forth the ſame, as we would wiſhe and as the importaunce of the matter and their own boundē duetyes requireth, we haue thought good to pray and require your Lordſhyp, and neuertheles in the Kynges Maieſties our moſt dread ſoueraigne Lordes name to commaunde you to haue an earneſt diligence, and carefull reſpect both in your owne perſon, and by all your officers and Miniſters alſo to cauſe theſe bookes to be deliuered to euery Perſon, Vicar, and Curate within your Dioces, with ſuch diligence as they may haue ſufficient tyme, well to inſtructe and aduiſe them ſelues, for the diſtribution of the moſt holy Communion accordyng to the order of thys booke, before thys Eaſter tyme, and that they may by your good meanes be well directed to vſe ſuch good, gentle, and charitable inſtruction of their ſimple and vnlearned Pariſhners, as may be to all their good ſatiſfactiōs as much as may be, praying you to conſider, that this order is ſet forth to the intent there ſhoulde bee in all partes of the Realme and among al men, one vniforme maner quietly vſed. The execution whereof, lyke as it ſhall ſtand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation: ſo doe we eftſoones require you to haue a diligent reſpect therunto, as ye tender the Kynges Maieſties pleaſure, and wil aunſwere for the contrary. And thus we byd your Lordſhyp right hartely farewell. From Weſtminſter the xiij. of Marche. 1548.

Your Lordſhyps louyng frendes.

Tho. Canterbury.
R. Rich.
W. Saint Iohn.
Iohn Ruſſell.
Hen. Arrundell.
Anth. Wingfield.
W. Peter.
Edward North.
Ed. Wootton.

By meanes as well of this letter and the godlye order of the learned, as alſo of the ſtatute and act of Parlament before mencioned, made for ȳ ſtabliſhing therof, all priuate blaſphemous Maſſes were nowe by iuſt authoritye fullye aboliſhed throughout this realme of England, and the ryght vſe of the Sacrament of the moſt precious bodye and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt truly reſtored in ſtéede of the ſame. But neuertheles, as at no time anye thing can be ſo well done of the godly, but that the wicked will finde ſome meanes ſubtilly to deface the ſame: ſo likewiſe at this preſent, through the peruerſe obſtinacy & diſſembling frowardnes of many the inferiour Prieſtes and Miniſters of the Cathedral & other churches of this realme, there did aryſe a marueilous ſchiſme and varietie of faſhions in celebrating the common ſeruice and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church. For ſome zealouſly allowing the kings procéedinges, dyd gladly follow the order therof: and others, though not ſo willinglye admitting them, dyd yet diſſemblingly & patchingly vſe ſome part of them: but many careleſly contemning all, would ſtill exerciſe theyr old wonted popery.

Priuate hinderers of the Goſpell.

Diuiſion among the prieſtes about the kinges procedinges.

Whereof the kyng and hys Counſell hauyng good intelligence, and fearing the great inconueniences and daungers that might happen through thys diuiſion, & being therewithall loth at the firſt to vſe any great ſeueritye towardes hys ſubiectes, but rather deſirous by ſome quiet and godly order to bring them to ſome conformitie, dyd by their prudent aduiſes againe appoynt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wyth certaine of the beſt learned and diſcrete Biſhops and other learned men, diligently to conſider and ponder the premiſſes: and thereupon hauing aſwell an eye and reſpect vnto the moſt ſincere and pure chriſtian religion taught by the holy ſcriptures, as alſo to the vſages of the primatiue Church, to drawe and make one conuenient and mete order, rite, and faſhion of common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, to be had and vſed within this his Realme of England, and the dominiōs of the ſame. Who after moſt godly and learned conferences, through the ayde of the holy Ghoſt, with one vniforme agréement did conclude, ſet forth, and deliuer vnto the kinges highnes, a booke in Engliſh intituled: A booke of the common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, after the vſe of the Churche of England. The which hys highnes receiuing wyth great comfort and quietnes of mynde, did forthwyth exhibite vnto the Lordes and Cōmons of the Parlament then aſſembled at Weſtminſter, about the fourth of Nouember, in the ſecond yeare of hys raygne, and in the yeare of our Lord. 1548. and continuing vnto the. xiiij. daye of Marche then next enſuing.

One vniforme order of Common Prayer.

* Parlament aſſembled the 2. yeare of K. Edward. An. 1548.

Whereupon the Lordes ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of that ſayd Parlament aſſembled, well and throughly conſidering aſwell the moſt godlye trauaile of the kinges highnes, of the Lord Protector, and other of his Maieſties Counſaile, in gatheryng together the ſayd Archbyſhop, Byſhops, and other learned men

Statut. an. 2. 3. Reg. Edou. cap. 1.

Petition of the Lordes and Commons in the Parlamēt to the Kyng.

Penaltie.

men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the ſayd booke mencioned, with the conſiderations of alteryng thoſe thynges which were altered, and retainyng thoſe thinges whiche were retayned in the ſame booke: as alſo the honour of God, and great quietnes, which by the grace of God, ſhould enſue vpon that one and vniforme rite and order in ſuch common prayer, rites, and externe ceremonies to bee vſed throughout England, Wales, Calice, and the marches of the ſame: did firſt geue vnto his hyghnes moſt lowly and harty thankes for the ſame, and then moſt humbly prayed him that it might be ordeined & enacted by hys Maieſtie with the aſſent of the ſayd Lordes and commons in that Parlament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame, that not onely all and ſingular perſon and perſons that had thertofore offended concernyng the premiſſes (others then ſuch as were then remainyng in warde in the Tower of London, or in the Fleete) might bee pardoned thereof, but alſo that all and ſingular Miniſters in any Cathedrall or Pariſhe Churches, or other places within the Realme of England, Wales, Calyce, and the marches of the ſame, or other the Kynges dominiōs, ſhould from and after the Feaſt of Pentecoſt next commyng, bee bounden to ſay and vſe the Matynes, Euenſong, celebration of the Lordes Supper, and adminiſtration of ech of the Sacramentes, and all other common and open prayer, in ſuch order and forme as was mencioned in the ſayd booke, and none other or otherwiſe. And albeit that they were ſo godly and good that they gaue occaſion vnto euery honeſt and conformable man moſt willyngly to embrace them: yet leſt any obſtinate perſons, who willingly would diſturbe ſo godly an order and quyet in this Realme ſhould not go vnpuniſhed, they farther requeſted, that it might be ordeyned and enacted by the authoritie aforeſaid, that if any maner of perſō, Vicar, or other what ſoeuer Miniſter that ought or ſhould ſay or ſing common prayer mencioned in the ſayd booke, or Miniſter the Sacramentes, ſhould after the ſayd feaſt of Pentecoſt then next commyng, refuſe to vſe the ſayd common prayer, or to Miniſter the Sacramentes, in ſuch Cathedrall or Pariſhe Churches, or other places as he ſhould vſe or Miniſter the ſame, in ſuch order and forme as they were mencioned, and ſet forth in the ſaid booke: or ſhould vſe, wilfully and obſtinatly ſtandyng in the ſame, any other ryte, ceremonie, order, forme, or maner of Maſſe, openly or priuely, or Mattyns, Euenſong, adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, or other opē prayer then was mencioned and ſet forth in the ſayd booke: or ſhoulde preach, declare, or ſpeake any thing in the derogation, or deprauyng of the ſayd booke, or any thyng therin cōteined, or of any part therof, and ſhould be therof lawfully conuicted accordyng to the lawes of this Realme by verdicte of xij. men, or by his owne confeſſion, or by the notorious euidence of the fact, ſhould loſe and forfaite vnto the kynges hyghnes his heyres and ſucceſſours, for his firſt offence, one whole yeares profite of ſuch one of his benefices or ſpirituall promotions as it ſhould pleaſe the kynges hyghnes to aſſigne and appointe, and alſo for the ſame offence ſhould ſuffer impriſonmēt by the ſpace of ſix monethes, without bayle or maynpriſe. But if any ſuch perſon, after his firſt conuiction, ſhould eſtſoones offende agayne, and be therof in forme aforeſayd lawfully conuicted, then hee ſhould for his ſecond offence ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of one whole yeare, and ſhould alſo bee depriued *Ipſo facto*, of al his ſpiritual promotions for euer, ſo that it ſhould be lawfull for the patrons and Doners therof to geue the ſame againe vnto any other learned man, in like maner as if the ſayd partie ſo offendyng were dead. And if any the ſayd perſon or perſōs ſhould again the thyrd tyme offend, & be therof in forme aforeſayd lawfully conuicted, then hee ſhould for the ſame third offence ſuffer impriſonement duryng his life. If any ſuch perſon or perſons aforeſayd, ſo offēdyng, had not any benefice or ſpirituall promotion, that then hee ſhould for his firſt offence ſuffer impriſonement by the ſpace of vj. monethes without bayle or maynpriſe, and for his ſecond offence, impriſonment duryng his lyfe. Which requeſt or rather actuall agreemēt of the Lords and commons of the Parlamēt beyng once vnderſtode of the kyng, was alſo ſoone ratified and confirmed by his regall conſent and authoritie, and therupon the ſayd booke of common prayer was preſētly Imprinted, and cōmaunded to be exerciſed throughout the whole Realme and dominions therof, accordyng the tenure and effect of the ſayd Statute.

Lawes and Conſtitutions agaynſt prieſtes mariage debarred.

Mariage of prieſtes ſet free.

Moreouer, in the ſame Seſſion of the ſayd Parlament, it was enacted and eſtabliſhed by the authoritie therof: that for aſmuch as great, horrible, and not to be rehearſed inconueniēces had from tyme to tyme riſen amongeſt the Prieſtes, Miniſters, and other officers of the Clergie through their compelled chaſtitie, and by ſuch lawes as prohibited them the godly and lawfull vſe of Mariage: that therfore all and euery law, and lawes poſitiue, Canons, conſtitutions & ordinaunces thertofore made by the authoritie of man onely, which did prohibite or forbyd Mariage to any Eccleſiaſticall or ſpirituall perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, condition, or degree ſo euer they were, or by what name or names they were called, whiche by Gods law may lawfully mary, in all and euery Article, braunch, & ſentence concernyng onely the prohibitiō for the Mariage of the perſōs aforeſayd, ſhould be vtterly voyde and of none effect. And that all maner of forfaitures, paynes, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the ſayd lawes conteined, and of the ſame did folow, cōcernyng the prohibition for the Mariage of the ſayd Eccleſiaſticall perſons, ſhould be thenceforth alſo clearely and vtterly voyde fruſtrate, and of none effect. By occaſion wherof it was thenceafter right lawfull for any Eccleſiaſticall perſon, not hauyng the gift of chaſtitie, moſt godly to lyue in the pure and holy eſtate of matrimonie, accordyng to the lawes and worde of God.

Edmund Boner Byſhop of London.

But, if the firſt Iniunctions, ſtatutes, and decrees of the Prince were of many but ſlenderly regarded, with much leſſe good affection were theſe (eſpecially the booke of common prayer) of diuers now receaued: yea, and that of ſome of them, which had alwayes before in outward ſhewe wyllingly allowed the former doinges, as appeareth moſt plainly (amōgeſt others) by Boner the Biſhop of London. Who although by hys former letters and other mandates, he ſeemed hitherto to fauour all the kinges proceedinges: yet did hee at that preſent (notwithſtanding both the firſt ſtatute for the ſtabliſhing of the Communion, and the aboliſhing of all priuate Maſſes, and alſo this ſtatute of the ratifying and confirming of the booke of common prayer) ſtyll ſuffer ſundrye Idolatrous priuate Maſſes of peculiar names (as the Apoſtles Maſſe, the Lady Maſſe, & ſuch like) to be dayly ſolemnly ſoong within certayne particular Chappells of hys Cathedrall Church of Paules, cloaking them wyth the names of the Apoſtles Communion, and our Ladies Communion, not once fyndyng any fault therwith, vntill ſuch tyme as the Lordes of the Counſel hauing intelligence thereof, were faine by theyr letters to commaund hym to looke better therunto. And then being therwith ſomewhat pricked forwardes (perhaps by feare) hee was content to direct hys letters vnto the Deane and Chapter of hys cathedrall church of Paules, thereby requeſting them foorthwith to take ſuche order therein, as the tenure of the Counſels ſayd letters therwithall ſent vnto them, dyd importe. Which both two letters I haue, for the more credite, here folowing inſerted.

¶ A letter directed from the kings Counſell to Edmund Boner B. of London, for abrogating of priuate Maſſes, namely the Apoſtles Maſſe, within the church of S. Paule, vſed vnder the name of the Apoſtles Communion.

In other letter to Boner for abrogating priuate Maſſes.

After harty commendation: hauing very credible notes, that within that your cathedral Church there be as yet the Apoſtles maſſe, & our ladies Maſſe, & other Maſſes of ſuch peculiar name, vnder the defence and nomination of our Ladies communion, and the Apoſtles communion, vſed in priuate chappels and other remote places of the ſame, and not in the Chauncell, contrary vnto the kinges Maieſties procedings, the ſame beyng for the myſuſe diſpleaſing to God, for the place of Paules in example not tolerable, for the fondnes of the name, a ſcorne to the reuerence of the Communion of the Lordes body and bloud: we for augmentation of Gods glory and honour, & the conſonancie of hys Maieſties lawes, and the auoiding of murmure, haue thought good to will and commaund you, that from henceforth no ſuch Maſſes in this maner bee in your Church any longer vſed, but that the holy bleſſed Communion, according to the act of Parlament, be miniſtred at the high aultar of that Church, and in no other places of the ſame, and onely at ſuch tyme as your hygh Maſſes were wont to bee vſed, except ſome number of people deſyre for their neceſſary buſynes to haue a communion in the morning, and yet the ſame to be executed in the Chauncell at the high aulter, as it is appoynted in the boke of the publick ſeruice, without cautele or digreſſion from the common order. And herein you ſhall not onely ſatiſfy our expectation of your conformitie in all lawfull thinges, but alſo auoyde the murmure of ſundry that be therwyth iuſtly offended. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip hartely farewell. From Richmond the .xxiiij. of Iune. an. 1549.

The Apoſtles maſſe put downe in Paules.

Your louing friendes

E. Somerſet.
VV. Saint Iohn.
Ed. Mountague.
R. Rych Chan.
Fra. Shrowſbury.
VV. Cecill.

To my right worſhipfull frendes and moſt louing good brethrē, Maiſter Deane of Paules, with all the Cānons, Reſidentiaries, Prebendaries, Subdeanes and Miniſters of the ſame, and euerych of them with ſpeede.

Boners letter to the Deane and Chapter of Paules.

Right worſhipful, with moſt harty commendations. So it is: this wenſday the .xxvj. of Iune, goyng to dynner, I receaued letters from the kings Counſell by a Purſiuant, and the ſame I do ſend now herewith vnto you, to the intent you may peruſe them well, and procede accordingly: praying you in caſe all bee not preſent, yet thoſe that be now reſidēt and ſupplying the places, may in their abſence call the company together of the church, and make declaration hereof vnto them: Thus committing you to God, ryght well to fare. Wrytten wyth ſpeede this .xxvj. of Iune, at one of the clocke.

Your louing brother Ed. London.

Ouer and beſides all thys, the Lord Protectour, wyth the reſydue of the Kynges priuye and learned Counſel, aſſembling together in the Starre chamber about the ſame matter, that is, for the aduauncement and ſetting forward of the kings ſo godly procedinges, called before them all the Iuſtices of peace, where was vttered vnto them by the Lord Rich then Lord Chaūcellour, an eloquent and learned admonition, the tenor whereof enſueth.

An exhortation or admonition vnto the Iuſtices of peace.

IT hath bene vſed and accuſtomed before this time to call at certaine times the Iuſtices of peace before the kinges Maieſties Counſail, to geue vnto them admonition or warning, diligently (as is their dutie) to looke to the obſeruing of ſuch thynges as be committed to their charges, according to the truſt which the kings Maieſtie hath in them. Howbeit now at thys time we call you before vs, not onely of cuſtome, but rather of neceſſitie. For hearing dayly, and perceauyng of neceſſitie as we do, the great negligence and the little heede whych is taken and geuen to the obſeruyng of the good and wholeſome lawes & orders in this Realme, wherupon much diſorder doth dayly enſue, and the Kinges Maieſties proclamations & orders taken by the Counſayle (as we are aduertiſed) not executed, the people are brought to a diſobedience, and in a maner all hys Maieſties ſtudy and ours in ſetting a good & moſt godly ſtay, to the honor of God, and the quiet of the Realme, is ſpent in vayne and come to nothing. The which as we haue great hope and truſt not to be altogether ſo, yet ſo much as it is, and ſo much as it lacketh of keping the Realme in a moſt godly order and ſtay, we muſt needes impute and lay the fault thereof in you whych are the Iuſtices of peace in euery Shiere, to whom we are wont to direct our writings, and to whoſe truſt and charge the Kinges Maieſty hath cōmitted the execution of all his Proclamations, of his Actes of Parlament, and of hys lawes.

Iuſtices ſlacke in furthering of religion.

We are informed that many of you are ſo negligent and ſo ſlacke herein, that it doth appeare you do looke rather, as it were, through your fingers, then diligently ſee to the execution of the ſayd lawes and Proclamations. For if you would, accordyng to your duties, to your oth, to the truſt which the kinges Maieſtie hath in you, geue your diligence and care toward the execution of the ſame moſt godly Statutes and Iniunctions, there ſhould no diſobedience, nor diſorder, nor euill rule be begon or ariſe in any part of yͤ realme, but it ſhould by and by be repreſſed, kept downe, and reformed. But it is feared, and the thing it ſelfe geueth occaſion thereto, that diuers of you do not onely not ſet forth, but rather hinder, ſo much as lyeth in you, the Kinges Maieſties procedinges, and are content that there ſhould aryſe ſome diſobedience, and that men ſhould repyne agaynſt godly orders ſet forth by his Maieſty: you do ſo ſlackly looke to the execution of the ſame: So that in ſome Shieres which be further of, it may appeare that the people haue neuer heard of diuers of his Maieſties Proclamations, or if they haue heard, you are content to wincke at it and to neglect it, ſo that it is all one as though it were neuer commaunded. But if you do conſider and remember your duties, firſt to almighty God, and then to the kinges Maieſtie, the wealth of the whole Realme, the ſafegard of your own ſelues: you muſt nedes ſee, that except ſuch orders as yͤ kinges Maieſtie hath ſet, and hereafter ſhall appoint, be kept, neither can the realme be defended if the enemy ſhould inuade, nor in peace it can not ſtand: but vpon the contempt of good and wholeſome lawes all diſorder and inconueniences ſhould come, the people ſhould be wylde and ſauage, and no man ſure of hys own.

And if at any time there was occaſion and cauſe to be circumſpect and diligent about the ſame, there was neuer more time then now. How we ſtand in Scotlād you know, and that other foreine power maketh great preparation to ayde them, & in deede doth come to their ayde: whereof we are ſurely informed and certified. Wherefore if there ſhould not be good order and obedience kept in the Realme, the Realme were like vtterly to be deſtroied. Neuer foreine power could yet hurt or in any part preuayle in this realme, but by diſobedience and miſorder within our ſelues. That is the way wherewith God will plague vs, if hee minde to puniſh vs. And ſo long as we do agree among our ſelues, and be obedient to our Prince and to his godly orders and lawes, we may be ſure that God is with vs, and that foreine power ſhall not preuayle agaynſt vs, nor hurt vs.

The fruite of obedience in a Realme.

Wherfore once agayne, and ſtill we muſt and do lay this charge vpon you that are the better of the Shiere and Iuſtices of the peace, that with ſo cōuenient ſpeede as you can, you do repayre down into your countreys, and you ſhall geue warnyng to the Gentlemen of the Shiere which haue not neceſſary buſines here, that they repayre down ech man to his countrey, and there both you and they, who bee reckoned the ſtay of euery Shiere, to ſee good order and rule kept: You that your Seſſions of gayle deliuery and quarter Seſſions be well kept, and therein your meetinges be ſuch, that iuſtice may be wel and truly miniſtred, the offenders and malefactours puniſhed accordyng to the lawes of the Realme, wythout any feare of any man, or that for fauour you ſhould ſuffer thoſe to eſcape, whych wyth theyr euyll example might bring other to the lyke myſhap: And that al vagabondes, and lewd and light tale tellers

Order taken for Iuſtices.

tellers and ſedicious bearers of falſe newes of the kinges Maieſtie, or of hys Counſaile, or ſuch as will preach without licence, be immediately by you repreſt and puniſhed.

Prouiſion agaynſt priuie conſpiracie and rebellion.

And if there ſhould chaunce any lewde or light fellowes to make any routes or riots, or vnlawful aſſemblies any ſeditious meetinges, vprores, or vpriſinges in any place, by the ſeditious and deuiliſhe motion of ſome priuie Traitors, that you and they appeaſe them at the firſt, and apprehend the firſt authors and cauſers therof, and certifie vs wyth ſpeede. The lightnes of the rude and ignoraunt people muſt be repreſt and ordered by your grauitie and wiſedome. And here you may not (if any ſuch thing chaunce) diſſemble wyth thoſe ſuch lewde men, and hide your ſelues, for it ſhal be required of you if ſuch myſorder be, and ſurely wythout your ayde and helpe, or your diſſembling, ſuch miſorder can not be. Nor we doe not ſay ẏ we feare any ſuch thing, or that there is any ſuch thyng lykely to chaunce: but we geue you warning before, leſt it ſhould chaunce.

Prouiſion agaynſt foreine power.

We haue to much experience in this Realme, what inconuenience commeth of ſuch matters. And though ſome lyght perſons in their rage do not conſider it, yet we doe not doubt but you way it and know it well enough. And if it ſhould chaũce our enemies (who are maintayned by other foreine power, and the Biſhop of Rome) ſhould ſodainly arriue in ſome place of Englãd, either dryuen by tempeſt, or of purpoſe to do hurt, ye ſhould ſee ſuch order kept by firing of their Becons, as hath already beene wrytten vnto you by our letters to repulſe the ſame, in ſo good aray as you can, as we do not doubt but you wyll for the ſafegard of your countrey, ſo that the enemy ſhall haue litle ioy of hys comming: and for that purpoſe you ſhall ſee diligently that men haue horſe, harneſſe, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the Statutes and good orders of the Realme, and the kinges Maieſties commaundementes. And ſo for this tyme ye may depart.

The ſingular zeale of Kyng *Edward* and hys Uncle, in reforming religion.

What zealous care was in this yong King, and in the Lord Protector his Uncle concerning reformation of Chriſtes Church and ſincere Religion, by theſe Iniunctions, letters, precepts and exhortations, as well to the Byſhops, as to the Iuſtices of the Realme aboue premiſed, it may right well appeare. Wherby we haue to note, not ſo much the carefull diligence of the Kyng and his learned Counſayl: as the lingering ſlackenes and drawing backe on the other ſyde of diuers the ſayd Iuſtices and Lawyers, but eſpecially of Biſhops and old Popiſh Curates, by whoſe cloked contempt, wilfull winking, and ſtubburne diſobedience the booke of cõmon prayer was long after the publiſhing therof, eyther not knowen at all, or els very irreuerently vſed throughout many places of this realme. Which when the king by the complaint of diuers, perfectly vnderſtode, being not a litle agreeued to ſee the godly agreement of the learned, the willing conſent of the Parlament, & his graces own zealous deſire to take ſo ſmale effect among hys ſubiectes: decreed preſently, with the aduiſe of his whole Counſayl, agayne to wryte vnto all the Biſhops of his Realme for ſpeedy and diligent redreſſe therein: willing and commaunding them thereby, that aſwell they them ſelues ſhould thence forth haue a more ſpeciall regarde to the due execution of the premiſſes, as alſo that all others wythin their ſeuerall precinctes and iuriſdiction ſhould by their good inſtructions and willing example, be the more oftener & with better deuotion, moued to vſe and frequent the ſame: As farther appeareth by the contentes of hys letter here enſuing.

The ſlacknes of Popiſh Curates in furthering the kinges proceedinges.

¶ An other Letter directed by the King and his Cõuſaile to Boner B. of London, partly rebuking him of negligençe, partly charging hym to ſee to the better ſetting out of the ſeruice booke within his dioces.

An other letter to *Boner* Byſhop of London.

RIght reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we great you well: and wheras after great and ſerious debating and long conference of the Byſhops, and other graue and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one vniforme order for common prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes hath ben and is moſt godly ſet forth, not onely by the common agreemẽt and full aſſent of the nobilitie and Commons of the late Seſſion of our late Parlament, but alſo by the like aſſent of the Biſhops in the ſame Parlament, and of all others the learned men of thys our realme in theyr Synodes & conuocations prouinciall, like as it was much to our cõfort to vnderſtand the godly trauaile then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of thinges mencioned in the ſayd booke, whereby the true ſeruice and honour of almighty God, & the right miniſtratiõ of the ſacramentes being well and ſincerely ſet foorth according to the Scriptures and vſe of the primatiue church, much idolatry, vayne ſuperſtition, and great and ſclaunderous abuſes be taken away: ſo it is no ſmall occaſion of ſorrow vnto vs, to vnderſtand by the complayntes of many, that our ſayd booke ſo much trauailed for, and alſo ſincerely ſet forth (as is aforeſayd) remayneth in many places of this our realme, either not knowen at al, or not vſed, or at the leaſt if it be vſed, very ſeldome, and that in ſuch light and irreuerent ſort, as the people in many places either haue heard nothing, or if they heare, they neyther vnderſtãd, nor haue that ſpirituall delectatiõ in the ſame, that to good Chriſtians appertayneth. The fault wherof, like as we muſt of reaſon impute to you & other of your vocation, called by God through our appointment to haue due reſpecte to this and ſuch like matters: ſo conſidering that by theſe and ſuch like occaſions, our louing ſubiectes remayne yet ſtyll in their olde blyndnes, and ſuperſtitious errours, and in ſome places in an irreligious forgetfulnes of God, whereby hys wrath may bee prouoked vppon vs and them: and remembring withall, that amongeſt other cures committed to our princely charge, wee thynke thys the greateſt, to ſee the glory and true ſeruice of hym mayntayned and extolled, by whoſe clemency wee knowledge our ſelues to haue all that we haue, we could not, but by aduice and conſent of our deareſt Uncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, gouernour of our parſon, and Protector of our realme, dominions, and ſubiectes, and the reſt of our priuye Counſayl, admoniſh you of the premyſes. wherein, as it had beene your office to haue vſed an earneſt diligence, and to haue preferred the ſame in all places wythin your dioceſe, as the caſe required: ſo haue we thought good, to pray and requyre you, and neuertheles ſtraightly to charge and commaund you, that from henceforth ye haue an earneſt and ſpeciall regard to the reduce of theſe thinges, ſo as the Curates may do their duties more often, and in more reuerent ſorte, and the people be occaſioned by the good aduiſes and examples of your ſelfe, your Chauncelour, Archdeacons, and other inferiour Miniſters, to come wyth oftner and more deuotion to theyr ſayd common prayers, to geue thankes to God, and to bee partakers of the moſt holy Communion. wherein ſhewing your ſelfe diligent, and geuyng good example in your owne parſon, you ſhall both diſcharge your ducty to the great Paſtor, to whom we all haue to accompt, and alſo do vs good ſeruice: and on the other ſyde, if we ſhall hereafter (theſe our letters and cõmaundement notwithſtanding) haue eftſones complaynt, and fynde the like faultes in your dioces, wee ſhall haue iuſt cauſe to impute the fault thereof, and of all that enſue thereof vnto you, and conſequently be occaſioned therby to ſee otherwyſe to the redreſſe of theſe thinges: whereof we would be ſory. And therefore we do eftſones charge and commaunde you, vpon your allegiaunce, to looke well vpon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleaſure. Geuẽ vnder our ſignet at our Manor of Richmond, the xxiij. of Iuly the thyrd yeare of our raygne. 1549.

The kings booke neglected.

Boner negligent noted.

The Biſhop of London amongeſt the reſt of the biſhops receauing theſe letters, did (as alwayes tofore) in outward ſhew willingly accept the ſame: and therefore immediately (with the ſayd letters) directed thys his precept vnto the Deane and Chapter of his Cathedrall church of Paules, commaunding them to looke to the due accompliſhing thereof accordingly.

¶A

¶A letter of Boner to the Deane and Chapiter of Paules.

A letter of Boner to the Deane of Paules.

EDmund by the grace of God. &c. To my welbeloued brethren the Deane and Chapiter of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul in London, and to the other Miniſters there and euery of them do ſend greeting. And where it is ſo, that of late I haue receaued the ſayde ſoueraygne Lorde the kinges Maieſties letter, of ſuche tenure as is hereunto annexed, and according to my moſt bounden dutye, am right well wylling and deſiring that the ſayde letters ſhould be in all pointes duely executed and obſerued according to the tenure and purporte of the ſame, as appertaineth: theſe therefore are to require, and alſo ſtraitly to charge you and euery of you on hys Maieſties behalfe. &c. that you do admoniſh and commaunde, or cauſe to be admoniſhed or commaunded, all and ſinguler Perſons, Vicars, and Curates of your iuriſdictiō, to obſerue and accompliſhe the ſame from time to time accordingly: Furthermore, requiring and likewiſe charging you and euery of you, to make certificate herein to me, my Chauncelour, or other my officers in this behalf, with ſuch conuenient celeritie as appertayneth, both of your doinges and procedinges in the execution hereof, and alſo of the perſons and names of all ſuche, as from hence forth ſhalbe found negligent in doing their duties in the premiſſes, or any of them. Geuen at my houſe at Fullome, the. xxvi of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lord. 1549. and in the third yeare of our ſayde ſoueraigne Lorde the Kinges Maieſties rayne.

Slacknes of Boner in furtheryng good procedinges.

Moreouer for ſomuch as yͤ king at that inſtant hearyng the mutteryng of certaine rebellion then ſtirring (wherof more ſhall be ſayd the Lord willyng hereafter) and alſo beyng credibly informed by diuers, that through the euill example, ſlacknes of preachyng and adminiſtring the Sacramentes, and careles contempte of Boner Biſhop of Lōdon, not onely many of the people within the Citie of London and other places of his Dioces were very negligēt and forgetfull of their dueties to God in frequentyng the diuine ſeruice then ſtabliſhed and ſet forth by the authoritie of Parlament: but alſo that diuers other vtterly deſpiſing the ſame, did in ſecret places of his Dioces often frequēt the popiſhe Maſſe, and other foraine rites not allowed by the lawes of this Realme, hee thought it therfore good (hauyng therby iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect his former diſſembling doublenes) to appoint the Lorde Protector and the reſt of his priuy Counſaile to call the ſayd B. before them, & accordyng to their wiſe and diſcrete iudgementes, to deale with hym for the ſame. Wherupon the xi. day of Auguſt (an. 1549) they ſent a meſſenger for hym, and vpon his appearaunce, made firſt declaration of ſuch informations and complaintes, as had bene thertofore made agaynſt him. And then after ſharpe admonitions & reprouſes for his euill demeanours in the premiſſes, they deliuered vnto hym from the kyng (for his better reformation and amendement) certein priuate Iniunctions to be neceſſarily folowed & obſerued of hym ſelf. And wheras in yͤ firſt braunch of the ſayd Iniunctiōs, he was perſonally aſſigned to preach at Paules croſſe the Sonday three weekes then next enſuyng (bycauſe both the daungerous and fickle eſtate of the tyme, and alſo partly his own ſuſpicious behauiour ſo required) they farther deliuered vnto him in wrytyng ſuch Articles to intreate vpon in his Sermon, as they thought then moſt meete and neceſſarie for the tyme and cauſes aforeſayd. All whiche Iniunctions and Articles, for the farther manifeſtation therof, I haue here inſerted, as foloweth.

Popiſhe Maſſe priuely frequented in places agaynſt the lawe.

1549.

Boner called before the Coūſaile.

Certayne priuate Iniunctions geuen to Boner by the Counſaile.

Boner aſſigned by the Counſaile to preach at Paules Croſſe.

¶ Certaine priuate Iniunctions and Articles geuen to Boner by the Counſaile.

Admonitiō geuen to Boner by the Counſaile.

FOraſmuch as we are aduertiſed, that amongeſt other diſorders of our ſubiectes, at this preſent there be diuers of our Citie of London and other places within your Dioces, which being very negligent & forgetfull of their duety to almyghty God, of whō all good thyngs are to be looked for, do aſſēble them ſelues very ſeldome and fewer tymes then they were heretofore accuſtomed, vnto common prayer and to the holy Communiō, beyng now a tyme whē it were moſt nedefull with hart and mynde to pray to our heauenly father for hys ayde and ſuccour: wherof as we be right ſory, ſo we do vnderſtand, that through your euill example and the ſlackenes of your preachyng and inſtructing our ſayd people to do their dueties, this offence to God is moſt generally committed: for where heretofore vpon all principall Feaſtes and ſuch as were called Maius duplex, you your ſelf were wont to execute in perſon, now ſince the tyme that we by the aduiſe of our whole Parlamēt haue ſet a moſt godly and deuoute order in our Church of Englād and Ireland, ye haue very ſeldome or neuer executed vpon ſuch or other dayes, to the cōtempt of our procedynges, & euil exāple of others: and for aſmuch as it is alſo brought to our knowledge yͤ diuers, aſwel in Londō as in other places of your Dioces, do frequent & haunt foraine rytes of Maſſes, and ſuch as bee not allowed by the orders of our Realme, and contemneth and forbeareth to prayſe and laude God, and pray vnto his Maieſtie after ſuch rytes & ceremonies, as in this realme are approued and ſet out by our authoritie: and further that adultery & fornication is maintayned and kept openly and commonly in the ſaid Citie of Londō and other places of your Dioces, wherby the wrath of God is prouoked agaynſt our people: of the which thinges, you beyng heretofore admoniſhed, yet hetherto haue made no redreſſe, as to the paſtorall office, authoritie, and cure of a Byſhop doth appertayne: we therefore, to whom the ſupreme cure and charge of this Church doth appertayne, to auoyde from vs the hygh indignation of almighty God, by the aduiſe of our moſt entierly beloued vncle the Lord Protectour and the reſt of our priuy Counſayle, haue thought it no leſſe then our moſt bounden duety, now at this preſent, and eftſoones peremptorily to admoniſhe, charge, and warne you, that you do moſt ſtraightly looke vppon the premiſſes and ſee them ſo reformed, that there may appeare no negligence on your behalfe, vpon ſuch paine as by our lawes Eccleſiaſticall and temporall we may inflict vpon you, vnto depriuation or otherwiſe, as ſhall ſeeme to vs for qualitie of the offence reaſonable. And to the intent you ſhould the better ſee to the reformation of the ſayd abuſes, we haue thought good to geue you theſe Iniunctions folowyng.

Boner refrayned to execute at principall feaſtes, contrary to his wonted maner.

Boner noted of ſlacknes in hys duetie, and of contempt of publicke lawes.

1. Certaine priuate Articles inioyned to Boner by the Counſaile.

Boner admoniſhed to preach euery quarter at Paules Croſſe.

1 Firſt, ye ſhall preach at Paules Croſſe in London in proper perſon, the Sonday after the date hereof three weekes, and in the ſame Sermon declare and ſet forth the Articles hereunto annexed: and ye ſhall preach hereafter once euery quarter of the yeare there, exhortyng in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly lyuyng: and ye ſhalbe preſent at euery Sermon hereafter made at Paules Croſſe, if ſickenes or ſome other reaſonable cauſe do not let you.

2\.

2 Secondly, you your ſelfe in perſon ſhall from henceforth euery day which heretofore was accompted in this Church of England, principall Feaſte, or Maius duplex, and at all ſuch tymes as the Byſhops of London your predeceſſours were wont to celebrate and ſynge hygh Maſſe, now celebrate and execute the Communiō at the hyghe aulter in Paules, for the better example of all other, except ſickenes do let.

3\.

3 Thyrdly, ye ſhall your ſelfe accordyng to your duety and the office of a Byſhop, call before you all ſuch as do not come vnto and frequent the common praier and ſeruice in the Church, or doe not come vnto Gods board and receaue the Communion, at the leaſt once a yeare: or who ſoeuer do frequent or go vnto any other ryte or ſeruice then is appoynted by our boke, either of Mattyns, Euenſonge, or Maſſe in any Church, Chappell, or other priuate places within your Dioces, and ye ſhall ſee all ſuch offenders conuented before you and puniſhed, accordyng vnto the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, with ſeuere and ſtraite puniſhement therefore. Lykewiſe ye ſhall ſee one onely order vſed in your Dioces, accordyng to our ſayd booke and none other.

4\.

4 Fourthly, ye ſhall both by your ſelfe, and all your officers vnder you, ſearch out & conuent before you, more diligently then heretofore ye haue done (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and ſee the ſame puniſhed accordyng to the Eccleſiacall lawes, and to the authoritie geuen you in that behalfe.

5\.

5 We haue heard alſo complayntes, that the Church of Paules and other Churches of London are of late more neglected, aſwell in reparation of the glaſſe, as other buildynges and ornamentes of the ſame, then they were heretofore wont, and that diuers and many perſons in

the Citie of malice denyeth the paymẽt of their due tyth to their Curates, whereby the Curates are both iniured and made not ſo well hable, and in maner diſcouraged to do their duetyes. The whiche thyng alſo our will and commaundement is, ye ſhall diligently looke vnto, and ſee redreſſed as appertaineth.

6. And for aſmuch as all theſe complayntes be made, as moſt done and committed in London, to the intent you may looke more earneſtly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleaſure is that you ſhall abyde and keepe reſidence in your houſe there, as in the Citie, Sea, and principal place of your Dioces, and none other where for a certaine tyme, vntill you ſhalbe otherwiſe licenced by vs.

Boner Byſhop of London commaunded to keepe his own houſe.

And thus hauyng brought Byſhop Boner home to his owne houſe, their to leaue him a while to take hys eaſe in his owne lodgyng till we returne to him again, we will in the meane tyme make a litle intercourſe into Cornwaile and Deuonſhyre to diſcourſe ſome part of the diſordered and diſloyall doynges of thoſe men agaynſt their ſo meke and excellent a Prince, hauyng no cauſe miniſtred therunto: yea hauyng cauſe rather to yelde prayſe and thankes to the Lord for ſuch a quyet & peaceable Prince in his mercy giuen vnto them. But ſuch is the condition of vnquyet natures, that they can not ſkill of peace. And where due diſcretion lacketh, there lewed diſpoſed perſons can not tell when they be well. Agayne, ſome be ſo croked and ſo peruerſely gyuen, that the more courteouſly they be entreated, the worſe they are: and when by honeſt diligence they liſt not to get their lyuing, by publicke diſturbance of common weales they thinke to thryue. And ſo ſemed it to fare with this ſedicious people of Cornwall and Deuonſhyre, who hauyng ſo good & vertuous a kyng, that if they ſhould haue ſought him as Diogenes, they ſay, did ſeke for a man with a candle, a meker and better ſufferaine they could not haue found, a crueller they well deſerued: yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to all order, reaſon, nature, & loyaltie, aduaunced thẽ ſelues in a rebellious conſpiracie againſt hym and agaynſt his procedynges, through the pernicious inſtigation, firſt (as it ſemeth) of certaine Popiſh Prieſtes, who grudgyng and diſdaynyng agaynſt the Iniunctions and godly order of reformation ſet forward by the kyng, and ſpecially mournyng to ſee their olde Popiſh Church of Rome to decaye, ceaſed not by all ſiniſter and ſubtile meanes, firſt vnder Gods name and the kynges and vnder colour of Religion to perſuade the people, then to gather ſides and to aſſemble in companies, to gather Captaines, and at laſt to braſt out in rancke rebellion. Neither lacked there amongſt the lay ſorte ſome as ſeditiouſly diſpoſed as they to miſchief and madnes, as well Gentlemen as other.

The rebelles in Cornewall and Deuonſhyre.

Popiſh Prieſtes firſt ſtyrrers of thys rebellion.

All wickednes firſt beginneth vnder fayre pretenſes.

Of whom the chief Gentlemen Captaines were Vmfrey Arundell Eſquire, gouernour of the Mount, Iames Roſogan, Iohn Roſogan, Iohn Payne, Thom. Vnderhill, Iohn Soleman, Wil. Segar. Of Prieſtes which were principall ſturrers, and ſome of them gouernours of the Campes and after executed, were to ỹ nũber of viij. whoſe names were Rob. Bochim, Iohn Tompſon, Rog. Barret, Iohn Wolcoke, Wil. Alſa, Iames Mourton, Ioh. Barrow, Rich. Benet, beſides a multitude of other Popiſh Prieſtes, which to the ſame factiō were adioyned. The number of the whole rebellion, ſpeakyng with the leaſt, mounted litle leſſe then to the ſumme of x. thouſand ſtoute traitours.

Captaines of the rebelles in Deuonſhyre.

Prieſtes rebelles and traytours agaynſt the king.

These hearyng firſt of the commotions which began about the ſame tyme in other parties to broyle, as in Oxfordſhyre, Yorkeſhyre, and eſpecially in Northfolke and Suffolke, begā to take therin ſome courage, hopyng that they would haue well fortified the ſame quarell: but afterward perceiuyng how the miſchieuous mutterynges and enterpriſes of their conſpiracie did ſodeinly fayle, either beyng preuented by tyme, or repreſſed by power, or that their cauſe being but onely about pluckyng downe of encloſures and enlarging of commons, was diuided from theirs, ſo that either they would not or could not ioyne their ayde together, then began they agayne to quayle, and their courage to debate. Notwithſtandyng for ſomuch as they had gone ſo farre, that they thought there was no ſhrynkyng backe, they fell to new deuiſes and inuẽtions for the beſt furtheraunce of their deſperate purpoſes.

Diuers Commotions in K. Edwardes tyme ſuppreſſed.

Their firſt intent was, after they had ſpoyled their owne countrey moſt miſerably, to inuade the Citie of Exceter, and ſo conſequently all other partes of the Realme. But firſt for Exceter they gaped, the gates wherof twyſe they burned, but gayned nothyng ſauyng onely goonſhot, wherof they lacked no plenty. Beyng put frō Exceter, they fell on ſpoilyng and robbyng where or what ſoeuer they might catch. At lẽgth laying their traiterous heades together, they conſulted vpon certeine Articles to be ſent vp. But herein ſuch diuerſitie of heades and wittes was amongeſt them, that for euery kynd of brayne there was one maner of Article: ſo that neither appeared any cõſent in their diuerſitie, nor yet any conſtancie in their agreement. Some ſemed more tolerable. Other altogether vnreaſonable. Some would haue no Iuſtice. Some would haue no ſtate of Gentlemen. The Prieſtes euer harped of one ſtryng, to ryng in the Byſhop of Rome into England agayne, & to halow home Cardinall Poole their countrey man.

The Citie of Exceter inuaded by the rebels.

Diuerſitie of wittes amongeſt the rebels.

After much adoe & litle to ỹ purpoſe, at laſt a few ſorie Articles were agreed vppon to be directed vnto the kyng, with the names of certaine ſet therunto, the copie wherof here enſueth.

¶The Articles of the Commons of Deuonſhyre and Cornwall ſent to the kyng, with aunſweres afterward folowing vnto the ſame.

The Articles of the Deuonſhyre men, to the kyng and hys Counſaile.

1. Sacrament of Baptiſme.

FIrſt for aſmuch as man, except he be borne of water and the holy Ghoſt, cā not enter into the kingdome of God, & for aſmuch as the gates of heauẽ be not opened without this bleſſed Sacramẽt of Baptiſme, therfore we will that our Curates ſhall miniſter this Sacrament at all tymes of nede, aſwell in the weeke dayes as on the holy dayes.

2. Confirmation.

Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the Biſhop whẽ ſoeuer we ſhall within the Dioces reſorte vnto him.

3. Conſecration of the Lordes body.

Item, foraſmuch as we conſtantly beleue that after the Prieſte hath ſpoken the woordes of conſecration beyng at Maſſe, there celebratyng and conſecratyng the ſame, there is very really the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt God and man, and that no ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne remayneth after, but the very ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the virgin Marie, & was geuen vpō the Croſſe for our redemption: therfore we will haue Maſſe celebrated as it hath bene in tymes paſt, without any mā communicatyng with the Prieſtes, for aſmuch as many rudely preſumyng vnworthely to receaue the ſame, putte no difference betwene the Lordes body and other kind of meate, ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after, ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except hee receiue it, with many other abuſed termes.

4. Reſeruation of the Lordes body conſecrated.

Item, we will haue in our Churches reſeruation.

5. Holy bread and holy water.

Item, we will haue holy bread and holy water in the remembraunce of Chriſtes precious body and bloud.

Item, we will that our Prieſtes ſhall ſing or ſay with an audible voyce, Gods ſeruice in the Quier of the Pariſh Churches, and not Gods ſeruice to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmaſſe play.

6. The ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes.

Item, for aſmuch as Prieſtes bee men dedicated to God for miniſtryng and celebrating the bleſſed Sacramentes and preachyng of Gods word, we will that they ſhall lyue chaſte without Mariage, as S. Paul did beyng the elect and choſen veſſell of God, ſaying vnto all honeſt Prieſts, be you folowers of me.

7. The vj. Articles to be renued.

Item, we will that the vj. Articles, which our ſoueraigne Lorde king Henry the eight ſet forth in his latter dayes, ſhall be vſed and ſo taken as they were at that tyme.

Item, we pray God ſaue king Edward, for we be his both body and goodes.

¶A meſſage ſent by the kinges Maieſtie, to certayne of hys people aſſembled in Deuonſhire.

The aunſwere of the kyng to the Articles of the rebelles in Deuonſhire.

ALthough knowledge hath bene geuen to vs & our deareſt Uncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon, and Protectour of all our Realmes, Dominions and Subiectes, and to the reſt of our priuy Counſayle, of diuerſe aſſembles made by you which ought of dutye to be our louing Subiectes, againſt all order, law, and otherwiſe then euer any louing or kinde Subiects hath attempted againſt their naturall and liege ſouerain Lord: yet we haue thought it meete at this verye fyrſt time, not to condemne or reiect you, as we might iuſtly doo, but to vſe you as our Subiectes, thinking that the deuill hath not that power in you, to make you of natural borne Engliſh men, ſo ſodainly become enemies to your owne natiue Countrey, or of our Subiectes, to make you Traitors, or vnder pretence to relieue your ſelues, to deſtroye your ſelues, your wiues, Chyldren, landes, houſes, and all other commodities of thys your life. This we ſay, we truſt, that although ye be by ignorance ſeduced, ye will not be vpon knowledge obſtinate. And though ſome emongeſt you (as euer there is ſome cockle amongeſt good corne) forget God, neglect theyr Prince, eſteeme not the ſtate of the Realme, but as careles deſperate men, delight in ſedition, tumult & warres: yet neuertheles, the greater part of you wyll heare the voyce of vs your naturall Prince, and will by wyſdome and counſell, be warned and ceaſe your euyls in the beginning, whoſe endes wyll be euen by almightye Gods order, your own deſtructiō. Wherfore, as to you our ſubiectes by ignorance ſeduced, we ſpeake, and bee content to vſe our princely authority like a Father to hys Children for this time, to admoniſh you of your faultes, not to puniſh them: to put you in remembrance of your duduties, not to auenge your forgetfulnes.

Unlawfull aſſemblies.

Firſt, your diſorder to riſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelues againſt other our louing ſubiectes, to array your ſelues to the warre, who amongeſt you all can aunſwer for the ſame to almighty God charging you to obey vs in all thinges? Or how can any Engliſhe good hart aunſwer vs, our lawes, and the reſt of our very louing and faythfull Subiectes, who in dede by theyr obedience, make our honor, eſtate, and degree?

The kings name abuſed.

Ye vſe our name in your writinges, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelf. What iniury herein doo you vs, to call thoſe which loue vs, to your euyll purpoſes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your King by his ordinaunce and prouidence, by our bloud and inheritance, by lawfull ſucceſſion and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vſe our name. We are your moſt naturall ſoueraigne Lord and King, Edward the. VI. to rule you, to preſerue you, to ſaue you from all your outward enemies, to ſee our lawes well miniſtred, euerye man to haue his own, to ſuppreſſe diſordered people, to correct Traitors, Theeues, Pirates, Robbers, and ſuch like, yea, to keepe our Realmes from other Princes, frō the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the Byſhop of Rome. Thus good Subiectes our name is wrytten, thus it is honoured and obeyed, thys maieſtie it hath by Gods ordinaunce, not by mans. So that of thys your offence we cānot write to much: And yet doubt not, but this is inough from a Prince to all reaſonable people, from a Kyng to all kynde harted and louing Subiects, from a puiſſant king of England, to euery naturall Englyſh man.

Their falſe tales.

Your pretences, which you ſay moueth you to doo thus, and wherewyth ye ſeeke to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you, be either all falſe, or ſo vayne that wee doubt not but after ye ſhall hereby vnderſtand the truth thereof, ye wyll all with one noyſe knowledge your ſelues ignorantly lead, and by errour ſeduced, and if there be any that wyll not, aſſure you the ſame be rancke Traytors, enemies of our crowne, ſeditious people, heretiks, Papiſts, or ſuch as care not what cauſe they ſeke to prouoke an inſurrection, ſo they may do it, nor in deede can waxe ſo rich with their owne labours and wyth peace, as they can do with ſpoyles, wyth warres, wyth robberies, and ſuche lyke, yea, with the ſpoyle of your owne goods, with yͤ liuing of your labours, the ſweate of your bodies, the foode of your own houſholdes, wiues, chyldren. Such they be, as for a time vſe pleaſaunt perſwaſions to you, and in the ende wyll cut your throtes for your own goodes.

1. Baptiſme.

You bee borne in hande, that your children, though neceſſitye chaunce, ſhall not be Chriſtened, but vpon the holy dayes. How falſe this is, learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue ſet forth by the free conſent of our whole Parliament in the Engliſh tounge, teacheth you the contrary euen in the fyrſt leafe, yea the firſt ſide of the fyrſt leafe of that part whych entreateth of Babtiſme. Good Subiectes (for to others we ſpeake not) looke, & be not deceiued. They which haue put this falſe opinion into your eares, they meane not the Chriſtening of children, but the deſtruction of you our chriſtened Subiects. Bee thys knowen vnto you, our honor is ſo much, that we may not be found faultie of our worde. Proue it, if by our lawes ye may not Chriſten your children vpon neceſſitye euery day or houre in the weeke, then myght you be offended: but ſeing you may do it, howe can you beleue them which teach you the contrary? What thinke you they meane in the reſt, which moue you to breake your obedience agaynſt vs your King and ſoueraigne, vpon theſe ſo falſe tales and perſwaſions in ſo euident a matter? Therefore you all which wyll knowledge vs your ſoueraigne Lord, and which wyll heare the voyce of vs your naturall King, may eaſely perceiue howe ye be deceiued, and how ſubtelly traitors and Papiſts with their falſehode ſeeke to atchieue and bring their purpoſe to paſſe with your helpe. Euery traytor wyll be glad to diſſemble his treaſon and feede it ſecretly, euerye Papiſt his Poperye and nouriſhe it inwardly, and in the ende make you our Subiectes partakers of treaſon and Popery, which in the beginning was pretended a common wealth and holines.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the rebelles touching Baptiſme, refuted.

2. Sacrament.

And howe are you ſeduced by them, whych put in your heades the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſtes bodye ſhoulde not differ from other common bread? If our Lawes, Proclamations, and Statutes bee all to the contrary, why ſhall any priuate man perſwade you agaynſt them? Wee doe our ſelfe in our owne hart, our Counſell in all their profeſſion, our lawes and ſtatutes in all purpoſes, our good Subiectes in al theyr doings, moſt highly eſteme that Sacrament, and vſe the communion thereof to our moſt comfort. We make ſo much difference thereof from other common bread, that we thinke no profyte of other breade, but to mayntayne our bodies. But of this bleſſed bread we take very fode of our ſoules to euerlaſting lyfe. How thinke you good Subiectes, ſhall not we, being your Prince, your Lord, your King by Gods appoyntmēt, with truth more preuaile, then certayne euyll perſons with open falſhode? Shall any ſeditious perſon perſwade you, that the Sacrament is deſpiſed, which is by our lawes, by our ſelfe, by our Counſail, by all our good Subiectes, eſteemed, vſed, participated, and daylye receiued? If euer ye were ſeduced, if euer deceiued, if euer Traitors were beleued, if euer Papiſts poyſoned good ſubiectes, it is nowe. It is not the chriſtening of children, not the reuerence of the Sacrament, not the health of your ſoules that they ſhote at, good ſubiectes. It is ſedition, it is high treaſon, it is your deſtruction they ſeeke, how craftely, how piteouſly, how cunningly ſo euer they do it. With one rule iudge ye the ende, which of force muſt come of your purpoſes. Almightye God forbiddeth vpon payne of euerlaſtyng damnation, diſobenience to vs your King: and in hys place we rule in earth. If we ſhoulde be ſlowe, woulde God erre? If your offence be towardes God, thyncke you it pardoned without repentaunce? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your payne is damnation, your Iudge is incorruptible, your fault is moſt euident.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the rebels touching the Sacramēt of the Lordes Supper refuted.

Likewyſe are ye euill enformed in diuers other Articles, as for confirmatiō of your children, for the Maſſe, for the maner of your ſeruice of Mattins and Euēſong. What ſoeuer is therein ordered, hath bene long debated and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctors, and other men of great learning, in this Realme concluded: in nothing ſo much labour and tyme ſpent of late tyme, nothing ſo fully ended.

3. Mattins and ſeruice in Engliſhe.

As for the ſeruice in the Engliſh toung, hath manifeſt reaſons for it. And yet perchaunce ſeemeth to you a new ſeruice, and in deede is none other but the old. The ſelfe ſame wordes in Engliſh which were in Latin, ſauing a few thinges taken out, ſo fonde that it had beene a ſhame to haue heard them in Engliſhe, as all they can iudge which liſt to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you our Subiectes ſhould vnderſtand in Engliſh, being your naturall Countrey toung, that which was heretofore ſpoken in Latin, then ſeruing onely for them which vnderſtood latin, & now for all you which be borne Engliſh. How can this with reaſon offend any reaſonable man, that he ſhall vnderſtand what

Alteration of ſeruice from an vnknowen tounge to a knowen tonge.

any other ſayth, and ſo to conſent with the ſpeaker. If the ſeruice in the Church was good in Latine, it remayneth good in Engliſh, for nothing is altred but to ſpeake with knowledge that was ſpoken with ignorance, and to let you vnderſtand what is ſayd for you, to the entent you may further it with your owne deuotion: An alteration to the better, excepte knowledge bee worſe then ignoraunce. So that who ſoeuer hath moued you to miſlyke thys order, can geue you no reaſon, nor aunſwere yours, if ye vnderſtoode it.

wherefore you our ſubiectes remember, we ſpeake to you being ordeined your Prince & King by almightye God: if any wiſe we could auaunce Gods honour, more then we do, we woulde doo it: and ſee that ye become ſubiectes to Gods ordinances, obeying vs your Prince, and learne of thẽ which haue authoritie to teach you, which haue power to rule you, and will execute our iuſtice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them, whoſe fruites be nothing but wilfulnes, diſobedience, obſtinacie, diſſimulation, and deſtruction of the Realme.

4. The Maſſe.

For the Maſſe, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudy nor trauell hath bene ſpent by all the learned Clergie therein, and to auoyde all contention, it is brought euen to the very vſe as Chriſt left it, as the Apoſtles vſed it, as holye fathers deliuered it, in deede ſomwhat altered from that the Popes of Rome, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may heare the contrary of ſome popiſh euill men, yet our Maieſtie, which for our honor maye not be blemiſhed nor ſtained, aſſureth you that they deceiue you, abuſe you, and blowe theſe opinions into your heades for to finiſh their own purpoſes.

5. Cõfirmation.

And ſo likewiſe iudge you of Confirmation of children: and let them anſwer you this one queſtion. Think they that a Childe chriſtened is damned becauſe it dieth before Biſhopping? They bee confirmed at the tyme of diſcretion, to learne that they profeſſed in the lacke thereof, by Baptiſme: taught in age, that which they receiued in infãcie, & yet no doubt but they be ſaued by Baptiſme, not by Confirmatiõ, and made Chriſtes by chriſtening, & taught how to cõtinue by Cõfirmation. wherfore in the whole, marke good Subiectes, how our doctrine is foũded vpõ true learning, & theyrs vpõ ſhameles errours.

Baptiſme ſaueth without any Byſhopping.

To conclude, beſide our gentle maner of information to you, whatſoeuer is contained in our Booke, eyther for Baptiſme, Sacrament, Maſſe, Confirmation, and ſeruice in the Church, is by our Parliament eſtabliſhed, by the whole Clergie agreed, yea by the Biſhops of the realme deuiſed, and further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye truſt, yea how dare ye geue eare, without trembling, to any ſingular perſon, to diſalow a Parlament, a ſubiect to perſwade againſt our Maieſty, any man of his ſingle arrogancie, agaynſt the determination of the Biſhops and all the Clergie, any inuented argument againſt the word of God?

But now you our Subiectes, we reſort to a greater matter of your blindnes, of your vnkindnes, a great vnnaturalnes, and ſuch an euill, that if wee thought it had not begon of ignoraunce, and continued by perſwaſion of certaine traitors amongeſt you, which we thinke fewe in nũber, but in their doinges buſy, we could not be perſwaded, but to vſe our ſword and doo iuſtice, and as we be ordeined by God, that is, to redreſſe your errours, by auengement: But loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iuſt anger, how long ẏ wyll be, God knoweth, in whoſe hande our hart is: and rather for your own cauſes, being our chriſtened ſubiectes, we would ye were perſwaded then vanquiſhed, informed then forced, taught then ouerthrowen, quietly pacified thẽ rigorouſly perſecuted.

The rebels require the vj. Articles.

Ye require to haue the ſtatute of the ſixe Articles reuiued: and know ye what ye require? Or know ye what caſe you haue with the loſſe of them? They were lawes made, but quickly repented, to bloudie they were to bee borne of our people, and yet at the firſt, in dede made of ſome neceſſitie. Oh Subiectes, how are ye trapped by ſubtile perſons? we of pitty, becauſe they were bloudye tooke them away, and you now of ignoraunce, wyll aſke them againe. You know full well, that they helped vs to extend rigour, & gaue vs cauſe to draw our ſword very often: they were as a whetſtone to our ſword, and for your cauſes we left to vſe them. And ſince our mercye moued vs, to write our lawes with Milke and equitye: how be ye blinded to aſke them in bloud?

The vj. Articles take away by Parliament.

But leauyng this maner of reaſoning, and reſorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wyt, the ſame hath bene adnulled by our Parliament, with great reioyce of our Subiectes, and not now to be called by Subiectes in queſtion. Dare then any of you, wyth the name of a Subiect, ſtand againſt an act of Parliament, a law of the whole realme? what is our power, if lawes ſhould be thus neglected? yea, what is your ſuretye, if lawes be not kept? Aſſure you moſt ſurelye, that wee of no earthly thing vnder the heauen, make ſuch a reputatiõ as we do of this one thing, to haue our law obeyed, & this cauſe of God, which we haue taken in hand, to bee throughly maynteined, from the which wee wyll neuer remoue a heares breadth, nor geue place to anye creature liuing, muche leſſe to any ſubiecte, but therein wyll ſpend our owne royall Perſon, our Crowne, treaſure, realme, and all our ſtate: whereof wee aſſure you of our high honor. For herein in dede reſteth our honour, herein ſtandeth our kingdome, herein do all Kinges knowledge vs a King. And ſhall any of you dare breathe or thinke againſt our honor, our kyngdome, or crowne?

A notable zeale and a princely worde of a kyng.

The kings age.

In the end of this your requeſt (as we be geuen to vnderſtand) ye would haue thẽ ſtand in force vntill our full age. To this we thinke, if ye knew what ye ſpake, ye would neuer haue vttered the motion, nor euer geuen breath to ſuch a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of leſſe authoritie for our age? Be we not your king now, as we ſhalbe? Or ſhal ye be ſubiectes hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we ſhall haue? If ye would ſuſpende and hang our doynges in doubt vntil our ful age, ye muſt firſt know, as a kyng we haue no difference of yeares nor tyme, but as a naturall man and creature of God, we haue youth, and by his ſufferaunce ſhall haue age: we are your rightfull kyng, your liege Lord, your kyng annointed, your king crowned, the ſoueraigne kyng of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinaunce, not onely when we ſhalbe xxi. of yeares, but whẽ we were of x. yeares. we poſſeſſe our crown, not by yeares, but by the bloud and diſcent, from our father kyng Henry the eyght. You are our ſubiectes becauſe we be your kyng, and rule we will, becauſe God hath willed. It is as great a fault in vs, not to rule, as in a ſubiect not to obey.

A king poſſeſſeth his crowne not by yeares, but by Gods ordinaunce.

If it be conſidered, they whiche moue this matter, if they durſt vtter them ſelues, would deny our kyngdom. But our good ſubiectes know their Prince, and will encreaſe, not diminiſhe his honour, enlarge, not abate hys power, knowledge, not differre hys kyngdome to certaine yeares: all is one, to ſpeake agaynſt our crowne and to deny our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be broken vnto xxi. yeares. Be we not your crowned, annoynted, and eſtabliſhed kyng? wherein then be we of leſſe Maieſtie, of leſſe authoritie, or leſſe ſtate, then our progenitours kynges of this Realme? except your vnkyndnes, your vnnaturalnes will diminiſhe our eſtimation. we haue hetherto, ſince the death of our father, by the good aduiſe and Counſayle of our deare and entierly beloued vncle, kept our ſtate, mainteyned our Realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enemyes: we haue hetherto bene feared and dread of our enemyes: yea, of Princes, Kinges, and nations: yea, herein we be nothyng inferiours to any our progenitors (which grace we knowledge to be geuen vs from God) and how els, but by good obedience of our people, good counſaile of our magiſtrates, due executiõ of our lawes. By authoritie of our kyngdome, England hetherto hath gayned honour: duryng our reigne, it hath wonne of the enemy, and not loſt.

Younge yeares hinder not the royall gouernment of a realme.

It hath bene marueiled, that we of ſo young yeares haue reigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And how chaunceth it, that you our ſubiectes, of that our countrey of Deuonſhyre, will geue the firſt occaſion to ſclaunder this our Realme of Englãd, to geue courage to the enemy, to note our Realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a pray to our old enemyes, to diminiſhe our honour, whiche God hath geuen, our father left, our good vncle and Cõſaile preſerued vnto vs? what greater euil could ye commit, then euen now when our forreine enemy in Scotland and vppon the Sea ſeeketh to inuade vs, to ariſe in this maner agaynſt our law, to prouoke our wrath, to aſke our vengeaunce, and to geue vs an occaſion to ſpend that force vppon you, whiche we ment to beſtow vpõ our enemyes: to begin to ſlay you with that ſword which we drew forth agaynſt ẏ Scots & other enemies: to make a conqueſt of our owne people, which otherwiſe ſhould haue ben of ẏ whole realme of Scotland.

Thus farre ye ſee we haue deſcended from our hyghe Maieſtie for loue, to conſider you in your baſe and ſimple ignoraunce, and haue ben content to ſend you an inſtruction lyke a fatherly Prince, who of Iuſtice might haue ſent you your deſtruction lyke a kyng to rebelles, and now let you know, that as you ſee our mercy aboũdant, ſo if ye prouoke vs further, we ſweare to you by the liuyng God by whom we reigne, ye ſhall feele the power of the ſame God in our ſword: which how mightie it is, no ſubiect knoweth, how puiſſant it is, no priuat man can iudge, how mortall it is, no Engliſhe hart dare thinke. But ſurely ſurely, as your Lorde & Prince, your onely Kyng and Maiſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſelues and take our mercy without delay, or els we will forthwith extend our princely power and execute our ſharpe ſword agaynſt you, as agaynſt very Infidels and Turkes, and rather aduenture our owne royall perſon, ſtate, and power, then the ſame ſhall not be executed.

And if you wil proue the example of our mercy, learne of certaine which lately did ariſe, pretendyng ſome griefes, and yet acknowledgyng their offences, haue not onely receiued moſt humbly their pardon, but feele alſo by our order, to whom all publicke order onely perteineth, redreſſe deuiſed for their griefes. In the end, we admoniſh you of your ducties to God whom ye ſhall aunſwere in the day of the Lord, & of your ducties towardes vs whom ye ſhall aunſwere by our order, and take our mercye whileſt God ſo enclineth vs, leſt when ye ſhall bee conſtrained to aſke, we ſhall bee to much hardened in hart to graunt it you: and where ye ſhall now here of mercy, mercy and lyfe, ye ſhall then here of Iuſtice, Iuſtice and death.

Geuen at Richmond the viij. day of Iuly, the thyrd yeare of our reigne.

A ſupplication of the rebelles to the kyng, with the kynges aunſwere to the ſame.

Beſides the Articles of theſe Deuonſhyre mẽ aboue mẽtioned, the ſayd rebels ſent vp alſo not long after a ſupplication to the kyng, wherunto aunſwere agayne was made by the kynges learned Counſaile, which here, to make ſhort, layſure ſerueth not to rehearſe.

False brutes and rumours by popiſhe Prieſtes ſtirred vp agaynſt the kyng.

Ouer and beſides, to behold the malicious workyng of thoſe Popiſhe Prieſtes, to kindle more the ſparke of ſedition in the peoples hartes, what brutes and rumours dyd they raiſe vp agaynſt the kyng & his Counſaile, makyng the vulgare multitude to beleue, that they ſhould be made to pay firſt for their ſhepe, then for their gæſe and pygges alſo, and ſuch other thynges like: and what ſoeuer they had in ſtore, or ſhould put in their mouthes, they muſt fine therfore to the kyng? Of all which matter neuer a worde was either thought or ment. But this ſemed matter fitte for ſuch prieſts wherby to ſet ỹ Prince & his ſubiectes together by the eares.

Syr Iohn Ruſſell Lord priuie Seale Lieutenaunt generall of the kinges armye in the Weſt.

Agaynſt this ſeditious company of rebelles was appointed and ſent by the kyng and the Counſaile, Syr Iohn Ruſſell knight, Lord priuye Seale, as Lieutenãt generall of the kynges armie, of whom chiefly depended the charge & achiuaunce of that viage in the Weſt partes. To hym alſo were adioyned as in part of ordinarie Counſaile in thoſe affaires vnder hym, Syr W. Harbert, Syr Iohn Pawlet, Syr Hugh Pawlet, Syr Tho. Specke, with the Lord Gray, and other beſides.

The rebels of Deuonſhyre diſcomfited.

Thus the ſayd Lord priuye Seale accõpanyed with the Lord Gray, aduauncyng his power agaynſt the rebels, although in number of Souldiours not equally furniſhed like to the other, yet through the gratious aſſiſtance of the Lordes helpe fightyng in his cauſe, and giuyng the aduenture agaynſt the enemy, about the later ende of Iuly, an. 1549. gaue them the repulſe. Who notwithſtandyng recoueryng them ſelues agayn with ſuch ſtomakes as they had, encountered the ſecõd tyme with the foreſayd Lord priuye Seale, about the begynnyng of Auguſt folowyng, of whom, through the Lordes mighty power, they with their whole cauſe of falſe Religiõ were vtterly vanquiſhed & ouerthrowen.

1549.

In the which victorye a great worke of Gods mightye power vndoubtedly did appeare. For although the number of the rebelles did ſurmount in great quantitie, the power and ſtrength of the Lord priuye Seale, & their ſtomackes were ſo fiercely ſet vpõ al deſperate aduentures, and though the power of Syr W. Harbert (beyng ỹ ſame time at Briſtow) was not yet preſently come, which ſhoulde haue ioyned with the Lord priuie Seale: yet all this notwithſtandyng, the goodnes of the Lord ſo wrought on the kynges behalfe, more then any induſtrie of man (which in all reſpectes in handlyng that matter was very raw and farre behynd) that the victorie fell to the kynges part, vnder the valiant guidyng of the foreſayd Lord priuy Seale: ſo that the Popiſhe rebels not onely loſt the field, but a great part of them alſo loſt their lyues, lying there ſlayne miſerably in the chaſe, to ỹ cõpaſſe of ij. myles ſpace. Where alſo were taken and apprehended the chieftaines and ringleaders of that miſchieuous daunſe: wherof the principall were Humfrey Arundell, Berry, Tho. Vnderhill, Iohn Soleman, W. Segar, Tempſon and Barret two Prieſtes, Henry Bray and Henry Lee ij. Maiors, with diuers other mo aboue ſpecified: all which accordyngly afterward were executed.

The great goodnes of God in the victory againſt the rebelles.

The laudable ſeruice of the Lord priuie Seale.

False truſt of the Deuonſhyre men in their Popiſhe Idols, diſappointed.

Theſe rebelles to make their part more ſure by the helpe and preſence of their cõſecrated God and maker, brought with them into the battaile the pyxe vnder his canaby, and in ſtead of an altar where he was hãgyng before, ſet him now rydyng in a carte. Neither was there lackyng maſſes, croſſes, banners, candleſtickes, with holy bread alſo & holy water plenty to defend thẽ from deuils and all aduerſarye power, which in the end neither could helpe their frendes, nor yet could ſaue them ſelues from the handes of their enemies, but eftſones both the conſecrated God and all ỹ trompery about him, was taken in the carte and there lay all in the duſte, leauyng to them a notable leſſon of better experience how to put their cõfidence hereafter in no ſuch vayne Idols, but only in the true liuing God, & immortall maker to be ſerued accordyng to hys preſcribed worde, and that onely in the faith of hys ſonne, and not after their own dreaming phantaſies.

The Sacramẽt in the pixe brought to the battaile in a carte.

Muſcleborough field in Scotland.

The ſtorie wherof putteth me alſo in remembraũce of an other like Popiſhe fielde (called Muſcleborough fielde) fought in Scotland the yeare before this, where the Scottes lykewiſe encampyng them ſelues agaynſt the Lord Protectour, and the kynges power ſent into Scotland, did in ſemblable wiſe bryng with them to the battaile the conſecrated Gods of their aultars, with maſſes, croſſes, banners, and all their Popiſhe ſtuffe of Idolatrie, hauyng great affiance, by vertue therof to haue a great day agaynſt the Engliſhe army, as in dede to mans iudgement might ſeme not vnlyke. For the number of the Scottes army ſo farre exceded ours, & they were ſo appoynted with their pykes in the firſt fronte agaynſt our horſemẽ (which gaue the firſt onſet) that our mẽ were fayne to recule, not without the loſſe of diuers Gentlemen. Notwithſtandyng the mighty arme of the Lord ſo turned the victory, that the Scottes in the end with all their Maſſes, pixes, and Idolatrous trinkets, were put to the worſe. Of whõ in that field were ſlaine betwen xij. and xiiij. thouſand, and not paſſing an hundreth Engliſhe men. The cauſe of this was the promiſe of the Scottes made before to kyng Henry, for the Mariage of the younge Scottiſhe Quæne to Kyng Edward, which promiſe the ſayd Scottes afterward brake, and payd therafter.

Gods mightie arme fightyng with Kyng Edward in Scotland.

The vaine truſt of the Scottes in their Maſſes and Sacrament of the Altar.

A notable victorye through the Lordes power of K. Edward in Scotland.

In the which victory this is alſo to be noted, that the ſame day and houre when the Images were burned openly in London, the Scottes were put to flight in Muſcleborough, as is credibly noted in recordes.

A ſturre in Oxfordſhyre and Buckinghamſhyre.

During thys hurley burley amongeſt the popiſh rebels in Cornwall and Deuonſhire, the like commotion at the ſame tyme, by ſuch like popiſh prieſts, as Homes and his felowes, began to gender in the parties of Oxforde and Buckingham, but that was ſone appeaſed by the L. Gray, who cõming down that way into Deuonſhiere, chaſed the Rebels to theyr houſes. Of whõ ij. hundred were taken, & a doſen of the ringleaders deliuered vnto hym, wherof certayn were after executed.

Rebellion in Northfolke.

In Northfolke, and parties there about, albeit the originall of their tumultuous ſturring was not for the like cauſe: yet the obſtinate hartes of that vnruly multitude ſemed no leſſe bent vpon miſchiefe, to diſturbe

Inſtructions geuen to the L. Marques.

The Lord *Shefielde* ſlaine at Norwich.

The rebelles of Northfolke ſuppreſſed.

publike peace, whych was alſo in the moneth of Iuly, the yeare aboueſayd. For repreſſion of whych rebellion, fyrſt was ſent ẏ L. Marques of Northāpton, wyth ſpeciall inſtruction to auoyde the fight, and ſo by order was appoynted wyth a number of horſe to keepe the field and paſſages, whereby they being ſtopped from vittaile, might the ſooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to ſeeke their pardon. Who then following other policie, then by order was geuen, came and pinned hym ſelfe wythin the Citie of Norwych, which afterward they were fayne to abandon, the rebels preſſing vpon the Citie ſo on euerye ſyde, that at length they obtayned the ſame. Neuertheleſſe in all that conflict there was but a hundreth on both ſides ſlaine, and otherwyſe no great loſſe, but onely the loſſe of the Lorde Shefield. Then was ſent downe agaynſt them the Earle of Warwicke wyth ſufficient force & nūber of ſouldiours, beſides ẏ conuey of 2000. Almaines, by whom the rude and confuſed rable was there ouerthrowen & ſlayne, to the nūber, as is ſuppoſed, at leaſt of. 4000. And in fine, both the Kettes, chief ſturrers and authors of that commotion were taken & put to execution, & one of them hanged vp in chaines.

An other rebellion or tumult begon in Yorkſhyre.

The chiefe ſtyrrers of this rebellion in the North.

Morouer, beſides theſe inordinate vprores and inſurrections aboue mencioned, about the latter ende of the ſayd moneth of Iulye, the ſame yeare, whych was 1549. an other like ſturre or commotion beganne at Semer, in the Northriding of Yorkſhiere, and continued in the Eaſtriding of the ſame, and there ended. The principall doers and rayſers vp whereof was one W. Ombler of Eaſtheſlerton yoman: and Tho. Dale pariſh Clarke of Semer, with one Steuenſon of Semer, neighbour to Dale, and neuye to Ombler. Whych Steuenſon was a meane or meſſenger betwene the ſayd Ombler and Dale, being before not acquaynted together, and dwelling. vij. miles one from the other. Who at laſt by the trauayle of the ſayd Steuenſon and theyr own euill diſpoſitions inclined to vngraciouſnes and miſchiefe, knowing before one the others mynde by ſecrete conference, were brought to talke together on Saint Iames day, an. 1549.

The cauſes mouing the Yorkſhyre mē to rebellion.

The cauſes mouing thē to raiſe this rebellion, were theſe: Fyrſt & principally their traiterous hartes grudging at the kinges moſt godly proceedinges, in aduauncing and reforming the true honor of God, and his religion. An other cauſe alſo was, for truſting to a blind and a phantaſticall prophecie, wherewith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame prophecie ſhoulde ſhortlye come to paſſe, by hering the rebellions of Northfolke, of Deuonſhiere, and other places.

A blind propheſie amongſt the Northeren men.

The tenour of which prophecie, and purpoſe together of the traitours was, that there ſhoulde no kyng reigne in England: the noble men, and Gentlemen to be deſtroyed: And ẏ Realme to be ruled by 4. gouernours to be elected and appointed by the Commons, holdyng a Parlament in commotion, to begyn at the South and North Seas of England. &c. ſuppoſing that this their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Deuonſhyre men in the Weſt, meeting (as they entended) at one place, to be the meane how to compaſſe this their traiterous deuiliſhe deuiſe.

The deuiſe of the rebels how to cōpaſſe their purpoſe.

Falſe [illegible] of Gods true religion.

And therefore laying their ſtudies together, how they might find out more company to ioyne with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and to ſet forward ẏ ſturre, this deuiſe they framed, to ſturre in two places, the one diſtante vij. myles from the other, and at the firſt ruſhe to kill and deſtroy ſuch Gentlemen & men of ſubſtaūce about them, as were fauourers of the kynges procedynges, or which woulde reſiſte them. But firſt of all, for the more ſpedy raiſing of mē, they deuiſed to burne Beacons, and therby to bryng the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea coaſtes, and hauing the ignorant people aſſembled, then to poure out their poyſon: firſt beginning with the rudeſt and pooreſt ſort, ſuch as they thought were pricked with pouertie, and were vnwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the ſpoyle of rich mens goods, blowing into their heades, that Gods ſeruice was layd aſide, and new inuentions neither good nor godly put in place, and ſo feedyng them with fayre promiſes to reduce into the church agayn their old ignoraunce and Idolatry, thought by that meanes ſooneſt to allure them to rage and runne with them in this commotion. And furthermore to the intent they would geue the more terrour to the Gentlemen at their firſt ryſing, leſt they ſhould be reſiſted, they deuiſed that ſome ſhould be murdered in churches, ſome in their houſes, ſome in ſeruyng the kyng in Commiſſion, & other as they might be caught, and to pyke quarells to them by alteration of ſeruice on the holy dayes. And thus was the platteforme caſt of their deuiſe, accordyng as afterward by their cōfeſſion at their examinations was teſtified, and remaineth in true recorde.

The cōſpiracie of the rebels vttered in dronkenes.

Foure men cruelly murdered by the rebels in the North.

Thus they beyng together agreed, Ombler & Dale, and others by their ſecrete appoyntement, ſo laboured the matter in the pariſhe of Semer, Wintringhā, and the townes about, that they were infected with the poyſon of this confederacie, in ſuch ſorte, that it was eaſie to vnderſtand wherunto they would incline if a comotion were begon. The accōpliſhment wherof did ſhortly folow. For although by ẏ wordes of one dronken felow of that cōſpiracie named Caluerd, at the alehouſe in Wintringham ſome ſuſpicion of that rebellion begā to be ſmelled before by the Lord Preſident and Gentlemen of thoſe parties, and ſo preuented in that place where the rebelles thought to begin: yet they gaue not ouer ſo, but drewe to an other place at Semer by the Sea coaſt, and there by night rode to the Beacon at Staxton, and ſet it on fire: and ſo gatheryng together a rude route of raſkals out of the townes nere about beyng on a ſturre, Ombler, Tho. Dale, Barton, and Rob. Dale haſted forthwith with the rebelles to M. Whites houſe to take him, who notwithſtandyng beyng on horſebacke, myndyng to haue eſcaped their hādes, Dale, Ombler, and ẏ reſt of ẏ rebels tooke him, and Clopton his wiues brother, one Sauage a Marchaunt of Yorke, and one Bery ſeruaunt to Syr Walter Myldmay, which iiij. without cauſe or quarell, ſauyng to fulfill their ſeditious Prophecie in ſome part, and to giue a terrour to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murdered after they had caryed them one myle from Semer towardes the Wolde, and there after they had ſtrypped them of their clothes and purſes, left them naked behynd them in the playne fieldes for crowes to feede on, vntill Whytes wife, and Sauages wife then at Semer cauſed them to be buryed.

The rebels in Yorkſhyre gathered to iij. thouſand perſons.

Longe it were and tedious to recite what reuell theſe rebelles kepte in their raging madnes, who raunging about the countrey from towne to towne to enlarge their vngratious and rebellious bande, takyng thoſe wyth force which were not willyng to go, and leauing in no towne where they came, any man aboue the age of. xvj. yeares, ſo encreaſed thys number, that in ſhort tyme they had gathered. iij. thouſand to fauour their wicked attemptes, and had like to haue gathered moe, had not the Lordes goodnes through prudent circumſpection haue interrupted the courſe of theyr furious beginning.

The kings free pardon ſent to the rebelles.

Ombler refuſeth the kings pardon.

For fyrſt came the Kings gracious and free pardon diſcharging and pardoning them, and ẏ reſt of ẏ rebels of all treaſons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Maieſty, before the xxj. of Auguſt, an. 1549. Which pardon although Ombler contemptuouſly refuſed, perſiſting ſtyll in his wylfull obſtinacie, diſwadyng alſo the reſt from the humble accepting the kings ſo louing and liberall pardon, yet notwithſtandyng wyth ſome it dyd good.

To make ſhort, it was not long after this, but Ombler, as he was riding from towne to towne. xij. myles from Hūmanby, to charge all the Cunſtables and inhabitauntes habitants where he came,in the kinges name to reſort to Hūmanby, by the way he was eſpyed, and by the circūſpect diligence of Iohn Worde the yonger, Iames Aſlabye, Rafe Thwinge, and Thomas Conſtable gentlemen, he was had in chace, and at laſt by them apprehended, and brought in the night in ſure cuſtodie vnto the citie of Yorke to aunſwere to hys demerites.

Ombler captaine of the rebells taken.

After whom within ſhort time Thomas Dale, Henry Barton, the fyrſt chieftaines and ringleaders of the former cōmotion, with Iohn Dale, Robert Wright, W. Peycocke, Wetherell, and Edmūd Buttrye, buſye ſturrers in thys ſedition, as they trauailed from place to place to draw people to their faction, were likewyſe apprehended, committed to warde, lawfully cōuicted, and laſtly executed at Yorke the .xxj. of September, an. 1549. Ex actis iudicij publici regiſtro exceptis & notatis.

The names of the rebels takē and executed at Yorke.

Ex actis iudiciarijs regiſtro exceptis & notatis.

To theſe peſtiferous commotions raiſed vp againſt kyng Edward by hys own Subiectes in this yeare aforeſayd within the realme, I might alſo adioyne the buſie ſturring and raging of the French king agaynſt our young and innocent Prince, without the Realme. Who hearing of theſe tumultes and violent inſurrections of the Kinges ſubiectes in diuers and ſundrye quarters of the realme, ſuppoſing to take the tyme for hys moſt aduauntage, thought likewiſe for his part not to be vnoccupied. Who after he had by hys Ambaſſadour made open breach wyth the kyng, immediatly after the reuocation of the ſayd Ambaſſadour from hence, intending to anoy the Kyng, and make his firſt inuaſion agaynſt the Iles of Ierſey andIerneſey, thought to haue ſurpriſed our ſhips and the ſayd Iles with a certaine number of hys ſhips and Gallies. In the which hys aſſault, hee was ſo hotely ſaluted by the kynges ſhyps and the Iſland, that by the confeſſion of them that ſaw it, and by the reporte written to the lord Protector, the French men at leaſt loſt a thouſand mē, their ſhyps and Gallies ſo ſpoyled, as being forced to returne home, they were not able then to ſette out againe.

The ſtyrryng & riſing of the french kyng agaynſt king Edward.

Farthermore out of Fraunce credible worde was brought to the Lord Protectour (whiche yet in letters appeareth) that into one towne in one veſſell were brought at leaſt iij. ſcore Gentlemen to bée buried: and alſo an inhibition ſpeciall giuen out by the kyng, not to ſpeake of the ſucceſſe in that iourney. This was about the begynning of Auguſt. 1549.

Ex literis D. Protectoris.

The like alſo might be noted of the loſſes of ÿ ſayd French kyng at Bullenbergh, the 8. day of Auguſt, the ſame yeare, as by ÿ L. Clyntons letters may well appeare: but for ſpending of tyme I paſſe it ouer. What the meanyng of ÿ French kyng was in theſe viages, or how he intended farther to procede, I haue not herein to deale. This is certeine and euident, that the mightie arme of God mercifully fought for kyng Edward hys ſeruaūt, to defend and deliuer him from ſo many hard daungers, ſo daungerous and ſondry commotions ſtyrred vp in ſo many quarters within this Realme, and alſo without the Realme, and all within the compaſſe of one yeare, and yet the Lord aboue fighting for his true ſeruaunt, diſpatched them all, as in ſtory here ye haue heard declared, and is no leſſe worthy of all poſteritie to bée noted.

Ex literis D. Clintoni.

The wonderfull protection of the Lord, in defending king *Edward.*

¶Matter concernyng Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, with declaratiō of the Actes & proceſſe entred agaynſt hym in kyng Edwardes tyme.

AND thus much hetherto hauyng diſcourſed touchyng the manifold troubles and tumultes raiſed vp on euery ſide agaynſt kyng Edward by his vnkynd and vnnaturall ſubiectes, and yet notwithſtandyng, the gracious gœdnes of the Lord euer giuing him ÿ victorie: now let vs returne agayne to Boner Byſhop of London, where wee lefte hym before, that is, in hys owne houſe, where hee was by the Counſaile commaunded to remaine, as is aboue ſignified, pag. 1496. And now forſomuch as we haue to enter into the ſtory of ÿ ſaid Boner, for the better vnderſtādyng of ÿ whole order therof, it ſhalbe requiſite to ryppe vp the matter with the circumſtaūces and occaſions therof from the firſt begynnyng of kyng Edwardes tyme. Where is to be vnderſtāded that kyng Edward in the firſt yeare of his reigne an. 1547. the fiſt day of Septēber, for the order of his viſitation, directed out certaine Cōmiſſioners, as Syr Antony Cooke, Sir Ioh. Godſaule knightes, M. Iohn Godſaule, Chriſtopher Neuinſon Doctours of the law, & Iohn Madew Doctour of Diuinitie. Who ſittyng in Paules Church vppon their Commiſſion the day and yeare aforeſayd, there beyng preſent at the ſame tyme Edmund Byſhop of London, Iohn Royſton, Polidore Virgill, Peter Van, and others of the ſayd Cathedrall Church, after the Sermon made and the Commiſſion beyng read, miniſtred an oth vnto the ſayd Byſhop of London, to renounce and denye the Byſhop of Rome with his vſurped authoritie, and to ſweare obedience vnto the kyng, accordyng to the effect and forme of the Statute made in the xxvj. yeare of king Henry the eight: alſo that hée ſhould preſent and redreſſe all and ſingular ſuch thinges as were néedefull within ÿ ſayd church to be reformed. Wherupon the ſayd Biſhop humbly & inſtantly deſired thē that he might ſee their Commiſſiō, onely for this purpoſe and intent (as hee ſayd) that he might the better fulfyll and put in execution the things wherin he was charged by them in their Commiſſion. Unto whom the Commiſſioners anſwering, ſayd they woulde deliberate more vpon the matter, and ſo they called the other Miniſters of the ſayd Church before them, and miniſtred the like oth vnto them, as they dyd to the Biſhop before. To whom moreouer there and then certaine Interrogatories & Articles of inquiſition were read by Peter Lilly the publicke Notarie. Which done, after their othes takē, the ſaid Commiſſioners deliuered vnto the Biſhop aforeſayd certayne Iniunctions as well in print as written, and Homelies ſet forth by the kyng. All which thinges the ſayd biſhop receiued vnder the wordes of this proteſtation, as foloweth.

Read afore pag. 1496. col. 1. lin. 17.

Sitting of the kinges Commiſſioners in Paules Church.

An oth miniſtred to *Boner* to forſweare the Pope.

Boner requireth to ſee their Commiſſion.

Peter Lilly the publicke Notarie.

I Do receiue theſe Iniunctions and Homelies wyth this proteſtation, that I wyll obſerue them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to Gods law, and the ſtatutes and ordinance of the church, and immediatly added wyth an oth, that he neuer read the ſaid Homelies and Iniunctions.

Boners Proteſtation before the Cōmiſſioners receauing the kings Iniunctions.

The which proteſtation being made in maner and forme aforeſayd, the ſayd Edmund B. of London inſtantly deſired and required Peter Lilly the Regeſter aforeſaid, there and then to regeſter and enact the ſame. And ſo the ſayd Commiſſioners deliuering the Iniunctions and Homelies to Maiſter Bellaſſer Archdeacon of Colcheſter, and to Gilbert Bourne Archdeacon of London, Eſſex, and Myddleſex, and enioyning them in moſt effectuous maner, vnder paynes therein contayned, to put the ſame in ſpéedy execution, and alſo referuing other new Iniunctiōs to be miniſtred afterward, aſwell to the Biſhop, as to the Archdeacons aforeſaid, according as they ſhould ſee cauſe. &c. dyd ſo continue the viſitation tyll thrée of the clocke the ſame daye in the after noone.

At ÿ whych houre and place aſſigned, the Commiſſioners being ſet, and the Canons and Prieſtes of the ſayd church appearing before them, and being examined vpon vertue of their othe for their doctrine and cōuerſation of lyfe: fyrſt one Iohn Painter, one of the Canons of the ſayd Cathedral Church, there and then openly confeſſed, that he viciouſly and carnallye had often the companye of a certayne maryed mans wyfe, whoſe name he denyed to declare. In the which crime diuers other Canons and Prieſts of the ſayd Church, confeſſed in lyke manner, and coulde not denye them ſelues to be culpable.

Note the corrupte lyfe of theſe vnmaried Prieſtes and Popiſhe Notaries.

And then after the Commiſſioners aforeſayd had deliuered to Maiſter Royſton Prebendary, and to the Proctor of the Deane and of the Chapter of the ſayd Cathedrall church of S. Paule, the kinges Iniunctions and the booke of Homelies, enioynyng them to ſee the execution therof vnder payne therin ſpecified, they proroged theyr ſaid viſitation vntill ſeuen of the clocke the next day followyng.

Thinges in this viſitation to be noted.

By this viſitation aboue ſpecified, it appeareth gentle Reader, fyrſt how Boner made hys proteſtation after the receauing of the kinges Iniunctions, and alſo how he after required the ſame to be put in publike recorde. Furthermore, thou haſt to note the vnchaſte life and conuerſation of theſe popiſh Votaries & Prieſtes of Paules. Now what folowed after this proteſtation of the biſhop made, remayneth further in the ſequele of the ſtorye to be declared. Wherein fyrſt thou ſhall vnderſtand that the ſayd Biſhop ſhortly after his proteſtation, whether for feare or for conſcience, repenting hym ſelfe, went vnto the kyng, where he ſubmitting hym ſelf, & recātiŋg hys former proteſtatiō, craued pardon of yͤ king for his inordinate demeanour toward his graces Cōmiſſioners in the former viſitation. Which pardon, notwithſtanding it was graunted vnto him by the kyng for the acknowledging of hys fault, yet for the euyll example of the fact, it was thought good that hee ſhould be committed to the Fléete, as by the tenour of the Counſailes letter ſent to the Cōmiſſioners may appeare, which together with the forme alſo of yͤ Biſhops proteſtatiō & of hys recantation, here vnder followeth.

Boner repenteth hys euill demeanour in hys proteſtation.

Boner ſent to the Fleete.

To our very louyng frendes Syr Anthony Cooke knight, and the reſt of the Cōmiſſioners, for the viſitation at London in haſt.

The kinges letter to the Cōmiſſioners concernyng the recantatiō and pardonyng of Boner.

After our harty commēdations: This ſhalbe to ſignifie vnto you that we haue receaued your letters, & in the ſame incloſed the copie of the Proteſtation made by the Biſhop of London, in yͤ tyme of your viſitation at Paules: your wiſe proceedynges wherin and aduertiſementes frō you, we take in very thākfull part towardes vs. And bycauſe the ſayd Byſhop which beyng here before vs hath acknowledged his indiſcrete demeanour, did at that time at Paules require yͤ Regiſter of your viſitation to make recorde and enter of his Proteſtation, and now vpon better conſideration of his duety, maketh meanes to haue the ſame reuoked, as ſhall appeare vnto you by the true copie of his wrytyng incloſed, the originall wherof remaigнyng with vs he hath ſubſcribed: we pray you to cauſe the Regiſter to make enter of this hys reuocation accordyng vnto the tenour of this hys ſayd wrytyng: Further ſignifying vnto you that in reſpect of his offence and the euill example that might thereupon enſue, we haue thought meete to ſend him to the priſon of the Flete, whether he hath bene conueyed by Maiſter Vicechamberlaine. And wheras ſondry thyngs for the Kings Maieſties ſeruice do now occurre here, which require the preſent attendance of you Syr Ioh. Godſaule, aſwell for your office of the Signet as of the Protonoriſhyp: we pray you that leauyng the execution of the viſitation to the reſt of your colleages, you make your repayre hether with conuenient diligence. Thus fare you right hartely well. From Hampton Court the xij. of September. 1547.

Boner recanteth hys Proteſtation.

Boner requireth hys recantation to be Regeſtred.

Your aſſured louyng frendes.

Tho. Canterbury.
William S. Iohn.
Iohn Ruſſell.
Tho. Semer.
William Paget.
Anthony Browne.
William Peter.
Anthony Denney.
Edward North.

The forme of Boners recantation.

The copie of Boners recantation.

WHere as I Edmund Biſhop of London, at ſuch time as I receaued the Kynges Maieſties Iniunctions and Homelies of my moſt dread ſoueraigne Lord at the hands of his highnes viſitours, did vnaduiſedly make ſuch proteſtatiō as now vppon better conſideration of my duety of obedience & of the euill example that might inſue vnto others therof, appeareth to me neither reaſonable nor ſuch as might well ſtand with the duetie of an humble ſubiecte: forſomuch as the ſame Proteſtation at my requeſt was then by the Regiſter of that viſitation enacted and put in Recorde, I haue thought it my duetie not onely to declare before your Lordſhyps that I do now vpon better conſideration of my duetie, renounce and reuoke my ſayd Proteſtation, but alſo moſt humbly beſech your Lordſhyps, that this my reuocation of the ſame may be in like wiſe put in the ſame Records for a perpetuall memory of the truth, moſt humbly beſechyng your good Lordſhyps both to take order that it may take effecte, and alſo that my former and vnaduiſed doynges may be by your good mediations pardoned of the kinges maieſtie.

Edmund London.

The Regiſter of theſe affaires of Boners, remayneth in the handes of Peter Lillye, then beyng Regiſter to the foreſayd Commiſſioners.

Ex Regiſtro Petri Lilij.

Thus farre thou haſt heard (louyng reader) firſt the Popiſhe Proteſtation of Boner, then how he callyng him ſelf home agayne, ſolemnely recanted the ſame, requiryng farther the ſayd his reuocation to be committed to publicke Recorde for a perpetuall remēbraunce. Alſo how he vpon his humble ſubmiſſion receaued his pardon of the kyng, and yet for example ſake was commaunded to the Fléete. Where he neuertheles did not long cōtinue, but accordyng to yͤ effect of yͤ kynges pardon afore graunted, was reſtored both to houſe and lyuyng agayne: Which was in the firſt yeare of the kyng an. 1547.

The tyme of Boners doinges in the beginning of K. Edward.

After this ye haue heard alſo in the ſtory aboue, in the ſecond yeare, and a great part of the thyrd yeare of the kyng, how he demeaned him ſelfe, although not moſt forward in aduauncing the kynges proceedynges, yet in ſuch ſorte, as no great aduauntage by any law could be takē agaynſt him, both in ſwearyng his obedience to the kyng, and in receauyng his Iniunctions: alſo in profeſſing his aſſent and conſent touchyng the ſtate of Religion then: and furthermore in directyng out his letters, accordyng to the Archbiſhop of Canterburies preceptes, to Clonye his Sumner, to the Byſhop of Weſtminſter and other Byſhops, for abolyſhyng of Images, for abrogation of the Maſſe, for Bybles to be ſet vp, and for miniſtryng in both kyndes, with ſuch other matters of reformation like: till at length hée hearyng of the death of the Lord Admirall the Lord Protectors brother, and after that of the ſturryng and riſing of the kynges ſubiectes in ſondry tumultes agaynſt the king, began ſomewhat, as he durſt, to draw backe and ſlacke his paſtorall diligence, ſo that in many places of his Dioces and in London the people not onely were negligent in reſortyng to diuine ſeruice, but alſo dyd frequent and haunt foreine rytes of Maſſes and other orders, then in this Realme were appoynted, and hee alſo hym ſelfe contrarye to hys wonted maner vppon principall feaſtes refuſed in hys owne perſon to execute. Whereupon he beyng ſuſpected and cōplained of, and conuented before the kynges Counſaile (as ye heard before) after ſharpe admonitions and reprouſes, had certaine priuate Iniunctions to hym inioyned.

Read aboue pag. 1481. and pag. 1490.

Boner beginneth to ſlacke in hys diligence.

Matters putte to Boner to redreſſe.

1 Firſt, that hee ſhould perſonally preach within iij. wéekes after at Paules Croſſe.

2 That accordyng as his predeceſſours were wont to celebrate Maſſe, he at ſuch wonted tymes ſhould execute and adminiſter the Communion.

3 That he ſhould call before him and correct more diligently ſuch tranſgreſſours as abſented them ſelues from the order of ſeruice and miniſtration of the Lordes boarde appoynted then in Churches by the kynges ordinaunce.

4 That he ſhould ſée more carefully and vigilantly to the puniſhment of adulterers, and fornicators.

Boner inioyned to preach at Paules Croſſe.

5 That he in the meane while ſhould be reſidēt within his owne houſe, duryng the tyme while hée ſhould

make his Sermon at Paules aboue mentioned, which was an. 1549. In the which Sermon certaine ſpeciall poyntes were prefixed vnto him wherupon hée ſhould intreate, which here in order follow and are theſe.

Speciall poyntes and Articles to be intreated of Boner Byſhop of London in his Sermon.

Speciall poyntes inioyned to Boner to preach vpon.

1. That all ſuch as rebell againſt their Prince, get vnto them damnation, and thoſe that reſiſte the hygher power, reſiſt the ordinances of God, and he that dyeth therfore in rebelliō, by the word of God is vtterly damned, and ſo looſeth both bodye and ſoule. And therefore thoſe Rebels in Deuonſhiere and Cornewall, in Norfolke, or els where, who take vpon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their king and Prince, agaynſt the lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme, and go about to ſubuert the ſtate and order of the common wealth, not onely do deſerue therfore death as traitours and rebels, but do accumulate to them ſelues eternall damnation, euen to be in the burning fyre of hell, with Lucifer the father and fyrſt author of pride, diſobedience and rebellion, what pretenſe ſoeuer they haue, and what Maſſes or holy water ſo euer they pretend, or go about to make among them ſelues, as Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, for rebellion againſt Moyſes, were ſwalowed downe a liue into hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice vnto God.

What thinges bee neceſſary to be ioyned in all Gods ſeruice.

Externe rites & ceremonies how farre they ſerue.

Ceremonyes made naught by diſobedience.

2. Likewiſe in the order of the church and externe rites and ceremonies of diuine ſeruice, for ſo much as God requireth humility of hart, innocēcie of liuyng, knowledge of him, charitie and loue to our neighbours, and obedience to hys woord, and to hys Miniſters and ſuperiour powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to al our ſeruice, and this is the ſacrifice that Chriſt requireth, and theſe be thoſe that make all thinges pleaſant vnto God. The externe rites & ceremonies be but exerciſes of our religion, and appoyntable by ſuperiour powers, in choſyng whereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates: the whych thinges alſo we do ſee euer hath bene and ſhalbe (as the tyme and place is) diuers, and yet all hath pleaſed God, ſo long as theſe before ſpoken inward thinges be there. If any man ſhall vſe the olde rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperiour power, the deuotion of hys ceremonies is made naught by hys diſobedience: ſo that, whych els (ſo long as the law did ſo ſtād) might be good, by pride and diſobedience nowe is made nought: as Saules ſacrifice, Chore, Dathan and Abyron, & Aarons two children were. But who that ioyneth to deuotion obedience, he wynneth the garland. For els it is a zeale, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, a wyll, deſyre, zeale, and deuotion, but not after wyſdome, that is a fooliſhe deuotion which can requyre no thankes or prayſe. And yet agayne, where ye obey, ye muſt haue deuotion, for God requyreth the hart more then the outward doinges, and therfore who that taketh the Communion, or ſayth or heareth the ſeruice appointed by the kinges Maieſty, muſt bryng deuotion and inward prayer with him, or els his prayers are but vayne, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the hart and mynde to pray to hym.

Foliſhe deuotion.

The hart maketh true deuotion.

3. Farther, ye ſhall for example on Sonday come ſeuennight after the aforeſayd date, celebrate the Communion at Paules Church.

4. Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your ſermon, that our authoritie of royall power, is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our younge age, then is, or was of anye of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appeare by example of Ioſias, and other young kynges in ſcripture: and therfore all our ſubiectes to be no leſſe bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, then if we were of .xxx. or .xl. yeares of age.

The deliuery of theſe Iniunctions and Articles vnto the Biſhop (with the tyme of hys appoynted preachyng) was ſone after knowen abroad amongeſt the Citizens and other the Commons within the Citye of London, ſo that euery man expected the tyme thereof, wiſhing to heare the ſame. Whych being once come, the Biſhop according to the tenor of the Iniunctions, publickly preached at the croſſe of Paules the fyrſt daye of September. Howbeit, as hipocriſie neuer lurketh ſo ſecretly in the hartes of the wicked, but that at one tyme or other God in hys moſt righteous iudgement maketh it open vnto the worlde: ſo at this preſent was the long colored peruerſe obſtinacie, and infeſtred hatred of this double faced diſſembler, againſt the kynges godly procéedinges, moſt playnly manifeſted by his diſobedient demeanour in this hys ſermon.

Boners preachyng much looked for of the people.

For where as he was onely cōmaunded to intreate vpon ſuch ſpeciall poyntes as were mencioned in hys Articles: he yet, both beſides the counſailes commaūdement (to the withdrawing of the mindes of the common people, in as much as in him laye, from the ryght and true vnderſtanding of the holye Sacrament miniſtred in the holy Communion then ſet foorth by the authoritie of ẏ kinges Maieſtie, according to ẏ true ſenſe of the holy ſcripture) did ſpend moſt part of hys Sermon about the groſſe, carnall, and papiſticall preſence of Chriſtes body and blood in the ſacrament of the aulter, and alſo contrary thereunto, did not onelye ſlenderly touch the reſt of hys articles, but of a rebellious and wylfull careleſnes, dyd vtterly leaue out vnſpoken the whole laſt article, concerning the as effectuall, and as lawfull authority of the kinges highnes duryng hys young age, as if he were .xxx. or .xl. yeares old: notwithſtanding the ſame (becauſe it was the trayterous opinion of the popiſh rebels) was by ſpeciall commaundement chiefly appoynted him to entreate vpon.

The diſobedient ſtubbernes of Boner in hys Sermō at Paules Croſſe.

Thys contempteous and diſobedient dealing, as it greatly offended moſt of the kings faythfull and louing ſubiects ther preſent, ſo did it much miſlike the mindes, and was farre from the good expectations, as well of that faithful and godly preacher Maiſter Ioh. Hooper, afterwardes biſhop of Worceſter, and Gloceſter, and laſtly a moſt conſtant Martyr for the Goſpel of Chriſt: as alſo of Maiſter William Latimer Bacheler of Diuinitie, and therefore they wel waying the foulneſſe of the fact, and their bounden allegeaunces vnto theyr Prince, did thereupon exhibite vnto the kings hyghnes vnder both their names, a bill of complaint or denounciation againſt the ſayd biſhop in forme following.

W. Latimer & I. Hooper, denouncers agaynſt Boner.

The denuntiation of Iohn Hoper and Williā Latimer agaynſt Boner, to the kynges Maieſtie, for leauyng vndone the pointes afore mentioned which hee was charged to preach vpon.

The denunciation of W. Latimer & I. Hooper, agaynſt Boner.

In moſt humble wiſe ſheweth vnto your Maieſtie, William Latimer and Iohn Hoper, that where of late as we bee certeinely informed from your Maieſtie by the hand of the right hygh and noble Prince Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of your Royall perſon, & Protectour of all your highnes Realmes, dominions and ſubiectes, and the reſt of your priuye Counſaile, there was certain Iniunctions geuen to the Byſhop of Londō that now is, with Articles to be inſinuated and preached vnto your ſubiectes at a certaine day limited, the whiche Iniunctions and Articles did onely tende to the honour of God, and the better inſtruction of your hyghnes people to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutinye, wherewith of late this your Maieſties Realme hath bene merueilouſly vexed to the daūger of your highnes perſon, and the ſtate of the whole Realme, and therfore a thyng at this tyme moſt neceſſary to be taught vnto the people, that they might know their duety vnto your Maieſtie, & vnto almighty God, and eſpecially to acknowledge your Maieſtie in theſe yeares and age to be a perfect, high, or ſoueraigne Lord and kyng, and ſupreme head, whoſe lawes, proclamations and cōmaundementes we are bounde to obey, aſwell as any Princes ſubiectes are bound to obey the lawes, proclamations, and commaūdementes of their naturall and ſoueraigne Lord, notwithſtandyng that nature hath not yet geuen vnto your perſon ſuch age as we truſt hee ſhall, nor ſo many yeares, which wee wiſhe to bee ſo many as any Prince euer had, the which yeares do not make you king or Prince, but the right of your byrth, and lawfull ſucceſſion what ſo euer it bee, ſo that we all muſt aſwell acknowledge your Maieſtie to bee our Kyng and Prince, at theſe yeares, as if you were of ẏ age of .xxx. or .xl. yeres, and your lawes and ſtatutes no leſſe to be feared and obeyed, then if your hyghnes were .L. or .C. yeare olde, (the which thyng not onely is moſt certeinly true, but alſo at this tyme moſt neceſſary to be taught, eſpecially when diuers rebelles haue openly declared, that they would

Yeares and age do not make a kyng, but the ryght of ſucceſſion.

would not obey your hyghnes lawes, nor acknowledge the Statutes made by your Maieſtie to be auaylable till ye come to the age of xx. yeares) and this not onely beyng ſo, but the ſame thyng being commaunded by your ſayd Maieſtie amongeſt other Iniunctions and Articles geuen in wrytyng to the ſayd Edmund Boner, to bee preached in his laſt Sermon, as by the ſame Iniunctions may appeare, of the which the true copye we haue when nede is to be ſhewed: yet all this notwithſtādyng, the ſayd Boner, of what zeale or minde we cannot tell, whether fauoryng the opinion of the ſayd rebels, or contemnyng your hyghnes commaundement declared to him, hath not onely left out to declare the ſayd Article, which we moſt and chiefly expected and looked for, but alſo in all the reſt of his Sermons did not ſo fully and apartly declare the ſayd Iniunctions and Articles as to our iudgement did appeare they ought to haue ben declared, and was of no light ground loked for, intreatyng of other farre diſtant and diuers from the Articles vpon the which he was commaunded to entreate, and ſuch as moſt ſhould moue and ſtyrre vp the people to diſorder and diſſenſion, willingly leauyng out thoſe thynges whiche ſhould haue made quiet and obedience. wherfore not moued of any malice, grudge, enuy, or euill will to the perſon of the Biſhop, but conſtreined by the loue and zeale which we beare towardes your highnes, and of our ductie and allegeance to your Maieſtie, whoſe honour and ſauetie with tranquilitie, quietnes and good gouernance of this your Realme, we doe moſt deſire, and for the diſcharge of our moſt bounden ducties, to auoyde all the daungers that might enſue of the concealment thereof, we moſt humbly do denounce and declare the ſame to your highnes, to the intent that your Maieſtie by the aduiſe aforeſaid, may, if it pleaſe your highnes, at this our humble denunciation call the ſayd Byſhop to aunſwere to the premiſſes, the which we are readye to auowe and proue, and thē your highnes to take further order herein as to your Princely wiſedome ſhall ſeme moſt conuenient: whoſe long lyfe and moſt proſperous gouernement, God almighty lōg continue, for the which we ſhall pray duryng our liues.

Boner left out of hys Sermon the Article of the kinges authoritie.

The kynges Maieſtie hauyng thus by the information of theſe two credible perſons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and peruerſe negligence of this Byſhop in accompliſhyng his highnes commaundement geuen him by Iniunction, thought it moſt neceſſary withall conuenient ſpede (for the auoidyng of farther inconueniences) to looke more ſeuerely vnto the due puniſhment of ſuch daungerous rebellious obſtinacie, & therfore by the aduiſe of the Lorde Protectour and the reſt of his honorable Counſaile, immediatly he directed forth his Commiſſion vnder his broad Seale, vnto the Archbiſhop of Cāterbury, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and to other graue and truſtie perſonages and Coūſellers, appointing & authoriſing all thē, or certain of thē, by vertue of the ſame, to call before them, aſwell the Biſhop of London, as alſo the foreſayd denoūcers, and vpon due examinatiō and proufe of the premiſſes, or any other matter otherwiſe to be obiected, farther to procede agaynſt him ſummarely & de plano, accordyng to law and Iuſtice, either to ſuſpenſion, excommunicatiō, committyng to priſon, or depriuation (if the qualitie of the offence ſo required) or otherwiſe to vſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſticall, which for the better hearyng & determinyng of that cauſe, myght to their wiſedomes ſeme more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the Cōmiſſion here enſuyng.

Commiſſion directed downe by the kyng agaynſt *Boner.*

Cōmiſſioners appoynted.

¶The copie of the kynges Commiſsion ſent downe vpon the denunciation aforeſayd, for the examination of Boner Byſhop of London.

The copie of the kinges Commiſſion for *Boners* examination.

Edwarde the ſixt. &c. To the moſt reuerent father in God Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, the right reuerend father in God Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, our truſty and right welbeloued Counſellers Sir William Peter and Syr Thomas Smith knightes our two principall Secretaries, and William Maye Doctor of the Law Ciuile and Deane of Paules, greetyng. It is come to our knowledge, that where we by the aduiſe of our moſt entirely beloued vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, gouernour of our perſō, & Protector of all our Realmes, dominions & ſubiectes, & the reſt of our priuy Counſaile, did gyue to ẏ right reuerend father in God Edmund Byſhop of London, vpon certaine cōplaintes before made vnto vs and other great conſiderations, certaine Iniunctions to bee folowed, done, and executed, and in a Sermon appoynted to hym to preach by vs with certaine Articles, and for the more ſure knowledge, kepyng, and obſeruyng, did exhibite the ſame in wrytyng vnto him by the handes of our ſayd Uncle, in the fulfillyng of our counſell: all this notwithſtandyng the ſayd Byſhop hath in contempt of vs (as it may appeare) ouerſlipped and not obſerued certeine of the ſaid things ſo by vs enioyned, and other ſo peruerſely and negligently done that the things minded of vs to reformatiō & for a good quiet of our ſubiectes & our whole realme, be cōuerted by the wilfull negligence or peruerſitie of him, to a great occaſiō of ſclaūder, tumulte and grudge amongeſt our people, as it hath bene denounced to vs in wrytyng by certeine honeſt and diſcrete perſons and otherwiſe called. The which things if they be ſo, we tendryng the wealth, quietnes, good order and gouernement of our people haue not thought conuenient to bee let paſt vnpuniſhed and vnreformed, and therefore by the aduiſe aforeſayd haue appoynted you v. iiij. or iij. vpō whoſe fidelities, wiſedomes, dexterities and circumſpections we haue full cōfidence, to call before you, aſwell the denouncers of the ſayd faultes, as alſo the ſayd Byſhop, and with due examinations and proceſſe, accordyng to the law & Iuſtice, to heare the ſayd matter & all other matters of what kind, nature, or conditiō ſo euer they ſhalbe, that ſhalbe obiected agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop, ſummarely & de plano, or otherwiſe as to your diſcretions ſhalbe thought moſt meete, with full power and authoritie to ſuſpend, excommunicate, commit to priſon or depriue the ſayd Byſhop, if the offence ſhal ſo appeare to merite, or to vſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſticall which for the better hearyng and determinyng of the cauſe, ſhalbe requiſite and apperteine, any law, ſtatute, or act to the contrary notwithſtand. In witnes wherof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to bee made patētes. witnes our ſelf at weſtminſter the viij. of September in the third yeare of our reigne.

Thys Commiſſion beyng ſealed wyth the Kinges broad ſeale, was by hys highnes Counſail foorthwyth deliuered at ẏ Court vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners mencioned in the ſame, being there all together preſent. Who vpon the receipt thereof, determined by vertue of the ſame, to ſyt at the Archbiſhops houſe at Lambeth the wedenſdaye then next enſuing, whych was the tenth day of that preſent moneth of September, and therefore appoynted the biſhop of London to be ſommoned to appeare before them, as at that tyme and place. The maner of whoſe behauiour at hys appearance, becauſe it both declareth the frowarde nature and ſtubborne condition of the perſon, and alſo what eſtimation and authoritie he thought the Commiſſioners to bee of, I thought not vnmeete fyrſt, before I enter into the proceſſe, ſomwhat to note and diſcribe vnto you.

The Commiſſion deliuered.

At his firſt entrye into the place within the Archbyſhops houſe at Lambeth, where the Archbiſhop and other of the Commiſſioners ſat, he paſſed forth directly by them wyth hys cap vpō his head (making as though he ſaw them not) vntill one plucking hym by the ſleeue, wylled hym to do reuerence vnto the Commiſſioners. Whereat hee laughingly turned hym ſelfe, and ſpake vnto the Archbiſhop on this wyſe: what my Lord, are you here? By my trouth I ſawe you not. No, ſayde the Archbiſhop, you would not ſee. Well (quoth he) you ſent for me: haue you any thing to ſay to me? Yea ſayd the Commiſſioners, we haue here authority from the kings highnes to call you to accompt for your Sermon you made lately at Paules croſſe, for that you did not there publiſh vnto the people the article which you were commaunded then to preach vpon. At whych wordes the Biſhop, either for that hee did not greatly like to heare of that matter, or els becauſe hee woulde make hys friends beleue that he was called to accompt onely for hys opinion in religion (as afterwards in the

The ſtubborne behauiour of *Boner* before the Commiſſioners.

Boner ſpeaketh for the Maſſe.

The Archbyſhop.

Boner.

The Archbyſhop.

ſequele of thys proceſſe it more playnly appeareth) began to turne hys talke vnto other matters, and ſaid vnto the Archbiſhop: In good fayth my Lorde, I woulde one thyng were had in more reuerēce then it is. What is that, ſayd the Archbiſhop? The bleſſed Maſſe, quoth he. You haue written very well of the Sacrament: I maruail you do no more honor it? The Archbiſhop of Canterbury therwith perceauing hys ſubtiltie, and ſeing hys groſſe blindnes to commend that whych was vtterly contrary to his opinion, ſayd vnto him againe: If you thinke it well, it is becauſe you vnderſtād it not. The other then adding vnto hys former groſſe ignoraunce an obſtinate impudencie, anſwered: I thinke I vnderſtande it better then you that wrote it. Unto whych wordes the Archbiſhop replyed: truely I wyll eaſely make a childe that is but ten yeares olde vnderſtand therein as much as you: but what is this to the matter?

Boner falleth to ſcorning & taunting of hys denouncers.

Boners iudgement of the people.

Moreouer at what tyme as they beganne to enter the Iudiciall proſecuting of their Commiſſion, and had called forth the denouncers to propound ſuch matter as they had to obiect agaynſt him, he hearing them ſpeake, fell to ſcornyng and taunting of them, ſaying to the one, that he ſpake like a Gooſe, and to the other, that he ſpake like a Woodcocke, vtterly denying their accuſations to be true. Whereupon the Archbiſhop (ſeing hys peuiſh malice agaynſt the denouncers) aſked hym if he would not beleue them, whether he would credit the people there preſent: and therwithall (becauſe many of them were alſo at the biſhops ſermon at Paules) he ſtode vp and read the Article of the kings authoritie during hys yoūg age, ſaying vnto thē: how ſay you my Maiſters, did my Lord of London preach this article? Whereunto they aunſwered: no, no. At which words the biſhop turning himſelfe about, deridingly ſaid: will you beleue this fond people?

Boner full of hys pretenſes, Dawes, Woodcockes, Fooles, and ſuch lyke.

Boners demeanour not tolerable for hys calling though mete for hys byrth.

Boners friuolous ſhiftes.

Beſides this, at all his appearinges hee vſed many irreuerent, vncomly, obſtinate and frowarde woordes and behauiours towardes the Commiſſioners and others (in defacing their authoritie with the termes of pretenſed Commiſſioners, pretenſed wytneſſes, and vniuſt, vnlawfull and pretenſed procedinges, with recuſation of ſome, and terming others Dawes, Woodcockes, fooles, and ſuch like) which I wyll here omyt, for that they do more manifeſtly appeare in the ſequele of the ſtorye in the tyme and place, as they happened: Adding yet thus much by the waye, that although ſuch ſtoutnes of hart and wyll (if it had bene in a cauſe true and rightfull) might haue perchaunce ſeemed in ſome mens iudgement to be ſomwhat ſufferable: yet to ſay ý truth, in what cauſe ſo euer it be, being immoderate, as this ſhal appeare, it beſeemed no wiſe mā, & therfore much leſſe one of hys calling. For if hys cauſe had bene good, why dyd hee not take the wronge paciently and meekely, as the true cannon lawe of the Goſpell doth teache him? If it were (as it it was in dede) naught and wrong, whereto ſerued ſo bold ſturdye ſtoutneſſe, but to ſhewe the impudency of the perſon and to make the cauſe worſe whych was bad inough before? But bylike hee was diſpoſed to declare, if neede were, what hee was able to do in the lawe, in ſhifting of the matter by ſubtyll delatories, and friuolous cauilling about the law. And if that would not helpe, yet with facing and braſing, and rayling vpon the denouncers, wyth furious woordes and irreuerent behauiour towardes the kinges Commiſſioners, he thought to coūtenance out the matter before the people, that ſome thyng might ſeeme yet to be in hym, what ſoeuer was in the cauſe. But to conclude, for all hys crafty cauteles and tergiuerſations alledged out of the lawe, yet neyther hys cauſe could be ſo defended, nor hys behauiour ſo excuſed, but that he was therefore both iuſtly impriſoned, and alſo in the ende moſt lawfully depriued: as by the ſequele of thys proceſſe may well appeare, the maner whereof is as followeth.

¶ The firſt Action or Seſsion againſt Boner.

The firſt appearaunce of *Boner* before the kings Cōmiſſioners the x. day of September.

The Iudges delegate, the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, *Syr W. Peter, Doct. May* Deane of Paules.

Syr Thomas Smyth then abſent.

Upon Wedenſday, the x. day of September in the yeare of our Lord. 1549. and in the third yeare of the reigne of kyng Edward the ſixt, Tho. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane & Primate of all Englād, aſſociate with Nicholas Rydley then Biſhop of Rocheſter, Syr Wil. Peter knight one of the kinges two principall Secretaries, and William May Doctor of the Ciuill law and Deane of Paules, by vertue of the kynges Commiſſion ſat Iudicially vpon the examination of Edmond Boner Byſhop of London within the Archbiſhops chamber of preſence at his houſe in Lambeth, before whom there then alſo perſonally appeared the ſayd Byſhop: at which tyme the Commiſſioners firſt ſhewing forth their Commiſſion, requeſted Syr William Peter that he woulde openly publiſh and read ý ſame. Which done, the Archbiſhop in ý name of the reſt declared vnto the Byſhop that a greuous complaynt had bene thertofore made and exhibited agaynſt him in writyng vnto the kynges Maieſtie and his honorable Counſaile, and that therfore his highnes, with their aduiſe, had committed the examination therof vnto him and other his colleages there preſent, as alſo vnto Syr Thomas Smith knight ý other of his Maieſties two principall Secretaries though then abſent, and therwithall ſhewed alſo forth a Bill of complainte exhibited vnto the kyng by William Latimer and Ioh. Hoper Miniſters, which they likewiſe requeſted Syr William Peter to read. Theſe thinges ended, the Byſhop lyke a ſubtill lawyer, hauyng moſt like ſome ſecret intelligence before of theſe matters, (what ſoeuer hee pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his boſome a ſolemne Proteſtation ready written: which hee then exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners, requeſtyng that the ſame might be there openly read: the copye whereof is this in tenour and fourme as foloweth.

¶ The tenour and forme of Edmund Boner biſhop of London hys proteſtation, exhibited to the kings Commiſſioners at hys firſt appearing.

The forme and copie of *Boners* Proteſtation.

EDmundus Lond. Epiſcopus primò & ante omnia proteſtor quòd per hanc meam comparitionem ſeu per aliqua per me hic dicta ſeu dicenda, allegata ſeu alleganda, propoſita ſeu proponenda, exhibita ſeu exhibenda, geſta ſeu gerēda, obiecta ſeu obijcienda, exercita ſeu exercēda, facta ſeu fienda, petita ſeu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Iudices præſentes tanquam in iudices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquo modo cōſentire veſtram iuriſdictionem præſentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare niſi prout ac quatenus de iure ad hoc tenear & aſtringar rationiq; conſonum videatur: & ſub proteſtatione prædicta & ea ſemper mihi ſalua (a qua recedere non intendo, ſed eandem in omnibus & ſingulis deinceps in hoc negotio prætenſo per me agēdis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico & allego quòd literæ commiſsionales pretenſæ vobis (vt dicitur) in hac parte directæ, ſeu earum vera & legitima copia nunquam ante hac mihi oſtenſæ aut monſtratæ fuerūt, nec a me aliquo modo viſæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaq; contra formam & tenorem earundem, vel contra perſonas aliquorum veſtrū, ea quæ de iure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reuerētia (qua decet) obijcere ac in debita iuris forma proponere non poſſum in præſenti vt deberem. Quare vt defenſio congrua quæ nulli hominum deneganda eſt, mihi reſeruetur liquidoq; ſciam cuiuſmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere poſsint ac debeant, vtq; eas ſuis loco & tempore iuxta iuris exigentiam, pro neceſſaria defenſione mea proponam contra vel pretenſas literas commiſsionales huiuſmodi, vel cōtra perſonas aliquorum veſtrum, quatenus liceat & expediat ſub proteſtatione prædicta, facultatem dictas prætēſas litteras commiſſionales in forma originali inſpiciendi, ac earum veram, integram, & fidelem copiam debitè exinde mihi fieri humiliter peto & poſtulo prout iuris eſt in hac parte, tenore præſentium: nihilominus teſtatum manifeſtè relinquēs, quòd obſeruantiam & reuerentiam, ac obedientiam & honorem, ac cætera quæcunq; sereniſſimæ Regiæ maieſt. Domino meo ſupremo has literas prætenſas vobis (vt dicitur) committenti qualitercumq; decet in omnibus & per omnia perpetuò humillimè recogniturus ſum, habitaturus & preſtiturus, et his exceptionibus, & defenſionibus legittimis mihi de iure & natura cōpetentibus ad defenſionē meam neceſſariam & legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte vſurus.

Thys proteſtation being read, he requeſted the Cōmiſſioners that he myght haue the byll of complaint deliuered hym: which when he had well peruſed, he ſayd that the ſame was very generall, and ſo generall, as that he could not directly aunſwer thereunto. Whereunto the Archbiſhop aunſwered, that the ſpeciall cauſe of the complaynt agaynſt him was, for that he had trāſgreſſed the kinges commaundement, geuen vnto hym by hys Counſail, in that he in hys late ſermon made at Paules croſſe, did not ſet forth vnto ẏ people the kings hyghnes Royall power in hys minoritie, according to the tenor of the article deliuered vnto hym by them for that purpoſe: and for proofe thereof called forth William Latimer and Iohn Hooper Preachers, who before that tyme had put vp the byll of complaint vnto the kyng agaynſt hym. Upon whom when the biſhop had earneſtly looked (and well behelde them) hee ſayd: as for thys Marchant Latimer, I know hym verye well, and haue borne with hym, and winked at hys euill doinges a great whyle, but I haue more to ſaye to hym hereafter. But as touching thys other marchant Hooper, I haue not ſeene him before, howbeit I haue heard much of hys noughty preaching: and then turning him ſelfe agayne to the Archbiſhop (of purpoſe moſt like to make hys frendes thinke that hee was not called thether to aunſwere hys contemptuous diſobedience, but for matters of religion) ſayd vnto hym: Ah my Lord, now I ſee that the cauſe of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend agaynſt me, but it is for that I did preach and ſet forth in my late ſermon, the true preſence of ẏ moſt bleſſed body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the aulter. For, as for theſe my accuſers, as they be euil, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, ſo are they manifeſt and notable herefickes, and ſeducers of ẏ people, eſpecially touching the ſacrament of the aultar: and moſt of all this Hooper.

Boner inueyeth agaynſt his denouncers.

Boner tranſlateth his cauſe to the matter of the Sacrament.

Boner maketh exception of hys accuſers.

For where in my late ſermō at Paules croſſe I preached that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there is the true body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, ẏ ſelfe ſame in ſubſtance that was hanged and ſhed vpon the croſſe: he the ſame day at after noone, hauing a great rablement wyth him of hys damnable ſecte, openly in the pulpyt wythin my Dioces, dyd preach erroneouſly to the people agaynſt it: and maliciouſly inueying agaynſt my ſermon, denyed the verity and preſence of Chriſts true body and bloud to be in the ſame Sacrament, and alſo falſely and vntruely interpreted and expounded my wordes. And ſpecially, where I preached and affirmed the verye true bodye and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt to be in the ſayd ſacrament, the ſelfe ſame in ſubſtaunce that was hanged and ſhed vpon the croſſe: hee like an Aſſe (as he is an Aſſe in deede) falſely chaunged and turned the word that into as, lyke an Aſſe, ſaying that I had ſayd, as it hanged, and as it was ſhed vpon the croſſe.

Boners groſſe opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Boner rayleth againſt *M. Hooper.*

The Archbiſhop hereupon perceauing the byſhops drift, and hearing hym talke ſo much of the preſence of Chriſtes bodye and bloud in the ſacrament, ſayd vnto hym: My Lorde of London, ye ſpeake much of a preſence in the ſacrament: what preſence is there, and of what preſence do you meane? Wherewyth the biſhop being ſomewhat ſturred and moued in mynde (as appeared by hys collericke countenaunce) ſpake agayne to the Archbiſhop very earneſtly, and ſayd: What preſence my Lord? I ſay and beleue that there is the very true preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt. What beleue you, and howe doo you beleue my Lord? Upon whych wordes the Archbiſhop, becauſe he ſawe his anſwere darke and ſubtyll, and minding ſomwhat to nyp the groſſe abſurditie of the Papiſtes, aſked hym farther whether he were there, face, noſe, mouth, eyes, armes, and lips, wyth other liniamentes of hys body? Wherat the biſhop ſhaking hys head, ſayd: Oh, I am ryght ſory to heare your grace ſpeake theſe wordes, and therwithall boldly vrged the Archbiſhop to ſhew his minde therein. Who wyſely waying the fond preſumption of the partie, wyth the place and occaſion of theyr aſſembly, refuſed then ſo to do, ſaying that theyr beyng there at that tyme, was not to diſpute of thoſe matters, but to proſecute their Commiſſion committed to them by their Prince, and therefore wylled hym to aunſwere them vnto ſuch thinges as were obiected againſt hym. Whereupon vnder hys proteſtation he requeſted to haue a copye both of the commiſſion, and alſo of the denunciation geuē vnto hym, with tyme to anſwere thereunto. Which the Commiſſioners wyllingly graunted, aſſigning him there to appeare agayne before them vpon Friday at eight of the clocke before noone, thē next following, and then to anſwer the tenor of the denunciation. And ſo for that day (he complayning ſomwhat of the ſhortnes of his time to anſwer) they all departed.

Talke betwen the Archbyſhop and *Boner* about the Sacrament.

A queſtion to *Boner.*

Dayes geuen to *Boner* to aunſwere for hym ſelfe.

The ſecond appearance of Boner in the Chappell of Lambeth, before the Archbiſhop and other .iiij. Commiſſioners, the B. of Rocheſter, Secretarye Peter, Secretary Smith, and the Deane of Paules.

The ſecond appearaunce of *Boner* before the kinges Commiſſioners.

Vpon Fridaye the .xiij. of September aforenamed, foure Commiſſioners, aſſociated then alſo wyth Syr Thomas Smyth Knight the other of the kynges two principall Secretaries, and ioynt Commiſſioners with them, ſat iudicially in the Archbiſhops Chappell within his houſe at Lambeth. Before whom (according to their former aſſignement) there and then appeared the biſhop of London. To whom the Archbyſhop in the name of the reſt, fyrſt ſayd: My lord of London, the laſt tyme you were before vs, we layd certayn articles and matter to your charge touching your diſobedience to ẏ kinges Maieſtie, & you haue thys day to make your aunſwer thereunto: wherefore now ſhew vs what you haue to ſay for your defence. Wherunto the biſhop firſt aſking the Archbiſhop if hee had all ſayd and done, and he agayne ſaying yea, made thys aunſwer: My Lord, the laſt daye that I appeared before you, I remember there ſat in the kings Maieſties commiſſion, your Grace, you my Lorde of Rocheſter, you maiſter Secretarye Peter, and you Maiſter Deane of Paules: but now I perceiue there ſytteth alſo Maiſter Secretarye Smyth. Who becauſe he ſat not at the begynning, nor tooke there the Commiſſion vpon hym, ought not ſo to do: for by the lawe, they which begyn, muſt continue the commiſſion.

Boners aunſwere to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

A preciſe point of the law, whether any new Commiſſioner may ſit afterwarde, which ſate not at the beginning.

Wherupon the Archbiſhop firſt aunſwered, that he was no lawyer and therfore could not certeinly ſhewe what the law willeth in that caſe, but (sayth hee) if the law be ſo in deede, ſurely I take it to bee an vnreaſonable law.

Well, ſayd the Byſhop, there bee here that knoweth the law: and yet I ſay not this to the intent to ſtand or ſticke much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way: for I haue here myne aunſwere ready.

Then ſayd Maiſter Secretary Peter to the Biſhop: My Lord in good ſooth I muſt ſay vnto you, that although I haue profeſſed the law, yet by diſcōtinuaunce and diſuſe therof, and hauyng bene occupied a lōg time in other matters from ſtudy of the law, I haue perhaps forgotten what the law will do preciſely in this poynt: but admitte the law were ſo as you ſay, yet your ſelfe knoweth my Lord that this is our certein rule in law, Quòd conſuetudo eſt iuris interpres optimus, and I am ſure you will not nor can not denye, but that the cuſtome is commonly in this Realme in all Iudgementes and Commiſſions vſed to the contrary: and in very deede all together at the Court hauing ẏ Cōmiſſion preſented vnto vs, take it vppon vs: and therfore for you to ſticke in ſuch triflyng matters, you ſhall rather in my Iudgement hurt your ſelf and your matter, then other wiſe.

The wordes of Secretary *Peter* to *Boner.*

Truely

The aunſwere of Boner to Secretary Peter.

Truly Maiſter Secretary (ſayd the Byſhop) I haue alſo of long while bene diſuſed in the ſtudy of the law, but hauyng occaſion (partly by reaſon of this matter) to turne my bookes, I finde the law to be as I ſay: and yet (as I ſayd) I tel you hereof but by ẏ way, not myndyng to ſticke much with you in that poynt.

The wordes of Secretary Smyth to Boner.

At which wordes Maiſter Secretary Smith ſayd alſo vnto the Byſhop: wel my Lord of London, as cunnyng as you make your ſelfe in the law, there be here that knoweth the law as well as you: and for my parte I haue ſtudied the law to, and I promiſe you theſe be but quiddites and quirkes inuented to delay matters, but our Cōmiſſion is to procede ſummarely, & de plano, and to cut of ſuch friuolous allegations.

The aunſwere of Boner to Secretary Smyth.

Well, (ſayd the Byſhop agayne) looke well on your Commiſſion, and you ſhall finde therin theſe wordes: *to procede accordyng to the Law and Iuſtice*, and I aſke both law and Iuſtice at your handes.

The wordes of Secretary Peter.

Then Maiſter Secretary Peter willed him to ſtand no more thereupon, but to procede vnto his aunſwere. Wherupon he tooke forth a writyng, wherin was conteined his aunſwere to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latymer and Hooper, and deliueryng it vnto the Archbyſhop, ſayd that it was of his owne hād writyng, and for lacke of ſufficient time writtē ſo haſtely and courſely, that it could ſcarſely be read of any other, & therfore he deſired to read it him ſelfe: and ſo takyng it agayne read it openly.

Boners writyng exhibited to the Cōmiſſioners aūſwering to the denunciation.

Exceptiōs layde by Boner agaynſt Maiſter Hooper hys denoūcers.

The friuolous quarrelling of Boner agaynſt his denouncers.

Wherein firſt he alledged (or rather ſhameleſly and ſclaunderouſly cauilled) that thoſe his denoūcers were vyle, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, and alſo open & manifeſt heretickes, aſwell agaynſt the reſt of the Sacramentes of the Church, as chiefly agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, and were for the ſame by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accurſed, and were ſo taken of all the Catholickes of this Realme, and eſpecially Hoper: who beſides other his poyſoned doctrine and hereſie taught amongeſt the people, had alſo before the tyme of the denunciation, made diuerſe erroneous and hereticall bookes agaynſt the true preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament of the aultar, and did alſo ſtill continue in the ſame, allowyng and mayntainyng it as good and Catholicke: which bookes and doctrine (chiefly agaynſt the Sacrament of the aulter) W. Latimer had and then likewyſe did allow, beleue, and teach, to the loſſe of both theyr own ſoules & alſo their beleuers, and therfore were not now nor ought at any tyme to bee admitted either in this their denunciation agaynſt him, or in any other Iudiciall Acte: and ẏ rather alſo, bycauſe that although they pretended in their denunciation, that they made not the ſame of any malice or euill will towardes him, but for the good tranquilitie and quiet gouernaunce of this Realme: yet was it notoriouſly knowen, that aſwell the ſame day at after noone in which hee the ſayd Byſhop preached at the Croſſe of Paules, as alſo at ſondry other tymes, they two conſpiryng with other of their faction, did maliciouſly and vnlawfully within his Dioces aſſemble together a great rablement of ſuch as thē ſelues were, and there vnder the colour of reading, did openly raile and inuey agaynſt him, not for any the cauſes pretended in their denunciation, but bycauſe he had in his Sermō declared (as the Catholicke Church taught) that in the Sacrament of the aulter there was the very true body and bloud of Chriſt, the ſame in ſubſtaunce that was hanged and ſhed vpon the Croſſe.

Boner put to a bare ſhifte.

Then after theſe vayne and friuolous allegations agaynſt the denouncers, he commeth and aunſwereth to the ſubſtaunce of their denunciation, and ſayth that where they in ẏ ſame do falſely ſurmiſe that there were deliuered vnto him from the kynges Maieſtie, by the handes of the Lord Protectour and the reſt of hys highnes Counſaile, certeine Iniunctions and Articles to be publiſhed and declared vnto the people at a day limited in the ſame, their information in ſuch ſorte as it was deduced, was moſt falſe and vntrue, for that the Articles deliuered vnto hym by Syr Thomas Smith one of the kynges Secretaries, were neither ſigned with the kynges owne hand, neyther ſealed with his highnes ſeale or ſignet, nor yet ſubſcribed by any of his Counſaile. &c.

Boners vaine cauillation to no purpoſe.

Where marke, I beſech you, the ſubtiltie of a diſloyall Papiſt, who bycauſe the Articles were not ſealed or ſigned by the kyng or his Counſaile, would make them therfore not to be of any ſuch force, as that the breach therof ſhould cauſe hym to incurre the daunger of contemptuous diſobedience. But admitte they were not ſigned nor ſealed (of which thyng by the way in ẏ denunciatiō there is no mention yea or nay) yet is it manifeſt by the ſecond Bill of Articles miniſtred vnto him by the Commiſſioners in the fourth Acte of this proceſſe, that at ſuch tyme as he was before the Counſell, thoſe Articles were by the commaundement of the Lord protectour openly there read vnto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concernyng the kinges lawfull power and authoritie duryng his yong yeares, were alſo deliuered vnto him by the handes of the Lord Protectour, in the preſence of the reſt of the Counſell: who thus receiuyng them, promiſed there faithfully to accompliſhe all the contentes thereof. After which they were agayne deliuered vnto Secretarie Smith to amende ſuch thinges therein as the Lord Protectour and the reſt of the Counſell had there appointed. Which beyng accordyngly done (as the Biſhop him ſelfe at the laſt recept therof confeſſed) were finally deliuered vnto him by the Secretarie: and therfore was this but a poore ſhift.

Boners ſuppoſition.

Now after thys, he maketh a ſuppoſition: that in caſe it were true, that the Iniunctions were deliuered hym accordyng to their information: yet was it vntrue that he dyd omitte or refuſe to declare the ſame for any ſuch cauſes as they had alledged againſt hym, and that dyd well appeare in the diſcourſe of hys ſermon, which tended principally (as he ſayd) to the diſalowing and condemnation of all Rebels, and chiefly of the Rebels in Northfolke, Southfolke, Deuonſhiere, and Cornewall, or elſwhere within this realme of England: who forgetting theyr allegeance and duty vnto their prince aſſigned them by Gods word as theyr ſupreme head, their naturall loue & care for their coūtrey, wiues, children, and kinſfolke, dyd both deſerue death bodily as traytors, and alſo accumulate vnto them ſelues damnation of body and ſoule eternally with Satan the father and firſt mouer of all rebellion and diſobedience: and herewithall farther exclaming againſt the pretenſes of thoſe Rebels, who amongeſt other thinges pretended the Maſſe and holy water with ſuch like, which were neuer ordeyned for the purpoſe, to colour & maintayne rebellion (as hee ſayd he then proued out of the 16. Nombers. 1. Reg. 15. Leuit. 10. & 4. Luke. 13. and Actes. 5. in beſt maner that he could, as one not exerciſed greatly in preaching, but reſtrayned therefrom) but hauing humilitie of hart, innocēcie of liuing, knowledge of God, loue to our neighbours, with obedience to Gods worde, Miniſters and ſuperiour powers concurrent with them, they being externall rites and ceremonies of the Church, were exerciſes of religion, and apoyntable by ſuperiour powers: and yet that, which (ſtanding the lawe) might be good, was by pryde and diſobedience made euyll and vnprofitable.

Boner agaynſt the rebelles.

Externall rites and ceremonyes.

And here he farther ſayd, becauſe he ſaw the people ſlacke in comming to the Communion and diuine ſeruice ſet forth by the kinges Maieſtie, and to the entent he would make them haue a better opinion in the Sacrament then he thought they had, hee then faythfully dyd declare hys beliefe therein. Wherwith hys denoūcers being offended, they vncharitably and vntruly deduced in theyr pretenced denunciation, that in hys ſermon he dyd intreate of ſuch thinges as moſt ſhould ſtur vp vnto diſſenſion and tumult: whereby it appeared vnto hym, that his denouncers either tooke hys Catho-

As iuſtly they myght, the ſame being hereticall & blaſphemous agaynſt the humanitie of Chriſt.

Boner ſtycketh ſtill to the Sacramẽt of the Altar.

licke aſſertion of the veritie of Chriſtes body and blood in the ſacrament of the aultar, or els hys faythfull declaration made of the obedience of Subiectes vnto the kinges Maieſtie theyr ſupreme and ſoueraigne Lord, wyth the perill and daunger of rebellion committed agaynſt hym, to be the cauſe of diſorder and diſſenſion: for that (ſaith he) of theſe two pointes he chiefly ſpake, and eſpecially of obedience to the king: Whoſe minoritie was more then manifeſtly knowen, aſwell amongeſt the people of this realme, as elſwhere throughout the world beſides: whych he would not haue done except he had beleued, that both all hys ſubiectes were bounden to obey hym, euen as he then was and ſhould be during hys lyfe, and alſo that the rebellion of late cõmitted agaynſt hym, was deteſtable and condemned by Gods word: and therefore he wiſhed that hys two denouncers, wyth all the reſt of the newe Preachers, dyd meane as faythfully, obediently, and catholickely towardes the kinges honor, royall power, and ſuretye of perſon, as he dyd, & had not more moued the people to tumultes and diſobedience by theyr erroneous doctrine & teaching, then he had at any tyme geuen any occaſion thereunto.

Boners purgation of him ſelfe for hys Sermon.

Then finallye hee concluded and ſayd, that where his denouncers ſurmiſe that it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in theyr iudgementes, that he ſhoulde more apertly haue declared the contentes of the Iniunctions and Articles then hee did, that theyr iudgementes were in that behalfe corrupted and ſet to ſclaunder and picking of quarrels: for he was well aſſured and credibly enformed, that all his honeſt and catholicke audience were fully ſatiſfied, both touching theyr obedience to the kinges Maieſtye in hys tender age, and alſo concerning the great penaltie and peryll that the late Rebels incurred by theyr diſobedience. And beſides that, when he was before the Lorde Protector and the reſt of the Counſail, after hee had made hys excuſe, and alledged manye impedimentes for his not preaching at the Croſſe, hee dyd not then further promiſe, but to do the beſt he coulde: which he hath of hys fidelitie and conſcience accompliſhed, not omitting any thing of purpoſe or euyll wyll, that might ſatiſfye the people in any point concerning the premiſſes.

The Archbyſhop replyeth agaynſt Boner.

Whileſt he was thus reading theſe anſwers, obiecting againſt hys denouncers ſuch cauſes & quarels as bee afore alledged, for which hee would haue earneſtly had the denouncers to be repelled of yͤ Cõmiſſioners, the Archbiſhop of Canterburye replied, that if there were ſuche a law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the biſhop of Rome. For ſayd he, if my matter and caſe be good, what ſhould I care who accuſe me, yea, although he were the deuill of hell.

The lawe of the Byſhop of Rome reproued.

The Popes lawe fathered vpõ the kyng.

No Syr, ſaid the Biſhop of London, it is the kinges law vſed in the Realme.

The Archbyſhop.

Well, my Lord (ſayd the Archbiſhop) ye bee to full of your law. I would wiſhe you had leſſe knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in Gods law, and of your duety.

Boner.

Well, aunſwered the Byſhop agayne, ſeyng your grace falleth to wiſhyng, I can alſo wiſhe many things to be in your perſon.

Secretary Peter.

Then ſpake Secretary Peter to the Biſhop as touchyng theſe denouncers: we are not ſo ſtrayted in this matter, but that we may procede agaynſt you, either at their promotion, or without them at our pleaſure.

Boner.

A Gods name (then ſayd Boner) put them by, and then do as your pleaſure ſhalbe, ſo you do me right, for I aſke but right.

Secretary Smyth.

Nay, ſayd Secretary Smith, you aſke you wot not what: you would haue vs folow your minde in theſe quidities and quirkes: and all is nothing els but to delay Iuſtice. And you do herein as theeues, murtherers, and traitors, not to haue the truth knowen.

Boner.

Say you ſo to me, quod the Byſhop? I thanke you. Well, I could ſay ſomewhat to you alſo, were it not in yͤ place ye be: but let it paſſe. As for my matter, I feare it not: it is not ſo euill as you make it, for I haue your owne hand writyng for my diſcharge, whiche when I ſhall ſee tyme, I ſhall ſhew forth.

Secretary Smyth. Boner.

My hand, quoth the Secretary? Let me ſee it, and let it be read openly. So it ſhall, ſayd the Biſhop, when I ſee tyme.

Secretary Smyth.

Then ſayd M. Smith: you do vſe vs thus to be ſeene a cunnyng Lawyer.

Boner. Well cracked M. Boner.

In dede quoth the Byſhop, I knew the law, ere you could read it.

Articles deliuered vp agaynſt Boner.

With that Secretary Peter willed the Byſhop to procede in readyng of his aunſweres: who ſo did, and when he had finiſhed, Latymer deliuered vppe a writyng in paper vnto the Archbyſhop and the reſt of the Commiſſioners: who then ſayd vnto the Byſhop of London, here be certeine Articles which we intend to miniſter vnto you.

Boner.

The Biſhop therewith ſayd, do you miniſter them of your office, or at the promotion of theſe men? (poyntyng to Latymer and Hoper) for I perceaue they gaue them vnto you.

Secretary Peter.

Nay, ſayd Secretary Peter, we will Miniſter them vnto you, ex officio mero, and therupon tooke an oth of the Byſhop de fideliter reſpondendo. Who deſiring a copie of the articles, required alſo a cõpetẽt time to be geuen vnto him to make aunſwere therunto.

Boner requireth reſpite to aunſwere.

Secretary Peter.

To whom Secretary Peter replyed, ſaying: My Lord, here bee certeine of the Articles touchyng your owne facte, which you may aunſwere vnto forthwith: as whether you wrote your Sermon or not before you preached it.

Boner.

Wherunto the Byſhop aunſwered that he wrote it not, but he drewe certeine notes of it.

Secretary Peter.

Then, whoſe counſell (ſayd hee) and aduice vſed you in makyng your Sermon?

Boner.

To which he alſo aunſwered, that he had therein vſed his own counſell and bookes, and yet my chapleyns (quoth he) be much ſuſpected for my doynges in many thinges, and ſometymes I for theirs, when there is no cauſe why. Theſe wordes ended yͤ Cõmiſſioners aſſigned him Monday the 16. of Septemb. then next, to appeare before them and to make his full aunſweres vnto all the Articles miniſtred vnto hym by them this day: the contentes wherof are as foloweth.

An other day aſſigned to Boner.

¶ The forme and tenour of the Articles miniſtred vnto the Byſhop of London, by the Kynges Commiſſioners.

The 3. Seſſion or appearance of Boner.

The ſumme of the Articles miniſtred agaynſt Boner.

MOnday the xvj. of September, the Archbyſhop aſſociated with the Byſhop of Rocheſter, Secretary Smith, and Doctour May Deane of Paules, ſat iudicially within his Chappel at Lambeth: before whom there and then appeared the Byſhop of London accordyng as hee was aſſigned in the laſt Seſſion: at which tyme he exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners in writyng his aunſweres vnto the laſt former Articles.

Boners aunſweres to the Articles in writyng.

Hooper & Latimer deſire to purge them ſelues agaynſt Boners ſclaunders.

But before the ſame were there read, the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto him, that his late aunſweres made the 13. of September vnto the denũciation, were very obſcure, & therwith alſo conteined much matter of ſclaunder againſt Latymer and Hooper, and much vntruth, and therefore they deſired there to purge them ſelues. Wherupon Latymer firſt obtainyng leaue to ſpeake, ſayd, that the Byſhop of London had moſt falſely, vntruly, & vncharitably accuſed him, laying to his charge many fayned and vntrue matters in hys former aunſweres to the denunciation, and ſuch as he ſhould neuer be able to proue. For where in his ſayd aunſwere he alledged that he William Latymer and Iohn Hooper with other heretickes conſpiryng agaynſt him, did the firſt day of September after the Byſhops Sermon aſſemble them ſelues together vnlawfully agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop, that ſaying of his was moſt vntrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor vntill certeine

Purgation of Latymer.

Boner reproued of vntruth.

Maiſter Latimer purgeth hym ſelfe agaynſt Boner.

teine dayes after, he euer knew or ſpake with Hoper. And as touchyng his owne preachyng there openly accuſed by the Byſhop, he ſayd hee neuer held, taught, or preached any thyng concernyng the bleſſed Sacramēt, otherwiſe then he ought to do, nor otherwiſe then according to the Scriptures, and true Catholicke fayth of Chriſtes Church: and therfore offered him ſelfe to be tryed by the Archbyſhop or other ſuch learned men as it ſhould pleaſe the kynges Maieſtie, or the ſayd Commiſſioners to appointe: and farther to ſuffer to be hanged, drawen, and quartered, if the Byſhop could iuſtly proue true the things that he had there ſhamefully layd to his charge. Then M. Hooper vpon like lycence obtained, ſayd to this effect.

Maiſter Hooper cleareth hym ſelfe agaynſt the falſe ſclaūder of Boner.

Thys vngodly man (pointing to the biſhop) hath moſt vncharitably and vngodly accuſed me before your Grace and this audience, and hath layde to my charge that I am an hereticke. Whereas I take God to record, I neuer ſpake, read, taught, or preached any hereſie, but onely the moſt true and pure worde of God. And where he ſayth I frequent the company of heretickes, I do much marueil of hys ſo ſaying, for it hath pleaſed my Lord Protectors grace, my ſingular good Lord and Maiſter, and my Ladies Grace to haue me with them, and I haue preached before them, & much vſed their company, wyth diuers other worſhipful perſons, and therefore I ſuppoſe this man meaneth them. And farther, where as he ſayth that I haue made hereticall bookes agaynſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, calling it mathematicall, I perceiue that thys man knoweth not what thys word mathematicall there meaneth, and therfore vnderſtandeth not my booke: which I take God to my Iudge, I haue made truly, ſincerely, and according to hys holy word: and by the ſame hys holy word and ſcriptures I am alwayes and ſhall bee ready to ſubmitte my ſelfe to your Graces iudgement, and the ſuperiour powers to bee tryed: with many ſuch more wordes of like importance.

Thys terme Mathematycall, is referred of Maiſter Hooper not to the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes bodye vpon the Croſſe, but to the Papiſticall accidence without ſubſtance vpon the altar.

The Archbyſhop.

Which ended, the Archbiſhop to ſhorten this matter, aſked the Biſhop how he could proue, that Hooper and Latymer aſſembled together againſt hym the firſt of September, as he had alledged, ſeing they nowe denyed it, and therefore wylled hym to aunſwere foorthwith thereunto.

Boner.

The Biſhop then aunſwered that he woulde onely proue it, ſo that he might be admitted to doo it according to law, and with that he pulled out of hys ſleeue certaine bookes, ſaying: I haue this varlets bookes whych he made againſt the bleſſed ſacrament, whych you ſhall heare. Then as hee was turning certayne leaues thereof, Hooper began agayne to ſpeake, but ẏ biſhop turning him ſelfe towardes him, tauntingly ſaid, put vp your pipes, you haue ſpoken for your part, I wyll meddle no more with you, and therewith read a certaine ſentence vpon the booke. Which done, he ſayd: Lo here you may ſee hys opinion, and what it is.

Boner chargeth Maiſter Hooper of hereſye.

The people laugh Boner to ſcorne.

At which wordes the people ſtanding behynde, and ſeing hys vnreuerent and vnſeemely demeanour and rayling, fell ſodainly into a great laughing. Whereat the biſhop being moued, and perceauing not the cauſe wherefore they dyd ſo laugh, turned hym towardes thē in a great rage ſaying: ah Woodcocks, woodcocks.

Boner calleth the people Woodcockes.

Then ſayd one of the Commiſſioners, why ſay you ſo my Lord? Marye quoth hee, I maye well call them Woodcockes that thus wil laugh, and know not wherat, nor yet heard what I ſayd or read.

The Archbyſhop.

Boner would make the people falſly beleue that hee was called for hys opinion in the ſacrament.

Well my Lorde of London, ſayd the Archbiſhop, then I perceiue you would perſwade this audiēce that you were called hither for preaching of your beliefe in the ſacrament of the aultar, and therefore you lay to theſe mens charge (meaning Hooper and Latymer) that they haue accuſed you of that. Howbeit there is no ſuch thing layd to your charge, and therefore thys audience ſhall heare openly read the denunciation that is put vp againſt you, to the entent they maye the better perceiue your dealing herein. And there wythall he ſayde vnto the people: My Lorde of London woulde make you beleue that he is called hether for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the ſacrament of the aultar, but to the entent you may perceaue how he goeth about to deceiue you, you ſhall heare the denunciation that is layd in againſt him read vnto you, and therupon he deliuered the denūciation vnto Syr Iohn Maſon knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbiſhop ſayd agayne vnto the audience: Loe, here you heare how the biſhop of London is called for no ſuch matter as he would perſwade you.

The wordes of the Archbiſhop to the people.

Syr Iohn Maſon readeth the denunciation vnto the people.

Boner in a rage.

With this the biſhop being in a raging heate, as one cleane voyde of all humanitie, turned himſelfe about vnto the people, ſaying: Well, nowe heare what the biſhop of London ſayth for hys part. But the commiſſioners ſeing his inordinate contumacie, denyed hym to ſpeake any more, ſaying that he vſed him ſelfe verye diſobediently: with moe like wordes.

Boner for hys contumacie not ſuffered to ſpeake to the people.

Notwithſtanding he ſtyll perſiſting in his vnreuerent maner of dealing with the Commiſſioners, pulled out of hys ſleeue an other booke, and then ſayd vnto the Archbiſhop: My Lord of Canterbury, I haue here a note out of your bookes that you made touching the bleſſed ſacrament, wherein you do affirme the veritye of the body and bloud of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament, and I haue an other booke alſo of yours of the contrary opinion: which is a marueilous matter.

Boner chargeth the Archbyſhop with contrarietie in hys owne bookes.

To which the Archbiſhop aunſwered, that he made no bookes contrary one to an other, and that he would defend his bookes, how beit he thought the biſhop vnderſtood them not: For I promiſe you quoth he, I wyll finde a boy of ten yeares old, that ſhall be more apt to vnderſtand that matter, then you my L. of London be.

The Archbiſhop purgeth hym ſelfe and hys bookes.

Thus after much multiplying of like wordes, the Commiſſioners thinking not good to ſpende any more waſte time with him, wylled him to ſhew forth hys anſwers vnto the articles obiected ẏ laſt day agaynſt him. Wherupon he hauing them ready, did reade the ſame openly vnto them. Wherein after manye wordes of hys former proteſtation recited, with a marueilous lamentation, to ſee that one of hys vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretickes, ſhoulde be vſed after ſuch a ſtraunge ſort, hauing neuertheles done the beſt he could to declare his obedience vnto the kinges Maieſtie for the repreſſing and diſcouraging of rebellion and all rebells, and alſo for the aduauncement of the verity of Chriſtes true body and hys preſence in the ſacrament of the aultar, for which onely the malicious denouncers wyth their complices had ſtudyed to moleſt and trouble him, he then cōmeth to aunſwering the articles & ſayth, that to the firſt, ſecond, and fourth he hath already in hys former anſwers to the denunciation ſufficiently aunſwered, & therfore was not bound by law to aunſwere any farther.

Boner commaunded to aunſwere to the Articles.

Boner aunſwereth to the Articles.

As to the third and fift hee ſayd, hee began to write his Sermon, but beyng ſoone wery, did onely make certeine notes therof without helpe of any other, ſayyng that he ſhewed them to his Chapleyns requiryng thē to put him in remēbraunce therof: amongeſt the which for the better ſetting forth of ẏ kyngs Maieſties power and authoritie in his minoritie, hee had collected aſwell out of hiſtories, as alſo out of the Scriptures, ẏ names of diuers young kynges, who notwithſtandyng their minoritie were faithfully and obediently honored and reputed for very true and lawfull kynges: As Henry 3. beyng but 9. yeares olde, Edward 3. beyng but 13. yeares, Richard 2. beyng but 11. yeares, Henry 6. beyng not fully one yere, Edward 5. being but 11. yeare, Henry 8. beyng but 18. yeares of age. And out of the old Teſtament, Oſias and Achas, who were but 16. yeares olde, Salamon and Manaſſes, beyng but 12. yeares, Ioſias, Ioachim and Ioas, beyng but 8. yeares of age when they entred their reignes. All which notes with many other he had purpoſed to declare if they had

Examples of kinges that were yonge, and yet ſufficient kinges.

Boner excuſeth hys obliuion.

A good Pꝛelate that had loſt hys memoꝛye foꝛ lacke of pꝛeaching.

come vnto his memoꝛy, as in dede they did not bycauſe the ſame was diſturbed partly foꝛ lacke of vſe of pꝛeachyng, and partly by reaſon of a Bill that was deliuered him from the kynges Counſell, to declare the victory then had agaynſt the rebels in Noꝛthfolke and Deuonſhyꝛe, whiche beyng of ſome good length confounded his memoꝛy: and partly alſo foꝛ that his booke in his Sermon tyme fel away from him, wherin were diuers of his notes whiche hée had collected foꝛ that purpoſe: So that he could not remember what hée would, but yet in generalitie hée perſuaded the people to obediēce to the kynges Maieſtie, whoſe minoꝛitie was manifeſtly knowen to them and all other.

Boners booke of notes fell frō hym at hys Sermon, as he excuſeth.

Boner knew not the rebels opinion if ye will beleue hym.

Then as to the vj. he ſayd he knew not the rebels opinion, and therfoꝛe could not aunſwere therunto. And as foꝛ aunſwere to the vij. viij. ix. and xj. articles which touched his paſtoꝛall office, he ſayd that notwithſtandyng his manifold ⁊ great troubles, aſwell by his own buſines ⁊ his families ſicknes, as alſo by vncharitable infoꝛmations made agaynſt him, yet hée hath not failed to giue oꝛder vnto his officers ſtraitly to looke vnto ſuch matters, ⁊ ſuch as hee hath knowen, which were very few oꝛ none, hee cauſed to bee puniſhed accoꝛdyng to the lawes. All which aũſweres with others do appeare at large in the olde booke of Actes and Monumentes of the Church in the. 705. page of the ſame.

Read moꝛe hereof in the Booke of Actes and Monumentes of the foꝛmer edition. pag. 705.

When he had ended the reading of theſe aũſweres, the Commiſſioners ſayd vnto him that he had in the ſame very obſcurely aunſwered vnto the v. Article miniſtred the 13. of September: wherefoꝛe they willed him there expꝛeſſely to aunſwere by mouth, whether he had accoꝛding to the Iniunctiōs deliuered vnto him, declared ẏ Article beginnyng thus: You ſhal alſo ſet foꝛth in your ſermon that our authoꝛitie. ⁊c. Wherunto he agayne aũſwered, that he had already made a full and ſufficient aunſwere in wꝛityng, as hee was bounde to make by law.

The v. article inſufficiently aunſwered of *Boner*.

Boners obſcure and indirecte aunſwere.

The Iudges then replyed, that the aunſweres already made in that part were obſcure and inſufficient, ſo that it appeared not certeinely whether hée had pꝛeached in dede accoꝛdyng to the ſame Iniunction oꝛ not: and therfoꝛe they eſtſoones willed him (as befoꝛe) directly to aunſwere whether he had ſo accoꝛdingly pꝛeached oꝛ no, the Biſhop ſtill yet aunſweryng as befoꝛe. The Iudges agayne demaunded of him, whether hee would otherwiſe aunſwere oꝛ no. To ẏ which he ſayd no, vnles the law did cōpell him. Then they aſked him whether he thought ẏ law did compell him to aũſwere moꝛe fully oꝛ no? Hée aũſwered no: adding farther that he was not bound to make aũſwere to ſuch poſitions.

Boners froward contumacie noted.

The Commiſſioners then ſeyng his froward contumacie, told him plainly that if he perſiſted thus in his frowardnes, and would not otherwiſe aunſwere, they would accoꝛding to law, take him pro confeſſo, and ex abundanti receaue witnes agaynſt him, and therewithall did agayne recite vnto him vj. of the firſt ⁊ pꝛincipall Articles, demaundyng his finall aunſwere therunto. Who ſayd (as befoꝛe) that he had already fully aũſwered them by wꝛityng, but where they requeſted to haue his notes, whiche he ſayd he had made of his Sermon, they ſhould haue them if they would ſend foꝛ thē. And whereas in his aũſwere to the vj. Article he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the Iudges declared vnto him, that their opinion was: *That the kings maieſtie before his grace came to the age of xxj. yeares, had not ſo full authoritie to make lawes and ſtatutes, as when he came to farther yeares: and that his ſubiectes were not boũd to obey the lawes and ſtatutes made in his young age.* Wherunto the Byſhop aunſwered that hée was not of the opinion of the rebels mencioned in that Article, as did well appeare by his aunſweres aſwell vnto the denunciation, as alſo vnto the v. Article obiected agaynſt him.

The rebells traiterous opiniō touching the kinges power in hys minoꝛitie.

Witneſſes agaynſt *Boner*.

Which ended, they perceauyng his ſcoꝛnefull careleſnes, pꝛeſently did admit foꝛ witnes vpō the Articles obiected agaynſt him, M. Iohn Cheke, Henry Markeham, Iohn Ioſeph, Iohn Dowglas, and Richard Chābers, whom alſo they onerated with a coꝛpoꝛall othe vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, truly to aunſwere and depoſe vpon the ſame Articles in the pꝛeſence of the Byſhop, who vnder his foꝛmer Pꝛoteſtation, like a wilye Lawyer, pꝛoteſted of the nullitie of the receauyng, admittyng, and ſwearyng of thoſe witneſſes, with Pꝛoteſtation alſo to obiect agaynſt the perſons and ſayinges of the witneſſes foꝛ the tyme and place conuenient: demaundyng alſo a competent and lawfull tyme to miniſter Interrogatoꝛies agaynſt them, with a copie of all the Actes to that day. Wherewith the delegates were well pleaſed, and aſſigned him to miniſter his Interrogations agaynſt M. Cheke on that pꝛeſent day, and agaynſt the reſt the next day befoꝛe noone. All which Interrogatoꝛies, bycauſe they are already at full ſet foꝛth in the late booke of Actes ⁊ Monumētes of the Church, and alſo do but conteine many vayne and friuolous poſitions and obiections, moꝛe to delay tyme then impoꝛting any matters of waight, foꝛ breuitie ſake I thought good here to omit, referring the reader to the 708. page of ẏ ſame booke, where they are all (as I ſayd) at large.

Pꝛoteſtation ⁊ obiections of *Boner* againſt the witneſſes.

Foꝛ *Boners* Interrogatoꝛyes ⁊ poſitions againſt the witneſſes, read in the Booke of Actes and Monumentes of the foꝛmer edition, pag. 708.

After this the Iudges delegate aſſigned the Biſhop to appeare agayne befoꝛe them vpon Wedenſday then next enſuing, betwene the houres of ſeuen and eight of the clocke befoꝛe noone, in the hall of the Archbyſhops maner of Lambeth, there to ſhew cauſe why he ſhould not bee declared pro confeſſo, vppon all the Articles wherunto he had not then fully aunſwered, and to ſée farther pꝛoceſſe done in that matter: and ſo (he ſtil pꝛoteſtyng of the nullitie and inualiditie of all their pꝛocedynges) they did foꝛ that pꝛeſent departe.

Boner againe pꝛoteſteth agaynſt the witneſſes.

The Commiſſioners certifie the kyng of *Boners* demeanour.

In this meane while the Commiſſioners certified the kyngs Maieſtie and his Coũſell of the Byſhops demeanour towardes them, and what obiections hée had made agaynſt their pꝛocedynges, makyng doubtes and ambiguities whether by the tenour of his Maieſties Commiſſion the Cōmiſſioners might pꝛocede not onely vpon the denunciation, but alſo of their mere office: and alſo whether they mought aſwell determine, as heare the cauſe. Whereupon his Maieſtie by aduice afoꝛeſayd, foꝛ the better vnderſtandyng thereof, did the 17. of September ſend vnto the Commiſſioners a full and perfect declaration and interpꝛetation of his will and pleaſure in the foꝛeſayd Commiſſion, giuyng thē hereby full authoꝛitie to pꝛocede at their owne diſcretions, as appeareth moꝛe at large by the tenour therof enſuyng.

¶A certaine declaration or interpretation of the King touching certayne poyntes and doubtes in hys former Commiſſion, with licence geuen to the Commiſſioners, as well to determine as to heare in the caſe of Boner.

Leaue geuen by the king to the Commiſſioners to determine agaynſt *Boner*.

EDward the ſyxt by the grace of God King of Englād, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of the fayth and of the Church of England and alſo of Ireland in earth the ſupꝛeame heade, to the moſt reuerende Father in God Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Pꝛimate of all England, the right reuerende Father in God Nicholas biſhop of Rocheſter, our truſty and ryght welbeloued Counſaillours Sir Willam Peter and Syꝛ Thomas Smyth Knightes our two pꝛincipall Secretaries, and William May doctoꝛ of lawe Ciuill and Deane of Paules, greeting. where wee of late, by the aduice of our moſt entierly beloued vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernoꝛ of our perſō, ⁊ Pꝛotectoꝛ of our realmes, dominions and Subiectes, and the reſt of our priuye Counſayle, haue addꝛeſſed vnto you. v. iiij. iij. of you our letters patentes of Cōmiſſion bearing date at weſtminſter the. viij. day of September, in the third yeare of our raigne, wylling you by foꝛce thereof to heare the matters and cauſe of contempt therein expꝛeſſed, and calling befoꝛe you, aſwell the denouncers thereof, as alſo the right reuerend father in God Edmund B. of London, agaynſt whom ſuch denunciation is made as in our ſayd letters of commiſſion moꝛe at large doth appeare, we be nowe credibly enfoꝛmed that vpon the ſayd Commiſſion diuers doubtes and ambiguities hath and maye ariſe:

As whether you by ẏ tenor of ẏ ſayd cōmiſſiō may procede not only at the denunciation, but alſo of mere office.

And alſo whether ye may aſwell determine as heare the ſayd cauſe.

For further declaration wherof, we do now interprete & declare that our full mind & pleaſure, by ẏ aduiſe aforeſayd, was by our ſayd cōmiſſion & now is, ẏ you ſhould procede aſwel by mere office, as alſo by way of denunciation & by either of thē, or any other wayes or meanes at your diſcretiōs, wherby ẏ truth & merites of ẏ cauſe may be moſt ſpedely and beſt knowen, and that ye might and may aſwell finally determine as heare the ſaid matters in all your orders and doinges, cutting away all vayne and ſuperfluous delayes, and hauing reſpect to the onely truth of the matter. And this our declaration we ſend vnto you of our ſure knowledge & mere motion by the aduiſe aforeſayd, ſupplying all default, ceremony & point of the law, which hath, ſhall, or may ariſe of your doings by reaſon of any default of woordes in our ſayde former commiſſion or any part thereof, any lawe, ſtatute, or act to the contrary notwithſtanding, and therefore we wyl and commaund you to procede in the ſaid matters accordingly, aſwell to our foreſayd Cōmiſſion, as this our declaration, and ſo fayle ye not. In witneſſe whereof we haue made theſe our letters patentes. At Hampton Court, the .xvij. day of September.

The 4. Seſsion againſt Boner B. of London before the kinges Commiſsioners in the great Haule at Lambeth the viij. of September.

The 4. appearing of Boner before the kinges Cōmiſſioners.

After this declaration being ſent downe and receaued frō ẏ king, the biſhop of London (accordyng to the Commiſſioners aſſignement the Monday before) appeared agayne before them vpon Wedenſdaye, the .xviij. of September, in the great Haule at Lambeth. Where vnder hys wonted proteſtatiō, firſt he declared that although he had already ſufficiently aunſwered all thinges: yet farther to ſatiſfie the terme aſſigned vnto hym, to ſhewe cauſe why he ought not to bee declared pro confeſſo, vpon the articles thertofore miniſtred againſt him, and to the whych he had not fullye aunſwered, hee had then a matter in writing to exhibite vnto them, why he ought not ſo to be declared, whych hee read there openly. Wherin firſt vnder his accuſtomed vnreuerent termes of pretenſed, vniuſt, and vnlawfull proces and aſſignation, he ſayde he was not bound by law (for good and reaſonable cauſes) to obey the ſame, eſpecially their aſſignation.

Boner exhibiteth more matter in writing, why he ought not to be declared *pro confeſſo.*

Cauſes alleaged of Boner why he ought not to obey the Commiſſioners aſsignation.

And firſt, for that the ſame was onelye pronounced by Syr Thomas Smyth, one of the pretenſed Commiſſioners, without ẏ conſent of hys pretēſed colleagues: or at the leaſt he as a Commiſſioner did preſcribe the Actuary what to wryte, which hee ought not to haue done, becauſe by law hee ought not to haue intermedled therin, for that hys colleagues did the firſt day begyn to ſyt as Judges againſt him the Biſhop, wythout the preſence of the ſayd Syr Thomas Smith.

The 2. cauſe.

And ſecondly, becauſe hys anſwers, aſwell vnto the pretenſed denunciation, as alſo vnto all the articles theretofore obiected againſt him, were as full and ſufficient, as the law required (or at leaſt wyſe there was nothing good in law apparant to the contrarye) and therefore hee was not enforced by law farther to aunſwer without farther allegation.

The 3. cauſe.

And becauſe alſo, that all their procedinges thereto were ſo extraordinarily done, that they had cōfounded all maner of lawfull proceſſe, ſome tymes procedyng ad denunciandum, ſome times ex oficio mero, and ſometimes ex officio mixto, contrary vnto the kinges Eccleſiaſticall lawes, and contrary alſo vnto their commiſſion in that behalfe.

The popes lawe.

The 4. cauſe.

And likewyſe becauſe diuers of the articles pretenſed were ſuperfluous and impertinent, not reuealyng, thougbe they were proued, contaynyng in them vntruth and falſitie, ſome obſcure and vncertaine, ſome depending vpon other articles, either denyed, or at the leaſt qualified, ſome captious and deceitful to bring the anſwerer into a ſnare, and ſome alſo being articles of the law, in ſuch ſort, as by the Eccleſiaſtical lawes of this realme the kinges ſubiectes were not bounde to make aunſwer thereunto.

The popes lawe.

The 5. cauſe.

And laſtly, becauſe that Syr Thomas Smith Secretarie to the kinges Maieſtie, when that the biſhop was laſt with the Counſel in the Counſell chāber at White Haull, after the departure of the Lord Protectour and the reſt of the Counſell, dyd him ſelfe alone (wythout any other) wryte certayne articles or Iniunctions (amongeſt the whych was that of the kinges authoritye in hys minoritie) & afterward did copy the ſame at a table within the ſayd counſell chamber, and ſo him ſelfe did delyuer them vnto hym. By reaſon wherof that is not true, which in the commiſſion, denunciation, and articles was deduced and obiected agaynſt him.

The intolerable contempt & vnreuerent behauiour of *Boner* noted and openly reproued.

When theſe fonde and friuolous obiections were thus read, the Archbiſhop ſeing his inordinate and vntolerable contempt towardes them, charged him very ſharplye ſaying: My Lorde of London, if I had ſytten here onely as Archbiſhop of Canterburye, it had bene your part to haue vſed your ſelf more lowly, obediently and reuerently towardes me then ye haue: but ſeing that I with my Colleagues ſyt here now as Delegates from the kinges Maieſtie, I muſt tell you plaine, you haue behaued your ſelfe to to much inordinately. For at euery tyme that we haue ſytten in commiſſion, you haue vſed ſuch vnſemely faſhions without all reuerēce and obedience, geuing tauntes and checkes, aſwell vnto vs, with diuers of my ſeruantes and Chaplaynes, as alſo vnto certaine of the aunciented that be here, calling them Fooles and Dawes, wyth ſuche lyke, as that you haue geuen to the multitude an intolerable example of diſobedience. And I enſure you my Lord, ther is you and one other biſhop whom I could name, that haue vſed your ſelues ſo contempteouſly and diſobediently, as the lyke I thinke hath not before bene heard of or ſeene: wherby ye haue done much harme.

The wordes of the Archbyſhop to *Boner.*

At which woordes, the groſſe biſhop (a beaſt a man myght iuſtly terme him) ſayd ſcornfully to the Archb. you ſhew your ſelfe to be a meete Iudge.

Boners ſcornfull aunſwere to the Archbyſhop.

The Archbiſhop then proceding, layd to his charge how vndiſcretely the laſt daye in the Chappell he had called all the people Woodcockes.

The Archbyſhop.

Wherunto he aunſwered, that the laſt Seſſion William Latimer one of the denouncers being there preſent, had practiſed with the audience that when he lyfted vp hys hand to them, they ſhould (and did as it wer by a token geuen them) ſay as hee ſayd, and doo as he did: as at one time vpō the lifting vp of hys hand, they cryed nay nay, and at an other tyme yea yea, & laughed they could not tell whereat, with ſuch like faſhions.

Boner.

Unto which wordes Latimer ſeing hys vayne ſuſpiciō, replyed, ſaying that he lifted not vp hys hand at any tyme, but onely to cauſe them hold theyr peace.

The vaine ſuſpicion of *Boner.*

Then Secretarie Smith ſayd to the biſhop, that in all his writinges and aunſwers that hee had hetherto layd in, he woulde not once acknowledge them as the kings Commiſſioners, but vſed alwaies proteſtations with diuers inckehorne and naughtie termes, callyng them pretenſed Commiſſioners, pretenſed Delegates, pretenſed cōmiſſion, pretenſed articles, pretenſed procedings, ſo that all thinges were pretenſed with hym. In deede (ſayd he) ſuch termes the Proctors of churches vſe, to delay matters for their Clientes when they wyl not haue ẏ truth knowen. But you my Lord to vſe vs the kings Maieſties Cōmiſſioners wyth ſuch termes, you doo therein very lewdly and naughtely. And I pray you what other thing dyd the Rebels?

The wordes of Secretary *Smyth* to *Boner.*

All thinges pretenſed with *Boner* that made agaynſt hym.

For when letters or pardons were brought them from the kyng and his Counſel, they would not credite them, but ſayd they were none of the kynges or his Counſeilles, but Gentlemens doynges, & made vnder a buſhe, with ſuch lyke termes. But now my Lord, bycauſe hetherto we can not make you confeſſe whether in your Sermon that you preached, ye omitted the Article touchyng the kynges Maieſties authoritie in hys tender age or not, but ſtill haue ſayd that ye will not o-

Boner and the rebels compared together.

therwiſe aunſwere then ye haue done, and that ye haue already ſufficiently aunſwered (with many ſuch like delayes) ſo as we can by no meanes induce you to confeſſe plainly what you did, yea or nay: therefore I ſay, to the intent we may come to the truth, we haue dilated the matter more at large, and haue drawẽ out other Articles wherunto you ſhalbe ſworne, and then I truſt you wil dally with vs no more as you haue done. For although you make your aunſweres in wrytyng, yet you ſhalbe examined by vs and make your aũſweres by mouth to the ſame Articles, or els you ſhall do worſe. In dede I do not (as I ſaid) diſcõmend your Proteſtations and termes of law, if it were in a young Proctour that would helpe his clientes cauſe: but in you it may not be ſuffered ſo to vſe the kynges Commiſſioners.

New Articles & Iniunctions miniſtred to *Boner*.

Then did the delegates miniſter vnto him certeine new Articles and Iniunctions, and did there onerate him with a corporall oth in forme of lawe to make a full and true aunſwere therunto. The Biſhop notwithſtãdyng, ſtill (accordyng to his wonted maner) vnder his former Proteſtation proteſted of the nullitie and inualiditie of thoſe Articles, Iniunctions, and proceſſe, deſiryng alſo a copie therof, with a competent tyme to aunſwere therunto. To whom the Iudges decreed a copie, commaundyng him to come to his examination to the Archb. the next day at viij. of the clocke before noone.

Boner agayn aſſigned the next day to appeare.

New witneſſes agaynſt *Boner*.

Then ỹ Cõmiſſioners did receaue for witnes, vpon thoſe new Articles now miniſtred vnto ỹ Byſhop, Sir Ioh. Maſon, Sir Tho. Chalenor knightes, M. Williã Cicill, Armygel Wade, & Williã Hunnynges Clerkes to the kinges Maieſties Counſaile, whom they onerated with a corporall oth in the preſence of the Biſhop, who ſtill proteſted of the nullitie of their receiuyng and ſwearyng, obiectyng agaynſt them and their ſayinges: and therewith repeatyng his Interrogatories already miniſtred, ſayd he had mo to miniſter vp to morow at viij. of the clocke.

Boners information againſt Maiſter *W. Latimer* preacher.

The ſame day and tyme likewiſe the Biſhop exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners an information, or rather cauillation agaynſt William Latimer, for that he, notwithſtandyng that he had in all his talke pretended the great tranquilitie of this Realme, which was greatly impeached and hindered whẽ that any the kynges ſubiectes ſhould thinke that his Maieſtie hath not as full power and authoritie royall in his minoritie as when his Maieſtie came to perfect age, or ſhould thinke that his ſubiectes were not bounde to obey the ſame, yet hath of late there in open audiẽce reported, that he hath heard with hys eares diuers perſons vnreuerently ſpeake of the kynges Maieſtie ſaying: tuſhe the kyng is but a babe or child, what lawes cã he make? or what can he do in his minoritie? let him haue a toſt and butter or bread and milke, and that is more meter for him then to make lawes or ſtatutes to bynd vs to obey thẽ: we are not bound to obey till hee be paſt his minoritie, and come to his full and perfecte age: with the hearyng of whiche wordes the Biſhop alſo charged the Commiſſioners, and that bycauſe Latymer at the recitall of the ſame in their preſence, was neither by them controled, nor yet cauſed to bryng forth the ſame perſons, but was let paſſe in ſilence, ſauyng that he the ſayd Biſhop did ſpeake agaynſt him in that behalfe, ſaying that he would detect hym, bycauſe that, as it appeared hee had of long tyme concealed the wordes and not opened the ſame in ſuch place and to ſuch perſons as hee ought to haue done, but had kept the perſons and ſayinges of them ſecret, either not takyng the matter of ſuch importaunce as he pretended, or els thereby vnfaithfully behauyng him ſelfe towardes his Prince, and therfore was worthy with his ayders, fauourers, & counſellers to be puniſhed.

W. Latimer impeached of *Boner* for cõcealing of treaſon.

A new terme aſſigned to *Boner* to appeare.

These vayne cauillations ended, the Commiſſioners for that day finiſhed their Seſſion, aſſignyng the Biſhop to appeare in that ſame place againe vpõ Monday then next folowyng, betwene the houres of vj. and ix. in ỹ forenoone, then & there to ſhew a final cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo. And ſo deliueryng hym a copie of the Articles, they departed: the contentes wherof enſue.

¶ Articles and poſitions geuen by the kinges Commiſſioners to the biſhop of London, to be aunſwered by him ioyntly and ſeuerally in euery poynt the ſecond time.

Articles agaynſt *Boner* miniſtred the ſecond tyme.

1. That ye were ſent for to the L. Protectors grace, and the reſt of the Counſaile, and came thether into the Court at weſtminſter the. x. of Auguſt, or ſome other day of the ſame moneth.

2. Item, that at the ſame tyme the Lorde Protector and diuers other of the kinges Maieſties priuye Counſayle, ſytting in counſell, ye were called in, and there the ſayd Lord Protector did on the kinges Maieſties behalfe declare vnto you diuers faults and abuſes the which were founde in you, and gaue you ſtrayte charge to amende them, adding and threatning that els you ſhoulde be otherwyſe looked vnto.

3. Item, that the ſaid Lord Protectors grace did declare vnto you for better admonition and amendemẽt of you, that ye ſhould haue frõ ỹ kinges maieſtie by his aduiſe & the reſt of the priuy Counſail, certaine articles & iniunctions to obſerue and folow geuen you in writing.

4. Item, that there and then the ſayd Lorde Protector commaunded Syr Thomas Smyth knight, Secretary to the kings Maieſtye, to reade a certaine proper booke of Iniunctions & articles vnto you, the ſaid Secretary ſtãdyng at the Counſail tables ende, and you ſtanding by, and hearing the ſame.

5. Item, that the ſayd Lorde Protector there and then wylled to bee refourmed certaine thinges in the ſayde booke of Iniunctions, as where ye were appoynted to preache ſooner, at your requeſt it was appoynted vnto you to preach the Sonday three weekes after the date of the ſayd writing.

6. Item, that in the ſayd articles the Lorde Protectors grace found fault becauſe an article or commaundement vnto you ſet forth and declared of the kinges Maieſties authority now in his younge age, of hys lawes and ſtatutes in the ſame time was omitted, and therefore eyther immediately before you came into the Counſel chãber, or you being preſent and ſtanding by, commaunded the ſayd Secretary Smith to put it in writing & annexe it to the reſt of the articles.

7. Item, that the ſayd Secretarye Smith, then and there did immediately vpon commaundement, write into the ſayd booke or paper, wherin the reſt of the articles were wrytten, the ſayd article: videlicet, you ſhall alſo ſet forth in your ſermon, that the autoritie of our royall power is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritye and force in thys our younge age, then was of anye of our Predeceſſors, though the ſame were muche elder, as maye appeare by example of Ioſias and other yõg kings in the ſcripture, and therefore all our Subiectes to be no leſſe bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, then if we were of. 30. or. 40. yeares of age.

8. Item, that the Lorde Protector did ſo deliuer you the booke or paper, willing fyrſt the ſayd Secretarye Smith to amend all thinges as he had appointed.

9. Item, that ye then and there dyd promiſe to the Lord Protectors grace, that ye would obſerue and fulfill all in the ſayd Iniunctions and articles conteined.

10. Item, that all thinges in the ſayde booke, put in and mencioned by the ſayd Secretary Smith, and the ſame ſo read vnto you by hym, and you fyrſt agreeing that al that was by him ſo written, was by the Lord Protectors appointment, the ſayde booke was ſo deliuered vnto you then and there by the ſaid Secretary Smith in the Counſayle Chamber.

11. Item, that you haue the ſayde booke in your poſſeſſion, or els know where it is, the true copy whereof in effect is annexed to theſe articles.

12. Item, that ye were commaunded in the ſayd Iniunctions to preach the ſonday. iij. weekes after the deliuery thereof at Paules, and there to intreate vpon certaine articles, as is ſpecified in the ſayd booke of Iniunctions, and eſpecially the ſayde article beginning: Ye ſhall alſo ſet forth, and ending. 30. or. 40. yeares of age.

13. Item, that for the accompliſhment of part of the ſayd Iniunctions and commaundement, you did preach the

firſt

fyrſt day of September laſt paſt at Paules croſſe.

14. Item, yͤ at the ſayd ſermon, contrary to your Iniunctions, ye omitted and left out the ſayd article beginning: ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your ſermon. &c. and ending. xxx. or. xl. yeares of age.

15. Ye ſhall alſo aunſwer whether ye thincke and beleue that the kinges Maieſties Subiectes be bounde to obey aſwell yͤ lawes, ſtatutes, proclamations, and other ordinances made now in this young age of the kinges Maieſtie, as the lawes, ſtatutes, proclamations, and ordinãces made by his highnes Progenitours.

Boner for feare of a feuer eyther could not or durſt not appeare.

These Articles beyng thus miniſtred to the ſaid Biſhop of London, the next day beyng Thurſday and the 19. of September, the afore named Commiſſioners ſat in the Archbiſhops chamber of preſence at Lãbeth, attendyng the comming of the Biſhop of London. Before whom there appeared Robert Iohnſon the Biſhops Regiſter, and there did declare vnto the Commiſſioners that the Byſhop hys maiſter could not at that tyme perſonally appeare before them without great daunger of his bodily health, bycauſe that he feared to fall into a feuer by reaſon of a cold that he had taken by to much ouer watchyng him ſelfe the laſt night before, wherby he was compelled to keepe his bed: neuertheles if he could without daunger of his bodely health, he would appeare before thẽ the ſame day at after noone. This excuſe the Iudges were content to take in good part. Yet ſayd M. Secretary Smith, that if he were ſicke in deede the excuſe was reaſonable and to bee allowed: but (quoth hee) I promiſe you my Lord hath ſo dallied with vs, and vſed hitherto ſuch delayes, that we may miſtruſt that this is but a fayned excuſe: howbeit vpon your faithfull declaration we are content to tarye vntill one of the clocke at after noone, and ſo they did, willyng M. Iohnſon to ſignifie then vnto them whether the Biſhop could appeare or not.

Boner pretendeth agayne hys feuer.

At which houre Robert Iohnſon and Richard Rogers Gentilman of the Biſhops chamber appeared agayne before the Commiſſioners, declaryng that (for the cauſes afore alledged) their maiſter could not appeare at that tyme neither. Whereupon M. Secretary Smith ſayd vnto them, my Lord of London your maiſter hath vſed vs very homely, and ſought delayes hitherto, and now perhaps perceauyng theſe laſt Articles to touch the quicke, and therefore loth to come to his aunſwere, he fayneth him ſelfe ſicke. But bycauſe he ſhall not ſo deceaue vs any more, we will ſend the Knight Marſhall vnto him, willyng him, if he be ſicke in deede, to let him alone, for that is a reaſonable excuſe, but if he be not ſicke, then to bryng him forthwith vnto vs: for I promiſe you hee ſhall not vſe vs as hee hath done, we will not take it at his handes: and therfore M. Iohnſon (ſayd hee) you doe the parte of a truſtie ſeruaũt as becommeth you, but it is alſo your part to ſhew my Lord of his ſtubborne hart & diſobedience, which doth hym more harme then hee is aware of. What, thinketh hee to ſtand with a kyng in hys owne Realmes? Is this the part of a ſubiect? nay. I wene we ſhall haue a new Tho. Becket. Let him take heede, for if he play theſe partes, he may fortune to be made ſhorter by the head. He may appeale if he thinke good: but whether? to yͤ Biſhop of Rome? So he may helpe him ſelfe forwardes. I ſay he cã not appeale but to the ſame kyng who hath made vs his Iudges, and to the Bench of his Counſaile: and how they will take this matter when they heare of it, I doubt not. He would make mẽ beleue that he were called before vs for preachyng his opinion of the Sacrament, wherin I aſſure you he did both falſely and naughtely, yea and lewdly, and more then became him, and more then he had in commaũdement to do, for he was not willed to ſpeake of that matter, and perhappes hee may heare more of that hereafter: but yet we lay no ſuch thyng to his charge, and therfore we will not haue him to delay vs as he doth. Which ended, the delegates notwithſtandyng decreed to tarrye agayne for him vntill two of the clocke at after noone yͤ next day, beyng Friday, and the 20. of September.

Boners excuſe of ſicknes not wel taken of the Commiſſioners.

A good admonition ſent to Boner by Secretary *Smyth.*

The v. Action or proceſſe the 20. of September, agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London, before the kynges Commiſsioners.

The 5. Seſsion or Court agaynſt *Boner* Byſhop of London.

At which daye and tyme the Biſhop appeared him ſelfe perſonally before them in the ſame chamber of preſence. Where firſt he did exhibite his aunſweres vnto the laſt Articles miniſtred vnto him the 18. of September. Wherein bycauſe there is no matter of ſubſtaunce conteined, neyther made hee any directe aunſwere but cauilled as alwayes before, referryng him ſelfe ſtill to his former aunſweres, I wil alſo therfore referre the reader vnto the 713. page of the late booke of the Actes and Monumentes, where they are at large expreſſed, thinkyng it ſuperfluous here to inſerte them.

Read in the Boke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition. pag. 713.

After this, perceauing that maiſter Secretary Smith was ſomewhat more quicke with him then others of the Commiſſioners, and that he would not ſuffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vayne quidities and ſubtilties in law, but euer earneſtly vrged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithall ſome times ſharpely rebukyng him for his euill & ſtubborne behauiour towardes them: he to deface his authoritie (as he thought) did alſo then exhibite in writing a recuſation of the Secretaries Iudgemẽt agaynſt him. The forme & maner wherof as he exhibited it vnto the Iudges, I thought here alſo to exhibite vnto the reader as here vnder foloweth.

Boner refuſeth Secretary *Smyth* to bee hys Iudge.

The recuſation of the iudgement of Sir Thomas Smith, made by the byſhop of London the fyrſt tyme.

Cauſes alleged by *Boner* why he refuſed Secretary *Smyth.*

In the name of God, Amen. For as much as equitye, naturall reaſon, and all good lawes doo require, that Iudges ſhall be of that integritie, wyſdome, circumſpection, learning and indifferencie, that exerciſyng the office and roume of a Iudge, they may and ſhall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge agaynſt any perſon conuented or called before them vprightly, ſyncerely, and duely executing & doing their office vnto thẽ in any wiſe cõmitted: and for as much alſo as all iudgements & proceſſe ought to haue theyr due courſe, and procede without ſuſpition or corruption in any wyſe: and finallye, for as much as very daungerous it is to appeare and make defence before an incompetent Iudge, who commonly and accuſtomably, of priuate and vnlawfull corrupte affection to the one ſyde, and for malice, hatred, and enuye borne agaynſt the other ſyde, rather ſerueth hys carnal, corrupt, and wylfull appetite, then any thyng is moued to obedience and keeping of good order, law or reaſon touchyng him that is conuented and compelled to make aunſwere agaynſt hys wyll: I therfore Edmond biſhop of Londõ, hauyng perceaued and felt by all the ſayings, procedings and doings of you Syr Thomas Smith knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the kynges Maieſtye in this matter attempted and moued agaynſt me, that ye haue bene, and yet continually are a notorious and manifeſt enemye of me the ſayd Edmond, and much offended that I ſhoulde in any wyſe alledge and ſaye or vſe anye ſuch thinges for my moſt defence, as the lawe geueth me lycence and libertie to do, yea hearyng moſt fauourablye and effectually my denouncers and enemies wyth both eares in any thing that they ſhall alledge, purpoſe, attempt, or do agaynſt me, though theyr perſons in law are not in any wyſe to be heard or admitted, ne yet theyr ſayinges true, and not hearing me ſo much as with one eare in my lawfull ſayinges and doings in this behalfe, but contrarywiſe opening your mouth at large, ye haue ſundry tymes againſt good wyſdome and reaſon, outraged in wordes and deedes agaynſt me the ſayd Edmond, ſaying among other wordes, that I did as theues murtherers, and Traitors are wont to do, being my ſelf as ye vntruly dyd ſay inward in deede culpable, and yet outward otherwyſe, vnable to defend the matter againſt me but onely by taking exceptions, and making friuolous allegations agaynſt my Iudges and Commiſſio-

Boner layeth exceptions agaynſt *Syr Thomas Smyth.*

ners, and that I haue bene and am as ſturdy, wilful, and diſobedient, as may be in your iudgement and opinion, mayntaining and vpholding the rebels and theyr opinions, and that I ſhall aunſwer by mouth or els ſmart and do worſe, or els ye wyll ſende me to the Tower, there to ſyt and be ioyned with Kette and Humfrey Arundell the Rebels: ouer and beſides diuers other threatenynges and comminatorye wordes by you pronounced and vttered vnſeemely, and farre vnmete to procede out of the mouth of you that are in ſuch roume and place as ye be in.

And moreouer increaſyng your malice, euil wyll, and grudge borne agaynſt me, ye haue amõgeſt other things vntruly ſurmiſed, written, alledged, and ſayd, that a certaine booke of Articles and Iniunctions by the Lorde Protectors Grace in the full counſayle after a certayne preſcribed faſhion and fourme in the denunciation, commiſſion & articles, which de facto were induced, brought in and obiected againſt me, was deliuered vnto me: and moreouer of an euyll wyll and vngodly intent and purpoſe contrary to the truth, ye haue wythdrawen, added, altered, and qualified diuers thinges in the ſame, otherwyſe then they were ſpoken or done, and yet ye are not aſhamed to alledge, wryte, and ſaye that all is true, and one conſonant and agreable in all poyntes wyth the other, where in deede it is not ſo. And ye haue further de facto againſt the lawe, and agaynſt the commiſſion to you directed, and agaynſt my iuſt and lawfull allegations and ſayinges, proceeded vnlawfully and vniuſtly agaynſt me, many things attempting and doing agaynſt me vnlawfully and vniuſtly, as appeareth in the actes of thys matter, to the which I doo refer me ſo far foorth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alledged and referred vnto your ſelfe alſo vnlawfully and vniuſtly de facto with your Colleagues, the whych without you had begon the ſayde matters, proceeding, where by the law ye ſo ought not to haue done in deede, but abſtayned therefrom, as heretofore ſondrye tymes I haue alledged, appearing in the actes of thys Court, do vpon theſe iuſt and reaſonable cauſes, according to the order of the kinges Maieſties eccleſiaſticall lawes, refuſe, decline, and recuſe, you the ſayd Syr Thomas Smith as an vncompetent, vnmete, and ſuſpect Iudge againſt me in this behalfe, and decline your pretenſed iuriſdictiõ in thys matter for cauſes aforeſayd, deſiring nothing but iuſtice, and offering my ſelfe prompt and ready to proue them ſo far as I am bound, and according to the order of the kings Maieſties eccleſiaſticall lawes of this realme in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwyſe ſhal require.

Here *Boner* moſt proudly ſhameth not to belye the kings Secretary and one of his Maieſties Counſaile, charging hym with altering, & adding vnto the Coũſailes Iniunctions.

The Popes lawes termed by the name of the kings Eccleſiaſticall lawes.

The replye of Secretary *Smyth* to *Boners* allegations.

This recuſatiõ ended, yͤ Secretary told him playne, that that notwithſtandyng hee woulde procede in his Commiſſion and would be ſtill his iudge vntil he were otherwiſe inhibited: and ſayd vnto him farther: My Lord, whereas you ſay in your recuſation that I ſayd, that you did like theeues, murtherers, and traitours, in dede I ſayd it, and may and will ſo ſay agayne, ſince we perceaue it by your doynges.

Boner.

Wherunto the Biſhop in a great and ſtoute rage replied, ſaying: Well Syr, bycauſe you ſit here by vertue of the kynges Commiſſion, and for that ye be Secretary to his Maieſtie and alſo one of his highnes Coũſell, I muſt and do honour and reuerence you: but as you be but Syr Thomas Smith, and ſay as ye haue ſayd, that I do like theeues, murtherers, and traitours, I ſay ye lye vppon me, and in that caſe I defie you: and do what ye can to me, I feare you not, and therfore quod facis fac citius.

Boner in a pelting chafe agaynſt *Syr Thomas Smyth.*

The Archbyſhop.

Wherat the Archbiſhop with the other Commiſſioners ſayd vnto him, that for ſuch his vnreuerent behauiour he was worthy impriſonment.

Boner.

Then the Biſhop in more madde fury then before, ſayd agayne vnto them: A Gods name ye may do de facto, ſend me whether ye will, and I muſt obey you, and ſo will, except ye ſend me to the deuill, for thether I will not go * for you. Three things I haue (to witte) a ſmall portion of goodes, a poore carcas, and mine own ſoule: the two firſt ye may take (thoughe vniuſtly) to you, but as for my ſoule ye get not, quia anima mea in manibus meis ſemper.

* I pray God ye go not for your ſelfe.

Secretary *Smyth.*

Well, ſayd then the Secretary, ye ſhall know that there is a kyng.

Boner.

Yea Syr (ſayd the Byſhop) but that is not you, neither, I am ſure, will you take it vpon you.

Secretary *Smyth.*

No Syr, ſayd agayne the Secretary, but we will make you know who it is: and with that the Commiſſioners commaunded the Byſhop and all the reſt to departe the chamber vntill they called for him agayne.

Now, in the meane while that the Commiſſioners were in conſultatiõ, the Biſhop with Gilbert Bourne his Chapleyn, Robert Warnington his Commiſſary, and Robert Iohnſon his Regiſter were tarying in a quadrant voide place before the doore of the ſame chãber. Where the Biſhop leanyng at a cupboard, and ſeyng his Chapleyns very ſad, ſayd vnto them in effect as foloweth. Syrs, what meane you? Why ſhewe you your ſelues to be ſo ſad and heauy in mynde, as appeareth to me by your outward geſtures & countenaũces? I would wiſhe you, yea and I require you to be as mery as I am (layng therewith his hand vpon his breſt) for afore God I am not ſad nor heauy, but mery and of good comfort, & am right glad & ioyfull of this my trouble, which is for Gods cauſe: and it greueth me nothing at all. But the great matter that greueth me, and perceth my hart, is for that this Hooper and ſuch other vyle heretickes and beaſtes be ſuffered and lycenced to preach at Paules Croſſe, & in other places within my Dioces and cure, moſt deteſtably preachyng and railyng at the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter, and denying the veritie and preſence of Chriſtes true body & bloud to bee there, & ſo infecteth & betrayeth my flocke. But I ſay it is there in very deede, and in that opinion I will lyue and dye, & am ready to ſuffer death for the ſame. Wherfore ye beyng Chriſten men, I do require you, and alſo charge and commaunde you in the name of God and on his behalfe, as you will aunſwere hym for the cõtrary, that ye go to the Maior of London and to his brethren the Aldermen, praying and alſo requiryng them earneſtly in Gods name and myne and for mine owne diſcharge on that behalfe, that from henceforth, when any ſuch deteſtable and abominable preachers (and eſpecially thoſe which hold opinion agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter) do come to preach vnto them, they forthwith depart out of their preſence and doe not heare them, leſt that they tarying with ſuch preachers, ſhould not onely hurte them ſelues in receauyng their poiſoned doctrine, but alſo geue a viſage to the incouragement of others, which thereby mought take an occaſion to thinke and beleue, that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftſoones I require and commaunde you to doo.

Boners talke to his Chapleins in the quadrant place before the chamber of preſence at Lambeth.

Here *Boners* obedient hart burſteth out.

Boners Popiſhe meſſage & charge to the lord Maior and Aldermen.

And then turnyng him ſelfe about and beholdyng two of the Archbyſhops Gentlemen, which in the ſame place kept the chãber doore where the Commiſſioners were in cõſultatiõ, and perceauyng that they had heard all his talke, hee ſpake vnto them alſo and ſayd: And Syrs, ye be my Lord of Canterburies Gentlemen, I know ye very well: and therefore I alſo require and charge you in Gods behalf & in his name, that ye do the like for your partes in places where ye ſhall chaunce to ſee & heare ſuch corrupt & erroneous preachers, & alſo aduertiſe my Lord your maiſter of the ſame, & of theſe my ſayinges that I haue nowe ſpokẽ here before you, as ye are Chriſtẽ men, and ſhall aunſwere before God for the contrarie.

Boners triflyng charge to two of the Archbyſhops gentlemen.

With this the Commiſſioners called for the Biſhop agayne. Who did read vnto them an inſtrument cõteinyng a prouocation to the kyng, which he made in maner and forme here folowyng.

¶The firſt appellation intimated by Edmond Boner Byſhop of London.

Boner appealeth to the kyng becauſe he could not to the pope.

IN the name of God, Amen. It ſhall appeare to all mẽ by this publicke inſtrumẽt, that the yeare of our Lord. 1549. the xx. day of Septẽber, the third yeare of the reigne of our moſt high and renowned Prince Edwarde the vj. by the grace of God kyng of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth ſupreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the Pallace of the ſayd Byſhop ſituated in London, and in the preſence of me the Notary publicke, and of the witneſſes hereafter named, the foreſayd Byſhop did perſonally appeare, and there did ſhew forth in wrytyng, a certaine Proteſtation and appellation, the tenor whereof enſueth.

In the name of God Amen. I Edmund Biſhop of Lōdon, ſay, alledge, and propounde before you beyng a publicke Notary, and theſe credible witneſſes here preſent, that although I the foreſayd Edmund haue attayned the Biſhopricke aforeſayd by the beneuolence of the famous Prince of memory kyng Henry the eight, and was lawfully elected and tranſlated to the ſame with his rightes and appertenaunces, haue of long time poſſeſſed peaceably and quietly the ſame, and preſently do poſſeſſe, beyng taken as Biſhop and lawfull poſſeſſour of the ſayd Byſhopricke, and am lawfully called, takē and reputed, notoriouſly and publickely: and moreouer do kepe reſidence and hoſpitalitie on the ſame, accordyng to the order, ſtate, perſon and dignitie and as the reuenues of the ſame would permitte, and haue exerciſed and done all thinges appertaining to my paſtorall office as the lawes doe require, as hereafter I truſt by Gods grace to do and obſerue, a man of good name and fame, neither ſuſpended, excommunicate nor interdicted, neither conuicte of any notable crime or fact, alwaies obeying readely the commaundement of the Church, and other my ſuperiours in all lawfull cauſes, neuertheles fearyng vpon certeine probable cauſes, likely coniectures, threatnynges and aſſertions of certeine iniurious men my enemyes, or at leaſt, ſuch as litle fauor me, that great dammage may come to me hereafter about the premiſſes or part of thē: and leſt any man by any authoritie, commaundement, denunciation, inquiſition, office, or at the requeſt of any perſon or perſons, may attempt preiudice or hurt to me or my ſayd dignitie, either by my excommunicatiō, interdiction, ſequeſtration, ſpoyling, vexing and perturbyng by any maner of meanes: doe appeale to the moſt highe and mighty Prince our ſoueraigne Lord Edwarde the vj. by the grace of God kyng of England, Fraunce. &c. and in theſe my wrytyngs do prouoke and appeale to his regall maieſtie. I do alſo requyre yͤ Apoſtles, ſo much as in this caſe they are to be required, the firſt, ſecond & thyrd tyme, earneſtly, more earneſtly, and moſt earneſtly of all, that there may be geuen to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my foreſayd moſt dread ſoueraigne Lord, for the ſafegard of me, my dignitie, title and poſſeſſiō in the premiſſes, and to all that will cleaue to me in this behalfe. I do alſo proteſt that I will bee contented to correcte, reforme, and amende this my peſent proteſtation, and to the ſame to adde, to take away, and to bring the ſame into the beſt forme and ſtate that may bee deuiſed, by the counſell of learned men, or as the caſe ſhall require, and the ſame to intimate accordyng to time and place and the order of the law, and ſtill ſhall require. Vppon all the whiche premiſſes the foreſayd Edmund Biſhop of Lōdon did require the Notary publicke here vnder written, to make vnto him, and the witneſſes hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this Proteſtation.

Apoſtles is a terme of Canō law, & ſignifieth as much as letters reuerentiall, or dimiſſories.

Theſe thinges were done the yeare, day and tyme aboue written, there being preſent Gilbert Bourne, Bacheler of Diuinitie, Iohn Harpſfield, and Robert Coſen Maiſters of Arte, Iohn Wakelyng and Richard Rogers learned men, being of the Dioces of worceſter, weſtminſter, Couentrie, Lichefeld, and Gloceſter, and ſpecially requeſted to be witnes of the ſame. And I Fraunces Harward of the Dioces of worcetor and publicke Notary by the kinges regal authoritie, forſomuch as I was preſent whē yͤ foreſayd Proteſtation, Appellation, and other the premiſſes were done, the yeare of our Lord, the yeare of the reigne of the kyng, the day of the moneth and place aforeſayd, the witneſſes aboue named beyng preſent, and for ſo much as I did enacte the ſame, therefore to this preſent publicke inſtrument, written faithfully with my owne hand, I haue put to my marke, beyng ſpecially requeſted vnto the ſame.

Which thing after he had read, he did vnder his proteſtation firſt intimate vnto the Archbiſhop, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and doctor May, and then proteſting alſo not to recede from his recuſatiō, did likewiſe intimate the ſame vnto Maiſter Secretarie Smyth, requiryng the Regiſter to make an inſtrument aſwell thereupon as alſo vpon his recuſation, wyth witnes to teſtifye the ſame.

Boner requireth hys appeale, recuſation, & proteſtatiō to be entred in Regiſter.

Then the Delegates did againe procede to the examination of the laſt anſwers, and finding the ſame imperfect, they demaunded of him (according to the fyrſt article) what ſpeciall day of Auguſt he was ſent for by the Lord Protector? To whom he obſtinatly aunſwered that he was not bounde to make other aunſwere, then he had already made, vnles they did put theyr Articles more certayne: neither woulde hee otherwyſe aunſwere as long as M. Secretarie Smith was there preſent, whom he had before recuſed, & therfore would not recede from his recuſation.

The laſt aunſwere of *Boner* to the Articles examined, and found vnperfecte.

The Secretarie ſeing him ſo wilfull and peruerſe, ſayd ſharpely vnto him: My Lord, come of and make a full and perfect anſwere vnto theſe articles, or els we wyll take other order with you to your payne.

Secretary *Smyth.*

In fayth Sir, then ſayde the biſhop againe, I had thought ye had bene learned, but now, before God, I perceaue well that either ye be not learned in deede, or els ye haue forgotten it: for I haue ſo often anſwered lawfully and ſufficientlye, and haue ſo oft ſhewed cauſes ſufficient and reaſonable why thereunto I ought not by lawe to be compelled (you ſhewing nothing to the contrary but ſenſualitie and wil) that I muſt nedes iudge that you are ignorant herein.

Boner.

Well ſayde maiſter Secretarye, ye will not then otherwyſe aunſwer?

Secretary *Smyth.*

No, ſayd the biſhop, except the law compell me.

Boner.

Then ſayd the Secretarye, call for the knight Marſhall, that he may be had to ward.

Secretary *Smyth.*

With that all the reſt of the Commiſſioners charged the biſhop, that he had at that time ſundrye wayes very outragiouſly and irreuerently behaued him ſelfe towardes them ſytting on the kinges Maieſties commiſſion, and ſpeciallye towardes Syr Thomas Smith his graces Secretarie, and therefore and for diuers other contumelious wordes which he had ſpoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marſhalſey.

Boner commaunded to the Marſhalſey.

By this time the Marſhals deputie came before thē, whom Maiſter Secretary commaunded to take the biſhop as priſoner, & ſo to keepe him that no man might come vnto hym, for if hee did, hee ſhoulde ſyt by hym hym ſelfe.

When the Secretarie had ended his talk, the biſhop ſayd vnto him: Well Syr, it might haue becommed you right well, that my Lordes Grace here preſent, being firſt in cōmiſſion & your better, ſhould haue don it.

Thē the Cōmiſſioners aſſigning him to be brought before them on Mondaye next before noone, betwene vij. and. ix. of the clocke in the hall of that place, there to make full anſwere to theſe laſt articles, or els to ſhewe cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo, dyd for that preſent breake vp that Seſſion.

Now as the biſhop was departing with the vndermaſhall, he in a great fury turned him ſelfe againe towards the Commiſſioners, and ſayde to Syr Thomas Smith: Syr, where ye haue committed me to priſon, ye ſhall vnderſtād that I will requyre no fauour at your handes, but ſhall wyllingly ſuffer what ſhall be put vnto me, as boltes on my heeles, yea and if ye wyll, yrons about my myddell, or where ye wyll.

Boners great hart could not chooſe, but he muſt nedes vtter hys ſtomacke.

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, & foming out hys poyſon, ſayd vnto the Archb: Well my Lord I am ſorye that I being a biſhop am thus handeled at your Graces hand: but more ſorye that you ſuffer abominable heretickes to practiſe as they doo in London and elſwhere, infecting and diſquietyng the kinges liege people: and therefore I doo require you, as you will aunſwere to God and to the king, that ye wyll from hence forth abſtaine thus to do: for if ye doo not, I wyll accuſe you before God and the kinges Maieſtie: aūſwere to it as well as ye can. And ſo he departed,

Boner threatneth to accuſe the Archbyſhop before God.

ted, vſing many reprochfull wordes agaynſt ſundry of the common people which ſtode and ſpake to hym by the way as he went.

¶ The ſyxt Action or proces vpon Monday the. 23. of September, had againſt Boner biſhop of London before the Commiſſioners in the great Hall at Lambeth.

The 6. Seſſion or appearaunce of *Boner*.

IT was aſſigned as ye heard in the 4. Acte proſecuted the. xviij. of September, that vppon Monday then next following, being the. 23. day of the ſame moneth, the biſhop ſhould againe appeare before the commiſſioners within the great Haull at Lambeth, then to ſhewe a fynall cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo, vpon all the articles whereunto hee had not fully aunſwered.

A generall recuſation of *Boner* agaynſt all the Cōmiſſioners.

According to which aſſignement the ſame xxiij. day of September the biſhop was brought before them by the vndermarſhall (to whom for his diſobedient and obſtinate behauiour he was before that tyme committed) and there did firſte declare vnto them that his appearaunce at that time and place was not voluntarye, but coacted, for that he was againſt hys wyll brought thether by the keeper of the Marſhalſey, and therewithall alſo vnder hys former proteſtation, recuſation, and appeale, dyd then againe intimate a generall recuſatiō of all the Commiſſioners, alledging in the ſame, that becauſe the Archbiſhop, with all hys Colleagues had neither obſerued the order of their Commiſſion, neyther yet proceded againſt him after any laudable or good faſhion of iudgement, but contrarywyſe had ſondry times, aſwell in hys abſence as in his preſence attempted many thinges vnlaufully againſt his perſon, dignitie, and eſtate, eſpecially in committing hym to ſtraite priſon, and yet commaunding him to make aunſwere :- and farther, becauſe that hee with the reſt had proceded in commiſſion with Syr Tho. Smith knight, ſupporting and mayntayning all his euyll doings (notwithſtanding that he the ſame biſhop had before iuſtly recuſed & declined from him) he therfore did alſo there refuſe and decline from the iudgement of the ſayd Archbiſhop and his Colleagues, and did except againſt their iuriſdiction as ſuſpect, and they thereby vnmeete perſons to proceede againſt him, and therefore according to hys former appeale he intended to ſybmit himſelfe vnder the tuition, protection and defence of the kinges Maieſtie, for whoſe honour and reuerence ſake (he ſaid) they ought not to procede any further againſt him, but quietly ſuffer him to vſe the benefite of all hys recuſations, prouocations, and other laufull remedies before alledged : with other ſuperfluous wordes at large to be ſeene in the. 721. page of the Actes and Monumentes.

Boner ſtill ſticketh to hys former proteſtations & prouocations.

Read more hereof in the Boke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition. pag. 721.

Notwythſtanding theſe recuſations and former appellation, the Archbiſhop with the reſt told him playne that they woulde bee ſtyll his Iudges, and procede agaynſt hym according to the kings commiſſion, vntyll they did receaue a Superſedeas, which if hee did obtayne, they would gladly obey.

Then the biſhop ſeing that they would ſtill procede againſt him, did there likewiſe intimate an other appellation vnto the kinges Maieſtye, expreſſing therein in effect no other matter, but ſuch as is already alledged in the two former recuſations and appeale: ſauyng that he requireth that letters dimiſſories or appellatories might be geuen him according to lawe, and that for hys better ſafegarde he dyd ſubmyt himſelfe vnder the protection of the King.

An other appellation of *Boner* to the kyng.

The Commiſſioners for all thys, ſtucke ſtyll vnto theyr Commiſſion, and would not in any caſe deferre, but vrged hym ſtraitly to make a more full aunſwere to hys articles, then he had done.

Boner ſtanding vpon hys recuſatiōs & appellations denyeth to make aūſwere.

To whom the biſhop ſayd, that he would ſtand vnto hys recuſations and appellations before made, and would not make other aunſwer.

Then the Delegates demaūded of him what cauſe he had to alledge why he ought not to be declared pro confeſſo, vpon the articles wherunto he had not fully anſwered: the biſhop ſtyll aunſwering (as before) that he would adhere vnto hys appellation & recuſation. Wherupon the Archb. wyth conſent of the reſt, ſeyng hys pertinacie, pronounced hym Contumax, and in payne thereof declared hym pro confeſſo vpon all the articles which he had not anſwered.

Boner declared Contumax & pro confeſſo, that is, giltie.

This done, Maiſter Secretary Smyth ſhewed forth a letter, whych the biſhop of London had before that tyme ſent vnto the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the Citie of London, the tenor whereof enſueth as foloweth.

¶ To the right honorable and my very good Lord the Maior of London, with all hys worſhipfull brethren, my very deare and worſhipfull frendes, wyth ſpeede.

Boners letter to the Lord Maior & Aldermen of London.

Boner woulde not tarye M. *Hoopers* Sermon.

RIght honorable, wyth my very humble recommendations, where I haue perceiued of late and heard wyth myne eares, what vile beaſtes and herreticks haue preached vnto you, or rather like them ſelues prated and rayled agaynſt the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter, denying the veritye and preſence of Chriſtes true bodye and bloud to be there, geuing you and the people liberty to beleue what ye liſt, teaching you deteſtably that faith in this behalfe muſt not be coacted, but euery man to beleue as hee wyll, by reaſon whereof, leſt my preſence and ſilence might vnto ſome haue bene ſene to haue allowed their hereticall doctrine and geuing credite vnto them, betraying my flocke of the catholicke ſort, ye know I departed yeſterday frō the hereticke praters vncharitable charitie, and ſo coulde haue wyſhed that you and all other that be catholicke ſhoulde haue done, leauyng thoſe there wyth hym that be already caſt away, and wil not be recouered. For your tarying with hym ſtil, ſhall not onely hurt your ſelfe in receauing hys poyſoned doctrine, but alſo ſhall geue a viſage that their doctrine is tolerable, by reaſon that ye are contented to heare it, and ſay nothyng agaynſt it. And becauſe I cannot tell when I ſhall ſpeake with you, to aduertiſe you hereof, therfore I thought good for mine owne diſcharge & yours, thus much to write vnto you, requyring and praying you agayne and agayne in Gods behalfe, and for mine owne diſcharge, that ye ſuffer not your ſelues to be abuſed with ſuch naughty preachers and teachers in hearyng theyr euyll doctrine that ye ſhall perceaue them to go about to ſow. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerue you all wyth this noble City, in all good reſt, godlynes, and proſperitie. Written in haſt this Monday morning the. xvj. of September. 1549.

Your faythfull beades man and poore
Biſhop Edmond Boner.

This letter being read, the Secretary demaunded of him whether he wrote it or not. To whom he would not otherwyſe anſwer, but that he woulde ſtyll adhere and ſtand vnto hys former recuſations and appeales. Whych the Commiſſioners ſeing, determined to continue thys caſe in ſtate as it was vntill Friday then next folowing, betwene the houres of viij. and. ix. of the clocke before noone, aſſigning the biſhop to be thereat the ſame time and place, then to heare a finall decree of thys matter, hee ſtyll proteſting as before.

Boner differred till the next Friday, and from that till Tewſday after.

¶ The ſeuenth Seſſion or appearaunce of Boner vpon Tewſday the firſt of October, before the kinges Commiſſioners at Lambeth.

The 7. Seſſion or appearaunce of *Boner*.

VPon Friday the Cōmiſſioners, for diuers vrgent cauſes letting them, did not ſit in commiſſion according to theyr appoyntment, but deferred it vntyll Tewſday the firſt of October then nexte following. Vppon which day the Biſhop appearing before them, the Archbiſhop declared vnto hym, that although as vpon Friday laſte they had appoynted to pronounce theyr finall decree and ſentence in thys matter, yet for as much as they thought that that ſentence (although they had iuſt cauſe to geue it) ſhoulde haue bene very ſore agaynſt him, they had not onely deferred the ſame vntill thys day, but minding to be more friendly to him then

The friendly wordes of the Commiſſioners to Boner.

then he was to himſelfe, and to vſe more eaſy and gentle reformation towardes him, had alſo made ſuch ſute and meanes for hym, that although hee had greuouſly offended the kinges Maieſtye, and very diſobediently behaued hymſelfe, yet if he woulde in the meane whyle haue acknowledged his fault, and haue bene contented to make ſome part of amendes in ſubmitting him ſelfe according to his bounden duty, he ſhould haue founde much fauour: ſo the ſentence ſhoulde not haue bene ſo ſore and extreme agaynſt hym, as it was lyke nowe to be: for whych they were very ſory, eſpecially to ſee the continuaunce of ſuch ſtubburne diſobedience, wherby they were then more enforced to geue ſuch ſentence agaynſt hym:

The biſhop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and fauour, but perſiſting ſtyll in hys wonted contumacie, drew forth a paper, wheron he read theſe wordes following.

A declaration of Boner before the Commiſſioners.

I Edmund Byſhop of London brought in as a priſoner
by his keper one of the Marſhalſey, here before
you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretenſed Colleagues,
do vnder my former proteſtations heretofore
by me made before you and remainyng in your Act, declare
that this my preſence here at this tyme is not voluntary
” nor of mine owne free will and conſent, but vtterly
” coacted and againſt my will, and that being otherwiſe
” ſent for, or brought before you then I am (that is
” as a priſoner) I would not being at libertie, haue come
” or appeared before you, but woulde haue declined
” and refuſed to make any appearaunce at all, but would
” haue abſented my ſelfe from you, as lawfully and well
” I might haue done, ſtandyng to, vſing, and enioying
” all and ſingular my lawfull remedies & defenſes heretofore
” vſed, excerciſed, & enioyed, eſpecially my prouocation,
” and appellation, heretofore interponed & made
” vnto the kynges moſt excellent Maieſtie, to whom eftſones
” Ex abundanti, I haue both prouoked and appealed,
” and alſo made ſupplication vnto as appeareth
” in theſe wrytynges, which vnder proteſtation aforeſayd,
” I do exhibite and leaue here with the Actuary of
” this cauſe, requiryng him to make an inſtrument thervpon,
” & the perſons here preſent to beare record in that
” behalf: eſpecially to the intent it may appeare, I do better
acknowledge the kynges Maieſties authoritie euē
in his tender and young age, prouokyng and appealyng
to his Maieſtie as my moſt gracious ſoueraigne
” and ſupreame head, with ſubmiſſion to his highnes (as
” appeareth in my appellation and other remedyes) for
” my tuition and defence, thē other ſome do: I do meane
” you my Lord of Canterbury and your ſayd pretenſed
” Colleagues, which by law & good reaſon ought to haue
” deferred and geuen place vnto ſuch prouocation, appellation,
” and ſupplication as heretofore lawfully haue
” ben by me interponed & made vnto his Maieſties moſt
” royall perſon and authoritie in this behalfe.

Boner pretendeth ſubmiſſion to the king.

As ſone as the Biſhop had read theſe wordes, he did deliuer aſwell that paper as alſo two other vnto the Actuarye, the one conteinyng an appellation, and the other a ſupplication vnto the kynges Maieſtie: Which appellatiō begynneth thus: In the name of God, Amē.

Wherein firſt he ſhewed how naturally euery creature declineth gladly from that thyng whiche goeth about to hurt it, and alſo ſeketh helpe and remedy to withſtand ſuch hurtes and iniuries.

Further he ſhewed that it is found by experience to be hurtfull and daungerous to truſt hym that ones hath hurt and beguiled, leſt hee might adde more, rather then to take ought from.

Moreouer he ſhewed that he had found heretofore at the handes of the Byſhop of Caunterbury and the reſt of the Colleagues in this matter much extremitie & crueltie, iniuries, loſſes and griefes contrary to Gods law, and the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme, and agaynſt Iuſtice, charitie, & good order, beyng well aſſured if they were not ſtayed but proceaded, they would adde more euil to euill, loſſe to loſſe, and diſpleaſure to diſpleaſure, as (ſaid hee) their ſeruauntes haue reported and they agreable do ſhewe the ſame.

Againe in yͤ ſaid appeale he ſhewed that the Byſhop of Canterbury and the other Commiſſioners ought to haue conſidered and done better in that matter, for honor and obedience to the kinges Maieſtie, which hetherto they haue not done (ſayd hee) in that they haue not geuen place to his prouocatiōs and appellatiōs heretofore made vnto his grace, iuſtly and lawfully and vpō good and iuſt cauſes, namely for the vniuſt griefes they did agaynſt him, which he ſayd to appeare in the Actes of that matter: as in pronouncyng him contumacem vnreaſonably without good cauſe, and further in aſſignyng the terme ad audiēdum finale decretū, and in cōmittyng him to ſtrait priſon, as appeareth in their Actes. Therfore he did not only Ex abundanti, ad omnem iuris cautelā, decline & refuſe their pretenſed iuriſdiction as before: but alſo by theſe preſentes here ſhewed, he did appeale from the ſaid Byſhop of Caunterbury and the reaſt, vnto the kynges Maieſtie, aſkyng alſo thoſe letters of appeale, whiche the lawe doth admitte, ſaying, hee did not intend to go from his former prouocations and appellations, but to ioyne and cleaue vnto them in euery part and parcell, ſubmittyng hym ſelfe to the protection and defence of the kynges Maieſtie, and he therin made intimation to the Byſhop of Canterbury, and the ſayd Colleagues, to all intentes and purpoſes that myght come therof.

Letters of appeale called *Apoſtoli.*

Furthermore as touchyng the ſupplication aboue mentioned, which Boner (as we ſayd) put vp in wrytyng to the Commiſſioners, the copie therof here vnder likewiſe inſueth.

¶ The ſupplication of Boner to the Chauncelor of England, withall the reſt of the kynges Maieſties moſt honorable priuye Counſell.

The copie of *Boners* ſupplication.

PLeaſe it your moſt honorable good Lordſhyps with my moſt humble recommendations, to vnderſtand that albeit I haue accordyng to the lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces of this Realme, made ſupplicatiō, prouocation and appellation vnto the kynges moſt excellent Maieſtie from the vnlawfull and wicked proceſſe of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, maiſter Secretarie Smith, and the Deane of Paules, as alſo as well from their iniuſt interlocutorie, as alſo their diffinitiue ſentence, whereby in law I ought to haue libertie to come abroad and proſecute the ſame, yet ſuch is the malignitie of the Iudges agaynſt me, with bearyng and maintenaunce of other, which ſundry and many wayes haue ſought my ruine and deſtruction, that I am here penned and locked vp, vſed very extremely at their pleaſure and for the contentation of the ſayd Maiſter Smith, and not ſuffred to finde ſureties or to go abroad to proſecute and ſue my ſayd appellation. In conſideration whereof it may pleaſe your ſayd good Lordſhyps to take ſome order and redreſſe here in, eſpecially for that it is now the tyme that the kynges ſubſidye nowe due, ought to bee called vpon, and Iuſtice alſo miniſtred vnto his Maieſties ſubiectes, which beyng as I now am, I can not be ſuffred to do. And thus without further extendyng my letter therein, conſideryng that your great wiſedomes experience and goodnes can gather of a litle what is expedient and neceſſary for the whole, I do beſech almightye God to preſerue and keepe well all your honorable good Lordſhyps. Written in haſt this vij. of October. M.D.xlix. in the Marſhalſey.

Your honorable Lordſhyps poore Oratour and
moſt bounden Bedes man, Edmund London.

The Archbyſhop aunſwereth to the wordes of *Boner.*

Theſe thinges ended, the Archbiſhop ſaid vnto him: my Lord where you ſay that you come coacted, or els ye would not haue appeared, I do much maruell of you. For you would thereby make vs and this audience here beleue that bycauſe you are a priſoner, ye ought not therefore to aunſwere. Which if it were true, were enough to confounde the whole ſtate of this Realme. For I dare ſay that of the greateſt priſoners and rebels that euer your keper there (meanyng the vnder Marſhall) hath had vnder him, he can not ſhew me one that hath vſed ſuch defence, as you here haue done.

Boner.

Well, quoth the Byſhop, if my keper were learned in the lawes, I could ſhew him my minde therein.

Well

The Archbyſhop.

Well, ſayd the Archbiſhop I haue read ouer all the lawes aſwell as you, but to an other end and purpoſe then you did, and yet I can find no ſuch priuiledge in this matter.

Secretary *Smyth.*

Then M. Secretary Smith did very ſore burthen and charge him, how diſobediently and rebelliouſly hée had allwayes behaued him ſelfe towardes the kynges Maieſtie and his authoritie.

Boner.

Whereupon the Byſhop vnder his proteſtation aunſwered agayne that hée was the kynges Maieſties lawfull and true ſubiect, and did acknowledge his highnes to bée his gracious ſoueraigne Lord, or els hée would not haue appealed vnto him, as he had, yea and would gladly lay his handes and his necke alſo vnder his graces féete, and therfore he deſired that his hyghnes lawes and Juſtice mought be miniſtred vnto him.

Secretary *Smyth.*

Boner compared to the rebels of Deuonſhyre.

Yea (quoth M. Secretary) you ſay wel my Lord, but I pray you, what others haue all theſe rebels both in Northfolk, Deuonſhyre, and Cornewal and other places done? haue they not ſayd thus? *We be the kinges true ſubiectes, we acknowledge hym for our king, and we will obey his lawes,* with ſuch like, and yet when either commaundemẽt, letter, or pardon was brought vnto them from his Maieſtie, they beleued it not, but ſayd it was forged and made vnder a hedge, and was Gentlemens doynges, ſo that in déede they would not nor did obey any thyng.

Boner.

Ah Syr, ſayd the Biſhop, I perceaue your meaning: as who ſhould ſay that the Byſhop of London is a rebell like them. Yea by my trouth (quoth the Secretary.)

The people laughing at *Boner.*

Wherat the people laughed.

Doct. May.

Then the Deane of Paules ſayd vnto him, that hée marueiled much and was very ſory to ſée him ſo vntractable, that he would not ſuffer the Judges to ſpeake.

Boner with hys tauntes.

To whom the Biſhop diſdaynfully aũſwered: well, M. Deane, you muſt ſay ſomewhat. And likewiſe at an other tyme as the Deane was ſpeakyng, he interrupted him, and ſayd, you may ſpeake when your turne cometh.

Secretary *Smyth.*

Then ſaid Secretary Smith, I woulde you knewe your duety.

Boner.

I would (quoth hée agayne) you knew it as well as I, with an infinite more of other ſuch ſtubborne and cõtemptuous talke and behauiour towardes thẽ, which

The contemptuous talke of *Boner.*

the Commiſsioners waighyng, & perceauing no likelyhode of any tractable reaſon in him, determined that the Archbiſhop with their whole conſent, ſhould at that preſent there openly read and publiſhe their finall decrée or ſentence definitiue againſt him. Which hee did, pronounſing him therby to be cleane depriued from the Biſhopricke of London, and farther, as in the ſame appeareth. Which begynneth thus: In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas permiſsione Diuina Cant. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ primas & Metropolitanus, Nicolaus eadem miſeratione Roffenſis Epiſcopus, Tho. Smith miles. &c. and ſo forth as more at full may appeare in the bóoke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition, pag. 720. Which ended, the Biſhop immediatly did therefrom appeale by worde of mouth, alledgyng that the ſame ſentence there geuen agaynſt him was Lex nulla. The tenour of whoſe wordes I thought here to expreſſe accordyng as they were by hym vttered, in this wiſe as foloweth.

Read more hereof in the Boke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition. pag. 720.

The wordes of *Boner* appealing frõ the ſentence definitiue.

I Edmund Byſhop of London broght in and kept here as a priſoner agaynſt my conſent and will, do vnder my former proteſtations heretofore made, and to the intent it may alſo appeare that I haue not beyng ſo here in this place, cõſented nor agreed to any thyng done againſt me, and in my preiudice, alledge and ſay that this ſentence geuen here agaynſt me is Lex nulla, and ſo farre forth as it ſhall appeare to be aliqua, I do ſay it is iniqua, and iniuſta, and that therefore I doe from it, as iniqua, and iniuſta, appeale to the moſt excellent and noble kyng, Edward the ſixt by the grace of God kyng of England, Fraunce, and Ireland defendour of the faith and of the Church of England, and alſo of Ireland next and immediatly vnder God here in earth ſupreme head, and vnto his Court of Chauncery or Parliament, as the lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces of this Realme will ſuffer and beare in this behalfe, deſiryng inſtantly firſt, ſecond, and thyrd, accordyng to the lawes, letters reuerenciall or demiſſories to bee geuen and deliuered vnto me in this behalfe, with all thinges expedient, requiſite, or neceſſary in any wiſe: and therupon alſo the ſayd Byſhop required the publicke Notary or Actuary William Say to make an inſtrument, and the witnes aforeſayd and other preſent to recorde the ſame.

Letters reuerenciall or demiſſories.

To whom ſo appealyng and requiryng as afore, the ſayd Judges delegate ſayd, that they will declare and ſignifie to the kynges Maieſty, what is done in this matter, and therupon will deferre or not deferre to his ſaid appellatiõ, accordiing as his graces pleaſure and commaundemẽt to them ſhalbe in that behalfe: and after all this, the ſayd Byſhop of London ſayd to thẽ: Iam functi eſtis officio. what will your grace do with me now touchyng my impriſonment? will ye keepe me ſtill in priſon? ſhall I not now bee at liberty to proſecute myne appeale? To whom the Archbyſhop aunſweryng, ſayd that they perceaued now more in that matter then they did at the firſt, and that this matter is more greater rebellion then he is ware of, and therfore ſaid, that as yet they would not diſcharge him, and therupon they committed him agayne to his keeper to priſon.

The Archbyſhop declareth the effecte of *Boners* ſentence in Englyſhe.

This talke finiſhed, the Archbiſhop conſidering that moſt of the audience there preſent dyd not vnderſtand the meaning of the ſentence being read in the Latine tounge, ſayd vnto them: Becauſe there bee many of you here that vnderſtand not the lattin tounge, and ſo cannot tell what iudgement hath bene here geuen, I ſhall therefore ſhewe you the effect therof: and therewith did declare in Engliſh the cauſes expreſſed in the ſentence, adding then thereunto theſe wordes:

Boner depriued and diſbyſhopped.

Becauſe my Lord of London is found gilty in theſe matters, therefore we haue here by our ſentence depriued hym of the biſhopricke of London: and thys wee ſhew vnto you to the entent that from henceforth ye ſhall not eſteme hym any more as biſhop of London.

Boners diſdainfull wordes to the Commiſsioners.

Then Boner deſired the Archbiſhop to declare likewiſe what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other ſeing hys froward contempt, refuſed it, ſaying, ye may do it your ſelfe. Whereupon very diſdainfully agayne he ſayd, iam functi eſtis officio. What wyll your Grace do wyth me touching my impriſonment? wyll you keepe me ſtyll in priſon?

Boner agayne cõmitted to hys keper.

To whom the Commiſsioners aunſwered that they perceaued now more in the matter then they did before, and that hys behauiour was more greater rebellion then he was ware of: and therefore they would not diſcharge hym, but committed him agayne to hys keeper to be kept in priſon. Where he moſt iuſtly remayned vntyll the death of that moſt worthy and godlye prince king Edward the ſixt. After which tyme hee wrought moſt horrible miſchiefe and cruelties agaynſt the Saintes of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole raygne of Quene Mary. From the executing of the which lyke tyranny, the Lord of his great mercy kéepe hym and all other ſuch. Amen.

A ſupplication of *Boner* to the Lord Chauncelour and the reſt of the kynges Counſell.

Now immediately after hys depriuation, hee wryteth out of the Marſhalſey an other letter ſupplicatory vnto the Lord Chauncelour and the reſt of the kynges Counſell. Wherin he thus complayneth, that by reaſon of the great enemitie that the Duke of Somerſet and Syr Thomas Smith bare vnto hym, his often and earneſt ſutes vnto the king and his Counſell could not be heard. He therfore moſt humbly deſireth their Lordſhips for the cauſes aforeſayd, to conſider him, and to let hym haue libertie to proſecute hys matter before them, and he would dayly pray for the good preſeruation of their honors: as appeareth at large in the Actes and Monumentes, page. 723. and 724.

Read more hereof in the boke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition, pag. 723. and 724.

Thus after the Commiſsioners had finiſhed wyth Boner, he being now priſoner in the Marſhalſey, leauing no ſhifte of the lawe vnſought how to worke for hym ſelfe as well as he might, drew out a certain ſupplication, conceaued and directed to the kinges Maieſtie,

ſtie out of the ſayd pryſon of the Marſhalſey.

❡A Supplication made and directed by Edm. Boner late B. of London to the Kinges Maieſtie out of the priſon of the Marſhalſey.

Boners ſupplicatiō to the kyng.

In the which Supplication firſt after the vſed forme of ſtile, he prayed for ẏ proſperous eſtate of the kyng long to raigne. Then he ſhewed that hys faithful hart and ſeruice to him, hath, is, and ſhalbe, as it was to his father before.

Then hee declared how hee had bene belyed of euyll men, and miſreported not to beare a true hart to hys Grace, but a rebellious mynde, in denying hys royall power in hys minoritie, where in dede (he ſayth) hys Grace ſhould finde him alwayes during life, both in hart, word, and dêde, to do and acknowledge otherwyſe, and to be moſt wylling to ſhew. &c. and to do all thinges for his Grace as wyllingly as any other Subiect, or as thoſe that were his Denouncers, who hee thought were not ſent of hys Grace, but pretenſed Cōmiſſioners. &c.

Further he cōplayned of hys denunciatiō by certain Cōmiſſioners (who ſaid they were ſent by his Grace) alleaging ẏ ſame not to be lawfull: and of hys long and ſharpe impriſonment, & that ẏ Cōmiſſioners obſerued neyther law nor reaſonable order, but extremitye. And where he had made appeale to hys Grace, and he could not haue it: he deſired to haue lawe to proſecute and ſue his appeale for his remedye, and that he conſidering hys vocation, myght not be ſhut vp and put from libertye, which his meaneſt ſubiectes haue.

Then he deſired his Graces letters of Superſedeas againſt the Commiſſioners, & that the matter might be heard before the Coūſell, & then he doubted not, but to be found a true faythfull man, & herein to haue wrong. So in ẏ end he cōcluded, this (proſtratyng hym ſelf euē to the very ground, & humbly kiſſing hys Graces fête) to bêe the thyng onely which he humbly deſired. &c.

Boners appellatiō to the kyng perused and tried, and found by the lawe vneffectuall and vnreaſonable.

This done, and the Supplication peruſed, the kyng eftſone giueth in charge and commaundement, to certain men of honour & worſhip, & perſons ſkilfull in the law, as to the Lord Rych hygh Chauncellour, the Lord Treaſurer, the L. Marques Dorſet, ẏ biſhop of Ely, Lord Wentworth, Syr Antony Wingfield, Syr W. Harbert knightes, Doctor Nich. Wootton, Edward Mountague Lord chiefe Iuſtice, Syr Iohn Baker Knight, with Iudge Hales, Iohn Goſnolde, D. Oliuer, and alſo Doctor Leyſon, that they ſcanning and peruſing all ſuch actes, matters, and munimentes of the ſayd Boner by him exhibited, produced, propounded and alledged, with all & ſingular his proteſtations, recuſations and appellations, ſhould vpon mature conſideration thereof, giue theyr directed anſwer vpon the ſame, whether the appellation of the ſayd Boner were to be deferred vnto, and whether the ſentence defyned agaynſt hym, ſtôde by the law ſufficient and effectuall, or not. Who eftſones after diligent diſcuſſion, and cōſiderate aduiſement had of all and ſingular the premiſſes, gaue their reſolute aunſwer, that the pretenſed appellation of Edmund Boner aforeſayd was nought and vnreaſonable, and in no wyſe to be deferred vnto, and that the Sentence by the Commiſſioners agaynſt hym, was rightly and iuſtly pronounced. And this was the concluſion of Boners whole matter and depriuation for that tyme.

The ſentence of Boners depriuatiō by the Peeres & learned mē of the realme found to be iuſt and lawfull.

Thus then leauing Doctor Boner a whyle in the Marſhalſey with hys kêeper, we will procede (the Lord permitting) further in the courſe of our ſtory, as the order of yeares and tyme requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth here ioyntly with the depriuation of Doctor Boner: yet becauſe he was ſhortly agayne delyuered out of the ſame through the Lordes mightye working, I wyll therefore delay the tractation thereof, tyll the tyme of hys ſecond trouble, which was two yeares after: and ſo in the meane tyme returning againe into our diſcourſe, intende by the Lordes leaue, to collecte and continue the matters begon, touching the kinges godly procêedinges for reformation of religion, in the foreſayd yeare of our Lord, concurring an. 1549.

The firſt trouble of the Lord Protector was about the moneth of Octob. an. 1549.

Diſputation of *Pet. Martyr* with Doct. *Chadſey* in Oxforde.

And here fyrſt a note would be made of Peter Martyr, & of hys learned trauails, & diſputation in the Uniuerſitie of Oxford the ſayd preſent yeare, with Doctor Chedſey & other moe, about ẏ matter of ẏ Sacramēt: which was, that the ſubſtance of bread and wyne was not chaunged in the ſacrament, and that the body and bloud of Chriſt was not carnally & bodily in the breade and wyne, but vnited to the ſame ſacramentally.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes by Acte of Parlament to be compyled by 32. perſons. *Statut. an. 3. Edou. 6.*

In lyke manner ſome touch or mention here alſo would be made of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, for the gathering and compiling wherof. 32. perſons were aſſigned by acte of Parliamēnt the ſayd preſent yeare 1549. But becauſe theſe be rather matters of tractation, then hiſtoricall, I meane (God willing) to deferre the further conſideration thereof vnto the ende of the hiſtory of thys kinges dayes, and ſo to paſſe forward to other matters in the meane whyle.

❡*Bookes of Latine ſeruice called in and aboliſhed.*

Euill diſpoſed people thinkyng to haue their latin ſeruice againe, after the apprehenſion of the Lord Protectour.

It foloweth then in ſtory, that certaine of the vulgar multitude, hearyng of the apprehenſion of the Lord Protectour, and ſuppoſing the alteration of publicke ſeruice into Engliſh, and adminiſtration of the Sacrament and other rites lately appointed in the Church, had bene the acte chiefly or onely of the ſayd Lord Protectour, begā vpon the ſame to noyſe and brute abroad, that they ſhould now haue their olde Latine ſeruice, with holy bread and holy water, and their other like ſuperſtitious ceremonies agayne. Wherupon the kyng with the body and ſtate of the priuye Counſaile then beyng, directed out his letters of requeſt and ſtraite cōmaundement to the Biſhops in their Dioces, to cauſe and warne the Deane and prebendaries of their Cathedrall Churches, all Perſons, Uicares, and Curates, with the Churchwardens of euery Pariſh within their Dioces, to bring in and deliuer vp all Antiphoners, Miſſalles, Grailes, Proceſſionals, Mannals, Legendes, Pies, Portuaſſes, Iournals, and Ordinals after the vſe of Sarūm, Lincolne, Yorke, Bāgor, Herford, or any other priuate vſe, and all other bôkes of ſeruice, the hauyng wherof might be any let to the ſeruice now ſet forth in Engliſhe: chargyng alſo and cōmaundyng all ſuch as ſhould bêe founde ſtubborne or diſobedient in this behalfe to bêe cōmitted vnto warde.

The kinges commaundement to the Byſhops.

Bookes of Latine ſeruice called in.

And becauſe the kyng moreouer was aduertiſed, that there was a ſlackenes & a frowardnes among the people, refuſing to pay toward the findyng of bread and wyne for the holy Cōmunion, by reaſon wherof ẏ Cōmunion in many places was omitted, ẏ Biſhops in lyke maner had giuen in charge, to prouide for redreſſe therof and to puniſh them which ſhould refuſe ſo to do. Whereby it may appeare to vs now, that no wafer cakes but common bread was then by the kynges appoyntemēt ordinarely receaued and vſed in Churches. This was about the latter end of Decemb. an. 1549.

Cōmon bread vſed in the holy Cōmunion.

❡Takyng downe of aultars, and ſettyng vp of the Table in ſtede therof.

Takyng downe of Altars.

An. 1550.

Furthermore in the yeare next folowyng. 1550. other letters likewiſe were ſent out for the takyng downe of aultars in Churches, and ſettyng vp the Table in ſtede of the ſame, vnto Nicolas Ridley, who beyng Byſhop of Rocheſter before was then made Byſhop of London, in Boners place. The copie and contentes of the kinges letters, are theſe as foloweth.

❡The kinges letters to Nicholas Ridley biſhop of London. &c.

The kinges letter to *Nic. Ridley* then Byſhop of London.

Right reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that being the aultars wythin the more part of the Churches of thys realme, already vpon good and godly conſiderations taken downe, there doth yet remayne aultars ſtandyng in diuers other churches, by occaſion whereof much variance and contention ariſeth amongſt ſundry of our ſubiectes, which if good foreſyght were not had, myght perchaunce engender great hurt and inconuenience: we let you wit, that myndyng to haue al occaſion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by thoſe & ſuch like diuerſities, & conſidering that amongeſt other thinges belonging to our royall office and cure, we do accompt the greateſt to be, to mayntaine the common quiet of our Realme, we haue thought good by the aduiſe of our Counſaile to requyre you, and neuertheles ſpecially to charge and commaund you, for the auoyding of all matters of further contentiō and ſtrife about the ſtanding or taking away of the ſayde aultars, to geue ſubſtantiall order throughout all your dioces, that with all diligence all the aultars in euery church or chappell, aſwell in places exempted as not exempted within your ſayd dioces be taken downe, and in the ſteede of them a Table ſet vp in ſome conuenient part of the Chauncell within euery ſuch church or chappell, to ſerue for the miniſtration of the bleſſed Communion. And to the intent the ſame may be done wythout the offence of ſuch our louing ſubiectes, as be not yet ſo well perſwaded in that behalfe as we woulde wiſhe, we ſend vnto you herewyth, certaine conſiderations gathered & collected that make for the purpoſe, the which and ſuch others as you ſhall thinke meete to be ſet forth to peſwade the weake to embrace our proceedinges in thys part, we pray you cauſe to be declared to the people by ſome diſcrete Preachers in ſuch places as you ſhall thinke meete, before the taking down of the ſaid aultars: ſo as both the weake conſciences of other may bee inſtructed and ſatiſfied as much as may be, and thys our pleaſure the more quietly executed. For the better doyng whereof, we require you to open the foreſayd conſiderations in that our cathedrall church in your own perſon, if you conueniently may, or otherwyſe by your Chauncelour, or ſome other graue Preacher, both there, and in ſuch other market townes and moſt notable places of your dioces, as you may thinke moſt requiſite. Geuen vnder our ſignet, at our Pallace of Weſtminſter the. 24. day of Nouember, the fourth yeare of our raigne.

Altars taken downe and deſtroyed.

Conſiderations to perſwade the people.

Edward Somerſet.
Thomas Cranmer.
William Wiltſher.
Iohn Warwicke.
Iohn Bedford.

William North.
Edward Clinton.
H. Wentworth.
Thomas Ely,

¶ Reaſons why the Lordes boord ſhould rather be after the forme of a table, then of an aultar.

¶ *The firſt reaſon.*

Conſiderations and reaſons, why the table were more conuenient in the Church then the Altar.

FIrſt, the fourme of a table ſhall more moue the ſimple from the ſuperſticious opinions of the popiſhe Maſſe, vnto the right vſe of the Lords ſupper. For the vſe of an aultar is to make ſacrifice vpon it: the vſe of a table is to ſerue for men to eate vpon. Nowe when we come vnto the Lordes boorde, what doe we come for? To ſacrifice Chriſt agayne, and to crucifie hym agayne? or to feede vpon him that was once onely crucified, and offered vp for vs? If wee come to feede vppon him, ſpiritually to eate hys body, and ſpiritually to drinke his bloud, which is the true vſe of the Lords ſupper, then no man can deny, but the forme of a table is more meete for the Lordes boorde, then the forme of an aultar.

¶ *The ſecond reaſon.*

The ſecond reaſon.

Aunſwere to certayne caullers, which take holde of the terme of Altar in the kinges booke.

Item, where as it is ſayd, the booke of common praier maketh mention of an aultar, wherefore it is not lawfull to aboliſh that which that booke aloweth: to this is thus aunſwered: The booke of common prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lordes ſupper is miniſtred, indifferently a table, an aultar, or the Lordes boorde, wythout preſcription of any forme thereof, eyther of a table, or of an aultar. So that whether the Lords boorde haue the forme of an aultar, or of a table, the booke of common prayer calleth it both an aultar & a table. For as it calleth an aultar whereupon the Lordes Supper is miniſtred, a table and the Lordes boorde, ſo it calleth the table where the holye Communion is diſtributed with laudes and thankes geuyng vnto the Lord, an aultar, for that, that there is offered the ſame ſacrifice of prayſe and thankes geuing. And thus it appeareth that here is nothing neither ſayd nor ment contrary to the booke of common prayer.

The table how it may be called an Altar, and in what reſpecte.

¶ *The third reaſon.*

The third reaſon.

Thirdly, the popiſhe opinion of Maſſe was that it might not be celebrated but vpon an aultar, or at the leaſt vpon a ſuperaltare, to ſupplie the default of the aultar, which muſt haue had hys prints and charactes, or els it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this ſuperſtitious opinion is more holden in the myndes of the ſimple and ignorant by the forme of an aultar, then of a table: wherfore it is more meete for the aboliſhement of this ſuperſtitious opinion, to haue the Lordes boord after the forme of a table, then of an aultar.

Thys reaſon for takyng away the ſuperſtitious opinion, ſerueth alſo as well for the aboliſhing of other thinges more beſide Altars. &c.

¶ *The fourth reaſon.*

The 4. reaſon.

Fourthly, the forme of an aultar was ordeyned for the Sacrifices of the lawe, and therefore the aultar in Greeke is called θυσιαστήριον, quaſi ſacrificij locus. But now both the law and the ſacrifices thereof doo ceaſe: Wherefore the forme of the aultar vſed in the lawe, ought to ceaſe withall.

The name of an Altar how it is deriued, and what it ſignifieth.

¶ *The fift reaſon.*

The 5. reaſon.

Fiftly, Chriſt did inſtitute the ſacrament of hys body and bloud at hys laſt ſupper at a table, and not at an aultar, as it appeareth manifeſtly by the three Euangeliſtes. And S. Paule calleth the comming to the holy Communion, the comming vnto the Lordes Supper. And alſo it is not read, that any of the Apoſtles or the primitiue church did euer vſe anye aultar in the miniſtration of the holy Communion. Wherfore, ſeyng the forme of a Table is more agreable with Chriſtes inſtitution, and with the vſage of the Apoſtles and of the primatiue church, then the forme of an aultar, therfore the forme of a table is rather to be vſed, then the forme of an aultar in the adminiſtration of the holy Communion.

Chriſt vſed a table and not an Altar.

The Altar neuer vſed among the Apoſtles.

¶ *The ſixt reaſon.*

The 6. reaſon.

Finally, it is ſayd in the preface of ẏ booke of cōmon prayer, that if any doubt do ariſe in the vſe & practiſing of the ſame booke, to appeaſe all ſuch diuerſitie, the matter ſhall be referred vnto the byſhop of the dioces, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quieting & appeaſing of the ſame, ſo that the ſame order be not contrary vnto any thing contained in that booke.

After theſe letters and reaſons receaued, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley biſhop of Londō, conſequẽtly vpon the ſame did hold his viſitation, wherin amongeſt other hys Iniunctions the ſayd Biſhop exhorted thoſe Churches in his Dioces, where the aultars then did remayne, to conforme them ſelues vnto thoſe other Churches whych had taken them downe, and had ſet vp in the ſtede of the multitude of theyr aultars, one decent table in euery church.

Upon the occaſion whereof there aroſe a great diuerſitie about the forme of the Lordes boorde, ſome vſing it after the forme of a table, and ſome of an aultar. Wherein when the ſayd Biſhop was required to ſay and determine what was moſt meete, hee declared he could do no leſſe of his bounden dutie for the appeaſing of ſuch diuerſity, and to procure one godly vniformitie, but to exhort all hys dioces vnto that, which he thought did beſt agree wyth ſcripture, with the vſage of the Apoſtles, and with the primatiue Churche, and to that which is not onely not contrary vnto any thing conteined in the booke of cōmō prayer (as is before proued) but alſo might highly further the kynges moſt godly proceedinges, in aboliſhing of diuers vayne and ſuperſticious opinions of the Popiſh Maſſe out of the harts of the ſimple, and to bring them to the right vſe taught by holy ſcripture of the Lordes ſupper, and ſo appoynted

Nicholas Ridley Byſhop of London appoynted in his Dioces the ryght forme of a table.

The walle by the hygh altare in Paules Church, broken downe by *Nicholas Ridley*.

1550.

ted be the forme of a right table to be vſed in his dioces, and in the church of Paules, brake downe the wall ſtanding then by the high altars ſyde.

The ſtory of Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter briefly collected, the reſidue whereof concernyng hys Actes and doynges may further appeare in the booke of Actes and Monumentes in the former edition, page. 728.

The ſtorye of Steuen Gardiner.

1550.

ALthough the firſt impriſonment of Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wyncheſter, in order of tyme was before the depriuatiõ of Biſhop Boner: yet for ſomuch as he was not depoſed frõ his Biſhopricke til ẏ next or ſecond yeare after, which was. 1551. I haue therfore driuen of the hyſtorie of the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter to this preſent place: intendyng neuertheles here not to extende and proſecute the explication of that buſie matter with all circumſtaunces and particularities therof, ſo amplye at full as I might, partly for that beyng done before in my forme volume of Actes and Monumẽtes, may here ſuffice and content the reader beyng diſpoſed there to ſearch and further to read touchyng the ſame: partly alſo conſideryng how this preſent volume is growen all ready very large and great, I thought not to peſter the ſame with any more ſuperfluitie, then nedes muſt, and therefore leauyng out his idle letters, his long proceſſe of Articles & examinations, his tedious talke with ẏ multitude of depoſitions brought in againſt him, & other his Actes & interlocutories ſuperfluous, I minde here (ẏ Lord willing) briefly & ſummarely to excerpe onely the principall effectes, as to the ſtory may ſeme moſt appertenent, referryng the reſidue to be ſearched (if any reader ſo lyſt to do) to the boke of Monumentes aforeſayd, begynnyng in the page. 728.

For the full meanyng of Steuen Gardiners ſtorye, read in the booke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition, pag. 728.

Briefly therfore as touchyng the Actes, doynges, deſeruynges and miſdemeanours of this ſtoute Prelate, and Biſhop of Wincheſter: firſt we wil ſet before the reader the copie of a certeine writte or euidẽce againſt the ſayd Biſhop, wherein as in a brief ſumme generally is deſcribed the whole order and maner of his miſordered demeanour copied out of ẏ publicke recordes in maner as foloweth.

The copie of a writte or euidence touching the order and maner of the miſdemeanour of Wincheſter, with declaration of the faultes wherewith he was iuſtly charged.

The writte or euidence geuen out agaynſt Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter.

WHere as the kynges Maieſtie by the aduiſe of the Lord Protectour and the reſt of his highnes priuye Counſell thinkyng requiſite for ſundry vrgent conſiderations to haue a generall viſitation throughout the whole Realme, did about x. monethes paſt addreſſe forth Cõmiſſions, and by the aduiſe of ſendry Biſhops and other the beſt learned men of the Realme, appointed certaine orders or Iniunctions to be generally obſerued, which being ſuch as in ſome part touched ẏ reformation of many abuſes, & in other partes cõcerned the good gouernaũce and quiet of the Realme, were (as reaſon would) of all men of all ſortes obediently receiued and reuerently obſerued and executed, ſauing onely of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, who aſwell by conference with other, as by open Proteſtation and letters alſo, ſhewed ſuch a willſull diſobedience therin, as if it had not bene quickely eſpyed, might haue breed much vnquietnes and trouble, vpon the knowledge wherof he beyng ſent for, and his lewde procedynges layd to his charge, he in the preſence of the whole Counſell ſo vſed him ſelfe (as well in denying to receiue the ſayd orders and Iniunctions as otherwayes) as hee was thought worthy moſt ſharpe puniſhement, and yet conſideryng the place he had bene in, he was onely ſequeſtred to the Fleete, where, after he had remained a certaine time, as much at his eaſe as if he had bene at hys owne houſe, vpon his promiſe of conformitie he was both ſet at libertie agayne and alſo licenced to repayre and remaine in his Dioces at his pleaſure: where whẽ he was, forgettyng his duety and what promiſe he had made, he began forthwith to ſet forth ſuch matters as bred agayne more ſtriſe, variance, and contention in that one ſmall Citie and Shyre, then was almoſt in the whole Realme after: beſides that the Lord Protectors grace and the Counſell were enformed, that to withſtand ſuch as hee thought to haue bene ſent from their grace and Lordſhyps into thoſe parties, he had cauſed all his ſeruauntes to bee ſecretly armed and harneſed: and moreouer when ſuch preachers as beyng men of godly lyfe and learnyng were ſent into that Dioces by his grace and Lordſhyp to preach the worde of God, had appoynted to preach, the Byſhop to diſapointe and diſgrace them and to hinder his maieſties proceedinges, did occupie the Pulpite him ſelfe, not fearyng in hys Sermon to warne the people to beware of ſuch new preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine thẽ that which hee had taught them (then the which wordes none could haue bene ſpoken more perillous and ſeditious:) whereupon beyng eftſones ſent for and theyr grace and Lordſhyps obiectyng to him many particular matters wherewith they had iuſt cauſe to charge him, they did yet in the end vpon his ſecond promiſe, leaue him at libertie, onely willyng him to remaine at his houſe at Lõdon, becauſe they thought it moſt meete to ſequeſter him from his Dioces for a time, and beyng commen to his houſe, he began a freſhe to ruffle and meddle in matters wherin he had neither Commiſſion nor authoritie, part wherof touched the kynges Maieſtie: wherof beyng yet once agayne admoniſhed by his grace and their Lordſhyps, he did not onely promiſe to conforme him ſelfe in all thinges like a good ſubiect, but alſo becauſe he vnderſtode that he was diuerſly reported of, and many were alſo offended with him, hee offered to declare to the world his conformitie, and promiſed in an open Sermon ſo to open his minde in ſondry articles agreed vpõ, that ſuch as had ben offẽded ſhould haue no more cauſe to be offended, but well ſatiſfied in all thinges: declaryng further that as his owne conſcience was well ſatiſfied and liked well the kynges procedynges within this Realme, ſo would he vtter his cõſcience abroad to the ſatiſfaction & good quyet of others, and yet all this notwithſtandyng, at the day appoynted he did not onely moſt arrogantly and diſobediẽtly, and that in the preſence of his Maieſty, their grace & Lordſhyps, and of ſuch an audience as the like wherof hath not lightely bene ſeene, ſpeake of certaine matters contrary to an expreſſe commaundement geuen to him on his maieſties behalfe both by mouth & by letters, but alſo in the reſt of the Articles, wherunto he had agreed before, vſed ſuch a maner of vtteraunce as was very lyke euen there preſently to haue ſturred a great tumulte, and in certaine great matters touchyng the policie of the Realme, handled him ſelfe ſo colourably as therin he ſhewed him ſelfe an open great offender and a very ſeditious man: for as much as theſe his procedinges were of ſuch ſort, as beyng ſuffred to eſcape vnpuniſhed might breed innumerable inconueniẽces, and that the clemency ſhewed to him afore by their grace and Lordſhyps, did worke in him no good effect but rather a pride and boldnes to demeane hym ſelfe more and more diſobediently agaynſt his Maieſtie and hys graces procedynges: it was determined by their grace and Lordſhyps that hee ſhould bee committed to the Tower & be cõueyed thether by Syr Anthony Wingfield, and that at the tyme of his Cõmiſſion Syr Rafe Sadler and William Hunnynges Clerke of the Counſaile ſhould ſeale vp the dores of ſuch places in his houſe as they ſhoulde thincke meete: all which was done accordyngly.

Wincheſt. miſuſing him ſelf before the Councill.

Wincheſt. committed to the Fleete.

Wincheſter deliuered out of the Fleete and ſet at libertie.

Wincheſter forgetteth him ſelfe againe in hys Dioces.

Wincheſter ſent for agayne by the Counſaile.

Wincheſter commaunded to keepe hys houſe.

Wincheſter again breaketh promiſe with the Counſaile.

Wincheſter promiſeth to ſhewe hys conformitie openly in preachyng.

Wincheſter in hys Sermõ ſwarueth from hys owne promiſe and the kinges commaundement.

Wincheſter for hys ſeditious diſobedience had to the Tower.

By this euidence aboue mentioned, firſt here is of the reader to be noted, how lewdly and diſobediently the ſayd Ste. Gardiner miſuſed him ſelfe in the kinges generall viſitation, in denying to receaue ſuch orders and Iniunctions, as for the which hee iuſtly deſerued much more ſeuere puniſhement. Albeit the kyng with his Uncle the Lord Protectour, more gently procedyng with him, were contented onely to make him taſte the Fleete. In the which houſe, as his durance was not long, ſo his entreatyng & orderyng was very eaſie. Out of the which Fleete diuers and ſondry letters he wrote to the Lord Protector and other of the Counſell, certaine alſo to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and ſome to M. Ridley Biſhop of Lōdon. The particulars were to long here to rehearſe, conſideryng how this booke is ſo ouercharged, as ye ſee, already: and eſpecially ſeyng the ſame be notified in our former edition ſufficiently, as is aforeſayd. Wherfore omittyng the rehearſall of the ſayd letters, and referryng the reader to the booke aforeſayd, I will onely repete one letter of the ſayd Biſhop with the aunſweres of the Lord Protectour vnto the ſame: the contentes wherof be theſe as foloweth.

For the letters of *Wincheſter* Read in the Booke of Actes and Monumentes of the former edition. pag. 732.

¶ A Letter of Wincheſter to M. Vaughan.

A letter of *Steuen Gardiner* to Captaine *Vaughan*.

MAiſter Vaughan, after my ryght harty commendations: In my laſt letters to my Lorde Protector, ſignifying according to the general commaundement by letters geuen to all Iuſtices of peace the ſtate of thys Shiere, I declared (as I ſuppoſed true) the Shiere to be in good order, quiet, and conformitie, for I had not then heard of any alteratiō in thys Shiere, which the ſaid letters of commaundement did forbyd. Now of late within theſe two daies I haue heard of a great and deteſtable (if it be true that is told me) innouation in the towne of Porteſmouth, where the images of Chriſt and his ſaynts haue bene moſt cōtemptuouſly pulled downe, and ſpitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to wryte to you and the Maior the Kinges Maieſties chiefe Miniſters, as well to know the truth, as to conſult wyth you for the reformation of it, to the intent I maye be ſeene to diſcharge my duty, and diſcharge it in dede both to God and the kynges Maieſtye, vnder whom I am here appointed to haue cure and care, to relieue ſuch as be by anye wayes fallen, and preſerue the reſt that ſtand, from like daunger.

Images plucked downe at Portesmouth.

Ye are a Gentleman wyth whom I haue had acquaintaunce, and whom I know to bee wiſe, and eſteeme to haue more knowledge, wiſdome, and diſcretion, then to allow any ſuch enormities, and therefore do the more wyllingly conſult with you herein, with requeſt friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who bee the doers, and the circumſtance of it, & whether ye thinke the matter ſo farre gone with ỹ multitude, and whether the reprouſe and diſprouing of the deede, might wythout a further daunger be enterpriſed in the Pulpit or not, minding if it may ſo be, to ſend one thither for that purpoſe vpon Sonday next comming. I would vſe preaching as it ſhould not be occaſion of any further folly where a follye is begon, and to a multitude perſwaded in that opiniō of deſtruction of Images, I would neuer preach. For (as ſcripture willeth vs) we ſhould caſt no precious ſtones before Hogges. Such as be infected wyth that opinion, they be Hogges & worſe then Hogges, if there be any groſſer beaſtes then Hogs be, and haue bene euer ſo taken, and in England they are called Lollards, who denying images, thought therwith all the craftes of paynting and grauing to bee generally ſuperfluous and nought, and agaynſt Gods lawes.

Then were the old fathers and Byſhop in the primatiue Church with *Epiphanius and Carolus Magnus*, and all the Councell of *Franckford*, hogges and hogges.

In Germany ſuch as mayntained that opinion of deſtroying of images, were accompted the dregges caſt out by Luther, after he had tunned all hys brewings in Chriſtes religion, and ſo taken as Hogs meate. For the reprouſe of whom, Luther wrote a booke ſpecially: and I haue wyth myne eyes ſeene the images ſtanding in all churches where Luther was had in eſtimation. For the deſtruction of Images containeth an enterpriſe to ſubuert religion and the ſtate of the world with it, and eſpecially the Nobilitie, who by images ſet forth and ſpread abroade to be read of all people, their linage, parentage, with remembrance of theyr ſtate and acts: and the Purſiuant carieth not on hys breſt the kinges names written in ſuch letters as a few can ſpell, but ſuch as all can read, be they neuer ſo rude, being great knowen letters in Images of three Lions, and three floures Deluce, & other beaſtes holding thoſe armes. And he that cannot reade the ſcripture written about the kings great Seale, yet he can reade ſaint George on horſbacke on the one ſyde, and the kyng ſytting in hys Maieſty on the other ſyde, and readeth ſo much wrytten in thoſe Images, as if he be an honeſt man, he wyll put of hys cap, and although, if the Seale were broken by chaunce he woulde and myght make a candell of it, yet he woulde not be noted to haue broken the Seale for that purpoſe, or to call it a peece of waxe onely, whyleſt it continueth whole. And if by reuiling of ſtockes and ſtones, in whych matter Images be grauen, the ſetting of the truth to be read in them of al men, ſhalbe contemned: how ſhall ſuch writing continue in honor, as is compriſed in cloutes and pitch, wherof & whereupon our bookes be made, ſuch as few can ſkil of, and not the hundreth part of the realme? And if we a few that can reade, becauſe we can reade in one ſorte of letters, ſo priuileged as they haue many reliefes, ſhall pull away the bookes of the reſt, and would haue our letters onely in eſtimation, and blinde all them, ſhall not they haue iuſt cauſe to miſtruſt what is ment? And if the croſſe be a truth, and it bee true that Chriſt ſuffered, why may we not haue a wryting thereof, ſuch as all can reade, that is to ſay an image? If this opinion ſhould procede, when the kinges Maieſty hereafter ſhould ſhewe his perſon, hys lyuely image, the honor due by Gods lawe among ſuch might continue, but as for the kinges Standards, hys banners, hys armes, ſhould hardly continue in their due reuerence for feare of Lollards idolatrie, whych they gather vppon ſcripture beaſtly, not onely vntruly. The ſcripture reproueth falſe Images made of ſtockes and ſtones, and ſo it doth falſe men made of fleſh and bones.

Wincheſters wiſdome: The Purſiuant caryeth about S. George on horſbacke and the kinges picture: *Ergo* Images muſt ſtand in Churches.

Bookes ſerue onely to be read and not to bee kneeled vnto and worſhipped: for ſo are they no bookes but are made Idols, and are to be broken.

When the Emperours mony was ſhewed to Chriſt, wherein was the Image of the Emperour, Chriſt contemned not that image calling it an idol, nor noted not ỹ mony to be agaynſt Gods law, becauſe it had an image in it, as though it were agaynſt the precept of God: *Thou ſhalt haue no grauen Image*, but taught them good ciuilitie in calling it the Emperours Image, and bad them vſe the money as it was ordered to be vſed in hys right vſe.

The Emperours Image Chriſt ſaw in the coyne, but not in the temple: for ſo no doubt he would haue caſt it out.

There is no ſcripture that reproueth truth, & al ſcripture reproueth falſehood. Falſe wrytings, falſe bookes, falſe Images and falſe men, all be nought, to be contemned and deſpiſed: as for paper, inke, parchment, ſtones, woode, bones, *A. B.* of the Chauncery hand, and a. b. of the Secretary hand, a letter of Germany faſhion, or of any other forme, be all of one eſtimation, & may be of mā enclining to the Deuill, vſed for falſhode, or applying to Gods gratious callyng, vſed to ſet forth truth. It is a terrible matter to thinke, that thys falſe opinion conceaued agaynſt Images ſhoulde trouble any mans heade: and ſuch as I haue knowen vexed wyth that deuil (as I haue knowen ſome) bee neuertheleſſe wondrouſly obſtinate in it: and if they can fynde one that can ſpell Lattin to helpe forth theyr madnes, they be more obdurate then euer were the Iewes, and ſclaunder whatſoeuer is ſayd to them for theyr reliefe. Of thys ſort I knowe them to be, and therefore if I wyſte there were many of that ſorte wyth you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my Lorde Protector. But if you thought there might be other wayes vſed fyrſt to a good effect, I would followe your aduiſe and proceding with you and the Maior, with both your helpes to do that may lie in me, to the redreſſe of the matter: which I take to bee ſuch an enterpriſe againſt Chriſtes religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitate with the deuils inſtigation, and at this tyme much hurtfull to the common eſtate, as ye cā of your wiſdome conſider. whō I hartely deſire and pray, to ſend me aunſwer by this bearer to theſe my letters, to the intent I may vſe my ſelfe in ſending of a preacher thither, or writing to my Lord Protector as the caſe ſhall requyre accordingly. And thus fare you hartelye well, from my houſe at Wolueſay, the third of May. 1547.

If euery Image repreſenting a thyng of truth may ſtand in place of worſhip, then let *Wincheſters* fart ſtand in the Church alſo.

St. W.

¶ A letter of the Lord Protector aunſwering to the letter aboue.

AFter harty commendations, receauing of late two letters from your Lordſhip, the one incloſed in a letter of Maiſter Vaughans to vs and directed to him, the other directed ſtraight vnto vs, verye wittely and learnedly written, wherby we do perceaue how earneſt you are that no innouatiōs ſhould be had. The which minde of yours as we do highly eſteeme and allow, proceding from one that would quietnes: ſo we woulde likewyſe wyſh, that you ſhould take good hede, that to much feare of in-of innouation or diſturbance, doo not cauſe both to be. Many times in an hoſt, he that crieth enemies, enemies when there bee none, cauſeth not onely diſturbance, but somtimes a mutinie or rebillion to be made: and he that for feare of ſicknes to come taketh vnaduiſedly a purgation, ſomtime maketh him ſelfe ſick in dede. we perceaue by the ſayd your letters, that haynouſer factes & wordes haue bene brought to your eares, then there was cauſe why: and thoſe factes which were puniſhable, bee already by hym redreſt.

For Images.

For the matter of Images an order was taken in the late king of famous memorye our ſoueraigne Lordes dayes. when the abuſed Images (yet lurkyng in ſome places by negligence of them, who ſhould ere this tyme haue looked vnto the ſame) be nowe aboliſhed, let not that be made a matter of the aboliſhing of all Images. Though fellons and adulterers be puniſhed, all men be not ſlayne. Though the Images which dyd adulterate Gods glory, be taken away, we maye not thinke by and by all maner of Images to be deſtroyed. Yet after our aduiſe, better it were for a tyme to aboliſh them all, then for the dead Images, the kinges louing ſubiectes beyng faythfull and true to the kinges maieſtie, ſhould be put to variaunce and diſturbance. wyth quietnes the Magiſtrates and Rulers ſhall keepe them wel in order, whom contentious Preachers might iritate & prouoke to diſorder and ſtriſe. So it muſt be prouided, that the kinges Maieſties Images, Armes, and Enſignes ſhoulde be honored and worſhipped after the decent order and inuention of humaine lawes and ceremonies, and neuertheles that other Images contrary to Gods ordinance and lawes ſhoulde not be made partakers of that reuerence, adoration, and inuocation, whych forbydden by God, ſhould derogate hys honor, and be occaſion to accumulate Gods wrath vpon vs. where they bee taken for a remembraunce, it maketh no great matter though they ſtand ſtyll in the Church or Marketſted: and following the late king of famous memory his counſel and order, yet more gentlenes was ſhewed to thoſe bookes of Images, then to the true and vnfayned bookes of Gods word: both being abuſed, the one wyth Idolatry, the other wyth contention. The ſcripture was remoued for a tyme from certayne perſons, and almoſt from all: the Images were left ſtyll to them, who moſt dyd abuſe them, that thing yet being cloſed from them, which ſhould teach the vſe. wherefore it may appeare vnto vs meete, more diligenter heede to be taken that the abuſed before bee not abuſed agayne, the aduauntage of ſome Prieſtes, ſimplicity of lay men, and great inclination of mans nature to idolatry geuing cauſe therunto.

Diſtinctiõ of images.

More gentlenes ſhewed to the bookes of images, then to the bookes of gods word in K. Henryes tyme.

They that contemne Images, becauſe the matter they are made of is but vile, as ſtockes and ſtones, may lykewiſe deſpiſe printing in paper, becauſe yͤ incke hath pitch in it, & the paper is made of olde ragges. And if they be both like, it might be reaſoned why a mã ſhould be more agreued, yͭ an image of wood, though it were of S.Anne, or S.Margaret ſhould be burned, then he wyll yͭ the Bible wherin yͤ vndoubted word of God is cõpriſed, ſhould be torne in peeces, burned, or made paſt of. Nor we doe not now ſpeake of falſe Bibles nor falſe goſpels, but of yͤ very true goſpel, eyther in latin, Greeke, or Engliſh, which we ſee euery day done, and ſometime commaunded, becauſe the Tranſlator diſpleaſeth vs: and yet herein no man exclaimeth, as of a terrible and deſtable fact done. But let one Image either for age, & becauſe is is worme eaten, or becauſe it hath bene fooliſhly abuſed, bee burnt or aboliſhed, by and by ſome men are in exceeding rage, as though not a ſtocke or ſtone, but a true Saint of fleſh and bone ſhould be caſt in the fyre, which were a deſtable and a terrible ſyght. we can not ſee, but that Images may be counted marueilous bookes, to whom we haue kneeled, whom we haue kyſſed, vppon whom we haue rubbed our beades and hãdkerchers, to whom we haue lyghted candels, of whom wee haue aſked pardon and helpe: which thyng hath ſeldome bene ſeene done to the Goſpell of God, or to the very true Bible. For who kiſſeth that, but the Prieſt at the Maſſe, at a painted picture or in ſuch a ceremony? Or who kneleth down vnto it, or ſetteth a cãdel before it? And yet it ſeeth or heareth aſwel as the images or pictures either of S.Iohn, our Lady, or Chriſt.

Papiſtes can better abyde the booke of gods word then Images to be burned,

Images falſely called yͤ common lay mens bookes.

In dede Images be great letters, yet as bigge as they bee, we haue ſeene many which haue read them amiſſe. And belyke they are ſo likely to be read amiſſe, that God hym ſelfe fearyng the Iewes to become euill readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor it is no great maruaile though in readyng of them the lay people are many tymes deceaued, whẽ your Lordſhip (as appeareth) hath not truly read a moſt true and a moſt common Image. Your Lordſhyp hath found out in the kynges hyghnes great ſeale, S.George on horſebacke, which the grauer neuer made in it, nor the ſealer neuer ſealed with it, and in this, the inſcription is not very litle, and if it were, it could not eſcape your Lordſhyps eyes. As the inſcriptiõ teſtifieth, the kynges Image is on both the ſides: on the one ſide as in warre the chief Captaine, on the other ſyde as in peace the liege ſoueraigne: In harnes with hys ſword drawen to defend his ſubiectes: in his robes in the ſeate of Iuſtice with his Scepter rightfully to rule and gouerne them, as he whom both in peace and warre we acknowledge our moſt naturall and chiefeſt head, ruler and gouernour. If it were S.George (my Lord) where is hys speare and Dragon? and why ſhould the inſcription rounde about tell an vntruth and not agree to the Image? yet it is called ſometyme ſo of the rude and ignoraunt people: but not by and by, that that is commonly called ſo, is alwayes trueſt. And ſome haue thought that by like deceauyng, as your Lordſhyp herein appeareth to haue ben deceaued, the Image of Bellerephon or Perſeus was turned firſt and appoynted to be S. George, & of Poliphemus, of Hercules, or of other ſome Coloſſus to bee S. Chriſtopher, becauſe autenticall hyſtories haue not fully proued their ij. lyues. But thoſe be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus inuented vppon ſome deuiſe, or riſyng of a true fact or hiſtory: and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

Wincheſter ouerſeene in miſtakyng the kinges Image for S. George on horſebacke.

It were hardly done in dede my Lord, if that you and a fewe which can read, ſhoulde take away from the vnlearned multitude, their bookes of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a fewe whiche can read in one or two languages (as Greeke and Latine) the worde of God, & haue had thereby many reliefes & priuiledges, ſhould pull away the Engliſhe bookes from the reſt which onely vnderſtandeth Engliſhe, and would haue onely your letters of Greeke and Latine in eſtimation, and blynde all them which vnderſtandeth not theſe languages, from the knowledge of Gods worde. And in deede my Lord, by your ſaying they haue iuſt occaſion to ſuſpect what is mene?

If it bee agaynſt reaſon that learned mẽ ſhould take frõ the vnlearned the bokes of their Images, much more is it againſt reaſon, to take frõ the the bookes of Gods worde.

what you meane by true Images and falſe Images, it is not ſo eaſie to perceaue. If they bee onely falſe Images which haue nothyng that they repreſent, as S. Paul writeth: An Idoll is nothyng (becauſe there is no ſuch God) and therfore the Croſſe can be no falſe Image becauſe it was true that Chriſt ſuffred vppon it: then the Image of the Sunne and the Moone were no Idoles, for ſuch thynges there be as the Sunne and the Moone, and they were in the Image then ſo repreſented as payntyng and keruyng doth repreſent them. And the Image of Ninus and Ceſar, and (as ſome writeth) the Images of all the xij. choſen Gods, (as they called them) were the Images of once lyuing men. And it might be ſayd that the Image of God the father hath no ſuch eyes, noſe, lyppes, and a long graye beard, with a furred robe, nor neuer had, as they karue and paint him to haue. But if that bee a falſe Image and an Idoll which is otherwiſe worſhypped and accepted then it ought to be, as the braſen Serpent beyng a true Image and repreſentation of Chriſt, by abuſe was made an Idoll: it may be thought in tymes paſt, and peraduenture now at this tyme, in ſome places the Images, not onely of S. Iohn or S. Anne, but of our Lady and Chriſt be falſe Images and Idols, repreſentyng to foliſhe blynd and ignorãt mens hartes and thoughtes, that which was not in them, and they ought not to bee made for: The which were by you (my Lord) to haue bene remoued ſooner & before that the captaine there ſhould haue nede to haue done it. But if your Lordſhyp be ſlacke in ſuch matters, hee that remoueth falſe Images and Idols abuſed, doth not a thyng worthy blame.

1.Cor.8.

Wincheſters diſtinction betwene true and falſe Images, refuted.

The Image of the father is falſe, and therefore by Wincheſters reaſon to be abolyſhed.

Chriſt called not the money hauyng Ceſars Image in it an Idoll when it was vſed to lawful vſes, and to pay the due tribute withall. But when a man doth not vſe thoſe Images grauen in money, to do his neighbour good and the common wealth ſeruice, S. Paul Chriſtes diſciple called that couetouſnes, and the ſeruyng and bondage to Idols: So that euen in money may bee Idolatrie, if we make to much of thoſe Images which Chriſt here doth not reprehend. There bee ſome ſo tickeliſh and ſo fearefful one wayes and ſo tender ſtomacked, that they can abyde no old abuſes to be reformed, but thinke euery reformation to be a capitall enterpriſe agaynſt all Religion and good order, as there be on the contrary ſyde ſome to raſh, who hauing no conſideration what is to be done, headlyng will ſet vppon euery thyng. The Magiſtrates ductie is betwixt theſe, ſo in a meane to ſit, and prouide that old dotyng ſhould not take further or deper ruſt in yͤ cōmon wealth, neither aunciēt errour ſtill ouercome the ſeene and tried truth, nor long abuſe for the age and ſpace of tyme onely, ſtill be ſuffred: and yet all theſe with quietnes, gentilnes, and without all contention, if it were poſſible, to be reformed. To the which your Lordſhip as a man to whom God hath geuen great qualities of witte, learnyng & perſuaſion, could bryng great helpe and furtheraunce, if it were your pleaſure, with great thankes of men, and reward of God. The which thyng is our full deſire and purpoſe, and our hartie and dayly prayer to God, that in the kyngs Maieſties tyme, whoſe Maieſties reigne God preſerue, al abuſes with wiſedom reformed, Chriſtes Religion with good and pollitike order of the common wealth, without any contention and ſtrife among the kynges ſubiectes, might floriſhe and dayly increaſe. And this to your Lordſhyps letter ſent to maiſter Vaughan of Porteſmouth.

The effecte & cōcluſion of *Wincheſters* long letters.

This letter of Wincheſter aboue prefixed, with the aunſwere of the Lord Protector to the ſame, I thought here for a taſt to gyue to the reader. Diuers other letters beſides, the ſayd Biſhop wrote out of the Fleete, and from his owne houſe, ſome to the Lord Protector, ſome to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and otherwiſe to other moe: which beyng, as is ſayd, before ſufficiently expreſſed in our former edition, it ſhalbe ſuperfluous here to repete the ſame, vnles the matter of thē were more to the purpoſe. Wherfore to cut ſhorte ſuch nedeles ſuperfluities, it ſhall for this preſēt ſuffice only to groſſe vp & abridge the principall ſummes therof, all whiche tendeth to this effect:

1. 1. Firſt, as where hee rayleth and findeth fault with the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, whiche hee calleth a booke of abomination.

2. 2.. Secondly, where he cā in no caſe allow the Homely of Saluation, ſet out by the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, eſpecially for the doctrine of fayth onely iuſtifiyng: Whiche Article maruelouſly vexeth the ſpirite of Wincheſter.

3. 3. The thyrd purpoſe whereunto his letters chiefly driueth, is this, craftily to inſinuate to yͤ Lorde Protectour, vnder pretenſe of giuyng counſel, to bring that to paſſe, which was for his purpoſe, that is, that no innouatiō or alteration ſhould be made of religiō, duryng yͤ tyme of the kyngs minoritie, but to let all thinges ſtād as kyng Henry lefte them. And that is the chiefeſt butte in al his letters wherunto he ſhooteth. The groūd of whoſe reaſons, whereupon he ſtandeth, we haue here reduced into playne forme of argument, with aunſwere to the ſame, as conſequently foloweth.

¶The Argument of Wincheſter, wherewith hee would proue, that no innouation is to be made of Religion.

Wincheſters argument.

Feſ- That in no caſe is to bee attēpted of the Lorde Protectour, whiche may bryng both daunger to hym, and trouble vnto the Realme:

Ti- Innouation of Religion from that ſtate, wherein kyng Henry left it, may be, and is lyke to be daungerous to the Lord Protectour, and to breede trouble to the Realme:

No. Ergo, innouation of Religion, from the ſtate that kyng Henry left, is in no wyſe to be attempted.

¶*The Aunſwere.*

The aūſwere.

To aunſwere firſt to the vocable innouation, which he ſtombleth ſo greatly vpon, this I ſay: that innouatiō is properly vſed where a thyng is brought in a new, whiche was not before. For aſmuch therfore as in this alteration there is no new Religion brought in, but onely the old Religion of the primitiue Churche reuiued, therfore here is to bee thought not ſo much an innouation, as a renouation or reformation rather of Religion: whiche reformation is oft tymes ſo neceſſary in common weales, that without the ſame, all runneth to confuſion.

Innouation.

Renouation.

Secondly, I aūſwere to yͤ argument, which I do denye as a fallax, for there is fallacia accidētis. Where it is ſayd, that reformation of Religion gendreth daunger to the Protectour, and trouble to yͤ Realme. Fiſt what will come, that is vncertaine: and God bee thanked, yet no daunger hath come to England for the reformation of Religion. And though there did, yet the cauſe therof is not to be imputed to Religion reformed. For ſincere and true doctrine of his owne nature worketh quyet, peace, and tranquilitie, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incidēt by other cauſes, as by the malice of Sathan, and wicked aduerſaries, not by reaſon of the doctrine and true Religion. So after the preachyng of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, diſſenſion followed in cōmon weales betwixt father and ſonne, brother and brother, &c. but that is not to bee aſcribed to the doctrine, but to the malice of men.

Fallacia accidentis.

Briefly therfore, where he ſpeaketh ſo much of quiet and tranquilitie, this I aunſwere, that quyet and tranquilitie in weales publicke, ſo long as they are ioyned wͭ truth of doctrine & right Religion, be much to be embraced. But whē it is otherwiſe, that is, where doctrine is corrupted, and true Religion lacketh his right, there let the ſecond Table geue place to the firſt.

Quiet and tranquilitie of realmes, ought not to ſtoppe reformation of religion.

As concernyng the faultes found in the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, this I aunſwere and ſay, that this Biſhop belike had ouerwatched him ſelfe in this matter. For if it be true whiche he him ſelfe affirmeth in the booke of our former edition. fol. 744. that he neuer read that booke before, and now he neuer ſlept till he read it: It happened peraduenture, that in the ouermuch watchyng of him ſelfe, and ſwiſt readyng of the booke, hys iudgement was a ſlepe whiles his eyes were open in readyng the ſame.

The Paraphraſe of *Eraſmus*.

Likewiſe touchyng the booke of Homelies, eſpecially the Homely of ſaluation, wherewith he findeth hym ſelfe ſo much greued with the Archbyſhop, ſeyng hee bringeth forth no proufes, I haue nothing to aūſwere. In the meane ſeaſon this I haue to thinke, that if hee had bene ſo cunnyng in the knowledge of his owne ſaluation, as hee was in the deſtruction and vexation of Chriſtes members, hee would neuer ſo haue raged agaynſt that Homely.

The booke of Homelies.

Touchyng the examination of Anne Aſkew, if it bee miſreported by M. Bale, why doth not he note the places, which they be, and wherin? And if he had, or were able ſo to do: yet ſeyng the examination was of her owne pennyng, whiche M. Bale did folow, let euery Chriſtian reader iudge, whether is more to be credited of theſe two, ſhe that was perſecuted, or he that was the perſecuter.

The examination of *Anne Aſkew* ſet forth by Maiſter *Bale*.

Hee thwarteth alſo and wrangleth much agaynſt Preachers, Printers, & Players. And no maruell why: For he ſeeth theſe three thyngs to be ſet vp of God, as a triple bulwarke agaynſt the triple crown of the Pope, to bring him down, as God be prayſed, they haue done meetely well already.

Preachers, Printers, & Players.

As touchyng the Article of free Iuſtification by faith, which he cā not abyde, for aſmuch as we haue ſufficiētly diſcourſed the ſame in the places of Patrike Hambleton before, pag. 1114. It ſhall not neede here to make any great ſtay therupō. Briefly to ſay of his iudgement, what I thinke, hee ſeemed ſo much drowned in his worldly lawes, that hee nothyng perceaued what was the end of the law of God, nor what difference is betwene the law and the Goſpell. Which by his blynd ſimilitude, may well appeare: For as no law, ſayth he, can take full life and effect without the conſent chiefly of

The Article of Iuſtification.

Read this pag. 1114.

A blinde ſimilitude of Wincheſt. confuted.

of the kyng, and of the Lordes alſo, & of the commons: In lyke ſort there is no iuſtification (ſayth he) by faith, without hope and charitie do ioyne withall &c. Which Lawyers ſimilitude is vtterly vnlyke. For Chriſt ſitteth not ſo in his Church, as a kyng here ſitteth in his Realme. A kyng in his Realme ſitteth to make lawes by conſent, and to mainteyne the ſame by authoritie: Neither doth he conſtitute a kyngdome ſo much by the authoritie of his owne perſon: but rather entreth into a kyngdome which hee findeth, and taketh his authoritie by the lawes and ordinaunces of the ſame. So it is not with Chriſt: For hee ſitteth in the Church not to make lawes, but to helpe and redeme them, whiche be oppreſſed by the law. Neither taketh hee of his Church either voyce or cōſent to forgeue ſinne, neither receaueth he his authoritie of any creature: but onely by the vertue and authoritie of hys perſon hee createth hys Churche, and gouerneth it abſolutely by hym ſelfe, and is not limited by it, neither of it receaueth any authoritie, but gyueth al authoritie to it, bringyng his authoritie with him, and promiſe of his father, freely by grace to iuſtifie them that beleue in his name. And therfore this Byſhop of Wincheſter ſhould rather haue made his ſimilitude after the nature of giuyng pardon, then of making lawes. For as a king by his abſolute power may pardon a theefe, whom the lawes haue caſt, by him ſelfe without the conſent of Lordes, or commons: So fayth in Chriſt hath power by the promiſe of God in his worde abſolutely and freely to iuſtifie the repētyng ſinner, without either hope or charitie concurrent to that acte of iuſtification.

Great diuerſitie betwene Chriſt and an earthly kyng.

Chriſtes office not to make lawes, but to redeeme from the lawe.

Thys Wincheſter being in the Fleete, as is aboue ſpecified, as he was full of craft and ſubtiltie, after ſundry callings and examinations before the Lord Protector, and ſundry other of the kyngs Maieſties Coūſail, at length ſeemed ſomwhat to yeld, namelye in acknowledging the kynges ſupremacie, and that there was no minority in a kyng, but that a kyng of a yeare olde and of .xl. yeare old, was all of one authoritie and dignitie, and in ſundry other things he ſeemed alſo to bee of good opinion, and promiſed that he woulde openlye by preaching publiſh hys conſcience and learning in thoſe poyntes: wherupon for that tyme he was releaſed out of the Fleete, and licenced to go home to hys houſe, hauing a day to him aſſigned when he ſhould preach. Vnto whom the ſame tyme were delyuered certaine articles which he ſhould intreat of, being alſo by expreſſe commaundement inhibited, both by the kynges Maieſties hand, the Lord Protector, and other of the kinges priuy Counſayl, that he ſhould not proceede nor medle in certayne articles, as after ſhall appeare. But becauſe we purpoſe to be as ſhort in this troubleſome & comberous hiſtory as we may: therefore this brieflye is to ſhew, that as an euyll and ſtubborne ſubiecte to hys Prince, when the day and tyme came of hys preaching (following the ſteppes of Boner) ſuch thinges as he was ſpecally commaunded to entreate of, thoſe he handled eyther coldly and ſlenderly, or els left them out, as matters forgotten, and ſpake of them nothing at all. And on the other ſyde, thoſe that hee was ſpeciallye forbydden and prohibited to meddle wythall, in thoſe dyd he moſt contemptuouſly, frowardly, and alſo vntrulye ſpend the whole tyme of hys Sermon, the ſame ſermon being made in the kinges preſence, and of all hys honorable Counſayle. Wherefore the next day after hys ſayd ſermon, being by the kinges Maieſties commaundement areſted by Sir Antony Wingfield, and Syr Rafe Sadler knightes, accompanyed wyth a great nomber of the kynges Garde, he was cōmitted to the Tower of London, from whēce at lēgth he was brought to Lambeth, before the reuerend Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and diuers other of the kynges Counſayle: where agaynſt hym were obiected certayne articles, which hereafter follow, wyth hys aunſwers made vnto them.

Wincheſt. acknowledgeth the kinges ſupremacie.

Wincheſt. promiſeth to preach.

Wincheſt. releaſed out of the Fleete.

Articles geuen to *Wincheſt.* to preach vpon.

The ſtubborne miſdemeanour of *Wincheſter* in hys ſermon.

Wincheſt. areſted by the kinges commaundement.

Wincheſt. committed to the Tower.

Wincheſt. brought to examinatiō before the kings Cōmiſſioners.

¶ Articles and poſitions miniſtred and obiected eche of them ioyntly and ſeuerally to the byſhop of Wyncheſter, as followeth.

Articles layd agaynſt *Wincheſter.*

¶*The Article.*

IN primis that the Kinges Maieſty iuſtly and rightfully is, & by the lawes of God ought to be the ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England, and alſo of Ireland, and ſo is by the Clergye of this realme in theyr conuocation and by act of Parliament iuſtlye and accordyng to the lawes of God recogniſed.

The 1. Article.

Wincheſter graunteth to the kinges ſupremacie.

VVincheſter.

This fyrſt article the biſhop graunteth.

Aunſwere.

The article.

Item, that hys Maieſty as ſupreame head of the ſayd Churches, hath full power and authoritye to make and ſet forth lawes, Iniunctions, and ordinances, for & concerning religion and orders in the ſayd churches for the encreaſe of vertue, and repreſſing of all errors, hereſies, and other enormities and abuſes.

2. Article.

Wincheſter graunteth to the full authoritie of the king in ſetting forth lawes.

VVincheſter.

To this ſecond article he aunſwereth affirmatiuely.

Aunſwere.

The article.

Item, that all and euery hys graces ſubiects are boūd by the law of God to obey all his Maieſties ſaid lawes, Iniunctions, and procedinges concerning religion and orders in the ſayd church.

3. Article.

VVincheſter.

To the third article the ſayd biſhop aūſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

Aunſwere.

The article.

Item that you Steuen Biſhop of Wincheſter, haue ſworen obedience to hys Maieſty as ſupreme heade of thys church of England and alſo of Ireland.

4. Article.

Wincheſter hath ſworne obedience to the kynges ſupremacie.

VVincheſter.

To the fourth article, the ſayde biſhop aunſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

Aunſwere.

The article.

Item that all and euerye hys Graces ſubiectes, that diſobey any hys ſayd maieſties lawes, Iniunctiōs, ordinances, and procedings already ſet forth and publiſhed, or hereafter to be ſet forth and publiſhed, ought worthely to be puniſhed according to hys Eccleſiaſticall law vſed wythin thys hys realme.

5. Article.

VVincheſter.

To thys fift article, the ſayde biſhop aunſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

Aunſwere.

The article.

Item that you the ſayd biſhop, as well in the kynges Maieſties late viſitation within your dioces, as at ſundry tymes haue bene complayned vpon, and ſundrye informations made agaynſt you for your doings, ſayings, and preachings agaynſt ſundry Iniunctiōs, orders, and other procedings of his Maieſty, ſet forth for reformatiō of errours, ſuperſticions, and other abuſes in religion.

6. Article.

Wincheſter cōplayned of.

VVincheſter.

This article toucheth other mens factes: who, or how they haue complayned or enformed, I can not thoroughly tell. For at the tyme of the kings Maieſties viſitation I was in yͤ Fleete, & the morrowe after twelft day I was deliuered at Hampton Court, my Lorde of Sommerſet, and my Lord of Canterburye then being in Counſell wyth many other Counſaylours, and was deliuered by theſe wordes: The kinges maieſtye hath graunted a generall pardon: and by the benefite thereof I was diſcharged. Whereunto I aunſwered, that I was learned neuer to refuſe the kinges Maieſties pardon, and in ſtrength as that was: and I would and dyd humbly thanke hys maieſtye therefore: and then they began wyth me in an article of learning touching iuſtificatiō, wherunto they willed me to ſay my minde, adding therewith, that becauſe other learned men had agreed to a forme deliuered vnto me, that I ſhould not thinke I could alter it: which I receyued of them, and promiſed the thurſday after to repayre to my Lorde of Sommerſets houſe at Sheene, with my minde writtē: which I dyd, and that day ſeuen night followyng, appearyng before hym and other of the Counſell, was committed to my houſe for priſoner, becauſe I refuſed to ſubſcribe to the forme of wordes and ſentences that other had agreed vnto (as they ſayd.) In whych time

Aunſwere.

Wincheſter releaſed out of the Fleete by the kinges generall pardon.

The Article of Iuſtification put to *Wincheſter.*

Wincheſter priſoner in hys owne houſe.

Wincheſter denieth to ſubſcribe to the Article of Iuſtification.

M. Cicill ſent to Wincheſter.

of impriſonment in my houſe, the biſhop of Rocheſter then being, was ſent to me, and after Maiſter Smyth, and then Maiſter Cicill: to which maiſter Cicil, when I had by learning reſolued my mynde in the matter, I deliuered it: and he deliuering it to my Lords Grace, wrote me in hys name, thankes for it: and then it was within the tyme of Lent ere I was diſcharged of that trouble, and ſo went to Wincheſter as a man clearely out of all trauayle of buſines.

Wincheſter agayn ſet free.

And wythin .xiiij. dayes after that, or there aboutes, began other trauaile with me vpon a requeſt made by my Lord of Somerſet to ſurrender a Colledge in Cãbridge, and diuers letters were written betwene his grace & me in it. Wherin I might perceiue yͤ Secretary in hys pen tooke occaſion to pricke me more, then I truſted my Lords grace him ſelf would haue done. And by thys trouble was I deduced to an end. Then ſhortly after I receiued letters to come to yͤ Counſayle, and by reaſon I alledged my diſeaſe, I was reſpited by other letters, and thrée dayes before Whitſontide, receiued yet other letters to come, by whych it might ſeme vnto me, that it was not of all beleued that I was diſeaſed, and therefore wyth all expedition, when I coulde not ryde, I came in an horſelitter, & according to my dutie preſented my ſelfe to my Lordes of the Counſail. Who all then entertayned me ſecretely among them before the matters were obiected vnto me, as I had bene in the ſame place with them that I was in our late ſoueraygne Lordes dayes. Afterwardes my Lorde of Somerſets Grace charged me wyth theſe matters following, and in thys forme, hauing the articles wrytten in paper: Fyrſt wyth diſobedience that I came not at his ſending for. Whereunto I aunſwered that I had hys letters of lycence, to ſtay tyll I might come conueniently, and vpon the laſt letters, came incontinently in a horſelytter.

Wincheſter ſent for to the Counſaile.

Wincheſter ſicke.

Wincheſter commeth at laſt in a horſe litter.

Wincheſter charged with diſobedience.

Then it was obiected that I bare Palmes, & crept the Croſſe. Whereunto I aunſwered that they were myſinformed, and I truſted they woulde not thinke I durſt deny it if I had done it, becauſe ceremonies had ſuch circunſtances, as I myght eaſely be reproued, if it were otherwyſe.

Thẽ it was obiected that at Eaſter I had a ſolemne Sepulchre in the Church, and ſuch other ceremonies. I aũſwered, that I had euẽ as many as the kings maieſties proclamations cõmaunded me, declaring plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the kinges Maieſties Proclamation: adding how he that followeth as he is commaunded, is very obedient.

Wincheſter charged to deface certaine of the kinges Chapleins.

It was then obiected vnto me, that I went about to deface two of the kynges Maieſties Chaplaines ſent downe to be Canons of the Church of Wyncheſter. Whereunto I aunſwered, declaryng the fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to iuſtifye. After this matter thus efte obiected and aunſwered, I was commaunded to go apart, and being called in agayne, my Lorde of Somerſets Grace looking vpon a byll of Articles, ſayd I had preached how the Apoſtles went from the preſence of the counſail, of the counſail, of the counſayl. Which matter I denyed, adding that it was not my faſhion of preaching ſo to play in iteration of woordes.

Reall preſence.

After that, it was obiected vnto me for preaching of the ſacrament, to ſay: The bodye of Chriſt was reallye preſent, being a fault to vſe the word really not compriſed in the ſcripture. Whereunto I aunſwered that I dyd not vſe the word really, which nedeth not. For as I once heard my Lorde of Canterburye reaſon agaynſt one Lambart in the preſence of the kings Maieſty that dead is: the wordes of ſcripture, *This is my body that ſhall be betraied for you*, do playnly and lyuely expreſſe the very preſence: and ſo did I ſet it foorth to the people in my dioces. And this is the effect of al that was ſayd agaynſt me at my being at the Counſayl, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I eſtéemed obedience, and tolde them I had taught in my dioces, how the whole lyfe of a Chriſtian man conſiſteth in ſuffering properly. And therfore we may not do our owne wyll, but the wyll of God. And among men we muſt eyther ſuffer the Rulers wyll, or theyr power: theyr wyll to order vs, and theyr power to puniſh vs. After declaration whereof my Lord of Somerſet ſayd, ye muſt tary in the towne. Whereunto I aunſwered, I would be contented at theyr commaundement or pleaſure to tary: but ſeyng I was no offender, I deſired them I might not tarye as an offender: and for declaration thereof, that I myght haue ſome houſe in the countrey about London, to remoue vnto for a ſhift. In deuiſing whereof I ſtacke much to borrow Aſſhar. My Lord of Somerſet ſaid, if he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end my Lord of Somerſet deſired me to wryte what my mynde was in Ceremonies and to ſend it vnto hym, and with that departed.

Wincheſt. commaunded to tary at London.

Wincheſt. cõmaunded to wryte hys minde of ceremonies.

Thus I haue truly opened after what ſort I haue bene complayned on, that hath certaynly come to my knowledge. Truth it is that one Philpot in Wincheſter, whõ I accõpted altered in hys wittes (as I heard) deuiſed tales of me, the ſpecialties whereof I neuer was called to aunſwer vnto. Players and Minſtrels alſo rayled on me, and other made ballades and rimes of me, but neuer man had iuſt cauſe to complayne of any my ſayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge dyd otherwyſe, then afore. And if any man ſhall put me in remembraunce of any other complaint that might in my abſence bee made of me: if I haue heard it, I wyll graunt ſo. But well aſſured I am, I was neuer complayned on, and called to make aunſwer to the complaynt, but this one time in all my whole lyfe by no man of any degrée. Once the Lord Cromwel, God pardon hys ſoule and forgeue him, cauſed one day and a halfe to be ſpent in a matter betwene Syr Fraunces Brian and me, which was ended, and I declared an honeſt man. Which the kings Maieſty that dead is, God pardon hys ſoule, ſet forth with hys familiarity to me incontinently. And thys is all the trouble that I haue had in my lyfe, ſauing the ſending to the Fléete, beyng occaſioned by my own letter to the Counſaile vpon a zeale that I had, which they allowed not, and finally, thys ſending of me to the Tower, whych was wythout calling me before the Counſayl, to heare what I could ſay. I am lothe to be forſworne: and therfore accompt all the complayntes in my whole life made agaynſt me, wherunto I haue bene made priuie.

Maiſter Philpot complained vppon of Wincheſt.

Wincheſt. when and how oft he hath bene called to coram.

The Article.

7. Article.

Item, that after and vpon occaſion of thoſe and many other complayntes and informations, you haue bene ſundry times admoniſhed, commaũded, and enioyned to conforme your ſelfe, as to your duty apperteyned.

Wincheſt. admoniſhed to conforme hym ſelfe.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 7. Article.

To this ſeuenth article I aunſwere: I was neuer afore the Counſayle called by waye of outward complaynt and information, but onely once in all my whole life, which was at my laſt comming to London. Whereunto I aunſwered (as afore) and haue tolde the forme and proceſſe of ſpéech to ſerue for furniture of anſwere to this and that Article: for other then I haue before wrytten, I remember not to haue done or ſuffered by the hygher powers in all my whole lyfe, tyll my comming into the Tower, without that I haue had any byadmonitions as a mã faulty or negligent, at any time that I remember, for the obſeruation of any thing already made or ſet forth by the kings Maieſtye that now is: but haue kept, and cauſed to be kept to my power the kings Maieſties actes, Statutes, Iniunctions, and proclamations, inuiolably, hauing for that purpoſe ſuch a Chauncellor, as in orders and ordinances hath bene allwayes hym ſelfe diligent and preciſe for the tyme I might haue knowledge of hys doynges.

8. Article.

The Article.

Item, that after the premiſſes, and for that thoſe former admonitions and commaundementes notwithſtandyng you did yet ſtill ſhewe your ſelfe not conformable, and for that alſo others by your example were much animated, and thereby occaſion of much vnquietnes miniſtred amongeſt the people: you were called before the Kynges Maieſties Counſayle in the moneth of Iune in the ſecōd yeare of his Maieſties reigne, and by them on his Maieſties behalfe commaunded to preach a Sermō before his Maieſty, and therin to declare the iuſtnes and godlynes of his Maieſties father in his proceedyngs vpon certayne matters partly mencioned in certaine Articles to you deliuered in writyng, and partly otherwyſe declared vnto you:

Winchest. inioyned by the Kinges Counsell to preach the 2. yeare of the Kinges reigne.

The effect wherof was touchyng the vſurped power and authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, that the ſame was iuſtly and godly taken away in this Realme, and other the Kynges Maieſties dominions: touchyng the iuſt ſuppreſſyng and takyng away of monaſteries and religious houſes: of pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines, Images:

The ſuperſtitious goyng about of S. Nicolas Byſhop, S. Edmond, S. Katherine, S. Clement and ſuch lyke: and iuſt takyng away of chauntries, obittes and Colledges: hallowyng of candles, water, aſhes, Palme, holy bread, Beades: crepyng to the croſſe, and ſuch lyke.

Certayne poyntes inioyned to Winchest. to preach vpon.

Alſo, touching the ſettyng forth of the Kynges Maieſties authoritie in hys young yeares to be as great as if hys highnes were of many more yeares.

That Auricular confeſſion is indifferent, and of no neceſſitie by the law of God: and touchyng the proceſſion and common prayer in Engliſhe.

VVinchester.

Aunſwere to the 8. Article.

This Article beyng of ſo many partes as it is, ſome true, ſome otherwiſe, muſt be aunſwered by diuiſion of it into diuers members, to deuide the one frō ẏ other, grauntyng that is true, denying that is otherwiſe, and opening that is ambiguous, auoidyng that is captious, ſo as accordyng to my oth I may opē directly and plainly the truth with ſinceritie of conſcience. The motion of preachyng was made vnto me in my owne houſe by M. Cicill vpon the Duke of Somerſets behalfe, after I had bene before the Coūſaile, as I haue before ſayd: from which Counſaile I departed (as before is rehearſed) as no offender, and therfore when M. Cicill ſpake to mee of preachyng before the Kynges Maieſtye with requeſt to write my Sermon before, I denyed that maner of preachyng, bycauſe I ſayd it was to preach lyke an offender, and I was none, but departed from the Coūſaile otherwiſe, as I haue before ſhewed. And the ſaid M. Cicill did not ſay to me that I was moued to preach becauſe I was not conformable: for I had at that tyme no maner of variance with the Counſaile, but was in all cōformitie with them for any thyng that I know, as I will aunſwere afore God.

M. Cicill.

As for euill example to any man, I could none geue, for I neuer offēded law, ſtatute, or proclamatiō in this Realme, ne did euer any acte to the empayring of due obedience to ẏ Kyngs Maieſtie in all my whole life, but by obſeruation of them, and lettyng innouations done aſmuch as in me lay, to mainteine obedience.

After M. Cicill had ſpoken to me of preachyng, and deliuered two papers conteinyng the matters whereupon I ſhould entreat, becauſe I refuſed to geue my Sermon in writyng (whiche was to me like an offender) or to read thoſe papers of an other mans deuiſe as the conception and ſincere maner of vtteryng of myne owne conſcience (which me thought then and ſince yet a marueilous vnreaſonable matter touchyng both my conſciēce and honeſty) I was then ſent for to the Duke of Somerſets graces chamber, and came in at a backe dore to him ſelfe alone, ſauyng he toke to him as witnes, he ſayd, the Lord now of Wiltſhyre then great Maiſter, and after many wordes, ſhewed me certaine Articles ſubſcribed by Lawyers, what a Byſhop might commaunde, and what the kyng might commaunde, and what payne to the diſobeyer.

Winchest. refuſeth to preach by other mens papers and preſcriptions, and yet he afterward would preſcribe other men by papers what they ſhould preach, againſt all conſcience and honeſtie.

To whom I ſayd playnly and truly how thoſe Lawyers ſubſcription could not ſerue in this caſe to commaunde one to vtter to the people for myne owne deuiſe in wordes that is not in dede ſo: and if I might ſpeake with theſe Lawyers (I ſayd) hys grace ſhould ſone perceiue them to agrée with me. My Lord ſayd, I ſhould ſpeake with no man, and I ſhould do as I was bydden, or do worſe, and badde me aduiſe me till dinner was done. And then was I conueyed by the Lord great Maiſter to his chamber, and there left alone to dyne, as was in dede honorably prepared. But I toke my ſelfe to be in the nature of a priſoner, and a reſtrayned man.

Winchesters aunſwere to the Duke of Somerſet.

And about ij. of the clocke at after none came vnto me M. Thomas Smith then Secretary, vnto whom I complayned of the vnreaſonablenes of the matter and ſhewed him certaine particularities, who ſayd it was not ment ſo preciſely, but to ſpeake of the matters. To whom I ſayd I was content to ſpeake of the matters, and then if I ſpeake not accordyng to the truth of them, there ſhould be enough to beare witnes to my condemnation, and if I ſpake the truth, then they had their deſire. And I ſaid further, I thought I might with my cōſcience ſay ſo as men ought and ſhould be content and ſatiſfied. And further if I thought that in my maner of the vtteryng of thoſe matters I ſhould offend the Coūſaile, I had rather deny to ſpeake of the thyng, and begyn the contention ſecretly with them, then to begyn with Pulpit, and ſo bryng my ſelfe in further trouble thē nęded: and therfore if they would haue me preach, I would preach as of my ſelfe, and of theſe matters, ſo as I thought they ſhould be content.

Syr Thomas Smyth Secretary.

Wherupō I was brought vp to my Lord of Somerſets chamber, and there the matter ended thus, that my Lord of Somerſet ſayd hée would require no wrytyng of me but remit it to me, ſo I ſpake of the matters in the papers deliuered me by M. Cicil. I told him I would ſpeake of them, ſauyng for childrens toyes of goyng about of S. Nicolas and S. Clement. If that bée now gone, quoth I, and forgotten, if I be to buſy in rehearſall of them, they will ſay I comber their heades with ceremonies, and thus they will defame me: When ceremonies were plenty, they will ſay I did nothyng but preach on them, and now they be gone I bable of them ſtill. I ſayd I woulde touch the chiefe poyntes, addyng that I would ſpeake of other matters alſo, and with that, beyng put to my libertie to chooſe the day, departed: and otherwiſe I was not ſpokē with concernyng preachyng, ſauyng after M. Cicill came vnto me, wherof I ſhall ſpeake anone.

Winchester walketh here ſubtilly.

As cōcerning ẏ matters to be ſpokē of, all ſuch thyngs as be here rehearſed bée named in ẏ papers deliuered vnto me, although not altogether after this ſort: ſauing ẏ ſetting forth of ẏ Kinges Maieſties authoritie in hys minoritie, whereof there is no worde in thoſe papers nor there was neuer any promiſe made of me to ſpeake of it. Truth it is that after I had ſignified the day when I would preach, M. Cicill came vnto me makyng the chief meſſage to know the day when I would preach: to whom I had ſent worde before that it ſhould bée S. Peters day, becauſe me thought the Goſpel ſerued wel for that purpoſe, & in proceſſe of communicatiō he told me that he lyked gayly well a worde that I had ſayd in an other communication, how a kyng was aſmuch a kyng at one yeare of age, as at one hundreth yeares of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him againe, euery man knew that, and then opened of my ſelfe the matter further.

Winchesters opinion of the Kinges minoritie.

And at hys next repayre vnto me, which was the Monday before I preached, the ſayd M. Cicill brought me papers of the Kyngs Maieſties hand, ſhewyng me how his highnes vſed to note euery notable ſentence, and ſpecially if it touched a kyng: and therfore (quoth he) if ye ſpeake of a king, ye muſt ioyne Counſayl withall. Wherunto I made no anſwere, but ſhifted to other mat-

M. Cicills repayre agayne to Winchester.

Wincheſter maketh daungerous ſpeaking of the kyng, to ioyne Counſaile withall.

matter without makyng him any promiſe or deniall, becauſe I woulde neither binde my ſelfe nor trouble my ſelfe to diſcuſſe that matter. For albeit it is godly and wiſely done of euery Prince to vſe counſell, yet ſpeakyng of a kynges power by Scripture, I can not by expreſſe Scripture limite the kynges power by coūſayle. And hearing blindly by reporte ſome ſecrete matter that I will not ſpeake of here, I thought not to meddle with it in the Pulpit: & yet to the effect to haue our ſoueraigne Lorde now obeyed, of which mynde I was euer, I pointed to our ſoueraigne Lord there in preſence, and ſayd he was onely to bée obeyed, and I would haue but one kyng, & other wordes to that purpoſe. But for any promiſe to bée made by me, I vtterly deny it and tell plainly the cauſe why I ſpake not otherwiſe of it. There was alſo in the papers deliuered vnto me occaſion geuen me to ſpeake of the Maſſe, becauſe of Maſſes ſatiſfactory, as ſome vnderſtand them. And alſo there was occaſion to ſpeake of the Sacrament of the altar, becauſe of the proclamatiō paſſed of the ſame, which to be true I ſhall iuſtifie by the ſayd papers.

Article.

9. Article.

Item, that you receauyng the ſame and promiſing to declare the ſame in a Sermon by you made before his Maieſtie for that purpoſe on the feaſt of S. Peter in the ſayd ſecond yeare of his hyghnes reigne, did then & there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omitte to declare and ſet forth many of the ſayd matters, and of diuers others of the ſayd Articles, you ſpake and vttered your mynde in ſuch doubtfull ſort, as the iuſtnes and godlynes of his Maieſties fathers and his procedyngs was not ſet forth accordyng to the commaundement geuen vnto you and your owne promiſe, to the great offence of the hearers and manifeſt contempt of hys Maieſtie & daūgerous example of others.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 9. Article.

Omiſſion by contempt.

Touching the promiſe, I aunſwere as afore: and as touchyng omiſſion of that I ſhould haue ſpoken of, by contempt or diſobedience, I aunſwere by myne oth: I did not omit any thyng (if I did omitte it) by contempt or diſobedience: For I euer minded to ſatiſfie that promiſe, to ſpeake of all matters in thoſe papers according to my former declaration. And if I did percaſe omitte any thyng (wherof I can make now no aſſuraunce beyng two yeares and a halfe paſt ſithens I preached) but if I dyd omitte any thing, who knew my trauaile in that matter would not maruail, being troubled with a letter ſent from the Duke of Somerſet, whereof I ſhall ſpeake after. So as frō. 4. of the clocke on Thurſday, tyll I had done my ſermon on the Friday, I dyd neyther drincke, eate, ne ſléepe. So carefull was I to paſſe ouer that trauayle of preaching, without al ſclaūder of the truth, with ſatiſfaction of my promiſe, and diſcharge of my duety to God and the kinges moſt excellent Maieſtye. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could haue aunſwered more preciſely then I can nowe, if according to my moſt inſtant ſute and yͤ ſute of my ſeruantes, the matter had ben heard whyle it was in freſh memory. But becauſe omiſſion may be by infirmitye of nature, in which obliuion is a payne of our originall ſinne, in which caſe it is no mortall offence if a man being put in remembraunce wyll purge it: I therefore according to the true teſtimonye of myne own conſcience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and diſobedience, hauing for my declaration a generall ſentence ſpoken in my ſermon, that I agréed wyth the vpper part in theyr lawes, orders, and commaundements, or ſuch like wordes, and founde onely fault in the lower part. By which ſentence appeared, howe I allowed in the whole that was paſt thetherto, and onely diſſented from the doinges of them that attempt innouations of their own preſumption.

Wincheſters diſtinction betwene the vpper part and the lower part of the Lawes.

Omiſſion excuſed by a diſtinction.

And furthermore I ſay, that that ſaying [omiſſion] here obiected vnto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two wayes: one way by infirmitye of nature, an other way of purpoſe. Charity of a chriſten man permitteth not to determine the worſt of that is doubtfull and ambiguous to both parties, as touching doubtfulnes obiected. I take God to record I minded to ſpeake ſimply, and to be on the kinges maieſties ſide onely, and not go inuiſible in the world, wyth ambiguities eſtéeming hym. &c. The worſt man of all is, that wyll make hym ſelfe a locke of wordes and ſpéech, which is knowen not to be my faction, nor I think this life worth that diſſimulation: and how can that bee a doubtfull ſpéech in him, that profeſſeth to agree wyth the kings lawes, iniunctions and ſtatutes, which I did expreſly. There be that call a doubt, what ſo euer ſerueth not theyr appetite. It is not in the ſpeaker to ſatiſfie the hearer that wyll doubt where doubt is not. The ſumme of my teaching was, that all viſible things bee ordered to ſerue vs, whych we may in conuenient ſeruice vſe. And when we ſerue them, that is an abuſe, and may then at the Rulers pleaſure, vnleſſe ſcripture appoynteth a ſpeciall vſe of them, bee corrected in the vſe, or taken away for reformation. And this is a plain teaching that hath no doubt in it, but an yea and a nay on two ſides, without a meane to make a doubt. And if any that doubteth commeth vnto me, I wyll reſolue hym the doubt as I can. And if I promiſed to ſpeake playnly or am cōmaunded to ſpeake plainly & can not: then is my fault to promiſe onely in yͤ nature of folly & ignorance, wherunto I reſort, not for a ſhift, wherof in deede I profeſſe the knowledge, but to ſhew how ſomtime to my hinderāce I am noted learned that cā ſpeake playnly & yet ſpeake doubtfully, other whyles am reiected as one that vnderſtādeth not yͤ matter at al. As touching contempt, there cā be none manifeſt yͤ procedeth of a priuy promiſe, if I had brokē it, as I intended not, but intended to take it, as appeareth by my generall ſentence, to agrée wyth the Superiours, and onely find fault in the inferiour Subiectes, who dayly tranſgreſſeth the kinges Maieſties proclamations and other, whereof I ſpake then.

A locke of wordes, that is, to open and ſhutte as gayne as the liſte.

Aunſwere by wordes to omiſſion in dedes.

The Article.

10. Article.

Item that you being alſo commaunded on his Maieſties behalfe, for the auoyding of tumult, and for other great conſiderations inhibited to treate of any matter in controuerſie concerning the Maſſe or the Communion, then commonly called the Sacrament of the aulter, dyd contrary to the ſayd commaundement and inhibition, declare diuers your iudgements and opinions in the ſame, in the manifeſt contempt of hys highnes ſaid inhibitiō, to the great offence of the hearers and diſturbance of common quiet and vnitie of the Realme.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 10. Article.

M.Cicill.

To the 10. article yͤ ſayd biſhop aunſwered, that the Wedenſday at after noone nexte before the Friday when I preached, Maiſter Cicill came to me, and hauing in all hys other acceſſes ſpoken no word thereof, dyd thē vtter and aduiſe me from the Duke of Somerſet, that I ſhould not ſpeake of the Sacramēt or of the Maſſe, whereby he ſayd I ſhould auoyde trouble. And when he ſaw me not take it well: I meane (quoth he) doubtfull matters. I aſked hym what? He ſaid, tranſubſtantiation. I told hym he wyſt not what tranſubſtantiation ment. I wyll preach (quoth I) the very preſence of Chriſtes moſt precious bodye and bloud in the Sacrament, which is the catholicke faith, and no doubtfull matter, ne yet in controuerſie, ſauing that certayn vnlearned ſpeake of it, they wot not what. And among the matters quoth I, whereof I haue promiſed to ſpeake, I muſt by ſpeciall wordes ſpeake of the Sacrament and the Maſſe alſo. And when I ſhal ſo ſpeake of them, I wyll not forbeare to vtter my faith and true beliefe therein, which I thinke neceſſary for the kinges Maieſtye to knowe: and therefore if I wyſt to be hanged when I came downe, I woulde ſpeake it. Whych playne zeale of my conſcience, grounded vpon Gods commaundement to do hys meſſage truly, I would not hide, but vtter ſo as my Lord ſhoulde, if he woulde not haue it ſpoken of, nor let me to come there, as he might haue

Wincheſters catholicke fayth in the Sacrament.

Wincheſt. woulde nedes talke of the Sacrament and of the Maſſe.

haue done, where as els if I had had a deceitfull purpoſe, I might haue accepted the aduiſe, and wythout anye colour of trouble haue refuſed to followe it as a thyng grounded vpon wealth onely, as it was then vttered.

Wyth thys my anſwer maiſter Cicill departed, and vpon the Thurſday, which was the next day following and the euening before I preached, betwene three and foure at after noone I receiued a letter ſigned with the hand of the Duke of Somerſet (the copy wherof I am ready to exhibite) and tooke it then, and eſteeme it ſo now to continue no effectuall inhibition whereunto I might by Gods law or the kings Maieſties lawes with diſcharge of my conſcience and dutie obey, although the ſayd letters had bene (as they were not) in ſuch termes framed, as had preciſely forbydden me (as they did not) but onely to ſpeake of matters in controuerſye of the Sacrament, which in deede I did not, but onely vttered a truth, to my conſcience moſt certainly perſwaded of yͤ moſt holy ſacrament, neceſſary to bee knowen to the kinges Maieſtie, and to bee vttered by me admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commaundeth hys truth to be vttered, which in thys nature of truth (the vndue eſtimation and vſe wherof S.Paule threatneth wyth temporall death) may in no wyſe be omitted. So as I was and am perſwaded the right eſtimation of the ſacrament to be to acknowledge the very preſence of the ſame moſt precious body and bloud preſent in the ſacrament to feede vs, that was geuē to redeme vs. If I ſhewed not my ſoueraigne Lord the truth thereof, I for my part ſuffer hym wittingly to fall into that extreame daunger of body, which ſaint Paule threatneth, whoſe perſon I am bound by nature, by ſpeciall othes, by Gods lawes, to preſerue to my power, as I wil do, and muſt do by all wayes & meanes.

S.Paule threatneth death to the miſuſers of the Sacramēt: *Ergo* the reall preſence of Chriſt is in the Sacrament. *Nego argumentū.*

And if the kinges Maieſtye doth vouchſafe to teach hys people not to obey hys commaundement, where God commaundeth the contrary, I myght not take my Lord of Somerſets letter for an inhibition to holde my peace, when God biddeth me ſpeake, as he doth when the Wolfe commeth, and not to hyde my ſelfe in ſilēce, whych is the moſt ſhamefull running awaye of all. I haue much matter to alledge agaynſt that letter, why I ſhould not credit it, written in hys name alone, agaynſt a common letter (as I tooke it) written by hym and the Counſail, and publiſhed in print the firſt day of the ſaid moneth, which mayntayneth my preaching of the Sacrament and Maſſe, according to the proclamatiōs and Iniunctions: the violation of which publicke letters had bene a diſorder and contempt, where as I neither offended in the one nor the other.

And why would not *Winchest.* alowe thys reaſon in other in *Queene Maryes* tyme, ſpeakyng the worde of truth after their conſcience, contrary to his inhibition?

And as for tumult, none could reaſonably be feared of any thing ſpoken agreable wyth the kings maieſties lawes, as there dyd follow none, nor the people, or any man dyd offer my perſon any wrong, or make tumult agaynſt me, notwithſtanding Players, Ieſters, Rimers, ballade makers, did ſignifie me to be of that true catholicke fayth, whych I according to my dutye declared to the kinges Maieſty, from whom I may hyde no truth that I thinke expedient for hym to knowe. And as the name of God cannot bee vſed of any creature agaynſt God, no more can the kinges name, being vſed of any ſubiect agaynſt his hyghnes. Wherefore ſeyng the abuſe of this holy ſacrament hath in it a daunger aſſured by ſcripture of body and ſoule, whoſoeuer is perſwaded in the catholicke faith (as I am) findeth himſelf ſo burdened to vtter that vnto hys Maieſtye, as no worldly loſſe can let him to do hys duty in that behalfe, and much leſſe my Lords priuate lettters written without other of the Counſailes handes.

Winchest. agaynſt players and ballade makers.

The article.

11. Article.

Item, that after the premiſſes, videlicet in the moneth of May or Iune, or one of them, in the third yeare of his highnes raigne, hys Maieſty ſent eftſoones vnto you to know your conformity towards hys ſayd reformations, and ſpecially touching the booke of common praier, then lately ſet foorth by hys Maieſtye, whereunto you at the ſame tyme refuſed to ſhew your ſelfe conformable.

VVinchester.

Aunſwere to the 11. Article.

To the .xj. article for aunſwere and declaration thereof, hee ſayd: the nexte day at after noone, after hee had preached, when he looked for no ſuche matter, came to hys houſe the right worſhipfull Syr Anthony Wyngfield & Syr Rafe Sadler knightes, accompanied with a great nomber of the Gard, and vſing them ſelues for theyr part according to theyr worſhips, & (I doubt not) as they were appoynted, Syr Rafe Sadler began thus wyth me: My Lord (ſayd hee) ye preached yeſterday obedience, but ye did not obey your ſelfe, and went forth with hys meſſage very ſoberly as hee can, and diſcretely. I aſked hym wherein I obeyed not. Hee ſayd, touching my Lorde of Somerſets letter. Maiſter Sadler, quoth I, I pray you ſay to my Lords Grace, I woulde hee neuer made mention of that letter, for the loue I beare hym. And yet quoth I, I haue not broken that letter, and I was minded, quoth I, to haue wrytten to my Lord vpō the receipt of it, and loe, quoth I, ye may ſee how I began, and ſhewed him (becauſe we were then in my ſtudy) the beginning of my letter, and reaſoned wyth hym for declaration of my ſelfe, and tolde hym therwith, I wyll not ſpend, quoth I, many words wyth you, for I can not alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my maner to you, and this declaration may haue this effect, that I bee gently handeled in the priſon, and for that purpoſe I pray you, make ſute on my behalfe.

Syr Anthony Windfield and Syr Rafe Sadler ſent to *Winchester.*

Maiſter Wingfield layd hys hand on my ſhoulder, and areſted me in the kinges name for diſobedience. I aſked then whither I ſhould. They ſayd to the Tower. Finally I deſired them that I might bee ſpoken wyth ſhortly, & heard what I could ſay for my ſelfe, & prayed them to be ſuters in it, and ſo they ſayd they would.

Winchester areſted.

Winchester committed to the Tower.

After that I was once in the Tower, vntill it was within vj. dayes of one whole yeare, I coulde heare no maner worde, meſſage, comfort, or reliefe, ſauyng once when I was ſicke, and me thought ſome extremitie towardes me. My Chaplein had licence to come to me for one tyme, and then denyed agayne, beyng aunſwered that my feuer was but a tertian, which my ſayd Chaplaine told me when he came to me at the Eaſter folowyng, and there beyng with me from the mornyng till night on Eaſter day departed, & for no ſute could neuer haue hym ſince. To maſter Lieftenant I made diuers ſutes to prouoke yͤ Duke of Somerſets grace to heare me. And if I might haue the libertie of an Engliſh mā, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, ſtatute, act, proclamation nor his owne letter neither, but all would not helpe, and I ſhall reporte me to maſter Lieftenaunt whether in all this time I maligned, grudged or vſed any vnſemely wordes, euer demaundyng iuſtice, and to be heard according to Iuſtice.

When I had bene thus in the Tower one whole yeare within vj. dayes, or vij. as I remember, came to the Tower the Lord Chauncellour of England now beyng the Lord Treaſurer, and Maiſter Secretary Peter, who callyng me vnto them, as I remember, entred this: They ſayd they had brought with thē a booke paſſed by the Parliament, which they would I ſhoulde looke on and ſay my minde to it, and vppon my conformitie in it, my Lord of Somerſet would be ſuter to the kings Maieſtie for mercy to be miniſtred to me. Wherunto I aūſwered that I truſted if I might be heard, the kynges Maieſties iuſtice would releue me, which I had long ſued for, & coulde not be heard. And to ſue for mercy, quoth I, whē I haue not in my conſcience offēded, & alſo to ſue out of this place, where aſking of mercy emploieth a further ſuſpition thē I would be for al yͤ world touched in it, were not expedient. And therfore, quoth I, not gilty is and hath bene allowed a good plee for a priſoner. Thē my Lord ſaid, why, quoth he, were

The Lord Chauncellour and Secretary *Peter* commeth to *Winchester* in the Tower.

Winchester denyeth to ſue for mercy.

ye not

Talke between the lord Chauncellour and *Wincheſter* in the Tower.

ye not commaunded to preach of the Kynges authoritie in his yong age, and yet did not? I told him I was not commaunded. Is not (quoth he) that Article in the papers ye had deliuered you? I aſſured him no.

And after communication of the Kynges Maieſties authoritie wherin was no diſagrement, then my Lord Chauncelour ſayd I had diſobeyed my Lordes graces letter. I told him I thought not, and if the matter came to iudgemēt, it ſhould appeare. And then I ſayd to him, my Lord how many open Iniunctions vnder Seale and in open Court haue bene broken in this Realme? the puniſhement wherof hath not bene handled after this ſorte, and yet I would ſtand in defence that I had not broken his letter, waying the wordes of the letter, wherin I reaſoned with M. Peter Secretary what a cōtrouerſie was, and ſome part what I could ſay further. But what ſoeuer I can ſay (quoth I) you muſt iudge it, and for the paſſion of God do it, and then let me ſue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is knowen, if I will haue it. But when I am (quoth I) declared an offender, I will with humilitie of ſufferyng make amendes to the Kynges Maieſtie, ſo farre as I am able: for I ſhoulde neuer offend him, and much leſſe in his young age.

Wincheſter will acknowledge no offence.

My Lord Chauncelor then ſhewed me the begynnyng of the Acte for common prayer, how daungerous it was to breake the order of it. I told hym that it was true, and therfore if I came abroad, I would be well ware of it. But it is (quoth I) after in the acte how no man ſhould be troubled for this act, vnles he were firſt endited, and therfore (quoth I) I may not be kept in priſon for this acte. Ah (quoth hee) I perceiue ye know the law well enough. I told him my Chaplein had brought it vnto me the after noone before. Then they required me to looke on the booke and ſay my minde in it. I aunſwered that I thought not meete to yelde me ſelfe a ſcholler to go to ſchole in priſon, and then ſclaunder my ſelfe as though I redemed my faultes with my conſcience. As touchyng ẏ law which I know not, I will honour it like a ſubiect, and if I keepe it not, I will wilyngly ſuffer the payne of it. And what more conformitie I ſhould ſhewe, I can not tell, for myne offences be paſt if there be any. If I haue not ſuffred enough I will ſuffer more, if vpon examination I be found faultie. And as for this new law, if I keepe it not, puniſhe me lykewiſe.

Wincheſter will not go to ſchole in priſon.

Then my Lord Chauncellour aſked me whether I would not deſire the Kynges Maieſtie to bee my good Lorde. At which worde I ſayd: alas my Lord (quoth I) do ye thinke that I haue ſo forgotten me ſelf? My duety (quoth I) requireth ſo, and I will on my knees deſire him to be my good Lord, and my Lord Protectour alſo, quoth I. That is well ſayd, quoth my Lord Chauncellour. And what wil ye ſay further, quoth my lord Chaūcellour? In good fayth, quoth I, this, that I thought whē I had preached, that I had not offēded at all, and thinke ſo ſtill, and had it not bene for the Article of the ſupremacie, I would haue rather fayned me ſelfe ſicke, then be occaſion of this that hath folowed: but goyng to the pulpit, I muſt neede ſay as I ſaid. Wel, quoth my lord Chauncellor, let vs go to our purpoſe agayne. Ye will quoth hee, deſire the Kynges Maieſtie to be your good Lorde, and my Lorde Protectour alſo, and ye ſay ye thought not to haue offended. All this I will ſay, quoth I. And ye will (quoth my Lorde Chauncellour) ſubmitte your ſelfe to bee ordred by my Lorde Protectour. Nay (quoth I) by the lawe, for my Lorde Protectour, quoth I, hath ſcourged me ouer ſore this yeare, to put my matter in his handes now. And in the latter poynt I varied with my Lord Chauncellor, whē I could not referre my order to my Lord Protectour but to the lawe, and ſtaying at this point they were cōtent to graunt me of their gentlenes to make their ſute to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me libertie to goe in the gallery, and that I ſhould heare of one of thē within ij. daies folowyng. I deſired thē to remēber that I refuſed not the booke by way of contempt, nor in no euill maner, but that I was loth to yeld my ſelfe a ſcholler in the Tower, & to bee ſeene to redeme my faultes, if I had any, with my cōſcience. My body I ſayd, ſhould ſerue my conſcience, but not contrarywiſe. And this is the truth vpon my conſcience and oth that was done and ſayd at their cōmyng. There was more ſayd to the purpoſes aforeſayd. And I binde not my ſelfe to the preciſe forme of wordes, but to the ſubſtaunce of the matter and faſhion of the intreatyng. So neare as I can remember, I haue truly diſcharged my oth: but I heard no more of my matter in one whole yeare after almoſt within xiij. dayes, notwithſtandyng two letters written by me to the Counſayle of moſt humble requeſt to be heard accordyng to Iuſtice. And then at the end of ij. yeares almoſt, came vnto me the Duke of Somerſet with other of the Counſaile, which matter becauſe it is lefte out here, I ſhall not touch but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaratiō of my behauiour at all tymes.

Wincheſter deſireth the kyng to be hys good Lord.

Wincheſter yet will not cōfeſſe hym ſelf to bee an offender.

Wincheſter will not ſubmitte him ſelfe to the Lord Protectour, but to the law.

The Article.

12. Article.

Item, that after that &c. the ix. day of Iuly in the iiij. yeare of his Maieſties reigne, his highnes ſent vnto you his graces letters with a certaine ſubmiſſion and Articles, wherunto his grace willed and commaunded you to ſubſcribe. To which ſubmiſſion, you contemptuouſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 12. Article.

The kings letters deliuered to *Wincheſt.* in the Tower.

To the xij. Article for aunſwere therunto, he graunted that about the tyme mencioned in this Article, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earle of Warwicke Lord great Maiſter, Syr William Harbert, and maiſter Secretary Peter, came to the Tower: and called me before thē, and deliuered vnto me the Kynges Maieſties letters, which I haue to ſhewe, & receiued them at the handes of the Lord Treaſurer vpon my knees, kyſſed them as my duetie was, and ſtill vppon my knees read them, where as they right gently required me to take more eaſe, and to goe apart with them and conſider them, which after that I had throughly read, I much lamented that I ſhould be commaūded to ſay of my ſelfe as was there written, and to ſaye otherwiſe of my ſelfe then my conſcience will ſuffer me: and where I truſt my deedes will not condemne me, there to condemne my ſelfe with my tongue, I ſhould ſooner (quoth I to them) by commaundement, thinke if ye would byd me, to tumble my ſelfe deſperatly into the Themes.

Other Articles put to *Wincheſt.*

The Article which touched hym, was the firſt Article, ſubſcribing him to ſubſcribe, which Article he willeth here to be put out.

My Lord of Warwicke ſeyng me in that agony, ſayd: What ſay ye my Lord, quoth he, to the other Articles? I aunſwered that I was loth to diſobey, where I might obey and not wraſt my conſciēce, deſtroiyng the comfort of it, as to ſay vntruly of my ſelfe. Well, quoth my Lord of Warwicke, will ye ſubſcribe to the other Articles? I told him I would. But then, quoth I, ẏ Article that toucheth me, muſt be put out. I was aunſwered that nedeth not, for I might write on the ſide what I would ſay vnto it: and then my Lord of Warwyke entertayned me very gently, and would nedes whyles I ſhould write, haue me ſit down by him, and when he ſaw me make ſomewhat ſtraūge ſo to do, he pulled me nearer him and ſayd we had ere this ſit together, and truſted we ſhould do ſo agayne. And thē hauyng penne and inke geuē me, I wrote as I remēber, on the Article that touched me, theſe wordes: I cā not with my cōſciēce ſay this of my ſelf, or ſuch like wordes. And there folowed an Article of the Kynges Maieſties primacie, and I began to write on the ſide of that and had made an I, onwarde as may appeare by the Articles, & they would not haue me do ſo, but write onely my name after their Articles: which I did. Whereat becauſe they ſhewed them ſelues pleaſed and content: I was bold to tell them merely that by this meane, I had placed my ſubſcription aboue them all, and there vpon it pleaſed them to enterteine me much to my comfort.

Wincheſt. ſubſcribeth to the kinges Articles.

And I was bold to accompt vnto them mery tales of my miſerie in priſon, which they ſeemed content to heare: and then I told them alſo (deſiryng them not to be miſcontent with that I ſhould ſay:) whē I remember ech of them alone, I coulde not thinke otherwiſe of them but they were my good Lordes: and yet whē they meete together, I feele no remedy at their handes. I looked, quoth I, when my Lord of Somerſet was here to go out within two dayes, and made my farewell feaſt in the Tower and all, ſince which tyme there is a moneth paſt or therabout: and I agreed with thē, and now agree with you, and I may fortune be forgotten. My Lord Treaſurer ſayd nay, I ſhould heare from thē the next day, and ſo by their ſpeciall commaundement came out of the chamber after them, that they might be ſeene depart as my good Lordes: and ſo was done. By which proceſſe doth appeare how there was in me no contempt, as is ſayd in this Article, but ſuch a ſubſcription made as they were content to ſuffer me to make, which I tooke in my conſcience for a whole ſatiſfaction of the Kynges Maieſties letters, which I deſire may be demed accordyngly. And one thyng was ſayd vnto me further that other woulde haue put in many moe Articles, but they would haue no more but thoſe.

Wincheſters farewell feaſt loſt in the Tower.

The article.

13. Article.

Item, that you hauing eftſones certaine of the kings Maieſties honorable Counſaile ſent vnto you the. xj. of July in the ſayd. iiij. yeare with the ſayd ſubmiſſion, and being on his maieſties behalfe required and commaunded to conſider agayne and better the ſayd ſubmiſſion & to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtoode in iuſtification of your ſelfe, and would in no wyſe ſubſcribe thereunto.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 13. Article.

To the. xiij. article hee ſayd: The next day after the being in the Tower of the ſayd Lorde Treaſurer, the Earle of Warwike and other: came vnto me Syr William Harbert and Maiſter Secretary Peter, to deuiſe wyth me how to make ſome acknowledging of my fault (as they ſayd) becauſe the other forme lyked me not. Whereunto I ſayd I knew my ſelfe innocent, and to enter wyth you to entreate of a deuiſe to empayre my innocency in any point by my wordes or writings, it can haue no policye in it. For although I dyd more eſteeme libertye of body, then the diffamation of my ſelfe: yet (quoth I) when I had ſo done wyth you, I were not ſo aſſured by you to come out. For whē I were by my own* penne once made an naughty man, then were I not the more ſure to come out, but had locked my ſelfe the more ſurely in. And a ſmal pleaſure were it to me to haue my bodye at libertye by your procurement, & to haue my cōſcience in perpetuall priſon by mine own act. Many more wordes there were & perſwaſions on their parties, which cauſed me to requyre of them, for the paſſion of God, that my matter myght take an end by iuſtice, and ſo departed, then being no contempt or faction of diſobedience ſhewed on my behalfe, but only allegation for my defence of mine innocencye in the beſt maner I could deuiſe, as I truſt they wyll teſtifie.

Wincheſt. ſtill ſtandeth vpon reputation of hys innocencie.

* Your putting to the penne in thys matter would not haue made you naughty, but your naughtines would not put to your penne.

The article.

14. Article.

Item, that after all this, videlicet the. xiiij. day of July in the ſayd iiij. yeare, the Kings Maieſtye ſent yet agayne vnto you certayne of hys maieſties honorable Counſaile wyth an other ſubmiſſion, and diuers other articles, wyllyng and commaundyng you to ſubſcribe your name therunto: which to do you vtterly refuſed.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 14. Article.

Other Articles offered to Wincheſt.

To the. xiiij. article hee ſayd, that on the Monday in the mornyng following came the biſhop of Lōdon, Sir Williā Harbert, Maiſter Secretary Peter, & an other whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, wyth certayne articles written in it, which they required me to ſubſcribe. Whereupon I moſt inſtantly requyred that my matter might be tried by iuſtice, which although it were more greuous, yet it hath a commoditye with it, that it endeth certaynly the matter. And I could neuer yet come to my aſſured ſtay, and therefore refuſed to meddle wyth any more articles, or to trouble my ſelfe with the reading of them, and yet they deſired me ſo inſtantly to reade them, that I was content, and did reade, and to ſhew my perfect obedient minde, offered incontinently vpon my deliuerye out of priſon, to make aunſwer vnto them, all ſuch as I woulde abyde by and ſuffer paine for, if I haue deſerued it. I would in deede gladly haue bene in hand with my Lord of Lōdon, but hee ſayd hee came not to diſpute, and ſayd it was the hande of God that I was thus in pryſon, becauſe I had ſo troubled other men in my time. Finally my requeſt was, that they woulde in this forme make my aunſwer to my Lordes of the Counſel as followeth: That I moſt humbly thanke them of their good wyll to deliuer me by way of mercye, but becauſe in reſpect of myne own innocent conſcience I had rather haue iuſtice, I deſired them, ſeing both was in the kinges Maieſties handes, that I might haue it, which if it happen to me more greeuous, I wyll impute it to my ſelfe, and euermore thanke them for their good wyll, and ſo departed I with them, as I truſt they wyll teſtifie, and no myſbehauior or demeanor to haue bene vſed on my behalfe.

The Byſhop of Londons wordes of Wincheſter.

Wincheſter refuſeth to be deliuered by way of mercye.

The article.

15. Article.

Item, that after all this, videlicet the. xix. day of July, in the ſayd fourth yeare, you being perſonally called before the kinges maieſties priuy Counſayle, and hauyng the ſayd ſubmiſſion and articles openly and diſtinctly read vnto you, & requyred to ſubſcribe the ſame, refuſed for vniuſt conſiderations by you alleaged to ſubſcribe the ſame.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 15. Article.

To the. xv. article, I graunt, that vppon a Saterday at after noone, euē at ſuch tyme of the day as they were at Euenſong in the Chappell at the Court, I was brought thether, and at my comming the Lordes of the Counſayle ſayd they were all my Judges by ſpeciall commiſſion, and entended to procede thus wyth me: That I ſhould ſubſcribe certayne articles whych were then read, and I muſt directly make aūſwere, whether I woulde ſubſcribe them or no. I aunſwered on my knees in this wyſe: For the paſſion of God my Lordes be my good Lordes, and let me be tried by iuſtice whether I be faulty or no: and as for theſe articles, as ſoone as ye deliuer me to my libertie, I woulde make aunſwere to them whether I would ſubſcribe them or no. Thē they hauing further to ſay, I aūſwered, theſe articles were of diuers ſortes: ſome be lawes which I may not qualifie: ſome be no lawes but learning and fact, which may haue diuers vnderſtandinges, and a ſubſcription to them without telling what I meane, were ouer daungerous: and therfore I offered for the more declaration of myne obedience to all theyr requeſtes, that if they would deliuer me the articles into the pryſon wyth me, I woulde ſhortly make them particular aunſwere, and ſuffer the paynes of the law, that by my aunſwere I might incurre vnto. Whereupon I was commaunded to go a part, and they ſent vnto me the Lord Treaſurer and Maiſter Secretarye Peter, who communed with me of a meane way, and that liked not the Lordes. And then I was called forth agayne, & my abſolute ſubſcription required agayne, and I agayne made offer to aunſwere particularly, for I coulde not with my conſcience ſubſcribe then as they were, abſolutely. And theſe my conſiderations, I truſt be iuſt, ſeing no mā for any commaundementes ought to offend hys conſcience, as I muſt haue done in that caſe.

Wincheſter required agayn to ſubſcribe, refuſeth.

Wincheſters ſhiftes.

The article.

16. Article.

Item, that for your ſondry and manyfold contemptes and diſobediēces in this behalfe vſed, the fruites of your biſhopricke were then by ſpeciall commiſſion of his maieſty iuſtly and lawfully ſequeſtred.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 16. Article.

To the. xvj. article, I denye contemptes, and diſobedience of partes, & ſay that my doings can not ſo be termed, becauſe it is taught in this realme for a doctrine of obedience, that if a king commaund that is contrary

But this aunſwere could not ſtand in *Q. Maryes* tyme.

to the commaundement of God, the ſubiect may not do as hee is commaunded, but humbly ſtand to his conſcience, which is my caſe, who could not wyth my conſcience do as I was requyred. And as touching the fact of decree, there was in deede a decree read, hauing wordes ſo placed and framed, as though I were ſuch an offender, which matter I deny. And in that decree was mention made of ſequeſtration of fruites: but whether the forme of wordes were of the preſent tenſe, or els to be ſequeſtred, I cannot preciſely tell, but do referre that to the tenor of the decree.

The Article.

17. Article.

Item that after this, you had intimation and peremptory monition with cõmunication that you ſhould within three monethes next followyng the ſayde intimation, reconcile & ſubmit your ſelfe vnder payne of depriuation

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 17. Article.

To the .xvij. article I aunſwer, that in the ſame decree of ſequeſtration at the ſame tyme read, I kneeling from the beginning of the decree, to the latter ende, I remember there was an intimation & three monethes ſpoken of, and expreſſed alſo howe at euery monethes end I ſhoulde haue pen and inke offered to write, if I would yet ſubſcribe, and as I vnderſtand, it was vpon the payne of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word depriuation, but therin I refer me to the actes of the ſentence, whych when it was read, I deſyred it myght be teſtified what myne offer was, to aunſwer al thoſe articles particularly, euen remayning in priſon. And thys done, I made ſuite for ſome of my ſeruants abroad, to reſort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my neceſſary buſines: which coulde not be obtayned. And yet to prouoke it, I ſayd to my Lord of Warwike, how for agreing with my Lord of Sommerſet, I had ſome commoditie, and for agreeing wyth him had nothing, and therfore would needes by interceſſion preſſe hym, that I might by hys meanes haue ſome of my ſeruantes reſorting vnto me. Hee aunſwered very gently. And then one ſayd I ſhould within two or three dayes haue ſome body come to me. And then I was diſmyſſed, with cõmaundement to the Lieutenãt to let me haue the ſame libertie I had, but no more.

The Article.

18. Article.

Item that the ſayd three monethes are now throughly expired and runne.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 18. Article.

To the .xviij. article he ſayd, there is almoſt ſixe monethes paſſed in time and nomber of daies, but not one moneth paſſe to the effecte of the lawe, nor tenne dayes neither, becauſe I haue bene ſo kept in pryſon that I could not ſee for remedy in forme aboueſayd, nor there was not at euery moneth, after the forme of the ſentence offered me, pen and incke and libertie geuen me to conſult and deliberate with other learned men and frends what were beſt to do, or to ſend vnto them. And furthermore, the verye .vij. daye after the decree geuen, I proteſted before my ſeruantes, whom I had onely commoditie to vſe as witnes of the nullitie of the decree for yͤ euident and apparant matter in it, but if it were any in law, I appealed to the kinges Maieſty, becauſe my requeſt was not admitted to haue the copye of the articles to aunſwere them particularly, and becauſe it is exceſſiue correction to ſequeſter my fruites and keepe me in priſon, wyth other caſes to be deduced where I might haue oportunitie. Which appellation I proteſted to intimate as ſoone as I coulde come to any preſence meete therfore, as I did in this aſſemble at my laſt repaire, deſiring therewith the benefite reſtitutionis in integrum, becauſe of myne impriſonment, and therefore doo aunſwer this matter with proteſtation of that appeale, and vtterly deny all maner of contempt.

Wincheſters appeale to the kyng.

The Article.

19. Article.

Item, that you hitherto according to the ſayd intimation and monition, ſubmitted, reconciled, nor reformed your ſelfe, but contemptuouſlye yet ſtyll remayne in your fyrſt diſobedience.

VVincheſter.

Aunſwere to the 19. Article.

To the .xix. article, I ſaye that I haue bene all thys whyle in priſon ſo kept, as no man coulde haue acceſſe to counſel with me, nor any meanes to write or ſend to any man, hauing made continuall ſute to Maiſter Lieftenant and Maiſter Marſhall, vnder whoſe cuſtodye I am here, to make ſute in my name to my Lordes of the Counſayle, that I might come to hearing, or els be bailed vpon ſurety: which I could not obtayn, and ſo haue remayned vnder the benefite of my ſayd appeale to the kinges Maieſtie, made as I might for the tyme, which I eftſoones deſire may haue libertie to proſecute.

The wordes of *Wincheſt.* I proteſt, expounded.

And where as aunſwering to theſe articles, for declaration of the integrity of my conſcience, I vſe in the ſame places generall wordes: I proteſt, I meane not by thoſe wordes to ſet forth my ſelfe otherwyſe more arrogantly then as my direct entent (which excludeth malice) and purpoſe moueth me to ſay, and as my conſcience beareth witneſſe vnto me at thys time, and therfore wyll ſay therein wyth S. Paule: Nihil mihi cõſcius ſum, ſed non in hoc iuſtificatus ſum. Wherefore if any ſpecially be obiected vnto me, wherein by ignorance or ouerſight and negligence, any myne offence may appeare agaynſt the kinges Maieſties lawes, ſtatutes, and Iniunctions (I ſhall deſire and proteſt that it be not preiudiciall to mine aunſwer) for this preſent, credo (as yͤ lawyers in ciuill matters vſe that terme) to be true, that is to ſay, ſuch as without any alteration in my conſcience, preſently I may of my ſelfe ſay in affirmation or denyall, as afore is aunſwered.

Wincheſters Credo.

And where as I ſpeake of commaundement to bee made to me agaynſt Gods lawe, I proteſt not to touch my ſoueraigne Lordes honour therein, which my duetie is by all meanes to preſerue, but that the cõmaundemẽt geuẽ reſolueth to be agaynſt Gods law on my part in the obedience to bee geuen, becauſe I may not aunſwere or ſay otherwiſe, but Eſt eſt, non nõ. So as my wordes and hart may agree together, or els I ſhould offende Gods law, which my ſoueraigne if hee knew my conſcience would not commaunde me.

After theſe thinges thus paſſed, certaine of the Cõuſaile by the kynges appoyntement had ſondry dayes and tymes acceſſe to him in the Tower to perſuade with him: which were theſe, the Duke of Somerſet, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord priuye Seale, the Lord great Chamberland, & Maiſter Secretary Peter. Who repayryng to him the .x. day of Iune, an. 1550. he deſired of them to ſee the Kynges booke of procedyngs: vpõ the ſight whereof hee would make a full aunſwere ſeemyng to be willyng in all thinges to conforme him ſelfe thereunto: and promiſing that in caſe any thyng offended his conſcience, he would open it to none but to the Counſaile. Wherupon it was agreed the booke ſhould be ſent him to ſee his aunſwere, that his caſe might be reſolued vpon, and that for the meane tyme he ſhould haue the libertie of the Galery and Gardine in the Tower, when the Duke of Norfolcke were abſent.

Wincheſt. requireth the ſight of the kinges booke of procedinges.

The kyng then was lying at Grenwych, at which tyme the Lieſtenant of the Tower was appoynted to deliuer the Kynges booke to the Byſhop of Wincheſter. Who within iij. dayes after (whiche was the 13. of Iune) made declaration agayne vnto the Counſayle, that the Biſhop hauyng peruſed it, ſayd vnto him hee could make no direct aunſwere vnleſſe hee were at libertie, and ſo beyng he would ſay his cõſcience. Wherupon the Lordes and other that had bene with him the other day were appoynted to go to him agayne to receaue a direct aunſwere that the Counſayle thereupon might determine further order for hym.

Wincheſt. denyeth to make any direct aunſwer to the booke vnleſſe he were at libertie.

The aunſwere of the Biſh. beyng receaued, through the reporte of the Lordes which had bene with him declaration was made agayne, the 8. day of Iuly. 1550. that his aũſweres were euer doubtfull, refuſing while he

Wincheſters aunſweres euer doubtfull.

he were in priſon to make any direct aunſwer. Wherfore it was determined that hee ſhoulde bee directlye examined whether he would ſincerely conforme him ſelf vnto the Kynges Maieſties procedynges or not. For which purpoſe it was agreed that particular Articles ſhould be drawen, to ſee whether he would ſubſcribe them or not, and a letter alſo directed vnto him from the kynges highnes, with the which the L. Treaſurer, the Lord great Maiſter, the Maiſter of the horſe, and Maiſter Secretarie Peter ſhoulde repayre vnto him: the tenor of which letter hereafter enſueth.

Articles and letters ſent to *Wincheſt.*

A letter ſent to the B. of Wincheſter ſigned by the kyng and ſubſcribed by the whole Counſaile.

The kings letter to *Wincheſt.*

IT is not (we thinke) vnknowen vnto you, with what clemencie & fauour, we by the aduiſe of our Counſaile cauſed you to be heard and vſed vpon theſe ſondrye complaintes and informations that were made to vs and our ſayd Counſaile of your diſordred doinges & wordes, both at the tyme of our late viſitation, and otherwiſe. which notwithſtanding, conſideryng that the fauour both then and many other tymes miniſtred vnto you, wrought rather an inſolent wylfulnes in your ſelfe than any obedient conformitie, ſuch as would haue beſeemed a man of your vocation, we coulde not but vſe ſome demonſtration of iuſtice towardes you, aſwell for ſuch notorious and apparant contemptes and other inobediences, as after and contrary to our commaundement were openly knowen in you, as alſo for ſome example and terror of ſuch others as by your example ſeemed to take courage to mutter and grudge agaynſt our moſt godly proceedinges: whereof great diſcorde and inconuenience at that tyme might haue enſued. For the auoiding wherof, and for your iuſt deſeruinges, you were by our ſaid Counſayle committed to warde. where albeit we haue ſuffred you to remaine a long ſpace, ſending vnto you in the meane time at ſondry tymes diuers of the noble men and others of our priuy Counſail, and trauailyng by them with clemencye and fauour to haue reduced you to the knowledge of your ducty: yet in all this tyme haue you neither knowledged your faultes, nor made any ſuch ſubmiſſion as might haue beſeemed you, nor yet ſhewed any apparaunce either of repentaunce, or of any good conformitie to our godly proceedinges. wherewith albeit we both haue good cauſe to be offended, and might alſo iuſtly by the order of our lawes, cauſe your former doings to bee reformed and puniſhed to the example of others: yet for that we woulde both the worlde and your ſelfe alſo ſhould know that we delite more in clemency than in the ſtraite adminiſtration of iuſtice, we haue vouchſafed not onely to addreſſe vnto you theſe our letters, but alſo to ſend eftſones vnto you foure of our priuie Counſaile with certain articles: which being by vs with the aduiſe of our ſayd Counſayll conſidered, we thinke requiſite for ſondry conſiderations to be ſubſcribed by you, and therfore would and commaund you to ſubſcribe the ſayd articles vpon payne of incurring ſuch puniſhment and penalties, as by our lawes maye be put vpon you for not doing the ſame. Geuen at our palace of weſtminſter the viij. day of Iuly the iiij. yeare of our reigne.

Notorious contemptes in *Wincheſt.* noted.

With this letter addreſſed from the kyng and hys Counſail, theſe Articles alſo were deliuered to the Biſhop of Wincheſter here folowyng.

¶ *The copy of the Articles.*

WHereas I Steuen Biſhop of wincheſter haue bene ſuſpected as one to much fauouring the Biſhop of Romes authoritie, decrees, and ordinaunces, and as one that did not approue or allow the Kinges maieſties procedings in alteration of certaine rites in Religion, was conuented before the kynges hyghnes Counſail and admoniſhed therof: and hauing certeine things appointed for me to doe and preach for my declaration, haue not done that as I ought to do, although I promiſed to do the ſame, wherby I haue not onely incurred the kinges maieſties indignation, but alſo diuers of hys highnes ſubiects haue by mine example taken incouragement (as his graces Counſaile is certaynly enformed) to repine at his maieſties moſt godly procedings: I am right ſory therfore and acknowledge my ſelfe condignely to haue bene puniſhed, and do moſt hartely thanke his maieſtie, that of his great clemency it hath pleaſed his highnes to deale with me, not according to rigour, but mercy. And to the intent it may appeare to the world how litell I do repyne at his highnes doings, which be in religion moſt godly & to the common wealth moſt profitable, I do affirme and ſay frely of myne owne wil without any compulſion as enſueth.

The Byſhops aunſwere to this article in the margent.

1. Fyrſt, that by the lawe of God and the authoritye of ſcripturs the kings maieſty and his ſucceſſors are the ſupreme heades of the churches of Ingland and alſo of Ireland.

1. The kinges ſupremacie.

2. Item, that the appointinge of holidayes or faſting dayes, as lent, imber dayes, or any ſuch like, or to diſpẽce therwith, is in the kinges maieſties autority and power: and his highnes as ſupreame head of the ſayd churches of England and Ireland and gouernour therof, may appoynt the maner and tyme of the holidayes and faſting daies, or diſpence therwith as to his wiſdome ſhal ſeeme moſt conuenient for the honour of God and the wealth of this Realme.

2. The kinges authoritie in diſpẽſing with holy daies and faſtyng dayes, or in appoyntyng the ſame.

3. Item, that the kinges maieſty hath moſt chriſtianly and godly ſet forth by and with the conſent of the whole parliament, a deuout and chriſtian boke of ſeruice of the church to be frequented in the church, which booke is to be accepted and allowed of all Biſhops, paſtours, curates, and all miniſters eccleſiaſtical of the realme of England, and ſo of hym to be declared and commended in all places where hee ſhall fortune to preach or ſpeake to the people of it, that it is a godly and chriſtian booke and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and obſerued of all the kings maieſties true ſubiects.

3. The kinges booke of proceedinges.

4. I do acknowledge the kinges maieſtie that now is, (whoſe lyfe God long preſerue) to be my ſoueraigne lord and ſupreame heade vnder Chriſt to me as a Byſhop of this realme, and naturall ſubiect to his maieſtye: and now in this hys yong and tender age to be my full and entyre kyng, and that I and all other his highnes ſubiects are bound to obey all his maieſties proclamations, ſtatutes, lawes, and commaundementes made, promulgate and ſet fourth in this his highnes yonge age, aſwell as though his hignes were at this preſent xxx. or xl. yeares olde.

4. The kinges full authoritie in hys tender age.

5. Item, I confeſſe and acknowledge that the ſtatute commonly called the ſtatute of ſix articles, for iuſt cauſes & groundes, is by authority of parliament repealed and diſanulled.

5. Abrogation of the vj. Articles.

6. Item, that his maieſtie and his ſucceſſors haue authority in the ſayd churches of England and alſo of Ireland to alter, reforme, correct, and amend all errors and abuſes and all rites and ceremonies eccleſiaſticall, as ſhall ſeme from tyme to tyme to his highnes and his ſucceſſors moſt conuenient for the edification of his people, ſo that the ſame alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the ſcripture and lawe of God.

6. The kinges iuriſdiction to alter and correct abuſes eccleſiaſticall.

Subſcribed by Steuen Wincheſter, with the teſtimoniall handes of the Counſaill to the ſame.

Subſcriptiõ of *Wincheſter* to the Articles aforeſayd.

To theſe Articles afore ſpecified, although Wincheſter with his owne hand did ſubſcribe, grauntyng and conſentyng to the ſupremacie of the kyng as well then beyng as of his ſucceſſours to come: yet becauſe hee ſtoocke ſo much in the firſt pointe touchyng his ſubmiſſion, and would in no caſe ſubſcribe to the ſame, but onely made his aunſwere in the margent (as is aboue noted) it was therfore thought good to the kyng, that the Maiſter of the horſe, and Maiſter Secretary Peter ſhould repaire vnto him agayne with the ſame requeſt of ſubmiſſion, exhortyng him to looke better vpõ it: and in caſe the wordes ſemed to ſore, then to referre it vnto him ſelfe in what ſorte & with what wordes he ſhould deuiſe to ſubmit hym, that vppon the acknowledge of his fault, the Kinges highnes might extende his mercy and liberalitie towardes him as it was determined. Which was the xj. day of Iune, the yeare aboueſayd.

Wincheſter denieth to ſubſcribe to the firſt beginning of theſe Articles.

When the Maiſter of the horſe and Secretary Peter had bene with hym in the Tower accordyng to their Commiſſion, returnyng from him agayn they declared vnto the kyng and his Counſaile how preciſely the ſayd Biſhop ſtode in iuſtification of him ſelfe, that he had neuer offended the Kynges Maieſtye: wherfore he vtterly refuſed to make any ſubmiſſiõ at all. For the more ſuretie of whiche denyall, it was agreed that a new booke of Articles ſhould be deuiſed, wherwith the ſayd Maiſter of ẏ horſe and M. Secretary Peter ſhould repayre vnto him agayne, and for the more autentike procedyng with him, they to haue with them a Diuine and a temporall Lawyer, which were the Byſhop of London, and Maiſter Goodricke.

The copie of the Articles laſt ſent to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Wincheſter agayne required to ſubmitte him ſelfe.

WHere as I Steuen Biſhop of wincheſter haue bene ſuſpected as one that dyd not approue or allowe the kinges maieſties procedings in alteration of certein rites in Religion, and was conuented before the kinges highnes Counſaill, and admoniſhed thereof, and hauing certain thinges appointed for me to doe and preach for my declaration, haue not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I haue deſerued his maieſties diſpleaſure: I am right ſory therfore. And to the intent it maye appeare to the world howe lytle I do repyne at his highnes doyngs, which be in religion moſt godly and to the cōmon wealth moſt profitable, I do affirme as followeth.

Good reaſon and ground in ſuppreſſing houſes of religion.

1. Fyrſt, that the late kyng of moſte famous memory kyng Henry the eight, our late ſoueraigne Lorde, iuſtlye and of good reaſon and grounde, hath taken awaye and cauſed to be ſuppreſſed and defaced, all monaſteries and religious houſes, and all conuenticles and conuentes of Monkes, Friers, Nonnes, Chanons, Bonhoms, and other perſons called religious, and that the ſame beyng ſo diſſolued, the perſones therein bound and profeſſed to obedience to a perſone, place, habite, and other ſuperſticious rites and ceremonies, vppon that diſſolution and order appoynted by the kinges maieſties authoritie, as ſupreme head of the church, are clerely releaſed and acquited of thoſe vowes and profeſſions, and at their full libertie as though thoſe vnwittie & ſuperſticious vowes had neuer bene made.

Mariages permitted by Gods lawe, ſtand good without the Popes diſpenſation.

2. Item, that any perſon may lawfully marye without any diſpenſation from the Biſhop of Rome or any other man with any perſon whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony by the lawe leuiticall.

Vowes and going of pilgrimage.

3. Item, that the vowing and going of pilgrimaige to Images or to the bones and reliques of any ſainctes hath bene ſuperſticiouſly vſed and cauſe of much wickednes and Idolatrie, and therfore iuſtlye aboliſhed by the ſayd late king of famous memorie, and the Images and reliques ſo abuſed, haue bene of great and godly conſiderations defaced and deſtroyd.

Gadding about with S. Nicholas, &c.

4. Item, that the cōterfeyting of S. Nicolas, S. Clement, S. Katherine, and S. Edmonde by Children heretofore brought into the Church, was a mere mockerye & foliſhnes, and therfore iuſtly aboliſhed and taken away.

Scriptures to be in the vulgare tounge.

5. Item, it is conuenient and godly that the ſcripture of the old Teſtament and newe, that is the hole Bible, be had in Engliſhe and publiſhed to be read of euery man, and that who ſoeuer doth repell and dehorte men from the reading therof, doth euell and damnably.

6. Item, that the ſayd late King of iuſt ground and reaſon dyd receaue into his handes the authority and diſpoſition of chauntries and ſuch liuinges as were giuen for the maintenaūce of priuate maſſes, and did well chaunge diuers of them to other vſes.

Chauntrey Maſſes well put downe.

7. Alſo the kings maieſtie that now is by the aduiſe and conſent of the Parliament dyd vpon iuſte grounde and reaſon, ſuppreſſe, aboliſh, and take away the ſayd chauntryes and ſuch other liuinges as were vſed and occupied for maintenaunce of priuate maſſes, and maſſes ſatiſfactory, for the ſowles of them which are dead, or finding of obites, lights, or other like things. The maſſe that was wont to be ſayde of prieſtes was full of abuſes and had very fewe thinges of Chriſtes inſtitution beſydes the piſtell, goſpell, lordes prayer, and the wordes of the lords ſupper: the reſt for the more part were inuented and deuiſed by Biſhops of Rome, and by other men of the ſame ſorte, and therfore iuſtly taken away by the ſtatutes and lawes of this realme: and the communion which is placed in the ſtede therof, is very godly and agreable to the Scriptures.

The Maſſe full of abuſes and well chaunged to the Cōmunion.

Sacrament in both kindes.

8. Item, that it is moſt conuenient and fit, and accordyng to the firſt inſtitution, that all Chriſtiā men ſhould receaue the Sacramēt of the body and bloud of Chriſt in both the kyndes, that is in bread and wyne.

Maſſe the Popes ordinaunce.

9. And the Maſſe wherin the Prieſt doth onely receaue, & the other do but looke on, is but the inuention of man and the ordinaunce of the Byſhop of Romes Church, nor agreable to Scripture.

The Sacrament not to be adored.

10 Item, that vpon good and Godly conſiderations, it is ordred in the ſayd booke and order, that the Sacramēt ſhould not be lifted vp and ſhewed to the people to be adored, but to be with godly deuotion receyued as it was firſt inſtituted.

All Images abolyſhed.

11 Item, that it is well, politikely and godly done, that the Kynges Maieſtie by Acte of Parliament, hath commaunded all Images which haue ſtand in Churches or Chappels, to be clearely aboliſhed and defaced, leſt here after at any time, they ſhould gyue occaſion of Idolatry or be abuſed, as many of them heretofore haue bene with pilgrimages and ſuch Idolatrous worſhippyng.

Maſſe bookes, Grailes, &c. defaced.

12 And alſo that for like godly and good conſiderations by the ſame authoritie of Parliament, all Maſſe bookes, Cowchers, Grayles, and other bookes of the ſeruice in Latine heretofore vſed, ſhould be aboliſhed and defaced, aſwel for certeine ſuperſtitions in them conteined, as alſo to auoyde diſſenſion: and that the ſayd ſeruice in the Church ſhoulde bee through the whole Realme in one vniforme conformitie, and no occaſion through thoſe old bookes geuen to the contrarie.

Vowed chaſtitie of Prieſtes hath no cōmaundement of God.

13 That Biſhops, Prieſtes, and Deacons haue no cōmaundement of the law of God, either to vow chaſtitie, or to abſtayne continually from Mariage.

14 Item, that all Canons, conſtitutiōs, lawes poſitiue, and ordinaunces of man, which doe prohibite or forbyd Mariage to any Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon, be iuſtly and vpon godly groundes and conſiderations, taken away and aboliſhed by authoritie of Parliament.

Homelies to be read in the Church.

15 The Homelies lately commaunded and ſet forth by the Kynges Maieſtie, to be read in the Congregation of England, are godly and holeſome and do teach ſuch doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

The kings booke of order.

16 The booke ſet fourth by the Kynges Maieſty by authority of Parliament conteinyng the forme and maner of makyng and conſecrating of Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Prieſtes, and Deacons, is godly and in no point contrary to the holeſome doctrine of the Goſpell, and therfore ought to bee receiued and approued of all the faythfull members of the Church of England, and namely the miniſters of Gods worde, and by them commended to the people.

Orders of Subdeacon, Benet, & Colet needles in the Church.

17 That the orders of Subdeacon, Benet, and Colet, and ſuch others as were commonly called Minores ordines, bee not neceſſary by the worde of God to bee rekened in the Church, and bee iuſtly lefte out in the ſayd booke of orders.

Doctrine of our ſaluation ſufficiently cōteined in the Scripture.

18 That the holy Scriptures conteyne ſufficiētly all doctrine required of neceſſitie for eternall ſaluation through fayth in Jeſus Chriſt, & that nothyng is to be taught as required of neceſſitie to eternal ſaluation, but that which may be concluded and proued by the holy Scriptures.

Paraphraſes of Eraſmus.

19 That vpon good and godly conſiderations it was and is commaunded by the Kynges Maieſties Iniunctions, that the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus in Engliſh ſhould bee ſet vp in ſome conueniēt place in euery pariſh church of this Realme, where as the Pariſhners may moſt cōmodiouſly reſorte to read the ſame.

Wincheſt. required to ſubſcribe to theſe articles.

20 And becauſe theſe Articles aforeſayd do conteine onely ſuch matters as bee already publiſhed and openly ſet forth by the Kynges Maieſties authoritie, by the aduiſe of hys hyghnes Counſayl for many great and godly cōſiderations, and amongeſt others for the common tranquilitie and vnitie of the Realme: his maieſties pleaſure by the aduiſe aforeſayd is, that you the Byſhop of wincheſter ſhall not onely affirme theſe Articles with ſubſcription of your hand: but alſo declare and profeſſe your ſelfe well contented, willyng, and ready to publiſhe and preach the ſame at ſuch times and places, and before ſuch audience, as to his Maieſtie frō tyme to tyme ſhall ſeme conuenient and requiſite, vppon the payne of incurryng ſuch penalties and puniſhementes, as for not doyng the ſame may by his maieſties lawes be inflicted vpon you.

These Articles, were ſent the xv. of July.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter receauing and peruſing theſe Articles, made this aunſwere agayne: That firſt touching the Article of ſubmiſſion, he would in no wiſe conſent, affirmyng as he had done before, that he had neuer offended the Kynges Maieſtie in any ſuch ſorte, as ſhould giue him cauſe thus to ſubmit him ſelf: praying earneſtly to be brought vnto his triall: wherin he refuſed ẏ Kynges mercy and deſired nothing * but Juſtice.

**Mercy might fortune to haue turned your alte to an halter.*

ſtice. And for the reſt of the Articles he aunſwered that after he were paſt his trial in this firſt poynt, and were at libertie, then it ſhould appeare what he would do in them: not beyng (as he ſayd) reaſonable that he ſhould ſubſcribe them in priſon.

Of this aunſwere when the kyng and his Counſaile had intelligence by the foreſayd Maiſter of the horſe, Secretary Peter, the Biſhop of London, and M. Godricke who had bene with him, it was agreed that hee ſhould be ſent for before the whole Counſaile and peremptorily examined once agayne whether hee would ſtand at this point or no: which if hee did, then to denounce vnto him the ſequeſtration of his benefice, and conſequently the intimation, in caſe he were not reformed within iij. monethes, as in the day of his apparaunce ſhall appeare. The tenour and wordes of which Sequeſtration with the Intimation foloweth.

¶The wordes of the Sequeſtration with the Intimation to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

The tenor of the Sequeſtration read to *Wincheſt.*

The cauſes why thys Sequeſtration was layd agaynſt *Wincheſt.*

FOraſmuch as the Kynges Maieſtie our moſt gratious soueraigne Lord vnderſtandeth, and it is alſo manifeſtly knowen and notorious vnto vs, that the clemency and long ſufferance of his Maieſty worketh not in you that good effect and humblenes and conformitie that is requiſite in a good ſubiect: and for that your firſt diſobediences, contemptes, and other miſbehauiours, for the which you were by his maieſties authoritie iuſtly committed to warde, haue ſithens your ſayd committing, daily more and more encreaſed in you, in ſuch ſort as a great ſclaunder and offence is thereof riſen in many partes of the Realme, whereby alſo much ſclaunder, diſſenſion, trouble, and vnquietnes is very lyke more to enſue if your foreſayd offences beyng as as they bee openly knowen, ſhould paſſe vnpuniſhed: we let you witte that hauing ſpecial and expreſſe Commiſſion and commaũdement from his Maieſty, aſwell for your contumacies and contemptes ſo long continued and yet dayly more encreaſing, as alſo for the exchaũge of the ſclaũder and offence of the people, which by your ſayd ill demeanours is riſen, and for that alſo the Church of Wincheſter may bee in the meane tyme prouided of a good miniſter that may and will ſee all thynges done and quietly executed accordyng to lawes and common orders of this Realme: and for ſondry other great and vrgent cauſes, we do by theſe preſentes ſequeſter all the frutes, reuenues, landes and poſſeſſions of your Biſhopricke of Wincheſter, and diſcerne, deme, and iudge the ſame to be committed to the ſeueral receipt, collectiõ & cuſtody of ſuch perſon or perſons as his Maieſty ſhall appointe for that purpoſe. And becauſe your former diſobediences & contemptes ſo long continued, ſo many tymes doubled, renued and aggrauated, do manifeſtly declare you to be a perſon without all hope of recouery and plainely incorrigible: we eftſones admoniſhe and require you to obey his Maieſtyes ſayd commaundement, and that you do declare your ſelfe by ſubſcription of your hand, both willyng and well contented to accepte, allow, preach and teach to others the ſayd Articles, and all ſuch other matters as be or ſhalbe ſet forth by his Maieſties authoritie of ſupreme head of this Church of England on this ſide, and within the terme of iij. monethes, wherof we appoynt one moneth for the firſt monition, one moneth for the ſecõd monition and warnyng, and one moneth for the third and peremptory monition. Within which tyme as you may yet declare your conformitie, and ſhall haue paper, penne, and incke when you will call for them for that purpoſe, ſo if you wilfully forbeare and refuſe to declare your ſelfe obedient and conformable as is aforeſayd, we intimate vnto you that his Maieſtie, who like a good gouernour deſireth to keepe both his common wealth quyet and to purge the ſame of euill men (eſpecially miniſters) entendeth to procede agaynſt you as an incorrigible perſon and vnmeete miniſter of this Church, to depriuation of your ſayd Byſhopricke.

Wincheſt. ſequeſtred from hys Byſhopricke.

Intimatiõ geuen to *Wincheſt.*

Neuertheles, vpon diuers good conſiderations, and ſpecially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed that the ſayd Byſhops houſe and ſeruaũtes ſhould be mainteined in their preſent eſtate, vntill the time that this Intimation ſhould expire, and the matter for the meane time to be kept ſecret.

The names of the Commiſſioners delegate in the cauſe of *St. Gardiner.*

After this ſequeſtration, the ſayde biſhop was commenſed vnto Lambeth before the Archbiſhop of Cant. and other the Kings Commiſſioners, by vertue of the Kings ſpeciall letter ſent vnto the ſayd Commiſſioners, to witte, to the Archbiſhop of Cant. Nich. biſhop of London, Thomas biſhop of Elye, Henry biſhop of Lincolne, Secretary Peter, Syr Iames Hales knight, Doctor Leyſon Doctor Olyuer Lawyers, and Iohn Goſnold Eſquyre. &c. before them and by them to be examined, by whom were obiected agaynſt hym. xix. ſpeciall articles in order and forme here following.

¶Articles and poſitions miniſtred ioyntly and ſeuerally obiected to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt *Wincheſter* by the Commiſſioners.

1. IN primis, that the kings Maieſty iuſtly and rightfully is, and by the lawes of God ought to bee the ſupreme head in earth of the church of England and Irelã, and ſo is by the Clergy of this Realme in their conuocation, and by the act of Parliament iuſtly and according to the lawes of God recogniſed.

2. Item, that his Maieſtye as ſupreme heade of the ſayd Churches, hath full power and authoritye to make and ſet ſuch lawes, Iniunctions and ordinances, for and concerning religion and orders in the ſayd churches for the increaſe of vertue and repreſſing of all errours, hereſies and other enormities and abuſes.

3. Item, that al and euery his graces ſubiectes are boũd by the lawes of God to obey all his highnes ſayd lawes, Iniunctions, and procedinges concerning religion and orders in the ſayd Churches.

4. Item, that you Steuen biſhop of wincheſter haue ſworne obedience to his Maieſtie, as ſupreme heade of thys Church of England and alſo of Ireland.

Wincheſter ſworne to the kinges ſupremacie.

5. Item, that all and euery hys Graces Subiectes that diſobey any of hys ſayd Maieſties lawes, Iniunctions, ordinances and procedinges already ſet forth and publiſhed, or hereafter to be ſet foorth and publiſhed, ought worthely to be puniſhed, according to his Graces Eccleſiaſticall lawes vſed wythin thys hys realme.

6. Item, that you the ſayde biſhop, aſwell in the kinges maieſties late viſitation wythin your dioces, as at ſundry other times haue bene complained vpon, & ſundrye informatiõs made againſt you for your doings, ſayings and preachings againſt ſundry Iniunctions, orders and other procedinges of his maieſtye ſet forth for reformation of errors, ſuperſtitions and other abuſes in religiõ.

Wincheſter after hys oth found diſobedient to the king and hys procedinges.

7. Item, that after and vpon the occaſion of thoſe and other many complaintes and informations, you haue bene ſundry tymes admoniſhed, commaunded, and enioyned to conforme your ſelfe, as to your duty appertayneth.

8. Item, that after the premiſſes, and for that thoſe former admonitions and commaundements notwythſtandyng, you dyd yet ſtil ſhewe your ſelfe not conformable, and for that alſo by your example the people were much animated, and therby occaſion of much vnquietnes miniſtred, you were called before the Kinges Maieſties Counſayl in the moneth of Iune, the ſecond yeare of hys Maieſties raygne, and by them on hys highnes behalfe commaunded to preach a ſermon befor hys Maieſty, and therein to declare the iuſtnes and godlynes of hys maieſties father and hys procedings vpon certayne matters, partly mencioned in certayne articles to you deliuered in writing, and partly otherwyſe declared vnto you: The effect wherof was touching ẏ vſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, & that hys pretenſed authority was iuſtly and godly taken away in thys Realme and other the kings Maieſties dominions: touching the fyrſt ſuppreſſion and taking away of Monaſteries, religious houſes, pilgrimages, reliques, ſhrines, and Images, the ſuperſtitious going about of S. Nicholas biſhop, S. Edmund, S. Katherin, S. Clement and ſuch like: for taking away of Chaunteries, Obites and Colledges: touching halowing of candels, water, aſhes, Palme, holy bread, beades, creeping to the croſſe, and ſuch lyke: touching the

The manifold trãſgreſſiõs of *Wincheſter* worthy of puniſhment.

ſettyng forth of the kinges Maieſties authoritye in hys yong yeres to be as great, as if his highnes were of many more yeares, touching auricular confeſſion, touching the proceſſion and common prayer in Engliſhe, and that thinges done in generall Councels againſt the worde of God, may be iuſtly reuoked in particular Councels.

9. Winchesters contemptuous diſobedience to the kyng.

Item, that you receyuing the ſame, and promiſyng to declare them in a ſermon by you made before his maieſty for that purpoſe on the feaſt of S. Peter in the ſayd ſecond yeare of his highnes raigne, did then and there cōtemptuouſly and diſobediently omit to declare and ſet foorth manye of the ſayd matters, to the great contempt of hys Maieſty, and daungerous example of others.

10. Item that you being alſo commaunded, and on hys Maieſties behalfe, for the auoiding of tumult, & for other great conſiderations inhibited to treate of any matter in controuerſy concerning the Maſſe or the Communion, (then commonly called the Sacrament of the aultar) did contrary to the ſaid commaundement and inhibition, declare diuers your iudgements and opinions in the ſame, in manifeſt contempt of his Maieſties ſaid inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and diſturbance of the common quiet, and vnity of the Realme.

11. Winchester ſtubbornely refuſed to conforme hym ſelf to the booke of the kings procedinges.

Item, that after the premiſſes, videlicet in ŷ monethes of May or Iune or one of them, in the thyrd yeare of his highnes raigne, hys maieſty ſent eftſones vnto you, to know your conformity towardes his ſayd reformation, and ſpecially touching the booke of common praier then lately ſet forth by hys Maieſty, whereunto you at ŷ ſame tyme refuſed to ſhew your ſelfe conformable.

12. Item that after that, videlicet the. ix. day of Iulye, in the fourth yeare of hys Maieſties raygne, hys highnes ſent vnto you his graces letters, with a certain ſubmiſſiō and articles, wherunto hys Grace wylled and cōmaunded you to ſubſcribe, to the whych ſubmiſſion you contemptuoſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.

13. Winchester ſtandeth in iuſtification of hym ſelfe.

Item, that you hauing eftſones certain of the kynges moſt honorable Counſayl ſent vnto you the. xij. of Iulye in the ſaid fourth yeare, with the ſame ſubmiſſion, and being in hys Maieſties behalfe requyred and cōmaunded to conſider againe better the ſayd ſubmiſſion and to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtoode in iuſtification of your ſelfe, and would in no wyſe ſubſcribe thereunto.

14. Item that after all this, the. xiiij. daye of Iuly, in the ſayd fourth yeare, the ſayd kings maieſty ſent yet againe vnto you certayn of his maieſties moſt honorable Coūſayl wyth an other ſubmiſſion & diuers other articles, wylling and commaunding you to ſubſcribe your name thereunto, which to do you vtterly refuſed.

15. Fantaſticall cōſideratiōs of Winchester.

Item that after al this, videlicet the. xix. of Iuly in the ſayd fourth yeare, you being perſonally called before the whole Counſail, and hauing the ſayd ſubmiſſion and articles openly and diſtinctly read vnto you, and requyred to ſubſcribe the ſame, refuſed for vniuſt and fantaſticall conſiderations by you alledged, to ſubſcribe the ſame.

16. Item that for your ſundry and manifold contemptes and diſobediences in this behalfe vſed, the fruits of your benefice were then by ſpecial commiſſion of hys maieſty iuſtly and lawfully ſequeſtred.

17. Item that after thys, you had intimatiō and peremptory monition, with cōmunication that you ſhould within three monethes next folowing the ſaid intimation, reconcile and ſubmit your ſelfe vpon payne of depriuation.

18. Item that the ſayd three monethes are now fully expired and runne.

19. Winchester ſworne to anſwere truly.

Item that you haue not hetherto, accordyng to the ſaid intimation and monition ſubmitted, reconciled, nor reformed your ſelf, but contemptuouſly yet ſtill remayne in your diſobedience. whereupon they required the byſhop of winchester, then and there perſonally preſent to be ſworne faythfully and truly to make aunſwer.

Tyme geuē to Winchester to anſwere by writing.

After theſe Articles were exhibited vnto hym, and he hauyng leaue to ſay for him ſelfe, wherin he vſed all the cautels, ſhiftes and remedies of the law to his moſt aduauntage, by way of proteſtyng, recuſing and exceptyng agaynſt the Commiſſion, and requiryng alſo the copies as well of the Articles, as of his proteſtation of ŷ Actuaries (which were W. Say & Tho. Argal) tyme & reſpite was aſſigned vnto him to aūſwere to ŷ ſayd Articles in writing. But he ſo cauilled & dalied frō day to day, to aunſwere directly, although hée was ſufficiently laboured & perſwaded to the ſame by ſondry callyngs & Actes, and alſo abundantly cōuicted by depoſitions and witneſſes, eſpecially by matter induced by ŷ Lorde Paget, and Andrew Beynton, and M. Chalenor pag. 816. (all which I referre to my former bóke) that at the laſte hee appealed from them, reputing them not to be competēt and indifferent iudges to heare and determine his cauſe, vnto the Kynges royall perſon: notwithſtandyng by Proteſtation allwayes reſeruyng to hym ſelfe the benefite of his appellation: And ſo proceded he to the aunſweryng of the foreſayd Articles, but in ſuch crafty and obſtinate maner, as before he had bene accuſtomed, and as at-large to them that bée deſirous to vnderſtand the proceſſe thereof, in the former bóke of the Actes and Monumentes of the church aforeſayd may appeare.

For the depoſitions of theſe and other witneſſes agaynſt Wincheſt. read in the former Boke of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 816.

But briefly to conclude, ſuch exceptions hée vſed againſt ŷ witneſſes produced agaynſt him, and he him ſelfe produced ſuch a number of wytneſſes in his defence, and vſed ſo many delayes and cauillations, that in the end the Commiſſioners ſeing hys ſtubbornes proceded to the Sentence diffinitiue agaynſt him, as here vnder foloweth.

The ſentence diffinitiue againſt Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The final ſentence of the depriuation of the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

IN the name of God Amen. By authoritie of a commiſſion by the high and mighty prince our moſt gracious ſoueraigne lord Edward the vj. by the grace of God king of England, France, & Ireland, defendour of the faith, and of the church of England and alſo of Ireland in earth the ſupreme head, the tenour whereof hereafter enſueth: Edward the ſixt. &c. we Thomas by the ſufferaūce of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England and Metropolitane, with the right reuerend fathers in God Nicolas Biſhop of London, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, and Henry Biſhop of Lincolne, Sir William Peter knight one of our ſayd ſoueraigne lordes two principall ſecretaryes, Sir Iames Hales knight one of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lordes Iuſtices of his cōmon plees, Griffith Leiſon and Iohn Oliuer doctors of the Ciuill lawe, Richard Goodrick and Ihon Goſnold eſquiers, delegates, & iudges aſſigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceding according to the forme and tenor of the ſayd commiſſion, for the hearing, examination, debating, and final determination of the cauſes and matters in the ſayd commiſſion mentioned and conteyned, and vpon the contentes of the ſame, and certeyne articles obiected of office agaynſt you Steuen B. of wincheſter, as more playnly and fully is mencioned and declared in the ſayd commiſſion and articles, all which we repute & take here for to be expreſſed: and after ſondry iudiciall aſſēblies, examinations, & debatings of the ſayd cauſes & matters, with all incidentes, emergentes, and circumſtances to the ſame or any of them belonging, and the ſame alſo being by vs ofte heard, ſeen, and well vnderſtanded, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, conſidered and fully wayed and pondred, obſeruing all ſuch order and other thinges as by the lawes, equitie, and the ſayd commiſſion ought or needed herein to be obſerued, in the preſence of you Steuen B. of wincheſter, do procede to the geuing of our finall iudgement and ſentence diffinitiue in this maner following:

Winchest. found to be a tranſgreſſour.

For aſmuch as by the actes inacted, exhibites, and allegations purpoſed, deduced, and alleaged, and by ſufficient proufes with your owne confeſſion in the cauſes aforeſayd had and made, we doe euidently fynde and perceyue that you Steuen Biſhop of wincheſter haue not onely tranſgreſſed the commaundementes mentioned in the ſame, but alſo haue of longe time, notwithſtanding many admonitions and commaundementes geuen vnto you to the cōtrarie, remayned a perſon much grudging, ſpeaking, and repugning agaynſt the godly reformations of abuſes in religion ſet forth by the kynges highnes authoritye within this his realme: and foraſmuch as we do alſo fynde you a notable, open, & contemptuous diſobeyer, of ſondry godly and iuſt cōmaundementes geuen vnto you by our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord and by his authority, in diuerſe great and weyghty cauſes touching and concerning his princely office, the ſtate and cōmon quietnes of this his realme: and foraſmuch as you haue and yet do contemptuouſly refuſe to recognize your notorious negligences, miſbehauiours, contemptes, and diſobediences, remayning ſtyll after a great nombre of ſeuerall admonitions alwayes more & more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendement, contrary both to your oth ſworne, obedience, promyſe, and alſo your bõden dutie of allegiance: and for the great ſclaunder and offence of the people, aryſen in many partes of the Realme, through your wilfull doynges, ſayinges, and preachynges, contrary to the cõmõ order of the Realme, and for ſundry other great cauſes by the Actes, exhibites, your owne confeſſion, and proufes of this proceſſe more fully appearing: cõſidering withall that nothyng effectually hath bene on your behalfe alledged, purpoſed, and proued, ne by any other meanes appeareth, which doth or may empayre or take away the proufes made agaynſt you, vpon the ſaid matters and other the premiſſes:

Therfore we Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England & Metropolitane, Iudge delegate aforeſayd, calling God before our eyes, with expreſſe cõſent and aſſent of Nicholas Byſhop of London, Thomas Byſhop of Ely, Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, Syr William Peter Knight, Sir Iames Hales knyght, Griffith Leyſon, and Iohn Olyuer Doctours of the Ciuill law, Richard Goodricke & Iohn Goſnold, Eſquiers, Iudges and Colleagues with vs in the cauſes & matters aforeſayd, and with the Counſell of diuers learned men in the lawes, with whom we haue cõferred in and vpõ the premiſſes, do iudge and determine you Steuen Byſhop of wincheſter to be depriued and remoued from the Byſhopricke of wincheſter, and from all the rightes, authoritie, emolumentes, commodities and other appertenaũces to the ſayd Byſhoprike in any wiſe belongyng, what ſoeuer they be, and by theſe preſentes we do depriue and remoue you from your ſayd Byſhoprike and all rightes, and other commodities aforeſayd: and further pronounce and declare the ſayd Byſhoprike of wincheſter to all effectes and purpoſes, to be voyde by thys our ſentence diffinitiue, which we geue, pronounce, and declare in theſe writynges.

Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter depriued of hys Byſhopricke.

This ſentence diffinitiue beyng giuen, the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter, vnder his former Proteſtations, diſſented from the geuing and readyng therof, and frõ the ſame, as vniuſt, of no efficacie or effect in law: and in that, that the ſame conteineth exceſſiue puniſhment, and for other cauſes expreſſed in his appellation aforeſayd, did then and there apud Acta, immediatly after the pronouncyng of the ſentence, by worde of mouth appeale to ẏ Kynges royall Maieſty, firſt, ſecondly, and thirdly, inſtantly, more inſtantly, moſt inſtãtly, & aſked apoſtles or letters dimiſſorials to be geuen and graunted vnto him: and alſo vnder proteſtatiõ not to recede from the ſayd appellation, aſked a copy of the ſayd ſentence, ẏ Iudges declaryng that they would firſt know the Kynges pleaſure and his Counſaile therein: vpon the readyng and geuyng of which ſentence, the promoters willed William Saye and Thomas Argall to make a publicke inſtrumẽt, and the witneſſes then and there preſent to beare teſtimony therunto. &c.

Steuen Gardiner appealeth from the ſentence to the kyng.

And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe & proceſſe of Steuen Gardiner late Biſhop of Wincheſter, vnto whom the Papiſticall Clergy doth ſo much leane, as to a mighty Atlas, & vpholder of their ruinous Religion. And though I haue not herewithall ſo fully expreſſed all his letters, aunſwers, preachynges, examinations, defenſions, exhibites, and atteſtations, with the depoſitions of all ſuch witneſſes as he could and did produce for the moſt aduauntage of his owne cauſe, with ſuch notes alſo, and collections gathered vpon the ſame, as here I might, and as before I haue done, I muſt entreate the reader to cõſider firſt the greatnes of this volume which would not wel beare ẏ tedious tractation therof: and ſecondly, to cõtent him ſelf in reſortyng to our former hiſtory, where not onely he may peruſe ẏ whole diſcourſe of all this Biſhops doinges ſet forth at large: but alſo may briefly read in a few ſummary notes collected, the whole courſe of his doctrine and Iudgement touchyng what pointes in Religion he did conſent and agrée, or not agrée vnto, pag. 862.

The end of Wincheſters ſtory.

The notes and collections hereof, read in the former edition, fol. 861.

And thus an end of Wyncheſter for a while, till we come to talke of his death hereafter. Whom as we nũber amongeſt good Lawyers: ſo is he to be rekened amongeſt ignorant & groſſe Diuines, proude Prelates, and bloudy perſecuters: as both by his cruell lyfe and Phariſaicall doctrine may appeare, eſpecially in the Article of the Sacrament, and of our Iuſtification, and Images, and alſo in crying out of the Paraphraſe, not cõſideryng in whoſe perſon the thynges be ſpoken: but what the Paraphraſt vttereth in the perſon of Chriſt, or of the Euangeliſt, & not in his own, that he wraſteth vnto the author, and maketh therof hereſie, and abomination. The like impudencie and quarelyng alſo he vſeth agaynſt Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and almoſt agaynſt all other true Interpreters of the Goſpell. So blynd was his Iudgemẽt, or els ſo wilfull was his minde in ẏ truth of Chriſtes doctrine, that it is hard to ſay whether in him vnſkillfulnes or wilfulnes had greater predominatiõ. But agaynſt this Doct. Gardiner we will now ſet and match on the contrary ſide, Doct. Redman, for ſomuch as he departyng this tranſitory life the ſame preſent yeare. 1551. commeth now by courſe of hiſtory here to be mentioned. Who for his ſingular life & profound knowledge, beyng inferiour in no reſpect to the ſayd Gardiner, ſhall ſtande as great a frend in promotyng the Goſpels cauſe, as ẏ other ſéemeth an enemy by al maner of wayes to empayre & deface ẏ ſame. For the more aſſured declaratiõ wherof, we will hereto adioyne (the Lord willyng) the learned communication, betwene the ſayd Doct. Redman lying in his deathbed, and M. Wilkes, Maiſter Alexand. Nowel, Doct. Yonge, and other witneſſes moe. Wherof the ſayd M. Wylkes thus recordeth ſpeakyng in his owne perſon and his owne wordes, as foloweth.

Wincheſter a good lawyer but a naughty diuine, and a worſe biſhop.

Wincheſter as vnſkilfull as wilfull.

Doct. Redmã ſet to match *St. Gardiner.*

¶ A note of the cõmunication that I Rich. Wilkes had with Maiſter Doctor Redman being ſicke at Weſtminſter, but of good memorie. 2. Nouember. 1551. in the preſence of M. Yong, & an other whõ I did not know, & two of maiſter D. Redmans ſeruants, the one called Ellis, and the other vnknowne.

F. The foreſayd Richard Wilkes comming to Doctor Redman lying ſicke at Weſtminſter, & firſt ſaluting him after my ordinary dutye, wiſhed hym health both in ſoule and body, not doubting moreouer, but he dyd practiſe the godly counſell in hym ſelfe, which he was wonte to geue to other being in hys caſe: and thankes be to God (ſayd I) who had geuen hym ſtuffe of knowledge to cõfort hym ſelf withall. To whõ he aunſwering agayne, ſayd in thys wyſe: God of all comfort geue me grace to haue comfort in him, and to haue my mynde wholy fixed in him. Maiſter Yong and I ſaid, Amen. Thẽ I cõmuned with him of hys ſicknes & the weakenes of hys body, and ſayd that though he were brought neuer ſo low, yet he, if it were hys pleaſure that rayſed vp Lazarus, could reſtore him to health agayne. No, no ſayth he, that is paſt, and I deſire it not, but the wyll of God be fulfilled.

The communication and confeſſion of *Doct. Redmã* in his death bed.

After this or a litle other like communication, I aſked if I might be ſo bold not troublyng hym, to knowe his minde for my learnyng in ſome matters & pointes of religion. He ſayd, yea, and that he was as glad to common with me, in ſuch matters, as with anye man. And then I ſayd to hys ſeruauntes: I truſt I ſhall not trouble hym. No ſayd Ellis his ſeruant, my Lorde of London, Maiſter Nowell and other haue communed with him, and he was glad of it. Then ſayde Mayſter Redman, no you ſhal not trouble me. I pray God euer geue me grace to ſpeake the truth, and hys truth, and that which ſhall redound to hys glory, and ſend vs vnitye in hys church, and we ſayd, Amen.

I ſayd he ſhould do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to know hys mynde as touchyng the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Communication touchyng the Sacramẽt of the Lordes body & bloud.

He ſayd, as man is made of two partes, of the body and the ſoule, ſo Chriſt would feede the whole man: but what (ſayth he) be the wordes of the text? Let vs take ỷ woordes of the Scripture: and he rehearſed the text him ſelfe thus: Accepit Ieſus panē: *Chriſt tooke bread.* Wherin hys wyll was to inſtitute a Sacrament, Accipite, commedite: *take, eate.* Here he tolde the vſe of it. What dyd he geue them? Hoc eſt corpus meum, he calleth it hys body.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament.

Then I aſked hym of the preſence of Chriſt.

Vnitio.

He ſaid, Chriſt was preſent with his ſacrament, and in thoſe that receaued it as they ought. And there was Mira vnitio, a wonderfull vnion (for that woord was named betwixt Chriſt and vs) as S. Paule ſayth: Vos eſtis os ex oſſibus eius, & caro ex carne eius. *Ye bee bone of hys bones, and fleſhe of hys fleſhe.* The which vnion was ineffable.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſent corporally, naturally, and really in the Sacrament.

Then I aſked him what he thought of the opinion, that Chriſt was there corporally, naturally, and really.

He aunſwered: if you meane by corporally, naturally and really, that he is there preſent Verè, I graunt.

Corporally, that is, truly: ſo Chriſt is there otherwyſe not.

Then I aſked howe hee thought of that which was wont commonly to bee ſpoken, that Chriſt was there fleſh, bloud and bone, as I haue heard the Stewardes in their Letes geue charge when the ſixe articles ſtoode in effecte, and charge the Inqueſt to enquire, that if there were any that woulde denye that Chriſt was preſent in the Sacrament of the aultar in fleſh, bloud, and bone, they ſhould apprehend them.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be there fleſhe, bloud, and bone.

He ſayd, that was to groſſe and could not well be excuſed from the opinion of the Capernaites.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be receaued in mind and ſpirite, or with mouth and body, or with both?

Then I aſked him: in as much as Chriſt was there Verè, how do we receaue hym? in our myndes and ſpirituall partes, or with our mouthes and into our bodies, or both?

He ſayd, we receaue him in our mindes and ſoules by fayth.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſtes very body be receaued into our very bodyes or no?

Then in aſmuch as he was much in thys point, that there was Mira vnitio, a maruellous vnion betwixt vs and Chriſt, in that we were Caro ex carne eius, & os ex oſſibus eius: *Bone of hys bone, and fleſhe of hys fleſhe:* I deſired to know his opinion whether we receiued the very body of Chriſt with our mouthes, and into our bodies or no.

Here hee pauſed and helde hys peace a litle ſpace, and ſhortly after he ſpake, ſaying: I wyll not ſay ſo: I can not tell: it is a hard queſtion, but ſurely ſaith he, we receiue Chriſt in our ſoule by fayth. When you ſpeake of it other wayes, it ſoundeth groſly and ſauoureth of the Capernaites.

Queſtion. Whether that be to bee worſhipped which the prieſt ſheweth to the people betwixt his handes?

Then I aſked him what he thought of that whych the Prieſt was wont to lift vp and ſhew the people betwixt hys handes?

He ſaid it is the ſacrament. Then ſaid I, they were wont to worſhip that which was lifted vp. Yea ſayth he, but we muſt worſhip Chriſt in heauen: Chriſt is neither lifted vp nor downe. I am glad, ſayd I, maiſter Doctor, to heare you ſay ſo much. I woulde not ſpeake of the holy ſacrament otherwiſe then reuerently, but I feare leſt that ſacrament & the little white peece of bread ſo lifted vp, hath robbed Chriſt of a great part of hys honour.

Queſtion. Whether the carping about of the ſacramēt is to be allowed?

Then ſayd he, loking vp and praying, God graunt vs grace that we may haue the true vnderſtanding of his word, whereby we may come to the true vſe of his ſacramentes, and ſayd he would neuer allow the carying about of the ſacrament and other fonde abuſes about the ſame.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Then after a litle while pauſing, ſayd I: Maiſter Doctor, if I ſhould not trouble you, I woulde pray you to know your mynde in tranſubſtantiation. Ieſu maiſter Wilkes (quoth he) will you aſke me that? Syr ſaid I, not if I ſhould trouble you. No, no, I wyll tell you ſayth he: Becauſe I found the opinion of tranſubſtantiation receiued in the church, when I heard it ſpoken agaynſt, I ſearched the auncient Doctours diligently, and went about to ſtabliſhe it by them, becauſe it was receiued. And whē I had read many of thē, I found litle for it, and could not be ſatiſfied. Thē I went to the Schoole Doctors, and namely to Gabriell, and wayed hys reaſons. The which when I had done and perceyued they were no pithier, Langueſcebat opinio mea de tranſubſtantiatione, my opinion of tranſubſtantiation waxed feeble, and then (ſaith he) I returned again to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had obſerued their ſayings, mine opinion that there ſhould be tranſubſtātiation, prorſus erat abolita: was quite daſhed.

Tranſubſtantiation not to be found in the Doctours.

The ſchole Doctours deceaued in the word conſecration.

Then ſayd I, you knowe that the Schoole Doctors did holde that panis non remanebat poſt conſecrationem: that bread remayned not after conſecration, as they called it.

What is conſecration.

Conſecration ſignifieth the whole action of the Supper, and not the turning of the elementes.

The ſchole Doctors (ſayth he) did not know what conſecratio doth meane: and here he pauſed a while. I pray you, ſayd I, what ſay you that conſecratio doth meane? Sayth he, it is Tota actio in miniſtring the ſacrament, as Chriſt did inſtitute it. All the whole thing done in the miniſtery as Chriſt ordayned it, that is conſecratio: and what (ſayth he) neede we to doubt that bread remayneth? Scripture calleth it bread, & certain good autors that be of the later time, be of that opinion.

Talke betwene M. *Wilkes* & Doctour *Yonge* about D. *Redman.*

After that I had cōmuned with Mayſter Readman, and taken my leaue of him, Maiſter Yong came foorth into the next chamber with me, to whom I ſayd that I was glad to ſee maiſter Doctor Redman ſo wel minded. Then ſayd M. Yong to me, I am ſure he wyl not deny it. I enſure you ſayth he, Maiſter Doctor hath ſo moued me, that where as I was of that opinion before in certaine things, that I woulde haue burned and loſt my lyfe for them, now ſayth maiſter Yong, I doubt of them. But I ſee (ſayth he) a man ſhall knowe more and more by proceſſe of tyme, and reading and hearyng of other, and Maiſter Doctor Redmans ſaying ſhal cauſe me to looke more diligently for them.

D. Yonge ſtayed by Doctour *Redman* from hys papiſth opinion.

The opinion of Doct. *Redman* touchyng iuſtification by fayth.

Alſo Ellis Maiſter Doct. Redmans ſeruant ſhewed me, that he did know that hys Maiſter had declared to K. Henry 8. his maieſtie, that fayth onely iuſtifieth: but that doctrine as he thought, was not to bee taught the people, leſt they ſhould be negligent to do good workes.

Conſenſus Eccleſiæ is but a weake ſtaffe to leane to.

The ſayd Maiſter Yong hath reported (the whych alſo I heard) that Maiſter Doctor Redman ſhould ſay, that conſenſus Eccleſiæ, the conſent of the Church was but a weake ſtaffe to leane to, but dyd exhort him to read the ſcriptures, for there was that which ſhould comfort hym when hee ſhoulde bee in ſuch caſe as hee was then.

¶An other communication betwene Doct. Redman lying in his death bed, and M. Nowell then ſcholemaiſter in Weſtminſter, and certaine other, with notes of his cenſure and iudgement touchyng certaine pointes of Chriſtes Religion.

The confeſſion of *Doctour Redman* before M. *Nowell.*

1 IN Primis, the ſayd D. Redmā ſent for M. Nowell of his own mind, and ſayd he was willyng to commune with him of ſuch matters as he had moued ỷ ſaid Doct. Redman of a day or two before: and he beyng deſired of the ſayd M. Nowell to declare his minde concernyng certaine pointes of our Religion, firſt ſayd: aſke me what ye will, and I will aunſwere you (before God) truely as I thinke, without any affection to the world or any worldly perſon.

Witneſſes, Alexander Nowell, Richard Bourton, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

2 Item, the ſayd Doct. Redman ſayd, that the Sea of Rome in theſe latter dayes is Sentina malorum, that is, a ſinke of all euill.

Witneſſes, Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Bourton, Richard Elithorne, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

3 Item, that Purgatory, as the ſcholemen taught it and vſed it, was vngodly, and that there was no ſuch

kynde

kynd of Purgatory, as they phantaſied.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Richard Elithorne, Iohn Wright, Alexander Nowell, Edward Cratford, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Offering vp of the ſacramẽt called the ſacrifice of the maſſe.

4 Item, that the offeryng vp of the Sacrament in Maſſes and Trentals for yͤ ſinnes of yͤ dead is vngodly.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Edward Cratford, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

If the wicked receiue the body of Chriſt, or onely the ſacrament.

5 Itẽ, that the wicked are not partakers of the body of Chriſt, but receaue the outward Sacrament onely.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Elithorne, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright.

Carying about of the ſacrament diſproued.

6 Item, that the Sacrament ought not to be caryed about in proceſſion: for it is taught what is the vſe of it in theſe wordes: Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam: *Take, eate, and drinke, and do this in the remembraunce of me.*

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Burton, Iohn Wright, Ed. Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

Adoration of the Sacrament diſproued.

7 Item, that nothyng which is ſeene in the Sacrament, or perceiued with any outward ſenſe is to bee worſhipped.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas, Richard Burton.

A groſſe opinion to thinke that Chriſt is corporally eaten in the ſacrament.

8 Item, that we receaue not Chriſtes body Corporaliter, id eſt, craſſè, corporally, that is to ſay, groſly, like other meates, & like as Capernaites did vnderſtand it.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

Chriſt ſpiritually & truly eaten in the Sacrament.

9 Item, that we receaue Chriſtes body ſic ſpiritualiter vt tamen verè, ſo ſpiritually, that neuertheleſſe truly.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Burton, Ed. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

Tranſubſtantiation hath no proofe in the olde Doctors.

10 Item, as touchyng tranſubſtantiation, that there is not in any of the old Doctours any good grounde or ſure profe therof, or any mention of it, as farre as euer he could perceiue, neither that he ſeeth what cã be aunſwered to the obiections made agaynſt it.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Chriſt can neyther bee lifted vp nor downe.

11 Item, beyng aſked of M. Wilkes what that was, which was lifted vp betwene the Prieſtes handes, he aunſwered: he thought that Chriſt could neither be lifted vp nor downe.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Prieſtes mariage lawfull by Gods worde.

12 Item, that Prieſtes may by the lawe of God mary wyues.

witneſſes Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas.

Fayth onely iuſtifieth, a true doctrine.

True faith defined.

13 That this propoſition: Sola fides iuſtificat, ſo that fides ſignifie Veram, viuam, & acquieſcētē in Chriſto fidem, id eſt amplexum Chriſti: that is to ſay, that onely fayth doth iuſtifie, ſo that fayth doe ſignifie a true, a liuely, & a fayth reſtyng in Chriſt, and embracing Chriſt: is a true, godly, ſweete and comfortable doctrine, ſo that it be ſo taught, that the people take none occaſion of carnall libertie therof.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Burton, Iohn Wright, Edward Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

Workes do not merite ſaluation.

14 Item, that our workes can not deſerue the kyngdome of God and life euerlaſtyng.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

15 Item, that the ſayd Doct. Redman, at ſuch tymes as we the foreſayd perſons which haue ſubſcribed, heard hys communication concernyng the foreſayd pointes of Religion, was of quyet minde and of perfite remembraunce, as farre as we were able to iudge.

witneſſes Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edward Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

¶ Alſo Maiſter Yong of him ſelfe doth declare further, touching the former Articles in this wiſe:

¶ *To the v. Article.*

Doct. Yonges teſtimonye of *Doct. Redmãs* doctrine.

Iudas receaued the ſame that Peter did as Simon Magus receaued the ſame baptiſme as Peter dyd.

IN Primis, that Doct. Redman ſayd more, where as Saint Auguſtine ſayd: Quòd Iudas idem accepit quod Petrus, that Iudas receiued the ſame that Peter did, he ſayd that he vnderſtode that of the Sacrament, and that after the ſame phraſe a man might ſay: Quòd Simon magus idem Baptiſma recepit quod Apoſtoli, that Simon Magus receaued the ſame Baptiſme that the Apoſtles did, when he did receaue onely the outward Sacrament to his condemnation: for he ſayd that hee thought Chriſt would not vouchſafe to geue his holy fleſhe to an vngodly man: and this he ſaid was allwayes his mynde, though hee knew that other men did otherwiſe thincke.

¶ *To the ſixt Article.*

Caryng about of the Sacrament.

Item, he ſayd, he neuer lyked the cariage about of the Sacrament, and preached agaynſt it, about .xvj. yeares ſince in Cambridge.

¶ *To the x. Article.*

Tranſubſtantiation.

Item, when he was demaunded of tranſubſtantiation, he ſayd, that he had trauailed about it, and thinkyng that the doubtes which he perceiued did riſe theron ſhould be made playne by the ſcholemen, dyd read their bookes, and that after that hee had read them, the opinion of tranſubſtantiation was euery day Magis & magis languida that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no ſuch tranſubſtantiation as they made, addyng thereto that the whole Schole did not know what was ment by conſecration, whiche he ſayd was the whole action of the holy Communion.

¶ *To the xiij. Article.*

Iuſtification by fayth only.

Item, he ſayd that he did repent him that he had ſo much ſtriued agaynſt Iuſtification by onely fayth.

¶ *To the xiiij. Article.*

Workes merite not eternall life.

Item, that workes had their crowne and reward, but that they did not deſerue eternall life and the kingdome of God, no not the workes of grace: Nam donũ dei vita æterna. *For euerlaſting life is the gift of God.*

Although theſe teſtimonies aboue alledged may ſuffice for a declaratiõ touchyng the honeſt life, ſound doctrine, and ſincere Iudgement of Doct. Redman: yet (velut ex abundanti) I thought not to cut of in this place, the teſtimoniall Letter or Epiſtle of D. Yong written to M. Cheke ſpecially cõcernyng the premiſſes. Which Epiſtle of Doct. Yong, as I receiued it written by his owne hand in the Latine tongue, the copy which he him ſelfe hath not, nor can deny to be his owne, and is extãt to be read in the former booke of Actes and Monumentes, ſo I haue here exhibited the ſame faythfully tranſlated into the Engliſhe tongue, the tenour wherof here foloweth.

The letter of M. Yong written to M. Cheke concerning Doct. Redman, tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſhe.

M. Yonges letter to *M. Cheke* touchyng *D. Redman.*

ALthough right worſhypfull, I am ſtricken into no litle dampe and dolour of mynde, for the vnripe (but that it otherwiſe pleaſed almighty god) & lamẽtable death of that moſt bleſſed and learned man Doct. Redman, in ſomuch that all aſtonied with weeping and lamenting, I can not tell what to doe or thynke: yet neuertheleſſe (perceyuing it to bee your worſhips will and pleaſure, that ſo I ſhould do) as I may, call my wittes together, and purpoſe by goddes grace, here in theſe my letters, ſincerely and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man ſpeake, and confeſſe at the houre of his death as touching the controuerſies of religion, wherewith the ſpouſe of chriſte is in theſe our dayes moſt miſerably troubled and tormented.

This Doctor Redman, being continually by the ſpace of xx. yeares or ſomthing more, exerciſed in the readinge of the holy ſcripture, with ſuch induſtrye, labor, modeſty, magnanimitie, and prayers to almighty God tryed and wayed the controuerſies of religion, that in all hys doings, as he would not ſeme to approue that was eyther falſe or ſuperſtitious, ſo he would neuer improue that he thought to ſtand with the true worſhippe of God. And albeit in certayne poyntes and articles of his fayth, he ſeemed to diuerſe which were altogether ignorant of that hys ſingular grauitie, eyther for ſoftnes, feare, or lacke of ſtomacke to chaunge hys mynde and beliefe: yet they, to whome hys former lyfe and conuerſation by familiar acquayntaunce with hym was throughly knowen, with them alſo which were preſent at hys departure, may eaſely perceaue and vnderſtand, how in graue and weighty matters, not raſhely and vnaduiſedly, but with conſtant iudgement and vnfayned conſcience he deſcended into that maner of beliefe which at the tyme of his goyng out of this world, he openly profeſſed.

Commendatiō of Doct. Redmā.

I gyue your wiſdome to vnderſtand, that when death drewe neare, he caſtyng away all hope of recouerye, minded and talked of no other thing (as we which were preſente heard) but of heauen and heauenly matters, of the latter day, of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, with whom moſt feruently he deſired to bee: whoſe incredible loue towardes vs miſerable ſynners, moſt worthely and not without teares he often tymes vſed to extoll and ſpeake of: and vs which were there preſent, he earneſtly moued and exhorted to prepare our ſelues to Chriſt, to loue one an other, and to beware of thys moſt wretched & corrupt world. And beſydes that, he promiſed (calling God to wytnes therunto, to whom he truſted ſhortly to come) if any would demaunde any queſtion, that he would aunſwere hym what he thought in his iudgement to be the truth. At what tyme there were preſent maiſter Alexander Nowel, a mā earneſtly bent to ye true worſhipping of God, and one that had alway ſingularly well loued the ſayd maiſter Redman: to whom hee ſpake on this wiſe:

Exhortatiō of Doct. Redmā to them that were about hym.

M. Alexander Nowell now Deane of Paules.

Your excellent learning and puritye of lyfe I haue euer both highly fauoured, and had in admiration: and for no other cauſe (God be my iudge) I do aſke theſe things of you which I ſhall propound, but that I might learne and know of you what is your opinion and beliefe touching thoſe troublous controuerſies which are in theſe our dayes: and I ſhall receaue & approue your wordes as oracles ſent from heauen.

To whom when Doct. Redman had geuen leaue to demaund what he would, and had promiſed that he would faithfully & ſincerely anſwere (all affectiō ſet aſyde) what he thought to be the truth, M. Nowell ſayd: I woulde (quoth he) right gladly, but that I feare by my talke and cōmunication I ſhalbe vnto you ſo feble & now almoſt ſpent, a trouble & griefe. The ſaid Doct. Redmā replying: what ſhall I ſpare my carkas (quoth he) which hath ſo ſhort a tyme heare to remaine? Go to, go to (ſayd he) propound what you will. Then M. Nowel put forth certayne queſtions in order, which I will here declare: wherunto the ſayd Doct. Redman ſeuerally aunſwered, as hereafter followeth.

The fyrſt queſtion that he aſked of hym was, what he thought of the Biſhop of Rome. Unto whō D. Redmā anſwered, that the Sea of Rome in theſe our latter dayes had much ſwarued from the true religion & worſhipping of God, and is with horrible vices ſtayned and polluted: which I therfore (quoth he) pronounce to be the ſincke of all euill, & ſhortly wil come to vtter ruine by the ſcourge of God, except it do fall the ſooner to repentance: wherwith he brieſely cōplained of the filthy abuſe of our Engliſh Church.

The Sea of Rome a ſincke of all ſinne.

Being then aſked what his opinion was concerning purgatory, and what the Scholemē iudged therof, he anſwered, that the ſubtyll reaſons of the Scholemē concernyng purgatory, ſeemed to hym to be no leſſe vaine, and fryuolus, then diſagreeing from the truth: adding thereunto, that when we be rapt vp to the cloudes to meete Chriſt comming to iudgement with a great number of Angels in all glory and maieſtie, then euery one ſhallbe purged with fire as it is writtē: *The fyre ſhall go before him, and ſhall flame round about his enemies, and the fier ſhall burne in his ſight, and round about him ſhall be a great tempeſt*: ſaying that diuers of the old writers approued this his ſentence concerning purgatorye.

Purgatory.

Pſal. 97. and 50.

When he was aſked whether wicked and vngodly people in the holy cōmunion did eate the body of Chriſt, and drinke his bloud: he anſwered that ſuch kind of men dyd not eate Chriſtes moſt bleſſed fleſh, but onely tooke the Sacrament to their owne damnation: ſaying that Chriſt woulde not gyue hys moſt pure and holy fleſhe to be eaten of ſuch naughty and impure perſons, but would withdrawe hymſelf from them. And that (quoth he) that is obiected by ſaint Auguſtine, that Iudas receyued the ſelfſame thing which Peter receaued: that I think to be vnderſtanded of the externall ſacrament. And the lyke kinde of phraſe of ſpeaking (ſayd he) we may vſe concerning the baptiſme of Magus: that Simon Magus receaued that which the Apoſtles did receaue. In deede as concerning the ſacrament of the externall baptiſme, Simon Magus receaued that which the Apoſtels dyd: but that internall grace, wherewith the Apoſtels were indued, and that holy ſpirite wherwith by baptiſme they were inſpired, he lacked. And ſo (quoth he) the wicked and forſaken people, which raſhly preſume to come to the holy table of the Lorde, do receyue the ſacrament and the ſelf ſame which good and godly men receaue: but the body of Chriſt, they do not receyue, for Chriſt doth not vouchſafe to deliuer it them. And this he ſayd was his opinion & beliefe, although hee knew others to be of a contrary iudgement.

The wicked eat not the fleſh of Chriſt.

Being then after thys demaūded whether he thought Chriſtes preſence to be in the Sacrament or no, he aunſwered that Chriſt dyd gyue and offer to faythfull and Chriſtian men, hys very reall body and bloud verely and really vnder the ſacramentes of bread and wine: in ſomuch that they which deuoutly come to bee partakers of that holy foode, are by the benefite therof vnited & made one with Chriſt in hys fleſh and body. And therfore he ſayd that Chriſt dyd diſtribute hys body ſpiritually: but yet ſo ſpiritually that he gaue it truly, not ſo yet neuertheleſſe that by theſe and the lyke wordes we ſhould conceyue any groſſe or carnall intelligence, ſuch as the Capernaites once dreamed of: but that (quoth he) we might labor and endeuour to expreſſe by ſome kynde of wordes the ineffable maieſty of this myſtery. For the maner wherby Chriſt is there preſent, and miniſtreth to the faythfull his fleſh, is altogether inexplicable: but we muſt beleue (quoth he) & thinke, that by Gods mighty power and the holy operatiō of his ſpirit, this ſo notable a miſtery was made: and that heauen and earth was ioyned together in that moment, as the bleſſed man S. Gregory ſayth: the loweſt partes are ioyned with the higheſt: By which is vnderſtand that holy foode, wherby they which be regenerate by the holy ghoſt in baptiſme are nouriſhed to immortality. And further he ſayd that Chriſtes body was receaued in the ſayd ſacramēt by faith: which being receyued, both body and ſoule were quickned to euerlaſting lyfe.

How Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament.

The Capernaites groſſe errour of Chriſtes bodily preſence in the ſacrament.

Being then required to ſay his minde about tranſubſtantiation, he gaue aunſwere that he had much traueled in that poynt, and that he fyrſt much fauoured and enclined to that part which maintayned tranſubſtantiation: in ſearching the verity whereof moſt ſtudiouſly, hee had bene no litle while occupied, and found to aryſe thereabout infinite, and almoſt inexplicable abſurdities. In confuting whereof, when he had but ſmally contented himſelf, he ſayd that he toke in hand the Scholemens workes, and peruſed Gabriell and other writers of that ſorte, for that by theyr helpe and ayde hee hoped that all inconueniences whych dyd ſpryng and aryſe by mainteinance of tranſubſtantiation, might be cleane conuinced and wyped away. Of whych hys hope hee was vtterly fruſtrate (ſayd he) for that he dyd fynde in thoſe workes many fond and fantaſticall thinges, which were both to fooliſh to be recorded in writing, and alſo to be alledged about ſuch a miſtery: and truly (ſayd hee) euer after the readyng of them, my former zeale and opinion, touching the mainteinaunce of tranſubſtantiation dyd euery day more and more decreaſe, and therefore in concluſion perſwaded him ſelfe to thincke that there was no ſuch tranſubſtantiation as the Scholemen imagened and fayned to bee: ſaying that in deede the auncient wryters were plainly agaynſt the maintenance thereof: amongeſt whō he recited by name Iuſtine, Ireney, and Tertullian, notorious aduerſaries to the ſame. Furthermore he added hereunto, that the whole Schole vnderſtoode not what thys word Conſecratio was: whych he defined to bee the full and entire action of the whole Communion.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Conſecration what it meaneth.

Being demaunded alſo whether wee ought to worſhip Chriſt preſent in his holy ſupper, he told vs that we are bound ſo to doe: and that it was moſt agreeing to pietye and godly religion. Lykewyſe being aſked whether he would haue the viſible ſacrament to be worſhipped, which we ſee wyth our eyes, and is lyfted vp betwene the Prieſts handes: he aunſwered that nothing whych was viſible and to be ſeene wyth the eye, is to be adored or worſhipped, nor that Chriſt woulde be eleuated into any hygher or pulled downe into anye lower place, and that he can neyther be lyfted vp hygher, nor pulled down lower.

Nothyng to be worſhipped that may be ſeene.

The Sacramēt not to be caryed about.

Agayne, beyng aſked what his iudgement was about the cuſtome and maner in carying about the Sacrament in ſolemne pompes, proceſſions and otherwyſe: he ſayd that he alwayes miſliked and reproued that order: In ſo much that about. xvj. yeares agone openly in the pulpyt at Cambridge he ſpake agaynſt that abuſe and diſalowed that ceremonye, ſhewing that Chriſt had expreſſed by playne and euident wordes a very fruitfull and right vſe of thys ſacrament, whē he ſayd *Take ye:* (by which phraſe quoth he, he doth expreſſe that he wyll gyue a gyft): *Eate ye:* (by which wordes he doth declare the proper vſe and order of that hys precious gyft): *This is my body:* (wherby he doth euidently and playnlye ſhewe what by that gyft they ſhould receiue and how royall and precious a gyfte he would giue them): and therefore he iudged ſuch pompous and ſuperſtitious oſtentations vtterly to bee condempned and taken away as playn mockeries and coūterfayte viſars.

His iudgement alſo being aſked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembraunce of them in Oriſons, whether he thought it profitable or no: he anſwered that it ſeemed to him to be no leſſe profitable than religious and godly: and that might be wel proued out of the bookes Machabees. The which bookes although Saint Hierome adiudging as not authentike, thought good to be read in the Temples onely for the edifying of the church, & not for the aſſertion of opinions: yet with mee the opinion of the other wryters, to whome thoſe bookes are allowed as Canons, preuayleth: which he in that point thinketh good to be read.

In thys poynt the iudgement of Doctor *Redman* is not to be allowed.

Being furthermore requyred to ſhew his mynde about trentall Maſſes and Maſſes of Scala cœli, hee ſhewed them that they were altogether vnprofitable, ſuperſtitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the fylthy and impure fountayne of ſuperſtition, not yelding the fruite which they promiſed to bryng forth. The ſacrifice of the Supper of the Lord (the Euchariſt I meane) that ſacrifyce he ſaid could not be offered for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Trentall Maſſes diſproued.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe diſproued.

Finally, of hys owne voluntary will, and no man (as farre as I can call to remembraunce) demaunding of hym, he ſhewed his opinion concerning Iuſtification by Chriſt. I lament (ſayd he) and repent, beſeching God forgiuenes for the ſame, that ſo ſeriouſly and earneſtly I haue withſtand this propoſition: that onely fayth doth iuſtifye, but I alwayes feared that it ſhould bee taken to the liberty of the fleſh, and ſo ſhould defile the innocency of lyfe which is in Chriſt. But that propoſition: that onelye fayth doth iuſtify, is true (quoth hee) ſwete and full of ſpirituall comfort, if it bee truely taken and rightly vnderſtanded. And when hee was demaunded what hee thought to be the true & very ſenſe therof: I vnderſtand (quoth he) that to be the liuely faith, which reſteth in our only Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt and imbraceth him: ſo that in our onely Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt all the hope & truſt of our ſaluation be ſurely fixed. And as concerning good workes (ſayd he) they haue their crowne and merite, and are not deſtitute of their rewardes. Yet neuertheles they do not merite the kingdome of heauen. For no workes (ſayd he) could purchaſe and obtayne that bleſſed, happy & euerlaſting immortality: no nor yet thoſe things which we do vnder grace by the motion of the holy Ghoſt. For that bleſſed and immortall glory is giuen and beſtowed vpō vs mortall men, of the heauēly father for his Sonne our Sauiour Chriſtes ſake, as Saint Paule teſtifieth: *The gift of God is eternall lyfe.*

Fayth only iuſtifieth.

Workes do not merite ſaluation.

Rom.6.

And theſe bee the reſolutions which I heard him giue to the queſtions by Maiſter Nowel propoſed. From which hys ſentence & iudgement ſo heard by me & of him vttered (as I remember) I neuer declyned or varyed. I beſech our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt to ceaſſe theſe troublous ſtormes wherwith the Church is toſſed, & vouchſafe for hys holy name ſake, tenderly to behold and looke vpon hys poore wretched flocke ſo miſerably ſcattered and diſperſed, beſechyng hym alſo of hys goodnes to preſerue your worſhip. At London the thyrd of Nouember.

The iudgement of D.Yonge about the controuerſies of religion.

¶Here foloweth the hiſtory no leſſe lamenable then notable of William Gardiner an Engliſh man, ſufferyng moſt conſtantly in Portyngale for the teſtimony of Gods truth.

An. 1552.

Commyng now to the yeare next folowyng. 1552. we will ſomwhat ſteppe aſide & borow a litle leaue, coaſtyng the Seas into Portyngale amongeſt the Popiſhe Marchauntes there, whether a certaine countreyman of ours doth call me, named William Gardiner, a man verely in my iudgement, not onely to be cōpared with the moſt principall and chief Martyrs of theſe our dayes, but alſo ſuch one, as the auncient Churches in the tyme of the firſt perſecutions, can not ſhewe a more famous: whether we do behold the force of his fayth, his firme and ſtedfaſt conſtantnes, the inuincible ſtrength of his ſpirite, or the cruell and horrible tormentes: the report onely and hearyng wherof, were enough to put any mā in horror or feare. Yet notwithſtādyng ſo farre it was of that the ſame did diſcourage hym, that it may bee doubted whether the payne of his body, or the courage of his minde were the greater, when as in deede both appeared to be very great.

The ſtory of *William Gardiner*, moſt cruelly Martyred at *Liſbbone* in Portugale.

Wherefore, if any prayſe or dignity amongeſt men, (as reaſon is) bee due vnto the Martyrs of Chriſt for their valiaunt actes, this one man amonges many, ſeemeth worthy to bee numbred and alſo to bee celebrate in the Church wyth Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatius, Greſcentius, and Gordianus. And if the Church of Chriſt do receceyue ſo great and manifolde benifits by theſe Martyrs, with whoſe bloode it is watred, by whoſe aſhes it is enlarged, by whoſe conſtancye it is confirmed, by whoſe teſtimonye it is witneſſed, and finally through whoſe agonies and victoryes the truth of the Goſpell doth gloriouſly trymph: let not vs then thynke it any great matter, to requyte them with our duety agayne, by committing them vnto memory, as a perpetuall token of our good will towardes them. Albeit, they them ſelues receyue no glory at our handes, and much leſſe challenge the ſame: but referre it wholy vnto the Lord Chriſt, from whom it came whatſoeuer great or notable thyng there was in thē. Notwithſtandyng, for ſo much as Chriſt him ſelfe is glorified in his Saintes, we cannot ſhewe our ſelues thankefull vnto him, except we alſo ſhew our ſelues duetifull vnto thoſe, by whom his glory doth increaſe.

W. Gardiner comparable with the Martyrs in the primatiue Church.

What duetie is to be geuē of Chriſtians to the bleſſed Martyrs paſt.

The memory of Chriſtes Martyrs not to be forgottē.

Hereupon I thinke it came to paſſe, that ẏ auncient Chriſtiās in ẏ tyme of ẏ firſt perſecutiōs, thought good to celebrate yearely cōmemorations of ẏ Martyrdome of thoſe holy men: not ſo much to honor thē, as to glorifie God in his ſouldiours, vnto whom all glory & prayſe doth worthely belong: & moreouer, that we beyng inſtructed by their examples, might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of thoſe warres, to ſtād more ſtoutly in battaile agaynſt our aduerſaries, & learne ẏ more eaſily to cōtemne & deſpiſe this world. For in cōſidering ẏ end & death of theſe mē, who wil greatly lōg or luſte after this life, which is ſo many wayes miſerable, through ſo many afflictiōs dolorous, through ſo many caſualties ruinous, wherin cōſiſteth ſo litle cōſtācie & leſſe ſafetie, beyng neuer free frō ſome hard calamitie one or other? What good man would haue this world in reputation, wherein hee ſeeth ſo many good men ſo cruelly oppreſſed, and wherein no man can lyue in quietnes, except he be wicked? Wherfore I do not a litle marueile, that in this great ſlaughter of good men with ſo many ſpectacles & examples of cruell torment, Chriſtians do yet lyue as it were drowned in the fooliſh deſires of this world, ſeing dayly before their eyes ſo many holy and innocent men yeld vp theyr ſpirites vnder the handes of ſuch tormentours, to lye in filthy priſons, in bondes, darkenes, and teares, and in the end to be cōſumed with fire. We ſee ſo many Prophetes of God, euen Chriſt hym ſelfe the ſonne of God, to be ſo cruelly and many wayes afflicted in this world, tormoyled,

How it came to paſſe that the primatiue Church had yearely commemorations of Martyrs.

Superſtition in honouring Martyrs.

What profite commeth by memory of Martyrs to vs.

The world geueth quietnes to the wicked ſpecially.

Good mē moſt afflicted in thys world.

led, ſcourged & crucified : and yet we laugh, drinke, and giue our ſelues vnto all loſenes of lyfe and all laſciuiouſnes. For honour and great poſſeſſions wee contend : we build : we ſtudy and labour by all meanes to make our ſelues rich. Unto whom it doth not ſuffice, that we with ſafety and fredome from their afflictions, rackes, wheeles, ſcourges, yrons read hoate, gredirons, fleſh hookes, mallettes, and other kyndes of tormentes, may ſerue our Chriſt in peace and quyet: but beyng herewith not content, will gyue ouer our ſelues to all kynde of wickednes, to bee lead away at the will and pleaſure of Sathan?

But what doe we thynke in ſo doyng? Either we muſt recken thoſe mē to be moſt miſerable in this life, or els our ſelues to be moſt vnhappy. But if their bleſſednes be moſt certayne and ſure, then let vs direct the courſe of our lyfe to ẏ ſame felicity. Theſe mē haue forſakē thys lyfe, which they myght haue enioyed. But if we can not willingly put of this lyfe, yet let vs not bee ſlow to amend & correct ẏ ſame: and though we can not dye with thē in lyke martyrdome, yet let vs mortifye ẏ worldly & prophane affections of ẏ fleſh which ſtriue againſt ẏ ſpirit, & at the leaſt let vs not thus rūne headlong into the licencious deſires of the world, as we do. As the life of Chriſten men is now, I pray thee, what do theſe bondes, priſons, theſe woūdes & ſcarres, theſe great fires, and other horrible tormentes of Martyrs, then vpbrayde vnto vs our ſlouthfull ſluggiſhnes, and worthely make vs aſhamed therof? Which Martyrs if in theyr liues they lyued ſo innocently, & in their death continued ſo conſtant, what then is to be deemed of vs which ſuffer nothing for Chriſt, and will not take vpon vs the ſmall conflict againſt vices and our own affections? Howe woulde we ſuffer the cruell lookes of Tyrannes, the fearefull kindes of torments, or the violent aſſaultes of the tormentors in any quarell of godlines, if in peace and quietnes we are ſo faynt harted, that with euery ſmal breath or winde of temptation we are blowen away from God, and without any reſiſtaunce are caryed headlong into all kinde of wyckednes and miſchiefe? One ſingeth ſonges of loue: an other watcheth all the night at dice: ſome ſpend theyr lyfe & time day by day in hawking and hunting: ſome typple ſo at tauernes, that they come home reeling. Others, whatſoeuer deſire of reuēge doth put into their heads, that by and by they ſeeke to put in practiſe. Some gape after riches: ſome ſwell with ambition: ſome thynke that they are borne for no other purpoſe, but for pleaſure and paſtime. All the world is full of iniurye and periurye: nay rather it is ſo rare a thing patiently to ſuffer iniuries done vnto vs, that except we haue the ſleight to do iniury to other, we think our ſelues ſcarſe men. There is no loue almoſt nor charitie amongeſt men: neyther is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of hys neighbour.

The ſufferinges of Martyrs be leſſons to vs, to pluck vs from thys world.

The great difference betwen Chriſtes Martyrs that haue bene, and the lyfe of Chriſtians which now is.

But amongeſt all the reſt, vnſatiable couetouſnes and auarice ſo raigneth, that no mā almoſt is now contented with any tolerable eſtate of lyfe, eyther that wyll preſcribe him ſelfe any meaſure in hauing that he poſſeſſeth, or in proling for that which he lacketh: neuer quiet, but allwayes toyling, neuer ſatiſfied, but allwaies vnſatiable. Wherby it ſo commeth, that the myndes of Chriſten men, being occupied in ſuch worldly carckes and cares, can ſcarſelye finde any vacante leyſure to thinke vppon heauenly thinges: and yet notwithſtanding with theſe myndes we wyll needes ſeme Chriſtians. But now ſetting apart theſe complaintes ſpent in vayne, we wyll proſecute our purpoſed ſtorye touching good William Gardiner.

The firſt bringing vp and trade of *W. Gardiner.*

And firſt as concerning his kynred, he was of an honeſt ſtocke, borne at Briſtow, a towne of Marchandiſe on the Sea coaſt of England, honeſtly brought vp, and by nature geuen vnto grauitie, of a meane ſtature of body, of a comely and pleaſant countenance, but in no part ſo excellēt as in the inward qualities of the minde, which he allwayes from hys childhoode preſerued without ſpot of reprehenſion. Alſo his hanſome and indifferent learning did not a litle commende and beautifie hys other ornamentes. When hee grewe vnto thoſe yeares at which younge men are accuſtomed to ſettle theyr myndes to ſome kinde of lyfe, it happened that he gaue him ſelfe to the trade of marchandiſe vnder the conducte and guiding of a certayne Marchaunt of Briſtow called Maiſter Paget, by whom hee was at the laſt (being of the age of .xxvj. yeares, or there about,) ſent into Spayne, and by chaunce the ſhip arriuing at Liſhborne (which is the chiefe Citie of Portugale) he taried there about his marchandiſe. Where, at the laſt he hauing gotten vnderſtanding of the language & being accuſtomed vnto their maners, became a profitable ſeruant both vnto his maiſter and others, in ſuch thinges as pertayned vnto the trade of that vocation. Wherunto he did ſo apply himſelfe, that neuertheleſſe he in that popiſh countrey reſeruing ſtill the religion of hys own countrey of England, euer kept him ſelfe ſound and vndefiled from the Portugales ſuperſtition. There were alſo beſides him diuers other good men in the ſame Citie. Neither did he lacke good bokes or the conference of good and honeſt men: vnto whom he would often times bewayle his imbecillity & weakenes, that he was neyther ſufficiently touched with the hatred of hys ſinnes, neyther yet enflamed wyth the loue of godlines.

***William Gardiner* followeth the trade of marchandiſe.**

The godly diſpoſed minde of *William Gardiner.*

Whileſt he was there abiding, it happened that there ſhould bee a ſolemne mariage celebrate the fyrſt day of September in the yeare aboue ſayd, betwene two Princes: to ſay, the ſonne of the kyng of Portugale, and the Spaniſhe kinges daughter. The mariage day being come, there was great reſort of ẏ Nobilitie and Eſtates. There lacked no biſhops with Myters, nor Cardinals with their hats to ſet out this royall wedding. To bee ſhorte, they went forward to the wedding with great pompe: where a great concourſe of people reſorted, ſome of good will, ſome for ſeruice ſake, & ſome (as the maner is) to gaze & looke. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole Citie, as in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed, and al places were filled wyth myrth and gladnes. In this great aſſembly of the whole kingdome, William Gardiner, who, albeit he did not greatly eſteeme ſuch kinde of ſpectacles, yet being allured through the fame and reporte thereof, was there alſo, comming thether early in the morning, to the intent he might haue the more oportunitie and better place to behold and ſee.

A ſolemne mariage betwen the king of Portugales ſonne and the Spaniſh kinges daughter, in Portugale.

The houre beyng come, they flocked into the church with great ſolemnitie and pompe: the king firſt, & then euery Eſtate in order. The greater perſons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all thinges were ſet in order, they went forward to the celebrating of theyr Maſſe: for that alone ſerueth for all purpoſes. The Cardinall did execute, wyth much ſinging and organe playing. The people ſtoode wyth great deuotion and ſilence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knockyng, theyr myndes being fully bent and ſet (as it is the maner) vppon the externall ſacrament. Howe greeuouſly theſe thinges dyd pricke and moue this young mans mynde, it can not be expreſſed, partly to beholde the myſerable abſurditie of thoſe thinges, and partly to ſee the folly of the common people: and not onely of the common people, but ſpecially to ſee the king him ſelfe and hys Counſail, with ſo many ſage and wiſe men (as they ſeemed) to be ſeduced with like Idolatrie as the common people were: In ſo much that it lacked very litle, but that he would euē that preſent day haue done ſome notable thing in the kings ſight and preſence, but that the great preaſſe and throng that was about hym, letted that he could not come vnto ẏ altar. What neede many wordes? When the ceremonies were ended, he commeth home very ſad and heauy in his mynde: in ſo much that all hys fellowes marueiled greatly at hym:

A popiſhe celebration of a mariage.

The godly zeale of *William Gardiner* in ſeeing the idolatrie of the people & the great diſhonouring of God.

Who albeit vpon diuers coniectures they conceyued the cauſe of hys ſadnes, notwithſtanding they dyd not fully vnderſtand that thoſe matters ſo much troubled hys godly minde: neither yet did he declare it vnto any man, but ſeeking ſolitarynes and ſecrete places, falling downe proſtrate before God, with manifold teares bewayled the neglecting of hys dutye, deliberating wyth him ſelfe how he might reuoke that people from theyr impietie and ſuperſtition.

William Gardiner cleareth his bookes of accomptes.

In this deliberation & aduiſe hys minde beyng fully ſetled, and thinkyng that the matter ought not to be any lõger differred, hee renounced the worlde, makyng vp all his accomptes ſo exactly (as well of that which was due vnto hym, as that which hee ought vnto others) that no man could iuſtly aſke ſo much as one farthyng. Which thyng done, he continued night and day in prayer callyng vpon God, and continuall meditation of the Scriptures, that ſcarſely he would take any meate by day, or ſlepe by night, or at the moſt, aboue an houre or two of reſt in the night, as Pendigrace his felow, companion both at bed and bourd beyng yet alyue, can teſtifie.

William Gardiner continuing in watching and prayer.

William Gardiners aduiſed preparation to the accompliſhment of hys purpoſe.

The Sonday came agayne to bee celebrate either with lyke pompe and ſolemnitie, or not much leſſe, whereas the ſayd William was preſent earely in the mornyng, very cleanly apparelled euẽ of purpoſe, that he might ſtand neare the altar without repulſe. Within a while after commeth the kyng with all his nobles. Then Gardiner ſetteth hym ſelf as neare the altar as hee might, hauyng a Teſtament in his hand, the which he diligẽtly read vpon, and prayed vntill the tyme was come that he had appoynted to worke his feate. The Maſſe began, which was then ſolemniſed by a Cardinall. Yet he ſatte ſtill. Hee which ſayd Maſſe, proceded, hee conſecrated, ſacrificed, lifted vppe on hye, ſhewed his God vnto the people, all the people gaue great reuerence, and as yet he ſtyrred nothyng. At the laſt they came vnto that place of the Maſſe where as they vſe to take ẏ ceremoniall Hoſte & toſſe it to & fro round about the Chalice, makyng certayne circles and ſemicircles. Thẽ ẏ ſaid W. Gardiner, not beyng hable to ſuffer any longer, ranne ſpedily vnto the Cardinall: and (which is vncredible to be ſpoken) euen in the preſence of the kyng and all his Nobles and Citizens, with the one hand he ſnatched away the cake from the Prieſt, and trode it vnder his feete, and with the other hand ouerthrew the Chalice. This matter at the firſt made them all abaſhed, but by and by there roſe a great tumulte, and the people began to cry out. The Nobles and the common people ranne together: amongeſt whom, one drawing out his Dagger, gaue him a great wounde in the ſhoulder, and as he was about to ſtrike hym agayne to haue ſlayne hym, the Kyng twyſe commaunded to haue hym ſaued. So by that meanes they abſteyned from murther.

The Cardinall at his Maſſe.

William Gardiner plucketh the Cardinalls Idoll out of hys handes at Maſſe, as he was leaping about the Chalice.

William Gardiner wounded with a dagger.

William Gardiner brought before the kyng.

The oration of *William Gardiner* before the kyng.

After the tumult was ceaſſed, he was brought vnto the kyng: by whom he was demaunded what countrey man he was, and how he durſt be ſo bold to worke ſuch a contumely agaynſt his Maieſty, and the Sacramentes of the Church? He aunſwered: moſt noble kyng, I am not aſhamed of my countrey, which am an Engliſhe man both by byrth and Religiõ, and am come hyther onely for trafficke of Marchaundiſe. And when I ſawe in this famous aſſembly ſo great Idolatry committed, my conſcience neither ought neither could any longer ſuffer, but that I muſt nedes do that which you haue ſeene me preſently doe. Which thyng (moſt noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproch of your preſence, but onely for this purpoſe (as before God I do clearely confeſſe) to ſeeke the onely ſaluation of this people.

The ſuſpition of the Portingales vpon the facte of *William Gardiner.*

When they heard that he was an Engliſh man, and called to remembraunce how the Religion was reſtored by king Edward, they were by & by brought in ſuſpition, that he had bene ſuborned by Engliſh mẽ thus to doe, to mocke and deride their Religiõ. Wherfore they were the more earneſt vppon him to know who was the author and procureur that hee ſhould commit that act. Unto whom he aunſwered, deſiryng them that they woulde conceaue no ſuch ſuſpition of hym, for ſo much as he was not moued therunto by any man, but onely by his owne conſciẽce. For otherwiſe there was no man vnder the heauẽ, for whoſe ſake he would haue put him ſelf into ſo manifeſt daunger: but that he ought this ſeruice firſt vnto God, and ſecondarily vnto their ſaluation: wherefore if he had done any thyng which were diſpleaſaunt vnto them, they ought to impute it vnto no man, but vnto them ſelues, which ſo vnreuerently vſed the holy Supper of the Lord vnto ſo great Idolatry, not without great ignominye vnto the Church, violation of the ſacramentes, and the perill of their owne ſoules, without they repented.

The aunſwer of *William Gardiner* to the falſe ſuſpition of the Portugales.

Whileſt that he ſpake theſe with many other things more vnto this effect very grauely & ſtoutly, the bloud ran abundantly out of the wounde, ſo that he was ready to faint. Wherupon Surgeons were ſent for, wherby he might be cured if it were poſſible, and be reſerued for further examination, & more greuous torment. For they were fully perſuaded that this deede had diuers abbettors and ſetters on: which was the cauſe that all the other Engliſhe men alſo in the ſame Citie came into ſuſpition, and were commaunded to ſafe cuſtody. Amõgeſt whom, Pendigrace, becauſe he was his bedfelow, was greuouſly tormented and examined more then the reſidue, and ſcarcely was deliuered after two yeares impriſonment. The other were much ſooner ſet at libertie at the interceſſion of a certaine Duke. Notwithſtandyng theyr ſuſpition could not yet bee ſatiſfied, but they came vnto his chamber to ſeke if there were any letters, to vnderſtand and finde out the author of this enterpriſe. And when as they could finde nothyng there, they came agayne vnto him being greuouſly woũded, with tormentes to extorte of hym the author of this facte, and to accuſe him as giltye of moſt greuous hereſie. Of both which pointes, with ſuch dexteritie as he coulde, hee cleared him ſelfe. Wherin, albeit hee ſpake the Spaniſh tounge well, yet he vſed the Latine tounge much more exactely.

Pendigrace bedfellow to *W. Gardiner,* impriſoned vpon ſuſpition.

W. Gardiners chamber ſearched.

But they not beyng therwith ſatiſfyed, added an other ſtraunge kynde of torment, which (as I ſuppoſe) paſſeth the Bull of Phalaris. Bicauſe there ſhoulde no kynde of extreme cruelty be left vnaſſayd, they cauſed a linnen cloth to be ſowed rounde like a ball, the which they with violence put down his throte vnto the bottome of his ſtomacke, tyed with a ſmall ſtryng which they held in theyr handes, & when it was down, they pulled it vp agayne with violence, ſo pluckyng it to and fro through the meate pype, in ſuch ſort as with much leſſe griefe they might haue ryd hym out of his lyfe at once.

The Bull of *Phalaris* a certayne tyranne, was a kind of tormẽt made of braſſe lyke a Bull, with fyre vnder it to torment ſuch as were put into it, and make them to roare lyke a Bull.

Thus at the laſt, when all tormentes & tormenters were weryed, and that it did nothyng at all preuayle to go this way to worke, they aſked hym whether hee dyd not repent his wicked and ſeditious deede. As touching the deede, he aunſwered that it was ſo farre of that hee did repent, that if it were to do agayne, he thought hee ſhould do the ſame. But as touchyng the maner of the deede, he was not a litle ſory that it was done in the kynges preſence to the diſquietnes of his minde. Howbeit that was not to bee imputed vnto him, which neither enterpriſed or thought vpon any ſuch matter, but rather to be aſcribed vnto the kyng, in that he hauyng power, would not prohibite ſo great Idolatry vſed among his people. This he ſpake with great feruency.

W. Gardiner not repenting hys facte.

After they had vſed all kynde of tormentes, and ſaw that there could nothyng more be gathered of hym, and alſo that through hys woundes and paynes he could not long lyue, they brought hym three dayes after to execution. And firſt of all, bringyng him into the Veſtry, cut of his right hand, which hee takyng vp with his left

The ryght hand of *W. Gardiner* cut of in the Veſtry.

The iuſt hand of W. Gardiner cut of in the market place.

hand, kiſſed. Then he was brought into the market place, whereas his other hand alſo was cut of: which he kneelyng downe vpon the ground, alſo kiſſed. Theſe thynges thus done after the maner and faſhion of Spayne, his armes beyng bounde behynd hym, and his feete vnder the horſe belly, he was caryed to the place of execution.

William Gardiner caryed to the place of execution.

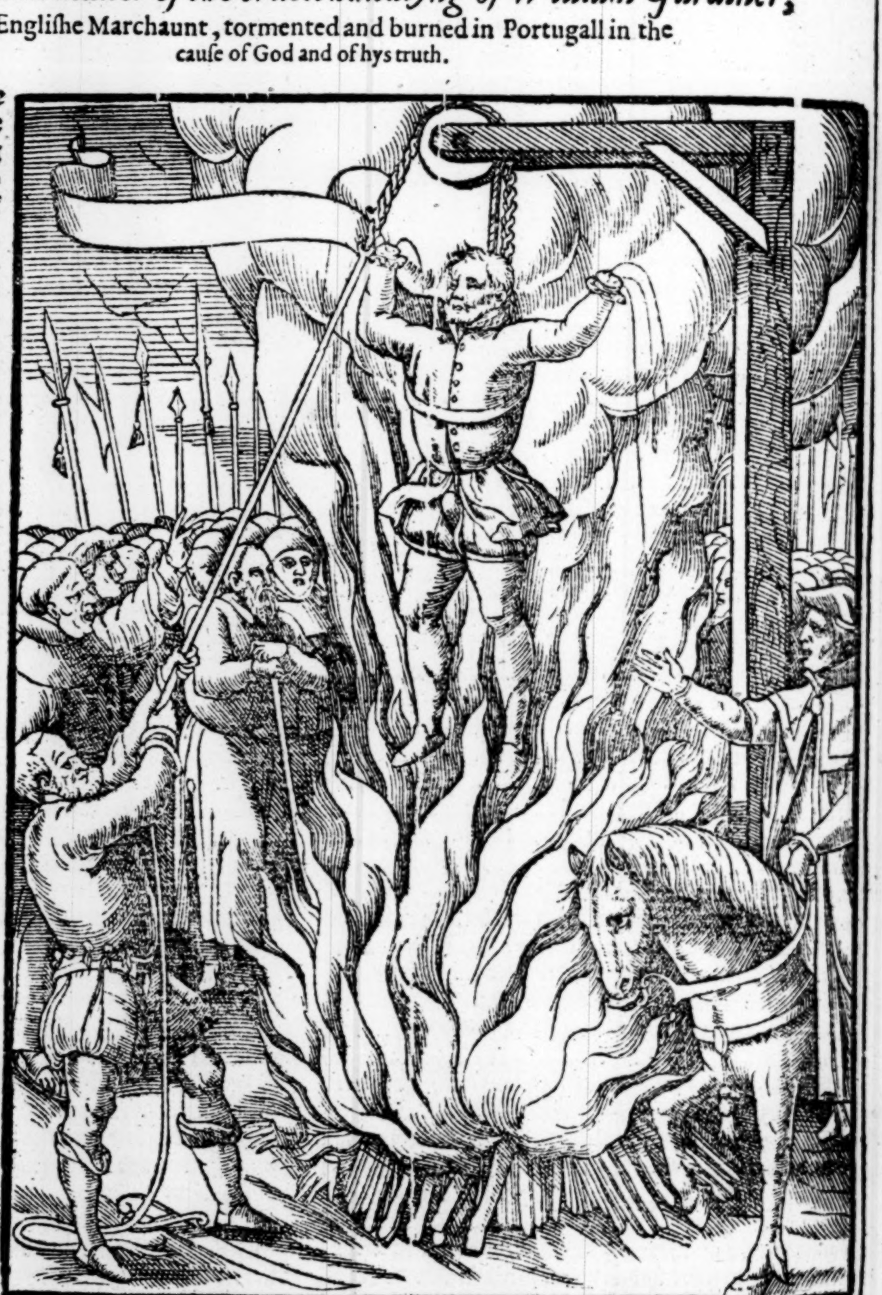
The order and maner of the cruell handlyng of William Gardiner,

an Engliſhe Marchaunt, tormented and burned in Portugall in the cauſe of God and of hys truth.

The Martyrdome of William Gardiner.

The wretched crueltie of the Portugales in burning a Chriſtian Martyr.

There was in that place a certaine engyne, frō the which a great rope cōming down by a pully, was faſtned about the myddle of thys Chriſtian Martyr, which firſt pulled hym vp. Thē was ther a great pile of wood ſet on fire vnderneath him, into the which hee was by little and little let downe, not with the whole body, but ſo that his feete onely felt the fire. Then he was hoyſed vp, and ſo let downe agayne into the fyre, and thus oftentymes pulled vppe and downe. In which great torment for all that, he continued with a conſtant ſpirite: and the more terribly hee burned, the more vehemently he prayed.



W. Gardiner at hys burning willed agayne to repent.

At the laſte when hys feete were conſumed, the tormētors aſked him whether he did not yet repent him of his dede, and exhorted hym to call vppon our lady & the ſaintes. Wherunto he aunſwered, that as hee had done nothyng whereof he dyd repēt him, ſo he had the leſſe neede of the helpe of our Lady or any other Sainct: and what externall tormentes ſoeuer they vſed, the truth (hee ſayd) remayneth alwayes one and lyke vnto it ſelfe: the which as hee had before confeſſed in his lyfe, ſo would he not now denye it in hys death, deſiring them to leaue of ſuch vanities and follye. For when as Chriſt did ceaſſe any more to bee our Aduocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Aduocate, and ſayd: O eternall God, father of all mercies, I beſech thee loke downe vppon thy ſeruaunt. &c. And whē as they ſought by al meanes poſſible to ſtoppe his praying and prayſing God in this ſorte, he cryed out with a loud voyce, rehearſing the xliij. Pſalm: Iudica me deus & diſcerne cauſam meā, de gente non ſancta. *Iudge me O God, and defend my cauſe agaynſt the vnmercifull people.*

W. Gardiner would not pray to our Lady, ſo long as he had Chriſt to be hys aduocate.

The prayer of W. Gardiner out of the xliij. Pſalme.

Hee was not come vnto the latter endyng of the Pſalme, when as they pullyng hym vp and downe in the fire for the more torment, the rope beyng burnt a ſonder, hee fell downe in the middeſt therof: wheras geuyng his body for a ſacrifice, he chaunged his temporall paynes for perpetuall reſt and quyetnes.

Thus it ſemed good in the ſight of God, by this meſſenger to prouoke the Portugales to the ſincere knowledge of hym: and therefore they ought the more to haue acknowledged the great loue and kyndnes of God offred vnto them, and alſo the more to bee myndefull of their owne ducty and thankefulnes towardes hym. And if it be ſo great an offenſe to violate the ordinaunces of mans law, and to contemne the Ambaſſadours of Kynges and Princes, let the Portugalls and all other loke well vnto it, what it is ſo cruelly to handle the heauenly meſſenger of the hygh God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether vnreuenged by the mighty hand of God, when as not onely the very ſame night, amongeſt diuers of the Kynges ſhyppes which were in the nexte hauen ready to ſayle, one was burned, beyng ſet on fire by a ſparcle of Gardiners fire driuen thether with the wynde, but alſo the Kyngs ſonne which was then maryed, dyed within halfe a yeare, and the next yeare after the Kyng hym ſelfe alſo dyed, and ſo both within one yeare after the tormentyng of this bleſſed Martyr.

A leſſon to the Portugales.

The iuſt hand of God vpon perſecuters.

It is reported that that ſparcle lighted amongſt gunpowder.

Thus the body of the ſayd Gardiner beyng conſumed, yet the rage and furye of the common people ſo ceaſſed not, but they were as cruell agaynſt him being dead, as they were when he was alyue, and with theyr tounges tormented this innocent Martyr, when they could do no more with their handes: yea for very madnes they would ſcarce tary vntill he were burned, but euery man as they could catch any peece of hym halfe burned, threw it into the Sea.

The blinde and miſerable crueltie of the Portugales agaynſt a poore Engliſhe man.

This Sacrifice thus ended, the Clergy, to pacifie Gods wrath which they feared, for the violatyng of theyr altar appoynted a ſolemne faſt of certein dayes, for penance to purge that fact, which fact rather ſhould haue taught them to purge them ſelues & to put away their filthy Idolatry, and much rather they ſhould haue faſted and repented for that their extreme cruelty they had ſhewed vnto the liuely member of Chriſt.

A Popiſhe faſt for pacifying the wrath of theyr God of the Altar.

Albeit this death of William Gardiner ſeemeth to haue profited very many of them litle or nothyng: yet for all that, there are ſome (as I haue heard diuers report) out of whoſe myndes the remembraunce of this conſtaunt Martyr can neuer be pulled, and is ſo freſhe yet amongeſt them, as if it were now lately done: and finally, albeit it bee a good while ſince he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as frutefull ſeede, hath taken ſuch roote in ſome, that euen vnto this preſent day, he is a liuely and diligent preachyng vnto them, agaynſt ſuperſtition and Idolatry vſed in theyr Churches. Ex teſtimonio N. Fildi, Pendigrace, & aliorum, qui rei geſtæ interfuerunt.

¶ The tragicall hiſtory of the worthy Lord Edward Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, with the whole cauſe of his troubles and handlyng.

1552.

The ſtory of the Lord Protector Duke of Somerſet.

After ſo many troublous matters in this hyſtory aforepaſſed, commyng nowe to the lamentable and tragicall narration of the Lord Edward Duke of Somerſet, the kynges Vncle, and Protector of his perſon and of his Realme, I could not well enter into the ſtory of hym, without ſome premonition firſt to all noble perſonages, of what honor or callyng ſo euer within this Realme, by way of hyſtory briefly to admoniſhe them, no man to plante any truſt or aſſurance vpon the brickle pillors of worldly proſperitie, how hygh ſo euer it ſeemeth, conſideryng that there is no ſtate ſo hygh but it hath his ruine, no wiſedome ſo circumſpect, but it may be circumuēted, no vertue ſo perfect, but it may bee enuyed, neyther any mans trade ſo ſimple, but it may be begiled. And therefore ſeeing the condition of mortall thinges is ſo, that no man can allwayes ſtand in this ſo ruinous a world: the ſureſt way is euery man to chuſe hys ſtanding ſo, that his fall may be the eaſier. But becauſe my purpoſe is (as I haue ſayd in the ſtories before) to abridge and make ſhort, I wil here ſtay, referring to the ſecrete conſideration of that which remayneth further by me in this matter to be vttered: and ſo falling in to the ſtorye of the Lorde Protectour Duke of Somerſet, we wyll (the Lord wylling) declare in order the originall and whole occaſion of hys trouble and decay euen from the beginning.

Worldly proſperitie not to be truſted vnto.

Kyng Edward, after that both hys father and mother were dead, had three Vncles left hym by hys mothers ſide, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Semer, of the which two firſt, one was made Protectour of the Realme, and the other hygh Admirall of ẏ ſame. Theſe two brethren, ſo long as they were knit and ioyned together in amitie and concorde, preſerued both them ſelues, the kyng theyr Nephew, and the whole common wealth from the violence and feare of all daunger. But ẏ ſubtill olde Serpent allwayes enuying mans felicitie, through ſclaunderous tounges ſought to ſow matter, firſt of diſcord betwene them, then of ſuſpition, and laſt of all, extreme hatred: In ſo much that the Protector ſuffered hys brother being accuſed (whether truly or falſely the Lord knoweth) to bee cōdemned, and to loſe his head. Wherby it came to paſſe (whether by the correction of Gods iudgemēt vpō him, or whether that he after ẏ death of hys brother, & the King being yet but yong and tender of age, was the leſſe able to ſhift for himſelf) that not long after he was ouermatched and ouerthrowen of his enemies, & ſo caſt into ẏ Tower, and at laſt loſt his head alſo, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the ſequele of this hyſtory followeth to be declared.

Concorde maketh brethren ſtrong.

Syr Thomas Semer Lord Admirall.

For the better introduction of which hiſtorye, fyrſt to begyn with the foreſayd brother of the Lorde Protector, namely Syr Thomas Semer, hygh Admirall of England, and the Kinges Vncle, here is to bee vnderſtand that he had maryed Queene Katherine late wife to K. Henry. VIII. of whō ye heard before pag. 1422. Now it happened (vpō what occaſiō I knowe not) that there fell a diſpleaſure betwixt ẏ ſayd Queene and the Duches of Somerſet, and therupon alſo in the behalfe of theyr wiues, diſpleaſure and grudge began betwene the brethren. Which albeit through perſwaſion of frendes it was for a time appeaſed betwene them: yet in ſhort ſpace after (perchaunce not without the priuye ſetting forward of ſome which were backfriendes to the Goſpell) it brake out agayne, both to the trouble of the Realme, and eſpecially to the confuſion of them both, as after it proued. Fyrſt to the Lorde Admirals charge it was layde that hee purpoſed to deſtroy the young kyng, and tranſlate the crowne vnto him ſelfe, and for the ſame being attainted and condemned, dyd ſuffer at Tower hyll the xx. of March, an. 1549. As many there were which reported that the Duches of Somerſet had wrought hys death: ſo many moe there were, who miſdoubting the long ſtanding of the Lord Protector in his ſtate and dignitie, thought and affirmed no leſſe, but that the fall of the one brother would be the ruine of the other: the experiment wherof as it hath often bene proued, ſo in theſe alſo eftſoones it enſued.

Diſpleaſure betwene the Queene and the Duches of Somerſet.

Diſcorde betwene the L. Protectour and the Lord Admirall hys brother.

The Lord Admirall beheaded at Tower hyll.

En quò diſcordia fratres perducit miſeros.

It was not long after the beheading of the Lorde Admirall, but inſurrections began to kyndle the ſame yeare in diuers quarters of the Realme, as is aboue ſtoried. By the occaſion whereof the Lord Ruſſel, lord priuy Seale, was ſent to the weſt partes, & Lord Dudley Earle of Warwike was ſent with an armye into Northfolke: where both he him ſelfe and a great number of Gentlemen that were wyth him, meeting wyth the Rebels were in great daunger: notwithſtanding in the ende the ouerthrowe was geuen to the Rebels, which was about the beginning of September. 1549. After this victorie achiued, in ẏ next moneth following, which was October, how the matter fell out betwene the Lord Protector and certayne other Lords, I know not, but at the returne of the Earle of Warwike aforeſaid, great working and conſultation there was among the Lordes, aſſembling them ſelues in the houſe of maiſter Yorke, and at Baynardes Caſtell, and in the Lord Maiors houſe at London, againſt the Lord Protector remaynyng then with the kyng at Hampton Court. Of the which buſines and trouble thus the Lord Protector writeth in hys letters to the Lord Ruſſell in the Weſt countrey as followeth.

John Dudley Earle of Warwicke afterward Duke of Northumberland.

Diſcorde betwene the Earle of Warwicke and the L. Protector.

¶ A letter of the Lorde Protector to the Lorde Ruſſell Lorde priuie Seale, concerning troubles working againſt him.

A letter of the Lord Protector to the Lord priuie Seale.

After our right harty commendations to your good Lordſhip: here hath of late riſen ſuch a conſpiracie againſt ẏ kings Maieſtie & vs, as neuer hath bene ſeene, the which they can not mayntaine, but wyth ſuch vaine letters and falſe tales ſurmiſed, as was neuer ment nor entended on vs. They pretende and ſay, that we haue ſold Bolloigne to the French, and that we do wythholde wages from the ſouldiers, and other ſuch tales and letters they doe ſpread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wyſh to lyue) the matter now being brought to a maruelous extremitie, ſuch as we would neuer haue thought it could haue come vnto, eſpecially of thoſe mē towardes the kings Maieſty & vs, of whō we haue deſerued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauour and loue. But the caſe being as it is, thys is to requyre and praye you to haſten you hether, to the defence of the kinges Maieſtye, in ſuch force and power as you may, to ſhew the part of a true Gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing wee truſt God ſhall rewarde and the kinges Maieſty in time to come, and we ſhal neuer bee vnmyndfull of it to. we are ſure you ſhall haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your dutye to the kinges Maieſty, we require you to make no ſtay, but immediately repayre with ſuche force as ye haue, to hys hyghnes in his Caſtell of wyndſore, and cauſe the reſt of ſuch force as ye may make, to follow you. And ſo we bid you right hartely farewell. From Hampton court, the ſyxt of Octob.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing frend
Edward Somerſet.

¶ *An aunſwere to the L. Protectours letter.*

The effecte of the Lorde *Ruſſelles* letter aunſweryng to the L. Protector.

To this letter of the Lord Protectour ſent the vj. of Octob: the Lord Ruſſell returnyng aūſwere again vpō the viij. of the ſayd moneth, firſt lamenteth the heauy diſſenſion fallen betwene the nobilitie and hym, which he taketh for ſuch a plage, as a greater could not be ſent of almighty God vpon this realme, being the next way (ſaith he) to make vs of conquerous, ſlaues, and like to induce vpon the whole Realme an vniuerſall calamitie and thraldome, vnleſſe the mercifull goodnes of the Lord do helpe, and ſome wiſe order be taken in ſtaying theſe great extremities. And as touching the Dukes requeſt in his letters, for as much as hee heard before of this broyle of the Lordes, and feared leſt ſome conſpiracie had bene ment agaynſt the kynges perſon, he haſted forward with ſuch company as he could make, for the ſuretie of the king, as to him apperteined. Now perceauyng by the Lordes letters ſent vnto hym the ſame vj. day of Octob. theſe tumultes to ryſe vpon priuate cauſes betwen him and them, he therfore thought it expedient that a conuenient power ſhould be leuyed, to be in readynes to withſtand the worſt (what perils ſoeuer might enſue) for the preſeruation both of the kyng, and ſtate of the Realme from the inuaſion of foreine enemies, and alſo for the ſtaying of bloudſhed, if any ſuch thyng ſhould be intēded betwixt the partes in the heate of this faction. And this he thynkyng beſt for diſcharge of his allegeaunce, humbly beſecheth hys grace to haue the ſame alſo in ſpeciall regard and conſideration, firſt that the Kynges Maieſtie be put in no feare, & that if there be any ſuch thyng wherin he hath giuen iuſt cauſe to them thus to procede, he will ſo conforme him ſelfe, as no ſuch priuate quarels do redound to the publicke diſturbance of the Realme: certifying moreouer the Duke, that if it were true which hee vnderſtādeth by ẏ letters of ẏ Lordes, that he ſhould ſend about proclamations and letters for rayſing vp of the commons, he liked not the ſame. Notwithſtandyng he truſted wel, that his wiſedome would take ſuch a way, as no effuſion of bloud ſhould folow.

The cōtentes of the ſecond aūſwere of the *Lord Ruſſell*, to the Lord Protectour.

And thus much beyng conteined in his former letters of the viij. of Octob. in his next letters again written the xj. day of Octob. the ſayd Lord Ruſſell reioyſing to heare of the moſt reaſonable offers of the Lord Protector made to the Lordes, writeth vnto him & promiſeth to do, what in the vttermoſt power of him (and likewiſe of ſir W. Harbert ioyned together with him) did lie, to worke ſome honorable reconciliation betwen him and them: ſo as his ſayd offers beyng accepted & ſatiſfied, ſome good concluſiō might inſue, accordyng to their good hope and expectation: Signifiyng moreouer that as touchyng the leauying of mē, they had reſolued to haue the ſame in readynes for the benefite of the Realme, to occurre all inconueniences, what ſoeuer either by foreine inuaſion or otherwiſe might happen, and ſo hauyng their power at hand, to drawe neare, whereby they might haue the better oportunitie to bee ſollicitors and a meanes for this reformation on both parties &c. And thus much for aunſwere of the Lord Ruſſell to the Lord Protectours letters.

The good *Lord Ruſſell* a ſollicitor for peace betwene the Lord Protectour and the Lordes.

The Lordes of the Cōſell aſſembled agaynſt the L. Protector.

But now to the matter agayne of the Lordes, who together with the Earle of Warwicke (vpon what occaſion God knoweth) being aſſēbled at London, as ye heard, againſt the L. Protector: when ẏ kyng with his Counſell at Hampton Court heard therof, firſt Secretary Peter with ẏ kynges meſſage was ſent vnto thē, whom the Lordes notwithſtandyng deteined ſtill with them, makyng as yet no aunſwere to the meſſage. Wherupon the Lord Protector writeth to them in this maner as foloweth.

¶ A letter of the L. Protectour to the Counſell at London.

The Lorde Protectours letter to the Lordes of the Cūſaile at London.

My Lordes, we commend vs moſt hartely vnto you, and whereas the Kynges Maieſtie was informed that you were aſſembled in ſuch ſort as you do and now remayne, and was aduiſed by vs and ſuch other of hys Counſell as were then here about his perſon, to ſend Maſter Secretary Peter vnto you with ſuch a meſſage as whereby might haue inſued the ſurety of hys Maieſties perſon, with preſeruation of hys Realme and ſubiectes, and the quyet both of vs and your ſelues, as Maſter Secretary can well declare to you: his Maieſtie and we of his Counſell here do not a litle maruell that you ſtay ſtill with you the ſayd mayſter Secretary and haue not, as it were, vouchſaued to ſend aūſwere to his maieſtie, neither by him nor yet any other. And for our ſelues we do much more maruel and are right ſory, as both we and you haue good cauſe to bee, to ſee the maner of your doynges bent with force of violence, to bryng the kyngs Maieſtie and vs to theſe extremities. which as we doe intend if you will take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and our allegeāce doth bynd vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who geueth victory as it pleaſeth him: ſo if that any reaſonable cōditiōs & offers would take place (as hetherto none hath bene ſignified vnto vs from you, nor we do not vnderſtād what you do require or ſeke or what you do meane) and that you do ſeeke no hurt to the Kynges Maieſtie perſon: as touchyng all other priuate matters, to auoyde the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, & to preſerue the Kynges Maieſties perſon, hys Realme and ſubiectes, you ſhall finde vs agreable to any reaſonable conditions that you will require. For we doe eſteme the Kynges wealth and tranquilitie of the Realme, more then all other worldly things, yea thē our own lyfe. Thus praying you to ſend vs your determinate aūſwere herein by maiſter Secretary Peter, or if you will not let hym go, by this bearer: we beſech God to giue both you and vs grace to determine this matter, as may be to Gods honor, ẏ preſeruation of the kyng, and the quyet of vs all: which may bee if the fault be not in you. And ſo we bid you moſt hartely fare well. From the Kynges Maieſties Caſtell of wyndſore the vij. of October. 1549.

No [illegible] hetherto ſent from the Lordes to the Lord Protectour, what they required of hym to do.

Reaſonable conditions offred by the lord Protectour.

Your Lordſhyppes louyng frend *E. Somerſet.*

A ſolemne watch commaunded in London.

After theſe letters receaued and the reaſonable conditions of the Lord Protectour offered, & yet not much regarded of the Lordes, they perſiſtyng ſtill in their intended purpoſe, toke this aduiſe: firſt to kepe them ſelues in the Citie of London, as ſtrong as they might: and therfore callyng vppon the Maior and the Aldermen, they willed thē in any caſe to prouide a good & ſubſtanciall watch by night, and a good warde by day, for the ſafegarde of their Citie, and the portes and gates therof: which was conſented vnto, and the Companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and warde accordingly.

The Citie of London preſſed with 500. mē to fetch the Lorde Protectour.

The aunſwere of the L. Maior to the Lordes.

The lordes aſſembled in the lord Maiors houſe.

Then the ſayde Lordes and Counſaylers demaunded of the Lord Maior and his brethren. v. hundred men to ayde them to fetch the Lorde Protector out of Winſore from the King: but thereunto the Maior aunſwered that he could graunt none ayde without the aſſent of the common Counſaile of the Citie. Wherupon the nexte day a common counſayle was warned. But in this meane time the ſayd Lordes of the Counſayle aſſembled them ſelues at the Lord Maiors houſe of London, who then was Syr Henry Amcottes Fiſhmonger, and William Lock Mercer, and Syr Iohn Aileph Sheriffes of the ſayd Citye, and there the ſayd Counſayle dyd agree and publiſh a Proclamation forthwyth agaynſt the Lord Protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth.

Firſt that the Protector by his malitious and euyll gouernment, was the occaſion of all the ſedition that of late happened wythin the realme.

2 The loſſe of the kinges peeces in Fraunce.

3 That he was ambitious and ſought hys own glory, as appeared by building of moſt ſumptuous and coſtly houſes in the tyme of the kinges warres.

The effect of the proclamation ſet out agaynſt the Lord Protectour.

4 That he eſteemed nothing the graue counſell of the Counſaylours.

5 That he had ſowed diuiſion betwene the nobles, the gentlemen, and the commons,

6 That the nobles aſſembled them ſelues together at London for none other purpoſe but to haue cauſed the Protector to haue liued within limites, and to haue put ſuch order for the ſuretie of the kings Maieſtie as appertained: whatſoeuer the Protectors doinges were, which they ſayd were vnnaturall, ingrate, and trayterous.

7 That the Protector ſlaundered the Counſayle to the king, and did that in hym lay, to cauſe variance betwene the kyng and the Nobles.

8 That he was a great traytor, and therefore the lordes deſired the Citye and Commons to ayde them to take him from the kyng.

And in witnes and teſtimony of the contentes of the ſayd proclamation, the Lordes ſubſcribed their names, which were theſe.

The Lord Rich Lord Chauncellour.
The Lord S. Iohn L. great Maiſter and Preſident of the Counſell.
The L. Marques of Northampton.
The Earle of Warwicke Lorde great Chamberlaine.
The Earle of Arūdell L. Chamberlaine.
The Earle of Shrewſbury.
The Earle of Southāptō Wriotheſley.
Syr Tho. Cheyney knight, treaſurer of the kings houſe & L. Warden of the Cinque portes.
Sir Ioh. Gage knight, Conſtable of the Tower.
Syr W. Peter knight, Secretary.
Syr Edward North Knyght.
Sir Edw. Mountague chief Iuſtice of the common place.
Syr Rafe Sadler.
Syr Iohn Baker.
Syr Edw. Wootton.
Doctor Wootton Deane of Cant.
Syr Rich. Southwell.

The lordes comming into the Guild hall.

After the aforeſayd proclamation was proclaymed, the Lords or the moſt part of them ſtill continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guilde hall, during the time that the Lord Maior and hys brethren ſat in their Court or inner chamber, and entred & communed a long while with the Maior, and at the laſt the Maior and hys brethren came forth vnto the common Counſaile, where was read the kings letter ſent to the Maior and Citizens, commaunding them to ayde hym with a thouſand well appointed men out of their Citie, and to ſend the ſame in all ſpede to hys Caſtle at Wynſore.

This letter by name was directed to Syr Henry Amcottes Knight Lord Maior, to Syr Rouland Hill Knight Maior electe, and to the Aldermen and common Counſell of the Citie of London. The day and date of the letter was the vj. of Octob. in the third yeare of his reigne, beyng aſſigned with the hand of the kyng, and of the Lord Protectour, the contentes of which letter, for the ſatiſfaction of the reader are here to be ſéene in maner and forme as foloweth.

The coppye of the kinges letter ſent to the L. Maior, Aldermen and Citizens of London, in the behalfe of the Lord Protector.

EDWARD. ¶ *By the King.*

TRuſtie & welbeloued we grete you well. we charge and commaunde you moſt earneſtly to giue order withall ſpede for the defence and perſeruation of that our Citie of London for vs, and to leauy out of hand and to put in order as many as conueniently you may, well weapened and arayed, kepyng good watch at the gates, and to ſend vs hether for the defence of our perſon, one thouſand of that our Citie of truſtie and faithfull men to attende vppon vs and our moſt entirely beloued Uncle Edward Duke of Somerſet Gouernour of our perſon and Protectour of our Realmes, dominions, and ſubiectes, well harneſſed, and with good and conuenient weapon: ſo that they doe make their repayre hether vnto vs this night, if it bee poſſible, or at the leaſt to morow before none, and in the meane tyme to do what as appertaineth vnto your duety for ours and our ſayd Uncles defence agaynſt all ſuch as attempt any conſpiracy or enterpriſe of violence agaynſt vs or our ſayd Uncle, and as you know beſt for our preſeruation and defence at this preſent. Yeuen vnder our ſignet at our honour of Hampton Court the vj. of October the third yeare of our raigne.

You ſhall further giue credite to our truſty and welbeloued Owen Cleydon the bearer hereof, in all ſuch thynges as hee ſhall further declare vnto you on the behalfe of vs and our ſayd Uncle the Lord Protectour.

Edward Somerſet.

This letter of the king and of the Lorde Protectour was not ſo ſecretely deuiſed, nor ſo ſpéedely ſent, but the Lordes kéeping at London, had knowledge immediately thereof (by the meanes as ſome ſuppoſe, of the the Lord Paget, who was then with the King and the Protector, but the truth ẏ Lorde knoweth) being there ready furniſhed with their own bands of ſeruing men and other ſouldiours, and men of armes. Who forthwith vpon the ſame addreſſed their letters in ſemblable wyſe to the ſayde Lorde Maior and Aldermen, in the kinges name, not onely for ſupportation of armed men to ſerue their purpoſes, and for a ſufficient watch to fortifie their Citie, but alſo that they ſhoulde not obey any ſuch letters, proclamations, or Iniunctions ſent to them from the Duke. Which letter of the Lordes at the ſame inſtance came likewiſe to the Lord Maior and his brethren, the. vj. day of the ſaid moneth of October. The tenour and copy of which letter here enſueth.

¶ To our very good Lord the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of London.

The letter of the Lords ſent to the Lorde Maior and Counſell of Londō, againſt the Lord Protectour.

AFter our ryght hartye commendations vnto your good Lordſhip: knowing your hartye fauour and earneſt zeales to the preſeruation of the perſon of the kinges Maieſtie and of this realme, and other his maieſties Realmes and dominions, we haue thought good to aduertiſe you, that notwithſtanding all the good aduiſe and counſell that we could geue to the Duke of Somerſet to ſtay hymſelfe within reaſonable limites, and to vſe his gouernment now in the tender age of his maieſtie in ſuch ſort as might tend to hys highnes ſuretye, to the conſeruation of his eſtate, and to his own honour: the ſayd Duke neuertheles ſtill continuing in his pride, couetouſnes, and ambition, ceaſeth not dayly by all the wayes and meanes hee can deuiſe, to enrich him ſelfe without meaſure, and to impouerish hys Maieſtye. He buildeth in foure or fyue places moſte ſumptuouſly, and leaueth the poore ſoldiours vnpayd of their wages, vnuictualled and in all thinges ſo vnfurniſhed, as the loſſes lately ſuſtayned to the greateſt diſhonour that euer came to the kyng & this Realme, do declare. He ſoweth dayly diuiſion betwene the Nobles and Gentlemē, and the Commons. He rewardeth and entertayneth a number of thoſe that were Captaines of the Commons in theſe late Inſurrections: and finally in ſuch wyſe ſubuerteth all lawes, Iuſtice, and good order (as it is euident) that putting hys truſt in the Commons, and perceiuing that the Nobles and Gentlemen ſhoulde be an impediment to hym in hys deuiliſh purpoſes, he laboureth firſt to haue them deſtroyed, and thinketh after eaſely inough to atchieue hys deſyre, which it appeareth plainly is to occupye the kinges Maieſties place: For hys doinges, whoſoeuer lyſt to beholde them, doe manifeſtly declare that he myndeth neuer to render account to his Maieſty of his proceedinges,

Crimes layd to the Lorde Protectour by the Lordes.

Iuſte iudicate filij hominum.

Theſe thyngs, with many moe to long to recite, cōſidered, we pondered with our ſelues that either we muſt trauell for ſome reformation, or we muſt in effect as it were conſent with hym to the deſtruction of our ſoueraigne Lord and Countrey. wherupon laying a part all reſpectes, and reſtyng onely vppon our dueties, we ioyned in Counſell and thought quietly to haue treated the matter with him. who perceiuyng that we ioyned for the kyng & would haue ſuch order as might bee for the ſuretie of his Maieſties perſon and the common wealth, ſtreight put him ſelfe in force and reſteth at playne point (as it appeareth) either to go through with his deteſtable purpoſe in ſorte as hee hath done, or to trye it by the ſword. Now for aſmuch as we ſee preſently that vnleſſe there be a reformation, the perſon of the Kynges Maieſtie is in moſt certeine daunger, & this Realme our naturall Countrey like to be deſtroyed with all our poſterities, lyke as we haue agayne fully reſolued with Gods helpe, either to deliuer the Kynges Maieſtie and the Realme from this extreme ruine and deſtruction, or to ſpend our lyues for the declaratiõ of our faythfull hartes and dueties: ſo knowyng your harty good willes and trouth to his Maieſtie, and therefore nothyng doubtyng of your readynes to ioyne with vs in our godly purpoſe, we thought good to let you know the very trouth of our enterpriſe, and in the Kynges Maieſties behalfe to require you, not only to put good and ſubſtantiall order for watch & ward, but alſo to haue an earneſt continuall regarde to the preſeruation within your Citie of all harneis, weapons, and munitions, ſo as none be ſuffered to be conueyed to the ſayd Duke, nor any others attendyng about him: and beſides that, you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commaundementes to be ſent from the ſayd Duke. And thus we byd your Lordſhyp moſt hartely farewell. Frõ London the vj. of October.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louyng frendes

W. Saint Iohn.
W. Northampt.
Iohn Warwicke.
Arundell.
Th. Southamptõ.

William Peter.
Edward North.
Iohn Gage.
Rich. Southwell.

The Citie of London vrged with two contrary letters at one inſtant.

After the receiuing of theſe two letters aboue mencioned, the one from the king, the other frõ the Lords, which came both at one inſtant with contrarye commaundement to the Lord Maior and Citizens of London, the caſe ſeemed hard to them, and verye doubtfull (as it was in deede) what way to take, and what were beſt for the Citizens to do. On the one ſide the name & authoritie of the kyng was much. On the other ſide the power and garriſons of the Lordes, lying then in Londõ, was not litle, which ſemed then to be ſuch as would haue no repulſe. The caſe thus ſtãding perplexedly, fyrſt by the mouth of ỹ Recorder it was requeſted that the Citizens would graunt theyr ayde rather vnto the Lords, for that the Protector had abuſed both ỹ Kings Maieſtie, and the whole Realme, and that without he were taken from the king and made to vnderſtand his folly, this realme was in great hazard, and therfore required that the Citizens woulde willingly aſſent to ayde the Lordes with. v. C. men.

The Recorder ſpeaketh for the Lordes.

Hereunto of a great part of the common Counſaile was no nother anſwer made but ſilence. But the Recorder (who at that tyme was M. Broke) ſtyll cryed vpon them for aunſwere. At the laſt ſtepped vp a wyſe and good Citizen named George Stadlow, and ſayd:

M. Broke Recorder then of London.

The graue Oration of a diſcrete Citizen ſpeaking for the kyng, whoſe name was *George Stadlow* a Parlament man.

In this caſe, it is good for vs to thincke of thinges paſt to auoyde the daunger of thinges to come. I remember (ſayth he) in a ſtory written in Fabians cronicle of the warre betwene the king and hys Barons, which was in the time of kyng Henry the. iij. and the ſame time the Barons (as our Lordes do now) demaũded ayde of the Maior and City of London, and that in a rightfull cauſe for ỹ common weale, which was for ỹ execution of diuers good lawes againſt the king, which would not ſuffer thoſe lawes to be put in executiõ: and the Citye did ayde them, and it came to an open battel, and the Lordes preuailed agaynſt the king, and tooke the king & hys ſonne priſoners, & vpon certain conditions the Lords reſtored the king and his ſonne againe to theyr liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the king ſhould not onely graunt his pardon to the Lordes, but alſo to the Citizens of London: the which was graunted, yea and the ſame was ratified by act of Parliament. But what followed of it? Was it forgotten? No ſurely, nor forgeuen neither, during the kinges life. The liberties of the Citye were taken away, ſtraungers appointed to bee our heades and gouernors, the Citizens giuen away body and goods, and from one perſecution to an other were moſt miſerably afflicted. Such is it to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon ſaith: *The wrath and indignation of a Prince is death*. Wherefore, for aſmuch as this ayde is requyred of the kinges Maieſtie, whoſe voyce we ought to harken vnto, for he is our high ſhepheard, rather then vnto the Lordes, & yet I would not wyſh ỹ Lords to be clearely ſhaken of: my counſell is that they with vs, & we with thẽ may ioyne in ſute, & make our moſt humble petition to the kinges Maieſty that it woulde pleaſe hys highnes to heare ſuch complaint agaynſt the gouernment of the Lorde Protector, as may bee iuſtly alledged and proued, and I doubt not, but this matter wyll be ſo pacified, that neither ſhall the king, nor yet the Lordes haue cauſe to ſeeke for further ayde, neither we to offend any of them both.

Diuiſion betwene the Lordes and *K. Henry*. 3.

Of thys read before pag. 412.

The wrath of a kyng not raſhly to be prouoked.

After this tale the Commons ſtayed, and the Lorde Maior and his brethren for that time brake vp, till they had further communed with the Lordes. To make ſhort, I let paſſe what order by the Citie was taken. But the concluſion was, that the Lordes (vppon what occaſion I know not) ſat the nexte day in Counſayle in the Starre chamber, and from thence ſent Syr Phillip Hobby with their letter of credence to the kynges Maieſtie, beſeeching his maieſty to geue credite to that which the ſayd Syr Phillip ſhould declare vnto his maieſtie in their names: and the king gaue hym libertye to ſpeake, and moſt gently heard all that he had to ſay. Who ſo handled the matter, declaring hys meſſage in the name of the Lordes, that in the ende the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kings preſence, and ſhortly was committed to warde in a tower within the Caſtle of Wynſore called Beluchamp tower: and ſone after were ſtayed Syr Thomas Smith, Maiſter Whalley, Maiſter Fiſher, and many other Gentlemen that attended vpon the Lorde Protectour. The ſame day the Lordes of the Counſayle reſorted to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector, and the other that were there ſtayed, and conueyed them through the City of London vnto the Tower, and there left them.

Here is to be noted that the Citie leuied 500. mẽ, but they were not ſent.

The Lord Protector cõmitted to priſon in Wyndſore caſtle.

The Lorde Protector committed to the Tower.

Shortly after the Lordes reſorted vnto the Tower and there charged the Lorde Protectour with ſundry Articles as folow.

¶ *Articles obiected agaynſt the Lord Protector.*

1. Articles obiected agaynſt the Lord Protectour.

1 IN Primis, you tooke vpon you the office of Protectour and Gouernour vpõ condition expreſſely and ſpecially, that you would do nothyng in the kynges affayres, publickly or priuatly, but by the aſſent of the late kynges executours.

2 Alſo you, contrary to the ſaid condition, of your owne authority, dyd ſtay and let iuſtice & ſubuerted the lawes, aſwell by your letters as by your commaũdements.

3 Alſo, you cauſed diuerſe perſons being arreſted and impriſoned for treaſon, murder, manſlaughter and fellony to be diſcharged & ſet at large, againſt the kinges lawes, and ſtatutes of this realme.

4 Alſo, you haue made and ordeined Lieftenants for the kinges armies and other weighty affaires vnder your owne writing and ſeale.

5 Alſo, you haue communed with the Ambaſſadours of other realmes, diſcourſing alone with them the waighty cauſes of this realme.

6 Alſo, you haue ſometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, aſwell priuatly as openly, diuers of the kinges moſt honorable Cõſaillers for ſhewing and declaring their aduiſes & opinions againſt your purpoſes in the kinges weighty affaires, ſaying ſome tymes to them that you neede not to open matters vnto them, and would therfore be otherwiſe aduiſed: and that you would, if they were not agreable to your opinion, put them out & take other at your pleaſure.

The mercifull working of the Lorde for the Lord Protector.

7 Alſo, you had and helde againſt the law in your own houſe, a court of requeſtes, and therby did enforce diuers the kings ſubiectes to aunſwere for their freeholdes and goods, and determined the ſame to the ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

The Lord Protector deliuered out of the Tower.

8 Alſo you being no officer without the aduiſe of the Counſaill or the more part of them, did diſpoſe of the offices of the kinges gifte, for money, and graunted leaſes and wardes of the kinges, and gaue preſentations to the kinges benefices and biſhoprikes, hauing no authoritye ſo to do. And farther you dyd meddle with the ſelling of the kinges landes.

9 Alſo

9. 9 Alſo, you commaunded multiplicatiō and Alcumiſtry to be practiſed, to abuſe the kinges coyne.

10. 10 Alſo, you cauſed a proclamation to be made concerning encloſures, wherby the common people haue made diuers inſurrections and leuied open warre, and diſtreined and ſpoyled diuerſe of the kinges ſubiectes, which proclamation went forth againſt the will of the whole Counſaill.

11. 11 Alſo, you haue cauſed a commiſſion, with certaine articles therunto annexed, to be made out concerning encloſures of commons, highwayes, decaying of Cotages, and diuerſe other thinges, geuing the commiſſioners authoritye to heare and determine the ſame cauſes, to the ſubuerſion of the lawes & ſtatutes of this realme: wherby much ſedicion, inſurrection, and rebellion haue riſen and growen among the kinges ſubiectes.

12. 12 Alſo, you haue ſuffred the rebelles and traytors to aſſemble and to lye in campe and armour againſt the king, his nobles and gentlemē, without any ſpeedy ſubduing or repreſſing of them.

13. 13 Alſo, you did comfort and encourage diuerſe of the ſayd rebelles by geuing of them diuerſe ſummes of your own money, and by promiſing to diuerſe of them, fees, rewardes, and ſeruices.

14. 14 Alſo, you in fauour of the ſayd rebells did, againſt the lawes, cauſe a proclamation to be made that none of the ſayd rebells and traytours ſhould be ſued or vexed by any perſon for any their offences in the ſayd rebellion, to the cleare ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

15. 15 Alſo, you haue ſayd in the time of the rebellion, that you liked well the doings and procedings of the ſayd rebells and traytours, and ſaid that the couetouſnes of the gentlemen gaue occaſion to the common people to ryſe: ſaying alſo that better it were for the commons to dye, then peariſh for lacke of liuing.

16. 16 Alſo, you ſayd that the lordes of the parliament were loth to encline them ſelues to reformation of encloſures and other thinges: therfore the people had good cauſe to reforme the thinges themſelues.

17. 17 Alſo you, after the reporte and declaration of the defaultes and lackes reported to you by ſuch as did ſuruay Bulleine and the peeces there, would neuer amende the ſame defaultes.

18. 18 Alſo, you would not ſuffer the kinges peeces beyond the ſeas called New hauen, and Blackneſt, to be furniſhed with men and vittaylles, although you were aduertiſed of the defaultes therin by the captaines of the ſame peeces and others, and were therto aduertiſed by the kinges Coūſail: wherby the french king being the kings open enemye was encouraged and comforted to inuade and winne the ſayd peeces to the kinges great loſſe and diſhonor of his realme.

19. 19 Alſo, you declared and publiſhed vntruely, aſwell to the kinges maieſtie as other the younge lordes attendant vpon his graces perſon, that the lordes of the Coūſaill at London minded to deſtroy the king, and you required the king neuer to forgette it, but to reuenge it: and likewiſe you required the yonge lordes to put the king in remembraunce therof, to the entent to make ſedition and diſcord betwene the king and his lordes.

20. 20 Alſo, where the kinges maieſties priuy Counſaill of their loue and zeale that they dyd beare vnto the kinge and his realme, did conſult at London to haue communed with you, to the entent to moue you charitably to amende your doyngs and miſgouernement, you hearing of their ſayd aſſembly, dyd cauſe to be declared by letters in diuers places, the ſayd lordes to be high traytors to the King, to the great diſturbance of the Realme.

The merciull woorking of the Lorde for the Lord Protector.

The Lord Protector deliuered out of the Tower.

And thus much hetherto concernyng the firſt trouble of the Lord Protector Duke of Somerſet, with the crimes and Articles obiected agaynſt him, with his priſonment alſo in the Tower, and the terrible proclamation giuen out againſt him. All which purpoſes of man, though they ſeemed fully intended to no leſſe, but to the ſpillyng of his lyfe: yet the Lord aboue, the onely diſpoſer of all mens purpoſes, ſo ordered the matter by the meanes of the kyng laboryng for his Uncle, that in ſhort while after he was let out of the Tower, and the proclamation, which before had made hym a traytour, within iij. dayes was called in agayne (a Domino factū eſt iſtud) and commaundement giuen none of them to bee ſolde. And ſo the Duke of Somerſet graciouſly eſcapyng this aduerſitie, was agayne reſtored, though not to hys former office, yet vnto libertie: wherein he continued the ſpace of ij. yeares and two dayes.

The ſecond trouble of the Duke of Somerſet.

The Duke of Somerſet agayne brought to the Tower.

After the which tyme of reſpite being expired, the ſayd Duke of Somerſet was apprehended and committed againe to the Tower, and with hym alſo Syr Michael Stanhop, Syr Raufe Vane, Syr Miles Partrige & other, &c. At length the tyme beyng come of hys arrainement, the foreſayd good Duke beyng conueyed from the Tower was brought through Londō with the Axe of the Tower before him, and with great preparaunce of billes, halbardes, pykes, and pollaxes, in moſt forcible wiſe: a watch alſo ſet and appoynted before euery mans doore through the hye ſtreet of London, and ſo was hee brought into Weſtmynſter Halle, where the Lordes of the Counſell ſittyng as his Iudges in the middle of the Hall vpon a new Scaffold, hee was there before thē arrained and charged both with treaſon and felony.

The vile tauntes of certeine Iuſtices and others ſitting in iudgement agaynſt the good Duke of Somerſet.

The great patience of the Duke of Somerſet in taking rebukes.

The diſcrete behauiour of the Duke in aunſwering for him ſelfe.

The hartie affection of the people toward the Duke of Somerſet.

The Duke of Somerſet cōdemned of fellonie.

Statut. an. 5. Reg. Edw. 6.

The Duke of Somerſet accuſed for ſeeking the death of the Duke of Northumberland.

In the whiche Iudgement, I paſſe ouer the vnſeemelye ſpeach, the vyle tauntes and deſpytefull rebukes, without all modeſty or honeſty, vſed by certeine of the Sergeātes and Iuſtices, and ſome other ſittyng there. All which notwithſtandyng hee patiently and quyetly did ſuffer, neither ſtormyng inwardly in ſtomacke, nor reuylyng them with woordes agayne: but lyke a Lambe folowyng the true Lambe and example of all mekenes, was contented to take all thynges at their handes, and with no leſſe patience to beare now their vngentle and cruell raylynges, then he did before their glaueryng woordes and flatterynges in tyme of his hygh eſtate and proſperitie. And as the patience of this good Duke was maruelous in forbearyng his enemyes, ſo alſo was his diſcretion and temperaunce no leſſe ſeene in aūſwering for him ſelf to ŷ Articles to him obiected: wherunto he wiſely and ſubſtancially replied, puttyng hym ſelfe in the end to be tryed by his Peeres. Who then at length after cōſultation had, did frame & temper their verdict thus, that as concernyng the caſe of treaſon, wherwith he was charged, they diſcharged him, but they accounted him gilty of felonye. When the people (which were there preſent to a great number) heard the Lordes ſay, not giltye (meaning by the caſe of treaſon) ſuppoſing no leſſe, but that he had bene clearely acquited by theſe wordes, and eſpecially ſeing the Axe of the Tower to bee caryed away, for great ioy and gladnes made an outcrye, well declaring their louing affection and harty fauour vnto the Duke, whoſe lyfe they greatly deſired. But this opinion of the people was deceaued, & the innocent Duke condemned to dye for fellonye. Which acte of fellonye had ben made a lytle before againſt the Rebels, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, ſuch as ſhould ſeeke or procure the death of any Counſailour, ſo that euery ſuch attempte and procurement, according to the Act, ſhoulde be iudged fellonye. By the vertue of which Act, the Duke beyng accuſed wyth certaine other his complices, to intende and purpoſe the death of the Duke of Northumberland, and of certayne beſide, was therefore caſt and condemned of fellony, and ſo was returned toward the Tower agayne. At whoſe paſſage through the Citie, great exclamations and outcryes were made agayne of the people, ſome reioyſing that he was acquited, ſome bewayling that he was condemned.

Thus the good Duke paſſing through a great part of the Citie, landing at the Crane of the vyntrye, was conueyed vnto the Tower, where he endured tyll the 22. day of January. Upon which day at the comming downe of the letter of execution from the king and the Counſayle, the foreſayd Duke and Uncle to the kyng, being found no traytour, onely being caſt by the Act of fellony, was delyuered vnto the Shriues, & ſo brought to the place of execution. Touching which execution a few woordes here would bee beſtowed in deſcribyng

An.1552.

the wonderfull order and maner therof, accordyng as it hath faythfully bene ſuggeſted to vs vpon the credite of a certeine noble perſonage, who not onely was there preſent at the deede doyng, but alſo in a maner next vnto hym vppon the Scaffold, beholdyng the order of all thynges with hys eyes, and with his penne alſo reportyng the ſame in order and maner as here foloweth.

An.1552.

In the yeare of our Lord.1552.the 22.day of January, in the ſixt yeare of the reigne of kyng Edward the ſixt, he being yet vnder age & gouernance of Tutours: the noble Duke of Somerſet, vncle to kyng Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and accordyng to the maner, deliuered to the Shriffes of the city: and cōpaſſed round about with a great number of armed men both of the Garde & others, he was brought vnto the Scaffolde on Tower hyll: where as hee nothyng chaungyng neyther voyce nor countenaunce, but in a maner with the ſame geſture which hee commonly vſed at home, kneelyng downe vppon both his knees & liftyng vp his handes, cōmended him ſelf vnto God. After that he had ended a few ſhort prayers, ſtandyng vp agayn and turnyng him ſelfe toward the Eaſt ſide of the Scaffold, nothyng at all abaſhed (as it ſeemed vnto me ſtandyng about the middeſt of the Scaffolde and diligently markyng all thynges) neither with the ſight of the Axe, neither yet of the hangman, or of preſent death: but with the like alacrity and cherefulnes of mynde and countenaunce as before tymes he was accuſtomed to heare yͤ cauſes & ſupplications of other, & ſpecially the poore (towardes whom, as it were with a certaine fatherly loue to his children, he alwaies ſhewed hym ſelfe moſt attentyue) hee vttered theſe wordes to the people.

The cherefull countenance of the Duke of Somerſet at hys death.

The wordes of the Duke of Somerſet to the people at hys death.

Derely beloued frendes, I am brought hether to ſuffer death, albeit that I neuer offended agaynſt yͤ kyng, neither by word nor deede, & haue ben allwaies as faithfull and true vnto this Realme, as any man hath bene. But for ſo much as I am by a law condemned to dye, I do acknowledge my ſelfe as wel as others to be ſubiect therunto. Wherfore to teſtifie my obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hether to ſuffer death: wherunto I willyngly offer my ſelfe, with moſt hartye thankes vnto God that hath giuen me this tymeof repentaunce: who might through ſuddeine death, haue taken away my life that neither I ſhould haue acknowledged hym nor my ſelfe.

The care of the Duke of Somerſet in ſetting forth true religion.

Moreouer (dearely beloued friendes) there is yet ſomwhat that I muſt put you in minde of as touching Chriſtian religion: which ſo long as I was in authoritie, I allwayes diligently ſet forth and furthered to my power. Neyther do I repent me of my doinges, but reioyce therein, ſith that now the ſtate of Chriſtian religion commeth moſt neare vnto the forme and order of the primatiue church. Which thing I eſteme as a great benefite geuen of God, both vnto you and mee: moſt hartely exhorting you all, that this which is moſt purely ſet forth vnto you, you will with like thankfulnes accept and embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your liuing. Which thing if ye do not, without doubt, greater myſchiefe and calamitie wyll followe.

A ſodein noyſe and feare of the people at the death of the Duke of Somerſet.

When hee had ſpoken theſe wordes, ſodainly there was a terrible noyſe heard: whereupon there came a great feare on all men. This noiſe was as it had ben yͤ noyſe of ſome great ſtorme or tēpeſt, which vnto ſome ſeemed to bee heard frō aboue: like as if a great deale of gunpouder being incloſed in an armorye, & hauyng caught fyre, had violently broke out. But vnto ſome agayne, it ſeemed as though it had bene a great multitude of horſemen running together, or comming vpon them. Such a noyſe was then in the eares of all men, albeit they ſaw nothing. Whereby it happened, that all the people being amaſed without any euident cauſe, without any violence or ſtroke ſtricken, or any man ſeene, they ran away, ſome into yͤ ditches and puddels, and ſome into the houſes thereabout: other ſome being afrayde with the horrour and noyſe, fell downe grouelyng vnto the grounde with their Pollaxes and Halbardes, and moſt parte of them cryed out: Ieſus ſaue vs, Ieſus ſaue vs. Thoſe which taryed ſtil in their places, for feare knew not where they were. And I my ſelfe which was there preſent among the reſt, beyng alſo afrayd in this hurley burley, ſtoode ſtill altogether amaſed, looking whē any man would knocke me in the head. It happened here, as the Euangeliſtes write it did vnto Chriſt, when as the officers of yͤ high prieſtes and Phariſeis comming with weapons to take hym, being aſtonyed ranne backwardes & fell to the ground.

The lyke ſtory you ſhall read of Caius Marius, in Valerius Maximus the 2. boke and 5. chapter.

In the meane time, whileſt theſe thinges were thus in doing, the people by chaunce ſpyed one Syr Anthony Browne riding vnto the Scaffold: which was the occaſion of a newe noyſe. For when they ſawe hym comming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithſtanding which they all wyſhed for, that the king by that meſſenger had ſent his Uncle pardon: and therefore with great reioyſing and caſting vppe their cappes, they cryed out, pardon, pardon is come: God ſaue the Kyng. Thus thys good Duke, although he was deſtitute of all mans helpe, yet hee ſawe before hys departure, in how great loue and fauour he was with all men. And truly I do not thinke that in ſo great ſlaughter of Dukes as hath ben in England within theſe few yeares, there was ſo many weeping eyes at one tyme: and not without cauſe. For all men dyd ſee in the decay of this Duke, the publicke ruine of all England, excepte ſuch as in deede dyd perceiue nothing. But now to returne from whence we haue ſtrayed, the Duke in the meane time ſtādyng ſtill in the ſame place modeſtly & with a graue countenaunce made a ſigne to the people with hys hand, that they would keepe themſelues quiet. Which thing being done, and ſilence obtained, he ſpake vnto them in thys maner.

The great fauour of the people to the Duke of Somerſet.

The wordes of the Duke agayn to the people.

Dearely beloued frendes, there is no ſuch matter here in hand, as you vaynly hope or beleue. It ſemeth thus good vnto almighty God, whoſe ordinaunce it is meete & neceſſary that we all be obedient vnto. Wherfore I pray you all to be quiet, & to be cōtented with my death, which I am moſt willing to ſuffer: & let vs now ioyne in prayer vnto the Lorde, for the preſeruation of the kinges Maieſtie: vnto whom hitherto I haue alwayes ſhewed my ſelfe a moſt faythfull and true ſubiect: I haue allwayes bene moſt diligent about his maieſtye in hys affaires both at home and abroad, and no leſſe diligent in ſeeking the common commoditie of the whole realme. At which wordes al the people cryed out and ſayd, it was moſt true.

Teſtimony of the people with the Duke of Somerſet.

Then the Duke proceeding, ſayd: vnto whoſe Maieſtye I wyſh continuall health, with all felicitie and al proſperous ſucceſſe. Whereunto the people agayne cryed out, Amen.

Moreouer, I do wyſh vnto all his Counſailours the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule in all thinges vprightly wyth Iuſtice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord, to ſhew your ſelues obedient, as it is your bounden dutye vnder the payne of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation and ſafegard of the kinges Maieſtye.

The confeſſion of the Duke of Somerſet.

Moreouer, forſomuch as heretofore I haue had oftētimes affayres with diuers mē, and hard it is to pleaſe euery man, therefore if there be any that hath bene offended & iniuried by me, I moſt humbly requyre and aſke him forgeuenes: but eſpecially almightye God, whom throughout all my life I haue moſt grieuouſly offended: and all other, whatſoeuer they be that haue offended me, I do wyth my whole hart forgeue them. Nowe I once agayne requyre you, dearely beloued in the Lord, that you wyll keepe your ſelues quiet and ſtil, leſt through your tumulte, you might trouble me. For albeit the ſpirite be willing and ready, the fleſh is fraile and wauering: and through your quietnes I ſhall be much more quieter. Moreouer, I deſire you all to beare me wytneſſe, that I dye here in the fayth of Jeſus Chriſt: deſiring you to help me with your praiers, that I may perſeuer cõſtant in the ſame vnto my liues end.

The Duke of Somerſet dyeth in the fayth of Jeſu Chriſt.

After this, he turning him ſelfe againe about like a meeke Lambe, kneeled downe vpon hys knees. Then Doctour Cox, which was there preſent to counſell and aduertiſe him, deliuered a certayne ſcrole in to hys hand, wherein was contayned a briefe confeſſion vnto God. Which being read, he ſtoode vp againe vpon his feete, without any trouble of mynde (as it appeared) and firſt bad the Sheriffes farewell, then the Lieftenant of the Tower and other, taking them al by the hands which were vpon the Scaffold with hym. Then he gaue the Hangman certayne money. Which done, he put of his gowne, and kneeling downe againe in the ſtraw, vntied hys ſhiert ſtrings. After that ẏ Hangman comming vnto hym, turned downe his coller round about his necke, and all other thinges which did let or hinder him. Then lifting vp his eyes to heauen, where his onely hope remained, and couering hys face wyth his own handkercher, hee layd him ſelfe downe along, ſhewing no maner of token of trouble or feare, neither dyd his countenance chaunge, but that before his eyes were couered there began to appeare a red colour in the middeſt of his cheekes.

D. Coxe hys ghoſtly father.

Thus this moſt meeke and gentle Duke lying alonge and looking for the ſtroke, because hys doublet couered hys necke, hee was commaunded to ryſe & put it of: and then laying him ſelf down again vpon the blocke, and calling thriſe vpon the name of Jeſus, ſaying: *Lorde Ieſu ſaue me,* as he was the thyrd tyme repeating ẏ ſame, euen as the name of *Ieſu* was in vttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and ſlept in the Lorde Jeſus, being taken away from all the daungers and euills of thys lyfe, and reſtyng now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whoſe truth and Goſpell hee alwaies ſhewed him ſelfe an excellent inſtrument and member, and therefore hath receiued the reward of hys labours. Thus gentle Reader, thou haſt the true hiſtory of this worthy and noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwyſe, let it be counted as a lye.

The godly end of the Duke of Somerſet.

As touching the maners, diſpoſition, lyfe, & conuerſation of the ſayd Duke & the kinges Uncle, what ſhal we neede to ſpeake, when as he can not bee ſufficiently commended, according to the dignitie of his vertues? There was alwayes in him great humanitie, and ſuch meekenes and gentlenes, as is rare to be founde in ſo high eſtate. He was prone and ready to geue eare vnto the complaintes and ſupplications of the poore, and no leſſe attentiue vnto the affayres of the common wealth. Which if he had liued together with king Edward, was lyke to doe much good in refourming many miſorders within this realme. He was vtterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as farre byſyde of all pryde and ambicion, as he was from doing of iniurye, being in deede vtterlie voyd of both. He was of a gentle diſpoſition: not coueting to be reuenged: more apt and ready to be deceiued, then to deceiue. His auncıẽt loue and zeale of the Goſpell and of religiõ he brought with him to the ſtate of this his dignitie. The proufe wherof ſufficiently was ſeene in his conſtant ſtanding to Gods truth and zealous defence therof, againſt the Biſhops of Chicheſter, Norwich, Lincolne, London, and other moe, in the conſultation had at Wyndſore the firſt yeare of the kinges raygne.

The vertues of the Duke of Somerſet declared.

The zealous ſtandyng of the Duke of Somerſet in defence of the truth againſt the Biſhops at Windſore.

Briefly conſideryng the nature and vertues of this Duke, I may (as ſemeth) not vnaptly compare and reſemble hym vnto Duke Humfrey the good Duke of Gloceſter. Who lykewiſe beyng Uncle vnto K. Henry the ſixt, and Protectour of the Realme (as this was alſo to Kyng Edward the ſixt) yet he wanted not his enemies and priuye enuyers, eſpecially Henry Beauford Cardinall, Biſhop of Wincheſter and Lorde Chauncellour of England: who at that tyme diſdainyng and enuying the rule and authoritie of this Duke, procured much trouble agaynſt hym and great diuiſion in the whole Realme, in ſomuch that all the ſhoppes within the Citie of Londõ were ſhutte in for feare of the fauourers of theſe two great perſonages: For ech parte had aſſembled no ſmall number of people. For pacifying wherof the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury and the Duke of Quimber, called the Prince of Portugale, rode viij. tymes in one day betwene the two aduerſaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diuiſion within the Realme betwen theſe two: as is before expreſſed, pag. 834. not much vnlyke to the troubleſome diſcord betwixt parties in this Protectours dayes. And as in their afflictiõs and troubles, theſe two Dukes ſemed not much vnlike, ſo in matters of Religiõ and in diſcernyng truth from falſhode, their zeale ſemed not much diſcrepant. Although the lyght of the Goſpell did not ſo fully then ſhyne out, as in the tyme of this latter Duke (ẏ Lord be prayſed therfore) yet the wiſedome and towardnes of the other Duke alſo touchyng the ſame, was not vtterly vnworthy of his cõmendation. For the more manifeſt declaratiõ wherof, amongeſt many other his godly doynges, we may take for example the prudent and and famous Acte of that noble Duke in diſcerning and trying out the falſe lying miracle and Popiſhe hypocriſie of the blynd beggar at S. Albons mentioned in his ſtory before, pag. 834. For the which cauſe, and for his diligent ſtudy in reformyng that and ſuch other blynd abuſes of feyned Religion, he was the more hated of the ſpiritualitie, and ſuch as Wincheſter then was.

A compariſon betwen Duke *Humfrey* Uncle to *K. Henry. 6.* and the Duke of Somerſet Uncle to king *Edward. 6.*

Touching this trouble of the Duke of Gloceſter, read before pag. 834.

A falſe miracle detected by *Duke Hũfrey* of Gloceſter.

Finally, as this Lord Protector, Duke of Somerſet the kynges Uncle, by certeyne of the Counſell was then accuſed, arreigned and cõdemned for the treſpaſſe (as it was geuen forth) of felonie (although I neuer heard he murdered or robbed any) ſo ẏ other Uncle of K. Henry the vj. was made away. Of whoſe diſceaſſe thus writeth Maiſter Williã Tyndall in his practiſe of Prelates: At the laſt they found the meanes to cõtriue a driſt to bryng their matters to paſſe, and made a Parliament farre frõ the Citizens of London, where was ſlayne the ſayd good Duke and the onely wealth of the Realme, and the mighty ſhielde which ſo longe had kept it from ſorow, which ſhortly after his death fell vpõ them by heapes. But the Chronicles (ſayth he) can not tel wherfore he dyed, nor by what meanes. Neuertheles this they teſtifie, that hee was a vertuous man, godly and good to the common wealth.

The teſtimonye of Maiſter *W. Tyndall,* of good Duke *Humfrey.*

But to leaue Duke Humfrey, and to returne to the maners and vertues of the Duke of Somerſet, which before wee were about to deſcribe: as hee was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, ſo was he no leſſe fortunate a Captaine in warfare abroade. Under whoſe gouernment and guidyng, not onely diuers rebellious commotions were happely ſuppreſſed here at home, but alſo abroad in the expedition of Scotland ſuch a victorye was giuen him of God, that with the loſſe ſcarſe of 600. of his own men, there were of the enemyes as good or litle leſſe, then x. thouſand ſlaine and put to flight, and euẽ the very ſame day and tyme in the which all the Idolatrous Images were here burnt at Lõdon. And yet all theſe warres notwithſtandyng, whereunto he was agaynſt his will compelled, hee was a man of nature ſingularly giuen to peace, as may bee ſeene by the ſweete and peaceable exhortation by hym ſet forth in Print before, and ſent to the Realme of Scotland.

The happye ſucceſſe of the Duke of Somerſet in hys victoryes.

But as there is nothyng in this world ſo perfect in all reſpectes, which is not blotted or darkened with ſome ſpotte of vyce adioyned withall: ſo amongeſt the manifolde commendations of thys Duke, one thyng there was or two, which both deſteined hys honour and eſtimation much, and alſo more empayred & hindered hys owne lyfe and ſafetie: which was, that hee in condeſcending to the death of hys brother, followed to raſhely the perſuaſion of certaine, who ſoeuer they were: for that matter lacked not perchaunce ſome ſingular fetch & policie of ſome, more craftily thẽ godly diſpoſed perſons, as many good men haue ſuppoſed. But what ſo euer of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is, that the ſayd Duke in ſufferyng or procuryng this death of hys brother, not onely endammaged hym ſelfe, and weakened his owne power, but alſo prouoked the chaſtiſement of Gods ſcourge and rodde, which did ſo lyght vpõ hym. Furthermore as touchyng the death and decay of the Lord Henry Earle of Surrey, who ſuffred alſo at the Tower next before the Lord Admirall the Lord Protectours brother, becauſe the caſtyng of hym was ſo neare to the death of kyng Henry: as I know not vpon whom, or what cauſe the ſame did procede, ſo I paſſe it ouer and leaue it to the Lord. Notwithſtanding, as for the Duke of Somerſet, what ſoeuer his other vyces and vertues were, this is certaine, that his end (the Lord ſo workyng with hym) was conſtant in Chriſtes truth, as hys lyfe was before a great maynteinaunce of the ſame.

Gods chaſtiſement vpon the Duke of Somerſet.

The beheading of the Earle of Surrey.

Moreouer, on the xxvj. day of February in the ſame yeare was Sir Rafe Vane, Syr Miles Partrige both hanged at the Tower hill: And Syr Michaell Stanhop, and Syr Tho. Arundell beheaded vpon the Scaffold: all which iiij. were condemned by the ſayd Acte of vnlawfull aſſemblie, & as acceſſaries vnto the Duke of Somerſet.

Syr Rafe Vane, Syr Myles Partrige, Syr Michaell Stanhop, and Syr Tho. Arundell ſuffered at Tower hill.

Not long after the death of the Duke of Somerſet, in the next yeare folowing deceaſſed the king hym ſelfe about the moneth of Iune, whereof more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord graunting) in his due order and courſe hereafter. In the meane ſeaſon, before we come to cloſe vp the latter end & ſtory of this good kyng, ỹ place here preſent ſeemeth not vnfitte to intermixte by ỹ way a few other thinges before, happenyng with in the tyme of his reigne, namely concernyng matters incident, of the Church and of Religion. Which ſtate of Religion began well to growe, and to come happely forwarde duryng this kynges dayes, had not the vnhappy troubles of the outward ſtate amongeſt the Lordes not agreyng within thẽ ſelues, diſquieted the good towardnes of thinges begon. But the malice of the deuill how ſubtilly worketh it, if mẽ could ſee it? So long as the Lords agreed in concorde among them ſelues, Wyncheſter and Boner, with all that faction was cut ſhort, and began to condeſcende to good conformitie. But afterward perceauyng the ſtates and nobles of the Realme to be among them ſelues diuided, and the Lord Protectour the Kynges Vncle diſplaced, and his brother the Admirall before beheaded, and the young kyng now left in that caſe, they began vpon ſome hope to take more hart vnto them, till at laſt it came to paſſe, as they them ſelues deſired. And thus though nothyng els will lead vs, yet experience may teach vs what diſcorde worketh in publicke weales: and cõtrary, what a neceſſary thyng concorde is to the aduauncement eſpecially of Gods matters apperteinyng to his Church. Examples whereof in this kyngs dayes be not farre to ſeeke. For as touchyng the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell of peace, while publicke peace and the Goſpell did ioyne together, maruelous it was how errour and Popery were in them ſelues confounded, and aſhamed almoſt to ſhewe their faces. In ſo much that then both Doct. Smith, Chadſey, Standiſh, Yong, Oglethorpe, with many mo recanted their former ignoraunce, whoſe recãtations I haue to ſhew. Boner then with his owne hand ſubſcribed to the kinges ſupremacie, and promoted his Iniunctions. The ſame alſo did Steuen Gardiner, ſubſcribyng with his owne hand to the firſt booke of the kynges procedynges, and no doubt had done no leſſe to the ſecond booke alſo ſet forth by ỹ kyng, had not ỹ vnfortunate diſcorde fallen amongeſt the nobles in a time ſo vnfortunate, as thẽ it did. Briefly duryng all that tyme of peace and concord, what Papiſt was found in all the realme, which for the Popes deuotion woulde or dyd once put hys necke in the halter to dye a Martyr for his ſake?

Religion hindered by diſcorde.

Diſcord what decay it worketh in a common wealth.

D. Smyth, Chadſey, Standiſh, Tounge, Oglethorpe, reclamed from their errours.

The Goſpell how it flouriſhed ſo long as peace continued.

I ſhewed before how in theſe peaceable dayes of kyng Edward, Peter Martyr, Martine Bucer, Paulus Phagius with other learned mẽ mo, were enterteined, placed and prouided for in the two Vniuerſities of this Realme Oxford and Cambridge, who there with their diligent induſtrie did much good. The learned and fruitfull diſputations of whom I haue lykewiſe preſent in my handes here to inſerte, but that the bygnes of this Volume driueth me to make ſhorte, eſpecially ſeyng their diſputations be ſo long and prolixe as they be, & alſo in Latin, and requyre of them ſelues a whole Volume to comprehend them.

Peter Martyr, Martyn Bucer, & Paulus Phagius, placed in the Vniuerſities.

Firſt Peter Martyr beyng called by the kyng to the publicke readyng of the Diuinitie lecture in Oxford, amongeſt hys other learned exerciſes did ſet vp in the publicke ſcholes iij. concluſions of Diuinitie to be diſputed and tryed by Argument. At which diſputations were preſent the kynges viſitours, to wytte, Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, Doctour Coxe Chauncellour of that Vniuerſitie, Doctour Haynes Deane of Exeter, M. Rich. Moriſon Eſquier, Chriſtopher Neuynſon Doct. of Ciuill law. The concluſions propounded were theſe.

The kings Viſitors at the diſputation in Oxford.

1. In the Sacrament of thankes geuing there is no tranſubſtantiation of bread and wyne into the body and bloud of Chriſt.
2. The body and bloud of Chriſt is not carnally or corporally in bread and wine, nor as other vſe to ſay, vnder the kindes of bread & wyne.
3. The body and bloud of Chriſt bee vnited to bread and wyne Sacramentally.

The concluſions to be diſputed in Oxford.

They which were the chiefe diſputers agaynſt hym on the contrary ſide were Doct. Treſham, D. Chadſey, and Morgan. The reaſons and principall Argumentes of Peter Martyr here vnder folow.

Diſputers on the contrary parte agaynſt *Peter Martyr.*

¶ The Argumentes of Peter Martyr vpon the firſt concluſion.

The Scriptures moſt plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wyne. In the Euãgeliſtes we read that the Lord Ieſus tooke bread, bleſſed it, brake it, and gaue it to his Diſciples. S. Paul lykewiſe doth oftimes make mention of bread.

Ergo, we alſo with the Scriptures ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the Sacrament.

The firſt argumẽt of *Peter Martyr* agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Cyprianus.

As in the perſon of Chriſt, his humanitie was ſeene outwardly, and his Diuinitie was ſecret within: ſo in the viſible Sacrament the diuinitie inſerteth it ſelfe in ſuch ſorte as can not be vttered, that our deuotion about the Sacramentes might be the more religious.

Ergo, as in the perſon of Chriſt: ſo in the Sacrament both the natures ought ſtill to remayne.

Cyprian. in ſermon. De cœna Domini.

Gelaſius.

The Sacramentes which we receaue of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt, are a Diuine matter: by reaſon wherof, we are made partakers by the ſame, of his Diuine nature, and yet it ceaſeth not ſtill to be the ſubſtãce of bread and wyne. And certes the repreſentation and ſimilitude of the body and bloud of Chriſt, be celebrated in the action of the myſteries. &c.

Gelaſius cõtra Eutychen.

Auguſtinus.

As the perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God and man, whẽ as he is true God, & true mã. For euery thyng conteineth in it ſelfe the nature and veritie of thoſe thynges whereof it is made.

Auguſt. De conſecrat. diſt. 2 ex Sententijs Proſperi.

made. Now the Sacrament of the Churche is made of two thinges, that is, of the Sacrament that ſignifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is ſignified. &c.

Theodoretus.

Theodoretus Dial. 1. contra Eutychen.

Theſe viſible myſteries which are ſeene, he hath honored with the name of his body and bloud, not chaunging the nature, but addyng grace vnto nature &c. And the ſame Theodoretus agayne ſayth:

Theodoretus Dial. 2. contra Eutychen.

Thoſe myſticall Sacramentes after ſanctification do not paſſe out of their own proper nature, but remaine ſtill in their former ſubſtance, figure, and ſhape. &c.

Ergo, lyke as the body of Chriſt remayned in him, and was not chaunged into hys diuinitie: ſo in the Sacrament the bread is not chaunged into the body, but both the ſubſtaunces remaine whole.

Origene.

Origen. in Matth. cap. 15.

If what ſoeuer entreth into the mouth, goeth down into the belly, and ſo paſſeth through a man: euē that meate alſo which is ſanctified by the worde of God and by prayer, as touchyng that parte which it hath materiall with in it, paſſeth into the bely, and ſo voideth through a mā. But through prayer which is adioyned to it, accordyng to the meaſure of faith, it is profitable & effectuall. &c. And he addeth moreouer: *For it is not the outward matter of the bread, but the word that is ſpoken vpō it, that profiteth hym which eateth him worthely. &c.*

Irenæus.

Irenæus Lib. 4. cōtra hæreſ.

Ieſus taking bread of the ſame condition which is after vs (that is, taking bread of yͤ ſame nature & kinde as we vſe cōmonly to eate) *did confeſſe it to be his body. And taking likewiſe the cuppe which is of the ſame creature which is after vs* (that is, which we cōmonly vſe to drinke) *confeſſed it to be his bloud. &c.*

Irenæus Lib. eodē.

Itē, lib. 4. Like as bread which is of the earth receauyng the worde and callyng of God, is now not common bread, but the Euchariſt, cōſiſtyng of two things, the one earthly, the other heauenly: ſo our bodyes receauyng the ſacrate Euchariſt, bee now not corruptible, hauing hope of reſurrection. &c.

¶Argument.

Ba- The bread in the Sacramēt is ſo chaunged into the body, as our bodies are chaunged when they are made vncorruptible by hope.
ro- But our bodies are not made incorruptible by chaungyng their ſubſtaunce:
co. Ergo, no more is the bread chaunged into the ſubſtance of the body.

Gregory.

Gregorius in Regiſtro.

Notwithſtanding whether we take leauened or vnleauened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Sauiour. &c.

¶Argument.

Da- Where bread leauened or vnleauened is takē, there is ſubſtance of bread and not accidences onely.
ri- In the Sacramēt bread is receaued either leauened or vnleauened:
j. Ergo, in the Sacrament is ſubſtaunce of bread and not accidences onely.

¶Argument.

Ba- The body of Chriſt is named of that which is proportioned round, and is vnſenſible in operation.
ro- Accidences onely of bread haue no figure of roūdnes:
co. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not named of accidences, but of very bread ſubſtantiall.

¶Argument.

The wordes of the Euangeliſte ſpeakyng of that which Chriſt tooke, bleſſed, brake, and gaue, doe importe it to be bread, and nothyng els but bread.

Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chryſoſtome.

Chryſoſt. 1. Cor. 11. homel. 27.

Chriſt in bread and wine ſaid: do this in remēbrance of me.

Cyrillus.

Cyrill. in Ioan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

He gaue to them peeces or fragmentes of bread.

Alſo the ſame Cyrill ſayth: *In bread we receaue his pretious body, and his bloud in wyne.*

Ergo, by theſe Doctours it remayneth bread after conſecration.

Ambroſe.

Before the bleſſing of the heauenly wordes, it is called an other kinde of thyng. After conſecration the body of Chriſt is ſignified.

¶Argumentes of Peter Martyr diſputyng with M. Chadſey vpon the firſt queſtion.

Da- The Analogie and reſemblaunce betwene the Sacrament and the thyng ſignified muſt euer be kept, in all Sacramentes.
ti- In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, this Analogie or reſemblaunce cā not be kept, if bread be tranſubſtantiated:
ſi. Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread muſt nedes remayne in the Sacrament of the Lordes body.

Auguſt. Epiſt. ad Dardanum.

The *Maior* of this argumēt is certain by *S. Auſten*, Lib. De catechiſandis rudib᾽, & epiſt. ad Dardan. Where hee ſayth: *Sacramentes muſte needes beare a ſimilitude of thoſe thynges whereof they are Sacramentes, or els they can be no Sacramentes.*

The *Minor* is thus proued.

¶Argument.

Analogie or proportion betwene the outward nouriſhing of bread in our bodyes, and the inward nouriſhing of Chriſtes bodily death in our ſoules.

Ba- The reſemblaunce betwen the Sacrament and the body of Chriſt is this: that as yͤ properties of bread and wyne doe nouriſh outwardly: ſo yͤ properties of the body of Chriſt do nouriſh ſpiritually.
ro- Without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne there is no reſemblance of nouriſhyng:
co. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne the Analogie can not hold.

¶Argument.

Agayne, an other reſemblaunce and ſimilitude or
Ba- Analogie of this Sacrament is this: that as one loafe of bread, and one cup of wyne conteineth many cornes and many grapes: ſo the myſticall congregation conteyneth many members, and yet maketh but one body:
ro- Without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, no ſuch reſemblaunce or ſimilitude of coniunction can be repreſented:
co. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, the Analogie of this ſpirituall cōiunction can not hold.

¶An other Argument.

Ba- Euery Sacrament conſiſteth in two thinges, that is, in the thyng ſignifiyng, and the thyng ſignified.
ro- Without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, there is nothyng that ſignifieth in the Sacrament:
co. Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread and wyne in the Sacrament can in no wiſe be tranſubſtantiate from their natures.

The *Minor* is thus to be proued.

Feſ- There is no ſignification in any Sacrament without the element.
ti- The ſubſtaunce of bread and wine is the element of this Sacrament:
no. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne there is no ſimilitude nor ſignification in this Sacrament.

Three cauſes prouing that theſe wordes of Chriſt, *Hoc eſt corpus meū*, are not to be taken literally but ſpiritually.

And for ſomuch as yͤ aduerſaries ground their tranſubſtantiatiō ſo much vpō theſe wordes of Chriſt: *This is my body:* which they expoūd only after yͤ literal ſenſe, without trope or figure: now that this their expoſitiō is falſe, and that the ſayd wordes are to be takē figuratiuely and ſpiritually, by thrée cauſes it is to be proued: 1. Firſt by yͤ wordes of the Scripture: 2. By yͤ nature of a Sacrament: 3. By the teſtimonies of the fathers.

Places of ſcripture making agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

1 Firſt by theſe wordes of the Scripture, where hée ſayth: *Do this in remembraunce of me:* for ſo much as remembraunce properly ſerueth not for thynges corporally preſent, but for thinges rather beyng abſent.

2 Secondly, where hée ſayth: *Vntill I come.* Which wordes were vayne, if he were already come by conſecration.

3 Thirdly, where Saint Paul ſayth: *The breaking of bread, is it not the cōmunion of the body of Chriſt?* Which

wordes

woꝛdes of bꝛeakyng in no caſe can bée verified vppon the body of Chriſt, which foꝛ the gloꝛy thereof is vnpaſſible.

4. 4 Furthermoꝛe where as the Loꝛd byddeth them to take and eate, it is euident, that the ſame can not bee vnderſtand ſimplye of the body of Chriſt without a trope, foꝛ ſomuch as hée can not be eaten and chawed with téeth, as we vſe properly in eatyng other meates to doo.

5. 5 The woꝛdes moꝛeouer of Luke and Paul ſpoken of the cuppe, do argue lykewyſe that the other woꝛdes ſpoken of the bꝛead muſt nedes be taken myſtically. As where it is ſayd: *This cup is the new Teſtament:* which woꝛdes muſt nedes be expounded, thus: this cup doth ſignifie the new Teſtament.

6. 6 Item, Theſe woꝛds of S. John chap. 6. *My wordes be ſpirite and life. The fleſh profiteth nothyng. &c.*

7. 7 Item, where in the ſame place of S. John, Chriſt, to refell the carnall vnderſtandyng of the Caparnaites of eating his body, maketh mention of his Aſcenſion. &c.

The ſecond cauſe, the nature of a Sacrament.

The ſecond cauſe why the woꝛdes of Chriſt: *This is my body*, can not be litterally expounded without trope, is the nature of a Sacrament: whoſe nature & propertie is to beare a ſigne oꝛ ſignificatiō of a thyng, to be remembꝛed, which thyng after the ſubſtanciall and reall preſence, is abſent. As touchyng which nature of a Sacrament ſufficiently hath bene ſayd befoꝛe.

The thyrd cauſe, the teſtimonie of the fathers.

The thyrd cauſe, why the woꝛdes of conſecration are figuratiuely to be taken, is the teſtimony of the auncient Doctours.

Tertullianus Contra Martionē. Lib. 4.

Tertullianus.

This is my body: *that is to ſay, this is a figure of my body.*

Auguſtinus. Pſal. 3.

Auguſt. Pſal. 3.

Chriſt gaue a figure of his body.

Auguſt. contra Adamantum. Cap. 12.

Auguſt. contra Adamantum Manichæum.

He dyd not doubt to ſay: This is my body, *when hee gaue a ſigne of his body.*

Hieronymus.

Hieronymus.

Chriſt repreſented vnto vs his body.

Auguſt. De Doctrina Chriſtiana Lib.

Auguſt.

Auſten in his boke De Doctrina Chriſtiana declareth expreſſely that this ſpeach of eatyng the bodye of Chriſt, is a figuratiue ſpeach.

Ambroſ. De Sacram. Lib. 4. cap. 4.

Ambroſius.

As thou haſt receaued the ſimilitude of his death: ſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his pretious bloud.

¶Argument.

Fe- The death of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament but by ſimilitude.
ri- The pretious bloud of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament as his death is preſent:
o. Ergo, the pretious bloud of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament.

The Minoꝛ of this Argument is proued befoꝛe by the woꝛdes of Ambroſe.

The ſecond concluſion.

¶The ſecond queſtion. Whether the body and bloud of Chriſt be in the bread and wyne, or vnder the formes of bread and wyne carnally and corporally.

¶Argument.

Di- The true naturall body of Chriſt is placed in heauen.
ſa- The true naturall body of man can bee but in one place at once, where he is:
mis. Ergo, the true naturall body of Chriſt can bee in no place at once, but in heauen where he is.

Math. 26.

The Maioꝛ is playne by theſe Scriptures: Ieſus was takē vp to heauē, & ſitteth at the right hand of God. Mat. 26. The poore ye haue alwayes with you, but me you ſhall not alwayes haue. Ioh. 12. I leaue the world and go to my father. Ioh. 16. Many ſhall ſay in that day: Lo, here is Chriſt, & there is Chriſt, beleue thē not. Math. 24. Whō the heauens muſt receaue for a tyme vntill the reſtitution of all. Actes. 3. Seeke thoſe thynges that are aboue, where Chriſt is ſittyng at the ryght hand of God. &c. Col. 3.

Iohn. 12. Iohn. 16. Math. 24. Actes. 3. Col. 3.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

The Minoꝛ likewiſe is euident by S. Auſten, who ſpeakyng of the gloꝛified body of Chriſt, affirmeth the ſame to be in one certeine place, Propter veri corporis modum, that is, foꝛ the maner of a true body.

¶Argument.

Da- Euery true naturall body requireth one certeyne place. Auguſt.
rj- Chriſtes body is a true naturall body:
j. Ergo, Chriſtes body requireth one certeine place.

Comparatio a maiori.

¶Argument.

Auſten giueth not to the ſoule of Chriſt to be in mo places at once, but one. Auguſt. ad Dardanum.
Ergo, much leſſe is it to be giuē to the body of Chriſt to be in mo places at once, but in one.

Compariſon betwen Aungels & the body of Chriſt.

¶Argument.

The nature of the Aungels is not to bee in diuers places, but they are limited to occupie one certaine place at once. Baſilius de ſpirit. ſanct. cap. 22.
Ergo, the body of Chriſt, being ẏ true naturall body of a man, can not fill diuers places at one tyme.

¶Argument.

Ba- What ſoeuer is in many and diuers places at once is God.
ro- The body of Chriſt is not God but a creature:
co. Ergo, the body of Chriſt can not bee in mo places together.

¶Argument.

Feſ- We muſt not ſo defende the Diuinitie of Chriſt, that we deſtroy his humanitie. Auguſt.
ti- If we aſſigne to the body of Chriſt pluralitie of places, we deſtroy his humanitie:
no. Ergo, we muſt not aſſigne to the body of Chriſt pluralitie of places.

¶Argument.

Feſ- What ſoeuer thyng is circumſcribed, that is to ſay, cōteined in the limites of any peculiar place, can not be diſperſed in mo places at once.
ti- The body of Chriſt is a thyng circumſcribed:
no. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not diſperſed in mo places at one tyme.

¶Argument.

Da- Euery quantitie, that is, euery body hauing magnitude, length, and other dimenſions, is circumſcribed in one peculiar place:
ri- The body of Chriſt hath hys dimenſions and is a quantitie:
j. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is circumſcribed.

Cyrillus De trinit. Lib. 2. pag. 245.

Cyrillus.

The Maior is proued by Cirillus. *What ſo euer is vnderſtanded to be a body, the ſame is verely in a place, and in magnitude, and in quantitie. And if it be in quantitie, it can not auoyde circumſcription,* that is, to haue his place.

¶Argument.

Ba- If Chriſt had gyuen his body ſubſtantially and carnally in the Supper, then was that body either paſſible, oꝛ impaſſible.
ro- But neither can you ſay that body to be paſſible, oꝛ impaſſible, which hee gaue at Supper:
co. Ergo, he dyd not giue his body ſubſtātially and carnally at Supper.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Auguſt.

The Minor is proued thus. Foꝛ if ye ſay it was paſſible, Auſten is agaynſt it, which ſayth: *Ye ſhall not eate this bodye which you ſee, nor drinke the ſame bloude which they ſhall ſheed, that ſhall crucifie me, &c.* And if ye ſay, it was impaſſible, that may not be admitted by ẏ woꝛdes of the Euangeliſt, which ſayth: Eate, this is my body which ſhall be gyuen for you: So that that body was paſſible and not impaſſible, wherin Chriſt was giuen.

Vigi-

Vigilius.

Vigilius contra Eutychen Lib.4.

One creature can not receaue in it ſelfe ij. contrary or diuers thyngs together. But theſe ij. thyngs be diuers and farre vnlyke, that is to ſay, to be conteined in a place, and to be euery where. For the worde is euery where, but the fleſh is not euery where.

¶Argument.

Fe- Bodies organicall without quantitie be no bodies.
ri- The Popes doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, to be without quantitie:
o. Ergo, the Popes doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be no body.

¶Argument.

Da- All thynges which may be diuided, haue quantitie.
ri- The body in yͤ Popes Sacrament is diuided in iij. partes:
j. Ergo, the body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantitie, which is agaynſt their own doctrine.

¶Argument.

Fe- No naturall body can receaue in it ſelfe, and at one tyme, contrary or diuers qualities. Vigilius.
ri- To be in one place locall, and in an other place not locall, in one place with quantitie, in an other place without quantitie, in one place circumſcript, in an other place incircumſcript, is for a naturall body to receaue contrary qualities:
o. Ergo, the body of Chriſt can not bee in one place locall, and in an other not locall, in one place with quantitie, and in an other without quantitie, as our aduerſaries do affirme.

¶Argument.

Fe- The wicked receaue not the body of Chriſt.
ri- The wicked do receaue the body of Chriſt, if tranſubſtantiation be graunted:
ſon. Ergo, tranſubſtantiation is not to bee graunted in the Sacrament.

¶Argument for probation of the Maior.

Ca- To eate Chriſt, is for a mā to haue Chriſt dwelling and abyding in hym. Auguſtine.
meſ- The wicked haue not Chriſt dwellyng in them:
tres. Ergo, the wicked eate not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian.

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini.

Cyprianus de Cœna Domini. *The eatyng of Chriſt, is our abydyng in hym.*

¶Argument.

Bo- The holy ghoſt could not come if the body of Chriſt were really preſent.
car- That the holy Ghoſt is come, it is moſt certayne:
do. Ergo, it can not be that Chriſt hym ſelfe ſhoulde bee here really preſent.

Iohn.16.

For prouſe of the Maior. Ioh.16. Vnles I go from you, the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come. It is expedient for you, that I go hence.

Cyrillus De trinit. Lib.2. pag.245.

¶Argument of Peter Martyr.

Ba- If the wicked and infidels do receaue the body of Chriſt, they receaue him either with ſenſe or reaſon, or with fayth.
ro- But they receaue him neither with ſenſe, reaſon, nor with fayth:
co. Ergo, wicked men and infidels receaue in no wyſe the body of Chriſt.

Declaration of the Maior.

For declaration of the Maior: if ye ſay, they receaue hym with ſenſe, that is agaynſt their own lore, for the body of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament (ſay they) is not ſenſible, nor to be perceaued by any ſenſe, neither with reaſon can they receaue him, by their owne learnyng, for ſomuch as this Sacrament exceedeth all reaſon. Nec fides habet meritū, vbi ratio præbet experimentum. And if ye ſay, that they receaue hym with fayth, how can that be, ſeyng infidels haue no fayth?

August. in Psal. 98.

What is to eate the body of Chriſt by the Papiſtes.

What is to eate the body of Chriſt, the teachyng of the Papiſtes herein is ſtraunge, and differeth from the old Doctours. For where the Papiſtes doe teach, that wicked perſons and infidels, albeit they receaue not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament, which is the very bodye of Chriſt, they receaue with their mouth, and with their ſenſe the accidences of bread, and thus imagine a certayne body of Chriſt, ſuch as euill men and infidels may eate, and yet beyng eaten, it giueth thē no nouriſhment, nor life, nor maketh them no partakers of his ſpirite & grace: both Scripture and the aūcient expoſitors of the Scripture do teach much other wiſe. For the Scripture knoweth no ſuch kynd of eatyng Chriſtes body, but onely that which is fruitfull, wholeſome, and effectual. *He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my bloud, abideth in me and I in hym. &c.* Ioh.6. And therfore it may appeare, that the Scripture meaneth by eatyng Chriſtes fleſh, to beleue in Chriſtes Paſſion, which none can doe but onely the faythfull. And to the ſame ſenſe ſound all the olde Doctours.

What is to eate the body of Chriſt by Scripture and Doctors.

Cyprianus.

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini.

That we ſhould knowe, that eatyng is our dwellyng in hym, and our drinking is, as it were, a certaine incorporation in hym.

Item, the ſame Cyprian: *The eatyng therfore of his fleſh is a certein deſire to abide in him:* and ſaith moreouer, *that none eateth of thys Lambe, but ſuch as be true Iſraelites, that is, true Chriſten men without colour or diſſimulation.*

The wicked and infidels do not eate the body of Chriſt.

And agayne hée ſayth: *That as meate is to the fleſh, the ſame is fayth to the ſoule, the ſame is the worde to the ſpirite. &c.*

Moreouer: *And therfore* (ſayth he) *doyng this we whet not our teeth to byte, but with pure fayth we breake the holy bread, and diſtribute it. &c.*

Auguſtinus.

August. De Ciuit. Lib.21. cap.25.

It may not bee ſayd, that any ſuch doe eate the body of Chriſt, becauſe they are accompted amongeſt the members of Chriſt. Neither can they be both members of Chriſt, and mēbers of an harlot, &c. Furthermore, whē Chriſt ſaith: He that eateth my fleſh & drinketh my blould, dwelleth in me & I in him: *he ſheweth what it is, not Sacramētally, but in dede to eate his body & drinke his bloud, which is, when a man ſo dwelleth in Chriſt, that Chriſt dwelleth in hym. For ſo Chriſt ſpake thoſe wordes, as if he ſhould ſay: he that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let hym not ſay nor thynke, that hee eateth my body, or drinketh my bloud.*

Iohn.6.

Alſo in other places the ſayd Auſten affirmeth, that, *to drinke is to lyue:* And ſayth moreouer: *why prepareſt thou thy bely and thy teeth? beleue and thou haſt eaten. &c.*

All which kindes of eating cā not be ſayd of the wicked and infidels, but onely of the godly and faythfull.

And thus briefly we haue runne ouer all the Argumētes & authorities of Pet. Martyr in that diſputatiō at Oxford, with Doct. Treſham, Chadſey, and Morgan, before the kynges viſitors aboue named. an.1549.

Furthermore who ſo liſteth more fully to be ſatiſfied and reſolued in all the occurrentes touching yͤ matter of thys Sacrament, let hym read the bookes fyrſt of Archb. Crāmer agaynſt Wincheſter: Secondly yͤ tractation of Pet. Martyr made in Oxford, tranſlated and extant in Engliſh: and thirdly the boke of Biſhop Ridley made in priſon, called *A brief declaratiō of the Lords Supper.*

The lyke diſputation alſo about the ſame tyme was appoynted and commenſed at Cambridge, concernyng the ſame matter of the Sacrament, the kyng viſitours beyng directed down for the ſame purpoſe by the kyng. The names of which viſitors were theſe: Nic. Ridley Byſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, M. Ioh. Cheeke the kynges ſcholemaſter, Doctour May Ciuilian, and Tho. Wendy the kynges Phiſician. The concluſions in that diſputation propoūded were theſe.

Concluſions propounded to be diſputed at Cambrige.

1. Tranſubſtantiation can not be proued neither by the expreſſe wordes of Scipture, nor neceſſarely gathered or confirmed by the conſent of the auncient Catholickes before a thouſand yeares after Chriſt.
2. In the Supper of the Lord there is no other oblation of Chriſt, but only the commemoration of his death, and thankes giuyng.

Aunſwerers and diſputers in theſe diſputations at Cambridge.

This diſputation continued 3.dayes. In the firſt did aunſwere Doct.Madew. Agaynſt whō diſputed Doct. Glynne, M.Langdale, M.Segewicke, M.Yong.

In the ſecond diſputation did aunſwere Doctour Glynne. Agaynſt whom diſputed M. Grindale, M. Pearne, M.Geſte, M. Pylkyngton.

In the thyrd diſputation aunſwered M. Pearne. Agaynſt whom diſputed one M. Parkar (not D. Math. Parkar) M.Pollard, M.Vauiſor, M.Yong.

At length the diſputations ended, the Byſhop of Rocheſter Doct, Nic. Ridley after the maner of ſcholes, made this determination vppon the foreſayd concluſions, as here foloweth.

¶The determination of Doct. Nic. Ridley Byſhop of Rocheſter, vpon the concluſions aboue prefixed.

The determinatiō of Doct. *Nic.Ridley* vpō the diſputations.

There hath bene an auncient cuſtome amongeſt you, that after diſputations had in your common ſcholes, there ſhould be ſome determination made of the matters ſo diſputed and debated, eſpecially touching chriſtian religion. Becauſe therfore it is ſeene good vnto theſe worſhipfull aſſiſtentes ioyned with me in commiſſion from the kinges Maieſtie, that I ſhould performe the ſame at this time: I wyll by your fauourable patience declare, both what I do thinke and beleue my ſelfe, and what alſo other ought to thinke of ẏ ſame. which thing I would that afterwardes ye did with diligence way and ponder, euery man at home ſeuerally by him ſelfe.

V. principall groundes to take away trāſubſtantiation.

The principall groundes or rather headſpringes of this matter are ſpecially fyue.

The firſt is the authoritie, maieſtie, and veritie of holy Scripture.

The ſecond is the moſt certaine teſtimonies of the auncient catholike Fathers, who, after my iudgement, do ſufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable hereſie of Eutiches *that may enſue of Tranſubſtantiation.*

The fyft is the moſt ſure beliefe of the Article of our faith: He aſcended into heauen.

¶The fyrſt ground.

Tranſubſtantiation agaynſt the ſcripture.

This Tranſubſtantiation is cleane agaynſt ẏ wordes of the ſcripture, and conſent of the auncient catholike fathers. The ſcripture ſayth: *I wil not drinke hereafter of this fruit of the vine. &c.* Now the fruite of the vyne is wyne. And it is manifeſt that Chriſt ſpake theſe woordes after the ſupper was finiſhed, as it appeareth both in Mathew, Marke, and alſo in Luke, if they be well vnderſtanded. There be not many places of the ſcripture that doo confyrme this thing, neyther is it greatly materiall: For it is enough if there bee any one playne teſtimonie for the ſame. Neyther ought it to bee meaſured by the number of ſcriptures, but by the authority, and by the veritye of the ſame. And the maieſty of this verity is as ample in one ſhort ſentence of the ſcripture, as in a thouſand.

Scripture to be meaſured not by number but by authoritie.

Exod.12.

1.Cor.11.

Iohn.6.

Iohn.6.

Moreouer, Chriſt tooke bread, he brake bread, he gaue bread. In the Actes Luke calleth it bread, Saint Paule calleth it bread after the ſanctification. Both of them ſpeaketh of breaking, which belongeth to the ſubſtaunce of bread, & in no wyſe to Chriſtes body: for the ſcripture ſayth: *Ye ſhall not breake a bone of hym.* Chriſt ſayth: *Doe ye this in my remembraunce.* Saint Paule alſo ſayth: *Do ye this in my remembrance.* And againe: *As often as ye ſhall drinke of this cup, do it in the remembrance of me.* And our Sauiour Chriſt in the.6.of Iohn, ſpeaking againſt the Capernaites, ſayth: *Labour for the meate that periſheth not.* And whē they aſked: *VVhat ſhall we do that we may worke the workes of God?* he aunſwered them thus: *This is the worke of God, that ye beleue in hym whom he hath ſent.* You ſee how he exhorteth them to faith, for faith is that worke of God. Againe: *This is the bread which came downe from heauen.* But Chriſtes body came not downe from heauen. Moreouer: *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in hym. My fleſh* (ſayth he) *is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.* When they heard this, they were offended. And whileſt they were offended, he ſaid vnto them: *VVhat if ye ſhall ſee the Sonne of man aſcende vp where he was before?* Whereby he went about to drawe them from the groſſe and carnall eating. This body ſayth he, ſhall aſcend vp into heauen, meaning altogether as S. Auguſtine ſayth: *It is the ſpirite that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing. The wordes that I ſpeake vnto you are ſpirite and lyfe, and muſt bee ſpiritually vnderſtand.* Theſe be the reaſons which perſwade me to incline to thys ſentence and iudgement.

¶The ſecond ground.

The 2. ground agaynſt trāſubſtantiation.

Now my ſecond ground againſt this tranſubſtantiation are the auncient Fathers a thouſand yeares paſte. And ſo farre of is it that they doo confirme this opinion of tranſubſtantiation, that plainly they ſeeme vnto me, both to thinke and to teach the contrary.

Dionyſ. in Eccle. Hierar.

Dionyſius in many places calleth it bread. The places are ſo manifeſt & plaine, that it needeth not to recite thē.

Ignatius ad Philadelph.

Ignatius to the Philadelphians ſayth: *I beſeech you brethren cleaue faſt vnto one fayth, and to one kinde of preaching, vſing together one maner of thankeſgeuyng: for the fleſh of the lord Ieſu is one, and hys bloud is one which was ſhed for vs. There is alſo one bread broken for vs, and one cup of the whole church.*

Irenæus lib.4.cap.34.

Irenæus writeth thus: *Euen as the bread that commeth of the earth receauyng Gods vocation is now no more common bread, but ſacramentall bread, conſiſting of two natures, earthly and heauenly: euen ſo our bodies receauyng the* Euchariſt, *are nowe no more corruptible, hauyng hope of the reſurrection.*

Tertullianus.

Tertullian is very playne, for hee calleth it a figure of the body. &c.

Chryſoſtomus ad Cæſarium.

Chriſoſtome writing to Cæſarius the Monke, albeit hee be not receyued of diuers, yet wyll I read the place to faſten it more deepely in your myndes: for it ſemeth to ſhew playnly the ſubſtance of bread to remayne. The wordes are theſe.

Before the bread is ſanctified, we name it bread: but by the grace of God ſanctifying the ſame through the miniſterye of the Prieſt, it is deliuered from the name of bread, and is coūted worthy to beare the name of the Lordes body, although the very ſubſtance of bread notwithſtanding doo ſtill remayne therein, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Sonne. &c.

Cyprian. Lib.1.Epiſt.6.

Cyprian ſayth: *Bread is made of many graynes. And is that naturall bread, and made of wheate? Yea it is ſo in deede.*

Theodoretus.

The booke of Theodoret in Greeke was now lately printed at Rome, which if it had not bene his, it ſhoulde not haue bene ſet forth there, ſpecially ſeing it is directly againſt tranſubſtantiation: For hee ſayth playnely that bread ſtyll remayneth after the ſanctification.

Gelaſius.

Gelaſius alſo is very plaine in this matter. *The Sacrament* (ſayth hee) *whych we receyue of the body and bloude of Chriſt, is a diuine matter: by reaſon whereof we are made partakers by the ſame of the diuine nature, and yet it ceaſſeth not ſtyll to be the ſubſtance of bread and wyne. And certes, the repreſentation and ſimilitude of the body and bloud of Chriſt bee celebrated in the action of the miſteries. &c.*

After this he recited certayne places out of Auguſtine and Cirill, whych were not noted.

Iſych. Lib. cap.8.

Iſichius alſo confeſſeth that it is bread.

Bertram.

Alſo the iudgement of Bertram in this matter is very playne & manifeſt. And thus much for the ſecond groūd.

¶The third ground.

The thyrd ground.

The thyrd grounde is the nature of the Sacrament, whych conſiſteth in three thynges, that is, vnitye, nutrition, and conuerſion.

Cyprian.

3. thinges in a Sacrament.

1. Unitie. 2. Nutrition. 3. Conuerſion.

As touching vnitye, Cyprian thus wryteth: *Euen as of many graines is made one bread, ſo are we one miſticall bodye in Chriſt.* Wherefore bread muſt needes ſtyll remayn, or els we deſtroy the nature of a Sacrament.

Alſo they that take away nutrition, which commeth by bread, do take away likewyſe the nature of the ſacrament. For as the body of Chriſt nouriſheth the ſoule, euen ſo doth bread likewyſe nouriſhe the body of man. Therefore, they that take away the graines or the vnion of the graines in the bread, and denye the nutrition or ſubſtance thereof, in my iudgement are ſacramentaries: for they take away the ſimilitude betwene the bread and the body of Chriſt. For they whych affirme tranſubſtantiation are in deede right ſacramentaries & Capernaites.

Conuerſiō.

As touching conuerſion (that like as the bread which we receiue, is turned into our ſubſtance, ſo are wee turned into Chriſtes body) Rabanus and Chryſoſtome are wytneſſes ſufficient.

The

❡The fourth ground.

4.ground. The reall preſence in the Sacrament ſtandeth not with the truth of Chriſtes humanitie.

They which ſay that Chriſt is carnally preſent in the Euchariſt, do take from hym the veritye of mans nature. Eutiches graunted the diuine nature in Chriſt, but hys humane nature he denied: So they that defend tranſubſtantiation aſcribe that to the humane nature, whych onely belongeth to the diuine nature.

❡The fift ground.

The fift grounde is the certayne perſwaſion of thys article of the fayth: He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand.&c.

Auguſt. ſuper Ioā. tract.30.

Auguſtine ſayth: *The Lord is aboue euen to the ende of the world: but yet the veritye of the Lorde is here alſo. For his body wherein he roſe agayne, muſt needes be in one place, but hys verity is ſpread abroade euery where.*

Tract. 50. *Math. 28.*

Alſo in an other place he ſayth: *Let the godly receiue alſo that Sacrament, but let them not be carefull* (ſpeaking there of the preſence of the body). *For as touchyng hys maieſtye, hys prouidence, his inuiſible and vnſpeakeable grace, theſe woordes are fulfilled which he ſpake:* I am wyth you vnto the ende of the world. *But according to the fleſh which he tooke vpon hym: according to that whych was borne of the Vyrgin: was apprehended of the Iewes: was faſtned to a tree: taken downe agayne from the croſſe: lapped in lynnen clothes: was buried and roſe agayne, and appeared after hys reſurrection, ſo you ſhall not haue me alwaies wyth you. And why? becauſe that as concerning hys fleſh he was conuerſant wyth hys Diſciples fortye dayes, and they accompanying hym, ſeing hym, but not followyng hym, he went vp into heauen, and is not here, for he ſitteth at the ryght hand of hys Father: and yet he is here, becauſe he is not departed hence as concernyng the preſence of hys diuine Maieſty.*

Marke and conſider well what faynt Auguſtine ſayth: *He is aſcended into heauen, and is not here,* ſaith he. Beleue not them therfore which ſay that he is yet here ſtil in ẏ earth.

Auguſt. Epiſt.57.

Moreouer: *Doubt not* (ſayth the ſame Auguſtine) *but that Ieſus Chriſt, as concerning the nature of his manhood is now there from whence he ſhall come. And remember well and beleue the profeſſion of a Chriſtian man:* that he roſe from death, aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of hys father, and from that place, *and none other* (not from the aulters) ſhall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead, *and he ſhall come, as the Angell ſayd,* as he was ſeene go in to heauen: *that is to ſay, in the ſame forme and ſubſtance, vnto the which he gaue immortality, but chāged not nature. After this forme* (meaning hys humane nature) *we may not thinke that he is euery where.*

Auguſt. ibid.

And in the ſame epiſtle he ſayth: *Take away frō the bodies the limitation of places and they ſhall be no where: and becauſe they are no where they ſhall not be at all.*

Vigilius contra Eutychen Lib.4.

Vigilius ſayth: *If the woord and the fleſh be both of one nature, ſeyng that the word is euery where, why then is not the fleſh alſo euery where? For when it was in earth, then verely it was not in heauen: and now when it is in heauē, it is not ſurely in earth. And it is ſo certayne that it is not in earth, that as concernyng the ſame we looke for hym to come frō heauen, whom as concernyng the word we beleue to be wyth vs in earth.*

Alſo the ſame Vigilius ſayth: *VVhych thynges ſeyng they be ſo, the courſe of the ſcripture muſt be ſearched of vs, and many teſtimonies muſt be gathered to ſhew playnly what a wyckednes and ſacrilege it is to referre thoſe thinges to the propertie of the diuine nature, whych do onely belong to the nature of the fleſh: and contrarywiſe, to apply thoſe thynges vnto the nature of the fleſh, whych do properly belong to the diuine nature.* whych thyng the tranſubſtantiatours doo, whyleſt they affirme Chriſtes body not to be conteyned in any one place, & aſcribe that to hys humanity, whych properly belongeth to hys diuinitye: as they do whych wyll haue Chriſtes body to be in no one certaine place limited.

The thyrd Concluſiō.

Now in the latter concluſion concerning the ſacrifice, becauſe it dependeth vpon the fyrſt, I wyll in few wordes declare what I thinke. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controuerſye in the other would ſoone be at an ende. Two thinges there be which do perſwade me that thys concluſion is true: that is, certayne places of the ſcripture, and alſo certain teſtimonies of the fathers.

Heb.9. Sacrifice of Chriſtes body.

Saint *Paule* ſayth. *Heb.9.* Chriſt being come an high Prieſt of good things to come by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with handes, that is, not of this buyldyng, neyther by the bloud of Goates and Calues, but by his own bloud, entred once into the holy place, and obtayned for vs eternall redemption. &c. and now in the ende of the world he hath appeared once to put away ſynne by the ſacrifice of hym ſelfe.

And agayne: Chriſt was once offered to take awaye the ſynnes of many.

Heb.10.

Moreouer he ſayth: With one offering hath hee made perfect for euer thoſe that are ſanctified.

Chriſt neuer offered but once.

Theſe ſcriptures do perſwade me to beleue that there is no other oblation of Chriſt (albeit I am not ignorant that there are many ſacrifices) but that whych was once made vpon the croſſe.

Aug.ad Bonif. Epiſt.23. Auguſt. Queſt.61. Aug contra Fauſtū. cap. 21.cap.28. Fulgent. De Fide.

The teſtimonies of the auncient Fathers whych confyrme the ſame, are out of Auguſtine ad Bonifac. Epiſt. 23. Againe in hys booke of 43. Queſtions in the 61. queſtion. Alſo in his 20. booke againſt Fauſtus the Maniche cap. 21. And in the ſame booke againſt the ſayd Fauſtus cap.28. thus he writeth: *Now the Chriſtians keepe a memoriall of the ſacrifice paſte, wyth a holy oblation and participation of the body and bloud of Chriſt.*

Fulgentius in hys booke De Fide, calleth the ſame oblation a commemoration. And theſe thinges are ſufficient for thys tyme for a ſcholaſticall determination of theſe matters.

❡*Diſputations of Martyn Bucer.*

Ouer & beſide theſe diſputations aboue mentioned, other diſputations alſo were holdē at Cambridge ſhortly after by Martin Bucer vppon theſe concluſions folowyng.

❡*Concluſions to be diſputed.*

Concluſions diſputed at Cambrige by *Martyn Bucer.*

1. The canonical bookes of holy Scripture alone do ſufficiētly teach the regenerated all thinges neceſſarely belongyng vnto ſaluation.
2. There is no Church in earth which erreth not as well in faith as in maners.
3. We are ſo iuſtified freely of God, that before our iuſtification it is ſinne and prouoketh Gods wrath agaynſt vs, what ſoeuer good worke we ſeeme to do. Then beyng iuſtified we do good workes.

Diſputers agaynſt *M.Bucer* at Cambrige.

In theſe iij. propoſitions againſt Bucer diſputed M. Sedgewycke, Yonge, and Pearne. Which diſputatiōs becauſe they are long here to be recited, I minde (the Lord willyng) to reſerue them to ſome other cōuenient place. In the meane ſeaſon becauſe great controuerſie hath bene and is yet amongeſt the learned, and much effuſion of Chriſten bloud about the wordes and meanyng of the Sacrament, to the entent that the veritie therof more openly may be explaned and all doubtfull ſcruples diſcuſſed, it ſhall not be out of place to adioyne to the former diſcourſes of Peter Martyr, and of Doct. Ridley aboue mentioned, an other certeine learned treatiſe in forme of a Dialogue as apperteinyng to the ſame argument, compiled (as it ſemeth) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr and other authors, by a certeine learned and reuerend perſon of thys Realme: who vnder the perſons of Cuſtome and Veritie, manifeſtly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men not to meaſure religion by cuſtome, but to trye cuſtome by truth and the worde of God, for els cuſtome may ſone deceaue, but the worde of God abydeth for euer.

A learned Dialogue betwen *Cuſtome and Truth.*

❡*A fruitfull Dialogue declaring theſe wordes of Chriſt:* This is my body.

CVSTOME. VERITIE.

A Dialogue betwene *Cuſtome and Veritie.*

CVST. I maruell much what madnes is cropen into thoſe mens hartes, which now a dayes are not aſhamed ſo violently to tread down the liuely word of God, yea and impudently to deny God hym ſelfe.

VERI. God forbyd there ſhoulde bee any ſuch. In deede I remember that the Romiſh Byſhop was wont to haue the Bible for his foote ſtoole, and ſo to treade downe Gods worde euermore when hee ſtoode at hys Maſſe. But thankes be to God he is now detected, and his abominations be opened and blowne throughout all the worlde. And I heare of no mo that oppreſſeth Gods worde.

CVST. No moe ſay you? Yes doubtles there are an hundreth thouſand mo, and your part it is Veritie, to withſtand them.

VERI. As touchyng my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to ſtand with falſehode. But what are they: diſcloſe thē if you will haue thē reproued.

CVST. what are you ſo great a ſtrāger in theſe quarters? heare you not how that men do dayly ſpeake agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, denying it to be the reall body of Chriſt?

VERI. In good ſoth, I haue bene a great whyle abroad, and returned but of late into this contrary. Wherfore you muſt pardon me if my aunſwere be to ſeeke in ſuch queſtions. But go forth in your tale. You haue ben longer here, and are better acquaynted then I. What ſay they more then this?

CVST. Thē this? why, what cā they poſſible ſay more?

VERI. Yes there are many thynges worſe then this: For this ſemeth in ſome part to be tolerable.

CVST. What? me thinketh you daly with me. Semeth it tolerable to deny the Sacrament?

VERI. They denye it not, ſo much as I can gather by your wordes.

CVST. Nay then fare you well: I perceiue you will take their part.

VERI. I am not parciall, but indifferent to all parties: For I neuer go farther then the truth.

CVST. I cā ſcarſly beleue you. But what is more true then Chriſt, which is truth it ſelfe? or who euer was ſo hardy, before this tyme to charge Chriſt with a lye, for ſaying theſe wordes: *This is my body?* The wordes are euident and plaine: there is in them not ſo much as one obſcure or darke letter: there is no cauſe for any man to cauill. And yet that notwithſtandyng, where as Chriſt him ſelfe affirmed it to be his body, men now a dayes are not abaſhed to ſay Chriſt lyed, it is not his body. The Euangeliſtes agree all in one, the olde writers ſtand of our ſyde, the Uniuerſall and Catholicke Church hath ben in this mynde theſe xv. hundreth yeare and more. And ſhall we thincke that Chriſt hym ſelfe, hys Euangeliſtes, all the whole Catholicke Church hath bene ſo longe deceyued, and the truth now at length begotten and borne in theſe dayes?

Math. 26.

Chriſtes wordes: The Euangeliſtes: The olde writers: The Catholicke Church.

VERI. You haue moued a matter of greate force and waight, and whereto without many wordes I cā make no full aunſwere. Notwithſtādyng becauſe you prouoke me therto, if you will gyue me licence I will take parte with them of whom you haue made falſe reporte. For none of them euer reproued Chriſt of any lie. But cōtrarywiſe they ſay that many men of late dayes, not vnderſtandyng Chriſtes wordes, haue builded and ſet vp many fond lyes vpon his name. Wherefore firſt I will declare the meanyng of theſe wordes: *This is my body*, and next in what ſenſe the Church and the old fathers haue euermore taken them. Firſt therfore you ſhall vnderſtād that Scripture is not ſo to be taken alwayes as the letter ſoundeth, but as the intent and purpoſe of the holy Ghoſt was, by whom the Scripture was vttered. For if you folowe the bare wordes, you will ſoone ſhake downe and ouerthrow the greateſt part of the Chriſtian faith. What is playner then theſe wordes: Pater maior me eſt: *My father is greater then I am?* Of thoſe playne wordes ſprange vppe the hereſye of the Arrians, which denyed Chriſt to be equall with his father. What is more euidēt then this ſaying: *I and my father are both one?* Therof aroſe the hereſy of thē that denyed three diſtinct perſons. *They all had one ſoule and one hart*, was ſpoken by the Apoſtles. Yet had ech of them a ſoule and harte peculiar to hym ſelfe. *They are noVV not tVVo but one fleſh*, is ſpoken by the man and his wife. Yet hath both the man and the wife his ſeuerall body. *Hee is our Very fleſh*, ſayd Ruben by Ioſeph his brother, which notwithſtandyng was not their reall fleſh. *I am bread*, ſayd Chriſt: yet was hee fleſh and no bread. *Chriſt VVas the ſtone*, ſayth Paul, and was in dede no materiall ſtone. Melchiſedech *had neyther father nor mother*, and yet in deede he had both. *Behold the Lambe of God*, ſayth Iohn Baptiſt by Chriſt: notwithſtandyng Chriſt was a man, and not a Lambe. Circumciſion was called the couenaunt, where as it was but a token of the couenaūt. The Lambe was named the paſſeouer, and yet was it eaten in remembraunce only of the paſſeouer. Iacob raiſed vp an aultar, and called it being made but of lyme and ſtone, *the mightie God of Iſraell.* Moſes whē he had conquered the Amalechites, ſet vp an aultar and called it by the names of God Iehoua, and Tetragrammatum. *VVe all are one loafe of bread*, ſaith Paul, yet were they not thereby turned into a loafe of bread. Chriſt hangyng vpon the Croſſe appoynted S. Iohn to his mother, ſaying: *Loe there is thy ſonne*, and yet was he not her ſonne. *So many as be Baptiſed into Chriſt* (ſayth Paul) *haue put on Chriſt: and ſo many as are baptiſed into Chriſt, are VVaſhed VVith the bloud of Chriſt*: notwithſtandyng no man toke the fonte water to be the naturall bloud of Chriſt. *The cup is the neVV Teſtament*, ſayth Paul, and yet is not the cuppe in dede the very new Teſtamēt. You ſee therfore that it is not ſtraūge nor a thyng vnwont in the ſcriptures, to call one thyng by an others name. So that you can no more of neceſſitie inforce the chaunging of the bread into Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, becauſe the wordes be playne: *This is my body*, then the wiues fleſh to bee the naturall and reall body and fleſh of the huſband becauſe it is writen: *They are not tVVo, but one fleſh*: or the aultar of ſtone to bee very God, becauſe Moſes wyth euident and playne woordes pronounced it to be the mighty God of Iſrael. Notwithſtanding if you wyll nedes cleaue to the letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cauſe. For thus I wil reaſon, and vſe your own weapon agaynſt you. The ſcripture calleth it bread. The Euāgeliſtes agree in the ſame. Paule nameth it ſo v. tymes in one place. The holy Goſt may not be ſet to ſchole to learne to ſpeake. Wherfore I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to ſay, but alſo to beleue that in the ſacrament there remayneth bread.

The doctrine of the Papiſts commonly ſtādeth vpon falſe reportes.

The ſenſe of *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, expounded.

Iohn. 14.

Iohn. 10.

Actes. 4.

Gen. 37.

1. *Cor.* 10.

1. *Cor.* 10.

Gal. 3.
Rom. 6.

Figuratiue ſpeches moſt cōmon in Scripture.

The name of bread is vſed in ſcripture.

CVST. Me thinketh your aunſwere is reaſonable: yet can I not bee ſatiſfyed. Declare you therefore more at large, what moueth you to thynke this of the ſacrament. For I thynke you woulde not wythſtand a doctrine ſo long holden and taught, vnleſſe you were inforced by ſome ſtrong and likely reaſons.

VERI. Fyrſt, in examinyng the wordes of Chriſt, I get me to the meanyng and purpoſe for which they were ſpoken. And in thys behalfe I ſee that Chriſt ment to haue hys death and paſſion kept in remembraunce. For men of them ſelues bee and euermore were forgetfull of the benefites of God. And therefore it was behouefull that they ſhoulde bee admoniſhed and ſturred vp wyth ſome viſible and outward tokens, as with the Paſſeouer Lambe, the braſen Serpent, and other like. For the braſen Serpent was a token that when the Iewes were ſtynged and wounded with Serpentes, God reſtored them and made them whole. The paſſeouer Lambe was a memorye of the great benefite of God, whych when he deſtroyed the Egyptiās, ſaued the Iewes whoſe doores were ſprinkled wyth the bloud of a Lambe. So likewiſe Chriſt left vs a memoriall and remēbrance of his death and paſſion in outward tokens, that when the Chylde ſhould demaund of his Father what the breakyng of the bread and drynking of the cup meaneth, he might aunſwere hym, that lyke as the bread is brokē, ſo Chriſt was broken and rent vpon the croſſe for to redeme the ſoule of man: and lyke as wyne foſtereth and comforteth the body, ſo doth the bloud of Chriſt cheriſh and relieue the ſoule. And thys do I gather by the woordes of Chriſt, and by the inſtitution and order of the Sacrament. For Chriſt charged the Apoſtels to doe thys in the remembraunce of hym. Whereupon thus I do conclude:

The meaning of Chriſtes wordes examined.

Feſ- Nothyng is done in remembrance of it ſelfe.
ti- But the Sacrament is vſed in the remembrance of Chriſt:
no. Therefore the Sacrament is not Chriſt.

Fe- Chriſt neuer deuoured hym ſelfe.
ri- Chriſt did eate the Sacrament with his Apoſtles:
ſon. Ergo, the Sacrament is not Chriſt him ſelfe.

Beſide this I ſee, that Chriſt ordayned not his body, but a ſacramēt of his body. A Sacramēt (as S. Auguſtine declareth) is an outward ſigne of an inuiſible grace. His wordes are: Sacramentū eſt inuiſibilis gratiæ viſibile ſignū. Out of whych wordes I gather two argumentes. The fyrſt is thys, the token of the body of Chriſt is the thing tokened: wherfore they are not one. The ſecond is this.

Fe- One thyng can not be both viſible and inuiſible.
ri- But the Sacrament is viſible, & the body of Chriſt inuiſible:
ſon. Therefore they are not one.

Which thyng S. Auguſtine openeth very well by theſe wordes: Aliud eſt ſacramētū, aliud res ſacramenti. Sacramētū eſt quod in corpus vadit: res autē ſacramēti eſt corpus domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Moreouer, I remēber ẏ Chriſt miniſtred this Sacramēt not to great & deepe Philoſophers, but to a ſort of ignorant and vnlearned Fiſhers, whych notwithſtanding vnderſtoode Chriſtes meaning ryght well, and delyuered it euen as they tooke it at Chriſtes hand, to the vulgar and lay people and fully declared vnto them the meaning thereof. But the lay people, nor ſcarcely the Apoſtles themſelues could vnderſtand what is ment by tranſubſtantiation, inpanation, dimenſions, qualitates, quātitates, accidens ſine ſubiecto, terminus a quo, & terminus ad quem, per modum quanti. This is no learnyng

nyng for the vnlearned and rude people, wherefore it is lykely that Chriſt ment ſome other thyng then hath bene taught of late dayes. Furthermore, Chriſtes body is foode, not for the body, but for the ſoule, and therefore it muſt be receiued with yͤ inſtrument of the ſoule which is fayth. For as ye receaue ſuſtenance for your body by your bodily mouth, ſo the foode of your ſoule muſt bee receaued by fayth, whych is the mouth of the ſoule. And for that S. Auguſtine ſharpely rebuketh them that thynke to eate Chriſt wyth theyr mouth ſaying: Quid paras dentem et ventrem: crede & manducaſti. i. *VVhy makeſt thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? beleue, and thou haſt eaten Chriſt.* Likewyſe ſpeakyng of eating the ſelf ſame body, he ſayth to the *Capernaites*, which tooke hym groſly as mē do now a dayes: *The VVordes that I ſpeake are ſpirite and life. It is the ſpirit that quicketh: the fleſh profiteth nothing.* And S. Auguſtine vppon theſe wordes of Chriſt ſayth: * Non hoc corpus, quod videtis manducaturi eſtis: neq; bibituri ſanguinem, quem effuſuri ſunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. Id ſpiritualiter acceptum viuificat: caro autem non prodeſt quicquam. *Auguſt. Quinquagena.2. Pſal.98.*

Chriſt is no foode for the body but for the ſoule.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tract.25.

Iohn.6.

* That is to ſay: *You ſhall not eate thy body VVhich you ſee and drinke that bloud VVhich they ſhall ſheede that ſhall crucifie me. I haue commended to you a ſacrament, VVnderſtand it ſpiritually and it ſhall geue you lyfe: the fleſhe profiteth nothing.*

CVST. What meane you by thys ſpirite, and by ſpirituall eating? I pray you vtter your mynde more playnly. For I know well that Chriſt hath a body, and therefore muſt be eaten (as I thinke) wyth the mouth of the body. For the ſpirit and the ſoule as it hath no body and fleſh, ſo it hath no mouth.

VERI. You muſt vnderſtand that a man is ſhaped of two partes: of the body, and of the ſoule. And ech of them hath hys lyfe and hys death, hys mouth, his teeth, hys foode, and abſtinence. For lyke as the body is nouriſhed and fostered wyth bodily meates, or els can not endure, ſo muſt the ſoule haue hys cheriſhyng, otherwyſe wyll it decay, and pine away. And therfore we do and may iuſtly ſay that the Turkes, Iewes, and Heathen bee dead, becauſe they lacke the lyuely foode of the ſoule. But how then, or by what meane wyll you feede the ſoule? Doubtles not by the inſtrument of the body, but of the ſoule. For that which is receaued into the body hath no paſſage from thence into the ſoule. For Chriſt ſayth, *that VVhat ſo entreth into the belly, is conueyed into the draught.* And where as you ſay that the ſpirite hath no mouth like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceaued. For the ſpirit hath a mouth in hys kynde, or els how could a man eate & drinke Iuſtice? for vndoubtedly hys bodily mouth is no fit inſtrumēt for it. Yet Chriſt ſayth, that he is bleſſed that hungreth & thirſteth for Iuſtice. If he hunger and thyrſt for Iuſtice, belike he both eateth and drinketh it, or otherwyſe he neyther abateth hys hunger, nor quencheth hys thirſt. Nowe if a man eate and drinke righteouſnes wyth hys ſpirit, no doubt hys ſpirite hath a mouth. Wherof I will reaſon thus:

Math.15.

Math.5.

What is to hunger and eate righteouſnes.

Argument.

Da- Of what ſoeuer ſort the mouth is, ſuch is hys foode.
ti- But the mouth of the ſpirit is ſpirituall, not bodily:
ſi. Therfore it receaueth Chriſtes body ſpiritually, not bodily.

And in like maner Chriſt ſpeakyng of the eatyng of hys body, nameth hym ſelfe the bread, not for the body, but of lyfe for the ſoule, and ſayth: *Hee that commeth to me, ſhall not hunger, and he that beleueth in me, ſhall neuer thyrſt.* Wherefore who ſo wyll bee relieued by the body of Chriſt, muſt receaue him as he will be receaued, wyth the inſtrument of fayth appoynted thereunto, not wyth his teeth or mouth. And where as I ſay that Chriſtes body muſt be receaued and taken with fayth, I meane not that you ſhal plucke downe Chriſt from heauen and put hym in your fayth, as in a viſible place: but that you muſt with your faith riſe and ſpring vp to him, and leauyng this world, dwel aboue in heauen, putting all your truſt, comfort, and cōſolation in him, which ſuffered greuous bondage to ſet you at libertye & to make you free, creeping into his woūdes which were ſo cruelly pearced and dented for your ſake. So ſhal you feede of the body of Chriſt, ſo ſhall you ſucke the bloud that was poured out and ſhed for you. This is the ſpirituall, the very true, the onely eating of Chriſtes body. And therfore S. Gregorie calleth it Cibum mentis, non ventris. i. *The foode of the minde and not of the belly.* And S. Cipriane ſayth lykewyſe: Non accuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. *VVe ſharpen not our tooth nor prepare our belly.*

Iohn.6.

How Chriſtes body is taken by fayth.

Gregor.

Cyprian.

Nowe to returne to our former purpoſe, ſeyng it is playne that Chriſtes body is meate for our ſpirite, and hath nothing to do with our body, I wyl gather thereof this reaſon. The ſacrament is bodily foode and increaſeth the body: Ergo the ſacrament is not the very body of Chriſt. That it nouriſheth the body, it is euident: for Chriſt calleth it the fruite of the vyne, whoſe dutye is to nouriſh. And for a proufe, if you conſecrate a whole lofe, it wyll feede you ſo well as your table bread. And if a litle Mouſe get an hoſt, he wyll craue no more meate to his dinner. But you will ſay theſe are worldly reaſons. What then if the olde Fathers recorde the ſame? Irenæus ſayth: Quando mixtus calix, et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia corporis & ſanguinis domini, ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. *Beda* wytneſſeth the ſame by theſe woordes: Quia panis carnem confirmat, & vinum ſanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Chriſti myſticè, illud ad ſanguinem refertur. Wherfore as I ſaid before, ſeing that Chriſtes body is ſpiritual meat, and the bread of the ſacrament bodily, I may conclude that the ſacrament is not Chriſtes body. Beſyde thys, where as it was forbidden in the old lawe, that any man ſhould eate or drink bloud, the Apoſtels notwithſtāding tooke the cup at Chriſtes handes, and dranke of it, and neuer ſtaggered or ſhranke at the matter: whereby it may bee gathered, that they tooke it for a miſtery, for a token, and a remēbraunce, farre otherwyſe then it hath of late bene taken.

Irenæus lib.5. contra Valentinum.

Beda ſuper Lucam.

Chriſtes body is ſpirituall meate.

Drinking mans bloud, agaynſt the lawe.

Agayne, when the Sacrament was delt, none of them all crouched downe and tooke it for his God, forgetting him that ſat there preſent before theyr eyes, but tooke it, and eate it, knowing that it was a ſacrament and a remembraunce of Chriſtes body. Yea, the olde Councels commaunded that no man ſhoulde kneele downe at the tyme of the Communion, fearing that it ſhould be an occaſion of idolatry. And long after the Apoſtels tyme, as *Tertullian* writeth, women were ſuffered to take it home with them, & to lap it vp in theyr cheſtes. And the Prieſt many times ſent it to ſycke perſons by a childe: whych no doubt woulde haue geuen more reuerence thereto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about iij. hundereth yeare agone *Honorius.3.* the Byſhop of Rome tooke him and hanged him vp, and cauſed men to kneele and crouch downe, and all to begod hym.

Kneeling to the ſacrament forbidden in olde Councels.

The Sacrament caryed home in napkins.

Pope *Honorius.3.* firſt author of worſhipping the Sacrament. An.1220.

Furthermore, if the bread bee turned and altered into the body of Chriſt, doubtles it is yͤ greateſt miracle that euer God wrought. But the Apoſtels ſawe no miracle in it. Nazianzenus an old writer, and S. Auguſtine intreating of all the miracles that are in the ſcripture, number the ſacrament for none. As for the Apoſtels it appeareth well that they had it for no maruell, for they neuer muſed at it, neyther demaunded how it might be: whereas in other thinges, they euermore were full of queſtions. As touching S. Auguſtine, he not onely ouer hippeth it as no wonder, but by playne and expreſſe wordes teſtifieth that there is no maruell in it. For ſpeaking of the Lordes ſupper, & of the other ſacraments, he ſayth theſe wordes: * Hic ſacramenta honorē vt religioſa habere poſſunt, ſtuporē autem vt mira non poſſunt. Moreouer a little before the inſtitution of the ſacrament, Chriſt ſpake of hys aſcenſion, ſaying: *I leaue the VVorld: I tarye but a lytle VVhyle VVyth you. Let not your hartes be troubled becauſe I go from you. I tell you truth it is for your profit that I go from you: for if I go not, the ſpirite of cōfort cā not come to you: Ioh.14.* With many other like warninges of hys departure. Saint Steuen ſaw him ſitting at the ryght hand of his father, and thought it a ſpeciall reuelation of God: but he neuer ſayd that he ſawe hym at the Communion, or that he made hym euery day him ſelfe. And in the Actes of the Apoſtles S. Peter ſaith, that Chriſt muſt needes keepe the heauen till all be ended. Eſay, Salomon, and S. Steuen ſay that *God dVVelleth not in Temples made VVith mans hand.* S. Paule wiſheth that he were diſſolued, and deade, and were wyth Chriſt, not in the aultar doubtles where hee myght bee dayly, but in heauen. And to be briefe, it is in our Credo, and we do conſtantly beleue, that Chriſt is aſcended into heauen and ſytteth at hys fathers ryght hand: and no promyſe haue we that hee wyll come iumpyng downe at euery Prieſtes calling. Hereof I gather this reaſon.

Apoſtles and olde Doctors make no miracle nor maruell at the Sacrament.

* That is to ſay: *Sacramētes here may haue their honour as thinges religious but they are not to be VVondered at as miracles.*

Actes.3.

Actes.17.

Chriſtes body can not both bee gone, and be here.
But he is gone, and hath left the worlde:
Therefore it is follye to ſeeke hym in the world.

If Chriſt were both gone and taryed, then he ſhould ſeeme to haue left him ſelfe behinde him.

CVST. Fye, you bee farre deceaued. I can not in no wiſe brooke theſe wordes. You ſhut vp Chriſt to ſtraitly, and impriſon hym in one corner of heauen, not ſufferyng hym to go at large. No, doubtles he hath deſerued more gentles at your hand, then to be tied vp ſo ſhort.

VERI. I doe neyther locke vppe neyther impriſon Chriſt in heauē: but according to the Scriptures declare that he hath choſen a bleſſed place, and moſt worthy to receiue his Maieſtie: in which place who ſo is incloſed, thinketh not hym ſelf (as I ſuppoſe) to be a priſoner: but

The body of Chriſt impriſoned by the Papiſtes in a boxe; and afterward burned when he is mouldie.

if you take it for ſo haynous a thyng that Chriſt ſhould ſit reſidēt in heauē in the glory of his father, what thinke you of them that impriſon him in a litle boxe, yea & kepe hym in captiuitie ſo long, vntill he be mouldy and ouergrowne with vermine, and when he is paſt mās meate, be not contented to hange hym till he ſtincke, but will haue hym to a new execution, and burne hym too? This is wonderfull, & extreme cruell impriſonyng. But to returne to the matter, we are certainely perſuaded by the word of God, that Chriſt the very ſonne of God vouchſafed to take vpon hym the body and ſhape of man, and that he walked and was conuerſaunt amongeſt men in that ſame one, and not in many bodies, and that he ſuffred death, aroſe agayne, and aſcended to heauen in the ſelfe ſame body, and that hee ſitteth at his fathers right hand in his manhode, in the nature and ſubſtaunce of the ſayd one body. This is our beliefe: this is the very word of God. wherfore they are farre deceiued which leauyng heauen, will grope for Chriſtes body vpon the earth.

Chriſtes body is ſpirituall in the Sacramēt, ſay the Papiſtes.

CVST. Nay ſyr, but I ſee now you are farre out of the way. For Chriſt hath not ſo groſſe and fleſhely, as you thinke, but a ſpirituall and a Ghoſtly body, and therfore without repugnance it may be in many places at once.

VERI. You ſay right well, and do graunt that Chriſtes body is ſpirituall. But I pray you aunſwere me by the way: Can any other body then that which is ſpirituall, be at one tyme in ſondry places?

CVST. No truly.

VERI. Haue we that ſame ſelfe Sacrament that Chriſt gaue to hys Diſciples at his Maundy, or no?

CVST. No doubtles, we haue the ſame.

VERI. whē became Chriſtes body ſpirituall? was it ſo euen from his byrth?

CVST. No, for doubtles before hee aroſe from death, his body was earthly as other mens bodies are.

VERI. well, but when gaue Chriſt the Sacrament to his Diſciples? before he aroſe from death, or after?

CVST. You know your ſelfe he gaue it before his reſurrection, the night before he ſuffred his Paſſion.

VERI. why then, me thinketh he gaue the Sacrament at that tyme, when his body was not ſpirituall.

CVST. Euen ſo.

VERI. And was euerie portion of the Sacrament delt to the Apoſtles, and receiued into their mouthes the very reall, and ſubſtantiall body of Chriſt?

CVST. Yea doubtles.

The Popes doctrine repugnant to it ſelfe.

VERI. Marke well what ye haue ſayd, for you haue graunted me great repugnance. Firſt you ſay that no body beyng not ſpirituall can be in ſondry places at once. Thē ſay you that at the maundy Chriſtes body was not ſpirituall: and yet hold you that he was there preſent viſible before the Apoſtles eyes, and in ech of their handes and mouthes all at one time: which grauntes of yours are not agreable. But I will gather a better and a more formall reaſon of your owne wordes, in this ſorte.

Fe- No body being reall, naturall, and organicall, and not ſpirituall, can be in many places at once.
ri- Chriſtes body in the Sacrament was in the Apoſtles handes and mouthes at one tyme, which were many places:
ſon. Ergo, Chriſtes body in the Sacrament was not a reall, naturall, and organicall body, but ſpirituall.

The Papiſtes though they be conuicted, yet they will not beleue.

CVST. In deede you haue driuen me into the ſtraites before I was ware of you, and I know not how I may eſcape your handes honeſtly. But the beſt refuge that I haue is this, I will not beleue you.

VERI. I deſyre you not to geue credence to me. Beleue the worde of God, yea beleue your own beliefe, for they both witnes agaynſt you that Chriſtes body is taken vp into heauen, and there ſhall remaine vntill he come to Iudge.

CVST. Tuſhe what ſpeake you of the worde of God? There bee many darke ſayinges therin, which euery mā can not attaine to.

Cuſtome medleth but litle with Scripture.

VERI. I graunt you there be certeine obſcure places in the Scripture, yet not ſo obſcure but that a man with the grace of God may perceiue: for it was written not for Aungels, but for men. But as I vnderſtand Cuſtome medleth but litle with Scripture. How ſay you by S. Auguſtine, Saint Hierome, S. Ambroſe, what if they ſtand on our ſide?

CVST. No no, I know them well ynough.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

VERI. So wel as you know them, for all old acquaintaunce if they be called to witnes they will giue euidence agaynſt you. For S. Auguſtine commonly in euery of his bookes, but chiefly in an Epiſtle to his frend Dardanus declareth that Chriſtes body is placed in one rowme. I maruell you be not nearer of his coūſell. His wordes are theſe: Noli dubitare ibi nunc eſſe hominem Chriſtum Ieſum, vnde venturus eſt. Memoriterq; recole & fideliter crede Chriſtianam confeſſionem: quoniā reſurrexit, aſcēdit in cœlum, ſedet a dextris Dei patris: nec aliundè q̄ indè venturus eſt, ad viuos mortuoſq; iudicandos. Et venturus eſt in eadē corporis ſubſtantia: cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abſtulit. Secundum hanc formā non eſt putandus vbiq; diffuſus. Cauendum enim eſt, ne ita diuinitatem aſtruamus hominis, vt humanitatem amittamus Dei. i. *Do not doubt the mā Ieſus Chriſt to be there, from whence he ſhall come. And remember well, and faythfully beleue the Chriſten confeſſion, that hee is ryſen, aſcended into heauen, ſitteth at the ryght hand of God the father, and from thence ſhall come and from no other place, to iudge the quicke and dead. And ſhall come in the ſame ſubſtaūce of body, to which hee gaue immortalitie, and tooke not the nature from it. After this forme he is to be thought not to be diſperſed in all places, for we muſt beware ſo to defend his Diuinitie, that we deſtroy not hys humanitie.* And in an other place of ẏ ſame Epiſtle. Vna perſona Deus & homo, & vtrumq; eſt vnus Chriſtus. Vbiq; per id quod Deus, in cælo autem per id quod homo.

Auguſt. ibid.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 14.

Likewiſe vpon the xiiij. Pſalme. Donec ſæculum finiatur ſurſum eſt Dominus: ſed etiam hic nobiſcum eſt veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet, veritas autē eius vbique diffuſa eſt. i. *While the world ſhall laſt, the Lorde is aboue, and alſo the veritie of the Lord is with vs. For the body wherein he roſe agayne muſt be in one place. But the veritie of hym is euery where diſperſed.* In lyke maner writeth Damaſus an old Byſhop of Rome in his Credo. Deuictis mortis imperijs, cum ea carne in qua natus, & paſſus eſt, & reſurrexit, aſcendit in cælum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus & paſſus eſt.

Damaſus.

Ambroſ. in 10. cap. Luc.

S. Ambroſe writyng vpō the x. chapt. of Luke recordeth the ſame: Ergo, nec ſupra terrā, nec in terra, nec ſecundū terrā quærere debemus dominū, ſi volumus inuenire. Nō enim ſupra terrā quæſiuit qui ſtantē ad Dei dextrā vidit. Maria quærebat in terra tangere Chriſtū & nō potuit. Stephanus tetigit quia quærebat in cœlo. i. *Wherfore, neither aboue the earth, nor vpō the earth, nor accordyng to the earth we ought to ſeke the lord, if we will find him: For he did not ſeke him aboue the earth which did ſee him ſitting at the right hād. And Mary ſought vpō the earth to touch Chriſt, and could not.* Steuē *touched him becauſe hee ſought him in heauē.*

Hieron. ad Marcelli.

S. Hierome in an epiſtle to Marcella proueth ẏ the body of Chriſt muſt nedes be conteined in ſome place, for he ſayth: Veri Dei eſt vbiq; eſſe: veri hominis alicubi eſſe. i. *The propertie of God is to be euery where: the property of man is to be in one place.* The ſame Hierome in an other place calleth it a fooliſhe thyng to ſeeke for him in a narrow place, or in a corner, which is the light of all the world: Stultum eſt eum paruo in loco, vel abſcondito quærere, qui totius mundi eſt lumen. i. *Fooliſhnes it is, in a ſmall place or in a hyd corner to ſeeke hym which is the light of the whole world.*

Hieron.

Origenes.

Origene ſayth likewiſe: Audiēdi non ſunt qui Chriſtum demonſtrant in ædibus. i. *They are not to bee heard, which ſhewe Chriſt in houſes.* The ſame alſo recordeth Beda, writyng vppon theſe woordes of Chriſt: *Now a litle while ſhall you ſee me.* He ſpeaketh in Chriſtes perſon. *Therefore* (ſayth he) *ſhall you ſee me but a little while after my reſurrection, becauſe I will not ſtill abyde in the earth bodily, but in the manhode which I haue taken, will aſcend vp to heauen.* What nedeth more wordes? All the old fathers witneſſeth the ſame. You may by theſe ſoone iudge the reſt.

Beda in 17. cap. Ioan.

The Sacrament is not the reall body of Christ, and why.

Now to returne to the matter, ſeing that the worde of God in many and ſondry places, the Credo and the abrigement of the fayth, ſeyng all the olde fathers do cōſtantly agree in one, that the body of Chriſt is aſcended into heauen and there remaineth at the right hande of the father, and can not bee more then in one place, I do conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Chriſt: firſt becauſe it is not in heauen, neither ſitteth at the fathers right hād: moreouer becauſe it is in an hūdreth thouſād boxes, where as Chriſtes body filleth but one place. Furthermore if the bread were turned into the body of Chriſt, then would it neceſſarely folow, that ſinners and vnpenitent perſons receiue the body of Chriſt.

CVST. Mary and ſo they do. For Paul ſayth playnly that they receiue the bodye of Chriſt to their owne confuſion.

The wicked receiue not the bodye of Chriſt.

VERI. No not ſo. Theſe are not Paules woordes, but hee ſayth: *Who ſo eateth of thys bread, and drincketh of thys cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drincketh hys owne condemnation, not iudging the bodye of the Lorde.* Here hee calleth it in playne wordes bread. And although the ſacramēt be very bread, yet doth the iniury redound to the body of Chriſt. As if a man breake the kinges Mace, or tread yͤ broad Seale vnder his foote, although he haue broken and defaced nothing but ſyluer and waxe. Yet is the iniury the Kinges, and the doer ſhall be taken as a Traitour. Saint Ambroſe declareth the meanyng of S.Paule by theſe woordes. Reus eſt corporis domini, quia pœnas dabit mortis Chriſti quoniã irritam fecit mortem domini. The cauſe of the ordinance therof was the remembrance of the death of Chriſt, which who ſo forgetteth, receiueth the ſacrament to their condemnation.

Ambroſius.

Auguſtinus.

That ſame witneſſeth S.Auguſtine. For the ſacrament, ſaith he, is an outward token of loue and charitie. For like as many graines of corne are become one peece of bread, euen ſo they that receiue it ought to be one. Then ſayth he. Myſterium pacis ac vnitatis nobis Chriſtus in menſa ſua conſecrauit. Qui accepit myſterium vnitatis, & non ſeruat vnitatem, non myſterium accepit pro ſe, ſed teſtimonium contra ſe. He that readeth the Goſpell wherein is declared the paſſion and death of Chriſt, and liueth contrary to the Goſpell, ſhall doubtles be the more gylty of the death of Chriſt, becauſe he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not.

The place of Saint Paul, of receauing vnworthely, expounded.

In a certayne countrey the maner is, that when the Goſpell is read, the King ſhall ſtande vp with a naked ſwoord in hys hande, declaring thereby that he beareth hys ſword in defence of the Goſpel. But if he himſelf oppreſſeth the Goſpell, he beareth the ſword againſt him ſelfe, for the Goſpel ſhall turne to his iudgement, and condemnation. So will Chriſt ſo much more extremely puniſh a man which knowing him ſelfe to be wicked and without repentance and therefore none of the flocke of Chriſt, yet notwithſtanding wyll impudently creepe into the company of Chriſtian men, and receiue the ſacramentes with them, as though hee were one of the nomber. And this ment S. Paule by the vnworthy receiuing of the Sacrament of Chriſtes body. Wherefore a man may vnworthely take the ſacrament, and be giltie of the death of Chriſt, although hee receiue not Chriſtes body into his mouth, and chawe it with his teeth. But what if I proue that euery Maſſing Prieſt is gilty of the body and bloud of Chriſt?

CVST. I dare ſay, you can not proue it.

VERI. But if I do proue it, will you beleue me?

CVST. I may well ynough, for it is impoſſible to doe it. For Prieſtes commonly are confeſſed before they goe to Maſſe: and how can they then take the Sacrament vnworthely?

Confeſſiõ.

VERI. In deede confeſſion, if it bee diſcretely vſed, is a laudable cuſtome, and to the vnlearned man, and feable conſcience ſo good as a ſermon. But notwithſtanding becauſe it was neuer neyther commaunded of Chriſt, nor receiued of the Apoſtels, nor much ſpoken of the old doctors, it can not make much for the due receiuing of the ſacrament.

Ambroſius.

But how lyke you theſe wordes of S. Ambroſe? Is indigne ſumit, qui aliter ſumit, quam Chriſtus inſtituit. i. *Hee taketh it vnworthely, that taketh it otherwyſe then Chriſt ordeined it.*

CVST. This liketh me verye well. But what gather you of it?

VERI. This wyl I gather. The maſſing Prieſt taketh the ſacrament otherwyſe then Chriſt eyther commaunded or taught: Ergo he taketh it vnworthely, and ſo conſequently to hys condemnation.

CVST. That is not ſo, for he doth altogether as Chriſt commaunded hym.

The prieſt taketh the ſacrament, not as Chriſt ordayned it: Ergo the prieſt taketh it vnworthely.

VERI. That ſhall appeare. For Chriſt commaunded it to be done in his remembraunce: the Prieſt doth it in remembraunce of dead men. Chriſt tooke bread, and left it bread: the Prieſt taketh bread and coniureth it away. Chriſt tooke bread and gaue thankes: the Prieſt taketh bread, and breatheth vpon it. Chriſt toke bread, and brake it: the Prieſt taketh bread and hangeth it vp. Chriſt tooke bread and delt to his Apoſtles: the Prieſt becauſe he is an Apoſtle hym ſelfe, taketh bread and eateth it euery whitte alone. Chriſt in a Sacrament gaue his owne body to bee eaten in fayth: the Prieſt for lacke of fayth receiueth accidences, and dimenſiõs. Chriſt gaue a Sacrament to ſtrengthen mens fayth: the Prieſt geueth a ſacrifice to redeme mens ſoules. Chriſt gaue it to be eaten: the Prieſtes giueth it to be worſhipped. And to conclude, Chriſt gaue bread: the Prieſt ſayth he giueth a God. Here is difference ynough betwene Chriſt, and the Prieſt.

Difference betwene Chriſtes ordinaunce and the Prieſtes iuggling.

Yet moreouer Chriſt at his Supper ſpake his wordes out and in a plaine tounge: the Prieſt ſpeaketh nothyng but Latin, or Greke, which tounges he ofttymes perceiueth not, & much he whiſpereth leſte any other pore mã ſhould perhaps perceiue him. So it cõmeth to paſſe that the Prieſt knoweth no more what hee him ſelf ſayth, then what he doth. This you may ſee that the Maſſyng prieſt receiueth yͤ Sacramẽt of Chriſtes body farre otherwiſe thẽ euer Chriſt mynded, & ſo therfore vnworthely & to hys condemnation. Now if you thinke your ſelf ſatiſfied, I wil returne to my former queſtiõ, and proue more at large that Chriſtes body can not bee eaten of the wicked, which thyng muſt neceſſarily enſue if the bread were turned into the body of Chriſt.

Iohn.6.

Chriſt in the vj. of Iohn, ſpeakyng of the eatyng of hys body, ſayth: *He that eateth of this bread, ſhall lyue for euer.* Wherof I gather thus: But ſinnefull men take the Sacrament to their condemnation and lyue not for euer: Ergo, in the Sacrament they receiue not the body of Chriſt. Againe, Chriſt ſayth: *He that eateth me, ſhall lyue for my ſake.* Hereof I cõclude thus: But impenitent perſons can not lyue for Chriſtes ſake.

Gregorius.

Moreouer Chriſtes body muſt be receiued with fayth & not with the mouth, as Gregory recordeth ſaying, that it is eaten with the teeth of the ſoule, not of the body, as I haue aboue more largely declared. But wicked, and impenitent perſons lacke fayth: wherfore they can not eate the body of Chriſt. Agayne Chriſtes body can not be diuided from his ſpirite, but wicked men haue not the ſpirite of God, Ergo, they haue not Chriſtes body. Hereunto agreeth all the old writers affirmyng conſtantly that the vnfaythfull be no meete veſſels to receiue the body of Chriſt.

Auguſtinus.

S.Auguſtine ſayth: Qui non manet in Chriſto, & in quo non manet Chriſtus, procul dubio non mãducat carnem Chriſti, nec bibit eius ſanguinem, quamuis tantæ rei myſteriũ ad iudicium ſuum manducet, ac bibat. And in the perſon of Chriſt he ſayth lykewiſe: Qui non manet in me, & in quo ego non maneo, ne ſe dicat, aut exiſtimet manducare corpus meum, aut ſanguinem meum bibere.

Ambroſius.

Ambroſe auoweth the ſame, by theſe wordes: Qui diſcordat a Chriſto, non mãducat carnem eius, nec bibit ſanguinem, etſi tantæ rei Sacramẽtum accipiat.

Proſperus.

In lyke maner writeth Proſperus: Qui diſcordat a Chriſto, nec carnem Chriſti edit, nec ſanguinem bibit, etſi tantæ rei Sacramẽtum, ad iudicium ſuæ præſumptionis quotidiè accipiat.

Auguſtinus.

And therfore S.Auguſtine ſayth: Mali Sacramentum habent, rem autem Sacramenti non habent. Thus by the wordes of God, by reaſon, and by the olde fathers it is playne that ſinnefull men eate not the body of Chriſt, receyue they the Sacrament neuer ſo ofte: which thyng could not be, if in the Sacrament there remayned nothyng but the body of Chriſt.

The Sacrament called breaking of bread.

The ſacrament in the ſcriptures is named Fractio panis, the breaking of bread: which, to ſay the truth, were but a colde breaking if there remayned no breade to breake, but certayne phantaſies of white, and round. Yet where as they with wordes, croſſinges, bleſſinges, breathings, leapings, and much a doo can ſcarcely make one God, they haue ſuch vertue in theyr fingers, that at one croſſe they be able to make .xx. gods, for if they breake the ſacrament euery portion, yea euery mite muſt needes be a god. After the Apoſtels tyme there aroſe vp hereticks which ſaid that Chriſt walking here amongeſt mẽ bodily vpon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and ſo therewyth dimmed mens ſight. Againſt whõ the old fathers vſed theſe argumentes: Chriſt increaſed in growing, faſted, hũgred, eate, wept, ſweat, was weary, and in concluſion dyed, and had all other properties of a very body: wherfore he had a body.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

I wyll vſe the ſame kinde of reaſoning. It feedeth, it taſteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the litle ſeelye Mouſe taketh it for bread, and to be ſhorte, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: ergo it is bread. The old Fathers, when there remayned any parte of the Sacrament, more then was ſpent at the Cõmunion, they vſed to burne it, and of it there came aſhes. But there is nothing in the Sacrament that can turne to aſhes, but onely bread (for I thinke they burned not Chriſtes body to aſhes): Ergo in the ſacrament there remayneth bread.

Reaſons prouing bread in the Sacramẽt.

Henry the Emperour the. vj. of that name was poyſoned in the hoſt: and Victor the Biſhop of Rome in the Chalice. But poyſon can not hange in Gods body, and bloud: wherefore there remayneth bread and wyne. What needeth many wordes in a matter ſo euident? If you demaunde either Gods word, or the Doctours and the auncient wryters, or your reaſon, or your eyes, or noſe, or tong, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or yͤ Mouſe, all theſe agree in one, and aunſwere together there is breade: wherefore if you reiect ſo many and ſo conſtant witneſſes, and ſo well agreing in their tale, ſpecially being ſuch as wyll lye for no mans pleaſure, I wil appeale from you, and take you as no indifferent iudge. If all theſe wytneſſes ſuffice you not, I wyll call the ſacrament it ſelfe to record. It crieth vnto you, & plainly doth aduertiſe you what you ſhould

The Sacrament geueth witnes that it is bread.

thinke of it. I am, it ſayth, grated with the tooth: I am conueied in to the belly: I periſh: I can endure no ſpace: I cãker: I ſuffer grene mould, blew mould, read mould: I breed wormes: I am kept in a boxe for feare of battes: if you leaue me out all nyght I ſhalbe deuoured before mornyng, for if the Mouſe geate me I am gone: I am bread, I am no God, beleue them not. This tryeth the Sacrament dayly, and beareth witnes it ſelfe.

CVST. The deuill on ſuch lyke reaſons: and therefore I will neuer trouble my braynes to make you aũſwere. But if it be true that you haue ſayd, why is the Sacrament ſo well of Chriſt him ſelfe, as of his Apoſtles, and the old fathers called the body of Chriſt?

VERI. Becauſe it is no ſtraunge thyng in Scripture ſo to ſpeake, as I haue declared before. But will you ſtãd to S. Auguſtines arbitrement in the matter?

CVST. To no man ſooner.

The cauſe why the ſcripture calleth the Sacrament the body of Chriſt.

Auguſtinus ad Bonifacium Epiſt.23.

VERI. Sainct Auguſtine in an Epiſtle to his frend Bonifacius giueth a good cauſe why ẏ Sacramẽt, although it be not the body of Chriſt, is notwithſtandyng called the body of Chriſt. His wordes be theſe: Si Sacramẽta quãdam ſimilitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta ſunt non haberent, omninò Sacramenta non eſſent. Ex hac autem ſimilitudine plerumq; earum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, ſecundum quendam modum Sacramẽtum corporis Chriſti, corpus Chriſti eſt: Sacramentum ſanguinis Chriſti, ſanguis Chriſti eſt. *If Sacramentes had not a certeine ſimilitude of thoſe thynges whereof they be Sacramentes, then were they no Sacramentes. Of the which ſimilitude many times they take their name. VVherefore after a certeine maner the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, is the body of Chriſt: and the Sacrament of the bloud of Chriſt is the bloud of Chriſt. &c.* And vpon the xxiij. Pſalme he writeth lykewiſe.

*Auguſt. in Pſal.*23.

Chriſtus quodãmodo ſe ferebat in manibus ſuis, cum diceret: *Hoc eſt corpus meum. Chriſt after a certeine maner and faſhion, as it were, dyd beare him ſelfe in hys own hãdes whẽ he ſayd:* this is my body. In maner (he faith) and after a faſhion, not in very dede. Again, when faythfull men receiue the Sacrament, they thinke not of the bread nor marke the wyne, but they loke farther, and behold the very body of Chriſt ſpread vpon the Croſſe, and hys very bloud poured down for their ſakes. So in Baptiſme men regarde not greatly the water, but accoumpt thẽ ſelues waſhed with the bloud of Chriſt. So ſayth S. Paul: what ſo euer we be that are Baptiſed, we are waſhed in the bloud of Chriſt. wherfore to the faithfull receyuers you may ſay that the water of Baptiſme is the bloud of Chriſt, and the bread and wyne the body and bloud of Chriſt: for to them it is no leſſe then if the natures were altered and chaunged. which thing you may very well learne of Chriſoſtome, whoſe wordes are theſe.

An other cauſe why the ſcripture calleth the Sacrament the body of Chriſt.

Rom.6.

Chryſoſt. in Ioã. Hom,46.

Myſteria omnia interioribus oculis cõſideranda ſunt, hoc eſt ſpiritualitualiter. Interiores autem oculi poſtq̃ panem vidẽt, creaturas tranſuolant, neq; de illo pane à piſtore cocto cogitant, ſed de eo qui ſe dixit panem eſſe æternæ vitæ. *All Miſteries muſt be conſidered with inward eies, that is to ſay, ſpiritually: As the inward eyes when they ſee the bread they paſſe ouer the creatures, neyther do they thinke of that bread which is baked of the baker, but of hym which called him ſelf the bred of eternall life.* For theſe ij. cauſes the bread & wyne are called the body and bloud of Chriſt. Now I thinke you are ſatiſfied concernyng the meanyng of theſe wordes: *This is my body.*

CVST. Yet one thyng moueth me very much.

VERI. what is that?

Cuſtome ſtandeth vpon authoritie and cõmon voyce.

CVST. The Doctours and old writers, men inſpired with the holy Ghoſt haue euermore bene agaynſt your doctrine: Yea and in theſe dayes the wiſeſt men and beſt learned call you heretickes and your learnyng hereſy.

The right meaning of the Doctors miſconſtrued of cuſtome kepers.

The Doctors how they call the Sacramẽt the body of Chriſt, and why?

The wordes of the Doctors agaynſt the Popes doctrine.

VERI. As touchyng the old writers, I remember well they ſpeake reuerently of the Sacramentes, lyke as euery man ought to do. But where as they deliuer their minde with the right hand, you Cuſtome receyue it with the left. For where as they ſay, that it is ẏ body of Chriſt, and that it muſt bee verely eaten, meanyng that it doth effectually lay before the eyes Chriſtes body, and that it is to the faythfull man no leſſe then if it were Chriſt him ſelfe, and that Chriſt muſt be eaten in faith, not torne nor rent with the teeth: you ſay that how ſoeuer it be taken it is Chriſtes body, and that there is none other eatyng but with the mouth. And that the fathers ment no other thyng then I haue ſayd, it ſhal appeare by their wordes. But as touchyng the learned & wiſe men of theſe dayes, I cã not blame them if they call my doctrine hereſie: for they would condemne all auncient writers of hereſie, if they were now aliue. But I will annſwere you to them anone. In the meane whyle marke you how well their learning agreeth. They ſay, you muſt folow ẏ letter, you muſt ſticke to the letter. But Origenes ſayth: Si ſecundum literam ſequaris id quod ſcriptũ eſt [*niſi manducaueritis carnem filij hominis non erit vita in vobis*] ea litera occidit. *If ye followe after the letter, that which is writtẽ* [vnleſſe ye ſhall eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, there ſhalbe no life in you] *this letter killeth.* Auguſtine in the thyrd booke De doctrina Chriſtiana: Principio cauẽdum eſt ne figuratam dictionem ſecundum literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apoſtolus, *litera occidit.* Cum enim figuratè dictum ſic accipitur tãq̃ propriè dictũ ſit, carnaliter ſapitur, neq; vlla animæ mors congruentius appellatur. i. *Firſt thou muſt beware that thou take not a figuratiue ſpeach after the letter. For thereto perteineth that the Apoſtle ſaith:* The letter killeth. *For whẽ a thyng is ſpiritually ment, and the ſame is taken litterally and properly ſpoken, that is a carnall taking. Neither can any other be called the killyng of the ſoule rather then that.* And in the ſame booke hee teacheth a man to know the playne ſenſe from a figure, ſaying thus: Si præceptiua loquutio eſt flagitiũ iubens, aut beneficentiam vetans, figurata eſt: *Niſi manducaueritis carnẽ filij hominis, & biberitis eius ſanguinẽ, non erit vita in vobis.* Flagitiũ videtur iubere: Ergo, Figura eſt præcipiens paſſioni Domini eſſe cõmunicandũ, & ſuauiter in memoria recõdendũ, quòd pro nobis caro eius crucifixa ſit. i. *If the cõmaundyng ſpeach bee ſuch, as cõmaũdeth a thing wicked & horrible to be done, or a charitable thyng to be vndone, then this is a figuratiue ſpeach:* Vnleſſe ye ſhall eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, & ſhall drinke his bloud, there ſhalbe no life in you. *Becauſe in this ſpeach he ſeemeth to cõmaund a wicked thing, it is therfore a figuratiue ſpeach, cõmaunding that we ſhould cõmunicate with the paſſion of our Lord, & ſwetely to reteine it in our remẽbraũce.* In like maner Chriſoſtome plucketh you frõ the playne letter, & the bare wordes by this ſaying: *Caro nõ prodeſt:* hoc eſt ſecũdũ ſpiritũ verba mea intelligenda ſunt. Quia qui ſecundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid eſt autem carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter vt res dicuntur, neq; aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita iudicanda ſunt quæ videntur, ſed myſteria omnia interioribus oculis vidẽda ſunt, hoc eſt ſpiritualiter. i. The fleſh profiteth not: *that is to ſay, my wordes muſt be takẽ and expoũded after the ſpirite. For hee that heareth after the fleſh, gayneth nothyng. Now what is it to vnderſtand carnally? To take thynges ſimply as they be ſpoken and not to conſider any meanyng further therin. For thynges muſt not be iudged as they are ſeene, but all myſteries muſt be ſeene with inward eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually.* what is ſo haynous in theſe dayes as to call the Sacrament the token or the remẽbrance of Chriſtes body? Yet did the old writers in maner neuer call it other. Tertullian in the fourth booke agaynſt the Martioniſtes: Chriſtus accepit panem, & corpus ſuum illum fecit: *Hoc eſt corpus meum* dicendo, id eſt figura corporis mei. *Chriſt tooke bread and made it his body, ſaying:* This is my body, *that is to ſay, a figure of my body.* Ambroſe vppon the xj. to the Corinthians: Quia morte Domini liberati ſumus, huius rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & ſanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata ſunt ſignificamus. *Becauſe we are deliuered by the Lordes death, in the remẽbraũce of the ſame by eatyng & drynking we ſignifie the body and bloud which were offred vp for vs.* Chriſoſtome in the lxxxiij. Homelie vppon the Goſpell of Mathewe: Quando dicunt, vndè patet Chriſtum immolatum fuiſſe, hæc adferentes eorum ora cõſuimus. Si enim mortuus Chriſtus non eſt, cuius Symbolum ac ſignum hoc ſacrificium eſt? *VVhen they obiect vnto vs & aſke: how know you that Chriſt was offered vp? then alledging theſe thynges, we ſtoppe their mouthes. For if Chriſt dyed not, then whoſe ſigne or token is this ſacrifice?* Auguſtine to Adimantus: Non dubitauit Chriſtus dicere: *hoc eſt corpus meum,* cum daret ſignum corporis ſui. *Chriſt doubted not to ſay:* this is my body, *when he gaue but a ſigne of his body.* Auguſtine vpon the thyrd Pſalme: Chriſtus adhibuit Iudam ad conuiuium, in quo corporis & ſanguinis ſui figuram diſcipulis ſuis commendauit & tradidit. *Chriſt receyued Iudas to the Supper, in the which hee commended and delyuered a figure of his body and bloud vnto his Diſciples.* Rabanus, de inſtitutione clericorum: Quia panis corpus cõfirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur. *Becauſe the bread ſtrengtheneth the body, therefore it is aptly called Chriſtes body. And likewiſe the wyne, becauſe it encreaſeth bloud in the fleſh, it doth reſemble the bloud of Chriſt.* Druthmarus Monachus in Mathæum: Vinũ lætificat & ſanguinem auget, et ideo non inconueniẽter per hoc ſanguis Chriſti figuratur. *VVyne maketh glad the hart and encreaſeth bloud, and therefore the bloud of Chriſt is not vnaptly ſignified therby.* Irenæus witneſſeth playnly that in the Sacrament remayneth bread and wyne by theſe woordes: Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, iam nõ communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena, et cæleſti: *As the earthly bread receauyng the vocation*

Origenes in Leuit. Hom.17.

Auguſt. De doctrina Chriſtiana Lib.3. cap.16.

2.Cor.3.

Auguſt. De doctrina Chriſtiana Lib.3.cap.16.

A rule to know a figuratiue ſpeach frõ the litterall.

Chryſoſt. in Ioan. hom.46.

Tertullianus contra Martion. Lib.4.

Ambroſ. in 1.Cor. 11.

Chryſoſt. in Matth. Hom.83.

Auguſt. ad Adimantum.

Auguſt. in Pſal.3.

Rabanus De inſtitut. clericorum.

Druthmarus in Matth.

Irenæus cõtra Valentinum Lib.4.

Gelaſius.

Chryſoſt. hom.20.in epiſt.2. ad Corinth.

vocation of God, is novv no common bread but the Euchariſt, conſiſtyng of tvvo thyngs, the one earthly and the other heauenly. Here he recordeth that there remayneth in the Sacrament an earthly nature, which is either bread or nothing. Gelaſius writyng againſt Neſtorius auoweth yͤ ſame, ſaying: In Euchariſtia nõ eſſe definit ſubſtãtia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & ſimilitudo corporis & ſanguinis Domini in actione myſteriorum celebratur. i. *In the Euchariſt the ſubſtaunce of the bread and nature of the vvine ceaſſeth not to be: For the Image and ſimilitude of the body and of the bloud of the Lorde is celebrated in the action of the myſteries.* Chriſoſtome in his xx. Homely vpon the 2. Epiſtle to the Corinth. preferreth a poore man before the Sacramẽt, and calleth hym the body of Chriſt rather thẽ the other. wherof I may gather this reaſon:

Bo- The poore man is not the naturall and reall body of Chriſt.
car- Euery poore member of Chriſt is the body of Chriſt rather then the Sacrament: Chryſoſt.
do. Ergo, the Sacrament is not the naturall and reall body of Chriſt.

Chryſoſt. in Hom. 11. ſuper Matth.

Athanaſius in verbo Euang. Qui dixerit verbũ in filium hominis.

Auguſt. ad Marcellinum.

Origenes in Matth.

Auguſt. in Sermone.

Ambroſius.

Tertullianus contra Martion.

Origenes in Leuit.

Typus. Antitypon.

Origen. ſuper Matth. cap. 14.

Auguſtinus contra aduerſarium legis & Prophetarum.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Tertullianus.

Theodoretus.

Chriſoſtomus.

His wordes are: Hoc altare veneraris quoniam in eo proponitur corp' Chriſti. Eum autẽ qui reipſa corpus eſt Chriſti, afficis cõtumelia, & negligis pereuntem. *Thys Altar thou doeſt reuerẽce becauſe the body of Chriſt therin is ſet before thee: but him vvhich is the body of Chriſt in dede, thou doeſt ſpitefully intreate & doeſt neglect him ready to periſh.* Chriſoſtome in the xi. Homely vpon Mathew: Quod ſi hæc vaſa ſanctificata ad priuatos vſus eſt transferre periculoſum, in quibus nõ verum corpus Chriſti, ſed myſterium corporis Chriſti continetur, quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri? *If it be ſo perillous a matter to trãſlate theſe ſanctified veſſels vnto priuate vſes, in the vvhich not the true body of Chriſt, but a miſtery of the body of Chriſt is conteyned, hovve much more then theſe veſſells of our body?* Athanaſius vpon theſe wordes: Qui dixerit verbum contra filium hominis, ſayth: Ea quæ Chriſtus dicit non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia. Quod enim comedentibus ſuffeciſſet corpus, vt totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed idcirco meminit Aſcenſionis filij hominis in cælũ vt eos à corporali cogitatione auelleret. *The vvordes that Chriſt here ſpeaketh be not carnall but ſpirituall. For vvhat body might haue ſuffiſed for all that ſhould eate, to be a nouriſhment of the vvhole vvorld? But therfore he maketh mention of the Aſcenſion of the ſonne of man into heauen, to the entent to plucke them avvay from that corporall cogitation.* Auguſtinus ad Marcellinum: In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Chriſti quã pro peccatis noſtris erat oblaturus, & ſanguinis quem erat effuſurus: In iſto autem ſacrificio gratiarum actio atq; commemoratio eſt carnis Chriſti quam pro nobis obtulit, & ſanguinis quem pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo ſacrificio, quid nobis ſit donandum figuratè ſignificatur: in hoc autem ſacrificio quid nobis donatum ſit, euidẽter oſtenditur. In illis ſacrificijs prænunciabatur filius Dei occidẽdus: in hoc pro impijs annunciatur occiſus. *In thoſe carnall oblations the fleſh of Chriſt vvas figured vvhich he ſhould offer for our ſinnes, & the bloud vvhich hee ſhould beſtovve for vs. But in this ſacrifice is the giuyng of thankes and the memoriall of the fleſh of Chriſt, vvhich hee hath offered for vs, and of the bloud vvhich hee hath ſhede for vs. In that ſacrifice therfore is ſignified figuratiuely vvhat ſhould be giuen for vs: in this ſacrifice vvhat is giuen to vs is euidently declared. In thoſe ſacrifices the ſonne of God vvas before preached to be ſlayne: in this ſacrifice hee is ſhevved to be ſlayne already for the vvicked.* Origenes vppon Mathew expoundyng theſe wordes: *This is my body*, ſayth: Panis iſte quem Chriſtus corpus ſuum fatetur eſſe, verbũ eſt nutritorium animarum. i. *The bread vvhich Chriſt confeſſeth to bee his body, is a nutritiue vvorde of our ſoules.* Auguſtinus: Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, vnumquemq; fidelium corporis & ſanguinis Domini tunc eſſe participem, quando in baptiſmate membrum efficitur Chriſti. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non priuabitur, quando in ſe hoc inuenit quod Sacramentum ſignificat. *No man ought in any vviſe to doubt but that euery faythfull man is then partaker of the body and bloud of the Lord, vvhẽ in Baptiſme he is made a member of Chriſt. For he ſhall not be depriued of the participation and beneſite of that Sacramẽt, vvhen hee findeth in hym ſelfe that thyng vvhich the Sacrament doth ſignifie.* Ambroſius: Tãta eſt vis verbi, vt panis & vinum maneant quæ ſunt, & mutentur in aliud. *Such is the force and ſtrength of the vvorde that the bread and vvyne remayne the ſame as they vvere, and yet are chaunged into an other thyng.* For it is not any longer commũ bread, but it is turned into a Sacrament: yet notwithſtandyng there remayneth bread, and wyne. Tertullian writyng agaynſt an hereticke named Martion, which taught that the creatures of God, as fleſh, bread, wyne and ſuch lyke were naught and vncleanly: Non abiecit Deus creaturam ſuam, ſed ea repræſentauit corpus ſuum. *God hath not caſt avvay his creature, but by it he hath repreſented his body.* Origenes vpon Leuiticus ſpeakyng of the drinkyng of Chriſtes bloud, ſayth: Nõ ſanguinem carnis expetimus, ſed ſanguinem verbi. *VVe do not deſire the bloud of the fleſh, but the bloud of the vvorde.* Ambroſe calleth the Sacrament *Typum* corporis Chriſti, and Baſilius *Antitypum*, which is as much to ſay, as a token, a figure, a remembraunce and exemplar of Chriſtes body. Origene vpon the xiiij. chap. of Mathew: In iſto pane, quod eſt materiale eijcitur in ſeceſſum: id autem quod fit per verbum Dei, pro fidei ratione prodeſt. *In this bread that thyng vvhich is materiall paſſeth through mans body: but that vvhich is made by the vvorde of God, by the meanes of fayth doth profite.* And leſt perhaps you thinke that he ſpake thoſe wordes of our common table bread, he concludeth the matter him ſelfe with theſe wordes: Hæc diximus de pane ſymbolico: *Theſe things vve haue ſpoken of the miſticall bread.* Auguſtinus contra aduerſarium lègis & Prophetarum, declareth that it muſt needes be a figure and a remembraunce of the body of Chriſt: Iſta ſecundum ſanæ fidei regulam figuratè intelliguntur. Nam alioqui horribilius videtur eſſe humanam carnem vorare quã perimere, & humanum ſanguinem potare quàm fundere. *Theſe thinges are vnderſtanded figuratiuely according to the rule of ſound and true fayth. For othervvyſe it ſeemeth to be more horrible to eate mans fleſh, then to kill a man, and more horrible to drinke mans bloud thẽ to ſheed it.* And therfore he ſayth vpõ yͤ xcviij. Pſal: Non hoc corpus quod videtis eſtis manducaturi, nec bibituri ſanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. i. *Ye ſhall not eate this body vvhych you ſee, and drinke that blood vvhych they ſhall ſheed that ſhall crucifie me: I cõmend vnto you a ſacrament.* Tertullian: Aliud a pane corpus Ieſus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, ſed ipſum Chriſti verum corpus traditum eſt in crucem, quod panis figura in cæna exhibitum eſt. i. *Ieſus hath an other body then bread, for bread vvas not geuen for vs, but the very true body of Chriſt vvas geuen vpon the croſſe, vvhych bodye vvas exhibited in the Supper vnder the figure of bread.* Thys recordeth Theodoretus an auncient writer, and auoweth that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the ſacrament. Hys wordes are theſe: Symbola viſibilia corporis & ſanguinis, ſui appellatione honorauit, non mutans naturam ſed naturæ addens gratiam. i. *He hath honored and dignified the viſible ſignes vvyth the name of hys body and of his bloud, not chaunging the nature, but adding grace to nature.* And in an other place, where as he maketh a true Chriſtian man to reaſon wyth an hereticke, he geueth to the hereticke thys part, to hold with the turning of bread and wyne into the naturall bodye and bloud of Chriſt. The heretickes wordes are theſe: Sacramentum Dominici corporis & ſanguinis, alia ſunt antè ſacram inuocationem: poſt inuocationem verò mutantur, & alia fiunt. *The ſacraments of the Lords body and bloud before the holy inuocation are one thing, but after inuocation they are chaunged and made an other.* This maketh Theodoretus to be the heretickes part. Then bryngeth he forth the true Chriſtian man, which reproueth the hereticke for ſo ſaying: Incidiſti in laqueos quos ipſe ſtruxeras: Neq; enim ſancta illa ſymbola poſt conſecrationem diſcedunt a natura ſua: Manent enim in priori & ſubſtantia, & figura, etenim & oculis videri & digitis palpari vt ante poſſunt. *Thou art fallen into the ſnares vvhich thou thy ſelfe haſt layd. For thoſe ſelfe ſame holy ſignes after the conſecration do not goe from their nature, for they abyde ſtill both in their former ſubſtaunce and figure and may be both vvith eyes ſeene and felt vvyth handes, as before.* To the ſame agreeth wel Chriſoſtome, ſaying: Poſtq̃ ſanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tametſi maneat natura panis. i. *After the bread is ſanctified it is called bread no more, although the nature of bread ſtill remayne.* Hereby you may vnderſtand, how and in what ſorte the old fathers, how the primatiue and begynnyng Church, how the Apoſtles, how Chriſt him ſelf toke theſe wordes: *This is my body.*

Tranſubſtantiation a new inuention.

Read afore pag 219. col.2.

Now to withſtand and ſtoutly to goe agaynſt, not onely auncient writers, or the congregation of Chriſtian people, which at that tyme was not ouergrowen, no nother ſpotted with couetouſnes and worldly honour, but the Apoſtles alſo, and God him ſelfe, no doubt it is great fondenes. But what ſpeake I of the olde fathers? It is not long ſince the Sacramẽt grewe out of his ryght vnderſtandyng. For this worde, Tranſubſtantiatio, wherby they ſignifie turnyng of the bread into yͤ body of Chriſt, was neuer neither ſpokẽ, neither heard, neither thought of among the aũcient fathers, or in the old Church. But about fiue hundreth yeares paſt, Pope Nicolas.2. in a Councell holden at Lateranum in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the chaũgyng of bread, and would haue made it an Article of the fayth, and placed it in the Credo. After which tyme enſued Corpus Chriſti day, Maſſes of Corpus Chriſti

Carolus Magnus.

Bertramus.

Chriſti, reſeruation of the Sacrament, with honour, with canapies, with ſenſyng, with knelyng, with worſhypping and adoration, and with ſo much as any mã could deuiſe. For they thought they could not do to much to him after that the Byſhop of Rome had alowed him for a God. But not fully, 200. yeare before that tyme, when this doctrine firſt began to budde, & yet notwithſtãdyng had not ſo preuailed but that a great number of learned and good men could know the Sacramẽt to be a Sacrament, & not him ſelfe: Charles the great, kyng of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome demaunded of a great learned mã whoſe name was Bertramus, what he thought by that ſtraunge kynd of callyng down Chriſt from heauen, and turnyng a litle gobbet of bread into his naturall body. To whom Bertrame made aũſwere in this wiſe: Dicimus quòd multa differentia ſeparantur corpus in quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus & ſanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit, & hoc corpus quod in myſterio paſſionis Chriſti quotidie à fidelibꝰ celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus & ſpecies eſt, illud autẽ ipſa veritas. Apparet ergo quod tã multa differẽtia ſeparẽtur, quantum eſt inter pignus & eam rem pro qua pignus traditur, & quantum inter imaginem & rem eam cuius imago eſt, & quantum inter ſpeciem & veritatẽ. *This we ſay, that there is a great difference and ſeparatiõ betwixt the body in the which Chriſt ſuffered and the bloud which he ſheed vppon the Croſſe, and this body which euery day is celebrated in the myſtery of the Paſſion of Chriſt. For this body is a pledge and a ſimilitude, but the other is the very truth it ſelfe.* Ergo, *it appeareth that theſe two are ſeparated a ſunder by no leſſe difference thẽ is betwen a pledge and the thyng wherof the pledge is geuen, or then is betwene an Image of a thyng and the thyng it ſelfe wherof the Image is, or thẽ is betwene the forme of a thyng and the veritie it ſelfe.* This wrote Bertramus, Druthmarus & many other, & yet were neuer in all their tyme once reproued of hereſie. This wrote Ioannes Scotus alſo, in whoſe lyfe tyme men had not eyes to eſpy his hereſies. But about. 200. yeare after his death, he was iudged and condemned for an hereticke, & his bokes burned in a Cõſcel holdẽ at Vercellæ in Lombardy in ỹ yeare of our Lord God. 1015. Since which tyme euen vntill this day although Idolatry had great increaſe, yet there neuer wanted ſome good men which boldly would profeſſe and ſet foorth the truth, although they were well aſſured that their worldly reward ſhould be ſpyte, malice, impriſonyng, ſword, fyre and all kyndes of tormentes. Thus ſo ſhortly and in ſo fewe wordes as I could, I haue declared to you what Chriſt meante by theſe wordes: *This is my body*, what the Apoſtles thought therin, and in what ſort they deliuered them to their ſucceſſours, in what ſenſe and meanyng the holy fathers and olde writers, and the vniuerſall and Catholicke Church hath euermore taken them.

Bertramus. Ioan. Scotus. Druthmarus.

Bertramus condemned for an hereticke 200. yeares after hys death.

¶ The ende and deceaſſe of king Edward the ſixt.

The deceaſſe of kyng Edward. 6.

An. 1553.

Thus hauing diſcourſed thynges done and paſt vnder the raigne of kyng Edward, ſuch as ſemed not vnfruitfull to be knowen, we wyl now draw to the end and death of thys bleſſed kyng, our yong Ioſias. Who about a yeare and a halfe after the death of the Duke of Somerſet hys Uncle, in the yere of our Lord. 1553. entring into the. xvij. yeare of hys age, & the. vij. yeare of hys reigne in the moneth of June, was taken from vs, for our ſynnes no doubt. Whom if it had ſo pleaſed the good wyll of the Lord to haue ſpared with longer lyfe, not vnlyke it was by all coniectures probably to be eſtéemed by thoſe hys toward & bleſſed begynnings, but procéedyng ſo as hée began he would haue reformed ſuch a cõmon wealth here in ỹ realme of Englãd, as by good cauſe it might haue ben ſaid of him, that was ſayd in the old tyme of the noble Emperour Auguſtus in reformyng and aduaunſing the Empyre of Rome: quam quum ille lateritiam (vt aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit. Whych Empyre he receyued (he ſayd) of brickle ſlate, but he left it of fyne marble. But the condition of this realme and the cuſtomable behauiour of Engliſh people (whoſe propertie is cõmonly to abuſe the lyght of the Goſpell when it is offered) deſerued no ſuch benefyte of ſo bleſſed a reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deformation, ſuch as happened after hys raygne, as ye ſhall heare (the Lord graunting) in the next Quéenes dayes that followed.

Ex Suetonio.

Thus then thys godly & vertuous Impe, in the time & moneth aboue mentioned was cut from vs, of whoſe worthye lyfe and vertues haue bene partly afore declared. Neuertheles, to haue ſome monumẽt of him remaynyng to teſtifie of the good nature and gentle diſpoſition of that Prince, we wyll adde here for a remembraunce, this litle Epiſtle of hys own hand writyng to ỹ Archb. of Canterbury his Godfather as foloweth.

¶ *An Epiſtle of yong Prince Edward to the Archb.* of Canterbury hys Godfather.

Prince Edward when he wrote thys Epiſtle ſemeth to be very yonge, not aboue vij. yeares of age, lying then at Antile.

Impertio te plurima ſalute colendiſſime Præſul, & chariſſime Suſceptor. Quia abes longè a me, vellem libenter audire te eſſe incolumem. Precor autem vt viuas diu, & promoueas verbum Dei. Vale. Antilæ decimo octauo Iunij.

Tuus in Chriſto filius EDVVARDVS *Princeps.*

¶ An other Epiſtle of the yong Prince Edward, to the Archbiſhop hys Godfather.

An other Epiſtle of Prince Edward to hys godfather.

Etſi puer ſum colendiſſime Suſceptor, nõ tamẽ immemor ſum vel officij erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere ſtudes. Non exciderunt mihi humaniſſimæ tuæ litteræ pridie diui Petri ad me datæ. Quibus ante hac reſpondere nolui, non quòd illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, ſed vt illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fideliq; memoria reponerem, atq; demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili reſponderẽ. Proinde affectum erga me tuum verè paternum, quam in illis expreſſiſti, amplector & veneror, optoq; vt multos viuas annos, tuoq; pio ac ſalubri conſilio pergas eſſe mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam & exoſculandam eſſe duco, quoniam diuus Paulus dicit: Pietas ad omnia vtilis eſt. *Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Hartefordiæ tertio decimo Ianuarij.*

1. Tit. 4.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus EDOVARDVS Princeps.

¶ The aunſwere of the Archbiſhop to Prince *Edwardes Epiſtle.*

Alludit ad verba Terentij in Comœdia.

The aunſwere of Thomas Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cant. to the Epiſtle of Prince Edward.

Non magis poterit ipſa me ſeruare ſalus (fili in Chriſto chariſſime) quã ſalus tua. Mea vita non dicenda eſt vita abſq; tua et ſalute & valitudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac ſaluum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram eſſe & incolumem ſentio. Neq; certè abſentia mea tam eſt iniocunda tibi quàm ſunt litteræ tuæ periocundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi iuxta adeſſe & ingenium dignum tanto principe, & præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis litteris te ſic litteras video colere, vt interim doctrinæ celeſtis tua nequaqum minima ſit cura: quæ cuicunq; ſit curæ, non poteſt illum quæuis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incœpiſti Princeps illuſtriſſime, & Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, vt quam ego per litteras video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet vniuerſam tuam Angliam. Non ſcribã prolixius, tum quidem vt me intelligas breuitate nonnihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc paruulum paruo gaudere, et ſimilem ſimili: tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in cauſa ſit, quò generoſa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat.

¶ *The report of the Princes Scholemaiſter in commendation* of hys towardnes to the Archb.

Thys letter ſemeth to be written by D. Coxe.

Right honorable and my ſyngular good Lorde, after my moſt harty commendations: the oportunitye of this meſſenger forceth me to write at this time, hauing littell matter but onely to ſignify vnto your grace, that my Lordes Grace your Godſon is mery and in health, and of ſuch towardnes in learning, godlynes, gentlenes and all honeſt qualities, that both you and I and al this realme ought to thinke him & take him for a ſingular gift ſent of God, an Impe worthy of ſuch a father: for whom we are bound ſine intermiſſione to render to God moſt harty thankes, with moſt humble requeſt of his long and proſperous continuance. He hath learned almoſt foure bookes of Cato to conſtrue, to parſe, and to ſay without booke. And of his own courage now in the latter booke he wyll needes haue at one time. xiiij. verſes whych hee

konneth

kenneth pleaſantly and perfectly, beſides thinges of the Bible, Satellitium Viuis, Æſops Fables, and Latin making, whereof he hath ſent your Grace a litle taſte. Dominus Ieſus te diutiſſimè ſeruet.

The order and time of the kinges departure.

Now to returne agayne from whence we haue digreſſed, whych is to ſignifie ſome part of the order and maner of hys godly departing: as the time approched when it pleaſed almightie God to call thys young king from vs, whych was the .vj. day of July, the yeare abouesayd, about .iij. houres before hys death, this godly chylde, hys eyes being cloſed, ſpeaking to him ſelfe and thinking none to haue heard hym, made this prayer as followeth.

¶The prayer of king Edward before hys death.

The kinges prayer at hys death.

LORD GOD, deliuer me out of this miſerable and wretched life, and take me among thy choſen: howe be it not my wyll, but thy wyll be done. Lord I commit my ſpirite to thee. Oh Lorde thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy choſens ſake ſend me life and health, that I may truly ſerue thee. Oh my Lorde God, bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine enheritaunce. Oh Lorde God, ſaue thy choſen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realme frõ Papiſtry, and maintayne thy true religion, that I and my people may prayſe thy holy name, for thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake.

The laſt wordes of K. Edward.

Then turned hee hys face, and ſeyng who was by hym, ſayd vnto them: are ye ſo nygh? I thought you had bene further of. Then Doctour Owen ſayd: we heard you ſpeake to your ſelfe, but what you ſayd wee know not. He then (after his faſhion ſmilingly) ſaid: I was praying to God. The laſt wordes of his panges were theſe: I am faynt, Lord haue mercy vpõ me, & take my ſpirite. And thus he yelded vp the ghoſt, leauing a wofull kingdome behinde vnto hys ſiſter. Albeit he in his wyll had excluded hys ſyſter Mary from ſucceſſion of the crowne, becauſe of her corrupt religion: yet the plague which God had deſtinate vnto this ſinfull realme, could not ſo be voyded, but that ſhe being the elder ſiſter and daughter to K. Henry, ſucceded in poſſeſſion of the crowne. Of whoſe dreadfull and bloudy regiment, as it remayneth now conſequently to diſcourſe: ſo here would be touched ſome thing before, concerning the letters and anſwers betwene the king ane her, duryng the life time of Kyng Edward: in which letters and meſſages much trauayle was taken by the king and hys Counſaile to reduce her to obedient conformitie of religion. But becauſe thoſe letters are already ſpecified in our former edition of Acts and Monumentes, pag. 877. it ſhall be rather tedious, then neceſſary here agayne to repeate the ſame.

The bloudy regiment of Queene Mary.

Concerning theſe letters read in the former Boke of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 877.

This briefly may ſuffice to vnderſtande, that for all the writing, ſending, & practiſing wyth the lady Mary, by the King and hys Counſayle, and alſo by Byſhop Ridley, yet would ſhe not be reclamed from her owne ſingular opinion fixed vpon cuſtome, to geue any indifferent hearing to the worde and voyce of veritie. The which ſet will of the ſayd Lady Mary, both this younge King and alſo hys father king Henry before him right well perceauing and conſidering, they were both much diſpleaſed agaynſt her: In ſo much that not onely her brother did vtterly ſequeſter her in hys wyll, but alſo her own father conſidering her inclination, cõceaued ſuch hart againſt her, that for a great ſpace he did ſeclude her from the title of Princeſſe, yea and ſéemed ſo egerly incenſed agaynſt her, that hee was fully purpoſed to procede further wyth her (as it is reported) had not the interceſſion of Thomas Cranmer the Archbiſhop, reconciled the king agayne to fauour and pardon hys own daughter. For the better vnderſtanding whereof, by theſe her owne letters copied out of her own hand writing (which I haue to ſhew) ſomething may bee perceaued, and more peraduenture may bee geſſed. The wordes out of her owne hand writing be theſe. And fyrſt her letter to kyng Henry her father here foloweth.

The Lady Mary wedded to Cuſtome.

The Lady Mary in diſpleaſure both with her brother and her father.

¶A letter of the Lady Mary to kyng Henry her Father.

Lady Mary wryteth to K. Henry her father.

IN my moſt humble wyſe I beſeech your Grace of your dayly bleſſing. Pleaſeth it the ſame to be aduertiſed that this morning my Lord my Chamberlaine came and ſhewed me that hee had receyued a letter from Syr William Paulet Controller of your houſe. The effect whereof was, that I ſhould wyth all diligence remoue vnto the Caſtell of Hertford. Whereupon I deſired him to ſee the ſame letter: which he ſhewed me. Wherein was written, that the Lady Mary the kynges daughter ſhould remoue to the place before ſaid, leauing out in the ſame the name of Princeſſe. Which when I heard, I could not a litle maruail, truſting verely that your grace was not priuy to the ſame letter as concerning the leauing out of the name of Princeſſe, for as much as I doubt not in your goodnes, but your Grace doth take me for your lawfull daughter, borne in true matrimony. Wherefore if I ſhould agree to the contrary, I ſhould in my conſcience runne in the diſpleaſure of God, which I hope aſſuredly your Grace wyll not that I ſo ſhoulde. And in all other thinges your Grace ſhall haue me alwayes as humble and obedient daughter and handmaid as euer was child to the Father, which my duty bindeth me to: as knoweth our Lord, who haue your Grace in hys moſt holy tuition wyth much honour and long lyfe to hys pleaſure. Wrytten at your Manour of Beaulyeu this ſecond day of October.

By your moſt humble daughter
Mary Princeſſe.

¶A proteſtatiõ of the Lady Mary, to certain Lords ſent by the King with certayne requeſts vnto her.

The Proteſtation of Lady Mary.

MY Lordes, as touching my remouing to Hatfield, I wil obey hys Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place that hys Grace wyll appoynt mee. But I proteſt before you and all other that be here preſent, that my cõſcience wyll in no wyſe ſuffer me to take any other than my ſelfe for the kinges lawfull daughter, borne in true Matrimony or Princeſſe, and that I wyll neuer wyllingly and wyttingly ſay or doo, whereby any perſon myght take occaſion to thinke that I agree to the contrary, not of any ambition or proud mynde, as God is my Iudge: but that if I ſhould ſay or do otherwyſe, I ſhould in my conſcience ſclaunder the dede of our mother holy church and the Pope, who is the Iudge in this matter, & none other: and alſo diſhonor the king my Father, the Quene my Mother, and falſly confeſſe my ſelfe a Baſtard, which God defend that I ſhould do, ſeing the Pope hath not ſo declared it by his ſentence definitiue, for to hys iudgement I ſubmit me.

Lady Mary ſtandeth to the Popes iudgement.

As you haue heard ſome part already of ỹ ſtout courage of the Lady Mary toward her father, and alſo by her letters no leſſe was declared toward king Edward her brother and other of his Counſell: ſo now let vs inferre ſomewhat likewiſe of the ſtoute talke and demeanour of the ſayd Lady Mary toward D. Ridley Biſhop of London, who gently comming to her of mere good will, had this cõmunication with her & ſhe with him as here foloweth.

Talke betwen Lady Mary and Byſhop Ridley.

About the .viij. of September. 1552. D. Ridley then biſhop of Londõ, lying at his houſe at Hadhã in Hartfordſhyre: went to viſit the Lady Mary then lying at Hunſden 2. myles of: and was gently entertayned of Syr Thomas Wharton and other her officers, tyll it was almoſt .xj. of the clocke. About which tyme the ſayd Lady Mary came foorth into her chamber of preſence, and then the ſayd Biſhop there ſaluted her grace and ſayd that he was come to do his duty to her grace. Then ſhe thanked him for hys paynes, and for a quarter of an houre talked with him very pleaſantly: and ſaid that ſhe knew him in the court when he was chaplein to her father, & could wel remẽber a ſermon that he made before king Henry her Father at the mariage of my lady Clynton that now is, to Sir Antony Brown. &c. and ſo dimiſſed hym to dyne wyth her officers.

After dyner was done, the Biſhop being called for by the ſayd Lady Mary, reſorted againe to her Grace, betwene whom this communication was, firſt the Biſhop beginning in maner as followeth.

Biſh. Ridley offereth to preach before the Lady *Mary.*

Biſh. Madame, I came not onely to do my duty to ſee your Grace, but alſo to offer my ſelfe to preach before you on Sonday next, if it wyll pleaſe you to heare me. At this her countenance chaunged, and after ſilence for a ſpace, ſhe aunſwered thus.

Mary. My Lorde, as for this laſt matter, I pray you make the aunſwer to it your ſelfe.

Biſh. Madame, cõſidering myne office & calling, I am bound of dutye to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you.

Lady Mary refuſeth to heare Byſhop *Ridley* to preach before her.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the aunſwere (as I haue ſayd) to this matter your ſelfe: for you knowe the aunſwere well inough. But if there be no remedy but I muſt make you aunſwer, this ſhall be your aunſwere: The dore of the pariſh church adioyning ſhalbe open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you liſt, but neither I, nor none of myne ſhall heare you.

Biſh. Madame, I truſt you wil not refuſe Gods word.

Mar. I can not tell what ye call Gods word. That is not Gods word now, that was Gods word in my Fathers dayes.

Biſh. Gods word is all one in all times, but hath bene better vnderſtanded and practiſed in ſome ages, then in other.

Mar. You durſt not for your eares haue auouched that for Gods worde in my Fathers dayes, that now you doo. And as for your new bookes, I thanke God I neuer read none of thẽ: neuer did, nor neuer will do.

And after many bitter wordes againſt the forme of Religion then eſtabliſhed, and againſt the gouernment of the Realme, and the lawes made in the yong yeares of her brother, which ſhe ſayd ſhe was not bound to obey tyll her brother came to perfite age, and then affirmed ſhe woulde obey them: She aſked the Biſhop whether he were one of the Counſell: He aunſwered No. You might well inough (ſayd ſhe) as the Counſell goeth nowe adayes. And ſo ſhee concluded with theſe wordes: My Lord, for your gentlenes to come and ſee me, I thanke you: but for your offering to preach before me, I thanke you neuer a whit.

It is lyke ſhe was perſwaded by witches and blinde prophecies that *King Edward* ſhould not liue ſo longe.

Then the ſayd Biſhop was brought by Syr Thomas Wharton to the place where he dyned, and deſyred to drinke. And after he had dronke, he pauſed a litle whyle, looking very ſadly, and ſodainly brake out into theſe wordes: Surely I haue done amyſſe. Why ſo, quoth Syr Thomas Wharton? For I haue dronke (ſayth he) in that place where Gods word offered hath bene refuſed: whereas if I had remembred my duty, I ought to haue departed immediately, and to haue ſhaked of the duſt of my ſhoes for a teſtimonie agaynſt this houſe. Theſe wordes were by the ſayd Biſhop ſpoken with ſuch a vehemencie, that ſome of the hearers afterward confeſſed their heare to haue ſtand vpright on theyr heades. This done, the ſayd Biſhop departed, and ſo returned to hys houſe. Teſtified by a certayne reuerend perſonage yet aliue, being then the Byſhops Chapleine.

Byſhop *Ridley* repenteth to haue byde there where gods word was refuſed.

¶ And thus making an end of thys ninth booke, touching the ſtory & reigne of Kyng Edward, and hauing alſo ſomwhat ſayd before of the nature & diſpoſition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next booke following: we intend (the grace of God aſſiſting vs therein) now further to procede in deſcribing the actes and procedings of the foreſayd lady Mary, cõming now to be Quene, and aduaunced next after this godly King Edward, to the crowne of thys Realme of England.

(.·.)

☞ *The end of the ninth Booke.*

¶ The fyrſt entring of Queene Mary to the crowne, with the alteration of Religion, and other perturbations happening the ſame tyme in thys Realme of England.

(∴)

1553.

The reigne of Queene Mary.

WHAT tyme Kyng EDWARD by long ſicknes began to appeare more feable and weake, in the meane while durig the tyme of this his ſicknes, a certayne maryage was prouided, cõcluded, and ſhortly alſo vpon the ſame ſolemniſed in the moneth of May, betwene the Lord Gilford, ſonne to the Duke of Northumberland, and the lady Iane the Duke of Suffolkes daughter, whoſe mother being thẽ alyue, was daughter to Mary king Henries ſecond ſyſter, who fyrſt was maryed to the French king, and after to Charles Duke of Suffolke. But to make no long tariaunce hereupon, the mariage being ended, and the king waxing euery day more ſicke then other, where as in deede there ſeemed in hym no hope of recouery, it was brought to paſſe by the conſent not onely of the Nobilitie, but alſo of all the chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, that the king by hys teſtament dyd appoynt the aforeſayd Lady Iane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, to be Inheretrice vnto the crowne of England, paſſing ouer hys two ſyſters Mary & Elizabeth.

Mariage betwene the Lord Gilforde and the lady Iane.

To this order ſubſcribed all the kinges Counſayle, and chiefe of the Nobility, the Maior and City of London, and almoſt all the Iudges and chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, ſauing onely Iuſtice Hales of Kent, a mã both fauoring true religion, and alſo an vpright Iudge as any hath ben noted in this Realme, who geuing his conſent vnto Lady Mary, would in no caſe ſubſcribe to Lady Iane. Of this man (God willing) you ſhall perceiue more in ẏ ſequele of this ſtory. The cauſes laid agaynſt Lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared ſhe woulde marry wyth a Straunger, and thereby entangle the crowne: as alſo that ſhe would cleane alter religion, vſed both in king Henrie her father, and alſo in king Edward her brothers dayes, and ſo bryng in the Pope, to the vtter deſtruction of the realme, which in deede afterward came to paſſe, as by the courſe and ſequele of this ſtory may well appeare.

Syr Iames Hales ſtandeth with Q. Mary.

Such probable matter they had thus to coniecture of her, by reaſon of her great ſtubbernes ſhewed and declared in her brothers dayes, as in the letters before mencioned paſſing betwene her & king Edward, and the Counſayle, may appeare. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by euery mans hand, king Edward an Impe of ſo great hope, not long after thys departed by the vehemencie of hys ſicknes, when he was .xvj. yeares of age: wyth whom alſo decayed in maner the whole flouriſhing eſtate and honour of the Engliſh nation.

Two thinges feared in Queene Mary.

When king Edward was dead, this Iane was eſtabliſhed in the kingdome by the Nobles conſent, & was forthwith publiſhed Queene by proclamation at London, and in other Cities where was any great reſort, and was there ſo taken and named. Betwene thys young Damoſel and king Edward, there was litle difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tounges ſhe was not onely equall, but alſo ſuperior vnto him, being inſtructed of a Maiſter right notably learned. If her fortune had bene as good, as was her bringing vp, ioyned with fynenes of wytte: vndoubtedly ſhe might haue ſeemed comparable, not onely to the houſe of the Aſpaſians, Sempronians, or mother of the Grachies, yea to any other women beſide, that deſerued high prayſe for theyr ſinguler learning: but alſo to the Vniuerſitie men, which haue taken many degrees of the Scholes.

Q. Iane proclaimed at London.

Comparison betwene young K. Edward and younge lady Iane.

Thys inſtructer of the Lady Iane was Maiſter Ælmar.

In the meane time while theſe thinges were a working at London, Mary which had knowledge of her brothers death, writeth to the Lordes of the Coũſell in forme as followeth.

¶ A Letter of the Lady Mary, ſent to the Lordes of the Counſell, wherin ſhe claymeth the crowne after the deceaſſe of Kyng Edward.

Lady Maryes letter ſent vnto the Counſaile, wherin ſhe claymeth the crowne.

MY Lordes, we greete you well, & haue receaued ſure aduertiſement that our deareſt brother the kyng our late ſoueraigne Lord is departed to Gods mercy: which newes how they be wofull to our hart, he only knoweth to whoſe wil and pleaſure we muſt and do humbly ſubmit vs & our willes. But in this ſo lamẽtable a caſe, that is to witte, now after his maieſties departure and death concernyng the crowne and gouernaunce of this realme of England with the title of Fraunce & all thynges therto belongyng, what hath bene prouided by act of Parlament and ẏ Teſtament & laſt will of our deareſt father, beſides other circumſtaunces aduauncing our right, you know, the Realme and the whole world knoweth, the roles and recordes appeare by the authoritie of the kyng our ſayd father, and the kyng our ſayd brother, and the ſubiectes of this Realme, ſo that we verely truſt that there is no good true ſubiect, that is, can, or would pretende to be ignoraũt therof, and of our part we haue our ſelues cauſed, and as God ſhall ayde & ſtrength vs, ſhall cauſe our right and title in this behalfe to bee publiſhed and proclaymed accordyngly. And albeit this ſo weightie a matter ſeemeth ſtraunge, that the dying of our ſayd brother vppon Thurſday at night laſt paſt, we hetherto had no knowledge from you therof, yet we cõſider your wiſedomes and prudence to be ſuch, that hauing eftſones amongeſt you debated, pondered, & well wayed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your own eſtate, the common wealth, and all our honours, we ſhall and may cõceiue great hope and truſt with much aſſuraunce in your loyaltie and ſeruice, and therfore for the tyme interprete & take thinges not to the worſt, & that ye yet will like noble men worke the beſt. Neuertheleſſe we are not ignoraũt of your conſultations, to vndoe the prouiſiõs made for our preferment, nor of the great bandes and prouiſions forcible, wherewith ye be aſſembled & prepared, by whom, and to what end, God & you know, and nature can but feare ſome euill. But be it that ſome cõſideration politicke, or what ſoeuer thyng els hath moued you therto, yet doubt you not my Lordes, but we cã take all theſe your doings in gracious part, being alſo right ready to remit & fully pardon the ſame, with that frely to eſchue bloudſhed and vengeaunce agaynſt all thoſe that cã or will intende the ſame: truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accept this grace & vertue in good part as apperteineth, and that we ſhall not bee inforced to vſe the ſeruice of other our true ſubiectes and frendes which in this our iuſt and rightful caſe, God in whom our whole affiaunce is, ſhall ſend vs. Wherefore my Lordes we require you and charge you, and euery of you, that euery of you, of your allegeance which you owe to God and vs and to none other, for our honour and the ſuretie of our pardon, onely employ your ſelues, and forthwith vpon recept hereof, cauſe our right and title to the crown and gouernment of this Realme to bee proclaymed in our Citie of London, and ſuch other places as to your wiſdomes ſhal ſeeme good, and as to this caſe apparteineth not faylyng hereof as our very truſt is in you. And thus our letter ſigned with our hand ſhalbe your ſufficient warrant in this behalfe. Yeuen vnder our Signet at our Manoꝛ of Kenyngall the ix. of Iuly. 1553.

To this letter of the Lady Mary, the Loꝛdes of the Counſayle make aunſwere agayne as foloweth.

A letter of the Counſaile aunſweryng agayne to the Lady *Mary*.

Aunſwere of the Lordes vnto the Lady Maryes Letter.

Madame we haue receaued your letters the ix. of this inſtant, declaryng your ſuppoſed title, which you iudge your ſelfe to haue to the Imperiall crowne of this Realme and all the dominions therunto belonging. Foꝛ aũſwere wherof this is to aduertiſe you that foꝛ aſmuch as our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Iane is after the death of our ſoueraigne Loꝛd Edward the ſixt, a Pꝛince of moſt noble memoꝛy inueſted and poſſeſſed with the iuſt and right title in the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, not onely by good oꝛder of old auncient good lawes of this Realme, but alſo by our late ſoueraigne Loꝛdes letters patentes ſigned with his own hand, and ſealed with the great ſeale of England in pꝛeſence of the moſt part of the nobles, Counſellours, iudges, with diuers other graue and ſage perſonages, aſſentyng and ſubſcribyng to the ſame: we muſt therfoꝛe as of moſt bound ducty and allegeance aſſent vnto her ſayd grace, and to none other, except we ſhould (which faithfull ſubiectes can not) fall into greuous and vnſpeakeable enoꝛmities. wherfoꝛe we can no leſſe do, but foꝛ the quyet both of the Realme and you alſo, to aduertiſe you, that foꝛ aſmuch as the diuoꝛce made betwene yͤ king of famous memoꝛy K. Henry the eight, and the Lady Katherine your mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the euerlaſtyng lawes of God, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, and by the moſt part of the noble and learned vniuerſities of Chꝛiſtendome, and confirmed alſo by the ſondꝛy Actes of Parlamentes remayning yet in their foꝛce, and thereby you iuſtly made illegitimate and vnheritable to the crowne Imperial of this Realme, and the rules, dominiõs, and poſſeſſions of the ſame: you will vpon iuſt conſideration hereof, and of diuers other cauſes lawful to be alledged foꝛ the ſame, & foꝛ the iuſt inheritaũce of the right lyne and godly oꝛders taken by the late kyng our ſoueraigne Loꝛde kyng Edward the ſixt, and agreed vppon by the nobles and greateſt perſonages afoꝛeſaid, ſurceaſſe by any pꝛetẽce to vexe and moleſt any of our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Iane her ſubiectes from their true faith and allegaunce due vnto her grace: aſſuryng you that if you will foꝛ reſpect ſhow your ſelfe quyet and obedient (as you ought) you ſhall finde vs all and ſeuerall ready to do you any ſeruice that we with ducty may, and bee glad with your quietnes to pꝛeſerue the common ſtate of this Realme: wherein you may be otherwiſe greuous vnto vs, to your ſelfe, and to them. And thus we byd you moſt hartly well to fare, frõ the Tower of London, this ix. of Iuly. 1553.

Lady Iane inueſted in poſſeſſion of the crowne by *K. Edwardes* will and aſſent of the whole Counſaile.

Lady Mary recounted illegitimate.

Your Ladyſhyps frendes ſhewyng
your ſelfe an obedient ſubiect,

Tho. Canterbury.	R. Ritch.
The Marques of Wyncheſter.	Huntington.
	Darcy.
Iohn Bedford.	Cheyny.
W. Northampton.	R. Cotton.
Tho. Ely Chauncel.	Iohn Gates.
Northumberland.	W. Peter.
Henry Suffolke.	W. Cicelle.
Henry Arundell.	Iohn Cheke.
Shreweſbury.	Iohn Maſon.
Pembroke.	Edw. North.
Cobham.	R. Bowes.

All theſe afoꝛeſayd except only yͤ Duke of Northumberland & Syꝛ Iohn Gates, afterward were, either by eſpeciall fauoꝛ oꝛ ſpeciall oꝛ generall pardõ diſcharged.

After this aunſwer receaued, and the myndes of the Loꝛdes perceaued, Ladye Mary ſpedeth her ſelfe ſecretely away farre of from the City, hoping chiefly vpon the good will of the Commons, and yet (perchaunce) not deſtitute all together of the ſecrete aduertiſements of ſome of the Nobles. When the Counſell heard of her ſodaine departure, and perceiued her ſtoutnes, and that all came not to paſſe as they ſuppoſed: they gathered ſpedely a power of men together, appointed an army, and firſt aſſigned that the Duke of Suffolke ſhould take that enterpꝛiſe in hand, and ſo haue the leading of the band. But afterward altering their mindes, they thought it beſt to ſend foꝛth the Duke of Noꝛthumberland, with certaine other Loꝛdes and Gentlemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke ſhould keepe the Tower: where the Loꝛd Gilford and the Lady Iane the ſame tyme were lodged.

Lady Mary keepeth her ſelf from the Citie of London.

The Duke of Noꝛthumberlãd ſent foꝛth againſt lady *Mary*.

In the which expedition the Garde alſo, albeit they were much vnwylling at the fyꝛſt thereunto, yet notwithſtanding through the vehemẽt perſwaſions of the Loꝛd Treaſurer, Maiſter Chomley, and other, they were induced to aſſiſt the Duke, and to ſet foꝛwarde with hym.

These thinges thus agreed vpon, & the Duke now being ſet foꝛwarde after the beſt aray out of London, hauing notwithſtanding hys times pꝛeſcribed and his iourneyes appointed by yͤ Coũſel, to yͤ entent he would not ſeme to do any thing, but vpon warrant, Mary in the meane while, toſſed with much trauell vp & down, to woꝛke the ſureſt way foꝛ her beſt aduauntage, withdꝛew her ſelfe into the quarters of Noꝛfolke and Suffolke, where ſhe vnderſtod the Dukes name to be had in much hatred, foꝛ the ſeruice that had bene done ther of late vnder king Edward in ſubduing the Rebels: and there gathering to her ſuch ayde of the Commons on euery ſide as ſhe might, kepeth her ſelfe cloaſe foꝛ a ſpace within Fremingham Caſtle. To whom firſt of all reſoꝛted the Suffolke men: who being alwayes foꝛward in pꝛomoting the pꝛocedinges of the Goſpel, pꝛomiſed her their ayde & help, ſo that ſhe would not attẽpt the alteration of the religion which her bꝛother kyng Edward had befoꝛe eſtabliſhed by lawes and oꝛders publickely enacted and receaued by the conſent of the whole realme in that behalfe.

Policie of the Lady *Mary*.

The Lady *Mary* taketh *Fremingham* caſtle.

The Suffolke men gather to the Lady *Maryes* ſide.

To make the matter ſhoꝛt, vnto this condition ſhe eftſones agreed, with ſuch pꝛomiſe made vnto them, that no innouation ſhould be made of religion, as that no man woulde oꝛ coulde then haue myſdoubted her. Which pꝛomiſe, if ſhee afterward had as conſtantly kept, as they did willingly pꝛeſerue her with theyꝛ bodies and weapons, ſhe had done a dede both woꝛthy her bloud, and had alſo made her raygne moꝛe ſtable to her ſelfe thꝛough firmer tranquilitie. Foꝛ though a mã be neuer ſo puiſſant of power, yet bꝛeach of pꝛomiſe is an euyll vpholder of quietnes, feare is woꝛſer, but cruelty is the wurſt of all.

The Lady *Mary* pꝛomiſeth faythfully that ſhe would not alter religion.

Bꝛeach of pꝛomiſe in *Q. Mary*.

Thus Mary being garded with the power of the Goſpellers, did vanquiſh the Duke, and all thoſe that came againſt her. In conſideration whereof, it was (me thinkes) an heauy woꝛd that ſhe aunſwered to the Suffolke men afterwardes, which dyd make ſupplication vnto her Grace to perfoꝛme her pꝛomiſe: Foꝛ ſo much (ſayth ſhe) as you being but members, deſire to rule your heade, you ſhall one day well perceiue that members muſt obey theyꝛ head, and not looke to beare rule ouer yͤ ſame. And not onely that, but alſo to cauſe the moꝛe terroꝛ vnto other, a certaine Gentleman named Maiſter Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndam ſyde, foꝛ the ſame cauſe, that is, foꝛ aduertiſing her by humble requeſt, of her pꝛomiſe, was puniſhed, being thꝛee ſundꝛy times ſet on the pillery to be a gaſing ſtocke vnto all men. Diuers other deliuered her bokes and ſupplications made out of the ſcripture, to exhoꝛt her to cõtinue in the true doctrine then ſtabliſhed, and foꝛ theyꝛ good willes were ſent to pꝛiſon. But ſuch is the condition of mãs nature (as here you ſee) that we are foꝛ the moſt part moꝛe ready alway to ſeke friendſhip when we ſtand in neede of helpe, then readye to requite a benefite once paſt and receiued. Howe be it agaynſt all this, one ſhote anker we haue, which may be a ſure comfoꝛt to all miſerable creatures, that equitie and fidelitie are euer perfecte and certainly found wyth the Loꝛd aboue, though yͤ ſame being ſhut out of yͤ dooꝛes in

Q. Maryes anſwere to the Suffolke men, and one Maiſter *Dobbe* puniſhed.

Perfect fidelitie ſhut out of the dooꝛes, yet is to bee found in heauen.

in this world, be not to be founde here among men. But ſeing our entent is to wryte a ſtory, not to treate of office, let vs lay Suffolke mē aſide for a while, whoſe deſertes for their readines ⁊ diligence with yͤ Quene, I wyll not here ſtande vpon. What ſhe performed on her part, the thing it ſelfe, and the whole ſtorye of thys perſecution doth teſtifie, as hereafter more playnly will appeare.

On the contrary ſide, the Duke of Northumberlād hauing hys warrant vnder the broad Seale with all furniture in a readines, as hée tooke hys viage and was now forward in hys way, what adoe there was, what ſtyrring on euery ſide, what ſendyng, what ridyng and poſting, what letters, meſſages, and inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiours, what hartburning among the people, what fayre pretenſes outwardly, inwardly what priuy practiſes there were, what ſpéeding of Ordinance dayly and howerly out of the Tower, what rumours ⁊ comming downe of ſoldiours frō all quarters there was, a world it was to ſée, ⁊ a proceſſe to declare, enough to make a whole Ilias. The greateſt help that made for the Lady Mary, was yͤ ſhort iourneies of yͤ Duke, which by commiſſion were aſſigned to hym before, as is aboue mencioned. For the longer the Duke lingered in his viage, the Lady Mary the more increaſed in puiſſance, the hartes of the people being mightely bent vnto her. Whych after the Counſell at London perceaued, and vnderſtood how the common multitude dyd withdraw their harts from them to ſtand with her, and that certaine Noble men began to go the other way: they turned their ſong ⁊ proclaymed for Quene the Lady Mary, eldeſt daughter to king Henry. VIII. and appointed by Parlament to ſuccéede king Edward dying without iſſue. And ſo the Duke of Northumberland, being by counſell and aduiſe ſent forth agaynſt her, was left deſtitute and forſaken alone at Cambridge, with ſome of his ſonnes, and a few other, among whom the Earle of Huntington was one: who there were arreſted ⁊ brought to the Tower of Londō as traytors to yͤ crowne, notwithſtāding that he had there proclaimed her Quéene before.

Queene Mary proclaimed at London.

The Duke of Northumberland ouerthrowē.

The Duke of Northumberland brought to the Tower as a traytour.

Thus haue you Mary now made a Quéene, and the ſword of authority put into her hand, whych, how ſhe afterward dyd vſe, we may ſée in ſequele of thys booke. Therfore (as I ſayd) when ſhe had bene thus aduaunced by the Goſpellers, and ſaw all in quiet by meanes that her enemies were conquered, ſending the Duke captiue to the Tower before (whych was the. xxv. of July) ſhe followed not long after, beyng brought vp the thyrd day of Auguſt to London, wyth the great reioyſing of many men, but wyth a greater feare of mo, and yet wyth flattery peraduenture moſt great, of fayned hartes.

Q. Mary commeth vp to Lōdon.

Thus comming vp to London, her firſt lodging ſhe tooke at the Tower, whereas the foreſayd Lady Iane with her huſband the Lord Gilford, a little before her comming, were impriſoned: where they remained wayting her pleaſure almoſt fiue monethes. But the Duke within a moneth after his comming to the Tower being adiudged to death, was brought forth to the Scaffold, and there beheaded. Albeit he hauing a promiſe and being put in hope of pardon (yea though hys head were vpon the blocke) if he would recant ⁊ heare Maſſe, conſented therto ⁊ denyed in wordes that true religion, which before time, as wel in K. Henry. VIII. dayes as in K. Edwardes hee had oft euidently declared him ſelf both to fauour and further: exhorting alſo the people to returne to the catholike fayth (as he termed it). Whoſe recantatiō the Papiſtes forthwith did publiſh and ſet abrode, reioyſing not a little at his conuerſion or rather ſubuerſion, as then appeared.

The Lady Iane and the Lord Gilforde priſoners in the Tower.

The Duke of Northumberland cōdemned to dye.

The Duke of Northumberland recanteth hys religion.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded.

Thus the Duke of Northumberland with Syr Iohn Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer (which Palmer on the other ſyde confeſſed hys fayth that he had learned in the Goſpell, and lamented that he had not liued more goſpellike) being put to death: in the meane time Quéene Mary, entring thus her raigne wyth the blood of theſe men: beſides hearing Maſſe her ſelfe in the Tower, gaue a heauy ſhewe and ſignification hereby, but ſpecially by the ſodayne deliuering of Steuen Gardiner out of the Tower, that ſhee was not mynded to ſtand to that, which ſhe ſo déepely had promiſed to the Suffolke men before concerning the not ſubuertyng, or altering of the ſtate of religion: as in very deede the ſurmiſe of the people was therein nothing deceyued.

Syr Iohn Gates and Syr Thomas Palmer confeſſing their fayth were beheaded.

Beſyde the premiſſes, other thinges alſo followed, which euery day more ⁊ more diſcomforted the people, declaring the Quéene to beare no good will to the preſent ſtate of religion: as, not only the releaſing of Gardiner beyng then made Lord Chauncellour of England and Biſhop of Wincheſter, Doct. Poynet beyng put out, but alſo that Boner was reſtored to his Biſhopricke againe, and Doctour Ridley diſplaced: Item, D. Day to yͤ biſhopricke of Chicheſter, Iohn Scory beyng put out: Itē, D. Tunſtall to yͤ Byſhopricke of Dureſme: Item, D. Heath to the Byſhopricke of Worceſter, and Iohn Hoper committed to the Fléete: Item, Doct. Veſye to Exceter, and Miles Couerdale put out. Theſe thynges beyng marked ⁊ perceyued, great heauines and diſcomforte grew more and more to all good mens hartes: but contrary to the wicked great reioycyng. In which diſcord of myndes ⁊ diuerſitie of affections, was now to be ſéene a miſerable face of thynges in the whole common wealth of England. They that could diſſemble, tooke no great care how the matter went. But ſuch whoſe cōſciences were ioined to truth, perceyued already coales to bee kyndled, which after ſhould be the deſtruction of many a true Chriſtian mā, as in déede it came to paſſe. In yͤ meane while Quéene Mary, after theſe begynnynges, remouyng from the Tower to Hampton Court, cauſed a Parlament to be ſummoned agaynſt the x. day of October next enſuing, whereof more is to be ſayd hereafter.

The true preaching Byſhops diſplaced.

A Parlament ſommoned.

Yea heard before how diuers Byſhops were remoued and other placed in their roumes: amōgeſt whom was Doct. Ridley the Byſhop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learnyng. Thys Doct. Ridley in tyme of Quéene Iane had made a Sermon at Paules Croſſe, ſo commaunded by the Counſell: declaryng there hys mynde to the people as touchyng the Lady Mary, and diſſuaded them, alledgyng there the incommodities ⁊ inconueniences which might riſe by receiuing her to be their Quéene, prophecying, as it were, before, that which after came to paſſe, that ſhe would bryng in foreine power to reigne ouer them: beſides the ſubuertyng alſo of Chriſtian Religion then already eſtabliſhed: ſhewyng moreouer that the ſame Mary beyng in his Dioces, he accordyng to his duety, beyng then her Ordinary, had trauayled much with her to reduce her to this Religion, and notwithſtādyng in all other poyntes of ciuilitie ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true fayth and doctrine ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe ſo ſtiffe and obſtinate, that there was no other hope of her to be cōceiued, but to diſturbe ⁊ ouerturne all that which with ſo great labours had bene confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this Sermon Quéene Mary was proclaymed, whereupon he ſpedely repayryng to Fremingham to ſalute the Quéene, had ſuch cold welcome there, that beyng diſpoyled of all his dignities, hee was ſent backe vppon a lame haltyng horſe to the Tower.

Biſh. Ridley preacheth in *Queene Ianes* tyme.

After him preached alſo Maiſter Rogers the next Sonday, intreatyng very learnedly vpon yͤ Goſpell of the ſame day.

M. Rogers preacheth.

This ſo done, Quéene Mary ſeyng all thynges yet not goyng ſo after her mynde as ſhe deſired, deuiſeth with her Counſell to bryng to paſſe that thyng by other meanes, which as yet by open lawe ſhe could not well accompliſh, directyng forth an inhibition by proclamation, that no man ſhould preach or read openly in Churches the worde of God, beſides other thynges alſo in the ſame proclamation inhibited, the copy wherof here foloweth.

¶ An inhibition of the Queene, for Preachyng, Printyng. &c.

Auguſt. 18.

An inhibition of the Queene for preachyng and Printing.

THe Queenes hyghnes well remembryng what great inconuenience and daungers haue growen to this her hyghnes Realme in tymes paſt through the diuerſitie of opinions in queſtions of Religion, and hearing alſo that now of late, ſithens the begynnyng of her moſt gracious reigne, the ſame contentions bee agayne much renued through certeine falſe and vntrue reportes and rumours ſpread by ſome lyght and euill diſpoſed perſons, hath thought good to do to vnderſtand to all her hyghnes moſt louyng ſubiectes her moſt gracious pleaſure in maner folowyng.

Q. Mary beginneth to ſet forth her popiſh religion.

Religion here grounded vpon the Queenes will.

Firſt, her Maieſty beyng preſently by the onely goodnes of God, ſetled in her iuſt poſſeſſion of the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, and other dominions thereunto belongyng, can not now hyde that religion which God and the world knoweth ſhe hath euer profeſſed from her infācie hetherto. which as her Maieſtie is minded to obſerue and mayntcine for her ſelfe by Gods grace duryng her tyme, ſo doth her highnes much deſire and would be glad the ſame were of all her ſubiectes quietly and charitably embraced. And yet ſhe doth ſignifie vnto al her maieſties louyng ſubiectes, that of her moſt gracious diſpoſition and clemency, her highnes mindeth not to compell any her ſayd ſubiectes thereunto, vnto ſuch tyme as further order by common aſſent may be taken therein: forbyddyng neuertheles all her ſubiectes of all degrees, at their perils to moue ſeditiōs, or ſtyrre vnquietnes in her people by interpretyng the lawes of this Realme after their braynes and fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the tyme, till (as before is ſayd) further order may be taken, and therefore willeth and ſtraitely chargeth and commaundeth all her ſayd good louyng ſubiectes to liue togethers in quiet ſorte and Chriſten charitie, leauyng those new founde deuiliſhe termes of Papiſte or Hereticke, and ſuch lyke, and applying their whole cares, ſtudy and trauaile to lyue in the feare of God, exerciſyng theyr conuerſations in ſuch charitable and godly doyng, as their lyues may in dede expreſſe that great hūger and thyrſt of Gods glory and holy worde, which by raſhe talke and wordes many haue pretēded: and in ſo doyng, they ſhall beſt pleaſe God, and lyue without daungers of the lawes, and maintayne the tranquillitie of the Realme. whereof as her hyghnes ſhalbe moſt glad, ſo if any man ſhall raſhely preſume to make any aſſēblies of people, or at any publicke aſſemblies or otherwiſe ſhall go about to ſtirre the people to diſorder or diſquiet, ſhe mindeth, accordyng to her dutie, to ſee the ſame moſt ſurely reformed and puniſhed according to her highnes lawes.

Termes of Papiſt and Hereticke forbidden.

And furthermore for aſmuch alſo, as it is well knowē that ſedition and falſe rumors haue bene nouriſhed and mayntained in this Realme by the ſubtiltie and malice of ſome euill diſpoſed perſons, which take vpon them without ſufficient authoritie to preach and to interprete the worde of God after their owne brayne in Churches and other places, both publicke and priuate: and alſo by playng of Enterludes, & Printyng of falſe fonde bokes, Balladcs, Rymes, & other leude treatyſes in the Engliſh tounge cōcernyng doctrine in matters now in queſtion, and controuerſie touchyng the hygh poyntes and myſteries of Chriſten Religion, which bookes, Ballettes, Rymes and treatyſes, are chiefly by the Printers & Stationers ſet out to ſale to her graces ſubiectes of an euill zeale, for lucre & couetous of vyle gayne: her highnes therefore ſtraitly chargeth and commaundeth all and euery of her ſayd ſubiectes, of what ſoeuer ſtate, condition or degree they be, that none of them preſume from hence forth to preach, or by way of readyng in Churches or other publicke or priuate places, except in the ſcholes of the Vniuerſitie, to interprete or teach any Scriptures or any maner poyntes of doctrine concernyng Religiō, neither alſo to print any bookes, matter, ballet, ryme, Enterlude, proceſſe, or treatyſe, nor to play any interlude except they haue her graces ſpeciall licence in wrytyng for the ſame, vpon payne to incurre her hyghnes indignation and diſpleaſure.

Falſe ſurmiſe agaynſt true Preachers, Printers, and Players.

Here was the head of Wincheſter.

Preaching, Printing, Readyng, and Playing of Enterludes, reſtrayned.

And her highnes alſo further chargeth and commaūdeth all and euery her ſayd ſubiectes, that none of them of their owne authoritie do preſume to puniſh, or to ryſe agaynſt any offendour in the cauſes aboue ſayd, or any other offendour in wordes or deedes in the late rebellion committed or done by the Duke of Northumberland or hys complices, or to ſeaſe any of theyr goods, or violently to vſe any ſuch offender by ſtriking or imprisonyng, or threatnyng the ſame, but wholy to referre the puniſhment of all ſuch offenders vnto her highnes and publicke authoritie, whereof her Maieſty mindeth to ſee due puniſhmēt accordyng to the order of her highnes lawes.

The whole cauſe of the rebellion done by the Duke of Northumberland, reſerued onely to the Queenes order.

Neuertheleſſe, as her hyghnes mindeth not hereby to reſtraine and diſcourage any of her louyng ſubiectes, to geue from tyme to tyme true information agaynſt any ſuch offenders in the cauſes aboue ſayd vnto her grace or her Counſaile, for the puniſhment of euery ſuch offender, according to the effect of her highnes lawes prouided in that parte: ſo her ſayd highnes exhorteth and ſtraitly chargeth her ſaid ſubiectes to obſerue her commaundement and pleaſure in euery part aforeſayd, as they will auoyde her hyghnes ſayd indignatiō and moſt greuous diſpleaſure. The ſeuerity and rigor wherof, as her hyghnes ſhalbe moſt ſory to haue cauſe to put ye ſame in execution: ſo doth ſhe vtterly determine not to permit ſuch vnlawfull and rebellious doynges of her ſubiectes, whereof may enſue the daūger of her Royall eſtate to remayne vnpuniſhed, but to ſee her ſayd lawes touchyng theſe poyntes to bee throughly executed, which extremityes ſhe truſteth all her ſayd louyng ſubiectes will foreſee, drede and auoyde accordyngly: her ſayd hyghnes ſtraytely chargyng and commaundyng all Maiors, Shriues, Iuſtices of peace, Bailifes, Conſtables and all other publicke officers and miniſters, diligently to ſee to the obſeruyng and executyng of her ſayd commaundementes and pleaſure, and to apprehend all ſuch as ſhall wilfully offende in this part, committyng the ſame to the next gayle, there to remayne without bayle or maynepriſe, till vpon certificate made to her highnes or her priuy Counſayle of theyr names and doynges, and vppon examination had of their offences, ſome further order ſhalbe taken for their puniſhment, to the example of others, accordyng to the effect and tenour of the lawes aforeſayd. Yeuen at our manour of Richmond the xviij. day of Auguſte in the fyrſt yeare of our moſt proſperous reygne.

¶ Maiſter Bourne preachyng at Paules Croſſe.

Maiſter Bournes Sermon at Paules Croſſe. Auguſt. 13.

ABout this tyme or not long before, Boner Byſhop of London beyng reſtored, appointed M. Bourne a Canon of Paules to preach at the Croſſe, who afterward was Byſhop of Bath, hee takyng occaſion of the Goſpell of the day to ſpeake ſomewhat largely in iuſtifying of Boner being then preſent: which Boner, ſayd he, vppon the ſame text in that place that day foure yeares had preached before, and was vppon the ſame moſt cruelly and vniuſtly caſte into the moſt vyle Dungeon of the Marſhalſey, and there kept duryng the time of kyng Edward. His wordes ſounded ſo euill in the eares of the hearers, that they could not kepe ſilence, but began to murmure, and to ſturre in ſuch ſorte, that the Maior and Aldermen with other eſtates then preſent, feared much an vproare. But the truth is that one hurled a dagger at the preacher, but who it was it could not then bee proued, albeit afterward it was knowen.

No maruell if Boner were ſo ſoule haled away in ſuch a vyle dungeon of the Marſhalſey.

In fine the ſturre was ſuch, that the Preacher pluct in hys head, and durſt no more appeare in that place. The matter of hys Sermō tended much to the derogation and diſprayſe of kyng Edward: which thing the people in no caſe could abide. Thē Maiſter Bradford at the requeſt of the Preachers brother, and other then being in the pulpit, ſtode foorth and ſpake ſo mildly, Chriſtianly, and effectuouſly, that with few wordes he appeaſed all: and afterward he & Maiſter Rogers conducted the Preacher betwixt them from the pulpit, to the Grammer ſchoole dore, where they left him ſafe, as farther in the ſtory of M. Bradford is declared. But ſhortly after they were both rewarded with longe impriſonment, and laſt of all with fire in Smythfield.

M. Iohn Bradford appeaſith the people.

Bradford & Rogers garded the preacher.

Auguſt. 20.

The nexte ſonday following, the Queenes Garde was at the Croſſe wyth theyr weapons to garde the Preacher. And whē quiet men withdrew them ſelues from the Sermon, order was taken by the Maior, that the auncients of all companies ſhould bee preſent, leſt ẏ preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by his ſmal auditory.

Septemb.5.

Cranmer offereth to defend the doctrine of the ſeruice booke in Engliſh.

About the fift day of September the ſame yeare Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had bene commaunded to keepe hys houſe, and found there the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who offred to defend the doctrine of the booke of common prayer, both by the Scriptures and Doctors, aſſiſted by Peter Martyr and a fewe other, as hereafter ye ſhall heare. But whileſt they were in hope to come to diſputatiõs, the Archbiſhop and other were impriſoned, but Peter Martyr was ſuffered to returne whence he came.

Octob.1.

Q. Mary crowned.

Octob.10.

The Parlament beginneth with a Maſſe.

Two Byſhops withdrew them ſelues from the ſight of the Maſſe.

The firſt day of October Queene Mary was crowned at Weſtminſter: and the tenth day of the ſaid moneth of October then folowing, began the Parliament wyth a ſolemne Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, after the popiſh maner, celebrated with great pompe in the Palace of Weſtminſter. To the which Maſſe among the other Lordes, according to the maner, ſhould come the Byſhops, which yet remayned vndepoſed, which were the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Doctor Taylour biſhop of Lyncolne, Iohn Harley biſhop of Herford. Of the biſhops, Doctor Taylor and maiſter Harley preſenting them ſelues according to their duty, and taking their place amongeſt the Lordes, after they ſaw the Maſſe beginne, not abiding the ſight thereof, withdrewe them ſelues from the company: for the which cauſe the biſhop of Lincolne, being examined and proteſting hys fayth, was vpon the ſame commaunded to attende: who not long after at Ankerwicke by ſickenes departed. Maiſter Harley becauſe he was maried, was excluded both from the Parliament, and from his biſhopricke.

Maiſter Harley Biſhop of Herford put out of hys Byſhopricke.

Statutes of Premunire and other repealed.

Altars and Maſſes erected.

Maſſe being done, the Queene accompanied wyth the Eſtates of the Realme, was brought into the Parlamẽt houſe, there according to ẏ maner, to enter & begin the cõſultation. At which cõſultation or Parlamẽt were repealed all ſtatutes made in time of king Henry the eight for premunire, and Statutes made in Kyng Edward the ſixtes time for adminiſtration of common prayer and the ſacraments in the Engliſh tonge: and further, the attainder of the Duke of Northumberlãd was by thys Parliament confirmed. In thys meane while many men were forward in the erecting of aulters and Maſſes in churches. And ſuch as would ſticke to the lawes made in king Edwardes tyme till other ſhould be eſtabliſhed: ſome of them were marked, and ſome preſently apprehẽded. Among whom Sir Iames Hales a knight of Kent and Iuſtice of the cõmon place was one, who notwithſtanding hee had ventured hys lyfe in Queene Maries cauſe, in that he would not ſubſcribe to the diſheriting of her by the kinges wyll, yet for that he did at a quarter Seſſions geue charge vpon the ſtatutes made in the time of Henry.VIII. and Edward.VI. for ẏ ſupremacie & religion, he was impriſoned in the Marſhalſey, Counter, and Fleete, and ſo cruelly handled, and put in feare by talke that the Warden of the Fleete vſed to haue in his hearing, of ſuch torments as were in preparing for Heretickes (or for what other cauſe God knoweth) that he ſought to ryd him ſelfe out of this lyfe by wounding him ſelfe with a knife: and afterward was contented to ſay as they willed him: wherupon hee was diſcharged, but after that hee neuer reſted tyll he had drowned him ſelfe in a riuer halfe a mile frõ his houſe in Kent. Of whom more is to be ſeene when you come to hys ſtory.

Sir Iames Hales knight.

The trouble of Iudge Hales.

A ſubtile policie.

A Conuocation begunne.

Duryng the tyme of this Parliament, the Clergye likewiſe, after theyr wonted maner, had a conuocatiõ, with a diſputation alſo appointed by the Queenes commaundement, at Paules Church in London the ſame time, which was about the.xviij. of October. In the which conuocation, fyrſt M. Ioh. Harpſfield Bacheler of Diuinity made a Sermon ad Clerum, the xvj. of October. After the Sermon done, it was aſſigned by the Biſhops, that they of the Clergie houſe for auoiding confuſion of wordes, ſhoulde chuſe them a Prolocutor. To the whych roume and office by common aſſent was named Doctor Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, and preſented to the Biſhops wyth an oration of Maiſter Pie, Deane of Chicheſter, & alſo of M. Wymbyſley Archdeacon of London. Whych Doctor Weſton being choſe, and brought vnto the Biſhops, made hys gratulatory oration to the houſe, wyth ẏ aunſwere agayne of biſhop Boner.

Orations of *M. Pie and M. Wymſley, of Doct. Weſton and of B. Boner,* in the Conuocation houſe.

After theſe things thus ſped in ẏ Conuocation houſe, they proceeded next to the diſputatiõ appointed as is aboue ſayd, by ẏ Queenes commaundement, about ẏ matter of the ſacrament. Which diſputation continued vj. daies. Wherin D. Weſton was chiefe on ẏ Popes part, who behaued him ſelfe outragiouſly in tauntyng and checking. In concluſion, ſuch as diſputed on the contrary parte were driuen ſome to flee, ſome to deny, and ſome to dye, though to the moſt mens iudgements that heard the diſputation, they had the vpper hand, as here may appeare by the report of the ſayd diſputation, the copy wherof we thought here to annexe as foloweth.

¶ The true report of the diſputation had and begon in the Conuocation houſe at London, the xviij. of October. An. 1553.

A diſputation of religion in Paules church in Londõ the xviij. of October.

WHere as diuers and vncertaine rumors be ſpread abroade of the diſputation had in the Conuocation houſe, to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all thinges therein done and ſayd, as much as the memory of him that was preſent thereat can beare away, hee hath thought good at requeſt, throughly to deſcribe what was ſayd therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in queſtion, and of the entraunce therof.

Acte of the firſt day.

Octob.18.

D. Weſton Prolocutor agaynſt the booke of Catechiſme ſet forth in Kyng *Edwardes* tyme.

Firſt vpon wedenſday being the.xviij. day of October at after noone, maiſter Weſton the Prolocutor certified the houſe, that it was the Queenes pleaſure that the company of the ſame houſe, beyng learned men, aſſembled, ſhould debate of matters of religion, and conſtitute lawes therof, whych her Grace & the Parliament would ratifie. And for that (ſayd hee) there is a booke of late ſet forth, called the Catechiſme (which he ſhewed forth) bearing the name of this honourable Synode, & yet put forth without your conſentes, as I haue learned, being a boke very peſtiferous, and full of hereſies, and likewyſe a booke of cõmon prayer, very abominable (as it pleaſed him to terme it) I thought it therfore beſt, firſt to begin with the articles of the Catechiſme concerning the Sacrament of the aultar, to confyrme the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, and alſo tranſubſtantiation: wherfore (ſayd he) it ſhall be lawfull on Fryday next enſuing for all men freely to ſpeake their cõſcience in theſe matters, that all doubtes may be remoued and they fully ſatiſfied therin.

¶ *Acte of the 2. day.*

Octob.20.

Two billes exhibited in the Conuocation houſe by the Prolocutor.

M. Phillips, M. Haddon, M. Philpot, M. Cheyny, M. Elmar, and one other, refuſed to ſubſcribe to the billes.

The booke of the Catechiſme defended by M. *Ioh. Philpot.*

The Friday commyng being the.xx. of October, whẽ men had thought they ſhould haue entred diſputation of the queſtions propoſed, the Prolocutor exhibited two ſeuerall billes vnto the houſe: the one for the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aultar, the other concerning the Catechiſme, that it was not of that houſes agreement ſet forth, and that they dyd not agree thereunto: requyring all them to ſubſcribe to the ſame, as hee hym ſelfe had done. Whereunto the whole houſe did immediately aſſent, except ſyxe, which were ẏ Deane of Rocheſter, the Deane of Exceter, the Archdeacon of Wincheſter, the Archdeacon of Hertford, the Archdeacon of Stow, and one other. And whyle the reſt were about to ſubſcribe theſe two articles, Iohn Philpot ſtode vp and ſpake fyrſt concerning the article of the Catechiſme, that he thought they were deceiued in ẏ title of ẏ Catechiſme, in that it beareth the title of the Synode of London laſt before this, although many of them which then were preſent were neuer made priuy thereof in ſetting it forth, for that this houſe had graũted the authority to make eccleſiaſticall lawes vnto certaine perſons to be appoynted by the kinges Maieſty, and whatſoeuer eccleſiaſtical lawes they or the moſt part of them did ſet forth, according to a ſtatute in that behalfe prouided, it might be well ſayd to to be done in the Sinode of London, although ſuch as be of this houſe now had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And in this poynt he thought the ſetter forth therof nothing to haue ſclaundered the houſe as they by theyr ſubſcription went about to perſuade the worlde, ſince they had our Synodall authority vnto them cōmitted to make ſuch ſpirituall lawes as they thought conuenient and neceſſary.

Agaynſt the article of naturall preſence.

And moreouer he ſayd as concerning the article of the naturall preſence in the ſacrament, that it was agaynſt reaſon and order of learning, and alſo very preiudiciall to the truth, that men ſhould be moued to ſubſcribe before the matter were thorowly examined and diſcuſſed. But whē he ſawe that allegatiō might take no place, being as a man aſtoniſed at the multitude of ſo many learned men as there were of purpoſe gathered together to maintaine olde traditions more then the truth of Gods holy word, he made his requeſt vnto the Prolocutor, that where as there were ſo many auncient learned mē preſent on that ſyde, as in the realme the lyke agayne were not to bee found in ſuch nomber, and that on the other ſide of them that had not ſubſcribed, were not paſt. v. or. vj. both in age and learning farre inferiour vnto them: therefore, that equality might be had in this diſputation, he deſyred that the Prolocutor would be a meane vnto the Lordes, that ſome of thoſe that were learned and ſetters forth of the ſame catechiſme might be brought into the houſe to ſhewe their learning that moued them to ſet forth the ſame, and that Doctour Ridley and Maiſter Rogers with two or three moe might be licenſed to bee preſent at this diſputation, and to be aſſociate with them.

M. Philpots requeſt to the Prolocutor.

Requeſt to haue Doct. *Ridley and M. Rogers* at the diſputation.

This requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was propoſed vnto the Biſhops: who made this aunſwere, that it was not in them to call ſuch perſons vnto our houſe, ſince ſome of them were priſoners. But they ſayd they would be petitioners in this behalf vnto the Coūſel, and in caſe any were abſēt that ought to be of the houſe, they willed them to be taken in vnto them, if they liſted. After this they myndyng to haue entred into diſputation, there came a Gentlemā as meſſenger frō the Lord great maiſter ſignifying vnto the Prolocutor that the Lord great maiſter and the Earle of Deuonſhyre would bee preſent at the diſputations, & therfore he differred the ſame vnto Monday at one of the clocke at after noone.

Aunſwere of the Byſhops vnto the requeſt.

¶The acte of the thyrd day.

The thyrd Seſſion. October. 23.

Upon Monday the xxiij. of Octob. at the time appointed, in the preſence of many Earles, Lordes, Knightes, Gentlemen and diuers other of the Court and of the Citie alſo, the Prolocutor made a Proteſtation that they of the houſe had appoynted this diſputation, not to call the truth into doubt, to the which they had already all ſubſcribed ſauyng v. or vj. but that thoſe gaynſayers might be reſolued of theyr Argumētes in the which they ſtode, as it ſhall appeare vnto you, not doubtyng but they will alſo condeſcend vnto vs.

Then he demaunded of maiſter Haddon whether hee would reaſon agaynſt the queſtions propoſed, or no. To whom he made aunſwer, that he had certified him before by writing that he woulde not, ſince the requeſt of ſuch learned men as were demaunded to bee aſſiſtent wyth them, would not be graunted. Maiſter Elmar likewyſe was aſked: who made the Prolocutor the like anſwere, adding moreouer this, that they had done to much preiudice already to the truth, to ſubſcribe before the matter was diſcuſſed: and litle or nothing it might auaile to reaſon for the truth, ſince all they were now determined to the contrarie. After this he demaunded of M. Cheyny, whō the Prolocutor ſayd allowed the preſence with thē, but hee denyed the tranſubſtantiation by the meanes of certaine authorities vpon the which he ſtandeth and deſyreth to be reſolued, as you ſhall heare whether he will propoſe his doubtes concernyng tranſubſtantiation or no. Yea, quoth hee, I would gladly my doubtes to be reſolued which moue me not to beleue tranſubſtantiation.

M. Haddon & M. Elmar refuſe to aunſwere, except their requeſt were graunted.

M. Cheyny then Archdeacō of Herford, now Biſhop of Gloceſter.

The firſt is out of S. Paul to the Corinthians, who ſpeakyng of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, calleth it oft tymes bread after the conſecration.

M. Cheynyes doubtes about tranſubſtantiation.

The ſecond is out of Origene, who ſpeakyng of this Sacrament, ſayth that the materiall parte thereof goeth downe to the excrementes.

The third is out of Theodoretus, who makyng mention of the Sacramental bread and wyne after the conſecration, ſayth that they go not out of theyr former ſubſtaunce, forme, and ſhape. Theſe be ſome of my doubtes among many other, wherein I require to be aūſwered.

Then the Prolocutor aſſigned D. Moreman to aūſwere him. who to S. Paul anſwered him thus, that the Sacrament is called bread by him in deede, but it is thus to be vnderſtand, that it is the Sacrament of bread, that is, the forme of bread.

Moremās anſwere to S. Paule.

Then M. Cheyny inferred and alledged that Heſychius called the Sacrament both bread and fleſhe.

Maiſter *Cheyny* replyeth to *Moremās* aunſwere.

Yea, quoth Moreman, Heſychius calleth it bread, becauſe it was bread and not becauſe it is ſo. And paſſyng ouer Origene, he came to Theodoretus, and ſayd that men miſtooke his authoritie by interpretyng a generall into a ſpeciall, as Peter Martyr hath done in that place of Theodoret, interpretyng ὀυσία for ſubſtaunce, which is a ſpeciall ſignification of the word, whereas ὀυσία is a generall word as wel to accidence as to ſubſtaunce, and therfore I anſwere thus vnto Theodoret that the Sacramētall bread and wyne do not go out of theyr former ſubſtāce, forme, and ſhape, that is to ſay, not out of their accidentall ſubſtaunce and ſhape.

Moremās anſwere to *Theodoretus.*

After this M. Cheyny ſat hym down, and by and by M. Elmar ſtode vp, as one that could not abyde to heare ſo fonde an aunſwere to ſo graue an authoritie, and reaſoned vpon the authoritie of Theodoret alledged before by M. Cheyny, and declared that Moremans aūſwere to Theodoret was no iuſt nor ſufficient aunſwere, but an illuſion and a ſubtile euaſion contrary to Theodoretes meanyng. For, ſayd hee, if ὀυσία ſhould ſignifie an accidence in the place alledged, as it is aunſwered by M. Moreman, then were it a worde ſuperfluous ſet in Theodorete there, where do folow two other wordes which ſufficiently do expounde the accidences of the bread, that is, εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα, which ſignifie in Engliſhe, ſhape and forme: and ſo proued out of the ſame author by diuers allegations that ὀυσία in Greeke coulde not bee ſo generally taken in that place as Moreman for a ſhift would haue it. But Moreman, as a man hauyng no other ſalue for that ſore, affirmed ſtill that ὀυσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtaunce, muſt needes ſignifie an accidentall ſubſtaunce properly. To whoſe importunitie ſince hee coulde haue no other aunſwere, Elmar as a mā weried with hys importunitie, gaue place.

M. Elmar argueth agaynſt Doctour *Moremās* aunſwere.

Moremās ſhift is vnreſonable.

After this ſtode vp Iohn Philpot, and ſayd that he could proue that by the matter that Theodoret intreateth of in the place aboue alledged, and by the ſimilitude which he maketh to proue his purpoſe, by no meanes M. Moremās interpretation of ὀυσία, might bee taken for accidentall ſubſtaunce, as he for a ſhift would interpret it to be. For the matter which Theodoret intreateth of in that place is agaynſt Eutyches an hereticke, which denyed ij. natures of ſubſtāce to remayne in Chriſt beyng one perſon, and that hys humanitie after the accompliſhment of the myſtery of our ſaluation aſcending into heauē and being ioyned vnto the Diuinitie, was abſorpt or ſwalowed vp of the ſame, ſo that Chriſt ſhould be no more but of one diuine ſubſtaunce onely, by his opinion. Agaynſt which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the ſimilitude of the Sacrament proueth the contrary agaynſt the hereticke: that lyke as in the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt after the conſecration, there is the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes humanity with the ſubſtāce of bread, remainyng as it was before, not beyng abſorpt of the humanity of Chriſt, but ioyned by the diuine operation therunto: euen ſo in the perſon of Chriſt beyng now in heauen, of whō this Sacrament is a repreſentation, there be ij. ſeuerall ſubſtances, that is, his Diuinitie and humanity vnited in one hypoſtaſy or perſon, which is Chriſt, the humanitie not beyng abſorpt by the coniunction of the diuinitie, but remainyng in hys former ſubſtaunce.

Philpots replication to *Moremās* ſhifte.

The place of *Theodoret* opened.

The argument of *Theodoret* a ſimil.

And this ſimilitude, quoth Philpot, brought in of Theodorete to confoūd Eutyches, ſhould proue nothyng at all, if the very ſubſtaunce of the Sacramentall bread dyd not remayne, as it did before. But if Doct. Moremās interpretatiō might take place for trāſubſtantiation, then ſhould the hereticke haue thereby a ſtrong argument by Theodoretes authority ſo taken, to mainteyne his hereſie and to proue hym ſelfe a good Chriſten man, and he might well ſay thus vnto Theodoret: Lyke as thou Theodoret, if thou were of Doct. Moremans mynd, doeſt ſay that after the conſecration in the Sacrament the ſubſtaunce of the bread is abſorpt or tranſubſtantiate into the humane body of Chriſt comming therunto, ſo that in the Sacramēt is now but one ſubſtaunce of the humanitie alone, and not the ſubſtaunce of bread as it was before: euen lykewyſe may I affirme and conclude by thyne owne ſimilitude that the humanity aſcendyng vp by the power of

The place of *Theodoret* falſely taken of the Papiſtes.

God into heauen and adioyned vnto the deitye, was by the might therof abſorpt and turned into one ſubſtaunce with the deity: ſo that now there remayneth but one diuine ſubſtaunce in Chriſt, no more then in the Sacramētall ſignes of the Lordes Supper after the conſecration doth remayne any more then one ſubſtance accordyng to your belief and conſtruction.

The falſe expoſition of Doctor *Moreman* vpon *Theodoretus*, ouerthrowen.

In aunſweryng to this, Doct. Moreman ſtackered. whoſe defect Philpot perceiuyng, ſpake on this wyſe. well M. Moreman if you haue no aunſwere at this preſent ready, I pray you deuiſe one if you can cōueniently agaynſt our next meting here agayne.

Weſton is offended.

With that hys ſaying the Prolocutor was greuouſly offended, tellyng hym that hee ſhould not bragge there, but that he ſhould be fully aunſwered. Then ſayd Philpot: It is the thyng that I onely deſyre, to be aunſwered directly in this behalfe, and I deſire of you and of all the houſe at this preſent, that I may be ſufficiently aunſwered, which I am ſure you are not able to do, ſauyng Theodoretes authority and ſimilitude vpryght as he ought to be taken. None other aūſwere then was made to Philpots reaſons, but that he was commaunded to ſilence.

Philpots replication aunſwered by cōmaūding him to ſilence.

Thys man called M. *Phillips* continued Deane of Rocheſter all Queene *Maryes* tyme and yet ſtill ſo remaineth.

Then ſtode vp the Deane of Rocheſter offeryng hym ſelfe to reaſon in the firſt queſtion agaynſt the naturall preſence, wiſhyng that the Scripture and the auncient Doctours in this poynt myght be weyed, beleued and folowed. And agaynſt this naturall preſence he thought the ſaying of Chriſt in S. Mathew to make ſufficiently ynough, if mē would credite & folow ſcripture: who ſayd there of him ſelfe that poore men we ſhoulde haue alway with vs, but hym we ſhould not haue alwayes: which was ſpoken, quoth he, concernyng the naturall preſence of Chriſtes body: therefore we ought to beleue as hee hath taught, that Chriſt is not naturally preſent on earth in the Sacrament of the altare.

Weſtons anſwere to the Deane.

To this was aunſwered by the Prolocutor that we ſhould not haue Chriſt preſent alwayes to exerciſe almes deedes vpon hym, but vpon the poore.

The Deanes replicatiō.

Auguſt. in Ioan. Tract. 50.

A notable authoritie out of S. *Auguſt.*

But the Deane proſecuted hys Argument, & ſhewed it out of S. Auſten further, that the ſame interpretation of the Scripture alledged was no ſufficient aunſwere, who writeth in the fifty treatyſe vpon S. Iohn on this wyſe of the ſame ſentence: *VVhē as he ſayd,* (ſayth S. Auſten,) *me ſhall ye not haue alwayes with you, he ſpake of the preſence of his body. For by his Maieſty, by hys prouidence, by hys vnſpeakeable and vnuiſible grace, that is fulfilled which is ſayd of hym, beholde I am with you vntill the conſummation of the worlde. But in the fleſh which the worde tooke vppon hym, in that which was borne of the Virgine, in that which was apprehended of the Iewes, which was crucified on the Croſſe, which was let downe frō the Croſſe, which was wrapped in cloutes, which was hydden in the Sepulchre, which was manifeſted in the reſurrection, you ſhall not haue me alwayes with you. And why? For after a bodily preſence he was conuerſant with his Diſciples, xl. dayes, and they accompanying hym, ſeyng and not folowyng hym, hee aſcended and is not here: for there he ſitteth at the ryght hand of the father: and yet here he is, becauſe he is not departed in the preſence of his Maieſty. After an other maner we haue Chriſt alwayes by preſence of hys Maieſtie: but after the preſence of hys fleſh it is ryghtly ſayd:* You ſhal not verely haue me alwaies with you. *For the Church had hym in the preſence of his fleſh a few dayes, and now by fayth it apprehendeth hym and ſeeth hym, not with eyes.*

Watſons anſwere to *S. Auguſtine.*

Auguſt. in Ioan. Tract. 90.

To this authority Doct. Watſon tooke vppon hym to aunſwere, and ſayd he would aūſwere S. Auſten by S. Auſten, and hauyng a certayne booke in hys hand of notes, he alledged out of the lxxx. treatyſe vppon S. Iohn, that after that mortall condition and maner we haue not now Chriſt on the earth, as hee was heretofore before hys Paſſion.

Philpot agaynſt *Watſon.*

Againſt whoſe aunſwer Iohn Philpot replied and ſaid ẏ M. Watſon had not fully aunſwered S. Auſtine by S. Auſtine as he would ſeeme to haue done, for that in the place aboue mencioned by Maiſter Deane of Rocheſter, hee doth not only teach the mortal ſtate of Chriſtes body before hys paſſion, but alſo the immortall condicion of the ſame after his reſurrection: in the whych mortall body S. Auſtine ſeemeth playnly to affirme that Chriſt is not preſent vpon the earth, neyther in forme viſibly, neyther in corporall ſubſtance inuiſibly: as in few lines after the place aboue alledged, S. Auſtine doth more playnly declare by theſe wordes, ſaying: *Nowe theſe two maners of Chriſtes preſence declared, which is by his maieſtye, prouidence, and grace now preſent in the world, whych before his aſcenſion was preſent in the fleſh, and being now placed at the right hand of the father is abſent in the ſame from the world, I thinke* (ſaith S. Auſtine) *that there remayneth no other queſtion in this matter.* Now, quoth Philpot, if S. Auſtine acknowledged no more preſēce of Chriſt to be now on earth, but onely his diuine preſence, and touching his humanitie to bee in heauē: we ought to confeſſe and beleue the ſame. But if we put a third preſence of Chriſt, that is, corporally to be preſent alwayes in the ſacrament of the aultar inuiſibly, according to your ſuppoſitions, whereof S. Auſtine maketh no mencion at all in all hys workes: you ſhal ſeeme to iudge that which S. Auſtine did neuer comprehend.

Watſon.

Why, quoth Watſon, S. Auſtine in the place by me alledged, maketh he not mencion howe S. Steuen beyng in thys world ſaw Chriſt after his aſcenſion?

Philpot.

It is true ſayd Philpot, but he ſaw Chriſt, as the ſcripture telleth, in the heauens being open, ſtanding at the right hand of God the father. Further to thys Watſon aunſwered not.

D. Weſton.

Then the Prolocutor went about to furniſh vp an anſwer to S. Auſtine, ſaying that he is not now in the world after that maner of bodily preſence, but yet preſent for al that in hys body.

Philpot replyeth to *Weſton.*

To whom Philpot aunſwered, that the Prolocutour dyd grate much vpon this worde ſecundum in S. Auſtine, whych ſignifieth after the maner, or in forme: but he doth not anſwere to id quod, which is that thing or ſubſtance of Chriſt in the which Chriſt ſuffered, aroſe, and aſcended into heauen: in the which thing and ſubſtance he is in heauen and not on earth, as Saint Auſtine in the place ſpecified moſt clearely doth defyne.

The Deane of Rocheſter.

To this nothing els being aunſwered, the Deane of Rocheſter proceded in the maintenaunce of hys argument and read out of a booke of annotations, ſondry authorities for the confirmation thereof. To the which Moreman, who was appoynted to anſwere him, made no direct anſwere but bad him make an argument, ſaying that M. Deane had recited many wordes of Doctours, but he made not one argument.

Moreman.

Then ſayd the Deane, the authorities of the Doctors by me rehearſed, be ſufficient argumentes to proue myne intente, to the which my deſyre is to be anſwered of you. But ſtill Moreman cryed, make an argument, to ſhift of the authority which he could not anſwere vnto. After this the Deane made this argument out of the inſtitution of the ſacrament: *do this in remembraunce of me: and thus ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death vntil he come.*

Argument.

The ſacrament is the remembrance of Chriſt: Ergo the ſacrament is not very Chriſt: for yet hee is not come. For theſe wordes, *vntill hee come*, doe plainely ſignifie the abſence of Chriſtes body. Than the Prolocutour went about to ſhew that theſe wordes: *vntill he come*, did not import any abſence of Chriſt on the earth, by other places of ſcripture, where donec, *vntill*, was vſed in lyke ſenſe: but directly to the purpoſe he aunſwered nothing.

Weſton aunſwereth to the argument.

Donec in Scripture.

M. Deanes queſtions.

In concluſion the Deane fell to queſtioning wyth Moremā, whether Chriſt did eate the Paſchal lambe with his diſciples or no? He aunſwered, yea. Futher, he demaunded whether hee eate likewiſe the ſacrament wyth them, as hee dyd inſtitute it? Moreman aunſwered: yea. Then he aſked what he did eate, and whether he eate his owne naturall body as they imagine it to bee, or no? which whē Moreman had affirmed, then ſaid the Deane, it is a great abſurdity by you graūted, & ſo he ſat downe.

Moreman affirmeth that Chriſt did eate his owne body.

Philpot.

Againſt thys abſurdity Philpot ſtoode vp and argued, ſaying hee coulde proue it by good reaſon deduced out of ſcripture, that Chriſt eate not hys own naturall body at the inſtitution of the ſacrament: & the reaſon is thys.

Argument.

Ba- Receauing of Chriſtes body hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes with it annexed.
ro- Chriſt eating the Sacrament had no promiſe of remiſſion of ſinne:
co. Ergo, Chriſt in the Sacrament dyd not eate hys own body.

Moreman denyeth the Sacrament to haue a promiſſe of remiſſion of ſinnes annexed vnto it.

To thys reaſon Moreman aunſwered, denying the former part of the argument, that the ſacrament had a promiſe of remiſſion of ſynnes annexed vnto it.

Philpot.

Then Philpot ſhewed this to be the promiſe in the ſacrament: *VVhych is geuen for you, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſinnes.* But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promiſe, ſo that he droue Philpot to the. vj. of S. Iohn, to vouch thys ſaying with theſe wordes: *The bread which I wyll geue is my fleſh, which I wyll geue for the lyfe of the world.*

Harpſfield affyrmeth that which hys felowe denyed.

Moreman aunſwering nothing directly to thys argument, Harpſfield ſtart vp to ſupply that whych wanted in his behalfe, & thinking to haue aunſwered Philpot, cōfyrmed more ſtrongly his argument, ſaying: ye miſtake the promiſe whych is annexed to the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament: for it pertained not to Chriſt, but to hys Diſcipies, to whom Chriſt ſayd: *This is my body Whych is geuen for you*, and not for Chriſt himſelfe.

Philpot.

You haue ſayd well for me, quoth Philpot, for that is myne argumēt. The promiſe of the body of Chriſt tooke no effect in Chriſt: Ergo Chriſt eate not his own body.

Weſton alſo is contrary to Moreman.

M. Philpots argument not ſoluted.

Then the Prolocutor to ſhoulder out the matter, ſayd the argument was nought: For by the like argument he might go about to proue that Chriſt was not baptiſed, becauſe the remiſſion of ſynne, whych is annexed vnto baptiſme, tooke no effect in Chriſt. To the whych Philpot replyed, that lyke as Chriſt was baptiſed, ſo hee eate the ſacrament: but he tooke on him baptiſme, not that he had any neede thereof, or that it toke any effect in him, but as our maiſter, to geue the church an example to follow him in the miniſtration of the ſacrament, and thereby to exhibite vnto vs hym ſelfe, and not to geue him ſelf to him ſelfe.

No more was ſayd in thys. But afterward the Prolocutor demaunded of Philpot, whether he would argue agaynſt the naturall preſence, or no? To whom he anſwered: yea if he would heare his argument without interruption, and aſſigne one to aunſwere him, and not many, whych is a confuſion to the Opponent, and ſpecially for hym that was of an ill memorye. By thys tyme the nyght was come on: wherefore the Prolocutor brake vp the diſputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the fyrſt that ſhoulde begyn the diſputation the next day after, concerning the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

The conuocation continued to the next day.

¶ The act of the fourth day.

M. Philpot not ſuffered by the Prolocutor to make his declaration.

On the wedenſday the. xxvi. of October, Iohn Philpot, as it was before appoynted, was ready to haue entred the diſputation, myndyng fyrſt to haue made a certayne Oration and a true declaration in latin of the matter of Chriſtes preſence, whych was then in queſtion. whych thing the Prolocutor perceiuing, by and by hee forebad Philpot to make any Oration or declaratiō of any matter, commaunding him alſo that hee ſhould make no argument in latine, but to conclude on hys argumētes in Engliſh.

D. Weſton contrary to his owne wordes.

Then ſayd Philpot, this is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this diſputation. For than you appoynted that all the argumentes ſhoulde bee made in Latine, and therupon I haue drawen and deuiſed all my argumentes in Latine. And becauſe you Maiſter Prolocutor, haue ſayd heretofore openly in this houſe that I had no learning, I had thought to haue ſhewed ſuch learning as I haue, in a briefe oration and ſhort declaration of the queſtions now in controuerſye: thinking it ſo moſt conuenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeake otherwyſe in my declaration then ſhoulde ſtande wyth learning, or then I were able to warrant and iuſtifye by Gods word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the houſe, ſo that the vnlearned ſort beyng preſent, might take the leſſe offence thereat. But thys allegation preuayled nothing wyth the Prolocutor, who bad him ſtyll forme an argument in Engliſh, or els to hold hys peace.

Then ſayd Philpot: You haue ſore diſapoynted me, thus ſodainly to go from your former order: but I wyl accompliſh your commaundement, leauyng myne Oration apart: and I wyll come to my argumentes, the whych as well as ſo ſodayne a warnyng wyll ſerue, I wyll make in Engliſh. But before I bryng forth any argument, I wyll in one woord declare what maner of preſence I do diſalow in the ſacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better vnderſtand to what ende & effect myne argumentes ſhall tend: not to deny vtterly the preſence of Chriſt in hys ſacramentes truly miniſtred according to hys inſtitution, but onely to denye that groſſe and carnall preſence which you of this houſe haue already ſubſcribed vnto, to be in the Sacrament of the aultar, contrary to the truth and manifeſt meaning of the ſcriptures: that by tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramentall bread and wyne Chriſtes naturall body ſhoulde by the vertue of the wordes pronounced by the Prieſt, be contayned and included vnder the formes or accidences of breade and wyne. This kinde of preſence imagined by men, I do deny, quoth Philpot, & againſt this I will reaſon. But before he could make an ende of that he would haue ſayd, he was interrupted of the Prolocutor, & commaunded to deſcend to hys argument. At whoſe vniuſt importunity Philpot being offended, & thinking to purchaſe hym a remedy therefore, hee fell downe vpon hys knees before the Earles and Lordes, whych were there preſent, beyng a great nomber: wherof ſome were of the Queenes Counſell, beſechyng them that he might haue liberty to proſecute hys Argumentes without interruption of any man: the which was gentilly graunted hym of the Lordes. But yͤ Prolocutor puttyng in vre a poynt of the practiſe of Prelates, would not condeſcende therunto, but ſtyll cryed: hold your peace, or els make a ſhort Argument. I am about it, quoth Philpot, if you would let me alone. But firſt I muſt nedes axe a queſtion of my Reſpondent (who was D. Chedſey) concernyng a worde or twayne of your ſuppoſition, that is, of the Sacrament of the aultar, what he meaneth thereby, and whether hee take it as ſome of the auncient writers do, termyng the Lordes Supper the Sacrament of the aultar partely becauſe it is a Sacramēt of that liuely ſacrifice which Chriſt offered for our ſynnes vpon the aultar of the Croſſe, and partly becauſe that Chriſtes body crucified for vs was that bloudy ſacrifice which the bloudſheedyng of all the beaſtes offered vpon the altar in the olde lawe, dyd prefigurate and ſignifie vnto vs: in ſignification wherof the olde writers ſometyme do call the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, among other names which they aſcribe therunto, the Sacrament of the aultar: or whether you take it otherwiſe, as for the Sacrament of the altar which is made of lyme and ſtone, ouer the which that Sacrament hangeth, and to bee all one with the Sacramēt of the Maſſe, as it is at this preſent in many places. This done, I wil direct myne Argumētes accordyng as your aunſwere ſhall gyue me occaſion.

Philpot craueth of the Lordes to proſecute hys argumentes without interruption.

Philpot agayn interrupted by the Prolocutor.

Altar vtterly taken.

Chadſey.

Then made Doct. Chedſey this aunſwere, that in their ſuppoſition they tooke the Sacrament of the aultar, and the Sacrament of the Maſſe to be all one.

Philpots offer in the Conuocation houſe.

Then, quoth Philpot, I will ſpeake playne Engliſhe, as Maiſter Prolocutor willeth me, and make a ſhort reſolution therof: that that Sacrament of the aultar which ye recken to be all one with the Maſſe, once iuſtly aboliſhed and now put in ful vſe agayne, is no Sacrament at all, neither is Chriſt in any wiſe preſent in it: and this hys ſaying he offered to proue before the whole houſe, if they lyſted to call hym therunto: and lykewiſe offered to vouch the ſame before the Queenes grace and her moſt honorable Counſell, before the face of vj. of the beſt learned mē of the houſe of the contrary opinion, and refuſed none. And if I ſhall not be able (quoth he) to mainteyne by Gods worde that I haue ſaid, and confound thoſe vj. which ſhall take vpon thē to withſtand me in this point, let me be burned with as many Fagots as be in London before the Court gates. This he vttered with great vehemency of ſpirite.

At this, the Prolocutor with diuers other, were very much offended, demaundyng of hym whether he wyſte what he ſaid or no? Yea, quoth Philpot, I wote wel what I ſay: deſiryng no man to be offended with his ſaying, for that he ſpake no more then by Gods worde he was hable to proue. And prayſed be God (quoth hee) that the Queenes grace hath graunted vs of this houſe (as our Prolocutor hath informed vs) that we may frely vtter our conſciences in theſe matters of controuerſy in Religion: and therfore I will ſpeake here my conſcience frely, grounded vppon Gods holy worde for the truth, albeit ſome of you here preſent miſlyke the ſame.

The Prolocutor threatneth Philpot.

Then diuers of the houſe beſide the Prolocutor, taunted and reprehended hym for ſpeakyng ſo vnfaringly agaynſt the Sacrament of the Maſſe: and the Prolocutor ſayd he was mad and threatned hym, that he would ſend hym to priſon, if he would not ceaſe hys ſpeakyng.

Argumētū a loco topico ceteris.

Philpot ſeyng hym ſelfe thus abuſed, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mynde, fell into an exclamation, caſtyng his eyes vp towardes the heauen and ſayd: O Lord what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy worde may not be ſpoken and abyden by? and for very ſorrowe and heauines the teares trickled out of hys eyes.

Philpot permitted to make a briefe argument.

Math. 28. Luk. 23.

After this, the Prolocutor beyng moued by ſome that were about hym, was content that he ſhould make an Argument, ſo that he would be brief therein. I will be as brief, quoth Philpot, as I may conuenietly be in vttryng all that I haue to ſay. And firſt I will begyn to grounde myne Argumentes vppon the authoritie of Scriptures, wherupon all the building of our faith ought to be groūded: and after I ſhall cōfirme the ſame by auncient Doctors of yͤ Church. And I take yͤ occaſion of my firſt Argument out of the 28. of Mathew, of the ſaying of the Aungell to the three Maryes ſeekyng Chriſt at the ſepulchre, ſaying: *He is ryſen: he is not here:* and in S. Luke in the 23. Chapter the aungell aſketh them, why they ſought hym that

Argument of Maiſter Philpot.

that lyueth, among the dead. Lykewiſe the Scripture teſtifieth that Chriſt is ryſen, aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of the father: all the which is ſpoken of hys naturall body: Ergo, it is not on earth included in the Sacrament.

Iohn. 16.

I will confirme this yet more effectually by the ſaying of Chriſt, in the 16. of S. Iohn. *I came* (ſayth Chriſt) *from my father into the VVorld, and noVV I leaue the VVorld and go aVVay to my father.* The which commyng and goyng he ment of his naturall body. Therefore we may affirme therby, that it is not now in the world.

The blinde diſtinction of the Papiſtes. Viſibly. Inuiſibly.

But I looke here (quoth he) to be aunſwered with a blynd diſtinctiō of viſibly and inuiſibly, that he is viſibly departed in his humanitie, but inuiſibly hee remayneth notwithſtandyng in the Sacrament. But that aunſwere I preuent my ſelfe, that with more expedition I may deſcende to the pyth of myne Argumentes, whereof I haue a doſen to propoſe, and will proue that no ſuch diſtinctiō may take away the force of that Argument, by the aunſwere which Chriſtes Diſciples gaue vnto him ſpeaking theſe wordes: *NoVV thou ſpeakeſt playnly and Vttereſt forth no Prouerbe.* Which wordes S. Cyrill interpretyng, ſayth: *That Chriſt ſpake VVithout any maner of ambiguitie or obſcure ſpeach.* And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Chriſt ſpake playnly and without parable, ſaying: *I leaue the VVorld noVV and goe aVVay to my father,* then that obſcure, darke, & imperceptible preſence of Chriſtes naturall body to remayne in the Sacrament vppon earth inuiſibly, contrary to the playne wordes of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed: For nothyng can be more vncerteyne, or more parabolicall and vnſenſible, then ſo to ſay. Here now will I attende what ye will aunſwere, and ſo deſcende to the confirmation of all that I haue ſayd by auncient wryters.

Cyrillus.

Chadſeyes anſwere to Philpot.

Then D. Chedſey recityng hys Argumēt in ſuch order as it was made, tooke vpō him to aunſwere ſeuerally to euery part therof on this wyſe. Firſt to the ſaying of the Aūgel, that *Chriſt is not here: And VVhy ſeeke ye the liuing amōg the dead?* he aunſwered that theſe ſayinges perteined nothyng to the preſēce of Chriſtes naturall body in the Sacrament, but that they were ſpoken of Chriſtes body beyng in the ſepulchre when the iij. Maryes thought hym to haue bene in the graue ſtill. And therfore the aungell ſayd: *VVhy do ye ſeeke hym that lyueth among the dead?* And to the authority of the 16. of Iohn where Chriſt ſayth: *NoVV I leaue the VVorld and go to my father:* he ment that of hys Aſcenſion. And ſo lykewyſe did Cyrill, interpretyng the ſaying of yͤ Diſciples that knew playnly that Chriſt would viſibly aſcende into heauen, but that doth not exclude the inuiſible preſence of his naturall body in the Sacrament. For S. Chryſoſtome wrytyng to the people of Antioch doth affirme the ſame, cōparyng Helyas and Chriſt together, and Helyas cloke vnto Chriſtes fleſh. *Helyas* (quoth he) *VVhen hee VVas taken Vp in the fiery chariot, left hys cloke behynd hym Vnto hys Diſciple Helyſaus. But Chriſt aſcēdyng into heauen tooke hys fleſh VVith hym, and left alſo his fleſh behind hym.* Whereby we may right well gather that Chriſtes fleſh is viſibly aſcended into heauen and inuiſibly abydeth ſtill in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Chryſoſt. ad populū Antioch.

Philpot replyeth to Chadſey.

To this Philpot replyed and ſayd, you haue not directly aunſwered to the ſaying of the Aungell: *Chriſt is riſen & is not here,* becauſe you haue omitted that which was the chiefeſt point of all. For (ſaid he) I proceded further, as thus: he is ryſen, aſcended, & ſitteth at the right hand of God the father: Ergo, he is not remaynyng on yͤ earth. Neither is your aunſwere to Cyrill, by me alledged, ſufficient. But by and by I will returne to your interpretatiō of Cyrill and more playnly declare the ſame, after that I haue fyrſt refelled the authoritye of Chriſoſtome, which is one of your chief principles that you alledged to make for your groſſe carnal preſence in the Sacrament. Which beyng well weyed and vnderſtāded, perteyneth nothyng thereunto.

At that the Prolocutor ſtartled that one of the chief pyllers in this poynt ſhould be ouerthrowen, and therfore recyted the ſayd authority in Latine fyrſt, and afterward Engliſhed the ſame, willyng all that were preſent to note that ſaying of Chriſoſtome, which he thought inuincible on their ſyde. But I ſhal make it appeare, quoth Philpot, by and by, to make litle for your purpoſe. And as he was about to declare hys mynde in that behalfe, the Prolocutor dyd interrupt hym as he dyd almoſt continually. Wherwith Philpot not beyng contēt, ſayd: Maiſter Prolocutor thynketh that he is in a Sophiſtry ſchole where he knoweth right well the maner is that whē the Reſpōdent perceyueth that he is lyke to be inforced with an Argumēt to the which he is not able to aūſwere, then he doth what he can with cauillatiō and interruption to dryue hym from the ſame. This ſaying of Philpot was ill taken of the Prolocutor and hys adherētes: and the Prolocutor ſayd that Philpot could bryng nothyng to auoyde that authority but hys owne vayne imagination. Heare, quoth Philpot, and afterward iudge. For I will do in this as in all other authorities wherewith you ſhall charge me in refellyng any of my Argumentes that I haue to proſecute, aunſweryng eyther vnto the ſame by ſufficient authorities of Scripture, or els by ſome other teſtimonie of like authority to yours, & not of myne own imagination: the which if I do, I will it to be of no credite. And concernyng the ſaying of Chriſoſtome, I haue two wayes to beate hym from your purpoſe, the one out of Scripture, the other of Chriſoſtome hym ſelfe, in the place here by you alledged.

Philpot agayn interrupted by the Prolocutor.

The place of *Chryſoſtome* of Chriſt takyng vp hys fleſhe and leauing hys fleſh anſwered to by *Philpot.*

Firſt, where hee ſemeth to ſay that Chriſt aſcendyng, tooke hys fleſh with hym, and left alſo his fleſh behynde hym, truth it is: for we all do confeſſe & beleue that Chriſt tooke on him our humane nature in the virgin Maryes wombe, and through his Paſſion in the ſame hath vnited vs to hys fleſh, and therby are we become one fleſhe with hym, ſo that Chryſoſtome myght therfore right well ſay, that Chriſt aſcendyng tooke his fleſh which he receiued of the virgyn Mary, away with hym: and alſo left his fleſh behynd hym, which are we that be hys elect in this world, which are the members of Chriſt, and fleſh of his fleſh: as very aptly S. Paul to the Epheſians in the 5. chap. doth teſtifie ſaying: *VVe are fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of hys bones.* And if percaſe any man wil reply, that he entreateth there of the Sacrament, ſo that this interpretation can not ſo aptly be applyed vnto hym in that place, then will I yet interprete Chriſoſtome an other way by hym ſelfe. For in that place a few lynes before thoſe wordes which were here no rather read, are theſe woordes: that Chriſt after he aſcended into heauen, left vnto vs indued with hys Sacramentes, his fleſh in myſteries, that is, ſacramentally. And that myſtical fleſh Chriſt leaueth as well to hys Church in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, as in the Sacramental bread and wyne. And that S. Paul iuſtly doth witneſſe, ſaying: *As many of Vs as are Baptiſed in Chriſt, haue put Vpon Vs Chriſt.* And thus you may vnderſtand that S. Chriſoſtome maketh nothyng for your carnal and groſſe preſence in the Sacrament, as you wrōgfully take hym.

How Chriſt left hys fleſh behinde hym.

Epheſ. 5.

Chryſoſtome expounded by *Chryſoſtome.*

Gal. 3.

Now in this meane while M. Pye rounded the Prolocutor in the eare to put Philpot to ſilence and to appoynt ſome other, miſtruſtyng leſt hee would ſhrodely ſhake theyr carnall preſence in concluſion, if he held on long, ſeyng in the begynnyng he gaue one of their chief foundations ſuch a plucke. Then the Prolocutor ſayd to Philpot, that he had reaſoned ſufficiently inough, & that ſome other ſhould now ſupply his rowme. Wherwith he was not well content, ſaying: Why Syr, I haue a doſen Argumentes concernyng this matter to be propoſed, and I haue not yet ſcarſe ouergone my firſt Argument: for I haue not brought in any confirmation therof out of any auncient writer (wherof I haue for the ſame purpoſe many) beyng hitherto ſtill letted by your ofte interruptyng of me.

Weſton.

Well, quoth the Prolocutor, you ſhall ſpeake no more now, and I commaund you to hold your peace. You perceyue, quoth Philpot, that I haue ſtuffe inough for you, & am able to withſtand your falſe ſuppoſition, and therfore you commaund me to ſilence. If you wil not geue place, quoth the Prolocutor, I will ſend you to priſon. This is not, quoth Philpot, accordyng to your promiſe made in this houſe, nor yet accordyng to your bragge made at Paules Croſſe, that men ſhould be aūſwered in this diſputatiō, to what ſoeuer they can ſay, ſince you will not ſuffer me of a doſen Argumentes to proſecute one.

A good ſolutiō for all hys argumentes.

Then M. Pye toke vpon him to promiſe that he ſhould be aunſwered an other day. Philpot ſeyng he might not procede in hys purpoſe, beyng therewith iuſtly offended, ended, ſaying thus: A ſorte of you here, which hetherto haue lurked in corners and diſſembled with God and the worlde, are now gathered together to ſuppreſſe the ſincere truth of Gods holy word, and to ſet forth euery falſe deuiſe, which by the Catholicke doctrine of the Scripture ye are not able to mainteyne.

Then ſtepped forth M. Elmar Chaplein to the Duke of Suffolke: whom M. Moreman tooke vppon hym to aunſwere. Agaynſt whom M. Elmar obiected diuers and ſondry authorities for the confirmyng of the Argument hee tooke

M. Elmar agayne ſteppeth forth.

ουσία.

tooke the day before in hand to proue, that ουσία in yͤ ſentence of Theodoret brought in by M. Cheyny, muſt nedes ſignify ſubſtaunce and not accidence. whoſe reaſons and approbations, becauſe they were all grounded & brought out of the Greke, I doe paſſe ouer for that they wante their grace in Engliſh, and alſo their proper vnderſtandyng. But hys allegations ſo incombred M. Moreman, that he deſired a day to ouer vewe them, for at that inſtãt he was without a conuenient aunſwere.

Moreman deſireth a day to imagine ſome craftie ſhifte.

Then dyd the Prolocutor call M. Haddon Deane of Exeter & Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolke, who proſecuted Theodoretes authoritie in confirmyng M. Elmars Argument. To whom Doct. Watſon tooke vpon hym to geue aunſwere: who after long talke was ſo confounded that he was not able to aunſwere to the word Myſterium. But for aſmuch as he ſeemed to doubt therin, M. Haddon tooke out of hys boſome a Latine author to confirme hys ſaying, and ſhewed the ſame to M. Watſon, aſkyng hym whether he thought the tranſlation to be true, or that the Printer were in any fault. There may be a fault in the Printer, quoth Watſon, for I am not remembred of this word. Then did Maiſter Haddon take out of his boſome a Greke booke, wherein he ſhewed forth with hys finger the ſame wordes, which M. Watſon could not deny. Hys Argumentes further I omyt to declare at large, becauſe they were for the moſt part in Greke, about the bultyng out of the true ſignification of ουσία.

Watſon confounded by *M.Haddon.*

M.Watſon for a bare ſhift, putteth a fault in the Printer.

Then ſtept forth M. Perne and in Argument made declaration of his minde againſt tranſubſtantiatiõ, & confirmed the ſayinges and authorities alledged by M. Elmar and M. Haddon. To whom the Prolocutor aunſwered ſaying: I much maruell, M. Perne, that you will ſay thus, for ſomuch as on Friday laſt you ſubſcribed to the contrary. which his ſaying M. Elmar dyd miſlike, ſaying to the Prolocutor that hee was to blame ſo to reprehend any man, partly for that this houſe (quoth he) is an houſe of free liberty for euery man to ſpeake his conſcience, and partly for that you promiſed yeſterday that notwithſtandyng any man had ſubſcribed, yet he ſhould haue free lyberty to ſpeake his mynd. And for that the night did approch and the tyme was ſpent, the Prolocutor geuyng them prayſes for their learnyng, did yet notwithſtãdyng conclude that all reaſonyng ſet apart the order of the holy Church muſt be receyued, and all thynges muſt be ordered therby.

M.Pearne agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

D.Weſton prayſeth their learning to flatter them, but he aunſwereth not their argumentes.

¶The Acte of the v. day.

Octob.27.

ON Friday the xxvij. of October, Doct. Weſton the Prolocutor dyd firſt propounde the matter, ſhewyng yͭ the conuocatiõ had ſpent ij. dayes in diſputatiõ already about one onely Doctor, which was Theodoret, & about one only word, which was ουσία. Yet were they come the thyrd day to aunſwere all thinges that could be obiected, ſo that they would ſhortly put out theyr Argumẽtes. So M. Haddon Deane of Exceter, deſired leaue to appoſe M. Watſon, which with ij. other mo, that is Morgan & Harpſfield, was appointed to aũſwere. M. Haddon demaunded this of him, whether any ſubſtãce of bread or wyne dyd remayne after the conſecration. Then M. Watſon aſked of him agayn, whether he thought there to be a reall preſence of Chriſtes body or no? M. Haddon ſayd, it was not meete nor orderlike, that he which was appoynted to be Reſpondent, ſhould be Opponent, and he whoſe duety was to obiect, ſhould aunſwere. Yet M. Watſon a long while would not agree to aunſwere, but that thyng firſt beyng graunted hym. At laſt an order was ſet, and M. Haddon had leaue to go forward with his Argument.

M.Haddon Deane of Exeter diſputeth agaynſt M. *Watſon, Morgan, and Harpſfield.*

Then he proued by Theodoretes wordes, a ſubſtance of bread and wine to remaine. For theſe are his wordes: *The ſame they were before the ſanctificatiõ, which they are after.* M. Watſon ſayd that Theodoret ment not the ſame ſubſtance, but the ſame eſſence. wherupon they were dryuen agayne vnto the diſcuſſyng of the Greke word ουσία, and M. Haddon proued it to meane a ſubſtaunce, both by the Etymology of the word, and by the wordes of the Doctor. For ουσία (quoth he) commeth of the participle ὤν, which deſcendeth of the verbe εἰμὶ, and ſo commeth the noune ουσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance.

The wordes of *Theodoretus* alleaged.

A Popiſh diſtinction betwene ſubſtance and eſſence.

Then M. Watſon aunſwered that it had not that ſignification onely. But M. Haddon proued that it muſt nedes ſo ſignifie in that place. Then he aſked Watſon when the bread & wyne became Symboles? wherunto he aunſwered: after the conſecration and not not before. Then gathered M. Haddon this reaſon out of his author.

Argument of M.Haddon.

Da- The ſame thyng, ſayth Theodoret, that the bread and wyne were before they were Symboles, the ſame they remayne ſtil in nature and ſubſtance, after they are Symboles.
ti- Bread and wyne they were before:
ſi. Therfore brad and wyne they are after.

Then M. Watſon fell to the deniall of the author, and ſayd he was a Neſtorian: & he deſired that he might aunſwere to M. Cheyny, which ſtode by, for that he was more meete to diſpute in the matter, becauſe he had graunted and ſubſcribed vnto the reall preſence. M. Cheyny deſired patience of the honourable men to heare hym, truſtyng that he ſhould ſo open the matter that the veritie ſhould appeare: proteſtyng furthermore, that hee was no obſtinate nor ſtubburne man, but would be conformable to all reaſõ: and if they by their learnyng, which he acknowledged to be much more then his, could aũſwere his reaſons, then hee would bee ruled by them, and ſay as they ſayd: for he would be no author of ſchiſme, nor hold any thyng contrary to the holy mother the Church which is Chriſtes ſpouſe. Doct. Weſton liked this well, and commended hym highly, ſaying that he was a well learned, and a ſober man, and well exerciſed in all good learnyng and in the Doctours, and finally a man meete for his knowledge, to diſpute in that place: I pray you heare him, quoth he. Thẽ M. Cheyny deſired ſuch as there were preſent to pray two wordes with hym vnto God, and to ſay, vincat Veritas, let the veritie take place & haue the victory: and all that were preſent cried with a loude voyce, vincat Veritas, vincat Veritas.

Watſon is driuen to a ſhamefull ſhift, to deny the author when he can not aunſwere.

Maiſter *Cheyny.*

Maiſter *Cheynyes* prayer.

Then ſaid Doct. Weſton to him, that it was hypocriticall. Men may better ſay (quoth hee) vicit Veritas, truth hath gottẽ the victory. Maiſter Cheyny ſayd agayne, if he would geue hym leaue, hee would bryng it to that poynt that he might well ſay ſo.

Weſton.

Then hee began with M. Watſon after this ſort. You ſayd that M. Haddon was vnmeete to diſpute, becauſe he graunteth not the naturall and reall preſence: but I ſay you are much more vnmeete to aunſwere becauſe you take away the ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

Maiſter *Cheyny & Watſon* diſputeth.

Maiſter Watſon ſaid, he had ſubſcribed to the real preſence, and ſhould not go away from that. So ſayd Weſton alſo and the reſt of the Prieſtes, in ſo much that for a great while hee could haue no leaue to ſay any more till the Lordes ſpake and willed that he ſhould be heard.

Maiſter *Haddon* challenged for ſubſcribing to the reall preſence.

Then he told them what he ment by his ſubſcribyng to the reall preſence, farre otherwiſe then they ſuppoſed. So then he went forward and proſecuted M. Haddons Argument in prouing that ουσία was a ſubſtance, vſing the ſame reaſon that M. Haddon did before hym: and whẽ hee had receiued the ſame aunſwere alſo that was made to M. Haddon, he ſayd it was but a leude refuge, whẽ they could not aũſwere to deny the author, and proued the authour to be a Catholicke Doctor: & that being proued, he confirmed that was ſaid of the nature and ſubſtance, further. The ſimilitude of Theodoret is this, quoth he. As the tokẽ of Chriſtes body & bloud after the inuocation of the Prieſt, do chaũge their names & yet cõtinue the ſame ſubſtance, ſo yͤ body of Chriſt after hys aſcenſiõ chaũged his name and was called immortal, yet had it his former faſhion, figure and circumſcription, and to ſpeake at one word, the ſame ſubſtance of his body. Therfore ſayd M. Cheyny, if in the former part of the ſimilitude you deny the ſame ſubſtance to continue, then in the latter part of the ſimilitude which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Chriſt after his Aſcenſion to haue the former nature & ſubſtance. But that were a great hereſie: therfore it is alſo a great hereſie to take away the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne after the ſanctification.

The argument of *Theodoret* renued by Maiſter *Cheyny.*

Then was M. Watſon enforced to ſay that the ſubſtãce of the body in the former part of the ſimilitude brought in by him, did ſignifie quantitie and other accidences of the Sacramental tokens which be ſeene, and not the very ſubſtaunce of the ſame: and therfore Theodoret ſayth: Quæ videntur. &c. that is, *thoſe thynges which bee ſeene.* For accordyng to Philoſophy, the accidences of thynges be ſeene and not the ſubſtaunces.

Then M. Cheyny appealed to the honorable men, and deſired that they ſhould geue no credite vnto them in ſo ſaying: for if they ſhould ſo thynke as they would teach, after their Lordſhips had rydden fourty myles on horſebacke (as their buſines doth ſometime require) they ſhould not be able to ſay at night that they ſaw their horſes all the day, but onely the colour of their horſes: and by his reaſon Chriſt muſt go to ſchole and learne of Ariſtotle to ſpeake. For when he ſaw Nathanaell vnder the figge

Maiſter *Cheyny* appealeth to the Lordes.

figge tree, if Ariſtotle had ſtand by, he would haue ſayd, no Chriſt, thou ſaweſt not him, but the coulour of hym. After this, Watſon ſayd, what if it were graunted that Theodoret was on their ſide? where as they had one of that opinion, there were an hundreth on the other ſide.

Morgan is called for to helpe at a pinch.

Then the Prolocutor called for M. Morgan to helpe: who ſayd that Theodorete did not more then hee might lawfully do. For firſt he graunted the truth, and then for feare of ſuch as were not fully inſtructed in the fayth, he ſpake ἀινιγματικῶς that is, couertly and in a miſtery: and this was lawfull for him to do. For firſt he graunted the truth, & called thē yͤ body of Chriſt & the bloud of Chriſt. Then afterward hee ſeemed to geue ſomewhat to the ſenſes & to reaſon: but that Theodoret was of the ſame mind yͭ they were of, yͤ wordes folowing, quoth he, do declare. For that which foloweth, is a cauſe of that which went before, and therfore he ſayth: *The immortalitie. &c.* wherby it doth appeare, that he ment the diuine nature, and not the humane. Then was Morgan taken with miſallegyng of the text. For yͤ boke had not this word [for]. For the Greke worde did rather ſignify [truely] & not [for] ſo that it might manifeſtly appeare that it was yͤ begynnyng of a new matter, & not a ſentence rendryng a cauſe of that he had ſayd before.

Morgan is taken with falſe alleging of the texte.

Then was it ſayd by Watſon agayne: Suppoſe that Theodorete be with you, which is one that we neuer heard of Printed, but two or three yeares ago: yet he is but one, and what is one agaynſt the whole conſent of the Church? After this M. Cheyny inferred, that not onely Theodoret was of that mind, that the ſubſtance of bread and wyne do remaine, but diuers other alſo, and ſpecially Irenæus, who makyng mention of this Sacrament, ſayth thus: *VVhen the cup vvhich is myngled vvith vvyne, and the bread that is broken, do receyue the vvorde of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the body and bloud of Chriſt, by the vvhich the ſubſtance of our fleſh is nouriſhed, and doth conſiſt.* If the thākes geuyng do nouriſh our body, then there is ſome ſubſtance beſides Chriſtes body.

Irenæus Lib. 5. cōtra Valentinum.

Watſon.

To the which reaſon both Watſon and Morgan aunſwered, that Ex quibus, *By the vvhich*, in the ſentence of Irenæus was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and bloud of Chriſt, and not to the wyne which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

Maiſter *Cheyny*.

Maiſter Cheyny replyed, that it was not the body of Chriſt which nouriſhed our bodyes. And let it be that Chriſtes fleſh nouriſh to immortalitie, yet it doth not aūſwere that Argument, although it be true, no more then that aunſwere which was made to my allegation out of S. Paul: *The bread vvhich vve breake. &c.* with certayne other like: wherunto you aunſwered that bread was not taken there in his proper ſignification, but for that it had bene: no more then the rodde of Aaron which was takē for the Serpent, becauſe it had bene a Serpent. After this Maiſter Cheyny brought in Heſychius and vſed the ſame reaſon that he did of the cuſtome of burning of Symboles, and he aſked them what was burnt. M. Watſon ſayd, we muſt not inquire nor aſke, but if there were any fault, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſayd M. Cheyny, wherof came thoſe aſhes? not of a ſubſtance? or can any ſubſtance aryſe of accidences?

Harpſfield called in to helpe *Watſon*.

Then was M. Harpſfield called in to ſee what he could ſay in the matter. who told a fayre tale of the omnipotēcy of God, and of the imbecillitie and weakenes of mans reaſons not able to atteine to godly thyngs. And he ſayd that it was conuenient what ſoeuer we ſawe, felte, or taſted, not to truſt our ſenſes. And he told a tale out of S. Cyprian, how a woman ſaw the Sacrament burnyng in her coffer, and that which burned there, quoth Harpſfield, burneth here, and becommeth aſhes. But what that was that burnt, he could not tell. But M. Cheyney continued ſtill, and forced them with this queſtiō, what it was that was burnt? It was either (ſaid he) yͤ ſubſtance of bread, or els the ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt, which were to much abſurditie to graunt. At length they aunſwered, that it was a miracle. wherat M. Cheyny ſmiled and ſaid, that he could then ſay no more.

Here is goodly ſtuffe, as if it were out of the Legend of lyes.

Weſton would know whether they were ſufficiently aūſwered, when he and his had aunſwered no argument.

Then Doct. Weſton aſked of the company there, whether thoſe men were ſufficiently aunſwered or no? Certaine Prieſtes cried: yea, but they were not heard at all, for the great multitude which cried no, no: which crie was heard & noyſed almoſt to the end of Paules. wherat Doct. Weſton beyng much moued, aunſwered bitterly, that he aſked not the iudgemēt of the rude multitude and vnlearned people, but of them which were of the houſe. Then aſked he of M. Haddon & his felowes, whether they would aunſwere them other. 3. dayes. Haddon, Cheyny, and Elmar ſayd no. But the Archdeacon of winchester ſtode vp & ſayd, that they ſhould not ſay but they ſhould be aunſwered, & though all other did refuſe to aunſwere, yet he would not, but offered to aūſwere thē all, one after an other: with whoſe proffer the Prolocutor was not cōtented, but railed on hym, and ſayd that he ſhould go to Bedlem. To whom the Archdeacon ſoberly made this aunſwere: that he was more worthy to bee ſent thether, who vſed him ſelfe ſo ragingly in that diſputation, without any indifferent equalitie. Then roſe Doct. Weſton vp, and ſayd:

M. Philpot.

Marke *Weſtons* impudencie.

A ſtronge argument of *Weſton*.

All the company hath ſubſcribed to our Article, ſauing onely theſe men which you ſee. what their reaſons are, you haue heard. we haue aunſwered them three dayes, vpō promiſe (as it pleaſed him to deſcant, without truth, for no ſuch promiſe was made) that they ſhould aūſwere vs agayne as long (as the order of diſputation doth require): and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them ſo do.

Where he is not able to aūſwere, hee would out face.

M. Elmart reaſons why they would not aunſwere.

Then M. Elmar ſtode vp and proued how vayne a mā Weſton was: for he affirmed that they neuer promiſed to diſpute, but onely to open and teſtifie to the world their conſciences: For when they were required to ſubſcribe, they refuſed, and ſayd that they would ſhew good reaſons which moued them that they coulde not with their conſciences ſubſcribe, as they had partly already done and were able to do more ſufficiently: therfore (quoth he) it hath ben ill called a diſputation, and they worthy to be blamed that were yͤ authors of that name. For we ment not to diſpute, nor now meane not to aunſwere before our Argumentes (quoth he) which we haue to propound, be ſoluted, accordyng as it was appointed: For by aūſweryng, we ſhould but incomber our ſelues, and profite nothyng, ſince the matter is already decreed vpon and determined, what ſoeuer we ſhall proue or diſpute to the contrary.

¶The Acte of the 6. day.

The vi. Acte or Seſsion.

ON Monday folowing, being the .xx. of October, the Prolocutor demaunded of Iohn Philpot Archdeacon of winchester, whether he would aunſwere in the queſtions before propounded to their obiections, or no? To whom he made this aunſwere, that he would willyngly ſo do, if accordyng to their former determination, they would firſt aunſwere ſufficiently to ſome of hys Argumentes as they had promiſed to do: wherof he had a doſen, not half of yͤ firſt being yet decided: and if they would aunſwere fully and ſufficiently but to one of his Argumentes, he promiſed that he would aunſwere all the obiections that they ſhould bryng.

Philpot.

Then the Prolocutor bad him propound his Argument, & it ſhould be reſolutely aunſwered by one of thē: wherunto M. Morgan was appointed. Vpon wedneſday laſt (quoth he) I was inforced to ſilēce before I had proſecuted halfe of myne Argumēt: the ſumme wherof was this (as was gathered by the iuſt contexte of the Scripture) that the humane body of Chriſt was aſcended into heauen, and placed on the right hand of God the father: wherfore it could not be ſituate vpon earth in the Sacrament of the aultar, inuiſible after the Imagination of man. The Argument was denied by Morgan. For the proufe wherof, Philpot ſayd that this was it wherwith he had to cōfirme his firſt Argument, if they would haue ſuffred him the other day, as now he truſted they would.

Argument.

Fe- One ſelfe and ſame nature (quoth he) receiueth not in it ſelfe any thing that is contrary to it ſelfe:

ri- But the body of Chriſt is an humane nature, diſtinct from the deity, & is a proper nature of it ſelfe.

o. Ergo, it can not receiue any thyng that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from it ſelfe.

But bodily to be preſent, and bodily to be abſent, to be on earth, and to be in heauē, and all at one preſent tyme, be thynges contrary to the nature of an humane body: Ergo, it cannot be ſayd of the humane body of Chriſt, that the ſelfe ſame body is both in heauen and alſo in earth at one inſtant, either viſibly or inuiſibly.

Morgan.

Morgan denied the Maior, that is, the firſt part of the Argument. The which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius an auncient writer. But Morgan cauilled that it was no Scripture, & bad him proue the ſame out of Scripture.

Here is a new euaſion inuented by *Morgan* who dare not plainly deny *Vigilius* authoritie, but vnder a colour.

Philpot ſayd he could alſo ſo do, and right well deduce the ſame out of S. Paul, who ſayth, that *Chriſt is lyke vnto vs in all pointes, except ſinne:* and therfore, like as one of our bodies cannot receiue in it ſelfe any thyng contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Paules Church & at weſtmynintaſter at one inſtant, or to be at London viſibly and at Lyncolne inuiſibly at one tyme. For that is ſo contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures (as Didimus and Baſilius do affirme) that an inuiſible creature, as an Angell, cannot be at one tyme in diuers places: wherfore he concluded, that the body of Chriſt might not be in mo places then in one, which is in heauen, and ſo conſequently, not to be conteined in the Sacramẽt of the altar.

One body can not be at once in diuers places.

Weston.

Chriſt after his incarnatiõ, was in al pointes lyke man, ſinne onely except.

To this yͤ Prolocutor toke vpon him to aunſwere, ſaying yͭ it was not true that Chriſt was like vnto vs in all pointes, as Philpot tooke it, except ſinne: For that Chriſt was not conceiued by the ſede of man, as we be.

Wherunto Philpot agayne replied, that Chriſtes conception was prophecied before by the Aungell to be ſupernaturall; but after he had receiued our nature by the operatiõ of the holy Ghoſt in the virgins wombe, he became in all pointes like vnto vs, except ſinne.

Morgan.

Philpot.

Then Morgan inferred that this ſaying of Paul did not plainly proue his purpoſe. Well, quoth Philpot, I perceiue that you do aunſwere but by cauillation: yet am I not deſtitute of other Scriptures to cõfirme my firſt Argument, although you refuſe the probation of ſo auncient and Catholicke a Doctour as Vigilius is. S. Peter in the Sermon that he made in the third of the Actes, makyng mention of Chriſt, ſayth theſe wordes: *Whom heauen muſt receyue, vntill the conſummation of all thynges. &c.* Which wordes are ſpokẽ of his humanitie. If heauen muſt hold Chriſt, then can he not be here on earth in the Sacramẽt as is pretended.

Actes. 3.

Harpsfield ſteppeth in.

Then Morgan, laughing at this, and geuyng no direct aunſwere at all, Harpsfield ſtode vp, beyng one of the Byſhop of Londons Chapleins, & tooke vpon him to aunſwere to the ſaying of S. Peter, and demaunded of Philpot, whether he would Ex neceſſitate, that is, of neceſſitie force Chriſt to any place or no?

Philpot.

Philpot ſayd that he would no otherwiſe force Chriſt of neceſſitie to any place, then he is taught by the wordes of the holy Ghoſt, which ſounde thus: that Chriſtes humane body muſt abide in heauen, vntil the day of iudgement, as I rehearſed out of the chapter before mẽtioned.

Harpsfield.

Why, quoth Harpsfield, do you not know that Chriſt is God omnipotent? yes, ſayd Philpot, I know that right well, neither doubt I any thyng at all of his omnipotencie. But of Chriſtes omnipotencie what he may do, is not our queſtion, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a ſtone in the wall, a man if he liſt, and alſo that he may make moe worldes: but doth he therfore ſo? It were no good conſequent ſo to cõclude: he may do this or that, therfore he doth it.

Ba- Onely ſo much is to bee beleued of Gods omnipotencie as is in the word expreſſed.

ro- That Chriſtes body is both in heauen and here alſo really in the Sacrament, is not expreſſed in the worde:

co. Ergo, It is not to be beleued that the body of Chriſt being in heauen, is here alſo really in the Sacramẽt.

If *Weston* charge them for priſoning Chriſt in heauen, how much more may they charge the Papiſtes for priſoning Chriſt in a boxe?

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, then you will put Chriſt in priſon in heauen. To the which Philpot aunſwered: do you recken heauen to be a priſon? God graunt vs all to come to that priſon.

After this, Harpsfield inferred that this worde Oportet in S. Peter, which ſignifieth in Engliſh *muſt*, did not import ſo much as I would inferre of neceſſitie, as by other places of Scripture it may appeare: as in the firſt to Timothie where Paul ſaith: Oportet Epiſcopum eſſe vnius vxoris virum: *A Byſhop muſt be the huſband of one wife.* Here, quoth he, Oportet doth not importe ſuch a neceſſity but that he that neuer was maried may be a Biſhop.

M. Philpot.

To this Philpot ſayd agayne that the places were not like which he went about to compare: and that in comparing of Scriptures we muſt not cõſider yͤ naked wordes but yͤ meanyng rather of the Scriptures: for that in the place by him alledged, S. Paul doth declare of what qualitie a Biſhop ought to be. But in yͤ other, S. Peter teacheth vs yͤ place where Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be vntill the end of the world: which we ought to beleue to be true. And this cõpariſõ of this word Oportet doth no more aunſwere mine Argument, then if I would ſay of you now beyng here, Oportet te hic eſſe, you muſt needes be here: which importeth ſuch neceſſitie for the time, that you can none otherwiſe be but here, and yet you would goe about in wordes to auoyde this neceſſitie with an other Oporter, in an other ſenſe, as this: Oportet te eſſe virum bonũ, you muſt be a good man: where Oportet, doth not in very deede conclude any ſuch neceſſitie, but that you may be an euill man. Thus you may ſee that your aunſwere is not ſufficient, & as it were no aunſwere to my Argument.

Oportet how it is taken diuerſly in Scriptures.

Weston.

Then the Prolocutor brought in an other Oportet, to helpe this matter (if it might be) ſaying: what ſay you to this: Oportet hæreſes eſſe? muſt hereſies nedes be therfore becauſe of this worde Oportet?

Philpot.

Yea truely, quoth Philpot, it can not otherwiſe be, if you will adde that which foloweth immediatly vpõ thoſe wordes of Paul, that is, Vt qui electi ſunt manifeſtẽtur, that is, *That ſuch as be the elect of God, may be manifeſted & knowen.*

Weston.

Philpot.

Weston.

Philpot.

Why? quoth the Prolocutor, the tyme hath bene, that no hereſies were. I know no ſuch tyme, quoth Philpot. For ſince the time of Abell and Cayn, hereſies haue bene, and then began they. Then ſayd the Prolocutor, will you now aunſwere Morgan an Argument or two? I will, quoth Philpot, if I may firſt be aunſwered to mine Argument any thyng accordyng to truth & to learning. What? quoth the Prolocutor, you will neuer be aunſwered. How I am aunſwered, quoth Philpot, let all men that are here preſent, iudge: and ſpecially ſuch as be learned, and with what cauillations you haue dalied with me.

Firſt to the auncient authoritie of Vigilius, you haue aunſwered nothyng at all, but onely denying it to bee Scripture, that he ſayth. Secondarely, to the ſaying of S. Peter in the Actes ye haue aunſwered thus, demaundyng of me whether I would kepe Chriſt in priſon or no. Let men now iudge, if this be a ſufficient aunſwere or no.

Morgan.

Philpot.

Morgan.

Philpot.

Then ſtoode Morgan vp agayne & aſked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the vniuerſall Church, or no?

Yes, quoth he, if it be the true Catholicke Church. And ſith you ſpeake ſo much of the Church, I would fayne that you would declare what the Church is.

The Church, quoth Morgan, is diffuſed, and diſperſed throughout the whole world. That is a diffuſe definitiõ, quoth Philpot: for I am yet as vncertaine, as I was before, what you meane by the Church. But I knowledge no Church, but that which is grounded and founded on Gods worde, as S. Paule ſayth: *Vppon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apoſtles, and vppon the Scriptures of God.*

Moremã.

Whether the Church was before the Scripture.

What, quoth Moreman, was the Scripture before the Church? yea, quoth Philpot. But I will proue nay quoth Moreman, & I will begyn at Chriſtes tyme. The Church of Chriſt was before any Scripture writtẽ. For Mathew was the firſt that wrote the Goſpell, about a doſẽ yeares after Chriſt: Ergo, the Church was before the Scripture.

Scripture conſiſteth not onely in letters, but in that which is inſpired in the hartes of good men by the holy ghoſt.

To whom Philpot aunſweryng, denied his Argumẽt. Which when Moreman could not proue, Philpot ſhewed that his Argumẽt was Elenchus or a fallace, that is, a deceiueable Argument. For he tooke the Scripture only to be that which is written by men in letters, where as in very deede all prophecie vttered by the ſpirite of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was writtẽ in paper and incke, for that it was written in the hartes, and grauen in the mindes, yea, and inſpired in the mouthes of good men, and of Chriſtes Apoſtles by the ſpirite of Chriſt: As the ſalutatiõ of the Aungel was the Scripture of Chriſt, and the word of God before it was written. At that Moreman cried, fye, fye: wõdryng that the Scripture of God ſhould be counted Scripture, before it was written, and affirmed that he had no knowledge that ſo ſayd.

Philpot.

To whom Philpot aunſwered, that cõcernyng knowledge in this behalfe, for the triall of the truth about the queſtions in controuerſie, he would wiſh him ſelfe no worſe matched thẽ with Moreman.

Weston.

Weston replieth agaynſt *Philpot,* to be a madde man.

At the which ſaying, the Prolocutor was greuouſly offended, ſaying that it was arrogantly ſpoken of him, that would compare with ſuch a worſhypfull learned man as Moremã was, beyng him ſelf a mã vnlearned, yea a mad man, meeter to be ſent to Bedlem, thẽ to be among ſuch a ſort of learned & graue mẽ as there were, & a mã that neuer would be aunſwered, & one that troubled the whole houſe: & therfore he did cõmaũde him that he ſhould come no more into the houſe, demaundyng of the houſe whether they would agree therupõ or no. To whom a great number aunſwered, yea. Then ſayd Philpot agayne, that he might thinke him ſelfe happy, that was out of that company.

Philpot commaunded to come in a longe gowne and a tippet, or els to come no more to the Conuocation.

After this Morgan roſe vp and rounded the Prolocutor in the eare. And then agayne the Prolocutor ſpake to Philpot and ſayd, leſt you ſhould ſclaunder the houſe, and ſay that we will not ſuffer you to declare your minde, we are content you ſhall come into the houſe as you haue done before, ſo that you be apparelled with a longe gowne and a Tippet as we be, and that you ſhall not ſpeake, but when I commaunde you. Then quoth Philpot, I had rather be abſent altogether.

Thus they reaſonyng to and fro, at length about yͤ

13. of December, Quéene Mary, to take vp the matter, ſendeth her commaundement to Boner Byſhop of London, that he ſhould diſſolue and breake vp the conuocation. The copy of which cōmaundement here foloweth.

Q. Mary breaketh vp the Cōuocation.

¶The precept of the Queene to Boner Byſhop of London, for the diſſoluyng of the foreſayd Conuocation.

MAria. &c. Reuerendo in Chriſto patri & domino, domino Edmundo London. Epiſcopo, ſalutem. Cum præſens conuocatio Cleri Cantuarienſis prouinciæ apud Sanctū Paulum London. iam modo tenta & inſtans exiſtit, certis tamen vrgentibus cauſis & conſiderationibus nos ſpecialiter mouētibus, de aduiſamento Conſilij noſtri ipſam præſentem conuocationem duximus diſſoluendam: Et ideo vobis mandamus quòd eandem præſentem conuocationem apud Sanctū Paulum prædictum debito modo abſque aliqua dilatione diſſoluatis, diſſoluiue faciatis prout conuenit, ſignificantes ex parte noſtra vniuerſis & ſingulis Epiſcopis, nec non Archidiaconis, Decanis, & omnibus alijs perſonis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunq; dictæ Cantuarienſis Prouinciæ quorum intereſt vel intereſſe poterit, quod ipſi & eorum quilibet huic mandato noſtro exequendo intendentes ſint & obedientes prout decet. Teſte meipſa apud Weſtmonaſterium. 13. die Decembris, Anno regni noſtri primo.

Thys lord Courtney was ſonne to the Marques of Exceter.

In the dayes of kyng Henry, and alſo of K. Edward raygning after hym, diuers noble men, biſhops and other, were caſt into ỹ Tower, ſome charged with treaſon, as Lord Courtney and the Duke of Northfolke, (whoſe ſonne L. Henry Earle of Surrey had bene the ſame time beheaded, a worthy & ingenious gentleman, for what cauſe, or by whō, I haue not here to deale: this is certain, that not many yeres after his death folowed the beheading of both the Lord Semers, and at laſt of the Duke of Northumberlād alſo) ſome for the Popes ſupremacie, and ſuſpitious letters tending to ſedition, as Tonſtall biſhop of Durhā, & other for other thyngs: all which continued there priſoners till Quene Maries comming in. Unto whom the ſayde Quéene eftſones graunted their pardon, and reſtored them to theyr former dignities. Amongeſt whom alſo was Gardiner biſhop of Wint. whom ſhe not onely fréed out of captiuity, but alſo aduaunſed him to bee high Chauncellour of England. Furthermore to the Lord Courtney ſhe ſhewed ſuch fauour, that ſhe made hym Earle of Deuonſhiere: in ſo much that there was a ſuſpition amongeſt many, that ſhe woulde marry hym, but that proued otherwyſe.

Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Winchester made L. Chauncellour of England.

The Lorde Courtney made Earle of Deuonſhyre.

The ſame time Boner alſo had bene priſoner in the Marſhalſey, whom likewyſe Quene Mary deliuered & reſtored to the biſhopricke of London agayne, diſplacing Doct. Ridley, with diuers other good biſhops mo, as is aboue mencioned, as Cranmer from Canterburye, the Archbiſhop of Yorke likewyſe, Poynet from Wint. Iohn Hooper from Worceſter, Barlow from Bath, Harley frō Hereford, Tailour from Lincolne, Ferrar from S. Dauids, Couerdale frō Exceſter, Scory from Chicheſter. &c. wyth a great number of Archdeacons, Deanes, and briefly all ſuch beneficed men, whych eyther were maryed, or woulde conſtantly adhere to their profeſſion. All which were remoued from their liuinges and other of the contrary Secte ſet in the ſame, as Cardinal Poole (who was thē ſent for) Gardiner, Heath, Whyte, Day, Troublefield. &c.

Good Byſhops diſplaced.

Popiſhe Byſhops intruded by Q. Mary.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forſomuch as there was a rumour ſpread of him the ſame time at London that he had recanted, and cauſed Maſſe to be ſaid at Canterbury, for purging of him ſelfe he publiſhed abroade a declaration of hys truth and conſtancie in that behalfe, proteſting that hee neither had ſo done, nor minded ſo to do: Adding moreouer, that if it would ſo pleaſe the Quéene, he with Peter Martyr, and certayne other whom he would chuſe, would in open diſputation ſuſtaine the cauſe of the doctrine taught and ſet forth before in ỹ tyme of king Edward, agaynſt all perſons whomſoeuer. But while he was in expectation to haue this diſputation obtayned, hee with other Biſhops were layd faſt in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realme, and ſo went he to Argentine.

Cranmer with Pet. Martyr, and 3. or 4. other, offre to defende the cauſe of their doctrine to be godly and true.

After this, in the moneth of Nouember, the Archbiſhop Cranmer, notwithſtanding he had earneſtly refuſed to ſubſcribe to the kinges wyll in diſheriting hys Syſter Mary, alledging many graue and pithy reaſons for her legitimation, was in Guild hall of London arreyned and attaynted of treaſon, with the Lady Iane and thrée of the Duke of Northumberlandes Sonnes, whych at the intreatie of certayne perſons were had agayne to the Tower, and there kept for a tyme. All whych notwythſtanding Cranmer afterward beyng pardoned of treaſon, ſtode onely in the action and caſe of doctrine, whych they called hereſie, whereof he was right glad and ioyfull.

Nouemb.

D. Cranmer with the Lady Iane arrayned of treaſon in the Guild hall.

Archbyſhop Cranmer quitte of treaſon.

This being done in Nouember, the people and eſpecially the Churchmen, perceauing the Quéene ſo egerly ſet vppon her olde religion, they likewyſe for theyr partes, to ſhewe them ſelues no leſſe forward to ſerue the Quéenes appetite (as the maner is of the multitude, commonly to frame them ſelues after the humor of the Prince and tyme preſent) began in their Quiers to ſet vp the Pagiants of S. Katherin, and of S. Nicholas, and of theyr proceſſions in latine, after all their old ſolemnitie with theyr gay gardeuiance, & gray amices.

Going about of S. Katherine and S. Nicholas.

And when the moneth of December was come, the Parliament brake vp: but firſt of al ſuch ſtatutes were repealed, whych were made either of Premunire, or touched any alteration of religion, and adminiſtration of Sacramentes vnder kyng Edward. In the whych Parlament alſo communication was moued of the Quéenes mariage wyth kyng Phillip the Emperours ſonne.

In this meane whyle Cardinall Poole being ſent for by Quene Mary, was by the Emperour requeſted to ſtay with him, to the intent (as ſome thinke) that hys preſence in Englād ſhould not be a let to the mariage, which hee entended betwene Philip his Sonne and Quene Mary. For the making wherof, hee ſent a moſt ample Ambaſſade, with full power to make vp the mariage betwixt them: which toke ſuch ſucceſſe, that after they had cōmuned of ỹ matter a fewe dayes, they knitte vp the knot.

Cardinall Poole ſent for.

Maryage betwene Phillip and Mary concluded.

AN. 1554.

An. 1554.

This mencion of mariage was about ỹ beginning of January, & was very euil takē of ỹ people, & of many of the Nobilitie: who for this and for religion, conſpiring among them ſelues, made a rebellion: whereof Sir Thomas Wyat knight was one of the chiefe beginners. Who being in Kent, ſaid, as many els perceiued, that the Quene and the Cōuſell would by forreine mariage bring vppon this realme moſt miſerable ſeruitude, and eſtabliſh popiſh religion. About the. 25. of January, newes came to London of this ſturre in Kēt, and ſhortly after of ỹ Duke of Suffolke, who was fled into Warwicke ſhire & Leiceſter ſhire, there to gather a power. The Quene therefore cauſed them both with the two Carewes of Deuonſhire to bee proclaymed Traitours: and ſent into Kent agaynſt Wyat, Thomas Duke of Norfolke. Who being about Rocheſter bridge, forſaken of them that went with him, returned ſafe agayne to London without any more harme done vnto him, and with out bloudſhed of either party. Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of Suffolke, beyng fled into Warwyke ſhiere, was ſent the Earle of Huntington in poſte, who entring the Citie of Couentry before the Duke, diſapoynted hym of hys purpoſe. Wherfore ỹ Duke in great diſtreſſe cōmitted him ſelfe to ỹ keping of a ſeruant of his named Vnderwood in Aſtley Parke, who like a falſe traytour bewrayed hym. And ſo hee was brought vp to the Tower of London.

Januar. 25.

The Duke of Northfolke ſent agaynſt M. Wyat.

The Duke of Suffolke apprehended.

In yͤ meane while Sir Peter Carew hearing of that was done, fled into Fraunce, but the other were takẽ: and Wiat came towardes London in the beginning of February. The Quéene hearing of Wiates comming, came into the Citie to the Guild Hall, where ſhe made a vehement Oration againſt Wiate: the contentes, at leaſt the effecte wherof here followeth, as neare as out of her own mouth could be penned.

Q. Mary commeth into the Guild hall. February. 1.

¶ *The Oration of Q. Mary in the Guild Halle.*

Q. Maryes Oration to the Londoners.

I Am come vnto you in mine own perſon, to tell you that which already you ſee and know: that is, howe traiterouſly and rebelliouſly a number of Kentiſh men haue aſſembled them ſelues agaynſt both vs and you. Their pretence (as they ſayd at the fyrſt) was for a mariage determined for vs: to the which, and to al the articles thereof ye haue bene made priuy. But ſithence we haue cauſed certain of our priuy Coũſail to go again vnto thẽ, & to demaund the cauſe of thys their rebellion: and it appeared then vnto our ſayd Counſail, that yͤ matter of the mariage ſeemed to bee but as a Spaniſh cloke to couer their pretenſed purpoſe againſt our religiõ: So that they arrogantly & trayterouſly demaũded to haue the gouernaunce of our perſon, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our Coũſailers. Now louing ſubiectes, what I am ye right well know. I am your Queene, to whõ at my Coronation whẽ I was wedded to the Realme and lawes of the ſame (the ſpouſall Ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left of) you promiſed your allegeaunce and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritour of the Crowne of this Realme of England, I take all Chriſtendome to wytnes. My Father, as ye all knowe, poſſeſſed the ſame regall ſtate, which now rightly is deſcended vnto me: and to hym alwayes ye ſhewed your ſelues moſt faithfull and louing ſubiectes, and therefore I doubt not, but ye wil ſhew your ſelues likewiſe to me, and that ye will not ſuffer a vile Traytor to haue the order and gouernaunce of our perſon, and to occupy our eſtate, eſpecially being ſo vile a Traytor as Wiat is. Who moſt certainly as he hath abuſed myne ignoraunt Subiectes, which be on his ſyde, ſo doth he entend and purpoſe the deſtruction of you, and ſpoyle of your goodes. And this I ſay to you in the word of a Prince: I can not tell how naturally the Mother loueth the Childe, for I was neuer the mother of any, but certainly, if a Prince and Gouernour may as naturally & earneſtly loue her Subiectes as the Mother doth the Child, then aſſure your ſelues, that I being your Lady and Maiſtres, doe as earneſtly and as tenderly loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, can not but thinke that ye as hartely and faythfully loue me: & then I doubt not, but we ſhall geue theſe rebells a ſhort and ſpeedy ouerthrow.

Demaundes pretended to be ſent from *M. Wyat* and hys company to Q. *Mary.*

How he entended the ſpoyle of their goods, it appeareth in that he comming to Southwarke, dyd hurt neyther man, woman, nor childe, neither in body nor in a penny of their goods.

As concerning the mariage, ye ſhall vnderſtand that I enterpriſed not the doing thereof without aduiſe, and that by the aduiſe of all our priuy Counſail: who ſo conſidered and weyed the great commodities that might enſue therof, that they not onely thought it very honorable, but alſo expedient, both for the wealth of our realme, and alſo of all you our Subiectes. And as touching my ſelfe, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bent to my will, neither ſo preciſe nor affectionate, that either for myne own pleaſure I would chuſe where I luſt, or that I am ſo deſirous as needes I would haue one. For God I thanke hym, to whom be the prayſe therefore, I haue hetherto lyued a Virgin, and doubt nothing, but wyth Gods grace am able ſo to liue ſtill. But if, as my Progenitours haue done before, it might pleaſe God yͭ I might leaue ſome fruite of my body behinde me to be your Gouernour, I truſt ye would not onely reioyce therat, but alſo I know it would bee to your great comfort. And certainly, if I eyther did thinke or know that this mariage were to the hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the empechment of any part or parcell of the royall ſtate of this realme of England: I woulde neuer conſent thereunto, neyther would I euer marry whyle I lyued. And in the worde of a Queene I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appeare to all the Nobility and Commons in the hygh Court of Parlament, that this mariage ſhalbe for yͤ high benefite and commodity of all the whole Realme, then I wyll abſtayne from mariage whyle I lyue.

Q. Mary excuſeth her mariage.

The promiſe of *Queene Mary* touching her mariage.

And now good Subiectes, plucke vp your harts, and like true mẽ, ſtand faſt againſt theſe rebels, both our enemies and yours, and feare them not: for I aſſure you, I feare them nothing at all, and I wyll leaue wyth you my Lord Haward & my Lord Treaſourer, who ſhalbe aſſiſtentes with the Maior for your defence.

¶ *Here is to be noted, that at the cõming of* Q. Mary *to the Guild Hall, being bruted before that ſhe was cõming with harneſſed men: ſuch a feare came among thẽ, that a number of the Londoners fearing leſt they ſhould bee there entrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entring in. Furthermore, note that when ſhe had ended her Oration (which ſhe ſeemed to haue perfectly conned without booke)* Wincheſter *ſtanding by her, when the Oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people: O how happy are we, to whõ God hath geuẽ ſuch a wiſe & learned Prince? &c.*

Two dayes after, which was yͤ iij. of February, the Lord Cobham was cõmitted to the Tower, & M. Wiat entred into Southwarke. Who, for ſomuch as he could not enter that way into London, returning an other way by Kingſtone with his army, came vp through the ſtréetes to Ludgate, & returning thẽce, he was reſiſted at Temple barre, & there yelded hym ſelfe to Syr Clement Parſon, and ſo was brought by hym to yͤ Court, & with hym the reſidue of hys armie (for before, Syr George Harpar & almoſt halfe of his men ranne away frõ hym at Kingſtone bridge) were alſo taken, & about an hũdreth killed, and they that were taken were had to priſon, & a great many of thẽ were hãged: & he hym ſelf afterward executed at yͤ Tower hill, & then quartered. Whoſe head after being ſet vp vpõ Hayhill, was there ſtollen away, & great ſearch made for yͤ ſame. Of which ſtory ye ſhall heare more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Febru. 3.

M. Wyat in Southwarke.

M. Wyat came to Ludgate.

M. Wyat apprehended at Temple barre.

M. Wyat executed.

The. xij. day of February was beheaded the Lady Iane, to whom was ſent maiſter Fecknam, *aliâs* Howman, from the Quéene two dayes before her death, to cõmune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Chriſt, to Q. Maries religion. The effecte of which communication here followeth.

February. 12.

¶ The communication had betwene the Lady IANE and FECKNAM.

Talke betwene the *Lady Iane and Fecknam.*

Fecknam. Madame, I lament your heauy caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you beare out this ſorowe of yours wyth a conſtant and pacient mynde.

Iane. You are welcome vnto me Syr, if your cõming be to geue Chriſtian exhortation. And as for my heauy caſe (I thanke God) I do ſo litle lament it, that rather I accompt the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of gods fauour toward me, thẽ euer he ſhewed me at any tyme before: And therefore there is no cauſe why either you, or other which beare me good wyll, ſhould lament or be gréeued wyth this my caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my ſoule health.

Lady Iane comfortably taketh her trouble.

Feck. I am here come to you at this preſent ſent from the Quéene and her Counſayle, to enſtruct you in the true doctrine of the right fayth: although I haue ſo great confidence in you, that I ſhall haue (I truſt) litle néede to trauail wyth you much therein.

Iane. Forſooth I hartely thãke the Quéenes highnes, which is not vnmindfull of her hũble ſubiect: & I hope likewiſe that you no leſſe will do your dutie therin both truly & faithfully, according to that you were ſent for.

Feck. What is then required of a Chriſtian?

Iane. That he ſhould beleue in God, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt, thrée perſons and one God.

Feck. What? is there nothing els to bee required or looked for in a Chriſtian, but to beleue in hym?

Iane. Yes, we muſt alſo loue hym with all our hart, with all our ſoule, and wyth all our mynd, and our neyghbour as our ſelfe.

Feck. Why? then fayth iuſtifieth not, nor ſaueth not.

Iane. Yes verely, fayth (as Paul ſayth) only iuſtifieth.

Fayth only iuſtifieth.

Feck. Why? ſaynt Paule ſayth: *If I haue all faith without loue, it is nothing.*

Iane. True it is: for how can I loue hym, whom I truſt not? or how can I truſt him whom I loue not? Fayth and loue goeth both together, and yet loue is cõprehended in fayth.

Fecknam.

Feck. How ſhall we loue our neighbour?

Iane. To loue our neighbour, is to féede the hungry, to cloath the naked, and geue drinke to the thirſty, and to do to him, as we would do to our ſelues.

Feck. Why? then it is neceſſary vnto ſaluation to doo good workes alſo, & it is not ſufficient onely to beleue.

Good workes neceſſary in a Chriſtian, yet do they not profite to ſaluation.

Iane. I deny that, and I affirme that fayth onely ſaueth: but it is méete for a Chriſtian, in token that hee followeth hys maiſter Chriſt, to do good workes: yet may we not ſay that they profit to ſaluation. For when we haue done all, yet we be vnprofitable ſeruauntes, and fayth onely in Chriſtes bloud ſaueth vs.

Feck. How many Sacramentes are there?

1. Sacramentes.

Iane. Two. The one the ſacramẽt of Baptiſme, and the other the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper.

Fecknam. No, there are ſeuen.

Iane. By what ſcripture finde you that?

Feck. Wel, we wil talke of that hereafter. But what is ſignified by your two ſacrmentes?

The Sacrament of Baptiſme what it ſignifieth.

Iane. By the ſacrament of Baptiſme I am waſhed with water, and regenerated by the ſpirite, and that waſhing is a token to me that I am the childe of God. The ſacrament of the Lords ſupper offred vnto me, is a ſure ſeale and teſtimonie that I am by the bloud of Chriſt, whych he ſhed for me on the croſſe, made partaker of the euerlaſting kingdome.

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper what it ſignifieth.

Feck. Why? what do you receiue in that ſacrament? Do you not receyue the very body & bloud of Chriſt?

Iane. No ſurely, I do not ſo beleue. I thynke that at yͤ ſupper I neither receiue fleſh nor bloud, but bread and wyne: Which bread when it is broken, and the wyne when it is dronken, putteth me in remembraunce how that for my ſynnes the body of Chriſt was broken, and hys bloud ſhed on the croſſe, and with that bread and wine I receiue the benefites that come by the breaking of his body and ſheeding of hys bloude for our ſinnes on the croſſe.

What we receaue with the Sacramẽt.

Feck. Why? doth not Chriſt ſpeake theſe wordes: *Take, eate, this is my body?* Requyre you any playner wordes? doth he not ſay it is hys body?

Iane. I graunt he ſayth ſo: and ſo he ſayth, *I am the vine, I am the doore*, but he is neuer the more for that the doore nor the vine. Doth not Sainct Paule ſay, *he calleth thinges that are not, as though they were?* God forbyd that I ſhoulde ſay that I eate the very naturall body and bloude of Chriſt: for then eyther I ſhoulde plucke away my redemption, either els there were two bodies, or two Chriſtes. One body was tormented on the croſſe. And if they did eate an other body, then had he two bodies: eyther els if hys body were eaten, then was it not broken vpon the croſſe: or if it were broken vpon the croſſe, it was not eaten of hys diſciples.

Rom. 4.

Feck. Why? is it not as poſſible that Chriſt by hys power could make hys body both to be eaten and broken, as to be borne of a woman without ſéede of man, and as to walke vpon the ſea hauing a body, and other ſuch like miracles as he wrought by his power onely?

Iane. Yes verely: if God would haue done at his ſupper any miracle, he might haue done ſo: but I ſay that then hee minded no worke nor miracle, but onely to to breake his body, and ſhéed his bloud on the croſſe for our ſinnes. But I pray you aunſwere me to this one queſtion: where was Chriſt when he ſayd: *Take, eate, this is my body?* Was he not at the table when hee ſayd ſo? He was at that tyme aliue, and ſuffred not tyll the next day. What toke he but bread? What brake he but bread? and what gaue he but bread? Looke what he tooke, he brake: and looke what he brake, he gaue: and looke what he gaue, they did eate: and yet all this while he him ſelfe was alyue, and at ſupper before hys Diſciples, or els they were deceiued.

Chriſt had power to turne the bread into his body, is no argument to proue that he dyd ſo.

Feck. You ground your faith vpon ſuch authours as ſay and vnſay both wyth a breath, and not vpon the Church, to whom ye ought to geue credite.

Fecknam goeth from the word, to the Church.

Iane. No, I ground my fayth on Gods worde, and not vpõ the church. For if the church be a good church, the fayth of the church muſt be tried by Gods worde, and not Gods worde by the Church, neyther yet my fayth. Shall I beleue the Church becauſe of antiquitie? or ſhall I geue credite to the Church that taketh away from me the halfe parte of the Lordes Supper, and wyll not let any lay mã receiue it in both kindes? Whych thing if they deny to vs, then deny they to vs part of our ſaluation. And I ſay that is an euyll church, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Spouſe of the Deuill that altereth the Lordes ſupper, and both taketh from it, & addeth to it. To that church (ſay I) God wyll adde plages, and from that Church wyll he take their part out of the booke of lyfe. Doo they learne that of S. Paule, when he miniſtred to the Corinthians in both kyndes? Shall I beleue thys Church? God forbid.

Fayth to bee grounded vpon the worde, and not vpon the Church.

A note of the falſe Church.

Feck. That was done for a good intent of the church, to auoyd an hereſy that ſprong on it.

Iane. Why? ſhall the Church alter Gods wyll and ordinaunce for a good intent? How did king Saul? The Lord God defend.

Gods worde not to be altered for good ententes.

With theſe and ſuch lyke perſwaſions hee woulde haue had her leane to the Church, but it woulde not be. There were many more thinges wherof they reaſoned, but theſe were the chiefeſt.

After thys Fecknam tooke hys leaue, ſaying that he was ſory for her: For I am ſure (quoth he) that we two ſhall neuer méete.

Theſe wordes were ſpoken openly.

Iane. True it is (ſayd ſhe) that we ſhall neuer méete, except God turne your hart. For I am aſſured, vnleſſe you repent and turne to God, you are in an euill caſe: & I pray God, in yͤ bowels of his mercy, to ſend you his holy ſpirit: for he hath geuen you his great gift of vtterance, if it pleaſed him alſo to open yͤ eyes of your hart.

A letter of the Lady Iane ſent vnto her Father.

Lady Janes letter ſent to her father.

Father, although it hath pleaſed God to haſten my death by you, by whom my lyfe ſhould rather haue bene lengthened: yet can I ſo paciẽtly take it, as I yeld God more harty thãks for ſhortening my wofull dayes, then if all the worlde had bene geuen into my poſſeſſion with lyfe lengthened at my owne will. And albeit I am well aſſured of your impacient dolours, redoubled manyfolde waies, both in bewayling your owne woe, and eſpecially (as I heare) my infortunate ſtate: yet my deare father (if I may without offence reioyce in my own miſhaps) me ſeemes in this I may account my ſelfe bleſſed, that waſhing my handes with the innocencie of my fact, my giltles bloud may cry before the Lorde, mercy, mercye to the innocent. And yet though I muſt needes acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and, as you wot wel inough, continually aſſayed, in taking vpon me I ſeemed to conſent, & therin greuouſly offended the Queene and her lawes: yet doe I aſſuredly truſt that this myne offence towardes God is ſo much the leſſe, in that being in ſo royall eſtate as I was, mine enforced honour neuer agreed with mine innocent hart. And thus good father I haue opened vnto you the ſtate wherin I preſẽtly ſtand. whoſe death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeeme right wofull, to me there is nothing that can bee more welcome then from this vale of miſerye to aſpyre to that heauẽly throne of all ioy and pleaſure with Chriſt our Sauiour. In whoſe ſtedfaſt fayth (if it may be lawfull for the daughter ſo to write to the Father) the Lord that hitherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo cõtinue you that at the laſt we may meete in heauen with the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

Thys *Parenthesis* includeth with a prayer, a priuie ~~o~~monition to her father that he fall not from hys religion.

At what time her father was floriſhing in freedome and proſperitie in the time of King Edward, there belonged vnto him a certeyne learned man, ſtudent and Graduate of the Uniuerſity of Oxford. Who then being Chaplaine to the ſayd Duke, and a ſincere Preacher (as hee appeared) of the Goſpell, according to the doctrine of that time ſette forth and receiued, ſhortly after that the ſtate of religion began to alter by Quéene Mary, altered alſo in hys profeſſion wyth the

tyme,

time, and of a Proteſtant became a friende and defender of the Popes procedinges. At whoſe ſodaine mutation and inconſtant mutabilitie, this Chriſtian Lady being not a lyttle agreued, and moſt of all lamenting the daungerous ſtate of hys ſoule in ſlyding ſo alway for feare, from the way of truth, writeth her mynde vnto him in a ſharpe and vehemẽt letter: which as it appeareth to procéede of an earneſt & zealous hart, ſo would God it might take ſuch effecte with him, as to reduce him to repentaunce, & to take better hold agayn for the health and wealth of hys own ſoule. The copye of the letter is this as followeth.

An other Letter of the Lady Iane to M. H. late Chaplayne to the Duke of Suffolke her father, and then fallen from the truth of Gods moſt holy worde.

Luke.9.

A ſharpe letter or exhortation of the Lady *Iane to M. Harding.*

SO oft as I call to mind the dreadfull and fearefull ſaying of God: *That he vvhich layeth hold vpõ the plough and looketh backe, is not meete for the kingdome of heauen:* and on the other ſide, the cõfortable wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt to all thoſe that forſakyng them ſelues, do folow hym: I can not but meruell at thee and lamẽt thy caſe: which ſemedſt ſometyme to be yͤ liuely mẽber of Chriſt, but now the deformed impe of the deuill, ſome tyme the beutifull temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy kenell of Sathan, ſometyme the vnſpotted ſpouſe of Chriſt, but now the vnſhamefaſt paramour of Antichriſt, ſometyme my faithfull brother, but now a ſtraunger and Apoſtata, ſometyme a ſtout Chriſten ſouldier, but now a cowardly rũneaway. Yea, when I conſider theſe thinges, I can not but ſpeake to thee, and crie out vpon thee, thou ſeede of Sathan, and not of Iuda, whom the deuill hath deceiued, the world hath begyled, and the deſire of life ſubuerted, and made thee of a Chriſtian an Infidell: wherfore haſt thou taken the Teſtamẽt of the Lord in thy mouth? wherfore haſt thou preached yͤ law and the will of God to others? wherfore haſt thou inſtructed other to be ſtrong in Chriſt, whẽ thou thy ſelfe doeſt now ſo ſhamefully ſhrinke, and ſo horribly abuſe the Teſtament & law of the Lord? when thou thy ſelfe preacheſt, not to ſteale, yet moſt abhominably ſtealeſt, not from men but from God, & committyng moſt heinous ſacrilege, robbeſt Chriſt thy Lord of his right mẽbers thy body and thy ſoule, and choſeſt rather to lyue miſerably with ſhame to the world, then to dye and gloriouſly with honour to reigne with Chriſt, in whom euen in death is lyfe? why doeſt thou now ſhew thy ſelf moſt weake, when in deede thou oughteſt to be moſt ſtronge? The ſtrength of a forte is not knowen before the aſſault: but thou yeldeſt thy holde before any battrie be made.

This man a little before K. Edward dyed, was heard openly in his Sermons in London to exhort the people with great vehemencie, after thys ſorte: that if trouble came, they ſhoulde neuer ſhrinke from the true doctrine of the Goſpell which they had receiued, but ſhould take it rather for a triall ſent of God to proue them whether they would abyde by it or no. All which to be true, they can teſtifie that heard him, and be yet aliue: who alſo foreſeing the plague to come, were then much confirmed by his wordes.

Oh wretched and vnhappy man, what art thou but duſt and aſhes? & wilt thou reſiſt thy maker that faſhioned thee and framed thee? wilt thou now forſake hym that called thee from the cuſtome gatheryng among the Romiſh Antichriſtians, to be an Ambaſſadour and meſſenger of his eternall worde? He that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt creatiõ and birth preſerued thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea and inſpired thee with the ſpirite of knowledge (I can not ſay of grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſſe thee? Dareſt thou deliuer vp thy ſelfe to an other, being not thine own but his? How canſt thou hauyng knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the law of of the Lord, and folow the vayne traditions of men: and where as thou haſt bene a publicke profeſſour of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhyp the inuention of mã, the golden calfe, the whore of Babylon, the Romiſh Religion, the abominable Idol the moſt wicked Maſſe? wilt thou torment agayne, rent, and teare the moſt precious body of our Sauiour Chriſt with thy bodily and fleſhly teeth? wilt thou take vppon thee to offer vp any ſacrifice vnto God for our ſinnes, cõſidering that Chriſt offered vp him ſelf (as Paul ſaith) vpon yͤ Croſſe a liuely ſacrifice once for all? Can neither yͤ puniſhmẽt of the Iſraelites (which for theyr Idolatry they ſo oft receaued) nor yͤ terrible threatnynges of the Prophetes, nor the curſes of Gods owne mouth feare thee to honour any other God then hym? Doeſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not his deare and onely ſonne for thee, ſo diminiſhyng, yea, vtterly extinguiſhyng his glory that thou wilt attribute the prayſe and honour due vnto him to the Idoles, which haue mouthes and ſpeake not, eyes and ſee not, eares & heare not: which ſhalt periſh with them that made them?

Baruch.6.

What ſayth the Prophet Baruch, where he reciteth the Epiſtle of Ieremy written to the captiue Iewes? Did he not forewarne them that in Babylõ they ſhould ſee Gods of gold, ſiluer, wood, and ſtone borne vpon mens ſhoulders, to caſt a feare before the heathen: *But be not ye afrayd of them* (ſayth Ieremy) *nor do as other do: But vvhen you ſee other vvorſhip them, ſay you in your hartes: it is thou (O Lord) that oughteſt onely to be vvorſhipped: for as for thoſe Gods, the Carpenter framed them and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, and layd ouer vvith ſiluer, and vayne things: and cãnot ſpeake.* He ſheweth moreouer, the abuſe of their deckings, how the Prieſtes tooke of their ornamentes and apparelled their women withall: how one holdeth a ſcepter, an other a ſword in his hand, and yet can they iudge in no matter, nor defend them ſelues, much leſſe any other, from either battell or murther, nor yet from gnawyng of wormes, nor any other euill thyng. Theſe, and ſuch lyke wordes, ſpeaketh Ieremy vnto thẽ, wherby he proueth thẽ to be but vayne thinges, & no Gods. And at laſt he concludeth thus: *Confounded be they that vvorſhyp them.* They were warned by Ieremy, and thou as Ieremy haſt warned other, and art warned thy ſelfe by many Scriptures in many places. God ſayth: he is a ielous God, which will haue all honour, glory, and worſhip geuen to him onely. And Chriſt ſayth in the fourth of Luke to Sathan which tempted him: euen to the ſame Sathan, the ſame Belzebub, the ſame deuill, which hath preuayled agaynſt thee: *It is written* (ſayth he) *thou ſhalt honour the Lorde thy God, and hym onely ſhalt thou ſerue.*

Math.4.

Theſe and ſuch like do prohibite thee and all Chriſtians to worſhip any other God then whych was before all worldes, and layd the foũdations both of heauen and earth: and wilt thou honour a deteſtable Idol, inuented by Romiſh Popes, & the abominable Colledge of craftie Cardinals? Chriſt offred himſelfe vp once for all, & wylt thou offer him vp again daily at thy pleaſure? But thou wylt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good intent. O ſinke of ſinne: Oh childe of perdition: doeſt thou dreame therein of a good entent, where thy conſcience beareth thee wytnes of Gods threatned wrath againſt thee? How did Saule? who for that he diſobeyed the word of the lord for a good intent, was throwen from his worldly and temporall kingdome. Shalt thou then that doeſt deface Gods honor and robbe him of hys right, enherite the eternall and heauenly kingdome? wilt thou for a good intent diſhonour God, offende thy brother, and daunger thy ſoule, wherefore Chriſt hath ſhedde hys moſt precious bloud? wilt thou for a good intent plucke Chriſt out of heauen, and make his death voyde, and deface the triumph of his croſſe by offering hym vp dayly? wilt thou eyther for feare of death, or hope of lyfe, denye and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy pouertie, healed thy infirmitie, & yelded to thee his victory, if thou couldeſt haue kept it? Doeſt thou not cõſider that the threed of thy lyfe hãgeth vpon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) eyther twine it harder to laſt the longer, or vntwine it agayne to breake it the ſooner? Doeſt thou not then remember the ſaying of Dauid a notable king, to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his 104. Pſalme, where hee ſayth thus: *VVhen thou takeſt avvay thy ſpirite (oh Lord) from men, they die and are turned agayne to their duſt: but vvhen thou letteſt thy breath go forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renue the face of the earth.* Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in his Goſpell. *VVhoſoeuer ſeeketh to ſaue hys lyfe, ſhall loſe it: but vvhoſoeuer vvyll loſe hys lyfe for my ſake, ſhall finde it.* And in the ſame place: *VVhoſoeuer loueth father or mother aboue me, is not meete for me. He that vvyll follovv me, let him forſake him ſelfe and take vp his croſſe and follovve me.* What croſſe? the croſſe of infamye and ſhame, of miſerye and pouertye, of affliction and perſecution for his names ſake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heauenly ſhowers pearce thy ſtony hart. Let the two edged ſword of Gods holy worde ſheere aſunder the ſinowes of worldly reſpectes euen to the very marrowe of thy carnall hart, that thou mayeſt once againe forſake thy ſelfe and embrace Chriſt. And like as good ſubiectes wyll not refuſe to haſard all in the defence of their earthly and temporall Gouernour, ſo flie not like a white liuered milkeſop frõ the ſtanding where in thy chief captaine Chriſt hath ſet thee in array of thys life. Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, ſuſtine dominum. Fight mãfully, come life, come death: yͤ quarel is Gods, and vndoubtedly the victory is ours.

Good intent.

Pſal.104.

Math.10.

Math.16.

The croſſe for Chriſtes ſake.

Pſal.26.

But thou wilt ſay, I will not breake vnitie. what? not the vnity of Sathan and his members? not the vnitie of darknes, the agreement of Antichriſt and hys adherentes? Nay thou deceaueſt thy ſelfe with the fonde imagination of ſuch a vnitie as is among the enemies of Chriſt. were not the falſe Prophets in an vnity? were not Ioſephes brethren and Iacobs Sonnes in an vnitye? were not the Heathen, as the Amelechites, the Phereſites and Iebuſites in an vnitie? were not the Scribes and Phariſeis in an vnitie? Doth not king Dauid teſtifie: Conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus dominum? Yea theues, murtherers, conſpiratours haue their vnitie. But what vnitie? Tully ſayth of amitie: Amicitia non eſt, niſi inter bonos. But marke my friend, yea friend, if thou be not Gods enemy: there is no vnitie but where Chriſt knitteth the knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be wel aſſured, that where his truth is reſident, there it is verified that he him ſelfe ſayth: Non veni mittere pacem in terram, ſed gladium. &c. but to ſet one againſt an other, the ſõne agaynſt the father, and the daughter againſt the mother in law. Deceaue not thy ſelfe therfore with the glittring and glorious name of vnity: for Antichriſt hath this vnitie, not yet in deede, but in name. The agrement of ill men is not an vnity, but a conſpiracie.

Antichriſt alſo hath hys vnitie, which is not to be kept.

The agreementes of euill men is no vnitie, but a conſpiracie.

Thou haſt heard ſome threatninges, ſome curſes, and ſome admonitions out of the ſcripture to thoſe that loue them ſelues aboue Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharpe and biting wordes to thoſe that denye him for loue of lyfe. Saith he not: *He that denieth me before men, I wyll deny him before my father in heauen?* And to the ſame effect writeth Paule, Hebr. vj. *It is impoſsible* (ſayth he) *that they which were once lightned, & haue taſted of the heauenly gift, and were partakers of the holy Ghoſt, and haue taſted of the good worde of God, if they fall and ſlide away, crucifying to them ſelues the Sonne of God a freſhe, and making of hym a mocking ſtocke, ſhoulde bee renued againe by repentaunce.* And agayne ſayth he: *if we ſhall willingly ſinne after we haue receiued the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for ſinne, but the terrible expectation of iudgement and fire, which ſhall deuour the aduerſaries.* Thus S.Paule writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doeſt thou not quake and tremble?

Math.10. Heb.6. Rom.10.

Well, if theſe terrible & thundring threatninges cã not ſturre thee to cleaue vnto Chriſt, & forſake the world: yet let the ſweete cõſolations & promiſes of the Scriptures, let the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, holy Martyrs and Confeſſours encourage thee to take faſter hold by Chriſt. Harken what hee ſayth: *Bleſſed are you when men reuile you, and perſecute you for my ſake: reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen: for ſo perſecuted they the Prophetes that were before you.* Heare what Eſay the Prophet ſayth: *Feare not the curſe of men, be not afrayde of their blaſphemies and reuilinges: For wormes and mothes ſhall eate them vp lyke cloth and wool, but my righteouſnes ſhall endure for euer, and my ſauing health from generation to generation. What art thou then* (ſayth he) *that feareſt a mortall man, the childe of man, which vadeth away like the flower: and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that ſpread out the heauens, and layd the foundation of the earth? I am thy Lord thy God, that make the ſea to rage, and be ſtyll, whoſe name is the Lord of hoſtes. I ſhall put my word in thy mouth and defend thee with the turning of an hand.* And our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth to his diſciples: *They ſhall accuſe you and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my names ſake, and ſome of you they ſhall perſecute and kill: but feare you not* (ſayth he) *nor care you not what you ſhall ſay: for it is the ſpirite of your father that ſpeaketh within you. Euen the very heares of your head are all numbred. Lay vp treaſure for your ſelues* (ſayth he) *where no theefe commeth, nor moth corrupteth. Feare not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the ſoule, but feare hym that hath power to deſtroy both ſoule and body. If ye were of the worlde, the worlde would loue hys owne: but becauſe ye are not of the worlde, but I haue choſen you out of the worlde, therefore the worlde hateth you.*

Math.5. Eſay.51. Math.10. Luke.12. Math.10. Iohn.15.

Let theſe and ſuch like conſolations taken out of the ſcriptures, ſtrengthen you to Godward. Let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your minde, as Daniell and the reſt of the Prophetes, of the three Children, of Eleazarus that conſtant father, of the. vij. of the Machabies children, of Peter, Paule, Steuen, and other Apoſtles and holy Martyrs in the beginning of the church: As of good Simeon Archbiſhop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite other vnder Sapores the King of the Perſians and Indians; who cõtemned all tormentes deuyſed by the tyrauntes, for their Sauiours ſake. Returne, returne agayne into Chriſtes warre, and as becommeth a faithfull warriour, put on that armour that S.Paule teacheth to be moſt neceſſary for a Chriſtian mã. And aboue all thinges take to you the ſhield of fayth, and be you prouoked by Chriſtes own example to withſtand the deuill, to forſake the world, and to become a true and faithfull member of his miſticall body, who ſpared not his owne body for our ſinnes.

Epheſ.6.

Throwe downe your ſelfe with the feare of his threatned vengeaunce for this ſo great & haynous an offence of Apoſtaſie: and comfort your ſelfe on ẏ other part with the mercy, bloud & promiſe of him that is ready to turne vnto you when ſoeuer you turne vnto him. Diſdayne not to come agayne with the loſt ſonne, ſeing you haue ſo wandred with him. Be not aſhamed to turne agayne with him from the ſwyll of ſtraungers, to the delicates of your moſt benigne & louing father, acknowledging that you haue ſinned againſt heauen & earth. Againſt heauen by ſtayning the glorious name of God, and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure word to be euill ſpoken of through you. Againſt earth by offending ſo many of your weake brethren, to whom you haue bene a ſtumbling blocke through your ſodayne ſlyding. Be not abaſhed to come home agayne with Mary, and weepe bitterly with Peter, not onely with ſheeding the teares of your bodily eyes, but alſo powring out the ſtreames of your hart, to waſh away out of the ſight of God, the filth and myre of your offenſiue fal. Be not abaſhed to ſay with the Publicane. *Lord be mercifull vnto me a ſinner.* Remember the horrible hyſtory of Iulian of olde, and the lamentable caſe of Spira of late, whoſe caſe (me thinke) ſhould be yet ſo greene in your remembraunce, that being a thing of our tyme, you ſhould feare the lyke inconuenience ſeyng you are fallen into the lyke offence.

Luke.18.

Laſt of all, let the liuely remembraunce of the laſte day be alwayes afore your eyes, remembring the terrour that ſuch ſhall be in at that tyme, with the runnagates and fugitiues from Chriſt, which ſetting more by the world then by heauen, more by their life then by him that gaue them lyfe, did ſhrinke, yea did cleane fall away from him that forſoke not them: and contrary wiſe the ineſtimable ioyes prepared for them that fearing no peril nor dreading death, haue manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed ouer all power of darkenes, ouer hell, death, and damnation, through their moſt redoubted captaine Chriſt, who nowe ſtretcheth out his armes to receaue you, ready to fall vpon your necke and kiſſe you, and laſt of all to feaſt you with the deinties and delicates of hys own precious bloud, which vndoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he would not let to ſheed agayne, rather then you ſhould be loſte. To whom with the father & the holy ghoſt be all honour, prayſe and glory euerlaſtingly. Amen.

Be conſtant, be conſtant, feare not for payne:
Chriſt hath redeemed thee, and heauen is thy gayne.

¶A Letter written by the Lady Iane in the ende of the new Teſtament in Greeke, the which ſhe ſent vnto her Siſter Lady Katherine, the nyght before ſhe ſuffered.

I Haue here ſet you (good ſiſter Katherine) a boke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth thẽ precious ſtones. It is the booke (deare Siſter) of the law of the Lord. It is his Teſtamẽt & laſt wil which he bequethed vnto vs wretches: which ſhal lead you to the path of eternall ioy: and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earneſt minde do purpoſe to folow it, it ſhall bryng you to an immortall & euerlaſting life. It ſhall teach you to liue, and learne you to dye. It ſhall wynne you more thẽ you ſhould haue gayned by the poſſeſſion of your wofull fathers landes. For, as if God had proſpered him you ſhould haue inherited his landes: ſo if you apply diligently this booke, ſeekyng to direct your life after it, you ſhalbe an inheritour of ſuch riches, as neither the couetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither theefe ſhall ſteale, neither yet the mothes corrupt. Deſire with Dauid (good Siſter) to vnderſtand the law of the Lord your God. Lyue ſtill to dye, that you (by death) may purchaſe eternal life. And truſt not that the tendernes of your age ſhall lengthen your life. For as ſoone (if God call) goeth the younge as the olde, and labour alwayes to learne to die. Defie the world, deny the deuil, and deſpiſe the fleſh, and delite your ſelfe onely in the Lord. Be penitent for your ſinnes, and yet diſpayre not: be ſtrong in fayth, and yet preſume not, & deſire with S.Paul to be diſſolued & to bee with Chriſt, with whom euen in death there is life. Be like the good

A faythfull exhortatiõ of the *Lady Iane* to the Lady *Katherine* her ſiſter, to read Gods worde.

So liue to die, that by death you may liue.

ſeruaunt, and euen at midnight be waking, leſt when death commeth and ſtealeth vpon you like a theefe in the night, you be with the euill ſeruaunt found ſlepyng, and leſt for lacke of oyle, you be foũd like the fiue fooliſh women: and like him that had not on the weddyng garmẽt, and then ye be caſt out from the Mariage. Reioyce in Chriſt, as I doe. Followe the ſteppes of your Maiſter Chriſt, and take vp your Croſſe: lay your ſinnes on his backe and alwayes embrace him. And as touchyng my death, reioyce as I do (good Siſter) that I ſhalbe deliuered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am aſſured that I ſhall for loſing of a mortall life, winne an immortal life: ẏ which I pray God graũt you, and ſend you of his grace to lyue in his feare, and to dye in the true Chriſtian faith, from the which (in Gods name) I exhort you that you neuer ſwarue, neither for hope of life, nor for feare of death. For if ye will deny his truth to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet ſhorten your dayes. And if you will cleaue vnto him, he will prolong your dayes to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bryng me now, and you hereafter whẽ it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well good Siſter, and put your onely truſt in God, who onely muſt helpe you.

¶Here foloweth a certayne effectuall prayer made by the Lady Iane, in the time of her trouble.

O Lord, thou God and father of my life, heare me poore & deſolate womã, which flyeth vnto thee, only in all troubles and miſeries. Thou O Lord art the onely defendour and deliuerer of thoſe that put there truſt in thee: and therfore I beyng defiled with ſinne, encombred with afflictiõ, vnquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, ouerwhelmed with miſeries, vexed with tẽptations, and greuouſly tormented with the long impriſonment of this vyle Maſſe of clay my ſinfull body: do come vnto thee (O mercifull Sauiour) crauyng thy mercy and helpe: without the which ſo litle hope of deliueraunce is left, that I may vtterly deſpayre of any libertie. Albeit it is expedient, that ſeyng our lyfe ſtandeth vpon trying, we ſhould be viſited ſometyme with ſome aduerſity, wherby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flocke or no, & alſo know thee & our ſelues the better: yet thou that ſaydeſt that thou wouldeſt not ſuffer vs to bee tempted aboue our power, be mercifull vnto me now a miſerable wretch, I beſech thee: which with Salomon doe cry vnto thee, humbly deſiryng thee, that I may neither be to much puffed vp with proſperity, neither to much preſſed downe with aduerſitie: leſt I beyng to full, ſhoulde deny thee my God, or beyng to low brought ſhould deſpayre and blaſpheme thee my Lord and Sauiour. O mercyfull God, conſider my miſery beſt knowẽ vnto thee, & be thou now vnto me a ſtrong tower of defence, I hũbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted aboue my power, but either be thou a deliuerer vnto me out of this great miſerie, either els geue me grace paciently to beare thy heauy hand and ſharpe correction. It was thy right hand that deliuered the people of Iſraell out of the handes of Pharao, which for the ſpace of. iiij. C. yeares did oppreſſe them and keepe them in bondage. Let it therefore likewiſe ſeeme good to thy fatherly goodnes to deliuer me ſorowfull wretch (for whom thy ſonne Chriſt ſhed his precious bloud on the Croſſe) out of this miſerable captiuitie and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be abſent? for euer? Oh Lord haſt thou forgotten to bee gracious, and haſt thou ſhut vp thy louyng kyndnes in diſpleaſure? wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy cleane gone for euer, and thy promiſe come vtterly to an ende for euermore? why doeſt thou make ſo long taryíng? ſhall I deſpayre of thy mercy O God? farre be that from me. I am thy workemanſhyp created in Chriſt Ieſu: giue me grace therfore to tary thy leaſure, and paciently to beare thy workes: aſſuredly knowyng, that as thou canſt, ſo thou wilt deliuer me when it ſhall pleaſe thee, nothyng doubtyng or myſtruſtyng thy goodnes towardes me: for thou wotteſt better what is good for me then I do: Therfore do with me in all things what thou wilt: and plage me what way thou wilt. Onely in the meane tyme arme me I beſech thee, with thy armour, that I may ſtãd faſt, my loynes beyng gyrded about with veritie, hauyng on the breſt plate of ryghteouſnes, and ſhod with the ſhoes prepared by the Goſpell of peace, aboue all thynges takyng to me the ſhield of fayth, wherewith I may bee able to quench all the fiery dartes of the wicked, and takyng the helmet of ſaluation and the ſword of the ſpirite, which is thy moſt holy word: praying alwaies with al maner of prayer & ſupplicatiõ, that I may referre my ſelfe wholy to thy will, abidyng thy pleaſure and comfortyng my ſelfe in thoſe troubles that it ſhall pleaſe thee to ſend me: ſeyng ſuch troubles be profitable for me, and ſeyng I am aſſuredly perſuaded that it can not bee but well, all that thou doeſt. Heare me O mercifull father for his ſake, whom thou wouldeſt ſhould be a ſacrifice for my ſinnes: to whom with thee and the holy Ghoſt be all honour and glory, Amen.

A prayer of the Lady Iane.

Pſal. 77.

Epheſ. 6.

After theſe thyngs thus declared, it remaineth now, commyng to the end of this vertuous Lady, next to inferre the maner of her execution, with the wordes and behauiour of her in tyme of her death.

¶These are the wordes that the Lady Iane ſpake vpon the ſcaffolde at the houre of her death.

First when ſhe mounted vpon the Scaffold, ſhe ſayd to the people ſtandyng there about: good people I am come hether to dye, and by a law I am condemned to the ſame. The fact agaynſt ẏ Queenes highnes was vnlawfull, and the cõſenting therunto by me: but touchyng the procurement and deſire thereof by me or on my behalfe, I do waſh my handes therof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good Chriſtian people, this day: and therwith ſhe wrong her handes, wherein ſhe had her booke. Then ſayd ſhe, I pray you all, good Chriſtian people, to beare me witnes that I dye a true Chriſtian woman, and that I do looke to be ſaued by no other meane, but onely by the mercy of God in the bloud of his onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: and I confeſſe that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the ſame, loued my ſelfe and the world, and therfore this plage and puniſhment is happily and worthely happened vnto me for my ſinnes: and yet I thanke God of his goodnes that he hath thus gyuen me a tyme and reſpite to repẽt: and now (good people) while I am alyue I pray you aſſiſte me with your prayers. And thẽ kneling downe ſhe turned her to Fecknam ſaying: ſhall I ſay this Pſalme? and he ſayd, yea. Then ſayd ſhe the Pſalme of Miſerere mei Deus in Engliſh, in moſt deuoute maner throughout to ẏ end, & then ſhe ſtode vp and gaue her mayden Maiſtres Ellyn her gloues and handkerchefe, and her booke to Maiſter Bruges, and then ſhe vntied her gowne, and the hangman preſſed vpon her to helpe her of with it, but ſhe deſiryng hym to let her alone, turned towardes her two Gentlewomen who helped her of therewith, and alſo with her frowes paſt and neckerchefe, giuyng to her a fayre hãdkerchefe to knyt about her eyes. Then the hangman kneeled downe and aſked her forgyuenes, whom ſhe forgaue moſt willyngly. Then he willed her to ſtand vpon the ſtraw: which doing ſhe ſaw the blocke. Then ſhe ſayd, I pray you diſpatch me quickly. Then ſhe kneled downe, ſaying: will you take it of before I lay me downe? and the hangman ſayd, no Madame. Thẽ tyed ſhe ẏ kerchefe about her eyes, and feelyng for ẏ blocke, ſhe ſayd, what ſhall I do? where is it? where is it? One of the ſtanders by guidyng her thereunto, ſhe layd her head downe vpon the blocke, and then ſtretched forth her body and ſayd: Lord into thy handes I commend my ſpirite, and ſo finiſhed her lyfe in the yeare of our Lord God. 1553. the 12. day of February.

The wordes and behauiour of the Lady Iane vpon the ſcaffolde.

The true confeſſion & fayth of the Lady Iane.

¶Certayne prety verſes wrytten by the ſayd Lady Iane wyth a pynne.

Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere poſſunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Iane Dudley.

Deo iuuante, nil nocet liuor malus:
Et non iuuante, nil iuuat labor grauis.

Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.

¶Certayne Epitaphes wrytten in commendation of the worthy Lady Iane Gray.

De Iana Graia Ioan. Parkhurſti Carmen.

Miraris Ianam Graio ſermone valere?
Quo primum nata eſt tempore, Graia fuit.

Graia being her ſurname ſignifieth in Latine Grecian.

In hiſtoriam Iana. I. F.

Tu, quibus iſta legas incertum eſt lector, ocellis:
Ipſe equidem ſiccis ſcribere non potui.

De Iana, D. Laurentij Humfredi decaſtichon.

Iana iacet ſæuo non æquæ vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenio, ſanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium latijs ornauit fœmina muſis,
Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali ſtirpe creata,
Ipſaq; Reginæ nobilitata throno.
Bis Graia eſt, pulchrè Graijs nutrita camænis,
Et priſco Graiûm ſanguine creta ducum.
Bis Martyr, ſacræ fidei veriſsima teſtis:
Atque vacans regni crimine, Iana iacet.

February 12. Lady Iane and Lord *Gilforde Dudley*, beheaded.

Thus the .xij. day of February (as I ſayd) was beheaded the Lady Iane, & with her alſo the Lord Gylforde her huſband, one of the Duke of Northumberlandes ſonnes, two innocentes in compariſon of them that ſat vpon them. For they did but ignorantly accepte that which the others had wyllingly deuiſed, & by open proclamation conſented to take from others and giue to them.

A wonderfull example vpon *Morgan* the Iudge who gaue ſentence agaynſt the *lady Iane.*

Touching the condemnation of this lady Iane, here is to be noted, that the Iudge Morgan who gaue the ſentence of condemnation againſt her, ſhortly after hee had condemned her, fell mad, and in hys rauing cryed out continually to haue the Lady Iane taken away from him, and ſo ended hys lyfe.

Febru. 21. *Henry* Duke of Suffolke beheaded. *L. Thomas Grey* apprehended and executed.

And not long after the death of the Lady Iane, vpon the .xxj. of the ſame moneth was Henry Duke of Suffolke her father alſo beheaded at the Tower Hyll, the iiij. day after his condemnation: about which tyme alſo were condemned for this conſpiracie many Gentlemē and Yeomen, whereof ſome were executed at London, and ſome in the countrey. In the number of whom was alſo Lorde Thomas Gray, brother to the ſayd Duke, beyng apprehended not long after in North Wales, & executed for ẏ ſame. Syr Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly eſcaped, as ye ſhall heare (the Lorde willing) in an other place.

Febru. 24.

The .xxiiij. of the ſame moneth, the yeare of our lord 1554. Boner biſhop of London ſent downe a commiſſion, directed to all the Curates and Paſtors of hys dioces, for the taking of the names of ſuch as would not come the Lent followyng to auricular confeſſion, and to the receiuing at Eaſter: the copie of which monition here followeth.

¶ A monition of Boner biſhop of Lōdon, ſent down to all and ſingular Curates of his dioces, for the certifying of the names of ſuch as would not come in Lent to confeſſion and receiuing at Eaſter.

A monition of *Boner* Byſhop of London to all Miniſters of hys Dioces.

EDmund by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of London to all Parſons, Vicars, Curates and Miniſters of the Church, within the Citie and dioces of London, ſendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lorde euerlaſtyng. For as much as by the order of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes and conſtitutions of this realme, and the laudable vſage and cuſtome of the whole catholike church, by many hūdreth yeares agone, duely and deuoutly obſerued & kept, all faythfull people being of lawfull age and diſcretion, are boūd once in ẏ yeare at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe them) to be confeſſed to their own proper Curate, and to receaue the ſacrament of the aultar, with due preparation and deuotion: and for as much alſo as we bee credibly informed, that ſundry euill diſpoſed and vndeuout perſons, geuen to ſenſual pleaſures and carnal appetites, following the luſtes of their body, & neglecting vtterly the health of their ſoules, do forbeare to come to confeſſion according to the ſayd vſage, and to receaue the Sacrament of the aultar accordingly, geuing therby pernicious and euyll example to the yonger ſort to neglect and contemne the ſame: we myndyng the reformation hereof for our own diſcharge, and deſirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be geuen: do wyl, and commaund you by vertue hereof, that immediately vpon the receipt of this our commaundement, ye and euery ech of you within your cure and charge, doe vſe all your diligence and dexteritie to declare the ſame, ſtraitly charging and commaunding all your pariſhioners, being of lawfull age and diſcretion, to come before Eaſter next comming, to confeſſion, according to the ſayd ordinaunce and vſage, and with due preparation and deuotion to receaue the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, and that ye do note the names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed vnto you & do not receaue of you the ſayd Sacrament, certifying vs or our Chauncellor or Commiſſarie, thereof before the ſixt day of Aprill next enſuing the date hereof: ſo that we knowing therby who did not come to confeſſiō, and receauing the Sacrament accordingly, may procede againſt them, as being perſons culpable, and tranſgreſſours of the ſayd eccleſiaſticall lawe and vſage: Further alſo certifying vs or our ſaid Chauncelour or Commiſſary, before the day aforeſayd, whether ye haue your altars ſet vp, chalice, booke, veſtimentes, and all thinges neceſſary for Maſſe, & the adminiſtration of Sacramēts and ſacramentals, with proceſſion and all other diuine ſeruice prepared and in readines, according to the order of the catholike church, & the vertuous and godly example of the Queenes Maieſtye: and if ye ſo haue not, ye then with the church wardens, cauſe the ſame to be prouided for, ſignifying by whoſe fault and negligence the ſame wante or fault hath proceded, and generally of the not comming of your pariſhioners to Church, vndue walking, talking, or vſing of them ſelues there vnreuerently in the time of diuine ſeruice, and of al other opē faultes and miſdemeanors, not omitting thus to do and certify as before, as you wyll anſwere vpō your peril for the contrary. Geuen at London the .xxiiij. of February in the yeare of our Lord. 1554.

Comming to confeſſion.

Receauing the Sacrament of the Altar.

The next moneth folowing, which was the moneth of March, and the .iiij. day of the ſayd moneth, there was a letter ſent from the Quéene to Boner biſhop of London, with certayne articles alſo annexed, to be put in ſpéedy execution, containing as here followeth.

¶ Articles ſent frō the Quene to the biſhop of London, by him and his Officers at her commaundement to be put in ſpedy execution, with her letter to the ſayd B. before prefixed

A letter of *Q. Mary* to Byſhop *Boner.*

Cauſes declared.

RIght reuerend Father in God, right truſty & welbeloued, we greete you well. And whereas heretofore in the time of the late raigne of our moſt deareſt brother king Edward the ſyxt, whoſe ſoule God pardon, diuers notable crimes, exceſſes, and faultes, with ſundry kindes of hereſies, ſymony, adultery, and other enormities haue bene committed within this our Realme and other our dominions, the ſame continuing yet hetherto in like diſorder ſince the beginning of our reigne, without any correction or reformation at all, and the people both of the Laity and alſo of the Clergye, and chiefly of the Clergy haue bene geuen to much inſolencie and vngodly rule, greatly to the diſpleaſure of almightye God, and very much to our regret and euill contentation, and to no litle ſlaunder of other chriſten realmes, and in maner to the ſubuerſion and cleane defacing of thys our Realme: and remembring our duety to almighty God to be, to foreſee (as much as in vs may be) that all vertue and godly liuing ſhould be embraced, floriſh, & increaſe, and therewith alſo, that all vice and vngodly behauiour ſhould bee baniſhed and put away, or at the leaſt wayes (ſo nygh as might be) ſo brideled and kept vnder, that godlynes and honeſty might haue the ouer hand: vnderſtanding by very credible report & publike fame, to our no ſmall heauynes and diſcomfort, that within your dioces, aſwel in not exempted as exempted places, the like diſorder and euill behauiour hath bene done and vſed, like alſo to continue and increaſe vnleſſe due prouiſion be had and made to reforme the ſame, which earneſtly in very deede we do minde and intend to the vttermoſt all the wayes we can poſſible, truſting of Gods furtherance and helpe in that behalfe: for theſe cauſes, & other moſt iuſt conſideratiōs vs mouing, we ſend vnto you certayn articles of ſuch ſpecial matter, as among other thinges be moſt neceſſary to be now put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by vs deſired, and the reformation aforeſayd, wherein ye ſhall be charged with our ſpecial commaundement, by theſe our letters, to the entent you and your officers may the more earneſtly and boldly procede therunto without feare of any preſumption to be noted on your part, or daunger to be incurred of any ſuch our lawes as by our doinges, of that is in the ſayd articles contained, might any wyſe greeue you, what ſo euer be threatned in any ſuch caſe. And therfore we ſtraightly charge and commaund you, and your ſayd Officers to procede to the execution of the ſaid articles, without all tract and delay, as ye wil anſwer to the contrary. Geuen vnder our ſignet at our Palace of weſtminſter the. 3. day of March the fyrſt yere of our raigne.

March 3.

¶ Articles ſent from the Quene vnto the Ordinary and by hym and his Officers by her commaundement to be put in execution, in the whole dioces.

Articles of Q. Mary.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of K. Henry reuiued.

FIrſt, that euery Biſhop and his Officers, wyth al other hauing eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, ſhall wyth all ſpeede and diligence, and al maner of waies to them poſſible, put in execution all ſuch Canons and eccleſiaſticall lawes, heretofore in the time of Kyng Henry. VIII. vſed within this Realme of England, and the dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſſely contrarye to the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme.

The kinges authoritie geueth place to the Popes authoritie.

Item, that no biſhop or any his Officer or other perſon aforeſaid, hereafter in any of their eccleſiaſticall wrytinges, in proceſſe or other extraiudiciall actes, doe vſe to put in this clauſe or ſentence, Regia autoritate fulcitus.

The ſupremacie of the king repealed.

Item, that no biſhop or any his officers, or other perſon aforeſayd, do hereafter exact or demaunde in the admiſſion of any perſon to any eccleſiaſtical promotion, order, or office, any oth touching the primacie or ſucceſſion, as of late in few yeares paſſed hath bene accuſtomed and vſed.

Item, that euery Biſhop and his Officers, with al other perſons aforeſaid, haue a vigilant eye, and vſe ſpeciall diligence and foreſight, that no perſon be admitted or receaued to any eccleſiaſticall function, benefice or office, being a ſacramentary, infected or defamed with anye notable kinde of hereſie, or other great crime: And that the ſayd Biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtayd, as much as lyeth in him, that benefices and eccleſiaſticall promotions do not notably decay or take hinderaunce by paſſing or confirming of vnreaſonable leaſes.

For puniſhing of hereſies as they call them.

Item, that euery Biſhop and all other perſons aforeſayd, do diligently trauaile for the repreſſing of hereſies and notable crimes, eſpecially in the Clergy, duely correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

Item, that euery Byſhop, and all the other perſons aforeſayd, do likewiſe trauayle for the condemnyng and repreſſyng of corrupt and naughty opinions, vnlawfull bookes, ballades and other pernicious and hurtfull deuices engendryng hatred amongeſt the people, and diſcorde amongeſt the ſame: And that Scholemaiſters, Preachers, and teachers do exerciſe and vſe their offices & dueties without teachyng, preachyng, or ſettyng forth any euill & corrupt doctrine, and that doyng the cõtrary, they may be by the Byſhop and hys ſayd officers puniſhed and remoued.

Agaynſt Prieſtes mariage.

Item, that euery Byſhop and all the other perſons aforeſayd, procedyng ſummarily & with all celeritie and ſpede, may, & ſhall depriue or declare depriued, & amoue, accordyng to their learnyng and diſcretion, all ſuch perſons from theyr benefices and eccleſiaſticall promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of theyr order and the laudable cuſtome of the Church, haue maried and vſed wemen as their wiues, or otherwyſe notably and ſclaunderouſly diſordered or abuſed them ſelues: ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſayd proceſſe, the fruites and profites of the ſayd benefices and Eccleſiaſticall promotions.

Prouiſion for Prieſts which renounce their wiues.

Item, that the ſayd Byſhop and all other perſons aforeſayd, do vſe more lenitie and clemency with ſuch as haue maried, whoſe wiues be dead, then with other, whoſe wemen do yet remaine aliue. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſtes, as with the conſentes of their wiues or wemẽ openly in the preſence of the Byſhop do profeſſe to abſtaine, to be vſed yͤ more fauourably. In which caſe after penaunce effectually done, the Byſhop accordyng to his diſcretion and wiſedome may vpon iuſt conſideratiõ receiue and admit thẽ agayne to their former adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame place, appointyng them ſuch a portion to liue vpon, to be payd out of their benefice whereof they be depriued, by diſcretion of the ſayd Byſhop or his officer as he ſhall thinke may be ſpared of the ſayd benefice.

Maried Prieſtes diuorced both from wife and benefice.

Item, that euery Byſhop and all other perſons aforeſayd, do foreſee that they ſuffer not any religious mã, hauyng ſolẽnly profeſſed chaſtitie, to cõtinue with his woman or wife, but that all ſuch perſons, after depriuation of their benefice or Eccleſiaſticall promotion, be alſo diuorſed euery one from his ſayd woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the offence therin.

Prouiſion for want of Prieſtes.

Item, that euery Byſhop and all other perſons aforeſayd, do take order and direction with the Pariſhioners of euery benefice where Prieſtes do want, to repayre to the next Pariſh for Diuine ſeruice, or to appoint for a cõuenient tyme, till other better prouiſion may be made, one Curate to ſerue, Alternis vicibus in diuers Pariſhes, and to allot to the ſayd Curate for his labour ſome portion of the benefice that he ſo ſerueth.

Proceſſiõs in Latin.

Item, that all and all maner of proceſſions of the Church be vſed, frequented, and continued after the old order of the Church in the Latine tounge.

Holy daies and faſting dayes.

Item, that all ſuch holy dayes and faſtyng dayes be obſerued and kept, as were obſerued and kept in the latter tyme of kyng Henry the eight.

Ceremonies reſtored.

Item, that the laudable and honeſt ceremonies which were wont to be vſed, frequented, and obſerued in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, vſed, and obſerued.

Item, that children be Chriſtened by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Byſhop as heretofore hath bene accuſtomed and vſed.

Orders.

Item, touchyng ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to any orders after the new ſort and faſhion of orders, conſideryng they were not ordered in very deede, the Byſhop of the Dioces findyng otherwiſe ſufficiencie and habilitie in thoſe men, may ſupply that thyng which wanted in them before, and then accordyng to his diſcretion admitte them to miniſter.

Comming to diuine ſeruice.

Item, that by the Byſhop of the Dioces a vniforme doctrine be ſet forth by Homelies, or otherwiſe for the good inſtruction and teachyng of all people: And that the ſayd Byſhop and other perſons aforeſayd, do compell yͤ Pariſhioners to come to their ſeuerall Churches, and there deuoutly to heare diuine ſeruice, as of reaſon they ought.

Prouiſion for Catholicke ſcholemaiſters.

Item, that they examine all Scholemaiſters and teachers of children, & findyng them ſuſpect, in any wyſe to remoue them, & place Catholicke men in their rowmes, with a ſpeciall commaundement to inſtruct their children, ſo as they may be able to aunſwere the Prieſt at the Maſſe, and ſo helpe the Prieſt to Maſſe, as hath bene accuſtomed.

Item, that the ſayd Byſhop and all other the perſons aforeſayd, haue ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſettyng forth of the premiſſes with all kynde of vertue, godly liuyng, and good example, with repreſſyng alſo and keepyng vnder of vice and vnthriftines, as they and euerich of them may bee ſeene to fauour the reſtitution of true Religion, and alſo to make an honeſt accompt and reckening of their office and cure, to the honor of God, our good contẽtation, and the profite of this our Realme, and dominions of the ſame.

March 4.

A lyke preſcript alſo with Articles, was ſent from the ſayd Queene Mary to the Lord Maior of London, the fourth day of March, in the yeare aboue ſaid, which Lord Maior vpon the ſame directed his commaundement to the Aldermẽ, euery one ſeuerally in his ward, conteynyng as foloweth.

¶ By the Lord Maior.

A preſcript from the L. Maior to the Aldermen.

ON the Queene our moſt gracious and moſt benigne ſoueraigne Ladyes behalf, we moſt ſtraitly charge & commaũde you, that ye the ſayd Aldermen, faile not perſonally to call before your own perſon in ſuch place within your ſayd warde as to you ſhall ſeme moſt conueniẽt and meete vpon wedneſday next commyng, which ſhalbe the vij. day of this preſent moneth, at vij. of the clocke in the mornyng of the ſame day, all and euery the houſeholders both poore & rich of your ſayd ward, & then and there, openly & playnly for your owne diſcharge & for the eſchewing of yͤ perils yͭ to you might otherwiſe be iuſtly imputed & layd, do not onely ſtraitly admoniſhe, charge, and commaunde in the Queene our ſayd ſoueraigne Ladyes name and behalfe, all and euery the ſayd houſeholders, that both in their owne perſons, and alſo their wiues, children, & ſeruauntes beyng of the age of xij. yeares and vpwardes, and euery of them, do at all and euery tyme and tymes from hence forth, and namely at the holy time of Eaſter now approching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and Catholickly vſe and behaue them ſelues like good and faithfull Chriſtian people in all and euery thyng and thynges touchyng and concernyng the true fayth, profeſſiō, and Religion of his Catholicke Church, both accordyng to the lawes and preceptes of almighty God, & alſo their bounden duetie of obedience towardes our ſayd ſoueraigne Lady the Queene her lawes and Statutes, & her highnes moſt good example & gracious proceedyng according to the ſame, & accordyng alſo to the right wholeſome charitable & godly admonition, charge and exhortation late ſet forth and giuē by the right reuerend father in God the Byſhop of London, our Dioceſan and Ordinarie to all the Perſons, Vicars, and Curates within this Dioces: but alſo that they and euery of them do truly without delay aduertiſe you of the names and ſurnames of all and euery perſon and perſons that they or any of them can or may at any tyme hereafter know, perceiue, or vnderſtand to tranſgreſſe or offend in any point or Article cōcerning the premiſſes, at their vttermoſt perilles. That ye immediatly after ſuch notice therof to you giuē do forthwith aduertiſe vs therof, fayle ye not thus to do with all circumſpectiō and diligence, as ye will aunſwere to our ſayd moſt dread ſoueraigne Lady the Queene, for the contrary at your like perill. Geuē at the Guildhall of the Citie of London, the v. day of March in the firſt of the raigne of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lady the Queene.

Blackwell.

And likewiſe doe you geue to euery of the ſayd houſeholders ſtreitly in commaundement, that they or their wiues depart not out of the ſayd Citie vntill this holy tyme of Eaſter be paſt.

1554.

About the ſame yeare and tyme, whē Doct. Boner ſet forth this preſcript or monitory, there came frō the Quéene an other proclamation agaynſt Straungers and Foriners within this Realme. The purpoſe and intent of which proclamatiō, becauſe it chiefly and moſt ſpecially concerned Religion and doctrine, and the true profeſſors therof, I thought here to annexe the tenor and maner of the ſame.

¶A copy of the Queenes proclamation for the driuyng out of the Realme ſtraungers and Forreiners.

Q. Maryes proclamatiō for driuing out of ſtraūgers.

The Queene our ſoueraigne Lady, vnderſtandyng that a multitude of euill diſpoſed perſons, beyng borne out of her highnes dominions in other ſondry nations, flying from the obeyſaunce of the Princes and rulers vnder whom they be borne, ſome for hereſie, ſome for murther, treaſon, robbery, and ſome for other horrible crimes, be reſorted into this her Maieſties Realme, and here haue made their demoure, and yet be commoraunt and lingring, partly to eſchewe ſuch condigne puniſhmēt as theyr ſayd horrible crimes deſerue, and partly to dilate, plant, and ſow the ſeedes of theyr malicious doctrine & leude cōuerſatiō among the good ſubiectes of this her ſayd Realme, of purpoſe to infect her good ſubiectes with the like, in ſo much as (beſides innumerable hereſies, which diuerſe of ẏ ſame beyng herétickes haue preached and taught within her highnes ſayd Realme) it is aſſuredly knowen vnto her Maieſtie, that not onely their ſecrete practiſes haue not fayled to ſtirre, cōfort, and ayde diuers her highnes ſubiectes to this moſt vnnaturall rebellion agaynſt God and her grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill to practiſe with her people eftſoones to rebell: her Maieſtie therfore hauyng (as afore is ſayd) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and moſt ſtraitly chargeth and commaundeth, that all and euery ſuch perſon or perſons borne out of her highnes dominiōs, now commoraunt or reſiaunce within this Realme, of what ſo euer nation or countrey, beyng either Preacher, Printer, Bookeſeller, or other artificer, or of what ſoeuer calling els, not beyng Denizen or Marchaunt knowen, vſyng the trade of Marchaundiſe, or Seruaunt to ſuch Ambaſſadours as be liegers here from the Princes and ſtates ioyned in leage with her grace, ſhall within. xxiiij. dayes after this proclamation auoyde the Realme vpon payne of moſt greuous puniſhment by enpriſonment, and forfeyture & confiſcation of all their goods and moueables, and alſo to bee deliuered vnto theyr naturall Princes or Rulers, agaynſt whoſe perſons or lawes they haue offēded: Giuyng to all Maiours, Shrives, Bayliffes, Conſtables, and all other her miniſters, officers, and good Subiectes ſtraitly alſo in charge, if they know any ſuch perſon not borne in the Queenes highnes dominions (except before excepted) that ſhall after the tyme and day limitted in this Proclamation, tary within this Realme, that they ſhal apprehend ẏ ſame perſon or perſons, and cōmit him or them to warde, there to remaine without bayle or mayneprize, till her graces pleaſure or her Counſailes be ſignified vnto them for the further ordering of the ſayd perſon or perſons: And that, if any of her ſayd Officers, after the ſayd xxiiij. dayes, apprehend, take, or know of any ſuch, they ſhall with diligence immediatly certify her ſayd Counſayle therof, to the intent order may forthwith be giuen for theyr puniſhment accordyng.

Cauſes laid againſt ſtraūgers.

In the meane while, vpon the proclamation before mencioned, not onely the ſtraūgers in king Edwards time receaued into the realme for religion (among whom was Peter Martyr, Iohannes Alaſco Vncle to the king of Poland) but many Engliſh men alſo fled, ſome to Fréeſeland, ſome to Cleueland, ſome to hygh Germanie, where they were diuerſly ſcattered into diuers companies & congregations, at Weſel, at Frankford, Emden, Marki urgh, Strauſbrough, Baſill, Arow, Zurich, Geneua, and other places: where by the prouidence of God they were all ſuſteyned, and there entertained with greater fauour among ſtraungers abroade, then they coulde be in their own countrey at home, well neare to the number of. 800. perſons, Studentes, and other together.

Pet. Martyr and Iohannes Alaſco, baniſhed the realme.

Engliſh men fled out of the Realme for Religion.

The number of Engliſh exiles wel neare 800. perſons.

In the ſayd moneth of March, the Lord Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, whom the Quéene at her firſt entring deliuered out of the Tower, and Lady Elizabeth alſo the Quéenes Siſter, were both in ſuſpection to haue conſented to Wiates conſpiracie, and for the ſame this March were apprehended, and committed to the Tower.

March. 15. *Lady Elizabeth and L. Courtney* vpon ſuſpition of Syr *Tho. Wiats* riſing, committed to the Tower.

Touching the impriſonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou ſhalt note here for thy learning (good Reader) a politicke point of practiſe in Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wint. not vnworthy to be conſidered. This Gardiner being allwayes a capitall enemie to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking now by the occaſion of Maiſter Wiat to picke out ſome matter againſt the Lord Courtney, and ſo in the ende to entangle ẏ Lady Elizabeth, deuiſed a peſtilent practiſe of conueiance, as in the ſtorye here following may appeare.

The ſtory is this. The ſame day that Syr Tho. Wiat dyed, he deſired ẏ Lieſtenant to bring him to ẏ preſence of ẏ L. Courtney: who there before the Lieſtenant and the Shiriffes, knéeling down vpon his knées, beſought the L. Courtney to forgeue him, for that he had falſly accuſed both the Lady Elizabeth and him, & ſo being brought from thence vnto the ſcaffolde to ſuffer, there openly in the hearing of all the people, cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney to be frée and innocent from all ſuſpition of that commotion. At which confeſſion Doct. Weſton there ſtanding by, cried to the people ſaying: beleue him not good people, for he confeſſed otherwyſe before vnto the Counſell.

A poynt of practyſe of *Ste. Gardiner* againſt the *Lady Elizabeth.*

D. Weſton agaynſt the *Lady Elizabeth.*

After the execution done of Syr Tho. Wiat, whych was the. xj. day of Aprill, word was brought immediatly to ẏ Lord Maior Sir Tho. White, a litle before dinner, how Maiſter Wiat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney, and the wordes alſo which Doct. Weſton ſpake vnto the people. Whereunto the Lord Maior aunſwering: Is this true, quoth hée? ſayd Weſton ſo? In ſooth I neuer tooke him otherwyſe but for a knaue. Vpon this the Lord Maior ſitting downe to dinner (who dined ẏ ſame day at the Bridge houſe) commeth in Syr Martin Bowes wyth the Recorder, newly come from the Parliament houſe, who hearing of the Maior and the Sheriffes this report of Wiates confeſſion, both vpon the ſcaffolde and alſo in the Tower, marueyled thereat, declaring how there was an other tale contrary to this, tolde the ſame day in the

The Lorde Maiors iudgement of *D. Weſton.*

Parlia-

Parlament houſe, which was, that Syr Tho. Wiat ſhould deſire the Lord Courtney to confeſſe the truth, ſo as he had done before.

Cut Prentice in London brought before St. Gardiner.

Vpon this it followed not long after that a certaine Prentice dwelling in S. Laurence Lane named Cut, as hee was drinking with one Denhā a Plaſterer being one of Quéene Maries ſeruantes, amōgeſt other talke made mencion howe Syr Tho. Wiat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney to be no conſenters to hys riſing. Which wordes being brought to Gardiner (by what meanes I knowe not) incontinent vpon the ſame, Syr Andrew Iudde was ſent by the ſayd Biſhop to the Lord Maior, commaunding him to bring the ſayd Prentice to the Starre chamber, which was accuſed of theſe wordes, that he ſhoulde ſay that Wyat was conſtrayned by the Counſell to accuſe the Lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney. Which fellow when he was come to the Starre chamber, the aforeſayd Gardiner letting paſſe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, howe miraculouſly almighty God had brought the Queenes Maieſty to the crowne, the whole Realme in a maner being agaynſt her, and that hee had brought this to paſſe for this ſingular intent and purpoſe, that this realme being ouerwhelmed with hereſies, ſhe might reduce again the ſame vnto the true catholike fayth. And where ſhe tooke the Lady Elizabeth into her fauour and loued her ſo tenderly, and alſo the Lord Courtney, who of long time had bene deteyned in priſon, and by her was ſet at libertie and receiued great benefites at her handes, and notwithſtanding all thys, they had conſpired moſt vnnaturally and trayterouſly agaynſt her with that haynous Traytour Wiat, as by the confeſſion of Wiat (ſayd hée) and the letters ſent to and fro may plainly appeare: yet there were ſome in the Citie of London, which reported that Wiat was conſtrayned by the Counſayle to accuſe the Lady Elizabeth and the Lorde Courtney, and yet you my Lord Maior (quoth he) haue not ſeene the ſame puniſhed.

Steuen Gardiners tale in the Starre chamber against the *Lady Elizabeth.*

The party is here, ſayd the Lord Maior. Take him with you (ſayd Gardiner) and puniſh him according to hys deſert, & ſayd further: My Lord, take héede to your charge, the City of London is a whirlepole and ſincke of al euil rumors. There they be bred, and from thence ſpread into all partes of thys realme.

There ſtoode by the ſame time the Lord Shandoys, who being then Lieftenaunt of the Tower, and now hearing the biſhop thus ſpeake, to ſooth his tale, came in with theſe wordes as followeth.

The Lord *Shandoys* falſe report in the Starre chamber, againſt the *Lady Elizabeth and L. Courtney.*

My Lordes (quoth he) this is a truth that I ſhal tel you. I being Lieftenant of the Tower when Wiat ſuffered, he deſired me to bring hym to the lord Courtney. Which when I had done, he fell downe vpon hys knées before him in my preſence, and deſired him to cōfeſſe the truth of him ſelfe, as he had done before, and to ſubmit himſelf vnto the Quéenes Maieſties mercy. And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the entent that the Reader perceauyng the procedinges of the biſhop in the premiſſes, and comparing the ſame with the true teſtimony of Wiat himſelfe, and with ẏ teſtimony of the Shiriffes which were preſent the ſame time when Syr Tho. Wiat aſked the Lorde Courtney forgeuenes, may the better iudge of the whole caſe and matter for the which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were ſo long in trouble. Of which her Graces trouble, hereafter (God willing) more ſhall be ſayd in the ſtory of her life. In the meane time, to let this matter ſtay, let vs now paſſe further in our hiſtory.

NOt lōg after this, Quéene Mary partly fearing ẏ Londoners by occaſiō of Wiates conſpiracy, partly perceauing moſt part of the Citie for religions ſake not greatly to fauour her procedinges, to their diſpleaſure and hinderaunce ſommoned a Parlament to be holden at Oxforde: as it were to gratefie that Citie, where both the Vniuerſity, Towne, and countrey had ſhewed them ſelues very obedient and forward, eſpecially in reſtoring popiſh religion. For this purpoſe great prouiſion was made, as well by the Quéenes officers as by the townes men and inhabitantes of Oxforde and the countrey about.

Q. Mary not fauouring the Londoners.

A Parlament procured to be kept at Oxford.

But the Quéenes minde in ſhort ſpace chaunged, and the ſame Parlament was holden at Weſtminſter in Aprill following. Then the Quéene, beſide other things, propoſed concerning her mariage to king Philip, and reſtoring of the Popes ſupremacie. As touching her mariage it was agréed vpon: but the other requeſt could not as then be obtained.

A Parlament holdē at Weſtminſter.

Mention of the Quéenes mariage in the Parlament.

The ſame time when this Parlament was ſommoned, ſhe alſo ſommoned a conuocation of Biſhops and of the Clergie, writing vnto Boner (whom ſhee had made Vicegerent in the ſtéede of Cranmer being in the Tower) after the tenor and forme of a new ſtile, differing from the olde ſtile of K. Henry & K. Edward, as followeth.

Boner made Vicegerent, and Preſident of the Conuocation.

¶ The ſtile of Q. Mary altered writing to Boner *for the ſommoning of a Conuocation.*

MAria dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſor, Reuerendo in Chriſto patri Edmundo London. Epiſc. Salutem. Licet nuper quibuſdam arduis & vrgentibus negotijs nos, ſecuritatem, & defenſionem eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem & tranquilitatem, &c.

VVhere note (good Reader) concerning the altering & chaunging the Quenes ſtile, the latter part therof to be left out of her title, which is: Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ ſupremum caput, *becauſe in thys preſent Parlament the ſupremacie being geuē away from the crowne of England to the Pope, thereupon this parcell of the title was alſo taken away. Likewyſe the ſayd Boner geuing hys* Certificat *vpon the ſame, leaueth out:* autoritate illuſtriſſimæ &c. legitimè ſuffulcitus: *which parcell alſo in the ſayd Parliament was repriued and taken away the ſame tyme.*

Supremū caput in the Quéenes ſtile taken away.

Legitimè ſuffultus in the Biſhops title takē away.

¶ The dignitie of Prieſtes extolled by Biſhop Boner.

IN this foreſayd conuocation Boner B. of London being Vicegerent, and Preſident (as is ſayd) made a certaine exhortation or Oration to the Clergy (whether it was in this conuocation, or much about the ſaid time) wherein he ſéemeth to ſhewe a great péece of hys profound and déepe learning in ſetting forth the moſt incomparable and ſuperangelicall order of Prieſthood, as may appeare by this parcell or fragment of his foreſayd oration, being collected and gathered by ſome that ſtoode by. Which as it came to our hands, ſo I thought to impart it to the Reader, both for that the Author of ſo worthy a worke ſhould not paſſe vnknowen, & partly alſo, for that the eſtimatiō of this bleſſed order, ſhould loſe nothing of his préeminence, but might be knowen in moſt ample perfection, ſo as it ſtandeth aboue Angels and Kinges, if it be true that Boner ſayth.

Boner ſpeaketh for the honour of prieſthode.

¶ *A peece or fragment of the exhortation made by Boner biſhop of London, to them of the Conuocation houſe, copied out by them that ſtoode by and heard hym.*

¶ Boners Oration in praiſe of Prieſthood.

WHerefore it is to be knowen, that Prieſtes and Elders be worthy of all men to be woorſhipped for the dignitie ſake which they haue of God, as in Math. 16. *VVhatſoeuer ye ſhall looſe vpō earth. &c. And whatſoeuer you ſhall binde. &c.* For a Prieſt by ſome meanes is lyke Mary the vyrgin, & is ſhewed by thrée poyntes: As the bleſſed virgin by fiue words did cōceiue Chriſt, as it is ſayd: *Luke. 1.* Fiat mihi ſecūdū verbū tuū, that is to ſay: *Be it vnto me according to thy word:* ſo the Prieſt by. v. wordes doth make the very body of Chriſt. Euen as immediatly after the cōſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her wombe: ſo immediately after ẏ ſpeaking of ẏ wordes of conſecration, ẏ bread is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt. Secondly,

The profound exhortatiō of *B. Boner* in the Conuocation.

Prieſtes compared to the Virgine Mary in thrée poyntes.

condly, as the Virgin caried Chriſt in her armes, & layd him in an Oxe ſtall after hys byrth: euen ſo the Prieſt after the conſecration, doth lift vp the body of Chriſt, and placeth it, and carieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thyrdly, as the bleſſed Virgin was ſanctified before ſhe conceiued: ſo the Prieſt being ordeyned and annoynted before hee doth conſecrate, becauſe without orders hee coulde conſecrate nothing, therefore the Lay man can not doe the thing, although hee bee neuer ſo holy, and doe ſpeake the ſelfe ſame wordes of conſecration. Therefore here is to be knowen, that the dignitye of prieſtes by ſome meanes paſſeth ỹ dignitie of Angels, becauſe there is no power geuē to any of the Angels to make the body of Chriſt. Whereby the leaſt Prieſt may do in earth, that the greateſt and higheſt Aungell in heauen can not do, as S. Barnard ſayth: *O worſhipfull dignitie of Prieſtes, in whoſe handes the Sonne of God is, as in the wombe of the Virgin he was incarnate.* Saint Auſtine ſaith, that Angels in the conſecration of the ſacred hoſt doe ſerue him, and the Lord of heauen deſcendeth to hym. Wherupon S. Ambroſe vpon Luke ſayth: *Doubt thou not the Angels to be where Chriſt is preſent vpon the aulter.* Wherefore Prieſtes are to be honored before all kinges of the earth, Princes & Nobles. For a Prieſt is higher then a Kyng, happier then an Angell, maker of hys Creator. Wherefore. &c.

Prieſthood compared and preferred before the ſtate of Aungells.

Blaſphemie.

It was declared a litle before how Doct. Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower: where being in duraunce, and inuited to the Lieftenants table, he had certaine talke or conference with Secretary Bourne, Maiſter Fecknam, and other, concerning the controuerſies in religion: the ſumme wherof, as it was penned with hys own hand, hereafter enſueth.

¶Here followeth the ſumme and effect of the communication betwen D. Ridley, and Secretary Bourne, with others, at the Lieftenantes table in the Tower.

Syr Tho. a Bridges.

Who is an hereticke.

Maiſter Thomas of Bridges ſayd at hys brother Maiſter Lieftenantes bord: I pray you Mayſter Doctors, for my learning tell me what an hereticke is. Maiſter Secretary Bourne ſayd, I wyll tel you who is an hereticke: who ſo ſtubburnly and ſtiffely mayntayneth an vntruth, he is an heretike. Ye meane Sir (ſaid I) an vntruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yea that is true, ſayd he: and in this we were ſone agreed. Then ſayd Maiſter Fecknam, ſitting at ỹ vpper end of ỹ table, whō they called maiſter Deane of Paules: I wyll tell you by S. Auguſtine who is an hereticke. Qui adulandi Principib⁹ vel lucri gratia falſas opiniones gignit vel ſequitur, hæreticus eſt, ſayth S. Auſtine: and then he engliſhed the ſame. Syr ſaid I, I weene S. Auguſtine addeth the third member, which is, vel vanæ gloriæ cauſa. Ye ſay euen true maiſter Doctor, ſayd he, and thus far we did agree all three.

An hereticke defined by S. Auſten.

Fecknam mocking Maiſter Ridley.

Maiſter Fecknam began againe to ſay, who ſo doth not beleue that ſcripture affirmeth, but will obſtinatly maintaine the contrary, he is Hæreticus: as in the ſacrament of the aulter. Mathew doth affirme there to be Chriſtes body. Marke doth affirme it, Luke affirmeth it, Paule affirmeth it, & none denieth it: therfore to hold the contrary it is hereſie. It is the ſame body and fleſh that was borne of the virgin: and this is confirmed by vnitie, antiquitie, & vniuerſalitie. For none before Berengarius did euer doubt of this, and he was an hereticke, as maiſter Doctor there knoweth full well: I do teſtify his own conſcience, ſayd he.

Vnitie. Antiquitie, Vniuerſalitie.

Mary Syr, ſayd Maiſter Secretary, maiſter Fecknā hath ſpoken well. Theſe be great matters, vnitie, antiquitie, and vniuerſalitie. Do ye not ſo thinke Mayſter Doctor, ſayd he to me?

Here, while I ſtrained curteſy and pretended as nothing to talke, ſayd one of the Commiſſioners: peraduenture maiſter Ridley doth agree with maiſter Fecknam, and then there neede not much debating of the matter.

Syr, ſayd I, in ſome thinges I doo and ſhall agree with him, and in ſome things which he hath ſpoken to be plaine, I do not agree with him at all. Maiſters ſaid I, ye be (as I vnderſtād) the Queenes Commiſſioners here, and if ye haue commiſſion to examine me in thoſe matters, I ſhall declare vnto you plainly my fayth: if ye haue not, then I ſhal pray you either geue me leaue to ſpeake my mynde freely, or els to hold my peace.

There is none here, ſayd maiſter Secretary, that doth not fauour you: and then euery man ſhewed what fauour they bare towardes mee, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I ſtrayned to haue licence of them in playne wordes to ſpeake my mynd, ſo me thought they graunted me it but vix or ægrè. Well, at the laſt I was content to take it for lycenced, and ſo began to talke.

Byſh. Ridley aunſwering to Fecknam.

To M. Fecknams Argumentes of the manifold affirmatiō where no deniall was, I aunſwered: Where is a multitude of affirmatiōs in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concernyng the truth of the matter: for that any one of the Euangeliſtes ſpake inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, was as true as that which is ſpoken of them all. It is as true that John ſayth of Chriſt: Ego ſū oſtiū ouiū. i. *I am the doore of the ſhepe,* as if al had ſaid it. For it is not in ſcripture as in witnes of men where the number is credited more then one, becauſe it is vncertaine of whoſe ſpirite he doth ſpeake. And where Maiſter Fecknam ſpake of ſo many, affirmyng without any negation. &c. Syr, ſayd I, all they do affirme the thyng which they ment. Now if ye take their wordes and leaue their meanyng, then do they affirme what ye take, but not what they ment. Sir ſayd I, if in talke with you, I ſhould ſo vtter my mynd in wordes, that ye by ỹ ſame do & may playnly perceiue my meanyng, & could (if ye would be captious) cauill at my wordes & writh them to an other ſenſe, I would thinke ye were no gentle companion to talke with, except ye would take my wordes as ye did perceiue that I did meane.

Truth in Scripture goeth not by nū-ber of affirmation where one is ſufficient.

Wordes in ſcripture muſt be taken with their meaning.

Mary, quoth Maiſter Secretary, he ſhould els do you plaine iniurie and wrong.

Maiſter Fecknam perceiuyng whereunto my talke went, why (quoth he) what circumſtances can ye ſhew me that ſhould moue to thinke of any other ſenſe, then as the wordes playnly ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meū quod pro vobis tradetur. i. *This is my body which ſhalbe be betrayed for you?*

Hoc eſt corpus meum expounded.

Syr, ſayd I, euen the next ſentēce that foloweth: videlicet: Hoc facite in meā cōmemorationē. i. *Do this in my remembraunce.* And alſo by what reaſon, ye ſay ỹ bread is turned into Chriſtes carnall body: by ỹ ſame I may ſay, that it is turned into his miſticall body. For as that ſaith of it: Hoc eſt corpus quod pro vobis tradetur: ſo Paul which ſpake by Chriſtes ſpirite, ſayth: Vn⁹ panis & vnum corpus multi ſumus omnes qui de vno pane participamus. i. *We beyng many are all one bread and one body, in as much as we are partakers of one bread.*

Reaſons why theſe wordes ought to be taken not literally.

Here he calleth one bread, one loafe, ſaid Maiſter Secretary.

Yea ſayd I, one loafe, one bread, all is one with me.

But what ſay ye, quoth Maiſter Secretary, of the Vniuerſalitie, antiquitie, & vnitie, that Maiſter Fecknam did ſpeake of?

I enſure you, ſayd I, I thinke them matters weightie and to be conſidered well. As for vnitie, the truth is, before God, I do beleue it and embrace it, ſo it be with veritie, and ioyned to our head Chriſt, and ſuch one as Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying: Vna fides, vnus Deus, vnū Baptiſma. i. *One fayth, one God, one Baptiſme.* And for antiquitie I am alſo perſuaded to be true that Irenæus ſayth: Quod primum verum. i. *That is firſt is true.* In our Religion Chriſtes fayth was firſt truly taught by Chriſt him ſelfe, by his Apoſtles, and by many good mē that from the begynnyng did ſuccede next vnto them: and for this controuerſie of the Sacrament I am perſuaded, that thoſe old writers which wrote before the

Vnitie with veritie to be allowed.

Antiquitie.

controuerſie and the vſurpyng of the Sea of Rome, do all agrée, if they be well vnderſtanded in this truth.

I am glad to heare, ſayd Maiſter Secretary, that ye do ſo well eſteme the Doctours of the Church.

Vniuerſalitie hath a double vnderſtanding.

Now as for vniuerſalitie, it may haue ij. meaninges: one to vnderſtād that to be Vniuerſall which from the begynnyng in all ages hath bene allowed: an other, to vnderſtand vniuerſalitie for the multitude of our age or of any other ſingular age.

No, no, ſayth Maiſter Secretary, theſe thrée do alwayes agrée: & where there is one, there is all the reſt: and here he and I chaūged many wordes. And finally, to be ſhort in this matter, we did not agrée.

There was none, quoth Maiſter Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickleffe, & Hus, and now in our dayes Caroloſtadius, and Oecolampadius. And Caroloſtadius ſayth, Chriſt pointeth to his owne body, and not the Sacrament, and ſayd: Hoc eſt corpus meum. And Melancthon writeth to one Micronius, (Miconius ſayd I) theſe or like wordes: Nullā ſatis grauē rationē inuenire poſſum, propter quā a fide maiorū in hac materia diſſentiam. i. *I can finde no grounded reaſon to cauſe me to diſſent from the beliefe of our forelders.*

Melancton. ad Myconiū.

Thus when he had ſpoken at length, with many other wordes moe: Syr ſayd I, it is certeine that other before theſe haue written of this matter, not by the way onely and obiter, as doth for the moſt all the old writers, but euen ex profeſſo, & their whole bookes intreate of it alone, as Bertram.

The doctrine of the Sacrament not new.

Bertram, ſaid the Secretary? what man was he, and when was hee, and how do ye know? &c. with many queſtions.

Syr, quoth I, I haue read his booke: he proponeth the ſame which is now in controuerſie, and aunſwereth ſo directly that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the ſubſtaunce of bread remaineth ſtill in the Sacrament: and he wrote vnto Carolus magnus.

Mary (quoth he) marke, for there is a matter. He wrote, quoth he, ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum, for no author maketh any ſuch mention of Bertramus.

Yes, quoth I, Trithemius in Catalogo illuſtrium ſcriptorum ſpeaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late tyme: but he ſpeaketh, quoth I, of them that were of antiquitie. Here, after much talke of Bertrā, what authors haue ye, quoth Maiſter Secretary, to make of the Sacrament a figure?

Doctors that make the Sacrament to be a figure.

Syr quoth I, ye know (I thinke) that Tertullian in playne wordes ſpeaketh thus: Hoc eſt corpus, id eſt figura corporis mei. i. *This is my body, that is to ſay, a figure of my body.* And Gelaſius ſayth playnly that Subſtantia panis manet. i. *The ſubſtance of bread remayneth.* And Origene ſaith likewiſe: Quod ſanctificatur ſecundum materiam, ingreditur ſtomachum & vadit in ſeceſſum. i. *That which is ſanctified, as touchyng the matter or ſubſtaunce, paſſeth away into the draught.* This when I had Engliſhed, Maiſter Secretary ſayd to me, you know very well as any man. &c. and here, if I would, I might haue bene ſet in a fooliſhe paradiſe of his commendation of my learnyng, and quòd eſſem vir multæ lectionis. i. *A man of much reading.* But this I would not take at hys hand. He ſet me not vp ſo hye, but I brought my ſelfe as low agayne: and here was much adoe.

Tertullianus.

Gelaſius.

Origen.

As for Melancthon (quoth I) whom Maiſter Fecknam ſpake of, I maruell that ye will alledge hym, for we are more nye an agréement here in England, then the opinion of Melancthon to you. For in this poynt we all agrée here, that there is in the Sacrament but one material ſubſtaūce: and Melancthon (as I wéene) ſayth there are two.

Ye ſay truth, quoth M. Secretary: Melancthons opinion is ſo. But I pray you: ye haue read, that the Sacrament was in olde tyme ſo reuerenced, that many were then forbidden to be preſent at the miniſtratiō therof? Catecumeni (quoth he) and many moe.

Truth Sir (quoth I) there were called ſome Audientes, ſome Pœnitentes, ſome Catechumeni, and ſome Energumeni, which were commaunded to depart.

Catechumeni and others went out at the miniſtration.

Now (quoth he) then, and how can ye then make but a figure or a ſigne of the Sacramēt, as that booke which is ſet forth in my Lord of Canterburies name? I wiſſe ye cā tel who made it: did not ye make it? and here was much murmuryng of the reſt, as though they would haue geuen me the glory of the writyng of the booke, which yet there was ſayd of ſome there, to conteine moſt heynous hereſie that euer was.

The booke of Catechiſme.

Maiſter Secretary, quoth I, that booke was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to doe the lyke agayne. As for me, I enſure you (be not deceaued in me) I was neuer able to do or write any ſuch lyke thyng: he paſſeth me no leſſe, then the learned Maiſter his young ſcholer.

Now, here euery man would haue his ſaying, which I paſſe ouer, not much materiall for to tell. But Syr, quoth I, me thinkes, it is not charitably done, to beare the people in hand, that any man doth ſo lightly eſteme the Sacrament as to make of it but a figure. For that [but] maketh it a bare figure without any more profit: which that booke doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader moſt playnly.

Yes, quoth he, that they do.

Syr no, quoth I, of a truth. And as for me, I enſure you, I make no leſſe of the Sacramēt then thus: I ſay who ſoeuer receaueth the Sacrament, he receaueth therewith either lyfe or death.

No, quoth Maiſter Secretary, ſcripture ſaith not ſo.

Syr, quoth I, although not in the ſame ſounde of wordes, yet it doth in the ſame ſenſe, and S. Auguſtine ſayth in the ſound of wordes alſo. For Paul ſayth: *The bread which we breake, is it not the partaking or fellowſhip of the body of Chriſt?* and S. Auguſtine: māduca vitam, bibe vitam. i. *Eate lyfe, drinke lyfe.*

Auguſt.

Then ſayd Maiſter Pope, what can ye make of it when ye ſay, there is not the real body of Chriſt? which I do beleue &c. and I pray God I may neuer beleue other. How can it bryng (as ye ſay) either lyfe or death, when Chriſtes body is not there?

Syr, quoth I, when ye heare Gods word truly preached, if ye do beleue it and abide in it, ye ſhall and do receaue life withall: and if ye do not beleue it, it doth bryng vnto you death: and yet Chriſtes body is ſtill in heauen and not carnall in euery preachers mouth.

The Sacrament may bryng lyfe without tranſubſtantiation.

I pray you tell me (quoth he) how can you aunſwere to this: Quod pro vobis tradetur: *Which ſhall bee geuen for you?* was the figure of Chriſtes body geuen for vs?

No Syr, quoth I, but the very body it ſelfe, wherof the Sacrament is a Sacramentall figure.

How ſay ye then, quoth he, to, Quod pro vobis tradetur: *Which ſhall bee geuen for you?*

Forſooth, quoth I, Tertullians expoſition maketh it playne. For he ſayth: Corpus eſt figura corporis. i. *The body is a figure of the body.* Now put to: Quod pro vobis tradetur: *Which ſhall bee geuen for you*, and it agréeth excéedyng well.

Tertullianus.

In fayth, quoth he, I would geue xl. pound, that ye were of a good opinion. For I enſure you I haue heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thanke you Maiſter Pope, for your hart and mind, and ye know, quoth I, I were a very foole if I would in this matter diſſent from you, if that in my conſcience the truth did not enforce me ſo to do. For I wiſſe (as ye do perceaue, I trow) it is ſomewhat out of my way, if I would eſteme worldly gayne.

What ſay ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? doth he not ſay playnly, Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie ſed natura mutatus omnipotētia verbi factus eſt caro? i. *The bread which the Lord dyd deliuer, being chaūged, not accordyng to the forme but accordyng to the nature therof, by the omnipotent worde is made fleſh.*

Cyprian.

True

Doctour Ridley falſly reported for a ſermon of hys at Paules.

The place of Sainct Cyprian expounded.

True, Syr: ſo he doth ſay: and I aũſwere euẽ yͤ ſame which once by chaũce I preached at Paules Croſſe in a Sermon, for yͤ which I haue bene as vniuſtly, & as vntruly reported as any poore man hath bene. For there I ſpeakyng of the Sacrament, & inueying agaynſt them that eſtemed it no better then a peece of bread, tolde euen the ſame thyng of Pœnitentes, Audientes, Catecumeni, Energumeni, that I ſpake of before: & I bad them depart as vnworthy to heare the myſtery, & then I ſaid to thoſe that be Sancti: Cyprian yͤ Martyr ſhall tell you how it is that Chriſt calleth it, ſaying: Panis eſt corpus, cibus, potus, caro. &c. i. *Bread is the body, meate, drinke, fleſh:* becauſe that vnto this materiall ſubſtance is giuen the property of the thyng wherof it beareth the name: and this place then toke I to vtter as the tyme would then ſuffer, that the materiall ſubſtãce of bread did remayne. Maiſter Fecknam (which as is reported to me) dyd bely me openly in the ſame matter at Paules Croſſe, heard all this my talke (as read as ſkarlet in his face) and herein aunſwered me neuer one worde.

You do know well, quoth M. Secretary, that Origines and Tertullian were not Catholicke, but erred.

None of all the Doctours holde in all poyntes.

Syr, quoth I, there is none of all the Doctours that are holden in all pointes, but are thought to haue erred in ſome thynges. But yet I neuer heard, that it was either layd to Origens charge, or to Tertullian, that euer they were thought to haue erred in this matter of the Sacrament.

S. Auguſtine taketh the wordes of the Sacrament figuratiuely, by Doctours owne confeſſion.

What, quoth Maiſter Chomley, late chiefe Iuſtice, doth not Chriſt ſay playnly, that it is his very fleſh and hys very bloud, and we muſt neede eate hym, or we can haue no lyfe? Syr (quoth I) if you will heare how S. Auguſtine expoundeth that place, you ſhall perceiue that you are in a wrong boxe. And when I began to tell S. Auguſtines minde in hys booke De doctrina Chriſtiana: Yea, yea, quoth M. Secretary, that is true, S. Auguſtine doth take it figuratiuely in deede.

Fortie yeares agoe, quoth M. Fecknam, all were of one opinion in thys matter.

Forty yeares agoe (quoth I) all held that the Biſhop of Rome was ſupreme head of the vniuerſall church.

What then? was Maiſter Fecknam begynning to ſay. &c. but Maiſter Secretary tooke the tale, and ſayd, that was but a poſitiue law.

Diſt. 21. Quamuis.

A poſitiue law, quoth I? No Syr, he would not haue it ſo. For it is in his Decrees, that he chalenged it by Chriſtes own word. For hys Decree ſayth: Nullis Synodicis cõſtitutis, neq; Concilijs, ſed viua voce Domini prælata eſt eccleſia Romana omnibus eccleſijs in toto mundo, dicente Domino Petro, tu es Petrus. &c. i. *The church of Rome was aduaunced aboue all other churches in the world, not by any Synodicall conſtitutions, nor yet any Councels, but by the lyuely voyce of the Lord, according as the Lord ſayd to Peter: Thou art Peter. &c.* And in an other place he entreateth: Tu es Cephas, id eſt, caput. i. *Thou art Cephas, that is to ſay, the head.*

Tuſh, it was not counted an article (quoth Maiſter Secretary) of our faythe.

Yes, ſayd I, if ye call that an article of our fayth, which is to be beleued vnder paine of damnation. For he ſaith: Omninò definimus, declaramus, pronũciamus, omnem creaturam ſubeſſe Romano pontifici de neceſſitate ſalutis. i. *We do abſolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that euery creature is ſubiecte to the obedience of the biſhop of Rome vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation.*

And here when wee ſpake of lawes and decrees, Maiſter Roger Chomley thought him ſelfe much wronged, that hee could not be ſuffered to ſpeake, the reſt were ſo ready to interrupte hym: and then hee vp and tolde a longe tale what lawes were of kinges of England made againſt the biſhop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the Clergie did flie to him. And here becauſe he ſemed to ſpeake of many thinges beſide our purpoſe, whereof we ſpake before, he was aunſwered of hys own felowes, and I let them talke.

Byſh. Ridleys bookes geuen away.

Finally, we departed in peace, and maiſter Secretary promiſed in yͤ end, that of their talke there ſhould come to me no harme. And after I had made my mone for lacke of my bookes, hee ſayd they were all once geuen him: but ſith I know (ſayd he) who hath them now, write me the names of ſuch as ye woulde haue, and I wyll ſpeake for you the beſt I can.

Miniſters diuorced from their wiues.

Upon the articles aboue mencioned, and inquiſition made vpon the ſame, diuers Miniſters were diuorced from their wyues. Amongeſt whom was one Iohn Draper, and Ioane Golde hys wyfe, in the Dioceſſe of London, troubled and vexed for the ſame by Boner biſhop of London, who ſent forth a commiſſion with a proceſſe, to ſequeſter and ſeperate them, inioyning alſo penaunce to the poore woman.

Beſides this Iohn Draper, diuers other alſo were diuorced the ſame time againſt their wyls, and ſome cõtented of their own vnconſtant accord, to be ſeperated frõ their wiues: as of Chicheſter one (who becauſe he ſone recouered againe, ſhall be here nameles) an other named Edmond Alſtone, an other Alexander Bull, amongeſt whom alſo was Doctor Standiſh, with many other: whoſe names together in the end of this ſtory of Queene Mary, we may peraduenture, by Gods grace in a generall catalogue, together comprehend.

¶ How Tho. Cranmer Archb. Biſh. Ridley, and M. Latimer were ſent down to Oxford to diſpute, with the order and maner, and all other circumſtances vnto the ſaid diſputation, and alſo to their cõdẽnation appertaining.

Aprill. 10.

D. Cranmer D. Ridley, & M. Latymer, ſent downe to Oxford to diſpute.

The Vniuerſitie Doctors appoynted to diſpute againſt the Archb. and hys fellowes.

About the tenth of Aprill, Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ridley Biſhop of Lõdon, and Hugh Latimer biſhop alſo ſomtime of Worceſter, were conueyed as priſoners from the Tower to Wyndſore: and after from thence to the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, there to diſpute with the Diuines and learned men of both the Vniuerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the preſence, ſubſtance and ſacrifice of the Sacrament. The names of yͤ vniuerſitie Doctors and Graduates, appointed to diſpute agaynſt them, were theſe: Of Oxford Doct. Weſton Prolocutor, D. Treſham, D. Cole, D. Oglethorp, D. Pie, M. Harpſfield, M. Fecknam. Of Cambridge Doct. Yong Vicechauncellour, Doct. Glinne, D. Seton, D. Watſon, D. Sedgewycke, D. Atkinſon. &c. The articles or queſtions whereupon they ſhould diſpute, were theſe.

Three queſtions.

1 Whether the naturall body of Chriſt bee really in the ſacrament after the words ſpokẽ by the Prieſt, or no?

2 Whether in the ſacrament, after the wordes of conſecration, any other ſubſtance do remaine, then the ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſt?

3 Whether in yͤ Maſſe be a ſacrifice propiciatory for the ſynnes of the quicke and the dead?

Letters ſent downe from *Ste. Gardiner* to Cambridge.

Touching the order and maner of all which thinges there done, with yͤ notes, Argumẽtes, & all circumſtancies therunto perteinyng, to deduce the matter from the begynnyng, leauyng out nothyng (as nere as we may) that ſhall ſeme neceſſary to be added, firſt here is to be vnderſtand that vpon Saterday, the vij. day of Aprill, the heades of the Colledge in Cambridge beyng congregate together, letters commyng downe from Steuen Gardiner Lord Chauncellor, were read with Articles therewith annexed, that ſhould be diſputed vpon at Oxford: the contẽtes of which three Articles are ſufficiently expreſſed before. Wherupon in the ſayd cõgregation of the aforeſayd Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, there was graunted firſt a grace in this forme propoſed by the Seniour Proctour: Placet vobis vt inſtrumẽtum fiat, quòd horum iam prælectorum, articulorum doctrina ſana ſit & catholica, atq; cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei conſentiens, & veſtro cōſenſu, & ſuffragijs comprobetur? That is: may it pleaſe you to haue an inſtrument made that the doctrine of theſe foreſayd Articles may be ſound and Catholicke, and conſonaunt with the veritie of the right meanyng fayth, and that the ſame may be approued by your conſent and voyces? Secondly in the ſayd congregatiō, an other grace was geuen and graūted, that Doct. Yong being the Vicechauncellour, Doct. Glin, Doct. Atkinſon, Doct. Scot, and M. Sedgewicke ſhould go to Oxford to defend the ſayd Articles agaynſt Caunterbury, London, and Latimer: Alſo to haue letters to the Oxford men, ſealed with their common ſeale: Item, an other grace graunted for M. Sedgewicke, to be actuall Doctour, beyng therupon immediatly admitted. The foreſayd letters beyng then drawen out, the third day after (which was the eleuenth day of Aprill) were read in the foreſayd Cōgregation houſe & there ſealed.

I pray you ſtand good maiſters to theſe iij. poore articles, commyng here to you a begging for grace.

A grace for the articles.

A grace for the Cambridge Doctors to diſpute againſt *Cranmer, Ridley and Latymer.*

Whereupon the next day after (the xij. of the ſayd moneth) the foreſayd Doctours, with the full grace of that Vniuerſitie, ſet forward to Oxford: and commyng thether the next day after (beyng Friday, the xiij. of April) were lodged all at ẏ Croſſe Inne, with one Wakeclyn, beyng ſometyme ſeruaunt to Byſhop Boner.

The commyng of the Cambridge men to Oxford.

Anone after their commyng, Doct. Crooke preſēted them with wyne for their welcome: and ſhortly after, two of the Bedelles came from the Vicechauncellour of Oxford, and preſented the Vicechauncellour of Cābridge with a diſh of appels, and a gallon of wyne. After whom next came M. Pye and Fecknam to welcome them. Then after conſultation cōcernyng the deliuery of their letters, and inſtrument of grace (which was in Doct. Seton and Watſons kéepyng) they went all to Lyncolne Colledge to Doct. Weſton the Prolocutor, and to the Vicechauncellour D. Treſham: and there they deliuered their letters, & declared what they had done touching the Articles, letters, & graces. Half houre after 8. they returned to theyr Inne agayn: but firſt they cōcluded of a Proceſſion, Sermon, & conuocation to be had the morow folowyng, and that the Doctours of Cambridge ſhould be incorporate in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and likewiſe that the Doctours of Oxford ſhould be incorporate in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge. The ſame day the forenamed priſoners were diſſeuered, as was ſayd afore: Doct. Ridley to Alderman Iryſhes houſe, M. Latimer to an other, and D. Cranmer remained ſtill in Bocardo.

The welcommyng of the Cambridge Doctors to Oxford.

The Cābridge Doctours repayre to *D. Weſton.*

The three priſoners diſſeuered, *Cranmer in Bocardo, Ridley in Iriſhes* houſe, *Latimer* in the Bailiffes houſe.

On Saterday (beyng the xiiij. of Aprill) at eight of the clocke, the foreſayd Vicechaūcellour of Cambridge with the other Doctours of the ſame Vniuerſitie, repayred to Lincolne Colledge agayne, and found the Prolocutour aboue in a Chappel, with the company of the houſe ſingyng Requiem Maſſe, and taryed there vntill the end. Then they conſultyng altogether in the Maiſters lodgyng, about ix. of ẏ clocke came all to ẏ Vniuerſitie Church called S. Maries, & there, after ſhort conſultation in a Chappell, the Vicechaūcellor, ẏ Prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, cauſed the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge and the reſt of the Doctors of that Vniuerſitie, to ſend for theyr ſcarlet roabes, brought from Cābridge, ſaue that Doct. Seton and Watſon borowed of the Oxford men. And in this tyme, the Regentes in the Congregation houſe, had graunted all the Cambridge Doctours theyr graces, to be incorporate there, and ſo they went vp and were admitted immediatly, Doct. Oglethorp preſentyng them, and ẏ Proctour readyng the ſtatute, and geuyng them theyr othes.

Conſultation.

The doctours in their ſcarlet robes.

That done, they came all into the Quier, and there helde the conuocation of the Vniuerſitie. They had Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt ſolemnly ſong in prickeſong, by the Quier men of Chriſtes Church. But firſt the cauſe of the Conuocation was opened in Engliſh, partly by the Vicechauncellour, and partly by the Prolocutour, declaryng that they were ſent by the Quéene, and wherfore they were ſent: and cauſed Maiſter Say the Regiſter, openly to read the Commiſſion. That done, the Vicechauncellour read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded that thrée Notaries, Maiſter Say for the Cōuocation, a Bedel of Cambridge for that Vniuerſitie, & one Maiſter White for Oxford, ſhould teſtifie of theyr doyng: and then willed the ſayd Notaries to prouide parchement, that the whole aſſembly might ſubſcribe to the Articles, ſaue thoſe that had ſubſcribed before in the Cōuocation houſe at London and Cambridge: and ſo the Vicechauncellour began firſt: after hym the reſt of the Oxford men, as many as could in the Maſſe tyme.

Maſſe in pikeſatice, in prickſong I would ſay.

The cauſes of their aſſembly declared.

Cambridge letters read.

The Notaries aſſigned.

Subſcribing to the articles.

The Maſſe beyng done, they went in proceſſion: Firſt the Quier in their ſurplices folowed the Croſſe: then the firſt yeare Regentes, and Proctours: then the Doctours of law, and their Bedell before them: then the Doctours of Diuinitie of both Vniuerſities intermingled, the Diuinitie and art Bedels goyng before them, the Vicechauncellour and the Prolocutour goyng together. After them Bachelers of Diuinitie, Regentes, & non Regentes in theyr array: and laſt of all, the Bachelers of Law and Art. After whom folowed a great company of Scholers & Students not graduate. And thus they proceded through the ſtréete to Chriſtes Church, and there the Quier ſang a Pſalme, and after that a Collect was read. This done, departed the Commiſſioners, Doctours, and many other to Lyncolne Colledge, where they dyned with the Maior of the Towne, one Aldermā, foure Bedels, Maiſter Say, and the Cambridge Notary. After dyner they went all agayne to S. Maries Church: and there, after a ſhort conſultatiō in a Chappell, all the Commiſſioners came into the Quier, and ſat all on ſeates before the Altar, to the number of 33. perſons: And firſt they ſent to the Maior, that he ſhould bring in Doctor Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a great number of ruſty bilmen.

Proceſſion in Oxford.

The array of the ſolemne proceſſion.

An other conſultation of the Doctours & prieſtes.

Thus the Reuerende Archbiſhop, when hee was brought before the Commiſſioners, reuerenced them wyth much humilitie, and ſtode wyth hys ſtaffe in hys hand: who notwithſtādyng hauing a ſtoole offred him, refuſed to ſit. Then the Prolocutor ſitting in the middeſt in a ſcarlet gowne, began with a ſhort Preface or Oration, in praiſe of vnity, and eſpecially in the church of Chriſt: declaring withall hys bringing vp, and takyng degrées in Cambridge, and alſo how he was promoted by king Henry, and had bene his Counſaillour and a Catholicke mā, one of the ſame vnitye, and a mēber therof in times paſte: but of late yeares dyd ſeperate and cut of hym ſelfe from it, by teaching and ſetting forth of erroneous doctrine, making euery yeare a new fayth: therefore it pleaſed the Quéenes grace, to ſend them of the Conuocation & other learned men, to bring him to this vnity agayne, if it might be. Then ſhewed he hym how they of the Cōuocation houſe, had agreed vpon certayne articles, whereunto they wylled hym to ſubſcribe.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* brought before the Doctours and his prieſtes at S. Maries church.

The reuerend humilitie and behauiour of the Archb. before thē.

The Archb. aunſwered to the preface very wyttely, modeſtly, and learnedly, ſhewing that he was very glad of an vnitie, for as much as it was Conſeruatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Chriſtianorum. i. *the preſeruer of all common wealthes, as well of the Heathen, as of the Chriſtiās:* and ſo he dilated the matter with one or two ſtories of the Romaines common wealth. Whych thing when he had done, he ſayd, that he was very glad to come to an vnitie, ſo that it were in Chriſt, and agreable to hys holy worde.

The anſwere of the Archb. to Doctor *Weſton.*

When he had thus ſpoken hys full mynd, the Prolocutor cauſed the articles to be read vnto hym, and aſked if he would graunt and ſubſcribe vnto them. Then the biſhop of Canterbury did reade them ouer thrée or foure times, and touching ẏ firſt article he aſked what they ment by theſe termes verum & naturale. i. *true and naturall*. Do you not meane, ſayth he, corpus organicum. i. *a ſenſible body*? Some aunſwered, Idem quod natus eſt ex virgine. i. *the ſame that was borne of the Virgin*: & ſo confuſedly, ſome ſaid one thing ſome an other. Then the biſhop of Canterbury denied it vtterly: and when he had looked vpon the other two, he ſayd they were all falſe, & agaynſt Gods holy word: And therfore would not he agree, he ſayd, in that vnitie with them. Which done the Prolocutour firſt willyng hym to write his minde of them that night, ſayd moreouer, that he ſhould diſpute in them, and cauſed a copye of the Articles to be deliuered him, aſſignyng hym to aunſwere thereunto on Monday next: and ſo charged the Maior with him agayne, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before: offeryng moreouer vnto him, to name what bookes hee would occupy, and he ſhould haue them brought vnto him. The Archbyſhop was greatly commẽded of euery body for his modeſty: In ſomuch, that ſome Maiſters of Arte were ſeene to weepe for him, which in iudgement were contrary to hym.

The articles denyed by the Archb.

Scarborough warning geuen to *Cranmer* to diſpute.

Then was Doct. Ridley brought in, who hearyng the Articles read vnto him, aunſwered without any delay, ſaying: they were all falſe, and ſayd further, that they ſprang out of a bitter and ſowre roote. His aunſweres were ſharpe, witty, and very learned. Thẽ dyd they lay to his charge a Sermon that he made when he was Byſhop of Rocheſter, wherin (they ſayd) he ſpake with the tranſubſtantiation. He denyed it vtterly, & aſked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would ſay and affirme with them ẏ ſame. They could bryng no proofe of it at all. After that he was aſked of one whether he deſired not my Lord Chauncelor that now is, to ſticke to the Maſſe, & other thynges? He ſayd, that my Lord would ſay no ſuch thynges or wordes of hym: for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

D. Ridley brought in.

Aunſwere of Byſhop *Ridley* to the Articles.

B. Ridley falſely reported for his ſermõ.

Thẽ he was aſked whether he would diſpute or no? He aunſwered: that as long as God gaue him life, he ſhould not onely haue his heart, but alſo his mouth and penne to defende his truth: but he required tyme and bookes. They ſayd he could not, and that he ſhould diſpute on Thurſday, and till that tyme he ſhould haue bookes. He ſayd it was not reaſon ẏ he might not haue his own bookes, & time alſo to looke for his diſputatiõs. Then gaue they hym the Articles, and bad him write hys minde of them that night, & ſo did they commaund the Maior to haue hym from whence he came.

B. Ridley appoynted to diſpute next day after the Archb.

Laſt of all came in Maiſter Latimer in lyke ſorte, with a kerchiefe and two or three cappes on his head, hys ſpectacles hangyng by a ſtryng at hys breaſt, and a ſtaffe in his hand, and was ſet in a chaire: for ſo was he ſuffered by the Prolocutor. And after hys deniall of the Articles, whẽ he had Wedneſday appointed for diſputation, he alledged age, ſickenes, diſuſe, and lacke of bokes, ſaying, that he was almoſt as meete to diſpute as to be a Captaine of Callice: but he would (he ſayd) declare hys mynde either by writing or by word, & would ſtand to all that they coulde lay vppon his backe: complaynyng moreouer that he was permitted to haue neither penne, nor yncke, nor yet any booke, but onely the new Teſtament there in his hand which, hee ſayd, he had read ouer vij. tymes deliberatly, and yet could not finde the Maſſe in it, neither the marybones nor ſinewes of the ſame. At which wordes the Commiſſioners were not a litle offẽded, and Doct. Weſton ſayd, that he would make hym graunt, that it had both marybones & ſinewes in ẏ new Teſtamẽt. To whom M. Latymer ſayd againe: that will you neuer do Maiſter Doctour: and ſo forthwith they put hym to ſilence, ſo that where he was deſirous to tell what he ment by thoſe termes, he could not be ſuffered. There was a very great preaſſe and throng of people: and one of the Bedles ſwounded by reaſon thereof, & was caried into the Veſtry. After this, bryngyng home the Prolocutor firſt, the Cãbridge men, videlicet: D. Yong Vicechaũcellor, Seton, Glin, Atkinſon, Scot, Watſon, Sedgewicke, went to ẏ Croſſe Inne to ſupper. And this was on Saterday beyng the 14. day of Aprill.

Maiſter *Latimer* brought in.

Maiſter *Latymer* could not finde the Maſſe in all the new Teſtamẽt.

What he meaneth by the mary-bones of the Maſſe, and after in hys proteſtation geuen in wryting to the Prolocutour.

On Sonday after, M. Harpſfield preached at S. Maries the Vniuerſitie Church, at ix. of the clocke, where were diuers of the Doctors of the Vniuerſitie in their robes and placed accordyngly. After the Sermon they went all to dyner to Magdalene Colledge, and there had a great dyner. They ſupped at Lincolne Colledge with the Prolocutor: whether Doct. Cranmer ſent aunſwere of hys mynde vpon the Articles, in writyng.

Aprill. 15.

On Monday (beyng the 16. of Aprill) Maiſter Say, and M. White Notaryes, went about in the mornyng to the Colledges, to gette ſubſcriptions to the Articles. And about viij. of the clocke the Prolocutor with all the Doctors and the Vicechauncellour mette together at Exceter Colledge, & ſo they went into the Scholes: and when the Vicechauncellour, the Prolocutour and Doctours were placed, and foure appointed to be Exceptores argumentorũ, ſet at a Table in the myddeſt, and foure Notaryes ſittyng with them, D. Cranmer came to the Aunſwerers place, the Maior & Aldermen ſittyng by hym, and ſo the diſputation began to be ſet a worke by ẏ Prolocutor with a ſhort Præludium. Doct. Chedſey begã to argue firſt: and, ere he left, the Prolocutour diuers tymes, D. Treſham, Oglethorpe, Marſhall Vicechauncellor, Pye, Cole, and Harpſfield did interrupt & preſſe hym with theyr Argumentes, ſo that euery man ſayd ſomewhat, as the Prolocutour woulde ſuffer diſorderly, ſometyme in Latin, ſometyme in Engliſh, ſo that three houres of the tyme was ſpent, ere the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge began: who alſo was interrupted as before. Hee began with three or foure queſtions ſuttely. Here the Bedles had prouided drinke, and offered the Aunſwerer: but he refuſed with thãkes. The Prolocutour offered hym, if he would make water or otherwiſe eaſe himſelfe, he ſhoulde. Thus the diſputation continued vntill almoſt two of the clocke, with this applauſiõ Audientium: vicit veritas. Then were all ẏ argumentes (written by the foure appoynted) deliuered into the hand of Maiſter Say, Regiſter. And as for the priſoner, he was had away by the Maior: And the Doctours dyned together at the Vniuerſitie Colledge.

Aprill. 16.

Subſcription.

4. *Exceptores argumentorũ.*

Cranmer ſet in the Reſpõdents place.

D. Cranmer cloſed in by the Mayor and Aldermen for running away.

Diſputers agaynſt the Archbyſhop.

The Archbyſhop offered drinke.

D. Cranmer after diſputation returned agayne to *Bocardo*.

And thus much concernyng the generall order and maner of theſe diſputations, with ſuch circumſtaunces as there happened, and thynges there done, as well before the diſputations, and in the preparation therof, as alſo in the tyme of their diſputing. Now foloweth to inferre and declare the Orations, Argumentes, and Aũſweres, vſed and brought forth in the ſayd diſputatiõs on both partes.

¶ The Argumentes, reaſons, and allegations vſed in this diſputation.

ON Monday, Doct. Weſton, withall the reſidue of the viſitours, Cenſors, & Opponentes: repairyng to the Diuinitie Schole, ech one enſtalled them ſelues in theyr places. Doct. Cranmer with a route of ruſty Bylles was brought thether, and ſet in the aunſweres place, with the Maior and Aldermen ſittyng by hym. Where Doct. Weſton Prolocutour, apparelled in a Scarlet gowne, (after the cuſtome of the Vniuerſitie) began the diſputation, with this Oration. Hys wordes in Latine, as he ſpake them were theſe.

Aprill. 16.

Conueniſtis hodie fratres, profligaturi deteſtandam illam hæreſin de veritate corporis Chriſti in Sacramento. &c. that is: Ye are aſſembled hether (brethren) this day, to confound that deteſtable hereſie of the veritie of the body of Chriſt in the Sacramẽt. &c.

D. Weſton ſpeaketh truer then he wiſte.

At which wordes thus pronoūced of ẏ Prolocutor vnwares, diuers of the learned men there preſent, conſideryng and well waying the wordes by hym vttered, burſt out into a great laughter, as though euen in the entraunce of the diſputatiōs, he had bewrayed him ſelfe and his Religion, that termed the opinion of the veritie of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, a deteſtable hereſie. The reſt of his Oratiō tended al to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods word to call theſe queſtiōs into controuerſie: for ſuch as doubted of the wordes of Chriſt, myght well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Doct. Cranmer deſiryng licence, aunſwered in this wiſe.

D. Cranmers aunſwere to the preface.

We are aſſembled (ſayth he) to diſcuſſe theſe doubtful controuerſies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world: wherof ye thincke it vnlawfull to diſpute. It is in dede no reaſon (ſaith he) that we ſhould diſpute of that which is determined vppon before the truth bee tried. But if theſe queſtions be not called in controuerſie, ſurely myne aunſwere then is looked for in vayne. This was the ſumme and effecte of his aunſwere: and thys done, he prepared him ſelf to diſputations.

D. Chadſey.

Then Chedſey the firſt Opponent began in this wiſe to diſpute.

Reuerend Maiſter Doctour, theſe thrée concluſions are put forth vnto vs at this preſent to diſpute vpon.

Articles.

1 *In the Sacrament of the altar is the naturall body of Chriſt, conceiued of the Virgine Mary, and alſo hys bloud preſent really vnder the formes of bread and Wyne, by vertue of Gods Word pronounced by the Prieſt.*

2 *There remaineth no ſubſtaunce of bread and Wyne after the conſecration, nor any other ſubſtaunce, but the ſubſtaunce of God and man.*

3 *The lyuely ſacrifice of the Church is in the Maſſe, propitiatory as Well for the quicke as the dead.*

These be ẏ concluſions propoūded, wherupon this our preſent controuerſie doth reſt. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the ſame, you haue already geuen vp vnto vs your opinion therof. I terme it your opinion, in that it diſagréeth from the Catholicke fayth. Wherfore thus I argue.

Argument.

Ched. Your opinion differreth from the Scripture.
Ergo, You are deceyued.

Cranmer. I deny the antecedent.

Ched. Chriſt when he inſtituted hys laſt Supper, ſpake to his Diſciples: *Take, eate, this is my body, Which ſhalbe geuen for you.*

But his true body was geuen for vs:
Ergo, hys true body is in the Sacrament.

☞ The right forme of this Argument is thus to bée framed.

Argument.

Da- The ſame which was geuē for vs, is in ẏ ſacramēt.
ri- But his true body was geuen for vs:
j. Ergo, his true body is in the Sacrament.

Aunſwere.

How Chriſtes body is preſent in the Sacrament.

Cran. His true body is truly preſent to them that truly receiue hym: but ſpiritually. And ſo is it taken after a ſpirituall ſorte. For when he ſayd: *This is my body,* it is all one as if he had ſayd, this is the breakyng of my body, this is the ſhéedyng of my bloud. As oft as you ſhall do this, it ſhall put you in remembraunce of the breaking of my body, & the ſhéedyng of my bloud: that as truely as you receyue this Sacrament, ſo truly ſhall you receyue the benefite promyſed by receyuyng the ſame worthely.

Argument of the authoritie of the Church.

Ched. Your opinion differreth from the Church, which ſayth, that the true body is in the Sacrament.
Ergo, your opinion therin is falſe.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I ſay and agrée with the Church, that the body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament effectually, becauſe the Paſſion of Chriſt is effectuall.

Ched. Chriſt, when he ſpake theſe wordes: *This is my body,* ſpake of the ſubſtaunce, not of the effect.

Chriſtes body effectually, not ſubſtancially in the ſacrament.

Cran. I graunt he ſpake of the ſubſtance, & not of the effect after a ſort: and yet it is moſt true that the body of Chriſt is effectually in the Sacramēt. But I deny that he is there truly preſent in bread, or that vnder ẏ bread is his organicall body. And becauſe it ſhould be to tedious (he ſayd) to make diſcourſe of the whole, he deliuered vp there hys opinion therof to D. Weſton writtē at large, with anſweres to euery one of theyr thrée propoſitiōs: which he deſired Doct. Weſton, ſittyng there on hygh, to read openly to the people: which he promiſed to doe. But it was not the firſt promiſe that ſuch Papiſtes haue broken.

Papiſtes falſe of promiſe.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the cōtentes therof here we haue drawen out as foloweth.

An explication of Cranmer vpon the foreſayd Concluſions exhibited in wryting.

The contentes of Cranmers explication geuen vp in writing.

CRan. In the aſſertions of the Church and of Religion, triflyng and new fāgled nouelties of wordes, ſomuch as may be, are to be eſchued, wherof riſeth nothyng but cōtention and brawlyng about wordes, and we muſt folow ſomuch as we may, the maner of ſpeakyng of the Scripture.

How Chriſt is really preſent.

In the firſt concluſion if ye vnderſtand by this word [*really*] reipſa. i. in very déede, & effectually, ſo Chriſt by the grace and efficacy of his Paſſiō is in déede and truly preſent to all his true and holy members.

Organicall is called that which is a perfect body, hauing all the members and partes cōplete belonging vnto the ſame.

But if ye vnderſtand by this word [*really*] Corporaliter. i. Corporally, ſo that by the body of Chriſt is vnderſtanded a naturall body and organicall: ſo the firſt propoſitiō doth vary, not onely from vſuall ſpeach and the phraſe of Scripture, but alſo is cleane contrary to the holy worde of God and Chriſtian profeſſion: when as both the Scripture doth teſtifie by theſe wordes, and alſo the Catholicke Church hath profeſſed from the begynnyng, Chriſt to haue left the world, and to ſit at the ryght hand of the father tyll hée come vnto Iudgement.

Aunſwere to the ſecond Concluſion.

And lykewiſe I aunſwere to the ſecond queſtion: that is, that it ſwarueth from the accuſtomed maner and ſpeach of Scripture.

Aunſwere to the third Concluſion.

The thyrd Concluſion contumelious againſt Chriſt.

The thyrd concluſion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtfull and ambiguous wordes, and differyng alſo much from the true ſpeach of the Scripture, ſo as the wordes therof ſéeme to importe in open ſenſe: it is moſt contumelious agaynſt our onely Lord and Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus, & a violatyng of hys precious bloud, which vpō the Altar of ẏ Croſſe is ẏ onely ſacrifice and oblation for the ſinnes of all mankynd.

Ched. By this your interpretation which you haue made vpon ẏ firſt cōcluſion, this I vnderſtand: the body of Chriſt to be in ẏ Sacrament only by the way of participation: in ſo much as we communicatyng therof, do participate the grace of Chriſt: ſo that you meane hereby onely the effect therof. But our concluſion ſtandeth vpon the ſubſtaunce, and not the efficacy onely, which ſhall appeare by the teſtimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thouſand yeare after Chriſt.

Math. 26. Mar. 14. Luk. 22.

And, firſt to begyn with the Scripture, let vs conſider what is written in Math. 26. Mark. 14. Luke. 22. firſt to the Corinth. 11. Mathew ſayth: *As they ſat at Supper, Ieſus tooke bread. &c.* In Marke there is the ſame ſenſe, although not the ſame wordes: who alſo for one part of the Sacrament ſpeaketh more playnly. *Ieſus taking bread. &c.* After the ſame ſenſe alſo writeth Luke. 22. *And When Ieſus had taken bread. &c.* In the mouth of two or thrée witneſſes ſayth the Scripture, ſtandeth all truth. Here we haue thrée witneſſes together, that Chriſt ſayd that to be his body which was geuē for many, & that to be his bloud which ſhould be ſhed for many: wherby is declared the ſubſtance & not onely the efficacy of his body.

Ergo, it is not true that you ſay there to be, not the ſubſtaunce of his body, but the efficacy alone therof.

Cran. Thus you gather vpon myne aunſwere, as though I dyd meane of the efficacy, & not of yͤ ſubſtance of the body: but I meane of them both, as wel of the efficacy as the ſubſtaunce. And for ſo much as all thinges come not readily to memory, to a man that ſhall ſpeake ex tempore, therfore for the more ample & fuller aunſwere in the matter, this writyng here I do exhibite.

Subſtance and efficacie both graunted in the Sacrament.

¶An explication exhibited by Cranmer.

An other explication for aunſwere exhibited in writing, by the Archb.

OUr Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, at the tyme of his Maundy, preparing himſelf to die for our cauſe, that he might redeme vs from eternall death, to forgeue vs all our ſynnes, and to cancell out the hand writyng that was agaynſt vs, that we through ingrateful obliuion ſhould not forget his death: therefore hee at the tyme of hys holy ſupper did inſtitute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Chriſtians in bread and wyne, according as it is ſayd: *Do this in remembraunce of me.* And, *So often as you ſhall eate this bread, & drynke this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lordes death tyll he come.* And this remembraunce or ſacrament of his holy paſſion, that is, of his body ſlaine and bloud ſhed, he would all Chriſtians to frequent and celebrate in bread & wine, according as he ſayd: *Take, eate:* And, *drinke ye all of this.* Therfore, who ſoeuer for mans tradition denieth yͤ cup of Chriſtes bloud to Lay mẽ, they manifeſtly repugne againſt Chriſt, forbidding that whych Chriſt commaundeth to be done, and be like to thoſe Scribes and Phariſes, of whom the Lord ſpake: *Ye Hipocrites, ye haue reiected the commaundementes of God for your traditions. VVell dyd Eſay prophecy of you, ſaying: This people honoreth me wyth their lyps, but their hart is farre from me. VVithout cauſe do they worſhip me, teaching the doctrines and preceptes of men.*

The finall cauſe why the ſupper was ordeined.

Math. 15.

Luke. 7.

This ſacrament and miſtical bread, being broken and diſtributed after the inſtitution of Chriſt, and the miſtical wyne likewiſe being taken and receiued, be not only ſacramentes of the fleſh of Chriſt wounded for vs, and of his bloudſheding, but alſo be moſt certaine ſacramentes to vs, & (as a man would ſay) ſeales of Gods promiſes and giftes, and alſo of that holy fellowſhip, which wee haue with Chriſt and all hys members. Moreouer they be to vs memorials of that heauenly foode and nouriſhment wherewith we are nouriſhed vnto eternall lyfe, and the thirſt of our boyling conſcience quenched, and finally whereby the hartes of the faythfull be repleniſhed with vnſpeakeable ioy, and be corroborated and ſtrengthened vnto all workes of godlines. *VVe are many* (sayth S. Paule) *one bread and one body, all we whych doe participate of one bread, and one cup.* And Chriſt ſayth: *Eate ye: thys is my body:* And, *drinke ye: this is my bloud.* And, *I am the liuing bread which came downe from heauen. He that eateth me, ſhall alſo liue for me. Not as your fathers did eate Manna in the deſert and are dead. He that eateth me, ſhall alſo lyue for me.*

Sacramẽtes ſeales of Gods promiſes.

1. Cor. 11.

Math. 26.

Iohn. 6.

Thus therfore true bread and true wyne remain ſtill in the Eucharist vntill they be conſumed of the faythfull, to be ſignes and as ſeales vnto vs annexed vnto Gods promiſes, making vs certaine of Gods giftes towardes vs. Alſo Chriſt remayneth in them and they in Chriſt, which eate his fleſh and drinke hys bloud, as Chriſt him ſelf hath promiſed: *They that eate my fleſh, & drinke my bloud, abide in me, and I in them.* Moreouer he abideth alſo in thẽ which worthely receiueth the outward ſacramẽt, neither doth he depart ſo ſoone as the Sacrament is conſumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nouriſhing vs ſo long as we remayne bodies of that head & mẽbers of the ſame. I acknowledge not here yͤ naturall body of Chriſt, which is onely ſpirituall, intelligible, and vnſenſible, hauing no diſtinction of members and partes in it: but that body onely I acknowledge & worſhip, which was borne of the virgin, which ſuffered for vs, which is viſible, palpable, and hath al the fourme and ſhape, & parts of the true naturall body of man.

Bread and wine remaine ſtill in the Eucharist, and be ſeales to vs annexed with Gods promiſes.

Chriſt ſpake not theſe wordes of any vncertaine ſubſtance, but of the certayne ſubſtaunce of bread, which he then held in hys hãdes and ſhewed his Diſciples when he ſayd: *Eate ye: this is my body:* and lykewyſe of the cup, when he ſayd: *Drinke ye: thys is my bloud:* meaning verely of that bread, which by nature is vſuall and cõmon with vs, which is taken of the fruite of the ground, compacted by the vniting of many graynes together, made by mã, and by mans hand brought to that viſible ſhape, being of a round compaſſe, and wythout all ſenſe or life, which nouriſheth the body, and ſtrengtheneth the hart of man: of thys ſame bread (I ſay) and not of any vncertayne and wandring ſubſtaunce the old fathers ſay that Chriſt ſpake theſe wordes: *Eate ye, this is my body.* And lykewiſe alſo of the wyne whych is the creature and fruite of the vine preſſed out of many cluſters of grapes, and maketh mans hart mery: of the very ſame wyne (I ſay) Chriſt ſpake: *Drinke ye, this is my bloud.* And ſo the olde Doctors doe call this ſpeaking of Chriſt, tropical, figuratiue, anagogicall, allegoricall, whych they doe interprete after thys ſort, that although the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine do remayne and be receyued of the faythful, yet notwithſtanding Chriſt chaunged the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his fleſh, and the wine by the name of his bloud, non rei veritate, ſed ſignificante myſterio. i. *Not that it is ſo in very deede, but ſignified in a miſterie.* So that we ſhould cõſider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they importe to vs and ſignifie, and ſhould vnderſtand the Sacrament, not carnally, but ſpiritually, and ſhould attend, not to the viſible nature of the Sacramentes, neyther haue reſpect onely to the outward bread & cup, thynking to ſee there with our eyes no other thinges but onely bread and wyne, but that lifting vp our myndes, we ſhould looke vp to the bloud of Chriſt with our faith, ſhould touch hym with our minde, and receyue hym with our inward man: and that being lyke Eagles in this lyfe, we ſhould flye vp into heauen in our hartes, where that Lambe is reſident at the right hand of hys father, whych taketh away the ſinnes of the world, by whoſe ſtripes we are made whole, by whoſe paſſion we are fylled at hys table, and whoſe bloud we receiuyng out of hys holy ſyde, doe liue for euer, being made the gheſtes of Chriſt, hauing hym dwellyng in vs through the grace of his true nature, & through the vertue and efficacy of hys whole paſſion, beyng no leſſe aſſured and certified that we are fed ſpiritually vnto eternal lyfe by Chriſtes fleſh crucified and by hys bloud ſhed, the true foode of our myndes, then that our bodies be fed with meate and drinke in thys lyfe: and hereof this ſaid miſticall bread on the table of Chriſt, and the myſticall wyne, being adminiſtred and receyued after the inſtitution of Chriſt, be to vs a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a ſacrament, and a ſeale.

Chriſtes wordes are ſpoken not of an vncertaine ſubſtance, but of a certaine ſubſtaunce of bread which he had in hys handes.

How the Doctours do take the ſpeach of Chriſt.

Tropicall, Figuratiue, Anagogicall, Allegoricall.

Bread called by the name of the body.

The Sacrament is to be conſidered not what it is in nature, but what it ſignifieth in myſterie.

The Sacrament is a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a Sacrament, and a ſeale.

And thereof is it that Chriſt ſayth not thus: *Thys is my body, eate ye:* but after he had bydden them eate, then he ſayd: *This is my body which ſhall be geuen for you.* Whych is to meane, as though he ſhould ſay: In eatyng of thys bread, conſider you that this bread is no common thing, but a myſticall matter: neither do you attend that which is ſet before your bodely eyes, but what fedeth you within. Conſider and behold my body crucified for you: that eate and digeſt in your myndes. Chawe you vpon my paſſion, be fed with my death. This is the true meate, thys is the drinke that moiſteneth, wherewith you being truly fed and inebriate, ſhall liue for euer. The bread and the wyne which be ſet before your eyes, are onely declarations of me, but I my ſelf am the eternall foode. Wherfore when ſo euer at this my table you ſhall beholde the ſacramentes, haue not regard ſo much to them, as conſider ye what I promyſe to you by them: whych is my ſelfe to be meate for you of eternall lyfe.

What is ment by eatyng the myſtical bread.

What the crucified body of Chriſt doth to our ſoules.

The onely oblation of Chriſt (wherewyth he offered him ſelfe to God the father once to death vpon the aultar of the croſſe for our redemption) was of ſuch efficacy, that there is no more nede of any ſacrifice for the redemption of the whole world. But all the ſacrifice of the old lawe he tooke away, performing that in very dede, which they did ſignify and promiſe. Whoſoeuer therefore ſhall fyxe the hope of his ſaluation in any other ſacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Chriſt, and is cõtumelious againſt the bloud of Chriſt. [For] *he was wounded for our tranſgreſsions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like ſheepe haue wãdred aſtray. Euery mã hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath layd all our iniquities vpon him.* [For] *he hath entred once for all into the holy place by the bloud, not of Goates or Calues, but by hys own bloud, finding eternall redeption:* [And] *hath entred into heauen, to appeare now in the ſight of God for vs, not to offer hym ſelf oftẽtimes (for ſo ſhould he haue ſuffered many tymes) but now hath hee appeared once to put away ſinne, through hys owne oblation. And as it is appoynted to all men once to die, ſo alſo Chriſt once was offered: VVho offering vp one oblation for ſinnes, ſitteth now for euer on the right hand of God. For by one oblatiõ hath he made perfecte for euer thoſe that be ſanctified.* [For] *where is remiſsion of ſinnes, there is now no more oblation for ſinne* [but this onely ſacrifice of Chriſt]. Whoſoeuer ſhal ſeke any other ſacrifice propitiatory for ſynne, maketh yͤ ſacrifice of Chriſt of no validitie, force, or efficacie. For if it be ſufficient to remytte ſinnes, what nede is there of any other? For the neceſſity of an other, argueth and declareth this to be inſuffi-

The ſacrifice of Chriſtes body once ſufficient for all.

Eſay. 53.

Heb. 9.

Heb. 10.

No ſacrifice now for ſinne but one.

Chriſt ſacrificed once for ſinne: we ſacrifice dayly by thãkeſgeuing and thankfull workes of charitie.

ſufficient. Almighty God graunt that wee may truely leane to one ſacrifice of Chriſt: and that we to him againe may repay our ſacrifices of thankes giuing, of prayſe, of confeſſing his name, of true amendement, of repentance, of mercifulnes towardes our neighbours, and of all other good workes of charitie. For by ſuch ſacrifices we ſhall declare our ſelues neither ingratefull to God, nor altogether vnworthy of this holy ſacrifice of Chriſt. And thus you haue out of the teſtimonies of holy ſcripture, & of the auncient Doctors of the Church, the true & ſincere vſe of yͤ Lordes holy ſupper, & the fruite of yͤ true ſacrifice of Chriſt. Which who ſoeuer through captious or wreſted interpretatiõs, or by mens traditions ſhal go about, otherwiſe then Chriſt ordayned them, to alter or trãſubſtantiate, he ſhall aunſwere to Chriſt in the latter day, when he ſhall vnderſtand (but then to late) that he hath no participation with the body and bloud of Chriſt, but that out of the ſupper of eternall life he hath eaten and drunken eternall damnation to him ſelfe.

Weſt. Becauſe we wyll not conſume and ſpend the tyme in waſt, this your wrytyng which you exhibite, hereafter ſhalbe read in his place. In the meane ſeaſon let vs now fall to the Argumentes.

Argument.

Ched. The Scriptures in diuers places do affirme that Chriſt gaue hys naturall body. Math. 26. Marke. 14. Luke. 22.

Ergo, I do conclude that the naturall body is in the Sacrament.

Aunſwere.

Cran. To your Argument I aunſwere: If you vnderſtand by the body naturall [organicum] that is, hauyng ſuch proportion and members as he had lyuing here, then I aunſwere negatiuely.

Furthermore, concernyng the Euangeliſtes, thus I ſay and graunt, that Chriſt tooke bread and called it hys body.

Ched. The text of the Scripture maketh agaynſt you: for the circumſtaunce therto annexed doth teach vs, not onely there to be yͤ body, but alſo teacheth what maner of body it is, and ſaith: *The ſame body which ſhall be geuen.*

Argument.

Ba- That thyng is here conteyned that is geuen for vs.
ro- But the ſubſtaunce of bread is not geuen for vs:
co. Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread is not here contayned.

Aunſwere.

Thys word [conteyned] diſtinguiſhed.

Cran. I vnderſtand not yet what you meane by this word [*conteined*]. If ye meane really, then I deny your maior.

Ched. The maior is the text of Scripture. He that denyeth the maior, denyeth the Scripture. For the Scripture ſayth: *This is my body which ſhal bee geuen for you.*

The body of Chriſt conteyned not really but ſacramentally.

Cran. I graunt he ſayd it was hys body that ſhould be geuẽ: but he ſayd not, it was his body which is here conteined: but *the body* (ſayth he) *that ſhall be geuen for you.* As though he ſhould ſay: *This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the ſheedyng of my bloud.* What will ye ſay thẽ? Is the bread the breakyng, and the cup the ſhedding of the bloud really? If you ſo ſay, I deny it.

Chriſt ſayth not, this is my body which is here cõteyned, but thys is my body which ſhall bee geuen for you.

Ched. If ye aſke what is the thyng there conteyned: becauſe his Apoſtles ſhoulde not doubt what body it was that ſhould be geuen, he ſayth: *This is my body which ſhalbe geuen for you: and my bloud which ſhalbe ſheed for many:* Ergo, here is the ſame ſubſtaunce of the body which the day after was geuẽ, and the ſame bloud which was ſhed. And here I vrge the Scripture, which teacheth, that it was no fantaſticall, no fayned, no ſpirituall body, nor body in fayth, but the ſubſtaunce of the body.

Cran. You muſt proue that it is contained: but Chriſt ſayd not, which is contained. He gaue bread, and called that his body. I ſticke not in the wordes of the Scripture, but in your worde which is fayned and imagined of your ſelfe.

Ched. When Chriſt tooke bread and brake it, what gaue he?

Cran. He gaue bread. The bread ſacramentally, and his body ſpiritually, and the bread hee called his body.

Ched. This aunſwere is againſt the ſcripture, whych ſayth that he gaue his body.

Cran. It did ſignifie that which they did eate.

Ched. They did not eate yͤ body as the Capernaites did vnderſtand it: but the ſelfe ſame body whych was geuen for yͤ ſinnes of the world: Ergo it was his body which ſhould be geuẽ, & his bloud which ſhould be ſhed.

¶ In ſome other copies I finde this argument to be made by Chadſey.

Argument.

Ba- The ſame body is in the ſacrament, which was geuen for vs on the croſſe.
ro- But bread was not geuen on the croſſe for vs:
co. Ergo bread is not geuen in the ſacrament.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I deny the Maior, which is, that the ſame naturall body is geuen in the ſacrament which was geuen on the croſſe, except you vnderſtand it ſpiritually. And after he denied alſo yͤ argumẽt as vtterly nought, as he might well do, the Maior in the ſecond figure being not vniuerſall.

When maiſter Chedſey had put forth this argument and proſecuted the ſame, and Doctor Cranmer aunſwered as before is ſhewed, D. Oglethorpe, one of thoſe Doctors which the Prolocutor called Cenſores (belike to be Arbiters to order the diſputations) ſayd on this wyſe.

Doct. Oglethorpe breaketh Priſcians head and ſpeaketh falſe latin.

Dͬ. Ogle. You come in ſtyll wyth one euaſion or ſtarting hole to flee to. He vrgeth the ſcriptures, ſaying that Chriſt gaue hys very body. You ſay that hee gaue hys body in bread. Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis eſt corpus? qualis eſt prædicatio, panis eſt corpus?

Cranmer aunſwereth to Oglethorpe.

Cran. You ſhould ſay, Quale corpus. I aunſwere to the queſtion: It is the ſame body which was borne of the virgin, was crucified, aſcended: but tropically, and by a figure. And ſo I ſay: Panis eſt corpus, is a figuratiue ſpeech, ſpeaking ſacramentally, for it is a ſacramẽt of his body.

Doctour Cranmer might haue found fault with thys argument, as well as with hys latin being made in no mode nor figure.

Ogle. Thys worde *body* being prædicatum, doth ſignifie ſubſtaunce.

But ſubſtãtia is not predicated denominatiuely:

Ergo it is an eſſentiall predication: and ſo it is his true body, and not the figure of hys body.

Cran. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatiuely in an allegory or in a metaphore, or in a figuratiue locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thyng that Chriſt hath leſſe care for his Spouſe the church, then a wiſe houſholder hath for his family in making his wyll or teſtament.

Cran. Your reaſon is drawen out of the affaires of men, and not taken out of the holy ſcriptures.

Ogle. But no houſholder maketh his teſtament after that ſort.

Cran. Yes, there are many that ſo do. For what matter is it, ſo it be vnderſtode and perceiued? I ſay Chriſt did vſe figuratiue ſpeech in no place more, then in his ſacramentes, and ſpecially in this hys ſupper.

Ogle. No man of purpoſe doth vſe tropes in his teſtament: for if hee doe, he deceiueth them that he comprehendeth in hys teſtament: therefore Chriſt vſeth none here.

Tropes may be vſed in mens teſtamentes, why not?

Cran. Yes, he may vſe them wel inough. You know not what tropes are.

Ogle. The good man of the houſe hath a reſpect that his heires after his departure may lyue in quiet and without brabbling.

But they can not be in quiet if he do vſe tropes:

Therefore (I ſay) he vſeth no tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

A place of Auſten recited by the Prolocutor.

Weſton. Auſtine in his booke entituled, De vnitate Eccleſiæ, the tenth chapter, hath theſe wordes following.

Quid hoc eſt rogo? Cum verba nouiſſima hominis morientis audiantur ituri ad inferos, nemo eum dicit eſſe mentitum, & illius non iudicatur hæres qui forte ea cõtempſerat. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram dei, ſi vel non credentes, vel contemnentes, expulerimus verba nouiſſima & vnici filij dei & domini noſtri ſaluatoris, & ituri in cœlum & inde proſpecturi quis ea negligat, quis non obſeruet, & inde venturi vt de omnibus iudicet? *That is to ſay.*

August. De Vnitate Eccleſia.

What a thing is this I pray you? when the laſt wordes of one lying on his death bed are heard, which is ready to go to his graue, no man ſaith ẏ he hath made a lie: and he is not accompted his heire, which regardeth not thoſe wordes. How ſhal we then eſcape Gods wrath if either not beleuing or not regarding, we ſhall reiect the laſt wordes both of the onely ſonne of God and alſo of our Lord and Sauiour, both aſcending into heauen, and beholding from thence who deſpiſeth and who obſerueth them not, and ſhall come from thence to iudge all men?

The argument is thus formed.

Argument.

Bar Who ſo euer ſaith, that the Teſtator did lie, is a wicked heyre.

ba But whoſoeuer ſayth that Chriſt ſpake by figures, ſayth that he did lie:

ra. Ergo, whoſoeuer ſayth that Chriſt here ſpake by figures is a wycked heyre.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I deny the Minor. As who ſay it is neceſſary that hee which vſeth to ſpeake by tropes and figures, ſhould lye in ſo doing.

Ogle. Your iudgement is diſagreing wͭ al churches.

Cran. Nay, I diſagrée with the papiſticall church.

Ogle. This you do through ẏ ignorance of logicke.

Cran. Nay, this you ſay through the ignorance of the Doctours.

Weſton. I wyll go playnly to worke by Scriptures. What tooke hee?

Cranmer. Bread.

Weſton. What gaue hee?

Cranmer. Bread.

Weſton. What brake hee?

Cranmer. Bread.

Weſton. What did they eate?

Cranmer. Bread.

Argument.

Weſt. He gaue bread, therefore he gaue not his body.

He gaue not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, in deede, and in truth.

Cran. I deny the argument.

Diſparata, is a ſchole terme, meaning diuers ſubſtances being ſo ſondred in nature, that one can neuer be ſayd to be the other.

Cole. Thys argument holdeth a diſparatis. It is bread: Ergo it is not the body: and it is ſuch an argument or reaſon, as cannot be diſſolued.

Cran. The lyke argument may bee made: Hee is a rocke: Ergo he is not Chriſt.

Cole. It is not lyke.

Weſton. He gaue not his body in deede: Ergo it was not hys body in deede.

The ſacrament ſetting the figure aſide, formally is not Chriſtes body.

Cranmer. He gaue hys death, his paſſion, and the ſacrament of his paſſion. And in very deede ſetting the figure aſide, formally it is not hys body.

Weſton. Why: then the ſcripture is falſe.

Cran. Nay, the ſcripture is moſt true.

Weſt. This ſayth *Chryſoſtome Homel. 61. ad populum Antiochenum*. Neceſſarium eſt dilectiſſimi, myſteriorum dicere miraculum quid tandem ſit, & quare ſit datum, & quæ rei vtilitas. &c. That is to ſay.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 61.

Needefull it is (deare frendes) to tell you what the miracle of the myſteries is, and wherefore it is geuen, and what profite there is of the thing. We are one body & mẽbers of his fleſh, & of his bones. We that be in the myſterie, let vs folow that thing which was ſpoken. Wherfore, that we may become this thing, not onely by loue, but alſo ẏ we may become one wyth that fleſh in deede, that is brought to paſſe by this foode which hee gaue vnto vs, minding to ſhew his great good will that he hath toward vs: And therfore he mixed him ſelf wyth vs, and vnited his own body with vs, that we ſhould be made all as one thing together, as a body ioyned and annexed to the head, for thys is a token of moſt ardent and perfect loue. And the ſame thyng Iob alſo inſinuating, ſayd of hys ſeruauntes, of whom he was deſyred aboue meaſure, in ſo much that they, ſhewing their great deſyre toward him, ſayd: who ſhall geue vnto vs to be fylled with his fleſh? Therefore alſo Chriſt did the ſame, who, to induce vs into a greater loue toward him, and to declare his deſyre toward vs, did not onely geue himſelf to be ſeene of them that would, but alſo to be handled and eaten, and ſuffred vs to faſten our teeth in his fleſh, and to be vnited together, and ſo to fyll all our deſyre. Like Lions therefore, as breathing fire, let vs go from that table, being made terrible to the deuil, remembryng our head in our minde, & his charitie which hee ſhewed vnto vs. For Parents many times geue their chyldren to other to be fed, but I doo not ſo (ſayth he) but feede you with mine own fleſh, and ſet my ſelfe before you, deſyring to make you all ioly people, and pretẽding to you great hope and expectation to looke for things to come, who here geue my ſelfe to you: but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother, I tooke fleſh and bloude for you. Agayne my fleſh and bloud by the whych I am made your kinſman, I deliuer vnto you.

Thus much out of Chryſoſtome. Out of whych wordes I make this argument.

D. Weſtons argumẽt without true formes or figure.

The ſame fleſh whereby Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, is geuen of Chriſt to vs to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman by his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh:

Ergo, his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh is geuen to vs to be eaten.

Cran. I graunt the conſequence and the conſequent.

D. Weſtons argument denyed: we eate the true body of Chriſt: Ergo, we eate it with our mouth.

Weſton. Therefore we eate it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eate it through fayth.

A figureles Argument.

Weſt. He gaue vs that ſame fleſh to eate, whereby he became our brother and kinſman.

But he became our brother & kinſman by hys true, naturalll, and organicall fleſh:

Therefore he gaue hys true, naturall, and organical fleſh to bée eaten.

Cran. I graunt, he tooke and gaue the ſame true, naturall, and organicall fleſh wherein hee ſuffered: and yet hee feedeth ſpiritually, and that fleſh is receaued ſpiritually.

Fallax a dicto ſecundũ quid ad ſimpliciter.

Weſton. He gaue vs the ſame fleſh whych he tooke of the Virgin:

But he tooke not hys true fleſh of the Virgine ſpiritually, or in a figure:

Ergo he gaue his true natural fleſh not ſpiritually.

Aunſwere.

Cran. Chriſt gaue to vs his owne naturall fleſh, the ſame wherein he ſuffered, but féedeth vs ſpiritually.

Chryſoſtome alleaged by *D. Weſton, Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Mat.*

Weſton. *Chriſoſtome* is agaynſt you, *Homel. 83. in. 26. Cap. Math.* where he ſayth: Veniat tibi in mentem quo ſis honore honoratus, qua menſa fruaris. Ea namq; re nos alimur, quam angeli. &c. That is.

Let it come into thy remembraunce with what honor thou art honoured, & what table thou ſitteſt at: for with the ſame thing we are nouriſhed, which the Aungels do behold and tremble at: neither are they able to beholde it without great feare for the brightnes which commeth thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heape or maſſe wyth him, being together one body of Chriſt, and one fleſh with him. Who ſhall ſpeake the powers of the Lord, and ſhall declare forth all his prayſes? What Paſtor hath euer nouriſhed his ſhepe with his own mẽbers? Many mothers haue put forth their Infantes after their byrth, to other Nurſes: which he would not do, but feedeth vs with hys own body, and conioyneth and vniteth vs to him ſelfe.

Whereupon I gather this argument.

An other falſe argument where in the 3. figure the *Minor* is a negatiue.

Like as mothers nurſe theyr children with milke: ſo Chriſt nouriſheth vs with hys body.

But mothers do not nouriſh their infantes ſpiritually with their milke:

Therfore Chriſt doth not nouriſh thoſe that be hys, ſpiritually with hys bloud.

Aunſwere.

Cran. He gaue vs the wyne for hys bloud.

Argument.

Weſt. If he gaue the wine for his bloud (as you ſay) then he gaue leſſe then mothers do geue.

But Chryſoſtome affyrmeth that he gaue more thẽ mothers geue:

Therfore he gaue not the wyne for hys bloud.

Chriſt nouriſheth vs both with bread and with his body: with bread our bodyes, with hys body our ſoules.

Cran. You peruert myne aũſwere. He gaue wyne, yet the bloud is conſidered therin. As for example: whẽ he geueth Baptiſme, we conſider not the water, but the holy Ghoſt, and remiſſion of ſinnes. We receaue with the mouth the Sacrament: but the thyng and the matter

matter of the Sacrament we receaue by fayth.

Weſt. When Chriſt ſayd, *eate ye*, whether ment he by the mouth or by fayth?

Cran. He ment that we ſhould receaue the body by fayth, the bread by the mouth.

Weſt. Nay, the body by the mouth.

A groſſe ſaying.

Cran. That I deny.

Weſt. I proue it out of Chryſoſtome, writyng vpō the fifty Pſalme.

Chryſoſtome alleaged by *D. Weſton.*

Chryſoſt. in Pſal 50. Item, Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Math.

Erubeſcit fieri nutrix, quæ facta eſt mater. Chriſtus autem non ita ipſe nutritor eſt noſter: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos paſcit, & pro potu ſuum ſanguinem nobis propinauit. Item in. 26. cap. Mathæi, Homel. 83, Non enim ſufficit ipſi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi: ſed nos ſecum in vnam, vt ita dicam, maſſam reducit: neq; id fide ſolum, ſed reipſa nos corpus ſuum efficit? *That is.*

She that is a mother, ſhameth ſometime to play the Nourſe. But Chriſt our Nurſe doth not ſo play with vs. Therefore in ſteede of meate he feedeth vs wyth his own fleſh, & in ſtede of drinke he fedeth vs with his own bloud. Likewiſe vpon the. 26. chap. of Mathew, the. 83. homely he ſayth: For it ſhall not be enough for him to become man, and in the meane whyle to be whipped: but he doth bring vs into one maſſe or lumpe with him ſelfe (as I may ſo call it) and maketh vs hys body, not by fayth alone, but alſo in very deede.

Cran. I graunt: We make one nature with Chriſt. But that to be done with mouth, we deny.

Chryſoſtome alleaged by *D. Weſton.*

Homelia 29. in Epiſt. 2. Cor cap. 13.

Weſt. Chriſoſt. 2. Cor. cap. 13. Homel. 29. hath theſe wordes: Non vulgarem honorem conſequutum eſt os noſtrum, accipiens corpus dominicum. i. No litle honor is geuen to our mouth, receauyng the body of the Lord.

Cran. This I ſay, that Chriſt entreth into vs both by our eares, and by our eyes. With our mouth we receaue ye body of Chriſt, and teare it with out teeth, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. Wherfore I ſay and affirme, that the vertue of the Sacramēt is much: and therfore Chryſoſtome many tymes ſpeaketh of Sacramentes no otherwiſe, then of Chriſt him ſelf, as I could proue if I might haue liberty to ſpeake, by many places of Chriſoſtome, where he ſpeaketh of the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt.

The wordes of *Chryſoſtome* expounded.

With ye which word of the Sacrament of ye body. &c. Doct. Cole being hyghly offended, denyed it to be the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, ſaue onely of the myſticall body, which is the Church.

Doct. Cole denyeth the ſacrament to be a Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, but onely a Sacrament of the congregation that is, of the myſticall body of Chriſt.

Cran. And why ſhould we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe, ſeyng both Chriſt and the auncient Fathers do ſo call it?

Cole. How gather you that of Chriſoſtome?

Chryſoſtome alleaged by *D. Cranmer.*

Chryſoſt. Lib. 3. De Sacerdotio Cap. 3.

Cranmer. Chryſoſtome declareth hym ſelfe. Lib. 3. De Sacerdotio cap. 3. O miraculum, O Dei in nos beneuolētia, qui ſurſum ſedet ad dexteram patris, ſacrificij tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurq; lambere cupientibus eum: Fit autem id nullis præſtigijs, ſed apertis & circumſpicientibus circumſtantium omniū oculis. That is:

O miracle, O the good will of God towardes vs, which ſitteth aboue at the right hand of the father, and is holden in mens handes at the ſacrifice tyme, and is geuē to feede vpō, to them that are deſirous of hym. And that is brought to paſſe by no ſubtiltie or craft, but with the open and beholdyng eyes of all the ſtanders by.

Thus ye heare Chriſt is ſeene here in earth euery day, is touched, is torne with the teeth, that our toung is red with his bloud: which no man hauing any iudgement wyll ſay or thinke to be ſpoken with out trope or figure.

Weſt. What miracle is it, if it be not his body; and if he ſpeake onely of the Sacrament, as though it were hys body?

Chryſoſtome alleaged by *D. Weſton.*

Chryſoſt. Hom. 24.

But harken what Chryſoſtome ſayth. Homel. 24. Quod ſummo honore dignum eſt, id tibi in terra oſtendo. Nam quemadmodum in regijs non parietes, non lectus aureus, ſed regum corpus in throno ſedens omnium præſtantiſſimum eſt: ita quoq; in cœlis regiū corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non Angelos, non Archangelos, non cœlos cœlorum, ſed ipſum horum omnium Dominum tibi oſtendo. Animaduertis quonam pacto quod omnium maximū eſt atq; præcipuum in terra, non conſpicaris tantum ſed tangis, neq; ſolum tangis ſed comedis, atq; eo accepto domum redis. Abſterge igitur ab omni ſorde animam tuam. That is to ſay:

I ſhew forth that thyng on the earth vnto thee, which is worthy the greateſt honor. For lyke as in ye Palace of kynges, neither the walles nor the ſumptuous bed but the body of kynges ſittyng vnder the cloth of eſtate and royall ſeate of Maieſty, is of all thynges els the moſt excellent: ſo is in lyke maner the kynges body in heauen, which is now ſet before vs on earth. I ſhewe thee neither Aungels, nor Archaungels, nor the heauens of heauens, but the very Lord and maiſter of all theſe thyngs. Thou perceaueſt after what ſorte thou doeſt not onely behold, but toucheſt, and not onely toucheſt but eateſt that which on the earth is the greateſt and chiefeſt thyng of all other: and when thou haſt receaued the ſame, thou goeſt home: wherfore clenſe thy ſoule frō all vncleannes.

Upon this, I conclude that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed vs vpon the earth.

Cran. What? vpon the earth? no man ſeeth Chriſt vpon the earth? He is ſeene with the eyes of our mynd, with fayth and ſpirite.

How the body of Chriſt is ſhewed vs vpon the earth.

Weſt. I pray you what is it that ſeemeth worthy hygheſt honour on the earth? Is it the Sacrament, or els the body of Chriſt?

Cran. Chriſoſtome ſpeaketh of the Sacrament, & the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the Sacrament.

Weſt. Ergo, then the Sacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

Weſt. That thyng is ſhewed forth, & is now in the earth [oſtēditur et*eſt] which is worthy higheſt honor.

*Thys worde [*eſt*] is not in *Chryſoſt.*

But, onely the body of Chriſt is worthy hygheſt honour?

Ergo, the body of Chriſt is now on the earth.

Thys argument of *Weſton* ſtandyng onely vpon affyrmatiues in the ſecond figure, hath no perfect forme in Logicke.

Cran. I aunſwere, the body of Chriſt to be on the earth, but ſo as in a Sacrament, and as the holy Ghoſt is in the water of Baptiſme.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ſayth [oſtendo] I ſhew forth, which noteth a ſubſtaunce to be preſent.

Cran. That is to be vnderſtanded Sacramentally.

Weſt. He ſayth [oſtendo in terra] I ſhewe forth on the earth, declaryng alſo the place where.

Cran. That is to be vnderſtand figuratiuely.

Weſt. He is ſhewed forth and is now on the earth &c. as before.

Doctour *Cranmer* aunſwereth to the place of *Chryſoſt.* how Chriſt is ſhewed forth on the earth, not bodily but in a Sacrament, that is, Sacramentally and figuratiuely.

Cran. Your Maior and concluſion are all one.

Weſt. But the Maior is true: Ergo, the concluſion alſo is true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of moſt hygh honour.

But no figure is worthy of hygheſt honour:

Ergo, that which is on the earth is no figure.

Cran. I aunſwere, that is true Sacramentally.

☞ Here Weſton crieth to him that he ſhould aunſwer to one part, bidding hym repeate his words. which whē he went about to do, ſuch was the noyſe and crying out in the Schole, that his mylde voyce could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the Prolocutor did not well engliſh the wordes of Chryſoſtome, vſyng for oſtenditur in terra, *he is ſhewed forth on the earth*, eſt in terra, he is on the earth, wheras Chryſoſtome hath not [eſt] nor any ſuch word of being on the earth, but onely of ſhewing, as the grace of the holy Ghoſt in Baptiſmo oſtenditur. i. *is ſhewed foorth in Baptiſme*; and oftentimes did inculcate this worde oſtenditur; then the Prolocutor ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude people to cry out at hym, fylling all the ſchole wyth hiſſyng, clapping of handes, and noyſe, calling him indoctum, imperitum, impudentem. i. vnlearned, vnſkilfull, impudent. which impudent and reprochfull wordes this reuerend man moſt paciently and meekely did abyde, as one that had bene inured with the ſuffring of ſuch like reproches. And whē the Prolocutor not yet ſatiſfied with this rude and vnſemely demeanor, dyd vrge and call vpon him to aunſwer the argument, then he bad the Notary repeate hys wordes agayne.

Weſton falſifieth the wordes of *Chryſoſt.*

Unreuerend wordes vſed in the Schole againſt D. *Cranmer.*

Notar. That which is worthy moſt high honor, here I ſhew forth to thee in earth.

The body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour:
Ergo, he ſheweth forth yͤ body of Chriſt here in earth.

Cran. That is ſhewed forth here on earth which may be ſeene, which may be touched, & which may be eaten: but theſe thinges be not true of the body.

Cole. Why ſhould not theſe thinges be true of the body of Chriſt?

Cran. The Maior out of *Chryſoſtome* is true, meaning of the ſacrament. For in the ſacrament the true body of Chriſt, and not the figuratiue body is ſet forth.

The body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth to vs here in earth diuers wayes: as in reading of the Scriptures, ſome times in hearing ſermons, & alſo in Sacramentes, and yet neither the ſcriptures, nor Sermons, nor Sacramentes are to be worſhipped.

Weſton. Shew me ſomewhat in earth worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I can not, but in the ſacrament onely.

Weſt. Ergo the ſacrament is worthy greateſt honor.

Cran, So it is.

Iudges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my aunſwer be wrytten lykewiſe: I affirme that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth vnto vs. It is our fayth that ſeeth Chriſt.

Weſton. Oſtendo tibi. i. *I ſhewe it to thee*, ſayth *Chryſoſtome*, not to thy fayth.

Cran. He ſpeaketh ſacramentally.

Weſt. Ergo *Chryſoſtome* lyeth. For hee ſpeakyng of ſhewing, ſaith: Ego Chryſoſtomus oſtendo. i. *I Chryſoſtome do ſhew*. But he can ſhew nothing ſacramētally.

Ched. By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Chriſt is proued to be on earth, not onely Sacramētally, but in very deede alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy higheſt honor. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cran. I neuer heard a more vayne argument, and it is moſt vayne: alſo it hath mine aunſwer vnto it.

Ched. Wyl you affirme that it is abſurd which *Chryſoſtome* ſayth, that the body of Chriſt is touched?

This Argument of *Chadſey* is not formall.

I touch the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament, as Thomas touched Chriſt.
Thomas touched Chriſt, and ſayd Dominus meus, Deus meus, my Lord, my God:
Ergo, that which he touched, was the Lord God.

☞ This Argument as I receaued it out of the Notaries booke, is not formall: but rather he ſhould conclude in the 3. figure thus:

Da- As Thomas touched the body of Chriſt, ſo we touch it in the Sacrament.
ti- Thomas touched the body of Chriſt corporally:
ſi. Ergo, we touch the body of Chriſt corporally in the Sacrament.

Cran. I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him whych was God. Neither is it ſound doctrine to affirme that God is touched.

God cā not be touched.

Ched. Thys is becauſe of the vnion: ſo that God is ſayd to bee touched, when Chriſt whych is both God and man is touched.

Tertull. De reſurrectione carnis.

Tertullian De carnis reſurrectione ſayth: Videamus de propria Chriſtiani hominis forma, quanta huic ſubſtantiæ friuolæ & ſordidæ apud deum prærogatiua ſit. Etſi ſufficeret illi quòd nulla omnino anima ſalutem poſſet adipiſci niſi dum eſt in carne, crediderit: adeò caro ſalutis cardo eſt, de qua cū anima deo alligatur, ipſa eſt quæ efficit vt anima alligari poſſit: ſed & caro abluitur, vt anima emaculetur: caro inungitur, vt anima conſecretur: ſignatur, vt anima muniatur: caro manus impoſitione adumbratur, vt anima ſpiritu illuminetur: caro corpore & ſanguine Chriſti veſcitur, vt anima de deo ſaginetur. *That is to ſay in Engliſh.*

Quod ſymbolorum eſt, rei attribuitur.

Let vs conſider as cōcerning the proper forme of the Chriſtian man, what great prerogatiue this vayne and foule ſubſtāce of ours hath with God. Although it were ſufficient to it that no ſoule could euer get ſaluation vnleſſe it beleue while it is in the fleſh: ſo much the fleſh auayleth to ſaluation, by the which fleſh it commeth, that where as the ſoule is linked vnto God, it is the ſaid fleſh that cauſeth the ſoule ſo to be linked: yet the fleſh moreouer is waſhed, that the ſoule may bee clenſed: the fleſh is anoynted, that the ſoule may conſecrated: the fleſh is ſigned, that the ſoule may be defended: the fleſh is ſhadowed by the impoſition of handes, that the ſoule may bee illuminated wyth the ſpirite: the fleſh doth eate the body and bloud of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed of God. Whereupon I gather this argument.

The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.
Ergo the body of Chriſt is eaten wyth the mouth.

Argument.

Item, Phocens 1. ad Corinth. Capit. 11. vppon theſe wordes, Reus erit corporis & ſanguinis. &c.

Phocens. 1. Cor. cap. 11.

Phocens alleaged by *Chadſey*.

Ο᾽ ἔνοχος τȣ̃ σώματος ϗ τȣ̃ αἵματος, τȣ̃το δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰούδας, παρώνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, οὕτως ἀτιμάζουσι ἀκαθάρτοις δεχόμενοι, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι κρατȣ̃ντες αὐτὸν τότε καὶ καταράτῳ προσφέροντες ϛόματι: διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις τȣ̃ σώματος καὶ τȣ̃ αἵματος τȣ̃ κυρίου, δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐχ ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ θυόμενος, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, ὡς δῆθεν διὰ τούτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς. id eſt.

Quod ait, reus corporis & ſanguinis, iſtud declarat ꝙ ſicuti Iudas ipſum quidem tradidit, Iudæi contumelioſè in ipſum inſaniebant: ſic ipſum in honorant qui ſanctiſſimum ipſius corpus impuris manibus ſuſcipiunt, tanquam Iudæi ipſi tenent, & execrabili ore recipiunt. Quòd crebo mentionem facit corporis & ſanguinis Domini, manifeſtat quòd non ſit ſimplex homo qui ſacrificatur, ſed ipſe Dominus omnium factor, tanquam per hæc quidē ipſos perterrefaciens. That is.

where as he ſayth: *Is giltie of the body and bloud:* this hee declareth, that lyke as Iudas betrayed hym, and the Iewes were fierce and ſpytefull agaynſt hym: ſo do they diſhonour hym which receyue hys holy body with theyr unpure handes, and as yͤ Iewes dyd hold hym then, do now receyue him with vnpure mouthes. And where as he often maketh mention of the body and bloud of the Lord, he declareth that it is not ſimply man that is ſacrificed, but euen the Lord him ſelf, beyng yͤ maker of all things, hereby (as it were) makyng them afrayed.

Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered) the body of Chriſt is touched with the handes.

Cran. You vouch two authors agaynſt me vppon ſundry thynges. Firſt I muſt aūſwere Tertullian, and then the other.

Ched. They tende both to one meanyng.

Cran. Vnto Tertullian I aunſwere (becauſe our diſputation is wandryng and vncerteyne) that hee calleth that the fleſh which is yͤ Sacramēt. For although God worke all thynges in vs inuiſibly beyond mans reach: yet they are ſo manifeſt, that they may be ſeene, and perceyued of euery ſenſe. Therfore he ſetteth forth Baptiſme, vnctiō, and laſt of all the Supper of the Lord vnto vs, which he gaue to ſignifie hys operation in vs. The fleſh lyueth by the bread, but the ſoule is inwardly fed by Chriſt.

Aunſwere to *Tertullianus*.

Weſt. Sticke to thoſe wordes of Tertullian: Corpus veſcitur vt anima ſaginetur. i. The body eateth that yͤ ſoule may be fed.

D. Weſton vrgeth hym with the wordes of *Tertullian*.

Ched. The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed therwith.

Weſt. Here you ſee two kyndes of foode: of the ſoule and of the body.

Ched. He ſayth, that not onely the ſoule but the fleſh is alſo fed.

Cran. The ſoule is fed with the body of Chriſt, the body with the Sacrament.

Ched. Is the ſoule fed with the body of Chriſt and not with the Sacrament?

Cran. Read that which foloweth, and you ſhall perceiue that by thynges externall, an operation internall is vnderſtand. Inwardly we eate Chriſtes body: and outwardly we eate the Sacrament. So one thyng is done outwardly, an other inwardly. Lyke as in Baptiſme the externall element wherby the body is waſhed, is one: ſo the internall thyng wherby yͤ ſoule is clenſed is an other.

Inwardly we eate the body: outwardly the Sacrament.

Ched. The ſoule is fed by that which the body eateth.
But the ſoule is fed by the fleſh of Chriſt:
Ergo, the body eateth the fleſh of Chriſt.

Cran. We eate not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eate Chriſtes body: outwardly we eate the Sacrament.

Ched. I will repeate the Argument.

* The fleſh eateth Chriſtes body, that the ſoule may be fed therewith.
The ſoule is not fed with the Sacrament, but with Chriſtes

*The fourme of thys argument which he repeateth, ſtode better before: for the fourme of thys conexion aunſwereth to none of the 3. figures of *Sillogiſmes*.

Chriſtes body?

Ergo, the fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Cran. The Sacramēt is one thyng, the matter of the Sacramēt is an other. Outwardly we receiue the Sacrament: inwardly we eate the body of Chriſt.

Ched. I proue that we receiue that outwardly, wherwith the ſoule is fed.

Conſequence.

The ſoule is fed with the body of Chriſt.
Ergo, we eate the body of Chriſt outwardly.

Conſequence.

The fleſh eateth Chriſt hys body.
Ergo, the ſoule is fed therwith.

Aunſwere.

Cran. The fleſh (I ſay) eateth the Sacrament. It eateth not Chriſtes body. For Tertullian ſpeaketh of the Sacrament: and the place hath not [inde] thereof, but [de deo] of God.

Ched. What ſay ye to Phoceus ſaying: *They which receiue the body with impure hands, are giltie of the Lordes bloud, as Iudas was.*

Weſt. That which foloweth in Tertullian, doth take away your ſhift, where as he ſayth: Non poſſunt ergo ſeparari in mercede, quos opera coniungit. i. *They can not bee ſeparated in reward, whom one worke ioyneth together.*

But *manducation* is the worke or labour Ergo. &c.

¶The forme of this Argument may be thus collected.

Da- ☞One worke or labour ioyneth body and ſoule together.
ri- Manducation is a worke or labour:
j. Ergo, one manducation ioyneth together both body and ſoule.

☞ To the Maior of which Argument thus it may bee aunſwered: expoundyng the ſaying of Tertullian, vna opera coniungit ſed non idem operandi modus. Agayne, opera here in Tertullian may be taken for temptations & afflictions.

As the body and ſoule are ioyned in the worke of Baptiſme, ſo are they ioyned in the Cōmunion of the Lords ſupper. For as the fleſh is waſhed with water that the ſoule may be purged ſpiritually: ſo our body eateth the outward Sacrament, that the ſoule may be fed of God.

Aunſwere to *Tertullian De reſurrect.*

Cran. Your authoritie (I ſuppoſe) is taken out of the booke, De reſurrectione carnis. i. *of the reſurrectiō of the fleſh:* and the meanyng therof is this. Tertullian goeth about there to proue that the fleſh ſhall ryſe agayne, becauſe it is ioyned together in one worke with the ſoule. Through Baptiſme in this world the body is waſhed, and the ſoule is waſhed: the body outwardly, the ſoule inwardly: the worke is one. In this worke they are ioyned. And he ſpeaketh of ſignes.

Weſt. He ſpeaketh of eatyng in a ſigne.
Ergo, the reward is in a ſigne.

Cran. They are coupled in one worke, namely in the Sacrament.

Weſt. There are two workes:
Ergo, there are two rewardes.
If the worke be in a figure:
Ergo, the reward is in a figure.

Cran. He ſpeaketh not of ij. workes. Two workes are but one worke. And yet hee ſayth not, quos vna opera coniungit. i. *whom one worke ioyneth together,* but opera. i. *a worke:* as in baptiſme the ſoule and body are ioyned in vnderſtandyng.

Weſt. The fleſh and ſoule ſhall haue one and the ſelfe ſame reward, becauſe they haue one worke.

Cran. Becauſe they be ioyned together in one worke.

D. Treſſham diſputeth.

Treſ. For as much as the reuerend Doctours here haue impugned and ouerthrowen your aſſertion and your aunſweres ſufficiently: I will fal to an other matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpoſe, and that in few wordes, agaynſt a certaine ſequele of your opinion. The ſequele is this: that betwene vs and Chriſt there is no farther coniunction, whyles we receyue the Euchariſt, then a coniunction of the mynd, or a ſpirituall coniunction, wherby we are vnited and knit vnto Chriſt through fayth and loue. As for the preſence of Chriſt, concernyng the ſubſtaunce, that you vtterly deny. Wherupon in very deedes you leaue but a ſpirituall vnion and ioynyng together of mynd. Howbeit you would ſeeme to thinke otherwiſe by your ſubtile aunſweres. But I will declare by manifeſt teſtimonies of the fathers, that this your ſequele, which you accompt ſo ſure, is farre wyde from the truth. And I will begyn with S. Hillary, who is both an auncient and a learned author. For, diſputyng agaynſt the Arrians, octauo de Trinitate, he ſaith that this was their opinion: that the Father & the Sonne are conioyned only through vnity of will. Wherupon Arrius hym ſelfe, when Scripture was alledged agaynſt hym, did (as you do now) elude the right meanyng of it by his falſe interpretatiōs. But the Catholicke Church hath alwayes beleued and euer maintayned, that Chriſt is one with the father in nature, and not by conſent of will onely. To the proofe wherof, when the Catholickes vouched this teſtimony of Iohn: Pater & ego vnum ſumus. i. *The father and I are one:* The Arrians aunſwered that [vnum ſumus] was to be vnderſtand by the aſſent of theyr wils & the agreement of their myndes, not by vnitie of their natures. Thus it happeneth now a dayes, where men do doubt of the Sacrament. But Hillary goyng on, and prouyng the naturall coniunction betwene the father and the ſonne a fortiori, queſtioneth with his aduerſaries after this maner: I demaunde of thē now, which will needes haue the vnitie of will onely betwene ẏ father & the ſonne, whether Chriſt be now in vs truly by nature, or onely by the agreemēt of wylles? If (ſayth he) the word be incarnate in very deede, & we receiue at the Lordes table the word made fleſh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in vs naturally, who beyng borne man, hath both taken the nature of our fleſh vpon him that is now inſeparable, and hath alſo myngled the nature of his owne fleſh vnto the nature of eternitie vnder the Sacramēt of his fleſh, to be communicated vnto vs. Thus much hath Hillary. Wherupon I aſke of you this queſtion, how Chriſt dwelleth now in vs? according to fayth, or accordyng to nature?

Hillary.

Coniunction betwene Chriſt and vs.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt dwelleth verely in vs carnally and naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our fleſh vpon him, and becauſe he hath communicated his nature vnto vs.

Aunſwere to *Hillary.*

Treſ. *Bucer* contra Abrincenſē referreth theſe words onely to the Euchariſt, ſaying: Chriſt doth exhibite all this vnto vs in his holy Supper, and accordyng to the holy fathers (ſayth he) Chriſt lyueth thereby in vs, not onely by fayth and loue as abſent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not abſent, neither are we ioyned to Chriſt onely by a ſpirituall vnion, (as you ſuppoſe) but alſo by a corporall and carnall vnion.

Bucer cō-tra Abrincenſem alleaged by *Treſſham.*

Cran. I know that M. Bucer was a learned mā. But your faith is in good caſe, which leaneth vpon Bucer.

Treſ. I do not bring Bucer as a Patron of our fayth, but becauſe he is a man of your ſorte, and yet bringeth this place of Hillarie for that vnion which we haue by the Sacrament, and confeſſeth that by it we are carnally vnited to Chriſt, where as you thinke that we are ioyned by it, onely through fayth and loue.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt was communicated vnto vs, not onely by fayth, but in very deede alſo when he was borne of the Virgin. We haue fellowſhip with Chriſt, when we are vnited in the vnity of the Church, when we are made fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones: and ſo we are vnited in ẏ Communion, in Baptiſme, and in fayth.

Chriſt cōmunicated and vnited to vs by fayth, by vnitie of the Church by the communion, by Baptiſme, by fayth.

Treſ. I pray you, what fellowſhip haue we wᵗ Chriſt, in that he is made man? Are not the Turkes & Iewes therein ioyned with him? For they are men as we are, and are ioyned with him in mās nature, in that he was borne of a woman: I ſpeake now of a more nere vnitie. We are made one wyth Chriſt by the communion, in a perfect vnitie.

Cran.* We are made ſo, I graunt: but we are made ſo alſo

*We are vnited to Chriſt by the cōmunion, ſo as we are by Baptiſme.

alſo by baptiſme: and the vnity in baptiſme is perfect.

Treſ. We are not made one by baptiſme in a perfect vnitie, as Hillarie there ſpeaketh, but by the Communion, by which we are carnally made one: but not lykewyſe by Baptiſme: wherefore you vnderſtande not Hillarie. You ſhall heare his wordes, which are theſe. *He had now declared afore the Sacrament of his perfect vnion, ſaying: As the liuing father ſent me, ſo do I alſo liue by the Father. And he that eateth my fleſh, ſhall alſo lyue thorough me.* And a litle after that, he writeth thus: *This truly is the cauſe of our life, that we haue Chriſt dwelling by his fleſh in vs that are fleſhly, which alſo by him ſhall liue in ſuch ſorte, as hee lyueth by his Father.* Wherefore, of theſe wordes it is manifeſt, that we obtaine thys perfect vnitie, by meanes of the Sacrament, & that Chriſt by it is carnally vnited vnto vs.

Obiection out of Hillary.

Cran. Nay Hillarie in that ſame place doth teach, that it is done by Baptiſme: and that doctrine is not to be ſuffred in the Church, which teacheth, that we are not ioyned to Chriſt by Baptiſme.

Anſwere to the place of Hillary.

Weſton. Repeate the argument.

Cran. You muſt firſt make an argument.

Treſ. It is made already, but it ſhall be made agayne in this forme.

Argument.

Da. As Chriſt liueth by his father, ſo they that eate Chriſtes fleſh, lyue by the ſame fleſh.

ti. But Chriſt liueth by the father, not onely by faith and loue, but naturally:

ſi. Ergo, we liue not through the eating of Chriſtes fleſh, by fayth and loue onely, but naturally.

Cran. We liue by Chriſt, not onely by faith and loue, but eternally in deede.

Treſh. Nay * naturally. I proue it thus.

As Chriſt lyueth by the Father, ſo lyue we by his fleſh eaten of vs:

But Chriſt liueth not by his father onely by fayth and loue, but naturally:

Therefore we do not lyue by eating of Chriſtes fleſh, onely by fayth and loue (as you ſuppoſe) but naturally.

** The Papiſtes by thys one worde [*naturally*] confound them ſelues. For if the naturall body of Chriſt were eaten and went naturally into our bodies, thẽ ſhould it followe, that the nature of hys body being immaculate, and now alſo immortall, our bodyes vnited in nature to hys pure and immortall body, naturally ſhould neuer ſinne nor dye. Wherfore it remayneth that the naturall vniting to Chriſtes body commeth not by the bodily eating of the Sacrament vnto our body, but to our ſoule, and ſo ſhall redound at length vnto our bodyes.*

Cran. The Minor is not true.

Treſ. This is yͤ opinion of Arrius, that Chriſt is vnited to his father by coniunctiõ of mind, & not naturally.

Cran. I ſay not ſo yet, neither doo I thinke ſo. But I will tell you what I like not in your Minor. You ſay that Chriſt doth not liue by his father, onely by fayth & loue: but I ſay, that Chriſt liueth not at al by his faith.

Weſt. Marke and conſider well this worde [*by fayth*] leſt any occaſion of cauilling be geuen.

Treſ. Let that word [*by fayth*] be omitted. Neyther did I meane that Chriſt liueth by his father through fayth. Yet the ſtrength of the argument remayneth in force. For els Hillary doth not confute the Arrians, except there bee a greater coniunction betwene vs and Chriſt, when he is eaten of vs, then onely a ſpirituall coniunction. You do onely graunt a vnion. As for a carnall or natural vnion of the ſubſtance of fleſh, by which we are ioyned more then ſpiritually, you do not graũt. But our Lord Jeſus geue you a better mynde: and ſhew you the light of his truth, that you may returne into the way of righteouſnes.

If that vnion of the ſubſtaunce of fleſh ſhould be graunted vnto our bodyes, thẽ ſhould our bodyes neuer dye nor ſee corruption.

Weſt. We came hether to diſpute, and not to pray.

Treſ. Is it not lawfull to pray for them that erre?

Weſt. It is not lawfull yet. But procede.

Treſ. Againe, I reaſon thus: As Chriſt lyueth by hys father, after the ſame maner do we lyue by the eating of his fleſh.

The ſame argument agayne repeated.

But Chriſt lyueth not by his Father onely in vnitie of will, but naturally:

Ergo we do not liue whẽ we eate the fleſh of Chriſt, onely by faith and vnity of wyll, but naturally.

Cran. This is my fayth, and it agreeth with the ſcripture: Chriſt liueth by his father naturally, and maketh vs to lyue by him ſelfe in deede: naturally, and that not onely in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, but alſo in Baptiſme. For infantes, when they are baptiſed, do eate the fleſh of Chriſt.

Anſwere.

Weſt. Aunſwere eyther to the whole argument, or to the partes thereof. For this argument is ſtrong, and can not be diſſolued.

Cran. This is the argument:

The Archbiſhop repeateth the Argumẽt.

As Chriſt liueth by his father, after the ſame maner doe we lyue by hys fleſh, being eaten of vs:

But Chriſt lyueth not by his Father onely in vnitie of wyll, but naturally:

Ergo we eating his fleſh, do not liue onely by fayth and loue, but naturally.

But the Maior is falſe: namely that by the ſame maner we lyue by Chriſt, as he liueth by his father.

Weſt. * Hillary ſayth: *after the ſame maner*, vpon theſe wordes: *hee that eateth my fleſh, ſhall liue by me*: Ergo, Chriſt liueth by hys father, and as he liueth by is father, after the ſame maner we ſhall liue by his fleſh.

Here you ſee, that Hilary ſayth: *after the ſame maner*.

Cran. *After the ſame maner*, doth not ſignifie lyke in all things: but in dede & eternally: for ſo doe we lyue by Chriſt, and Chriſt lyueth by hys father. For in other reſpects Chriſt liueth otherwiſe by his father, thẽ we lyue by Chriſt.

Weſt. Hee lyueth by hys father naturally and eternally:

Ergo we liue by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

** Chriſt not after hys manhode but after hys diuine nature liueth naturally by hys father, which diuine nature of hys worketh alſo in hys manhode an immortalitie: So our ſpirite and ſoule receauing the naturall body of Chriſt in the myſteries; by fayth doe receaue alſo the nature of hys body, that is, hys purenes, iuſtification, and lyfe: the operation wherof redounding likewyſe vnto our bodyes, doth make the ſame alſo capable of the ſame glory and immortalitie. And thus it is true, that as Chriſt liueth naturally by hys father, ſo we liue naturally by the body of Chriſt eaten in the myſteries, hauyng reſpecte both to the manhode of hym and of vs. For as the fleſh of Chriſt, in reſpect of bare fleſh, liueth not naturally by the father, but for that it is ioyned to hys diuinitie: So our fleſh liueth not naturally by Chriſtes body eaten in the Sacrament (for then euery wicked man eatyng the Sacrament ſhoulde liue naturally by hym) but for that our fleſh is ioyned to the ſpirite and ſoule, which truely eateth the body of Chriſt by fayth: and ſo onely the bodyes of the faythfull doe liue by eatyng the body of Chriſt naturally, in participatyng the naturall propertyes of the body of Chriſt.*

Cran. We do not lyue naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the maner of nature. As Chriſt hath eternall lyfe of his father, ſo haue we of him.

Weſt. I ſticke to this word *naturally*.

Cran. I meane it touching the truth of nature. For Chriſt liueth otherwiſe by his father, then wee lyue by Chriſt.

Naturally expounded.

Weſt. Hillary in the. 8. boke, De Trinitate, denieth it, when he ſayth: he lyueth therfore by his father: and as he lyueth by his father, after the ſame maner we ſhall lyue by his fleſh.

Cran. We ſhall liue after the ſame maner, as concerning the nature of the fleſh of Chriſt: for as he hath of his father yͤ nature of eternitie, ſo ſhal we haue of him.

Weſt. Aunſwere vnto the partes of the argument.

The argument the third tyme repeated.

As Chriſt lyueth by his father, after the ſame maner ſhall we liue by his fleſh:

But Chriſt doth not lyue by his father onely in vnitie of wyll, but naturally:

Ergo we eating his fleſh, do not lyue onely by fayth and loue, but naturally.

Cran. I graunt (as I ſaid) we liue by Chriſt naturally: but I neuer heard that Chriſt lyueth with his Father in vnity of wyll.

Weſt. Becauſe it ſeemeth a maruaile vnto you, heare what Hillary ſayth: *Theſe things are recited of vs to this ende: becauſe the heretickes faynyng an vnitie of wyll onely betwene the father & the ſonne, did vſe the exãple of our vnitie with God: as though that we being vnited to the ſonne, and by the ſonne to the father onely by obedience and wyll of religion, had no proprietie of the naturall communion by the ſacrament of the body and bloud.*

But aunſwere to the argument. Chriſt liueth by his father naturally and eternally: therefore doo we lyue by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Ex exemplari manu Cranmeri deſcripto.

Cran. Cyrill and Hillary do ſay, that Chriſt is vnited to vs, not onely by wyll, but alſo by nature: hee doth communicate to vs his own nature, and ſo is Chriſt made one wyth vs carnally and corporally, becauſe he tooke our nature of the virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not onely ſay that Chriſt is naturally in vs, but that we alſo are naturally in him, and in the Father: that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternitie or euerlaſtingnes. For as the worde receiuing our nature, did ioyne it vnto him ſelfe in vnitye of perſon, and did communicate vnto that our nature the nature of his eternitie, that like as hee being the euerlaſting word of the father, had euerlaſting lyfe of the father: euen ſo he gaue the ſame nature to his fleſh: Likewiſe alſo did he communicate with vs the ſame nature of eternity, which he & the father haue, and that we ſhould be one with them, not onely in wyl & loue, but that we ſhould be alſo partakers of ẏ nature of euerlaſting life.

Naturally expounded, that is, our bodyes to participate the nature and properties of Chriſtes holy and immortall body.

Weſt. Hilary where he ſayth: *Chriſt communicated to vs hys nature*, meaneth that, not by his natiuitie, but by the ſacrament.

Cran. He hath communicated to vs his fleſh by hys natiuitie.

Weſt. We haue communicated to him *our fleſh whẽ he was borne.

*Then had Chriſt a ſinfull fleſh.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to vs his fleſh when he was borne, and that I wyl ſhew you out of Cyril vpon this place: Et homo factus eſt.

Weſt. Ergo Chriſt being borne, gaue vs his fleſh.

Cran. In his natiuitie he made vs * partakers of his fleſh.

*That is, made vs partakers of the properties, life, innocencie, and reſurrection of hys body.

Weſt. Wryte Syrs.

Cran. Yea, wryte.

D. Chadſey agayne diſputeth.

Ched. This place of Hilary is ſo darke, that you were compelled to falſifie it in your booke, becauſe you could not draw it to confirme your purpoſe.

Hillar. 8. De Trinitate.

If Chriſt haue taken verely the fleſh of our body, and the man that was verely borne of the virgine Mary is Chriſt, and alſo we receaue vnder the true myſtery the fleſh of his body, by meanes whereof we ſhall be one (for the father is in Chriſt, and Chriſt in vs) how ſhall that be called the vnitie of will, when the naturall propertie brought to paſſe by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of vnitie? We muſt not ſpeake in the ſenſe of man or of the worlde in matters concernyng God: neither muſt we peruerſely wraſt any ſtraunge or wicked ſenſe out of the wholeſome meanyng of the holy Scripture, through impudent and violent contention. Let vs read thoſe thynges that are written, and let vs vnderſtand thoſe thynges that we read, and then we ſhall performe the duety of perfect fayth. For as touching that naturall and true beyng of Chriſt in vs, except we learne of hym, we ſpeake fooliſhly and vngodly that thyng that we do ſpeake. For he ſayth: my fleſh is meat in deede, and my
„ bloud is drinke in deede. He that eateth my fleſh &
„ drinketh my bloud, abideth in me and I in him. *As
„ touchyng the verity of his fleſh and bloud, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the teſtimony of the Lord, and alſo by our fayth, it is verely fleſh, and verely bloud.*

Here you haue falſified Hilary: for you haue ſet vero ſub myſterio, for verè ſub myſterio, we receiue truly vnder a myſtery. Hilary thryſe reporteth verè ſub myſterio, and you interprete it twiſe verè ſub Myſterio, but the thyrd tyme you haue vero for verè.

Thus farre was their talke in Engliſh.

Cran. Aſſuredly, I am not gilty of any diſceite herein. It may be that ẏ copy which I folowed, had Sub vero myſterio. i. *vnder a true myſtery*: although touchyng the ſenſe it differeth litle. God I call to wytnes; I haue alway hated falſifiyng, and if you had leyſure and luſt to heare falſe citations, I could recite vnto you 6. hũdreth.

Seyng M. *Cranmer* had twyſe *verè* and but once *vero*, they had no cauſe to be greued, but that they were diſpoſed to finde a knot in a ruſh.

Weſt. Here ſhalbe ſhewed you two copies of Hilary, the one Printed at Baſile, the other at Paris.

Cran. I ſuppoſe that D. Smithes bookes hath vero.

Weſt. Here is Doctour Smith: let hym aunſwere for hym ſelfe. Maiſter Smith, Maiſter Doctor: what ſay you for your ſelfe? ſpeake if you know it.

☞ Here Doctour Smith, either for the truth in hys booke alledged, or els aſtonyed with Doct. Weſtons haſty callyng, ſtayd to aunſwere. For he onely put of hys cap, and kept ſilence.

Weſt. But your owne booke Printed by Wolffe your own Printer, hath vero.

Cran. That booke is takẽ from me, which eaſily might haue ended this controuerſie. I am ſure ẏ booke of Decrées hath vero.

Cole. Now you admitte the booke of Decrées, when it maketh for you.

Here D. Cole beginneth to carpe.

Cran. Touchyng the ſenſe of the matter, there is litle difference. The chaunge of one letter for an other is but a ſmall matter.

Weſt. No is? Paſtor (as you know) ſignifieth a Byſhop, and Piſtor ſignifieth a Baker. But Paſtor ſhalbe Piſtor, a Byſhop ſhalbe a Baker by this your chaunge of one letter, if verè and vero doo nothyng chaunge the ſenſe.

Cran. Let it be ſo that in Piſtor and Paſtor one letter maketh ſome difference: Yet let Piſtor be either a Baker or Maker of bread, ye ſée here the chaunge of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the ſenſe.

D. Yonge commeth in with his Socraticall interrogations.

Yong. This diſputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appeare. I perceiue I muſt go an other way to worke then I had thought. It is a cõmõ ſaying: agaynſt hym that denyeth principles we muſt not diſpute. Therfore that we may agrée of the principles, I demaũde whether there be any other body of Chriſt then hys inſtrumentall body.

Cran. There is no naturall body of Chriſt, but his organicall body.

Yong. Agayne I demaunde, whether ſenſe and reaſon ought to geue place to fayth.

Cran. They ought.

Yong. Thyrdly, whether Chriſt be true, in all hys wordes?

Cran. Yea, he is moſt true, and truth it ſelfe.

Yong. Fourthly, whether Chriſt at hys Supper minded to doe that which he ſpake or no?

Cran. Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo: ſed fecit Diſcipulis Sacramentũ. That is: In ſaying he ſpake, but in ſaying he made not, but made the Sacrament to hys Diſciples.

D. Yonges ſophiſticall interrogations.

Yong. Aunſwere accordyng to the truth: whether did Chriſt that as God and man, which he ſpake, when he ſayd: *This is my body?*

Cran. This is a Sophiſticall cauillation: go playnly to worke. There is ſome diſceit in theſe queſtiõs. You ſéeke ſubtelnes: leaue your crafty fetches.

Yong. I demaund whether Chriſt by theſe wordes wrought any thyng or no?

Cran. He did inſtitute the Sacrament.

Yong. But aunſwere: whether dyd hée worke any thyng?

Cran. He dyd worke in inſtitutyng the Sacrament.

Yong. Now I haue you: for before you ſayd it was a figuratiue ſpeach.

But a figure worketh nothyng:

Ergo, it is not a figuratiue ſpeach. A lyer ought to haue a good memorie.

This *Syllogiſme* ſpeaking of a figure, hath no perfect forme nor figure.

Cran. I vnderſtode your Sophiſtry before. You by workyng vnderſtand conuertyng into the body of Chriſt: but Chriſt wrought the Sacrament, not in conuertyng but in inſtitutyng.

Yong. Wo be to them that make Chriſt a deceiuer. Dyd he worke any other thyng thẽ he ſpake, or the ſelf ſame thyng?

Cran. He wrought the Sacrament, & by theſe wordes he ſignified the effect.

Feſ- Yong. A figuratiue ſpeach is no workyng thyng.
ti- But the ſpeach of Chriſt is workyng:
no. Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran. It worketh by inſtitutyng, not by conuertyng.

Yong. The thyng ſignified in the Sacrament, is it not in that Sacrament?

Answere to D.Yonge by Sainct Auſten.

Cran. It is. For the thyng is miniſtred in a ſigne. He foloweth the letter that taketh the thyng for the ſigne. Auguſtine ſeparateth the Sacrament from the thyng. The Sacrament (ſayth he) is one, and the thyng of the Sacrament an other.

Weſt. Sticke to this Argument.

It is a figuratiue ſpeach.

Ergo, it worketh nothyng.

Yong. But the ſpeach of Chriſt is a workyng thyng:

Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran. O how many craftes are in this Argument? they are mere fallacies: I ſayd not that the wordes of Chriſt do worke, but Chriſt hym ſelfe: and he worketh by a figuratiue ſpeach.

Weſt. If a figure worke, it maketh of bread the body of Chriſt.

Cran. A figuratiue ſpeach worketh not.

Weſt. A figuratiue ſpeach by your owne confeſſion, worketh nothyng.

But the ſpeach of Chriſt in yͤ Supper (as you graũt) wrought ſomewhat:

Ergo, the ſpeach of Chriſt in the Supper was not figuratiue.

The figuratiue ſpeach worketh not, but Chriſt by the figuratiue ſpeach worketh the Sacrament.

Cran. I aunſwere: theſe are mere Sophiſmes: the ſpeach doth not worke, but Chriſt by the ſpeach doth worke the Sacrament.

I looke for Scriptures at your handes: for they are the foundation of diſputations.

Yong. Are not theſe wordes of Scripture: *This is my body*? The word of Chriſt is of ſtrength: and by the Lordes wordes the heauens were made. He ſaid: *This is my body:* Ergo, he made it.

Cran. He made the Sacrament: and I deny your Argument.

Yong. If he wrought nothyng, nothyng is left there. He ſaid: *This is my body.* You ſay contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Chriſt, & fall from the fayth.

Cran. You interprete the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and fayne a ſtrange ſenſe.

Ambroſ. De ijs qui initiatur, &c. cap. 9.

Yong. Ambroſ. De ijs qui initiantur ſacris cap. 9. ſayth: De totius mundi operibus legiſti, quia ipſe dixit & facta ſunt, ipſe mandauit & creata ſunt. Sermo Chriſti qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non poteſt ea quæ ſunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus eſt nouas res dare, quam mutare naturas: Sed quid argumentis vtimur? ſuis vtamur exemplis, incarnationiſq; exemplo aſtruamus myſterij veritatem. Nunquid naturæ vſus præceſſit cum Dominus Ieſus ex Maria naſceretur? Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta fœmina generare conſueuit. Liquet igitur ꝙ præter naturæ ordinem virgo generauit: & hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine eſt. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Chriſti corpore, cum præter naturam ſit ipſe Dominus Ieſus partus ex virgine? vera vtiq; caro Chriſti quæ Crucifixa eſt, quæ ſepulta eſt: verè ergò illius Sacramentum eſt. Clamat Dominus Ieſus: *Hoc eſt corpus meum.* Ante benedictionem verborum cœleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur, poſt conſecrationem corpus ſignificatur. Ipſe dicit ſanguinem ſuum. Ante conſecrationem aliud dicitur: poſt conſecrationem ſanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, *Amen:* hoc eſt verum eſt. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod Sermo ſonat, affectus ſentiat. That is.

* As Chriſt Ieſus was conceiued agaynſt the order of nature; ſo in the miniſtring of this Sacrament the order of nature is not to be ſought.

Thou haſt read of the workes of all the world, that he ſpake the word and they were made: he cōmaunded and they were created. Can not the worde of Chriſt which made of nothyng, that which was not, chaunge thoſe thynges that are, into that they were not? For it is no leſſe matter to geue new thinges, thē to chaũge natures. But what vſe we Argumētes? let vs vſe hys own examples, & let vs confirme yͤ veritie of yͤ myſtery by example of hys incarnation. Dyd the vſe of nature go before, whē the Lord Ieſus was borne of Mary? If you ſeeke yͤ order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman ioyned to a man. It is manifeſt therfore, that contrary to the * order of nature, a virgine did cōceyue: and this that we make, is the body of the virgine. What ſeekeſt thou here the order of nature in the body of Chriſt, when agaynſt the order of nature, the Lord Ieſus was conceyued of a Virgine? It was the true fleſh of Chriſt, which was crucifyed and which was buried: therfore it is truly the Sacrament of hym. The Lorde Ieſus hym ſelfe cryeth: This is my body. Before the bleſſing of the heauenly wordes, it is named an other kynde: but after the conſecration, the body of Chriſt is ſignifyed. He calleth it his bloud. Before conſecration, it is called an other thing: after conſecratiō it is called bloud, and thou ſayeſt Amen: that is, it is true. That the mouth ſpeaketh, let the inward mynd confeſſe: that the word ſoundeth, let the hart perceyue.

Ambroſius Lib. De Sacramentis Cap. 4.

The ſame Ambroſe in hys fourth booke of Sacramentes the 4. chap. ſayth thus: Panis iſte, panis eſt ante verba Sacramentorum: vbi acceſſerit conſecratio, de pane fit caro Chriſti. Hoc igitur aſtruamus: quomodo poteſt, qui panis eſt, corpus eſſe Chriſti conſecratione? conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cuius ſermonibus? Domini Ieſu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris: vbi venitur vt conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, iam non ſuis ſermonibus Sacerdos vtitur, ſed ſermonibus Chriſti. Ergo ſermo Chriſti hoc conficit Sacramētum. Quis ſermo? nempe is quo facta ſunt omnia. Iuſſit Dominus & factum eſt cœlum: iuſſit Dominus & facta eſt terra: iuſſit dominus & facta ſunt Maria, &c. Vides ergo quam operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis eſt in ſermone Domini, vt inciperent eſſe quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius eſt, vt ſint quæ erant & in aliud commutentur. That is to ſay.

The wordes of Ambroſe in Engliſhe.

* But the Lord Ieſus here vſed not ſuch wordes of cōmaunding in the Sacramēt as in creation: for we read not, fiat hoc corpus meum, as we read, fiat lux. &c.

This bread is bread before the wordes of the Sacramentes. When the conſecration commeth to it, of bread it is made the fleſh of Chriſt. Let vs confirme this therfore: how can that which is bread, by conſecratiō be the body of Chriſt? by what wordes thē is yͭ conſecration made, & by whoſe wordes? by the wordes of our Lord Ieſus. For touchyng all other thynges that are ſayd, prayſe is geuen to God, prayer is made for the people, for kyngs, and for the reſt. When it commeth, that the reuerend Sacrament muſt be made, then the Prieſt vſeth not hys owne wordes, but the wordes of Chriſt: therfore the word of Chriſt maketh this Sacrament. What worde? That word, by which all thynges were made. The Lord * cōmaunded, and heauen was made: the Lord cōmaunded, and the earth was made: the Lord commaũded, and the Seas were made: the Lord cōmaunded, and all creatures were made. Doeſt thou not ſee then how ſtrong in working yͤ word of Chriſt is? If therfore, ſo great ſtrēgth be in the Lordes word, that thoſe thynges ſhould begyn to be which were not before, how much the rather is it of ſtrength to worke that theſe thinges which were, ſhould be chaunged into an other thyng?

Ambroſe ſayth, that the wordes are of ſtrength to worke.

Weſt. You omit thoſe wordes which follow, which maketh the ſenſe of Ambroſe playne. Reade them.

Ambroſ. De Sacr. Cap. 5.

Yong. Cœlum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem: Ipſe dixit, & facta ſunt, ipſe mandauit & creata ſunt. Ergo tibi vt reſpondeam, non erat corpus Chriſti ante conſecrationem, ſed poſt conſecrationē dico tibi quòd iā *corpus Chriſti eſt. That is. *Heauen was not, the ſea was not, the earth was not, but heare him that ſayd: he ſpake the woord, and they were made: he commaunded, and they were created. Therefore to anſwer thee, it was not the body of Chriſt before conſecration, but after the conſecration I ſay to thee, that now it is the body of Chriſt.*

** Alloioſis rerum & ſymbolorum.*

Cran. All theſe thinges are common. I ſay that God doth chiefly worke in the Sacramentes.

Yong. How doth he worke?

Cran. By his power, as he doth in Baptiſme.

Yong. Nay, by the word he chaungeth the bread into his body. This is the truth: acknowledge the truth: geue place to the truth.

Cran. O glorious wordes: you are to full of wordes.

Yong. Nay, O glorious truth: you make no chaunge at all.

Cran. Not ſo, but I make a great chaũge: as in them that are baptiſed, is there not a great chaunge, when the childe, of the bondſlaue of the deuill, is made the ſonne of God? So it is alſo in the ſacrament of the ſupper, when he receiueth vs into his protection & fauour.

Yong. If he worke in the ſacramentes, he worketh in this ſacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his faythfull, not in the Sacramentes.

Weſt. In the ſupper the wordes are directed to the bread: in Baptiſme to the ſpirit. He ſaid not, the water is the ſpirit: but of the bread he ſaid: *This is my body.*

As the Doue is called the ſpirite: ſo the bread is called the body.

Cran. He called the ſpirite a Doue, when the ſpirite deſcended in likenes of a Doue.

Weſt. He doth not call the ſpirit a Doue: but he ſaith, that he deſcended as a Doue. He was ſeene in the likenes of a Doue. As in Baptiſme, the wordes are directed to him that is baptiſed, ſo in the ſupper the wordes are directed vnto the bread.

Iohn. 1.

Cran. Nay it is wrytten: *Vpon whomſoeuer thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirite deſcendyng.* He calleth that which deſcended, the holy ſpirite. And Auguſtine calleth the doue the ſpirite. Heare what Auguſtine ſayth in. 1. *Iohan.* Quid voluit per columbam, id eſt, per ſpiritum ſanctum? docere, qui miſerat eum. That is: *What ment he by the Doue, that is, by the holy ghoſt? forſooth to teach who ſent hym.*

Auguſt. in Ioan. cap 1.

Yong. He vnderſtandeth of the ſpirite deſcending as a Doue: the ſpirite is inuiſible. If you mynd to haue yͤ truth heard, let vs procede. Heare what Ambroſe ſaith Vides quam operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis in ſermone domini. &c. vt ſupra. That is. *You ſee what a working power the worde of Chriſt hath. Therefore if there be ſo great power in the Lordes word, that thoſe thinges which were not, begyn to bee, how much more of ſtrength is it to worke that thoſe thinges that were, ſhould be chaunged into an other thing?*

Ambroſe again repeated, *De Sacram. cap. 4.*

And in the fift chap. Antequam conſecretur, panis eſt: vbi autem verba Chriſti acceſſerint, corpus eſt Chriſti. i. *Before it be cōſecrated, it is bread: but when the wordes of Chriſt come to it, it is the body of Chriſt.*

Idem cap. 5.

But heare what he ſaith more: Accipite, edite, hoc eſt corpus meum: *Take ye, eate ye, this is my body.* Ante verba Chriſti calix eſt vini & aquæ plenus: vbi verba Chriſti operata fuerint, ibi ſanguis efficitur qui redemit plebem. That is: *Before the woordes of Chriſt, the cup is full of wyne and water: when the wordes of Chriſt haue wrought, there is made the bloud of Chriſt, which redemed the people.* What can be more playne?

Cran. Nay, what can be leſſe to the purpoſe? The wordes are of ſtrength to worke in this ſacrament, as they are in Baptiſme.

Anſwere to *Ambroſe.*

Pie. The wordes of Chriſt (as Ambroſe ſayth) are of ſtrength to worke. What do they woorke? Ambroſe ſaith, they make the bloud which redeemed the people.

Ergo the naturall bloud is made.

Cran. The ſacramēt of his bloud is made. The words make the bloud to them that receiue it: not that the bloud is in the cup, but in the receiuer.

Pie. Ther is made the blood which redeemed yͤ people.

Cran. The bloud is made: that is, yͤ ſacrament of the bloud, by which he redeemed yͤ peope. [Fit] it is made: that is to ſay [oſtenditur] it is ſhewed forth there. And Ambroſe ſayth: we receyue in a ſimilitude. *As thou haſt receaued the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious bloud.*

Weſt. He ſayth *in a ſimilitude*, becauſe it is miniſtred vnder an other likenes. And this is the argument.

Marke how *D. Weſton* expoundeth, to eate in a ſimilitude.

*There is made the bloud which redemed the people.

But the naturall bloud redeemed the people:

Ergo there is the naturall bloud of Chriſt.

*If this Syllogiſme be in the 1. figure (as by ſtādyng of the termes appeareth) then is it falſe, becauſe it concludeth affyrmatiuely.

You aunſwere, that wordes make it bloud to them that receiue it: not that bloud is in the cup, but becauſe it is made bloud to them that receiue it. That all men may ſee, how falſely you would auoyde the Fathers, heare what Ambroſe ſaith in the firſt booke & firſt chap.

Ambroſ lib. 6. cap. 1. De Sacramentis.

Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui ſimilitudinem video, non video ſanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de ſermone Chriſti qui operatur, vt poſſit mutare & conuertere genera inſtituta naturæ. Deinde vbi non tulerunt ſermonem diſcipuli eius, ſed audientes, quod carnem ſuam dedit manducari, & ſanguinem ſuum dedit bibendum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit: verba vitæ æternæ habes, & ego a te quo recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidem eſſet horror cruoris, ſed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideo in ſimilitudinem quidem accipis ſacramentum, ſed verè naturæ gratiam virtutemq; conſequeris. *That is to ſay.*

Operatis. Mutare: cōuertere.

Peraduenture thou wilt ſay, how be they true? I which ſee the ſimilitude, do not ſee yͤ truth of the bloud. Fyrſt of all I told thee of yͤ word of Chriſt, which ſo worketh, that it can chaunge and turne kindes ordeined of nature. Afterward, when the diſciples could not abide the wordes of Chriſt, but hearing that he gaue his fleſh to eate, & hys bloud to drinke, they departed: Onely Peter ſayd, thou haſt the wordes of eternall life: whether ſhould I go frō thee? Leſt therefore mo ſhould ſay this thing, as though there ſhould be a certaine horror of bloud, and yet the grace of redemption ſhould remaine: therefore in a ſimilitude thou receiueſt the ſacrament: but in deede thou obtaineſt the grace and power of his nature.

Cran. Theſe words of them ſelues are plain enough. (And he read this place againe, *thou receaueſt the Sacrament for a ſimilitude.*) But what is that he ſayth: *Thou receaueſt for a ſimilitude?* I thinke he vnderſtandeth the ſacrament to be the ſimilitude of his bloud.

Anſwere to *Ambroſe.*

Ched. That you may vnderſtand that truth diſſenteth not from truth, to ouerthrowe that which you ſay of that ſimilitude, heare what Ambroſe ſayth, lib. 4. De ſacrament.

Si operatus eſt ſermo cœleſtis in alijs rebus, non operatur in ſacramentis cœleſtibus? Ergo didiciſti quod e pane corpus fiat Chriſti, & quòd vinum & aqua in calicem mittitur, ſed fit ſanguis conſecratione verbi cœleſtis. Sed forte dices, ſpeciem ſanguinis non videri. Sed habet ſimilitudinem. Sicut enim mortis ſimilitudinem ſumpſiſti, ita etiam ſimilitudinem pretioſi ſanguinis bibis, vt nullus horror cruoris ſit, & pretiū tamen operetur redemptionis. Didiciſti ergo, quia quod accipis, corpus eſt Chriſti. *That is to ſay.*

Ambroſ. De Sacram, Lib. 4.

If the heauenly word did worke in other things, doth it not worke in the heauenly ſacraments? Therfore thou haſt learned, that of bread is made the body of Chriſt: and that wyne and water is put into that cup: but by conſecration of the heauenly word, it is made bloud. But thou wilt ſaye peraduenture, that the lykenes of bloud is not ſeene. But it hath a ſimilitude. For as thou haſt receyued the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious bloud, ſo that there is no horror of bloud, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therfore thou haſt leraned, that that which thou receyueſt, is the body of Chriſt.

Note that Ambroſe ſaith: we drinke a ſimilitude of Chriſtes bloud.

Cran. He ſpeaketh of Sacraments ſacramentally. He calleth the Sacramentes by the names of the thinges: for he vſeth the ſignes for the things ſignified: and therfore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellencie and dignitye of the thyng ſignified by it. So doth Ambroſe interprete him ſelfe, when he ſayth: In cuius typum nos calicem myſticum ſanguinis ad tuitionem corporis & animæ noſtræ percepimus. 1. Cor. 11. That is, *for a type or figure whereof we receyue the myſticall cup of his bloud, for the ſafegard of our bodies and ſoules.*

Anſwere to the place of *Ambroſe.*

Sacramentes be called by the name of the thinges.

Ambroſ. in 1. Cor. cap. 11.

Ched. A type? he calleth not the bloud of Chriſt a type or ſigne: but the bloud of Buls and Goates in that reſpect was a type or ſigne.

Cran. This is new learning: you ſhall neuer read this among the Fathers.

Ched. But Ambroſe ſayth ſo.

Cran. He calleth the bread and the cup a type or ſigne of the bloud of Chriſt, and of his benefite.

Weſt. Ambroſe vnderſtandeth, *for a type of hys benefite,* that is, of redemption: not of the bloud of Chriſt, but of hys paſſion. The cup is the type or ſigne of his death, ſeing it is hys bloud.

Cran. He ſayth moſt playnly, that the cup is the type of Chriſtes bloud.

Ambroſe alleaged againſt *Ambroſe.*

Argument.

da- Ched. As Chriſt is truly and really incarnate, ſo is he truly and really in the Sacrament.

ri But Chriſt is really and truly incarnate:

j. Ergo the body of Chriſt is truely and really in the ſacrament.

Cran. I denie the Maior.

Iuſtinus Apolog. 2.

Ched. I proue the Maior out of Iuſtine in his ſecond Apologie: ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ϗ σάρκα ϗ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν: οὕτω ϗ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα ϗ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ιησοῦ ϗ σάρκα ϗ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Anſwere to the place of Iuſtinus.

Cran. This place hath bene falſified by Marcus Conſtantius. Iuſtine ment nothing els: but that the bread which nouriſheth vs, is called the body of Chriſt.

Ched. To the argument. As Chriſt is truely and naturally incarnate. &c. vt ſupra.

Cran. I deny your Maior.

Ched. The wordes of Iuſtine are thus to be interpreted word for word.

Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Ieſus Chriſtus Saluator noſter, carnem habuit & ſanguinem pro ſalute noſtra: ſic & cibum illum conſecratum per ſermonem precationis ab ipſo inſtitutæ, quo ſanguis carneſq; noſtræ per *cõmunionem nutriuntur, eiuſdem Ieſu qui caro factus eſt, carnem & ſanguinem eſſe accepimus. That is to ſay:

*Mutationem.

As by the worde of God, Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour being made fleſh, had both fleſh and bloud for our ſaluation: ſo we are taught, that the meate * conſecrated by the word of prayer, inſtituted of him, wherby our bloud and fleſh are nouriſhed by * cõmunion, is the fleſh and bloud of the ſame Ieſus, which was made fleſh.

*Of thankeſgeuing.

*Mutation.

Anſwere.

Cran. You haue tranſlated it well: But I deny your Maior. This is the ſenſe of Iuſtine: that that bread is called the body of Chriſt: and yet of that ſanctified meate our bodyes are nouriſhed.

Ched. Nay he ſaith, that of that ſanctified meate, both our bodyes and ſoules are nouriſhed.

αἷμα ϗ σάρκες. i. Blood and fleſh.

Cran. He ſayth not ſo: but he ſayth that it nouriſheth our fleſh and bloud: and how cã that nouriſh the ſoule, that nouriſheth the fleſh and bloud?

Cole. It fedeth the body by the ſoule.

Cran. Speake vprightly. Can that which is receyued by the ſoule and the ſpirite, be called the meate of the body?

Irenæus.

Weſt. Heare then what Irenæus ſayth: Eum calicem qui eſt creatura, ſuum corpus cõfirmauit, ex quo noſtra auget corpora. Quando & mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia ſanguinis & corporis Chriſti, ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. That is: The ſame cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which he encreaſeth our bodyes. when both the cup mixed, and the bread broken hath ioyned to it the word of God, it is made the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, of which the ſuſtaunce of our fleſh is increaſed, and conſiſteth.

Argument.

The ſubſtaunce of our fleſh is increaſed by the body and bloud of Chriſt:

Ergo, our body is nouriſhed by the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Irenæus anſwered by Tertull.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He calleth it the fleſh and bloud, for the Sacramẽt of the body and bloud, as Tertullian alſo ſayth: Nutritur corpus pane ſymbolico, anima corpore Chriſti. That is: Our fleſh is nouriſhed with the ſymbolicall or Sacramẽtall bread, but our ſoule is nouriſhed with the body of Chriſt.

Irenæus Lib. 5.

Weſt. Looke what he ſayth more. Quomodo carnem negant capacem eſſe donationis Dei quæ eſt vita æterna, quæ ſanguine & corpore Chriſti nutritur? Lib. 5. poſt duo folia à principio. That is: How do they ſay, that the fleſh cã not receyue the gift of God that is eternall lyfe, which is nouriſhed with the bloud and body of Chriſt? This is in the 5. booke, two leaues from the begynnyng.

The body is nouriſhed with the Sacrament to temporall lyfe, with the body of Chriſt to eternall life.

Cran. The body is nouriſhed both with the Sacrament, and with the body of Chriſt: with the Sacramẽt, to a temporall life: with the body of Chriſt, to eternal lyfe.

Ched. I can not but be ſory when I ſee ſuch a manifeſt lye in your writynges. For where you tranſlate Iuſtine on this faſhion: that the bread, water, and wyne are not ſo to be taken in this Sacramẽt, as common meates and drinkes are wont to be taken of vs: but are meates choſen out peculiarly for this, namely for the geuyng of thankes, and therfore be called of the Grekes Euchariſtia, that is, thankes geuyng: they are called moreouer the bloude and body of Chriſt (ſo haue you tranſlated it): the wordes of Iuſtine are thus: *We are taught that the meate conſecrated by the worde of prayer, by the which our fleſh and bloud is nouriſhed by communion, is the body and bloud of the ſame Ieſus which was made fleſh.*

Note that the archbyſhop here dyd not tranſlate the wordes of *Iuſtine*, but onely gather the effect of hys meaning.

Cranmer purgeth hym ſelfe.

Cran. I dyd not tranſlate it word for word, but onely I gaue the meanyng: and I go nothyng from hys meanyng.

Harpſ. You remember, touchyng Iuſtine, to whom this Apologie was writen, namely to an heathen man. The heathen thought that the Chriſtians came to the Church to worſhip bread. Iuſtine aunſwereth, that we come not to commõ bread, but as to. &c. as is ſaid afore. Wey the place wel, it is right worthy to be noted: Our fleſh is nouriſhed: accordyng to mutation.

In eatyng the Sacrament no bread is conſidered but onely the true body of Chriſt.

Cran. We ought not to conſider the bare bread: but who ſoeuer commeth to the Sacrament, eateth the true body of Chriſt.

Weſt. You haue corrupted Emiſſenus: for in ſtede of cibis ſatiandus, that is, *to be filled with meate:* you haue ſet cibis ſatiãdus ſpiritualibus: that is, *to be filled with ſpirituall meates.*

Cran. I haue not corrupted it: for it is ſo in the Decrees.

De conſecrat. Diſt. 2. Quia.

Weſt. You haue corrupted an other place of Emiſſenus. For you haue omitted theſe wordes: Mirare cum reuerendum altare cibis ſpiritualibus ſatiandus aſcendis: ſacrum Dei tui corpus & ſanguinem fide reſpice, honorem mirare, merito continge. &c. That is: Maruell thou when thou commeſt vp to the reuerend alter to be fylled with ſpirituall meates: looke in faith to the holy body & bloud of thy God: maruell at his honour: worthely touch hym.

Cran. This booke hath not that.

Cranmer charged with falſe tranſlating.

Weſt. Alſo you haue falſified this place by euil tranſlatyng: Honora corpus Dei tui. i. *Honour the body of thy God.* You haue trãſlated it: Honora eum qui eſt Deus tuus. i. *Honour hym which is thy God.* Wheras Emiſſenus hath not [honour hym] but [honour the body of thy God].

Cranmer purgeth hym ſelfe.

Cran. I haue ſo tranſlated hym, and yet no leſſe truly, thẽ not without a weighty cauſe: for els it ſhould not haue bene without daũger, if I had tranſlated it thus: *Honor the body of thy God:* becauſe of certayne, that, accordyng to the errour of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.

Weſt. Nay you moſt of all, haue brought the people in to that errour, which ſo long haue taught that he ſitteth at the right hand of God the father: and counted me for an hereticke, becauſe I preached that God had no right hand. Then I wyll oppoſe you in the very Articles of your fayth.

Argument.

Chriſt ſitteth at the ryght hand of God the Father.
But God the Father hath no ryght hand:
Ergo, where is Chriſt now?

The ryght hand of God what it ſignifieth.

Cran. I am not ſo ignoraunt a Nouice in the Articles of my fayth, but that I vnderſtand, that to ſit at the right hand of God, doth ſignifie to be equall in the glory of the Father.

Weſt. Now then take this Argument.

Where ſoeuer Gods authoritie is, there is Chriſtes body.
But Gods authoritie is in euery place:
Ergo, what letteth the body of Chriſt to be in euery place?

Cranmer charged with miſtranſlatyng *Duns.*

Moreouer you haue alſo corrupted Duns.

Cran. That is a great offence, I promiſe you.

Weſt. For you haue omitted ſecundũ apparentiã. i.

as it appeareth. Where his wordes are theſe: Et ſi quæras quare voluit Eccleſia eligere iſtum intellectum ita difficilem huius articuli, cum verba Scripturæ poſsint ſaluari ſecundum intellectum facilem & veriorem, ſecundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo. &c. That is: And if you demaund why the church did chuſe this ſo hard an vnderſtādyng of this Article, whereas the wordes of Scripture may be ſalued after an eaſy and true vnderſtandyng (as appeareth) of this Article. &c.

Cran. It is not ſo.

D. Cranmer chalenged for ſetting forth the Catechiſme in the name of the Conuocation.

West. Alſo you haue ſet forth a Catechiſme, in the name of the Synode of London, and yet there bee 50. which witneſſing that they were of the number of that Conuocatiō, neuer heard one word of this Catechiſme.

D. Cranmer purgeth hym ſelfe concernyng the Catechiſme.

Cran. I was ignoraunt of the ſettyng to of that title: and as ſone as I had knowledge therof, I did not like it. Therfore when I complayned therof to the Counſell, it was aunſwered me by them, that the booke was ſo intituled, becauſe it was ſet forth in time of the Conuocation.

West. Moreouer, you haue in Duns tranſlated in Romana Eccleſia, pro Eccleſia Catholica. i. *In the church of Rome, for the Catholicke Church.*

Cran. Yea, but he ment the Romiſh Church.

D. Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating *Th. Aquinus.*

West. Moreouer, you haue depraued Saint Thomas, namely where he hath theſe wordes: In quantum vero eſt ſacrificium habet vim ſatiſfactiuam. Sed in ſatisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quàm quantitas oblationis. Vnde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quòd plus omnibus miſit. Quanuis ergo hæc oblatio ex ſui quantitate ſufficiet ad ſatiſfaciēdum pro omni pœna: tamen fit ſatiſfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus ſecundum quantitatem ſuæ deuotionis, & non pro tota pœna. That is: In aſmuch as it is a ſacrifice, it hath the power of ſatiſfaction. But in ſatiſfaction the affection of the offerer is more to bee weyed then the quātity of the oblation. wherfore ẏ Lord ſayd in Lukes Goſpell, of the wydow which offered two mites, that ſhe caſt in more then they all. Therfore, although this oblation of the quantity of it ſelfe will ſuffice to ſatiſfy for all payne, yet it is made ſatiſfactory to them, for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, accordyng to the quantity of theyr deuotion, and not for all the payne.

You haue thus turned it: Quod ſacrificium Sacerdotis habet vim ſatiſfactiuam. &c. That is: *That the ſacrifice of the Prieſt hath power of ſatiſfaction. &c.* And therfore in this place you haue chopped in this worde [Sacerdotis] of the Prieſt, whereas in the tranſlation of all the new Teſtamēt, you haue not ſet it, but where Chriſt was put to death. And agayne, where S. Thomas hath [pro omni pœna] for all payne, your booke omitteth many thynges there.

VVeston triumpheth before the victory.

Thus you ſee (brethren) the truth ſtedfaſt and inuincible: you ſee alſo the craft and deceite of heretickes. The truth may bee preſſed, but it can not bee oppreſſed. Therfore cry altogether: Vincit veritas. i. *The truth ouercommeth.*

This diſordered Diſputations ſome tyme in Latin, ſometyme in Engliſh, continued almoſt till ij. of the clocke. Which being finiſhed, and ẏ Argumentes written and deliuered to the handes of M. Say, the priſoner was had away by the Maior, and the Doctors dyned together at the Vniuerſitie Colledge.

¶ Diſputations at Oxford betwene D. Smith, with hys other Colleages and Doctors, and Byſhop Ridley. Aprill. 17.

Aprill. 17.

D. Smyth ſent to diſpute agaynſt *Byſh. Ridley.*

The next day folowyng, which was the 17. of Aprill, was brought forth Doct. Ridley to diſpute: againſt whom was ſet D. Smith to be principall Opponent. Touching which Doct. Smith, for ſomuch as mention here happeneth of his name, firſt ẏ Reader is to be aduertiſed what is to be attributed to hys iudgement in Religiō, which ſo often tymes before hath turned & returned to & fro, grounded (as it ſeemeth) vpō no firme cōſciēce of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recāted may appeare, and alſo by his owne letter ſent a litle before in kyng Edwardes dayes, to the Archbyſhop of Cant. from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibite as a certeine preface before his owne Argumentes, or rather as a teſtimonie agaynſt hym ſelfe. Wherby the reader may vnderſtand how deuoutly he magnified thē and theyr doctrine a litle before, agaynſt whom he now diſputeth ſo buſily. Read, I beſech thee, hys Epiſtle, and iudge.

¶ The true Copy of a certeine Epiſtle of Doct. Rich. Smith declaryng hys affection to the ſettyng forth of Gods ſincere word.

A letter of *D. Smyth* to Doctor *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of Cant.

Moſt honorable, I commend me vnto your Lordſhyp, doyng the ſame to vnderſtand, that I wrote letters to your grace in Ianuary laſt, & the x. day of February, declaryng the cauſes of my ſodayne and vnaduiſed departyng from your grace ouer the Sea, and deſyryng your good Lordſhyp of your charity toward them that repent their ill Actes, to forgeue me your ſelfe all that wrong I dyd towardes your grace, and to obtayne in wrytyng the kynges Maieſties pardon for me in all poyntes concernyng hys lawes: vpon the recept wherof I would returne agayne home, and within halfe an yeare (at the vttermoſt) afterward, write de Sacerdotum connubijs. &c. a Latin booke that ſhould be a iuſt ſatiſfaction for any thing that I haue written agaynſt the ſame, reliquaq; omnia dogmata veſtra, tum demum libēter amplexurum, vbi Deus mentem meam, vt ea citra conſcientiæ læſionem agnoſcam, doceamq;. I wrote not this that I want any good lyuyng here, but bycauſe myne abſence out of the Realme, is diſhonour to the kynges hyghnes, and Realme, and bycauſe I muſt nedes, if I tary here a quarter of a yeare longer, wryte an aunſwere to your graces booke of the Sacrament, and alſo a booke of common places agaynſt all the doctrine ſet forth by the kynges Maieſty, which I cā not do with good conſcience. wherfore I beſech your grace helpe me home, as ſoone as ye may conueniently, for Gods ſake, and ye ſhall neuer I truſt in God repent that fact.

D. Smyth purpoſing to write by the mariage of prieſtes.

Ex vrbe diui Andreæ 14. Februarij Richardus Smithæus.

And thus much touchyng the forenamed Doctour Richard Smith, beyng ſet here (as is ſaid) to diſpute agaynſt Byſhop Ridley. Who was brought now the next day after the Archb. to aunſwere in the Diuinitie Schole. Agaynſt whom alſo beſides D. Smyth diſputed, D. Weſton, D. Treſham, D. Oglethorp, D. Glyn, D. Seton, D. Cole, M. Ward, M. Harpſfield, D. Watſon, M. Pye, M. Hardyng, M. Curtop, M. Fecknam. To all them he aunſwered very learnedly. He made a preface to theſe queſtions, but they would not let hym goe forth in it, but cauſed him to make an end of the ſame, and ſayd it was blaſphemy, and ſome ſayd he droue of the tyme in ambiguous thynges, nothyng to the purpoſe, and ſo they would not ſuffer hym to ſay his mynd. Doct. Smith could get nothyng at his hand: in ſomuch that other did take his Arguments, & proſecuted them. He ſhewed him ſelfe to be learned, and a great Clearke. They coulde bryng nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

Diſputers agaynſt D. Ridley.

¶ *The Diſputation beginneth.*

West. Prolocutor. Good Chriſten people & brethrē, we haue begon this day our Schole, by Gods good ſpeede I truſt, & are entring into a cōtrouerſie, wherof no queſtion ought to be moued, cōcerning ẏ veritie of the body of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt in the Euchariſt. Chriſt is true, which ſayd the wordes. The words are true which he ſpake, yea truth it ſelf that can not fayle. Let vs therfore pray vnto God to ſend downe vnto vs his holy ſpirite, whych is the true interpreter of hys worde: which may purge away errours, and geue that veritie may appeare. Let vs alſo aſke leaue and libertie of the Church to permitte the truth receaued, to bee called this day in queſtion, without any preiudice to the ſame. Your partes therfore ſhall be to implore the aſſiſtance of almighty God, to pray for the proſperitie of the Queenes Maieſty, & to geue vs quiet and attentiue eares. Now go to your queſtions.

Doct. Smyth. This day (right learned M. Doctour) thrée queſtions are propounded, wherof no controuerſie among Chriſtians ought to be moued, to wyt:

The queſtions.

1 *Whether the naturall body of Chriſt our Sauiour conceiued of the virgin Mary, and offered for mans redemption vpon the croſſe, is verely and really in the ſacrament by vertue of Gods worde ſpoken by the Prieſt. &c.*

2 *Whether in the Sacrament after the wordes of conſecration, be any other ſubſtance. &c.*

3 *Whether in the Maſſe be a ſacrifice propiciatory. &c.*

Touching the which queſtions, although you haue publikely and apertly profeſſed your iudgement and opinion on Saterday laſte: yet being not ſatiſfied wyth that your aunſwere, I wyll aſſay agayne to demaunde your ſentence in the firſt queſtion: Whether the true body of Chriſt, after the wordes pronounced, be really in the Euchariſt, or els onely the figure? In which matter I ſtand here now to heare your aunſwere.

¶The Preface or proteſtation of D.Ridley, before his diſputation.

The proteſtation of D. Ridley.

I Receiued of you the other day, right worſhipful Maiſter Prolocutor, and ye my reuerend Maiſters, Commiſſioners from the Quenes maieſty and her honorable Cõuſell, thrée propoſitions: wherunto ye commaunded me to prepare againſt thys day, what I thought good to aunſwere concerning the ſame.

Now, whileſt I weyed with my ſelfe, how great a charge of the Lords flocke was of late committed vnto me, for the which I am certaine I muſt once render an accompt to my Lord God (and that how ſoone, he knoweth): and that moreouer by the commaundement of the Apoſtle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to geue a reaſon of the hope that is in me with meekenes and reuerence, vnto euery one that ſhal demaund the ſame: beſides this, conſidering my duty to the Church of Chriſt, and to your worſhips being Commiſſioners by publike authoritie: I determined with my ſelfe to obey your cõmaundement, ⁊ ſo openly to declare vnto you my minde touching the foreſaid propoſitions. And albeit (plainly to confeſſe vnto you the truth) in theſe thinges which ye now demaunde of me, I haue thought otherwyſe in times paſt then I now do, yet (God I call to record vnto my ſoule, I lye not) I haue not altered my iudgemẽt, as now it is, either by conſtraint of anye man, or lawes, either for the dread of any daungers of this world, either for any hope of commoditie: but onely for the loue of the truth, reueled vnto me by the grace of God (as I am vndoubtedly perſwaded) in his holy worde, and in the reading of the auncient Fathers.

What moued Doct. Ridley to alter hys iudgement from the Church of Rome.

Theſe thinges do I yͤ rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happẽ to ſome of you hereafter, as in times paſt it hath done to me: I meane if ye thincke otherwyſe of the matters propounded in theſe propoſitions, then I now do, God may open it vnto you in time to come.

But howſoeuer it ſhall be, I will in few wordes doe that whych I thinke ye all looke I ſhould doe: that is, as plainly as I can, I wyll declare my iudgement herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignoraunt, that I will not in deede wittingly and willingly ſpeake in any point againſt Gods worde, or diſſent in any one iote from the ſame, or from the rules of fayth and chriſtian religion: which rules that ſame moſt ſacred worde of God preſcribeth to the Church of Chriſt, whereunto I now and for euer ſubmit my ſelfe, and all my doinges. And becauſe the matter I haue nowe taken in hande is weighty, and ye all well know how vnready I am to hãdle it accordingly, aſwell for lacke of time, as alſo lacke of bookes: therfore here I proteſt that I will publickly this day require of you, that it may bee lawfull for me concerning all mine aũſweres, explications, and confyrmatiõs, to adde or diminiſh whatſoeuer ſhal ſeeme hereafter more cõuenient and meete for the purpoſe, through more ſound iudgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of euery particular thing. Hauing now by the way of preface and proteſtatiõ, ſpoken theſe few wordes, I will come to the aunſwering of the propoſitions propounded vnto me, and ſo to the moſt briefe explication and confirmation of mine aunſwers.

B.Ridley ſubmitteth hym ſelf to the Church of Chriſt.

Weſt. Reuerend maiſter Doctor, cõcerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cauſe why you ſhould complayne. What bookes ſo euer you wyll name, ye ſhall haue thẽ. And as concerning the iudgement of your aunſwers to bee had of your ſelfe wyth farther deliberation: it ſhal (I ſay) be lawful for you vntill Sonday nexte to adde vnto thẽ what you ſhall thinke good your ſelf. My mind is that we ſhould vſe ſhort argumentes, leſt we ſhoulde make an infinite proceſſe of the thing.

Thys promiſe was not kept.

Ridley. There is an other thyng beſides, which I would gladly obtaine at your handes. I perceyue that you haue writers and Notaries here preſent. By all likelyhood our diſputations ſhal be publiſhed. I beſech you for Gods ſake, let me haue libertie to ſpeake my mynde fréely and wythout interruption, not becauſe I haue determined to protract the tyme wyth a ſolemne Preface, but leſt it may appeare that ſome bee not ſatiſfied. God wote I am no Oratour, nor I haue not learned Rhetoricke to ſet colours on the matter.

Two Notaries permitted to Doctour *Ridley.*

Weſt. Among this whole company, it ſhall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Rid. I would chuſe two, if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

Weſt. Here are two which Mayſter Cranmer had yeſterday. Take them if it pleaſe you.

Rid. I am content with them: I truſt they are honeſt men.

Theſe 2. Notaryes were M. Iuell, now Byſhop of Saliſbury, and M. Gilbert Mounſon.

¶The firſt propoſition.

The firſt propoſition.

In the Sacrament of the Aultar, by the vertue of Gods Worde ſpoken of the Prieſt, the naturall body of Chriſt borne of the Virgin Mary, and his naturall bloud is really preſent vnder the formes of bread and Wyne.

¶The aunſwere of N. Ridley.

D.Ridleys aunſwere to the firſt propoſition.

In matters appertaining vnto God, we may not ſpeake according to the ſenſe of man, nor of the world: Therefore this propoſition or concluſion is framed after an other maner of phraſe or kinde of ſpéech, then the ſcripture vſeth. Againe, it is very obſcure ⁊ darke, by meanes of ſundry wordes of doubtfull ſignification. And being taken in yͤ ſenſe which the Scholemẽ teach, and at this time the Church of Rome doth defend, it is falſe and erronious, ⁊ plaine contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlines.

The propoſition put forth in darke termes.

¶*The explication.*

How farre the diuerſitie and newnes of the phraſe in all this firſt propoſition, is from the phraſe of the holy ſcripture, ⁊ that in euery parte almoſt, it is ſo plaine and euident to any that is but meanely exerciſed in holy wryt, that I néede not now (eſpecially in this company of learned men) to ſpend any time therein, except the ſame ſhall be required of me hereafter.

Firſt, there is a doubtful ſenſe in theſe wordes [*by the vertue of Gods Word*]. For it is doubtful what worde of God this is: whether it bee that which is read in the Euangeliſtes, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Euangeliſtes or in S. Paule, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowen to be Gods worde, and of ſuch vertue, that it ſhould be able to worke ſo great a matter.

The firſt doubt.

Agayn, there is a doubt in theſe wordes [*of the Prieſt*] whether no man may be called a Prieſt, but he whych hath authoritie to make propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead: and how it may bee proued that thys authority was committed of God to any man, but to Chriſt alone.

2. doubt, in the worde Prieſt.

It is likewyſe doubted, after what order the ſacrifiſing Prieſt ſhall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or els after the order of Melchiſedech. For as farre as I knowe, the holy ſcripture doth allow no moe.

3. doubt, in the worde ſacrificing.

Weſt. Let this be ſufficient.

Rid. If we lacke tyme at this preſent, there is tyme inough hereafter.

Weſt. Theſe are but euaſions or ſtarting holes. You conſume the tyme in vayne.

Rid. I cã not ſtart far from you, I am captiue ⁊ boũd.

Weſt. Fall to it my Maiſters.

D.Weſton interrupteth hym in hys explication.

Smith. That which you haue ſpoken may ſuffyce at this preſent.

Rid. Let me alone I pray you, for I haue not much to ſay, behynde.

Weſt. Goe foreward.

4. doubt, in the worde really.

Rid. Moreouer, there is ambiguitie in this word, *really*, whether it be to be taken as the Logicians terme it, *tranſcendenter*, that is, moſt generally (and ſo it may ſignify any maner of thyng which belongeth to the body of Chriſt, by any meanes: after which ſort we alſo graunt Chriſtes body to bee really in the ſacrament of the Lordes Supper, as in diſputation, if occaſion bee geuen ſhall be declared) or whether it be taken to ſignifye the very ſame thyng, hauing body, lyfe, and ſoule, which was aſſumed and taken of the worde of God, into the vnity of perſon. In which ſenſe, ſyth the body of Chriſt is really in heauen, becauſe of the true maner of hys body, it may not be ſayd to be here in the earth.

5. doubt, in the wordes of formes of bread and wine.

There is yet a further doutfulnes in theſe wordes, *vnder the formes of bread and wyne*, whether the *formes* be there taken to ſignifie the onely accidentall and outwarde ſhewes of bread and wyne: or therewithall the ſubſtantiall natures thereof, which are to bee ſeene by their qualities, and perceyued by exteriour ſenſes.

The propoſition erroneous after the ſenſe of the Romiſh Church.

Tranſubſtantiation not founded in Scripture.

Now the errour and falſenes of the propoſition, after the ſenſe of the Romiſh church and ſcholemen, may hereby appeare, in that they affyrme the bread to bee tranſubſtantiated and chaunged into the fleſh, aſſumed of the word of God, and that (as they ſay) by the vertue of the word, which they haue deuyſed by a certayne number of wordes, and cannot be found in none of the Euangeliſtes, nor in Paule, and ſo they gather that Chriſtes body is really conteyned in the ſacrament of the altare. Which poſition is grounded vpon the foundation of tranſubſtantiation: which foundation is mõſtrous, agaynſt reaſon, and deſtroyeth the Analogie or proportion of the ſacramentes, and therefore thys propoſition alſo, which is builded vppon this rotten foundation, is falſe, erroneous, and to be counted as a deteſtable hereſy of the Sacramentaries.

The Analogie of the Sacramentes, is the ſimilitude and likenes which they haue with the things they repreſent.

Weſt. We loſe tyme.

Rid. You ſhall haue time inough.

Weſt. Fal to reaſoning. You ſhal haue ſome other day for this matter.

Rid. I haue no more to ſay concerning my explication. If you wyll geue me leaue and let me alone, I wyll but ſpeake a word or two for my confirmation.

Weſt. Go to: ſay on.

¶*The confirmation of the foreſayd aunſwere.*

Confirmation of hys aunſwere.

Argument.

Fes- There ought to be no doctrine eſtabliſhed in the church of God, whych diſſenteth frõ ẏ word of God, from the rule of fayth, and draweth with it many abſurdities that cannot be auoyded:

ti- But thys doctrine of the firſt propoſition is ſuch.

no. Ergo it ought not to be eſtabliſhed & maintained in the Church of God.

The Maior or firſt part of my argument is playne, and the Minor or ſecond part is proued thus.

Thys doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnall preſence of Chriſtes fleſh, aſſumed and taken of the word, to be in the ſacrament of the Lords Supper, and that not by vertue and grace onely, but alſo by the whole eſſence & ſubſtance of the body & fleſh of Chriſt:

The Reall preſence of Chriſtes body diſagreeth frõ the Scriptures.

But ſuch a preſence diſagreeth from Gods worde, from the rule of fayth, and can not but drawe wyth it many abſurdities:

Ergo the ſecond part is true.

The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond may yet further be confirmed thus.

D. Weſton agayne interrupteth Doct. *Ridley*.

Weſt. Thus you conſume time, whych might be better beſtowed on other matters. Maiſter Oponent, I pray you to your argumentes.

Smith. I wyll here reaſon wyth you vpon tranſubſtantiation, whych you ſay is contrary to the rule and Analogy of fayth. The contrary whereof I proue by the ſcriptures, and the Doctours. But before I enter argumentation wyth you, I demaund firſt whether in the ſixt chapter of Iohn, there be any mention made of the ſacrament, or of the reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

Rid. It is agaynſt reaſon that I ſhould be impeached to proſecute that which I haue to ſpeake in this aſſembly, being not ſo long, but that it may be comprehended in few wordes.

Weſt. Let hym reade on.

7. inconueniences come of the reall preſence.

Rid. Fyrſt of all, thys preſence is contrary to many places of the holy ſcripture.

Secondly it varieth from the articles of the fayth.

Thyrdly it deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lordes ſupper.

Fourthly, it maketh precious thyngs cõmon to prophane and vngodly perſons: for it caſteth that whych is holy vnto Dogs, and pearles vnto Swyne.

Fiftly, it forceth men to maintain many monſtrous miracles wͭout neceſſity and autority of Gods word.

Syxtly, it geueth occaſion to the Heretickes whych erred concernyng the two natures in Chriſt, to defend theyr hereſies thereby.

Seuenthly, it falſifieth the ſayinges of the godly Fathers: it falſifieth alſo the catholike faith of the church, which the Apoſtels taught, the Martyrs confirmed, and the faythfull (as one of the Fathers ſayth) do retaine and keepe vntyll thys day. Wherefore the ſecond part of myne argument is true.

¶The probation of the antecedent or former. part of this Argument by the partes therof.

The 7. inconueniences declared by partes.

The firſt inconuenience.

The reall preſence agaynſt the Scripture.

This carnall preſence is cõtrary to the word of God, as appeareth, Iohn. 16. *I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the cõforter ſhall not come vnto you.* Actes. 3. *Whom the heauẽs muſt receiue, vntill the tyme of reſtoryng of all thynges which God hath ſpoken.* Math. 9. *The childrẽ of the bridegrome cã not mourne ſo long as the bridegrome is with them: But now is the tyme of mourning.* Iohn. 16. *but I will ſee you agayn, & your hartes ſhall reioyce.* Ioh. 14. *I will come agayn & take you to my ſelf.* Math. 24. *If they ſhall ſay vnto you, behold, here is Chriſt or there is Chriſt, beleue them not: for whereſoeuer the dead carkas is, thether the Eagles will reſort.*

2. The reall preſence agaynſt the Articles of the fayth.

It varieth from the Articles of the fayth: *He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father: from whence* (and not from any other place, ſayth Saint Auguſtine,) *He ſhall come to iudge both the quicke and the dead.*

3. It deſtroyeth the inſtitution of the Lordes Supper.

It deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lordes ſupper, which was cõmaũded only to be vſed & cõtinued vntill the Lord him ſelfe ſhould come. If therfore he bee now really preſent in the body of his fleſh, then muſt the Supper ceaſſe: For a remembraunce is not of a thyng preſent, but of a thyng paſt and abſent. And there is a difference betwene remembraunce and preſence, and (as one of the fathers ſayth) *A figure is in vayne where the thyng figured is preſent.*

4. It prophaneth thinges holy and precious, and gendreth abſurdities.

It maketh precious thynges common to prophane and vngodly perſons, and conſtrayneth men to cõfeſſe many abſurdities. For it affirmeth that whoremõgers, and murtherers, yea and (as ſome of thẽ hold opinion) the wicked and faythles, myſe, rattes, and dogges alſo may receyue the very reall & corporal body of the Lord, wherin the fulnes of the ſpirite of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifeſt wordes of Chriſt in ſixe places and ſentences of the ſixt chapter of S. Iohn.

Anthropophagi, are a kinde of bruttiſh people that feede of mãs fleſh.

It confirmeth alſo and mainteyneth that beaſtly kynd of crueltie of the Anthropophagi, that is, the deuourers of mans fleſh: for it is a more cruell thyng to deuoure a quicke man, then to ſlay hym.

Pye. He requireth tyme to ſpeake blaſphemies. Leaue your blaſphemyes.

Ryd. I had litle thought to haue had ſuch reprochfull wordes at your handes.

West. All is quyet. Go to the Argumentes Maiſter Doctour.

Ryd. I haue not many moe thynges to ſay.

West. You vtter blaſphemyes with a moſt impudent face: leaue of (I ſay) and get you to the Argument.

5. It maintayneth monſtrous miracles without neceſſitie.

It forceth men to mainteyne many monſtrous miracles without all neceſſity & authority of Gods word. For at the commyng of this preſence of the body and fleſh of Chriſt, they thruſt away the ſubſtaũce of bread, and affirme that the accidentes remayne without any ſubiect, and in the ſtéede therof, they place Chriſtes body without his qualities and true maner of a body. And if the Sacrament be reſerued ſo long vntill it moulde, and wormes bréede therof, ſome ſay that the ſubſtaũce of bread miraculouſly returneth agayne, and ſome deny it. Other ſome affirme that the reall body of Chriſt goeth downe into the ſtomacke of the receiuers, & doth there abyde ſo long onely as they ſhall continue to bée good: but an other ſort hold that the body of Chriſt is caryed into heauen ſo ſoone as the formes of bread bée bruſed with the téeth. O workes of miracles. Truly, and moſt truly I ſée that fulfilled in theſe men, wherof S. Paul prophecied. 2. Theſſal. 2. *Becauſe they haue not receyued the loue of the truth, that they myght be ſaued, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould beleue lyes, and be all damned which haue not beleued the truth.* This groſſe preſence hath brought forth that fond phantaſie of concomitaunce, wherby is broken at this day, and abrogated the commaundement of the Lord for the diſtributyng of the Lordes cup to the laytie.

All the reſt that foloweth was not read, becauſe the Prolocutour made poſt haſt vnto the argumentes.

By this deuiſe of concomitance, the Papiſtes imagine as much to be receaued vnder one kinde as both.

6. It geueth occaſion to heretickes.

It geueth occaſion to heretickes to maynteyne and defend theyr errours: as to Martion, which sayd that Chriſt had but a phantaſticall body: and to Eutiches which wickedly confounded the two natures in Chriſt.

7. It falſifieth the ſayinges of the olde Doctors.

Finally, it falſifieth the ſayinges of the godly fathers and the Catholicke faith of the Church, which Vigilius a Martyr and graue writer sayth was taught of the Apoſtles, confirmed with the bloud of Martyrs, and was cõtinually maynteyned by the faithfull, vntill his tyme. By the ſayings of the fathers, I meane of Iustine, Irenee, Tertullian, Origene, Euſebius, Emiſene, Athanaſius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Hierome, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtine, Vigilius, Fulgẽtius, Bertram, and others moſt auncient fathers. All thoſe places, as I am ſure I haue read makyng for my purpoſe, ſo am I well aſſured that I could ſhew the ſame, if I myght haue the vſe of myne owne bookes: Which I will take on me to do, euen vpon the perill of my lyfe, and the loſſe of all that I may loſe in this world.

The true preſence of Chriſtes body in the Supper not denied.

But now (my brethrẽ) thinke not, becauſe I diſallow that preſence which this firſt propoſition maynteineth (as a preſence which I take to be forged, phantaſticall, and beſides the authority of Gods word, pernitiouſly brought into the Church by the Romaniſtes) that I therefore go about to take away the true preſence of Chriſtes body in hys Supper rightly and duely miniſtred, which is grounded vppon the word of God, and made more playne by the Commentaries of the faythfull fathers. They that thinke ſo of me, the Lord knoweth how farre they are deceyued. And to make the ſame euident vnto you, I will in few wordes declare what true preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper I hold and affirme with the worde of God, and the auncient fathers.

The fayth and confeſſion of D. Ridley, in affirming the true preſence in the Sacrament.

I ſay and confeſſe with the Euangeliſt Luke and with the Apoſtle Paul, that the bread on the which thankes are geuen, is the body of Chriſt in the remembraunce of hym and of hys death, to be ſet forth perpetually of the faythfull vntill his commyng.

I ſay and confeſſe the bread which we breake, to be the Cõmunion and partakyng of Chriſtes body, with the auncient and the faythfull fathers.

I ſay and beleue that there is not onely a ſignification of Chriſtes body ſet forth by the Sacrament, but alſo that therewith is geuen to the godly and faythfull, the grace of Chriſtes body, that is, the foode of lyfe and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

The grace of life & immortalitie geuẽ with the Sacrament to the faythfull.

I ſay alſo wyth S. Auguſtine, that we eate lyfe, and we drynke lyfe: wyth Emiſene, that we féele the Lord to be preſent in grace: wyth Athanaſius, that wee receyue celeſtiall foode whych commeth from aboue: the propertye of naturall communion, wyth Hillarius: the nature of fleſh and benediction whych geueth lyfe in bread and wyne, wyth Cyrill: and wyth the ſame Cyrill, the vertue of the very fleſh of Chriſt, lyfe and grace of hys body, the property of the onely begotten, that is to ſay, life, as he hym ſelf in playn words expoũdeth it.

Lyfe eaten. Auguſt.
The Lord felt in grace. Emiſſ.
Celeſtiall foode receaued. Athanaſ.
The propertie of natural cõmunion receaued. Hilar.
The vertue of Chriſtes fleſh. Cyrill.

I confeſſe alſo wyth Baſill, that we receyue the myſtical Aduent and commyng of Chriſt, grace, and the vertue of hys very nature: the Sacrament of his very fleſh, wyth Ambroſe: the body by grace, wyth Epiphanius: ſpirituall fleſh, but not that whych was crucified, wyth Hierome: Grace flowing into a ſacrifice, and the grace of the ſpirite, wyth Chryſoſtome: grace and inuiſible verity, grace and ſocietie of the members of Chriſtes body, with Auguſtine.

The myſticall aduent of Chriſt. Baſil.
The Sacrament of hys very fleſh. Ambroſ.
The body by grace. Epiphan.
Spirituall fleſh, but not that which was crucified. Hierom.
Grace flowing into a ſacrifice. Chryſoſt.
Grace and inuiſible veritie. Auguſt.

Finallye, wyth Bertram (whych was the laſt of all theſe) I confeſſe that Chriſtes body is in the Sacramẽt in thys reſpect: namely (as he writeth) becauſe there is in it the ſpirite of Chriſt, that is, the power of the word of God, whych not onely feedeth the ſoule, but alſo cleanſeth it. Out of theſe I ſuppoſe it may clearely appeare vnto all men, how farre we are from that opinion whereof ſome go about falſly to ſclaunder vs to the world, ſaying we teach that the godly and faythfull ſhould receyue nothyng els at the Lords table, but a figure of the body of Chriſt.

The power of Gods word feeding the ſoule. Bertram.

The Proteſtantes falſely belyed to teach nothyng but a figure in the Sacrament.

❡The ſecond propoſition.

After the conſecration there remayneth no ſubſtance of bread and wyne, neyther any other ſubſtance, then the ſubſtance of God and man.

❡The aunſwere.

Aunſwere to the 2. propoſition.

The 2. propoſition of tranſubſtantiation denyed.

THe ſecond concluſion is manifeſtly falſe, directly againſt the word of god, the nature of the ſacramẽt, and the moſt euident teſtimonies of the godly fathers: and it is the rotten foundation of the other two concluſions propounded by you, both of the fyrſt, and of the thyrd. I wyll not therefore now tarye vpon any further explication of this aunſwer, being contented with that whych is already added afore to the aunſwere of the fyrſt propoſition.

❡The fyrſt argument for the confirmation of thys aunſwere.

Confirmation of hys aunſwere.

IT is very playne by the word of God, that Chriſt dyd geue bread vnto his Diſciples, and called it hys body:
But the ſubſtance of bread is an other maner of ſubſtance, then is the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body God & mã:
Therefore the concluſion is falſe.

The ſecond parte of myne argument is playne, and the fyrſt is proued thus:

❡*The ſecond argument.*

Da- That whych Chriſt did take, on the which he gaue thankes, and the whych he brake, he gaue to hys Diſciples, and called it hys body:
ti- But he toke bread, gaue thãkes on bread, and brake bread:
ſi. Ergo the fyrſt part is true. And it is confirmed wyth the autorities of the Fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierom, Auguſtine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus and Bede. Whoſe places I will take vpon me to ſhew moſt manifeſt in this behalfe, if I may be ſuffered to haue my bookes, as my requeſt is.

Bread is the body of Chriſt:
Ergo it is bread.

*A tertio adiacente ad ſecundum adiacens cum verbi ſubſtantiui pura copula.

*The rule of Logick is this. A propoſitione de tertio adiacente, ad eam quæ eſt de ſecundo, cũ verbo recto ſignificãte exiſtentiã, valet conſequentia affirmatiuè. &c.

❡*The third argument.*

Ba- As the bread of the Lordes table is Chriſtes naturall body, ſo is it his myſticall body.

ro- But it is not Chriſtes myſticall body by tranſubſtantiation.
co. Ergo it is not hys naturall body by tranſubſtantiation.

The Maior proued.

The ſecond part of my argument is playne, and the firſt is proued thus: As Chriſt who is the verity, ſpake of the bread: *This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you*, ſpeaking there of hys natural body: euen ſo Paule moued wyth the ſame ſpirite of truth, ſayd: *We, though we be many, yet are all one bread, and one body, whych be partakers of one bread.*

1. Cor. 10.

¶ *The fourth argument.*

The Argument holdeth *a deſtructione conſequentis, ad deſtructionem antecedentis.*

Da- We may no more beleue bread to be tranſubſtantiate into ẏ body of Chriſt, thē ẏ wine into his bloud.
ti- But the wine is not trãſubſtantiate into his bloud:
ſi. Ergo neither is that bread therfore tranſubſtantiate into his body.

The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, and the ſeconde part is proued out of the authoritye of Gods word in Mathew and Marke: *I wil not drinke of the fruit of the vine. &c.* Nowe the fruit of the vine was wyne, which Chriſt dranke & gaue to his Diſciples to drinke. With this ſentence agreeth playnly the place of Chriſoſtome on the .xx. chapter of Mathew. As Cyprian doth alſo, affirming that there is no bloud, if wine be not in the cuppe.

Math 26. Mark 14.

Chryſoſtome. Cyprian.

¶ *The fift argument.*

Thys argument holdeth after the ſame rule as dyd the other before.

Ba- The wordes of Chriſt, ſpoken vpon the cup & vpon the bread, haue like effect and working.
ro- But the words ſpoken vpon the cup: haue not vertue to tranſubſtantiate.
co. Ergo it followeth, that the wordes ſpoken vpon the bread haue no ſuch vertue.

The ſecond part of the argument is proued, becauſe they ſhould then tranſubſtantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the new Teſtament: but neyther of theſe things can be done, and very abſurde it is to confeſſe the ſame.

¶ *The ſixt argument.*

Da- The circumſtances of the ſcripture, the Analogie & proportion of the ſacraments, and the teſtimony of the faithful Fathers ought to rule vs in taking the meaning of the holy ſcripture touching ẏ ſacramēt.
ti- But the wordes of the Lordes Supper, the circūſtances of the ſcripture, the Analogie of the Sacramentes, and the ſayinges of the Fathers do moſt effectually and playnely proue a figuratiue ſpeach in the wordes of the Lordes ſupper:
ſi. Ergo a figuratiue ſenſe and meaning is ſpecially to be receiued in theſe wordes: *This is my body.*

The circumſtances and wordes of Scripture.

The circumſtances of ẏ ſcripture: *Do this in the remembraunce of me. As oft as ye ſhall eate of this bread and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lordes death. Let a mā proue him ſelf, & ſo eate of this bread, & drinke of this cup. They came together to breake bread: & they cōtinued in breaking of bread. The bread which we breake. &c. For we being many, are all one bread, and one body. &c.*

The Analogie of the Sacramentes.

The Analogie of the ſacramentes is neceſſary: For if the ſacramentes had not ſome ſimilitude or lykenes of the things whereof they be ſacraments, they could in no wyſe be ſacraments. And this ſimilitude in the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, is taken thrée maner of wayes.

Analogie or ſimilitude in the Sacrament, three maner of wayes.

1 The firſt conſiſteth in nouriſhing: as ye ſhall reade in Rabane, Cyprian, Auguſtine, Irenee, & moſt plainly in Iſodore out of Bertram.

2 The ſecond, in the vniting and ioyning of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

3 The thyrd is a ſimilitude of vnlike things: where, lyke as the bread is turned into our body: ſo we, by the right vſe of this Sacrament, are turned through fayth into the body of Chriſt.

The ſayinges of the fathers for the figuratiue ſpeach.

The ſayinges of the Fathers declare it to be a figuratiue ſpéech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chryſoſtome in Opere imperfecto, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Baſill, Gregory Nazianzene, Hilary, and moſt plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreouer, the ſayinges and places of all the Fathers, whoſe names I haue before recited againſt the aſſertion of the firſt propoſition, doe quite ouerthrow tranſubſtantiation. But of all other, moſt euidently and playnly, Irenee, Origen, Cyprian, Chryſoſtome to Ceſarius the Monke, Auguſtine agaynſt Adamantus, Gelaſius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtome agayne on the .xx. of Mathew, Rabane, Damaſene and Bertram.

Here right worſhipfull Mayſter Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners, it may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that I doe not leane to theſe thinges onely, whych I haue wrytten in my former aunſwers & confirmations: but that I haue alſo for the profe of that I haue ſpoken, whatſoeuer Bertram a man learned, of ſound and vpright iudgement, and euer counted a catholike for theſe ſeuen hundreth yeares vntyll thys our age, hath wrytten. Hys treatiſe who ſo euer ſhall read and wey, conſidering the time of the writer, his learning, godlynes of lyfe, the allegations of the auncient Fathers, and hys manifold and moſt grounded arguments, I can not (doubtles) but much marueile, if he haue any feare of God at all, how he can with good conſcience ſpeake agaynſt hym in this matter of the ſacrament. This Bertram was the fyrſt that pulled me by the eare, and that fyrſt brought me from that common errour of the Romiſh church, and cauſed me to ſearch more diligently and exactly, both the ſcriptures and the writinges of the old eccleſiaſticall Fathers in this matter. And this I proteſt before the face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the thinges I now ſpeake.

Commendation of *Bertram.*

D. Ridley firſt brought to the knowledge of the Sacrament by *Bertram.*

¶ The third propoſition.

In the Maſſe is the liuely ſacrifice of the church, propitiable and auaylable for the ſins, as wel of the quicke as of the dead.

The third propoſition touchyng propiciatory Maſſe.

¶ *The aunſwere to this propoſition.*

Aunſwere to the third propoſitiō.

I aunſwere to this thyrd propoſition, as I dyd to the firſt. And moreouer I ſay, that being takē in ſuch ſenſe as the wordes ſéeme to importe, it is not onely erroneous, but wythall ſo much to the derogation and defacing of the death and paſſion of Chriſt: that I iudge it may and ought moſt woorthely to bee counted wycked and blaſphemous agaynſt the moſt precious bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt.

¶ *The explication.*

Explication of the ſame.

Cōcerning the Romiſh Maſſe whych is vſed at this day, or the lyuely ſacrifice thereof, propitiatory and auaylable for the ſynnes of the quicke and the dead, the holy ſcripture hath not ſo much as one ſillable.

Doubtes in the third propoſitiō.

There is ambiguitie alſo in the name of Maſſe: what it ſignifieth, and whether at this day there be any ſuch in dede as the auncient Fathers vſed: ſeing that now there be neither Catechiſtes nor Penitentes to be ſent away.

In the primatiue Church the newly inſtructed in the fayth and the vnworthy, were ſent away from the Communion.

Agayne, touching theſe wordes [*The liuely ſacrifice of the Church*] there is a doubt whether they are to be vnderſtād figuratiuely & ſacramentally, for the ſacrament of the liuely ſacrifice (after whych ſorte we deny it not to be in the Lords ſupper) or properly and without any figure: after the which maner there was but one onely ſacrifice, and that once offered, namely vpon the aultar of the croſſe.

The third doubt.

Moreouer, in theſe words [*as well as*] it may be doubted whether they bee ſpoken in mockage, as men are wont to ſay in ſport of a fooliſhe and ignoraunt perſon, that hee is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge: being apt in déede in neyther of them both.

The 4. doubt.

There is alſo a doubt in the word [*Propitiable*] whether it ſignifie here, that whych taketh away ſynne, or that whych may be made auailable for the taking away of ſinne: that is to ſay, whether it is to be taken in the actiue or in the paſſiue ſignification.

Now the falſenes of the propoſition, after the meaning of the Scholemē and the Romiſh church, and impietie

pietie in that ſenſe whych the wordes ſéeme to import, is thys: that they leaning to the foundation and theyr fond tranſubſtantiation, would make the quicke and lyuely body of Chriſtes fleſh (vnited and knit to the diuinitie) to lye hyd vnder the accidentes and outward ſhewes of bread and wyne. Whych is very falſe, as I haue ſayd afore, and they building vpon this foundation, do hold that the ſame body is offered vnto God by the Prieſt in hys dayly Maſſinges, to put away the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead. Whereas by the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes it is euident that there is but one oblation, & one true & lyuely ſacrifice of the church offered vpõ the aultar of the croſſe, which was, is, and ſhall be for euer, the propitiation for the ſynnes of the whole world: and where there is remiſſion of yͤ ſame, there is (ſayth the Apoſtle) no more offring for ſynne.

The falſenes of the third propoſition reproued.

But one ſacrifice in the Scripture.

¶ Argumentes confirming his aunſwere.

The firſt argument. Heb. 5.

Ce- No ſacrifice ought to be done but where the prieſt is meete to offer the ſame.
la- All other Prieſtes be vnmeete to offer ſacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, ſaue onely Chriſt:
rent. Ergo, no other Prieſtes ought to ſacrifice for ſinne but Chriſt alone.

The ſecond part of my argument is thus proued.

Argument.

Fe- No honour in Gods Church ought to bee taken whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.
ri- It is a great honor in Gods Church to ſacrifice for ſinne:
ſon. Ergo, no man ought to ſacrifice for ſinne but onely they which are called.
But onely Chriſt is called to that honour:
Ergo, no other prieſt but Chriſt ought to ſacrifice for ſinne.

That no man is called to this degree of honour but Chriſt alone, it is euident: For there are but two onely orders of Prieſthod allowed in the worde of God: namely the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchiſedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an ende, by reaſon that it was vnprofitable, and weake: and of the order of Melchiſedech there is but one Prieſt alone, euen Chriſt the Lorde, whych hath a prieſthood that can not paſſe to any other.

Heb. 7.

¶ An other Argument.

Ba- That thing is in vayne and to no effecte, where no neceſſitie is wherefore it is done.
ro- To offer vp any more ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke & the dead, there is no neceſſitie: for Chriſt our Sauiour dyd that fully & perfectly once for all:
co. Ergo to do the ſame in the Maſſe, it is in vayne.

Heb. 9.

An other Argument.

Fe- After that eternall redemption is found and obtayned, there nedeth no more dayly offering for yͤ ſame.
ri- But Chriſt comming an high Biſhop. &c. found and obtained for vs eternall redemption:
o. Ergo there needeth now no more dayly oblation for the ſynnes of the quicke and the dead.

Ab vna cauſa veritatis ad propoſitionem habẽtem illam cauſam, valet conſequentia.

¶ An other argument.

Ca- All remiſſion of ſynnes commeth onely by ſheeding of bloud.
meſ- In the Maſſe there is no ſheeding of bloud:
tres. Ergo in the maſſe there is no remiſſiõ of ſinnes: & ſo it foloweth alſo yͭ there is no propitiatory ſacrifice.

¶ An other argument.

In the Maſſe the paſſion of Chriſt is not in veritye, but in a miſtery repreſenting the ſame: yea euen there where the Lords ſupper is duly miniſtred,

But where Chriſt ſuffereth not, ther is he not offered in verity: for the Apoſtle ſayth: *Not that he might offer vp himſelfe often tymes (for then muſt he haue ſuffered often tymes ſith the beginning of the worlde)*: now where Chriſt is not offered, there is no propitiatory ſacrifice:

Heb. 9.

Ergo in the Maſſe there is no propitiatory ſacrifice: *For Chriſt appeared once in the later end of the worlde, to put ſinne to flight by the offering vp of him ſelfe. And as it is appoynted to all men that they ſhall once dye, and then commeth the iudgement: euẽ ſo Chriſt was once offered to take away the ſinnes of many. And vnto them that looke for him, ſhall he appeare agayne without ſinne, vnto ſaluation.*

¶ An other argument.

Da- Where there is any ſacrifice that can make the commers therunto perfect, there ought men to ceaſe frõ offring any moe expiatory & propitiatory ſacrifices.
ri- But in the new teſtament there is one only ſacrifice nowe already longe ſince offered, which is able to make the commers thereto perfect for euer:
j. Ergo in the new teſtament they ought to ceaſe from offering any more propitiatory ſacrifice.

¶ Sentences of the ſcripture tending to the ſame end and purpoſe, out of which alſo may be gathered other manifeſt arguments, for more confirmation thereof.

BY the whych wyll (ſayth the Apoſtle) *we are ſanctified, by the offering vp of the body of Ieſus Chriſt once for all.* And in the ſame place: *But this man, after that he had offered one ſacrifice for ſinne, ſitteth for euer at the right hand of God. &c. For with one offering hath hee made perfecte for euer them that are ſanctified, and by him ſelfe hath he purged our ſinnes.* I beſech you to marke theſe wordes [*by him ſelfe*] the whych well weyed, wyll wythout doubt ceaſe all controuerſy.

Heb. 10.

[By him ſelf.]

The Apoſtle plainly denieth any other ſacrifice to remayne for him that treadeth vnder hys feete the bloud of the Teſtament by the which he was made holy. Chriſt will not be crucified agayne, he will not his death to be had in deriſion.

He hath reconciled vs in the body of hys fleſh. Marke I beſech you, he ſayth not, in the myſtery of hys body: but in the body of hys fleſh.

Colloſ. 1.

If any man ſinne, we haue an Aduocate with the father, Ieſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſinnes: not for ours onely, but for the ſinnes of the whole world.

1. Iohn. 2.

I know that all theſe places of the Scripture are auoyded by two maner of ſubtill ſhiftes: The one is by the diſtinction of the bloudy and vnbloudy ſacrifice: as though our vnbloudy ſacrifice of yͤ Church were any other then the ſacrifice of prayſe and thãkes geuing, then a commemoration, a ſhewyng forth, and a Sacramentall repreſentation of that one onely bloudy ſacrifice offered vp once for all.

The popiſh diſtinction betwen the bloudy & vnbloudy ſacrifice.

The other is by depraning and wraſting the ſayinges of the auncient fathers vnto ſuch a ſtrãge kynd of ſenſe, as the fathers them ſelues in dede neuer ment. For what the meanyng of the fathers was, it is euident by that which S. Auguſtine writeth in his Epiſtle to Boniface, and in the 83. Chapter of his 9. booke agaynſt Fauſtus the Manichee, beſides many other places: likewiſe by Euſebius, Emiſene, Cyprian, Chriſoſtome, Fulgentius, Betram, and others: which do wholly concorde and agree together in this vnity in the Lord, that the redemption once made in veritie for the ſaluation of man, continueth in full effect for euer, and worketh without ceaſſyng vnto the end of the worlde: that the ſacrifice once offered can not be conſumed: that the Lordes death and Paſſion, is as effectuall, the vertue of that bloud once ſhed as freſh at this day for the waſhyng away of ſynnes, as it was euen the ſame day that it flowed out of yͤ bleſſed ſyde of our Sauiour: and finally that the whole ſubſtaunce of our ſacrifice which is frequẽted of yͤ Church in the Lordes Supper, conſiſteth in prayers, prayſe, and geuing of thankes, and in remembryng and ſhewyng forth of that ſacrifice once offered vpon the Altar of the Croſſe: that the ſame might continually be had in reuerence by miſtery, which once onely, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

The Papiſtes maintain their ſacrifice propitiatory, by the olde Doctors falſly wraſted.

Doctors making agaynſt the propitiatory ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The whole ſubſtance of our ſacrifice wherin it conſiſteth.

Theſe are the things (right worſhypful Maiſter Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners) which I could preſently prepare to the aunſweryng of your three foreſayd propoſitions: beyng deſtitute of all helpe in this ſhortnes of tyme, ſodayn warnyng, and want of bokes. wherfore I appeale to my firſt Proteſtation, moſt humbly deſiryng the helpe of the ſame (as much as may be) to be graunted vnto me. And becauſe ye haue lately geuen moſt vniuſt and cruell ſentence againſt me, I do here appeale (ſo farre forth as I may) to a more indifferent and iuſt cenſure and iudgemẽt of ſome other ſuperiour, competent, and lawfull iudge, and that accordyng to the approued ſtate of the Church of England.

Byſh. Ridley appealeth from the vniuſt ſentence of hys aduerſaryes, to ſome other ſuperiour competent iudge.

Howbeit I confeſſe that I am ignoraunt what that is at this preſent, through the trouble and alteration of the ſtate of the realme. But if this appeale may not be grãted to me vppon earth, then doe I flye (euen as to my onely refuge and alone hauen of health) to the ſentence of the eternall iudge, that is, of the almighty God. To whoſe moſt mercifull iuſtice toward hys, and moſt iuſt mercyfulnes I do wholy commit my ſelf and all my cauſe, nothyng at all deſpayring of the defence of myne Aduocate and alone Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. To whom with the euerlaſtyng father and the holy ſpirite, the ſanctifier

Biſh. Ridley for lacke of equall indifferencie appealeth to almightie God.

tifyer of vs all, be now and for euer all honour and glory. Amen.

Albeit this learned Byſhop was not ſuffered to read all that is aboue prefired before the Diſputations, yet becauſe he had it then ready, and offered it vp to the Prolocutour after the Diſputations and ſentence pronounced: I thought here the place not vnmeete to annexe the ſame together with the reſt. Now let vs heare the Argumentes and anſweres betwene Doct. Smith and hym.

D. Smith beginneth to oppoſe.

SMith. You haue occaſioned me to go otherwiſe to worke with you, then I had thought to haue done. Me ſeemed you did in your ſuppoſition abuſe the teſtimonyes of Scripture concernyng the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, to take away hys preſence in the Sacrament, as though this were a ſtrong Argumēt to inforce your matter withall:

Chriſt did aſcend vnto heauen.
Ergo, he is not in the Sacrament.

Now therfore I will go about to diſprone this reaſon of yours.

Smythes **Argument.**

Chriſtes Aſcenſion is no let to hys reall preſence in the Sacrament.
Ergo, you are deceiued, whereas you do ground your ſelfe vpon thoſe places.

Aunſwere.

Ryd. You import as though I had made a ſtrong Argument by Chriſtes goyng vp into heauen. But howſoeuer myne Argumēt is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not onely ſtay vpon his Aſcenſion, but both vpon his Aſcenſion, and his * abiding there alſo.

**The veritie of M. Ridleys aunſwere, touching the reall being of Christ in earth to be reſtrayned by hys aſcending and abiding in heauen, ſtandeth vpon a neceſſitie, which we call* [Neceſſitas conſequentiæ] *by thys demonſtration:*

Da- *Euery naturall body muſt neceſſarily bee conteyned in hys peculiar and certayne place.*
ri- *Chriſtes body is a naturall body:*
j. Ergo, *Chriſtes body not to bee in one certayne place at once conteyned, it is impoſsible, accordyng to the rule:* Omnes propoſitiones de impoſſibili et de neceſſe equipollent dicto diſſimiliter ſe habēti, et modo ſimiliter.

Smith. Chriſtes going vp to heauen, and his abyding there, hynder not hys reall preſence in the Sacrament.
Ergo, you are deceyued.

Ryd. Of Chriſtes reall preſence there may bee a double vnderſtandyng, if you take the real preſence of Chriſt accordyng to the real and corporall ſubſtāce which he tooke of the Virgine: that preſence beyng in heauen, cannot be on the earth alſo. But if you meane a reall preſence, ſecundū rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Chriſt pertinet i. accordyng to ſome thing that appertaineth to Chriſtes body, certes the Aſcenſion and abydyng in heauen are no let at all to that preſence. Wherfore Chriſtes body after that ſort is here preſent to vs in the Lordes Supper: by grace I ſay, as Epiphanius ſpeaketh it.

Weſt. I will cut of from henceforth all equiuocation and doubt. For when ſoeuer we ſpeake of Chriſtes body, we meane that which he tooke of the Virgyn.

Ryd. Chriſtes Aſcenſion and abydyng in heauen can not ſtand with this preſence.

Argument.

Smith. Chriſt appeared corporally & really on the earth, for all his Aſcenſion and continuall abode in heauen vnto the day of Dome.
Ergo, his Aſcenſion and abydyng in heauen is no let to hys reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Aunſwere.

Ryd. Maiſter Doctour, this Argument is nothyng worth. I do not ſo ſtraitly tye Chriſt vp in heauen, that he may not come into the earth at hys pleaſure. For when he will, he may come downe from heauen, and be on the earth, as it lyketh hym ſelfe. Howbeit I do affirme that it is not poſſible for hym to be both in heauen and earth at one tyme.

Smith. Marke, I pray you my Maiſters, diligētly that be here, what he aunſwereth. Firſt he ſayth that the ſittyng of Chriſt at right hand of his father, is a let to the reall preſence of his body in the Sacrament: and then afterward he flyeth from it agayne.

Ryd. I would not haue you thincke that I do imagine or dreame vpon any ſuch maner of ſitting, as theſe men here ſit in the Schole.

Smith. Ergo, it is lawfull for Chriſt then to be here preſent on the earth, when he will hym ſelfe.

Ryd. Yea when he will, it is lawfull in deede.

Smith. Ergo, hys aſcendyng into heauen doth not reſtrayne hys reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Chriſtes abode in heauen is no let for hym to appeare on earth whē hee will: but whether he wil that muſt be proued. Agayne, it is one thyng to appeare on earth, an other ſtill in the Sacrament, and to be preſent the ſame time with hys body in heauen, when he is bodily preſent in earth.

Ryd. I do not gaynſay, but that it is lawfull for hym to appeare on the earth when he will: but proue you that he will.

Smith. Then your aunſwere dependeth vpō the will of Chriſt, I perceiue. Therfore I will ioyne agayne with you in this ſhort Argument.

Chriſt, albeit he doth alway abyde in heauen after his aſcenſion, was ſeene really & corporally on the earth.
Ergo, notwithſtandyng hys Aſcenſion and continuall ſittyng at the ryght hand of the father, he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament.

Ryd. If the Notaries ſhould ſo record your Argumēt, as you haue framed it, you peraduenture would be aſhamed therof hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt after hys Aſcenſiō was ſeene really and corporally vpon the earth.
Ergo, notwithſtandyng hys Aſcenſion and abydyng with his father, he may be corporally in the Sacramēt.

Ryd. I graunt the antecedent: but I deny the conſequent.

Smith. Do you graunt the antecedent?

Ryd. Yea, I graunt the antecedent. I am content to let you haue ſomuch, becauſe I know that there be certaine auncient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you vſe that propoſition as true. And I will frame the Argument for you.

He was ſeene on earth after his Aſcenſion. Ergo. &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it my ſelfe.

Chriſt after hys Aſcenſion was ſeene really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abyde in heauen continually:
Ergo, notwithſtandyng his Aſcenſion and continuall abidyng at the right hand of the father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Chriſtes continuall ſitting in heauen expended.

Ryd. Let vs firſt agree about the continuall ſittyng at the right hand of the father.

Smith. Doth he ſo ſit at the right hand of his father, that he doth neuer forſake the ſame?

Ryd. Nay I do not bynd Chriſt in heauen ſo ſtraitly. I ſee you go about to beguile me with your equiuocations. Such equiuocatiōs are to be diſtincted. If you meane by his ſittyng in heauen, to reigne with hys father, he may be both in heauen and alſo in earth. But if ye vnderſtand his ſittyng to be after a corporall maner of ſittyng, ſo he is alwayes permanent in heauen. For Chriſt to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is reſident in heauen, is cleane contrary to the holy Scriptures: As Auſten ſayth: Corpus Chriſti eſt in cœlo, ſed veritas eius vbiq; diffuſa eſt. i. *The body of Chriſt is in heauē: but his truth is diſperſed in euery place.*

Chriſt can not be both corporally here, & corporally alſo in heauen at one tyme.

Now, if continually he abide in heauen after the maner of his corporall preſence, then his perpetuall abydyng there, ſtoppeth or letteth that the ſame corporall preſence of hym cannot be in the Sacrament.

Smith. Actes 3. we read that Chriſt ſhall ſit perpetually at the right hand of God, vnto the conſummatiō of the world.

Weſt. I perceiue you are come here to this iſſue, whether the body of Chriſt may be together both in earth and in heauen. I will tell you, that Chriſt in very deede is both in earth and in heauē together and at one tyme, both one and the ſame naturall Chriſt after the veritie and ſubſtaunce of his very body. Ergo. &c.

Ryd. I deny the antecedent.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos.

Weſt. I proue it by ij. witneſſes. Firſt by Chryſoſt. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos. Nōne per ſingulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, ſed recordationem facientes mortis eius. Et vna eſt hæc hoſtia, non multæ. Et quomodo vna, & non multæ, quæ ſemel oblata eſt in ſancto ſanctorum? Hoc autem ſacrificium exēplar eſt illius: id ipſum ſemper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, craſtina alium, ſed ſemper eundem ipſum. Proinde vnum eſt hoc ſacrificium: alioqui hac ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Chriſti ſunt? Nequaquam, ſed vnus vbique eſt Chriſtus: & hic plenus exiſtens, & illic plenus, vnum corpus. i. Do we not offer euery day? we do ſo in deede: but doyng it for the remembraunce of his death. And this offring is one and not many. And how is it one and not many which was once offered in the holy place? This ſacrifice is a paterne of that: the ſelfe ſame we alwayes offer, not now as offryng one Lambe to day and an other to morow, but alwayes one and the ſame Lambe. wherfore here is but one ſacrifice: for els by this meanes, ſeyng there be many ſacrifices in many places, be there many Chriſtes? not ſo. But one Chriſt in all places, both perfect here & perfect there, one onely body. Now thus I argue.

Argument.

We offer one thyng at all tymes.
There is one Chriſt in al places, both here complete and there complete:
Ergo, by Chryſoſtome there is one body both in heauen and earth.

Aunſwere.

Ryd. I remember the place well. These thyngs make nothyng agaynſt me.

One Chriſt but not one body, nor after one bodily ſubſtance in all places.

Weſt. One Chriſt is in all places, here full, & there ful.

Ryd. One Chriſt is in all places, but not one body in all places.

Weſt. One body ſayth Chryſoſtome.

Aunſwere to Chryſoſt.

Ridley. But not after the maner of bodily ſubſtance he is in all places, nor by circumſcription of place. For [hic] and [illic] *here* and *there* in Chryſoſtome do aſſigne no place: as Auguſtine ſaith. Surſum eſt dominus, ſed vbique eſt veritas domini: *The lord is aboue, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.*

Weſton. You cā not ſo eſcape. He ſayth not the verity of Chriſt is one: but one Chriſt is in all places, both here and there.

One Chriſt and one ſacrifice in all places, and how: to wit, Chriſt by veritie, the ſacrifice by ſignification.

Rid. One ſacrifice is in all places, becauſe of the vnity of him whom the ſacrifice doth ſignifie: not that the ſacrifices be all one and the ſame.

Weſt. Ergo, by your ſaying it is not Chriſt, but the ſacrifice of Chriſt.

But Chryſoſtome ſayth, one body and one Chriſt is there, and not one ſacrifice.

*Ex libro Ridlei ipſius manu deſcripto.

Sacrifice why it is called one.

Rid. I ſay that both Chriſt and the ſacrifice of Chriſt is there: Chriſt by ſpirite, grace, and verity: the ſacrifice by ſignification. *Thus I graunt wyth Chryſoſtome, that there is one Hoſt or Sacrifice, and not many: and this our Hoſt is called one by reaſon of the vnity of that one, which one onely all our Hoſtes do repreſent. That onely Hoſt was neuer other, but that which was once offered on the aultar of the croſſe, of which Hoſt al our Hoſtes are but ſacramental exāples.

How one Chriſt is offered in many places at once.

And where you alledge out of Chryſoſtome, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, both here full Chriſt, and there full Chriſt: I graunt it to be true, that is, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, in a myſtery and ſacramētally, and that he is full Chriſt in all thoſe places, but not after the corporall ſubſtance of our fleſh whych he tooke, but after the benediction whych geueth lyfe: and he is geuen to the godly receyuers in bread and wyne as Cyrill ſpeaketh. Concerning the oblatiō of Chriſt, wherof Chryſoſtome here ſpeaketh, he hymſelfe doth clearely ſhew what he meaneth thereby, in ſaying by the way of correction: *We alwayes doe the ſelfe ſame: howbeit by the recordation or remembraunce of hys ſacrifice.*

Weſt. The ſecond wytnes is Bernard in a Sermon that he made of the Supper of the Lord, who ſayth:

Bernard.

Vnde hoc nobis pijſſime Ieſu, vt nos vermiculi, reptantes ſuper faciem terræ, nos inquam qui puluis & cinis ſumus, te præſentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus & integer ſedes ad dextram patris, qui etiam vnius horæ momento, ab ortu ſolis vſque ad occaſum, ab Aquilone vſque ad Auſtrum, præſto es, vnus in multis, idem in diuerſis locis? That is to ſay in Engliſh,

How commeth thys to vs, moſt gentle Ieſu, that we ſeely woormes, creeping on the face of the earth, that we (I ſay) which are but duſt & aſhes, may deſerue to haue thee preſent in our handes, and before our eyes, who both together ful and whole doeſt ſyt at the right hand of the father, and who alſo in the moment of one houre, frō the riſyng of the ſunne, to the going downe of the ſame, art preſent one, and the ſelf ſame in many and diuers places.

The tyme of *Bernard* conſidered.

Rid. These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in ſuch a tyme, that in this matter he may worthely be ſuſpected. He hath many good and fruitfull ſayinges: as alſo in that ſame foreſayd place by you alledged. But yet he followed in ſuch an age, whē as the doctrine of the holy ſupper was ſore peruerted. Notwithſtanding yet I wyll ſo expound him, rather thē reiect him, that he ſhal make nothyng for you at all. He ſayth that we haue Chriſt in myſterye, in a ſacrament, vnder a veile or couer: but hereafter ſhall haue hym wythout al veile or couer. In the meane tyme, here now he ſayth, that the veritye of Chriſt is euery where. The veritye of Chriſt is both here and there, and in all places.

Bernard rather expounded then reiected.

Weſt. What do you call verity? He ſayth not the verity of Chriſt, but the verity of the body of Chriſt.

What is the veritie of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. The verity of the body of Chriſt is the true faith of the body of Chriſt: after that verity he is with them whych truly beleue vpon him.

Weſt. Chriſt is one and the ſame in diuers places. I vrge theſe wordes [in diuerſis locis] *in diuers places*, and yet I am not ſatiſfied.

Smyth. Chriſt was ſeene really and corporally on the earth after his aſcenſion, and continually ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo the aſcenſion and perpetual ſitting in heauen, hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the ſacrament.

To be reſident and not reſident importe contradiction.

Ryd. If by perpetuall ſitting, you meane the reſidence of hys body in heauen, your reaſon contayneth manifeſt contradiction.

Smith. These two haue no contradiction in them at all, both to ſit continually at hys Fathers right hand, and alſo to be ſeene here really in earth after his aſcenſion. Fyrſt you wyll geue me that Chriſt ſitteth in heauen at the ryght hand of hys father. For ſo it is wrytten. Act. 5. *Heauen muſt nedes receiue him vnto the tyme of the reſtoring of all. &c.* Secondly, he was alſo ſeene of Paule here corporally on earth. Wherefore theſe two do import, as ye ſee, no contradiction.

To be here and not here, importeth no contradiction in reſpect of ſundry tymes.

Ryd. What letteth, but that Chriſt, if it pleaſe hym, and when it pleaſeth hym, may bee in heauen and in earth, and appeare to whom he wyll? and yet notwithſtanding you haue not yet proued, that he wyll ſo doe. And though Chriſt continually ſhall be reſident in heauen vnto the iudgement, yet there may be ſome intermiſſion, that notwythſtandyng. But this controuerſie (as I ſayd) is among all ẏ auncient Doctors and Writers. And that Chriſt hath bene here ſeene, that they graunt all: but whether then he being in earth, or in heauen, that is doubtfull.

Chriſtes appearyng on the earth ſomtime, taketh not away his reſidence in heauen.

Smith. I wil proue, that he would appeare in earth.

He ſo would, and alſo dyd appeare here in earth after hys Aſcenſion. Ergo. &c.

How Chriſt appeared in earth.

Ryd. He appeared, I graunt: but how he appeared, whether then being in heauen or in earth, that is vncertayne. So he appeared to Steuen, being then corporally ſitting in heauen. For ſpeaking after the true maner of mans body, when he is in heauen, hee is not the ſame time in earth: and when he is in earth, he is not the ſame tyme corporally in heauen.

Smyth. Chriſt hath bene both in heauen and in earth all at one tyme.

Ergo, you are deceyued in denying that.

Rid. I do not vtterly deny Chriſt here to haue ben ſeene in earth. Of vncertain thinges I ſpeake vncertaynly.

Smith. He was ſeene of Paule, as being borne before his tyme, after his aſcending vp to heauen. 1. Corin. 15

But hys Viſion was a corporall Viſion:

Ergo he was ſeene corporally vpon the earth after hys aſcending into heauen.

This argument holdeth rather *ratione materiæ*, then *ratione formæ*.

Ryd. He was ſeene really and corporally in deede: but whether being in heauen or in earth,it is a doubt. And of doubtfull things we muſt iudge doubtfully. How be it you muſt proue that hee was in heauen in the ſame tyme,when he was corporally on earth.

Smyth. I would know of you, whether thys Viſion may inforce the reſurrection of Chriſt?

Whether Paule ſaw Chriſt in heauē or in earth, all is one to proue hys reſurrection.

Ryd. I accompt this a ſound and fyrme argument to proue the reſurrection. But whether they ſaw him in heauen or in earth,I am in doubt: and to ſay the truth it maketh no great matter. Both waies the argument is of lyke ſtrength. For whether he were ſeene in heauen,or whether he were ſeene on earth, eyther of both maketh ſufficiently for the matter. Certaine it is, he roſe againe: for he could not haue bene ſeene, vnles he had ryſen agayne.

Smyth. Paule ſaw him as he was here conuerſant on earth,and not out of heauen, as you affirme.

Petitio Principij.

Ryd. You runne to the beginning agayne: that you take for graunted,which you ſhould haue proued.

Smyth. You make delayes for the nonce.

Ryd. Say not ſo,I pray you. Thoſe that heare vs, be learned: they can tel both what you oppoſe, and what I aunſwer well ynough,I warrant you.

Argument.

Treſh. He was ſeene after ſuch ſorte, as that he might be heard.

Ergo he was corporally on the earth, or els howe could he be heard?

Aunſwere.

Ryd. He that found the meanes for Steuen to behold him in heauē,euen he could bryng to paſſe wel inough, that Paule might heare hym out of heauen.

Argument.

Da- Smith. As other ſaw him,ſo Paule ſaw hym.
ti- Other did ſee him viſibly and corporally on earth:
ſi. Ergo,Paule ſaw him viſibly & corporally on earth.

Aunſwere.

Ryd. I graunt he was ſeene viſibly & corporally: but yet haue you not proued that he was ſeene in earth.

Smith He was ſeene ſo of hym,as of other.

But he was ſeene of other being on earth, and appeared viſibly to them on earth:

Ergo he was ſeene of Paule on earth.

Ryd. Your controuerſie is about [exiſtens in terra] that is,being on earth: if Exiſtere, *to be*, be referred as vnto ẏ place,I deny that Chriſt after that ſort was on the earth. But if it be referred as to the veritye of the body,then I graunt it. Moreouer, I ſay that Chriſt was ſeene of men in earth after his Aſcenſion, it is certaine. For he was ſeene of Steuen: he was ſeene alſo of Paule. But whether he deſcended vnto the earth,or whether he being in heauen,did reuele or manifeſt him ſelfe to Paule,when Paule was rapt into the third heauen, I know that ſome contend about it: and the ſcripture,as farre as I haue read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but iudge vncertaynly of thoſe thinges whych be vncertayne.

Egeſippus Lib 3.cap.3.

Linus De Paßione Petri.

Ambroſius.

Abdias.

Smith. We haue Egeſippus and Linus agaynſt you, which teſtifie that Chriſt appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his Aſcenſion. Lib.3.cap.3. Peter ouercome with the requeſtes and mourninges of the people,whych deſired hym to get him out of the Citie, becauſe of Nero his lying in waite for him,began without company to conuey himſelf away from thence: and whan he was come to the gate,he ſeeth Chriſt come to meete him, and worſhipping him, he ſayd: Maiſter, whether walke you? Chriſt aunſwered, I am come agayne to be crucified. Linus wryting of the paſſion of Peter,hath the ſelfe ſame ſtory. Saint Ambroſe hath the ſame likewiſe,and alſo Abdias,ſcholer to the Apoſtels,which ſaw Chriſt before hys aſcending into heauen. With what face therefore dare you affirme it to be a thing vncertaine, whych theſe men doe manifeſtly witnes to haue bene done?

Ryd. I ſaid before that the Doctors in that matter did vary.

Smyth. Do you thinke this ſtory is not certain, being approued by ſo auncient and probable authoritie?

Ryd. I doo ſo thinke, becauſe I take and eſteeme not their wordes,for the wordes of ſcripture. And though I dyd graunt you that ſtory to be certayne, yet it maketh not agaynſt me.

Smith. Such thinges as be certaine,and approued of them,you do reiect as thinges vncertaine.

The credite of Linus ſtory.

*This addition is taken out of the copy of Byſhop *Ridleys* owne wryting.

Ryd. The ſtory of Linus is not of ſo great authority: although I am not ignorant that *Euſebius ſo writeth alſo in the ſtory of the Church. And yet I accompt not theſe mens reportes ſo ſure as the Canonicall Scriptures. Albeit if at any tyme he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his Aſcenſion,that doth not diſproue my ſaying. For I go not about to tye Chriſt vp in fetters,(as ſome do vntruly report of vs)but that he may be ſeene vpon the earth accordyng to hys Diuine pleaſure,when ſoeuer it lyketh hym. But we affirme that it is contrary to the nature of hys manhode and the true maner of his body, that he ſhould be together and at one inſtant both in heauen and earth,accordyng to his corporall ſubſtaunce. And the perpetuall ſittyng at the right hand of the father,may(I graunt)be taken for the ſtabilitie of Chriſtes kyngdome, and his continuall or euerlaſtyng equalitie with hys father in the glory of heauen.

Chryſoſt. alleaged *Hom.2.ad populum Antioch.*

Smith. Now where as you boaſt that your fayth is the very fayth of the auncient Church: I will ſhewe here that is not ſo, but that it doth directly ſtriue agaynſt the faith of the old fathers. I wil bring in Chryſoſtome for this point. Hom.2. ad populum Antiochenū. Tanquam maximam hæreditatem,Eliſæus melotem ſuſcepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit hæreditas,omnī auro prætioſior: & erat duplex Helias ille: & erat ſurſum Helias,& deorſum Helias. Noui quòd iuſtum illum beatū putatis, & velletis quiſq; eſſe vt ille. Quid igitur,ſi vobis demonſtrauero quid aliud, quod illo multo maius omnes ſacris myſterijs imbuti recipimus. Helias quidem melotem diſcipulo reliquit: Filius autē dei aſcendens, ſuam nobis carnem dimiſit. Sed Helias quidē exutus: Chriſtus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipſam habens aſcendit. That is: Eliſeus receyued the mantell as a right great inheritaunce. For it was in deede a right excellent inheritāce, and more precious then any gold beſide. And the ſame Helias was a double Helias: He was both Helias aboue,and Helias beneath. I know well you thinke that iuſt mā to be happy,and you would gladly be euery one of you as he is. what will you then ſay, if I ſhall declare to you a certayne other thyng, which all we that are indued with theſe holy myſteries,do receiue, much more thē that? Helias in dede left hys mātell to his ſcholer. But the ſonne of God aſcendyng,dyd leaue here his fleſh vnto vs. Helias left it puttyng of the ſame. But Chriſt both left it to vs,& aſcended alſo to heauē hauing it with him.

Here at thys aunſwere great contumelious, ſpitefull, & reproachfull wordes were caſt vpon thys good Byſhop.

Ryd. I graūt that Chriſt dyd both: that is, both toke vp hys fleſh with hym,aſcendyng vp,and alſo did leaue the ſame behynd hym with vs, but after a diuerſe maner and reſpect. For he toke his fleſh with hym,after the true and corporall ſubſtaunce of his body and fleſh: agayne hee left the ſame in myſterie to the faythfull in the Supper,to be receyued after a ſpirituall communication and by grace. Neither is the ſame receiued in the Supper onely,but alſo at other tymes, by hearing the Goſpel & by faith. For, *the [bread] which we breake is the communicatiō of the body of Chriſt:* And generally: *Vnles ye eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man,and drinke his bloud, ye ſhall haue no lyfe in you.*

Chryſoſt. De dignitate Sacerdotij. Lib.3. cap.3.

Smith. Chryſoſtome in his booke de dignitate Sacerdotij. lib.3.cap.3. ſayth: O miraculum,O Dei beneuolentiam. Qui ſurſum ſedet,tempore ſacrificij,hominum manibus continetur. Or,as other haue tranſlated it: O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem,qui cum patre ſurſum ſedet,in illo ipſo temporis articulo,omniū manibus pertractatur,ac ſeipſe tradit volētibus ipſum accipere & complecti. That is: Oh miracle, O the good will of God. He that ſitteth aboue, at the ſacrifice tyme, is conteined in the handes of men. Or els as other haue tranſlated,thus: Oh miracle, Oh the gentlenes of God. He that ſitteth aboue with the father, is handled with the handes of all men at the very ſame moment of tyme, and doth hym ſelfe deliuer hym ſelfe to them that are deſirous to take hym and embrace hym.

Ryd. He that ſitteth there, is here preſent in myſtery and by grace, & is holden of the godly,ſuch as communicate micate hym, not onely Sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more holeſomly with the hãd of the hart, and by inward drynkyng he is receyued: but by the Sacramentall ſignification he is holden of all men.

Seton. Where is then the miracle if he bee onely preſent through his grace, and in myſtery onely?

The miracle in the Sacrament wherein it conſiſteth.

Ryd. Yes there is a miracle, good Syr. Chriſt is not idle in his Sacramentes. Is not the miracle great (trow you) when bread, which is wont to ſuſteyne the body, becommeth fode to the ſoule? He that vnderſtandeth not that miracle, he vnderſtandeth not the force of that myſtery. God graunt we may euery one of vs vnderſtand his truth, and obey the ſame.

Smith. Chryſoſtome calleth it a miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God in heauen, and at the ſame tyme is held in the handes of men: not that he is handled with the hãdes of men onely in a myſtery, and is with them through grace. Therfore while you deny that, you are altogether deceiued, and ſtray farre from the truth.

Harpſ. The former place of Chryſoſtome is not to be let ſlyppe. Let me, before I begin, aſke this one queſtiõ of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloake or mantell, and the gift of prophecie to his Scholer?

Ryd. Yes ſurely, it is a great matter.

Harpſ. Did not Elias then leaue great grace?

Ryd. He did ſo.

Chryſoſt. alleaged *Hom. 2. ad populum Antioch.*

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a farre greater grace then Helias: for hee could not both leaue his cloke and take it with hym: Chriſt doth both in his fleſh.

How Chriſt toke vp hys body, and left it with vs.

The phraſe of *Chryſoſt.* conſidered.

Ryd. I am well content to graunt, that Chriſt left much greater thynges to vs, then Helias to Eliſeus, albeit he be ſayd to haue left his double ſpirite with hym: for that the ſtrength and grace of the body of Chriſt, which Chriſt aſcẽdyng vp, here left with vs, is the onely ſaluation & life of all them which ſhalbe ſaued: which lyfe Chriſt hath here left vnto vs, to be receiued by fayth through the hearyng of the word, and the ryght adminiſtration of the Sacramentes. This vertue and grace Chryſoſtome, after the phraſe & maner of Iohn the Euangeliſt, calleth Chriſtes fleſh.

Compariſon betwen *Elias* mantell, & Chriſtes fleſh.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a greater matter. He caried vp and left behynd. You vnderſtand not the cõpariſon. The compariſon is in this, that Elias left hys mantell, & caryed it not with hym: Chriſt left hys fleſh behynd hym, and caryed it with hym alſo.

Elias toke hys mantell, & left neyther mantell nor ſacrament of hys mantell behinde hym. Chriſt toke hys fleſh and left a Sacrament of hys fleſh, which was more then *Elias* dyd: and yet the ſayd *Elias* afterward caſt downe hys mantell.

Ryd. True it is, and I my ſelfe did affirme no leſſe before. Now where you ſeeme to ſpeake many thynges, in deede you bryng no new thyng at all. Let there be a compariſon betwene grace and grace, and then Chriſt gaue the farre greater grace, when he dyd inſerte or graffe vs into hys fleſh.

Harpſ. If you wil geue me leaue, I will aſke you this queſtion. If Chryſoſtome would haue ment ſo, that Chriſt left hys body in the Euchariſt, what playner wordes thincke you, or more euident could he haue vſed then theſe?

Chryſoſt. De dignitate Sacerdotij. Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Ryd. Theſe thynges be not of ſo great force as they beare a great ſhew outwardly. He might alſo haue vſed groſſer wordes if he had liſted to haue vttered his mind ſo groſly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he ſpeaketh after the maner of other Doctours, which of myſticall matters ſpeake myſtically, and of Sacramentes ſacramentally.

Harpſ. The cõpariſon lyeth in this: That which was impoſſible to Elias, is poſſible to Chriſt.

Ryd. I graunt. It was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to the other impoſſible. Helias left his cloke: Chriſt both left his fleſh and tooke it with hym.

Harpſ. Helias left behynd hym, and could not take with hym: Chriſt both left behynd hym, and alſo tooke with hym. Except you will ſay: the compariſon here made to be nothyng.

Harpſfield vnlearned.

Ryd. He tooke vp his fleſh with hym to heauen, and left here the communion of his fleſh in earth.

Weſt. You vnderſtand in the firſt place hys fleſh for very true fleſh: and in the ſecond place for grace, and cõmunion of hys fleſh: and why do you not vnderſtand it in yͤ ſecond place alſo for hys true fleſh? I wil make it euident, how blockyſh and groſſe your aunſwere is.

Quam ſit Stupida & craſſa reſponſio tua.

Ryd. Theſe be tauntes and reproches, not beſemyng (as I thinke) the modeſty of this Schole.

Weſt. Elias left hys cloake to his diſciple: but yͤ ſonne of God, goyng vp to heauen, left his fleſh. But Elias certaynly left hys cloake behynd, and Chriſt lykewiſe hys fleſh, and yet aſcendyng he caryed the ſame with hym to. By which wordes we make this reaſon.

Argument.

Chriſt left hys fleſh to his Diſciples, and yet for all that he tooke the ſame vp with hym:

Ergo, he is preſent here with vs.

D. Weſton ſpeaking to the audience in Engliſh.

Here Doct. Weſton crying to the people, ſayd vnto them: Maiſter Doct. aunſwereth it after this faſhion:

He caried his fleſh into heauen, and he left here the communion of hys fleſh behynd. Aſſuredly the aunſwere is to vnlearned.

Ryd. I am glad you ſpeake in Engliſh. Surely I wiſh that all the whole world might vnderſtãd your reaſons and my aunſweres. Reliquit nobis carnem ſuam. i. *He left vs hys fleſh.* Thys you vnderſtand of hys fleſh, and I vnderſtand the ſame of grace. He caryed hys fleſh into heauen, and left behinde the communion of hys fleſh vnto vs.

Weſt. Ye Iudges, what thinke you of this aunſwere?

Iudges. It is ridiculous and a very fond aunſwere.

But where were theſe Iudges in K. *Edwardes* tyme?

Ryd. Well, I take your wordes paciẽtly for Chriſtes cauſe.

Weſt. Weſton here citeth a place: Spargimur ſanguine Chriſti: *We are ſprinckled with the bloud of Chriſt.*

How we are ſprinckled with Chriſtes bloud.

Ryd. Maiſter Doctor, it is yͤ ſame bloud, but yet ſpiritually receyued. And in deede all the Prophetes were ſprinckled with yͤ ſame bloud, but yet ſpiritually I ſay, and by grace. And what ſoeuer they bee that are not ſprinckled with this bloud, they cã not be partakers of the euerlaſtyng ſaluation.

Weſt.*Here I bryng Bernard vnto you agayne. *Euen from the Weſt vnto the Eaſt, from the North vnto the South, there is one and the ſelfe ſame Chriſt in many and diuers places.*

*This he repeated in Engliſh to the people alſo.

Ryd. The aunſwere is ſone made, that one Chriſt is here and in diuers places. For God accordyng to hys Maieſty, and accordyng to his prouidence, as S. Auſten ſayth, is euery where with the godly, accordyng to hys indiuiſible and vnſpeakeable grace. Or els, if we ſhould vnderſtand Bernard accordyng to the corporall preſẽce, how monſtrous or huge, and gyantlike a body would you then make Chriſtes body to be, which ſhould reach euen from North to South, from Weſt to Eaſt.

Aunſwere to *Bernard.*

The Papiſtes make Chriſt to haue a monſtrous body.

Weſt. Nay, nay, you make a monſtrous aunſwere and vnlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with thoſe reaſons which I had purpoſed to bryng agaynſt you, I am minded to come agayne to Maiſter Doctours Argumẽt, by which you beyng brought into the briers, ſemed to doubt of Chriſtes preſence on the earth. To the proufe of which matter I will bryng nothyng els, then that which was agreed vpon in the Catechiſme of the Synode of London ſet out not long ago by you.

Here they returne agayne to Latin.

Byſh. Ridley falſely charged to ſet forth the Catechiſme.

Ryd. Syr, I geue you to witte, before you go any farther, that I dyd ſet out no Catechiſme.

Weſt. Yes, you made me ſubſcribe to it when you were a Byſhop in your ruffe.

D. Weſton in Kyng *Edwardes* dayes ſubſcribed.

Ryd. I compelled no man to ſubſcribe.

Warde. Yes by roode, you are the very authour of that hereſie.

Ryd. I put forth no Catechiſme.

Cole. Did you neuer conſent to yͤ ſetting out of thoſe thinges, which you allowed?

Rid. I graunt that I ſaw the booke. But I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many thinges for it. So I conſented to the booke:

Of thys Catechiſme read before pag. 1590.

I was not the author of it.

*The Iudges geue an vntrue verdite: for *D. Cranmer* meaning by the Counſell, ſpake no worde of *Ridley.*

Iudges. *The Catechiſme is ſo ſet forth, as though the whole conuocation houſe had agreed to it. Cranmer ſayd yeſterday that you made it.

Rid. I thinke ſurely that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The Catechiſme hath this clauſe: Si viſibiliter & in terra. &c. i. *If viſibly and on the earth. &c.*

Rid. I anſwere that thoſe articles were ſet out, I both witting and conſenting to them. Myne own hand wyll teſtifie the ſame, and Maiſter Cranmer put his hand to them lykewiſe, & gaue them to other afterward. Now, as for the place which you alledge out of it, that may eaſely be expounded, and without any inconuenience.

A poſſibili ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.

Ward. Chriſt is the power and vertue of his Father.

Ergo he was not of ſo lyttle ſtrength, that hee could not bryng to paſſe whatſoeuer he would hym ſelfe.

Rydley. I graunt.

Ward. Chriſt was the wyſdome of the Father.

Ergo, that he ſpake, he ſpake wiſely, and ſo as euery man might vnderſtand: neyther was it hys mynde to ſpeake one thing in ſtede of an other.

Ryd. All thys I graunt.

Argument of the wyſedome and truth of Chriſt.

Ward. Chriſt was likewyſe the very truth: Ergo, he made and perfourmed in dede, that whych hee entended to make. And likely it is, that he doth neyther deceyue, nor could be deceyued, nor yet would go about to deceyue other.

Hillar. in Pſal. 118.

Weſton. *Hilarius in Pſalmum.* 118. hath theſe wordes. Vera omnia ſunt, & neq; ocioſè, neque inutiliter conſtituta dei verba, ſed extra omnem ambiguitatem ſuperfluæ inanitatis, ignita, & ignita vehementer, ne quid illic eſſe quod nō perfectum ac proprium ſit, exiſtimetur. *That is:* All Gods wordes or ſayinges are true, and neyther idlely placed, nor vnprofitably, but fiery, & wonderfull fiery without all doubtfulnes of ſuperfluous vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not abſolute and proper.

Ward. He is the truth of ẏ Father: Ergo, he can neither deceiue, nor yet be deceiued, eſpecially, I meane, when he ſpake at his latter end, & made his teſtament.

Aunſwere to *M. Wardes* Argument.

Rid. Chriſt is the very truth of the father: and I perceiue well to what ſcope you driue your reaſon. Thys is but a farre fet compaſſe of wordes. If that thoſe wordes of Chriſt: *This is my body*, which you meane, be rightly vnderſtood, they are moſt true.

Ward. He toke, he brake, he gaue. &c. what toke he?

Rydley. Bread, hys body.

Ward. What brake he?

Rydley. Bread.

Ward. What gaue he?

Rydley. Bread.

Ward. Gaue he bread made of wheate, and materiall bread?

Ryd. I know not whether he gaue bread of wheate: but he gaue true and materiall bread.

Thys argument is not formall in the 2. figure.

Ward. I wyl proue the contrary by the ſcriptures.

He deliuered to them that, which he bad them take,
But he bad not them take materiall bread, but hys owne body.
Ergo he gaue not material bread, but his own body.

Aunſwere.

Ryd. I deny the Minor. For he bad them take hys body ſacramentally in materiall bread: and after that ſort it was both bread, which he bad thē take, becauſe ẏ ſubſtance was bread, & it was alſo his body, becauſe it was the ſacrament of his body, for the ſanctifying and the comming to of the holy Ghoſt, whych is alwayes aſſiſtent to thoſe miſteries whych were inſtituted of Chriſt, and lawfully adminiſtred.

Harpſ. What is he that ſo ſayth: *By the comming vnto of the holy ſpirite?*

Theophilact. in Math. 26.

Ryd. I haue Theophilact for myne author for thys maner of ſpeaking. And here I bryng hym, that ye may vnderſtand that phraſe not to be myne, vpon Mathew. 26. Furthermore, the ſaid Theophilact wryting vpon theſe wordes: *This is my body*, ſheweth, that the body of ẏ Lord is bread, which is ſanctified on ẏ altar.

Ogle. That place of Theophilact maketh openly agaynſt you. For he ſayth in that place, that Chriſt ſaid not: *this is a figure of my body, but my body.* For ſaith he, by an vnſpeakeable operation it is transfourmed, although it ſeeme to vs to be bread.

The wordes of *Theophil.* [he ſayd not thys is a figure of my body] aunſwered.

Rid. It is not a figure, that is to ſay, non tantum eſt figura. i. it is not onely a figure of hys body.

Weſt. Where haue you that word [tantum] *onely?*

Rid. It is not in that place, but he hath it in an other, and Auſtine doth ſo ſpeake many tymes, and other Doctours moe.

Weſt. Here Weſton repeating the wordes of Theophilact in Engliſh, ſayd: Hee ſayth it is not a figure, and you ſay it is a figure.

And the ſame Theophilact ſayth moreouer: that the conuerſion or turning of the bread is made into the Lordes fleſh.

*This argument is without perfect mode and forme, hauing the Minor negatiue in the 2. figure.

*That whych Chriſt gaue, we do geue.
But that whych hee gaue was not a figure of hys body, but his body:
Ergo we geue no figure, but hys body.

☞ *As concerning the autority of* Theophilactus, *what he thought and might haue ſpokē of that Author,* D. Ridley *did not thē ſpeake, nor coulde conueniently (as he him ſelfe afterward declared, reporting and writing wyth his own hand the diſputations in the priſon) becauſe of the vproares and clamours, which were ſo great, and he of ſo many called vpon, that he could not aunſwere as he would, and what he thought touching the autority of* Theophilactus, *but aunſwered ſimply to that, whych was brought out of that Author, on thys ſort.*

Conuerſion after what ſorte in the ſacrament.

I graunt (quoth he) the bread to be conuerted and turned into the fleſh of Chriſt, but not by tranſubſtantiation, but by a ſacramentall conuerſion or turnyng. It is transformed, ſayth Theophilactus, in the ſame place, by a myſticall benediction, and by the acceſſion or comming of the holy Ghoſt vnto the fleſh of Chriſt. He ſayth not: by expulſion or driuyng away the ſubſtaunce of bread, and by ſubſtituting or putting in hys place the corporall ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes fleſh. And where he ſaith: *It is not a figure of the body*; we ſhould vnderſtand that ſaying, as he him ſelfe doth elſwhere adde *onely*, that is: it is no naked or bare figure onely. For Chriſt is preſent in his miſteries, neyther at any tyme (as Cyprian ſayth) doth the diuine Maieſtye abſent hym ſelfe from the diuine myſteries.

Weſt. You put in *onely*, and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, Pet. Martyr was fayne to deny ẏ Author, becauſe ẏ place was ſo playne agaynſt him. But marke his wordes, how he ſaith: *It is no figure, but his fleſh.*

Rid. To take his wordes, and not his meaning, is to do iniury to the Autor.

Thys Hardyng ſat at the table amōg the Notaries.

Theophil. in 6. Cap. Iohan.

Hard. No other Doctor maketh more agaynſt you. For the wordes in Greeke are, μετάςτοιχεῖται, whych is in Latin, tranſelementatur, that is, turned from one element into an other. And ſhewing the cauſe why it is in forme of bread, he ſayth: Quoniam infirmi ſumus, & horrem⁹ crudas carnes comedere, maximè hominis carnem: ideo panis quidem apparet, ſed caro eſt. That is: *Becauſe we are infirme, and abhorre to eate raw fleſh, ſpecially the fleſh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is fleſh.*

The word μεταςοιχεῖσθαι in *Theophil.* expounded.

Rid. That word hath not that ſtrength which you ſeme to geue it. You ſtrayne it ouer much, and yet it maketh not ſo much for your purpoſe. For the ſame author hath in an other place, ἡμεῖς μεταςοιχειούμεθα, that is, *we are tranſelemented, or transformed and chaunged into the body of Chriſt*: and ſo by that word, in ſuch meaning as you ſpeake of, I could proue as well that wee are transformed in dede into the very body of Chriſt.

Tertull. contra Marcion. Lib. 4.

Ward. Learned Maiſter Doctor, thus you expound the place, Hoc eſt corpus meum: *This is my body*, i. a figure of my body.

Rid. Although I know there be that ſo expounde it, yet that expoſition is not full to expreſſe the whole.

Argument in the 3. figure.

Da- Ward. My ſheepe heare my voyce, & follow me.
ti- But all the ſheepe of Chriſt heare this voice: *This is my*

Queene Mary. 1554. April.

is my body, without a figure:

ſi. Ergo the voyce of Chriſt here hath no figure.

Rid. The ſhepe of Chriſt follow the voyce of Chriſt, vnles they be ſeduced and deceiued through ignorance.

Ward. But the fathers toke this place for no figuratiue ſpeech.

Rid. Yet they do all number this place among figuratiue and tropicall ſpeeches.

Ward. *Iuſtinus Martyr* in his ſecōd Apology hath thus:

Iuſtinus Martyr. Apolog. 2.

ὀυ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι᾽ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Neq; vero hæc pro pane potuue communi ſumimus: Imo quemadmodum verbo dei Ieſus Chriſtus, Seruator noſter incarnatus, habuit pro ſalute noſtra carnem & ſanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi conſecratum hoc alimentum, quo ſanguis & carnes noſtræ per immutationem enutriuntur, eiuſdem incarnati carnem & ſanguinem eſſe ſumus edocti.

This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Engliſhed.

For we do not take this for common bread & drincke, but like as Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, incarnate by the word of God, had fleſh and bloud for our ſaluation: euen ſo we be taught the foode wherewith our fleſh and bloud is nouriſhed by alteration, when it is conſecrated by the prayer of hys word, to be the fleſh and bloud of the ſame Ieſus incarnate.

Doctor Cranmer hath thus tranſlated it: Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meates and drinkes be, but they be ordayned purpoſely to geue thankes to God, and therefore be called Euchariſtia, and be called the body and bloud of Chriſt: and that it is lawfull for none to eate & drinke of them but that profeſſe Chriſt, and liue according to the ſame: and yet that ſame meate and drincke is chaunged into our fleſh and bloud, and nouriſheth our bodies.

Doctour Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating a place of Iuſtine. Reade his aunſwer to this before Pag. 1605. col. 1.

Rid. O good Maiſter Doctor, go ſincerely to worke: I know that place, and I know how it is vſed.

Ward. Warde here repeated the place agayne out of Iuſtine: *We are taught. &c* as aboue.

Rid. O what vnright dealing is this? I haue the ſelf ſame place of Iuſtine here copied out. You know your ſelfe which are ſkilfull of Greeke, how the wordes here be remoued out of the right place, and that without any iuſt cauſe.

Ward. I ſtand ſtil vpō mine argumēt. What ſay you?

Rid. If you wyll that I ſhould aunſwere to Iuſtine, then you muſt heare. I haue but one toung, I can not aunſwere at once to you all.

Sumptum ex emplari Dom. Ridlei deſcripto.

West. *Chriſt gaue vs hys very & true fleſh to be eatē.

But he neuer gaue it to be eaten, but in his laſt ſupper, and in the ſacrament of the aultar.

Ergo there is the very true fleſh of Chriſt.

*In this argument if the Minor be a negatiue, the forme is falſe: if it be affirmatiue *equipollent*, the Maior is to be denyed.

Rid. If you ſpeake of the very true fleſh of Chriſt, after the ſubſtance of hys fleſh, taken in the wombe of the virgin Mary, and not by grace and ſpiritually, I then doe deny the firſt part of your reaſon. But if ye vnderſtand it of the true fleſh, after grace and ſpirituall communication, I then graunt the firſt part, and deny the ſecond. For he geueth vnto vs truly hys fleſh, to be eaten of all that beleue in him. For he is the very and true meate of the ſoule, wherewyth we are fed vnto euerlaſting lyfe, according to hys ſaying: *My fleſh is meate in deede. &c.*

Ward. Deſiderio deſideraui hoc paſcha māducare vobiſcum. i. *I haue deſired with my harty deſire to eate this Paſchall with you.* What Paſchall I pray you deſired he to eate? If you ſtand in doubt, you haue Tertullian lib. 4. Contra Martionem: Profeſſus itaq; ſe concupiſcentia concupiſcere edere paſcha ſuum (indignum enim vt alienum concupiſceret Deus) acceptum panem & diſtributum diſcipulis, ſuum corpus illum fecit: *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, dicēdo. &c. i. He therfore profeſſyng a great deſyre to eate his Paſchall, his owne Paſchall I ſay (for it was not meete that he ſhould deſire any other then his owne) takyng bread and diſtributyng it to hys Diſciples, made it hys body, ſaying: *This is my body.*

Tertull. contra Martion. Lib. 4.

What ſay you? did he vnderſtand by this Paſchall the Iudaicall Lambe, or by that which afterward hee gaue in hys Supper?

Ryd. I ſuppoſe that the firſt he vnderſtode of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer, and afterward of the Euchariſt.

Ward. Nay, then Tertullian is agaynſt you which ſayth.

Argument.

Ba- He deſyred to eate his Paſſeouer.
ro- But ẏ Iudaicall Paſſeouer was not hys, but ſtrāge from Chriſt:
co. Ergo, he ment not of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer.

Aunſwere.

Ryd. The Iudaicall Paſſeouer was not ſtraunge frō Chriſt, but hys owne: in ſo much as he is the Lord of all, and as well the Lord of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer, as of hys owne Supper.

Ward. What aunſwere you then to Tertullian, the which ſayth: *He deſired to eate his owne Paſſeouer*, and not the Iuiſh Paſſeouer, which ſtode vppon wordes without fleſh.

Ryd. Tertullian may here dally in ſenſe Anagogicall. I know that Cyprian hath theſe wordes: Tunc inſtituit quidem Euchariſtiā, ſed vtrumq; erat Chriſti. i. *He began then to inſtitute the holy Euchariſt, but both were Chriſtes.*

Anagogicall ſenſe is that which hath a high and myſticall vnderſtanding that lieth abſtruſe and profound vnder the externall letter.

Ward. Auguſtine in the Pſalm. *96*. Writyng vpon theſe wordes: Adorare ſcabellum pedum eius. i. *Worſhyp his footeſtole. &c.* Quæro, inquit, quid ſit ſcabellum pedum eius. Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra ſcabellum pedum meorum: Fluctuans conuerto me ad Chriſtum, quia ipſum quæro hic, & inuenio quomodo ſine impietate adoretur ſcabellum pedum eius. Suſcepit enim de terra terram, qnia caro de terra eſt, & de carne Mariæ carnem accepit, & quia in ipſa carne hic ambulauit, & ipſam carnem nobis manducandam ad ſalutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat niſi prius adorauerit. Inuentum eſt, quo modo tale ſcabellum pedum domini adoretur, vt non ſolum non peccemus adorādo, ſed peccemus non adorando ipſum. &c. i. I aſke (ſayth he) what is the footeſtole of his feete, and the Scripture telleth me: *The earth is the footeſtoole of my feete.* And ſo in ſearchyng therof I turne my ſelfe to Chriſt, becauſe I ſeeke him here in the earth, and I find how, without impiety, the footeſtole of hys feete may be worſhypped: for he toke earth of earth, in that he is fleſh of the earth, and of the fleſh of Mary he tooke fleſh, and becauſe that in the ſame fleſh here he walked and alſo he gaue the ſame fleſh to vs, to be eaten vnto ſaluatiō. But no man eateth that fleſh except he haue worſhypped before. And ſo it is founde, how ſuch a footeſtole of the feete of the Lord is to be worſhypped, ſo that, not onely we ſynne not in worſhipping, but alſo do ſynne in not worſhipping the ſame.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Eſay. 66.

Da- He gaue to vs hys fleſh to be eaten, the whiche he tooke of the earth, in which alſo here he walked. &c.
ti- But he neuer gaue his fleſh to be eaten, but when he gaue it at hys Supper, ſaying: This is my body.
ſi. Ergo, in the Euchariſt he gaue vs his fleſh.

If the Minor of thys argument (as is ſayd before) be equipollent to affirmatiue, then it commeth next to the mode *Datiſi*.

Ryd. You do alledge the place of Auſten vppon the Pſalm. *98*. Where he ſayth: that Chriſt gaue his fleſh to be eaten which he tooke of the earth; and in which here he walked: inferryng hereupon that Chriſt neuer gaue the ſame his fleſh to be eaten, but onely in the Euchariſt. I deny your Minor, for he gaue it both in the Euchariſt to be eaten, and alſo otherwiſe, as wel in the word, as alſo vpon the Croſſe.

How Chriſt gaue hys fleſh to be eaten, and when.

Smith. What if Auguſtine ſay, that Chriſt did not onely geue him ſelf to vs in a figure, but gaue his own very fleſh in deede and really?

Ryd. I neuer ſayd that Chriſt gaue onely a figure of his body. For in deede he gaue hym ſelfe in a reall communication, that is, he gaue his fleſh after a communication of his fleſh.

Chriſt gaue hym ſelf not onely in a figure, but in deede by a reall and effectuall communication of his fleſh.

West. Here Weſton read the place of Auſten in Engliſh, and afterwardes ſayd: Ye ſay, Chriſt gaue not his body, but a figure of hys body.

Ryd. I ſay not ſo. I ſay he gaue hys owne body very ly. But he gaue it by a reall, effectuall, and ſpirituall communication.

D. Glinne diſputeth.

☞ After this, Doctour Glinne began to reaſon, who (notwithſtādyng maiſter Ridley had alwayes takē hym for hys old frend) made a very cōtumelious preface agaynſt hym. This Preface maiſter Ridley therfore did the more take to hart, becauſe it proceded frō hym. Howbeit he thought that Doctour Glinnes mynde was to ſerue the turne. For afterward he came to the houſe wherein maiſter Ridley was kept, and as farre as maiſter Ridley could call to remembraūce, before Doctor Young and Doctor Oglethorp he deſired him to pardon his wordes. The which maiſter Ridley did euen from the very hart, and wiſhed earneſtly, that God would giue, not onely to hym, but vnto all other, the true and euident knowledge of Gods Euangelicall ſincerity, that all offences put a part, they beyng perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meete together in the houſe of the heauenly father.

Doct. Glinne *Byſh. Ridleys* olde frend deſireth hym of pardon.

Biſh. Ridley forgeueth *D. Glinne.*

Glin. I ſee that you elude or ſhift away all Scriptures and fathers. I will go to worke with you after an other ſort.

Chriſt hath here his Church knowen in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you ſpeake contumelioſly of the Sacramentes.

Ryd. This is a greuous contumely, that you call me a ſhifter away of the Scriptures, and of the Doctours. As touchyng the Sacramentes, I neuer yet ſpake contumelioſly of them. I graunt that Chriſt hath here his Church in earth: but that Church did euer receiue and acknowledge the Euchariſt to bee a Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, and not the body of Chriſt really, but the body of Chriſt by grace.

Byſh. Ridley purgeth hym ſelfe agaynſt *D. Glinne.*

Glin. Then I aſke this queſtion, whether the Catholicke Church hath euer or at any tyme ben idolatrous?

Ryd. The Church is the piller and ſtay of truth, that neuer yet hath bene idolatrous, in reſpect of the whole: but peraduenture in reſpect of ſome part therof, which ſometymes may be ſeduced by euill Paſtors & through ignoraunce.

Glin. *That Church euer hath worſhypped the fleſh of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.
But the Church hath neuer bene idolatrous:
Ergo, it hath alwayes iudged the fleſh of Chriſt to bee in the Euchariſt.

* This argument hauing the Minor a negatiue, neither is formable in the third figure, neyther doth it conclude rightly but ſhould conclude thus: Ergo, to worſhip the fleſh of Chriſt in the Euchariſt is no Idolatry.

Ryd. And I alſo worſhyp Chriſt in the Sacrament: but not becauſe he is included in the Sacrament: lyke as I worſhip Chriſt alſo in the Scriptures, not becauſe he is really included in them. Notwithſtandyng I ſay that the body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament: but yet Sacramētally and ſpiritually, accordyng to hys grace geuyng lyfe, and in that reſpect, really, that is, accordyng to his benediction geuyng lyfe.

☞ Furthermore I knowledge gladly the true body of Chriſt to be in the Lordes Supper, in ſuch ſorte as the Church of Chriſt (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and is taught of the holy Ghoſt, and guyded by Gods word) doth acknowledge the ſame. But ẏ true church of Chriſt doth acknowledge a preſence of Chriſtes body in the Lordes Supper to bee communicated to the godly by grace and ſpiritually, as I haue often ſhewed, and by a Sacramentall ſignification, but not by the corporall preſence of the body of hys fleſh.

Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu deſcripto.

Glin. Auſten contra Fauſtum, lib. 20. cap. 13. Non nulli propter panem & calicem, Cererem & Bacchum nos colere exiſtimabant. &c. i. Some there were which thought vs in ſtede of bread and of the cup, to worſhip Ceres & Bacchus.

Auguſt. cōtra Fauſtum Lib. 20. Cap. 13.

Upon this place I gather that there was an adoration of the Sacrament among the fathers. And Eraſmus in a Epiſtle to ẏ brethren of low Germanie, ſayth that the worſhyppyng of the Sacrament was before Auſten and Cyprian.

Ryd. We do handle the ſignes reuerently: but we worſhyp the Sacrament as a Sacrament: not as the thyng ſignified by the Sacrament.

Glin. What is the ſymbole or Sacrament?

Ryd. Bread.

Glin. Ergo, we worſhyp bread.

Ryd. There is a deceipt in this word [Adoramus]. We worſhyp the ſymboles when reuerently we handle them. We worſhyp Chriſt where ſoeuer we perceiue his benefites. But we vnderſtande hys benefite to be greateſt in the Sacrament.

Explication of this word worſhip, diſtincted.

Glin. So I may fall down before the bench here, and worſhyp Chriſt: and if any man aſke me what I do, I may aunſwere I worſhyp Chriſt.

Ryd. We adore and worſhip Chriſt in the Euchariſt. And if you meane the externall Sacrament, I ſay, that alſo is to be worſhypped as a Sacrament.

Glin. So was the fayth of the primatiue Church.

Ryd. Would to God we would all folow the fayth of that Church.

Glin. Thinke you that Chriſt hath now his church?

Ryd. I do ſo.

Glin. But all the Church adoreth Chriſt, verely and really in the Sacrament.

We worſhip Chriſt in the Euchariſt: but we worſhip not the Euchariſt for Chriſt.

Ryd. You know your ſelfe that the Eaſt Church would not acknowledge trāſubſtantiation, as it appeareth in the Councell of Florence.

Cole. That is falſe. For in the ſame they did acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commiſſion ſo to do.

Ryd. Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the Article was propunded vnto them.

Thys Councell of *Florence* was but of late yeares in the time of the Coūcell of *Baſill.*

Cole. It was not becauſe they did not acknowledge the ſame, but becauſe they had no commiſſion ſo to do.

Curtop. Reuerend Syr, I will proue and declare, that the body of Chriſt is truly and really in the Euchariſt: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the Weſt & Eaſt Church haue written, both many thynges and no leſſe manifeſt of the ſame matter, yet I will bryng forth onely Chryſoſtome. The place is in cap. 10. Corinth. 1. Homel. 24.

Chryſoſt. in Cap. 10. Cor. 1. Hom. 24.

* That which is in the cuppe, is the ſame that flowed from the ſide of Chriſt.
But true and pure bloud dyd flow from the ſide of Chriſt:
Ergo, hys true and pure bloud is in the cuppe.

* The Maior ſhould be thus: What ſoeuer dyd flow frō the ſide of Chriſt, is in the cup. &c. Thys is the argument beyng in the 2. figure, is affirmatiue and falſe.

Ryd. It is hys true bloud which is in the Chalice (I graunt) and the ſame which ſprang from the ſyde of Chriſt. But how? It is bloud in dede, but not after the ſame maner, after which maner it ſprang from his ſide. For here is the bloud, but by the way of a Sacrament.

Agayne, I ſay, lyke as the bread of the Sacrament and of thankes geuyng is called the body of Chriſt geuen for vs: ſo the cuppe of the Lord is called the bloud which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But that ſacramental bread is called the body, becauſe it is the Sacrament of hys body: euen ſo lykewiſe the cuppe is called the bloud alſo, which flowed out of Chriſtes ſide, becauſe it is the Sacrament of that bloud which flowed out of hys ſide, inſtituted of the Lord hym ſelfe for our ſinguler commoditie, namely for our ſpiritual nouriſhment, lyke as Baptiſme is ordeyned in water to our ſpirituall regeneration.

Wherfore and how the bread is called the body, and the cup the bloud.

Cur. The Sacrament of the bloud is not the bloud.

Rid. The ſacrament of the bloud, is the bloud, and that is attributed to the Sacrament, which is ſpoken of the thing of the ſacrament.

West. Here Weſton repeateth Curtoppes argument in Engliſh.

* That whych is in the Chalice, is the ſame which flowed out of Chriſtes ſyde.
But there came out very bloud:
Ergo there is very bloud in the Chalice.

* Thys argument concludeth not directly, and beyng in the 2. figure affirmatiue, is not formall.

Ryd. The bloud of Chriſt is in the Chalice in deede, but not in real preſence, but by grace & in a ſacrament.

Weſt. That is very well. Then we haue bloud in the Chalice.

Rid. It is true, but by grace and in a ſacrament.

Here the people hiſſed at him.

Rid. O my Maiſters, I take thys for no iudgement: I wyll ſtand to Gods iudgement.

Wat. Good Syr, I haue determined to haue reſpect of the tyme, and to abſtayne from al thoſe things which may hynder the entraunce of our diſceptation: & therefore firſt I aſke thys queſtion: When Chriſt ſayd in the ſixt of Iohn: Qui manducat carnem meam. i. *He that eateth my fleſh, &c.* doth he ſignifie in thoſe wordes the eating of hys true and naturall fleſh, or els of the bread and ſymbole?

Iohn.6.

Rid. I vnderſtād that place of the very fleſh of Chriſt to be eaten, but ſpiritually: And farther I ſay, that the ſacrament alſo pertaineth vnto the ſpirituall manducation. For wythout the ſpirite to eate the ſacrament, is to eate it vnprofitably. For who ſo eateth not ſpiritually, he eateth hys own condemnation.

Spirituall eating of the fleſh of Chriſt.

Wat. I aſke thē whether the Euchariſt be a ſacramēt.

Rid. The Euchariſt taken for a ſigne or ſymbole, is a ſacrament.

Wat. Is it inſtituted of God?

Rid. It is inſtituted of God.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the Supper.

Wat. With what wordes is it made a Sacrament?

Rid. By the wordes and dēedes whych Chriſt ſayd and did, and commaunded vs to ſay and do the ſame.

Wat. It is a thyng commonly receyued of all, that the Sacramentes of the new law geue grace to them that worthely receiue them.

Rid. True it is that grace is geuen by the ſacrament, but as by an inſtrument. The inward vertue & Chriſt geue the grace through the ſacrament.

The Sacramentes geue no grace but are inſtrumentes.

Wat. What is a ſacrament?

Rid. I remember there be many definitions of a ſacrament in Auſtine: but I wyll take that whych ſēemeth moſt fit to this preſent purpoſe. A ſacrament is a viſible ſigne of inuiſible grace.

Sacramēt defined.

Wat. Ergo grace is geuen to the receiuers.

Rid. The ſocietie or coniunction with Chriſt through the holy Ghoſt, is grace, and by the Sacrament we are made the members of the myſticall body of Chriſt, for that by the ſacrament the part of the body is ingrafted in the head.

Wat. But there is a difference betwene the myſticall body, and naturall body.

Rid. There is (I graunt you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

Wat. *The Euchariſt is a Sacrament of the new Teſtament:

Ergo it hath a promiſe of grace:

But no promiſe of grace is made to bread & wyne:

Ergo bread and wyne be not the ſacramentes of the new Teſtament.

*The Syllogiſme is thus to be formed: The Sacramēt of the new Teſtament hath a promyſe of grace annexed. Bread and wyne haue no promiſe of grace annexed: *Ergo*, bread and wyne is no Sacrament of the new Teſtamēt.

Rid. I graunt, that grace pertaineth to the Euchariſt, according to thys ſaying: *The bread which we breake, is it not the cōmunicatiō or partaking of the body of Chriſt?* And lyke as he that eateth, and he that drinketh vnworthely the ſacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation: euen ſo hee that eateth and drinketh worthely, eateth lyfe and drinketh lyfe. I graunt alſo that there is no *promiſe made to bread and wyne. But in as much as they are ſanctified and made the ſacramentes of the body and bloud of the Lord, they haue a promiſe of grace annexed vnto them, namely of ſpirituall partaking of the body of Chriſt, to be communicated and giuen, not to the bread and wyne, but to them which worthely do receyue the Sacrament.

*No promiſe made to bread & wyne, as they be cōmon bread and cōmō wyne, but as they be ſāctified & made Sacramentes of the lords body and bloud, they are not now called bread nor wyne, and haue a promiſe annexed to thē, or rather (to ſay ÿ truth) annexed to the receyuers of thē.

Wat. If the ſubſtance of bread and wyne do remaine, then the ſocietie betwixt Chriſt and vs, is promiſed to them that take bread and wyne.

But that ſociety is not promiſed to bread and wyne, but to the receiuers of hys fleſh and bloud, Iohn.6. Qui manducat. &c.

Ergo the ſubſtance of bread & wyne remaineth not.

Rid. The promiſe vndoubtedly is made to the fleſh and the bloud, but the ſame be receiued in the ſacramēt through fayth.

Wat. Euery Sacrament hath a promyſe of grace adnexed vnto it:

Argument.

But bread and wine haue not a promiſe of grace adnexed vnto it:

Ergo the bread and wyne are not ſacraments.

Rid. True it is, euery ſacrament hath grace adnexed vnto it inſtrumentally. But there is a diuerſe vnderſtanding of thys word [habet] *hath*. For the ſacrament hath not grace included in it: but to thoſe that receyue it well, it is turned to grace. After that maner ÿ water in baptiſme hath grace promiſed, and by that grace the holy ſpirit is geuen, not that grace is included in water, but that grace commeth by water:

Sacramentes how they haue a promiſe of grace annexed, not abſolutely but inſtrumentally.

Grace not included in Sacramentes: but the receauing of thē turneth to grace in them that duely come vnto them.

Wat. Thys promyſe is made to the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, and not to bread and wyne.

Ergo the ſacrament is not bread and wyne, but the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Rid. There is no promyſe made to hym that taketh common bread and common wine: but to him that receyueth the ſanctified bread, and bread of the Communion, there is a large promyſe of grace made: neyther is the promiſe geuen to the ſymboles, but to the thing of the ſacrament. But the thing of the ſacrament is the fleſh and bloud.

Promiſe made not to the ſymboles, but to the thyng of the Sacramēt.

Wat. Euery ſacrament of the new teſtament geueth grace promiſed of God, to thoſe ÿ worthely receyue it.

Ryd. Thys ſacrament hath a promyſe of grace, made to thoſe that receyue it worthely, becauſe grace is geuen by it, as by an inſtrument, not that Chriſt hath trāſfuſed grace into the bread and wyne.

Sacramentes onely inſtrumentes of grace.

Wat. But this promyſe whych is made, is not but to thoſe that worthely receyue the fleſh and bloud: not the bread and wyne.

Rid. That propoſition of yours hath a diuers vnderſtāding. There is no promiſe made to thē that receyue common bread, as it were: but to thoſe that worthely receyue the ſanctified bread, there is a promiſe of grace made, lyke as Origen doth teſtifie.

Bread more largely taken in the Minor then in the Cōcluſion.

Wat. Where is that promiſe made?

Ryd. *The bread which we breake, is it not a communication of the body of Chriſt:* [And] *we being many are one bread, one body of Chriſt?*

1.Cor.11.

Wat. What doth he meane by bread in that place?

Rid. The bread of the Lords table, the communion of the body of Chriſt.

Wat. Harken what Chryſoſtome ſayth vpon that place: *Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Chriſti eſt?* Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid ſignificare voluit, & multam inter hæc conuenientiam oſtendere. Non enim participatione tantum & acceptione, ſed vnitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud vnitum eſt Chriſto, ita & nos per hunc panem vnione coniungimur. *That is:* The bread whych we breake, is it not the communication of Chriſtes body? wherefore dyd he not ſay participation? becauſe he woulde ſygnifye ſome greater matter, & that he would declare a great conuenience and coniunction betwyxt the ſame. For we doe not communicate by participation onely and receauing, but alſo by coūnityng. For lykewyſe as that body is coūnited to Chriſt, ſo alſo we by the ſame bread are conioyned and are vnited to hym.

Chryſoſt. in 1.Cor. cap.10.

Rid. Let Chryſoſtome haue his maner of ſpeaking and hys ſentence. If it be true, I reiect it not. But let it not be preiudiciall to me to name it true bread.

Anſwere to Chryſoſtome.

Wat. *All,* ſaith Chryſoſtome, *which ſit together at one boord, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call* (ſayth he) *this communicating? we are all the ſelfe ſame body. What doth bread ſignifie? The body of Chriſt. What be they that receyue it? The body of Chriſt. For many are but one body.* Chryſoſtome doth interprete thys place agaynſt you: *All we be one bread, and one myſticall body, which doe participate together one bread of Chriſt.*

In 1. Cor. Cap.10.

Bread ſignifieth the body after Chryſoſtome.

Rid. All we be one myſticall body, whych do communicate of one Chriſt in bread, after the efficacie of regeneration or quickning.

One bread, one myſticall body.

Wat. Of what maner of bread ſpeaketh he?

Ryd. Of the bread of the Lordes table.

Wat. Is not that bread one?

Ryd. It is one, of the church being one, becauſe one bread is ſet forth vpon the table: and ſo of one bread altogether do participate, whych cõmunicate at the table of the Lord.

Wat. See how abſurdly you ſpeake. Do you ſay all whych be from the beginning to the end of the world?

Ryd. All, I ſay, which at one table together haue communicated in the myſteries, might wel ſo do. Albeit the heauenly and celeſtiall bread is likewiſe one alſo, whereof the ſacramentall bread is a myſtery: the which being one, all we together do participate.

Watſon cauilleth about thys word [all.]

Wat. A peruerſe aunſwere. Which all? Meane you all Chriſtian men?

Ryd. I do diſtribute this word [*all*]: for all were wont together to communicate of one bread diuided into partes. All, I ſay, whych were in one congregation, & whych all dyd communicate together at one table.

Wat. What? do you exclude then from the body of Chriſt, al them which did not cõmunicate being preſẽt?

Cyprianus De Cœna Domini.

Feck. But Cyprian ſayth: panis quem nulla multitudo conſumit. i. *Bread which no multitude doth conſume*. Whych cannot be vnderſtanded, but onely of the body of Chriſt.

Ryd. Alſo Cyprian in this place did ſpeake of the true body of Chriſt, and not of materiall bread.

M. Fecknams reaſon.

Feck. Nay, rather he dyd there intreate of the ſacrament in that tractation De cœna Domini, writing vpon the Supper of the Lord.

Ryd. Truth it is, and I graunt, he intreateth there of the Sacrament: but alſo hee doth admixt ſomethyng therewithall of the ſpirituall manducation.

Smith. When the Lord ſaith: *This is my body*, he vſeth no tropicall ſpeech:

Ergo, you are deceyued.

Rid. I deny your antecedent.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 33. Concio. 1.

Smith. I bring here Auſtine in Pſal. 33. Conc. 1. expounding theſe wordes: Ferebatur in manibus ſuis, *he was caried in his own handes*. 1. Regum.

Hoc quomodo poſſit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim ſuis nemo portatur, ſed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de Dauid ſecundum literam, non inuenimus: de Chriſto autem inuenimus. Ferebatur enim Chriſtus in manibus ſuis cum diceret: *Hoc eſt corpus meum*. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus ſuis. &c. *That is*. How may this bee vnderſtanded to be done in man? For no man is caried in hys own handes, but in the handes of other. How this may be vnderſtanded of *Dauid* after the letter, we do not finde. Of Chriſt we finde it. For Chriſt was borne in hys own handes when he ſayth: *This is my body*, for he caried that ſame body in hys own handes. &c.

Auſtine here did not ſee how thys place after the letter could be vnderſtanded of Dauid, becauſe no mã can cary him ſelfe in hys own hands. Therefore ſayth he, this place is to be vnderſtanded of Chriſt after the letter. For Chriſt caryed him ſelfe in his own handes in his ſupper, when he gaue the Sacrament to hys diſciples, ſaying: *This is my body*.

The place of *Auguſtine* aunſwered.

Rid. I deny your argument, & I explicate the ſame. Auſtine could not finde after his own vnderſtandyng, how this could be vnderſtand of Dauid after the letter. Auſtine goeth here from other in this expoſition, but I go not from hym. But let this expoſition of Auſtine be graunted to you: although I know this place of ſcripture be otherwyſe read of other men, after the veritie of the Hebrew text, and alſo otherwyſe to be expounded. Yet to graunt to you this expoſition of Auſtine, I ſay yet notwithſtanding it maketh nothyng agaynſt my aſſertion: for Chriſt did beare him ſelfe in hys own handes, when he gaue the ſacrament of hys body to be eaten of hys diſciples.

Smith. Ergo, it is true of Chriſt after the letter, that he was borne in hys owne handes.

Ryd. He was borne literally, and after that letter which was ſpoken of Dauid: but not after the letter of theſe wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meum.

The place of *Auſten* how Chriſt was caryed in his handes ad literam. i. *literally*.

I graunt that S. Auſten ſayth, that it is not found literally of Dauid, that he caryed hym ſelfe in his owne handes, and that is found of Chriſt. But this word [ad literam] *literally*, you do not well referre to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to hym that did beare it. S. Auſtens meanyng is this: that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnall Dauid, the ſonne of Ieſſe, dyd beare hĩm ſelfe in his hãdes, but of that ſpirituall Dauid which ouerthrew Goliath the deuill: that is, of Chriſt our Sauiour, the ſonne of the Virgin it may well be found literally, that he bare hym ſelfe in his owne handes after a certaine maner, namely in caryyng the Sacrament of hym ſelfe. And note that S. Auſten hath theſe wordes [quodam modo] *after a certain maner:* which manifeſtly doth declare how the Doctours meanyng is to be taken.

Ferebatur, quodã modo, in manibus ſuis. Aug. i. Chriſt was borne in his own handes Sacramentally.

Smith. When then was he borne in his owne hãdes, and after what letter?

Ryd. He was borne in the Supper ſacramẽtally, whẽ he ſayd: *This is my body*.

Smith. Euery man may beare in hys owne handes a * figure of hys body.

* A figure he may beare, but not a Sacrament.

But Auguſtine denyeth that Dauid could cary him ſelfe in hys handes.

Ergo, he ſpeaketh of no figure of his body.

Ryd. If Auſten could haue found in all the Scripture that Dauid had caryed the Sacrament of hys body, thẽ he would neuer haue vſed that expoſition of Chriſt.

Smith. But he dyd beare hym ſelf in his own hands:

Ergo, he dyd not beare a figure onely.

Ryd. He dyd beare hym ſelfe, but in a Sacrament: and Auſten afterward addeth [quodã modo] that is: *Sacramentally*.

Quodam modo.

Smith. You vnderſtand not what Auſten ment when he ſayd [quodam modo]: For he mẽt that he did beare hys very true body in that Supper, not in figure and forme of a body, but in forme and figure of bread:

Ergo, you are holden faſt, neither are ye hable to eſcape out of thys labirinth.

Doctour Weſton repeated this place againe in Engliſh. Which done, then Doct. Treſham thus began to ſpeake, moued (as it ſemed to M. Ridley) with great zeale, and deſired that he might be in ſtede of Ioh. Baptiſt in conuertyng the hartes of ẏ fathers, and in reducyng the ſayd B. Ridley agayne to the mother Church. Now at the firſt, not knowyng the perſon, he thought he had bene ſome good old man, which had the zeale of God, although not accordyng to knowledge, and began to aunſwere hym with manſuetude & reuerrence. But afterward he ſmelled a foxe vnder a ſhepes cloathyng.

Doctour *Treſſham* prayeth for conuerting of Byſhop *Ridley*.

GOd almyghty graunt that it may be fulfilled in me, that was ſpoken by the Prophete Malachie of Iohn Baptiſte, which may turne the hartes of the Fathers to the children, and the hartes of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be conuerted. The wiſe man ſayth: Sonne, honor thy father, and reuerẽce thy mother. But you diſhonour your father in heauen, and pollute your mother the holy Church here on earth, whyle ye ſet nought by her.

Ryd. Theſe bywordes do pollute your Schole.

Treſ. If there were an Arrian which had that ſubtile wytte that you haue, he myght ſoone ſhift of the authoritie of the Scriptures and fathers.

Weſt. Either diſpute, or els hold your peace, I pray you.

The Decree of *Laterane* Councell alleaged for tranſubſtãtiation.

Treſ. I bryng a place here out of the Councel of Laterane, the which Councell repreſentyng the vniuerſall Church, wherin were congregated 300. Byſhops and 70. Metropolitans, beſides a great multitude of other, decreed that bread and wyne, by the power of Gods word, was tranſubſtantiate into the body and bloud of the Lord. Therfore whoſoeuer ſayth contrary, can not be a child of the Church, but an hereticke.

Of thys Councell read before pag. 331. 338.

Ryd. Good Syr, I haue heard what you haue cyted out of the Councel of Laterane, & remember that there was a great multitude of Biſhops & Metropolitanes, as you ſayd: but yet ye haue not numbred how many Abbots, Priours, and Friers were in that Councell, who were to the number of 800.

One of the ſcribes carpeth agaynſt B. Ridley.

One of the ſcribes. What? will you deny then yͤ authoritie of that Councell for the multitude of thoſe Priours?

Of thys Innocentius. 3. read before pag. 338.

Ryd. No Syr, not ſo much for that cauſe, as for that eſpecially, becauſe the doctrine of that Councell agréed not with the word of God, as it may well appeare by the Actes of that Councell which was holden vnder Innocentius the thyrd, a man (if we beleue the hyſtories) moſt pernitious to the Church & common wealth of Chriſt.

Treſ. What? do you not receiue the Councell of Laterane? wherupon he with certain other cried, ſcribite, ſcribite, write, write.

B. Ridley reiecteth the Councell of Laterane.

Ryd. No Syr, I receiue not that Councell. Scribite & reſcribite. Write and wryte agayne.

Good men doe eate the very true body of Chriſt both Sacramentally and ſpiritually.

Treſ. Euill men do eate the naturall body of Chriſt. Ergo the true & naturall body of Chriſt is on yͤ altar.

Ryd. Euill men do eate the very true and naturall body of Chriſt ſacramentally, and no further, as S. Auſtē ſayth: but good men do eate the very true body both ſacramentally and ſpiritually by grace.

Auguſt. Lib. 5. cōtra Donatiſt. cap. 8.

Treſ. I proue the contrary by S. Auſten lib. 5. contra Donatiſtas. Cap. 8. Sicut enim Iudas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, ſed male accipiendo peccauit. &c. i. Lyke as Iudas, to whom the Lorde gaue the morſell, dyd offend, not in takyng a thyng that was euill, but in receyuyng it after an euill maner. &c. And a litle after: Quia aliquis non ad ſalutem manducat, non ideo non eſt corpus. i. Becauſe ſome do not eate vnto ſaluation, it foloweth not therfore that it is not hys body.

Manducare panem Domini, & panem Dominū. Auguſt.

Ryd. It is the body to them, that is, the Sacrament of the body: and Iudas toke the Sacramēt of the Lord to hys condemnation. Auſten hath diſtincted theſe things well in an other place, where he ſayth: Panem Domini, & panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem Dominum: boni autem manducāt & panē Domini, & panem Dominum. i. The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Euill men eate the bread of the Lord, but not bread the Lord. But good men eate both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.

Thys Weſton ſpoke in Engliſh.

Weſt. Paul ſayth the body, and you ſay the Sacramēt of the body.

Ryd. Paul meaneth ſo in déede.

Wat. You vnderſtand it euill concernyng the ſigne: for the fathers ſay that euill men do eate him which deſcended from heauen.

The olde Doctors do vſe many times the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament.

Ryd. They eate him in déede, but ſacramentally. The fathers vſe many tymes the Sacrament, for the matter of the Sacrament, and all that ſame place maketh agaynſt you: and ſo here he cited the place.

Theophilacte alleaged.

Weſt. I bryng Theophilacte which ſayth, that Iudas did taſt the body of the Lord. Oſtendit Dominus crudelitatem Iudæ, qui cum argueretur, nō intellexit, & guſtauit carnem Domini. &c. i. *The Lord did ſhewe the cruelty of Iudas, which, when he was rebuked, dyd not vnderſtand, and taſted the Lordes fleſh. &c.*

Aunſwere.

Ryd. This phraſe to Diuines is well knowen, and and vſed of the Doctors. He taſted the fleſh of the Lord inſenſibiliter, *inſenſibly*: that is, the Sacrament of the Lordes fleſh.

Chryſoſt. alleaged.

Weſt. Chryſoſtome ſayth, that the ſame puniſhment remayneth to them which receiue the body of the Lord vnworthely, as to them which crucified hym.

Chryſoſt. expounded.

Ryd. That is becauſe they defile the Lordes body: for euill men do eate the body of Chriſt ſacramentally, but good men eate both the Sacrament and the matter of the Sacrament.

Wat. You reiect the Councell of Laterane, becauſe (you ſay) it agréeth not with gods word. What ſay you then to the Councell of Nice? The wordes of the Coūcell be theſe:

The Coūcell of Nice alleaged.

Ne humiliter ſpectemus propoſitum panem & potum, ſed exaltata mente fideliter credamus iacere in illa ſacra menſa agnum dei, tollentem peccata mundi, a ſacerdotibus ſacrificatum. Let vs not looke alow by the ground vpon the bread and the drinke ſet before vs, but lyftyng vp our mynd, let vs faythfully beleue, there vpon that holy table to lie the lambe of God takyng away the ſynnes of the world, beyng ſacrificed of the Prieſtes.

Ryd. That Councell was collected of auncient fathers, and is to me of great authoritie, for it ſaith: Poſitum eſſe panem in altari, & exaltata mente conſiderandum eum qui in cœlis eſt. i. *That bread is ſet vpon the Altar, and hauyng our myndes lifted vp, we muſt conſider hym which is in heauen.* The wordes of the Councell make for me.

* If the Lambe of God dyd lye really vpon the table, thē why doth the Councell byd vs lift vp our myndes, which rather ſhould bid vs let downe our myndes to the Altar.

Wat. [Exaltata mente] *with a minde exalted:* that is, not as brute beaſtes at the racke or maunger, hauyng an eye onely vpon the thyng that is ſet before them. Agnus dei iacet in menſa: *the * Lambe of God lyeth on the table,* ſayth the Councell.

Ryd. The Lambe of God is in heauen, accordyng to the verity of the body: and here he is with vs in a myſtery, accordyng to hys power: not corporally.

Wat. But the Lambe of God lyeth on the table.

Ryd. It is a figuratiue ſpeach: for in our mynd we vnderſtand him which is heauen.

Wat. But he lieth there. The Greke word is κεῖται.

Ryd. He lieth there, that is, he is there preſent, not corporally, but he lyeth there by hys operation.

Wat. He lyeth, but hys operation lyeth not.

The place of *Nicene* Councell expounded.

Ryd. You thynke very groſſely of the ſittyng or lying of the celeſtiall Lambe on the table of the lord. For we may not imagine any ſuch ſitting or lying on the table, as the reaſon of man would iudge: but all thinges are here to be vnderſtand ſpiritually. For that heauenly Lambe is (as I confeſſe) on the table, but by a ſpiritual preſence, by grace, and not after any corporal ſubſtance of his fleſh taken of the virgine Mary. And in déede the ſame Canon doth very playnly teach that the bread which is ſet on the table, is materiall bread, and therfore it (the Canon I meane) commaundeth that we ſhould not créepe on the ground in our cogitation, to theſe thynges which are ſet before vs, as who ſhould ſay: what other thynges are they (as much as perteyneth to their true ſubſtaūce) then bread and wyne? but rather (ſayth the Canon) liftyng vp our myndes into heauen, let vs conſider with fayth the Lambe of God, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, ſittyng or lying vpon the table. For a lifted vp fayth ſéeth hym, which ſitteth on the right hand of God the father, after the true maner of a body, ſet by grace on the Lordes table, and takyng away the ſinnes of the world. For I thinke you meane not ſo, as though the Lambe did lye there proſtrate with his mēbers ſpread vpon the table.

De conſecrat. Diſt. 9.

An other place of *Nicene* Councell alleaged.

Smyth. I bring an other place out of the Councell of Nice. Nullus Apoſtolorū dixit, hæc eſt figura corporis Chriſti. Nullus venerabilium præſbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris ſacrificium figuram: Ergo, &c. That is: None of yͤ Apoſtels ſayd, this is a figure of the body of Chriſt: None of the reuerend Elders ſayd, the vnbloudy ſacrifice of the aultar to be a figure:

Ergo you are deceyued.

Ryd. Thys Canon is not in the Coūcel of Nice. For I haue read ouer thys Councell many tymes.

Out of *D. Ridleys* copie.

The Councell of *Florence* alleaged.

Then came in an other whom M. Ridley knew not, & ſaid: The vniuerſall Church both of yͤ Grekes & Latines of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, haue agréed in the Councell of Florence vniformely in the doctrine of the Sacrament, that in the Sacrament of the altar there is the true and reall body.

Ryd. I deny the Greke and the Eaſt Church to haue agréed either in yͤ Councell at Florence, or at any time els, with the Romiſh Church in the doctrine of trāſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. For there was nothyng in the Councell of Florence, wherein the Grekes would agrée with the Romaniſtes: albeit hetherto I confeſſe it was left frée for euery Church to vſe,as they were wont,leauened or vnleauened bread.

Here cryed out Doct.Cole,and ſayd,they agréed together concernyng tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. M.Rydley ſayd,that could not be.

One of the Scribes.

Here ſtart vp an other vnknowen to M.Ridley,but thought to bee one of the Scribes , who affirmed with him,that in déede there was nothyng decréed concernyng tráſubſtantiation,but the Coũcell left that,as a matter not méete nor worthy to diſturbe the peace & concord of the Church. To whom M.Rydley aunſwered againe,ſaying: that he ſayd the truth.

M. Pie diſputeth agaynſt Byſhop *Ridley.*

Pie. What ſay you to that Councell,where it is ſaid that the Prieſt doth offer an vnbloudie ſacrifice of the body of Chriſt?

Rid. I ſay,it is well ſayd,if it be rightly vnderſtand.

Pie. But he offereth an vnbloudy ſacrifice.

Sacrifice called vnbloudy, is nothyng els but a repreſentation of the bloudy ſacrifice of Chriſt.

Rid. It is called vnbloudy, and is offered after a certayne maner,and in a myſtery,and as a repreſentation of that bloudy ſacrifice: and hee doth not lye whych ſayth,Chriſt to be offered.

VVeſton playeth *Goliah* with *Dauid.*

Weſt. I wyth one argument wyll throw downe to the ground your opinion , out of Chryſoſtome, Homel. 24. in. 1. ad Corinth. and I wyll teach, not onely a figure or ſigne,or grace onely, but the very ſame body whych was here conuerſant in the earth, to be in the Euchariſt.

Thys Argument after the diſpoſition and termes,as it ſtandeth,is not formall.

We worſhip the ſelfe ſame body in the Euchariſt, which the wiſe men did worſhip in the maunger.

But that was his natural & real body,not ſpiritual:

Ergo the reall body of Chriſt is in the Euchariſt.

Againe,the ſame Chryſoſtome ſayth: *We haue not here the Lorde in the maunger,but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth hym not in her handes,but a Prieſt.*

Rid. We worſhip, I confeſſe,the ſame true Lord and Sauiour of the world,which the wiſe men worſhipped in the maunger , howbeit we do it in myſtery , and in the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper,and that in ſpirituall liberty,as ſaith S.Auſt.lib.3.de doctrin.Chriſtiana:not in carnall ſeruitude:that is, we do not worſhyp ſeruily yͤ ſignes for the thinges:for that ſhould be, as he alſo ſayth,a part of a ſeruile infirmitie. But we behold with the eyes of faith, hym preſent after grace and ſpiritually ſet vpon the table: and we worſhyp him which ſitteth aboue, & is worſhypped of yͤ Angels. For Chriſt is allwayes aſſiſtant to his myſteries,as the ſayd Auguſt.ſaith. And yͤ diuine Maieſty,as ſaith Cyprian, doth neuer abſent it ſelfe from the diuine myſteries, but this aſſiſtaunce and preſence of Chriſt, as in Baptiſme is wholy ſpirituall , and by grace and not by any corporall ſubſtance of the fleſh: euen ſo is it here in the Lordes Supper , beyng ryghtly, and accordyng to the word of God duely miniſtred.

Weſt. That whych the woman dyd holde in her wombe,the ſame thing holdeth the Prieſt.

The ſame thyng,but the maner diuers.

Rid. I graunt the Prieſt holdeth the ſame thing, but after an other maner. She dyd hold the naturall body: the Prieſt holdeth the myſtery of the body.

Weſt. Weſton repeated agayne hys argument out of Chryſoſtome, in Engliſh.

Rid. I ſay that the Autor ment it ſpiritually.

D.Weſton bloweth vp the triumph.

Weſt. Weſton here diſſoluing the diſputations had theſe wordes: Videtis præfractum hominis animũ, glorioſum,vafrum,inconſtantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires incócuſſas,itaq; clamate: Vicit veritas. That is: Here you ſée,the ſtubborne,the glorious, the crafty,the vnconſtant mynde of this man. Here you ſée this day that the ſtrength of the truth is wythout foyle. Therefore I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the note, and he began and they followed: *Veritie hath the victory:Veritie hath the victory.*

¶The diſputation had at Oxford the.xviij.day of Aprill.1554.betwene Maiſter Hugh Latimer Aunſwerer,and M.Smyth and other Oppoſers.

M.Hugh Latymer diſputeth.

Aprill.18.

After theſe diſputations of Biſhop Ridley ended, next was brought out Maiſter Hugh Latimer to diſpute,vpon Wedenſday, whych was the xviij.day of Aprill. Whych diſputation began at.viij. of the clocke, in ſuch forme as before: but it was moſt in Engliſh. For Maiſter Latimer the Aunſwerer alledged that he was out of vſe wyth Latine, and vnfit for that place. There replyed vnto hym Maiſter Smith of Oriall colledge,Doctor Cartwright , Maiſter Harpſfield , and diuers other had ſnatches at hym,and gaue him bytter tauntes. He eſcaped not hiſſinges,and ſcornful laughing,no more then they that went before him. He was very faynt,and deſired that he might not long tary. He durſt not drinke,for feare of vomiting. The diſputation ended before a.xj. of the clocke. Maiſter Latimer was not ſuffered to read,that hee had(as he ſayd) painfully written: but it was exhibited vp , & the Prolocutor read part thereof , and ſo procéeded vnto the diſputation.

M. Smyth of Oriall College Opponent to Maiſter *Latymer.*

Maiſter *Latymers* wrytings could not be read.

¶The preface of Weſton vnto the diſputation followyng.

Weſtons preface.

Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the helpe of God)to vanquiſh the ſtrength of the arguments,and diſperſed opinions of aduerſaries, agaynſt the truth of the reall preſence of the Lords body in the Sacrament. And therefore, you Father, if you haue any thing to aunſwere, I doe admoniſh you, that you aunſwere in ſhort and few wordes.

Maiſter *Latymer* requireth to diſpute in the Engliſhe toungs.

Lati. I pray you good Maiſter Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, whych is not in me. I haue not theſe.xx. yeares much vſed the Latin toung.

Weſt. Take your eaſe Father.

Lati. I thanke you Syr, I am wel. Let me here proteſt my fayth: for I am not able to diſpute, and afterwardes do your pleaſure wyth me.

¶The proteſtation of Maiſter Hugh Latimer,geuen vp in writyng to Doctor Weſton.

The concluſions whereunto I muſt aunſwere, are theſe.

The three Concluſions.

1 *The firſt is,that in the ſacrament of the Aultar, by the vertue of Gods word pronounced by the Prieſt, there is really preſent,the naturall body of Chriſt,cõceiued of the virgin Mary,vnder the kindes or appearances of bread & wyne:and in like maner his bloud.*

2 *The ſecond is,that after conſecratiõ,there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wyne, nor none other ſubſtance,but the ſubſtance of God and man.*

3 *The third is,that in the Maſſe there is the liuely ſacrifice of the Church, which is propitiable,as well for the ſinnes of the quicke as of the dead.*

The aunſweres of Maiſter *Latymer* geuen vp in wrytyng concerning the queſtions aforeſayd.

Concerning the fyrſt concluſion,me thinketh it is ſet forth with certayne new found termes, that be obſcure, and doe not ſound according to the ſpeech of the ſcripture. Howbeit, howſoeuer I vnderſtand it, thys doe I aunſwere playnly,though not wythout peryll: I anſwere(I ſay)that to the right celebration of the lordes ſupper,there is no other preſence of Chriſt required,then a ſpirituall preſence: and this preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian man,as a preſence by which both we abyde in Chriſt,and Chriſt abideth in vs,to the obtaining of eternall lyfe,if we perſeuer. And this ſame preſence may bee called moſt fytly,a reall preſence, that is, a preſence not fayned,but a true and a faythfull preſence. Which thing I here rehearſe,leſt ſome Sycophant or Scorner,ſhould ſuppoſe me wyth the Anabaptiſtes,to make nothing els of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare ſigne. As for that,whych is fayned of many,concerning their corporal preſence: I for my part take it but for a Papiſticall inuention, and therefore thinke it vtterly to be reiected.

The preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament,how it is a real preſence.

Anſwere to the ſecond Concluſion.

Concerning the ſecond concluſion, I dare be bold to ſay,that it hath no ſtay nor ground in Gods word, but is a thing inuented and found out by man: and therefore to be taken as fond and falſe: and I had almoſt ſayd,as the Mother and Nourſe of the other errours. It were good for my Lordes and Maiſters the Tranſubſtantiators, to take heede, leſt they conſpire with the Neſtorians: for I do not ſee how they can auoyd it.

Anſwere to the thyrd Cõcluſion.

Heb. 1.

The third concluſion (as I do vnderſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtelly to ſow ſedition agaynſt the offring, which Chriſt himſelfe offered for vs in his own proper perſon, according to that pithy place of Paule, Heb. 1. when he ſayth: *that Chriſt his owne ſelfe hath made purgation of our ſinnes:* And afterwardes: *That he might* (ſayth he) *bee a mercifull and a faythfull Biſhop, concerning thoſe thinges whych are to bee done wyth God, for the taking away of our ſinnes.* So that the expiation or taking away of our ſynnes, may be thought rather to depend on this: that Chriſt was an offering Byſhop, thẽ that he was offred, were it not that he was offred of himſelf: & therfore it is needeles, that he ſhould be offred of any other. I wil ſpeake nothing of the wonderful preſumptiõ of man, to dare to attẽpt this thing, without a manifeſt vocatiõ, ſpecially in that it tendeth to yͤ ouerthrowing & making fruitles (if not wholy, yet partly) of yͤ croſſe of Chriſt: for truly it is no baſe or mean thing, to offer Chriſt. And therefore worthely a man may ſay to my Lordes & maiſters the Offerers: by what authority doe ye thys? and who gaue you this authoritie? where? when? A man cã not (ſaith the Baptiſt) take any thing, except it be geuen hym from aboue: much leſſe then may any man preſume to vſurpe any honor, tofore he be therto called. Agayne: *If any man ſynne* (ſayth ſaynt Iohn) *we haue* (ſayth he) not a Maſſer or Offerer at home, whych can ſacrifice for vs at Maſſe: but *we haue* (ſaith he) *an Aduocate Ieſus Chriſt*, whych once offered himſelfe long agoe: of whych offering, the efficacie and effect is perdurable for euer, ſo that it is needeles to haue ſuch Offerers.

The taking away of ſinnes dependeth rather in the perſon of the offerer then in the thyng offered, but that he that was the offerer was offered him ſelfe.

1. Iohn 2.

What meaneth Paule when he ſayth: *They that ſerue at the aultar, are partakers of the aultar:* and ſo addeth: *So the Lord hath ordayned, that they that preach the Goſpell, ſhall lyue of the Goſpell?* Where as hee ſhould rather haue ſayd: The Lord hath ordeyned, that they that ſacrifice at Maſſe, ſhould lyue of theyr ſacrificing, that there myght be a lyuing aſſigned to our Sacrificers nowe, as was before Chriſtes comming, to the Iewiſh Prieſtes. For nowe they haue nothing to alledge for their liuing, as they that be Preachers haue. So that it appeareth, that the ſacrificyng Prieſthoode is chaunged by Gods ordinaunce, into a preaching Prieſthood, and the ſacrificyng Prieſthood ſhould ceaſe vtterly, ſauing in as much as all Chriſten men are ſacrificing Prieſtes. The Supper of the Lord was inſtituted to prouoke vs to thankes geuyng, for the offering whych the Lord himſelf dyd offer for vs, much rather then that our Offerers ſhould doe there as they do. *Feede* (ſayth Peter) *as much as ye may, the flocke of Chriſt:* nay rather let vs ſacrifice as much as we may, for the flocke of Chriſt. If ſo be the matter be as now men make it, I can neuer wonder inough, that Peter would or could forget this office of ſacrificing, whych at this day is in ſuch a price and eſtimation, that to feede is almoſt nothing wyth many. If thou ceaſe from feeding the flocke, how ſhalt thou be taken? truly Catholyke ynough. But if thou ceaſe from ſacrificing and maſſing, how wil that be taken? at the leaſt I warrant thee, thou ſhalt be called an Hereticke. And whence, I praye you, come theſe Papiſticall iudgements? Except perchaunce they thinke, a man feedeth the flock, in ſacrifiſing for thẽ: and then what needeth there any learned Paſtors? For no man is ſo fooliſh, but ſoone may he learne to ſacrifice and Maſſe it.

The ſacrificing prieſthood chaunged into a preaching prieſthood.

The finall cauſe why the Lordes Supper was chiefly ordeyned.

Sacrificing taketh away preaching.

Prepoſterous iudgement of Papiſtes.

Thus loe, I haue taken the more payne to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in conſideration of my debilitie thereunto: that all men may know, how that I haue ſo done not wythout great paines, hauing not any mã to helpe me, as I haue neuer before bene debarred to haue. O Syr, you may chaũce to liue tyll you come to thys age and weakenes that I am of. I haue ſpoken in my time before two Kinges, more then one, two, or three houres together, wythout interruption: but now (that I may ſpeake the truth by your leaue) I could not be ſuffered to declare my mynde before you, no, not by the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, wythout ſnatches, reuilynges, checks, rebukes, tauntes, ſuch as I haue not felt the like, in ſuch an audience, all my lyfe long. Surely it can not be, but an haynous offence that I haue geuẽ. But what was it? Forſooth I had ſpoken of the foure Marybones of the Maſſe. The whych kynde of ſpeaking, I neuer read to be a ſynne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt. I could not be allowed to ſhewe what I meant by my Metaphor: but Syr, now (by your fauour) I wyll tell your Maiſterſhyp what I meant.

Maiſter *Latimer* [illegible] audience [illegible] kings & Princes, then with vnciuill [illegible].

The 4. Marybones of the Maſſe by *M. Latymer* expounded.

The firſt is the Popiſh conſecration: whych hath beene called a Gods body making.
The ſecond is Tranſubſtantiation.
The third is the Miſſall oblation.
The fourth, Adoration.

Conſecration.
Tranſubſtantiation.
Oblation.
Adoration.

Theſe chiefe and principall portions, partes, and poyntes belonging or incident to the Maſſe, and moſt eſteemed and had in price in the ſame: I call the Marybones of the Maſſe, which in deede you by force, myght, and violence, intrude in ſounde of wordes in ſome of the Scripture, wyth racking and cramping, iniuryng and wronging the ſame: but els in deede, playne out of the Scripture, as I am throughly perſwaded: although in diſputation I could now nothing do, to perſwade the ſame to others, being both vnapt to ſtudye, and alſo to make a ſhew of my former ſtudye, in ſuch readynes as ſhould be requiſite to the ſame. I haue heard much talke of mayſter D. Weſton to and fro, in my tyme: but I neuer knew your parſon to my knowledge, tyl I came before you, as the Queenes Maieſties Commiſſioner. I pray God ſend you ſo right iudgement, as I perceyue you haue a great wyt, great learnyng, wyth many other qualities. God geue you grace euer well to vſe them, and euer to haue in remembraunce, that he that dwelleth on hygh, looketh on the low thinges on the earth: and that there is no counſell agaynſt the Lorde: and alſo that thys world hath bene, and yet is a tottering world: And yet agayne, that though we muſt obey the Princes: yet, that hath this limitation, namely, *in the Lord*. For who ſo doth obey them agaynſt the Lord, they be moſt pernicious to them, & the greateſt aduerſaries that they haue: for they ſo procure Gods vengeaunce vpon them, if God onely be the ruler of thinges.

The iudgemẽt of Maiſter *Latymer of D. Weſton*.

Pride of *D. Weſton* priuily touched.

Obedience to princes hath hys limitation.

There be ſome ſo corrupt in mynde, the truth beyng taken from them, that they thynke gaynes to be godlynes: Great learned men, and yet men of no learnyng, but of rayling and ragyng about queſtions and ſtrife of wordes. I call them men of no learnyng, becauſe they know not Chriſt, how much els ſo euer they know. And on thys ſort we are wont to call great learned Clarkes, beyng ignoraunt of Chriſt, vnlearned men: for it is nothyng but playne ignoraunce, to know many thynges wythout Chriſt: wheras who ſo knoweth Chriſt, yͤ ſame hath knowledge inough, although in other knowledge he be to ſeeke. The Apoſtle ſaynt Paule confeſſeth of him ſelfe to the Corinthians, that he dyd know nothing, but Ieſus Chriſt crucified. Many men bable many thinges of Chriſt, which yet knowe not Chriſt: but pretending Chriſt, do craftely colour and darken his glory. *Depart from ſuch men*, ſayth the Apoſtle ſaint Paule to Timothe. It is not out of the way to remember what S. Auguſtine ſayth. The place where, I well now remember not, except it be againſt the Epiſtles of Petilyan. *Whoſoeuer* (ſaith he) *teacheth any thing neceſſarily to be beleued, whych is not contayned in the old or new Teſtament, the ſame is accurſed.* Oh beware of this curſe, if you be wyſe. I am much deceyued if Baſilius haue not ſuch lyke wordes. *Whatſoeuer* (ſayth he) *is beſides the holy ſcripture, if the ſame be taught as neceſſarily to beleued, that is ſinne.* Oh therefore take hede of this ſin.

Knowledge without Chriſt is mere ignoraunce.

Many there be which vnder pretenſe of Chriſt, darken the glory of Chriſt.

Auguſtine.

Baſilius.

There be ſome that ſpeake many falſe thynges, more probable, and more lyke to the truth, then to the truth it ſelfe. Therefore Paule geueth a watch word: *Let no man* (ſayth he) *deceiue you wyth probabilitie and perſwaſions of words.* But what meane you (ſayth one) by this talke, ſo farre from the matter? well, I hope good Maiſters, you wyl ſuffer an old man, a litle to play the child, and to ſpeake one thing twyſe. Oh Lord God, you haue chaunged the moſt holy Communion, into a priuate action: and you deny to the Laity the Lordes cup, contrary to Chriſtes commaũdement, and you doe blemiſh the annunciation of the Lordes death tyll he come: For you haue chaũged the common praier called the diuine ſeruice, with the adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, from the vulgar and knowen language, into a ſtraunge toung, cõtrary to the wyll of the Lord reuealed in hys woord. God open the doore of your hart, to ſee the things you ſhould ſee herein. I would as fayne obey my Soueraygne as any in thys Realme: but in theſe thynges I can neuer doe it wyth an vpryght conſcience. God be mercyfull vnto vs. Amen.

The abſurdities of the Papiſtes opened in abuſing the Lordes Supper.

Weſton. Then, refuſe you to diſpute? Wyll you here then ſubſcribe?

Latimer.

But God ſaw it good that *Weſton* neuer came to hys age.

Latimer. No good Maiſter, I pray you be good to an old man. You may (if it pleaſe God) be once old, as I am: ye may come to this age, and to this debility.

Weſt. Ye ſayd vpon Saterday laſt, that ye could not finde the Maſſe, nor the Marybones thereof in your booke: but we wyll fynde a Maſſe in that booke.

Lati. No good Maiſter Doctor: ye can not.

Weſt. What finde you then there?

Lati. Forſooth a Communion I finde there.

*By this firſt and ſecond Communion, he meaneth the two bookes of publicke order ſet forth in K. *Edwardes* dayes, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of hys reigne.

Weſt. Which Communion, *the firſt or the laſt?

Lati. I finde no great diuerſitie in them: they are one ſupper of the Lord: but I lyke the laſt very well.

Weſt. Then the firſt was naught by lyke.

Lati. I do not wel remember wherein they differ.

D. Weſton cauilleth agaynſt the name of the Lords ſupper.

Weſt. Then cake bread and loafe bread are all one wyth you. Ye call it the ſupper of the Lord: but you are deceiued in that: for they had done yͤ ſupper before, & therfore the ſcripture ſaith: poſtquam cœnatum eſt, that is: *after they had ſupped*. For ye know, that S. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that ſome of thē were dronken at this ſupper: and ye know no man can be dronken at your Communion.

Cœna Iudaica.

Cœna Dominica.

Lati. The firſt was called Cœna Iudaica, that is: *The Iewiſh ſupper*, when they dyd eate the Paſchall Lambe together: the other was called Cœna dominica, that is: *The Lordes Supper.*

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. cap. 10.

Weſt. That is falſe, for Chryſoſtome denyeth that. And ſaint Ambroſe in cap. 10. prioris ad Corinthios ſaith, that Myſterium Euchariſtiæ inter cœnādum datum, non eſt cæna dominica, that is: *The myſtery of the ſacrament, geuen as they were at ſupper, is not the Supper of the Lord.*

Greg. Nazianzenus.

And Gregory Nazianzene ſayth the ſame. Rurſus Paſchæ ſacra cū diſcipulis in cœnaculo ac poſt cœnam, dieq; vnica antè paſſionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis dominibus, & ante cœnam & poſt reſurrectionem peragimus. *That is.*

Agayne, he kept the holy feaſt of Paſſeouer wyth hys Diſciples in the dyning chamber, after the Supper, and one day before his paſſion. But we keepe it, both in the churches and houſes of prayer, both before the Supper, and alſo after the reſurrection.

ἀγάπη. i. Charitas. So were the feaſtes called, wonte to be geuen to the poore.

And that fyrſt Supper was called ἀγάπη: can you tell what that is?

Lat. I vnderſtand no Greeke. Yet I thinke it meaneth Charitie.

Weſt. Wyll you haue all thing done that Chriſt dyd then? Why? then muſt the Prieſt be hanged on the morow. And where finde you, I pray you, that a woman ſhould receiue the ſacrament?

VVeſton oppoſed in hys grammer.

Lat. Wyll you geue me leaue to turne my booke? I finde it in the .xi. chapter to the Corinthians. I trow theſe be hys wordes: Probet autem ſeipſū homo. &c. I pray you good Maiſter, what gender is homo?

Weſt. Mary the common gender.

There you miſſe I wis.

δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν. 1. Cor. 11.

Cole. It is in the Greeke ὁ ἄντθρωπος.

Hard. It is ἀνὴρ, that is, vir.

Lati. It is in my booke of Eraſmus tranſlation, Probet ſeipſum homò.

Feck. It is probet ſeipſum in deede: and therefore it importeth the Maſculine gender.

Lat. What then? I trow when the woman touched Chriſt, he ſayd: Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit. That is: *Who touched me? I know that ſome man touched me.*

Argument.

Weſt. I wyll be at hoſt with you anon. When Chriſt was at hys Supper, none were wyth hym, but hys Apoſtles onely.

Ergo, he ment no woman, if you wyll haue this inſtitution kept.

The Apoſtles repreſented the whole church.

Lat. In the twelue Apoſtles was repreſented the whole Church, in which you will graunt both men and women to be.

Weſton ſcorneth the name of Miniſter.

The name of Miniſter more fit then the name of Prieſt.

Weſt. So through the whole heretically tranſlated Bible, ye neuer make mention of Prieſt, till ye come to the puttyng of Chriſt to death. Where find you then that a Prieſt or Miniſter, (a minſtrell I may call hym well enough) ſhould do it of neceſſitie?

Lat. A Miniſter is a more fit name for that office: for the name of a Prieſt importeth a ſacrifice.

Weſt. Well, remember that ye can not find that a woman may receiue, by Scripture. Maiſter Opponent fall to it.

Smith. Becauſe I perceiue that this charge is layd vpō my necke, to diſpute with you: to the ende that the ſame may go forewarde after a right maner and order, I will propoſe three queſtions, ſo as they are put forth vnto me. And firſt I aſke this queſtion of you, although the ſame in deede ought not to be called in queſtiō: But ſuch is the condition of the Church, that it is alwayes vexed of the wicked ſorte. I aſke (I ſay) whether Chriſtes body be really in the Sacrament.

Lat. I truſt I haue obtained of Maiſter Prolocutour, that no man ſhall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am ſory that this worſhipful audience ſhould be deceiued of their expectation for my ſake. I haue geuen vp my mynd in writyng to maiſter Prolocutour.

Smith. What ſoeuer ye haue geuen vp, it ſhall be regiſtred among the Actes.

Maiſter *Latymer* modeſtly maketh hym ſelfe vnable to diſpute.

Lat. Diſputation requireth a good memorie: aſt abolita eſt mihi memoria, my memory is gone cleane, and marueilouſly weakened, and neuer the better I wis for the priſon.

Weſt. How long haue ye bene in priſon?

Lat. Theſe three quarters of this yeare.

Weſt. And I was in priſon 6. yeares.

Lat. The more pitie Syr.

Weſt. How long haue you bene of this opinion?

Lat. It is not long Syr, that I haue bene of this opinion.

Weſt. The tyme hath bene when you ſayd Maſſe full deuoutly.

Then they hiſt & clapt their hāds at hym.

Lat. Yea, I cry God mercy hartely for it.

Weſt. Where learned you, this new fanglenes?

Maiſter *Latymer* confirmed by Doct. *Cranmers* bookes.

Lat. I haue long ſought for the truth in this matter of the Sacrament, and haue not bene of this mynd paſt ſeuen yeares: and my Lord of Caunterbury hys booke hath eſpecially confirmed my iudgement herein. If I could remember all therin cōteined, I would not feare to aunſwere any man in this matter.

Treſ. There are in that booke ſixe hundred errours.

Weſt. You were once a Lutheran.

The zeale of Maiſter *Latymer* ſometimes in Popery agaynſt the *Tygurines.*

Lat. No, I was a Papiſt: For I neuer could perceiue how Luther could defend his opinion without Tranſubſtantiation. The Tygurines once did write a booke agaynſt Luther: and I oft deſired God, that he myght lyue ſo long to make them aunſwere.

In that booke the deuill doth not diſſuade hym ſo much from ſaying Maſſe, as to bryng hym to deſperation for ſaying Maſſe, ſuch temtations many tymes happen to good men.

Weſt. Luther in his booke de priuata Miſſa, ſayd that the deuill reaſoned with hym, and perſuaded hym that yͤ Maſſe was not good, Fol. 14. contigit me. &c. Wherof it may appeare that Luther ſayd Maſſe, and the deuill diſſuaded hym from it.

Lat. I do not take in hand here to defend Luthers ſayinges or doynges. If he were here, he would defend hym ſelfe well enough I trow. I told you before that I am not meete for diſputations. I pray you read myne aunſwere, wherin I haue declared my faith.

Weſt. Do you beleue this, as ye haue written?

Lat. Yea Syr.

Weſt. Then haue you no faith.

Lat. Then would I be ſory Syr.

Here *Treſsham* began to diſpute in Latin.

Treſ. It is writtē Ihon. 6. *Except ye ſhall eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye ſhal haue no life in you.* Which when the Capernaites & many of Chriſtes Diſciples heard, they ſayd: *This is a hard ſaying. &c.* Now that the truth may the better appeare, here I aſke of you, whether Chriſt ſpeakyng theſe wordes, did meane of his fleſh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the ſpirituall eatyng of the ſame?

Lat. I aunſwere (as Auguſtine vnderſtandeth) that

Chriſt ment of the ſpirituall eatyng of his fleſh.

Treſ. Of what fleſh ment Chriſt? his true fleſh, or no?

Lat. Of his true fleſh, ſpiritually to be eaten in the Supper by fayth, and not corporally.

Treſh. Of what fleſh ment the Capernaites?

Lat. Of his true fleſh alſo: but to be eaten with the mouth.

Treſh. They (as ye confeſſe) did meane his true fleſh, to be taken with the mouth. And Chriſt alſo (as I ſhall proue) did ſpeake of the receiuyng of his fleſh with the mouth.

Ergo they both dyd vnderſtād it of the eatyng of one thyng, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Doctour Treſſhams argument without forme or mode, concluding affirmatiuely in the 2. figure.

Lat. I ſay, Chriſt vnderſtode it not of ẏ bodily mouth: but of the mouth of the ſpirite, mynde, and hart.

Treſh. I proue the contrary: that Chriſt vnderſtādeth it of the eatyng with the bodily mouth. For where as cuſtome is a right good maiſtres and interpreter of things, & where as the Acts put in practiſe by Chriſt, do certainly declare thoſe thinges which he firſt ſpake: Chriſtes dede in his Supper, where he gaue his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the cuſtome which hath bene euer ſince that tyme, of that eatyng which is done with the mouth, doth euidently inferre that Chriſt did vnderſtand his wordes here cited of me out of the ſixt of Iohn, of the eatyng with the mouth.

Doctour Treſſham ſtycth to cuſtome.

Lat. He gaue not his body to be receiued with the mouth, but he gaue the Sacrament of his body to be receiued with the mouth: he gaue the Sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mynd.

The Sacrament geuen to the mouth, the body to fayth.

Treſh. But my reaſon doth cōclude, that Chriſt ſpake concernyng his fleſh to be receiued with the corporall mouth: for otherwiſe (which God forbid) he had bene a deceiuer, and had bene offenſiue to the Capernaites and his Diſciples, if he had not ment in this poynt, as they thought he ment: For if he had thought as you do ſayne, it had bene an eaſie matter for him to haue ſayd: *you ſhall not eate my fleſh wͭ your mouth, but ẏ ſacramēt of my fleſh: that is to ſay, ye ſhal receiue with your mouth, not the thyng it ſelfe, but a figure of the thyng, and thus he might haue ſatiſfied them: but ſo he ſayd not, but cōtinued in the truth of his wordes as he was wont: Therfore Chriſt ment the ſelfe ſame thyng, that the Capernaites did, I meane concernyng the thyng it ſelfe to be receiued with the mouth: videlicet, that hys true fleſh is truly to be eaten with ẏ mouth. Moreouer, for aſmuch as you do expound for [corpus Chriſti] the body of Chriſt [Sacramentum corporis Chriſti] the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, and hereby do ſuppoſe that we obteine but a ſpirituall vnion or vnion of the mynd betwene vs and Chriſt, playne it is that you are deceiued in this thyng, and do erre from the mynd of the fathers: for they affirme by playne and expreſſe wordes, that we are corporally and carnally ioyned together. And theſe be the wordes of Hillary.

* And what doth Chriſt els meane by theſe wordes, where he ſayth: My words be ſpirite, and lyfe: the fleſh profiteth nothyng?

Si verè igitur carnem corporis noſtri Chriſtus aſſumpſit, & verè homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit, Chriſtus eſt, nos quoq, verè ſub myſterio carnem Corporis ſui ſumimus, & per hæc vnum erimus, quia pater in eo eſt, & ille in nobis. Quomodo voluntatis vnitas aſſeritur, cum naturalis per Sacramentum proprietas perfectè Sacramentum ſit vnitatis? i. Therefore if Chriſt dyd truly take the fleſh of our body vpon hym, and the ſame man bee Chriſt in deede which was borne of Mary, thē we alſo do receiue vnder a myſtery, the fleſh of hys body in deede, and thereby ſhall become one, becauſe the father is in him, and he in vs. How is the vnity of will affirmed, when a naturall propriety, by the Sacrament is a perfect Sacrament of vnity?

Thus farre hath Hillary. Loe here you ſee how manifeſtly theſe wordes confound your aſſertion. To be ſhort, I my ſelfe haue heard you preachyng at Grenewich before kyng Henry the eight, where you did openly affirme, that no Chriſtian man ought to doubt of the true and reall preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, for aſmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his ſide, [videlicet: Hoc eſt corpus meum:] *This is my body*, wherby he might be cōfirmed. But now there is the ſame truth: the word of Scripture hath the ſelfe ſame thyng, which it then had. Therfore why do you deny at this preſent, that wherof it was not lawfull once to doubt before when you taught it?

Maiſter Latimer charged to preach the contrary before the kyng at Grenewich.

Lat. Will you geue me leaue to ſpeake?

Treſh. Speake Latin I pray you: for ye can do it if ye liſt, promptly enough.

Lat. I cannot ſpeake Latin, ſo long & ſo largely: Maiſter Prolocutour hath geuen me leaue to ſpeake Engliſh: And as for the wordes of Hillary, I thinke they make not ſo much for you. But he that ſhall aunſwere the Doctors, had not nede to be in my caſe, but ſhould haue them in a readynes, and know theyr purpoſe. Melancthon ſayth, if the Doctours had foreſene that they ſhould haue bene ſo taken in this controuerſie, they would haue written more playnly.

Melancthons iudgement of the old Doctours.

Smith. I will reduce the wordes of Hillary into the fourme of a Sillogiſme.

Argument.

Da- Such as is the vnitie of our fleſh with Chriſtes fleſh, ſuch, (yea greater) is the vnitie of Chriſt with the father.

ti- But the vnity of Chriſtes fleſh with ours, is true and ſubſtantiall:

ſi. Ergo, the vnity of Chriſt with the father is true and ſubſtantiall.

Lat. I vnderſtand you not.

Seat. I know your learning well enough, and how ſubtyll ye be: I wyll vſe a few wordes wyth you, and that out of Cypriā, De cœna domini. The old Teſtament doth forbyd the drinking of bloud. The new Teſtament doth commaund the drynking and taſtyng of bloud: but where doth it commaund the drinking of bloud?

Doct. Seton reaſoneth agaynſt Maiſter *Latymer* out of S. *Cyprian*.

Lati. In theſe wordes: Bibite ex hoc omnes, that is: *Drinke ye all of thys.*

Seat. Then we taſte true bloud.

Lati. We do taſte true bloud, but ſpiritually: and this is ynough.

Seat. Nay the old and new Teſtament in thys do *differ: for the one doth commaund, the other doth forbyd to drinke bloud.

*By that reaſon the new and old Teſtament ſhould not differ, but ſhould be contrary one from the other, which can not be true in naturall, or morall precepts.

Lati. It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the maner of the thing.

Seat. Then there is no difference betwene the drynking of bloud in the new Teſtament, and that of the old: for they alſo dranke ſpiritually.

Lati. And we drinke ſpiritually alſo: but a more precious bloud.

Weſt. Auguſtine vpon the .45. Pſalme ſayth: Securè bibite ſanguinem quem fudiſtis. i. *Drinke boldly the bloud whych ye haue poured out.*

Ergo it is bloud.

Lat. I neuer denyed it, nor neuer wyll go from it, but that we drinke the very bloud of Chriſt in dede, but ſpiritually: for the ſame S. Auguſtine ſaith: Crede & māducaſti. i. *Beleue, and thou haſt eaten.*

Weſt. Nay: Credere, non eſt bibere nec edere. i. *to beleue, is not to drinke or eate.* You wyl not ſay, I pledge you, when I ſay I beleue in God. Is not [manducare] *to eate*, in your learning put for [credere] *to beleue*?

Lati. Yes Syr.

Weſt. I remember my Lord Chauncellour demaunded M. Hooper of theſe queſtions. Whether * [Edere] *to eate*, were [Credere] *to beleue*, & [Altare] an *Alter*, were Chriſt, in all the ſcripture. &c. and he aunſwered, yea. Then ſayd my Lord Chauncellours: Why? then *Habemus altare de quo non licet edere. i. *We haue an Altare of which it is not lawfull to eate*, is as much to ſay, as Habemus Chriſtum, in quo non licet credere. i. *We haue a Chriſt, in whom we may not beleue*,

* *Edere* in ſome places is taken for *credere:* but that in all places it is ſo taken, it followeth not.

* Thys place of the Hebrewes alludeth to the olde ſacrifice of the Iewes, who in ẏ feaſt of propitiation, the x. day, vſed to cary the fleſh of the ſacrifice out of the tents to be burned on an altar without, becauſe none of them which ſerued in the Tabernacle ſhould eate therof: onely the bloud was caryed by the high Prieſt into the holy place.

Treſh. Beleue, and thou haſt eaten, is ſpoken of the ſpirituall eatyng.

Lat. It is true, I do alow your ſaying: I take it ſo alſo.

Weſt. We are commaunded to drincke bloude in the new law:

Ergo

An. 1554. *Aprill.*

Ergo it is very bloud.

Lat. We drincke bloud, ſo as appertayneth to vs to drycke to our comfort, in ſacramentall wyne. We drinke bloud ſacramentally: he gaue vs hys bloud to drinke ſpiritually: he went about to ſhew, that as certaynly as we drinke wyne, ſo certaynly we drinke hys bloud ſpiritually.

Weſt. Do not you ſeeme to be a papiſt, which do bring in new wordes, not found in the ſcripture? Wher finde you that [Sacramẽtaliter] *ſacramẽtally*, in Gods booke?

Lat. It is neceſſarily gathered vpon ſcripture.

Weſt. The old Teſtament doth forbyd the taſtyng of bloud: but the new doth commaund it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the maner thereof.

Weſt. Heare ye people, this is the argument.

Argument not formall.

That which was forbydden in the old Teſtament, is commaunded in the new.

To drinke bloud was forbidden in the old Teſtamẽt, and commaunded in the new:

Ergo, it is very bloud that we drinke in the new.

☞ *This argument, becauſe the* Maior *thereof it not vniuerſall, is not formall, and may well be retorted againſt* Weſton, *thus:*

D. Weſtons **argument retorted agaynſt hym ſelfe.**

Ce- No naturall or morall thing forbidden materially in the old Teſtament, is commaunded in the new.
la- To drinke mans naturall bloud, is forbyd materially in the old Teſtament:
rent. *Ergo* to drinke mans naturall bloud materially, is not commaunded in the new.

Aunſwere.

Lat. It is commaunded ſpiritually to be dronken. I graunt it is bloud dronken in the new Teſtament: but we receaue it ſpiritually.

Pie. It was not forbidden ſpiritually in the old law.

Lat. The ſubſtaunce of bloud is dronken: but not in one maner.

Pie. It doth not requyre the ſame maner of drinking.

Lat. It is the ſame thing, not the ſame maner. I haue no more to ſay.

Chryſoſtome.

Weſt. Here Weſton cited the place of Chryſtome, of Iudas treaſon: O Iudæ dementia, Ille cum Iudæis triginta denarijs Paciſcebatur, vt Chriſtum venderet, & Chriſtus ei ſanguinem, quem vendidit offerebat. That is: *O the madnes of Iudas. He made bargaine with the Iewes for thirty pence, to ſel Chriſt: & Chriſt offered him his bloud which he ſold.*

Lat. I graunt he offered to Iudas his bloud, which he ſold: but in a ſacrament.

Doct. Cartwryght **vrged to diſpute.**

Weſt. Becauſe ye can defend your Doctors no better, ye ſhall ſee how worſhipfull men you hang vppon: and one that hath bene of your minde, ſhal diſpute with you. Maiſter Cartwright, I pray you diſpute.

Cartwryght **returning to hys old errour agayne.**

Cart. Reuerent father, becauſe it is geuẽ me in commaundement to diſpute wyth you, I wyll do it gladly. But firſt vnderſtãd ere we go any further, that I was in the ſame errour that you are in: but I am ſory for it, and doe confeſſe my ſelfe to haue erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and I wiſh and deſire god that you alſo may repent with me.

Argumentũ a pœna legis. Durum, & difficile.

Lat. Will you geue me leaue to tell, what hath cauſed maiſter Doctor here to recant? It is pœna legis, the payne of the law, which hath brought you backe, and conuerted you, and many moe: the which letteth many to cõfeſſe God. And this is a great argument: there are few here can diſſolue it.

Cart. That is not my cauſe: but I wyl make you this ſhort argument, by which I was conuerted from mine errours.

Argum. a deſtructione cõſequẽtis, ad deſtructionem antecedentis.

If the true body of Chriſt be not really in the ſacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the Apoſtles tyme.

But Chriſt would not ſuffer his church to erre:

Ergo, it is the true body of Chriſt.

No mention made of any eating, but ſpiritually in the church, for the ſpace of 700. yeares.

Lat. The popiſh church hath erred, and doth erre. I thincke for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen hundreth yeares, there was no mention made of any eating but ſpiritually: for before theſe fiue hundreth yeares, the Church did euer confeſſe a ſpirituall manducation. But the Romiſh church begat the errour of trãſubſtantiation. My Lorde of Canterburies booke handleth that very well, and by him I could aunſwere you, if I had him.

Cart. Linus and all the reſt doe confeſſe the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament: and ſaint Auguſtine alſo vpon the. 98. Pſalme, vpon this place: Adorate ſcabellum pedum. &c. graunteth it to be worſhipped.

Lat. We doe worſhip Chriſt in the heauens, and we do worſhip him in the ſacrament: but the maſſing worſhip is not to be vſed.

Smith. Do you thinke that Cyrill was of the auncient church?

Lat. I do thinke ſo.

Cyrillus in Ioan. Lib. 10. cap. 13.

Smith. He ſayth, *that Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally:* Theſe be Cyrils wordes, of the myſticall benediction.

Lat. That [* *corporally*] hath an other vnderſtanding, then you do groſly take it.

* Cyrill *ſayth that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in vs: but hee ſayth not that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in the bread. Which dwelling of Chriſt in vs, is, as our dwelling is alſo in Chriſt, not locall or corporall, but ſpiritual, and heauenly.* [Corporally] *therefore is to be taken here in the ſame ſenſe, as* S. Paule *ſayth, the fulnes of diuinity to dwell in Chriſt corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and ſubſtantially, with all his vertue and power. &c. And ſo dwelleth Chriſt corporally in vs alſo.*

Smith. Here Smith repeateth theſe wordes of Cyril. Per communionem corporis Chriſti, habitat in nobis Chriſtus corporaliter. That is: *By the communicating of the body of Chriſt, Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally.*

Lat. The ſolution of this is in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

Smith. Cyrill was no Papiſt, and yet theſe bee hys wordes: *Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally*, but you ſay he dwelleth in vs ſpiritually.

Lat. I ſay both: that he dwelleth in vs both corporally and ſpiritually, according to his meaning: ſpiritually by fayth, & corporally by taking our fleſh vpon hym. For I remember I haue read this in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

The immodeſt behauiour of thys Iacke ſcorner to be noted.

Weſt. For becauſe your learning is let out to ferme, and ſhut vp in my Lord of Canterburies booke: I will recite vnto you a place of S. Ambroſe, De apparatione ad Miſſam, where he ſayth: Videmus principem Sacerdotem ad nos vientẽ, & offerentem ſanguinem. &c. That is: *We ſee the chiefe Prieſt comming vnto vs, and offering bloud. &c.*

Auguſt. in Pſal. 38.

Chryſoſt. De incomprehenſibili Dei natura.

Likewyſe both Auguſtine in the. 38. Pſal. & Chryſoſtome, concernyng the incomprehenſible nature of God, Tomo. 3. ſay: Non ſolum homines. &c.

Lat. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge my ignorãce: and theſe teſtimonies are more then I can beare away

Weſt. Then you muſt leaue ſome behind you for lacke of cariage.

Chryſoſt. **full of figuratiue ſpeeches, and Emphaticall loquutions.**

Lat. But for Chryſoſtome, hee hath many figuratiue ſpeeches, and Emphaticall loquutions, in many places, as in that which you haue now recited: but hee ſayth not, for the quicke and the dead: he taketh the celebration for the ſacrifice.

Chryſoſt. in Act. cap. 9.

Weſt. You ſhall heare Chryſoſtome againe, vpon the ix. chapter of the Actes. Quid dicis? Hoſtia in manibus ſacerdotis. &c. He doth not call it a cup of wyne.

Lat. Ye haue myne aunſwere there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not propiciatorium ſacrificium. i. *A propitiatory ſacrifice.*

Weſt. You ſhal heare it to be ſo: and I bring an other place of Chryſoſtome out of ỹ ſame treatiſe: Non temerè ab Apoſtolis eſt inſtitutum. &c.

Lat. He is to precious a thing for vs to offer: he offereth hym ſelfe.

Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antioch. Hom. 69.

Weſt. Here in an other place of Chryſoſtome to the people of Antioch, Hom. *69.* and alſo ad Philippẽſes, he ſayth: *There ſhould bee a memory and ſacrifice for the dead.*

Lat. I do ſay that ỹ holy Cõmuniõ beareth the name of a ſacrifice, becauſe it is a ſacrifice memoratiue.

Weſt. How ſay you to the ſacrifice for the dead?

Lat. I ſay that it needeth not, or it booteth not.

Auguſt. Encherid. cap.110.

Weſt. Auguſtine in his Encheridion the. 110. chap. ſayth: Non eſt negandum defunctorum animos pietate ſuorum viuentium releuari, quum pro illis ſacrificium Mediatoris offertur. That is: *We muſt not deny, that the ſoules of the dead are relieued by the deuotion of their friendes which are liuing, when the ſacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them.* Where he proueth the verity of Chriſtes body, and praying for the dead. And it is ſaid that the ſame Auſtine ſaid Maſſe for his mother.

Auguſt. falſly belyed to ſay Maſſe for hys mother.

Lat. But that Maſſe was not lyke yours, which thing doth manifeſtly appeare in hys writinges which are agaynſt it in euery place. And Auguſtine is a reaſonable mã, he requireth to be beleued no further, then he bringeth ſcripture for his proofe, & agreeth with gods word.

The blaſphemous mouth of *Weſton* calling the Lordes table an Oyſter bourd.

Weſt. In the ſame place he proueth a propitiatory ſacrifice, and that vpon an aultar, and no Oyſter bourd.

Lat. It is the Lordes table, and no Oyſter bourd. It may bee called an aultar, and ſo the Doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory ſacrifice, but onely Chriſt. The Doctors might by deceiued in ſome poyntes, though not in all things.* I beleue them whẽ they ſay well.

* Doctores legendi ſunt cum venia.

Cole. Is it not a ſhame for an old man to lye? You ſay, you are of the old fathers faith where they ſay wel, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of theyr fayth, when they ſay well. I referre my ſelfe to my lord of Cãterburies boke wholy herein.

Smith. Then you are not of Chryſoſtomes fayth, nor of S. Auguſtines fayth.

Lat. I haue ſayd, when they ſayd well & bryng Scripture for them, I am of their fayth, and further Auguſtine requireth not to be beleued.

Weſt. Origen. Hom. 13. vpon Leuitic.

Lat. I haue but one word to ſay: Panis Sacramẽtalis, the Sacramentall bread, is called a Propitiation, becauſe it is a Sacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?

Weſt. My vocation is at this tyme to diſpute, otherwiſe I am a Prieſt, and my vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where haue you that authoritie giuen you to offer?

Weſt. Hoc facite: *Do this:* for Facite in that place is taken for Offerte, that is, offer you.

Facere, for *ſacrificare*, with Doct. *Weſton.*

Lat. Is Facere, nothyng but Sacrificare, to ſacrifice? why then no man muſt receyue the Sacrament but Prieſtes onely: for there may none offer but Prieſtes.

Ergo, there may none receiue but Prieſtes.

Weſt. Your Argument is to be denyed.

Lat. Did Chriſt then offer him ſelf at his Supper?

Pye. Yea, he offered him ſelfe for the whole world.

If Chriſt offred him ſelf at the Supper, & the next day he offered him ſelf vpon the croſſe, then was Chriſt twiſe offered.

Lat. Then, if this word [facite] *do ye*, ſignifie ſacrificate, ſacrifice ye: it foloweth, (as I ſayd) that none but Prieſtes onely ought to receiue the Sacrament, to whom it is onely lawfull to ſacrifice: and where find you that, I pray you?

Weſt. Forty yeare agone, whether could you haue gone to haue found your doctrine?

Lat. The more cauſe we haue to thanke God, that hath now ſent the light into the world.

Weſton falleth to raylyng.

Weſt. The light? Nay, light and lewd preachers: for you could not tel what you might haue: Ye altered and chãged ſo often your Communions and your Altars: and all for this one end, to ſpoyle & robbe the Church.

Lat. Theſe thynges pertayne nothyng to me. I muſt not aunſwere for other mens deedes, but onely for myne owne.

Weſt. Well, Maiſter Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, & to exhort you to come to your ſelfe, and remember that without Noes Arke there is no health. Remember what they haue bene that were the begynners of your doctrine: none but a few flying Apoſtataes, runnyng out of Germany for feare of the Fagot. Remember what they haue bene which haue ſet forth the ſame in this Realme: A ſort of flyngbraynes and light heades, which were neuer conſtant in any one thyng, as it was to be ſeene in the turnyng of the Table, where lyke a ſort of Apes, they could not tell which way to turne their tayles, lokyng one day Weſt and an other day Eaſt, one that way, and an other this way. They will be lyke (they ſay) to the Apoſtles, they will haue no Churches. A houell is good inough for them. They come to the Communion with no reuerence. They get them a Tankard, and one ſayth, I drinke and I am thãkefull: the more ioy of thee ſayth an other. And in them was it true that Hillary ſayth: Annuas & mẽſtruas de deo fides facimus, i. we make euery yeare and euery moneth a fayth. A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worſhippyng of Chriſt in yͤ Sacrament: by whoſe procuremẽt that hereſie was put into the laſt Cõmunion booke: ſo much preuailed that one mans authoritie at that tyme. You neuer agreed with the Tygurines or Germanes, or with the Church, or with your ſelfe. Your ſtubbornes commeth of a vayne glory which is to no purpoſe: for it will do you no good whẽ the Fagot is in your beard. And we ſee all by your owne Confeſſion, how litle cauſe you haue to be ſtubborne: for your learnyng is in feoffers hold. The Queenes grace is mercifull, if ye will turne.

D. Weſtons Apes haue tayles.

Shameles raylyng and blaſphemous lyes of *D. Weſton* ſittyng in *Cathedra peſtilentiæ.*

Who be theſe, or where be they M. Oblocutor, that will be like the Apoſtles? that will haue no churches? that be runnagates out of Germany? that gette thẽ tankards? that make monethly faythes? that worſhip not Chriſt in al hys Sacramẽtes? Speake truth man, and ſhame the deuil. If ye know any ſuch, bryng them forth: if ye know none, what aileth you thus to take on where ye haue no cauſe?

Lat. You ſhall haue no hope in me to turne: I pray for the Queene dayly euẽ from the bottome of my hart, that ſhe may turne from this Religion.

Weſt. Here you all ſee the weakenes of hereſie againſt the truth: he denyeth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Here all good readers may ſee how this glorious Prolocutour triumpheth: but whether he hath the victory or no, that I ſuppoſe they haue not yet, neither heard nor ſene. And geue that he had yͤ victory, yet what great maruel was it, diſputing as he did, nõ ſine ſuo Theſeo: that is, not without his tipplyng cuppe ſtandyng at hys elbowe all the tyme of his diſputation, not without a priuie notyng and ſmylyng of them that beheld the matter, but eſpecially at that tyme, when D. Rydley diſputyng with one of the Opponents, the ſayd Prolocutor tooke the cuppe and holdyng it in hys hand, ſayd to the Opponent: Vrge hoc, Vrge hoc: Nam hoc facit pro nobis. In which wordes as he moued no litle matter of laughter to the beholders therof: ſo I thought here alſo not to leaue the ſame vnmẽtioned, ſomewhat alſo to delight the Reader withall, after hys tedious wearines in readyng the ſtory therof.

Vrge hoc, quoth Weſton, with hys beerepotte.

¶To the Reader.

To the Reader.

And thus haſt thou (louing reader) the whole action and ſtage of this Doctorly diſputatiõ ſhewed forth vnto thee agaynſt theſe iij. worthy confeſſors and Martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou mayſt behold the diſordered vſage of the Vniuerſitiemen, the vnmanerly maner of the Schole, the rude tumult of the multitude, yͤ fierceneſ and interruption of the Doctours, the full pith and ground of all their Argumẽtes, the cenſure of the Iudges, the raylyng language of the Oblocutor, with hys blaſt of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor, the moderator, & alſo iudge hym ſelfe. And what maruell then if the courage of this victorious conquerour, hauing yͤ law in his own handes to do & ſay what hym liſted, would ſay for him ſelfe, Vicit veritas, although he ſayd neuer a true word, nor made neuer a true concluſion almoſt in all that diſputation?

April. 19.

It folowed furthermore after diſputation of theſe iij. dayes beyng ended, that M. Harpſfield the next day after, which was the xix. of Aprill, ſhould diſpute for his forme, to be made Doctour. To the which diſputation the Archbyſhop of Cant. was brought forth & permitted among the reſt to vtter an Argument or ij. in defenſe of hys cauſe. As in ſequele hereof may appeare.

¶Diſputation of Maiſter Harpſfield Bacheler of Diuinitie, aunſweryng for hys forme to be made Doctour.

¶*Harpſfield.*

Aprill. 1.

The iudgement of M. *Harpſfield*, for the beſt way to vnderſtand the ſcripture.

If Maiſter *Harpſfield* had willed vs to ſubmit our ſenſes to the holy ghoſt, he had ſaid much better.

* No, but thoſe Iewes ſticking ſo much to the old cuſtome & face of their Church, and not ſekyng for knowledge, by ignoraunce of the Scriptures were deceaued: and ſo be you.

I Am not ignoraunt what a weyghty matter it is, to entreate of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures: and moſt hard it is to, in the great cōtention of Religiō, to ſhew the ready way, whereby the Scriptures may be beſt vnderſtanded. For the often readyng of them doth not bryng the true vnderſtandyng of them. what other thyng is there then? Verely this is the ready way, not to folow our own heades and ſenſes, but to geue ouer our iudgement vnto the holy Catholicke Church, who hath had of old yeares the truth, & alwayes deliuered the ſame to their poſteritie: but if the often readyng of Scriptures and neuer ſo paynfull comparyng of places ſhould bryng the true vnderſtandyng, then diuers heretickes myght preuaile euen agaynſt whole generall Councels. The *Iewes did greatly bragge of the knowledge of the law, & of the Sauiour, that they wayted for. But what auayled it them? Notwithſtandyng I know right well, that diuers places of the Scripture do much warne vs of the often readyng of the ſame, and what fruite doth thereby folow: as ſcrutamini. &c. *Search the Scriptures: for they doe beare witnes of me. &c.* Lex domini. &c. *The law of the Lord is pure, able to turne ſoules.* And that ſaying of S. Paul: Omnis Scriptura. &c. *All Scripture inſpired from aboue, doth make that a man may be inſtructed to all good workes:* howbeit doth the law of the Iewes conuert their ſoules? are they by readyng inſtructed to euery good worke? The Letter of the old Teſtament is the ſame that we haue.

The heretickes alſo haue euer had the ſame Scriptures which we haue that be Catholickes. But they are ſerued as Tantalus that the Poetes do ſpeake of, who in the plenty of thinges to eate and drinke, is ſayd to be oppreſſed with hunger, and thyrſt. The ſwifter that men do ſeke the Scriptures without the Catholicke Church, the deper they fall, and find hell for their labour. S. Cyprian, neuer ſwaruyng from the Catholicke Church, ſayth: *He that doth not acknowledge the Church to bee his mother, ſhall not haue God to be hys father.* Therfore it is true Diuinitie, to be wiſe with the Church, where Chriſt ſaith: Niſi manducaueritis. &c. *Vnleſſe ye eate my fleſh, and drinke my bloud: ye haue no lyfe in you.*

* Vnder the formes, that is, vnder the properties of bread & wine: and ſo all toys is true.

* In the materiall eating of mans body there is no varietie: for to eate mans fleſh eyther vnder accidences or not accidences, both is agaynſt the Scripture and againſt nature.

If he had ment of onely eatyng bread, and drynkyng wyne, nothyng had bene more pleaſaunt to the Capernaites, neither would they haue forſaken hym. The fleſh profiteth nothyng, to them that do ſo take it. For the Capernaites dyd imagine Chriſt to be geuen in ſuch ſort, as he lyued. But Chriſt ſpake hygh thynges: not that they ſhould haue hym as fleſh in the market, but to conſider his preſence with the ſpirite, * vnder the formes whereby it is geuen. As there is an alteration of bodyes by courſes and tymes of ages, ſo there is no leſſe * varietie in eatyng of bodyes.

These thinges which I haue recited briefly, Maiſter Harpſfield did with many more wordes ſet out: and hereupon D. Weſton diſputed agaynſt hym.

West. Chriſtes reall body is not in the Sacrament.
Ergo you are deceyued.

Harpſ. I deny the antecedent.

West. Iohn the vj. Dico veritatem vobis. &c. *I ſpeake the truth vnto you: It behoueth me that I go away from you. For vnleſſe I do depart, that comforter can not come. &c.*

Upon this, I will make this Argument.

Argument.

Chriſt is ſo gone away as he dyd ſēd the holy ghoſt.
But the holy Ghoſt dyd verely come into ẏ world:
Ergo Chriſt is verely gone.

Thys anſwere doth not ſatiſfy the Argument, for the concluſion ſpeaketh of a bodily abſence, the aunſwere ſpeaketh of a ſpirituall remaynyng.

* If the naturall preſence be here, then is it falſe that *S. Auſten* ſayth, *ſecundū præſentiam carnis, non eſt hic.*

Harpſ. He is verely gone, and yet remaineth here.

West. S. Auguſtine ſaith, that theſe wordes: Ego ero. &c. *I will be with you, euen to the end of the World,* are accompliſhed ſecundum maieſtatem, *accordyng to hys maieſty.* But ſecundum præſentiam carnis, non eſt hic, *by the preſence of hys fleſh he is not here.* The Church hath him not in fleſh, but by belief.

Harpſ. We muſt diligently weygh that there are two natures in Chriſt: the Diuine nature, and humane nature. The Diuine nature is of ſuch ſort, that it can not chooſe, but be in all places. The humane nature is not ſuch, that of force it muſt be in all places, although it be in diuers, after a diuers maner. So where that ẏ Doctours do entreate of his preſence by Maieſtie, they doe commend the Maieſty of the Diuine nature, not to hynder vs of the * naturall preſence here in the Sacrament.

West. He ſayth farther: Me autem non ſemper habebitis: *ye ſhall not haue me alwayes with you,* is to be vnderſtanded in the fleſh.

Harpſ. The preſence of the fleſh is to be conſidered, that he is not here as he was wont to lyue in conuerſation with thē, to be ſeene, talked withall, or in ſuch ſorte as a mā may geue hym * any thyng: after that ſort he is not preſent.

* And how can we the geue hym, to hym, to whom we can ſhew no charitie, nor geue any thyng els vnto?

West. But what ſay you to this of S. Auguſtine: Nō eſt hic: *He is not here?*

Harpſ. I do aunſwere out of S. Auguſtine vpō Iohn, Tractatu. 25. vpon theſe wordes. Non videbitis me. Vado ad patrem. &c. *I go to the father: ye ſhal not ſee me: that is, ſuch as I now am.* Therfore I do deny the * maner of his preſence.

* What maner ſo euer ye geue to the body, if the ſubſtantial body be here in deede, it can not be auoyded, but eyther it muſt needes be falſe that *S. Auſten* ſayth? *Nō eſt hic:* Or els Chriſt muſt haue two bodyes in ij. places together preſent, here after one maner, and in heauen after an other maner.

West. I will ouerthrow S. Auguſtine with S. Auguſtine: who ſayth this alſo: Quomodo quis poſsit tenere Chriſtum? fidem mitte & tenuiſti. That is, *How may a mā hold Chriſt? ſend thy fayth, and thou holdeſt him.*

So he ſheweth, that by ſendyng our fayth, we doe holde Chriſt.

Harpſ. In deede no man holdeth Chriſt, vnles he beleue in him: but it is an other thing to haue Chriſt mercifull and fauorable vnto vs, and to haue hym preſent in the Sacrament.

There S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of holdyng hym by fayth, as he is fauorable vnto vs.

West. Nay, he ſpeaketh there how the Fathers had hym in the fleſh, and teacheth that we haue him not ſo in fleſh, as they had hym long tyme, ſaying: *Your fathers did holde Chriſt preſent in the fleſh, do you holde him in your hart?* What wordes can be more playne? Farther he ſayth: *He is gone, and is not here: he hath left vs, and yet hath not forſaken vs.* Hic eſt maieſtate, abijt carne: *He is here in maieſty, and gone touching the fleſh.*

Note what *Harpſfield* here holdeth, that the body of Chriſt is not preſent in the Sacramēt, but onely to them that receiue him worthely.

Harpſ. I doe vnderſtand Auſtine thus: that Chriſt is here in hys fleſh to them that receyue him worthely: to ſuch as doe not worthely receyue him, to them hee is not preſent in the fleſh. I iudge S. Auguſtine meaneth ſo. We haue him, and haue him not: we haue hym in receyuing of hym worthely, otherwyſe not.

West. Nay: Tenere carnem eſt tenere corticem literæ: I wyll proſecute an other argument. Cyrillus doth ſay: *By the maieſty of his diuinitie he is euer here, but the preſence of his fleſh he hath taken away.*

Harpſ. This ſenſe of Cyrill is thus to be vnderſtanded: The moſt true fleſh of Chriſt is at the right hand of the father. Thus the Fathers taught, and ſo they beleued. Thus ſayd Cyrill: thus ſayd Auſtine, and becauſe this is the foundation of our fayth, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore, when they proue this, [the body to be in heauen] they doe not make agaynſt the * preſence in the ſacramēt. So vnles ye can plainly ſhew, that the Fathers do directly ſay, he is not in the ſacrament, you make nothing agaynſt me: for I haue ſhewed why the fathers ſo ſpake. They did teach the great difference betwene the diuine nature, and the humaine nature, as I haue before ſayd.

* If the preſence of hys fleſh is takē away as Cyrill ſayth, how then is the preſence of hys fleſh in the Sacrament?

West. I wyll then proue that he is not in the Sacrament. Vigilius againſt the Hereticke Eutiches, vpon theſe wordes: Me autē non ſemper habebitis, ſayth: *The ſonne of God, as touching his humanity is gone from vs, by his diuinity he remayneth with vs:* And that ſame Vigilius in hys fourth booke ſayth: *He that is in the heauen, is not in the earth,* ſpeaking of Chriſt.

* *Vigilius* ſayth, hys body is taken vp, how then doth the ſame body remayne ſtill, vnleſſe eyther ye make hym to haue ij. bodyes, or els make two contradictories true in one propoſition.

Harpſ. I wyll ſhew you the reaſon of theſe wordes. The hereticke Eutiches did beleue that the diuine nature of Chriſt was faſtned on the croſſe, and beleued that Chriſt had no natural body. To this Vigilius ſaid, that the humaine nature was taken vp and aſcended, whych could not ſo haue done, vnleſſe he had had a body. This he ſaid not, to take away the * preſence in the ſacrament. For what had he to referre this ſentence to the ſacrament? He neuer dyd ſo much as dreame of the Sacrament.

Weſt. Cyrill ſayth: *Although he be abſent from vs in body, yet are we gouerned by his ſpirite.*

Cyrillus.

Harpſ. By theſe wordes he gaue vs a cherefulnes, to aſpire vpwardes, ſeeking therchence our helpe. For as touching his conuerſation, he is not ſo in the ſacrament, as one meate to be lyued wythall. But let hym teach vs that hee is not there to feede vs: for after that ſort he is there.

The body of Christ is here to fede our bellies, but not to be lyued wythall.

Weſt. You haue ſatiſfied me wyth your aunſweres, in doing the ſame learnedly, and catholickly. But now to an other argument.

* Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the earth by hys body, as he was abſent from heauen when he liued here.

But when he dyd lyue bodely on earth, the ſame naturall body was out of heauen:

Ergo now whileſt hys naturall body is in heauen, it is not in earth.

*The argument holdeth *a proportione*. The forme is thys: As the natural body of Chriſt was abſent from heauen whē it was here: ſo is it abſent now frō hence when it is in heauen. But the naturall body was thē abſent from heauen, really and ſubſtātially: *Ergo*, the naturall body of Chriſt is now abſent from hence really.

Harpſ. I deny the Maior.

Weſt. Fulgentius ad Tranſmundum regem Lib. 2, ſayth: Secundum humanam ſubſtātiam abſens erat cœlo, cum deſcendit de cœlo. Theſe are Fulgentius wordes touching hys humaine ſubſtance. *He was abſent from heauen when he deſcended from heauen: and touching the ſame ſubſtance now he is in heauē, he is not on the earth: but concerning the diuine nature, he neuer forſooke, neyther heauen nor earth.*

☞ After theſe wordes, not wayting Harpſfieldes aunſwere, he offered mayſter Cranmer to diſpute: who began in this wyſe.

Cran. I haue heard you right learnedly and eloquētly entreate of the dignity of the ſcriptures, whych I do both commend, and haue marueiled thereat within my ſelfe. But where as you referre the true ſenſe & iudgement of the ſcriptures to the catholick church as iudge therof, you are much deceiued, ſpeaking for that vnder the name of the Church you appoynt ſuch Iudges as haue corruptly iudged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the Scriptures. I wonder likewiſe why you attribute ſo litle to the diligent reading of the ſcriptures and conferryng of places, ſeing the ſcriptures doe ſo much commend the ſame, as well in diuers other places, as alſo in thoſe which you your ſelfe haue already alledged. And as touching your opinion of theſe queſtions, it ſeemeth to me, neither to haue any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitiue Church. And to ſay the truth, the Scholemen haue ſpoken diuerſly of them, and doe not agree therein among them ſelues. Wherefore minding here briefly to ſhewe my iudgement alſo, I muſt deſire you firſt to aunſwere me to a few queſtions which I ſhall demaunde of you. Which being done, we ſhall the better procede in our diſputation. Moreouer, I muſt deſire you to beare alſo with my rudenes in the Latine toung: which through long diſuſe is not now ſo prompt & ready with me, as it hath bene. And now all other thinges ſet apart, I mynde chiefly to haue regard to the truth. My firſt queſtion is this: How Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament, according to your mynde or determination?

The opinion of Maiſter *Harpſfield* reproued, referring the ſenſe of the Scriptures rather to the iudgement of the Church, then to the diligēt readyng and conferring of places.

Then aunſwered a Doctor: he is there as touching his ſubſtance, but not after the maner of his ſubſtance.

Chriſt preſent in the ſacrament in ſubſtāce, but not after the maner of ſubſtance.

Harpſ. He is there in ſuch ſort and maner, as he may be eaten.

Cran. My next queſtion is: Whether hee hath hys quantitie, and qualities, forme, figure, and ſuch like properties.

Harpſ. Are theſe your queſtions, ſayd Maiſter Harpſfield? I may lykewyſe aſke you, when Chriſt paſſed through the Virgins wombe, an ruperit necne? Whē they had thus a whyle contended, there were diuers opinions in this matter.

All the Doctors fell in a buſzing, incertayne what to aunſwere: ſome thought one way, ſome an other, and thus maiſter Doctours could not agree.

The Rabbins could not agree among thēſelues.

Then Maiſter Cranmer ſayd thus: you put of queſtions wyth queſtions, and not wyth aunſwers. I aſke one thing of you, and you aunſwere an other. Once agayne I aſke: Whether hee haue thoſe properties which he had on the earth?

Chriſtes body without hys properties in the ſacrament.

Treſh. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body.

Smith. Stay you maiſter Treſham. I wyll aunſwere to you Maiſter Doctor, wyth the wordes of Damaſcene: Tranſformatur panis. &c. *The bread is transformed. &c. But if thou wylt enquire how,* modus impoſſibilis, *the maner is impoſſible.*

Then two or three other added their aunſweres to this queſtion, ſomwhat doubtfully. A great hurly burly was among them: ſome affirming one thing, and ſome an other.

The Doctors in a doubt.

Cran. Doe you appoynt mee a body, and can not tell what maner of body? Either he hath not hys quantitie, or els you are ignorant how to aunſwere it.

Harpſ. Theſe are vayne queſtions, and it is not mete to ſpend the tyme on them.

Weſt. Heare me a whyle. Lanfrancus, ſometyme biſhop of Canterbury doth aunſwere in thys wyſe vnto Berengarius vpon ſuch like queſtions: Salubriter credi poſſunt, fideliter quæri non poſſunt. *They may be well beleued, but neuer faythfully asked.*

Lanfrancus contra Berengarius.

Cran. If ye thinke good to aunſwere it, ſome of you declare it.

Harpſ. He is there as pleaſeth him to be there.

Cran. I would be beſt contented wyth that aunſwer, if that your appointing of a carnal preſence had not driuen me of neceſſity to haue enquired for diſputations ſake, how you place him there, ſithens you wyll haue a naturall body.

When agayne he was aunſwered of diuers at one tyme, ſome denying it to be quantum, ſome ſaying it to be quantitatiuū, ſome affirming it to haue modum quanti, ſome denying it, ſome one thyng, ſome an other: vp ſtart Doctor Weſton, and doughtely decided (as he thought) all the matter, ſaying: it is Corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti. i. *It is a body* (ſayth he) *hauing quantity, but not according to the maner of quantitie.*

The Papiſtes would haue Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, but they cā not tel how.

Corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti.

Whereunto maiſter Warde, a great Sophiſter, thyncking the matter not fully aunſwered, did largely declare and diſcourſe his ſentence: How learnedly and truely I can not tell, nor I thinke he himſelfe neyther, ne yet the beſt learned there. For it was ſayd ſince, that farre better learned then hee, layde as good eare to hym as they could, and yet could by no meanes perceiue to what end all hys talke tended. In deede hee told a formall tale to clout vp the matter. He was full of quantum and quantitatiuū. This that followeth, was, as it is thought, the effect: yet others thinke no. Howbeit we wyl rehearſe the ſumme of his wordes, as it is thought he ſpake them.

M. Warde in the miſtie cloudes of *Dunſes* quiddities.

Warde. We muſt conſider (ſayth he) that there are duæ poſitiones, *two poſitions*. The one ſtandeth by the order of partes, with reſpect of the whole. The other in reſpect of that which contayneth. Chriſt is in the ſacrament in reſpect of the whole. This propoſition is in one of Ariſtotles predicaments called Situs. I remember I did entreate theſe matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the Philoſophicall diſputations in the publike Schooles. This poſition is ſine modo quantitatiuo, as by an enſample: you can neuer bring heauen to a quantitie. So I conclude that he is in the ſacrament quantum ſine modo quantitatiuo.

Ariſtotle muſt helpe to tell vs how Chriſt is in the Sacrament.

Chriſt *ſine modo quantitatiuo* in the Sacrament.

Theſe wordes he amplified very largely, and ſo high he climed into the heauens wyth Duns his ladder, and not with the ſcriptures, that it is to bee marueiled how he could come down again without falling? To whom Maiſter Cranmer ſayd: Then thus do I make my argument.

Cran. In heauen his body hath quantitie, in earth it hath none, by your ſaying:

Ergo he hath two bodies, the one in heauen, the other in earth.

D. Cranmers Argument.

Here ſome would haue aunſwered him, that he had quantitie in both, and ſo put of the antecedent: but thus ſayd maiſter Harpsfield.

Harpſ. I deny your argument: though ſome would not haue had hym ſay ſo.

Cran. The argument is good. It ſtandeth vpon contradictories, which is the moſt ſureſt hold.

Harpſ. I deny that there are contradictions.

Cran. I thus proue it. Habere modum quantitatiuum & non habere, ſunt contradictoria.

Sed Chriſtus in cœlis vt dicitis, habet modum quantitatiuum, in terra non habet:

Ergo duo ſunt corpora eius in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria: Nam in idem cadere non poſſunt.

Weſt. I deny the Minor.

Ariſt. 4. Metaph. Impoſſibile eſt idē ſimul eſſe, & non eſſe.

Harpſ. I aunſwere that the Maior is not true. For habere quantum, & non habere, non ſunt contradictoria niſi ſi conſiderētur eiuſdem ad idem, eodē modo & ſimpliciter.

Paſſible and impaſſible can not ſtand together in one ſubiecte, ſimul & eiuſdem reſpectu, & eodem tēpore, propter rerum pugnantiam.

Weſt. I confirme the ſame: for one body may haue modum quantatiuum, and not haue: and idem corpus was paſſible, and impaſſible, one body may haue woundes, and not woundes.

Cran. This can not be at one tyme.

Weſt. The enſample of the potter doth proue that I ſay: who of that, that is clay now, maketh a potte or cup forthwith.

Cran. But I ſay agayne, that it is ſo but at diuers tymes: as one pēece of meate to be raw and ſodden, cā not be at one tyme together. But you would haue it otherwiſe, that Chriſt ſhould be here and in heauē at one time: and ſhould haue modum quantatiuum, and not haue: which can not be, by ſuch Argument as I haue ſhewed you.

Chriſtes body to be paſſible, and not impaſſible at the Supper, it appeareth by theſe wordes: That ſhall be geuē for you.

Weſt. But I ſay, Chriſtes body was paſſible, and not paſſible at one * inſtant.

* That remaineth yet vnproued.

Seat. You may aſke as well other queſtions, how he is in heauē? whether he ſit or ſtand? and whether he be there, as he lyued here?

Cran. You your ſelfe, by puttyng a naturall preſence, do force me to queſtion how he is there. Therfore, next I do aſke this queſtion: *whether good and euill mē, do eate the body in the Sacrament?*

Harpſ. Yea, they do ſo, euē as the Sunne doth ſhyne vpon kynges Pallaces, and on dong heapes.

Harpsfield ſeemed a little before to note the contrary, where he ſayd: that the fleſh of Chriſt to them that receaue hym not worthely, is not preſent. pag. 1628.

Cran. Then do I enquire how long Chriſt taryeth in the eater?

Harpſ. These are curious queſtions, vnmēete to bēe aſked.

Cran. I haue taken them out of your Scholes and Scholemen, which you your ſelues do moſt vſe: and there alſo do I learne to aſke how farre he goeth into the body.

Harpſ. We know that the body of Chriſt is receyued to nouriſh the whole man concernyng both body and ſoule: Eouſq; progreditur corpus quouſq; * ſpecies.

*Sed ſpecies non progeditur vſq; ad animam: Ergo, nec corpus Chriſti, & ſic corpus Chriſti non paſcit corpus & animam.

Cran. How long doth he abyde in the body?

Seat. S. Auguſtine ſayth, our fleſh goeth into his fleſh. But after he is once receiued into the ſtomacke, it maketh no matter for vs to know how farre he doth perce or whether he is conueyed.

☞ *Here maiſter Treſham and one maiſter London aunſwered, that Chriſt, beyng geuen there vnder ſuch forme and quantitie as pleaſed hym, it was not to be enquired of hys taryng, or of his deſcēdyng into the body.*

Harpſ. You were wont to lay to our charge that we added to ÿ Scripture: ſaying alwayes that we ſhould fetch the truth out of the Scripture: and now you your ſelfe bring queſtions out of the Scholemen, which you haue diſalowed in vs.

These men would needes haue a bodily preſence in the Sacramēt: yet will they not, or els can they not geue any reaſon how.

Cran. I ſay, as I haue ſaid alway, that I am conſtrayned to aſke theſe queſtions, becauſe of this carnall preſence which you imagine: and yet I know right well that theſe queſtions be aunſwered out of the Scriptures: As, to my laſt queſtion: How lōg he abydeth in the body? &c. The ſcripture aūſwereth plainly, that Chriſt doth ſo long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Wherupon I make this Argument.

Ba- They which eate the fleſh of Chriſt, do dwel in him, and he in them.
ro- But the wicked doe not remayne in hym nor hee in them:
co. Ergo, the wicked do not eate his fleſh, nor drinke his bloud.

Doctour Cranmers argument in the 1. figure and 4. mode.

Harpſ. I will aunſwere vnto you as S. Auguſtine ſayth, not that howſoeuer a man doth eate, he eateth the body: but he that eateth after a certaine maner.

Aunſwere inſufficient.

Cran. I cannot tell what maner ye appoint: but I am ſure that euill men do not eate the fleſh and drinke the bloud of Chriſt, as Chriſt ſpeaketh in the ſixt of Iohn.

Harpſ. In the ſixt of Iohn, ſome thynges are to be referred to the godly, and ſome to the vngodly.

Cran. Whatſoeuer he doth entreate there of eatyng, doth pertaine vnto good men.

Harpſ. If you do meane onely of the word of eatyng, it is true: if concernyng the thyng, it is not ſo: And if your meanyng be of that which is conteined vnder the word of eatyng, it may be ſo taken, I graunt.

Cran. Now to the Argument. *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in hym.* Doth not this proue ſufficiently that euill men do not eate that the good do?

Euill men do not eate the body of Chriſt.

Treſh. You muſt adde: qui manducat dignè, *he that eateth worthely.*

Cran. I ſpeake of ÿ ſame maner of eatyng that Chriſt ſpeaketh of.

Weſt. Auguſtinus ad fratres in Eremo Sermon. 28. Eſt quidam manducandi modus. i. *There is a certaine maner of eatyng.* Auguſtine ſpeaketh of two maners of eatyng: the one of them that eate worthely, the other that eate vnworthely.

Harpſ. All thinges in the ſixt of Iohn are not to be referred to the Sacrament, but to the receiuing of Chriſt by fayth. The fathers do agrēe that there is not entreaty made of the Supper of the Lord, before they come vnto, Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea eſt. &c.

The ſixt Chapt. of Iohn is to be referred partly to the Supper, partly to fayth after the Papiſtes.

Cran. There is entreatyng of Manna both before and after.

Harpſ. I wil apply an other aūſwere. This Argumēt hath a kynd of poyſon in it, which muſt be thus bitten away, that Manna and this Sacramēt be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacy of him ſelfe, but of God.

Cran. But they that did take Manna worthely, had fruite therby: and ſo by your aſſertiō, he that doth eate the fleſh of Chriſt worthely, hath his fruite by that:

Therfore the lyke doth folow of them both: and ſo there ſhould be no difference betwene Manna and this Sacrament by your reaſon.

Cōpariſon betwene eatyng of Manna, and eatyng the body of Chriſt.

Harpſ. When it is ſayd, that they which did eate Manna, are dead, it is to be vnderſtand that they dyd want the * vertue of Manna.

* *If M. Harpsfield do meane of bodely lyfe, they which eate the Sacrament do dye, as well as they which dyd eate the Manna. If hee meane of ſpirituall lyfe, neither be they all damned that dyd eate Māna, nor all ſaued, that do eate the Sacramēt. Wherfore the truth is, that neither the eatyng of Manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bryngeth ſaluation: but onely the ſpirituall beleuyng vpon Chriſtes bodily Paſſion, which onely iuſtifieth both them and vs. And therfore as the effect is ſpirituall, which Chriſt ſpeaketh of in this chapter: ſo is the cauſe of that effect ſpirituall whereof he meaneth, which is our ſpirituall beleuyng in hym, and not our bodily eatyng of hym.*

Cran. They then which do eate either of thē worthely, do lyue.

Harpſ. They do lyue which do eate Manna worthely: not by Manna, but by the power of God geuen by it. The other which do eate this Sacrament, do lyue by the ſame.

Cran. Chriſt did not entreate of the cauſe, but the effect which folowed: he doth not ſpeake of the cauſe wherof the effect procedeth.

Harpſ. I do ſay the effectes are diuers, life and death, which do folow the worthy, & vnworthy eatyng therof.

Cran. Sithens you will needes haue an addition to it, we muſt vſe both in Manna and in this Sacrament, indifferently, either worthely, or vnworthely.

Doctor Cranmers argument in the 1. figure and 4. mode.

Christ ſpake abſolutely of Manna, and of the Supper, ſo that after that abſolute ſpeakyng of the Supper, wicked men can in no wiſe eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinke his bloud.

Aunswere insufficient.

August. in Ioan. tract. 26.

Farther, Auſtine vppon Iohn tractatu. 26. vppon theſe wordes qui māducat &c. ſayth: *There is not ſuch reſpect in common meates, as in the Lordes body. For who that eateth other meates, hath ſtill honger and nedeth to be ſatiſfied dayly: but he that doth eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinketh his bloud, doth lyue for euer.* But you know wicked men not to do ſo:

Ergo, wicked men do not receaue.

Harpſ. Saint Auguſtine meaneth, that he who eateth Chriſtes fleſh. &c. after a certaine maner, ſhould lyue for euer. Wicked mē do eate, but not after that maner.

Argument in the 1. figure and 1. mode.

Ca- Cran. Onely they which participate Chriſt, be of the myſticall body.
meſ- But the euill men are not of the myſticall body:
tres. Therfore they do not participate Chriſt.

Euill men do not eate the body of Christ.

Doctour Cranmer commended by hys modestie.

Weſt. Your wonderfull gentle behauiour and modeſtie (good Maiſter Doct. Cranmer) is worthy much cōmendation: and that I may not depriue you of your right & iuſte deſeruyng, I geue you moſt harty thankes in mine owne name, and in the name of all my brethrē. At which ſaying all the Doctours gently put of theyr cappes. Then M. Weſton did oppoſe the Reſpondent in this wiſe.

Tertull. contra Martion.

Weſt. Tertullian doth call the Sacrament the ſigne and figure of the Lord.

August. ad Dardan.

Saint Auguſtine Ad Dardanum ſayth: Non dubitauit Dominus dicere: hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis. i. *The Lord dyd not ſticke to ſay, this is my body, when he gaue a ſigne of his body.*

The 6. Chap. of Iohn is to be referred partly to the Supper, partly to fayth after the Papistes.

August. de Doctrina Christiana.

Beſides this he geueth rules how to vnderſtand the Scriptures, ſaying: If the Scriptures ſeeme to command ſome heynous thyng, then it is figuratiue, as by example: Manducare carnē & bibere ſanguinem, eſt tropicus ſermo. i. *To eate the fleſh and drinke the bloud, is a tropicall ſpeach.*

Aunswere to *Tertull.*

Harpſ. Tertullian dyd write in that place agaynſt Martion an hereticke, who denyed Chriſt to haue a true body, and ſaid, he had onely a fantaſticall body. He went about to ſhew that we had Chriſt both in heauen and in earth: and though we haue the true body in the Sacrament, yet he would not go about ſo to confound him, as to ſay that Chriſt was truly in the Sacrament: For that hereticke would haue thereat rather marueyled, then beleued it. Therfore he ſhewed hym, that it was the figure of Chriſt: and a figure can not be, but of a thyng that is, or hath bene extant.

Cōparison betwen eating of Manna, and eating the body of Christ.

Aunswere to *August.*

To the text of Auguſtine: The Church hath neuer taught the contrary. There is an outward thyng in the Sacrament, which ſometimes hath ſondry names. For it may be called a figure in this declaration: That body which is in the Sacrament, is a figure of Chriſt dwellyng in heauen.

Aunswere to *August. De doctrina Christiana.*

To ye third: That which is brought by Auguſtine for example, about the vnderſtandyng of the Scriptures, is thus to be vnderſtanded, as tendyng to a generall maner of eatyng: ſo, manducare carnem, & bibere ſanguinem. i. *to eate the fleſh and drinke the bloud,* may be a figuratiue ſpeach to exclude Anthropophagiā. i. *the eating of mans fleſh:* the which is, when we eate mās fleſh cut into morſels, as we eate common meat: ſo as we neither haue nor eate Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The 2. question.

Weſt. I vnderſtand your ſhort an learned aunſwere, which doth ſufficiently content me. But now to the ſecond queſtion, which is of tranſubſtantiation.

The Scripture calleth it bread:
Ergo it is bread.

Harpſ. In the name of bread all is ſignified which we do eate.

Theodoretus Dial. 1.

Weſt. Theodoretus, an auncient writer, in hys firſt Dialogue, ſayth: that Chriſt chaunged not the nature, but called it hys body.

A singlesole aunswere to *Theodoretus.*

Harpſ. He doth there ſpeake de Symbolo, which is Externa ſpecies Sacramenti. i. *the outward forme of the Sacrament.* He meaneth that that doth tary in his owne nature. Moreouer, as it was reported, he brought for his aunſwere Auguſtinum in ſententijs Proſperi.

Theodoretus Dial. 2.

Weſt. Theoderete alſo in his ſecōd Dialogue of theſe kindes of bread and wyne, ſayth: Nec naturam egrediuntur, manent etiam in ſua ſubſtantia. i. *They go not out of their own nature, but they tary in their owne ſubſtaunce.*

Harpſ. They are vnderſtanded to be of the ſame ſubſtance wherein they are * turned.

* And how are they turned, if they remaine in *Priori substantia.*

Weſt. But what ſay you by this? Manent in priori ſubſtantia. *They remaine in their former ſubſtance,*

Harpſ. Symbola manent. *The outward ſignes do tary.*

Symbolum quid.

Weſt. But what is ment here by this word, ſymbolū?

Harp. The outward forme or ſhape onely of the nature.

Weſt. Then you can not call them a ſubſtaunce.

Harpſ. Yes Syr: euery thing hath a certain ſubſtance in hys kynde.

Weſt. That is true: but accidentes are not ſubſtances in their kinde.

Harpſ. Sunt quid in ſuo genere. Of this they contended much.

Chrysost. ad Cæsariam Monachum.

Weſt. Chryſoſt. ad Cæſarium Monachum, ſaith: Sicut antequam cōſecratur, panis eſt: ſic poſtquam conſecratur, liberatus eſt ab appellatione panis donatusq; eſt appellatione corporis dominici, cum natura remanet. That is: *Like as before it is conſecrated, it is bread: ſo after it is conſecrated, it is deliuered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lordes body, where as the nature doth remayne.*

Harp. Where reade you this place I pray you?

D. Weston compileth hys argumentes out of *Pet. Martyrs* boke.

Weſt. Here in Peter Martyr I finde it: I haue hys booke in my hand.

Harp. The Autor ſhalbe of more credite, before that I make ſo much of him, as to frame an aūſwer vnto it.

Gelasius.

Weſt. In deede I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelaſius ſaith, that the nature of bread and wine doe tary.

Harp. What is that Gelaſius?

Weſt. A biſhop of Rome.

Harp. Then he allowed the Maſſe.

Weſt. Yea, and often tymes ſayd it: and Purgatory alſo he allowed, and ſo prayer for the dead, reliques, & inuocation to Saintes.

Harp. Belike then he ment nothing agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Origenes in Math. cap. 15.

Weſt. It doth appeare ſo in deede. But Origene vpon Math. the. 15. chap. ſaith: that the materiall bread doth tary, and is conueyed into the priuie, and is eaten of wormes.

Harp. Tuſh, tuſh, this place appertayneth vnto holy bread.

Weſt. What? doth it appertaine to holy bread?

Harp. Yea vnto holy bread.

Weſt. By what meanes can you ſhew how thys myraculous worke bringeth Chriſt into the ſacrament?

Harp. By the ſcriptures I proue that, which ſayth: Hoc eſt corpus meum: *This is my body.*

Weſt. It doth reioyce all vs not a litle, that you haue ſo well maintayned the ſound doctrine of the ſacramēt of the aultar, wherein you haue faythfully cleaued to the catholicke church, as an onely ſtay of our religion: by the which meanes you haue proued your ſelfe mete to be authoriſed further towardes the practiſing of the ſcripture. And here I do openly wytneſſe, that I doe throughly conſent wyth you, and haue for diſputation ſake onely, brought theſe argumentes agaynſt you, which you haue right learnedly ſatiſfied: and now all thinges being done, after our forme and maner, wee wyll end this diſputation, ſaying: In oppoſitum eſt ſacra theologia. In oppoſitum eſt.&c.

¶ Thus ye haue heard in theſe foreſayd diſputations, about the holy ſupper of the Lord, the reaſons and argumentes of the Doctors, the aunſweres and reſolutions of the Biſhops, and the triumph of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the victory: with Vicit veritas: who rather in my mynde ſhould haue exclamed: Vicit poteſtas. As it happeneth alwayes, vbi pars maior vincit meliorem. For els if poteſtas had not helped the Prolocutor more then Veritas, there had bene a ſmall victoria. But ſo it is, where iudgementes bee partiall, and parties be addicted, there all things turne to victory, though it be neuer ſo meane and ſimple, as in this diſputation myght well appeare. For firſt of the Opponents part, neyther was there almoſt any argument in true moode and figure rightly framed: neyther could the aunſweres be permitted to ſay for themſelues: and if they anſwered any thing, it was condemned before they began to ſpeake. Agayne, ſuch diſturbance and confuſion, more like a conſpiration then any diſputation, without all forme and order, was in the Schooles during the time of their aunſwering, that neither could the aunſwerers haue place to vtter theyr myndes, neyther would the Opponentes bee ſatiſfied wyth any reaſon. Concerning the which diſturbance of that miſruled diſputation, you ſhall heare what maiſter Ridley hym ſelfe reporteth by his own deſcription in maner as followeth.

¶ The report and narration of Maiſter Ridley concerning the miſordered diſputation had againſt him and his fellowpriſoners at Oxford.

Byſh. Ridleys report of the miſorder of thys diſputation.

I Neuer yet ſithens I was borne, ſaw, or heard, any thing done or handled more vainely or tumultuouſly, then the diſputation which was with me in the Schooles at Oxforde. Yea verely I could neuer haue thought that it had bene poſſible to haue found amongſt men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realme, any ſo brasen faced and ſhameles, ſo diſorderly and vainly to behaue them ſelues, more like to ſtage players in Interludes, to ſet forth a Pageant, then to be graue diuines in Schooles to diſpute. The Sorbonicall clamours (which at Paris I haue ſene in time paſt whē poperie moſt raigned) might be worthely thought (in compariſon of thys traſonicall oſtentation) to haue had much modeſtie. And no great meruel, ſeyng they which ſhould haue ben moderators and ouerſeers of others, & which ſhould haue geuen good enſample in wordes & grauitie: they them ſelues aboue all other gaue worſt enſample, and dyd, as it were, blow the trompe to the reſt, to raile, rore, rage, and cry out. By reaſon wherof (good Chriſtian reader) manifeſtly it may appeare that they neuer ſought for any truth or veritie, but onely for the glory of the world and their owne bragging victory. But leſt by the innumerable railinges, and reprochefull tauntes, wherwyth I was baited on euery ſide, our cauſe, yea rather Gods cauſe & his churches, ſhould be euel ſpokē of, & ſclaūdred to the world through falſe reportes, and vntrue examples geuen out of our diſputation, & ſo the verity might ſuſtaine ſome dammage: I thought it no leſſe then my dutie to write mine aunſweres, to the intent that who ſo euer is deſirous to know the truth therof, may by this perceiue, aſwell thoſe thinges which were chiefly obiected, as ſummarely that which was aunſwered of me vnto euery of them. Howbeit (good Reader) I confeſſe this to be moſt true, yͭ it is vnpoſſible to ſet forth eyther all that was (God knoweth) tumultuouſly and confuſedly obiected of their partes being ſo many, ſpeaking many times altogether ſo thicke that one could not wel heare an other, either all that was aunſwered on my behalfe, to them ſo ſondry and diuers Opponentes.

Not veritie but glory ſought for in thys diſputation.

Moreouer, a great part of the time appointed for the diſputations was vainely conſumed in opprobrious checkes, and reuiling tauntes, with hiſſings & clapping of handes, and that in the engliſh tonge to procure the peoples fauour withall. All which things, when I with great griefe of hart did behold, proteſting openly that ſuch exceſſiue and outragious diſorder, was vnſemely for thoſe Schooles & men of learning & grauitie, & that they which were the doers and ſtirrers of ſuch thinges, dyd nothing els but bewray the ſlendernes of their cauſe, and their owne vanities: I was ſo far of by this my humble complainte from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to heare ſuch rebukes, checkes, and tauntes for my labour, as no perſon of any honeſty without bluſhing could abide to heare the like ſpoken of a moſt vyle varlet, againſt a moſt wretched ruffian.

Tauntes and reuilinges vſed in thys diſputation.

At the firſt beginning of the diſputation, when I ſhould haue confirmed mine aūſwere to the firſt propoſition in few wordes, and that (after the maner and law of Schooles) afore I could make an end of my firſt probatiō, which was not very long, euē yͤ Doctours thēſelues, cryed out, he ſpeaketh blaſphemies, he ſpeaketh blaſphemies. And when I on my knees beſought them & that hartely, that they would vouchſafe to heare me to yͤ end, (wherat the Prolocutor being moued, cried out on hie, let him read it, let him read it) yet when I began to read it againe, there followed immediatly ſuch ſhouting, ſuch a noyſe and tumult, and confuſion of voyces, crying, blaſphemies, blaſphemies, as I to my remembraunce, neuer heard or read the lyke: except it be that one which was in the Actes of the Apoſtles, ſtirred vp of Demetrius the ſiluer Smith and other of his occupation, crying out againſt Paul, great is Diana of yͤ Epheſians, great is Diana of the Epheſians: and except it be a certain diſputatiō which the Arrians had agaynſt the Orthodoxes, & ſuch as were of godly iudgemēt in Aphrica, where it is ſayd, that ſuch as the Preſident and rulers of the diſputation were, ſuch was the end of the diſputations. All were in a hurlie burlie, and ſo great were the ſclaūders which the Arrians caſt out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor in the ſecond booke of his hiſtory.

D. Ridley could not be ſuffered to read forth hys proteſtation.

The which cries and tumults of them agaynſt me ſo preuailed, that wild I nild I, I was enforced to leaue of the reading of my probations, although they were ſhort. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the ſame aſke any one that was there, and not vtterlye peruerted in Popery: and I am aſſured hee wyll ſaye I ſpeake the leaſt. But to complayne of theſe thinges further, I wyll ceaſſe.

And further ſpeaking of this diſputation, he concludeth
with theſe wordes: And thus was ended thys ”
moſt glorious diſputation of the moſt holy fathers, ſacrificers, ”
Doctours, and Maiſters, which fought moſt ”
manfully (as ye may ſee) for their God and goods, for ”
their fayth and felicitie, for their countrey and kitchin, ”
for their beautie and bellie, with triumphant applauſes ”
and fauour of the whole Uniuerſitie. ”

After the diſputation of Maiſter Latimer ended, which was the. 18. day of Aprill, the Friday folowing which was the. 20. day of the ſayd moneth, the Commiſſioners ſatte in S. Maries Church, as they dyd the Saterday before, and Doctor Weſton vſed particularly diſſuaſions with euery of them, and would not ſuffer them to aunſwere in any wyſe, but directly and peremptorily (as hys wordes were) to ſay whether they would ſubſcribe, or no. And firſt to the Biſhop of Canterbury, hee ſayd hee was ouercome in diſputations: whom the Biſhop aunſwered, that where as Doctour Weſton ſayd he had aunſwered and oppoſed, and could neyther maintayne his own errours, nor impugne the veritie, all that he ſayd was falſe. For he was not ſuffred to oppoſe as he would, nor could aunſwere as he was required, vnleſſe he would haue brauled with thē, ſo thycke their reaſons came one after an other. Euer 4. or 5. did interrupt him, that hee coulde not ſpeake. Maiſter Ridley & Maiſter Latimer, were aſked what they would doe, they ſayd they would ſtand to that they had ſayd: then were they all called together, and ſentence read ouer them, that they were no members of the church. And therefore they, their fautours, and patrones were condemned as heretickes: and in reading of it, they were aſked whether they would turne or no, and they bad them read on in the name of God, for they were not mynded to turne. So were they condemned all three.

The 3. Priſoners at Oxford called before the Cōmiſſioners. Aprill 20.

Doctour Cranmer, B. Ridley, & Maiſter Latymer, cōdemned.

After which ſentence of condemnation being awarded againſt them, they aunſwered agayne euery one in their turne, in maner and effect of wordes, as foloweth, the Archbiſhop fyrſt beginning thus.

The ſentences of the Archb. and his felowes after theyr ſentence geuē.

¶ The Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

From this your iudgement and ſentence, I appeale to the iuſt iudgement of God almyghty, truſting to be preſent with hym in heauen, for whoſe preſence in the Aultar I am thus condemned.

¶ Doctor Ridley.

Although I be not of your company, yet doubt not I but my name is wrytten in an other place, whether this ſentence wyl ſend vs ſoner, then we ſhould by the courſe of nature haue come.

¶ Doctor Latimer.

I thāke God moſt hartely, that he hath prolonged my lyfe to thys ende, that I may in thys caſe glorify God by that kynde of death.

Doctor Weſtons aunſwere vnto Latimer.

Weſton geueth ſentēce againſt him ſelfe.

If you go to heauen in this fayth, then wyll I neuer come thether, as I am thus perſwaded.

The Archbyſhop and hys fellows priſoners ſeparated.

After the ſentence pronounced, they were ſeperated one from the other, videlicet, the Archbiſhop was returned to Bocardo, D. Ridley was caried to the Shiriffes houſe, Maiſter Latimer to the Bailiffes.

On Saterday following they had a Maſſe with a generall Proceſſion and great ſolemnitie. D. Cranmer was cauſed to beholde the proceſſion out of Bocardo, D. Ridley out of the Shieriffes houſe. Latimer alſo being brought to ſée it, from the Bailiffes houſe, thought that he ſhould haue gone to burning, and ſpake to one Auguſtine Cooper a Catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Karfox, and ſaw the matter, he ranne as faſt as hys old bones would cary him, to one Spenſers ſhop, and would not looke towardes it. Laſt of all, Doctor Weſton caryed the Sacrament, & foure Doctors caried the Canipie ouer hym.

Immediatly after this ſentence was giuen, D. Rydley writeth to the Prolocutor, in maner as foloweth.

¶ Doct. Ridley to the Prolocutor.

D. Ridleys letter to the Prolocutor.

Papiſtes haue ſmall conſcience in performing promiſes.

Maiſter Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſure, how you promiſed me opēly in ẏ Scholes after my Proteſtatiō, that I ſhould ſee how my aūſweres were there taken and written of the Notaries whom ye appointed, (me fateor neminé recuſáte) to write what ſhould be ſayd, and to haue had licence for to haue added vnto them, or to haue altered them, as vpon more deliberation ſhould haue ſemed me beſt. Ye graunted me alſo at the deliuery of my aunſwere vnto your firſt propoſitiō, a copy of the ſame: theſe promiſes are not performed. If your ſodeine departure be any part of the cauſe therof, yet, I pray you, remember that they may be performed: for performance of promiſes is to bee looked for at a righteous iudges handes. Now I ſend you here my aūſweres in wrytyng to your ſecond and thyrd propoſitions, and do deſire and require earneſtly a copy of the ſame, and I ſhal by Gods grace procure the paines of the writer to be payd for and ſatiſfied accordyngly. Maiſter Prolocutour, in the tyme of my aunſweryng in the Scholes, whē I would haue confirmed my ſayinges with authorities and reaſons, ye ſayd then openly that I ſhould haue tyme and place to ſay and bryng what ſoeuer I could an other tyme, and the ſame your ſaying was then there confyrmed of other of the Commiſſioners: Yea and (I dare ſay) the audience alſo thought then that I ſhould haue had an other day, to haue brought and ſaid what I could for the declaration and confirmation of myne aſſertions. Now that this was not done, but ſo ſodenly ſentence geuen before the cauſe was perfectly heard, I cā not but maruaile. &c.

Aprill. 23.

On Monday next enſuing after theſe thynges done and paſt, being the. 23. of the ſayd moneth of Apryll, D. Weſton Prolocutor toke his iourney vp to London with the letters certificatory from the Vniuerſity vnto the Quéene, by whom the Archbiſhop of Cant. directed hys letters ſupplicatory vnto the Counſell. The which letters after the Prolocutor had receiued, and had caryed them welneare halfe way to London, by the way he opened the ſame, and ſeing the contents thereof, ſent them backe agayne, refuſing to cary them. &c. Likewyſe Biſhop Ridley, hearing of the Prolocutors going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he deſireth hym to cary his aunſweres vp to certayne Biſhops in London, the forme of which letters, firſt of D. Ridley, then of the Archbiſhop, and laſtly, an other letter of D. Ridley to ẏ Archb. here in order foloweth.

¶ A letter of B. Ridley to the Prolocutor.

Maiſter Prolocutor I deſire you, and in gods name require you, that you truly bring forth and ſhew al myne aunſwers, written and ſubſcribed with myne own hand, vnto the higher houſe of the Cōuocation, and ſpecially to my Lord Chauncellor, my Lords of Dureſme, Ely, worceſter, Norwich, and Chicheſter, and alſo to ſhew and exhibite this my writing vnto them, which in theſe few lynes here I write vnto you: and that I dyd make this requeſt vnto you by this my wryting, know ye that I dyd take witnes of them by whom I did ſend you this writing, and alſo of thoſe which were then with them preſent, videlicet, the two Bailiffes of Oxford, and of Maiſter Iriſh Alderman, then there called to be a wytnes.

By me Nicholas Ridley. 23. of Aprill Anno. 1554.

¶ The copy of the Archbiſhop of Cant. letters to the Counſell ſent by Doctour Weſton, who refuſed to deliuer them.

The Archb. writeth to the Counſell.

In right humble wiſe ſheweth vnto your honorable Lordſhyps Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, beſechyng the ſame to bee a meanes for me vnto the Queenes hyghnes for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what meanes I was brought and trayned vnto the will of our late soueraigne Lord kyng Edward the vj. and what I ſpake agaynſt the ſame: wherein I referre me to the reportes of your honours & worſhyps. Furthermore this is to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhyps, that vpon Monday, Tueſday, and wedenſday laſt paſte, were open diſputations here in Oxford agaynſt me, M. Rydley, and M. Latymer, in thrée matters concernyng the Sacramēt: Firſt of the reall preſence, ſecondly of tranſubſtantiation, & thyrdly of ẏ ſacrifice of the Maſſe: vpon Monday agaynſt me, vppon Tueſday agaynſt Doct. Rydley, and vpon wedenſday agaynſt M. Latymer. How the other two were ordered I know not, for we were ſeperated, ſo that none of vs knoweth what the other ſayd, nor how they were ordered. But as concernyng my ſelfe I can reporte. Doct. Chadſey was appoynted to diſpute agaynſt me, but the diſputation was ſo confuſed, that I neuer knew the like, euery man bringyng forth what hym lyked without order, and ſuch haſt was made, that no aunſwere could be ſuffered to be takē fully to any argument before an other brought a new argument: and in ſuch waighty matters the diſputatiō muſt nedes be ended in one day, which cā ſcantly well be ended in thrée monethes. And when we had aunſwered them, they would not appoint vs one day to bryng forth our proufes, that they might aunſwere vs, beyng required by me therevnto, whereas I my ſelfe haue more to ſay then can be well diſcuſſed, as I ſuppoſe, in xx. dayes. The meanes to reſolue the truth had bene to haue ſuffered vs to aunſwere fully to all that they could ſay, and then they agayn to aūſwere vs fully to all that we cā ſay. But why they would not aūſwere vs, what other cauſe can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to aunſwere vs, or els for ſome conſideration they made ſuch haſt, not to ſeeke the truth, but to condemne vs, that it muſt be done in poſt haſt before the matters could bee throughly heard: for in all haſt we were all thrée condemned of hereſie. Thus much I thought good to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhyps, that you may know the indifferent handlyng of matters, leauyng the iudgement therof vnto your wiſedomes. And I beſech your Lordſhyps to remember me a poore priſoner vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, and I ſhall pray, as I do dayly, vnto God for the long preſeruation of your good Lordſhyps in all godlynes and felicitie. Aprill. 23.

The Archb. not ſuffered to aunſwere fully to any argument.

Haſt made in condemning the Archb. and hys fellowes.

¶ Doctour Rydley to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

Biſh. Ridley writeth to the Archbyſhop.

I wiſhe ye might haue ſene theſe myne aunſweres before I had deliuered them, that ye might haue corrected

Thys Juſtice *Morgan* gaue ſentence agaynſt Lady *Iane.*

Diſputation in Cambridge intēded, wherof read hereafter pag. 1639.

ted them. But I truſt in the ſubſtaunce of the matter we do agree fully, both lead by one ſpirite of truth, and both walkyng after one rule of Gods word. It is reported that Sergent Morgan the chief Juſtice of the cōmon place is gone madde. It is ſayd alſo that Juſtice Hales hath recāted, peruerted by Doct. Moreman. Item, that M. Rogers, Doct. Crome, & M. Bradford ſhall be had to Cābridge, and there bee diſputed with as we were here, and that the Doctors of Oxford ſhall goe likewiſe thether as Cambridge men came hether. when ye haue read myne aunſweres, ſend them agayne to Auſten, except ye will put any thyng to them. I truſt the day of our deliuery out of all miſeries, and of our entraunce into perpetuall reſt, & vnto perpetuall ioy and felicitie draweth nye: the Lord ſtrēgth vs with his mighty ſpirite of grace. If you haue not to write with, you muſt make your man your frend. And this bearer deſerueth to be rewarded: ſo he may and will do you pleaſure. My man is truſty, but it greueth both hym and me that when I ſend hym with any thyng to you, your man will not let him come vp to ſee you, as he may to M. Latymer, and yours to me. I haue a promiſe to ſee how my aunſweres were writtē in the ſcholes, but as yet I cānot come by it. Pray for me I pray you, and ſo ſhall I for you. The Lord haue mercy of his Church, and lighten the eyes of the Maieſtrates, that Gods extreme plagues light not of this Realme of England.

Turne or burne.

These diſputations being thus diſcourſed and ended, which were at Oxford in the moneth of Aprill, as is aforeſayd: now let vs returne agayne to the proſecuting of our ſtory, touching other thinges likewyſe, that happened in other parties of the Realme, in thys tumultuous time of Quéene Mary. And becauſe things that happened in that tyme, were ſo many and diuers, that it is hard to kéepe a perfite order in reciting them all: to the entent therefore to inſerte thinges left out before, or els to proſecute ỹ ſame more at full, we haue thought here a litle to interrupt the order of tyme (albeit not much) returning agayne to the moneth of July the yeare before, videlicet. 1553. In the whych moneth of July, I ſhewed before how the Duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the Garde, and brought to London by the Earle of Arundel and other Lordes and Gentlemen appointed for that purpoſe on S. Iames day, being the .xxv. day of July, and ſo to the Tower where they remayned. These be the names of them which were committed to the Tower with the Duke.

The names of thē that were committed to the Tower with the Duke of Northumberland.

Firſt, the Earle of Warwicke, the Earle of Huntington, Lord Ambroſe, and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Haſtinges, who was deliuered agayne the ſame night, Sir Iohn Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and D. Sandes Chauncelor of Cambridge.

The .xxvi. day the Lord Marques of Northāpton, the Biſhop of London, Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Richard Corbet were brought and committed to the Tower.

The .xxvii. day the Lord chiefe Juſtice of England, and the Lord Mountacute, chiefe Juſtice of the common place, were committed to the Tower.

Vpon the Friday being the .xxviii. of July, the Duke of Suffolke, and Syr Iohn Cheeke were committed to the Tower.

The .xxx. of July, the Lord Ruſſel was committed to the Shiriffe of Londons cuſtody.

The .xxxi. day the Earle of Rutland was committed to the Fléete.

The Duke of Suffolke deliuered out of the Tower.

Vpon the Monday the laſt of July, the Duke of Suffolke was deliuered out of the Tower agayne.

Vpon Thurſday the thyrd of Auguſt, the Quéene entred into the City of London at Algate, and ſo to the Tower, where ſhe remayned. vii. dayes, and then remoued to Ritchmond.

Vpon Friday the fourth day, Doctor Day was deliuered out of the Fléete.

Vpon Saterday the .v. day, the Lord Feries was cōmitted to the Tower, and the ſame day D. Boner was deliuered out of the Marſhalſée. The ſame day at night, Doctor Cockes was committed to the Marſhalſée, and one Maiſter Edward Vnderhill to Newgate. Alſo the ſame day D. Tunſtall and Ste. Gardiner were deliuered out of the Tower, and Gardiner receaued into the Quéenes priuie Counſell, & made Lord Chaūcellour.

Boner ſet at liberte.

Vpon Sonday the vi. day, Henry Dudley Captaine of the Garde at Guines, which before had bene ſent to the French king by hys Coſin the Duke of Northūberland, after the diſpatch of his embaſſage wyth the French king, returned to Guines, and ſo was taken, and thys day brought to the Tower.

Dirige in the Tower.

Vpon Monday the .vii. of Auguſt, Dirige in Latine was ſong wythin the Tower by all the kinges Chappell, and the biſhop of Wincheſter was chief Miniſter, whereat was preſent the Quéene, and the moſt part of the Counſell.

Kyng *Edwardes* body buryed.

Vpon Tueſday the .viii. day of Auguſt, the Kynges body was brought to Weſtminſter, and there buryed, where Doct. Day biſhop of Chicheſter preached. The ſame day a Maſſe of Requiem was ſoong wythin the Tower by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had on hys Myter, and dyd all thinges as in times paſt was done, at which Maſſe the Quéene was preſent.

Vpon Thurſday the Duke of Northfolke came forth of ỹ Tower, wyth whom the Duches of Somerſet was alſo deliuered this Thurſday.

Vpon Sonday the .xi. of Auguſt, Doctor Bourne preached at Paules Croſſe, of the which ſermon read before, pag. 1570.

In the wéeke following, commaundement was geuen throughout the City, that no Prētiſes ſhould come to the Sermon, nor weare any knyfe or dagger.

Maiſter *Bradford* with others, committed to the Tower.

Vpon the Wedenſday, being the .xvi. day of Auguſt, M. Bradford, M. Becon, and M. Veron, were committed to ỹ Tower: with whom alſo M. Sampſon ſhould haue ben committed, and was ſought for the ſame time in M. Elſynges houſe in Fléeteſtréete (where M. Bradford was taken) and becauſe hée was not found, the B. of Wincheſter fumed lyke a prelate with the meſſinger.

Vpō the Friday being the. 18. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberlād, the Marques of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke were arrayned at Weſtminſter, and there the ſame day condemned, the Duke of Northfolke that day being the hye Judge.

Vppon Saterday the .xix. of Auguſt, Syr Andrew Dudley, Sir Iohn Gates, Syr Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned the ſame day, the Lord Marques of Wincheſter beyng hye Judge.

D. Watſon preached at Paules Croſſe.

Vpon Sonday the .xx. of Auguſt Doctor Watſon the biſhop of Wincheſters chaplaine preached at Paules Croſſe, at whoſe ſermon was preſent the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Penbroke, the Lorde Rich, and .ii. hundreth of the Garde with theyr Halbardes, leſt the people would haue made any ſturre agaynſt the Preacher.

Vpon Monday the .xxi. of Auguſt the Duke of Northumberlād, the Marques of Northāpton, Syr Andrew Dudley, Syr Ioh. Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer heard a Maſſe within the Tower, and after Maſſe they all fiue receaued the Sacramēt in one kinde only, as in ỹ Popiſh time was vſed. On ỹ which day alſo Q. Mary ſet forth a proclamation, ſignifying to the people that ſhe could not hyde any longer the religion which ſhe from her infancie had profeſſed. &c. inhibiting in the ſayd proclamation printing and preaching, the tenour whereof read before pag. 1570.

Execution at the Tower hill.

Vpon the Tueſday being the .xxii. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberland, Syr Iohn Gates, & Syr Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower hill, as before is ſayd, pag. 1569. col. 1. The ſame day certaine noble perſonages heard Maſſe within in the Tower, and likewyſe after Maſſe, receaued the Sacrament in one kinde.

Upon Sonday the xxvij. day of Auguſt, Doct. Chedſey preached at Paules Croſſe, and the ſame day the biſhop of Canterbury, Syr Thomas Smith, & the Deane of Paules were cited to appeare the weeke following before the Queenes Commiſſioners, in the Byſhops Conſiſtory within Paules.

In this meane time it was noyſed abroade by running rumors falſely and craftely deuiſed, either to ſtabliſh the credite of the Maſſe, or els to bryng Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury out of credit, that he to curry fauour wyth Queene Mary, ſhould promiſe to ſay Dirige Maſſe after the old cuſtome, for K. Edward, and that he had already ſayd Maſſe at Canterbury. &c. Wherefore to ſtoppe the noyſe and ſclaunder of thoſe rumors, the ſayd Thomas Archbiſhop of Cant. the. vij. day of September ſet forth a letter, which was alſo printed, in purgation of him ſelf, the copy of which letter here enſueth.

¶ A purgation of Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury agaynſt certeine ſclaunders falſely rayſed vpon hym.

The Archbiſhop of Cant purgeth hym ſelf againſt falſe rumors.

AS the deuill, Chriſtes auncient aduerſary, is a lyer and the father of lyes, euen ſo hath hee ſtirred vp his ſeruantes and members, to perſecute Chriſt and his true word and Religiō with lying: which he ceaſſeth not to do moſt earneſtly at this preſent tyme. For where as the Prince of famous memory kyng Henry the eight ſeyng ẏ great abuſes of ẏ Latine Maſſe, reformed ſome things therein in his life time, and after our late ſoueraigne Lord K. Edward the vj. tooke the ſame whole away for the manifold and great errours and abuſes of the ſame, and reſtored in the place therof Chriſtes holy ſupper according ta Chriſtes owne inſtitution, and as the Apoſtles vſed the ſame in the primatiue Church: the deuill goeth about now by lying to ouerthrow the Lordes holy Supper, agayne and to reſtore his Latine ſatiſfactory Maſſe, a thyng of his owne inuention and deuiſe. And to bryng the ſame more eaſely to paſſe, ſome haue abuſed the name of me Thomas Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, bruting abroad that I haue ſet vp the Maſſe againe at Canterbury, & that I offred to ſay Maſſe at the buriall of our late ſoueraine Prince kyng Edward the vj. and that I offred alſo to ſay Maſſe before the Queenes highnes and at Paules Church, and I wot not where. And although I haue ben well exerciſed theſe xx. yeares to ſuffer & beare euill reportes and lyes, and haue not bene much greued thereat, but haue borne all thyngs quietly, yet when vntrue reportes and lyes turne to the hynderance of Gods truth, they are in no wiſe to be ſuffred. Wherfore, theſe be to ſignifie vnto the world, that it was not I that did ſet vp the Maſſe at Canterbury, but it was a falſe flattering, lying, & diſſemblyng Monke, which cauſed Maſſe to be ſet vp there without myne aduiſe or Coūſell: Reddat illi Dominus in die illo. And as for offryng my ſelf to ſay Maſſe before ẏ Queenes highnes or in any other place, I neuer did it, as her grace wel knoweth. But if her grace will giue me leaue, I ſhalbe ready to proue, agaynſt all that will ſay the cōtrary, that all that is cōteined in the holy Communion ſet out by the moſt innocēt & godly Prince kyng Edward the vj. in his high Court of Parlament, is conformable to that order which our Sauiour Chriſt did both obſerue and commaund to be obſerued, and which his Apoſtles and primatiue Church vſed many yeares, whereas the Maſſe in many thynges not only hath no foundation of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, nor the primatiue Church, but is manifeſtly contrary to the ſame and conteineth many horrible abuſes in it. And although many either vnlearned or malitious do reporte that M. Pet. Martyr is vnlearned, yet if the Queenes highnes will graunt therunto, I with the ſayd M. Pet. Martyr and other iiij. or fiue which I ſhall chuſe, will by Gods grace take vppon vs to defend, not onely the common Prayers of the Church, the miniſtration of the Sacramentes and other rites and ceremonies: but alſo all the doctrine & Religion ſet out by our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord kyng Edward the vj. to be more pure and accordyng to Gods word, then any other that hath ben vſed in Englād theſe 1000. yeares: ſo that Gods word may be iudge, and that the reaſons and proufes of both parties may be ſet out in writing, to the intent, as wel that all the world may examine and Iudge thereon, as that no man ſhall ſtart backe from his writyng. And where they boaſt of the faith that hath bene in ẏ Church theſe 1500. yeres, we wil ioyne with thē in this poynt, & that the ſame doctrine and vſage, is to be folowed, which was in the Church 1500. yeares paſt, and we ſhall proue that the order of the Church, ſet out at this preſent in thys Realme by Acte of Parlament, is the ſame that was vſed in the Church 1500. yeares paſt, and ſo ſhall they be neuer hable to proue theirs.

The Archbiſhop of Cant. falſly reported to ſay Maſſe.

Thys Monke was Doct. Thornton, a cruell murtherer of Gods people: of whoſe horrible end ye ſhall read hereafter, and partly alſo in the lyfe of Cranmer.

The ſame Thurſday being the. vij. of September. Lord Mountacute, and Lord chiefe Baron were deliuered out of the Tower.

The. xij. of September the reuerend father maiſter Hugh Latimer was committed to the Tower.

The. xiiij. of September the Biſhop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The. xvj. of September, one mayſter Gray of Cambridge called before hym one maiſter Garth, for that he would not ſuffer a boy of Peter houſe to helpe hym ſay Maſſe in Penbroke hall, which was before any law was eſtabliſhed for that behalfe.

The Queene came to the Tower of London vpon the Thurſday being the. xxviij. of September, and vpon the Saterday following, ſhe rode from the Tower through the City of London, where were made many Pageantes to receyue her, and ſo was triumphantly brought to Weſtminſter to Whyte hall.

In thys Pageant ſtoode a certaine man vpon the top of the Egle vpon Paules ſteple with a flagge in hys hand.

Vppon the Sonday being the firſt day of October, the Queenes hyghnes went from Whyte hall to Weſtminſter Abbey, accompanied with the moſt part of the Nobilitie of this Realme, namely theſe: The Duke of Norfolke, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Shrewſbury, the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earels of Darby, Bedford, Worceſter, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, Oxford, Suſſex, Deuonſhire, Penbroke, the Lord Dacres of the North, Lord Ferrys, Lord Cobham, Lord Aburgeyny, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scroupe, Lord Rich, Lord Vaus, L. Haward, Lord Conias, Lord Morley, Lord Paget, and the Lord Willowbye, wyth many other Nobles, and al the Embaſſadours of diuers countreys, the Maior of London with al the Aldermen. Alſo out of the Abbey to receiue her comming, came three ſyluer Croſſes, and to the nūber of foure ſcore or neare vpon, of ſinging men, all in very ritch and gorgeous copes. Amongeſt whom were the Deane of Weſtminſter, and diuers of her Chaplaynes, which bare euery one ſome enſigne in theyr handes, and after them followed. x. Biſhops mytred all, and theyr Croyſer ſtaues in theyr handes, and rich copes vpon them euery one. And in this order they returned from Weſtminſter hall before the Queene to the Abbey, where ſhe was crowned by Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellour of England. At the time of the Coronation Doctor Day Byſhop of Chicheſter made a Sermon to the Queenes Maieſtie & to ẏ reſt of ẏ nobilitie. Alſo there was a generall Pardon proclaymed within ẏ Abbay at the ſayd time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the priſoners of the Tower and of the Fleete were excepted and 52. more. Wherof M. Whitchurch and M. Grafton were two.

Q. Mary crowned.

Doct. Dayes Sermon.

Generall pardon at the Queenes Coronation.

Excepted out of the Pardon.

The thyrd of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge did challenge one M. Pierſon, for that he miniſtred ſtill the Communion in his own Pariſh, and did receiue ſtraungers of other Pariſhes to the ſame, and would not ſay Maſſe. Wherupon within two dayes after, he was cleane diſcharged frō farther miniſtryng in his Cure.

Upon the Wedenſday folowyng the Archbyſhop of Yorke, was committed to the Tower.

Upon Thurſday beyng the v. of October 1553. the Queene road to the Parliamēt in her robes, and all the nobilitie with her, and when they were ſet in the Parlament

Q. Mary rydeth to the Parlament houſe.

lament, houſe the Biſhop of Wincheſter made to them a ſolemne Oration, and Sergeant Pollard was choſen ſpeaker of the Parliament. The ſame day the Byſhops of Lincolne, Harford, and Weſtcheſter, were diſcharged from the Parlament and Conuocation.

Sergeant *Pollard* ſpeaker in the Parlament.

Alſo the x. day of October the Earle of Huntington was deliuered out of the Tower.

The Earle of Huntington deliuered out of the Tower.

Upon the Sonday after beyng the xv. of October, M. Laurēce Saūders preached at Alhallowes in Bredſtréete in the morning: where he declared the abomination of the maſſe, with diuers other matters very notably and godly. Whereof more ſhall bee heard (by the Lordes leaue) hereafter when we come to his ſtory. In which his doyng, as hee ſhewed hym ſelfe to bée Gods faithfull Miniſter ſo is he ſure not to be defrauded of Gods faythfull promiſe, who ſayth: Omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram patre meo qui eſt in cœlis. Mathæi. 10. But about nóone of the ſame day he was ſent for by the Byſhop of Londō, and from thence committed to the Marſhallſée.

M. Saunders for preaching agaynſt the Maſſe, committed to the Marſhalſey.

Upon the Sonday folowyng beyng the xx. of October Doct. Weſton preached at Paules Croſſe. Who in the begynnyng of his Sermō willed the people to pray for the ſoules departed on this wiſe: You ſhall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heauē nor hell, but in a place not yet ſufficiently purged to come to heauen, that they may be releued by your deuout prayers. He named the Lordes table an oyſter board. He ſayd that yͤ Catechiſme in Latine lately ſet out was abominable hereſie, and likened the ſetters out of the ſame Catechiſme to Iulianus Apoſtata, and the bóoke to a Dialogue ſet out by the ſayd Iulianus Apoſtata, wherin Chriſt and Pilate were the ſpeakers: with many other thinges. Which Sermon with all the poyntes therof M. Couerdall yͤ ſame tyme learnedly cōfuted by writyng, which remayneth yet in my hādes to be ſéene.

D. Weſtons Popiſh Sermon at Paules.

VVeſtons Sermon confuted by M. *Couerdale.*

In the wéeke folowyng, began the diſputations in the conuocation houſe in Paules Church, whereof ſufficient hath bene before declared. pag. 1571.

The. xxvj. day of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge went to Clarehall, and in the preſence of Doctor Walker, diſplaced Doctor Madew, and placed Maiſter Swynborne in the Maiſterſhip there, by force of the Lord Chauncellours letters, for that he was (as they termed it) Vxoratus, that is, maryed.

The. xxviij. day of October, the Papiſts in the kings colledge in Cambridge (not tarying the making of any law, but of theyr blinde zeale) had their whole ſeruice againe in the Latine toung, contrary to the lawe then in force.

Running before the law:

The laſt of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge, did ſharpely reproue and threaten one Maiſter Thrackold, for that he challenged the ſayd Vicechauncelour, who had ſuffered Maiſter Bouell (contrary to the ſtatutes then in force) quietly without puniſhment to depart, notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſweare to the ſupremacy of the Quene, and the abrogation of the biſhop of Rome.

The third day of Nouember, the Vicechauncelour ſent for the Curate of the round pariſh in Cambridge, cōmaunding hym not to miniſter any more in the Engliſh toung, ſaying: he would haue one vniforme order of ſeruice throughout yͤ towne, & that in Latine, wyth Maſſe, which was eſtabliſhed yͤ xij. day of thys moneth.

The Queenes procedinges maintayned in Cambridge before the law.

The. vj. day of Nouember, M. Pollard preached at S. Michaels, & in his Sermon approued Purgatory.

The. xxviij. day of Nouemb. the Archdeacons Officiall viſited in Hynton, where he gaue in charge to preſent all ſuch as dyd diſturbe the Quéenes procéedings, in lettyng the Latyn ſeruice, the ſetting vp of their altars, and ſaying of Maſſe, or any part thereof: wherby it was eaſy to ſée how theſe góod felowes ment to procéede, hauing the law once on their ſide, that thus readely againſt a manifeſt law would attempt the puniſhment of any man.

The. xv. day of December, there was two proclamations at London: the one for the repealing of certaine actes made by kyng Edward, and for the ſetting vp of the Maſſe, from the. xx. day of December then next folowing: the other was, that no man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe that would ſay Maſſe.

Kyng *Edwardes* actes repealed.

The Parlament beginning about the. v. day of October, continued tyll the. v. of December. In the which parlament were diſſolued as well all ſtatutes made of Premunire in the tyme of kyng Henry. VIII. &c. as alſo other lawes and ſtatutes cōcerning religion and adminiſtration of Sacramentes decreed vnder kyng Edward the VI. as is partly aboue touched. In the which Parlament moreouer was appoynted the. xx. day of December next enſuing the ſame yeare. 1553. that all the olde forme and maner of church ſeruice, vſed in the laſt yeare of kyng Henry, ſhould now agayne be reſtored.

On Newyeares euen beyng the laſt of December, the Lord Marques of Northampton was deliuered out of the Tower.

About this tyme a Prieſt at Canterbury ſayd Maſſe on the one day and the next day after he came into the Pulpit and deſired all the people to forgiue hym, for he ſayd he had betrayd Chriſt, but not as Iudas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long Sermon agaynſt the Maſſe.

A prieſt of Cant. repenting his ſaying Maſſe.

The day after Newyeares day beyng the ij. day of January, in the yeare of our Lord. 1554. iiij. Ambaſſadours came into London from the Emperour, & were honorably receyued. Their names were theſe. Le Coūty de Egmount, Le County de Lalen, Moūſieur Corrire, Le Chauncellor Nigre.

About this tyme a great number of new Byſhops, Deanes. &c. were choſen, more then were made at one tyme ſince the Conqueſt. Their names are theſe.

New Byſhops made.

- D. Holymā B. of Briſtow.
- D. Coates Byſh. of Weſtcheſter.
- D. Hopton Byſh. of Norwich.
- D. Bourne Biſh. of Bath.
- D. White B. of Lyncolne.
- D. Mores B. of Rocheſter.
- D. Morgan Byſh. of Saint Dauyes.
- D. Poole B. of Saint Aſſe.
- D. Brookes Byſh. of Gloceſter.
- D. Moreman coadiutor to the Byſhop of Exceter and after his deceaſſe Byſhop of Exceter.
- D. Glin Biſhop of Bāgor.
- M. Fecknam Deane of Paules.
- D. Raynoldes Deane of Briſtow, with others.

The. xij. day of January, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge called a Congregation generall, wherein amongeſt other thynges, he ſhewed that the Quéene would haue there a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt vpon the xviij. day of February then next followyng, for that it was her byrth day, which was fulfilled the day appoynted, and that very ſolemnly.

Upon the Saterday beyng the xiij. of January, D. Crome was cōmitted to the Fléete. Alſo vpō the Sonday folowyng one M. Addington was committed to the Tower. Alſo this ſame Sonday knowledge was giuen in the Court openly by the Byſhop of Wincheſter that the Mariage betwene the Quenes Maieſtye and the kyng of Spayne was concluded, and the day folowing, being Mōday and the xv. of January, the Maior, with the Aldermen and certein Commoners were at the Court, and there they were commaunded by the Lord Chauncellour to prepare yͤ Citie ready to receiue the ſaid kyng of Spaine, who declared vnto them what a Catholicke, mighty, prudent and wiſe Prince the ſaid kyng is, with many other commendations of hym.

D. Crome cōmitted to the Flete.

The mariage betwen *Q. Mary* and kyng *Philip* firſt publiſhed.

Uppon the Saterday folowyng beyng the xx. of January, the Court of the firſt fruites and tenthes was diſſolued.

Upon the Thurſday at night folowyng the xxv. day of January, the Lord Marques of Northampton was agayne committed to the Tower, and Syr Edward Warnar with hym. Who were brought to the Tower by the Maior.

Iuſtice Hales cõmitted to the Marſhalſey.

Maiſter Rogers cõmitted to Newgate.

Upon the Saterday folowing beyng the xxvj. of Ianuary, Iuſtice Hales was committed to the Marſhalſee, and the ſame day M. Rogers was cõmitted to Newgate. Upõ this Saterday, Sonday, and Mõday folowyng the Londiners prepared a number of Souldiours (by the Quéenes commaundement) to go into Kent agaynſt the Cõmons: wherof were chief Captaines the Duke of Northfolke, yͤ Earle of Woormewood, Syr Harry Iernyngham, Syr George Haward, and x. other Captaines. Which Souldiours whẽ they came to Rocheſter bridge, where they ſhould haue ſet vpõ their enemies, moſt of them (as it is ſaid) left their own Captaines and came wholy to the Kentiſhmẽ, ⁊ ſo the foreſayd Captaines returned to the Court both voyde of men and victory, leauyng behynd them both vj. péeces of ordinaunce, and treaſure.

About the latter end of Ianuary, the Duke of Suffolke with his brethren departed from hys houſe at Shene, and toke his viage into Leyceſter ſhyre. After whom was ſent the Earle of Huntington to take hym and bryng hym to London, who proclaymed the ſayd Duke traitor by the way as he rode.

Straunge ſightes ſeene before the comming in of K. Philip, and ſubuerſion of religion.

And thus paſſing to the moneth of February, here is to bee noted by the way of ſtory, that vppon the xv. day of the ſayd moneth beyng Thurſday, there was ſéene within the Citie of London about x. of the clocke in the forenone, ſtraũge ſightes. There was ſéene two Sunnes both ſhyning at once, the one a good prety way diſtant from the other. At the ſame tyme was alſo ſéene a Rainebow turned contrary, and a great deale higher then hath bene accuſtomed. The common ſtandyng of the Raynebowe is thus ⌒ but this ſtoode thus ◡ with the head downeward, and the féete as it were vpward. Both theſe ſightes were ſéene as well at Weſtminſter, in Chepeſide, on the Southſide of Paules, as in very many other places, and that by a great number of honeſtmen. Alſo certeine Aldermen went out of the Guild Hall to behold the ſight.

As touching the ryſing of Maiſter Wyat, wyth Syr W. Cobham and others in Kent, and their commyng to London in the moneth of February: alſo of the Quéenes comming to the Guild Hall, and her Oration there made: and after of the taking of the ſayd Wyat and hys company: likewiſe of the apprehenſion of the Duke of Suffolke wyth hys brother Lord Iohn Gray: and the next day after of beheading of Lord Gildford and Lady Iane, which was the xij. day of February: and how the day before, which was the xj. of the ſayd moneth, Lord W. Haward ⁊ Syr Edw. Haſtings were ſent for yͤ Lady Elizabeth: and how yͤ ſame ſonday Sir Harry Iſeley, Maiſter Culpeper, and Maiſter Winter were committed to the Tower, the biſhop of Wincheſter the ſame day beyng the xj. of February, preaching before yͤ Quéene, ⁊ perſwading her to vſe no mercy toward theſe Kentiſhmen, but ſeuere execution, all which was in the moneth of February: becauſe moſt of theſe matters haue bene briefly touched before, or els may be found in other Chronicles, I wyll ceaſe to make any further ſtory of them: hauyng ſomewhat notwithſtanding to declare touching the raynment and death of the Duke of Suffolke.

The Lady Elizabeth ſent for.

The B. of Wincheſter preacheth.

The Duke of Suffolke arraigned.

Upon Saterday being the xvij. day of February, the Duke of Suffolke was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and the ſame day condẽned to dye by hys Peres, the Earle of Arundell was chiefe Iudge for thys day.

Upon the Sonday followyng, which was the xviij. day of the ſaid moneth, Seſſions was kept in London, which hath not before bene ſéene to be kepte vpon the Sonday.

Upõ yͤ Monday the xix. of February, yͤ L. Cobhams thrée ſonnes and foure other men were arraygned at Weſtminſter: of which ſõnes yͤ yongeſt was condẽned, whoſe name is Thomas, and the other two came not at the barre, and the other foure were condemned.

The Lorde Iohn Gray arraigned.

Upon the Tueſday being the xx. of February, the Lord Iohn Gray was arraygned at Weſtminſter, and there condemned the ſame day, and other thrée men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Upon the Wedenſday the xxj. of February the Lord Thomas Gray, and Syr Iames Croft were brought through London to the Tower wyth a number of horſemen.

Syr Nicholas Throgmorton committed.

Upon the Thurſday being the xxij. of February, Syr Nicholas Throgmorton was cõmitted to yͤ Tower.

Upõ the Friday beyng the xxiij. of February. 1554. the Duke of Suffolke was beheaded at the Tower hill the order and whoſe death here foloweth.

¶ The godly end and death of the Duke of Suffolke beheaded at Tower hyll. an. 1554. Febr. 23.

The order and maner of the Duke of Suffolkes death.

D. Weſton the Dukes ghoſtly fathers agaynſt the Dukes will.

Weſton put backe by the Dukes hand.

ON Friday the xxiij. of February. 1554. about. ix. of the clocke in the fore noone, the Lord Henry Gray Duke of Suffolke was brought forth of the Tower of London vnto the Scaffold on the Tower hyll, wyth a great company. ⁊c. and in hys commyng thether there accompanied him Doctor Weſton as hys ghoſtly father, notwithſtandyng, as it ſhould ſéeme, agaynſt the wyll of the ſaid Duke. For when the Duke went vp to the Scaffold, the ſaid Weſton beyng on hys left hand, preaſed to go vp with him. The Duke wyth hys hand put him downe agayne of the ſtayres: and Weſton taking hold of the Duke, forced hym downe lykewyſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond tyme, the Duke agayne put hym downe. Then Weſton ſayd that it was yͤ Quéenes pleaſure he ſhould ſo do. Wherwyth the Duke caſting his handes abroad, aſcended vp the ſcaffold, and pauſed a pretye whyle after. And then he ſayd: Maiſters, I haue offended the Quéene, and her lawes, and thereby am iuſtly condemned to dye, and am wyllyng to dye, deſiring al men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my death may be an enſample to all men, beſéeching you all to beare me wytnes, that I dye in the fayth of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaued by hys bloud onely, and by no other trumpery: the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in him. And I do repent, deſiring you all to pray to God for me, that whẽ you ſée my breath depart from me, you wyll pray to God that hee may receyue my ſoule. And then he deſired all men to forgeue hym, ſaying that the Quéene had forgeuen hym.

The wordes of the Duke to the people.

The godly ſayed ⁊ confeſſion of the Duke at hys death.

D. Weſtons meſſage of the Queenes forgeuenes.

The peoples aunſwere to D. Weſton.

The Duke prayeth.

Then M. Weſton declared with a loude voyce that the Quéenes Maieſty had forgiuen hym. With that diuers of the ſtanders by ſayd with metely good and audible voyce: ſuch forgiuenes God ſend thée, meaning D. Weſton. Then the Duke kneled downe vpõ his knées and ſayd the Pſalme Miſerere mei Deus, vnto yͤ end, holding vp hys handes and looking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the Pſalme, he ſayd: In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum. &c. Then hee aroſe and ſtoode vppe and deliuered hys cappe and his ſkarffe vnto the executioner. Then the ſayd executioner knéeled downe ⁊ aſked the Duke forgiuenes. And the Duke ſayd, God forgiue thée and I do, and when thou doeſt thine office, I pray thée do it well, and bryng me out of this world quickly, and God haue mercy to thée. Then ſtode there a mã and ſaid, my Lord, how ſhall I do for yͤ money that you do owe me? And the Duke ſayd, alas good felow, I pray thée trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knitte a kercher about his face and knéeled downe and ſayd, *Our father which art in heauen &c.* vnto the end. And then he ſayd, Chriſt haue mercy vpon me, and layd downe his head on the blocke, and the executioner toke the Axe, and at the firſt choppe ſtroke of his head, and held it vp to the people. ⁊c.

The Duke prepareth hym to death.

The end of the Duke of Suffolke.

The ſame day a number of priſoners had their pardon, and came through the Citie with their halters about

bout their neckes. They were in * number about two hundreth.

* The number of theſe were 240. which with halters about their neckes paſſed through the Citie to Weſtminſter, and had their pardon.

Upon the Saterday the xxiiij. of February, Syr William Sentlow was cōmitted as priſoner to the Maiſter of yͤ horſe to be kept. This Syr Williā was at this time one of the Lady Elizabethes Gentlemen.

Upon the Sonday beyng the xxv. of February, Syr Iohn Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this Wéeke all ſuch Prieſtes within the Dioces of London as were maryed, were diuorced from their liuynges, and commaunded to bryng in theyr wiues within a fortenight, that they might lykewiſe be diuorced from thē. This the Byſhop did of his owne power.

Prieſtes diuorced.

Upon the Tueſday in the ſame Wéeke beyng the xxvij. of February, certaine Gentlemen of Kent were ſent into Kēt to be executed there. Their names were theſe, the ij. Mantelles, ij. Kneuettes, and Bret: with theſe M. Rudſton alſo & certain other were condēned, & ſhould haue bene executed, but they had theyr pardon.

Gentlemen ſent into Kent to be executed.

M. Rudſton with certayne others, pardoned.

As touchyng the foreſayd M. Mantell the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was lead to execution, and at hys fyrſt caſting vnder the Gallowes, the rope brake. Then they would haue had hym recanted the truth, and receiued the ſacrament of the aultar (as they terme it) and then they ſayd hee ſhould haue the Quéenes pardon: but Maiſter Mantell lyke a worthy Gentleman, refuſed their ſerpentine counſell, & choſe rather to dye, then to haue life for diſhonoring of God.

Moreouer, as touching the ſayd M. Mantel, for that he was reported falſely to haue fallen from the conſtancie of hys profeſſion, to cleare hym ſelfe thereof, and to reproue the ſiniſter ſurmiſe of hys recantatiō, he wrote this briefe Apologie in purgation of hym ſelfe: the copie whereof you ſhall heare.

¶ *The Apologie of M. Mantell the elder.*

March. 24.

PErceauing that already certain falſe reports are raiſed of me concerning my aunſweres in the behalfe of my beliefe, while I was priſoner in the Tower of London, and conſidering how ſore a matter it is to be an occaſion of offence to any of thoſe litle ones that beleue in Chriſt: I haue thought it the duty of a Chriſtian man as neare as I can (with the truth) to take away this offence. It pleaſed the Queenes maieſty to ſend vnto me Maiſter Doct. Bourne, vnto whom at the fyrſt meeting I acknowledged my fayth in all poyntes to agree with the foure Creedes, that is, the common Creede, the Crede of Nicene, Quicunque vult, and Te deum laudamus.

The beliefe of *M. Mantell* the elder.

Doct. Bourne ſent to M. *Mantell.*

Further, as concerning confeſſion and penaunce, I declared that I could be content to ſhew vnto any learned Miniſter of Chriſtes Church, any thing that troubled my conſcience, and of ſuch a mā I would moſt wyllyngly heare abſolution pronounced.

Touching the Sacrament of the aultar (as he termed it) I ſayd that I beleued Chriſt to be there preſent as the holy Ghoſt ment when theſe wordes were written: Hoc eſt corpus meum.

M. Mantell oppoſed in the Sacrament.

Further, when this would not ſatiſfy, I deſyred hym to conſider that I was a cōdemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meete for me to ſeke a redynes and preparation to death. And in ſo much as I diſſented not from him in any article of the Chriſtian fayth neceſſary to ſaluation, I deſyred hym for Gods ſake no more to trouble me with ſuch matters, as which to beleue is neyther ſaluatiō, nor not to beleue, damnation. He aunſwered, that if I diſſented but in the leaſt matter from the Catholike Church, my ſoule was in great daunger, therfore much more in this great matter, alledging this text: Qui offenderit in minimo, factus eſt reus omnium. i. *Hee that offendeth in the leaſt of theſe, is giltie of them all.* Yea (quoth I) Verum eſt, ex hiſce mandatis. i. It is true, of theſe commaundementes of God. To thys I deſyred him to conſider, that it was not my matter, neyther was I able in theſe matters to keepe diſputation, nor mynded ſo to doe, and therefore to take theſe few wordes for a full aunſwer, that I, not onely in the matter of the ſacrament, but alſo in all other matters of religion, beleue as the holy catholicke Church of Chriſt (grounded vpon the Prophetes and Apoſtels) beleueth. But vpon this word church we agreed not, for I tooke exception at the Antichriſtian popiſh church.

Math. 5.
Iacob. 2.

The church.

Then fel we in talke of the Maſſe, wherein we agreed not: for I, both for the occaſion of idolatry, and alſo the cleare ſubuerſiō of Chriſtes inſtitutiō, thought it nought: and he e contra vpon certaine conſiderations ſuppoſed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a Sacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, and at certaine other applications of it. But hee ſayd that it was not a propitiatory ſacrifice for ſynne (for the death of Chriſt onely was that Sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the ſame. Then I: if ye thinke ſo, certayn blaſphemous Collects left out, I could be content (were it not for offending my poore brethren that beleue in Chriſt, which know not ſo much) to heare your Maſſe. See (ſayth he) how vaine glory toucheth you. Not ſo Syr (quoth I) I am not now, I thanke God, in caſe to be vainglorious.

D. Bourne and M. *Mantell* diſagree in the Maſſe.

Then I found further fault wyth it, that it was not a cōmunion. Yes (ſayth he) one Prieſt ſaying Maſſe here, and an other there, and the thyrd in an other place. &c. is a communion. This agreeth ſcarcely wyth theſe words of Paule (ſayd I): Non in melius, ſed in deterius conuenitis. i. *Ye come not after a better maner, but after a worſe.* Yea, & it is a communion to (ſaid he) when they come together. Now draweth on the tyme (quoth hee) that I muſt depart from you to the Court, to ſay Maſſe before the Queene, and muſt ſignifye vnto her in what caſe I fynde you, and me thinke I finde you ſore ſeduced. Then I ſayd, I pray you report the beſt, for I truſt you fynde me not obſtinate. What ſhall I ſay, are ye content to heare Maſſe, and to receaue the ſacrament in the Maſſe? I beſeech you, ſayd I, ſignifie vnto her Maieſty, that I am neyther obſtinate, nor ſtubburne, for tyme and perſwaſion may alter me, but as yet my conſcience is ſuch, that I can neyther heare Maſſe, nor receaue the Sacrament after that ſorte. Thus after certayne requeſtes made to the Queenes Maieſtye concerning other matters, he departed.

Bourne maketh the Maſſe a communion.

1. Cor. 11.

Mantell neyther obſtinate nor ſtubborne.

The next day he came to me agayne and brought with hym S. Cyprians workes, for ſo had I required hym to doe the day before, becauſe I woulde ſee his Sermon De mortalitate. He had in this booke turned in and enterlined certaine places, both concernyng the Church and the Sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my tyme would ſerue, and at his next commyng I ſayd that I was wholy of Cyprians mynde in the matter of the Sacrament. Doct. Weſton and D. Mallet came after to me, whom I aunſwered much after that ſort as I did the other. Doct. Weſton brought in the place of Cyprian, Panis iſte non effigie ſed natura mutatus, &c. I aſked of hym how natura was taken in the Conuocation houſe in the diſputation, vpon the place of Theodoret.

Aunſwere to thys place, read before pag. 1591. col. 1. lin. 1.

To be ſhort Doct. Bourne came often vnto me, and I alwayes ſayd vnto him that I was not mynded nor hable to diſpute in matters of Religion, but I beleued as the holy catholicke Church of Chriſt, grounded vpō the Prophetes and Apoſtles doth beleue, and namely in the matter of the Sacrament, as the holy fathers Cypriā and Auguſtine do write and beleued, and this aunſwere and none other they had of me in effect, what wordes ſoeuer haue bene ſpread abroad of me that I ſhould be conformable to al things &c. the truth is, I neither heard maſſe nor receaued the Sacrament duryng the tyme of my impriſonment.

Maiſter *Mantell* conſtant in his religi.

One tyme he willed me to be confeſſed. I ſayd I am cōtent. We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without Benedicite, deſiryng hym not to looke at my hand for any ſuperſtitious particular enumeratiō of my ſinnes. Therwith he was called away to the Counſell, & ego liberatus. Thus much I bare onely for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I haue offended any Chriſtian, from the bottome of my hart I aſke them forgeuenes. I truſt God hath forgeuen me, who knoweth that I durſt neuer deny hym before men, leſt he ſhould deny me before his heauenly father.

Thus haue I left behind me writtē with myne owne hand, the effect of all the talke, eſpecially of the worſt that euer I graunted vnto, to the vttermoſt that I can remēber, as (God knoweth) all the whole communication I haue not written, for it were both to longe and to fooliſh ſo to do. Now I beſech the liuyng God which hath receaued me to his mercy and brought to paſſe that I dye ſtedfaſt and vndefiled in his truth, at vtter defiaunce and deteſtation of all Papiſticall and Antichriſtian doctrine, I beſech him (I ſay) to kepe and defend all his choſen, for his names ſake, from the tyranny of the Byſhop of

Rome that Antichriſt, and from the aſſault of al his ſatellites. Gods indignatiõ is knowen: he wil try and proue who be his. Amend your lyues. Deny not Chriſt before men leſt he deny you before his heauẽly father. Feare not to loſe your lyues for him, for ye ſhall find them agayne. God hold his mercifull hãd ouer this Realme, and auert the plagues imminent, from the ſame. God ſaue the Queene and ſend her knowledge in his truth. Amen, pray, pray, pray ye Chriſtians, and comfort your ſelues with the Scriptures.

written the 2. of March. an. 1554. by me Walter Mantell priſoner, whom both God and the world hath forgeuen his offences. Amen.

And thus much concernyng the purgation of Maiſter Walter Mantel, who if he had conſented vnto the Quéene, what time ſhe ſent Doctor Bourne vnto hym, to renye hys fayth, it is not otherwyſe to be thought, but he had had hys pardon, and eſcaped wyth lyfe.

March. 3. Syr Gawen Carew and M. Gybbes, brought to the Tower.

Upon the Saterday beyng the iij. of March, Syr Gawen Carew, and M. Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horſemen.

March. 7.

In London the vij. day of March, euery houſholder was commaunded to appeare before the Alderman of their ward, and there were commaunded, that they, their wiues, and ſeruauntes, ſhould prepare them ſelues to ſhrift, and receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, and that neither they, nor any of them ſhould depart out of the Citie, vntill Eaſter was paſt.

March. 18. Lady Elizabeth brought to the Tower.

Upon the Sonday following, being the xviij. day of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the Quéenes Siſter, was brought to the Tower.

March. 14

Upon Eaſter euen, being the xxiiij. of March, the Lord Marques of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Syr William Cobham were delyuered out of the Tower.

March. 25

The Pixe riſen out of the Sepulchre, frõ all the watchmen at S. Pancraſe Church.

The xxv. day (being Eaſter day) in the morning, at S. Pancraſe in Cheape, the Crucifixe with the Pixe were taken out of the Sepulchre, before the Prieſt roſe to the reſurrection: ſo that when after his accuſtomed maner he put his hand into the Sepulchre, and ſaid very deuoutly: Surrexit non eſt hic, he found his wordes true, for he was not there in déede. Whereupon being halfe diſmaid, they conſulted amongſt them ſelues whõ they thought to be likelieſt to do this thing. In whych debatement they remembred one Marſh, which a litle before had bene put from that perſonage, becauſe hee was maryed, to whoſe charge they layd it. But when they could not proue it, being brought before ẏ Maior, they then burdened hym to haue kept company wyth hys wyfe ſince that they were by commaundement diuorſed. Whereto he aunſwered, that hee thought the Quene had done hym wrong to take from hym both his lyuing and hys wyfe: Which woordes were then noted, and takẽ very greuouſly, and he and his wyfe were both committed to ſeueral Counters, notwithſtanding that he had bene very ſicke.

M. Marſh burdened with ſuſpition and with hys mariage.

Aprill. 8. A Catte hanged with a ſhauen crowne, vpon the gallowes in Cheapeſide.

The viij. of Aprill, there was a Cat hanged vpon a gallowes at the Croſſe in Cheape, apparelled lyke a Prieſt ready to ſay Maſſe, with a ſhauen crowne. Her two forefeete were tyed ouer her head, wyth a round paper lyke a wafer cake put betwene them: whereon aroſe great euyll wyll agaynſt the City of London. For the Quéene and the Biſhops were very angry wythal: and therefore the ſame afternoone, there was a proclamatiõ, that who ſoeuer could bring forth the party that dyd hang vp the Cat, ſhould haue xx. nobles, which reward was afterwardes encreaſed to xx. markes, but none could, or would earne it.

The number and occaſion of gallowes ſet vp in the Citie of London.

As touching the firſt occaſion of ſetting vp thys Gallowes in Cheapeſide, here is to be vnderſtand, that after ẏ ſermon of ẏ B. of Winchester (aboue mencioned) made before the Quéene for the ſtraite execution of Wiats Soldiours, immediately vpon the ſame, the xiij of February, were ſet vp a great number of Gallowes in diuers places of the Citie, namely 2. in Chepeſide, 1. at Leaden hall, 1. at Billings gate, 1. at S. Magnes Church, 1. in Smithfield, 1. in Fléeteſtréete, 4. in Southwarke, 1. at Allgate, 1. at Biſhops gate, 1. at Alderſgate, 1. at Newgate, 1. at Ludgate, 1. at S. Iames Parcke corner, 1. at Cripplegate: all which Gibbets and Gallowes to the number of xx. there remained for terrour of other, from the xiij. of February, till the iiij. of Iune, and then at the commyng in of king Phillip, were taken downe.

Aprill. 11.

M. Wyatt wordes touching the Lady *Elizabeth.*

The xj. day of April, was Syr Thomas Wiat beheaded and quartered at Tower hyll, where hee vttered theſe wordes, touching the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earle of Deuonſhere. Concerning (ſayd he) what I haue ſayd of other in my examination, to charge any other as partakers of my doinges, I accuſe neyther my Lady Elizabethes grace, nor my Lord of Deuonſhire. I can not accuſe them, neyther am I able to ſay, that, to my knowledge, they knew any thing of my riſing. And whẽ D. Weſton told him, that his confeſſion was other wyſe before the Counſell, he aunſwered: that which I ſayd then, I ſayd: but that which I ſay now, is true.

Aprill. 17. *Syr Iames Croft. M. Wynter. Syr Nicholas Throgmorton.*

Upon the Tueſday beyng the xvij. of Aprill, Syr Iames Croft, and Maiſter Wynter, were brought to the Guild hall, wyth whom alſo the ſame tyme, and to ẏ ſame place was brought Syr Nich. Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treaſon, for that hee was ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracie with the Duke of Suffolke, and the reſt againſt the Quene, where hee ſo learnedly and wyſely behaued him ſelfe (as well in clearyng hys own caſe, as alſo in opening ſuch lawes of the Realme as were then alledged agaynſt hym) that the Queſt which was charged with his matter, could not in conſcience, but finde him not gilty: for the which the ſayd xij. perſons of the Queſt, being all ſubſtantiall men of the Citie, were bound in the ſumme of 500. poundes a péece, to appeare before the Quéenes Counſel at a day appointed, there to aunſwer ſuch thinges as ſhould be layd againſt them for his acquiting. Which Queſt appeared accordingly before the Counſell in the Starre chamber vpon Wedenſday, being the xxv. of Aprill, and S. Markes day. From whence, after certaine queſtioning, they were committed to priſon, Emanuel Lucar, and Maiſter Whetſtone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fléete.

The Queſt troubled for *Syr Nicholas Throgmorton.*

Aprill. 25.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas Archbiſhop of Cant. of Doctor Ridley, & Maiſter Latimer, which was the xx. of this moneth of Aprill, and alſo of their diſputatiõs, becauſe we haue ſayd inough before, it ſhall not néede now to beſtow any further rehearſall thereof.

L. Tho. Gray beheaded. Aprill. 27.

The Friday next following, after the condemnation of them, the xxvij. of Aprill, Lord Thomas Gray, the late Duke of Suffolkes brother, was beheaded at Tower hyll.

Aprill. 28.

Upon the Saterday, being the xxviij. of Aprill, Syr Iames Croft, & Maiſter Winter were againe brought to the Guild hall, where Syr Iames Croft was arraigned and condemned, and becauſe the day was farre ſpent, Maiſter Winter was not arraigned.

W. Thomas condemned. May. 17.

Upon the Thurſday, being the xvij. of May, Williã Thomas was arraygned at the Guild Hall, and there the ſame day condemned. Who the next day after, was hanged, drawne, and quartered. His accuſation was, for conſpiring the Quéenes death: which how true it was, I haue not to ſay. This is certayne, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitfull exhortations, letters and Sonets in the priſon before hys death.

A certayne diſputation intended to be had at Cambrige, betwene the true preachers and the pretenſed Catholickes.

In the moneth of May it was ſo giuen out, and bruited abroad, that a ſolemne diſputation ſhould be holden at Cambridge (as ye hard before in M. Ridleys letter pag. 1634) betwene M. Bradford, M. Saunders, M. Rogers, and other of that ſide, & the Doctours of both the Uniuerſities on the other ſide, lyke as had bene in

Oxford before, as you haue heard. Wherupon the godly preachers which were in priſõ hauyng word therof, albeit they were deſtitute of their bookes, neither were ignoraunt of the purpoſe of the aduerſaries, and how yͤ cauſe was preiudicate before, alſo how yͤ diſputatiõs were confuſedly handled at Oxford: neuertheles they thought not to refuſe the offer of diſputation, ſo that they might be quyetly and indifferẽtly heard, and therfore wiſely ponderyng the matter with them ſelues, by a publicke conſent, directed out of priſon a declaration of their mynd by wrytyng, the viij. day of May. Wherin firſt as touchyng yͤ diſputatiõ, although they knew that they ſhould doe no good, wheras all things were ſo predetermined before, yet neuertheleſſe, they would not deny to diſpute, ſo that the diſputation might be either before the Queene, or before the Counſaile, or before the Parlament houſes, or els if they might diſpute by wrytyng: for els if the matter were brought to the Doctours handlyng in their owne ſcholes, they haue ſufficient proufe (they ſaid) by yͤ experience of Oxford, what litle good will be done at Cambridge: and ſo conſequẽtly declaryng the faytb and doctrine of their Religion, & exhortyng the people withall to ſubmitte them ſelues with all patience and humilitie, either to the will or puniſhment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their Judges in this behalfe, and ſo end their Proteſtation: the copy and contẽtes wherof I thought not vnfitte here to be inſerted.

The Preachers in priſon refuſe not to diſpute before indifferent Judges.

¶ A copie of a certeine declaration drawen and ſent out of priſon by Maiſter Bradford, Maiſter Saunders, and diuers other godly preachers, concernyng their diſputation, and doctrine of their Religion, as foloweth.

A declaration of the godly preachers written and ſent abroad out of priſon.

BEcauſe we heare that it is determined of the Magiſtrates and ſuch as be in authoritie, eſpecially of the Clergy, to ſend vs ſpedely out of yͤ priſons of yͤ Kyngs Bench, yͤ Fleet, the Marſhalſey, and Newgate, where preſently we are, and of lõg tyme ſome of vs hath ben, not as rebelles, traitours, ſeditious perſons, theeues, or tranſgreſſours of any lawes of this Realme, inhibitions, proclamations, or commaundementes of the Queenes highnes, or of any of the Councelles (Gods name be prayſed therfore) but alonely for the conſciẽce we haue to God and his moſt holy word and truth, vpõ moſt certain knowledge: becauſe we ſay, we heare that it is determined, we ſhal be ſent to one of the Vniuerſities of Cãbridge, or Oxford, there to diſpute with ſuch as are appoynted in that behalfe: in that we purpoſe not to diſpute otherwiſe then by writing, except it may be before the Queenes highnes and her Counſell, or before the Parlament houſes, and therfore perchaũce it wilbe bruted abroad, that we are not able to maintaine by the truth of Gods word, and the conſent of the true and Catholicke Church of Chriſt, the doctrine we haue generally & ſeuerally taught, and ſome of vs hath written and ſet forth (wherthrough the godly and ſimple may be offẽded and ſomwhat weakened): we haue thought it our bounden duty, now whileſt we may, by wrytyng to publiſh and notifie the cauſes why we will not diſpute otherwiſe then is aboue ſayd, to preuent the offences which might come therby.

A talke of a pretenſed diſputation to be had at Cambridge.

The cauſes why they will not otherwyſe diſpute, then before indifferent Judges.

Firſt, becauſe it is euidẽtly knowen vnto the whole world, that the determinations of both the Vniuerſities in matters of Religiõ, eſpecially wherin we ſhould diſpute, are directly agaynſt Gods word, yea agaynſt their owne determinatiõs in the tyme of our late ſoueraigne Lord and moſt godly Prince, king Edward: and further it is knowen they be our open enemyes, and haue already condemned our cauſes, before any diſputation had of the ſame.

The matter of the diſputation is agaynſt Gods worde.

The ſecond cauſe.

Secondly, becauſe the Prelates and Clergy do not ſeeke either vs or the veritie, but our diſtruction and their glory. For if they had ſought vs (as charitie requireth) then would they haue called vs forth heraboutes before their lawes were ſo made, that franckly and without peril we might haue ſpoken our conſciences. Agayn, if they had ſought for yͤ veritie, they would not haue concluded of controuerſies, tofore they had ben diſputed: ſo that it eaſely appeareth, that they ſeeke their owne glory and our deſtruction, and not vs and the veritie: and therfore we haue good cauſe to refuſe diſputation, as a thyng which ſhall not further preuayle, then to the ſettyng forth of their glory, and the ſuppreſſion of the veritie.

In the diſputation neyther charitie nor veritie ſought by.

The third cauſe.

Thirdly, becauſe the Cenſors and iudges, (as we heare who they be) are manifeſt enemyes to the truth, and that which worſe is, obſtinate enemyes, before whom pearles are not to be caſt, by the commaundementes of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, and by his own example. That they be ſuch, their doinges of late at Oxford, and in the Cõuocation houſe in October laſt paſt, do moſt euidently declare.

The Judges of the diſputatiõ profeſſed enemyes agaynſt the truth.

The 4. cauſe.

Fourthly, becauſe ſome of vs haue bene in priſon theſe eight or ix. monethes, where we haue had no bookes, no paper, no penne, no inke, or cõuenient place for ſtudy, we thinke we ſhould do euill thus ſodainly to deſcend into diſputation with them, which may alledge as they liſt, the fathers and their teſtimonies, becauſe our memories haue not that which we haue read ſo readyly, as to reproue, when they ſhal report and wreſt the authors to their purpoſe, or to bryng forth that we may haue there for our auauntage.

Want of bookes neceſſary for diſputatiõ.

The 5. cauſe.

Fiftly, becauſe in diſputation we ſhall not be permitted to proſecute our Argumentes, but be ſtopped when we would ſpeake, one ſaying thus, an other that, the thyrd his mynd. &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, eſpecially D. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mynd and meanyng of the propoſitions, and had oftentimes halfe a doſen at once ſpeakyng agaynſt hym: alwayes lettyng hym to proſecute his Argument, and to aũſwere accordyngly: we will not ſpeake of the hyſſing, ſcoffyng, and tauntyng, which wonderfully then was vſed. If on this ſort and much worſe they hãdled theſe fathers, much more will they be ſhameles bold with vs if we ſhould enter into diſputation with them.

Example of the diſputation at Oxford.

The 6. cauſe.

Sixtly, becauſe the Notaries that ſhall receiue and write the diſputations, ſhalbe of their appointmẽt, and ſuch as either do not or dare not fauour the truth, and therfore muſt write either to pleaſe them, or els they them ſelues (the Cenſours and iudges we meane) at their pleaſure will put to and take from, that which is written by the Notaries, who can not, nor muſt not haue in their cuſtody that which they write, longer thẽ yͤ diſputatiõ indureth, as their doyngs at Oxford declareth. No copy nor ſcroule could any man haue by their good will. For the Cenſors and iudges will haue all deliuered into their handes: Yea if any man was ſeene there to write (as the report is) the ſame man was ſent for, and his wrytynges taken from hym: ſo muſt the diſputation ſerue onely for the glory, not of God, but of the enemyes of his truth.

Notaries not indifferent.

For theſe cauſes we all thinke it ſo neceſſary not to diſpute with them, as if we did diſpute we ſhould do that which they deſire and purpoſely ſeeke, to promote the kyngdome of Antichriſt, and to ſuppreſſe (as much as may be) the truth. We will not ſpeake of the offence that might come to the godly, when they ſhould heare, by the report of our enemyes, our aunſweres and Argumentes framed (you may be ſure) for their fãtaſies, to the ſclaũderyng of the veritie.

Not cõuenient to diſpute with ſuch aduerſaryes.

Therfore we publiſh, and by this wrytyng notifie vnto the whole congregatiõ and Church of England, that for theſe aforeſayd cauſes we will not diſpute with them, otherwiſe then with the pẽne, vnleſſe it be before the Queenes highnes and her Counſell, or before the Houſes of the Parliament, as is aboue ſayd. If they will write, we will aunſwere, & by wrytyng confirme & proue out of the infallible veritie, euen the very word of

Exceptiõs taken agaynſt the aduerſaries.

Cõditions aſſigned how they would diſpute.

of God,and by the teſtimonie of the good and moſt auncient fathers in Chriſtes Church, this our fayth and euery péece therof, which hereafter we in a ſumme do write and ſend abroad purpoſely,that our good brethrē and ſiſterne in the Lord may know it : and to ſeale vp the ſame,we are ready through Gods helpe and grace to geue our lyues to the halter or fier, or otherwiſe as God ſhall appoynt,humbly requiryng,and in the bowelles of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt , beſechyng all that feare God , to behaue them ſelues as obediēt ſubiectes to the Quéenes highnes and the ſuperiour powers, which are ordeined of God vnder her,rather after our example to giue their heades to the blocke, then in any point to rebell or once to mutter agaynſt ẏ Lordes anoynted: we meane our ſoueraigne Lady Quéene Mary,into whoſe hart we beſech the Lord of mercy plentifully to power the wiſedome and grace of hys holy ſpirite,now and for euer.Amen.

Exhortatiō to obedience.

The confeſſion and fayth of the priſoned preachers.

Firſt , we confeſſe and beleue all the Canonicall bookes of the olde Teſtament, and all the bookes of the new Teſtament,to be the very true word of God,and to be written by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, and are therfore to be heard accordyngly,as the iudge in all controuerſies and matters of Religion.

The Catholicke Church.

Secondly , we confeſſe and beleue the Catholicke Church , which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, as a moſt obedient and louyng wyfe , to embrace and folow the doctrine of theſe bookes in all matters of Religiō,and therfore is ſhe to be heard accordyngly : ſo that thoſe which will not heare this Church , thus folowyng and obeying the worde of her huſband , we accompt as heretickes & ſchiſmatickes, accordyng to this ſaying: *If hee wil not heare the Church,let him be vnto thee as a Heathē.*

The Crede.

Thirdly,we beleue and confeſſe all the Articles of fayth and doctrine,ſet forth in the Symbole of the Apoſtles,which we commonly call the Crede,& in the Simboles of the Councels of Nice,kept An. dom . 324 : of Conſtantinople kept An.dom.384: of Epheſus kept An.dom.432 : of Calcedon , kept An. dom. 454: of Toletum,the firſt and fourth. Alſo the Symboles of Athanaſius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damaſus, which was about the yeare of our Lord.376: we confeſſe & beleue (we ſay) the doctrine of theſe Symboles generally and particularly : ſo that who ſoeuer doth otherwiſe,we hold the ſame to erre from the truth.

Iuſtificatiō by fayth onely in Chriſt.

What fayth is.

Fourthly,we beleue and confeſſe concerning iuſtification, that as it commeth onely from Gods mercy through Chriſt, ſo it is perceiued & had of none which be of yeares of diſcretion,otherwiſe then by fayth onely : which fayth is not an opinion , but a certaine perſwaſion wrought by the holy ghoſt in the mynde & hart of man , wherethrough as the mynde is illumined , ſo the hart is ſoupled to ſubmit it ſelfe to the wyll of God vnfainedly , and ſo ſheweth forth an inherent ryghteouſnes,which is to be diſcerned in the article of iuſtification,from the righteouſnes which God endueth vs withall in iuſtifying vs,although inſeperably they goe together . And this we do not for curioſitie or contention ſake,but for cōſcience ſake,that it might be quiet, which it can neuer be , if we confound without diſtinction,forgeuenes of ſinnes,and Chriſtes Juſtice imputed to vs , wyth regeneration and inherent righteouſnes . By this we diſalowe Papiſticall doctrine of free wyll,of workes of ſupererogation , of merites , of the neceſſitie of auricular confeſſion, and ſatiſfaction to Godwardes.

Righteouſnes in mā: righteouſnes without man.

The doctrine of free iuſtification defended by no curioſitie, but by quiet of conſcience.

Seruice in the vulgar tounge.

Fiftly,we confeſſe and beleue concerning the exteriour ſeruice of God,that it ought to bee accordyng to the word of God,and therefore in the congregation all thynges publike ought to be done in ſuch a tounge as may be moſt to edifie, and not in Latin,where the people vnderſtand not the ſame.

Inuocation to God only.

Sixtly , we confeſſe and beleue that God onely by Chriſt Jeſus is to be prayed vnto and called vpon, and therefore we diſalow inuocation or prayer to Saintes departed thys lyfe.

Seuenthly , we confeſſe and beleue , that as a man departeth this lyfe,ſo ſhall he be iudged in the laſt day generally,and in the meane ſeaſon is entred eyther into the ſtate of the bleſſed for euer , or damned for euer, and therefore is eyther paſt all helpe , or els néedes no helpe of any in this lyfe.By reaſon wherof we affirme Purgatory, Maſſes of Scala cœli,Trentals , and ſuch Suffrages as the popiſh church doth obtrude as neceſſary,to be the doctrine of Antichriſt.

Purgatory and Maſſes ſuffragatorys denyed.

Two Sacramentes.

Eightly,we confeſſe and beleue the Sacraments of Chriſt , which be Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper, that they ought to be miniſtred according to the inſtitution of Chriſt,concernyng the ſubſtantiall partes of them : and that they be no longer Sacramentes , then they be had in vſe , and vſed to the ende for the which they were inſtituted.

The Supper to be miniſtred in both kindes.

And here we playnly confeſſe that the mutilation of the Lordes Supper , & the ſubtraction of the one kinde from the lay people,is Antichriſtian.

Againſt Trāſubſtantiation.

And ſo is the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of ẏ ſacramentall bread and wyne after the wordes of conſecration, as they be called.

Agaynſt adoration of the Sacrament.

Item,the adoration of the Sacrament,with honour due vnto God : the reſeruation & carying about of the ſame.

The Maſſe to be no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Item,the Maſſe to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and dead,or a worke that pleaſeth God.

Inhibition of Prieſtes mariage Antichriſtian.

All theſe we confeſſe and beleue to bee Antichriſtes doctrine: as is the inhibition in Mariage as vnlawfull to any ſtate. And we doubt not by Gods grace,but we ſhall be able to proue all our confeſſions here to be moſt true by the veritie of Gods word,& conſent of ẏ Catholicke church,which followeth & hath followed ẏ gouernance of Gods ſpirite,and the iudgement of hys word.

And this through the Lordes helpe we wyll doe, eyther in diſputation by word before the Quéenes hyghnes & her Counſail,either before ẏ Parlament houſes, of whom we doubt not but to bee indifferently heard, eyther wyth our pennes, whenſoeuer we ſhall be therto by them that haue authority required and commaūded . In the meane ſeaſon, as obedient Subiectes wee ſhall behaue our ſelues towardes all that be in authority,& not ceaſe to pray to God for them,that he would gouerne them all,generally and particularly wyth the ſpirite of wyſedome and grace . And ſo we hartely deſire,and humbly pray all men to do,in no point conſenting to any kinde of rebellion or ſedition agaynſt our Soueraigne Lady the Quéenes highnes : but where they can not obey,but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit them ſelues wyth all patience and humilitie to ſuffer as the wyll and pleaſures of the higher powers ſhall adiudge : as we are ready through the goodnes of the Lord to ſuffer whatſoeuer they ſhall adiudge vs vnto,rather then we wyll conſent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confeſſe, vnleſſe we ſhall be iuſtly conuinced thereof, eyther by writing or by word, before ſuch Judges as ẏ Quéenes highnes & her Coūſell,or ẏ Parlament houſes ſhal appoynt: For the Uniuerſities & Clergy haue condemned our cauſes already by the bigger,but not by the better part,without al diſputation of the ſame : and therefore moſt iuſtly wee may,and do appeale from them to bee our Judges in this behalfe,except it may be in writing,that to al men the matter may appeare . The Lorde of mercy endue vs all with the ſpirite of hys truth and grace of perſeuerance therein vnto the ende. Amen.

Exhortation agaynſt rebellion.

The bigger part agaynſt the better.

Appeale from the Uniuerſitie Doctours as not indifferent iudges.

The.8.of May, Anno Dom. 1554.

The names of the priſoned preachers ſubſcribing to this declaration.

Robert Menauen. aliâs
Robert Ferrar.
Rowland Taylor.
Iohn Philpot.
Iohn Bradford.
Iohan . Wigorn. &
Glouc.Epiſcopus , aliâs

Iohn Hooper.
Edward Crome.
John Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
I. P.
T. M.

¶ To theſe thinges aboue ſaid, do I *Myles Couerdale* late of Exon, conſent & agree wyth theſe my afflicted Brethren being priſoners, wyth myne own hand.

And thus much concerning this preſent declaration ſubſcribed by theſe Preachers, which was on the. viij. day of May.

May. 19. *Lady Elizabeth. Syr Iohn Williams. Syr Henry Benifield.*

Furthermore, the. xix. day of the ſayd moneth, the Lady Elizabeth, Siſter to the Quéene, was brought out of the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of Sir Iohn Williams, after Lord Williams of Tame, of whom her highnes was gently and curteouſly entreated: who afterward was had to Woodſtocke, & there committed to the kéeping of Syr Henry Benifield Knight of Oxeborough in Northfolke: who on the other ſide, both forgetting her eſtate, and his own duty, (as it is reported) ſhewed him ſelfe more hard & ſtrayte vnto her, then eyther cauſe was geuen of her part, or reaſon of his own part would haue led hym, if eyther grace or wyſedome in hym myght haue ſeene before what daunger afterward myght haue enſued thereof. Whereof wee haue to entreate more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter in the ſtory and lyfe of Quene Elizabeth.

Iuly. 20. *K. Phillip* arriueth at Southāpton. *K. Phillip* caryeth hys ſworde naked comming into England. The keyes of Southampton deliuered to K. *Phillip.*

Upon the Friday following, being the. xx. of Iulye and S. Margaretes day, the Prince of Spayne landed at Southampton. The Prince him ſelf was ẏ firſt that landed: who immediately as he ſet fóte vpon the land, drew out hys ſword, and caried it naked in hys hand a góod prety way. Then met him wythout the towne a litle the Maior of Southampton wyth certayne Commoners, who deliuered the keyes of the Towne vnto the Prince, who remoued hys ſword (naked as it was) out of hys ryght hand, into hys leaft hand, and ſo receiued the keyes of the Maior without any word ſpeaking or countenaunce of thankfulnes, and after a whyle deliuered the keyes to the Maior agayne. At the Towne gate met hym the Earle of Arundell and Lord Williams, and ſo he was brought to his lodging.

Iuly. 25. Maryage betwene *K. Phillip & Q. Mary.*

Uppon the Wedenſday following, being S. Iames day and the. xxv. of Iuly, Phillip Prince of Spaine, and Mary Quéene of England, were maryed together ſolemnely in the cathedrall church at Wincheſter, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the preſence of a great num of noble men of both the Realmes. At the tyme of this mariage the Emperours Embaſſador being preſent, openly pronounced, that in conſideration of that Mariage, the Emperour had graunted and geuen vnto hys ſonne, the kyngdome of Naples. &c.

Auguſt. 1.

Whereupon the firſt day of Auguſt folowing, there was a proclamation, that from that tyme forth, the ſtile of all maner of writinges ſhould be altered, and this folowing ſhould be vſed.

¶ Philip & Mary by the grace of God, King & Quene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the Fayth, Princes of Spaine and Cicill, Archdukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Millain, Burgundie, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flaunders and Tyroll.

Of this Mariage, as the Papiſtes chiefly ſéemed to be very glad, ſo diuers of them after diuers ſtudies, to ſhew forth their inward affections, ſome made Interludes and Pagents, ſome drew forth Genealogies, deriuing hys petigrue from Edward the thyrd and Iohn of Gaunte, ſome made verſes. Amongeſt all other M. Whyte, then biſhop of Lincolne (hys Poeticall vaine being drunken with ioy of the Mariage) ſpued out certaine verſes: the copy wherof we haue here inſerted.

¶ Philippi & Mariæ Genealogia, qua ambo principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo, Edwardi tertij, Angliæ, Franciæq; regis filio deſcendiſſe oſtenduntur, Whito Lincolnienſe Authore.

Ille parens regum Gandaua ex vrbe Iohannes
Somerſetenſem comitem profert Iohannem.
Somerſetenſis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit Comitiſſam.
Hac dedit Henricum, qui regni ſeptimus huius
Henrico octauo ſolium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fauſto quaſi ſydere nata
Iure tenes ſacram, teneaſq; Maria coronam.

¶ Verſes of maiſter White Biſhop of Lincolne, concerning the maryage of Philip and Mary.

Nvbat vt angla anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inq; ſuum fontem regia ſtirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis demon vetus hoſtis,
Sed deus, anglorum prouida ſpes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timiduſq; ad prælia Gallus,
Cæſar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (ſtirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex,
Pontificum ſed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo vxorati Patres in dæmone nollent:
Quinq; Cathenati pro pietate, volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius vrſus,
Sed fidum regni Conſilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis noſtræ Catelina Viatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat ſua limina ſanguis,
Cum ſit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.

¶ Anſwere by the reuerend Biſhop of Norwich, to the biſhop of Lincolne.

Externo nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,
Vt ſint pulſa ſuis ſceptra Britanna locis:
Vult Dæmon generis noſtri antiquiſſimus hoſtis,
Anglorum non vult anchora ſola Deus.
Nolunt hoc Galli, nolunt Scoti armipotentes,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, vult Italus Golias.
Vult grex Pontificum, ſtirps Caypha, turba bicornis,
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pia turba patrum.
Nolunt octo, quibus ſunt vincla iugalia curæ,
Quinq; cathenati Dæmonis arte volunt.
Hoc neq; tu prorſus Dudlæe animoſe volebas:
Inuitum regni Conſilium voluit.
Dedecus hoc non vult fortiſſimus ille Viatus,
Inuitus populus, ſic proceresq; volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam ſemper mala cuncta voletis:
Non vult Graius Dux, nec pia turba volet.
Quot tulit Hiſpanus rex ergò commoda ſecum,
Regina ſocias cum dedit ille manus?

¶ An other anſwere by the ſaid Author.

Hiſpano nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,
Extirpetur ſtirps vt quoq; Nobilium:
Vult pater id veſter diſturbans omnia Dæmon,
Non vult Anglorum ſed pater Altitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, Papicolæq; volunt.
Grex mitratorum vultis, Caypha ipſa propago:
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pius ordo pâtrum.
Nolunt octo, pios qui iure colunt hymenæos,
Quinq; cathenati pro impietate volunt.
Dudlæus minimè voluit Northumbrius Heros:
Cui ſua perchara eſt patria, nemo volet.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba volet.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis vt exulet omnis,
Non Graius, ſed nec Cantia turba volet.
Ergò magis clarus quî fit (rogo) ſanguis auitus,
Quando iugali ſit iunctus vterq; thoro?

¶ Other verſes anſwering to Biſhop White, made by I. C.

Qvamlibet Anglorum ſtirps ementita Philippo,
Et Maria Hiſpana de genitrice fuit:
Vt tamen Hiſpano, confuſi ſanguinis Angla
Nuberet in gentis dedecus atq; patris,
Noluit anglorum priſca virtutis amator,
Sed deus in noſtram perniciem voluit.
Noluit in noſtram, niſi conſpirata, ſalutem
Turba: quid ad nos ſi gens inimica volet?
Pontifices fati, quaſi Caiphas, omina dantes
Nolebant: at grex cacolucos voluit.

Elegere pij connubia talia nolle :
Velle quidem demens hæreſis illa fuit.
Conſilium multo præſtantius octo mariti,
Quinq; cathenatis ob malefacta, dabant.
Noluit hos iungi thalamos Northumbrius heros.
O conſultores, qui voluere, malos.
Noluit haud æquo confligens marte Viatus,
Solaq;, quæ voluit, turba Papalis erat.
Nolebat Graius, neq; terra Britanna volebat :
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, tulimus.
Sed tulimus pariter fata infœlicia, quando
Infœlix Maria eſt nupta Philippe tibi.

¶ Other verſes anſwering likewiſe.

NVbat vt Hiſpano Regina Maria Philippo
Dic age Whyte mihi, quos voluiſſe vides ?
Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil,
Velle & nolle dei eſt : quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluiſtis :
Quid voluit, quoniam neſcis inepte, ſcias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates vt vanus & augur,
Et mendax Whitus pſeudopropheta foret.
Regi non regi nupſit, non nupſerat, Angla eſt,
Non Angla eſt, grauida eſt, non grauida eſt, grauis eſt.
Parturit atq; parit, ſic vos voluiſtis ouantes,
Nil tamen illa parit : hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos menſes, mox deſerit idem :
Sponſa eſt, mox vidua eſt : hoc voluit Dominus.
Irrita fruſtrentur ſemper ſic vota malorum
Perniciem patriæ qui voluere ſuæ.
Sit nomen domini benedictum.

K. Phillip commeth to Windſore.

The Armes of England take down, and the armes of Spaine ſet vp.

K. Phillip commeth to London.

After the conſumation of whych mariage, they both remoued from Wincheſter to ſundry other places, and by eaſy iourneyes came to Windſore Caſtell, where he was ſtalled in the order of the Garter, vpon the ſonday being the xij. of Auguſt. At which tyme an Herald tooked own the armes of England at Windſore, and in the place of thē would haue ſet thē armes of Spayn, but he was commaunded to ſet them vp agayne by certayne Lordes. From thence they both remoued to Richmond, and from thence by water came to London, and landed at the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, through which they paſſed both into Southwarke parke, and ſo to Southwarke houſe called Suffolke place, where they lay that night being ẏ 18. of Auguſt.

Auguſt. 19.

Vaine pageantes of London.

And the next day, being Saterday, and the. xix. of Auguſt, the Kyng and Quéenes maieſties rode from Suffolke place (accompanied wyth a great number, as wel of noble men as gentlemen) through the Citie of London, to White hall, and at London bridge as he entred at the draw bridge, was a vayne great ſpectacle ſet vp of two Images repreſenting two Giantes, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog, holding betwen them certayne Latin verſes, which for the vaine oſtentation of flattery, I ouerpaſſe.

And as they paſſed ouer the bridge, there was a number of ordinaunce ſhot at the Tower, ſuche as by old mens report the lyke hath not bene heard or ſéene theſe hundreth yeares.

Wincheſt. can not abyde the boke called Verbum Dei.

The painter ſent for to the B. of Wincheſt.

From London bridge they paſſed to the Conduit in Gracious ſtréete, which was finely painted, & among other thinges, the. ix. worthies, whereof Kyng Henry the eight was one. He was paynted in harneſſe hauing in one hand a ſword, & in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written Verbum Dei, deliuering the ſame booke (as it were) to his ſonne king Edward, who was paynted in a corner by him. But hereupon was no ſmall matter made, for the biſhop of Wincheſter L. Chauncellor, ſent for the Painter, and not onely called hym knaue for painting a booke in king Henries hand, and ſpecially for writing thereupon Verbum Dei, but alſo rancke Traytour and Villayne, ſaying to hym, that hee ſhoulde rather haue put the booke into the Quéenes hand (who was alſo paynted there) for that ſhe had reformed the church and religion, wyth other thinges, according to the pure and ſincere word of God in déede. The Paynter aunſwered and ſayd, that if he had knowen that that had bene ẏ matter wherfore hys Lordſhip ſent for him, hee coulde haue remedied it, and not haue troubled his Lordſhip. The Biſhop aunſwered and ſaid, that it was the Quenes maieſties wyll and commaundement that he ſhould ſend for him: and ſo commaunding him to wype out the booke and Verbum Dei to, he ſent him home. So the Paynter departed, but fearing leſt hee ſhould leaue ſome parte eyther of the booke, or of Verbum Dei in kyng Henryes hand, he wyped away a péece of hys fingers wythall.

The Painters aunſwere.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter can not abyde Verbum Dei.

V. Phillips.

Here I paſſe ouer and cut of other gaudes and Pageants of paſtime ſhewed vnto hym in paſſing through London, wyth the flattering verſes ſet vp in Latine, wherein were blaſed out in one place the fiue Philips, as the fiue worthies of ẏ world, Philip of Macedonia Philip the Emperour, Philippus Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip Prince of Spayne, & king of England.

In an other Poetry kyng Philip was reſembled by an Image repreſenting Orpheus, and al Engliſh people reſembled to brute and ſauage beaſtes folowing after Orpheus harpe, and daunſing after kyng Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the arte of the Latine verſes, which was fine and cunning, but that I paſſe ouer the matter, hauing other grauer thinges in hand, and therefore paſſe ouer alſo the ſight at Paules church ſide of hym that came downe vpon a rope tyed to the batilmentes wyth hys head before, neyther ſtaying himſelfe with hand nor foote: which ſhortly after coſt him his life.

But one thing by the way I can not let paſſe touching ẏ young floriſhing Roode newly ſet vp againſt this preſent tyme to welcome kyng Philippe into Paules Church. The ſettyng vp of which Roode was this, and may make as good a Pageant as the beſt.

The erecting vp of the Roode in Paules.

B. Boners God.

The Roode of Paules ſet vp with Te Deum.

An. 2. Mariæ Boner in his royaltie, and all his Prebēdaries about him in Paules Quiere, the Roode layd a long vpon the pauement, and alſo all the doores of Paules beyng ſhut, the Biſhop with other, ſayd and ſong diuers prayers by ẏ Roode: that being done, they annointed the Roode with oyle in diuers places, and after the annoyntyng, crept vnto it and kiſſed it. After that they tooke the ſayd Roode and weyed him vp and ſet hym in his old accuſtomed place, and all the while they were a doyng therof, the whole Quiere ſang Te Deum, and when that was ended, they rang the Belles, not onely for ioy, but alſo for the notable and great fact they had done therin.

Salutation to the Roode of Paules.

Not long after this, a mery felow came into Paules, and ſpyed the Roode with Mary and Iohn new ſet vp, whereto (among a great ſort of people) he made lowe curteſy and ſayd: Syr, your Maiſterſhippe is welcome to Towne. I had thought to haue talked further with your Maiſterſhyppe, but that ye be here clothed in the Quéenes colours. I hope ye but a ſommers byrd, in that ye be dreſſed in white and gréene. &c.

The Prince thus beyng in the Church of Paules, after Doctor Harpeſfield had finiſhed hys Oration in Latin, ſet forward through Fléeteſtréete, and ſo came to Whyte hall, where he wyth the Quéene remayned foure dayes after, and from thence remoued vnto Richmond.

After thys, all the Lordes had leaue to depart into their countreyes, wyth ſtraite cōmaundement to bring all their harneſſe and artillery into the Tower of London wyth all ſpéede. Now remayned there no Engliſh Lord at the court but the biſhop of Wincheſter. From Richmond they remoued to Hampton Court, where the hall doore wythin ẏ Court was continually ſhut, ſo that no man might enter, vnles his arrand were fyrſt knowen: which ſéemed ſtraunge to Engliſh men that had not bene vſed thereto.

Septemb. 8.

About the. viij. day of September, B. Boner began hys viſitation, who charged. vj. men in euery pariſh to inquyre (according to theyr othes) and to preſent before him the day after S. Mathewes day, being the. 22. of September, all ſuch perſons as eyther had or ſhould offend in any of hys articles, which he had ſet forth to the number of.37. Of the which viſitation of Bōner, I haue ſomwhat more largely to entreate, after that fyrſt I ſhall ouerpaſſe a few other thynges folowing in courſe of thys preſent ſtory.

Septemb.18.

The.xvij. day of September was a Proclamatiō in London, that all Vacabondes and maſterles men, as well ſtraungers as Engliſh men, ſhould depart the cytie wythin.v.dayes: and ſtraitly charging al inholders, Victulers, Tauerners, and Alehouſekeepers, wyth all other that ſell victuals, that they (after the ſayd fyue daies) ſhould not ſell any meate, drinke, or any kynde of victuall to any ſeruingman whatſoeuer, vnleſſe hee brought a teſtimoniall frō hys Maiſter to declare whoſe ſeruant he was, and were in cōtinuall houſehold with his ſaid Maiſter, vpon payne to runne in daūger of the lawe if they offend herein.

Septemb.30.

The B. of Wincheſter preacheth.

Upon the Sonday following being the.xx. day of September the biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chauncellour of England preached at Paules Croſſe, at whoſe ſermon were preſent all the Counſell that were at the Court, namely the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earle of Arundel, Lord North, Syr Anthony Browne, maiſter Rocheſter, Maiſter Walgraue, maiſter Englefild, Lord Fitzwaters and Secretary Peter, and yͤ biſhop of London, Dureſme, and Ely, which three ſat vnder the Biſhops armes. The Goſpell whereof hee made hys ſermon is wrytten in the.xxij. chapter of Mathew. Where the Phariſeis came vnto Chriſt, and amongeſt them one aſked Chriſt which was the greateſt cōmaūdement. Chriſt aunſwered: *Thou ſhalt loue thy Lorde God wyth all thy hart. &c. and thy neyghbour as thy ſelfe, in theſe ij. is cōprehended the law and the Prophetes.* After hys longe declaration of theſe wordes, ſpeaking very much of loue and charity, at the laſt he had occaſion vpon S. Iames hys wordes to ſpeake of the true teachers, and of the falſe teachers, ſaying, that all the Preachers almoſt in king Edwardes tyme preached nothyng but voluptuouſnes, and filthy and blaſphemous lyes, affyrming their doctrine to be that falſe doctrine whereof S. Iames ſpeaketh: ſaying, that it was full of peruerſe zeale, earthly, ful of diſcord & diſcenſion, & that the preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, & that they taught that it was lawfull for a man to put away hys wyfe for adultery and marry an other, and that if a man vowed to day, he myght breake it to morrow at hys pleaſure, wyth many other thinges which I omyt. And when he ſpoke of the ſacrament, he ſayd that al the church from the beginning haue cōfeſſed Chriſtes naturall body to be in heauen, & here to be in yͤ ſacramēt, and ſo concluded that matter: and then wylled al men to ſay wyth Ioſephes brethren: Peccauimus in fratrē. *We haue all ſinned againſt our brother*, and ſo (ſayd he) haue I to. Then hee declared what a noble king and Queene we haue, ſaying that if he ſhould go about to ſhew that yͤ king came hether for no neceſſity or nede, & what he had brought with him, it ſhoulde bee ſuperfluous, ſeing it is euidētly knowen that he hath.x.times as much as we are in hope & poſſeſſion of, affyrmyng him to be as wyſe, ſober, gentle and temperate a Prince as euer was in England, and if it were not ſo proued, thē to take hym for a falſe lyar for hys ſo ſaying: Exhortyng all men to make much of him, and to wynne hym whyleſt we had hym, and ſo ſhould we alſo wynne all ſuch as he hath brought wyth him, and ſo made an end.

A blaſphemous mouth agaynſt the true preachers of Gods word.

The Church neuer confeſſed the natural body of Chriſt ſo to be in the ſacrament, that the ſubſtance of bread was taken away before the tyme of Pope *Innocent*.3. an.1215.

Wincheſter preacheth in commendation of kyng *Phillip*.

Octob.2.

Upon the Tueſday folowyng, beyng the ſecond day of October, xx. cartes came frō Weſtminſter laden (as it was noyſed) with gold and ſiluer, and certaine of the Gard with thē through yͤ Citie to the Tower, & there it was receiued in by a Spaniard, who was the kyngs Treaſurer and had cuſtody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mattes and mayled in littell bundels about ij. foote long and almoſt halfe a foote thicke, & in euery cart were vj. of theſe būdels. What it was in deede God knoweth, for it is to vs vncertain.

Iohn Streate.

About the ſame tyme, or a litle before, vpon Corpus Chriſti day, the proceſſion beyng made in Smithfield, where after the maner the Prieſt with hys boxe went vnder the Canapy, by chaunce there came by the way a certaine ſimple man, named Iohn Streate, a Ioyner, of Colmā ſtreete, who hauing ſome haſt in his buſines, and findyng no other way to paſſe through, by chaunce went vnder the Canapy by the Prieſt. The Prieſt ſeyng the man ſo to preſume to come vnto the Canapy, beyng belyke afrayd, and worſe feared then hurt, for feare let his Pixe fall downe. The poore man beyng ſtraight wayes apprehēded, was had to yͤ Counter, the Prieſt accuſing hym vnto the Counſayle, as though he had come to ſlay him, when as the poore man (as he him ſelfe hath ſince declared vnto vs) had no ſuch thought euer in his mynd. Then from the Counter he was had vnto Newgate, where he was caſt into the Dongeon, there cheyned to a poſt, where he was cruelly and miſerably handled, and ſo extremely dealt withall, that beyng but ſimple before, he was now feared out of hys witte altogether, and ſo vpon the ſame, had to Bedlem. Wherupon the brief Chronicle of Lōdon in this poynt is not to be credited, which vntruly reporteth that hee fayned him ſelfe in Newgate to be mad: which thyng we in wrytyng of this hiſtory by due inquiſition of the partie, haue found to be contrary.

The prieſt worſe feared then hurt.

The prieſt let the Pixe fall for feare.

Ioh. Street innocently caſt in the Dungeon.

Ioh. Street falſely reported in a certaine Chronicle.

Octob.5.

About the v. day of October and within a fortnight folowing, were diuers as wel houſholders as ſeruants and prentiſes apprehended and taken, and committed to ſondry priſons, for the hauyng and ſellyng of certaine bookes which were ſent into England by the Preachers that fledde into Germany and other countreyes, which bookes nipped a great number ſo neare, that within one fortnight there were little leſſe then 60. impriſoned for this matter: among whom was M. Browne a Goldſmith, M. Sparke a Draper, Randall Tirer a Stationer, M. Beſton a Marchaunt, with many other.

Men priſoned for bookes.

Octob.14.

Upon the Sonday being the xiiij. day of October, the old Byſhop of Dureſme preached in the Shroudes.

Upon S. Lukes day folowyng, being the xviij. of October, the kynges Maieſtie came from Weſtminſter to Paules Church alonge the Streetes accompanyed with a great number of noble men, and there he was receiued vnder a Canapy at the Weſt doore, and ſo came into the Chauncell, where he heard Maſſe (which a Spaniſh Byſhop and his owne Chappell ſong) and that done he returned to Weſtminſter to dyner agayn.

Octob.26.

The trouble of the the good men which were of *M. Thogmortons* Queſt.

Upon the Friday beyng the xxvj. day of October, certaine men, whereof I ſpake before, which were of M. Throgmortons queſt, beyng in number viij. for the other iiij. were deliuered out of priſō, for that they ſubmitted them ſelues and ſayd they had offended, lyke weaklynges not conſideryng truth to be truth, but of force for feare ſayd ſo: theſe viij. men I ſay (whereof Maiſter Emanuell Lucas, and M. Whetſtone were chiefe) were called before the Counſaile in the Starre chāber: where they all affirmed that they had done all thynges in that matter accordyng to their knowledge & with good conſciences, euen as they ſhould aunſwere before God at the day of Iudgement. Where M. Lucas ſaid opēly before all the Lordes, that they had done in the matter like honeſt men, and true and faythfull ſubiectes, and therfore they humbly beſought the Lord Chauncellor and the other Lordes, to be meanes to the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties that they might be diſcharged and ſet at libertie: and ſayd that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit them ſelues to their Maieſties, ſauing and reſeruing their truth, cōſciences, and honeſty. Some of the Lordes ſayd that they were worthy to pay a thouſand poundes a peece, and other ſome ſayd that M. Lucas and M. Whetſtone were worthy to pay a thouſand Markes a peece, and the reſt fiue hundreth poundes a peece. In concluſion, ſentence was geuen

uen by ẏ Lord Chauncellor, that they ſhould pay a thouſand Markes a péece, and that they ſhould go to priſon agayne and there remaine till further order were takẽ for their puniſhment.

Octob.30.

Vpon the Tueſday beyng the xxx. of October, the L. Iohn Gray was deliuered out of the Tower, & ſet at libertie.

Nouem.4.

Vpon Sonday the iiij. of Nouember, v. Prieſtes did penaunce at Paules Croſſe, which were contẽt to put away their wiues and take vpon them agayne to miniſter. Euery of them had a Taper in his hand and a rod wherewith the preacher did diſple them.

Nouem.7.

Vpon Wedenſday the vij. of Nouember, the Lord Paget & Syr Edward Haſtynges Maiſter of the horſe were ſent as Ambaſſadours, I know not whether, but as it was iudged, to Cardinall Poole, who lay all the ſommer before at Bruxelles, & as it was thought, they were ſent to accompany and conduct him into Englãd, where at that tyme he was nominated and appoynted Byſhop of Canterbury.

Cardinall Poole made Archbiſhop of Cant.

Vpon the Friday folowyng the ix. of Nouember M. Barlow late Biſhop of Bath and M. Cardmaker were brought before the Counſell in the Starre chamber, where after communication they were commaunded to the Fléete.

Nouem. 10.

Vpon the Saterday beyng the x. of Nouember, the Shriues of London had commaundement to take an inuentory of euery one of their goodes which were of M. Throgmortons queſt, and to ſeale vp their doores, which was done the ſame day. M. Whetſtone, M. Lucar, and M. Kyteley, were adiudged to pay ij. thouſand pound a péece, & the reſt a thouſand Markes a péece, to be payd within one fortnight after. Frõ this payment were exempted thoſe iiij. which confeſſed a faulte and ſubmitted thẽ ſelues: whoſe names are theſe, M. Loe, M. Poynter, M. Beſwicke, and M. Cater.

B. Boner goeth in his viſitation.

Mention was made a litle before of the viſitation of Ed. Boner biſhop of London, which began (as is ſayd) about the moneth of September: for the better preparation whereof were ſet forth certayne articles to the number of 37. Which articles partly for ẏ tediouſnes of them, partly for that Maiſter Bale in a certaine treatiſe hath ſufficiently paynted out the ſame in their colours, partly alſo, becauſe I wyll not infecte this booke with them, I ſlip them ouer, procéeding in the progreſſe of thys biſhop in his viſitation in the County of Eſſex. Who paſſing through ẏ ſaid County of Eſſex, being attended wyth diuers worſhipfull of the Shiere (for ſo they were commaunded) arriued at Sterford in Hertfordſhiere, where he reſted certayn dayes, ſolacing him ſelfe after that painfull peregrination wyth no ſmall feaſting and banquetting wyth his attendantes aforeſayd, at the houſe of one Perſons his Nephew, whoſe wyfe he commonly called his fayre Niece (and fayre ſhe was in déede.) He tooke there great pleaſure to heare her play vpon the Virginals (wherein ſhe excelled) in ſomuch that euery dynner (ſittyng by hys ſwéete ſide) ſhe roſe and played thrée ſeuerall times at hys requeſt of hys good and ſpirituall deuotion towards her. Theſe certayne dayes thus paſſed in thys biſhoplike faſhion, hée proceded in hys popiſh viſitation towardes Hadham hys own houſe and pariſh, not paſt two myles frõ Sterford, beyng there moſt ſolemnly roong out, as in al other places where as he paſſed. At length drawyng neare vnto Hadham, when he heard no belles there ſtyrring in honor of his holynes, he grew into ſome coler, and the nerer he approched, the hotter was his fyt, and the quieter the Bels were, the vnquieter was hys moode. Thus rode hee on chafyng and fumyng wyth hym ſelfe. What meaneth (ſayth he) that knaue the Clarke, that he ryngeth not, and the Parſon that he méeteth me not? wyth ſundry other furious wordes of fiery element. There thys pacient Prelate comming to the towne, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all vnready, for that (as they then pretended) he had preuented hys tyme by two houres: whereupon he grewe from coler to playne melancholy, ſo as no man wyllingly would deale with hym to qualifie the ragyng humor ſo farre incorporated in hys breſt. At laſt the church doore being opened, the biſhop entred, and finding no Sacrament hanged vp, nor roode loft decked after ẏ popiſh precept (which had commaunded about the ſame tyme a well fauoured Roode, & of hable ſtature vniuerſally in all Churches to be ſet vp) curtalled his ſmall deuotions, and fel from all coler and melancholy to flat madnes in the vppermoſt degrée, ſwearing and ragyng wyth an huntyng othe or two, and by no beggers, that in hys own church where he hoped to haue ſéene beſt order, he found moſt diſorder (to hys honours moſt heauy diſcomfort, as he ſayd) callyng the Parſon (whoſe name was Doctour Bricket) knaue and hereticke. Who there hũbled him ſelfe and yelded, as it were, to hys fault, ſaying he was ſory hys Lordſhip was come before that he and hys pariſh looked for hym: and therefore could not doe theyr duties to receiue him accordingly: & as for thoſe things lacking, he truſted a ſhort tyme hereafter ſhould compaſſe that, which hetherto hee could not bryng about. Therefore if it pleaſed his lordſhip to come to hys poore houſe (where hys dynner was prepared) he would ſatiſfie hym in thoſe thinges, which hys lordſhip thought amyſſe. Yet thys ſo reaſonable an aunſwere nothyng coulde ſatiſfie nor aſſwage hys paſſion vnreaſonable. For the catholicke Prelate vtterly defied hym and hys chere, commaunding hym out of hys ſight, ſaying: (as hys byworde was) before God thou art a knaue, auaunt hereticke, and therewithall, whether thruſting or ſtriking at him, ſo it was, that with his hand he gaue Sir Thomas Ioſſelyn Knight (who was then amongſt the reſt, and ſtoode next the biſhop) a good ſlewet vpon the vpper part of the necke, euen vnder hys eare (as ſome ſay which ſtoode by) but as he him ſelfe ſayd, hee hyt hym full vpon the eare: whereat he was ſomwhat aſtonyed at the ſodaynes of the quarell for the tyme. At laſt he ſpake and ſayd, what meaneth your lordſhip? haue you bene trayned in Will Sommers Schoole, to ſtryke hym who ſtandeth next you? The biſhop ſtyll in rage either heard not, or would not heare.

B. Boners behauiour at Sterford.

Boners behauiour at Hadhã.

Boner in a pelting chafe.

D. Bricket Parſon of Hadham called knaue of Boner.

B. Boner ſtriketh hym that ſtandeth next.

Syr Thomas Ioſſelyn ſtrocken of Boner.

Then M. Fecknam Deane of Paules ſeing the Byſhop ſtill in this vtter rage, ſayd: O M. Ioſſelyn, you muſt beare with my Lord: for truly his long impriſonment in the Marſhalſey, and the miſuſing of hym there hath altered hym that in theſe paſſions, he is not ruler of hym ſelfe, nor it booteth any man to geue hym counſell vntill his heate be paſt, and then aſſure your ſelfe M. Ioſſelyn, my Lorde will bee ſory for thoſe abuſes that now he can not ſée in him ſelfe. Whereunto he merely replyed & ſayd: ſo it ſemeth M. Fecknam, for now that he is come forth of ẏ Marſhalſey, he is ready to go to Bedlem. At which mery cõceite ſome laughed and moe ſmiled becauſe the nayle was ſo truly hyt vpõ ẏ head. The Byſhop nothyng abaſhed at his own folly, gaue a deafe eare, as no maruell it was that he ſhamed litle to ſtrike a ſtrãger, which ſpared not the burnyng of ſo many good men.

Fecknam excuſeth B. Boner by the Marſhalſey.

Syr Thomas Ioſſelyns Apopthegma touchyng B. Boner.

After this worthy combate thus finiſhed and achiued, this martiall Prelate preſently taketh hym to his horſe agayne (notwithſtandyng he was minded to tary at Hadham iij. or iiij. dayes, & ſo had made prouiſion in his own houſe) and leauing his dinner, rode that night with a ſmal cõpany of his houſhold to Ware (where he was not looked for thrée dayes after) to the great wonder of all the countrey why he ſo preuented hys day afore ſtalled.

At this haſty poſting away of this Biſhop, his whole traine of attendantes there left him. Alſo his Doctours and Chapleynes (a few excepted) taried behinde, and dyned at Doct. Brickettes, as merely as he roade towardes Ware all chafingly: which dynner was prepared for the Byſhop him ſelf. Now whether

ther the Byſhop were offended at thoſe ſolemnities which hee wanted and was accuſtomed to be ſaluted withall in other places where he iorneyed, ioynyng to that his great God was not exalted aboue ground ouer the aultar, nor his blocke almighty ſet ſeemely in the roode loft to intertaine ſtraungers, and therupon tooke occaſion to quarell with Doct. Bricket (whoſe Religiõ percaſe he ſomwhat ſuſpected) I haue not perfectly to ſay, but ſo it was ſuppoſed of diuers yͤ cauſe therof to ryſe, which draue the Byſhop ſo haſtily from ſuch a dynner. Teſtified by ſuch as there and then were preſent Rich. K. &c.

B. Boner driuen from a good dinner.

A ſtory of a Roode ſet vp in Lanckeſhyre.

A ſtory of a Roode ſet vp in Lankeſhyre.

In this Viſitation of Byſhop Boner aboue mentioned, ye ſee how the Byſhop tooke on for not ſettyng vp the Roode, ⁊ ryngyng the Belles at Hadham. Ye heard alſo of the precept, which cõmaũded in euery Pariſh a Roode to be erected both well fauored, and of an hable ſtature. By the occaſion wherof, it commeth in mynd, (and not out of place) to ſtory likewiſe what happened in a certain towne in Lankeſhyre nere to Lãcaſter called Cockrã, where the Pariſhners ⁊ Churchwardens hauyng the ſame tyme a lyke charge for yͤ erectyng of a Roode in their Pariſh Church, had made their bargain ⁊ were at a price with one that could cunnyngly karue ⁊ paynt ſuch Idols, for the framing of their Roode: who accordyng to his promiſe made thẽ one, and ſet it vp in their church. This done, he demaũded his money. But they miſlikyng his workemanſhip, refuſed to pay him. Wherupon he arreſted thẽ, ⁊ the matter was brought before the Maior of Dancaſter, who was a very meete man for ſuch a purpoſe, and an old fauourer of the Goſpell, which is rare in that countrey. Then the karuer begã to declare how they had couenanted with him for the makyng of a Roode with the appurtenances ready karued and ſette vp in their Church, which hee accordyng to hys promyſe had done, and now demaundyng his money they refuſed to pay hym. Is this true, quoth the Maior to the Wardens? Yea Syr, ſayd they. And why do ye not pay the poore mã his due, quoth he? And it pleaſe you Maiſter Maior (quoth they) becauſe the Roode we had before was a welfauoured man, and he promiſed to make vs ſuch an other: but this that he hath ſet vs vp now, is the worſt fauoured thyng that euer you ſet your eyes on, gapyng and grynnyng in ſuch ſort that none of our children dare once looke him in the face or come nere him. The Maior thinking that it was good enough for that purpoſe if it had ben worſt, my Maiſters (quoth he) how ſoeuer the Roode like you, the poore mans labour hath bene neuer the leſſe, and it is pitie that hee ſhould haue any hinderaunce or loſſe therby. Therfore I will tell you what ye ſhall do: Pay hym the money ye promiſed hym, and go your wayes home and looke on it, and if it will not ſerue for a God, make no more ado, but clap a payre of hornes on hys head, and ſo will he make an excellent deuill. This the Pariſhners tooke well aworth, the poore man had hys money, and diuers laughed well therat: but ſo did not the babiloniſh Prieſtes.

The men of Cockram not pleaſed with their roode.

The Maior of Dancaſter taketh the roodemakers part, which would not ſhew hys cunnyng in ſuch a naughty matter.

The roode of Cockram driuing the children out of the Church.

This Maior aboue mentioned continued a Proteſtant almoſt fifty yeare, and was the onely releauer of M. Marſh the Martyr (whoſe ſtory followeth hereafter) with meate, drinke, ⁊ lodgyng while he lay in Lancaſter Caſtle the ſpace of iij. quarters of a yeare, before he was had to Cheſter to be burned. ⁊c.

The Maior of Dancaſter a good man.

About this tyme or the moneth nexte before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Boner Byſhop of Lõdon, to all Perſons and Curates within his Dioceſſe, for the abolyſhing of ſuch Scriptures ⁊ writynges, as had bene paynted vp in Church walles before in kyng Edwardes dayes. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to expreſſe, that the world might ſee the wicked procedynges of their impious zeale, or rather their malicious rage agaynſt the Lord and his word, and agaynſt the edifying of Chriſtian people: wherby it might appeare by this blottyng out of theſe Scriptures, not onely how blaſphemouſly they ſpake agaynſt the holy Scriptures of God, but alſo how ſtudiouſly they ſought by all maner meanes, to keepe the people ſtill in ignoraunce.

A Mandate of Boner B. of Lond. to aboliſh the Scriptures and writinges paynted vpon the Church Walles.

EDmund by Gods permiſſion biſhop of London, to all and euery Parſons, Vicars, Clarkes, and lettered, wythin the pariſh of Hadham, or within the precinct of our dioceſſe of London whereſoeuer being, ſendeth greeting, grace, and benediction. Becauſe ſome children of iniquitie, geuen vp to carnall deſyres and nouelties, haue by many wayes enterpriſed to baniſh the auncient maner and order of the Church, and to bring in and eſtabliſh ſectes and hereſies, takyng from thence the picture of Chriſt, and many thinges beſides inſtituted and obſerued of auncient tyme laudably in the ſame, placing in the rowme thereof ſuch thinges, as in ſuch a place it behoued them not to doe: and alſo haue procured, as a ſtay to their hereſies (as they thought) certayne ſcriptures wrongly applied, to be painted vpon the church walles, all which perſons tende chiefly to this ende, that they might vphold the libertie of the fleſhe and mariage of Prieſtes, and deſtroy, as much as lay in them, the reuerend ſacrament of the Aultar, and myght extinguiſh and eneruate holy dayes, faſtyng dayes, and other laudable diſcipline of the Catholike church, opening a wyndowe to al vices, and vtterly cloſyng vp the way vnto vertue: wherefore we beyng moued with a chriſtian zeale, iudging that the promiſſes are not to be longer ſuffered, doe for diſcharge of our dutie, commit vnto you ioyntly and ſeuerally, and by the tenour hereof doe ſtraitly charge and commaund you, that at the receite hereof, wyth all ſpeede conuenient, you doe warne, or cauſe to bee warned, fyrſt, ſecond, and third tyme and peremptorily, all and ſyngular Churchwardens and pariſhioners, whoſoeuer, within our foreſayd dioceſſe of London, wherſoeuer any ſuch ſcriptures or paintings haue bene attempted, that they aboliſh and extinguiſh ſuch maner of ſcriptures, ſo that by no meanes they be eyther read or ſeene, and therein to proceede moreouer as they ſhall ſee good and laudable in this behalfe. And if after the ſayd monition, the ſayd Churchwardens and Pariſhioners ſhal be found remiſſe and negligent, or culpable, then you ioyntly and ſeuerally ſhall ſee the foreſayd ſcriptures to be raſed, aboliſhed, and extinguiſhed forthwith: cityng al and ſingular thoſe Churchwardens ⁊ pariſhioners (whom we alſo for the ſame doe cite here by the tenour hereof) that all and ſingular the ſayd Churchwardens and Pariſhioners being ſlacke and negligent, or culpable therein, ſhall appeare before vs, or our Vicar generall, ⁊ principall Officiall, or our Commiſſary ſpeciall in our cathedrall Church of ſaint Paule at London, in the Conſiſtory there, at the houre appoynted for the ſame, the firſt day next after their citation, if it be a court day, or els at the next court day after enſuyng, where as eyther we or our Officiall, or Commiſſary ſhall ſyt: there to ſay and alledge for them ſelues ſome reaſonable cauſe, if they haue or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, and otherwyſe puniſhed for their ſuch negligence, ſlacknes, and fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to do and receiue, as law and reaſon requireth. And what you haue done in the premiſſes, do you certify vs, or our Vicar, principall Officiall, and ſuch our Commiſſary, diligently and duely in all thinges, and through al things, or let hym among you thus certify vs, which hath taken vpon hym to execute this Mandate. In wytnes wherof, we haue ſet our ſeales to theſe preſentes. Dated in the Biſhops Palace at London, the xxv. day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord. 1554. and of our tranſlation the. xvj.

The ſcriptures paynted in church walles raſed out.

Note well theſe cauſes reader, why the ſcriptures ſhould be raſed out.

Scriptures open a window to vices, ſaith Boner.

About this tyme the Lord Chauncellour ſent Maiſter Chriſtoferſon vnto the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge wyth theſe three articles, which hee enioyned them to obſerue.

M. Chriſtopherſon ſent to Cambridge with Gardiners iniunctions.

The fyrſt, that euery Scholer ſhould weare hys apparell accordyng to hys degree in the Scholes.

The ſecond was touching the pronunciation of the Greeke tounge.

The thyrd, that euery Preacher there, ſhould declare the whole ſtile of the king and Queene in their ſermõs.

In this vniuerſity of Cambridge, & alſo of Oxford, by reaſon of the bringing in of theſe thinges, & eſpecially for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the Vniuerſities: of whõ, ſome of their own accord gaue ouer, ſome were thruſt out of their felowſhips, ſome were miſerably handled: in ſo much that in Cambridge in the colledge of ſaint Iohn, there were. 24. places voyd together, in whoſe roumes were taken in. 24. other, which neyther in vertue nor in religion ſemed to aunſwere to them before. And no leſſe miſerable was the ſtate of Oxford, by reaſon of the time and the ſtraite dealing of the Viſitors, that for ſettyng forward their papiſticall procedinges, had no regard or reſpect to the forwardnes of good wyttes, and the mayntenance of good letters beginning then more and more to flouriſh in that Vniuerſitie.

In Cambridge was 24. places voyde at one tyme in one Colledge.

And forſomuch as we haue entred into the mention of Oxford, we may not paſſe ouer in ſilence the famous exhortation of D. Treſham, who ſupplying ẏ rowme of ẏ Subdeane in Chriſtes Church, after he had called all the Studẽtes of the Colledge together, with great eloquence and art perſuaſory, begã to cõmend the dignitie of the Maſſe vnto them, declaryng that there was ſtuffe in Scripture enough to proue the Maſſe good. Then to allure them to the Catholicke ſeruice of the church, he vſed theſe reaſons, declaring that there were a company of goodly Copes that were appointed to Wyndſore, but he had found the Queene ſo gracious vnto him, that they ſhoulde come to Chriſtes Church. Now if they like honeſt men woulde come to Church, they ſhould weare them on holy dayes. And beſides all this, he would get them the Lady Bell of Bampton, and that ſhould make the ſweeteſt ryng in all England. And as for an holy water ſprinckle, hee had already the fayreſt that was within the Realme. Wherfore he thought that no mã would be ſo madde to forgoe theſe commodities. &c.

A papiſh exhortation of Doct. *Treſſham* in Oxford.

The great reaſons of Doctour *Treſſham*.

Which thinges I rehearſe, that it may appeare what want of diſcretion is in the fathers of Popery, and into what idle follies ſuch mẽ do fall. Whom I beſech the Lord, if it be his pleaſure, to reduce to a better truth, & to open their eyes, to ſee theyr own blyndnes.

To procede now further in the courſe and race of our ſtory where as we left, beyng before in the moneth of Nouember, it foloweth more that in the *xij. day of ẏ ſame moneth of Nouember beyng Monday, began the Parlament holden at Weſtminſter: to the begynnyng wherof both the Kyng and Queene rode in their Parliment robes, hauyng ij. ſwordes borne before them. The Earle of Pẽbroke bare his ſword, and the Earle of Weſtmerlãd bare the Queenes. They had ij. cappes of maintaynance borne before thẽ: wherof the Earle of Arundell bare one, and the Earle of Shreweſbury the other.

*Where note that the Printer of Q. *Maryes* Statutes doth erre in hys ſupputation, which ſaith, that thys Parlament began the xi. of thys moneth, which day was then Monday.

Cardinall Poole landed at Douer vppon the Wedenſday beyng the xxj. day of Nouember, on which day one Acte paſſed in the Parlament for his reſtitution in bloud, vtterly repealyng (as falſe and moſt ſclaunderous) that Acte made agaynſt hym in kyng Henry the eightes tyme, and on the next day beyng Thurſday and the xxij. of Nouember, the Kyng and Queene both came to the Parlament houſe to giue their royall aſſẽt and to eſtabliſh this Acte agaynſt his commyng.

Cardinall *Poole* ariueth in England.

Ex Statut. an. 1. & 2. Regis Philip. & Mariæ. Cap. 8.

Upon the Saterday beyng the xxiiij. of Nouember, the ſayd Cardinall came by water to London, and ſo to Lambeth houſe, which was ready prepared agaynſt his commyng.

[illegible]

Upon the Wedneſday folowyng beyng the xxviij. of Nouember, there was generall proceſſion in Paules for ioy that the Queene was conceyued and quicke with child, as it was declared in a letter ſent from the Counſell to the Byſhop of London. The ſame day at this proceſſiõ was preſent x. Byſhops with all the Prebendaries of Paules, & alſo the Lord Maior, with the Aldermen and a great number of Commons of the Citie in their beſt array. The copy of the Counſels letter here foloweth, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Proceſſion at Paules by ioye of the Queenes conceiuing.

A copy of a letter ſent from the Counſell vnto Edmond Boner Byſhop of London, concernyng Queene Mary conceaued with childe.

The Counſels letter to *B. Boner* of the Queenes conceauing of childe.

After our harty cõmendatiõs vnto your good Lordſhyp: where as it hath pleaſed almighty God, amongeſt other his infinite benefites of late moſt graciouſly poured vpon vs and this whole Realme, to extend his benediction vpon the Queenes Maieſtie in ſuch ſort, as ſhe is conceaued and * quicke of child: wherby (her Maieſtie beyng our naturall liege Lady, Queene, and vndoubted inheriter of this Imperiall crowne) good hope of certaine ſucceſſion in the crown is geuen vnto vs, and conſequently the great calamities, which (for wante of ſuch ſucceſſion might otherwiſe haue fallen vpon vs, and our poſteritie) ſhall by Gods grace be well auoyded, if we thankefully acknowledge this benefite of almighty God, endeuouryng our ſelues with earneſt repentaunce to thanke, honour, and ſerue him, as we be moſt bounden: Theſe be not onely to aduertiſe you of theſe good newes, to be by you publiſhed in all places within your Dioces, but alſo to pray and require you, that both your ſelfe do geue God thankes with vs for this his eſpeciall grace, and alſo geue order that thankes may be openly geuen by ſingyng of Te Deum in all the Churches within your ſayd Dioces: and that lykewiſe all Prieſtes, and other Eccleſiaſtical miniſters, in their Maſſes and other Diuine ſeruices, may cõtinually pray to almighty God, ſo to extend his holy hãd ouer her Maieſtie, the Kynges highnes, and this whole Realme, as this thyng beyng by his omnipotent power graciouſly thus begon, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. wherunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of your ſelfe haue had ſpecial regard without theſe our letters, yet for the earneſt deſire we haue to haue this thyng done out of hand, and diligently continued, we haue alſo written theſe our letters, to put you in remembraunce: and ſo byd your Lordſhyp moſt hartly well to fare. From weſtminſter the xxvij. of Nouember. 1554.

*If Queene *Mary* were quicke with childe in the 28. of the moneth of Nouemb. and afterward did labour in the moneth of Iune, then went ſhe almoſt. vij. monethes quicke with childe.

Te Deum, for Queene *Maryes* childe.

Your aſſured louyng frendes.

S. Winton. Cancel.
Arundel.
F. Shreweſbury.
Edward Darby.
Henry Suſſex.
Iohn Bathon.
R. Rych.
Thomas Wharthon.
Ioh. Huddylſton.
R. Southwell.

Alſo the ſame day in the after noone, Cardinal Poole came to ẏ Parlament houſe, which at that preſent was kept in the great Chãber of the Court at White Hall, for that the Queene was then ſicke, and could not go abroad: where as (the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties ſittyng vnder the cloth of Eſtate, and the Cardinall ſittyng on their right hand, with all the other Eſtates of the Parliament beyng preſent) the Byſhop of Wincheſter beyng Lord Chauncellour, began in thys maner.

Card. Poole commeth to the Parlament.

The wordes of Wyncheſter for receauyng of the Cardinall.

My Lordes of the vpper houſe, and you my Maiſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right Reuerend father in God, my Lord Cardinal Poole, come from the Apoſtolicke Sea of Rome, as Ambaſſadour to the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties, vpon one of the weightieſt cauſes that euer happened in this Realme, & which perteineth to the glory of God, and your vniuerſal benefite. The which Ambaſſage theyr Maieſties pleaſure is, to be ſignified vnto you all by his owne mouth, truſting that you will receiue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankefull wiſe, as theyr highneſſes haue done, and that you will geue an attent and inclinable eare vnto him.

Wincheſters wordes for *Card. Poole.*

When the Lord Chauncellour had thus ended hys talke, the Cardinall takyng the tyme then offered, began his Oration, wherin he declared the cauſes of hys cõming, and what were his deſires and requeſtes. In the which meane tyme the Court gate was kepte ſhut vntil he had made an ende of his Oration. The tenour and wordes wherof here foloweth.

The tenor of Cardinall Pooles Oration, made in the Parlament houſe.

Nouemb. 28. Cardinall *Pooles* Oration in the Parlament houſe.

My Lordes all, and you that are the Commons of this preſent Parlament aſſembled, which in effect is nothyng els but the ſtate & body of the whole realme, as the cauſe of my repayre hether hath bene both wyſely and grauely declared by my Lord Chauncellour, ſo before that I enter to the particularities of my Commiſſion, I haue ſomwhat touching my ſelf, and to geue moſt humble and harty thankes to the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled & baniſhed from thys common wealth, haue reſtored me to a member of the ſame, and of a man hauyng no place, neyther here or elſwhere wythin thys realme, haue admitted me in place where to ſpeake & to be heard. Thys I proteſt vnto you all, that though I was exiled my natiue coũtry wythout iuſt cauſe, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and deſyre that I had to profyt and do you good. If the offer of my ſeruice myght haue bene receyued, it was neuer to ſecke: and where that could not be taken, you neuer fayled of my prayer, nor neuer ſhall.

More for the vauntage that was hoped by it, then for any great loue.

But leauyng the rehearſall thereof, & comming more neare to the matter of my Commiſſion, I ſignifye vnto you all, that my principall trauayle is, for the reſtitution of this noble Realme to the auncient Nobilitie, & to declare vnto you, that the Sea Apoſtolicke from whence I come, hath a ſpeciall reſpect to thys Realme aboue all other, and not without cauſe, ſeyng that God hymſelfe, as it were by prouidence, hath geuen thys Realme prerogatiue of Nobilitye aboue other, which to make more playne vnto you, it is to be conſidered that thys Iland, fyrſt of all Ilandes receyued the lyght of Chriſtes religion. For as ſtories teſtify, it was prima prouinciarum quæ amplexa eſt fidem Chriſti.

England of all Ilandes receaued firſt the faith of Chriſt.

For the Britons beyng fyrſt inhabitauntes of thys Realme (not withſtanding the ſubiection of the Emperours and Heathen Princes) dyd receiue Chriſtes faith from the Apoſtolike Sea vniuerſally, and not in partes as other Coũtreyes, nor by one and one, as Clockes encreaſe theyr houres by diſtinction of times, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merites or forgetfulnes of God had deſerued expulſion, and that Straungers being Infidels had poſſeſſed this land, yet God of hys goodnes, not leauing where he once loued, ſo illuminated the hartes of the Saxons beyng Heathen mẽ, that they forſooke the darknes of Heathen errours, and embraced the light of Chriſtes religion. So that within ſmall ſpace, idolatry and heathen ſuperſtition was vtterly abandoned in this Iland.

Thys was a great prerogatiue of Nobilitie, whereof though the benefite bee to bee aſcribed to God: yet the meane occaſion of the ſame came from the * Church of Rome. In the fayth of whith church, we haue euer ſince continued and conſented with the reſt of the world in vnity of Religion. And to ſhew further the feruent deuo of the Inhabitauntes of this Iland towards the church of Rome, wee read that diuers Princes in the Saxons tyme with great trauayle and expenſes went perſonally to Rome, as Offa and Aldulphus, which thought it not ynough to ſhew them ſelues obedient to the ſayd Sea, vnleſſe that in theyr own perſõs they had gone to that ſame place from whence they had receiued ſo great a grace and benefite.

* That the fayth of the Britaines came firſt from Rome, neyther doth it ſtand with the circumſtance of our ſtories: neither if it ſo did, yet that faith & doctrine of the Romaniſtes was not ſoch then as it is now. Read afore pag. 145.

Of thys *Offa* read before pag. 173.

Of Alcuinus read before pag. 173. col. 1.

In the tyme of Carolus Magnus, who fyrſt founded the Vniuerſity of Paris, he ſent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, which fyrſt brought learning to that Vniuerſitie. whereby it ſeemeth that the greateſt part of the world fet the lyght of religion from England.

Adrian the fourth being an Engliſh man, conuerted Norway from infidelity, which Adrian afterwardes, vpon great affection and loue that he bare to this Realme, beyng hys natiue country, gaue to Henry the ſecond king of England, the ryght & ſeigniory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertayned to the Sea of Rome.

I wyll not rehearſe the manifold benefites that thys Realme hath receaued from the Apoſtolicke Sea, nor how ready the ſame hath bene to relieue vs in al our neceſſities. Nor I will not rehearſe the manifold miſeries and calamities, that this realme hath ſuffered by ſwaruyng from that vnity. And euen as in this realme, ſo in all other coũtreyes, which refuſing the vnity of the Catholike fayth haue folowed fantaſticall doctrine, the lyke plagues haue happened. Let Aſia and the Empyre of Grece be a ſpectacle vnto ẏ world, who by ſwaruing frõ the vnity of the Church of Rome, are brought into captiuity, and * ſubiectiõ of the Turke. Al ſtories be full of like examples. And to come vnto the latter tyme, looke vpon our nigh neyghbours of Germany, who by ſwaruyng from thys vnity, are miſerably afflicted wyth diuerſitye of ſectes, and diuided in factions.

Nay, rather what riches and treaſures the Sea of Rome hath ſuckt out of England it is incredible.

* The cauſe of their ſubiection to the Turke, can not be proued to come by ſwaruing from the vnitie of the Church of Rome, for they were neuer fully ioyned vnto it. And as touching the ſubiectiõ of *Aſia and Grecia* to the Turkes, read in the ſtory of the Turkes before pag. 871.

What ſhall I rehearſe vnto you the tumultes and effuſion of bloud, that hath happened there of late daies? Or trouble you wyth the rehearſal of thoſe plagues, that haue happened ſynce this innouation of religion, whereof you haue felt the bytternes, and I haue heard the report: Of all which matters I can ſay no more, but ſuch was the miſery of the time. And ſee how farre forth this fury went. For thoſe that liue vnder ẏ * Turke, may freely liue after their conſcience: & ſo was it not lawfull here.

* And why then do ye, more cruell then the Turke, perſecute other for their conſcience?

If men examine well vpon what groundes theſe innouations began, they ſhall well finde, that the roote of thys, as of many other miſchiefes, was auarice: and that the luſt and carnall affection of one mã, confounded all lawes, both diuine and humaine. And notwythſtandyng all theſe deuiſes and policies practiſed wythin this Realme agaynſt the church of Rome, they needed not to haue loſt you, but that they thought rather as frendes to reconcile you, then as enemies to infeſt you. For they wanted not great offers of the moſt mighty Potentates in all Europe to haue ayded the Church in that quarel. † Then marke the ſequele. There ſeemed by theſe chaũges to ryſe a great face of ryches and gayne, which in prouſe came to great miſery and lacke. See how God then can confound the wiſedome of the wiſe, and turne vniuſt policie to mere folly, and that thyng that ſemed to be done for reliefe, was cauſe of playne ruine and decay. Yet ſee that goodnes of God, which at no tyme fayled vs, but moſt benignlye offered hys grace, when it was of our partes leaſt ſought, and worſt deſerued.

† Would God all mẽ would well marke the ſequele, what commeth of auarice, carnall affection, & wordly policie in your kingdome.

And when all lyght of true religion ſemed vtterly extinct, as the Churches defaced, the aultars ouerthrowen, the Miniſters corrupted: euẽ lyke as in a lampe the light being couered, yet it is not quenched, euen ſo in a few remayned the confeſſion of Chriſtes fayth, namely in the breſt of the Queenes excellency, of whom to ſpeake without adulation, the ſaying of the Prophet may be verifyed: Ecce quaſi derelicta.

And ſee how miraculouſly God of hys goodnes preſerued her highnes, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conſpired againſt her, and policies were deuiſed to diſherite her, and armed power prepared to deſtroy her, yet ſhe beyng a Vyrgin, helples, naked and vnarmed, preuayled, and had the victory of Tyrauntes, which is not to bee aſcribed to any * policy of man, but to the almighty great goodnes and prouidence of God, to whom the honour is to be geuen. And therefore it may be ſayd: Da gloriam Deo. For in mans iudgement, on her Graces part, was nothyng in appearance, but deſpayre.

* What policy is this, to make promiſe to get ſtrength and then to breake it as the Queene dyd?

And yet for all theſe practiſes & deuiſes of ill mẽ, here you ſee her grace eſtabliſhed in her eſtate, beyng your lawful Queene & Gouerneſſe, borne among you, whom God hath appoynted to raygne ouer you for the reſtitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errours and ſectes. And to confyrme her Grace the more ſtrongly in thys enterpriſe, loe how the prouidence of God hath ioyned her in mariage wyth a Prince of lyke religion, who beyng a Kyng of great myght, armour, and force, yet vſeth towardes you neyther armour nor force, but ſeeketh you by the way of loue and amitie: in which reſpecte great cauſe you haue to geue thankes to almighty God, that hath ſent you ſuch catholicke Gouernours. It ſhall be therfore your part agayne, to loue, obey, & ſerue them.

And as it was a ſingular fauour of God to conioyne them in mariage: ſo it is not to be doubted, but that hee ſhall ſend them * iſſue, for the comfort and ſurety of thys common wealth. Of all Princes in Europe, the Emperour hath trauayled moſt in the cauſe of religion, as it appeareth by hys actes in Germany: yet happely by ſome ſecrete iudgement of God, he hath not atchieued the end. With whom in my iourney hetherwardes I had conference touching my Legation, whereof when he had vnderſtanding, he ſhewed great appearance of moſt earneſt ioy and gladnes, ſaying, that it reioyced him no leſſe of the reconcilement of this Realme vnto Chriſtian vnity, then

* The Cardinall here appeareth to be a falſe Prophet.

then that hys ſonne was placed by Mariage in the kingdome. And moſt glad he was of al, that the occaſion thereof ſhoulde come by me, beyng an Engliſh man borne, which is, as it were, to call home our ſelues. I can well compare hym to Dauid, which though hee were a man elect of God: yet for that he was contaminate with bloud & warre, he could not buyld the temple of Hieruſalem, but left the finiſhyng thereof to Salomon, which was Rex pacificus. So may it be thought, that the appeaſing of controuerſies of religion in Chriſtianitie, is not appoynted to this Emperour, but rather to hys ſonne, who ſhall performe the buylding that hys Father hath begonne. which Church cannot be perfectly builded without vniuerſally in all Realmes we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge hym to be the Vicar of God, and to haue power from aboue. For all power is of God, according to the ſaying: Non eſt poteſtas, niſi a Deo. And therefore I conſider that all power, beyng in God, yet for the conſeruation of quiet and godly lyfe in the world, he hath deriued that power frõ aboue into two partes here in earth: which is into the power Imperiall & Eccleſiaſtical. And theſe two powers, as they be ſeuerall & diſtinct, ſo haue they two ſeuerall effectes and operations. For Secular Princes, to whom the Temporall ſwoord is committed, be Miniſters of God to execute vengeaunce vpon tranſgreſſours and euyl liuers, and to preſerue the wel doers and Innocentes from iniury & violence. which power is repreſented in theſe two moſt excellent Perſons, the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties here preſent, who haue thys power committed vnto them immediately from God, wythout any Superiour in that behalfe.

Charles the Emperour compared to Dauid.

Two powers in earth: eccleſiaſtical, and Imperiall.

The other power is of miniſtration, which is the power of the keyes, and order in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, whych is by the authority of Gods word, and examples of the Apoſtles, and of all old holy Fathers from Chriſt hetherto, attributed and geuen to the Apoſtolike Sea of Rome by ſpeciall prerogatiue. From which Sea, I am here deputed Legate and Ambaſſadour, hauyng full and ample Cõmiſſion from thence, and haue the keyes committed to my handes. I confeſſe to you that I haue the keyes, not as myne own keyes, but as the keyes of hym that ſent me: and yet cannot open, not for want of power in me to geue, but for certaine impedimentes in you to receiue, which muſt be taken away before my Cõmiſſion cã take effect. Thys I proteſt before you, my Cõmiſſion is not of preiudice to any perſon. I come not to deſtroy, but to build, I come to reconcile, not to condemne, I come not to compel, but to cal againe, I am not come to call any thyng in queſtion already done, but my Cõmiſſion is of grace and clemency, to ſuch as wyll receiue it. For touching all matters that be paſt, they ſhall be as thynges caſt into the Sea of forgetfulnes.

The power of the keyes clerkely declared.

The popes keyes ſent by the Cardinall.

But the meane whereby you ſhall receyue thys benefyte, is to reuoke and repeale thoſe lawes and ſtatutes, which be impedimentes, blockes and barres to the execution of my Cõmiſſion. For like as I my ſelfe had neither place nor voyce to ſpeake here among you, but was to al reſpectes a baniſhed man, till ſuch tyme as ye had repealed thoſe lawes that lay in my way: euen ſo cannot you receyue the benefyte and grace offered from the Apoſtolike Sea, vntyll the abrogation of ſuch lawes, whereby you haue diſioyned and diſſeuered your ſelues from the vnity of Chriſtes church.

The popes keyes can not worke in England, before the lockes of good lawes be chaunged.

It remayneth therefore, that you lyke true Chriſtians and prouident men, for the weale of your ſoules and bodyes, ponder what is to bee done in this ſo weyghty a cauſe, and ſo to frame your actes and procedinges, as they may tend fyrſt to the glory of God, and next to the cõſeruation of your common wealth, ſurety, & quietnes.

The next day after, ỷ thrée Eſtates aſſembled again in the great Chamber of the Court at Weſtminſter: where the Kyng and Quéenes Maieſties, and the Cardinall being preſent, they dyd exhibite (ſittyng all on their knées) a Supplication to their hyghneſſes, the tenour whereof enſueth.

*The Cardinall here appeareth to be a falſe Prophet.

The copy of the Supplication and Submiſſion exhibited to the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties, by the Lordes and Commons of the Parlament.

The ſupplication & ſubmiſſion of the Lordes & Commons, to the king & Queenes maieſties.

We the Lordes Spiritual, & Temporall, & the Commons of this preſent Parlament aſſembled, repreſenting the whole body of the Realme of England, and Dominions of the ſame, in our owne names particularly, and alſo of the ſayd body vniuerſally in this Supplication directed to your Maieſtyes, wyth moſt humble ſuite, that it may by your gracious interceſſion and meane bee exhybyted to the moſt Reuerende Father in God, the Lorde Cardinall Poole Legate, ſent ſpecially hyther from our moſt holy Father Pope Iulio the thirde, and the Sea Apoſtolike of Rome, doe declare our ſelues very ſory and repentaunt for the Schiſme and diſobedience committed in this Realme and the Dominions of the ſame, agaynſt the ſayd Sea Apoſtolyke, eyther by makyng, agreeing, or executyng any Lawes, Ordinaunces, or Commaundementes agaynſt the Supremacie of the ſayd Sea, or otherwyſe doing or ſpeakyng that might impugne the ſame: Offeryng our ſelues, and promiſing by this our Supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our ſayd repentaunce, wee bee and ſhall bee alway ready, vnder and wyth the authorities of your Maieſties, to the vttermoſt of our power, to doe that ſhall bee in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of the ſayd Lawes and Ordinaunces in this preſent Parliament, as well for our ſelues, as for the whole body, whom we repreſent.

O great ſorow and deepe repentaunce.

where vpon we moſt humbly beſech your Maieſties, as perſons vndefyled in the offence of this body towardes the ſayd Sea, which neuertheleſſe God by his prouydence hath made ſubiect to your Maieſtyes: ſo to ſet foorth this our moſt humble ſuite, that we may obtayne from the Sea Apoſtolyke, by the ſayd moſt Reuerend Father, as well particularly as vniuerſally, *Abſolution, Releaſe, and Diſcharge* from all daunger of ſuch Cenſures, & ſentences, as by the Lawes of the Church, we be fallen in: and that we may, as Children repentaunt, be receaued into the boſome and vnity of Chriſtes Church, ſo as this noble Realme, wyth all the members thereof, may in vnity and perfect obedience to the Sea Apoſtolike, and Popes for the tyme being, ſerue God and your Maieſties, to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of his honour, and glory. Amen.

The Popes abſolution can not come, but by interceſſion of Kinges and Queenes.

The Supplication being read, the King & Queene delyuered the ſame vnto the Cardinall, who (perceyuyng the effect thereof to aunſwere hys expectation) dyd receiue the ſame moſt gladly from their Maieſties: and after hee had in fewe wordes geuen thankes to God, and declared what great cauſe hee had to reioice aboue all others, that his comming from Rome into England had taken moſt happy ſucceſſe: hée by the Popes authority did geue them this abſolution folowing.

The ſupplication geuen vp by the king and Queene to the Cardinall.

An abſolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole, to the whole Parliament of England, in the preſence of the Kyng and Queene.

OUr Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which with his moſt precious bloud hath redeemed and waſhed vs from all our ſinnes and iniquities, that hee might purchaſe vnto hym ſelfe a glorious Spouſe wythout ſpot or wrinckle, and whom the father hath appointed head ouer all his Church: he by his mercy abſolue you. And we by Apoſtolike authoritie, geuen vnto vs by the moſt holy Lorde Pope Iulius the thyrd, (hys Vicegerent in earth) do abſolue and delyuer you and euery of you, wyth the whole Realme and the Dominions thereof, from all Hereſy and Schiſme, and from al and euery iudgementes, Cenſures, and paynes, for that cauſe incurred: and alſo wee do reſtore you agayne, vnto the vnyty of our mother the holy Church: as in our Letters more playnly it ſhal appeare: In the name of the Father, of the Sonne, & of the holy Ghoſt.

Abſolutiõ from the Pope geuē to the Realme of England.

Chriſtes abſolution not ſufficient, without the Popes be ioyned withall.

When all thys was done, they went into the Chappell, and there ſyngyng Te Deum, wyth great ſolemnity, declared the ioy and gladnes that for thys reconciliation was pretended.

England brought from Gods bleſſing to the warme Sunne.

The reporte of this was wyth great ſpéede ſent vnto Rome, as well by the Kyng and Cardinals letters, which hereafter follow: as alſo otherwyſe. Whereupon the Pope cauſed there at Rome, Proceſſions to be made, and thankes to be geuen to God with great ioye, for the conuerſion of England to hys Church: and therefore praiſing the Cardinals diligence, and the deuotion of the Kyng and Quéene, on Chriſtmas euen,

Great ioy at Rome for the conuerſion of England.

euen, by hys Bulles he ſet foorth a generall pardon to all ſuch as dyd truly reioyce for the ſame.

¶A copy of king Philips letter, writtẽ with his own hand to Pope Iulius, touching the reſtoring of the Realme of England.

Nouemb. 30.

K. Phillips letter to the Pope, tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh.

MOſt holy Father, I wrote yeſterday vnto Don Iohn Maurique, that he ſhould declare by word of mouth or els write to your holines, in what good ſtate ẏ matter of religion ſtoode in thys Realme, and of the ſubmiſſion to your holynes, as to the chiefe. As this day, whych is the feaſt of S. Andrew, late in the euenyng, we haue done God that ſeruice, (to whoſe onely goodnes we muſt impute it, and to your holynes, who haue taken ſo great payne to gayne theſe ſoules) that this Realme wyth ful and generall conſent of all them that repreſent the ſtate, being very penitent for that was paſt, and well bent to that they come to doe, ſubmitted them ſelues to your holynes, and to that holy Sea, whom, at the requeſt of the Queene and me, your Legate dyd abſolue. And for as much as the ſayd Don Iohn, ſhall ſignifie vnto your holines, all that paſſed in this matter, I wyll wryte no more thereof, but onely that the Queene and I, as moſt faythfull and deuout children of your holynes, haue receyued the greateſt ioy and comfort hereof, that may be expreſſed wyth tounge: Conſidering, that beſides the ſeruice done to God hereby, it hath chaunced in the tyme of your holynes, to place as it were in the lap of the holy & catholike Church, ſuch a kingdome as thys is. And therefore I thinke I can not be thankefull inough for that is done thys day. And I truſt in hym, that your holynes ſhall alway vnderſtãd, that the holy Sea hath not had a more obedient Sonne then I, nor more deſirous to preſerue and encreaſe the authoritie of the ſame. God guyde and proſper the moſt holy perſonage of your holynes, as I deſyre. From London the. xxx. of Nouember. 1554.

Your holineſſe moſt humble
Sonne, the Kyng. &c.

¶Here foloweth lykewiſe the Cardinals letter to the ſayd Pope concernyng the ſame matter.

The Cardinalls letter to the Pope for the reclaiming agayne of England to hys Sea.

THoſe thynges which I wrote vnto your holynes of late, of that hope, which I truſted woulde come to paſſe, that in ſhort ſpace this Realme would be reduced to the vnitie of the Church and obedience of the Apoſtolicke Sea, though I did write them not without great cauſe: yet neuertheleſſe, I could not be voyde of all feare, not onely for that difficultie, whiche the myndes of our cõtrey men did ſhew, beyng ſo long alienated from the Sea Apoſtolicke, and for the old hatred, which they had borne ſo many yeares to that name: but much more I feared, leſt the firſt entrye into the cauſe it ſelfe, ſhoulde be put of by ſome other bye matter or conuention commyng betwixt.

For the auoydyng wherof, I made great meanes to the Kyng and Queene, which litle needed, for theyr own Godly forwardnes, and earneſt deſire to bring the thing to paſſe, farre ſurmounted my great and earneſt expectation. This day in the euenyng, beyng S. Andrewes day, (who firſt brought his brother Peter to Chriſt) it is come to paſſe by the prouidencẽ of God, that this Realme is reclaymed to geue due obedience to Peters Seate & your holynes, by whoſe meanes it may be cõioyned to Chriſt the head, and his body, which is the Church. The thyng was done and concluded in Parlament (the Kyng and Queene beyng preſent) with ſuch full conſent and great reioyſing, that incontinently after I had made my Oration, and geuen the Benediction, with a great ioye and ſhout, there was diuers tymes ſayd, Amen, Amen: which doth euidently declare, that that holy ſeede, although it hath bene long oppreſſed, yet was not vtterly quenched in them: which chiefly was declared in the * Nobilitie. Returnyng home to my houſe, theſe thynges I wrote vnto your holynes vppon the ſodeyne reioyſing that I had of ſo weyghty a matter, ſo luckely brought to paſſe by the Diuine prouidence, thinkyng to haue ſent my letters by the Kynges Poſt, who (as it was ſayd) ſhould haue departed ſhortly: but afterwardes chaungyng my purpoſe, when I had determined to ſend one of myne owne men, I thought good to adde thus much to my Letters, for the more ample gratulation and reioyſing at that good chaũce: which thing as it was ryght great gladnes to me, through the euent of the ſame (beyng it ſelfe very great, and ſo holy, ſo profitable to the whole Churche, ſo healthſome to this my Countrey, which brought me forth, ſo honourable to the ſame, which receiued me) ſo lykewiſe I tooke no leſſe reioyſing of the Princes thẽ ſelues, through whoſe vertue and Godlines, the matter dyd take ſucceſſe and perfection. Of how many and how great thinges may the Church (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt and our mother) make her accompt through theſe her Childrẽ? Oh notable zeale of Godlynes, Oh auncient Fayth, which vndoubtedly doth ſo manifeſtly appeare in them both, that who ſo ſeeth them, muſt nedes (whether he will or no) ſay the ſame which the Prophet ſpake of, of the firſt children of the Church: Iſti ſunt ſemen, cui benedixit Dominus. Hæc plantatio Domini ad gloriandum. That is: *Theſe are the ſede which the Lord hath bleſſed. This is the Lordes plantyng to glory in.* How holyly dyd your holines with all your authoritie & earneſt affection fauour this mariage? which truly ſemeth to expreſſe a great ſimilitude of that higheſt king, which beyng heyre of ẏ world, was ſent down by his father, frõ the Regal Seate, to be ſpouſe & ſonne of ẏ Virgin, & by this meanes to comfort all mãkynd: for euen ſo this kyng him ſelfe, the greateſt heyre of all men which are in the earth, leauyng his fathers kingdomes that are moſt great, is come into this litle kyngdome and is become both the ſpouſe, and ſonne of this virgine (for he ſo behaueth hym ſelfe as though he were a ſonne, whereas in dede he is an huſband) that he might (as he hath in effect already performed) ſhew him ſelfe an ayde and helper to recõcile this people to Chriſt, and his body which is the Church. which thynges, ſeyng they are ſo, what may not our mother the Church her ſelfe looke for at his handes that hath brought this to paſſe to conuerte the hartes of the fathers towardes their ſonnes, and the vnbeleuers to the wiſedome of the righteous, which vertue truly doth wonderfully ſhine in hym. But the Queene, which at that tyme when your holynes ſent me Legate vnto her, did riſe vp as a rod of incenſe ſpringyng out of the trees of Myrre and as Frankencenſe out in the deſert: ſhe I ſay, which a litle before was forſaken of all mẽ, how wonderfully doth ſhe now ſhyne? what a ſauour of Myrre and Frankenſence doth ſhe geue foorth vnto her people? which (as the Prophet ſayth of the mother of Chriſt) brought foorth before ſhe laboured, before ſhe was deliuered brought forth a mã child. who euer heard of ſuch a thyng? and who hath ſene the lyke of this? ſhall the earth bryng forth in one day, or ſhall a whole nation be brought forth together? But ſhe hath now brought forth a whole nation before the tyme of that deliuery, wherof we are in moſt great hope.

Oh diſſimulation of a flattering Cardinall.

What ſimilitude is betwixte light and darknes. 2. Cor. 6.

Cardinall *Poole* flattereth the kyng.

Scripture well applyed.

How great cauſe is geuen to vs to reioyce? How great cauſe haue we to geue thankes to Gods mercy, your holynes, and the Emperours Maieſty, which haue bene cauſers of ſo happy and ſo Godly a Mariage, by which we beyng recõciled, are ioyned to God the father, to Chriſt, and to the Church? of the which, although I can not comprehend in wordes the ioy that I haue takẽ, yet I can not kepe ſilence of it. And to this my reioyſing, this alſo was ioyned (which when I had perceiued by the letters of the Reuerend Archbyſhop of Conſane, your holynes Nuncio, with the Emperours Maieſty, brought me marueilous great gladnes) that your ſayd holynes began to reſtore to the auncient beauty, thoſe thynges whiche in the Church of Rome through the corruption of tymes were deformed, which truely when it ſhalbe finiſhed, then in dede may we wel cry out with the Prophet, and ſpeake vnto your holynes with theſe wordes. Exue te ſtola luctus & vexationis, & iudue te decore, qui a deo tibi eſt in gloria ſempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a deo ſempiternum, pax Iuſtitiæ, & honor pietatis. Tum autem dicetur, circumſpice & vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente ſole, vſq; in occidentem, verbo ſancto gaudentẽ. That is: *Put of the ſtole of ſorow and vexation, and put on comelynes, which thou haſt of God in euerlaſtyng glory. For thy name ſhalbe named of God euerlaſtyng, peace of righteouſnes, and honour of Godlines: and then it ſhalbe ſayd: looke about and ſee thy ſonnes gathered together from the ſonne ryſing to the goyng downe of the ſame, reioyſing in the holy worde.* There is nothyng truly (to ſpeake of thy children gathered together in ẏ weſt, which prepare them ſelues to meete theyr mother) whiche they had rather ſee, then her, apparelled (that I may vſe the wordes of the Prophet) in that garmẽt of righteouſnes, wherwith God adourned her in tymes paſt. This one thyng remaineth, that your holynes ioy, and the ioy of all the vniuerſall Church may be perfited, whiche together with vs her vnworthy children, ceaſeth not to pray to God for it.

The ſcripture ſpeakyng of Syon and Ieruſalem, wrongly applyed to the Pope.

*The Popes authoritie as much welcome to the Nobilitie of England, as water into the ſhippe.

The almighty God preſerue your holynes long to continue in health, for the profite of hys Churche. From London the laſt of Nouember. 1554.

Your moſt humble ſeruaunt
Reginald Poole Cardinall.

Decemb. 2.

A Sermon of Steuen Gardiner preached at Paules Croſſe.

Upon the Sonday followyng, beyng the .ij. of December, the biſhop of Wynchester Lord Chauncelour of England preached at Paules Croſſe, at whych Sermon was preſent ẏ Kyng, & Cardinall Poole. He tooke for hys Theame thys part of the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Romaines the .xiij. chapt: *This alſo we know the ſeaſon (brethren) that we ſhould now awake out of ſleepe, for now is our ſaluation nearer, then when we beleued. &c.*

Some notes whereof as they came to my handes (faythfully gathered, as it appeareth by ſundry copies) I haue here thought good to ſet forth.

A dreaming ſermon of the B. of Winchester.

Fyrſt, he ſhewed how the ſaying of S. Paule was verified vpon the Gentiles, who had a long tyme ſlept in darke ignoraunce not knowyng God: therfore S. Paul (quoth he) to ſtyrre vp theyr heauy dulnes, willed them to awake out of theyr long ſleepe, becauſe theyr ſaluation was nearer, then when they beleued. In amplyfying thys matter, & comparing our times with theirs: he tooke occaſion to declare what differēce the Iewiſh Sacramentes had, from thoſe of the Chriſtians, wherin he vſed theſe wordes:

Euen as the ſacramentes of the Iewes did declare Chriſt to come, ſo do our ſacramentes declare Chriſt to be already come: but Chriſt to come, and Chriſt to be come is not all one. For now that he is come, ẏ Iewes ſacramentes bee done away, and ours onely remayne, which declare that he is already come, and is nerer vs, then he was the Fathers of the old law: for they had hym but in ſignes, but we haue hym in the Sacrament of the aultar, euen hys very body. Wherefore now alſo it is time that we awake out of our ſleepe, who haue ſlept, or rather dreamed theſe .xx. yeares paſt, as ſhall more eaſely appeare by declaryng at large ſome of the properties and effectes of a ſleepe or dreame. And firſt, as men intending to ſleepe, do ſeperate them ſelues frō company, and deſire to bee alone: euen ſo haue we ſeperated our ſelues from the ſea Apoſtolicke of Rome, & haue bene alone, no Realme in Chriſtendome like vs.

Secondly, as in ſleepe men dreame ſometime of killing, ſometyme of maymning, ſometyme of drownyng or burnyng, ſometyme of ſuch beaſtlynes as I wyll not name, but wyll ſpare your eares: ſo haue we in thys our ſleepe, not onely dreamed of beaſtlynes, but we haue done it in deede. For in thys our ſleepe, hath not one brother deſtroyed an other? Hath not halfe our money bene wyped away at one tyme? And agayn thoſe that would defend theyr conſcience, were ſlayne: and others alſo otherwyſe troubled, beſides infinite other thynges, which you all know as well as I: whereof I reporte me to your owne conſciences.

Winchest. very expert (as it appeareth) in ghoſtly dreames.

Farther, in a mans ſleepe all hys ſenſes are ſtopped, ſo that he cā neither ſee, ſmell, nor heare: euen ſo whereas the ceremonies of ẏ church were inſtituted to moue and ſtyrre vp our ſenſes, they beyng taken away, were not our ſenſes (as ye would ſay) ſtopped, and we faſt a ſleepe? Moreouer, when a man would gladly ſleepe, he wyll put forth the candell, leaſt peraduenture it may let hys ſleepe, & awake hym. So of late, all ſuch writers as dyd hold any thyng wyth the Apoſtolike Sea, were condemned, & forbydden to be read, & Images (which were *lay mens bookes) were caſt downe and broken.

Who putteth out the candell, but they which remoue Gods word and forbid the Scriptures that ſhould geue vs light.

*They forbid lay mens bookes, but you forbid the booke of God.

This ſlepe hath continued with vs theſe .xx. yeares, and we all that while without a head. For when kyng Henry did firſt take vpō hym to be head of the Church, it was then no Church at all. After whoſe death, kyng Edward (hauyng ouer hym Gouernours and Protectours, which ruled as them lyſted) could not be head of the Church, but was onely a ſhadow or ſigne of a head: and at length it came to paſſe, that we had no head at all, no, not ſo much as our .ij. Archbyſhops. For on the one ſide, the Queene being a woman could not be head of the Church, and on the other ſide they both were cōuicted of one crime and ſo depoſed. Thus, while we deſired to haue a ſupreme head amōg vs, it came to paſſe that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the North in the tyme of kyng Henry the viij. (I am ſure) the kyng was determined to haue geuen ouer the ſupremacie agayne to the Pope: but the houre was not then come, and therfore it went not forward, leſt ſome would haue ſayd, that he did it for feare.

Then belike Chriſt is no head at all to geue lyfe to his Church, vnleſſe the Popes head alſo be clapt on the Churches ſhoulders.

After this M. Keneuet and I were ſent Embaſſadours vnto the Emperour, to deſire him that he would be a meane betwen the Popes holynes and the kyng, to bryng the kyng to the obediēce of the Sea of Rome: but the time was neither yet come. For it might haue bene ſayd, ẏ it had bene done for a ciuill policie. Agayn, in the begynnyng of kyng Edwardes raigne, the matter was moued, but the tyme was not yet: for it would haue bene ſayd that the kyng (beyng but a child) had bene bought and ſolde. Neither in the begynnyng of the Queenes raigne was the houre come. For it would haue bene ſayd that it was done in a tyme of weakenes. Likewiſe when the king firſt came, if it had bene done, they might haue ſayd it had bene by force and violence. But now, euē now, *hora eſt, the houre is come, when nothyng cā be obiected, but that it is the mere mercy and prouidence of God. Now hath the Popes holynes, Pope Iulius the iij. ſent vnto vs this moſt reuerend father, Cardinall Poole, an Ambaſſadour from his ſide. What to do? not to reuenge the iniuries done by vs againſt his holynes: ſed benedicere maledicentibus, to geue his benedictiō to thoſe which defamed and perſecuted hym.

*Imo poteſtas tenebrarum.

Ste. Gardiner claweth the Cardinall.

And that we may be the more meete to receaue ẏ ſaid benediction, I ſhall deſire you that we may all acknowledge our ſelues offenders agaynſt his holynes. I do not exclude my ſelfe forth of the nomber. I will flere cum flentibus, & gaudere cum gaudētibus, that is: *Wepe with them that weepe, and reioyce with them whiche reioyce.* And I ſhall deſire you, that we may differre the matter no lenger, for now hora eſt, the houre is come. The kyng and the Queenes Maieſties haue already reſtored our holy father the Pope to hys ſupremacy: and the three eſtates aſſembled in the Parliament, repreſentyng the whole body of the Realme, haue alſo ſubmitted them ſelues to his holynes and his ſucceſſours *for euer. Wherfore let not vs any lenger ſtay. And euē as S. Paul ſayd to ẏ Corinthians, that he was their father, ſo may the Pope ſay that he is our father: for we receiued our doctrine firſt from Rome, therfore may he chalenge vs as his owne. We haue all cauſe to reioyce, for his holynes hath ſent hether, and preuented vs before we ſought hym: ſuch care hath he for vs. Therfore let vs ſay, Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea. Reioyce in this day which is of the Lordes workyng: that ſuch a noble mā of byrth is come, yea ſuch a holy father (I meane my Lord Cardinall Poole) which can ſpeake vnto vs, as vnto brethren, and not as vnto ſtraungers: who hath a long tyme bene abſent. And let vs now awake, which ſo long haue ſlept, and in our ſlepe haue done ſo much naughtynes agaynſt the Sacramentes of Chriſt, denying the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and pulled downe the *altars, which thyng Luther hym ſelfe would not do, but rather reproued them that did, examinyng them of their belief in Chriſt.

Note how the meaning of S. Paules wordes is here applyed.

*For euer Winchester a falſe prophet.

S. Paul though he was the father of many Churches in Chriſt Ieſu: yet was he neuer ſo arrogant to take vpon hym to be ſupreme head of any Church, but left that ſolely to Chriſt, and laboured to bryng all vnder hym.

*So Ezechias pulled down the hill altars, which Manaſſes afterward dyd ſet vp: and yet we cōmend the doinges of Ezechias, and diſproue the facte of the other.

This was the ſūme of his Sermon before hys prayers, wherin he prayed, firſt for the Pope, Pope Iulius the iij. withall his Colledge of Cardinals, the B. of Lōdon with the reſt of that order: then for the Kyng and Queene, and the Nobilitie of this realme, & laſt for the cōmons of the ſame, with the ſoules departed, lying in the paines of Purgatory. This ended (the tyme beyng late) they began in Paules to ryng to their Euenyng ſōg, wherby ẏ preacher could not be well heard, which cauſed him to make a ſhort end of this clerkly Sermō.

About this very time a Poſt or Meſſenger was ſent from the whole Parlament to the Pope, to deſire hym to confirme and eſtabliſh the ſale of Abbey landes and Chauntrie landes: For the Lordes and the Parlamẽt woulde graunt nothing in the Popes behalfe before theyr purchaſes were fully confirmed.

Decemb. 6.

The Chapter of Paules abſolued by the Cardinall.

Upon the Thurſday following, beyng the. vi. day of December, and S. Nicholas day, all the whole Conuocation both Biſhops & other, were ſent for to Lambeth to the Cardinall, who the ſame day forgaue them all theyr periurations, ſchiſmes, and hereſies, and they all there kneled downe and receyued hys abſolution, and after an exhortation and gratulation for theyr conuerſion to the catholike church, made by the Cardinall, they departed.

Decemb. 12.

The Queſt men of M. Throgmorton put to their fine, and deliuered.

Upon the Wedenſday being the. xii. of December, fyue of the. viii. men (which lay in the Fleete, that were of Maiſter Throgmortons queſt) were diſcharged & ſet at liberty vpon theyr fine payd, which was. cc. xx. li. a peece, and the other foure put vp a Supplication, therin declaryng, that theyr goodes dyd not amount to the ſume that they were appoynted to pay, and ſo vpon that declaration paying. lx. li. a peece, they were deliuered out of pryſon vpon S. Thomas day before Chriſtmas, beyng the. xxi. of December.

Decemb. 22.

Upon the Saterday folowing, beyng the. xxii. of December, all the whole Parlament had ſtraite cõmaundement, that none of them ſhould depart into their cũtrey thys Chriſtmas, nor before the Parlament were ended. Which commaundement was wonderful contrary to all theyr expectations. For as well manye of the Lordes, as alſo many of the inferiour ſort had ſent for theyr horſe, and had them brought hyther.

Decemb. 28.

Upon the Friday following, being the. xxviii. of December and Childermas day, the Prince of Piedmont came to the court at Weſtminſter.

AN. 1155.

An. 1555.

January. 1.

M. Roſe with 30. perſons taken at a Communion in Bow Churchyeard.

Upon Newyeares day at nyght following, certaine honeſt men and women of the Citie, to the number of xxx. and a Miniſter wyth thẽ named M. Roſe, were taken as they were in a houſe in Bow churchyard at the Communion, and the ſame night they were all cõmytted to priſon. And on the Thurſday followyng, beyng the third day of January, Maiſter Roſe was before the biſhop of Wincheſter being Lord Chauncelour, and from thence the ſame day he was cõmitted to the Tower, after certayne communication had betwene the Biſhop and hym.

January. 3.

The Acte of ſupremacie paſſed in the Parlament.

A ſtyrre betwene the Spanyardes and Engliſh men, at Weſtminſter.

The ſame day the Acte for the Supremacie paſt the Parlament. Alſo the ſame day at night was a great tumult betwene Spaniardes & Engliſhmẽ at Weſtminſter, whereof was lyke to haue enſued great miſchiefe through a Spaniſh Frier, which got into the Church, and rong Alarum. The occaſion was about. ii. whores which were in the Cloyſter of Weſtminſter with a ſort of Spaniardes, whereof whileſt ſome playde the knaues wyth them, other ſome dyd keepe the entrey of the cloyſter wyth Dagges in harneys. In the meane time certayne of the Deanes men came into the Cloiſter, and the Spaniardes diſcharged their Dagges at them, and hurt ſome of them. By and by the noyſe of thys doing came into the ſtreetes, ſo that al the whole towne was vp almoſt, but neuer a ſtroke was ſtricken. Notwythſtanding the noyſe of this doing with the Deanes men, and alſo the ringing of the Alarum made much ado, and a great number alſo to be ſore afrayd.

Read before pag. 1647.

Ye heard a lytle before the Counſels letter ſent to B. Boner, ſignifying the good newes of Queene Mary to be not onely conceaued, but alſo quicke with chylde, which was in the moneth of Nouemb. the. xxviii. day. Of thys child great talke began at thys tyme to ryſe in euery mans mouth, wyth buſy preparation, and much adoe, eſpecially amongeſt ſuch as ſeemed in England to cary Spaniſh harts in Engliſh bodies. In number of whom here is not to bee forgotten, nor defrauded of hys condigne commendation for hys worthy affection toward his Prince and her iſſue, one Sir Rich. Southwell: who being the ſame tyme in the Parlamẽt houſe, when as the Lordes were occupied in other affayres and matters of importance, ſodainly ſtarting vp, for fulnes of ioy, braſte out in theſe wordes folowing: Tuſh my Maiſters (quoth he) what talke ye of theſe matters? I would haue you take ſome order for our young Maiſter that is now cõming into the worlde apaſe, leſt he finde vs vnprouided. &c. By the which wordes both of hym, & alſo by ỹ forſayd letters of the Counſell, and the common talke abroade, it may appeare what an aſſured opinion was then conceaued in mens heades of Queene Mary to be conceaued and quicke with child: In ſo much that at the ſame tyme, and in the ſame Parlament, there was eftſoones a byll exhibited, and an Act made vpon the ſame, the wordes whereof, for the more euidẽce, I thought here to exemplificate as vnder followeth.

The wordes of Sir Richard Southwell in the Parlamẽt houſe, touching hys younge Maiſter.

¶ The wordes of the Acte.

Ex Statut. an. 1. & 2. Philip. et Maria. ca. 10.

The iudgement of the Parlamẽt deceaued in Gods bleſſing.

Order take by Parlament for Q. Maries childe.

Trust and appoyntm.

ALbeit we the Lordes ſpirituall and temporal, and the cõmons in this preſent Parlament aſſembled, haue firme hope and confidence in the goodnes of almighty God, that like as he hath hetherto miraculouſly preſerued the Queenes Maieſtie frõ many great imminent perils & dãgers: euen ſo he will of his infinite goodnes, giue her highnes ſtrength, the rather by our continuall prayers, to paſſe well the daunger of deliuerãce of child, wherwith it hath pleaſed hym (to al our great cõfortes) to bleſſe her: Yet for as much as al thynges of this world be vncertain, & hauing before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconſtant gouernement duryng the tyme of the reigne of the late kyng Edward the ſixt: do playnly ſee the manifold inconueniences, great daungers and perils that may enſue to this whole Realme, if foreſight be not vſed to preuent all euill chaunces if they ſhould happen: For the eſchewyng hereof we the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall and the commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, for and in conſideration of a moſt ſpecial truſt and confidence that we haue and repoſe in the kynges Maieſtie, for and concerning the politicke gouernement, order, and adminiſtration of this Realme in the tyme of the young yeares of the iſſue or iſſues of her Maieſties body to be borne, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the Queenes highnes out of this preſent lyfe duryng the tender yeares of ſuch iſſue or iſſues (which God forbyd) accordyng to ſuch order and maner as hereafter in this preſent Act his hyghnes moſt gracious pleaſure is ſhould be declared and ſet forth: haue made our moſt humble ſute by the aſſent of the Queenes highnes, that his Maieſtie would vouchſafe to accept and take vpon hym the rule, order, education, and gouernement of the ſayd iſſue or iſſues to be borne, as is aforeſayd, vpõ which our ſute beyng of his ſayd Maieſtie moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his highnes not onely to declare, that like as for the firſt part his Maieſty verely truſteth that almighty God (who hath hetherto preſerued the Queenes Maieſtie) to gyue this Realme ſo good an hope of certaine ſucceſſion in the bloud royall of the ſame Realme, will aſſiſte her highnes with his graces and benedictiõs, to ſee the fruite of her body wel brought forth, lyue, and hable to gouerne (wherof neither all this Realme, ne all the world beſides, ſhould or could receiue more comfort then his Maieſtie ſhould and would) yet if ſuch chaunce ſhould happen his Maieſtie at our humble deſires is pleaſed and contented, not onely to accept and take vpon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, & gouernmẽt of ſuch iſſues as of this moſt happy Mariage ſhall bee borne betwene the Queenes highnes and hym: but alſo during the tyme of ſuch gouernement, would by alwayes and meanes ſtudy, trauaile, and employ hym ſelfe to aduaunce the weale both publicke and priuate of this Realme and dominions therunto belongyng, accordyng to the ſayd truſt in his Maieſtie repoſed, with no leſſe good will and affection, then if his hyghnes had bene naturally borne amongeſt vs. In conſideration wherof be it enacted by the Kyng and the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſties, by the aſſent of the Lordes ſpirituall and temperall, and the commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame. &c. as it is to be ſeene in ỹ Acte more at large ratifyed & cõfyrmed at the ſame Parlament to the ſame intent and purpoſe.

Thus much out of the Acte and Statute I thought to rehearſe, to the entent, the reader may vnderſtand, not ſo much how Parlamentes may ſometymes be deceaued

Queene Mary. 1555. January.

ceaued (as by this child of Queene Mary may appeare) as rather what cauſe we Engliſh men haue to render moſt earneſt thankes vnto almighty God, who ſo mercifully, agaynſt the opinion, expectation, & workyng of our aduerſaries, hath helped and deliuered vs in this caſe, which otherwiſe myght haue opened ſuch a wyndow to ẏ Spanyardes to haue entred and repleniſhed this land, that peraduenture by this time Engliſh men ſhould haue enioyed no great quyet in their own countrey: the Lord therfore make vs perpetually mindful of his benefites, Amen.

Thus we ſée then, how man doth purpoſe, but God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth hym. For all thys great labour, prouiſion, and order taken in the Parlament houſe for theyr young Maiſter long looked for, comming ſo ſurely into the world, in the ende appeared neyther young Maiſter, nor young Maiſtres, that any man yet to thys day can here of.

The prayers of the Papiſtes of what litle effecte they are with God.

Furthermore, as the labour of the lay ſort was herein deluded: ſo no leſſe ridiculous it was to behold what lytle effect the prayers of the Popes churchmen had wyth almighty God, who trauayled no leſſe with their Proceſſions, Maſſes, and Collectes, for the happy delyuerance of thys young Maiſter to come, as here followeth to be ſéene.

¶ A prayer made by D. Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, dayly to be ſayd for the Quenes deliuerance.

A prayer by Queene Mary and her childe, turned out of Latin into Engliſh.

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O Moſt righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the fyrſt woman, haſt threatned vnto all women, a common, ſharpe, and ineuitable maledictiõ, and haſt enioyned them that they ſhould conceaue in ſynne, and beyng conceiued, ſhould bee ſubiect to many and greuous tormentes, and finally be delyuered wyth the daunger & ieopardy of their lyfe: we beſeche thee, for thine exceding great goodnes & bottomles mercy, to mitigate ẏ ſtraightnes of that law. Aſſwage thine anger for a while: & cheariſh in the boſome of thy fauour & mercy, our moſt gracious Q. Mary, being now at ẏ point of her deliuerance. So helpe her, that without daunger of her life ſhe may ouercome the ſorow, and in due ſeaſon bring forth a chylde, in body beutifull and comely, in minde noble and valiant. So that afterward ſhe forgetting the trouble, may wyth ioy laud and prayſe the bountifulnes of thy mercy, and together wyth vs prayſe and bleſſe both thee and thy holy name, world wythout end. Thys (Oh Lorde) we deſyre thee, we beſech thee, and moſte hartely craue of thee. Heare vs oh Lord, and graunt vs our petition: Let not the enemies of thy fayth, and of thy church ſay: where is theyr God? Amen.

Ibidem

¶ A ſolemne prayer made for K. Philip and Quene Maries Child, that it may be a male childe, welfauoured and wytty. &c.

A deuoute prayer made by the Catholickes for Q. Mary being great and quicke with child.

O Moſt mighty Lord God, which regardeſt the prayer of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their requeſt, bowe downe from thine hye habitatiõ of the heauens, the eyes of thy mercy, vnto vs wretched ſynners, bowing the knees of our hartes, and wyth many and depe ſighes, bewayling our ſynnes and offences, humbly wyth eyes intent, and handes diſplayed praying, and beſeeching thee, wyth the ſhield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy ſeruaunt, and our Queene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom through thy grace thou haſt wylled to be conceiued with childe: and at the time of her trauaile graciouſly wyth the helpe of thy ryght hand delyuer her, and from all daunger wyth the childe in her conceaued, mercifully preſerue.

It hath ſeemed good in thy ſyght, mercyfull Father, by thy ſeruaunt Mary, to worke theſe wonders, that is to ſay: in her handes to vanquiſh and ouerthrow the ſtout enemy, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the handes of * Heretickes, Infidels, enemies to thee, and to the croſſe of thy beloued ſõne Ieſus Chriſt, that of thy ſeruant thou mighteſt ſpeake in farre countreyes. Therfore for theſe wonderfull workes which thou doeſt to thy ſeruauntes, thou art magnified Lord God for euer, & we thy people bleſſe thee the God of heauen, which haſt wrought vpon vs this great mercy, and haſt excluded from vs the Heretike, the enemy of truth, the perſecuter of thy church. We know, we know, that we haue greuouſly (Lord) ſynned, that we haue bene deceaued by vanity, and that we haue forſaken thee our God. Our iniquities bee multiplyed vpon our head, and our ſynnes bee increaſed vp to heauen, and we our ſelues haue offended, and our Princes, and our prieſts for theſe our ſinnes haue deſerued an hypocrite to our Prince: our ſynnes haue deſerued a Tyrant to our Gouernour, that ſhoulde bryng our lyfe to bitternes. We be not worthy to haue ſo gentle and mercifull a Quene, ſo godly a ruler, and finally ſo vertuous a Prince: at the very beginning of whoſe raygne, a new light as it were, of Gods religion, ſeemed to vs for to ſpring and riſe. The Iewes did bleſſe the widow Iudith wyth one voyce, ſaying: *Thou art the glory of Hieruſalem, thou art the ioy of Iſraell, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou haſt loued chaſtitie, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer.*

*The Papiſtes call the Proteſtantes heretickes & enemies to the croſſe of Chriſt, euen as Achab called Elias the diſturber of Iſrael, when he was onely the diſturber himſelf.

If our ſinnes had not deſerued, we ſhould not haue had ſuch cauſe ſo iuſtly to ſay, as here you ſay truely.

Q. Mary compared of the Papiſtes to Queene Iudith.

And we the Engliſh people, wyth one agreable conſent do crye: Thou Mary art the glorye of England, our ioy, the honor of thy people, for that thou haſt embraced chaſtitie: thine hart is ſtrengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, & therefore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer. But bow downe, O moſt mercifull Father, thine eare, and open thine eyes, and behold our afflictiõ, and our humble confeſſion. Thou knoweſt lord, that agaynſt Philip, not by humane, but by thy prouidence our King, and againſt thy ſeruant Mary, by thy ordinaunce our Quene, the reſtorers and maintainers of thy Teſtament and of thy faith, and moſt conſtant defenders of thy church: thou knoweſt I ſay, that againſt theſe our two Gouernours (the enemies of thy holy * Teſtament, and of the church thy ſpouſe) be moſt rancke Rebels & ſpitefull murmurers, walking after theyr luſts, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh wordes of pride, to the ende they may ſet vp the kingdome of Heretickes and Schiſmatickes. By the power of their handes they would * chaunge thy promiſes, and deſtroy thine inheritance, and ſtop and ſhut vp the mouthes of them that praiſe thee, and extinguiſh the glory of thy catholicke church and aultar.

Marke how forgetting hys prayer, he falleth to the prayſing of Q. Mary.

*The Teſtamẽt ſetteth vp onely the glory of Chriſt. Of thys glory whether the Papiſtes or Proteſtantes be greater enemyes, let the world iudge.

* If the chaũging of Gods promiſes, deſtroying hys inheritaunce, ſtopping the mouthes of Gods people, if contentions, warres, and ſchiſmes, be tokens of heretickes, who ſo great heretickes as the Papiſtes be?

It is manifeſt and playne, how many contentions how many conſpiracies, & ſeditions, how great warres, what tumultes, how many, and how great troubleſome vexations, how many hereſies and ſchiſmes (for theſe be the moſt ready deuiſes, and euident tokẽs of heretickes) for our ſinnes do hang ouer vs, if thy ſeruaunt be taken from this lyfe: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwellyng place in the myddeſt of his people, to the intent to deliuer vs out of the handes of our enemyes. Turne therfore thy countenance vnto vs, ſhew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Puniſh vs for our ſynnes accordyng to thy will & pleaſure, only now deliuer vs. We bowing ẏ knees of our hart, beſech thee that thou wilt not reſerue vnto vs puniſhment for euer, and we ſhall prayſe thee, all the dayes of our lyfe. Heare our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treaſure of thy mercy, thy gracious fauour, the ſpryng of lyuely water. Thou that haſt begon, make in the hand of the ſeruaunt a perfect worke. Suffer not, we pray thee, the * faithles rebels to ſay of thy ſeruant & her Cõuſellours, that they haue deuiſed matters which they can not performe. And graũt vnto thy ſeruaunt an happy and an eaſy trauaile. For it is not impoſſible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iuſtice, nor vnwonted to thy mercy.

*Cry vp louder you prieſtes, paraduenture your God is a ſleepe.

It is well knowen vnto vs, how marueilouſly thou thou diddeſt worke in Sara of the age of xc. yeares, and in Elizabeth the barreın, and alſo farre ſtricke in age: for thy counſell is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the ſearcher of hartes and thoughtes, thou knoweſt that thy ſeruaunt neuer luſted after man, neuer gaue her ſelfe to wanton company, nor made her ſelfe partaker with them that walke in lightnes: but ſhe conſented to take an huſband with thy feare, and not with her luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy ſeruaunt tooke an huſband, not for carnall pleaſure, but onely for the deſire and loue of poſteritie, wherin thy name might be bleſſed for euer and euer. Geue therfore vnto thy ſeruauntes, Philippe our kyng, and Mary our Queene, a male iſſue, which may ſit in the ſeate of thy kyngdome. Geue vnto our Queene thy ſeruaunt, a litle infant in faſhion and body comely & beautifull, in pregnaunt wytte notable and excellent.

The Lord gaue a promiſe to Sara and Elizabeth: ſo dyd he not to Q. Mary.

Graunt the ſame to be in obedience lyke * Abraham, in hoſpitalitie lyke Loth, in chaſtitie and brotherly loue lyke Ioſeph, in meekenes and myldnes lyke Moſes, in ſtrength and valiauntnes lyke Sampſon. Let hym bee founde faythfull as Dauid after thy harte. Let hym bee wiſe among kynges as the moſt wyſe Salomon. Let him be lyke Iob, a ſimple and an vpright man, fearyng God and eſchewyng euill. Let him finally be garniſhed

*It is not beſt ſuch one to be graunted vnto you: for being lyke *Abrahã, Ioſeph, Moſes, & Salomon,* he may chaunce to ſmell out your corrupt doctrine, and to deteſt your bloudy tyranny. &c.

with the comelynes of all vertuous conditiõs, and in the ſame let him waxe old and lyue, that he may ſee his childrens children to the 3.& 4. generation. And geue vnto our ſoueraigne Lord and Lady, kyng Phillip & Queene Mary, thy bleſſyng, & long lyfe vpon the earth. And graũt that of them may come Kynges and Queenes, which may ſtedfaſtly continue in fayth, loue, and holynes. And bleſſed be their ſede, of our God, that all nations may know, that thou art onely God in all the earth, whiche art bleſſed for euer and euer. Amen.

¶ An other prayer for Queene Mary, and her conceaued child.

An other prayer for the ſame.

O Almightie father, which diddeſt ſanctifie the bleſſed Virgin and mother Mary in her Conception and in the byrth of Chriſt our Sauiour (thy onely ſonne): alſo by thy omnipotent power diddeſt ſafely deliuer the Prophet Ionas out of the Whales bely: Defend O Lord, we beſeche thee, thy ſeruaunt Mary our Queene with child conceiued, and ſo viſite her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not onely yͤ childe thy creature, within her conteined, may ioyfully come from her into this world, and receiue the bleſſed Sacraments of Baptiſme & Confirmation, enioyng therwith dayly encreaſe of all Princely and gratious giftes both of body & ſoule, but that alſo ſhe, the mother, through thy ſpeciall grace and mercy, may in tyme of her trauaile auoyde all exceſſiue dolour and payne, and abyde perfite and ſure from all perill and daũger of death, with long and proſperous lyfe, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

January 10.

It foloweth now further in proceſſe of the ſtory, that vpõ the Tueſday being the .x. of January, xix. of yͤ lower houſe of the Parlament wyth the Speaker came to the Whyte hall to the kyng, and there offered hym the gouernmẽt of the Realme & of the Iſſue, if the Quéene ſhould fayle, which was confirmed by Act of Parlamẽt wythin ten dayes after.

January. 16.

The Popes ſupremacie eſtabliſhed by Parlament.

Matters concluded in the Parlament.

Upon the Wedenſday following beyng the .xvj. of January, the Parlament was cleane diſſolued. In this Parlament among other thinges the biſhop of Rome was eſtabliſhed, & all ſuch lawes as were made againſt hym ſince the .xx. yeare of kyng Henry. VIII., were repealed, and alſo Cardinal Poole, biſhop Pates, Lylly, and other were reſtored to theyr bloud. Alſo there was an Act made for ſpeaking of wordes: that whoſoeuer ſhould ſpeake any thing agaynſt the kyng or Quéene, or that might moue any ſedition or rebellion, at the fyrſt tyme to haue one of hys eares cut of, or to forfayte an hundred markes, and at the ſecond time to haue both hys eares cut of, or els to forfayte an hundred pounds: and whoſoeuer ſhould wryte, ſipher, or prynt any of the premiſes, to haue their right hand cut of.

Thrée ſtatutes againſt heretickes reuiued.

Alſo in this Parlament thrée ſtatutes were reuiued for trial of hereſie: one made in the .v. yeare of Richard the ſecond, an other in the ſecond yeare of Henry the. 4 and the thyrd in the ſecond yeare of Henry the. 5. Alſo the doing of Maiſter Roſe, & the other that were wyth hym, was communed of in thys Parlament, and vpon that occaſion an Act was made, that certayne euil prayers ſhould be treaſon agaynſt the Queenes hyghnes. The praiers of theſe men were thus: *God turne the hart of Q. Mary frõ Idolatry, or els ſhorten her dayes.* Whereof read the ſtatute An. 1. &. 2. Reg. Phil. & Mariæ cap. 9.

As touchyng the takyng of Maiſter Roſe and his felowes, word was brought therof to Maiſter Hooper being then in the Fléete. Whereupon the ſayd maiſter Hooper ſendeth aunſwere agayne, wyth a letter alſo of conſolatiõ ſent to the ſayd priſoners: the copy wherof I thought here not to ouerpaſſe.

¶ The aunſwere of M. Hoper to a letter ſent vnto hym concernyng certeine priſoners taken in Bow Churchyard.

M. Hoopers aunſwere to a certaine letter ſent vnto him.

THe grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceaue by your letter, how that vpon new yeares day at night, there were taken a Godly cõpany of Chriſtians, whileſt they were praying. I do reioyce in that men can be ſo well occupied in this perillous tyme, and fly vnto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their owne lackes and neceſſities, as alſo charitably to pray for them that perſecute them. So doth the word of God commaund all mẽ, to pray charitably for them that hate them, & not to reuile any Magiſtrate with wordes, or to meane him euill by force or violence. They alſo may reioyce that in well doyng, they were taken to the priſon. wherfore I haue thought it good to ſend them this litle writyng of conſolation: praying God to ſend them pacience, charitie, and conſtancie in the truth of his moſt holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray to God to ſend his true word into this Realme agayne amongeſt vs, which the vngodly Byſhops haue now baniſhed. January 4. an. 1555.

¶ A letter of conſolation ſent from M. Hoper to the Godly brethren takẽ in Bow Churchyard in prayer, & layd in the Counter in Breadſtreet.

A letter of Maiſter *Hooper* full of moſt heauenly conſolatiõ, to the brethren impriſoned, taken in Bow churchyard.

THe grace, fauour, conſolation, and ayde of the holy Ghoſt be with you now and euer. So be it.

Dearely beloued in the Lord, euer ſythens your impriſonmẽt, I haue bene maruelouſly moued with great affections and paſſions, as well of myrth and gladnes, as of heauines and ſorrow. Of gladnes in this, that I perceaued how ye be bent and geuẽ to prayer and inuocation of Gods helpe in theſe darke and wicked procedynges of men, agaynſt Gods glory. I haue bene ſory to perceaue the malice & wickednes of men to be ſo cruell, deuiliſh, & tyrannicall, to perſecute the people of God for ſeruyng of God, ſaying & hearing of the holy Pſalmes, & the word of eternall lyfe. Theſe cruel doyngs do declare, that the Papiſtes Church is more bloudy and tyrannicall, then euer was the ſword of the Ethnickes & Gẽtils.

When I heard of your takyng, and what ye were doyng, wherfore, and by whom ye were taken: I remembred how the Chriſtians in the primatiue Church were vſed by the cruelty of vnchriſtened Heathens, in yͤ tyme of Traiane the Emperour about 77. yeares after Chriſtes Aſcenſion into heauen: and how the Chriſtiãs were perſecuted very ſore, as though they had bene traitours and mouers of ſedition. Whereupon, the gentle Emperour Traiane required to know yͤ true cauſe of Chriſtian mẽs trouble. A great learned man called Plinius wrote vnto him and ſayd: it was becauſe the Chriſtians ſayd certain Pſalmes before day, vnto one called Chriſt, whom they worſhipped for God. Whẽ Traiane the Emperour vnderſtode it was for nothyng but for conſcience and Religiõ, he cauſed by his commaundementes euery where, that no man ſhould be perſecuted for ſeruyng of God. Loe, a gentile and heathen man would not haue ſuch as were of a contrary Religion, puniſhed for ſeruyng of God.

Of theſe perſecutions, read before pag. 38. col. 1.

The Pope worſe the Traianus the heathẽ Emperour.

But the Pope and his Church hath caſt you into priſon, beyng taken euen doyng the worke of God, and one of the excellentes workes that is required of Chriſtian mẽ: that is to wyt, whiles ye were in prayer, and not in ſuch wicked and ſuperſtitious prayers as the Papiſtes vſe, but in yͤ ſame prayer that Chriſt hath taught you to pray. And in his name onely ye gaue God thankes for that ye haue receaued, and for his ſake ye aſked for ſuch thyngs as ye want. O glad may ye be that euer ye were borne, to be apprehẽded whileſt ye were ſo vertuouſly occupied. Bleſſed be they that ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake. For if God had ſuffered them that tooke your bodyes, then to haue taken your lyfe alſo: now had ye bene folowyng the Lambe in perpetuall ioyes, away from the company and aſſembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not haue you ſodaynly ſo to depart, but reſerueth you, gloriouſly to ſpeake and maintaine his truth to the world.

Math. 10. Luke 12.

Be ye not carefull what ye ſhall ſay: for God will go out and in with you, and will be preſent in your hartes and in your mouthes, to ſpeake his wiſedome, although it ſemeth fooliſhnes to the world. He that hath begun this good worke in you, continue you in the ſame vnto the ende: and pray vnto him, that ye may feare him onely, that hath power to kyll both body and ſoule, and to caſt thẽ into hell fyre. Be of good comfort. All the heares of your head be numbred, and there is not one of them can periſh, except your heauenly father ſuffer it to periſh. Now ye be in the field, & placed in the forefront of Chriſtes battail. Doubtles, it is a ſingular fauour of God, & a ſpeciall loue of hym towardes you, to geue you thys Foreward and preeminence, and a ſigne that he truſteth you before others of his people. Wherefore (deare brethren and ſiſters) cõtinually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cauſe is moſt iuſt and godly: ye ſtand for the true Chriſt (who is after the fleſh in heauen) and for his true reli-

The firſt onſet of this perſecution geuẽ in Bow Churchyard.

religion and honour, which is amply, fully, ſufficiently, and aboundantly conteined in the holy Teſtament, ſealed with Chriſtes own bloud. How much be ye bounde to God, to put you in truſt with ſo holy and iuſt a cauſe?

Remember what lookers vpon you haue, to ſee and behold you in your fight: God and all his holy Angels, who be ready alway to take you vp into heauen, if ye be ſlaine in this fight. Alſo you haue ſtãding at your backs all the multitude of the faythfull, who ſhal take courage, ſtrength, and deſire to follow ſuch noble and valiaunt Chriſtians as you be. Bee not afeard of your aduerſaries: for he that is in you, is ſtronger then hee that is in them. Shrincke not, although it be paine to you. Your paines be not now ſo great, as hereafter your ioyes ſhal be. Reade the comfortable chapters to the Romaines. 8. 10. 15. Hebrues. 11. 12. And vpon your knees thanke God, that euer ye were accoumpted worthy to ſuffer any thing for his names ſake. Reade the ſecond chapter of Saint Lukes Goſpell, and there you ſhall ſee how the Shepheards that watched vpon their ſhepe all night, as ſoone as they heard that Chriſt was borne at Bethlem, by and by they went to ſee hym. They did not reaſon nor debate with them ſelues, who ſhould keepe the wolfe from the ſhepe in the meane time, but did as they were commaunded, and committed their ſhepe vnto him, whoſe pleaſure they obeyed. So let vs doe now we bee called, commit all other thinges to him that calleth vs. He wil take heede that all thinges ſhall be well. He will helpe the Huſband, he will comfort the wyfe, he will guide the ſeruauntes, hee wyl keepe the houſe, he wyll preſerue the goods: yea rather then it ſhould be vndone, he wil waſh the diſhes, and rocke the cradle. Caſt therefore all your care vpon God, for he careth for you.

1. Iohn. 4.

Comfort taken out of Scriptures.

True obedience putteth no doubtes.

All carefulnes to be caſt vpon the Lord.

Beſides this, you may perceiue by your impriſonmẽt, that your aduerſaries weapons againſt you, be nothing but fleſh, bloud, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintaine their wicked religion by Gods word: but for lacke of that, they woulde violently compell ſuch as they can not by holy ſcripture perſwade, becauſe the holy word of God, and all Chriſtes doinges be contrary vnto them. I pray you pray for me, and I wyll pray for you. And although we be aſunder after the world: yet in Chriſt (I truſt) for euer ioyning in the ſpirite, and ſo ſhall meete in the Palace of the heauenly ioyes, after this ſhort and tranſitory life is ended. Gods peace be wyth you. Amen. The. 4. of Ianuary. 1554.

All the ſtrength of the Popes religion ſtandeth in outward force.

January. 18.

Gentlemen deliuered out of the Tower by the Queenes pardõ.

Upon the Friday after this folowing, being the. 18 of January, al the Counſel went vnto the Tower, and there the ſame day diſcharged and ſet at libertie all the priſoners of the Tower or the moſt part of thẽ, namely ÿ late Duke of Northũberlandes ſõnes, Ambroſe, Robert, and Henry, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Iames Croftes, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Syr Iohn Rogers, Syr Nicholas Arnoll, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Syr William Sentlow, Syr Gawen Carew, Maiſter Gybbes, Cutbert Vaghan, wyth many other.

January. 22.

The preachers called before the B. of Wincheſt. at S. Mary Oueries.

Upon the Tueſday following, being the. xxij. of January, all the Preachers that were in priſon were called before the biſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chauncellour and certayne other, at the Biſhops houſe at ſaint Mary Oueries. From whence (after communication, beyng aſked whether they woulde conuert and enioy ÿ Quéenes pardõ, or els ſtand to that they had taught: they all aunſwered that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were committed to ſtraiter priſon then before they were, wyth charge that none ſhould ſpeake wyth them.

Iames Gorge dyed in priſon, and was buryed in the fieldes.

Amongeſt the which nũber of priſoners, one Iames Gorge the ſame tyme dyed in priſon, beyng there in bandes for religion and righteouſnes ſake: who therfore was exempted to be buryed in the Popiſh Churchyard, and was buryed in the field.

Januar. 23

Upon the Wedneſday folowyng beyng the xxiij. of January, all ÿ Byſhops with all ÿ reſt of ÿ Cõuocation houſe were before the Cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repayre euery man where his Cure and charge lay, exhortyng thẽ to intreate the people & their flocke with all gentlenes, and to endeuour them ſelues to wynne the people rather by gentlenes then by extremitie and rigour, and ſo let them depart.

January. 25.

Generall proceſſion for ioy of the realmes conuerſion.

Upõ ÿ Friday folowyng being the xxv. of January, & the day of the Conuerſion of S. Paul, there was generall & ſolemne proceſſiõ through London to giue God thankes for their conuerſiõ to the Catholicke Church. Wherein (to ſet out their glorious pompe) there were fourescore and ten Croſſes, eightſcore Prieſtes and Clerkes, who had euery one of them Copes vppon their backes, ſinging very luſtely. There folowed alſo, for the better eſtimation of the ſight, eight Byſhops, and laſt of all came Boner the Byſhop of London, carying the Popiſh Pixe vnder a Canapy.

Beſides, there was alſo preſent the Maior, Aldermen, and all the Liuery of euery occupation. Moreouer the kyng alſo him ſelfe, and the Cardinall came to Paules Church the ſame day. Frõ whence after Maſſe they returned to Weſtminſter agayne. As the kyng was entred the Church at the ſteppes goyng vp to the Quiere, all the Gentlemen that of late were ſet at libertie out of the Tower, kneled before the kyng and offred vnto hym them ſelues and their ſeruices.

After the proceſſion, there was alſo commaundemẽt giuen to make Bonefiers at night. Whereupon did riſe among the people a doubtfull talke, why all this was done. Some ſayd it was that the Quéene, beyng then (as they ſayd) with child, might haue a ſafe deliuery. Others thought that it was for ioy that the Realme was ioyned agayn to the Sea of Rome, which opinion of both, ſéemed moſt true.

January. 28.

Commiſſion from the Cardinall to ſit vpon the perſecuted preachers for religion.

Upon the Monday folowyng beyng the xxviij. of January, the Byſhop of Wincheſter and the other Byſhops had Commiſſion from the Cardinall to ſit vpon and order accordyng to the lawes, all ſuch Preachers & heretickes (as they termed them) as were in priſõ, and accordyng to this Commiſſiõ the ſame day the Byſhop of Wincheſter and the other Biſhops with certaine of the Counſell, ſatte in S. Mary Oueryes Church and called before thẽ theſe iij, M. Hoper, M. Rogers, & M. Cardmaker, who were brought thether by ÿ Shriues. From whence after communication, they were committed to priſon till the next day, but Cardmaker this day ſubmitted him ſelfe vnto them.

January. 29.

M. Hooper & M. Rogers condemned.

Uppon the Tueſday beyng the xxix. of January, Hoper, Rogers, D. Tayler and Bradford were brought before them, where ſentẽce of excommunication and iudgement Eccleſiaſticall was pronounced vpõ M. Hoper, & M. Rogers, by the B. of Wincheſter, who ſat as iudge in Caiphas ſeate: who droue thẽ out of the Church accordyng to their law & order. D. Taylor and Bradford were cõmitted to priſon til the next day.

January. 30.

D. Ferrar, D. Taylor, & M. Saunders condemned.

Upõ the Wedneſday beyng the xxx. of January D. Taylor, Doct. Crome, M. Bradford, M. Saunders, and Doct. Ferrar ſometyme Byſhop of S. Dauyes were before the ſayd Byſhops, where iij. of them, that is to ſay, Doct. Taylor, M. Saunders, and M. Bradford were lykewiſe excommunicated and ſentẽce pronounced vpõ them, and ſo committed to the Shriues. Doct. Crome deſired ij. monethes reſpite and it was graunted hym, and M. Ferrar was agayne committed to priſon till an other tyme. All theſe mẽ ſhewed thẽ ſelues to be learned (as in dede they were no leſſe) but what auayleth either learnyng, reaſon, or truth it ſelfe, where will beareth rule.

After the examination and condemnation of theſe good men and Preachers aboue recited, Commiſſions and Inquiſitours were ſent abroade lykewyſe into all partes of the Realme, by reaſon whereof a great number of moſt godly and true Chriſtians (out of all the quarters of the Realme, but eſpecially Kent, Eſſex, Northfolke, and Suffolke) were apprehẽded, brought vp to London, & caſt in priſon, and afterward (moſt of thẽ) eyther cõſumed cruelly by fire, or els through euyl handlyng died in the priſons, and were buried on dũghyls abroad in the fieldes, or in ſome backſide of the priſon. Of all which matters, concernyng the tragicall handling of theſe bleſſed Martyrs and Witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, of all the bloudy perſecution of this time, now followeth (the Lorde ſo graunting) ſeuerally and more particularly in thys next booke, in order to be declared: after that I ſhal fyrſt recite a general Supplication, geuē vp in the name of yͤ Preachers aforeſayd lying in priſon, vnto the Kyng and Quéene, duryng the tyme of the Parlament, as followeth.

¶ Vnto the K. and Queenes moſt excellent Maieſties, and to their moſt honorable and high court of Parlament.

A Supplicatiõ of the perſecuted preachers to the kyng and Quéene.

IN moſt humble and lamentable wyſe complaine vnto your Maieſties, and to your high court of Parlament, your poore deſolate and obedient ſubiectes, H.F. T.B.P.R.S. &c. That where as your ſayd Subiectes lyuing vnder the lawes of God and of this Realme in the dayes of the late moſt noble King Edward.VI. dyd in all thinges ſhew them ſelues true, faithful and diligent ſubiectes, according to their vocation, aſwell in the ſyncere miniſtring of Gods holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the dayly practiſe of ſuch vertues and good demeanour, as the lawes of God at all times, and the ſtatutes of the Realme did then allowe: your ſayd Subiectes neuertheles, contrary to all lawes of iuſtice, equitie and ryght, are in very extreme maner, not onely caſt into priſon (where they haue remayned now theſe.xv.or.xvj. monethes) but their liuinges alſo, their houſes and poſſeſſions, their goodes and bookes takē from them, and they ſclaūdered to be moſt haynous heretickes, their enemies them ſelues being both witneſſes, accuſers, and Iudges, belying, ſclaundering, and miſreporting your ſaid ſubiectes at their pleaſure: whereas your ſayd Subiectes beyng ſtraitly kept in priſon, can not yet be ſuffered to come forth and make aunſwere accordingly.

The long imprisonment of the Chriſtian preachers.

Unorderly proceding of the aduerſaries agaynſt Gods people.

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Maieſties, and this your high court of Parlamēt, graciouſly to tender yͤ preſent calamity of your ſaid poore Subiectes, and to call them before your preſence, graūting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the plaine Engliſh toung, to aunſwere before you, or before indifferent Arbiters to be appoynted by your Maieſties, vnto ſuch Articles of controuerſie in Religion as their ſaid aduerſaries haue already condemned thē of, as of haynous hereſies: Prouided, that all thinges may be done wyth ſuche moderation and quiet behauiour, as becommeth Subiectes and children of peace, and that your ſayd ſubiectes may haue the free vſe of all theyr own bookes and conferēce together among them ſelues.

Request of the preachers to ſtand to the triall of their doctrine before indifferent Judges.

Which thing beyng graunted, your ſayd Subiectes doubt not, but it ſhall plainly appeare, yͭ your ſayd Subiectes are true & faithfull Chriſtians, & neyther heretikes neither teachers of hereſie, nor cut of from the true catholicke vniuerſall church of Chriſt: Yea, that rather theyr aduerſaries thē ſelues be vnto your Maieſties, as were the Charmers of Ægypt vnto Pharao, Sedechias & his adherentes, vnto the king of Iſrael: and Barieſu to the Proconſull Sergius Paulus. And if your ſaid Subiectes be not able by the teſtimony of Chriſt, his Prophets, Apoſtles, and godly Fathers of hys church to proue, that the doctrine of the church, Homelies, and ſeruice, taught and ſet forth in the time of our late moſt godly Prince and kyng Edward. VI. is the true doctrine of Chriſtes catholicke Church, and moſt agreable to the articles of the Chriſtiā faith: your ſaid Subiectes offer them ſelues then to the moſt heauy puniſhment, that it ſhall pleaſe your Maieſties to appoint.

Actes.13.

Wherefore for the tender mercy of God in Chriſt (which you looke for at the day of iudgement) your ſayd poore Snbiectes in bondes, moſt humbly beſech your moſt excellent Maieſties, & this your hihg court of Parlament, beningly and graciouſly to heare and graūt this their peticion, tending ſo greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honor of your maieſties, to the commendacion and maintenance of Iuſtice, right, and equitie, both before God and man. And your ſayd Subiectes according to their bounden dutye, ſhall not ceaſe to pray vnto almighty God, for the gracious preſeruation of your moſt excellent Maieſties long to endure.

(*)

☞ Here begynneth the xj. booke wherin is diſcourſed the bloudy murderyng of Gods Saintes, with the particular proceſſes and names of ſuch good Martyrs, both men and women, as in this tyme of Queene Mary were put to death.

¶ The ſtory, lyfe, and Martyrdome of Maiſter Iohn Rogers.

THe fourth day of February ſuffered the conſtant Martyr of God, Maiſter Iohn Rogers, concernyng whoſe lyfe, examinations, and ſufferyng, here foloweth in order ſet forth. And firſt touchyng hys life and & bringing vp, Iohn Rogers brought vp in the Uniuerſitie of Cambridge, where he profitably trauelled in good learnyng, at the length was choſen and called by the Marchauntes aduenturers to be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whom he ſerued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy ſeruaunt & Martyr of God William Tyndall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to Popiſh ſuperſtition and Idolatrye, and loue to true Religion, had forſaken their natiue countrey). In conferryng with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in yͤ Goſpell of God, in ſo much that he caſt of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuing it to bee impure & filthy Idolatry, and ioyned him ſelfe with them two in that paynfull & moſt profitable labour of tranſlatyng the Bible into the Engliſh toung, which is intituled: The tranſlation of Thomas Mathew. He knowyng by yͤ Scriptures, that vnlawfull vowes may lawfully be brokē, and that Matrimony is both honeſt & honorable amongeſt all men, ioyned him ſelfe in lawfull Matrimony, and ſo went to Wittemberge in Saxonie, where he with much ſobernes of lyuing did not onely greatly encreaſe in all good and Godly learnyng: but alſo ſo much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch toung, that the charge of a Congregation was orderly committed to hys cure. In which miniſtery he diligētly and faythfully ſerued many yeares, vntill ſuch tyme as it pleaſed God by the faithfull trauell of his choſen and deare ſeruaunt kyng Edward the vj. vtterly to baniſh all Popery forth of England, and to receiue in true Religiō, ſettyng Gods Goſpel at liberty. He then beyng orderly called, hauing both a conſcience & a ready good will to helpe foreward the worke of the Lord in his natiue countrey, left ſuch honeſt and certayne conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the Goſpell, without certaintie of any condition. In which office, after hee had a ſpace diligently and faythfully trauailed, Nicholas Ridley then biſhop of London gaue hym a Prebēd in the cathedrall church of Paules, and the Deane, and the Chapter choſe hym to be the Reader of the diuinitie leſſon there, wherein he diligently trauayled, vntyll ſuch tyme as Quéene Mary obtaynyng the crowne, baniſhed the Goſpell and true religion, and brought in the Antichriſt of Rome, wyth hys Idolatry and ſuperſtition.

February. 4.

The lyfe and ſtory of M. Iohn Rogers.

M. Rogers Chaplaine to the Marchauntes aduenturers at Antwerpe.

M. Rogers brought to the Goſpel by Maiſter W. Tyndale, and M. Couerdale.

Of M. Rogers doing in this tranſlation, read afterward. 1363.

M. Rogers goeth to Wittemberge.

M. Rogers returned fro Saxonie into England, in King Edwardes tyme.

M. Rogers reader and Prebendarie in Paules.

After the Quéene was come to the Tower of London, he being orderly called thereunto, made a godly & vehement Sermon at Paules Croſſe, confirming ſuch true doctrine, as he and other had there taught in King Edwardes daies, exhorting the people conſtantly to remayne in the ſame, and to beware of all peſtilent Poperie, idolatry, and ſuperſtition. The Counſell being

ing thē ouermatched wyth popiſh and bloudy biſhops, called him to accompt for his ſermon: to whō he made a ſtout, wittie, and godly aunſwer, and yet in ſuch ſort handled hym ſelfe, that at that tyme he was clearly diſmiſſed: but after that Proclamation was ſet foorth by the Quéene to prohibite true preaching, he was called agayne before the Counſel, (for the biſhops thirſted after his bloud). The Counſail quarelled with him concerning hys doctrine, and in concluſion commaunded hym as priſoner to kéepe his own houſe, and ſo he did: although by flying he myght eaſely haue eſcaped theyr cruell handes, and many thynges there were whych myght haue moued hym thereunto. He dyd ſée the recouery of religion in England for that preſent, deſperate: he knew he could not want a lyuing in Germanie, and he could not forget his wyfe and ten children, and to ſéeke meanes to ſuccour them. But all theſe thynges ſet a part, after hee was called to aunſwere in Chriſtes cauſe, he would not depart, but ſtoutly ſtoode in defence of the ſame, and for the triall of that truth, was content to haſſard his lyfe.

M. Rogers called to accompt for his Sermō at Paules Croſſe.

M. Rogers agayne called before the Counſell, & commaunded to keepe hys houſe.

Thus he remayned in hys own houſe as priſoner a long time, till at the length, through the vncharitable procurement of Boner B. of London, who could not abyde ſuch honeſt neyghbours to dwell by him, he was remoued from hys own houſe to ẏ priſon called Newgate, where he was lodged amōgeſt théeues and murtherers for a great ſpace: duryng which tyme what buſines he had wyth the aduerſaries of Chriſt, al is not knowen, neyther yet any certainty of hys examinatiōs, further then he hym ſelfe dyd leaue in wrytyng, which God would not to bee loſt, but to remaine for a perpetuall teſtimony in the cauſe of Gods truth, as here followeth recorded and teſtified by his own wrytyng.

M. Rogers ſent to Newgate.

¶The examination and aunſwere of Iohn Rogers made to the Lord Chauncellour & to the reſt of the Counſell the xxij. of Ianuary. Anno. 1555.

Lord Chauncellour.

Examination & aunſwere of M. Iohn Rogers.

First the Lord Chauncellor ſayd vnto me thus. Syr ye haue heard of the ſtate of the Realme in which it ſtandeth now.

Rogers. No my Lord, I haue bene kept in cloſe priſon, and except there haue bene ſome generall thyng ſayd at ẏ table whē I was at dynner or ſupper, I haue heard nothing: and there haue I heard nothing wherupon any ſpeciall thyng might be grounded.

L. Chan. Thē ſayd ẏ L. Chāūcellor: Generall things, generall things, mockingly? Ye haue heard of my Lord Cardinals cōmyng, & that the Parlament hath receaued his bleſſing, not one reſiſtyng vnto it, but one man which did ſpeake agaynſt it. Such an vnity and ſuch a miracle hath not bene ſéene. And al they (of which there are viij. ſcore in one houſe, ſayd one that was by, whoſe name I know not) haue with one aſſent and * conſent receaued pardon of their offences for the ſchiſme that we haue had in England, in refuſing the holy father of Rome to be head of the holy Catholicke Church. How ſay ye, are ye content to vnite and knit your ſelfe to the fayth of the Catholicke Church with vs in the ſtate in which it is now in England? will ye do that?

* Full ſore agaynſt their wils if they could otherwyſe haue ſpoken.

Rog. The Catholicke Church I neuer did nor will diſſent from.

L. Chaun. Nay, but I ſpeake of the ſtate of the Catholicke Church, in that wiſe in which we now ſtand in England, hauyng receaued the Pope to bée ſupreme head.

Rog. I know none other head but Chriſt, of his Catholicke Church, neither will I acknowledge the Byſhop of Rome to haue any more authoritie, then any other Byſhop hath, by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure Catholicke Church iiij. hundreth yeares after Chriſt.

No head of the Catholicke church, but Chriſt.

L. Chaun. Why didſt thou then acknowledge kyng Henry the eight to bee ſupreme head of the Church, if Chriſt be the onely head?

Rog. I neuer graunted him to haue any ſupremacy in ſpirituall thinges, as are the forgeuenes of ſinnes, giuyng of the holy Ghoſt, authoritie to be a Iudge aboue the word of God.

The ſupremacie of Kyng Henry 8. how it is to be taken.

L. Chaun. Yea ſayd he, and Tonſta'l Byſhop of Dureſme, & N. B. of Worceſter, if thou haddeſt ſayd ſo in his dayes (and they nodded the head at me, with a laughter) thou haddeſt not bene a lyue now.

Tonſtall B. of Dureſme.

N. Biſh. of Worceſter.

Rog. Which thyng I denyed, and would haue told how he was ſayd and ment to be ſupreme head. But they looked and laughed one vpon an other, and made ſuch a buſines, that I was conſtrained to let it paſſe. There lieth alſo no great waight therupon: for all the world knoweth what the meanyng was. The Lord Chauncellour alſo ſayd to the Lord William Haward that there was no incōuenience therin, to haue Chriſt to be ſupreme head, and the Byſhop of Rome alſo: and when I was ready to haue aūſwered, that there could not be two heades of one Church, & haue more playnly declared the vanity of that his reaſon, the L. Chāūcellour ſayd: what ſayſt thou? make vs a directed aūſwer, whether thou wilt be one of this Catholicke Church, or not, with vs in the ſtate in which we are now?

The meaning why Kyng Henry was titled ſupreme head.

Rog. My Lord, wythout fayle I can not beleue, that ye your ſelues do thincke in your hartes, that hee is ſupreme head, in forgeuing of ſinne. &c. (as is before ſaid) ſeing you, and all the Biſhops of the realme haue now xx. yeares long preached, and ſome of you alſo wrytten to the contrary, and the Parlament hath ſo long agone condeſcēded vnto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

The Byſhops contrary to their former doinges and wrytinges.

L. Chan. Tuſh that Parlament was with moſt great cruelty conſtrained to aboliſh and put away the primacie from the biſhop of Rome.

Rog. Wyth cruelty? Why then I perceiue that you take a wrong way, with cruelty to perſwade mens conſciences. For it ſhould appeare by your doinges now, that the cruelty then vſed hath not perſwaded your conſciences. How would ye then haue our conſciences, perſwaded wyth cruelty?

And why then do you cōſtraine mens conſciences by crueltie to your religion.

L. Chan. I talke to thée of no cruelty, but that they were ſo often and ſo cruelly called vpon in that Parlament, to let that Act go forward, yea and euen wyth force driuen thereunto, where as in thys Parlament it was ſo vniformely receiued, as is aforeſayd.

As who ſhould ſay, that men were not called vpō in this laſt Parlament with lyke and greater forcement to receiue the Pope.

Rog. Here my Lorde Paget tolde me more plainly, what my Lord Chauncellour ment. Unto whom I aūſwered: My Lord, what wyll ye conclude therby? that the fyrſt Parlament was of leſſe authority, becauſe but few condeſcended vnto it, & thys laſt Parlamēt of great authority, becauſe more condeſcended vnto it? It goeth not (my Lord) by the more or leſſer part, but by the wyſer, truer, and godlier part: and I would haue ſaid more, but the Lord Chauncellour interrupted me with his queſtion, willing me once agayne to aunſwere hym. For (ſayd hee) we haue moe to ſpeake wyth then thou, which muſt come in after thée. And ſo there were in dede ten perſons moe out of Newgate, beſides two that were not called. Of which ten one was a Citizen of London, which graunted vnto them: and nine of the countrey: which all came to priſon again, and refuſed the Cardinals bleſſing, and the authoritie of hys holy Fathers church: ſauing that one of theſe. ix. was not aſked the queſtion otherwyſe then thus: whether he would be an honeſt man as hys Father was before him: and aunſwering yea, he was ſo diſcharged by the friendſhip of my Lord William Haward (as I haue vnderſtanded). He bad me tell hym what I would do: whether I woulde enter into one Church wyth the whole Realme, as it is now, or not? No, ſayd I, I will firſt ſée it proued by the Scriptures. Let me haue penne, incke, and bookes. &c. And I will take vpon me playnly to ſet out the matter, ſo that the con-

Truth goeth not by nūber, nor by the greater part.

X. priſoners out of Newgate to be conuented before Gardiner.

9. of theſe priſoners refuſed the Popes authoritie: the tenth yelded.

trary ſhalbe proued to be true, and then let any man that will, conferre with me by wrytyng.

Ste. Gardiner refuſing to haue the truth to be tryed by learning.

L.Chaũ. Nay, that ſhall not be permitted thee. Thou ſhalt neuer haue ſo much profered thee as thou haſt now, if thou refuſe it, and wilt not now condeſcend and agree to the catholicke church. Here are .ij. things: mercy, and Iuſtice: if thou refuſe the Queenes mercy now, then ſhalt thou haue iuſtice miniſtred vnto thee.

The Byſhops neyther will ſtand by their aſſertion, nor yet will ſuffer other men ſo to doe.

Rog. I neuer offended, nor was diſobedient vnto her Grace: and yet I wyll not refuſe her mercy. But if this ſhall be denyed me, to conferre by writing and to try out the truth, then is it not well, but to farre out of the way. Ye your ſelues (all the Biſhops of ẏ realme) brought me to the knowledge of the pretenſed primacy of the biſhop of Rome, when I was a yong man, twenty yeares paſt: and wyll ye nowe wythout collation, haue me to ſay and doe the contrary? I can not bee ſo perſwaded.

A fayre pretenſe to excuſe your ignoraunce.

L.Chan. If thou wilt not receiue the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the catholicke Church, then thou ſhalt neuer haue her mercy, thou mayeſt bee ſure. And as touching conferring and tryall, I am forbydden by the ſcriptures to vſe any conferring and tryall wyth thee. For S.Paule teacheth me, that I ſhall ſhun and eſchue an Hereticke, after one or two monitions, knowing that ſuch an one is ouerthrowen and is faulty, in as much as he is condemned by hys own iudgement.

Rog. My Lord, I deny that I am an hereticke: proue ye that firſt, and then alledge the aforeſayd text. But ſtil the L. Chauncelor played on one ſtrynge, ſaying.

Gardiner will compell to that, which he can not teach to be true.

L.Chan. If thou wilt enter into one church with vs. &c tell vs that, or els thou ſhalt neuer haue ſo much profered thee agayne, as thou haſt now.

Rog. I wyll finde it firſt in the ſcripture, and ſee it tried thereby, before I receaue him to be ſupreme head.

Wor. Why? do ye not know what is in your Crede, Credo eccleſiam ſanctam Catholicam: *I beleue the holy Catholike Church?*

Catholicke what it ſignifieth.

The Popes Church proued not to be Catholicke.

Rog. I fynde not the Byſhoppe of Rome there. For [catholike] ſignifieth not the Romiſh Church: It ſignifieth the conſent of all true teaching churches of all tymes, & all ages. But how ſhould the Biſhop of Romes church be one of them, which teacheth ſo many doctrines that are playnly and directly agaynſt the worde of God? Can that Biſhop be the true head of the Catholycke church that doth ſo? that is not poſſible.

L.Ch. Shew me one of thẽ, one, one, let me heare one.

Rog. I remembred my ſelfe, that amonges ſo many I were beſt to ſhew one, and ſayd, I wil ſhew you one.

L. Ch. Let me heare that, let me heare that.

Latin ſeruice.

Rog. The Biſhop of Rome and his Church ſay, read, and ſing al that they do in their congregations, in latin, which is directly and playnly agaynſt the firſt to the Corinth. the xiiij. Chapter.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that, that it is agaynſt the word of God. Let me ſee you proue that: how proue ye that?

Speaking in a ſtraunge tounge, againſt S. Paule. 1.*Cor*.14.

Rog. Thus I began to ſay the text from the beginning of the chapter: Qui loquitur lingua &c. to ſpeak with toung, ſayd I, is to ſpeake with a ſtraunge tong: as latin or Greke. &c. and ſo to ſpeake, is not to ſpeake vnto men, but to God. But ye ſpeake in Latin, which is a ſtraunge tonge: wherfore ye ſpeake not vnto men, but vnto God (meaning God onely at the moſt). This he graũted, that they ſpeake not vnto mẽ but vnto god.

L.Chan. Well, then it is in vayne vnto men.

Rog. No not in vayne. For one man ſpeaketh in one tonge, and an other in an other tonge, and all well.

L.Chan. Nay I will proue then that he ſpeaketh neither to God nor to man, but into the winde.

To ſpeake to God onely.
To ſpeak both to god & to mã.
To ſpeake neither to god nor man, but to the winde.

Rog. I was willing to haue declared howe and after what ſorte theſe two textes do agree (for they muſt agree: they be both the ſayings of the holy Ghoſt, ſpokẽ by the Apoſtle Paul) as to witte, to ſpeake, not to men but vnto God, and to ſpeake into the winde: and ſo to haue gone forward with the proufe of my matter begon: but here aroſe a noyſe and a confuſion. Then ſaid the L.Chauncellour.

L.Chan. To ſpeake vnto God, and not vnto God were vnpoſſible.

Rog. I will proue them poſſible.

L. Haward. No ſayd my Lorde William Haward to my Lord Chauncellor: now will I beare you witnes, that he is out of the way. For he graunted firſt that they which ſpeake in a ſtraunge ſpeach, ſpeake vnto God: & now he ſayth the contrary, that they ſpeake neyther to God, nor to man.

Rog. I haue not graunted or ſayd (turning me to my Lord Haward) as ye reporte. I haue alleaged the one text, & now I come to the other. They muſt agree, and I can make thẽ to agree. But as for you, you vnderſtãd not the matter.

L. Haward. I vnderſtand ſo much, that that is not poſſible.

Secretary *Bourne*.

This is a poynt of Sophiſtrie, quoth Secretary Bourne.

A Citie in *Sueuen*.

L. Chan. Then the Lorde Chauncellor began to tell the L.Haward, that whẽ he was in high Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and vſed theyr ſeruice all in Dutch, began then to turne part into Lattine, and part into Duitch.

Worceſt. Yea and at Wittembergh to.

M. Rogers could not be heard to ſpeake.

Rog. Yea (but I could not be heard for the noyſe) in an Vniuerſitie, where men for the moſt part vnderſtand the Latine, and yet not all in Latine. And I would haue told the order, & haue gone forward, both to haue aunſwered my Lord, and to haue proued the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceauing theyr talkyng and noyſe to be to noyſome, I was fayne to thinke this in my hart (ſuffering them in the meane while to talke one of them one thing, and an other an other): Alas, neither wil theſe mẽ heare me if I ſpeake, neyther yet wil they ſuffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, & commit the matter to God. Yet I began to goe forward, and ſayd that I would make the textes to agree, and proue all my purpoſe wel inough.

L.Chan. No, no, thou canſt proue nothing by the ſcripture. The ſcripture is dead: it muſt haue a liuely expoſitor.

Rog. No, the ſcripture is a lyue. But let me go forward wyth my purpoſe.

The Papiſtes will abyde no expoſition of the ſcripture but their owne.

Wor. All heretickes haue alledged the ſcriptures for them: and therefore we muſt haue a lyuely expoſitor for them.

Rog. Yea, all Hereticks haue alledged the ſcriptures for them: but they were confuted by the ſcriptures, & by none other expoſitor.

Wor. But they would not confeſſe that they were ouercome by the ſcriptures, I am ſure of that.

Councels talke without order.

Rog. I beleue that: and yet were they ouercome by them, and in al Councels they were diſputed with and ouerthrowẽ by the ſcriptures. And here I would haue declared howe they ought to procede in theſe dayes, and ſo haue come agayne to my purpoſe, but it was vnpoſſible: for one aſked one thyng, an other ſayd an other, ſo that I was fayne to hold my peace, and let thẽ talke. And euen when I would haue takẽ hold on my proufe, the L.Chaũcellor bad, to priſon with me again: and away, away (ſaid he) we haue moe to talke withal: if I would not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Thẽ vp I ſtoode, for I had kneeled all the whyle.

Sir Rich. Southwell ſpeaketh.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who ſtood in a windowe by, ſayd to me: thou wilt not burne in thys geare when it commeth to the purpoſe, I know well that.

Rog. Syr, I cã not tel, but I truſt to my Lord God, yes, liftyng vp myne eyes vnto heauen.

The B. of Ely ſpeaketh.

B.of Ely. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the Queenes Maieſties pleaſure and meanyng, and ſet it out with large wordes, ſaying that ſhe tooke them that would not receiue the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacy, to be vnworthy to haue her mercy. &c.

Rog. I ſayd, I would not refuſe her mercy, and yet I neuer offended her in all my lyfe: and that I beſought her grace and all their honours to be good to me, reſeruyng my conſcience.

Diuers ſpeake at once.

Diuers ſpeake at once. No, quoth they then, a great ſort of them, and ſpecially Secretary Bourne, a maried Prieſt, and haue not offended the law?

Rog. I ſayd, I had not broken the Queenes law, nor yet any point of ẏ law of the Realme therin: for I maried where it was lawfull.

Diuers ſpeake at once.

Diuers at once. Where was that, ſayd they? thinking that to be vnlawfull in all places.

Lawfulnes of prieſtes mariage.

Rog. In Dutch land. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that Prieſtes might haue had wiues, I would neuer haue come home againe: for I brought a wife & eight children with me: which thyng ye might be ſure that I would not haue done, if the lawes of the Realme had not permitted it before.

M. Rogers brought 8. children with hym into England.

Then there was a great noiſe, ſome ſaying that I was come to ſoone with ſuch a ſort: I ſhould finde a ſoure commyng of it, and ſome one thyng, ſome an other. And one ſayd (I could not well perceiue who) that there was neuer Catholicke man or coũtrey, that euer graunted that a Prieſt might haue a wife.

Rog. I ſayd the Catholicke Church neuer denied Mariage to Prieſtes, nor yet to any other man: and therewith was I goyng out of the chamber, the Sergeant which brought me thether, hauyng me by the arme.

M. Rogers led away to priſon.

Wor. Thē ẏ B. of Worceſter turned his face towards me, & ſayd, ẏ I wiſt not where that Church was, or is.

Rog. I ſayd yes, that I could tell where it was: but therwith went the Sergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effect of all that was ſpokē vnto me, and of all that I aunſwered therunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect aunſwere to all the former obiections, as alſo a due proufe of that which I had taken in hand: but at this preſent I was enformed that I ſhould to morow come to further aunſwere. Wherfore I am compelled to leaue out that which I would moſt gladly haue done, deſiryng here the harty and vnfayned helpe of the prayers of all Chriſtes true members, the true Impes of the true vnfayned Catholicke Church, that the Lord God of all conſolatiõ, will now be my cõfort, ayde, ſtrength, buckler, and ſhilde, as alſo of all my brethren that are in the ſame caſe and diſtreſſe, that I and they all may deſpiſe al maner of thretes and cruelty, and euen the bitter burnyng fire, and the dreadfull darte of death, and ſticke like true ſouldiours to our deare and louyng captaine Chriſt, our onely redemer and Sauiour, and alſo the onely true head of the Church, that doth all in vs all, which is the very property of an head (& is a thyng that all the Byſhops of Rome can not do) and that we do not traiterouſly runne out of his tentes, or rather out of the playne field from him, in the moſt ieoperdie of the battaile, but that we may perſeuere in the fight (if he will not otherwiſe deliuer vs) till we be moſt cruelly ſlayne of his enemyes. For this I moſt hartely, & at this preſent with wepyng teares moſt inſtantly & earneſtly deſire and beſech you all to pray: and alſo, if I dye, to be good to my poore and moſt honeſt wife, beyng a poore ſtraunger, and all my litle ſoules, hers and my children. Whom with all the whole faythfull and true Catholicke Congregation of Chriſt, the Lord of lyfe and death ſaue, keepe, and defend in all the troubles and aſſaultes of this vayne world, and bryng at the laſt to euerlaſtyng ſaluation, the true and ſure inheritaunce of all croſſed Chriſtians. Amen. Amen.

M. Rogers carefull prayer for hys wife & children.

The xxvij. day of Ianuary at night.

¶ The ſecond confeſſion of Iohn Rogers, made and that ſhould haue bene made (if I might haue bene heard) the, 28, &. 29. day of Ianuary. 1555.

The 2. examination of M. Rogers.

First being aſked agayne by the Lord Chauncelor, whether I would come into one church with the biſhops and whole realme, as now was concluded by Parlament (in the which all the realme was conuerted to the catholicke Church of Rome) and ſo receyue the mercy before profered me, ariſyng agayne wyth the whole Realme, out of the ſchiſme and errour in which we had long bene, wyth recantation of my errours: I aunſwered, that before I could not tell what his mercy ment, but now I vnderſtode that it was a mercy of the Antichriſtian church of Rome, which I vtterly refuſed, and that the riſing which he ſpake of, was a very fall into errour and falſe doctrine. Alſo that I had and would be able by Gods grace, to proue that all the doctrine which I had euer taught, was true & catholicke, and that by the ſcriptures and the authority of the fathers that lyued foure hundred yeares after Chriſtes death. He aunſwered, that ſhould not, might not, nor ought not be graunted me: for I was but a priuate man, and might not be heard againſt the determinatiõ of the whole realme. Should (quoth he) when a Parlament hath concluded a thing, one, or any priuate perſon haue authority to diſcuſſe, whether they had done right or wrong? No that may not be.

Winchesters mercy what it meaneth.

To riſe to the Pope, is to fall from Chriſt.

What ſoeuer is once concluded in a Parlament, ought not to be reformed afterward, by no doctrine nor the worde of God, by the Byſhop of Winchesters diuinitie.

I aunſwered ſhortly, that al the lawes of men might not, neither could rule the word of God, but that they all muſt be diſcuſſed and iudged thereby, and obey thereto: and my conſcience, nor no Chriſtian mans could be ſatiſfied with ſuch lawes as diſagreed frõ that word: and ſo was willing to haue ſaid much more, but ẏ L. Chaũcellour began a long tale to very ſmall purpoſe, concernyng mine aũſwere, to haue defaced me, that there was nothing in me wherefore I ſhould be heard, but arrogancie, pride, and vayneglory. I alſo graunted myne ignorancy to be greater then I could expreſſe, or then he tooke it: but yet that I feared not by Gods aſſiſtãce and ſtrength, to bee able by writing to perfourme my word, neyther was I (I thanked God) ſo vtterly ignoraunt, as he would make me, but all was of God, to whom be thankes rendred therefore. Proud man was I neuer, nor yet vayne glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which ſide pride, arrogancie, and vayne glory was. It was a poore pride that was or is in vs, God it knoweth.

The B. of Winchester iudgeth M. Rogers by his owne diſeaſe.

Then ſayd he, that I at the fyrſt daſh condemned the Queene and the whole Realme, to be of the Church of Antichriſt, and burdened me highly therewithall. I anſwered that the Queenes maieſty (God ſaue her grace) would haue done well inough, if it had not bene for his counſell. He ſayd, the Queene went before hym, and it was her own motion. I ſayd without fayle, I neither could nor I would euer beleue it.

Then ſayd D. Aldriſe the biſhop of Carlile, that they the Biſhops would beare hym witnes. Yea (quoth I) that I beleue well, and wyth that the people laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morow they had kept the doores ſhut, and would let none in, but the Biſhops adherentes and ſeruantes, in maner, yea and the fyrſt day the thouſand man came not in. Then maiſter Comptroler, and Secretary Bourne, would haue ſtand vp alſo to beare wytnes, and dyd.

D. Aldriſe witneſſeth with the B. of Winchester.

I ſayd it was no great matter: and to ſay the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto them ſelues: but I ceaſed to ſay any more therein, knowing that they were to ſtrong and mighty of power, and that they ſhould be beleued before me, yea & before our Sauiour Chriſt, and all hys Prophets and Apoſtels therto, in theſe dayes.

Then after many woordes hee aſked me, what I thought concerning the bleſſed Sacrament, and ſtoode vp and put of hys cap, and all his fellowe Biſhops (of which there were a great ſort new men, of whom I knew few) whether I beleued in the ſacrament to be the very body and bloude of our Sauiour Chriſt that was borne of the Virgin Mary, & hanged on the croſſe, really

The opinion of M. Rogers touching the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, required.

really and ſubſtantially.

I aunſwered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore ſuſpected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwythſtanding, euen as the moſt part of your doctrine in other poyntes is falſe, & the defence therof onely by force & crueltye: ſo in this matter I thinke it to be as falſe as the reſt. For I can not vnderſtand [really & ſubſtantially] to ſignifie otherwiſe thē corporally: but corporally Chriſt is onely in heauen, and ſo can not Chriſt be corporally alſo in your ſacrament. And here I ſomewhat ſet out his charity after this ſort: My Lord (quoth I) ye haue delt wyth me moſt cruelly. For ye haue ſet me in pryſon wythout law, and kept me there now almoſt a yeare and a halfe. For I was almoſt halfe a yeare in my houſe, where I was obedient vnto you (God knoweth) and ſpake with no man. And now haue I bene a full yeare in Newgate, at great coſtes and charges, hauyng a wyfe and .x. children to finde, and I had neuer a peny of my liuings, which was agaynſt the law.

Actes. 3.

Crueltie ſhewed without a cauſe.

M. Rogers a yeare and a halfe in durance.

He aunſwered, that Doctor Rydley which had geuen them me, was an vſurper, and therefore I was the vniuſt poſſeſſour of them.

Was the Kyng then an vſurper (quoth I) whych gaue Doctor Ridley the Biſhopricke?

Yea (quoth he) and began to ſet out the wronges that the Kyng had done to the biſhop of London, and to him ſelf alſo. But yet I do miſuſe my termes (quoth he) to call the king vſurper. But the word was gone out of the aboundance of the hart before: and I thinke that he was not very ſorye for it in hart. I myght haue ſayd more concerning that matter, but I dyd not.

Ste. Gardiner calleth Kyng Edward an vſurper.

I aſked hym wherefore he ſet me in priſon. He ſayd because I preached agaynſt the Quéene.

I aunſwered that it was not true: and I would be bound to proue it, and to ſtand to the triall of the lawe, that no man ſhould be able to proue it, and thereupon would ſet my lyfe. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Croſſe, after the Quéene came to the Tower: but therein was nothyng ſayd agaynſt the Quéene, I take wytnes of all the audience: which was not ſmall. I alledged alſo that he had after examination let me go at liberty, after the preaching of that Sermon.

M. Rogers impriſoned againſt all law and ryght.

Yea, but thou didſt read thy lectures after (quoth he) againſt the cōmaundement of the Counſell.

That dyd I not (quoth I): let that be proued and let me dye for it. Thus haue ye now againſt the law of God and man handled me, and neuer ſent for me, neuer conferred wyth me, neuer ſpoke of any learning, tyll now that ye haue gotten a whip to whip me wyth, and a ſword to cut of my necke, if I will not condeſcend vnto your mynde. This charitie doth all the world vnderſtand.

I might and would haue added, if I could haue bene ſuffered to ſpeake, that it had bene time inough to take away mens liuinges, and thereto to haue priſoned thē, after that they had offended lawes. For they bee good Citizens that breake not lawes, and worthy of prayſe, and not of puniſhment. But theyr purpoſe is to keepe men in priſon ſo longe, vntill they may catch them in their lawes, and ſo kyll them. I could and would haue added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty deuiſed law was caſt into ÿ Lions denne. Item, I might haue declared, that I moſt humbly deſired to bee ſet at libertie, ſending my wife to hym wyth a Sulpplicatiō, being great with child, and wyth her, eyght honeſt women, or therabout, to Richmond, at Chriſtmas was a twelue moneth, whyles I was yet in my houſe.

M. Rogers puniſhed before any law was broken.

Item, I wrote two Supplications to hym out of Newgate, and ſent my wyfe many times to him. Maiſter Goſnold alſo that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and ſo did diuers other worthy men alſo take paynes in the matter. Theſe thinges declare my L. Chauncellours Antichriſtian charitie, which is, that he hath and doth ſéeke my bloud, and the deſtruction of my poore wife and my ten Chyldren.

M. Goſnolde laboured for M. Rogers.

Thys is a ſhort ſumme of the wordes whych were ſpoken the .xxviij. day of January at after none, after that Maiſter Hooper had bene the firſt, & M. Cardmaker the ſecond in examinatiō before me. The Lord graunt vs grace to ſtand together, fighting lawfully in hys cauſe, till wee bee ſmitten downe together, if the Lordes wyll be ſo to permit it. For there ſhall not a heare of our heades periſh agaynſt his will, but wyth hys wyll. Whereunto the ſame Lord graunt vs to bee obedient vnto the end, and in the end, Amen: Swéete, myghty, and mercyfull Lord Jeſus the Sonne of Dauid and of God. Amen, Amen, let euery true Chriſtian ſay and pray.

Then the clocke being (as I geſſed) about foure, the L. Chauncellour ſayd, that he and the church muſt yet vſe charitie with me (what maner of charitie it is, all true Chriſtians do well vnderſtand, as to wit, the ſame that the Foxe doth with the Chickens, and the Wolfe with the Lambes) and gaue me reſpite tyl to morow, to ſée whether I would remember my ſelfe wel to morow, & whether I would returne to ÿ catholike church (for ſo he calleth his Antichriſtian falſe church) againe, and repent, and they would receiue me to mercy.

Great mercy of Winchest. no leſſe th the Foxe hath to the chickens, or the Wolfe to ſucke the blood of Lambes.

I ſayd that I was neuer out of the true Catholicke Church, nor would be: but into his Church, would I, by Gods grace, neuer come.

Well (quoth he) then is our Church falſe and Antichriſtian.

Yea, quoth I.

The popes Church is the Church of Antichriſt.

And what is the doctrine of the Sacrament?

Falſe, quoth I, and caſt my handes abroad.

Then ſaid one, that I was a player. To whom I aūſwered not: for I paſſed not vpon his mocke.

Come agayn, quoth the Lord Chauncellour, to morow betwene nine and ten.

I am ready to come agayne, when ſo euer ye call, quoth I.

M. Rogers warned to appeare the next day.

And thus was I brought by ÿ Shriffes to the Coūter in Southwarke, Maiſter Hoper goyng before me, and a great multitude of people beyng preſent, ſo that we had much to do to go in the ſtréetes.

Thus much was done the xxviij. day of January.

THe ſecond day, which was the xxix. of January, we were ſent for in the mornyng about ix. of the clocke, and by the Shriffes fetched frō the Counter in Southwarke, to the Church agayne, as to wyt, to S. Mary Oueries, where we were the day before in the after noone, as is ſayd. And when Maiſter Hoper was condemned (as I vnderſtode afterward) then ſent they for me. Then the Lord Chauncellour ſayd vnto me:

M. Rogers & Maiſter Hooper brought againe before the Chauncellour.

Rogers (quoth hee) here thou waſt yeſterday, and we gaue thée libertie to remember thy ſelfe this night, whether thou wouldeſt come to the holy Catholicke Church of Chriſt agayn or not. Tel vs now what thou haſt determined, whether thou wilt be repentaunt and ſory, and wilt returne agayne and take mercy.

Gardiners wordes to Maiſter Rogers.

My Lord, quoth I, I haue remembred my ſelfe right well, what you yeſterday layd for you, and deſire you to geue me leaue to declare my minde what I haue to ſay thereunto, and that done, I ſhall aunſwere you to your demaunded queſtion.

Anſwere of M. Rogers to the B. of Winchest.

When I yeſterday deſired that I might be ſuffered by the Scripture and the authoritie of ÿ firſt, beſt, and pureſt Church to defend my doctrine by wrytyng (meanyng not onely of the primacie: but alſo of all the doctrine that euer I had preached) ye aunſwered me that it might not, nor ought not to bee graunted me, for I was a priuate perſon: and that the Parlament was aboue the authoritie of all priuate perſons, and therefore the ſentence therof might not be found fautie & valureles by me, beyng but a priuate perſon. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am able to ſhew examples, that

M. Rogers not ſuffered to defend him ſelfe by wrytyng.

one man hath come into a generall Counſell, and after the whole had determined and agreed vpon an Acte or Article, that ſome one mā commyng in afterward, hath by the word of God declared ſo pithely that the Counſell had erred in decreeing the ſayd Article, that he cauſed the whole Counſell to chaūge and aulter theyr Acte or Article before determined. And of theſe examples (ſaid I) I am able to ſhew two. I can alſo ſhew the authoritie of S. Auguſtine, that when he diſputed with an hereticke, he would neither him ſelf, nor yet haue ẏ hereticke to leane vnto the determination of two former Councels, of the which the one made for him and the other for the hereticke that diſputed agaynſt hym: but ſayd that he would haue the Scriptures to be their iudge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Item, I could ſhew (ſayd I) the authoritie of a learned Lawyer Panormitanus, which ſayth: that vnto a ſimple lay man that bryngeth the worde of God with him, there ought more credite to be geuen, then to a whole Councell gathered together. By theſe thynges will I proue that I ought not to be denyed to ſay my mind, and to be heard againſt a whole Parlamēt, bringyng the word of God for me, and the authoritie of the old Church 400. yeares after Chriſt, albeit that euery man in the Parlament had willingly and without reſpect of feare and fauour agreed therunto (which thyng I doubt not a litle of, ſpecially ſeyng the lyke had bene permitted in that old Church, euen in generall Councells, yea and that in one of the chiefeſt Councels that euer was, vnto which neither any Actes of this Parlament, nor yet any of the late generall Councels of the Byſhops of Rome, ought to be compared). For, ſayd I, if Henry the viij. were alyue, and ſhould call a Parlament, and begyn to determine a thyng (and here I would haue alledged the example of the Acte of making the Queene a Baſtard, & of makyng hym ſelfe the Superiour head, but I could not, beyng interrupted of one, whom God forgeue) then will ye (poyntyng to my Lord Chauncellour) & ye & ye, and ſo ye all (poyntyng to the reſt of the Byſhops) ſay: Amen, yea and it lyke your grace, it is meete that it be ſo enacted. &c.

Here my Lord Chauncellour would ſuffer me to ſpeake no more: but bad me ſit down mockingly, ſaying that I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, & I would take vpon me to be their Inſtructour.

My Lord (quoth I) I ſtand and ſit not: ſhall I not be ſuffered to ſpeake for my lyfe?

Shall we ſuffer thee to tell a tale and to prate, quoth he? and with that he ſtode vp, and began to face me, after his old arrogāt proud faſhion: for he perceiued that I was in a way to haue touched them ſomwhat: which thyng he thought to hinder, by daſhyng me out of my tale, and ſo he did. For I could neuer be ſuffered to come to my tale againe, no not to one word of it: but he had much like cōmunication with me as he had the day before, and as his maner is, taunt vpon taunt, & checke vpon checke. For in that caſe (beyng Gods cauſe) I told hym he ſhould not make me afrayd to ſpeake.

L. Chaun. See what a ſpirite this felow hath, ſayd he, findyng fault at myne accuſtomed earneſtnes, and harty maner of ſpeakyng.

Rog. I haue a true ſpirite, quoth I, agreeyng and obeying the word of God, and would further haue ſayd, that I was neuer the worſe but the better, to be earneſt in a iuſt and true cauſe & in my Maiſter Chriſtes matters: but I might not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towardes his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told hym, that his Church of Rome was the Church of Antichriſt, meanyng the falſe doctrine and tyrannicall lawes, with the maintenaunce therof by cruell perſecutiō vſed by the Biſhops of the ſayd Church (which the B. of Winchester & the reſt of his felow Biſhops that are now in Englād, are the chief members): Of lawes I meane (quoth I) and not of al womē which are in ẏ Popes church. Likewiſe when I was ſayd to haue denyed their Sacrament (wherof he made his wonted reuerent mention, more to maintaine his kyngdome thereby, then for the true reuerence of Chriſtes inſtitution: more for his owne and his Popiſh generations ſake, then for Religion or Gods ſake) I told him after what order I did ſpeake of it (for the maner of his ſpeakyng was not agreeyng to my wordes, which are before recited in the communication that we had the. 28. of January): wherwith he was not contented, but he aſked the audience whether I had not ſimply denyed the Sacrament. They would haue ſayd, and did what he luſted: for the moſt of them were of his own ſeruauntes, at that day, the. 29. day of January I meane. At the laſt I ſayd, I will neuer deny that I ſayd, that is, that your doctrine of the Sacramēt is falſe: but yet I tell you after what order I ſayd it.

How the Byſhop of Winchester ſeeketh for bloud.

To be ſhort, hee read my condemnation before me particularly, mentionyng therein but two Articles, firſt that I affirmed the Romiſh Catholicke Church to be ẏ Church of Antichriſt: and that I denyed the reality of their Sacrament. He curſed me to be diſgraded and condemned, and put into the handes of the Laity, and ſo hee gaue me ouer into the Shriffes handes, which were much better then his.

¶ *The copie of which hys condemnation here I thought to put down in Engliſh, to the intent that the ſame being here once expreſſed, may ſerue for all other Sentences condemnatory through the whole ſtory to be referred vnto.*

¶ The Sentence condemnatory agaynſt Maiſter Rogers.

The Sentence definitiue agaynſt *M. Rogers.*

IN the name of God Amen. We Steuen by the permiſſion of God biſhop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceding with all godly fauour by authority and vertue of our office, againſt thee *Iohn Rogers* Prieſt, aliàs called *Mathew*, before vs perſonally here preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſclaundered of hereſy, hauing heard, ſene, and vnderſtand, & with al diligent deliberation wayed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merites of the cauſe, all things being obſerued, which by vs in this behalfe in order of law ought to be obſerued, ſitting in our iudgement ſeate, the name of Chriſt beyng firſt called vpon, and hauing God onely before our eyes: becauſe by the actes enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confeſſion iudicially made before vs, we do finde that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed and obſtinately defended diuers errors, hereſies, and damnable opinions contrarye to the doctrine & determination of the holy Church, as namely theſe: *That the catholique church of Rome is the church of Antichriſt: Item, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is not ſubſtantially nor really the naturall body, and the bloud of Chriſt:* the which foreſaid hereſies and damnable opinions being contrarye to the law of God, and determination of the vniuerſall and Apoſtolicall church, thou haſt arrogantly, ſtubburnely, and wittingly mayntained, helde, and affirmed, and alſo defended before vs, as well in this iudgement, as alſo otherwyſe, and with the like obſtinacie, ſtubburnnes, malice and blindnes of hart both wittingly and wyllingly haſt affirmed, that thou wylt beleue, maintayn and hold, affirme, and declare the ſame: we therefore Steuen Wint. B. Ordinary and Dioceſan aforeſayd by the conſent and aſſent aſwell of our reuerend brethrē ẏ L. Biſhops here preſent and aſſiſtent, as alſo by the counſel and iudgemēt of diuers worſhipfull Lawyers and profeſſors of diuinitie, wyth whom we haue communicated in this behalfe, do declare and pronounce thee the ſaid *Iohn Rogers*, otherwyſe called *Mathew*, through thy demerites, tranſgreſſions, obſtinacies, and wylfulneſſes (which thou manyfold waies haſt incurred by thyne own wicked and ſtubburne obſtinacie) to haue bene and to be gilty in the deteſtable, horrible, and wycked offence of hereticall prauity and execrable doctrine, and that thou haſt before vs ſundry tymes ſpoken, mayntayned, and wyttingly and ſtubburnly defended the ſaid curſed and execrable doctrine in thy ſundry confeſſions, aſſertions, and recognitions here iudicially before vs oftetimes repeated, and yet ſtil dooſt maintain, affirme and beleue the ſame, and that thou haſt bene and art lawfully and ordinarily conuicted in thys behalfe,

Hys Articles.

An. 1555. *February.*

behalfe, we therfore (I ſay) albeit following the example of Chriſt, *Which would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould conuert and liue*, we haue gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful meanes that we could, and all wholſome admonitions that we dyd know, to reduce thee againe vnto the true fayth and vnity of the vniuerſall catholique church, notwythſtanding haue found thee obſtinate and ſtiffe necked, wyllingly continuing in thy damnable opinions & hereſies, and refuſyng to returne againe vnto the true fayth and vnitie of the holy mother Church, and as the child of wyckednes and darknes ſo to haue hardened thy hart, that thou wylt not vnderſtād the voyce of thy ſhepheard, which wyth a fatherly affection doth ſeeke after thee, nor wylt not bee allured wyth hys fatherly and godly admonitions: we therefore Steuen the B. aforeſayd, not wylling that thou whych art wicked, ſhouldeſt now become more wycked and infect the Lords flocke with thine hereſie (which we are greatly affeard of) with ſorrowe of mynde and bitternes of hart doe iudge thee, and diffinitiuely condemne thee the ſayd *Iohn Rogers*, otherwiſe called *Mathew*, thy demerites & defaultes being aggrauate through thy damnable obſtinacy, as gilty of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate impenitent ſynner, refuſyng penitently to returne to the lap and vnity of the holy mother church, and that thou haſt bene and art by law excommunicate, and doe pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon: Alſo we pronounce and declare thee beyng an hereticke, to be caſt out frō the church, & left vnto the iudgement of the Secular power, & now preſently ſo do leaue thee as an obſtinate hereticke, and a perſon wrapped in the ſentence of the great curſe, to bee diſgraded worthely for thy demerites [requiring them notwithſtanding in the bowels of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that this executiō and puniſhment worthely to be done vpon thee, may ſo be moderated that the rigour thereof be not to extreme, nor yet the gentlenes to much mitigated, but that it may be to the ſaluation of thy ſoule, to yͤ extirpation, terror, & conuerſion of the heretikes, to the vnity of the catholique fayth] by thys our ſentence diffinitiue which wee here lay vpon and agaynſt thee, and do wyth ſorrow of hart promulgate in this forme aforeſayd.

These murderers pretend a ſorow of hart, and yet they will not ceaſe from murdering.

Thys clauſe is not expreſſed in thys Sentence of Winchester, but in the other Sentences of *B. Boner* commonly it is expreſſed.

After this ſentence beyng read, he ſent vs (M. Hoper I meane, and me) to the Clinke, there to remayne till night: and when it was darke, they caryed vs, M. Hoper goyng before with the one Shriffe, & I cōmyng after with the other, with billes and weapons enowe, out of the Clinke, and lead vs thorough the Byſhops houſe, and ſo thorow S. Marie Oueryes Churchyard, and ſo into Southwarke, and ouer the Bridge on proceſſion to Newgate thorow the Citie. But I muſt ſhew you this alſo, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curſe, and what a vengeable daungerous matter it were to eate and drinke with vs that were accurſed, or to geue vs any thyng: for all that ſo dyd ſhould be partakers of the ſame great curſe.

M. Rogers & M. Hooper ſent to Newgate.

be in the Popes Church.

Well my Lord (quoth I) here I ſtand before God and you, and all this honorable audience, and take him to witnes, that I neuer wittingly or willyngly taught any falſe doctrine: and therfore haue I a good conſciēce before God and all good men. I am ſure that you and I ſhal come before a Iudge that is righteous, before whō I ſhalbe as good a man as you: and I nothyng doubt but that I ſhalbe foūd there a true member of the true Catholicke Church of Chriſt and euerlaſtyngly ſaued. And as for your falſe Church, ye neede not to excōmunicate me forth of it. I haue not ben in it theſe xx. yeres, yͤ lord be thāked therfore. But now ye haue done what ye cā, my Lord, I pray you yet graunt me one thyng.

M. Roge[illegible] *the B. of Winche*[illegible]

What is that, quoth he?

That my poore wife beyng a ſtraunger, may come and ſpeake with me ſo long as I lyue. For ſhe hath ten children that are hers and myne, & ſomewhat I would counſell her what were beſt for her to do.

No (quoth he) ſhe is not thy wife.

Yes my Lord (quoth I) & hath ben theſe 18. yeares.

Should I graunt her to be thy wife, quoth he?

Chooſe you, quoth I, whether ye wil or not: ſhe ſhall be ſo neuertheles.

She ſhall not come at thee, quoth hee.

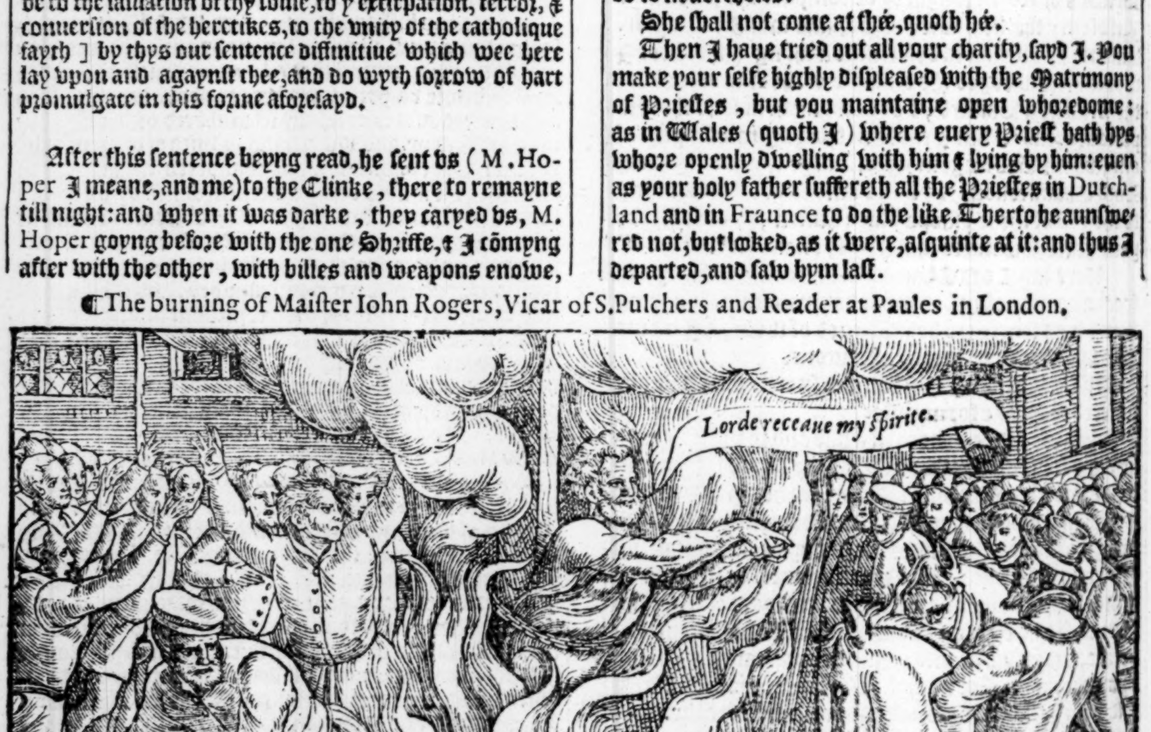
M. Roge[illegible] requeſt to haue hys wife come to hym while he li[illegible] could not be graunted.

Then I haue tried out all your charity, ſayd I. You make your ſelfe highly diſpleaſed with the Matrimony of Prieſtes, but you maintaine open whoredome: as in Wales (quoth I) where euery Prieſt hath hys whore openly dwelling with him & lying by him: euen as your holy father ſuffereth all the Prieſtes in Dutchland and in Fraunce to do the like. Therto he aunſwered not, but looked, as it were, aſquinte at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw hym laſt.

The Pope a deſtroyer of mariage and maintainer of whoredome.

The burning of Maiſter Iohn Rogers, Vicar of S. Pulchers and Reader at Paules in London.

The Martyrdome of *M. Rogers* in Smythfield. An. 1555. February. 4.


Lorde receaue my ſpirite.

Other good matter there is beſides penned by M. Rogers in the priſon, which he thought ⁊ would haue aunſwered, if he might haue bene permitted, touchyng which matter, becauſe it is already expreſſed before in the former edition, pag. 1031. it may pleaſe the reader to turne to the place, and there further to be ſatiſfied.

After that Iohn Rogers (as ye haue heard) had ben long ⁊ ſtraitly impriſoned, lodged in Newgate amōgeſt theeues, often examined, ⁊ very vncharitably ⁊ at lēgth vniuſtly ⁊ moſt cruelly by wicked Wincheſter cōdemned, the 4. of February, in yͤ yeare of our Lord 1555. beyng Monday in the mornyng, he was warned ſodenly by the kepers wife of Newgate, to prepare him ſelfe to the fire: who then beyng ſound a ſlepe, ſcarce with much ſhoggyng could be awaked. At length beyng rayſed and awaked, and bid to make haſt, then, ſayd he, if it be ſo, I neede not tye my pointes: ⁊ ſo was had down, firſt to Boner to be diſgraded. That done, he craued of Boner but one petitiō. Boner aſkyng what that ſhould be: nothyng ſayd he, but that he might talke a fewe wordes with his wife, before his burnyng. But that could not be obteined of him. Thē ſayd he, you declare your charitie, what it is: and ſo he was brought into Smithfield by Maiſter Cheſter, and M. Wodrofe, thē Shriffes of Londō, there to be burnt, where he ſhewed moſt conſtant paciēcie, not vſing many wordes: for he could not be permitted, but onely exhortyng the people conſtantly to remayne in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught and they had learned, and for the confirmation wherof, he was not onely content patiently to ſuffer and beare all ſuch bitternes and crueltie as had bene ſhewed him, but alſo moſt gladly to reſigne vp his life, and to geue his fleſh to the conſumyng fire for the teſtimonie of the ſame.

Febr. 4.

M. Rogers warned to prepare himſelfe to death.

M. Rogers diſgraded.

M. Rogers could not be ſuffred of Boner to ſpeake to his wife before hys burning.

M. Rogers brought to Smithfield.

Briefly and in few wordes to cōprehend the whole order of his life, doynges, and Martyrdome, firſt this godly M. Rogers was committed to priſon (as is aboue ſayd) and there continued a yeare and halfe. In priſon he was mery, and earneſt in al he wēt about. He wrote much: his examinations he penned with his owne hād, which els had neuer come to light. Wherein is to be noted by the way a memorable workyng of Gods prouidence. Ye heard a litle aboue, how M. Rogers craued of Boner, goyng to his burning, that he might ſpeake a few wordes before with his wife, which could not be graūted. What theſe wordes were which he had to ſay to his wife, it is for no mā certeinly to define. Likely it may be ſuppoſed that his purpoſe was, amongeſt other thynges, to ſignifie vnto her of the booke written of his examinations ⁊ aūſweres which he had priuily hyd in a ſecret corner of yͤ priſon where he lay. But where mās power lacketh, ſee how Gods prouidence worketh. For notwithſtādyng that duryng yͤ tyme of his impriſonmēt ſtrait ſearch there was to take away his letters ⁊ wrytyngs: yet after his death his wife ⁊ one of her ſonnes called Daniell, comming into the place where he lay, to ſeeke for his bookes ⁊ wrytynges, ⁊ now ready to go away, it chaūced her ſōne aforenamed, caſtyng his eye aſide to ſpy a blacke thing (for it had a black couer, belike becauſe it ſhould not be knowē) lying in a blynd corner vnder a payre of ſtayres. Who willing his mother to ſee what it was, found it to be the booke writtē with his owne hand, conteinyng theſe his examinations ⁊ aunſweres, with other matter aboue ſpecified. In the latter ende wherof this alſo was conteined, which becauſe it cōcerneth a Propheticall forwarning of things perteinyng to yͤ church, I thought here to place yͤ ſame his wordes, as they be there writtē, which are theſe: If God looke not mercifully vpō Englād, yͤ ſeedes of vtter deſtruction are ſowen in it already, by theſe hypocriticall tyrannes, and Antichriſtian Prelates, Popiſh Papiſtes, and double traitours to their naturall countrey. And yet they ſpeake of mercy, of bleſſing, of the Catholicke Church, of vnitie, of power, and ſtrengthening of the Realme. This double diſſimulation will ſhewe it ſelfe one day when the plague commeth, which wil vndoubtedly light vpō theſe crowneſhorne Captaines, ⁊ that ſhortly, what ſoeuer the Godly and the poore Realme ſuffer in the meane while by Gods good ſufferaunce and will.

The copie of Maiſter Rogers examinatiōs by Gods prouidence preſerued.

Maiſter Rogers ſeemeth to prophecie here of England, and that truely.

Spyte of Nabucodonoſors beard, and maugre his hart, the captiue, thral, and miſerable Iewes muſt come home agayne, and haue their Citie and Temple buylded vp agayne by Zorobabel, Eſdras, and Nehemias ⁊c. And the whole kyngdome of Babylon muſt go to ruine and bee taken of ſtraungers, the Perſians and Medes. So ſhal the diſperkled Engliſh flocke of Chriſt be brought agayne into their former eſtate, or to a better, I truſt in the Lord God, then it was in innocent kyng Edwardes dayes, and our bloudy Babylonicall Byſhops, and the whole crownſhorne cōpany brought to vtter ſhame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and deſtruction: for God can not, and vndoubtedly will not ſuffer for euer their abominable lying, falſe doctrine, their hypocriſie, bloudthirſte, whoredome, idlenes, their peſtilent lyfe pampored in all kynd of pleaſure, their thraſonicall boaſting, pride, their malicious, enuious, and poyſoned ſtomackes which they beare towardes his poore and miſerable Chriſtiās. Peter truly warneth that *if iudgement beginneth in the houſe of God, what ſhall bee the end of them that beleue not the Goſpell? If the righteous ſhall ſcant bee ſaued, where ſhall the vngodly and ſinfull appeare?* Some ſhall haue their puniſhment here in this world and in the world to come, and they that do eſcape in this world, ſhall not eſcape euerlaſtyng damnation. This ſhalbe your ſauce, O ye wicked Papiſtes, make ye mery here as long as ye may.

He meaneth here of the returne of the exiles into England.

1. Pet. 4.

Furthermore, amongeſt other his wordes and ſayinges, which may ſeeme prophetically to bee ſpoken of him: thys alſo may be added, and is notoriouſly to bee marked that he ſpake being then in priſon, to the Printer of this preſent booke, who then alſo was layd vp for lyke cauſe of religion: Thou (ſayd he) ſhalt lyue to ſee the alteration of thys religion, and the Goſpel freely to be preached againe: and therefore haue me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and byd them be circumſpect in diſplacing the Papiſts, and puttyng good Miniſters into Churches, or els their ende wyll be worſe then ours. And for lacke of good Miniſters to furniſh churches, hys deuiſe was (Maiſter Hoper alſo agreeing to the ſame) that for euery .x. churches ſome one good and learned Superintendent ſhould be appointed, which ſhould haue vnder hym faythfull Readers, ſuch as myght well be got: ſo yͤ popiſh prieſts ſhould cleane be put out, and the Biſhop once a yeare to ouerſee the profiting of the Pariſhes: and if the Miniſter did not his duty aſwel in profiting him ſelf in his booke, ⁊ his Pariſhners in good inſtructiōs, ſo that they myght bee trayned by litle ⁊ litle to geue a reckoning how they do profite: then he to be expelled, ⁊ an other put in his place: and the Biſhop to do yͤ like with yͤ Superintendent. This was his counſel ⁊ requeſt: Shewing moreouer and proteſting in hys cōmendations to his brethē by the Printer aforeſayd, that if they would not ſo do, their ende he ſayd would be worſe thē theyrs.

M. Rogers propheſieth of the returne of the Goſpell.

M. Rogers counſell in placing good miniſters.

Ouer and beſides diuers other thinges touching M. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the dayes of K. Edward the ſixt, there was a controuerſie among the Biſhops and Clergy, for wearing of Prieſtes caps and other attyre belonging to that order. Maiſter Rogers being one of that number, which neuer wēt otherwiſe thē in a roūd cap during all yͤ tyme of K. Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreemēt of vniformity, but vpon thys condition, that if they would needes haue ſuch an vniformity of wearing the cap, tippet. ⁊c. then it ſhould alſo be decreed withal, that the Papiſtes for a difference betwixt them and other, ſhould be conſtrayned to weare vpon their ſleeues a Chalice, wyth an Hoſt vpon it. Whereunto if they would conſent, he would agree to the other: otherwyſe he would not, he ſayd, conſent to the ſettyng forth of the ſame,

A note touching prieſtes cappes.

nor euer weare the cap, as in deede he neuer dyd.

Prouiſion by M. Rogers for the priſoners.

To proceede now further in deſcribing the doinges of this man, during the time while he remayned priſoner in Newgate, he was to the priſoners beneficiall & liberall: for whom he had thus deuiſed, that hee wyth his fellowes ſhould haue but one meale a day, they paying notwithſtanding for the charges of the whole: the other meale ſhould be geuen to them that lacked on the otherſide of the priſon. But Alexander their Keeper, a ſtrayte man, and a right Alexander, a Coperſmith in deede, of whoſe doinges more ſhall be ſayd (God wylling) hereafter, would in no caſe ſuffer that. The Sonday before he ſuffred, he dronke to M. Hooper (being then vnderneath him) & bad thē cōmend him vnto him, and tell hym, there was neuer litle fellow better would ſticke to a man, then he would ſticke to hym, preſuppoſing they ſhoulde both bee burned together: although it happened otherwyſe, for M. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concernyng the lyfe and ſuch actes of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Alexander Andrewe Gailer of Newgate, compared to *Alexander* the Coperſmyth.

Now when the tyme came, that he being delyuered to the Shiriffes, ſhould be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield the place of his execution, fyrſt came to him M. Woodrofe one of the foreſayd Shiriffes, & callyng M. Rogers vnto hym, aſked him if hee would reuoke hys abominable doctrine, and hys euyll opinion of the ſacrament of the aultar. Maiſter Rogers aunſwered and ſayd: that whych I haue preached, I wyll ſeale with my bloud. Then, quoth Maiſter Woodrofe, thou art an hereticke. That ſhal be knowē, quoth Rogers, at the day of iudgement. Well, quoth M. Woodrofe, I wyll neuer pray for thee. But I wil pray for you, quoth Maiſter Rogers, and ſo was brought the ſame day, which was Monday ẏ .iiij. of February, by ẏ Shiriffes toward Smithfield, ſaying the Pſalme Miſerere by the way, all the people wonderfully reioyſing at hys conſtancy, with great prayſes and thankes to God for the ſame: and there in the preſence of M. Rocheſter Comptroler of the Queenes houſhold, Syr Richard Southwell, both the Shiriffes, and a wonderfull number of people, he was burned into aſhes, waſhing hys handes in ẏ flame as he was in burning. A litle before his burning at ẏ ſtake his pardō was brought if he would haue returned, but he vtterly refuſed it. He was the firſt Protomartyr of all that bleſſed company that ſuffered in Queene Maries time, that gaue the firſt aduenture vpon the fire. His wyfe and children being a .xj. in number, .x. hable to go, and one ſucking on her breſt, met hym by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This ſorrowfull ſight of hys own fleſh and bloud could nothing moue him, but that he conſtantly & cherefully tooke hys death wyth wonderfull pacience in the defence and quarell of Chriſtes Goſpell.

The wordes of Maiſter *Woodrofe* to Maiſter *Rogers.*

M. Rogers refuſeth his pardon.

The hiſtory and Martyrdome of Laurence Saunders, burned for the defence of *the Goſpell at Couentry. An.* 1555. February. 8.

February. 8.
The ſtory of *Laurence Saunders* Martyr.

AFter that Queene Mary by publicke proclamatiō in the firſt yeare of her raygne, had inhibited the ſincere preachyng of Gods holy word, as is before declared, diuers godly Miniſters of the worde, which had the cure and charge of ſoules committed to them, dyd notwithſtanding accordyng to their bounden duty, feede their flocke faythfully, not as preachers authorized by publicke authoritie (as the godly order of the Realme was in the happy daies of bleſſed king Edward) but as the priuate Paſtors of particular flocks: among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worſhipful parētage. Hys bringing vp was in learning frō his youth in places meete for that purpoſe, as namely in the Schoole of Eaton. Frō whence according to the maner there vſed, he was choſen to go to the kings Colledge in Cambridge, where he continued ſcholer of the Colledge three whole yeares, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time. Shortly after that, he dyd forſake the Vniuerſitye, and went to hys Parentes: vpō whoſe aduiſe he mynded to become a Marchant, for that hys mother was a Gētlewoman of good eſtimation, being left a wyddow, and hauing a good portion for him among hys other brethren, ſhe thought to ſet hym vp wealthely, & ſo he comming vp to London, was bound Prentiſe with a Marchant named Syr William Cheſter (who afterward chaunced to bee Shiriffe of London the ſame yeare that Saunders was burned at Couentry). Thus by the mynde of hys friendes Laurence ſhould nedes haue bene a Marchant, but almighty God which hath his ſecrete working in all things, ſaw better for his ſeruant, as it fell out in the ende. For although that Saunders was bound by faſt indenture to play the Marchant, yet the Lord ſo wrought inwardly in his hart, that he could finde no likyng in that vocation: ſo that when his other fellowes were buſily occupyed about that kynde of trade, he would ſecretly wythdraw hymſelfe into ſome priuy corner, & there fal into his ſolitary lamentations as one not liking wyth that kynde and trade of lyfe.

Scholers are takē out of Eton Colledge into the kinges Colledge in Cambridge.

Maiſter *Saunders* firſt bound Prentiſe with M. *Cheſter.*

It happened that his Maiſter, being a good mā, & hearing hys Prentiſe thus in his ſecret prayers inwardly to mourne by hym ſelfe, called him vnto hym, to know what ẏ cauſe was of that his ſolitarines & lamentatiō: who thē perceauing his mind, nothing to fantaſie that kynde of lyfe (for ſo Saunders declared vnto him) and perceauing alſo hys whole purpoſe to be bent to ẏ ſtudy of hys booke and ſpirituall contemplation, like a good mā directed his letters incontinently vnto his frends, and geuing hym hys Indenture, ſo ſet hym free. And thus Laurence Sāders, being rauiſhed with the loue of learning, and eſpeciallye wyth the reading of Gods word, taryed not long time in the trafficke of marchandiſe, but ſhortly returned to Cambridge agayne to hys ſtudy. Where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the ſtudy of the Greeke toung, wherein hee profited in ſmall tyme very much: Therewith alſo he ioyned the ſtudy of the Hebrue. Then gaue he him ſelf wholy to the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture, to furniſh him ſelfe to the office of a Preacher.

Maiſter *Saunders* appointed to the trade of Marchandiſe, could not away with that kind of life.

Maiſter *Saunders* from marchandiſe returneth to his ſtudy.

In ſtudy he was diligent and paynfull: in godly lyfe he declared the fruites of a wel exerciſed conſcience. He prayed oftē and with great feruour, and in his praiers as alſo at other times, he had hys part of ſpiritual exerciſes, which hys hartye ſighing to God declared. In which when any ſpeciall aſſault dyd come, by praier he felt preſent reliefe: then was hys companye marueylous comfortable. For as hys exerciſes were ſpeciall teachinges, ſo in the ende they proued ſingular conſolations: wherin he became ſo experte, that within ſhort ſpace hee was able to comfort other which were in any affliction, by the conſolation wherewith the Lord dyd comfort hym. Thus continued he in the Vniuerſitye, tyll he proceeded Maiſter of Arte, & a long ſpace after.

In the begynnyng of kyng Edwardes raigne, when Gods true Religion was begon to be reſtored, after licence obteined, he began to preach, and was ſo well lyked of them which thē had authoritie, that they appointed him to read a Diuinitie lecture in the Colledge at Fothringa. Where, by doctrine and life he edified the the godly, drew many ignoraunt to Gods true knowledge, and ſtopped the mouth of ẏ aduerſaries. He maried about that tyme, and in the maried eſtate led a lyfe vnblameable before all men. The Colledge of Fothringa beyng diſſolued, he was placed to be reader in the Minſter at Lichefield: where he ſo behaued hym ſelfe in teachyng and liuyng, that the very aduerſaryes did geue him a ful report as wel of learning as of much godlynes. After a certaine ſpace he departed frō Lichefield to a benefice in Leyceſter ſhyre, called Churchlangton, wherupon he keepyng reſidence, taught diligently, and kept a liberall houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the Citie of London,

Maiſter *Saunders* reader in the Colledge of Fothringa.

Saunders after reader at Lichfield.

named Alhallowes in Breadſtreete. Then mynded he to geue ouer his Cure in ẏ coũtrey: and therfore after he had taken poſſeſſion of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the countrey, clearely to diſcharge him ſelfe therof. And euen at that tyme began the broile about the clayme that Quéene Mary made to the crowne, by reaſon wherof he could not accompliſh his purpoſe.

The conſtant purpoſe of Maiſter Saunders.

In this trouble, and euen among the begynners of it (ſuch I meane as weare for the Quéene) he preached at Northampton, nothing medlyng with the eſtate, but boldly vttered his conſcience agaynſt Popiſh doctrine and Antichriſtes dãnable errours, which were like to ſpryng vp agayne in England as a iuſt plague for the litle loue which ẏ Engliſh nation did beare to ẏ bleſſed worde of God, which had bene ſo plentifully offred vnto them. The Quéenes men which were there & heard him, were highly diſpleaſed with him for his Sermon, and for it kept him among them as priſoner. But partly for loue of his brethren & frendes, which were chief doers for the Quéene among them, partly becauſe there was no lawe broken by his preachyng, they diſmiſſed him. He ſeyng the dreadfull dayes at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeale, preached with diligence at both thoſe benefices, as tyme could ſerue him, ſeyng he could reſigne neither of them now, but into the hand of a Papiſt.

Thus paſſed he to and fro in preachyng, vntill that proclamation was put forth, of which mẽtion is made in the begynnyg. At which tyme he was at his benefice in the countrey, where he (notwithſtandyng the proclamation aforeſaid) taught diligently Gods truth, confirmyng the people therin, and armyng them againſt falſe doctrine, vntil he was not onely commaunded to ceaſe, but alſo with force reſiſted, ſo that he could not procede therein preachyng. Some of his frendes perceiuyng ſuch fearefull manaſſynges, counſeled hym to flie out of the Realme, which he refuſed to do. But ſeyng he was with violence kept from doyng good in that place, he returned towardes London, to viſite the flocke, of which he had there the charge.

Maiſter Saunders refuſeth to flye the Realme.

On Saterday, the xiiij. of October, as he was commyng nigh to the Citie of London, Syr Iohn Mordant a Counſellour to Quéene Mary, did ouertake him, and aſked him whether he went. I haue (ſaid Saũders) a Cure in London, and now I go to inſtruct my people accordyng to my duety. If you will folow my counſel, quoth M. Mordant, let them alone, & come not at them. To this Saunders aunſwered: how ſhall I thẽ be diſcharged before God, if any be ſicke and deſire cõſolatiõ, if any want good counſell & néede inſtruction, or if any ſhould ſlippe into errour and receaue falſe doctrine? Did not you, quoth Mordant, preach ſuch a day, and named the day, in Breadſtréete in London? Yes verely, ſayd Saunders, that ſame is my Cure. I heard you my ſelfe, quoth M. Mordant: and will you preach now there agayne? If it pleaſe you, ſayd Saunders, to morow you may heare me agayn in that ſame place, where I wil confirme by the authoritie of Gods word, all that I ſayd then, and what ſoeuer before that tyme I taught them.

Maiſter Mordant diſwadeth Laurence Saunders from preaching.

I would counſell you (quoth ẏ other) not to preach. If you can, and will forbyd me by lawfull authoritie, then muſt I obey, ſayd Saunders. Nay, quoth hée, I will not forbyd you, but I doe geue you counſell. And thus entred they both the Citie, and departed ech from other. M. Mordant of an vncharitable mind, wẽt to geue warnyng to Boner Byſhop of London, that Saunders would preach in his Cure the next day. Saũders reſorted to his lodgyng, with a minde bent to do his duetie. Where becauſe he ſemed to be ſomewhat troubled, one which was there about him, aſked hym how he did. In very déede (ſayth he) I am in priſon till I be in priſon: meanyng that his mynd was vnquiet vntil he had preached, & that then he ſhould haue quietnes of mind, though he were put in priſon.

Maiſter Saunders in priſon, till he was in priſon.

The next day, which was Sonday, in the forenoone he made a Sermõ in his Pariſh, entreatyng that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: *I haue coupled you to one man, that ye ſhould make your ſelues a chaſt Virgin vnto Christ. But I feare leſt it come to paſſe, that as the Serpent beguiled Eue: euen ſo your wittes ſhould be corrupt from the ſinglenes which ye had towardes Christ.* He recited a ſumme of that true Chriſtiã doctrine, through which they were coupled to Chriſt, to receiue of him frée iuſtification through faith in his bloud. The Papiſticall doctrine he compared to the Serpentes deceiuyng: and leſt they ſhould be deceiued by it, he made a compariſon betwene the voyce of God, and the voyce of the Popiſh Serpent, deſcendyng to more particular declaration therof, as it were to let them playnly ſée the difference that is betwene the order of the Church ſeruice ſet forth by kyng Edward in the Engliſh toung: comparyng it with the Popiſh ſeruice then vſed in the Latine toung.

M. Saunders Sermon at Alhallowes.

2. *Cor.* 11.

Difference betwene the ſeruice vſed in *K. Edwardes* time, and in the tyme of *Q. Mary.*

The firſt he ſayd was good, becauſe it was accordyng to the worde of God. 1. Corinth. 14. and the order of the primatiue Church. The other he ſayd was euill, and though in that euill he entermingled ſome good Latine wordes: yet was it but as a litle hony or milke myngled with a great deale of poyſon, to make them to drinke vp all. This was the ſumme of hys Sermon.

In the after noone hee was ready in his Church to haue geuen an other exhortation to his people: but the Byſhop of London interrupted him, by ſendyng an officer for him. This officer charged him vpon the payne of diſobedience and contumacie, forthwith to come to the Byſhop his maiſter. Thus, as the Apoſtles were brought out of the Tẽple where they were teachyng, vnto the rulers of the Prieſtes: ſo was Laurence Saũders brought before this Biſhop in his Palace of London, who had in his cõpany the aforenamed Syr Iohn Mordãt and ſome of his Chapleins. The Byſhop layd no more to Laurẽce Saunders charge, but treaſon for breakyng the Quéenes proclamation: hereſie and ſedition for his Sermon.

M. Saunders apprehẽded by *B. Boner* at his Sermon.

Syr Iohn Mordant accuſer of *Laurence Saunders.*

Preaching of Gods word, made treaſon with byſhop *Boner.*

The treaſon, and ſedition, his charitie was content to let ſlip, vntill an other tyme. But an hereticke he would now proue him, and all thoſe, he ſayd, which did teach and beleue that the adminiſtration of the Sacramentes and all orders of the Church are moſt pure, which do come moſt nigh to the order of the primatiue Church. For the Church was then but in her infancy, and coulde not abyde that perfection, which was afterward to be furniſhed with ceremonies. And for this cauſe Chriſt him ſelfe, and after him the Apoſtles did in many things beare with the rudenes of the Church. To this Laurence Saunders aunſwered with the authoritie S. Auguſtine, that ceremonies were euẽ from the begynnyng inuented and ordained for the rude infancie & weake infirmitie of mã, and therfore it was a token of the more perfection of the primatiue Church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudenes of the Church Papiſtical, becauſe it had ſo many ceremonies, partly blaſphemous, partly vnſauery & vnprofitable.

Ceremonies inuented only for weake infirmity.

After much talke had concernyng this matter, the Biſhop willed him to write what he beleued of tranſubſtantiation. Laurence Saunders did ſo, ſaying: My Lord ye do ſéeke my bloud, and ye ſhall haue it. I pray God that ye may be ſo Baptiſed in it, that ye may therafter loth bloudſuckyng, and become a better mã. This writyng the Byſhop kept for his purpoſe, euen to cut the writers throte, as ſhall appeare hereafter. The Byſhop when he had his will, ſent Laurence Saunders to the Lord Chauncellour, as Annas ſent Chriſt to Cayphas: and like fauour found Saunders, as Chriſt his Maiſter did before him. But the Chauncellour beyng not at home, Saunders was cõſtrained to tary for him by the ſpace of iiij. houres, in the vtter chamber, where he

B. Boner ſeeketh the bloud of *M. Saunders.*

M. Saunders ſent from *Annas* to *Caiphas.*

he found a Chaplein of the Biſhops very merily diſpoſed with certein gentlemẽ playing at the Tables, with diuers other of the ſame family or houſe, occupied there in the ſame exerciſe.

All this tyme Saunders ſtode very modeſtly and ſoberly at the ſcréene or Cupbord, bareheaded, Syr John Mordant his guide or leader walkyng vp and downe by him: who (as I ſayd before) was thẽ one of the Coũſell. At yͤ laſt the Byſhop returned frõ yͤ Court, whom, as ſoone as hee was entred, a great many ſuters mette & receiued: ſo that, before he could get out of one houſe into an other, halfe an houre was paſſed. At the laſt hée came into the chãber where Saunders was, and went through into an other chamber: where in the meane way Saunders leader gaue him a writyng contaynyng the cauſe, or rather the accuſatiõ of the ſayd Saunders, which when he had peruſed, where is the man, ſayd the Byſhop? Then Saunders beyng brought forth to the place of examination, firſt moſt lowly and mekely knéeled downe and made curteſie before the Table where the Biſhop did ſit: vnto whom the Biſhop ſpake on this wiſe.

Wincheſters talke with *M.Saunders.*

How happeneth it (ſayd he) that notwithſtandyng the Quéenes Proclamation to the contrary, you haue enterpriſed to preach?

M.Saunders aunſwere to *Wincheſter.*

Saunders denyed that hée did preach: ſaying that, forſomuch as he ſaw the perillous times now at hand, he did but, accordyng as he was admoniſhed and warned by Ezechiell the Prophete, exhorte his flocke and Pariſhoners to perſeuer and ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the doctrine which they had learned, ſaying alſo that he was moued and pricked forward therunto by that place of the Apoſtle wherin he was cõmaunded rather to obey God then man: & moreouer that nothyng more moued or ſtirred him therunto, then his owne conſcience.

Wincheſter.

A godly conſcience ſurely ſayd the Byſhop. This your conſcience could make our Quéene a Baſtard or miſbegotten: would it not I pray you?

M.Saunders.

Then ſayd Saunders: we (ſayd he) do not declare or ſay that the Quéene is baſe or miſbegotten, neither go about any ſuch matter. But for that let thẽ care, whoſe writynges are yet in the handes of men, witneſſing the ſame, not without the great reproch and ſhame of the Authour: priuily tauntyng the Biſhop him ſelfe, which had before (to get the fauour of Henry the eight) written & ſet forth in printe a boke of true obedience, wherin he had openly declared Quéene Mary to be a Baſtard. Now M.Saunders goyng forwardes in his purpoſe, ſayd: We do onely profeſſe and teach the ſinceritie and puritie of the word, the which albeit it bee now forbidden vs to preach with our mouthes: yet notwithſtandyng I do not doubt, but that our bloud hereafter ſhall manifeſt the ſame. The Byſhop beyng in this ſort pretily nipped and touched, ſayd: Cary away this frenſie foole to priſon. Vnto whom M.Saunders aunſwered, that hee did geue God thankes, which had geuen hym at the laſt, a place of reſt and quietnes, where as he might pray for the Byſhops conuerſion.

A priuie nippe to *Wincheſter.*

Wincheſters boke *De vera Obedientia.*

Note how *Wincheſter* confuteth M. *Saunders.*

Furthermore he that did lye with him afterwardes in priſon in the ſame bed, reported that he heard hym ſay that euen in the tyme of his examination, he was wonderfully comforted, in ſomuch as not onely in ſpirite, but alſo in body, he receiued a certaine taſt of that holy Communion of Saintes, whileſt a moſt pleaſaunt refreſhyng did iſſue from euery part and member of the body vnto the ſeat and place of the heart, and from thence dyd ebbe and flow to and fro vnto all the partes agayne.

A notable example of the Lord, comforting hys ſeruauntes in their troubles.

This Saũders cõtinued in priſon a whole yeare and 3. monethes. In al which ſpace he ſent diuers letters to diuers mẽ: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, & Latimer: and other to his wife, & alſo to others, certifying thẽ both of the publicke calamitie of the tyme, and alſo of his priuate afflictiõs, and of ſondry his conflictes with his aduerſaries: As in writyng to his frend, he ſpeaketh of Weſton conferryng with him in priſon, wherof you ſhall here anone (by the leaue of the Lord) as foloweth in the ſtory. In the meane tyme the Chauncellour, after this litle talke with M. Saunders (as is aforeſayd) ſent him to the priſon of yͤ Marſhalſey. &c. For yͤ Cayphas (Wincheſter I meane) did nothyng but bayte him with ſome of his curriſh eloquẽce, and ſo committed him to the priſon of the Marſhalſey, where he was kept priſoner one whole yeare and a quarter. But of his cauſe and eſtate, thou ſhalt now ſée, what Laurence Saunders hym ſelfe did write.

M. Saunders in priſon a yeare and iij. monethes.

¶A parcell of a Letter of Laurence Saunders ſent to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, as an aunſwere to certaine thinges wherwith he had before charged hym.

A fragment of Maiſter *Saunders* letter.

TOuchyng the cauſe of my impriſonment, I doubt whether I haue broken any law, or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, for aſmuch as at that tyme it was permitted by the proclamation to vſe, accordyng to our conſciẽces, ſuch ſeruice as was then eſtabliſhed. My doctrine was then agreable vnto my conſcience and the ſeruice then vſed. The Acte which I did (hee meaneth publicke teachyng of Gods word in his owne Pariſh, called Alhallowes in Breadſtreete in the Citie of Londõ) was ſuch, as beyng indifferently weyed, ſounded to no breakyng of the proclamation, or at the leaſt no wilfull breakyng of it, for as much as I cauſed no Bell to be rong, neither occupied I any place in the Pulpit, after the order of Sermõs or Lectures. But be it that I did breake the Proclamation: this long tyme of continuaũce in priſon may be thought to be more then a ſufficient puniſhment for ſuch a fault.

He meaneth the proclamation of which mention is made before.

Satis peccauit qui reſiſtere non potuit.

Touchyng the chargyng of me with my Religion, I ſay with S. Paul: *This I confeſſe that after the way which they call hereſie, ſo worſhyp I the God of my forefathers, beleuyng all thynges which are written in the law and the Prophetes, and haue hope towardes God. &c.* And herein ſtudy I to haue alway a cleare conſcience towardes God, and towardes men: ſo that God I call to witnes, I haue a conſcience. And this my conſcience is not grounded vpon vayne phantaſie, but vpon the infallible veritie of Gods word, with the witneſſyng of hys choſen Church agreable vnto the ſame.

Actes. 24.

A good teſtimony of a good conſcience.

It is an eaſy thing for them, which take Chriſt for their true Paſtor, and be the very ſhepe of hys paſture, to diſcerne the voyce of their true ſhepheard, from the voice of wolues, hirelinges, and ſtraungers, for as much as Chriſt ſayth: *My ſheepe heare my voyce*, yea and therby they ſhall haue the gyft to knowe the ryght voyce of the true Shepheard, and ſo to follow hym, and to auoide the contrary, as he alſo ſayth: *The ſhepe follow the ſhepheard, for they know hys voyce. A Straunger will they not follow, but wyll flie from hym: for they know not the voyce of a Straunger.* Such inward inſpiration doth the holy Ghoſt put into the chyldren of God, being in deede taught of God, but otherwyſe vnable to vnderſtand the true way of their ſaluation. And albeit that *the Woolfe* (as Chriſt ſayth) *commeth in ſheepes cloathing*, yet he ſayth: *by their fruites ye ſhall know them.* For there bee certaine fruites whereby the wolfe is bewraied, notwythſtanding that otherwyſe in ſondrye ſortes of deuout holynes in outward ſhew, he ſeemeth neuer ſo ſymple a ſheepe. That the Romiſh religion is rauening and wolfiſh, it is apparaunt in three principal pointes.

Iohn. 10.

1. Tim. 4.

Math. 7.

How the Wolfe is knowen from the true ſhepheard.

Fyrſt, it robbeth God of his due and onely honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conſcience in obſcuring, or rather burying of Chriſt, and hys office of ſaluation.

The inconueniences of the Romiſhe religion, in iij. poyntes.

Thirdly, it ſpoileth God of his true worſhip and ſeruice in ſpirite and truth, appointed in his preſcript commaundementes, and driueth men vnto that inconuenience, agaynſt the which Chriſt wyth the Prophet Eſay doth ſpeake ſharply: *Thys people honoreth me wyth theyr lips, but theyr hart is farre from me. They worſhip me in vayne, teaching the doctrine and preceptes of men.* And in an other place: *ye caſt aſide the commaundement of God to maintayne your owne traditions.*

Eſay. 26.
Math. 15.

Wherefore I in conſcience, weying the Romiſh religion, and by indifferent diſcuſſyng therof, finding the foundation vnſtedfaſt, and the building therupon but vayne: and on the other ſyde hauing my conſcience framed after a right and vncorrupt religion, ratified and fully ly eſtabliſhed by the word of God, and the conſent of his true church, I neither may, nor do entend by Gods gracious aſſiſtance, to be pulled one iote from the ſame, no though an Aungell out of heauen ſhoulde preach an other Goſpel, then that which I haue receiued of the lord.

And although that for lacke, eyther of ſuch depe knowledge and profound iudgement, or of ſo expedite vttering of that I do know and iudge, as is required in an excellent Clarke, I ſhall not be able ſufficiently to aunſwere, for the conuincing of the gainſayer: yet neuertheles this my proteſtatiō ſhal be of me premiſed, that for the reſpect of the groundes and cauſes before conſidered, albeit I cā not *explicita fide, as they call it, conceiue all that is to be conceiued, neyther cā diſcuſſe al that is to be diſcuſſed, nor can effectually expreſſe all that is to be expreſſed in the diſcourſe of the doctrine of thys moſt true religion, whereunto I am profeſſed: yet do I binde my ſelf as by my humble ſimplicity, ſo by my fidem *implicitam: that is, by fayth in generaltie (as they call it) to wrap my beliefe in the credite of the ſame, yͭ no authority of that Romiſh religion repugnant thereunto, ſhall by any meanes remoue me from the ſame, though it may happe that our aduerſaries wyll labour to beguile vs with entiſing wordes, and ſeeke to ſpoyle vs through Philoſophy and deceitfull vanity, after the traditions of mē, and after the ordinaunces of the world, and not after Chriſt. &c.

*Explicita fides, is when a mā hath to aunſwere to euery point of his fayth by ſufficient ground and learning.

*Implicita fides, is when a man without inſtruction in him ſelf groundeth onely vpon the fayth of the Church, not able to render any reaſon of that which he beleueth.

And thus much out of M. Saūders letter, ſo much as remayned therof. The reſidue, becauſe it was rent away, I could not adioyne hereunto. Notwithſtāding by this already expreſſed, it is ſufficient to vnderſtād how good was the cauſe and eſtate of thys bleſſed chylde of God, being priſoner for Chriſtes cauſe. For the defēce whereof he wholy beſtowed and reſigned him ſelfe in ſuch ſorte as he forbad hys wife to ſue for hys deliuery, and when other of hys friendes had by ſuite almoſt obtayned it, he diſcouraged thē, ſo that they dyd not folow their ſuite, as by thys letter following it may appeare.

¶ A Letter of M. Saunders to hys Wyfe.

Maiſter Saunders letter to hys wife.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord.

Entirely beloued wyfe, euen as vnto myne owne ſoule and body, ſo doe I dayly in my harty prayer wyſh vnto you, for I doe dayly, twyſe at the leaſt in thys ſorte remember you. And I doe not doubt (deare wyfe) but that both I and you, as we be wrytten in the booke of lyfe, ſo we ſhall together enioye the ſame euerlaſtingly, through the grace and mercy of God our deare father, in hys ſonne our Chriſt. And for thys preſent lyfe, let vs wholy appoynt our ſelues to the wyll of our good God, to glorify hym either by lyfe or by death, and euen that ſame mercyfull Lorde make vs worthy to honour hym eyther way, as pleaſeth hym, Amen. I am merye I thanke my God and my Chriſt, in whom and through whom I ſhall (I knowe) be able to fight a good fight, and finiſh a good courſe, and then receyue the crowne which is layd vp in ſtore for me, and all the true Souldiours of Chriſt. wherfore wyfe let vs in the name of our God, fight luſtely to ouercome the fleſh, the deuil, and the world. what our harneſſe and weapons bee in thys kynde of fight, looke the. vj. vnto the *Epheſians*, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no ſuite for me in any wyſe. Thanke, you know whom, for her moſt ſwete and comfortable putting me in remembraunce of my iourney, whether I am paſſing. God ſend vs all good ſpede, and a ioyful meeting. I haue to few ſuch frendes to further me in that iourney, which is in deede the greateſt friendſhip. The bleſſing of God be wyth you all. Amen.

A priſoner in the Lord Laurence Saunders.

1.Tim.4.

Maiſter Saunders would haue no ſuite made for hym.

Thys hys conſtancie is ſufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, Antichriſt and Death. To neyther of theſe dyd he geue place: but by ſuffering their malice, got the victory ouer them both. One of the conflictes which hee had wyth Antichriſt and hys members, I haue gathered out of a letter of hys own hand writyng. It was wyth Doctor Weſton, a man whom though I ſhould prayſe, yet would all good and godly men worthely diſprayſe. Of this, the ſaid Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which hee ſent to one of hys friendes, which wrote to hym to know what Doct. Weſton dyd at the Marſhalſey: wherunto he thus aunſwereth.

Antichriſt and Death vanquiſhed.

Maiſter Weſton came to conferre wyth Mayſter Grimoald. What he hath cōcluded with him, I know not: I wyſh it may be to Gods glory, Amen, Amen. Maiſter Weſton of hys gentlenes viſited me, and offered me friendſhip in hys worldly wily ſort. &c. I had not ſo much good maner, as to take it at hys hand: for I ſayd, that I was well inough, and ready cherefully to abyde the extremity, to keepe thereby a good conſcience. You be a ſleepe in ſinne (ſayd hee). I would awake (quoth I) and doe not forget, Vigilate & orate. i. *Watch and pray*. What church was there, ſayd hee. xx. yeares paſt? What church was there, quoth I, in Helias tyme? Ione of Kent, ſayd he, was of your church. No, quoth I, we dyd condemne her as an hereticke.

Thys Doct. *Weſton and M. Grimoald* dyed both about the Coronation of Q. *Elizabeth.*

Who was of your church, ſayd he. xx. yeares paſt? Such quoth I, as that Romiſh Antichriſt, and his rable haue reputed and condemned as heretickes. Wicklife ſayd he, Thorp, Oldcaſtle. &c. Yea, quoth I, with many moe, as ſtoryes doe tell.

The Church goeth not alwayes by number.

The B. of Rome hath, ſaid he, long time plaied a part in your rayling Sermons: but now bee ye ſure hee muſt play an other maner of part. The more pitye, quoth I, and yet ſome comfort is it to ſee how that the beſt learned, wyſeſt, and holyeſt of you all, haue heretofore had hym to play a part likewyſe in your Sermons and writyngs, though now to pleaſe the world, you do turne wyth the weathercocke. Did you euer, ſayd hee, heare me preach agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome? No quoth I, for I neuer heard you preach. But I trowe you haue bene no wyſer thē other. &c. with more about the Sacrament. Pray, pray. God keepe your family and bleſſe it.

Wincheſters boke *De vera Obedientia.*

What a bleſſed taſte this good man had of Gods holy ſpirit, by diuers and ſondry his letters may right wel appeare to him that is diſpoſed to peruſe yͤ ſame: whereof certayn we haue here thought good, yͤ Lord wyllyng, to expreſſe, firſt beginnyng with that which he wrote out of the Marſhalſey to D. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, priſoners for the like cauſe of Chriſt, in Oxford.

What a bleſſed taſte Maiſter *Saunders* had of Chriſtes comfortes.

¶ To the Archb. Cranmer, Biſh. Ridley, and M. Latimer, being priſoned in Oxford.

M. Saunders writeth to D. Cranmer, Ridley, &c.

IN my moſt humble wyſe I ſalute you moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. Immortal thākes and euerlaſtyng prayſes be geuen vnto that our Father of mercies, *Which hath made vs meete to be partakers of the inheritaunce of Saintes in light, which hath deliuered vs from the power of darknes, and hath tranſlated vs into the kingdome of hys beloued Sonne, by whom we haue redemption through hys bloud. &c.* Oh moſt happy eſtate, that in an vnſpeakeable wiſe, our lyfe is hyd wyth Chriſt in God: but whenſoeuer Chriſt, which is our lyfe, ſhall ſhew him ſelfe, then ſhall we alſo appeare with him in glory. In the meane ſeaſon, as our ſight is but in a glaſſe, euen in a darke ſpeaking, ſo wee walke in fayth, not after outwarde appearaunce. The which fayth, although for want of outward appearance, reaſon reputeth but as vayne: ye the choſen of God doe know the effect therof, to bring a more ſubſtantiall taſte and liuely fruition of very felicity and perfect bleſſednes, then reaſon can reach, or ſenſes conceiue. By this fayth, we haue in our profeſſion all good things: yea, euen thē *which the eye hath not ſeene, and the eare hath not heard, neither hath entred into the hart of mā. &c.* Thē if hereby we do enioy all good thinges, it foloweth, yͭ we muſt needes poſſeſſe, haue and enioy you moſt reuerend Fathers, who be no ſmal part of our ioy, & good things geuen vs of God.

Coloſſ.1.

Coloſſ.3.

1.Cor.13.

Eſay.64.
1.Cor.2.

We heretofore haue had the fruition of you by bodely preſence to our inexplicable benefite, prayſed be that our gratious God therfore. And now in ſpirite we haue the experience of vnſpeakable cōfort, by your reuerēd fatherhodes, for that in this ſo glorious ſort, ye become a town ſet vpō a hill, a candle vpō a Candleſticke, a ſpectacle vnto the world, both to the Aungels, and vnto men. So that, as we to our great comfort doe feele, you alſo may aſſuredly ſay with Saint Paule, that the thinges which happen vnto vs, do chaunce vnto the great furtherance of the Goſpell: ſo that our bondes in Chriſt are manyfeſt,

Math.5.

1.Cor.4.
Phil.1.

Phil.1.

feſt, not onely throughout all the iudgement Hall, but in all whole Europa: In ſo much that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bondes, dare more boldly ſpeake the word without feare. And herein as you haue with S.Paule greatly to reioyce: ſo we doe reioyce wyth you, and wee doe in deede with you geue thankes for this excellent worthy fauour of our God towardes you, that Chriſt is thus magnified in you, yea and hereafter ſhall bee magnifyed in your bodyes, whether it be through lyfe or death. Of which thing truely we are aſſured in our praiers for you, and miniſtring of the ſpirite. And although for your own partes Chriſt is vnto you lyfe, and death aduauntage, and that your deſire is (as in deede it were better for you) to bee looſed, and to be with Chriſt, yet for the church of Chriſt were it much more neceſſary, that ye ſhould abyde in the fleſh. Yea, that mercyful God, euen for his Chriſtes ſake graunt that ye may abyde and continue for the furtherance of the church and reioyſing of faith, that the reioyſing therof may be the more abundaunt through Ieſus Chriſt, by your reſtoring, Amen, Amen.

Phil.1.

But if it ſeeme better otherwyſe vnto the diuine wiſdome, that by ſpeedy death, he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lordes wyll be done. Yea, euen as we doe reioyce both on your behalfes, and alſo on our own, that God is magnified by life, and ſhould be more aboundãtly glad for the continuaunce thereof: ſo we ſhall no leſſe reioyce to haue the ſame wrought by death. We ſhal geue thankes for this honor geuen vnto you, reioycing that ye are accompted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt, and that, *it is geuen to you of God, not onely that ye ſhould beleue in hym, but alſo that ye ſhould ſuffer for his ſake.* And herein we ſhall haue to reioyce in the behalfe of the church of Chriſt whoſe faith may be the faſter fixed vpon Gods verity, being confirmed with three ſuch worthy witneſſes. Oh thankes be to God for this his vnſpeakeable gift.

The conſtant minde of a Chriſtian Souldiour.

Epheſ.1.

Rom.8.

Galat.4.

2.Cor.4.

Pſal.116.

Phil.1.

And now moſt Reuerend Fathers, that you may vnderſtand the truth of vs and our eſtate how we ſtand in the Lord, I do aſſure your Reuerences, partly by that I perceaue by ſuch of our brethren as be here in bondes with me, partly by that I heare of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I moſt vnworthy wretch haue of Gods good comfort, (more abundaunce wherof I know there is in others) you may be aſſured (I ſay) by Gods grace, that you ſhall not be fruſtrate of your hope of our conſtant continuance in the chearefull confeſſion of Gods euerlaſting veritie. For euen as we haue receiued the word of truth, euen the Goſpell of our ſaluation, wherin we beleuyng are ſealed with the holy ſpirite of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritaunce (the which ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite that we are the children of God, and therfore God hath ſent the ſpirite of his ſonne into our hartes, crying, *Abba, Father*) ſo after ſuch portion as God meaſureth vnto vs, we with the whole Church of Chriſt, and with you, Reuerend Fathers, receauyng the ſame ſpirite of fayth, accordyng as it is written: *I beleued and therfore I haue ſpoken,* we alſo beleue, and therefore ſpeake. For the which we in this daungerous bondage and other afflictions, hauing euẽ ſuch a fight as we haue ſeene in you and haue heard of you, are in no wiſe afrayd of our aduerſaries.

2.Cor.4.

2.Cor.4.

2.Tim.2.

2.Cor.4.

And for aſmuch as we haue ſuch an office, euẽ as God hath had mercy on vs, we go not out of kynd, but euen with you, after our litle power, we labour to maintayne the fayth of the Goſpell: knowyng moſt certainely, that though *we haue this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellency of this power might be Gods and not ours:* yet ſhall we not be daſhed in pieces: For the Lord will put his hand vnder vs. [when] we are troubled on euery ſide, yet are we not without ſhift: [when] we are in pouertie, we are not vtterly without ſome thyng: [when] we ſuffer perſecution, we are not forſakẽ therin: [when] we are caſt down, yet we ſhall not periſh: but to communicate with our ſwete Sauiour Chriſt in bearyng yͤ Croſſe, it is appointed vnto vs, that euen with him alſo we ſhalbe glorified. For it is a true ſaying: *If we be dead with him, we ſhall alſo lyue with hym: If we be patient, we ſhall alſo reigne with hym: If we deny hym, he ſhall alſo deny vs.* Wherfore we be of good chere, *alwayes bearyng about in our body the dying of the Lord Ieſus, that the lyfe of Ieſus might appeare alſo in our body: For we know that he which rayſed vp the Lord Ieſus, ſhall rayſe vp vs alſo by the meanes of Ieſus, and ſhall ioyne vs to hym ſelfe together with you. Wherfore we are not weryed: but though our outward man periſhe, yet the inward man is renued day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentane and light, prepareth an excedyng and eternall weight of glory vnto vs, while we looke not on the thynges which are ſeene, but on the thynges which are not ſeene. For the thynges which are ſeene, are temporall: but the thynges which are not ſeene, are eternall.*

Eſay.12.

Pſal.42.

We teſtifie vnto you, Reuerend Fathers, that we draw theſe waters with ioy out of the welles of the Sauiour. And I truſt we ſhall continually with you bleſſe the Lord, and geue thãkes to the Lord out of the welles of Iſrael: we truſt to be mery together at that great Supper of the Lambe, whoſe Spouſe we are by Fayth, and therto ſyng that ſong of euerlaſtyng Haleluyah, Amen. Yea come Lorde Ieſu. The grace of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt be with you, Amen.

An other letter written to his wife, wherein is to be ſene how this worthy Warriour prepared hym ſelfe to the appoynted fight, and to keepe hys ſtandyng in Chriſtes campe.

¶Laurence Saunders to his wife.

Maiſter Saunders letter to hys wife.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt Ieſu our onely comfort, in all extreme aſſaultes, Amen.

2.Cor.4.

2.Cor.4.

2.Cor.4.

Pſal.126.

1.Cor.15.

Fayne would this fleſh make ſtraunge of that which the ſpirite doth embrace. Oh Lord, how loth is this loytering ſluggard to paſſe forth in Gods path? It fãtaſieth forſoth much feare of fraybugges: and were it not for the force of Fayth, which pulleth it forward by the reyne of Gods moſt ſweete promiſſes, & of hope which pricketh on behynde, great aduenture there were of fayntyng by the way. But bleſſed, & euerlaſtingly bleſſed be that heauenly father of ours, who in his Chriſt, our ſufficiẽt Sauiour, hath vouched ſafe ſo to ſhyne in our hartes, that he giueth vs yͤ light of yͤ knowledge of yͤ glory of God, in the face of Ieſu Chriſt: & hauing this treaſure in our earthen veſſels, yͭ the excellency of yͤ power might be gods, & not ours, *we are* [accordyng to his good will] *troubled on euery ſide, yet are we not without ſhift: we are in pouertie, but yet not without that is ſufficient: we ſuffer perſecution, but are not forſaken therein: we are caſt down, neuertheles we periſh not: we beare in the body the dying the Lord Ieſus, that the lyfe of Ieſus might alſo appeare in our body.* Wherfore by the grace of our Chriſt we ſhall not be weryed, neither be diſmayed by this our probation thorow the fyre of affliction, as though ſome ſtraunge thing had happened vnto vs: but by his power we ſhall reioyce, in as much as we are partakers of Chriſtes Paſſion, that when he doth appeare we may be mery and glad, knowyng that, *our tribulation which is momentane and light, prepareth an exceding and an eternall weight of glory vnto vs, while we looke not on the thinges which are ſeene, but on the thynges which are not ſeene. They that ſowe in teares, ſhall reape in ioye. For hee that goeth on hys way weeping, and ſcattering hys good ſeede, ſhall doubtles come agayne with ioye, and bryng hys whole ſheaues with hym.* Then, then ſhall the Lord wype away all teares from our eyes. Then, then ſhall be brought to paſſe that ſaying which is written: *Death is ſwalowed vp in victory. Death where is thy ſtyng? Hell where is thy victory? Yea, thankes bee to God which hath geuen vs the victory thorow our Lord Ieſus Chriſt,* Amen.

1.Pet.4.

Actes.17.

Gods promiſes firme and ſure.

Eſay.49.

1.Pet.5.

Iob.13.

Truſt vpon Gods promiſſe.

In the meane ſeaſon it remaineth for vs to folow Saint Peters byddyng: *Let them* (ſayth he) *that are troubled accordyng to the will of God, committe theyr ſoules to hym with well doyng, as vnto a faythfull Creatour and Maker.* He is our maker: we are his handiworke and creatures, whom now whẽ he hath made, he doth not leaue and forſake as the ſhypwright doth the ſhyp, leauyng it at all aduentures to be toſſed in the tempeſt, but he comforteth vs his creatures, and in hym we lyue, moue, and haue our beyng: Yea not onely that, but now that he hath in his deare Chriſt repayred vs, beyng before vtterly decayed, and redemed vs, purgyng vs vnto him ſelfe as a peculiar people by the bloud of his ſonne, he hath put on a moſt tẽder good will, and fatherly affectiõ toward vs, neuer to forget vs: vnto whom by ſuch promiſſes hee hath plighted ſuch fayth, that though it were poſſible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender harted to the childe of her wombe, yet may not it be that his faithfull beleuers ſhould be forgotten of him. He byddeth vs to caſt our care on him, & ſayth that aſſuredly he careth for vs. And what though for a ſeaſõ he doth ſuffer vs to be turmoyled in the troublous tẽpeſtes of temptatiõ, & ſeemeth as in much anger to haue geuen vs ouer, and forgotten vs? let not vs for all that leaue of to put our truſt in hym, but let vs with Godly Iob conclude in our ſelues and ſay: *Euen though he kill me, yet will I put my truſt in hym.* Let vs with the bleſſed Abraham in hope, euen contrary to hope by belief leane vnto that our louyng Lord, who

though

Pſal.103.

though for our probation he ſuffreth vs to be afflicted, yet *will he not bee alwayes chyding, neyther keepeth hee hys anger for euer: for hee knoweth whereof we bee made: he remembreth that we are but duſte.* Wherfore, *looke how high the heauen is in compariſon of the earth, ſo great is hys mercy towards them which feare hym. Looke how wyde the Eaſt is from the Weſt, ſo farre hath hee ſet our ſinnes from vs.* Yea, *lyke as a father pitieth hys owne children, euen ſo is the Lorde mercifull vnto thẽ that feare hym.* Oh what great cauſe of reioycyng haue we in our moſt gracious God? we cã not but burſt forth into the prayſing of ſuch a bountifull benefactour, and ſay with the ſame Pſalmiſt: *Prayſe the Lord, O my ſoule, and all that is within me prayſe hys holy name. Prayſe the Lord O my ſoule, and forget not all his benefites.*

Saunders godly bequeſt to his wife.

Deare wife, riches haue I none to leaue behynd me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly maner. But that treaſure of taſting how ſwete Chriſt is vnto hungry conſciences (wherof I thanke my Chriſt, I do feele part, and would feele more) that I bequeath vnto you, and to the reſt of my beloued in Chriſt, to retaine the ſame in ſenſe of heart alwayes. Pray, pray. I am mery, and I truſt I ſhalbe mery maugre the teeth of all the deuils in hell. I vtterly refuſe my ſelfe, and reſigne my ſelfe vnto my Chriſt, in whom I know I ſhalbe ſtrong as he ſeeth needefull. Pray, pray, pray.

Experience of the comfortes of Chriſt in priſon.

Laurence Saunders.

Maiſter Saunders wife not ſuffered to ſpeake with hym in priſon.

As the ſayd M. Saunders was in pryſon, ſtraite charge was geuen to the Kéeper, that no perſon ſhould ſpeake with hym. His wyfe yet came to the priſon gate wyth her young chylde in her armes, to viſit her Huſband. The Kéeper, though for hys charge, he durſt not ſuffer her to come into the priſon, yet did he take the litle babe out of her armes, and brought him vnto his father. Laurence Saunders ſeyng hym, reioyced greatly, ſaying that he reioyced more to haue ſuch a boy, then he ſhould if two thouſand pound were geuen him. And vnto the ſtanders by, which praiſed the godlynes of the chylde, he ſayd: What man fearing God, would not loſe thys lyfe preſent, rather thẽ by prolonging it here, he ſhould adiudge thys boy to be a Baſtard, hys wyfe a whore, and hymſelfe a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cauſe, for which a man of my eſtate ſhould loſe hys lyfe: yet who would not geue it, to aduouch thys chylde to bee legitimate, and hys mariage to be lawfull and holy?

I do (good Reader) recite thys ſaying, not onely to let thée ſée what he thought of Prieſtes mariage: but chiefly to let all maried couples and Parents learne to beare in their boſome true affections: naturall, but yet ſeaſoned wyth the true ſalt of the ſpirit, vnfainedly and throughly mortified, to do the naturall workes and offices of maried couples and Parents, ſo long as wyth theyr doyng they may kéepe Chriſt wyth a frée confeſſing fayth, in a conſcience vnfoyled: otherwyſe both they and their own lyues are ſo to be forſakẽ, as Chriſt required them to be denyed, and geuen in hys cauſe.

Maiſter Saunders brought to examination.

And now to come to the examination of thys good man, after that the Biſhops had kept hym one whole yeare and a quarter in priſon, at the length they called hym, as they dyd the reſt of hys fellowes, openly to be examined. Of the which hys firſt examination the effect and purpoſe thus followeth.

¶ *The examination of Laurence Saunders.*

PRayſed be our gracious God, who preſerueth hys from euyll, and doth geue them grace to auoyde all ſuch offences, as myght hynder hys honour, or hurt his church, Amen.

Being conuented before the Quéenes moſt honorable Counſell, ſundry biſhops being preſent, the Lord Chãcelor began to ſpeake in ſuch forme as foloweth.

The firſt examination of M. Saunders.

L.Chan. It is not vnknowen, that you haue bene priſoner for ſuch abominable hereſies and falſe doctrine as hath bene ſowen by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be ſhewed to ſuch as ſéeke for it. Wherfore if now you wyll ſhew your ſelfe conformable, and come home agayne, mercy is ready. We muſt ſay that we haue fallen in maner all: but now we bee ryſen agayne, and returned to the catholicke church, you muſt ryſe wyth vs, and come home vnto it. Geue vs forthwyth a direct aunſwere.

Saun. My Lord, and my Lords all, may it pleaſe your honors to giue me leaue to aunſwer with deliberation.

Chan. Leaue of your painting and pride of ſpeech. For ſuch is the faſhion of you all to pleaſe your ſelues in your glorious wordes. Aunſwer yea, or nay.

Sand. My Lord, it is no tyme for me nowe to paynt. And as for pryde, there is no great cauſe why it ſhould be in me. My learning I confeſſe to be but ſmall: and as for riches or worldly wealth I haue none at all. Notwithſtandyng it ſtandeth me in hand to aunſwere to your demaund circumſpectly, conſidering that one of theſe two extreme perils are like to fall vpon me: the loſing of a good conſcience, or the loſing of this my body and lyfe. And I tell you truth, I loue both life and libertie, if I could enioy them wythout the hurt of my conſcience.

M.Saunders ſtandeth vpon hys conſcience.

Chan. Conſcience? you haue none at all, but pride and arrogancie, * diuiding your ſelues by ſingularitie from the Church.

* Of thys diuiding ſpeaketh S.Paul.2.Cor.6.& Ierem.50. *Come out & diuide your ſelues from thẽ. &c.*

Sand. The Lord is the knower of all mens conſciences. And where your Lordſhip layeth to my charge this diuiding my ſelf frõ the church (as you do meane, and is now among you cõcluded vpon, as I do vnderſtand) I do aſſure you, that I lyue in the faith wherein I haue ben brought vp ſithens I was 14. yeare old: being taught that the power of ẏ B. of Rome is but vſurped, wᵗ many other abuſes ſpringing thereof. Yea this I haue receiued, euen at your hands that are here preſent, as a thing agreed vpon by the catholick church and publicke authoritie.

Argument.
Conſcience ought neuer to ſtand vpõ thynges vncertaine.
Tyme and authoritie be thinges of thẽ ſelues alwaies vncertaine:
Ergo, conſcience ought neuer to ſtand vpon time and authoritie.

Chaunc. Yea mary, but I pray you, haue you receiued by conſent and authoritie all your hereſies of the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar?

Saund. My Lord, it is leſſe offence to cut of an arme, hand, or ioynt of a man, then to cut of the head. For the mã may liue though he do lacke an arme, hand or ioynt, and ſo can he not without his head. But you, all the whole ſort of you, haue agréed to cut of the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome, whom now ye will haue to be the head of your Church agayne.

Biſ. of London. And if it lyke your Lordſhyp, I haue his hand agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament. How ſay you to that?

Si non inſanit ſatis ſua ſponte, inſtiga.

Saunders. What I haue written, that I haue written, and farther I will not accuſe my ſelfe. Nothyng haue you to burden me withall, for breakyng of your lawes ſince they were in force.

Chaunc. Well you will be obſtinate & refuſe libertie.

Saunders. My Lord, I may not bye libertie at ſuch a price: but I beſech your honours to bee meanes to the Quéenes Maieſtie for ſuch a pardõ for vs, that we may liue and kéepe our conſciences vnclogged, and we ſhall liue as moſt obedient ſubiectes. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for my ſelfe, that by Gods grace I will abyde the moſt extremitie that man may do agaynſt me, rather then to doe agaynſt my conſcience.

A lawfull requeſt, but it could not be heard.

Chaunc. Ah ſyrra, you will liue as you liſt. The Donatiſtes did deſyre to liue in a ſingularitie: but in déede they were not méete to lyue on the earth: no more bée you, and that ſhall you vnderſtand within theſe ſeuen dayes: and therfore away with him.

To liue as the Scripture leadeth vs, is not to liue as we liſte.

Saunders. Welcome be it, what ſoeuer the will of God ſhalbe, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I haue learned to dye. But I exhort you to beware of ſheding of innocent bloud. Truly, it will cry. The ſpirit of God reſt vpon all your honours. Amen. This is the ſumme and forme of my firſt examination. Pray. &c.

The Papiſtes deſire the Pope, the Proteſtantes Chriſt onely to be theyr head: Now which of theſe ij. be moſt like the Donatiſtes.

This examination beyng ended the Officers led him out of the place, and ſo ſtayed vntill the reſt of hys felowes were likewiſe handled, that they might haue thẽ

M. Saunders freely preacheth Chriſt.

all together to priſon. Laurence Saunders ſtandyng among ẏ Officers, ſeyng there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth, and ſpake freely, warnyng them well of that, which by their fallyng from Chriſt to Antichriſt they did deſerue, and therfore exhortyng them by repentance to riſe againe, & to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger fayth, to confeſſe him to ẏ end, in ẏ defiance of Antichriſt, ſinne, death, and the deuil: ſo ſhould they retaine the Lordes fauour and bleſſing.

The 2. examination here lacketh.

M. Saunders deliuered to the ſecular power.

The copyes of his other examinations and excommunication came to the hands of ſuch as do keepe them ſtill in ſecret. But in them as he defẽded Chriſtes cauſe ſtoutly: ſo warned he the Phariſaical Biſhops and Papiſtes, of their hypocriſie and tyranny freely, and cleared him ſelfe of their vniuſt quarellinges, truly. After hee was excommunicate and deliuered to the ſecular power, he was brought by the Shriffe of London, to the priſon called the Counter in hys owne Pariſh in Breadſtreete: wherat he reioysed greatly, both becauſe he found there a felow priſoner, M. Cardmaker, with whom he had Chriſtian and comfortable conference, and alſo becauſe out of priſon, as before out of a Pulpit, he might preach to his Pariſhners: as by his letter hereafter ſhall be declared.

M. Saunders degraded by B. Boner.

M. Saunders caryed to Couentrie.

A good Shoomaker of Couentrie.

The fourth day of February, the biſhop of London did come to the priſon where he was, to diſgrade him: which when hee had done, Laurence Saunders ſayd to him: I thanke God I am none of your church. The day following in the morning, the Shiriffe of Lõdon deliuered hym to certaine of the Queenes Garde, which were appoynted to cary him to the Citye of Couentry, there to be burned. The firſt nyght they came to S. Albons, where M. Grimoald (a man who had more ſtore of good giftes, then of great conſtancie) dyd ſpeake with him. After M. Saunders had geuen hym a leſſon meete for his lightnes, hee tooke a cup into hys hand, and aſked him if hee would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begyn to hym. Grimoald by hys ſhrugging and ſhrinking, ſhewing what he was, ſayd: of that cup which is in your hand, I wyll pledge you: but of that other which you meane, I wyl not promiſe you. Wel ſayd M. Saũders, my deare Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath begon to me of a more bitter cup thẽ myne ſhal be, and ſhal I not pledge my moſt ſweete Sauioure? yes I hope. After they were come to Couentry, the ſame night a poore ſhoomaker, which was wont to ſerue him of ſhooes, came to him after his maner and ſayde: Oh my good Maiſter, God ſtrengthen and comfort you. Gramercies good Shoomaker, quoth M. Saunders, and I pray thee to pray for me: for I am the vnmeeteſt man for thys hygh office, that euer was appointed to it: but my gracious God and deare father is able to make me ſtrong enough. That ſame night he was put into the common Gayle among other priſoners, where he ſlept litle, but ſpent ẏ night in praier, & inſtructing of others.

Maiſter Saunders put in the common gaile in Couentry.

Febru. 8.

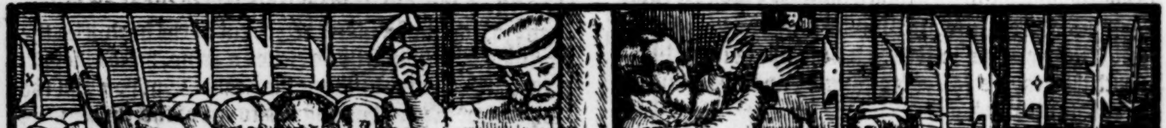
Maiſter Saunders brought to the place of execution.

Acbab accuſeth Elias for troubling Iſraell.

The next day, which was the. viij. of February hee was lead to the place of execution in the Parcke without the Citye, going in an olde gowne, and a ſhierte, barefooted, and ofttimes fell flat on the groũd & prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the Officer appointed to ſee the execution done, ſaid to M. Saunders, that he was one of thẽ which had marred the Queenes Realme with falſe doctrine and hereſie: wherfore thou haſt deſerued death (quoth he) but yet if thou wylt reuoke thy hereſies, the Queene hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Maiſter Saunders aunſwered: it is not I, nor my fellowe Preachers of Gods truth, that haue hurt the Queenes Realme, but it is your ſelfe, and ſuch as you are, which haue alwayes reſiſted Gods holy word: it is you which haue and do marre the Queenes realme. I doe hold no hereſies, but the doctrine of God, the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt: that hold I, that beleue I, that haue I taught, & that wyll I neuer reuoke. With that this tormentour cryed, away with him, and away from hym went Maiſter Saunders wyth a mery courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he roſe vp again, and tooke the ſtake to which he ſhould bee chayned, in hys armes, and kyſſed it ſaying: Welcome the croſſe of Chriſt, welcome euerlaſting life: and being faſtened to the ſtake, and fyre put to him, full ſweetely hee ſlept in the Lord.

The Martyrdome of M. Saunders at Couentrie. An. 1555. February. 8.

¶ The burning of Maiſter Laurence Saunders at Couentry.


Welcome life.

And

A compariſon betwen *Laurence Saunders* and Saint *Laurence.*

And thus haue ye the full hiſtory of Laurence Saunders, whom I may well compare to S. Laurence, or any other of the old Martyrs of Chriſtes church: both for the feruent zeale of the truth and Goſpell of Chriſt, and the moſt conſtant pacience in hys ſuffering: as alſo for the cruel tormentes that he in hys pacient body dyd ſuſtaine in ẏ flame of fire. For ſo his cruel enemies handled hym, that they burned him with greene wode, and other ſmothering rather then burnyng fewell, which put him to much more payne, but that the grace and moſt plentifull conſolation of Chriſt, which neuer forſaketh hys ſeruauntes, & gaue ſtrength to S. Laurence, gaue alſo patience to this Laurence, aboue all that hys tormentes could worke agaynſt: which well appeared by hys quiet ſtanding, and ſweete ſleeping in the fire, as is aboue declared.

Strength to ſtand in Chriſt, cōmeth not of our ſelues, but is the gift of God.

And to the intent to giue to the reader to vnderſtand the better, what the grace of Chriſt worketh in his ſeruauntes: and agayne, how feeble and weake mā is of him ſelfe without this grace geuen from aboue, though he ſeeme otherwiſe neuer ſo ſtoute in him ſelfe: here therfore haue we added to the foreſayd ſtory of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the begynnyng of his trouble, was betwene hym and D. Pendleton, by the example wherof, ſuch as ſtand, may learne to vnderſtand and take heede with due feare, and not to bragge: to leane to the grace of the Lorde, and not to preſume in themſelues.

¶ A certaine communication betwene Laurence Saunders and Doctor Pendleton, in the beginning of Queene Maries time.

Talke betwene M. *Saunders* and Doct. *Pēdleton.*

D. Pendleton a ſtoute preacher of the Goſpell in kyng *Edwardes* tyme.

AT the chaunge of Religion in this Realme, and the begynnyng of Queene Maries reigne, D. Pendleton and M. Saunders men knowen to the world, not onely to be learned but alſo earneſt preachers of Gods word in the tyme of bleſſed kyng Edward, mette together in the countrey, where by occaſion they were at that tyme, & as the caſe required (by reaſon of the perſecution that was thē at hand) fell to debate what was beſt for them to do, in ſo daungerous a ſeaſon. Whereupon M. Saunders, whether through very frailty in deede of his weake fleſh that was loth to taſt of the bitter cuppe, though his ſpirite were ready thereunto: or whether it were vpon the miſtruſt of his own ſtrēgth, that he might receiue the greater power from aboue: or whether it were not for any one of the ſayd cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch like: ſeemed ſo fearefull and feeble ſpirited, that he ſhewed hym ſelfe in apearaunce, lyker either to fall quite from God and hys word, which he had taught, or at leaſt to betake him to his heeles and to flye the land, rather then to ſticke to his profeſſion and abide by his tackle: ſo as Doct. Pendleton (who on the contrary ſide, appeared not ſo byg of body, but as bold in courage, nor ſo earneſt before in Pulpit, but as ready now to ſeale the ſame with hys bloud) toke vpon him to comfort M. Saunders all that he might, admoniſhing him (as he could do it very wel) not to forſake cowardly his flocke when he had moſt neede to defend the wolfe from them: neither hauyng put his hand to Gods plough, to ſtart now aſide and geue it ouer, nor yet (that is worſt of all) hauyng once forſaken Antichriſt, to fall either him ſelf, or to ſuffer others by his example to returne to their vomite agayn. After which and ſuch lyke perſuaſions biddyng hym be of good cōfort, and to take a good hart vnto him: what man (quoth he) there is a great deale more cauſe in me to bee afeard then in you, for as much as you ſee, I cary a greater maſſe of fleſh vpon my backe then you do, and being ſo laden with a heauier lumpe of this vyle carkas ought therfore of nature to be more fraile then you: and yet, ſaith he, I wil ſee the vttermoſt droppe of this greaſe of mine molten away, and the laſt gobbet of this fleſh conſumed to aſhes, before I will forſake God and his truth. Whereunto the other aunſweryng but litle, & wiſhing that almighty God would geue him more ſtrength then he preſently felt in hym ſelfe, acknowledgyng his owne weakenes, conſented notwithſtandyng though it were ſomewhat fayntly, to ioyne with him in the profeſſion of the Goſpell, and ſo to go vp to London and ſet forth the ſame: wherupon they gaue ech other their hādes. Now when they were come to London, Lorde what a great chaunge was there betwene theſe two perſons. The poore feeble faint harted Saunders, by the goodnes of almightie God, takyng hart of grace to him, ſeekyng the ſame in humilitie, boldly and ſtoutly confirmed his flocke out of the Pulpite, where his charge lay, mightly beatyng down Antichriſt, and luſtely preached Chriſt his Maiſter, for the which he afterward ſuffred moſt willingly, as is afore declared. Whereas on the other ſide, Pendleton ẏ proude (who, as it appeared by ẏ ſequele, had bene more ſtout in wordes, then conſtant in dedes, and a greater bragger, thē a good warriour) followed Peter ſo iuſtly in crackes, how ſoeuer he dyd in repentaunce (which God onely knoweth) that he came not ſo ſoone to London but he chaunged his typette, and played the Apoſtata, preaching in ſtede of ſound doctrine, nothing almoſt but errours and lyes, aduauncing Antichriſt, and ouerthrowyng poore Chriſt withall his maine: ſo that his former boldnes came to nothyng, vnles it were a contrary key, becommyng of a faythfull paſtour a falſe runnagate, and of a true preacher a ſworne enemy of Gods euerlaſtyng Teſtament, to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flocke, and the vtter vndoyng, without Gods greater mercy, of his owne ſoule. Wherin are ſpecially to be conſidered the deepe & meruailous iudgementes of God, who as he can and doth make ſtrong whom it pleaſeth him, when he ſeeth hys tyme, and moſt commōly ſuch as appeare moſt feebleſt: euen ſo contrary wiſe throweth he downe other ſome, ſeeme they neuer ſo ſtout, ſtand they neuer ſo much in their owne conceites. Wherfore let him that ſtandeth take hede he fall not: and let vs pray continually to almighty God though we haue fayth, that he will helpe and encreaſe our fayth, that in hym it may be made ſtronge, which of it ſelfe is ſo weake that it is ſoone ouerthrowen.

Maiſter *Saunders* timerous in Chriſtes cauſe at the firſt beginnyng.

The ſtout braggers of *D. Pendleton* at the firſt beginnyng.

God geueth ſtrēgth where feblenes is confeſſed.

Example how feeble man is of himſelfe without the Lord ſupport hym.

He that ſtandeth let hym take heede he fall not. *Rom. 13.*

This bleſſed man of God enduryng lōg tyme in priſon, did not paſſe all his tyme in vnfrutfull idlenes, but ſtill frō tyme to tyme did viſite his frendes (as is ſayd) & eſpecially hys wife with many letters full of godly inſtruction & conſolation. All which letters it ſhall not be greatly nedefull here to inſerte, partly becauſe they are to be found in the booke of Letters, partly becauſe we intende alſo (if God will) to proſecute the ſame hereafter more at large. In the meane tyme it ſhall not be out of place here preſently to comprehend certein of them, as in order followeth.

M. Saunders diligent in writing letters out of priſon.

Read the booke of Letters of the Martyrs.

¶ A letter ſent to M. Farrar B. of S. Dauids, Doctor Taylour, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot.

A letter of *M. Saunders* ſent to *B. Farrar, D. Taylor, M. Bradford,* and Maiſter *Philpot.*

GRace mercy and peace in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. &c. Good Fathers and deare brethren, be thankefull vnto our moſt gracious God, which hath preſerued vs, and ſhall (I doubt not) from blaſpheming hys bleſſed name: yea not onely that, but alſo ex ore infantium & lactentium perficiet laudē. &c. *i. Out of the mouthes of very babes and ſucklinges ſhall be ſet forth hys prayſe.* They offer vs (forſooth) our liberty and pardon, ſo that we wyll riſe wyth them vnto that fayth, which we with thē were fallen frō. Yea or no muſt be aunſwered in haſt. They will not admit any nedefull circumſtances, but all (as heretofore) moſt deteſtable and abominable. Ryſe wyth them wee muſt vnto the vnitie. A pardon (ſay I) of me muſt not be ſo dearely purchaſed. A pardon I deſyre, for to lyue with an vnclogged conſcience. The Donatiſtes (ſay they) ſought for ſuch ſingularitie, but they were not meete to liue in a common wealth, no more be you, as you ſhall ſhortly vnderſtand. wherefore away with him: yea the tyme was named within this ſeuennight. *There be. xij. houres*

Pſal. 8.

Iohn. 11.

houres in the day. Death ſhall be welcome (ſay I) as being looked for long ſince, and yet do iuſtice ye were beſt, for Abels bloud cryed, ye wotte what. The ſpirit of God be vpon you, and God ſaue your honours. Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah, Puer ſum, neſcio loqui, i. *I am a childe, I cannot ſpeake*. My brother P. ſhal ſhew you more herein. By him ſend me word what you haue done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I woulde gladly meete with my good brother Bradford on the backe ſyde about a. xj. of the clocke. Before that tyme I can not ſtart out, we haue ſuch outwalkers, but then wyll they be at dynner.

Yours as you know, Laurence Saunders.

¶ A letter which Laurence Saunders did wryte to his wife and others of the faithfull, after his condemnation to the fire, written the laſt of Ianuary 1555. out of the Counter in Breadſtrete.

A comfortable letter of *M. Saunders* to his wife and others of the faithful flocke.

The grace of Chriſt, with the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt, to the keeping of fayth & a good conſcience, cõfirme & keepe you for euer veſſels to Gods glory, Amen.

Oh what worthy thankes can be geuen to our gracious God for hys vnmeaſurable mercies plentifully poured vpon vs? And I moſt vnworthy wretch can not but poure forth at this preſent, euen from the bottome of my hart, the bewayling of my great ingratitude and vnkindnes towards ſo gratious a good god and louing father. I beſech you all, as for my other many ſynnes, ſo eſpecially for that ſynne of my vnthankfulnes, craue pardon for me in your earneſt prayers, commẽding me to Gods great mercies in Chriſt. To number theſe mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the ſea, the ſandes on the ſhore, the ſtars in the ſky. O my deare wyfe, and ye the reſt of my frendes, reioyce wyth me: I ſay, reioyce with thankeſgeuing for this my preſent promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnifie my God, not onely in my lyfe by my ſlow mouth & vncircumciſed lips bearing witnes vnto his truth, but alſo by my bloud to ſeale the ſame, to the glory of my God and confirmyng of hys true church. And as yet, I teſtifie vnto you, that the comfort of my ſweete Chriſt doth driue from my phantaſie the feare of death. But if my deare huſband Chriſt doe for my triall, leaue me alone a little to my ſelfe, alas I knowe in what caſe I ſhall bee then: but if for my proufe hee dos ſo, yet I am ſure he wil not be long nor farre from me. Though he ſtand behynd the wall and hyde himſelfe (as Salomon ſayth in his myſticall ballet) yet will he peepe in by a creſt to ſee how I do. He is a very tender harted Ioſeph. Though he ſpeake roughly to hys brethren and handle them hardly, yea and threaten greuous bondage to his beſt beloued brother Beniamin, yet can he not conteyne himſelfe from weping with vs and vpon vs, with falling on our neckes, & ſweetely kiſſing vs. Such, ſuch a brother is our Chriſt vnto vs all. Wherefore haſten to go vnto hym as Iacob did wyth hys Sonnes and family, leauing their coũtrey and acquaintaunce. Yea this our Ioſeph hath obtayned for vs, that Pharao the Infidel ſhal miniſter vnto vs chariots, wherein at eaſe wee may bee caryed to come vnto hym: as we haue experience how our very aduerſaries doe helpe vs vnto our euerlaſting bliſſe by their ſpeedy diſpatch, yea and how all thinges haue bene helpinges hereunto: bleſſed be our God. Be not afrayd of fraybugges which lye in the way. Feare rather the euerlaſting fyre: feare the Serpent which hath that deadly ſting of which by bodely death they ſhall bee brought to taſte which are not grafted in Chriſt, wanting fayth & a good conſcience, and ſo are not acquainted with Chriſt the killer of death. But oh my deare wyfe and frendes, we, we whom God hath deliuered from the power of darknes, and hath tranſlated vs into the kingdome of hys deare Sonne, by putting of the old man, and by fayth puttyng on the new, euen our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, his wyſedome, holynes, righteouſnes and redemption, we I ſay haue to triumph againſt the terrible ſpitefull Serpent the deuill, ſynne, hell, death, and damnation. For Chriſt our brazen Serpent hath pulled away the ſting of this Serpent, ſo that now we may boldly in beholding it ſpoiled of hys ſting, triumph, and with our Chriſt and all hys elect ſay: *Death where is thy ſtyng? Hell where is thy victorye? Thankes be to God, who hath geuen vs [Vs] the victory, through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.*

The ſweete comfort of Chriſt taketh away the feare of death from *Saunders*.

Cant. 2.

Ioſephes handling of his brethren applyed to Chriſt.

Chriſt a ſweete brother vnto vs.

The ſting of death pluckt out.

1. Cor. 15.

Wherefore bee mery my deare wife, and all my deare fellow heires of the euerlaſting kingdome, alwayes remember the Lord. Reioyce in hope, be pacient in tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for vs now appoynted to the ſlaughter, that we may bee vnto our heauenly father, a fat offering, and an acceptable ſacrifice. I may hardly write to you. Wherefore let theſe few wordes be a wytnes of commendations to you, and all them which loue vs in the faith, and namely vnto my flocke, among whõ I am reſidẽt by Gods prouidẽce, but as a priſoner. And although I am not ſo among them, as I haue ben to preach to them out of a Pulpit, yet doth God nowe preach vnto them by me, by this my impriſonment and captiuity, which now I ſuffer among them for Chriſtes Goſpels ſake, bidding them to beware of the Romiſhe Antichriſtian religion and kingdome, requiring & charging them to abide in the truth of Chriſt, which is ſhortly to be ſealed with ẏͤ bloud of their Paſtor: who though he be vnworthy of ſuch a miniſtery, yet Chriſt their hygh Paſtor is to be regarded, whoſe truth hath bene taught them by me, is witneſſed by my chaynes, and ſhall be by my death, through the power of that high Paſtor. Be not carefull good wyfe, caſt your care on the Lord, and commend me vnto him in repentant praier, as I do you and our Samuel: whom euen at the ſtake, I will offer as my ſelfe vnto God. Fare ye well al in Chriſt, in hope to be ioyned with you in ioy euerlaſting. This hope is put vp in my boſome, Amen, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

To this his flocke the pariſhe of Alhalowes in Bredſtret, he wrote alſo a fruitfull letter, exhorting and charging them to beware of the Romiſhe religion and conſtantly to ſticke to the truth which they had conſeſſed.

An other letter to Maiſtres Lucy Haringtõ, a godly gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his troubles.

An other comfortable letter of Maiſter *Saunders*.

Your moſt gentle commendations, wherof this meſſenger made remembraunce vnto me, was for two cauſes very comfortable. Firſt, for that thereby I vnderſtoode of the ſtate of your health and bodely welfare, for the which I geue thankes vnto God, who graunt the long continuaunce thereof to hys honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I wyll dayly ſay, Amen. And farther, I was refreſhed by the expreſſing of your myndfull frendſhip towardes me farre vnworthy thereof. Wherein I take occaſion of much reioyſing in our ſo gratious a God and mercifull father, who as hee hath in hys vnmeaſurable mercy by fayth handfaſted vs hys choſen children vnto hys deare Sonne our Chriſt, as the ſpirituall Spouſe of ſuch an heauenly Huſband: ſo he lyncketh vs by loue one vnto an other, being by that bonde compact together with charitable readines to doe good one vnto an other: ſo that fyrſt to the glory of our God and his Chriſt, then to our owne ioying in the teſtimonye of a good conſcience, and laſt of all to the ſtopping of the mouthes and confuſion of our aduerſaries, we beare the badge as the right ſpouſe of our Chriſt, which he himſelf noted in this his ſaying: *herein ſhall all men know that ye be my Diſciples, if ye loue one an other.* Then farther, by thys bond of mutuall loue, is ſet forth the fatherly prouidence of God towardes vs hys children, that though it be hee which careth for vs, *in whom we lyue, moue and be, who feedeth all fleſh with bodely ſuſtenance,* yet hath hee appointed vs in theſe preſent neceſſities, to ſtand in his ſtede one vnto an other. Wherin is not onely ſet forth our dignity, but alſo that vnſpeakeable accord and vnitie among vs the many members in hys myſticall body. And though that eyther for lacke of habilitie, or els through diſtance of place, power and oportunitie of helping one an other do faile: yet wonderful is the working of Gods children through the ſpirite of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heauenly influence from Chriſt their celeſtiall head by hys ſpirite, to be meaſured ſeuerally as may ſerue to the maintenãce of the whole body. Thus doth our faithful prayer which we make one for an other, diſtribute, and ſcatter Gods bountifull bleſſings both ghoſtly and bodely, when ordinary habilitie lacketh, & when the arme may not reach forth ſuch gods riches. According hereunto I well perceiue and vnderſtand your readynes to do good vnto al, and eſpecially I haue experience of your ready good wil towardes me in your harty deſyre to ſtretch out your helpyng hand to relieue my lacke, and of your helpe to be extẽded to me in the other ſpirituall ſort by your good prayer, I doubt not: as I alſo therein aſſure you of my helpe, being all that I may doe, and yet the ſame not ſo much as I would doe.

The true badge of Chriſt. *Iohn. 13.*

Maiſter Saunders commẽdeth the care of his wife to Miſtres *Harrington*.

Iohn. 15.

Prayer diſtributeth Gods bleſſings from one to an other.

My neede concerning bodily neceſſaries, is as yet furniſhed by Gods prouiſion, ſo that I am not driuen to any extremitie wherefore to bee burdenous to you, as your gentle beneuolẽce prouoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If God make me worthy to be his wytnes at this preſent, in geuyng thys corruptible body to burne for the teſtimony of hys truth, it is enough for me to ſay to ſay vnto you that I haue a poore wife and childe whõ I loue in the Lord, and whom I know for my ſake you wyll tender when I am departed hence. &c.

An other letter to Maiſtres Lucy Harrington.

An other letter of Maiſter Saunders.

GRace and mercy &c. It happeneth oftentymes that abundaunce of matter bringing with it much vehemẽcie of frendly affection, maketh men dumme, & euen then chiefly when there is moſt eger purpoſe of ſpeakyng, ſilence doth ſuppreſſe, and cauſeth the party ſo affected, vnperfectly to expreſſe that he goeth about to vtter. Such impediment by much matter myngled with feruency of affection, feele I ſome tymes in my ſelfe, lettyng the vtteraunce either by toung or writing, of the aboundaunce of the hart. The loue of our moſt gracious God and heauenly Father beſtowed vppon vs in the merites of hys Chriſt our Sauiour, who may by concept of mynd comprehend, paſſing in deede all vnderſtandyng? much leſſe may the ſame by any meanes be expreſſedly vttered. And as ſuch heauenly bleſſyngs which by fayth we fetch from aboue, be inexplicable: ſo is it hard to vtter, when the faythfull are ſet on fyre by loue, their readynes to reach forth & to giue by charitie, as by faith they haue receiued. *But* (alas) *we cary this treaſure in earthẽ veſſels.* Many tymes fayth is feeble and then loue loſeth her feruour. Pray we therfore, Lord encreaſe our faith, and loue forthwith will be on fyre. And immortall thankes be geuen vnto our God, who in our Chriſt hath beſtowed vpon vs the firſt fruites of his ſpirite, who cryeth in our hartes, *Abba Father.* And (as S. Paul ſayth) *ſeyng we haue the ſame ſpirite of fayth, accordyng as it is written: I beleued and therfore haue I ſpoken: we alſo beleue and therfore we ſpeake:* yea God knoweth this ſpirite putteth in vs a mynd to ſpeake, but in attempting therof, we are driuen with Moſes to ſay: *O Lord, I am ſlow mouthed & of vncircũciſed lyppes:* & with Ieremy: *O Lord I can not ſpeake.*

2.Cor.4. Fayth many tymes in vs is feble. Rom.8. 1.Cor.4. Exod.8. Ieremi.1.

Albeit that this infancie reſtrayneth the openyng of ſuch aboundaunce of hart in my tender Chriſtian duety to be declared towardes you, yet I beſech you let this be ſetled in your vnderſtandyng, that as S. Paul expreſſeth vnto hys Corinthians that they were in his hart either to lyue or to dye, with many other ſuch ſayings vttered vnto them and the Galathians, expreſſing hys vehement affection towardes them: ſo in ſome part I would be lyke affected towardes all Gods children, and eſpecially towardes you whõ I know in Chriſt, and to whõ I will not ſay, how much I am indebted. I thãke you for your great frẽdſhyp and tender good will towardes my wife: yea that good gracious God recompence you, which may worthely with the more countreuaile the ſame, and fulfill that which lacketh of thankefull duety in vs. And bycauſe of that which heretofore I haue cõceaued of you & of your more then naturall loue towardes me & myne: I make my ſelfe thus bold to lay this burden vpon you, euẽ the care and charge of my ſayd poore wife I meane, to be vnto her a mother and myſtres to rule and direct her by your diſcret counſell. I know ſhe conceaueth of you the ſame that I do, and is thankeful vnto God with me for ſuch a frend, and therefore I beſech you euen for Chriſtes ſake, put neuer from you this frendly charge ouer her, whether I lyue longer or ſhortly depart. But to charge you otherwiſe, thankes be to God, neither I neither ſhe haue any ſuch extreme neede: if we had, I would be as bold with you as myne own mother. I beſech you geue my harty ſalutations vnto M. Fitzwilliams and my good Lady, with thankes alſo for my poore wife and child, the Lord recompence them.

The true badge of Chriſt. Iohn.13. Maiſter Saunders commendeth the care of his wife to Miſtres Harrington. Iohn.15. Prayer diſtributeth Gods bleſſings from one to an other.

Laurence Saunders.

Furthermore as touching his fatherly care & affectiõ to his wife & his litle childe, yͤ ſame is liuely ſet forth in an other letter, which he did write to his wife: wherin hee admoniſhed her, that ſhe ſhould not reſort much to the priſon, where he was, for daũger of trouble that might enſue, the tenour of whoſe letter here foloweth.

An other letter to his wife with a certaine remembraunce to M. Harrington and M. Hurland.

An other letter of Maiſter Saunders to hys wife.

GRace and comfort &c. wife you ſhall do beſt not to come oftẽ vnto the Grate where the Porter may ſee you. Put not your ſelfe in daunger where it nedes not: you ſhall I thinke, ſhortly come farre enough into daũger by kepyng fayth and a good conſcience: which (deare wife) I truſt you do not ſlacke to make rekoning and accumpt vpon by exerciſing your inward man in meditation of Gods moſt holy word, beyng the ſuſtenaunce of the ſoule, and alſo by geuyng your ſelfe to hũble prayer: for theſe ij. thynges be the very meanes how to be made mẽbers of our Chriſt meete to inherite his kyngdome. Do this (deare wife) in earneſt, and not leauyng of, and ſo we two ſhall with our Chriſt and all his choſen children, enioy the mery world in that euerlaſting immortalitie, whereas here wil nothyng els be foũd but extreme miſery, euen of thẽ which moſt gredely ſeeke this worldly wealth: and ſo, if we two continue Gods childrẽ graffed in our Chriſt, the ſame Gods bleſſyng which we receaue, ſhall alſo ſettle vpon our Samuell. Though we do ſhortly depart hence and leaue the poore Infant (to our ſeeming) at al aduentures, yet ſhal he haue our gracious God to be his God: for ſo hath he ſaid and he can not lye: *I will be thy God* (ſayth he) *and the God of thy ſeede.* Yea if you leaue him in the wildernes deſtitute of all helpe, beyng called of God to do his will either to dye for the confeſſiõ of Chriſt, either any worke of obedience: that God which heard the cry of the litle poore infante of Agar Saraes hãdmaiden and dyd ſuccour it, will do the like to the child of you or any other fearyng him and puttyng your truſt in hym. And if we lacke fayth (as we do in deede many tymes) let vs call for it and we ſhall haue the encreaſe both of it and alſo of any other good grace needefull for vs: and be mery in God, in whom alſo I am very mery and ioyfull. O Lord what great cauſe of reioyſing haue we, to thincke vppon that kyngdome which he voucheth ſafe for his Chriſtes ſake, freely to geue vs, forſaking our ſelues and folowyng hym? Deare wife this is truly to folow him, euẽ to take vp our croſſe and folow hym, and then as we ſuffer with hym, ſo ſhall we reigne with hym euerlaſtyngly, Amen. Shortly, ſhortly. Amen.

Care of childrẽ in tyme of neceſſity ought to be left to God, who will not ſee them forſaken.

What it is to follow Chriſt.

An other letter to his wife, to M. Robert Harington, M. Hurland. &c.

An other letter of Maiſter Saunders to hys wife and other frendes.

GRace and comfort. &c. Deare wife reioyce in our gracious God, and hys our Chriſt, and geue thankes moſt humbly and hartely to him for this daies woorke, that in any part I moſt vnwoorthy wretch ſhoulde bee made worthy to beare wytnes vnto his euerlaſting verity, which Antichriſt wyth his, by maine force (I perceaue) and by moſt impudent pride and boaſting, wyll go about to ſuppreſſe. Remember God alway my deare wyfe, and ſo ſhall Gods bleſſing light vpon you and our Samuell. O remember alway my wordes for Chriſtes ſake: be mery and grudge not agaynſt God, and pray, pray. we be all mery here thankes bee vnto God, who in his Chriſt hath geuen vs great cauſe to bee mery, by whom he hath prepared for vs ſuch a kingdom, and doth and will geue vnto vs ſome litle taſte therof euen in this lyfe, and to all ſuch as are deſirous to take it. *Bleſſed* (ſaith our Chriſt) *be they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſnes, for ſuch ſhall be ſatiſfied.* Let vs go, yea let vs run to ſeeke ſuch treaſure, and that with whole purpoſe of hart to cleaue vnto the Lord, to finde ſuch riches in hys heauenly worde through his ſpirite obtayned by prayer. My deare frendes and brethren M. Harrington and M. Hurland, Pray, pray. Spiritus quidem promptus eſt, caro autem infirma. i. *The ſpirite is ready, but the fleſh is weake.* when I looke vpon my ſelfe, quid ego ſtupidus & attonitus habeo quod dicã, niſi illud Petri, exi a me domine quia homo peccator ſum? i. Being aſtoniſhed & cõfoũded, what haue I els to ſay, but thoſe words of Peter: *Lorde, goe from me: for I am a ſinfull man?* But thẽ feele I that ſweete cõfort: Lucerna pedibus meis verbũ Domini, & lumẽ ſemitis meis: & hæc mea eſt conſolatio in humilitate mea. i. *The word of the Lord is a lantarne to my feete, and a light vnto my pathes: and this is my comfort in my trouble.* Then waxe I bolde wyth the ſame Peter to ſay: Domine ad quem ibimus, verba vitæ æternæ habes. i. *Lord to whom ſhall we go? thou haſt the wordes of euerlaſting lyfe.* Thys cõfort haue I when yͤ geuer therof doth geue it. But I looke for battails which the roote of vnfaithfulnes, the which I feele in me, wyl moſt egerly geue vnto my conſcience, when wee come once to the combate. we be (I weene) within yͤ ſoũd of the trumpe of our enemies. Play ye that be abroad yͤ part of Moyſes, Orantes in omni loco, ſuſtolentes puras manus. i. *Praying in all places, lifting vp pure handes,* and Gods people ſhal preuade: yea, our bloud ſhall be their perdition who doe moſt triumphantly ſpill it, & we then being in the hands of our God, ſhall ſhine in his kingdome, and ſhall ſtand in great ſtedfaſtnes, agaynſt them which haue dealt extremely with vs: And when theſe our enemies ſhal thus ſee vs, they ſhall be vexed with horrible feare, and ſhall wonder

Math.26. Luke.5. Pſal.119. Iohn.6. 1.Tim.2. Sapien.5.

wonder at the haſtines of the ſodayne health, and ſhall ſay with them ſelues, hauing inward ſorrow and mourning for very anguiſh of mynde: *Theſe are they whom wee ſometyme had in deriſion and ieſted vpon: we fooles thought theyr liues to be very madnes, and their ende to be without honour, but loe how they are accompted among the children of God.* The bleſſyng of God be with you all. &c. Laurence Saunders.

To his wife a litle before his burning.

A letter of *Laurencce Saunders* to his wife.

He writeth for his ſhirte wherin he ſhould be burned.

Grace & comfort in Chriſt, Amẽ. Deare wife be mery in the mercies of our Chriſt, & ye alſo my deare frẽds. Pray, pray for vs euery body. we be ſhortly to be diſpatched hence vnto our good Chriſt, Amen, Amen. wife I would you ſent me my ſhirte which you know wherunto it is conſecrated. Let it be ſowed downe on both the ſides & not open. Oh my heauenly father looke vpon me in the face of thy Chriſt, or els I ſhall not be able to abide thy coũtenaunce: ſuch is my filthines. He will do ſo, and therefore I will not be afraid what ſinne, death, hell, and damnation can do againſt me. O wife alwayes remember the Lord. God bleſſe you, yea he will bleſſe thee good wife and thy pore boy alſo: onely cleaue thou vnto hym and he will geue thee all thinges. Pray, pray, pray.

¶An other letter to M. Robert and Iohn Glouer, written the ſame morning that he was burnt.

Grace and conſolation in our ſweete Sauiour Chriſt. Oh my deare brethren whom I loue in the Lord, being loued of you alſo in the Lord, be mery and reioyce for me, now ready to go vp to that myne inheritaunce, which I my ſelfe in deede am moſt vnworthy of, but my deare Chriſt is worthy, who hath purchaſed the ſame for me with ſo deare a price. Make haſt my deare brethren, to come vnto me, that we may bee mery, eo gaudio quod nemo tollet a nobis. i. *with that ioy which no man ſhall take frõ vs.* Oh wretched ſynner that I am, not thankefull vnto this my father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a veſſell vnto hys honour. But O Lorde, nowe accept my thankes, though they procede out of a not enough circumciſed hart. Salute my good ſiſters your wiues, and good ſiſters feare the Lord. Salute al other that loue us in the truth. Gods bleſſing be with you alwaies, Amen. Euen now towardes the offeryng of a burnt ſacrifice. O my Chriſt helpe, or els I periſh. Laurence Saunders.

After theſe godly letters of M. Saunders diuerſly diſperſed and ſent abroad to diuers of the faythfull congregation of Chriſt, as is afore to be ſene, now in the later end we will adioyne ij. other letters written not by M. Saunders the Martyr, but by M. Ed. Saunders the Iuſtice, his brother, ſent to thys our Saunders in priſon, although conteynyng no great matter worthy to be knowen, yet to thys intent that the reader may ſee in theſe ij. brethren ſo ioyned in nature, and ſo diuided in Religiõ, the word of the Lord verified, truly ſaying: *Brother ſhalbe agaynſt brother. &c.* as by ẏ cõtentes of theſe two letters folowyng may appeare.

Math. 10.

A Letter of Iuſtice Saũders, to hys brother Laurẽce.

A letter of Iuſtice *Saunders* to *Laurence Saunders* his brother.

After my moſt harty commendations, theſe ben to aſcerteine you that I haue ſpoken with M. Baſſet, who hath ſhewed me that iiij. l. (all deductiõs being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his handes of the profite of the Prebendary at Yorke, the which you ſhall haue, although, as he thinketh, it was not due vnto you by the reaſon of your depriuation: before it was due. As cõcerning your conſcience in Religiõ, I beſech God it may be lightned by the holy Ghoſt, and that you may haue the grace of the holy Ghoſt to folow the counſell of S. Paul to Timothe. 2. Recte tractare verbum veritatis. That is. *To handle rightly the word of truth.* wherin your diſſentyng frõ many holy and Catholicke men, eſpecially in the Sacrament, maketh me in my conſcience to condemne yours. For although I haue not hetherto fanſyed to read Peter Martyr and other ſuch. &c. yet haue I had a great deſire to ſee Theophilacte and diuers others of his ſorte and opinion both notable and holy Fathers (if any credite be to be giuẽ to the wrytyngs of our auncient Fathers before vs) and ſurely the ſentences and Iudgementes of ij. or iij. of them hath more confirmed my conſciẽce then iij. C. of the Zuinglians or as many of ẏ Lutherians cã or ſhould do. Thus in haſt willyng to relieſe you to the end you might conuert, if you ſhall nede towardes your findyng, if you ſhal require it of me, you ſhall vnfaynedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who ſend vs all thynges good for vs. Scribled this Thurſday by your brother and petitioner to God. Ed. Saunders.

Iuſtice ſaith, *audi alterã partem.*

¶An other letter of Iuſtice Saũders to his brother wherein he ſeeketh to wyn him to popery.

Greting with proteſtation.

As nature and brotherly loue with godly charity requireth, I ſend you by theſe letters (quantum licet) moſt harty cõmẽdatiõs, being ſory for your fault & your diſobedient handling of your ſelfe towardes my Lord Chauncellor, who I aſſure you, mindeth your good and preſeruation, if you can ſo conſider and take it. I would be glad to know whether you haue not had wyth you of late ſome learned men to talke with you by my Lord Chaũcellors appointment, and how you can frame your ſelfe to reforme your errour in the opinion of the moſt bleſſed and our moſt comfortable Sacrament of the altar: wherein I aſſure you I was neuer in all my lyfe more better affected than I am at this preſent, vſing to my great comfort hearing of Maſſe, & ſomewhat before the ſacring time, the meditation of S. Barnard, ſet forth in the thyrd leafe of this preſent booke. The accuſtomable vſing whereof I am fully profeſſed vnto during my lyfe, and to geue more fayth vnto that confeſſion of holy Barnard, then to Luther. &c. or Latimer. &c. for that the antiquity, the vniuerſalitie of the open Church, and the conſent of al holy Saintes and Doctors do confirme the ſame, aſſertening you that I haue bene earneſtly moued in myne own conſcience theſe. x. or. xij. dayes paſt, and alſo betwene God and my ſelfe, to moue you to the ſame, moſt earneſtly deſyring you, and as you tender my naturall, godly, or friendly loue towardes you, that you woulde read ouer this booke this holy tyme, at my requeſt, although you haue already ſeene it, and let me know wherein you cannot ſatiſfye your own conſcience. Thus fare ye well for this time.

By yours, from Seriants Inne. E. Saunders.

He meneth peraduenture when the *Sanctus* is ſinging, for then the Orgaynes pipe merily and that may geue ſome comfort.

The meditations of *S. Bernard* ſent by Iuſtice *Saunders* to his brother.

The lyfe and Martyrdome of M. Iohn Hooper B. of Worceſter, & Gloceſter, burnt for the defence of the Goſpell at Gloceſter.

Anno. 1555. Febr. 9.

1555. Febr. 9.

The ſtory, lyfe, and Martyrdome of *M. Iohn Hooper,* Martyr.

IOhn Hooper ſtudent and graduate in the Vniuerſitye of Oxford, after the ſtudy of other ſciences, wherein he had aboundantly profited and proceded, through Gods ſecrete vocation was ſtyrred wyth a feruent deſire to the loue and knowledge of the ſcriptures. In the reading and ſearching whereof, as their lacked in him no diligence, ioyned with earneſt prayer: ſo neither wanted vnto him the grace of the holy Ghoſt to ſatiſfie his deſire, and to open vnto hym the light of true diuinity. Thus M. Hooper growing more and more by Gods grace, in ripenes of ſpirituall vnderſtanding, and ſhewing withall ſome ſparckels of his feruent ſpirite, being then about the begynning of the. vj. Articles, in the time of king Henry. viij. fell eftſones in to diſpleaſure and hatred of certayne Rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to ſtyrre coles againſt him, whereby, and eſpecially by the procurement of D. Smith, he was compelled to voyde the Vniuerſity, and ſo remouing from thence, was retained in the houſe of Syr Thomas Arundell, and ther was hys Steward, till the time that Syr Tho. Arundell hauing intelligence of his opinions and religion, which hee in no caſe did fauour, and yet exceedingly fauoring the perſon and conditions of the man, found the meanes to ſend him in a meſſage to ẏ Biſhop of Wincheſter, writing his letter priuely to the Biſhop, by conference of learning to do ſome good vpon him, but in any caſe requiring him to ſend home his ſeruaunt to him agayne.

Maiſter *Hooper* ſent to the Byſhop of *Wincheſt.*

Wincheſter after long conference with M. Hoper iiij. or v. dayes together, when he at length perceaued that neither he could do that good, which he thought, to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, accordyng to M. Arundels requeſt, he ſent home his ſeruaunt agayne, right well cõmendyng his learnyng and wytte, but yet bearyng in his breſt a grudgyng ſtomacke agaynſt M. Hoper ſtill.

It folowed not long after this (as malice is alwayes workyng miſchief) that intelligẽce was giuẽ to M. Hoper to prouide for him ſelfe, for daunger that was workyng

Maiſter Hooper forced to auoyde the houſe of Syr Tho. Arundell.

lyng agaynſt hym. Wherupon M. Hoper leauyng M. Arundels houſe, and borowyng an horſe of a certaine frend (whoſe lyfe he had ſaued a litle before from the gallowes) toke hys iourney to the Sea ſide, to go to Fraunce, ſendyng backe the horſe agayn by one, which in deede did not deliuer him to the owner. M.Hooper being at Paris, taryed there not long, but in ſhort tyme returned into England againe, and was retayned of M.Sentlow, tyll the tyme that he was againe moleſted and layd for: wherby hee was compelled (vnder the pretence of being Captaine of a ſhip going to Ireland) to take the ſeas, and ſo eſcaped he (although not wythout extreme peryll of drownyng) through Fraunce, to the higher partes of Germany. Where he entring acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and louingly entertayned, both at Baſill, and eſpecially at Zuricke of Maiſter Bullinger, being hys ſingular friend. Where alſo he maried his wife, which was a Burgonian, and applyed very ſtudiouſly the Hebrue tounge.

Maiſter Hooper flyeth agayne out of England.

Great frendſhip betwene Maiſter Bullinger, and M. Hooper.

At length when God ſaw it good to ſtay the bloudye tyme of the .vj. Articles, and to geue vs Kyng Edward to raygne ouer this realme, with ſome peace and reſt vnto his Goſpell, amongeſt many other Engliſhe Exiles, which then repared homeward, M. Hooper alſo, moued in conſcience, thought not to abſent himſelf, ſeing ſuch a time and occaſion offered to helpe forward the Lords worke, to the vttermoſt of his habilitie. And ſo comming to M. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zuricke (as duty required) to geue thẽ thankes for their ſingular kindnes and humanity toward hym manifold wayes declared, with like humanitye agayne purpoſed to take his leaue of them at hys departing, and ſo did. Vnto whom M.Bullinger againe (who had allwayes a ſpeciall fauour to M.Hooper) ſpake on this wyſe: Maiſter Hooper (ſayd he) although we are ſory to part with your cõpany for our owne cauſe, yet much greater cauſes we haue to reioyce, both for your ſake, and eſpecially for the cauſe of Chriſtes true religion, that you ſhall now returne out of long baniſhment vnto your natiue countrey againe, where not onely you may enioy your own priuate liberty, but alſo the cauſe and ſtate of Chriſtes church by you may fare the better as we doubt not but it ſhall. An other cauſe moreouer why we reioyce with you and for you, is this, that you ſhall remoue not only out of exile, into libertie: but you ſhall leaue here a baren, a ſower, & an vnpleaſant cõtrey, rude and ſauage, and ſhall go into a land flowyng with milke and hony, repleniſhed with all pleaſure and fertilitie. Notwithſtãdyng with this our reioyſing, one feare and care we haue, leſt you beyng abſent, and ſo farre diſtant from vs, or els commyng to ſuch abundaunce of wealth and felicitie, in your new welfayre, and plenty of all thyngs, and in your floriſhyng honors, where ye ſhall come peraduenture to be a Byſhop, and where ye ſhall find ſo many new frendes, you will forget vs your old acquaintaũce and wellwyllers. Neuertheles how ſoeuer you ſhall forget and ſhake vs of, yet this perſuade your ſelfe, that we will not forget our old frend & fellow M.Hoper. And if you ſhall pleaſe not to forget vs agayne, then I pray you let vs heare frõ you.

Maiſter Bullingers wordes to Maiſter Hooper, at his departing frõ Zuricke.

The aunſwere of Maiſter Hooper to Maiſter Bullinger.

Whereunto M. Hoper aunſweryng agayne, firſt gaue to M.Bullinger and the reaſt right harty thãkes, for that their ſingulare good will, and vndeſerued affection, appearyng not onely now, but at all tymes towardes hym: declaryng moreouer that as the principall cauſe of hys remouyng to his countrey was the matter of Religion: ſo touchyng the vnpleaſantnes and barennes of that countrey of theirs, there was no cauſe therin, why he could not find in his hart to cõtinue his lyfe there, as ſoone as in any place in ẏ world, and rather then in his owne natiue countrey, if there were nothyng els in his conſcience that moued him ſo to do. And as touching the forgettyng of his old frẽdes, although (ſayd he) the remembraunce of a mans countrey naturally doth delight hym, neither could he deny, but God had bleſſed his countrey of England with many great cõmodities: yet neither the nature of cõtrey, nor pleaſure of cõmodities, nor newnes of frends ſhould euer induce him to ẏ obliuion of ſuch frendes & benefactours, whom he was ſo intierly bound vnto: and therfore you ſhall be ſure (ſayd he) from tyme to tyme to heare from me, and I will write vnto you as it goeth with me. But the laſt newes of all I ſhall not be able to write: for there (ſayd he, takyng M.Bullinger by the hand) where I ſhall take moſt paynes, there ſhal you heare of me to be burned to aſhes: and that ſhalbe the laſt newes which I ſhall not bee able to write vnto you, but you ſhall heare it of me. &c.

M. Hooper propheſyeth of himſelfe.

A note of M. Hoopers Armes preſignifying hys Martyrdome.

To this alſo may be added an other lyke propheticall demonſtration, foreſhewyng before the maner of hys Martyrdome wherewith he ſhould glorifie God, which was this: Whẽ M.Hoper beyng made B. of Worceſter and Gloceſter ſhould haue his Armes geuen hym by the Harold, as the maner is here in England, euery Biſhop to haue his armes aſſigned vnto hym (whether by the appoyntment of M. Hoper, or by the Harold I haue not certeinly to ſay) but the Armes which were to him allotted was thys: a Lambe in a fiery buſh, & the Sunne beames frõ heauẽ deſcendyng down vpon the Lambe, rightly denotyng (as it ſemed) the order of hys ſufferyng, which afterward folowed.

M. Hooper returning agayne into England.

The notable diligence of M. Hooper in preaching.

But now to the purpoſe of our ſtory agayne: Thus when M.Hoper had take his farewel of M. Bullinger and his frendes in Zuricke, he made his repayre agayn into England in the reigne of kyng Edward. 6. where he commyng to Londõ vſed continually to preach, moſt tymes twyſe, at leaſt once euery day, and neuer fayled. In his Sermons, according to his accuſtomed maner, he corrected ſinne, and ſharpely inueyed againſt the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuſes of the Church. The people in great flockes & companies, dayly came to heare his voyce, as the moſt melodious ſounde and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the prouerbe ſayth: In ſo much that often times, when he was preaching, the church ſhould be ſo full, that none could enter further then the dores therof. In his doctrine he was earneſt, in toung eloquent, in the ſcriptures perfect, in paynes indefatigable.

The ſingular vertues of M. Hooper deſcribed.

Moreouer, beſides other hys giftes and qualities, thys is in hym to be marueled, that euen as he began, ſo he continued ſtyll vnto hys liues ende. For neyther could his labour and paine taking breake hym, neither promotion chaunge him, neither daintye fare corrupt hym. Hys life was ſo pure and good, that no kinde of ſclaũder (although diuers went about to reproue it) could faſten any fault vpon him. He was of body ſtrõg, hys health whole & ſound, hys wit very pregnant, his inuincible patience able to ſuſtain what ſoeuer ſiniſter fortune & aduerſitie could do. He was cõſtant of iudgement, a good Iuſticer, ſpare of dyet, ſparer of wordes, and ſpareſt of tyme. In houſekeeping very liberall, and ſomtime more free then his lyuing would extend vnto. Briefly, of all thoſe vertues and qualities required of of S.Paule in a good biſhop in his epiſtle to Timothe, I know not one in this good biſhop lacking. He bare in coũtenaunce & talke allwayes a certayne ſeuere & graue grace, which might peraduenture be wiſhed ſomtimes to haue bene a litle more popular & vulgarlike in him: but he knew what hee had to doe beſt him ſelfe. Thys by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honeſt Citizen, and to me not vnknowen, which hauing in him ſelfe a certayne conflict of conſcience, came to his dore for counſell: but being abaſhed at his auſtere behauiour, durſt not come in, but departed, ſeeking remedy of hys troubled mynde at other mens handes, which he afterward by the helpe of almightie God did finde and obtayne. Therefore in my iudgement, ſuch as are appointed and made gouernours ouer the flocke of Chriſt, to teach & inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame theyr life, maners, countenance, and externall behauiour, as neyther they ſhew them ſelues to familiar and light, whereby to be brought in contempt, nor on the other ſide againe, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, thē appertaineth to the edifying of the ſimple flocke of Chriſt. Neuertheles, as euery man hath his peculiar gyft wrought in him by nature, ſo this diſpoſition of fatherly grauity in thys man neither was exceſſiue, neyther dyd hee beare that perſonage which was in hym wythout great conſideration. For it ſeemed to him peraduenture, that thys licentious and vnbrideled lyfe of the common ſorte, ought to bee chaſtened, not onely with words and diſcipline, but alſo with the graue and ſeuere countenance of good men.

Diſcretiō how miniſters and preachers ought to behaue them ſelues.

After he had thus practiſed him ſelf in thys popular & common kinde of preaching: at length, and that not without the great profite of many, hee was called to preach before the kings Maieſty, and ſone after, made Biſhop of Gloceſter by the kings commaundement. In that office he continued two yeares, and behaued him ſelfe ſo well, that hys very enemies (except it were for hys good doinges, and ſharpe correcting of ſinne) could finde no fault with him: and after that hee was made biſhop of Worceſter.

M. Hooper made Byſhop of Gloceſter & Worceſter.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter and vnlucky contention concerning the ordering and conſecration of Biſhops, and of their apparel, with ſuch other like trifles, began to diſturbe the good and lucky beginning of thys godly biſhop. For notwithſtanding that godly reformation of religion then begon in yͤ church of Englād, beſides other ceremonies, more ambitious then profitable or tendyng to edification, they vſed to weare ſuch garmentes and apparell as the Popiſh Byſhops were wont to doe: firſt a Chymere, and vnder that a white Rochet: then a Mathematicall cap with iiij. angels, diuidyng the whole world into iiij. partes. Theſe trifles tendyng more to ſuperſtition then otherwiſe, as he could neuer abyde, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſuaded to weare them. For this cauſe he made ſupplication to the kings Maieſtie, moſt humbly deſiryng his highnes, either to diſcharge hym of his Biſhopricke, or els to diſpenſe with him for ſuch ceremoniall orders. Whoſe petition the kyng graunted immediatly, wrytyng hys letter to the Archb. after thys tenour.

Popiſhe attire.

¶ The kynges letters or graunt for the diſpenſation of Iohn Hoper elected Byſhop of Gloceſter, written to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury and other Byſhops.

The kinges letter to the Archb. in the behalfe of *M. Hooper*.

Right reuerend father, and right truſty and welbeloued, we grete you well. whereas we by the aduiſe of our Cōſail, haue called and choſē our right welbeloued & well worthy M. Iohn Hoper, Profeſſor of Diuinitie, to be our biſhop of Glouceſter: as well for his great knowledge, depe iudgement, and long ſtudy both in the ſcriptures & other prophane learning, as alſo for his good diſcretiō, ready vtterance, & honeſt life for that kind of vocation: to the intent all our louing ſubiectes which are in hys ſayd charge and elſwhere, might by his ſound and true doctrine, learne the better their duety towardes God, their obedience towardes vs, and loue towardes their neighbours: from cōſecratyng of whom we vnderſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would haue you omitte and let paſſe certaine rites and ceremonies offenſiue to hys conſciēce, wherby ye thinke you ſhould fall into the Premunire of lawes: we haue thought good by the aduiſe aforeſayd, to diſpenſe & diſcharge you of all maner of daūgers, penalties, and forfaitures you ſhould run and be in any maner of way, by omittyng any of the ſame. And theſe our letters ſhalbe your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge therfore.

Yeuen vnder our ſignet at our Caſtell of Wyndſore, the v. of Auguſt, the iiij. yeare of our raigne.

Ed. Somerſet.
W. Wiltſhyre.
W. North.

W. Paget.
A. Wingfield.
N. Wotton.

Beſides this letter of the kyng, alſo the Earle of Warwicke (which was afterward Duke of Northūberland) adioyned his letter to the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to this purpoſe and effect, that M. Hoper might not be burdened with the oth vſed then cōmonly in the conſecration of Byſhops, which was agaynſt his conſcience: as by the purporte of the letter here is to be ſeene, as foloweth.

A letter of the Earle of Warwicke to the Archb. in the behalfe of Maiſter *Hooper*.

After my moſt harty commendations to your grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable thynges, wherin this bearer my Lorde electe of Gloceſter craueth to bee borne withall at your handes, you woulde wyte ſafe to ſhewe hym your graces fauour the rather at this my inſtaunce: which thyng partly, I haue taken in hand by the kynges Maieſties owne motion. The matter is wayed by his hyghnes: none other but that your grace may facily cōdeſcend vnto. The principall cauſe is that you would not charge this ſayd bearer with an oth bourdinous to his conſcience. And ſo for lacke of tyme I commit your grace to the tuitiō of almighty God. From Weſtminſter the xxiij. of July. 1050,

Your graces moſt aſſured louyng frend.
I. Warwike.

Both thys graunt of the kyng, and alſo the Earles letters aforeſayd notwythſtandyng, the Biſhops ſtyll ſtode earneſtly in the defence of the foreſayd ceremonies, ſaying it was but a ſmal matter, and that the fault was in the abuſe of the thinges, and not in the thynges them ſelues: adding moreouer, that he ought not to be ſo ſtubburne in ſo light a matter, and that hys wylfulnes therein was not to be ſuffered. To be ſhort, whyleſt both parties thus contēded about this matter more then reaſon would, in the meane time occaſion was geuen, as to yͤ true Chriſtians to lament, ſo to yͤ aduerſary to reioyce. In cōcluſion, thys Theological cōtention came to this end, that yͤ Biſhops hauing yͤ vpper hand, M. Hooper was fayne to agree to thys condition, that ſomtimes he ſhould in hys ſermons ſhew hym ſelf apparelled as yͤ other Biſhops were. Wherfore, appointed to preach before yͤ king as a new player in a ſtraunge apparell, he cōmeth forth on the ſtage. Hys vpper garment was a long ſcarlet Chymere downe to the foote, & vnder that a white linnen Rochet that couered all hys ſhoulders. Vpō hys head he had a Geometriall, that is, a foure ſquared cap, albeit that hys head was round. What cauſe of ſhame the ſtraungenes hereof was that day to that good Preacher, euery mā may eaſely iudge. But thys priuate contumely and reproch in reſpect of the publicke profite of yͤ church, which he onely ſought, he bare and ſuffered patiently. And I would to God in like maner they which toke vpon them yͤ other part of that tragedye, had yelded their priuate cauſe, whatſoeuer it was, to the publicke concord and edifying of the church: for no man in all the Citie was one heare the better for that hot contention.

The kinges requeſt nor the Earles could take effect.

Diſcord about ritual garmentes of churchmen.

Maiſter *Hooper* fayne to agree to the Byſhops.

Maiſter *Hooper* compelled to preach before the kyng in Biſhoplike apparell.

I will name no body, partly for that his oppugners beyng afterwardes ioyned in the moſt ſure frendſhyp with him in one & for one cauſe, ſuffered Martyrdome: and partly for that I commonly vſe accordyng to my accuſtomed maner, to keepe my penne from preſumptuous iudgyng of any perſon: Yet I thought to note the thyng for this conſideration, to admoniſhe the reader hereby, how wholeſome and neceſſary the Croſſe of Chriſt is ſometyme in the Church of Chriſt, as by the ſequele hereof did afterward appeare. For as in a Ciuile gouernaunce & common wealth, nothyng is more occaſion of warre, then ouermuch peace: ſo in the Church and among Churchmen, as nothyng is more pernitious thē to much quietnes, ſo nothyng more ceaſeth priuate contentions oftentimes riſing amongeſt them, then the publicke Croſſe of perſecution.

The croſſe maketh peace.

Furthermore, ſo I perſuaded my ſelfe, the ſame not to be vnexpedient, to haue extant ſuch examples of holy and bleſſed men. For if it do not a litle appertaine to our publicke conſolation and comfort, when we read

The falles and infirmities of holy Saintes & Martyrs left for our conſolatiõ.

in the Scriptures of the foule diſſenſion betwene Paul and Barnabe: of the fall of Peter, and of Dauids murther and adultery: why may or ſhoulde it not be as wel profitable for our poſterity, to heare & know the falles of theſe godly Martyrs, whereby we may the leſſe diſpayre in our infirmitie, conſideryng the ſame or greater infirmities to reigne in the holy Saintes of God, both Prophetes, Apoſtles, and Martyrs? And this by yͤ way, thou haſt heard (good reader) hytherto the weakenes of theſe good mẽ, playnly and ſimply, as the truth was, declared vnto thee, to the ende their fall may miniſter occaſion to vs, either of eſchewyng yͤ like, or els to take hart and comfort in the like fall and frailnes of ours. Now agayne on the other part it remaineth to recorde after the foreſayd diſcorde, the godly reconciliations of theſe good mẽ in time of perſecutiõ, who afterward beyng in priſon for the truthes ſake, reconciled them ſelues agayne with moſt godly agréement, as appeareth by this letter ſent by Byſhop Ridley, to the ſayd Byſhop of Gloceſter. The copy wherof, as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter foloweth, tranſlated into Engliſhe.

Note how diſcord and reconciliation happeneth many times amongeſt good men.

¶ To my deare brother, and reuerend felllow Elder in Chriſt, Iohn Hoper, grace and peace.

A letter of reconciliation ſent by B. Ridley to Byſhop Hooper.

My dearly beloued brother and fellowe Elder, whom I reuerence in the Lord, pardon me I beſeech you, that hetherto ſince your captiuity and myne, I haue not ſaluted you by my letters: whereas (I do in deede confeſſe) I haue receiued from you (ſuch was your gẽtlenes) two letters at ſundry tymes: but yet at ſuch tymes, as I coulde not be ſuffered to write vnto you agayne: or if I might, yet was I greatly in doubt how my letters might ſafely come vnto your handes. But now my deare brother, foraſmuch as I vnderſtand by your workes, which I haue yet but ſuperficially ſeene, that we thoroughly agree and wholy cõſent together in thoſe things which are the groundes & ſubſtanciall points of our religion, againſt the which the world ſo furiouſly rageth, in theſe our dayes: how ſoeuer in tyme paſt in certayne bymatters & circumſtances of religiõ your wiſedome & my ſimplicitie (I graunt) hath a litle iarred, ech of vs folowing the abundaunce of hys owne ſenſe and iudgement: now (I ſay) be you aſſured that euen with my whole hart (God is my witnes) in the bowels of Chriſt, I loue you in truth and for the truthes ſake, which abideth in vs, and (as I am perſwaded) ſhall by the grace of God, abide with vs for euermore. And becauſe the world, as I perceaue brother, ceaſeth not to play his pageant, and buſily cõſpireth againſt Chriſt our Sauiour with al poſſible force and power, *exalting high thynges agaynſt the knowledge of God*: let vs ioyne handes together in Chriſt, and if we can not ouerthrow, yet to our power and aſmuch as in vs lieth, let vs ſhake thoſe *high altitudes, not with carnall but with ſpirituall weapons*: and withall brother, let vs prepare our ſelues to the day of our diſſolution, by the which after the ſhort tyme of this bodely affliction by the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, we ſhall triumph together with hym in eternall glory.

1. Cor. 10.

B. Ridley & Biſhop Hooper ioyne hãds together.

I pray you brother, ſalute in my name your reuerend fellow priſoner & venerable father D. C. by whom ſince the firſt day that I heard of his moſt godly and fatherly conſtancy in confeſſing the truth of the Goſpell, I haue conceaued great conſolation and ioy in the Lord. For the integrity and vprightnes of that man, his grauitie and innocency all England I thinke hath knowen long agoe. Bleſſed be God therfore, which in ſuch aboundance of iniquity and decay of all godlines, hath geuen vnto vs in this reuerend olde age, ſuch a witnes for the truth of his Goſpell. Miſerable and hard harted is hee, whom the godlines and conſtãt confeſſiõ of ſo worthy, ſo graue, and innocent a man, will not moue to acknowledge and confeſſe the truth of God. I do not now brother require you to write any thing to me agayne: for I ſtand much in feare leaſt your letters ſhoulde be intercepted before they can come to my handes. Neuertheles know you, that it ſhalbe to me great ioy to heare of your conſtancy and fortitude in the Lords quarel. And albeit I haue not hetherto written vnto you, yet haue I twiſe (as I could) ſent vnto you my mind touching yͤ matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet brother be otherwiſe perſwaded: I ſee me thinkes ſo many perils whereby I am earneſtly moued to counſell you not to haſten the publiſhing of your works, eſpecially vnder the title of your owne name. For I feare greatly leſt by this occaſion both your mouth ſhould be ſtopped hereafter, and all thinges taken away from the reſt of the priſoners, whereby otherwiſe, if it ſo pleaſe God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lorde my moſt deare brother: and if there be any moe in priſon wyth you for Chriſtes cauſe, I beſech you as you may, ſalute them in my name. To whoſe prayers I do moſt humbly and hartely commende my ſelfe and my fellow priſoners & cõcaptiues in the Lord, and yet once againe, and for euer in Chriſt, my moſt deare brother, farewell.

B. Ridley truſteth to heare of Byſhop Hoopers conſtancy.

N. Rydley.

M. Hoper, after all theſe tumultes and vexations ſuſteined about hys Inueſtyng and Prieſtly veſtures, at length entryng into his Dioces, dyd there employ his tyme which the Lord lent hym vnder kyng Edwardes reigne, with ſuch diligence as may be a ſpectacle to all Biſhops which ſhal euer hereafter ſuccede him, not only in that place but in what ſoeuer Dioces through the whole Realme of England. So carefull was he in hys Cure, that he left neither paynes vntaken, nor wayes vnſought, how to trayne vppe the flocke of Chriſt in the true word of ſaluation, continually labouryng in the ſame. Other men commonly are wont for lucre or promotion ſake to aſpire to Byſhoprikes, ſome hũtyng for them, and ſome purchaſing or bying them as men vſe to purchaſe Lordſhyps, & whẽ they haue them, are loth to leaue them, and thereupon loth alſo to commit that thyng by worldly lawes, wherby to loſe them.

The diligent care of Biſhop *Hooper* in his Dioces.

To this ſorte of men M. Hoper was cleane contrary, who abhorred nothing more then gayne, labouryng allwayes to ſaue and preſerue the ſoules of his flocke. Who being Biſhop of two Dioceſſes, ſo ruled and guided either of them and both together, as though hee had in charge but one familie. No father in his houſehold, no Gardiner in his garden, or huſbandmã in his Vineyarde was more or better occupyed, then he in hys Dioces amongeſt his flocke, goyng all about hys Townes and Villages in teachyng and preachyng to the people there. That tyme that he had to ſpare frõ preachyng, hée beſtowed either in hearyng publicke cauſes, or els in hys priuate ſtudy, prayer, and viſityng of Scholes. With his continuall doctrine, he adioyned due and diſcrete correction, not ſo much ſeuere to any, as to them which for abundaunce of riches and welthy ſtate, thought they might do what they lyſted. And doubtles hee ſpared no kynde of people, but was indifferent to all men, aſwell rich as poore, to the great ſhame of no ſmall number of mẽ now a dayes: Whereof many we ſée ſo addicted to the pleaſing of great and rich men, that in the meane tyme they haue no regarde to the meaner ſorte of poore people, whom Chriſt hath bought as dearely as the other. But now we will agayne returne our talke to M. Hoper: all whoſe life in fine was ſuch, that to the Church and all Churchmen it might be a light and example, to the reſt a perpetuall leſſon and Sermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a Byſhop he was, ye may conceyue, and know euidently by this: that euen as he was hated of none but of them which were euill, ſo yet the worſte of them all coulde not reproue his lyfe in any one iote.

M. Hooper Biſhop of two Dioceſſes.

M. Hooper a light to all Churchmen.

I haue now declared his vſage & behauiour abroad in the publicke affayres of the Church: and certaynly there appeared in hym at home no leſſe example of a worthy Prelates lyfe. For although he beſtowed and conuerted the moſt part of hys care vpon the publicke flocke and congregation of Chriſt, for the which alſo he ſpent hys bloud: yet neuertheles there lacked no prouiſion in him, to bring vp his own children in learnyng, and good maners: euen ſo much, that ye could not diſcerne whether he deſerued more prayſe for his fatherly vſage at home, or for his Byſhoply doinges abroad. For euery where he kept one Religiõ in one vniforme doctrine and integritie. So that if you entred into the

The order and gouernance of *M. Hoopers* houſe.

The care of *M. Hooper* in inſtructing his family.

Byſhops Pallace, you would ſuppoſe to haue entred into ſome Church or Temple. In euery corner therof, there was ſome ſmel of vertue, good example, honeſt cõuerſation, and reading of holy Scriptures. There was not to be ſéene in hys houſe any courtly royſting or idlenes: no pompe at all, no diſhoneſt word, no ſwearyng could there be heard.

The hoſpitalitie of Maiſter Hooper.

As for the reuenewes of both his Byſhoprickes, although they did not greatly excede, as the matter was handled: yet if any thyng ſurmounted therof, he purſed nothyng, but beſtowed it in hoſpitalitie. Twiſe I was (as I remember) in his houſe in Worceſter, where in hys common hall, I ſaw a table ſpread with good ſtore of meate, and beſet ful of beggers and poore folke: and I aſking his ſeruauntes what this mente: they told me that euery day their Lord and Maiſters maner was, to haue cuſtomably to dynner, a certaine number of poore folke of the ſayd Citie by courſe, who were ſerued by foure at a meſſe, with hotte and wholeſome meates: and when they were ſerued (beyng afore examined by hym or his deputies of the Lordes Prayer, the Articles of theyr fayth, and tenne Commaundementes) then he him ſelf ſatte down to dynner, and not before.

After this ſorte and maner, M. Hoper executed the office of a moſt carefull and vigilãt Paſtor, by the ſpace of two yeares and more, ſo long as the ſtate of Religiõ in kyng Edwardes time dyd ſafely floriſh & take place: & would God that all other Biſhops would vſe the like diligence, care, and obſeruaunce in their functiõ. After this kyng Edward beyng dead, and Mary beyng crowned Quéene of Englãd, Religion beyng ſubuerted and chaunged, this good Byſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for by a Purſiuaunte to be at London, and that for two cauſes.

M. Hooper called vp to London at Queene Maryes comming in.

ij. cauſes why M. Hooper was called vp.

Firſt, to aunſwere to Doct. Heath, then appoynted Byſhop of that Dioces, who was before in kyng Edwardes dayes depriued therof for Papiſtry.

Secondarely to render accompt to Doct. Boner Byſhop of Lõdon, for that he in kyng Edwardes tyme was one of hys accuſers, in that he ſhewed hym ſelfe not conformable to ſuch ordinaunces as were preſcribed to hym by the kyng and hys Counſell openly at Paules Croſſe. And although the ſayd M. Hoper was not ignorãt of the euils that ſhould happen towardes hym (for he was admoniſhed by certaine of his frendes to get hym away, and ſhift for hym ſelfe) yet he would not preuent them, but taryed ſtill, ſaying: once I dyd flye and toke me to my féete: but now, becauſe I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly perſuaded to tary, and to lyue and dye with my ſhepe.

M. Hooper refuſed to flie away.

M. Hooper commeth vp to London.

M. Hooper charged to aunſwere the Queene for bondes of debt.

And when at the day of his appearaunce (which was the firſt of September) he was come to London, before hée coulde come to the forſayd Doct. Heath and Boner, he was intercepted and commaunded violently agaynſt his will to appeare before the Quéene and her Counſell, to aunſwere to certayne bondes and obligations wherein they ſaid he was bound vnto her. And whẽ he came before them, Wyncheſter by and by receiued hym very opprobriouſly, and raylyng and ratyng of hym, accuſed hym of Religion. He againe fréely and boldly told hys tale, and purged hym ſelfe. But in fine it came to this cõcluſion: that he was by them cõmaũded to ward (it beyng declared vnto hym at his departure, that yͤ cauſe of his impriſonment was only for certayne ſummes of Money, for the which hee was indebted to the Quéene, and not for Religiõ.) This how falſe & vntrue it was, ſhall hereafter in hys place more playnly appeare. The next yeare beyng. 1554. yͤ 19. of March, he was called agayne to appeare before Wyncheſter and other the Quéenes Cõmiſſioners: where, what for the Byſhop, and what for the vnruly multitude, whẽ he could not be permitted to pleade his cauſe, he was depriued of his Byſhoprikes. Which how and in what order it was done, here now foloweth to be ſéene by the teſtimony and reporte of one, which beyng preſent at the doyng, committed the ſame to wrytyng.

M. Hooper commaunded to Warde.

M. Hooper depriued of his Biſhoprickes.

A letter reporting the order of Maiſter Hoopers depriuation.

A letter or report of a certayne godly man declaryng the order of M. Hoopers depriuation from his Byſhoprikes an. 1554. March, 19.

FOr ſo much as a rumor is ſpread abroad of the talke had at my Lord Chauncelors, betwene him with other commiſſioners there appointed, and M. Hooper, cleane contrary to the verity and truth thereof in dede, and therefore to be iudged rather to be riſen of malice for the diſcrediting of the truth by falſe ſuggeſtions and euill reportes, then otherwiſe: I thought it my duety, beyng preſent thereat my ſelfe, in wryting to ſet forth the whole effecte of the ſame: partly that the verity thereof may be knowen to the doubtfull people, and partly alſo to aduertiſe them how vncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their handes: which with all humility vſed him ſelfe towardes them, deſiring that with patience hee myght haue bene permitted to ſpeake: aſſuring all men, that where I ſtode in a mamering and doubt, which of theſe two religions to haue credited, either that ſet forth by the kinges maieſty that dead is, or els that now maintained by the Queenes maieſty, their vnreuerẽt behauiour towardes M. Hooper, doth moue me yͤ rather to credite his doctrine, then that which they with rayling and cruell wordes defended, conſidering that Chriſt was ſo handled before. And that this which I haue written here was the effect of their talke, as I acknowledge it to be true my ſelfe: ſo I appeale to all the hearers conſciences, that there were preſent (ſo they put affection away) for the witnes to the ſame.

The Byſhops of Wint. of Lond. of Dureſme, of Landaffe, of Chicheſter ſatte as Commiſſioners.

Maiſter Hooper examined before the Commiſſioners.

LOrd Chaunc. At M. Hopers commyng in, the Lord Chauncellour aſked whether he was maryed?

Hoper. Yea, my Lord, and will not be vnmaryed till death vnmary me.

Dureſme. That is matter enough to depriue you.

Hoper. That it is not my Lord, except ye do agaynſt the law.

The matter concernyng mariage was no more talked of then, for a great ſpace: but aſwell the Commiſſioners, as ſuch as ſtode by, began to make ſuch outcries, and laughed, and vſed ſuch geſture as was vncomely for yͤ place, & for ſuch a matter. The B. of Chicheſter D. Day called M. Hoper hypocrite, with vehement wordes, and ſcornefull countenaunce. Bekonſall called hym beaſt: ſo did Smith one of the Clerkes of the Counſell, and diuers other that ſtode by. At length the B. of Wincheſter ſayd that all mẽ might liue chaſt that would, and brought in this text: Caſtrauerũt ſe propter regnum cœlorum. i. *There be that haue gelded them ſelues for the kingdome of heauen.* Math. 19.

Bleſſed be you when they ſhall ſpeake all reuiling wordes againſt you for my names ſake.

M. Hoper ſayd, that text proued not that all men could lyue chaſt, but ſuch onely to whom it was geuen: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mockyng and ſcornyng, with callyng hym beaſt, that the text could not be examined. Thẽ M. Hoper ſayd, that it dyd appeare by the old Canons, that Mariage was not forbidden vnto Prieſtes, and named the Decrées. But yͤ Byſhop of Wincheſter ſent for an other part, namely the Clementines, or the Extrauagantes. But M. Hoper ſayd, that boke was not it which hee named.

Prieſtes mariage not forbid by the olde Canons.

Then cryed out the Byſhop of Wincheſter, & ſayd: you ſhall not haue any other, vntil ye be iudged by this. And then began ſuch a noyſe, tumult, and ſpeakyng together of a great many that fauoured not yͤ cauſe, that nothyng was done ne ſpoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwardes iudge Morgan began to rayle at M. Hoper a long tyme, with many opprobrious and foule wordes of his doyng at Glouceſter in puniſhyng of men, and ſayd there was neuer ſuch a tyranne as hée was. After that, Doct. Day Biſhop of Chicheſter ſayd, that the Councell of Ancyra, which was before the Cõucell of Nice, was agaynſt the Mariage of Prieſtes.

This Morgan ſhortly after fell into a phrenſy, and madnes, and dyed of the ſame.

Then cried out my Lord Chaũcellour, & many with hym, that M. Hoper had neuer read the Councels.

Yes

The Councell of Nice permitteth prieſtes mariage.

Yes my Lord (quoth M. Hoper) and my Lord of Chicheſter D. Day knoweth that ẏ great Councell of Nice, by ẏ meanes of one Paphnutius, decréed that no Miniſter ſhould be ſeparated from his wife. But ſuch clamours and cryes were vſed, that the Councell of Nice was not ſéene.

After this long brutiſh talke, Tunſtall biſhop of Dureſme aſked Maiſter Hooper whether he beleued the corporall preſence in the ſacrament? and Maiſter Hooper ſayd playnly that there was none ſuch, neither did he beleue any ſuch thyng.

Then would the biſhop of Dureſme haue read out of a boke, for hys purpoſe belike (what boke it was, I can not tell): but there was ſuch a noyſe and confuſe talke on euery ſide, that he did not reade it. Then aſked Wincheſter of M. Hooper, what authority moued hym not to beleue the corporall preſence? He ſayd the authority of Gods word, and alledged this text: Quem oportet cœlum ſuſcipere, vſq; ad tempus reſtaurationis omnium. i. *Whom heauen muſt holde vntyll the latter day.*

The corporall preſence.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter would haue made that text to haue ſerued nothing for hys purpoſe, and he ſayd he might be in heauen, & in the ſacrament alſo.

M. Hooper would haue ſaid more to haue opened ẏ text, but al men that ſtode next about the biſhop, allowed ſo hys ſaying with clamors and cryes, that Maiſter Hooper was not permitted to ſay any more agaynſt ẏ biſhop. Wherupon they bad ẏ Notaries write that he was maryed, & ſayd that he would not go frō his wyfe, and that he beleued not the corporall preſence in the Sacrament, wherefore he was worthy to be depriued from hys biſhopricke.

Articles taken agaynſt M. Hooper.

This is the truth of the matter (as farre as I can truly remember) of the confuſe and trobleſome talke, that was betwene them, and except it were haſty and vncharitable wordes, this is the whole matter of theyr talke, at that tyme. Atq; hæc ille hactenus.

¶The true report of M. Hoopers entertainment in the fleete, written with his own hand the ſeuenth of Ianuary. 1554.

Maiſter Hoopers report of his impriſonment in the Fleete.

THe firſt of September. 1553. I was cōmitted vnto the Fléete from Richmount, to haue the liberty of the priſon: and within ſixe dayes after, I payed for my libertye fiue poundes ſterling to the Warden for fées: who immediately vpon the payment therof, complayned vnto Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo was I committed to cloſe priſon one quarter of a yeare in the Tower chamber of the Fléete, vſed very extremely. Then by the meanes of a good gentlewoman, I had libertie to come downe to dinner and ſupper, not ſuffered to ſpeake with any of my frendes: but as ſone as dynner and ſupper was done, to repayre to my chamber againe. Notwithſtanding whileſt I came down thus to dinner and ſupper, the Warden and hys wyfe picked quarels with me, and complayned vntruly of me, to their great frend the biſhop of Wincheſter.

This good gentlewoman is thought to be Miſtres Wilkingſon.

After one quarter of a yeare and ſomwhat more, Babington the Warden and hys wyfe, fell out wyth me for the wycked Maſſe: and therupon the Warden reſorted to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and obtained to put me into the Wardes, where I haue continued a long tyme, hauing nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a litle pad of ſtraw, & a rotten couering with a tyke and a few feathers therin, the chamber being vile and ſtinking, vntyll by Gods meanes good people ſent me bedding to lye in. Of the one ſyde of which pryſon is the ſyncke, and filth of all the houſe, and on the other ſide, the towne ditch: ſo that the ſtinch of the houſe hath infected me with ſondry diſeaſes.

Babingtō Warden of the Fleete a wicked tyrant to Gods people.

During which time I haue bene ſicke: & the dores, barres, haſpes, and chaynes being all cloſed, and made faſt vpon me, I haue mourned, called and cryed for helpe. But the Warden, when hee hath knowen me many tymes ready to dye, and when the pore men of the Wardes haue called to helpe me, hath commaūded the dores to be kept faſt, and charged that none of hys men ſhould come at me, ſaying: let hym alone, it were a good riddance of him. And among many other times he did thus ẏ 18. of Octob. 1553. as many cā witnes.

The barbarous crueltye of the Warden of the Fleete.

I payed alwayes like a Baron, to the ſaid Warden, as well in fées as for my boorde, which was. xx. ſhyllyngs a wéeke, beſides my mans table, vntyll I was wrongfully depriued of my Biſhopricke: and ſithens that tyme I haue payed hym as the beſt Gentleman doth in his houſe: yet hath he vſed me worſe and more vilely, then the varieſt ſlaue that euer came to the Hall commons.

The ſayd Warden hath alſo empriſoned my man William Downton, & ſtripped him out of his clothes to ſearch for letters, and could finde none but onely a litle remembraunce of good peoples names that gaue me their almes to relieue me in pryſon: and to vndoe them alſo, the Warden deliuered the ſame bil vnto the ſayd Steuen Gardener, Gods enemies and myne.

W. Downton M. Hoopers man.

I haue ſuffered empriſonment, almoſt eightene monethes, my goods, lyuyng, frendes, and comfort taken from me, the Quéene owyng me by iuſt accompt foure ſcore poundes or more. She hath put me in priſon, and geueth nothing to fynde me, neither is there ſuffered any to come at me, whereby I might haue reliefe. I am wyth a wicked man and woman: ſo that I ſée no remedy (ſauing Gods helpe) but I ſhall be caſt away in priſon before I come to iudgement. But I cōmit my iuſt cauſe to God, whoſe will be done, whether it be by life or death. This much wrote he him ſelf of this matter.

M. Hooper 18. monethes in priſon.

Queene *Mary* indebted to *M. Hooper*.

¶ *An other examination of Maiſter Hooper.*

M. Hooper agayne conuented before the Byſhop of *Wincheſter*.

THe. 22. of January followyng. 1555. Babington the Warden of the Fléete, was commaunded to bring Maiſter Hooper before the biſhop of Wincheſter, wyth other Biſhops and commiſſioners at the ſaid Wincheſters houſe at S. Mary Oueries, whereas in effect this much was done.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, in the name of him ſelfe and the reſt, moued Maiſter Hooper earneſtly, to forſake the euyll & corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the dayes of king Edward. 6. and to returne to the vnitie of the catholicke church, and to acknowledge the Popes holynes to be the head of the ſame Church, according to the determination of the whole Parlament, promiſing that as he hym ſelfe, wyth other hys brethren had receyued the Popes bleſſing and the Quéenes mercy: euen ſo mercy was ready to be ſhewed to hym and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcend to the Popes holynes.

Gardiner exhorteth *M. Hooper* to returne to the Popes church.

Maiſter Hooper aunſwered: that for aſmuch as the Pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accompted as a member of Chriſtes church, much leſſe to bee head therof: wherefore he would in no wyſe condeſcend to any ſuch vſurped iuriſdiction, neither eſtemed he the Church wherof they call him head, to be the catholike church of Chriſt: for the church onely heareth the voice of her ſpouſe Chriſt, and flyeth the ſtraungers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any poynt to me vnknowen, I haue offended the Quéenes Maieſtie, I ſhall moſte humbly ſubmit my ſelfe to her mercy, if mercy may bee had with ſafety of conſcience, and without the diſpleaſure of God.

The Pope not worthy to be a member of Chriſtes Church.

Aunſwere was made that the Quéene woulde ſhewe no mercy to the Popes enemies. Wherupon Babington was commaunded to bring him to the Fléete againe: who did ſo, and ſhifted hym from his former chamber into an other, nere vnto the Wardens owne chamber, where hee remained. 6. daies: and in the meane time, his former chamber was ſearched by Doct. Martyn and others, for writings and bookes which Maiſter Hooper was thought to haue

Queene *Mary* will ſhewe no mercy but to the Popes frendes.

made: but none was founde.

¶Here foloweth an other examination of Maiſter Hooper.

Another examination of M. Hooper before the Byſhop of Wincheſter and his felowes.

THe 28. of January, Wincheſter and other the Cõmiſſioners, ſat in iudgement at Saint Mary Oueries, whereas Maiſter Hooper appeared before them at after none agayne, and there, after much reaſoning and diſputatiõ to and fro, he was commaunded aſide, tyll Maiſter Rogers (which was then come) had bene likewyſe examined. Examinations being ended, the two Shiriffes of London were commaunded about .4. of the clocke to cary them to the Counter in Southwarke, there to remayne vntill the morrowe at ix. a clocke, to ſee whether they woulde relent & come home againe to their catholike church. So Maiſter Hooper went before with one of the Shirifes, and Maiſter Rogers came after wyth the other, and being out of the church dore, Maiſter Hooper looked backe, and ſtaied a little, tyll Maiſter Rogers drew nere, vnto whom he ſayd: Come brother Rogers, muſt we two take this matter firſt in hand, and begyn to frye theſe fagottes? yea Syr (ſayd M. Rogers) by Gods grace. Doubt not (ſaid Maiſter Hooper) but God wyll geue ſtrength. So going forwards, there was ſuch a preaſſe of people in the ſtreetes which reioyced at their conſtancy, that they had much adoe to paſſe.

M. Hoopers wordes to M. Rogers.

M. Hooper earneſt in his Maiſters cauſe.

By the way the Shirife ſayd to Maiſter Hooper: I wonder that ye were ſo haſty and quicke with my Lord Chãcelor, and dyd vſe no more patience. He aunſwered: Maiſter Shiriffe, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earneſt in my Maiſters cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hand, for it goeth vpon life and death: not the lyfe and death of thys world onely: but alſo of the worlde to come. Then were they committed to the keeper of the Counter, and appointed to ſeuerall chambers, wyth commaundement that they ſhould not bee ſuffered to ſpeake one wyth an other, neyther yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

The thyrd and laſt examination of Maiſter Hooper.

M. Hooper condemned.

Vpon the next day following, the .29. of January, at the houre appoynted they were brought agayne by the Shiriffes, before the ſayd Byſhop and Commiſſioners in the Church, where they were the day before. And after long and earneſt talke, when they perceyued that Maiſter Hooper would by no meanes condeſcẽd vnto them, they cauſed him to be diſgraded, and read vnto him his condemnation. That done, Maiſter Rogers was brought before them, and in lyke maner intreated: and ſo they deliuered both of thẽ to ẏ ſecular power the two Shiriffes of London, who were willed to cary them to the Clincke, a priſon not farre from the Biſhop of Wyncheſters houſe, and there to remayne tyll nyght.

Darknes beſt for the Papiſtes.

The people reioycing at the conſtancie of M. Hooper and Maiſter Rogers.

Maiſter Hooper ſent to Newgate.

When it was darke, Maiſter Hooper was lead by one of the Shiriffes, wyth many byls and weapons, firſt through the biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, and ſo ouer London Bridge, through the Citye to Newgate. And by the way, ſome of the Sergeants were willed to go before, and put out the Coſtermongers candels, who vſe to ſit wyth light in the ſtreetes: eyther fearing (of lykelyhood) that the people would haue made ſome attempt to haue taken him away from them by force, if they had ſeene hym go to that priſon: or els beyng burdened wyth an euyll conſcience, they thought darknes to be a moſt fit ſeaſon for ſuch a buſines. But notwithſtanding this deuiſe, the people hauing ſome foreknowledge of hys cõming, many of them came forth of their dores wyth lyghtes and ſaluted him, prayſing God for his conſtancie in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen hym in the ſame to the end. Maiſter Hooper paſſed by, and requyred the people to make their earneſt prayers to God for hym, and ſo went through Cheapeſide to the place appoynted, and was deliuered as cloſe pryſoner, to the keeper of Newgate, where he remayned .vj. dayes, no body being permitted to come to hym, or to talke wyth hym, ſauing hys keepers and ſuch as ſhoulde bee appointed thereto.

B. Boner & his chaplaynes reaſon with Maiſter Hooper in priſon.

False rumors of Maiſter Hoopers recantatiõ.

Duryng this time, Boner Byſhop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedſey, and Harpſfield. &c. reſorted diuers tymes vnto hym to aſſay if by any meanes they could perſuade hym to relent and to become a member of their Antichriſtian Church. All the wayes they coulde deuiſe they attempted. For beſides diſputations and allegations of teſtimonies of the Scriptures and of auncient writters wraſted to a wrong ſenſe, accordyng to their accuſtomed maner, they vſed alſo all outward gentlenes and ſignificatiõs of frendſhip, with many great profers and promiſes of worldly commodities, not omittyng alſo moſt greuous threatnynges, if with gentlenes they could not preuayle: but they found him alwayes one man, ſtedfaſt and immoueable. When they perceiued that they could by no meanes reclame him to their purpoſe, with ſuch perſuaſions and offers as they vſed for his cõuerſion, then went they about by falſe rumors & reportes of Recantations (for it is well knowen that they and their ſeruauntes did ſpread it firſt abroad) to bryng hym & the doctrine of Chriſt which he profeſſed, out of credite with the people. So the brute being a litle ſpread abroad, and beleued of ſome of the weaker ſort by reaſon of the often reſort of the Byſhop of London, and other, it encreaſed more, and at the laſt came to M. Hopers eares. Wherewith he was not a litle greued that the people ſhould geue ſo light credite vnto falſe rumours, hauyng ſo ſimple a ground: as it may appeare by a letter which hee wrote vpon that occaſion: the copy wherof foloweth.

¶A Letter of Maiſter Hoper for the ſtoppyng of certaine falſe rumours ſpread abroad of hys Recantation.

A purgatiõ of Maiſter Hooper againſt falſe rumors ſpred of his recantation.

THe grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with all them that vnfaynedly looke for the comming of our Sauiour Chriſt, Amen.

The occaſion of this rumor how it riſeth.

Deare brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, and my felow priſoners for the cauſe of Gods Goſpell: I do much reioyce and geue thankes vnto God for your conſtãcy and perſeueraunce in affliction, vnto whom I wiſhe continuance vnto the end. And as I do reioyce in your fayth and conſtancy in afflictions that be in priſon: euen ſo do I mourne and lament to heare of our deare brethrẽ that yet haue not felt ſuch daungers for Gods truth as we haue and do feele, and be dayly lyke to ſuffer more, yea the very extreme and vile death of the fire: Yet ſuch is the report abroad (as I am credibly enformed) that I Iohn Hoper a condemned man for the cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould now after ſentence of death (beyng in Newgate priſoner and lookyng dayly for execution) recant and abiure that which heretofore I haue preached. And this talke ariſeth of this, that the Biſhops of London and his Chapleines reſort vnto me. Doubtles if our brethren were as godly as I would wiſhe them, they would thinke, that in caſe I dyd refuſe to talke with thẽ, they might haue iuſt occaſion to ſay that I were vnlearned, and durſt not ſpeake with learned men, or els proud and diſdaynfull to ſpeake with them. Therfore to auoyd iuſt ſuſpition of both, I haue and doe dayly ſpeake with them when they come: not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud, nor vnlearned. And I would wiſhe all men to do as I do in this poynt. For I feare not their Arguments, neither is death terrible vnto me, praying you to make true report of the ſame as occaſion ſhall ſerue: and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I haue preached heretofore by their commyng.

False reportes a greuous croſſe.

Therfore ye that may ſend to the weake brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch reportes of recantatiõs as they do. For I haue hetherto left all things of the world & ſuffred great paynes and impriſonement, and I thanke God I am as ready to ſuffer death, as a mortall man may be. It were better for them to pray for vs, then to credite or report ſuch rumors that be vntrue. We haue enemies enough of ſuch as know not God truly. But yet the falſe report of weake brethren is a double Croſſe. I wiſh you eternall ſaluation in Ieſus Chriſt, and alſo require your continuall prayer, that he which hath begon in vs may continue it to the ende. I haue taught the truth with my toung and with my pen heretofore, and hereaſter ſhortly will confirme the ſame by Gods grace, with my bloud. Forth of Newgate the 2. of February, an. 1554.

Your brother in Chriſt, Iohn Hoper.

Vppon Monday mornyng the Byſhop of London came to Newgate, and there diſgraded M. Hoper, the ſentence of which his degradation here foloweth.

The ſentence of degradation agaynſt Maiſter *Hooper.*

¶ *Degradatio Hoperi.*

IN nomine ✠ patris, ✠ filij, ✠ & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. Quoniam per ſententiam diffinitiuam a reuerẽdo in Chriſto patre, & Domino Stephano permiſſione diuina Winton. Epiſ. in & contra te Iohannem Hoper Præſbyterum, ſuæ iuriſdictionis ratione hæreſis & delicti infra illius diœceſin Winton. notorie commiſſi exiſtentem, nuper rite & legitime prolatã, conſtat ſufficienter & legitime nobis Edmundo London. Epiſcopo te præfatum Iohannem Hoper hæreticum manifeſtum, & obſtinatum, ac pertinacem fuiſſe & eſſe, ac conſtat ſimiliter tanquam hæreticum huiuſmodi per dictam ſententiã pronunciatũ, et declaratũ fuiſſe, maioriſque excõmunicationis ſententia ob id innodatũ & inuolutũ ſimiliter eſſe, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum et degradandum, curiæque ſeculari ob demerita tua huiuſmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictæ ſententiæ, ad quam nos in hac parte nos referrimus, plenius, planius, et expreſſius liquet et apparet: Idcirco nos Edmundus epiſ. London. antedictus, quia noſtra et vniuerſitatis etiam intereſt noſtras hic partes interponere, et vicariam operam mutuamq; viciſſitudinem impẽdere, in cuius etiam diœceſi tu Iohannes Hoper idem hæreſis crimen tunc et ſæpius, et ante et poſt commiſiſti, iſtis inquam et alijs prædictis attentis et exequendo omni meliori et efficaciori modo, quo poſſumus, ſententiam prædictam, ſic vt præmittitur, latam in te qui infra fines & limites diœceſis noſtræ London. notorie conſiſtẽs, & in hac parte culpabilis & tranſgreſſor etiam notorie exiſtens, ad actualẽ degradationem tui præfati Iohannis Hoper (culpa tua exigẽte ac iuſtitia id poſcente) duximus procedendum fore, ac ſic etiam realiter procedimus, vt deinde iuxta iuris exigentiam & temporis retroacti morem laudabilem & normam conſuetam, te in Arca eccleſiæ manere nolentem, curiæ ſeculari rite & legitime ac effectualiter tradere poſſimus. Quod ipſum ſic fieri debere, nos per hanc noſtrã ſententiam ſiue decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, & declaramus in hijs ſcriptis.

After the ſentence of degradatiõ thus declared, now let vs ſée the forme & maner of their diſgrading, which here alſo foloweth. But firſt here is to be noted that the diſgradyng of this bleſſed Byſhop did not procede agaynſt hym as agaynſt a Byſhop, but as onely agaynſt a Prieſt, as they termed hym: for ſuch as he was, theſe Baalamites accompted for no Byſhop.

¶ Here foloweth the forme and maner vſed in the diſgradyng of Byſhop Hoper.

The forme and maner of diſgradyng biſhop *Hooper.*

Alexãder Andrew Gailer of Newgate, a cruell enemy to Gods people.

Maiſter *Hooper* and M. *Rogers* diſgraded together.

THe fourth of February, the yeare aboue mẽcioned in the chapell in Newgate, the Byſhop of London there ſitting with hys Notary and certayne other witneſſes, came Alexander Andrew the Gailer, bringing with him M. Hooper and M. Rogers, being condemned before by the Chauncelor: where the ſayd Biſhop of London, at the requeſt of the forſaid Winton. proceded to the degradation of the parties aboue mencioned M. Hooper, and M. Rogers, after this forme and maner. Firſt he put vppon them all the veſtures and ornaments belonging to a prieſt, with all other things to the ſame order appertaining, as though (being reueſted) they ſhould ſolẽly execute in their office. Thus they beyng apparelled and inueſted, the Biſhop begynneth to plucke of, firſt the vttermoſt veſture, and ſo by degrée and order cõmyng downe to the loweſt veſture, which they had onely in takyng Benet and Collet: and ſo beyng ſtript and depoſed, he depriued them of all order, benefite and priuiledge belongyng to the Clergy: and conſequently, that beyng done, pronounced, decréed and declared the ſayd parties ſo diſgraged, to be geuen perſonally to the ſecular power, as the Shriffes beyng for that yeare, M. Dauy Wodrofe, and M. William Cheſter: who receauyng firſt the ſayd M. Rogers at the handes of the Byſhop, had him away with them, bringyng hym to the place of executiõ where he ſuffred. The witneſſes there preſẽt were M. Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, Robert Coſin, and Robert Willerton, Canons of Paules, Thomas Mountague, and George How Clerkes, Triſtram Swadocke, and Richard Cluny Sumner. &c.

Dauie Wodrofe, William Cheſter, Shriefes.

M. Hooper glad that he ſhould ſuffer amongeſt hys owne flocke.

The ſame Monday at night, beyng the fourth of February, his kéeper gaue hym an ynkelyng that he ſhould be ſent to Glouceſter to ſuffer death, whereat he reioyſed very much, liftyng vp his eyes and handes into heauen, and prayſing God that he ſaw it good to ſend hym amongeſt the people ouer whõ he was Paſtour, there to confirme with his death the truth which hee had before taught them: not doubtyng but the Lord would geue hym ſtrength to performe the ſame to his glory: and immediatly he ſent to his ſeruauntes houſe for his bootes, ſpurres, and cloke, that he might be in a readynes to ryde when he ſhould be called.

M Hooper caryed to *Glocester* to be burned.

The next day folowyng, about foure of the clocke in the mornyng before day, the kéeper with others came to hym and ſearched him, and the bead wherein he lay, to ſée if he had written any thyng: and then he was lead by the Shriffes of London, & other their officers, forth of Newgate, to a place appoynted not farre from S. Dunſtones Church in Fléeteſtréete, where vj. of the Quéenes Gard were appointed to receaue hym and to cary him to Glouceſter, there to be deliuered vnto the Shriefe, who with the Lord Shandois, M. Wickes, and other Commiſſioners were appoynted to ſée execution done. The which Garde brought hym to the Aungell, where he brake his faſt with them, eatyng his meate at that tyme more liberally then he had vſed to do a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horſe, & leapt cherefully on horſe backe without helpe, hauyng an hode vpon his head vnder his hatte, that he ſhould not be knowen, and ſo tooke his iourney ioyfully towardes Glouceſter: and allwayes by the way the Gard learned of hym where hée was accuſtomed to bayte or lodge, and euer caryed him to an other Inne.

A woman of Ciceter confirmed by the conſtancy of *M. Hooper,* which rayled at him before.

Upon the Thurſday folowyng, he came to a towne in his Dioces called Ciceter 15. myles from Glouceſter about a leuẽ of the clocke, and there dyned at a womans houſe which had allwayes hated the truth, and ſpoken all euill ſhe could of M. Hoper. This woman perceauyng the cauſe of his commyng, ſhewed hym all the frendſhyp ſhe could, and lamented his caſe with teares, confeſſyng that ſhe before had often reported, that if he were put to the triall, he would not ſtand to hys doctrine.

M. Hooper commeth to *Gloceſter.*

After dyner he rode forewardes, and came to Glouceſter about v. of the clocke, and a myle without the towne was much people aſſembled, which cryed and lamented hys eſtate: in ſo much that one of the Garde rode poſt into the towne, to require ayde of the Maior and Shriffes, fearyng leſt he ſhould haue bene taken from them.

The quiet minde of *M. Hooper* in hys troubles.

The Officers and [illegible] retinue repayred to the gate wyth weapons, and commaunded the people to kéepe their houſes. &c. but there was no man that once gaue any ſignification of any ſuch reſcue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingrams houſe in Glocester, and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eate his meate quietly, and ſlept hys firſt ſléepe ſoundly, as it was reported by them of the Garde and others. After hys firſt ſléepe he continued all that night in prayer vntyll the morning, and then he deſired that he myght go into the next chamber (for the Garde were alſo in the chamber where hée lay) that there being ſolitary, hee might quietly pray and talke with God: So that al that day, ſauing a litle at meate, and when hee talked at any tyme with ſuch as the Garde licenſed to ſpeake wyth him, he beſtowed in prayer.

Syr Anthony Kingſton commeth to M.Hooper.

Amongeſt other that ſpake with him, Syr Anthony Kingſton knight was one. Who ſeeming in times paſt hys very friend, was then appoynted by the Queenes letters to be one of the Commiſſioners, to ſee execution done vpon him. Maiſter Kingſton being brought into the chamber, found hym at his prayer: and as ſoone as he ſaw Maiſter Hooper, he burſt forth in teares. Maiſter Hooper at the firſt bluſh knew him not. Then ſaid Maiſter Kingſton: Why my Lord, doe ye not knowe me an old frend of yours Anthony Kingſton?

Yes Maiſter Kingſton, I doe now know you well, and am glad to ſee you in health, and do prayſe God for the ſame.

Syr Anthony Kingſtons perſwaſions.

But I am ſory to ſee you in this caſe: for as I vnderſtand you be come hether to dye. But (alas) conſider that lyfe is ſweete, and death is bytter. Therefore ſeing lyfe may be had, deſire to lyue: for lyfe hereafter may doe good.

M. Hooper replieth.

In deede it is true Maiſter Kingſton, I am come hither to end this lyfe, and to ſuffer death here, becauſe I wyll not gaynſay the former truth that I haue heretofore taught amongeſt you in this dioces, and elſwhere: and I thanke you for your friendly counſell, although it be not ſo friendly as I could haue wyſhed it. True it is (Maiſter Kingſton) that death is bitter, and lyfe is ſweete: but (alas) conſider that the death to come is more bytter, and the lyfe to come is more ſweete. Therefore for the deſire and loue I haue to the one, and the terrour and feare of the other, I do not ſo much regard thys death, nor eſteeme this life, but haue ſetled my ſelfe through the ſtrength of Gods holy ſpirite, patiently to paſſe through the tormentes and extremities of the fire, now prepared for me, rather then to denye the truth of hys worde: deſiring you and others in the meane tyme, to commend me to Gods mercye in your prayers.

Life compared with life, and death with death.

Syr Anthony Kingſton.

Well (my Lord) then I perceiue there is no remedy, and therefore I wyll take my leaue of you: and I thanke God that euer I knew you, for God dyd appoynt you to call me being a loſt childe: & by your good inſtructions, where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forſaking and deteſting of the ſame.

Syr Anthony Kingſton conuerted by *M.Hooper.*

M.Hooper.

If you haue had the grace ſo to do, I do highly praiſe God for it: and if you haue not, I pray God ye may haue, and that ye may continually lyue in hys feare. After theſe and many other wordes, the one tooke leaue of the other, Maiſter Kingſton with bitter teares, M. Hooper wyth teares alſo trycklyng downe hys cheekes. At which departure Maiſter Hooper tolde hym, that all the troubles he had ſuſteyned in pryſon, had not cauſed hym to vtter ſo much ſorrow.

A blind boy commeth to *M.Hooper.*

The ſame day in the after noone, a blinde boy, after long interceſſion made to the Garde, obtayned licence to be brought vnto Maiſter Hoopers ſpeech. The ſame boy not long afore had ſuffered empriſonment at Gloceſter for confeſſing of the truth. Maiſter Hoper after he had examined hym of his [illegible], and the cauſe of hys empriſonment, beheld hym [illegible]ſtly, and (the water appearing in hys eyes) ſayd vnto him: Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward ſight, for what conſideration he beſt knoweth: but he hath geuen thee an other ſight much more precious: for he hath endued thy ſoule wyth the eye of knowledge and fayth. God geue thee grace continually to pray vnto hym, that thou loſe not that ſight: for then ſhouldeſt thou bee blynde both in body and ſoule.

Gods grace vpon a blynde boy at Gloceſter.

After that an other came to hym, whom he knew to be a very Papiſt and a wicked man, which appeared to be ſory for M. Hopers trouble, ſaying: Syr I am ſory to ſee you thus. To ſee me? why (ſayd he) art thou ſory? To ſee you (ſaith the other) in this caſe. For I heare ſay ye are come hether to dye, for the which I am ſory.

Be ſory for thy ſelfe man (ſayd M. Hooper) and lament thine own wickednes: for I am well I thanke God, & death to me for Chriſtes ſake is welcome.

Maiſter *Hooper* committed to the Shiriffes of Gloceſter, *Ienkins, & Bond.*

The ſame night hee was committed by the Garde (their commiſſion being then expired) vnto the cuſtody of the Shirifes of Glouceſter. The name of the one was Ienkins, the other Bond: who with the Mayor and Aldermen repayred to M. Hopers lodging, and at the fyrſt meeting ſaluted him, and toke him by yͤ hand. Vnto whom Hoper ſpake on this maner: Maiſter Mayor, I giue moſt harty thākes to you and to the reſt of your brethren, that you haue vouchſafed to take me a priſoner and a condemned man by the hand: wherby to my reioyſing it is ſome deale apparant that your old loue and friendſhip towardes me is not altogether extinguiſhed: and I truſt alſo that all the things I haue taught you in times paſte, are not vtterly forgotten, when I was here by the godly kyng that dead is, appointed to be your Biſhop and Paſtor. For the which moſt true and ſincere doctrine, becauſe I wyll not now accompt it falſhood and hereſie, as many other men do, I am ſent hither (as I am ſure you knowe) by the Queenes cōmaundement to dye, and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my bloud. And nowe Maiſter Shieriffes, I vnderſtand by theſe good men and my very friendes (meaning the Gard) at whoſe hands I haue found ſo much fauour and gentlenes by the way hetherward as a priſoner coulde reaſonably requyre (for the which alſo I moſt hartely thank them) that I am cōmitted to your cuſtody, as vnto them that muſt ſee me brought to morrow to the place of execution. My requeſt therfore to you ſhall be only that there may be a quicke fire, ſhortly to make an end, and in the meane tyme I wyll be as obedient vnto you, as your ſelues would wyſh. If you thinke I doe amyſſe in any thing, hold vp your finger, and I haue done. For I come not hether as one enforced or compelled to dye (for it is well knowen I might haue had my lyfe wyth worldly gayne): but as one willing to offer and geue my lyfe for the truth, rather then to conſent to the wycked papiſticall religion of the biſhop of Rome, receyued and ſet forth by the Magiſtrates in England to Gods hygh diſpleaſure and diſhonor: and I truſt by Gods grace to morrow, to dye a faythfull ſeruaunt of God, and a true obedient ſubiect to the Queene.

The wordes of Maiſter *Hooper* to the Mayor and the Shiriffes of Gloceſter.

Maiſter *Hoopers* petition to the Shiriffes.

Theſe and ſuch like wordes in effect vſed M. Hooper to the Mayor, Shiriffes, & Aldermen, wherat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithſtanding the two Shiriffes went aſide to conſult, and were determined to haue lodged him in the common Gaole of the Town, called Northgate, if the Gard had not made earneſt interceſſiō for him: who declared at large how quietly, mildly and patiently he had behaued hym ſelfe in the way, adding thereto that any childe might keepe hym well inough, and that they them ſelues would rather take paynes to watch with him, thē that he ſhould be ſent to the common pryſon. So it was determined at the length, he ſhould ſtyll remayne in Robert Ingrams houſe, and the Shiriffes and the Sergeants and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night them ſelues. His deſire was that he might go to bed that night betimes, ſaying that he had many thinges to remember: and ſo dyd at fiue of the clocke, and ſlept one ſleepe ſoundly, and beſtowed the reſt of the night in praier. After he gat vp in the morning, he deſired that no man ſhould be ſuffered to come into the chamber, that he might be ſolitary tyll the houre of execution.

The Gard ſpeaking for M. *Hooper* not to be had to the common Gaile.

Maiſter *Hooper* ſpendeth the night in prayer.

About. viij. of the clocke came Syr Iohn Briges L. Shandoys, wyth a great band of men, Syr Anthony Kingſton, Syr Edmund Briges and other Commiſſioners appoynted to ſee execution done. At nine of the clocke M. Hooper was willed to prepare hym ſelfe to be in a readynes, for the time was at hand. Immediatly he was brought downe from hys chamber by the Shiriffes, who were accompaynied wyth byls, gleaues and

Syr Iohn Bridges L.Shandoys, Syr Edm. Bridges, Syr Ant. Kingſton, Cōmiſſioners.

and weapons. When he ſawe the multitude of weapons, he ſpake to the Shiriffes on thys wyſe: Maiſter Shiriffes (ſayd he) I am no Traytor, neyther needed you to haue made ſuch a buſines to bryng me to the place where I muſt ſuffer: for if ye had wylled mee, I would haue gone alone to the ſtake, and haue troubled none of you all. And afterward looking vpon the multitude of people, which were aſſembled, beyng by eſtimation to the number of ſeuen thouſand (for it was Market day, and many alſo came to ſee hys behauiour towardes death) he ſpake vnto thoſe that were about hym, ſaying: Alas, why be theſe people aſſembled and come together? Peraduenture they thynke to heare ſomthing of me now, as they haue in times paſt: but alas, ſpeech is prohibited mee. Notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death is well knowen vnto them. When I was appoynted here to be their Paſtor, I preached vnto thē true & ſincere doctrine, & that out of the word of God. Becauſe I will not now accompt yͤ ſame to be hereſy & vntruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.

Maiſter Hooper by preaching true doctrine put to death.

So he went forward, led betwene the two Shriffes (as it were a Lambe to the place of ſlaughter) in a gowne of his hoſtes, his hatte vpō his head, and a ſtaffe in his hand to ſtay him ſelfe withal. For the grief of the Sciatica, which hee had taken in priſon, cauſed hym ſomethyng to halt. All the way beyng ſtraitly charged not to ſpeake, he could not be perceiued once to open his mouth, but beholdyng the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for hym, he would ſome tymes lift vp his eyes towardes heauen, and looke very cherefully vpon ſuch as he knew: and he was neuer knowen, duryng the time of his beyng amōgeſt them, to looke with ſo cherefull & ruddiſh a countenaunce as he did at that preſent. When he came to the place appoynted where he ſhould dye, ſmilyngly he beheld the ſtake and preparation made for him, which was neare vnto the great Elme tree ouer agaynſt yͤ Colledge of Prieſtes, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houſes & the bowes of the tree were repleniſhed with people: and in the Chaumber ouer the Colledge gate ſtode the Prieſtes of the Colledge. Then kneeled he down (for as much as he could not be ſuffered to ſpeake vnto the people) to prayer, and beckned vnto hym vj. or vij. tymes whom he knew well, to heare the ſayd prayer, to make reporte therof in tyme to come (pouryng teares vpon his ſhoulders & in his boſome) who gaue attentiue eares vnto the ſame: the which prayer he made vpon the whole Crede, wherin he continued for the ſpace of halfe an houre. Now after he was ſomewhat entred into his prayer, a boxe was brought & layd before him vpon a ſtoole with his pardon (or at the leaſt wiſe it was fayned to be his pardon) from the Queene, if he would turne. At the ſight therof he cried: if you loue my ſoule, away wͭ it: If you loue my ſoule, away with it. The boxe beyng taken away, the L. Shandois ſaid: ſeing there is no remedy, diſpatch quickly. M. Hoper ſayd: Good my Lord, I truſt your Lordſhyp will geue me leaue to make an end of my Prayers.

Maiſter Hooper forbidden to ſpeake to the people.

His chearefull going to death.

Maiſter Hooper brought to the place of Martyrdome.

Maiſter Hooper refuſeth the Queenes pardon.

Then ſayd the Lord Shandois to Syr Edmond Bridges his ſonne (which gaue eare before to M. Hopers prayer at his requeſt): Edmond take heede that he do nothyng els but pray: If he do, tell me and I ſhall quickly diſpatch hym. Whiles this talke was, there ſtepped one or two in vncalled, which heard hym ſpeake theſe wordes folowyng.

Maiſter Hoopers prayer.

LOrd (ſayd he) I am hel, but thou art heauen: I am ſwill and a ſinck of ſin, but thou art a gracious God and a mercifull redeemer. Haue mercy therfore vpon me moſt miſerable and wretched offendour, after thy great mercy and according to thyne ineſtimable goodnes. Thou that art aſcended into heauē, receaue me hel to be partaker of thy ioyes, where thou ſitteſt in equall glory with thy Father. For well knoweſt thou Lord wherfore I am come hyther to ſuffer, and why the wicked do perſecute this thy poore ſeruaunt: not for my ſinnes and tranſgreſſions committed agaynſt thee, but becauſe I wyl not allow their wicked doinges, to the contaminatyng of thy bloud, and to the denyall of the knowledge of thy truth, wherwith it did pleaſe thee by thy holy ſpirite to enſtruct me: the which with as much deligence as a poore wretch might (being therto called) I haue ſette forth to thy glory. And wel ſeeſt thou my Lord and God what terrible paynes and cruell tormentes be prepared for thy creature: ſuch, lord, as without thy ſtrength none is able to beare, or patiently to paſſe. But all thinges that are impoſſible with mā, are poſſible with thee. Therfore ſtrengthen me of thy goodnes yͭ in the fyre I breake not the rules of patience, or els aſſwage the terrour of the paines as ſhall ſeeme moſt to thy glory.

Aſſone as the Maior had eſpyed theſe men which made report of the former wordes, they were cōmaunded away, and could not be ſuffred to heare any more. Prayer beyng done, he prepared him ſelfe to the ſtake, and put of his hoſtes gowne, and deliuered it to the Shriffes, requiryng them to ſee it reſtored vnto the owner: and put of the reſt of his geare vnto his doublet and his hoſe, wherin he would haue burned. But the Shriffes would not permit that (ſuch was their gredynes:) vnto whoſe pleaſures (good man) he very obediētly ſubmitted him ſelfe: and his doublet, hoſe, and peticote were taken of. Then beyng in his ſhirt, he tooke a point from his hoſe him ſelfe, and truſſed his ſhyrt betwene his legges, where he had a pound of gunne pouder in a bladder, and vnder ech arme the like quantity deliuered him by the Gard. So deſiryng the people to ſay the Lordes prayer with him, and to pray for hym (who performed it with teares duryng the tyme of his paynes) he went vp to the ſtake. Now when he was at the ſtake, iij. yrōs made to binde hym to the ſtake, were brought: one for his necke, an other for his middle, and the thyrd for his legges. But he refuſing them, ſayd: ye haue no nede thus to trouble your ſelues. for I doubt not but God will geue ſtrength ſufficient to abyde the extremitie of the fire without bandes: notwithſtādyng, ſuſpectyng the frailty and weaknes of the fleſh, but hauyng aſſured confidence in Gods ſtrength, I am content ye do as ye ſhall thinke good.

M. Hooper vndreſſeth himſelfe to the fire.

So the hoope of yron prepared for his middle, was brought, which beyng made ſomewhat to ſhort (for his belly was ſwolne by impriſonmēt) he ſhranke, and put in his belly with his hand, vntill it was faſtened: and when they offered to haue boūd his necke & his legges with the other two hoopes of yron, he vtterly refuſed them, and would haue none, ſaying: I am well aſſured I ſhall not trouble you.

M. Hooper bound to the ſtake.

Thus beyng ready, he looked vpon all the people, of whom he might be well ſeene (for he was both tall, and ſtoode alſo on an high ſtoole) & beheld round about him: and in euery corner there was nothyng to be ſeene but weepyng and ſorowfull people. Thē liftyng vp his eyes and handes into heauen, he prayed to hym ſelfe. By and by he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him and did aſke him forgiuenes. Of whom hee aſked, why he ſhould forgeue him, ſaying: that he knew neuer any offence he had committed agaynſt hym. Oh Syr (ſayd the man) I am appointed to make the fyre. Therein (ſayd M. Hoper) thou doeſt nothyng offend me: God forgeue thee thy ſinnes and do thine office, I pray thee. Then the reedes were caſt vp and he receaued two bundels of them in his owne handes, embraced them, kiſſed them, and put vnder either arme one of them, & ſhewed with his hand how the reſt ſhould be beſtowed, & pointed to the place where any did lacke.

The weeping of the people at M. Hoopers burning.

He forgeueth his executioner.

Anone commaundement was geuen that fire ſhould be ſet to, & ſo it was. But becauſe there were put to no fewer greene Fagots then two horſes could cary vpon their backes, it kyndled not by and by, and was a prety while alſo before it tooke the reedes vpon the Fagottes. At length it burned about him: but the wynd hauyng full ſtrength in that place (it was alſo a louryng and a cold mornyng) it blew the flame from hym: ſo that he was in maner no more but touched by the fire.

Fire put to M. Hooper.

Within a ſpace after, a few drye Fagottes were brought, & a new fire kindled with Fagottes, (for there were no more reedes): and that burned at the neither partes, but had ſmall power aboue becauſe of yͤ wynd, ſauyng that it did burne his heare and ſcorch his ſkyn a litle. In the tyme of the which fire, euen as at the firſt flame, he prayed, ſaying mildely and not very loud (but as one without paines): O Ieſus the ſonne of Dauid haue mercy vpon me, and receaue my ſoule. After the ſecond was ſpent, he did wype both his eyes with hys hands, and beholdyng the people, he ſayd with an indifferent loud voyce: For Gods loue (good people) let me haue more fire. And all this while his neither partes did burne: for the Fagottes were ſo few, that the flame did not burne ſtrongly at his vpper partes.

A new fire made to *M. Hooper.*

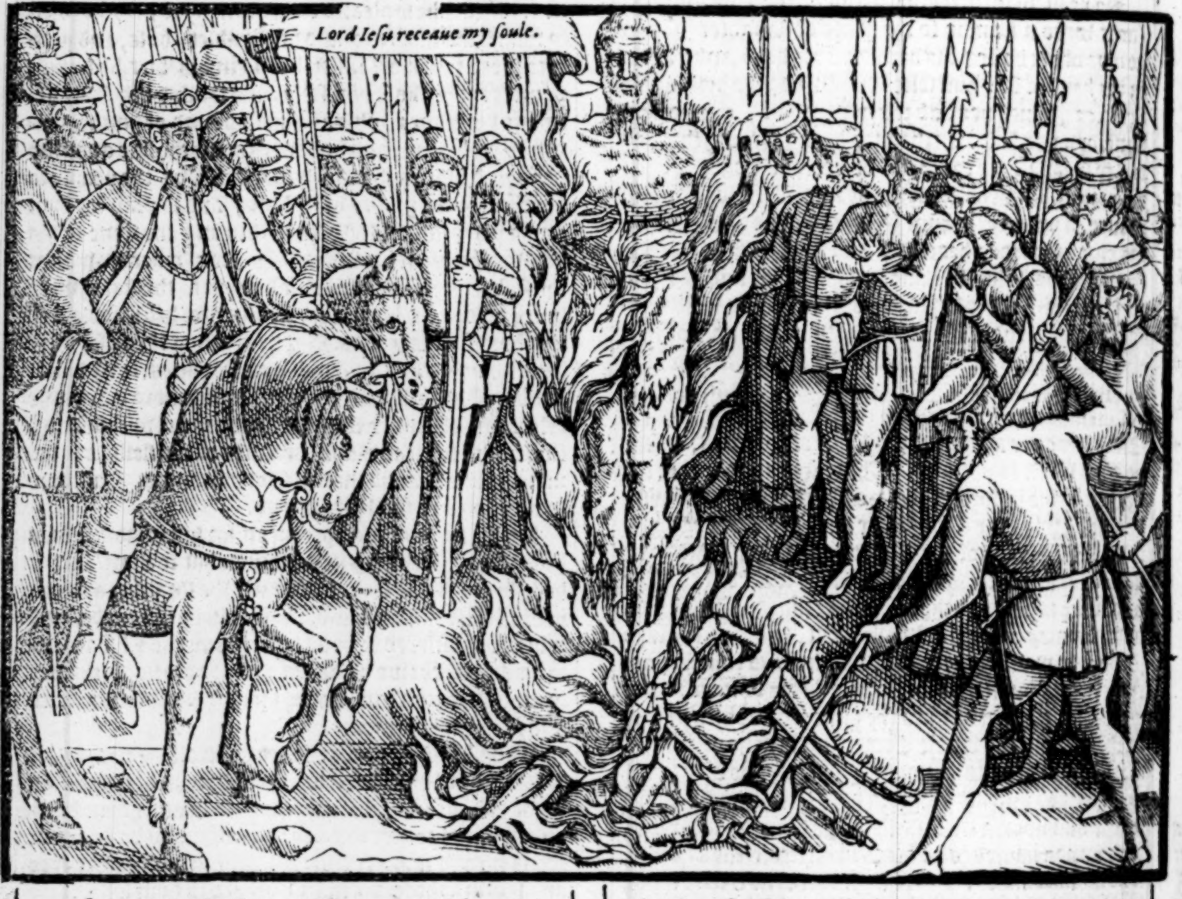
M. Hooper calleth for more fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme then the other two: and then the bledders of gunnepouder brake, which did him ſmall good, they were ſo placed, and the wynd had ſuch power. In the which fire he prayed with ſomwhat a loud voyce: Lord Ieſu haue mercy vpon me: Lord Ieſu haue mercy vpon me: Lord Ieſus receaue my ſpirit. And theſe were the laſt wordes he was heard to vtter. But whē he was blacke in the mouth and his toung ſwollen that he could not ſpeake: yet his lyppes went till they were ſhronke to the gummes: and he knocked hys breſt with hys handes vntill one of his armes fell of, and thē knocked ſtill with the other, what tyme the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers endes, vntill by renewyng of the fire, his ſtrength was gone, and his hand did cleaue faſt in knockyng, to the yron vpon his breſt. So immediatly bowyng forwardes he yelded vp his ſpirite.

The laſt wordes of Maiſter *Hooper.*

The bleſſed Martyrs long torments in the fire.

¶The burnyng of Maiſter Iohn Hoper Byſhop at Glouceſter.
Anno. 1555. February. 9.


Lord Ieſu receaue my ſoule.

The Martyrdome of *M. Hooper* at Gloceſter. An. 1555. February. 9.

¶ *In clariſſimi Doctrina & Pietate viri Iohannis Hoperi Martyrium, Conrardi Geſneri carmen.*

AVreus Hoperus flammis inuictus & igni,
Atq; ſuum Chriſtum confeſſus ad vltima vitæ
Momenta, integritate ſua præclarus, & ardens
Exterius flammis, diuinus Martyr: at intus
Eximio fidei feruore accenſus, ad aſtra
Spiritus aſcendit, cœleſti luce beatus,
In terris cineresq; manent, & fama coruſca
Flammæ inſtar lucens, lucebit dum ſtabit orbis,
Vtcunq; immanes Boreæ, magnæq; procellæ
Flatibus aduerſis tam clarum abrumpere lumen
Nitantur fruſtra. Nam quæ deus ipſe ſecundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta ſed vltro
Et commenta ruunt, vaſtaq; voragine ſidunt.
Hoperi exemplo, quotquot ſpiratis Ieſu
Doctrinam Chriſti, diſcrimina temnere vitæ,
Durare, & voſmet rebus ſeruare ſecundis
Diſcite. Namque dabit deus his meliora: nec auris
Audijt vlla, oculus vel vidit, ſed neq; captus
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier vnquam,
Qualia, quanta deus ſeruet ſua bona beatis.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Euen as a Lambe, patiently he abode yͤ extremity therof, neither mouyng forwardes, backwardes, or to any ſide: but hauyng his nether partes burned, & hys bowels fallē out, he dyed as quietly as a child in his bed: and hee now reigneth as a bleſſed Martyr in the ioyes of heauen prepared for the faythfull in Chriſt before the foundations of the world: for whoſe cōſtancie all Chriſtians are bound to prayſe God.

The patient end of this holy Martyr.

¶A letter which Maiſter Hooper did write out of priſon to certayne of his friendes.

The grace of God be with you, Amē. I did write vnto you of late, and told you what extremity the Parlament had concluded vpon, concerning religion, ſuppreſſing the truth, and ſetting forth the vntruth, intending to cauſe all men by extremity to forſwere themſelues, and to take againe for the head of the Church, hym that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all auncient writers do record: and for lacke of lawe and authority, they will vſe force and extremitie, which haue bene the argumentes to defend the Pope and popery, ſyth his wicked authority began firſt in the world. But now is the tyme of tryall, to ſee whether we feare more God or man. It was an eaſy thing to holde with Chriſt whiles the Prince and world held

A letter exhortatory of Maiſter *Hooper* to certaine of hys friendes.

The popiſh religion ſtandeth onely vpon force and extremity.

held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true triall who be his.

wherfore in the name and in the vertue, ſtrength, and power of his holy ſpirite, prepare your ſelues in any caſe to aduerſitie and conſtancie. Let vs not runne away when it is moſt tyme to fight. Remember none ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as fight manfully: and he that endureth vntill the end, ſhalbe ſaued. Ye muſt nowe turne all your cogitations from the perill you ſee, and marke the felicitie that followeth the perill: either victory in this world of your enimies, or els a ſurrender of this lyfe to inherite the euerlaſting kingdome. Beware of beholding to much the felicity or the miſery of this worlde: for the conſideration and to earneſt loue or feare of eyther of thẽ draweth from God.

Neither the felicity nor the miſery of this world is to be looked vpon.

wherefore thinke with your ſelues as touching the felicitie of the world, it is good: but yet none otherwyſe then it ſtandeth with the fauour of God. It is to be kept: but yet ſo far forth as by keping of it we looſe not God. It is good abyding and tarying ſtyll amonges our frendes here: but yet ſo, that we tary not therwithall in Gods diſpleaſure, and hereafter to dwell with the deuils in fire euerlaſting. There is nothing vnder God but may be kept, ſo that God being aboue all things we haue, be not loſt.

Aduerſity compared with aduerſity.

Of aduerſity iudge the ſame. Impriſonment is painfull: but yet liberty vpon euill conditions is more painfull. The priſons ſtincke: but yet not ſo much as ſweete houſes, where as the feare and true honour of God lacketh. I muſt be alone & ſolitary. It is better ſo to be and haue God with me, then to be in company with the wicked. Loſſe of goods is great, but loſſe of Gods grace and fauour is greater. I am a poore ſimple creature, and can not tell how to anſwere before ſuch a great ſort of noble, learned, and wiſe men: It is better to make anſwere before the pompe and pride of wicked men, then to ſtand naked in the ſight of all heauen and earth before the iuſt God at the latter day. I ſhall dye then by the handes of the cruell man. He is bleſſed that looſeth this life full of mortall miſeries, and findeth the life of eternall ioyes. It is paine and griefe to depart from goods and frends: but yet not ſo much, as to depart from grace and heauen it ſelfe. wherefore there is neither felicity nor aduerſity of this world, that can appeare to be great, if it be wayed with the ioyes, or paynes in the world to come.

Antitheſis betwene ioyes and paynes in this world and in the world to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you: doo the ſame for me, for Gods ſake. For my part (I thanke the heauenly father) I haue made myne accompts and appoynted my ſelfe vnto the will of the heauenly father: as he will, ſo I will, by hys grace. For Gods ſake as ſoone as ye can, ſende my poore wyfe and children ſome letter from you, and my letter alſo which I ſent of late to D. As it was tolde me, ſhe neuer had letter from me, ſythens the comming of Maiſter S. vnto her: the more to blame the meſſengers, for I haue written diuerſe tymes. The Lord comfort them, and prouyde for them: for I am able to do nothing in worldly thinges. She is a Godly and wiſe womã. If my meaning had bene accompliſhed, ſhe ſhould haue had neceſſary thinges: but that I meant, God can perfourme, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious Iewel now and deyntely kept, neuer ſo deyntely: for neyther myne owne man, nor any of the ſeruauntes of the houſe may come to me, but my keper alone: a ſymple rude man (God knoweth) but I am nothing carefull thereof. Fare ye well the. xxi. of Ianuary. 1555.

Maiſter Hoopers care and commendation of his wife.

Yours bounden Iohn Hoper.

Amongeſt many other memorable actes and notes worthy to be remembred in the hiſtory of M. Hooper, this alſo is not to be forgottẽ, which happened betwene him and a bragging Frier a litle after the beginnyng of his empriſonment: the ſtory whereof here followeth.

Talke betwene Maiſter Hooper and a Fryer in the priſon.

A Frier came frõ Frãuce to Englãd wᵗ great vaunt, aſking who was the greateſt hereticke in all England, thinking belyke to doe ſome great act vpon hym. To whom aunſwer was made that M. Hooper had thẽ the greateſt name to be the chiefeſt ringleader: who was then in the Fléete. The Frier comming to him, aſked why he was committed to priſon. He ſayd for debt. Nay, ſaid he, it was for hereſie. Which when the other had denied, what ſayeſt thou (quoth hee) to hoc eſt corpus meum? Maiſter Hooper being partly moued at the ſoden queſtion, deſired that he might aſke of hym agayne an other queſtion, which was this: What remayned after the conſecration in the ſacrament: any bread or no? No bread at all ſayth hee. And when ye breake it, what do ye breake: eyther bread or the body, ſayd M. Hooper? No bread ſayd the Frier, but the body onely. If you do ſo, ſayd M. Hooper, ye doe great iniury, not onely to ẏ body of Chriſt, but alſo ye breake the ſcriptures, which ſay: *ye ſhall not breake of hym one bone. &c.* With that the Frier hauing nothing belike to aũſwere, ſodainly recoyled backe, & with his circles and croſſes began to vſe exorciſme againſt M. Hooper, as though. &c. This and more wrote M. Hooper to Maiſtres Wylkinſon in a letter, which letter was read vnto her by Iohn Kelke, who is yet a lyue.

If the materiall body of Chriſt be broken in the Sacrament, then is the commaundement of Gods word broken.

Compariſon betwene M. Hooper and Polycarpus.

A compariſon betwene M. *Hooper and Polycarpus.*

When I ſée and behold the great patience of theſe bleſſed Martyrs in our dayes, in their ſufferinges ſo quietly and conſtantly abiding the tormentes that are miniſtred vnto them of princes for Gods cauſe: me thinkes I may well and worthely compare them vnto the old Martyrs of the primatiue church. In the number of whom, if compariſon be to bee made betwixt Saint and Saint, Martyr and Martyr, with whom might I match this bleſſed Martyr M. Iohn Hoper better through ẏ whole catalogue of the old Martyrs, then with Polycarpus the auncient biſhop of Smirna, of whom Euſebius maketh mencion in the Eccleſiaſtical ſtory? For as both agréed together in one kynde of puniſhmẽt, beyng both put to the fire, ſo which of them ſhewed more patience and cõſtancy in the tyme of their ſuffering, it is hard to be ſaid. And though Polycarpus, being ſet in the flame (as the ſtory ſayth) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fyre, tyll hee was ſtricken downe with weapon, and ſo diſpatched: yet Hooper by no leſſe miracle armed with patience & feruent ſpirite of Gods comfort, ſo quietly deſpiſed the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more then did Polycarpus in the fire flamyng round about hym.

Eſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

Moreouer, as it is written of Polycarpus, when he ſhould haue bene tyed to the ſtake, he required to ſtand vntyed, ſaying theſe wordes: Sinite me, qui namque ignem ferre poſſe dedit, dabit etiam vt ſine veſtra clauorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam. That is: Let me alone, I pray you, for hee that gaue me ſtrength to come to this fire, wyll alſo geue me patience to abyde in the ſame, without your tying. So likewyſe Hooper, with the like ſpirite, when he ſhould haue bene tyed wyth thrée chaynes to the ſtake, requiring them to haue no ſuch miſtruſt of him, was tied but wyth one, who and if he had not bene tyed at all, yet (no doubt) would haue no leſſe aũſwered to that great patience of Polycarpus.

Of thys *Polycarpus* read before pag. 60.

And as the end of them both was much agréeing, ſo the life of them both was ſuch, as might ſéeme not farre diſcrepant. In teaching, lyke diligent both, in zeale feruent, in lyfe vnſpotted, in maners and conuerſation inculpable, Biſhops and alſo Martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching ſo pithy & fruitfull, that as they both were ioyned together in one ſpirite, ſo might they be ioyned in one name together of πολύκαρπος, to wit, much fruitfull. To which name alſo ὀπωρος, is not much vnlyke. In this, the Martyrdome of M. Hooper may ſéeme in ſuffering to go before, though in tyme it followed the martyrdome of Polycarpus, for that he was both longer in pryſon, and there alſo ſo cruelly handled by the malice of hys kéepers, as I thinke none of the old martyrs euer ſuffered the like. To this alſo adde how hee was diſgraded by Boner, with ſuch contumelies and reproches, as I thinke in Polycarpus tyme was not vſed to any.

M. Hooper compared to *Polycarpus* in life.

Πολύκαρπος. ὀπωρος.

The cruell handling of *M. Hooper.*

And as we haue hytherto compared theſe two good Martyrs together, ſo now if wee ſhoulde compare

The enemies of Maiſter Hooper and of Polycarpus compared.

enemies and autors of their death one with the other, we ſhould finde no inequality betwixt them both, but that the aduerſaries of M. Hooper ſeemed to bee more cruell and vnmercyfull. For they that put Polycarpus to death, yet miniſtred to hym a quicke diſpatch, moued belike with ſome compaſſion not to haue hym ſtand long in the torment: where the Tormentors of of M. Hooper ſuffered hym without all compaſſion to ſtand three quarters of an houre in the fire. And as touching the chiefe doers and autors of hys martyrdome, what Conſull or Proconſul was there to be conferred with the Chauncellour here, which brought this martyr to hys burnyng? Let this ſuffice.

Bookes and treatiſes written by Maiſter Hooper.

This good biſhop and ſeruant of God being in priſon, wrote diuers bookes and treatiſes, to the number of. 24. whereof ſome he wrote to the Parlament in Latin, and one to the biſhop of Chicheſter D. Day: beſides he wrote of the Sacraments, of the Lords praier, and of the .x. cõmaundements, with diuers other.

¶Here followe certaine of Maiſter Hopers Letters.

More of his letters ye ſhall read in the booke of Letters of the Martyrs.

AS you haue heard the whole ſtory of the lyfe and Martyrdome of this good man declared: ſo now let vs conſequently adioyne ſome part of hys letters writtē in yͤ time of his impriſonment moſt fruitfull and worthy to be read, eſpecially in theſe daūgerous dayes, of all true Chriſtians, which by true mortification ſeeke to ſerue and folow the Lord through all tempeſtes and ſtormes of this malignāt world, as by the readyng and peruſing of the ſayd letters, you ſhall better feele and vnderſtand.

¶A letter of M. Hoper to certayne Godly profeſſors and louers of the truth, inſtructing them how to behaue them ſelues in that wofull alteration and chaunge of Religion.

A letter of M. Hooper to the faithfull brethren.

THe grace, mercy, and peace of God the father thorow our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be with you my deare brethren, and with all thoſe that vnfaynedly loue and imbrace his holy Goſpell, Amen.

The fauourers of Gods word ſecluded out of the parlament, both in the hyer houſe and lower, againſt all right and reaſon.

It is told me yͭ the wycked Idole yͤ Maſſe is ſtabliſhed agayne by a law, & paſſed in the Parlamēt houſe. Learne yͤ truth of it I pray you, & what penalty is appointed in the Act, to ſuch as ſpeake agaynſt it: alſo whether there be any cōpulſion to conſtraine men to be at it. The ſtatute throughly knowne, ſuch as bee abroade and at liberty, may prouide for them ſelues and auoyd the daunger the better. Doubtles there hath not bene ſeene before our tyme, ſuch a Parlament as this is, that as many as were ſuſpected to be fauourers of Gods worde, ſhould be baniſhed out of both houſes. But we muſt geue God thankes for that truth he hath opened in the time of hys bleſſed ſeruaunt King Edward the ſyxte, and pray vnto hym that we deny it not, nor diſhoner it with Idolatry, but that we may haue ſtrēgth and patience rather to dye ten tymes, then to deny him once. Bleſſed ſhall we be if euer God make vs worthy of that honour, to ſheed our bloude for his names ſake: And bleſſed then ſhall wee thinke the parentes which brought vs into this worlde, that wee ſhould from this mortalitie bee caried into immortality. If we follow the commaundement of Saint Paule that ſayth, *If ye then bee riſen againe with Chriſt, ſeeke thoſe thynges which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God:* we ſhall neyther depart from the vayne tranſitory goodes of this world, nor from this wretched and mortall lyfe, wyth ſo great paynes as other do.

Coloſ. 3.

He exhorteth the brethren to reſort and conferre among themſelues together.

Conference amongſt brethren commendable.

Deſcent of Chriſtes church from the beginning requiſite to be knowen.

Let vs pray to our heauēly father that we may know and loue his bleſſed will, and the glorious ioy prepared for vs in time to come, and that we may know and hate all thinges contrary to his bleſſed wil, and alſo the paine prepared for the wicked in the worlde to come. There is no better way to be vſed in this troubleſome tyme for your conſolatiō, thē many tymes to haue aſſemblies together of ſuch men and women as be of your religion in Chriſt, and there to talke and renewe among your ſelues the truth of your Religion, to ſee what ye be by the word of God, and to remēber what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof, to waygh and conferre the dreames and falſe lyes of the prechers that now preach, with the word of God that retayneth all truth, & by ſuch talke and familiar reſorting together, ye ſhall the better fynde out all their lyes that now go about to deceiue you, and alſo both know and loue the truth that God hath opened to vs. It is much requiſite that the members of Chriſt, comforte one another, make prayers together, conferre one with an other: ſo ſhall ye be the ſtronger, and Gods ſpirite ſhall not be abſent from you, but in the midſt of you to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wiſe in all Godly thinges, patient in aduerſity and ſtrong in perſecution. Ye ſee how the congregation of the wicked by helping one an other, make their wicked religion and them ſelues ſtrong agaynſt Gods truth and hys people. If ye may haue ſome learned man that can out of the ſcriptures ſpeake vnto you of faith and true honoring of god, alſo that can ſhew you the deſcent of Chriſts church from the begynning of it vntill thys day, that ye may perceiue by the life of your forefathers theſe two things: the one that Chriſtes worde, which ſayd that all his muſt ſuffer perſecution and trouble in the world, be true: the other that none of all hys before our tyme, eſcaped trouble: then ſhall yee perceaue that it is but a folly for one that profeſſeth Chriſt truly, to looke for the loue of the world.

Iohn. 16.

iii. Things to be taken heede of.

Luke. 18.

Thus ſhall ye learne to beare trouble and to exercyſe your Religion, and feele in deede that Chriſtes wordes bee true: *In the worlde ye ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* And when ye feele your Religion in deede, ſay ye bee no better then your forefathers, but be glad that ye may be counted worthy Souldiers for this warre: and pray to God when ye come together, that hee wyll vſe and order you and your doinges to theſe three endes, which ye muſt take heede of: the fyrſt that ye glorify God, the next that yee edifye the Church and congregation, the thyrde that ye profyte your owne ſoules. In all your doynges beware ye be not deceaued. For although this tyme be not yet ſo bloudy and tyrannous as the tyme of oure forefathers that could not beare the name of Chriſt without daunger of lyfe and goodes: yet is our tyme more perillous both for body and ſoule. Therfore of vs Chriſt ſayd: *Thinke ye when the Sonne of man commeth, he ſhall finde fayth vppon the earth?* Hee ſayd not, thinke ye he ſhall fynd any man or woman Chriſtened and in name a Chriſtian: but he ſpake of the fayth that ſaueth the Chriſtiā man in Chriſt: and doubtles the ſcarſitie of fayth is now more (and will I feare increaſe) thē it was in the time of the greateſt Tyrannes that euer were: & no marueill why. Read ye the vi. chap. of S Iohns Reuelatiō, and ye ſhall perceiue amongeſt other thyngs, that at the openyng of the fourth Seale, came out a pale horſe, and he that ſat vpon hym was called death, & hell folowed him. This horſe is the tyme wherein hypocrites and diſſemblers entred into the Church vnder the pretence of true Religion, as Monkes, Friers, Nonnes, Maſſyng Prieſtes, with ſuch other, that haue killed mo ſoules with hereſie and ſuperſtitiō, then all the Tyrannes that euer were, killed bodyes with fyre, ſword, or baniſhmēt, as it appeareth by his name that ſitteth vpon the horſe, who is called death: for all ſoules that leaue Chriſt and truſt to theſe hypocrites, liue to the deuill in euerlaſtyng payne, as is declared by him that foloweth the pale horſe which is hell.

Faith more ſcarſer now then in the olde time vnder Tyrantes.

The blacke horſe in the Apocalyps chapt. 6. what it meaneth.

Mo ſoules ſlayn by Monkes & Fryers then bodyes by Tyrantes.

The 6. chapt. of the Apocalyps opened.

Theſe pretenſed and pale hypocrites, haue ſtyrred the earthquakes, that is to witte, the Princes of the world, agaynſt Chriſtes Church, and haue alſo darkened the Sunne, & made yͤ Moone bloudy, & haue cauſed yͤ ſtarres to fall from heauen, that is to ſay, haue darkened with miſtes and dayly do darken (as ye heare by their Sermons) the cleare Sonne of Gods moſt pure word: the Moone, which bee Gods true preachers, which fetch onely lyght at the Sonne of Gods worde, are turned into bloud, priſons, and chaines, that theyr light can not ſhyne vnto the world as they would: whereupon it commeth to paſſe that the ſtarres, that is to ſay Chriſtian people, fall from heauen, that is to witte, from Gods moſt true word, to hypocriſie, moſt deuiliſh ſuperſtition, and Idolatry. Let ſome learned man ſhewe you all the Articles of your belief and monumentes of Chriſtian fayth, from the tyme of Chriſt hetherto, and ye ſhall perceiue that there was neuer mention of ſuch Articles as theſe hypocrites teach. God bleſſe you, and pray for me as I do for you.

Out of the Fleete by your brother
in Chriſt Iohn Hoper.

¶To Maiſter Ferrar Byſhop of S. Dauids, D. Taylor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot, priſoners in the kinges Bench in Southwarke.

In other letters of Maiſter Hooper.

Commiſſiõ graunt out for M. Hooper and other, to diſpute at Cambridge.

THe grace of God be with you, Amen. I am aduertiſed by diuers, aſwell ſuch as loue the truth, as alſo by ſuch as yet be not come vnto it, that ye and I ſhall be caried ſhortly to Cambrige, there to diſpute in the faith and for the religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that we haue and do profeſſe. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Chriſt ready, not onely to go to Cambridge, but alſo to ſuffer by Gods helpe, death it ſelf in yͤ maintenance therof. Weſton and his complices haue obtained forth the commiſſion already, and ſpedely (moſt like) he will put it in execution. Wherfore deare brethren, I do aduertyſe you of the thing before for diuers cauſes. The one to cõfort you in the Lord, that the tyme draweth nygh and is at hãd, that we ſhall teſtify before Gods enemies, Gods truth. The next, that ye ſhould prepare your ſelues the better for it. The third, to ſhewe you what wayes I thinke were beſt to vſe our ſelues in this matter, and alſo to heare of euery one of you, your better aduiſe, if myne be not good. Ye know ſuch as ſhalbe Cenſours and Iudges ouer vs, breath and thurſt our bloud, and whether we by Gods helpe ouercome after the word of God, or by force and ſubtilty of our aduerſaries be ouercome, this wilbe the concluſion: our aduerſaries will ſay they ouercome, as ye perceiue how they reporte of thoſe great learned men & godly perſonages at Oxford.

The counſell of M. Hooper how and vpon what cautions to diſpute with the aduerſaries.

Wherfore I mynd neuer to aunſwere them, except I haue bookes preſent, becauſe they vſe not onely falſe allegation of the Doctors, but alſo a peece of the D. agaynſt the whole courſe of yͤ doctors mynde. The next, that we may haue ſworne Notaries to take things ſpoken indifferently: which will be very hard to haue, for the aduerſaries will haue the ouerſight of all things, and then make theirs better then it was, and ours worſe thẽ it was. Then if we ſee that two or three or more will ſpeake together, or with ſcoffes and tauntes illude and mocke vs: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeale, to be heard before the Queene and the whole Counſell, and that would much ſetforth the glory of God. For many of thẽ know already the truth, many of thẽ erre rather of zeale then malice, and the others that be indurate ſhould bee aunſwered fully to their ſhame (I doubt not) although to our ſmart and bloudſheding. For of this I am aſſured, that the commiſſioners apointed to heare vs and iudge vs, meane nothing leſſe then to heare the cauſe indifferently, for they be enemies vnto vs and vnto our cauſe, and be at a poynt already to geue ſentence againſt vs: ſo that if it were poſſible with Saint Stephen to ſpeake ſo that they could not reſiſte vs, or to vſe ſuch ſilence and patience as Chriſt did, they wyll procede to reuenging.

Wherof read before pag. 1640.

Note how the Popes [illegible] paſſe all law and [illegible].

Wherfore my deare brethren in the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, I would be glad to know your aduiſe this day or to morrow, for ſhortly we ſhall be gone, and I verely ſuppoſe that we ſhall not cõpany together, but be kept abroad one from an other. They will deny our appeale: yet let vs challenge the appeale, and take witnes thereof of ſuch as be preſent, & require for indifferency of hearing & iudgement to be heard, either before the Queene and the Counſell, or els before all the Parlament, as they were vſed in kyng Edwards dayes. Further, for my part I will requyre both bookes and tyme to aunſwere. We haue bene priſoners now three quarters of a yeare, and haue lacked our bookes, and our memories by cloſe keeping and ingratitude of their partes, be not as preſent & quicke, as theirs bee. I truſt God wil be with vs, yea I doubt not but he wil, and teach vs to do all things in his cauſe godly and conſtantly. If our aduerſaries that ſhalbe our iudges, may haue their purpoſe, we ſhall diſpute one day, be condemned the next day, and ſuffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemne vs (as far as I know) and ſo one of the Conuocation houſe ſayd this weeke to D. Weſton. To whom Weſton made this aunſwere: It forceth not (quoth he) for a law, we haue Commiſſiõ to procede with them: when they be diſpatched, let their frendes ſue the law.

Now, how ſoone a man may haue ſuch a Commiſſion at my Lord Chauncellours hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained, as an inditement for Chriſt at Cayphas hand. Beſids that, the biſhops hauing the Queene ſo vpon their ſides, may do all things both without the aduiſe, & alſo the knowledge of the reſt of the Lordes of the temporalty: who at this preſent haue found out the marke that the Byſhops ſhoote at, and doubtles be not pleaſed with their doinges. I pray you helpe that our brother Sanders and the reſt in the Marſhalſey may vnderſtand theſe thinges, and ſend me your aunſwere betime. Iudas non dormit: nec ſcimus diem neq; horam. i. Iudas ſleepeth not: neither knew we the day nor the houre. Dominus Ieſus Chriſtus ſuo ſancto numine nos omnes conſoletur & adiuuet, Amẽ. i. The lord Ieſus Chriſt with his holy ſpirite cõfort & ſtrengthen vs all, Amẽ. May. 6. 1554.

Yours and with you vnto death,
in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

¶An exhortation to patience, ſent to his godly wife Anne Hoper: wherby all the true members of Chriſt may take comfort and courage, to ſuffer trouble and affliction for the profeſſion of his holy Goſpell.

Math. 18.

An effectuall letter of M. Hooper ſent to hys wife.

Math. 24.

Rom. 1.

1. Theſ. 2.

OUr Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt (dearely beloued and my godly wife) in S. Mathewes Goſpell ſayd to hys Diſciples, *that it was neceſſary ſclaũders ſhould come:* and that they could not be auoyded, he perceiued as well by the condition of thoſe that ſhould periſh and be loſt for euer in the world to come, as alſo by their affliction that ſhould be ſaued. For he ſaw the greateſt part of the people would contẽne and neglect, what ſoeuer true doctrine or godly wayes ſhould be ſhewed vnto them, or els receaue it and vſe it as they thought good, to ſerue their pleaſures without any profit to their ſoules at all, not caring whether they liued as they were commaũded by Gods word or not: but would thinke it ſufficiẽt to be counted to haue the name of a Chriſtian man, with ſuch workes & frutes of his profeſſion and Chriſtianity, as his fathers and elders after their cuſtome and maner, eſteme and take to be good frutes and faythfull workes, and will not trye them by the word of God at all. Theſe men, by the iuſt iudgement of God, be deliuered vnto the craft and ſubtilty of the deuill, that they may be kept by one ſclaũderous ſtumblyng blocke or other, that they neuer come vnto Chriſt, who came to ſaue thoſe that were loſt: as ye may ſee how God deliuereth wicked men vp vnto theyr own luſtes, to do one miſchief after an other careles, vntill they come into a reprobate mynd, that forgetteth it ſelfe and cannot know what is expedient to be done or to be left vndone, becauſe they cloſe theyr eyes and will not ſee the light of Gods word offered vnto them, and beyng thus blynded, they preferre theyr owne vanities before the truth of Gods word.

Errour taken for truth, and perſecution for Gods ſeruice.

Iohn. 8. 9.

Wheras ſuch corrupt myndes be, there is alſo corrupt election and choiſe of Gods honour: ſo that the mynd of man taketh falſhode for truth, ſuperſtition for true Religion, death for lyfe, damnation for ſaluatiõ, hell for heauen, and perſecution of Chriſtes members, for Gods ſeruice and honour. And as theſe men, wilfully and voluntarily reiect the word of God: euen ſo God moſt iuſtly deliuereth them into the blyndnes of mynd, and hardnes of hart, that they cannot vnderſtand, nor yet conſent to any thyng that God would haue preached & ſet forth to his glory after his owne will, and word: wherfore they hate it mortally, and of all thinges moſt deteſt Gods holy word. And as the deuill hath entred into their hartes, that they them ſelues can not, nor wil not come to Chriſt to be inſtructed by his holy word: euen ſo can they not abide any other mã to be a Chriſtian man, and to lead his lyfe after the word of God, but hate him, perſecute hym, robbe him, impriſon hym, yea and kill hym, whether he be mã or woman, if God ſuffer it. And ſo much are thoſe wicked men blinded, that they paſſe of no law, whether it be Gods or mans, but perſecute ſuch as neuer offended, yea do euill to thoſe that dayly haue prayed for them and wiſh them Gods grace.

No reſpect of nature with the perſecuting aduerſaries.

Math. 18.

In their Pharaonicall and blynd fury, they haue no reſpect to nature. For yͤ brother perſecuteth yͤ brother, the father the ſonne: and moſt deare frendes, in deuiliſh ſclaũder and offence are become moſt mortall enemyes. And no maruaile: for whẽ they haue choſen ſundry Maiſters, the one the deuill the other God, the one ſhall agree with the other, as God and the deuill agree betwene them ſelues. For this cauſe, that the more part of the world doth choſe to ſerue the deuill vnder cloked hypocriſy of Gods title, Chriſt ſayd: *It is expedient and neceſſary that ſclaunders ſhould come*, and many meanes be deuiſed to kepe the litle babes of Chriſt from the heauenly father. But Chriſt ſayth: *Wo be vnto hym by whõ the offence commeth.* Yet is there no remedy, man beyng of ſuch corruption and hatred towardes God, but that the euill ſhalbe deceaued and perſecute the good: and the good ſhall vnderſtand the truth and ſuffer perſecution for it vntill the worldes end. *For as he that was borne after the fleſh, perſecuted in tymes paſt, hym that was borne after the ſpirite: euen ſo it is now.*

Gene. 4. Galat. 4.

Therefore, for ſomuch as we liue in this lyfe amongeſt ſo many great perils & daūgers, we muſt be wel aſſured by Gods word, how to beare them, & how patiētly to take them, as they be ſent to vs frō God. We muſt alſo aſſure our ſelues that there is no other remedy for Chriſtians in yͤ tyme of trouble, then Chriſt hym ſelf hath appoynted vs. In S. Luke he geueth vs this cōmaundemēt: *Ye ſhall poſſeſſe your lyues in patience,* ſayth he. In yͤ which wordes, he geueth vs both cōmaundement what to do, and alſo great conſolation & comfort in all troubles. He ſheweth alſo what is to be done & what is to be hoped for in troubles: and whē troubles happen, he biddeth vs be patient, and in no caſe violently nor ſeditiouſly to reſiſte our perſecutours, becauſe God hath ſuch care and charge of vs, that he will kepe in the myddes of all troubles the very heares of our head, ſo that one of them ſhall not fall away without the will and pleaſure of our heauenly father. Whether the heare therfore tary in the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the father. And ſeyng he hath ſuch care for the heares of our head, how much more doth he care for our life it ſelf? wherfore let Gods aduerſaryes do what they luſt, whether they take the lyfe or take it not, they can do vs no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power then God permitteth them: and that which commeth vnto vs by the will of our heauenly father, can be no harme, no loſſe, neither deſtruction vnto vs, but rather gayne, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and aduerſity that chaunce to ſuch as be of God by the will of the heauenly father, can be none other but gayne and aduauntage.

Luke. 2.

Patience in troubles, onely the Chriſtian mans remedy.

Math. 10.

Rom. 8.

Prayer neceſſary.

Iam. 1.

1.Cor. 1.8.

That the ſpirite of man may feele theſe conſolations, the geuer of them the heauenly father muſt be prayed vnto for the merites of Chriſtes paſſion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented vntill it be regenerated and poſſeſſed wyth Gods ſpirite, to beare patiently the troubles of the minde or of the body. When the mind and hart of a man ſeeth of euery ſyde ſorrow and heauynes, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but ſuch thinges as bee troublous and wholy bent to robbe the poore of that he hath, and alſo to take from hym his lyfe: except the man waygh theſe brittle and vncertayne treaſures that be taken from hym, with the riches of the lyfe to come: and this lyfe of the body, with the lyfe in Chriſtes precious bloud, and ſo for the loue and certaintye of the heauenly ioyes contemne all thinges preſent, doubtles he ſhall neuer be able to beare the loſſe of goods, life, or any other things of this world.

Coloſſ. 3.

A leſſon how to beare trouble.

Therefore Saint Paule geueth a very godly and neceſſary leſſon to all men in thys ſhort and tranſitorye lyfe, and therein ſheweth how a man may beſt beare the iniquitie and troubles of this world: *If ye be ryſen agayne with Chriſt* (ſayth he) *ſeeke the thinges which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the ryght hand of God the father.* Wherfore the Chriſtian mans fayth muſt bee alwayes vpon the reſurrection of Chriſt, when he is in trouble, and in that glorious reſurrection hee ſhall not onely ſee continuall and perpetuall ioy and conſolation: but alſo the victory and triumph of all perſecution, trouble, ſynne, death, hel, the diuell, and all other Tyrants and Perſecutors of Chriſt and of Chriſtes people, the teares and weepinges of the faythfull dryed vp, theyr woundes healed, theyr bodyes made immortall in ioy, theyr ſoules for euer prayſing the Lord, and coniunction and ſocietie euerlaſting wyth the bleſſed company of Gods electes in perpetuall ioy. But the words of S.Paule in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall doe litle profit to the reader or hearer, and geue him no patience at all in thys impatient and cruell world.

Two thinges commaunded by S.Paule writing to the Coloſſians.

The firſt is to ſee and know what thinges are aboue, and what are beneath, and to diſcerne rightly betwene them.

In the fyrſt part S.Paule commaundeth vs *to thinke or ſet our affections on thinges that are aboue.* When he byddeth vs ſeeke the thinges that are aboue, he requireth that our mindes neuer ceaſe from praier & ſtudy in Gods word, vntill we ſee, know, and vnderſtand the vanities of this world, the ſhortnes and miſery of this lyfe, and the treaſures of the world to come, the immortality thereof, and the ioyes of that lyfe, and ſo neuer ceaſe ſeekyng, vntyll ſuch time as we know certainly, and be perſwaded what a bleſſed man he is that ſeeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he loſe it: and in ſeekyng to haue right iudgement betwene the life preſent and the lyfe to come, we ſhall finde how litle the paynes, impriſonment, ſclaunders, lyes, & death it ſelf is in this world, in reſpect of the paynes euerlaſting, the priſon infernall, and dungeon of hell, the ſentence of Gods iuſt iudgement, and euerlaſting death.

When a man hath by ſeeking the word of God, found out what the thinges aboue be: then muſt he (as S.Paule ſayth) ſet hys affections vpon them. And thys cōmaundement is more hard then the other. For mans knowledge many tymes ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a lyfe to come, better then this lyfe preſent, as you may ſee, how dayly men and women can prayſe and cōmend, yea and wiſh for heauen, and to be at reſt there: yet they ſet not their affection vpō it, they do more affect and loue in deede a trifle of nothing in thys world that pleaſeth their affection, then the treaſure of all treaſures in heauē, which their own iudgement ſaith is better then al worldly things. *Wherefore we muſt ſet our affections vpon the things that be aboue:* that is to ſay, when any thing worſe thē heauen vpō yͤ earth offereth it ſelf to be ours, if we will geue our good wyls to it, and loue it in our hartes: then ought we to ſee by the iudgement of Gods word, whether we may haue the worlde without offence of God, and ſuch thinges as be for thys worldly lyfe, without his diſpleaſure. If we can not, S.Paules cōmaundement muſt take place: *ſet your affections on thinges that are aboue.* If the ryches of this world may not be gottē nor kept wyth gods law, neyther our lyues be continued without the denyal of hys honour, we muſt ſet our affection vpon the riches and lyfe that is aboue, and not vpon thinges that be on the earth. Therefore this ſecond commaundement of S.Paule requireth, that as our myndes iudge heauenly thinges to bee better then thinges vppon the earth, and the lyfe to come better then the life preſent: ſo we ſhould chuſe them before other, and preferre them, and haue ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the world doth and hath done, for they chooſe the beſt and approue it, and yet followe the worſt.

But theſe thinges (my godly wyfe) requyre rather cogitation, meditation and prayer, then wordes or talke. They be eaſy to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſie to bee vſed and practiſed. Wherefore ſeing they be Gods giftes, and none of ours to haue as our own when we would, wee muſt ſeeke them at our heauenly fathers hand, who ſeeth and is priuy how poore and wretched we bee, and how naked, how ſpoyled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed giftes we be by reaſon of ſynne. He dyd commaund therefore hys Diſciples, when hee ſhewed them that they ſhould take patiently the ſtate of this preſent lyfe ful of troubles and perſecution, to pray that they might wel eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be hable to ſtand before the ſonne of man. When ye finde your ſelfe to much oppreſſed (as euery man ſhall be ſometime with the feare of Gods iudgement) vſe the .lxxvij. Pſalme that begynneth: *I wyll cry vnto God wyth my voyce, and he ſhall harken vnto me.* In which Pſalme is both godly doctrine and great conſolation vnto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of mynde.

Vſe alſo in ſuch trouble the .lxxxviij. Pſalme, wherein is contayned the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguiſh and miſery, and being vexed wyth aduerſaries and perſecutions, ſaw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in hym ſelfe, that hee had not onely man, but alſo God angry towardes hym: yet hee by prayer humbly reſorted vnto God, as the onely port of conſolation, and in the myddeſt of hys deſperate ſtate of trouble, put the hope of hys ſaluation in hym, whom he felt hys enemy. How be it no man of him ſelfe can do thys, but the ſpirite of God that ſtriketh the mans hart with feare, prayeth for the man ſtricken and feared, wyth vnſpeakeable gronings. And when you feele your ſelfe or know any other oppreſſed after ſuch ſort, be glad: for after that God hath made you to know what you bee of your ſelfe, he wyll doubtles ſhew you comfort, and declare vnto you what you bee in Chriſt hys onely ſonne: and vſe prayer often, for that is the meanes whereby God wyll bee ſought vnto for hys gyftes. Theſe Pſalmes bee for the purpoſe, when the mynde can take no vnderſtanding, nor the hart any ioy of Gods promiſes: and therefore were theſe Pſalmes alſo made, vi. xxv. xxx. xxxi. xxxviij. lxix. &c. the which you ſhal learne both patience and conſolation. Remember that *although your lyfe* (as all Chriſtian mens be) *be hyd and appeareth not what it is, yet is it ſafe* (as S. Paule ſayth) *wyth God in Chriſt: and when Chriſt ſhall appeare, then ſhall our lyues be made open wyth hym in glory.* But in the meane tyme wyth ſeekyng

[illegible]

kyng and ſetting our affections vpon the things that be aboue, we muſt patiently ſuffer what ſoeuer God ſhall ſend vnto vs in this mortall lyfe. Notwythſtanding it might fortune ſome would ſay, who is ſo perfect that can let all thinges paſſe as they come, and haue no care of them: ſuffer all thinges and feele nothing: be attempted of the deuil, the world, and the fleſh, and not be troubled? Verely no mã liuing. But this I ſay, that in the ſtrẽgth of Ieſus Chriſt, thinges that come may paſſe wyth care, for we be worldly, and yet are we not caried wyth them from Chriſt, for we bee in hym godly. We may ſuffer things and feele them as mortall men, yet beare them and ouercome them as Chriſtian men. We may bee attempted of the deuyll, the fleſh, and the world: but yet although theſe thynges pynch, they doe not pearce, and although they worke ſynne in vs, yet in Chriſt no damnation to thoſe that be grafted in hym.

Rom.8.

Conſolation.

Patience.

Hereof may the Chriſtian man learne both conſolatiõ and patience. Conſolation, in that he is compelled both in hys body and goodes to feele payne and loſſe, and in the ſoule heauynes & anguiſh of mynd: howbeit none of them both ſhall ſeparate hym frõ the loue that God beareth hym in Chriſt. He may learne patience, for as much as his enemyes both of the body and ſoule, & the paynes alſo they vexe vs withall for the tyme, if they tary with vs as long as we lyue, yet when death commeth they ſhall auoyde and geue place to ſuch ioyes as be prepared for vs in Chriſt: for no paynes of the world be perpetuall, & whether they ſhall afflict vs for all the tyme of our mortall lyfe we know not, for they be the ſeruauntes of God to go and to come, as he commaundeth them. But we muſt take heede we medle not forceably nor ſeditiouſly, to put away the perſecution appointed vnto vs by God, but remember Chriſtes ſaying: *Poſſeſſe you your liues by your patience*. And in this commaundement God requireth in euery man and womã this patient obedience. He ſayth not, it is ſufficient that other holy Patriackes, Prophetes, Apoſtels, Euangeliſtes and Martyrs continued their lyues in patience and patient ſufferyng the troubles of this world: but Chriſt ſayth to euery one of hys people: *by your own patience ye ſhall continue your lyfe*: not that man hath patience of hym ſelf, but that he muſt haue it for hym ſelfe of God, the onely geuer of it, if he purpoſe to be a godly man. Now therfore, as our profeſſion and religion requireth patience outwardly without reſiſtãce and force: ſo requireth it patience of the mynde, and not to be angry with God, although hee vſe vs that be hys own creatures, as hym liſteth.

Afflictions be the meſſengers and ſeruauntes of God.

Luke.2.

Patience the gift onely of God.

We may not alſo murmure agaynſt God, but ſay alwaies his iudgements be right and iuſt, and reioyce that it pleaſeth hym by troubles to vſe vs, as he vſed heretofore ſuch as he moſt loued in this world: and haue a ſyngular care to this commaundement: Gaudete & exultate, *be glad and reioyce*, for he ſheweth great cauſe why: *your reward* (ſayth he) *is great in heauen*. Theſe promiſes of hym that is the truth it ſelfe, ſhal (by Gods grace) worke both conſolation and patience in the afflicted Chriſtian perſon. And when our Sauiour Chriſt hath wylled mẽ in troule to be content and patient, becauſe God in the ende of trouble in Chriſt hath ordayned eternall conſolation: he vſeth alſo to take from vs al ſhame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to ſuffer for Chriſt becauſe the wycked world doth curſe & abhorre ſuch poore troubled Chriſtians. Wherefore Chriſt placeth all hys honorably, and ſayth: *Euen ſo perſecuted they the Prophetes that were before you.* We may alſo ſee with whom the afflicted for Chriſtes ſake, be eſteemed by S. Paule to the Hebrewes, where as the number of the bleſſed and glorious company of Saintes appeare now to our fayth in heauen in ioy: yet in the letter, for the tyme of this lyfe, in ſuch paynes and contempt, as was neuer more. Let vs therefore conſider both them and all other thinges of the world ſithens the fall of man, and we ſhall perceiue nothing to come to perfection, but with ſuch confuſion and diſorder to the eye of the world, as though thinges were rather loſte for euer, then lyke to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who euer came to heauen (no not Chriſt hym ſelfe) vntyll ſuch tyme as the world had thought verely that both he and all hys had bene cleane deſtroyed and caſt away? as the wyſe man ſayth of the wycked people: *We thought them to bee fooles, but they be in peace.*

Math.5.

To ſuffer for Chriſt, is honourable.

Math.24.

Heb.11.

Sap.5.

We may learne by things that nouriſh and mayntain vs, both meate and drincke, to what lothſomnes and (in maner) abhorring they come vnto, before they worke their perfection in vs. From lyfe they be brought to the fyre, and cleane altered from that they were when they were alyue: from the fyre to the trencher and knife, and all to hacked: from the trencher to the mouth, and as ſmall ground as the teeth can grynde them: and frõ the mouth into the ſtomacke, and there ſo boyled and digeſted before they nouriſh, that whoſoeuer ſawe the ſame, would loth and abhorre hys owne nouriſhment before it come to hys perfection. Is it then any maruaile if ſuch Chriſtians as God delighteth in, be ſo mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchin and mil to boyle and grinde the fleſh of Gods people in, till they atcheiue their perfection in the world to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of hys meate when it is full digeſted, and not before: ſo muſt he looke for hys ſaluation when he hath paſſed this troublous world, and not before. Raw fleſh is not meate wholeſome for man: and vnmortified men and women, be no creatures meete for God. Therefore Chriſt ſayth, that hys people muſt bee broken, and all to torne in the myll of thys world, and ſo ſhall they bee moſt fine meale vnto the heauenly father. And it ſhall be a Chriſtian mans part, and the dutye of a mynde repleniſhed with the ſpirite of God, to marke the order of God in all his things, how he dealeth with thẽ, and how they ſuffer and be content to let God doe hys wyll vpon them: As S. Paule ſayth: *They waite vntyll the number of the electes be fulfilled and neuer be at reſt, but looke for the tyme when Gods people ſhall appeare in glory.*

Example take of our meat & drinke how thinges neuer come to their perfection before they be vtterly waſted.

Vnmortified men, be no people for God.

Math.10.

Rom.8.

We muſt therefore patiently ſuffer, and willyngly attend vpon Gods doinges, although they ſeeme cleane contrary after our iudgement, to our wealth and ſaluation: as Abraham dyd when he was byd to offer hys ſonne Iſaac, in whom God promiſed the bleſſing & multiplying of hys ſeede. Ioſeph at yͤ laſt came to that which God promyſed hym, although in the meane tyme, after the iudgement of the world, he was neuer lyke to be (as God ſayd he ſhould be) Lord ouer hys brethren. When Chriſt would make the blynde man to ſee, he put clay vpon hys eyes, which after the iudgement of man, was meanes rather to make hym double blynd, then to geue hym his ſyght: but he obeyed and knew that God could worke hys deſyre, what meanes ſo euer he vſed contrary to mans reaſon: and as touching this world, he vſeth all hys after the ſame ſort. If any ſmart, his people bee the fyrſt: if any ſuffer ſhame, they beginne: if any be ſubiect to ſclaunder, it is thoſe that he loueth: ſo that he ſheweth no face or fauour, nor loue almoſt in thys worlde outwardly to them, but layeth clay vpon their ſore eyes that be ſorowfull: yet the patient man ſeeth (as S. Paule ſayth) lyfe hyd vnder theſe miſeries and aduerſities, and ſight vnder foule clay, and in the meane tyme he hath the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and beleueth Gods promiſes to be hys conſolation in the world to come, which is more worth vnto hym then all the world is worth beſides: and bleſſed is that mã in whom Gods ſpirite beareth record that he is the ſonne of God, whatſoeuer troubles he ſuffer in this troubleſome world.

Example of *Abraham.*

Example of *Ioſeph.*

Iohn.9.

1.Pet.4.

Iudgement firſt beginneth with the houſe of God.

Coloſſ.3.

Rom.8.

And to iudge thynges indifferently (my godly wife) the troubles be not yet generally as they were in our good fathers tymes ſoone after the death and reſurrectiõ of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſu, wherof he ſpake in S. Mathew. Of the which place you and I haue taken many tymes great conſolation, and eſpecially of the latter part of the chap. wherin is contayned the laſt day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for ſuch as loue the cõming of our Sauiour Chriſt to iudgement. Remember therfore that place & marke it agayne, and ye ſhall in this tyme ſee great conſolation, and alſo learne much patience. Was there euer ſuch troubles as Chriſt threatned vppon Ieruſalem? Was there ſithens the begynnyng of the world ſuch affliction? Who was then beſt at eaſe? The Apoſtles that ſuffred in body perſecution, and gathered of it eaſe and quietnes in the promiſes of God. And no maruaile, for Chriſt ſayth: *Lift vp your heades, for your redemption is at hand*, that is to ſay, your eternall reſt approcheth and draweth nere. The world is ſtarke blind, and more fooliſh then fooliſhnes it ſelfe, and ſo be yͤ people of the world. For whẽ God ſayth, trouble ſhall come, they will haue eaſe. And when God ſayth be mery and reioyce in trouble, we lament and mourne, as though we were caſtawayes. But this our fleſh (which is neuer mery with vertue, nor ſory with vice, neuer laugheth with grace, nor euer weepeth with ſinne) holdeth faſt with the world, and letteth God ſlip. But (my dearely beloued wife) you know how to perceaue and to

Math.24.

Luke.2.

Fleſh neuer mery with vertue, nor ſory with vice.

Math. 24.

Deſtruction of Ieruſalē, and deſtruction of the whole world compared.

beware of the vanitie & craftes of yͤ deuill well inough in Chriſt. And that ye may the better haue patience in the ſpirite of God, read agayn the 24. chapt. of S. Mathew, and marke what difference is betwene the deſtruction of Ieruſalem and the deſtruction of the whole world, and you ſhall ſee, that then there were left alyue many offendors to repent: but at yͤ latter day there ſhalbe abſolute iudgement and ſentence (neuer to be reuoked) of eternall lyfe and eternall death vpon all men, and yet towardes the end of the world, we haue nothyng ſo much extremity, as they had then, but euen as we be able to beare. So doth the mercyfull father lay vppon vs now impriſonment (and I ſuppoſe for my part, ſhortly death) now ſpoyle of goodes, loſſe of frendes, and the greateſt loſſe of all, the knowledge of Gods word. Gods will be done. I wiſh in Chriſt Ieſu our onely Mediatour and Sauiour, your conſtancie and conſolation, that you may lyue for euer and euer, wherof in Chriſt I doubt not: to whom for his bleſſed and moſt paynefull paſſion I commit you, Amen. 13. Octob. 1553.

¶ To a certaine godly woman, inſtructing her how ſhe ſhould behaue her ſelfe in the time of her widowhode.

An other letter of Maiſter *Hooper*.

THe grace of God, and the comfort of his holy ſpirite, be with you and all thē that vnfainedly loue his holy Goſpell, Amen.

I thanke you (deare ſiſter) for your moſt louing remembraunce, and although I can not recompence the ſame, yet do I wiſh with all my hart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towardes God in theſe perilous dayes, in the which the Lord will try vs. I truſt you do increaſe, by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you haue of God, & that you diligently apply your ſelf to folow yͤ ſame: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according therunto. Further, I do hartely pray you, to conſider the ſtate of your widowhode, & if God ſhall put in your minde to change it, remember the ſaying of Saint Paule. 1. Corrinth. 7. *It is lawfull for the widow or mayden to mary to whom they liſt, ſo it be in the Lord*: that is to ſay, to ſuch a one as is of Chriſtes religion. Dearely beloued in Chriſt, remember theſe wordes, for you ſhall find thereby great ioy & comfort, if you chaunge your ſtate. wherof I will when I haue better leyſure (as now I haue none at all) further aduertiſe you. In the meane time, I commend you to God and the guiding of his good ſpirite, who ſtabliſhe & confirme you in all well doing and keepe you blameles to the day of the Lord. watch and pray for thys day is at hand.

1. Cor. 7.

To mary in the Lord, what it is.

Yours aſſured in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

¶ To all my deare brethren, my relieuers and helpers in the City of London.

An other letter of Maiſter *Hooper* to his frendes in London.

THe grace of God be with you, Amen. I haue receaued from you (dearly beloued in our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt) by the hands of my ſeruaunt William Downton, your liberality, for the which I do moſt hartely thanke you, and I prayſe God hyghly in you and for you, who hath moued your hartes to ſhew this kindnes towardes me, praying him to preſerue you frō all famyne, ſcarcity, and lacke of the truth of his word, which is the liuely foode of your ſoules, as you preſerue my body from hunger and other neceſſities, which ſhould happen vnto me, were it not cared for by the beneuolence and charity of godly people. Such as haue taken all worldly goods & lands from me, and ſpoyled me of all that I had, haue empriſoned my body and appointed no one halfepeny to feede or relieue me withall. But I do forgeue them and pray for them dayly in my poore prayer vnto God, and from my hart I wiſhe their ſaluation, and quietly and patiently beare their iniuries, wiſhing no farther extremity to be vſed towards vs. Yet if it ſeeme contrary beſt vnto our heauenly father, I haue made my reckening, and fully reſolued my ſelfe to ſuffer the vttermoſt that they are able to do againſt me, yea death it ſelfe, by the ayde of Chriſt Ieſu, who dyed the moſt vile death of the croſſe for vs wretches and miſerable ſinners. But of this I am aſſured, that the wicked world with all his force & power, ſhall not touch one of the heares of our heades without leaue and lycence of our heauenly father, whoſe will be done in all thyngs. If he will life, lyfe be it: if he will death, death be it. Onely we pray, that our willes may be ſubiect vnto his will, and then although both we and all the world ſee none other thing but death, yet if he thinke life beſt, we ſhall not dye, no although yͤ ſword be drawen out ouer our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his ſonne Iſaac, yet when God perceaued that Abraham had ſurrendred hys wyll to Gods wyll, and was content to kill his ſonne, God then ſaued his ſonne.

The Chriſtian charity of *M. Hooper* to his enemies.

M. Hooper fully reſolued to ſuffer.

Gods wyl to be obeyed in all thinges.

Dearely beloued, if we be contented to obey Gods will, and for hys commaundementes ſake, to ſurrender our goods and our ſelues to be at his pleaſure, it maketh no matter whether we keepe goods and life, or loſe thē. Nothing can hurt vs that is taken from vs for Gods cauſe, nor nothing can at length do vs good, that is preſerued contrary vnto Gods commaundement. Let vs wholy ſuffer God to vſe vs and ours after his holy wiſdome, & beware we neither vſe nor gouerne our ſelues contrary to hys wyll by our owne wiſedome, for if we do, our wiſdome wyll at length proue foliſhnes. It is kept to no good purpoſe that we keepe cōtrary vnto his commaundements. It can by no meanes be taken from vs that he would ſhould tary with vs. He is no good Chriſtian that ruleth himſelfe & his, as worldly meanes ſerueth: for he that ſo doth ſhall haue as many chaunges as chaunceth in the world. To day, with the world he ſhall like and prayſe the truth of God, to morow as the world wyll, ſo wyll he like and prayſe the falſhode of man: to day with Chriſt, and to morow with Antichriſt. wherefore deare brethren, as touching your behauiour towards God, vſe both your inward ſpirites and your outward bodyes, your inward and your outward man (I ſay) not after the meanes of men, but after the infallible word of God.

Difference betwene the true Chriſtian and the worldling.

Refraine from euill in both, and glorify your heauenly father in both. For if ye thinke ye can inwardly in the hart ſerue hym, and yet outwardly ſerue with the world in externall ſeruice, the thing that is not God, ye deceaue your ſelues, for both the body and the ſoule muſt together concurre in the honor of God, as S. Paule plainly teacheth 1. Cor. 6. For if an honeſt wyfe be bound to geue both hart and body to fayth and ſeruice in mariage, and if an honeſt wiues fayth in the hart cannot ſtand with an whoriſh or defiled body outwardly: much leſſe can the true fayth of a Chriſtiā in the ſeruice of chriſtianite, ſtand with the bodely ſeruice of externall idolatry: for the myſtery of mariage is not ſo honorable betwene man and wyfe, as it is betwene Chriſt and euery Chriſtian man, as S. Paule ſayth.

Both the inward and outward man muſt concurre in the honour of God.

Therefore deare brethren, pray to the heauenly father, that as he ſpared not the ſoule nor the body of hys dearely beloued ſonne, but applyed both of them with extreme payne, to worke our ſaluation both of body and ſoule: ſo he wyll geue vs all grace to apply our bodies and ſoules to be ſeruantes vnto him: for doubtles hee requyreth as well the one as the other, and can not bee miſcontented with the one, & wel pleaſed with the other. Either he hateth both, or loueth both: he deuideth not his loue to one and hys hatred to the other. Let not vs therefore good brethren, diuide our ſelues, and ſay our ſoules ſerue him whatſoeuer our bodies doe to the contrary, for ciuyll order and policie.

But (alas) I know by my ſelfe what troubleth you, that is, the great daunger of the world that will reuenge (ye thinke) your ſeruice to God, wyth ſword and fyre, with loſſe of goods and lands. But deare brethren, way of the other ſide, that your enemies and Gods enemies ſhal not do ſo much as they would, but as much as God ſhall ſuffer them, who can trap them in their own counſels, and deſtroy them in the middeſt of their furies. Remember ye be the workemē of the Lord, & called into his vineyard, there to labour till euening tyde, that ye may receiue your peny, which is more worth thē al the kings of the earth. But he that calleth vs into hys vineyard, hath not told vs how ſore or how feruently the Sunne ſhall trouble vs in our labour: but hath byd vs labour and commit the bitternes ther of vnto him, who can and wyll ſo moderate all afflictions, that no man ſhall haue more layd vpon him, then in Chriſt he ſhall be hable to beare: vnto whoſe merciful tuition and defence I commend both your ſoules & your bodies. 2. Septēber. 1554.

Gods enemies can do no more then he geueth them leaue.

Math. 10.

Yours wyth my poore prayer Iohn Hooper.

¶ To a Marchaũt of London, by whoſe meanes he had receaued much comfort in his great neceſſitie in the Fleete.

An other letter of Maiſter *Hooper* to a good helper of hys.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord.

I thanke God and you for the great helpe and cōſolaſolation I haue receiued in the tyme of aduerſity by your charitable meanes, but moſt reioyce that you be not altered from truth, although falſhode cruelly ſeeketh to diſtaine her. Iudge not (my brother) truth by outward appearaunce, for truth now worſe appeareth and more vily is reiected, thē falſhode. Leaue the outward ſhew, and ſee by the word of God what truth is, and accept truth, and diſlike her not though man call her falſhode. As it now, ſo hath it ben heretofore, the truth reiected and falſhode receiued. Such as haue profeſſed truth, for truth haue ſmarted, and the frendes of falſehode laughed them to ſcorne. The tryall of both hath ben by cōtrary ſucceſſe: the one hauyng the commendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falſhode by God, floriſhyng for a tyme with endles deſtruction: the other afflicted a litle ſeaſon with immortall ioyes. Wherfore deare brother aſke and demaunde of your booke, the Teſtament of Ieſus Chriſt in theſe wofull and wretched dayes, what you ſhould thinke, and what you ſhould ſtay vppon for a certaine truth: and what ſoeuer you heare taught, trye it by your boke whether it be true or falſe. The dayes be daungerous & full of peril, not onely for the world & worldly thynges, but for heauē & heauenly thinges. It is a trouble to looſe the treaſures of this lyfe, but yet a very paine if they be kept with the offence of God. Cry, cal, pray, and in Chriſt dayly require helpe, ſuccour, mercy, wiſedome, grace and defence, that the wickednes of this world preuayle not agaynſt vs. We began well, God preſerue vs vntill the end. I would write more often vnto you, but I do perceiue you be at ſo much charges with me that I feare you would thinke when I write I craue. Send me nothyng till I ſend to you for it, and ſo tell the good men your partners, and when I neede I will be bold of you. 3. December. 1554.

Truth is not to be eſteemed by outward appearaunce.

Yours with my prayer, Iohn Hoper.

¶ To Maiſtres Wilkynſon, a woman harty in Gods cauſe, and comfortable to his afflicted members.

The grace of God and the comfort of hys holy ſpirite be with you, Amen.

This Maiſtres Wilkinſon afterward dyed in Exile at Franckford.

I am very glad to heare of your health, and do thanke you for your louyng tokens, but I am a great deale more glad to heare how Chriſtianly you auoyde Idolatry, and prepare your ſelfe to ſuffer the extremitie of the world, rather then to endaunger your ſelfe to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalfe, and in ſufferyng of tranſitory paynes, you ſhal auoyde permanent tormentes in the world to come. Vſe your lyfe, and keepe it with as much quietnes as you can, ſo that you offend not God. The caſe that commeth with his diſpleaſure, turneth at length to vnſpeakeable paynes, and the gaynes of the world with the loſſe of his fauour, is beggary and wretchednes. Reaſon is to be amended in this cauſe of Religiō: for it will chooſe and folow an errour with the multitude if it may be allowed, rather thē turne to fayth and folow the truth with the people of God. Moſes found the ſame fault in him ſelfe and did amend it, chooſyng rather to be afflicted with the people of God, then to vſe the libertie of the kynges daughter that accounted hym as her ſonne. Pray for cōtentation & peace of the ſpirite, and reioyce in ſuch troubles as ſhall happen vnto you for the truthes ſake, for in that part Chriſt ſayth you be happy. Pray alſo for me I pray you, that I may doe in all thynges the will of our heauenly father: to whoſe tuition and defence I commend you.

Gaynes with Gods diſpleaſure is beggary.

Heb. 11.

Math. 5.

¶ To my deare frendes in God M. Iohn Hall and his wife.

The grace of God bee with you, Amen. I thanke you for your louyng and gentle frendſhyp at all tymes, praying God to ſhew vnto you ſuch fauour, that what ſoeuer trouble and aduerſitie happen, ye go not backe from him. Theſe dayes be daungerous and full of perill, but yet let vs comfort our ſelues in callyng to remembraunce the dayes of our forefathers, vpō whō the Lord ſent ſuch troubles that many hundrethes, yea many thouſandes dyed for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt, both men and women, ſuffryng with patiēce and conſtācie aſmuch cruelty as Tyrannes could deuiſe, and ſo departed out this miſerable world to the bliſſe euerlaſtyng, where as now they remaine for euer, lokyng alwayes for the end of this ſinfull world, when they ſhall receiue their bodyes agayne in immortalitie, and ſee the number of the electes aſſociated with thē in full and conſummate ioyes. And as vertuous men ſuffring Martyrdome, & tarying a litle while in this world with paines, by and by reſted in ioyes euerlaſtyng, & as their paynes ended their ſorowes and began eaſe: ſo dyd their conſtācie and ſtedfaſtnes animate and confirme all good people in the truth, and gaue them encouragement and luſt to ſuffer the lyke, rather then to fall with the worlde to conſent vnto wickednes and Idolatry. Wherfore my deare frendes, ſeyng God of hys part, hath illuminated you with the ſame gift & knowledge of true fayth, wherein the Apoſtles, the Euāgeliſtes, and all Martyrs ſuffered moſt cruell death, thanke him for his grace in knowledge, and pray vnto him for ſtrength and perſeuerāce, that through your own faute, you be not aſhamed nor afeard to confeſſe it. Ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell ſhall neuer preuayle agaynſt it, nor Antichriſt with all his Impes proue it to be falſe. They may kill & perſecute, but neuer ouercome. Be of good comfort and feare more God then man. This lyfe is ſhort and miſerable: happy be they that cā ſpend it to the glory of God. Pray for me as I do for you, and commend me to all good mē and women. 22. December. 1554.

Another letter exhorting to ſtand faſt in the truth.

Heb. 11.

Conſolation taken by the example of the auncient Martyrs.

Your brother in Chriſt, Iohn Hoper.

¶ To my dearely beloued Siſter in the Lord Maiſtres Anne Warcop.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thanke you for your louing token. I pray you burden not your ſelfe to much. It were meete for me rather to beare a payne, then to bee a hinderance to many. I did reioyce at the comming of this bearer, to vnderſtand of your conſtācy, & how that you be fully reſolued by Gods grace, rather to ſuffer extremity, then to go frō that truth in God which you haue profeſſed. He that gaue you grace to beginne in ſo infallible a truth, will follow you in the ſame vnto the end. But my louing Siſter, as you be traueling this perillous iourney, take this leſſon with you, practiſed by wiſe men: whereof ye may reade in the ſecōd of Saint Mathewes Goſpell. Such as traueled to fynde Chriſt, followed only the ſtarre, and as long as they ſaw it, they were aſſured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their iourney. But when they entred into Ieruſalem, where as the ſtarre led them not thether but vnto Bethelem, and there aſked the Citizens the thing that the ſtarre ſhewed before: as long as they taried in Hieruſalem and would be inſtructed where Chriſt was borne, they were not only ignoraunt of Bethelem, but alſo loſt the ſight of the ſtarre that lead thē before. Whereof we learne, in any caſe whiles we be going in this life, to ſeeke Chriſt that is aboue, to beware we looſe not the ſtarre of Gods word, that onely is ẏ marke that ſheweth vs where Chriſt is, and which way we may come vnto hym. But as Ieruſalem ſtoode in the way, and was an impediment to theſe wiſe men: ſo doth the Sinagoge of Antichriſt that beareth the name of Ieruſalem, which by interpretatiō is called the viſion of peace, and amongeſt the people now is called the Catholicke Church, ſtand in the way that pilgrimes muſt go by through thys world to Bethelem the houſe of ſaturity and plentifulnes, and is an impediment to all Chriſtian trauellers: yea and except ẏ more grace of God be, will kepe the pilgrimes ſtill in her that they ſhal not come where Chriſt is at all. And to ſtay them in dede, they take away the ſtarre of light which is Gods word that it can not be ſeene: as ye may ſee how the celeſtiall ſtarre was hid from the wiſe men, when they aſked of the Phariſeys at Hieruſalem where Chriſt was borne. Ye may ſee what great daungers happened vnto theſe wiſe men, whiles they were a learning of liers where Chriſt was. Firſt they were out of their way, and next they loſt their guide and conductour, the heauenly ſtarre. Chriſt is mounted from vs into heauen, and there we ſeeke hym (as we ſay): let vs therefore go thetherward by the ſtarre of his word, and beware we happen not to come into Hieruſalem the church of men and aſke for him. If we do, we go out of the way and loſe alſo our conductor and guide that only leadeth vs ſtraight thether.

In other letters written to one Maiſtres Warcop by Maiſter Hooper.

The ſureſt way is euer to follow the ſtarre.

Ieruſalem ſignifieth the viſion of peace.

Bethelem ſignifieth as much as the houſe of bread, or of ſaturitie.

Chriſt is not to be ſought nor aſked for, but only by the ſcriptures.

The Poets write in fables, that Iaſon when he fought with the Dragon in the Ile of Colchis was preſerued by the medicines of Medea, and ſo wan the golden fleeſe. And they write alſo that Titan, whom they fayne to be ſonne and heyre of the high God Iupiter, would needes vpon a day haue the conduction of the Sunne round about the world, but as they ſayne, he miſſed of the accuſtomed courſe: wherupon when he went to high, he burned heauen, and when he went to low, he burned the earth and the water. Theſe prophane hiſtories do ſhame vs yͭ be chriſtian mē. Iaſon agaynſt yͤ poyſon of yͤ dragon, vſed only the medicine of Medea. What a ſhame is it for a Chriſtian man againſt the poyſon of the deuill, hereſy, and ſinne, to vſe any other remedy, then Chriſt and hys word? Titan for lacke of knowledge, was afeard of euery ſigne of the Sodiacke that the Sunne paſſeth by: wherfore he now went to low and now to high, and at length fell down and drowned himſelfe in the ſea. Chriſtian mē for lacke of knowledge, and for feare of ſuch daungers as Chriſtian men muſt nedes paſſe by, go cleane out of order, and at length fall into the pitte of hell.

Example of *Iaſen and Titan.*

Siſter take heede, you ſhal in your iourney towardes heauen, meete with many a monſtrous beaſt: haue ſalue of Gods word therfore ready. You ſhall meete huſband, childrē, louers & frendes, that ſhall if God be not with them (as God be prayſed he is, I would it were withall other a like) be very lettes and impedimentes to your purpoſe. You ſhal meete with ſclaunder and contempt of the world and be accompted vngracious and vngodly: you ſhall heare and meete with cruell tyranny to do you all extremities: you ſhall now and then ſee the troubles of your owne conſcience, and feele your owne weaknes: you ſhall heare that you be curſed by yͤ ſentēce of the Catholicke Church, with ſuch lyke terrours: but pray to God, and folow the ſtarre of his word, and you ſhall arriue at the port of eternall ſaluation by the merites onely of Ieſus Chriſt: to whom I commend you and all yours moſt hartly.

Lettes in the way to the kingdome of heauen.

Yours in Chriſt, Iohn Hoper.

¶ Unto theſe letters of M. Hoper heretofore recited, we thought not inconuenient, to annexe alſo an other certeine Epiſtle, not of M. Hoper, but written to him by a famous learned man Henry Bullinger, chief Superintendēt in the Citie of Zuricke. Of whoſe ſingulare loue and tender affection toward M. Hoper, ye heard before in the begynnyng of M. Hopers lyfe diſcourſed. Now how louyngly he writeth vnto hym, ye ſhall heare by this preſent letter, as foloweth.

¶ To the moſt reuerend father M. Iohn Hooper biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, and now priſoner for
the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, my fellow Elder and
moſt deare brother, in England.

A letter of *M Bullinger* to Maiſter *Hooper* tranſlated out of latin into engliſhe.

THe heauenly father graunt vnto you, and to al thoſe which are in bandes and captiuitye for hys names ſake, grace & peace through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, with wyſdome, patience and fortitude of the holy Ghoſt.

I haue receyued from you two letters (my moſt dere brother): the former in the moneth of September of the yeare paſt, the latter in the moneth of May of thys preſent yeare, both written out of priſon. But I doubtyng leſt I ſhould make aunſwere to you in vayne, whileſt I feared that my letters ſhould neuer come vnto your handes, or els increaſe and double your ſorrow: did refraine from the duty of writing. In the which thyng I doubt not, but you wyll haue me excuſed, eſpecially ſeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole yeare, to aunſwer to my whole libels rather then letters, wheras I continued ſtill notwithſtanding in writing vnto you: as alſo at this preſent, after I heard that you were caſt in priſon, I did not refraine from continuall prayer, beſeching our heauenly father through our onely mediator Ieſus Chriſt, to graunt vnto you and to your fellow priſoners, fayth and conſtancie vnto the ende. Now is that thing happened vnto you (my brother) the which we dyd often tymes prophecie vnto our ſelues, at your being with vs, ſhould come to paſſe, eſpecially when we dyd talke of the power of Antichriſt and of his felicitye and victories. For you know the ſaying of Daniel: *Hys power ſhall be mighty, but not in hys ſtrength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make hauocke of all thinges, and ſhall proſper and practiſe, and he ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holye people after his own wyll.* You know what the Lord warned vs of beforehand by Mathew in the tenth chapter, by Iohn in the 15. chapter, and the. 16. and alſo what that choſen veſſell S.Paule hath written in the ſecond to Timothy and the thyrd chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by Gods grace) of your faith and patience, whileſt you know that thoſe things which you ſuffer are not looked for or come by chaunce, but that you ſuffer them in the beſt, trueſt, & moſt holy quarell: for what can be more true & holy then our doctrine, which the Papiſtes, thoſe worſhippers of Antichriſt do perſecute? All thinges touching ſaluation, we attribute vnto Chriſt alone, and to his holy inſtitutions, as we haue bene taught of him and of his diſciples, but they would haue euē the ſame things to be communicated as well to their Antichriſt and to his inſtitutions. Such we ought no leſſe to withſtand then we read that Helias withſtode the Baalites. For if Ieſus be Chriſt, then let them know that he is the fulnes of hys Church, and that perfectly: but and if Antichriſt be King & Prieſt, then let them exhibite vnto him that honor. How long do they halt on both ſydes? Can they geue vnto vs any one that is better then Chriſt? Or who ſhall bee equall with Chriſt, that maye be compared with him, except it be he whom the Apoſtle calleth the Aduerſarie? But if Chriſt be ſufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and peecing? But I know well enough, I neede not to vſe theſe diſputations with you which are ſincerely taught and haue taken roote in Chriſt, being perſwaded that you haue all thinges in hym, and that we in him are made perfect.

The power of Antichriſt deſcribed in *Daniell chapt.8.*

Math.10.
Iohn.15.16.
2.Tim.2.3.

The doctrine of the Proteſtants what it is, wherefore they are perſecuted.

Ephe.1.

2.Theſ.2.

Chriſt is ſufficient, and nedeth not be patched with the Pope.

Go forwardes therefore conſtantly to confeſſe Chriſt, and to defy Antichriſt, being mindfull of thys moſt holy and moſt true ſaying of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: *He that ouercommeth, ſhall poſſeſſe all thinges, and I wyll be hys God, and he ſhall be my ſonne: but the fearefull, and the vnbeleuing, and the abominable, and the murtherers, and whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolaters, and all lyers, ſhall haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.* The fyrſt death is ſoone ouercome, although a mā muſt burne for the Lordes ſake: for they ſay wel that do affirme this our fyre to be ſcarcely a ſhadow of that which is prepared for the vnbeleuers, and them that fal from the truth. Moreouer the Lord graunteth vnto vs that we may eaſily ouercome by hys power the fyrſt death, the which he him ſelfe dyd taſte and ouercame, promiſyng withal ſuch ioyes as neuer ſhall haue ende, vnſpeakable and paſſing all vnderſtanding, the which we ſhall poſſeſſe ſo ſone as euer we depart hence. For ſo agayne ſayth the Aungell of the Lord: *If any man worſhip the beaſt and his image and receiue his marke in his forehead, or on hys hand, the ſame ſhall drinke of the wrath of God, yea of the wyne which is poured into the cup of hys wrath, and hee ſhall bee tormented in fyre and brymſtone before the holy Angels, and before the Lambe: and the ſmoke of their tormentes ſhall aſcend euermore, and they ſhall haue no reſt day nor night, which worſhip the Beaſt & his image, & whoſoeuer receiueth the print of hys name. Here is the patience of Saintes: here are they that keepe the cōmaundementes of God, and the faith of Ieſus.* To this he addeth by and by: *I heard a voice ſaying to me, write: bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord, from henceforth* (or ſpedely they be bleſſed. Io.5.)*: euen ſo ſayth the ſpirit, for they reſt from their labours, but their workes follow them:* for our labour ſhall not be fruſtrate or in vayne.

Apoc.21.

Apoc.14.

Gods wrath vpon the beaſt and them that take his marke.

Therefore, ſeyng you haue ſuch a large promyſe, be ſtrong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faythfull to the Lord vnto the ende: conſider that Chriſt the Sonne of God is your Captaine, and fighteth for you, and that all the Prophetes, Apoſtels and Martyrs, are your fellow Soldiours. They that perſecute & trouble vs, are men, ſinfull, and mortal, whoſe fauour a wyſe man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and beſides that, our life is fraile, ſhort, brickle, and tranſitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord: who graunt vnto you, and to all your fellow pryſoners faith and conſtancy. Cōmend me to the moſt reuerend fathers and holy Confeſſors of Chriſt, D.Cranmer biſhop of Cāterbury, D.Ridley biſhop of London, & the good old father D.Latimer. Them & all the reſt of the priſoners with you for the Lords cauſe, ſalute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Miniſters, the which doe wiſh vnto you the grace of God, and conſtancy in the truth.

In this time of Antichriſt is the patiēce and faith of Gods children tried, whereby they ſhall ouercome all his tyranny.
Math.24.

Concerning the ſtate of our church, it remayneth euen as it was when you departed from vs into your country. God graunt we may be thankfull to hym, and that we do not onely profeſſe the faith with wordes, but alſo expreſſe the ſame effectually with good workes to the prayſe of our Lord. The word of God increaſeth dayly in that part of Italy that is nere vnto vs, & in Fraunce. In the meane while the godly ſuſteine greuous perſecutions, and with great conſtancy and glory, through tormentes they go vnto the Lord. I and all my houſhold, with my ſonnes in law and kinſmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do all ſalute you, and pray for your conſtancy, being ſorowfull for you and the reſt of the priſoners. There came vnto vs Engliſh men Studentes, both godly and learned: they be receiued of our Maieſtrate. Ten of them dwel together, the reaſt remain here and there with good men. Amongeſt the other Maiſter Thomas Leuer is deare vnto me and familiar. If there bee any thing wherein I may doe any pleaſure to your wife and children, they ſhall haue me wholy at cōmaundement: whereof I will write alſo to your wyſe, for I vnderſtand ſhe abideth at Franckford. Be ſtrong and mery in Chriſt, wayting for his deliueraunce, when & in what ſort it ſhall ſeeme good vnto him. The Lord Jeſus ſhew pity vpō the Realme of England, and illuminate the ſame with his holy ſpirite to the glory of hys name, and the ſaluation of ſoules. The Lord Jeſus preſerue and delyuer you from all euyll, with all them that call vpon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally. The. 10. of October. 1554. From Zurich.

M. Tho. Leuer.

Ephe. 1.

You know the hand. H. B.

The hiſtory of Doctour Rowland Taylour, which ſuffered for the truth of Gods *word, vnder the tyranny of the Romaine byſhop.* 1555. the. 9. day of February.

The towne of Hadley was one of the fyrſt that receiued the woord of God in all England at the preaching of Maiſter Thomas Bilney: by whoſe induſtry the Goſpell of Chriſt had ſuch gracious ſucceſſe, and tooke ſuch roote there, that a great number of that pariſh became exceding well learned in the holy ſcriptures, as wel womē as men: ſo that a man myght haue found among them many that had often read the whole Bible thorow, and that could haue ſayd a great part of S. Paules Epiſtles by hart, and very well and readely haue geuen a godly learned ſentence in any matter of controuerſie. Their children and ſeruauntes were alſo brought vp and trayned ſo diligently in the right knowledge of Gods word, that the whole towne ſeemed rather an Vniuerſitie of the learned, then a towne of Clothmakyng, or laboryng people: and that moſt is to be commended, they were for the more part faithful folowers of Gods word in their liuyng.

Hadley won commended.

Thomas Bilney.

In this towne was Doct. Rouland Taylour Doctour in both the Ciuill and Canon lawes, and a right perfect Diuine, parſon. Who at his firſt entryng into his benefice, did not, as the common ſort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a Farmer, that ſhould gather vp the profites, and ſet in an ignoraunt vnlearned Prieſt to ſerue the Cure, and ſo they may haue the fleece, litle or nothing care for feeding the flocke: but contrarily he forſoke the Archbyſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, with whō he before was in houſehold, and made his perſonall abode and dwellyng in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where he, as a good Shepheard, abidyng and dwellyng among his ſheepe, gaue him ſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of holy Scriptures, moſt faythfully endeuoryng him ſelfe to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gaue vnto Peter, ſaying: *Peter loueſt thou me? Feede my Lambes, Feede my ſheepe, Feede my ſheepe.* This loue of Chriſt ſo wrought in him, that no Sōday nor holy day paſſed, nor other tyme when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their ſaluation.

Doctour Taylour, a Doctour in both lawes, and a diuine.

Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury.

A good ſhepheard and his cōditions.

Iohn. 21.

Fede wyth worde.

Not onely was his word a preachyng vnto thē: but all his life and conuerſation was an example of vnfayned Chriſtian lyfe, and true holynes. He was voyde of all pride, humble and meeke, as any child: ſo that none were ſo poore, but they might boldly, as vnto their father, reſort vnto him. Neyther was hys lowlynes childyſh or fearefull: but as occaſion, time, and place required, he would be ſtout in rebuking the ſinfull, and euyll doers: ſo that none was ſo rich, but he would tell hym playnly his fault, with ſuch earneſt and graue rebukes, as became a good Curate and Paſtor. He was a man very mild, voyde of all rancour, grudge or euyll wyll, ready to do good to all men, readily forgeuing hys enemies, and neuer ſought to doo euyll to any.

Fede with example.

To the poore that were blynde, lame, ſicke, bedred, or that had many children, he was a very father, a carefull patrone, and diligent prouider: in ſo much that he cauſed the Pariſhoners to make a generall prouiſion for them: and he him ſelfe (beſide the continual reliefe that they alway founde at hys houſe) gaue an honeſt portion yearely, to the common almes boxe. Hys wyfe alſo was an honeſt, diſcrete and ſober matrone, and his children well nourtred, brought vp in the feare of God and good learning.

Fede wyth almes.

D. Taylours wife and his children.

To conclude, he was a right and liuely image or pattern of all thoſe vertuous qualities deſcribed by Saint Paule in a true Biſhop, a good ſalt of the earth ſauourly byting the corrupt maners of euyll men, a lyght in Gods houſe ſet vpon a Candleſticke for all good men to imitate and folow.

Thus continued this good Shepheard among hys flocke, gouernyng and leadyng them thorow this wildernes of the wicked world, al the dayes of the moſt innocent and holy kyng of bleſſed memory, Edward the vj. But after it pleaſed God to take kyng Edward frō this vale of miſery vnto his moſt bleſſed reſt, the Papiſtes, who euer ſembled and diſſembled, both with kyng Henry the eight and kyng Edward his ſonne, now ſeyng the tyme conuenient for their purpoſe, vttered their falſe hypocriſie, openly refuſing all good reformation made by the ſayd two moſt godly kynges, and cōtrary to that they had all theſe two kynges dayes preached, taught, written, and ſworne, they violently ouerthrew the true doctrine of the Goſpell, and perſecuted with ſword and fire, all thoſe that would not agree to receiue agayne the Romaine Byſhop as ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church, and allow all the errors, ſuperſtitiōs, and idolatries, that before by Gods word were diſproued and iuſtly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true Religion.

The Papiſtes and their naturall workes.

In the begynnyng of this rage of Antichriſt, a certaine Petigentilman after the ſorte of a Lawyer, called Foſter, beyng Steward and keeper of Courtes, a man of no great ſkill, but a bitter perſecutour in thoſe dayes, with one Iohn Clerke of Hadley, which Clerke had euer bene a ſecrete fauourer of all Romiſhe Idolatrie, conſpired with the ſayd Clerke to bring in the Pope and his maumentrie againe into Hadley Church. For as yet Doct. Taylour, as a good ſhepeheard, had retayned and kept in his Church, the godly Churchſeruice and reformation made by kyng Edward, and moſt faythfully and earneſtly preached agaynſt the Popiſhe corruptions, which had infected the whole Countrey round about.

Foſter a lawyer, and Iohn Clerke of Hadley, two notorious Papiſtes.

Therfore the aforeſayd Foſter and Clerke hyred one Iohn Auerth, Perſon of Aldam, a very money Mammoniſt, a blind leader of the blynd, a Popiſh Idolatour, and an open Aduouterer and whoremonger, a very fitte Miniſter for their purpoſe, to come to Hadley and there to geue the onſet to begyn agayne the Popiſhe Maſſe. To this purpoſe they builded vp with all haſt poſſible the Altar, entendyng to bryng in their Maſſe agayne, about the Palme Monday. But this their deuiſe toke none effect: for in the night the Altar was beaten downe. Wherfore they built it vp agayne the ſecond tyme, and layd diligēt watch, leſt any ſhould agayne breake it downe. On the day folowyng came Foſter and Iohn Clerke, bryngyng with them their Popiſh Sacrificer, who brought with him al his implementes and garmentes, to play his Popiſh Pageaunt, whom they and their men garded with ſwordes and bucklers leſt any man ſhould diſturbe hym in his Miſſall Sacrifice.

Iohn Auerth a right popiſh prieſt.

Marke how vnwillingly the people were to receaue the papacy agayne.

When Doct. Taylour, who (accordyng to his cuſtome) ſat at his booke ſtudying the word of God, heard the bels ryng, he aroſe and went into the Church, ſuppoſing ſomething had bene there to be done, according

D. Taylours cuſtome to ſtudy.

Maſſe brought into Hadley with ſwordes and bucklers.

to his Paſtorall office: and comming to the Church, he found the Church doores ſhut and faſt barred, ſauyng the Chauncell doore, which was onely latched: Where he entryng in, and commyng into the Chauncell, ſaw a Popiſhe Sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new ſhauen crowne, ready to begyn his Popiſh Sacrifice, beſet roũd about with drawen ſwordes and bucklers, leſt any man ſhould approch to diſturbe hym. Thẽ ſayd D. Taylour: Thou Deuill, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this Church of Chriſt, to prophane and defile it with this abominable Idolatrie? With that ſtart vp Foſter, and with an irefull & furious countenance, ſayd to Doct. Taylour: thou traitour, what doeſt thou here, to let and diſturbe the Queenes procedinges? D. Taylour aunſwered: I am no traitour, but I am the Shepheard that God & my Lord Chriſt hath appoynted to feede this his flocke: wherfore I haue good authoritie to be here: and I commaund thee, thou Popiſh Wolfe, in the name of God to auoyd hence, and not to preſume here with ſuch Popiſhe Idolatry, to poyſon Chriſtes flocke.

D. Taylour rebuked the Deuill.

The papiſtes call all their trumpery the Queenes procedinges. For you muſt remember that Antichriſt rayneth by an others arme, & not by his own power. Reade Daniell, of the king of faces the 8. chapter.

Then ſayd Foſter: wilt thou traytourly heretike make a commotion, and reſiſt violently the Queenes procedynges?

D. Taylour aunſwered: I make no commotion, but it is you Papiſtes that maketh commotions and tumultes. I reſiſt onely with Gods word, agaynſt your Popiſh Idolatries, which are agaynſt Gods word, the Queenes honour, and tend to the vtter ſubuerſion of this Realme of Englãd. And further thou doeſt againſt the Canon law, which commaundeth that no Maſſe be ſayd, but at a conſecrate Aultar.

D. Taylour here playeth a ryght *Elias. 3. Reg. 18.*

When the perſon of Aldam heard that, he began to ſhrincke backe, & would haue left his ſaying of Maſſe. Then ſtart vp Iohn Clerke, and ſayd: M. Auerth, be not afrayd, ye haue a * Superaltare. Goe forth with your buſines man.

The Papiſt is afraid to breake a popiſhe lawe.

*Superaltare is a ſtone cõſecrated by the Biſhops, commonly of a foote long, which the Papiſtes cary in ſtead of an aulter, when they maſſe for mony in gentlemens houſes.

Then Foſter with his armed men, tooke D. Taylour, and led him with ſtrong hand out of the Church, and the Popiſh Prelate proceded in his Romiſh Idolatry. D. Taylours wife, who folowed her huſband into the Church, whẽ ſhe ſaw her huſband thus violently thruſt out of his Church: ſhe kneeled downe, and held vp her handes, and with loude voyce ſayd: I beſech God the righteous Iudge to auenge this iniury, that this Popiſh Idolatour this day doth to the bloud of Chriſt. Thẽ they thruſt her out of the Church alſo, and ſhut to the doores: for they feared that the people would haue rent their Sacrificer in peeces. Notwithſtandyng, one or two threw in great ſtones at the wyndowes, and miſſed very litle the Popiſh Maſſer.

Thus you ſee how without conſent of the people, the Popiſh Maſſe was agayne ſet vp, with battayle aray, with ſwordes and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practiſe the Papiſtes haue euer yet vſed. As for reaſon, law, or Scripture, they haue none on their part. Therfore they are the ſame that ſayth: *The law of vnrighteouſnes is our ſtrength: Come let vs oppreſſe the righteous without any feare. &c.*

The Papiſtes argumentes wherewith they maintaine their doctrine.

Sap. 2.

Within a day or two after, with all haſt poſſible, this Foſter & Clerke made a complaynt of D. Taylour, by a letter written to Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellour.

D. Taylour complayned of to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

When the Biſhop heard this, he ſent a letter miſſiue to D. Taylour, commaunding him wythin certayn dayes, to come and to appeare before hym vpon hys allegiaunce, to aunſwere ſuch complayntes as were made agaynſt hym.

D. Taylour cited by a letter miſſiue.

When D. Taylours friends heard of this, they were exceedyng ſory and agreeued in mind: which then foreſeing to what end the ſame matter would come, ſeeyng alſo all truth and iuſtice were troden vnder foote, and falſehoode wyth cruell Tyranny were ſet aloft and ruled all the whole rout: hys friendes I ſay came to him, and earneſtly counſelled hym to depart and flye, alleadgyng and declaryng vnto hym, that he could neyther be indifferently heard to ſpeake his cõſcience and mind, nor yet looke for iuſtice or fauour at the ſayd Chauncellours handes, who as it was well knowen, was moſt fierce and cruel: but muſt needes (if he went vp to him) waite for impriſonment and cruell death at hys handes.

D. Taylours frendes would haue him flye.

Then ſayd D. Taylour to hys friendes: Deare friendes, I moſt hartely thanke you, for that ye haue ſo tẽder a care ouer me. And although I know, that there is neither iuſtice nor truth to be looked for at my aduerſaries handes, but rather impriſonment and cruell death: yet know I my cauſe to bee ſo good and ryghteous, and the truth ſo ſtrong vpon my ſyde, that I will by Gods grace go and apeare before them and to their beardes reſiſt their falſe doinges.

The valiant courage of Doctour *Taylour* in Chriſtes cauſe.

Thẽ ſayd his frendes: M. Doctour, we thinke it not beſt ſo to do. You haue ſufficiently done your duty, and teſtified the truth, both by your godly Sermons, and alſo in reſiſting the Perſon of Aldam, wyth other that came hyther to bryng in agayne the popyſh Maſſe. And for as much as our Sauiour Chriſt wylleth & biddeth vs, that when they perſecute vs in one City, we ſhould flie into an other: we thinke in flying at this tyme ye ſhould do beſt, keeping your ſelfe agaynſt an other time when the Church ſhal haue great neede of ſuch diligent teachers, and godly Paſtours.

Math. 10.

Oh (quoth Doct. Taylour) what will ye haue me to do? I am now old, and haue already liued to long to ſee theſe terrible and moſt wicked dayes. Flye you, and do as your conſcience leadeth you. I am fully determined (with Gods grace) to goe to the Biſhop, and to hys beard to tell hym that hee doth nought. God ſhall well hereafter rayſe vp teachers of hys people, which ſhall with much more diligence and fruit teach them, then I haue done. For God wyll not forſake hys church, though now for a time he tryeth and correcteth vs, and not without a iuſt cauſe.

Doctour *Taylour* refuſeth to flye.

As for me, I beleue before God, I ſhall neuer bee able to doe God ſo good ſeruice, as I may do now: nor I ſhall neuer haue ſo glorious a calling as I now haue, nor ſo great mercy of God profered me, as is now at thys preſent. For what Chriſten man would not gladly dye againſt the Pope and hys adherentes? I know that the Papacy is the kingdome of Antichriſt, altogether full of lyes, altogether full of falſehood: ſo that all their doctrine, euen from Chriſtes Croſſe be my ſpeede and S. Nicholas, vnto the end of their Apocalyps, is nothing but Idolatry, ſuperſtition, errours, hipocriſie, and lyes.

The Papacy a kingdome of lyes.

Wherefore I beſech you, and all other my friendes, to pray for me, and I doubt not, but God wyll geue me ſtrength and his holy ſpirite, that all myne aduerſaries ſhall haue ſhame of their doinges.

When his friendes ſaw him ſo conſtant, and fully determined to goe, they with weeping eyes commẽded hym vnto God: and he within a day or two prepared him ſelfe to his iourney, leauing his cure with a godly old Prieſt, named Syr Rychard Yeoman, who afterward for Gods truth was burnt at Norwich.

Syr Rich. Yeoman Doctour *Taylours* Curate, & Martyr of Chriſt.

There was alſo in Hadley one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who (after Syr Richard Yeoman was driuen away) vſed dayly to reade a chapter, and to ſay the Engliſh Letany in Hadley Church. But hym they ſet vp to London, and caſt hym in priſon in Newgate: where after a yeare impryſonment, he dyed.

Iohn Alcocke of Hadley troubled for Gods truth, and dyed in priſon.

But let vs returne to Doctor Taylour agayne, who being accompanied with a ſeruaunt of his own, named Iohn Hull, tooke hys iourney towardes London. By the way this Iohn Hull laboured to counſell and perſwade him very earneſtly to flye, and not to come to the biſhop, & profered him ſelfe to go with him to ſerue him, & in al perils to venter his life for him, & with him.

Doctour *Taylours* iourney.

Iohn Hull a faithfull ſeruaunt to Doctour *Taylour.*

But in no wyſe would D. Taylour conſent or agree thereunto, but ſaid: Oh Iohn, ſhal I geue place to this thy counſel and worldly perſwaſion, and leaue my flock in this daunger? Remẽber the good ſhepheard Chriſt, which not alonely fed his flocke, but alſo dyed for hys flocke. Hym muſt I follow, & with Gods grace wil do.

Doctour Taylour agayne aduiſed to flye, but he refuſed ſo to do.

Therefore good Iohn pray for me: and if thou ſeeſt me weake at any time, comfort me, and diſcourage me not in this my godly enterpriſe and purpoſe. Thus they came vp to London, and ſhortly after Doctour Taylour preſented him ſelfe to the biſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, then L. Chaũcelor of England.

The firſt meting betwene Wincheſt. and D. Taylour.

For this hath bene one great abuſe in Englãd theſe many yeares, that ſuch offices as haue bene of moſt importance and waight, haue commonly bene committed to Biſhops and other ſpirituall men, whereby three deuiliſh miſchiefes and incõueniences haue happened in this Realme, to the great diſhonor of God, and vtter neglecting of the flocke of Chriſt: the which. 3. be theſe.

A great abuſe in England, and 3. miſchiefes comming thereof.

Firſt they haue had ſmall leyſure to attend to theyr paſtoral cures, which therby haue ben vtterly neglected and left vndone.

The firſt miſchiefe.

Secondly, it hath alſo puft vp many Biſhops and other ſpirituall perſons into ſuch hautines and pryde, that they haue thought no noble man in the Realme worthy to be their equall and fellow.

The ſecõd miſchiefe.

Thirdly, where they by this meanes knew the very ſecrets of Princes, they being in ſuch high offices, haue cauſed the ſame to be knowẽ in Rome, afore the kings could accompliſh and bring their ententes to paſſe in England. By this meanes hath the Papacy bene ſo maintayned, and thinges ordered after their wyls and pleaſures, that much miſchiefe hath happened in thys Realme and others, ſomtime to the deſtruction of Princes, and ſometyme to the vtter vndoing of many common wealthes.

The thyrd miſchief.

Now when Gardiner ſaw D. Taylour, he according to his common cuſtome all to reuiled hym, calling him knaue, Traytor, hereticke, with many other villanous reproches: which al D. Taylour heard patiently, and at the laſt ſayd vnto him:

Byſhop Gardiner the biſhop Caiphas.

Doctour Taylours patience & magnanimity.

My Lord (quoth he) I am neither Traytour, nor hereticke, but a true ſubiect, and a faythull Chriſtian man, and am come according to your commaundemẽt, to know what is the cauſe that your Lordſhyp hath ſent for me.

Then ſayd the Biſhop: art thou come, thou villain? How dareſt thou looke me in the face for ſhame? Knoweſt thou not who I am?

Yes (quoth D. Taylour) I know who ye are. Ye are D. Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellor, and yet but a mortall man I trow. But if I ſhould be afrayd of your Lordly lookes, why feare you not God, the Lord of all? How dare ye for ſhame looke any Chriſtiã mã in the face, ſeyng ye haue forſaken the truth, denyed our Sauiour Chriſt & hys word, and done cõtrary to your own oth and writing? With what countenaunce wyll ye appeare before the iudgement ſeate of Chriſt, and aunſwer to your oth made, fyrſt vnto king Henry. VIII. of famous memory, and afterward vnto that bleſſed kyng Edward the ſixt hys Sonne?

Steuen Gardiners Lordly lookes.

The notable aunſwere of D. Taylour to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

The biſhop aunſwered: Tuſh, tuſh, that was Herodes oth, vnlawfull, and therefore worthy to be broken. I haue done well in breaking it: and (I thanke God) I am come home agayne to our mother the Catholick church of Rome, & ſo I would thou ſhauldeſt do.

Herodes oth.

Here the Byſhoppes confeſſeth vnlawfull othes ought not to be kept.

D. Taylour aunſwered: Shoulde I forſake the Church of Chriſt, which is founded vpon the true foũdation of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, to approue thoſe lies, errours, ſuperſtitions and Idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day ſo blaſphemouſly do approue? Nay God forbyd.

Let the Pope and his returne to our Sauior Chriſt and hys word, and thruſt out of the churches ſuch abominable Idolatries as he mayntaineth, and then wyll Chriſten men turne vnto hym. You wrote truely agaynſt him, and were ſworne againſt him.

The true church of Chriſt [illegible]

I tell thee (quoth the biſhop of Wincheſter) it was Herodes oth, vnlawfull, and therefore ought to be broken and not kept, and our holy father the Pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Then ſaid D. Taylour; but you ſhall not ſo be diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtles will require it at your handes, as a lawfull oth made to your liege and ſoueraigne Lord the king, frõ whoſe obedience no mã can aſſoyle you, neyther the Pope nor none of hys.

Chriſt will require lawfull othes and promiſes.

I ſee (quoth the biſhop) thou art an arrogant knaue and a very foole.

Gardiner falleth agayne to his rayling.

My Lord (quoth D. Taylour) leaue your vnſeemely rayling at me, which is not ſeemely for ſuch a one in authoritye as you are. For I am a Chriſtian man, and you know that, *He that ſayth to his brother* Racha, *is in daunger of a Councell: and he that ſayth thou foole, is in daunger of hell fyre.*

Rayling wordes become not a magiſtrate.

Math. 5.

The Byſhop aunſwered: ye are all falſe, and lyars all the ſort of you. Nay (quoth D. Taylour) we are true men, and know that it is written: Os quod mentitur, occidit animam: And agayne, Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciũ. i. *The mouth that lyeth, ſleyeth the ſoule.* And agayne: *Lord God thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeake lyes.* And therfore we abyde by the truth of Gods word which ye contrary to your owne conſcience, deny and forſake.

Thou art maryed (quoth the Byſhop). Yea (quoth D. Taylour) that I thanke God I am, and haue had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony: and bleſſed be God that ordained matrimony, and commaunded that euery man that hath not the gift of continencie, ſhould mary a wife of his owne, and not liue in adultery, or whoredome.

Mariage obiected to Doct. Taylour.

Mariage defended.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: Thou haſt reſiſted the Queenes procedinges, and wouldeſt not ſuffer the perſon of Aldam, a very vertuous and deuout Prieſt, to ſay Maſſe in Hadley. Doct. Taylour aunſwered: My Lord, I am Parſon of Hadley, & it is againſt all right, conſcience, and lawes, that any man ſhall come into my charge and preſume to infect the flocke cõmitted vnto me, with venome of the Popiſh Idolatrous Maſſe.

One idolater holdeth with an other.

The Maſſe.

With that the Byſhop waxed very angry, and ſayd: Thou art a blaſphemous hereticke in deede, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed Sacramẽt (and put of his cap) and ſpeakeſt agaynſt the holy Maſſe, which is made a Sacrifice for yͤ quicke & the dead. D. Taylour aunſwered: Nay, I blaſpheme not the bleſſed Sacrament which Chriſt inſtituted, but I reuerence it as a true Chriſtian ought to do, and confeſſe that Chriſt ordained the holy Communion in the remembraunce of his death and paſſion: which when we keepe accordyng to his ordinaunce, we, through faith eate the body of Chriſt, and drinke his bloud, geuing thankes for our redemption: and this is our Sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, to geue God thankes for his mercifull goodnes ſhewed to vs, in that he gaue hys ſonne Chriſt vnto the death for vs.

The communion.

The true ſacrifice for the quicke and dead, what it is.

Thou ſayeſt well (quoth the Byſhop). It is all that thou haſt ſayd, and more to: for it is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quicke and the dead. Then aunſwered Doct. Taylour: Chriſt gaue him ſelfe to dye for our redemption vpon the Croſſe, whoſe body there, offered was the propitiatory Sacrifice, full, perfect, and ſufficient vnto ſaluatiõ, for all them that beleue in him. And this Sacrifice did our Sauiour Chriſt offer in his own perſon him ſelfe once for all, neither cã any Prieſt any more offer him, nor we neede no more propitiatory Sacrifice: and therfore I ſay with Chryſoſtome and all the Doctours: Our Sacrifice is onely memoratiue, in the remẽbraunce of Chriſtes death and Paſſion, a Sacrifice of thankes geuing, and therfore the Fathers called it Euchariſtia: & other Sacrifice hath the Church of God none.

Propiatory ſacrifice offered neuer more then once.

Our ſacrifice now is onely memoratiue.

It is true (quoth the Biſhop) the Sacrament is called Eu-led Euchariſtia, *A thankes geuyng*, becauſe we there geue thankes for our redemption: and it is alſo a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead: which thou ſhalt confeſſe ere thou and I haue done. Then called the Byſhop his men, & ſayd: haue this felow hence, and cary him to the Kinges Bench, and charge the keeper he be ſtraitly kept.

Winchesters ſtrong argument: cary him to priſon.

D. Taylours prayer againſt the Pope, and his deteſtable enormities.

Then kneeled D. Taylour downe and held vp both his handes and ſayd: Good Lord, I thanke thee: & from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable errours, Idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliuer vs: and God be praiſed for good kyng Edward. So they caried hym to priſon to the kynges Bench, where he lay priſoner almoſt two yeare.

This is the ſumme of that firſt talke, as I ſaw it mentioned in a letter that Doct. Taylour wrote to a frend of his, thankyng God for his grace, that he had confeſſed his truth, and was founde worthy for his truth to ſuffer priſon and bandes, beſechyng hys frendes to pray for him, that he might perſeuer conſtant vnto the end.

The godly behauiour and conuerſation of D. Taylour in the priſon.

Beyng in priſon, D. Taylour ſpent all his tyme in prayer, readyng the holy Scriptures, and writyng, and preachyng, and exhortyng the priſoners and ſuch as reſorted to him, to repentaunce and amendement of life. Within a fewe dayes after, were diuerſe other learned & godly men in ſondry countreys of England cōmitted to priſon for Religion, ſo that almoſt all the priſons in England were become right Chriſtian Scholes and Churches, ſo that there was no greater comfort for Chriſtian hartes, then to come to the priſons, to behold their vertuous conuerſation, and to heare theyr prayers, preachynges, moſt godly exhortatiōs, and conſolations.

Priſons turned into Churches, and churches into dens of theeues.

Now were placed in Churches, blind and ignoraunt Maſſemongers, with their Latine bablyngs and apyſh ceremonies: who lyke cruell Wolues ſpared not to murther all ſuch, as any thyng at all, but once whiſpered agaynſt their Popery. As for all ẏ Godly preachers which were in kyng Edwardes tyme, they were either fled the Realme, or els, as the Prophetes did in kyng Achabs dayes, they were priuily kept in corners. As for as many as ẏ Papiſtes could lay hold on, they were ſent into priſon, there as Lābes waityng whē the butchers would call them to the ſlaughter.

The lamentable diſtreſſe of Gods true worſhippers in thoſe dayes.

When D. Taylour was come into priſon called the Kynges Bench, he found therin the vertuous and vigilant preacher of Gods word, M. Bradford: which man for his innocent and godly lyuing, his deuout, and vertuous preachyng, was worthily counted a miracle of our tyme, as euē his aduerſaries muſt neede confeſſe. Findyng this man in priſon, he began to exhort him to faith, ſtrength, and patience, and to perſeuer conſtant vnto the end. M. Bradford hearyng this, thanked God that had prouided him ſuch a comfortable priſonfelow: and ſo they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, readyng, and exhortyng one the other: In ſo much that D. Taylour told his frendes that came to viſite him, that God had moſt graciouſly prouided for him, to ſend him to that priſon where he found ſuch an Angell of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

***Ioh. Bradford* and Doctour *Taylour* priſonfelowes in the Kinges Bench.**

D. Taylour brought forth to be depriued.

After that D. Taylour had lyen in priſon a while, he was cited to appeare in the Arches at Bow Church to aunſwere vnto ſuch matter, as there ſhould be obiected agaynſt him. At the day appointed, he was led thether, his keeper waytyng vpon him. Where, when he came, he ſtoutly and ſtrongly defended his mariage, affirmyng by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctours of the primatiue Church, by both Lawes Ciuill and Canon, that it is lawfull for Prieſtes to mary, & that ſuch as haue not the gift of continencie, are bound in payne of damnation to mary. This did he ſo playnly proue, that ẏ Iudge could geue no ſentence of diuorce agaynſt him, but gaue ſentence he ſhould be depriued of his benefice becauſe he was maried.

***D. Taylour* defendeth mariage of Prieſtes.**

You do me wrong then (quoth D. Taylour) and alledged many lawes and conſtitutions for him ſelf: but all preuailed not. For he was again caried into priſon, and his liuinges taken away, and geuen to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was geuen or ſolde, I wote not whether, to one M. Newealle, whoſe great vertues were altogether vnlike to Doct. Taylour his predeceſſour, as the poore pariſhioners full well haue proued.

Doctour Taylour brought agayne before Wincheſter, and other Byſhops.

After a yeare and three quarters, or therabout, in the which tyme the Papiſtes got certaine olde tyrannous lawes, which were put downe by king Henry the viij. and by kyng Edward, to be agayne reuiued by Parlament: ſo that now they might Ex officio cyte whom they would, vpō their owne ſuſpicion, & charge hym with what Articles they luſted, and except they in all thinges agreed to their purpoſe, burne them: when theſe lawes were once ſtabliſhed, they ſent for Doct. Taylour with certaine other priſoners, which were agayne conuented before the Chauncellour and other Cōmiſſioners about the 22. of January. The purpoſe and effecte of which talke betwene them, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed by hym ſelfe in hys owne letter written to a frend of his, I haue annexed the ſayd letter here vnder as foloweth.

A Letter of Doctour Taylour, contaynyng and reportyng the talke had betwene him and the Lord Chauncelour and other Commiſſioners the 22. of Ianuary.

Whereas you would haue me to write the talke betwene the king and Queenes moſt honourable Counſell and me on Tueſday, the xxij. of January, ſo farre as I remember: Firſt my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: You, among other are at this preſent time ſent for, to enioy the Kinges and Queenes maieſties fauour and mercy, if you will now riſe agayne with vs frō the fall which we generally haue receaued in this Realme, from the which (God be prayſed) we are now clearely deliuered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe with vs now, and receaue mercy now offered, you ſhall haue iudgement according to your demerites. To this I aunſwered: that ſo to ryſe, ſhould be the greateſt fall that euer I could receiue: for I ſhoulde ſo fall from my deare Sauiour Chriſt, to Antichriſt.

For I do beleue that the Religiō ſet forth in king Edwardes daies, was according to the veine of ẏ holy ſcripture, which contayneth fully all the rules of our Chriſtian Religion, from the which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I lyue, by Gods grace.

Then Maiſter Secretary Bourne ſayd: which of the Religions meane ye of in king Edwardes daies? For ye know there were diuers bookes of Religion ſet forth in his daies. There was a Religion ſet forth in a Cathechiſme by my Lord of Canterbury. Do you meane that you wyll ſticke to that?

I aunſwered: My Lord of Canterbury made a Cathechiſme to be tranſlated into Engliſhe, which booke was not of his own making: yet he ſet it forth in hys own name, and truly that booke for the tyme did much good. But there was after that ſet forth by the moſt innocent King Edward (for whom God bee prayſed euerlaſtingly) the whole churchſeruice, with great deliberation and the aduiſe of the beſt learned men of the Realme, and authoriſed by the whole Parlament, and receiued and publiſhed gladly by the whole Realme: which booke was neuer reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was ſo fully perfited, according to the rules of our Chriſtian religion in euery behalfe, that no Chriſtian conſcience could be offended wyth any thing therin cōtained: I meane of that booke reformed.

Then my L. Chauncellour ſayd: Diddeſt thou neuer read the booke that I ſet forth of the ſacrament?

I aunſwered that I had read it.

Then he ſayd: How likeſt thou that booke? with that one of the Counſell (whoſe name I knowe not) ſayd: My Lord, that is a good queſtion: for I am ſure, that booke ſtoppeth all their mouthes. Then ſayd I: My Lorde, I thinke many thinges bee farre wyde from the truth of Gods word in that booke.

Then my Lord ſayd: thou art a very verlet. To that I aunſwered: that is as yl as Racha or Fatue. Then my Lord ſayd: thou art an ignoraunt beetill brow.

Doctor Taylour learned in Diuinitie, & alſo in the ciuile lawe.

To that I aunſwered: I haue read ouer and ouer agayne the holy ſcriptures, and S. Auguſtines workes thorough, S. Cyprian, Euſebius, Origene, Gregory Nazianzen, with diuers other bookes through once: therefore I thanke God I am not vtterly ignorant. Beſydes theſe, my Lord, I profeſſed the Ciuil lawes, as your Lordſhip dyd, and I haue read ouer the Canon law alſo.

Gardiners booke De vera obedientia.

Then my Lord ſayd: with a corrupt iudgement thou readeſt all thinges. Touching my profeſſion it is Diuinitie, in which I haue written diuers bookes. Then I ſayd: my Lord ye did write one booke De vera obedientia: I would you had bene conſtant in that: For in dede you neuer did declare a good conſcience, that I heard of, but in that one booke.

Then my Lord ſaid: tut, tut, tut, I wrote againſt Bucer in Prieſtes mariages: but ſuch bookes pleaſe not ſuch wretches as thou art, which haſt ben maryed many yeares.

Prieſtes mariage confirmed by Doctor Taylour.

To that I aunſwered: I am maried in deede, and I haue had nine children in holy Matrimony, I thanke God: and this I am ſure of, that your procedinges now at this preſent in this realme agaynſt Prieſts mariages is ẏ mayntenaunce of the doctrine of deuils, agaynſt naturall law, Ciuill law, Canon law, generall Councels, Canōs of the Apoſtels, aūcient doctors, & Gods lawes.

Tonſtall Biſhop of Dureſme agaynſt Prieſtes mariage.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme, ſaying: You haue profeſſed the Ciuill law, as you ſay. Then you know that Iuſtinian writeth, that Prieſts ſhould at theyr taking of Orders ſweare, that they were neuer maryed: and he bringeth in to proue that, Canones Apoſtolorum.

Iuſtinians law approueth maryage, & condemneth othes made againſt it.

Tonſtall thoroughly anſwered by the Ciuile law.

To that I aunſwered: that I did not remember any ſuch law of Iuſtinian. But I am ſure that Iuſtinian writeth in Titulo de indicta viduitate, in Cod. that if one would bequeath to hys wyfe in hys teſtament a legacy, vnder a condition that ſhe ſhould neuer mary agayne, and take an oth of her for the accompliſhing of the ſame, yet ſhe may mary agayne if he dye, notwithſtanding the aforeſayd condition and oth taken and made agaynſt mariage: and an oth is an other maner of obligation made to God, then is a papiſticall vow made to man. Moreouer in the Pandects it is contayned, that if a man doth manumit hys handmayd vnder a condition, that ſhe ſhall neuer marry: yet ſhe may mary, and her Patrone ſhall looſe ius patronatus, for his adding of the vnnaturall and vnlawfull condition againſt matrimony.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: thou ſayeſt that Prieſtes may bee maryed by Gods law. How proueſt thou that?

[illegible]

I aunſwered: by the playne wordes and ſentences of S. Paule, both to Timothe, and to Titus, where he ſpeaketh moſt euidently of the mariage of Prieſtes, Deacons, and Biſhops. And Chryſoſtome, writing vpon the Epiſtle to Timothy, ſaith: It is an hereſy to ſay that a Biſhop may not be maryed.

[illegible]

Then ſayd my Lord Chauncellour: thou lyeſt of Chryſoſtome. But thou doeſt, as all thy companions do, bely euer without all ſhame, both the Scriptures & the Doctours. Diddeſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the Canon law Prieſtes may be maried? which is moſt vntrue: and the contrary is moſt true.

I aunſwered: we read in the decrees, that the foure generall Councelles, Nicene, Conſtantinopolitane, Epheſine, and Calcedone, haue the ſame authority that ẏ foure Euangeliſtes haue. And we read in the ſame decrees (which is one of the chiefe bookes of the Canon law,) that the Councell of Nicene, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, did allow Prieſtes and Biſhoppes mariages. Therefore by the beſt part of the Canon law, Prieſtes, may be maried.

[illegible]

Winchester belyeth the Councell.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſaid: thou falſifieſt the generall Councell. For there is expreſſe mention in the ſayd Decree, that Prieſtes ſhould be diuorced from their wiues, which be maried.

Then ſaid I: if thoſe wordes be there, as you ſay, then am I content to loſe this great head of myne. Let the booke be fetched.

[illegible]

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme: Though they be not there, yet they may be in Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, which Euſebius wrote, out of which boke the Decree was takē.

To that ſayd I: it is not like that the Pope would leaue out any ſuch ſentence, hauing ſuch authority, and making ſo much for his purpoſe.

Then my Lord Chaũcellour ſayd: Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to ſnatch vp ſuch a patch as maketh for thy purpoſe. I aunſwered: my Lord, I can not but meruayle that you do call one of the chiefe Papiſtes that euer was, but a patcher.

Gardiner denieth his own Canoniſt, and calleth it a patched law.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: Nay I call thee a ſnatcher and a patcher. To make an end: wilt thou not returne agayne with vs to the Catholike Church? and with that he roſe.

And I ſayd: By Gods grace I will neuer depart frō Chriſtes Church. Then I required that I might haue ſome of my frends to come to me in priſon: and my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: thou ſhalt haue iudgement within this weeke: and ſo I was deliuered agayne vnto my keper. My Lord of Dureſme would that I ſhould beleue as my father and my mother. I alleadged Saint Auguſtine: that we ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

D. Taylour ſent agayne to priſon.

And thus much was contayned in the forſayd letter of D. Taylour for that matter.

Beſides this letter moreouer he directed an other writing in like maner to an other frend of hys concerning the cauſes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewyſe here to expreſſe as followeth.

¶ The copie of an other letter to his frend, touching his aſſertions of the Mariage of Prieſtes. and other cauſes for the which hee was condemned.

It is hereſie to defend any doctrine agaynſt the holy Scripture. Therfore the Lord Chaũcellour and Byſhops conſentyng to his ſentence agaynſt me, be heretickes. For they haue geuen ſentence agaynſt the Mariage of Prieſtes, knowyng that S. Paul to Timothe and Titus writeth playnly, that Biſhops, Prieſtes, and Deacons may be maried: knowyng alſo that by S. Paules doctrine, it is the doctrine of the Deuils to inhibite Matrimony. And S. Paul wylleth euery faithfull Miniſter to teach the people ſo, leſt they be deceaued by the marked Marchauntes. i. Timothe. iiij.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter and his felowes, proued to be open heretickes by ſcripture and by the true definition of hereſy.

1. Tim. 4.

Theſe Biſhops are not ignoraunt, that it is not onely S. Paules counſell, and lawfull, but Gods cōmaundement alſo to mary, for ſuch as cannot otherwiſe lyue chaſte, neither auoyde fornication.

Biſhops ſinne agaynſt their own conſcience and that for 9. or 10. cauſes.

They know that ſuch as do mary, do not ſinne.

1. Cor. 7.

They know that God, before ſynne was, ordeyned Matrimony, and that in Paradiſe, betwene two of hys principall creatures, man, and woman.

Gene. 2.

They know what ſpirite they haue, which ſay it is euill to mary (ſeyng God ſayd: it is not good for man to be alone without a wife) hauyng no ſpeciall gift contrary to the generall commaundement and ordinaunce, diuers tymes repeated in the booke of Geneſis, which is to encreaſe and multiply.

Gene. 2.

Gene. 1.

They know that Abraham caried into the land of Chanaan his old and yet barraine wiſe the vertuous woman Sara with him, leauyng father, and mother and countrey otherwiſe at Gods commaundement. For though father and mother, and other frendes are deare and neare, yet none are ſo dearely nor nearely ioyned together, as man and wife in Matrimony, which muſt nedes bee holy, for that it is a figure and ſimilitude of Chriſt and hys Churche.

Gene. 12.

Mariage is no impedimēt for a good man to walke in the obedience of Gods commaundement.

They know that S. Paul geueth a great prayſe to Matrimonie, callyng it honourable, and that not onely to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, who ſoeuer haue nede of that Gods remedy, for mans and womans infirmitie.

Ephe. 5.

Hebru. 13.

They know that if there were any ſinne in Matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to bee in the bedcompany. But Saint Paule ſayth: that the bedcompany is vndefiled.

They know that the hauyng of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, Iacob, Dauid. &c. to talke with God, neither to the Leuites, Byſhops, and Prieſts office in the tyme of ẏ old Teſtament or ẏ New.

Gene. 18.

Exod. 18.

Gene. 25.

Gene. 31.

2. Reg. 7.

They know that Chriſt would not be conceaued, or borne of his bleſſed mother the virgine Mary, before ſhe was eſpouſed in Mariage, his owne ordinaunce.

Math. 1.

They know by S. Cyprian, and Saint Auguſtine, that a vow is not an impediment ſufficient to let Matrimony, or to diuorce the ſame.

Chryſoſtome. It is hereſie to deny Prieſtes mariage.

They know that S. Chryſoſtome ſayth: it is hereſie to affirme that a Byſhop may not haue a wife.

Ambroſ. 3. Q. 1. Integritas.

They know that S. Ambroſe will haue no cōmaundement but counſaile onely to be geuen, touchyng the obſeruyng of virginitie.

They know that Chriſt with his bleſſed mother and ye Apoſtles were at a Mariage, and beautified, and honoured the ſame with his preſence, and firſt miracle.

To be ſhort: they know that all that I haue here written touchyng the Mariage of Prieſtes is true, and they know that the Papiſtes them ſelues do not obſerue touchyng that matter, their owne Lawes and Canons: and yet they continue marked in conſcience with an hote yrō, as deteſtable hereticks in this behalfe. The Lord geue them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

The 2. cauſe of D. Taylours condemnation. Tranſubſtantiation & Concomitation, two iuggling wordes of the Papiſtes.

My ſecond cauſe why I was condemned as an hereticke is, that I denied the Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two iugglyng wordes of the Papiſtes, by the which they doe beleue and will compell all other to beleue that Chriſtes naturall body is made of bread, and the Godhead by & by to be ioyned thereunto: ſo that immediatly after the wordes (called the wordes of conſecration) there is no more bread and wyne in the Sacrament, but the ſubſtaunce onely of the body and bloud of Chriſt together with his Godhead: ſo that the ſame beyng now Chriſt, both God and man, ought to be worſhipped with godly honour, & to be offred to God, both for the quicke and the dead, as a ſacrifice propitiatory and ſatiſfactory for the ſame. This matter was not long debated in wordes: but becauſe I denyed the foreſayd Papiſticall doctrine, (yea rather plaine moſt wicked Idolatry, blaſphemy and hereſie) I was iudged an hereticke.

The 3. Article againſt Doct. Taylour.

I did alſo affirme the Pope to be Antichriſt, and Popery Antichriſtianity.

The 4. Article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

And I confeſſed the doctrine of the Bible to be a ſufficient doctrine, touchyng all and ſingular matters of Chriſtian Religion, and of ſaluation.

The 5. Article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

I alſo alledged that the oth agaynſt the Supremacy of the Byſhop of Rome, was a lawfull oth, and ſo was the oth made by vs all, touching ye Kynges or Queenes preeminence. For Chryſoſtomus ſayth: That Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes, and all men in euery Realme were euer, and ought to be euer, touchyng both body and goodes, in ſubiection to the Kyngly authoritie, who hath the ſword in his hand, as Gods principal officer and gouernour in euery Realme. I deſired the Byſhops to repent for bringyng the Realme from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from light to darkenes, from verity to vanitie.

All men muſt obey kinges.

Thus you know the ſumme of my laſt examination, and condēnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

D. Taylour neuer afrayd of death.

God be prayſed: ſince my condempnation, I was neuer afrayd to dye: Gods will bee done. If I ſhrincke frō Gods truth, I am ſure of an other maner of death then had Iudge Hales. But God be prayſed, euen from the bottome of my hart, I am vnmoueably ſetled vppon the Rocke, nothyng doubtyng, but that my deare God will perfourme and finiſh the worke that he hath begon in me, and other. To hym be all honor both now and euer through Chriſt our onely and whole Sauiour, Amen.

And thus much wrote Doct. Taylour concernyng this matter, to his frend.

You heard in the former aunſweres a litle before, certayne allegations touched of Doct. Taylour out of S. Cyprian, Auguſt, Chryſoſtome, and Ambroſe, touchyng ye lawfulnes of Prieſtes Mariage. Now ye ſhall heare the places of the ſayd Doctours cited and produced out of their owne bookes, as here enſueth.

¶ *The places of the Doctours alledged before in Doctour Taylours Letter.*

S. Cyprian in his. xi. Epiſtle. Lib. i.

Cyprian. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 11.

A Deacon, or Virgin, or any other that hath dedicate him ſelf to virginitie, if he cā not liue chaſte, by *S. Cyprians* iudgement ought to mary.

THis queſtion was aſked of S. Cyprian, what ſhould be done with thoſe religious perſons, that could not keepe theyr chaſtitie as they had vowed. He aunſwereth thus: *Thou doeſt aſke what we doe iudge of Virgins, which after they had decreed to lyue chaſtely, are afterward found in one bed with a man. Of the which thou ſayeſt that one of them was a Deacon. We doe with great ſorowe ſee the great ruine of many perſons: which commeth by the reaſon of ſuch vnlawfull and perillous companying together. Wherfore, if they haue dedicate them ſelues vnto Chriſt in fayth, to lyue purely and chaſtly, then let them ſo remayne without any fable, and ſtrongly, and ſtedfaſtly abyde the reward of Virginitie. But and if they will not abyde, or els can not abyde: then is it better to mary, then for to fall into the fire of cōcupiſcence: And let them geue to the brethrē and ſiſterne none occaſiō of ſclaunder. &c.*

¶ *S. Auguſtine in his booke,* de bono coniugali ad Iulianum.

Auguſt. De bono coniugali ad Iulianum.

CErtaine men do affirme, thoſe men to be aduouterers, that do mary, after that they haue vowed chaſtity. But I do affirme that thoſe men do greuouſly ſinne, the which doe ſeperate them. &c.

¶ *Ambroſe. xxxij.* Queſt. i. Cap. Integritas.

CHaſtitie of the body ought to bee deſired of vs: the which thyng I do geue for a counſell and do not commaunde it imperiouſly. For Virginitie is a thyng that alonely ought to be counſelled, but not to be commaūded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will and not a precept.

The Pope and his biſhops commaundeth, & counſelleth not to mary, yet and burne men for marying.

¶ A briefe recapitulatiō out of D. Taylours cauſes afore touched for the Reader, more euidently to ſee how the Papiſtes doe againſt their own knowledge, in forbydding Prieſtes mariage.

THe Popes clergy forbidding eccleſiaſticall perſons to mary, do agaynſt their conſcience and knowledge, as may well be proued by theſe cauſes here vnder folowing

1. *Firſt they know that matrimony in the old teſtament,* de iure inſtitutionis, *is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.*
2. *Secondly they know, that in the old teſtament,* de facto, *both Prieſts, Leuites, Prophetes, Patriarches, and all other had their wiues.*
3. *Thirdly, they know that matrimony was permitted & inſtituted of God for ij. principall endes: to witte, for procreation, and auoyding of ſinne.*
4. *Fourthly, they know, that in the old teſtament God, not only inſtituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but alſo induceth and apointeth men to mary and take wyues, in theſe words:* It is not good for a man to be alone. &c.
5. *Fiftly, they know, that in the new teſtament S. Paul permitteth the ſtate of matrimony free to all men, hauyng not the gift of continencie, and forbiddeth none.*
6. *Sixtly, they know that in the new teſtament the ſaide S. Paul not onely permitteth, but alſo expreſſely willeth and chargeth men hauing not the gift, to mary, ſaying:* for auoiding fornication let euery mā haue his wife. &c.
7. *Seuenthly, they know that in the new teſtament the ſaid S. Paul, not onely permitteth and commaundeth, but alſo commendeth and prayſeth the ſtate of matrimony,* Heb. 13. calling it honorable: and the bedcompany to be vndefiled. &c.
8. *Eightly, they know, that in the new teſtament Chriſt hym ſelfe, not onely was not conceaued nor borne of the virgine before ſhe was eſpouſed in matrimony, but alſo that both he and his bleſſed mother did beutify and honour the ſtate of matrimony with their preſence: yea in the ſame begā hys firſt miracle.*
9. *Ninthly, they know, both by the old teſtament and new, that mariage is no impediment to walke in the obedience of Gods commaundement, for both Abraham caryed into the land of Chanaan hys old, yea and barraine wife, the vertuous womā Sara with him: & alſo to Iſaac, Iacob, Moſes, Dauid, and other, their mariage was no impediment to them to talke with God: neither to other Leuites, Biſhops, and Priſtes in the tyme both of the old teſtament and of the new. Agayn, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and other, both to haue their wyues wyth them, and alſo to ſupply the office of Apoſtleſhip.*
10. *Tenthly, they know both by the old teſtamēt and new, that ſinfull fornication & adultery depriueth mā of Gods fauour and graces of the holy ghoſt, which graces eſpecially be requiſite in men of the Church.*
11. *Eleuenthly, they know in their own ſecret conſcience, and by experience, that neither they which enioyne this vow of chaſtity, nor they which take it, do obſerue the vow of chaſtity.*

ſtity. Whereupon riſe inconueniences more then can be expreſſed: but the Lord aboue knoweth all, beſides the ſecret murders peraduenture of many a poore infant. &c.

12. *Twelfthly, they know, by* S. Cyprian. Epiſt. 11. *and*
12. S. Auguſtine. Lib. De bono coniugali ad Iulianum,
that a vow is no impediment ſufficient to let matrimony, or to diuorce the ſame.

13. 13. *Thyrtenthly, they know, that* Chryſoſtome *affirmeth it to be an hereſy to ſay, that a Biſhop may not haue a Wife.*

14. 14. *Fourtenthly, they know that* S. Ambroſe. 32. q. 1. Integritas, *Will haue no commaundement, but counſell only to be geuen, touching the obſeruing of virginity.*

15. 15. *Fifitenthly, they know that before the tyme of Pope* Hildebrãd, *that is, during the tyme of 1000. yeares after Chriſt, mariage Was neuer reſtrayned by any forceable neceſſity of voW, from men of the church.*

16. 16. *Sixtenthly, they know, that S. Paul calleth it the doctrine of deuils, to forbide meates and mariage Which God hath left free With thankes geuing for neceſſity of man and Woman.*

After that D. Taylour thus with great ſpirite and courage had aunſwered for him ſelfe, and ſtoutly rebuked his aduerſaries for breaking their oth made before to king Henry and to king Edward hys ſonne, and for betraying the realme into the power of the Romaine biſhop, they perceauing that in no caſe he could be ſtyrred to their wyls and purpoſe, that is, to turne with them from Chriſt to Antichriſt, committed hym thereupon to pryſon agayne, where he endured tyll the laſt of January.

¶ D. Taylour the fourth tyme with M. Bradford, & M. Saunders brought before Wincheſter and other Biſhops.

Gardiner. Hopton. Boner. Capon. Tonſtall.

Vpon which day and yeare aforeſayd, D. Taylour, and M Bradford, and M. Saunders were agayne called to appeare before the biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Norwich, of London, of Saliſbury, and of Dureſme, and there were charged againe with hereſie and ſchiſme: and therfore a determinate aunſwer was required, whether they would ſubmit them ſelues to the Romaine biſhop and abiure their errours, or els they would according to their lawes procede to theyr condemnation.

The conſtancy of theſe men.

When D Taylour and his fellowes M. Bradford, and M. Saunders heard this, they aunſwered ſtoutly & boldly, that they wold not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edwardes dayes, neyther would they ſubmit thẽ ſelues to the Romiſh Antichriſt, but they thanked God for ſo great mercy, that he wold call them to be worthy to ſuffer for his word and truth.

Sentence of death geuen vpõ innocents.

When the Biſhops ſaw them ſo boldly, conſtantly, and vnmoueably fixed in the truth, they read the Sentence of death vpon them: which when they had heard, they moſt ioyfully gaue God thankes, and ſtoutly ſayd vnto the Biſhops: We doubt not but God the righteous Judge, wyll requyre our bloud at your hands, and the proudeſt of you all ſhal repent this receiuing again of Antichriſt, and your tyranny that ye nowe ſhewe againſt the flocke of Chriſt. So was D. Taylour now condemned, committed to the Clincke, and the kepers charged ſtraitly to keepe him: for ye haue nowe an other maner of charge (quoth the Lord Chauncellour) then ye had before: therefore looke ye take heede to it.

Doctour Taylour condemned.

When the keeper brought him toward the pryſon, the people flocked about to gaſe vpon him: vnto whom he ſayd: God be prayſed (good people) I am come away from them vndefiled, and wyll confirme the truth wyth my bloud. So was he beſtowed in the Clincke tyll it was toward night, and then he was remoued to the Counter by the Poultry.

Doctour Taylour remoued from the Clincke to the Counter by Poultry.

When D. Taylour had lyen in the ſayd Counter in the Poultry a ſeuennight or there aboutes pryſoner, the fourth day of February, Anno. 1555. Edmũd Boner biſhop of London with others, came to the ſayd Counter to diſgrade him, bringing with them ſuch ornamentes, as do appertaine to their maſſing Mummery. Now being come, he called for the ſaid D. Taylour to be brought vnto him (the biſhop being then in the chãber, where the Keeper of the Counter and his wife lay). So D. Taylour was brought downe from the chamber aboue that, to the ſayd Boner. And at his cõming, the biſhop ſayd: Maiſter Doctor, I would you would remember your ſelfe, and turne to your mother holy church: ſo may ye do well inough, and I wyll ſue for your pardon. Wherunto M. Tailour aunſwered: I would you and your felowes would turne to Chriſt. As for me, I wyll not turne to Antichriſt. Well (quoth the biſhop) I am come to diſgrade you: wherfore put on theſe veſtures. No (quoth D. Taylour) I wil not. Wilt thou not, ſayd the Biſhop? I ſhall make thee, ere I go. Quoth D. Taylour, you ſhall not by the grace of God. Then he charged him vpon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for hym.

Boner cõmeth to the Counter to diſgrade *D. Taylour.*

Boner perſwading *D. Taylour* to turne.

D. Taylour refuſeth to turne from Chriſt to Antichriſt

D. Taylour and Boner ſtriuing for putting on the Maſſing garments.

So he wylled an other to put them on his backe: & when he was throughly furniſhed therewith, he ſet his handes by his ſide, walking vp and downe, and ſayd: how ſay you my Lord, am I not a goodly foole? how ſay you my maiſters? If I were in cheape, ſhould I not haue boyes inough to laugh at theſe apiſh toyes, and toying trumpery? So the Biſhop ſcraped his fingers, thombes, and the crowne of hys head, and dyd the reſt of ſuch like deuilliſh obſeruances.

D. Taylour deryteth the Popes Maſſing toyes.

At the laſt, when he ſhould haue geuen D. Taylour a ſtroke on the breſt with his Croſierſtaffe, the biſhops Chapleine ſayd: my Lord, ſtrike him not, for hee wyll ſure ſtrike againe. Yea by S. Peter will I, quoth Doctor Taylour. The cauſe is Chriſtes: and I were no good Chriſtiã, if I would not fight in my Maiſters quarell. So the Biſhop laid his curſe vpon him, but ſtroke him not. Then D. Tailour ſayd: though you do curſe me, yet doth God bleſſe me. I haue the wytnes of my conſcience, that ye haue done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God (if it bee his wyll) forgeue you. But from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and hys deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs. And in going vp to his chamber, he ſtill ſayd: God deliuer me from you, God deliuer me from you. And when hee came vp, he told Maiſter Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber) that he had made the biſhop of London a feard: for (ſayth he laughingly) his Chapleyne gaue him counſell not to ſtrike me with his Croſierſtaffe, for that I would ſtrike agayne: & by my trouth (ſayd he rubbing his handes) I made hym beleue I would do ſo in deede.

Cowardly *Boner* durſt not ſtrike according to his Canon.

D. Taylour prayeth againſt the Pope and hys deteſtable enormities.

Boner afeard of Doc. *Taylour.*

The night after that he was diſgraded, his wife and his ſonne Thomas reſorted to hym, and were by the gentlenes of the Keepers permitted to ſup with hym. For this difference was euer found betwene the Keepers of the biſhops priſons, & the Keepers of the kings priſons: that ỹ biſhops Kepers were euer cruell, blaſphemous, and tyrannous, lyke their maiſters: but the Kepers of the kynges pryſons ſhewed for the moſt part, as much fauour, as they poſſible might. So came D. Taylours wyfe, his ſonne, and John Hull his ſeruaunt, to ſuppe with him: and at their comming in afore ſupper, they kneeled downe and prayed, ſaying the Letanie. After ſupper walking vp and downe, he gaue God thankes for his grace, that had ſo called him and geuen hym ſtrength to abyde by his holy worde: and turning to his ſonne Thomas: My deare ſonne (ſayd he) almighty God bleſſe thee, and geue thee hys holy ſpirite, to be a true ſeruant of Chriſt, to learne his worde, and conſtantly to ſtand by his truth all thy lyfe long. And my ſonne, ſee that thou feare God allwayes. Flee from all ſinne and wicked lyuing: be vertuous, ſerue God with dayly prayer, and apply thy booke. In any wyſe ſee thou be obedient to thy mother, loue her, and ſerue her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and

Kepers of priſons.

D. Taylour bleſſed hys ſonne.

D. Taylours godly exhortation to hys ſonne, worthy of all youth to be marked.

follow her good counſell in all things. Beware of lewd company of yong men that feare not God, but followe their leude luſtes & vaine appetites. Flie from whoredome, and hate all filthy liuing, remembring that I thy father doe dye in the defence of holy mariage. And an other day when God ſhall bleſſe thée, loue and cheriſhe the poore people, & count that thy chiefe riches is to be rich in almes: and when thy mother is waxed old, forſake her not, but prouide for her to thy power, and ſee that ſhe lacke nothing: For ſo wil God bleſſe thée, and geue thée long life vpon earth and proſperitie: which I pray God to graunt thée.

D. Taylour counſelleth his wyfe.

Then turning to his wyfe: My deare wyfe (quoth he) continue ſtedfaſt in the feare & loue of God: kéepe your ſelfe vndefiled from their Popiſh idolatries, and ſuperſtitions. I haue bene vnto you a faithful yokefellow, and ſo haue you bene to me, for the which I pray God to rewarde you, and doubt you not deare wyfe, but God wyll reward it. Now the time is come that I ſhall be takē from you, and you diſcharged of the wedlocke bond towardes me: therefore I will geue you my counſell what I thinke moſt expedient for you. You are yet a childbearing woman, and therefore it wyll be moſt conuenient for you to marry. For doubtles you ſhall neuer be at a conuenient ſtay for your ſelfe & our poore children, nor out of trouble, tyll you bee maryed. Therefore as ſoone as God will prouide it, marry with ſome honeſt faythfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will prouide an honeſt huſband for you, & he wyll be a mercyfull father to you and to my Chyldren: whom I pray you, bring vp in the feare of God, and in learning, to ẏ vttermoſt of your power, & kéepe them from this Romiſh idolatry.

His laſt token to his wife and his ſonne.

When he had thus ſayd, they with wéeping teares prayed together, & kyſſed one the other: and he gaue to his wyfe a booke of the church ſeruice, ſet out by king Edward, which in the time of his impriſonment he dayly vſed. And vnto his ſonne Thomas he gaue a latine booke, contayning the notable ſayinges of the old Martyrs, gathered out of Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria: and in the end of that booke he wrote hys Teſtament and laſt Vale, as here after followeth.

D. Taylours wyll and teſtament written in the booke which he gaue to hys ſonne.

¶The laſt wyll and Teſtament of Doctor Rowland Taylour, Parſon of Hadley.

Iob. 1. 2.
Apoc. 14.
Luke. 12.

I Say to my wyfe, and to my children: The Lord gaue you vnto me, and the Lord hath taken mee from you, and you from me: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. I beleue that they are bleſſed which die in the Lord. God careth for Sparowes, and for the heares of our heades. I haue euer found hym more faythfull and fauourable, then is any father or huſband. Truſt ye therfore in hym by the meanes of our deare Sauiour Chriſtes merites: beleue, loue, feare and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promiſed to helpe. Count me not dead, for I ſhall certainly lyue, and neuer die. I go before, and you ſhal follow after, to our long home. I go to the reſt of my children, Suſan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zacharie: I haue bequeathed you to the onely omnipotent.

A pure conſcience fully quieted.

I ſay to my deare friendes of Hadley, and to all other which haue heard me preach: that I depart hence wyth a quiet cõſcience, as touching my doctrine: for the which I pray you thanke God with me. For I haue after my litle talent declared to other, thoſe leſſons that I gathered out of Gods booke, the bleſſed Bible. Therefore if I or any Aungel from heauen ſhould preach to you any other Goſpell, then that ye haue receiued, Gods great curſe vpon that Preacher.

A graue warning againſt Popery.

Beware for Gods ſake, that ye denie not God, neither decline from the worde of fayth, leſt God decline frõ you, and ſo ye do euerlaſtingly periſh. For Gods ſake beware of Popery: for though it appeare to haue in it vnitie, yet the ſame is in vanitie, and Antichriſtianitie, and not in Chriſtes fayth and veritie.

The ſinne againſt the holy ghoſt.

Beware of the ſynne againſt the holy Ghoſt, now after ſuch a light opened ſo plainly and ſimply, truly, thorowly, and generally to all England.

A godly prayer.

The Lord graunt all men his good and holy ſpirite, encreaſe of his wiſdome, contemning the wicked world, harty deſyre to be with God and the heauenly company, through Ieſus Chriſt our onely Mediatour, Aduocate, righteouſnes, lyfe, ſanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen, Pray, pray.

¶Rowland Taylour departing hence in ſure hope, without all doubting of eternall ſaluation, I thanke God my heauenly father, through Ieſus Chriſt my certaine ſauiour, Amen.

The. 5. of February. Anno. 1555.

Pſalm. 27.

The Lord is my light and my ſaluation: whom then ſhall I feare?

Roma. 8.

God is he that iuſtifieth: who is he that can condemne?

Pſalm. 30.

In thee O Lord haue I truſted, let me neuer be confoũded.

Doctour Taylour lead frõ the Counter by night toward Hadley.

On the next morrow, after that D. Taylour had ſupped with his wife in the Counter (as is before expreſſed) which was the fift day of February, the Shiriffe of London, with his Officers, came to the Counter by .ij. of the clocke in the morning, and ſo brought forth Doctor Taylour, & without any light lead him to the Wolſacke, an Inne without Algate. D. Tailours wyfe ſuſpecting that her huſband ſhould that night be caryed away, watched all night within S. Butolphes Church porch beſide Algate, hauing with her two children, the one named Elizabeth of .xiiij. yeares of age (whom being left without father or mother, Doctor Taylour had brought vp of almes from thrée yeares olde) the other named Mary, D. Taylours own daughter.

The laſt meeting & leaue taking wyth his wife & children.

Thys Shirieffe was M. Cheſter.

Now, when the Shiriffe and his company came againſt S. Butolphes church, Elizabeth cryed ſaying: O my deare father. Mother, mother, here is my Father lead away. Then cried his wiſe: Rowland, Rowland where art thou? for it was a very darke morning, that the one could not ſée the other. D. Taylour aunſwered: deare wyfe, I am here, and ſtayed. The Sheriffes men would haue led him forth, but the Sheriffe ſayd: ſtay a litle maiſters, I pray you, and let him ſpeake wyth hys wyfe, and ſo they ſtayed. Then came ſhee to him, and he tooke his daughter Mary in his armes, and hée, hys wyfe, and Elizabeth knéeled downe & ſayd the Lords prayer. At which ſight the Shrieffe wept apaſe, and ſo did diuers other of the company. After they had prayed, he roſe vp and kiſſed his wyfe, and ſhooke her by the hand, and ſayd: Farewell my deare wyfe: be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conſcience. God ſhall ſtyrre vp a father for my children. And then hee kyſſed his daughter Mary and ſaid: God bleſſe thée, and make thée his ſeruant: and kiſſing Elizabeth, he ſayd: God bleſſe thée. I pray you all ſtand ſtrong and ſtedfaſt vnto Chriſt and his word, and kéepe you from idolatrye. Then ſayd his wyfe: God be with thée deare Rowland. I wyll with Gods grace méete thée at Hadley.

The Shirieffes gentlenes ſhewed to the woman.

And ſo was he lead forth to the Woolſacke, and hys wyfe followed him. As ſoone as they came to the Woolſacke, he was put into a chamber, wherin he was kept with .iiij. Yeomen of the Gard, and the Shrieffes mē. Doctor Taylour, as ſoone as hee was come into the chamber, fell downe on his knées and gaue him ſelfe wholy to prayer. The Shrieffe then ſeing D. Taylours wyfe there, woulde in no caſe graunt her to ſpeake any more with her huſband, but gently deſired her to go to his houſe and take it as her own, and promiſed her ſhe ſhould lacke nothing, and ſent two Officers to conduct her thether. Notwithſtanding, ſhe deſired to go to her mothers, whether the Officers lead her, and charged her mother to kéepe her there, till they came again.

Doctour Taylour brought to the ſigne of the Woolſacke.

Thus remained D. Taylour in the Woolſacke, kept by the Sheriffe and his company, tyll a .xj. of the clocke. At which tyme the Sheriffe of Eſſex was ready to receiue him: and ſo they ſet him on horſebacke within ẏ Inne, the gates being ſhut.

At the comming out of the gates, Iohn Hull (before ſpoken of) ſtoode at the rayles with Thomas D. Taylours ſonne. When Doctor Taylour ſaw them, he called them, ſaying: Come hether my Sonne Thomas.

And Iohn Hull lifted the childe vp, and ſet him on the horſe before his father. And D.Tailour put of his hat and ſayd to the people that ſtoode there looking on hym: Good people, this is mine own ſonne, begotten of my body in lawfull matrimony: and God bee bleſſed for lawfull matrimony. Then lift hee his eyes towardes heauen, and prayed for his ſonne, laid his hat vpon the childes head, and bleſſed him, and ſo deliuered the child to Iohn Hull, whõ he tooke by the hand, and ſayd: farewell Iohn Hull, the faithfulleſt ſeruant that euer man had. And ſo they rode forth, the Shrieffe of Eſſex with iiij. yeomen of the Garde, and the Shrieffes men leading hym.

Doctour Taylour taketh hys leave of his ſonne Thomas, and Iohn Hull.

A good teſtimony for al ſeruants to marke.

When they were come almoſt at Burntwood, one Arthur Fayſie, a man of Hadley, who before tyme had ben D.Taylours ſeruaunt, met with them, and he ſuppoſing him to haue bene at liberty, ſaid: M. Doctour I am glad to ſee you againe at libertie, and came to hym, and tooke him by the hand. Soft Syr (quoth the Sheriffe) he is a pryſoner: what haſt thou to do with him? I cry you mercy (ſayd Arthur) I knew not ſo much, and I thought it none offence to talke to a true man. The Shrieffe was very angry with this, & threatned to cary Arthur with him to priſon: notwithſtanding, he bad him get him quickly away, and ſo they rode forth to Burntwood: where they cauſed to be made for D. Taylour a cloſe hoode, with two holes for his eyes to looke out at, and a ſlit for his mouth to breath at. Thys they did, that no man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeake to any man. Which practyſe they vſed alſo with others. Their owne conſciences tolde them, that they lead innocent lambes to the ſlaughter. Wherfore they feared, leſt if the people ſhould haue heard them ſpeake, or haue ſeene them, they might haue beene much more ſtrengthened by their godly exhortations, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in Gods word, and to flie the ſuperſtitions and idolatries of the Papacie.

Arthur Fayſie.

A cloſe hoode made for Doctor Taylour that no man ſhould know him.

Chriſtes aduerſaries worke all by darknes.

All the way D.Taylour was ioyfull and mery, as one that accompted him ſelfe goyng to a moſt pleaſaũt banquet or bridall. He ſpake many notable thynges to the Shrieffe and yeomen of the Gard that conducted him, and oftẽ moued them to weepe through his much earneſt callyng vpon them to repent, & to amend theyr euill and wicked liuyng. Oftentymes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and reioyce, to ſee him ſo conſtant and ſtedfaſt, voyd of al feare, ioyful in hart, & glad to die. Of theſe yeomẽ of the Gard, three vſed D. Taylour frendly, but the fourth (whoſe name was Homes) vſed him very homely, vnkyndly, and churliſhly.

Doctour Taylour is ioyfull in his way.

Homes a notorous aduerſary to Doctor Taylour.

At Chelmeſford mette thẽ the Shrieffe of Suffolke, there to receiue hym, and to cary hym forth into Suffolke. And beyng at ſupper, the Shrieffe of Eſſex very earneſtly laboured him to returne to the Popiſh Religion, thinkyng with faire wordes to perſuade him, and ſayd: good Maiſter Doctor, we are right ſory for you, cõſideryng what loſſe is of ſuch one as ye might be if ye would: God hath geuen you great learnyng and wiſedome, wherfore ye haue bene in great fauour and reputation in tymes paſt with the Counſell and hygheſt of this Realme. Beſides this, ye are a mã of goodly perſonage, in your beſt ſtrength, and by nature like to liue many yeares, and without doubt, ye ſhould in tyme to come be in as good reputation as euer ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloued of all men, as well for your vertues as for your learnyng: and me thinke it were great pitie you ſhould caſt away your ſelfe willingly, and ſo come to ſuch a paynfull & ſhamefull death. Ye ſhould do much better to reuoke your opiniõs, and returne to the Catholicke Church of Rome, acknowledge the Popes holynes to be the ſupreme head of the vniuerſal Church, and reconcile your ſelfe to him. You may do well yet, if ye will: doubt ye not, but ye ſhall find fauour at the Queenes hãdes. I and all theſe your frẽdes will be ſuters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye ſhall obtaine. This counſell I geue to you, good Maiſter Doctour, of a good hart, and good will toward you: and therupon I drinke to you. In lyke maner ſayd all the yeomen of the Gard: vpon that condition Maiſter Doctour we will all drinke to you.

The Shrieffes of Eſſex laboureth Doctour Taylour to returne to papiſme.

The Shrieffes [illegible] to Doctour Taylour.

When they had all dronke to him, and the cup was come to him: he ſtayed a litle, as one ſtudying what aũſwere he might geue. At the laſt, thus he aũſwered and ſayd: Maiſter Shrieffe, and my maiſters all, I hartely thanke you of your good will. I haue herkened to your wordes and marked well your counſelles. And to be playne with you, I do perceaue that I haue bene deceaued my ſelfe, and am like to deceiue a great many of Hadley, of their expectation. With that word they all reioyced. Yea good Maiſter Doctour (quoth ẏ Shrieffe) Gods bleſſyng on your hart: hold you there ſtill. It is the comfortableſt word, that we heard you ſpeake yet. What? ſhould ye caſt away your ſelfe in vayne? Play a wiſe mans part: and I dare warrant it, ye ſhall find fauour. Thus they reioyced very much at that word, and were very mery.

D.Taylour maketh a ieſt of death, with a meete aunſwere for ſuch Doctors and counſellers.

At the laſt: good M. Doctor (quoth ẏ Shrieffe) what ment ye by this, that ye ſaid ye thinke ye haue ben deceiued your ſelfe, and thinke ye ſhall deceiue many one in Hadley? Would you know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea (quoth the Shrieffe) good M. Doctour, tell it vs plainly. Then ſayd Doct. Taylour, I will tell you how I haue ben deceiued, and as I thinke, I ſhall deceiue a great many. I am as you ſee, a man that hath a very great carkas, which I thought ſhould haue ben buried in Hadley Churchyard if I had dyed in my bed, as I well hoped I ſhould haue done: but herein I ſee I was deceiued: and there are a great number of wormes in Hadley Churchyard, which ſhoulde haue had ioly feedyng vppon this carion, which they haue looked for many a day. But now I know wee bee deceiued, both I and they: for this carkas muſt be burnt to aſhes and ſo ſhall they loſe their baite and feedyng, that they looked to haue had of it.

Apophthegma of Doctour Taylour.

When the Shrieffe and his company heard hym ſay ſo, they were amaſed, and looked one on an other, marueilyng at the mans conſtaunt mynd, that thus without all feare, made but a ieſt at the cruell torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation cleane diſapointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefeſt wealth and proſperitie: namely, that he ſhould ſhortly dye & feede wormes in his graue: which meditation if all our Byſhops, and ſpirituall men had vſed, they had not for a litle worldly glory forſakẽ the word of God, and truth, which they in king Edwardes dayes had preached and ſet forth, nor yet to mainteine the B. of Romes authoritie, haue committed ſo many to the fire as they did.

A good meditation.

But let vs returne to D.Taylour, who at Chelmeſford was deliuered to the Shrieffe of Suffolke, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he ſuffered. When they were come to Lanhã, ẏ Shrieffe ſtayed there two dayes: & thether came to him a great number of Gẽtlemen and Iuſtices vpon great horſes, which all were appointed to aide the Shrieffe. Theſe Gentlemẽ laboured D.Taylour very ſore, to reduce him to the Romiſh Religion, promiſing him his pardon (which ſayd they) we haue here for you. They promiſed him great promotions, yea a Byſhoprike if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering wordes were in vayne. For he had not built his houſe vpon the ſand in perill of fallyng at euery puffe of wynd, but vpon the ſure and vnmoueable rocke Chriſt. Wherefore hee abode conſtant and vnmoueable vnto the end.

Lanham is a towne in Suffolke.

After two dayes, the Shrieffe and his company led D.Taylour towardes Hadley, and commyng within a two myle of Hadley, he deſired to light of his horſe to make water: which done, hee lept, and ſet a friſke or twayne, as men commonly do in daunſing. Why Maiſter Doctour (quoth the Shriſe) how do you now? He aunſwerered: Well God be prayſed, good Maiſter

D. Taylour reioyceth that he is ſo nigh home.

Another *Apophthegma* of Doctor *Taylour*.

Shrieffe. Neuer better: for now I know I am almoſt at home. I lacke not paſt ij. ſtyles to go ouer, and I am euē at my fathers houſe. But M. Shrieffe (ſaid he) ſhall not we go through Hadley? Yes ſayd the Shrieffe, ye ſhall go through Hadley. Then ſayd he: O good Lord, I thanke thee. I ſhall yet once ere I dye ſee my flocke, whom thou Lord knoweſt I haue moſt hartely loued, and truly taught. Good Lord bleſſe them, and keepe thē ſtedfaſt in thy word and truth.

D. Taylour deſirous to ſee his flocke.

A poore man wyth vj. children comforted Doctour *Taylour*.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came rydyng ouer the bridge, at the bridge foote wayted a poore man with fiue ſmall children: who when he ſaw D. Taylour, he and his children fell downe vpon theyr knees, and held vp their handes, and cryed with a loud voyce, and ſaid: O deare father, and good ſhepheard, D. Taylour: God helpe and ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a tyme ſuccoured me, and my poore children. Such witnes had the ſeruaunt of God of his vertuous and charitable almes geuē in his life tyme. For God would now the poore ſhould teſtifie his good deedes, to his ſingular comfort, to the example of others, and confuſion of his perſecutours and tyrannous aduerſaries. For the Shrieffe & other that lead him to death, were wonderfully aſtonied at this: and the Shrieffe ſore rebuked the poore mā for ſo cryyng. The ſtreetes of Hadley were beſet on both ſides the way with men and women of the towne and countrey, who wayted to ſee him: whom when they beheld ſo led to death, with weepyng eyes and lamentable voyces they cried, ſaying one to an other: ah good Lord, there goeth our good ſhepeheard frō vs, that ſo faithfully hath taught vs, ſo fatherly hath cared for vs, and ſo godly hath gouerned vs. O mercyfull God: what ſhall we poore ſcattered Lambes do? What ſhall come of this moſt wicked world? Good Lord ſtrengthen him and comfort him: with ſuch other moſt lamentable and piteous voyces. Wherfore the people were ſore rebuked by the Shrieffe and the Catchpoles his men, that led him. And D. Taylour euermore ſayd to the people: I haue preached to you Gods word and truth, and am come this day to ſeale it with my bloud.

The people lament Doct. *Taylour*.

D. Taylour confeſſeth the truth, and confirmeth the ſame wyth hys bloud.

Commyng agaynſt the Almeſhouſes, which he well knew, he caſt to the poore people money, which remayned of that good people had geuen him in tyme of hys impriſonement. As for his liuyng, they tooke it frō him at his firſt goyng to priſon, ſo that he was ſuſteined all the tyme of his impriſonment by the charitable almes of good people that viſited hym. Therfore the money that now remayned, he put in a gloue, ready for the ſame purpoſe, and (as is ſayd) gaue it to yͤ poore Almeſmen ſtandyng at their doores to ſee him. And commyng to the laſt of the Almeſhouſes, and not ſeyng the poore that there dwelt ready in their doores, as yͤ other were, he aſked: is the blynd mā & blynd woman, that dwelt here, alyue? It was aūſwered yea: they are there within. Then threw he gloue and all in at the wyndow, and ſo road forth.

D. Taylour liued of almes, and gaue almes.

Thus this good father and prouider for the poore, now tooke his leaue of thoſe, for whom all his lyfe he had a ſingular care, & ſtudy. For this was his cuſtome, once in a fourthnight at the leſt, to call vpon Syr Henry Doyll, and others the rich Clothmakers, to go with him to the Almeſhouſes, and there to ſee how the poore lyued: what they lacked in meat, drinke, clothyng, beddyng, or any other neceſſaries. The lyke dyd hee alſo to other poore men that had many children, or were ſicke. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where hee found cauſe, rebuke the vnruly, and what they lacked that gaue he after his power: and what he was not hable, he cauſed the rich and wealthy men to miniſter vnto them. Thus ſhewed he him ſelfe in all thynges an example to his flocke, worthy to be followed: and taught by his deede, what a great treaſure almes is to al ſuch, as cherefully for Chriſtes ſake do it.

Note this cuſtome.

Aldham Commen.

At the laſt, commyng to Aldam Cōmen, the place aſſigned where he ſhould ſuffer, and ſeyng a great multitude of people gathered thether, he aſked what place is this, and what meaneth it that ſo much people are gathered hether? It was aunſwered: It is Aldham Cōmen, the place where you muſt ſuffer: and the people are come to looke vpon you. Then ſayd he: thanked be God, I am euen at home: and ſo light frō his horſe, and with both his handes rent the hode from his head. Now was hys head notted euilfauoredly, and clypped much lyke as a man would clippe a fooles head: which coſt the good Byſhop Boner had beſtowed vpon hym when he diſgraded him. But when the people ſaw hys reuerend and auncient face, with a long white beard, they burſt out with weepyng teares, and cried, ſaying: God ſaue thee good D. Taylour. Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, and helpe thee. The holy Ghoſt comfort thee: with ſuch other lyke Godly wiſhes. Then would he haue ſpoken to the people: but the yeomen of the Gard were ſo buſie about him, that as ſoone as hee opened hys mouth, one or other thruſt a typ ſtaffe into hys mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeake.

Doctour *Taylour* is come home.

B. Boners coſt and labour vpon Doc. *Taylour*.

The people wiſheth God to helpe hym.

Then deſired he licēce of the Shrieffe to ſpeake: but the Shrieffe denyed it to him, and bad him remember his promiſe to the Counſell. Wel (quoth D. Taylour) promiſe muſt be kept. What this promiſe was, it is vnknowen: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Counſell ſent for them, and threatned them they would cut their toungs out of their heades, except they would promiſe, that at their deathes they would kepe ſilence, and not ſpeake to the people: wherfore they, deſirous to haue the vſe of their tonges, to cal vpon God ſo long as they might liue, promiſed ſilence. For the Papiſtes feared much, leſt this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Chriſtes ordinaunces to the Popiſh traditions, ſhould not ſo quyetly haue bene receiued, as it was, eſpecialie this burning of the Preachers: but they meaſuring others myndes by their owne, feared leſt the tumult or vprore might haue bene ſtirred, the people hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe not to be cōtented with their doinges: or els (that they moſt feared) yͤ people ſhoulde more haue bene cōfirmed by their godly exhortatiōs, to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt their vayne Popiſh doctrine, and idolatrie. But thankes to God, which gaue to his Witneſſes faith & patience, wyth ſtout & manly hartes to deſpyſe all tormentes: neyther was their ſo much as any one man that once ſhewed any ſigne of diſobedience toward the magiſtrates. They ſhed their bloud gladlie in the defence of the truth, ſo leauing example vnto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is to obey God more then men, and if neede require it, to ſhed their owne bloude rather then to depart from Gods truth.

Doctour *Taylour* could not be ſuffred to ſpeake to the people.

The counſell ſuſpected of the people to threatē the Martyrs, to cut out their toungs except they kept ſilēce.

The Goſpellers are not ſeditious, as the Papiſtes commonly be.

D. Taylour perceyuing that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeake, ſat downe, and ſeing one named Soice, he called him and ſayd: Soice, I pray thee come and pul of my bootes and take them for thy labour. Thou haſt long loked for them, now take them. Then roſe he vp, and put of his clothes vnto his ſhirt, and gaue them away. Which done, hee ſayd wyth lowd voyce: Good people, I haue taught you nothing but Goddes holy word, and thoſe leſſons that I haue taken out of Gods bleſſed booke, the holy Bible: and I come hether this day to ſeale it with my bloud. With that word Homes, yeoman of the Gard aforeſayd, who had vſed D. Taylour very cruelly all the way, gaue him a great ſtroke vpon the head with a waſter, and ſayd: Is that the keeping of thy promiſe, thou hereticke? Then he ſeyng they would not permitte him to ſpeake, kneeled down & praied, and a poore womā that was among yͤ people, ſtepped in and prayed with him: but her they thruſt away, and threatned to tread her downe with horſes: notwithſtādyng ſhe would not remoue, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the ſtake and kiſſed it, and ſet him ſelfe into a pitch barell, whiche they had ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtode with

Soyce pulleth of his bootes.

Doctour *Taylour* confeſſeth the truth.

Homes a cruell tyraunt.

Doctour *Taylour* prayeth.

A good woman commyng to pray wyth hym could not be ſuffred.

with his backe vpright agaynſt the ſtake, with his handes folded together, and his eyes toward heauen, and ſo he continually prayed.

Richard Donyngham.

Then they bound him with cheines: and ỹ Shrieffe called one Richard Donyngham a Butcher, and commaunded him to ſet vp fagots: but he refuſed to doe it, and ſaid: I am lame Syr, and not hable to lift a fagot. The Shrieffe threatned to ſend him to priſon: notwithſtandyng he would not do it. Then appointed he one Mulleine of Carſey, a man for his vertues fit to be a hang man, and Soice a very dronkard, & Warwicke, who in the commotiō tyme in kyng Edwardes dayes, loſt one of his eares for his ſeditious talke, & one Rob. Kyng, who yet to this day playing the vyce in ſtage playes and Enterludes, ceaſeth not to be a cōmon rayler, God graũt him an hart to repent that is paſt and a tōg to play the part of a good Chriſtiã an other while. These iiij. were appoynted to ſet vp the fagottes, and to make the fire, which they moſt diligently dyd: and this Warwicke cruelly caſt a fagot at him, which light vpon hys head, and brake his face, that the bloud ran downe his viſage. Then ſayd D. Taylour: Oh frend, I haue harme enough, what needed that.

Warwicke a cruell tormentour.

This Kyng was alſo one of them which went wyth hys halbert to bryng them to death which were burnt at Bery.

D. Taylour is pacient.

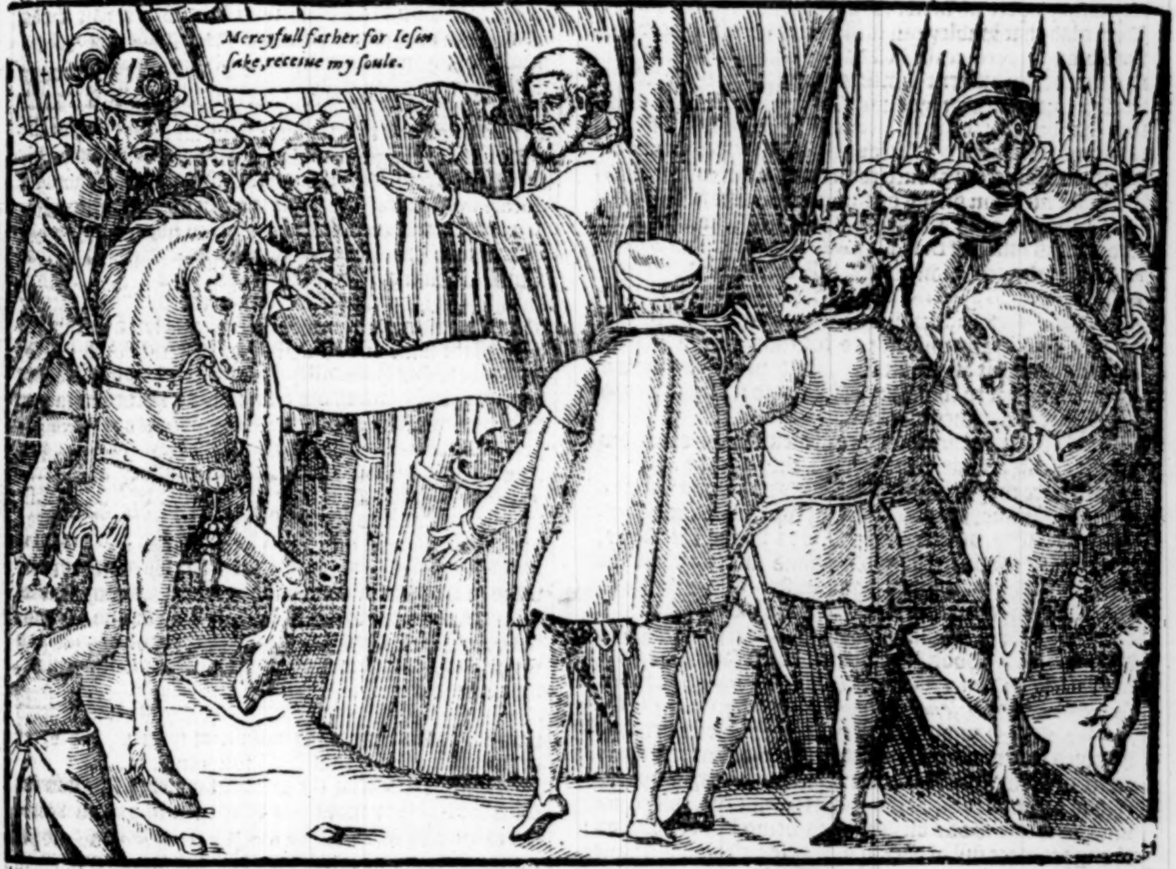
Furthermore Syr Iohn Shelton there ſtandyng by, as D. Taylour was ſpeakyng and ſaying the Pſalme Miſerere in Engliſh, ſtroke hym on the lyppes: ye knaue, ſayd he: ſpeake Latine, I will make thee. At the laſt they ſet to fire: and Doct. Taylour holding vp both his handes, called vpon God, and ſayd: Mercyfull father of heauen, for Ieſus Chriſt my Sauiours ſake, receiue my ſoule into thy handes. So ſtode he ſtill without either crying or mouing, with his handes folded together, till Soice wich an Halbard ſtroke him on the head that the braynes fell out, and the dead corps fell downe into the fire. Thus rendred the man of God his bleſſed ſoule into the hands of his mercyfull father, and to his moſt deare and certaine Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whom he moſt entierly loued, faythfully and earneſtly preached, obediently folowed in liuyng, and conſtantly glorified in death.

Syr Iohn Shelton.

D. Taylours laſt wordes.

Soyce ſtriketh hym downe wyth an Holbard.

¶ The Martyrdome of Doctour Taylour, burned at Hadley for the teſtimony of the Goſpell. February. 9. Anno. 1555.


Mercyfull father for Ieſus ſake, receiue my ſoule.

The Martyrdome of D. Rouland Taylour at Hadley. An. 1555. February. 9.

[illegible] Doctour Taylour.

They that were preſent & familiarly conuerſaunt with this D. Tailour, reported of him, that they neuer did ſee in hym any feare of death, but eſpecially and aboue all the reſt which beſides him ſuffered at the ſame time, allwayes ſhewed him ſelfe mery and cherefull in tyme of his impriſonment, as well before his condemnation as after: he kept one countenaunce and like behauiour. Wherunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and preſence of M. Iohn Bradford, who then was in priſon and chamber with him. The ſame mornyng, when he was called vp by the Shrieffe to go to his burnyng (about three of the clocke in the mornyng) beyng ſodenly awaked out of his ſound ſleepe, he ſat vp in his bed, and puttyng on his ſhyrt, had theſe wordes (ſpeakyng ſomewhat thicke after his accuſtomed maner:) *Ah horſon theeues, ah horſon theeues: robbe God of his honour, robbe God of his honour?* Afterward beyng riſen and tying his pointes, he caſt his armes about a balke, which was in the chamber betwene Maiſter Bradfordes bed and his: and there hangyng by the handes, ſayd to M. Bradford: O M. Bradford (quoth he) what a notable ſway ſhould I geue if I were hanged, meanyng for that he was a corpulent and bygge man. Theſe thinges I thought good here to note: to ſet forth and declare to thoſe that ſhall read this hyſtory, what a notable and ſingular gift of ſpirite and courage God had geuen to this godly and bleſſed Martyr.

D. Taylour careles of hys death.

At what tyme D. Taylour was depriued of hys benefice of Hadley, there was one called Sir Robert Brachet, a falſe pretenſed Proteſtant in K. Edwards dayes, and afterward a deadly enemy to the ſame religion: who was alſo one of them that ſo vnmerifully thruſt D. Taylours wyfe and children out of the dores, as ſhe her ſelfe yet can teſtifie: and notwythſtanding the ſame, now ſynſe became a Proteſtant agayne callyng hym ſelfe Harry Bradſhawe, and ſerued at S. Denys in London in Fanchurch ſtreete, and after that in the

Syr Rob. Brachers comming to Hadley.

A Popiſhe Sermon of Syr Robert Bracher.

the Quéenes Chappell. This Syr Robert Bracher aforeſaid, comming to Hadley to the buriall of a certayne frend of his and Gods great enemy one Walter Clerke, albeit he came ſomewhat to late to the market (as he ſayd) yet deſyrous to vtter ſuch popiſh pelfe and packware as he brough with him, he opened there his baggage of peſtilent doctrine, preaching in y^e^ ſame towne of Hadley agaynſt iuſtification of fayth, of the corporall preſence, of praying for the dead, and Auricular confeſſion. Whereof D. Taylour hauyng vnderſtanding by letters, wryteth again to them of Hadley directing his letter to his wyfe in confutation of the ſaid Popiſh poiſoned Sermon: the copie of which letter we thought not vnworthy here in the end of his ſtory to be anexed, as vnder foloweth.

¶A letter of Doctour Taylour of Hadley, written to his wyfe.

Deare wife, I pray God be euer with vs through Chriſt our only Mediatour, Amen.

This cap was a round cap ſent by M. Couerdale to Doctour Taylour by his wife.

I thanke you for my cap: I am ſomthing proud of it, for it is one ſteppe frō the Clergy in theſe dates. I thāke God, my hart is cleane diuided from their procedings: for I know that no man can ſerue two maiſters, ſpecially if they agree no better then Chriſt and Antichriſt do. I am glad that Hadley can ſkill of ſuch packing ware, as was brought thether the firſt day of May laſt paſt. Chriſtes ſheepe can diſcerne Chriſtes voyce, from the voice of ſtraūgers, theeues, or hyrelings. The packebringer was ſory that he came to late to y^e^ funerall market of his faithfull frend. But here I will leaue thē both to Gods iudgement, and ſomething touch the matter whereof the packer made mencion on his opening day. At the firſt he called the ſcripture (as I heare) full of darke ſentences, but in dede it is called of Dauid, *A candle to our fete, and a light to our pathes.* Our Sauiour Chriſt calleth his word, *the light which euil doers do flye from, and hate, leſt their dedes ſhould be reproued thereby.* S Paul would haue vs to walke as childrē of light, and in any wiſe not to continue in ignoraunce or darknes. But all we in the world pertayne to two Princes: eyther to the father of light and truth, or els to the Prince of darknes and lyes.

This packer was Syr Rob. Bracher preaching popiſhe doctrine at Hadley.

The ſcripture falſely accuſed of the catholickes to be obſcure & darke.

In theſe dayes preachers declare euidently of whom they are ſent, and with what ſpirit they ſpeake, and to what prince they belong: For they cry out againſt Gods lightes, Sunne, Moone, ſtarres, torches, lampes, lanternes, creſſets, and candels in Gods booke the Bible, prouided of Gods great goodnes and mercy to auoyde all foule darknes, cloudes, and miſtes or daungerous doubtfull wayes in this our iourney to our heauenly father, long home, manſion houſes, and dearely purchaſed heritage. Eſay Gods faithfull meſſenger ſayth: *Wo be vnto them that call ſweete ſower, good euill, and light darknes. Therefore commeth my peeple into captiuity, becauſe they haue no vnderſtanding.* Our Sauiour Chriſt pronounceth errours and hereſyes to remayne among the people, ſo long as ignorance of the ſcriptures remayneth. And hereby it appeareth to all good conſciences, what they meane, which defame or accuſe Gods bleſſed word being full of light, as though it were full of darknes. Theſe owles would haue all day lightes ſcraped out of bookes, hartes, and churches. Oh Lord, turne their harts and tonges: bow them from the way of darknes, leſt they goe to the prince of darknes, & be caſt into the pitte of vtter darknes, where is weping and gnaſhing of teeth.

The Popes packe ware: Iuſtificatiō by workes, Corporall preſence, Praying for ſoules, Auricular confeſſion.

Now, touching the packes of wolle and packes of cloth, I feare they were, as all other wares be, tranſubſtantiate into flockes, euen his very fineſt packing ſtuffe againſt only fayth iuſtifiyng, and for the corporall preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament, for praying for ſoules departed, and for auriculer confeſſion. Abrahams iuſtification, by fayth, by grace, by promiſe, and not by workes, is playnly ſet forth both in the Epiſtle to the Rom. cap. 4. and to the Gala. cap. 3. And Abrahams works of obedience in offering vp hys ſonne ſo long after hys iuſtification, muſt nedes be takē as a fruit of a good tree iuſtifying before men, and not of iuſtificatiō before God: for then had mā to glory in: then dyd Chriſt dye in vaine.

Againſt the corporall preſence.

And where as the 6. chapt. of S. Iohn was alleaged, to proue that Chriſt did geue hys body corporally in hys ſupper, euen as he had promiſed in the ſayd 6. chapt. it is moſt vntrue. For only he gaue hys body ſacramentally, ſpiritually, and effectually in hys ſupper to the faythfull Apoſtles, and corporally he gaue it in a bloudy ſacrifice for the life of the world vpō the croſſe once for all. There in hys own perſon, in his own naturall body, he bare all our ſins: *By whoſe ſtripes we were healed,* as S. Peter proueth. 1. Pet. 2. and Eſay. cap. 53. In dede, receauing Chriſtes ſacrament accordingly as it was inſtituted, we receaue Chriſtes body and Chriſts bloud, euen as I ſayd before the Apoſtles dyd.

Chriſtes body geuen in the ſupper ſpiritually, vpon the croſſe corporally.

Againſt the Maſſe

The Maſſe the Popes youngeſt daughter.

Deſcriptiō of the popes kingdome.

But the Popiſh Maſſe is an other matter. The Maſſe as it is now, is but one of Antichriſtes youngeſt daughters, in the which the deuill is rather preſent and receaued, then our Sauiour, the 2. perſon in Trinity, God and man. O Lord God, heauēly father, for Chriſtes ſake we beſech thee to turne againe England to the right way it was in in K. Edwards tyme, frō this babylonicall ſtewiſhe ſpirituall whoredome, conſpiracy, tyranny, deteſtable enormityes, falſe doctryne, hereſye, hardnes of hart, and contempt of thy word and commaundements, from thys euident and open Idolatry, ſacriledge, ſimony, blaſphemy, ſuperſtition, hypocriſy, tranſubſtantiate Angell of light and day deuill, kingdome of lyes, foule vayne ſchiſmes, ſectes, ſedition, apoſtaſy, gay ſweete poyſon, honied & ſugered viperous venome, wily woluiſhnes, Sathanicall ſubtilty, and abomination in the ſight of God and of all ſuch as put on the true ſpectacles of holy ſcripture. I am the more playne now in this matter, becauſe I feare greatly, that many will be to much ready to go from Chriſt to Antichriſt, frō the Bible, true Gods ſeruice and religion, to latin lying Legendes, Portaſes, Maſſebokes and ſuperſtition. They ſay their church can not erre in any poynt, when in dede they be not of Gods church, and therefore they can do nothing but erre, euen as they do almoſt in all caſes of true fayth.

Chryſoſt. Popiſhly applyed.

The meaning of Chryſoſt. rightly expounded concerning Elias cloke.

Of this memoriall cloke, read before in D. Ridleys diſputacion pag. 1615.

The place of Gene. 49.

But to come againe to the Packer, rather then Preacher, he bringeth S. Chryſoſtome writing Ad populum Antiochenum, where he making a cōpariſon betwene Chriſtes fleſh and Elias cloke caſt downe to Elizeus, when Elias was takē vp in the fiery chariot, at lēgth he ſaith, that Chriſt aſcending vp to heauen, tooke his fleſh with him, and alſo left his fleſh behind him in earth. The meaning of it is, he did aſcend with his fleſh, and left a memoriall cloke of the ſame body & fleſh, which he calleth his fleſh, as he in the ſacramentall phraſe calleth bread his body, becauſe it repreſenteth his body: and as in the like maner of ſacramentall ſpeech, a Lambe was called the Paſſeouer, the circumciſion, Gods couenant. He tooke vp hys fleſh corporally, and left his fleſh in myſtery and ſacrament ſpiritually. Or it may be ſayd that he left his fleſh vpon earth: that is, his myſticall body, his faithful people, whom S. Paule calleth *the members of his body, of his fleſh, of his bones,* Epheſ. 5. In the. 49. chap. of Geneſis there is no word of Chriſtes ſacrament, but there is a prophecie of Chriſtes paſſion, wherein his ſole was bound, that is, his body. And where hee ſpeaketh there of grapes and wyne, it is as that is ſpoken of Chriſt in an other place, where he ſaith: Ego ſolus torcular calcaui. *I alone did treade the wyne preſſe,* meaning thereby, that Chriſt alone ſuffered painfull paſſion for the remiſſion of ſynnes, and for the conſolation of all his faithfull ſoldiours.

Chriſtes naturall body cā not be deuided.

Chriſtes body was neuer in two places at once.

It is not true that the Packer ſayd, that Chriſtes infinite power may make his body to be in a thouſand places at once, as a loafe to be in a thouſand bellies: for thē might Chriſt diuide y^e^ partes of his body, as a loafe is diuided and ſo cōſumed, and then might ſcripture be falſe, appointing Chriſtes body to be but in one place, Actes. 3. Phil. 3. Heb. 3. The articles of our fayth tell vs ſufficiently where Chriſtes body is. It was neuer in two places at once, neyther euer ſhall be, neither euer can be corporally and naturally: neyther euer was, is, can, or ſhal be eaten ſo with any corporal mouthes, as the Capernaites and the Papiſts moſt erroniouſly & heretically do iudge. If our Sauior Ieſus Chriſt hath no other body natural then is made of the ſubſtance of bread, and is in a thouſand places at once, as I haue often ſayd in Hadley: we are not yet redemed, neither ſhall our bodies riſe againe and be made like vnto his glorious body. we are ſure that our Sauiour Chriſtes body is made of none other ſubſtance, then of his mother the bleſſed Virgin Maryes ſubſtance. we are ſure, that he taketh not the nature of Aungels, much leſſe of bread. Onely he taketh on hym the ſeede of Abraham, Heb. 2. *In all thinges like vnto vs, ſinne onely except.* And this is a cōfortable doctrine to vs Chriſtians, beleuing ſtedfaſtly, as the true catholicke faith is, that Chriſt hath but two natures, perfite God, and perfite man. Vpon this rocke Chriſtes church is builded, & the gates of hell ſhall neuer preuaile againſt it. Math. 16.

Heb. 2.

Auricular confeſſion.

Praying for the dead.

I ſpeake nothing now of auricular confeſſion & praying for ſoules departed, becauſe I do not heare what authors the Packer brought in for this purpoſe. Sure I am, that he cã bring no authenticall and canonicall warrant for ſuch his packware. He may ſay what he wyll of Hebricians and Grecians, and fleſh vnder formes, and not aboue formes, or aboue the board. He may cõiure, & conney, paſſe & repaſſe, euen what he wil in ſuch cloudes and myſtes. He reproued the ſcriptures as full of darknes, and yet is full of darkenes him ſelfe. He did wittely to bring proofes out of Iewry, Turky, & other ſtraunge places for his round white Cake, for that ſuch hys pedlary pelſe packe is contrarye to the playne ſimplicitie of Chriſtes ſupper. He glaunced at Prieſtes mariage. He might againſt that haue brought as auncient a Doctour as any be alledged out of Hebrue, for his Maſſe and wafer Cake, that is, Doctor Deuill. 1.Timo.4.

He meaneth by the place 1.Tim.4. where S.Paule ſpeaketh of the doctrine of deuils &c.

I maruaile that he dyd not confute and confound S. Paule for the ſentences wrytten aboue the aultar, of the which he made mention in the pulpit. For he and hys fellowes of Oxford be ſo profound, ſo excellent, ſo gloryous and triumphant Clarkes, that they can eaſely proue a man an Aſſe, and al writers in the Bible ignorant, ſimple, full of errours, full of hereſies, & beggerly fooles. Yet they wyll be called Catholickes, faythfull true Chriſtian people, defenders of ÿ holy mother the Church: but truly they take part with ÿ prince of darknes, with Antichriſt, with Iezabel, Apoc.2. They wyll not be called Papiſtes, Phariſeis, Iewes, Turkes, Heretickes, and ſo forth: but what ſoeuer they wyll be called, Gods religion had neuer more euident aduerſaries, and that in all the chiefe pointes of it: no not then, when our Sauiour Chriſt whipt ſuch Marchauntes out of the temple, calling them a company of theeues. Math.21. God geue them grace to repent. God be thanked that the nobilitie ſomething of late hath ſpyed and ſtopped their tyranny. O vnhappy England: Oh more vngrate people, ſooner bewitched then the fooliſh Galathians. We haue now none excuſe.

Engliſhe people likened to the Galathians.

We haue vndoubtedly ſeene the true trace of the propheticall, Apoſtolicall primatiue catholicke church. We are warned to beware, leſt we bee lead out of that way, ſocietie, and rule of religion. Now we ſhall ſhew what countrey men we be: whether ſpirituall and heauenly, or carnall and worldly. We had as true knowledge as euer was in any countrey or in any tyme ſince the beginning of the world: God be prayſed therefore. If Hadley being ſo many yeares perſwaded in ſuch truth, wyll now willingly and wittingly forſake the ſame, & defile it ſelfe with the Cake God, Idolatry, and other Antichriſtianitie thereunto belonging, let it ſurely looke after many and wonderfull plagues of God ſhortly. Though an other haue the benefice, yet as God knoweth, I can not but be carefull for my deare Hadley. And therefore as I could not but ſpeake, after ÿ firſt abominable Maſſe begon there, I being preſent, no more I can not but write now being abſent, hearing of the wicked prophanation of my late Pulpit, by ſuch a wily woolfe. Gods loue, mercy, goodnes, and fauour hath bene vnſpeakeable, in teaching vs the right way of ſaluation and iuſtification. Let vs all haue ſome zeale, ſome care, how to ſerue hym according to his good wyll written. The God of loue & peace bee euer in Hadley, through Chriſt our onely Aduocate, Amen.

The Cake God.

The carefull plaint of Doctour Taylour for Hadley.

Rowland Taylour.

After that Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, had got the lawes, and the ſecular arme on his ſide (as ye haue heard) with ful power and authoritie to raigne and rule as he liſted, and had brought theſe godly biſhops and reuerend Preachers aforeſayd, vnder foote, namely the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, D. Ridley Biſhop of London, M. Latimer, M. Hooper Biſhop of Worceſter, and Gloceſter, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Tailour, & M. Bradford, all which he had now preſently cõdemned, & ſome alſo burned, he ſuppoſed now all had bene cocke ſure, and that Chriſt had bene conquered for euer, ſo that the people being terrified with example of theſe great learned men condemned, neuer would ne durſt once route againſt their violent religiõ: not much vnlike in this behalfe to the maner of the Turkes, who when they can not maintayne their ſect by good learning and truth of Gods word, thinke by violence of ſword to force whom they can to their belief, and that done, afterward make lawes, no man vnder payne of hereſie to diſpute or once to call in queſtion any of their procedinges: Euen ſo Steuen Gardiner and his felowes, when they ſee they can not preuayle by triall of Gods word, and diſcourſe of learning, neither are diſpoſed ſimply to ſeeke for truth where it is to be found: they take exceptions againſt Gods word, to be intricate, obſcure, and inſufficient to bee hys owne iudge, and therefore that of neceſſity it muſt be iudged by the Popes church, and ſo hauing Kinges & Quenes of their ſide, they ſeeke not to perſwade by the word of God, nor to wynne by charitie, but in ſteede of ÿ law of God, they vſe (as the prouerbe ſaith) τῷ νόμῳ χειρῶν, cõpelling mẽ by death, fire and ſword (as the Turkes do) to beleue that in very deede they thincke not. And in deede after fleſh & bloud this ſeemeth to be a ſure way. Neither peraduenture are they ignorant howe gayly this way thriueth with the Turkes, & therefore thinke they to practiſe the ſame, at leaſt wyſe ſo they doe, vpon what example ſo euer they do it. And thus condemned they theſe godly learned Preachers and Biſhops aforeſayd, ſuppoſing (as I ſayd) that al the reſt would ſoone be quailed by their example. But they were deceaued, for within.viij.or.ix.dayes after that Steuen Gardiner had geuen ſentence againſt M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylour, & M. Bradford, being the 8. of February, vj. other good men were brought likewiſe before the biſhops for the ſame cauſe of religion to bee examined, whoſe names were W. Pigot Butcher, Ste. Knight Barbar, Tho. Tomkins Weauer, T. Hawkes Gentleman, Iohn Laurence Prieſt, William Hunter Prentiſe.

The procedinges of the Popes catholickes in maintayning their religion.

The maner of proceeding like in the catholiques, and in the Turkes.

νόμος τῶν χειρῶν. Prou.

February. 8.

vj. Men conuented before B. Boner for hereſy.

Steuen Gardiner ſeing thus his deuiſe diſapointed, and that cruelty in this caſe would not ſerue to his expectatiõ, gaue ouer the matter as vtterly diſcouraged, and from that day medled no more in ſuch kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Boner biſhop of London: who ſupplyed that parte right doughtely, as in the further proceſſe of this hiſtory hereafter euidently and to much may appeare. Thus B. Boner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his Conſiſtory at Paules, the lord Maior and certain Aldermẽ ſittyng with him, the vj. perſons afore named, vpon the viij. day of February in the yeare aforeſayd, and in the next day beyng the ix. of February, read the ſentence of condemnation vpon them, as appeareth in Boners owne Regiſters. Such quicke ſpeede theſe mẽ could make in diſpatchyng their buſines at once. Notwithſtãdyng becauſe the death of theſe condẽned Martyrs did not folow incontinẽtly before the next moneth of March, I will differre the proſecutyng of their matter, till I come (by the grace of the Lord) to the tyme and day of their ſufferyng. In the meane tyme, what was the cauſe that their execution was ſo long differred after their condemnation, I haue not preciſely to ſay, vnleſſe perauenture ÿ Sermon of Alphonſus the Spaniſh Frier and the kinges Confeſſour, did ſome good. For ſo I find, that when theſe. vj. perſons aforeſayd were caſt vpon Saterday, the.ix.of February, vpon Sonday following, which was the.x.of February, the ſaid Alphonſus a gray Frier preached before ÿ king, in which Sermõ he did earneſtly inuey againſt ÿ biſhops for burning of men, ſaying plainly that they learned it not in ſcripture to burne any for his conſcience: but the contrary, that they ſhould lyue, and be conuerted: with many other thinges more to the ſame purport. But touching the lingering of theſe mens death, as I haue not certainly to affirme, ſo I let it paſſe.

Ste. Gardiner geueth ouer his murderyng office to Biſh. Boner.

February. 9. Ex Regiſt. Boneri Lond.

The Papiſtes not ſlacke in their buſines.

vj. Men condemned by Biſh. Boner.

February. 10.

Alphonſus K. Philips confeſſor preaching againſt the burning of heretickes.

Upon the xiiij. day of February, M. Rob. Ferrar B. of S. Dauids was ſent toward S. Dauids there to be condemned and executed. Touchyng whoſe Martyrdome, for ſomuch as it fell not before the moneth of March, we will deferre the hiſtory therof till we come to the day and tyme of hys ſuffering.

February. 14.

Furthermore, thys foreſayd xiiij. day of February, Tho. Beckets Image ſet vp at Mercers Chappell.

February. 17.

M. Iohn Barnes troubled for Beckets Image.

Beckets Image agayne broken downe.

the Lord Chauncellour and other hys fellow Biſhops, cauſed the Image of Thomas Becket, that old Romiſh traytor, to be ſet vp ouer the Mercers Chappel doore in in Cheapſide in London, in the forme and ſhape of a Byſhop, with Miter and Croſier. Howbeit within two dayes after this his erection, his two bleſſing fingers were firſt broken away, and on the next day (beyng the 17. day of February) his head was alſo ſtrickē of: wherupon aroſe great trouble, and many were ſuſpected: among whom one M. Iohn Barnes Mercer, dwellyng ouer agaynſt the ſame Chappell, was vehemently (by the Lord Chaūcellour) charged withall, as the doer therof, and the rather, for that he was a profeſſor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his ſeruauntes were committed to priſon: and at his deliuery (although it could not be proued vppon him) he was bound in a great ſome of money, aſwell to build it vp agayne as often as it ſhould be broken downe, as alſo to watch and keepe the ſame. And therfore at this hys compelled charges the Image was agayne ſet vp the ſecond day of March, then next inſuyng, but (for lacke, belike, of carefull watchyng) the xiiij. day of the ſame moneth in the night, the head of that daūgerous beaſt (ouer whom there was ſuch a charge geuen) was agayne the ſecond tyme broken of: which thyng was ſo heynouſly taken, that the next day (beyng the xv. day) there was a proclamation made in London, that whoſoeuer would tell who did ſtrike of this head (though he were of counſell, and not the principall doer) he ſhould haue not onely his pardon, but alſo one hūdreth crownes of gold, with harty thankes. But it was not knowen who did it.

February. 18.

Queene Mary anſwereth to the king of Denmarkes letters, touching Maiſter Couerdale.

The xviij. day of February Queene Mary at length after long delay, made full aunſwere to the kyng of Denmarkes letters, who had written before two letters to the ſayd Queene, in the behalfe of M. Couerdale, for his deliueraunce who at that time went vnder Sureties, and was in great daunger, had he not bene reſcued by the great ſuite & letters of the ſayd kyng of Denmarke.

The matter and copy of which his ſuite and letters, as they came to our hādes, we haue here ſet forth and expreſt, wherby the ſingular loue of this good kyng towardes the truth of Gods word, and the profeſſours therof might the better appeare to the world.

* This M. Machabæus, and Maiſter Couerdale maryed two ſiſters.

Firſt this vertuous and godly kyng Chriſtianus, hearing of the captiuity of Miles Couerdale, of whom he had had ſome knowledge before (beyng there in Denmarke in kyng Henry the eight his tyme) and lamentyng his daungerous caſe, and partely through the interceſſiō of M. Machabæus Superintēdent in Denmarke, who was partly of * kinne to M. Couerdales wife, made interceſſion by letters to Q. Mary, deſiryng and requeſtyng the ſayd Miles Couerdale to bee ſent vnto him. The date of which his firſt letters, was about the Calēdes of May. An. D. 1554. the copy wherof here foloweth.

The epiſtle of the king of Denmarke to Queene Mary, for the deliuerance of M. Couerdale.

¶ Chriſtianus dei gratia Daniæ, Noruegiæ &c. Rex &c. eadem gratia Sereniſſimæ ac potentiſſimæ principi D. Mariæ Angliæ, Galliæ & Hiberniæ Reginæ, conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem.

SEreniſsima princeps, conſanguinea chariſſima, pro neceſſitudine mutua ac coniunctione, non ſolum regij nominis inter nos, ſed etiam ſanguinis, maximè vero vtrinq; inter hæc regna noſtra a vetuſtiſſimis vſq; temporibus propagata ac ſeruata, non modo commertiorum, ſed omnium officiorum viciſſitudine & fide, facere non potuimus quin pietatis & doctrinæ excellentis commendatione, verè reuerendi viri Ioannis Machabæi, ſacræ Theologiæ doctoris & profeſſoris præſtantiſs. ſubditi ac Miniſtri noſtri imprimis dilecti, ſupplicibus grauiſſimiſq; precibus commoti, ad Serenitatem veſtram has literas daremus. Expoſuit is nobis, in hac recenti perturbatione ac motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo eueniſſe dolemus, & nunc indies in melius verti ſperamus) quendā nomine Milonem Couerdalum, nuper Diœceſis Exoniēſis, piæ laudatiſsimæq; memoriæ proximi Regis Serenitatis veſtræ fratris, conſanguinei itidem noſtri chariſs. authoritate conſtitutum Epiſcopum, nunc in triſtiſs. calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum vitæ, nulla atrocioris delicti culpa, ſed illa fatali temporum ruina incidiſſe. Quæ quidem hic Machabæus noſter, ꝗ ei affinitate (& quod grauius eſt) pietatis, eruditionis, ac morum ſimilitudine, tanquam frater deuinctus ſit, non minus ad ſe pertinere exiſtimat. Itaq́; noſtram opem implorat, vt quam ipſe gratiam & fauorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocētis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipſe non minus ſuum putat) accommodemus. Mouemur profecto non temere, illius viri (cui ſuo merito imprimis bene volumus) commiſeratione, eiuſq́; maximè teſtimonio de captiui Antiſtitis innocētia atq́; integritate: de qua quidem eſt vt eo melius ſperemus, ꝗ multis iā morte mulctatis ſontibus, de ipſo integrū adhuc Deus eſſe voluit. Proinde non dubitauimus Serenitatem veſtram quanta poſſimus diligentia atq́; animi propenſione rogare, vt noſtra cauſa captiui illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, eumq́; vt a ſceleris, ita a pœnæ etiam acrocitate alienum eſſe velit, & temporū offēſam, qua ipſum quoq; affligi veriſimile eſt, nobis noſtræq́; amicitiæ regiæ & precibus, præſertim hoc primo aditu, benignè condonare, ſaltem èatenus, vt ſi forte hoc rerum ſtatu grauis eius præſentia ſit, incolumis ad nos cum ſuis dimittatur. Id nobis ſummi beneficij loco, & Serenitati veſtræ inflorētiſs. regni auſpicijs (quæ auguſta, fauſta, ac fortunata Serenitati veſtræ ex animo optamus) ad clemētiæ laudem honorificum erit: & nos dabimus operam, vt cum amicitiæ noſtræ habitam rationem intellexerimus, eo maiore ſtudio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumq́; officiorum erga Serenitatē veſtram eiuſq́; vniuerſum regnum & ſubditos incumbamus. Deum optimū maximum precamur, vt Serenitati veſtræ ad gloriam ſui nominis & publicam ſalutem fœlices omnium rerum ſucceſſus & incolumitatem diuturnā largiatur. Datæ ex arce noſtra Coldingeñ, ſeptimo Calendas Maij. Anno. 1554.

*Veſter conſanguineus, frater, &
amicus Chriſtianus Rex.*

Q. Maryes ſlender anſwere to the kynges firſt letter.

To theſe letters of the king, Queene Mary aunſwering againe, declared that the ſayd Miles Couerdale was in no ſuch captiuitie for any religion, but for certaine debt: ſo neither plainly graunting, nor expreſſely denying his requeſt, but vſing a colourable excuſe for ſhifting of the matter, as appeareth by hys ſecond letter ſent to the Queene, dated the. 24. day of Septemb. as followeth.

The ſecōd epiſtle of the king of Dēmarke to Queene Mary, for the deliuerance of Maiſter Couerdale.

¶ Chriſtianus dei gratia Daniæ, Norwegiæ, Gottorum & Vādalorum Rex: Sleſwici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ ac Dithmerſiæ Dux: Comes in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorſt, Sereniſſ. principi Dominæ Mariæ, Angliæ, Frāciæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defenſ. &c. Sorori & conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem & omnium rerum optatos & fauſtos ſucceſſus.

REdditæ ſunt nobis literæ Serenitatis veſtræ, quibus benignè admodum ad deprecationem noſtrā, qua pro D. Milonis Couerdali eccleſiæ Exon. nuper nominati Epiſcopi incolumitate vſi ſumus, reſpōdetur: ita vt intelligamus, licet alterius cauſæ quā quæ nobis innotuetat, periculum ſuſtineat, tamen Serenitatem veſtram noſtræ interceſſionis eam rationem habituram eſſe, vt illam ſibi profuiſſe ipſe Couerdalus ſentiat. Cui quidem promiſſioni regiæ cū tantum meritò tribuamus, vt ea freti non dubitauerimus eius captiui propinquos (nobis inprimis charos) a mærore ac ſollicitudine ad ſpē atq́; expectationem certæ ſalutis vocare: facere nō potuimus, quin & gratias Serenitati veſtræ pro tam prompta ac benigna voluntate, non modo huius beneficij, ſed etiam perpetuæ inter nos ac regna noſtra conſeruandæ ac colendæ amicitiæ ageremus, & quantū in nobis eſſet, quod ad amplectenda perſequendaq́; hæc auſpicata initia pertineret, nihil prætermitteremus. Neq; verò nobis de clementia ac moderatione Serenitatis veſtræ vnquā dubiū fuit, quā deus opt. max. ad gloriā ſui nominis & fructum pub. vtilitatis vt magis ac magis effloreſcere velit, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes ærarias, neq; aliud grauius delictū D. Couerdalū teneri Serenitas veſtra ſcribat, eſt ſanè vt ipſius cauſa lætemur, eoq́; minus ambigamus liberationem incolumitatemq́; eius noſtris precibus liberaliter donari. Nā & accepimus ipſum Epiſcopatu, cuius nomine ærario obſtrictus fuerat, ceſſiſſe, vt inde ſatiſfactio peteretur: maximè cum neq́; diu eo potitus fuiſſe, neq́; tantum emolumēti inde percepiſſe dicatur. Quinetiam ſi qua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte cauſa reperiri poſſet, tamen ſollitudinem ac dubitationem nobis Serenitatis veſtræ tam amicè atq́; officioſe defenrentes literæ omnem exemerunt: vt exiſtimemus Serenitatis veſtræ, quoad eius fieri poſſet, magis honorem noſtrum, quam quid ab eo exigi poſſit, conſideraturam. Itaq; Serenitatem veſtram repetitis precibus vrgere non conſtituimus: ſed potius teſtatum facere, quam accepta nobis Serenitatis veſtræ gratificatio ſit, cuius talem euentum omninò ſperamus, vt ipſe Couerdalus coram nobis ſuæ incolumitatis a Serenitate veſtra exoratum beneficium propediem repræſentare poſſit. Illud vero imprimis Serenitati veſtræ viciſſim perſuaſum eſſe cupimus, nos non ſolû referendæ gratiæ, ſed etiam ſtabiliendæ prouehendæq; inter nos ac regna vtrinq; noſtra amicitiæ ac neceſſitudinis mutuæ occaſionem aut facultatem nullam eſſe prætermiſſuros. Deus opt. max., Serenitatem veſtrã diu, fœliciter, ac beatè incolumem eſſe velit. Datæ ex opido noſtre Ottonienſi, 24. Septemb. Anno. 1554.

Veſter frater & conſanguineus Chriſtianus.

The ſame in Engliſhe.

The ſame epiſtle in Engliſh.

Chriſtierne by the grace of God K. of Denmarke, *Norway, Gotland, and of the Vandals: Duke of Sleſwik, Holſton, Stormar and Detmarſh: Earle of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt. &c. To the moſt noble Princes and Lady Mary Quene of England, Fraunce, & Ireland, defender of the faith &c. Our moſt dearly beloued Siſter and Couſin, wiſheth proſperity with good and luckie ſucceſſe of all thinges.*

Q. Maryes ſlender aunſwere to the kynges firſt letter.

The ſecond epiſtle of the king of *Demarke* to Queene *Mary*, for the deliueraunce of Maiſter *Couerdale.*

WE haue receaued your Maieſties letters, whereby aunſwere is rendred, and that very graciouſly vnto our petition which we made for the ſafegard of Maiſter Couerdale, late called B. of Exon: So that we perceiue, though he be in daunger for an other cauſe thẽ was ſignified vnto vs afore, yet your Maieſty will ſo regard our interceſſion, that Couerdale him ſelfe ſhal vnderſtand it to haue done him good. To the which Regal promiſe, ſeing we (as reaſon is we ſhould do) attribute ſo much, that truſting vnto the ſame, we doubt not, where as, hee being in captiuity, his frendes (whom we eſpecially tender) are therefore in heauines and care, your good promiſe doth call them from ſuch ſorrowe and ſolicitude, to the hope and expectation of his aſſured welfare: we could not do otherwiſe, but render thankes vnto your Maieſtie for ſuch your ready and gratious good will, not onely in reſpecte of thys benefite, but alſo of the conſeruation and keeping of perpetuall amitie betwene vs and our Realmes, and ſo as much as in vs lyeth, to omitte nothing that to the nouriſhing & continuance of theſe fortunate beginnings might appertaine. Neyther had we euer any doubt cõcerning the clemency and moderation of your goodnes, whom we hartely beſech almighty God, euer more & more to proſper, vnto the glory of his name, and profite of the common weale. wherfore ſeing your Maieſty writeth that Maiſter Couerdale is in daunger for certayne accomptes of money, and not for any other more greuious offence, wee haue cauſe on his behalfe to reioyce: and therefore we doubt ſo much the leſſe, that at our requeſt, he ſhall graciouſly haue hys deliueraunce geuen him and be out of daunger. For as touching the biſhopricke, by reaſon whereof hee came in debt, we vnderſtand he yelded it vp, that payment might thereof be required, ſpecially ſeing he is reputed neyther to haue enioyed it long, neither to haue had at any tyme ſo great commodity of it. Moreouer, though it be poſſible to finde ſome perplexitie in the accompt, or happely ſome other cauſe, yet your maieſties letters offring ſuch fauour and benignitie, haue takẽ from vs all carefulnes and doubt: In ſo much that we thynke your maieſty (as much as may bee) will haue more reſpect vnto our honour, then vnto that which might of hym be requyred. And therefore we purpoſe not to trouble your maieſtie by repetyng of our petition, but to declare how greatly we eſteme it, that your maieſty would gratify vs herin: wherof we playnly hope for ſuch an ende that Couerdale him ſelfe ſhall ſhortly in our preſence make declaration concerning the benefite of his welfare obteined of your maieſtie. And of this we deſyre your maieſty to be ſpecially aſſured again, that we will not only omitte no occaſion or oportunity to requite thys benefite, but alſo to eſtablyſh and amplifie our mutuall loue and amity betwene vs and our realmes on either ſyde. Almighty god preſerue your Maieſtie in proſperous health & felicitie. Geuen at our City of Otton the. xxiiij. of September. Anno D. 1554.

To theſe letters it was a great whyle before the Quene would aunſwere. At length through great ſute made, the next yeare the 18. of February, ſhe aunſwereth againe in this wyſe.

Sereniſſ. Principi D. Chriſtiano dei gratia Daniæ &c. Regi Sleſwici, &c. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh, &c. fratri & amico noſtro chariſſimo.

Febr. 18.

The anſwere of Queene *Mary* to the king of *Denmarkes* letter.

M. Couerdale deliuered and ſent to the king of *Denmarke.*

MAria dei gratia, Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hieruſalem & Hiberniæ &c. Sereniſſimo Principi Chriſtiano, eadem gratia Daniæ, Noruegiæ, Gothorum, & Vandalorum Regi: Sleſuici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ & Ditmerſiæ duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorſt &c. fratri & amico noſtro chariſſ. ſalutem, proſperumq; rerum incremẽtum. Cũ intellexerimus ex Serenitatis veſtræ literis, quas hic nuntius nobis attulit, deſiderium veſtrũ obtinẽdi a nobis pro M. Couerdalo ſubdito noſtro exeundi è regno noſtro & ad vos proficiſcendi facultatem: facile quidem in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem conceſſimus. Et quãquam ille natus ſubditus noſter nondum explicatus fuerat a debitione certæ cuiuſdam pecuniæ quam noſtro ærario ſoluere iure tenebatur, tamen maiorem veſtri deſiderij quam noſtri debiti rationem habendam eſſe duximus. Quin inſuper animũ & voluntatẽ gratificandi veſtræ Serenitati pro noſtra mutua amicitia, in qua alia etiam re poſſumus, cum oportunitas feret, libenter oſtendemus. Deus V. Serenitatem diutiſſime ſeruet incolumen. Ex Regia noſtra Weſtmonaſterij. 18. Februarij. 1555.

Febr. 19.

The effect of *B. Boners* intimation ſent into his dioces to receaue the Cardinals abſolution, and to be reconciled to the Pope in the Lent next folowing.

The ſame moneth, the. xix. day was a certaine intimation ſet forth and printed in the name of Boner, wherein was contained a generall monition and ſtrait charge geuen to euery man and woman within his dioces, to prepare thẽ ſelues againſt Lent then nere approching to receiue the glad tidinges of peace and reconciliation ſent from Pope Iulius. 3. by Poole his Cardinal and Legate De latere, and to receaue alſo the ioyfull benefite of abſolution, being ſent firſt from the Cardinall to Boner, and from him to euerich of his Archdeacons to bee miniſtred to euery priuate perſon within his dioces, that would come the ſayd holy tyme of Lent to his Paſtor or Curate to be confeſſed, and to receaue of him wholſome counſell, penaunce, and abſolution: Signifying moreouer, that as he was authoriſed by the foreſayd Cardinall, ſo he for the ſame purpoſe had indued with the like authoritie, all and ſingular Paſtors and Curates within his dioces, to reconcile and aſſoyle frõ their former hereſie, & ſchiſms, and from the cenſures of the church, ſuch as would reſorte vnto them. And leſt any ſcruple or doubt, riſing peraduenture in their conſciences, ſhould be any ſtay or let in this behalfe, he had aſſigned and deputed therfore through his dioces certain learned men, to whom they might reſort, or els might open their griefes to any of his Archdeacons, or els come to hys own perſon, and ſo ſhould be reſolued. And therefore all maner doubtes and obſtacles ſet aſyde, he straitly wylled and cõmaunded euery man and woman to come to confeſſion, and to enioy this benefite of reconciliation and abſolution, againſt the firſt Sonday next after Eaſter enſuing, and not to fayle. For the which purpoſe hee had ſpecially commaunded the Paſtors and Curates of euery pariſh to certifie vp in writing the names of euery man and woman ſo reconciled: and ſo forth. The copy of which intimatiõ is more fully to be read in the former edition of Actes and Monumentes. Pag. 1083. In the meane time the forme of his abſolution, becauſe it is but ſhort, I thought here to exhibite, as vnder followeth.

The forme of abſolutiõ, to be kept by the Paſtors and Curates, in priuate confeſſions concerning thys reconciliation.

The abſolutiõ of Byſhop *Boner* to be vſed in his dioces.

OUr Lord Ieſus Chriſt abſolue you, and by the Apoſtolike authoritie to me graũted and committed, I abſolue you from the ſentences of excommunication, and from all other cenſures and paynes, into the which you be fallen by reaſon of hereſie, or ſchiſme, or any other waies: and I reſtore you vnto the vnity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all Sacramentes, diſpenſing wyth you for all maner of irregularity: and by the ſame authoritie, I abſolue you from all your ſinnes, in the name of the father, & of the ſonne and of the holy ghoſt. Amen.

The lamentable hiſtory of Maiſter Iames Hales Iudge.

The hiſtory of Iudge Hales.

IN the hiſtory of M.Hoper mẽtion was touched a litle before of Iudge Hales, wherefore ſomething woulde bee ſayd more in this place touching that matter. But becauſe yͤ ſtory of that man & of his end is ſufficiently comprehended in our former boke of Actes & Monumentes, we ſhall not greatly nede to ſtand vpon rehearſall of euery particular matter touching the whole, but onely taking the chiefeſt and leauing the reſt, we will reporte ſomwhat of the communication betwene the biſhop of Wincheſter and hym: declaring withall how falſe and vntrue the excuſe is of our aduerſaries, which ſo preciſely by the law defend them ſelues, and ſay that in all their doinges they did nothing but by the law, to beare them out. Which if it be ſo, how did they then to Anne Aſkew? What law had they, whẽ they had cõdemned her firſt for a dead woman, then afterward to racke her? By what law did they call vp M.Hooper, and pryſon him for the Quéenes debt, when the Quéene in very truth dyd owe him foure ſcore poundes, and kept hym a yeare and a halfe in priſon, & gaue him neuer a peny. pag. 1679. By what law dyd biſhop Boner condemne and burne Richard Mekins, a lad of. xv. yeares, when the firſt Iewry had quit hym, and at the ſtake reuoked all hereſies, and prayſed the ſayd Boner to bee a good man: and alſo hauing him in priſon, would not ſuffer his father and mother to come to him to comfort their own child? pag. 1376. What law had they to put M. Rogers in priſon, whẽ he did neither preach nor read Lecture after the time of yͤ Quéenes inhibition, & whẽ they had kept him in his own houſe halfe a yeare, being not depriued of any liuyng, yet would not let him haue a halfepeny of his own liuings to relieue him, hys wife and a. xj. children? pag. 1660. By what law was Tho. Tomkins hand burnt, and afterward his body conſumed to aſhes? What good law or honeſty was there to burne the thrée poore women at Garnſey, with the Infant child falling out of the mothers wombe, when as they all before their death recanted their wordes and opinions, and were neuer abiured before? So here likewyſe in this caſe, what order or right of lawe dyd St. Gardiner folow in troubling & impriſoning Iudge Hales, whẽ he had done nothing, neither againſt gods law nor mans law, in procéeding by order of lawe againſt certaine preſumptuous perſons, which both before the law and agaynſt the lawe then in force, toke vpon them to ſay their Maſſe? as ye ſhall heare in theſe his aunſweres and communication had with St. Gardiner here vnder enſuing.

The Catholikes procured to do against the law in Queene Maryes tyme.

The communication betwene the Lord Chauncelour and Iudge Hales, being there among other Iudges to take his oth in Weſtminſter hall. Anno. 1553. 6. of October.

L.Chauncelour, I.Hales.

Communication betwene Iudge Hales and the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

MAſter Hales, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that like as the Queenes highnes hath heretofore conceiued good opinion of you, eſpecially for that ye ſtood both faythfully and lawfully in her cauſe of iuſt ſucceſſion, refuſing to ſet your hand to the boke among others that were againſt her grace in that behalfe: ſo now, through your owne late deſertes agaynſt certayne her highnes doinges, ye ſtand not well in her graces fauour: and therefore, before ye take any oth, it ſhalbe neceſſary for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I pray you my Lord what is the cauſe?

Chaun. Information is geuen, that ye haue indicted certayne Prieſtes in Kent, for ſaying Maſſe.

Hales. My Lord it is not ſo: I indicted none, but in dede certayne indictments of like matter were brought before me at the laſt aſſiſes there holden, and I gaue order therein as the law required. For I haue profeſſed the law, agaynſt which in caſes of iuſtice, I wyll neuer (God willing) procede, nor in any wyſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhew forth my conſcience: and if it were to do agayne, I would do no leſſe then I did.

Chaun. Yea Maiſter Hales, your conſcience is knowen well inough. I know ye lacke no conſcience.

Hales. My Lord, ye may do well to ſearch your owne conſcience, for myne is better knowen to my ſelf then to you: and to be playne, I did aſwell vſe iuſtice in your ſayd Maſſe caſe by my conſcience as by law, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in tryall to the vttermoſt that can be obiected. And if I haue therein done any iniury or wrong, let me be iudged by the law, for I will ſéeke no better defence, conſidering chiefly that it is my profeſſion.

Chaun. Why Maiſter Hales, although ye had the rigour of the law on your ſide, yet ye might haue had regard to the Quéenes highnes preſent doinges in that caſe. And further, although ye ſeme to be more thẽ preciſe in the lawe: yet I thinke ye would be very loth to yeld to the extremity of ſuch aduantage as myght be gathered agaynſt your procedyngs in the law, as ye haue ſometyme taken vpon you in place of iuſtice: and if it were well tryed, I beleue ye ſhould not be well able to ſtand honeſtly thereto.

Iuſtice Hales for Iuſtice ſake troubled.

Hales. My lord, I am not ſo perfect but I may erre for lacke of knowledge. But both in conſcience and ſuch knowledge of the law as God hath geuen me, I wyll do nothing but I wyll maintaine it, and abide in it: and if my goods, and all that I haue be not able to counterpayſe the caſe: my body ſhalbe ready to ſerue the turne: for they be all at the Quéenes highnes pleaſure.

Chaun. Ah ſir, ye be very quicke and ſtout in your anſwers. But as it ſhould ſéeme, that which ye did, was more of a will, fauouring the opinion of your religion agaynſt the ſeruice now vſed, then for any occaſion or zeale of iuſtice, ſeyng the Quéenes highnes doth ſet it forth as yet, wyſhing all her faythfull ſubiectes to embrace it accordyngly: and where ye offer both body and goods in your tryall, there is no ſuch matter required at your hands, and yet ye ſhall not haue your own will neither.

Winchest. quarelleth wyth M.Hales religion.

Hales. My Lord, I ſéeke not wilfull will, but to ſhew my ſelfe as I am bound in loue to God, and obedience to the Quéenes maieſty, in whoſe cauſe willingly for iuſtice ſake, all other reſpectes ſet a part, I dyd of late (as your Lordſhip knoweth) aduenture as much as I had. And as for my religion, I truſt it to be ſuch as pleaſeth God: wherein I am ready to aduenture aſwell my lyfe as my ſubſtaunce, if I be called thereunto. And ſo in lacke of myne owne power and wyll, the Lords will be fulfilled.

Chaun. Seing ye be at this poynt M. Hales, I wyll preſently make an end with you. The Quéenes highnes ſhalbe informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace ſhall thereupon determyne, ye ſhall haue knowledge. Untill which tyme ye may depart as ye came without your oth: for as it appeareth, ye are ſcarſe worthy the place appointed.

Hales. I thanke your Lordſhip: and as for my vocation, being both a burthen and a charge more then euer I deſired to take vpon me: when ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe the Quéenes highnes to eaſe me thereof, I ſhall moſt humbly wyth due contentation, obey the ſame: and ſo he departed from the barre.

Not many dayes after thys communication or colloquie in Weſtminſter hall, which was October 6. an. 1553. M. Hales at the commaundement of the Biſhop was committed to the kyngs Bench, where he remayned conſtant vntill Lent: then was remoued to the Counter in Breadſtréete, and afterward from thence was caryed to the Fléete.

M.Hales committed to the Kinges Bench.

Being in the Fléete, what it was that he had graunted

ted vnto the Biſhops, by their fraudulent aſſaultes and perſwaſions, namely of D. Day Byſhop of Chicheſter, and of Iudge Portman (as it is thought) ouercome at laſt, I haue not to ſay.

M. Hales about to kill him- ſelfe in pri- ſon.

This is certaine that ſhortly after calling himſelf better to remembraunce, he was brought to great repentaunce and terror of conſcience. In ſo much that for very anguiſh of hart he was ready wyth his penneknife to kyll him ſelf there in the priſon, and had (no doubt) ſo done, had not the mercifull prouidence of the Lord reſcued him miraculouſly, as ye ſhall heare.

It happened when ſupper tyme came that he ſhould be called downe. M. Hales hauyng litle mynd either to eate or drinke, gatte hym ſtraight way to bed, where he lay all the night ſobbyng and gronyng, and tooke (God knoweth) litle reſt or ſlepe. At length when mornyng came, about ſixe of the clocke he ſent his ſeruaunt for a cup of beere vnder pretenſe as though he were thyrſty and deſirous to drinke. Whether the cauſe was true or fained, it is vnknowen: but this folowed, that his man was yet ſcarſe out of the chamber, when he with hys penknife had woūded him ſelfe in diuers places of his body, & was purpoſed (no doubt) to haue diſtroyed him ſelfe, had not the goodnes of the Lord giuen preſent helpe in tyme of oportunitie. Wherby it is euident for all men to vnderſtand, how Gods fauour was not abſent from the man, although he thought hym ſelfe vtterly forſaken for his denyall: as by the ſequele may well appeare.

Gods mercifull prouidence in reſcuing M. Hales.

For as ſoone as he had ſent his man out of his chamber (ſee what God would haue done) euen afore the chamber dore eftſoones the Butler mette him: who beyng deſired to fill the drinke, and takyng the cuppe, the other returned agayne vnto his Maiſter at the ſame very tyme when he was workyng his owne deſtruction: Whereby M. Hales at that tyme was ſtopt of his purpoſe and preſerued, not without Gods manifeſt good will and prouidence. When Wincheſter had knowledge of it, ſtraight way he taketh occaſiō therby to blaſpheme the doctrine of the Goſpell, which he openly in the ſtarre chamber called the doctrine of deſperation. Maiſter Hales beyng within a while after recouered of thoſe woūdes & deliuered out of priſon, getteth him ſelfe home vnto his houſe: where he, either for ẏ greatnes of his ſorow, or for lacke of good counſel, or for that he would auoyd the neceſſitie of hearing Maſſe, hauing all thinges ſet in an order a good while before that perteined to his Teſtament, caſtyng him ſelfe into a ſhallow riuer, was drowned therin: which was about the begynnyng of this moneth of February, or in the moneth of January before. An. 1555.

Wincheſt. ight ra- her haue ed how his cruell ealyng orketh ſperatiō.

udge Hales rowned ſelfe.

The vnhappy chaunce of this ſo worthy a iudge was ſurely the cauſe of great ſorow and grief vnto all good mē: and it gaue occaſion beſides vnto certain Diuines to ſtand ſomething in doubt with them ſelues whether he were reprobate, or ſaued, or no: about which matter it is not for me to determine, either this way or that: for he that is our iudge, the ſame ſhalbe his iudge: and he it is that will lay all thinges open when the tyme commeth. This in the meane tyme is certain and ſure, that the deede of the man in my mynde ought in no wiſe to be allowed: which if hee did wittingly, then do I diſcommend the mās reaſon. But if he did it in phreneſie and as beyng out of his witte, then do I greatly pitie his caſe.

The caſe Iudge Hales uching ſidered.

Yet notwithſtandyng, ſeyng Gods iudgementes be ſecrete, and we be likewiſe in doubt vpon what entent he did thus puniſh him ſelfe, neither agayne is any mā certain, whether he did repent or no before ẏ laſt breth went out of his body, me ſemeth their opinion is more indifferent herein, which doe rather diſallow the example of the dead, then diſpaire of his ſaluation.

Otherwiſe if we will adiudge all thoſe to hell, that haue departed the world after this ſort, how many exāples haue we in the firſt perſecutions of the Chuch, of thoſe men & wemē who beyng regiſtred in the workes of worthy writers, haue notwithſtandyng their prayſe and commendation.

Examples in the tyme of the firſt perſecution.

For what ſhall I thinke of thoſe young men, who beyng ſought for to do ſacrifice to heathen Idols, dyd caſt downe them ſelues headlong and brake their own neckes to auoyd ſuch horrible pollution of thē ſelues? What ſhall I ſay of thoſe virgins of Antioch, who to the ende they myght not defyle them ſelues with vncleannes and with idolatrie through the perſwaſion of their mother, caſting themſelues headlong into a riuer together with their mother, did fordoe them ſelues, although not in the ſame water, yet after the ſame maner of drowning, as this M. Hales did? What ſhal I ſay of other two ſiſters, which for the ſelfe ſame quarell did violently throw them ſelues headlong into the ſea, as Euſebius doth record? In whom though perchaunce there was leſſe cōfidence to beare out the paynes which ſhould be miniſtred of the wicked vnto thē: yet that their good deſyre to kepe their fayth and religion vnſpotted, was commended and praiſed.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccle. Lib. 8.

An other lyke example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus, and that in an other virgin likewiſe, whoſe name is expreſſed in Hierome to bee Braſſila Dyrrachina, who to kepe her virginity, fayned her ſelf to be a Witch, and ſo conuenting with the yong man which went about to deflowre her, pretended that ſhe would geue him an herbe, which ſhould preſerue him from all kynde of weapons: and ſo to proue it in her ſelf, layde the herbe vpon her owne throte, byddyng hym ſmite: whereby ſhe was ſlayn, and ſo with the loſſe of her life, her virginity was ſaued.

Nicephor. lib. 7. Cap. 13.

Braſſila Dyrrachina.

Hereunto may be ioyned the lyke death of Sophronia a Matron of Rome, who when ſhee was required of Maxentius the tirant to be defiled, and ſaw her huſband more ſlacke then he ought to haue bene in ſauing her honeſty, bidding them that were ſent for her to tary a while till ſhe made her ready, went into her chamber, & with a weapon thruſt her ſelfe through the breſt and dyed. Now who is hee that would reprehend the worthy act of Achetes, which biting of his own toung, did ſpit it out into the Harlots face?

Of this *Sophronia*, read before pag. 119.

These exāples I do not here inferre, as going about eyther to excuſe or to maintaine the hainous fact of M. Hales, which I would wiſh rather by ſilence might be drowned in obliuion: but yet notwithſtanding, as touching the perſon of the man, whatſoeuer his fact was, becauſe we are not ſure whether he at ẏ laſt breath repented: againe, becauſe we do not know nor are hable to comprehend the bottomles depth of the graces and mercies which are in Chriſt Ieſu our Sauiour, we wil leue therefore the finall iudgement of him, to the determination of hym who is onely appointed iudge both of the quicke and the dead.

De Iacobo Haliſio carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit grauitas, prudentia, uorma,
  Iunctaq; ſincera cum pietate fides:
Tam caro firma tibi fortiſq; Haliſe fuiſſet,
  Sanctorum prima claſſe ferendus eras.
Inſtituit ſedenim ſua quis ſic tempora vitæ
  Sanctorum, vt nullis ſint maculata malis.
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
  Tu tua fac cures, cœtera mitte Deo.

The hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins,

hauing firſt his hand burned, after was burned him *ſelfe by B. Boner, for the conſtant teſtimony of Chriſtes true profeſſion.*

March. 16.

The hiſtory of *Thomas Tomkins,* Martyr.

MEntion was made before of. vj. priſoners, brought & examined before B. Boner, the viij. day of February, whoſe names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, Laurence, and Hunter. All which, though they receaued their condemnation together the next day after: yet becauſe the time of their execution was then driuen of frõ February tyll ẏ next moneth of March, I did therefore deferre the ſtory of them to thys preſent moneth of March aforeſayd, wherein now remayneth ſeuerally to entreate of the Martyrdome of theſe .vj. perſons, as the order and time of their ſufferings ſeuerally do require. Of the which .vj. forenamed Martyrs, the firſt was Thomas Tomkins, burned in Smithfield the .xvj. day of March. Anno. 1555.

The godly lyfe and diſpoſition of *Thomas Tomkins.*

This Tho. Tomkins a Weauer by his occupation, dwelling in Shordich, and of the dioces of Lõdon, was of ſuch conuerſation, and diſpoſition ſo godly, that if any woman had come vnto him with her web, as ſome time they did three or foure in a day, he would allwayes begin with prayer. Or if any other had come to talke of any matter, he would likewyſe firſt begyn wͭ praier. And if any had ſought vnto him to borow money, he would ſhew hym ſuch money as he had in his purſſe, & byd him take it. And whẽ they came to repay it again, ſo farre of was he frõ ſeeking any vſury at their hãd, or frõ ſtrait exaction of his due, that he would byd them keepe it longer, while they were better hable. And theſe were the conditions of Tho. Tomkins, teſtified yet to thys preſent day by the moſt part of all hys neighbours, and almoſt of al his pariſh which knew him, as M. Skinner, M. Leke, and other moe. Of whom mo then halfe a doſen at once came to me, diſcrete and ſubſtantial mẽ, reporting the ſame vnto me: recording moreouer as followeth: That D. Boner B. of London kept the ſayd Tomkins wyth hym in priſon halfe a yeare: Duryng which tyme the ſayd biſhop was ſo rigorous vnto hym, that he beat him bitterly about ẏ face, wherby his face was ſwelled. Whereupon the biſhop cauſed his beard to be ſhauen, and gaue the Barber .xij. pence.

Witneſſes to *Thomas Tomkins.*

Tomkins maketh the Byſhops hay.

Touching which ſhauing of Thomas Tomkins beard, thys is more to be added: Byſhop Boner hauyng Tomkyns with hym priſoner at Fulham in the moneth of July, did ſet him with his other workfolkes to make hay. And ſeing him to labour ſo well, the biſhop ſetting him downe, ſaid: wel, I like thee wel, for thou laboureſt well: I truſt thou wylt be a good Catholicke. My Lord, ſayd he, S. Paule ſayth: *He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eate.* Boner ſayd: Ah S. Paule is a* great man with thee. And ſo after ſuch other talke, the biſhop inferring moreouer, wiſhed hys beard of, ſaying that ſo he would looke like a catholicke. My lord ſayd Tomkins, before my beard grew, I was I truſt a good Chriſtian, and ſo I truſt to be, my beard being on. But Boner in fine ſẽt for ẏ Barber, & cauſed his beard to be ſhauen of. The very cauſe was for that Boner had pluckt of a peece of his beard before.

*And ſhould be with you, if ye were a right Byſhop.

B. Boner wiſheth *Tomkins* beard to be ſhauen, becauſe he had pluckt of a peece of his beard before.

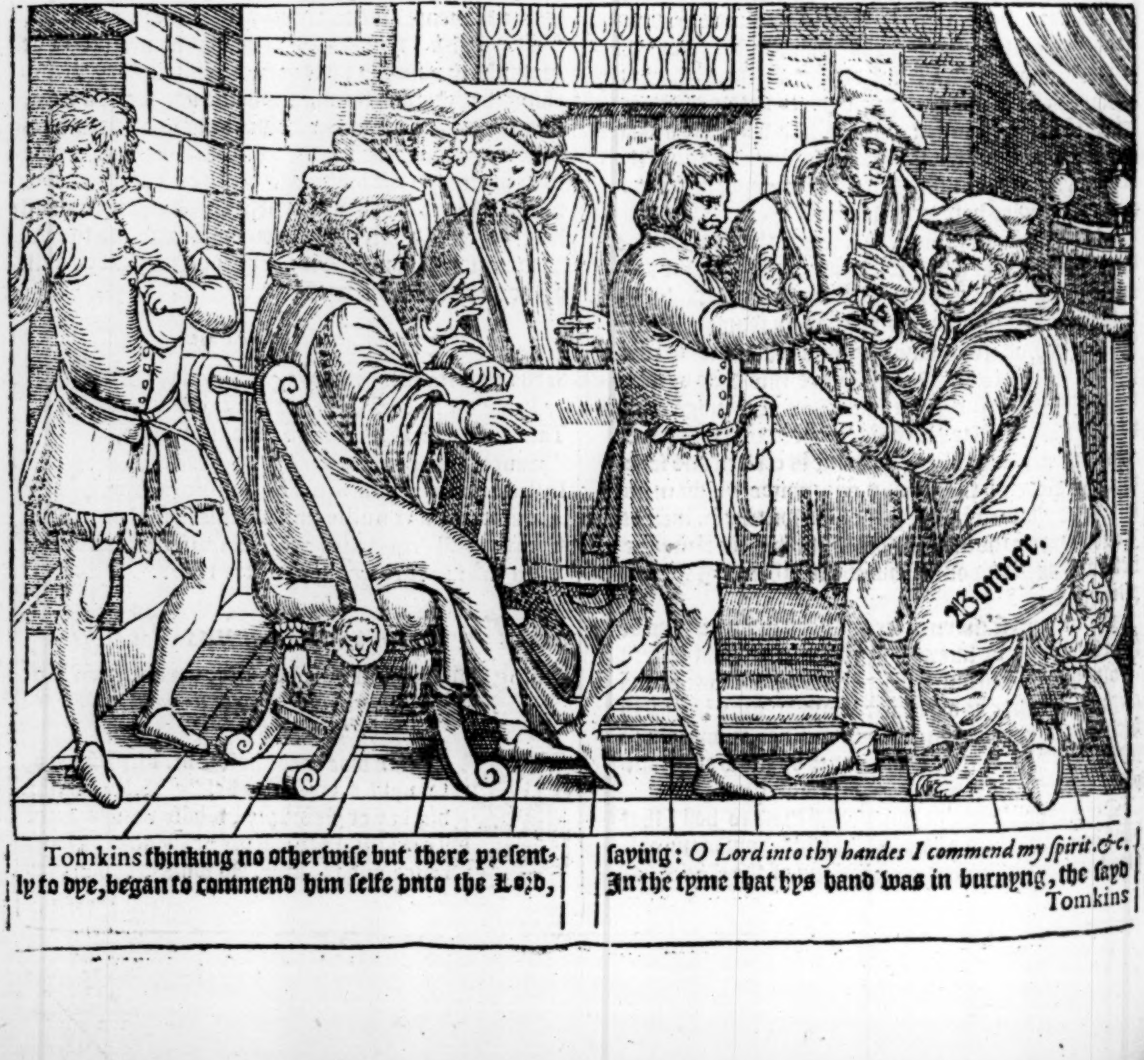
The notable conſtancy in a true Chriſtian ſouldiour.

The rage of this biſhop was not ſo great agaynſt hym, but the conſtancie of the partie was much greater wyth patience to beare it: who although he had not the learning as other haue, yet was he ſo endued wͭ Gods mighty ſpirit, and ſo conſtantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods truth, that by no meanes he could be remoued from the cõfeſſion of truth, to impiety and errour. Whereupon Boner the biſhop being greatly vexed againſt the poore man, when he ſaw that by no perſwaſions he could preuayle wyth hym, deuiſed an other practiſe not ſo ſtraunge as cruell, further to try his conſtancie, to the entent that ſeing he could not otherwyſe conuince hym by doctrine of ſcriptures, yet hee might ouerthrow hym by ſome forefeeling and terrour of death. So hauing wyth hym Maiſter Harpeſfield, M. Pendleton, Doct. Chedſey, M. Wyllerton, and other ſtanding by, hee called for Thomas Tomkins, who commyng before the Biſhop, and ſtanding as he was wont in defence of his faith, the biſhop fell frõ beating to burning. Who hauing there a taper or waxe candell of .iij. or iiij. weekes ſtanding vpon the table, thought there to repreſent vnto vs, as it were, the old image of king Porſena. For as he burned the hand of Scæuola: ſo this catholicke biſhop tooke Tomkins by the fingers, & held his hand directly ouer the flame, ſuppoſing that by the ſmart and payne of the fire being terrified, he would leaue of the defence of his doctrine, which he had receaued.

B. Boner playeth k. *Porſenna* in burnyng the hand *Scæuola.*

¶ The burning of Tho. Tomkins hand, by B. Boner, who not long after burnt alſo his body.

The burning of *Tomkins* hand.



Tomkins thinking no otherwiſe but there preſently to dye, began to commend him ſelfe vnto the Lord, ſaying: *O Lord into thy handes I commend my ſpirit. &c.* In the tyme that hys hand was in burnyng, the ſayd

Tomkins afterward reported to one Iames Hinſe, that his ſpirit was ſo rapt vp, that he felt no payne. In the which burning he neuer ſhronke, till ẏ vaines ſhronke and the ſynewes braſt, and the water did ſpyrt into M. Harpesfieldes face: In ſomuch that the ſayd M. Harpſfield moued with pity, deſired the biſhop to ſtay, ſaying, that he had tryed hym inough. This burnyng was in the hall at Fulham. And where the B. thought by that meanes to driue him from his opinions, it proued much otherwyſe: for this Chriſtian Scæuola ſo valiantly did deſpiſe, abide, and endure that burning, that we haue leſſe cauſe hereafter to maruaile at the manfulnes of that Romane Scæuola. I would to God the other had as wel folowed ẏ example of that Hetruſcan Tyrant. For hee after the left hand of Scæuola was halfe burned, eyther ſatiſfied with his puniſhment, or ouercome by his manhood, or driuen away by feare, ſent him home ſafe vnto his people: where as Boner hetherto not cõtented with ẏ burning of his hãd, reſted not vntill he had conſumed his whole body into aſhes at London in Smithfield. But before we come to his ſuffering, we will firſt entreate of ſome part of his examination and articles, with his aũſweres & confeſſion therunto annexed, as it is credibly in regiſter recorded.

Tomkins cõpared to Scæuola.

Boner more cruell then Porſenna the Hetruſcan.

¶ The firſt examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The firſt examination of Thomas Tomkins before Boner B. of London.

This faithful & valiant ſouldiour of God Tho. Tomkyns, after he had remained the ſpace (as is ſayd) of halfe a yeare in priſõ, about ẏ 8. day of February was brought with certayne other before Boner ſittyng in his Conſiſtory, to be examined. To whom firſt was brought forth a certayne Bill or Schedule ſubſcribed, (as it appeared) with his own hand, the fiſt day of the ſame moneth laſt before, conteinyng theſe wordes folowyng.

The confeſſion of Tomkins ſubſcribed wyth his owne hãd.

Thomas Tomkins of Shordich, and of the Dioces of London, hath beleued and doth beleue, that in the Sacrament of the altar, vnder the formes of bread and wine, there is not the very body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, but onely a token and a remembraunce therof, the very body and bloud of Chriſt onely beyng in heauen and no where els.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

Wherupon he was aſked whether he did acknowledge the ſame ſubſcription to be of his own hand. To the which he graunted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This beyng done, the Byſhop went about to perſuade hym, (with wordes, rather then with reaſons) to relinquiſh his opinions, and to returne agayne to the vnitie of the Catholicke Church, promiſing if he would ſo do, to remit all that was paſt: but he conſtantly denyed ſo to do. When the Byſhop ſaw he could not ſo conuince him, he brought forth and read to him an other writing contaynyng Articles and Interrogatories wherunto he ſhould come the next day & aunſwere: in the meane tyme he ſhould deliberate with him ſelfe what to do, and ſo the next day, beyng the ix. day of March, at eight of the clocke in the mornyng, to be preſent in the ſame place agayne, to geue his determinate aunſwere what he would do in the premiſſes, and then either to reuoke and reclame him ſelfe, or els in the after noone the ſame day to come agayne and haue Iuſtice (as he called it) miniſtred vnto hym: the copy of which Articles here foloweth.

Tomkins conſtant in hys fayth.

¶ Articles obiected and miniſtred the 8. day of February againſt Tho. Tomkins, with hys own hand ſubſcribing to the ſame.

Articles miniſtred againſt Thomas Tomkins.

Thou doeſt beleue that in the Sacrament of the aultar vnder the formes of bread and wyne there is not, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy word, really, truly, and in very dede, the very true and naturall body of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as touchyng the ſubſtaunce therof which was conceiued in the wombe of the virgine Mary, and hanged vppon the croſſe, ſuffryng Paſſion and death there for the lyfe of the world. I do ſo beleue.

Thou doeſt beleue that after the conſecration of the bread and wyne prepared for the vſe of the Sacrament of the altar there doth remayne the very ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and materiall wyne, not chaunged nor altered in ſubſtaunce by the power of almighty God, but remaynyng as it did before. I do ſo beleue.

Subſtaunce of bread remayneth in the Sacrament.

Thou doeſt beleue that it is an vntrue doctrine and a falſe beliefe to thinke or ſay that in the Sacrament of the altar there is after the conſecration of the bread & wyne, the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes naturall body and bloud by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy word. I do ſo beleue.

The naturall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament denyed.

Thou doeſt beleue that thy parentes, kynſfolkes, frendes, and acquaintaũce, and alſo thy Godfathers and Godmothers and al people did erre, and were deceiued, if they dyd beleue that in the Sacramẽt of the altar there was, after the cõſecration, the body and bloud of Chriſt, & that there did not remayne the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wyne. I do ſo beleue.

The errour of forelders touching the Sacrament.

By me Thomas Tomkyns.

¶ The ſecond examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The ſecond examination.

The next day, being the ix. of February, at eight of the clocke before noone, the ſayd Tho. Tomkyns, (according to the former cõmaũdemẽt) was brought agayne into ẏ place afore named, before ẏ biſhop & other his aſſiſtantes, where the foreſayd articles were propoũded vnto him: wherunto he anſwered as foloweth.

To the firſt he ſayd, that he dyd ſo beleue, as in the ſame is contayned.

To the ſecond he ſayd that it was onely bread, and a participation of Chriſtes death and paſſion, and ſo doe the ſcriptures teach.

To the third he ſayd & did beleue, it was a falſe doctrine to beleue & thinke as is contayned in this article.

To the fourth, he dyd alſo beleue the ſame.

Anſwere of Tomkins to the Articles.

After thys aunſwer, he did alſo ſubſcribe hys name to the ſayd articles. Whereupon the biſhop drawyng out of his boſome an other confeſſion ſubſcribed with Tomkins own hand, and alſo that article that was the firſt day obiected againſt him, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then wylled him to reuoke and denye his ſayd opinions: the which he vtterly refuſed to do, and therefore was commaunded to appeare before the biſhop agayne in the ſame place at two of the clocke in in the after noone.

¶ The Byſhop repeateth againe the confeſſion of Tho. Tomkyns written before by the ſayd Byſhop of London, and ſubſcribed by the ſayd Tomkyns, the xxvj. day of Septemb. An. 1554. which is this.

I Thomas Tomkins of the pariſh of Shordich, in the dioces of London, hauyng confeſſed and declared openly heretofore to Edmund Byſhop of London mine Ordinary, that my beliefe hath bene many yeares paſt and is at this preſent: that the body of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt is not truely and in very deede in the ſacrament of the aultar, but onely in heauen, and ſo in heauen, that it can not now in dede bee really and truely in the ſacrament of the aultar:

The firſt confeſſion of Tomkins offered to Biſh. Boner, and now here agayne repeated.

And moreouer, hauing lykewyſe confeſſed and declared to my ſayd Ordinary openly many tymes, that although the church, called the catholyke church, hath allowed and doth allowe the Maſſe and ſacrifice made and done therein, as a wholeſome, profitable, and a godly thyng: yet my beliefe hath bene many yeares paſt, and is at thys preſent, that the ſayd Maſſe is ful of ſuperſtition, playne idolatry, and vnprofitable for my ſoule, and ſo haue I called it many tymes, and take it at thys preſent:

The Maſſe full of ſuperſtition & idolatry.

Hauing alſo lykewyſe confeſſed and declared to my ſayd Ordinary, that the ſacrament of Baptiſme ought to be onely in the vulgar tounge, and not otherwiſe miniſtred, and alſo without any ſuch ceremonies as cuſto-

Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred in the vulgar tongue.

mably are vſed in the Latin church, and otherwyſe not to be allowed.

Tomkins conſtantly ſtandeth to the truth of the Goſpell.

Finally, beyng many tymes and oft called openly before my ſayd Ordinary, and talked wythall touchyng all my ſayd confeſſions and declarations, both by the ſayd myne Ordinary and dyuers other learned men, aſwell his chaplens as other, and counſelled by all them to embrace the truth, and to recant myne errour in the premiſſes, which they tolde me was playne hereſy and manifeſt error: do teſtify and declare hereby, that I do & wyl continually ſtand to my ſaid confeſſiō, declaratiō, and beliefe, in all the premiſſes and euery parte therof, and in no wyſe recant or go from any part of the ſame. In witnes wherof I haue ſubſcribed, and paſſed thys wrytyng the .xxvj. day of Septemb. the yeare aforeſayd.

By me Thomas Tomkins aforeſayd.

The names of them that ſat vpon Thomas Tomkins at this Seſſion, were theſe: Edmūd Boner, Iohn Fecknam Deane of Paules, Iohn Harpſfield Archd. of Londō, Iohn Morwen Maiſter of Arte, Tho. Morton Parſon of Fulham, Triſtrā Swadell, Tho. More, Tho. Beckinſaw, Iames Clyne Clerkes.

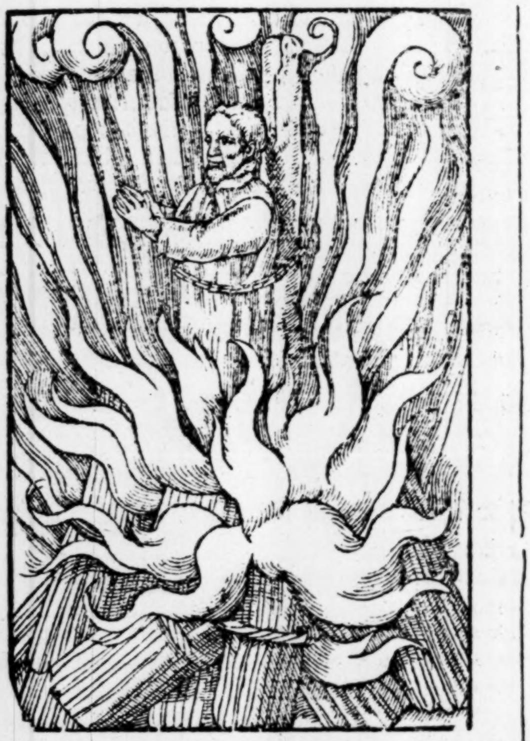
The laſt appearaunce and condemnatiō of T. Tomkins, Martyr.

¶ The laſt appearaūnce of Tho. Tomkins before Boner and the Commiſſioners.

The ſame day and place, at .ij. of the clocke in the after none, he was (the laſt tyme) brought forth before the byſhops of London, Bath, and Saint Dauids, with others: where he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſayd Byſhop of Bath, to reuoke and leaue of hys opinions. Unto whom he aunſwered: My Lord, I was borne and brought vp in ignoraunce vntill nowe of late yeares. And now I know the truth, wherein I will continue vnto the death.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Tomkins in Smithfield. An.1555. March.16.

¶ The burnyng of the bleſſed Martyr Thomas Tomkyns.



Then Boner cauſed all his articles and confeſſion to bée agayne openly read, and ſo in his accuſtomed maner perſwaded with him to recant. To whom he finally ſayd: My Lorde, I can not ſée but that you would haue me to forſake the truth, and to fall into errour and hereſy. The Byſhop ſeing hee would not recant, did procede in his lawe, and ſo gaue ſentence of condemnation vpon hym. Then hée deliuered hym to the Shrieffe of London, who caryed hym ſtraight vnto Newgate, where he remayned moſt ioyous and conſtant, vntill the .xvj. day of March next after: on which day, he was by the ſayd Shrieffe conueyed into Smithfield, and there ſealed vp his faith in the flaming fyre, to the glory of Gods holy name, and confirmation of the weake.

Sentence read agaynſt Tomkins.

March.16.

A notable hiſtory of W. Hunter, a young man of xix. yeares, purſued to death by Iuſtice Browne for the Goſpels ſake, worthy of all young men, and parentes to be read.

William Hunter prentiſe, and Martyr. March. 26.

The 26. day of ẏ ſayd moneth of March, the yeare aforeſayd, folowed the Martyrdome of Williā Hunter, a right godly young man of the age of xix. yeares, and borne of lyke godly parentes: by whom he was not onely inſtructed in in true Religion and godlynes, but alſo confirmed by them vnto death, after a rare and ſtraunge example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parentes. Wherin may appeare a ſingular ſpectacle, not onely of a maruelous fortitude in the partie ſo young: but alſo in his parentes, to beholde nature in them ſtriuing with Religion, and ouercome of the ſame. Wherby Chriſtian parentes may learne what is to be done not onely in their children, but alſo in them ſelues, if néede at any tyme do require, or godlynes ſhould demaund the duetie of a Chriſtian man agaynſt naturall affection. Example wherof in the ſequele of this hyſtorie we haue here preſent before our eyes. Which hyſtorie as it was faithfully drawen out by Robert Hunter his own brother (who beyng preſent with his brother William, and neuer left him till his death, ſent the true reporte therof vnto vs) we haue here with lyke faithfulnes placed and recorded the ſame, as foloweth.

William Hunter prentiſe in Colman ſtreete wyth Thomas Taylour.

Williā Hunter being a prentiſe in London in the fyrſt yeare of Quéene Mary, was commaunded at the Eaſter next following, to receaue the communion at a Maſſe, by the Prieſt of the pariſh where hée dwelt, called Colman ſtréete: which, becauſe he refuſed to do, he was very much threatned that he ſhould be therfore brought before the Byſhop of Londō. Wherfore William Hunters Maiſter one Thomas Tailour, a Silke weauer, requyred William Hunter, to go and depart from him, leſt that he ſhoulde come in daunger, becauſe of hym, if hee continued in his houſe. For the which cauſes, William Hunter toke leaue of his ſaid maiſter, & thence came to Burntwood where his father dwelt, with whom he remayned afterward, about the ſpace of halfe a quarter of a yeare.

William Hunter threatned for not receauing at a Maſſe.

William Hunter willed of hys Maiſter to depart.

William Hunter commeth to hys father at Burntwood.

Father Atwell a Sumner or Promotor.

After this it happened, within .v. or .vj. wéekes, that William going into the Chappell of Burntwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a Deſke, dyd reade therein. In the meane time there came in one father Atwell a Sumner, which hearing William read in the Bible, ſayd to him, what medleſt thou wyth the Bible? Knoweſt thou what thou readeſt, & canſt thou expound the ſcriptures?

To whom William aunſwered and ſayd: father Atwell, I take not vpon me to expound the ſcriptures, except I were diſpenſed withall, but I finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort. To whom Father Atwell ſayd: it was neuer mery ſince the Bible came abroad in Engliſh.

Talke betwene Atwell & William Hunter concerning the Bible.

To the which wordes William aunſwered ſaying: Father Atwell, ſay not ſo for Gods ſake, for it is Gods booke, out of the which euery one that hath grace may learne to know what things both pleaſe God, and alſo what diſpleaſeth him. Then ſayd father Atwell: could we not tell before this tyme, as well as now, how God was ſerued? William aunſwered: no father Atwell, nothing ſo wel, as we may now, if that we might haue hys bleſſed word, amongeſt vs ſtill as we haue had. It is true ſayd father Atwell, if it be as you ſay.

Well ſayd William Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may haue the bleſſed Bible amongeſt vs continually. To the which wordes father

Atwel

The Catholickes can not abyde the Bible.

Atwell ſayd, I perceiue your mynde well inough, you are one of them that miſliketh the Queenes lawes, and therefore you came from London, I heare ſay. You learned theſe wayes at London, but for all that, ſayd father Atwell, you muſt turne an other leafe, or els you and a great ſorte moe heretickes wyll broyle for this geare, I warrant you. To the which wordes William ſayd: God geue me grace that I may beleue his word and confeſſe his name, whatſoeuer come therof. Confeſſe his name, quoth old Atwell? no, no, ye wyll go to the deuill all of you, and confeſſe hys name.

Atwell not able to reaſon, but he is able to accuſe the innocent.

The vicar of Southweild angry with William Hunter for reading in the Bible.

What, ſayd William? you ſay not well father Atwell. At the which wordes he went out of the Chappell in a great fury, ſaying: I am not able to reaſon wͭ thee, but I will fetch one ſtraight way which ſhall talke with thee, I warrant thee thou hereticke. And hee leauyng William Hunter reading in the Bible, ſtraight wayes brought one Thomas Wood, who was then Vicar of Southweild, which was at an Alehouſe euen ouer agaynſt the ſayd Chappell: Who hearing olde Atwell ſay that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the Chappell, came by and by to hym, and finding hym reading in the Bible, tooke the matter very haynouſly, ſaying: Sirha who gaue thee leaue to read in the Bible and to expound it?

Then Williã aunſwered: I expound not the Scriptures Syr, but read them for my comfort. What medleſt thou with them at all, ſayd the Vicar? It becommeth not thee nor none ſuch, to medle with the Scriptures. But William aunſwered: I will read the Scriptures God willing, while I liue, and you ought (M. Vicar) not to diſcourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your diſcharge and their owne.

The Catholickes in no wiſe will be controlled.

Unto the which the Vicar aunſwered: It becommeth thee well to tell me what I haue to do. I ſee thou art an hereticke, by thy wordes. William ſaid, I am no hereticke for ſpeakyng the truth. But the Vicar ſayd, it is a mery world when ſuch as thou art, ſhall teach vs what is the truth. Thou art medlyng, father Atwell tels me, with the vj. of Iohn, wherein thou mayeſt perceiue, how Chriſt ſayth: *Except that ye eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinke his bloud, ye haue no lyfe in you.* Williã ſayd, I read the vj. of Iohn in deede: howbeit, I made no expoſition on it.

Thẽ ſayd father Attewell, when you read it, I ſaid, that you there might vnderſtãd how that in the Sacrament of the aultar is Chriſtes very naturall body and bloud: vnto the which you aunſwered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you woulde medle with no great expoſition, excepte that ye were diſpenſed withall.

William Hunter examined of the Sacrament.

Ah, ſayd the Vicar? what ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar? beleueſt thou not in it, and that the bread and wyne is tranſubſtantiated into the very body and bloud of Chriſt? William aunſwered, I learne no ſuch thing in the vj. of Iohn, as you ſpeake of. Why ſayd the Vicar, doeſt thou not beleue in the ſacrament of the aultar? I beleue, ſayd William Hunter, all that Gods word teacheth. Why, ſaid the Vicar, thou maieſt learne this which I ſay, plainly in the ſixt of Iohn.

The Catholickes like to the Capernaites.

Then ſaid William, you vnderſtand Chriſts wordes much like the carnall Capernaites, which thought that Chriſt would haue geuen them hys fleſh to feede vpon: which opinion our Sauiour Chriſt corrected, when he ſayd: *The wordes which I ſpeake to you, are ſpirite and life.*

Now, quoth the Vicar, I haue found you out: now I ſee that thou art an hereticke in deede, and that thou doeſt not beleue in the ſacrament of the aultar.

Hereſie miſtaken with the Papiſtes.

Then ſayd William Hunter, where as you doubt my beleefe, I would it were tryed whether that you or I would ſtand faſter in our fayth. Yea thou hereticke, (ſayd the Vicar) wouldeſt thou haue it ſo tried? William Hunter aunſwered, that which you call hereſie, I ſerue my Lord God withall.

Then ſayd the Vicar: canſt thou ſerue God wyth hereſie? But William aunſwered, I would that you and I were euẽ now faſt tyed to a ſtake, to proue whether that you or I would ſtand ſtrongeſt to our fayth. But the Vicar aunſwered: It ſhal not ſo be tryed. No, quoth William, I thinke ſo: for if it might, I thinke I know who would ſooneſt recãt, for I durſt ſet my foote againſt yours euẽ to the death. That we ſhall ſee, quoth the Vicar, and ſo they departed, the Vicar threatning William much, how that he would complaine of hym: with much other communication, which they had together.

The Vicar complaineth to Iuſtice Browne of W. Hunter.

Iuſtice Browne ſendeth for Hunters father.

Immediately after, this Vicar of Weild tolde M. Browne of the communication which William Hunter and he had together. Which when M. Browne vnderſtoode, immediately he ſent for Williams father and the Conſtable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the Vicar had reaſoned together, he tooke his leaue of his father and fled, becauſe Woode the Vicar threatned him. Now when the Conſtable and Williams father were come, and were before M. Browne, he aſked where William Hunter was. His father aũſwered, ſaying: if it pleaſe you Syr, I know not where he is become. No, quoth M. Browne? I will make thee tel where he is, and fetch hym forth alſo ere I haue done with thee. Syr ſayd Williams father, I know not where he is become, nor where to ſeeke for him.

The fruite of the Popes doctrine, to ſet the father againſt the ſonne.

Then ſayd M. Browne, why diddeſt thou not bryng him when thou haddeſt hym? I promiſe thee if thou wilt not fetch hym, I will ſend thee to priſon till I ſhall get hym. Wherfore ſee that thou promiſe me to fetch him, or els it is not beſt to looke me in yͤ face any more, nor yet to reſt in Burntwood. Well, quoth M. Browne to Williams father, ſee that thou ſeeke hym forth and bryng hym to me.

An vnreaſonable requeſt of Iuſtice Browne.

Williams father aunſwered: Syr, would you haue me ſeeke out my ſonne to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth M. Browne, I will deale well enough for that matter: thou ſhalt not nede to care for the matter. Fetch him & thou ſhalt ſee what I wil do for him. Moreouer, if thou lackeſt money, quoth he, thou ſhalt haue ſome, and bad the Conſtable M. Salmon to geue hym a crowne, but Williãs father tooke none of him: Howbeit M. Browne would neuer reſt till Williams father had promiſed him to ſeeke out his ſonne. And thus M. Browne ſent the Cõſtable home againe, and Williams father, commaundyng hym to ſeeke out William Hunter, and then to come agayne and bryng hym to him.

The father pretendeth to ſeke the ſonne. The ſonne meeteth wyth him in the way.

After that olde father Hunter had rydden a two or three dayes iourneyes to ſatiſfie M. Brownes expectation, it happened that William mette wyth hys father in the hygh way as he trauailed, and firſt he ſeyng hys father, came to hym, and ſpake to him, and tolde hym how that he thought that hee ſought for hym: and then his father confeſſing it, wept ſore and ſaid, that M. Browne charged hym to ſeeke hym, and bryng hym to hym: howbeit, ſayd he, I will returne home agayne, and ſay I cã not find you. But William ſaid: father, I will go home with you and ſaue you harmeles, what ſoeuer commeth of it.

The working of nature betwene the father and the ſonne.

And thus they came home together: but Williã as ſoone as he was come home, was taken by yͤ ſaid Conſtable & layd in yͤ Stockes till the next day. M. Browne hearyng that William Hunter was come home, ſent for hym to the Conſtable, who brought hym immediatly to M. Browne.

W. Hunter brought before Iuſtice Browne.

Now when William was come, M. Browne ſayd to hym, ah ſyrha, are ye come? and then by and by he commaunded the Byble to be brought, and opened it, and then began to reaſon with William on this maner, ſaying: I heare ſay you are a Scripture man, you: and can reaſon much of the ſixt of Iohn and expound as pleaſeth you, and turned the Bible to the ſixt of Saint Iohn, and then hee layd to hys charge, what an expoſition he made, when the Vicare and he talked together. And William ſayd, he vrged me to ſay ſo much as I dyd.

Talke betwen W. Hunter, and Iuſtice Browne about the ſacrament.

Well, quoth M. Browne, becauſe you can expound that place ſo well, how ſay you to an other place, turning to the xxij. of Saint Luke? and M. Browne ſayd loke here (quoth hee) for Chriſt ſayth, that the bread is his body.

Bread broken, but not chaunged.

To the which William aunſwered, the text ſayeth, how Chriſt toke bread, but not that he chaunged it, into an other ſubſtaunce, but gaue that which he toke, and brake that which he gaue, which was bread, as is euident by the text. For els he ſhould haue had two bodyes, which to affirme I ſee no reaſon, ſayd Williã.

M. Browne in a pelting chafe.

At the which aunſwere M. Browne was very angry, & toke vp the Byble and turned the leaues, and then flong it downe againe in ſuch a fury, that William coulde not well finde the place agayne wherof they reaſoned. Then M. Browne ſaid, thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take thinges as they are, but expound them as thou wilte? doth not Chriſt call the bread hys body playnly, and thou wilt not beleue that the bread is hys body after the conſecration? thou goeſt about to make Chriſt a lyer.

How Chriſt calleth bread hys body.

But William Hunter aunſwered: I meane not ſo Syr, but rather more earneſtly to ſearch what ẏ mynd of Chriſt is in that holy Inſtitution, wherein he commendeth vnto vs the remembraunce of his death, paſſion, reſurrection and comming againe, ſaying: *This doe in the remembraunce of me.* And alſo though Chriſt call the bread his body, as he doth alſo ſay, that hee is a vine, a doore. &c. yet is not his body turned into bread, no more then he is turned into a doore, or vyne. Wherfore Chriſt called the bread hys body by a figure.

M. Browne in a rage.

M. Browne ſendeth vp W. Hunter to Byſhop Boner.

At that word Maiſter Browne ſayd, thou art a Villaine in deede. Wilt thou make Chriſt a lyer yet ſtill? and was in ſuch a fury with William, and ſo raged, that William could not ſpeake a word but he croſſed hym, and ſcoffed at euery word. Wherefore William ſeing him in ſuch fury, deſired hym that hee would eyther heare him quietly, and ſuffer hym to aunſwer for him ſelfe, or els ſend him away. To the which Maiſter Browne aunſwered: in deede I wyll ſend thee to morrow to my Lord of London, and he ſhall haue thee vnder examination, and thus left of the talke, and made a letter immediatly, and ſent William Hunter with the Conſtable to Boner Byſhop of London, who receiued William.

Boners wordes to W. Hunter.

After that he had read the letter, and the Conſtable, returned home agayne, the Byſhop cauſed William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reaſon with hym in this maner: I vnderſtand Williã Hunter (quoth he) by M. Brownes letter, how that you haue had certayne communication with the Vicar of Wield about the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, and how that ye coulde not agree, whereupon M. Browne ſent for thee to bryng thee to the Catholicke fayth, from the which he ſaith, that thou art gone. Howbeit, if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou ſhalt haue no harme, for any thyng that thou haſt ſayd or done in this matter.

Talke betwen W. Hunter and the Byſhop about the Sacrament.

William aunſwered, ſaying: I am not fallen frõ the Catholicke faith, of Chriſt, I am ſure, but do beleue it, and confeſſe it with all my hart.

Why, quoth the Byſhop, how ſayſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of ẏ aultar? wilt thou not recãt thy ſaying, which thou cõfeſſedſt before M. Browne, how that Chriſtes body is not in the Sacrament of the aultar, the ſame that was borne of the virgine Marie?

Boners faire promiſſe to W. Hunter.

To the which William aunſwered, ſaying: my Lord I vnderſtand, that M. Browne hath certified you of ẏ talke, which he and I had together, & therby ye know what I ſayd to hym, the which I will not recant, by Gods helpe. Then ſayd the Byſhop, I thinke thou art aſhamed to beare a Fagot and recant openly, but if thou wilt recant thy ſayinges, I will promiſe thee, that thou ſhalt not be put to open ſhame: but ſpeake the word here now betwene me and thee, and I will promiſe thee, it ſhall go no further, and thou ſhalt go home agayne without any hurt.

William Hunter not ſuffred to haue his conſcience free.

William aunſwered and ſayd, my Lord: if you will let me alone and leaue me to my conſcience, I will go to my father and dwell with hym, or els with my Maiſter agayne, and ſo if no body will diſquiet nor trouble my conſcience, I will keepe my conſcience to my ſelfe. Then ſayd the Byſhop, I am content, ſo that thou wilt go to the Church & receiue and be ſhriuen, & ſo continue a good Catholicke Chriſtiã. No, quoth William, I will not do ſo for all the good in the world.

William Hunter denyeth to recant.

Then, quoth the Biſhop, if you will not do ſo, I will make you ſure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth William, you can do no more then God will permitte you. Well, quoth the Byſhop, wilt thou not recant in dede by no meanes? No, quoth Williã, neuer while I lyue, God willyng.

Boner commaundeth William Hunter to the ſtockes.

William Hunter ij. dayes & ij. nightes in the ſtockes, with a cruſt of bread, and a cup of water.

Then the Byſhop (this talke ended) commaunded his men to put William in the Stockes in his Gatehouſe, where he ſatte two dayes and ij. nightes, onely with a cruſt of browne bread & a cup of water. At the ij. dayes end the Byſhop came to hym, and findyng the cup of water and the cruſt of bread ſtill by hym vppon the Stockes, ſaid to his mẽ: take him out of ẏ Stockes & let him breake his faſt with you. Then they let hym forth of the Stockes, but would not ſuffer hym to eate with thẽ, but called him hereticke. And he ſayd he was as loth to be in their cõpany, as they were, to be in his.

Hunter agayne refuſeth to recant hys fayth in Chriſt.

After breakefaſt the Byſhop ſent for William and demaunded whether he would recant or no. But William made him aunſwere, how that he would neuer recant that which hee had confeſſed before men, as concernyng his faith in Chriſt.

Then the Byſhop ſayd that he was no Chriſtiã, but denied ẏ fayth in which he was Baptiſed. But Williã aũſwered: I was Baptiſed in ẏ fayth of the holy Trinitie, the which I will not goe from, God aſſiſtyng me with his grace.

William Hunter layd in the conuict priſon with as many yrons as he could beare.

Hunter allowed a halfpeny a day to liue on.

Theſe fiue were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Hawkes, and Lawrence.

Then the Byſhop ſent hym to the Conuict priſon, and commaunded the keeper to lay Irons on hym as many as he could beare, and moreouer aſked him, how olde he was: and William ſayd, that he was xix. yeare olde. Well ſayd the Byſhop, you wilbe burned ere you be xx. yeare olde, if you will not yeld your ſelfe better then you haue done yet. William aunſwered, God ſtrengthen me in his truth: and then he parted, the Byſhop allowyng hym a halfpeny a day to liue on in bread, or drinke. Thus he continued in priſõ three quarters of a yeare. In the which tyme he had bene before the Byſhop fiue tymes, beſides that tyme when he was condemned in the Conſiſtory in Paules, the ix. day of February: at the which tyme I hys brother Robert Hunter was preſent, whẽ and where I heard the Byſhop condemne hym, and fiue other more.

And then the Byſhop calling William, aſked him if he would not recante, and ſo read to hym hys examination and confeſſion, as is aboue rehearſed, and then rehearſed how that William confeſſed that hee did beleue that hee receaued Chriſtes body ſpiritually, when he dyd receaue the Communion. Doeſt thou meane, quoth the Byſhop, that the bread is Chriſtes body ſpiritually?

The bread is Chriſtes body neither ſpiritually nor bodely, but in receiuing the Communion we fede on Chriſt ſpiritually in our ſoule.

Williã aunſwered: I meane not ſo, but rather when I receiue the holy Communion rightly and worthely, I do feede vpon Chriſt ſpiritually through fayth in my ſoule, and am made partaker of all the benefites which Chriſt hath brought vnto all faithful beleuers through his precious death, paſſion, and reſurrection, & not that the bread is his body, either ſpiritually or corporally.

Then ſayd the Byſhop to William, doeſt thou not thinke (holdyng vp his cap) that for example here of my cap, thou mayeſt ſee the ſquarenes and coulour of it, and yet not to bee the ſubſtaunce, which thou iudgeſt by the accidences.

The queſtion is not what God can do, but what he would haue vs to beleue in his holy ſupper.

William aunſwered: if you can ſeparate the accidences from the ſubſtaunce and ſhew me the ſubſtaūce without the accidences, I could beleue. Then ſayd the Byſhop: thou wilt not beleue that God can do any thyng aboue mās capacitie. Yes, ſayd William, I muſt nedes beleue that: for dayly experience teacheth all men that thing playnly: but our queſtion is not what God can do, but what he wyll haue vs to learne in his holy ſupper. Then the Byſhop ſayd: I alwayes haue found thee at this poynt, and I ſee no hope in thee, to reclaime thee vnto the Catholike fayth, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member, and then pronounced ſentēce vpon hym, how that he ſhould go from that place, to Newgate for a tyme, and ſo from thence to Burntwood, where, ſayd he, thou ſhalt be burned.

Sentence pronounced againſt *William Hunter.*

The large offers of B. *Boner* to *Will. Hunter.*

Then the Byſhop called for an other, & ſo when he had condemned them all, he called for W. Hunter, and perſwaded with hym, ſaying: if thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free mā in the City, and geue thee fourty pound in good money to ſet vp thine occupatiō withall: or I wil make thee ſteward of my houſe and ſet thee in office, for I like thee well, thou haſt witte inough, and I will preferre thee, if thou wilt recant.

William Hunter refuſeth to goe from Chriſt for the loue of the world.

But William aunſwered, I thanke you for your great offers: notwithſtanding, my Lorde, ſayd hee, if you can not perſwade my conſcience with Scriptures, I can not finde in my hart to turne from God for the loue of the world: for I count all thynges worldly but loſſe and donge, in reſpect of the loue of Chriſt.

Then ſayd the Byſhop, if thou dyeſt in this mynde, thou art condemned for euer. William aunſwered: God iudgeth righteouſly, and iuſtifieth them whom man condemneth vniuſtly.

William Hunter ſent downe to Burntwoode to be burnt.

March 26.

Thus William and the biſhop departed, William & the reſt to Newgate, where they remayned about a moneth, which afterward were ſent downe, William to Burntwood, and the others into diuers places of the countrey. Nowe, when William was come downe to Burntwood, which was the Saterday before the Annunciation of the Virgine Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remayned tyll the Tueſday after, becauſe they would not put him to death then for the holynes of the day.

His father and mother come to comfort hym.

His father and mother exhort him to be conſtant.

In the meane tyme Williams father & mother came to hym, and deſired hartely of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which God had begonne, and his mother ſayd to him, that ſhee was glad that euer ſhe was ſo happy to beare ſuch a child, which could find in his hart to loſe his life for Chriſtes names ſake. Then William ſayd to his mother: for my lyttle payne which I ſhall ſuffer, which is but a ſhort brayd, Chriſt hath promiſed me, mother ſayd he, a crowne of ioy: may you not be glad of that mother? With that, his mother kneeled downe on her knees, ſaying: I pray God ſtrengthen thee my ſonne, to the end. Yea, I thinke thee as well beſtowed, as any childe that euer I bare.

Maiſter *Higbed* marueileth at the conſtancy of *Williams* mother.

At the which woordes M. Higbed tooke her in hys armes, ſaying: I reioyce (and ſo ſayd the others) to ſee you in this minde, and you haue a good cauſe to reioyce. And his father and mother both ſayd, that they were neuer of other mynde, but prayed for hym, that as he had begun to confeſſe Chriſt before men, he likewiſe might ſo continue to the ende. Williams father ſayd: I was afrayd of nothing, but that my ſonne ſhould haue bene killed in the pryſon for hunger and cold, the biſhop was ſo hard to him. But William confeſſed, after a moneth that his father was charged with hys bord, that then he lacked nothing, but had meate and clothing inough, yea euen out of ẏ Court, both money, meate, cloathes, wood and coales, and all thinges neceſſary.

Speche [illegible] whyle [illegible] *Boner* [illegible]

Thus they cōtinued in their Inne, being the Swan in Burntwoode, in a Parlour, whether reſorted many people of the countrey to ſee thoſe good mē which were there: and many of Williams acquayntaunce came to hym, and reaſoned wyth him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popiſh ſuperſtition and Idolatry.

A notable thing concerning *W. Hunters* dreame.

Thus paſſing away Saterday, Sonday, and Monday, on Mōday at night it happened that William had a dreame about vij. of ẏ clocke in ẏ morning, which was this: how that he was at the place where the ſtake was pight where he ſhould be burned, which (as he thought in his dreame) was at the townes end where the Buts ſtode: which was ſo in deede. And alſo he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the ſtake, and alſo that there was a Prieſt at ẏ ſtake, which went about to haue hym recant. To whom hee ſaid (as he thought in his dreame) how that he bad hym away falſe Prophet, and how that he exhorted the people to beware of hym, and ſuch as he was: which thinges came to paſſe in deede. It happened that William made a noyſe to hym ſelfe in his dreame, which cauſed M. Higbed and the others to awake hym out of hys ſleepe, to knowe what he lacked. When he awaked hee told them hys dreame in order as is ſayd.

W. Hunter led to the place of Martyrdome.

The Shiriffes ſonne geueth comfortable wordes to *W. Hunter.*

Now when it was day, the Shrieffe M. Brocket called on to ſet forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the Shrieffes ſonne to William Hunter, and embraced hym in his right arme, ſaying: William, be not afrayd of theſe men which are here preſēt with bowes, bils, and weapōs ready prepared to bring you to the place where you ſhal be burned. To whom William aunſwered: I thanke God I am not afrayd, for I haue caſt my coumpt what it wyll coſt me already. Then the Shrieffes ſonne could ſpeake no more to hym for weepyng.

W. Hunter goyng to hys death.

W. Hunters dreame verified.

His wordes to hys father.

Then William Hunter plucked vp his gowne, and ſtepped ouer the Parlour groundſell and went forward cherefully, the Shrieffes ſeruaunt takyng hym by one arme and I his brother by an other, and thus goyng in the way, mette with his father accordyng to his dreame, and he ſpake to his ſonne, weepyng and ſaying, God be with thee ſonne William: and Williā ſaid, God be with you father, and be of a good comfort, for I hope we ſhall meete agayne whē we ſhall be mery. His father ſayd, I hope ſo Williā, and ſo departed. So William went to the place where the ſtake ſtode, euen accordyng to hys dreame, whereas all thinges were very vnready. Then William tooke a wet broome fagot, and kneeled downe thereon, and read the one and fifty Pſalme, till he came to theſe wordes: *the Sacrifice to God, is a contrite ſpirite: a contrite & a brokē hart, O God thou wilt not deſpiſe.*

M. William Tyrell of the Beaches, carpeth where he hath no cauſe.

W. Hunter refuſeth the Queenes pardon.

Then ſayd M. Tyrell of the Beaches, called William Tyrell, thou lyeſt (ſayd he) thou readeſt falſe, for the wordes are, an humble ſpirite. But William ſayd, the tranſlation ſayth, *a contrite hart.* Yea, quoth M. Tyrell, the tranſlatien is falſe, ye tranſlate bookes, as ye liſt your ſelues, like heretikes. Well quoth William, there is no great difference in thoſe wordes. Then ſayd the Shriffe: here is a letter, from the Queene. If thou wilt recant thou ſhalt lyue: if not, thou ſhalt be burned. No, quoth William, I will not recant, God willyng. Then William roſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtode vpright to it. Then came one Richard Pond a Bayly, and made faſt the chayne about William.

A dogged ſaying of maiſter *Browne.*

Then ſaid M. Browne, here is not wood enough to burne a legge of hym. Then ſayd William: good people pray for me: & make ſpeede & diſpatch quickly: and pray for me while ye ſee me aliue, good people, and I pray for you likewiſe. Now, quoth M. Browne, pray for thee? I wil pray no more for thee, then I will pray for a dogge. To whom William aunſwered M. Browne, now you haue that which you ſought for, and I pray God it be not layd to your charge in the laſt day: howbeit I forgeue you. Then ſayd M. Browne, I aſke no forgeuenes of thee. Well ſayd William, if God forgeue you not, I ſhall require my bloud at your handes.

Then ſayd William: Sonne of God, ſhyne vpō me, and immediatly the ſunne in the element ſhone out of a darke cloud, ſo full in his face, that he was cōſtrained to looke an other way: whereat the people muſed, becauſe it was ſo darke a litle tyme afore. Then William tooke vp a Fagot of broome & imbraced it in his armes. Then this Prieſt which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popiſhe booke to cary to William, that he might recant, which booke his brother would not meddle withall. Then William ſeyng the Prieſt, and perceiuing how he would haue ſhewed hym the booke, ſaid: away thou falſe Prophet. Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, leſt that you be partakers of their plagues. Then, quoth the Prieſt, looke how thou burneſt here, ſo ſhalt thou burne in hel. Williā anſwered: thou lyeſt, thou falſe Prophet: away thou falſe Prophet, away.

An excellent ſhew of Chriſtes fauour vpon W. Hunter.

Williams dreame verefied.

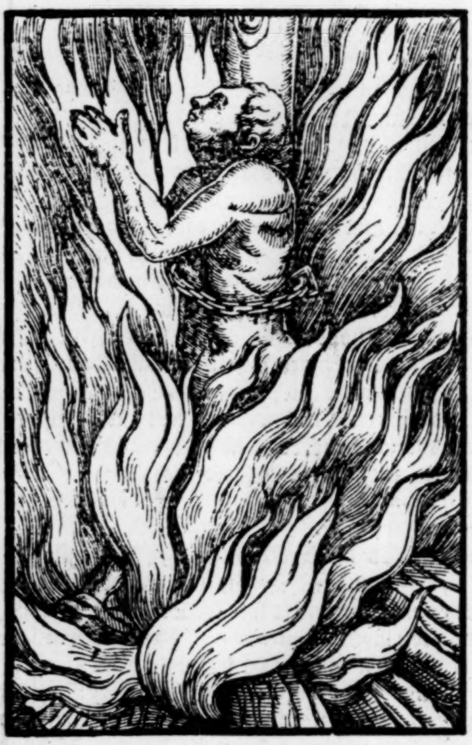
Hunters wordes to a Popiſh prieſt.

Then was there a Gentleman which ſayd, I pray God haue mercy vppon his ſoule. The people ſayd: Amen, Amen. Immediatly fire was made. Then William caſt his Pſalter right into his brothers hād, who ſayd: William thinke on the holy Paſſiō of Chriſt, & be not afrayd of death. And William aunſwered: I am not afrayd. Then lift he vp his hands to heauen & ſaid, Lord, Lord, Lord, receiue my ſpirite, & caſtyng downe his head agayn into the ſmothering ſmoke, he yelded vp hys lyfe for the truth, ſealyng it with hys bloud, to the prayſe of God.

Hunter comforted by hys brother Robert.

The end and martyrdome of W. Hunter. An. 1555. March. 26.

The burnyng of William Hunter, Martyr.



Now, by and by after, M. Browne cōmaunded one olde Hunt to take his brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the Stockes till hee returned from the burning of Higbed at Horndon on the hill, the ſame day. Which thing olde Hunt dyd. Then M. Browne (when Robert Hunter came before him) aſked if hee would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter aunſwred: if I do as my brother hath done, I ſhall haue as he hath had. Mary (quoth M. Browne) thou mayeſt bee ſure of it. Then M. Browne ſayd, I maruayle, that thy brother ſtode ſo to his tackling: and moreouer, aſked Robert if Williams Maiſter of London were not at his burning. But Robert ſayd, that he was not there; but M. Browne bare hym in hand that hys Maiſter was there, and how that hee dyd ſee hym there, but Robert denyed it. Then M. Browne commaūded the Conſtable and Robert Hunter to go their wayes home, and ſo had no further talke wyth them.

Rob. Hunter ſette in the ſtockes.

Rob. Hunter had before M. Browne.

Rob. Hunter by Gods prouidence deliuered.

Here followeth the hiſtory of M. Higbed, and M. Cauſton, two worthy Gentlemē of Eſſex, which for the ſincere confeſſion of their faith vnder Boner B. of London, were Martyred and burned in Eſſex. Anno. 1555. March. 26.

ALthough the condemnation of M. Higbed and M. Cauſton followed after the condemning of thoſe other. iiij. Martyrs which were condemned with Tomkins & Hunter aboue mentioned, yet becauſe the time of their execution was before the burning of the foreſayd. iiij. Martyrs, for ſo much as they ſuffered ẏ ſame day that W. Hunter did, which was the. 26. of March, I thought therefore next after the ſtory of the ſayd W. Hunter, following the order of tyme, here to place the ſame.

March. 26.

The ſtory of Maiſter Higbed and M. Cauſton, Martyrs.

This M. Higbed and M. Cauſton, two worſhipful Gentlemē in the County of Eſſex, the one at Horndon of the hyll, the other of the pariſh of Thunderſt, beyng zealous and religious in the true ſeruice of God, as they could not diſſemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the worlde, ſo in tyme of blind ſuperſtition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lye hyd and obſcure in ſuch a number of malignaunt aduerſaries, accuſers, and ſeruants of this world, but at length they were perceaued and detected to the foreſayd Edmund Boner biſhop of London, peraduenture not without the ſame organe which ſent vp W. Hunter, as is aboue declared. By reaſon whereof, by cōmaundement they were committed to the officers of Colcheſter to be ſafely kept, and wyth them alſo a ſeruaunt of Tho. Cauſton, who in this praiſe of Chriſtian godlynes, was nothing inferiour to hys Maiſter.

M. Higbed & M. Cauſton detected to B. Boner.

Boner the foreſayd biſhop, perceiuing the ſe. ij. Gentlēmen to be of worſhipfull eſtate, and of great eſtimation in that countrey, leſt any tumult ſhould thereby aryſe, came thither him ſelfe, accompanied with M. Fecnam and certaine other, thinking to reclaime them to hys faction and faſhion: ſo that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as wel by terrours & threatnings, as by large promiſes and flattering, and al fayre meanes, to reduce them agayne to the vnitye (as they termed it) of the mother church.

B. Boner commeth himſelfe to Colcheſter.

In fine, when nothing could preuayle to make them aſſent to theyr doings, at lēgth they came to this point, that they required certaine reſpite to conſult with them ſelues what were beſt to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaynyng ſtyll conſtant and vnmoueable in their profeſſed doctrine, and ſetting out alſo their confeſſion in writing, the biſhop ſeing no good to be done in tarying any longer there, departed thēce & caryed them both with hym to London, & wyth them certayne other priſoners alſo, which about the ſame tyme in thoſe quarters were apprehended.

M. Higbed & M. Cauſton caryed to London.

It was not long after this, but theſe priſoners being at London committed to ſtraite priſon, & there attempted ſundry wyſe by ẏ biſhop & his Chapleins to reuoke their opinions: at length, whē no perſwaſions would ſerue, they were brought forth to open examination at the Conſiſtory in Paules, the. xvij. day of February, an. 1555. Where they were demaunded aſwell by the ſayd biſhop, as alſo by the biſhop of Bath and others, whether they would recant their errours and peruerſe doctrine (as they termed it) and ſo come to the vnitie of the popiſh Church. Which when they refuſed to do, the biſhop aſſigned them lykewyſe the nexte day to appeare agayne, being the xviij. of February. On the which day, among many other thinges there ſayd and paſſed, he read vnto them ſeuerally certayne articles, & gaue thē reſpite vntill the next day, to aunſwere vnto the

The firſt dayes seſſion.

The ſecond dayes seſſion.

the ſame, & ſo cōmitted thē agayne to priſon. The copy of which articles here vnder followeth.

Articles obiected and miniſtred by Boner B. of Lond. ſeuerally agaynſt Thomas Cawſton, and Thomas Hygbed of Eſſex.

Articles layd by B. Boner to Maiſter Higbed & M.Cauſtō.

FIrſt, that thou Thomas Cawſton (or T.Hygbed) haſt bene and art of the dioces of London, and alſo of the iuriſdiction now of me Edmund Byſhop of London.

Item, that thou was in tyme paſt, according to the order of the Church of England, baptiſed & chriſtened.

Item, that thou haddeſt Godfathers and Godmother, according to the ſayd order.

Item, that the ſayd Godfathers and Godmother dyd then promiſe for thee, and in thy name, the fayth and religion, that then was vſed in the realme of England.

Item, that that fayth and religion, which they dyd profeſſe, and make for thee, was accompted and taken to be the fayth and religion of the church, and of the chriſten people; and ſo was it in very dede.

Item, thou commyng to the age of diſcretion, that is to ſay, to the age of xiiij. yeares, dyddeſt not miſlyke nor diſallow that fayth, that religion, or promiſe then vſed and approued, and promiſed by the ſayd Godfathers and Godmother, but for a tyme dyddeſt continue in it, as other (taking themſelues for chriſten people) dyd likewiſe.

Item, that at that tyme, and alſo before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholike and true, and euery where in Chriſtēdome thē allowed for catholike & true, and to be the profeſſion of a Chriſten man, to beleue that in the ſacrament of the aulter, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, after the conſecration, there was and is, by the omnipotent power and wyll of almighty God, and hys word, wythout any ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne there remaynyng, the true and naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, which was borne of the virgyn Mary, and ſuffred vpon the croſſe, really, truely, and in very deede.

The reall preſence.

Item, that at that tyme thy father & mother, all thyne anceſtors, all thy kyndred, acquaintance and frendes, and thy ſaid Godfathers and Godmother did then ſo beleue, and thynke in all the ſame, as the ſayd Church dyd therein beleue.

Item, that thy ſelfe haſt had no iuſt cauſe or lawfull ground, to depart or ſwarue from the ſayd religion or fayth, nor no occaſion at all, except thou wilt follow and beleue the erronious opinion or belief, that hath bene agaynſt the common order of the church, brought in by certayne diſordred perſons of late, and at the vttermoſt within theſe xxx. or xl. yeares laſt paſt.

Item, that thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard and doſt beleue that Doct. Robert Barnes, Iohn Fryth, Thomas Garrard, Hierome, Laſſels, Anne Aſkew, Iohn Hooper late Byſhop of Glouceſter, Sir Laurence Saunders prieſt, Iohn Bradford, Sir Iohn Rogers prieſt, Sir Rowland Tailour prieſt, Sir Iohn Laurence prieſt, William Pygot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkyns, and Thomas Hawkes haue bene heretofore reputed, taken, and accompted as hereticks, and alſo condemned as hereticks, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly: ſpecially in holding and beleuing certayne damnable opinions, agaynſt the verity of Chriſts body and bloud in the ſacrament of the altar, and all the ſame perſons, ſauing Iohn Bradford, Sir Iohn Laurence, William Pigot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, haue ſuffred paines of death by fyre, for ye mayntenaunce and defence of their ſayd opinions and miſbeliefe.

This Byſhop Edmund Boner prieſt before the death of Cromwell, ſeemed to be of the opinion, and was ſworne twiſe agaynſt the Pope.

Item that thou doeſt know, or credibly haſt heard and doeſt beleue that Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, namyng him ſelfe biſhop of London, Robert Ferrar late Byſhop of S. Dauies, and Hugh Latimer, ſometyme biſhop of Worceſter, haue bene, and are at this preſent reputed, accompted and taken as hereticks, and miſbeleuers in mayntaynyng and holding certayne damnable opinions, agaynſt the verity of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Item, that thou haſt commended and prayſed all the ſayd perſons, ſo erring and beleuing (or at the leaſt wyſe ſome of them) ſecretly, and alſo openly, taking and beleuing them to be faithfull and Catholyke people, and their ſayd opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt and vttermoſt of thy power thou haſt allowed, mayntayned, and defended at ſundry tymes.

Item, that thou, hauing heard, knowen, and vnderſtanded all the premiſſes, thus to bee, as is aforeſayd, haſt not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the ſame and euery part thereof, haſt attempted and done, condemnyng, tranſgreſſyng, and breakyng that promiſe, fayth, religion, order, and cuſtome aforeſayd: and haſt becommen, and art an heretick and miſbeleuer in the premiſſes, denying the verity of Chriſts body and bloud in the ſacrament of the altar, and obſtinately affirmyng, that the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and wyne are there remaynyng, and that the ſubſtaunce of Chriſts body and bloud taken of the virgyn Mary, are not there in the ſayd ſacrament, really and truely beyng.

Verity taken for hereſie of miſbeleuing heretickes.

Item, that all the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and manifeſt, and that vpon all the ſame, there haue and bee amongeſt the ſad and good people of the City of London and dioces of the ſame in great multitude, commonly and publickely, a common and publike fame and opinion, and alſo in all places where thou haſt bene, wythin the ſayd Dioces of London.

These Articles beyng geuen to them in wrytyng by the Byſhop, the next day folowyng was aſſigned to them to geue vp and to exhibite their aunſweres vnto the ſame.

The thyrd daies Seſsion vpō the examination of M.Cauſton and M.Higbed.

The thyrd dayes ſeſſion.

Uppon the which day beyng the firſt day of March, the ſayd Tho. Cauſton, and Tho. Higbed Gentlemen beyng brought before the Byſhop in the Conſiſtory, there exhibited their aunſweres to the Articles aforeſayd: the tenour of which aunſweres here foloweth.

The aunſweres of Tho. Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, ſeuerally made to the foreſayd Articles obiected, as before.

The aunſweres of the Martyrs to the Articles.

TO the firſt, they aunſwere and confeſſe the ſame to be true.

To the ſecond, they aunſwere and beleue the ſame to be true.

To the third, they aunſwere and beleue the ſame to be true.

To the fourth, they aunſwere and thinke the ſame to be true.

To the fift, vnto this clauſe (and ſo was it in very dede) they aunſwere and beleue the ſame to be true. And vnto that clauſe (and ſo was it in very deede) they aunſwere negatiuely, & beleue that it was not in very deede.

To the ſixt, ſeuenth, and eight, they aunſwere and beleue the ſame to be true.

To the nynth they aunſwere and ſay, that they thinke they haue a iuſt and lawfull cauſe and ground to ſwarue and go from the ſayd fayth and Religion, becauſe they haue now read more of Scripture, then either them ſelues, or their Parentes & kynſfolke, Godfathers or Godmothers haue read or ſene heretofore in that behalfe.

To the tenth, they aunſwere, ſay, and beleue, that the ſayd perſons articulate, haue bene named, taken, and counted for heretickes, and ſo condemned for heretickes: yet about three yeares paſt, they were taken for good Chriſtian perſons. And for ſo much as theſe Reſpondentes did euer heare them preach concernyng the Sacrament of the aultar, they ſay that they preached well, in that they ſayd & preached that Chriſt is not preſent really and truly in the ſayd Sacrament, but that there is remaynyng the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

To the eleuenth, they aunſwer and ſay, that how ſoeuer other folkes do repute and take the ſayd perſons articulate: yet theſe Reſpondentes them ſelues dyd neuer, nor yet doe ſo accompt and take them. And further they ſay, that in caſe the ſayd perſons articulate named in this article haue preached, that in the ſacrament of the aultar is very materiall wyne, and not the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud, vnder the formes of bread & wyne, then they preached wel and truly, and theſe Reſpondēts themſelues do ſo beleue.

To the twelfth, they aunſwere and ſay, that where other folke haue diſprayſed the ſayd perſons articulate, and diſſalowed their opinions, theſe Reſpondentes (for ought that they at any tyme haue heard) did like and allow the ſayd perſons, and their ſayinges.

To the thirteenth, they aunſwere and ſay, that they haue not brokē or condemned any promiſe made by their

Godfathers and Godmothers for thē at their baptiſme, and that they are no hereticks nor miſbeleuers in that they beleue, that there remayneth onely bread and wyne in the ſacrament of the aultar, and that Chriſtes naturall body is not there, but in heauen: for they ſay that ẏ ſcriptures ſo teach them.

To the fourtene they anſwere and beleue, that the premiſſes before by them confeſſed be true, notorious, and manifeſt.

After theſe aunſweres exhibited and peruſed, then the biſhop ſpeaking vnto thē after this ſort, begynneth firſt (as he dyd euer before) with Thomas Cauſton: Becauſe ye ſhall not be ſodainly trapped, and that men ſhall not ſay that I go about to ſeeke ſnares to put you away, I haue hetherto reſpited you, that you ſhould way and conſider with your ſelfe, your ſtate and conditiō, and that you ſhould, while ye haue tyme and ſpace, acknowledge the truth, and returne to the vnitye of the catholicke church. Then the biſhop reading theyr former articles and aunſwers to the ſame, aſked them if they would recant: which when they denyed, they were agayne diſmiſſed, and commaūded to appeare the wenſday next after, at two of the clocke at after noone, there to receaue their diffinitiue ſentēce againſt them: which thing (as it ſeemeth) was yet differred.

A copy of Catholicke charity ſhewed.

An other examination of M.Cauſton and Maiſter Higbed.

The next Friday, being the eight day of March, the ſayd Thomas Cauſton was firſt called to examination before the Biſhop, Fecknam, and D.Stemp, in his pallace, and there had read vnto him his foreſayd articles, with his aunſwers thereunto, and after certayne exhortations to recant his former profeſſion, and to be conformable to the vnitie of their church, they promyſed him (ſo doing) willingly to receaue hym agayne thereunto. To whom he aunſwered: you go about to catch vs in ſnares and ginnes: but marke by what meaſure ye meaſure vs, looke you to be meaſured wyth the ſame agayne at Gods hands. The biſhop ſtyl perſwaded with him to recant: to whom he anſwered no, I wyll not abiure. He ſayd that the Biſhops that were lately burned, be hereticks, but I pray God make me ſuch an hereticke as they were.

An other examination.

This Stempe is now Warden of the Colledge in Winchester.

M.Cauſton denyeth to recant.

The biſhop then leauing Maiſter Cauſton, called forth mayſter Hygbed, vſing with him the like perſwaſions, that they did wyth the other. But he aunſwered, I wyll not abiure: For I haue bene of this minde and opinion that I am now, theſe .xvj. yeares, and do what ye can, ye ſhall do no more then God wyll permit you to do: and with what meaſure ye meaſure us, looke for the ſame agayne at Gods handes.

M.Hygbed called for: he denyeth to abiure.

Then Fecknam aſked him his opinion in the Sacrament of the altar. To whom he aunſwered: I do not beleue that Chriſt is in the Sacrament as ye wyll haue him, which is of mans making.

M.Fecknam ſtill buſy wyth matter of the ſacrament.

Both their aunſweres thus ſeuerally made, they were agayne commaunded to depart for that time, and to appeare the next day in the Conſiſtory at Paules, betwene the houres of one and three of the clocke at after noone.

The laſt appearance of M.Cauſton, & M. Higbed before Boner.

At which day and houre, being the ninth day of March, they were both brought thither: where the biſhop cauſed Maiſter Thomas Cauſtons articles and aunſwers firſt to be read openly, and after perſwaded with him to recant and abiure hys hereticall opinions, and to come home now at the laſt to their mother the catholicke church, and ſaue hym ſelfe.

M.Cauſton and Maiſter Hygbed appeare agayne before the Byſhop.

But Maiſter Tho.Cauſton aunſwered agayne and ſayd: No, I wyll not abiure. For I came not hyther to that purpoſe: and therewythall he dyd exhibite in writing vnto the biſhop (as well in his owne name, as alſo in Thomas Higbeds name) a confeſſion of their fayth, to the which they woulde ſtand: and required leaue to reade the ſame, which (after great ſuite) was obteyned, and ſo he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

Maiſter Cauſton and M. Hygbed do exhibite a confeſſion of their faith.

The confeſſion and fayth of Thomas Cauſton and Tho. Hygbed, which they deliuered to the Byſhop of London, before the Maior and Shrieffes, and in the preſence of all the people there aſſembled. An. 1555. the .9. of March, and were condemned for the ſame in the Conſiſtory in Paules Church, the yeare and day aboue ſayd.

1. First, we beleue and profeſſe in Baptiſme, to forſake the Deuill and his workes and pompes, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the ſynnefull luſtes of the fleſh.

The confeſſiō of M. Cauſton.

A forſaking of the world.

2. We beleue all the Articles of our Chriſtian fayth.

The articles of the Creede.

3. We beleue that we are bound to keepe Gods holy will and commaundementes, and to walke in the ſame all the dayes of our lyfe.

The commaundementes.

4. We beleue that there is contayned in the Lordes prayer all thinges neceſſary both for body and ſoule, and that we are taught therby to pray to our heauenly father, and to none other Saint or Aungell.

The Lordes prayer.

5. We beleue that there is a Catholicke Church, euen the Communion of Saintes, *Built vppon the foundation of the Prophetes, and Apoſtles* (as S. Paul ſayth) *Chriſt beyng the head corner ſtone. For the which Church Chriſt gaue hymſelfe, to make it to hymſelfe a glorious Congregation, without fault in hys ſight.*

The Catholicke church.

6. We beleue that this Church, of her ſelfe and by her owne merites is ſinnefull, and muſt nedes ſay: Father, forgiue vs our ſinnes: but through Chriſt & his merites, ſhe is frely forgeuen: *For he in his owne perſon* (ſayth S.Paul) *hath purged her ſinnes, and made her faultles in his ſight. Beſides whom there is no Sauiour* (ſayth the Prophet) *neither is there ſaluation* (ſayth S.Peter) *in any other name.*

The church of it ſelfe is ſinfull: by imputacion righteous.

7. We beleue, as he is our onely Sauiour, ſo is he our onely Mediatour. For the holy Apoſtle S.Paul ſayth: *There is one God, one Mediatour betwene God and man, euen the man Ieſus Chriſt.* Wherefore, ſeing none hath this name God and man but Jeſus Chriſt, therefore there is no Mediatour but Jeſus Chriſt.

Chriſt only our mediatour.

8. We beleue that this Church of Chriſt is and hath bene perſecuted, by the wordes of Chriſt, ſaying: *As they haue perſecuted me, ſo ſhall they perſecute you: For the Diſciple is not aboue his Maiſter. For it is not onely geuen vnto you to beleue in Chriſt* (ſayth S.Paul) *but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. For all that will lyue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution.*

The condition of the church to be perſecuted.

9. We beleue that the Church of Chriſt teacheth the worde of God truly and ſincerely, puttyng nothyng to, nor taking any thyng frō: & alſo doth miniſter ẏ Sacramentes accordyng to the primatiue Church.

The church only is directed by Gods word, neyther addyng nor takyng fro.

10. We beleue that this Churche of Chriſt ſuffereth all men to read the Scriptures, accordyng to Chriſtes commaundement, ſaying: *Search the Scriptures: for they teſtifie of me.* We read alſo out of the Actes, that when S.Paul preached, the audience dayly ſearched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Alſo the Prophet Dauid teacheth all men to pray with vnderſtandyng: *For how ſhall the vnlearned* (ſayth S.Paul) *ſay, Amen, at the geuyng of thankes, when they vnderſtande not what is ſayd?* And what is more allowed, then true fayth, which S.Paule ſayth, *commeth by hearyng of the worde of God?*

The true church forbiddeth none to read the Scriptures.

11. We beleue that the Church of Chriſt teacheth that God ought to be worſhipped accordyng to his worde, and not after the doctrine of men: *For in vayne* (ſayth Chriſt) *ye worſhyp me, teachyng nothyng but the doctrine of men.*

God only to be worſhipped after hys word.

Alſo we are commaunded of God, by his Prophet, ſaying: *Walke not in the traditions and preceptes of your Elders, but walke* (ſayth he) *in my preceptes: do that I commaund you: put nothyng therunto, neither take any thyng frō it.* Likewiſe (ſayth Chriſt) *you ſhall forſake Father and Mother, and folowe me.* Wherby we learne, that if our Elders teach otherwiſe then God cōmaunded, in that point we muſt forſake thē.

Gods precepts to be folowed, & not the inſtitutions of men.

12. We beleue that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and chaūged, for as much as Chriſt him ſelfe beyng the wiſedome of the father, did inſtitute it. For it is written: *Curſed is he that chaungeth my ordinaunces, and departeth from my commaundementes, or taketh any thyng from thē.*

The Lordes ſupper is not to be chaunged from the inſtitution of Chriſt.

Now, we find by the Scriptures, that this holy Supper is ſore abuſed.

First, in that it is geuē in one kynd, where Chriſt gaue it in both.

Secondly, in that it is made a priuate Maſſe, where

Chriſt made it a Communion: for hee gaue it not to one alone, but to all the Apoſtles in the name of the whole church.

The Lordes ſupper how many wayes it is abuſed.

The ſecond abuſe.

Thirdly, in that it is made a Sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, where as Chriſt ordayned it for a remembraunce of the euerlaſting Sacrifice, which was his own body offered vpon the altar of the croſſe once for all, as the holy Apoſtle ſaith: *euen the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remiſſion of ſinne* (ſayth he) *there is no more Sacrifice for ſinne.*

The thyrd abuſe.

Fourthly, in that it is worſhipped contrary to the commaundement, ſaying: *thou ſhalt worſhip nothyng that is made with handes.*

The fourth abuſe.

The fifte abuſe.

Fiftly, in that it is giuen in an vnknowen tongue, wherby the people are ignoraunt of the right vſe therof, how Chriſt died for our ſinnes and roſe agayne for our iuſtification, by whom we be ſet at peace with God, and receyued to his fauour and mercy by his promiſe, whereof this ſacrament is a ſure ſeale and witnes.

The ſixt abuſe.

Beſydes this, it is hanged vp and ſhut in a boxe: yea many tymes ſo long, that wormes breedeth in it, and ſo it putrifieth: whereby the rude people haue an occaſion to ſpeake vnreuerently thereof, which otherwyſe would ſpeake reuerently.

Thereof they that thus abuſe it, bryng vp the ſclaunder and not we, whych pray dayly to God to reſtore it to the ryght vſe, according to Chriſtes inſtitution.

Chriſtes wordes: *Hoc eſt corpus meum,* not denied, but expounded.

Now, concerning Chriſtes wordes: *this is my body,* we deny them not, but wee ſay that the mynd of Chriſt in them muſt bee ſearched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the ſpirituall vnderſtanding of them which ſhall bee moſt to the glory of God. For as the holy Apoſtle ſayth: *There is no ſcripture that hath any priuate interpretation.* Beſydes this, the ſcriptures are full of the lyke figuratiue ſpeeches: as for example, Chriſt ſayth: *This cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud. The rocke is Chriſt,* ſayth S. Paule. *Whoſoeuer receaueth a child in my name* (ſaith our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt) *receaueth me.* which ſẽtences muſt not be vnderſtanded after the letter, leſt we do erre as ẏ Capernaites did, which thought that Chriſtes body ſhould haue bene eaten with theyr teeth, when he ſpake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Chriſt ſaid: *ſuch a fleſhly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the ſpirite* (ſayth our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt) *that quickneth: the fleſh profiteth nothing: For my wordes are ſpirite and lyfe.*

The phraſe of ſcripture expounded by other phraſes.

The wordes of the ſacrament ought to be taken ſpiritually, and not literally.

Thus we ſee that Chriſtes wordes muſt bee vnderſtanded ſpiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cõmeth to thys worthy ſupper of the Lorde, muſt not prepare his iaw, but hys hart: neither tooth nor bellye: but *beleue* (ſayth S. Auguſtine) *and thou haſt eaten it:* ſo that we muſt bring wyth vs a ſpirituall hunger. And as the Apoſtle ſayth: try & examine our ſelues, whether our conſcience do teſtify vnto vs, that we do truly beleue in Chriſt, according to the ſcriptures: whereof if we be truly certified, being new borne from our old conuerſation in hart, minde, wil, and dede, then may we boldly wyth this mariage garment of faith come to the feaſt.

Chriſt is to be eaten ſpiritually.

The ſubſtance of bread not changed.

In conſideration whereof wee haue inuincible Scriptures, as of Chriſt him ſelfe: *This do in the remembraunce of me.* And S. Paule: *As often* (ſaith he) *as ye eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall remember the Lordes death vntyll he come.* Here is no chaunge, but bread ſtyll. And S. Luke affirmeth the ſame. Alſo Chriſt hath made a iuſt promiſe, ſaying: *Me you ſhall not haue alway with you. I leaue the world, & go to my father: for if I ſhould not depart, the cõforter which I will ſend, cã not come vnto you.* So according to his promiſe he is aſcended: as the Euangeliſtes teſtify. Alſo S. Peter ſaith, *that heauen ſhal kepe hym vntil the laſt day.*

Chriſtes body but in one place at once.

Now, as touching his omnipotẽt power, we confeſſe and ſay with S. Auguſtine, that Chriſt is both God and mã. In that he is God, he is euery where: but in that he is man, he is in heauen, and can occupye but one place: whereunto the ſcriptures doth agree. For his body was not in all places at once, when he was here: for it was not in the graue when the women ſought it, as the Aungell ſayth: neither was it at Bethania where Lazarus died, by Chriſtes own wordes, ſaying: *I am glad I was not there.* And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Chriſt is in his holy ſupper ſacramentally and ſpiritually in all them that worthely receiue it, and corporally in heauen, both God and man.

Their proteſtation.

And further, wee make here our proteſtation before God (whom we call to recorde in this matter) that this which we haue ſaid, is neyther of ſtubburnes, nor wilfull mynd) as ſome iudge of vs: but euen of very conſcience, truly (we truſt) grounded in Gods holy worde. For before we tooke this matter in hand, we beſought God from the bottom of our harts, that we might do nothing contrary to hys holye and bleſſed word. And in that he hath thus ſhewed his power in our weakenes, we can not worthely prayſe him: vnto whom wee geue harty thankes, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

M. Cauſton and Maiſter *Higbed* conſtant to death in their confeſſion.

When he had thus deliuered and read their confeſſion, the Biſhop ſtill perſiſting ſometime in fayre promiſes, ſometime threatning to pronounce iudgement, aſked them whether they would ſtand to this their confeſſion and other aunſwers. To whom Cauſton ſaid: yea, we wyll ſtand to our aunſwers wrytten wyth our handes, and to our beliefe therein contayned. After which aunſwere the Biſhop began to pronounce ſentence agaynſt hym.

Then he ſayd, that it was much raſhnes, and wythout all loue and mercy, to geue iudgement, without aunſwering to their confeſſion by the truth of Gods word, whereunto they ſubmitted them ſelues moſt willingly. And therefore I, quoth Cauſton (becauſe I can not haue iuſtice at your hand, but that ye wyll thus raſhly condemne me) do appeale from you to my Lord Cardinall.

M. Cauſton appealeth to the Cardinall.

D. Smith ready to aunſwere their confeſſion, but could not be ſuffred.

Then D. Smith ſayd, that he would aunſwere theyr confeſſion. But the biſhop (not ſuffring him to ſpeake) wylled Hardesfield to ſay his mynde for the ſtay of the people: Who taking theyr confeſſion in his hand, neither touched nor aunſwered one ſentence thereof.

Sentence pronounced agaynſt Maiſter *Cauſton,* and *M. Higbed.*

Which done, the Biſhop pronounced ſentence, firſt agaynſt the ſayd Thomas Cauſton, and then callyng Thomas Higbed, cauſed hys articles and aunſweres likewyſe to be read. In the reading whereof Hygbed ſayd: ye ſpeake blaſpemy againſt Chriſtes paſſion, and ye go about to trap vs with your ſubtilties and ſnares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinſfolke did beleue as you ſay, yet they were deceyued in ſo beleuing. And further, where you ſay that my lord, named Cranmer (late Archbyſhop of Caunterbury) and others ſpecified in the ſayd articles, be heretickes: I do wiſh that I were ſuch an hereticke as they were and be. Then the biſhop aſked him agayne, whether he would turne from his errour, and come to the vnity of their church? To whom hee ſayd: no, I would ye ſhould recant, for I am in the truth, and you in errour.

Well, quoth the Biſhop, if ye wyll returne, I wyll gladly receiue you.

No, ſayd Hygbed, I wyll not returne as you wyll haue me, to beleue in the ſacrament of the aultar your God.

Whereupon the biſhop proceeded, and gaue iudgement vpon him, as he had done before vpon Tho. Cauſton. When all this was thus ended, they were both deliuered to the Shiriffes, and ſo by thẽ ſent to Newgate, where they remayned by the ſpace of .xiiij. dayes, prayſed bee God, not ſo much in afflictions, as in conſolations.

M. Cauſton and Maiſter *Higbed* condemned & ſent to Newgate.

For the encreaſe whereof, they earneſtly deſired all their good brethren and ſiſtern in Chriſt to pray, that God for hys ſones ſake would go forth with that great mercy, which alredy he had begon in them, ſo that they might perſeuer vnto the ende, to the prayſe of the eternall God, and comfort of all their brethren.

M. Cauſton and Maiſter *Higbed* brought from Newgate into Eſſex.

These .xiiij. dayes (after their condemnation) once expired, they were ẏ .xxiij. day of this moneth of March fetched from Newgate at foure of the clocke in the mornyng, and ſo lead through the Citie vnto Algate, where they were deliuered vnto the Shieriffe of Eſſex, and there being faſt bound in a cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeuerall appointed places of burning: that is to ſay, Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the hil, and Thomas Cauſton to Rayly (both in the countrey of Eſſex) where they dyd moſt conſtantly, the .xxvj. day of the ſame moneth, ſeale this their faith with ſhedyng of their bloud by moſt cruell fire, to the glory of God, and great reioyſing of the godly.

March. 26.

The conſtant Martyrdome of M. *Tho. Cauſton,* and Maiſter *Tho. Higbed,* Martyrs.

At the burning of which Maiſter Higbed, Iuſtice Browne was alſo pꝛeſent, as is aboue ſpecified, and diuers Gentlemen in the Shiere were commaunded to be pꝛeſent, foꝛ feare belike, leſt they ſhould bee taken from them. And thus much touching the appꝛehenſion, examination, confeſſion, condemnation, and burning of theſe two godly & cõſtant Martyꝛs of God.

VVilliam Pigot, Steuen Knight, and Iohn Laurence, with their examinations and conſtant Martyrdome.

March. 28.

William Pigot, Steuen Knight, Iohn Laurence, Martyꝛs.

IN the ſtory befoꝛe of Tho. Tomkyns and his felowes, mention was made of vj. which were examined and condemned together by Byſhop Boner the ix. day of Febꝛuary. Of the which vj. condemned perſõs, two, which were Tomkyns and Williã Hunter (as ye heard) were executed, the one vpõ yͤ 26. of Febꝛuary, the other vpõ yͤ 26. day of March. Other thꝛée, to wytte, Williã Pigot, & Steuē Knight ſuffered vpon the 28. day, and Iohn Laurence the 29. of the ſayd moneth of March.

Touchyng yͤ which thꝛée Martyꝛs now ſomethyng to ſay of their examinations, it was firſt demaunded of them what their opinion was of the Sacrament of the aultar. Wherunto they ſeuerally aunſwered, and alſo ſubſcribed, that in the Sacrament of the aultar, vnder foꝛmes of bꝛead and wine there is not the very ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chꝛiſt, but a ſpiritual partakyng of the body and bloud of Chꝛiſt: the very body and bloud of Chꝛiſt beyng onely in heauen, and no where els. This aunſwere thus made, the Byſhop cauſed certaine Articles to be read vnto them tẽdyng to the ſame effect, as did the Articles befoꝛe of Tomkyns and of M. Caulſton. The tenour wherof here foloweth.

¶ Articles or Interrogatories obiected by the Byſhop of London to William Pygot, Steuen Knight, and Iohn Laurence, the eight day of February. 1555.

Articles obiected to *Will. Pigot* and his felowes.

WHether do you thinke and ſtedfaſtly beleue that it is a catholicke, faythfull, chꝛiſtian, and true doctrine, to teach, pꝛeach, and ſay that in the ſacrament of the aultar, vnder the foꝛmes of bꝛead and wyne, there is without any ſubſtaunce of bꝛead and wyne there remaynyng, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy woꝛd, really, truely, and in very dede the true, and naturall body, and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chꝛiſt, the ſelfe ſame in ſubſtaunce (though not in outward foꝛme and appearaunce) which was boꝛne of the virgin Mary, and ſuffred vpon the croſſe, yea oꝛ nay?

Beliefe of their foꝛelders.

Whether do you thinke and ſtedfaſtly beleue, that your parentes, kinſfolke, friendes and acquaintaunce here in thys Realme of England, befoꝛe your byꝛth a great whyle, and alſo after your byꝛth, pꝛofeſſing and beleuing the ſayd doctrine and fayth, concerning the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, had a true chꝛiſten fayth, and were faithfull and true chꝛiſten people, oꝛ no?

Beliefe of their Godfathers & Godmothers.

Whether do you thinke & ſtedfaſtly beleue that your godfathers, and godmother, pꝛofeſſing and beleuing the ſayd doctrine and fayth, concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, had a true chꝛiſten fayth, and were faithful and true chꝛiſten people, oꝛ no?

Belief of their yong age.

Whether do you thinke and ſtedfaſtly beleue that your owne ſelfe in times paſt, being of the age of. xiiij. yeares and aboue did thynk and beleue concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar in all poyntes, as your ſayd parentes, kinſfolke, frendes, acquaintaunce, godfathers, and godmother did then thynke and beleue therein, oꝛ no?

Beliefe of the King, Quene, and the Nobility.

Whether do you thinke, and ſtedfaſtly beleue, that our ſoueraignes the King, & the Quene of this realme of England, and all the Nobility, Clergie, and Laitie of thys Realme pꝛofeſſing and beleuing the ſayd doctrine and fayth, as other Chꝛiſtian realmes do, concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, haue a true Chꝛiſtian faith, and beleue as the catholicke & true church of Chꝛiſt hath alwayes beleued, pꝛeached, and taught, oꝛ no?

Beliefe of the pretenſed Catholicke church.

Whether do you thinke, and ſtedfaſtly beleue that our ſauiour Chꝛiſt, and hys holy ſpirite, hath bene, is, and ſhall be with his catholicke Church, euē to the woꝛldes end, gouerning & ruling yͤ ſame in all thinges, eſpecially in the neceſſary points of chꝛiſtian religion, not ſuffering the ſame to erre oꝛ to be deceiued therein?

The reall pꝛeſence and tranſubſtantion.

Whether it is true that you, being ſuſpected, oꝛ infamed to be culpable, and faulty in ſpeaking agaynſt the ſacrament of the aultar, and againſt the very true pꝛeſence of Chꝛiſtes naturall body, and the ſubſtance thereof in the ſayd ſacrament, & thereupon called befoꝛe me vpon complaynt made to mee agaynſt you, haue not bene a good ſpace in my houſe, hauing freely meate and dꝛincke, and alſo diuers times inſtructed & infoꝛmed, as well by one being your Oꝛdinary, as alſo by my Chaplaines and diuers other learned men, ſome whereof were Biſhops, ſome Deanes, and ſome Archdeacones, and euery one of them learned in diuinity, and minding well vnto you, and deſiring the ſafegard of your ſoule, & that you ſhould follow and beleue the doctrine of the Catholicke church as afoꝛe, concerning the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, and whether you did not at all times ſince your ſayd cõming to me, vtterly refuſe to follow and beleue the ſayde doctrine, concerning the ſayd ſacrament?

Whether can you now finde in your hart and conſciẽce to confoꝛme your ſelfe in all pointes to the ſayd faith, and catholicke church concerning the ſayde ſacrament of the aultar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any diſſimulation, beleuing therin as our ſayd ſoueraignes, with the Nobilitie, Clergie, and Laitie of this realme, and other Chꝛiſtian Realmes, and other perſons afoꝛeſayd, and alſo the ſaid catholicke church haue, and do beleue in that behalfe?

In caſe you ſo can not, what groũd haue you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the ſame opinion with you, and what conference haue you had therin with any, what comfoꝛt alſo and what reliefe haue you had therin by any of them, and what are their names and ſurnames and their dwelling place?

Their aunſweres to theſe Articles were not much diſcrepant from Tomkyns and other lyke Martyꝛs aboue mentioned, as here foloweth to be ſene.

¶ The aunſwere of Steuen Knight and William Pygot, to the aforeſayd Articles.

Aunſweres to the Articles afoꝛeſayd.

TO the firſt Article, they beleue that the contentes of this Article is not agreable to Scripture.

To the ſecond, they aunſwere and beleue that their parentes and other expꝛeſſed in the ſayd Article, ſo beleuyng as is conteined in the ſame, were deceiued.

To the thyꝛd, they aunſwere that they ſo beleued: but they were deceiued therin, as they now beleue.

To the fourth, they ſay that they haue heretofoꝛe beleued as is conteined in the ſayd Article, but now they do not ſo beleue.

To the fift, they ſay that if they ſo beleue they are deceaued.

To the ſixt, they beleue the ſame to be true.

To the ſeuenth they aũſwere and beleue the contẽtes of the ſame to be true.

To the eight, they aunſwere that they can no whitte confoꝛme them ſelues to the faith and doctrine conteyned and ſpecified in this Article, vntill it be pꝛoued by Scripture.

To the ninth, they ſay that they haue no ground to maintaine their ſayd opinions, but the truth, which (as they ſay) hath bene perſuaded by learned men, as Doct. Taylour of Hadley, and other ſuch.

These aunſweres beyng made and exhibited, they were commaunded to appeare agayne the next day at eight of the clocke in the moꝛnyng, and in the meane while to bethinke them ſelues what they would do.

¶ An other appearaunce of the ſayd priſoners before Boner.

An other appearaunce.

THe next day in the moꝛnyng beyng the ninth day of Febꝛuary, befoꝛe their open appearaunce, the Byſhop ſent foꝛ William Pigot, and Steuen Knight into his great chamber in his pallace, where he perſuaded with them to recant, and deny their foꝛmer pꝛofeſſion.

Who aunſwered that they were not perſuaded in their conſciences to returne and abiure their opiniõs, whervnto they had ſubſcribed. Within a while after they were all three (with Thomas Tomkyns, and William Hunter afore named) brought openly into the Conſiſtory ye ix. day of February aforeſaid, & there had ye ſame Articles propounded vnto thẽ, which were before propounded vnto the foreſayd Thomas Tomkyns (as appeareth in the diſcourſe of his hyſtory) and thereto alſo ſubſcribed theſe wordes: I do ſo beleue.

Talke betwene Boner, and Iohn Laurence Prieſt.

The Byſhop alſo vſed certain talke vnto Iohn Laurence onely. Wherunto he aunſwered in this maner: That he was a prieſt, & was cõſecrated & made a prieſt about .xviij. yeares paſt, & that he was ſomtime a blacke Frier profeſſed: that alſo he was aſſured vnto a Maide, whõ he entended to haue maried: And being again demaũded his opiniõ, vpõ ye Sacramẽt, he ſaid that it was a remẽbraunce of Chriſtes body, & that many haue ben deceaued in beleuyng ye true body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the aultar, and that all ſuch as do not beleue as he doth, do erre. After this talke & other fayre wordes and threatnynges, they were all of them commaunded to appeare agayne at afternoone.

Iohn Laurence ſometymes a fryer.

The thyrd and laſt appearaunce.

The third and laſt appearaunce.

At the which houre they came thether agayne, and there, after ye accuſtomed maner, were exhorted to recant and renoke their doctrine, and receaue ye fayth. To the which they conſtantly aunſwered, they would not, but would ſticke to that fayth that they had declared and ſubſcribed vnto, for that they did beleue that it was no errour which they beleued, but that the contrary therof was very hereſie. When the Byſhop ſaw that neither his fayre flatterynges, nor yet his cruell threatnynges would preuayle: he gaue them ſeuerally their iudgementes. And becauſe Iohn Laurence had bene one of their annoynted Prieſtes, he was by the Byſhop there (accordyng to their order) ſolemnly diſgraded: the maner wherof you may ſee in the hyſtory of Maiſter Hooper afore paſſed, pag. 1681. Their ſentence of condemnation, and this degradation once ended, they were committed vnto the cuſtody of the Shriffes of London, who ſent them vnto Newgate, where they remayned with ioy together, vntill they were caried downe into Eſſex, and there the xxviij. day of March the ſayd Williã Pigot was burned at Braintree, and Steuen Knight at Mauldon, who at the ſtake kneelyng vpon the ground ſayd this prayer which here foloweth.

Steuen Knight, William Pigot, & Iohn Laurence, condemned. Iohn Laurence degraded. March 28. Steuen Knight burned at Mauldon. W. Pigot at Braynetrey.

The prayer that Steuen Knight ſaid at hys death vpon his knees, being at the ſtake at Mauldon.

A Godly prayer of Steuen Knight at his Martyrdome.

O Lord Ieſu Chriſt, for whoſe loue I leaue willingly this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of his croſſe wyth the loſſe of all earthly thinges, then to abyde the blaſphemye of thy moſt holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holye commaundement: thou ſeeſt O Lord, that where I might lyue in worldly wealth to worſhip a falſe God, and honour thine enemy, I choſe rather the torment of this body, and the loſſe of this my lyfe, and haue counted all things but vile, duſt, & dung, that I might wyn thee: which death is dearer vnto me, then thouſandes of gold and ſiluer. Such loue O Lorde, haſt thou layd vp in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deere that is wounded deſireth the ſoyle. Pſal. 42. *Sende thy holy comforter O Lord, to ayde, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weake peece of earth, which is empty of all ſtrength of it ſelf. Thou remẽbreſt O Lord, that I am but duſt, & able to doo nothing that is good. Therfore O Lord, as of thine accuſtomed goodnes and loue, thou haſt bydden mee to thys banket, and accompted me worthy to drinke of thine owne cup amongſt thine elect: euen ſo geue me ſtrength O Lord, agaynſt this thine element: which as to my ſight it is moſt irkſome and terrible: ſo to my mynd, it may at thy commaundement (as an obedient ſeruaunt) bee ſwete and pleaſaunt, that through the ſtrength of thy holy ſpirite, I may paſſe through the rage of this fire into thy boſome, according to thy promiſe: and for this mortall, receiue an immortall, and for this corruptible, put on incorruption: Accept this brent ſacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the ſacrifice, but for thy deare ſonnes ſake my Sauiour, for whoſe teſtimony I offer this free will offering with all my heart and with all my ſoule. O heauenly father forgiue me my ſinnes as I forgiue all the world. O ſwete ſonne of God my Sauiour, ſpread thy winges ouer me. O bleſſed & holy ghoſt, through whoſe mercifull inſpiration I am come hether, conduct me into euerlaſting life. Lord into thy handes I cõmend my ſpirite, Amen.*

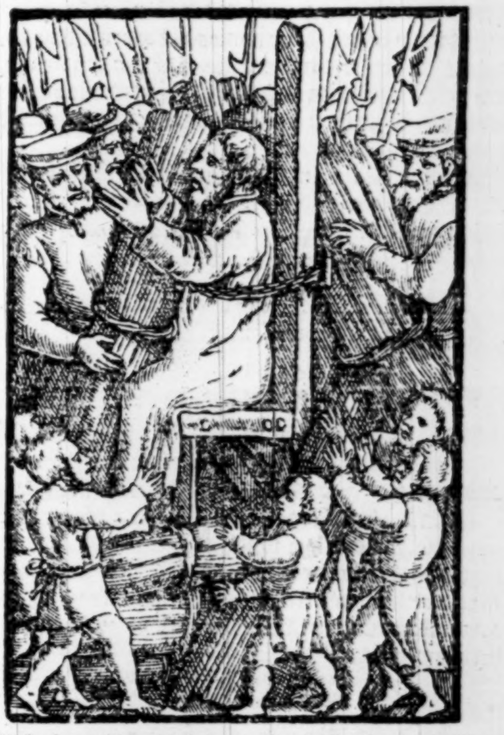
Marke the ſpirite of this prayer, & compare it with the prayer of the Papiſtes at the ſacrifice of their Maſſe.

The death and Martyrdome of Iohn Laurence Prieſt.

The next day being the .xxix. day of this moneth, the ſayd Iohn Laurence was brought to Colcheſter, & there being not able to go (for that aſwell his legges were ſore worne with his heauy yrons in the priſon, as alſo his body weakned with euil keping) was borne to the fyre in a chayre, and ſo ſitting, was in his conſtant fayth conſumed wyth fyre.

Ioh. Laurence Martyr. March. 29. Ioh. Laurence lamed wyth yrons in priſõ.

The cruell burnyng of Iohn Laurence, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of Ioh. Laurence Prieſt, at Colcheſter. An. 1555. March. 29.

At the burning of this Laurẽce, he ſitting in the fire, the young children came about the fyre, and cryed (as well as young children could ſpeake) ſaying: Lord ſtrengthen thy ſeruaunt, and keepe thy promiſe, Lord ſtrengthen thy ſeruaunt and keepe thy promiſe: which thyng as it is rare, ſo is it no ſmall manifeſtation of the glory of God which wrought this in ye hartes of theſe litle ones: nor yet a litle cõmendatiõ to their parentes, which from their youth brought them vp in the knowledge of God and hys truth.

Ex ore infantium. &c.

The Hiſtory of Doctour Robert Farrar Biſhop of S. Dauids in Wales, who moſt *conſtantly gaue his life for the teſtimony of the* truth. March. 30. An. 1555.

The next day after, which was the .xxx. day of the ſayd moneth of March, followed the worthy & conſtãt Martyrdome of the biſhop of S. Dauids in Wales, called Robert Farrar, who was ye next Biſhop in this catalogue of Chriſtian Martyrs, that ſuffered after M. Hooper. This foreſayd Farrar, by the fauour and good wyll of the Lord Protectour,

The burning of D. Robert Farrar Biſh. of S. Dauids, Byſhop and Martyr.

tectour, was firſt called and promoted to that dignitie. This man I may well call twyſe a Martyr, not onely for the cruell death of the fire which hee ſuffered moſt conſtantly in the daies of Quéene Mary, vnto the ſhédding of his bloud: but alſo for diuers other iniuries & moleſtations in K. Edwardes tyme, which he no leſſe firmely, thẽ vnworthely ſuſteined at ẏ hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerſet. Of theſe his vexations & troubles, wyth the wranglyng articles and informations layd againſt hym, to the number of fiftie & ſixe, and of the malice conceaued agaynſt hym by certayne couetous Canons of the Church of Carmarthen, and what were the procéedings of both parts as well of the Innocent as of the craftie aduerſaries, and what the names of theſe were (to wytte George Conſtantine, Dauid Walter his ſeruant, the Chaũter ſonne in law to Conſtantine, which was Tho. Yong, who was alſo afterward Archb. of Yorke, Rowland Mericke, who was afterward Byſhop of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlyns. &c.) forſomuch as the full declaration thereof is at large expreſſed in our former edition, I wyll therefore referre the Reader to the peruſing thereof. In the meane time for vs at this preſent (which ſéeke for breuitie as much as we may) cutting of all ſuperfluities that may be otherwyſe referred to our former edition, it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent briefly to touch the names of his principall aduerſaries, with the effect and cauſe of the whole controuerſie betwene him and them: regiſtred and witneſſed by the ſayd Byſhop him ſelfe in order as followeth.

56. Articles agaynſt B. Farrar in king Edwardes time, deuiſed by Tho. Yong, Conſtantine, and other his aduerſaries.

Tho. Yong ſonne in law to Conſtantine.

Ex Regiſtro.

¶ Aduerſaries principall againſt D. Farrar Biſhop of S. Dauids. Videlicet.

The principall aduerſaries agaynſt B. Farrar in the dayes of K. Edward.

1. Thomas Yong Chaunter of the Cathedrall Church of S. Dauids.
2. Rowlād Mericke Doctor of law, and Canon reſident of the ſame church.
3. George Conſtantine, to whom the Biſhop gaue the office of Regiſterſhip.

Of theſe Articles read before in our former editiõ of Actes and Monumentes pag. 1085.

First the Biſhops aunſwere vnto the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, and xxvj. articles doth declare ẏ effect and controuerſie betwene him & hys ſayd aduerſaries.

The vices of theſe aduerſaries deſcribed.

Item the ſayd George Conſtantine beyng ioyned in friendſhip with hys ſonne in law Tho. Yong aforeſayd, and they both confederated with the ſaid Rowlād Mericke, wyth diuers other their adherents, were the originall beginners of all this trouble and contention betwene the ſayd Byſhop and them, onely for their own wicked and moſt couetous behauiour in ſpoyling the Cathedrall Church of Plate, Iewels, & other ornaments to a notable value, cõuerting it vnto theyr own vſes, againſt the kinges right and to the vtter decay of the ſame church: alſo for omitting the Kynges Maieſties Iniunctions, and for cõmitting Simony and bribery, as is declared in the exceptions againſt the ſayd Yong and Conſtantine: and furthermore for their abomination in manifeſt bearing wyth moſt wycked and vile liuers, as is declared in the biſhops aunſwere to the xij. article. For which their ill demerites and wilfull perſiſting therein, and theyr moſt ſtubburne diſobedience agaynſt the ſayd Biſhop, firſt with gentlenes ſéeking their reformation (whereunto they in no wyſe would encline) and thinking then to feare them wyth the law (as the father doth feare the childe with ſhaking the rod) to make them obedient (through which attempt they became worſe) at laſt he put them out of office. Sithens which time they haue beſtowed all theyr wyt and cunning wythout ceaſſing, to inuent miſchiefe agaynſt the ſayd biſhop, ſéeking by all vniuſt meanes hys vtter vndoing, and finally hys death, as may appeare by theyr procéedinges.

Of theſe aunſweres read more in our former edition of Actes and Monumentes. pag. 1088.

The cauſe why theſe aduerſaries were ſo ſtyrred againſt Biſh. Farrar.

Premunire promoted agaynſt B. Farrar.

Item the ſayd Thomas Yong, Rowland Mericke, and George Conſtantine, to preuent the ſaid biſhop, who had (as they knew rightwell) iuſt and haynous matter agaynſt them, did moſt maliciouſly conceiue, diuiſe, procure, aſwell the pretẽſed matter of Premunire promoted by Roger Barloe, as alſo the falſe ſurmiſed articles promoted by Hugh Rawlins Prieſt, and Thomas Lee vnto the kinges high Counſell, minding thereby vtterly to diſcredite and bring vnderfoote the ſaid biſhop, to the end that he ſhould not be hable to proſecute any matter againſt them, whereby theyr wycked doinges myght be opened.

Item they are mayntayners & bearers of ẏ charges of Thomas Lee brother in lawe to George Conſtantine, vncle to the wyfe of the ſayd Tho. Yong, and promoter of the ſayd articles by them diuiſed, and came in for wytneſſes vnto their own conceites.

Commiſſion procured agaynſt B. Farrar by his aduerſaries.

Item, furthermore they obtayned a commiſſion into the countrey for better prouſe of the ſayd articles, by vertue of which commiſſion, and alſo by colour therof they examined ſixe ſcore and ſeuen witneſſes, and that very partially and vnlawfully, as appéareth in the generall exceptions hereafter enſuing: which great nũber of wytneſſes did ſound much in the Coũſels eares. Neuertheles it is proueable, that the one halfe at the leaſt (of the ſayd number) were defamed perſons, and many of them haue bene puniſhed for their demerites by the ſayd biſhop and hys officers, and therefore were the readier to witnes againſt him: as adulterers, fornicators, baudes, dronkadrs, braulers, fighters, théeues, runnagates, and beggers. And the more part of the ſayd wytneſſes are eyther kynſmen, familiar friendes, farmers of benefices, ſeruantes, or by ſome other meanes adherentes vnto the ſayd aduerſaries. And as for the honeſt Gentlemen and other which haue depoſed vpon the ſayd articles, they haue ſayd nothing that can hurt the ſayd biſhop, as it is thought by ſuch as haue ſéene the depoſitions. And thus much briefly touching the firſt trouble of B. Farrar in K. Edwardes tyme.

Crafty packyng agaynſt B. Farrar.

The ſecond trouble of B. Farrar in the tyme of Queene Mary.

After that the foreſayd M. Farrar biſhop of S. Dauids had bene long deteined in cuſtody vnder ſureties in the raigne of king Edward (not for any iuſte cauſe of hys part deſerued, but by reaſon that he had ben promoted by ẏ Duke of Somerſet, and now after his fall he found fewer frendes to ſupporte hym againſt ſuch as hunted after hys biſhopricke) at length after the deceaſe of king Edward, by the comming in of Quéene Mary the ſtate of religion began to bee chaunged and altered. Whereby a new trouble roſe vpon him, being now accuſed and examined, not for any matter of Premunire, but for hys fayth and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the biſhop of Wincheſter wyth M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Bradford, M. Saunders, & others aforeſayd, the iiij. day of February. On the which day he ſhould alſo with thẽ haue ben condẽned: but becauſe leyſure or lyſt dyd not ſo well then ſerue the biſhop, his condemnation was differred, and he ſet to priſon agayne, where he continued tyll the. 14. day of the ſayd moneth of February. What his examinations and aunſwers were before the ſayd B. of Wincheſter, ſo much as remayned & came to our handes, I haue here annexed in maner as followeth.

The talke of Byſhop Farrar before the B. of Wincheſter and other Commiſſioners.

¶ The aunſwer of Robert Farrar B. of S. Dauids, before Wincheſter and others.

At hys firſt comming and knéeling before the Lord Chaũcellor, ẏ B. of Dureſme, and ẏ B. of Worceſter, who ſat at the table, and Maiſter Rocheſter, Maiſter Southwell, maiſter Bourne and other ſtanding at the tables ende, the Lord Chauncellor ſayd vnto hym on thys ſort.

Winch. Now Syr, you haue heard how the world goeth here.

Farrar. If it like your honour, I know not.

Winch. What ſay you? Do not you know thinges abroad, notwithſtanding you are a priſoner?

Farrar. No my Lord, I know not.

Winch. Loe, what a froward fellow is this?

Farrar. If it pleaſe your lordſhip, how ſhould I know any thing abroad being a priſoner?

Winch. Haue ye not heard of the comming in of the Lord Cardinall?

Farrar. I know not my Lord Cardinall, but I heard that a Cardinall was come in, but I did not beleue it, and I beleue it not yet.

Worceſt. I pray your Lordſhip (ſayd ẏ B. of Worceſter) tell him your ſelf, that he may know what is done.

B.Farrar charged with the Queenes debt.

Winch. The Queenes Maieſtie and the Parlament hath reſtored religion into the ſame ſtate it was in at the beginning of ẏ raigne of king Henry the eight. Ye are in the Queenes debt, & her maieſty will be good vnto you, if you will returne to the catholicke church.

Farrar. In what ſtate I am concerning my debtes to the Quenes maieſty in ẏ court of Exchecker, my Lord Treaſurer knoweth: and the laſt time that I was before your honour and the firſt tyme alſo, I ſhewed you that I had made an othe neuer to cõſent nor agrée, that the biſhop of Rome ſhoulde haue any power or iuriſdiction within this realme: and further, I néede not to rehearſe to your Lordſhip: you know it wel enough.

B.Farrar refuseth the Pope.

Maiſter Bourne layeth to B.Farrar falſly to haue abiured in Oxford.

Bourne. You were once abiured for hereſie (ſayd M. Bourne) in Oxford.

Farrar. That was I not.

Bourn. You were.

Farrar. I was neuer: it is not true.

Bourn. You went from S. Dauids to Scotland.

Farrar. That dyd I not.

Bourn. You dyd.

Farrar. That did I neuer, but I went from Yorke into Scotland.

Bourn. Ah ſo ſayd I: you went with Barlow.

Farrar. That is true, but neuer from S. Dauies.

Bourn. You caried bookes out of Oxforde to the Archbyſhop of Yorke L. Lee.

Farrar. That did I not.

Bourn. You did.

Farrar. I did not, but I carried olde bookes from S. Oſwaldes to the Byſhop of Yorke.

B.Farrar falſly charged to haue ſupplanted his Maiſter, whom rather he defended from daunger.

Bourn. You ſupplanted your Maiſter.

Farrar. That did I neuer in my lyfe.

Bourn. By my fayth you dyd.

Farrar. Forſooth I dyd not, neuer in my lyfe, but I dyd ſhéeld and ſaue my maiſter from daunger, and that I obtained of king Henry the eight for my true ſeruice I thanke God therefore.

Bourn. My Lord (ſayd M. Bourne to my L. Chauncellor) he hath an ill name in Wales, as euer had any.

Farrar. That is not ſo. Whoſoeuer ſayth ſo, they ſhal neuer be hable to proue it.

Bourn. He hath deceiued ẏ Quéene in diuers ſumes of money.

Farrar. That is vtterly vntrue, I neuer deceiued King nor Quéene of one peny in my lyfe, and you ſhall neuer be hable to proue that you ſay.

Winch. Thou art a falſe knaue.

B.Farrar ſtandeth ſtoutly vpon his truth.

Farrar. Then Farrar ſtoode vp vnbydden (for al that while he knéeled) and ſayd: no my Lord, I am a true man, I thanke God for it. I was borne vnder kyng Henry the ſeuenth, I ſerued king Henry the eight, and king Edward the ſixt truly, & haue ſerued the Quéenes maieſty that now is, truly with my poore hart & word: more I could not doe, and I was neuer falſe, nor ſhall be by the grace of God.

Winch. How ſayeſt thou? wilt thou be reformable?

B.Farrar ſticketh to his oth made to the kyng agaynſt the Pope.

Farrar. My Lord, if it like your honor, I haue made an oth to God and to king Henry the eight, and alſo to king Edward, and in that to the Quéenes Maieſty, the which I can neuer breake while I liue, to die for it.

Dureſme. You had made an other oth before.

Farrar. No my Lorde, I made neuer none other oth before.

Dureſme. You made a vow.

Farrar. That dyd I not.

Vow of chaſtitie, is not to liue without wife.

Winch. You made a profeſſion to lyue wout a wyfe.

Farrar. No my Lord, if it like your honour, that dyd I neuer. I made a profeſſion to lyue chaſte, not wythout a wyfe.

Worceſt. You were ſworne to hym that was maiſter of your houſe.

Farrar. That was I neuer.

Winch. Well, you are a froward knaue: we wyl haue no more to doe with you: ſeing that you wil not come, we wyll bee ſhort with you, and that you ſhall knowe within this ſeuennight.

Winchesters periurie touched.

Farrar. I am as it pleaſeth your honor to call me, but I can not breake my oth which your Lordſhyp your ſelfe made before me, and gaue in example: the which confirmed my conſcience. Then I can neuer breake that oth whileſt I lyue, to die for it.

Dureſme. Well ſayth he, he ſtandeth vpon hys oth: call an other.

My Lord Chauncellour then dyd ryng a litle bell, and M. Farrer ſayd: I pray God ſaue the Kyng and Quéenes maieſties long to continue in honor to Gods glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole Realme, and I pray God ſaue all your honours, and ſo he departed.

After theſe examinations thus ended, biſhop Farrar ſo remayned in priſon vncondemned, till the. xiiij. day (as is aforeſayd) of February, and then was ſent downe into Wales, there to receaue ſentence of condemnation. Who then vpon the. 26. day of February in the church of Carmarthē being brought by Griffith Leyſon Eſquier, Shiriffe of the Countie of Carmarthen, was there perſonally preſented before Henry B. of S. Dauids, and Conſtantine the publicke Notarie: which Henry there and then diſcharged the ſaid Shiriffe, and receaued hym into his own cuſtodye, further committing hym to the kéeping of Owen Iones, & thervpon declared vnto ẏ ſayd M. Farrar, the great mercy and clemencie that the King & Quéenes hyghnes pleaſure was to be offered vnto him, which he there did offer vnto the ſayd M. Farrar: that is to ſay, that if he would ſubmit hym ſelfe to the lawes of thys Realme, and conforme him ſelf to the vnitie of the vniuerſall catholicke church, he ſhould bee receaued and pardoned: and after that, ſeing the ſayd M. Farrar to geue no aunſwere to the premiſſes, the ſayd biſhop miniſtred vnto him theſe articles following.

B. Farrar brought before D. Morgan pretenſed B. of S. Dauids.

¶ Articles deuiſed againſt Biſhop Farrar.

Articles obiected againſt B. Farrar.

1 FIrſt, whether he beleueth the mariage of Prieſtes to be lawful by the lawes of God and holye church or no.

2 Item, whether he beleueth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration duly pronounced by the Prieſt, the very body and bloud of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially contayned, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne.

Vnto the which articles the ſayd Biſhop required the ſayd M. Farrar to aunſwer vpon his allegeaunce.

The anſwere of Byſhop Farrar.

To which he ſayd, he would aunſwere when he ſaw a lawfull commiſſion, and would make no further anſwere at that tyme. Whereupon the ſayd Byſhop, taking no aduantage vpon the ſame anſwere, committed hym to the ſaid kéeper, to be kept in priſon vntill a new monition, and in the meane tyme to deliberate wyth hym ſelfe for his further anſwere to the premiſſes.

¶ An other examination of the Byſhop of Saint Dauies, before H. Morgan the pretenſed B. of Saint Dauies, George Conſtantine his Regeſter and others, the laſt of February. 1555.

An other examination of B. Farrar.

THis day and place Morgan the pretenſed Byſhop of Saint Dauies ſitting as iudge miniſtred vnto Byſhop Farrar, there perſonally preſent before hym, certayne Articles and Interrogatories in writyng, which beyng openly read and miniſtred vnto hym, the ſayd Byſhop Farrar refuſed to aunſwere, untill he myght ſee hys lawfull commiſſiō and authoritye. Whereupon the foreſayd pretenſed Byſhop of Saint Dauies did pronounce him as Contumax, and for the puniſhment of this his contumacy, to be counted pro confeſſo, and ſo did pronounce him in writyng: which being done, he committed the ſayd Byſhop to the cuſtody of Owen Ioans untill monday next, being the fourth day of March, thē to be brought a gayne into the ſame place betwixt one and two.

An other appearaunce of B.Farrar.

¶An other appearaunce of the ſayd B. Farrar before Morgan the pretenſed B. of S.Dauyes.

ITem, the day and place appointed, the ſayd Byſhop appearyng agayne before the pretēſed Byſhop, humbly ſubmittyng him ſelfe, as ready to aunſwere to the Articles and poſitions aboue mencioned, gently required the copy of the Articles, and a competent terme to be aſſigned unto him to aunſwere for him ſelfe: which beyng graunted unto hym, and Thurſday next beyng aſſigned unto him betwixt one and three to aunſwere preciſely & fully, ſo he was committed agayne to cuſtody, as aboue.

An other appearaunce of the ſaid Biſh.

¶An other appearaunce of the ſayd Byſhop.

ON Thurſday, as was appointed, which was the 7. of March, the ſayd Byſhop perſonally agayne appeared, where he exhibited a certaine Bill in writyng, containyng in it his aunſwere unto certaine Articles obiected and miniſtred to him before. Then after Henry the pretenſed Byſhop of S. Dauyes, offered hym agayne the ſayd Articles, as before: the tenour wherof tended to this effecte:

Articles agayne miniſtred againſt B.Farrar.

Firſt, that he willed hym beyng a Prieſt to abrenonce Matrimony.

Secondly, to graunt the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacramēt under the formes of bread and wyne.

Thirdly, that the Maſſe is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

Fourthly, that generall Councels lawfully congregated, neuer did nor can erre.

Fiftly, that men are not iuſtified before God, by faith onely, but that hope and charitie is alſo neceſſarily required to iuſtification.

Sixtly, that the Catholicke Church which only hath authoritie to expound Scriptures, and to define cōtrouerſies of Religion, and to ordeine thinges apperteinyng to publicke diſcipline, is viſible, & like unto a Citie ſet upon the mountaine for all men & underſtand.

B. Farrar denieth to ſubſcribe to the Articles.

To theſe Articles thus obiected to him, he refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirmyng that they were inuented and excogitated by mā, and perteine nothyng to the Catholicke fayth. After this the Biſhop aboue named, deliuered unto him the Copy of the Articles, aſſignyng hym Monday next folowyng to aunſwere and ſubſcribe to the ſame, either affirmatiuely or negatiuely.

An other appearaunce or examination of B.Farrar.

¶An other apperaunce of Biſhop Farrar.

VPon the which Monday, beyng ỹ 11. day of March he appearyng agayne before the Byſhop and the foreſayd Notary George Conſtantine, exhibited in a written paper his minde and aunſwere to the foreſayd Articles, which the Byſhop had twyſe now obiected againſt him before: to the which Articles and aūſweres he did ſo ſubſcribe, addyng theſe wordes, as tenens ſe de æquitate & iuſticia eſſe Epiſcopum Meneuēſem, that the Byſhop aſſigned the next Wenſday in the fore noone, to here his finall and diffinitiue ſentence.

The laſt appearaunce and examination of the bleſſed B. M.Farrar.

¶The laſt appearaunce of Byſhop Farrar.

THe which day and place the ſayd Byſhop and true ſeruaunt of God M. Ferrar, perſonally there appearyng, was demaunded of Henry the pretenſed Byſhop of S. Dauyes, whether he would renounce and recant his hereſies, ſchiſmes, and errours (as he called them) which hetherto he had maintained, & if he would ſubſcribe to ỹ Catholicke articles, otherwiſe thē he had done before. After this the ſayd godly M. Farrar did exhibite a certaine ſchedule written in Engliſh, and remainyng in the Actes, appealyng withall by expreſſe word of mouth from the Byſhop, as from an incompetent iudge, to Cardinall Poole. &c.

B.Farrar appealeth from the Biſhop of S.Dauids to the Cardinall.

All which notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Byſhop procedyng in his rage, pronounced the diffinitiue ſentence agaynſt him, cōteined in writyng & there left in ỹ Actes: by the which Sentence he pronounced him as an hereticke excommunicate, and to be giuen up forthwith to the ſecular power, namely to the Shriffe of the towne of Carmarthen, M. Leyſon. The tenour of which Sētence as likewiſe of al other Sētences, becauſe they runne much after the forme of the Sentence pronounced agaynſt M.Rogers, expreſſed before pag. 1661. I ſhall not nede often to repeate the ſame, where the exāple of that one may ſuffice for all.

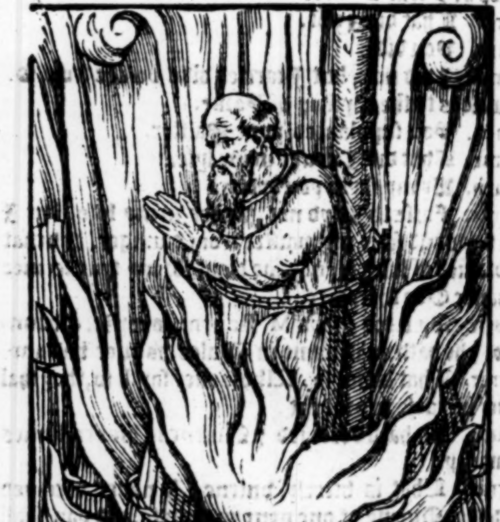
Sentence pronounced againſt B.Farrar.

Moreouer, after this Sentence thus pronounced, he alſo denoūced agaynſt him the ſentence of degradatiō, firſt puttyng upō him al their Prieſtly veſtures (which M.Ferrar at the ſame time, openly and publickly called in Engliſhe ragges and reliques of Rome, as the Regiſter recordeth) and after depriued hym of the ſame. The copie wherof read before expreſſed in the ſtory of M.Hoper, pag. 1681.

B.Farrar brought to the place of execution.

Thus this godly Biſhop beyng condemned and diſgraded, was cōmitted to ỹ ſecular power: who not long after was brought to the place of execution in ỹ towne of Carmerthen, where he in the Market place on the Southſide of the Market Croſſe, the 30. day of March, beyng Saterday next before Paſſion Sonday, moſt cōſtantly ſuſteined the tormentes and paſſion of the fire.

¶The cruell burnyng of M.Farrar, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of D.Rob. Farrar, Biſh. and Martyr, at Carmarthen. An.1555 March. 30.

A memorable example of conſtancie in this bleſſed B. and Martyr.

Touchyng the which conſtancy of this bleſſed Martyr, this is moreouer to be added and noted: that one named Rich. Iones, a Knightes ſonne, commyng to M. Farrar a litle before his death, ſeemed to lament the paynfulnes of the death he had to ſuffer. Unto whom the Byſhop aunſwered agayne to this effect, ſaying: that if he ſaw him once to ſtyrre in the paynes of his burning, he ſhould then giue no credite to his doctrine. And as he ſayd, ſo he rightwell performed the ſame, for ſo paciently he ſtoode, that he neuer moued, but euen as he ſtode holdyng up his ſtumpes, ſo ſtill he cōtinued till one Rich. Grauell with a ſtaffe daſhed hym uppon the head, and ſo ſtroke him downe.

The Martyrdome of M.Farrar Biſhop and Martyr.

¶ Letters.

As touchyng the letters of M. Farrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peraduenture in Queene Maryes tyme his impriſonment was ſo ſtrait, that at no tyme it was permitted to him to write. Albeit in his other troubles in kyng Edwardes tyme, certeine letters he wrote to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury Tho. Cranmer, and to the Earle of Warwicke, which letters although they might be wel referred to the former edition of this ſtory, yet becauſe in the ſayd letters is conteined briefly and in few lynes the whole diſcourſe of his vniuſt vexation at that tyme wrought by his aduerſaries, I thought good not to paſſe them ouer, but to cōmunicate them vnto the reader, for the better vnderſtandyng both of the innocencie of that bleſſed Biſhop, and of the crafty iniquitie of his conſpired enemyes: as in the ſayd letters here folowyng to the indifferent reader may eaſely appeare.

¶ The copy of a certaine letter of the B. of S. Dauies, written belike to the L. Chauncellour D. Goodricke B. of Ely.

A letter of M. Farrar Byſhop of Saint Dauies.

MOſt humbly ſheweth vnto your honour, your poore oratour Robert Byſhop of Saint Dauies, that wheras one Tho. Lee (by the procuremēt of Thomas Yong, Rowlād Mericke being both Canons of S. Dauies, and George Conſtantine Regiſter to the ſayd Biſhop) hath exhibited vnto your honour agaynſt him certayne articles, in the which are mentioned many tryfling thinges vnworthy to be declared in your honorable audiēce, and alſo their pretenſed weyghty articles (as they haue alleadged there) are vtterly vntrue, for proofe whereof the ſayd Thomas Lee, hath had Commiſſions into the countrey: therfore it may pleaſe your honour of your fauourable goodnes, to graunt vnto your ſayd Oratour a lyke Cōmiſſion for ẏ examinatiō of witneſſes in defence of his truth & honeſty, againſt the aforenamed Tho. Lee, George Cōſtantine, Tho. Yong, Rowlād Mericke, and all other perſons with their vniuſt articles, atteſtations, and ſayings, depoſed againſt hym. And in tender cōſideratiō that your ſayd Oratour ſtandeth bounden and ſureties with him, in the ſumme of a thouſand marks, to appeare before the Kinges Iuſtice in the Seſſions at Carmarthē in Iuly next comming, to aunſwere to a forged matter of Premunire, by the procurement and coūſel of his forenamed aduerſaries malitiouſly ſurmiſed agaynſt hym to his vtter vndoing: and furthermore that your Oratour being in debt to ẏ Kings Maieſtie, by reaſon of the malitious vexation of his foreſayd aduerſaries, can not (if he remayne here) ſatiſfy the ſame (for whereas there be rerages to a great ſumme aſwel of the Kings money as of hys owne rentes, he can receaue none thereof, hys aduerſaryes haue made ſuch ill report to his diſcredite, bearing the people in hand that hee ſhall come no more thether, by reaſon of which brute neither his owne tenauntes wyll pay their rentes and rerages, nor the Prieſts their rerages due to the Kinges Maieſty, aſwel for anno ſecūdo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto): In conſideration of all theſe thinges, it may pleaſe your honorable goodnes to licence your ſaid Oratour to depart into the dioces for theſe affayres and other: and he ſhalbe ready at all times at your honorable cōmaūdemēt and pleaſure to repayre agayne, and euer to pray to the Lord Ieſu for the perpetuall conſeruation of your honour, to his glory.

B. Farrar bound with his ſureties in a thouſand markes to appeare in a matter of Premunire.

Beſides this letter he wrote an other lykewiſe to the ſayd Lorde (who was, as ſeemeth, D. Goodricke Lord Chauncellour afore mentioned) wherin he declareth the whole cauſe of his trouble, how it roſe agaynſt him by his aduerſaries, as here foloweth.

¶ An other Letter written by the B. of S. Dauies to the Lord Chauncellour aforeſayd.

An other letter of B. Farrar to the Lord Chauncellour.

RYght honorable, and my very eſpeciall good Lord, with humble ſeruice and harty thankes to God, and to you for your godly fauour towardes me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, moſt louingly admoniſhing me to enclyne vnto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable concord and vnity: this is further to beſech your Lordſhip for the Lordes ſake not to be greued, but beningly to heare and grauely to ponder that waighty matter, which appearing to other but a light griefe, to me is in very deede a right greuous offence to Godward, with no litle hindraunce of his holy word and diſturbance of the Kings Godly procedings, and may be great occaſion of much inobedience, and diſorder of good life. Wherefore I am ſtraitly bounden, for the true zeale that I ought to beare vnto the word of life, Chriſtian religion, the Kinges maieſties honour, and the Godly quiet ſtate of his people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redreſſe to be ſought at his Maieſties handes by the Godly wiſdome of his moſt honorable and vpright Counſaill, but with harty affection to beare it vp agaynſt thoſe highmynded, arrogant, ſtuborne, ambitious, couetous Canons, truſting in their biting tongues with crafty preuention and vtterly vntrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop ẏ light, that their vngodly miſdoinges in darknes ſhall either not be ſeene, or at the leaſt may haue a tollerable appearaunce of right: In ſo much that I do not a litle maruell at theſe qualities in Maiſter Chauntour, the Canon, and the Deane of Worcetour, whoſe vngentle and vntrue behauiour I haue not onely knowen, but expertly proued and ſenſibly felt in two of the firſt to my great loſſes, whereof I make no cōplaynt.

But I wonder in my mynde and lament in my hart the ſtraunge alteration and wilfull goyng backward of myne old faithfull brother George Conſtantyne, the which (knowing them all three to haue bene in tymes paſt, either obſtinate enemies to the true bearers of the Croſſe of Chriſt, or (at the leaſt) priuy lurkers vnder pretence of fauour towards the Goſpell, to ſting the poore folowers thereof, ſeeking but their owne luker and pleaſure in all their doinges) would ſo earneſtly cleaue vnto them in their wrong deedes, as to betray me with his tong, become vntrue of his promiſe, and a bearer of filthy ſinne for lukers ſake, euē yet ſtifly perſiſting in the ſame, namely in thinges manifeſtly knowen vnto many although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

The vnkind dealing of George Conſtantine, againſt Biſh. Farrar.

And as for theyr Premunire, both George, and they at my firſt comming vngently detaining from M. Ferlee his commiſſion of the Chaūcellorſhip, would haue faced me downe with the Premunire, becauſe it was written in myne owne name according to the ſtatute: yet was I fayne for the zeale of vnity, not to ſee their vncurteous deedes, departing with M. Ferlee for the auoyding of their malice and enuy, and gaue that office for the amitie of George, vnto M. Chaunter his ſonne in law, and to Doctour Mericke the office of Cardigan. But ſeing afterward their couetous reſpect to their owne glory and luker, not regarding the reformatiō of ſinne and ſpecially of ſhameles whoredome, I was compelled to remoue them, ſore againſt their wylles: and where as I deſired many and ſondry tymes charitable redreſſe of theyr wrong doings in the vacation tyme, I obtayned many fayre wordes, and nothyng in deede?

Thys Ferlee was Chauncellour to B. Farrar.

Thys Chaunter was Doctour Yong.

D. Yong and D. Mericke remoued by B. Farrar from their offices.

Alſo deſiring to haue ſight of the booke of Statutes of the church for the knowledge of my dutye and theirs, I could not obtaine. Deſiring to haue a key of the Chapter houſe Seale, as my Lord of Bathe had, they would not deliuer it, but vpon conditions: yet was I content to be brideled, receauing it, as pleaſed thē to geue it. And further requiring the ſight of neceſſary euidences for the declaration of diuers things in trauers of my right, they would in no wyſe graunt it. And therupon conſidering their vngentlenes, I moued the quo warranto, knowing right well that if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantiall graunt vnder the kinges Seale for their corporation, it muſt therein appeare the biſhop to be the head, and euer hath bene vnder the king: for other they neither haue nor had, except they would returne to Rome agayne, as I truſt they wyll not. And yet perceauing afterward that they had no ſpeciall graunt to ſhew, or els ſuch as they would not ſhew, I my ſelf for the reſpect of vnity, wrote my letters to the kinges Attourney, by reaſon whereof the quo warranto was ſtayed, and ſo yet remayneth.

The wronges which B. Farrar receaued by Tho. Yong, & D. Mericke.

But touching the Certificat, the kinges Subſidy being due at Michaelmas laſt, and forborne til after Chriſtmas, and lawfully demaunded afore, they did vtterly refuſe to pay, both to my Vicecollector and to my ſelfe, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to aſke the reſt, and it is cōmitted vnto me in the Kinges Role a whole ſumme in groſſe to be receaued of the Canons reſideuntaries for their Diuident: who becauſe they cā not agre in diuiding, would haue the kings Maieſty to tary for hys money, til they cā agree to make diuiſion: and I can not demaund it of any particular perſon, nor at any particular place.

Wherfore I moſt humbly beſech your fatherly goodnes for the Lords ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good

Lord and friend, vnto ſuch tyme as ye find me eyther deſiryng to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the iudgement of my ryght cauſe into your handes. And becuſe that the reſidue of matters, touching them, & their vngentle, vntrue, and vngodly doings is to long and I haue moleſted you to much wyth this my tedious letter, I ſhall now ſurceaſe: humbly beſeching your good lordſhip to accept in good part thys my boldnes proceedyng of neceſſity, and to pardon it for the loue of our Lord Ieſu: who ſaue and kepe you in health, comfort, and honor, long to endure for the aduauncement of hys glory. Written at Agurguily this. ix. of March.

Your Lordſhips to commaund duryng lyfe, R.F.

The hiſtory of one Raulins VVhite

burned at Cardiffe in Wales, about the moneth of March, for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell, reported by Iohn Dane being yet alyue, who was almoſt cõtinually with hym duryng his trouble, vnto his death.

Raulins White Martyr, burned at Cardiffe in Wales.

For ſo much as we haue here paſſed the hiſtory of M. Farrar, burned at the towne of Carmarden in Wales, I thought to adioyne and accompanie with the ſame, the hiſtory alſo of one Rawlins Whyte a Fiſherman, which both in yͤ like cauſe, & in the ſame cõtrey of Wales, & alſo about yͤ ſame moneth of March & yeare aforeſayd, gaue his lyfe lyke a valiant ſouldiour of Ieſus Chriſt, to Martyrdome, & was burned at Cardiffe: the proceſſe of whoſe ſtory here followeth expreſſed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a Fiſherman, liuing and cõtinuing in the ſayd trade by the ſpace of. xx. yeares at the leaſt in the towne of Cardiffe, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of very good name, and well accompted amongeſt hys neighbours. As touching hys religion at the firſt, it can not otherwyſe be knowen, but that he was a great partaker of the ſuperſtition and idolatry that then was vſed, I meane in the raigne of king Henry the eight. But after that God of his mercy had raiſed vp the light of hys Goſpel, through the bleſſed gouernment of king Edward the ſixt here in this realme of England, thys Rawlins began partly to miſlike that which before he had embraced, and to haue ſome good opinion of that which before by the iniquitie of the time had bene concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpoſe and intent of his to paſſe, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great ſearcher out of the truth.

The deſirous mynde of *Rawlins* to ſearch for truth.

But becauſe the good man was altogether vnlearned, & withall very ſimple, he knew no ready way how he might ſatiſfie his great deſire: At length it came in his minde to take a ſpeciall remedy to ſupply his neceſſitie, which was this: He had a litle boy which was his owne ſonne, which child hee ſet to ſchole to learne to read Engliſh. Now after the litle boy could read indifferently well, his father euery night after ſupper, ſommer & winter, would haue the boy to read a peece of yͤ holy Scripture, & now & then of ſome other good booke. In which kinde of vertuous exerciſe the old man had ſuch delight & pleaſure, that, as it ſeemed, he rather practiſed him ſelfe in the ſtudy of Scripture, then in the trade or ſcience which before tyme he had vſed: ſo that Raulins within fewe yeares in the ſayd tyme of kyng Edward, through yͤ helpe of his litle ſonne, as a ſpeciall miniſter appointed by God (no doubt) for that purpoſe, and through much conſciẽce beſides, profited and went forward in ſuch ſort, yͭ he was hable not only to reſolue him ſelf touchyng hys owne former blyndnes & ignoraunce, but was alſo able to admoniſh & inſtruct other: and therefore when occaſion ſerued, hee would go frõ one place to an other, viſityng ſuch as he had beſt hope in. By which his doyng hee became in that countrey both a notable and open profeſſour of the truth, beyng at all tymes and in all ſuch places not without the company of his litle boy, whom (as I haue ſayd) he vſed as an aſſiſtance to this his good purpoſe. And to this hys great induſtry and indeuour in holy Scripture, God did alſo adde in hym a ſingulare gift of memory, ſo that by the benefite therof he would and could do that in vouchyng and rehearſing the text, which men of ryper and more profound knowledge by their notes and other helpes of memory, could very hardly accompliſh: In ſo much that he vppon the alledgyng of Scripture very often would cite the booke, the leafe, yea and yͤ very ſentence: ſuch was the wonderfull workyng of God in this ſimple and vnlearned father.

The godly entent of *Rawlins* in ſetting his ſonne to ſchole.

The meanes whereby *Rawlins* firſt came to knowledge.

Rawlins by the meanes of hys yong ſonne came to the knowledge of the ſcripture.

The gift of memory in *Rawlins*.

Now, when he had thus continued in his profeſſion the ſpace of v. yeares, kyng Edward dyed, vpon whoſe deceaſe Queene Mary ſucceded, and with her all kynde of ſuperſtition and Papiſtry crept in. Which thyng beyng once perceaued, Raulins did not altogether vſe open inſtruction and admonition (as before he was wont) and therfore oftentymes in ſome priuate place or other, he would call his truſty frendes together, and with earneſt prayer and great lamentation paſſe away the tyme: ſo that by his vertuous inſtructions beyng without any blemiſh of errour, he conuerted a great number, which number (no doubt) had greatly encreaſed, had not the cruell ſtorme of perſecution bene. The extremitie and force wherof at the laſt ſo purſued this good father Raulins that he looked euery houre to go to priſon: wherupon many of thoſe which had receaued comfort by his inſtructions, did reſort vnto him and by all meanes poſſible began to perſuade him to ſhift for hym ſelfe, and to diſpoſe his goods by ſome reaſonable order to the vſe of his wife and children, and by that meanes he ſhould eſcape that daunger which was imminent ouer his head.

Rawlins exhorted to ſhift for himſelfe.

But Raulins nothyng abaſhed for hys owne part, through the iniquitie of the tyme, and at all nothyng moued with theſe their fleſhly perſuaſions, thanked thẽ moſt hartly for their good will, and told them playnly that he had learned one good leſſon touching the confeſſing and deniall of Chriſt, aduertiſing them that if he vpõ their perſuaſions ſhould preſume to deny his Maiſter Chriſt, Chriſt in the laſt day would deny and vtterly condemne him: and therfore (quoth he) I will by his fauorable grace confeſſe and beare witnes of him before men, that I may find hym in euerlaſtyng lyfe.

Rawlins promiſeth to be conſtant to the death.

Notwithſtãding which aũſwere, his frendes were very importunate with him. Howbeit father Raulins continued ſtill in his good purpoſe, ſo long till at the laſt he was taken by the officers of the town as a man ſuſpected of hereſie: vpon which apprehenſion he was conuented before yͤ Biſhop of Landaffe that then was: the ſayd Byſhop lying then at his houſe beſides Chepſtow: by whõ, after diuers cõbats & cõflictes with hym, & his Chaplains: this good father Raulins was cõmitted to priſõ in Chepſtow. But this his keping whether it were by the Biſhops meanes becauſe he would ridde his handes of him, or through the fauour of his keeper, was not ſo ſeuere and extreme, but that (if he had ſo liſted) he might haue eſcaped oftentymes.

Rawlins apprehended and conuented before the Biſhop of Landaffe named *Anthony Kechin*.

Rawlins might eſcape and would not.

But that notwithſtandyng, he continued ſtill, in ſo much that at the laſt he by the aforenamed Biſhop was remoued from Chepſtow to the Caſtle of Cardiffe, where he continued by the ſpace of one whole yeare. Duryng which tyme this reporter reſorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporters mother (who was a great fauourer of thoſe that were in affliction in thoſe dayes) & other of his frẽdes: which hee receaued not wͦout great thankes & prayſes geuen to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and impriſoned, as ye haue heard, to his own vndoyng in this world and to yͤ vtter decay of hys poore wife and children: yet was his harte ſo ſet to the inſtruction and furtheraunce of other in the way of ſaluation, that he was neuer in quyet, but when he was perſuadyng or exhortyng ſuch of his familiar frendes as commonly came vnto hym. In ſomuch that on the Sondayes and other tymes of layſure, when his frẽdes came

Rawlins a whole yeare in priſon.

A godly woman ſtirred vp to relieue *Rawlins*.

Exhortation of *Raulins* to his frendes.

came to viſite him , he would paſſe away the tyme in prayer & exhortations,admoniſhing thē alwayes to beware of falſe prophets which come in ſheepes clothing.

Now when he had continued in Cardiffe Caſtle by the ſpace of one whole yeare (as I haue ſayd) the tyme of his farther triall was at hand. Whereupon the afore named Byſhop of Landaffe cauſed him to be brought agayne frō the Caſtle of Cardiffe vnto his owne houſe beſides Chepſtow , and whileſt hee continued there, the Byſhop aſſayed many wayes how to reduce him to ſome cōformitie. But when all meanes either by their threatnyng wordes or flatteryng promiſes were to no purpoſe : the Byſhop willed him , to aduiſe and bee at a full point with him ſelfe , either to recant his opiniōs, or els to abide the rigour of the law, and thervpon gaue hym a day of determination.

Raulins by no meanes could be reduced to returne to Popery.

Raulins brought before the B. of Landaffe in open iudgement.

Which day being come, the Byſhop with his Chaplaines went into his chappell, not without a great nūber of other by dwellers that came to beholde the maner of their doynges. When the Byſhop with his retinue were placed in order , poore Raulins was brought before them. The Byſhop after great deliberatiō in addreſſing him ſelfe (as it ſeemed) and ſilence forewarned to the reſt that were there preſent , vſed a long kynd of talke to hym , declaryng the cauſe of his ſendyng for, which was for that hee was a man well knowen to hold hereticall opinions, and that through his inſtructiō many were led into blynd errour. In the end he exhorted him to conſider his owne eſtate wherin he ſtode: for (ſayd the Byſhop) Raulins you haue bene oftentymes ſince your firſt trouble, both here in my houſe and elſwhere bene trauailed withall touching your opinions, and that notwithſtanding ye ſeeme altogether obſtinate & willfull. Now, hereupon we thought good to ſend for you, to ſee if there were any conformitie in you: ſo that the matter is come to this point, that if you ſhall ſhewe your ſelfe repentant for that which you haue done both agaynſt God and the Princes law, we are ready to vſe fauour towardes you: but if by no meanes we cā perſuade with you touchyng your reformation , we are mynded at this tyme to miniſter the law vnto you, and therefore aduiſe your ſelf what you will do.

The wordes of the biſh. to *Raulins*.

Raulins anſwereth to the Byſhop.

When the biſhop had made an end of hys long tale, this good father Rawlins ſpake very boldly to him and ſayd: My Lord, I thanke God I am a Chriſtian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: and if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Chriſtian man ought to be. Many mo wordes in lyke ſorte were betwene the biſhop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not very well remēber. But in the ende when Rawlins would in no wyſe recant his opinions, the biſhop told hym playnly that he muſt procede agaynſt him by the law, and condemne him as an hereticke.

Procede in your law a Gods name, ſayd Rawlins: but for an hereticke you ſhall neuer cōdemne me while the world ſtandeth. But (ſayd the biſhop to hys company) before we procede any further with hym, let vs pray vnto god that he would ſend ſome ſparke of grace vpon hym (meaning Rawlins) and it may ſo chaunce that God through our prayer wyll turne & conuert hys hart. Whē Rawlins heard yͤ biſhop ſay ſo: Ah my Lord (quoth he) now you deale well & like a godly biſhop, and I thanke you moſt hartely for your great charity & gentlenes. Chriſt ſayth: *Where as two or three be gathered in my name, I wyll be in the middeſt of them*, and there be mo then two or three of you. Now if it bee ſo that your requeſt be godly and lawfull, and that you pray as ye ſhoulde pray, wythout doubt God will heare you. And therfore my Lord go to, do you pray to your God, and I wyll pray to my God. I know that my God wil both heare my prayer, and performe my deſire.

The B. of Landaffe proceedeth both with prayer in condemnation of *Raulins*, which commonly the popiſh perſecutours are not wont to do.

The Biſh. prayeth to his God, & *Rawlins* to hys.

By and by the biſhop wyth hys company fell to praier. And Rawlins turning him ſelfe to a Pew that ſtood ſomwhat neare hym, fell downe vpon hys knees couering his face with his hands: and whē they had praied a while, the biſhop with his cōpany aroſe from praier. And thē alſo aroſe Rawlins, & came before the biſhop.

Rawlins confirmed in his doctrine.

Popiſhe Byſhops pray to a falſe god, and therefore are not heard.

Then ſayd the Biſhop: now Rawlins, howe is it with thee? wylt thou reuoke thy opinions, or no? Surely (ſayd Rawlins) my Lord: Rawlins ye left me, and Rawlins you finde me, and by Gods grace, Rawlins I wyll continue. Certainly if your petitions had bene iuſt and lawful, God would haue heard them: but you honor a falſe God, and pray not as ye ſhould pray, and therefore hath not God graunted your deſire: But I am onely one poore ſimple man as you ſee, & God hath heard my complaynt, and I truſt he will ſtrengthen me in his own cauſe.

A Maſſe ſayd for conuerſiō of *Rawlins*.

The biſhop when he perceaued that this hipocriſie of theirs toke none effect, then with hote wordes hee reproued him , and forthwith was ready to read the Sentence. Howbeit vpon ſome aduiſe geuen to hym by hys Chaplens that were there preſent , hee thought beſt firſt to haue a Maſſe , thincking that in deede by ſo doing , ſome wonderfull worke ſhoulde be wrought in Rawlins , and thereupon a Prieſt began Maſſe.

The wordes of *Rawlins* to the people at the ſacring tyme.

In the meane tyme poore Rawlins betoke him ſelfe to prayer in a ſecrete place thereby, vntyll ſuch time as the Prieſt came to the ſacring (as they terme it) which is a principall poynt of theyr idolatry. When Rawlins heard the ſacring bell ryng (as the vſe was) hee roſe out of hys place, and came to yͤ Quiere doore, and there ſtanding a whyle, turned hym ſelfe to the people , ſpeakyng theſe wordes : Good people, if there be any brethren amongeſt you, or at the leaſt if there bee but one brother amongeſt you, the ſame one beare me wytnes at the day of iudgement, that I bow not to thys Idoll, meanyng the Hoſte that the Prieſt held ouer hys head.

Rawlins ſtill conſtant in the profeſſiō of Gods truth.

Sentence read againſt *Rawlins*.

Rawlins ſent to priſon in Cardiffe caſtle.

The Maſſe beyng ended, Rawlins eftſoones was called for agayne. To whom the biſhop vſed many perſwaſions: but the bleſſed man continued ſtedfaſt in his former profeſſion, that the biſhops talke was altogether in vayne, and to no purpoſe. Whereupon the B. cauſed yͤ diffinitiue Sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was diſmiſſed, and from thēce he was by the Biſhops cōmaundement caryed againe to Cardiffe, there to be put into the priſon of the towne, called Cockmarell, a very darke, lothſome, & moſt vile priſon.

Rawlins in the meane whyle paſſed away the tyme in prayer, and chiefly in ſinging of Pſalmes: whych kynde of godly exerciſe he alwayes vſed, both at Cardiffe Caſtell, and in all other places.

The officers intending to burne *Rawlins* without a writte.

Now, after hee had thus continued as priſoner in Cockmarell priſon at Cardiffe (as is aforeſayd) a good ſpace, about three weekes before the day wherein he ſuffered, the head officers of the towne that had the charge of his executiō, were determined to burne him, becauſe they would be the ſooner ryd of hym: hauyng not in deede the Wryt of execution awarded, as by the law they ſhould haue. Whereupon one Henry Lewes the Recorder of the towne that thē was, ſeing that they went about to burne hym without any warrant by Writ came to them, & told thē, that if they dyd burne hym before they had the Wryt De hereticis cōburendis, the wife of the ſaid Rawlins would vpon iuſt cauſe by law, call their doinges into queſtion.

The writte awarded for burning of *Rawlins*.

Immediately vpon this aduertiſment, they ſent to London for the Wryt aboue named: vpon the receipt whereof they made ſome ſpeede to the execution of the ſayd Rawlins. Now when the day was come, wherin the good father ſhould performe and accompliſh the laſt act of thys hys worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare him ſelfe.

Rawlins wedding garment.

Now, when hee perceaued his tyme no leſſe neare then it was reported vnto him, he ſent forthwith to his wyfe, and willed her by the meſſenger that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make ready and ſend vnto hym his wedding garment, meaning a Shiert which afterward hee was burned in. Which requeſt or rather commaundement of hys, hys wife wyth great ſorrow & grief of hart dyd performe, and early in the morning did ſende it hym, which he receaued moſt gladly and ioyfully.

Now when the houre of hys execution was come, this good and cõſtant father Rawlins was brought out of priſon, hauing on hys body ẏ long Shiert, which (as you heard before) he called his wedding garment, & an old ruſſet coate which he was wont to weare. Beſides this, he had vpõ his legges an old payre of leather buſkins, which he had vſed long afore. And thus beyng brought out of the pryſon (as I haue ſayd) he was accompanied or rather garded with a great company of bylles and gleaues: which ſight when hee behelde: Alas (quoth he) what meaneth all thys? All this néedeth not. By Gods grace I wyll not ſtart away: but I wyth all my hart and mynde geue vnto God moſt harty thankes that he hath made me worthy to abyde al this for hys holy names ſake.

Rawlins going to the place of execution.

So he came to a place in his way where as his poore wife and children ſtode wéepyng and makyng great lamentation: the ſuddaine ſight of whom ſo pearced his hart, that ẏ very teares trickled down his face. But he ſone after, as though he had miſliked this infirmitie of his fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with him ſelfe: In ſomuch that in ſtrikyng his breſt with his hand, he vſed theſe wordes: Ah fleſh, ſtaieſt thou me ſo? wouldeſt thou fayne preuaile? well I tell thée do what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not, by God grace, haue the victory. By this tyme this poore innocent came to the very aultar of his ſacrifice (I meane the place appoynted for his death) and there found a ſtake ready ſet vp, with ſome wood toward ẏ makyng of the fire. Which when he beheld, he ſet forward him ſelfe very boldly: but in goyng toward the ſtake he fell downe vpon hys knées and kiſſed the ground, and in riſing agayne, the earth a litle ſtickyng on his noſe, hee ſayd theſe wordes: earth vnto earth, and duſt vnto duſt, thou art my mother and vnto thée ſhall I returne: Then went he cherefully & very ioyfully, and ſet his backe cloſe vnto the ſtake, and when he had ſtode there a while, he caſt his eye vpon this reporter, and called him vnto him and ſayd: I féele a great fightyng betwene the fleſh and the ſpirite, and the fleſh would very faine haue his ſwynge, and therfore I pray you when you ſée me any thyng tempted, hold your finger vp to me, and I truſt I ſhal remember my ſelfe.

Rawlins ſomwhat moued at the ſight of his wife and children.

Rawlins wraſtleth againſt his fleſhe.

The agony & fight of thys Chriſtian warriour.

As he was thus ſtandyng with his backe cloſe vnto the ſtake, a Smith came with a great chaine of yron: whom when he ſaw he caſt vp his hand with a loude voyce, and gaue God great thankes. Then the Smith caſt the chaine about him, and as he was making it faſt on the other ſide, Raulins ſayd vnto hym, I pray you good frend knocke in the chaine faſt, for it may be that the fleſh would ſtriue mightly: but God of thy mercy geue me ſtrength and pacience to abyde the extremitie.

Rawlins faſtened to the ſtake.

Now when ẏ Smith had made him ſure to the ſtake, the officers begã to lay on more wood with a litle ſtraw and réed: wherein the good old man was no leſſe occupyed then the beſt: for as farre as he could reach hys handes, he would plucke the ſtraw and réed and lay it about him in places moſt conuenient for his ſpéedy diſpatch. Which thyng he did with ſuch a cherefull coũtenaunce and familiar geſture, that all men there preſent were in a maner aſtonyed.

The chearfulnes of father Rawlins at his death.

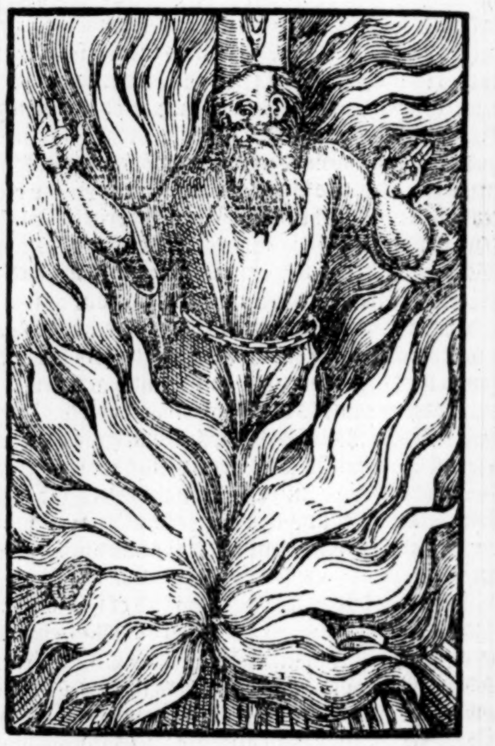
Thus when all thynges were ready, ſo that there lacked nothyng but the puttyng to of the fire, directly ouer againſt the ſtacke in the face of Raulins, there was a ſtandyng erected, whereon ſtept vp a Prieſt addreſſing him ſelfe to ſpeake to ẏ people which were many in nũber, becauſe it was Market day. When Raulins perceaued him, & cõſidered the cauſe of his comming, he reached a litle ſtraw vnto hym & made ij. litle ſtayes and ſet them vnder his elbowes. Then wẽt the Prieſt forward in his Sermon, wherein he ſpake of many thyngs touchyng the authoritie of ẏ Church of Rome. In the meane tyme Raulins gaue ſuch good eare and intention, that he ſéemed nothyng at all moued or diſquieted. At the laſt the Prieſt came to the Sacrament of the aultar, and there he began to inuey agaynſt Raulins opinions: in which his inuection hee cited the commõ place of Scripture & therupon made a Clerkely interpretation.

A popiſh ſermõ preached at Rawlins Martyrdome.

Now when Raulins perceaued that he went about not onely to preach and teach the people falſe doctrine, but alſo to confirme it by Scripture: he ſuddenly ſtart vp and beckened his hãdes to the people, ſaying twiſe: Come hether good people & heare not a falſe Prophet preachyng: and then ſayd vnto the preacher: Ah thou noughty hypocrite, doeſt thou preſume to proue thy falſe doctrine by Scripture? Loke in the text what foloweth: did not Chriſt ſay? *do this in the remembraunce of me*: After which wordes the Prieſt beyng rather amazed then interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Rawlins wordes to the falſe Prophet.

The burnyng of Raulins, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of *Rawlins White*, a Fiſherman, at Cardiffe. An.1555 March.

Then ſome that ſtode by cryed out, put fire, ſet to fire: which being ſet to, the ſtrawe and réede by and by caſt vp both a great and a ſuddayn flame. In the which flame this good & bleſſed mã bathed his hands ſo long, vntill ſuch tyme as the ſinnewes ſhronke and the fatte dropped away, ſauing that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this whyle, which was ſome what long, he cried with a loude voyce: O Lord receaue my ſoule: O Lord receaue my ſpirite, vntill he could not open his mouth. At the laſt the extremity of the fire was ſo vehement againſt his legges, that they were conſumed almoſt before the reſt of his body was burned: which made the whole body fall ouer ẏ chaine into the fyre ſoner then it would haue done. During which tyme of his burning it can not bee ſayd that hee ſuffred or felt any great payne, conſidering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly, and paciently euen vnto the departing of his lyfe. Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins for the teſtimony of Gods truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, wyth the crowne of euerlaſting lyfe.

The conſtant patience of *Rawlins* at his burning.

It is recorded furthermore of the ſayd good father Rawlins by this reporter, that as he was going to his death and ſtãding at the ſtake, he ſéemed in a maner to be altered in nature. For where as before he was wõt to go ſtowping, or rather croked, through the infirmitie of age, hauing a ſad countenaunce and a very féeble con-

A ſodein alteration of nature merueilous in *Rawlins* before hys death.

complexion, and withal very ſoft in ſpeech and geſture. Now he went and ſtretched vp him ſelfe, not onely bolt vpright, but alſo bare withall a moſt pleaſant and comfortable countenaunce, not without great courage and audacitie both in ſpeeche and in behauiour. He had (of which thing I ſhould haue ſpoken before) about hys head a kerchiefe. The heares of hys head (ſomewhat appearing beneath hys kerchiefe) and alſo of hys beard were more inclined to white then to gray: which gaue ſuch a ſhew and countenance to his whole perſon that he ſeemed to be altogether angelicall.

It is alſo ſayd by thys reporter, that a litle before the fyre flaſhed vp to hys body (as ye haue heard) many of hys friends came to him, and toke him by the hand, amongſt whom the reporter of this ſtory held hym ſo long by the hand, tyll the flame of the fire roſe, and forced them to ſunder. In the meane tyme the prieſt (of whom I ſpake afore, cryed out, and ſayd that it was not lawfull for any man to take him by the hand, becauſe he was an hereticke, & cōdemned by the church. The chiefe cauſe of hys trouble was hys opinion touching the ſacrament of the aultar. He was at the time of hys death, of the age of threeſcore yeares, or thereaboutes.

The reporter of this ſtory one M. Daue.

¶The Summe of the wordes ſpoken by Queene Mary to certayn of her Counſellours March.28.an. 1555.touching the reſtitution of Abbay lands.

BEfore I paſſe ouer this month of March, I can not but leaue a litle memorandū of the wordes or conſultation of Queene Mary vſed to certaine of the Coūſaile, the 28.day of the ſaid moneth of March, touching the reſtoryng agayne of the Abbay landes. Who after ſhe had called vnto her preſence iiij. of her priuy Counſayle, the day & moneth aforeſayd: the names of which Counſailours were theſe:

1. William *Lord Marques of Wincheſter, high Treaſurer of England.*
2. *Syr* Robert Rocheſter *Knight, the Queenes Controller.*
3. *Syr* William Peter *Knyght Secretary.*
4. *Syr* Fraunces Inglefield *Knyght, Maiſter of the Wardes:*

The names of the Counſellers called before Queene Mary.

The ſayd Queene Mary inferred theſe wordes: the principall effect and ſumme whereof here followeth. You are here of our Counſaill, and we haue willed you to be called vnto vs to the entent ye might heare of me my conſcience, and the reſolution of my minde concernyng the lands and poſſeſſions as well of Monaſteries, as other Churches whatſoeuer, beyng now preſently in my poſſeſſion.

The effect of Queene Maryes wordes touching Abbay landes to be reſtored.

First I do conſider, that the ſayd landes were taken away from the Churches aforeſayd in tyme of ſchiſme, and that by vnlawfull meanes, ſuch as are cōtrary both to the law of God and of the Church. For the which cauſe my conſcience doth not ſuffer me to deteine thē: and therfore I here expreſly refuſe either to claime or to reteine the ſayd landes for myne, but with all my hart, freely, and willyngly without all paction or condition, here and before God I do ſurrēder & relinquiſhe, the ſayd landes and poſſeſſions or inheritaunces whatſoeuer, and do renounce the ſame with this mynd and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition therof may be takē, as ſhall ſeeme beſt likyng to our moſt holy lord yͤ Pope, or els his Legate the Lord Cardinall, to the honour of God and wealth of this our Realme.

The Queene taketh a conſcience in keeping Abbay landes.

The Queene ſurrendreth from her ſelfe the poſſeſſiō of Abbay landes.

And albeit you may obiect to me agayne, that conſideryng the ſtate of my kyngdome, the dignitie therof, and my crowne Imperiall can not be honorably mainteined & furniſhed without the poſſeſſiōs aforeſaid: yet notwithſtādyng I ſet more by the ſaluatiō of my ſoule, then by x.kyngdomes, and therfore the ſayd poſſeſſiōs I vtterly refuſe here to hold after that ſorte and title, and giue moſt harty thankes to almighty God, which hath giuen me an huſband lykewiſe mynded with no leſſe good affection in this behalfe, then I am my ſelfe.

Wherfore I charge & commaund, that my Chaūcellour (with whom I haue conferred my mynde in this matter before) and you iiij. to morow together do reſorte to the moſt reuerend Lord Legate, and do ſignifie to him the premiſſes in my name, and giue your attendaunce vppon him for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my kyngdome, and of the foreſayd poſſeſſions accordyngly as you your ſelues do vnderſtād the matter, and can informe him in the ſame.

Promiſe for reſtitution of Abbay landes.

This Intimation beyng giuen by the Queene, firſt vnto the Counſellours, and then commyng to the Cardinals hād, he drawyng out a copy therof in Latin, ſent the ſame to the Pope: which copie drawen into Latin and cōmyng afterward to my hand, I haue thus tranſlated into Engliſh, as ye haue heard.

Furthermore here by the way is to be vnderſtand, that in the moneth before, which was February, and in the xix.day of the ſayd moneth, the Byſhop of Ely, with the Lord Mountacute, and vij.ſcore horſe, were ſent as Ambaſſadours from the Kyng and Queene vnto Rome. For what cauſe in ſtory it is not expreſſed, but by coniecture it may be well ſuppoſed to be for the ſame cauſe of Abbay landes, as by the ſequele therof may probably appeare.

Ambaſſadours ſent frō England to Rome. Februa.19.

For it was not long after, but the Pope did ſet forth in Print a Bul for excommunication of all maner ſuch perſons, without exception, as kept any of the Church or Abbay landes: by vertue of which Bull the Pope excommunicated as well all ſuch as had any of the Church or Abbay landes, as alſo all ſuch Princes, Byſhops, noble men, Iuſtices of peace, and other in office, who had not, or dyd not forthwith put the ſame Bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet to this day was neuer put in practiſe.

The Popes bull for reſtitution of Abbay landes.

Wherein agayne is to be obſerued an other catholicke fetch, not vnworthy perchaunce of marking. For where this kynde of catholickes by rigour and force may ouermaiſter, they ſpare for no coſt, but lay on load inough. This well appeared, and ſtill doth appeare in burning the poore pacient Chriſtians, whom becauſe they ſee to be deſtitute of power and ſtrength to reſiſt them, and content wyth patience to receaue whatſoeuer is put vnto them, there they play the Lyons, and make no end of bnrning and perſecuting. But where they ſpie them ſelues to be ouermatched, or feare to receaue a foyle in preſuming to farre, there they keepe in, and can ſtay the execution of theyr lawes & Bulles be they neuer ſo Apoſtolicall, tyll they ſpye theyr tyme conuenient for their purpoſe, as in thys caſe is euident for all the world to ſee.

Note the nature of the Papiſtes where they can ouercome, they are Lyons: where they are ouermatched, they play the Foxes.

For notwithſtanding that the Popes Bull cōming downe wyth full authoritye for reſtitution of Abbey landes, dyd ſo thunder out moſt terrible excommunication, not onely againſt them which deteined any ſuch landes, but alſo agaynſt all other that dyd not ſee the Popes commaundement to bee executed, yet neyther Wincheſter, nor any of all the Popes Clergie would greatly ſtyrre in that matter, perceauing the nobility to be to ſtrong for them to match withall, and therefore were contented to let the caſe fall, or at leaſt to ſtay for a tyme, whyle tyme might better ſerue them. Yea and moreouer vnder crafty pretenſe, that the nobilitie and men of landes at the firſt comming out of the Bull, ſhould not bee exaſperate to much agaynſt them, they ſubtilly abuſed the Pulpits, & diſſembled wyth the people, affirming, that yͤ ſayd Popes late Bull ſet forth in prynt for reſtitution of Abbey lands, was not ment for Englād, but for other forrein countreyes, where in very deede the meaning of that Bull was onely for England and no coūtrey els, as both by thys Intimation of Queene Mary here mentioned, and by many other cōiectures, and alſo by M. Fecknams Ballet of Caueat Emptor, may appeare. Whereby it is eaſy for all men

Here lacked no good will in the Biſhops, but time as yet dyd not ſerue them.

Falſe diſſemblyng in the Popes Catholicke Church.

M. Fecknams ballet of *Caueat Emptor.*

Read more of this in a booke called a warning to England.

to vnderſtand what the purpoſe of theſe men was to doe, if tyme which they obſerued, might haue serued their deuotion. But to let this matter paſſe of the Popes Bull, the tyme now ſerueth to entreate of pope Iulius death, forſomuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foreſayd moneth of March. Concernyng the deedes and Actes of which Pope, to make a full declaratiõ, it were not ſo much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. Vnder this Iulius floriſhed the Archbyſhop Beneuentanus, a Florentin named Iohannes a Caſa, Deane of the Popes Chãber, and chief Legate to the Venetians: who wel declaring the fruite of that filthy Sea, ſo farre forgat both honeſty and nature, that he ſhamed not onely to play the filthy Sodomite him ſelfe, and to boaſt opẽly of the ſame: but alſo tooke vppon hym moſt impudently in Italian Meter, to all mens eares to ſet forth the prayſe and cõmendation of that beaſtly iniquitie, ſaying that he hym ſelfe neuer vſed other: and thys booke was Printed at Venice by one Troianus Nauus: & yet ỷ Pope could ſuffer this ſo great iniquitie & ſhameles beaſtlines, euẽ vnder his noſe in his owne Chamber, which could not abyde the true doctrine of Chriſt in Chriſtian bookes.

The death of Pope Iulius. 3.

Vide ſcriptum Pauli Vergerij contra hunc Archiepiſcopum.

Note here what an holy catholicke church this is.

Amongeſt other prankes and deedes of this foreſayd Pope, in his Iubile, and in the Synode of Trent, and in confirmyng of the Idoll of Lauretane, this is alſo reported of hym in his lyfe, that he delighted greatly in Porkefleſh and Peacockes. Vpõ a tyme when he was admoniſhed of his Phiſiciõ to abſtaine from all ſwines fleſhe, for that it was noyſome for his goute, and yet would not folow his counſell: the Phiſicion afterward gaue warnyng to his ſteward or orderer of hys diete, that he ſhould ſet no more Porkefleſh before hym.

A porckiſh Pope.

Whereupon when the Pope perceiued the ſayd Porkefleſh to bee lackyng in his accuſtomed ſeruice: where (ſayd he) is my Porke? and when his ſteward had aunſwered, that his Phiſicion had forbidden any Porke to be ſerued: then ỷ Pope burſtyng out in great rage, ſayd in theſe wordes: Bryng me, ſayd he, my Porkefleſh, al diſpetto di dio: That is to ſay in Engliſh: *In the deſpite of God.*

Monſtrous blaſphemy in the Pope.

At an other tyme, he ſittyng at dyner, poyntyng to a Peacocke vppon his table which hee had not touched: keepe ſayd he, this cold Peacocke for me agaynſt ſupper, and let me ſup in the Gardeine, for I ſhall haue geſtes. So when ſupper came, and amõgeſt other hote Pecockes, he ſaw not his could Peacocke brought to his table: the Pope after his wonted maner moſt horribly blaſphemyng God, fell into an extreme rage. &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals ſittyng by, deſired him, ſaying: let not your holynes (I pray you) be ſo moued with a matter of ſo ſmal weyght. Then this Iulius the Pope aunſweryng agayne: what, ſayd he, if God was ſo angry for one apple, that hee caſt our firſt parentes out of Paradiſe for the ſame: why may not I being his Vicar, be angry thẽ for a Peacocke, ſithens a Peacocke is a greater matter thẽ an aple? Behold here good Reader, by this Pope, the holynes of that blaſphemous Sea: and yet thou ſhalt ſee here, what affection was borne vnto this Pope here in England, by the Diriges, Hearſes, and funerals commaunded to be had and celebrated in all Churches by the Queene and her Counſell, as may appeare by the copy of their letters here folowyng.

Pope Iulius blaſphemeth God for a Peacocke.

O vocem Antichriſto dignam.

A letter ſent from the Byſhop of wincheſter (being Lord Chauncellour) vnto Boner B. of London, touching the celebratyng of the Popes funerals.

Aprill. 10.

Wincheſters letter to *Boner* for the Popes funerall.

After my harty commendations to your good Lordſhip: The King & Queenes Maieſtyes hauing certayne knowledge of the death of the Popes holynes, thought good there ſhould be as well ſolemne obſequies ſayd for hym through out the Realme, as alſo theſe prayers (which I ſend you herein encloſed) vſed at Maſſe tymes in all places at this tyme of vacation, and therefore wylled mee to ſignifie their pleaſures vnto you in this behalfe: that thereupon ye might procede to the ful accompliſhment thereof by putting the ſame in due execution within your own dioces, and ſending word to the reſt of the Biſhops to do the lyke in theyrs.

Thus doubting not but that your Lordſhip wyll vſe ſuch diligence in this matter at this tyme, as ſhall be neceſſary, I bid your Lordſhip hartely well to fare. From my houſe at Aſſher, the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your aſſured frend and brother Stephanus Winton. *Cancell.*

Prayers commaunded to be vſed in the funerall Maſſes for the Pope, *Apoſtolica ſede vacante.*

A collect for the Pope.

Supplici te domine humilitate depoſcimus, vt tua immenſa pietas ſacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ concedat pontificẽ illum, qui & pro in nos ſtudio ſemper tibi gratus, & tuo populo pro ſalubri regimine ſit aſſidue ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per dominum noſtrum.

Secreta.

Tuæ nobis domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, vt gratum Maieſtati tuæ pontificem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ regimini præeſſe gaudeamus per dominum noſtrum.

Poſt Communionem.

An other prayer for chuſing of the Pope.

Precioſi Corporis & ſanguinis tui domine ſacramento refectos, mirifica tuæ maieſtatis gratia de illius ſummi Pontificis aſſumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus inſtruat, & fidelium mentes, ſpiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per dominum noſtrum.

Vpon this commaundement, on Wedenſday in Eaſter Weeke there were Hearſes ſet vp, & Diriges ſong for ỷ ſaid Iulius in diuers places. At which tyme it chaunced a womã to come into S. Magnus church at the bridge foote in London, and there ſeing a Hearſe and other preparation, aſked what it ment: and other that ſtoode by, ſayd that it was for the Pope, and that ſhe muſt pray for hym. Nay (quoth ſhe) that wyll I not, for he needeth not my prayers: and ſeing he could forgeue vs all our ſinnes, I am ſure hee is cleane hym ſelfe: therefore I nede not to pray for hym. She was heard ſpeake theſe woordes of certayne that ſtoode by: which by and by caried her vnto the Cage at London Bridge, and bad her coole her ſelfe there.

A woman at Saint *Magnus* pariſh impriſoned for not praying for the Pope.

A ſpectacle for all Chriſtians to beholde and to take heede of the Popes blaſphemous doctrine.

By many and ſondry wayes almighty God hath admoniſhed men of all nations in theſe our latter yeares to embrace and not violẽtly to repugne agaynſt ỷ light of his Goſpel, as firſt by preachyng of his word, ſecondly, by the bloud of his Martyrs, and thyrdly by terrible examples ſhewed frõ tyme to time vpon his aduerſaries. In the nũber of whõ cõmeth here to be remembred the notable workyng of Gods hand vpon a certein Prieſt in Kent named Nyghtingall, Parſon of Crondall beſides Canterbury: who vpon Shroueſonday, which was about the thyrd day of the ſayd moneth of March, and yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, reioyſing belike not a litle at this alteration of Religion, began to make a Sermon to his Pariſheners takyng his theame out of the wordes of S. Iohn: *he that ſayth he hath no ſinne, is a lyer, and the truth is not in him. &c.* and ſo vpon the ſame, very impertinently declared to them all ſuch Articles as were ſet forth by the Popes authoritie, and by the cõmaundement of the Byſhops of this realme: ſaying moreouer vnto the people in this wiſe: Now maiſters and neighbours reioyce & be mery, for ỷ prodigal Sonne is come home. For I know that the moſt part of you be as I am: for I know your hartes well enough. And I ſhall tell you what hath happened in this weeke paſt. I was before my Lorde Cardinall Pooles grace, & he hath made me as cleane frõ ſinne, as I was at ỷ fontſtone: and on Thurſday laſt beyng before him, he hath appoynted me to notifie (I thanke him for it) the ſame vnto you. And I will tell you what it is. And ſo readyng the Popes Bull of pardon that

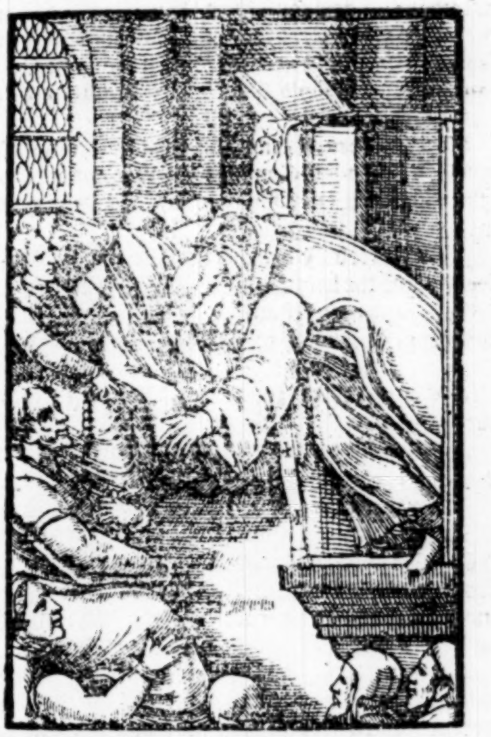
A Popiſh parſon preaching to his pariſhioners.

A terrible example of Gods ſeuere puniſhment vpon one *Nightingall* Parſon of Crondall in Kent.

Blaſphemy to Chriſtes Goſpell puniſhed.

was ſent into England, he ſayd, he thanked God that euer he had lyued to ſee that day, addyng moreouer that he beleued that by the vertue of that Bull he was as cleane from ſinne, as that night that he was borne:

¶ The deſcription of a Popiſh Prieſt, who whē he had taken away the glory and office of Chriſt fell downe ſodeinly and dyed.



The ſodaine death of one Nightingall Parſon of Crondall in Kent, who was made by the Cardinals extortins chiefe Commentary of that Deanry.

and immediatly vpon the ſame fell ſodenly downe out of the Pulpit, and neuer ſtyrred hand nor foote, and ſo lay he. Teſtified by Rob. Auſten of Chartham which both heard and ſaw the ſame, and is witneſſed alſo by the whole countrey round about.

¶ Iohn Awcocke.

Aprill. 2. Iohn Awcocke, Martyr.

IN the moneth of Aprill, and the ſecond day of the ſame moneth, dyed in priſon Iohn Awcocke, who after was buryed in the fieldes, as the maner of the Papiſts was to deny their Chriſtian buriall to ſuch as dyed out of their popiſh Antichriſtian Church.

A declaration of the lyfe, examination and burning of George Marſh, who ſuffered moſt conſtant Martyrdome for the profeſſion of the Goſpell of Chriſt, at Weſtcheſter the 4. day of Aprill. An. 1555.

April. 24 George Marſh, Martyr.

George Marſh had a woman.

THe ſayd George Marſh was borne in the pariſh of Deane, in the Countie of Lancaſter, and was well brought vp in learning and honeſt trade of liuing by hys Parentes, who afterwardes about the .xxv. yeare of hys age, tooke to wyfe an honeſt mayden of the countrey, with whom he continued earning their liuing vpon a farme, hauing chyldren betwene them lawfully begotten: and then God taking hys wyfe out of thys world, he being moſt deſirous of godly ſtudies (leauyng hys houſehold and children in good order) went vnto the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where he ſtudied and much encreaſed in learning and godly vertues, and was a Miniſter of Gods holy word and Sacramentes, and for a while was Curate to Laurence Saunders, as he him ſelfe reporteth. In which condition of lyfe, hee continued for a ſpace, earneſtly ſettyng forth Gods true Religion, to ÿ defacyng of Antichriſtes falſe doctrine by hys godly readynges and Sermons, as well there and in the Pariſh of Deane, as els where in Lanckeſhyre. Whereupon at length by detectiō of certeine aduerſaries he was apprehended and kept in cloſe priſon by George Cotes, the Biſhop of Cheſter, in ſtreit priſon in Cheſter, within the precinct of the Byſhops houſe, about the ſpace of iiij. monethes, beyng not permitted to haue relief and comfort of his frendes: but charge beyng giuen vnto the Porter to marke who they were that aſked for him and to ſignifie their names vnto the Byſhop, as by the particular deſcription of his ſtory teſtified and recorded with his own penne, more euidently may appeare in the proceſſe here vnder folowyng.

George Marſh made Miniſter.

D. Cotes Biſhop of Cheſter, a perſecuter.

George Marſh detected.

George Cotes Biſhop of Cheſter, perſecuter.

¶ The handlyng, intreatyng, and examination of George Marſhe, beyng ſent firſt by the Earle of Derby to Doct. Cotes Byſhop of Cheſter.

The examination of George Marſh, written with his own hand.

ON the Monday before Palme Sonday, which was the xij. day of March, it was told me at my mothers houſe that Rog. Wrinſtone with other of M. Bartons ſeruauntes did make diligent ſearch for me in Bolton, and when they perceiued that I was not there, they gaue ſtraite charge to Roger Ward and Rob. Marſh to find & bring me to M. Barton the day next folowing, with others, to be brought before the honorable Earle of Darby to be examined in matters of Religiō. &c.

M. Barton Gentleman, a perſecutor.

I knowing this by relation of diuers of my frendes, was diuerſly affected, my mother and other my frēdes aduertiſing me to flye and to auoyde the perill, which thing I had intended afore after a weeke then next enſuyng, if this in the meane while had not chaunced, ſeing, that if I were takē and would not recant in matters of Religion, (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrēgthening & aſſiſtyng me with his holy ſpirite I neuer wil) it would not onely haue put thē to great ſorrow, heauines, & loſſes, with coſtes & charges, to their ſhame and rebuke in this worlde, but alſo myne own ſelf after troublous & painfull priſonmēt, vnto ſhamefull death.

George Marſh aduertiſed by his frendes to flye.

This conſidered, they aduiſed and counſelled me to depart and flye the countrey, as I had intended to haue done if this had not happened. To whoſe counſell my weake fleſh would gladly haue conſented, but my ſpirite did not fully agree: thynking and ſaying thus to my ſelfe: that if I fled ſo away, it would be thought, reported, and ſayd, that I did not onely flye the countrey and my neareſt and deareſt frendes: but much rather frō Chriſtes holy word, accordyng as theſe yeares paſt I had with my hart, or at leaſt with myne outward liuyng profeſſed, & with my mouth & word taught, accordyng to the ſmall talent giuen me of the Lord. I beyng thus with their aduiſe and counſell, and the cogitations and counſailes of myne owne mynde drawen, as it were, diuers wayes, went from my mothers houſe, ſaying I would come agayne at euenyng.

G. Marſh in a perplexitie whether to flye or to tarye.

In the meane tyme I ceaſed not by earneſt prayer to aſke and ſeeke counſaile of God (who is the geuer of all good giftes) and of other my frendes, whoſe godly Iudgementes and knowledge I much truſted vnto. After this I mette with one of my ſayd frendes on Deane Moore about ſūne goyng down: & after we had conſulted together of my buſines, not without harty prayer kneelyng on our knees, we departed, I not fully determining what to do, but takyng my leaue with my frend, ſayd I doubted not but God (accordyng as our prayer and truſt was) would geue me ſuch wiſedome and counſaile, as ſhould be moſt to his honour and glory, the profite of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtainyng of myne eternall ſaluation by Chriſt in heauen.

George Marſh conſulteth with God.

This done, I returned to my mothers houſe agayn, where had bene diuers of M. Bartons ſeruauntes ſeeking after me: who when they could not find me, ſtraitly charged my brother and William Marſh to ſeeke me that night, & to bring me to Smethehilles the next day: who beyng ſo charged were gone to ſeeke me in Adderton, or elſwhere I know not. Thus intendyng afore to haue bene all night with my mother, but then conſidering that my tarying there would diſquiet her with

Marſhes brethren charged to ſeeke hym.

her houſhold, I departed frō thence, and went beyond Deane Church, and there taryed all night with an olde frend of myne, takyng ill reſt, and conſultyng much with my ſelfe of my trouble.

The meruailous prouidence of God in reſoluing G. Marſh not to flye, but to tary.

So at my firſt awakyng, one came to me frō a faythfull frend of mine with letters, which I neuer read nor yet looked on, who ſayd this: My frendes aduiſe was that I ſhould in no wiſe fly, but abyde & boldly confeſſe ẏ faith of Ieſus Chriſt. At whoſe wordes I was ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed in my conſcience, that frō thence forth I conſulted no more, whether was better to flye or to tary, but was at a point with my ſelf that I would not flye, but go to M. Barton, who did ſeeke for me, and there preſent my ſelfe, and patiently beare ſuch croſſe, as it ſhould pleaſe god to lay vpō my ſhoulders. Wherupon my mynd and conſcience afore beyng much vnquieted and troubled, was now mery & in quyet eſtate. So betymes in the mornyng I aroſe, and after I had ſayd the Engliſh Letany (as my cuſtome was) with other prayers kneelyng on my knees by my frendes bed ſide, I prepared my ſelfe to goe toward Smethhilles: and as I was goyng thether ward, I went into the houſes of Harry Widdowes, of my mother in law, of Raffe Yeton, & of the wife of Tho. Richardſon, deſiryng them to pray for me, and haue me commended to all my frendes, and to cōfort my mother, and be good to my litle children: for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my face any more, before the laſt day: and ſo tooke my leaue of them not without teares ſhed on both parties, and came to Smethhilles about nine of the clocke, and preſented my ſelfe afore M. Barton: who ſhewed me a letter from the Earle of Darbye, wherein hee was commaunded to ſend me with others to Lathum.

G. Marſh tooke his leaue of his frendes.

G. Marſh of hys owne voluntary mynde offereth him ſelfe to hys enemies.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marſh, to bryng and deliuer me the next day, by tenne of the clocke before the ſayd Earle or his counſaile. I made earneſt ſute with other ſpeciall frendes, which I had there at ẏ ſame tyme, to M. Barton, that he would take ſome one of them or thē all bound by recognyſaūce or otherwiſe, for myne appearing before the ſaid Earle or his ſayd counſaile, that my brother and William Marſh might be at home, becauſe it was the chiefeſt time of ſeedyng, and their ploughes could not go if they were not at home: but nothyng could be obtained.

G. Marſh taketh his leaue of his mother.

So we went to my mothers, and there I dyned and ſhifted part of my clothes, & ſo praying, tooke my leaue of my mother, the wife of Richard Marſh, and both their houſholdes, they and I both weepyng, and ſo departed frō them, and went toward Lathum, and were all night a myle & a halfe on this ſide Lathum. So the next day which was Wedneſday, we aroſe, prayd, and came to Lathum betymes, and taryed there till foure of the clocke at after noone. Then was I called by Roger Mekynſon, to come to my Lord and his counſaile, and ſo I was brought into the chāber of preſēce, where was preſent Syr W. Nores, Syr Pierce Alee, M. Shereburne the Parſon of Grapenhall, M. More, with others. Where when I had taryed a litle while, my Lord turned him toward me, and aſked what was my name. I aūſwered, Marſh. Then he aſked whether I was one of thoſe that ſowd euill ſeede and diſſenſion amongeſt the people. Which thyng I denyed, deſiryng to know myne accuſers, and what could be laid againſt me: but that could I not know.

G. Marſh brought before the Earle of Darby.

G. Marſh examined before the Earle of Darby.

Then ſayd he, he would with his counſaile examine me themſelues, and aſked me whether I was a Prieſt. I ſaid no. Thē he aſked me, what had ben my liuing? I aūſwered, I was Miniſter, ſerued a Cure, and taught a Schole. Then ſayd my Lord to his counſaile, this is a wonderfull thyng. Afore he ſayd he was no Prieſt, and now he confeſſeth hym ſelfe to be one. I aunſwered, by the lawes now vſed in this realme (as farre as I do know) I am none.

Then they aſked me who gaue me orders, or whether I had taken any at all? I aūſwered, I receiued orders of the Biſhops of London and Lincolne.

Then ſayd they one to an other, thoſe bee of theſe new heretickes, & aſked me what acquaintance I had wyth them? I aunſwered, I neuer ſaw them, but at the tyme when I receiued orders.

They aſked me how long I had ben Curate, and whether I had miniſtred wyth a good conſcience? I anſwered, I had bene Curat but one yeare, and had miniſtred with a good conſcience, I thanked God, and if the lawes of the Realme would haue ſuffered mee, I woulde haue miniſtred ſtyll: and if the lawes at any time here after would ſuffer me to miniſter after that ſort, I would miniſter agayne.

The blaſphemous mouth of the parſon of Grapnall.

Whereat they murmured: and the parſon of Grapnall ſayd: thys laſt Communion was the moſt diueliſhe thing that euer was deuiſed. Then they aſked me what my beliefe was?

I aunſwered, I beleued in God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Goſt, according as the ſcriptures of the old and new teſtament do teach, and according as the. iiij. Symboles or Creedes, that is to wyt, the Creede commonly called Apoſtolorum, the Creede of Nice Coūcel, of Athanaſius, & of Auſten, & Ambroſe doe teach.

And after a fewe wordes, the Parſon of Grapnall ſaid: but what is thy beliefe in the ſacramēt of ẏ aultar?

George Marſhes beliefe in the ſacrament.

I aunſwered, I beleued that whoſoeuer, according to Chriſtes inſtitution, dyd receaue the holy ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, dyd eate and drinke Chriſtes body and bloud with all the benefites of his death and reſurrection to their eternall ſaluation: for Chriſt (ſayd I) is euer preſent with hys ſacrament.

Then aſked they me, whether the bread and wyne, by the vertue of the wordes pronounced of the Prieſt, were chaunged in to the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, and that the ſacrament, whether it were receiued or reſerued, was the very body of Chriſt?

G. Marſh loth to anſwer to the queſtion of tranſubſtantiatiō.

Whereunto I made aunſwere, I knew no further then I had ſhewed already. For my knowledge is vnperfect (ſayd I): deſiring them not to aſke mee ſuch hard and vnprofitable queſtions, whereby to bring my body in to daunger of death, and to ſucke my bloud. Whereat they were not a little offended, ſaying they were no bloudſuckers, and intended nothing to mee but to make me a good Chriſtian man.

G. Marſh commaunded by the Earle of Darby to write his anſweres.

So after many other queſtions, which I auoyded as well as I could, remembring the ſaying of Paule: *Fooliſh and vnlearned queſtions auoyde, knowing they do but ingender ſtrife*: my Lord commaunded me to come to the boord, and gaue me pen and incke in my hand, and cōmaunded me to write mine aunſwers to the queſtions of the ſacrament aboue named: and I wrote as I had aunſwered before. Whereat he being much offended, commaunded me to wryte a more direct aunſwer, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it. Then I tooke the pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being ſore greeued, after many threatnings, ſaid I ſhould be put to ſhameful death like a traytor, with ſuch other lyke wordes, and ſometymes geuing me faire wordes, if I would turne and bee conformable as other were, how glad he would be.

The Earle of Darby cōmaundeth G. Marſh into priſon.

In cōcluſion, after much adoe, he commaunded me to Ward into a cold windy ſtone houſe, where was litle roume, where I lay two nightes without any bed, ſauing a few great canues tentclothes, and that done, I had a payre of ſheetes, but no woollen clothes, and ſo continued tyll Palmſonday, occupying my ſelfe aſwell as I could in meditation, prayer, and ſtudy, for no man could be ſuffered to come to me, but my keeper twyſe a day when he brought me meate and drincke.

¶ An other examination of G. Marſh before the Earle of Darby.

ON Palme ſonday at after dinner I was ſent for to my Lord and his counſel (ſauing Sir William Nores,

res, & Sir Pierce Alee were not thē preſent in place) amōgeſt whō was Sir John Beran, & the Vicar of Preſcot. So they examined me yet once againe of the ſacrament. And after I had communed aparte with the Vicar of Preſcot a good ſpace concerning that matter, hee returned to my Lord and hys Counſell with me, ſaying: that aunſwer which I had made before, and then dyd make (as it is aboue written) was ſufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profeſſe a perfect knowledge in that matter, vntyll ſuch time as I had learned further. Wherewith the Earle was very wel pleaſed, ſaying he doubted not, but by the meanes and helpe of the Vicar of Preſcot I would be conformable in other things. So after many fayre wordes he commaunded I ſhould haue a bed, with fyre, and libertye to go amongeſt hys ſeruantes, ſo that I would doe no harme with my communication amongeſt them.

Marſh agayne examined vpon the Sacrament.

Marſh keepeth himſelfe yet cloſe in the Sacrament.

And ſo after much other cōmunication, I departed, much more troubled in my ſpirit then afore, becauſe I had not wyth more boldnes cōfeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch ſort, as mine aduerſaries thereby thought they ſhoulde preuaile agaynſt me: wherat I was much greued: For hetherto I went about as much as in me lay, to ryd my ſelfe out of their hands, if by any meanes, without open denying of Chriſt and hys woord that could bee done. This conſidered, I cryed more earneſtly vnto God by prayer, deſiring hym to ſtrengthen me with his holy ſpirite, wyth boldnes to confeſſe hym: and to delyuer me from their intiſing woordes, and that I were not ſpoyled through their philoſophy and deceitfull vanity after the traditions of men & ordinances of the world, and not after Chriſt.

Marſh troubled in his conſcience for beyng no more bolde touching the Sacrament.

Marſh prayeth for more boldnes.

And ſo after a day or two I was ſent for to the Vicar of Preſcot, and the Parſon of Grapnall: where our moſt communication was concerning the Maſſe: and he aſked what offended me in the Maſſe. I aunſwered the whole Maſſe dyd offend me, fyrſt becauſe it was in a ſtraunge language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to S. Paules doctrine. 1. Corinth. 14. and becauſe of the manyfold and intolerable abuſes and errours contayned therein, contrary to Chriſtes prieſthood and ſacrifice.

Marſh agayne examined before the Biſhops Chaplaines.

Talke about the Maſſe.

Allegations againſt the Maſſe.

Then they aſked me in what place thereof, and I named certain places: which places they went about with gentle & farſought interpretations to mitigate, ſaying thoſe places were vnderſtand farre otherwyſe then the wordes did purport, or then I dyd take them.

I aunſwered, I dyd vnderſtande them as they dyd purport, and as their owne bookes did comment and gloſe vpon them.

They ſayd, Sacrificium or Oblatio dyd not in the Maſſe ſignifie any thing els, then eyther a Sacrifice of prayſe and thankeſgeuing, or els a memoriall of a ſacrifice or oblation. So they cauſed a Maſſe booke to be ſent for, and ſhewed me where in ſome places of the Maſſe was wrytten Sacrificium laudis. Whereto I aunſwered, that it followed not therefore that in al places it ſignified a ſacrifice or oblation of prayſe or thankeſgeuing: and although it dyd, yet was not a ſacrifice of prayſe or thankeſgeuing to bee offered for the ſinnes of the people, for that dyd Chriſt by hys own paſſion once offer on the croſſe: where the wordes of the Maſſe were that the Prieſt did offer an oblation and ſacrifice for the ſinnes & offences both of him ſelfe and of the people: for them that were dead, & for the ſaluation of the liuing: and that the commixtion of the body & bloud of Chriſt was health both of body and ſoule.

Sacrificium Miſſæ quid ſit.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe, expounded by the Papiſtes to be nothing els but the Sacrifice only of thankeſgeuing.

The Vicar aunſwered, that was to be vnderſtand of the commixtion of Chriſtes body and bloud with his church or people. So after much exhortation vnto me, that I ſhoulde bee conformable to the true catholicke church (which as they ment, was the Romiſh church) I departed, not conſenting vnto them.

So within a day or twayne came to me M. Moore, bringing wyth him certaine articles, whereunto Doctour Crome had conſented and ſubſcribed in the preſence of certaine witneſſes in the dayes of Kyng Henry the. viij. and wylled me to read them ouer, and aſked me whether I would conſent and ſubſcribe vnto thoſe articles: and after communication had of one or two of the ſayd articles, I confeſſed plainly I would in no wyſe conſent and ſubſcribe to thoſe articles, for then I dyd againſt myne own conſcience: and ſo he departed.

The Articles of Doct. Cromes recantation brought to G. Marſh.

So within a ſhort ſpace after, which was on Sherethurſday, the ſayd Parſon and Vicar ſent for mee agayne, ſaying, my Lord would be at a ſhort poynt with me: for if I would not conſent and ſubſcribe vnto. iiij. articles drawen out of the articles aforeſayd, I muſt go to priſon ſtraight wayes.

4. Popiſhe Articles for Marſh to ſubſcribe vnto.

1. Maſſe.
2. Tranſubſtantiation.
3. Receauing in one kind.
4. Confeſſion.

The firſt was, whether the Maſſe nowe vſed in the church of England, was according to Chriſtes inſtitution, and with fayth, reuerence, and deuotion to bee heard and ſeene?

The ſecond, whether the almightie by the woordes pronounced by the Prieſt, dyd chaunge the bread and wyne after the wordes of conſecration, into the body & bloud of Chriſt, whether it were receaued or reſerued?

Thirdly, whether the lay people ought to receaue but vnder the forme of bread onely, and that the one kynde was ſufficient for them?

Fourthly, whether confeſſion to the Prieſt nowe vſed in England were godly and neceſſary?

These. iiij. queſtions or articles they deliuered me in writing, and bad me go to my chamber & ſubſcribe my annſwers with myne own hand, and come againe. So within one halfe houre, I came to them agayn, and deliuered them the queſtions with myne annſweres. The firſt I denyed. To the ſecond I aunſwered, as I dyd to my Lord afore, and as is aboue written. To the third I aunſwered that the lay people by Chriſtes inſtitution ought to receaue vnder both kindes, and that it ſufficeth not them to receaue vnder the one kynde onely. Fourthly, that though cōfeſſion auricular were a commodious meane to inſtruct the rude people, yet was it not neceſſary nor commaunded of God.

G. Marſh denieth the Articles.

They much exhorted me then to leaue myne opinions, ſaying I was much deceaued, vnderſtādyng the Scriptures amiſſe, and much counſelled me to folowe the Catholicke Church of Chriſt, and to do as other did. I aunſwered, my fayth in Chriſt conceaued by his holy word, I neither could nor would deny, alter nor chaunge, for any liuing creature whatſoeuer he were, deſiryng them to ſpeake to my Lord that duryng my lyfe and impriſonment, my poore frendes might be ſuffered to releue me with neceſſary thinges accordyng to their powers, and ſo after much exhortation of them to do and beleue as the Catholicke Church did, we departed: I from thenceforth continuyng in the Porters ward not cōmyng forth of my chamber ſauyng at noone and night while I dyned and ſupped.

G. Marſh exhorted to the Catholicke Church.

Upon one of the Eaſter holy dayes M. Shereburne and M. More ſent for me perſuading me much to leaue myne opinions: ſaying all the bryngers vp and fauorers of that Religiō had euil lucke, and were either put to death or in priſon, and in daūger of lyfe. Agayne, the fauorers of the Religion now vſed had wōderous good lucke, and proſperitie in all thinges: with many other worldly reaſons of mans wiſedome, for as for yͤ Scriptures, M. Shereburne confeſſed hym ſelf ignoraunt.

M. Shereburne and M. More examiners of G. Marſh.

I aunſwered that I beleued and leaned onely to the Scriptures, not iudgyng thynges by proſperitie or aduerſitie: but they earneſtly aduiſed me to refuſe mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly ſhame.

Gods truth is not to be eſteemed by proſperitie or aduerſitie.

I aunſwered that that which I dyd, I did not for the auoydyng of any worldly ſhame, ſaying: my ſoule and life were dearer to me then the auoiding of any worldly ſhame: neither yet did I it for any vayne prayſe of the world, but in the reuerent feare of God.

Then

Chriſtes breaking of bread. Luke. 24. prooueth not the receauing vnder one kynd.

Then M. More queſtioned wᵗ me of receauing yͤ Sacrament vnder the one kynd. I ſayd Chriſtes inſtitutiō was playne that all mē ſhould drinke of the cup. Then he told me of yͤ xxiiij. of Luke, & the xx. of yͤ Actes, where was but mention of breakyng of bread onely: whereof he gathered, that they receiued the Sacrament but vnder one kynd.

That I denyed, ſaying: thoſe places either did not ſpeake of the celebration of the Lordes Supper, or els vnder the name of breakyng bread, was ſignified and ment the receiuyng of the Sacrament, both of the body and bloud of Chriſt, accordyng to his inſtitution. So after much communication of that matter, M. Shereburne ſayd it was great pitie that I beyng a well fauored young man, and one that might haue good liuyng and doe good, would ſo fooliſhly caſt my ſelfe away ſtickyng ſo hard to ſuch fooliſh opinions.

G. Marſh forſaketh kinred and all together to ſtick to Chriſt.

I aunſwered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his counſell, that my life, mother, children, brethren, ſiſters, and frendes, with other delites of lyfe, were as deare and ſwéete vnto me as vnto any other man, and that I would be as loth to loſe them, as an other would if I might hold them with good conſciēce, and without the ignominy of Chriſt: and ſeyng I could not do that, my truſt was that God would ſtrengthen me with his holy ſpirite to loſe them all for his ſake: for I take my ſelfe (ſayd I) for a ſhepe appointed to be ſlayne, patiently to ſuffer what Croſſe ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe my mercifull father to lay on me. And ſo after I had deſired them that if I were committed to priſon my frendes might be ſuffered to relieue me, they departed.

Alphonſus booke brought to G. Marſh.

M. More afore this brought vnto me a booke of one Alphonſus a Spaniſh Frier, of all hereſies wherwith the Church of Rome, which hee called Chriſtes true Church, had bene troubled ſince Chriſtes time, willing me to read and take counſell of that booke: and appointed me a place, where this authour did write agaynſt thē that ſay, the lay people ought to receiue vnder both kyndes. This authour I perceiued did vehemently write againſt Luther, Melancthon, Pellican and other Germains of this our tyme, in all pointes defendyng the blaſphemous abuſes and enormities of yͤ Romiſhe Church, condemnyng as deteſtable hereſies, what ſoeuer was writtē, taught, or beleued cōtrary to the ſame, vſing for his ſtrongeſt and ſureſt Argumentes, the conſent, agréement, and determination of the Romiſhe Church. So within a few dayes M. More came to me agayne, aſking me how I liked the booke. I ſayd the authour of the booke did in all poyntes beyng a Papiſt, allowe the rites and abuſes of the Romiſh Church, and ſhewed him further, that this author without authoritie, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old Doctours, did condēne for hereſie, the lay people receiuyng of this Sacrament vnder both kyndes, where as this authour witneſſeth his owne ſelfe, that Chriſt Church nine hundred yeares after Chriſt vſed the contrary.

Marſhes iudgement of Alphonſus booke.

So in concluſion he rebuked me, ſaying I was vnlearned, & erred from the catholicke fayth, ſtubburne, and ſtoode altogether in myne owne conceite. I aunſwered, for my learning, I knowledge my ſelf to know nothing but Ieſus Chriſt, euē hym that was crucified, and that my fayth was groūded vpon Gods holy word onely, and ſuch as I doubted not, pleaſed God, and as I would ſtand in vntyll the laſt day, God aſſiſting me: and that I dyd not ſay or do any thing, eyther of ſtubburnnes, ſelfe wilfulnes, vayne glory, or any other worldly purpoſe, but with a good conſcience, and in the feare of God: and deſired hym to ſpeake to my Lord and hys Counſell, that I might finde ſome gentlenes and mercy at their handes. He made me but ſhort aunſwer. Then I ſaid, I commit my cauſe vnto God, who hath nombred the heares of my head, & appoynted the dayes of my lyfe, ſaying: I am ſure God which is a righteous Iudge, would make inquiſitiō for my bloud, according as hee hath promiſed. Then he tooke hys booke from me, and departed.

I continued ſtyll in Ward vntyll Low Sonday, and after dynner my kéeper Richard Scot came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to cary me to Lancaſter, and ſo deliuered me vnto them, a great company both of my Lords ſeruantes and others, accompanying and bringing me on yͤ way, vnto Richard Addertons and ſomewhat further, counſelling and perſwading lyke as is aforeſayd.

G. Marſh caryed to Lancaſter Caſtell.

To whom I made plaine aunſwer, that in matters of fayth, I would geue place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and ſayd they were ſory for me, ſaying: if I knew mine opinion to be good, I did wel, and ſo they departed, wyllyng my bringers to entreate me honeſtly.

My bringers by yͤ way ſhewed me they were willed & aduiſed to bynd me, and that they deſired firſt to ſée me: and after they had looked on me, ſitting at dynner, they aunſwered they would take charge of me being looſe, for they ſayd I ſéemed to be an honeſt man. The fyrſt night we were all night at Broughton, and the ſecond day we came to Lancaſter betimes at after noone, and ſo they kept me all night with thē of their gentlenes, & on the morow deliuered me to the Iaylor, who brought me into the hygheſt pryſon, where I do remayne.

G. Marſh cauſed to holde vp his handes at Lancaſter amongſt other malefactors.

After that, the ſayd George came to Lancaſter Caſtell, and there being brought with other priſoners vnto the Seſſions, was made to hold vp hys handes with other malefactours. The Earle of Darby had this communication wyth hym, as here followeth.

¶ Communication betwene George Marſh and the Earle of Darby.

Talke betwene G. Marſh and the Earle of Darby.

I Sayd vnto my Lord I had not dwelled in the countrey theſe thrée or foure yeares paſt, & came home but lately to viſit my mother, children, & other my frendes, and to haue departed out of the cōutrey before Eaſter then next, and to haue gone out of the realme. Wherfore I truſted, ſeyng nothing could be layd againſt me, wherin I had offēded againſt the lawes of this realme, hys Lordſhip would not with captious queſtions examine me to bring my body into daūger of death, to the great diſcomfort of my mother, but ſuffer me to auoyd peaceably, ſeing I might haue fled out of the countrey, and yet of myne own wyll came to hys Lordſhip.

He ſayd to hys Counſell, he had heard tell of me aboue at London, and intended to make ſearch for me, and take me eyther in Lankeſhiere or aboue at London, and aſked me into what land I would haue gone.

I aunſwered, I woulde haue gone eyther into Almayne, or els into Denmarke. Hee ſayd to his Counſell: in Denmarke they vſed ſuch hereſie as they had done in England: but as for Almaine he ſayd the Emperour had deſtroyed them.

The Earle of Darby chargeth the realme of Denmarke with hereſie.

So after ſuch like wordes I ſaid vnto hym, my truſt was that hys lordſhip being of the honorable Counſell of the late kyng Edward, conſenting and agreeing to Actes concerning fayth toward God and religion vnder great payne, would not ſo ſoone after conſent to put poore men to ſhamefull death, as he had threatned me, for embraſing the ſame with ſo good a conſcience.

The Earle of Darby, L. Windſor, and L. Dacars, in king Edwardes tyme, agreed not to the Actes of religion.

He aūſwered that he, wyth the Lord Windſor, and Lord Dacars, with one moe, whoſe name I haue forgotten, did not conſent to thoſe Actes, and that the nay of them foure would be to be ſéene as long as the Parlament houſe ſtood. Then my Lord did rehearſe the euyll lucke of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke with others, becauſe they fauored not the true religion, and agayne the good hap and proſperitie of the Quéenes highnes, becauſe ſhe fauored the true religiō, thereby gatheryng the one to be good and of God, and the other to be wicked & of the deuill, and ſayd that the Duke of Northumberland confeſſed ſo playnly.

George Marſh to the Reader.

G. Marſh penned his owne examinations.

Foraſmuch as not onely when I was at Lathum, but alſo ſince I departed thẽce, I heare that there be diuers and ſondry reportes and opinions of the cauſe of myne impriſonment, as wel at Lathum as at Lancaſter, (as by credible perſons I am informed) ſome ſaying, it was onely becauſe I would not do open penaunce, and ſome becauſe I could not agree with my Lord and hys counſell concernyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, and the maner of Chriſtes preſẽce there: ſome becauſe I would not graunt it ſufficient and accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution the lay people to receiue the ſayd Sacramẽt vnder the one kynd only; I thought it good, dearly beloued in Chriſt, and my boũden duety, to certifie you by myne owne hand writyng, of myne examination and handlyng at Lathum, and to tell you the truth as neare as I could, to quiet your mindes in this behalf, and therfore I haue here writtẽ with myne owne hand, the certeinty of thoſe thinges as neare as I could, here aboue expreſſed, not omittyng any thyng at all cõcernyng Religion, wherof they did examine me: howbeit I perceiue in ſome thynges, I kept not the ſame order in wrytyng that thing which was aſked by thẽ, & aunſwered by me afore or after, as it was in very dede in al pointes, ſauing this, telling ẏ truth as neare as I can, deſiryng you to accept in good worthe this my good will, & to pray for me and all them that be in bondes, that God would aſſiſt vs with his holy ſpirite, that we may with boldnes confeſſe his holy name, and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodyes, that we may ſtand full & perfect in all the will of God: to whom be al honour and glory world without end. Amen.

And thus you haue heard all ẏ whole trouble which George Marſh ſuſteined both at Lathum, and alſo at Lancaſter, teſtified and written with hys owne hand: wherto he addeth moreouer and ſayth.

While I was (ſayth he) in Ward at Lathũ, diuers at ſondry times came vnto me. Some ſaid vnto me that all my felowes had recanted & were gone home, where as in dede that was not ſo, for I ſaw diuers of them diuers tymes after. Other ſayd that it was reported amõgeſt my Lordes houſhold, that I had conſented and agreed in all thinges with my Lord and his counſell.

Furthermore, while I was at Lãcaſter, at this Seſſion tyme many came to me to talke with me, ſome of good will towardes me, but without knowledge gaue me ſuch like counſell, as Peter gaue Chriſt as he went vp to Ieruſalem, when he toke him aſide and began to rebuke hym: ſaying, Maiſter fauour thy ſelfe: this thyng ſhall not be vnto thee. But I aunſwered with Chriſtes ſharpe aunſwere vnto Peter agayn: who turned about & ſayd vnto Peter, *come after me Sathan*, and perſeiuyng that they were an hinderaunce vnto me, and that they fauoured not the thynges which are of God, but the thynges that are of men, I made them plaine aunſwere that I neither could ne would folow their counſell, but that by Gods grace I would both lyue and dye with a pure conſcience and accordyng as hetherto I had beleued and profeſſed. For we ought in no wiſe to flatter and beare with thẽ, though they loue vs neuer ſo well, which goe about to plucke vs away from the obedience that we owe vnto God and to his word, but after Chriſtes example ſharply to rebuke thẽ for their counſell.

Peters counſell to Chriſt, to loue hymſelfe.

G. Marſh followeth Chriſtes anſwere to Peter.

Some others, yea euen ſtraungers alſo, came to me farre vnlyke to theſe, who after ſober communication had, conſented with me in all thinges, lamenting much my troublous eſtate, geuing me comfortable wordes, and ſome money to, and reſorted to me often times, for the ſpace of two, three, or foure dayes. There came alſo many prieſtes to me, by .ij.iij.iiij.v.or.vj. at once, whoſe mouth it was a thing eaſy enough to ſtop, for the Prieſtes (which is much to be lamented) be not alwaies greateſt clarkes and beſt learned in the law of God. At their departing they eyther conſented wyth me, or els had nothing to ſay agaynſt me, ſaying they could finde no fault with my wordes. My communication wyth them was about the Sacrament. There came alſo into the priſon to me Maiſter Weſtby, Maiſter Aſhton of Hyll, Maiſter Aſhton of Chaterton, & many moe both gentlemen and others, to my great cõfort. Vnto whom I had good occaſion to vtter a great part of my conſcience: for God ſo ſtrẽgthened me wyth hys ſpirite of boldnes, accordyng to my humble requeſt & prayer before (euerlaſting thãkes be geuẽ hym therfore) that I was nothing afrayd to ſpeake to any that came to me, no not euen to Iudges them ſelues, before whom I was thriſe arraygned at the barre amongeſt the theeues with yrons on my feete, and put vp my hand as others dyd, but yet with boldnes I ſpake vnto them ſo long as they would ſuffer me.

[illegible]

G. Marſh ſtrẽgthened in priſon with the boldnes of Gods ſpirite.

They alſo ſent for me the fourth tyme into their chãber, where amõgeſt other things they layd it ſtraitly to my charge, that I had reported that I knew an whole meſſe of good Gentlemen in Lancaſhire of myne opinion, and ſtraitly charged me vppon paine of allegiance to the Queenes grace, to ſhewe who they were. But I denied ẏ I had ſpoken any ſuch thing (as it was in deede a falſe forged lye of ſome wycked wretches.) After that, they threatned & rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the pryſon, as they called it, and for my praying and reading ſo loud, that the people in the ſtreetes might heare. The truth is, I and my priſo fellow Warbarton, euery day kneeling on our knees dyd read morning and euening prayer, with the Engliſh Letany euery day twyſe, both before noone and after, wyth other prayers moe, and alſo read euery day certayne chapters of the Bible, commonly towardes nyght: and we read all theſe thinges with ſo hye and loud a voyce, that the people without in the ſtreetes, might heare vs, and would often tymes, namely in the euenings, come and ſit down in our ſightes vnder the wyndowes and heare vs read, wherewith others being offended, complayned.

Warbarton felow priſoner wyth *Marſh.*

G. Marſh reproued for loud praying and readyng in priſon.

All this while George Marſh was not yet brought before the Byſhop, whoſe name was D. Cotes, placed the ſame time in the Byſhoprike of Cheſter. Of whoſe commyng then vnto Lãcaſter, the ſayd George Marſh reporteth him ſelfe as foloweth.

How the Byſhop came to Lancaſter and of his doynges there.

The Biſhop beyng at Lancaſter, there ſet vp and cõfirmed all blaſphemous Idolatry, as holy water caſtyng, proceſſion gaddyng, Mattens mumblyng, children cõfirmyng, Maſſe hearyng, Idols vp ſettyng, with ſuch hetheniſh rites forbidden by God: but no Goſpell preachyng, which Chriſt Gods ſonne ſo earneſtly commaunded. He was informed of me and willed to ſend for me and to examine me. Which thyng he refuſed to do, ſaying: he would haue nothyng to do with heretickes ſo haſtely: So haſty in Iudgement and callyng men heretickes are our Biſhops in their Lordly dignities, afore they heare or ſee, what is to be amẽded or cõdemned, cõtrary to the expreſſe cõmaũdement of Gods word, which ſayth: *Condẽne no mã before thou haſt tryed out the truth of the matter, and when thou haſt made inquiſition, then reforme righteouſly. Geue no ſentẽce before thou haſt heard the cauſe, but firſt let men tell out their tale, and he that geueth ſentence in a matter before he heare it, is a foole and worthy to be confounded.*

Doct. Coates Biſhop of Cheſter.

The Biſhops comming to Lancaſter, and ſetting vp Idolatry.

The Byſhop iudgeth *Marſh* to be an heretike, before he heareth hym.

Haſty iudgement of Byſhops reproued by Gods word.

And in ſtead of his liberaltie towardes me poore priſoner, he ſent for the Iayler and rebuked hym becauſe he ſuffered me to fare ſo well, willing to haue me more ſtraitly kept and dieted: but if his Lordſhyp were tabled but one weeke with me, I do thinke he would iudge our fare but ſlender enough.

The vnmercifull ſtraitnes of the Biſhop toward *G. Marſh* in priſon.

Alſo, he and his Chapleins and Chauncellor did find fault with the Scholemaiſter and others, for ſpeakyng to one as to a moſt heynous hereticke, and alſo with the Iaylor for ſufferyng them. Such is the mercy that theſe religious fathers ſhewe to the frendles and com-

The Scholemaſter of Lancaſter rebuked for comming to *G. Marſh* in priſon.

foꝛtles in their aduerſities. If we may know the tree by the frutes (as Chriſt ſayth) no man can iudge ſuch for any other, but for very enemyes to Chriſt & his true Religion. God lay it neuer to theyr charges, but forgiue them and turne their hard hartes, if it be his will.

Popiſhe Byſhops declare themſelues by their fruites to be very enemies to Gods woꝛd.

No new thyng for Biſhops to be perſecutoꝛs.

Examples of perſecuting Biſhops in the olde tyme.

But it is no new thyng for Biſhops to perſecute the truth and the Prophetes of the Lord, for their conſtancie in preaching of the true faith, for ſo did their Phariſaicall forefathers, if ye marke wel the hiſtories of the holy Bible. Phaſher was the head Byſhops of the Temple, the ryngleader of falſe Prophets, ẏ chief hereticketaker, that is as much to ſay, as the outthruſter of true godlines. After that ẏ dignitie of Prieſthode was geuē vnto him, he abuſed it. For he taught not neither reproued by the word, but feared the godly with cruelty. He not onely ſtrocke, but alſo impriſoned the holy Prophet Ieremy, though he withſtode him not, but preſently loked for the helpe of God, ſtedfaſtly preachyng the truth of God.

Biſhop Iaſon.

What miſchief the vngracious B. Iaſon wrought among the Iewes, deſtroying all godlynes and ſettyng vp abominable Idolatrous lawes, ye may read in ẏ 4. chap. of the ſecond of Machabees. How the execrable and blynd Byſhops Annas and Caiphas, which neuer ſpake the truth of God them ſelues, vnleſſe it were agaynſt their willes, vnwyttingly to their vtter diſtruction, how (I ſay) they preſſed ẏ truth in Chriſt & his Apoſtles, is ſo well knowe that I nede not to rehearſe it.

Byſhop Annas and Caiphas.

And thus much hetherto concerning the priſonment of G. Marſh and hys examinations before the Earle of Darby and his deputies aboue named. Now proceding further in the troubleſome perſecution of thys bleſſed man, let vs likewyſe conſider the latter part of hys troubles and examinations which followed vnder the biſhop of that ſame Dioces, which was D. Cotes: the effect whereof being drawen out of hys own wrytyng, here briefly is to be ſene as followeth.

The troubles and examination of G. Marſh vnder Doct. Cotes biſhop of Cheſter.

G. Marſh appeareth before the Biſh.

YE heard before how G. Marſh beyng firſt impriſoned at Lathum, and afterward trāſlated vnto Lancaſter, was troubled by the Earle. Agayne, within few dayes after, ẏ ſayd Marſh was remoued frō Lancaſter, and cōmyng to Cheſter, was ſent for by D. Cotes then B. to appeare before him in his Hal, no body being preſent but they twayne: and then he aſked hym certayne queſtions concerning the Sacrament: who made ſuch aunſwere, as the Biſhop ſemed therwith to be cōtent, sauyng that he vtterly denyed tranſubſtantiation, and allowed not the abuſe of the Maſſe, nor that the lay people ſhould receaue vnder one kind onely, contrary to Chriſtes inſtitution: in which pointes the Byſhop went about to perſwade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vayne. Much other talke hee had with him, to moue him to ſubmit himſelf to the vniuerſall church of Rome: and when he ſawe he could not preuayle, he ſent him to priſon agayne: and after being there, there came to hym diuers tymes, one Maſſy, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the Schole maiſter, one Henſham the byſhops Chaplayn, and the Archdeacon, with many mo: who with all probability of wordes, and Philoſophy or worldly wiſedome, and deceitfull vanity after the tradition of men and the beggerly ordinaunces and lawes of the world, but not after Chriſt (as it were all ſynging one ſong) went about to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelfe to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope to be head therof, and to interprete the Scriptures none otherwiſe then that Church did: with many ſuch lyke arguments and perſwaſions of fleſhly wiſedome.

Great labour to make G. Marſh to recant.

To whom the ſayd George Marſh aunſwered, that he did acknowledge and beleue (though much euill bee withall annexed) one holy Catholicke and Apoſtolicke church, without which there is no ſaluation, and that this Church is but one, becauſe it euer hath, doth, and ſhall confeſſe and beleue, one onely God, and him onely worſhip, and one onely Meſſiah, and in him onely truſt for ſaluation: which Church alſo is ruled and led by one ſpirite, one worde, and one faith: and that this Church is vniuerſall and Catholike, becauſe it euer hath bene ſince the worldes beginning, is, and ſhall endure to the worldes ende, comprehending within it all nations, kinreds, and languages, degrees, ſtates, and conditions of men: and that this Church is buylded onely vppon the foundation of the Prophets, and Apoſtels, Ieſus Chriſt him ſelfe being the head corner ſtone, and not vpon the Romiſh lawes and decrees, the Byſhop of Rome being the ſupreme head.

The church Apoſtolicke.

The church how it is one.

The nature, condition, and notes of the true church.

And where they ſayd, the Church did ſtand in an ordinary ſucceſſion of Biſhops, being ruled by generall Councels, holy fathers, and the lawes of holy Church, and ſo had continued by the ſpace of fiftene hundreth yeares & more: he made anſwer that the holy Church, which is the body of Chriſt, and therfore moſt worthy to be called holy, was before any ſucceſſiō of Biſhops, general Councels, or Romiſh decrees, neyther yet was bound to any tyme, or place, ordinary ſucceſſion, generall Councels, or traditions of Fathers, eyther had any ſupremacy ouer Empyres and kyngdomes: but that it was a little poore ſely flocke, diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, as ſhepe without a ſhepherd in the middeſt of wolues, or as a flocke of Orphanes or fatherles children: and that this Church was led and ruled by the only lawes, Councels, and word of Chriſt, he being the ſupreme head of this Church, and aſſiſting, ſuccoring, and defending her from all aſſaultes, errours, troubles, and perſecutions wherwith ſhe is euer compaſſed about.

The nature, condition, and notes of the falſe church.

Confutation of the falſe church falſely defined.

He ſhewed and proued vnto them alſo, by the floud of Noah, the deſtruction of Sodome, the Iſraelites departing out of Ægypt, by the parables of the ſower, of the kyngs ſonnes marriage, of the great ſupper, and by other playn ſentences of Scripture, that this Church was of none eſtimation, and little in compariſon of the Church of hipocrites and wicked worldlinges.

Examples declaring the true Church.

The falſe church euer greater in number.

He was thruſt at with all violence of craft and ſubtilty, but yet the Lord vpheld him and deliuered hym. Euerlaſting thankes be to that mercifull and faithfull Lord, which ſuffreth vs not to be tempted aboue our might, but in the middeſt of our troubles ſtrengtheneth vs with his holy ſpirit of comfort and patience, and geueth vs a mouth and wiſdome, how & what to ſpeake: wheragainſt all his aduerſaries were not able to reſiſt.

An other appearaunce of George Marſh before the Byſhop.

NOw, after that the ſaid Byſhop had taken his pleaſure in puniſhing this his priſoner and often reuiling him, geuing tauntes, and odious names of heretícke. &c. hee cauſed him to bee brought forth into a Chappell in the Cathedrall Church of Cheſter, called our Lady Chappell before him the ſaid Biſhop, at two of the clocke in the after none, who was there placed in a Chayre for that purpoſe, & Foulke Dutton Maior of the ſayd City, D. Walle, and other Prieſtes aſſiſting hym, placed not farre from the ſayd Byſhop, but ſomwhat lower. George Wenſlow Chauncellour, and one Iohn Chetham Regiſter, ſat directly ouer agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop. Then they cauſed the ſaid George Marſh to take an oth vppon a booke, to aunſwere truly vnto ſuch Articles as ſhould be obiected agaynſt him. Vpon which oth taken, the Chauncellour layd vnto his charge, that he had preached and openly publiſhed moſt heretically and blaſphemouſly within the pariſh of Deane, Eccles, Boltō, Berry, and many other Pariſhes within the Byſhops Dioces, in the monethes of Ianuary, February, or ſome other tyme of the yeare laſt precedyng, directly agaynſt the Popes authoritie

G. Marſh againe brought before the Byſhop and hys Collegues.

The Byſhop with his Collegues ſitting vpon G. Marſh.

G. Marſh ſworne to anſwere before the Byſhop.

and Catholicke Church of Rome, the bleſſed Maſſe, the Sacrament of the altar, and many other Articles. Unto all which in ſũme he aunſwered, ỷ he neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or ſpake againſt any of the ſaid articles, but ſimply and truely, as occaſion ſerued, and (as it were thereunto forced in conſcience) maintained the truth touching the ſame articles, as (ſayd he) all you now preſent dyd acknowledge the ſame in the tyme of the late king Edward. VI.

G. Marſh purgeth himſelfe.

Then they examined hym ſeuerally of euery article, and bad hym aunſwere directly yea or nay, without circumſtance: for they were come to examine, and not to diſpute at that preſent.

The Biſhops [illegible] to examine them to diſpute.

Then hee aunſwered them vnto euery article very modeſtly, according to the doctrine by publicke authority receaued, & taught in this realme at ỷ death of the ſayd K. Edward: whoſe aunſwers were euery one noted and wrytten by the Regiſter, to the vttermoſt that could make againſt hym, which cannot at this preſent be gotten. After this, the company for that tyme brake vp, and he was returned to hys pryſon agayne.

¶ The laſt and finall appearance of G. Marſh before the Biſhop.

The laſt appearaunce of G. Marſh before the Byſhop.

WIthin thrée wéekes after this, or thereaboutes, in the ſayd Chappell and in lyke ſorte as before, the ſayd Biſhop and others before named there being aſſembled, the ſayd George Marſh was brought by hys kéeper and others wyth byls and diuers weapons, before them. Where firſt the ſayd Chauncellour by way of an oration declared vnto the people preſent, the ſayd Biſhops charge and burning charity, who euen lyke as a good Shepheard doth ſée to hys flocke, that none of hys ſhepe haue the ſcab or other diſeaſe for infecting other cleane ſhepe, but wyll ſaue and cure the ſayd ſcabbed ſhéepe: ſo his Lordſhip had ſet for the ſaid George Marſh there preſent, as a ſcabbed ſhéepe, and had wéeded hym out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in ſhewing hys charitable diſpoſition towardes the ſayd Marſh, to reduce hym from his naughty hereſies: but all that he could do, would not helpe: ſo that he was now determined, if the ſayd Marſh would not relent and abiure, to pronounce and geue ſentence diffinitiue againſt him. Wherfore he bad the ſaid George Marſh to be now wel aduiſed, what he would do: for it ſtode vpon hys lyfe: and if he would not at that preſent forſake hys hereticall opinions, it would bee after the Sentence geuen, to late, though he would neuer ſo gladly deſire it.

The Chauncellours oration.

Then the ſayd Chauncellour firſt aſked hym whether he were not one of the Biſhops dioces? To the which he aunſwered, that he knew not howe large hys dioceſſe was, for hys continuaunce was at Cambridge. But then they replyed and aſked, whether he had not lately bene at Déane pariſh in Lancaſhire, and there abode? And he aunſwered yea.

Interrogatories put to G. Marſh.

Then the Chauncellour read all hys former aunſweres that he made in that place at hys former examination, and at euery one hee aſked hym whether hee would ſticke to the ſame or no? To the which he aunſwered agayne, yea, yea.

How ſay you then to this, quoth the Chauncelor? In your laſt examination, amongeſt many other damnable & ſchiſmaticall hereſies, you ſayd, that the church and doctrine taught and ſet foorth in kyng Edwardes tyme, was the true Church, & the doctrine, the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholicke church.

Note here the great [illegible] of G. Marſh.

I ſayd ſo in dede, quoth Marſh, and I beleue it to be true. Here alſo others tooke occaſion to aſke him (for that he denied ỷ Byſhop of Romes authoritie in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were Byſhops of Rome, were not good men? and he aunſwered, yes, and diuers others: but (ſayd he) they claymed no more authoritie in England, then the Byſhop of Caunterbury doth at Rome: and I ſtriue not, (quoth he) with the place, neither ſpeake I agaynſt the perſon of the Byſhop, but agaynſt his doctrine, which in moſt pointes is repugnaũt to the doctrine of Chriſt.

Argument. Linus and Anacletus were good men [illegible]

Neither the place nor perſõ of the Pope ſpoken againſt, but only hys doctrine.

Thou art an arrogaunt felow in déede then, ſayd ỷ Byſhop. In what Article is ỷ doctrine of ỷ Church of Rome repugnaunt to the doctrine of Chriſt?

To whom George Marſh aunſwered and ſayd: Oh my Lord: I pray you iudge not ſo of me: I ſtand now vpon the poynt of my lyfe and death: and a man in my caſe hath no cauſe to be arrogaunt, neither am I, God is my record. And as concernyng the diſagréement of the doctrine, among many other thynges the Church of Rome erreth in the Sacrament. For where Chriſt in the inſtitution therof, did as well deliuer the cup, as the bread: ſaying, *drinke ye all of this*, and Marke reporteth that they did drinke of it: in like maner S. Paul deliuered it vnto the Corinthians. And in the ſame ſorte alſo was it vſed in the primatiue Church by the ſpace of many hundreth yeares. Now the Church of Rome doth take away one part of the Sacrament from the Laity. Wherfore, if I could be perſuaded in my conſcience by Gods word, that it were well done, I could gladly yeld in this poynt.

Wherein the doctrine of the Church of Rome erreth.

Then ſayd the Biſhop. Non diſputandum eſt cum hæretico. That is, there is no diſputyng with an heretike. And therfore when all his aunſweres were read, he aſked him whether he would ſtand to the ſame, being as they were (ſaid hée) full of hereſie, or els forſake them and come vnto the Catholicke Church?

So ſayth the Turke in hys Alcaron, that no man muſt diſpute of hys law.

To whom he made this full aũſwere, and ſayd: that he held no hereticall opinion, but vtterly abhorred all kind of hereſie, although they moſt vntruly ſo did ſclaunder hym. And he deſired all the people preſent to beare him witnes (if hereafter any woulde ſclaunder him and ſay that he held any greuous hereſie) that in all Articles of Religion, he held none other opinion, thẽ was by law moſt godly eſtabliſhed and publickely taught in England at the death of kyng Edward the vj. and in the ſame pure Religion & doctrine he would (by Gods grace) ſtand, liue, and dye. And here the Chauncellour ſpake to one Leach, which ſtode nere vnto Marſh, and bad him ſtand farther frõ him, for his preſence did him no good.

G. Marſh cleareth hymſelfe of hereſy.

Leach bidde to ſtand from Marſh.

This beyng done, the Byſhop toke out a wrytyng of his boſome, and began to read the ſentence of condẽnation: but whẽ the Byſhop had read almoſt halfe therof, the Chauncellour called to him and ſayd: good my Lord, ſtay, ſtay, for if ye procede any further, it will be to late to call it agayne, & ſo the Biſhop ſtayed. Thẽ his popiſh prieſtes & many other of the ignoraũt people called vpon Marſh, with many earneſt wordes to recant, and amongeſt other one Pulleyn a Shomaker ſayd to him: for ſhame mã remember thy ſelf and recant. They bad him knéele downe and pray, and they all would pray for him: So they knéeled down, and he deſired thẽ to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

Sentence of condemnation read agaynſt Marſh.

The Biſhop ſtayeth in hys ſentence.

The Biſhop then aſked him agayne, whether he would not haue the Quéenes mercy in tyme: and he aunſwered, he did gladly deſire the ſame, and did loue her grace as faithfully as any of them: but yet he durſt not deny his Sauiour Chriſt, for loſing hys mercy euerlaſting, and ſo winne euerlaſting death.

Gods mercy preferred before the Quéenes mercy.

Then the Byſhop put hys ſpectacles agayne vppon his noſe, and read forward hys Sentence, about fiue or ſixe lynes, and there agayne the Chauncellour wyth a a glaueryng and ſmiling countenaunce, called to the Byſhop, and ſaid: Yet good my Lorde once againe ſtay, for if that word be ſpoken, all is paſt, no relentyng wyll then ſerue: and the Byſhop (pullyng of hys ſpectacles) ſayd: I would ſtay and if it would bee.

The Biſhop proceedeth in his ſentence.

An other ſtay in reading the ſentence.

How ſayeſt thou (quoth he) wylt thou recant? Many of the Prieſtes and ignoraunt people bad hym ſo doe, and call to God for grace: and one pulled hym by the

G. Marſh exhorted to recant. but could not be turned.

ſtene and bad hym recant and ſaue his lyfe. To whom he anſwered: I would as fayne lyue as you, if in ſo doyng, I ſhould not deny my maiſter Chriſt, & ſo agayne he ſhould deny me before his father in heauen.

The B. readeth out the ſentence.

A dogged ſaying of the Biſhop.

So the Byſhop read out hys Sētence vnto the end, and ſtraight after ſayd vnto hym: Now wyll I no more pray for thee, then I wyll for a dogge. And Marſh aunſwered, that notwithſting, he would pray for his Lordſhip: and after this the Byſhop deliuered hym vnto the Sheriffes of the City. Then his late keeper bad hym fare well good George, wyth weepyng teares: which cauſed the officers to cary hym to a priſon at the Northgate, where he was very ſtraitly kept vntil the tyme he went to hys death, during which tyme he had ſmall cōfort or reliefe of any worldly creature.

G. Marſh deliuered to the Shiriffes.

The ſtrait keeping of Marſh in priſon.

For beyng in the dongeō or darke priſon, none that would hym good, could ſpeake wyth hym, or at leaſt durſt enterpriſe ſo to do for feare of accuſation: and ſome of the Citizens which loued hym in God for the Goſpell ſake (whereof there were but a fewe) although they were neuer acquainted wyth hym, woulde ſometyme in the euenyng at a hoale vpon the wall of the City (that went into the ſayd darke priſon) call to hym, and aſke hym how he dyd. He would anſwere them moſt cherefully, that he did wel, and thanked God moſt highly that he woulde vouchſafe of hys mercy to appoynt hym to be a witnes of hys truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame: wherein he did moſt reioyce, beſechyng him that he would geue hym grace not to faynt vnder the Croſſe, but patiently beare the ſame to hys glory and comfort of hys Church: with many other lyke Godly ſayinges at ſondry tymes, as one that moſt deſired to be with Chriſt. Once or twiſe he had money caſt him in at the ſame hole, about ten pence at one tyme, and two ſhillings at an other tyme: for which he gaue God thankes, and vſed the ſame to his neceſſitie.

The brotherly zeale of good men in comforting G. Marſh.

Amry, and Couper Shiriffes of Cheſter.

Marſh lead to his Martyrdome.

The old vſe in Lancaſhyre to get money to bye Trentals.

G. Marſh refuſeth to receaue money going to hys death.

When the tyme and day appointed came that he ſhould ſuffer: the Shriffes of the Citie (whoſe names were Amry & Couper) with their officers and a great number of poore ſimple Barbers, with rouſty Billes & Polaxes, wēt to the Northgate, and there tooke out the ſayd George Marſh, who came with them moſt humbly and meekely, with a locke vpon his feete. And as he came vppon the way towardes the place of execution, ſome folkes profered him money, and looked that hee ſhould haue gone with a litle purſe in his hand (as the maner of felons was, accuſtomed in that citie in times paſt, at their goyng to execution) to the ende to gather money to geue vnto a Prieſt to ſay Trentals of Maſſes for them after their death, wherby they might (as they thought) he ſaued: but Marſh ſayd he would not as then be troubled with medling wyth money, but wylled ſome good man to take the money, if the people were diſpoſed to geue any, and to geue it vnto the priſoners or poore people. So he went all the way vnto hys death, with his booke in hys hand, looking vpon the ſame, and many of the people ſayd: thys man goeth not vnto hys death as a thiefe, or as one that deſerueth to dye.

G. Marſh refuſeth the Queenes pardon.

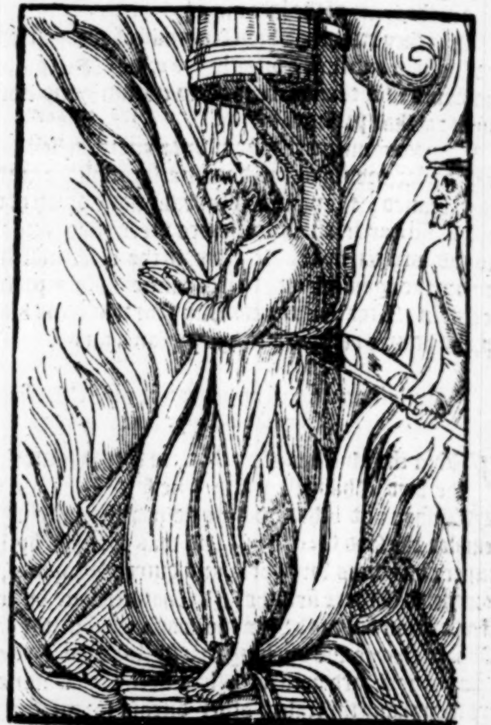
Now when he came to the place of execution without the City, neare vnto Spittle boughton, one Vawdrey, being then deputy chaumberlaine of Cheſter, ſhewed Marſh a wrytyng vnder a great ſeale, ſaying that it was a pardō for hym if he would recant. Whereat Marſh aunſwered, that he would gladly accept the ſame (and ſayd farther, that he loued the Queene) but foraſmuch as it tended to plucke hym from God, he could not receaue it vpon that condition.

G. Marſh not ſuffred to ſpeake to the people.

The Martyrdome of George Marſh, at Weſtcheſter. An. 1555 April. 24

After that, he began to ſpeake to the people ſhewing the cauſe of his death, and would haue exhorted them to ſticke vnto Chriſt. Whereupon one of the Sheriffes ſayd: George Marſh, we muſt haue no ſermoning now. To whom hee ſayd, maiſter, I cry you mercy: and ſo kneling downe made hys prayers, and then put of hys clothes vnto hys ſhirt, and then was he chayned vnto the poſt, hauing a number of Fagots vnder hym, and a thyng made like a firkin, wyth pitch and tarre in the ſame ouer his head: and by reaſon that the fier was vnſkilfully made, & that yͤ winde did driue the flame to & fro, he ſuffred great extremity in his death, which notwythſtandyng he aboade very paciently.

¶ The cruell burnyng of George Marſh, Martyr.



Wherin this in hym is to be noted, that when as he had ben a long time tormented in the fire wythout mouing, hauing his fleſh ſo broyled and puft vp that they which ſtoode before hym vnneth could ſee the chayne wherewyth he was faſtened, and therefore ſuppoſed no leſſe but he had bene dead, notwythſtandyng ſodenly he ſpread abroad hys armes, ſaying: father of heauen haue mercy vpon me, and ſo yelded his ſpirite into the hands of the Lord.

The pacience of G. Marſh the bleſſed martyr.

Vppon this, many of the people ſayd that he was a Martyr, and died marueilous patiently & godly. Which thyng cauſed the Byſhop ſhortly after to make a Sermon in the Cathedrall Church, and therein affirmed, that the ſayd Marſh was an hereticke, burnt like an hereticke, and was a firebrand in hell.

Gods iuſt reuenging hand vpon a perſecuting Biſh.

In recompence of this his good and charitable Sermon, within ſhort tyme after, the iuſt iudgemēt of God appeared vpon the ſayd Byſhop: recompenſing hym in ſuch wiſe, that not long after he turned vp his heales and dyed. Vpon what cauſe his death was gendred, I haue not here preciſely to pronounce, becauſe the rumour and voyce of the people is not allwayes to be followed. Notwithſtandyng ſuch a report went in all mēs mouthes, that he was burned of an harlot. Wherupon whether he dyed or no, I am not certaine, neither dare leane to much vpon publicke ſpeach. Albeit this is certain, that whē he was afterward ſearched beyng dead, by ſome of his ſecret frendes & certeine Aldermen for ſtoppyng the rumour of yͤ people, this maydenly Prieſt and Byſhop was found not to be free from certeine appearaunce, which declared but ſmall virginitie in him, & that the rumour was not raiſed vp altogether vpon naught, amongeſt the people. But of this I will ſtay, and proceede no farther, not becauſe more can not bee ſayd, but becauſe I will not be ſo vncharitable in defacing theſe men, as they are cruell in condemning Gods ſeruauntes to death.

¶ Letters of George Marſh.

This good man wrote diuers and ſondry letters out of priſon beſides his examinations, as before ye haue heard. Touchyng the which his examinations, this letter firſt he ſendeth to his frendes, the copie whereof here foloweth.

¶ A letter of George Marſh to the reader, touching the matter of hys examinations.

A letter of G.Marſh to the reader.

The Martyrdome of George Marſh, at Weſtcheſter. An.1555 April.24

HEre haue ye dearly beloued frendes in Chriſt, the chiefe and principall articles of Chriſtan doctryne briefely touched, which heretofore I haue both beleued, profeſſed, and taught, and as yet do beleue, profeſſe, and teach, and am ſurely purpoſed by Gods grace to continue in the ſame vntil the laſt day. I do want both tyme & oportunity to wryte out at large the probations, cauſes, partes, effectes, and contraries or errours of theſe articles, which who ſo deſireth to know, let them read ouer the common places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancton, and Eraſinus Sarcerius, whoſe iudgementes in theſe matters of religion I do chiefely follow and leaue vnto. The Lord geue vs vnderſtāding in all things, and deliuer vs from this preſent euill world, according to his wyll and pleaſure, and bring vs againe out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleaſed the mercifull Lord to throw vs downe: and deliuer vs out of the mouth of the Lion and from all euill doyng, and kepe vs vnto his heauenly and euerlaſting kingdome, Amen.

1.Pet.3.

Though Sathan be ſuffred, as wheate to ſift vs for a tyme, yet faileth not our fayth through Chriſtes ayde, but that we are at all tymes able and ready to confirme the fayth of our weake brethren, and alwayes ready to geue an anſwere to euery man that aſketh vs a reaſon of the hope that is in vs, & that with mekenes & reuerence, hauing a good conſcience, that when as they backebyte vs as euill doers, they may be aſhamed, for as much as they haue falſely accuſed our good conuerſatiō in Chriſt. I thought my ſelfe now of late yeares, for the cares of this lyfe well ſetteled with my louing and faythfull wife and children, and alſo well quieted in the peaſeable poſſeſſion of that pleaſaunt Euphrates, I do confeſſe it: but the Lord who worketh all thinges for the beſt to thē that loue hym, would not there leaue me, but dyd take my deare and beloued wyfe from me: whoſe death was a painefull croſſe to my fleſh. Alſo I thought my ſelfe now of late well placed vnder my moſt louing and moſt gentell Maiſter, L. Saunders in the Cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not ſuffer me there long to continue (although for the ſmall tyme I was in his vinyard, I was not all an idle workman). But he hath prouided me (I perceaue it) to taſt of a farre other cuppe, for by violence hath he yet once agayne dryuen me out of that gloryons Babylon, that I ſhould not taſt to much of her wanton pleaſures, but wyth his moſt dearly beloued diſciples to haue my inward reioicing in the croſſe of hys ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: the glory of whoſe church I ſee it well, ſtandeth not in the harmonious ſound of Belles and Organes, nor yet in yͤ gliſtring of Mitors & Copes, neither in the ſhyning of gilte Images and lightes (as the blind Papiſtes do iudge it) but in continuall labours and dayly afflictions for hys name ſake.

G.Marſh Curate to Laurence Saunders.

The patience of G.Marſh the bleſſed martyr.

The glory of the church ſtandeth not in outward thinges.

God at this preſent here in England hath hys fanne in hys hand, and after hys great harueſt, wherinto theſe yeares paſt he hath ſent hys labourers, is now ſiftyng the corne from the chaffe & purging his floore, and ready to gather the wheat into hys garnar and to burne the chaffe with vnquenchable fire.

Gods iuſt reuenging hand vpon a perſecuting Biſh.

Take heede and beware of the leuen of the Scribes & of the Saduces, I meane the erroneous doctrine of the Papiſtes, which with their gloſes depraue the Scriptures. For as the Apoſtle S.Peter doth teach vs: *There ſhalbe falſe teachers amongeſt vs, which priuely ſhall bryng in damnable, ſectes:* And ſayth, *that many ſhall folow their damnable wayes, by whom the way of truth ſhall be euill ſpoken of: and that through couetouſnes they ſhall with fayned wordes make marchaundiſe of vs.* And Chriſt earneſtly warneth vs, *to beware of falſe Prophetes, which come to vs in ſheepes clothyng, but inwardly are rauenyng wolues: by their fruites ye ſhall know thē.* The frutes of the Prophetes is their doctrine, In this place are all we Chriſtians taught that we ſhould try the preachers, and other that come vnder colour to ſet forth true Religion vnto vs, accordyng to the ſaying of S.Paul: *Try all thynges and chooſe that which is good.* Alſo the Euangeliſt Saint Iohn ſayth: *Beleue not euery ſpirite, but proue the ſpirites whether they be of God or not, for many falſe Prophetes* (ſayth he) *are gone out into the world.* Therfore if thou wilt know the true Prophetes from the falſe, try their doctrine at the true touchſtone, which is the word of God: and as the godly Theſſalonians did, ſearch ye the Scriptures, whether thoſe thinges which bee preached vnto you be euen ſo or not: for els by the outward conuerſation of them ye may eaſely be deceaued. Deſunt fortaſſis alliqua.

¶ A letter exhortatory of George Marſh to the faithfull profeſſours of Langhton.

A letter of G.Marſh to men of Langhton.

GRace be vnto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Actes.11.

I thought it my duty to write vnto you, my beloued in the Lorde at Langhton, to ſtirre vp your myndes, and to call to your remembraunce the woordes which haue bene told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man and full of the holy Ghoſt Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpoſe of hart ye continually cleaue vnto the Lord, and that ye ſtand faſt, and be not moued away from the hope of the Goſpel, wherof (God be thanked) ye haue had plentuous preachyng vnto you by your late paſtor Maiſter Saunders, and other faythfull miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, which now, when perſecution aryſeth becauſe of the woord, do not fall away lyke ſhrinking children, and forſake the truth, being aſhamed of the Goſpell wherof they haue ben preachers, but are willing and ready for your ſakes (which are Chriſtes miſticall body) to forſake not onely the chiefe and principall delites of this lyfe (I do meane their natiue countreyes, friendes, liuinges. &c.) but alſo to fulfill their miniſtery vnto the vtmoſt, that is to wit, wyth their paynfull impriſonmentes and bloudſhedinges (if neede ſhall require) to confirme and ſeale Chriſtes Goſpell, wherof they haue ben miniſters: and (as S.Paul ſaith) they are ready not onely to bee caſt into priſon, but alſo to be killed for the name of the Lorde Ieſu.

Luke.8.
Rom.1.
Actes.11.

Whether theſe, being that good ſalte of the earth, that is, true miniſters of Gods word, by whoſe doctrine (being receaued thorow fayth) men are made ſauory vnto God, and which them ſelues loſe not their ſaltnes, now when they be proued with the boyſterous ſtormes of aduerſitie and perſecution: or others being that vnſauery ſalt which hath loſt hys ſaltnes, that is to wit, thoſe vngodly miniſters, which doe fall from the worde of God vnto the dreames and traditions of Antichriſt: whether of theſe, I ſay, be more to be credited and beleued, let all men iudge.

Math.5.

True ſalt diſcerned from the corrupt & vnſauery ſalt.

Wherfore my dearely beloued, receiue the worde of God with mekenes, that is graffed in you, which is able to ſaue your ſoules: And ſee that ye be not forgetfull hearers, deceiuyng your ſelues with Sophiſtry, but doers of the word, whō Chriſt doth liken to a wiſe man, which buildeth his houſe on a rocke, that when the great rayne deſcendeth, and the floudes come and beate vppon that houſe, it fall not, becauſe it was grounded vpon a rocke: that is to witte, that whē Sathan, with all his legion of deuils with all their ſubtile ſuggeſtiōs, & the world with all the mighty Princes therof, with their crafty coūſells do furiouſly rage againſt vs, we faint not, but abide conſtant in the truth, beyng grounded vpō a moſt ſure rocke which is Chriſt, and the doctrine of the Goſpell, agaynſt which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Sathan) can not preuaile.

Iames.1.
Math.7.
Pſalme.2.
Math.16.

And be ye folowers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and receiue the word in much affliction (as the godly Theſſalonians did): for the true folowers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, be they which receiue the word of God. They onely receiue the word of God, which both beleue it, and alſo frame their liues after it, and be ready to ſuffer all maner of aduerſitie for the name of the Lord, as Chriſt and all the Apoſtles did, and as all that will lyue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt do: for there is none other way into the kyngdome of heauen, but through much tribulation. And if we ſuffer any thyng for the kyngdome of heauens ſake, and for righteouſnes ſake, we haue the Prophetes, Chriſt, the Apoſtles and Martyrs for an enſample to cōfort vs: for they did all enter into the kyngdome of heauen at the ſtrait gate and narrow way that leadeth vnto lyfe, which fewe do fynd. And vnles we wyl be content to deny our owne ſelues, and take vp the croſſe of Chriſt and follow him, we can not be his diſciples. For if we deny to ſuffer with Chriſt and his Saintes, it is an euident argument, that we ſhall neuer reigne with him. And agayne, if we can fynde in our hartes patiently to ſuffer perſecutions and tribulations, it is a ſure token of the ryghteous iudgement of God, that we are counted worthy of the kyngdome of God, for which we alſo ſuffer. *It is verily* (ſayth the Apoſtle) *a righteous thyng with*

1.Theſ.1.

True receauers of the word who they be.

2.Timo.3.
Actes.14.
Math.5.
Math.7.
Mark.8.

Mortification and bearing of the Croſſe, neceſſary for all them that will raygne wyth Chriſt.

2.Theſ.1.

God, to recõpence tribulatiõ to thẽ that trouble vs, & reſt to vs that be troubled. For after this life, the godly being deliuered frõ their tribulations & paines, ſhall haue a moſt quiet and ioyfull reſt, where as the wicked and vngodly, contrariwiſe ſhalbe tormented for euermore with intollerable and vnſpeakable paines, as Chriſt by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth playnly declare and teach. Theſe ought we to haue before our eyes alwayes, that in tyme of aduerſitie and perſecution (whereof all that will be the children of God, ſhalbe partakers, and wherewith it hath pleaſed God to put ſome of vs in vre already) we may ſtãd ſtedfaſt in the Lord, & endure euen vnto the ende, that we may bee ſaued. For vnleſſe we lyke good warriours of Ieſus Chriſt, will endeuour our ſelues to pleaſe hym who hath choſen vs to be ſouldiours, and fight the good fight of fayth euen vnto the end, we ſhall not obteine that crowne of righteouſnes, which the Lorde that is a righteous iudge, ſhall geue to all them that loue his commyng.

Luke.16.
Hebr.12.
1.Timo.2.

Let vs therfore receiue with meekenes the worde that is graffed in vs, which is able to ſaue our ſoules, and ground our ſelues on the ſure rocke Chriſt. *For* (as the Apoſtle ſayth) *other foundation can no mã lay, beſides that which is layd already, which is Ieſus Chriſt. If any man buyld on this foũdation gold, ſiluer, precious ſtones, tymber, hay, ſtubble, euery mans worke ſhall appeare, for the day ſhall declare it, and it ſhalbe ſhewed in the fire. And the fire ſhall try euery mans worke what it is. If any mans worke that he hath builded vpon abyde, he ſhall receiue a reward: if any mans worke burne, he ſhall ſuffer loſſe, but he ſhalbe ſafe hym ſelfe: neuertheleſſe yet as it were through fire.*

Iohn.2.
1.Cor.3.

By fire here doth the Apoſtle vnderſtand perſecution and trouble, for they which do truely preach and profeſſe the word of God, which is called the word of the croſſe, ſhalbe rayled vpon, abhorred, hated, thruſt out of company, perſecuted and tryed in the fornace of aduerſity, as gold and ſiluer are tryed in the fire.

Fier in ſcripture, what it ſignifieth.

By gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones, he vnderſtãdeth them that in the middes of perſecution abide ſtedfaſt in the word. By timber, hay, and ſtubble, are ment ſuch, as in tyme of perſecution do fall away from the truth. And when Chriſt doth purge hys floore with the wynde of aduerſity, theſe ſcatter away from the face of the earth like lyght chaffe which ſhalbe burned with vnquencheable fire. If they then which do beleue, do in tyme of perſecution ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the truth, the builder (I do meane the preacher of the word) ſhall receiue a reward, and ÿ worke ſhalbe preſerued and ſaued: but if ſo be that they go backe and ſwarue, when perſecution ariſeth, the builder ſhall ſuffer loſſe, that is to ſay, ſhall loſe hys labour and coſt: but yet he ſhalbe ſaued, if he being tryed in the fyre of perſecution, do abide faſt in the fayth.

1.Cor.3.
Math.5.
Luke.6.
Math.3.
Pſalme.1.
The place of Saint Paul *1.Cor.3.* **expounded.**

Wherefore (my beloued) geue diligent heede, that ye as lyuing ſtones be builded vpon this ſure rocke, and be made a ſpirituall houſe and a holy prieſthood for to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices, acceptable vnto God by Ieſus Chriſt. For we are the true temple of God, and the ſpirite of God dwelleth in vs, if ſo be that we continue in the doctrine of the Goſpell. We are alſo an holy and royall Prieſthode, for to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices and oblations: for the ſacrifices of the new teſtament are ſpirituall and of three maners.

1.Pet.2.
1.Corinth.3.
1.Pet.2.
Three ſortes of Sacrifices of the new teſtament.

The firſt is, the ſacrifice of prayſe and thankeſgeuing, which S. Paul doth cal ÿ fruites of thoſe lippes which cõfeſſe the name of God.

Hebr.13.

The ſecond, is mercy towards our neyghbours, as the Prophet Oſee ſayth: *I will haue mercy and not ſacrifice.* Read the xxv. chapt. of Mathew.

Oſee.6.

The third is, when we make our body a quicke ſacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God, that is, when we mortify and kyll our fleſhly concupiſcences and carnall luſtes, and ſo bring our fleſh through the helpe of the ſpirite, vnder the obedience of Gods holy law. This is a ſacrifyce to God moſt acceptable, which the Apoſtle calleth *our reaſonable ſeruing of God.* And let vs be ſure, that vnles we do now at thys preſẽt take better heede to our ſelues, and vſe thankefully the grace of God offred to vs by the Goſpell preaching theſe yeares paſt, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth: vnleſſe, I ſay, we kepe Chriſt and hys holy word, dwelling by fayth in the houſe and temple of our hartes, the ſame thyng that Chriſt threatneth vnto the Iewes, ſhall happen vnto vs: that is to wytte, the vncleane ſpirite of ignoraunce, ſuperſtition, idolatry, and infidelitie or vnbeliefe, the mother and head of all vices, which by the grace of God was caſt out of vs, bryngyng wyth hym ſeuen other ſpirites worſe then hymſelfe, ſhall to our vtter deſtruction, returne agayne into vs: and ſo ſhall we be in a worſe caſe then euer we were before. For if we, after we haue eſcaped from the filthynes of the world through the knowledge of the Lorde & Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, be yet tangled therein agayne and ouercome, then is the latter end worſe then the beginning: & it had ben better for vs not to haue knowen the way of righteouſnes, then after we haue knowen it, to turne from the holy commaundement geuen vnto vs.

Roma.12.
Epheſ.3.
Math.14.
Exhortation to perſiſt in the word of God, and not to abuſe it.
2.Pet.2.

For it is thẽ happened vnto vs according to the true prouerbe: the dogge is tourned to hys vomite agayne, and the ſowe that was waſhed, to wallowing in the mire. And thus to continue and perſeuer in infidelitie, and to kicke againſt the manifeſt and knowen truth, and ſo to dye wythout repentaunce and wyth a diſpayre of the mercy of God in Ieſus Chriſt, is to ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſhall not be forgeuen, neyther in thys world neyther in the world to come. For it is not poſſible (ſayth S. Paul) that they which were once lighted, and haue taſted of the heauenly gift, and haue taſted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come: if they fall away, ſhould be renued agayne by repentaunce, for as much as they haue (as concerning themſelues) crucified the ſonne of God agayne, makyng a mockyng of hym. S. Paules meanyng in thys place is: that they that beleue truely and vnfaynedly Gods worde, doe continue and abyde ſtedfaſt in the knowen truth.

Pro.26.
Math.13.
Heb.6.
The place of the *Heb.6.* **expounded.**

If any therfore fall away from Chriſt and hys word, it is a playne token, that they were but diſſemblyng hypocrites, for all their fayre faces outwardly, and neuer beleued truly: as Iudas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the knowen veritie, and made a mocke of Chriſt: which S. Paul doth call here, to crucifie Chriſt anew, becauſe that they turnyng to their old vomite agayne, did moſt blaſphemouſly tread the benefites of Chriſtes death and paſſion vnder their feete. They that are ſuch, can in no wiſe bee renued by repentaunce: for their repentaunce is fleſhly, as the repentaunce of Cain, Saule, and Iudas was, which beyng without godly comfort, breadeth deſperation vnto death.

Math.26.
Falling from Chriſt.
To crucifie Chriſt a new, what it is.

These are not of the nũber of the elect: and as S. Iohn doth ſay: *They went out from vs, but they were not of vs. For if they had bene of vs, they would haue remayned with vs vnto the ende.* Alſo the Apoſtle ſayth in an other place: *If we ſinne willingly after that we haue receiued the knowledge of the truth, there remayneth no more ſacrifice for ſinne, but a fearefull looking for iudgemẽt and violent fire, which ſhall deuoure the aduerſaries.*

Iohn.2.
Hebr.10.

They ſinne willyngly, which of a ſet malice and purpoſe do withhold the truth in vnrightouſnes and lying, kickyng agaynſt the manifeſt and open knowen truth, which although they doe perfectly know that in all the world there is none other ſacrifice for ſinne, but onely that omniſufficient ſacrifice of Chriſtes death: yet notwithſtandyng, they will not commit them ſelues wholy vnto it: but rather deſpiſe it, allowing other ſacrifices for ſinne, inuented by the imagination of man (as we ſee by dayly experience) vnto whom, if they abyde ſtill in their wickednes and ſinne, remayneth a moſt horrible and dreadfull iudgement. This is that ſinne vnto death, for which Saint Iohn would not that a man ſhould pray.

Rom.1.
Wilfull kicking againſt the open knowen truth.
Sinne vnto death.
1.Iohn.5.

Wherfore my dearely beloued in Chriſt, let vs (on whõ the endes of the world are come) take diligent hede vnto our ſelues, that now in theſe laſt & perilous times, in the which the deuill is come downe, and hath great wrath becauſe hee knoweth his tyme is but ſhort, and wherof the Prophetes, Chriſt, and the Apoſtles haue ſo much ſpoken and geuen vs ſo earneſt forewarnyng: we withhold not the truth in vnrighteouſnes, beleuing, doyng, or ſpeakyng any thyng againſt our knowledge and conſcience, or without fayth. For if we do ſo, for what ſoeuer cauſe it be, it is a wilfull and obſtinate infidelitie, and a ſinne vnto death: As our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: *If ye beleue not, ye ſhall dye in your ſinnes.* For vnles we hold faſt the worde of lyfe, both beleuyng it, and alſo bryngyng forth fruite worthy of repentaunce, we ſhal with the vnprofitable figge tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut downe, and our talent taken from vs and geuen vnto an other that ſhall put it to a better vſe: and we through our owne vnthankefulnes put from the mercy of God, ſhall neuer be able to pay our debtes: that is to ſay, we ſhal altogether be loſt and vndone. For the earth that drinketh in rayne that commeth oft vppon it, and bryngeth forth herbes meete for them that dreſſe it, receiueth

1.Cor.10.
Apoca.12.
Math.24.
Rom.1.
Iohn.8.
Phil.2.
Math.3.
The fruitles figtree.
Lucke.13.
Math.18.
Heb.6.

neth bleſſyng of God. But that ground that beareth thornes and briars, is reproued, and is nyghe vnto curſyng, whoſe end is to be burned.

The good ground.
Luke.8.
Iames.1.
Math.13.

Neuertheles deare frendes, we truſt to ſee better of you, & thinges which accompany ſaluation, & that ye beyng that good ground, watred wyth the moyſtnes of Gods word plenteouſly preached amongeſt you, wyll wyth a good hart heare the woord of God and kepe it, bryngyng forth fruit with pacience. And be none of thoſe forgetfull and hypocritiſh hearers, which although they heare the word, yet the Deuill commeth, and catcheth away that which was ſowen in the hart: either hauing no roote in them ſelues, endure but a ſeaſon, & as ſoone as tribulation or perſecution aryſeth becauſe of the worde, by and by they are offended: either with the cares of this world and deceitfulnes of riches choke the worde, and ſo are vnfruitfull. Read the parable of the ſower, and amonges other thinges note and marke, that the moſt part of the hearers of Gods word are but hypocrites, & heare the word without any fruite or profite, yea only to their greater condẽnation: for only the fourth part of the ſeede doth bring forth fruite. Therfore let not vs that be Miniſters, or profeſſours, and folowers of Gods word, be diſcouraged, though that very fewe do geue credite, and follow the doctrine of the Goſpell, and be ſaued.

The moſt part of the hearers of Gods word are but hypocrites.

To hym that hath, it ſhalbe geuen, and how?

Whoſoeuer therfore hath eares to heare, let him heare: for whoſoeuer hath, to hym ſhall be geuen, and he ſhall haue aboundaunce: but who ſoeuer hath not, from him ſhall bee taken away euen that he hath: that is to ſay, they that haue a deſyre of ryghteouſnes and of the truth, ſhall bee more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that doe not couet after righteouſnes and truth, are more hardened and blynded, though they ſeme vnto them ſelues moſt wyſe. For God doth here follow an example of a louyng father, which when he ſeeth that fatherly loue and correction doth not helpe towards his children, vſeth an other way. He ceaſeth to be benificial vnto them, and to miniſter vnto thẽ fatherly correction: he geueth them ouer vnto them ſelues, ſuffering them to lyue as they luſt them ſelues.

Example of Gods dealing with ſtubborne children.

Heb.6.
Math.8.
Actes.14.
2.Tim.1.
2.Timo.2.

But we truſt to ſee better of you (my dearely beloued) and that ye lyke very Gadarenites, for feare to loſe your worldly ſubſtance or other delites of this lyfe, wyll not baniſh away Chriſt and his Goſpell from amongeſt you: but that ye with all diligence of minde wil receiue the word of God, taught you by ſuch miniſters, as now when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, are not aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lord Ieſus, but are content to ſuffer aduerſity with the Goſpell, and therein to ſuffer trouble as euyll doers, euen vnto bondes. And if ye refuſe thus to do, your own bloud wyll be vpon your own heads. And as ye haue had plẽteous preaching of yͤ Goſpell, more then other haue had: ſo ſhall ye be ſure if ye repent not, and bring forth fruites worthy of repentaunce, to be ſorer plaged, and to receiue greater vengeaunce at Gods hand, then others, and the kyngdome of God ſhall be taken from you, and be geuen to an other nation, which will bryng forth the fruites thereof.

Actes.13.

The more preaching with leſſe folowing, the greater vengeaunce at Gods hand.

Wherefore my dearely beloued in Chriſt, take good heede to your ſelues, and ponder well in your myndes, howe fearefull and horrible a thing it is to fall into the handes of the lyuing God. And ſee that ye receaue not the woorde of God in vayne, but continually labour in fayth, & declare your fayth by your good workes, which are infallible witneſſes of the true iuſtifying faith, which is neuer idle, but worketh by charity. And ſee that ye cõtinually geue your ſelues vnto al maner of good works: amongeſt the which, the chiefeſt are to bee obedient to the Magiſtrates, ſyth they are the ordinaunce of God, whether they be good or euyll, vnles they commaunde Idolatry and vngodlynes, that is to ſay, thinges contrary vnto true religion. For then ought we to ſay with Peter: *VVe ought more to obey God then man*. But in any wyſe we muſt beware of tumult, inſurrection, rebellion, or reſiſtaunce.

2.Cor.6.
Iam.2.
Gala.5.
Tit.2.
Rom.13.
Actes.5.

The weapon of a Chriſtian in this matter, ought to be the ſword of the ſpirite, which is Gods word & praier, coupled with humility & due ſubmiſſiõ, & with readines of hart, rather to dye then to do any vngodlynes. Chriſt alſo doth teach vs, that all power is of God, yea, euen the power of the wicked, which God cauſeth often times to raigne for our ſinnes, and diſobedience towardes him and hys word. Whoſoeuer then doth reſyſt any power, doth reſiſt the ordinaunce of God, and ſo purchaſe to him ſelfe vtter deſtruction and vndoing.

Ephe.6.
Iohn.19.
Iob.34.
Rom.14.

We muſt alſo by all meanes, be promoters of vnitye, peace and concord. We muſt honour & reuerence Princes, and all that bee in authoritye, and pray for them, and be diligent to ſet forth their profit and commodity.

1.Pet.2.
Ephe.6.
1.Timo.5.

Secondly, we muſt obey our Parentes, or them that be in their roumes, and bee carefull for our houſholdes, that they be prouided for and fed, not only wyth bodely foode, but much rather with ſpirituall food, which is the word of God.

Thirdly, we muſt ſerue our neighbours by al meanes we can, remembryng well the ſaying of Chriſt: *Whatſoeuer ye would that men ſhould do vnto you, do ye likewiſe vnto them, for this is the law and the Prophetes.*

Math.7.
1.Tim.2.

Fourthly, we muſt diligently exerciſe the neceſſary worke of prayer for all eſtates: knowyng that God therfore hath ſo much commaunded it, and hath made ſo great promyſes vnto it, and doth ſo well accept it. After theſe workes we muſt learne to know the croſſe, & what affection and mynde we muſt beare towards our aduerſaries and enemies, whatſoeuer they be, to ſuffer all aduerſities and euils paciently, to pray for them that hurt, perſecute, and trouble vs: and by thus vſing our ſelues, we ſhall obtayne an hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

Praying for all eſtates.

Math.5.

Forbearing our aduerſaryes.

Patience in ſuffring aduerſity and trouble.

And thus, I commend you brethren vnto God, and to the word of hys grace, which is able to build further, and geue you an enheritaunce among all them, which are ſanctified: beſeching you to helpe M. Saunders and me your late Paſtors, and all them that bee in bondes for the Goſpels ſake, with your prayers to God for vs, that we may be deliuered from all them that beleue not, and from vnreaſonable and froward men, and that this our impriſonment and affliction may bee to the glory and profite of our Chriſtian brethren in the world, and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodyes, whether it be by death or by life, Amen.

2.Pet.1.
Actes.20.

This letter was written the yeare before, in the month of Iune.

Rom.15.
Coloſ.4.
Philip 1.

Salute frõ me all the faithfull brethren: and becauſe I write not ſeuerall letters to thẽ, let them eyther read or heare theſe my letters. The grace of our Lorde bee wyth you al, Amẽ. The 28. of Iune, by yͤ vnprofitable ſeruaunt of Ieſus Chriſt, & now alſo his priſoner, George Marſh.

Saue your ſelues from thys vntoward generation. Pray, pray, pray. Neuer more nede.

Actes.2.

An other letter of the ſayd George Marſh, to certayne of hys dearely beloued frendes at Mancheſter in Lancaſhiere.

Grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

An other godly letter of G. Marſh to them of Mancheſter.

After ſalutations in Chriſt to you, wyth thankes for your frendly remembraunces of me, deſyring and wiſhing vnto you, not only in my letters, but alſo in my daily prayers, ſuch conſolation in ſpirite, and taſte of heauenly treaſures, that ye may thereby continually worke in fayth, labour in loue, perſeuer in hope, and bee pacient in all your tribulations and perſecutions, euen vnto the end and glorious comming of Chriſt: theſe ſhall bee earneſtly to exhort and beſech you in Chriſt, as ye haue receaued the Lord Ieſus, euen ſo to walke, rooted in him, and not to bee afraide of any terrour of your aduerſaries, be they neuer ſo many and mighty, and you on the other ſyde neuer ſo fewe and weake: for the battayle is the Lordes. And as in tymes paſt, God was with Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, Dauid the Machabes and other, and fought for them, and deliuered all their enemies into their handes, euen ſo hath he promiſed to bee with vs alſo, vnto the worldes ende, & ſo to aſſiſt, ſtrengthen, and helpe vs, that no man ſhall be able to withſtād vs. *For as I was with Moſes, ſo wyll I be with thee* (ſaith God) *and wyll neuer leaue thee nor forſake thee. Be ſtrong and bold: neither feare nor dread: for the Lord thy God is wyth thee, whetherſoeuer thou goeſt.* Now: *if God bee on our ſide, who can bee agaynſt vs?*

Coloſ.2.
Phil.2.
1.Pet.3.
Math.10.
Luke.12.

Aduerſaries not to be feared.

Gods helpe alwayes ready with hys ſeruauntes.

Ioſua.1.
Rom.8.

In thys our ſpirituall warfare, is no man ouercome, vnles he trayterouſly leaue and forſake hys captayne, eyther cowardly caſt away hys weapons, or willingly yelde hymſelfe to hys enemyes, eyther fearfully turne his backe and flye. Be ſtrong therefore in the Lord (deare brethren) and in the power of hys myght, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand ſtedfaſt agaynſt the crafty aſſaultes of the deuill.

Spirituall cowardlyneſ.

Ephe.6.

Now, what weapons ye muſt fight withall, learne of Saint Paul, a champion both much exerciſed, and alſo moſt valiaunt and inuincible. For we muſt thinke none other, but that the life of man is a perpetuall warfare vpon earth, as the examples of all godly men, through-

2.Cor.11.12.
Actes.21.

A Chriſtian mans life, is a perpetuall warfare.

The manifold deliuerances of S. Paul, be examples for our comfort.

Actes. 18.

2. Tim. 4.

Phil. 1.

out all ages do declare. The valiant warriour S. Paule, being deliuered from the handes of the vngodly, and that ſo many tymes, and alſo from ſo many extreme perils and daungers of death (as hee hys owne ſelfe doth witneſſe) is fayne to commit him ſelf in the end to the rough waters of the ſea: where he was in great peryl and ieopardy of hys own lyfe: yet was God alwayes (to the great comfort of all that heare of it) moſt ready to comfort and ſuccour hym, and gloriouſly deliuered hym out of all hys troubles: ſo that no man that did inuade him, could do hym any harme, and in the ende he was compelled to ſay: *I haue finiſhed my courſe: the tyme of my departing is at hand: I long to be looſed, & to be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all,* moſt hartely deſiring death.

Rom. 15.

These thinges be written for our learning and comfort, and be to vs a ſure obligation, that if we ſubmit our ſelues to God and hys holy word, no man ſhalbe able to hurt vs, and that he wyll deliuer vs from all troubles, yea euen from death alſo, vntyll ſuch tyme as we couet and deſyre to dye. Let vs therefore runne with patience vnto the battaile that is ſet before vs, and loke vnto Ieſus the Captayne and finiſher of our fayth, and after hys example, for the rewardes ſake that is ſet out vnto vs, patiently beare the croſſe and deſpiſe the ſhame: *For all that wyll lyue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.*

Hebr. 12.

Perſecution foloweth Chriſtian godlines.

2. Time. 3.

Math. 3. 4.

Where Chriſt is, Sathan there is alwayes ready.

Chriſt was no ſooner Baptiſed & declared to yͤ world to be the ſonne of God, but Sathan was by & by ready to tempt hym: which thyng we muſt looke for alſo: yea, the more we ſhall encreaſe in fayth and vertuous liuing, the more ſtrongly will Sathan aſſault vs: whõ we muſt learne after the example of Chriſt, to fight agaynſt, and ouercome with the holy and ſacred Scriptures & word of God (which are our heauenly armour) and ſword of the ſpirite. And let the faſtyng of Chriſt, while he was tempted in the wildernes, be vnto vs an example of ſober lyuing, not for the ſpace of fortie dayes (as the Papiſtes do fondly fanſie of their owne braynes) but as lõg as we are in the wildernes of this wretched lyfe, aſſaulted of Sathan, who like a roaryng Lion walketh about, and ceaſeth not, ſekyng our vtter deſtruction.

Ephe. 6.

Math. 4.

The faſt of Chriſt, is to vs example of ſober lyuing.

1. Pet. 5.

Neither can the ſeruauntes of God at any tyme come and ſtãd before God, that is, lead a godly lyfe, and walke innocently before God. But Sathã commeth alſo amõg them, that is, he dayly accuſeth, findeth fault, vexeth, perſecuteth and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and propertie of the deuill alwayes to hurt, and do miſchiefe, vnles he be forbidden of God: for vnles God do permit him, he cã do nothyng at all, not ſo much as enter into a filthy hogge: but we are more of price then many hogges before God, if we cleaue vnto his ſonne by faith.

Iob. 1. 2.

When the ſeruauntes of God ſtand before hym, Sathan commeth alſo.

Math. 8.

Let vs therfore knowyng Sathans deceites and rancor, walke the more warely, and take vnto vs the ſhielde of fayth, wherwith we may be able to quench and ouercome all the firie and deadly dartes of the wicked. Let vs take to vs the helmet of ſaluation, and ſword of the ſpirite, which is the worde of God, and learne to vſe the ſame accordyng to the example of our graund Captaine Chriſt. Let vs faſt and pray cõtinually. For this frantike kynd of deuils goeth not out otherwiſe (as Chriſt doth teach vs) but by faythfull prayer and faſtyng, which is true abſtinẽce & ſobernes of liuyng, if we vſe yͤ ſame accordyng to the doctrine of yͤ Goſpell and word of God. Faſting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hipocriſie, that is to ſay: if we vſe it to this entent, that thereby this mortal body and diſobedient carcaſe may be tamed, and brought vnder the ſubiection of the ſpirite: and agayne, if we faſt to this intent, that we may ſpare wherewith to helpe & ſuccour our poore neady brethren. This faſt do the true Chriſtians vſe all the dayes of their lyfe, although among the common ſorte of people remayneth yet ſtill that ſuperſtitious kynde of faſtyng, which God ſo earneſtly reproueth by his Prophet Eſay. For as for true chaſtenyng of the body, and abſtainyng from vyce, with ſhewyng mercy towardes our needy neighbours, we will neither vnderſtand nor heare of, but ſtill thinke with the Iewes, that we do God a great pleaſure when we faſt, and that we then faſt, whẽ we abſteine from one thyng, and fill our belyes with an other. And verely in this point doth our ſuperſticion much excede the ſuperſticion of yͤ Iewes: for we neuer read that they euer tooke it for a faſt, to abſteine from fleſh, and to eate either fiſhe or white meate, as they call it.

Ephe. 6.

The ſhield of fayth.

The helmet of ſaluation.

The ſword of the ſpirite.

Math. 4.

Math. 17.

Prayer and faſting.

True faſt, what it is.

How to faſt without hypocriſie.

Abuſe of faſting among chriſtians.

Eſay. 58.

The Iewiſh maner of faſting reproued.

The chriſtians in ſuperſtitious faſting excede the Iewes.

Mercy to the poore.

To faſtyng and prayer muſt be ioyned almes, & mercy towardes the poore & nedy: and that our almes may be acceptable vnto God, thre things are chiefly required:

First, that we geue with a cherefull and ioyfull heart: *For the Lord loueth a chearefull geuer.*

1. Cor. 9.

In almes 3. thinges required.

Secondly, that we geue liberally, puttyng aſide all nigardſhyp, knowyng that he that ſoweth litle, ſhall reape litle: and he that ſoweth plenteouſly, ſhall reape plenteouſly. Let euery man therfore do accordyng as he is able. The poorest caitiffe in the world may geue as great and acceptable an almes in the ſight of God, as the richeſt man in the world can do. The poore widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthyng, did hyghly pleaſe Chriſt: In ſomuch that hee affirmed with an oth, *That ſhe of her penurie, had added more to the offringes of God, then all the rich men, which of their ſuperfluitie had caſt in very much. For if there be firſt a willyng mynd* (as S. Paul ſayth) *it is accepted, accordyng to that a man hath, and not accordyng to that a man hath not.*

Mark 12.

2. Cor. 8.

Thirdly, we muſt geue without hypocriſie and oſtentation, not ſeekyng the prayſe of men, or our owne glory or profite. And although the Scriptures in ſome places make mention of a reward to our almes and other good workes, yet ought we not to thinke that we do merite or deſerue any thing: but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God of hys mere mercy rewardeth in vs hys own giftes. For what hath he that giueth almes, that he hath not receiued? He then that geueth vnto a poore man any maner of thyng, geueth not of his owne, but of thoſe goodes which hee hath receiued of God. *What haſt thou* (ſayth the Apoſtle) *that thou haſt not receiued? If thou haſt receiued it, why reioiceſt thou, as though thou haddeſt not receiued it?*

Almes without oſtentation.

Workes of mercy do not merite with God touchyng our ſaluation, any thyng.

1. Cor. 4.

This ſentence ought to be had in remembraunce of all men. For if we haue nothing but that which we haue receiued, what can we deſerue? or what nede we to diſpute and reaſon of our owne merites? It commeth of the free gift of God, that we lyue, that we loue God, that we walke in his feare. Where is our deſeruyng then? we muſt alſo in this our ſpirituall warfare arme our ſelues with continuall prayer, a very neceſſary, ſtrong, and inuincible weapon, and after the example of Chriſt and all other godly mẽ, crie hartly vnto God in fayth, in all our diſtreſſes and anguiſhes. Let vs go boldly to the ſeate of grace, where we ſhalbe ſure to receiue mercy, and fynde grace to helpe in tyme of neede. For now is pryde and perſecution encreaſed: now is the tyme of deſtructiõ and wrathfull diſpleaſure.

Math. 26.

Heb. 4.

1. Mach. 4.

Continuall prayer.

Wherfore my deare brethren, be ye feruent in the law of God, and ieoperde ye your lyues if nede ſhall ſo require, for the teſtament of the fathers, and ſo ſhall ye receiue great honour, and an euerlaſtyng name. Remember Abraham: was not he found faithfull in temptation, and it was reckened vnto him for righteouſnes? Ioſeph in time of his trouble kept the commaundement, & was made a Lord of Egypt. Phinees was ſo feruent for the honour of God, that he obteined the couenaunt of an euerlaſtyng Prieſthode. Ioſua for fulfillyng the word of God, was made the Captaine of Iſraell. Caleb bare recorde before the Congregation, and receiued an heritage. Dauid alſo in his mercifull kyndnes obteyned the throne of an euerlaſtyng kyngdome. Elias beyng zelous and feruent in the law, was taken vp into heauen. Ananias, Azarias, and Miſaell remained ſtedfaſt in the fayth, and were deliuered out of the fyre. In lyke maner Daniell beyng vngiltie, was ſaued from the mouth of the Lions.

To be faythfull in temptatiõ.

Gene. 22.

Gene. 41.

Num. 25.

Ioſua. 1.

Num. 14.

1. Reg. 24.

4. Reg. 2.

Dan. 3.

Dan. 6.

And thus ye may conſider throughout all ages ſince the world begã, that who ſoeuer put their truſt in God, were not ouercome. Feare not ye then the wordes of vngodly men: for their glory is but donge and wormes: to day are they ſet vp, & to morow are they gone: For they are turned into earth, and their memoriall commeth to naught. Wherfore let vs take good hartes vnto vs, and quyte our ſelues lyke men in the law: for if we do the thynges that are commaunded vs in the law of the Lord our God, we ſhall obteine great honour therin.

Pſal. 38.

He exhorteth to zeale and courage.

Beloued in Chriſt, let vs not faint becauſe of afflictiõ, wherewith God trieth all them that are ſealed vnto lyfe euerlaſtyng: for the onely way into yͤ kyngdome of God, is through much tribulation. For the kyngdome of heauen (as God teacheth vs by his Prophet Eſdras) *Is lyke a Citie buylded and ſet vpon a broad field, and full of all good thyngs: but the enteraunce is narrow and ſodayne,* [full of ſorrow and trauaile, perils and labours]: *lyke as if there were a fire at the ryght hand, and a deepe water at the left: and as it were one ſtraite path betwene them both, ſo ſmall, that there could but one man go there. If this Citie now were geuen to an heire, and he neuer went through the perillous way, how would he receaue his enheritaunce?* Wherfore ſeyng we are in this narowe and ſtrayt way,

Actes. 14.

4. Eſd. 7.

Straite is the way which the elect muſt walke in.

way, which leadeth vnto the moſt ioyfull and pleaſaunt Citie of euerlaſtyng lyfe: let vs not ſtagger, either turne backe, beyng afrayd of the daungerous & perilous way, but folow our Captaine Ieſus Chriſt in the narow and ſtraite way, and be afrayd of nothyng, no not euen of death it ſelfe: for it is he that muſt lead vs to our iourneyes end, and open vs the doore vnto euerlaſtyng lyfe.

Death is a dore to life.

Conſider alſo the courſe of this world, how many there bee which for their maiſters ſake, or for a litle promotions ſake, would aduenture their lyues in worldly affaires, as commõly in warres, and yet is their reward but light and tranſitory, and ours is vnſpeakable, great and euerlaſtyng. They ſuffer paynes to be made Lordes on earth for a ſhort ſeaſon: how much more ought we to endure lyke paynes (yea peraduenture much leſſe) to be made kynges in heauen for euermore? Conſider alſo the wicked of this world, which for a litle pleaſures ſake, or to be auenged on their enemyes, will fight which ſword and weapons, and put them ſelues in daunger of impriſonment and hangyng. So much as vertue is better thẽ vice, and God mightyer then the deuill, ſo much ought we to excell them in this our ſpirituall battaile.

If worldly men ieoparde ſo much for earthly thinges, how much more ought we to ieoparde for euerlaſting thinges?

And ſeyng brethren, it hath pleaſed God to ſet me, and that moſt worthy miniſter of Chriſt, John Bradford, your countreymen in the forefront of this battaile, where (for the tyme) is moſt daũger, I beſeech you all in the bowels of Chriſt to helpe vs and all others our felowſouldiers ſtandyng in lyke perillous place, with your prayers to God for vs, that we may quyte our ſelues lyke men in the Lord, and geue ſome example of boldnes and conſtãcie, myngled with pacience in the feare of God, that ye and others our brethren, through our example, may be ſo encouraged and ſtrengthned to folow vs, that ye alſo may leaue example to your weake brethrẽ in the world, to folow you, Amen.

1.Tim.2. 1.Cor.7. 1.Iohn. Coloß.3.

Conſider what I ſay: the Lord geue vs vnderſtanding in all thinges. Brethren the tyme is ſhort: it remayneth that ye vſe this world as though ye vſed it not: for the faſhion of this worlde vaniſheth away. See that ye loue not the world, neither the things that are in the world: but ſet your affection on heauenly thinges, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Be meeke, and long ſuffering, ſerue & edifie one an other, with the gift that God hath geuen you. Beware of ſtraũge doctrine: lay aſide the old conuerſation of gredy luſtes, and walke in a new lyfe. Beware of all vncleannes, couetouſnes, fooliſh talking, falſe doctrine, and dronkennes: Reioyce and be thankfull towardes God, and ſubmit your ſelues one to an other. Ceaſe from ſynne, ſpend no more tyme in vice, be ſober & apt to pray, be patient in trouble, loue ech other, and let the glory of God and profite of your neighbour, be the onely marke ye ſhoote at in all your doinges. Repent ye of the lyfe that is paſt, and take better heede to your doings hereafter. And aboue althings cleaue ye faſt to hym, who was deliuered to death for our ſynnes, and roſe againe for our iuſtification. To whom with the father and the holy ghoſt be all honour and rule for euermore, Amen.

Doctrine of good workes.

Salute from me in Chriſt all others, which loue vs in the faith, and at your diſcretion make them partakers of theſe letters: and pray ye all for mee and others in bondes for the Goſpell, that the ſame God (whych by his grace hath called vs from wicked papiſtry, vnto true chriſtianitie, and now of loue proueth our patience by perſecution) wyll of hys mercye and fauour in the ende glorioully deliuer vs, eyther by death, or by lyfe, to hys glory, Amen. At Lancaſter the.30.of Auguſt. 1554.

By me an vnprofitable ſeruaunt of
Chriſt, George Marſh.

¶To his welbeloued in Chriſt Ienkin Cramptom,
Iames Leyuer, Elice Fogge, Rafe Bradſhaw, the wyfe
of Richard Bradſhaw, Elice Cramptom, and to e-
uery one of them be theſe deliuered,
from Lancaſter. G. Marſh.

An other letter of G.Marſh to certaine of hys frendes.

2.Cor.13.

The grace of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the felowſhip of the holy Ghoſt be with you all, Amen.

Epheſ.4. Act.11. Rom.1.

After ſalutations in Chriſt, & harty thankes for your frendly tokens, and your other remembrances towards me, beſeching God that ye may encreaſe in fayth, feare, loue, and all good giftes, and grow vp into a perfyt man in Chriſt: theſe be earneſtly to exhort you, yea and to beſech you in the tender mercy of Chriſt, that with purpoſe of hart ye cõtinually cleaue vnto the Lord, and that ye worſhip and ſerue hym in ſpirite, in the Goſpel of his ſonne. For God wyll not be worſhipped after the commaundementes and traditions of men, neyther yet by any other meanes appointed, preſcribed, and taught vs, but by hys holy word. And though all men for the moſt part defile them ſelues with the wicked traditions of mẽ and ordinances after the world, and not after Chriſt: yet do ye after the enſample of Tobie, Daniell and hys three companions, Mathathias & hys.v.ſonnes, bee at a point with your ſelues that ye will not be defiled with the vncleane meates of the Heathen, I doe meane the filthynes of idolatry, and the very Heatheniſhe ceremonies of the papiſtes: but as true worſhippers, ſerue ye God in ſpirite and verity, according to his ſacred ſcriptures: which I would wyſhe and wyll you aboue all thinges continually and reuerently (as both S. Paule and Chriſt do commaund you) to ſearch and read, with the wholeſome monitions of the ſame: to teach, exhort, comfort and edifie one an other, and your brethren and neyghbours, now in tyme of this our miſerable captiuitie, and great famiſhmẽt of ſoules for want of the foode of gods word. And doubt not, but that the mercyfull Lord, who hath promiſed to be wyth vs euen vnto the worldes end, and that whenſoeuer two or thre be gathered together in his name, he wyll be in the myddeſt of them, wyll aſſiſt you, & teach you the right meanings of the ſacred ſcriptures, wyll keepe you from all errours, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faythfully promiſed.

Coloß.2. Tob.1. Dani.1. 1.Mach.1. Iohn.4. Iohn.5.1. Timo.4. Math.24. Math.28.

And though ye thinke your ſelues vnable to teach, yet at yͤ cõmaundement of Chriſt now in tyme of famine, the hũgry people being in wildernes farre frõ any townes, which if they be ſent away faſting are ſure to faint and periſhe by the way, employ and beſtow thoſe.v.loaues and two fiſhes that ye haue, vpõ that hungry multitude although ye thynke it nothing among ſo many. And he that increaſed the.v.loaues and.ij.fiſhes to feede.v.thouſand men, beſides women and children, ſhal alſo augmẽt hys gyftes in you, not onely to the edifiyng & wynnyng of others in Chriſt, but alſo to an exceding great increaſe of your knowledge in God and hys holy worde. And feare not your aduerſaries: for eyther according to hys accuſtomed maner God ſhall blynde theyr eyes that they ſhall not eſpye you, eyther get you fauour in their ſight, either els graciouſly deliuer you out of their hands by one meanes or other.

Iohn.13. Math.7. Phil.1.

Obey with reuerence al your ſuperiours, vnleſſe they commaund idolatry or vngodlines. Make prouiſion for your houſholdes, chiefly that they bo inſtructed & taught in the law of God. Loue your wiues euen as your own ſelues, and as Chriſt loued the congregation. Loue your chyldren, but rate them not, leſt they bee of a deſperate mynde: and bring them vp in the nurture and information of the Lorde, and teach them euen as the godly Parentes of Tobie the yõuger, and Suſanna dyd teach their children, euen from their infancie to reuerence God according to his law, & to abſtayn frõ ſinne, prouiding that in no wyſe they be brought vp in idlenes and wantonnes, ſeing that ye recken your ſelues to be the children of God, and looke for the lyfe which God ſhall geue to thẽ that neuer turne their belief from hym. See that ye euer feare God, and keepe his commaundementes: & though the plague of God chaũce vnto you, yet remaine ye ſtedfaſt in the fayth and feare of God, and thanke hym and ſerue hym in ſuch holynes and righteouſnes as are acceptable before hym all the dayes of your life. Comfort your ſelues in all your aduerſities, & ſtay your ſelues in hym, who hath promiſed not to leaue you as fatherles and motherles chyldren wythout any comfort, but that he wyll come to you lyke a moſt gentle and mercyfull Lord. He wil continually ſtand by you in all your troubles, aſſiſting, helping and ſuckeryng you at all tymes. *I will be with you* (ſayth he) *vnto the end of the world:* And cleaue you faſt vnto him, which was incarnate, liued, wrought, taught, and dyed for your ſynnes: yea roſe agayne from death, aſcended into heauen for your iuſtification. Repent ye of the lyfe that is paſt, and ceaſſe from ſynne, and from hence forward lyue as much tyme as remayneth in the fleſh, not after the luſtes of men, but after the wyll of God. To doe good and diſtribute, forget not. Faſt and pray buſely, and as euery man hath receiued the gyft, miniſter the ſame one to an other as good Miniſters of yͤ manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Ieſus Chriſt, to whom be prayſe and dominion for euer, and whyle the world ſtandeth. Amen.

Leſſons of Chriſten maners. Tob.2. Tob.3.

Yours G. Marſh.

¶An o-

¶An other Letter.

An other letter of *G. Marſh* to certayne faithfull brethren in the congregation.

Grace.

Peace, what it is.

THe ſame grace and peace (dearly beloued in Chriſt) do I intierly deſire and wiſhe vnto you, which the Apoſtle S.Paul wiſheth to all thē vnto whō he did write and ſend his Epiſtles, then which ij.thynges no better can be wiſhed and deſired of God. Grace is throughout all the Epiſtles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and fauour of God, whereby he ſaueth vs freely, without any deſeruynges or workes of the law. In lyke maner peace is taken for the quietnes & trāquillitie of the conſcience, beyng throughly perſuaded yͤ through the onely merites of Chriſtes death and bloudſheding, there is an attonement and peace made betwene God and vs, ſo that God will no more impute our ſinnes vnto vs, nor yet condemne vs.

Dearely beloued, I will not bee negligent to put you alwayes in remembraunce of thynges, though that ye know them your ſelues and be alſo eſtabliſhed in the preſent truth: notwithſtādiug, I thinke it meete (as lōg as I am in this tabernacle) to ſtirre you vp, by puttyng you in remembraunce. wherfore I beſech you brethren and exhort you in the Lord Ieſus, that ye encreaſe more and more, euen as ye haue receaued how ye ought to walke and to pleaſe God. And as Barnabas that good mā and full of the holy Ghoſt, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpoſe of hart cleaue ye cōtinually vnto the Lord.

He exhorteth to ſtedfaſtnes in the Goſpel.

Leyuer. Pilkinton. Bradford. Saunders.

Men baniſhed for the Goſpell in Quene *Maryes* tyme.

And ſtand faſte, and bee not moued from the hope of the Goſpell wherof (God be thanked) ye haue had plenteous preaching vnto you theſe yeares paſt, by the faithful Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, Leyuer, Pilkinton, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, doe not fall away like ſhrinking children and forſake the truth, but are preſt and ready for your ſakes, which are his miſtical body, to forſake the chiefe and principall delightes of this life, and ſome of thē in geuing place to the outragious tyranny of the world, to forſake theyr liuings, frendes, natiue land, & other chiefe pleaſures of this life, & to cōmit thē ſelues to painefull exile, that if it pleaſe God Chriſt may come agayne out of Egypt. And other ſome are ready to fulfill theyr miniſtery vnto the vtmoſt: that is to witte, with their painfull impriſonments and bloudſheding (if nede ſhall ſo require) to confirme and ſeale Chriſtes goſpell, wherof they haue bene miniſters: and as S.Paul ſayth, not only to bee caſt into priſon, but alſo to die for yͤ name of the Lord Ieſus.

Be not ye therefore aſhamed of the teſtimonye of our Lord Ieſus, neither be ye aſhamed of vs which are his priſoners, but ſuffer ye aduerſitie wͭ the goſpel, for which we ſuffer trouble as euill doers, euen vnto bondes: but the word of God is not boūd with vs. Therfore we ſuffer all things for the elect ſake, that they alſo may obtain the ſaluatiō which is in Chriſt Ieſu, with eternall glory. wherfore ſtand ye faſt in yͤ faith, & be not moued frō the hope of the Goſpell, and ſo ſhall ye make vs euen with ioy to ſuffer for your ſakes, and as the Apoſtle ſayth: *To fulfill that which is behynde of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſhe, for hys bodyes ſake, which is the congregation.*

The meaning of S.Paules wordes, opened.

S.Paul doth not here meane that there wāteth any thyng in the paſſion of Chriſt, which may be ſupplyed by man, for the paſſion of Chriſt (as touchyng his owne perſon) is that moſt perfect and omniſufficient ſacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are ſanctified in his bloud: but theſe his wordes ought to bee vnderſtand of the elect and choſen, in whom Chriſt is and ſhalbe perſecuted vnto yͤ worldes end. The paſſion of Chriſt then, as touchyng his myſticall body which is the Church, ſhall not be perfect till they haue all ſuffred, whom God hath appointed to ſuffer for his ſonnes ſake. wherfore ſtabliſh your ſelues and be of good comfort, and be not moued in theſe afflictions, knowyng that we are appoynted thereunto. For on your partes nothyng can be greater conſolation and inward ioy vnto vs in our aduerſitie, then to heare of your fayth and loue, and that ye haue a good remembraunce of vs alwayes, praying for vs as we do for you, as the Apoſtle writeth of the Theſſalonians, ſaying: *Now are we alyue if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord:* for good ſhepheardes doe alwayes counte the welfare and proſperous eſtate of Chriſtes flocke to be their owne: for whyle it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth well with thē alſo, in whatſoeuer affliction or aduerſitie they be: but when they ſee the Church in any perill or weaknes, then be they wery of their own lyues, then can they haue no reſt nor ioy. who is weake, ſayth S.Paule, and I am not weake? who is offēded & I do not burne? But this affectiō is not in them that ſeeke their owne luker and glory.

The condition of a true Paſtor.

A chriſtian mans lyfe is a warfare vpon earth.

And for aſmuch as the lyfe of mā is a perpetual warfare vpon earth, let vs runne with ioy vnto the battayle that is ſet before vs, and lyke good warriours of Ieſus Chriſt, pleaſe hym, who hath choſen vs to be ſoldiours, and not lyke ſhrinking chyldren faynt and fall away frō the truth now in tyme of aduerſity & tribulation, wherwyth al that wyl liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt be tried, euen as gold and ſyluer is proued in the fyre, and wherof all the ſcriptures haue geuē vs ſo much forewarning. For God is wont for the moſt part, to warne hys elect and choſen, what affliction & trouble ſhall happen vnto them for hys ſake, not to the entent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare theyr minds againſt the boyſtrous ſtormes of perſecution. As we haue a notable example in the Apoſtle S.Paule, vnto whom God ſet Agabus, who prophecied vnto hym of the impriſonment and bandes that hee ſhoulde ſuffer at Ieruſalem: In whom wee haue alſo a good example of conſtancie and ſtedfaſtnes, which regarding nothyng the teares of hys familiar frendes, nor yet the peryll of hys own lyfe, dyd through fyre and water go on ſtyll to ſet forth the glorye of God: and he being delyuered from the handes of hys vngodly and bloudthirſtie enemyes, and that ſo many tymes, is in concluſion fayne to commit him ſelfe to the rough waters of the ſea, where he was a long ſeaſon in great peryll and ieopardy of hys own lyfe. But God was alwayes (to the great comfort of all that ſhall heare of it) moſt ready to helpe and ſuccour him. Firſt he dyd ſend him a moſt frendly & ſweete company, I meane Ariſtarchus and Lucas, ſo ruling the hart of the vnder captaine Iulius that he courteouſly intreated hym, and gaue hym liberty to go to hys frendes, and to refreſh him ſelfe, and hee was beneficiall vnto hym at all times. In lyke maner was God with Ioſeph, and deliuered him from al hys aduerſities, and gaue hym fauour and wyſdome in the ſyght of Pharao kyng of Egypt, in ſomuch that hee made hym Gouernour ouer all Egypt, and ouer all hys houſhold. In lyke maner was he with Ieremy, & Daniell in theyr great troubles, and appointed men for them in their moſt troubles, to relieue, ſuccour, and helpe them, to their ſingular comfort.

The Church is euer forewarned before afflictions.

Actes.17.

Peter deliuered out of priſon.

Alſo when Peter was in Herodes pryſon, ſleeping betwene two ſoldiers, bound with two chaynes, and the keepers before the doore keeping the pryſon, the ſame night that Herod had intended to haue brought hym out vnto the people the day following, and to haue put hym vnto death to pleaſe the Iewes withall, as a lytle before he had kylled Iames the brother of Iohn wyth the ſword: God ſent hys Angell, and the chaynes fell of from Peters handes, and the yron gate opened vnto hym by his own accord, and ſo was Peter wōderfully delyuered by God. For it is the true liuing God that looſeth all bands, and deliuereth out of priſon, and not that fayned God S.Leonard. On that true God did S.Peter call: vnto hym did he aſcribe the glory of hys deliuerance, ſaying: *Now I know of a truth that God hath ſent hys Aungell. &c.*

Theſe thinges are wrytten for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures myght haue hope. The God of pacience and comfort graunt that we be lyke mynded one towardes an other, after the enſample of Chriſt Ieſu, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God the father of our lord Ieſus Chriſt.

A poore priſoner for Chriſt, G.Marſh.

¶ *An other letter of G. Marſh to Robert Langley.*

An other letter of *G.Marſh to Rob. Langley,* & others.

THe grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the fellowſhip of the holy Ghoſt be wyth you good brother in Chriſt Robert Langley, and wyth all them that loue the Lord Ieſus vnfainedly, Amen.

After harty commendations to you, wyth thankes for that ye did vyſet me a pryſoner in Chriſt and vnacquainted wyth you, to your coſtes, this ſhall bee to let you know, that ye ſhall receaue from me myne examination and handlyng at Lathum, & the cauſe of myne impriſonment, according as I dyd promiſe you: and thys ye ſhall receiue by my brother or ſome one of the Bradſhawes of Bolton wythin this ſeuennight, wylling you to ſhew yͤ ſame to ſuch faithful men about Mācheſter or elſwhere, as you do take to be fauourers of true religion, & Chriſtes holy word, and then to deliuer it againe. And where as you dyd put me in comfort, that if I dyd want anye thing neceſſarye vnto thys lyfe, you wyth ſome others would bee bearers with me in this my coſtly and paynfull affliction, I geue you moſt hartye thankes, and reioyce

ioyce greatly in the Lord, who ſtyrreth vp the hartes of others to be carefull for me in thys my great neceſſity. I thanke God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as litle chargeable vnto others (ſauing my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you & others, to ſend for your reliefe and helpe in myne neceſſity: deſiring you in the meane whyle to pray for me, and all others in the bondes of Chriſt: that God woulde performe the thing which he hath begon in vs, that we may wyth boldnes confeſſe Ieſus Chriſt, and fyght the good fyght of fayth.

Yours G.Marſh.

¶A Letter of George Marſh to a certaine godly frend.

Another letter of G.Marſh to his frend.

GRace with you and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God and Ieſus the Lord.

After harty commendations and thankes to you, not onely for your large token, but much more for your louyng letters, full of conſolation to me as touching my perſon to you vnknowen: theſe ſhall bee to certifie you, that I reioyſe greatly in the Lorde when I doe perceiue how my ſweete Sauiour Chriſt doth ſtyrre vp ẏ mindes, not onely of my familiar frēdes in tymes paſt, but alſo of ſondry and diuers heretofore vnto me not knowne & vnaquainted, to beare part with me in this my painfull and coſtly impriſonmēt, ſendyng me thynges not onely neceſſary for this preſent lyfe, but alſo comfortable letters, incouragyng and exhortyng me to continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the fayth, and not to be moued away from the hope of the Goſpell, wherof accordyng to my ſmall talent I haue ben a miniſter: and dayly I call and cry vnto the Lord in whom is all my truſt, and without whom I can do nothyng, that he which hath begon a good worke in me, would vouchſafe to go forth with it vntill the day of Ieſus Chriſt, beyng ſurely certified in my cōſcience of this, that he wil ſo do, forasmuch as he hath geuē me, that not onely I ſhould beleue on hym, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. The Lord ſtrēgthen me with his holy ſpirite, that I may be one of the number of thoſe bleſſed, which enduryng to the end, ſhalbe ſaued. And whereas you ſay ẏ my ſuffring of perſecutiō with Chriſt, is a thyng to you much comfortable, I make aunſwere that in all myne aduerſitie and neceſſitie, nothyng on your behalfe is greater conſolation vnto me thē to heare of the fayth and loue of others, and how they haue good remembraūce of vs alwayes, euen as the Apoſtle reporteth by the Theſſalonians, ſaying: *Now are we alyue if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord.* For my truſt in the Lord is, that this my buſines ſhall happen vnto the furtheraunce of the Goſpell, and that you wilbe none of thoſe forgetfull and hipocritiſh hearers, whereof ſome beyng but wayſyde hearers, the deuill commeth and taketh away the word out of their hartes, leſt they ſhould beleue and be ſaued (but let prayer be made without ceaſſyng by the congregation vnto God for them) and (no doubt) God will to your conſolation, gloriouſly deliuer by one meanes or other his oppreſſed. Onely tary ye the Lordes leyſure: be ſtrong, let your hart be of good comfort, and waite ye ſtill for the Lord. He tarieth not, that will come, looke for hym therfore and faynt not, and he will neuer fayle you.

Wayſide hearers of the word.

Yours G.Marſh.

¶A letter of a godly brother one Iames Bradſhaw, ſent to George Marſh in priſon.

A letter of Iames Bradſhaw to George Marſh.

GRace and peace from God ther father, and the Lord Ieſu Chriſt be wyth you alway, Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort vnto vs, to ſee you take the croſſe ſo thankfully. Trouble and affliction doth proue, trye, inſtruct, confyrme, and ſtrengthen the fayth, prouoke and ſtyrre vp prayer, driue and force vs to amendemēt of life, to the feare of God, to mekenes, to patience, to cōſtancy, to gentlenes, to ſobernes, temperancie, and to all maner of vertues, and are the occaſion of exceding much good, as well tranſitory as eternall, in this world as in the world to come. Ther is neyther good nor bad, godly nor vngodly, but he hath one croſſe or other. And although ſome there be that can ſhift for a whyle, and make prouiſion for them ſelues for a tyme, by craft or ſubtilty and diſſimulation, or by ſome faſhion in fellowſhip (as they call it) yet they bring thē ſelues at length into the hygheſt daunger, confuſion and ſhame, both in this world, & in the world to come. And ſeing that al the troubles & aduerſity in this world, are a thouſand times more light & eaſie, yea nothing in compariſon of the eternall fyre, which is prepared and already kynled for the vnfaythfull and wycked enemies of God: all faithful and godly perſons ought to beare and ſuffer their tranſitory affliction and aduerſitye the more patiently, wyllingly and thankefully: conſidering and remembring al the dearly beloued frends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plaged of their enemies, Abraham of the Caldies, Lot of the Sodomites, Iſaac of Iſmael, Iacob of Eſau, Moſes of hys people, Dauid of Saul and of hys own ſōnes. As for Iob, he had not a drop of bloud in his body. Iohn Baptiſt the holieſt that euer was borne of a woman, was without any lawe, right or reaſon, beheaded in priſon, as though God had knowen nothyng at all of hym.

What good affliction bryngeth in the godly.

Examples of holy men ſuffring afflictiō.

We haue many thouſand fellow Martyrs and companions of our myſery and aduerſitye, in reſpect of whoſe impriſonment, racking, chaynes, fyre, wylde beaſtes, and other meanes, wherewith they were tormented, all that wee ſuffer is but a blaſte of winde. Therefore nowe who ſoeuer is aſhamed of the croſſe of Chriſt, and agreued therwith, the ſame is aſhamed to haue Chriſt for his fellow and companion, and therefore ſhall the Lord Ieſus Chriſt be aſhamed of him againe at the latter day.

Thus I leaue for this time, beſeeching you to let me haue your aduiſe, becauſe I doe not outwardly ſpeake that with my tounge, that I doe thincke with my hart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beſech the holy Ghoſt haue you in his keeping alway, Amen.

By your frend Iames Bradſhaw.

¶A prayer of George Marſh, which he vſed dayly to ſay.

A prayer of G.Marſh, Martyr.

OH lord Ieſu Chriſt, which art the only Phiſicion of wonded conſciences, we myſerable ſinners truſting in thy gracious goodnes, do briefly open to thee the euill tree of our hart, with all the rootes, boughes, leaues, and fruites, and with all the crookes, knottes and knorres, all which thou knoweſt: for thou throughly perceaueſt as well the inward luſtes, doubtinges, & denying thy prouidence, as theſe groſſe outward ſinnes which we commit inward and deadly. Wherfore we beſeche thee, according to the little meaſure of our infirmitie, although we bee farre vnable and vnapt to pray, that thou wouldeſt mercyfully circumciſe our ſtony hartes, and for theſe old hartes, create new within vs, and repleniſh vs with a new ſpirite, & water vs and moyſten vs with the ioyce of heauenly grace & welles of ſpirituall waters, wherby the inward venome & noyſome ioyce of the fleſh may be dryed vp, and cuſtome of the olde man chaunged, and our hart alwayes bringing forth thornes and briers to be burned with fier, from hence forth may beare ſpirituall fruites in righteouſnes and holynes vnto lyfe euerlaſting, Amen.

Beloued, among other exerciſes, I doe dayly on my knees vſe this confeſſion of ſynnes, wylling and exhortyng you to do the ſame, and daily to acknowledge vnfaynedly to God your vnbeliefe, vnthankfulnes, and diſobedience againſt him. This ſhall ye doe if ye will diligently conſider, and looke your ſelues fyrſt in the pure glaſſe of Gods commaundementes, and there ſee our outward filthynes and vncleannes, and ſo learne to vanquiſhe the ſame, that is to witte, to fall in hartie diſpleaſure againſt ſynne, and thereby bee prouoked to long after Chriſt. For we truely are ſinners: but hee is iuſte, and the Iuſtifier of all them that beleue on him. We are poore, but hee is rych in mercy toward all them that call vpon him. If wee hunger and thirſt for righteouſnes, let vs reſort vnto his table, for he is a moſt liberall feaſt maker. He wyll ſet before vs hys own holy body, which was geuē for vs to be our meate, and his precious bloud which was ſhed for vs and for many for the remiſſion of ſynnes, to be our drinke. He byddeth, wylleth, and calleth for Geaſtes, which hunger and thirſt. *Come* (ſayth hee)
all ye that labour and are laden, and I wyll
refreſh you, coole and eaſe you, and
you ſhall finde reſt vnto
your ſoules.

1.Cor.10. Math.20.

Math.11.

¶The

The life and hiſtory of W. Flower,

who for ſtriking of a Prieſt, was apprehended, firſt hauyng his hand cut of, and after Martyred for his conſtant ſtandyng to the truth.

W. Flower, Martyr.

WIlliã Flower, otherwiſe named Brãch, firſt concernyng his trade of lyfe and bringing vp, was borne at Snowhill in in the Countie of Cambridge, where he went to ſchole certaine yeares, and then came to the Abbey of Ely: where after he had remained a while, he was profeſſed Mõke, accordyng to the order & rule of the ſame houſe, wherin he remained vſing & bearyng the habite of a Mõke, and obſeruyng the rules and orders of the ſame houſe vntill he came to 21. yeares of age, or thereabout: and before he came to that age, & being a profeſſed Monke, he was made a Prieſt alſo in the ſame houſe, and there did celebrate and ſing Maſſe a good ſpace together. After that, by reaſon of a viſitation, & certaine Iniunctions geuẽ in the ſame time by ẏ authoritie of K. Henry the viij. he forſoke the ſame houſe, and caſtyng from him the ſayd Monkes habite and Religion aforeſayd, toke vpõ him and vſed the habite of a ſecular Prieſt, & returned to Snowhill, where he was borne, & there he did celebrate and ſing Maſſe, and taught children their Primer and Accidence, about halfe a yeare together.

W. Flower firſt a Monke, then a prieſt in in the houſe of Ely.

W. Flower at the ſuppreſſion of Abbays, turned his religion.

Then he wẽt from thence to Ludgate in Suffolke, and there ſerued as a ſecular Prieſt about a quarter of a yeare: and from thence he then went to Stonyland, where he taried and ſerued as a ſecular Prieſt alſo, vntill the comming out of the vj. Articles: and then he departed from thence, & went into Gloceſterſhire, where after he had made his abode in the countrey a while, at lẽgth in Tewkeſbery according to gods holy ordinãce, he maried a wife, with whom he euer after faythfully and honeſtly continued: and after this his Mariage, he taried in Tewkeſbury about ij. yeares together: and then from thence he went vnto Borſley, where he taried iij. quarters of a yeare, and practiſed Phiſicke and Surgery, and from thence remoued to Northamptonſhyre, where vnder a gentleman he taught children their Primers, and to write and read a good ſpace. And ſo departyng from thoſe parties, hee came to London, and there remayned for a certaine ſpace. After that being deſirous to ſee his countrey, hee returned to Snowhil where he was borne: from thence to Brãckſtrey in Eſſex, then to Coral, where he taught children a ſpace: and ſo came to Lambeth beſide Londõ, where he hired a houſe, and placed his wife, where he and his wife dyd euer ſince dwell together till this tyme: howbeit for ẏ moſt part he was allwayes abroad, and very ſeldome at home, except once or twiſe in a moneth to viſite and ſee his wife: where he beyng at home vppon Eaſter day about x. and xj. a clocke in the forenone of the ſame day came ouer the water from Lambeth into S. Margaretes Church at Weſtminſter, where he findyng and ſeyng a Prieſt called John Cheltam miniſtryng and geuyng the Sacramẽt of the aultar to the people, and therewith beyng greatly offẽded in his conſcience with the Prieſt for the ſame hys doyng (for that he iudged hym not to be a Catholicke Miniſter) neither his Act to be Catholicke & laudable, accordyng to Gods word, did ſtrike and wound hym vpon the head and alſo vppon the arme and hand with his woodknife, the Prieſt hauyng the ſame tyme in hys hand a chalice, with certaine conſecrated hoſtes therin, which were ſprinkled with the bloud of the ſaid Prieſt.

W. Flower a Maſſe Prieſt.

W. Flower marieth a wife.

W. Flower commeth to Lambeth.

W. Flower ſtriketh a popiſhe Prieſt at the aultar, in Weſtminſter.

In the whiche ſo doyng as in deede he did not well, or euangelically, ſo afterward beyng examined before Byſhop Boner, did no leſſe confeſſe his not well doyng in the ſame, ſubmittyng therfore him ſelfe willyngly to puniſhment when it ſhould come. Howbeit touchyng hys belief in the Sacrament and the Popiſh miniſtration, he neither would nor did ſubmit him ſelfe.

W. Flower repenteth hys act in ſtrikyng.

W. Flower conſtant in hys fayth.

Wherupon the foreſayd Williã Flower, beyng firſt apprehended and layd in the Gate houſe at Weſtminſter (where he had geuen ij. groates the ſame day a litle before to the priſoners ſaying, he would ſhortly after come to them) with as many yrons as he could beare: afterward was conuented before Boner his Ordinary, Aprill. 19. an. 1555. where the Byſhop after he had ſworne him vpon a booke (accordyng to his Ordinary maner) miniſtred Articles & Interrogatories to him. But before I ſpeake of the Articles, firſt we haue here to ſet forth what cõmunication paſſed betwixt him and Robert Smith beyng thẽ alſo there priſoner with him in Newgate, concernyng his fact done at Weſtminſter: the tenour and effect of which communicatiõ here foloweth.

William Flower layd in the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter.

William Flower brought before B. Boner.

A cõmunication or debatyng betwene R. Smith priſoner in Newgate, and W. Flower, concernyng his ſtrikyng of the Prieſt at Weſtminſter.

The talke betwene R. Smith and W. Flower.

Robert Smith.

FRend, for as much as I do vnderſtand that you do profeſſe the Goſpell, and alſo haue ſo done a long ſeaſon, I am bold to come vnto you and in the way of communication, to demaund & learne a truth at your owne mouth, of certaine thynges by you committed, to the aſtoniſhing not onely of me but of diuers other that alſo profeſſe the veritie.

Flower. I prayſe God for his great goodnes, in ſhewyng me the light of his holy word: and I geue you harty thankes for your viſitation: intendyng by Gods grace to declare all the truth that ye ſhall demaund lawfully of me, in all thinges.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhew me ẏ truth of your deede, committed on Iohn Cheltam Prieſt in the Church, as nere as ye can, that I may heare of your owne mouth how it was.

Flo. I came from my houſe at Lambeth, ouer the water, and entryng into S. Margaretes Church (ſo called) and there ſeyng the people fallyng downe before a moſt ſhamefull & deteſtable Idole, beyng moued with extreme zeale for my God, whõ I ſaw before my face diſhonored, I drew forth my hanger, and ſtrake the Prieſt which miniſtred the ſame vnto them: wherupõ I was immediatly apprehended: and this is moſt true as the act is manifeſt.

The zeale of Will. Flower in ſeing the Lordes honour diſhonored.

Sm. Did ye not know the perſon that ye ſtrake, or were ye not zelous vpon him for any euill will, or hatred betwene you at any tyme?

Flo. No verely: I neuer to my knowledge ſaw the perſon before that preſẽt, neither ought him or any mã alyue euill will, or malice: for if he had not had it, an other ſhould, if I had any tyme come where the like occaſion had bene miniſtred, if God had permitted me to do it.

Sm. Do ye thinke that thyng to be well done, & after the rule of the Goſpell?

Flo. I do confeſſe all fleſh to be ſubiect to the power of almighty God, whom he maketh his miniſters to do his will, and pleaſure: as in example Moſes, Aaron, Phinces, Ioſua, Zimrie, Ihehie, Iudith, Mathathiah with many other, not onely chaungyng degrees, but alſo plantyng zeales to his honour, agaynſt all order and reſpect of fleſh & blond. For, as ſayth S. Paul, *his workes are paſt findyng out*: by whoſe ſpirite I haue alſo geuen my fleſh at this preſent vnto ſuch order, as it ſhal pleaſe the good will of God to appoint, in death, which before the fact committed, I loked for.

Extraordinary motions are no generall rules to be folowed.

Sm. Thinke you it conuenient for me, or any other to do the lyke by your enſample?

Flo. No verely: neither do I know if it were to do agayn, whether I could do it agayne or no: for I was vp very early at Paules Church (ſo called) vpon Chriſtes day in the mornyng, to haue done it in my ielouſie: but when I came in place, I was no more able to do it, thẽ now

William Flower intendyng at Paules to haue done the like.

now to vndo that is done: and yet now beyng compelled by the ſpirit, not onely to come ouer the water, and to enter the Church, but being in mynd fully contẽted to dye for the Lord, gaue ouer my fleſh willingly without all feare, I prayſe God: wherfore I cannot learne you to doe the lyke: Firſt, becauſe I know not what is in you. Secondly, becauſe the rules of the Goſpell commaundeth vs to ſuffer with pacience all wronges and iniuries: yet neuertheles, if he make you worthy that hath made me zelous, ye ſhal not be letted, iudged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his vnſpeakable workes in all ages, which no man can comprehend: I humbly beſech you to iudge the beſt of the ſpirite, and condemne not Gods doynges: for I cã not expreſſe with my mouth the great mercyes that God hath ſhewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

Sm. Are ye not aſſured to haue death miniſtred vnto you for the ſame Act committed, and euen with extremitie?

William Flower prepared hymſelfe to death before the fact committed.

Flo. I did before the dede committed, adiudge my body to dye for the ſame: wherupon I caried about me in writyng myne opinion of God and the holy Scriptures: that if it had pleaſed God to haue geuen them leaue to haue killed my body in the Church, they might in the ſayd writing haue ſene my hope, which (I praiſe God) is layd vp ſafe within my breſt, notwithſtandyng any death that may be miniſtred vnto my body in this world: beyng aſcertained of euerlaſtyng life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, & being moſt hartely ſory for all myne offences committed in this fleſh, and truſtyng ſhortly through his mercy, to ceaſe from the ſame.

Sm. It is no nede to examine or common with you of the hope, that ye haue any farther: for I perceiue (God be prayſed) ye are in good eſtate, and therefore I beſech God for his mercyes, ſpread his winges ouer you, that as for his loue you haue bene zelous, euen to the loſſe of this lyfe, ſo he may geue you his holy ſpirite to conduct you out of this death, into a better lyfe, which I thinke wilbe ſhortly.

Flo. I hunger for the ſame (deare frend) beyng fully aſcertained that they can kill out the body, which I am aſſured ſhall receiue life agayne euerlaſtyng and ſee no more death: entierly deſiring you and all that feare the Lord, to pray with me to almighty God, to performe the ſame in me ſhortly. And thus Rob. Smith departed leauyng him in ỹ dungeon & went agayne to his ward. And this (gẽtle Reader) is the truth, as nere as the ſaid Smith could report it.

And thus much concernyng the talke betwene hym and Rob. Smith in Newgate cõcernyng his fact in ſtrikyng the Prieſt. Now to returne agayne to the matter of his examination, where we left, we ſhewed before how this Williã Flower after his ſtrikyng the Prieſt, firſt was layd in the Gatehouſe: then beyng examined before Boner, had Articles miniſtred agaynſt him: the copy wherof here foloweth.

¶ Articles obiected and miniſtred by B. Boner, agaynſt W. Branch, Alias Flower, late of Lambeth in the County of Surrie.

Articles obiected to William Flower by Byſhop Boner.

FIrſt, that thou being of lawfull age and diſcretion, at the leaſt of xvij. yeare olde, was profeſſed a Monke in the late Abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profeſſion thou remaynedſt vntill the age of 21. yeares, vſing all the meane tyme the habite and religion of the ſame houſe, and waſt reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a perſõ.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou waſt ordered and made prieſt, according to the laudable cuſtome of the catholike church, and afterward, thou didſt execute and miniſter as a prieſt, and waſt commonly reputed, named and taken for a prieſt.

In the later dayes certaine ſhall depart from the fayth, forbidding mariage & eatyng of meates. 1.Tim.4.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou forgetting God, thy conſcience, honeſty, and the laudable order of the catholike church, diddeſt contrary to thy profeſſion & vow, take as vnto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton in the pariſh church of Tewkeſbery in ỹ Dioces of Gloceſter, with whom thou haddeſt mutuall cohabitation and carnall copulation, as man and wife, and begatteſt of her two children.

A great hereſy.

Item, that thou being a religious man and a prieſt, diddeſt, contrary to the order of the eccleſiaſticall lawes, take vpon thee to practiſe in diuers places wythin the Dioces of London, phiſicke and ſurgery, whẽ thou waſt not admitted, expert, nor learned.

Item that vpon Eaſter day laſt paſt, that is to wit, the 14. day of this preſent month of Aprill, wythin the pariſhe church of S. Margaretes at Weſtminſter, wythin the Countie of Middleſex and Dioces of London, thou didſt maliciouſly, outragiouſly, and violently pull out thy weapon, that is to witte, thy wodknife or hanger. And wheras the prieſt and miniſter there called Syr Iohn Cheltham, was executing hys cure and charge eſpecially in doyng hys ſeruice, & miniſtryng the ſacrament of the aultar to the cõmunicantes, then didſt thou wickedly & abominably ſmite wyth thy ſayd weapõ ỹ ſaid prieſt, firſt vpõ the head very ſore, and afterwards vpon his hands or other partes of hys body, drawing bloud abundantly vpon hym: the ſayd prieſt then holding the ſayd ſacrament in hys hand, and geuing no occaſion, why thou ſhouldeſt ſo hurt hym: the people greuouſly beyng offended therewith, and the ſayd church polluted thereby, ſo that the inhabitantes were compelled to repayre to an other Church to communicate, and to receiue the ſayd Sacrament.

Item, that by reaſon of the premiſſes, thou waſt and art by the eccleſiaſticall lawes of the church, amongſt other penalties, excommunicate and accurſed ipſo facto, and not to be companyed wythall, neither in church, nor otherwhere, but in ſpeciall caſes.

His fayth in the Sacrament.

Item, that thou concerning the verity of Chriſtes naturall body & bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, haſt bene by ỹ ſpace of theſe yeares. 20. 19. 18. 17. 16. 15. 14. 13. 12. 11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. and 1. or any one of them, & yet art at thys preſent of the opinion, that is to ſay: That in the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there is not really, truely, and in very decde, cõtayned (vnder the formes of bread) the very true & naturall body of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, that thou for the hatred and diſdayne, that thou hadſt and didſt beare agaynſt the ſayd ſacrament, and the vertue thereof, and agaynſt the ſayd prieſt miniſtring the ſame (as before) didſt ſmite, wound, and hurt hym in maner and forme as before is declared.

Item, that thou ouer and beſides the paynes due vnto thee, for the doyng of the cruell fact, art alſo by the order of the eccleſiaſticall lawes of the church, and the laudable cuſtome and ordinaunce of the ſame, to be reputed, taken, and iudged (as thou art in decde) a very heretike, and to be puniſhed, by and with the paynes due for hereſy, by reaſon of thy ſayd hereſie and damnable opinion.

Item, that all the premiſſes be true, manifeſt, and notorious and famous, and that vpon the ſame, and euery part thereof, there was and is within the ſayd pariſh of S. Margarets and other places thereabout, a publicke voyce and fame.

¶ The aunſwer of W. Flower made to the articles aforeſayd.

Flower anſwereth to the articles.

TO the firſt article hee aunſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to bee true in euery part thereof, except that he ſayth and confeſſeth that he neuer cõſented and agreed in hys hart to be a Monke.

Flower made Monke againſt hys wyll.

To the ſecond article he aunſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof. Howbeit he ſayth, that he neuer did nor yet doth eſteme the ſaid order of prieſthood according to the ſayd order of the Catholicke church, becauſe he was offended therewith in hys conſcience.

Flower confeſſeth hys matrimony to be honeſt and lawfull.

To the thyrd article he aunſwereth, and confeſſeth that he intending to lyue in godly matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the ſayd Alice Pulton named in thys article: wherein he beleueth that he did well, and according to Gods lawes. Further, confeſſing and beleuing, that all the tyme when he was profeſſed Monke, and made Prieſt, he did thereby vtterly forget God: but when he dyd ſo marry the ſayd Alice Pulton, and in continuing wyth her, dyd beget. 3. chyldren, he did remember God, as he ſaith, and beleueth that he did then lawfully.

W. Flower more deuout to God beyng in the ſtate of matrimony, then before.

To the fourth article he anſwereth, and beleueth the ſame to be true in euery part therof.

The order of *Flowers* ſtriking the Prieſt at the aultar.

To the .v. article he aunſwereth and confeſſeth, that his cõſcience being greatly offẽded with yͤ ſaid Sir Ioh. Cheltham prieſt, for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the aultar to the people at the place and tyme ſpecified in this article, he did ſmyte and did ſtrike the ſame prieſt with his hanger or woodknife, aſwell vppon his head, as vpon other partes and places of his body, which he remembreth not, whereby the bloud ran out, and was ſhed in the ſayd Church, as he beleueth, hauyng as he ſayth, none other cauſe or matter ſo to do, but onely that his conſcience was offended and greued, in that the ſame Prieſt dyd ſo geue and miniſter the ſayd Sacrament to the people: which people hee beleueth was greatly abaſhed and offended with his ſayd facte and doing, and were enforced and compelled to go out of the church, and to repaire to an other to receaue the ſayd ſacrament. And further, being then demaunded and examined, whether he dyd then mynde and intend to haue kylled the ſayd Prieſt or not, he ſayd he would not aunſwer thereunto. And beyng further examined whether he dyd well or euill in ſtriking the ſaid Prieſt, he would make no aunſwer thereunto as he ſayd.

Note, that the ſayd *W. Flower* afterward in hys next appearance corrected and reformed this anſwere.

Flower wyll not anſwere whether he extended to kill the Prieſt.

To the ſixt he aunſwereth and ſayth, that whether he be ſo excommunicate or accurſed, as is contayned in this article, he referreth hym ſelfe herein to the eccleſiaſticall lawes.

To the ſeuenth he aunſwereth and ſaith, that by the ſpace of theſe .xxvj. yeares now paſt, hee hath alwayes bene, and yet is of this opinion touching the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, as foloweth, videlicet: that in the ſacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very dede conteyned vnder the forme of bread, the very true naturall body of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt.

To the eight he aunſwereth, and beleueth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof.

To the ninth he aunſwereth, and herein hee referreth hym ſelfe to the ſayd lawes, cuſtome, and ordinãce ſpecified in this article, that is to ſay, the Canonicall lawes.

To the laſt he aunſwereth and beleueth, that thoſe thinges before by hym confeſſed, be true, and thoſe which he hath denied, be vntrue: and that the ſaid cõmon voice and fame hath and doth onely labour and go vpon thoſe thinges by hym before confeſſed.

By me W. Flower, *aliàs* Branch.

W. Flower exhorted to recant.

After this examination done, the biſhop began after the beſt ſort of hys fine diuinity to inſtruct hym, and to exhort hin to returne againe to yͤ vnity of his mother yͤ catholicke church, with ſuch reaſons as he is commonly wont to vſe to others, promiſing many fayre things if he would ſo do, beſides the remitting of yͭ was paſt.

W. Flower refuſeth to reuoke his fayth and doctrine.

To this W. Flower aũſwering againe, thanked him for hys offer: and where it was in hys power to kill or not to kyll hys body, he ſtode therewith contented, let hym do therein what he thought: yet ouer hys ſoule he had no ſuch power, which being once ſeperated frõ the body, is in the handes of no man but onely of God, eyther to ſaue or ſpyll. As concerning hys opinion of the ſacrament, he ſayd he would neuer go from that he had ſpoken, do he wyth hym what he would.

Then the biſhop aſſigned hym agayne to appeare in the ſame place at after noone betwixt .iij. or. iiij. In the meane tyme to aduiſe hym ſelfe of hys former aunſweres, whether he woulde ſtand to the ſame hys opinions or no: which if he ſo dyd, he would further procede agaynſt him. &c.

An other appearaunce of *W. Flower* before Byſhop *Boner*.

At after noone the ſayd W. Flower appeared agayne before the ſayd biſhop, the houre and place appointed. To whom the biſhop ſitting in hys Conſiſtorye, ſpake theſe wordes: Branch, ye were this forenoone here before me, and made aunſwer to certayne articles: and thereupon I reſpited you tyll nowe, to the entent you ſhould conſider and weigh wyth your ſelfe your ſtate, and to remember whyle you haue tyme, both your abominable act, and alſo that euil opinion which ye haue conceiued touching the verity of Chriſtes true natural body in the ſacrament of the aultar.

William Flower ſtandeth to hys doctrine.

To whom the ſayd Branch aunſwered agayne, and ſayd as followeth: That which I haue ſayd, I wyll ſtand to: and therefore I requyre that the lawe may procede agaynſt me. Whereupon the biſhop cõmaunded hys Notarie (Harward by name) to reade to hym agayne his articles, as before. Which being read, the ſayd W. Flower perſiſting in hys godly ſentence, aunſwered to all partes of the articles, as in the forenoone before, ſaue onely that he requeſted the biſhop concerning the .v. article, he might alter ſomething hys aunſwer therein, after this tenor and maner of wordes, to wyt: And moreouer cõfeſſeth & ſayth, that where as he ſtroke yͤ Prieſt on Eaſter day laſt paſt in S. Margets church in Weſtminſter, hee hath ſince that tyme, and yet doth miſlike hym ſelfe in that doing, and doth now iudge and beleue, that the ſame hys act was euyll and nought. Howbeit he ſayth and beleueth, that as for the matter and cauſe wherefore hee ſo ſtroke the ſayd Prieſt (which was for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the aultar, which he taketh and iudgeth abominable) he dyd, nor doth miſlike hymſelfe at all therein.

Flower miſliked his owne act in ſtriking the Prieſt.

Flower reformeth his anſwere to the 9. article.

Moreouer, hee deſireth of the ſayd biſhop licence to be graunted him, to alter and take out ſomwhat of the .ix. article, and in place thereof theſe wordes to bee placed, to wit: Herein he referreth him ſelfe to the lawes cuſtome, and ordinaunce ſpecified in this article. &c. At which requeſt Boner graunted to the alteryng of both the articles, according as he deſired, and ſo put in the Actes.

After this, the biſhop turning agayne to hys old maner of exhorting, went about with wordes (and wordes onely) to perſwade hym to ſubmit hym ſelfe to the catholicke church, and to the fayth thereof. Which al his perſwaſions notwithſtanding, William remayned ſtyl in the conſtancie of his ſentence, ſaying, that he would not be remoued from that he had ſpoken, to dye therefore. Wherupon the biſhop aſſigned hym the next day (being the .xx. of Aprill) to appeare in the ſame day and place, betwixt the houres of .viij. and. ix. before noone, there and then to heare the ſentence pronounced, in caſe he would not relent. &c.

¶The laſt appearance of William Flower before Biſhop Boner.

The laſt appearance of *William Flower*, before B. *Boner*.

IN yͤ which day, houre and place, the ſayd William Flower, as he was appoynted, was brought by hys keeper, belonging to the Warden of the Fleete before Boner: who after hys wonted maner of perſwaſion, going about to reduce hym to hys catholicke Churche, and the vnity therof, that is, from Chriſt to Antichriſt: ſometimes with faire promiſes alluryng, ſometymes wyth manaſſes and terrors fearing hym. &c. To thys William aunſwering, ſayd on this wyſe: Do what ye wyll, I am at a point: For the heauens ſhall as ſoone fall, as I wyll forſake myne opinion. &c. Whereupon the biſhop after he had commaunded theſe woordes to be regiſtred, called for the Depoſitions of certayn wytneſſes, produced for the better informatiõ of this matter, yͤ names of which witneſſes were theſe: William Ieninges, I. Bray, Rob. Graunt, Richard Dodde, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the Pariſhe Prieſt of S. Margets at Weſtminſter. The ſumme & effect of whoſe depoſitions being taken, publiſhed and denounced (as in the booke of our former edition is expreſſed at large, pag. 1138.) the ſayd Biſhop ſpeakyng to William Flower aſked hym, if he knew any matter or cauſe why his ſentence ſhould not be read, and he to be pronounced as an hereticke.

William Flowers conſtancy.

Witneſſes produced agaynſt *William Flower*.

Wherunto William Flower aunſwered agayne, as foloweth: I haue nothyng at all to ſay. For I haue no-

nothing at all to ſay. For I haue already ſayd vnto you all that I haue to ſay: and that I haue ſayd, I will not go from, and therfore do what ye will. &c.

Sentence of condemnation and degradatiō pronounced agaynſt William Flower.

Which when he had ſpoken, the Byſhop proceded to the ſentence, condemnyng and excommunicating him for an hereticke, and after pronounced him alſo to bee diſgraded, and ſo committed hym to the ſecular power. Upon the. xxiiij. day of the foreſaid moneth of Aprill, which was S. Markes euen, he was brought to the place of martyrdome, which was in S. Margarets churchyard at Weſtminſter where the fact was committed, and there cōming to the ſtake where he ſhould be burned, firſt he maketh hys prayer to almighty God with a confeſſion of hys Chriſtian fayth in maner as followeth.

¶ The prayer and confeſſion of William Flower.

Flowers prayer.

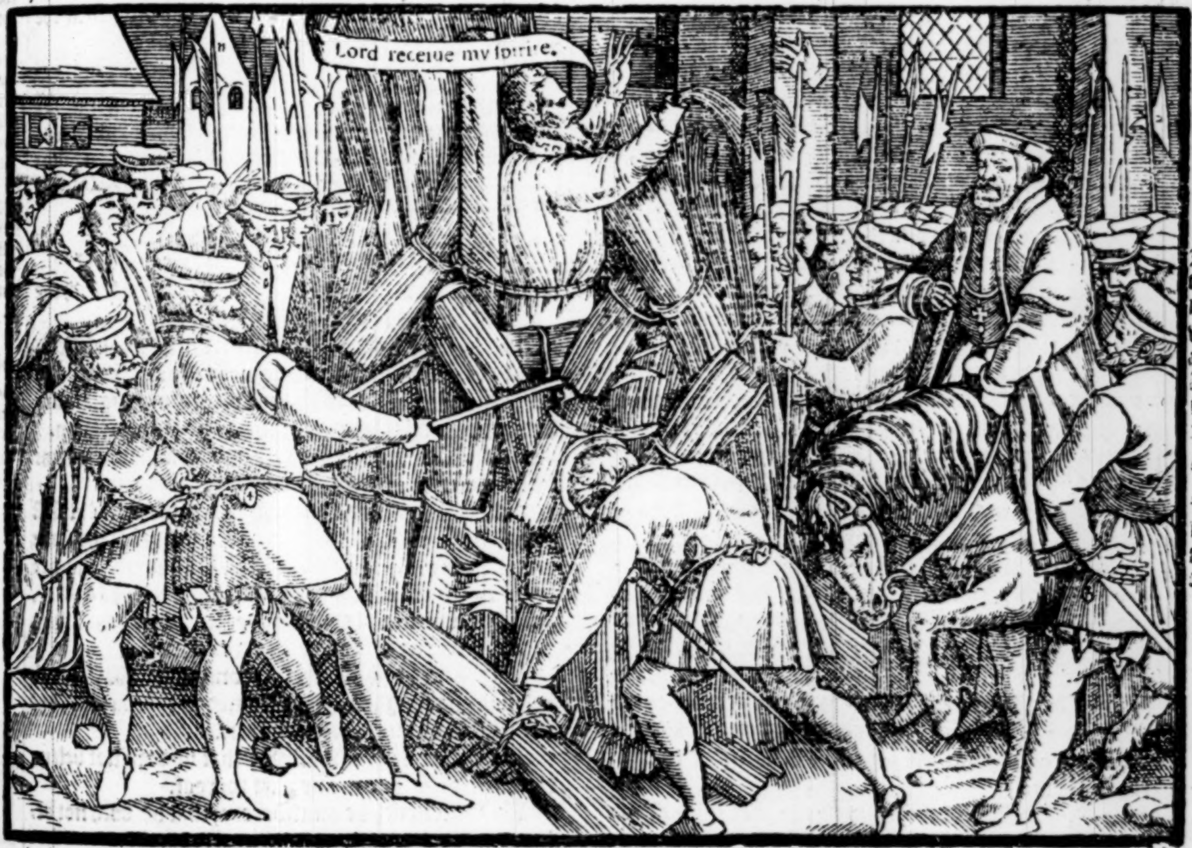
O Heternall God, moſt mightye and mercyfull father, who haſt ſent downe thy Sonne vpon the earth, to ſaue me and all mankinde: who aſcended vp into heauen againe, and left hys bloud here vpon the earth behinde him for the redemption of our ſinnes, haue mercy vpon me, haue mercy vpō me, for thy deare ſonne our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, in whom I confeſſe onely to be al ſaluation and iuſtification, and that there is none other meane, nor way, nor holynes, in which or by which any mā can be ſaued in this world. This is my faith, which I beſech all men here to beare witnes of. Then he ſayd the Lordes prayer, and ſo made an end.

Talke betwene W. Flower and Maiſter Cholmley.

Then Maiſter Cholmley came to hym, willing him to recant hys hereſie, whereby he might doe good to the people, or els he would be damned.

Flower aunſwered as followeth. Syr, I beſeech you for Gods ſake, be contented: for that I haue ſaid, I haue ſayd, and I haue bene of this fayth from the beginning: and I truſt to the liuing God he wyll geue me hys holy ſpirite to continue to the end. Then hee deſired all the world to forgue him, whom he had offended, as he forgaue all the world.

The burnyng of William Flower at Weſtminſter, the. 24. of Aprill. an. 1555.


Lord receiue my ſpirite.

The Martyrdome of W. Flower, who ſuffred at Weſtminſter in Saint Margarets churchyeard. An. 1555. Aprill. 24. vpon Saint Markes euen.

This done, firſt his right hand being held vp againſt the ſtake, was ſtrocken of, hys left hand being ſtayed behynde hym. At the which ſtrikyng of hys hand, certayne that were preſent beholders of the matter, and purpoſely obſeruing the ſame, credibly enfourmed vs, that he in no part of his body did once ſhrincke at ye ſtriking thereof, but once a litle hee ſturred his ſhoulders.

And thus fire was ſet vnto hym, who burning therin, cryed with a lowd voyce: Oh the Sonne of God haue mercy vpon me, Oh the Sonne of God receaue my ſoule, three tymes, and ſo hys ſpeech being taken from hym, he ſpake no more, lyftyng vp notwithſtanding hys ſtump wyth hys other arme, as long as he could.

And thus endured thys conſtant wytnes and faithfull ſeruaunt of God, the extremitye of the fyre, beyng therein cruelly handled by reaſon that to his burning lytle wood was brought, ſo that for lacke of fagots there not ſufficient to burne hym, they were fayne to ſtrike hym down into the fyre. Where he lying along (which was doulfull to beholde) vpon the ground, hys neather part was conſumed in the fire, whileſt hys vpper part was cleane without the fyre, hys toung in all mens ſight ſtill mouing in hys mouth.

❧ The burnyng & Martyrdome of

Iohn Cardmaker and Iohn Warne vpholſter, which ſuffered both together in Smithfield.

Anno. 1555. May. 30.

Ioh. Cardmaker and Iohn Warne, Martyrs.

VPon the 30. day of May ſuffred together in Smithfield Iohn Cardmaker otherwiſe called Taylour, Prebēdarie of ye church of Welles: and Ioh. Warne vpholſter of the Pariſh of S. Iohn in Walbroke. Of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, begynnyng firſt with M. Cardmaker, who firſt was an obſeruaunt Frier before the diſſolution of the Abbayes: then after was a maryed Miniſter, and in kyng Edwardes tyme appoynted to be reader in Paules. Where the Papiſtes were ſo much agreeued with him for his do-

Maiſter Cardmaker reader in Paules.

ctrines ſake, that in his readyng they cut and mangled his gowne with their kniues. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the begynnyng of Quéene Maryes reigne with M. Barlow Byſhop of Bath, was brought to London and layd in priſon in the Fléete, kyng Edwardes lawes yet beyng in force. But after the Parlament was ended, in which the Pope was agayne admitted as ſupreme head of the Church, and yͤ Byſhops had alſo gotten power and authoritie, Ex officio, to exerciſe their tyranny: theſe two were both brought before Wincheſter Chauncellour, and others appointed by commiſſion (as before is mencioned) to examine the faith of ſuch as were thē priſoners, and as vnto others before, ſo now vnto them, yͤ Chauncellour offered the Quéenes mercy, if they would agrée and be conformable. &c.

Cardmaker with Maiſter *Barlow* apprehended, and layd in the Fleete.

To this they both made ſuch an aunſwere, as the Chauncelour with his felow Commiſſioners allowed thē for Catholicke. Whether they of weakenes ſo aunſwered, or he of ſubtilitie would ſo vnderſtand theyr aunſwere, that he might haue ſome forged example of a ſhrinkyng brother, to lay in the diſhe of the reſt which were to be examined, it may eaſily be perceiued by this, that to all them which folowed in examination, he obiected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, cōmendyng their ſobernes, diſcretion, & learnyng. But what ſoeuer their aunſwere was, yet notwithſtandyng Barlow was led agayne to the Fléete, from whence he afterward beyng deliuered, did by exile conſtantly beare witnes to the truth of Chriſtes Goſpell. Cardmaker was conueyed to the Counter in Breadſtréete, the Byſhop of London procuryng it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be deliuered, after that he had ſubſcribed to tranſubſtantiation and certaine other Articles.

Barlow and Cardmaker acceptable of *Wincheſter* as catholickes.

M. Barlow exiled for the truth.

To the ſame priſon where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after yͤ ſentence of excōmunication & condemnation, was pronounced againſt hym) where theſe ij. priſoners had ſuch Chriſtian conference, that whatſoeuer the breath of the Byſhops bluſtered, and the tickle eares of the people to lightly beleued, in the end they both ſhewed them ſelues conſtant confeſſours, and worthy Martyrs of Chriſt: as of Laurence Saunders it is already written. After whoſe departure, Cardmaker remayned there priſoner, to be bayted of the Papiſtes, which would néedes ſéeme to haue a certaine hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continuall and great conferēce diuers of them had with him, with reaſoninges, perſuadynges, threatnynges, and all to none effect. To the end that their doynges might appeare, he required them to put their reaſons in writyng, and promiſed by writyng to aunſwere them..

Conference betwene *Laurence Saunders, and Iohn Cardmaker.*

Doctour Martine, who bare alſo a part in thoſe pageants, toke vpon him to be the chief doer by writyng, whoſe long vnſauerie letters & ſimple reaſons for tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch Papiſticall traſh, this Cardmaker aunſwered largely, learnedly, and ſubſtancially, confutyng the ſame, openyng the falſhode of his Argumentes, and deliueryng the ſentences of the fathers (which Martin abuſed for his purpoſe) to their true vnderſtandyng: which his aunſweres I woulde had come to our handes. Thus conſtantly abode this man of God all the enemies doings, as he did alſo the death which hee ſuffred in Smithfield in London. Wherof ye ſhall heare more anone: but firſt we will ſurvey yͤ matter and maner of his Articles obiected agaynſt him by Byſhop Boner, with his aunſweres annexed to the ſame, as conſequently here vnder foloweth.

D. Martin writeth againſt *Cardmaker.*

¶ Articles obiected by Boner againſt Ioh. Tailor, alias Cardmaker, with his aunſweres vnto the ſame.

May. 24.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt *I. Cardmaker*, by the Byſhop of London.

FIrſt, I Edmund biſhop of London, obiect againſt thee Syr Iohn Taylour alias Cardmaker, that thou waſt and art of the citie and dioces of London, and ſo of the iuriſdiction of me Edmund biſhop of London.

Item, that thou in times paſt diddeſt profeſſe the rule of S. Fraunces, and diddeſt by vow promiſe to kéepe pouertie, chaſtitie, and obedience, according to the rule of S. Fraunces.

Ioh. Cardmaker firſt an obſeruant Fryer.

Item that thou in times paſt diddeſt receyue al the orders of the church then vſed, to wyt, tam maiores, quam minores.

Item, that thou after thy ſayd entry into religion and profeſſion, and orders aforeſayd, dyddeſt take to wyfe a wydow, and with her haddeſt carnall copulation, and diddeſt get of her a woman childe, breakyng thereby thy vow and order, and alſo the ordinance of the church.

Ioh. Cardmaker maryed.

Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and ſo doeſt beleue that in the ſacrament of the aultar vnder the viſible ſignes there: that is to ſaye, vnder the formes of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true & very natural body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

Item, that the beliefe of the catholicke church is, that in hauyng the body and bloud of Chriſt really and truly conteined in the ſacrament of the aultar, is to haue (by the omnipotent power of almighty God) the body and bloud of Chriſt there inuiſibly, and really preſent vnder the ſayd ſacrament, and not to make thereby a new God or a new Chriſt, or a new body of Chriſt.

The beliefe of the Popes Catholicke Church.

Item, that it may ſtand well together, and ſo is the fayth of the catholicke church: that the body of Chriſt is viſibly and truly aſcended into heauen, and there is in the viſible forme of his humanitie: and yet the ſame body in ſubſtance is inuiſibly and trulye contayned in the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar.

To ſpeake naturally of the naturall body of Chriſt, theſe ij. can not ſtand together at one tyme, vnles we graunt Chriſt to haue two bodyes.

Item, that Chriſt at hys laſt Supper, taking bread into his handes, bleſſing it, breaking it, geuyng it to hys Apoſtels, and ſaying: *Take, eate, this is my body*, did inſtitute a ſacrament there, * wylling that hys body really & truly ſhould bee contained in the ſayd Sacrament, no ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne there remaynyng, but onelye the accidentes thereof.

* That Chriſt neuer willed, neither can the ſcriptures beare it.

¶ *Aunſweres of Cardmaker to the articles aforeſayd.*

Ioh. Cardmaker aunſwereth to the articles.

TO the firſt article he aunſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof.

To the ſecond article he aūſwereth and confeſſeth, that he being vnder age, did profeſſe the ſayd order and religion, and afterward by the autority of king Henry the. viij. he was diſpenſed with for the ſame religion.

To the third he aunſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof.

To the fourth he anſwereth and confeſſeth the firſt part therof to be true: and to yͤ ſecond part of the ſame article, he aunſwereth and ſayth, that in mariage hee brake no vow, becauſe hee was ſet at libertye to mary, both by the lawes of this realme, and alſo by the lawes and ordinances of the church of the ſame.

To the fift he aunſwereth & confeſſeth, that he hath beleued and taught as it is cōtained in thys article, but hee doth not now ſo beleue nor teach.

To the ſixt he aunſwereth, that he doth not beleue the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the ſeuenth he aunſwereth, that he doth not beleue the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the eight he aunſwereth, and doth beleue, videlicet, that it is true, that is to ſay: that Chriſt taking bread at hys laſt ſupper into hys handes, bleſſing it, breaking it, geuing it to his diſciples, and ſaying: *Take, eate, this is my body*, did inſtitute a ſacrament there. And to the other part of this article videlicet (wylling that hys body really and truely ſhould bee contayned in the ſayd ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wyne there remayning, but onely the accidents thereof) hee aunſwereth that he doth not beleue the ſame to be true.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

The firſt part of th article is true,the ſe cond is falſe.

Maiſter Cardmaker calling to mynde afterwardes the ready cauillinges of the Papiſts, and thinking him ſelfe not to haue fully and according to hys true meaning aunſwered the latter part of the laſt eight article, dyd the next day after the foreſayd aunſweres, exhibite vnto the biſhop in a ſchedule this hereafter following.

Where in my aunſwer to your articles, I deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacramēt, I meane not his ſacramentall preſence, for that I confeſſe: but my deniall is of hys carnall preſence in the ſame: but yet farther,

I meane b aunſwere to the ſecond part of the eight article.

May.

Sacramentall preſence in the ſacrament.

Carnall preſence in the Sacrament denyed.

ther, becauſe this word is often tymes taken of the holy fathers, not onely for the bread and wyne, but alſo for the whole adminiſtratiō and receiuing of the ſame, according to Chriſtes inſtitution: ſo I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually to, and in all them which worthely receiueth the ſacrament: So that my denyall is ſtill of the real, carnall, and corporall preſence in the Sacrament, & not of the ſacramentall nor ſpirituall preſence.

This haue I thought good to adde to my former aūſwere, becauſe no man ſhould myſunderſtand it.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

Next to theſe articles of M. Cardmaker, I thought beſt to inferre the articles and aunſweres lykewyſe of Iohn Warne hys Martyrfelow, in maner as foloweth.

Articles miniſtred againſt Iohn Warne Vpholſter of the pariſh of S. Iohn in Walbroke, wyth hys aunſwers to the ſame.

Articles agaynſt Io. Warne vpholſter in Walbroke.

First, that thou Iohn Warne, being of the age of. xxix. yeares, and of the pariſh of S. Iohn in walbroke of London, haſt beleued and doeſt beleue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the aultar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Sauior Chriſt in ſubſtance, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Item, that thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, ther is not (as the church of England doth beleue and teach) the body of Chriſt: but that there doth onely remayne the ſubſtance of materiall bread, as it is before the conſecration, or ſpeaking of the wordes of conſecration: & that the ſayd bread is in no wyſe altered or chaunged.

Againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Item, that thou haſt ſayd, and doeſt beleue, that if the catholicke church do beleue and teach, that there is in the Maſſe (nowe vſed in England and in other places of Chriſtendome) a ſacrifice wherein there is a ſacrament conteining the body and bloud of Chriſt, really and truly: then that beliefe and fayth of the church is nought, & againſt Gods truth and the ſcripture.

Hereſy for laughing at a Spaniell ſhorne in the head.

Item, that thou haſt ſayd: That where, about a. xij. moneth agone and more, a great rough waterſpaniell of thine was ſhorne in the head, and had a crowne like a Prieſt made in the ſame, thou diddeſt laugh at it and like it, though thou dyddeſt it not thy ſelfe, nor knoweſt who dyd it.

Item, that thou, neyther thys Lent laſt paſt, nor at any tyme ſynce the Queenes maieſties raigne, haſt come into the church, or heard Maſſe, or ben confeſſed or receaued the ſacrament of the aultar: and haſt ſayd, that thou art not ſory that thou haſt ſo done, but thou art glad, becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy conſciēce, which otherwyſe thou ſhouldeſt ſo haue done.

Vpon all which articles Iohn Warne beyng examined by the ſaid Boner, in preſence of diuers witneſſes, the. 23. of May. an. 1555. dyd confeſſe and beleue the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto his name wyth his own hand.

By me Iohn Warne.

Alſo it was obiected agaynſt the ſayd Iohn Warne by the biſhop aforeſayd, as followeth.

Another obiection of articles.

Io. Warne about the tyme of Anne Aſkew was condemned to be burned, and had his pardon.

Item, that thou Iohn Warne waſt in tyme paſt here in the Citie of London, cōuented in the Guildhall for hereſie agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, accordyng to the order of the lawes of this Realme of England, in the tyme of kyng Henry the viij. and when Alderman Barnes was Shrieffe, and the Thurſday after that Anne Aſkue was burnt in Smithfield: and therupon thou was ſent as a priſoner to Newgate: to whom Edmond Byſhop of London did repayre with his Chaplayns to inſtruct thee in the true faith of Chriſt, touchyng the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, and to bryng thee from thy errour, which was, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is not the body of Chriſt, nor any corporall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud, vnder the formes of bread and wine: but that in the ſayd Sacrament, there is onely materiall bread & wyne, without any ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud at all, and becauſe thou wouldeſt not leaue and forſake thy ſayd hereſie therin, but perſiſte and abyde obſtinately & wilfully therin, thou wert accordyng to the ſayd lawes condemned to death, and to be brent: and therupon labour beyng made for thee to the king and other in the Court, thou haddeſt a pardon of kyng Henry the viij. and ſo therby diddeſt ſaue thy life: Neuertheles in thy hart, conſcience and minde, thou diddeſt both then, and alſo afore, beleue no otherwiſe thē at this preſent thou doeſt beleue: that is to ſay, that in the Sacrament of the aultar, there is neither the very true body or bloud of Chriſt, nor no other ſubſtāce, but the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wine: and to receaue the ſayd materiall bread & wyne, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it among the people, onely is the true receiuing of Chriſtes body and no otherwiſe: So that thy fayth and belief is, that in the ſayd Sacrament, there is no ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes materiall body and bloud: but all the thyng that is there, is materiall bread, and the receiuyng therof as afore: and that the ſubſtance of the naturall and true body of Chriſt borne of the virgin Mary, is onely in heauē, and not in the Sacrament of the aultar. In which thyne opinion thou haſt euer hetherto ſince continued, and ſo doeſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſyng all this to be true, and in witnes therof ſubſcribing thy name therunto as foloweth.

Iohn Warne pardoned by K. Henry. 8.

Iohn Warne denyeth tranſubſtantiation.

By me Iohn Warne.

The playne aunſwere of Iohn Warne to the articles.

Iohn Warne being examined vpon theſe foreſayd articles by the biſhop before certaine witneſſes, whoſe names were Iohn Boſwel, Iohn Heywood, Rob. Rauens, the. xxiij. day of May, dyd aunſwere to the ſame, confeſſing and graunting the articles, and the contents thereof to be true, according as they were obiected in euery part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame wyth hys hand. Such ſtrength and fortitude Gods holy ſpirit wrought in hym, to ſtand ſtoutly and confidently to the defence of the ſincere doctrine of hys ſonne.

Whereupon the biſhop exhorting hym wyth many wordes to leaue his hereſies (as he called them) and to returne to the boſome of hys mother the holy Church, commaunded hym to appeare againe the next day, being the. xxiiij. of the ſame moneth.

The ſecond ſeſſion agaynſt Iohn Warne.

Who ſo doing (and aunſwering as he did before) was willed to come thither againe at afternone, and ſo he did: where and at what tyme hee was earneſtly exhorted by the ſayd Byſhop to recant his opinions. To whō he aunſwered, that he would not depart frō his receiued profeſſion vnleſſe he were therunto thorowly perſwaded by the holy ſcriptures.

The third Seſſion. May. 25.

Vppon which aunſwere hee was willed to come agayne the next day, being the. xxv. day of the ſame moneth, at one of the clocke in the after noone. At which day and houre the Byſhop examined him agayne vpon all his former articles before obiected, to the which he moſt conſtantly did ſticke, with this farther aunſwere therunto added: I am perſwaded (quoth he) to be in the right opinion, and that I ſee no cauſe to repent: for all filthines and idolatry is in the church of Rome.

Iohn Warne conſtant agaynſt the Byſhops perſwaſions.

The biſhop then ſeing, that notwithſtanding all hys fayre promiſes and terrible thretninges (whereof hee vſed ſtore) hee could not any thing preuaile: finiſhed thys examination with the definitiue ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid Iohn Warne, and ſo charged the Shiriffes of London wyth him, vnder whoſe cuſtody he remayned in the priſon of Newgate, vntil the. xxx. day of the ſame moneth of May.

Sentence geuen agaynſt Iohn Warne.

May. 30.

Cardmaker and Iohn Warne brought to execution.

Vpon the which 30. of May, beyng the day appointed for their execution, Iohn Cardmaker with the ſayd Iohn Warne, were brought by the Shriffes to yͤ place where they ſhould ſuffer. Who beyng come to yͤ ſtake, firſt the Shriffes called Cardmaker aſide and talked with hym ſecretly, ſo long, that in the meane tyme Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the ſtake, and had wood and reede ſet about him, ſo that nothyng wanted, but the fyryng: but ſtill aboad Cardmaker talkyng with the Shrieffes.

Iohn Warne tyed to the ſtake.

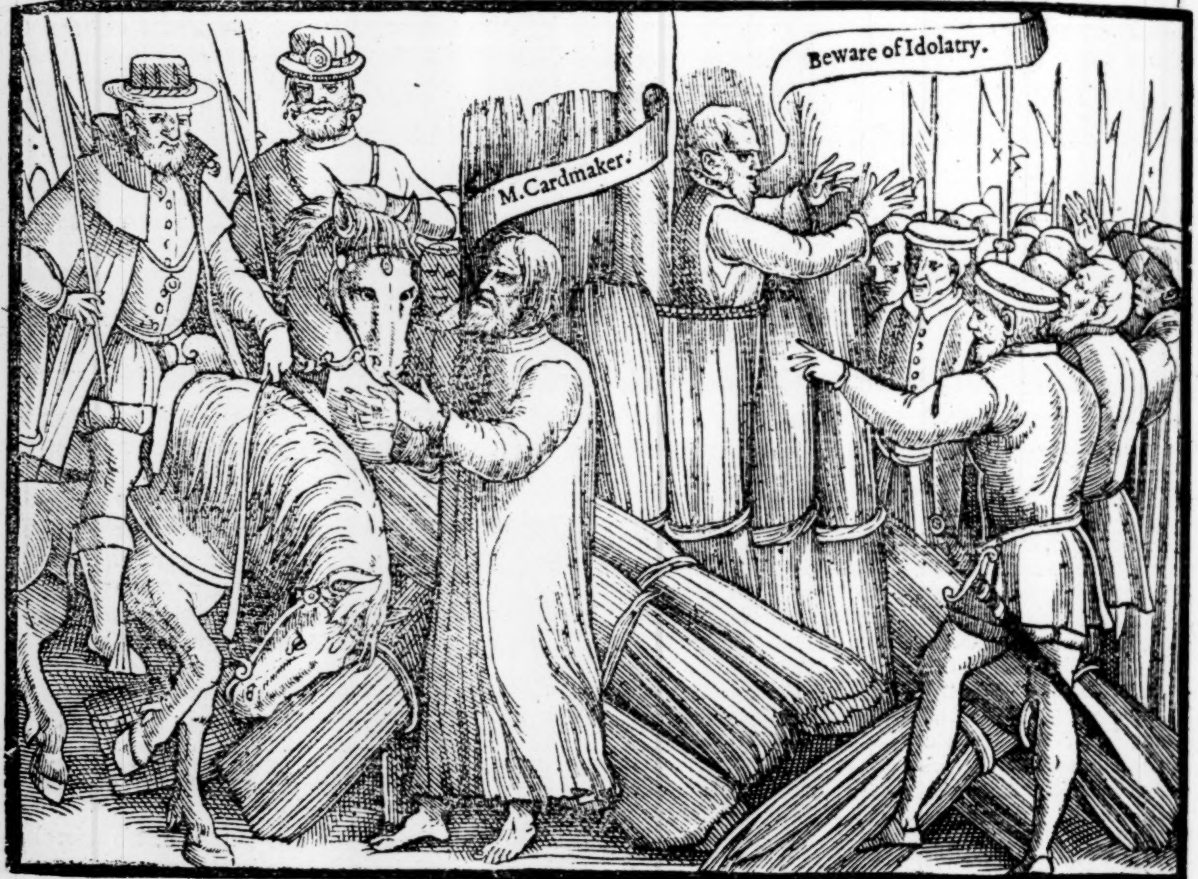
The people afrayd of Cardmakers recanting.

The people which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this maner of doyng, were in a meruelous dumpe and ſadnes, thinkyng in deede that Cardmaker ſhould now recant at the burnyng of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the Shrieffes, and came towardes the ſtake and (in his garmentes as he was) knéeled down, and made a long prayer in ſilence to him ſelfe: yet the people confirmed them ſelues in their fantaſie of hys recantyng, ſeyng hym in his garmentes praying ſecretly, and no ſemblaunce of any burnyng.

¶The Martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker Preacher, and Iohn Warne Vpholſter. An.1555. May.30.

Cardmaker talking with the Shrieffe.

The Martyrdome of M. Iohn Cardmaker Preacher, and Iohn VVarne Vpholſter, in Smithfield. An.1555. May.30.


Beware of Idolatry.
M.Cardmaker.

.Cardmaker ſtandeth conſtantly to the ire.

ardmaker nd Warne oyne handes.

The reioyſing of the people at Cardmakers onſtancy.

His prayers beyng ended, he roſe vp, put of hys clothes vnto his ſheirt, went with bold courage to the ſtake: and kiſſed it ſwéetly: he tooke Warne by the hãd, and comforted him hartly, and ſo gaue him ſelfe to be alſo bound to the ſtake moſt gladly. The people ſeyng this ſo ſodenly done, contrary to theyr fearefull expectation, as men deliuered out of a great doubt, cryed out for ioy (with ſo great a ſhoute as hath not lightly bene heard a greater) ſaying: God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrẽgthen thée Cardmaker, the Lord Ieſus receiue thy ſpirite. And this continued while the executioner put fire to thẽ, & they both paſſed through the fire to the bleſſed reſt and peace among Gods holy Saintes and Martyrs to enioy the crowne of triumph and victory prepared for the elect ſouldiours and warriours of Chriſt Ieſus in his bleſſed kyngdome. To whom be glory and maieſtie for euer. Amen.

¶The confeſſion of the fayth of Iohn Warne Citizen of London, which hee wrote the day before hee was burned, the xxx. of May. 1555.

The cõfeſſiõ of ohn Warne.

I beleue in God the father almighty maker of heauen and earth.

A Father, becauſe hée is the father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, who is the euerlaſting word, whom before all worldes he hath begotten of hym ſelfe, which word was made fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be hys ſonne: in whom he hath adopted vs to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdome, and therfore is he our father: An almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created al things viſible & inuiſible, both in heauẽ and in earth, euen all creatures contayned therein, and gouerneth them.

And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely ſonne our Lord.

The eternall word, perfect God with hys father, of equall power in all thynges, of the ſame ſubſtaunce, of lyke glory, by whom all thinges were made, and haue lyfe, and wythout whom nothing liueth: he was made alſo perfect man, and ſo being very God and very man in one perſon, is ẏ onely Sauiour, redéemer, and raunſomer of them which were loſt in Adam our forefather. He is the onely meane of our deliueraunce, the hope of our health, the ſurety of our ſaluation.

Which was cõceiued by the holy ghoſt, borne of the Virgin Mary.

According to the fathers moſt merciful promiſe, this eternall ſonne of God, forſaking the heauenly glorye, humbled himſelfe to take fleſh of a virgin according to the ſcriptures, vniting the ſubſtance of the Godhead, to the ſubſtance of the manhead which he tooke of the ſubſtance of that bleſſed virgin Mary, in one parſon, to become therein the very Maſhiach, the anoynted kyng and Prieſt, for euer appoynted to pacifie the Fathers wrath, which was iuſtly gone out agaynſt vs al for our ſynne.

Suffered vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into hell.

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the Ruler of Iewry, and ſo vniuſtly accuſed of many crimes, that the Ruler iudged hym innocent, and ſought meanes to delyuer hym: but contrary to knowen iuſtice he dyd let go Barrabas, which had deſerued death, & deliuered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerued no death: which doth declare vnto vs manifeſtly that he ſuffered for our ſynnes, and was buffeted for our offences, as the Prophetes do witnes: thereby to haue it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lambe of God that taketh away the ſynnes of the world. Therefore ſuffering for our ſinnes, hee receiued and dyd beare our deſerued condemnation, the paynes of death, the taſte of abiection, the very terror of hell, yelding hys ſpirite to hys father, hys body to be buryed in earth.

The third day he roſe again from death to life.

To make full and perfect the whole woorke of our redemption and iuſtification, the ſame crucified bodye which was layd in the graue, was rayſed vp againe the thyrd day from death by the power of hys Father, and glorye of hys Godhead: he became the firſt fruites of the reſurrection, and gotte the victorye of death, that all by hym might be raiſed vp frō death. Through whō all true penitent ſinners may now boldly come vnto the father, and haue remiſſion of their ſinnes.

He aſcended into heauē, & ſitteth on the ryght hand of God the father almighty.

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After that in his death and reſurrection he had conquered ſinne, death, and the Deuill, and had bene conuerſaunt 40. dayes in the earth, being ſeene of the Apoſtles, and more then fiue hundreth brethren at once in the ſame body in which he wrought the work of our ſaluation, he aſcended into heauen with eternall triumph for the victory ouer death, ſinne, and hell, leauing the paſſage open, by which all true beleuers may and ſhall enter into his kingdome, where he now ſitteth at his fathers right hand, that is to ſay, in power and glory equall, in maieſty coeternall.

From thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.

Hee ſhall appeare agayne in great glorye to receaue his elect vnto him ſelfe, and to put his enemies vnder his feete, chaunging all liuing men in a moment, and rayſing vp all that be dead, that all may be brought to his iudgement. In this ſhall he geue ech man according to his deedes. They which haue followed him in regeneration, which haue their ſinnes waſhed alway in his bloud, and are clothed with his righteouſnes, ſhal receiue the euerlaſting kingdome, and reigne with him for euer: and they which after the race of the corrupt generatiō of Adam haue followed fleſh and bloud ſhall receaue euerlaſting damnation with the Deuill and his aungels.

I beleue in the holy ghoſt.

I do beleue that the holy ghoſt is God, the third perſon in Trinity, in vnity of the Godhead equal with the father and the ſonne, geuen through Chriſt to enhabite our ſpirites, by which we are made to feele and vnderſtand the great power, vertue, and louing kindnes of Chriſt our Lorde. For he illumineth, quickeneth and certifieth our ſpirite, that by him we are ſealed vp vnto the day of redemption: by whom we are regenerate & made new creatures, ſo that by him & through him, we do receiue all the aboundaunt goodnes promiſed vs in Ieſus Chriſt.

The holy Catholicke Church.

The Church.

Which is an holy number of Adams poſterity elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the bloud of the lambe frō the beginning of the world, and is diſperſed through the ſame, by the tyranny of Gog and Magog, that is to ſay, the Turke and his tyranny, and Antichriſt, otherwyſe named the Byſhop of Rome and hys aungels, as this day alſo doth teach.

The Communion of Saintes.

Which moſt holy congregation (beyng as Paul teacheth, builded vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, Chriſt being the head corner ſtone) though it be by the tyranny of Sathan and his Miniſters perſecuted, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by death, and ſome by other afflictions and paynefull tormentes: yet doth it remaine in one perfect vnitie both in fayth and felowſhyp: which vnitie is knit in an vnſpeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortall lyfe, as of them which now be lyuing and hereafter ſhalbe in the ſame, and ſo ſhall cōtinue vntill they all do meete in the kyngdome, where the head Ieſus Chriſt, with all theſe his holy members (of which number through Chriſt I aſſuredly beleue that I am one) ſhalbe fully cōplete, knit, and vnited together for euermore.

The forgiuenes of ſinnes.

Remiſſion only through Chriſt.

I do beleue that my ſinnes and all their ſinnes which do rightly beleue the holy Scripture, are forgiuen onely through that Ieſus Chriſt, of whom onely I do profeſſe that I haue my whole & ful ſaluation and redemption, which as S. Paul ſayth, commeth not through our workes and deſeruynges, but freely by grace, leſt any man ſhould boaſt hym ſelfe. Through the bloud of his Croſſe all thynges in heauen and earth are reconciled, and ſet at peace with the father: without hym no heauenly lyfe is geuen, nor ſinne forgeuen.

The reſurrection of the body.

Reſurrection.

I do beleue that by the ſame my Sauiour Chriſt, I and all men ſhal riſe agayne from death: for he, as Paul ſayth, is riſen agayne from the dead and is become the firſt fruites of them which ſleepe. For by a man came death, and by a man commeth the reſurrection from death. This mā is Chriſt, through the power of whoſe reſurrectiō, I beleue that we all ſhall riſe again in theſe our bodyes: the elect clothed with immortalitie to liue with Chriſt for euer: the reprobate alſo ſhall riſe immortall to lyue with the deuill and his aungels in death euerlaſtyng.

And the lyfe euerlaſtyng.

Iohn. 3.

Life and ſaluation onely by fayth in Chriſt.

Through the ſame Ieſus and by none other, I am ſure to haue lyfe euerlaſtyng. He onely is the way and entraunce into the kyngdome of heauen. *For ſo God loued the World, that he dyd geue hys onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, to the end that ſo many as doe beleue in hym, might haue euerlaſting lyfe.* The which I am ſure to poſſeſſe ſo ſoone as I am diſſolued, and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the laſt day ſhall both body and ſoule poſſeſſe the ſame for euer: to the which God graunt all men to come.

Two Sacramentes of the new teſtamēt.

I beleue that the Sacramētes, that is to ſay, of Baptiſme and of the Lordes Supper are ſeales of Gods moſt mercyfull promiſes towardes mankynd. In Baptiſme, as by the outward creature of water I am waſhed from the filthynes which hangeth on my fleſh: ſo do I aſſuredly beleue, that I am by Chriſtes bloud waſhed cleane frō my ſinnes, through which I haue ſure confidence of my certaine ſaluation. In the partakyng of the Lordes Supper, as I receiue the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne (the nature of which is to ſtrengthen the body:) ſo do I by fayth receiue the redemption wrought in Chriſtes body broken on the Croſſe, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſumme, all that euer Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſaluation, to the ſtrēgthenyng of my fayth in the ſame. And I beleue that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wyne in his holy ſupper according to hys word, to moue and to ſtirre vp my mynd to beleue theſe articles aboue writen.

This is my fayth: this I do beleue, and I am content by Gods grace to confirme and ſeale the truth of the ſame with my bloud.

By me Iohn Warne.

¶A letter of Iohn Cardmaker, to a certayne friend of hys.

The peace of God be wyth you.

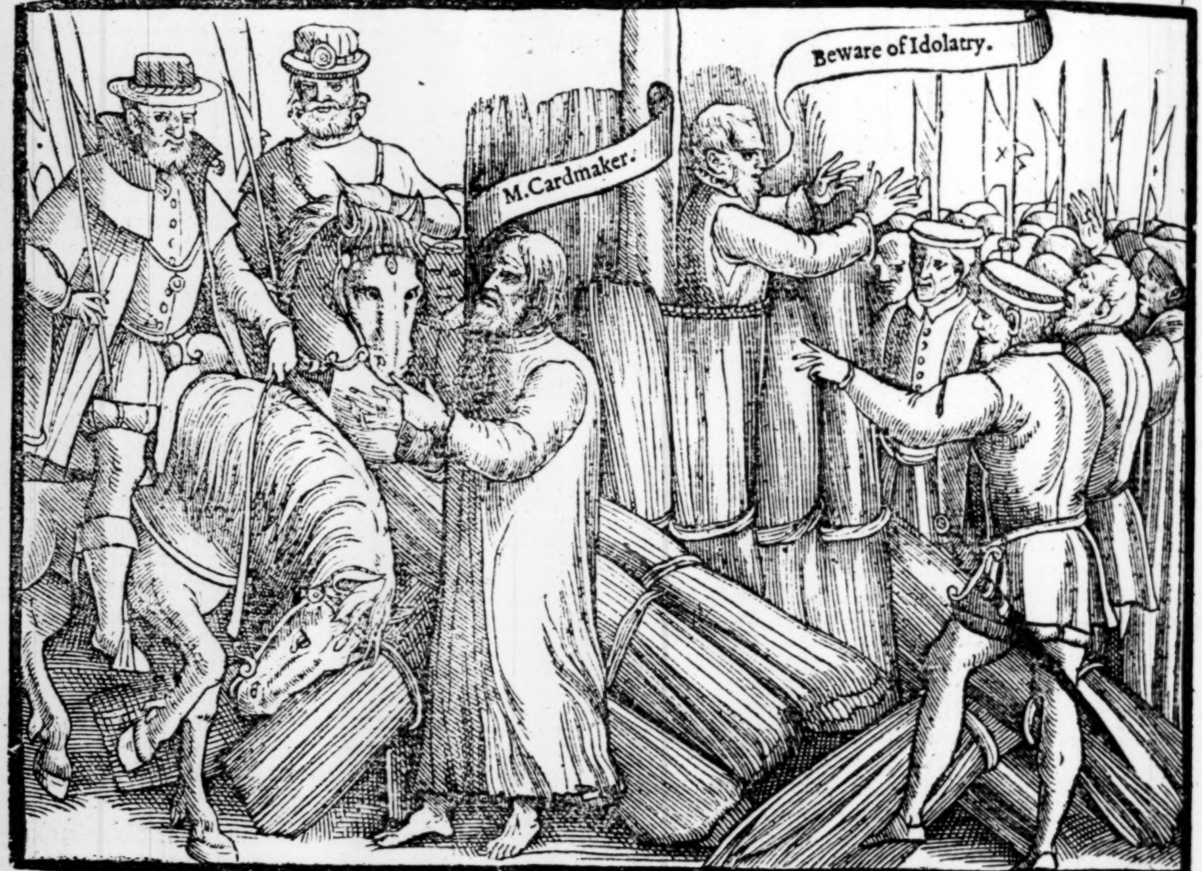
A letter of M. Cardmaker to a certayne frend of hys.

YOu ſhall right wel perceiue that I am not gone back as ſome men doe report me, but am as ready to geue my lyfe as any of my brethren that are gone before mee, although by a policie I haue a lytle prolonged it, & that for the beſt, as already it appeareth vnto me, and ſhortly ſhall appeare vnto all. That day that I recant any poynt of doctrine, I ſhall ſuffer. xx. kindes of death, the Lord beyng myne aſſiſtance, as I doubt not but he wyl. Commend me to my friend, and tell hym no leſſe. This garmentes as he was) knéeled down, and made a long prayer in ſilence to him ſelfe: yet the people confirmed them ſelues in their fantaſie of hys recantyng, ſeyng hym in his garmentes praying ſecretly, and no ſemblaunce of any burnyng.

¶ The Martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker Preacher, and Iohn Warne Vpholſter. An.1555. May.30.

Cardmaker talking with the Shrieffe.

The Martyrdome of *M.Iohn Cardmaker* Preacher, *and Iohn VVarne* Vpholſter, in Smithfield. An.1555. May.30.


Beware of Idolatry.
M.Cardmaker.

.Cardmaker ſtandeth conſtantly to the ire.

ardmaker nd Warne oyne handes.

he reioyſing f the people at *Cardmakers* onſtancy.

His prayers beyng ended, he roſe vp, put of hys clothes vnto his ſheirt, went with bold courage to the ſtake: and kiſſed it ſwéetly: he tooke Warne by the hād, and comforted him hartly, and ſo gaue him ſelfe to be alſo bound to the ſtake moſt gladly. The people ſeyng this ſo ſodenly done, contrary to theyr fearefull expectation, as men deliuered out of a great doubt, cryed out for ioy (with ſo great a ſhoute as hath not lightly bene heard a greater) ſaying: God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrēgthen thée Cardmaker, the Lord Ieſus receiue thy ſpirite. And this continued while the executioner put fire to thē, & they both paſſed through the fire to the bleſſed reſt and peace among Gods holy Saintes and Martyrs to enioy the crowne of triumph and victory prepared for the elect ſouldiours and warriours of Chriſt Ieſus in his bleſſed kyngdome. To whom be glory and maieſtie for euer. Amen.

¶ The confeſſion of the fayth of Iohn Warne Citizen of London, which hee wrote the day before hee was burned, the xxx. of May. 1555.

he cōfeſſiō of ohn Warne.

I beleue in God the father almighty maker of heauen and earth.

A Father, becauſe hée is the father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, who is the euerlaſting word, whom before all worldes he hath begotten of hym ſelfe, which word was made fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be hys ſonne: in whom he hath adopted vs to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdome, and therfore is he our father: An almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created al things viſible & inuiſible, both in heauē and in earth, euen all creatures contayned therein, and gouerneth them.

And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely ſonne our Lord.

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Suffered vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into hell.

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the Ruler of Iewry, and ſo vniuſtly accuſed of many crimes, that the Ruler iudged hym innocent, and ſought meanes to delyuer hym: but contrary to knowen iuſtice he dyd let go Barrabas, which had deſerued death, & deliuered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerued no death: which doth declare vnto vs manifeſtly that he ſuffered for our ſynnes, and was buffeted for our offences, as the Prophetes do witnes: thereby to haue it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lambe of God that taketh away the ſynnes of the world. Therefore ſuffering for our ſinnes, hee receiued and dyd beare our deſerued condemnation, the paynes of death, the taſte of abiection, the very terror of hell, yelding hys ſpirite to hys father, hys body to be buryed in earth.

The third day he roſe again from death to life.

To make full and perfect the whole woorke of our redemption and iuſtification, the ſame crucified bodye which was layd in the graue, was rayſed vp againe the thyrd day from death by the power of hys Father, and glorye of hys Godhead: he became the firſt fruites of the reſurrection, and gotte the victorye of death, that all by hym might be raiſed vp frō death. Through whō all true penitent ſinners may now boldly come vnto the father, and haue remiſſion of their ſinnes.

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After that in his death and reſurrection he had conquered ſinne, death, and the Deuill, and had bene conuerſaunt 40. dayes in the earth, being ſeene of the Apoſtles, and more then fiue hundreth brethren at once in the ſame body in which he wrought the work of our ſaluation, he aſcended into heauen with eternall triumph for the victory ouer death, ſinne, and hell, leauing the paſſage open, by which all true beleuers may and ſhall enter into his kingdome, where he now ſitteth at his fathers right hand, that is to ſay, in power and glory equall, in maieſty coeternall.

The triumphant victory ouer death.

From thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.

Hee ſhall appeare agayne in great glorye to receaue his elect vnto him ſelfe, and to put his enemies vnder his feete, chaunging all liuing men in a moment, and rayſing vp all that be dead, that all may be brought to his iudgement. In this ſhall he geue ech man according to his deedes. They which haue followed him in regeneration, which haue their ſinnes waſhed away in his bloud, and are clothed with his righteouſnes, ſhal receiue the euerlaſting kingdome, and reigne with him for euer: and they which after the race of the corrupt generatiō of Adam haue followed fleſh and bloud ſhall receaue euerlaſting damnation with the Deuill and his aungels.

I beleue in the holy ghoſt.

I do beleue that the holy ghoſt is God, the third perſon in Trinity, in vnity of the Godhead equal with the father and the ſonne, geuen through Chriſt to enhabite our ſpirites, by which we are made to feele and vnderſtand the great power, vertue, and louing kindnes of Chriſt our Lorde. For he illumineth, quickeneth and certifieth our ſpirite, that by him we are ſealed vp vnto the day of redemption: by whom we are regenerate & made new creatures, ſo that by him & through him, we do receiue all the aboundaunt goodnes promiſed vs in Ieſus Chriſt.

The holy Catholicke Church.

Which is an holy number of Adams poſterity elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the bloud of the lambe frō the beginning of the world, and is diſperſed through the ſame, by the tyranny of Gog and Magog, that is to ſay, the Turke and his tyranny, and Antichriſt, otherwyſe named the Byſhop of Rome and hys aungels, as this day alſo doth teach.

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I do beleue that my ſinnes and all their ſinnes which do rightly beleue the holy Scripture, are forgiuen onely through that Ieſus Chriſt, of whom onely I do profeſſe that I haue my whole & ful ſaluation and redemption, which as S. Paul ſayth, commeth not through our workes and deſeruynges, but freely by grace, leſt any man ſhould boaſt hym ſelfe. Through the bloud of his Croſſe all thynges in heauen and earth are reconciled, and ſet at peace with the father: without hym no heauenly lyfe is geuen, nor ſinne forgeuen.

Remiſſion onely through Chriſt.

The reſurrection of the body.

I do beleue that by the ſame my Sauiour Chriſt, I and all men ſhal riſe agayne from death: for he, as Paul ſayth, is riſen agayne from the dead and is become the firſt fruites of them which ſleepe. For by a man came death, and by a man commeth the reſurrection from death. This mā is Chriſt, through the power of whoſe reſurrectiō, I beleue that we all ſhall riſe again in theſe our bodyes: the elect clothed with immortalitie to liue with Chriſt for euer: the reprobate alſo ſhall riſe immortall to lyue with the deuill and his aungels in death euerlaſtyng.

Reſurrection.

And the lyfe euerlaſtyng.

Through the ſame Ieſus and by none other, I am ſure to haue lyfe euerlaſtyng. He onely is the way and entraunce into the kyngdome of heauen. *For ſo God loued the World, that he dyd geue hys onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, to the end that ſo many as doe beleue in hym, might haue euerlaſting lyfe.* The which I am ſure to poſſeſſe ſo ſoone as I am diſſolued, and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the laſt day ſhall both body and ſoule poſſeſſe the ſame for euer: to the which God graunt all men to come.

Iohn. 3.

Life and ſaluation onely by faith in Chriſt.

I beleue that the Sacramētes, that is to ſay, of Baptiſme and of the Lordes Supper are ſeales of Gods moſt mercyfull promiſes towardes mankynd. In Baptiſme, as by the outward creature of water I am waſhed from the filthynes which hangeth on my fleſh: ſo do I aſſuredly beleue, that I am by Chriſtes bloud waſhed cleane frō my ſinnes, through which I haue ſure confidence of my certaine ſaluation. In the partakyng of the Lordes Supper, as I receiue the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne (the nature of which is to ſtrengthen the body:) ſo do I by fayth receiue the redemption wrought in Chriſtes body broken on the Croſſe, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſumme, all that euer Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſaluation, to the ſtrēgthenyng of my fayth in the ſame. And I beleue that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wyne in his holy ſupper according to hys word, to moue and to ſtirre vp my mynd to beleue theſe articles aboue writen.

Two Sacramentes of the new teſtamēt.

This is my fayth: this I do beleue, and I am content by Gods grace to confirme and ſeale the truth of the ſame with my bloud.

By me Iohn Warne.

¶ A letter of Iohn Cardmaker, to a certayne friend of hys.

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A letter of M. *Cardmaker* to a certayne frend of hys.

the Lord ſtrengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and pouertye is as it was wont to be, and I haue learned to reioyce in pouertye, as well as in riches: for that count I now to be verye riches. Thus fare ye well in Chriſt. Salute all my brethren in my name. I haue cõferred with ſome of my aduerſaries, learned men, and I fynde that they be but Sophiſtes and ſhadowes.

¶ *A note concerning M. Cardmaker.*

A note concerning the talke betwene M. *Cardmaker and Beard* a Promoter.

MAiſter Cardmaker being cõdemned and in Newgate, one Beard a Promoter came to hym two or thrée dayes before he was burned, and ſayd vnto hym: Syr, I am ſent vnto you by the Counſayle, to knowe whether ye wyll recant or no?

Cardmaker. From which Counſails are ye come? I thynke ye are not come, nor yet ſent from the Quenes Counſaile, but rather from the Commiſſioners, vnto whõ (as I ſuppoſe) ye belong. And where as ye would know, whether I wyll recant or no, thus I pray you report of me, to thoſe whom ye ſayd, ſent you. I know you are a Taylor by your occupation, and haue endeuored your ſelfe to be a cunning workeman, and thereby to get your liuing: ſo I haue bene a Preacher theſe xx. yeares, and euer ſince that God by his mercy hath opened myne eyes to ſée hys eternall truth, I haue by hys grace, endeuoured my ſelfe to call vpon hym, to geue me the true vnderſtanding of hys holy word, and I thanke hym for hys great mercy, I hope I haue dyſcharged my conſcience in the ſetting forth of the ſame, to that litle talent that I haue receiued.

Beard. Yea Syr, but what ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar?

Card. I ſay, and marke it well, that Chriſt the nyght before hys bytter paſſion, ordayned the holy and bleſſed Communion, and hath geuen commaundement, that hys death ſhould be preached before the receiuing therof, in the remembraũce that hys body was broken, and hys precious bloud ſhed for the forgeuenes of our ſinnes, to as many as faithfully beleue & truſt in hym.

The ſentence and iudgement of Maiſter *Cardmaker* touching the Sacrament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he aſked of hym, whether the ſacrament, he ſpake of, had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had graunted and affirmed the ſame ſo to be, then M. Cardmaker agayne thus inferred thereupon: If the ſacrament (ſayd he) as you confeſſe, haue a begynning and an ending, then it can not be God: for God hath no beginning nor ending, & ſo willing him well to note the ſame, he departed from hym.

The ſtory of Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon, of the pariſh of Wygborow *the great, in Eſſex.*

The ſtory of *Ioh. Simſon, and Iohn Ardeley,* Martyrs.

WIth M. Cardmaker and Iohn Warne, vpon the ſame day and in the ſame company, and for the ſame cauſe was alſo condemned Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon, which was vpon. 25. day of May. But before we come to the ſtory of them, firſt here is to be noted the copie of the King & Quéenes letter, directed from the Court the ſame day, and ſent by a Poſt early in the morning to the biſhop in tenor and forme as followeth.

¶ To the right reuerẽd father in God our right truſty and welbeloued, the Byſhop of London.

The King and Queenes letter to Byſhop *Boner.*

RIght reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well. And where of late we addreſſed our letters to the Iuſtices of peace within euery of the Counteis of this our Realme, wherby amongeſt other inſtructions geuen them for the good order and quyet gouernement of the Countrey about thẽ, they are willed to haue a ſpeciall regard vnto ſuch diſordred perſons, as forgetting their dutyes towardes God and vs, do leane to any erroneous and hereticall opinions, refuſyng to ſhew thẽ ſelues conformable to the Catholicke religiõ of Chriſtes church: wherin if they cã not by good admonitiõs & fayre meanes reforme them, they are willed to deliuer them to the Ordinary, to be by hym charitably trauayled withall, and remoued (if it may be) from their noughty opinions, or els if they continue obſtinate, to be ordred accordyng to the lawes prouided in that behalfe: vnderſtandyng now, to our no litle maruaile, that diuers of the ſaid diſordred perſons, beyng by the Iuſtices of the peace for their contempt and obſtinacie, brought to the Ordinaryes to be vſed as is aforeſayd, are either refuſed to be receiued at their handes, or if they be receiued, are neither ſo trauailed with, as Chriſtian charity requireth, nor yet proceded withall accordyng to the order of Iuſtice, but are ſuffred to continue in their errours, to the diſhonour of almighty God, and daungerous exãple of others: like as we finde this matter very ſtraunge, ſo haue thought conuenient, both to ſignify this our knowledge, and therwith alſo to admoniſh you to haue in this behalfe ſuch regarde henceforth to the office of a good Paſtor and Byſhop, as when any ſuch offenders ſhalbe by the ſayd officers or Iuſtices of peace brought vnto you, you to vſe your good wiſedom and diſcretion in procuryng to remoue them from theyr errours if it may be, or els in procedyng agaynſt them (if they ſhall continue obſtinate) accordyng to the order of the lawes: ſo as through your good furtheraunce, both Gods glory may be better aduaunced, and the common wealth more quietly gouerned. Yeuen vnder our ſignet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the. xxiiij. of May the firſt and ſecond yeares of our raignes.

Q. Mary ſtirreth *Boner* to ſhed innocent bloud.

This letter thus cõming from the Court to the Biſhop, made hym the more earneſt and haſtye to the condemnation, as wel of others, as of theſe men, of whom now we haue preſently to entreate, of Iohn Symſon I meane, and Iohn Ardeley. Which both being of one cõtrey, and of one towne together, and of one trade, that is, being both huſbandmen in the towne of Wygborow in Eſſex, and alſo almoſt both of one age, ſaue that Symſon was of the age of xxxiiij. the other of. xx. were brought vp both together by the vnder Sheriffe of Eſſex to Boner biſhop of London, vpon the accuſation (as in that tyme it was called) of hereſy.

Ioh. Ardeley & Ioh. Symſon both huſbandmen in the towne of Wigborow.

As touching the order and maner of their examinatiõs before the biſhop, as the articles miniſtred againſt them, were much lyke: ſo their aunſwers againe vnto the ſame were not much diſcrepant in maner & forme, as out of the Biſhops owne Regiſters here followeth, expreſſed.

¶ Articles obiected agaynſt Iohn Symſon, and Iohn Ardley of the Pariſh of Wigborow the great in Eſſex, huſbandmen, by Boner Byſhop of London, at Fulham, 22. of May. 1555.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt *Ioh. Symſon, and Ioh. Ardley.*

1. FIrſt, that thou Ioh. Symſon (or Ioh. Ardley) huſbãdman, of the age of 34. yeares, or thereabout, waſt and art of the Pariſh of great Wigborow, within the Dioces of London, and thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue that there is here in earth one catholicke and vniuerſal whole Church which doth hold and beleue all the fayth and Religion of Chriſt and all the neceſſary Articles and Sacramentes of the ſame.

2. Item, that thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that thou art neceſſarily bounden vnder ẏ paine of damnation of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Church, and to the Religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary poyntes of the ſayd fayth and Religion, without waueryng or doubtyng in the ſayd fayth and Religion, or in any part therof.

The Church of Rome, Italy, Spayne, and other forrayne countreyes in Europe.

3. Itẽ, that thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that that fayth and Religiõ, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spayne, England, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, beyng true members & partes of the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Church do beleue and teach, is both agreyng with the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Church, and the fayth and Religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true fayth and Religion, which all Chriſtẽ people ought to beleue, obſerue, folow and kepe, but contrariwiſe thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue, that that faith and Religion, which the ſayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd haue heretofore beleued, and do now beleue, is falſe, erroneous and nought, and in no wiſe ought to be beleued, obſerued,

kept, and folowed of any Chriſtian man.

Subſtaunce of Chriſtes body vnder formes of bread and wyne.

4. Item, that albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the altar there is in ſubſtaunce the very body and bloud of Chriſt vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and albeit that it be ſo beleued, taught and preached vndoubtedly in the ſayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo beleued, nor doeſt ſo beleue, but contrarywiſe thou haſt and doeſt beleue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſayd Sacrament of the alter, vnder the ſayd formes of bread and wyne, the very ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtaunce of material and common bread and wyne, with the formes therof: and that the ſayd material and common bread and wyne are onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and by fayth to be receiued, onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

5. Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power mainteyned and defended, and ſo doeſt beleue, thinke, mainteine, and defend, that the very true receiuyng and eatyng of Chriſtes body and bloud, is onely to take materiall and common bread, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it amongeſt the people, remembryng therby the paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

The Maſſe abhominable.

6. Item, that thou haſt likewiſe beleued, taught, & ſpoken, that the Maſſe now vſed in this Realme of England, and others the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable and nought and full of Idolatrie, and is of the ordinaũce of the Pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodnes in it, ſauyng the gloria in excelſis and the Epiſtle and ẏ Goſpell, and that therfore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come and be preſent at the Maſſe, nor receaue the Sacrament of the aultar, or any other Sacrament of the Church as they are now vſed in this realme of England, and other the Churches aforeſayd.

7. Item, that thou haſt in tymes paſt beleued preciſely, and obſtinately affirmed and ſayd, and ſo doeſt now beleue and thinke that auricular confeſſion is not nedefull to be made vnto the Prieſt, but it is a thyng ſuperfluous and vayne, and ought onely to be made to God and to none other perſon: and likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vayne, and vnprofitable, all the ceremonies of the Church, and the ſeruice of the ſame, and haſt ſayd that no ſeruice in the Church ought to be ſayd but in the Engliſh toung, and if it be otherwiſe ſayd, it is vnlawfull and naught.

¶ The aunſweres of Iohn Symſon and alſo of Iohn Ardeley, to the foreſayd Articles.

Their aunſweres to the articles.

TO the firſt they beleue, that here in earth there is one catholicke and vniuerſall holye Church, which doth hold and beleue as is contayned in the firſt article, and that this church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroade throughout the whole world.

To the ſecond they beleue that they be boũd to geue faith and credence vnto it, as is conteined in the ſecond article.

To the thyrd, as concerning the fayth and religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spayne, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotlãd, and other churches in Europa, they ſay they haue nothing to do with that fayth and religion, but as concerning the fayth and religion of England, that if the ſayd Church of England be ruled and gouerned by the word of lyfe, then the church of England hath the fayth and religion of the catholick church and not otherwiſe: and do ſay alſo, that if the church of England were ruled by the word of life, it would not go about to condemne them & others of this hereſy.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

To the fourth they aunſwer, that in the ſacrament, cõmonly called the ſacrament of the aultar, there is very bread and very wyne, not altered nor chaunged in ſubſtance in any wyſe, and that hee that receaueth the ſayd bread and wyne, doth ſpiritually and by faith onely receaue the body and bloud of Chriſt, but not the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

To the fift they ſay they haue aunſwered aunſwering to the ſayd fourth article, & yet neuertheleſſe they ſay that they haue beleued, and do beleue that in the ſacrament of the aultar there is not the very ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud, but onely the ſubſtance of naturall bread and wyne.

The Maſſe deteſted.

To the ſixt they ſay that they beleue that the Maſſe is of the Pope, and not of Chriſt, and therefore it is not good, nor hauing in it any goodnes, ſauing the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, the Crede, and the Pater noſter: and for this cauſe they ſay, they haue not, nor wyll not come and heare Maſſe.

To the ſeuenth, Iohn Ardeley aunſwereth & ſayth, that he beleueth the contentes of the ſame to bee true: but Iohn Symſon doth aunſwere, that hee is not as yet fully reſolued with him ſelfe what anſwere to make therunto, and further ſayth, that as touching the common and dayly ſeruice ſayd and vſed in the Church, he ſaith that he neuer ſaid that ſeruice in the church ought to be ſayd, but in the Engliſh toung, nor yet he neuer ſayd that if it be otherwyſe ſaid & vſed then in Engliſh, it is vnlawfull and naught.

Ioh. Ardeley, and Ioh. Symſon.

An other appearance of Symſon and Ioh. Ardeley before the Byſhop.

Thus theſe articles being to them obiected, & their aunſwers made vnto the ſame, as before, the Biſhop according to the old trade of hys Conſiſtory court, reſpited them to the after none, byddyng them to make their appearance the ſayd day and place, betwene the houres of two and thrée. At what tyme the ſayd biſhop repeating againe the ſayd articles vnto them, and beginning with Iohn Ardeley did vrge and ſolicitate, according to hys maner of wordes to recant.

The wordes of Ioh. Ardley to Boner.

To whom Iohn Ardeley agayne conſtantly ſtanding to hys profeſſed religion, gaue aunſwer in wordes as followeth: My Lord (quoth he) neyther you, nor any other of your religion is of the catholicke Church, for you be of a falſe fayth: and I doubt not but you ſhall be deceiued at length, beare as good a face as ye cã. You will ſhéed the innocent bloud, & you haue killed many, & yet go about to kyll more. &c. And added further ſaying: if euery heare of my head were a man, I would ſuffer death in the opinion and fayth that I am now in. Theſe with many other wordes he ſpake. Then the biſhop yet demaunding if he would relinquiſh hys erroneous opinions (as he called them) and bee reduced againe to the vnity of the church, he aunſwered as followeth: No, God forſhield that I ſhould do ſo: for then I ſhould loſe my ſoule.

Ioh. Ardley and I. Symſon condemned.

After this, the ſayd Byſhop aſking Iohn Ardeley (after hys formall maner) if he knew any cauſe why hee ſhould not haue Sentence condemnatory againſt hym, ſo read the condemnation, as hée alſo dyd againſt Iohn Symſon, which ſtood likewiſe in the ſame cauſe & conſtancy with Ioh. Ardeley: which was done the .xxv. of day of May, and ſo were they both cõmitted to the ſecular power, that is, to the handes of the Sheriffes, to be conueyed to the place where they ſhould be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to bee paſſed a thing not vnworthy the lookyng vpon, which happened in ẏ cloſing vp of ẏ examination of theſe .ij. innocent Martyrs of God, which is thys.

¶ A note.

A note of the ſodaine feare of Boner.

At the time of the examination of this Symſon and Iohn Ardeley aforeſayd, there was aſſembled ſuch a great multitude of people, that becauſe the Conſiſtory was not able to holde them, they were fayne to ſtand in the church, neare about the ſayd Conſiſtorye, wayting to ſée the priſoners when they ſhould depart. It happened in the meane tyme that the Byſhop beyng ſet in heate with the ſtout and bold aunſwers of the ſayd two priſoners (eſpecially of Symſon) burſt out in hys loud and angry voyces and ſayd: haue hym away, haue hym away.

Now ẏ people in the Church hearing theſe wordes, and thinking (becauſe the day was farre ſpent) that the priſoners had their iudgement, they being deſirous to ſée the priſoners had to Newgate, ſeuered thẽ ſelues,

one

The ridiculous feare of *Boner* and his Doctours.

one running one way, an other an other way, whych cauſed ſuch a noyſe in the church, that they in the Conſiſtory were all amazed, and marueiled what it ſhoulde meane: wherefore the biſhop alſo being ſomewhat afrayd of this ſodayne ſturre, aſketh what there was to do. The ſtanders by aunſwering ſayd, that there was like to be ſome tumult, for they were together by the eares. When the biſhop heard this, by and by his hart was in his heeles, and leauing his ſeat, he with the reſt of that Court betooke them to theyr legges, haſtenyng with all ſpeede poſſible to recouer the doore that went into the Biſhops houſe: but the reſt being ſomewhat lighter of foote then my Lord, dyd ſooner recouer the doore, & thronging haſtely to get in, kept the biſhop ſtill out, and cryed: ſaue my Lord, ſaue my Lord, but meaning yet fyrſt to ſaue them ſelues, if any daunger ſhould come, whereby they gaue the ſtanders by good matter to laugh at: reſembling in ſome part a ſpectacle not much vnlike to the old ſtagers of Oxford, worſe feared then hurt, when as the Church there was noyſed to be on fier, wherof ye may read before pa. 1383. But of this matter enough.

Ioh. Symſon and Iohn Ardeley ſent into Eſſex to be executed.

The Martyrdome of *Symſon, and Ardeley.*

June 10.

Now Iohn Symſon and Iohn Ardeley being deliuered (as is aforeſayd) to ỹ Shiriffes, were ſhortly after ſent down from London to Eſſex, where both they on one day (which was about the .x. day of June) were put to death, albeit in ſeuerall places: for Iohn Symſon ſuffered at Rocheford, Iohn Ardeley the ſame day was had to Rayley, where he finiſhed hys martyrdome moſt quietly in the quarell of Chriſtes goſpell.

¶ *A note of Iohn Ardeley.*

FOr the better conſideration of the rigorous crueltie of theſe catholicke dayes, thys is furthermore not vnworthy of all men to be noted and knowen to all poſteritie, concerning the examinations of thys Ardeley and his company: how that they being brought before the Commiſſioners, were by them greatly charged of ſtubburnnes and vayne glory. Vnto whom they aunſwered in defence of theyr owne ſimplicitie, that they were content wyllingly to yeld to the Queene all their goodes and landes, ſo that they might bee ſuffered to lyue vnder her, in keeping their conſcience free from al idolatry, and Papiſticall religion. Yet thys would not be graunted, although they had offered all to their hart bloud: ſo greedy and ſo thirſty be theſe Perſecutors, of Chriſtian bloud. The Lord geue thẽ repentance if it be hys wyll, and keepe from them the iuſte reward of ſuch cruell dealyng, Amen.

The ridiculous handlyng and procedyng of Byſhop Boner and his mates againſt Iohn Tooly, firſt ſuſpected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his graue, and giuen to the ſecular power, and ſo burned for an hereticke.

The ſtory of *Iohn Tooly.*

ABout the ſame tyme of the burnyng of theſe ij. aforeſayd, in the begynnyng of the ſayd moneth of June, fell out a ſolẽne proceſſe & much adoe was made by ỹ Popes ſpiritualty agaynſt Iohn Tooly, in a caſe of hereſie. The ſtory is this.

There was about the time that the Spanyardes began firſt to keepe a ſturre in Englãd, one Ioh. Tooly, a Citizen and Poulter in London, who conſpired with certaine other of his ſocietie to robbe a Spanyard at S. Iames: and although the deede were heinous and wicked of it ſelfe, yet was it aggrauated and made greater then it was by other, beyng committed agaynſt ſuch a perſon, and agaynſt ſuch a countrey, which both the Queene and her whole Court dyd highly fauour. The robberie beyng knowen, and brought into iudgement, this Tooly was found giltie, & iudged to be hanged, wheras notwithſtãdyng in this Realme there are many moe theftes committed then theeues executed.

The foreſayd Tooly beyng lead to the Gallowes (which ſtoode faſt by Charyng Croſſe) a litle before hee died, ſtanding vpon the Cart, read a certaine prayer in a Printed booke, and ij. other prayers written in ij. ſeuerall papers, who then hauyng the halter about hys necke, deſired the people there preſent to pray for him, and to beare him witnes that he dyed a true Chriſtian man, and that he truſted to be ſaued onely by the merites of Chriſtes paſſion and ſhedyng of his precious bloud, and not by any Maſſes, or Trentals, Images or Saints, which were (as he ſayd) mere idolatry & ſuperſtition, and deuiſed by the Byſhop of Rome: and as he the ſame Tooly, and ij. other his fellowes, which were there hanged with him, dyd ſteale and robbe for couetouſnes, ſo the Biſhop of Rome did ſell his Maſſes and Trentals with ſuch other peltry for couetouſnes, and there beyng in a great anger (as appeared) agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſpake with a loud voyce theſe wordes followyng: *From the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome and all his deteſtable enormities: From falſe doctrine and hereſie, and from contempt of thy Word and commaundement, good Lord deliuer vs*. And then addyng further to the ſame, he ſpake vnto ỹ people: Al you that be true Chriſtian men, ſay with me Amen. and immediatly therupon three hundred perſons and more, to the Judgemẽt and eſtimation of thoſe that were there preſent, aunſwered and ſayd, Amen. iij. tymes together at the leaſt.

Ioh. Tooly dyed a true chriſtian man.

The chriſten confeſſion of *Tooly.*

The thee- couetouſnes of the Pope.

Ex Regiſtro.

After this it happened that when Tooly had read the byll the firſt tyme, it fell from hym: and a certayne young man (who was thought to be a prentiſe) ſtoped downe and tooke vp the byll, and clymed vp by the cart and deliuered it vnto Tooly againe, which he againe dyd read to the people. That done, hee deliuered vnto one of the Marſhials officers the booke aforeſayd, and willed him to deliuer it to one Haux, ſaying that it was hys booke. Furthermore he deliuered one of the prayers written in a paper, to one Rob. Bromley Sergeant, which deſired to haue it of hym. Vpon the top of which byll was wrytten a lyne, contaynyng theſe wordes: *Beware of Antichriſt*, and ſubſcribed vnderneath: Per me Thomã Harold *Priſoner in the Marſhalſey, enemy to Antichriſt*. For the byll the foreſayd Rob. Bromley, was brought afterward coram nobis and was faine to aſke pardon of the biſhop, and to deteſt all the wordes of Tooly, and glad ſo to eſcape.

Thus, while Tooly had made hys prayers, as is aboue ſayd, to be deliuered from the Popes tyranny, by the ſame praier he fell into great tyranny. For ſo ſoone as the brute of thys fact came vnto the eares of the Prieſtes and mitred Prelates, they were not a lyttle mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that ſo great a reproch ſhould bee done againſt the holy father. Calling therefore a counſell together, as though it had ben a matter of great importãce, Toolyes talke at his death was debated among them ſelues.

A Cõcell called agaynſt *Tooly.*

Cardinall Poole a great doer in burning dead mens bones.

M. Bucer, Paulus Fagius, Peter Martyrs wife, *I. Tooly,* burned for heretickes after their death.

At the laſt (after much pro and contra) they al conſented to thoſe mens iudgements, which thought it meete that the violatyng of the Popes holynes ſhould be reuenged wyth fier and fagot. And I do eaſely beleue, that Cardinall Poole was no ſmall doer in thys ſentence: for as Wincheſter and Boner dyd alwayes thyrſt after the bloud of the liuing, ſo Pooles lightning was for the moſt part kyndled agaynſt the dead: and hee reſerued thys charge onely to hym ſelfe, I knowe not for what purpoſe, except peraduenture being loath to be ſo cruell as the other, he thought neuertheles by thys meanes to diſcharge his dutye toward the Pope. By the ſame Cardinals lyke lightening and fiery fiſte, the bones of Martin Bucer, & Paulus Phagius, which had lyen almoſt two yeares in their graues, were takẽ vp and burned at Cambridge, as Toolyes carcaſe was here at London. And beſides thys, becauſe he would ſhew ſome token of his diligence in both Vniuerſities, he cauſed Peter Martyrs wyfe, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the churchyard and to be buried on the dunghyll. Of theſe two prodigious actes ye ſhall heare more hereafter. But now to our purpoſe of Tooly, which hauing ended hys prayer, was hanged and put into hys graue, out of the which he was dygged agayne by the commaundement of the Biſhops, and becauſe he was ſo bold to derogate the authoritye of the biſhop of Rome at the time of his death, it pleaſed them to iudge and condemne hym as an hereticke, vpon the commaundement of the Counſels letter, as here appeareth.

The Counſels letter to B.Boner, concerning Tooly.

¶A letter ſent vnto Boner Byſhop of London, from the Counſell.

AFter our very harty commendations to your Lordſhyp, vnderſtandyng that of late amongeſt others that haue ſuffered about London for their offences, one leude perſon that was condemned for fellonie, dyed very obſtinatly, profeſſing at the tyme of his death ſondry hereticall and erroneous opiniõs: lyke as we thinke it not conuenient that ſuch a matter ſhould be ouerpaſſed without ſome example to the world, ſo haue we thought good to pray your Lordſhyp, to cauſe further enquirie to be made therof, and therupon to procede to the making out of ſuch proceſſe as by ye Eccleſiaſticall lawes is prouided in that behalfe. And ſo we byd your lordſhip hartely wel to fare. From Hampton Court the xxviij. of Aprill. 1555.

Your Lordſhyps louyng frendes,

St. Wynton Cancel.
F. Shrewſbury.
Iohn Gage.
Thomas Cheney.
R. Rocheſter.
William Peter.
Richard Southwell.

Anone after, a Citation was ſet vppon Paules Church doore vnder the Byſhop of Londons great ſeale: the tenour wherof here enſueth.

¶The Writte or Mandate of Boner Byſhop of London, ſet vp at Charyng Croſſe, on Paules Church doore, and at S. Martins in the field, for the Cityng and further inquiryng out of the caſe of Iohn Tooly.

A Citation ſet vp by Boner and that in latin, commaunding [illegible] to lay for hym what they could, before the [illegible], or els to hold their peace for euer.

EDmond by the ſufferaunce of God, Byſhop of London, to all and ſingular Perſons, Vicars, Curates, and others, Clerkes and learned men, beyng within our Dioces of Lõdon, and ſpecially vnto Richard Clony our ſworne Somner, gretyng, ſalutation and benediction. For ſo much as it is come to our hearyng by common fame, and the declaratiõ of ſondry credible perſons, that one Iohn Tooly, late Citizen and Pulter of London, the ſonne of perditiõ and iniquitie, commyng to the profunditie of malice, in the ſelfe ſame tyme in the which hee ſhould go to hangyng, accordyng to the lawes of the Realme, for the great theft by him lately committed, at whiche tyme chiefly he ſhould haue cared for the wealth of his ſoule, and to haue dyed in the vnitie of the Catholicke Church, did vtter diuers and ſõdry damnable, blaſphemous, & hereticall opinions & errours, vtterly cõtrary & repugnaunt to ye veritie of ye Catholicke faith, & vnitie of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtirre vp, & encourage the people there ſtandyng in great multitude, to hold and defend the ſame errours and opinions: And moreouer, certeine of the people there ſtandyng, as it did appeare, infected with errours and hereſies, as fautors and defẽdours of the ſayd Iohn, did confirme, and geue expreſſe conſent to the foreſayd wordes, propoſitions and affirmations: which thyng we doe vtter with ſorow and bitternes of hart.

[illegible] Boner here pretendeth conſcience & perfection in this matter, when only he was commaunded to it by the Counſels letter.

We therfore the foreſayd Edmond, and Byſhop aboue ſayd, not beyng able nor daryng paſſe ouer in ſilence, or winke at the foreſayd heinous act, leſt by our negligence and ſlacknes, the bloud of them might be required at our handes at the moſt terrible day of iudgement, deſiryng to be certified and enformed, whether the premiſſes declared vnto vs be of truth, & leſt that any ſcabbed ſhepe, lurkyng amongeſt the ſimple flocke of our Lord, do infect them with peſtiferous hereſie, to you therfore, we straitly charge and commaunde, that you cite, or cauſe to be cited, all and ſingular, hauyng or knowyng the truth of the premiſſes, by ſettyng vp this citation vppon the the Church doore of S. Martins in the field, beyng within our Dioces of London, and alſo vpon the Cathedrall Church doore of S. Paules in London, leauyng there the copy hereof, or by other meanes or wayes, the beſt you can, that this citation and monicion may come to their knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenour of theſe preſentes, we cite and admoniſh that they appeare, and euery one of them do appeare before vs or our Vicare generall, or Commiſſarie, what ſoeuer he be in that behalfe, in our Cathedrall Church of S. Paul in London, in the Cõſiſtorie place vpon Thurſday the ij. day of May, now next enſuyng, betwixt the houres ix. and x. of the clocke in the fore noone the ſame day, to beare witnes to the truth in this behalfe, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the truth that they know or haue heard of the premiſſes: and moreouer, to do and receyue, that law and reaſon doth require.

The wyfe, children and kindred of Iohn Tooly cited.

Further, we commit vnto you as before, and ſtraitly enioynyng you do commaund, that ye will generally cite the wife of the ſayd Tooly that is dead, and his children, his kyndred by father and mother, his frendes, and hys familiars in eſpeciall, and all other and euery of them, if there bee any perhaps that deſire to defend and purge the remembrãuce of the perſon in the premiſſes, and that ye admoniſh them after the maner and forme aforeſayd, whom we likewiſe by the tenour of theſe preſentes, do in ſuch ſort cite and moniſhe that they appeare all, and that euery one of thẽ do appeare (vnder paine to be compelled to kepe ſilẽce for euer hereafter in this behalfe) before vs, or our Vicar generall in ſpirituall matters, or ſuch our Commiſſarie at the day, houre, and place aforeſayd, to defende the good name and remembrãuce of him that is dead, & to ſay, alledge, and propoſe in due forme of law, a cauſe reaſonable, if they haue any, or can tell of any, why the ſayd Iohn Tooley that is dead, ought not to be determined and declared for ſuch an hereticke and excommunicate perſon, and his remembraunce cõdemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo heynous a deede and cryme, and his body or carkas to lacke church buriall, as a rotten member cut of from the church, & the ſame to be committed to the arme and power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter for euer to holde their peace.

The carcas of Tooly cut of from chriſtian buriall.

And furthermore, to do, to receiue, & to ſuffer, as law and reaſon will, and as the qualitie of ſuch matter, and the nature of them ſelues do conſtraine and require: and moreouer, that you cite and moniſh after the maner aforeſaid, all and euery of the receiuers, fautours, and creditours of the ſayd Iohn Tooly that is dead, eſpecially if any of them do accline and geue conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitiõs and rehearſals aforeſayd, that on this ſide the ſayd Thurſday, they returne and ſubmit them ſelues vnto vs, and to the lap of the mother holy Church: which thyng if they do, we truſtyng vpon the mercy of almighty God, do promiſe that we will receiue them beyng penitent for ſuch theyr errours and faultes, with thankes, benignitie, mercy and fauour, to the comfort and health of their owne ſoules, and in that behalfe ſaue their honeſties to the vttermoſt of our power: otherwiſe if they will not prouide thus to come of their owne accord, but to abyde the ordinarie proceſſe of the law, let thoſe men know that we will puniſh more ſeuerely this offence, accordyng to the vttermoſt of the law, and as farre as the law will beare it: and what you ſhall do in the premiſſes, let hym among you which ſhall execute this our preſent Mandate, certifie vs or our Vicare generall in ſpirituall matters, either by his owne perſon, or by hys letters patentes, together with theſe autentically ſealed. Dated at London vnder our ſeale, the laſt day ſaue one of Aprill, 1555, and of our tranſlation the 16.

The Biſhop layeth his bayte to catch whom he may trouble.

When the tyme of thys citation was expired, and thys Tooly being cited, dyd not appeare: next in order of law came the ſuſpenſion (where as one ſuſpenſion had bene enough for hym) and after that commeth the excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eate or drinke wyth hym, or if any mette hym by the way, hee ſhould not byd him good morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould be excluded from the communion of the church. Theſe things being prepared in ſuch maner, as in ſuch caſes full wyſely they vſe to do, at length one ſtode out for the nonce, that made aunſwer to certayne articles, rehearſed in iudgement openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the pore dead man could neyther

Tooly ſuſpended and excommunicated.

Witnes againſt Iob. Tooly.

neyther ſpeake for hym ſelfe, nor did (as they ſayd) ſufficiently aunſwer them by the other, to auoid the name of an heretick: firſt witneſſes were produced agaynſt hym, whoſe names were Henry Clarke Eſquier, Thomas Way Kéeper of the Marſhalſey, Phillip Andrew Vndermarſhall, William Holyngworth Fyſhmonger, William Gellard, William Walton Chandelor, Richard Longman Marchant Taylour, Phillyp Brytten, Iohn Burton Bruer, Thomas Smith Sergeant. Then he was for an hereticke condemned, and ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the Sheriffes of London, which with like diligẽce went about to execute theyr charge. Therefore receiuing the man being ſuſpended, excommunicated, condemned as an hereticke, and beſides that being dead, they layd him on the fier to bee burned, namely ad perpetuam rei memoriam, for a continuall remembraunce therof. This was done the .iiij. day of Iune.

Tooly geuen to the ſecular power.

Here followeth the ſtory and martyrdome of the worthy ſeruant of Chriſt Thomas Haukes Gentleman, wyth hys examinations and aunſwers had with B. Boner, recorded and penned with his own hand.

The ſtory of M. Thomas Haukes, Martyr.

Read before pag. 1705.

Ymmediatly after the ſtory of D. Tailour, pag. 1705. mention before was made of .vj. men brought and cõuented before Biſhop Boner vpon the .viij. day of February. The names of which Martyrs were Steuen Knight, William Pigot, Tho. Tomkins, Iohn Laurence, William Hunter. In which number was alſo Thomas Haukes, and condẽned lykewyſe wyth them the .ix. day of the foreſayd moneth of February. But becauſe hys execution did not ſo ſhortly folow with theirs, but was prolonged to this preſent .x. day of the moneth of Iune, wherewith wee are now in hand, it followeth therfore now conſequẽtly to enter tractation thereof, fyrſt begynning briefly wyth hys godly conuerſation and inſtitution of lyfe, then ſhewing of hys troubles, alſo of his examinations and conflictes with the biſhop and other aduerſaries, according as the order of ſtory doth require.

The lyfe and conuerſation of Tho. Haukes.

As touching therefore hys education and order of lyfe, fyrſt he was of the countrey of Eſſex, borne of an honeſt ſtocke, in callyng and profeſſion a Courtier, brought vp daintely from hys chyldhode, and lyke a Gentleman. Beſides that, he was of ſuch comelynes and ſtature, ſo well endued wyth excellent qualities, that he myght ſéeme on euery ſide a man (as it were) made for the purpoſe. But hys gentle behauiour toward other, and eſpecially hys feruent ſtudy and ſingular loue vnto true religion and godlynes dyd ſurmount all ÿ reaſt. Wherin as God did ſingularly adorne hym: euen ſo he beyng ſuch a valiant Martyr of God, may ſéeme to nobilitate ÿ whole cõpany of other holy Martyrs, and as a bright ſtarre, to make the church of God and hys truth, of them ſelues bright and cleare, more gloriouſly to ſhyne by hys example. For if ÿ conqueſts of Martyrs are the triũphes of Chriſt (as S. Ambroſe doth notably and truely wryte) vndoubtedly Chriſt in few men hath eyther conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriouſly, then in thys yong man: hee ſtode ſo wyſely in hys cauſe, ſo godly in hys lyfe, and ſo conſtantly in hys death.

The victory of Martyrs, is the triumph of Chriſt. Ambroſe.

Tho. Haukes firſt in ſeruice with the Earle of Oxford.

But to the declaration of the matter: firſt thys Haukes, following the guiſe of the Court, as he grew in yeares, entred ſeruice wyth the Lord of Oxforde, where he remayned a good ſpace, beyng ther ryght wel eſtéemed and loued of all the houſhold, ſo long as Edward the ſixt lyued. But he dying, al thinges began to go backward, religion to decay, godlynes not onely to ware colde, but alſo to bee in daunger euerywhere, and chiefly in the houſes of great men. Haukes myſliking the ſtate of thinges, and eſpecially in ſuch mens houſes, rather then he would chaunge the profeſſion of true godlynes which he had taſted, thought to chaũge the place: and ſo forſaking the noble mans houſe, departed home to hys own home, where more fréely hee might geue him ſelf to God, & vſe hys own conſcience.

Haukes compelled to leaue the Earle of Oxfords houſe.

But what place in this world ſhall a man finde ſo ſecrete for hym ſelfe, whether that old wycked Serpent can not créepe, whereby hee may haue ſome matter to ouerthrow ÿ quietnes of the godly? Now in the meane ſeaſon (as it happened) Haukes kéeping hys houſe at home, had borne vnto hym a young ſonne, whoſe baptiſme was differred to the thyrd wéeke, for ÿ he would not ſuffer hym to be baptiſed after ÿ papiſticall maner. Which thing the aduerſaries not able to ſuffer, laying handes vpon hym, did bring hym to the Earle of Oxford, there to be reaſoned wyth, as not ſound in religion, in that he ſéemed to contemne the Sacraments of the Church.

Haukes child .iij. weekes vnchriſtened.

Haukes brought before the Earle.

The Earle eyther not intending not to trouble him ſelfe in ſuch matters, or els ſeing hym ſelfe not able to weigh with hym in ſuch caſes of religion, ſent hym vp to London, wyth a Meſſenger and letters, and ſo wylling to cleare hys own handes, put hym in the handes of Boner biſhop of London: the contentes of which hys letter ſent to Boner be theſe.

Haukes ſent vp by the Earle to Byſhop Boner.

A Letter of the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

The Earles letter to Boner.

Moſt reuerẽd father in God, be it knowen vnto you that I haue ſent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the Countie of Eſſex, who hath a child that hath remained vnchriſtined more thẽ three weekes, who beyng vppon the ſame examined, hath denyed to haue it Baptiſed, as it is now vſed in the Church: wherupon I haue ſent him to your good Lordſhip to vſe as ye thinke beſt, by your good diſcretion.

When the Byſhop had peruſed this letter, and afterward read it to M. Haukes, he hearyng the ſame, thought with hym ſelfe that he ſhould not be very well vſed, ſeyng he was put to his diſcretion. Then wrote the Byſhop a letter agayne to him that ſent the priſoner, with many great thankes for his diligence in ſettyng forth the Quéenes procédynges. Then began the Biſhop to enter communication with M. Haukes, firſt aſkyng what ſhould moue hym to leaue his child vnchriſtened ſo long. To whom M. Haukes aunſwered thus agayne as foloweth.

Priuate talke or conference betwene Maiſter Haukes and Biſh. Boner.

Haukes. Becauſe we be bound to do nothyng contrary to the word of God.

Boner. Why? Baptiſme is commaunded by the word of God.

Haukes. His inſtitution therin I do not deny.

Boner. What deny ye then?

Haukes. I deny all thynges inuented and deuiſed by man.

Boner. What thynges be thoſe that be deuiſed by man, that ye be ſo offended withall?

Haukes. Your Oyle, Creame, Salt, Spettle, Candle, and coniuryng of water. &c.

Mens inuentions added to Baptiſme. The inuenthers.

Boner. Wil ye deny that, which all ÿ whole world, and your father hath bene contented withall?

Haukes. What my father and all the whole world haue done, I haue nothyng to do withall: but what God hath commaunded me to do, to that ſtand I.

Boner. The Catholicke Church hath taught it.

Haukes. What is the Catholicke Church?

The Catholicke Church.

Boner. It is the faythfull congregation where ſoeuer it be diſperſed throughout the whole world.

Haukes. Who is the head therof?

Boner. Chriſt is the head therof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Chriſt, or in the Church now.

Boner. Haue ye not read in the .viij. of Ioh. where he ſayd, he would ſend his cõforter which ſhould teach you all thynges?

Haukes. I graunt you it is ſo, that he would ſend his comforter, but to what end? forſooth to this ende, that he ſhould lead you into all truth and veritie, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

Boner. A Syr, ye are a right Scripture man. For ye will haue nothyng but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countreymen of your opinion. Do ye not know one Knyght and Pygot?

Haukes. Knight I know, but Pigot I do not know.

Boner. I thought ye were acquainted with him: it ſemeth ſo by your iudgement. What preachers do ye know in Eſſex?

Haukes. I know none.

Boner. Do ye not know one Baget there?

Haukes. Yes forſoth, I know hym.

Boner. What maner a man is he?

Haukes. An honeſt man, ſo farre as I know.

Boner. Do ye know him if ye ſee him?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Then ſayd he to one of his ſeruauntes: go call me Baget hether. And then he ſayd to me: ye ſeeme to be a very proud mā and a ſtubborne. He that brought me vp ſtode all this while by.

Haukes. What ſhould moue your Lordſhip ſo to ſay?

Boner. Becauſe I ſee in a man that came with you much humilitie and lowlynes.

Boner looketh to be curtſied.

Haukes. It ſeemeth your Lordſhyp ſpeaketh that to me, becauſe I make no more curteſie to you: and with that came Baget. Then yͤ Byſhop ſayd to Baget: How ſay ye Syr, know ye this man?

Baget. Yea forſoth my Lord: With that, Baget and I ſhoke handes. Then ſayd the Byſhop to Baget: Syr, this man hath a child, which hath lyen thrée wéekes vnchriſtened (as I haue letters to ſhew) who refuſeth to haue it Baptiſed, as it is now vſed in the Church: how ſay you therto?

Baget brought to the ſight of Thomas Haukes.

Baget. Forſoth my Lord I ſay nothyng thereto (with low curteſie to the hard ground.)

Boner. Say ye nothing therto? I will make you tel me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and vſed in the church, or not.

Boner chafeth at Bagets anſwere.

Baget. I beſech your Lordſhip to pardon me: hee is old inough, let hym aunſwere for hym ſelf.

Boner. Ah ſir knaue, are ye at that poynt wyth me? Go cal me the Porter, ſaid he to one of hys men. Thou ſhalt ſit in the ſtockes, and haue nothing but bread and water. I perceiue I haue kept you to well. Haue I made thus much of you, and haue I you at this poynt? Then came the Biſhops man, and ſayd: the Porter is gone to London. Then ſaid the biſhop to Baget: come wyth me, and he went away wyth hym, and commaunded me away, and bad one of hys Gentlemen to talke wyth me (who was one of hys own teaching): who deſired, amongeſt all other thinges, to know of me with whom I was acquainted in Eſſex, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Boner [illegible] Baget [illegible] him a ſide to conuert hym.

Haukes. When I ſee your commiſſion, I wyll make you aunſwere. And then immediately came the biſhop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talke. Then the biſhop ſat downe vnder a vyne in hys Orchard, and called Baget to hym, whom he carryed away and brought againe, and called me alſo, and ſayd to Baget: How ſay ye now Syr vnto Baptiſme? Say whether it be to be frequented and vſed in the church, as it is now, or no?

Baget. Forſoth my Lord I ſay it is good.

Baget [illegible] taught to ſay after Boner.

Boner. I be foole your hart, could ye not haue ſayd ſo before? Ye haue wounded thys mans conſcience. Then the Biſhop turned to me and ſayd: how ſay ye now Syr? this man is turned and conuerted.

Haukes. I buyld my fayth neyther vpon this man, neyther vpon you, but onely vpon Chriſt Ieſus, who (as Paule ſayth) is the founder and author of all mens fayth.

Thomas Haukes buildeth his fayth vpon no man.

Boner. I perceiue ye are a ſtubburne fellow. I muſt be glad to worke an other way with you, to wyn you.

Haukes. Whatſoeuer ye do, I am ready to ſuffer it: for I am in your handes to abyde it.

Boner. Well, ye are ſo: come on your wayes, ye ſhall go in, and I wyll vſe you Chriſtianlike. You ſhall haue meate and drinke, ſuch as I haue in my houſe: but in any wyſe talke not.

Thomas Haukes forbidden to talke in the Byſhops houſe.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talke nothing but the word of God, and truth.

Boner. I wil haue no hereſy talked on in my houſe.

Haukes. Why? is the truth become hereſye? God hath commaunded that wee ſhoulde haue none other talke in our houſes, in our beds, at our meate, and by the way, but all truth.

Boner. If ye wyll haue my fauour, bee ruled by my counſell.

Haukes. Then I truſt you wyll graunt me my requeſt.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. That your Doctors and ſeruauntes geue me none occaſion: for if they doe, I wyll ſurely vtter my conſcience. Then commaunded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and hym talke together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to dynner, and I dyned at the Stewardes table. After dynner, his chaplaynes and hys men began to talke wyth me. But amongeſt all other, there was one Darbyſhire Principal of Brodegates in Oxford, & the biſhops kinſmā, who ſaid to me, that I was to curious: for ye wil haue (ſayd he) nothing but your litle prety Gods boke.

Thomas Haukes and Baget ſeparated a ſonder.

Talke betwen Darbiſhire and Thomas Haukes.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my ſaluation? Yes (ſayd he) it is ſufficient for our ſaluation, but not for our inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the ſaluation, and you the inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned, came the Biſhop, who ſayd vnto me: I gaue you a commaundement that you ſhould not talke.

Saluation. Inſtruction.

Haukes. And I deſired you, that your Doctors and ſeruaunts ſhould geue me none occaſion. Then went we into hys Orchard againe, he & his Doctors, and I.

Talke betwen M. Haukes and Boner.

Boner. Would not ye be contēted to haue, that your child ſhould be chriſtened after the boke that was ſet out by king Edward?

Baptiſme after king Edwardes booke.

Haukes. Yes, wyth a good wyll: it is the thing that I deſire.

Boner. I thought ſo: ye would haue the ſame thing. The principall is in the name of the father, the ſonne, and of the holy ghoſt, and in neceſſity it may ſerue.

Haukes. Chriſt dyd vſe it wythout any ſuch neceſſitie: and yet we lacke the chiefeſt point.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. *Goe teach all nations, baptiſing them. &c.*

Boner. Thou ſpeakeſt that becauſe I am no preacher.

Boner no preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeake the text: I doe not meane you. Then ſpake all hys Doctors, and hys men that were with hym: hee ſpeaketh it of you my Lorde (wyth a great noyſe that they made.)

Boner. Wyll ye be content to tary here, and your child ſhall be baptiſed, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you wyll agree to it?

Haukes. And if I would ſo haue done, I neded not to haue come to you: for I had the ſame counſel geuen me before.

Boner. You ſeeme to be a luſty yong man: you wil not geue your head for yͤ waſhing. You wyll ſtād in the defence of it for the honour of your countrey. Doe ye thinke that the Queene and I can not commaunde it to to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

Haukes. What the Queene and you can doe, I wyll not ſtand in it: but ye get my cōſcience neuer the ſoner.

M. Haukes will not conſent to haue his child chriſtened after the Popiſh order.

Boner. Well, you are a ſtubburne yong man. I perceyue I muſt worke an other way wyth you.

Haukes. Ye are in the handes of God, and ſo am I.

Boner. What ſo euer you thinke, I would not haue you ſpeake ſuch wordes vnto me. And ſo we departed vntill Euēſong tyme: and ere Euenſong was begun, my Lord called for me to come to hym into the Chappell, and ſayd: Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done hys part vnto thée. I woulde bee glad to do thée good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy Paſtor, and one that ſhould aunſwer for thée. If I would not teach thée well, I ſhould aunſwer for thy ſoule.

Haukes. That I haue ſayd, I wyll ſtand to it God willing: there is no way to remoue it.

Boner. Nay, nay Haukes, thou ſhalt not be ſo wylfull. Remember Chriſt bad two go into his vineyard: the one ſayd he would and went not, the other ſayd he would not and went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Boner. Do thou lykewyſe, and I wyll talke friendly with thée: how ſayeſt thou? It is in the firſt of S. John: *I am the bread of life: and the bread that I wyll geue, is my fleſh, which I wyll geue for the lyfe of the world. And who ſoeuer eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath euerlaſting lyfe. My fleſh is very meat in deede, and my bloud is very drinke in deede. And he that eateth my fleſh, & drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in hym.* Do ye beleue thys?

Boner entreth talke of the Sacrament.

Haukes. Yea, I muſt néedes beleue the ſcriptures.

Boner. Why? then I truſt that ye be ſounde in the bleſſed Sacrament.

Haukes. I beſech your lordſhip to féele my conſciẽce no farther thẽ in that, that I was accuſed in vnto you.

Boner. Well, well, let vs go vnto Euenſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my backe to go out of the Chappell.

Boner. Why, wyll ye not tary Euenſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Boner. And why?

Tho. Haukes refuſeth to heare *Boners* euenſong.

Haukes. For I wyll not.

Boner. And why wyll you not?

Haukes. For becauſe I haue no edifying thereby, for I vnderſtand no latin.

Boner. Why? you may pray by your ſelfe. What bookes haue ye?

Haukes. I haue the new Teſtament, the bookes of Salomon, and the Pſalter.

Boner. Why, I pray you tary here, and pray you on your Pſalter.

Haukes. I wyll not pray in this place, nor in none ſuch. Then ſaid one of hys Chaplains: let him go my Lord, & he ſhall be no partaker with vs in our praiers.

Haukes. I thinke my ſelfe beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you: And ſo the Biſhop went to Euenſong, and I came downe and walked betwene the hall and the Chappell in the court, & taryed there till Euenſong was done, and within an houre after that Euenſong was done, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chamber where he lay him ſelfe, and when I came, there was he, and thrée of hys Chaplens.

Tho. Haukes called for agayne by *Boner*.

Boner. Ye know of the talke that was betwene you and me, as concerning the Sacramẽt. You would not haue your conſcience ſought any farther, then in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought ye would not be both myne accuſer and Iudge.

Boner. Well, ye ſhall aunſwer me to the ſacrament of the aultar, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, the ſacramẽt of Penaunce, and to the ſacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of theſe, but I dare ſpeake my conſcience in them.

Boner. The ſacrament of the aultar ye ſéeme to be ſound in.

Tho. Haukes. knoweth no Sacrament of the aultar.

Haukes. In the ſacrament of the aultar? why Syr, I do not know it.

Boner. Well, we wyll make you to know it, and to beleue in it too, ere euer we haue done with you.

Haukes. No, that ſhall ye neuer do.

Boner. Yes, a fagot wyll make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a point for your fagot. What God thinketh méete to be done, that ſhall ye doe, and more ſhall ye not doe.

Boner. Doe ye not beleue that there remayneth in the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken, no more bread, but the very body & bloud of Chriſt? and at that word he put of his cap.

The matter and ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

Haukes. I do beleue as Chriſt hath taught me.

Boner. Why? did not Chriſt ſay: *Take, eate, this is my body?*

Haukes. Chriſt ſayd ſo: but therefore it followeth not, that the Sacrament of the aultar is ſo as you teach, neyther dyd Chriſt euer teach it ſo to bee.

Boner. Why? the Catholike Church taught it ſo, & they were of Chriſtes Church.

Haukes. Howe proue ye it? The Apoſtles neuer taught it ſo. Reade the Actes, the ſecond, and the twenty. Neyther Peter nor Paule euer taught it, neyther inſtituted it ſo.

Boner. Ah Syr, ye wyll haue no more then the ſcripture teacheth, but euen as Chriſt hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any other wyſe, I will not beleue him.

Touching the neceſſary pointes of doctrine and Sacramentes, only the word is to be folowed.

Boner. Why, than ye muſt eate a Lambe, if ye wyll haue but Chriſtes inſtitution onely.

Haukes. Nay that is not ſo. Before that Chriſt did inſtitute the ſacrament, that ceremony ceaſed, and then began the ſacrament.

Boner. Alas, you know not how it begonne, neither of the inſtitution thereof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learne.

Boner. Mary, we will teach you: but ye are ſo ſtubborne that ye will not learne.

Haukes. Except ye learne me by the word of God, I will neuer credite you nor beleue you: and thus wée concluded. Then the Byſhop and his Chaplaynes laughed, and ſayd: Ieſu, Ieſu, what a ſtubbornes and arrogantnes is this? & this was in his chamber where he lay? Then ſayd the Byſhop to me, go ye downe and drinke, for it is faſting day: it is midſommer euen, but I thinke ye loue neither faſting nor praying.

A falſe conceaued opinion of *Boner* agaynſt the Proteſtantes.

Haukes. I will neuer deny faſting neyther praying, ſo that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hipocriſy or vayne glory.

Faſting & praying no man denieth.

Boner. I like you the better for that: & ſo we left for that night.

The next day the byſhop went to London: for Fecknam was made Deane that day, and I taryed ſtyll at Fulham. Thẽ did the Byſhops men deſire me to come to Maſſe, but I did vtterly refuſe it, aunſwering them as I did their Maiſter. That night the Byſhop came home to Fullam agayne.

Boner returneth from London.

Talke betwene Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then vpon the Monday morning very earely the biſhop did call for me. There was with him Harpſfield Archdeacon of Londõ, to whom the Biſhop ſaid: this is the man that I told you of, who would not haue his childe chriſtened, nor will haue any ceremonies.

Talke betwene *Thomas Haukes, & Harpſfield.*

Harpſ. Chriſt vſed ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and tooke ſpettle, and made the blind man to ſée?

Haukes. I wotte well that, but Chriſt did neuer vſe it in baptiſme. If ye will néedes haue it, put it to the vſe that Chriſt put it vnto.

But Chriſt neuer made any ordinaunce or cuſtome of that ceremonie.

Harpſ. I admit your childe dye vnchriſtened: what a heauy caſe ſtand you in?

Haukes. I admit that if it do, what than?

Harpſ. Mary then are ye damned, and your childe both.

Haukes. Iudge you no farther then yee may by the ſcriptures.

The ſtate of children dying without baptiſme.

Harpſ. Do ye not know that your childe is borne in originall ſinne?

Haukes. Yes that I do.

Harpſ. How is originall ſinne waſhed away?

Haukes. By true faith and beliefe in Chriſt Ieſus.

Harpſ. How can your child being an infant, beleue.

Haukes The deliueraunce of it from ſinne, ſtandeth in the in the ſayth of his parentes.

Harpſ. How proue you that?

The beleeuing parentes ſanctify the childe.

Haukes. By Saint Paule in the .vij. and the firſt to the Corinthians, ſaying: *The vnbeleuing man is ſanctified by the vnbeleuing woman, and the vnbeleuing woman is ſanctified by the beleuing man, or els were your children vncleane.*

Harpſ. I will proue that they whom thou putteſt thy truſt in, will be agaynſt thee in this opinion.

Haukes. Who be thoſe?

Harpſ. Your great learned men in Oxford.

Haukes. If they do it by the ſcriptures, I wil beleue them.

Boner. Recant, recant: do ye not know that Chriſt ſaid, except ye be baptiſed, ye can not be ſaued?

Chriſtianity ſtandeth not in outward ceremonies.

Haukes. Doth chriſtianitie ſtand in outward ceremonies or no?

Boner. Partly it doth: what ſay ye to that?

Haukes. I ſay as Saint Peter ſaith: *Not the waſhing of water purgeth the filthines of the fleſh, but a good conſcience conſenting vnto God.*

Harpſ. Beware of pride brother, beware of pride.

Sirach.10.

Haukes It is written: *Pride ſerueth not for men, nor yet for the ſonnes of men.*

Boner commeth in with his Maſſe.

Boner. Let vs make an end here. How ſay you to the Maſſe ſirha?

Maſſe profitable for nothing.

Haukes. I ſay it is deteſtable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.

Boner. What? nothing profitable in it? what ſay you to the Epiſtle and Goſpell?

Haukes. It is good if it be vſed as Chriſt left it to be vſed.

Boner. Well, I am glad that ye ſomewhat recant: recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I haue recanted nothing, nor will do.

Confiteor in the Maſſe a thing deteſtable.

Boner. How ſay you to Confiteor?

Haukes. I ſay it is abominable and deteſtable, yea and a blaſphemy agaynſt God and hys ſonne Chriſt, to call vpon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſaue only to Chriſt Ieſus.

Boners ſimilitude to proue praying to Saintes.

Boner. To truſt to any, we byd you not: but to call vpon them, and to pray to them we byd you. Do ye not know when ye come into the Court ye can not ſpeake with the king and Queene, vnles ye call to ſome of the priuy chamber that are next to the kyng and Queene?

We ought not to beleue in Saintes: Ergo, we ought not to call vpon them.

Haukes. They that liſt, receyue your doctrine. You teach me that I ſhould not beleue nor truſt in any, but to call on them: and S. Paule ſaith: *How ſhould I cal vpon hym, on whom I beleue not?*

Praying for the dead.

Boner. Wyll you haue no body pray for you when you be dead?

Haukes. No ſurely, except you can proue it by the ſcriptures. Then the biſhop pointed vnto Harpsfield and ſayd vnto me: Is it not well done to deſire thys man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes ſurely, ſo long as we lyue, prayer is auailable of the righteous man: but this mans praiers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Boner. Wyll ye graunt the prayer of the ryghteous man to preuayle?

Haukes, I graunt it doth for the liuing, but not for the dead.

Boner. Not for the dead?

Pſal.49.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Dauid ſayth: *No man can deliuer hys brother from death, nor make agreement vnto God for him: for it coſt more to redeeme their ſoules, ſo that ye muſt let that alone for euer.* Alſo Ezechiell ſayth:

Ezech.14.

Though Noe, Daniel, or Iob dwelt amongeſt them, yet can they in their righteouſnes exceede no farther then thẽ ſelues. Then the Biſhop ſayd to Harpsfield: Syr, ye ſee thys man hath no neede of our Lady, neither of any of the bleſſed Saintes. Well, I wyll trouble you no longer. I did call you, hoping that you ſhould doe ſome good on hym, but it wyll not be. And he ſayd to me: Syr, it is tyme to begyn wyth you: we wyll ryd you away and then we ſhall haue one hereticke leſſe.

Boner when he can not ouercome by doctrine, [illegible] to [illegible] by authority.

Harpſ. What bookes haue you?

Haukes. The new Teſtament, Salomons bookes, and the Pſalter.

Harpſ. Wyll you read any other bookes?

Haukes. Yea, if you wyll geue me ſuch bookes, as I wyll require.

Harpſ. What bookes wyll you require?

Haukes. Latimers bookes, my Lord of Canterburies booke, Bradfords Sermons, Ridleyes bookes.

Boner. Away, away, he wil haue no bookes but ſuch as mayntaine his hereſies: and ſo they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ryde vnto Oxforde, and I went to the Porters lodge agayne.

¶ *The next daies talke.*

The next dayes talke.

The next day came thether an old biſhop, who had a pearle in hys eye, and he brought with hym to my Lord a diſh of apples, and a bottle of wyne. For he had loſt hys liuing, becauſe he had a wyfe. Then the Byſhop called me agayne into the Orchard, and ſayd to the old byſhop: this young man hath a chyld, and wyll not haue it chriſtened.

This Biſhops name was *Byrd*, Byſhop ſometymes of Cheſter, and Suffragane before of Couentrie. Of whom read before pag. 1146.

Haukes. I deny not Baptiſme.

Boner. Thou art a foole, thou canſt not tell what thou wouldeſt haue, and that he ſpake with much anger.

B. Boner reproued for his anger.

Haukes. A Biſhop muſt be blameles or faultles, ſober, diſcrete, no chider, not geuen to anger.

Boner. Thou iudgeſt me to be angrye: no by my fayth am I not, and ſtroke him ſelfe vpon the breſt.

Then ſayd the old biſhop: Alas good yong man, you muſt be taught by the church, and by your auncientes, and do as your fathers haue done before you.

Boner. No, no, he wyll haue nothing but the ſcriptures, and God wot he doth not vnderſtand them. He wyll haue no ceremonies in the Church, no not one. What ſay you to holy water?

Haukes. I ſay to it, as to the reſt, and to all that be of hys making that made them.

Boner. Why, the Scriptures doth alow it.

Haukes. Where proue you that?

See how *Boner* proueth holy water by the ſcripture.

Boner. In the booke of Kings, where Elizeus threw ſalt into the water.

Elizeus put ſalt in the water, not to waſhe away ſinne, but only to make the water ſweete.

Haukes. Ye ſay truth: it is ſo written in the 4. booke of Kings the 2. chapter: the children of the Prophets came to Elizeus, ſaying: *The dwelling of this citie is pleaſant, but the waters be corrupted.* This was the cauſe that Elizeus threw ſalt into the water, and it became ſweete and good: and ſo when our waters bee corrupted, if ye can by putting in of ſalt make them ſweete, cleare, and wholeſome, we will the better beleue your ceremonies.

Boner. How ſay ye to holy bread?

Haukes. Euen as I ſayd to the others. What ſcripture haue you to defend it?

Boner proueth holy bread by the .5. loaues and .3. fiſhes.

Boner. Haue ye not read where Chriſt fed fiue thouſand men with fiue loaues, and three fiſhes?

Haukes. Wyll ye make that holy breade? There Chriſt dealt fiſh with his holy bread.

Boner. Looke I pray you, how captious this man is.

Haukes. Chriſt did not this miracle, or other, becauſe we ſhould doe ye like miracle, but becauſe we ſhould beleue and credite hys doctrine thereby.

Boner. Ye wyll beleue no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

Marke.16.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Chriſt ſaith: *Theſe tokens ſhall follow thẽ that beleue in me: they ſhall ſpeake with new tonges, they ſhall caſt out deuils, & if they drinke any deadly poyſon, it ſhall not hurt them.*

Boner. With what new tounges do ye ſpeake?

How conuerted Chriſtians do ſpeake with new tongues.

Haukes. Forſooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of Gods word, I was a foule blaſphemer and filthy talker, ſince I came to the knowledge thereof, I haue lauded God, prayſed God, and geuen thankes vnto God euen with the ſame toung: and is not this a new toung?

Boner. How do ye caſt out deuils?

Haukes. Chriſt did caſt them out by hys word, and he hath left the ſame word, that whoſoeuer doth credit and beleue it, ſhall caſt out deuils.

Boner. Did you euer drinke any deadly poyſon?

Haukes. Yea forſooth that I haue: for I haue dronken of the peſtilent traditions and ceremonies of the biſhop of Rome.

Boner. Now you ſhew your ſelf to be a right heretike.

Haukes. I pray you what is hereſie?

B. Boner an hereticke by his own definition.

Boner. All things that are contrary to Gods word.

Haukes. If I ſtand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy ſo to be called.

Boner. Thou art one, and thou ſhalt be burned, if thou ſtand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afrayd to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhead of you, but I wyll breake it, I warrant you.

The Papiſtes do beſides Gods booke, in burning mē for their faything.

Haukes. Where proue you that Chriſt or hys Apoſtels dyd kill any man for hys fayth?

Boner. Dyd not Paule excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my Lord: but there is a great difference betwene excommunicating and burning.

Boner. Haue ye not read of the man and the womā in the Actes of the Apoſtles, whom Peter deſtroyed?

Haukes. Yes forſoth, I haue read of one Ananias, and Saphira his wife, which were deſtroyed for lying agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſerueth nothyng for your purpoſe.

Boner. Well, ye will graunt one yet.

Haukes. Well, if ye will haue vs to graunt you to be of God, then ſhew mercy: for that God requireth.

This Biſhop here forgetteth hys leſſon, Benedicite perſequentibus vos.

Boner. We will ſhew ſuch mercy vnto you, as ye ſhewed vnto vs: for my benefice or Byſhoprike was taken away from me, ſo that I had not one peny to lyue vpon.

Haukes. I pray you my Lord, what do you geue him now that was in the Biſhoprike or benefice before that ye came agayne to it? wherunto he aunſwered me neuer a word: for he turned his backe vnto me, and talked with other men, ſaying that he was very ſory for me, but he truſted that I would turne with S. Paul, becauſe I was ſo earneſt: and ſo he departed and went to dyner, and I to the porters lodge agayne.

Tho. Haukes afterward called for agayne to talke with the old Biſh.

After dinner I was called into the Hall againe, & the Biſhop deſired the old Biſhop to take me into his chamber: for I would be glad (ſayd he) if ye could conuert him. So he tooke me into his chamber, and ſat him downe in a chayre, and ſayd to me: I would to God I could do you ſome good. Ye are a young mā, & I would not wiſh you to go to farre, but learne of your elders to beare ſomewhat.

Haukes. I will beare with nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked that the olde Byſhop ſhould haue made me an aunſwere, and he was faſt a ſleepe. Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the Porters lodge agayne, and there ſaw I the old Byſhop laſt: I ſuppoſe he is not yet awake.

¶ *Talke betwene Fecknam and Haukes.*

The next dayes talke wyth *Fecknam.*

The next day came Fecknam vnto me and ſaid: are ye he that will haue no ceremonies?

Haukes. What meane you by that?

Fecknam. Ye will not haue your child Chriſtened, but in Engliſh and you will haue no ceremonies.

Haukes. What ſoeuer the Scripture commaūdeth to be done, I refuſe not.

Feck. Ceremonies are to be vſed by ẏ Scriptures.

Haukes. Which bee thoſe?

Fecknams reaſon lyeth in Paules breeches.

Fec. How ſay you by Paules breeches?

Haukes. I haue read no ſuch thyng.

Fec. Haue ye not read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, how thinges went from Paules body, and they receiued health therby?

Haukes. I haue read in the. xix. of the Actes, how there went partlets and napkyns from Paules body. Is it that that ye meane?

Fec. Yea the ſame is it: what ſay you to thoſe ceremonies?

Actes.19.

Haukes. I ſay nothyng to the ceremonies. For the text ſaith, that God did ſo worke by the handes of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him. &c. So that it ſeemed by the text, that it was God that wrought and not the ceremonies.

Fecknam maketh euery act ſpoken of in the new Teſtament to be a ceremony.

Feck. How ſay ye to the woman that came behynd Chriſt, and touched the hem of his veſture? did not her diſeaſe depart from her by that ceremony?

Marck.5. Luke.8.

Haukes. No forſooth: For Chriſt turned backe and ſayd to Peter: *Who is it that touched me?* and Peter ſayd: *Thou ſeeſt the people thruſt thee: and aſkeſt thou who touched me? Some body hath touched me* (ſaith Chriſt) *for vertue hath gone out of me.* I pray you, whether was it the vertue that healed this woman, or his veſture?

Fecknam taken ſhort in his owne tale.

Fecknam. Both.

Haukes. Thē is not Chriſt true: for he ſayd: *Go thy way, thy fayth hath made thee whole.*

Boner. Away, away, to the Sacramēt: for theſe are but trifles to that.

Fecknam driuen in a ſtraite, driueth him to the ſacrament.

Feck. How ſay ye Syrha: Chriſt tooke bread, and brake it, and ſayd: *Take, eat, this is my body?*

Haukes. I graunt Chriſt ſayd ſo.

Fecknam. And is it not ſo?

Haukes. No forſoth, I do not vnderſtand it ſo.

It is hys ſacramētall body, or the ſacramēt of his body, but not his true body.

Fecknam. Why? then is Chriſt a lyer?

Haukes. I thinke ye will ſo proue him.

Fecknam. Will I? why, I haue ſpoken the wordes that Chriſt ſpake.

The wordes of Chriſt are to be vnderſtand, not as he ſpake, but as he ment them.

Hau. Is euery word to be vnderſtanded as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid: I am a dore, a vyne, I am a kyng, a way. &c.

Feck. Chriſt ſpake thoſe wordes in parables.

Hau. And why ſpeaketh he this in parables, when he ſayd: I am a dore, a vyne, a kyng, a way. &c. more, then this, when he ſayd: *This is my body?* For after the ſame phraſe of ſpeach, as he ſayth: *This is my body:* ſo ſayth he: I am a dore, a vyne, a kyng, a way: he ſayth not I am lyke a dore, like a vyne. &c.

Then Fecknam ſtoode vp and ſaid: I had ſuch a one before me this other day. Alas, theſe places ſerue nothyng for your purpoſes. But I perceiue ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

Haukes. What meane you by that?

Fec. I meane Latymer, Cranmer, and Ryldley.

Fecknam falleth out of his matter to rayling.

Hau. I know nothyng els by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

Feck. Wilt thou truſt to ſuch doltes? One of them hath written a booke, wherein he affirmeth a reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Haukes. What he hath done, I know not: but what he doth I know.

Fec. Ridley hath preached at Paules Croſſe openly, that the deuill beleueth better then you: for he beleueth that Chriſt is able to make of ſtones bread, and ye will not beleue that Chriſtes body is in the bleſſed Sacrament, and yet thou buildeſt thy fayth vpon them.

Thomas Haukes buildeth his fayth vpon no man.

Hau. I build my fayth vpon no man, and that ſhall ye wel know: for if thoſe men, and as many mo as they be, ſhould recāt & deny that they haue ſaid or done, yet will I ſtand to it, and by this ſhall ye know that I build my fayth vpon no man.

Boner. If any of thoſe recant, what will ye ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you aunſwere.

Boner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doeſt now for all that.

Haukes. Yea in deede will I, and that truſt to it, by Gods grace.

B. Boner iudgeth other mē by his owne ſelfe.

Boner. I dare ſay Cranmer would recant, ſo that he might haue his liuing. And ſo the Byſhop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughyng, and I went agayne to the Porters lodge.

¶ *Talke*

Queene Mary. 1555. Iune.

¶ *Talke betwene Haukes and Chadſey.*

An other talke with D. Chadſey.

The next day came Doct. Chadſey to ye Biſhop, and then was I called into the garden before the Byſhop & hym. The Byſhop declared vnto hym that I had ſtand ſtubbornely in my defenſe agaynſt the Chriſtenyng of my childe, and agaynſt the ceremonies of the Church, & that I would not haue it Chriſtened but in Engliſh.

Then ſayd Doct. Chadſey: then he denyeth the order of the Catholicke Church.

Boner. Yea, he thinketh that there is no Church but in England, and in Germanie.

Haukes. And ye thinke that there is no Church but the Church of Rome.

Chad. What ſay ye to the Church of Rome?

The church of Rome.

Haukes. I ſay it is a Church of a ſorte of vicious Cardinalls, Prieſtes, Monkes and Friers, which I will neuer credite nor beleue.

Chad. How ſay ye to the Byſhop of Rome?

The Biſh. of Rome.

Haukes. *From hym and all hys deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs.*

Chad. Mary ſo may we ſay from kyng Henry the eight, and all his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs.

Haukes. Where were ye whiles that he lyued, that ye would not ſay ſo?

Chad. I was not farre.

Haukes. Where were ye in his ſonnes dayes?

Chad. In priſon.

Haukes. It was not for your well doyng.

Boner. He will by no meanes come within my Chapell nor here Maſſe: for neither the Maſſe, neither the Sacrament of the aultar can he abyde, neither will he haue any ſeruice but in Engliſh.

Chad. Chriſt neuer ſpake Engliſh.

Chadſeyes argument. Chriſt neuer ſpake Engliſhe: Ergo we muſt not pray in Engliſhe. An inſtance geuen agaynſt Chadſey.

Haukes. Neither ſpake he euer any Latine, but alwayes in ſuch a toung as the people might be edified therby. And Paule ſayth, *that tounges profite vs nothyng.* He maketh a ſimilitude betwene the pype & the harpe, and except it be vnderſtanded what the trumpet meaneth who can prepare him ſelfe to the battell? ſo if I heare ye toung which I do not vnderſtād, what profite haue I therby? no more then hee hath by the trumpet that knoweth not what it meaneth.

Chad. If ye vnderſtād Paules ſaying, he ſpeaketh it vnder a prophecie. If we prophecie to you in tongs. &c.

Haukes. Forſoth Paul ſpeaketh playnly of toungs: for tounges ſerue not for them that beleue.

Chad. I tell you Paul ſpeaketh alltogether vppon Prophecie.

Haukes. Paul maketh a diſtinction betwene Prophecying and tounges, ſaying, *that if any man ſpeake with tounges, let it bee by two or three at the moſt, and let an other interprete it. But if there bee no interpreter, let them keepe ſilence in the congregation, and let hym ſelfe pray vnto God: and then let the Prophetes ſpeake .ij. or iij. and that by courſe, and let the other iudge: and if any reuelation be made to hym that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace:* ſo that it ſeemeth that Paul maketh a diſtinction betwene tounges and Prophecying.

1.Cor.14.

Boner. The order was taken in the Catholicke Church that the Latin toung ſhould ſerue through the whole world, becauſe that they ſhould pray generally altogether in one toung, and that to auoyd all contentiō and ſtrife, and to haue one vniuerſall order through the whole world.

Latin ſeruice.

Haukes. This did your Coūcels of Rome cōclude.

Boner. Vnderſtand ye what the generall Coūcels of Rome ment?

Haukes. In deede all your generall Councels of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Engliſh man: therfore I haue nothyng to do with them.

The generall Councels of Rome.

Chad. Ye are to blame, beyng an vnlearned man to reproue all the Councels throughout all the whole world.

Haukes. I reproue them not, but Paul rebuketh them, ſaying: *If any man preach any other doctrine then that which I haue taught, do you hold him accurſed.*

Chad. Hath any man preached any other doctrine vnto you?

Haukes. Yea, I haue bene taught an other Goſpel ſince I came into this houſe.

Other doctrine taught in the Church of Rome thē euer Paul taught.

Chad. What Goſpell haue ye bene taught?

Haukes. Praying to Saincts, and to our Lady, and truſt in the Maſſe, holy bread and holy water, and in Idols.

Chad. He that teacheth you ſo, teacheth not a miſſe.

Haukes. Curſed be he that teacheth me ſo: for I wil not truſt him, nor beleue him.

Boner. You ſpeake of Idols, and ye know not what they meane.

Idoles.

Haukes. God hath taught vs what they be: for what ſoeuer is made, grauen, or deuiſed by mans hād, contrary to Gods word, that ſame is an Idoll. What ſay you to that?

Chad. What be thoſe that ye are ſo offended withall?

Haukes. The croſſe of wood, ſiluer, copper, or gold. &c.

The Croſſe.

Boner. What ſay ye to that?

Hauk. I ſay it is an Idol. What ſay you to it?

Images.

Boner. I ſay euery Idol is an image, but euery image is not an Idole.

Hauk. I ſay, what differerence is there betwene an Idol and an Image?

Boner. If it be a falſe God, & an Image made of him, that is an Idol: but if an Image be made of God hymſelfe, it is no Idol, but an Image, becauſe he is a true God.

Note here *Boners* definition of an Idol.

Hauk. Lay your Images of your true God and of your falſe God together, and ye ſhall ſee the difference. Haue not your Images feete & go not, eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not, hands and feele not, mouthes and ſpeake not? and euen ſo haue your Idols.

Chad. *God forbid,* ſayth S. Paul, *that I ſhould reioyce in any thing els, but in the croſſe of Chriſt Ieſus.*

Note here how groſſely *Chadſey* vnderſtandeth the wordes of S.Paul.

Hauk. Do ye vnderſtand Paul ſo? Do ye vnderſtand Paul? Vnto the which he anſwered me neuer a word.

Boner. Where can we haue a godlier remembraunce when we ride by the way, then to ſee the Croſſe.

Hauk. If the Croſſe were ſuch profit vnto vs, why did not Chriſtes diſciples take it vp, and ſet it on a pole, and cary it on proceſſion with Salue feſta dies?

Chad. It was taken vp.

Hauk. Who tooke it vp? Helene, as ye ſay, for ſhe ſent a peece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the viſiters when that houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the peece of the holy Croſſe (which the religious had in ſuch eſtimation, and had robbed many a ſoule, committing Idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proued, and all came to all, it was but a peece of a lath couered ouer with copper, double gilted as it had bene cleane gold.

The people ſeduced by falſe peeces of the holy Croſſe.

Boner. Fie, fie. I dare ſay thou ſclaundereſt it.

Hauk. I know it to be true, and do not beleue the contrary. And thus did the Biſhop and the Doctor depart in a great fume: and Chadſey ſayd vnto me, as he was about to depart: it is pity that thou ſhouldeſt liue, or any ſuch as thou art. I aunſwered: in this caſe I deſire not to liue, but rather to dye.

Note here diſcretly the ſpirite of *Chadſey.*

Chad. Ye die boldely becauſe ye would glory in your death, as Ioane Butcher did.

Haukes. What Ioane Butcher did, I haue nothing to do withall: but I would my part might be to morrow. God make you in a better mynde, ſayd they both, and ſo they departed, and I went to the porters lodge wyth my keper.

The next day D. Chadſey preached in the Biſhops chappell, and did not begin his ſermon vntill all the ſeruice was done, and then came the porter for me, and ſayd: my Lord would haue you come to the ſermon, and ſo I went to the chappell dore, and ſtode wythout the dore.

Tho. Hankes will not come into Boners Chappell.

Boner. Is not that fellow come?

Haukes. Yes I am here.

Boner. Come in man.

Haukes. No that I will not. He called agayne, and I anſwered: I wyll come no nearer, and ſo I ſtode at the dore. Then ſayd the Biſhop, go to your ſermon.

Chadſeyes ſermon.

His theame.

Then D. Chadſey put the ſtole about his necke, and caryed the holy water ſprinkle vnto the Byſhop, who bleſſed him, and gaue him holy water, and ſo he went to hys ſermon. The text that he entreated on, was the xvj. of Mathew. *Whom do men ſay that I the ſonne of man am? Peter ſayd: ſome ſay that thou art Helias, ſome ſay thou art Iohn Baptiſt, ſome ſay thou art one of the Prophetes. But whom ſay ye that I am? Then ſayd Peter, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God.* Then left he the text there, and ſayd: *Whoſe ſinnes ſo euer ye binde, are bound:* which authority (ſayd he) is left to the heades of the Church, as my Lord here is one, and ſo vnto all the reſt that be vnderneth him. But the Church hath ben much kicked at ſith the beginning: yet kicke the heretickes, ſporne the heretickes neuer ſo much, the Church doth ſtand and floriſh. And then he went ſtraight way to the ſacrament, and ſayd his mynde on it, exalting it aboue the heauen, (as the moſt of them do) and ſo returned to his place againe, ſaying: *Whoſe ſinnes ye do remit, are remitted and forgeuen:* and ſo he applied it to the Byſhops and Prieſtes to forgeue ſinnes, ⁊ ſayd, all that be of the Church will come and receaue the ſame. And this he proued by S. Iohn in the xj. chapiter, ſaying that Chriſt came to rayſe Lazarus, which when he was riſen, was bound in bandes: then ſayd Chriſt to them that were in authority (who were his diſciples:) Go ye and loſe him, loſe him you. And thys was the effect of his ſermon, applying all to them, that they haue the ſame authority that Chriſt ſpake of to his Apoſtles, and ſo ended hys ſermon, and they went to dinner.

Chadſey exalteth the Sacrament.

Scripture clerkly applied.

¶ An other communication betwene Thomas Haukes, and the Byſhop.

An other talke betwene Tho. Haukes and Boner, and the Quenes men.

AND after dinner I was called into the chappell, where as were certayne of the Queenes ſeruauntes and other ſtraungers, whom I did not know.

Boner. Haukes, how like ye the ſermon?

Haukes. As I like all the reſt of his doctrine?

Boner. What? are ye not edified thereby?

Haukes. No ſurely.

Boner. It was made only becauſe of you.

Haukes. Why? then am I ſory that ye had no mo heretikes here, as ye call them. I am ſory, that ye haue beſtowed ſo much labour on one, and ſo litle regarded.

Boner. Well, I will leaue you here, for I haue buſines. I pray you talke with him: for if ye could do him good (ſayd he) I would be glad.

This the Byſhop ſpake to the Queenes men, who ſayd vnto me: Alas what meane you to trouble your ſelfe about ſuch matters, againſt the Queenes procedinges?

Tho. Haukes refuſeth to talke with the Queenes ſeruauntes.

Haukes. Thoſe matters haue I aunſwered before them that be in authority: and vnles I ſee you haue a further commiſſion, I will anſwere you nothing at all. Then ſayd the Biſhops men (which were many): my Lord hath commaunded you to talke with them.

Haukes. If my Lord will talke with me himſelfe, I will aunſwere hym. They cryed faggots, burne him, hang him, to priſon with him: it is pity that he liueth, lay Irons vpon him: and with a great noyſe they ſpake theſe wordes. Then in the middeſt of all the rage, I departed from them, and wēt to the porters lodge againe.

¶ The next dayes talke.

An other dayes talke betwene Haukes & Boner.

THE next day, the Byſhop called me into his chamber, and ſayd: ye haue bene with me a great while, and ye are neuer the better but worſe and worſe: and therfore I will delay the tyme no longer, but ſend you to Newgate.

Haukes. My Lord, ye can do me no better pleaſure.

Boner. Why? would ye ſo fayne go to priſon?

Haukes. Truly I did looke for none other when I came to your handes.

Boner. Come on your wayes: ye ſhall ſee what I haue written. Then did he ſhew me certaine Articles, and theſe are the contentes of them:

Boner ſheweth Haukes articles in writing.

Whether the Catholicke Church doe teach and beleue that Chriſtes reall preſence doth remaine in the Sacrament or no, after the woordes of conſecration, according to the wordes of Sainct Paule, which are theſe: *Is not the bread which wee breake the partaking of the body of Chriſt, and the cup which wee bleſſe, the partaking of the bloud of Chriſt?* which if it were not ſo, Paul would neuer haue ſayd it.

Anſwere of Haukes to the firſt article.

Haukes. What your Church doth, I can not tell: but I am ſure that the holy Catholicke Church doth neither ſo take it, nor beleue it.

Boner. Whether doth the Catholicke Church teach and beleue the Baptiſme that now is vſed in the Church, or no?

Anſwere to the 2. article.

Haukes. I anſwered to it as I did to the other queſtion before. Then did the biſhop with much flatterye counſell me to be perſwaded, and to keepe mee out of priſon, which I vtterly refuſed, and ſo wee departed. And I ſuppoſed that the next day I ſhoulde haue gone to priſon, and ſo I had, ſaue for the Archdeacon of Cāterbury, whoſe name is Harpsfield, whom the byſhop had deſired to talke with me, and began to perſwade me concerning the ſacramēt, and the ceremonies: and after much talke he ſayd that the ſacrament of the aultar was the ſame body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, which dyd hang vpon the croſſe.

Talke betwene Haukes and Doct. Harpſfield Archdeacō of Caunt.

Haukes. He was vpon the croſſe both aliue ⁊ dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

A queſtion put to Harpſfield.

Harpſ. The Archdeacon aunſwered, aliue.

Haukes. How proue you that?

Harpſ. Ye muſt beleue. Doth not S. Iohn ſay: *He is already condemned, that beleueth not?*

Haukes. S. Iohn ſayth: *Hee that beleueth not in the ſonne of God, is already condemned:* but he ſayth not, hee that beleueth not in the ſacrament, is alredy condēned.

Harpſ. There is no talke wyth you: for ye are both without fayth and learning, and therefore I wyll talke no more with you in ſcripture.

Then two that ſtode by, bad mee enter further in talke with him, and then ſayd I vnto him: why is the Rodeloft ſet betwixt the body of the Church, and the Chauncell?

An other queſtion put to Harpſfield, why the Roodeloſt is ſet betwene the Church and the Chauncell.

Harpſ. I can not tell: for ye haue aſked a queſtion, which ye can not aſſoyle your ſelfe.

Haukes. Yes that I can: for this ſayth one of your own Doctors, that ye body of the church doth repreſent the church militant, ⁊ the Chauncell the church triumphant: and ſo becauſe we can not go frō ye church militant to ye church triumphant, but that we muſt beare ye croſſe of Chriſt, thys is ye cauſe of the Rodeloft beyng betwene the body of the Church and the Chauncell.

Harpſ. This is well and clarkly concluded.

Haukes. As all the reſt of your doctrine is: and ſo with many perſwaſions on hys part we ended, and ſo departed: and I to the Porters lodge agayne.

¶ An other dayes talke.

THE next day in in the morning, which was the firſt day of Iuly, the biſhop did cal me him ſelfe from the Porters lodge, commaunding me to make me ready to go to pryſon, and to take ſuch things with me as I had of

Haukes ſent to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter with the Biſhops warrant.

of myne own. And I ſayd, I do neither intend to bribe neither to ſteale, God wylling. Then he dyd wryte my warrant to the Keeper of the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, and deliuered it to Harpsfield, who with his own man and one of the biſhops men brought me to pryſō, and deliuered the warant and me both to the Keeper: and this was contayned in the warrant:

The Biſhops warrant.

I wyll and commaund you, that you receaue hym who commeth named in this warrant, and that he bee kept as a ſafe pryſoner, and that no man ſpeake wyth him, and that ye delyuer him to no man, except it be to the Councel, or to a Juſtice: For he is a Sacramentarie, and one that ſpeaketh agaynſt Baptiſme, a ſedicious man, a perilous man to be abroade in theſe perilous dayes.

The Biſhops men ſent to Haukes in the Gatehouſe.

And thus was I receiued, and they departed. And there I remayned .xij. dayes, and then the biſhop ſent two of hys men vnto me, ſaying: My Lord would be glad to know how ye do. I aunſwered them, I do like a poore priſoner. They ſayd: My Lord would knowe whether ye be the ſame man that ye were when ye departed? I ſayd I am no chaungeling. They ſayde, my Lord would be glad that ye ſhould do well. I ſayd: If my Lorde wyll me any good, I pray you deſire hym to ſuffer my friendes to come to me. So they ſayd they would ſpeake for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the firſt examination of me Tho. Haukes, being examined by Edmund Boner, then biſhop of London, and by his Chaplens and Doctors at Fulham .iiij. myles from London, where I lay tyll I came to priſon to Weſtminſter: and after his two men had bene with me, I heard no more of him, tyl the thyrd daye of September.

Here foloweth the ſecond time of mine examination, the which was the .3. day of September: for the Byſhop did ſend his men for me, to come to his pâllace to London, and ſo my keeper and his men brought me to his place the ſame day.

The ſecōd tyme of Haukes examination.

Of this ſermon of Wincheſt. read before pag. 1651.

The Byſhop of Wyncheſter, then being Chauncellour, preached that day at Paules croſſe, and the Byſhop of London ſayd to my keper, I thinke your man will not go to the ſermon to day.

Haukes. Yes my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that that is good I will receiue, and the reſt I wil leaue behynd me, and ſo I went. And when the ſermon was done, I and my keeper came to the Byſhops houſe, and there we remayned till dynner was done: and after dinner the byſhop called for me, and aſked me if I were the ſame man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no chaungling, neyther none wyll be.

Boner. Ye ſhall find me no chaungling neither. And ſo he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the ſyde of a ſheete of paper, and all that whyle I ſtode in the great chamber, and as many with mee as might well ſtand in the chamber. And as I ſtode, D. Smyth came vnto me (who once recanted, as it appeareth in print) ſaying that he would be glad to talke brotherly with me. I aſked him what he was. Then ſayd they that ſtode by, he is Doctour Smith. Then ſaid I: are you he that did recant? And he ſayd, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

D. Smith commeth to Haukes.

Haukes. Ye were beſt to terme it well, for your own honeſty.

Doctour Smithes recantatiō.

D. Smyth. Shall I terme it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To be ſhort with you, I wil know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talke with you, credite you or beleue you: and ſo I departed from him to the other ſyde of the chamber. Then ſayd the Byſhops men and his Chaplaines, that my Lord commaunded me to talke with him. Then they that ſtode by, cryed with a great noyſe: hang him, burne him: it is pity that he liueth, that diſobeyeth my Lordes commaundement.

Miles Huggardes wordes to Tho. Haukes.

Then ſayd one Myles Huggard: where proue you that infantes were baptiſed?

Haukes. *Go teach all Nations, baptiſing them in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy ghoſt.* Sir here is none excepted.

Miles Huggard.

M. Hug. What? ſhall we go teach children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you: it might be left out full well: it is to much for you to teach. Is not your name Myles Huggard?

M. Hug. So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a Hoſier, and dwel in Pudding lane?

M. Hug. Yes that I am and there I do dwell.

Huggard more meete to eate a pudding, then to diſpute of ſcripture.

Haukes. It would ſeeme ſo: for ye can better ſkyll to eat a pudding and make a hoſe, then in ſcripture either to aunſwere, or to oppoſe. With that he was in great rage, and did chafe vp and downe. Then I deſired that ſome man would take the pain to walke the gentlemā, he did freat ſo for anger. Then one that ſtode by mee, (who is perſon of Hornchurch and Rumford in Eſſex) ſayd: alas what do you meane? a young man to bee ſo ſtubburne? there ſeemeth to much pride in you.

Haukes. Are not ye the parſon of Hornchurch?

Parſon. Yes that I am.

Haukes. Did yee not ſet ſuch a Prieſt in your benefice?

Parſon. Yes for a ſhyft.

Parſon of Hornchurch compared to the wether cocke of Paules.

Haukes. Like will to like: ſuch maiſter, ſuch man. For I know that prieſt to be a very vile man, as any could be. I aſked the parſon what kinne he was to the weather Cocke of Paules? and he fell in a great laughter, wyth the reſt of his companions. Hee ſayd that I did rayle.

Then ſayd an other that ſtode by vnto mee: What boke haue you here? I anſwered, the new Teſtament. May I loke in it, ſayd he? Yea that ye may ſayd I. And ſo he loked in my boke, and ſayd it was corrupt. I anſwered hym: if the thinges contained in it be true, then are ye all falſe Prophetes. Hee ſayd that he would appoſe me in the firſt word of ẏ Teſtament, ſaying: here is a generation of Chriſt. And Eſay ſaith, no man can tell hys generation.

Friuolous queſtions.

Eſay. 53.

Haukes. What meaneth Eſay by that?

I woulde learne of you (ſayd he.)

Haukes. Yee would bee angry if the ſcholler ſhould learne the maiſter: but if ye will haue me to teach you, I will tell you Eſaias meaning.

Then ſayd he, no man can tell the generation betwene the father and the ſonne: but you (I dare ſay) did know it before.

Haukes. Why then Eſay denyeth not the generatiō.

Then ſayd he, why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is a Meſſias.

Then ſaid he, why is he called a Meſſias?

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo Prophecied by the Prophetes.

Then ſayd he: why is your boke called a booke?

Haukes. Theſe wordes doe breed more ſtrife, then godly edifying.

Beware ſayd hee, that ye do not declyne from the church: for if ye do, you will proue your ſelfe an heretické.

Difference betwene the true Prophets and the falſe. The falſe prophets ſay: thus ſaith the Church. The true Prophets ſay: thus ſayth the Lord.

Haukes. Euen as ye do call vs heritickes, that doo enclyne to Chriſtes church, from your Church: ſo are ye all falſe Prophetes, that do decline from Chriſtes church, to your owne church. And by this ſhall all men know you to be falſe Prophetes, if ye ſay, this ſayth the church, and will not ſay, this ſaith our Lord. And ſo he went his way, as though he had a flea in his eare.

Then came an other and ſayd vnto me, hee would talke with me, for he perceiued (as he ſayd) that I was angry and out of pacience.

Haukes. I will ſee your commiſſion or euer I talke with you or with any man more. For I wiſt not how to be ryd of them: they came ſo thick about me. For I ſayd that I came to talke with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the Byſhop, bringing a letter in his hand the which he had written in my name, and read it vnto me after thys maner: I Thomas Haukes, do here confeſſe and declare before my ſaid Ordinary Edmund Byſhop of London, that the Maſſe is abominable and deteſtable, and full of all ſuperſtition, and alſo as concerning the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt (commonly called the ſacrament of the altar) that Chriſt is in no part therof, but onely in heauen: this I haue beleued, and this I do beleue. &c.

The Byſhop writeth Haukes confeſſion.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: what I haue beleued, what haue you to do withall? But what I do beleue, to that ſtand I and will.

Then he toke his penne, and ſayd that he would ſcrape it out for my pleaſure, & ſo did to my thinckyng. Then he went further with his writyng, and ſayd: I Tho. Haukes haue talked with my ſayd Ordinary, and with certaine good, godly, and learned men. Notwithſtandyng I ſtand ſtill in myne opinion.

Haukes. Shall I graunt you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet graunt my ſelfe to ſtand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not graunt you to be good, godly, and learned men.

Boner. Ye will graunt that ye haue talked with vs: the other I will put out for your pleaſure. Then ſayd all his Doctours, if your Lordſhyp be ruled by hym, he will cauſe you to put out all together: and then he read more vnto me. Here vnto this bill haue I ſet to my hand: and then he offred me the bill and his pen, and bad me ſet my hand to it.

Haukes. Ye get not my hand to any thyng of your makyng or deuiſing.

Tho. Haukes denieth to ſet his hand to Boners writing.

Boner. Wilt not thou ſet to thy hand? It ſhalbe to thy ſhame for the denying of it. And then he called all his Doctours, & ſayd he would haue euery mans hand to it that was in the chamber, and ſo he had of theyr handes to it, and ſayd: he that will not ſet his hand to it, I would he were hanged, and ſo ſayd all his Chaplains and Doctours with a great noyſe.

Then the Biſhop thruſt me on the breaſt with great anger, and ſayd he would be euen with me and with all ſuch proud knaues in Eſſex.

Haukes. Ye ſhall do no more then God ſhall geue you leaue.

Boner. This geare ſhall not be vnpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Boner in a fume with Tho. Haukes.

Haukes. As for your curſinges, raylinges, and blaſphemynges, I care not for thē: for I know the mothes and wormes ſhall eate you, as they eate cloth or wooll.

Byſh. I will be euē with you, when time ſhall come.

Haukes. Ye may in your malice deſtroy a man: but when ye haue done, ye can not do ſo much as make a finger, and ye be meetly euen with ſome of vs already.

Boner. If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me.

Haukes. Salomon ſayth: *Go not to law with a Iudge. For he wyll iudge according to hys own honour.*

Boner. Salomon ſayth: *Geue not a foole an aunſwer.*

Haukes. What? do you count me a foole?

Boner. Yea by my trouth do I, and ſo doeſt thou me to: but God forgeue thee, * and ſo do I.

*And euen now ye ſayd you would be euen with him.

Haukes. Thought is free my Lord. Then tooke Boner the byll and read it againe, and when he ſawe that he could not haue my hand to it, then hee woulde haue had me to take it into my hande, and to geue it hym againe.

Haukes. What needeth that ceremonye? Neyther ſhall it come into my hand, hart, nor minde. Then hee wrapt it vp, and put it in his boſome, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horſe and went to horſbacke: for the ſame day he rode in viſitation into Eſſex: and ſo went I to priſon, frō whence I came, with my keeper. And this was the ſecond tyme of my examination. Written by me Thomas Haukes, who deſireth all faithfull men and brethren, to pray vnto God to ſtrengthen me in his truth vnto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren pray.

¶ *The publicke examination of Tho. Haukes.*

After all theſe priuate cōferences, perſuaſions, & lōg debatinges had with Tho. Haukes in ẏ biſhops houſe, as hetherto hath bene declared, the Byſhop ſeyng no hope to wynne hym to his wicked wayes, was fully ſet to procede opēly agaynſt him after the ordinary courſe of his Popiſh law. Whereupon Tho. Haukes ſhortly after was cited with the reſt of his other felowes aboue ſpecified, to wytte, Tho. Tomkyns, Ste. Knyght, W. Pygot, Ioh. Laurence, & W. Hunter, to appeare in the Biſhops Conſiſtory, the viij. day of February, this preſent yeare, videlt. 1555. Upon which appearaūce was layd agaynſt him, in like order, as to the other, firſt the bill of his confeſſion, written with Boners hand, to the which bill ye heard before how this bleſſed ſeruaūt of God denyed to ſubſcribe. After which bill of confeſſion beyng read, and he conſtantly ſtandyng to the ſayd confeſſion, the Byſhop then aſſigned hym with the other v. ẏ next day folowing, which was ẏ ix. of February, to appeare before him agayn, to giue a reſolute aūſwere what they would ſticke vnto. Which day beyng come, and theſe foreſayd vj. priſoners beyng ſeuerally called before the Byſhop, at the commyng of Thomas Haukes, the Byſhop willed him to remember what was ſayd to him yeſterday, & now while he had tyme & ſpace, to aduiſe with hym ſelfe, what he would aunſwere: for he ſtode vpō lyfe and death. Wel, quoth M. Haukes agayne, I will willyngly receaue what ſoeuer ſhall be put vnto me.

Thomas Haukes cited to the Biſhops conſiſtory.

Ex Regiſtro.

The firſt dayes Seſſions agaynſt Thomas Haukes.

The ſecōd dayes Seſſions agaynſt Thomas Haukes.

The aunſwere of Thomas Haukes.

Then were certaine other Interrogatories or Articles commenſed agaynſt hym by the ſayd Biſhop (in like maner as to the other) to the number of foure: with an other bill alſo, which Boner brought out of his boſome conteining priuate matters agaynſt the ſayde Tho. Haukes, which the biſhop called hereſies and errours, but we may better call them Chriſtian verities. To the which matter being read, the ſayd Haukes anſwered openly againe ſaying, that it was true, and that he was glad it was ſo true as it was: with mo wordes to the like effect. And this was on the forenoone, the ix. day of February.

In the afternoone againe the ſayd Haukes appearing, and hearing the foreſayde byll of his confeſſion, with the Articles and Interrogatories read vnto hym, with like conſtancie aunſwering againe to the biſhop: My Lord (ſayd he) as you being my great friend haue cauſed theſe my ſayings to be written: ſo do you cauſe them to be read: and yet I will neuer go from them. And then being exhorted by ẏ biſhop with many fayre wordes, to returne againe to the boſome of the mother Church: No my Lorde (ſayd hee) that wyll I not: for if I had an hūdred bodies, I would ſuffer them all to be torne in peeces, rather then I wyll abiure or recant. And ſo continuing ſtil in the ſame ſong, notwithſtanding that ẏ Doctors & Lawyers were euer calling vpon him to come agayne to the vnity of the Church, he euer kept them of with this aunſwer, that he would neuer go from the beliefe he was in, ſo long as hee lyued. Wherupon Boner at laſt read the Sentence of death vpon hym, and ſo was hee condemned the ſame day with the reſidue of hys fellowes, which was the. ix of February.

The wordes of Thomas Haukes at his iudgemēt.

The inuincible conſtancy of Thomas Haukes.

Thomas Haukes condemned by B. Boner.

Neuertheles his execution was prolonged, and he remained in priſon till the 10. day of Iune. Then was hee committed to the handes and charge of the Lord Rich. Who beyng aſſiſted with power ſufficient of the worſhipfull of the ſhyre, had the foreſayd Tho. Haukes down into Eſſex, with vj. other felow priſoners (whoſe ſtoryes hereafter folow) there to ſuffer Martyrdome, Haukes at Coxhall, the other ſeuerally in other ſeuerall places.

The death of Haukes differred.

Thomas Haukes brought downe to Eſſex by the Lord Rich.

Thomas Haukes by the way vſed much exhortatiō to his frendes, and when ſoeuer opportunitie ſerued to talke with them, he would familiarely admoniſh them. A litle before his death certaine there were of his familiare acquaintaunce and frendes, who frequenting his cõpany more familiarly, which ſeemed not a litle to be cõfirmed both by ẏ example of his cõſtancie, and by his talke: yet notwithſtandyng the ſame agayne beyng feared with the ſharpnes of the puniſhmẽt, which hee was goyng to, priuely deſired that in the myddeſt of the flame he would ſhew them ſome token if hee could, wherby they might be more certain whether the payne of ſuch burnyng were ſo great, that a man might not therin kepe his minde quyet and pacient. Which thyng he promiſed them to do, and ſo ſecretly betwene them it was agreed, that if the rage of the payne were tolerable and might be ſuffered, then he ſhould lift vp his handes aboue his head toward heauen before he gaue vp the ghoſt.

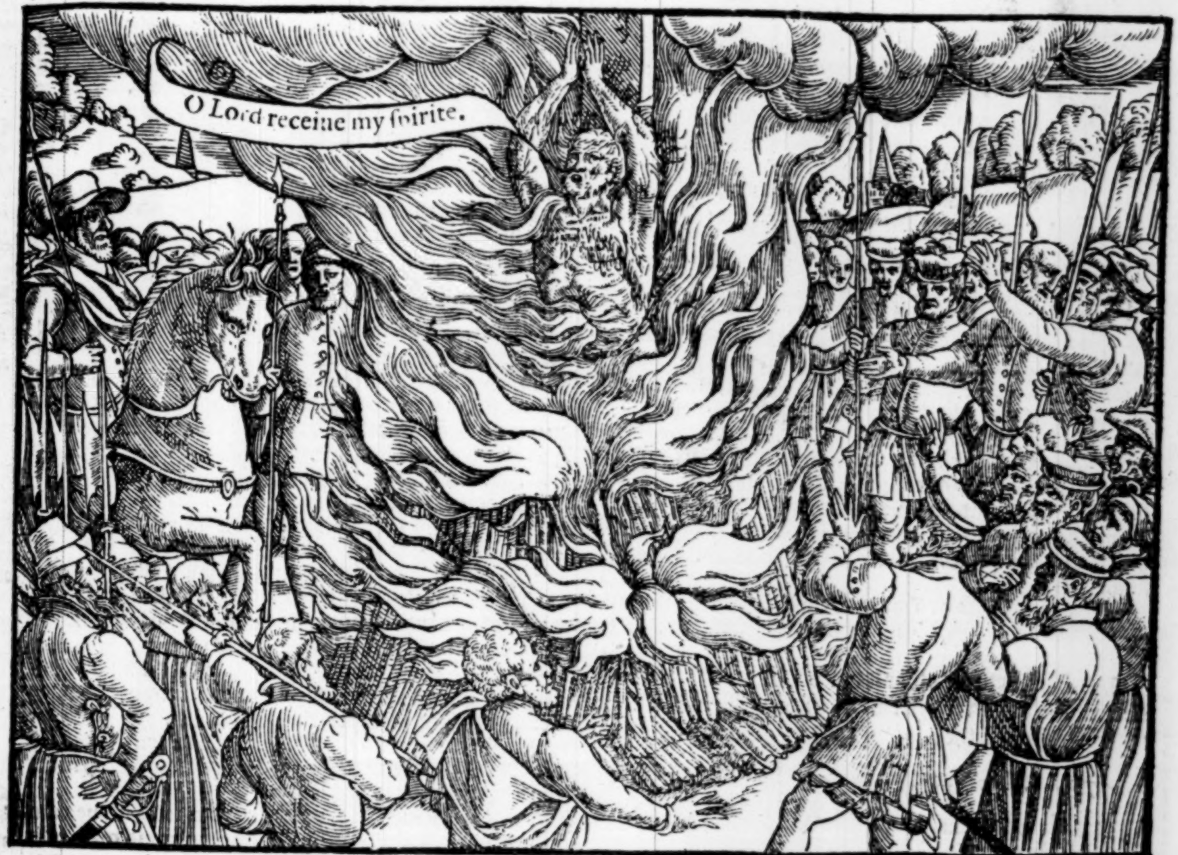
A greed betwene Thomas Haukes and his frendes, to geue them a token in the fire, whether the payne of burning were ſo greuous as it ſeemeth, or no.

Not long after, when the houre was come, Tho. Haukes was lead away to the place appointed for the ſlaughter, by the Lord Rich and his aſſiſtance, who being now come vnto the ſtake, there mildly and paciently addreſſed him ſelfe to the fire, hauing a ſtrayt chaine caſt about his middle, with no ſmal multitude of people on euery ſide compaſſing him about. Vnto whom after he had ſpoken many things, but eſpecially vnto the Lorde Rich, reaſoning with him of the innocẽt bloud of the Saintes, at lẽgth after his feruent prayers firſt made, ⁊ poured out vnto God, ẏ fier was ſet vnto him.

Tho. Haukes caryed to the place of execution.

Tho. Haukes ſtanding at the ſtake reaſoneth with the Lord *Rich.*

¶The Martyrdome of Thomas Haukes in Eſſex, at a towne called Coxhall. An. 1555. Iune. 10.


O Lord receiue my ſpirite.

The Martyrdome of *Thomas Haukes,* at Coxhall in Eſſex. An. 1555. Iune. 10.

In the which when he continued long, and when hys ſpeeche was taken away by violence of the flame, hys ſkynne alſo drawen together, and hys fingers conſumed with the fier, ſo that now all men thought certainly he had bene gone, ſodainly and contrary to all expectation, the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, being myndfull of his promiſe afore made, reached vp hys hands burning on a lyght fier (which was marueilous to behold) ouer his head to the liuing God, and wyth great reioyſing, as ſeemed, ſtroke or clapped thẽ three times together. At the ſight whereof there followed ſuch applauſe and outcry of the people, and eſpecially of them which vnderſtode the matter, that the lyke hath not commonly bene heard: And ſo ẏ bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, ſtraight way ſincking downe into the fier, gaue vp hys ſpirite, An. 1555. Iune. 10. And thus haue you plainlye and expreſſely deſcribed vnto you the whole ſtory, as well of the lyfe, as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a moſt conſtant and faythful wytnes of Chriſtes holy Goſpel.

A token geuen in the fire, that burning is not ſo intolerable a payne as it is thought.

The end and Martyrdome of *Thomas Haukes* at Coxal.

¶ *Letters.*

¶An Epiſtle to the Congregation by Thomas Haukes.

A letter of *Thomas Haukes* to the congregation.

GRace, mercy, and peace, from God the father, and frõ our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be alway with you all (my deare brethren and ſiſterne in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) for euer: and his holy Spirite conduct and leade you all in all your doynges, that you may alwayes direct your deedes accordyng to his holy word, that when he ſhall appeare to reward euery mã accordyng to their workes: ye may as obedient children be found watchyng, ready to enter into his euerlaſting kyngdome with your lãpes burnyng, and whẽ the Bridegrome ſhall ſhew him ſelf, ye nede not to be aſhamed of this lyfe that God hath lent you, which is but tranſitory, vayne, and lyke vnto a vapour, that for a ſeaſon appeareth and vaniſheth away: ſo ſoone paſſeth away all our terreſtriall honour, glory, and felicity. *For all fleſh* (ſayth the Prophet) *is graſſe, and all his glory, as the floure of the fielde, which for a ſeaſon ſheweth her beauty, and as ſoone as the Lord bloweth vppon it, it withereth away, and departeth.* For in this tranſitory and daungerous wilderneſſe, we are as Pilgrimes and ſtraungers, folowing the footeſteps of Moſes, among many vnſpeakable daungers, beholdyng nothyng with our outward man, but all vayne vanities, and vexation of mynd: ſubiect to honger, cold, nakednes, bondes, ſicknes, loſſe, labours, baniſhment, in daunger of that dreadfull dragon, and his ſinnefull ſeede, to be deuoured, tempted, and tormẽted, who ceaſeth not behynd euery buſh to lay a baite, when we walke awrye to haue his pleaſure vpon vs, caſting abroad his apples in all places, tymes, and ſeaſons, to ſee if Adam will be allured and entiſed to leaue the lyuyng God and his moſt holy Cõmaundementes, wherby he is aſſured of euerlaſtyng lyfe, promiſing the world at will, to all that will fall downe in all ages, and for a meſſe of potage, ſell and ſet at nought the euerlaſtyng kyngdome of heauen. So fraile is fleſh and bloud: *and in eſpeciall Iſraell is moſt ready to walke awry, when hee is filled with*

The manifold daungers which a true Chriſtian hath to paſſe thoro in thys world.

all maner of riches (as ſayth the Prophet.)

The hyer in dignity, the nearer to daunger.

Therfore I am bold in bondes (as entierly deſiryng your euerlaſtyng health and felicity) to warne you, and moſt hartely deſire you to watch & pray: for your eſtate is daungerous, and requireth continuall prayer. For on the hye moūtaines doth not grow moſt plenty of graſſe, neither are the hyeſt trees fartheſt from daunger, but ſeldome ſure, and alwayes ſhaken of euery winde that bloweth. Such a deceitfull thyng (ſayth our Sauiour) is honour and riches, that without grace it choketh vp the good ſeede ſowen on his creatures, and blindeth ſo their ſeyng, that they go gropyng at noone day in darknes: it maketh a man thincke him ſelfe ſomewhat, that is nothyng at all. For though for our honour we eſteme our ſelues and ſtand in our owne light, yet when we ſhall ſtand before the lyuyng God, there ſhalbe no reſpect of perſons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeaūce: neither can we make the Lord partiall for money. But as ye haue miniſtred vnto the Saintes, ſo ſhal ye receiue the reward, which I am fully perſuaded and aſſured ſhalbe plenteouſly poured vppon you all, for the great goodnes ſhewed vnto the ſeruaūtes of the lyuing God. And I moſt hartely beſech almighty God to poure forth a plenteous reward vppon you for the ſame, and that he will aſſiſt you with his holy ſpirite in all your doynges, that ye may grow (as you haue begon) vnto ſuch a perfection as may be to Gods honour, your owne ſaluatiō, and the ſtrengthenyng of the weake members of Chriſt. For though the world rage, and blaſpheme the elect people of God, ye know that it did ſo vnto Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and to all that were in the primatiue Church, and ſhalbe to the worldes end.

Prouerb. 11.

Riches helpe not before God.

Gods elect alwayes beare the ſclaūder in this world.

Therfore, beleue in the light, while ye haue it, leſt it be taken away from you, if you ſhal ſeeme to neglect the great mercy of God that hath ben opened vnto you, and your hartes cōſented vnto it that it is the very and onely truth pronounced by Gods onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt by the good will of our heauenly father. Therfore I ſay in the bowels of my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſticke faſt vnto it: let it neuer departe out of your hartes and conuerſatiō, that you with vs and we with you, at the great day beyng one flocke, as we haue one ſhepheard, may riſe to the lyfe immortall, through Ieſus Chriſt our onely Sauiour, Amen.

Yours in hym that lyueth for euer
Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth an other letter of Thomas Haukes ſent to his wyfe after hys condemnation, being priſoner in Newgate: the copy wherof is this.

¶The copy of Thomas Haukes letter to his wyfe.

A letter of *Tho. Haukes* vnto his wife.

GRace be wyth you, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which gaue hym ſelfe for our ſynnes, to delyuer vs from this preſent euyll world, through the good wyll of God our father, to whō be prayſe for euer and euer, Amen.

My deare yokefellow in the Lord, for as much as the Lord hath not onely called me to worke in his vinyeard, but hath alſo fulfylled hys good worke in me (I truſt to his glory, and to the comfort of al thoſe that looke for his comming) I thought it my duty (deare yokefellow) to wryte vnto you ſome leſſons out of Gods booke: and if you wyll direct your ſelfe thereafter, doubt not of it, but God, who refuſeth none that wyll come to hym wyth their whole hart, will aſſiſt you with hys holy ſpirit, and direct you in all hys wayes, to hys honour and glory, who graunt it for his mercies ſake, Amen.

Leſſons or inſtructions to his wife.

Fyrſt I exhort you to feare God, to ſerue and honour hys holy name, to loue hym wyth al your hart, ſoule and mynde, to beleue faythfully all hys promiſes, to lay ſure hold vpon them, that in all your troubles what ſo euer they are, ye may runne ſtraygħt to the great mercy of God, and he wyll bryng you forth of them. Keepe you wythin hys wynges: then ſhall ye be ſure that neyther deuyll, fleſh, nor hell ſhall be able to hurt you.

He exhorteth her to beware of Idolatry.

But take heede: If ye wyll not keepe hys holy preceptes and lawes, and to the vttermoſt of your power, call for the helpe of God to walke in the ſame, but wyll leaue them and runne to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do, then bee ſure to haue your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that neuer ſhall be quenched. Therefore beware of Idolatrye, which doth moſt of all ſtyncke before the face of almighty God, and was of all good men moſt deteſted from the beginning of the world. For the which, what kingdomes, nations and Realmes God hath puniſhed wyth moſt terrible plages, with fire, brimſtone, hunger, ſweard, and peſtilence, &c. to the vtter ſubuerſion of them, it is manifeſtly to be ſeene through the whole Bible. Yea his own peculiar people, whom hee had done ſo much for, when they fell from hym, and went and ſerued other Gods, contrary to hys commaundement, he vtterly deſtroyed, and rooted them out from of the earth: and as many as dyed in that damnable ſtate (not repenting their abominable euyll) he threw thē into yͤ pyt of hell. Againe, how he hath preſerued thoſe that abhorre ſuperſtition and Idolatry, and that haue onely taken hold vpon God wyth their whole hart, to ſerue him, to loue hym, to feare him &c. it is moſt manyfeſtly to be ſeene euē frō yͤ beginning, out of what great daungers he hath euer delyuered thē: yea, when all hope of deliueraunce was paſt as touching theyr expectation, euen then in the ſyght of all his enemies would he worke hys godly wyll and purpoſe, to the vtter amazing and deſtruction of all thoſe that were hys manifeſt enemies.

Idolatry puniſhed of God.

Exhortation to prayer.

Further, I exhort you in the bowels of Chriſt, that you wyll exerciſe and be ſtedfaſt in prayer: for prayer is the onely meane to pearce the heauens, to obtaine at the hand of God, what ſo euer we deſyre, ſo that it bee aſked in fayth. Oh what notable things do we reade in ſcriptures that hath bene obtayned through feruent prayer? we are commaunded to call vpon hym for helpe, ayde, & ſuccour in neceſſities and troubles, and he hath promiſed to helpe vs. Agayne, they that wyll not call vpon hym wyth theyr whole hart, but vpon other dead creatures, in whom there is no helpe (for there was none founde worthy to open the booke, but onely the Lambe Chriſt which was kylled for our ſynnes) I ſay, who that wyll refuſe hys helpe, muſt euen by the terrible iudgement of God, come vtterly to confuſion: as it hath, and is dayly manifeſt to be ſeene. And whatſoeuer you deſire of God in your prayer, aſke it for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, for whom and in whom God hath promiſed to geue vs all things neceſſary. And though that which ye aſke, come not by and by at the fyrſt and ſecond calling, yet continue ſtyll knocking, and hee wyll at the length open hys treaſures of mercy, ſo that ye ſhall bee ſure to obtayne: for he hath ſo promiſed if ye continue in fayth, hoping ſurely in hym. Theſe former leſſons, wyth all ſuch inſtructions as I haue tolde you by mouth, I do wyſh that ye woulde moſt earneſtly learne: and then I doubt not, but God, who is the geuer of all grace, wyll aſſiſt you in all your doings that ye may be foūd worthy of his kingdome, which is prepared through Chriſt.

Praying to God and not to creatures.

To cōtinue in prayer, and to pray in the name only of Chriſt.

Care for his children.

He meaneth M. *Clement Throgmorton*, who deſired to haue the bringing vp of hys childe.

Further, where it hath pleaſed God to ſende vs chyldren, my deſyre is that they may bee brought vp in the feare of God, and in hys lawes. And this is to certifye you, that ye deliuer in anye wyſe my eldeſt Sonne vnto Maiſter Throgmorton, who vpon hys good wyll hath promyſed me to bring hym vp according to my deſyre, and (I truſt) as God hath put into hys hart. See therfore that ye delyuer hym in any wiſe, without delay: and as for the other, if ye ſhall ſeeme to bee burthened wyth hym (which I thinke nature wyll not ſuffer) my deſire is that it be brought vp in the feare of God, to the vttermoſt of your endeuour, with ſome honeſt man that hath the feare of God before hys eyes, and let vs geue thanks vnto God which hath geuen them vs, beſeeching hym that they may be coūted worthy to be of that flocke, that ſhall ſtand on the ryght hande of the Maieſtye of God, when he ſhall iudge the world, Amen.

Yet once again I warne you, that ye cōtinue in feruēt prayer, as I ſayd before: then ſhall you be ſure, that God euen of hys own mercy, according as he hath promiſed, wyll be an huſband vnto you, and prouide better for you then I was euer able to do: yea, he wil cauſe al men that feare hym, to pitye you, to helpe you, ſuccour you in all your neceſſities, ſo that if any wyl do you wrong, he wil be auenged on hym. Moreouer, I wyſh you to kepe cōpanye with thoſe, of whom ye may learne to come to a more perfect knowledge in God: and I doubt not but God wyl prouide that ſuch wyll be glad to receiue you, if you ſhall profeſſe and go forward in hys truth.

Keeping of good company.

Exhortation to take heede whome ſhe marieth, and that ſhe mary in the Lord.

Finallye and to make an ende, I deſyre you that ye take heede wyth whom ye couple your ſelf. See that he be a man that feareth God, loueth hys lawes, and wyll walke in the ſame to the vttermoſt of hys power: ſuch a one as cā be content to loue you, & to care for you. Take heede he be no brawler, no dronkard, no wycked perſon, not geuē to filthynes, no worldling, no dicer nor carder:

In fine, no filthy perſō, but chooſe you ſuch a one as god may be glorified in both your liues. And again on your part, loue hym, ſerue hym, obey him in all godlynes, as lōg as God ſhal giue you life in this world. Thē ſhal ye both be ſure to obtayne that kyngdome which God the father hath prepared and Ieſus Chriſt obtained for you, that neuer ſhall haue ende, where I truſt to abyde your comming, Amen.

By your Huſband Thomas Haukes.

Ye heard before in the letter of Tho. Haukes written to his wife, mention made concernyng hys eldeſt ſonne to be ſent to M. Throgmorton. Now what he writeth hym ſelfe to the ſayd M. Throgmorton touchyng the ſame matter, by this his letter to ẏ ſayd partie here vnder enſuyng, may appeare.

A letter of Thomas Haukes to Maiſter Clement Throgmorton.

An other letter of Thomas Haukes written to M. Clemēt Throgmorton.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the father and frō our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you and aſſiſte you in all your thoughtes, wordes, and workes, that he in all thinges, as moſt worthy, may be glorified, and that the bleſſyng of Abraham, may be poured plenteouſly on you and all your poſterity.

Whereas the loue of God hath moued you to require my ſonne to be brought vp before your eyes, and the ſelfe ſame loue hath alſo moued me in lyke caſe to leaue hym in your handes as vnto a father in myne abſence, I ſhal require you in Gods behalf, accordyng to your promiſe, that ye will ſee him brought vp in the feare of the Lord, and inſtructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learne to leaue the euill and know the good, and alwayes be pricked forward with fatherly inſtructions to folow my footeſteps: that as almighty God hath made me worthy through his ſpeciall grace to worke his will in obedience, he may learne to folow me his father in the like, to Gods honor and prayſe: And this I require you in Gods behalfe to fulfill or cauſe to be fulfilled, as ye before the lyuing God will make anſwere for the ſame. I haue left for the child certain bokes whiche ſhalbe deliuer vnto you, wherein his inſtruction and ſaluation lieth if he learne and practiſe the ſame. And thus, moſt humbly beſechyng you once agayne, to be as good vnto him as your promiſe was to me, that is, to be a father, and a wal of defence vnto him in all troubles, I leaue hym in your hand through the Lord Ieſu, and deſire hym to bleſſe both hym & you accordyng to his good promiſe: and all that good which ye ſhall doe vnto hym, I ſhall moſt hartly deſire the euerlaſting God to recompēce vnto you in hys kyngdome, where I hope to meete both hym and you amōg all Gods elect. To which God be all prayſe honor and glory, Amen.

Yours and all mens in Chriſt Ieſu,
Thomas Haukes.

The hyſtory of Thomas Wattes,

examined, tryed, and burnt for the truth of the Goſpell.

Iune. 10.

The hyſtory of Thomas Wattes, Martyr.

Thomas Wates of Billerica, within the County of Eſſex, and of the Dioces of Londō, was by his occupation a lynen Draper, who before he was apprehended, had ſold and made away his cloth in his Shop, and diſpoſed his thynges beyng ſet in order to his wife and children, and gaue away much of his cloth vnto the poore: For he loked alwayes to be taken by Gods aduerſaries and his, as ſhortly after came in deede to paſſe: ſo that vppon the 26. day of Aprill he was apprehended and brought before the Lord Rich, and other Commiſſioners at Chelmiſford, and there beyng accuſed for not commyng to the Church, was vpon the ſame examined before the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrell, Syr Antho. Browne, Edmond Tyrell, Tho. Mildman, Iohn Wiſeman, Roger Appleton, Rich. Weſton, Iuſtice Gaudy. &c. The ſumme and principall effect of which examination here vnder foloweth briefly expreſſed.

Thomas Wattes diſpoſeth his goodes before he ſhould be apprehended.

The examination of Tho. Wattes, before the Lorde Rich and others.

The examination of Tho. Wattes before the Lord Rich and other the Queenes commiſſioners.

When this Thom. Wattes came before the Lord Rich and other the Iuſtices, whoſe names are ſpecified in the letter following (which they ſent vnto ẏ Biſhop of Londō againſt him) at the Seſſions at Chelmiſford, the Lord Rich ſayd theſe wordes or the lyke in effect vnto him.

The wordes of the Lord Rich to Tho. Wattes.

Wattes, ye be brought hither (as I vnderſtand) becauſe of diſobediēce to the Kyng and Queenes lawes. Ye will not come to the Church, ye will not heare Maſſe: &c. but haue your conuenticles, a ſort of you in corners, contrary to the Kyng and Queenes procedynges. Unto which his wordes Wattes aunſwered and ſayd.

Wattes wordes to the L. Rich.

My Lord, if I haue offended a law, I am ſubiect here to the law. Then Anthony Browne Iuſtice ſayd vnto him: Wattes, I pray thee tell me, who hath bene thy ſcholemaiſter to teach thee this geare, or where diddeſt thou firſt learne this Religiō? Forſoth (quoth Wattes) euen of you Sir: you taught it me, and none more thē you. For in kyng Edwardes dayes in open Seſſions you ſpake agaynſt this Religion now vſed, no Preacher more. You then ſayd, the Maſſe was abominable, and all their trompery beſides, wiſhyng and earneſtly exhortyng that none ſhould beleue therin, and that our belief ſhould be only in Chriſt: and you ſaid then, who ſoeuer ſhould bryng in any ſtrāuge nation to rule here, it were treaſon and not to be ſuffered.

Syr Anthony Browne a Goſpeller in K. Edwardes dayes and a perſecutor in Q. Maryes dayes.

Then ſayd Browne to my Lord Rich: he belyes me my Lord. What a knaue is this? he will ſone belye me behynd my backe, when he doth it before my face: and my Lord Rich ſayd agayne, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

After theſe wordes, Wattes toke occaſiō to ſpeake ſomewhat of K. Philip, and of his comming in: but what it was, I coulde not iuſtly learne: but thys much was heard, that after thoſe wordes ſpoken, the Bench among them ſelues ſtoode vp, and ſaid one to an other: treaſon, ſauing one good man called Iuſtice Gaudy, who a litle before was about to ſpeake: but when hee heard them crye treaſon, hee helde downe his head, as one greeued and troubled at their doinges.

Iuſtice Gaudy a good man.

In concluſion, the Commiſſioners beyng wery of him, or els not willyng to medle further in ſuch high matters, ſent him vp to the Byſhop of London, with their letter withall importyng the cauſe of his ſendyng vppe, as by ẏ contentes therof here vnder foloweth to be ſeene.

A letter ſent by certaine Iuſtices in Eſſex to Boner byſhop of London.

A letter of the L. Rich, Henry Tyrell, and other Iuſtices to Boner.

After our moſt harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to aduertiſe you, that at our Seſſions of Oyer and terminer holden at Chelmiſford the .xxvi. day of April laſt paſt, there came before vs in open Court one Thomas Wattes of Billerica within your dioces by ordinary proceſſe, and then and there being examined why he refuſed to come to his pariſh church, and there to receaue the ſacrament of the aultar, and heare diuine ſeruice, according to the inſtitution of holy church, he openly there aunſwered generally, that lyke as the ſeruice of the church ſet out in the dayes of the late king Edward the ſixt, was ſayd by vs now to bee abominable, heretical, ſchiſmaticall, and all nought: ſo he ſayd that all that is now vſed & done in the Church is abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, & all nought, with diuers other erroneous and arrogant words: and therfore we haue thought good to ſend hym to your Lordſhip, to bee further examined by you of hys particular opinions, as to your paſtorall office ſhall ſeme cōuenient, certifying you further, that in our opinion hee is one of the moſt arrogant heretickes that hath ben heard ſpeake, or euer came before you, and not meete to be kept here in any Gaole, aſwel for feare of corrupting others, as for diuers and ſundrye other ſpeciall cauſes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leauing to moleſt your good Lordſhip, wee

Tho. Wattes ſent vp by the Iuſtices of Eſſex, to B. Boner.

commit you to the holy ghoſt. Geuen at Chelmyſford the xxvij. day of Apryll. Anno. 1555.

Your good Lordſhips moſt aſſured,

The names of the Iuſtices.

R. Rich.
Henry Tirrell.
Antony Browne.
Edmund Tirrell.
T. Myldman.
Iohn Wyſeman.
Roger Appleton.
Richard Weſton.

Now when the Byſhop had receiued him, how he vſed him it is eaſie (by his cōmō practiſes with others) to iudge. What his priuate conferences were I know not: but what was publickely done in the Conſiſtory at Paules (the cōmon Stage for theſe tragedies) you ſhall here ſee.

¶ The firſt appearaunce of Thomas Wattes in the Byſhops Conſiſtory.

The firſt appearance of Thomas Wats in the Byſhops Conſiſtory.

FIrſt vpon Thurſday, beyng the ſecond day of May, Thomas Wattes was brought thether before the Byſhop of London, and there beyng examined vppon his wordes had before the Lord Rich and others (as is conteined in their letters) he did earneſtly affirme the ſame to be true. Whereupon the Byſhop obiected, and examined him vppon theſe Articles folowyng, to the which hee aunſwered, as vnder may appeare.

¶ Articles obiected agaynſt Thomas Wattes of Byllerica in the Countey of Eſſex, within the Dioces of London, by Boner Byſhop there, as enſueth.

Articles agaynſt Thomas Wattes.

1 FIrſt that the ſayd Thomas Wattes was of Billerica and ſo of the iuriſdiction of the B. of London.

The ſacramentes of the Church of Rome.

2. Item, that he beleued not in yͤ Sacramẽtes of yͤ holy & Catholicke church, as yͤ catholicke church of Rome & all other Churches mẽbers of the ſame, euer hetherto hath beleued & is taught of all good and faithfull people, nor hath allowed the ſaid Sacramentes, rites, vſages, or ceremonies of the ſayd Church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

The ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

3. Item, that he beleueth and alſo hath taught others, that the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread & wyne do remain in the Sacrament of the aultar after the cōſecration, and that the ſayd materiall bread & wyne are the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body hanged vpon the Croſſe, and of his bloud there ſhed, & that in the ſayd Sacrament there is onely a memory or remembraunce of Chriſtes body and bloud and nothyng els.

The preſence in the ſacrament.

4. Itē, that he beleueth, and doth preciſely affirme, that the very true preſēce of Chriſtes body and bloud in ſubſtaunce, is not in the Sacrament of the aultar, but onely in heauen, and no where els.

The Maſſe abominable.

5. Itē, that he beleueth, affirmeth, & ſaith, that the Maſſe now vſed in the church of Rome here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickednes, & that Chriſt did neuer inſtitute it, nor ordayne it, nor yet allowe it as a good and laudable thing to be vſed in hys Church.

Confeſſion to God.

6. Item, that he beleueth and affirmeth, that auricular cōfeſſion to be made vnto the Prieſt, is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous; & that it is inough for a man to beleue onely, & to confeſſe him ſelfe vnto God, without any Prieſt or Miniſter, at any tyme, though he may haue the Prieſt to confeſſe him vnto.

Defence of Martyrs.

7. Item, that he beleueth that Luther, Wickleffe, Doct. Barnes, and all others that haue holden agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, and ſuffered death by fire or otherwiſe for the maintenaunce of the ſayd opiniō, were good men, and faythfull ſeruauntes and Martyrs of Chriſt in ſo beleuyng and dying.

Faſting, praying, and almes deedes.

8. Item, that he hath and doth beleue, that to faſt, pray, or to do almes deedes, is a thyng vtterly vnprofitable: for if a man ſhalbe ſaued, he ſhalbe ſaued without doyng of them: and if he ſhal bee damned, they ſhall not helpe hym, or do him any good at all.

Q. Maryes ſeruice reproued.

9, Item, that the ſayd Wattes of late commyng into opē Court at the Seſſions before the Lord Riche, Syr Henry Tyrell Knight, Anthony Browne Eſquier, and others, and beyng then and there examined, dyd openly confeſſe, that he had refuſed to come to the Church, and to heare there the diuine ſeruice, and to receaue the Sacrament of the aultar, accordyng to the order of the Church: becauſe that lyke as the ſeruice of the Church ſet out in the dayes of the late kyng Edward the vj. was ſayd and alledged to bee abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all nought: ſo hee the ſayd Thomas Wattes then and there ſayd openly before the ſayd Commiſſioners, that all that is now vſed and done in the Church is abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmatical and all together nought: And that he did alſo then vtter before the ſayd Commiſſioners, other erroneous and arrogant wordes, to the hurt of his ſoule, and to the euill example of the people there preſent.

Wattes reputed by the lawes for an hereticke.

10. Item, that he the ſayd Thomas, by reaſon of the premiſſes, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and iudged as a manifeſt and open hereticke, and for the ſame, by the order of Eccleſiaſticall lawes is to bee declared accurſed: and beyng obſtinate & incorrigible, is to be deliuered to the ſecular power, there to be puniſhed as an hereticke.

The Church of Rome a Sinagoge of Sathā.

11. Item, that he ouer and beſides al theſe offences, and treſpaſſes aforeſayd, had alſo added this treſpaſſe, that is to wytte: that he had beleued and deliberatly ſpokē, that the Church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, Sacramentes, conſtitutions, and traditions, is the Sinagoge of Sathan, & therfore that he had conſented and agreed in opinion and belief with one Iohn Tooly, of late hanged at Charing Croſſe, who at the tyme of his executyng deſired the people to pray to be deliuered from the tyranny of yͤ Biſhop of Rome, withall his enormities: as who ſhould ſay, that his authoritie and doyngs were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. Item, that the premiſſes and euery part therof, be true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken, and talked of amongeſt yͤ honeſt and credible perſons in great multitude, and that of all and ſingular the ſame within Billerica aforeſayd, and other places there about, beyng of the Dioces of London, there is a common voyce and fame therof.

¶ The anſwere of the ſayd Thomas Wattes to the foreſayd articles.

TO the firſt he ſayd and confeſſed the ſame to be true in euery part thereof.

His aunſwers to the Articles.

To the ſecond article, he anſwered that he beleueth in all the ſacraments according to Chriſtes inſtitution, and the catholicke church: but not according to the Biſhop of Romes church: and farther ſayd, that he doth not beleue now as he had done in tymes paſt: for in tyme paſt he beleued as the Church then beleued, but now he doth not ſo beleue: for the Church of Rome had deceaued vs, and therefore he ſayd he did not beleue as the Church of Rome beleueth, but as Chriſt hath taught hym: And farther ſayd, that he was ſo taught to beleue by preaching of one M. Aluey, & other whoſe names he remembred not: which Aluey hee ſayd did preach the word of God truely and ſincerely.

Tho. Watts firſt wonne to the Goſpell by M. Aluey.

To the thyrd he anſwered, that he hath and doth beleue that Chriſtes body is in heauen, and no where els: and farther, that he will neuer beleue that Chriſtes body is in the ſacrament.

To the fourth article he aunſwered, confeſſing and firmely beleuing the ſame to be true.

To the fifte, that he did beleue, that the Maſſe is abominable: and that he will not go one iot from that his beliefe.

To the ſixt, that he neither did, nor yet doth beleue that the Prieſt can abſolue hym of hys ſinnes: Howbeit, he denieth not but it is good to aſke counſell at the Prieſtes mouth.

To the ſeuenth he ſayd, that he knoweth not what the opinions of the ſayd perſons named in the ſayd article were: and in caſe the ſayd perſons dyd beleue that the body and bloud of Chriſt were reall and in very déede in the ſacrament of the aultar, then that they were not good men. But in caſe they did beleue, that the body and bloud of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the aultar really and truely, then he beleued that they were good chriſtian men.

To the eyght, that he had not ſpoken, as is contayned in this article, but ſayd, that he hath and doth beleue that faſting, prayers, and almes déedes be workes of a liuely fayth.

To the ninth he cōfeſſed, that he did vtter and ſpeake as in this article is contayned, and farther deſired God yͭ he might dye in that fayth & belief, wherin he now is.

To the tenth he aunſwered, and ſayd, that he will ſubmit hymſelfe herein to the order of the law: and farther ſayd, that he truſteth that with God he ſhalbe bleſſed, although with men he be accurſed.

To the eleuenth he ſayd, that he beleued that the biſhop of Rome is a mortall enemye to Chriſt and hys church. And as for Tooly he ſayd hee dyd neuer ſee or know him: but in caſe the ſayd Tooly did wiſh & pray, as is contained in the Article, then hee dyd lykewyſe wiſh and conſent with hym therein.

The Biſh. of Rome an enemy to Chriſt.

To the .xij. he aunſwered, that all which before he confeſſed to be true, is alſo true: and all that hee hath denyed to be true, he denyeth againe to be true, and beleueth the ſame to be according to ſuch thinges as hee hath confeſſed. By me Tho. Wattes.

¶ An other appearance of Thomas Wats in the Conſiſtory.

These Articles thus propounded and aunſwered, the biſhop commaunded him to appeare agayne in the ſame place at three of the clocke in the after noone vpon the ſame day. At which houre, being brought thither by his keeper, the biſhop began with him in thys wiſe: Wattes, you know what I ſaid vnto you to day, and what I appointed vnto you at this time. The time is now come: waygh and conſider with your ſelf, that you are but a man: and albeit that ye will wilfully caſt away your body, yet caſt not ſo away your ſoule, but while ye haue tyme, returne and confeſſe the truth.

Thomas Wattes agayne appeareth in the conſiſtory.

The Biſhops wordes to Thomas Wattes.

Whereunto Thomas Wattes aunſwered and ſaid: I am wery to lyue in ſuch Idolatry as ye would haue me to lyue in. Vpon which aunſwer the biſhop cauſed hys articles againe to be read. He thereto aunſwered as before, and farther ſubſcribed the ſame wyth hys own hand.

The aunſwere of Wattes.

¶ *An other appearance before D. Harpsfield.*

The Biſhop, after many perſwaſions to cauſe hym to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come agayne on Saterday at eight of the clocke in the morning. Where (the biſhop being abſent) Doctor Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, dyd ſyt and earneſtly exhorted hym to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he aunſwered.

An other appearance before D. Harpſfield.

Well, ye haue a law to condemne me, and I ſubmit my ſelfe to the law: but not to the lawes of the Church (as you cal it). And farther I doe affirme, and wyll ſtand to mine aunſwers that I haue made.

Wattes ſubmitteth him to the law, but not to the Popes law.

Whereupon D. Harpsfield wylled hym to appeare there againe vpon Friday being the tenth day of the ſame moneth of May. Vpon which day the biſhop priuately ſent for the ſaid Thomas Wattes into his chamber, and there with many fayre promiſes tempted and tryed hym, whether he would reuoke his errours (as he then termed them). But Wattes aunſwered hym in this ſort: I wyll not beleue your church, neither the Romiſh church, & therefore you do but labour in vaine thus to trauaile with me. He was here vpon agayne diſmyſſed for that time, vntill Friday the .xvij. day of May, and then commaunded to appeare in the Conſiſtory: which commaundement he obeyed, and hauyng the accuſtomed former articles miniſtred vnto hym, made then ſuch aunſweres as before.

Thomas Wattes [illegible] appeareth agayne before the Biſhop.

Wattes aunſwere to the Byſhop.

¶ *Thomas Wats brought againe to the Conſiſtory.*

Thus being toſt to and fro, from day to day, & houre to houre: he was at the laſt, the .xviij. daye of the moneth of May, brought into the Conſiſtorye, where fyrſt was made a briefe recitall of all ẏ former proceſſe: and there the ſaid Wats being (by the biſhop & others) willed to deny his profeſſion, made this final aunſwer: God kepe me from the doctrine that ye would haue me come vnto, which ye haue now declared. And I beſech God that I may perſeuer in that that I haue done, for I wyll ſtand to myne aunſwers.

The finall aunſwere of Thomas Wattes.

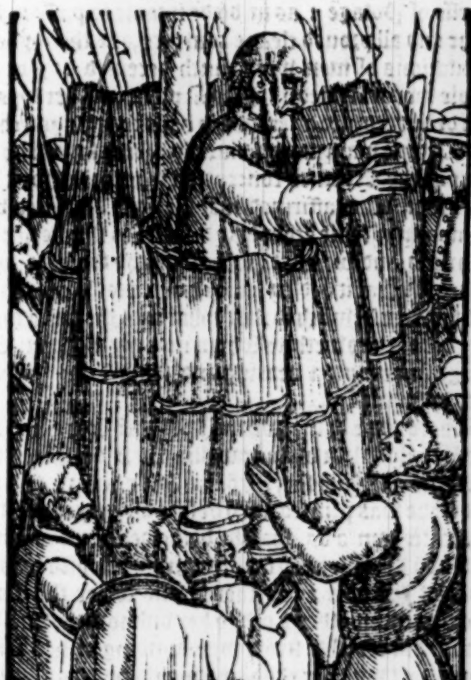
The biſhop perceauing his fayre flattering promyſes nothing to preuaile (and hauing no great ſtore of other reaſons to perſwade with) put forth his laſt and ſtrongeſt argument of condemnation. Which being ended, he was deliuered to the Shieriffes of London, and by them was ſent to Newgate, where he remayned vntyll the ninth day of Iune (or as ſome record) to the .xxij. of May: at what tyme hee was caryed vnto Chelmeſforde, and there was brought to Scots houſe keeping then an Inne at Chelmeſford, where, as they were eating meate with Haukes & the reſt that came downe to their burning, they prayed together both afore and after their meate.

Sentence of condemnation agaynſt *Tho. Wattes.*

Then Wats went and prayed priuately to him ſelf: and afterward came to hys wyfe and his .vj. chyldren being there, and ſayd theſe wordes in effect: Wife, and my good children, I muſt now depart from you. Therfore hence forth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath geuen you vnto me, ſo I geue you againe vnto the Lord, whom I charge you, ſee you doe obey, and feare him: and beware ye turne not to this abominable Papiſtry, againſt the which I ſhall anone (by Gods grace) geue my bloud. Let not ẏ murthering of Gods Saints cauſe you to relent, but take occaſion thereby to be the ſtronger in the Lordes quarell, and I doubt not, but he wyll be a mercyfull father vnto you. All theſe and ſuch lyke wordes ſpake he vnto them, and they vnto hym, of whom two (as it is ſayd) offered to bee burnt wyth him. In the end he bad them farewell, and kiſſed them all, and was caryed to the fier.

The farwel of *Tho. Wattes* to his wife and ſix childr.

¶ *The burnyng of Thomas Wattes, Martyr.*



The Martyrdome of *Thomas Wattes,* at Chelmiſford. An. 1555. Iune. 10.

At the ſtake, after he had kiſſed it, he ſpake to my lord Rich, theſe or the like wordes: My Lord ſayth hee, beware, beware, for you do againſt your own conſcience herein, and without you repent, the Lord wyl reuenge it: For you are the cauſe of this my death.

The wordes of *Tho. Wattes* to the Lord *Rich.*

¶ Concerning the childebed of Queene Mary, as it was rumoured among the people.

Long perſuaſion had bene in England with great expectation, for the ſpace of halfe a yeare or more, that the Queene was conceiued with childe. This report was made by the Queenes Phiſicians, and other nye about the court: ſo that diuers were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary. And commaundement was geuen that in all churches ſupplication and prayers ſhould be made for the Queenes good delivery: the certificate

The childbirth of *Q. Mary.*

whereof ye may read before in the letter of the Counſell ſent to Boner. pag. 1647. And alſo the ſame moreouer may appeare by prouiſion made before in the Act of Parlament for the childe. pag. 1652. And now forſomuch as in the beginning of this moneth of Iune about Whitſontyde, the tyme was thought to be nygh that this yong Maiſter ſhould come into the world, and that midwyues, rockers, nurſes, with the cradle and al were prepared and in a readines, ſodenly vpon what cauſe or occaſion it is vncertaine, a certayne vayne rumour was blowne in London of the proſperous deliueraunce of the Quéene, and the byrth of the child: In ſo much that the bels were rong, bonefyars and proceſſions made, not onely in the citie of London and in moſt other partes of the realme, but alſo in the towne of Antwarpe gunnes were ſhot of vpon the Riuer by the Engliſh Ships, and the Mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred piſtolets or Italian crownes by the Lady Regent, who was the Quéene of Hungarye. Such great reioyſing & triumph was for the Quéenes deliuery, and that there was a Prince borne. Yea, diuers Preachers, namely one, the Parſon of S. Anne within Alderſgate, after proceſſiõ and Te Deum ſong, tooke vpon him to deſcribe the proportion of the child, how fayre, how beautifull, and great a Prince it was, as the lyke had not bene ſéene.

Rockers, and Nurſes prouided for Q. Maries child.

Proceſſions and bonfiers in London for ioy of the younge Prince.

Triumph at Antwerpe for the ſame.

In the middeſt of this great ado, there was a ſimple man (this I ſpeake but vpon information) dwelling within foure myles of Barwicke, that neuer had bene before halfe way to London, which ſaid concerning the Bonfiers made for Quéene Maries childe: Here is a ioyly triumph, but at length all will not proue worth a meſſe of Potage: as in déede it came to paſſe: For in the end all proued cleane contrary, and the ioye and expectations of men were much deceiued. For the people were certified, that the Quéene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue any child. At this time many talked diuerſly: ſome ſayd thys rumour of the Quéenes conception was ſpread for a policie: ſome other affirmed that ſhe was deceyued by a Tympany or ſome other lyke diſeaſe, to thinke her ſelf with child, and was not: ſome thought ſhe was wyth childe, and that it dyd by ſome chaunce miſcarye, or els that ſhe was bewitched: but what was the truth thereof, the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is ſecret. One thing of mine own hearing and ſeing I can not paſſe ouer vnwytneſſed.

Q. Maries child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

There came to me, whom I did both heare and ſee, one Iſabel Malt, a womã dwelling in Alderſgate ſtrete in Horne alley, not farre frõ the houſe where this preſent booke was printed, who before wytnes made thys declaration vnto vs, that ſhe being deliuered of a man child vpõ Whitſonday in the morning, which was the xj. day of Iune, an. 1555. there came to her the Lorde North, and an other Lord to her vnknowen, dwelling then about old Fiſh ſtréete, demaunding of her if ſhee would part with her child, and would ſweare that ſhee neuer knew nor had no ſuch child. Which if ſhe would, her ſonne, they ſayd, ſhould bee well prouided for, ſhee ſhould take no care for it, with many fayre offers if ſhe would part with the child.

After that came other women alſo, of whom one ſhe ſayd ſhould haue bene the Rocker, but ſhee in no wyſe would let go her ſõne, who is yet alyue & is called Timothe Malt,, of the age of xiij. yeares and vpward.

Thus much, I ſay, I heard of the woman her ſelfe. What credite is to be geuen to her relatiõ, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the liberty of yͤ reader, to beleue it they that liſt: to them that liſt not, I haue no further warrant to aſſure them.

Ex teſtimonio cuiuſdã puerperæ Londinenſis.

Among many other great preparations made for the Quéenes deliuerance of child, there was a cradle very ſumptuſly and gorgeouſly trimmed, vpon the which Cradell for the Childe appoynted, these verſes were wrytten, both in Latin and Engliſhe.

The young Princes Cradle.

Quam Mariæ ſobolem Deus optime ſũme dediſti
Anglis incolumen redde, tuere, rege.

The Child whih thou to Mary, O Lord of might haſt ſend
To Englands ioy in health preſerue, kepe & defend.

Verſes vpon the Cradle.

About this tyme there came ouer into England a certaine Engliſh booke, giuyng warnyng to Engliſhmen of yͤ Spanyardes, & diſcloſing certeyne cloſe practiſes for recouery of Abbay landes, which booke was called A warnyng for England. Whereof ye ſhall vnderſtand more (God willyng) when we come to the Spaniſh Inquiſition. So that by the occaſion of this booke, vpon the xiij. day of this moneth came out a certeine Proclamation, ſet forth in the name of the King and Quéene, repealing and diſanulling all maner of bookes written or printed, whatſoeuer ſhoulde touch any thyng the impayryng of the Popes dignitie, wherby not onely much godly edification was hyndred: but alſo great perill grew among the people. The copy of whiche Proclamation here foloweth.

A Proclamation ſet out by the Kyng and Queene for the reſtraynyng of all bookes and writynges tendyng agaynſt the doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

Iune. 13.

Where as by the Statute made in yͤ ſecond yeare of kyng Henry the iiij. concernyng the repreſſyng of hereſies, there is ordeined and prouided a great puniſhment, not onely for the authors, makers, and writers of bookes conteinyng wicked doctrine and erroneous and hereticall opinions contrary to the Catholicke faith, and determination of the holy Church, and likewiſe for their fautors and ſupporters, but alſo for ſuch as ſhall haue or keepe any ſuch bookes or writynges, and not make deliuery of them to the ordinary of the Dioces or his Miniſters, within a certeine tyme limited in the ſayd ſtatute, which Acte or Statute being by authority of Parliamẽt of late reuiued, was alſo openly proclaimed, to the intent the ſubiectes of the Realme vppon ſuch Proclamation ſhould the rather eſchew the daunger and penalty of the ſayd Statute, and as yet neuertheles, in moſt partes of the Realme the ſame is neglected, and litle regarded: The King and Queene our ſoueraigne Lord and Lady, therfore. &c. ſtraitly charge and commaund, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he or they be, from henceforth preſume to bryng or conuey, or cauſe to be brought or conueyed into this Realme, any bookes, writyngs or workes hereafter mentioned: that is to ſay, any booke or bookes, writyngs or workes made or ſet forth by or in the name of Martin Luther, or any booke or bookes, writynges or workes made or ſet forth by or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, Iohn Caluin, Pomerane, Ioh. Alaſco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melanthon, Bernardinus Ochinus, Eraſmus Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwiſe called Frier Barnes, Ioh. Bale, otherwiſe called Frier Bale, Iuſtus Ionas, Iohn Hoper, Myles Couerdall, William Tyndall, Thomas Cranmer late Archbyſhop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Baſill, otherwiſe called Tho. Beacon, Iohn Frith, Roy, and the booke commonly called Halles Chronicle, or any of them, in the Latine toung, Dutch tõg, Engliſh toung, Italian toung, or French tõg, or any other like booke, paper, writing, or worke, made, printed, or ſet forth, by any other perſon or perſons, conteynyng falſe doctrine contrary, and agaynſt the Catholicke fayth, and the doctrine of the Catholicke Church: And alſo that no perſon or perſons preſume to write, print, vtter, ſell, read, or keepe, or cauſe to be writtẽ, printed, vttered, read, or kept any of the ſayd bookes, papers workes or wrytings, or any booke or bookes wrytten or prynted in the Latin or Engliſh toung, cõcerning the common ſeruice and adminiſtration ſet forth in Engliſh to be vſed in the Churches of this Realme, in the tyme of kyng Edward the ſyxt, commonly called the Communion booke or booke of common ſeruice and ordering of miniſters, otherwyſe called *The booke ſet forth by authoritie of Parliament, for common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, to be vſed in the mother toung wythin the Church of England*, but ſhall wythin the ſpace of fiftene dayes next after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or delyuer, or cauſe the ſayd bookes, writings, and workes, and euery of them remaining in their cuſtodies and keeping, to be brought and deliuered to the Ordinary of the dioces,

Of thys Acte or Statute, read before Pag. 614.

Aſtiterũt reges terræ, & principes conuenerunt in vnũ aduerſus Dominum & Chriſtum eius. Pſal. 2.

Good bookes prohibited.

Agaynſt *Halles* Chronicle.

What doe ye here to kepe downe Chriſt in his ſepulchre, and yet ſhall he riſe in ſpite of all his enemies.

dioces, where ſuch bookes, woorkes, or wrytynges be or remayne: or to hys Chauncellour or Commiſſaries, wythout fraude, coulour, or deceyte, at the ſayd Ordinaries wyll and diſpoſition, to be burnt, or otherwyſe to be vſed or ordered by the ſayde Ordinaries, as by the Canons and ſpirituall lawes it is in that caſe limitted and appoynted, vpon payne that euery offender contrarye to thys Proclamation, ſhal incurre the daunger and penalties contayned in the ſayd Statute, and as they wyll auoyde their maieſties high indignacion and diſpleaſure, and further aunſwer at theyr vttermoſt peryls.

The power of thys world ſet agaynſt Chriſt.

And theyr Maieſties by thys Proclamation geue full power and authoritye to all Biſhops and Ordinaryes, & all Iuſtices of peace, Maiors, Shiriffes, Bailiffes of Cities and Townes corporate, & other head Officers within thys Realme and the dominions thereof, and expreſly commaundeth and wylleth the ſame and euery of thē, that they and euery of them wythin their ſeueral limites and iuriſdictions, ſhall in the default and negligence of the ſayd Subiectes, after the ſayde fiftene dayes expired, enquyre and ſearch out the ſayd bookes, wrytynges, and works, and for this purpoſe enter into the houſe or houſes, cloſets, and ſecrete places of euery perſon, of what ſo euer degree, beyng negligent in thys behalfe, and ſuſpected to keepe any ſuch booke, writing, or workes, contrary to thys Proclamation: And that the ſayde Iuſtices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, and other head Officers aboue ſpecified, and euery of them wythin their ſayd limites and iuriſdictions, finding any of the ſayd ſubiects negligent and faulty in thys behalfe, ſhall commit euery ſuch offender to warde, there to remayne wythout bayle or maynpriſe, till the ſame offender or offenders haue receyued ſuch puniſhment, as the ſayde ſtatute doth limite and appoynt in thys behalfe. Geuen vnder our Signes Manuell, at our Honor of Hampton court, the .xiij. daye of Iune, the fyrſt and ſecond yeares of our raignes.

¶ *Imprinted by Iohn Cawod. Anno.* 1555.

This booke called a warning for England, looke for hereafter, when we come (God willing) to the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

Articles to be Inquired vppon.

¶ Articles to be enquired vpon by the Wardens of euery company, touching ſeditious bookes, eſpecially touching the booke called *A warning for England*.

1 Whether they haue ſene any of the foreſaid bokes.

2 Whether they haue heard of any of the ſaid bokoes.

3 Where they were, & in what place they haue ſene thē.

4 Whom they know to haue lately come frō beyond the ſea, eſpecially from Zurike, Strauſbrough, Frankforde, Wezel, Emden, and Diſburge.

5 Whom they know, or vehemently ſuſpect to be common cariers of letters or money thether from hence.

6 That they bring to my Lord Maior all ſuch ſeditious bookes as they haue, or ſhall haue found hereafter.

The contentes of a Popiſh Primer ſet forth in Q. Maries time,

In this proclamation thou haſt heard (Chriſtian reader) the profoūd and learned cenſure of the Catholicke Church of England, what bookes they miſlike & reiect as hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and pernicious. Agaynſt the which Catholicke cenſure of theſe learned fathers, I haue not at this tyme to inferre: neither doth my layſure ſerue now to write Apologies in defenſe of theſe Authours here cōdemned. Onely ſo much leaue it may pleaſe the reader to graunt me, to ſet before hym here a payre of balaunce, wherein to waygh the bookes on ẏ one ſide condemned, with the bookes on the other ſide allowed, to the end that we weyng the one with the other, may diſcerne the better betwen them, which part weyeth beſt with Gods holy truth and true Catholicke church, againſt manifeſt Idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therfore, as they haue in this preſent Proclamatiō geuē their condēnation vpō theſe bookes aboue recited, ſo I deſire thée to giue thy cenſure vpon their bookes by them alowed, and vpon the matter in them conteined, and marke well what good ſtuffe it is.

The bokes of the Proteſtantes to be weyed with the bookes of the Papiſtes.

The Primer ſet forth in Q. Maries time, printed by Ioh. Weyland.

And firſt to begyn with the Primer in Engliſh for childrē after the vſe of Saliſbury, Imprinted with Priuiledge accordyng vnto the Kyng and Quéenes Maieſties letters patentes in the reigne of Quéene Mary. Let vs repeate and ſuruey ſome part of the ſayd Primer (for to expreſſe all it were to long) beginnyng with the firſt leſſon of our Lady, in theſe wordes:

Holy Mary, mother moſt pure of virgines all: Mother and daughter of the king celeſtiall: So comfort vs in our deſolation: That by thy prayer and ſpeciall meditation, we enioy the reward of the heauenly reigne. &c.

Cōferre this with the Scriptures, good reader, and iudge vprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the Church or not.

It foloweth more in the ſecond Leſſon.

Holy Mary of all godly the godlyeſt,
Pray for vs of all holy the holyeſt,
That he our prayers accept may in good wiſe,
Which of thee was borne and reigneth aboue ſkies. &c.

In the thyrd Leſſon.

Thy ſonne beſech with humble interceſsion,
To purge vs cleane of our tranſgreſsion,
That ſo beyng redemed we may the place aſcende
Where thou dwelleſt with hym world without end.

The Verſicle.

Pray for the people, entreat for the Clergie, make interceſsion for the deuout womankind: let all feele thy helpe, that worthely ſolemniſe thy memoriall. &c.

One mediator betwene God and men, the man Ieſus Chriſt.

An other Verſicle.

Holy mother of God make thy petition: that we may deſerue Chriſtes promiſsion. &c.

Falſe merits.

And in the Antheme after Benedictus, thus it foloweth.

We beſech thee of thy pitie to haue vs in remembraunce, and to make meanes for vs vnto Chriſt, that we beyng ſupported by thy helpe, may deſerue to attayne the kingdome of heauē.

Furthermore in the Collect after it foloweth.

And graunt that through the gracious interceſsion of the virgine thy mother, we may be deliuered from this preſent heuynes, and haue the fruition of eternall gladnes.

Wrong mediation.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſayd Primer thus, concernyng the materiall Croſſe.

O God which haſte aſcended thy moſt holy Croſſe and haſt giuen lyght to the darkenes of the world, vouchſafe by the vertue of thy Croſſe, to illumine, viſite, and comfort both our hartes and bodyes. &c.

Idolatrie to the materiall croſſe.

Moreouer, in the name of S. Iohn Baptiſt thus it prayeth.

O Lord defend vs alway through the continuall ſuccours of S. Iohn Baptiſt. For the more frayle we be, the more nede we haue to be relieued with neceſſary praiers. &c.

Let no man glory in any man, for all thynges are yours. &c. 1. *Cor.* 3.

In which wordes note (good Reader) not onely the abſurditie of doctrine, but alſo the ſtoliditie of the reaſon. For where their doctrine pretendeth that S. Iohn Baptiſt ſhould pray for vs, here we pray to God for S. Iohn Baptiſt, that he wyll heare hys prayer praying for vs. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paule.

Heare vs mercyfully, and graunt that through the merites of them both we may obtayne the glory euerlaſting. &c

What is Paul, what is Apollo, but the ſeruauntes of hym on whō you beleue? 1. *Cor.* 3.

And of S. Andrew.

So let hym (O Lord) be a continuall peticioner for vs to thee. &c.

Of S. Laurence thus.

S. Laurence the Deacon did worke a good worke. For by the vertue of the holy croſſe he gaue ſight to the blind. &c.

And how can thys be true, when the holy croſſe was not yet found in the tyme of S. Laurence. For Helene which firſt found the croſſe (as they ſay) came after S. Laurence more then fourty yeares.

To Tho, Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

By the bloud of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpend,
Make vs Chriſt to clime whether Thomas did aſcend.

Horrible blaſphemy and derogation to Chriſtes bloud.

Of S. Nicholas.

O God which haſt glorified bleſſed Nicholas thy holy biſhop with innumerable miracles, graunt we beſeche thee, that by his merites and prayers we may bee deliuered from the fier of hell.

Falſe merites.

Of Mary Magdalen.

Graunt wee beſech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchaſe for vs the bliſſe euerlaſting. &c.

An other prayer of our Lady.

The dolorous compaſsion of Gods ſweete mother,
Bring vs to the bliſſe of almighty God the father. &c.

An other prayer in the ſayd Primer to our Lady.

The office of Chriſt geuen to our Lady.

Eſtabliſh vs in peace and tranquilitie,
And chaunge the name of ſinfull Eua:
Loſe thy pryſoners from captiuitie,
Vnto the blynde geue ſight agayne.
Deliuer vs from malignitie,
To the end we may ſome grace attaine.
Shew thy ſelfe to be a mother:
So that he accept our petition.
Deliuer vs from bondage of ſinne. &c.

Item.

Holy mother ſuccour the miſerable, comfort the weake ſprited, geue courage to the deſperate, pray for the people, make interceſsion for the Clergy, and be a meane for the deuout womankinde. &c.

An other blaſphemous prayer.

Blaſphemy.

O thou meeke mother haue mercy therefore,
On wretches, for whom thou haddeſt theſe paynes all,
Seyng thy ſonne that vyne cluſter preſſed ſore,
And from the peſtilence of death eternall,
Keepe vs by voiding the Feend infernall,
And ioyne vs wyth them which rewarded be,
With eternall lyfe, ſeing the Deitie.

An other blaſphemy in the ſayd Primer.

Idolatrie.

Hayle Queene, mother of mercy, our lyfe, our ſweetenes, our hope. Vnto thee do we cry and ſigh, weeping and wayling. Come of therefore our Patroneſſe, caſt vpon vs thy pityfull eyes, and after this our baniſhment ſhewe to vs the bleſſed fruit of thy wombe. O Gate of glory be for vs a reconciliatiõ vnto the father and the ſonne. Frõ the wretched their faultes expell: wype the ſpots of ſinnes vncleane. &c.

Item to our Lady.

The fruit of thy wombe euerlaſting,
We may behold through thy deſeruing. &c.

Item.

Graunt we beſeche thee, that by her merites and prayers we may attayne to that vnſpeakeable ioy, where as ſhe being aſſumpt, doth now enioy with thee in heauen for euer. &c.

If Marys merites might helpe vs, then Chriſt died in vaine.

And thus much hetherto of thys catholicke Primer, called Our Ladies Mattins. Wherunto if it were not tedious for the Reader, we would alſo adioyne our Ladies Pſalter, to the entent that all indifferẽt Readers, as they haue ſeene what bookes theſe catholicke fathers haue condemned and do condemne for hereticall: ſo the ſame may alſo ſee and iudge, what bookes on the other ſyde they approue as lawfull and catholicke. And forasmuch as it is not knowen peraduenture to all men what our Ladies Pſalter is, or what it meaneth: yea and ſome peraduenture wyll denye any ſuch booke of our Ladies Pſalter to be writtẽ or approued, here therfore we wyll firſt produce the name of the Author, who was Bonauenture a Seraphicall Doctor, biſhop alſo & Cardinall, canoniſed moreouer by Pope Sixtus. 4. an. 1482. for a ſaint in ỹ Calender, who in hys booke thus intituled in Latin: Incipit Pſalteriũ beatæ virginis, cõpilatũ per Seraphicũ Doctorẽ Sanctũ Bonauẽturã Epiſcopũ Albanenſem, nec non ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Præſbyterum Cardinalẽ, in honorem genetricis. &c. Fol. 84. in the ſecond part of hys whole workes (which were imprinted at Argentine. an. 1495.) to ſhew him ſelfe a deuoute ſeruant to hys Lady, hath takẽ euery Pſalme of Dauids Pſalter (which he peculiarly made and referred to almighty God) and hath in diuers of the ſayd Pſalmes and Verſes put out the name of the Lorde, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through ỹ whole Pſalmes and euery one of them, it is now called Our Ladies Pſalter, vſed to be ſong & ſayd in the prayſe and ſeruice of our Lady. A briefe taſte whereof for example ſake, (for to ſhewe all it were to long) we thought here to exhibite vnto the Reader in order as followeth.

Like Primer, like Pſalter.

Bonauenture compiler of our Ladyes Pſalter.

Thys *Bonauenture* liued. an. 1270. and was Canoniſed. an. 1482.

The title in Engliſhe of this Pſalter.

The title of the boke called our Ladyes Pſalter.

☞ Here begynneth the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgine, made by the Seraphicall doctor Saint Bonauenture, the Biſhop of Albane, & Cardinall of the holy church of Rome. &c.

The boke called our Ladyes Pſalter, *Ex 2. parte operũ S. Bonauenturæ.*

1. Beatus vir qui intelligit nomen tuum Maria virgo, gratia tua animam eius comfortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irrigatum vberrimum in eo fructum iuſticiæ propagabis, &c. Vniuerſa enim fœminas vincis pulchritudine carnis: ſuperas Angelos & Archãgelos excellentia ſanctitatis. Miſericordia tua & gratia vbiq; prædicatur. &c. Gloria patri. &c.

That is to ſay.

Bleſſed is the man which vnderſtandeth thy name, O virgine Mary: thy grace ſhall cõfort hys ſoule. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him the moſt plentifull fruit of Juſtice, being watred, as it were, with fountaines of water. Al women thou paſſeſt in the beuty of thy body, all Angels and Archangels in the excellency of thy holynes. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified euery where. &c. Glorye be to the father.

Our Ladies beutie.

2. Quare fremuerunt inimici noſtri & aduerſum nos meditati ſunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua mater Dei vt acies terribiliter confundens & deſtruens eos. Venite ad eam qui laboratis & tribulati eſtis, & dabit refrigerium animabus veſtris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus veſtris & ſtabiliet vos ſerenitas vultus eius. Benedicite illã in toto corde veſtro, miſericordia enim illius plena eſt terra. &c. Gloria patri. &c.

Why do our enemies freat and imagine vaine things againſt vs? Let thy right hand defend vs O mother of God, terribly confounding and deſtroying them as a ſword. Come vnto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and ſhe wyll geue reſt vnto your ſoules. Come vnto her in your temptations, and her louing countenance ſhall ſtabliſh and comfort you. Bleſſe her wyth all your hart: for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the father.

Treaſon agaynſt Chriſtes perſon and dignitie.

3. Domina quid multiplicati ſunt qui tribulant me? In tempeſtate tua perſequeris & diſſipabis eos. Diſſolue colligationes impietatis noſtræ: tolle faſciculos peccatorum noſtrorũ. Miſerere mei Domina & ſana infirmitatem meam: tolle dolorem & anguſtiã cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, & in die matris meæ comforta animá meá. Deduc me ad portum ſalutis, & ſpiritum meum redde factori meo.

Why are they ſo many O Lady that trouble me? In thy fury thou ſhalt perſecute and deſtroy them. Looſe the bondes of our impietie, and take away the burthen of our ſynnes. Haue mercy vpon me O Lady, and heale my infirmitie. Take away my ſorrow, and the anguiſh of my hart. Delyuer me not into the handes of myne enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my ſoule. Bryng me vnto the hauen of ſaluation, and reſtore my ſpirite vnto my maker & creator. Glory be to the father.

Blaſphemous idolatrie.

4. Cum inuocarem exaudiſti me Domina & è ſublimi ſolio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad eſcam & de manibus quærẽtium me liberabit gratia tua. Quoniam benigna eſt miſericordia & pietas tua in omnes qui inuocant nomen ſanctum tuũ. Benedicta ſis Domina in æternũ & maieſtas tua in ſeculũ. Glorificate eũ omnes gentes. &c.

When I called to thee thou heardeſt me O my Lady, & out of thy high throne thou diddeſt vouchſafe to thinke vpon me. From the roaring of them that prepare them ſelues to deuour me, & out of the handes of ſuch as ſeeke after my lyfe, thy grace ſhall delyuer mee: Becauſe thy mercy and thy pity are great towardes all them that call vpon thy holy name. Bleſſed be thou O Lady for euer, and thy maieſty for euer and euer. Glorify her all nations of the earth. &c.

False fayth.

5. Verba mea auribus percipe Domina &c. Conuerte luctũ noſtrũ in gaudiũ, & tribulationẽ noſtrã in iubilationẽ. Corruant ante pedes noſtros inimici noſtri: virtute tua eorũ capita conterantur. &c.

Heare my wordes O Lady. &c. Turne our mourning into gladnes, and our trouble into reioyſing. Let our enemies fall before our feete, and wyth thy power daſhe their heades in peeces.

6. Domina ne in furore Dei ſinas corripi me, neq; in ira eius iudicari. &c. De porta inferi & de ventre abyſſi tuis ſanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis ianuæ ſempiternæ vt enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua. Quia non mortui, neq; qui in inferno ſunt laudabunt te Domina, ſed qui tua gratia vitam æternam obtinebunt.

Derogation of the croſſe of Chriſt.

O Lady ſuffer me not to be rebuked in Gods anger, nor to be chaſtened in hys heauye diſpleaſure. &c. From

The title of the boke called our Ladyes Pſalter.

The booke called our Ladyes Pſalter, *Ex 2. parte operũ S. Bonauenturæ.*

the gate and deepe pyt of hell with thy holy prayers deliuer vs. Let the euerlaſting gates be opened, that we may ſhew forth thy marueylous workes for euer. Becauſe the dead, nor they that be in hel ſhal not prayſe thee O Lady: but they that ſhall obtayne by thy grace lyfe euerlaſtyng.

7. Domina mea in te ſperaui, de inimicis meis libera me Domina. Conclude ora Leonis & labia perſequentium conſtringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis miſericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat ſuper nos vt ſeruetur conſcientia noſtra apud altiſſimum. Si perſequitur inimicus animam meam Domina, adiutorio tuo comforter ne vibret gladium ſuum contra me.

[illegible] truſt.

Wrong inuocation.

Manifeſt idolatry.

Our Ladies beutie.

O my Lady, in thee do I put my truſt: deliuer me from myne enemies O Lady. Stoppe the mouth of the Lyon, and bynde the lyppes of the perſecutors. Make no tarying for thy names ſake, to ſhew thy mercye vpon me. Let the bryghtnes of thy countenance ſhyne vpon vs, that our cōſcience may be ſaued before the moſt higheſt. If the enemy do perſecute my ſoule O Ladye, helpe me that he deſtroy me not.

9. Confitebor tibi Domina in toto corde meo, & narrabo in populis laudem & gloriam tuam. &c. Inueniant gratiam per te inuentricem gratiæ & ſalutis: Reſpirant ad indulgentiā humiles pœnitentes: ſana contritiones cordis eorū. &c.

I will geue thākes to thee O Lady with my * whole hart, and wyll ſhewe foorth amongeſt the nations thy prayſe and glory. &c. They ſhall finde grace through thee the finder out of grace and ſaluation. The humble and penitent grone for pardon and forgeuenes, heale thou the ſores of their hart. &c.

* Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God with thy whole hart, with all thy ſtrength & power. &c. *Deut.* 6.

Treaſon agaynſt Chriſtes perſon and dignitie.

11. In Domina confido. &c. Exquirite illam a iuuentute veſtra & glorificabit vos. &c. Miſericordia illius noſtrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum & fœcunditatem nobis cōferat meritorum. &c.

In thee O Ladye doe I put my truſt. &c. Seeke her euen from your youth, and ſhe ſhall glorify you. &c. Her mercy take from vs the multitude of our ſynnes, & giue vnto vs plenteouſnes of merites. &c.

Derogation of Chriſtes paſſiō.

12. Saluum me fac mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clemenciæ. &c. Gyrum terræ ſola circuis vt ſubuenias inuocantibus te. &c.

Saue me O mother of Loue, and fountayne of mercye. &c. Thou thy ſelf alone haſt gone about the compaſſe of the earth to helpe them that call vpon thee. &c.

13. Vſquequo Domina obliuiſceris me & non liberas me in die tribulationis? vſquequo exaltabitur inimicus meus ſuper me? potentia virtutis tuæ contere ipſum. &c. Magnificamus te gratiæ inuentricem, per quam ſæcula reparantur. &c.

Blaſphemous idolatrie.

How long doeſt thou forget me O Ladye, and doeſt not delyuer me in the daye of my trouble? Howe long ſhall myne enemy triumph ouer me? with thy mightye power deſtroy him. &c. We magnifie thee the fynder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired. &c.

16. Conſerua me Domina quoniam ſperaui in te. &c. Benedicta ſint vbera tua quibus * lacte deifico ſaluatorum enutriſti. &c.

* Mylke making God.

Preſerue me O Lady for in thee haue I put my truſt. &c. Bleſſed be thy breſtes which with thy deifying milke diddeſt nouriſh the Sauiour &c.

Yea rather bleſſed be they that heare the word of God and kepe it.

18. Diligam te Domina cœli & terræ: in gentibus nomen tuum inuocabo. Confitemini illi tribulati corde, & roborabit vos cōtra inimicos veſtros. &c. Religioſi omnes honorate illam, quia ipſa eſt adiutrix veſtra & ſpecialis aduocata. Eſto refrigerium noſtrum glorioſa mater Chriſti, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum.

Falſe fayth.

I wyll loue thee O Lady of heauen and earth: I will call vpon thy name among the nations. Confeſſe your ſelues vnto her ye that are troubled in hart, and ſhe ſhal ſtrengthen you agaynſt your enemyes. &c. All ye Cloyſterers honour her, for ſhe is your helper and ſpecial Aduocate. Be thou our refreſhing and reſt, for thou art the maruellous foundation of all religion.

Idolatry of the cloyſterers.

20. Exaudi nos Domina in die tribulationis. &c. Ne proijcias nos in tempore mortis noſtræ, ſed ſuccurre animæ cum deſeruerit corpus ſuum. Mitte Angelū in occurſum eius per quem ab hoſtibus defendatur. &c. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum & concede ei locum inter electos Dei.

Derogation of the croſſe of Chriſt.

Heare vs O Lady in the day of trouble. &c. Caſt vs not away in the tyme of our death, but ſuccour our ſoule when it forſaketh the body. Send an Angell to meete it that it may be defēded from the enemies. &c. In tormēts and paynes let it feele thy comfort, and graunt to it a place among the electes of God.

25. Ad te Domina leuaui animam &c. Non præualeant aduerſum me laquei mortis &c. Ductrix mea eſto ad patriā, & me cœtui angelorum digneris aggregare.

To thee O Lady do I lift vp my ſoule &c. Let not the ſnares of death preuaile agaynſt me &c. Be thou my guide to the heauēly reſt, and to the company of Angels aſſociate me.

26. Iudica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digreſſus ſum: ſed quia ſperaui in te, non infirmabor. &c.

* Iudge thou me O Lady, for I am fallen from mine innocency: but becauſe I put my truſt in thee, therfore I ſhall not fall &c.

* All iudgemēt is geuen to Chriſt alone, and before him the virgin alſo her ſelfe ſhall be iudged.

27. Domina illuminatio mea ſit ſplendor faciei tuæ, & ſerenitas gratiæ tuæ refulgeat menti meæ. &c.

O Lady, let the brightnes of thy face be my light, and let the clearenes of thy grace ſhine vnto my minde &c.

28. Ad te Domina clamabo &c. Miſerere mei in die anguſtiæ meæ & in luce veritatis tuæ libera me.

To thee O Lady will I crye &c. Haue mercy vppon me in the day of my trouble and in the light of thy truth deliuer me &c.

31. In the Domina ſperaui, non confundar in æternū, in gloria tua ſuſcipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea & refugium meum: conſolatio mea & protectio mea &c. Educas me de laqueo quem abſconderūt mihi quoniam tu es adiutrix mea. In manus tuas Domina commendo ſpiritum meum.

In thee O Lady do I put my truſt: let me not be cōfounded for euer: in thy glory receiue me. Thou art my ſtrength and my refuge: my conſolacion and protection &c. Deliuer me from the ſnare that they haue layed for me becauſe thou art my helper. Into thy handes I commend my ſpirite. &c.

If our Lady be all in all, then God belike ſitteth idle in heauen.

34 Benedicam Dominā in omni tempore &c. In periculis, in rebus dubijs inuocate eam & in neceſſitatibus inuenietis auxilium &c. Sumite exemplum cōuerſationis eius & emulamini ſtudia humilitatis eius. Quia ergo Domina humillima fuiſti, verbum increatum ex te carnem ſuſcipere coegiſti.

I will alwayes prayſe our Lady &c. In perilles, in aduerſitie call vpon her and in time of nede ye ſhall finde ſuccour. Let her cōuerſatiō be an example vnto you, and follow the vertue of her humilitie. Becauſe therefore, O Lady thou waſt humble & lowly, thou diddeſt cōpell the word increate to take fleſh of thee.

Horrible blaſphemy againſt the Lord.

36. Dixit iniuſtus &c. A malo propoſito diſcedat mater Dei. Inclina vultum Dei ſuper nos: Coge illum peccatoribus miſereri &c. Benedictum ſit imperium tuum ſuper cœlos: benedicta ſit magnificentia tua ſuper terram.

The wicked man ſayed &c. Let him depart from his euill purpoſe O mother of God. Turne the countenance of God towardes vs: * Cōpell him to be mercifull vnto ſinners. Bleſſed be thy Impery and dominion in heauē and bleſſed be thy magnificence vppon the earth.

* O impious blaſphemy.

45. Eructauit cor meum verbum bonum Domina &c. Per tuam ſanctitatem peccata mea purgentur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur. &c.

My hart is enditing a new matter O Lady. &c. By thy holynes let my ſynnes be purged: by thy integritie let me obtayne incorruption. &c.

If Mary forgeue ſinnes, then is our fayth in Chriſt in vaine.

47. Omnes gētes plaudite manibus &c. Quoniam ipſa eſt porta vitæ, ianua ſalutis, & vitæ noſtræ recōciliatrix: ſpes pœnitentium, ſolamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atq; ſalus. Miſerere mei Domina, miſerere mei, quia tu es lux & ſpes omnium confidentium in te. &c.

Clap your handes all ye people. &c. For ſhe is the gate of lyfe: the doore of ſaluation: the reconciler of our lyfe: the hope of the penitent: the comfort of the ſorrowfull: the bleſſed peace of hartes, and ſaluation. Haue mercy vpon me O Lady, haue mercy vpon me, for thou art the light and hope of all that put their truſt in thee.

Theſe wordes ſtincke of blaſphemous idolatrye.

51. Miſerere mei Domina quæ mater miſericordiæ nuncuparis. Et ſecundum viſcera miſerationum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. &c.

Haue mercy vpon me O Ladye which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great cōpaſſion clenſe me from myne iniquities.

54. Domina in nomine tuo ſaluum me fac, & ab iniuſticijs meis libera me. &c.

O Lady, in thy name ſaue me, and from mine vnrighteouſnes delyuer me. &c.

The croſſe of Chriſt euacuate.

70. Domina in adiutorium meum intende &c. Miſerere ſeruorum tuorum ſuper quos inuocatum eſt nomē tuum. &c.

Make haſt O Lady to helpe me. &c. Haue mercy on thy ſeruantes, vpon whom thy name is inuocated. &c.

71. In te Domina ſperaui, nō confundar in æternum, in tua miſericordia libera me &c.

In thee Lady haue I put my truſt: let me not be cōfounded for euer, in thy mercy deliuer me. &c.

Blynd truſt.

79. Domina venerunt gentes in hereditatē Dei quas tu me-

ritis tuis Chriſto confederaſti.&c.

O Lady the Gentiles are come into the inheritaunce of God, whom thou dyddeſt ioyne vnto Chriſt by thy merites.&c.

Gods honor derogated.

80. Qui regis Iſrael &c. Odor vitæ de illa progreditur & omnis ſalus de corde illius ſcaturizat.

Thou that ruleſt Iſrael.&c. The ſauour of lyfe commeth from her, and all health floweth out of her hart.&c.

Falſe truſt.

91. Qui habitat in adiutorio matris Dei in protectione ipſius commorabitur &c. Clamate ad illam in periculis veſtris & flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo veſtro. Fructus gratiæ inneniet qui ſperauerit in illa : porta paradiſi reſerabitur ei.

Who ſo dwelleth in the helpe of the mother of God, ſhall dwell in the ſhadow of her protection.&c. Cry vnto her in your daungers, and the ſcourge ſhall not come neare your tabernacle. The fruit of grace ſhal be to him who ſo truſteth in her, and the gate of Paradiſe ſhall be open to hym.

95. Venite exultemus Dominæ noſtræ.&c.Suſcipe in fine animas noſtras,& introduc nos in requiem æternam, &c.

Come, let vs reioyce to our Ladye.&c. Receyue our ſoules at our laſt ende, and bryng them into euerlaſtyng reſt.&c.

Abominable blaſphemy.

105. Confitemini Dominæ noſtræ,& inuocate nomen eius &c.Salus ſempiterna in manu tua Domina &c.

Prayſe our Lady, and call vpon her name.&c. Euerlaſting ſaluation is in thy hand O Lady.&c.

110. Dixit Dominus Dominæ noſtræ,ſede mater mea a dextris meis, &c.

The Lord ſayd vnto our Lady: ſyt here my mother on my ryght hand.&c.

The Deuill and the Pope ſayth ſo and not God.

114. In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domina & ſuſcipe eum &c.Eſto illi ſcala ad regnum cœlorum & iter rectum ad paradiſum Dei.&c.

In the paſſing of my ſoul out of this world come and meete it O Lady, and receaue it.&c. Be to it a ladder vnto the kyndome of heauen, and a right way to the Paradiſe of God.&c.

* Blaſphemy.

119. Miſerationibus tuis plena eſt terra, ideo viam iuſtificationum tuarum exquiſiui.&c.Concupiſcam in æternum laudare te Domina cum docueris me *iuſtificationes tuas.&c.

The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I wyll ſearch out the way of thy iuſtifications.&c. I wil couet for euer to prayſe thee O Lady, when thou ſhalt teach me thy iuſtifications.&c.

Blaſphemy.

125. Qui confidunt in te mater Dei,non timebunt a facie inimici.&c.

They that put their truſt in thee O mother of God, ſhall not be a feard of the face of their enemy.&c.

*Blaſphemy.

127. * Niſi Domina ædificauerit domum cordis noſtri, non permanebit ædificium eius.

Except our Lady ſhall buyld the houſe of our hart, the building thereof ſhall not continue.&c.

128. Beati omnes qui timent Dominā noſtram,& beati omnes qui ſciunt facere voluntatem tuam.&c.

Bleſſed is euery one that feareth our Lady, and bleſſed be all they which know to do her wyll.&c.

* Idolatrous inuocation.

130. * De profundis clamaui ad te Domina, Domina exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuæ intendentes.&c.

Out of the deepe I haue called vnto thee O Lady, O Lady heare my voyce.&c.

132. Memento Domina Dauid & omniū inuocantium nomen tuum.&c.

O Lady, remember Dauid, and all them that cal vpon thy name.&c.

*Falſe truſt.

134. Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam omnes qui *ſperatis in nomine ſancto eius.&c.

Behold, and bleſſe now our Lady al ye that put your truſt in her holy name.&c.

Blaſphemy.

136. Super flumina Babylonis &c.Non inuenietur propitiatio ſine illa. &c.

At the fluddes of Babylon.&c. There is no propitiation to be found without her.&c.

Gods office applied to our Lady.

140. Eripe me Domina ab omni malo, & ab hoſte inferni defende me.&c.

Deliuer me O Lady from all euyll, and from the infernall enemy defend me.&c.

145. Oculi noſtri ſperant in te Domina. Mitte nobis cibum & eſcam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquitur lingua mea & benedicam te in ſeculum ſeculi.

Our eyes looke vp and truſt in thee: do thou ſend vs meate and foode conuenient.&c. My toung ſhall ſpeake thy prayſe, and ſhall bleſſe thee for euer.

148. Lauda Hieruſalem Dominam, glorifica illam etiam ô Sion. Ipſa enim conſtruit muros tuos & filios tuos benedicit.Gratia ſua te impinguat,pacemq; donat terminis tuis.

Idolatry.

Praiſe thou our Lady O Hieruſalem, and glorify her alſo O thou Syon, for ſhee buildeth vp thy walles, and bleſſeth thy chyldren: her grace maketh thee fat, and geueth peace vnto thy coaſtes.&c.

I could alſo recite other thinges moe of lyke blaſphemy, folowing immediately after this Pſalter of our Lady, in the Seraphical doctor aforeſayd, as theſe.

Horrible blaſphemy

Ecce domina Saluatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te,& non timebo.&c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu.&c. Et facta es mihi in ſalutem.i. Behold O Lady my Sauiour I wyll be bold in thee, and wyll not feare.&c. Becauſe thou art my ſtrength &c. And art become my ſaluation.&c.

Exulta totum genus humanum,quia talem dedit tibi mediatricem dominus Deus tuus.i. Reioyce O all mankind, becauſe the Lord thy God hath giuen vnto thée ſuch a Mediatrix.&c.

Blaſphemy.

The ſcripture abuſed.

Confitebor tibi domina, quia abſcondiſti hæc a ſapientibus, & reuelaſti ea paruulis. i. I wyll confeſſe to thee O Lady, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe, & haſt reuealed them to the litle ones.&c.

Generatio praua atq; peruerſa agnoſce Dominā noſtram ſaluatricem tuam. Nunquid ipſa eſt mater tua quæ poſſedit te & in fide generauit te? i. O thou wicked & peuiſh generation knowledge our Lady thy Sauiour. Is not ſhe the mother that hath poſſeſſed thée and in fayth hath begotten thée?

Curſed blaſphemy.

O benedicta in manibus tuis repoſita eſt noſtra ſalus.i. O thou bleſſed, in thy hādes is layed vp our ſaluation.&c.

In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, cœleſtium, &c. In thy name let euery knée bend, in heauē in earth and in hell.

Blaſphemy.

Quemadmodum infans ſine nutrice non poteſt viuere: ita nec ſine Domina noſtra poſsis habere ſalutem. i. Like as the infant can not lyue without the nource, ſo neither canſt thou haue ſaluation without our Lady.

Quicunq; vult ſaluus eſſe, ante omnia opus eſt vt teneatde Maria firmā fidem. Quam niſi quiſq; integram inuiolatamque ſeruauerit, abſq; dubio in æternum peribit. i. Who ſo wyll be ſaued, before all thinges he muſt néedes holde hys beliefe of our Lady, which beliefe, vnleſſe euery one ſhall hold perfect and ſound, ſhall periſh without doubt for euer.

The Roſary or Garland of our lady, called Corona beatæ Mariæ.

Moreouer after theſe ſo horrible thynges and vntolerable to bee heard, conſequently in the next tractation foloweth the Roſary or Garland of our Lady compiled by the ſayd Saint Bonauenture: Wherin theſe wordes are to be read, as foloweth: *O Mediatrix betwene God and man, the Lord hath worthely magnified thee, that thou onely ſhouldeſt conceaue his ſonne.&c. Wherfore O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of Grace, and mother of mercy.&c.* And moreouer within few lynes it foloweth in theſe wordes. *Therfore O our Empreſſe & Lady moſt bountifull, by the autoritie of a mother cōmaund, cōmaūd (I ſay) thy welbeloued ſonne, that he will ſtirre vp our minds frō the loue of worldly thinges, to heauēly deſires.&c.*

Mary made a commaunder of Chriſt.

Item, *O the Aduocate of the miſerable, the eyes of thy ſeruauntes be directed to thee.&c.*

To theſe premiſſes I might alſo adioyne the horrible and moſt blaſphemous wordes of the ſayd Bonauenture in the ſayd booke, Fol. 100. page. 2. col. 1. which I beſeech thee to read and note. Quæ maior bonitas q̄ quòd Chriſtus.&c. i. *What greater goodnes can be, then that Chriſt is content to bee captiue vpon the aultar.* Wherupon he ſpeaketh in the perſon of Ieremy ſaying: Behold, I am in your handes, do with me as you ſee good.&c. *Where note* (ſayth hée) *that when any Duke or Prince is taken priſoner for his Subiectes, he is not let go before he pay ſome great ſumme of money for his raunſome: Euen ſo neither we ought to let Chriſt go out of our handes beyng our priſoner and captiue, except he graunt*

Chriſt made a captiue and a priſoner in the Popiſh Church.

he graunt vnto vs remiſsion of our ſinnes and hys heauenly kingdome. The Prieſt therfore lyfteth vp the body of Chriſt vpō the altar: as though he ſayd thus: behold him, whom the whole world is not able to comprehend: he is holdē here our captiue: wherfore let vs hold hym faſt, and not let hym go, before we obteine of hym our requeſtes. &c.

¶ Notes.

The Church of Rome examined.

Is not here good catholike ſtuffe (chriſten readers) trow you? Cōferre I beſech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the Apoſtles, which teach vs that we are fully complet in Chriſt, and I wil referre me to no better Iudge then to your owne conſcience. And now therefore, if any man haue bene in doubt in times paſt of the doctrine and procedings of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errours, with blaſphemy intolerable, & Idolatry abominable or not, here now may he be fully certefied and reſolued. For where was euer idolatry or blaſphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Mattens & Pſalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an Idol to be worſhipped as God, which is no God, what do we here but make an Idole of our Lady (as we cal her) to be worſhipped wᵗ no leſſe dignity, glory, authority, reuerēce, & ſeruice, then is the Lord God himſelfe. As he is called our Lord: ſo ſhe is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet ſhe is yͤ Quene of heauen. And though he haue the name of God, yet ſhe beareth ſo the title of the mother of God, that as mothers haue authority ouer their children, ſo ſhe is willed to ſhew her ſelfe to be his mother, to cauſe him to graunt our peticions. Finally, if he be our patrō, yet is ſhe our patroneſſe. The Commaundement ſayth: *Thou ſhalt worſhip thy Lorde thy God, and hym onely thou ſhalt ſerue.* And what worſhip or ſeruice can we geue to God, more then we doe aſcribe vnto her? Or what benefite is to be aſked at the handes of Chriſt our Sauiour, which is not equally aſked of her? To ſaue our ſoules, to geue vs peace, to graunt grace, to comfort the deſperate, to loſe our captiuitie, to releaſe our ſins, to delyuer from the Fend, to bryng to heauen. &c. to her we pray, we cry, we crepe, we ſigh, we grone, wee knocke and knele, to her we truſt, & if we beleue not alſo in our Lady, we be herétickes ipſo facto.

The Church of Rome conuict of manifeſt Idolatry.

Our Lady made equall with God in the Church of Rome.

The doctrine of the Romiſh Church directly agaynſt the firſt commaundement of God.

To truſt and beleue in our Lady.

Furthermore, as Chriſt our onely Lord & Sauiour hath his Church & congregation which profeſſeth his name, of whō we are called Chriſtiās: ſo neither is ſhe likewiſe without her Chapels, her Cloiſters, her chapters, fraternities, & brotherhodes, which profeſſing her name in lyke ſort are called our ladyes brethrē or white friers, beſides an innumerable ſort of other patrons of churches, of whō euery one hath his peculiar Church and Religion by hym ſelfe: yet all theſe together be included vnder the generall deuotion of our Lady their ſupreme patroneſſe and gouerneſſe.

Our Lady hath her Church as well as Chriſt.

Now to procede further to the other part of the cōmaundement, which ſayth: *Hym onely thou ſhalt ſerue:* what ſeruice hath the Lord in all the Church, but our Lady alſo ioyntly with him hath the lyke? Her Maſſe, her Mattens, her Euenſong, her Houres and Complin, her Roſaries, her Anthemes, her Collectes, her Primer, her Pſalter, her Holydayes lykewiſe, yea fiue to one. Finally, as yͤ lord hath his prayer called yͤ lords Prayer, ſo hath ſhe her Aue Marys, yea x. Aues to one Pater noſter: yea and read further in the ſayd Bonauēture, and ye ſhall ſee her alſo to haue her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat, & alſo her Quicūq; vult.

X. Aues to one Pater noſter.

If the Lorde our God had not expreſſed vnto vs his owne will by playne word, lymityng vnto vs by expreſſe Iniunction, what to beleue, what to folow, and how to worſhyp and ſerue hym, and how to receaue frō him our ſaluation, but had left vs to the imaginatiō of our owne inuentions, euery mā to ſhift for him ſelfe after his own policie: then peraduēture this way taken by the Popes Church to make frendes & Mediatours betwene God & vs for reconciliation, remiſſion, & ſaluation, might haue ſome rime or reaſō: but now Gods worde doth bynd vs, doth preſcribe & limite vs preciſely in euery poynt touching ſaluation, what to beleue and what to do, ſhewing vs plainly that we can not be ſaued but by the bloud of his ſonne onely, neither can be iuſtified but by fayth onely in the ſame Chriſt hys ſonne. Wherfore not to beleue that which he hath promiſed, is infidelitie, and to folow any other belief then he hath ſet vs, is plaine idolatry. The which ij. ſpeciall errours moſt cōmonly do folow the doctrine of the Romiſh Church, as not onely in this Primer, and Pſalter of our Lady aforeſayd, but alſo in all their procedinges, teachings, & preachinges beſides may well appeare. For where the Scripture perfectly doth promiſe and pronounce vs to bee iuſtified through our fayth in Chriſt, and willeth vs to ſeeke our ſaluation no where els but onely in the merites of Ieſus: the inſtitution of the Church of Rome neither will receaue that God hath freely giuē (wherin ſtādeth infidelitie) neither yet will ſeeke yͤ ſame there wheras they ſhould, but in the merites and prayers of our Lady, of S. Iohn Baptiſte, S. Peter, and Paul, S. Andrew, S. Nicholas, S. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthines of the materiall Croſſe, and ſuch other vnlawful meanes, wherin ſtandeth playne Idolatrie. And yet ſuch bookes as theſe can be ſuffered among the Catholickes to be current as good, wholſome, and lawful bookes, where as the other which lead vs the true way from infidelitie and blynd Idolatrie to true Chriſtianitie, in no wiſe can be ſufferable. But of this to complayne it is in vayne. Wherfore to paſſe from this Proclamation, let vs procede (God willyng) in the courſe of our hiſtory.

Infidelitie. Idolatrie.

The Church of Rome charged with infidelitie and Idolatry.

The Church of Rome neither taketh that which God doth geue. Neither doth ſeeke for that which they would haue, by lawfull meanes.

The ſtory of Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Oſborne Martyrs.

Tho. Oſmund, W. Bamford, Tho. Oſborne, Martyrs.

Read before. Page. 1766.

Mention was made before in the ſtory of Thomas Haukes, of ſixe priſoners beſides, which were ſent downe with him to Eſſex the ſame tyme as he wēt to execution. Of which ſixe priſoners iij. were ſent to be burned, the other iij. to recant and to do penaunce: of whom it foloweth next in ſtory now to entreate. The names of which vj. were theſe. Thomas Oſmund, Fuller: W. Bramford, *alias* Butler Weuer: Tho. Oſborne Fuller: Nicholas Chamberlaine Weuer: Tho. Brodhill Weuer: Rich. Webbe Weuer: beyng all of the towne of Coxehall. All which vj. Coxehall men next after the examinations of Tho. Haukes & Tho. Wattes, were ſent vp to Boner to be examined by the Earle of Oxford, and Sir Philip Paris Knight, with a letter with them alſo ſent, the copy wherof here foloweth.

¶ A Letter ſent from the Earle of Oxford to Boner Byſhop of London.

A letter from the Earle of Oxford to B. Boner.

Six priſoners ſent by the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

After our harty cōmendatiōs vnto your good Lordſhyp, this ſhalbe to aduertiſe the ſame, that the Conſtables of Coxehall within your Dioces, haue brought before vs this day vj. perſons dwellyng in the towne of Coxehal aforeſayd, whoſe names hereafter do folow, videlicet: Nicolas Chamberlaine weuer, Iohn Waller Fuller, Thomas Brody weuer, Richard Webbe weuer, William Bamford, *alias* Butler weuer, and Thomas Oſburne Fuller, for that they, at the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt, haue not obeyed to the order of the holy Catholicke Church in receauyng of the Sacramentes, but obſtinatly refuſing the ſame, beſides the holdyng of diuers other opinions, contrary to the fayth of the ſayd Church. wherefore we haue thought it good to ſend the ſame perſons vnto your good Lordſhyp, further to be ordered, as in ſuch caſe ſhall apparteine. Thus we cōmit your good Lordſhyp to the kepyng of almighty God. From Hedynghā the firſt day of May. 1555.

Your Lordſhyppes aſſuredly,
Oxeford. Phillip Paris.

Oſmund, Chãberlaine, and their felowes, brought before B. Boner.

Thus the ſayd priſoners beyng ſent vp the firſt day of May, were brought before the ſayd Byſhop the xvij. of the ſayd moneth to be examined, vpon diuers & ſundry Articles miniſtred & obiected agaynſt thẽ: wherunto they were compelled to aunſwere and to put their handes to the ſame: the copy of which their Articles and aunſweres, beyng all one in forme and effect (if the Regiſter ſay true) here foloweth.

The copy of the Articles obiected agaynſt Thomas Oſmund, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlayne of Coxehall.

Articles miniſtred vnto them by the Biſhop.

1. FIrſt that thou Tho. Oſmund Fuller, waſt and art of the Pariſh of Coxehall, within the Dioces of London, and thou haſt not beleued nor doeſt beleue that there is here in the earth one Catholicke and vniuerſall whole Church, which doth hold and beleue all the fayth and Religiõ of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary Articles and Sacramentes of the ſame.

The Popes Church falſly termed by the name of the vniuerſall Church.

2 Item, that thou haſt not beleued nor doeſt beleue that thou art neceſſarily boundẽ vnder the payne of damnatiõ of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Church, and to the fayth and Religion of the ſame in all neceſſary pointes of the ſayd fayth and Religiõ, without doubtyng or wauering in the ſayd fayth and Religion, or in any part therof.

The fayth of the Romiſh Church not to be beleued.

3 Item, that thou haſt not beleued that the fayth and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spayn, England, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, & all other churches in Europe, being true members and partes of the ſayd catholick and vniuerſal church do beleue and teach, is both agreing wyth the ſayd catholicke and vniuerſall church, & with the fayth and religion of Chriſt, & alſo is the very true fayth and religion, which all Chriſten people ought to beleue, obſerue, follow, and keepe: but contrarywyſe thou haſt beleued and doeſt beleue, that that fayth and religion which the ſayd church of Rome, and all the other churches aforeſayd haue heretofore beleued, and do beleue is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wyſe ought to be beleued, obſerued, kept, and folowed of any Chriſtian perſon.

Note how this geare is penned to the worſt.

4 Item, that albeit it be true that in the Sacrament of the aulter, there is in ſubſtance the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Chriſt vnder the formes of bread & wyne: and albeit that it be ſo beleued, taught and preached vndoubtedly in the ſayd church of Rome and all other churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo beleued, nor doeſt ſo beleue, but contrariwiſe thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, vnder the ſayd formes of bread and wyne, the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtaunce of materiall and common bread and wyne with the formes thereof, and that the ſayd materiall and common bread and wine are onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and are by fayth to be receiued onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

This Article not ſo put downe as they ment it.

5 Item that thou haſt beleued and taught, and haſt openly ſpoken and defended, and ſo doeſt beleue, thynke, mayntayne, and defend: that the very true receauing and eating of Chriſtes body and bloud, is onely to take material and common bread, and to breake it, and deſtribute it amongſt the people, remembring therby the paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

The Maſſe not of Chriſtes inſtitutiõ.

6 Item, that thou haſt likewyſe beleued, thought, and ſpoken that the Maſſe now vſed in thys Realme of England and other the churches aforeſayd, is abominable and nought, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinaunce of the Pope and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodnes in it, ſauing the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, and therefore thou haſt not, nor wylt not come and be preſent at Maſſe, nor receaue the ſacrament of the aulter nor any other ſacrament of the church, as they are now vſed in this realme of England. &c.

Agaynſt auricular confeſſiõ and church ſeruice.

7 Itẽ, that thou haſt in tymes paſt beleued and yet doeſt now beleue, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made vnto the Prieſt: but is a thing ſuperfluous, voide and nought, only to be made to God, and to none other perſon. And lykewyſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vayne, and vnprofitable all the ceremonies of the church, and the ſeruice of the ſame, and haſt ſayd that no ſeruice in the church ought to be ſayd, but in the Engliſh toung, and if it bee otherwyſe, it is vnlawfull and nought.

The Earle of Oxford. Maiſter Phillip Paris.

8 Item, that thou being notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an hereticke, and a perſon culpable in the premiſſes, waſt of late called and conuented before the Earle of Oxford, and Maiſter Philip Paris, and there waſt charged wyth the ſayd hereſies, eſpecially agaynſt the ſacrament of the aultar. And becauſe thou dyddeſt mayntayne and ſtand to thy ſayd hereſies, and wouldeſt not come to the church, and be confeſſed, and receiue the ſayd ſacrament, as other Chriſtian people dyd, but vtterly dyddeſt refuſe to do the ſame, thou waſt by the ſayd Earle of Oxford and Maiſter Philip Paris, ſent vp by a Conſtable vnto me biſhop of London, and waſt by them denounced, detected, and put vp to me as an hereticke and myſbeleuyng perſon,

9 Item, that thou haſt knowen and beleued, thou doeſt knowe and beleue, or at the leaſt thou haſt crediblye heard reported, ſpoken and ſayd, that all and all maner perſons, which do teach, preach, or holde any thyng concernyng the ſacraments of the church, or any the articles of the fayth, otherwyſe then is found already diſcuſſed & determined by ẏ mother the holy church, or doth call into doubt or queſtion that thing which is already decided or determined by the church, or that wyllynglye and wyttyngly doe vtter openly or pryuely any ſclaunderous or blaſphemous wordes concernyng the ſayd ſacramentes or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keepe anye ſect or kynde of hereſy agaynſt the wholſome doctrine of the church, and do wyttingly, wyllingly, or obſtinatelye defend the ſayd ſect or kynde of hereſye, are by the Canons of the whole and vniuerſall catholicke Church, and alſo by the eccleſiaſticall lawes of thys church of England by their ſo doyng, accurſed wyth that curſe, whych doth ſeperate them from the entry into the church, from the receyuing of the ſacramentes, and from the companye of faythfull people, and are (in continuyng in thys ſaid ſect and hereſy) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretickes, and to be delyuered to the ſecular power, and by the lawes temporall of thys realme of England, and the cuſtome of the ſame, to be by the ſayde ſecular power put to death, and brent for thys ſayd ſect and hereſy.

10 Item, that thou by reaſon of the premiſſes waſt and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and iudged for a manifeſt and open, wilfull and obſtinate hereticke, for a wycked and curſed perſon, & to be puniſhed accordingly for the ſame, accordyng to the ſayd Canon lawes, vſages, and cuſtomes.

The aunſwers which the ſaid Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain ſeuerally made vnto theſe Articles.

The aunſweres of the three priſoners to the Articles, agreeing all in one.

TO the firſt they aunſwered and confeſſed the ſame to be true, except that they doe beleue that there is here in earth one catholicke & whole Church, and that the ſame church doth hold and beleue as is contayned in thys article.

To the ſecond they aunſwer, and beleue the ſaid article not to be true: for they ſay that they haue and doe beleue, that they are neceſſarily bounden vnder payne of damnation of their ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayd catholicke church, and to the fayth and religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary poyntes of the ſame fayth and religiõ, without wauering or doubting in any part thereof.

The Church of Rome not to be beleued.

To the third they anſwer, that the church of Rome, and other Churches mencioned in this article, be not true members and partes (as they be vſed in faith and religion) of the catholicke church of Chriſt, and that the fayth and religion vſed in the ſayd Churches, is not agreable with the church of Chriſt, but are falſe and erroneous.

To the fourth they aunſwer and ſay, that how ſo euer the ſayd churches of Rome and others of Chriſtendome haue and do beleue touching the ſacrament of the aultar, yet they do beleue, that in the ſacrament vnder the formes of bread and wyne, there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wyne, and that the ſame materiall bread and wyne bee onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and are to bee receiued onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion and death, without any ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

The true eating of Chriſtes body.

To the fift article they aunſwer, that the true receyuing & eating of Chriſtes body, according to Chriſtes inſtitution, is to take, diſtribute, & eate material bread, and therby to remember the paſſion & death of Chriſt, and ſo they receiue by fayth (as they beleue) Chriſtes body and bloud, and not otherwyſe.

To the ſixt they aunſwer the ſame to be true in euery part therof, except that ouer and beſides the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, which they beleue to be good, they beleue the Pater noſter and Crede vſed in the Maſſe be alſo good.

Particular confeſſion not neceſſary.

Ceremonies vaine in the church.

To the ſeuenth they aunſwer and confeſſe, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſarye to bee made to the Prieſt: neuertheles they thincke that it is neceſſary to go to ſuch a Prieſt, as is able to geue good counſel, and that for counſell onely, and not otherwyſe. And as concerning the ceremonies of the Church, they aunſwere the ſame to be vayne and vnprofitable. No ſeruice in the church ought to be ſayd, but onely in the Engliſhe tounge.

To the eyght they aunſwer and beleue the ſame to be true in euery part thereof, except that they doe not beleue that they be heretickes, or ſuſpected of hereſy.

To the ninth, Oſmond and Bamford aunſwered, that they referred them ſelues to the ſayd lawes, mentioned in that article, but Chamberlaine made no aunſwer at all to this article.

To the tenth the ſayd Oſmond and Bamford aunſwered and ſayde, that by reaſon of their beliefe afore by them confeſſed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or iudged for wylfull and obſtinate heretickes, nor to be puniſhed therefore, as is declared in that article. The other aunſwered nothing.

¶ Scholies vpon the foreſaid articles.

Notes of Scholies vpon the Articles laid to be anſwered to the poore chriſtians, by the Popes Church.

THeſe articles in the ſame forme & maner of wordes are commonly obiected to all other that follow after, with the ſame anſwers alſo therto annexed. In which articles thou mayeſt note (Reader) the crafty and ſubtile handling of theſe Lawyers and Regiſters, who ſo deceitfully frame theyr articles and poſitions, that vnleſſe a man do aduiſedly conſider them, it is hard for a ſimple man to anſwere to them, but he ſhall bee ſnared and intangled. So they paynt theyr Church with ſuch a viſage of vniuerſall, whole, holy, catholicke, as who ſhould ſay: he that denyeth Rome, denyeth the holy Churche of Chriſt here in earth.

The crafty and captious dealing of the Papiſtes in propounding their Articles.

Likewiſe in examining them, and ſpecially the ſimple ſort in the matter of the ſacrament, to the materiall bread in the ſacrament, they put this word (onely) very captiouſly and fraudulently, to take them at the worſt auantage, making the people beleue that they take the holy ſacrament to be no better then onely common bread: when they do not ſo, but make a difference betwen the ſame, both in the vſe, honour, and name thereof.

Agayne, when the Examinates hold but onely againſt the erroneous poyntes of romiſh religiō, theſe Byſhops in theyr Interrogatories geue out the matter ſo generally as though the ſaid Examinates in general ſpake againſt all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spaine, England, Fraūce, Scotland. &c.

Moreouer, concerning lattin ſeruice, in ſuch crafty forme of words they propound theyr article, that it might appeare to the people, theſe men to deny any ſeruice to be lawfull in any place, cuntrey, or language, but only in Engliſh.

And as theſe articles are crafty, captiouſly and deceitfully in forme of wordes deuiſed by the Biſhops and theyr Notaries: ſo the anſwers again to the ſame, be no leſſe ſubtely framed, and after the moſt odious maner put downe, in the name of the Examinates, which being read vnto them, thus with out further aduice, they were conſtrayned vpon a ſodayne to ſubſcribe the ſame with theyr handes. Whereby if any woord eſcaped theyr hand, peraduenture not conſiderately ſubſcribed: there the Papiſtes take theyr aduantage agaynſt them, to diffame them and to bring them into hatred with the people.

These Articles thus propounded and aunſwered, they were vntill the after noone diſmiſſed. At what time they dyd agayne appeare, and there were examined and traueiled with by fayre and flatteryng ſpeaches, aſwell of the Byſhop as of others his aſſiſtaunce, to recant and reuoke their opinions, who notwithſtandyng remained conſtant and firme, and therfore after the common vſage of their Eccleſiaſticall lawes, were ſent away agayne vntill the next day, beyng Saterday and the xviij. day of May. Then in the forenoone the Byſhop vſing his accuſtomed maner of procedyng, which he had vſed before, aſwell with them as with others, did likewiſe diſmiſſe them, and at laſt in the after noone condemned them as heretickes, and ſo deliuered them to the Shriffes, in whoſe cuſtody they remained vntill they were deliuered to the Shriffe of Eſſex, and by him were executed, Chamberlaine at Colcheſter, the xiiij. of Iune, Tho. Oſmūd at Maningtree, the xv. of Iune, and William Bamford alias Butler at Harwyge the ſame xv. day in ỹ moneth of Iune.

Sentence agaynſt Oſmund, Chamberlain, Bamford.

Iune. 14.

Iune. 15.

The Martyrdome of Tho. Oſmund, Chamberlain, and William Bamford.

The hiſtory of the worthy Martyr and ſeruaunt of God M. Iohn Bradford with his lyfe and actes, and ſondry conflictes with his aduerſaries, and Martyrdome at length moſt conſtantly ſuffered for the teſtimony of Chriſt and hys truth.

Iuly. 1.

The hiſtory of Maiſter Iohn Bradford, Martyr.

Sir Iohn Harington, Knight.

As touchyng firſt the countrey and education of Iohn Bradford, he was borne at Mācheſter in Lancaſterſhyre. His parentes did bryng him vp in learnyng frō his infācy, vntill he attayned ſuch knowledge in the Latin toung, and ſkil in wrytyng, that he was able to gayne his own liuing in ſome honeſt condition. Thē he became ſeruaūt to Syr Iohn Harrington Knight, who in the great affaires of kyng Henry the viij. and kyng Fdward the vj. which he had in hand when he was Treaſurer of the kynges campes and buildyngs at diuers tymes in Bullonois, had ſuch experience of Bradfordes actiuity in wrytyng, of expertnes in the art of Auditours, & alſo of his faithful truſtines, that not onely in thoſe affaires, but in many other of hys priuate buſineſſes he truſted Bradford, in ſuch ſort, that aboue all other he vſed his faithfull ſeruice.

The truſty ſeruice of Ioh. Bradford vnder Maiſter Harington.

Thus cōtinued Bradford certeine yeares in a right honeſt & good trade of lyfe, after ỹ courſe of this world, like to come forward (as they ſay) if his mynd could ſo haue liked, or had bene geuen to the world as many other be. But ỹ Lord which had elected him vnto a better function, & preordained him to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt, in that houre of grace which in his ſecret coūſell he had appointed, called this his choſen childe to the vnderſtandyng and partakyng of the ſame Goſpell of lyfe. In which call hee was ſo truly caught, that forthwith this effectuall call was perceiued by the fruites. For then Bradford did forſake his worldly affaires and forwardnes in worldly wealth, and after the iuſt accompt geuen to his Maiſter of all his doynges, he departed from him, and with marueilous fauour to further the kyngdome of God by the miniſtery of his holy word, he gaue him ſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures. The which his purpoſe to accōpliſh ỹ better, he departed frō ỹ Temple at Lōdon, where the tēporall law is ſtudied, & went to the Vniuerſity of Cambridge, to learne by Gods law how to further the buildyng of ỹ Lordes temple. In Cābridge his diligence in ſtudy, his profiting in knowledge, & godly conuerſation ſo pleaſed all men, that within one whole yeare after that he had bene there, the Vniuerſity did geue him the degree of a Maiſter of Arte. Immediatly after the Maiſter and felowes of Pēbroke hall did giue hym a felowſhyp in their Colledge with them: yea that man of God Martin Bucer ſo liked hym, that he had him not onely moſt deare vnto him, but alſo oftē tymes exhorted him

Bradford called to the Goſpell.

Bradford geueth himſelf to the ſtudy of Scripture.

Bradford Maiſter of art and fellow in Pembroke Hall.

to beſtow his talent in preachyng. Vnto which Bradford aunſwered allwayes, that he was vnable to ſerue in that office through want of learnyng. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, ſaying: If thou haue not fine mãchet bread, yet geue the poore people barly bread, or whatſoeuer els ẏ Lord hath committed vnto thée. And whiles Bradford was thus perſuaded to enter into the miniſtery, Doct. Ridley that worthy Byſhop of London and glorious Martyr of Chriſt, accordyng to the order that then was in the Church of Englād, called him to take the degrée of Deacon. Which order becauſe it was not without ſome ſuch abuſe as to ẏ which Bradford would not conſent, ẏ Byſhop yet perceiuyng that Bradford was willyng to enter into the miniſtery, was content to order hym Deacon without any abuſe, euen as hee deſired. This being done, he obteined for hym a licence to preach, and dyd geue him a Prebend in hys Cathedrall Church of Sainct Paules.

M. Bucers ſaying.

Ioh. Bradford made Deacon by Byſhop *Ridley* without any ſuperſtitious abuſe therein.

Ioh. Bradford made Prebendary in Paules, and licenſed to preach.

In this preachyng office by the ſpace of thrée yeares, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he labored, many partes of Englād can teſtifie. Sharply he opened and reproued ſinne, ſwetly he preached Chriſt crucified, pithily he impugned hereſies and errours, earneſtly he perſuaded to godly lyfe. After the death of bleſſed young kyng Edward the vj. when Quéene Mary had gotten the crowne, ſtill continued Bradford diligent in preachyng, vntill he was vniuſtly depriued both of his office and liberty by the Quéene and her Counſell. To the doyng wherof, becauſe they had no iuſt cauſe, they tooke occaſion to doe this iniurie for ſuch an act, as among Turkes and Infidels would haue bene with thankfulnes rewarded, and with great fauour accepted, as in déede it did no leſſe deſerue.

Bradford vniuſtly depriued of his liuing and preaching.

The fact was this. The .xiij. day of Auguſt, in ẏ firſt yeare of the reigne of Quéene Mary, M. Bourne then Byſhop of Bath made a ſeditious ſermon at Paules croſſe in London, as partly is declared before, pag. 1570. to ſet popery abroch, in ſuch ſorte that it moued the people to no ſmall indignation, being almoſt ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reuerence of the place, nor the preſence of the Biſhop Boner, who then was his maiſter, nor yet the commaundement of the Maier of London, whom the people ought to haue obeyed, ſtay theyr rage: but the more they ſpake, the more the people were incenſed. At lēgth Bourne ſeing the people in ſuch a moode and himſelfe in ſuch perill (whereof he was ſufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawen dagger at him, as he ſtoode in the pulpit) and that he was put from ending his ſermō, fearing leſt agaynſt his will hee ſhould there ende hys wretched life, deſired Bradford who ſtode in the pulpit behinde him, to come forth and to ſtand in his place and ſpeake to the people. Good Bradford at his requeſt was content and there ſpake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whō as ſone as ẏ people ſaw to begin to ſpeake vnto thē, ſo glad they were to heare him, that they cryed with a great ſhoute: Bradford, Bradford, God ſaue thy life Bradford: well declaring not onely what affectiō they bare vnto him, but alſo what regard they gaue to his woordes. For after that he had entred a litle to preach vnto them and to exhorte them to quiet and patience, eftſoones all the raging ceaſed, and they in the ende quietly departed ech man to his houſe. Yet in the meane ſeaſon (for it was a long time before that ſo great a multitude could all depart) Bourne thought (and truly) him ſelfe not yet full ſure of his life till he were ſafely houſed, notwithſtanding that the Maior & Shriffes of London were there at hand to helpe hym. Wherfore he deſired Bradford not to departe frō him till he were in ſafety: which Bradford accordyng to his promiſe performed. For while the Maior and Shriffes did lead Bourne to the Scholemaiſters houſe, which is next to the Pulpit, Bradford went at hys backe, ſhadowyng him from the people with his gowne, and ſo ſet him ſafe.

Bournes ſermon at Paules croſſe. Read before Pag. 1570.

Bradford appeaſeth the rage of the people, and gardeth the Papiſtical preacher.

The reuerent regard and affection of the people to *M. Bradford.*

M. Bradford procureth *M. Bournes* ſafetie.

Let the reader now conſider the perill of Bourne, the charitie of Bardford, and the headines of the multitude and alſo the grudgyng myndes of certein, which yet ſtill there remained behynd, greued not a litle in their mindes to ſée that ſo good a man ſhould ſaue ẏ life of ſuch a Popiſh Prieſt, ſo impudētly & openly raylyng agaynſt kyng Edward. Among whom one Gentleman ſayd theſe wordes: Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou ſaueſt hym that will helpe to burne thée. I geue thée his lyfe: if it were not for thée, I would (I aſſure thée) run hym through with my ſword. Thus Bourne for that tyme through Bradfordes meanes eſcaped bodely death: but God hath his iudgement to be ſhewed in the tyme appoynted.

The ſame Sonday in the after noone Bradford preached at the bow Church in Cheapeſide, and reproued the people ſharply for their ſedicious miſdeamenour. After this he did abyde ſtill in London with an innocent conſcience, to try what ſhould become of hys iuſt doyng.

Bradford rebuketh the people for the tumult at Paules croſſe.

Within thrée dayes after he was ſent for to ẏ tower of London, where the Quéene then was, to appeare there before ẏ Counſell. There was he charged ẇ this act of ſauing of Bourne, which act they there called ſeditious, and alſo obiected agaynſt hym for preachyng, and ſo by them he was committed firſt to the Tower, then vnto other priſons, out of the which neither hys innocency, godlynes, nor charitable dealyng could purchaſe hym liberty of body, tell by death (which he ſuffered for Chriſt cauſe) he obtained the heauenly libertie, of which neither Pope nor Papiſte ſhall euer depriue hym. From the Tower he came to the Kynges Bench in Southwarke: and after his condemnation, he was ſent to the Counter in the Poultry in London: in the which ij. places for ẏ time he dyd remaine priſoner, he preached twiſe a day cōtinually, vnleſſe ſicknes hindered hym: where alſo ẏ Sacramēt was oftē miniſtred, and through his manes (the kéepers ſo well dyd beare with him) ſuch reſort of good folkes was daily to his lecture, and to the miniſtration of the Sacrament, that commonly his chamber was welnygh filled therwith. Preaching, reading, and praying was al his whole life. Hée did not eate aboue one meale a day: which was but very litle when he tooke it: and his continuall ſtudy was vpon his knées. In the myddeſt of dynner he vſed oftē to muſe with him ſelfe, hauyng his hatte ouer his eyes, frō whence came cōmonly plenty of teares droppyng on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in ſo good credite with his kéeper, that at hys deſire, in an euenyng (beyng priſoner in the Kynges Bench in Southwarke) hee had licence vppon his promiſe to returne agayne that night, to go into London without any kéeper, to viſite one that was ſicke lying by the Stilliard. Neither did he fayle his promiſe, but returned vnto his priſon agayn, rather preuentyng his houre, then breakyng his fidelitie: ſo conſtant was he in word and déede.

Bradford charged with ſedition, for ſauing the preacher.

Bradford committed to the Tower most vniuſtly.

Bradford in the kinges Bench.

Bradford in the Counter.

Bradford preacheth and miniſtreth the Sacramēt in priſon.

Bradford came into London without his keper, and returned that night to priſon agayne.

Of perſonage he was ſome what tall and ſlender, ſpare of body, of a faynt ſanguine coulour, with an alburne beard. He ſlept not cōmonly aboue 4. houres in ẏ night: and in his bed till ſlepe came, his booke wēt not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gammyng or other paſtime, but onely in honeſt company, and comely talke, wherin he would ſpend a litle tyme after dyner at the bourd, and ſo to prayer and his booke agayne. He counted that houre not well ſpent, wherin he did not ſome good, either with his pen, ſtudy or in exhortyng of others &c. He was no niggard of his purſe, but would liberally participate that he had to his felow priſoners. And commonly once a wéeke hee viſited the théeues, pickpurſes, & ſuch others, that were with him in the priſon where he lay on the other ſide: vnto whō he would geue godly exhortation to learne the amendement of their lyues by their troubles, and after that ſo

ſo

The deſcription of *Bradford.*

Bradford content with a litle ſleepe.

Bradfords recreation.

The holy life of *Bradford.*

Bradford viſited the theeues, pickepurſes, &c.

ſo done, diſtribute among them ſome porcion of money to theyr comfort.

The meeting and conference betwene *Laurence Saunders,* and *Iohn Bradford.*

By the way this I thought not to cõceale. While he was in the Kinges Bench, and Maiſter Saunders in the Marſhalſey both pryſoners, on the backſide of thoſe two priſons they met manytimes, and conferred together when they would: ſo mercifully did the Lorde worke for them, euen in the middeſt of their troubles: and the ſayd Bradford was ſo truſted with hys keper, and had ſuch liberty in the backſide, that there was no day but he might haue eaſely eſcaped away if he wold, but that the Lord had an other worke to doe for hym. In the ſommer time whyle he was in the ſayd kynges Bench, hee had lybertie of his keper to ryde into Oxfordſhere to a Marchauntes houſe of hys acquaintãce, and horſe and all things prepared for him for that iourney, and the party in a readynes that ſhould ryde with him: but God preuented him by ſicknes that he went not at all.

Bradford refuſing to eſcape out of priſon, though he might.

Bradford would not flee out of England though he might.

One of hys old frendes and acquaintaunce came vnto hym whyleſt he was priſoner, and aſked hym: if he ſued to get him out, what then he would do, or whether he would go? Unto whom he made aunſwere, as not caryng whether he went out or no: but if he did, he ſayd he would mary and abyde ſtyll in England ſecretly, teachyng the people as the tyme would ſuffer hym and occupy hymſelfe that way. Hee was had in ſo great reuerence and admiration withall good mẽ, that a multitude which neuer knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea and a number alſo of the Papiſtes them ſelues wiſhed hartely his lyfe. There were few dayes in which he was thought not to ſpend ſome teares before he went to bed, neither was there euer any priſoner with hym, but by hys company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witnes, and haue confeſſed of hym no leſſe, to the glory of God, whoſe ſociety hee frequented, as among many, one ſpeciall thyng I thought to note, which is this.

Bradford beloued.

Bradfords teares.

Byſhop *Farrer* confirmed in the truth by *Ioh. Bradford.*

Biſhop Farrar being in the Kinges bench priſoner, as before you haue heard, was trauayled with all of the Papiſtes, in the end of Lent to receaue the ſacrament at Eaſter in one kynde, who after much perſwading yelded to them, and promyſed ſo to do. Then (ſo it happened by Gods prouidence) the Eaſter euen, the day before hee ſhould haue done it, was Bradford brought to yͤ kings Bench priſoner: where yͤ Lord making him his inſtrumẽt, Bradford onely was yͤ meane that the ſayd B. Farrar reuoked his promiſe & worde, & would neuer after yeld to be ſpotted with that papiſticall pitch: ſo effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy ſeruant of hys. Such an inſtrument was hee in Gods church, that few or none there were that knew hym, but eſteemed hym as a precious iewel and Gods true Meſſenger.

Bradford warned of his burning according as it came to paſſe.

The night before hee was had to Newgate, which was the ſaterday at night, he was ſore troubled diuers times in his ſleepe by dreames, how the chaine for hys burning was brought to the Coũter gate, and how the next day being Sonday, he ſhould be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as in deede it came to paſſe accordingly, which hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. Now he being vexed ſo often tymes in this ſort with theſe dreames, about. iij. of the clocke in the morning, he waked hym that lay with him, & tolde him hys vnquiet ſleepe, and what he was troubled withall. Then after a litle talke, Maiſter Bradford roſe out of hys bed, and gaue him ſelfe to hys olde exerciſe of reading and prayer, as alwayes he had vſed before: and at dinner, according to hys accuſtomed maner, he did eate hys meate, and was very mery, no body beyng wyth hym from morning tyll night, but he that lay with him, wyth whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdome of heauen, and of the ripenes of ſinne in that tyme.

In the after noone they two walking together in the keepers chamber, ſodainly the keepers wyfe came vp, as one halfe amazed, and ſeeming much troubled, being almoſt wyndeles, ſayd: Oh Maiſter Bradford, I come to bryng you heauy newes. What is that ſayde he? Mary quoth ſhe, to morrowe you muſt be burned, and your chayne is now a bying, and ſoone you muſt go to Newgate. With that Maiſter Bradford put of hys cap, and lifting vp his eyes to heauẽ, ſaid: I thanke God for it: I haue looked for the ſame a long tyme, and therfore it cometh not now to me ſodainly, but as a thing wayted for euery day & houre, the Lorde make me worthy thereof: and ſo thanking her for her gentlenes, departed vp into his chamber, and called hys friend with him, who when he came thether, he went ſecretly him ſelf alone a long time and prayed. Which done, hee came agayne to him that was in hys chamber and tooke him diuers wrytings and papers, and ſhewed him his mynde in thoſe thinges what hee would haue done, and after they had ſpent the afternoone till night in many & ſundry ſuch thinges, at laſt came to him halfe a doſen of his friendes more, with whom all the euening he ſpent the tyme in prayer and other good exerciſes, ſo wõderfully, that it was maruailous to heare and ſee his doinges.

Bradford, hath worde of his burning.

Bradford maketh hys prayer taking his farewell at the Counter.

A litle before he went out of the Counter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with ſuch plenty of teares and aboundant ſpirit of prayer, that it rauiſhed the myndes of the hearers. Alſo, when he ſhifted him ſelfe wyth a cleane ſhyrt that was made for hys burning (by one Maiſter Water Marlars wyfe, who was a good Nurſe vnto him, and his very good friend) hee made ſuch a prayer of the wedding garment, that ſome of thoſe that were preſent were in ſuch great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in loking on him, as their eares gaue place to heare hys prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, hee made likewyſe a prayer, and gaue money to euery ſeruaunt and officer of the houſe, with exhortation to thẽ to feare and ſerue God, continually labouring to eſchew all maner of euill. That done, he turned hym to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his woordes might not be ſpoken in vaine, but that the Lord would worke the ſame in them effectually, for his Chriſtes ſake. Then being beneath in the court, all the priſoners cried out to him and bad him farewell, as the reſt of the houſe had done before with weeping teares.

Bradfordes going from the Counter.

The priſoners take their leaue of *Bradford* with teares.

Bradford was caried to Newgate at midnight.

The people in Cheapſide bad *Bradford* farewell.

The tyme they caryed hym to Newgate, was about x. xj. or. xij. a clocke in the night, when it was thought none would be ſtirring abroad: & yet contrary to their expectatation in that behalfe, was there in Chepeſide and other places (betwen the Counter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to ſee him, which moſt gently bad him farewell, praying for him with moſt lamentable and pityfull teares, and hee agayne as gently bad them farewell, praying moſt hartely for them and their welfare. Now, whether it were a commaundement from the Queene & her Counſell, or from Boner and his adherentes, or whether it were merely deuyſed of the Lorde Mayor, Aldermen, and Shiriffes of London or no, I can not tell: but a great noyſe there was ouernight about the citie by dyuers, that Bradford ſhould be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by .iiij. a clocke in the morning, before it ſhould be greatly knowen to any. In which rumour, many heades had diuers mindes: ſome thinking the feare of the people to bee the cauſe thereof. Other thought nay, that is was rather becauſe the Papiſtes iudged his death would cõuert many to the truth, and geue a great ouerthrow to their kingdome. So ſome thought one thyng and ſome an other, that no iuſt coniecture of the cauſe could be knowen that euer I heard yet. But thys was certayne, the people preuented the deuyſe ſuſpected: for the next day, at the ſayd houre of iiij. a clocke in the morning, there was in Smithfield ſuch a multitude of men and wemen, that many being

A noyſe of *Bradfords* early burning.

A multitude in Smithfield by 4. a clocke.

in admiration therof, thought it was not poſſible that they could haue warning of his death, being ſo great a number in ſo ſhort a tyme, vnleſſe it were by the ſingular prouidence of almighty God.

Bradford goyng to Smithfield.

Well, this tooke not effect as the people thought: for that morning it was .ix. a clocke of the day, before Maiſter Bradford was brought into Smithfield: which in going thorow Newgate thetherward, ſpyed a friend of hys whom he loued, ſtanding on the one ſyde of the way to the keepers houſeward, vnto whom he reached hys hand ouer the people, & pluckt hym to him, and delyuered to hym from his head, his veluet night cap, and alſo hys handkerchiefe, wyth other thynges beſides. Which after a litle ſecrete talke with him, and ech of them parting from other, immediately came to hym a brother in law of his, called Roger Beſwicke, which as ſoone as he had takē the ſayd Bradford by the hand, one of the Shiriffes of London called Woodroſe, came with hys ſtaffe and brake the ſayd Rogers head, that the bloud ran about his ſhoulders. Which ſight Bradford beholding with griefe, bad his brother farewell, willing to commend him to hys mother, and the reſt of hys frendes, and to gette hym to ſome Surgeon betimes: and ſo they departing, had little or no talke at all togethers. Thē was he lead forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men to conduct hym thether, as the lyke was not ſeene at no mans burning: for in euery corner of Smithfield there were ſome, beſides thoſe which ſtoode about the ſtake. Bradford then being come to the place, fell flatte to the ground, ſecretly making his praiers to almightie God. Then riſing againe and putting of his clothes vnto his ſhiert, he went to the ſtake, and there ſuffred wyth a young man of .xx. yeares of age, ioyfully and conſtantly, whoſe name was Iohn Leaffe. Touching the order and maner of whoſe burnyng, more ſhall bee ſayd (God wylling) hereafter. In the meane time we will now ſhew forth the ſundry examinations, conflictes, and conferences betwene him, and other his aduerſaries, duryng the tyme of hys impriſonment, which was in all, two yeres lacking one moneth and a halfe. Which examinations here folow to be declared.

Bradford gaue his night cappe away.

Woodroſe breaketh the head of *Bradfordes* brother in law.

M. Bradford two yeares lacking a moneth & a halfe, in priſon.

It was before a litle aboue declared, that Ioh. Bradford within iij. dayes after the ſermon of M. Bourne, was by the Counſell committed to the Tower, where he remained from the moneth of Auguſt, an. 1553. to the 22. day of January, an. 1555. vpon which day he was called out to examination before Ste. Wint. and other of ẏ Cōmiſſioners. The effect of which examination and cōmunication which paſſed betwene hym and them, proceded in maner as followeth.

¶The effect of the Communication betwene Iohn Bradford and the L. Chauncellour, and other in Commiſſion with hym, the .xxij. day of January. an. 1555.

Talke betwen *M. Bradford and Steuen Winchester.*

AFter the Lord Chauncelour and the reſidue of the Queenes Counſell in Commiſſion with hym, had ended their talke with M. Farrar, late Byſhop of S. Dauides, the Vndermarſhall of the kings Bench was commaunded to bryng in Iohn Bradford: who beyng come into the preſence of the Coūſell ſittyng at a table, kneeled downe on his knee, but immediatly by the L. Chauncelour was bydden to ſtand vp, and ſo he did.

When he was riſen, the L. Chauncellour earneſtly looked vpon him, to haue (belyke) ouerfaced him: but he gaue no place, that is, he ceaſed not in lyke maner to looke on the L. Chauncelour ſtill continually, ſaue that once he caſt vp hys eyes to heauenward ſighyng for Gods grace, and ſo ouerfaced him.

Winchester ouerfaced.

The wordes of the B. of Winchester to Iohn Bradford.

L. Chaun. Then the L. Chauncellour as it were amaſed, and ſomethyng troubled, ſpake thus to hym in effect: that of long tyme he had bene impriſoned iuſtly for his ſedicious behauiour at Paules Croſſe the xiij. of Auguſt. an. 1553. for his falſe preachyng and arrogancie, takyng vpon him to preach without authoritie. But now (quoth he) the tyme of mercy is come & therfore the Queenes highnes myndyng to offer vnto you mercy, hath by vs ſent for you to declare and geue the ſame, if ſo be you will with vs returne. and if you will do as we haue done, you ſhal finde as we haue found, I warraunt you. Thys was the ſumme of hys wordes, and in maner the ſame wordes which he ſpake.

Bradfords anſwere agaynſt *Winchest.*

Brad. To theſe wordes Iohn Bradford ſpake (after reuerent obeyſaūce made) in this maner. My Lord and Lordes all, I confeſſe that I haue bene long impriſoned, and (with humble reuerēce be it ſpoken) vniuſtly, for that I did nothyng ſediciouſly, falſly, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preachyng or otherwiſe, but rather ſought truth, peace, and all godly quietnes, as an obedient and faythfull ſubiect, both in goyng about to ſaue the Byſhop of Bath now, then M. Bourne, the preacher at the Croſſe, and in preachyng for quietnes accordyngly.

Bradfords facte in ſauing of *Bourne*, counted for ſedition.

L. Chaun. At theſe wordes, or rather before he had fully finiſhed, the ſayd L. Chaūcelour ſomethyng ſnuffed, and ſpake with an admiration, that there was a loude lye: for (quoth he) the fact was ſedicious, as you my Lord of London can beare witnes.

Boner witneſſeth wyth *Winchest.* agaynſt *Bradford.*

Boner. You ſay true my Lord: I ſaw hym with myne owne eyes, when he tooke vpon hym to rule and lead the people malapartly, therby declaryng that he was the author of the ſedicion.

Brad. My Lordes, notwithſtandyng my Lord Byſhops ſeyng and ſaying, yet the truth I haue told, as one day my Lord God almighty ſhall reuele to all the world, when we ſhal all come and appeare before him: In the meane ſeaſon, becauſe I can not be beleued of you, I muſt & am ready to ſuffer, as now your ſayinges be, what ſoeuer God ſhall licence you to do vnto me.

L. Chaun. I know thou haſt a glorious toung, and goodly ſhewes thou makeſt: but all is lyes thou ſpeakeſt. And agayne I haue not forgotten how ſtubburne thou waſt when thou waſt before vs in the Tower, wherupon thou waſt committed to priſon concernyng Religiō. I haue not forgotten thy behauiour and talke, wherthrough worthely thou haſt bene kept in priſon, as one that would haue done more hurt then I wil ſpeake of.

This talke of *Bradford* firſt in the Tower, came not to our handes.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſayd, I ſay agayn, that I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, and one day we ſhall all ſtand before him: the truth thē wil be the truth, though now you will not ſo take it. Yea my Lorde, I dare ſay that my lord of Bath M. Bourne wil witneſſe with me, that I ſought his ſauegard with the perill of mine own lyfe, I thanke God therfore.

Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witnes agaynſt thy neighbour. Cōmaund. 9.

Boner. That is not true: for I my ſelfe dyd ſee thee take vpon thee to much.

Brad. No, I tooke nothyng vpon me vndeſired, and that of M. Bourne him ſelfe, as if he were here preſent, I dare ſay he would affirme. For he deſired me both to helpe hym to pacifie the people, and alſo not to leaue hym till he was in ſafetie. And as for my behauiour in the Tower, and talke before your honours, if I dyd or ſayd any thyng that did not beſeme me, if your Lordſhyps would tell me wherein it was, I ſhould & would ſhortly make you aunſwere.

Bradford deſired of *Maiſter Bourne* to helpe him, and yet is now ſhent for his labour.

Chaun. Well, to leaue thys matter: how ſayeſt thou now? Wilt thou returne again, & do as we haue done, and thou ſhalt receiue the Queenes mercy and pardon?

Mans mercy with Gods wrath, refuſed.

Brad. My Lord, I deſire mercy wyth Gods mercy, but mercy with Gods wrath, God keepe me from: Although (I thanke God therfore) my cōſcience doth not accuſe me, that I dyd ſpeake any thyng wherefore I ſhould neede to receaue the Queenes mercy or pardon. For all that euer I dyd or ſpake, was both agreyng to Gods lawes, and the lawes of the Realme at that preſent, and dyd make much to quietnes.

Chaun. Well, if thou make thys babling, rolyng in thy eloquent toung, and yet being altogether ignorant and vaynglorious, and wylt not receyue mercy offred to thée, know for truth that the Quéene is mynded to make a *purgation of all ſuch as thou art.

*That is the worſt you and your Pope can do, and the beſt argument you haue.

The Lordes mercy better then lyfe to Bradford.

Brad. The Lord before whom I ſtand, as wel as before you, knoweth what vaynglory I haue ſought, and ſéeke in thys behalfe: hys mercy I deſyre, & alſo would be glad of the Quéenes fauour to liue as a ſubiect without clog of conſcience. But otherwyſe the Lords mercy is better to me then lyfe. And I know to whom I haue committed my lyfe, euen into hys handes which will kéepe it, ſo that no man may take it away before it be hys pleaſure. There are xij. houres in the day, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhall no man haue power thereon. Therefore hys good will be done: life in his diſpleaſure is worſe then death, and death in hys true fauour is true lyfe.

Chaun. I know wel inough that we ſhall haue glorious talke inough of thée: be ſure therfore, that as thou haſt deceyued the people wyth falſe and diuelyſh doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receyue.

Bradford ready to confirme his doctrine with his life.

Brad. I haue not deceyued the people, nor taught any other doctrine, then by Gods grace I am, and hope ſhall be ready to confirme wyth my lyfe. And as for the diueliſhnes and falſenes in the doctrine, I would be ſory you could ſo proue it.

Dureſ. Why? tell me what you ſay by the miniſtration of the Communion, as now you know it is?

Bradford asketh a queſtion before he anſwereth any interrogatory.

Brad. My Lord, here I muſt deſire of your Lordſhip and of all your honours a queſtion, before I dare make you an anſwer to any interrogatory or queſtion, wherwith you now begyn. I haue bene ſixe times ſworne that I ſhall in no caſe conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction, or any authoritye on the biſhop of Romes behalfe within this realme of England. Nowe before God I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you aſke me this queſtion by hys authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may aunſwer you any thyng in his authoritie which you ſhal demaund of me, except I would be forſworne, which God forbyd.

Secretary Bourne ſpeaketh.

Sec. Bourn. Haſt thou bene ſworne ſixe times? what office haſt thou borne?

Bradford ſixe times ſworne agaynſt the Pope.

Brad. Forſooth I was thriſe ſworne in Cambridge when I was admitted Maiſter of Arte, whē I was admitted fellow of Penbroke hall, and whē I was there, the Viſitours came thether and ſware the Vniuerſity. Agayne, I was ſworne when I entred into the miniſtery, when I had a Prebend geuen me, and when I was ſworne to ſerue the king a litle before hys death.

Herodes oth, quoth Winchest.

Chaun. Tuſh, Herodes othes a man ſhoulde make no conſcience at.

Winchest. De vera obedientia.

Brad. But my Lord, theſe were no Herodes othes, nor no vnlawfull othes, but othes according to Gods woorde, as you your ſelfe haue well affirmed in your booke De vera obedientia.

Maiſter Rocheſter ſpeaketh.

M. Roch. My Lordes (quoth an other of the counſel that ſtood by the table, maiſter Rocheſter I wene) I neuer knew wherefore thys man was in pryſon before now: but I ſee well that it had not bene good that thys man had bene abroad. What the cauſe was that he was put in priſon, I knowe not: but I now well know that not without a cauſe he was & is to be kept in priſon.

The earle of Darbies complaynt agaynſt Bradford.

Burne. Yea it was reported this Parlament tyme by the Earle of Darby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhortyng thoſe that haue come to hym in Religion, then euer he did whē he was abroad by preachyng. In his letters he curſeth all that teach any falſe doctrine (for ſo he calleth that which is not accordyng to that he taught) and moſt hartely exhorteth them to whom he writeth, to continue ſtill in that they haue receiued by hym, & ſuch lyke as he is. All which wordes diuers of the Counſell affirmed. Whereunto the ſayd M. Burne added ſaying: how ſay you Syr? haue you not thus ſediciouſly written and exhorted the people?

This letter was written to his mother, brethren and ſiſters, and [illegible]

M. Bradford falſely charged with ſedicion.

Brad. I haue not written, nor ſpoken any thing ſediciouſly, neither (I thanke God therefore) haue I admitted any ſedicious cogitation, nor I truſt neuer ſhall doo.

Burn. Yea, but thou haſt written letters.

Chaun. Why ſpeakeſt thou not? Haſt thou not written as he ſayeth?

Brad. That I haue written, I haue written.

Sir Richard Southwell ſpeaketh.

South. Lord God, what an arrogant and ſtubburne boy is this, that thus ſtoutely and dalyingly behaueth hym ſelfe before the Queenes Councell? whereat one looked vpon an other with diſdainefull coūtenaunces.

Brad. My Lords and maiſters, the Lord God which is and wil be iudge to vs all, knoweth that as I am certayne I ſtand now before his maieſty: ſo with reuerence in his ſight I ſtand before you, and vnto you accordingly in wordes and geſture I deſire to behaue my ſelfe. If you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reuele it. In the meane ſeaſon I ſhall ſuffer with all due obedience your ſayinges and doinges to, I hope.

All is lyes that pleaſeth not Winchester.

Chaun. Theſe be gay glorious wordes of reuerence: but as in all other thinges, ſo herein alſo thou doeſt nothing but lye.

Brad. Well, I would God the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes would pull my toung out of my heade before you all, and ſhewe a terrible iudgement on me here preſent, if I haue purpoſed, or doe purpoſe to lye before you, whatſoeuer you ſhall aſke me.

Chaun. Why then doeſt thou not aunſwere? Haſt thou writtē ſuch letters as here is obiected againſt thée?

Winchester holden at a bay.

Brad. As I ſayd my Lorde, that I haue written I haue wrytten. I ſtande now before you, which eyther can lay my letters to my charge, or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I haue written, if I denye it, I am then a lyer.

Chaun. We ſhall neuer haue done with thée I perceiue now: be ſhort, be ſhort: wilt thou haue mercy?

Brad. I pray God geue me hys mercy, and if therewyth you wyll extend yours, I wyll not refuſe it, but otherwyſe I wyll none.

Here now was much ado, one ſpeaking this, and an other that of hys arrogancie in refuſing the Quéenes pardō which ſhe ſo louingly did offer vnto him: wherto Bradford aunſwered thus.

M. Bradford deſireth to liue, ſo that he may haue life without clogge of conſcience.

Brad. My Lordes, if I may lyue as a quiet ſubiecte without clog of conſcience, I ſhall hartely thanke you for your pardon: if otherwyſe I behaue my ſelfe, then I am in daunger of the law: in the meane ſeaſon I aſke no more, but the benefite of a ſubiect, tyll I be conuinced of tranſgreſſion. If I can not haue this, as hetherto I haue not had, Gods good wyll be done.

Winchester ſpeaketh agaynſt the doctrine taught in K. Edwardes time.

Chaun. Vpon theſe wordes my Lord Chauncellour began a long proceſſe of the falſe doctrine wherewyth the people were deceiued in the dayes of K. Edward, and ſo turned the end of his talke to Bradford, ſaying: how ſayeſt thou?

M. Bradford ſtandeth in defence of the Doctrine taught in K. Edwardes time.

Brad. My Lord, the doctrine taught in K. Edwardes dayes, was Gods pure religion, the which as I then beleued, ſo do I now more beleue it then euer I dyd, and therin I am more confirmed and ready to declare it by Gods grace, euen as he wyll, to the world, then I was when I firſt came into pryſon.

Dureſ. What religion meane you in king Edwards dayes? What yeare of hys raygne?

Brad. Forſooth euen the ſame yeare (my Lord) that the kyng dyed, and I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wot not what.

The reaſon of Winchester wherewith he diſproueth the Doctrine of K. Edwardes dayes.

Chaun. Now after a litle pauſing, my Lord Chauncellour beginneth agayne to declare, that the doctrine taught in kyng Edwardes dayes was hereſie, vſing for probation and demonſtration thereof no ſcripture nor reaſon, but this: that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that (quoth hee) the very end were inough to improue that doctrine to be naught.

Brad. Ah my Lord, that you could enter into Gods

Sanctuary, and marke the end of thys preſent doctrine that you now ſo magnifie.

Chaun. What meaneſt thou by that? I weene we ſhall haue a ſnatch of rebellion euen now.

Brad. My Lord, I meane no ſuch end as you would gather: I meane an end which no man ſeeth, but ſuch as enter into Gods Sanctuary. If a mã looke on preſent thinges, he wyll ſoone deceiue hym ſelfe.

The Queenes mercy againe offred to M. Bradford.

Here now dyd my Lord Chauncellour offer againe mercy, and Bradford aunſwered as before: mercy wyth Gods mercy ſhould be welcome, but otherwyſe he would none. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour dyd ryng a lytle bell, bylike to call in ſome body, for there was preſent none in maner, but onely thoſe before named and the biſhop of Worceſter. Now when one was come in: it is beſt (quoth maiſter Secretary Bourne) that you geue the keeper a charge of this fellow. So was the vnder Marſhall called in.

M. Bradford returned again into priſon.

Chaun. Ye ſhal take this man to you, and keepe him cloſe without conference wyth any man but by your knowledge, and ſuffer him not to wryte any letters. &c. for he is of an other maner of charge vnto you nowe, then he was before. And ſo they departed, Bradford looking as cherefully as any man could do, declaryng thereby euen a deſire to geue hys lyfe for confirmation of that he had taught and wrytten.

¶ The effect of the ſecond examinatiou of Iohn Bradford in S. Mary Oueries church, before the Lord Chauncellour and diuers other Biſhops, the. 29. of Ianu. 1555.

The ſecond examination of M. Bradford before the B. of Wincheſter and others.

After the excõmunication of Iohn Rogers, Iohn Bradford was called in, and ſtandyng before the Lord Chauncellour and other Biſhops ſet wyth hym, the ſayd Lord Chauncellour ſpake thus in effect.

Chaun. Where before the. xxij. of January, the ſayd Bradford was called before thẽ (ſayd he) & they offered vnto hym yͤ Queenes pardon, although he had contemned the ſame, and further ſayd, that hee would ſtyffely and ſtoutly mayntayne and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the dayes of kyng Edward the ſixt: yet in conſideration that yͤ Queenes highnes was wonderfull mercyfull, they thought good eftſoones to offer the ſame mercy agayne, before it were to late: therefore aduiſe you well (ſayd he): there is yet ſpace and grace before we ſo proceede, that you be committed to the ſecular power: as we muſt do, and wyll do, if you wyll not follow the example of Maiſter Barloe and maiſter Cardmaker, whom he there commended, adding oratoriouſly amplifications to moue the ſayd Bradford to yeld to the religion preſently ſet forth.

Example of M. Barlow, & Cardmaker layd agaynſt M. Bradford.

Brad. After the Lordes Chauncellours long talke, Bradford began on thys ſort to ſpeake: My Lord, and my Lordes all, as now I ſtaud in your ſight before you, ſo I humbly beſech your honours to conſider that you ſit in the ſeate of the Lord, who (as Dauid doth wytnes) is in the congregations of Iudges, and ſitteth in the myddeſt of them iudging: and as you would your place to be now of vs taken as Gods place, ſo demonſtrate your ſelues to follow hym in your ſittyng, that is, ſeeke no gyltles bloud, nor hunt not by queſtions to bryng into the ſnare, them which are out of the ſame. At thys preſent I ſtand before you gylty or gyltles: if gylty, then proceede and geue ſentence accordyngly: if gyltles, then geue me the benefit of a ſubiect, which hetherto I could not haue.

Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellour replyed and ſayd, that the ſayd Bradford began wyth a true ſentence: Deus ſtetit in Sinagoga. &c. but (quoth he) this and all thy geſture declareth but hypocriſie and vayneglory. And further he made much a doe to purge hym ſelfe, that hee ſought no gyltles bloud, and ſo began a long proceſſe how that Bradfordes fact at Pauls croſſe was preſumptuous, arrogant, and declared a takyng vpon hym to lead the people, which could not but turne to much diſquietnes, in that thou (ſpeaking to Bradford) waſt ſo prefracte and ſtout in religiõ at that preſent. For yͤ which, as thou waſt thẽ cõmitted to priſon, ſo hitherto thou haſt bene kept in priſon, where yͧ haſt wrytten letters to no litle hurt to the Queenes people, as by the report of the Earle of Darby in the Parlament houſe was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the ſaid Bradford did ſtubbornly behaue him ſelfe the laſt tyme he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demaund of thee (quoth he) but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

Si illũ obiurges, vitæ qui auxilium tulit: quid facias illi qui dederit damnum aut malum?

The [illegible] nes of the Earle of Darby [illegible] agaynſt Maiſter Bradford.

Brad. My Lord, where you accuſe me of hypocriſie and vaynglory, I muſt and wyll leaue it to the Lordes declaration, which one day wyll open yours and my truth, and hartye meaninges: in the meane ſeaſon I wyll content my ſelfe with yͤ teſtimony of myne owne conſcience, which if it yeld to hypocriſie, could not but haue God to be my foe alſo: and ſo both God and man were agaynſt me. As for my fact at Paules croſſe and behauiour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God wyll reueale it to my comfort. For if euer I dyd thing, which God vſed to publicke benefite, I thinke that my deede was one, and yet for it I haue bene and am kept of long tyme in pryſon. And as for letters and religion, I aunſwer as I dyd the laſt tyme I was before you.

Maiſter Bradford defendeth his facte at Paules croſſe.

Chaun. There dydſt thou ſay ſtubburnly and malapertly, that thou wouldeſt maynly maintaine the erroneous doctrine in king Edwardes day.

The wordes of Maiſter Bradford miſreported.

Brad. My Lord, I ſayd the laſt tyme I was before you, that I had ſixe times taken an oth that I ſhoulde neuer conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction on the B. of Romes behalfe, and therfore durſt I not aunſwere to any thing that ſhould be demaũded ſo, leſt I ſhould bee forſworne, which God forbyd. Howbeit, ſauyng myne oth, I ſayd that I was more confirmed in the doctrine ſet forth publikely in the dayes of kyng Edward, then euer I was before I was put in priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould be, and thinke yet ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to geue my lyfe as God wyll, for the confirmation of the ſame.

Maiſter Bradford more confirmed in his doctrine after his impriſonment then before.

Chaun. I remember well that thou madeſt much a do about needeles matter, as though the oth agaynſt the biſhop of Rome were ſo great a matter. So others haue done before thee: but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done, for thou pretendeſt a conſcience in it, which is nothing els but mere hypocriſie.

Wincheſt. maketh but a ſmall matter of an oth.

Brad. My conſcience is knowen to the Lord: and whether I deale herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I ſayd therefore then my Lord, ſo ſay I againe now: that for feare leſt I ſhould be periured, I dare not make aunſwere to any thing you ſhall demaund of me, if my aunſwering ſhould conſent to the confirming or practiſing of any iuriſdiction for the biſhop of Rome here in England.

L. Chaun. Why? diddeſt thou begin to tell that we are Dij, and ſit in Gods place, and now wilt thou not make vs an aunſwere?

Brad. My Lord, I ſayd you would haue your place takẽ of vs now, as Gods place: and therfore I brought forth that peece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to folow God and his wayes at this preſent, who ſeeth vs all, and well perceiueth, whether of conſcience I pretende this matter of the oth or no.

Bradford ſtandeth ſtill to hys othe.

L Chaun. No, all mẽ may well ſee thyne hypocriſie. for if for thyne othes ſake thou didſt not aunſwere, thẽ wouldeſt not thou haue ſpoken as thou diddeſt, & haue aunſwered me at the firſt: but now men wel perceiue, that this is but a ſtartyng hole to hyde thy ſelfe in, becauſe thou dareſt not aũſwere, and ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blindyng the ſimple peoples eyes, as though of conſcience you dyd all you do.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt, was not a replication or an aũſwere to that you ſpake to me: and there-therfore I néeded not to lay for mee myne oth. For I thought you woulde haue more wayed what I dyd ſpeake, then you did: but when I perceiued you did not conſider it, but came to aſke matter, wherto by aũſweryng I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of Iuriſdiction on the Byſhop of Romes behalfe here in Englãd, and ſo be forſworne: then of conſcience and ſimplicitie I ſpake as I do yet agayne ſpeake, that I dare not for conſcience ſake aunſwere you. And therfore I ſéeke no ſtartyng holes, nor go about to blynd yͤ people as God knoweth. For if you of your honours ſhall tell me that you do not aſke me any thyng whereby myne aunſweryng ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the Byſhop of Romes iuriſdiction, aſke me wherin you will, and you ſhall heare that I will aunſwere you as flatly as euer any did that came before you. I am not afrayd of death I thanke God: for I looke and haue looked for nothyng els at your handes of long time, but I am afrayd when death cõmeth, I ſhould haue matter to trouble my cõſciẽce by the giltines of periury, and therfore do I aunſwere as I do.

The cauſe why Bradford aunſwereth not to Wincheſt. [illegible] interrogatories.

L.Chaun. These bee gay glorious wordes, full of hypocriſie and vayn glory, and yet doeſt thou not know that I ſit here as Byſhop of Wincheſter in myne own Dioces, and therfore may do this which I doe, and more to?

Brad. My Lord, geue me leaue to aſke you this queſtion, that my conſcience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here coram Deo, before God, all this audience beyng witnes, that you demaund of me nothyng wherby myne aũſweryng ſhould conſent to and confirme the practiſe of Iuriſdiction for the Byſhop of Rome here in England, and your honor ſhall heare me geue you as flat and as playne aunſweres briefly, to what ſoeuer you ſhall demaund me, as euer any dyd.

Bradford ready to aunſwere vnder proteſtation.

L.Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncelour was wonderfully offended, and ſpake much, how that yͤ Byſhop of Romes authoritie néeded no confirmation of Bradfordes aunſwering, nor no ſuch as he was, and turned his talke to the people, how that Bradford folowed crafty couetuous Marchauntes, which becauſe they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in néede, would ſay that they had ſworne oft that they would neuer lend any more money, becauſe their detters had ſo oft deceiued thẽ. Euen ſo thou (quoth he to Bradford) doeſt at this preſent, to caſt a miſt in the peoples eyes, to bleare them with an hereſie (which is greater and more hurtfull to the common wealth then the other is) pretend thyne oth, whereby the people might make a cõſcience, wheras they ſhould not. Why ſpeakeſt thou not?

Brad. My Lord, as I ſayd, I ſay agayne: I dare not aunſwere you for feare of periury, from which God defend me: or els I could tell you that there is a difference betwene othes: Some be accordyng to fayth and charitie, as the oth againſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſome bee agaynſt fayth and charitie, as this: to deny by oth my helpe to my brother in his néede.

Difference of othes: ſome with fayth and charitie: ſome agaynſt it.

L.Chaun. Here my Lord Chauncelour agayn was much offended, ſtill ſaying, that Bradford durſt not aũſwere, and further made much adoe to proue the oth agaynſt the B. of Rome, that it was agaynſt charitie.

Brad. But Bradford aunſwered that how ſoeuer hys honour tooke hym, yet was he aſſured of his meanyng, that no feare but the feare of periurie made hym vnwilling to aunſwere. For as for my death my Lord (quoth he) as I know there are xij. houres in the day, ſo with the Lord my tyme is appoynted. And when it ſhalbe hys good tyme, then ſhall I depart hence: but in the meane ſeaſon I am ſafe inough, though all the people had ſworne my death. Into his handes I haue committed it, & do: his good will be done. And ſauyng myne oth, I will aunſwere you in this behalfe, that the oth agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome was not, nor is not agaynſt charitie.

L.Chaun. How proue you that?

Brad. Forſoth, I proue it thus.

¶Argument.

Fes- Nothyng is agaynſt charitie, which is with Gods word and not agaynſt it.
ti- The oth agaynſt the Byſhop of Romes authoritie in Englãd is with Gods word, and not agaynſt it:
no. Ergo, the oth agaynſt the B. of Romes authoritie in England is not agaynſt charitie.

The othe agaynſt the B. of Rome, is not agaynſt charitie.

L.Chaun. Is it not agaynſt Gods word, that a man ſhould take a kyng to be ſupreme head of the Church in hys Realme?

Brad. No, ſauyng ſtill myne oth, it is not agaynſt Gods word, but with it, being taken in ſuch ſenſe, as it may be well taken: that is, attributyng to the kynges power the ſoueraignitie in all hys dominion.

A kyng how hee may be taken for ſupreame head of the church in his own dominion.

L.Chaun. I pray you where finde you that?

Brad. I finde it in many places, but ſpecially in the xiij. to the Romains, where S. Paul writeth: *Euery ſoule to be ſubiect to the Superiour power,* but what power? quæ gladiũ geſtat, *the power verely which beareth the ſword,* which is not the ſpirituall, but the temporall power. As Chryſoſtome full well noteth vppon the ſame place, which your honour knoweth better then I. He (Chryſoſtome I meane) there plainly ſheweth, that Biſhops Prophetes, and Apoſtles are obedient to the temporall Magiſtrates.

Rom. 13.

Biſhops, prophets, and apoſtles, ſubiect to temporall magiſtrates.

L.Chaun. Here yet more the Lord Chauncelour was ſtyrred, and ſayd how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Quéene for his oth: and ſo (quoth he) this man would make Gods word a warraunt of diſobedience, for he will aunſwere yͤ Quéene on this ſort, that when ſhe ſayth, now ſweare to yͤ Byſhop of Rome, or obey his authority: no (will he ſay) for I am forſworne, & ſo make the Quéene no Quéene.

Brad. No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the Quéenes hyghnes, by denying obedience in this part, if ſhe ſhould demaund it. For I was ſworne to kyng Edward not ſimply, that is, not onely cõcernyng hys own perſon, but alſo concerning hys ſucceſſours, and therfore in denying to do yͤ Quéenes requeſt herein, I deny not her authority, nor become diſobedient.

Refuſing of the Popes obedience, being ſworne agaynſt hym, is no denying of obedience to the Queene.

L.Chaun. Yes that thou doeſt: and ſo he began to tell a long tale, how if a man ſhoulde make an oth to pay to me an hundred poundes by ſuch a day, and the man to whom it was due, would forgeue the dette, the detter would ſay: no, you can not do it, for I am forſworne then.

Brad. Here Bradford deſired my L. Chauncelour not to trifle it, ſaying that he wondred his honor would make ſolemne othes made to God, trifles in that ſort: and make ſo great a matter cõcernyng vowes (as they call it) made to the Byſhop for Mariage of Prieſtes.

The prepoſterous iudgement of *Wincheſter,* to care ſo litle for an othe to God, and ſo much for hys vowe to the Pope.

L.Chaun. At theſe wordes the Lord Chauncellour was much offended, & ſayd, he dyd not trifle: but (quoth he) thou goeſt about to deny obedience to the Quéene, which now requireth obedience to the B. of Rome.

Brad. No my Lord, I do not deny obedience to the Quéene, if you would diſcerne betwene genus & Species. Becauſe I may not obey in this: Ergo I may not obey in the other, is no good reaſon. As if a man let or ſell a péece of his inheritaunce, yet this notwithſtanding, all hys inheritance is not let or ſold: and ſo in this caſe all obediẽce I deny not, becauſe I deny obedience in this braunch.

Argument. *A ſpecie ad genus negatiue nõ valet.*

L.Chaun. I will none of theſe ſimilitudes.

Brad. I would not vſe them, if that you went not about to perſuade the people that I meane that which I neuer ment: for I my ſelfe not onely meane obedience, but will geue enſample of all moſt humble obedience to the Quéenes hyghnes ſo long as ſhe requireth not obedience agaynſt God.

L.Chaun. No, no, all men may ſée your meanyng well inough. There is no man though he be ſworne to the kyng that doth therfore breake his othe, if he afterwardes be ſworne to the French kyng and to the Emperour.

Brad. It is true my Lord: but the caſes be not lyke. For here is an exceptiō: thou ſhalt not ſweare to yͤ Byſhop of Rome at any tyme. If in lyke maner we were ſworne: thou ſhalt not ſerue the Emperour, &c. you ſee there were ſome alteration and more doubt. But I beſech your honor remember what ye your ſelfe haue written, aunſweryng the obiections hereagaynſt in your booke De vera obedientia: Vincat modo diuini verbi veritas. i. *Let Gods word & the reaſon therof beare the bell away.*

Wincheſter pretendeth as though *Bradford* for feare durſt not anſwere.

L.Chaun. Here yͤ Lord Chauncelour was throughly moued, and ſayd ſtill, how that Bradford had writtē ſedicious letters, and peruerted the people therby, and did ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defend yͤ erroneous doctrine in king Edwardes tyme, agaynſt all men: and now (quoth he) he ſayth he dare not aunſwere.

Brad. I haue written no ſeditious letters. I haue not peruerted the people, but that which I haue written and ſpoken, that will I neuer deny by Gods grace. And where your Lordſhyp ſayth that I dare not aunſwer you: that al mē may know I am not afraid, ſauing mine oth, aſke me what you will & I will plainly make you aunſwere by Gods grace, although I now ſee my lyfe lyeth theron. But Oh Lord, into thy handes I cōmit it: come what come will, onely ſanctifie thy name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace, Amen. Now aſke what you will, and you ſhal ſee I am not afrayd by Gods grace flatly to aunſwere.

Bradford ready to render a reaſon of his fayth.

L.Chaun. Well then, how ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament? Do you not beleue there Chriſt to be preſent concernyng his naturall body?

Brad. My Lord, I do beleue that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due adminiſtration of the Sacramēt. By this word (corporally) I meane, that Chriſt is there preſent corporally vnto fayth.

Chriſt preſent corporally in the Sacramēt to fayth.

L.Chaun. Vnto fayth? we muſt haue many mo wordes to make it more playne.

Brad. You ſhal ſo: but firſt geue me leaue to ſpeake two wordes.

L.Chaun. Speake on.

Brad. I haue bene now a yeare and almoſt iij. quarters in priſon, and of all this tyme you neuer queſtioned with me hereabout, when I might haue ſpoken my conſcience frankely without perill: but now haue you a law to hang vp and put to death, if a man aunſwere freely, and not to your appetite: and ſo now you come to demaund this queſtiō. Ah my Lord, Chriſt vſed not this way to bryng mē to fayth. No more dyd yͤ Prophetes or Apoſtles. Remēber what Bernard writeth to Eugenius yͤ Pope: Apoſtolos lego ſtetiſſe iudicādos, ſediſſe iudicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit. &c. that is, *I read that the Apoſtles ſtode to be iudged, but I read not that they ſat to iudge. This ſhall be: that was. &c.*

Note well the Popes way to bring men to ſayth.

The Popes iudging and condemning men for their faith, reproued *by Barnard.*

L.Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncelour was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſayd moſt gently, that he vſed not this meanes. It was not my doing (quoth he) although ſome there be, that thinke this to be the beſt way. For I for my part haue bene chalenged for beyng to gentle often tymes. Which thyng the Biſhop of London confirmed, and ſo did almoſt all the audience, that he had bene euer to mylde and to gentle.

Wincheſter blamed without a cauſe.

Brad. At which wordes Bradford ſpake thus. My Lord I pray you ſtretch out your gētlenes, that I may feele it, for hitherto I neuer feelt it.

Chaun. As ſoone as euer hee had ſpoken thus, the Lord Chauncellour, bylyke, thynking that Bradford would haue had mercy and pardon, ſayd that wyth all hys hart, not onely he, but the Queenes highnes wold ſtretch out mercy, if with them he would returne.

Brad. Returne my Lord? God ſaue me from that going backe: I meane it not ſo, but I meane, that I was three quarters of a yeare in the Tower: you forbad me paper, pen, and ynke, and neuer in all that tyme, nor ſithen dyd I feele any gentlenes from you. I haue rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremitie. And I thanke God that I perceiue now ye haue kept me in pryſon thus long, not for any matter you had, but for matter you would haue. Gods good wyll be done.

Bradford three quarters of a yeare in the Tower kept from pen and inke.

Maiſter *Bradford* impriſoned not for matter they had, but for mater they would haue agaynſt hym.

Here was now diuers telling my Lord it was dynner tyme. And ſo he roſe vp, leauyng Bradford ſpeaking, and ſaying that in the after noone they would ſpeake more with him. And ſo was he had into the Veſtry, and was there all that day tyll darke night, and ſo was conueyed againe to priſon.

Bradford kept in the Veſtry till darke night.

T. Huſſey cōmeth to *Bradford.*

In the meane tyme, about. iiij. of the clocke the ſame after noone, a gentleman called Maiſter Thomas Huſſey of Lincolnſhire, which was once an officer in the Duke of Northfolkes houſe, dyd come in to the Reueſtry to enquyre for one Stoning: and whē it was aunſwered hym by the vndermarſhals officers of the Kings Bench, that there was none ſuch, he entred into the houſe, and tooke acquaintance of Iohn Bradford ſaying, that he would cōmon and ſpeake with hym the next morning for old acquaintance.

Counſell of Maiſter *Huſſey* geuen to *Bradford.*

The next morning about. vij. of the clocke, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein Iohn Bradford dyd lye, and beyng with hym, he began a long Oration, how that of loue and old acquaintance he came vnto him to ſpeake that which he would further vtter. You dyd (ſayd he) ſo wonderfullye behaue your ſelfe before the Lord Chauncellour and other Biſhops yeſterday, that euen the verieſt enemies you haue, did ſee that they haue no matter agaynſt you: and therfore I aduiſe you (ſpeaking as though it came of hys owne good wyll without makyng any other man priuy, or any other procuring hym, as he ſayd) this day (for anone you ſhall be called before them agayne) to deſyre a tyme, and men to conferre withall, ſo ſhall all men thinke a wonderfull wyſdome, grauitie, and godlynes in you: and by this meanes you ſhall eſcape preſent daunger, which els is nearer then you be ware of. To this Iohn Bradford aunſwered: I neyther can nor wyll make any ſuch requeſt. For then ſhall I geue occaſion to the people and to all other to thinke that I doubt of the doctrine which I confeſſe: the which thing I doe not, for thereof I am moſt aſſured, and therefore I wyll geue no ſuch offence.

Bradford refuſeth to require reſpite.

As they were thus talking, the chamber doore was vnlocked and Doctor Seton came in, who when hee ſaw Maiſter Huſſey: what Syr (quoth he) are you come before me? O Lord, ſayd Bradford in hys hart to God, goeth the matter thus? Thys man tolde me, no man knew of hys comming: Lord geue me grace to remember thy leſſon, Cauete ab hominibus illis, *Beware of thoſe men. &c. Caſt not your pearles before dogges:* for I ſee theſe men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may beare wytnes with the other.

D. Seton cōmeth to Maiſter *Bradford.*

Huſſey taken with a lye.

Seton. Doctour Seton after ſome bytalke of Bradfords age, of his coūtrey and ſuch like, began a gay and long ſermon of my Lord of Canterbury, M. Latimer, and M. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to aūſwere any thing at all: and that therfore my Lord of Canterbury deſired to conferre with the Biſhop of Dureſme and others: all which talke tended to thys end, that Iohn Bradford ſhould make the lyke ſute, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my Lord of Canterbury.

Counſell of *D. Seton* geuen to Maiſter *Bradford.*

Brad. To this Iohn Bradford briefly aunſwered as he dyd before to Maiſter Huſſey.

Seton. With this aunſwer neither the Doctour nor Gentleman being cōtented, after many perſwaſions, Maiſter Doctor ſayd: I haue heard much good talke of you, and euen yeſternight a Gentleman made report of you at the Lord Chauncellors table, that ye were able to perſwade as much as any that hee knewe. And I (though I neuer heard you preach, and to my knowledge

The flattering commendation of Doctor *Seton* to Maiſter *Bradford.*

ledge neuer dyd I ſée you before yeſterday) yet mee thought your modeſty was ſuch, your behauiour and talke ſo without malice and impacience, that I would bee ſory ye ſhoulde doe worſe then my ſelfe. And I tell you further, I do perceiue my Lord Chauncellor hath a fantaſie towards you: wherefore be not ſo obſtinate but deſire reſpite, and ſome learned man to conferre withall.&c.

Maiſter Bradford refuſeth to aske reſpite to conferre vpon hys doctrine.

Brad. But Iohn Bradford kept ſtill one aunſwer: I cā not, nor I will not ſo offend the people. I doubt not, but am moſt certain of the doctrine I haue taught.

Seton. Here maiſter Doctor wared hote, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vayngloryous, and ſpake lyke a Prelate.

Brad. But Bradford aunſwered, beware of iudging, leſt ye condemne your ſelfe. But ſtyll M. Doctor Seton vrged hym, ſhewing hym how mercyfull my Lord Chauncellour was, and how charitably they entertayned hym.

Little iuſtice, leſſe loue appeareth in the Biſhop of Wincheſt.

Brad. I neuer ſawe any iuſtice, much leſſe loue, I ſpeake for my part (quoth Bradford) in my L. Chaūcellor. Long haue I ben vniuſtly impriſoned, and hādled in the ſame vncharitably, and now my Lord hath no iuſt matter againſt me.

This talke ſerued not the Doctors purpoſe: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from thys poynt to that point. Bradford ſtyll gaue hym the hearyng, and aunſwered not: for hee perceaued that they both did come but to fiſh for ſome ſuch thing as might make a ſhew that my Lord Chauncellor had iuſtly kept hym in priſon.

Whē all their talke tooke no ſuch effect as they would or looked for, M. Huſſey asked Bradford: wyll ye not admit conference, if my Lord Chauncellour ſhould offer it publikly?

Maiſter Bradford refuſeth agayne to admit conference but vpon condition.

Brad. Conference, if it had bene offered before the law had bene made, or if it were offred, ſo that I might be at libertie to conferre, & as ſure, as he with whom I ſhould cōferre, then it were ſomthing: but els I ſée not to what other purpoſe conference ſhould be offered, but to deferre that which wyll come at the length, and the lingeryng may geue more offence, then do good. Howbeit, if my Lorde ſhall make ſuch an offer of hys owne motion, I wyll not refuſe to conferre wyth whom ſo euer he ſhall appoint.

D.Seton replyeth agaynſt Maiſter Bradford.

Maiſter Doctor hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatſoeuer pleaſed hym.

Then Bradford perceiuing by them, that he ſhould ſhortly be called for, beſought them both to geue hym leaue to talke with God, & to begge wiſdome and grace of hym: for (quoth he) otherwyſe I am helples: and ſo they with much ado departed. Then Bradford wēt to God and made hys praiers, which the Lord of hys goodnes did graciouſly accept in hys néede, praiſed therfore be hys holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was lead to ẏ foreſayd church, and there taried vncalled for, tyll a.xj. of the clocke, that is, till Maiſter Saunders was excommunicated.

The effect and ſumme of the laſt examination of Iohn Bradford in the Church of S. Mary Oueryes.

The laſt examinatiō of Maiſter Bradford.

The effect of Wincheſters talke with Maiſter Bradford.

After the excommunication of Laurence Saūders, Iohn Bradford was called in, and beyng brought in before the Lord Chaūcelour and other the Byſhops there ſittyng, the Lord Chauncelour began to ſpeake thus in effect: that Bradford being now eftſoones come before them would aunſwere with modeſtie and humilitie, and conforme him ſelfe to the Catholicke Church with them, & ſo yet he might finde mercy, becauſe they would be loth to vſe extremitie. Therfore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant hys doctrine.

After the Lord Chauncelour had ended hys long Oration, Bradford began to ſpeake thus: As yeſterday I beſought your honours to ſet in your ſight the Maieſtie and preſence of God to folow him, which ſéeketh not to ſubuert the ſimple by ſubtile queſtions: ſo I humbly beſech euery one of you to do this day: for that you know well inough that giltles bloud will cry for vengeaunce. And this I pray not your Lordſhips to doe as one that taketh vpon me to cōdemne you vtterly herein, but that ye might be more admoniſhed to do that which none doth ſo much as he ſhould do: For our nature is ſo much corrupt, that we are very obliuious and forgetfull of God. Agayne, as yeſterday I pretended myne oth and othes agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome, that I ſhould neuer conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction for him or on his behalfe in the Realme of England: ſo do I agayne this day, leſt I ſhould be periured. And laſt of all, as yeſterday ẏ aūſweres I made were by proteſtation and ſauyng myne oth, ſo I would your honours ſhould know that myne aunſweres ſhall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I looke for at your handes) ſhal come, I may not be troubled with the giltines of periurie.

Maiſter Bradfordes anſwere to Wincheſter.

L.Chaun. At which wordes the Lord Chauncellour was wroth, and ſayd, that they had geuen hym reſpite to deliberate tyll this day, whether he would recant his errours of the bleſſed Sacrament, which yeſterday (quoth he) before vs you vttered.

Wincheſter replyeth agaynſt to Bradford with a lye.

Brad. My Lorde, you gaue me no tyme of any ſuch deliberation, neither did I ſpeake any thyng of the Sacrament which you did diſallow. For when I had declared a preſence of Chriſt to be there to fayth, you wēt from that matter to purge your ſelf that you were not cruell, and ſo went to diner.

L.Chaun. What? I perceaue we muſt begyn all agayne with thée. Did not I yeſterday tell thée playnely that thou madeſt a conſcience where none ſhould bée? Did not I make it playne that the oth agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome was an vnlawfull oth?

The othe agaynſt the B. of Rome, whether it be lawfull, or vnlawfull.

Brad. No in déde my Lord: You ſayd ſo, but you proued it not yet, nor neuer can do.

L.Chaun. Oh Lorde God, what a fellowe art thou? Thou wouldeſt go about to bryng into ẏ peoples heades, that we, all the Lordes of the parlament houſe, the Knightes and Burgeſſes, and all the whole realme be periured. Oh what an hereſie is this? Here good people you may ſée what a ſenſeles hereticke this felow is. If I ſhould make an oth I would neuer helpe my brother nor lend hym mony in hys néede, were this a good aunſwer to tel my neighbour deſiring my helpe, that I had made an oth to the contrary, that I could not do it?

Wincheſters ſimilitude to no poynt like.

Brad. Oh my Lord, diſcerne betwixt othes that be againſt charity and faith, and othes that be according to faith & charity, as this is againſt the biſhop of Rome.

Wincheſters ſimilitude ſolued.

Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellour made much ado, and a long time was ſpent about othes, which were good and which were euill, he captiouſly aſkyng often of Bradford a direct aunſwere cōcerning othes: which Bradford would not giue ſimply, but wyth a diſtinctiō. Whereat the Chauncellour was much offended: but Bradford ſtyll kept him at the bay, that the oth againſt the biſhop of Rome was a lawful oth, vſing therto the Lord Chauncellours own booke, De vera obedientia, for confirmation.

At the length they came to this iſſue, who ſhould be Iudge of the lawfulnes of the oth: and Bradford ſaid the word of God, according to Chriſtes word. Ioh. 12. *My word ſhall iudge*, and according to the teſtimonye of Eſay and Miche, that Gods word comming out of Ieruſalem, ſhall geue ſentence among the Gentyles. By this word (quoth Bradford) my Lorde, I wyll proue the oth againſt the biſhop of Romes authoritye, to be a good, a godly, and a lawfull oth. So that the lord Chaūcellour left hys hold, and as the other day he pretended a deniall of the Quéenes authority and obediēce to her highnes, ſo dyd he now.

Gods word iudge only of othes, whether they be made lawfull againſt the ſupremacie of the Pope or no.

Wincheſter leaueth hys hold.

But Bradford, as the day before, proued that obedience in this point to the Quéenes highnes, if ſhe ſhould demaund an oth to the biſhop of Rome, being denyed, was not a * generall deniall of her authoritie & of obedience to her: no more (quoth he) then the ſale, gift, or leaſe of a peece of a mans inheritaunce proueth a ſale, gift, or leaſe of the whole inheritaunce.

* One ſpeciall caſe of obedience denyed by conſcience, maketh no generall deniall of obedience in caſes lawfull.

And thus, much ado was made about this matter: The L. Chauncelour talkyng much and vſing many examples of dette, of going out of the towne to morrow by oth, and yet taryeng till Friday & ſuch like. Which trifling talke Bradford did touch ſaying: that it was a wonder his honour wayed conſciẽce no more in this, & would be ſo earneſt in vowes for Prieſtes Mariages made to Biſhops, and be careles for ſolẽne othes made to God and to Princes. Summa, this was the end. The L. Chauncelour ſayd, the Queene might diſpenſe with it; and did ſo to all the whole Realme. But Bradford ſayd, that the Queenes highnes could do no more but remitte her right: as for the oth made to God, ſhe could neuer remitte, for as much as it was made vnto God.

Winchester ſtumbling at vowes made to man: and leaping ouer ſolemne othes made to God.

L.Chaun. At which wordes the Lord Chauncelour chafed wonderfully, and ſayd that in playne ſenſe I ſclaundered the Realme of periury: And therfore (quoth he to the people) you may ſee how this felow taketh vpon him, to haue more knowledge and conſcience, then all the wiſe men of England, and yet he hath no conſcience at all.

Winchester in a pelting chafe.

Brad. Well my Lord, let all the ſtãders by ſee who hath cõſcience. I haue bene a yeare and an halfe in priſon. Now before al this people, declare wherfore I was empriſoned, or what cauſe you had to puniſh me. You ſayd the other day in your own houſe, my Lord of London witneſſing with you, that I tooke vpõ me to ſpeake to yͤ people vndeſired. There he ſitteth by you, I meane my Lorde of Bath, which deſired me him ſelfe for the paſſion of Chriſt, I would ſpeake to the people. Vppon whoſe wordes, I commyng into the Pulpit, had like to haue bene ſlayne wͭ a dagger (which was hurled at him, I thinke) for it touched my ſleeue. He then praied me I would not leaue him, and I promiſed him as long as I lyued, I would take hurt before him that day, and ſo went out of the Pulpit, and entreated with the people, and at length brought him my ſelfe into an houſe. Beſides this, in the after noone I preached in Bow Church and there goyng vp into the Pulpit, one willed me not to reproue the people, for (quoth he) you ſhal neuer come downe alyue, if you do it. And yet notwithſtandyng, I did in that Sermon reproue their fact, and called it ſedition at the leaſt twentie tymes. For all which my doyng, I haue receaued this recompence, priſon a yeare and an halfe and more, and death now which you go about. Let all men be iudge where conſcience is.

M. Bradford impriſoned without a cauſe.

M. Bradford neare ſlayne in the pulpit with the dagger throwen agaynſt M. Bourne.

M. Bradford ieoperted his life for M. Bourne.

In ſpeakyng of theſe wordes, there was endeuour to haue letted it: but Bradford ſtill ſpake on, and gaue no place till he had made an ende, ſpeake what they would. And then the Lord Chauncelour ſayd, that for all that faire tale, his fact at the Croſſe was naught.

Brad. No, my fact was good, as you your ſelfe did beare witneſſe with me. For when I was at the firſt before you in the Tower, you your ſelf did ſay yͭ my fact was good, but (quoth you) thy minde was euill. Well (quoth I) then my Lord, in that you allow the fact & cõdẽne the mynd, for as much as otherwiſe I can not declare my mynde to man, but by ſaying and doyng, God one day I truſt will open it, to my comfort, what my minde was, and what yours is.

Winchester proued double in his owne wordes.

L.Chaun. Here the L. Chauncelour was offended, and ſayd that he neuer ſayd ſo. I (quoth he) had not ſo litle witte I trow, as not to diſcerne betwixt meaning & doyng: And ſo brought forth litle to the purpoſe, many exãples to proue that men conſtrue thinges by the meanyng of men, and not by their doynges. But when this would not ſerue, then commeth he to an other matter, and ſayd that Bradford was put in priſon at the firſt, bicauſe hee would not yeld nor be conformable to the Queenes Religion.

Winchester driuen to eate hys owne wordes.

Brad Why my Lord, your honor knoweth, that you would not then reaſon with me in Religion, but ſayd, a time ſhould afterwardes be found out, when I ſhould be talked withall. But if it were as your Lordſhyp ſayth, that I was put in priſon for Religion: in that my religion was then authoriſed by publicke lawes of the Realme, could conſcience puniſh me or caſt me in priſon therfore? Wherfore let all men be iudge in whom conſcience wanteth.

M.Cham. Here came foorth M. Chamberleine of Woodſtocke and ſpake to my Lord Chauncelour how that Bradford had bene a ſeruyng man and was with M.Harrington.

M. Chamberlaine of Woodſtocke agaynſt Maiſter Bradford.

L.Chaun. True, and did deceiue his Maiſter of ſeuẽ ſcore poundes, and becauſe of this he went to be a Goſpeller and a Preacher (good people) and yet you ſee how he pretendeth conſcience.

Brad. My Lord, I ſet my foote by his who ſoeuer he be, that can come forth and iuſtly vouch to my face that euer I deceaued my Maiſter. And as you are chief iuſticer by office in England, I deſire iuſtice vpon them that ſo ſclaunder me, bicauſe they can not proue it.

L.Chaun. Here my Lord Chauncelour & M.Chamberlain were ſmitten blãke, and ſayd they heard it. But quoth my L. Chauncelour we haue an other maner of matter then this agaynſt you: for you are an hereticke.

Winchest. agayne driuen from his hold.

Lond. Yea, quoth the Byſhop of Lõdon, he did write letters to M.Pendleton which knoweth his hand as well as his own: your honours did ſee the letters.

Boner agayne commeth in with an other vntruth.

Brad. That is not true, I neuer did write to Pẽdleton ſithens I came into priſon, and therfore I am not iuſtly ſpoken of.

Lond. Yea, but you endited it.

Brad. I did not, nor know not what you meane, and this I offer to proue.

Here came in an other, I trow they call him M. Allen, one of the Clerkes of the Counſell, puttyng the Lord Chauncellour in remembraunce of letters written into Lankyſhyre.

A Clerke of the Counſell, thought to be Maiſter Allen.

L.Chaun. You ſay true: for we haue his hãd to ſhew.

Brad. I deny that you haue my hand to ſhew of letters ſent into Lankyſhyre, otherwiſe then before you all I will ſtand to & proue them to be good and lawfull.

Here was all aunſwered, and then the Lord Chaũcelour began a new matter. Syr (quoth he) in my houſe the other day you did moſt contemptuouſly contemne the Queenes mercy, and further ſayd, that you would maintaine the erroneous doctrine in kyng Edwardes dayes agaynſt all men. And this you did moſt ſtoutly.

Brad. Well, I am glad that all men ſee now you haue had no matter to impriſon me afore that day iuſtlie. Now ſay I, that I did not contemptuouſly cõtemne the Queenes mercy, but would haue had it (though if iuſtice might take place I neede it not) ſo that I might haue had it with Gods mercy, that is, without doyng or ſaying any thyng agaynſt God and his truth. And as for maintenaũce of doctrine, becauſe I can not tell how you will ſtretch thys worde mainteinance, I will repete agayn that which I ſpake. I ſayd I was more confirmed in yͤ Religion ſet forth in king Edwardes daies then euer I was: and if God ſo would, I truſt I ſhould declare it by geuyng my life for the confirmation and teſtification therof. So I ſayd then, & ſo I ſay now. As for otherwiſe to mayntaine it then pertayneth to a priuate perſon by cõfeſſion, I thought not, nor thinke not.

Winchest. brought to a playne ſoyle.

Winchest. captious quarell anſwered.

L.Chaun. Well, yeſterday thou didſt mayntayne falſe hereſie concernyng the bleſſed Sacrament, & therfore we gaue thee reſpite till this day to deliberate.

An other vntruth of Winchest.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſayd at the firſt, I ſpake nothyng of the Sacrament but that which you allowed, and therefore reproued it not, nor gaue mee any tyme to deliberate.

L.Chaū. Why? dyddeſt thou not deny Chriſtes preſence in the ſacrament?

Brad. No, I neuer denyed nor taught, but that to fayth whole Chriſt, body and bloud was as preſent as bread and wyne to the due receauer.

L.Chaun. Yea, but doeſt thou not beleue that Chriſtes body naturally & really is there, vnder the formes of bread and wyne?

Brad. My Lord, I beleue Chriſt is preſent there to the fayth of the due receauer: as for tranſubſtantiatiō I plainly and flatly tell you, I beleue it not.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a ſclaūderer, for we aſke no queſtion (quoth my Lord Chaūcellour) of tranſubſtantiation, but of Chriſtes preſence.

Bleſſed are you when they ſhall reuile you, and ſpeake all that naught is agaynſt you for my names ſake. Math. 5.

Brad. I deny not his preſence to the faith of the Receauer, but deny that hee is included in the bread, or that the bread is tranſubſtantiate.

B.Worceſter. If he be not included, how is he then preſent?

Brad. Forſooth though my fayth can tell how, yet my toung can not expreſſe it, nor you, otherwiſe then by fayth heare it, or vnderſtand it.

Here was much ado, now one Doctor ſtandyng vp and ſpeaking thus, and others ſpeaking that, and the L.Chauncellour talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius: but ſtyll Bradford kept him at this point, that Chriſt is preſent to faith: and that there is no tranſubſtantiation nor including of Chriſt in the bread: but all this would not ſerue them.

Chriſtes body preſent to fayth.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

Therefore an other biſhop aſked this queſtion, whether the wicked mā receiued Chriſtes very body or no? And Bradford aunſwered plainly no. Whereat the Lord Chauncellour made a long Oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except that the euyll man receaued it. But Bradford put away all hys Oration in few wordes, that grace was at that preſent offered to his lordſhip, although he receaued it not: So that (quoth he) the receauing maketh not the preſence, as your lordſhip would inferre, but Gods grace, truth, and power is the cauſe of the preſence, which grace the wycked that lacke faith can not receiue. And here Bradford prayed my Lord, not to diuorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all theſe together: *Take, eate, this is my body:* he ſayth not: See, peepe, this is my body: but take, eate. So that it appeareth, this is a promiſe depēding vpon condition, if we take and eate.

The wicked receiue not the body of Chriſt.

Receauing maketh not the preſence of the body, but Grace.

The Popes Church diuorceth that the Lord in the Sacramēt hath coupled.

L.Chaun. Here the L.Chauncellour and the other Biſhops made a great ado, that Bradford had founde out a toy that no mā els euer did, of the condition, and the Lord Chauncellour made many wordes to the people therabout.

Brad. But Bradford ſayd thus: My Lord, are not theſe wordes, *Take, eate*, a commaundement? And are not theſe wordes: *This is my body*, a promiſe? If you wyll challenge the promiſe, and doe not the commaundement, may you not deceiue your ſelfe?

The Sacrament hath both a commaundement and a promiſe, and howe?

L.Chaun. Here the L.Chauncelor denyed Chriſt to haue commaunded the Sacrament, and the vſe of it.

Brad. Why, my Lord I praye you, tell the people what moode Accipite, Manducate is: Is it not plaine to children, that Chriſt in ſo ſaying commaundeth?

Bradford teacheth Wincheſt. his grammer.

L.Chaun. At theſe wordes the Lord Chauncellour made a great toying & trifling at the imperatiue moode and fel to pareſing or examining, as he ſhould teach a child: & ſo concluded that it was no cōmaundement: but ſuch a phraſe as this, I pray you geue me drinke, which (quoth he) is no commaundement I trow.

Wincheſt. denyeth theſe wordes: Take, eate, to be a commaundement.

Brad. But Bradford praied him to leaue toying and trifling, and ſayd thus: My Lorde, if it be not a commaundement of Chriſt to take and eate the Sacramēt, why dare any take vpon them to commaund and make that of neceſſitie, which God leaueth free? as you do in making it a neceſſary cōmaundement, once a yeare for all that be of diſcration to receaue the ſacrament.

L.Chaun. Here the L.Chauncellor called him again * Diabolus or Calumniator, and began out of theſe wordes: *Let a man proue him ſelf, and ſo eate of the bread*, (yea bread quoth Bradford) *and drinke of the cup*, to proue that it was no cōmaundement to receaue the ſacramēt. For then (quoth he) if it were a cōmaundemēt, it ſhould bynde all men in all places, and at all tymes.

* *Diabolus*, is as much to ſay in Greke, as a ſclaunderer, or cauiler.

Brad. Oh my Lord, diſcerne betwene commaundements: ſome be ſo generall, as the ten commaundements, that they bynd allwaies, in all places, and al perſons: ſome be not ſo general: as this is of the Supper, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, of the thriſe appearing before the Lord yearely at Ieruſalem, of Abraham offeryng Iſaac. &c.

Diſtinction betwene commaūdements.

Here my Lord Chauncellour denied the cuppe to be cōmaunded of Chriſt, for then (quoth he) we ſhould haue eleuen commaundementes.

Brad. In deede I thinke you thinke as you ſpeake, for els would you not take the cup from the people, in that Chriſt ſayth: *Drinke ye of it all.* But how ſay you my Lordes, Chriſt ſayth to you biſhops eſpecially: Ite prædicate Euangeliū. i. *Go and preach the Goſpell: Feede Chriſtes flocke. &c.* Is this a cōmaundement or no?

L.Chaun. Here was my L. Chauncellor in a chafe, and ſayd as pleaſed him.

Wincheſter in a chafe.

Dureſme. An other, the biſhop of Dureſme I weene, aſked Bradford when Chriſt began to bee preſent in the Sacrament, whether before the receauer receaued it, or no?

B. Tonſtalls queſtion.

Brad. Bradford aunſwered, that the queſtion was curious and not neceſſary: and further ſaid, that as the cup was the new Teſtamēt, ſo the bread was Chriſtes body to hym that receaueth it duly, but yet ſo that the bread is bread. For (quoth he) in all the Scripture, you ſhall not finde this propoſitiō, Non eſt panis, there is no bread. And ſo he brought forth Chryſoſtome: Si in corpore eſſemus. Homel. 83. in Mat. 34. Summa, much ado was hereabouts, they calling Bradford hereticke, and he deſiring them to procéede on in Gods name, he looked for that which God had appointed for them to do.

As the cup is the teſtament, ſo bread is the body.

Chryſoſt. in Mat. Hom. 83.

L.Chaun. This fellow is now in an other hereſy of fatall neceſſity, as though all thinges were ſo tied together, that of mere neceſſitie all muſt come to paſſe.

Brad. But Bradford prayed hym to take thinges as they be ſpoken, and not wraſt them into a contrary ſence. Your Lordſhip (quoth hee) doth diſcerne betwixt God and man. Thinges are not by Fortune to God at any tyme, though to man they ſéeme ſo ſome times. I ſpeake but as the Apoſtles ſayd: *Lord* (quoth they) *ſee how Herode and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelats are gathered together againſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy hand and counſell hath before ordayned for them to do.*

To God nothing is by fortune: to man it may ſeme ſomtimes ſo to be.

Act. 4.

L.Chaun. Here began the L. Chauncellor to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of Iohn Bradford Laicus, lay man: why (quoth he) art thou no Prieſt?

Wincheſter readeth the Sentence of curſe agaynſt *M. Bradford*.

Bardford. No, nor neuer was, either Prieſt, either beneficed, eyther maried, either any Preacher, afore publike authority had eſtabliſhed religion, or Preacher after publicke authoritie had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your handes: but God, I doubt not, will geue hys bleſſing where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knées, and hartely thanked God, that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his ſake. And ſo praying God to geue him repentance, & a good mynde, after the excōmunication was read, he was deliuered to the Shrieffe of London, and ſo had to the Clincke, and after to the Counter in the Poultry in the ſame city of London, this beyng then purpoſed of his murtherers, that he ſhould be deliuered from thence to the Earle of Darby, to be conueyed into Lankaſhiere, and there to be burned in the towne of Mancheſter, where

M. Bradford deliuered to the Shrieffe.

M. Bradford ſent to the Counter in the poultrie.

DDDD.iiij. he was

he was borne: but their purpoſe concerning the place was afterward altered: for they burned him in Lõdon.

After yͤ cõdemnation of M.Bradford, which was the laſt day of January, M.Bradford being ſent into priſon did there remaine vntill the firſt day of July, during all which tyme, diuers other conferences and conflictes he ſuſteined with ſondry aduerſaries, which repayred vnto him into the priſon. Of whom firſt Byſhop Boner commyng to the Counter to diſgrade D.Taylour, the 4. day of February entred talke with the ſaid M.Bradford: the effect wherof here enſueth.

¶Priuate talke had with Ioh. Bradford, by ſuch as the Prelates ſent vnto hym, after the tyme of condemnation, by his owne writing.

B. Boners talke with M.Bradford.

VPon the fourth of February, that is, the ſame day M.Rogers was burned, Boner Biſhop of London came to the Cõuter in the Pultry to diſgrade M.Doct. Taylour about one of the clocke at after noone. But before he ſpake to M.Taylor, he called for Ioh. Bradford which was priſoner there: whom when he ſaw, he put of his cappe, and gaue him his hand, ſaying: Becauſe I perceaue that ye are deſirous to cõferre with ſome learned men, therfore I haue brought Maiſter Archdeacon Harpſfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wiſe man. But I pray you go roundly to worke: for the time is but ſhort.

Bradford deſireth to conferre with none, and yet is ready to talke with any.

Bradford. My Lord, as roundely as I can I will go to worke with you: I neuer deſired to conferre with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will haue one to talke with me, I am ready.

Boner. What (quoth the Biſhop in a fume to the keeper) did not you tell me that this man deſired conference?

Keper. No my Lord, I told you that he would not refuſe to conferre with any: but I did not ſay that it is his deſire.

Boner. Well, M.Bradford, you are welbeloued, I pray you conſider your ſelfe, & refuſe not charitie when it is offered.

More charitie amongeſt the Turkes, then amongeſt the perſecuting Papiſtes.

Brad. In deede my Lord, this is ſmall charitie, to cõdemne a man as you haue condemned me, which neuer brake your lawes. In Turky a man may haue charitie, but in Englãd I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, ſo ſoone as I vttered it at your requeſtes, before I had committed any thing againſt the lawes. And as for cõference I am not afraid to talke with whõ you will. But to ſay that I deſire to conferre, that do I not.

Boner. Well, well. And ſo he called for M.Taylour and Bradford went his way.

¶An other priuate matter of talke betwene M.Bradford and Willerton, Creſwell, Hardyng, Harpſfield, and other mo.

Talke betwene M. Bradford, and Willerton Chaplayn to B. Boner.

VPõ an other day of February one, M.Willerton, a Chaplein of the B. of London, did come to cõferre with Bradford: but when he perceaued that Bradford deſired not his comming, and therefore wiſhed rather his departing them abidyng, well M.Bradford (quoth he) yet I pray you let vs conferre a litle: perchaunce you may do me good, if I can doe you none: Vppon which wordes Bradford was content, and ſo they began to talke. Willerton ſpake much of the Doctours, the fathers, of the bread in the 6. chap. of S.John &c. laboring to proue tranſubſtantiation, and that wicked men do receaue Chriſt. But Bradford on the cõtrary part improued his authorities, ſo that they came to this iſſue, that Willerton ſhould draw out of the Scriptures and Doctours his reaſons, and Bradford would peruſe thẽ: and if he could not aunſwere them, then he would geue place. Likewiſe ſhould Bradford draw out his reaſons out of the Scriptures and Doctours, to which Willerton ſhould aunſwere if he could: and ſo for that day they departed.

Willerton ſendeth his writing to Bradford to proue tranſubſtantiation.

The next day folowing in yͤ morning, Willerton ſent halfe a ſhete of a paper written on both ſides, cõtaining no reaſons how he gathered his doctrine, but onely bare ſentences: Panis quẽ ego dabo, &c. *The bread which I will geue is my fleſh:* And the places in the 26. of Math. 14. of Marke, 22. of Luke, & the 10. and 11. to the Corinthians, with ſome ſentences of the Doctours: All which made as much agaynſt him, as with him.

Willerton commeth agayne to Bradford.

In the after noone he came him ſelfe, and there they had a long talke to litle effect. At the length Willerton began to talke of the Church, ſaying that Bradford ſwarued from the Church.

Brad. No, that do I not, but ye do. For the * Church is Chriſtes ſpouſe, and Chriſtes obedient ſpouſe, which your Church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lordes cup, and of ſeruice in the Engliſh toung.

Willerton. Why? it is not profitable to haue the ſeruice in Engliſh: for it is written: Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt legem. *The lippes of the Prieſt ſhould keepe the law, and out of his mouth man muſt looke for knowledge.*

Brad. Should not the people then haue the Scriptures? Wherefore ſerueth this ſaying of Chriſt: *Search the Scriptures?*

Willer. This was not ſpoken to the people, but to the Scribes and learned men.

Brad. Thẽ the people muſt not haue yͤ Scriptures.

Argumẽt. Erunt docti a Deo: Ergo, the people muſt not haue the ſcriptures.

Willer. No, for it is writẽ; Erunt docti a deo: *They ſhalbe all taught of God.*

Brad. And muſt we learne all at the Prieſtes?

Willerton. Yea.

Brad. Then I ſee you would bring the people to hãg vp Chriſt and let Barrabas go, as the Prieſtes did then perſuade the people. At which wordes, M.Willerton was ſo offended that he had no luſt to talke any more.

Maiſter Bradfords reaſon agaynſt tranſubſtantiation not anſwered.

In the end Bradford gaue him the reaſons which hee had gathered againſt tranſubſtantiation, & prayed him to frame his into the forme of reaſons, and then, quoth Bradford, I will aunſwere them.

Willer. Well I will do ſo. But firſt I will aunſwere yours. The which thing vntill this day hee hath not done.

The Earle of Darbies Seruaunt.

Vpõ the 12. of February there came one of the Earle of Darbyes ſeruauntes to Bradford, ſaying: My Lord hath ſent me to you: he willeth you to tender your ſelf, and he would be good Lord vnto you.

Brad. I thãke his Lordſhip for his good will toward me: but in this caſe I can not tender my ſelfe more then Gods honour.

Seruaunt. Ah M.Bradford, conſider your mother, ſiſters, frẽdes, kinſfolke, and countrey, what a great diſcõfort it wilbe vnto them to ſee you dye as an hereticke.

Maiſter Bradford preferreth Chriſt before all hys kynne and kynred.

Brad. I haue learned to forſake father, mother, brother, ſiſter, frend, and all that euer I haue, yea euẽ mine owne ſelfe, or els I can not be Chriſtes diſciple.

Seruaunt. If my Lord ſhould obtaine for you that ye might depart the Realme, would ye not be content to be at the Queenes appointment, where ſhe would appoint you beyond the Sea?

Bradford contented to be burned in England, rather then to be ſent ouer the ſea to Popiſh places.

Brad. No, I had rather be burned in England, then be burned beyond the Seas. For I know that if ſhe ſhould ſend me to Paris, Louaine, or ſome ſuch place, forthwith they would burne me.

¶Talke betwene M. Bradford and one Perciuall Creſwell, and after that with D.Hardyng.

Perciuall Creſwell talketh wyth Bradford.

VPon the xiiij. of February, Perciuall Creſwell, an old acquayntaũce of Bradfordes came to him, bringing with him a kinſeman of M.Fecknams, who after many wordes ſayd.

Creſwel. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Bradford. You may do what ye will.

Creſwell. But tel me what ſute I ſhould make for you.

Creſwell offereth to make ſute to M. Bradford.

Brad. Forſooth that ye will doe, doe it not at my requeſt, for I deſire nothing at your handes. If the Queene will geue me lyfe, I wyll thanke her. If ſhe wyll baniſh me, I will thanke her. If ſhee wyll burne me, I will thanke her: If ſhe wil condemne me to perpetuall priſonment, I wyll thanke her.

Hereupon Creſwell went away, & about a. xj. of the clocke he and the other man came againe, and brought a booke of Mores making, deſiring Bradford to reade it ouer.

Mores booke brought to Bradford.

Bradford taking the booke, ſayd: Good Perciuall, I am ſetled for being moued in this article.

Creſwell. Oh, if euer ye loued me, do one thing for me.

Bradford. What is it?

Creſwell. Deſire and name what learned man or mē ye will haue to come vnto you. My Lord of Yorke, my Lord of Lyncolne, my Lorde of Bath, and others wyll gladly come vnto you.

Brad. No, neuer wyll I deſire them or any other to come to conferre with me, for I am as certayne of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleaſure, and alſo that all men may know I am not aſhamed to haue my fayth ſifted and tried, bring whom ye wil, and I will talke with them. So they went their way.

Doctor Harding commeth to Maiſter Bradford.

And about. 3. of the clocke in the afternone M. Doctor Harding, who was then the Byſhop of Lyncolnes Chaplayn came to Bradford, and after a great and ſolemne proteſtation, ſhewing how that hee had prayed to God before he came to turne his talke to Bradfords good, he began to tel of the good opinion he had of Bradford, and ſpent the tyme in ſuch tratling, ſo that their talke was to little purpoſe: ſaue that Bradford prayed him to conſider from whence he was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to loue it: For the loue of God is not where the world is.

Harding. But Harding counted Bradford in a dānable eſtate, as one being out of the church, and therefore willed him to take heede of hys ſoule, & not to die in ſuch an opinion.

Brad. What M. Harding, quoth Bradford? I haue heard you wyth theſe eares mayntayne this that I ſtand in.

Doctor Harding reuolted from hys former profeſſion.

Harding. I graunt that I haue taught that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was a ſubtil doctrine, but otherwiſe I neuer taught it. And ſo he inueying againſt mariages of prieſtes, and namely agaynſt Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and ſuch, which for breaking their vowes were iuſtly geuen vp into hereſies (as he ſayd) Bradford ſeing him altogether geuen vp to Popery, after admoniſhment thereof, bad hym farewell.

Doctor Harding inueyeth agaynſt Peter Martyr, Bucer, and Luther.

¶ Talke betwene D. Harpeſfield Archdeacon, and Maiſter Bradford.

Vpon the. xv. of February Perciual Creſwell came with M. Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, & a ſeruant wayting vpō hym. After formall ſalutations, hee made a long oration, of which this is a ſhort ſumme: That all men, euen the infidels, Turkes, Iewes, Anabaptiſtes, and Libertines deſyre felicity as well as the Chriſtians, and how that euery one thynketh they ſhal attayne to it by their Religion. To which Bradford aunſwered briefly, that he ſpake not farre amiſſe.

D. Harpſfield talketh with M. Bradford.

Harpſ. Then ſayd Harpſfield, but the way thither is not all alyke. For the infidels by Iupiter, Iuno: the Turke by hys Alcoran: the Iewe by his Thalmud, do beleue to come to heauen. For ſo may I ſpeake of ſuch as beleue the immortality of the ſoule.

Brad. You ſpeake truely.

Harpſ. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to thys heauen.

Brad. Wee may not inuent any manner of wayes. There is but one way, and that is Ieſus Chriſt, as he himſelfe doth witneſſe: *I am the way.*

The true way to felicitie.

Harpſ. It is true that you ſay, and falſe alſo. I ſuppoſe that you meane by Chriſt, beleuing in Chriſt.

Brad. I haue learned to diſcerne betwixt fayth and Chriſt. Albeit I cōfeſſe, that who ſo beleueth in Chriſt, the ſame ſhall be ſaued.

Harpſ. No not all that beleue in Chriſt: for ſome ſhal ſay, *Lord, Lord, haue not we caſt out deuils? &c.* But Chriſt will aunſwer in the day of iudgement to thoſe: *Depart from me, I know you not.*

Brad. You muſt make a differēce betwixt beleuing, and ſaying I beleue. As for example: if one ſhould ſay and ſweare he loueth you, for all his ſaying ye will not beleue him when you ſee hee goeth about to vtter and do all the euill againſt you that he can.

Note the difference betwene beleuing and ſaying I beleue.

Harpſ. Well, this is not much materiall. There is but one way Chriſt. Howe come we to know hym? Where ſhall we ſeeke to finde him?

Brad. Forſooth, we muſt ſeeke him by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

The way to come to Chriſt is by the word: for by the word commeth fayth, by fayth we come to Chriſt.

Harpſ. Very good, but tell me nowe howe firſt we came in to the company of them that could tell vs this, but by Baptiſme?

Brad. Baptiſme is the ſacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Chriſt: I ſay outwardly, becauſe I dare not exclude from Chriſt all that dye without Baptiſme. I wyll not tye God, where hee is not bound. Some Infants die, whoſe parentes deſire Baptiſme for them, and can not haue it.

Baptiſme an outward ſeale whereby we are knowen to be Chriſtians.

Harpſ. To thoſe we maye thincke perchaunce that God will ſhew ſome mercy.

Brad. Yea, the childrē whoſe parents do contemne Baptiſme, will not I condemne, becauſe the Childe ſhall not beare the Fathers offence.

Children which dye without Baptiſme.

Harpſ. Well, we agree that by Baptiſme then wee are brought, and, as a mā would ſay, begottē to Chriſt. For Chriſt is our father, and the church his Spouſe is our mother. As all men naturally haue Adam for theyr father, and Eua for their mother: ſo all ſpirituall men haue Chriſt for their father, & the Church for their mother. And as Eue was takē out of Adams ſide, ſo was the Church taken out of Chriſtes ſide: wherout flowed blood for the ſatiſfaction and purgation of our ſinnes.

The church is our mother.

Brad. All this is truely ſpoken.

Harpſ. Now, then tell me whether this Church of Chriſt hath not bene alwayes?

Deſcent of the Church.

Brad. Yes, ſithens the creation of man, and ſhall be for euer.

Harpſ. Very good. But yet tell mee whether thys church is a viſible Church, or no?

Brad. It is no otherwiſe viſible, then Chriſt was here on earth: that is, by no exteriour pompe or ſhewe that ſetteth her forth commonly, and therfore to ſee her we muſt put on ſuch eyes, as good men put on to ſee and know Chriſt whē he walked here on earth: for as Eue was of the ſame ſubſtaunce that Adam was of, ſo was the Church of the ſame ſubſtance that Chriſt was of, *fleſh of his fleſh, & bone of his bones,* as Paule ſayth, Ephe. 5. Looke therfore how Chriſt was viſibly knowē to be Chriſt whē he was on earth, that is, by cōſidering hym after the word of God, ſo is the Church knowen.

The church of Chriſt is viſible euen as Chriſt was, that is, not by exteriour pōpe or ſhew, but by the inward eye.

Harpſ. I do not come to reaſon at this preſent, and therefore I wyll go on forward. Is not thys Church a multitude?

Brad. Yes that it is. Howbeit, latet anguis in herba, as the Prouerbe is. For in your queſtion is a ſubtiltie. What viſible multitude was there in Helias tyme, or when Moſes was on the Mount, Aaron and all Iſraell worſhipping the Calfe?

Multitude is not alwayes the ſureſt marke to know the church.

Harpſ. Ye diuert from the matter.

Brad. No, nothing at al. For I do but preuent you, knowing well wherabout you go. And therfore fewer wordes

D. Harpsfield preuented of his purpoſe.

wordes might well ſerue if that you ſo would.

Harpſ. Well, I perceiue you haue knowledge, and by a litle perceiue I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude haue not the miniſterie or preachyng of Gods word?

Preaching of the Goſpel goeth euer with the church, vnles it be interrupt ſometime by perſecutiō.

Brad. Syr, ye go about the buſhe. If ye vnderſtand preaching for cōfeſſing the Goſpell, I will go with you: for els if you will, you may know that perſecutiō often letteth preaching.

Harpſ. Well, I meane it ſo. Tell me yet more: hath it not the Sacramentes adminiſtred?

Adminiſtration of Sacramentes is one note, but not the cauſe of the true church. And yet not ſuch a note, but that it may often be letted by perſecutiō, and yet the true church remaine.

Brad. It hath the Sacramentes: howbeit, the adminiſtration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpoſe, becauſe I ſee wherabout you goe. If Heretickes haue Baptiſme and do Baptiſe, as they did in S.Cyprians time, you know this Baptiſme is Baptiſme, and not to be reiterate. This Bradford did ſpeake, that the ſtanders by might ſee, that though the Papiſtes Church haue Baptiſme which we receiued of them, yet therefore is it not the true Church, neither neede we to be Baptiſed agayne.

The Popes church hath Baptiſme and Sacramentes adminiſtred: Ergo, the Popes church is the true church. The argumēt ſorteth, a cauſa non ſufficiente, vel a non cauſa vt cauſa.

Harpſ. You go farre frō the matter, and I perceiue you haue more errours then one.

Brad. So you ſay: but that is not enough till you proue them.

Harpſ. Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the Goſpel, & the miniſtratiō of the Sacramentes? and yet more: hath it not the power of iuriſdiction?

A Popiſh diſtinctiō of the church, to be a multitude hauing preaching of the Goſpell, miniſtration of the ſacramētes, power of iuriſdiction, and ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

Brad. What iuriſdiction is exerciſed in perſecution and affliction?

Harpſ. I meane by iuriſdiction, admoniſhing one an other, and ſo forth.

Brad. Well, go to: what then?

Harpſ. It hath alſo ſucceſſion of Biſhops. And here he made much a do to proue that this was an eſſentiall point.

Brad. You ſay as you would haue it: for if this part faile you, all the Church you go about to ſet vp will fall down. You ſhall not find in all the Scripture this your eſſentiall part of ſucceſſion of Biſhops. In Chriſtes Church Antichriſt will ſit. And Peter telleth vs, as it went in the old Church afore Chriſtes comming, ſo wil it be in the new Church ſithen Chriſtes comming: that is, as there were falſe Prophetes, and ſuch as bare rule were aduerſaries to the true Prophetes: ſo ſhall there be (ſaith he) falſe teachers, euen of ſuch as are Byſhops, and beare rule amongeſt the people.

Succeſſiō of Biſhops is no eſſentiall part of the church, but rather accidens commune, which being interrupted yet the church may ſtand, as it did both before Chriſts comming and after, at the comming of Antichriſt.

Harpſ. You go allwayes out of the matter: but I wil proue further the ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

Bradford. Do ſo.

Harpſ. Tell me, were not the Apoſtles Biſhops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a Biſhop, that is, geue him no certaine place.

Apoſtles and Byſhops be ſundry offices.

Harpſ. In deede, the Apoſtles office was not the Biſhops office: for it was vniuerſall, but yet Chriſt inſtituted Biſhops in his Church as Paul ſaith: he hath geuen Paſtours, Prophetes. &c. ſo that I trow it be proued by the Scriptures the ſucceſſion of Biſhops to be an eſſentiall point.

Brad. The miniſterie of Gods word, and miniſters, be an eſſentiall point. But to tranſlate this to the Biſhops and their ſucceſſion, is a playne ſubtilitie: And therefore that it may be playne, I will aſke you a queſtion. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference betwene Biſhops and Miniſters, which ye call Prieſtes.

The miniſtrie of Gods word and miniſters, be an eſſentiall poynt of the true church: but not the locall ſucceſſion of miniſters in one certayne place.

Harpſ. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forwardes, and let vs ſee what ye ſhall get now by the ſucceſſion of Biſhops, that is of miniſters, which can not bee vnderſtand of ſuch Biſhops as miniſter not, but Lord it.

Harpſ. I perceiue that you are farre out of the way. By your doctrine you can neuer ſhewe in your Church, a multitude which miniſtreth Gods worde and his Sacramentes, which hath iuriſdiction and ſucceſſion of Byſhops, which hath from tyme to tyme beleued as you beleue, begynnyng now and ſo goyng vpwardes as I will do of our doctrine, and therefore are ye out of the Church, and ſo can not be ſaued. Perchaunce you will bryng me downewardes a ſhewe to bleare peoples eyes: but to go vpwardes, that can you neuer do, and this is the true triall.

The vſe and abuſe of ſucceſſiō of high Prieſtes.

Brad. Ye muſt and wil, I am aſſured, geue me leaue to folow the Scriptures and examples of good men.

Harpſ. Yea.

Brad. Well then, Steuen was accuſed and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and falſe doctrine before the fathers of the Church then as they were taken. Steuen for his purgation improueth their accuſation. But how? doth he it by goyng vpwardes? no, but by commyng downwardes, begynnyng at Abraham, and cōtinuing ſtill till Eſayas time, and the peoples captiuitie. Frō whence he maketh a great leape vntill that tyme hee was in, which was (I thinke) vppon a 400. yeares, & called them by their right names helhoundes, rather then heauen houndes. On this ſort will I proue my faith, and that can you neuer do yours.

Harpſ. Yea Syr, if we did know that you had the holy Ghoſt, then could we beleue you. Here Bradford would haue aunſwered, that Steuens enemyes would not beleue he had the holy Ghoſt, and therfore they did as they did: but as he was in ſpeakyng, M.Harpſfield aroſe vp, and the keeper and others that ſtode by, begā to talke gently, praying Bradford to take heede to that Maiſter Archdeacō ſpake, who ſtill ſayd, that Bradford was out of the Church.

The Papiſtes challenge to them the true church, euen as the mother of the dead child, challenged the liuing child from the true mother. 3.Reg.3.

Brad. Syr, I am moſt certain that I am in Chriſtes Church, and I can ſhewe a demonſtration of my Religion from tyme to tyme continually.

God our father, for the name and bloud of his Chriſt, be mercifull vnto vs and vnto all his people, and deliuer them from falſe teachers, and blind guides, through whō (alas) I feare me, much hurt will come to this Realme of England. God our father bleſſe vs, and keepe vs in his truth and poore Church for euer, Amen.

Bradfords prayer.

Then yͤ Archdeacon departed, ſaying that he would come agayne the next mornyng.

The next dayes talke betwene D.Harpſfield and Maiſter Bradford.

Archdeacō *Harpſfield* returneth agayne to Maiſter *Bradford.*

VPon the xvj. of February in the mornyng the Archdeacon and the other two with hym came agayne, and after a few bywordes ſpoken, they ſat downe.

Harpſ. M. Archdeacon began a very long Oration, firſt repetyng what they had ſayd, and how farre they had gone ouer night, and therwith did begyn to proue vpwardes ſucceſſion of Byſhops here in England for 800. yeares: in Fraunce at Lions for 1200. yeares: in Spayne at Hiſpalen for 800. yeares: in Italy at Millan for 1200. yeres, labouring by this to proue his church. He vſed alſo ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the Eaſt Church for the more confirmation of his wordes, and ſo concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this Church: the interrogation, whether Bradford could ſhew any ſuch ſucceſſion for the demonſtration of his Church (for ſo he called it) which he followed.

Maiſter *Harpſfield* againe proueth hys church by ſucceſſion of high Prieſtes.

Brad. Unto this his long Oration Bradford made this ſhort aunſwere: my memory is euill, ſo that I can not aunſwere particularly your Oration. Therefore I wil generally do it, thinking, becauſe your oration is rather to perſwade then to proue, that a ſmall aunſwere wil ſerue. If Chriſt or his Apoſtles being here on earth had bene required by the Prelates of the Church then to haue made a demonſtration of that Church by ſucceſſion of ſuch high Prieſtes as had approued the doctrine

Bradfords anſwere to Maiſter *Harpſfieldes* oration.

Queene Mary. 1555. July.

Outward ſhewe of miniſters maketh not the true church, but the truth of Gods word maketh true miniſters.

trine which he taught, I thinke that Chriſt would haue done as I do: that is, haue alledged that which vpholdeth the Church, euen the veritie, the worde of God taught and beleued, not by the high Prieſtes, which of long tyme had perſecuted it, but by the Prophetes and other good ſimple men, which perchaunce were counted for heretickes of the Church: which Church was not tyed to ſucceſſion, but to the word of God. And this to thinke, S. Peter geueth me occaſion, when he ſayth that as it went in the Church before Chriſtes commyng, ſo ſhall it go in the Church after his comming: but then the pillers of ẏ Church were perſecutors of ẏ true Church: therfore the like we muſt looke for now.

The true church not tyed to ſucceſſion, but to Gods word.

Harpſ. I can gather and proue ſucceſſion in Hieruſalem of the high Prieſtes from Aarons time.

Bradford. I graunt, but not ſuch ſucceſſion as allowed the truth.

The true ſucceſſion of prieſtes, and the ſucceſſion of true Apoſtles, are two thinges.

Harpſ. Why? did they not all allow Moſes law?

Bradford. Yes, and kept it, as touching the bookes thereof, as you do the Bible, and holy ſcriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you haue done, and do: and therefore the perſecution which they ſturred vp againſt the Prophetes and Chriſt, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you doe now, that wee muſt fetch the interpretation of the ſcriptures at your handes. But to make an ende, death I looke dayly for, yea hourly, and I thinke my time bee but very ſhorte. therefore I had neede to ſpende as much time wyth God as I can whileſt I haue it, for his helpe and comfort, and therfore I pray you beare with me that I do not now particularly & in moe wordes aũſwere your lõg talke. If I ſaw death not ſo nere me as it is, I would then weigh euery peece of your Oration, if you would geue me ẏ ſumme of it, & I would aunſwere accordingly: but becauſe I dare not, nor I will not leaue of lookyng & preparyng for that which is at hand, I ſhall deſire you to hold me excuſed, becauſe I do as I do, and I hartely thãke you of your gẽtle good wil. I ſhall hartely pray God our father to geue you the ſame light & lyfe I do wyſh to my ſelf: & ſo Bradford began to ariſe vp.

The Iewes corrupt the law, as the Papiſtes the ſcriptures.

A compariſon betwene the old Phariſies, and our new Papiſtes.

Bradfords prayer.

Harpſ. But then began Maiſter Archdeacon to tell him that hee was in a very perilous caſe, and that hee was ſory to ſee him ſo ſetled. As for death, whether it be nigh or farre of I know not, neither forceth it, ſo that you did dye well.

Bradford. I doubt not in this caſe, but that I ſhall dye well: for as I hope and am certaine my death ſhall pleaſe the Lord, ſo I truſt I ſhall dye chearefully to the comfort of his children.

Bold conſcience and hope vpon Gods word and promiſe, breedeth ſtrange among them which are not exerciſed in mortification.

Harpſ. But what if you be deceiued?

Brad. What if you ſhoulde ſay the Sunne dyd not ſhine now? (and the Sunne did ſhine through the windowe where they ſat.)

Harpſ. Wel, I am ſory to ſee you ſo ſecure & careles

Brad. In deede I am more carnally ſecure and careles then I ſhould bee: God make mee more vigilant. But in this caſe I can not be to ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured that I am in the truth,

Harpſ. That are ye not: for you are out of the catholicke church.

Brad. No, though you haue excommunicate me out of your church, yet am I in the catholicke church of Chriſt, and am, and by Gods grace ſhalbe a chyld and an obedient childe of it for euer. I hope Chriſt wyll haue no leſſe care for me, then he had for the blind man excommunicated of the Synagoge: and further I am ſure that the neceſſary Articles of the fayth, I meane the twelue articles of the Crede, I confeſſe and beleue with that which you call the holy church, ſo that euen your church hath taken ſomething to much vpon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the teſtimonie of my Lord of Dureſme in his booke of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred yeare after Chriſt, to beleue or not beleue.

Tranſubſtantiation free to beleue or not to beleue many hundreth yeares after Chriſt.

Harpſ. What is that?

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpſ. Why? ye are not condemned therfore onely.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receyue Chriſtes body.

Harpſ. You agree not with vs in the preſence, nor in any thing els.

Brad. How you beleue you know: for my part I confeſſe a preſence of whole Chriſt God and man, to the fayth of the receyuer.

Harpſ. Nay, you muſt beleue a reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I wyll not ſhutte him in, nor tye him to it, otherwyſe then fayth ſeeth and perceyueth. If I ſhould include Chriſt really preſent in ẏ Sacrament, or tye him to it otherwyſe then to ẏ fayth of ẏ receyuer, then ẏ wicked men ſhould receiue him, which I do not, nor will by Gods grace, beleue.

Chriſt not included really in the Sacrament.

Harpſ. More pity: but a man may eaſely perceyue, you make no preſence at all, and therfore you agree not therein with vs.

Brad. I confeſſe a preſence, and a true preſence, but to the fayth of the receyuer.

Chriſtes body preſent to the fayth of the receauer.

What (quoth one that ſtode by) of Chriſts very body which dyed for vs?

Brad. Yea euen of whole Chriſt God and man, to fede the fayth of him that receyueth it.

Harpſ. Why? this is nothing els but to exclude the omnipotencie of God, and all kynde of myracle in the Sacrament.

Brad. I do not exclude his omnipotencie, but you do it rather: for I beleue that Chriſt can accompliſhe hys promiſe, the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidentes, which you beleue not. When we come to the ſacrament, we come not to feede our bodyes, and therfore we haue but a litle peece of bread, but wee come to feede our ſoules with Chriſt by fayth, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receiue nothing but Panem domini as Iudas did, and not Panem dominum, as the other Apoſtels dyd.

None denyeth omnipotency more then the Papiſts, which ſay, that Chriſtes body can not be in the ſacrament vnleſſe the ſubſtaunce of bread be away.

Argument. Who ſo receaue the body of Chriſt, do receiue the fruite and grace of life. No wicked do receaue fruite and grace of life: Ergo, no wicked men receaue the body of Chriſt.

Harpſ. The wicked doe receiue the very body of Chriſt, but not the grace of his body.

Brad. They receiue not the body. For Chriſtes body is no dead carcaſe: he that receiueth it receaueth the ſpirit, which is not without grace I trow.

Harpſ. Well, you haue very many errours. You count the Maſſe for abomination, and yet S. Ambroſe ſaid Maſſe: and ſo he read out of a booke written a ſentence of S. Ambroſe to proue it.

Maſſe in S. *Ambroſe* time.

Brad. Why Syr, the Maſſe as it is now, was nothing ſo in S. Ambroſe time. Was not the moſt part of the Canõ made ſithen by Gregory and Scholaſticus?

Harpſ. In deede a great peece of it was made, as ye ſay, by Gregory: but Scholaſticus was before Saint Ambroſe tyme.

That is falſe. *for Scolaſticus* was not before *S. Ambroſe* time.

Brad. I weene not: howbeit I will not contend. S. Gregory ſaith, that the Apoſtels ſayd Maſſe wythout the Canon, only with the Lords prayer.

Harpſ. You ſay true: for the Canon is not the greateſt part of the Maſſe, the greateſt part is the ſacrifice, eleuation, tranſubſtantiation, and adoration.

The chiefe partes of the Popiſh Maſſe.

Brad. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harpſ. No, I thinke the ſame: but yet Hoc facite, telleth plainly the ſacrifice of the church.

Brad. You confound Sacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the ſacrifice of the church, and for ẏ church. The ſacrifice of the church is no propiciatory ſacrifice, but a gratulatory ſacrifice. And as for Hoc facite, is not referred to any ſacrifiſing, but to the whole action of taking, eating. &c.

Sacrifice of the church: Sacrifice for the church.

Harpſ. You ſpeake not learnedly now: for Chriſt made his ſupper onely to the twelue Apoſtels, not admitting his mother or any of the ſeuenty Diſciples to it. Now the Apoſtels do ſignifie the Prieſts.

Note this doctrine, good reader.

Brad. I thinke that you ſpeake as you would men ſhould vnderſtand it: for els you would not keepe the cup away from the Laitye. We haue great cauſe to thanke you, that you wyll geue vs of your bread. For I perceiue you order yͤ matter ſo, as though Chriſt had not commaunded it to his whole church.

Harpſ. Then Harpſfield would haue proued Eleuation by a place of Baſilius.

Eleuation was not brought in in dede before the time of Pope *Honorius*. 3. Read before Pag.

Brad. I haue read yͤ place which ſemeth to make nothing for eleuation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to ſcan yͤ doutfull places of yͤ Doctors with you. I haue bene in priſon long without bokes and all neceſſaries for ſtudy, and now death draweth nye, and I by your leaue muſt now leaue of, to prepare for him.

Harpſ. If I could do you good, I would bee right glad, eyther in ſoule or body. For you are in a perilous caſe both wayes.

Brad. Syr I thanke you for your good wyll: My caſe is as it is. I thanke God it was neuer ſo wel with me: for death to me ſhall be life.

Creſwel. It were beſt for you to deſire maiſter Archdeacon that he would make ſute for you, that you might haue a time to conferre.

Harpſ. I will doe the beſt I can, for I pity hys caſe.

Brad. Syr, I will not deſire any body to ſue for time for me. I am not wauering, neither would I that any body ſhould thinke I were ſo. But if you haue the charitie and loue you pretend towardes me, and therto do thinke that I am in an errour, I think the ſame ſhould moue you to do as you would be done to. As ye thinke of me, ſo do I of you, that you are farre out of the way, & I do not onely thinke it, but alſo am therof moſt aſſured. In this and ſuch like gentle talke they departed.

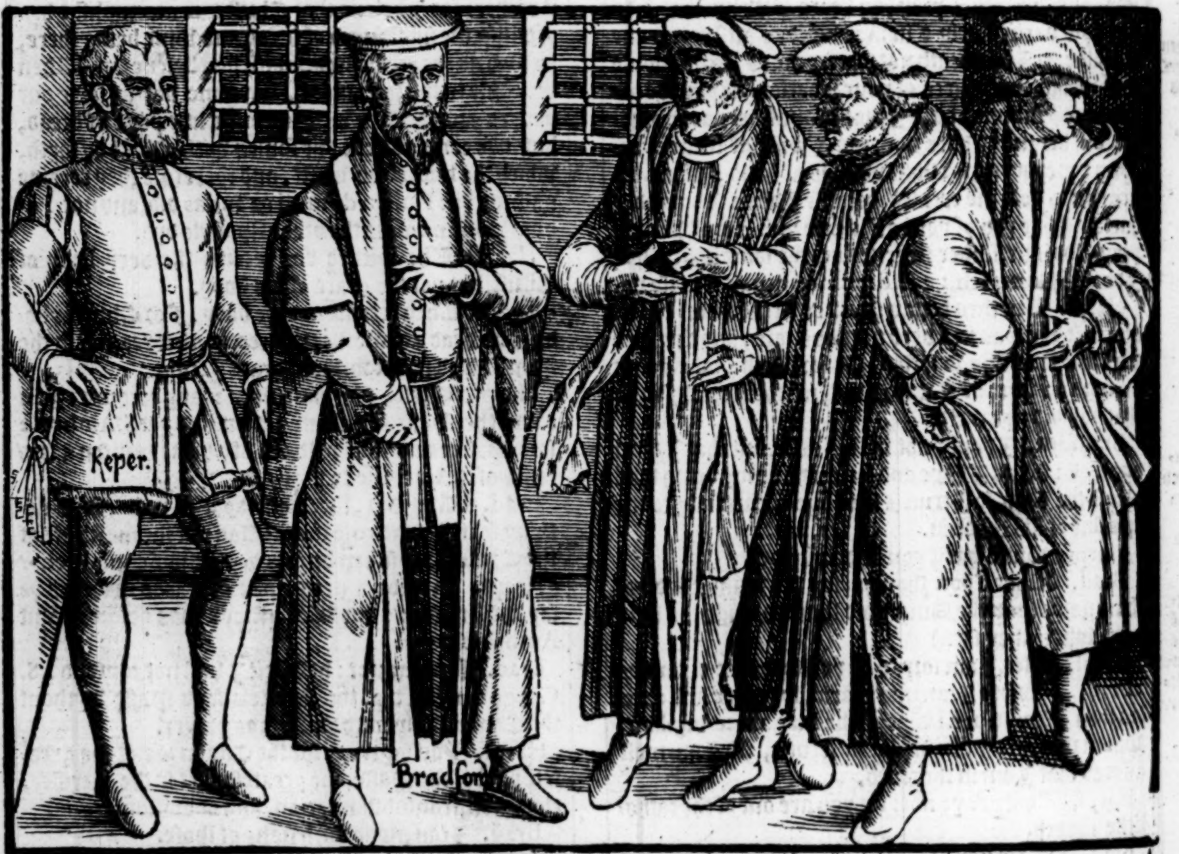
The talke of D. Heth Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Day biſhop of Chicheſter, with M. Bradford.

THe. xxiij. of the ſame moneth, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter came to the Counter to ſpeake with Bradford. When hee was come before them, they both, and eſpecially the Biſhop of Yorke, vſed him very gently: they would haue hym to ſit downe, and becauſe he would not, they alſo wold not ſit. So they all ſtode: and whether hee would or not, they would nedes he ſhould put on, not onely his night cap, but his vpper cap alſo, ſaying vnto hym, that obedience was better then ſacrifice.

Now thus ſtanding together, my Lord of Yorke began to tell Bradford howe that they were not ſent to him, but of loue and charity they came to him: and he, for that acquaintaunce alſo which hee had with Bradford, more then the biſhop of Chicheſter had: then after commending Bradfordes godly lyfe, he concluded with this queſtion: how he was certaine of ſaluation and of his religion?

Brad. After thankes for their good wyll, Bradford anſwered: by the word of God, euen by the ſcriptures I am certaine of ſaluation, and of religion.

Certaine biſhops talking with Maiſter Bradford in priſon.



Yorke. Very well ſayd: but how do ye know the word of God and the ſcriptures, but by the church?

The church is a meane to know the ſcripture: as the woman of *Samaria* was to the *Samaritanes* to know Chriſt.

Brad. In dede my Lord, the church was and is a meane to bring a man more ſpedely to know the ſcriptures and the word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a meane that the Samaritans knew Chriſt: but as when they had heard him ſpeake, they ſaid: now we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy wordes but becauſe we our ſelues haue heard him: ſo after we come to the hearing and reading of the ſcriptures ſhewed vnto vs and diſcerned by the church, we do beleue them, and know them as Chriſtes ſheepe, not becauſe the church ſayth they are the ſcriptures, but becauſe they bee ſo, being thereof aſſured by the ſame ſpirite which wrote and ſpake them.

Yorke. You know, in the Apoſtles tyme at the firſt the word was not written.

Brad. True, if you meane it for ſome bokes of the new Teſtament: but els for the old Teſtament Peter telleth vs, firmiorē ſermonē propheticū habemus: *We haue a more ſure word of Prophecie:* not that it is ſimplie ſo, but in reſpect of the Apoſtles, which being a lyue and compaſſed with infirmity, attributed to the word writtē more firmity, as wherwith no fault could be found, where as for the infirmity of their perſons men perchaunce might haue found ſome fault at their preaching: albeit, in very dede no leſſe obedience and fayth ought to haue bene geuen to the one, then to the other: for all procedeth forth of one ſpirite of truth.

Yorke. That place of Peter is not ſo to be underſtād of the word written.

Brad. Yes Sir, that it is, and of none other.

Chick. Yea, in dede M. Bradford doth tell you truly in that point.

Yorke. Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much and alleadge the church agaynſt the heretickes, and not the ſcripture.

Brad. True, for they had to do with ſuch heritickes as did denye the ſcriptures, and yet did magnify the Apoſtles: ſo that they were inforced to uſe the autority of thoſe churches wherin the Apoſtles had taught, and which had ſtyll retained the ſame doctrine.

Chic. You ſpeake the very truth: for the heretickes did refuſe all ſcriptures, except it were a peece of Lukes Goſpell.

Brad. Then the alleadging of the church can not be principally uſed agaynſt mee, which am ſo farre from denying of the ſcriptures that I appeale unto them utterly, as to the onely iudge.

Yorke. A prety matter, that you will take upon you to iudge ẏ church. I pray you where hath your church bene hetherto? For the church of Chriſt is catholycke and vyſible hetherto.

Brad. My Lord, I do not iudge the church, when I diſcerne it from that congregation, and thoſe which be not the church, and I never denyed the church to be catholicke and viſible, although at ſome tymes it is more viſible then at ſome.

Chic. I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was theſe foure hūdreth yeares?

Brad. I will tell you my Lord, or rather you ſhall tel your ſelf, if you wil tel me this one thing, where the church was in Helias his tyme, when Helias ſayd that he was left alone?

Chic. That is no aunſwere.

Brad. I am ſory that you ſay ſo: but this wyll I tell your Lordſhip, that if you had ẏ ſame eies wherwith a man might haue eſpyed the church then, you woulde not ſay it were no anſwere. The fault why the church is not ſene of you, is not becauſe the church is not viſible, but becauſe your eyes are not cleare enough to ſee it.

Chic. You are much deceyued in making this collation betwixt the church then and now.

Yorke. Very well ſpoken my Lord, for Chriſt ſayd ædificabo eccleſiam, I wyll build my church and not I do, or haue buylt it, but I wyll buyld it.

Brad. My Lords, Peter teacheth me to make thys collatiō, ſaying: as in ẏ people *there were falſe Prophets, which were moſt in eſtimatiō afore Chriſtes cōming, ſo ſhall there be falſe teachers amongeſt the people after Chriſtes cōming and very many ſhall follow thē.* And as for your future tenſe, I hope your grace will not therby conclude Chriſtes church not to haue bene before, but rather that there is no building in the church but by Chriſtes worke onely: for Paule and Apollo be but waterers.

Chicheſt. In good fayth I am ſory to ſee you ſo light in iudging the Church.

Yorke. He taketh upon him as they all do, to iudge the church. A man ſhall never come to certaintie that doth as they do.

Brad. My Lordes, I ſpeake ſimply what I thinke, and deſire reaſon to aunſwer my obiections. Your affections and ſorrowes can not by my rules. If that you conſider the order and caſe of my condemnation, I can not thinke but that it ſhould ſome thing moue your honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it) no matter was layd againſt me, but what was gathered upon myne owne confeſſion. Becauſe I did denye Tranſubſtantiation and the wycked to receiue Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excōmunicate, but not of the church, although the pillers of the church (as they be taken) did it.

Chich. No, I heard ſay the cauſe of your priſonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the ſword in the one hand, and the mattocke in the other.

Falſe ſurmiſe agaynſt *Bradford.*

Brad. My Lorde, I never ment any ſuch thyng, nor ſpake any thing in that ſort.

Yorke. Yea, and you behaued your ſelfe before the Counſel ſo ſtoutly at the firſt, that you would defende the religion then: and therefore worthely were you pryſoned.

Brad. Your grace did heare me aunſwer my Lord Chauncellour to that point. But put caſe I had ben ſo ſtoute as they and your Grace make it: were not the lawes of the Realme on my ſide then? Wherefore uniuſtly was I priſoned: onely that which my L. Chauncellour propounded, was my confeſſion of Chriſtes truth againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of that which the wicked do receiue, as I ſaid.

Bradford impriſoned for that, for which he had the lawes on his ſide.

Yorke. You deny the preſence.

Brad. I do not, to the faith of the worthy receiuers.

Yorke. Why? what is that to ſay other, then that Chriſt lyeth not on the aultar?

Brad. My Lord, I beleue no ſuch preſence.

The preſence of Chriſtes body to fayth of the worthy receiuer.

Chich. It ſemeth that you haue not red Chryſoſtome, for he prouеth it.

Brad. Hetherto I haue bene kept wel inough with out bokes: howbeit this I do remember of Chryſoſtome, that he ſaith that Chriſt lieth upon the altar, as ẏ Seraphins with their tounges touch our lyps wyth the coales of the aultar in heauen, which is an hyperbolical loquution, of which you know Chryſoſtome is full.

Hyperbolicall phraſe of *Chryſoſtome.*

Yorke. It is euident that you are to farre gone: but let us come then to the church, out of the which ye are excommunicate.

Brad. I am not excōmunicate out of Chriſts church my Lord, although they which ſeme to be in the church and of the church haue excōmunicated me, as the poore blind mā was, Iohn. ix. I am ſure Chriſt receiueth me.

Bradford excommunicated with the poore blind man, *Iohn.* 9.

Yorke. You deceiue your ſelfe.

Here, after much talke of excōmunication, at length Bradford ſayd.

Brad. Aſſuredly, as I thinke you did well to depart from the Romiſh church, ſo I thinke ye haue done wickedly to couple your ſelues to it agayne: for you can neuer proue it, which you call the mother church, to be Chriſtes Church.

Chiche. Ah Maiſter Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a yong man, and then cōming from the Uniuerſitie, I went with the world, but I tell you it was alwaies againſt my conſcience.

Brad. I was but a childe then: howbeit, as I tolde you, I thinke you haue done euyll. For ye are come and haue brought others to that wycked man which ſitteth in the temple of God, that is in the Church: for it can not be underſtād of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of ſuch as beare rule in the church.

The Pope proued to be Antichriſt by ſcripture.

Yorke. See how you build your fayth upon ſuch places of Scripture as are moſt obſcure to deceyue your ſelfe, as though ye were in the Church where you are not.

Brad. Well my Lord, though I might by fruites iudge of you and others: yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the Church. And if I were in your caſe, I would not condemne him utterly, that is of my fayth in the Sacramēt: knowyng as you know, that at the leaſt 800. yeares after Chriſt, as my Lord of Dureſme writeth, it was free to beleue, or not to beleue tranſubſtantiation.

What Biſhop *Tonſtall* writeth of tranſubſtantiation.

Yorke. This is a toy that you haue founde out of your owne brayne: as though a man not beleuyng as the Church doth, that is tranſubſtantiation, were of the Church.

Chic. He is an hereticke, and ſo none of the Church that doth hold any doctrine agaynſt the definition of the Church: as a man to hold againſt tranſubſtantion. Cyprian

prian was no hereticke though he beleued rebaptiſing of them which were Baptiſed of heretickes, becauſe he held it before the Church had defined it, whereas if he had holden it after, then had he bene an hereticke.

Note how theſe Biſhops them ſelues doe graunt, that the time was when tranſubſtātiation was not defined by the church. *Tonſtall* ſayth it was more then 800. yeares after Chriſt.

Brad. Oh my Lord, will ye condemne to the deuill any man that beleueth truely the twelue Articles of the faith (wherin I take the vnitie of Chriſtes church to conſiſt) although in ſome pointes he beleue not the definition of that which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that hee which holdeth firmely the Articles of our belief, though in other things he diſſent from your definitions, yet he ſhalbe ſaued.

Yorke. Chic. Yea, ſayd both the Byſhops? this is your Diuinitie.

Brad. No it is Paules, which ſayth, that if they hold the foundation Chriſt, though they build vppon hym ſtraw and ſtubble, yet they ſhalbe ſaued.

Yorke. Lord God, how you delite to leane to ſo hard and darke places of the Scripture.

Chi. I will ſhew you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, and ſo hee red a place of Luther makyng for his purpoſe.

M. Bradford hangeth not of *Luther, Zuinglius, or Oelamp.* and yet he accompteth them good men.

Brad. My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much paſſe not, no more do I in this caſe. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius in this point: and in deede to tell you truly, I neuer red any of their workes in this matter. As for them, I do thinke aſſuredly that they were, and are Gods children and Saintes with him.

Yorke. Wel, you are out of the Communion of the Church.

Brad. I am not: for it conſiſteth and is in faith.

Yorke. Lo, how you make your Church inuiſible: for you would haue the Communion of it to conſiſte in faith.

Communion of the church conſiſteth in fayth, and not in viſible ceremonies.

Diſagreing in rites breaketh no agreement in fayth. *Irenens.*

Brad. For to haue communion with the Church needeth no viſiblenes of it: for Communion conſiſteth, as I ſayd, in fayth, & not in exteriour ceremonies: as appeareth both by Paul, which would haue one fayth, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the obſeruation of Eaſter, ſaying that diſagreeyng of faſtyng ſhould not breake the agreeyng of faith.

Chic. That ſame place hath often euen wounded my conſcience, becauſe we diſſeuered our ſelues from the ſea of Rome.

Brad. Well, God forgeue you: for you haue done euill to bryng England thether agayne.

Aug. contra Epiſt. fundament.

Yorke. Here my Lord of Yorke tooke a booke of paper of cōmon places, and red a peece of S. Auſten contra Epiſtolam fundamenti, how that there were many thinges that did hold S. Auguſtine in the boſome of the Church: conſent of people and nations, authoritie confirmed with miracles, nouriſhed with hope, encreaſed with charitie, eſtabliſhed with antiquitie: beſides this, there holdeth me in the Church, ſayth S. Auguſtine, the ſucceſſion of Prieſtes from Peters ſeate vntill this preſent Byſhop. Laſt of all the very name of Catholicke doth hold me. &c. Lo (quoth he) how ſay you to this of Saint Auguſtine? paynt me out your Church thus.

Conſent of people: Authoritie cōfirmed with miracles: Nouriſhed with hope: Encreaſed with charitie: Eſtabliſhed with antiquitie: Succeſſion of Prieſtes: The name Catholicke.

Brad. My Lord, theſe wordes S. Auguſtine make as much for me as for you: although I might aūſwere, that all this, if they had bene ſo firme as you make thē, might haue bene alledged agaynſt Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For there was the law and the ceremonyes conſented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquitie, and continuall ſucceſſion of Byſhops from Aarons tyme vntill that preſent.

All this might be obiected agaynſt Chriſt and his Apoſtles by the Scribes and Phariſeis.

Chic. In good faith M. Bradford, you make to much of the eſtate of the Church before Chriſtes commyng.

Brad. Therin I do but as Peter teacheth 2. Peter 2. & Paul very often. You would gladly haue your church here very glorious, and as a moſt pleaſāt Lady. But as Chriſt ſayd: Beatus eſt quicunq; non fuerit offenſus per me: So may his church ſay: *Bleſſed are they that are not offended at me.*

Yorke. Yea, you thinke that none is of yͤ Church but ſuch as ſuffer perſecution.

Brad. What I thinke, God knoweth. I pray your grace iudge me by my wordes and ſpeakyng, & marke that Paul ſayth: omnes qui. &c. *All that will lyue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt ſuffer perſecution.* Sometymes Chriſtes Church hath reſt here: but commonly it is not ſo, and ſpecially towardes the end her forme will be more vnſeemely.

The church commonly not glorious in this world, but poore and perſecuted.

Yorke. But what ſay you to S. Auguſtine? where is your Church that hath the cōſent of people & nations?

Brad. Euen all people & nations that be Gods people haue conſented with me and I with them in the doctrine of fayth.

Conſent of the godly.

Yorke. Lo, ye go about to ſhift of all thinges.

Brad. No my Lord: I meane ſimply, and ſo ſpeake, God knoweth.

Yorke. Saint Auſten doth here talke of ſucceſſion, euen from Peters ſeate.

Succeſſion from *Peter.*

Brad. Yea, that ſeate then was nothyng ſo much corrupt as it is now.

Yorke. Well, you alwayes iudge the Church.

Brad. No my Lord, Chriſtes ſhepe diſcerne Chriſts voyce, but they iudge it not: ſo they diſcerne the church, but iudge her not.

Chriſtes people may diſcerne the church, though they iudge not the church.

Yorke. Yes, that you do.

Brad. No, and it lyke your grace: and yet full well may one not onely doubt, but iudge alſo of the Romiſh church: for ſhe obeyeth not Chriſtes voyce, as Chriſtes true Church doth.

Yorke. Wherein.

Brad. In Latin ſeruice, and robbyng the laity of Chriſtes cuppe in the Sacrament and in many other things, in which it committeth moſt horrible ſacrilege.

The church of Rome ſwarueth from the voyce of Chriſt, and wherein.

Chic. Why? Latin ſeruice was in England when the Pope was gone.

Brad. True: the tyme was in England when the Pope was away, but not all Popery: as in kyng Henryes dayes.

Yorke. Latin ſeruice was appoynted to be ſong and had in the Queere, where onely were Clerici, that is, ſuch as vnderſtode Latin, the people ſitting in the body of the Church praying their owne priuate prayers: and this may well be yet ſeene by making of the Chācell and Queere, ſo as the people could not come in, or heare them.

Latin ſeruice defended.

Brad. Yea, but both in Chryſoſtomes tyme, and alſo in the Latin Church in Saint Ieromes tyme, all the Church (ſayth he) reboat, Amen. That is, aunſwereth agayne mightily, Amen. Wherby we may ſee that the prayers were made ſo, that both the people heard thē, and vnderſtode them.

Agaynſt Latin ſeruice.

Chic. Ye are to blame to ſay that the Church robbeth the people of the cup.

Brad. Well my Lord, terme it as pleaſe you: all mē know that the laitie hath none of it.

The people robbed of the cuppe.

Chic. In deede I would wiſh the Church would define agayne, that they might haue it, for my part.

Brad. If God make it free, who can define to make it bonde?

Yorke. Well Maiſter Bradford, we leeſe but labor, for ye ſeeke to put away al thinges which are told you to your good: your church no man can know.

Brad. Yes, that ye may well.

Yorke. I pray you whereby?

Brad. Forſooth Chryſoſtome ſaith: tantummodo per ſcripturas, alonely by yͤ Scriptures: and this ſpeaketh he very often times, as ye well know.

The church knowen only by the ſcriptures. *Chryſoſt. in oper. imperfect.*

Yorke. In deede that is of Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, which may bee doubted of. The thyng whereby the Church may be knowen beſt, is ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

Brad. No my Lord: Lyra full well wryteth vpon Mathew, that Eccleſia nō conſiſtit in hominibus ratione poteſtatis ſecularis aut Eccleſiaſticæ, ſed in homi-

Lyra ſup. Math.

hominibus in quibus eſt notitia uera, & confeſſio fidei & veritatis, that is: The church conſiſteth not in men by reaſon either of ſecular or temporall power: but in men indued with true knowledge, and confeſſiō of faith, and of verity. And in Hilarius time, you know hee writeth to Auxentius, that the Church did rather deliteſcere in cauernis, then eminere in primarijs ſedibus, that is, was hidden rather in caues & holes, then did gliſter and ſhine in thrones of preeminence.

Hilarius ad Auxentium.

Then came one of their ſeruauntes and tolde them that my Lord of Dureſme taried for them at Maiſter Yorkes houſe, and this was after that they had taryed thrée houres with Bradford. And after that theyr man was come, they put vp their wrytten bookes of cōmon places, and ſaid that they lamented his caſe: they willed him to reade ouer a booke, which did Doctor Crome good: and ſo wiſhing him good in wordes, they went their way, and poore Bradford to his priſon.

After this cōmunication with the Biſhops ended, within two daies following came into the Counter. ij. Spaniſh Friers to talke with maiſter Bradford, ſent (as they ſaid) by ẏ Earle of Darby. Of whom the one was the kings Confeſſor: the other was Alphonſus, who had before written a popiſhe booke agaynſt hereſies, the effect of which their reaſoning here lykewyſe followeth.

The comming of 2. Spaniſh friers to Maiſter Bradford.

Talke betwene Maiſter Bradford, and two Spaniſh Friers.

Vpon the. xv. of February, about. viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, two Spaniſh Friers came to the Counter where Bradford was priſoner: to whom Bardford was called. Then the one Frier, which was the kings Confeſſor, aſked in Latin (for all their talke was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not ſeene nor heard of one Alphonſus that had written againſt hereſies?

The talke betwene certaine friers and M. Bradford.

Brad. I doo not know him.

Confeſ. Well thys man (pointing to Alphonſus) is he. We are come to you of loue and charitye, by the meanes of the Earle of Darby, becauſe you deſired to conferre wyth vs.

This Alphonſus had written a booke before in latin, agaynſt hereſies.

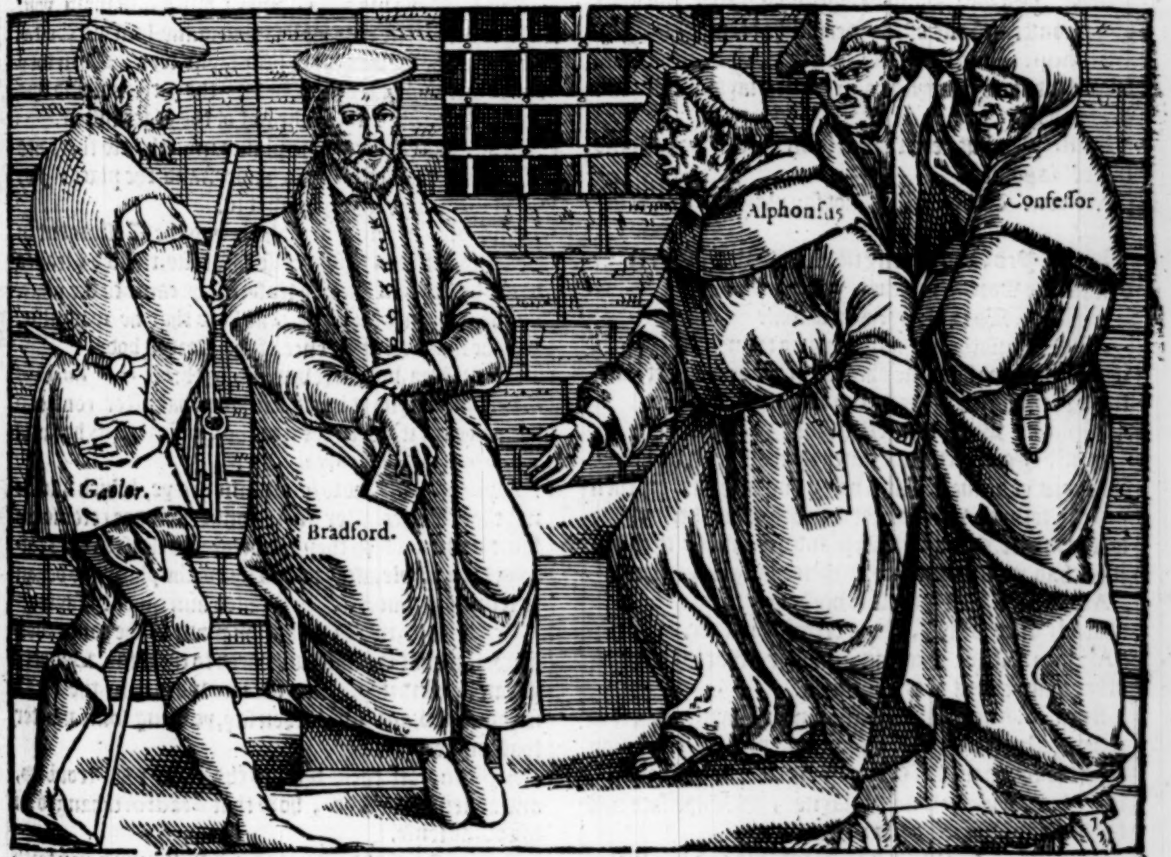
Brad. I neuer deſired your cōming, nor to conferre with you, or anye other. But ſéeing your are come of charity, as you ſay, I cannot but thanke you: and as touching conference, though I deſire it not, yet I wyll not refuſe to talke with you, if you will.

Alphon. It were requiſite that you did pray vnto God, that ye might follow ẏ direction of Gods ſpirite, that he would inſpire you ſo that ye bee not addict to your own ſelfewyll or wyt.

Brad. Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and beſought God to direct al their wyls, wordes & works, as the wils, words, and works of his children for euer.

Bradford willed to pray, maketh his prayer.

The talke betwene Maiſter Bradford, and two Spaniſh Friers.



Frier Alphonſus with hys fellow, talking with Maiſter Bradford.

Alphon. Yea, you muſt pray with your hart. For if you ſpeake but with toung onely, God will not geue you hys grace.

Brad. Syr, doo not iudge, leſt ye bee iuged. You haue heard my wordes, nowe charitye woulde haue you to leaue the iudgement of the hart to God.

Alphon. You muſt be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to your ſelfe, but as one ſtandyng in doubt: pray and bee ready to receiue what God ſhall inſpire, for in vaine laboreth our toung to ſpeake els.

Brad. Syr, my ſentence, if you meane it for religion, muſt not be in a doubting or vncertaine, as I thanke God I am certayne in that for which I am condemned: I haue no cauſe to doubt of it, but rather to bee moſt certaine of it, and therefore I pray God to confirme me more in it. For it is hys truth, and becauſe it is ſo certaine and true that it may abide the lyght, I dare be bold to haue it looked on, and conferre it with you, or any man: in reſpect whereof I am both glad of your comming, and thanke you for it.

[illegible]

Alphon. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

Brad. Sir I haue ben in priſon almoſt two yeares: I neuer tranſgreſſed any of their lawes wherefore I might iuſtly bee priſoned, and now am I condemned onely becauſe I frankely confeſſed (whereof I repent not) my fayth concerning the ſacrament, when I was demaunded in theſe ij. poyntes: one, that there is no

The cauſe why Maiſter Bradford was condemned.

ſubſtantiation:the other,that the wicked do not receiue Chriſtes body.

Alphon. Let vs looke a litle on the firſt. Do you not beleue that Chriſt is preſent really, and corporally in the forme of bread?

Chriſt preſent to the fayth of the worthy receauer.

Brad. No, I do beleue that Chriſt is preſent to the faith of the worthy receiuer, as there is preſent bread and wyne to the ſenſes and outward man: as for any ſuch preſence of includyng and placyng Chriſt, I beleue not, nor dare beleue.

Alphon. I am ſure you beleue Chriſtes naturall body is circumſcriptible. And here he made much a do of the two natures of Chriſt, how that the one is euery where, and the other is in his proper place, demaunding ſuch queſtions, as no wiſe man would haue ſpent any tyme about. At length, becauſe the Frier had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in minde of it, and thus then at length he concluded: how that becauſe Chriſtes body was circumſcriptible concerning the humane nature in heauen, therfore it was ſo in the bread.

A Spaniſh Argument. Chriſtes body is circumſcriptible in heauē: Ergo Chriſtes body is circumſcriptible in the bread.

Brad. How hangeth this together? Euen as if you ſhould ſay: becauſe you are here, Ergo it muſt nedes folow that you are at Rome. For this you reaſō: Becauſe Chriſtes body is in heauen, Ergo it is in the Sacramēt vnder the forme of bread: which no wiſe man will graunt.

Alphon. Why, will you beleue nothyng, but that which is expreſſely ſpoken in the Scriptures?

Brad. Yes Syr, I will beleue what ſoeuer you ſhall by demonſtratiō out of the Scripture declare vnto me.

Chriſt is able to do it: Ergo he doth it.

Alphon. He is obſtinate, quoth Alphonſus to his felow: and then turnyng to Bradford ſayd, is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes, but here the queſtion is of Gods wil, and not of his power.

Alphon. Why? doth he not ſay playnly, this is my body?

Brad. Yes, and I deny not but that it is ſo, to the faith of the worthy receiuer.

Alphon. To the faith? how is that?

Brad. Forſoth Syr as I haue no tounge to expreſſe it: ſo I know ye haue no eares to heare and vnderſtand it. For faith is more then man can vtter.

Alphon. But I can tell all that I beleue.

Brad. You beleue not much then. For if you beleue the ioyes of heauen, and beleue no more therof then you can tell, you will not yet deſire to come thether. For as the minde is more capable and receiuable then the mouth: ſo it conceiueth more then toung can expreſſe.

Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Alphon. Chriſt ſaith it is his body.

Quodā modo.

Brad. And ſo ſay I, after a certaine maner.

Alphon. After a certaine maner? that is, after an other maner then it is in heauen.

Auguſtinus Epiſtola ad Bonifacium.

Brad. S. Auguſtine telleth it more playnly, that it is Chriſtes body after the ſame maner as Circumciſion was the couenaunt of God, and the Sacrament of faith is faith: or, to make it more playne, as Baptiſme and the water of Baptiſme is regeneration.

Alphon. Very well ſaid. Baptiſme and the water therof is a Sacrament of Gods grace and ſpirite in the water clenſing the Baptiſed.

Argument. As grace is in the water of baptiſme ſo is the body in the Sacrament. But grace is in the water by ſignificatiō: Ergo ſo is the body in the ſacrament.

Brad. No Syr, away with your encloſing but this I graunt, that after the ſame ſort Chriſtes body is in the bread, on which ſort the grace and ſpirite of God is in the water.

Alphon. In the water is Gods grace by ſignificatiō.

Brad. So is the body in the bread in the Sacramēt.

A Popiſh diſtinction of Sacraments.

Alphon. You are much deceiued in that you make no difference betwene the Sacramentes that bee ſtanders, and the Sacramentes that are tranſitory and paſſers by. As for example, the Sacramēt of Order, which you deny, though S. Auguſtine affirme it, it is a ſtanderd, although the ceremonie be paſt. But in Baptiſme ſo ſoone as the body is waſhed, the water ceaſſeth to be a Sacrament.

Brad. Very good, & ſo it is in the Supper of the Lord: no longer then it is in vſe, is it Chriſtes Sacrament.

The fryer in a chafe.

¶ Here was this Frier in a wōderful rage, & ſpake ſo high (as often he had done before) that the whole houſe rang agayn, chafing with om and cho. He hath a great name of learnyng, but ſurely he hath litle patience. For if Bradford had bene any thing hote, one houſe could not haue held them. At the length he commeth to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper to beare any ſimilitude together. And here he triumphed before the conqueſt, ſaying that theſe men would receiue nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to proue nothyng by the Scripture.

The Sacrament of the Lordes table compared with baptiſme in the ſcripture. 1.Cor.12.

Brad. Be patient, and you ſhal ſee that by the Scripture I will find Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper coupled together.

Alphon. No, that canſt thou neuer do. Let me ſee a text of it.

Brad. Paule ſayth: *That as we are Baptiſed into one body: ſo were we* potati in vno ſpiritu: that is: *we haue dronke of one ſpirite*, meanyng of the cup in the Lordes Supper.

Alphon. Paul hath no ſuch wordes.

Bradford. Yes that he hath

Confeſ. I trow he hath not.

The fryer proued a lyer in hys owne teſtament.

Brad. Geue me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

¶ So a Prieſt that ſat by them, gaue him his Teſtament, and he ſhewed them the playne text. Then they looked one vpon an other. In fine the Friers found this ſimple ſhift, that Paul ſpake not of the Sacrament.

Brad. Well, the text is plaine inough, and there are of the fathers which doe ſo vnderſtand the place: For Chryſoſtome doth expound it ſo.

1.Cor.11.

Alphon. Alphonſus which had the Teſtament in his hand, deſirous to ſuppreſſe this foile, turned yͤ leaues of the booke from leafe to leafe, till he came to the place. 1. Corin. 11. and there he read how that he was giltie, whiche made no difference of the Lordes body.

1.Cor.10.

Brad. Yea, but therewith he ſayth: *He that eateth of the bread:* callyng it bread ſtill, and that after conſecratiō (as ye cal it) as in the x. to the Corinthians he ſaith: *The bread which we breake. &c.*

Conuerſion is mentioned, in turning *Moſes* rodde: ſo is it not in the Sacrament.

Alphon. Oh, how ignoraunt are ye, which knowe not that thinges after their conuerſion doe reteine the ſame names which they had before, as Moſes rod: & callyng for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to triumphe: but Bradford cooled him quickly, ſaying:

Moſes rod was ſene to be turned ſo is not the Sacrament.

Brad. Syr, there is mention made of the conuerſion as wel, as that the ſame appeared to the ſenſe. But here ye can not find it ſo. Find me one word how the bread is conuerted, and I will then ſay, ye bring ſome matter that maketh for you.

Alphon. At theſe wordes the Frier was troubled, and at length he ſayd, how that Bradford hanged on his owne ſenſe.

Brad. No, that do I not: for I will bryng you forth the fathers of the Church. 800. yeares after Chriſt, to confirme this which I ſpeake.

Alphon. No you haue the Church agaynſt you.

Brad. I haue not Chriſtes Church agaynſt me.

Alphon. Yes that you haue. What is the Church?

Brad. Chriſtes wife, the chayre and ſeate of veritie.

Alphonſus. Is ſhe viſible?

The church is viſible to them that haue ſpirituall eyes.

Brad. Yea that ſhe is to them that will put on the ſpectacles of Gods word to looke on her.

Alphon. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will proue by all the good Fathers from Chriſtes Aſcēſion euen for. 800. yeares at the leaſt continually.

What

Brad. What will ye ſo proue? Tranſubſtantiation?

Alphon. Yea, that the bread is turned into Chriſtes body.

Brad. You ſpeake more then ye can do.

Alphon. That do I not.

Brad. Then wyll I geue place.

Alphon. Wyll ye beleue?

Brad. Belief is Gods gift: therfore cã not I promiſe: but I tell you that I will geue place: and I hope I ſhal beleue his truth allwaies, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my Sauiour.

The Papiſtes hold that the acte of beleuing is in mans power.

Alphon. Here the Frier found a great fault wyth Bradford that he made no difference betwixt habitus, and actus: as though actus which he called credulity, had bene in our power. But this he let paſſe, and came again aſking Bradford, if he could proue it, as he ſayd, whether he would geue place.

Brad. Yea that I wil. Then called he for paper, pen and inke, to write, and then ſayd I: what and if that I proue by the teſtimony of the Fathers, that continually for .viij. hundred yeares after Chriſt at the leaſt, they did beleue that the ſubſtance of bread doth remaine in the ſacrament? what will you do?

Alphon. I wyll geue place.

Brad. Then write you here that you will geue place if I ſo proue, and I will write that I will geue place if you ſo proue: becauſe ye are the auncient, ye ſhall haue the preeminence.

The fryer refuſeth to abyde triall with Bradford.

Here the Frier fumed maruelouſly, and ſayd: I came not to learn at thee. Are not here witneſſes? (meaning the two Prieſtes) be not they ſufficient? But the man was ſo chafed, that if Bradford had not paſſed ouer this matter of writing, the Frier would haue fallen to plain ſcolding.

Confeſ. At the length the kinges Confeſſour aſked Bradford what the ſecond queſtion was?

Brad. That wicked men receiue not Chriſtes body in the ſacrament, as S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of Iudas, ẏ he recieued Panem domini, but not Panem dominum.

Alphon. Saint Auguſtine ſaith not ſo.

The fryer agaynſt hymſelf and a lyer.

Brad. Yes that doth he. So they aroſe and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.

The friers depart in a haſt from Maiſter Bradford.

A Prieſt. After they were gone, one of the Prieſtes came, and willed Bradford not to be ſo obſtinate.

Brad. Syr, be not you ſo wauering: in all the ſcripture can not you finde me, non eſt panis.

A prieſt made a lyer.

Prieſt. Yes that I can in fiue places.

Brad. Then I will eate your booke. So the booke was opened, but no place found: and he went his way ſmiling. God helpe vs.

¶ Talke betwene Maiſter Bradford and D. Weſton, and others.

Conference betwene Maiſter Bradford, and Doct. Weſton.

IT followed after this, vpon the .xxj. of the moneth of March, that by meanes of one of the Earle of Darbies men, there came to the Counter to dinner one M. Collier, once Warden of Mancheſter, and the ſayd ſeruaunt of the Earle of Darby, of whom M. Bradford learned that Doct. Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter would be with him in the after noone about two of the clocke. At dinner time, when the ſaid Warden did diſcommend king Edward, and went about to ſet forth the authoritie of the Pope, which Bradford withſtood, defending the Kinges faith, that it was catholicke, and that the authority of the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacy was vſurped, bringing forth the teſtimony of Gregorie, which affirmeth the name of ſupreame head, to be a title of the forerunner to Antichriſt: a woman priſoner was brought in, whereupon the ſayd Bradford tooke occaſion to ryſe from the table, and ſo went to his priſon chamber, to beg of God grace, and help therein, continuing there ſtill vntill hee was called downe to ſpeake with maiſter Weſton, which was then come in.

The name of ſupreme head is the forerunner to Antichriſt. Gregor.

D. Weſton commeth to M. Bradford.

Maiſter Bradford then being called downe, ſo ſoone as hee was entred into the hall, Maiſter Weſton very gently tooke him by the hand, and aſked how hee dyd, with ſuch other talke. At length he willed auoydance of the chãber: So they all went out, ſaue Maiſter Weſton him ſelfe, Maiſter Collier, the Earle of Darbyes ſeruaunt, the Subdeane of Weſtminſter, the Keeper Maiſter Clayden, and the Parſon of the church where the Counter is.

Now then hee began with M. Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to haue come vnto him, being therto deſired of the Earle of Darby: and, quoth he, after that I perceiued by his man, that you could bee contented rather to ſpeake with me, then any others: I could not but come to do you good, if I can, for hurt you be ſure I will not.

Brad. Syr, quoth M. Bradford, when I perceyued by the report of my Lords ſeruant, that you did beare me good will, more (as he ſaid) then any other of your ſort, I told him then, that therefore I could be better cõtent and more willing to talke with you, if you ſhould come vnto me. This did I ſay, quoth he: otherwyſe I deſired not your comming.

West. Well quoth he, now I am come to talke with you: but before we ſhall enter into any talke, certayne principles we muſt agree vpon, which ſhall bee thys dayes worke.

D. Weſton leſſons, ſuch as he did neuer follow hym ſelfe.

Vayne glory.

First, quoth hee, I ſhall deſire you to put away all vaine glory, and not hold any thing for the praiſe of the world.

Brad. Syr, S. Auguſtine maketh that in dede a peece of the definition of an hereticke, which if I cannot put away cleane (for I thyncke there wyll a ſpice of it remaine in vs, as long as this fleſh liueth) yet I promiſe you by the grace of God, that I purpoſe not to yeld to it. God I hope wyll neuer ſuffer it to beare rule in thẽ that ſtriue there againſt, and deſire all the dregges of it vtterly to be driuen out of vs.

Weſt. I am glad to heare you ſay ſo, although in dede I thinke you do not ſo much eſteme it as others do.

Singularitie.

Secondly, I would deſire you that you will put away ſingularitie in your iudgement and opinions.

Brad. Syr, God forbyd that I ſhould ſticke to anye ſingularitie or priuate iudgemẽt in Gods religion. Hetherto I haue not deſired it, neyther do, nor mynde at any time to hold any other doctrine then is publick and catholicke, vnderſtanding catholicke as good men do, according to Gods word.

Weſton willeth M. Bradford to put downe in writing the chiefe ground of his faith.

Weſt. Very well: this is a good daies worke, I hope to do you good: and therefore now thirdly, I ſhal pray you to write me Capita of thoſe thynges, whereupon you ſtand in ẏ Sacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and wedneſday next: vntill which tyme, yea vntill I come to you agayne, bee aſſured that you are without all perill of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore alway with all dubitations. &c.

Brad. Sir, I will wryte to you ẏ groundes I leane to in this matter. As for death, if it come welcome be it: this which you requyre of me, ſhalbe no great let to me therein.

Weſt. You know that Saint Auguſtine was a Manichean, yet was he conuerted at the length: ſo I haue good hope of you.

Brad. Sir becauſe I will not flatter you: I would you ſhoulde flatly know, that I am euen ſettled in the religion wherefore I am condemned.

Weſt. Yea, but if it bee not the truth, and if you ſee euident matter to the contrary, will not you then giue place?

Brad. God forbid, but that I ſhould allwayes gyue place to the truth.

Weſt. I would haue you to pray ſo.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirme mee in it, as I thanke God hee hath done and doth.

Weſt. Yea, but pray with a condicion, if you be in it.

Brad. No ſyr, I can not pray ſo, becauſe I am ſettled and aſſured of his truth.

Well, quoth Weſton, as the learned Biſhop anſwered S. Auguſtines mother, that though ſhe was obſtinate, yet the teares of ſuch a mother could not but winne her ſonne: ſo (quod he) I hope your prayers. (For then Bradfords eyes did ſhew that he had wept in prayer) can not but be heard of God, though not as you would yet as beſt ſhall pleaſe God. Do you not, quoth he, remember the hyſtory hereof?

Brad. Yes ſyr, quoth Bradford, I thinke it to be of Saint *A*mbroſe.

Weſt. No, that it is not. And here Weſton woulde haue layd a wager, and began to triumph, ſaying to Bradford: as you are ouerſeen herein, ſo you are in the other thinges.

Brad. Well ſyr, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) Saint Auguſtine wryteth in his confeſſions.

M.Bradford wrongfully charged with ſedition.

After this talke Weſton begon to tel M.Bradford how that the people were by him procured to withſtād the Queene.

Whereunto Bradford annſweryng agayne, bad him hang him vp as a traytour, and a theefe, if euer he encouraged any to rebellion: which thing his keeper and others that were there of the prieſtes, affirmed on his behalfe. So much talke there was to litle purpoſe at that tyme. D. Weſton declared moreouer how hee had ſaued men going in yͤ cart to be hanged, & ſuch like.

The end was this, that Bradford ſhould ſend vnto hym, capita doctrinæ of the ſupper, and after wedneſday he would come vnto hym agayne, and thus departed he after that he had dronken to hym in beare and wyne. I omit here talke of Oxford, of bookes of Germane writers, of yͤ feare of death, and ſuch other talke which are to no purpoſe.

An other diſputation or talke betwene Maiſter Bradford, and Doctor Pendleton.

An other diſceptation or talke betwene Maiſter *Bradford*, and Doctour *Pendleton*.

IN the meane tyme, when M.Bradford had written his reaſons & argumentes, & had ſent thē to D.Weſton: in ſhort ſpace after about yͤ .xxviij. of March, there came to the Counter D.Pendelton, & with him yͤ foreſayd M.Collier, ſometyme Warden of Mancheſter, and Steuen Bech. After ſalutations M.Pendleton began to ſpeake to Bradford, that he was ſory for hys trouble. &c. And further (quod hee) after that I did know you could bee content to talke wyth me, I made the more ſpeede, being as ready to doe the good and pleaſure that I can, as ye would wiſh.

Brad. Sir, the maner how I was content to ſpeake with you, was on this ſort: M. Bech was often in hād with me whom he ſhould bring vnto me, and named you amongeſt other: & I ſaid that I had rather ſpeake with you then with any of all the other. Now the cauſe why I ſo would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as farre as man might iudge) of the religion that I am of at this preſent, and I remember that you haue ſet forth the ſame earneſtly. Gladly therfore would I learne of you what thing it was that moued your conſcience to alter, and gladly would I ſee what thing it is that you haue ſeene ſythen, which you ſaw not before.

Pendelton once of the ſame religion with Maiſter *Bradford*.

Pendle. Maiſter Bradford, I doo not know wherefore you are condemned.

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation is the cauſe wherefore I am condemned, and becauſe I deny that wicked men receiue Chriſtes body: wherein I would deſyre you to ſhew me what reaſons, which before you knew not, dyd moue your conſcience now to alter. For once (as I ſayd) you were as I am in religion.

Here M.Pendleton halfe amazed, began to excuſe himſelf if it would haue ben, as though he had not denyed fully tranſubſtantitiaon in dede, although I ſayd (quoth he) that yͤ word was not in ſcripture, and ſo he made an endles tale of the thing that moued him to alter: but (ſayd he) I will gather to you the places which moued me, and ſend you them. And here hee deſyred Bradford yͭ he might haue a copy of that which he had ſent to M.Weſton: the which Bradford did promiſe hym.

Pendleton beſide the [illegible] by, not the reaſons that moued him to alter, for he had none ready to ſhew.

Some reaſoning alſo they had, whether euill men dyd receyue Chriſtes body, Bradford denying and Pendleton affirming. Bradford ſayd that they receyued not the ſpirit, ergo not the body: for it is no dead carkas. Hereto Bradford brought alſo S. Auguſtine, how Iudas receiued Panem Domini, and not Panem Dominum, and how that he muſt be in Chriſtes body, which muſt receaue the body of Chriſt. But Pendleton went about to put it away with idem, and not ad idem, and how that in corpore Chriſti was to bee vnderſtād of al that be in the viſible church with Gods elect. Bradford denyed this to be S. Auguſtines meaning, and ſaid alſo that the allegation of idem, and not ad idem could not make for that purpoſe. They talked more of tranſubſtantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Ciprian: Panis natura mutatur. &c. And Brad. ſaid that in that place natura did not ſignify ſubſtaunce. As the nature of an herbe is not the ſubſtance of it: ſo the bread chaunged in nature is not to be taken for changed in ſubſtaunce: For now it is ordayned not for the foode of the body ſimply, but rather for the ſoule. Here alſo Bradford alledged the ſentence of Gelaſius. Pendleton ſayd, that he was a Pope. Yea ſayd Bradford, but his fayth is my fayth in the ſacrament, if ye would receyue it.

Euill men receiue not Chriſtes body.

He muſt be in Chriſtes body, that muſt receiue Chriſtes body.

The place of Saint *Cyprian* expounded how the nature of bread is changed.

Cyprian expounded *by Gelaſius.*

They reaſoned alſo whether accidentia were res or no. If they be properly res, ſayd Bradford, then are they ſubſtances: and if they bee ſubſtaunces they are earthly, and then are there earthly ſubſtaunces in the ſacrament, as Irenæus ſayth, which muſt neede bee bread. But Pendleton ſayd that the colour was the earthly thyng, and called it an accidentall ſubſtance.

Pendelton driuen to ſay that accidences be ſubſtance.

I omitte the talke they had of my Lorde of Cant. of Peter Martyrs booke, of Pendletons letter layd to Bradfords charge when hee was condemned, with other talke more of the church: whether Dic Eccleſiæ was ſpoken of the vniuerſall church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length graunted to be ſpoken of a particular church): alſo of vaine glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of, and ſuch like talke. A litle before his departing, Bradford ſayd thus: Maiſter Doctor, as I ſaid to M. Weſton the laſte day, ſo ſay I vnto you againe, that I am the ſame man in religion againſt tranſubſtantiation ſtyll, which I was when I came into priſon: for hetherto I haue ſeene nothing in any point to infirme me. At which wordes Pendleton was ſomething moued, and ſayd that it was no catholicke doctrine. Yes, quoth Bradford, and that wyll I proue euen by the teſtimonie of the catholicke fathers vntill Concilium Lateranenſe, or theraboutes. Thus Pendleton went his way, ſaying that he would come oftener to Bradford. God our father be with vs all, and geue vs the ſpirite of his truth for euer, Amen.

Of this letter, read before Pag.1788.

Bradford could haue no reaſon of the Papiſtes to infirme his opinion againſt tranſubſtantiation.

The ſame day in the after noone, about fiue of the clocke, came M.Weſton to Bradford: and after gentle ſalutations, he deſired the company euery man to depart, and ſo they two ſat downe. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writyng vnto him, he pulled out of his boſome the ſame wrytyng, which Bradford had ſent him. The wrytyng is this that foloweth.

Certaine reaſons agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation gathered by Iohn Bradford, and geuen to Doctour Weſton and others.

1. THat which is former (ſayth Tertullian) is true: that which is latter is falſe. But the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Coūcell of Laterane, about.1215. yeares after Chriſtes commyng, vnder Pope Innocentius

Tranſubſtantiation not brought into the church before the yeare.1215. by Pope *Innocentius*.3.

tius the third of that name. For before that tyme it was free for all men to beleue it or not beleue it, as the Byſhop of Dureſme doth witneſſe in his booke of the preſence of Chriſt in his Supper lately put forth: Ergo the Doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is falſe.

2. That the wordes of Chriſtes Supper be figuratiue, the circumſtãces of the Scripture, the Analogie or proportion of the Sacramẽtes, & the ſentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the ſpace of one thouſãd yeares after Chriſtes Aſcenſion, do teach: whereupon it foloweth, that there is no tranſubſtantiation.

Three reaſons prouing the wordes of the Lordes ſupper to be figuratiue. 1 Circumſtaunces of Scripture. 2 Proportion of Sacramentes. 3 Teſtimony of old Doctors.

3. That the Lord gaue to his Diſciples bread & called it his body, yͤ very ſcriptures do witneſſe. For he gaue that & called it his body which he tooke in his handes, whereon he gaue thankes, which alſo he brake, and gaue to his Diſciples, that is to ſay, bread, as the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, and all the reſidue which are of antiquitie, do affirme: but in as much as the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne is an other thing then the ſubſtãce of the body and bloud of Chriſt, it playnly appeareth that there is no tranſubſtantiation.

4. The bread is no more trãſubſtantiate then the wyne: but that the wyne is not tranſubſtantiate, S. Mathew, and S. Marke do teach vs: for they witneſſe that Chriſt ſayd that hee would drinke no more of the fruite of the vine, which was not bloud but wyne: and therfore it foloweth, yͭ there is no tranſubſtãtiation. Chryſoſtome vpõ Mathew and S. Cyprian do confirme this reaſon.

The wyne is not tranſubſtantiate: Ergo neither the bread.

5. As the bread in the Lordes Supper is Chriſtes naturall body, ſo is it his myſtical body: for the ſame ſpirite that ſpake of it: This is my body, dyd ſay alſo: for we many are one bread, one body. &c. but now it is not the myſticall body by tranſubſtantiation, and therfore it is not his naturall body by tranſubſtantiation.

The ſame ſpirit which ſayth: Thys is my body: ſayth alſo: We many are one bread and one body. &c.

6. The wordes ſpoken ouer the cup in S. Luke and Paul, are not ſo mighty and effectuall as to tranſubſtantiate it: For then it or that which is in it ſhould bee tranſubſtantiate into the new Teſtament: therfore the wordes ſpoken ouer the bread are not ſo mighty as to make tranſubſtantiation.

The wordes do not tranſubſtantiate the cuppe into the new teſtament: Ergo neyther the bread into the body.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with thoſe Churches which be Apoſtolicke, mother Churches, or originall Churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which theſe Churches receiued of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of God. But it is manifeſt that the doctrine taught at this preſẽt of the Church of Rome, concernyng tranſubſtantiation, doth not agree with the Apoſtolicke & mother Churches in Grece, of Corinthus, of Philippos, Coloſſia, Theſſalonica, Epheſus, which neuer taught tranſubſtantiation: yea it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in tymes paſte. For Gelaſius the Pope ſettyng forth the doctrine which that ſea did then hold, doth manifeſtly confute the errour of tranſubſtantiation, and reproueth them of ſacrilege which diuide the miſtery, and kepe from the Layty the cup: Therfore the doctrine of tranſubſtãtiation agreeth not with the truth.

The doctrine of the church of Rome for tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the Apoſtles church, nor with the Greke churches, nor with the old Romaine church.

This was the wrytyng which Weſton pulled out of his boſome: & yet before he began to read it, he ſhewed Bradford that he aſked of his conuerſation at Cambridge ſithen his laſt beyng with him: and (quoth he) M. Bradford, becauſe you are a man not geuen to the glory of the world, I will ſpeake it before your face: Your life I haue learned was ſuch there alwayes, as al men, euen the greateſt enemies you haue, can not but prayſe it, and therfore I loue you much better then euer I did: but now I will read ouer your argumentes, and ſo we will conferre them. Such they are, that a mã may well perceiue you ſtand on conſcience, and therfore I am yͤ more ready & glad to pity you. So he began to read the firſt: to the which he ſayd, that though the word tranſubſtãtiation began but lately: yet the thyng alwayes was, and hath bene ſithen Chriſtes inſtitutiõ.

Brad. I do not contend or hang vpon the word onely, but vpon the thing which is as new as the word.

Weſt. Then went he to the ſecond, & there brought out S. Auguſtine, how that if an euill man going to the deuill did make his will, hys ſonne and heire woulde not ſay his father did lye in it, or ſpeake tropically: much more Chriſt going to God, did neuer lie or vſe any figuratiue ſpeech in his laſt wyll and teſtament. Do you not remẽber this place of S. Auguſtine, ſayd he?

The wordes of Auſten falſely handled by Weſton.

Brad. Yes Syr, but I remember not that S. Auguſtine hath thoſe wordes tropicè, or figuratiuè, as you rehearſe them: for any man may ſpeake a thing figuratiuely, and lye not: and ſo Chriſt dyd in his laſt ſupper.

Weſt. After this he went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of the bread is turned into fleſh. Here (ſayth he) my Lord of Canterbury expoũdeth nature for qualitie, by Gelaſius: the which interpretation ſerueth for yͤ aunſwere of your third argument, that Chriſt called bread hys body: that is, the quality, forme, and appearance of bread. And further, the ſcripture is wont to call things by the ſame names which they had before, as Simon the Leaper: he was not ſo preſently, but becauſe he had bene ſo.

Simon though he were called the leper, yet he was ſene to be no leper. But bread is ſeene ſtill to be bread: and therefore hath his name not of that it was, but of that it is.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before Gelaſius: therefore Cyprian muſt not expound Gelaſius, but Gelaſius Cyprian: and ſo they both teach that bread remayneth ſtyll. As for thinges hauing ſtyll the names they had, is no aunſwer, except you could ſhewe that this nowe were not bread, as eaſily as a man might haue knowen and ſeene then Simon to haue bene healed and cleare from his Leproſie.

Cyprian expounded by *Gelaſius.*

Weſt. After this he went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he dyd not fully read, but digreſſed into a long talke of Cyprians Epiſtle De Aquarijs: alſo of S. Auguſtine, expounding the breakyng of bread by Chriſt to his two Diſciples going to Emaus, to be the Sacrament, with ſuch other talke to no certaine purpoſe: and therefore Bradford prayed hym, that in as much as he had written the reaſons that ſtabliſhed his fayth agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo hee would lykewyſe do to hym, that is, aunſwer him by writing, and ſhew hym moe reaſons in writing to confirme Tranſubſtantiation. Which Doctor Weſton promiſed to doo, and ſaid that he would ſend or bring it to Bradford agayne within three dayes.

Weſton required to write his reaſons.

Thus when he had ouer read the argumentes, and here and there ſpoken litle to the purpoſe for the auoiding of them, & Bradford had prayed him to geue hym in writing his aunſwers: then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to feare any reproch or ſclaunder hee ſhoulde ſuffer, meanyng belike, to haue Bradford ſecretly come to them, as Grimoald did: for he ſubſcribed.

Grimoald ſubſcribed.

Brad. Maiſter Deane, I would not gladly that you ſhould conceiue of me that I paſſe of ſhame of men ſimply in this matter: I rather would haue you to thinke of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I haue not ſeene nor heard any thing to infirme my fayth agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo I am no leſſe ſetled in it, then I was at my comming hyther. I loue to bee playne wyth you, and to tell you at the firſt, as you ſhall finde at the laſt.

M. Bradfor playne and firme in confes ſion of the truth.

Weſt. In good fayth Maiſter Bradford, I loue you the better for your plainnes: and do not thinke otherwyſe of me, but that you ſhal finde me plaine in all my talke wyth you.

Here Weſton began to aſke Bradford of his impriſonment and condemnation: and ſo Bradford told him altogether, how he had bene handled. Whereat Weſton ſeemed to wonder: yea in playne wordes hee ſayd, that Bradford had bene handled otherwyſe then he had geuen cauſe, and ſo ſhewed Bradford howe that my Lord of Bath reported that he had deſerued a benefit at the Queenes hand, and at all the Counſell. In this kinde of talke they ſpent an houre almoſt, and ſo as one weery, Bradford aroſe vp, and Weſton called to the Keeper, & before hym he bad Bradford be of good cõfort, & ſayd that he was out of all perill of death.

Keeper. Syr (quoth the Keeper) but it is in euery mans mouth that he ſhall dye to morow.

Weſt. Whereat Weſton ſeemed halfe amazed, and ſayd he would go ſay Euenſong before the Queene, and

The vaine promiſe of *Weſton.*

ſpeake to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought, that yͤ Queene had almoſt ſupped at that preſent: for it was paſt ſixe of the clocke.

Brad. Before the keper, Bradford told Weſton agayne, that ſtyll he was one man: and euen as he was at the firſt, and tyll he ſhould ſee matter to teach his conſcience the contrary, he ſaid he muſt nedes ſo continue.

Keeper. The keeper deſired Bradford to harken to maiſter Doctors counſel, and prayed maiſter Doctor to be good vnto him: and ſo after they had dronke together, Maiſter Doctor with moſt gentle wordes toke hys leaue for three dayes.

Now, when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that Maiſter Doctour ſpake openly, how that hee ſaw no cauſe why they ſhould burne him. Which ſentence for the ambiguitie of the meanyng, made him ſomewhat ſory leſt hee had behaued him ſelfe in any thyng, wherein hee had gathered any conformablenes to them in their doctrine, which God knoweth, ſayth Bradford, I neuer as yet did. God our father bleſſe vs, as his children, and keepe vs from all euill for euer, Amen.

An other talke or conference betwene Maiſter Bradford, and Doctour Weſton.

An other talke or conference betwene M. Bradford, and Doctour *Weſton.*

Vpon the fifth day of April came Maiſter D. Weſton to yͤ Counter about two of the clocke in the afternone, who excuſed him ſelfe for being ſo long abſent: partly by ſickenes, partly for that D. Pendleton tolde him that he would come vnto him, and partly for that (quoth hee) I withſtoode certayne Monckes, which would haue come agayne into Weſtminſter: telling him moreouer how that the Pope was dead, and alſo declared vnto him how he had ſpoken to the Queene in his behalfe, and howe that death was not neare vnto hym.

D.Weſton withſtandeth the Monkes comming into Weſt minſter.

West. Laſt of all, he excuſed him ſelfe for not aunſweryng hys argumentes againſt tranſubſtantiation: becauſe my comming to day (quoth hee) was more by fortune then of purpoſe.

Brad. I would gladly M. Doctor, if it pleaſe you, ſee your aunſweres to my argumentes.

Weſt. Why, you haue remembred ſome thing what I ſpake to you when I was laſt with you.

Bradfordes arguments not anſwered.

Brad. No Sir I neuer called thē in maner to mynd, ſythen that tyme, as well becauſe I hoped you would haue written them: as alſo for that they ſeemed not to be ſo materiall.

Weſt. In good fayth I can not ſee any other or better way for you, then for to ſubmit your ſelfe to the iudgement of the Church.

Brad. Mary ſo I will Sir, if ſo be by the church you vnderſtand Chriſtes church.

The Papiſtes will not haue theyr church iudged.

Weſt. Lo, you take vppon you to iudge the church.

Brad. No Sir that do I not: in takyng vpon mee to diſcerne, I do not iudge the church.

Weſt. Yes that you do, and make it inuiſible.

Brad. I do neither.

Weſt. Why, who can ſee your church?

Brad. Thoſe Sir, that haue ſpirituall eyes, wherwith they might haue diſcerned Chriſtes viſible conuerſation heare vpon earth.

The church is viſible but only to ſpirituall eyes.

Weſt. Nay, Chriſtes church hath three tokens, that all men may looke well vpon: namely, vnitie, antiquity, and conſent.

Unitie. Antiquitie. Conſent.

Brad. Theſe three, may be as well in euil as in good, as well in ſin as in vertue, as well in the deuils church as in Gods church: As for enſample, Idolatry amongſt the Iſraelites had all thoſe three. Chryſoſtome telleth playnly, as you well know, that the Church is well knowen, Tantummodo per ſcripturas, *alonely by the ſcriptures.*

Unitie, Antiquitie, Conſent, as well common to the deuils church, as to Chriſtes church.

Weſt. In good fayth, you make your church inuiſible when you wyll haue it knowen alonely by the ſcriptures.

Brad. No Sir the ſcriptures do playnly ſet foorth to vs the church, that all men may well ynough thereby know her, if they liſt to looke.

Weſt. The church is lyke a Tower or towne vpon a hyll, that all men may ſe.

Brad. True Sir, all men that bee not blynd. Viſible ynough is the church, but mens blyndnes is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that which is to be imputed to mens blyndnes.

Why the church is not ſeene.

Weſt. Where was your church forty yeares agoe? or where is it nowe? except in a corner of Germany.

Weſton commeth in agayne with hys Antiquity.

Brad. Forſooth Sir the church of Chriſt is diſperſed, & not tyed to this or that place, but to the word of God: ſo that where it is, there is Gods church, if it be truely taught.

The church tyed to no place but to the word.

Weſt. Loe is not this to make the church inuiſible? Point me out a realme a hundreth yeares paſt, which mayntaned your doctrine.

Brad. Syr if you wyl, or would well marke the ſtate of the church before Chriſtes commyng, with it now, (as S. Paule and Peter wylleth vs) I thinke you would not looke for ſuch ſhewes of the church to bee made, as to poynt it by realmes. You know that in Helias time both in Iſraell, and els where, Gods Church was not poyntable: and therefore cryed he out that he was left alone.

The church is not alwayes to be poynted out by realmes and countreyes.

The church in *Helias* time was not poyntable.

Weſt. No mary, dyd not God ſay, that there was 7000. which had not bowed their knees to Baal? Loe then. 7000. ſhew me ſeuen thouſand a hūdreth yeares ago of your religion.

Brad. Syr theſe 7000. were not knowen to men, for then Helias would not haue ſayd, that he had bene before left alone. And this is playne ynough by that which the text hath, namely, yͭ God ſaith Reliqui mihi, I haue reſerued to me 7000. Marke that it ſayth, God had reſerued to hym ſelfe, to his owne knowledge, as I doubt not but a hundreth yeares agoe God had hys 7000. in hys proper places, though men knew not therof.

God ſaw the church *in Helias,* although *Helias* him ſelfe did not ſee it: and ſo is it now.

Weſt. Well M. Bradford I wyll not make your caſe worſe, then for tranſubſtantiation, although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it your ſelfe not worſe. If I can do you good I will: hurt you, I will not. I am no Prince, and therfore I cā not promiſe life, except you will ſubmit your ſelfe to the diffinition of the church.

Brad. Syr, ſo that you will define me your Church, that vnder it you bring not in a falſe Church: you ſhall not ſee but that we ſhall ſoone be at a poynt.

Weſt. In good fayth M. Bradford, I ſee no good will be done, and therfore I will wiſh you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchaunce come or ſend to you agayne, and ſo he ſent for M. Weale and departed.

Now after his departyng, came yͤ keeper M. Claydō, and Steuen Bech, and they were very hoate with M. Bradford & ſpake vnto hym in ſuch ſort that he ſhould not looke but to haue them vtter enemyes vnto hym, notwithſtandyng the frendſhyp they both had hetherto pretended. God be with vs, and what matter is it who be agaynſt vs.

Among diuers which came to Maiſter Bradford in priſon, ſome to diſpute and confer, ſome to geue counſell, ſome to take comfort, and ſome to viſit hym, there was a certaine Gentlewomans ſeruant, which Gentlewoman had bene cruelly afflicted and miſerably hād led by her father and mother and all her kindred, in her fathers houſe, for not comming to the Maſſe, and lyke at length to haue bene purſued to death, had not the Lord deliuered her out of her fathers houſe, being put from all that euer ſhe had. This Gentlewomans Seruant therefore being ſent to Maiſter Bradford wyth recommendations, had this talke with him, which I thought here not to ouerſlyp.

This Gentlewoman is yet aliue, to whom M. *Bradford* wrote a letter which hereafter followeth.

A Col-

Queene Mary. 1555. July.

Talke betwene M. Bradford and a certayne Gentlewomans ſeruaunt.

A colloquie betwene M.Bradford & a Gentlewomans ſeruaunt, being ſent to viſit him in priſon.

THis Seruant or meſſenger of the foreſayd Gentlewoman cōming to Maiſter Bradford, and taking hym by the hand ſayd: God be thanked for you. How doe you?

Brad. Maiſter Bradford aunſwered: Wel I thāke God. For as mē in ſayling, which be neare to the ſhore or hauen where they would be, would be nearer: euen ſo the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Seruant. Syr, I haue neuer ſeene you ſo ſtrong and healthſome of body, as me thinke you be now, God be thanked for it.

Brad. Why quoth he, I haue geuen ouer al care and ſtudy, and onely do I couet to be talking with him, whō I haue alwayes ſtudied to be withall.

Seru. Well, God hath done much for you, ſince the tyme that I firſt knew you, and hath wrought wonderouſly in you, to hys glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath delt fauourably wyth me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my ſinnes, but hath ſuffered me to lyue, that I myght ſeeke repentaunce.

Seru. Truly we heare ſay there is a rod made ſo greuous, out of the which I thinke no man ſhall plucke hys head.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Chriſtes flocke, arme them ſelues to ſuffer, for I thinke verely, God wyll not haue one of hys to eſcape vntouched, if he loue him, let them ſeeke what meanes or wayes they can.

By thys tyme, he meaneth Alphōſus mentioned before pag.1705.

Seru. Well Sir, there goeth a talke of a Frier that ſhould preach before the King, and ſhoulde tell hym that he ſhould be gilty of the innocent bloud that hath bene ſhed of late.

Brad. Verely, quoth Bradford, I had a booke wyth in theſe two dayes of hys writing, and therin he ſaith that it is not meete nor conuenient that the heretickes ſhould lyue: and therefore I haue maruell how that talke ſhould riſe, for I haue heard of it alſo, and I haue alſo talked with this Frier (he is named Frier Fonſe) and with diuers other, and I prayſe God they haue cōfirmed me: for they haue nothing to ſay but that which is moſt vayne.

Alphōſus otherwiſe called in the vulgar ſpeach Frier Fonſe.

Seru. Syr, Father Cardmaker hath hym commended vnto you.

Brad. How doth he? how doth he?

Seru. Well, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad thereof: for in deede my lord Chauncellour did caſt * him in my teeth, but as Dauid ſayth, God hath diſapointed him.

*Of this, read Pag. 1784.

Seru. Forſooth, Gods name be prayſed, hee is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt ſo are we. What els? our quarell is moſt iuſt: therefore let vs not bee afeard.

Seru. My Maiſtres hath her recōmended vnto you.

Brad. How doth ſhe?

Seru. Well, God be prayſed, but ſhe hath bene ſorer afflicted with her own father and mother, then euer you were with your impriſonment, and yet God hath preſerued her, I truſt, to hys glory.

Brad. I pray you tell her, I red this day a goodly hiſtory written by Baſilius Magnus of a vertuous woman which was a widdow, and was named Iuleddo. She had great landes, and many childrē, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, which for her vertuouſnes and godly liuing had great indignation at her, and of verye malice he tooke away her landes, ſo that ſhee was conſtrained to go to the law with him: and in concluſion the matter came to the tryal before the Iudge, who demaunded of this Tirant why he wrongfully withheld theſe landes from this woman. Hee made aunſwere and ſayd: he might ſo do, for (ſayth he) this woman is diſobedient to the kinges proceedinges: for ſhe wyll in no wyſe worſhip hys Gods, nor offer ſacrifice vnto them. Then the Iudge hearing that, ſayde vnto her: Woman, if this be true, thou art not onely like to loſe thy land, but alſo thy lyfe, vnles that thou worſhyp our Gods, and do ſacrifice vnto them. This godly woman hearing that, ſtept me forth to the Iudge and ſayd: Is ther no remedy, but either to worſhip your falſe gods, or els to loſe my landes and lyfe? then farewell ſuite, farewell landes, farewell children, farewell frendes, yea and farewell lyfe to: and in reſpect of the true honor of the euerliuing God, farewell all. And with that ſaying dyd the Iudge commit her to priſon, and afterward ſhe ſuffered moſt cruel death: and being brought to the place of execution, ſhe exhorted all women to be ſtrong and conſtant. For (ſayth ſhee) ye were redeemed with as deare a price as men. For although ye were made of the ryb of the man, yet be you alſo of hys fleſh: ſo that alſo in the caſe and triall of your fayth towardes God, ye ought to be as ſtrong. And thus dyed ſhe conſtantly, not fearyng death. I pray you tel your Maiſtres of thys hiſtory.

A ſtory of a Chriſtian woman and Martyr in the primitiue Church named Iuledda. Ex. Baſil.

Example of Iuledda Martyr.

Seru. That ſhall I Syr by Gods grace: for ſhe told me that ſhe was with you and M.Saunders, and receiued your gentle counſell.

Brad. We neuer gaue her other counſell but the truth, & in wytnes thereof we haue & will ſeale it wyth our bloudes. For I thought this night that I had bene ſent for, because at a.xj. of the clocke there was ſuch rapping at the doore.

Then aunſwered a Mayde and ſayd: why then I perceyue you were afrayde.

Brad. Ye ſhall heare howe fearefull I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was a ſleepe, theſe men came into the next chamber, and ſang, as it was told me, and yet for all my fearefulnes I heard them not: therefore belyke I was not afrayd, that ſlept ſo faſt.

M. Bradford nothing afrayd of death.

It may be that this noyſe was ſent in of purpoſe by the B. to keepe Bradford from ſleepe.

Seru. Do you lacke any thing toward your neceſſities?

Brad. Nothing but your praiers, and I truſt I haue them, and you myne.

Seru. I ſaw a Prieſt come to you to day in the morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a letter from a Friar, and I am writing an aunſwer.

Seru. Then we let you, therefore the liuing God be with you.

Brad. And wyth you alſo, and bleſſe you.

Seru. Amen ſayd we, and gaue hym thankes, and departed.

THus ſtill in priſon continued Bradford, vntill the moneth of Iuly, in ſuch labours & ſuffringes as he before alwayes had ſuſtained in priſon. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was ſodeinly conueyed out of the Coūter where he was priſoner, in the night ſeaſon to Newgate as afore is declared, & frō thence he was caryed the next mornyng to Smithfield, where he conſtantly abidyng in the ſame truth of God, which before hee had confeſſed, earneſtly exhortyng the people to repent and to returne to Chriſt, and ſweetely comfortyng the godly young ſpringall of xix. or xx. yeares old, which was burned with him, cherefully he ended his painfull life, to liue with Chriſt.

M. Bradford had from the Counter to Newgate by night.

John Leafe hurnt with M. Bradford.

WIth whō alſo was burnt one John Leafe, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy Tallow Chaundelour, of the Pariſh of Chriſtes Church in London, of the age of xix. yeares & aboue, borne at Kirkeby moreſide, in the County of Yorke: who vpō the Friday next before Palme Sonday was committed to the Counter in Bredſtreete by an Aldermā of London, who had rule and charge of that Warde or part of the City, where the ſayd Leafe did dwell. After, he commyng to examination before Boner, gaue a firme and Chriſtian teſtimonie

Iohn Leafe felow Martyr with Maiſter Bradford.

Iohn Leafe of the pariſh of Chriſt church, by the Alderman of that ward committed to priſon.

monie of his doctrine and profeſſion, aunſweryng to ſuch Articles as were obiected to him by ẏ ſayd biſhop.

Iohn Leafe examined before Biſhop Boner.

The Aunſweres of Iohn Leafe concerning his fayth in the Sacrament.

Firſt, as touchyng his belief and fayth in the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, hee aunſwered that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt ouer the bread and wyne, there was not the very true & naturall body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtaunce: and further did hold & beleue that the said Sacramēt of the altar, as it is now called, vſed, and beleued in this Realme of Englād, is idolatrous and abominable: and alſo ſayd further that he beleued, that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt ouer the materiall bread and wyne, there is not the ſelfe ſame ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud there conteined, but bread and wyne as it was before: and further ſayd, that he beleued, that when the Prieſt deliuereth the ſayd materiall bread and wyne to the communicantes, he deliuereth but onely *materiall bread and wyne, and the Communicantes do receiue the ſame in remēbraunce of Chriſtes death and paſſion, and ſpiritually in fayth they receiue Chriſtes body and bloud, but not vnder the formes of bread and wyne: and alſo affirmed that he beleued auricular confeſſion not to be neceſſary to be made vnto a Prieſt, for it is no point of ſoule health, neither that the Prieſt hath any authoritie geuen hym by the Scripture to abſolue and remit any ſinne.

*Onely as touching the ſubſtance, but not as concerning the effect thereof.

Auricular confeſſion.

He meaneth after the Popiſh maner of remitting. &c.

Upon theſe hys aunſweres and teſtimonie of hys fayth, he at that tyme beyng diſmiſſed, was bid the Mōday next beyng the .x. of Iune to appeare agayne in the ſayd place, there and then to heare the ſentence of hys condemnation: who ſo did. At what tyme the foreſayd Byſhop propoūdyng ẏ ſayd Articles agayne to him as before, aſſaying by all maner of wayes to reuoke hym to his owne trade, that is frō truth to errour, notwithſtandyng all his perſuaſions, threates, and promiſes, found hym the ſame man ſtill ſo planted vpon the ſure rocke of truth, that no wordes nor deedes of men could remoue hym.

Then the Byſhop after many wordes to and fro, at laſt aſked him, if he had bene M. Rogers ſcholler? To whom the foreſayd Iohn Leafe aunſwered agayne, grauntyng hym ſo to be: and that he the ſame Iohn did beleue in the doctrine of the ſayd Rogers, and in the doctrine of Byſhop Hoper, Cardmaker, and other of their opinion, which of late were burned for the teſtimony of Chriſt, & that he would dye in that doctrine that they died for: And after other replications agayne of the Byſhop, mouyng him to returne to the vnitie of the Church, he with a great courage of ſpirite aunſwered agayne in theſe wordes: My Lord, quoth he, you call mine opinion hereſie: it is ẏ true light of the word of God: and agayne repetyng ẏ ſame, he profeſſed that he would neuer forſake his ſtayed and well grounded opinion, while the breath ſhould be in his body. Wherupon the Byſhop beyng to weake either to refute hys ſentence, or to remoue his conſtancy, proceded conſequently to read the Popiſh ſentence of cruell condemnation, whereby this godly and conſtant young man beyng committed to the ſecular power of the Shriffes there preſent, was then adiudged, and not long after ſuffered the ſame day with M. Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in hys lyfe.

Iohn Leafe M. Rogers ſcholler.

Sentence red agaynſt Iohn Leafe.

It is reported of ẏ ſayd Iohn Leafe, by one that was in the Counter the ſame tyme and ſaw the thyng, that after his examinations before the Byſhop, whē ij. Bils were ſent vnto hym in the Counter in Bredſtreet, the one conteinyng a recantation, the other his confeſſiōs, to know to which of them he would put to his hād, firſt hearyng the Bill of the recantation red vnto hym (becauſe he could not read nor write hym ſelfe) that he refuſed. And when the other was red vnto hym, which he well lyked of, in ſtead of a penne he tooke a pynne, and ſo prickyng hys hand, ſprinckled the bloud vppon the ſayd Bill, willyng the reader thereof to ſhew the Biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame Bill with his bloud already.

Iohn Leafe ſealed the bil of his confeſſions with his bloud.

¶The behauiour of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and the young man that ſuffred with him in Smithfield, named Iohn Leafe a prentiſe, whiche both ſuffred for the teſtimony of Chriſt.

FIrſt, when they came to the ſtake in Smithfield to be burned, M Bradford lying proſtrate on the one ſide of the ſtake, and the young man Iohn Leafe on the other ſide, they lay flatte on theyr faces, praying to thē ſelues the ſpace a minute of an houre. Then one of the Shriffes ſayd to M. Bradford: ariſe and make an ende; for the preaſe of the people is great.

Bradford and Iohn Leafe at the ſtake how they behaued thēſelues.

At that word they both ſtode vp vpon theyr feete: and then M. Bradford tooke a Fagot in his hād, and kiſſed it, and ſo likewiſe the ſtake. And when he had ſo done, he deſired of the Shriffes that his ſeruannt might haue his rayment. For (ſayd he) I haue nothyng els to geue hym: and beſides that, he is a poore man. And the Shyriffe ſayd, he ſhould haue it. And ſo forthwith M. Bradford did put of his rayment, & went to the ſtake: and holdyng vp his handes, & caſtyng vp his countenaunce to heauen, he ſayd thus: *O England, England, repent thee of thy ſinnes, repent thee of thy ſinnes. Beware of Idolatry, beware of falſe Antichriſtes: take heede they do not deceiue you.* And as he was ſpeakyng theſe wordes, the Shriffe bad tye hys handes, if he would not be quyet. O Maiſter Shiriffe (ſayd M. Bradford) I am quyet: God forgeue you this, Maiſter Shiriffe. And one of the Officers which made the fire, hearyng M. Bradford ſo ſpeakyng to the Shyriffe, ſayd: if you haue no better learnyng then that, you are but a foole, and were beſt to holde your peace. To the which wordes M. Bradford gaue no aunſwere: but aſked all the world forgeuenes, and forgaue all the world, and prayed the people to pray for hym, and turned his head vnto the yoūg man that ſuffred with hym, and ſayd: bee of good comfort brother, for we ſhall haue a mery ſupper with the Lord this night: and ſo ſpake no more wordes that any man dyd heare, but embracing the reedes ſayd thus: *Straite is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternall ſaluation, and fewe there bee that finde it.*

The wordes of Mayſter Bradford to England.

The ſaying of M. Bradford at hys death.

And thus they both ended their mortall lyues, moſt lykeſt ẏ Lābes, without any alteration of their coūtenaunce, beyng voyde of all feare, hoping to obtayne the price of the game that they had long runne at: to the which I beſech almightie God happely to conduct vs through the merites of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour, Amen.

TOuchyng M. Wodroffe the Shrieffe, mention is made a litle before, how churliſhly here he aunſwered M. Bradford at the ſtake, not ſufferyng hym to ſpeake, but commaundyng hys handes to be tyed. &c. The lyke extremity or worſe he vſed alſo before to M. Rogers: wherof ye haue heard before, pag. 1664.

A notable example of Gods hand vpon M. Wodroffe.

The ſayd Wodroffe Shrieffe aboue mentioned, was ioyned in office with an other, called Syr William Cheſter, for the yeare. 1555. Betwene theſe two Shiriffes ſuch difference there was of Iudgement and Religion, that the one, that is, M. Wodroffe, was wont commonly to laughe, the other to ſheede teares at the death of Chriſtes people. And where as the other was wont to reſtrayne and to beate the people, which were deſirous to take them by the handes that ſhould bee burned: the other Shrieffe contrarywiſe agayne with much ſorow & midlnes behaued hym ſelfe, which I wiſh here to be ſpoken and knowen to the cōmendatiō of hym, although I do not greatly know the partic.

Sir Williā Cheſter commended.

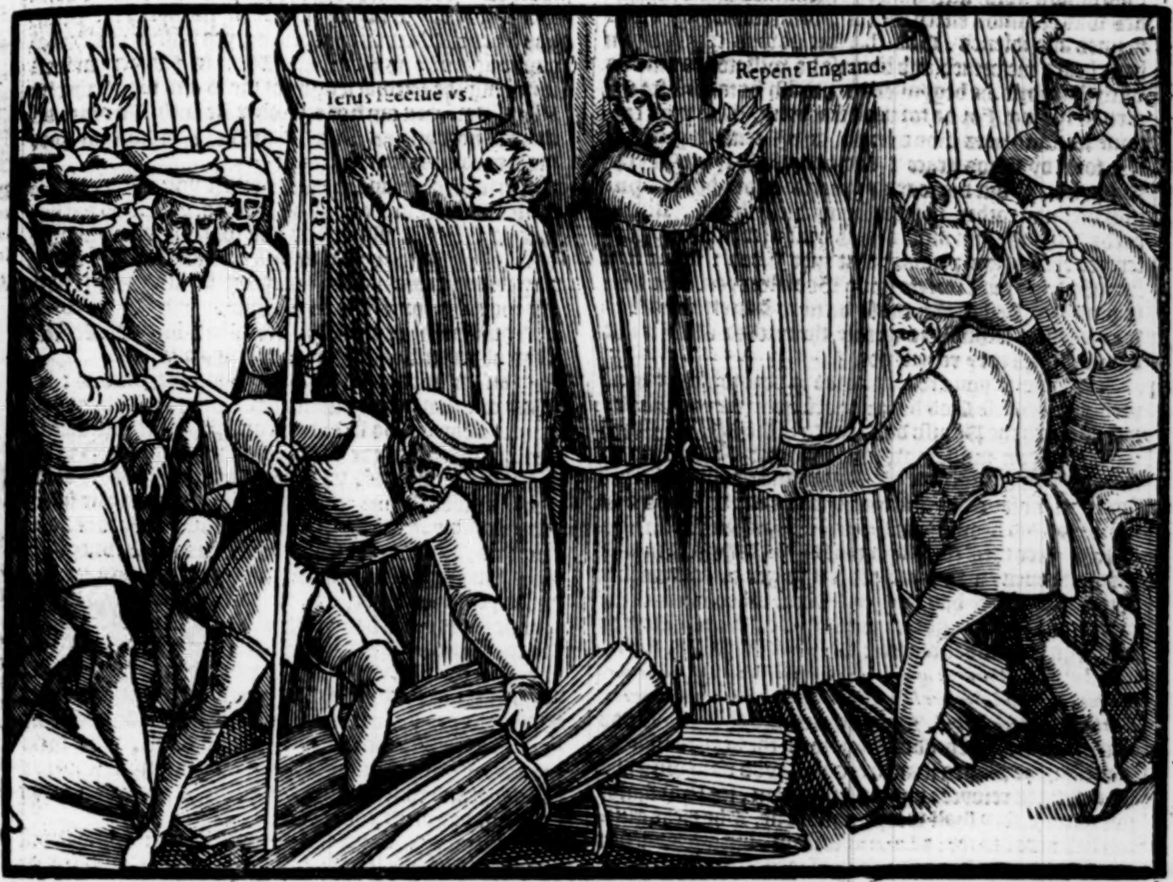
Difference betwene the Shiriffes, Maiſter Cheſter, and M. Wodroffe.

Furthermore here by the way to note the ſeuere puniſhmēt of Gods hand agaynſt the ſayd Wodroffe, as agaynſt all other ſuch cruell perſecuters, ſo it happened, that within halfe a yeare after the burnyng of this bleſſed Martyr, the ſayd Shrieffe was ſo ſtriken

Queene Mary. 1555. Iuly.

on the right ſide with ſuch a palſie, or ſtrocke of Gods had whatſoeuer it was, that for ÿ ſpace of vij. yeres after, till his dying day, he was not able to turne hym ſelf in hys bed, but as ij. men wt a ſhete were fayne to ſtyrre hym: and withall ſuch an inſaciable deuouryng came vpon hym, that it was monſtrous to ſee. And thus continued he the ſpace of vij. yeares together.

The deſcription of the burnyng of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and Iohn Leafe a Prentiſe.


Ieſus receiue vs.
Repent England.

The Martyrdome of *M. Iohn Bradford* Preacher, & *Iohn Leafe* a Prentice, in Smithfield. An. 1555. Iuly. 1.

In mortem Iohannis Bradfordi conſtantiſſ. Martyris.

Epitaphiũ in Ioan. Bradfordũ per Ioan. Frierum.

Diſcipulo nulli ſupra licet eſſe magiſtrum:
  Quiq; Deo ſeruit, triſtia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem:
  Ad cælum ſtricta eſt difficiliſq; via.
Has Bradforde tuo dum condis pectore voces:
  Non hominum rigidas terribileſq; minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim nec vincula curas,
  Tradis & accenſæ membra cremanda pyræ.

Here followe the Letters of Maiſter Bradfred.

The letters of M. Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heauenly Martyr, during the time of his impriſonment, wrote ſundry comfortable treatiſes, & many godly letters, of which, ſome he wrote to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lankeſhire and Cheſhiere, and diuers to hys other priuate friendes. By the which foreſayd letters, to the entent it may appeare how godly this man occupied hys time being priſoner, what ſpeciall zeale he bare to the ſtate of Chriſtes church, what a care he had to performe his office, how earneſtly he admoniſhed all men, how tenderly hee comforted the heauie harted: howe fruitfully he confirmed them whom he had taught, I thought here good to place ÿ ſame: although to exhibite here all the letters that he wrote (being in number ſo many that they are able to fyll a booke) it cã not well be cõpaſſed, yet neuertheles we mynd to excerpe ÿ principall of thẽ, referring ÿ reader for the reſidue to ÿ booke of letters of ÿ Martyrs, where they may be found.

Read the booke of Letters of the Martyrs.

And firſt, forſomuch as ye heard in the ſtory before, pag. 1783. how the Earle of Darby complained in the Parlament houſe of certaine letters wrytten of Iohn Bradford out of priſon to Lankeſhiere, and alſo how he was charged both of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and of Maiſter Allen with the ſame letters, to the entẽt the Reader more perfectly may vnderſtand what letters they were, beyng written in deede to his mother, brethren and ſiſters, out of the Tower before hys cõdemnation, we will begyn firſt with the ſame letters: the copy with the contentes wherof is this as followeth.

The copie of Maiſter Bradfords letters obiected by the Earle of Darby complained to the parlament.

A comfortable letrer of M. Bradford to his
Mother, a godly matrone dwelling in Mancheſter,
and to his brethren and ſiſters, and other
of his frendes there.

A letter of M. *Bradford* to his mother, brethrne, and ſiſters.

Our deare and ſweete Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe priſoner at this preſent (prayſed be his name therefore) I am, preſerue and kepe you my good Mother, with my brothers and ſiſters, my father Iohn Traues, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and Iames Bradſhaw with their wiues and families. &c. now & for euer, Amen.

I am at this preſent in priſon ſure enough for ſtarting, to cõfirme that I haue preached vnto you: as I am ready (I thanke God) with my life and bloud to ſeale the ſame, if God vouch me worthy of that honour. For good Mother and brethren, it is a moſt ſpecial benifite of God to ſuffer for his names ſake and Goſpell, as now I do: I hartely thanke hym for it, and am ſure that with hym I ſhall be partaker of his glory, as Paul ſayth: *If we ſuffer with hym we ſhall reigne with hym*. Therfore be not faynt harted, but rather reioyce, at the leaſt for my ſake which now am in the right and high way to heauen: for by many afflictions we muſt enter into the kyngdome of heauen. Now will God make knowen his children. When the wynde doth not blow, then can not a man know the wheate from the chaffe: but when the blaſt commeth, thẽ flyeth away the chaffe, but the wheate remaineth and is ſo farre from beyng hurt, that by the wind it is more clẽſed from the chaffe and knowen to be wheate. Gold whẽ it is caſt into the fire, is the more precious: ſo are Gods children by the Croſſe of affliction. Alwayes God beginneth his iudgement at his houſe. Chriſt and the Apoſtles were in moſt miſery in the land of Iewry, but yet ÿ whole land ſmarted for it after: ſo now Gods children are firſt chaſtiſed in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world: for ſurely great plagues of God hang ouer this Realme.

2. *Timo.* 2.

Actes. 14.

God beginneth his iudgement with his owne houſe.

Complaynt of the carnall and wicked life among Goſpelers.

Ye all know there was neuer more knowledge of God and leſſe godly lyuing and true ſeruyng of God. It was coūted a fooliſh thyng to ſerue God truly, and earneſt prayer was not paſt vpon. Preachyng was but a paſtyme. The Communion was counted to cōmon. Faſtyng to ſubdue the fleſh, was farre out of vſe. Almes was almoſt nothyng. Malice, couetouſnes and vncleannes was common euery where, with ſwearyng, dronkennes and idlenes. God therfore now is come as you haue heard me preach, and becauſe he will not damne vs with the world, he begynneth to puniſh vs: as me for my carnall lyuing. For as for my preachyng, I am moſt certaine it is and was Gods truth, and I truſt to geue my lyfe for it by Gods grace: but becauſe I lyued not the Goſpell truly but outwardly, therfore doth he thus puniſh me: nay rather in puniſhyng bleſſeth me. And in dede I thanke him more of this priſon, then of any parler, yea then of any pleaſure that euer I had: for in it I find God my moſt ſweete good God alwayes. The fleſh is puniſhed, firſt to admoniſh vs now hartely to lyue as we profeſſe: ſecondly to certifie the wicked of their iuſt damnation, if they repent not.

The cauſe why God firſt puniſheth his, in this world.

God vſeth to proue and try his children.

Perchaunce you are weakened in that which I haue preached, becauſe God doth not defend it (as you thinke) but ſuffereth the Popiſh doctrine to come agayne & preuayle: but you muſt know, good mother, that God by this doth proue and trye his childrē and people whether they will vnfainedly and ſimply hang on him and hys word. So did he with the Iſraelites, bryngyng them into a deſert after their cōming out of Egypt, where (I meane the wildernes) was want of all thynges in compariſon of that which they had in Egypt. Chriſt when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietnes with him, but rather warre: *The world* (ſayth he) *ſhall reioyce, but ye ſhall mourne and weepe, but your weepyng ſhalbe turned into ioy: and therfore happy are they that mourne and weepe, for they ſhalbe comforted.* They are marked thē with Gods marke in their foreheades & not with the beaſtes marke, I meane the Popes ſhauen crowne, who now with hys ſhauelynges reioyce: but wo vnto them, for they ſhalbe caſt downe, they ſhall weepe & mourne. The riche glutton had here his ioy, & Lazarus ſorrow, but afterwardes the time was chāged. The end of carnall ioy is ſorrow. Now let ỹ whoremonger ioy, with the dronckard, ſwearer, couetous, malicious, and blind buſſard Syr Iohn: for the Maſſe wil not bite them, neither make them to bluſh as preachyng would. Now may they do what they will, come deuils to the Church & go deuils home, for no mā muſt find fault. And they are glad of this: now haue they theyr hartes deſire, as the Sodomites had when Loth was gone, but what folowed? Forſoth when they cryed peace, all ſhalbe well, then came Gods vengeaunce, fyre and brymſtone from heauē and burnt vp euery mothers child: euen ſo deare mother will it do to our Papiſtes.

Iohn. 16.

Of this place the Earle of Darby ſemeth to take hold, complaynyng that he curſeth them that teacheth any falſe doctrine. &c. Page. 1783.

The Maſſe rebuketh no ſin nor ſhameth conſciences, as preaching doth.

Wherfore feare God: ſticke to his word though all the world would ſwarue from it. Dye you muſt once, and when or how, you can not tell. Dye therfore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſeruyng hym truly and after his word: for ſure may we be that of all deathes it is moſt to be deſired to dye for Gods ſake. This is the moſt ſafe kynd of dying: we cā not doubt but that we ſhall go to heauen if we dye for his names ſake. And that you ſhall dye for his names ſake, Gods word will warrant you, if you ſticke to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhall ſee that I ſpeake as I thinke: for by Gods grace I will drinke before you of this cuppe if I be put to it. I doubt not but God will geue me his grace, and ſtrengthen me therunto: pray that he would, and that I refuſe it not. I am at a poynt euen when my Lord God will, to come to hym. Death nor lyfe, priſon nor pleaſure (I truſt in God) ſhalbe able to ſeparate me from my Lord God and his Goſpell. In peace when no perſecution was, then were you content and glad to heare me, then dyd you beleue me, and will you not do ſo now, ſeyng I ſpeake that which I truſt by Gods grace if neede be, to verifie with my life? Good mother I write before God to you, as I haue preached before hym.

The beſt death of all deathes, is to die for Gods ſake.

It is Gods truth I haue taught: It is that ſame infallible word wherof he hath ſaid: *Heauen and earth ſhall paſſe, but my worde ſhall not paſſe.* The Maſſe and ſuch baggage as the falſe worſhippers of God and enemyes of Chriſtes Croſſe (the Papiſtes I ſay) haue brought in agayn to poyſon the Church of God withall, diſpleaſeth God highly and is abominable in his ſight. Happy may he be which of conſcience ſuffereth loſſe of lyfe or goodes in diſalowyng it. Come not at it. If God be God, folow hym: If the Maſſe be God, let them that wil ſee it, heare or be preſent at it, & go to the deuill with it. What is there as God ordained? His Supper was ordained to be receaued of vs in the memoriall of his death, for the confirmatiō of our fayth, that his body was broken for vs and his bloud ſhed for pardon of our ſinnes: but in the Maſſe there is no receauing, but the prieſt keepeth all to hymſelfe alone. Chriſt ſayeth: *take, eate:* no ſayeth the Prieſt: gape, pepe. There is a ſacrificing, yea killing of Chriſt agayne as much as they may. There is Idolatry in worſhippyng the outward ſigne of bread and wyne: there is all in Latine, you can not tell what he ſaith. To conclude, there is nothyng as God ordained. Wherfore my good mother come not at it.

The Maſſe is a poyſon to the Church.

Compariſon betweene the Lordes Supper, and the Maſſe.

Oh will ſome ſay, it will hynder you if you refuſe to come to Maſſe and to do as other do. But God wil further you (be you aſſured) as you ſhal one day fynd: who hath promiſed to them that ſuffer hinderaunce or loſſe of any thing in this world, his great bleſſing here, and in the world to come lyfe euerlaſting.

Doubtes and obiections anſwered.

Math. 19.

You ſhall be counted an heriticke: but not of others then of heretickes, whoſe prayſe is a diſprayſe.

You are not able to reaſon agaynſt the prieſtes: but God wil, that all they ſhall not be able to withſtand you.

No body wil do ſo but you onely: In dede no matter, for few enter into the narow gate which bringeth to ſaluation. How be it, you ſhall haue with you (I doubt not) Father Traues and other my brothers and ſiſters to go with you therein: but if they wil not, I your ſonne in God (I truſt) ſhall not leaue you an inch, but go before you: pray that I may, and geue thankes for mee. Reioyce in my ſufferyng, for it is for your ſakes to confyrme the truth I haue taught. How ſo euer you do beware this letter come not abroad but into father Traues hys handes: for if it ſhould be knowen that I haue pen and Inke in the priſon, then would it be worſe with me. Therefore to your ſelues kepe this letter, commendyng me to God and his mercy in Chriſt Ieſus, who make me worthy for his names ſake, to geue my lyfe for hys Goſpell and church ſake. Out of the Tower of London the .vj. day of October. 1553.

For al this caueat, yet this letter came to the Earle of Darbies knowledge.

My name I wryte not for cauſes, you know it well enough: lyke the letter neuer the worſe. Commend me to all our good brethren and ſiſters in the Lord. How ſoeuer you do be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no poynt eyther in hand or tong rebell, but rather if they commaund that which with good conſcience you cannot obey, lay your head on the blocke and ſuffer what ſoeuer they ſhall do or ſay. By patience poſſeſſe your ſoules.

After the tyme that M. Bradford was condemned, and ſent to the Counter, it was purpoſed of his aduerſaries, as ye heard before, pag. 1789. col. 2. that he ſhould be had to Mancheſter where he was borne, and there be burned. Wherupon he writeth to the Citie of London, thinkyng to take his laſt vale of them in this letter, as foloweth.

Pag. 1789 Col. 2.

¶ To the City of London.

A frutefull letter of Maiſter Bradford to the citie of London.

TO al that profeſſe the goſpel and true doctrine of our Lord and Sauyour Ieſus Chriſt in the City of Lōdon, Ihon Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lord, now not only in priſon, but alſo excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the ſame true doctryne, wiſheth mercy, grace, and peace, with encreaſe of al godly knowledge and piety, from God the father of mercy, through the merites of our alone and omniſufficient redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, by the operation of the holy ſpirit for euer, Amen.

My dearely beloued brethren in our Sauiour Chriſt, although the time I haue to liue is very litle (for hourely I loke when I ſhould be had hence to be cōueyed into Lankaſhire, there to be burned, and to render my lyfe by the prouidēce of God, where I firſt receiued it by the ſame prouidence) and although the charge is great to keepe me from all things whereby I might ſignifie any thing to the world of my ſtate: yet hauing, as now I haue pen and inke through Gods working, mauger the head of Sathā & his ſouldiers, I thought good to write a ſhort confeſſion of my faith, and therto ioyne a litle exhortatiō vnto you all, to liue according to your profeſſiō.

Firſt for my faith, I do confeſſe and pray al the whole congregation of Chriſt to beare witnes wyth me of the ſame, that I do beleue conſtantly through the gyft and goodnes of God, (for faith is Gods only gift) all the .xij. articles of the Symbole or Crede, commonly attributed to the collection of the Apoſtles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expounde to the confirmatiõ and comfort of the ſimple: but alas, by ſtartes and ſtelth I write in maner that that I write, and therfore I ſhall deſire you all to take this breuity in good part. And this faith I holde, not becauſe of the Crede it ſelfe, but becauſe of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth euery article accordingly. This word of god written by the Prophets and Apoſtels, left and conteined in yͤ Canonicall bokes of the whole Bible, I do beleue to containe plentifully all things neceſſary to ſaluation, ſo that nothing (as neceſſary to ſaluation) ought to be added therto: and therfore the church of Chriſt, nor none of his congregation ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, then which hereout hath his foundation and ground. In teſtimony of this faith, I render & geue my life, being condemned aſwell for not acknowleging the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſtes vicare generall and ſupreme head of his catholicke and vniuerſall church here or elſwhere vpon earth: as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and Chriſtes reall, corporall, and carnall preſence in hys ſupper, vnder the formes and accidẽces of bread & wine.

Antichriſt of Rome not to be Chriſtes generall vicar.

Tranſubſtantiation a doctrine of Idolatrie.

To beleue Chriſt our Sauiour to be the head of hys Church, and Kings in theyr realmes to be the ſupreme powers, to whom euery ſoule oweth obedience, and to beleue that in the ſupper of Chriſt (which the ſacrament of the altar, as the Papiſts call it and vſe it, doth vtterly ouerthrow) is a true and very preſence of whole Chriſt God and man to the faith of the receiuer (but not to the ſtander by and loker vpon) as it is a true and very preſence of bread & wine to the ſenſes of men: to beleue this (I ſay) will not ſerue, and therfore as an hereticke I am condemned, and ſhalbe burned: wherof I aſke God hartely mercy that I do no more reioyce then I doe, hauing ſo great cauſe as to bee an inſtrument wherein it may pleaſe my deare Lord God and Sauiour to ſuffer.

The ſacrament of the altar quite ouerthroweth the Lordes ſupper.

Chriſt wholy preſent to the fayth of the receauer.

For albeit my manifold ſynnes, euen ſithen I came into priſon, haue deſerued at the hands of God, not only this temporall, but alſo eternall fire in hell, much more then my former ſinfull life, which the Lorde pardon for his Chriſtes ſake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and neuer will lay mine iniquities to my charge to condemnation, ſo great is his goodnes (praiſed therefore be his holy name): although (I ſay) my manifold and greuous late ſinnes haue deſerued moſt iuſtly all the tyranny that man or Diuell can doe vnto me, and therefore I cõfeſſe that the Lord is iuſt, and that his iudgements be true, and deſerued on my behalfe: yet the Byſhops and Prelates do not perſecute thẽ in me, but Chriſt him ſelfe, his word, his truth, and Religion. And therfore I haue great cauſe, yea moſt great cauſe to reioyce that euer I was borne, & hitherto kept of the Lord, that by my death which is deſerued for my ſinnes, it pleaſeth the heauenly father to glorify his name, to teſtify his truth, to cõfirme his veritie, to repugne his aduerſaries. Oh good God and mercyfull father, forgeue me my great vnthankefulnes, eſpecially herein.

God puniſheth his people for one thing: but men perſecute them for another.

Bradford ſayth that he doth not more reioyce, being in ſo good a quarell.

And you my dearely beloued, for the Lord Ieſu Chriſtes ſake I hũbly and hartely in his bowels and bloud do now for my laſt Vale and farewell in this preſent lyfe beſech you and euery of you, that you will conſider this worke of the Lord accordyngly: Firſt, by me to be admoniſhed to beware of hypocriſie & carnall ſecurity: profeſſe not the Goſpel with toung and lyppes onely, but in hart and veritie: frame and faſhion your liues accordyngly: beware Gods name be not euill ſpokẽ of, and the Goſpell leſſe regarded by your conuerſation. God forgiue me that I haue not ſo hartely profeſſed it as I ſhould haue done, but haue ſought much my ſelfe therein. The Goſpell is a new doctrine to the old mã: it is new wine, and therfore can not be put in old bottels, without more great hurt thẽ good wine to the bottels. If we will talke with yͤ Lord, we muſt put of our ſhooes & carnall affections: if we will heare yͤ voyce of yͤ Lord, we muſt waſh our garmentes and be holy: if we will be Chriſtes Diſciples we muſt deny our ſelues, take vp our croſſe and folow Chriſt. we can not ſerue two maiſters. If we ſeeke CHRISTES kyngdome, we muſt alſo ſeke for yͤ righteouſnes thereof. To this petition (*Let thy kingdome come*) we muſt ioyne, *thy will be done*, done, done, *on earth as it is in heauẽ*. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it onely, we ſore deceiue our ſelues. If we heare the Goſpell and loue it not, we declare our ſelues to be but fooles, & builders vpon the ſande. The Lordes ſpirit hateth fayning: diſceatfulnes the Lord abhorreth: if we come to him, we muſt beware we come not with a double hart: for then may chaunce that God will aunſwere vs accordyng to the blocke whiche is in our hart, and ſo we ſhall deceaue our ſelues, and others.

A leſſon agaynſt carnall ſecuritie.

The Goſpell is a new doctrine to the old man.

Chriſtian profeſſion requireth Chriſtian conuerſation.

To fayth ſee that we couple a good conſcience, leſt we make a ſhipwracke. To the Lord wee muſt come wyth feare and reuerence. If we will be Goſpellers, we muſt be Chriſtes: if we be Chriſtes, we muſt crucify our fleſh with the luſtes and concupiſcences therof: if we will be vnder grace, ſinne muſt not beare rule in vs. we may not come to yͤ Lord, & draw nygh to hym wyth our lips, and leaue our hartes elſwhere, leſt the Lordes wrath waxe whot, and he take from vs the good remaynyng. In no caſe can the kingdome of Chriſt approch to them that repent not. Therfore my dearely beloued, let vs repent, and be hartely ſory that we haue ſo carnally, ſo hypocritically, ſo couetouſly, ſo vaineglorioully profeſſed the Goſpell. For all theſe I confeſſe of my ſelfe to the glory of God, that he may couer myne offẽces in the day of iudgement. Let the anger and plages of God, moſt iuſtly fallen vpon vs, be applied to euery one of our deſertes, that from the bottome of our hartes euery of vs may ſay: it is I Lord that haue ſynned againſt thee: it is my hypocriſy, my vainglory, my couetouſnes, vncleanes, carnalitie, ſecuritie, idlenes, vnthãkfulnes, ſelfloue, and ſuch like, which haue deſerued the taking away of our good king, of thy word and true religiõ, of thy good Miniſters by exile, priſonment, and death: it is my wickednes that cauſeth ſucceſſe & increaſe of authority and peace to thine enemies. Oh be mercifull, be mercifull vnto vs. Turne to vs againe, O Lord of hoſtes, and turne vs vnto thee: correct vs, but not in thy fury, leſt we bee conſumed in thine anger: chaſtiſe vs not in thy wrathfull diſpleaſure: reproue vs not, but in yͤ middeſt of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou marke what is done amiſſe, who ſhall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulnes, that thou mighteſt be worſhipped. Oh then be mercifull vnto vs, that we might truly worſhip thee. Helpe vs, for the glory of thy name: be mercifull vnto our ſinnes, for they are great: Oh heale vs, & helpe vs for thine honor. Let not yͤ wicked people ſay, where is their God. &c.

Fayth would be coupled euer with a good conſcience.

He exhorteth to repentance.

Our ſinnes prouoke perſecution.

He exhorteth to pray, and how to pray with repentance.

On thys ſorte my right dearely beloued, let vs hartely bewaile our ſinnes, repent vs of our former euil life, hartely and earneſtly purpoſe to amend our lyues in all thinges, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reuerently attend, heare, and read the holy ſcriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let vs reproue the workes of darknes. Let vs flye from all Idolatry. Let vs abhorre the Antichriſtian and Romiſhe rotten ſeruice, deteſt the popiſh Maſſe, abrenounce their Romiſh God, prepare our ſelues to the croſſe, be obedient to all that be in authority in all things that be not againſt God and hys word: for then anſwer with the Apoſtels: *It is more meete to obey God then man*. Howbeit, neuer for any thing reſiſt, or ryſe againſt the Maieſtrates. Auenge not your ſelues, but commit your cauſe to the Lord, to whom vengeaunce pertayneth, and he in his time wyll reward it. If you feele in your ſelues an hope and truſt in God, that he will neuer tempt you aboue that he wyll make you able to beare, be aſſured the lord wyll be true to you: and you ſhall be able to beare all brunts. But if you want this hope, flee and get you hence, rather then by your tarying Gods name ſhould be diſhonoured.

Praying, hearing and reading the holy ſcriptures.

Obedience to magiſtrates in all that is not agaynſt Gods word.

Patience.

In ſumme, caſt your care on the Lord, knowing for moſt certayne, that he is carefull for you: wyth hym are all the heares of your head nombred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his good pleaſure and wyll: much more then, nothing ſhall happen to your bodies, which ſhall not be profitable, how ſo euer for a tyme it ſeme otherwiſe to your ſenſes. Hang on the prouidence of God, not onely when you haue meanes to helpe you, but alſo whẽ you haue no meanes, yea when al meanes be agaynſt you. Geue him this honor, which of al other thinges he moſt chiefly requireth at your hands: namely beleue that you are his children through Chriſt, that hee is your father and God through him, that he loueth you, pardoneth you all your offences, he is with you in trouble, and wyll be with you for euer. when you fal, he wil put vnder his hand, you ſhall not lye ſtill: before you cal vpon him, he heareth you: out of euyll hee wyll finally bring you, and delyuer you to hys eternall ioy. Doubt not my dearely beloued hereof, doubt not (I ſay): thys wyll God your father do for you in reſpect, not of your

We ought to depende vpon Gods prouidence alwaies.

All our hope is only in Chriſt and for hys ſake to be receaued.

ſelues, but in reſpect of Chriſt your Captaine, your Paſtour, your Keeper, out of whoſe handes none ſhall bee able to catch you. In hym be quiet, and often conſider your dignitie, namely how that ye be Gods childrẽ, the Saintes of God, Citizens of heauen, temples of the holy Ghoſt, the thrones of God, members of Chriſt, and Lordes ouer all.

To beare the croſſe.

Mortification.

Therefore be a ſhamed to thinke, ſpeake, or doe anye thing that ſhould be vnſemely for Gods children, Gods Saintes, Chriſtes members. &c. Maruayle not though the deuill and the world hate you, though ye be perſecuted here: for the ſeruaunt is not aboue his maiſter. Couet not earthly riches, feare not the power of man, loue not this world nor thinges that bee in this world: but long for the Lord Ieſus hys commyng, at which tyme your bodies ſhall be made like vnto his glorious body. when he appeareth, you ſhall bee lyke vnto him: when your lyfe thus ſhall bee reuealed, then ſhall ye appeare with hym in glory.

We muſt liue in the fayth of Chriſt.

The property of fayth.

In the meane ſeaſon lyue in hope hereof. Let the lyfe you lead bee in the fayth of the ſonne of God: *For the iuſt doth lyue by fayth*, which fayth flieth from all euyll, and foloweth the word of God, as a lanterne to her feete and a lyght to her ſteps: her eyes be aboue where Chriſt is: ſhe beholdeth not the thinges preſent, but rather things to come: ſhe glorieth in affliction, ſhe knoweth that the afflictions of this lyfe are not lyke to be compared to the glory which God wyll reueale to vs, and in vs. Of this glory God graunt vs here a lyuely taſte: then ſhall we runne after the ſent it ſendeth forth. It wyll make vs valiant men to take to vs the kingdome of God; whether the Lord of mercy bring vs in hys good tyme thorowe Chriſt our Lord, to whom with the father and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, be all honour and glory world wythout ende, Amen.

After the condemnation of *M. Bradford*, it was purpoſed of the aduerſaries that he ſhould be burnt in Lancaſhire, but theyr purpoſe altered. Pag. 1789.

My dearely beloued, I would gladly haue geuen here my body to haue bene burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I haue taught here vnto you. But that my countrey muſt haue. Therfore I pray you take in good part this ſignification of my good wil towards euery of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offenſiue and negligent behauior when I was amongeſt you. with me repent, and labor to amende. Continue in the truth which I haue truely taught vnto you by preaching in al places where I haue come, Gods name therefore be prayſed. Confeſſe Chriſt when you are called, what ſoeuer commeth therof, and the God of peace be wyth vs all, Amen. This. xj. of February. An. 1555.

Your brother in bondes for the
Lordes ſake, Ioh. Bradford.

¶ To the Vniuerſity and towne of Cambridge.

Another letter of *M. Bradford* to the vniuerſitie of Cambridge.

TO al that loue the Lord Ieſus and his true doctrine being in the Vniuerſitye and towne of Cambridge, Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lorde, now not onely priſoned but alſo cõdemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, peace, & mercy, wt increaſe of all godlines from God the father of al mercy, through ẏ bloudy paſſion of our alonely Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, by the liuely working of the holy ſpirite for euer, Amen.

The Martyrs perſecuted of the prelates, not for theyr ſinnes, but onely for Chriſt.

The cauſe of his condemnation declared.

Although I looke hourly when I ſhould bee had to the ſtake (my right dearely beloued in the Lord) and although the charge ouer me is great & ſtrait: yet hauing by the prouidence of God ſecretly pen and inke, I could not but ſomthing ſignifie vnto you my ſolicitude which I haue for you, and euery of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You haue often and openly heard the truth (eſpecially in this matter wherein I am condemned) diſputed and preached, that it is nedeles to doe any more but onely to put you in remembraunce of the ſame: but hetherto you haue not heard it confirmed and, as it were, ſealed vp, as now you do and ſhall heare by me, that is, by my death and burning. For al be it I haue deſerued (through my vncleanes, hipocriſye, auarice, vainglory, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, and carnalitye, whereof I accuſe my ſelfe, to my confuſion before the world, that before God through Chriſt I myght, as my aſſured hope is I ſhall, finde mercy) eternall death and hel fire, much more then this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearely beloued, it is not theſe or any of theſe thinges, wherefore the Prelats doe perſecute mee, but Gods verity and truth: yea euen Chriſt him ſelfe is the onely cauſe and thing wherefore I now am condemned, and ſhall bee burned as an hereticke for becauſe I wil not graunt the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſts vicar generall and ſupreme head of his church here, & euery where vpon earth, by Gods ordinance, and becauſe I wyll not graunt ſuch corporal, reall, and carnall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament, as doth tranſubſtantiate the ſubſtance of bread and wyne, and is receyued of the wicked, yea of dogges and mice. Alſo I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Chriſtes church, as a rotten braunch, and therefore ſhall be caſt into the fier.

A great mercy of God to turne the death of his ſaintes iuſtly deſerued, to ſerue for a confirmation of his owne glory.

Cantabrigienſes bene moniti.

Therefore ye ought hartely to reioyce with mee, and to geue thankes for me, that God the eternal father hath vouched ſafe our mother to bring vp any child in whom it would pleaſe hym to magnifie hys holye name as he doth, and I hope for hys mercy and truthes ſake, wil do in me and by me. Oh, what ſuch benefite vpon earth can it be, as that that which deſerued death by reaſon of my ſynnes, ſhould be diuerted to a demonſtration a teſtification and cõfirmation of Gods verity and truth? Thou my mother the Vniuerſity haſt not onely had the truth of Gods word plainly manifeſted vnto thee by reading, diſputing, and preaching publickly and priuately: but now to make thee altogether excuſeles, and as it were, almoſt to ſynne againſt the holy ghoſt if thou put to thy helping hand wyth the Romiſh rout to ſuppreſſe the verity and ſet out the contrary, thou haſt my life and bloud as a ſeale to confirme thee, if thou wylt bee confirmed, or els to confound thee & beare witnes againſt thee, if thou wilt take part with the Prelats & Clergy, which now fil vp the meaſure of their fathers, which ſlew ẏ Prophets & Apoſtels, that all righteous bloud from Abel to Bradford ſhed vpon the earth may be required at theyr hands

* Read before the letter of Cambridge to Henry 8. agaynſt the Popes ſupremacy. Pag. 1204.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would ſuffer me (for loue and dutye I beare vnto thee) to admoniſhe thee good Mother, and my Siſter the Towne, that you would call to minde frõ whence you are fallen, and ſtudy to do the firſt workes. Ye know (if you will) theſe matters of the * Romiſhe ſupremacie and the Antichriſtian tranſubſtantiation, whereby Chriſtes ſupper is ouerthrowen, his prieſthod euacuate, his ſacrifice fruſtrate, the miniſtery of his word vnplaced, repentance repelled, fayth faynted, godlynes extinguiſhed, the Maſſe maintained, idolatry ſupported, and all impiety cheriſhed: you know I ſay (if you wil) that theſe opinions are not onely beſydes Gods word, but euen directly agaynſt it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part againſt God, agaynſt whom you can not preuaile.

**The dogge returned to his owne vomit.*

* *The Sow that was waſhed returned to her walloing in the myre.* 2. Pet. 2.

Therefore for the tẽder mercy of Chriſt, in his bowels and bloud I beſech you, to take Chriſtes colliryum & eye ſalue to annoynt your eyes, that you may ſee what you do and haue done in admitting (as I heare you haue admitted, yea alas authoriſed, and by conſent confirmed) the Romiſh rotten rags, which once you vtterly expelled. Oh be not *Canis reuerſus ad vomitũ, be not *Sus lota reuerſa ad volutabrum cœni. Beware leſt Sathan enter in with ſeuen other ſpirites, and then poſtrema ſhall bee woorſe then the firſt. It had bene better ye had neuer knowen the truth, then after knowledge to runne from it. Ah, wo to this world and the things therein, which hath now ſo wrought wyth you. Oh that euer this dirt of the deuill ſhould daube vp the eye of the Realme. For thou (O mother) art as it were the eye of the Realme. If thou bee lyght & geue ſhine, all the body ſhall fare the better. But if thou the light be darknes, alas how great wyll the darknes be? what is man whoſe breath is in his noſthrels, that thou ſhouldeſt thus be afraid of him?

The glory of thys world a vayne thing.

Babylon hath Iuda in captiuitie.

Oh what is honour and lyfe here? Bubbles. what is glory in this world, but ſhame? why art thou afrayd to cary Chriſtes croſſe? wilt thou come into his kingdome and not drinke of his cup? Doeſt thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Doeſt thou not knowe that as the olde Babylon had the chyldren of Iuda in captiuitie, ſo hath this Rome the true Iuda, that is the cõfeſſors of Chriſt? Doeſt thou not know that as deſtruction happened vnto it, ſo ſhall it do vnto this? And troweſt thou that God will not deliuer his people now when the time is come, as he dyd then? Hath not God commaundes his people to come out from her? and wylt thou geue enſample to the whole realme to runne into her? Haſt thou forgottẽ the wo that Chriſt threatneth to offence geuers? wylt thou not remember that it were better that a Mylſtone were hanged about thy necke, and thou throwen into the ſea, then that thou ſhouldeſt offend the litle ones?

The church ſtandeth not in the outward ſhew.

And alas, how haſt thou offended? yea how doeſt thou ſtil offende? wilt thou conſider thynges accordyng to the outward ſhew? was not the Synagoge more ſemely & like to be ẏ true church, then the ſimple flocke of Chriſtes

Diſciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more coſtly aray, and rich apparell externally to ſet forth her ſelf, thẽ the homely houſewife of Chriſt? where is the beauty of the kynges daughter the Church of Chriſt? without or within? Doth not Dauid ſay, *within*? Oh remember that as they are happy which are not offẽded at Chriſt, ſo are they happy which are not offended at his poore Church. Can the Pope and his Prelates meane honeſtly which make ſo much of the wife, and ſo litle of the huſbãd? The Church they magnifie, but Chriſt they contemne. If this Church were an honeſt woman (that is, Chriſtes wife) except they would make much of her huſband Chriſt and his word, ſhe would not be made much of them.

The Pope pretendeth to make much of the wife, but maketh nothing of the husband.

When Chriſt and his Apoſtles were vpon earth, who was more like to be the true church? they, or yͤ Prelates, Byſhops, and Synagoge? If a mã ſhould haue folowed cuſtome, vnitie, antiquitie, or the more part, ſhould not Chriſt and his cõpany haue bene caſt out of the doores? Therfore bad Chriſt: *Search the Scriptures*. And, good mother, ſhall the ſeruaũt be aboue his maiſter? ſhall we loke for other entertainement at the handes of the world, then Chriſt and his deare Diſciples found? who was taken in Noes tyme for the Church? Poore Noe and his family, or others? who was takẽ for Gods Church in Sodome? Lot, or others? And doth not Chriſt ſay: *As it went then, ſo ſhall it go now towardes the commyng of the ſonne of man?* What meaneth Chriſt when he ſayth: *Iniquitie ſhall haue the vpper hand?* doth not he tell, *that charitie ſhall waxe cold?* And who ſeeth not a wonderfull great lacke of charitie in thoſe which would now be taken for Chriſtes Church? All that feare God in this Realme truly, can tel more of this then I can write.

Cuſtome, Vnitie, Antiquity, Conſent of multitude, are markes deceiueable.

Therfore deare mother, receiue ſome admonition of one of thy poore childrẽ, now goyng to be burned for the teſtimony of Ieſus. Come agayne to Gods truth: come out of Babylon: cõfeſſe Chriſt & his true doctrine: repent that which is paſt: make amendes by declaring thy repẽtance by the fruites. Remẽber yͤ readinges & preachings of Gods Prophet & true preacher M. Bucer. Call to mynd yͤ threatnings of God, now ſomething ſeene by thy children Leauer and others. Let the exile of Leauer, Pilkinton, Grindall, Haddon, Horne, Scory, Ponet. &c. ſomethyng awake thee. Let the impriſonment of thy deare ſonnes, Cranmer, Ridley, & Latimer moue thee. Conſider the Martyrdome of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And now caſt not away the poore admonition of me goyng to be burned alſo, and to receiue the lyke crowne of glory with my felowes. Take to hart Gods callyng by vs. Be not as Pharao was: for thẽ wil it happẽ vnto thee as did vnto hym. What is that? hardnes of hart. And what then? deſtruction eternally both of body & ſoule. Ah therfore good mother awake, awake, repent, repent, buſkle thy ſelfe and make haſt to turne to the Lord. For els it ſhalbe more eaſy for Sodome and Gomorra in the day of Iudgement then for thee. Oh harden not your hartes: Oh ſtop not your eares to day in hearyng Gods voyce, though it be by me a moſt vnworthy meſſẽger. Oh feare the Lord, for his anger is begon to kyndle. Euen now the axe is layd to the roote of the tree.

Martin Bucers preaching. *Leauer.* *Pilkinton.* *Grindall.* *Haddon,* *Horne.* *Scory.* *Ponet.* *Rogers.* *Saunders.* *Taylour.*

You know I prophecied truly to you before yͤ Sweate came, what would come if you repented not your carnal Goſpellyng. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that yͤ eares of men will tingle to heare of the vengeãce of God that will fall vpon you all, both Towne and Vniuerſitie, if you repent not, if you leaue not your Idolatry, if you turne not ſpedely to the Lord, if ye ſtil be aſhamed of Chriſtes truth which you know.

Bradford prophecied before the Sweat that what would follow of carnall goſpelling, if repentance did not come.

Oh Perne repent, Oh Thomſon repent, Oh you Doctours, Bachelers, and Maiſters repent, Oh Maior, Aldermen, and Towne dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may eſcape the neare vengeaunce of the Lorde. Rent your hartes, and come apace callyng on the Lord. Let vs all ſay, Peccauimus, we haue ſinned, we haue done wickedly, we haue not hearkned to thy voyce O Lord. Deale not with vs after our deſertes, but be mercyfull to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh pardon vs our offenſes. In thine anger remẽber thy mercy. Turne vs vnto thee O Lord God of hoſtes, for the glory of thy names ſake. Spare vs, and be mercifull vnto vs. Let not the wicked people ſay: where is now their God: Oh for thine own ſake, for thy names ſake, deale mercifully with vs. Turne thy ſelfe vnto vs, and vs vnto thee, and we ſhall prayſe thy name for euer.

Perne. *Thomſon.*

He teacheth Cambridge to pray.

If in this ſorte (my dearely beloued) in hart & mouth we come vnto our father, and proſtrate our ſelues before the throne of his grace, then ſurely ſurely we ſhall fynde mercy. Then ſhall the Lord looke merely vppon vs, for his mercy ſake in Chriſt: then ſhall we heare hym ſpeake peace vnto his people. For he is gratious and mercifull, of great pity, and compaſſion: hee can not bee chidyng for euer: his anger can not laſt long to the penitent. Though we weepe in yͤ mornyng, yet at night we ſhall haue our ſorrow to ceaſe. For he is exorable, and hath no pleaſure in the death of a ſinner: he rather would our cõuerſion and turnyng.

Gods mercy promiſed to Cambridge if it repent.

Oh turne you now & conuert yet once againe I humbly beſech you, and then the kyngdome of heauen ſhall draw nigh. The eie hath not ſeene, yͤ eare hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceiue the ioyes prepared for vs if we repent, amend our lyues, and hartely turne to the Lord. But if you repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwardes with the wicked, folowyng the faſhion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you ſhall periſh in your wickednes, your bloud will be vpon your owne heades, your part ſhalbe with hypocrites, where ſhall be weppyng and gnaſhyng of teeth, ye ſhall be caſt from the face of the Lord for euer and euer, eternall ſhame, ſorow, woe, and miſery ſhalbe both in body and ſoule to you would without end. Oh therfore right deare to me in the Lord, turne you, turne you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lyues, depart from euill, do good, folow peace and purſue it. Come out from Babylon, caſt of the workes of darknes, put on Chriſt, confeſſe his truth, be not aſhamed of hys Goſpell, prepare your ſelues to the Croſſe, drinke of Gods cup before it come to the dregges: and then ſhall I with you and for you, reioyce in the day of Iudgemẽt, which is at hand and therfore prepare your ſelues therto, I hartly beſech you. And thus I take my vale in æternũ with you in this preſent life, myne owne deare hartes in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with vs all, and geue vs a ioyfull and ſure meeting in his kingdome, Amen. Amen. Out of priſon the. 11. of February. an. 1555.

Cambridge threatned if it repent not.

Your owne in the Lord for
euer, Iohn Bradford.

¶To Lankeſhyre and Cheſhyre.

To all thoſe that profeſſe the name and true Religion of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt in Lankiſhyre and Cheſhyre, and ſpecially abiding in Mãcheſter and therabout, Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lord, now not onely in bondes but alſo condemned for the ſame true Religion, wiſheth mercy and grace, peace and encreaſe of all godlynes from God the father of all pitie, through the deſertes of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, by the working of the moſt mighty and liuely ſpirite the cõforter for euer, Amen.

An other letter of Maiſter *Bradford to* Lankeſhire, Cheſhire, and ſpecially to Mancheſter.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloued in the Lorde, that my heauenly father hath thought it good to prouide, that as I haue preached his true doctrine and Goſpell amongeſt you by word: ſo I ſhal teſtifie and cõfirme the ſame by deede: that is I ſhall with you leaue my life, which by his prouidẽce I firſt receiued there (for in Mancheſter was I borne) for a ſeale to the doctrine I haue taught with you and amongeſt you: ſo that if from henceforth you wauer in the ſame, you haue none excuſe at all. I know the enemyes of Chriſt which exerciſe this cruelty vpon me (I ſpeake it in reſpect of myne offence, which is none to themwardes) thinke by killing of me amongeſt you, to affray you and others, leſt they ſhould attẽpt to teach Chriſt truly, or beleue his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heauenly father will by my death more confirme you in his truth for euer. And therfore I greatly reioyce to ſee Sathan and his ſouldiours ſupplanted in theyr owne ſapience, which is plaine fooliſhnes amongeſt the wiſe in deede, that is, amongeſt ſuch as haue heard Gods word and do folow it: for they onely are counted wiſe of the wiſedome of God our Sauiour.

In deede if I ſhould ſimply cõſider my lyfe with that which it ought to haue bene, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, Iuſtus es domine & omnia iudicia tua vera. i. *Righteous arte thou O Lord, and all thy iudgementes are true*. For I haue much greued thee and tranſgreſſed thy holy preceptes, not onely before my profeſſyng the Goſpell, but ſithen alſo: yea euẽ ſithen my commyng into priſon. I do not excuſe, but accuſe my ſelfe before God and all his Church, that I haue greuouſly offended my Lord God, I haue not liued hys Goſpell as I ſhould haue done, I haue ſought my ſelfe and not ſimply and onely hys glory and my brethrens commoditie, I haue bene to vnthãkefull, ſecure, carnall,

He confeſſeth hys ſinnes before God.

hypocritall, vaingloꝛious. &c. Al which my euils the Lord of mercy pardõ me for his Chriſtes ſake, as I hope and certainely beleue he hath done for his great mercy in Chriſt our redeemer.

But when I conſider the cauſe of my condemnation, I cannot but lament that I do no more reioyce then I do. For it is Gods veritie and truth: ſo that the condemnation is not a cõdemnation of Bradford ſimply: but rather a condemnation of Chriſt and his truth. Bradford is nothing els but an inſtrument in whom Chriſt and his doctrine is cõdemned. And therfore my dearely beloued, reioyce, reioyce and geue thankes with me and for me, that euer God did vouchſafe ſo great a benefite to our countrey, as to chooſe the moſt vnworthy (I meane my ſelfe) to be one in whom it would pleaſe him to ſuffer any kinde of affliction: much more this violent kynde of death, which I perceiue is prepared for me with you for his ſake. All glory and prayſe be geuen vnto God our father for his great excedyng mercy towardes me, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

The Papiſtes condemne not *Bradford* but Chriſt.

But perchaunce you will ſay vnto me: what is the cauſe for the which you are cõdemned? we heare ſay that ye deny all preſence of Chriſt in his holy Supper, and ſo make it a bare ſigne and commõ bread, and nothing els. My dearely beloued, what is ſayd of me and wil be, I cã not tell. It is told me that M. Pendleton is gone downe to preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know how he hath preached cõtrary to that he was wõt to preach afore I came amongeſt you) but to recant that which hee hath recanted. How he will ſpeake of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned I much paſſe not, for he that is ſo vncertaine, and will ſpeake ſo often agaynſt him ſelfe, I cã not thinke he will ſpeake well of me, except it make for hys purpoſe and profit: but of this inough.

D. Pendleton recãted firſt in *K. Edwardes* time, and now agayne in *Q. Maryes* time.

The cauſes why *M. Bradford* was condemned.

Tranſubſtantiation the deuils darling, and daughter of Antichriſt.

In deede the chief thing which I am condemned for as an hereticke, is becauſe I deny in yͤ Sacrament of the altar (which is not Chriſtes ſupper but a plaine peruertyng of it, beyng vſed as the Papiſtes now vſe it) to be a reall, naturall, and corporall preſence of Chriſtes body & bloud vnder the formes & accidences of bread and wine, that is, becauſe I deny tranſubſtantiation, which is the dearlyng of the deuill, and daughter and heire to Antichriſtes Religion, whereby the Maſſe is mainteined, Chriſtes Supper peruerted, his ſacrifice & croſſe vnperfited, his Prieſthode deſtroyed, the miniſtery takẽ away, repentaunce repelled, and all true godlines abandoned. In the Supper of our Lord or Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud I cõfeſſe & beleue that there is a true & very preſence of whole Chriſt God & man to yͤ faith of the receiuer (but not of the ſtãder by and looker on) as there is a very true preſence of bread and wine to the ſenſes of him that is partaker therof. This faith, this doctrine, which conſenteth with the word of God, & with the true teſtimony of Chriſtes Church (which the Popiſh church doth perſecute) will I not forſake, and therfore am I cõdemned as an hereticke, & ſhalbe burned. But my dearely beloued, this truth (which I haue taught & you haue receiued, I beleued and do beleue and therein geue my life) I hope in God, ſhall neuer bee burned, bound, nor ouercome: but ſhall triumph, haue victory, and be at libertie, mauger the head of all Gods aduerſaries. For there is no counſell agaynſt the Lord, nor no deuiſe of man can be able to defeate the veritie in any other, then ſuch as be children of vnbelief, which haue no loue to the truth & therefore are geuen vp to beleue lyes. Frõ which plage yͤ Lord of mercies deliuer you & all the realme, my deare hartes in yͤ Lord, I hũbly beſech his mercy, Amen.

M. Bradfords farewell to the countrey of Lancaſhire.

And to the end you might be deliuered frõ this plage (right deare to me in the Lorde) I ſhall for my farewell with you for euer in this preſent life, hartely deſyre you all in the bowels and bloud of our moſt mercifull Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, to attend vnto theſe thinges which I now ſhall ſhortly write vnto you out of the holy ſcriptures of the Lord.

Gods manifold plagues vpon England in Queene Maries dayes.

The cauſe of Gods plagues is our iniquities, and not knowing the time of Gods viſitation.

You know an heauy plage (or rather plages) of God is fallen vpon vs in taking away our good king, Gods true religion, Gods true Prophets and Miniſters. &c. And ſetting ouer vs ſuch as ſeke not yͤ Lord after knowledge: whoſe endeuours God proſpereth wonderfullye, to the triall of many, that his people may both better know them ſelues, and be knowen. Now the cauſe hereof is our iniquities and greuous ſynnes. We dyd not know the time of our viſitation: we were vnthankfull vnto God: we contemned the Goſpell, and carnally abuſed it to ſerue our hipocriſy, our vainglory, our viciouſnes, auarice, idlenes, ſecuritie. &c. Long did the Lord linger and tary to haue ſhewed mercy vpon vs, but we were euer the longer the worſe. Therefore moſte iuſtly hath God delt with vs, and dealeth with vs: yea yet we may ſee, that his iuſtice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let vs attribute that we are not vtterly conſumed. For if the Lord ſhould deale with vs after our deſertes, alas, how could we abide it? In his anger therfore ſeing he doth remember his mercy vndeſerued (yea vndeſired on our behalfe) let vs take occaſion the more ſpeedely to go out to meete him, not with force of armes (for we are not ſo able to withſtand him, much leſſe to preuaile againſt him) but to beſech him to be merciful vnto vs, & according to his wonted mercy to deale with vs.

Riſing with *Dauid.*

Suing with the *Centuriõ.*

Repenting with the Publican.

Returning with the loſt Sonne.

Let vs ariſe with Dauid and ſay: Ne intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo. &c. i. *Enter not into iudgement O Lord wyth thy ſeruant, for in thy ſight no fleſh lyuing ſhall be iuſtified.* Let vs ſend Embaſſadors with the Centurion, and ſay: *Lord we are not worthy to come our ſelues vnto thee: ſpeake the word and we ſhall haue peace.* Let vs penitently with the Publicane looke down on the earth, knocke our hard harts to burſt them, & cry out: *Oh God be mercyfull vnto vs wretched ſinners.* Let vs with the loſt Sonne returne and ſay: *O Father, we haue ſinned againſt heauen and earth, and before thee: we are vnworthy to be called thy children.* Let vs I ſay, do on this ſort, that is, hartely repent vs of our former euill life, and vnthankful goſpelling paſt, cõuert and turne to God with our whole hartes, hoping in hys great mercye through Chriſt, and hartely calling vpon his holy name, and thẽ vndoubtedly we ſhall finde and feele otherwiſe then yet we feele, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we ſhall feele peace of cõſcience betwene God and vs, which peace paſſeth all vnderſtanding, and outwardly we ſhall feele much mitigation of theſe miſeries, if not an vtter taking of them away.

Bradfords vltimum vale.

Therefore my dearely beloued in the Lorde, I your pooreſt brother now departing to the Lord, for my Vale in æternum for this preſent life, pray you, beſech you, and euen from the very bottom of my hart, for al the mercies of God in Chriſt ſhewed vnto you, moſt earneſtly beg & craue of you out of priſon (as often out of your Pulpits I haue done) that you will repent you, leaue your wicked and euill life, be ſory for your offences, and turne to the Lord, whoſe armes are wide open to receiue and embrace you, whoſe ſtretched out hand to ſtrike to death, ſtayeth that he might ſhew mercy vpon you. For hee is the Lord of mercy and God of all comfort, he wil not the death of a ſinner, but rather that ye ſhould returne, conuert and amend. He hath no pleaſure in the deſtruction of men: his long ſuffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeaunce and the day of wrath which is at hand doth come.

The day of Gods wrath at hand.

Wanton Goſpellers: Proud Proteſtantes: Falſe Chriſtians.

Now is the axe layd to the roote of the tree, vtterly to deſtroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lorde, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is inough to haue liued as we haue done. It is inough to haue played the wanton Goſpellers, the proud Proteſtants, hipocritical and falſe Chriſtians, as alas, we haue done. Nowe the Lord ſpeaketh to vs in mercy and grace: oh turne before he ſpeake in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lorde, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to ſhew mercy to them that cal vpon him. Oh then call vpõ him, while hee may be found. For he is rich in mercy & plentiful to all them that call vpon him. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lorde ſhall be ſaued. *If your ſinnes be as red as ſcarlet,* the Lord ſayth, *he wyll make them as white as ſnow.* He hath ſworne, and neuer wil repent him thereof, that he will neuer remember our iniquities, but as he is good, faithfull and true, ſo will he bee our God, and we ſhall be his people: his law will he write in our hartes and engraffe in our mindes, and neuer wyll hee haue in mynde our vnrighteouſnes,

Bradford propheſied of theſe plagues before.

Therfore my deare harts in yͤ Lord, turne you, turne you to yͤ Lord your Father, to the Lord your Sauiour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh why do you ſtop your eares and harden your hartes to day, when you heare his voyce by me your pooreſt brother? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath ſhewed him ſelf true, and me his true Preacher by bringing to paſſe theſe plages, which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to paſſe, ſpecially when I entreated of Noes floud, and when I preached of the. xxiij. chapter of S. Mathewes Goſpell on S. Steuens day the laſte tyme that I was wyth you. And now by me the Lord ſendeth you word (deare countrey men) that if you will go on forwardes in your impenitency, tencie, carnalitie, hipocriſy, idolatry, couetouſnes, ſwearing glottony, dronkennes, whoredome. &c. (wherwith alas, alas our countrey floweth): if (I ſay) you wyll not turne and leaue of, ſeing me now burned amongeſt you, to aſſure you on al ſydes how God ſeeketh you, and is ſory to doe you hurt, to plage you, to deſtroy you, to take vengeaunce vpon you, oh your bloud will be vpon your own heades: you haue bene warned, and warned againe by me in preaching, by me in burning.

Deſtruction threatned to them that repent not.

As I ſayd therefore, I ſay agayne, my deare hartes and dearlynges in the Lord, turne you, turne you, repent you, repent you, ceaſſe from doyng euill, ſtudy to do well, away with idolatry, fly the Romiſh God and ſeruice, leaue of from ſwearyng, cut of carnalitie, abandon auarice, driue away dronkennes, flie from fornication and flattery, murther and malice, deſtroy deceitfulnes, and caſt away all the workes of darkenes. Put on pitie and godlynes, ſerue God after hys worde and not after cuſtome, vſe your tounges to glorify God by prayer, thankeſgeuyng and confeſſion of his truth &c. be ſpirituall, and by the ſpirite mortifie carnall affections, be ſober, holy, true, louyng, gentle, mercifull, and then ſhall the Lordes wrath ceaſſe, not for this our doynges ſake, but for his mercies ſake. Go to therfore (good coũtreymen) take this coũſell of yͤ Lord, by me now ſent vnto you, as the Lordes counſell & not as mine, that in the day of Iudgement I may reioyce with you and for you: the which thing I hartly deſire, and not to be a witnes agaynſt you. My bloud will cry for vengeaunce, as agaynſt the Papiſtes Gods enemies (whõ I beſech God if it be his wil, hartely to forgiue, yea euẽ them which put me to death and are the cauſers therof, for they know not what they do) ſo will my bloud crie for vengeaunce agaynſt you (my dearely beloued in the Lord) if ye repent not, amend not, and turne vnto the Lord.

Precepts of life.

Riſing with Dauid. Suing with the Centurio. Repenting with the Publican. Returning with the loſt Sonne.

Gods counſell giuen.

Bradfords bloud will cry agaynſt the refuſers of his counſell.

Turne vnto the Lord yet once more, I hartely beſech thee thou Mãcheſter, thou Aſhton vnderline, thou Boltõ, Bury, wigine, Lierpole, Mottrine, Steppoꝛt, winſley, Eccles, Preſtwich, Middleton, Radcliefe, and thou Citie of weſtcheſter, where I haue truly taught & preached the word of God. Turne, I ſay vnto you all, and to all the inhabitors thereaboutes, vnto the Lord our God and he will turne vnto you, he will ſay vnto his Angell: *It is inough, put vp thy ſword.* The which thyng that he will do, I hũbly beſech his goodnes for the precious bloudes ſake of his deare ſonne our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. Ah good brethrẽ take in good part theſe my laſt wordes vnto euery one of you. Pardon me myne offẽſes and negligences in behauiour amongeſt you. The Lord of mercy pardon vs all our offenſes, for our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, Amen. Out of priſon ready to come to you, the. 11. of February. an. 1555.

Bradfords vltimum vale.

The day of Gods wrath at hand.

To the towne of Walden.

TO the faythfull and ſuch as profeſſe the true doctrine of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, dwelling at walden and thereaboutes, Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lord, now in bandes and condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the encreaſe of all godlynes in knowledge and liuing, from God the father of all comfort, through the deſertes of our alone and full redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, by the myghty working of the moſt holy ſpirite, the comforter for euer, Amen.

Another letter of Maiſter Bradford to the towne of Walden.

Wanton Goſpellers: Proud Proteſtantes: Falſe chriſtians.

When I remember how that by the prouydence and grace of God, I haue ben a mã by whom it hath pleaſed him through my miniſtery to cal you to repentance and amendment of lyfe, ſomething effectually, as it ſemed, and to ſowe amongſt you his true doctrine and religion, leſt that by my affliction and ſtormes now ariſen to trye the faythfull, and to conforme them like to the image of the ſonne of God, into whoſe company we are called, you might be faynt harted: I could not but out of priſon ſecretely (for my kepers may not know that I haue pen and inke) write vnto you a ſignification of the deſire I haue, that you ſhould not onely be more confirmed in the doctrine I haue taught amongſt you, which I take one my death, as I ſhall aunſwere at the day of dome, I am perſwaded to bee Gods aſſured, infallible, and playne truth: but alſo ſhould after your vocation auow the ſame by confeſſion, profeſſion, and liuing. I haue not taught you (my dearely beloued in the Lord) fables, tales, or vntruth, but I haue taught you the verity, as now by my bloud gladly (prayſed be God therefore) I do ſeale the ſame.

Maiſter Bradford anſwereth with his bloud for hys doctrine.

Bradford propheſieth of theſe plagues before.

In dede to confeſſe the truth vnto you, and to all the church of Chriſt, I do not thinke of my ſelfe but that I haue moſt iuſtly deſerued, not onely this kynde, but alſo all kyndes of death and that eternally, for myne hypocriſy, vayne glory, vncleannes, ſelfe loue, couetouſnes, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, and carnall profeſſing of Gods holy goſpel, lyuing therin not ſo purely, louingly, and paynfully as I ſhould haue done. The Lord of mercy for the bloud ſake of Chriſt pardon me, as I hope, yea I certainly beleue he hath done for his holy names ſake thorow Chriſt. But my dearely beloued, you and all the whole worlde may ſee, and eaſily perceiue, that the prelates perſecute in me an other thing then myne iniquities, euen Chriſt him ſelfe, Chriſtes verity and truth, becauſe I can not, dare not, nor will not confeſſe Tranſubſtantiation, and howe that wicked men, yea myſe and dogges eating the ſacrament, which they terme of the aultar, thereby ouerthrowing Chriſtes holy ſupper vtterly, doe eate Chriſtes naturall and reall body borne of the virgine Mary.

M. Bradford accuſeth agaynſt his owne life.

Chriſt him ſelfe perſecuted in hys Martyrs.

To beleue, and confeſſe as Gods word teacheth, the primatiue Church beleued, and all the Catholike and good holy Fathers taught fiue. C. yeares at the leaſt after Chriſt, that in the ſupper of the Lord (which the Maſſe ouerthroweth, as it doth Chriſtes Prieſthode, ſacrifice, death and paſſion, the miniſtery of his word, true fayth, repentance, and all godlynes) whole Chriſt God & man is preſent by grace to the fayth of the receyuers, but not of the ſtanders by, and lokers on, as bread and wyne is to their ſenſes, will not ſerue: and therefore I am condemned, and ſhall be burned out of hand as an hereticke. wherfore I hartely thanke my Lord God that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an inſtrument in whom hee him ſelfe doth ſuffer. For you ſee my affliction and death is not ſimply becauſe I haue deſerued no leſſe but much more at his hands and iuſtice: but rather becauſe I confeſſe his verity and truth, and am not affraid through his gift that to do, that you alſo might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore my dearely beloued, I hartely do pray you and ſo many as vnfaynedly loue me in God, to geue with me and for me moſt harty thankes to our heauenly father through our ſwete Sauior Ieſus Chriſt, for this his exceeding great mercy towardes me and you alſo, that your fayth wauer not from the doctrine I haue taught, and ye haue receyued. For what can you deſire more to aſſure your conſciences of the verity taught by your preachers, then their owne lyues?

M. Bradford perſecuted for confeſſing the truth.

Goe to therefore my deare hartes in the Lord, wauer not in Chriſtes religion truely taught you, and ſet forth in king Edwardes daies. Neuer ſhall the enemies be able to burne it, to priſon it, and kepe it in bondes. Us they may priſon, they may bynde & burne, as they do and will do ſo long as ſhall pleaſe the Lord: but our cauſe, religion, and doctrine which we cõfeſſe, they ſhall neuer be able to vanquiſh and put away. Their idolatry and popiſh religion ſhall neuer be built in the conſcience of men that loue Gods truth. As for thoſe that loue not Gods truth, that haue no pleaſure to walke in the wayes of the Lord, in thoſe I ſay the deuill ſhall preuayle: for God will geue them ſtrong illuſion to beleue lyes. Therefore deare brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, I humbly beſech you, and pray you in the bowels and bloud of our Lorde & Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, nowe goyng to the death for the teſtimonie of Ieſus, as oftentimes I haue done before this preſent out of your pulpit, that you would liue the Lords truth: loue (I ſay) to liue it and frame your liues therafter. Alas, you know the cauſe of all theſe plages fallen vpon vs, and of the ſucceſſe which Gods aduerſaries haue dayly, is for our not liuing Gods word.

Gods truth can neuer be kept vnder by the aduerſaries.

He exhorteth them to loue Gods truth and to liue thereafter.

You know how that wee were but Goſpellers in lippes, and not in lyfe. we were carnall, concupiſcencious, idle, vnthankfull, vncleane, couetous, arrogant, diſſemblers, crafty, ſubtill, malicious, falſe, backbyters .&c. and euen glutted with Gods worde, yea we lothed it, as did the Iſraelites the Manna in the wildernes: and therefore as to them the Lordes wrath waxed hote, ſo doth it vnto vs. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turne then neuer to turne) we confeſſe our faultes, euen from the bottome of our hartes, and with harty repentaunce (which God worke in vs all for his mercies ſake) we turne vnto the Lord our God, which is exorable, mer-

Gods Goſpell abuſed.

Gods Goſpell lothed.

He exhorteth to repentance and praier, and to bewayle our ſinnes before the Lord our God.

mercifull, and ſory for the euyll powred out vpon vs, and cry out vnto him with Daniell, ſaying: wee haue ſynned, wee haue ſinned, greuouſly oh Lorde God, agaynſt thy maieſty, we haue heaped iniquity vppon iniquity: the meaſure of our tranſgreſſions floweth ouer, ſo that iuſt is thy vengeaunce and wrath fallen vpon vs. For we are very miſerable, we haue contemned thy long ſuffring, wee haue not harkened to thy voyce. When thou haſt called vs by Preachers, wee hardened our hartes, and therefore now deſerue that thou ſend thy curſe hereuppon to harden our hartes alſo, that we ſhould henceforth haue eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not, hartes and vnderſtand not, leſt we ſhould conuert and be ſaued. Oh be mercifull vnto vs: ſpare vs good Lord and al thy people, whom thou haſt dearely bought. Let not thyne enemies triumph altogether and alwayes agaynſt thee, for then wyll they be puft vp. Loke downe and behold the pitifull complayntes of the poore: let the ſorowfull ſighing of the ſimple come in thy ſyght, and bee not angry with vs for euer. Turne vs oh Lord God of hoſtes vnto thee, and turne thee vnto vs, that thou mayſt be iuſtified in thy ſwete ſentences, and ouercome when thou art iudged, as now thou art of our aduerſaries. For they ſay, where is there God? Can God deliuer them now? Can their Goſpell ſerue them? Oh Lord howe long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honours ſake, in the bowelles and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, wee humbly beſech thee, come and help vs, for we are very miſerable.

The prayers of ſinners be not heard.

Romiſh rags, and rotten religion.

On this ſort I ſay, dearely beloued, let vs publickly and priuately bewayle our ſinnes: but ſo that hereto we ioyne ceaſing from wilfulnes and ſinne of purpoſe, for els the lord heareth not our praiers, as Dauid ſaith. And in Saint Iohn it is written: *the impenitent ſinners God heareth not.* Now, impenitent are they which purpoſe not to amend their lyues. As for example: not onely ſuch which follow ſtyll their pleaſures, vncleannes, carnality: but thoſe alſo which for feare or fauour of men, do agaynſt their conſcience to conſent to the Romiſh ragges, and reſort to the rotten religion, communicating in ſeruice and ceremonies with the Papiſtes, thereby declaring them ſelues to loue more the world then God, to feare man more then Chriſt, to dread more the loſſe of temporall thinges, then of eternall: in whom it is euident, the loue of God abydeth not. *For he that loueth the world, hath not Gods loue abyding in hym,* ſayth ſaynt Iohn: therefore my deare hartes, and deare agayne in the Lord, remember what you haue profeſſed, Chriſtes religion and name, and the renouncing of the Deuill, ſinne, and the world.

The A.B.C. of the Chriſtians beginneth with Chriſtes croſſe.

They neuer loſe that folow Chriſt.

Remember that before yee learned A.B.C. your leſſon was Chriſts croſſe. Forget not that Chriſt will haue no diſciples but ſuch as will promiſe to deny thē ſelues and take vp their croſſe (marke, take it vp) and follow him: and not the multitude, cuſtome &c. Conſider for Gods ſake, that if we gather not with Chriſt, we ſcatter abroad. What ſhould it profit a man to win the whole world, and loſe his owne ſoule? Wee muſt not forget that this lyfe is a wildernes, and not a paradiſe: here is not our home, we are now in warfare: we muſt needes fight, or els be taking priſoners. Of all thinges we haue in this lyfe, we ſhall cary nothing with vs. If Chriſt be our captayne, we muſt follow him as ſouldiers. If we kepe company with him in affliction, we ſhall be ſure of his ſociety in glory. If we forſake not hym, he wil neuer forſake vs. If we cōfeſſe him, he will confeſſe vs: but if we deny hym, he wyll deny vs. If we be aſhamed of him, he will be aſhamed of vs. Wherfore as he forſoke his father, & heauen, & all things to come to vs, ſo let vs forſake all things and come to him, being ſure and moſt certain, that we ſhall not loſe thereby. Your children ſhall finde and feele it double, ye treple, whatſoeuer you loſe for the Lordes ſake: and you ſhall find and fele peace of conſcience and frendſhip with God, which is more worth then all the goods of the world.

My dearly beloued, therfore for the Lords ſake conſider theſe thinges which now I wryte vnto you of loue, for my Vale and laſt farewell for euer in thys preſent life. Turne to the Lord: repent you your euill and vnthankfull life, declare repentaunce by the fruites: take time while you haue it: come to the Lorde whiles he calleth you: run into his lap whiles his armes be open to embrace you: ſeeke him whiles he may be found: call vpon him whiles tyme is conuenient: forſake and flie from all euill both in religion, and in the reſt of your life & conuerſation. Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your works and prayſe God in the day of his viſitation. *Oh come againe, come againe you ſtraunge children, and I will receiue you ſayth the Lord. Conuert and turne to me, and I will turne vnto you. Why will ye nedes periſh? As ſure as I liue (ſweareth the Lord) I will not your death: turne therfore vnto me. Can a woman forget the child of her wombe? If ſhe ſhould, yet will not I forget you, ſayth the Lord, your God. I am he, I am he which put away your ſins for mine owne ſake.*

He exhorteth to amendement in religion, and conuerſation.

The lord watcheth to performe his word doublewiſe.

Bradford muſt be a witnes in the laſt day to them that reiect his counſayle.

Oh then dere frends, turne I ſay vnto your deareſt father. Caſt not theſe his ſwete and louing wordes to the ground and at your taile, for the Lord watcheth on hys word to performe it: which is in two ſortes: to thē that lay it vp in their harts & beleue it, wil he pay all, and eternal ioy and comfort. But to them that caſt it at their backes, and will forget it, to them (I ſay) wyll he powre out indignation and eternall ſhame. Wherefore I hartely yet once more beſech and pray you and euery of you, not to contemne this poore and ſimple exhortation, which now out of priſon I make vnto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I bee to be a witnes againſt you in the laſt day: as of truth I muſt be if ye repent not, if ye loue not Gods Goſpell, yea if ye liue it not.

Therefore to conclude, repent, loue Gods Goſpell, liue it in all your conuerſation: ſo ſhall Gods name be praiſed, his plages mitigated, his people comforted, & his enemyes aſhamed. Graunt all this thou gracyous Lord God, to euery of vs for thy deare ſonnes ſake, our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt: To whom with thee and the holy Ghoſt, be eternall glory for euer and euer, Amen. The.xij.of February. 1555.

By the bondman of the Lord, and your afflicted
poore brother, I.Bradford.

¶To my louing brethren B.C.&c. their wiues and whole families, I.Bradford.

In other letter of Maiſter Bradford to certaine frendes of hys, whom for danger of that time he would not name.

I Beſeech the euerliuing God, to geue to you all, my good brethren and ſiſters, the comfort of the holy ſpirite, and the continuall ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt our Lord now and for euer, Amen.

Gods anger and mercy both together vpon his church.

The contempt of God and his goſpell puniſhed.

The worlde my brethren ſeemeth to haue the vpper hand, iniquitie ouerfloweth, the truth and veritie ſeemeth to bee ſuppreſſed, and they which take parte therewith, are vniuſtly entreated: as they which loue the truth lament to ſee and heare, as they doe. The cauſe of all this is Gods anger, and mercy: his anger, becauſe we haue greuouſly ſinned againſt him: his mercy, becauſe he here puniſheth vs, and as a father nourtereth vs. We haue bene vnthankeful for his word: We haue contemned his kindnes: we haue ben negligēt in prayer: we haue bene too carnall, couetous, licentious. &c. We haue not haſtened to heauēward, but rather to helward. We were fallen almoſt into an open contēpt of God, and all his good ordinaunces: ſo that of his iuſtice he could no longer forbeare, but make vs feele his anger: as now he hath done in taking his worde & true ſeruice from vs, and permitted Sathan to ſerue vs with Antichriſtian religion, and that in ſuch ſorte, that if we wyll not yelde to it, and ſeeme to allow in dede and outward fact, our bodyes are like to be layd in pryſon, and our goods geuen we can not tell to whom.

Exhortation to repentance and amendment.

Gods mercy the cauſe why we are puniſhed here.

This ſhould we loke vpon as a ſigne of Gods anger procured by our ſynnes: which my good brethren, euery of vs ſhould now call to our memories often times ſo particularly as we can, that we might hartely lament them, repent them, hate them, aſke earneſtly mercy for them, & ſubmit our ſelues to beare in this lyfe any kind of puniſhment which God will lay vpon vs for them. This ſhould we doe in conſyderation of Gods anger in thys time. Now his mercy in thys time of wrath is ſeene and ſhould be ſeene in vs my dearly beloued, in this, that God doth vouchſafe to puniſh vs in thys preſent lyfe. If he ſhould not haue punyſhed vs, do not you thynke that we would haue contynued in the euyls we were in? Yes verely we would haue bene worſe, & haue gone forwards in hardening our harts by impenitency and neglygence of God and true godlynes. And then if death had come, ſhould not we haue periſhed both ſoule and body into eternall fyre and perdition? Alas, what miſery ſhould we haue fallen into, if God ſhould haue ſuffered vs to haue gone on forwarde in our euils? No greater ſigne of damnation there is, then to lye in euyll and ſynne vnpunyſhed of God, as now the papiſts (my dearly beloued) are caſt into Iezabels bed of ſecuritye, which of all plagues is the greuouſeſt plague that cā be. They are baſtards and not ſonnes, for they are not vnder Gods rod of correction.

Ieſabels bed of ſecuritie.

A great mercy it is therfore that God doth punyſhe vs: for if he loued vs not, he would not puniſh vs. Now doth he chaſtyce vs that we ſhould not be damned wyth the world. Now doth he nourture vs, becauſe he fauoureth vs. Now may we thinke our ſelues Gods houſe and children, becauſe he begynneth his chaſtiſing at vs: now calleth he vs to remember our ſynnes paſt. wherfore? that we myght repent and aſke mercy. And why? that he myght forgeue vs, pardon vs, iuſtify vs, & make vs his children, and ſo begin to make vs here like vnto Chriſt, that we myght be lyke vnto him elſwhere, euen in heauen where already we are ſet by faith with Chriſt, and at hys commyng in very deede, we ſhall then moſt ioyfully enioy, when our ſinfull and vyle bodyes ſhall be made lyke to Chriſtes gloryous body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all thynges ſubiect to hym ſelfe.

Apoc.3. Heb.12. 1.Cor.11. 1.Pet.4.

The end wherefore Gods ſeruauntes be afflicted in thys world.

Philip.3.

Therfore my brethren, let vs in reſpect hereof, not lament but laude God, not be ſory but be mery, not weepe but reioyce and be glad, that god doth vouchſafe to offer vs hys croſſe, thereby to come to hym to endles ioyes and comfortes. For if we ſuffer, we ſhall raigne, if we cōfeſſe hym before men, he wyll confeſſe vs before hys father in heauen: if we be not aſhamed of his goſpell now, he wyll not be aſhamed of vs in the laſt day, but wyll be gloryfyed in vs, crowning vs wyth crownes of glory and endles felicitie: *For bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen: Be glad* (ſayth Peter) *for the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. After that you are a little while afflicted, God wil comfort, ſtrengthen, and confirme you.* And therfore my good brethren, be not diſcouraged for croſſe, for priſon, or loſſe of goods, for cōfeſſion of Chriſtes goſpell and truth, which ye haue beleued & liuely was taught amongeſt you in the dayes of our late good king and moſt holy Prince kyng Edward. Thys is moſt certayne, if you loſe any thyng for Chriſtes ſake, and for contemning the Antichriſtian ſeruice ſet vp againe amongeſt vs: as you for your partes, euen in pryſon ſhall fynde Gods great and rych mercy, farre paſſing all worldly wealth: ſo ſhall your wyues and chyldren in thys preſent life fynde and feele Gods prouydence more plentyfully then tongue can tel. For he wil ſhew mercyfull kyndnes on thouſands of them that loue hym. The good mans ſeede ſhall not go a begging his bread. You are good men, ſo many as ſuffer for Chriſtes ſake.

Rom.8. 2.Timo.2. Math.19. Math.5. 1.Pet.4. 1.Pet.5.

He exhorteth them to take comfort in the croſſe.

Math 19. Pſal.37.

I truſt you all, my dearely beloued, wil conſyder this geare wyth your ſelues, & in the croſſe ſee Gods mercy, which is more ſweete, & to be ſet by, then lyfe it ſelf, much more then any mucke or pelfe of this worlde. This mercy of God ſhould make you mery and cheerefull: for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the ioyes of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heauen is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the Deuil, but it is a ſtrait way which few walke in. For few liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, few regard the life to come, few remember the day of iudgement, few remember how Chriſt will deny them before his father, that do deny him here, few conſider that Chriſt wil be aſhamed of them in the laſt day which are aſhamed of his truth and true ſeruice, few caſt their accomptes what will be laid to theyr charge in the day of vengeaunce, few regard the condemnation of their owne conſciences in doing that which inwardly they diſalow, few loue God better then theyr goodes.

Gods mercy ſene in the croſſe.

Rom.8. Math 7. 1.Tim.3. 1.Cor.5. Math.16.

A ſtraite way. A little flocke.

Rom.14.

But I truſt yet you are of this few, my dearly beloued, I truſt you be of the litle flocke which ſhall enherite the kingdom of heauen, I truſt you are the mourners & lamenters which ſhalbe comforted with comfort which neuer ſhall be taken from you if you now repent your former euils, if now you ſtriue againſt the euils that are in you, if now you continue to call vpon God, if now you defile not your bodies with any Idolatrous ſeruice vſed in the Antichriſtian churches, if you moleſt not the good ſpirit of god which is geuen you as a gage of eternall redemption, a counſailer and maiſter to lead you into all truth: which good ſpirite I beſeech the father of mercy to geue to vs all for his deare ſonnes ſake Ieſus Chriſt our Lord: to whom I commēd you all, and to the word of his grace which is able to helpe you all, & ſaue you all that beleue it, follow it, and ſerue God thereafter.

Luke.10. Ephe.4. Actes.20.

And of this I would you were all certaine, that al the heares of your heads are nūbred, ſo that not one of thē ſhall periſh, neither ſhall any man or deuill be hable to attempt any thing, much leſſe to doe any thing to you or any of you, before your heauēly father which loueth you moſt tenderly, ſhall geue them leaue: and when he hath geuen them leaue, they ſhall goe no further then he wyl, nor kepe you in trouble any longer then he will. Therefore caſt on him all your care, for he is carefull for you. Only ſtudy to pleaſe him, and to kepe your conſciences cleane, and your bodyes pure from the Idolatrous ſeruice which now euery where is vſed, and God wil meruelouſly and mercifully defend and comfort you: which thing he do for his holy names ſake in Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Math.10. Math.8. Iob.1. Pſal 104. Pſal.31. 1.Pet.5.

¶To his dearely beloued in Chriſt, Erkinald Rawlins, and his wife.

An other letter of Maiſter Bradford vnto a godly couple, to the ſame effect as the other before.

GOd our deare & moſt merciful father through Chriſt, be with you my good brother and ſiſter, as with hys childrē for euer, and in all things ſo guide you with hys holy ſpirit the leader of his people, as may be to his glory & your owne euerlaſting ioy & comfort in him. Amē. Becauſe I haue oftentimes receiued from either of you, comfort corporally (for the which I beſech the Lorde, as to make me thankfull, ſo to recompence you both now and eternally) I cannot but go about (Lord helpe hereto for thy mercyes ſake) to write ſome thing for your comfort ſpiritually.

Dayes of affliction to the godly are ioyfull: to the vnrepenting ſinners be dolefull dayes.

My dearely beloued, loke not vpon theſe dayes, & the afflictions of yͤ ſame here with vs, ſimply as they ſeeme vnto you, that is, as diſmall dayes and dayes of Gods vengeaunce, but rather as lucky dayes and dayes of Gods fatherly kindnes towardes you and ſuch as you be, that is, towards ſuch as repent their ſinnes and euill life paſt, and earneſtly purpoſe to amend, walking not after the will of the world & moſt part of men for the preſeruation of their pelfe, which wil they nil they, they ſhal leaue ſooner or later, & to whom, or how it ſhalbe vſed they know not. In deede to ſuch as walke in theyr wickednes and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeaunce, and their beginning of ſorow is but now, becauſe they contemne the Phiſike of theyr father, which by this purging time and cleanſyng dayes would worke theyr weale, which they wil not: and becauſe they wil not haue gods bleſſing, which both wayes he hath offred vnto them, by proſperity and aduerſity: therfore it ſhall be kept far enough from them. As when the ſicke man will no kinde of Phyſicke at the hands of the Phyſition, he is left alone, and ſo the malady encreaſeth and deſtroyeth him at the length. To ſuch men in dede, theſe daies are and ſhould be douleful dayes, daies of woe and weeping, becauſe theyr damnation draweth nigh.

Cleanſing dayes.

Gods phiſicke not to be refuſed.

But vnto ſuch as be penitent, and are deſirous to liue after the Lords will (among whom I do not only count you, but as farre as a mā may iudge, I know ye are) vnto ſuch I ſay, this time is and ſhould be confortable. For firſt now your father chaſtiſeth you & me for our ſinnes: for the which if he would haue deſtroyed vs, then would he haue letten vs alone and left vs to our ſelues, in nothing to take to hart his fatherly viſitation, which here it pleaſeth him to worke preſently, becauſe elſwhere he wil not remember our tranſgreſſions, as Paule wryteth: *He chaſtiſeth vs in the worlde, leſt with the worlde we ſhoulde periſhe.* Therefore my deare hartes, call to minde your ſinnes to lament them and to aſke mercy for them in his ſight, and withall vndoubtedly beleue to obtain pardon and aſſured forgeuenes of the ſame, for twiſe the Lord puniſheth not for one thing.

Gods chaſtiſement to be receaued with comfort.

God puniſheth not twiſe for one thing.

So that I ſay, firſt we haue cauſe to reioyce for theſe dayes, becauſe our father ſuffereth vs not to lye in Ieſabels bed ſleeping in our owne ſinnes and ſecurity, but as myndfull on vs doth correct vs as hys children: whereby we may be certayne, that we bee no baſtards, but children: for he chaſtiſeth euery child whom hee receiueth. So that they which are not partakers of hys chaſtiſing or that contemne it, declare them ſelues to be baſtardes and not children: as I know ye are, which as ye are chaſtiſed, ſo do ye take it to hart accordingly. And therefore bee glad my deare hartes as folkes knowyng certaynly euen by theſe viſitations of the Lord, that ye are his deare elect children, whoſe faultes your father doth viſite with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he neuer take away from you, Amen.

Difference betwene baſtards and children.

Secōdly, ye haue cauſe to reioyce for theſe daies, becauſe

Trouble trieth who be of God, and who be not.

they are daies of trial, wherein not only ye your ſelues, but alſo ỷ world ſhal know ỷ ye be none of hys but ỷ Lordes dearlinges. Before theſe dayes came, Lord God, how many thought of them ſelues they had ben in Gods boſome, and ſo were taken & would be taken of the world? But now we ſee whoſe they are. For to whom we obey, his ſeruaunts we are. If we obey the world (which God forbid, and hytherto ye haue not done it) then are we the worldes: but if we obey God, then are we Gods. which thyng (I meane that ye are Gods) theſe dayes haue declared both to you, to me, and to all other that knowe you, better then euer we knew it. Therefore ye haue no cauſe to ſorrow, but rather to ſyng, in ſeing your ſelues to be Gods babes, and in ſeing that all Gods children do ſo count you.

A true louer of the lord is declared by his life.

The deuill neuer entreth into his owne hogges.

What though the world repine thereat? what though he kicke? what though he ſeeke to trouble & moleſt you? My deare hartes, he doth but his kinde, he can not loue the Lord, which liueth not the Lord, he can not brooke the child, that hateth the father, he can not minde the ſeruaunt, that careth not for the maiſter. If ye were of the world the world would loue you, ye ſhould dwell quietly, there would be no grief, no moleſtation. If the deuill dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid) he would not ſtirre vp his knightes to beſiege your houſe, to ſnatch your goodes: or ſuffer his frendes to enter into your hogges. But becauſe Chriſt dwelleth in you (as he doth by faith) therfore ſtirreth he vp his firſt begottē ſonne ỷ world, to ſeeke how to diſquiet you, to robbe you, to ſpoile you, to deſtroy you: and perchaunce your deare father, to try and to make knowen vnto you and to the world, that ye are deſtinate to an other dwelling then here on earth, to an other Citie then mans eyes haue ſeene at any tyme: hath geuen or wil geue power to Sathan and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelitie, obedience, and loue towardes him (for ye may not loue thē aboue him) as by geuyng that ye haue, and kepyng it, he hath declared his loue towardes you.

The Lord geueth power to Sathan ſometimes ouer his ſeruauntes, and to what end.

God vſeth to try his.

Sathan perchaunce telleth God (as he did of Iob) that ye loue God for your goodes ſake. What now then, if the Lord to try you with Iob, ſhall geue him power on your goodes and body accordyngly, ſhould ye be diſmayed? ſhould ye deſpayre? ſhould ye be faynt harted? ſhould ye not rather reioyce, as did the Apoſtles, that they were counted worthy to ſuffer any thyng for the Lordes ſake? Oh forget not the end that happened to Iob: for as it happened to him, ſo ſhall it happen vnto you. For God is the ſame God, and can not long forget to ſhew mercy to them that looke and long for it, as I know ye do, and I pray you ſo to do ſtill. For the Lord loueth you, and neuer can nor will forget to ſhew and poure out his mercy vpō you. *After a litle while that he hath afflicted and tryed you* (ſayth Peter) *he will viſite, comfort, and confirme you.* As to Iacob wraſtlyng with the aungell, at the length mornyng came, and the ſonne aroſe: ſo deare hartes doubtles it will happen vnto you. Howbeit doe ye as Iob and Iacob did, that is, order and diſpoſe your things that God hath lent you, as ye may and whiles ye haue tyme. Who knoweth whether God hath geuen you power this long euen to that end?

Iacob muſt teach vs to wraſtle.

Go to therfore, diſpoſe your goodes, prepare your ſelues to trial, that either ye may ſtand to it like Gods chāpions, or els if ye feele ſuch infirmitie in your ſelues that ye be not able, geue place to violence, and goe where ye may with free and ſafe conſcience ſerue the Lord. Thinke not this counſell to come by chaunce or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other oracles we may not looke for now. As God told Ioſeph in a dreame by an aungel, that he ſhould flie: ſo if ye feele ſuch infirmitie in your ſelues, as ſhould turne to Gods diſhonour, and your owne deſtruction withall: know that at this preſent, I am as Gods Aungell, to admoniſhe you to take tyme whiles ye haue it, and to ſee that in no caſe Gods name by you might be diſhonoured. Ioſeph might haue obiected the omiſſion of his vocation, as perchaunce ye will do. But deare hartes, let vocatiōs and all thinges els geue place to Gods name, and the ſanctifiyng thereof.

This *Erkinald* and his wife following this coūſell, did flie both beyond Sea.

This I ſpeake, not as though I would not haue you rather to tary and to ſtand to it: but I ſpeake it in reſpect of your infirmitie: which if ye feele to be ſo great in you that ye are not certaine of this hope, that God will neuer tempt you aboue your habilitie: flie & get you hence, and know that therby God will haue you tryed to your ſelues and to others. For by it you ſhall know how to take this world, and your home here as no home, but that ye looke for an other, and ſo giue occaſion to others leſſe to loue this world and perchaunce to ſome to doubt of their Religion. wherin though that they be earneſt, yet would not they loſe ſo much as ye do for your Religion, which ye doe confirme to me and others by your geuyng place to violence.

Tribulatiōs doth conforme vs to the image of Chriſt.

Laſt of al, ye haue cauſe to reioyce ouer theſe our daies, becauſe they be the dayes of conformation, in the which and by which God our heauenly Father maketh vs like vnto Chriſtes image here, that we may be like vnto him elſwhere. For if ỷ we ſuffer with him, thē we ſhal raigne alſo with him: if we be buried with him, thē we ſhall ryſe with him again: if that we company with him in al troubles & afflictiōs, then we ſhall reioyce with him in glory: if we now ſow with him in teares, we ſhall reape wyth him in gladnes: if we confeſſe him before men, he wyll confeſſe vs before his father in heauen: If we take hys part, he will take ours: If we looſe ought for his names ſake, he will geue vs all things for his truthes ſake. So that we ought to reioyce and bee glad: For it is not geuen to euery one to ſuffer loſſe of countrey, lyfe, goodes, houſe. &c. for the Lordes ſake. What can God the father doe more vnto vs, then to call vs into the campe with his Sonne? what may Chriſt our Sauiour do more for vs, then to make vs his warriours? what can the holy Ghoſt do to vs aboue thys, to marke vs with the cogniſaunce of the Lord of hoſtes?

The lordes cogniſaūce ſtandeth not in forked cappes, &c. but in ſuffring for the lordes ſake.

This cogniſaunce of the Lorde ſtandeth not in forked caps, tippets, ſhauen crownes, or ſuch other baggage & Antichriſtian pelfe, but in ſuffering for the Lordes ſake. *The world ſhall hate you*, ſayth Chriſt. Loe there is ỷ cogniſaunce & badge of Gods children: *The world ſhall hate you.* Reioyce therefore my dearely beloued, reioyce, that God doth thus vouchſafe to begyn to conforme you, and make you lyke to Chriſt. By the triall of theſe daies ye are occaſioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemne thys worlde, more to deſire lyfe euerlaſting, more to bee holy (for holy is the end wherfore God doth afflicte vs) and ſo come to Gods company. Which thing becauſe we cannot doe, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the dore of death we muſt enter with Chriſt into eternall life & immortalitie of ſoule and body: which God of his mercye ſend ſhortfor our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, Amen.

¶ *To Maiſtres A. Warcup.*

An other letter of Maiſter *Bradford* to Miſtres *Warcup*.

THe euerlaſting peace of Chriſt be more & more liuely felt in our hartes by the operation of the holy Ghoſt now and for euer, Amen.

Although I know it to be more then nedeth, to write any thing vnto you (good Siſter) being, as I doubt not you be, diligently exerciſed in reading of the Scriptures, in meditating of the ſame, and in hartye prayer to God for the helpe of his holy ſpirite, to haue the ſenſe & feeling, eſpeciallye of the comfortes you read in Gods ſweete booke: yet hauing ſuch oportunitie, and knowing not whether hereafter I ſhall euer haue the lyke (as this bringer can declare) I thought good in few wordes to take my farewell in writing, becauſe otherwyſe I can not. And now me thinkes I haue done it. For what els can I or ſhould I ſay vnto you (my dearely beloued in the Lord) but farewell? Farewel deare Siſter, farewel: how be it in the Lord, our Lord (I ſay) farewell. In him ſhall you farewell, and ſo much the better, by how much in your ſelfe you fare euyll, and ſhall fare euyll.

Bradfords farewell to Miſtres *Warcup*.

When I ſpeake of your ſelf, I meane alſo this world, this lyfe, and all thinges properly partaining to this life. In thē, as you looke not for your welfare, ſo be not diſmaide when accordingly you ſhall not feele it. To the Lorde our God, to the Lambe our Chriſt, which hath borne our ſynnes on his backe, and is our Mediatour for euer, do I ſend you. In him looke for welfare, and that without all wauering, becauſe of his own goodnes and truth, which our euyls and vntruth cannot take awaye: Not that therefore I woulde haue you to flatter your ſelfe in any euill or vnbelief, but that I would comfort you, that they ſhould not diſmay you. Yours is our Chriſt wholy, yours I ſay hee is, with all that euer hee hath. Is not this welfare trow you? Mountaines ſhal moue, and the earth ſhall fall before you finde it otherwiſe, ſay the lyar Sathan what he lyſt.

Chriſt is wholy ours with all that euer he hath.

Therefore good Siſter farewell, and be merye in the Lord: be mery I ſay, for you haue good cauſe. If your welfare, ioy, and ſaluation hanged vpon any other thing then onely Gods mercy and truth, then might you well be ſad, heauy, and ſtand in a doubt: but in that it hangeth onely vpon theſe two, tell Sathan he lyeth when he would you to ſtand in a mammering by cauſing you to caſt your eyes (which onely in this caſe ſhould be ſet on Chriſt your ſwete Sauiour) on your ſelf. In ſome part in deede looke on your ſelfe, on your faith, on your loue, obedience, &c. to wake you vp frō ſecuritie, to ſtyrre you vp to diligēce in doing the things appertayning to your vocation: but when you would bee at peace with God, and haue true conſolation in your conſcience, altogether looke vpō the goodnes of God in Chriſt. Thinke on this commaundement which precedeth all other: that you muſt haue no other Gods but the Lorde Iehouah, which is your Lord and God: the which he could not be if that he did not pardon your ſynnes in very deede. Remember that Chriſt commaundeth you to call him father for the ſame intent. And hereto call to mynde all the benefites of God hetherto ſhewed vpon you: and ſo ſhall you feele in very deede, that which I wiſhe vnto you now, and pray you to wiſh vnto me, Farewell or welfare in the Lord Ieſus, with whom he graunt vs ſhortly to meete as his childrē, for his name and mercies ſake, to our eternall welfare, Amen.

How to anſwere to Sathan, when he moueth vs to doubt of Gods fauour.

How to looke vpon Chriſt.

How to looke vpon our ſelues.

In caſe of iuſtificatiō let no man looke vpon him ſelfe, but only vpon the goodnes of God in Chriſt.

To mine owne deare brother M.Laurence Saunders, priſoner in the Marſhalſee.

A letter of Maiſter Bradford to Maiſter Saunders.

My good brother, I beſeech our good and gracious Father alwayes to continue his gracious fauour and loue towards vs, and by vs, as by inſtruments of his grace, to worke his glory and the confuſion of hys aduerſaryes. Ex ore infantiū & lactētium fundet laudē ad deſtruēdum inimicū.&c.Amen. i. *Out of the mouth of infantes and babes he will ſhewe forth hys praiſe to deſtroy the enemy. &c.*

I haue peruſed your letters to my ſelf, and haue red them to others. For anſwer wherof, if I ſhould write what D.Taylor, and M.Philpot doe thinke, then muſt I ſay that they thinke ẏ ſalt ſent vnto vs by your *frend is vnſeaſonable. And in deede I thinke they both will declare it hartely if they ſhould come before them. As for me, if you would know what I thinke (my good & moſt deare brother Laurence) bicauſe I am ſo ſinfull and ſo conſpurcate (the Lord knoweth I lye not) with many greuous ſinnes, (which yet I hope are waſhed away Sanguine Chriſti noſtri) I neither can nor would be conſulted withall, but as a ſiphar in Agrime. Howbe it, to tel you how and what I minde, take this for a ſumme: I pray God in no caſe I may ſeeke my ſelfe: and in deede (I thanke God therefore) I purpoſe it not. Quod reliquum eſt domino Deo meo committo, & ſpero in illum, quòd ipſe faciet iuxta hoc: Iacta in Dominum curam.&c. Omnis cura veſtra coniecta ſit in illum, &c. Reuela domino viam tuam & ſpera.&c. Sperantem in domino miſericordia circundabit. i. *That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God: and I truſt in him, that he will do according to this: Caſt thy care on the Lorde. &c. Caſt all your care vppon him. &c. Reueale vnto the Lorde thy way, and truſt. &c Who that truſteth in the Lord, mercy ſhall compaſſe him about.* I did not nor doe not know but by your letters, quòd cras we ſhall come coram nobis. Mine owne hart, ſticke ſtill to dabitur vobis. Fidelis enim eſt dominus, dabit in tentatione euentum quo poſſimus ſufferre. Nouit dominus pios ē tentatione eripere.&c. O vtinā pius ego eſſem. Nouit Dominus in die tribulationis ſperātes in ſe.&c.i. *It ſhall be geuē you. &c. For the lord is faithfull. He wil in tentatiō make a way that ye may be able to beare it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of tentatiō the godly. &c. O would God I were godly. The Lord knoweth how to deliuer out of tentation ſuch as truſt in him. &c.* I can not thinke that they will offer any kind of indifferent or meane conditions: for if we will not adorare beſtiam, we neuer ſhalbe deliuered but agaynſt their wil, thinke I. God our father & gracious Lord make perfect the good he hath begon in vs. Faciet mi frater, chariſſime frater, quem in intimis viſceribus habeo ad conuiuendum & commoriendum. O ſi tecum eſſem. *He will doe it my brother, my deare brother, whom I haue in my inward bowels to liue and die with. O if I were with you.* Pray for mee mine owne hart roote in the Lord.

For euer your own, Ioh.Bradford.

* This frend moued thē to ſubſcribe to the Papiſtes articles with this conditiō: ſo farre as they were not agaynſt Gods worde, beyng in deede cleane contrary to it: and yet ſhortly after he beautifully ſuffred death by refuſing the ſame.

Pſal. 54. Pſal. 36. Pſal. 31.

Math. 10. 1.Cor. 10. 2.Pet. 2. Nahum. 1.

An other Letter to M.Laurence Saunders.

An other letter of Maiſter Bradford to the ſayd Maiſter Saunders.

Gods ſweete peace in Chriſt be with you, my good brother in the Lord Ieſus, and with al your cōcaptiues, Amen.

I was letted this morning from muſing on that which I was purpoſed to haue thought on by reaſon of you, againſt whom I ſaw my ſelfe gilty of negligēce euen in this poynt that I would not wryte. I ſhould ſay, that I had not written vnto you as yet: therefore out of hand in maner I prepared my ſelfe to purge my ſelfe hereof, not that I will go about to excuſe my fault (for that were more to loade me) but by aſking both God and you pardon, to get it no more layde to my charge. Now thē as I was thus purpoſing and partly doing, commeth there one with a letter from you, for the which as I haue cauſe to thanke God & you, (howbeit not ſo that you ſhold thynke I geue not the whole to God) ſo I ſee my ſelfe more blame worthy for this long holding my peace. Howbeit good brother, in this I haue geuen a demonſtration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and eſpecially in praying for you and for the Church of God, which for my ſinnes and hipocriſy (hipocriſy in deede euen in this wryting, God deliuer me from it) haue deſerued to be puniſhed. Iuſt is God, for we haue deſerued al kindes of plagues at his hands: but yet mercyfull is he that will on this wiſe chaſtiſe vs with thys world, ne cum mundo condemnemur. i. *That we ſhoulde not bee condemned with the worlde.* Hee might otherwiſe haue puniſhed vs, I meane, he might haue for other cauſes caſt vs in priſon, me eſpecially, then for his goſpell and words ſake: Prayſed therfore be his name which voucheth vs worthy this honor. Ah good god, forgeue vs our ſynnes, and worke by this thy fatherly correctiō on vs, on me eſpecially, effectually to loue thee and thy Chriſt: and wyth ioyfulnes vnto the end, to cary thy croſſe through thicke and thinne. Alwayes ſet before our eyes not this gallowes on earth if we will ſticke to thee, but the gallowes in hell if we deny thee, or ſwarue from that we haue profeſſed.

M.Bradford accuſeth him ſelfe of negligence. &c.

Ah good brother, if I could alwayes haue God, his maieſty, mercy, heauen, hell. &c. before mine eyes, then ſhould I obdurare, as Paule wryteth of Moſes. Heb. 11. obdurauit inquit, perinde quaſi vidiſſet eum qui eſt inuiſibilis. i. *He endured* (ſayth he) *as he that ſaw him which is inuiſible.* Pray for me, as I know you do, and geue thankes alſo, for in Domino ſpero: non nutabo. Si ambulauero per vallem vmbræ mortis, non timebo quia tu Domine mecum es.&c. Amen. i. *In the Lord I truſt: I ſhall not wauer. If I walke by the valley of the ſhadow of death, I will not feare, for thou art with me O Lord.* I thinke we ſhall be ſhortly called forth: for now legem habent, & ſecundum legem.&c. otherwiſe wil they not reaſō with vs: and I thinke their ſhoot-anker wil be, to haue vs to ſubſcribe. The which thing if we doe, though with thys condition: [ſo farre as the thing ſubſcribed to, repugneth not agaynſt Gods worde] yet this will be offēſiue. Therfore let vs vadere planè & ſo ſanè, I meane, let vs all cōfeſſe that we are no chaungelings, but reipſa are the ſame we were in religion, and therfore can not ſubſcribe, except we wil diſſemble both with God, our ſelues, and the world. Hæc tibi ſcribo frater mi chariſſime in domino. Iam legam tuam epiſtolam. i. *Theſe things I wryte to you deare brother in the lord. Now I will read your Epiſtle.* Ah brother that I had practicā tecum ſcientiam in vite illa quam pingis: roga dominum vt ita verè ſentiam, Amen. i. *The practicall vnderſtanding with you in that vine which you deſcribe. Pray the Lord that I may ſo thinke in deede.* God make me thankefull for you. Salutant te omnes concaptiui & gratias domino pro te agunt: idem tu facies pro nobis & ores vt.&c. i. *All our fellow priſoners ſalute you, and geue thankes to God for you. The ſame dōe you for vs, and pray that. &c.*

Pſal. 12.

1.Iohn. 13.

Your brother in the Lord Ieſus to liue
and die with you, Iohn Bradford.

To my deare fathers, D.Cranmer, D.Ridley, and D.Latimer.

An other letter of Maiſter Bradford to D.Cranmer, D.Ridley, & M.Latymer.

Ieſus Emanuell. My deare fathers in the Lord, I beſech God our ſweete father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good he hath begon in vs all, Amen.

I had thought that euery of your ſtaues had ſtand next the dore, but now it is otherwiſe perceaued. Our deare brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, and as this day (I thinke) or to morrow at the vttermoſt, harty Hoper, ſincere Saunders, and truſty Taylour ende theyr courſe and receiue theyr crowne. The next am I, which hourly looke for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the deſired reſt. God forgeue me mine vnthankefulnes for this exceedyng great

This is a ſingular mercy of God, to haue death which is a due puniſhement for ſinne, turned into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lords truth.

great mercy, that amongs ſo many thouſands, it pleaſeth his mercy to chooſe me to be one in whom he wyll ſuffer. For although it be moſt true, that iuſte patior. i. *I iuſtly ſuffer* (for I haue ben a great hypocrite & a greuous ſynner, the Lord pardon me, yea he hath done it, he hath done it in deede) yet, hic autem quid mali fecit? i. *What euyll hath he done? CHRIST*, whõ yͤ Prelates perſecute, his veritie which they hate in mee, hath done no euill, nor deſerueth death. Therefore ought I moſt hartely to reioyce of this dignation and tender kindnes of the Lorde towardes mee, which vſeth the remedy for my ſynne as a teſtimoniall of his teſtament, to his glory, to my euerlaſting comfort, to the edifying of his church, & to the ouerthrowing of Antichriſt and his kingdome. O what am I Lord, that thou ſhouldeſt thus magnify me ſo vile a man and miſer, as alwayes I haue bene? Is this thy wont to ſend for ſuch a wretch and an hypocrite as I haue bene, in a fiery charyot, as thou diddeſt for Helias? Oh deare fathers, be thankfull for me, and pray for me, that I ſtill may be foũd worthy in whom the Lord would ſanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready, for we are but your gentlemen huſhers. Nuptiæ agni paratæ ſunt, venite ad nuptias. i. *The mariage of the Lambe is prepared: come vnto the mariage.* I now go to leaue my fleſh there, where I receiued it. I ſhal be conueyed thether, as Ignatius was to Rome, Leopardis: by whoſe euill I hope to be made better. God graunt, if it be his wyll that I aſke, it may make them better by me, Amen.

4. *Regum.* 2.

He meaneth that he ſhould be conueyed by the Queenes Garde into Lanckeſhire to be burnt, as the aduerſaries had once determined: like as Ignatius was by a company of ſouldiers conueyed to Rome, and caſt to the Leopardes. Eccle. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 36.

For my farewell therefore, I write & ſend this vnto you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall neuer be ſeperated. In the meane ſeaſon I will not ceaſe, as I haue done, to commend you to our father of heauen. And that you would ſo do by me, I moſt hartely pray euery one of you. You know now I haue moſt neede. But fidelis Deus, qui nunquam ſinet nos tentari ſupra id quòd poſſumus. i. *Faithfull is God, which will not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our ſtrength.* He neuer did it hetherto, nor now, I am aſſured, he will neuer do, Amen. A dextris eſt mihi, non mouebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me ſanctum ſuum per gratiam in Chriſto, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans omni momento carnificẽ. i. *He is on my right hand, therefore I ſhall not fall. Wherefore my hart ſhall reioyce, for he ſhall not leaue my ſoule in hell, neyther ſhal ſuffer me his holy one by his grace in Chriſt, to ſee corruptiõ. Out of priſon in haſt, looking euery moment for the Tormẽtour.* The. 8. of February. Anno. 1555.

Pſal. 16.

Iohn Bradford.

¶To the honourable Lord Ruſſell, now Earle of Bedford, beyng then in trouble for the veritie of Gods Goſpell.

A letter of *M. Bradford* to the Lord *Ruſſell*, now Earle of Bedford.

The euerlaſtyng & moſt gracious God and father of our Sauiour *IESV CHRIST*, bleſſe your good Lordſhyp with all maner of heauenly bleſſynges in the ſame *CHRIST* our onely comfort and hope, Amen.

The excellencie of fayth, and what it worketh.

Praiſed be god our father which hath vouched you worthy, as of fayth in his *CHRIST*, ſo of his Croſſe for yͤ ſame. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath deliuered you frõ one croſſe, ſo he hath made you willyng (I truſt) and ready to beare an other when he ſhall ſee his time to lay it vpõ you: for theſe are yͤ moſt ſingular giftes of God geuen as to fewe, ſo to none els but to thoſe fewe which are moſt deare in his ſight. Faith is reckened & worthely, among the greateſt giftes of God, yea it is the greateſt it ſelfe that we enioy, for by it, *As we be iuſtified and made Gods children, ſo are we temples and poſſeſſours of the holy ſpirite, yea of Chriſt alſo.* Eph. 4. *And of the father him ſelfe.* Iohn. 14. *By faith we driue the deuill away.* 1. Pet. 5. *We ouercome the world.* 1. Iohn. *And are already Citizens of heauen and fellowes with Gods deare Saintes.* But who is able to recken the riches that this faith bringeth with her vnto the ſoule ſhe ſitteth vpon? No man nor Angell. And therfore (as I ſayd) of all Gods giftes, ſhe may be ſet in the top and haue the vpmoſt ſeate. The which thing if men conſidered (in that ſhe commeth alonely from Gods owne mercy ſeate, by the hearyng, not of Maſſe or Mattyns, Diriges or ſuch draſſe, but of the word of God in ſuch a toung as we cã & do vnderſtãd) as they would be diligẽt & take great hede for doing or ſeing any thyng which might caſt her down (for then they fall alſo) ſo woulde they with no leſſe care read and heare Gods holy word, ioynyng therto moſt earneſt and often prayer, aſwell for the more and better vnderſtandyng, as for the louyng, liuing, and confeſſing of the ſame, mauger the head of the deuill, the world, our fleſh, reaſon, goodes, poſſeſſions, carnall frendes, wife, children, and very life here, if they ſhould pull vs backe to harken to their voyce and coũſell, for more quiet, ſure, and longer vſe of them.

Fayth commeth by hearing the word: and not by hearing Maſſe.

Phil. 1.

Now, notwithſtãdyng this excellency of faith, in that we read the Apoſtle to match therewith, yea (as it were) to preferre ſufferyng perſecution for Chriſtes ſake, I trowe no man will bee ſo fonde as to thinke otherwiſe, but that I & all Gods children haue cauſe to glorifie and prayſe God, which hath vouched you worthy ſo great a bleſſyng. For though the reaſõ or wiſedome of the world thinke of the Croſſe accordyng to their reach & according to their preſent ſenſe, and therfore flyeth from it as from a moſt great ignominie and ſhame: yet Gods ſcholers haue learned otherwiſe to thinke of the Croſſe, that it is the frame houſe in the which God frameth his children like to his ſonne *CHRIST*: the fornace that fineth Gods gold: the high way to heauen: the Sute and Liuerey that Gods ſeruauntes are ſerued withall: the earneſt and beginning of all conſolation and glory. For they (I meane Gods ſcholers, as your lordſhip is, I truſt) do enter into Gods Sanctuary, leſt their feete ſlip. They looke not as beaſtes do, on thinges preſent onely, but on things to come, and ſo haue they as preſent to faith, the iudgement & glorious cõming of *CHRIST*, like as the wicked haue now their worldly wealth wherin they wallow and wil wallow till they tumble headlong into hell, where are tormẽtes too terrible, and endles. Now they folow the Feende as the Beare doth the traine of hony & the Sow the ſwillynges, till they be brought into the ſlaughter houſe, and then they know that their proſperitie hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they woe, woe. *We went the wronge way: We counted theſe men* (I meane ſuch as you be that ſuffer for Gods ſake loſſe of goodes, frendes and life, whom they ſhall ſee endued with rich robes of righteouſnes, crownes of moſt pure precious gold, and palmes of conqueſt in the goodly glorious palace of the Lambe, where is eternall ioy, felicitie. &c.) *We counted* (will they then ſay) *theſe men but fooles and madde mẽ, we tooke their conditions to be but curioſitie. &c.* But then will it be to late, thẽ yͤ time will be turned, laughyng ſhall be turned into weeping, and weeping into reioycing. Read Sapien. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Pſal. 1. 2. *Cor.* 6.

The efficacy of the croſſe, and what it worketh in Gods children.

Pſal. 72.

The end of proſperity.

Sap. 5.

Therfore (as before I haue ſayd) great cauſe haue I to thanke God which hath vouched you worthy of this moſt bountifull bleſſing: much more then you haue cauſe (my good Lord) ſo to be, I meane thankefull. For looke vpon your vocation I pray you, and tell me how many noble men, Earles ſonnes, Lordes, Knightes and men of eſtimatiõ hath God in this Realme of England dealt thus withal? I dare ſay you thinke not that you haue deſerued this. Onely Gods mercy in hys *CHRIST* hath wrought this on you, as he did in Ieremyes time on Abimelech, in Achabs tyme on Abdias, in *CHRISTES* tyme on Ioſeph of Arimathia, in the Apoſtles time on Sergius Paulus, and the Queene of Candaces Chamberlaine. Onely now be thankfull and continue, continue, continue (my good Lord) continue to cõfeſſe *CHRIST*. Be not aſhamed of hym before men, for then will not he be aſhamed of you. Now will he try you: ſticke faſt vnto him and he will ſticke faſt by you: hee will be with you in trouble & deliuer you. But then muſt you cry vnto him, for ſo it precedeth: *He cryed vnto me and I heard hym: I was with him in trouble. &c.*

Few noble men called to Chriſtes kingdome.

Pſal 91.

Remember Lothes wife which loked backe. Remẽber Fraunces Spira. Remember that none is crowned but hee that ſtriueth lawfully. Remember that all you haue, is at Chriſtes commaundement. Remember he loſt more for you then you cã loſe for him. Remember you loſe not that which is loſte for his ſake, for you ſhall finde much more here and elſwhere. Remember you ſhall dye, and when, where, and how, you can not tell. Remember the death of ſinners is moſt terrible. Remember the death of Gods Saintes is precious in his ſight. Remember the multitude goeth the wideway which windeth to woe. Remember that the ſtraite gate which leadeth to glory hath but few trauellers. Remẽber, Chriſt biddeth you ſtriue to enter in therat. Remember, he that truſteth in the Lord ſhal receaue ſtrength to ſtand agaynſt all the aſſaultes of his enemies. Be certaine all the heares of your head are numbred. Be certaine your good father hath pointed boundes ouer the which the deuill dare not looke. Commit your ſelfe to him: he is, hath bene, and will be your keper. Caſt your care on him & he will care for you. Let *CHRIST* be your ſcope & marke to pricke at: let

Godly remembrances.

Chriſt onely muſt haue both hart and hand.

Pſal.1.
2.Cor.6.

let him be your patron to worke by: let him be your enſample to folow: geue him as your hart ſo your hand, as your mind ſo your toung, as your fayth ſo your feete, and let his worde be your candle to go before you in all matters of Religion. Bleſſed is he that walketh not to theſe Popiſh prayers, nor ſtandeth at them nor ſitteth at them: glorifie God in both ſoule and body. He that gathereth not with Chriſt, ſcattereth abroad. Uſe prayer, looke for Gods helpe, which is at hãd to them that aſke and hope thereafter aſſuredly. In which prayer I hartly deſire your Lordſhip to remember vs, who as we are goyng with you right gladly (God therfore be prayſed) ſo we looke to go before you, hopyng that you will folow, if God ſo will, accordyng to your dayly prayer: *Thy will be done on earth. &c.* The good ſpirite of God alwayes guide your Lordſhip vnto the end, Amen.

Your Lordſhips owne for euer,
Iohn Bradford.

¶To M.Warcup and his wife, Miſtres Wilkinſon & others of his godly friendes with their families.

A pithy and effectuall letter of Maiſter Bradford to Maiſter Warcup.

THe ſame peace our Sauior CHRIST left with his people, which is not without warre with the world, almighty God worke plentifully in your hartes now and for euer, Amen.

The time I perceiue is come, wherein the Lordes ground wil be knowen, I meane it will now ſhortly appeare who haue receiued Gods Goſpel into their harts in deede, to the taking of good roote therein, for ſuch wil not for a little heate or ſunburning, wyther, but ſtiffely will ſtand & grow on maugre the malice of all burning ſhowers and tempeſtes. And for as much as (my beloued in the Lord) I am perſwaded of you, that ye bee in deede the children of God, Gods good ground, which groweth and will grow on (by Gods grace) bringing forth fruit to Gods glory after your vocations, as occaſion ſhall be offered (burne the ſunne neuer ſo hote) therfore I cã not but ſo ſignifie vnto you, & hartely pray you and euery one of you, accordingly to go on forwards after your Maiſter CHRIST, not ſticking at yͤ foule way & ſtormy weather, which you are come into and are like ſo to do, of this being moſt certaine, that the ende of your iourney ſhall be pleaſant and ioyfull in ſuch a perpetual reſt and bliſſefulnes as can not but ſwallow vp the ſhowers that ye now feele & are ſouſſed in, if ye often ſet it before your eyes after Paules counſell in the later end of the.4.and beginning of the.5.chap.of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians. Reade it I pray you, and remember it often, as a Reſtoratiue to refreſhe you, leſt ye faint in the way.

And beſides this, ſet before you alſo, that though the weather be foule and ſtormes growe apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers & ſiſters pad the ſame path, as S.Peter telleth vs, and therfore company ſhould cauſe you to be the more couragious and chereful. But if ye had no company at all to goe preſently with you, I pray you tell me, if euen from the begynning the beſt of Gods frendes haue found any fayrer weather and way to the place whether ye are going (I meane heauen) thẽ ye now finde and are like to do, except ye wyll with the worldlings, which haue their portion in this lyfe, tarye ſtill by the way till the ſtormes be ouerpaſt, and then eyther night will ſo approch that ye can not trauail, eyther the doores wyll bee ſparred before ye come, and ſo ye ſhall lodge without in wonderfull euil lodgings. Reade Apoca.22. Begin at Abell, and come from him to Noe, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Ioſeph, the Patriarches, Moſes, Dauid, Daniel, and all the Saintes in the old teſtament, and tell me whether euer any of them found any fairer way then ye now finde.

Foule way and foule weather to the kingdome of heauen.

The paſſage of all Gods Saintes both in the old and new teſtament, hath bene through affliction.

Read the [illegible] of the primitiue church [illegible]

If the old Teſtament wil not ſerue, I pray you come to the new, and begyn with Mary and Ioſeph, and come from them to Zacharie, Elizabeth, Iohn Baptiſt, and euery one of the Apoſtels and Euangeliſtes, and ſearch whether they all found any other way into the City we trauell towards, then by many tribulations. Beſides theſe, if ye ſhould call to remembraunce the primatiue church, Lord God, ye ſhould ſee many to haue geuen cherefully their bodies to moſt greuous torments, rather then they would bee ſtopped in their iourney, that there is no day in the yeare, but (I dare ſay) a thouſand was the feweſt that with great ioy loſt their homes here, but in the City they went vnto, haue found other maner of homes then mans minde is able to conceiue. But if none of all theſe were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as ye haue me your poore brother and bondman of the Lord, with many other, I truſt in God: if ye had none other of the Fathers, Patriarches, Kings, Prophets, Apoſtels & Euangeliſtes, Martyrs & other holy Saintes and children of God, that in their iourney to heauenward, found as ye now finde and are like to finde if ye go on forward as I truſt ye will: yet ye haue your Maiſter and your Captain IESVS CHRIST, the deare dearling & only begotten and beloued ſonne of God, in whom was all the fathers pleaſure, ioy, and delectation, ye haue him to go before you, no fayrer way but much fouler, into this our City of Ieruſalem. I neede not (I truſt) to rehearſe what maner of way he found. Begyn at his birth, and till ye come at his buriall, ye ſhall finde that euery foote and ſtride of his iourney, was no better, but much worſe then yours is now.

Chriſt Ieſus the ringleader of all Gods children afflicted.

Wherefore (my dearely beloued in the Lord) be not ſo deintie as to looke for that at Gods hands your deare father, which the Fathers, Patriarckes, Prophets, Apoſtels, Euangeliſtes, Martyrs, Saintes, and hys owne Sõne IESVS CHRIST did not find. Hetherto we haue had fayre way (I trow) and fayre weather alſo: nowe becauſe we haue loitered by the way, and not made the ſpeede we ſhould haue done, our louing Lord and ſwete father hath ouercaſt the weather, and ſtyrred vp ſtormes and tempeſtes, that we might with more haſt runne out our race before night come, and the doores bee ſparred. The Deuil ſtãdeth now at euery Inne doore in his City and cõtrey of this world, crying vnto vs to tary and lodge in this or that place till the ſtormes bee ouerpaſt: not that he would not haue vs wet to the ſkyn, but that the tyme myght ouerpaſſe vs to our vtter deſtruction. Therefore beware of his entiſements. Caſt not your eyes on things that be preſent, how this man doth, and how that man doth: but caſt your eyes on the gleue ye runne at, or els ye will looſe the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleue, doth not looke on other that ſtand by, and go this way or that way, but altogether he looketh on the gleue, and on them that run with hym, that thoſe which be behinde ouertake him not, and that he may ouertake them which be before: euen ſo ſhoulde we do, leaue of looking on thoſe which will not run the race to heauens bliſſe by the path of perſecutiõ wyth vs, and caſt our eyes on the ende of our race, and on them that go before vs, that we maye ouertake them, and on them which come after vs, that wee may prouoke them to come the faſter after.

We muſt not be ſo deintie to looke for fairer weather then Chriſt him ſelfe went through.

Phil.3.

The deuils entiſements not to be truſted.

He that ſhooteth, wil not caſt his eyes in his ſhooting on them that ſtand by or ride by the wayes (I trow) but rather on the marke he ſhooteth at, for els he were lyke to wyn the wrong way: Euen ſo my dearelye beloued, let your eyes be ſet on yͤ marke ye ſhoote at, euẽ CHRIST IESVS, who for the ioy he ſet before him, did ioyfully cary his croſſe, contemning the ſhame, and therefore he now ſitteth on the ryght hand of the throne of God. Let vs follow him, for this did he that we ſhould not be faynt-harted. For wee may bee moſt aſſured, that if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall vndoubtedly raigne with him, but if we deny him, ſurely he will deny vs: for he that is aſhamed of me (ſaith CHRIST) & of my goſpel, in this faithles generation, I wil be aſhamed of him before the Aungels of God in heauen. Oh how heauy a ſentence is this to all ſuch as know the Maſſe to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blaſphemy and ſacriledge againſt God & his CHRIST (as vndoubtedly it is) and yet for feare of men, for loſſe of life or goods, yea ſome for aduauntage & gaine, wil honeſt it with their preſence, diſſembling both with God and man, as their owne hart and conſcience doth accuſe them: Better it were that ſuch had neuer knowen the truth, then thus wittingly, and for the feare or fauour of man whoſe breath is in his noſethrels, to diſſemble it, or rather (as in deede it is) to deny it. The ende of ſuch is like to be worſe then their beginning. Such had nede to take heede of the two terrible places to the Hebrewes in the.vj.and.x. Chapters, leſt by ſo doing they fall therein. Let them beware they playe not wily beguile them ſelues, as ſome do, I feare me, which go to Maſſe, and becauſe they worſhip not, nor kneele not, nor knock not as others do, but ſit ſtil in their pues, therefore they thinke they rather do good to others then hurt.

To looke to the marke.

Hebr.12.
Rom.8.
2.Tim.3.
Math.12.

What danger it is to go to the blaſphemous Maſſe.

Eſay.2.
2.Pet.2.
Heb.6.10.

But (alas) if theſe men would looke into their owne conſciences, there ſhould they ſee that they are very diſſemblers, and in ſeeking to deceaue others (for by thys meanes the Magiſtrates thinke them of their ſorte) they deceyue them ſelues. They thinke at the eleuation time

all

Diſſembling Goſpellers.

all mens eyes are ſet vpon them, to marke how they do. They thinke others hearing of ſuch mē going to Maſſe, doe ſee or enquire of their behauiour there. Oh if there were in thoſe men that are ſo preſent at the Maſſe, eyther loue to God or to their brethren, then would they for the one or both, openly take Gods part, and admoniſh the people of their idolatry. They feare man more then him which hath power to caſt both ſoule and body into hell fier: they hault on both knees: they ſerue two Maiſters. God haue mercy vpon ſuch, and open their eies with his eye ſalue that they may ſee, that they which take not part with God, are againſt God, and that they which gather not with CHRIST, do ſcatter abroad. Oh ẏ they would read, what S. Iohn ſaith will be done to the fearefull. The counſell geuen to the Church of Laodicea is good counſell for ſuch.

Math. 10. 3. *Reg.* 8. *Apoca.* 3. *Apoca.* 21. *Apoca.* 3.

But to returne to you agayne (dearely beloued) be not ye aſhamed of Gods Goſpell. It is the power of God to ſaluation, to al thoſe that do beleue it. Be therfore partakers of the afflictions, as God ſhall make you hable, knowyng for certaine, that he will neuer tempt you farther then he will make you able to beare: and thinke it no ſmall grace of God to ſuffer perſecution for Gods truth, for the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye ſhall ſee. Read. 2. Theſſ. 1. and Hebr. 12. As the fire hurteth not gold but maketh it fyner, ſo ſhall ye be more pure by ſufferyng with Chriſt. 1. Pet. 1. The flaile and wynde hurteth not the wheat but clenſeth it from the chaffe. And ye dearely beloued) are Gods wheate: feare not therfore the flaile, feare not the fanning wynde, feare not the milſtone, feare not the ouen, for all theſe make you more meete for the Lordes owne tooth. Sope, though it be blacke, ſoileth not the cloth, but rather at the lēgth maketh it more cleane: ſo doth the blacke croſſe helpe vs to more whitenes, if God ſtrike with his battledore. Becauſe ye are Gods ſhepe, prepare your ſelues to the ſlaughter, alwayes knowyng that in the ſight of the Lord our death ſhalbe precious. The ſoules vnder the aultar looke for vs to fil vp their number: happy are we if God haue ſo appointed vs. How ſoeuer it be (dearely beloued) caſt your ſelues wholy vpon the Lord, with whom all the heares of your heades are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we nyll we, we muſt drinke Gods cuppe if he haue appointed it for vs. Drinke it willingly then, and at the firſt when it is full, leſt peraduenture if we linger, we ſhal drinke at ẏ length of the dregges with the wicked, if at the begynnyng we drinke not with his children: for with them his iudgement begynneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Syon, then will he viſite the nations roūd about.

2 *Tim.* 1. *Roma.* 1. 1. *Cor.* 10. *Phil.* 1. 1. *Peter.* 3. *Math.* 5.

Perſecution compared to the flayle which hurteth not but clenſeth the wheate.

Rom. 8. 1. *Peter.* 5. *Math.* 10. *Pſal.* 75. 1. *Peter.* 4.

Submit your ſelues therfore vnder the mighty hand of the Lord. No man ſhal touch you without his knowledge. When they touch you therfore, know it is to your weale. God thereby will worke to make you like vnto CHRIST here, that ye may be alſo like vnto him elſwhere. Acknowledge your vnthankfulnes and ſinne, and bleſſe God that correcteth you in the world, becauſe ye ſhal not be damned with the world. Otherwiſe might he correct vs, thē in making vs to ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake: but this he doth becauſe we are not of ẏ world. Call vpō his name through CHRIST for his helpe, as he cōmaundeth vs. Beleue that he is merciful to you, heareth you, & helpeth you: *I am with hym in trouble, and will deliuer hym*, ſayth he. Know that God hath appointed boundes ouer the which the deuill, and all the world ſhall not paſſe. If all thinges ſeeme to be againſt you, yet ſay with Iob: *If he kill me I will hope in hym.* Read the 91. Pſalme, and pray for me your poore brother and felow ſufferer for Gods Goſpels ſake: his name therfore be prayſed, and of his mercy he make me and you worthy to ſuffer with good conſcience for his names ſake. Die once we muſt, and when we know not: happy are they whom God geueth to pay natures debt: I meane to dye for his ſake.

1. *Pet.* 5. *Rom.* 8. 1. *Cor.* 11. *Pſal.* 50. *Pſal.* 92.

Happy is that death which ſeing once it muſt nedes be payd, is beſtowed vpon the lord.

Here is not our home, therfore let vs accordingly conſider thinges, alwayes hauyng before our eyes the heauenly Ieruſalem, Heb. 12. Apo. 21. 22. the way thether to be by perſecutions: the deare frēdes of God, how they haue gone it after the example of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt: whoſe footeſteps let vs folow euen to the very Gallowes, if God ſo will, not doubting but that as he within three dayes roſe againe immortall: euen ſo we ſhall do in our tyme: that is, when the trumpe ſhall blow, & the āgell ſhall ſhoote, and the ſonne of mā ſhall appeare in the cloudes with innumerable Saintes and Aungels in maieſty and great glory: then ſhall the dead ariſe, and we ſhall be caught vp into the cloudes to mete the Lord, and ſo be alwayes with hym. Comfort your ſelues with theſe wordes and pray for me for Gods ſake. E carcere. 19. Nouemb. 1553.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To Sir Iames Hales knight, then priſoner in the Counter in Bredſtreete.

Another letter of Maiſter Bradford to Sir *Iames Hales* knight.

THe God of mercy and father of all comfort, plentifully poure out vpon you and in you his mercy, and with hys conſolations comfort and ſtrengthen you to the end, for his and our CHRISTES ſake, Amen.

Although, right worſhipfull Syr, many cauſes might moue me to be contēt with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would geue you grace to perſeuer well, as hee hath right notably begun to the great glory of his name, and cōfort of all ſuch as feare him, as lacke of learnyng, of familiarity, yea acquaintaunce (for I thinke I am vnknowen to you both by face and name) and other ſuch like thyngs: yet I cā not content my ſelf, but preſume ſomething to ſcrible vnto you, not that I thynke my ſcribling can do you good, but that I might declare my συμπαθείαν and compaſſion, loue, and affection I beare towardes your maſterſhip, whych is contented, yea deſirous with vs poore miſers, to confeſſe CHRISTES goſpell in theſe perillous times and dayes of triall. Oh Lord God how good art thou, which doſt thus gleane out grapes, I meane children for thy ſelfe, and brethren for CHRIST? Looke good M. Hales on your vocation: not many iudges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rych men, and welthy to liue as you are, hath God choſen to ſuffer for his ſake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare ſay you thinke not ſo of your ſelfe, as though God were bound to preferre you, or had neede of you: but rather attribute this, as all good things, vnto his free mercy in CHRIST. Again, I dare ſay, that you being a wiſe man, doe iudge of things wiſely, that is, concerning this your croſſe, you iudge of it not after the world and people, which is magnus erroris magiſter, nor after the iudgement of reaſon and worldly wiſdome, which is foliſhnes to faith, nor after the preſent ſenſe, to the which non videtur gaudij ſed moleſtiæ, .i. *It ſemeth not to be ioyous but greuous*, as Paule writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your croſſe to be, in reſpect of your ſelf betwene God and you, gods chaſtiſing and your fathers correction, nurtour, ſchole triall, pathway to heauen, glory and felicity, & the furnace to conſume the droſſe and mortify the reliques of old Adam which yet remaine, yea euen the framehouſe to faſhion you like to the deareſt Saints of God here, yea to CHRIST the ſonne of God, that elſwhere you might be like vnto him.

How God gleaneth out hys people.

The world, people, and worldly wiſedome are euill iudges of things ſpirituall.

Heb. 12.

Prayſe of the croſſe.

Now, cōcerning your croſſe in reſpect of the world betwene the world and you, Gods word teacheth it to be a teſtimonyall of Gods truth, of hys prouidence, of his power, of his iuſtice, of his wiſdome, of hys anger againſt ſinne, of his goodnes, of his iudgemēt, of your fayth & religiō: ſo that by it you are to the world a witnes of God, one of his teſtes, that he is true, he ruleth all thinges, hee is iuſte, wiſe, and at the length will iudge the worlde and caſt the wycked into perdition, but the godly he wil take and receiue into his eternall habitation. I know you iudge of things after faithes fetch, and the effects or endes of things, and ſo you ſee æternum pondus gloriæ. i. *An eternall weight of glory*, which this croſſe ſhall bring vnto you, dum non ſpectas ea quæ videntur, ſed ea quæ non videntur. i. *While you loke not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene.* Let the worldlings way things, and loke vpō the affaires of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in ſubſcription of the kings laſt wil, & therefore they did that for the which they beſhrewed them ſelues: but let vs looke on things wyth other manner of eyes, as God be praiſed you did, in not doyng that which you were deſired, & driuen at to haue done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of god, and ſo you do now in religiō, at the leaſt hetherto you haue done, and that you might do ſo ſtil, I humbly beſech and pray you, ſay with Dauid: Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum, quando conſolaberis me? i. *Mine eyes fayle for thy word, ſaying: when wilt thou comfort me?* Though you be as vter in fumo. i. *like a bottell in the ſmoke*: (for I heare you want health) yet ne obliuiſcaris iuſtificationes Dei: i. *Do not forget the ſtatutes of the Lord*: but cry out, quot ſunt dies

The croſſe maketh vs witneſſes to God, wherein & in what things.

2. *Cor.* 4.

Subſcribing to K. *Edwardes* will.

Pſal. 119.

dies ſerui tui? quando facies de perſequẽtibus me iudicium? i. *How many are the daies of thy ſeruaunt? when wilt thou execute iudgement on them that perſecute me?* And be certaine quòd Dominus veniens veniet & non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum: i. *The Lord wil ſurely come, and not ſtay: though he tary, wayt for him:* for he is but ad momentum in ira ſua, & vita in voluntate eius. Ad veſperam demorabitur fletus, & ad matutinum lætitia. i. *He is but a while in his anger, but in his fauor is life: weeping may abide at euening, but ioy commeth in the morning.* Follow therfore Eſayes counſell: Abſcondere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertranſeat indignatio eius, i. *Hide thy ſelf for a very little while, vntill the indignation paſſe ouer,* which is not indignatio in deede, but to our ſenſe, and therfore in the .26. chapter of Eſay God ſaith of his church and people, that as he keepeth nyght and day, ſo non eſt indignatio mihi. i. *There is no anger in me,* (ſayth he.)

Abac.2.
Pſal.30.
Eſay.26.
Eſay.26.

Gods loue in our corrections.

Eſay.49.
Pſal.26.
Pſal.70.
ib.17.26.
Pſal.31.
Pſal.22.
Eſay.40.

The mother ſometime beateth the child, but yet her hart melteth vpon it euen in the very beating, & therfore ſhe caſteth the rodde into the fire, and culleth the childe, geueth it an apple, and dādleth it moſt motherly. And to ſay the truth, the loue of mothers to theyr children is but a trace to traine vs to beholde the loue of God towardes vs, and therfore ſayth he: *can a mother forget the childe of her wombe?* As who ſay, no: *but if ſhe ſhold ſo do, yet will not I forget thee, ſayth the Lord of hoſtes.* Ah comfortable ſaying: *I will not forget thee,* ſaith yͤ Lord. In dede the children of God thynke oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therfore they cry: Ne abſcondas faciem tuam a me. &c. i. *Hide not thy face from me. &c.* Ne derelinquas me Domine. &c. i. *Leaue me not O Lord. &c.* Wheras in very truth it is not ſo but to their preſent ſenſe, and therfore Dauid ſayd: Ego dixi in exceſſu meo, proiectus ſum a facie tua. i. *I ſayd in my agony, I was clene caſt away from thy face. &c.* But was it ſo? Nay verely. Read his Pſalme & you ſhall ſee. So writeth he alſo in other places very often, eſpecially in the perſon of Chriſt, as when he ſayth: Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquiſti me? i. *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* he ſayth not, vt quid derelinquis? i. *Why dooſt thou forſake me?* or, derelinques? i. *Why wilt thou forſake me?* but, vt quid dereliquiſti? i. *Why haſt thou forſaken me?* where in dede God had not left him but yͭ it was ſo to his ſenſe, & that this Pſalme telleth ful well: which Pſalme I pray you now & then read, it is the .22. and thereto ioyne the .30. and the .116. with diuers other. The ſame we read in the Prophet Eſay in his .40. chapter, where he reproueth Iſraell for ſaying, God had forgottẽ thẽ. Nunquid neſcis (ſayth he:) i. *Knoweſt thou not?* An non audiſti? &c. i. *Haſt thou not heard? &c.* Qui ſperant in domino mutabunt fortitudinem. i. *They that truſt in the Lord, ſhall renue their ſtrength.* And in his .54. chapter: Noli timere. &c. Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te, & in miſerationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abſcondi faciem meam parumper a te, & in miſericordia ſempiterna miſertus ſum tui, dixit redemptor tuus dominus. Nam iſtud erit mihi ſicut aquæ Noe. Vt enim iuraui ne porro aquæ Noe pertranſirent terrā, ſic iuraui vt non iraſcar tibi & non increpem te. Montes enim comouebuntur & colles contremiſcent, miſericordia autem mea non recedet a te, & fœdus pacis meæ nō mouebitur, dixit miſerator tuus Dominus. i. *Feare not. &c. For a litle while I haue forſakẽ thee, but with great cōpaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face frō thee, for a lytle ſeaſon: but in euerlaſting mercy haue I had compaſſion on thee, ſaith the Lord thy redemer. For thys is vnto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I haue ſworne that the waters of Noe ſhould no more go ouer the earth, ſo haue I ſworne that I would not be angry with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the Mountaines ſhall remoue, and hills ſhall fall down, but my mercy ſhall not depart from thee, neither ſhall the couenant of my peace fall away, ſaith the Lord, that hath compaſſion on thee.*

Mich.7.
2.Cor.11.
Pſal.144.

But the ſcriptures are full of ſuch ſweete places to them that wil portare iram domini & expectare ſalutem & auxilium eius. i. *Beare the wrath of the Lord, and wayt for hys health and helpe.* As of all temptations this is the greateſt, that god hath forgottẽ, or wil not help vs through the pikes, as they ſay: ſo of all ſeruices of God, thys liketh he beſt, to hope aſſuredly on him and for his helpe alwayes, which is adiutor in tribulationibus. i. *An helper in tribulations,* and doth more gloriouſly ſhewe his power by ſuch as be weake, and feele them ſelues ſo. For quo infirmiores ſumus, eo ſumus in illo robuſtiores. Sic oculi Domini. i. *The weaker we are, the more ſtrong are we in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord* be on them that tremble and feare. Voluntatem eorum faciet: i. *he wyll accompliſh their deſire:* he is with them in theyr trouble, he will deliuer them. Antequam clamauerint exaudit eos, i. *before they cry, he heareth them,* as all the Scriptures teach vs. To the reading wherof and harty prayer, I hartely commend you, beſeching almighty God, that of his eternall mercyes he would make perfecte the good hee hath begun in you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, that you might haue no leſſe hope, but much more, of his helpe to your comfort now againſt your enemies, then already he hath geuẽ you againſt N. for not ſubſcribing to the Kings wil.

Be certaine, be certaine good M. Hales, that all the heares of your head your deare father hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhal not periſh: your name is written in the boke of life. Therfore vpon God caſt al your care, which wil comfort you with his eternall conſolatiōs, and make you able to go through the fire (if nede be) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherinto our enemies ſhall fall and lie for euer: from the which the Lord deliuer vs, though it be through temporall fire, which muſt be conſtrued according to the end and profite that commeth after it: ſo ſhall it then not much deare vs to ſuffer it for our maiſter CHRISTES cauſe, the which the Lorde graunt for his mercyes ſake, Amen. From the Kings Bench.

Your humble Ihon Bradford.

¶ To my very friend in the Lord Doctor Hyll Phiſition.

A letter to *Doctor Hill* Phiſition.

The God of mercy and father of all comfort, at thys preſent and for euer engraffe in your hart the ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt, & the continuance of his conſolatiō, which cannot but enable you to cary with ioy, whatſoeuer croſſe he ſhall lay vpon you, Amen.

Hetherto I could haue no ſuch libertie as to write vnto you, as I thinke you know: but now in that through Gods prouidence I haue no ſuch reſtraint, I cannot but ſomthing write, aſwell to purge me of the ſuſpitiō of vnthākfulnes towardes you, as alſo to ſignify my carefulnes for you in theſe perilous daies, leſt you ſhould waxe cold in Gods cauſe (which God forbid) or ſuffer the light of the Lord once kindled in your hart, to be quenched, & ſo become as you were before, after the example of the world and of many others, which woulde haue bene accompted otherwiſe in our daies, and yet ſtil beguile thẽſelues, ſtill would be ſo accompted, although by their outward life they declare the contrary, in that they thinke it inough to keepe the hart pure, notwithſtanding that the outward man doth curry fauour.

Parting ſtakes betwen God and the world.

Diſſemblers with the church.

Goſpelſpillers.

Eſay.2.

Doctor Hill M. Bradfords Phiſition.

In which doing, as they deny God to be ielous, and therefore requireth the whole man as wel body as ſoule, being both create, as to immortality and ſociety with him, ſo redeemed by the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, and now ſanctified by the holy ſpirite to be the temple of God, and member of his Sonne: as (I ſay) by their parting ſtake to geue God the hart, and the world the body, they deny God to bee ielous (for els they would geue him both, as the wyfe will do to her huſband whether hee bee Ielous or no, if ſhe be honeſt) ſo they play the diſſemblers with the Church of God by their facte, offending the Godly, whom eyther they prouoke to fall with them, or make more careles and conſcienceles if they be fallen, and occaſioning the wicked and obſtinate to triumph agaynſt God, and the more vehemently to proſecute their malice agaynſt ſuch as will not defyle themſelues in body or ſoule with the Romiſh ragges nowe reuiued amongeſt vs. Becauſe of this, I meane leſt you my deare Mayſter and brother in the Lord, ſhould doe as many of our Goſpellers, or rather Goſpelſpillers do for feare of mā, whoſe breath is in his noſtrels, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord which hath power both of ſoule and body, and that not onely temporally, but alſo eternally: I could not but write ſomthing vnto you, aſwell becauſe duty deſerueth it (for many benefits I haue receiued of God by your hands, for the which he reward you, for I can not) as alſo becauſe charity and loue compelleth me: not that I thinke you haue any neede (for as I may rather learne of you, ſo I doubt not but you haue hetherto kept your ſelfe vpright from halting) but that I might both quiet my conſcience calling vpon me hereabout, and ſignify vnto you by ſome thyng my carefulnes for your ſoule, as painfully and often you haue done for my body.

Therefore I pray you call to mynde that there be but two maiſters, two kyndes of people, two wayes, and two manſion places. The maſters be Chriſt and Satan:

2. Maiſters, 2. ſortes of ſubiectes, 2. wayes, 2. Kingdomes.

the people be ſeruitures to eyther of theſe: the wayes be ſtrait and wyde: the manſions be Heauen and Hell. Agayne: conſider that this world is the place of tryall of Gods people and the deuils ſeruauntes, for as the one will folow his maiſter what ſoeuer commeth of it, ſo wil the other. For a tyme it is hard to diſcerne who pertayneth to God and who to the deuill: as in the calme and peace, who is a good ſhipman and wariour, and who is not. But as when the ſtorme aryſeth, the expert mariner is knowne, & as in warre the good ſouldiour is ſeene, ſo in affliction and the croſſe, eaſely Gods children are knowen from Sathans ſeruauntes: for then as the good ſeruaunt will follow his maiſter, ſo will the godly follow their Captaine, come what come will, where as the wicked and hypocrites will bid adew, and deſyre leſſe of Chriſtes acquaintance. For which cauſe the croſſe is called a probation and triall, becauſe it tryeth who will go with God and who will forſake hym. As now in England we ſee how ſmall a company Chriſt hath in compariſon of Sathans ſouldiours. Let no man deceiue him ſelfe, for he that gathereth not with CHRIST, ſcattereth abroad. No man can ſerue two maiſters: the Lord abhorreth double hartes: the luke warme, that is, ſuch as are both hote and colde, he ſpitteth out of his mouth. None that halte on both knees doth God take for hys ſeruauntes. The way of CHRIST is the ſtrait way, and ſo ſtrayt, that as few fynd it and few walke in it, ſo no man can halt in it but nedes muſt go vpright: for as the ſtraitnes wyll ſuffer no reeling to this ſide or that ſyde: ſo if any man halt, he is lyke to fall of the brydge in to the pit of eternall perdition.

Affliction tryeth who go with God, and who go with the deuill.

Chriſtes part the ſmaller, and why?

Striue therefore good maiſter Doctor, now you haue found it, to enter into it: and if you ſhould bee called or pulled backe, looke not on this ſide or that ſide, or behind you as Lots wyfe did: but ſtraight forewards on the end which is ſet before you (though it bee to come) as euen now preſent: like as you do and will your patientes to do in purgations and other your miniſtrations, to conſider the effect that will enſue, wherethrough the bitternes and lothſomnes of the purgatiõ is ſo ouercome, and the painfulnes in abiding the working of that is miniſtred, is ſo eaſed, that it maketh the patient willingly and ioyfully to receiue that is to be receiued, although it bee neuer ſo vnpleaſant: ſo (I ſay) ſet before you the ende of this ſtrait way, & then doubtles, as Paule ſaith, æternũ pondus gloriæ pariet. i. *It ſhall bring with it an eternall weight of glory*, whileſt we looke not on the thing which is ſeene, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not ſeene, which is eternall. So doth the huſbandman in plowing and tilling, ſet before him the harueſt time: ſo doth the fiſher conſider the draught of his net, rather then the caſting in: ſo doth the Marchaunt the returne of his marchaundiſe: and ſo ſhould we in theſe ſtormy daies ſet before vs not the loſſe of our goods, liberty, and very lyfe, but the reaping time, the cõming of our Sauiour Chriſt to iudgement, the fier that ſhall burne the wicked and diſobedient to Gods goſpel, the blaſt of the Trumpe, the exceeding glory prepared for vs in heauen eternally, ſuch as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man can conceiue. The more we loſe here, the greater ioy ſhall wee haue there. The more we ſuffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible droſſe, we ſhall find incorruptible treaſures: for gold, glory: for ſiluer, ſolace without end: for riches, robes royall: for earthly houſes, eternall palaces: mirth without meaſure, pleaſure without paine, felicitie endles: Summa we ſhall haue God the father, the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt.

A wiſe man will euer conſider the end.

The glorious recompence of ſuch as ſuffer for the Lord.

Oh happy place, oh that this day would come. Then ſhall the end of the wicked be lamentable, then ſhall they receiue the iuſt reward of Gods vengeaunce, then ſhall they cry wo, wo, that euer they did as they haue done. Reade Sapien. 2.3.4.5. Reade Mathew. 25. Reade. 1. Corinthians. 15. 2. Corinthians. 5. and by faith (which God encreaſe in vs) conſider the thinges there ſet forth. And for your comfort, reade Hebrewes. 11. to ſee what fayth hath done, alwaies conſidering the way to heauen to be by many tribulations, and that all they which will lyue godly in CHRIST IESV, muſt ſuffer perſecution. You know this is our Alphabet: *Hee that wyll bee my Diſciple*, ſayth CHRIST, *muſt deny him ſelfe, and take vp his croſſe and follow me*: not this biſhop, nor that Doctor, not this Emperour, nor that King, but me, ſayth CHRIST: *For hee that loueth father, mother, wyfe, children, or very lyfe better then me, is not worthy of me.* Remẽber that the ſame Lord ſaith: *He that wyll ſaue his lyfe ſhall loſe it.* Comfort your ſelf with this, that as the Deuyls had no power ouer the Porkets or ouer Iobes goods without Gods leaue, ſo ſhall they haue none ouer you. Remember alſo that all the heares of your head are numbred with God. The Deuill may make one beleue he will drowne him, as the Sea in hys ſurges threatneth to the land: but as the Lord hath oppointed boundes for the one, ouer the which hee can not paſſe: ſo hath he done for the other.

The way to heauen is by tribulations.

Math. 8.

On God therefore caſt your care, loue him, ſerue him after his word, feare him, truſt in hym, hope at his hand for al helpe, and alwaies pray, looking for the croſſe, and when ſoeuer it commeth, be aſſured the Lord, as hee is faithfull, ſo he will neuer tempt you further then he wyl make you able to beare, but in the middeſt of the temptation will make ſuch an euaſion, as ſhall be moſt to his glory, and your eternall comfort. God for his mercy in CHRIST with his holy ſpirite endue you, comfort you, vnder the winges of his mercy ſhadow you, and as his deare childe guide you for euermore. To whoſe mercyfull tuition, as I do with my harty prayer commit you: ſo I doubt not but you pray for me alſo, and ſo I beſech you to do ſtill. My brother P. telleth me you would haue the laſt part of S. Hieromes workes, to haue the vſe thereof for a fortenight. I cannot for theſe three dayes well forbeare it, but yet on Thurſday next I wyll ſend it you if God let me not, and vſe me and that I haue, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in CHRIST direct our wayes to his glory, Amen.

Out of priſon by yours to commaund Iohn Bradford.

¶ To Miſtres M. H. a godly gentlewoman, comfortyng her in that common heauynes and godly ſorow, which the feelyng and ſenſe of ſinne worketh in Gods children.

An other ghoſtly letter of M. *Bradford* to Miſtres *M. H.*

I Humbly and hartely pray the euerliuyng good God and father of mercy, to bleſſe and kepe your hart and mynd in the knowledge and loue of his truth, and of his Chriſt, through the inſpiration and workyng of the holy ſpirite, Amen.

Although I haue no doubt but that you proſper and go forwardes dayly in the way of godlines, more & more drawyng towardes perfection, and haue no neede of any thyng that I can write, yet becauſe my deſire is that you might bee more feruent and perſeuer to the end, I could not but write ſome thyng vnto you, beſechyng you both often and diligently to call vnto your mynd as a meane to ſtyrre you hereunto, yea as a thyng which God moſt ſtraitly requireth you to beleue, that you are beloued of God, and that he is your deare father in, through, and for Chriſt and his deathes ſake. This loue and tender kindnes of God towardes vs in Chriſt is aboundantly herein declared, in that he hath to the godly worke of creation of this world, made vs after his image, redemed vs beyng loſt, called vs into his Church, ſealed vs with his marke and ſigne manuel of Baptiſme, kept and conſerued vs all the dayes of our life, fed, nouriſhed, defẽded and moſt fatherly chaſtiſed vs, and now hath kindled in our hartes the ſparcles of his feare, faith, loue, and knowledge of his Chriſt and truth, and therfore we lament becauſe we lament no more our vnthankefulnes, our frailnes, our diffidence and waueryng in thinges wherin we ſhould be moſt certain.

Gods benefites to vs declared.

All theſe thinges we ſhould vſe as meanes to cõfirme our faith of this, that God is our God and father, and to aſſure vs that he loueth vs as our father in Chriſt: to this end (I ſay) we ſhould vſe the thinges before touched, eſpecially in that of all thinges God requireth this fayth and perſuaſion of his fatherly goodnes, as his chiefeſt ſeruice. For before he aſke any thyng of vs, he ſayth: *I am the Lord thy God*, geuyng him ſelf, & then all he hath to vs to be our owne. And this he doth in reſpect of him ſelf, of his owne mercy and truth, and not in reſpect of vs, for then were grace no grace. In conſideration wherof, whẽ he ſayth: *Thou ſhalt haue none other Gods but me, thou ſhalt loue me with all thy hart. &c.* though of duety we are bound to accompliſh all that he requireth, and are culpable and gilty, if we do not the ſame, yet he requireth not theſe things further of vs, then to make vs more in loue & more certaine of this his couenaũt, that he is our Lord and God. In certaintie wherof, as he hath geuẽ this whole world to ſerue to our neede and commoditie, ſo hath he geuen his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus, and in Chriſt, him ſelfe to be a pledge and gage: wherof the holy Ghoſt doth now and then geue vs ſome taſt & ſweete ſmell to our eternall ioy.

The chiefeſt ſeruice of God is to thinke well of his fatherly goodnes in Chriſt.

Therfore (as I ſayd) becauſe God is your father in CHRIST,

Queene Mary. 1555. July.

Where feelyng lacketh, yet obedience is required.

CHRIST, and requireth of you ſtraitly to beleue it, geue your ſelfe to obedience, although you do it not with ſuch felyng as you deſire. Firſt muſt fayth go before, and then felyng will folow. If our imperfection, frailtie, and many euils ſhould be occaſions wherby Sathã would haue vs to doubt, as much as we can let vs abhorre that ſuggeſtiõ as of al others moſt pernicious: for ſo in dede it is. For when we ſtand in a doubt whether God be our father, we cannot be thankfull to God, we cannot hartely pray or thinke any thing we do acceptable to God, we cãnot loue our neighbours & giue ouer our ſelues to care for thẽ & do for thẽ as we ſhould do, & therfore Sathan is moſt ſubtile hereaboutes, knowyng full well that if we doubt of Gods fatherly eternall mercies towardes vs through CHRIST, we can not pleaſe God or do any thyng as we ſhould do to man. Continually caſteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falles and offences, that we ſhould doubt of Gods mercy and fauour towardes vs.

Let no ſuggeſtion make vs doubt of Gods fauour in Chriſt.

To ſtay vpõ Gods promiſe in Chriſtes bloud.

Therfore my good Siſter, we muſt not be ſluggiſhe herein, but as Sathan laboureth to looſen our fayth: ſo muſt we labour to faſten it by thinkyng on the promiſes and couenaunt of God in CHRISTES bloud, namely that God is our God with all that euer hee hath: which couenaunt dependeth & hangeth vpon Gods own goodnes, mercy and truth onely, and not on our obedience or worthines in any point, for then ſhould we neuer be certaine. In dede God requireth of vs obedience & worthines, but not that therby we might be his children and he our father, but becauſe he is our father and we his children through hys owne goodnes in CHRIST, therfore requireth he faith and obedience. Now, if we want this obedience and worthines which he requireth, ſhould we doubt whether he be our father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthynes the cauſe, and ſo to put CHRIST out of place, for whoſe ſake God is our father. But rather becauſe he is our father and we feele our ſelues to want ſuch thinges as he requireth, we ſhould be ſtyrred vp to a ſhamefaſtnes and bluſhyng, becauſe we are not as we ſhould be: and thereupon ſhould we take occaſion to go to our father in prayer on this maner: *Deare father, thou of thine own mercy in IESUS CHRIST haſt choſen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldeſt I ſhould bee brought into thy Church and faythfull company of thy children: wherin thou haſt kept me hetherto, thy name therefore be prayſed. Nowe I ſee me ſelfe to want fayth, hope, loue, &c. Which thy children haue and thou requireſt of me, wherethrough the deuill would haue me to doubt, yea vtterly to diſpayre of thy fatherly goodnes, fauour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my mercyfull father through thy deare ſonne IESUS CHRIST, and pray thee to helpe me good Lord: helpe me, and geue me fayth, hope, loue. &c. and graunt that thy holy ſpirit may be with me for euer, and more and more to aſſure me that thou art my father: that this mercyfull couenaunt thou madeſt with me in reſpect of thy grace in CHRIST and for CHRIST, and not in reſpect of any my worthynes, is alwayes true to me. &c.*

Obedience geueth not vs to be Gods children, but Gods children geueth obedience.

How a man ſhould pray, when feelyng of Gods fauour lacketh.

On this ſort (I ſay) you muſt pray and vſe your cogitations whẽ Sathan would haue you to doubt of ſaluation. He doth all he cã to preuaile herein. Do you all you can to preuaile herein againſt him. Though you feele not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did. Fayth alwayes (as I ſayd) goeth before feelyng. As certaine as God is almighty, as certaine as God is mercifull, as certaine as God is true, as certaine as IESUS CHRIST was crucified, is riſen, and ſitteth on the ryght hand of the father: as certaine as this is Gods commaundement: *I am the Lord thy God. &c.* ſo certaine ought you to be that God is your father. As you are bound to haue none other Gods but him, ſo are you no leſſe boũd to beleue that God is your God. what profit ſhould it be to you to beleue this to be true: *I am the Lord thy God*, to others, if you ſhould not beleue that this is true to your ſelfe? The deuil beleueth on this ſort. And what ſoeuer it be that would moue you to doubt of this, whether GOD be your God through CHRIST, that ſame commeth vndoubtedly of the deuil. wherfore did God make you, but becauſe he loued you? Might not he haue made you blind, dumme, deafe, lame, frantike &c? Might not he haue made you a Iew, a Turke, a Papiſt &c? And why hath he not done ſo? Verely becauſe he loued you. And why did he loue you? what was there in you to moue him to loue you? Surely nothyng moued him to loue you, and therfore to make you, and ſo hetherto to kepe you, but his own goodnes in CHRIST. Now then, in that his goodnes in CHRIST ſtill remaineth as much as it was, that is, euen as great as hym ſelfe, for it cannot be leſſoned, how ſhould it be but that he is your God and father? Beleue this, beleue this my good Syſter, for God is no chaungelyng: them whom he loueth, he loueth to the end.

Hope beyond hope.

Fayth goeth before feelyng.

Doubting commeth of the deuill.

Luke. 2.

Caſt therfore your ſelfe wholy vpon him, and thinke without all wauering that you are Gods child, that you are a Citizen of heauẽ, that you are the daughter of God, the Temple of the holy Ghoſt &c. If hereof you be aſſured, as you ought to be, then ſhall your conſciẽce be quieted, then ſhall you lament more and more that you want many thinges which God loueth: then ſhall you labour to be holy in ſoule and body: then ſhal you go about that Gods glory may ſhyne in you in all your wordes and workes: then ſhall you not be afrayd what man can do vnto you: then ſhall you haue ſuch wiſedome to aunſwer your aduerſaries, as ſhall ſerue to their ſhame and your comfort: then ſhall you be certaine that no man cã touch one heare of your head further thẽ ſhall pleaſe your good father, to your euerlaſting ioy: then ſhal you be moſt certaine that God as your good father, will be more carefull for your childrẽ & make better prouiſion for thẽ if all you haue were gone, then you can: then ſhall you (beyng aſſured I ſay of Gods fauour towardes you) geue ouer your ſelfe wholy to helpe and care for others that bee in neede: then ſhall you contemne this life, and deſire to be at home with your good and ſwete father: then ſhall you labour to mortifie all things that would ſpot either ſoule or body. All theſe thinges ſpryng out of this certain perſuaſion and fayth that God is our father, and we are his children by CHRIST IESUS. All thinges ſhould helpe our fayth herein: but Sathan goeth about in all thinges to hynder vs.

Fayth and aſſured hope of Gods fauour, is the fountaine of all well doing.

Therfore let vs vſe earneſt and harty prayer: let vs often remember this couenaunt: *I am the Lord thy God*: let vs looke vpon CHRIST and his precious bloud ſhed for the obſignation and confirmation of this couenaunt: let vs remember all the free promiſes of the Goſpell: let vs ſet before vs Gods benefites generally in making this world, in ruling it, in gouerning it, in calling and keeping his church. &c: let vs ſet before vs Gods benefites particularly, how he hath made vs creatures after his image: how he hath made vs of perfect lims, forme, beuty, memory. &c: how he hath made vs as Chriſtians, and geuen vs a right iudgement in his religion: how he hath euer ſithen we were borne, bleſſed, kept, nouriſhed, and defended vs: how he hath often beaten, chaſtiſed, & fatherly corrected vs: how he hath ſpared vs and doth now ſpare vs, geuing vs time, ſpace, place, grace. This if you do, and vſe earneſt prayer, and ſo flie frõ all things which might wound your conſcience, geuing your ſelfe to diligence in your vocation, you ſhal find at the lẽgth that (which God graunt to me with you) a ſure certaintie of ſaluation, without all ſuch doubt as may trouble the peace of conſcience, to your eternall ioye and comfort, Amen, Amen.

Conſideration of Gods promiſes & benefites.

Yours to vſe in Chriſt Iohn Bradford.

¶An other letter full of godly comfort, written to the ſame perſon.

An other like letter of comfort to M.H.

THe good ſpirit of God which guideth his childrẽ, be with you my good ſiſter in the Lord for euer, Amẽ.

Although, as I to you, ſo you vnto me in perſon are vnknowen, yet to hym whom we deſire to pleaſe, we are not onely in perſons, but alſo in harts knowne and throughly ſeene: and therefore as for his ſake you would by that you ſent, of me be perceaued how that in God you beare to me a good will: ſo, that I to you might be ſeene in God to beare you the like, I ſend to you theſe fewe wordes in wryting, wyſhing that in all your doings & ſpeach, yea euẽ in your very thoughts, you would labour to feele that they are all preſent and open before the ſyght of God, bee they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his ſpirite, thereby, as a meane, you ſhall at the length feele more comfort and commodity, then any man can know but ſuch as be exerciſed therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking your ſelf and all that you haue and doe, to be in the ſight of God: this (I ſay) is to be added that you thinke his ſight is the ſight, not only of a Lord, but rather of a father, which tendreth more your infirmityes then you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea when in your ſelf you ſee a motherly affection to your little one that is weake, let the ſame be vnto you a trace to traine you to ſee the vnſpeakeable

Conſideration of Gods tender affection to vs in Chriſt his ſonne.

kinde affection of God your father towards you. And therefore vpon the conſideration of your infirmities and naturall euils, which continually cleaue vnto vs, take occaſion to goe to God, as your father through CHRIST, and before his mercifull hart, lay open your infirmities and euils, with deſire of pardon and helpe after his good will and pleaſure, but in his tyme, and not when you will, and by what meanes he will, not that way that you would: in the meane ſeaſon hange on hope of his fatherly goodnes, and ſurely you ſhall neuer be aſhamed. For if a woman that is natural, can not finally forget the child of her wombe, be ſure God which is a father ſupernaturall, can not nor wyll not forget you. Yea if a woman could be ſo forgetfull, yet God him ſelf ſayth, he will not be ſo.

No time nor meanes to be preſcribed to God.

Eſay. 49.

This opinion, yea rather certaine perſwaſyon of God your father through CHRIST, ſee that you cheriſh, and by all meanes, as well by diligent conſideration of his benefites, as of his louing correctiõs, whether they be inwarde or outwarde, ſee that you nouriſhe: knowing for certaine that as the deuill goeth about nothing ſo much as to bring you in a doubt whether you be Gods childe or no: ſo what ſoeuer ſhall moue you to admit that dubitatiõ, be aſſured the ſame to come from the deuill. If you feele in your ſelfe not only the want of good things, but alſo plenty of euill, do not therfore doubt whether you be Gods childe in CHRIST or no. For if for your goodnes or ilnes ſake, which you feele or feele not, you ſhould beleue or doubt, then ſhould you make CHRIST IESVS, for whoſe ſake only God is your father, either nothyng, or els but a half CHRIST. But rather take occaſion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in euil, to goe to God as to your Father, and to pray him, that in as much as he commaũdeth you to beleue that he is your God and Father: ſo he would geue you his good ſpirite, that you might feele the ſame, and liue as his child to his glory: and ceaſe not vpon ſuch prayers to looke for comfort in Gods good time, ſtill hoping the beſt, and reiecting all dubitation, and ſo all euill workes, wordes, and cogitations, as the Lord ſhall enable you by his good ſpirit and grace, which I beſeech hym to geue vnto you, my good ſiſter for euer. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be an helper vnto your husband, ſo you woulde endeuour your ſelf therin to ſhew the ſame aſwel in ſoule as body: and begge grace of God that your endeuours may be effectuall to both your comforts in CHRIST, Amen.

The practiſe of the deuill to bring a man in doubt, whether he be Gods child or no.

We ought to meaſure Gods fauour neither by our goodnes nor ilnes, but only by our fayth in Chriſt.

Iohn Bradforde.

¶ To my welbeloued in the Lord, W. P.

A letter of M. Bradford to W. P.

GRace and peace from God the father, through our Lord IESVS CHRIST, Amen.

Deare brother, God moſt iuſtly hath caſt me now into a dũgeon, but much better then I deſerue: wherin I ſee no man but my keper, nor can ſee any except they come to me. Somthing in the earth my lodging is: which is an example & memoriall of my earthly affections (which God I truſt will mortifie) and of my ſepulchre, wherunto I truſt my Lord God wyll bring me in peace in hys good time. In the meane ſeaſon, he geue me patience, liuely hope, and his good ſpirit. I pray you pray for me, for the prayer of the godly if it be effectual, worketh much with God. I thanke God, my common diſeaſe doth leſſe trouble me, then when I was abroad, which doth teach me the mercifull prouidence of God towards mee. Vſe true and harty prayer, and you ſhall perceiue God at lẽgth wil declare him ſelf to ſee where now many thinke he ſleepeth.

This diſeaſe was a rewme with a feebleneſſe of ſtomacke, wherewith he was much troubled whiles he was at libertie.

Out of the Tower by the Lordes
priſoner Iohn Bradford.

¶ A letter which he wrote to a faithfull woman in her heauines and trouble: moſt comfortable for all thoſe to read that are afflicted and broken harted for their ſinnes.

A letter of M. Bradford to a faithfull woman inwardly afflicted.

Rom. 11.

GOD our good father for his mercies ſake in CHRIST with his eternall conſolation ſo comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted of him in my moſt neede: Yea he will comfort you my deare ſiſter: only caſt your care vpon him, and he neuer can nor will forſake you. For his calling and giftes be ſuch, that he can neuer repent him of them. Whom hee loueth, he loueth to the ende: none of his choſen can periſh. Of which number I know you are, my dearely beloued ſiſter: God encreaſe the faith thereof daily more and more in you: he geue vnto you to hang wholy on him and on his prouidẽce and protection. For who ſo dwelleth vnder *that ſecrete thing, and helpe of the Lord, he ſhalbe cocke ſure for euer more. He that dwelleth I ſay: for if we be ſitters and not dwellers, as was Loth a ſitter from Segor, where god promiſed him protectiõ if he had dwelled there ſtill, we ſhall remoue to our loſſe, as he did in to the mountaines. Dwell therefore, that is, truſt and that finally vnto the end, in the Lord (my deare ſyſter) and you ſhalbe as Mount Syon. As mountaines compaſſe Ieruſalem: ſo doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of hys eye, for his deare ſonnes ſake. Ah deare hart, that I were now but one halfe houre with you, to be a Symon to helpe to cary your croſſe with you. God ſende you ſome good Symon to be with you, and helpe you.

*I. Gods prouidence and protection.

Pſal. 31. 90.

Gene. 19.

You complayne in your letters of the blyndnes of your mind, and the troubles you feele. My dearlye beloued, GOD make you thankefull for that which he hath geuen vnto you: he open your eyes to ſee what and howe great benefites you haue receaued, that you may be leſſe couetous or rather impacient, for ſo (I feare me) it ſhould be called, and more thankful. Haue not you receaued at his hands, ſight to ſee your blindnes, and therto a deſirous and ſeeking hart to ſee where he lieth in the midde day, as his deare ſpouſe ſpeaketh of her ſelfe in the Canticles? Oh Ioyce, my good Ioyce, what a gift is this? Many haue ſome ſight, but none this ſobbing and ſighing, none this ſeeking, which you haue I know, but ſuch as he hath marryed vnto him in his mercyes. You are not content to kiſſe his feete with the Magdalen, but you would be kyſſed euen with the kiſſe of his mouth. Cant. 1. You wold ſee his face with Moſes, forgetting how he biddeth vs ſeke his face. Pſalme. 27. yea and that for euer, Pſalme. 105. which ſignifieth no ſuch ſight as you deſire, to bee in this preſẽt life, which would ſee God now face to face, where as he can not be ſeene but couered vnder ſomething: yea ſome time in that which is (as you would ſay) cleane contrary to God: as to ſee his mercy in his anger. In bringing vs to hell, faith ſeeth him bring vs to heauen: in darkenes it beholdeth brightnes: in hiding his face from vs, it beholdeth his mery countenaunce. How did Iob ſee God, but (as you would ſay) vnder Sathans cloke? For who caſt the fire from heauen vpon his goods? who ouerthrew his houſe and ſtirred vp men to take away his cattell, but Sathan? And yet Iob pearced through all theſe, and ſawe Gods worke, ſaying: *The Lord hath geuen, the Lord hath taken away. &c.* In reading of the Pſalmes, how often doe you ſee that Dauid in the ſhadow of death, ſaw Gods ſwete loue? And ſo (my dearely beloued) I ſee that you in your darkenes and dimnes, by faith doe ſee clarity and brightnes: by faith (I ſay) becauſe faith is of things abſent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeale to your conſcience whether you deſire not. And can you deſire any thing which you know not? And is there of heauenly things any other true knowledge then by faith?

God can not be ſeene but couered vnder ſomething.

How faith ſeeth God, where fleſh ſeeth hell.

Therefore my deare hart, be thankefull, for (before God I wryte it) you haue great cauſe. Ah my Ioyce, howe happy is the ſtate wherein you are? Verely you are euen in the bleſſed ſtate of Gods children: for they mourne, and do not you ſo? And that not for worldly weale, but for ſpirituall riches, fayth, hope, charity. &c. Doe you not hunger and thirſt for righteouſnes? And I pray you ſayth not CHRIST, who can not lye, that happy are ſuch? How ſhold god wype away the teares from your eyes in heauen, if now on earth you ſhed no teares? How could heauen be a place of reſt, if on earth you did finde it? How could you deſire to be at home, if in your iourney you found no grief? How could you ſo often cal vpon God, and talke with him as I know you do, if your enemy ſhould ſleepe all day long? How ſhold you elſwhere be made like vnto Chriſt, I meane in ioy, if in ſorrow you ſobbed not with him? If you will haue ioy and felicity, you muſt firſt nedes feele ſorrow and miſery. If you will go to heauen, you muſt ſaile by hell. If you will embrace Chriſt in his robes, you muſt not thinke ſcorne of him in his ragges. If you wil ſit at Chriſtes table in his kingdom, you muſt firſt abide with him in his temptations. If you will drinke of his cuppe of glory, forſake not his cuppe of ignominy.

The ſtate of Gods children deſcribed.

Math. 5.

The way to heauen is to go thorough hell.

Can the head corner ſtone be reiected, and the other more baſe ſtones in Gods building be in thys world ſet by? You are one of his liuely ſtones: be content therfore to be hewen & ſnagged at, that you might be made the more meete to be ioyned to your fellowes whych ſuffer with you Sathans ſnatches, the worlds wonds, contempt of conſcience, and frettes of the fleſh, wherethrough they are enforced to cry: Oh wretches that we are, who ſhal deliuer vs? You are of Gods corne, feare not therefore the flaile, the fanne, milſtone, nor ouen. You are one of Chriſtes Lambes, loke therefore to be fleeced, hayled at, and euen ſlaine. If you were a market ſheepe, you ſhould goe in more fatte and graſy paſture. If you were for the Faire, you ſhould be ſtaulfed & want no weale: but becauſe you are for Gods owne occupying, therfore you muſt paſture on the bare Cōmon, abiding the ſtormes and tempeſts that will fall. Happy and twiſe happy are you (my deare ſiſter) that God now haileth you whether you would not, that you might come whether you wold. Suffer a litle and be ſtill. Let Sathan rage againſt you, let the world cry out, let your conſcience accuſe you, let the law load you and preſſe you downe: yet ſhall they not preuaile, for CHRIST is Emanuel, that is, God with vs. *If God be with vs, who can be againſt vs?* The Lord is with you: your father can not forget you: your ſpouſe loueth you. If the waues and ſurges ariſe, cry with Peter: *Lorde I periſhe*, and he wil put out his hand and helpe you. Caſt out your anker of hope, and it will not ceaſe for all the ſtormy ſurges, till it take hold on the rocke of Gods truth and mercy.

Frettes of the fleſh.

Rom.6.

Gods ſhepe muſt bide one the bare Common: where the [illegible] are [illegible].

Iohn.21.

Rom.8.

Math.8.

Thinke not that he which hath geuen you ſo many things corporally, as inductions of ſpirituall and heauenly mercies, and that without your deſerts or deſire, can deny you any ſpirituall comfort deſiring it. For if he geue to deſire, he will geue you to haue and enioy the thing deſired. The deſire to haue, and the going about to aſke, ought to certify your conſcience, that they be his earneſt of the thing which you aſking he wyll geue you, yea before you aſke, and whileſt you are about to aſke he will graunt the ſame (as Eſay ſayth) to his glory and your eternall conſolation. He that ſpared not his owne ſonne for you, will not nor cannot thinke any thing to good for you, my hartely beloued.

Philip.2.

Deſire of ſpirituall comfort, though it be lacking, is a great gift of God.

Rom.8.

If he had not choſen you (as moſt certainly he hath) he would not haue ſo called you: he would neuer haue iuſtified you: he wold neuer haue ſo glorified you with his gracious giftes, which I know, praiſed be his name therefore: he would neuer haue ſo exerciſed your fayth with temptations as he hath done and doth, if (I ſay) he had not choſen you. If he haue choſen you (as doubtles deare hart he hath done in CHRIST, for in you I haue ſeene his earneſt, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where & whē) if I ſay, he haue choſen you, then neither can you nor ſhall you euer periſh. For if you fall, he putteth vnder his hand: you ſhal not lie ſtill: ſo careful is CHRIST your keper ouer you. Neuer was mother ſo mindful ouer her child as he is ouer you. And hath not he alwayes bene ſo?

Exerciſe of temptations, a great token of election.

Speake woman: when did hee finally forget you? And wil he now trow you in your moſt nede do otherwiſe, you calling vpō him, and deſiring to pleaſe him? Ah my Ioyce, thinke you God to be mutable? Is he a chaungeling? Doth he not loue to the end them whom he loueth? Are not his giftes and calling ſuch, that he can not repent him of them? for els were he no God. If you ſhould periſh, then wanted he power: for I am certaine his wil towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the ſpirit, which is the ſpirit of truth, told you ſo? And wil you now harken with Eue to the lying ſpirit which wold haue you, not to diſpaire (no he goeth more craftely to worke, howbeit to that end, if you ſhould geue eare vnto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and ſtand in a mammering, and ſo ſhould you neuer truely loue God, but ſerue him of a ſeruile feare, leſt he ſhold caſt you of for your vnworthines and vnthankfulnes: as though your thankfulnes or worthines were any cauſes with God, why he hath choſen you, or will finally keepe you. Ah mine owne deare hart, CHRIST only, CHRIST only, and his mercy and truth. In him is the cauſe of your election. This CHRIST, this mercy, this truth of God remaineth for euer, is certaine for euer, and ſo is your election certaine for euer, for euer, for euer, I ſay for euer. If an aungell from heauen ſhould tel you contrary, accurſed be he, accurſed be he. Your thankefulnes and worthines are fruits and effectes of your election, they are no cauſes. Theſe fruites and effects ſhall be ſo much more fruitfull and effectuall, by how much you wauer not.

Rom.11.

Euery lying ſpirite not to be harkened vnto.

Sathan laboreth to bring tender conſciences to doubting: but Gods [illegible] in Chriſt [illegible] for euer.

Mans election is made by Chriſt only.

Therefore (my dearely beloued) aryſe and remember from whence you are fallen. You haue a ſhepeheard which neyther ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth. No man nor deuill can pull you of his handes. Night and day he commaundeth his aungels to kepe you. Haue you forgotten what I red to you out of the Pſalme: *The Lorde is my ſhepeheard, I can want nothyng:* Do you not know that God ſparred Noe in the Arke on the out ſyde, ſo that hee could not get out? So hath hee done to you my good Siſter, ſo hath he done to you. Ten thouſand ſhall fall on your ryght hand and twenty on your left hand: yet no euill ſhall touch you. Say boldly therfore: *many a tyme from my youth vp they haue fought agaynſt me, but they haue not preuayled:* no nor neuer ſhall preuayle, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are ẏ people of God, but ſuch as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord: and you are one of thoſe my deare hart, for I am aſſured you haue hoped in the Lord: I haue your wordes to ſhew moſt manifeſtly, & I know they were written vnfaynedly. I nede not to ſay that euen before God you haue ſimply confeſſed to me, and that often tymes, no leſſe. And once if you had this hope, as you doutles had it, though now you feele it not, yet ſhall you feele it agayne: for the anger of the Lord laſteth but a moment, but his mercy laſteth for euer. Tel me my deare hart, who hath ſo weakened you? Surely not a perſwaſion which came from him that called you. For why ſhould ye wauer? why ſhoulde you wauer and bee ſo heauy harted? whom looke you on? On your ſelfe? on your worthynes? on your thankfulnes? on that which God requireth of you, as fayth, hope, loue, feare, ioy? &c. Then can you not but wauer in dede: for what haue you as God requyreth? Beleue you, hope you, loue you &c. as much as you ſhould do? No no, nor neuer can in thys lyfe. Ah my dearely beloued, haue you ſo ſoone forgotten that which euer ſhould be had in memory: namely, that when you would and ſhould be certain and quiet in conſcience, then ſhould your faith burſt throughout all thinges, not onely that you haue in you, or els are in heauē, earth, or hell, vntill it come to CHRIST crucified, & the eternall ſwete mercies & goodnes of God in CHRIST? Here, here is the reſting place, here is your ſpouſes bed: crepe into it, & in your armes of fayth embrace him: bewaile your weaknes, your vnworthines, your diffidēce, &c. and you ſhall ſee he wyll turne to you. what ſayd I, you ſhall ſee? Nay I ſhould haue ſaid, you ſhall feele hee wyll turne to you. You know that Moſes, when he went into ẏ Mount to talke with God, he entred into a darke cloude, & Helias had his face couered whē God paſſed by. Both theſe deare friendes of God, heard God, but they ſaw him not: but you would be preferred before them. See now my deare hart, how couetous you are. Ah bee thankefull, be thankfull. But God be prayſed that your couetouſnes is Moſes couetouſnes. well, with him you ſhalbe ſatiſfied. But when? Forſoth when hee ſhall appeare. Here is not the tyme of ſeeing, but, as it were, in a glaſſe. Iſaac was deceyued becauſe he was not content with hearing onely.

Pſal.120.

Pſal.23.

Pſal.90.

Pſal.125.

Though feeling fayle, yet let hope hold faſt.

The eye of fayth muſt looke vpon nothing els, but only Chriſt crucified.

Pſal.16.

Therfore to make an end of theſe many words, wherwith I feare me I do but trouble you from better exerciſes: in aſmuch as you are in dede the chyld of God elect in CHRIST before the begynning of all tymes: in aſmuch as you are geuen to the cuſtody of CHRIST, as one of gods moſt precious iewels: in aſmuch as CHRIST is faythfull and thereto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall neuer peryſh, no, one heare of your head ſhall not be loſt: I beſech you, I pray you, I deſyre you, I craue at your handes with all my very hart, I aſke of you with hand, penne, toung and mynd, in CHRIST, through CHRIST, for CHRIST, for his name, bloud, mercies, power and truthes ſake (my moſt entierly beloued Siſter) that you admit no douting of Gods finall mercies towards you, how ſoeuer you feele your ſelfe: but complayne to God and craue of hym as of your tender and deare father, all thinges, and in that time which ſhalbe moſt oportune, you ſhall fynd and feele farre aboue that your hart or the hart of any creature can conceiue, to your eternall ioye, Amen, Amen, Amen.

Learne here to put away doubting, all tender hartes that ſeke after Chriſt.

The good ſpirite of God alwayes kepe vs as his dere children: he comfort you, as I deſyre to bee comforted (my dearely beloued) for euermore, Amen. I breake vp thus abruptly becauſe our common prayer tyme calleth me. The peace of Chriſt dwell in both our hartes for euer, Amen.

The poſy written vpon heauen gates.

As for the report of W. Po. if it bee as you heare, you muſt prepare to beare it. It is written on heauens doore: *doe well, and beare euill*. Be content therefore to heare whatſoeuer the enemy ſhal imagine to blot you withall. Gods holy ſpirit alwayes comfort and kepe you, Amen, Amen. This .8. of Auguſt, by him that in the Lord deſireth to you as well and as much felicity as to his owne hart.

Iohn Bradford.

Commendation of the Lady *Vane*.

Note how God commonly rewardeth the helpers and friendes to his Saintes.

Here foloweth an other letter of his, written to the good Lady Vane, wherin he reſolueth certain queſtiōs which ſhe demaunded. This Lady Vane was a ſpeciall Nourſe and a great ſupporter to her power of the godly Saintes, which were impriſoned in Q. Maries time. Unto whom diuers letters I haue both of Maiſter Philpot, Careles, Traherne, Tho. Roſe, and of other mo, wherein they render vnto her moſt grateful thankes for her exceeding goodnes extended towarde them, with their ſingular commendation and teſtimonie alſo of her Chriſtian zeale towarde Gods afflicted priſoners, and to the veritye of his Goſpell. She departed of late at Holburn, an. 1568. whoſe ende was more lyke a ſleepe then any death, ſo quietly, and meekely ſhe deceaſed and departed hence in the Lord.

Amongeſt other which wrote vnto her, Mayſter Bradford alſo ſent theſe letters to the ſayd Ladye: the tenour whereof here followeth.

¶ *To my good Lady Vane.*

A letter of *M. Bradford* written to the good Lady *Vane*, wherin he diſcuſſeth doutes concerning the comming to Maſſe.

The abomination of the Maſſe ſet forth.

Theſe queſtions were concerning the Maſſe, wherin ſhe deſired hys iudgemēt.

He meaneth his booke which he calleth the hurte of hearing Maſſe.

THe true ſenſe & ſweete feeling of Gods eternal mercies in CHRIST IESVS, be euer more & more liuely wrought in your hart by the holy Ghoſt, Amen.

I moſt hartely thanke you (good Madame) for your comfortable letters: and whereas you would be aduertiſed what were beſt to be done on your behalfe concerning your three queſtions: the truth is, that the queſtions are neuer well ſeene nor aunſwered, vntill the thing wherof they ariſe, be well conſidered, I meane vntill it be ſeene how great an euill the thing is. If it be once in deede in your hart perceiued vpon probable and pithy places gathered out of Gods booke, that there was neuer thing vpon the earth ſo great and ſo much an aduerſary to Gods true ſeruice, to Chriſtes death, paſſion, prieſthoode, ſacrifice, and kingdome, to the miniſtery of Gods word and Sacraments, to the church of God, to repentaunce, faith, and all true godlines of life, as that is whereof the queſtions ariſe (as moſt aſſuredly it is in deede) then can not a Chriſtian hart, but ſo much the more abhorre it, and all thinges that in any point might ſeeme to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the ſame, by how much it hath the name of Gods ſeruice. Agayne, your Ladyſhip doth know, that as all is to bee diſcommended and auoided, which is followed or fled from in reſpect of our ſelues, in reſpect of auoiding CHRISTES croſſe: ſo the end of all our doinges ſhould bee to Godwardes, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification & good example, whereof none can be geuen in allowyng any of the three queſtions by you propounded. But becauſe this which I write now, is briefe, and needeth the more conſideration or explication: as I doubt not of the one in you, ſo from me by Gods grace you ſhal receaue the other ſhortly. For I haue already written a little booke of it, which I wil ſend vnto you, in the which you ſhall haue your queſtions fully aunſwered and ſatiſfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabouts preſently: beſeeching God our good father to guide you as his deare childe with his ſpirite of wiſdome, power, and comfort vnto eternall life, that you may bee ſtrong and reioyce in him and with his church, to cary CHRISTES croſſe, if he ſhal ſo thinke it nede. 1. Pet. 1. which is a thing to be deſired, wiſhed, and embraced, if wee looked on thinges after the iudgement of Gods woord, and tryed them by that touchſtone. If you be accuſtomed to thinke on the breuitie, vanitie, and miſery of this life, and on the eternity, truth and felicity of euerlaſting life: if you looke on things after their endes, and not after their preſent appearaunce onely: if you vſe your ſelfe to ſet Gods preſence, power, and mercy alwayes before your eyes, to ſee them as God by euery creature would you ſhoulde: I doubt not but you ſhall finde ſuch ſtrength and comfort in the Lord, as you ſhal not be ſhaken with al the power of Sathan. Gods mercy in CHRIST be with you, and his good ſpirite guide you for euer. Amen.

¶ *An other letter to the Lady Vane.*

An other letter of Maiſter *Bradford* to the ſame ſaid Lady *Vane*.

AS to myne owne ſoule, I wiſhe to your Ladyſhip grace and mercy from God our deare Father in CHRIST our Lord and Sauiour.

I thanke God that ſomething he hath eaſed you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in vs both: I would to God hee had done ſo much in the behalfe of the griefe of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the ſoule, I truſt you feele that which I pray God encreaſe in you, I meane his fatherly loue, and graūt that I may with you feele the ſame in ſuch degre as may pleaſe him: I will not ſay as you feele, leſt I ſhoulde ſeeme to aſke to much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully viſet wyth the ſenſe of his mercy, them that humble them ſelues vnder his mighty hand, and are ſore exerciſed (as you long haue bene) then others, which to the face of the world haue a more ſhewe and appearaunce. Therefore I wiſh as I do, and that not onelye for myne own commodity, but alſo that I might occaſion you to the conſideration of the goodnes of God, which I by your letters do well eſpy, which is in deede the hie way, whereby as God encreaſeth his giftes, ſo ſheweth hee more liuely his ſaluation, Pſalme. 50. 107. I haue receaued Gods bleſſing from you, the which I haue partly diſtributed vnto my three fellow priſoners Maiſter Farrar, M. Taylour, M. Philpot, and the reſidue I wyll beſtow vpon iiij. poore ſoules which are impryſoned in the common Iayle for religion alſo. As for myne owne parte, if I had nede, I would haue ſerued my turne alſo. But becauſe I had not, nor (I thanke God) haue not, I haue bene and wyll be your Almner in ſuch ſort as I haue already aduertiſed you. God reward you, and geue you to finde it ſpiritually and corporally. Becauſe otherwiſe I can not talke with you, therefore on this ſort, as occaſion and opportunity wyl ſerue, I am ready to ſhew my good wyll and deſyre of your helpe and furtheraunce in the Lord to euerlaſting lyfe, whereunto God bryng vs ſhortly for his mercies ſake, Amen.

Good Madame be thankefull to God, as I hope you be: be earneſt in prayer, continue in reading and hearing Gods word, and if Gods further croſſe come, as therein God doth ſerue his prouidence (for els it ſhall not come vnto you) ſo be certaine the ſame ſhall turne to your eternall ioy and comfort, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To my deare frendes and brethren R. and E. with their wiues and families.

An other letter of Maiſter *Bradford* to ij. faithfull frends of hys, one *Roydon*, & *Elſing*.

THe comfort of CHRIST felt commonly of his children in their croſſe for his ſake, the euerlaſtyng God worke in both your hartes my good brethren, and in the hartes of both your yokefelowes, eſpecially of good Mary my good Siſter in the Lord, Amen.

If I had not ſomthyng heard of the hazard which you are in for the Goſpels ſake if you continue the profeſſion and confeſſion therof, as I truſt you do and will do and that vnto the end God enabling you, as he will doubtles for his mercies ſake if you hope in him (for this bindeth hym as Dauid in CHRISTES perſon witneſſeth: *Our fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliueredſt them. &c.* Pſal. 22.) yet by coniectures I could not but ſuppoſe (though not ſo certainly) yͤ time of your ſufferyng & probation to be at hād. For now is the power of darkenes fully come vpon this Realme moſt iuſtly for our ſinnes and abuſing the light lent vs of the Lord, to the ſettyng forth of our ſelues more thē of Gods glory, yͭ aſwell we might be brought into yͤ better knowledge of our euils, & ſo hartely repent (which God graunt vs to do) as alſo we might haue more feling and ſenſe of our ſwete Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, by the humbling and deiectyng of vs, thereby to make vs, as more deſirous of him, ſo him more ſwete and pleaſaunt vnto vs: the which thyng the good ſpirite of God worke ſenſibly in all our hartes for Gods holy names ſake.

For this cauſe I thought it my duety, beyng now where I haue ſome libertie to write (the Lord be praiſed) and hearing of you as I heare: to do that which I ſhould haue done if I had heard nothyng at all: that is, to deſire you to be of good cheare & comfort in the Lord (although in the world you ſee cauſe rather to the contrary) and to goe on forwardes in the way of God wherinto you are entred

The nerer we come to our iourneyes end trauailing to heauen, ÿ ſtraiter is the way.

Example of the trauaile of a woman.

Iohn 21.

Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

entred, conſidering that the ſame can not but ſo much more and more ware ſtrait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer the end of it: Euen as in the trauaile of a woman, the nerer ſhe draweth to her deliuery, the more her paynes encreaſe: ſo it goeth with vs in the Lordes way, the nerer we draw to our deliueraunce by death to eternall felicitie. Example wherof we haue, I will not ſay in the holy Prophetes and Apoſtles of God, which when they were young girded them ſelues and went in maner whether they would, but when they wared old, they were girded of others, whether they would not concernyng the outward man: but rather and moſt liuely in our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, whoſe life and way was much more paynfull to him towardes the end, then it was at the begynnyng. And no maruaile, for Sathan can ſome thyng abide a man to begyn well and ſet forwardes, but rather then he ſhould go on the ende, he will vomit his gorge and caſt floudes to ouerflow hym, before he will ſuffer that to come to paſſe.

The maner of the deuill no new thing.

Wherfore as we ſhould not be diſmayd now at this world as though ſome ſtraunge thyng were happened vnto vs, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the deuill declareth him ſelfe after his old wõt, in that we haue profeſſed no leſſe but to forſake ÿ world and the deuill as Gods very enemy, in that we learned no leſſe at the firſt when we came to Gods ſchole thẽ to deny our ſelues, and take vp our Croſſe and folow our Maiſter, which leadeth vs none other way then he hym ſelfe hath gone before vs: as (I ſay) we ſhould not be diſmaid: ſo we ſhould with pacience & ioy go forwardes, if we ſet before vs as preſẽt, the tyme to come, like as the wife in her trauaile doth the deliueraũce of her child, and as the Saintes of God did, but eſpecially our Sauiour and paterne IESVS CHRIST: for the Apoſtle ſayth: *He ſet before hym the ioye and glory to come, and therfore contemned the ſhame and ſorrow of the Croſſe:* ſo if we did, we ſhould find at the length as they found. For whom would it greue which hath a long iourney to go, to go through a peece of foule way, if he knew that after that, the way ſhould be moſt pleaſaunt, yea the iourney ſhould be ended and he at his reſtyng place moſt happy? who will be afeard or loth to leaue a litle pelfe for a litle tyme, if he knew he ſhould ſhortly after receaue moſt plentifull riches? who will be vnwillyng for a litle while to forſake hys wife, children, or frendes &c. when he knoweth he ſhall ſhortly after be aſſociated vnto them inſeparably, euen after hys owne hartes deſire? who will be ſory to forſake this life, which can not but bee moſt certaine of eternall lyfe? who loueth the ſhaddow better then the body? who can loue this life, but they that regarde not the life to come? who cã deſire the droſſe of this world, but ſuch as be ignoraunt of the treaſures of the euerlaſtyng ioy in heauẽ? I meane, who is afeard to dye, but ſuch as hope not to liue eternally? CHRIST hath promiſed pleaſure, riches, ioye, felicitie, & all good thinges to them that for his ſake loſe any thing, or ſuffer any ſorrow. And is hee not true? How can he but be true, for guile was neuer found in his mouth.

Hebr.12.

Godly counſell, to ſtay vs in the contempt of this tranſitory life.

Math.19.

1.Pet.2.

Alas then why are wee ſo ſlacke and ſlow, yea hard of hart to beleue him promiſing vs thus plentifully eternall bliſfulnes, and are ſo ready to beleue the world promiſing vs many thinges and paying vs nothing? If we will curry fauour now and halt on both knees, then it promiſeth vs peace, quietnes, and many thynges els. But how doth it pay this geare? or if it pay it, with what quietnes of conſcience? Or if ſo: how long I pray you? Do not we ſee before our eyes men to dye ſhamefully, I meane as rebels and other malefactours, which refuſe to dye for Gods cauſe? what way is ſo ſure a way to heauẽ, as to ſuffer in CHRISTES cauſe? If there be any way on horſebacke to heauẽ, ſurely this is the way. *By many troubles* (ſayth the Apoſtle) *we muſt enter into heauen. All that will lyue godly in* CHRIST IESV *muſt ſuffer perſecution.* For the world can not loue them that are of God: the deuill can not loue his enemyes: the world will loue none but his owne: but you are CHRISTES, therfore loke for no loue here. Should we looke for fyre to quench our thurſt? And as ſoone ſhall Gods true ſeruauntes find peace and fauour in Antichriſtes regiment.

The flattering promiſes of the world ill rewarded [illegible]

Act.14.

2.Tim.3.

Therfore my dearely beloued, be ſtout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour: ſtand in the libertie of CHRIST which you haue learned: reioyce that you may be coũted worthy to ſuffer any thyng for Gods cauſe: to all men this is not geuen. Your reward is great in heauen, though in earth you find nothyng. The iourney is almoſt paſt: you are almoſt in the hauen: hale on apace I beſech you, and merely hoyſe vp your ſayles. Caſt your ſelues on Chriſt who careth for you. Kepe company with him now ſtill to the end: he is faithfull and will neuer leaue you, nor tempt you further then he will make you able to beare: yea in the middeſt of the temptation hee will make an outſcape. Nowe pray vnto him hartely, be thankfull of his dignation, reioyce in hope of ÿ health you ſhall receaue, and be myndfull of vs which are in the vaward, and by Gods grace truſt in Chriſt to bee made able to breake the Iſe before you, that you folowyng may fynd the way more eaſy. God graunt it may ſo be, Amen, Amen.

[illegible]

Out of priſon by your brother in
Chriſt. Iohn Bradford.

¶ *To Miſtres Wilkinſon.*

A letter of *M. Bradford* to Miſtres *Wilkinſon.*

ALmighty God our moſt louing Father encreaſe in your hart (my good mother & deare Miſtres in the Lord) his true knowledge and loue in Chriſt, to the encouraging and comforting of your faith in theſe ſtormye dayes: as neceſſarye vnto vs, ſo profitable if we perſiſt vnto the ende, which thing God graunt to vs, Amen.

My right dearely beloued, I knowe not what other thing to write vnto you, then to deſire you to be thankful vnto the Lord, in that amõgeſt the not many of your calling and ſtate, it pleaſeth him to geue you his rare bleſſing, I meane to keepe you from all the filth wherewith our cõtrey is horribly defiled. This bleſſing aſſuredly is rare as you ſee. But now if he ſhall bleſſe you with an other bleſſing which is more rare, I meane to call you forth as a Martyr, & a witnes againſt this filth, I hope you wyll become double thankefull. For a greater token commonly we haue not to iudge of our election and ſaluation, next to CHRIST and fayth in hym, then the croſſe, eſpecially when it is ſo glorious, as on this ſort to ſuffer any thing, but chiefely loſſe of this lyfe, which in deede is neuer found till it be ſo loſt: except the grayne of wheate fal and be dead, it remaineth fruitles.

The croſſe a great token of election.

You know how that he which was rapt into the third heauen, and did know what he wrote, doth ſay: *that as the corne lyueth not except it bee dead, and caſt into the earth, ſo truely our bodyes.* And therfore the croſſe ſhould ſo lyttle feare vs, that euen death it ſelfe ſhould altogether be deſyred of vs, as the Taylour which putteth of our ragges, and arayeth vs with the royall robes of immortality, incorruption, & glory. Great ſhame it ſhould be for vs, that all the whole creatures of God ſhould deſyre, yea grone in their kinde for our libertie, and we our ſelues to loth it: as doubtles we doe, if for the croſſe, yea for death it ſelfe, we with ioy ſwallow not vp all ſorrow that might let vs from following the Lordes callyng, & obeing the Lords prouidence: wherby doubtles al croſſes, and death it ſelfe doth come, & not by hap or chaunce. In conſideration whereof (right deare Mother) that this prouidence ſtretcheth it ſelfe ſo vnto vs, and for vs, that euẽ the heare of our heads are numbred with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt: ſurely we declare our ſelues very faint in faith, if we receiue not ſuch comfort, that we can willingly offer our ſelues to the Lord, & caſt our whole care vpon his backe, honouring hym wyth this honour, that hee is & euer will be careful for vs, and all we haue, as for his deare children. Bee therefore of good chere euen in the middeſt of theſe miſeries, be thãkfull to the Lord, and prepare your ſelfe for a further trial, which if God ſend you, as I hope, ſo do you beleue, that God therein will helpe and comfort you, and make you able to beare whatſoeuer ſhall happen. And thus much hauing this opportunitie, I thought good to write, praying God our father to recompence into your boſome, all the good that euer you haue done, to me eſpecially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, & alwayes heretofore.

1.Cor.15.

Rom.8.

Your own in the Lord Iohn Bradford.

¶ An other letter written to certaine godly perſõs, encouraging them to prepare them ſelues with patience to the croſſe.

An other fruitfull letter of *M. Bradford* exhorting from the loue of this world to the pacient bearing of the croſſe.

GRatious God and moſt mercifull father, for IESVS CHRISTES ſake thy dearely beloued ſonne, graunt vs thy mercy, grace, wiſdome, and holy ſpirite, to counſaile, comfort, & guide vs in all our cogitations, wordes, and workes, to thy glorye, and our euerlaſting ioye and peace for euer, Amen.

In my laſt letter ye might perceiue my coniecturyng to bee no leſſe towardes you, then nowe I haue learned. But (my dearely beloued) I haue learned none other thing, then before I haue told you would come to paſſe, if ye caſt not away that which ye haue learned. I doe appeale to both your conſciences, whether herein I ſpeake truth, as well of my telling (though not ſo often as I might and ſhould, God forgeue me) as alſo of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learne by you, that which ye haue learned by others: and by them which ſuffered this day ye might learne (if already ye had not learned) that lyfe and honour is not to be ſet by more then Gods commaundement. They in no point for all that euer their ghoſtly fathers coulde do, hauing Doctor Death to take their part, would conſent or ſeme to conſent to the popiſh Maſſe and papiſticall God, otherwiſe then in the dayes of our late Kyng they had receaued. And this their fayth they haue confeſſed with their deathes, to their great glory and all our comfortes, if we follow them: but to our confuſion, if wee ſtart backe from the ſame. wherefore I beſeech you to conſider it, aſwell to prayſe God for them; as to go the ſame way with them, if God ſo wyll. Conſider not the thinges of this life, which is a very priſon to all Gods children: but the thinges of euerlaſting life which is our very home. But to the beholding of this geare ye muſt open the eyes of your minde, of faith I ſhould haue ſayd, as Moſes did, which ſet more by trouble with Gods people, then by the riches of Egypt, and Pharaos Court. Your houſe, home, and goods, yea lyfe and all that euer ye haue, God hath geuen you as louetokens, to admoniſh you of his loue, and to win your loue to him again. Now will he try your loue, whether ye ſet more by hym then by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens ſake, that is, for your home, houſe, goodes, yea lyfe, will go wyth the world leſt ye ſhoulde loſe them, then be aſſured your loue, as he can not but eſpy it to be a ſtrūpets loue, ſo wil he caſt it away with the world. Remēber that he which wyll ſaue hys lyfe, ſhall loſe it, if Chriſt be true: but hee which aduentureth, yea looſeth his lyfe for the Goſpels ſake, the ſame ſhall be ſure to finde it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to ſaluation is not the broad way which many runne in, but the ſtraite way, which fewe now walke in?

¶ The Lady *Iane* and her huſband were beheaded that day.

Doctor death the Popes chaplein.

Example of *Moſes* forſaking *Pharaos* houſe, to go with Gods people.

Gods louetokens.

A ſtrumpet ſetteth more by her tokens then by her louer.

Before perſecution came, men might partly haue ſtād in a doubt by the outward ſtate of the world with vs (although by Gods word it was plaine) whether was the hygh way (for there was as many that pretēded the goſpell, as popery): but now the ſunne is riſen & the wynde bloweth, ſo that the corne which hath not taken faſt rote, can not nor wyll not abide: and therefore eaſely ye may ſee the ſtraite way by the ſmall number that paſſeth thorough it. who will nowe aduenture their goodes and lyfe for CHRISTES ſake, which yet gaue hys lyfe for our ſakes? we are now become Gergeſites, that would rather loſe CHRIST, then our Porkets. A faythfull wyfe is neuer tryed ſo to be, but when ſhee reiecteth and withſtandeth woers. A faythful Chriſtian is then found ſo to be, when his faith is aſſaulted. If we be not able, I meane if we wil not forſake this world for Gods glory and Goſpels ſake, trow ye that God wyll make vs able, or geue vs a will to forſake it for natures ſake? Die ye muſt once, and leaue all ye haue (God knoweth how ſoone and when) wyll ye, or will ye not, and ſeing perforce ye muſt do this, wyll ye not willingly now doe it for Gods ſake?

In king *Edwardes* time the high way could not be knowen.

Math.8.

Gergeſites ſet more by their pigges, then by Chriſt.

If ye go to Maſſe, and do as the moſt part doth, then may ye lyue at reſt and quietly: but if ye denye to go to it, then ſhall ye go to priſon, loſe your goods, leaue your children comfortles, yea loſe your life alſo. But my dearly beloued, open the eyes of your faith, and ſee how ſhort a thing this life is, euen a very ſhadowe and ſmoke. Againe, ſee how intolerable the puniſhment of hel fyre is, and that endles. Laſt of all, looke on the ioyes incomprehenſible, which God hath prepared for al them world without end, which loſe eyther landes or goodes for hys names ſake. And then doe ye reaſon thus: if wee go to Maſſe the greateſt enemy that CHRIST hath, though for a litle time we ſhal liue in quiet, and leaue to our children that they may lyue hereafter, yet ſhall we diſpleaſe God, fall into hys handes (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderfull hazard of falling from eternall ioy into eternall miſery, firſt of ſoule, and then of body, with the deuill and all Idolaters. Againe, we ſhal want peace of conſcience, which ſurmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether god wil viſet our Idolatry on them in this life: yea our houſe and goods are in daunger of loſing, as our liues be, through many caſualties: and when God is angry with vs, he can ſend alwaies whē he wil, one meane or an other to take all from vs for our ſinnes, and to caſt vs into care for our owne ſakes, which wil not come into ſome little trouble for his ſake.

¶ The tranſitory pleaſures of this life weyed with the endles puniſhmēt to come hereafter both of body and ſoule.

On this ſort reaſon with your ſelues, and then doubtles God will worke otherwiſe with you and in you, thē ye are ware of. where now ye thinke your ſelues vnable to abyde perſecution, be moſt aſſured, if ſo be ye purpoſe not to forſake God, that God will make you ſo able to beare his Croſſe, that therin ye ſhall reioyce. Faithfull is God (ſayth Paul) which will not tempt you further then he will make you able to beare, yea he will geue you an outſcape in the Croſſe, which ſhal bee to your comfort. Thinke how great a benefite it is, if God wil vouch you worthy this honour, to ſuffer loſſe of any thyng for hys ſake. He might iuſtly caſt moſt greuous plages vpō you, and yet now hee will correct you with that rod wherby you ſhalbe made like to his CHRIST, that for euer ye may reigne with him. Suffer your ſelues therfore now to be made like to CHRIST, for els ye ſhall neuer bee made like vnto him. The deuill would gladly haue you now to ouerthrow that which godly ye haue of lōg tyme profeſſed. Oh how would he triumph if he could wynne his purpoſe? Oh how would the Papiſtes triumph agaynſt Gods Goſpell in you? Oh how would you confirme them in their wicked Popery? Oh how would the poore children of God be diſcomforted if now ye ſhould go to Maſſe and other Idolatrous ſeruice, and do as the world doth?

1.Cor.10.

God will geue ability, not only to beare his croſſe, but alſo to reioyce in bearing.

Hath God deliuered you frō the Sweat to ſerue him ſo? Hath God miraculouſly reſtored you to health from your greuous Agewes for ſuch a purpoſe? Hath God geuen you ſuch bleſſinges in this world & good thinges all the daies of your life hetherto, and now of equitie wil ye not receaue at his handes and for his ſake, ſome euill? God forbyd: I hope better of you. Vſe prayer, and caſt your care vppon God: commit your children into hys handes: geue to God your goodes, bodyes, and liues as he hath geuen them, or rather ſent them vnto you. Say with Iob: *God hath geuen and God hath taken away, hys name be prayſed for euer.* Caſt your care vppon him (I ſay) for he is carefull for you: & take it amongeſt the greateſt bleſſinges of God to ſuffer for his ſake. I truſt he hath kept you hetherto to that end.

A great bleſſing of God to ſuffer for his ſake.

And I beſech thee, O mercyfull father for IESVS CHRISTES ſake, that thou wouldeſt be mercifull vnto vs, comfort vs with thy grace, and ſtrengthen vs in thy truth, that in hart we may beleue and in toung boldly confeſſe thy Goſpell, to thy glory and our eternall ſaluation, Amen. Pray for me and I by Gods grace will do the ſame for you.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ An admonition to certaine profeſſours of the goſpel, to beware they fall not from it in conſenting to the Romiſh religion by the example of other halting, and double faced Goſpellers.

THe peace of CHRIST which is the true effecte of Gods goſpell beleued (my derely beloued) be more and more plentifully perceiued of you, through the grace of our deare father, by the mighty working of the holy ſpirit our comforter, Amen.

Another letter or admonition of Maiſter *Bradford* to certaine Godly profeſſours of Gods truth.

Though I haue many lettes preſently to hinder me from wryting vnto you, yet being deſired, I could not but ſome thing ſignify my ready good will in this behalfe ſo much as I may, when I cannot ſo much as I would. You heare and ſee how Sathan beſtirreth him, raging as a roring Lyon to deuoure vs. You ſee and feele partly what ſtormes he hath raiſed vp to drowne the poore boote of CHRIST, I meane his church. You ſee how terribly he trayneth his ſouldiours to geue a fierce onſet on the voward of gods battell. You ſe how he hath receiued power of God to moleſt Gods chyldren, and to begin at his houſe. By reaſon wherof conſider two things: one the cauſe on our behalf: the other what will be the ſequele on ſtraungers.

For the firſt, if we be not blind, we cannot but well ſee that our ſinnes are the cauſe of all this miſery: our ſinnes I ſay, which I wold that euery one of vs wold apply to our ſelues after the example of Ionas and Dauid, turning ouer the wallet, that other mens offences might lye behind, and our owne before. Not that I would

¶ Two thinges to be conſidered in the perſecution of Gods people.

would excuſe other men, which exteriourly haue walked much more groſſely then many of you haue done: but that I would prouoke you all as my ſelfe, to more harty repentaunce and prayer. Let vs more and more encreaſe to know and lament our doubting of God, of his preſence, power, anger, mercy. &c. Let vs better feele and hate our ſelfloue, ſecuritie, negligence, vnthankefulnes, vnbelief, impatience. &c. and thē doubtles the croſſe ſhall be leſſe carefull, yea it ſhall be comfortable, and CHRIST moſt deare and pleaſant: death then ſhall be deſired as the diſpatcher of vs out of all miſery, and entraunce into eternall felicity and ioy vnſpeakeable: the which is ſo much the more longed for, by how much we feele in dede the Serpents bittes wherewith he woūdeth our heeles, that is, our outward Adam and ſenſes. If we had I ſay, a liuely and true feelyng of his poyſon, we could not but, as reioyce ouer our Captaine that hath bruſed his head, ſo be deſirous to folow his example, that is, to geue our lyues with him and for him, and ſo to fill vp his paſſions, that he might cōquere and ouercome in vs and by vs, to his glory and comfort of his children.

Earneſt repentance maketh the croſſe more pleaſant.

Coloſſ. 1.

Now the ſecond (I meane the ſequele, or that which will folow on the ſtraungers) my dearely beloued, let vs well loke vpon. For if ſo be that God iuſtly do thus giue to Sathan and his ſede, to vexe and moleſt Chriſt and his penitent people: oh what and how iuſtly may hee and will hee geue to Sathan to entreate the rechles and impenitent ſinners? If iudgement begin thus at Gods houſe, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certaynely for them is reſerued the dregges of Gods cuppe, that is, brymſtone, fyre, and tempeſt intollerable. Now are they vnwilling to drincke of Gods cuppe of afflictions which he offreth common with hys ſonne Chriſt our Lord, leſt they ſhould loſe their pigges with the Gergeſites. They are vnwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heauen, euen afflictions: they in their hartes crye, let vs caſt his yooke from vs: they walke two wayes, that is, they ſeeke to ſerue God and Mammon, which is vnpoſſible: they will not come nygh the ſtrait way that bryngeth to life: they open their eyes to behold preſent thinges onely: they iudge of religion after reaſon, and not after Gods word: they follow the more part, and not the better: they profeſſe God wyth their mouthes, but in their hartes they deny hym, or els they would ſanctify hym by ſeruing him more then men: they part ſtake with God which would haue all, geuing part to yͤ world, to yͤ Romiſh rout, & Antichriſtian Idolatry now ſet abroad amongſt vs publickly: they will haue CHRIST, but none of his croſſe, which will not be: they will be counted to liue godly in CHRIST, but yet they will ſuffer no perſecution: they loue this world wherethrough the loue of God is driuen forth of them: they ſauer thoſe thinges that be of men, and not that be of God: Summa, they loue God in their lippes, but in their hartes, yea and in their deedes deny him, as well by not repenting their euils paſt, as by continuing in euill ſtill, by doyng as the world, the fleſh, and the deuill willeth, and yet ſtill perchaunce they will pray or rather prate: *thy will be done in earth*, which is generally that euery one ſhould take vp his croſſe and follow CHRIST. But this is a hard ſaying: who is able to abide it? Therfore CHRIST muſt bee prayed to depart, leſt all theyr pigges be drowned. The deuill ſhall haue his dwelling agayne in them ſelues, rather then in their pigges, and therefore to the deuill ſhall they go and dwell with hym in eternall perdition and damnation, euen in hell fyre a torment endles, and aboue all cogitations incomprehenſible, if they repent not.

If Gods iudgementes be ſo ſharpe to his children, what will it be to hys enemies?

Math. 8.

The doynges and deedes of the wicked deſcribed, and what is the end thereof.

Wherfore by them (my dearely beloued) be admoniſhed to remember your profeſſiō, how that in Baptiſme you made a ſolemne vow to renounce the deuill, the world. &c. You promiſed to fight vnder CHRISTES ſtādard. You learned CHRISTES Croſſe afore you begun with A.B.C. Go to then, pay your vow to the Lord: fight like men and valiaunt men vnder CHRISTES ſtādard: take vp your Croſſe & folow your Maiſter, as your brethren M. Hoper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders haue done, & as now your brethren M. Cranmer, Latymer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Haukes. &c. be ready to do. The Iſe is brokē before you, therfore be not afrayd, but be content to dye for the Lord. You haue no cauſe to wauer or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the bloud of the paſtours. Remember that CHRIST ſayth: *He that will ſaue his lyfe ſhall loſe it.* And what ſhould it profite you to winne the whole world, much leſſe a litle quietnes, your goods, &c. and to loſe your owne ſoules? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by ſuch meanes as he would haue you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, CHRISTES Diſciples muſt deny thē ſelues, as well concernyng their will, as concernyng their wiſedome. Haue in mynd, that as it is no ſmall mercy to beleue in the Lord, ſo it is no ſmall kindnes of God towardes you to ſuffer any thing, much more death for the Lord. If they be bleſſed that dye in the Lord, how ſhall they be that dye for the Lord? Oh what a bleſſyng is it to haue death due for our ſinnes, diuerted into a demonſtration & teſtification of the Lordes truth? Oh that we had a litle of Moſes faith to looke vpō the end of the croſſe, to looke vpon the reward, to ſee cōtinually with CHRIST & his people, greater riches thē the riches of Egypt. Oh let vs pray that God would open our eyes to ſee his hyd Manna, heauenly Ieruſalem, the cōgregation of the firſt borne, the melody of the Saintes, the tabernacle of God dwellyng with men: then ſhould we runne and become violent men, and ſo take the kyngdome of heauen as it were by force. God our father geue vs for his CHRISTES ſake, to ſee a litle, what and how great ioy he hath prepared for vs, he hath called vs vnto, and moſt aſſuredly geueth vs for his owne goodnes and truthes ſake, Amen.

He doth embolden them to take vp Chriſtes croſſe with hym.

Bleſſed be they that die in the Lord: but more bleſſed be they that die for the Lord.

The end and riches that folow the croſſe.

My dearely beloued, repent, be ſober and watch in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations ſhew your obedience to the hygher powers in all thynges that are not agaynſt Gods word, therin acknowledging yͤ ſoueraigne power of the Lord: howbeit ſo that ye be no rebels or rebellers for no cauſe: but becauſe with good cōſcience you can not obey, be paciēt ſufferers, and the glory and good ſpirite God ſhall dwell vpō vs. I pray you remember vs your afflicted brethrē beyng in the Lordes bondes for the teſtimony of CHRIST, and abidyng the gracious houre of our deare and moſt mercyfull father. The Lord for CHRISTES ſake, geue vs mery hartes to drinke luſtily of his ſweete cup, which dayly we grone and ſigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord IESVS geue vs grace to be thankefull, & to abyde paciently the prouident houre of his moſt gracious good will, Amen. Amen.

From the Counter in the Poultry.
Your in Chriſt Iohn Bradford.

¶ To my good brother Iohn Careles, Priſoner in the Kinges Bench.

A letter of M. Bradford to Ioh. Careles.

THe father of mercy and God of all comfort, viſet vs with his eternal conſolation, according to his great mercies in IESVS CHRIST our Sauiour, Amen.

My very deare brother, if I ſhall report the truth vnto you, I cannot but ſignify that ſithen I came into priſon, I neuer receaued ſo much conſolation as I dyd by your laſt letter, the name of God be moſt hartelye prayſed therefore. But if I ſhall report the truth vnto you, and as I haue begun, ſpeake ſtill the verity, I muſt confeſſe that for mine vnthankfulnes to you wardes, and to God eſpecially, I haue more neede of Gods mercyful tidings, then I had euer heretofore. Ah that Sathan enuieth vs ſo greatly. Ah that our Lord would treade hys head vnder our feete ſhortly. Ah that I might for euer, both my ſelf beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware of vnthankefulnes. Good brother Careles, we had more neede to take heede after a lightening, of a foile then before. God therefore is to be prayſed euen when he hideth, and that of long, a chereful coūtenaunce from vs, leſt we being not expert howe to vſe it as we ſhould do, do hurt more our ſelues thereby: ſo great is our ignorance and corruption. This my good brother and right deare to my very hart, I write vnto you as to one whom in the Lord I embrace, & I thanke God that you doe me in lyke maner. God our father more and more geue vs both his good ſpirite, that as by faith we may fele our ſelues vnited vnto him in CHRIST, ſo by loue wee maye feele our ſelues linked in the ſame CHRIST one to an other, I to you, and you to me, we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to vs, Amen, Amen.

After a lightening, take heede of a foyle.

Cōmend me to our good brother Skelthrop, for whom I hartely prayſe my God, which hath geuen hym to ſee hys truth at the length, and to geue place to it. I doubt not, but that he wyll be ſo heedy in all his conuerſation, that his old acquaintance may euer thereby thinke them ſelues aſtray. Wo and wo againe ſhould be vnto vs, if we by our example ſhoulde make men to ſtumble at the truth. Forget not ſalutations in CHRIST, as you ſhal

thinke

This Skelthrop was a freewill man.

The charitable ſpirite of *M. Bradford*, in reducing them that be weake and ignorant.

thinke good to Trew and hys felowes. The Lord hath his time (I hope) for them alſo, although we perchaunce thinke otherwyſe. A drop maketh the ſtone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping: ſo if with hartye prayer for them and good example, you ſtill & drop vpon them as you can, you ſhall ſee Gods worke at the length. I beſech God to make perfect all the good hee hath begun in vs all, Amen. I deſyre you all to pray for me the moſt vnworthy priſoner of the Lord.

Your brother Iohn Bradford.

¶To M. Iohn Hall and his wife pryſoners in Newgate for the teſtimonye of the Goſpell.

An other letter of Maiſter *Bradford* to *John Hall* and his wife in Newgate priſon.

ALmighty God our heauenly Father through *IESUS CHRIST*, be with you both my dearly beloued, as with his deare childrẽ for euer, and he ſo bleſſe you with his holy ſpirite, that you may in this your croſſe (for his cauſe doubtles) reioyce, and gladly take it vp to beare it ſo long as he ſhal thinke good. I haue heard (my good brother and ſiſter) how that God hath brought you both into his ſcholehouſe; (where as you were both purpoſed by his leaue to haue plaid the trewands) that therby you might ſee his carefulnes and loue toward you. For if it be a token of a louyng and carefull father for his children, to preuent the purpoſe, and diſapoynt the intent of his children, purpoſing to depart a while from the ſchole for feare of beatyng, (which thing they would not doe if they did as much conſider the commodity of learning which there they might get): how ſhould you take this worke of the Lord preuẽting your purpoſe, but as an euident ſigne of loue & fatherly carefulnes that he beareth towardes you? If he ſhould haue wincked at your wylles, then would you haue eſcaped beating, I meane the croſſe: but then ſhould you haue loſt the commodity of learning, which your father will now haue you to learne & feele, and therfore hath he ſent to you his croſſe. He I ſay, hath brought you where you be: & though your reaſon and wit wil tel you, it is by chaunce or fortune, or otherwiſe, yet (my derely beloued) know for certain that whatſoeuer was the meane, God your father was the worker hereof, and that for your weale, although otherwiſe your olde Adam doth tell you, and you feele: yet I ſay of truth that your duety is to thinke of thys croſſe, that as it is of Gods ſendyng, and cõmeth from him: ſo although your deſertes be otherwiſe, it is of loue and fatherly affection for your weale and cõmodities ſake.

The croſſe commeth not without Gods ſending.

What commoditye is hereby, you will perchaunce obiect. You are now kept in cloſe priſon you will ſay: your family and children be without good ouerſeers: your ſubſtance diminiſheth by theſe meanes: pouertye wil approch, and perchaunce more perils alſo, yea and loſſe of life too. Theſe are no cõmodities but diſcõmodities, and that no ſmal ones: ſo that iuſtly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this croſſe, whereby commeth ſo great diſcommoditeyes.

Worldly loſſe recompenſed with endles and perpetuall gayne by the croſſe.

To theſe things I aunſwer, that in dede it is true you ſay of your bodies, families, children, ſubſtaunce, pouerty, life, &c. Which things, if you would conſider a while wyth inward eyes, as you beholde them wyth outward, then perhaps you ſhoulde finde more eaſe. Doe not you now by the inwarde ſenſe perceyue that you muſt part from all theſe and all other commodyties in the world? Tell me then, haue not you this cõmodity by your croſſe, to learne to loth and leaue the world, and to lõg for and deſire an other world, where is perpetuitie? You ought of your owne head and free wil to haue (according to your profeſſion in baptiſme) forſaken the world and all earthly things, vſyng the world, as though you vſed it not, your hart only ſette vpon your hourd in heauen, or els you could neuer be Chriſtes true diſciples, that is be ſaued, and be where he is. And trow you (my good harts in the lord) trow you I ſay, that this is no commoditye, by this croſſe to be cõpelled hereto, that you might aſſuredly enioy with the Lord endles glory? How now doth god (as it were) fatherly pull you by the eares to remember your former offences concerning theſe things and all other things, that repentance and remiſſion might enſue? How doth God now compell you to call vpon him, and to be earneſt in prayer? Are theſe no commodities? Doth not the ſcripture ſay that, *God doth correct vs in the world becauſe we ſhall not be damned with the world? That God chaſteneth euery one whom hee loueth?* that the ende of this correction ſhalbe ioy and holines? Doth not the ſcripture ſay that, *they are happy that ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake,* as you now doe? that the glory and ſpirite of God is vpõ them? that, *as you are now made like vnto Chriſt in ſuffering, ſo ſhall you be made like hym in raigning?* Doth not the ſcripture ſay that you are now going the high and right way to heauen? that your ſuffring is Chriſtes ſuffering? My dearely beloued, what greater commodities then theſe, can a godly hart deſire?

What commoditie the croſſe bringeth.

Promiſes annexed to the croſſe.

Therefore ye are commaunded to reioyce & be glad when ye ſuffer, as now ye doe: for through the goodnes of God, great ſhalbe your rewarde. Where? Forſothe on earth, firſt for your children: for now they are in Gods mere and immediate protection. Neuer was father ſo carefull for his children, as God is for yours preſently. Gods bleſſing which is more worth then all the world, you leaue in dede to your children. Though al your prouidence for them ſhould be pulled away: yet God is not poore, he hath promiſed to prouide for them moſt fatherly. *Caſt thy burthen vpon me* (ſaith he) *and I will beare it.* Doe you therefore caſt them and commend them vnto God your father, and doubt not that he will die in your det. He neuer yet was fõd vnfaithfull, & he wil not now begin with you. The good mans ſeede ſhall not goe a begging his bread: for he will ſhew mercy vpon thouſandes of the poſterity of them that feare him. Therefore as I ſaid, Gods reward firſt vpon earth ſhall be felt by your children euen corporally, and ſo alſo vpon you if God ſee it more for your commodity, at the leaſt inwardly you ſhall feele it by quietnes and comfort of conſcience: and ſecondly after this life, you ſhall finde it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, the hart cannot conceiue how great and glorious Gods reward will be vpon your bodies, much more vpon your ſoules. God open our eyes to ſee and fele this in deede. Then ſhall we thinke the croſſe which is a meane hereto, to be commodious. Then ſhal we thanke God that he would chaſtice vs. Then ſhall we ſay with Dauid: *happy am I that thou haſt puniſhed me, for before I went aſtray, but now I keepe thy lawes.*

Pſal. 55.

Pſal. 37.

Care of children to be left to Gods prouidence.

This that we may do in deede my dearely beloued, let vs firſt know that our croſſe commeth from God: Secondly, that it commeth from God as a father, that is, to our weale and good. Therefore let vs thirdly call to mynde our ſinnes & aſke pardon, wherto let vs fourthly looke for helpe certainly at Gods hand in hys good time: helpe I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commoditie of our ſoules and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceiue, then wil there iſſue out of vs harty thankes geuing, which God requireth as a moſt precious ſacrifice. That we may all through *CHRIST* offer this, let vs vſe earneſt prayer to our God and deare father, who bleſſe vs, kepe vs, & cõfort vs vnder hys ſweete croſſe for euer, Amen, Amen.

4. thinges to be conſidered of all men that be vnder the croſſe.

My deare harts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cã not as I would. Oh that it would pleaſe our deare father ſhortly to bring vs where we ſhould neuer depart, but enioy continually the bleſſed fruition of hys heauenly preſence: pray, pray, that it may ſpedely come to paſſe, pray. To morrow I wyll ſend vnto you to know your eſtate, ſend me word what are the chiefeſt thynges they charge you wythall. From the Counter.

By your brother in the Lord
Iohn Bradford.

¶To Miſtres Hall priſoner in Newgate and ready to make aunſwere before her aduerſaries.

Another letter of Maiſter *Bradford* to Miſtris *Hall.*

OUr moſt merciful God and father through *CHRIST IESUS* our Lord and Sauiour, be merciful vnto vs, and make perfect the good he hath begun in vs vnto the ende, Amen.

My deare Siſter, reioyce in the Lord, reioyce: be glad (I ſay) be mery and thãkefull, not onely becauſe *CHRIST* ſo commaũdeth vs, but alſo becauſe our ſtate wherin we are preſently, requireth no leſſe, for we are the Lordes witneſſes. God the father hath vouched ſaffe to choſe vs amongeſt many, to witnes and teſtifie, that *CHRIST* his ſonne is Kyng and that his word is true. *CHRIST* our Sauiour for his loues ſake towardes vs, will haue vs to beare record that he is no vſurper nor deceiuer of the people, but Gods Ambaſſadour, Prophet, and Meſſias; ſo that of all dignities vpõ earth this is yͤ higheſt. Greater honour had not his Prophetes, Apoſtles nor deareſt frendes,

Math. 5.

frendes, thē to *beare witnes with CHRIST, as we now do. The world folowyng the counſel of theyr Syer Sathan, would gladly condemne CHRIST and his verity: but loe the Lord hath choſen vs to be his champions, to let this. As ſtout ſouldiours therfore let vs ſtand to our maiſter, who is with vs & ſtandeth on our right hād that we ſhal not be much moued, if we hope and hang on his mercy: he is ſo faithfull and true, that he will neuer tēpt vs further then he wil make vs hable to beare. Therfore be not carefull (for I heare ſay this day you ſhalbe called forth) what you ſhall aunſwere. The Lord which is true and cannot lye, hath promiſed and will neuer fayle nor forget it, that you ſhall haue both what and how to aunſwere, ſo as ſhall make his ſhameles aduerſaries aſhamed. Hang therfore on this promiſe of God, who is an helper at a pinch and a moſt preſent remedy to them that hope in him. Neuer was it heard of or ſhalbe, that any hopyng in the Lord was put to foyle.

Promiſes annexed to the croſſe.

* The bond of Martyrs ſtandeth by the veritie of Chriſt agaynſt the world and Sathan, who would ſuppreſſe the ſame.

The Lord promiſeth and will geue them that ſtand in his defence, how and what to aunſwere.

Pſal. 55.

Therfore as I ſayd, I ſay agayn, Deare Siſter be not onely not carefull for your aunſweryng, but alſo be ioyfull for your cauſe. Confeſſe Chriſt and be not aſhamed, and hee will confeſſe you and neuer be aſhamed of you. Though loſſe of goodes and life be like here to enſue: yet if CHRIST be true (as he is moſt true) it is otherwiſe in deede: *For he that loſeth his lyfe* (ſayth hee) *wynneth it, but he that ſaueth it, loſeth it*. Our ſinnes haue deſerued many deathes. Now if God deale ſo with vs, that he wil make our deſerued death a demonſtration of his grace, a teſtimoniall of his veritie, a confirmation of his people, and an ouerthrow of his aduerſaries: what great cauſe haue we to be thankefull? Be thākefull therfore good Syſter, be thankefull, reioyce and be mery in the Lord, be ſtout in his cauſe and quarell, be not faynt harted, but runne out your race, & ſet your captaine CHRIST before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and yͤ eternitie of felicitie prepared for you. Striue and fight lawfully, that you may get the crowne. Runne to get the game: you are almoſt at your iourneyes end. I doubt not, but our father will with vs ſend to you alſo, as he did to Hely, a fiery chariotte, to cōuey vs into his kyngdome. Let vs therfore not be diſmayde to leaue our cloke behind vs, that is, our bodies to aſhes. God will one day reſtore them to vs like to the body of our Lord and Sauiour IESUS CHRIST, whoſe cōmyng is now at hand: let vs looke for it and lift vp our heades, for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy graunt vs his mercy, Amen. I pray you pray for me, and ſo deſire my brethren which bee with you. Gods peace be with vs all, Amen. Bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord: then how much more they that dye for the Lord.

Pſal. 37.

Care of children to be left to Gods prouidence.

A bleſſed thing ſeing a man muſt nedes dye, to dye for the Lord.

4. Reg. 2.

4. thinges to be conſidered of all men that be vnder the croſſe.

Your brother in bondes.
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To a woman that deſired to know his mind whether ſhe, refraining from the Maſſe, might be preſent at the popiſh Mattins, or no.

A reſolution of Maiſter Bradford, whether a Chriſtian refrayning from the maſſe, may heare the Popiſhe Mattins, &c.

Another letter of Maiſter Bradford to Miſtres Hall.

I Beſech almighty God our heauenly father to be mercifull vnto vs, and to encreaſe in you, my good Siſter, the knowledge and loue of his truth, and at this preſent geue me grace ſo to write to you ſomthing of the ſame, as may make to his glory, and our own comfort and cōfirmation in him through CHRIST our Lord, Amen.

Whether you maye come wyth ſafe conſcience to the church now, that is, to the ſeruice vſed cōmonly, in part, as at *Mattins* or at *Euenſong*, or no, is your deſire to haue me to write ſomthing for your further ſtay. My dearely beloued, although your benefits towards me might per chaunce make you to thincke, that in reſpect thereof I would beare with that which els were not to bee borne withall: yet by Gods grace I am purpoſed ſimply and without all ſuch reſpect in this matter, to ſpeake to you the truth according to my conſcience, as I may be able to ſtand vnto, when I ſhall come before the Lord.

Math. 5.

First therefore go about to learne perfectly the fyrſt leſſon to be learned of all that profeſſe CHRIST, that is, to deny your ſelfe, and in nothing to ſeeke your ſelfe.

Three leſſons to be learned of euery Chriſtian.

Secondly, learne after this, to begin at the next leſſon to it, which is to ſeeke God in all things you do and leaue vndone.

Thirdly, know that then you ſeke God, when in his ſeruice you follow his word and not mans fantaſies, cuſtome, multitude. &c. and when with your brother you follow the rule of charitie, that is, to do as you would be done by. In theſe is a ſumme of all the counſell I can geue you, if that hereto I admoniſhe you of the ſeruice now vſed, which is not according to gods word, but rather againſt Gods worde directly and in maner wholy. So that your going to yͤ ſeruice, is a declaratiō that you haue not learned the firſt leſſon, nor neuer cā learne it ſo long as you go thether: therefore the ſecond leſſon you ſhall vtterly loſe, if you ceaſe not the ſeeking your ſelfe, that is, if for company, cuſtome, father or friend, lyfe or goods, you ſeeme to allow that which God diſaloweth. And this that you the better may perceaue, I purpoſe by Gods grace briefly to ſhew.

First the *Mattens* and *Euenſong* is in a tounge forbidden publikely to be vſed in the congregation that perceaueth not the toung. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an vnknowen toung, to be againſt Gods commaūdemēt. This one (I trow) were inough, if nothing els were. For how cā Gods glory be ſought, where his word and commaundement is wilfully broken? How can charity to man ſtand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is ouerthrowen?

Reaſons vꝛged prouing that no Chriſtian may come to the Popiſh Mattins and euenſong with a good conſcience.

The Popes ſeruice is in a tounge vnknowen.

Again, both in *Mattins* & in *Euenſong* is idolatry maintained for Gods ſeruice: for there is inuocation & praier made to Saintes departed thys lyfe, which robbeth God of that glory which he will geue to none other.

The Popes ſeruice is full of Idolatrie.

Moreouer, this ſeruice and the ſetters forth of it, condemneth the Engliſh ſeruice as hereſie, thereby falling into Gods curſe, which is threatned to all ſuch as call good euyll, and euyll good: whereof they ſhall be partakers that do communicate with them.

Eſay. 5.

The Popes ſeruice cōdemneth our Engliſh ſeruice of hereſie.

Beſides this, this lattin ſeruice is a plaine marke of Antichriſtes catholicke Sinagoge, ſo that the Cōmunicants and approuers of it, thereby declare them ſelues to be members of the ſame Sinagoge, and ſo cut of from CHRIST and hys Church: whoſe exteriour marke is the true adminiſtration of Gods word and ſacraments.

The Popes lattin ſeruice is a marke of Antichriſt.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to alow the religion of Antichriſt (as doubtles you doe in deede, howſoeuer in hart you thinke) occaſioneth the obſtinate to be vtterly intractable, the weake Papiſtes to be more obſtinate, yͤ ſtrong Goſpellers to be ſore weakned, and the weake Goſpellers to bee vtterly ouerthrowen: which thinges how great offences they be, no pen is able to vtter by letters. All theſe euils you ſhalbe gilty of, that company with theſe in religion exteriourly, from whom you are admoniſhed to flye. If CHRIST be CHRIST, follow him: gather wyth hym, leſt you ſcatter abroad. Serue God, not onely in ſpirite, but alſo in body. Make not your body now a mēber of CHRIST, a member of Antichriſt. Come out from amongſt them, ſayth the Lord, and touch no vncleane thing. Confeſſe CHRIST and his truth, not onely in hart, but alſo in toung, yea in very deede, which few goſpellers do. In dede they deny hym, and therefore had nede to tremble, leſt that CHRIST wil deny them in the laſt day: the which day if it were ſet before our eyes often, then would the pleaſures & treſures of this world be but trifles. Therefore good ſiſter, often haue it before your eyes, dayly ſet your ſelfe and your doinges as before the iudgement ſeat of CHRIST now, that hereafter you bee not called into iudgement. Thinke that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to loſe your owne ſoule. Marke CHRISTES leſſons well: *Hee that will ſaue hys life ſhall loſe it*. The father of heauen commaundeth you to heare CHRIST, and he ſaith, *follow me*: this can you not do and follow Idolatry or Idolaters. Fly from ſuch, ſayth the ſcripture. Thys God graunt to you, to me, and to all gods children, Amen. Thus in haſt I haue accompliſhed your requeſt, God graunt that as you haue done mee much good bodily, ſo this may bee a little meane to doe you ſome good ſpiritually, Amen. If tyme would ſerue, I would haue written more at large. The .ij. of March. An. 1556.

The going to the Popes ſeruice geueth ill example and is offenſiue.

Chriſtes leſſon.

¶ To the worſhipfull, and in God my moſt deare frend, the Lady Vane.

An epiſtle of M. Bradford to the Lady Vane, concerning the ſeate of the Popes pretenſed primacie.

The good ſpirite of God our father be more and more plētifully perceaued of your good Ladiſhip, through the mediation and merites of our dere Sauiour IESUS CHRIST, Amen.

Although your benefites towards me haue deſerued at my hands the ſeruice I can do for you, yet (right worſhipfull and dearely beloued in the Lord) the true feare of God and the loue of his truth which I perceyue to be in you, eſpecially and aboue all other things doth binde me hereunto. This bearer hath tolde me that your deſire is, The Pope proued to be the great Antichriſt ſpoken of by the Apoſtles.

is, to haue ſomething ſent to you cõcerning the vſurped authoritie of the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, which is vndoubtedly that great Antichriſt of whom the Apoſtles doe ſo much admoniſhe vs, that you may haue aſwell ſomething the more to ſtay you on, as alſo wherwith to anſwere the aduerſaries, becauſe you may perchaũce therin be ſomthing appoſed. To ſatiſfy this your deſire I wil briefly goe about, and ſo, that I wil by gods grace, fully ſet forth the ſame, to enarme you to wythſtãd the aſſaults of the Papiſts herein, if you marke well and read ouer againe that which I now wryte.

The Pope diſplacing Chriſt.

The wordes of Chriſt to *Peter*, *Feede my ſheepe*, expounded.

* Argument. Chriſt bidding Peter to fede his flocke, made him head ouer the vniuerſall church: Ergo, Peter bidding the paſtors to fede the flocke of Chriſt, made them alſo heades ouer the vniuerſall church.

Ab vna exponente ad ſuam excluſiuam non valet cõſequentia. Chriſt made Peter a ſhepheard: Ergo Chriſt made Peter only the chiefe ſhepheard of hys ſhepe.

Peter was excellent for his giftes, and not for the place where he ſat.

The Papiſts do place in preeminence ouer the whole church the Pope, thereby vnplacing CHRIST which is the head of the church, that geueth life to the whole body, and by his ſpirite doth make liuely euery member of the ſame. This they doe without all ſcriptures. For where they bring in this ſpokẽ to Peter: *feede my ſheepe*, I would gladly know whether this was not commaunded vnto others alſo. As for that (which perchaunce they wyll vrge) that hee ſpake to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would eaſely perceaue how that it was not for any ſuch cauſe as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commaundement, to reſtore to him the honour of an Apoſtle, which he had loſt by his threefold denyall. And how dare they interprete this worde, *my ſheepe, my Lambes*, to be the vniuerſall church of CHRIST? I trow a man might eaſely by the *like reaſon proue that Peter himſelf had reſigned that which CHRIST had geuen to him, in exhorting his fellowe paſtours *to feede the flocke of* CHRIST. Is not this pretty ſtuffe? Becauſe CHRIST ſaith to Peter, *feede my ſheepe*, therefore he ought to rule the vniuerſall and whole church of CHRIST? If Peter doe truely wryte vnto others that they ſhould doe the like, that is, *feede* CHRISTES *flocke*, either he tranſlateth his right and authority committed to him vppon them, or els he doth participate, or communicate with them: ſo that foliſhly they goe about to eſtabliſhe that which hath no ground. Peter in dede was a ſhepheard of the ſheepe, but ſuch a one as beſtowed his labour on them ſo farre, as he could ſtretch him ſelf by his miniſtery. But the papiſtes prate that hee had full power ouer all Churches: wherein they may ſee Paule to improue them, for els he had done vniuſtly in denying them the ſuperiour place. Howbeit, who euer yet red that Peter did take any thing vpon him ouer Churches committed vnto other men? was not he ſẽt of the church, and ſent as one not hauing rule ouer the reſt? I graunt that he was an excellent inſtrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whẽſoeuer they mette together, place therfore was commonly geuen vnto him. But what is this to the purpoſe, to make him ruler and head ouer all the whole church, becauſe he was ſo ouer a ſmall congregation?

Argument, *Peter* left the title which he receaued to hys ſucceſſours. Peter receaued the title of Sathan: Ergo Peter lefte the title of Sathan to his ſucceſſours.

No mention of ſucceſſion nor primacie inheritable, in all the ſcripture.

But be it ſo that Peter had as much geuen to him as they do affirme: who yet wil graunt that Peter had a patrimony geuen for his heires? He hath left (ſay the Papiſtes) to his ſucceſſours, the ſelf ſame right which he receaued. Oh Lord God, then muſt his ſucceſſour be a Sathan: for he receaued that title of CHRIST him ſelfe. I would gladly haue the Papiſts to ſhew me one place of ſucceſſion mencioned in the Scriptures. I am ſure that when Paule purpoſely painteth out the whole adminyſtration of the Church, he neither maketh one head, nor any enheritable Primacye, and yet he is altogether in commendation of vnitye. After he hath made mention of one God the father, of one CHRIST, of one ſpirit, of one body of the Church, of one faith, and of one baptiſme, then he deſcribeth the meane and manner how vnitye is to bee kept: namely becauſe vnto euery paſtour is grace geuen after the meaſure wherewith CHRIST hath endued them. where I pray you is now any title of Plenitudinis poteſtatis, of fulnes of power? when he calleth home euery one vnto a certaine meaſure, why did he not forthwith ſay, one Pope? which thing he could not haue forgotten, if the thing had bene as the papiſts make it.

No cauſe why any perpetuity of primacie ſhould belong to Rome, more then to other places.

As Peters chayre was in Rome: So Moſes chayre was in the wildernes: Ergo the principalitie of the Jewiſh church ſhould be in the wildernes.

But let vs graunt that perpetuitie of the Primacye in the Church was eſtabliſhed in Peter: I would gladly learne why the ſeate of the Primacy ſhould be rather at Rome, thẽ elſwhere. Mary ſay they, bicauſe Peters Chair was at Rome. This is euen like to this, that becauſe Moſes the greateſt Prophet, and Aaron the firſt prieſt exerciſed theyr offices vnto their death in the deſert, therefore the principalleſt place of the Iewiſh Church ſhould be in the wildernes. Bitt graunt them theyr reaſon, that it is good. what ſhold Antioch claime? For Peters Chaire was there alſo: wherein Paule gaue him a checke, which was vnſemely and vnmanerly done of Paule, that would not geue place to his preſident and better.

Peter had no Biſhopricke at Rome.

Coniectures that *Peter* was not at Rome.

No ſay the Papiſts, Rome muſt haue this authoritye becauſe Peter died there. But what if a man ſhould by probable coniectures ſhewe, that it is but a fable, which is fained of Peters Biſhopricke at Rome? Read how Paule doth ſalute very many priuate perſones when he writeth to the Romaines. Three yeres after his Epiſtle made, he was brought to Rome priſoner. Luke telleth, that he was receaued of the brethren, and yet in all theſe, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by theyr ſtoryes was at Rome. Belike he was proude, as the Pope and Prelates be, or els he would haue viſited Paule. Paule being in priſon in Rome, did wryte diuers Epiſtles, in which he expreſſeth the names of many which were in compariſon of Peter, but raſcall perſonages, but of Peter he ſpeaketh neuer a word. Surely if Peter had bene there, this ſilence of him had bene ſuſpicious. In the ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy Paule complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had bene then at Rome, as they write, then eyther Paule had belyed him, or Peter had played his Peters parte. Luke. 23. In an other place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome biſhop as they prate: for all this time, and long before, they ſay that Peter was Biſhop there.

2. Tim. 4.

Phil. 1.

If Peters Chayre make the primacie, Why might not Antioch clayme as much as Rome, where he ſatte firſt?

But I wil not ſtyrre vp coles in this matter. If Rome be the chief Seate becauſe Peter dyed there, why ſhould not Antioch bee the ſecond? why ſhould not Iames and Iohn which were taken with Peter to bee as pillers, why (I ſay) ſhould not theyr Seates haue honour next to Peters Seate? Is not this geare prepoſterous, that Alexandria where Marke (which was but one of the Diſciples) was Byſhop, ſhould bee preferred before Epheſus where Iohn the Euãgeliſt taught & was Biſhop, & before Ieruſalẽ where not only Iames taught & died Byſhop, but alſo CHRIST IESVS our Lord and hygh Prieſt for euer? by whom beyng Maiſter (I hope) honour ſhould be geuen to his Chaire, more then to the Chayre of his Chaplaines.

Peters Apoſtleſhip was ouer the circũciſed, and not ouer the Gentiles.

The title of primacy, a foretoken of Antichriſt.

I nede to ſpeake nothyng how that Paul telleth Peters Apoſtleſhyp to concerne rather Circũciſion or the Iewes, and therfore properly perteineth not to vs. Neither do I neede to bryng in Gregorius the firſt Byſhop of Rome, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 600. who plainly in his workes doth write, that this title of Primacy, and to be head ouer all Churches vnder CHRIST, is a title meete and agreyng onely to Antichriſt, and therfore he calleth it a prophane, a miſchieuous, and an horrible title. whom ſhould we beleue now, if we wil neither beleue Apoſtle nor Pope.

How the title of primacie firſt came vp, and by whom.

If they will nedes make the Biſhop of Rome the ſupreame head, they muſt firſt proue him a Biſhop in dede and not in name.

The B. of Rome ſeemeth in dede rather a Butcher then a Biſhop.

If I ſhould go about to tell how this name was firſt gotten by Phocas, I ſhould be to long. I purpoſe God willyng, to ſet it forth at large in a worke which I haue begun of Antichriſt, if God for his mercies ſake geue me lyfe to finiſh it. For this preſent therfore I ſhall deſire your Ladyſhip to take this in good part. If they will nedes haue the Byſhop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of yͤ Church, then will I vrge them yͭ they ſhall geue vs a Byſhop. But they obtrude vnto vs a butcher rather, or a biteſhepe then a biſhop. They bragge of Peters ſucceſſion, of CHRISTES vicar, this is alwayes in their mouth. But alas, how can we call him CHRISTES Vicar that reſiſteth CHRIST, oppugneth his veritye, perſecuteth his people, and like a Prelate preferreth him ſelfe aboue God and man? How, or wherein doth the Pope and CHRIST agree? How ſupplieth he Peters miniſtery, that boaſteth of his ſucceſſion? Therfore to begin withall, which I will vſe preſently for a concluſyon, if the Papiſts will haue the biſhop of Rome ſupreme head of the church of CHRIST in earth, they muſt afore they attaine this, geue vs a Biſhop in deede, and not in name. For whoſoeuer he be that wil make this the bond of vnity, what ſoeuer the biſhop of Rome be, ſurely thys muſt nedes follow, that they doe nothing els but teach a moſt wicked defection, and departing from CHRIST.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpoſe to ſpeake more at large hereafter. Nowe will I betake your Ladiſhip vnto the tuition of God our father, and CHRIST our only head paſtour and keper, to whome ſee that you cleaue by true faith which depẽdeth only vpon the word of God, which if you do folow as a lanterne to your feet, and a light to your ſteppes, you ſhall then auoide darkenes, and the daungerous deepes whereinto the papiſts are fallen by the iuſt iudgement of God, & ſeeke to bring vs into the ſame dungeon with them, that the blinde following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliuer them according to his good wil, and preſerue vs for his names ſake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walke in it whileſt it is day: ſo ſhall the night neuer ouerpreſſe vs, we going from light to light, from vertue to vertue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory by the gouernaunce of Gods good ſpirite, which God our father geue vnto vs all for euer and euer, Amen.

Your brother in bonds for the teſtimony
of IESVS CHRIST, Iohn Bradford.

Here foloweth an other letter of M.Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, Sheriffe ſometimes of Couentrey, and yet being (as I heare ſay) aliue. This Hopkins whom M.Bradford commẽdeth ſo much in this letter, during the time of his Shriefalty, was detected and accuſed by certaine malignant aduerſaries, of matter pertaining to religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, vnleſſe it were for ſending and lending vnto a theefe being then in priſon ready to be hanged, a certaine Engliſh boke of ſcripture for his ſpirituall comfort. Wherupon, or els vpõ ſome ſuch like matter, he being maliciouſly accuſed, was ſent for and committed to the Flete, & there endured a ſufficient time, not without great perill of life. Notwithſtanding, the ſayd Hopkins being at length deliuered out of pryſon, folowing this counſell of M.Bradford, and minding to kepe hys cõſcience pure frõ Idolatry, was driuen wͭ his wife and .viij. yong children to auoide the realme, and ſo leauing all other worldly reſpectes, with his great loſſe and damage went into high Germany, where he continued in the City of Baſill, til the death of Quene Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a frendly helper and a comfortable relieuer of other Engliſh exiles there about him: Gods holy bleſſing ſo working wyth him therefore, that in thoſe farre countreys, neyther he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all hys houſhold, during all that time there miſcaryed, but ſo many as he brought out, ſo many he recaryed home againe, yea and that with aduauntage, and Gods plenty withall vpon him. Now the letter written to thys Richard Hopkins by M.Bradford, is this.

He wrote alſo an other fruitfull letter to thys Richard Hopkins, which you may read in the boke of letters of the Martyrs.

❡A letter to M.Richard Hopkins, then Shriefe of Couentry, and priſoner in the Fleete, for the faithfull and conſtant confeſſing of Gods holy Goſpell.

A letter of Maiſter Bradford to Richard Hopkins priſoner the ſame time for his conſcience.

DEarely beloued in the Lord, I wiſh vnto you, as vnto mine owne brother, yea as to mine owne hart roote, Gods mercy and the feeling of the ſame plentifully in CHRIST our ſweete Sauiour, who gaue him ſelfe a raunſome for our ſinnes, and price for our redemption, praiſed therfore be his holy name for euer & euer, Amen.

I will not goe about to excuſe my ſelfe for not ſending vnto you hetherto, ſuffering for the Lordes ſake as you doe, to the comfort of me and of all that loue you in the truth: but rather accuſe my ſelf both before God and you, deſiring you of forgeuenes, and wyth me to pray to God for pardon of this my vnkind forgetting you, & all other my ſinnes, which I beſech the Lord in his mercy, to doe away for his CHRISTES ſake, Amen.

Now to make amends to you ward, I would be glad if I could, but bicauſe I can not, I ſhall hartely deſire you to accept yͤ wil, & this which I ſhall now write vnto you, thereafter: I meane, after my wil & not after yͤ dede, to accept and take it. At this preſent my deare hart in the lord, you are in a bleſſed ſtate, although it ſeeme otherwiſe to you, or rather vnto your olde Adam, the which I dare now be ſo bold as to diſcerne frõ you, becauſe you would haue him not only diſcerned, but alſo vtterly deſtroyed. For if God be true, thẽ is his word true. Now his word pronounceth of your ſtate that it is happy, therefore it muſt needes be ſo. To proue this, I thinke it neede not: for you know that the holy Ghoſt ſayth, *that they are happy which ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake, and that Gods glory and ſpirit reſteth on them which ſuffer for conſcience to God*. Now this you can not but know, that this your ſuffering is for righteouſnes ſake and for conſcience to Godwardes, for els you might be out of trouble euen out of hande. I know in very deedes that you haue felt and do feele your vnthankefulnes to God and other ſinnes, to witneſſe to you, that you haue deſerued this priſonment and lacke of liberty, betwixt God and your ſelfe, and I would you ſo would confeſſe vnto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon & thankes geuing for his correcting you here. But you know that the Magiſtrates do not perſecute in you your ſinnes, your vnthankefulnes. &c. but they perſecute in you CHRIST himſelf, his righteouſnes his verity, and therefore happy be you that haue found ſuch fauoure with God your father, as to accompt you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake in the ſight of man: ſurely you ſhall reioyce therfore one day with a ioy vnſpeakeable in the ſight of man alſo.

Martyrs perſecuted not for their ſinnes, but for Chriſt only and the Goſpell.

You may thinke your ſelfe borne in a bleſſed time, that haue found this grace with God, to be a veſſell of honor to ſuffer with his Saints, yea with his ſonne. My beloued, God hath not done ſo with many. The Apoſtle ſaith: *Not many noble, not many rich, not many wyſe in the worlde, hath the Lorde God choſen.* Oh then what cauſe haue you to reioyce, that amongſt the not many, he hath choſen you to be one? For this cauſe hath god placed you in your office, that therefore you might the more ſee hys ſpeciall dignation and loue towardes you. It had not bene ſo great a thing for M.Hopkins to haue ſuffered as M.Hopkins, as it is for M.Hopkins alſo to ſuffer as M Shrieffe. Oh happy day that you were made Shrieffe, by yͤ which, as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, ſo by ſuffering in this roome he hath exalted you in heauen and in the ſight of his church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it red, that a Shrieffe of a city hath ſuffered for yͤ Lords ſake? where read we of any Shrieffe that hath bene caſt in priſõ for conſcience to Godward? How could God haue delt more louingly with you, then herein he hath done? To the end of the world it ſhall be written for a memoryall to your praiſe, that Richard Hopkins Shrieffe of Couentry, for conſcience to do his office before God, was caſt in the Flete, and there kept priſoner a long time. Happy, and twiſe happy are you, if herefore you may geue your life. Neuer could you haue attained to this promotiõ on this ſort out of that office. How do you preach now, not onely to all men, but ſpecially to Magiſtrates in this Realme? who would euer haue thought, that you ſhould haue bene the firſt Magiſtrate, that for CHRISTES ſake ſhould haue loſt any thing? As I ſayd before, therefore I ſay againe, that your ſtate is happy. Good brother, before god I write the truth vnto you, my conſcience bearing me witnes, that you are in a moſt happy ſtate with the Lord, and before his ſight.

1.Cor.1.

R.Hopkins the firſt Magiſtrate that ſuffred for his conſcience.

Be thankfull therefore, reioyce in your trouble, pray for pacience, perſeuer to the ende, let pacience haue her perfect worke. If you want this wiſdome & power, aſke it of God, who wil geue it to you in his good time. Hope ſtill in him, yea if he ſhould ſlay you, yet truſt in him with Iob, and you ſhall perceaue that the ende will be to find him merciful and ful of compaſſion: for he wil not breake promiſe with you, which hetherto did neuer ſo with any. He is with you in trouble: he heareth you calling vpon him, yea before you cal, your deſires are not only knowen, but accepted through CHRIST. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to prouoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is moſt true: he is a comming and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he ſeeme to tary, yet ſtand you ſtill & you ſhall ſee the wõderfull workes of the Lord. Oh beloued, wherefore ſhould you be heauy? Is not CHRIST Emanuel, God with vs? ſhall you not find, that as he is true in ſaying: *in the world you ſhall haue trouble*: ſo is he in ſaying: *in me you ſhall haue comfort*? He doth not ſweare only that trouble will come, but withall he ſweareth that comfort ſhall enſue. And what comfort? ſuch a comfort as the eie hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man cã conceaue. Oh great comfort. who ſhall haue this? Forſoth they that ſuffer for the lord. And are not you one of them? Yea verely are you. Then (as I ſayd) happy, happy, and happy againe are you my dearely beloued in the Lord. You now ſuffer with the Lord: ſurely you ſhall be glorified with him. Call vpõ God therfore now in your trouble, and he will heare you, yea deliuer you in ſuch ſort as moſt ſhal make both to his & your glory alſo. And in this calling I hartely pray you to pray for me your fellow in afflictiõ. Now we be both going in the high way to heauen, for by many afflictions muſt we enter in thether: whether god bring vs for his mercies ſake, Amen, Amen.

Iacob.1.

1.Cor.2.

Your fellow in affliction,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To my good Syſter Myſtres Elizabeth Browne.

A letter of M. Bradford to Miſtres Browne, now called Miſtres Bettes.

GOod Siſter, God our father make perfect the good he hath begun in you vnto the ende.

I am afraid to wryte vnto you becauſe you ſo ouercharge your ſelf at all times, euen whenſoeuer I doe but ſend to you commendations. I would be more bolde on you then many others, and therefore you might ſuſpend ſo great tokens til I ſhould wryte vnto you of my nede: which thing doutles I would doe, if it vrged me. Deare Siſter, I ſee your vnfained loue to mewardes in God, and haue done of long time, the which I doe recompence with the like, and will doe by Gods grace ſo long as I liue, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poore prayers to haue you in remembraunce, as I hope you haue me. Otherwiſe I can doe you no ſeruice, except it be now and then by my writing to let you from better exerciſe, where yet the ende of my writing is to excite and ſtirre vp your hart more earneſtly to goe on forwards in your well begun enterpriſe. For you know none ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as ſtriue lawfully, and none receyueth the gleue, but thoſe that runne to the appoynted marke. None ſhall be ſaued but ſuch as perſiſt and continue to the very end. Therefore (deare Siſter) remember that we haue neede of patience, that when we haue done the good will of God, we may receiue the promiſe. Patience and perſeuerance be the proper notes wherby gods children are knowne from counterfaites. They that perſeuer not, were alwayes but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea their progreſſe ſeemeth merueilous, but yet after in ye end they faile. *Theſe were neuer of vs,* ſayth S. Iohn: *for if they had bene of vs, they would haue continued vnto the very ende.*

2. Timo. 2.

Hebr. 10.

Wholſome leſſons of life.

Goe to therefore mine owne beloued in the Lord: as you haue well begun and well gone forward, ſo well perſiſt and happely ende, and then all is yours. Though this be ſharpe and ſower, yet it is not tedious or lõg. Do all that euer you doe, ſimply for God and as to God, ſo ſhall neuer vnkindnes nor any other thing make you to leaue of from well doing, ſo long as you may do wel. Accuſtome your ſelfe now to ſee God continually, that he may be all in all vnto you. In good things beholde his mercy, and apply it vnto your ſelfe. In euill thyngs and plagues behold his iudgements, wherethorough learne to feare him. Beware of ſinne, as the ſerpent of the ſoule, which ſpoyleth vs of all our ornature & ſeemely apparel in Gods ſight. Let CHRIST crucified be your booke to ſtudy on, and that both night and day. Marke your vocation, and be diligent in the workes thereof. Vſe harty and earneſt prayer, and that in ſpirite. In all things geue thankes to God our father through CHRIST. Labour to haue here life euerlaſting begun in you: for els it wyll not be elſewhere enioyed. Set Gods iudgement often before your eyes, that now examining your ſelf, you may make diligẽt ſute, and obtaine neuer to come into iudgement. Vncouer your euils to God, that he may couer them. Beware of this Antichriſtian traſh: defile not your ſelfe in ſoule or body therewith, but accompliſh holines in the feare of God, and beare no yoke with vnbeleuers. Loke for the comming of the Lord, which is at hand: by earneſt prayer, and godly life haſten it. God our father accompliſh his good worke in you, Amen. Commend me to my good mother miſtres Wilkinſon, and to my very deare ſiſter miſtres Warcuppe. I ſhal daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To a frend of his, inſtructing him how he ſhould aunſwere his aduerſaryes.

An other letter of Maſter Bradford to his friend, with inſtructions how to anſwere his aduerſaries.

MY good brother, our merciful God and deare father through CHRIST, open your eyes effectually to ſee, and your hart ardẽtly to deſire the euerlaſting ioy which he hath prepared for his ſlaughter ſheepe, that is, for ſuch as ſhrinke not frõ his truth for any ſtormes ſake, Amen.

Example of Moſes anſwering before K. Pharao.

When you ſhall come before the Magiſtrates to geue an anſwere of the hope which is in you, do it with all reuerence & ſimplicity. And becauſe you may be ſomething afraid by the power of the Magiſtrates & cruelty which they will threaten againſt you, I would you ſet before you the good father Moſes, to follow his example: for he ſet the inuiſible God before his eyes of faith, and wyth them loked vpon God and his glorious maieſtie and power, as with his corporall eyes he ſaw Pharao and all his fearefull terrors. So doe you my dearely beloued: let your inwarde eyes geue ſuch light vnto you, that as you know you are before the magiſtrates, ſo and much more, you and they alſo are preſent before the face of god, which will geue ſuch wiſedome to you, fearing him and ſeking his praiſe, as the enemies ſhall wonder at, and further, he will ſo order their harts and doings, that they ſhall, will they nill they, ſerue Gods prouidẽce towards you (which you can not auoid though you would) as ſhall be moſt to his glory, & your euerlaſting comfort. Therfore my good brother, let your whole ſtudy be only to pleaſe God: put him alwayes before your eyes, for he is on your righthãd leſt you ſhould be moued: he is faithfull, and neuer will ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that he will make you able to beare. Yea euery heare of your head he hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh without his good will: which can not be but good vnto you, in that he is become your father through CHRIST, and therfore as he hath geuen you to beleue in him (God encreaſe this beliefe in vs al) ſo doth he now graciouſly geue vnto you to ſuffer for his names ſake: the which you ought with all thankefulnes to receaue, in that you are made worthy to drinke of the ſelfe ſame cuppe, which not only the very ſonnes of God haue drunke of before you, but euen the very naturall ſonne of God him ſelfe hath brought you good lucke. Oh, he of his mercy make vs thankefull to pledge him againe, Amen.

Inſtructions how to anſwere, and to behaue him ſelfe before the Iudges.

Becauſe the chiefeſt matter they will trouble you and goe about to deceaue you withall, is the Sacrament, not of CHRISTES body and bloud, but of the altar (as they call it) therby deſtroying the ſacrament which CHRIST inſtituted: I would you noted theſe two things: Firſt, that the ſacrament of the altar which the prieſt offreth in the Maſſe and eateth priuately with him ſelfe, is not the Sacramẽt of CHRISTES body and bloud inſtituted by him, as CHRISTES inſtitution plainly written and ſet forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their vſing of it, plainely doth declare.

Againe, if they talke with you of CHRISTES Sacrament inſtituted by him, whether it be CHRISTES body or no: aunſwer them, that as to the eyes of your reaſon, to your taſt and corporall ſenſes it is bread and wine, and therefore the ſcripture calleth it after the conſecration ſo: euen ſo to the eies, taſt, and ſenſes of your faith, which aſcendeth to ye right hand of God in heauen where CHRIST ſitteth, it is in very deede CHRISTES body and bloud, which ſpiritually your ſoule feedeth on to euerlaſting life in faith and by faith, euen as your body preſently feedeth on the ſacramentall bread and ſacramentall wine.

Chriſt is able to kepe his promiſe in the Sacrament, the ſubſtance of bread ſtill remaining.

The Papiſtes deny the omnipotencie of God, and how.

By this meanes, as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantiatiõ, nor none of their Popiſh opinions: ſo ſhal you declare the ſacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reaſon, as the Papiſts make it. For they deny Gods omnipotency, in that they ſay CHRIST is not there if bread be there: but faith loketh on the omnipotency of God, ioined with his promiſe, & doubteth not but that CHRIST is able to geue that he promiſeth vs ſpiritually by fayth, the bread ſtill remaining in ſubſtance, as well as if the ſubſtance of bread were taken away: for CHRIST ſayth not in any place this is no bread. But of this geare God ſhall inſtruct you, if you hang on his promiſe, and pray for the power and wiſedome of his ſpirit, which vndoubtedly as you are boũd to loke for, praying for it, ſo he hath bound himſelfe by his promiſe to geue it: the which thing he graunt vnto vs both, & to al his people, for his names ſake, through CHRIST our Lord, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To certaine Godly men, whom he exhorteth to be patient vnder the croſſe, and conſtant in the true doctrine which they had profeſſed.

A letter of exhortatiõ of Maſter Bradford to certeine friendes, to be paciẽt vnder the croſſe.

MY dearely beloued in the Lord, as in him I wiſh you well to fare, ſo I pray God I and you may continue in his true ſeruice, that perpetually we may enioy the ſame welfare, as here in hope, ſo in heauen in deede and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherin God trieth his children, & therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you: ſo I truſt you know not it, that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will ſeeme ſo to do, although by many you be occaſioned therto. For this hote Sunne which now ſhyneth, burneth ſo ſore, that the corne which is ſowen vpon ſand and ſtony ground, beginneth to wither: that is, many which before times were takẽ for harty goſpellers, begin now for the feare of afflictions to relent, yea to turne to their vomit againe, thereby declaring that though they goe from amongſt vs, yet were they neuer of vs: for els they would haue ſtill taryed with vs, and neyther for gaine nor loſſe, haue left vs either in word or dede. As for their hart (which vndoubtedly is double, and therfore in daunger to gods curſe) we haue as much with vs, as the Papiſtes haue with them, and more too by theyr owne iudgement. For they playing wily begile themſelues, thinke it enough inwardly to fauour the truth, though outwardly they curry fauour. what though with my body (ſay they) I do this or that? God knoweth my hart is whole wyth him. Ah brother, if thy hart be whole wyth God, why doſt not thou confeſſe and declare thy ſelfe accordingly by word and fact? Either that which thou ſayſt thou beleueſt in thy hart, is good or no. If it be good, why art thou aſhamed of it? If it be euill, why doſt thou kepe it in thy hart? Is not God able to defend thee aduenturing thy ſelf for his cauſe? or will he not defend his worſhippers? Doth not the ſcripture ſay that the eyes of the Lord are on them that feare him, & truſt in his mercy? And whereto? Forſoth to deliuer their ſoules from death, and to fede them in the time of hunger.

Backſliding Goſpellers.

Miſtruſters of God.

Pſal. 33.

If this be true (as it is moſt true) why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliuer vs, or would not, contrary to his promiſe? why are we afrayd of the loſſe of our goodes, as though God would leaue them that feare him, deſtitute of al good things, and ſo do againſt his moſt ample promiſes? Ah faith, faith, how few feele thee now a dayes? Ful truly ſaid CHRIST, that he ſhould ſcarcely finde faith when he came, on earth. For if men beleued theſe promiſes, they would neuer doe any thing outwardly, which inwardly they diſallow. No example of men, how many ſo euer they be, or how learned ſo euer they be, can preuaile in this behalfe: for ẏ paterne which we muſt follow, is CHRIST him ſelf, and not the more company, or cuſtome. His word is the lanterne to lighten our ſteppes, and not learned men. Company and cuſtome are to be conſidered according to the thyng they allow. Learned men are to be liſtened to and followed according to Gods lore and law, for els the more parte goeth to the deuill. As cuſtome cauſeth errour and blindnes, ſo learning, if it be not according to the light of gods word, is poyſon, and learned men moſt pernicious. The Deuill is called Dæmon for his cunning, and the children of this world are much wiſer then the children of lyght in their generation: and I know the Deuill and his dearlings haue alwayes for the moſt part, more helps in this life then CHRISTES church and her children. They (the deuill and his Synagoge I meane) haue cuſtome, multitude, vnity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotions plenty, as alwayes they haue had, and ſhall haue commonly and for the moſt part, vntil CHRISTES cōming, much more then the true church hath preſently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter ſhall haue. For her glory, riches, and honour is not here: her triall, croſſe, and warrefare is here.

Luke. 18. Lacke of fayth.

Pſal. 118.

Learning to be followed, ſo farre as it concurreth with Gods rule.

Luke. 16.

The Synagoge of the deuill more furniſhed with worldly helpes then the church of Chriſt.

And therfore (my deare hartes in the Lord) conſider theſe things accordingly. Conſider what you be, not worldlings, but Gods children. Conſider where you be, not at home, but in a ſtrāge countrey. Conſider among whom ye are conuerſant, euen in the middeſt of your enemies, and of a wicked generation, and then I truſt you will not much muſe at affliction, which you can not be wythout, being as you bee, Gods children, in a ſtraunge Countrey, and in the myddeſt of your enemies, except you wold leaue your captaine CHRIST, and follow Sathan for the mucke of this mould, reſt and quietnes, which he may promiſe you, and you in deede thinke you ſhal receaue it by doing as he would haue you to doe, but (my ſweete hartes) he is not hable to pay that he promiſeth. Peace and warre come from God, riches and pouerty, wealth and woe. The Deuil hath no power but by Gods permiſſion. If then God permit him a litle on your goods, body, or life, I pray you tell me, what can much hurte you (as Peter ſaith) you being followers of godlines? Thinke you that God wil not remember you in his time, as moſt ſhall be to your comfort? *Can a woman forget the childe of her wombe? And if ſhe ſhould, yet will not I forget thee* (ſayth the Lorde). Loke vpon Abraham in his exile and miſery, loke vpon Iacob, Ioſeph, Moſes, Dauid, the Prophets, Apoſtles, and all the godly frō the beginning: and my good brethren, is not God the ſame God? Is he a chaungeling? You haue heard of the patience of Iob, (ſaith S. Iames) and you haue ſeene the end how that God is mercifull, patient and long ſuffering: euen ſo ſay I vnto you, that you ſhall finde accordingly, if ſo be you be patient, that is, if ſo be you feare him, ſet his worde before you, ſerue him thereafter, and if he lay his croſſe on you, you beare it with patience: the which you ſhall doe, when you conſider it not according to the preſent ſenſe, but according to the end. Heb. 12, 2. Corin. 4.

What we be. Where we be. Amongeſt whom we be.

Affliction no ſtrange thing amongeſt Gods children.

1. Pet. 3.

Eſay. 49.

Examples of Patriarches and prophetes afflicted in this world.

Iacob. 5.

Therfore I hartely beſeche you, and out of my bonds which I ſuffer for your ſake, pray you (mine owne ſwete harts in the Lord) that you would cleaue in hart & humble obedience, to the doctrine taught you by me, and many other my brethren. For we haue taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our owne phantaſies, but the very word of God, which we are ready with our liues (God ſo enhabling vs, as we truſt he will) to confirme, and by the ſheeding of our bloudes, in all pacience and humble obedience to the ſuperior powers, to teſtify and ſeale vp, as well that you might be more certaine of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to cōfeſſe the ſame before this wicked world, knowing that if we cōfeſſe CHRIST and his truth before men, he will confeſſe vs before his father in heauen: if ſo be we be aſhamed hereof for loſſe of lyfe, frendes or goods, he will be aſhamed of vs before his father, and his holy Angels in heauen.

Therfore take heede, for the Lords ſake take hede, take hede, and defile not your bodies or ſoules with this Romiſhe and Antichriſtian religion ſet vp amongeſt vs againe: but come away, come away as the Angell cryeth, from amongeſt them in their Idolatrous ſeruice, leſt you be partakers of their iniquity. Harken to your preachers as the Theſſalonians did to Paule: that is, conferre theyr ſayings with the ſcriptures, and if they found not thereafter, the morning light ſhall not ſhine vpon them. Vſe much and harty prayer for the ſpirit of wiſedome, knowledge, humblenes, meekenes, ſobriety, and repentaunce: which we haue great neede of, becauſe our ſinnes haue thus prouoked the Lordes anger againſt vs: but let vs beare his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter teares, and ſorowfull ſighes, & doubtles he will be merciful to vs, after his woonted mercy. The which thing he vouchſafe to doe for his holy names ſake, in CHRIST IESV our Lord, to whom with the father and the holy ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, and euerlaſting thākes from this time forth for euermore, Amen.

He exhorteth to come from the maſſe.

Apoca. 18.

Eſay. 8.

Out of priſon by yours in the Lord
to commaund, Iohn Bradford.

¶ A letter to M. George Eaton.

ALmighty God our heauenly Father, recompence aboundauntly into your boſome (my dearely beloued) here and eternally, the good which from him by you I haue continually receaued ſithen my comming into pryſon. Otherwiſe can I neuer be able to requite your louing kindnes here, thē by praying for you, and after this life, by witneſſing your faith declared to me by your fruites, when we ſhall come and appeare together before the throne of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, whether (I thanke God) I am euen now a going, euer loking when officers wil come, and ſatiſfy the precept of the Prelates, whereof though I can not complaine, becauſe I haue iuſtly deſerued an hūdreth M. deathes at Gods hands by reaſon of my ſinnes, yet I may and muſt reioyce, becauſe the Prelates do not perſecute in me mine iniquities, but CHRIST IESVS and his verity: ſo that they perſecute not me, they hate not me, but they perſecute CHRIST, they hate CHRIST. And becauſe they can do him no hurt (for he ſitteth in heauen, and laugheth them and their deuiſes to ſcorne, as one day they ſhall feele) therefore they turne their rage vpon his pore ſhepe, as Herode their father did vpon the infantes. Math. 2. Great cauſe therefore haue I to reioyce, that my deare Sauiour CHRIST will vouchſafe amongeſt many, to chuſe me to be a veſſell of grace to ſuffer in me (which haue deſerued ſo often & iuſtly to ſuffer for my ſinnes) that I might be moſt aſſured I ſhall be a veſſell of honour, in whom he wil be glorifyed.

A Letter of Maſter Bradford to Maſter George Eaton.

The prelates perſecute and hate the Martyrs, not for their iniquities, but for hatred of Chriſt and of his veritie in them.

Therfore (my right deare brother in the Lord) reioyce with me, geue thankes for me, and ceaſe not to pray, that God for his mercies ſake would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I haue profeſſed and preached, I doe confeſſe vnto you in wryting, as to the whole world I ſhortly ſhall by Gods grace in ſuffering, that it is the very true doctrine of IESVS CHRIST, of his Church, of his prophets, Apoſtles and all good men: ſo that if an Aungel ſhould come from heauen and preach otherwiſe, the ſame were accurſed. Therefore waner not (deare hart in the Lord) but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, when God ſo will, confeſſe it, though it be perillous ſo to doe. The ende ſhall euidently ſhewe an other maner of pleaſure for ſo doing, then tounge can tell. Be diligent in prayer, & watch therin. Vſe reuerent reading of Gods worde. Set

Ioh. Bradford geueth teſtimony of hys doctrine.

the ſhortnes of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come, departe out of your memory. Practiſe in doing that you learne, by reading & hearing. Decline from euill, and purſue good. Remember them that be in bondes, eſpecially for the Lords cauſe, as members of your body, and fellow heires of grace. Forget not the afflictiōs of Sion, and the oppreſſion of Ieruſalem: and God our father ſhall geue you his continuall bleſſing, through CHRIST our Lord, who guide vs as his deare children for euer, Amen. And thus I take my Vale & farewell with you (deare brother) for euer in this preſent life, til we ſhal meete in eternal bliſſe: whether our good God & father bring vs ſhortly, Amē. God bleſſe al your babes for euer, Amen. Out of priſon this. 8. of February.

Your afflicted brother for the Lordes
cauſe. Iohn Bradford.

¶ *An other letter to Miſtres Anne Warcop.*

An other letter to Miſtres *Anne Warcup.*

ALmighty God our heauenly father for his CHRISTES ſake, encreaſe in vs fayth, by which we may more and more ſee what glory and honour is repoſed and ſafely kept in heauen, for all them that beleue with the hart, and confeſſe CHRIST and his truth wyth the mouth, Amen.

My derely beloued, I remember that once heretofore I wrote vnto you a Vale or a farewell vpon coniecture: but now I wryte my farewell to you in this life in dede, vpon certaine knowledge. My ſtaffe ſtandeth at the dore: I continually loke for the Shiriffe to come for me, and I thanke God, I am ready for him. Now goe I to practiſe that which I haue preached. Now am I climing vp the hill: it will cauſe me to puffe and blow before I come to the cliffe. The hill is ſteepe and high: my breath is ſhort, and my ſtrength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I haue now through his goodnes, euē almoſt come to the toppe, I may by his grace, be ſtrengthned, not to reſt till I come where I ſhould bee. *Oh louing Lord, put out thy hand, and draw me vnto thee: for no man commeth, but he whom the father draweth.* See (my dearely beloued) Gods louing mercy: he knoweth my ſhort breath & great weaknes. As he ſent for Helias in a fiery chariot, ſo ſendeth he for me: for by fire, my droſſe muſt bee purified, that I may be fine gold in his ſight. Oh vnthankefull wretch that I am: Lord do thou forgeue me mine vnthankfulnes. In deede I confeſſe (right deare to me in the Lord) that my ſinnes haue deſerued hell fire: much more then, this fyre. But loe, ſo louing is my Lord, that he conuerteth the remedy for my ſinnes, the puniſhment for my tranſgreſſions, into a teſtimoniall of his truth, and a teſtification of his verity, which the Prelates do perſecute in me, & not my ſinnes: therefore they perſecute not me but CHRIST in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part vnto the very ende, Amen.

God turneth the deſerued death of his to a glorious teſtimonial of his truth.

Oh that I had ſo open an harte, as could ſo receiue as I ſhould do, this great benefite & vnſpeakeable dignitie, which God my father offreth to me. Now pray for me, my dearely beloued: pray for me that I neuer ſhrinke. I ſhal neuer ſhrinke I hope, I truſt in the Lord, I ſhal neuer ſhrinke: for he that alwayes hath taken my parte, I am aſſured will not leaue me when I haue moſt nede, for his truth and mercies ſake. *Oh Lord helpe me: into thy hands I commend me wholy. In the Lord is my truſt, I care not what man can do vnto me, Amen.* My dearely beloued, ſay you Amen alſo, and come after if ſo God call you. Be not aſhamed of the goſpell of CHRIST, but kepe company with him ſtil. He will neuer leaue you: but in ye middeſt of temptation will geue you an outſcape, to make you able to beare ye brunt. Uſe harty prayer: reuerently read and heare Gods word: put it in practiſe: loke for the croſſe: lift vp your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh: know that the death of Gods Saintes is precious in his ſight: be mery in the Lord: pray for the mitigation of Gods heauy diſpleaſure vpon our countrey. God kepe vs for euer: God bleſſe vs with his ſpirituall bleſſings in CHRIST. And thus I bid you farewell for euer in this preſent life. Pray for me, pray for me, for Gods ſake, pray for me. God make perfect his good worke begun in me, Amen. Out of pryſon this. 7. of February.

Yours in the Lord,
Ihon Bradford.

Read before pag. 1802.

In the ſtory of M. Bradford it was aboue reherſed, Pag. 1802. how a certein Gentlewomā being in trouble by hir father and mother, for not comming to Maſſe, ſent her ſeruaunt to viſite M. Bradford in priſon. Who tendering the woful caſe of the gentlewoman, to the entent partly to confirme her with counſell, partly to releaue her oppreſſed minde with ſome comfort, directed this letter vnto her: the contentes wherof are theſe.

¶ To a certen godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her friends, for not comming to the Maſſe.

An other letter of Maſter *Bradford* to a godly gentlewoman.

I wiſh vnto you right worſhipful, and my dearely beloued ſiſter in the Lord, as to my ſelfe, the continuall grace and comfort of CHRIST and of his holy worde through the operation of the holy ſpirit, who ſtrengthē your inward man with the ſtrength of God, that you may continue to the ende, in the faithfull obedience of Gods goſpell whereunto you are called, Amen. *Rom. 1.*

I perceaued by your ſelf the laſt day whē you were with me, how that you are in the ſcholehouſe, and triall parlour of the Lord, which to me is (at the leaſt it ſhold be) a great comfort, to ſee the number of Gods elect by you encreaſed, which is in that ſtate whereof God hath not called many, as Paule ſayth. And as it is a cōfort to me, ſo ſhould it be a cōfirmation vnto me, yt the Lord for his faithfulnes ſake, will make perfect and finiſhe the good he hath begun in you to the ende. *1. Cor. 1.* *1. Cor. 1. and. 10.*

If then your croſſe be to me a comforte or token of your election, and a cōfirmation of Gods continuall fauour (my dearly beloued): how much more ought it to be ſo vnto you? Unto whom he hath not only geuen to beleue, but alſo to come into the trace of ſuffring for his ſake, and that not commonly of common enemyes, but euen of your owne father, mother, and all your frendes, I meane kinſfolkes as you tolde me. By which I ſee CHRISTES wordes to be true: How that he came to geue his children ſuch a peace with him, as the Deuill might not, nor may abide, & therefore ſtirreth vp father and mother, ſiſter and brother, rather then it ſhold continue. But (my deare ſiſter) if you cry with Dauid to the Lord, and complaine to him: how that for conſcience to him, your father and mother haue forſaken you, you ſhall heare him ſpeake in your hart, that he hath receaued you, and by this would haue you to ſee, how that he maketh you here like to CHRIST, that elſwhere in heauen you mought be like vnto him, whereof you ought to be moſt aſſured, knowing that in tyme, euen when CHRIST ſhal appeare, you ſhall be like vnto him. For he will make your body which now you defile not with Idolatricall ſeruice in going to Maſſe, like vnto his owne gloryous and immortall body, accordyng to the power whereby he is able to doe all things. He wil confeſſe you before his father, which doe not deny his verity in worde nor deede before your father: he will make you to raigne with him, that now ſuffer for him and with him: he wil reward you with him ſelfe and all the glory he hath, that now for his ſake deny your ſelfe with all that euer you haue: he will not leaue you comfortles, that ſeeke no comfort but at his hand: though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therin will he comfort and ſtrength you, and at the length make you to be mery with him, in ſuch ioy as is infinite and endles. He will wipe all the teares from your eyes: he wil embrace you, as your deare huſband: he will after he hath proued you, crowne you with a crowne of glory & immortality, ſuch as the hart of man ſhall neuer be able to conceaue in ſuch ſort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your ſtedfaſtnes, and ſtriuing to do his good will: and ſhortly will he ſhew you how ſtedfaſt he is, and will be ready to do your wil, after that you haue fully reſigned it to his will.

The croſſe a token of Gods election.

Math. 10.

Sathan ſeeketh to diſturbe the peace of Chriſt.

Pſal. 22. *Rom. 8.* *1. Iohn. 3.* *Phil. 3.* *Math. 10.* *Mar. 8.* *2. Tim. 2.*

Pledge him in his cuppe of the croſſe, and you ſhall pledge him in the cuppe of his glory. Deſire to drinke it before it come to the dregges, wherof the wicked ſhall drinke, and al thoſe that for feare of the croſſe and pledging the Lord, do walke with the wicked in betraying in fact and dede, that which their hart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you ſhould doe (which God forbid) then my deare miſtres and ſiſter in the Lord, you ſhould not onely loſe al that I haue before ſpoken, and much more infinitely of eternall ioy and glory: but alſo be a caſt away, and partaker of Gods moſt heauy diſpleaſure in hell fire eternally: and ſo for a little eaſe, which you can not tell how long it will laſt, to loſe for euer and euer, all eaſe and comfort. *For he that gathereth not with me* ſaith CHRIST (as no Maſſe goſpeller doth) *Luke. 11.*

Communicating wyth Chriſt in ſuffering.

ſcattreth

1.Cor.5. Math.12. 1.Cor.10.

The Maſſe is the principall ſeruice of Antichriſt.

1.Cor.6.

ſcattereth abrode. According to that we doe in this body, we ſhall receaue, be it good or bad. If of our wordes we ſhall be iudged to condemnation or ſaluation: much more then of our factes and dedes. You can not be partaker of Gods religion and Antichriſtes ſeruice, whereof the Maſſe is moſt principall. You can not be a member of CHRISTES church, and a member of the Popes church. You muſt glorify God not only in ſoule & hart: but alſo in body and dede. You may not thinke that God requireth leſſe of you his wife now, then your huſband did of you. If both hart and body your huſband would haue, ſhal CHRIST haue leſſe (trow you) which hath ſo bitterly and dearely bought it? If your huſbād could not admit an excuſe how your hart is his onely if he ſhould haue takē your body in bed wyth an other: doe you thinke that CHRIST will allow your body at Maſſe, although your hart conſent not to it?

Pſal.125. 3.Reg.19.

Spirituall Maſſe Goſpellers which knowe the truth in their hart, and denie it in their dedes.

God eſtemeth his children, not only of theyr hartes, but of their pure hands and workes, and therefore in Helyas time, he counted none to be his ſeruauntes and people, but ſuch as had not bowed their knees to Baall: as now he doth not in England accompt any other to bee his dearlinges, which know the truth in hart, and deny it in their dedes, as doe our Maſſe goſpellers.

A falſe Chriſt of the prieſt and the bakers making.

The maſſe deſtroyeth preaching and the kingdome of Chriſt.

We ought to deſire aboue all things, the ſanctifying of Gods holy name, and the comming of his kingdom, and ſhall we then ſee his name blaſphemed ſo horribly as it is at Maſſe, by making it a ſacrifice propitiatory, & ſetting forth a falſe CHRIST of the prieſtes and bakers making, to be worſhipped as God, & ſay nothing? The Iewes rent theyr clothes aſunder in ſeing or hearing any thing blaſphemouſly done or ſpoken agaynſt God, and ſhall we yet come to church where Maſſe is, and be mute? Paule and Barnabas rent theyr clothes to ſee the people of Lycaonia to offer ſacrifice vnto them, and ſhall we ſee ſacrifice and Gods ſeruice done to an inanimate creature and be mumme? what thing helpeth more, or ſo much Antichriſtes kingdome as doth the Maſſe? And what deſtroyeth preaching, & the kingdome of CHRIST vpon earth more then it doth? And how can we then ſay: *let thy kingdome come,* & go to Maſſe? How can we pray before God: *thy will be done on earth,* when we will do our owne will, and the will of our father or frendes? How pray we: *deliuer vs from euill:* which knowing the Maſſe to be euill, doe come to it? But what goe I about to light a candell in the noone day, that is, to tell you that we may not goe to Maſſe, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reproue it, in that all men in ſo doing, do but diſſemble both with God and man? And is diſſembling now to be allowed? *How long will men yet halt on both knees* (ſayth God)? *Halting* (ſayth Paul) *bringeth out of the way,* that is to ſay, out of CHRIST, which is the way: ſo that he which is not in him, ſhall wyther away, and be caſt into hell fire. For CHRIST will be aſhamed of them before hys father, which be now aſhamed of his truth before thys wicked generation.

He diſſuadeth her from the Maſſe.

Therfore my good miſtres, take good hede: for it had bene better for you neuer to haue knowne the truth, & therethrough to haue eſcaped from Papiſticall vncleannes, then now to returne to it, making efteſones your mēbers, being members of righteouſnes, members of vnrighteouſnes, as you do, if you do but go to yͤ church where Maſſe is. Bee pure therefore, and kepe your ſelfe from all filth of the ſpirite, and of the fleſh. Abſtaine not onely from all euill, but from all appearance of euill.

And ſo the God of peace ſhall be with you, the glory of God ſhall gouerne you, the ſpirit of God ſhall ſanctify you and be with you for euer, to keepe you from all euill, and to comfort you in all your diſtreſſe and trouble, which is but ſhort if you conſider the eternitie you ſhall enioy in glory and felicity in the Lord: whych vndoubtedly you ſhall not faile but inherite for euer, if ſo be you, as the elect childe of God, put your truſt in his mercy, call vpon his name vnfainedly, and yelde not ouer to the wicked world, but ſticke ſtill againſt it vnto the end. God for his holy names ſake, which is properly the God of the widowes, be your good, and deare father for euer, and helpe you alwayes, as I my ſelf wold be holpen at his handes in all things, and eſpecially in this his owne cauſe, Amen, Amen.

Ihon Bradford.

¶ To one by whom he had receiued much comfort and reliefe in his trouble and impriſonment.

A letter of thankes to a good benefactor of his.

THe mercy of God in CHRIST peculiare to his children, be euermore felt of you, my dearly beloued in the Lord, Amen.

When I conſider with my ſelf the benefits which God hath ſhewed vnto me by your meanes, if I had ſo good and thankfull a hart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes geue him thankes: for certainely they are very many and great. And now being yet ſtill the Lords priſoner, I perceiue from him moe benefits by you. For the which I thinke my ſelf ſo much bound to you, my good brother (although you were but the inſtrumēt by whom God wrought & bleſſed me) that I looke not to come out of your det by any pleaſure or ſeruice that I ſhall euer be able to do you in this life. I ſhall hartely pray vnto God therfore to requite you the good you haue done to me for his ſake: for I know, that which you haue done, you haue done it ſimply in reſpect of God and his word. He therefore geue you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and worde, and ſo plentifully powre vpon you the riches of his holy ſpirite and heauenly treaſures laide vp in ſtore for you, that your corporall & earthly riches may be vſed of you as ſacraments and ſignifications thereof: the more to deſire the one, that is, the heauenly, and the leſſe to eſteme the other, that is, the earthly. For Sathans ſollitation is, ſo to ſet before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you ſhould not haue acceſſe to the conſideration of the heauenly, but as one bewitched ſhould vtterly forget them, and altogether become a louer and worſhypper of the earthly Mammon, and ſo to fal to couetouſnes, and a deſire to be rich, by that meanes to bring you into many noiſome & hurtfull luſtes: as now a dayes I heare of many which haue vtterly forſaken God & all his heauenly riches, for Antichriſtes pleaſure, & the preſeruing of their worldly pelfe, which they imagine to leaue to theyr poſterity: wherof they are vncertain, as they may be moſt certaine they leaue to them Gods wrath and vengeance, in his time to be ſent by viſitation, if they in time hartely repent not, and preuent not the ſame by earneſt prayer. Wherein my good brother, if you be diligent, harty, and perſeuere, I am ſure God wil preſerue you from euil, and from yelding your ſelfe to doe as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact in the Romiſh ſeruice, that which the inward cogitation and minde doth diſalowe. But if you be cold in prayer, & come into conſideration of earthly and preſent things ſimply, than ſhall you fal into faithles follyes and wounding of your conſcience: frō which God euermore preſerue you with your good wife, and your babe Leonard and all your family, to the which I wiſh the bleſſing of God now & for euer, through CHRIST our Lord, Amen.

Chriſt forſaken of many for the preſeruing of worldly pelfe.

I pray you geue thankes for me to your old bedfellow, for his great frendſhip for your ſake ſhewed to me when I was in the Tower.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To a faithfull frende of his, and his wife, reſoluing their doubt why they ought not to come to auricular confeſſion.

In other letters of Maſter *Bradford*, diſprouing auricular confeſſion.

THe merciful God, and father of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, which loueth vs as a moſt dere father, and hath put vpon him towardes vs the affection of a moſt tender mother towards her children, ſo that he cā no leſſe thinke vpon vs (although of our ſelues we be moſt vnworthy, and deſerue nothing leſſe) then ſhe can thinke on her onely begotten childe in his diſtreſſe, yea if ſhe ſhould forget her childe, as ſome vnnaturall mother will doe, yet will he neuer forget vs, although for a time he ſeeme to ſlepe that we might be occaſioned to call loude and awake him: this good God kepe you, my deare brother *Nathanaell, and your good yokefellow, my hartely beloued ſyſter in the Lord, in all things now and for euer, to his glory and your eternall comfort: & alſo of his goodnes he graūt you both the feeling of that hope, which vndoubtedly he hath laid vp in ſtore for you both, farre paſſing the ſtore and prouiſion, not onely which you haue made, but al the world is able to make, as I truſt already he hath wrought it in you, but I beſech him to encreaſe it more and more, and kindle in you a harty longing for the enioying of the ſame: the which once felt & had in dede, then the meanes by the which we come thereto, can not bee ſo greatly dred, as moſt men do dread them, becauſe either they want this feling (I meane it of altogether) or els becauſe the ſenſe of this preſent time and things therein, are as a miſt to the

*Note that this *Nathanaell* was not his proper name, but was ſo called for his vnfayned ſimplicitie & truth.

hiding of thoſe things from our ſight, leſt we ſhould run and embrace them by harty prayer: the ſpirit wherof God graunt vs, and in dede we ſhould attaine enough in thys behalfe, if we continued therein.

For auricular confeſſion, wherin you deſire my aduiſe for your good yokefellow and family (my moſt deare brother) I am as ready to geue it, as you to deſire it, yea more glad, for as much as halfe a ſuſpition was in me (at the leaſt touching my deare ſiſter your wife) of a lothing of my aduiſe, that too much had bene geuẽ, where in dede I ſhould lamẽt my too little feeding you ſpiritually, as both you out of priſon and in priſon haue fed me corporally. But as I alwayes thought of her, ſo I yet think, that ſhe is the childe of God, whom God dearely loueth, and will in his good time, to her eternall cõfort, geue her her harts deſire in ſure feeling and ſenſible beleuing of this, which I wold ſhe had often in her minde: namely that he is her God & father through CHRIST IESVS our deare Lord and Sauiour. A greater ſeruice to God ſhe can not geue then to beleue this. If Sathan ſay ſhe beleueth not, to anſwer not him but the Lord, and to ſay, yea Lord helpe my vnbeliefe, and encreaſe my pore faith, which Sathan ſaith is no faith: make him a lier lord, as alwaies he hath bene, is, and ſhall be. Undoubtedly ſooner or later God wyll graciouſly here her grones, and keepe al her teares in his bottell, yea wryte them in his counting booke: for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleaſure in the death of hys creature: he loueth mercy, he will retourne and ſhew her his mercy: he will caſt all her ſinnes and iniquities into the bottome of the ſea: and the longer that he taryeth (as he doth it but to proue her) ſo the more liberally wil he recompence her long loking, which no leſſe pleaſeth hym, then it greueth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof, God vſeth this croſſe, and therefore if ſhe deſire to beare the ſame, doubtles God wil make her able to beare it: and in preſumption of his goodnes & ſtrength let her caſt her ſelf wholy vpon him: for he is faithfull, and wil aſſuredly cõfirme, and bring to a happy end that good which graciouſly he hath begon in her. The which thyng I deſire him to doe for hys owne glory and names ſake, Amen. Amen.

What to do if Sathã charge our conſcience with vnbelief.

The Lord the longer he tarieth, the more liberally he recompenſeth at his comming.

And now to the matter. Confeſſion auricular, as it was firſt vſed and inſtituted (which was by the way of a counſell aſking) I take to be amongs thoſe traditions which are indifferent, that is, neyther vnlawfull, nor neceſſarily binding vs, except the offence of the weake could not be auoided. But to conſider it, as it is now vſed (I write to you but as I thinke and what my minde is, the which follow no further, then good men by Gods worde doe allow it) to conſider it I ſay, as it is now vſed, me thinkes it is plainely vnlawfull and wicked, and that for theſe cauſes.

Confeſſion auricular to what end it was firſt inſtituted.

Auricular confeſſion, as it is now abuſed, is to be reiected, as vnlawfull and wicked for 8. cauſes.

Firſt, becauſe they make it a ſeruice of God, and a thing which pleaſeth God of it ſelf, I will not ſay meritorious, this bringer my brother can tell you at large how great an euill this is.

Secondly, becauſe they make it of neceſſity, ſo that he or ſhe that vſeth it not, is not taken for a good Chriſtian.

Thirdly, becauſe it requireth of it ſelfe an impoſſibility, that is, the numbring and telling of all our ſynnes, which no man perceaueth, much leſſe can vtter.

Enumeration of ſinnes impoſſible

Fourthly, becauſe it eſtabliſheth and confirmeth, at the leaſt alloweth praying to Saintes: precor Sanctã Mariam: you muſt ſay or the prieſt for you.

Fifthly, becauſe it is very iniurious to the liberty of the Goſpell, the which to affirme in example and fact, I take to be a good worke, and deare in Gods ſight.

Confeſſion preiudicial to chriſtian libertie.

Sixtly, becauſe (as it is vſed) it is a note, yea a very ſynow of the popiſh Church: and therefore we ſhould be ſo farre from allowing the ſame, that we ſhould thynke our ſelues happy to loſe any thing in bearing witnes thereagainſt.

Confeſſion a marke of the Popes church.

Seuenthly, becauſe in ſtead of cõſel, thereat you ſhold receaue poyſõ, or if you refuſe it vnder ſyr Iohns benedicite, you ſhould no leſſe there be wound in the briers.

Confeſſion in ſtead of counſell, geueth poyſon.

Eightly, becauſe the end and purpoſe why we goe thether, is for the auoiding of the croſſe, that is, for our owne cauſe, and not for CHRISTES cauſe, or for our brethrens commodity. For in that they make it ſo neceſſary a thing, and a worſhipping of God, it can not but be againſt CHRIST, and the freedome of his goſpell: and the ſame thing teacheth vs, that it is againſt the commodity of our brethren, which eyther be weake, eyther be ſtrong, eyther be ignoraunt, eyther be obſtinate. If they be weake, by your reſorting to it, they be made more weake. If they be ſtrong, you do what you can to infirme theyr ſtrength. If they be ignoraunt, therein you helpe to kepe them by your fact. If they be obſtinate, your reſorting to it can not but rocke them a ſlepe in their obſtinate error of the neceſſitye of this rite and ceremony. Theſe cauſes recited doe ſhew you what I thinke in this: but my thinking muſt no further binde you then a mannes thought ſhould doe, except the ſame be grounded vpon Gods word which bindeth in deede, as I thinke they doe. I doubt not but you waying theſe cauſes, and eſpecially two of the firſt and the laſt, if you pray to God for his ſpirite to direct you: and thereto aſke the aduiſe of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I ſay) but you ſhold be guided to doe that which is beſt in Gods ſight, although in the ſight of the world perhaps you ſhould bee counted foliſhe and preciſe. But be at a point with your ſelues, as the diſciples of CHRIST, which had forſaken them ſelues, to follow not your will, but Gods wil, as you daily pray in the Lords prayer.

The croſſe of CHRIST be willing to cary, leſt you cary the croſſe of the world, the fleſh, or the deuill. One of theſe iiij. croſſes you muſt cary. Three of them bringeth to hell, & therfore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heauen, but few go that way, aſwell becauſe the way is ſtrayt, as alſo becauſe fewe walke in it. Howbeit, though it be ſtrait, it is but ſhort, and the few are many if you cõſider the godly, as the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, and CHRIST IESVS, with all his Gard and traine. Thynke not ſcorne to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now goe before you, in whoſe number I truſt I am appoynted to bee one, and I beſech you pray for me, that God woulde vouch me worthy that honour. Our ſinnes deſerue plagues, priſon, and the loſſe of all that euer we haue: therfore if God remoue our ſynnes out of ſight, and ſend vs priſon, or loſſe of goods & liuyng for his names ſake, oh how happy are we? My deare hartes in the Lord, conſider this geare, and be aſſured that he which loſeth any thing for CHRISTES ſake, the ſame in his poſterity ſhal finde it here, and in heauen elſwhere. As for vnablenes to anſwere for your faith: it ſhall be enough to will them to diſpute with your teachers. Fayth ſtandeth not in diſputing. I thinke few, if it came to diſputing, could defend the godhead of CHRIST, and many other articles: I ſpeake it for the ſimple ſort. Pray for me. Lacke of paper maketh this ende. Commend me to my good brother R.B. and my good ſiſter his wife: I pray them to pray for me. I truſt by this bearer to heare how you doe.

4. Croſſes, whereof 3. bringeth to hell.

Why the more part goe that way that leadeth to perdition.

Iohn Bradford.

¶An other letter to N. and his wife.

GOds mercy in CHRIST I wiſh you to feele, my dere brother, with my faithfull ſiſter your wife, now and for euer, Amen.

Hauing this occaſion, I could not but wryte ſomething, as well to put my ſelf in remembraunce of my duty to godwardes for you both, in thankfulnes and prayer, as to put you in remembrãce of me and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me: for I dare not ſay in thãkfulnes for me: not ẏ I would haue you to geue no thãkes to God for his wonderfull great and ſweete mercyes towardes me, and vpon me in CHRIST his ſonne: but becauſe I haue not deſerued it at either of your hands. For ye both know right wel, at leaſt my conſcience doth accuſe me, how that I haue not only not exhorted & taught you, (as both my vocatiõ and your deſerts required) to walke worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and feare to worke out your ſaluation, that is, in the feare of God to geue your ſelues to great vigilancy in prayer for the encreaſe of fayth, and to a wary circumſpection in al your conuerſation, not only in works & words, but alſo in thoughts, becauſe God is a ſercher of the hart, and out of the hart it commeth that defileth vs in gods ſight: I haue (I ſay) not only not done this, but alſo haue geuen you example of negligence in prayer, watching, faſting, talking and doing, ſo that woe to me for geuing you ſuch offence. Partly for thys cauſe deare brother and ſiſter, God hath caſt me and kepeth me here that I might repent me and turne to him, and that ye might alſo by this correction vpon me, be more diligẽt to redreſſe theſe things and others, if they in your conſcience do accuſe you.

An other letter of M. Bradford to a deare friend and his wife.

My dearly beloued, heuy is gods anger fallen vpon vs all: dolefull is this day. Now hath Antichriſt all hys power againe. Now is CHRISTES goſpell troden vnder fote.

Antich reigning Englan

foote. Now is Gods people a deriſiõ and pray for the wicked. Now is the greateſt plage of al plagues falne, the want of Gods word: and all theſe we haue, yea I alone haue iuſtly deſerued. Oh that as I write (I alone) I could with Dauid, 1. Par. 21. and with Ionas in hart ſay ſo. But I do not, I do not. I ſee not how greuouſly I haue ſinned, and how great a miſery is fallen for mine vnthankfulnes for Gods word, for mine hypocriſy in profeſſing, preaching, hearing, and ſpeaking of Gods word, for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not liuing of it throughly as it requireth &c. I will ſpeake nothing of my manifeſt euils, for they are knowen to you well enough.

Maiſter Bradford confeſſing himſelfe to the Lord.

He exhorteth them by his confeſſion to do the like.

Deare brother and ſiſter, with me ſay ye the like for your owne partes, and with me ioyne your harts, and let vs go to our heauenly father, and for his CHRISTES ſake beſech him to bee merciful vnto vs, and to pardon vs: Oh good father it is we that haue deſerued the taking away of thy word, it is we that haue deſerued theſe thy iuſt plagues fallen vppon vs, we haue done a miſſe, we haue dealt vniuſtly with thy goſpell, we haue procured thy wrath, and therfore iuſt art thou in puniſhing vs, iuſt art thou in plaging vs, for we are very miſerable. But good Lord and deare father of mercy, whoſe iuſtice is ſuch, that thou wilt not puniſh the pore ſoules of this realme, which yet haue not thus ſynned againſt thee, as we haue don (for many yet neuer heard thy word) for our treſpaſſes, & whoſe mercy is ſo great that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembraunce for thy CHRISTES ſake, if we repent and beleue: graunt vs we beſech thee, true repentaunce and faith, that we hauing obtained pardon for our ſynnes, may through thy CHRIST get deliueraunce from the tyranny of Antichriſt now oppreſſing vs.

His prayer to God.

Pſal. 125.

Oh good father, which haſt ſaid that *the Scepter of the wicked ſhoulde not longe lie vppon and ouer the iuſte, leaſt they put foorth theyr handes to iniquitie alſo*: make vs iuſt, we pray thee in CHRISTES name, and cut a ſunder the cordes of them that hate Sion: let not the wicked people ſay, where is their God? Thou our god art in heauen, and doſt what ſoeuer it pleaſeth thee vpon earth. Oh that thou wouldeſt in the meane whiles, before thou doe deliuer vs, that (I ſay) thou wouldeſt open our eyes to ſee all theſe plagues to come from thee, and all other that ſhal come, whatſoeuer they be, publike or priuate, that they come not by chaunce nor by fortune, but that they come euen from thy hand, and that iuſtly and mercifully: iuſtly becauſe we haue & doe deſerue them, not only by our birthpoiſon ſtill ſticking and working in vs, but alſo by our former euill life paſt, which by thys puniſhment and all other puniſhments thou wouldeſt haue vs to call to our remembraunce and to ſet before vs, that thou mighteſt put them from before thee, where as they ſtand ſo long as they are not in our remembrãce, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully oh Lord god doſt thou puniſh, in that thou doeſt not correct to kil, but to amend, that we might repent our ſinnes, aſke mercy, obtaine it freely in CHRIST, & begin to ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake: to be part of thy houſe, whereat thy iudgement beginneth: to be partakers of the afflictions of thy church, & thy CHRIST, yͭ we might be partakers of yͤ glory of the ſame: to weepe here, that we might reioice elſwhere: to be iudged in this world, that we might with thy ſaints iudge hereafter the world: to ſuffer with CHRIST, that we might raigne with him: to be like to CHRIST in ſhame, that we might be like to him in glory: to receiue our euils here, that we might with poore Lazarus finde reſt elſwhere: reſt (I ſay) and ſuch a reſt as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man is able to conceaue.

The croſſe ſent from God, and to what end.

Oh that our eyes were opẽ to ſee this, that the croſſe commeth from thee to declare thy iuſtice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might ſee how ſhort a tyme the time of ſuffring is: how long a time the time of reioyſing is to them that ſuffer here: but to them that will not, how long and miſerable a time is appointed and prepared: a time without time in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought vpon. Frõ the whych kepe vs deare father, and geue more light in ſoule to ſee this geare, and how that all thy deareſt childrẽ haue caried the croſſe of greuous affliction in this lyfe: in whoſe company do thou place vs, and ſuch a croſſe lay vpon vs as thou wilt make vs able to beare, to thy glory and our ſaluation in CHRIST, for whoſe ſake we pray thee to ſhorten the dayes of this our great miſery fallen vpon vs moſt iuſtly, and in the meane ſeaſon geue vs pacience, repentaunce, faith, and thy eternall conſolation, Amen, Amen, Amen.

And thus deare hartes I haue talked (me thinkes) a litle while with you, or rather we haue all talked wyth God. Oh that God would geue vs his ſpirite of grace and prayer. My dearly beloued, pray for it, as for your ſelues, ſo for me, & that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy to ſuffer with a good conſcience for hys names ſake. Pray for me, and I ſhall doe the lyke for you. This. 20. of December, by him whom by this bringer ye ſhall learne. I pray you geue my commendations to all that loue me in the Lord. Be mery in CHRIST, for one day in heauen we ſhal meete and reioyce together for euer more, Amen.

To my good brother Auguſtine Bernher.

This Auſten being a Dutchman, was Latymers ſeruant, and a faithfull Miniſter in the time of Kyng Edward, and in Queene Maries time a diligent attendant vpõ the Lords priſoners.

Mine owne good Auguſtine, the Lord of mercy bleſſe thee my deare brother for euer. I haue good hope that if you come late at night, I ſhall ſpeake with you, but come as ſecretly as you can. Howbeit, in the meane ſeaſon if you can, & as you can, learne what Maiſter G. hath ſpoken to D. Story and others. The cauſe of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is ſayd that I ſhall be burned in Smithfield, and that ſhortly. Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego domine, mitte me. i. *The Lordes will be done. Behold here I am Lord, ſend me.* Ah mine owne ſweete frend, I am now alone, leſt I ſhould make you and others worſe. If I ſhould liue, I would more warely vſe the company of Gods children, then euer I haue done. Irã domini portabo, quoniam peccaui ei. i. *I will beare the Lordes anger, becauſe I haue ſinned againſt him.* Commend me to my moſt dere Siſter, for whom my hart bledeth, the Lord comfort her, and ſtrengthen her vnto the end. I thinke I haue taken my leaue of her for euer in this lyfe, but in eternall life we ſhall moſt ſurely meete and prayſe the Lord continually. I haue now taken a more certaine aunſwer of death, then euer I did: and yet not ſo certaine as I thinke I ſhold do. I am now as a ſhepe appoynted to the ſlaughter. Ah my God, the houre is come, glorify thy moſt vnworthy child. I haue glorified thee, ſayth this my ſwete father, and I will glorify thee, Amen. Ah mine owne bowels, praiſe God for me, & pray for me: for I am his I hope: I hope he will neuer forſake me, though I haue aboue all other moſt deſerued it. I am the moſt ſinguler example of his mercy: praiſed be his name therefore for euer. Cauſe Miſtres Perpoynt to learne of the Shrieffe M. Cheſter, what they purpoſe to do with me, and know if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. Factus ſum ſicut nicticorax in domicilio, & paſſer ſolitarius in tecto. i. *I am like to a Owle in the houſe, and as a ſparrow alone in the houſe toppe.* Ah my Auguſtine, how long ſhall Gods enemyes thus triumph? I haue ſent you this of the baptiſme of children to write out: when this is done, you ſhall haue other things. Pray, pray mine owne deare hart, on whom I am bolde. The keeper telleth me that it is death for any to ſpeake with me, but yet I truſt that I ſhall ſpeake with you.

Mich. 6.

Pſalm. 101.

Ihon Bradford.

¶ To theſe letters of M. Bradford aboue ſpecified, here is alſo adioyned an other letter of yͤ ſayd Bradford, written to certaine of hys faythfull frendes, worthy of all Chriſtians to be red: wherin is deſcribed a liuely cõpariſon betwéene the Old mã & the New: Alſo betwéene the Law and the Goſpell, conteining much fruitful matter of diuinitie, neceſſary for Chriſtian conſciences to read and vnderſtand.

¶ A letter of M. Bradford, deſcribing a compariſon betwene the old man and the new. &c.

A compariſon betwene the old man and the new, by *M. Bradford*.

A Man that is regenerate & borne of God (the which thing that euery one of vs be, our baptiſme the ſacramẽt of regeneratiõ doth require vnder payne of dãnation, & therefore let euery one of vs wyth the virgin Mary ſay: *be it vnto me O Lord, according to thy word*, according to thy ſacrament of baptiſme, wherein thou haſt declared our adoption: and let vs lamẽt the doubting here-

The old man.

The new man.

of in vs, ſtriuing againſt it, as we ſhall be made able of the Lord): a man, I ſay, that is regenerate, conſiſteth of two men (as a man may ſay) namely of the olde man, and of the new man. The olde man is like to a mighty Giant, ſuch a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect. But the new man is like vnto a little chylde, ſuch a one as was Dauid, for his birth is not perfect vntill the day of his generall reſurrection.

Why the old man is ſtronger then the new.

The olde man therefore is more ſtronger, luſty, and ſtirring then is the new man, bicauſe the birth of the new man is but begun now, and the olde man is perfectly borne. And as the old man is more ſtirring, luſty, and ſtronger then the new man: ſo is the nature of him cleane contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and corrupt with Sathans ſeede, the nature of the new man being heauenly and bleſſed with the celeſtiall ſeede of God. So that one man, in as much as he is corrupt with the ſeede of the Serpent, is an olde man: and in as much as he is bleſſed with the ſeede of God from aboue, he is a new man. And as, in as much as he is an olde man, he is a ſinner and an enemy to god: ſo in as much as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the ſeede of God preſeruing him from ſinne, ſo that he cannot ſinne, as the ſeede of the Serpent, wherewith he is corrupt euen frõ his conception, inclineth him, yea enforceth him to ſinne, & nothing els but to ſinne: So that the beſt part in man before regeneration, in gods ſight, is not onely an enemy, but enmity it ſelfe.

In what reſpect one man is both an old man, and alſo a new man.

How one man may be called alwayes ſinful, and alwayes iuſt.

One man therefore, which is regenerate, well may be called alwayes iuſt, and alwayes ſinfull: iuſt in reſpect of Gods ſeede, and his regeneration: ſinfull in reſpect of Sathans ſede and his firſt birth. Betwixt theſe two men therefore, there is continuall conflicte, and warre moſt deadly. The fleſhe and olde man by reaſon of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time, preuaile againſt the new man (being but a childe in compariſon) & that in ſuch ſort, as not only other, but euen the children of God themſelues thinke that they be nothing els but olde, and that the ſpirit and ſeede of God is loſt and gone away, where yet notwithſtanding, the truth is otherwiſe, the ſpirit and the ſede of God at the length appearing againe, & diſpelling away the clouds which couer the ſonne of Gods ſeede from ſhinyng, as the cloudes in the ayre doe the corporal Sunne: ſo that ſometimes a man can not tel by any ſenſe, that there is any Sunne, the cloudes & windes ſo hiding it frõ our ſight: Euen ſo our cecitie or blindnes, and corrupt affections doe often ſhadow the ſight of Gods ſeede in Gods children, as though they were plain reprobates. Wherof it cometh, that they praying according to theyr ſenſe, but not according to the truth, deſire of God to giue them againe his ſpirite, as though they had loſt it, and he had taken it away. Which thing god neuer doth in deede, although he make vs to thinke ſo for a tyme: for alwayes he holdeth his hand vnder his chyldren in their faulles, that they lie not ſtill as other doe which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt Gods children which are generate and elect before all times in CHRIST, and the wicked caſtawayes, that the elect lie not ſtill continually in their ſinne, as doe the wicked, but at the length doe returne againe by reaſon of Gods ſeede, which is in them hid as a ſparkle of fire in the aſhes: as we may ſee in Peter, Dauid, Paule, Mary Magdalen, and others. For theſe (I meane Gods children) God hath made all things in CHRIST IESV, to whom he hath geuen this dignity, that they ſhould be his inheritaunce and ſpouſes.

Why the old man often times preuayleth agaynſt the new man.

The old man ſo mightily preuaileth ſometimes agaynſt the new in the children of God, that the ſpirite and ſeede of God ſemeth to be vtterly taken from them: whereas in deede, it is not ſo, as afterwardes, to theyr great comfort, they find and feele.

This our inheritour CHRIST IESVS, God with God, light of light, coeternal and conſubſtantiall with the father and with the holy Ghoſt, to the ende that he might become our huſbande (becauſe the huſband & the wife muſt be one body and fleſh) hath taken our nature vpon him, cõmunicating with it and by it in his owne perſon, to vs all his children, his diuine maieſty (as Peter ſayth) and ſo is become fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bones ſubſtancially: as we are become fleſh of his fleſh and bone of his bones ſpiritually, al that euer we haue pertaining to him, yea euen our ſynnes: as al that euer he hath, pertaineth vnto vs, euen hys whole glory. So that if Sathan ſhold ſummon vs to anſwer for our dettes or ſinnes, in that the wife is no ſutable perſon but the huſband, we may wel bid him enter hys action agaynſt our huſband CHRIST, and he wyll make hym a ſufficient anſwere.

2. Pet. 1.

As the wife is no ſutable perſon, but the huſband: ſo Chriſt being our huſband, let him enter the Action for our ſinnes.

For thys end (I meane that we myght be coupled & maryed thus to CHRIST, and ſo be certayne of ſaluation, and at godly peace with God in our conſciences) God hath geuen hys holy word, which hath two parts (as now the chyldren of God doe conſiſt of two men): one part of Gods word being proper to the old man, & the other part of Gods word being proper to the new mã. The part properly pertaynyng to the olde mã, is the law: the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the goſpell.

The law pertayneth to the old man and the goſpell to the new.

What the law is.

What the goſpell is.

The law is a doctryne whych commaũdeth and forbyddeth, requyring doing & auoyding. Vnder it therefore are contayned all precepts, threatnings, promiſes vpon conditions of our doing and auoyding. &c. The Goſpell is a doctrine whych alwayes offereth and geueth, requyring on our behalfe, not as of worthynes or as a cauſe, but as a certificate vnto vs, & therfore vnder it are contayned all the free and ſweete promiſes of God: as, *I am the Lord thy God. &c.*

In thoſe that be of yeares of diſcretion, it requyreth fayth, not as a cauſe, but as an inſtrument wherby we our ſelues may be certain of our good huſband CHRIST and of hys glory: and therefore when the conſcience feleth it ſelfe diſquieted for feare of Gods iudgement agaynſt ſynne, ſhe may in no wyſe looke vpon the doctrine pertaynyng to the olde man, but on the doctrine onely that pertayneth to the new man, in it not loking for that which it requireth, that is faith, becauſe we neuer beleue as we ſhould: but onely on it whych it offereth, and whych it geueth, that is, on Gods grace and eternall mercy and peace in CHRIST. So ſhall ſhe be in quyet, when ſhe loketh for it altogether out of her ſelf, in Gods mercy in CHRIST IESV: in whoſe lap if ſhe lay her head with S. Iohn, then is ſhe happy, and ſhall fynde quietnes in deede. When ſhe feleth her ſelfe quyet, then (in Gods name) let her looke on the law, and vppon ſuch thinges as it requyreth, thereby to brydle and keepe downe the olde Adam, to ſlay that Goliath: from whom ſhe muſt needes kepe the ſweete promiſes, being the bed wherein her ſpouſe and ſhe meete and lye together. For as the wyfe wyl keepe her bed only for her huſband, although in other things ſhe is contented to haue fellowſhyp with others, as to ſpeake, ſitte, eate, drynke, goe. &c. ſo our conſciences, whych are CHRISTES wyues, muſt needes kepe the bed, that is, Gods ſweete promyſſes, alonely for our ſelues and our huſband, there to mete together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be ioyfull together. If ſynne, the law, the Deuill, or any thyng would creepe into the bed and lye there, then complayne to thy huſband CHRIST, and forthwith thou ſhalt ſee hym play Phinees part. Thus my dearely beloued, I haue geuen you in few words, a ſumme of all the Diuinitie whych a Chriſtian conſcience can not want.

The conſcience ſtirred and beaten down with the terrour of Gods iudgement agaynſt ſinne, may not loke vpon the law, but ſo to the goſpell for reliefe and comfort.

Iohn. 13.

To the conſcience quieted and at peace with God, the law ſerueth onely to kepe downe the old man.

Num. 25.

A lettet written to his Mother, as a farewell, when he thought he ſhould haue ſuffered ſhortly after.

THe Lord of life and Sauyour of the world IESVS CHRIST, bleſſe you and comfort you, my good & deare mother, with his heauenly comfort, conſolation, grace and ſpiryte, now and for euer, Amen.

If I thought that dayly, yea almoſt hourly you dyd not crye vpon God the father through IESVS CHRIST, that he would geue me hys bleſſyng, euen the bleſſyng of hys chyldren: then wold I wryte more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certayne you are dylygent, and ſo I beſeech you good mother to contynue: I thynke it good to wryte ſomethyng, wherby this your crying myght be furthered. Furthered it wil be, if thoſe thyngs whych hynder it, be taken away. Among the which, in that I thynke my impriſonment is the greateſt and chiefeſt, I wyll thereabout ſpend thys letter, and that briefly leſt it myght encreaſe the let, as my good brother thys brynger can tel you. You ſhal know therefore good Mother, that for my body, though it be in an houſe out of the whych I can not come when I wyll, yet in that I haue conformed my wyll to Gods wyll, I fynde herein lyberty enough, I thanke God. And for my lodgyng, beddyng, meat, drynke, godly & learned company, bookes, and all other neceſſaryes for mine eaſe, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better caſe then I coulde wyſhe, and Gods mercyfull prouydence here is farre aboue my worthines. Worthines quoth I? Alas I am worthy of nothyng but damnation.

An other letter or a leauetaking, to his mother, ſuppoſing that he ſhold haue ſuffred ſhortly.

He menſioneth the daunger of more ſtrait impriſonment that might hereby follow.

But beſydes all thys, for my ſoule I fynde much more commoditye. For God is my father, I now perceaue, through CHRIST: therfore in priſonyng me for his goſpel, he maketh me like to the image of his ſonne IESVS CHRIST here, that when he cometh to iudgement, I myght then be like vnto him, as my truſt and hope is I ſhalbe. Now maketh he me like to his frẽds the Prophets, Apoſtles, the holy Martyrs and Cõfeſſors, which of them did not ſuffer, at the leaſt, impriſonment or baniſhment for his goſpell and word?

Now Mother, how farre am I vnmete to be compared to them? I (I ſay) which alwayes haue bene, and am ſo vile an hypocrite and greuous a ſynner? God might haue cauſed me long before this time to haue bene caſt into pryſon as a theefe, a blaſphemer, an vncleane liuer, and an heynous offender of the lawes of the Realme, but deare Mother, his mercy is ſo great vpon both you and all that loue me, that I ſhould be caſt into priſon as none of theſe, or for any ſuch vices: but only for his CHRISTES ſake, for his goſpels ſake, for his Churches ſake, that hereby, as I might learne to lament and bewaile my ingratitude and ſinnes: ſo I myght reioyce in hys mercy, be thankfull, looke for eternall ioye with Chriſt, for whoſe ſake (prayſed be his name for it) I now ſuffer, and therefore ſhould be merye and gladde. And in deede good Mother, ſo I am, as euer I was, yea neuer ſo mery and glad was I, as I now ſhould be, if I could get you to be mery with me, to thanke God for me, and to pray on this ſorte:

A prayer to hys mother to offer vnto God in his behalfe.

Ah good father which doeſt vouchſafe that my ſonne being a greuous ſinner in thy ſight, ſhould find thys fauour with thee, to be one of thy ſonnes captaynes and men of warre to fight and ſuffer for hys Goſpelles ſake, I thanke thee and pray thee in CHRISTES *name that thou wouldeſt forgeue hym hys ſinnes and vnthankefulnes, and make perfect in hym that good which thou haſt begonne: yea Lord I pray thee make him worthy to ſuffer, not onely impriſonmẽt, but euen very death for thy truth, religion, and Goſpels ſake. As Anna did apply and geue her firſt child Samuell vnto thee: ſo do I deare father, beſeching thee for* CHRISTES *ſake, to accept thys my gift, & geue my ſonne Iohn Bradford grace alwayes truely to ſerue thee and thy people, as Samuell did, Amen, Amen.*

If on this ſort good Mother, from your hart you would pray, as I ſhould be the moſt meryeſt man that euer was: ſo am I certayne the lettes of your prayer for my impriſonment, would be takẽ away. Good mother, therefore marke what I haue written, and learne thys prayer by hart, to ſay it dayly, and then I ſhall be mery, and you ſhall reioyce if that you continue, as I truſt you do, in Gods true religion, euen the ſame I haue taught you, and my father Traues (I truſt) will put you in remembraunce of: my brother Roger alſo I truſt doth ſo dayly. Go to therefore and learne apace. Although the deuill caſt diuerſe lets in the way, God, in whom you truſt, wil caſt them away for hys CHRISTES ſake, if you will call vppon hym: and neuer will he ſuffer you to be tẽpted aboue that he wyll make you able to beare. But how you ſhould do herein, the other letter which I haue written herewith, ſhall teach you, which I would none ſhould read till my father Traues haue read it, and he will geue you by Gods grace, ſome inſtructions. Now therefore wil I make an end, praying you good Mother, to looke for no moe letters: for if it were knowen that I haue penne and inke and did write, then ſhould I wante all the foreſayd commodities I haue ſpoken of concerning my body, and be caſt into ſome dungeon in fetters of yron: which thing I know would greue you, and therefore for Gods ſake, ſee that theſe be burned when thys litle prayer in it, is copyed out by my brother Roger: for perchaunce your houſe may be ſearched for ſuch geare, when you thinke litle of it, and looke for no moe, ſweete Mother, tyll eyther God ſhall deliuer me and ſend me out, eyther you and I ſhall meete together in heauen, where we ſhall neuer part aſunder, Amen.

This letter came not to our handes.

Exhortation to his ſiſters.

I require you Elizabeth and Margaret my ſiſters, that you will feare God, vſe prayer, loue your huſbands, be obedient vnto them, as God wylleth you: bring vp your children in Gods feare: and be good houſwiues. God bleſſe you both, with both your huſbandes my good brethren, whom to do good, becauſe I now can not, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my ſiſter Anne, Mother Pike, T. Sorrocold and hys wife, R. Shalcroſſe and his wyfe, R. Bolton, I. Wild, M. Vicar, the parſõ of Mottrom, Syr Laurence Hall, with all that loue, and (I truſt) liue the Goſpell: and God turne Syr Thomas his hart, Amen. I wyll dayly pray for him. I neede not to ſet my name, you know it well enough.

Becauſe you ſhould geue my letters to my father Traues to be burned, I haue written here a prayer for you to learne to pray for me good Mother, and an other for all your houſe in your euening prayer to pray with my brother. Theſe prayers are writtẽ with myne owne hand: kepe thẽ ſtill, but the letters geue to father Traues to burne, and geue father Traues a copye of the latter prayer.

¶ An other letter to his mother, as his laſt farewell vnto her in this world, a litle before he was burned.

GOds mercy and peace in CHRIST, be more and more perceiued of vs, Amen.

Another and the laſt letter of *M. Bradford* written to his mother a litle before hys death.

My moſt deare Mother, in the bowels of CHRIST I hartely pray & beſech you to be thankefull for me vnto God, which thus now taketh me vnto hym ſelf. I dye not, my good mother, as a theefe, a murderer, an adulterer. &c. but I dye as a wytnes of CHRIST, hys Goſpell and veritie, which hetherto I haue confeſſed (I thanke God) as well by preaching, as by priſonment, and now euen preſently I ſhall moſt willingly confyrme the ſame by fyre. I knowledge that God moſt iuſtly might take me hence ſimply for my ſyns (which are many, great, & greuous: but the Lord for his mercy in CHRIST, hath pardoned thẽ all I hope): but now deare Mother, he taketh me hence by thys death, as a Confeſſour and wytnes, that the religion taught by CHRIST IESV, the Prophets, and the Apoſtels, is Gods truth. The Prelates do perſecute in me CHRIST whom they hate, and hys truth which they may not abyde, becauſe their workes are euyll, and may not abyde the truth and lyght, leſt men ſhoulde ſee their darkenes. Therefore my good and moſt deare Mother, geue thankes for me to God, that hee hath made the fruite of your wombe to bee a witnes of his glory, and attend to the truth (which I thanke God for it) I haue truly taught out of the pulpit of Mancheſter. Vſe often and continual prayer to God the father through CHRIST. Harken, as you may, to the ſcriptures: ſerue God after his word, and not after cuſtome: beware of the Romiſh religion in England, defyle not your ſelfe with it: cary CHRISTES Croſſe as he ſhall laye it vpon your backe: forgeue them that kyll me: pray for them, for they knowe not what they do: commit my cauſe to God our father: bee myndefull of both your daughters to helpe them as you can.

Bradford perſecuted of the prelates not for hys ſinnes, but for the truth of Chriſt.

I ſend all my wrytinges to you by my brother Roger: do wyth them as you wyll, becauſe I cannot as I would: he can tell you more of my mynde. I haue nothing to geue you, or to leaue behinde me for you: onely I pray God my father for hys CHRISTES ſake, to bleſſe you and keepe you from euyll. He geue you pacience, he make you thankefull, as for me, ſo for your ſelfe, that wyll take the fruite of your wombe to wytnes hys verity: wherin I confeſſe to the whole world I die & depart this life in hope of a much better: which I looke for at the hands of God my father through the merytes of hys deare ſonne IESVS CHRIST. Thus my deare Mother, I take my laſt farewell of you in this life, beſeching the almighty and eternall father by Chriſt, to graunt vs to meete in the lyfe to come, where we ſhall geue hym continuall thankes and prayſe for euer and euer, Amen. ¶ Out of priſon the 24. of Iune, 1555.

Your ſonne in the Lord,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ A letter ſent with a ſupplication to Q. Mary, her Counſell, and the whole Parlament.

A letter of M. *Bradford* ioyned with a ſupplication, ſent to Queene *Mary*, her Counſell, and the Parlament.

IN moſt humble wyſe complaineth vnto your Maieſty and honours, a poore ſubiect perſecuted for the confeſſion of CHRISTES verity: the which verity deſerueth at your hands to be maintayned and defended, as the thynge, by the which you raigne and haue your honour and authorities. Although we that be profeſſours, and through the grace of God, the conſtant confeſſoures of the ſame, are (as it were) the out ſwepinges of the world: yet (I ſay) the verity it ſelfe is a thing not vnworthy for your eares to heare, for your eyes to ſee, and for your handes to handle, helpe, and ſuccour, according to that yͤ Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the ſame purpoſe.

your highnes and honours ought to know, that there is no innocencie in wordes or deedes, where it is enough and ſuffiſeth onely to accuſe. It behoueth kinges, Queenes, and all that be in authority, to know that in the adminiſtration of their kingdomes, they are Gods Miniſters. It behoueth them to know, that they are no Kinges but playne tyrannes, which raigne not to thys ende, that they may ſerue & ſet forth Gods glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wiſe, and ſuffer themſelues to be taught, to ſubmit them ſelues to the lordes diſcipline, and to kiſſe their Soueraigne, leſt they periſhe: as all thoſe Potentates with their principalities and dominions cannot long proſper but periſhe in deede, if they and their kingdomes be not ruled wyth the Scepter of God, that is, with his worde: which, who ſo honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his owne cauſe, which he hath moſt chiefely committed vnto them to care for, into his owne handes, and ſo ouerthrow thē, and ſet vp his truth glorioufly: the people alſo periſhing with the Princes, where the worde of prophecy is wanting, much more is ſuppreſſed, as it is now in thys Realme of England: ouer which the eyes of the Lord are ſet to deſtroy it, your highnes and all your honours, if in tyme you looke not better to your office and duties herein, and not ſuffer your ſelues to be ſlaues and hangmen to Antichriſt and hys Prelates, which haue brought your highnes and honours already to let Barrabas loſe, and to hang vp Chriſt: as by the grace and helpe of God I ſhall make apparant, if firſt it woulde pleaſe your excellent maieſty and all your honours, to take to harte Gods doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Phariſayes, I meane the Biſhops and prelates, then your conſciences, is oppreſſed: and not for our contemptible and execrable ſtate in the ſight of the world, to paſſe the leſſe of it. For it (the doctryne I meane) is hygher and of more honour and maieſty, then all the whole world. It ſtandeth inuincible aboue all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the euerliuing God and of his Chriſt, whom the father hath ordayned king, to haue dominion from ſea to ſea, and from the ryuer vnto the endes of the world. And truely ſo doth he and wyll he raygne, that he will ſhake all the whole earth with hys yron and braſen power, with hys golden and ſiluery brightnes, onely by the rod of his mouth, to ſhyuers, in ſuch ſorte as though they were pottes of clay, according to that which the Prophetes do write of the magnificence of hys kingdome. And thus much for the thyng, I meane the doctryne, and your duties to harken, to propagate, and defend the ſame.

Difference betwene Kinges and Tyrantes.

Good warning Queene Mary.

Princes made ſlaues to Antichriſt.

Chriſt ordeyned to beare dominion ouer all.

But now will our aduerſaries mainely cry out agaynſt vs, becauſe no man may be admitted once to whiſt againſt them, that we pretend falſely the doctrine and word of God, calling vs the moſt wicked contemners of it, and heretickes, Schiſmatickes, traytors, &c. All which their ſayings how malicious and falſe they are, though I myght make report to that which is written by thoſe men whoſe workes they haue cōdemned and all that retayne any of them, publikely by proclamation: yet here will I occaſion your maieſty and honours by this my writing, to ſee that it is farre otherwiſe then they report of vs. God our father, for his holy names ſake, direct my penne to be hys inſtrument to put into your eyes, eares, and hartes, that which moſt may make to hys glory, to the ſauegard of your ſoules and bodyes, and preſeruation of the whole realme, Amen.

Chriſtes Martyrs falſely belyed of the prelates for heretickes, and Schiſmaticks.

Iohn Bradford.

❧ To certayne his frendes N.S. and R.C.

A letter of M. Bradford to certaine perſons being at that time not thorowghly inſtructed in the doctrine of Gods election.

I wiſhe to you my good brethren, the ſame grace of God in CHRIST, which I wyſh and pray the father of mercyes to geue to me for his holy names ſake, Amē.

Your letter though I haue not red my ſelfe, becauſe I would not alienate my mynde from conceiued things to write to others, yet I haue heard the ſumme of it, that it is of Gods election: wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I thinke it good and meete for a chriſtian man to wade in it. I beleue that man made after the image of God, did fall from that bleſſed ſtate to the condemnation of himſelfe and all hys poſterity. I beleue that Chriſt for man being thus fallen, did oppoſe him ſelfe to the iuſtice of God a Mediator, paying the raunſome and price of redemption for Adam and his whole poſteritie that refuſe it not finally. I beleue that all that beleue in CHRIST (I ſpeake of ſuch as be of yeares of diſcretion) are partakers of CHRIST and all his merites. I beleue that fayth, and to beleue in CHRIST (I ſpeake not now of faith that mē haue by reaſon of miracles Ioh.2.11. Act.8. or by reaſon of earthly commodity Mat.13. cuſtome and authority of mē, which is commonly ſeene, the hartes of them that ſo beleue beyng not right and ſimple before God: but I ſpeake of that faith which in deede is the true faith, the iuſtifiyng and regenerating fayth): I beleue I ſay that this fayth and beliefe in CHRIST, is the worke and gift of God, geuen to none other then to thoſe which be the children of God, that is, to thoſe whom God the father before the beginning of the worlde hath predeſtinate in Chriſt vnto eternall lyfe. Thus do I wade in predeſtination, in ſuch ſorte as God hath patified and opened it. Though in God it be the firſt, yet to vs it is laſt opened. And therefore I beginne with creation, from thence I come to redemption, ſo to iuſtification, and ſo to election. On this ſort I am ſure that warely & wiſely a man may walke in it eaſely by the light of Gods ſpirite, in and by his word, ſeing thys fayth not to be geuen to all men, 2.Theſſ.3. but to ſuch as are borne of God, predeſtinate before the worlde was made after the purpoſe and good will of God: which will we may not call into diſputation, but in trembling and feare ſubmit our ſelues to it as to that which can will none otherwiſe thē that which is holy, right, and good, how farre ſo euer otherwiſe it ſeeme to the iudgemēt of reaſon, which muſt nedes be beaten downe to be more careful for Gods glory then for mans ſaluation, which dependeth only thereon, as all Gods children full well ſee: for they ſeeke not the glory which commeth of mē, but the glory which commeth of God Ieremy.9. Ioan.5. They know God to be a god which doth on earth not onely mercy but alſo iudgement, which is his iuſtice and moſt iuſtice, although our foliſhe reaſon cannot ſee it. And in this knowledge they glory & reioyce, though others through vayne curioſity, grudge and murmure theragaynſt. Thus briefly I haue ſent you my mynde and meaning concerning thys matter. Hereafter you ſhall haue (I thinke) your letter particularly aunſwered by M. Philpot: as alſo if I haue tyme and you ſo require it, I will do.

True fayth.

Exod.14.

M.B. For the certainty of this fayth ſearch your hartes. If you haue it, praiſe the Lord: for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally periſh: for then happines were not happines, if it could be loſt. When you fall, the Lord will put vnder his hand that you ſhal not lie ſtil. But if ye feele not this faith, then know that predeſtination is to high a matter for you to be diſputers of, vntill ye haue bene better ſcholers in the ſchole-houſe of repentance and iuſtificatiō, which is the Grammer ſchole wherein we muſt be conuerſant and learned, before we go to the vniuerſitie of gods moſt holy predeſtinatiō and prouidence.

Of this matter he entreth more at large in the booke of Letters of the Martyrs. Fol. 391.

Iohn Bradford.

❧ Notes vpō the ſame Epiſtle and to the matter of election appertayning.

Notes to this epiſtle added.

AS touchyng the doctrine of Election (whereof this letter of M. Bradford, *and many other hys letters moe doe much intreate) .iij. thinges muſt be conſidered.*

1 Firſt what Gods election is, and what is the cauſe thereof. 1.

2 Secondly, how Gods election proceedeth in working our ſaluation. 2.

3 Thirdly, to whom Gods election pertaineth, & how a man may be certaine thereof. 3.

Betwene Predeſtination & Election this difference there is. Predeſtination is as well to the Reprobate, as to the elect. Election onely pertayneth to them that be ſaued.

Difference betwene predeſtination and Election.

Predeſtination, in that it reſpecteth the Reprobate, is called reprobation: in that it reſpecteth the ſaued, is called Election, and is thus defined:

Predeſtination is the eternall decreement of God, purpoſed before in hym ſelfe, what ſhall befall on all men, eyther to ſaluation, or damnation.

Definition of predeſtination.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in hys owne Wyll, through fayth in CHRIST *hys Sonne, chuſing and preferryng to lyfe, ſuch as pleaſeth hym.*

Election defined.

In this

Queene Mary. 1555.

The partes of the definitiõ examined.

In this definition of Election firſt goeth before [the mercy and grace of God] as the cauſes therof, wherby are excluded all workes of the law and merites of deſeruing, whether they goe before faith, or come after. So was Iacob choſen, and Eſau refuſed, before eyther of them began to worke. &c.

Mercy and grace.

Free mercy and grace.

Secondly, in that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is ſaid to be [free] therby is to bee noted the proceding and working of God not to be bound to any ordinary place, or to any ſucceſſiõ of chaire, nor to ſtate & dignity of perſon, nor to worthines of bloud. &c. but all goeth by the mere will of his owne purpoſe, as it is written: ſpiritus vbi vult ſpirat. &c. And thus was the outward race & ſtocke of Abraham after fleſh refuſed (which ſeemed to haue the preeminence) and an other ſeede after the ſpirit raiſed vp to Abraham of the ſtones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward temple of Hieruſalem and chaire of Moſes, whych ſeemed to be of price, forſaken, and Gods chaire aduaũced in other nations. So was talle Saul refuſed, and litle Dauid accepted: the rich, the proud, the wiſe of this worlde reiected, and the word of ſaluation dayly opened to the poore and myſerable abiectes: the hie mountaynes caſt vnder, and the low valleis exalted &c.

The free mercy and grace of God in his owne will.

Rom.9.

Thirdly, where it is added [in his own will] by this falleth downe the free will and purpoſe of man, with all his actions, counſailes, and ſtrength of nature: according as it is wrytten: Non eſt volentis, neq; currentis, ſed miſerẽtis Dei. &c. i. It is not in hym that wylleth, nor in hym that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy. So we ſee how Iſraell ran long, & yet got nothing: The Gẽtils vnneth begã to ſet out, & yet got the game. So they which came at the firſt houre did labor more, and yet they which came laſt were rewarded with the firſt. Math. 20. The working will of the Phariſey ſeemed better: but yet the Lordes will was rather to iuſtify the Publicane. Luke. 18. The elder ſonne had a better will to tary by his father, and ſo did in deede: and yet the fatte Calfe was geuen to the yonger ſonne that ranne away. Luk. 15. Whereby we haue to vnderſtand, how the matter goeth not by the will of man, but by the will of God as it pleaſeth hym to accept, according as it is written: Non ex voluntate carnis, neq; ex voluntate viri, ſed ex Deo nati ſunt. &c. i. Whych are borne, not of the will of the fleſhe, nor yet of the wyll of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the wil of God only, and not by the will of man: ſo againe here is to be noted, that this will of God neuer goeth without faith in CHRIST IESVS his ſonne.

Math. 20.

Luke. 18.

Luke. 15.

Iohn. 1.

Gods mercy in chooſing the [illegible] the condition of faith in Chriſt.

The free mercy and grace of God in his [illegible] through faith in Chriſt [illegible]

And therefore fourthly is this clauſe added in the definition [through faith in CHRIST his ſonne.] Which fayth in CHRIST to vs ward maketh altogether. For firſt it certifieth vs of Gods election. As in this Epiſtle M. Bradford doth well expreſſe. For who ſoeuer will be certein of his election in God, let him firſt begin with his faith in Chriſt: which if he find in him to ſtãd firme, he may be ſure and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of Gods electe. Secondly, the ſaid fayth and nothing els, is the only condition and meanes wherupon Gods mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all Gods promiſes to ſaluation doe ſtay, according to the words of S. Paule: Si permanſeritis in fide. &c. i. If ye abide in the fayth. Coloſſ. 1. Thirdly, this faith alſo is the immediate and next cauſe of our Iuſtification ſimply without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, hys grace, election, vocation, and other precedent cauſes do ſaue and iuſtify vs vpon condition, if we beleue in CHRIST: ſo this fayth only in CHRIST without condition, is the next and immediate cauſe which by Gods promiſe worketh our Iuſtification: according as it is written: Crede in dominum Ieſum & ſaluus eris tu & Domus tua. i. Beleue in the Lord Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued, thou and thy whole houſe. Act. 16. And thus much touching the definition of Election, wyth the cauſes therof declared. Which you ſee now to be no merites nor workes of man, whether they goe before, or come after fayth, but only the mere mercy of God through fayth. For lyke as all they that be borne of Adam, do taſt of hys malediction, though they taſted not hys apple: ſo all they that be borne of Chriſt (which is by fayth) take part of the obediẽce of Chriſt, although they neuer did that obediẽce thẽſelues, whych was in hym. Rom. 5.

Faith in Chriſt the [illegible] condition wherby [illegible] grace [illegible]

Act. 16.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The 2. conſideration.

Now to the ſecond conſideration: let vs ſee lykewyſe how, and in what order this election of God procedeth in chuſyng and electing them whych he ordayneth to ſaluation: which order is thys. In them that be choſen to life, firſt Gods mercy and free grace bryngeth forth election: Election worketh vocation or Gods holy calling, whych vocation through hearyng bryngeth knowledge and fayth of CHRIST, fayth through promiſe obtayneth iuſtification, Iuſtification through hope wayteth for glorification.

Grace.
Election.
Vocation.
Fayth.
Iuſtification.
Glorification.

Election is before tyme. Vocation and fayth commeth in time. Iuſtification and glorification is wythout end.

Election depending vpon Gods free grace and will, excludeth all mans wyll, blind fortune, chaunce, and all peraduentures.

Mans free will, blind fortune, Mans wiſdome, Mans learning, Mans merites, Workes of the law, excluded from the cauſes of our ſaluation in Chriſt.

Vocation ſtanding vpon Gods election excludeth al mans wiſdome, cũning, learning, intentiõ, power, and preſumption.

Fayth in CHRIST procedyng by the gift of the holy Ghoſt, and freely iuſtifying man by Gods promiſe, excludeth all other merites of men, all condition of deſeruing, and all workes of the law, both Gods lawe and mans law, wyth all other outward meanes, what ſo euer.

Iuſtification comming frely by faith, ſtandeth ſure by promiſe, wythout doubt, feare, or wauering in thys life.

Glorification pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is loked for.

Grace and mercy preuenteth.
Election ordayneth.
Vocation prepareth and receaueth the word, wherby commeth fayth.
Fayth Iuſtifieth.
Iuſtification bryngeth glory.
Election is the immediate and next cauſe of vocation.
Vocation (which is the working of Gods ſpirite by the word) is the immediate and next cauſe of faith.
Faith is the immediate and next cauſe of Iuſtification.

Papiſtes confound the doctrine of election.

And this order and connexion of cauſes is diligently to be obſerued, becauſe of the Papiſts, which haue miſerably confounded and inuerted thys doctrine, thus teachyng, that almyghty God ſo farre forth as hee forſeeth mans merites before to come, ſo doth he diſpenſe hys election. Dominus prout cuiuſq; merita fore præuidet, ita diſpenſat electionis gratiam. And againe: Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum repẽdere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere: that is, that the Lord recompenſeth the grace of Election, not to any merites precedyng: but yet graunteth the ſame to the merytes whych folow after: As though we had our election by our holynes that foloweth after, and not rather haue our holynes by Gods election goyng before.

Election.

But we folowing the ſcripture ſay otherwiſe, that the cauſe only of Gods election is hys owne free mercy: and the cauſe only of our Iuſtification is our fayth in CHRIST, and nothyng els. As for example: firſt concernyng Election, if the queſtion be aſked why was Abraham choſen, and not Nachor? Why was Iacob choſen, and not Eſau? Why was Moſes elected, and Pharao hardened? Why Dauid accepted, and Saul refuſed? Why few be choſen, and the moſt forſaken? It can not be anſwered otherwiſe, but thus: becauſe it was ſo the good will of God.

That vocation he meaneth here which is after purpoſe.

Vocation bryngeth faith.

In like maner, touching vocation and alſo fayth, if the queſtion be aſked, why this vocation and gift of faith was geuen to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullius the Iew? Why to the poore, to the babes, and little ones of thys worlde, (of whõ CHRIST ſpeaketh: I thãke thee father, which haſt hid this from the wiſe. &c. Mat. 11. Why to the vnwiſe, the ſimple, abiects, and outcaſts in thys world? Of whom ſpeaketh S. Paul. 1. Cor. 1. Ye ſee your callyng my brethren, how not many of you. &c. Why to the ſinners, and not to the iuſt? Why the beggers by the hye wayes were called, and the bydden geſts excluded? We can goe to no other cauſe, but to Gods purpoſe and Election, and ſay wyth CHRIST our Sauiour: quia pater ſic complacitum eſt ante te. i. Yea Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight. Luke. 18.

Iuſtification by faith only.

And ſo for Iuſtification likewiſe, if the queſtion be aſked, why the Publicane was iuſtified, and not the Phariſey? Luk. 18. why Mary the ſinner, and not Symon the inuiter? Luk. 11. why harlots and publicanes goe before the Scribes and Phariſeys in the kingdome? Math. 21. why the ſonne of the free woman was receyued, and the bondwomans ſonne being his elder, reiected? Geneſ. 21. why Iſraell whych ſo long ſought for righteouſnes, found it not: and the Gentiles which ſought not for it, found it? Rom. 9. We haue no other cauſe hereof to render, but to ſay wyth S. Paul, becauſe they ſought for it by works of the law, and not by fayth: whych fayth as it cōmeth not by mans wyll (as the Papiſt falſly pretēdeth) but only by the Election and free gift of God: ſo it is onely the immediate cauſe wherunto the promyſe of our ſaluation is annexed, accordyng as we read: And therefore of fayth is the inheritāce geuen, as after grace, that the promiſe myght ſtand ſure to euery ſeede. Rom. 4. Item in the ſame chapter: Faith beleuing in him which iuſtifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteouſnes.

The Papiſt falſely pretendeth that Actus credendi, is in mans power. Read before pag. 1799. col. 1. lin. 14.

How fayth and election are lincked together in the act of Iuſtifying.

And thus concerning the cauſe of our ſaluation, ye ſee how fayth in CHRIST, only and immediatly wythout any condition doth iuſtify vs, being ſo lynked wyth Gods mercy and election, that where ſo euer Election goeth before, there fayth in CHRIST muſt nedes folow after. And againe, whoſoeuer beleueth in CHRIST Ieſu, through the vocation of God, he muſt nedes be partaker of Gods election.

The third conſideration.

VVherupon reſulteth now the thyrd note or conſideration: whych is to conſider, whether a man in thys lyfe may be certein of hys Election. To anſwere to which queſtion, this firſt is to be vnderſtand: that although our election and vocation ſimply in dede be known to God only in him ſelf, a priore: yet notwithſtādyng it may be known to euery particular faithful man, a poſteriore: that is, by meanes, whych meanes is fayth in CHRIST IESVS crucified. For ſo much as by hys faith in CHRIST, a man is Iuſtified, and therby made the childe of ſaluatiō, reaſon muſt nedes lead the ſame to be then the childe of Election, choſen of God vnto euerlaſting life. For how can a man be iuſtified, but he muſt nedes be ſaued? and how can a man be ſaued, but by conſequence it foloweth, that he muſt alſo be elected?

Election knowne to God ſimply.

Election knowne to mā by meanes.

Fayth is the meanes wherby we be certified of our election.

And therfore of Election it is truely ſaid: De electione iudicandum eſt a poſteriore: that is to ſay, we muſt iudge of election by that which commeth after, that is, by our faith and beleſe in CHRIST: which faith although in time it foloweth after Election, yet is it the proper and immediate cauſe aſſigned by the ſcripture, which not only iuſtifieth vs, but alſo certifieth vs of this Election of God.

De electione iudicandū eſt a poſteriore.

Election firſt knowen to God, and laſt opened to man.

Wherunto likewiſe well agreeth this preſent letter of M. Bradford wherin he ſayth: Election albeit in God it be the firſt: yet to vs it is the laſt opened. And therefore beginning firſt (ſaith he) with creation, I come from thence to redemption, and iuſtification by fayth, and ſo to election. Not that faith is the cauſe efficient of Election, being rather the effect therof, but is to vs the cauſe certificatorie, or the cauſe of our certification, wherby we are brought to the feling and knowledge of our Election in CHRIST. For albeit that Election firſt be certein in the knowledge of God. yet in our knowledge, faith only that we haue in CHRIST, is the thing that geueth to vs our certificate and comfort of this Election.

Euery man to ſtay him ſelfe vpon Gods generall promiſe.

Wherefore, who ſo euer deſireth to be aſſured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not clime vp to heauen to know, but let him deſcend into him ſelfe, and there ſearch his fayth in CHRIST the ſonne of God: which if he finde in him not fayned by the working of gods holy ſpirit accordingly: therupon let him ſtay, and ſo wrappe himſelf wholy both body and ſoule vnder Gods generall promiſe, and cumbre his head with no further ſpeculations: knowing this, that who ſo euer beleueth in him, ſhall not periſh. Ioh. 3. ſhall not be confounded. Rom. 9. ſhall not ſee death. Ioh. 8. ſhall not enter into iudgement. Ioh. 5. ſhall haue euerlaſting life. Ioh. 3. 7. ſhall be ſaued, Math. 28. Act. 16. ſhall haue remiſſion of all hys ſinnes. Act. 10. ſhall be iuſtified. Rom. 3. Gal. 2. ſhall haue floudes flowing out of him of water of life Iohn. 7. ſhall neuer die. Ioh. 11. ſhall be raiſed in the laſt day. Ioh. 6. ſhall finde reſt to his ſoule, and ſhall be refreſhed. Mat. 11.

What faith is.

Diuers kyndes of fayth.

Euery truth hath his faith, but euery truth iuſtifieth not, no more doth euery fayth.

Now then for ſo much as we ſee faith to bee the ground wherupon dependeth the whole condition of our iuſtifying, let vs diſcuſſe in like maner what is this faith wherof the ſcripture ſo much ſpeaketh, for the more plaine vnderſtanding of the ſimple. For many kindes there be of faith: as a man may beleue euery thing that is true, yet not euery truth doth ſaue, neither doth the beleuing of euery truth iuſtify a mā. He that beleueth that God created all things of nought, beleueth truly. He that beleueth that God is a iuſt God, that he is omnipotent, that he is mercifull, that hee is true of promiſe, beleueth well and holdeth the truth. So he that beleueth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he alſo is one of the ſame elect and predeſtinate, hath a good beliefe, and thinketh well: but yet this beliefe alone, except it be ſeaſoned with an other thyng, will not ſerue to ſaluation: as it auailed not the old Iewes, which ſo thought of themſelues, and yet thinke to thys day, to be only Gods elect people.

Fayth the action: Chriſt the obiect of fayth.

Only the faith which auayleth to ſaluation is that, whoſe obiecte is the body and paſſion of IESVS CHRIST crucified. So that in the act of iuſtifying theſe two, faith and Chriſt haue a mutuall relation, and muſt alwayes concurre together, faith as the action which apprehendeth: CHRIST as the obiect which is apprehended.

Fayth and Chriſt co relatiues.

Chriſt without fayth ſaueth not.

Fayth without Chriſt helpeth not.

For neyther doth the paſſion of CHRIST ſaue wythout faith, neyther doth faith helpe, except it be in CHRIST: As we ſee the body of man ſuſtayned by bread & drynke, not except the ſame be receiued, & cōueyed into the ſtomacke: and yet neither doth the receiuing of euery thing ſuſtaine mās body, except it be meat and drinke, which haue power to geue nouriſhment. In like ſort it is wyth fayth: for neither doth the beleuyng of euery thyng ſaue, but only fayth in the bloud of CHRIST: neyther againe doth the ſame bloud of CHRIST profite vs, except by fayth it be receyued. And as the ſonne being the cauſe of all lyght, ſhineth not but to them only which haue eyes to ſee: nor yet to them neyther, vnleſſe they wil open theyr eyes to receiue the lyght: ſo the paſſion of CHRIST is the efficient cauſe of ſaluation: but fayth is the condition wherby the ſayd paſſion is to vs effectuall.

And that is the cauſe, why we ſay wyth the ſcripture, that fayth only iuſtifieth vs, not excluding therby all other externe cauſes that goe before fayth, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of CHRIST, &c. all whych be externe cauſes working our ſaluation through fayth. But whē we ſay that fayth only iuſtifieth vs, the meanyng therof is this: that of all internall actions, motions, or operations in man geuen to him of God, there is no other that contenteth and pleaſeth God, or ſtādeth before hys iudgement, or can helpe any thyng to the iuſtifying of man before him, but only thys one action of fayth in IESVS CHRIST the ſonne of God.

For although the action of praying, faſting, almes, pacience, charitye, repentance, the feare and loue of God be hye gifts in man, and not of man, geuen of God to man, yet be none of all theſe actions in man, imputed of God to ſaluation, but only this one action of faith in mā vpō CHRIST IESVS the ſonne of God. Not that the action it ſelf of beleuing, as it is a quality in mā, doth ſo deſerue, but becauſe it taketh that dignity of the obiect. For as I ſayd, in the act of iuſtifying, faith, as it is an action in mā, is not to be cōſidered alone, but muſt euer goe with his obiect & taketh his vertue therof. Lyke as the loking vp of the olde Iſraelites did not of it ſelf procure any health vnto them, but the promiſe made in the obiect, which was the braſen ſerpent wherupon they loked, gaue them helth by theyr loking vp. Euen ſo after like ſort are we ſaued by our faith and ſpiritual loking vp to the body of CHRIST crucified. Which faith to define is this:

To beleue IESVS CHRIST to be the ſonne of the liuyng God ſent into this world, by his death to ſatiſfy for our ſinnes, and ſo to receiue the ſame.

And thus much touching Election and faith, with the order and explication of the cauſes neceſſary to bee conſidered in our ſaluation. Wherby may apeare, how far the pretenſed catholykes do ſwarue frō the right mind of the ſcriptures. For where the ſcriptures in declaring the cauſes of ſaluation, do ſend vs only to faith as the only condition wherby theſe cauſes haue their working, theſe Catholykes do quite leaue out faith, and in ſtead thereof place in other conditiōs of doings, merits, wilworks, pardons, maſſes, and eſpecially auricular cōfeſſion, with penaunce and ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes. &c.

July. 2. William Mynge [illegible]

William Mynge.

THe next day after M. Bradford and Iohn Leafe did ſuffer in Smithfield, William Mynge Prieſt dyed in priſon at Maidſtone, beyng there in bondes for Religion, & lyke to haue ſuffered alſo, if he had cõtinued the fury of his aduerſaries, whoſe nature was to ſpare and fauour none that fauoured Chriſtes pure Goſpell: Which W. Mynge, with as great conſtancy and boldnes yelded vp hys life in the priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to haue called him to ſuffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the ſtake, & as he him ſelfe was ready alſo ſo to do, if it had pleaſed God to haue called hym therunto.

Iames Treuiſam buried in the fieldes.

The bury of Iames Treuiſam, buried in the fieldes, and ſummoned after his death.

VPon the thyrd day of Iuly. an. 1555. dyed one Iames Treuiſam, in the Pariſh of S. Margaret in Lothbury vpon a Sonday: who being impotent & lame kept his bed, for he could not riſe out of it of a lõg tyme. This Treuiſam had a ſeruaunt one Iohn Small which red on the Bible, & as he was in readyng, Berde ỹ promotor came to ỹ houſe & would nedes go vp ỹ ſtaires, where he found iiij. perſons beſides him, and his wyfe: to wytte, the young man that red, and ij. men, & a woman. All which folkes the ſayd Berde the promotor there beyng apprehended, caryed vnto the Counter, where they remayned about a fortnight, for all the frendes they could make. Moreouer ỹ ſayd Berd would haue had alſo Iames the lame man hym ſelfe to Newgate in a cart (and brought the cart to the dore) but for neighbors. Neuertheles ỹ pore mã was faine to put in ij. ſureties for his forth cõmyng for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but alſo very ſicke the ſame tyme. So within a few dayes the ſayd Iames lying in extremes, the Parſon of the Church, named M. Farthyng came to hym and had cõmunication with hym & agreed well, & ſo departed. It happened after the prieſt was come down into the ſtreete, there mette him one Toller a Foũder. Yea, ſayth he, be ye agreed? I wil accuſe you, for he denyeth the Sacrament of the altar. Vpon that the Parſon went vp agayne to hym, & then the Prieſt and he could not agree. And ſo the Parſon went to the Byſhop of London and told him. The Byſhop aunſwered that he ſhould be burnt, and if he were dead he ſhould be buryed in a ditch. And ſo when he dyed the Parſon was agaynſt hys wife as much as he could, neither would let her haue the Coffine to put hym in, nor any thyng els but was fayne to beare hym vpõ a table to Morefield and there was he buryed. The ſame night the body was caſt vp aboue the ground and his ſheete taken from him & he left naked. After this the owner of the field ſeing him, buried him again, & a fortnight after the Somner came to his graue and ſummoned him to appeare at Paules before hys Ordinary to aũſwere to ſuch thyngs as ſhould be layd agaynſt him. But what more befell vpon him, I haue not certaynly to ſay.

Maiſter Farthyng Parſon of S. Margarets in Lothbury, accuſer of Iames.

The hyſtory of M. Iohn Bland,

Preacher and Martyr, conſtantly ſufferyng for the word of IESVS CHRIST.

July. 12.

THe xij. of Iuly Ioh. Bland, Iohn Frankeſh, Nich. Sheterden, and Humfrey Myddleton were all foure burned at Canterbury together, for one cauſe, of the which nũber Frankeſh and Blande were Miniſters, and Preachers of the word of God. The one beyng perſon of Adeſham: the other the Vicare of Roluynden. This M. Blande was a man ſo litle borne for his own cõmoditie, ỹ no part of his lyfe was ſeparated from the common and publicke vtility of all men. For his firſt doynges were there imployed to the bryngyng vp of children in learnyng and vertue. Vnder whom were trayned diuers towardly young men, which euen at this preſent do handſomly floriſh. In the number of whom is D. Sandes, a man of ſuch learnyng & worthines, as may wel beſeme a ſcholer meete for ſuch a Scholemaſter, whom I here gladly name, for his ſingular giftes of vertue and erudition.

M. Bland ſcholemaſter to *D. Sandes* Biſhop of Worceſter.

After this he cõmyng to the miniſtery in the Church of God, or rather beyng called thereto, was inflamed with incredible deſire to profite ỹ congregation, which may appeare by this: that where as he was caſt into Canterbury priſon for the preachyng of ỹ Goſpell, and deliuered once or twiſe from thence at the ſute of hys frendes: yet would he nedes preach the Goſpel again, as ſone as he was deliuered. Wherupon, he beyng the the thyrd time apprehended, when his frendes yet once agayne would haue found the meanes to haue deliuered hym, if he would haue promiſed to abſtayne from preachyng: he ſtode in it earneſtly, that he would admit no ſuch condicion, notably well expreſſing vnto vs the maner and example which we read in the Apoſtle Paul: *Who ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of* CHRIST? *tribulation, or anguiſh, or hunger, or nakednes, or daunger, or perſecution, or the ſword? &c.* But to expreſſe the whole lyfe and doynges of this godly Martyr, ſeyng we haue his owne teſtimony concernyng the ſame: it ſhalbe beſt to referre the Reader to his owne reporte; writyng to hys father of the whole diſcourſe of his troubles from the beginnyng almoſt to the latter end in order and maner as ye ſhall heare,

M. Bland offred by his frendes to be deliuered, refuſed.

A diſcourſe of the whole proces and doinges of Maiſter Bland written and reported by him ſelfe to his father in hys owne letter as foloweth

DEarely beloued father in Chriſt Ieſu, I thanke you for your gentle letters. And to ſatiſfy your mynd, as concerning the troubles whereof ye haue heard, theſe ſhall both declare vnto you all my vexations that haue chaunced me ſince ye were with me, and alſo ſince I receyued your laſt letters. God kepe you euer.

Your ſonne Iohn Blande.

Declaration of the troubles of *M. Bland* how and by whom he was apprehended and brought to his condemnation.

FIrſt, the thyrd day of September, being Sonday, after ſeruice ended, ere I had put of my ſurpliſe, Iohn Auſten came to the Table (cõmonly called the Lordes table) and layd both his handes vppon it, ſaying: who ſet this here agayne? Now they ſay they toke the Table downe, the Sonday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who ſet it vp agayne. The Clerke aũſwered, that he knew not. Then Auſten ſayd, he is a knaue that ſet it here. I was then goyng downe the Church, marueilyng what he ment, and ſayd: Goodmã Auſten, ỹ Queenes highnes hath ſet forth a proclamation, that ye may moue no ſeditiõ. And ere I could ſpeake any more, he ſayd: thou art a knaue. And I ſayd: well goodman Auſten, that I haue ſayd, I haue ſayd. By Gods ſoule quoth he, thou art a very knaue. Then my Clerke ſpake to him: but what, I am not ſure. But he ſayd, ye are both hereticke knaues, and haue deceiued vs with this faſhion to long, and if he ſay any ſeruice here agayne, I wil lay the table on his face: and in that rage he with other toke vp ỹ table, & laid it on a cheſt in the Chauncell, and ſet the treſtles by it. Wherfore I rode by and by to M. Iſaac, and ſhewed hym the cauſe, both how ſeditiouſly he had ſpoken, and performed it with a lyke deede. M. Iſaac directed a warrant to the Conſtable or Borsholder, which was incontinently ſerued, so that he was brought before him the ſame night, and was bound by Recogniſance, with ſureties, to appeare, if he were called. But we agreed ſo well then, that it was neuer called for, the table was brought downe, and I was permitted as before.

Iohn Auſten perſecutour.

Iohn Auſten offended with the communion table.

Note the vncharitable ſpirite of this Papiſt: and ſo commonly of them all.

M. Iſaac a good Iuſtice.

The communion table ſet vp agayne.

The xxvj. day of Nouember, beyng Sõday Richard Auſten, and his brother Thomas came to the foreſayd table after the Communion was done, and as I was goyng by, then Richard ſayd vnto me: Maſter Parſõ, we haue to ſpeake to you. And I ſaid, what is your wil?

Richar Auſtẽ Tho. Auſten perſecutors.

And he ſayd, you know that you toke downe the Tabernacle or ſælyng wherin the rode did hang, and ſuch other thynges: we would know what recompence you will make vs. For the Quænes procedynges are (as you know) that ſuch muſt vp agayne.

Quoth I, I know no ſuch procedynges as yet: and as for all that I dyd, I dyd it by commaundement.

No ſayd Thomas Auſten: ye will not know the Quænes procædynges.

Yes ſayd I, I refuſe not to know them.

Tho. Auſten & R. Auſten picke matter againſt M. Bland.

Thē ſayd Richard, ye are againſt the Quænes procedynges: for you ſayd that there are abominable vſes and deuiliſhnes in the Maſſe.

Goodman Auſten ſayd I, if I ſo ſayd, I will ſay it agayne, and God willyng, ſtand to the profe of it.

Maſters all, quoth Richard Auſten, beare record of theſe wordes, and went his way.

M. Bland charged for ſpeaking agaynſt the Maſſe.

Quoth Thomas Auſten, thou wilt as ſone eate this boke, as ſtand to thē. No quoth I, not ſo ſone. Tell vs quoth he, what that deuiliſhnes is, that is in the Maſſe.

I haue oftē preached it vnto you ſayd I, and ye haue not beleued it, nor borne it away, nor will now neither, though I ſhould tell you.

Thou, quoth he, haſt told vs alwayes lyke an heretike, as thou art. Now ye lye goodman Auſten, quoth I, by your leaue. Mary quoth he, thou lyeſt. And I ſaid, and you lye: for I haue taught you CHRIST and his truth.

Quoth he, thou art an hereticke, and haſt taught vs nothing but hereſy: for thou cāſt ſay nothing yͤ is true.

Yes goodman Auſten, I can ſay that God is in heauen, and ye wyll ſay (I trow) that it is true, & ſo haue I taught you truly.

Falſe accuſation.

Quoth he, thou haſt taught vs like an hereticke, and haſt ſayd that there is no Deuill in hell.

Wel ſayd I, lye on: me thinke ye can ſay litle truth. Many other tauntes hée gaue, to long to write. And at the laſt he ſayd, ye pulled downe the aultar: wyll ye build it againe? No (quoth I) except I be commaunded: for I was commaunded to do that I dyd.

Wel, if you will not (ſayd he) then will I. For I am churchwarden.

I charge you, ſayd I, that you do not, except you haue authority. I will, ſaid he, not let for your charge. For we wyll haue Maſſe here on Sonday, and a Preacher that ſhal proue thee an hereticke, if thou dare abide his commyng.

Tho. Auſten threatneth to bring in a Popiſh preacher agaynſt M. Bland.

Yes quoth I, God wylling, I wyll abide, and heare him: for ſure I am that hee cannot diſproue any doctrine that I haue preached.

Yes, quoth he, and that thou ſhalt heare, if thou run not away ere then.

No good man Auſten, I wyll not runne away.

Mary, quoth he, I cannot tell: thou art as lyke yea, as nay: wyth many other wordes, we came out of the church dore, and ſo departed.

When the Sonday came, I loked for our Preacher and at the tyme of mornyng prayer I ſayd to yͤ Clarke: Why do ye not ryng? ye forget that wee ſhall haue a ſermon to day. No, quoth he, Maſter Milles ſeruaunt hath bene here this mornyng, and ſayd his Maſter hath letters from my Lord Chaūcellour, that he muſt go to London, and can not come. That day I did preach to them a Sermon in hys ſtede. Now haue they ſclaūdered me that I had prepared a company from diuers places to haue troubled hym: but they agreed not in their lye. For ſome ſayd, I had them at Adeſham, and that Richard Auſten had knowledge, and ſent for the Kinges Conſtable to ſée the peace kept, which is found a lye. Other ſayd I had them lying in wayte for hym betwene Canterbury and Adeſham: other ſayd, I had thē in both places, that if the one miſt, the other ſhould not. God forgeue them all. Now vpon theſe two matters they cracke, that they ſent two bils of complaynt to the Counſell. Wherefore by the counſell of frendes, I made this teſtimony, and ſent it vp by M. Wiſeman.

Falſe ſlaunder agaynſt M. Bland.

¶ The behauiour of Iohn Bland parſon of Adeſham in the County of Kent, the Sonday, the .iij. day of December laſt paſt, conteining the wordes which he there ſpake vnto the people.

Where as vpon certayne communication had betwene the ſayd Perſon and Richard Auſten, and Tho. Auſten, in yͤ preſence of all yͤ pariſh of Adeſham, the Sonday before S. Andrewes day laſt, yͤ ſaid Auſten then declared, that the ſayd Parſon had taught ther in tymes paſt great hereſies, which to confounde they would prepare a Preacher agaynſt the next Sondaye following, if ſo be the ſayd Parſon woulde abide, and not runne away. Upon which rumor, diuers and ſundry perſons reſorted out of yͤ countrey vnto the ſaid pariſhe church, at the ſayd ſame day appointed, there to heare the Preacher: and at the time in which the Sermō ought to be made, no mā appeared there to preach. But it was reported vnto the Parſon, that the Preacher appointed, had vrgent buſines, & could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the ſame Parſon perceiuing that the peoples expectation was defrauded, ſayd: For as much as you are come willingly to heare ſome good aduertiſment of the Preacher, which now cannot be preſent, I thinke it not conuenient to permit you to depart wythout ſome exhortation for your edifying. And ſo further declaring that he had no licence to preach, ſayd that he would not medle with any matter in controuerſy. And then hee began the Epiſtle of the day, deſiring his audience to marke thrée or foure places in the ſame Epiſtle, which touched quietnes and loue one to an other: and there briefly reading the Epiſtle, he noted the ſame places, & ſo making an end therof, deſired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any maner of diſturbance or token of euyll.

Maſter Bland perſon of Adeſham cleareth himſelfe of the falſe ſlaunder.

Maſter Bland exhorting the people to loue and quietnes.

Witneſſes the vnder named, with diuers others.

Edmond Mores.	William Forſtall.
Richard Randall.	Thomas Gooding.
Iohn Hils.	

¶ An other matter of trouble wrought againſt Iohn Bland, as appeareth by thys hys own narration.

Vpon the Innocentes day, being the xxviij. day of December: they had procured the Prieſt of Stodmarſh to ſaye them Maſſe: hee had nye made an end of Mattins ere I came: and when he had made an end of Mattens, he ſayd to me: Maſter Parſon, your neighbours haue deſyred me to ſay Mattens, and Maſſe: I truſt ye will not be agaynſt the Quænes procædinges: no, quoth I, I will offend none of the Quenes maieſties lawes, God willing. What ſay ye, quoth he, and made as he had not heard? and I ſpake yͤ ſame wordes to hym agayne, with an hyer voyce: but hee would not heare, when all in the Chaūcell heard: So I cryed the thyrd tyme (that all in the church heard) that I would not offend the Quænes lawes: and then hee went to Maſſe: and when he was reading the Epiſtle, I called the clerke vnto me, with the becking of my finger, and ſayd vnto hym: I pray you deſyre the prieſt, when Goſpell is done to tary a little: I haue ſomething to ſay to the people: and the clarke did ſo.

The third matter agaynſt M. Bland.

A Popiſh maſſeprieſt of Stodmarſh brought to ſay maſſe at Adeſham.

And the prieſt came downe into the ſtall, where hee ſat: and I ſtode vp in the Chauncell dore, & ſpake to the people of the great goodnes of god, allwaies ſhewed vnto his people, vnto the tyme of Chriſtes comming: and in him, and his comming, what benefite they paſt, we preſent, and our ſucceſſours haue: and among other benefites, I ſpake of the great and comfortable ſacrament of his body and bloud. And after I had declared briefly the inſtitution, the promiſe of lyfe to the good and damnation to the wicked, I ſpake of the bread, and wine, affirming thē to be bread & wyne after the conſecration, as yonder Maſſe boke doth, ſaying: Panem ſanctum

Maiſter Bland agayne exhorteth the people in his pariſh church.

Bland ſpeaketh of the right inſtitution of the Sacra of the lo ſupper.

ſanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicẽ ſalutis perpetuæ &c. Holy bread of eternall lyfe, and the cup of perpetuall ſaluation. So that like as our bodily mouthes eat the ſacramentall bread and wyne, ſo doth the mouth of our ſoules (which is our fayth) eate Chriſtes fleſh and bloud. And when I had made an ende of that, I ſpake of the miſuſe of the ſacrament in the Maſſe: ſo that I iudged it in that vſe no ſacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bad vs all eate and drinke: and one onely in the Maſſe eateth & drinketh, & the reſt kneele, knocke, and worſhip: and after theſe thinges ended, as briefly as I could, I ſpake of the benefactours of the Maſſe, and began to declare what men made the Maſſe, & recyted euery mans name, and the patch that hee put to the Maſſe: and ere I had rehearſed them all, the church Warden, and the Boſholder his ſonne in lawe violently came vpon me, and tooke my booke from me, and pulled me down, and thruſt me into the chauncel, with an exceeding rore and cry. Some cryed, thou hereticke: ſome, thou traytour: ſome, thou Rebel: and when euery man had ſayd his pleaſure, and the rage was ſomething paſt: be quiet, good neighbours, ſayd I, and let me ſpeake to you quietly. If I haue offended any law, I will make aunſwere before them that are in authority to correct me. But they would not heare me, and pulled, one on this ſyde, and an other on that, and began agayne.

He ſpeaketh of the abuſe of the Sacrament in the Maſſe.

He declareth how the Maſſe was patched and peeced together, and by what Popes.

Maſter Bland violently plucked downe in his ſermon by the church warden.

Then Richard Auſten ſayd: peace Maſters, no more till Maſſe be done: and they ceaſed. Then ſayd I to the Churchwarden and the Boſholder, either holding mee by the arme: Maſters, let mee go into the churchyard tyll your Maſſe be done. No, quoth the churchwarden, thou ſhalt tary here tyl Maſſe be done. I wyll not, quoth I, but againſt my wil. And they ſaid: thou ſhalt tary, for if thou go out, thou wylt run away. Then ſayd I to the Boſholder: lay me in the ſtockes, and then ye ſhall be ſure of me, and turned my backe to the aultar. By that time Richard Auſtine had deuiſed what to do with me, and called to the Boſholder & the churchwarden, and bad them put me into a ſyde chappell, and ſhut the dore to me, & there they made me tary till Maſſe was ended. When the Maſſe was ended, they came into the chappell to me, & ſearched what I had about me, and found a dagger, and tooke it from me. Then ſayd Thomas Auſten churchwarden, after many brablings that they made wyth mee: Thou keepeſt a wyfe here amongeſt vs agaynſt Gods law and the Queenes. Ye lye good man Auſten ſayd I: it is not againſt Gods law, nor, as I ſuppoſe, againſt the Queenes.

Maſter Bland ſhut in a ſide Chappell till the Maſſe was done.

Maſter Blandes dagger taken from him.

Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the dore they rayled on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the Prieſt cam out of the church, & Ramſy that of late was Clarcke ſayd vnto him: Syr where dwell you? And therewith Thomas Auſten tooke him by the arme and ſayd: come on ſyrha, you are of hys opinion, and tooke his dagger from him, and ſayd hee ſhould go with him. I am content ſayd he, and a lyttle mocked them in their enuious talke. By thys tyme there came in at the Church ſtyle one Iohn Gray of Wingham, ſeruant to Iohn Smith, and ſeyng them hold Ramſy by the armes, ſaid to him: how now Ramſy, haue you offended the Queenes lawes? No, quoth he. Then there is no tranſgreſſion. Therewith Thomas Auſten tooke him, and ſayd: ye are one of their opinion, ye ſhal go with them for company, and tooke his dagger from him, and then demaunded what hee dyd there. But after (I thinke) for very ſhame they let him go againe. But they caryed me & Ramſy to Canterbury, with xvii. perſons weaponed. A ſheete of paper wyll not hold the talke that we had that night with Maſter Hardes Iuſtice, Maſter Oxenden, Maſter Spilman, and maſter Tutſam.

Ramſy Clarke of Adeſham.

Ramſy apprehended by Thomas Auſten.

Ioh. Gray of Wingham rebuked by a word ſpeaking.

M. Bland & Ramſy caryed to Canterbury.

The next day they made a byll againſt mee, but it ſerued not their purpoſe: which was, that they would haue had me to priſõ. But Iames Chapmã & Bartholmew Ioyes were bound in .xx. poundes either of them for myne appearaunce at the next generall Seſſions, or in the meane time to appeare, if I were ſent for, before the Queenes maieſties Coũſell, or any other commiſſioners ſent by the Queenes authority. And Ramſy was bound to the peace, and to be of good behauiour til the next Seſſions. His ſureties were Thomas Hogeking, and Simon Barrat.

Iames Chapman and Bartlemew Ioyes, Suerties for M. Bland.

Hogeking & Simon Barrat Suerties for Ramſy.

Now the .xvii. or .xviii. of February, Syr Thomas Finch knight, and Maſter Hardes ſent for me, and my ſureties to maſter Finches place, and tooke me from my ſureties, and ſent me to the Caſtell of Canterbury, by Syr Thomas Moyles commaundement (they ſaid) where I lay ten weekes, and then was bayled, & bound to appeare at the next Seſſions holden at Canterbury: but after they chaũged it to be at Aſhford on the thurſday in Whitſon weeke, being the .xix. of May: but in yͤ meane tyme the matter was exhibited to the ſpirituall court.

M. Bland taken from his Suerties.

Sir T. Moyles commaundeth M. Bland to Caunterbury caſtle.

The firſt examination of M. Iohn Bland in the ſpirituall Gourt, before D. Harpſfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and M. Collins Commiſſary.

THe .xviii. day of May Maſter Harpſfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury made the Maiors Sergeant to bring me before him and M. Collins Commiſſary, into Chriſtes church, and they went with me into a chamber in the Suffragan of Douers houſe. Then the Archdeacon said: art thou a Prieſt? And I ſayd I I was one. And he ſayd: art thou any graduate of any Vniuerſity? And I ſaid, yea. What degree (said he) haſt thou takẽ? The degree, quoth I, of a maſter of arte. The more pity, quoth he, that thou ſhouldeſt behaue thy ſelf, as thou haſt done. Thou haſt bene a common preacher licenced: haſt thou not? And I ſayd, I haue ben ſo. Mary, quoth he, ſo I vnderſtand.

M. Bland brought before D. Harpſfield and Maſter Collins.

M. Bland Maſter of Art of Cambridge.

What haſt thou preached?

And I ſaid, Gods word, to the edifying (I truſt) of his people.

No no, quod he, to the deſtroying of theyr ſoules and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what haſt thou preached? tell me.

I told you, quod I, what I haue preached.

Nay, but tell me, quoth hee, what one matter haſt yͧ preached, to the edifying of the people, as thou ſayeſt? I will tell you no particular matter: for I perceaue you would haue ſome matter againſt me.

No by my faith, quoth he, but only that I would win thee from hereſies that thou art bewrapt in, and haſt infected other withall. For thou haſt preached as I am informed, that the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is not the very body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt after the conſecration. Tel me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?

Note how theſe Papiſtes ſeeke for matter, to ſucke the bloud of poore men.

Sir, quoth I, I perceaue (as I ſayd) that ye ſeeke matter againſt me. But ſeing that I am bound in the Seſſions to my good behauiour, for preaching, which may be broken with wordes, and wel I know not with what wordes: and alſo both mine authority to preach, and my liuing are taken from me, I thinke I am not bound to make you an anſwere.

Collins. Maſter Bland, doe you not remember, that S. Peter biddeth you make anſwere to euery man that aſketh you a reaſon of the faith that is in you?

Bland. I know that, and am content ſo to anſwere as that text biddeth: but I know, that Maſter Archdeacon doth not aſke me, after that maner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they ſayd, no: ye ſhall not be troubled for any thing that ye ſay heere.

A man not bound to anſwere ſuch as aſke of purpoſe to bring him into trouble.

Bland. I am content for knowledge ſake to common with you in any matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fel in reaſoning, more then yͤ ſpace of an houre, of the Sacrament, both againſt me. At the laſt, M. Collins ſayd: M. Bland, will ye come, and take in hand to

M. Bland vpon promiſe talketh with them of the Sacrament.

anſwere ſuch matter on Monday next, as ſhall be ſayd to you?

Marke what fidelitie is in the promiſe of theſe men.

Bland. Syr, ye ſaid I ſhold not be troubled for any thing that ſhould be ſayd here for learnings ſake: and they ſayd, ye ſhall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland. Syr, I am bound to appeare as ſome tell me, on thurſday next, at Aſhford. I am in doubt whether I am or no: yet I haue purpoſed to be there, and ſo to go to London to M.Wiſeman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I ſhould receaue certaine mony to pay my dettes withall. Then ſayd maſter Archdeacon: I will write to M.Wiſeman that ye ſhall ſuſtayne no loſſe.

Bland. That ſhall not neede: for I can ſuſtayne no great loſſe, if I go not. But I pray you to let me haue a longer day. No, quoth he.

Bland. Syr, I cannot well come on monday.

M.Bland warned to appeare agayne before them.

Harpeſ. Wilt thou not come, when he ſo gentelly ſpeaketh to thee, where he may commaund thee?

Bland. I doe not deny to come: but I deſyre a longer day.

Harpſ. * Thou ſhall haue no other day: I charge thee to come on monday.

*Note here the extreme dealing of theſe pretenced catholickes.

Bland. Sir, I perceaue it ſhall be for this, or lyke matters. Will it pleaſe you, or M.Collins, for Gods ſake, to conferre ſcriptures priuately with me in thys matter, ſeeing ye ſay ye would ſo gladly win me?

Harpeſ. With all my hart will I take the paines, and I will alſo borow my Lord of Douers lybrary, to haue what bokes thou wilt, and thus they departed.

Now, the .xvij. of May at Aſhford I could not be releſed, although I was called to the ſpirituall court for the ſame matter, but was bound to appeare at the Seſſions holden at Crambroke, the third day of Iuly.

¶An other appearance of M.Bland, before the Archdeacon, and his fellowes.

The ſecond appearance of M.Bland.

M.Harpſfield the Archdeacons wordes in the chapter houſe to M. Bland.

THe .xxj. day of May I appeared in the chapter houſe, where was a great multitude of people, vnloked for of me: and maſter Archdeacon ſaid thus to me: ye are come here, according as ye were appointed: and the cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the Queenes highnes, here to place me, to ſee Gods holy word ſet forth, and to reforme thoſe that are here fallen into great & haynous errours, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the decay of CHRISTES ſacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholicke church, whereof thou art notably knowen to be one, that is ſore poyſoned with the ſame, and haſt infected & deceiued many with thy euill preaching: which if thou wilt renounce, & come home againe to the Catholicke church, both I and many other moe would be very glad: and I for my part ſhal be right glad to ſhew you the fauour that lyeth in me, as I ſayd vnto you when you were appoynted hither, becauſe ye then refuſed to ſatiſfy againe the people that ye had deceiued. And where as it is fained by you, that I ſhould openly diſpute the matter with you this day, although I did neither ſo intend, nor appoint, yet I am content to diſpute the matter with thee, if thou wylt not without diſputation helpe to heale the ſoules, that are brought to helward by thee. What ſayeſt thou?

Falſe ſurmiſe pretended agaynſt M. Bland.

The anſwer of M.Bland to Maſter Harpſfieldes ſlopes.

M.Bland cleareth himſelfe of the falſe report of M. Harpſfield.

Bland. I doe proteſt before God and you all, that neither is my conſcience gilty of any errour or hereſy, neither that I euer taught any errour, or hereſy willingly. And where your maſterſhip ſayth, that I haue fained an open diſputatiō with you, it is not true, as I can thus approue: Vpon Saterday I was at Vgdens, and there M.Bingham laid it to my charge, that ſuch an open diſputation as ye haue here offered, ſhould be this day betwene you and me: where at I much maruelled, and ſayd to him, that before that preſent I neuer heard any ſuch word, neither would I anſwere nor diſpute: and to this can M. Vaghan, M. Oxenden, M. Seth of Ouerland, and M.Vgden witneſſe: and further I ſaid to them, that I neuer ſpake to you of any diſputation, nor you to me. Now if your maſterſhip haue any thing to ſay to me by the law, I wil make anſwere to it.

Harpeſ. Heare ye what he ſayth? his conſcience is cleare. I pray thee whereon groundeſt thou thy conſcience? let me heare what thy fayth is.

Se how this Archdeacon haunteth by matter to bring this poore man in the bryers.

Bland. I know not why ye ſhould more aſke me a reaſon of my fayth, then any other man in this open audience.

Harpeſ. Why, thou hereticke, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? if it were a chriſten beliefe, thou needeſt not to be aſhamed of it.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my fayth. For I beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen & earth, and in IESVS CHRIST his only ſonne our Lord. &c. with all the other articles of the Creede: and I doe beleue all the holy ſcriptures of God to be moſt certaine and true.

To beleue the .12. articles of our chriſtian fayth neuer ſo well, it will not ſuffice the Papiſtes.

Harpſ. Wilt thou declare no more then this?

Bland. No.

Harpſ. Well, I will tell thee wheron I groūd my faith. I do beleue & ground my faith, & conſcience vpon all the articles of the Crede, and vpon all the holy ſcriptures, ſacraments, and holy Doctors of the church, and vpon all the generall Coūcels that euer were ſince the Apoſtles time. Lo hereupon ground I my faith: wyth many wordes moe, which I well remember not. And when he could get no other anſwere of me, then I had ſayd before, he called for a Scribe to make an acte againſt me. And after much communication, I ſayd: by what law and authority will you procede againſt me? M.Collins ſayd: by the canon law.

The Papiſh fayth of Doctor Harpſfield.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in ſtrength or no. Yet I pray you let me haue a counſeller in the lawe, and I will make anſwere according to the law.

Maſter Bland requireth to haue his counſeller.

Harpſ. Why, thou hereticke? thou wilt not cōfeſſe thy faith to me, that haue authority to demaunde it of thee, and yet I haue confeſſed my faith to thee before al this audience. As concerning the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, thou haſt taught, that after the conſecration, it is bread and wine, and not the body and bloud of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST. How ſayſt thou? haſt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Syr, as concerning this matter of the ſacrament, when I was with you and M. Collins, ye ſayd then it was for other matters that I ſhould come hether for: and further, that ye would be content, at my deſire, to conferre ſcriptures with me, to ſee if ye could winne me: and ye ſayd, ye wold borow my Lord of Douers library, that I ſhould haue what boke I would: & now ye require me thus to anſwere, cōtrary to your promiſe, ere any conference be had, and ſeeke rather to bring me into trouble, then to winne me.

The Papiſtes are falſe of promiſe.

Harpſ. I will, as God ſhall helpe me, do the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable: and I truſt to diſſolue all thy doubts, if thou be willyng to heare. And I alſo will deſire theſe two worſhypfull men, my Lord of Douer, and M.Collins to heare vs.

Bland. No, ye ſhall pardon me of that: there ſhalbe no ſuch witnes. But when we agree, ſet to our hands. Hereat made the people a noyſe againſt me, for refuſing the witnes: and here had we many moe wordes, then I can reherſe. But at the laſt I ſayd: Syr, will ye geue me leue to aſke you one queſtion? and he ſayd, yea with all my hart. For in that thou aſkeſt any thing, there is ſome hope that thou mayeſt be wonne.

Maſter Blandes queſtion to Doctor Harpſfield.

Bland. Syr, when it pleaſed almighty God to ſend his Aungell vnto the virgin Mary to ſalute her, & ſaid: Haile full of grace. &c. came any ſubſtance from God our Father into the Virgins wombe, to become man? whereat, as well maſter Archdeacon, as my Lord of Douer, and M.Collins ſtaid. But my Lord ſpake the firſt, and ſaid: the holy ghoſt came to her: and ere he had brought out his ſentence, M.Siriac Peters ſayd: Virtus altiſſimi obumbrauit. Truth, ſayd M.Archdecon: it was the power of God, ſent by the holy ghoſt. They had forgotten, that genitus fuit ex ſubſtantia patris: Or els they perceyued whereunto this queſtion tended: and ſo both I and they left it: by what wordes I cannot tell, but I ſayd: Syr, ſhall I aſke one other? and he ſaid yea. Is there in the ſacrament, after the conſecration, Chriſtes naturall body, with all the qualities of a naturall body, or no?

In other queſtions of Maſter Bland to Doctor Harpſfield.

The Anſwere of Doctor Harpſfield to the queſtion.

Harpſ. Harke ſayd M. Archdeacon: heare ye this heretícke? Hee thinkes it an abſurdity to graunt all the quantities of Chriſtes naturall body to bee in the ſacrament. But it is no abſurdity. For euen that naturall body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, is glorified, and that ſame body is in the ſacrament after the conſecration. But perceyue ye not the arrogancy of this heretícke, that will put me to aunſwere him, and he wil not aunſwere me? he thought to put me to a pinch with his queſtion: for I tell you it is a learned queſtion.

Bland. Sir if ye be ſo much diſcontented with me, I will ſay no more: yet I would all men heard, that ye ſay the glorified body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament, after the conſecration.

How can the glorified body be in the Sacrament, when the Sacramẽt was geuen before the body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified?

Harpſ. I may call thee groſſe ignorant. Thou groſſe ignorant, is not that ſame body glorified, that was born of the Virgin Mary? is it then any abſurdity, to graunt that to be in the Sacrament? And whiles he ſpake many other wordes, I ſayd to M. Petit, that the Sacrament was inſtituted, deliuered, and receiued of his Apoſtles, before Chriſtes body was crucified: and it was crucified before it was glorified: which ſaying, M. Petit partly recyted to Maſter Archdeacon.

The body vnglorified was geuen in the Sacrament, in a glorified acte, quoth Harpſfield.

Harpſ. Thou art without all learning. Was not Chriſtes body geuen to his Apoſtles, as in a glorifyed acte? and yet no inconuenience, although his naturall body was not crucified: for when hee was borne of the Virgin Mary without payne, was not that the act of a glorified body? And when hee walked on the water, & whẽ he came into the houſe to his Apoſtels, the doores being ſhut faſt, were not theſe actes of a glorified body.

Douer. Then my Lord of Douer helped him to a better place, and ſaid: when Chriſt was in Mount Thabor, he was there gloryfied in hys Apoſtles ſight.

Harpſ. Ye ſay truth my Lord, he was glorified in the ſight of .iij. of his Apoſtles.

Bland. This me thinke is new doctrine.

D. Harpſfield reuiueth the bill of complaynt agaynſt Maiſter Bland.

Harpſ. Well, ſeing he wil by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and proue theſe matters agaynſt hym. And therewith the Archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bil of complaint that was put againſt me at Chriſtmas: and about that we talked a litle. And then Maiſter Archdeacon roſe vp, and ſayd: ſee ye good people, that know this matter, that ye come in, and proue it agaynſt him. Whereunto aunſwered Thomas Auſten: I pray you (ſayd he) let vs bee no more troubled with him. And thẽ ſpake Iohn Auſten, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuſe me: but no anſwere they could haue of me, but do to me what ye cã by ẏ law and I will aunſwere it. Then ſayd Thomas Auſten: Bland, ye were once abiured.

T. Auſten chargeth M. Bland with an other vntruth.

Bland. Ye ſay not truely, good man Auſten, I was neuer abiured. Either, ſayd he, ye were abiured, or els ye had the Kinges pardon. Neyther of both: ye ſpeake this of malice: with many other brabling wordes moe. Then Maſter Archdeacon departed, and left M. Collins, to commaund me to appeare the next day. Howbeit for certayne other vrgent buſines that I had, I did not appeare, but wrote a letter to maſter Commiſſary, deſyring him to reſpite the matter till my comming home agayne: and if hee would not, I woulde bee content to ſubmit my ſelfe to the law when I came home.

M. Bland being warned the next day could not by buſines appeare.

Nowe about the .xxviij. daye of Iune I came to M. Commiſſary, to ſhew him of my returne, and offered my ſelfe to ſatiſfie the lawe, if it were proceeded againſt me, before M. Cockes of Sturray, and Markes the apparitor: but Maſter Commiſſary ſayd gently, he had done nothing agaynſt me. And ſo appoynted me to appeare before him the fryday ſeuennight after. Now in the meane tyme was the Seſſions holden at Crambroke where I was bound to appeare: and carying ſurety with me, to be bound agayne (for I looked for none other) did appeare the third day of Iuly.

M. Bland appearing at Seſſions in Crambroke.

Syr Iohn Bakers talke with M. Bland.

And Syr Ioh. Baker ſayd: Bland, ye are as we heare ſay, a Scotte: where were yee borne and brought vp? And I ſaid: I was borne in Englãd. And he ſaid, where? And I ſayd in Sedber, and brought vp by one Doctor Lupton Prouoſt of Eaton Colledge. Well ſayd he, I know him well. Remayne in your bond till afternone.

M Bland brought vp by D. Lupton Prouoſt of Eaton Colledge.

Syr Thomas Moyles wordes.

Thẽ ſaid Syr Tho. Moyle, ah Bland, thou art a ſtiffe harted fellow. Thou wilt not obey the lawe, nor aunſwere when thou art called. No will, quoth Syr Iohn Baker? Maſter Shriffe, take him to your Ward: and ẏ Baylife ſet me in the ſtockes, with other, and would not heare me ſpeake one worde: and ſo wee remained in the gaile of Maidſtone, til a fourtnight before Michaelmas, or thereabout: and then we were caryed to Rocheſter to aſſyſe holden there, where we were among the priſoners .ij. dayes: and when we were called, and the Iudges of aſſyſe aſked our cauſes, when my cauſe was rehearſed, M. Barrow, clarke of the peace ſayd that I was an excommunicate parſon.

M. Bland layd in Maydſtone Gaile.

M. Bland caried to the Aſſiſe at Rocheſter.

Then M. Roper of Linſted talked with the Iudges, but what, I am not able to ſay. But the Iudge of aſſyſe ſayd: take them to Maydſtone agayne, and bring them to ẏ Seſſion that ſhal be holden next at ẏ towne of Maldin: howbeit, the Sheriffe did not ſend for vs, ſo that wee taryed at Maydeſtone till the Seſſions holden at Grenewich the .xviij. and xix. of February. I and other being within the barre amongeſt the felons, and yrons vpon our armes, were called out the latter day by the Gailer and Balifes, and eaſed of our yrons, and caried by them into the towne, to ſyr Iohn Baker, M. Petit, M. Webbe, and other two whom I knew not.

M. Bland caried agayne to Maydſtone caſtle.

M. Bland appeareth at Seſſions in Grenewych.

❡An other examination of M. Bland before Syr Iohn Baker.

Baker. Bland, wherefore were ye caſt into priſon?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your Maſterſhip caſt mee in.

Baker. Yea, but wherfore were ye in, before ẏ time?

Bland. For an vniuſt complaynt put vpon me.

Baker What was the complaynt?

Bland. I told him, as truely and briefly as I could.

Baker. Let me ſee thy booke: and I tooke him a Latin Teſtament.

Baker. Will ye go to the church, and obey, and folow the Queenes proceedinges, and do as an honeſt man ſhould do?

Bland. I truſt to God to do no otherwyſe but as an honeſt man ſhould do.

Baker. Will ye do as I ſayd?

Bland. Will it pleaſe your maiſterſhip to giue mee leaue to aſke you a queſtion?

Baker. Yea.

A queſtion propounded to Sir Ioh. Baker.

Bland. Syr, may a man do any thing, that his conſcience is not ſatiſfied in to be good?

Baker. A way, away and threw down the booke, and ſayd: it is no teſtament, and I ſayd yes. And M. Web tooke it vp, and ſayd vnto me maruaylous gently: M. Bland, I knew you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reforme your ſelfe: with better wordes then I wil write. And I ſaid: if ye haue knowen me of an other opinion, then I am of now, it was for lacke of knowledge.

Haſty iudgement of a Iuſtice.

Baker. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? by Saint Mary, and thou hold thee there, I wil geue .vj. fagots to burne thee withall, M.Bland and his felowes ſent to the Ordinary by Syr I.Baker.

all, or thou ſhouldeſt be vnburned. Hence knaue hẽce. And ſo were we repriued into our place againe, wythin the barre. And at night when iudgement of fellons, and all was done, we were called, and the Iudge ſayd to the Gaoler: take them with you, and deliuer them to the Ordinary, and if they wyll not be reformed, let them be delyuered to vs againe, & they ſhal haue iudgement and execution. And one of our company ſaid: my Lord, if we be killed at your handes for Chriſtes ſake, we ſhall lyue with him for euer.

¶ An other appearance of Maiſter Bland in the ſpirituall Court.

M.Bland brought agayn to the caſtle of Caunterbury.

The Biſhop of Douer. M. Collins. M.Milles.

Then came we to the Caſtel of Canterburye, and there we remained till the ſecond day of March, at which day we were brought vnto the Chapterhouſe of Crechurch, where were ſet the Suffragan of Canterbury, M. Collins, M. Mylles, with other: and then went to them M. Oxenden, M. Petit, and M. Webbe, M. Hardes Iuſtices. And when I was called, M. Webbe ſayd: here wee preſent thys man vnto you, as one vehemently ſuſpect of hereſy.

Bland. And I ſaid: M. Webbe, ye haue no cauſe to ſuſpect mee of hereſye. I haue bene a priſoner thys whole yeare, and no matter proued againſt me. I pray you wherefore haue I bene ſo long kept in priſon?

Web. Leaue your arrogant aſkyng of queſtions, and aunſwer to that that is layd to your charge.

The Anſwers of Maſter Bland firſt to the Iuſtices.

Bland. I doe ſo: for I ſay you haue no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy.

Web. Yes: ye denied to Syr Iohn Baker to be conformable to the Quéenes procéedings.

Bland. Is it a iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſye, for aſking a queſtion with leaue? So wee had mo wordes there, then I well remember.

Then ſtood vp maiſter Petit and ſaid: ye were caſt into priſon, becauſe ye fled away from your Ordinary.

Bland. Then haue I had wrong. For I neuer fled, nor diſobeyed myne Ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now ſay if I did: but they ſayd nothing. And when I ſaw they held their peace, I ſayd: Maiſter Commiſſary, haue you bene the cauſe of this mine impriſonment? No quoth he: ye knowe that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appeare the Friday after the Seſſions. Here I was ſuffered to ſpeake no more, but ſhut vp in a corner, till my cõpanions were likewiſe preſẽted, & then we were ſent to Weſtgate into pryſon, & were put in ſeuerall cloſe holdes, that neuer one of vs coulde ſpeake to an other, nor no mã was permitted to come to vs. We were 4. tymes at this appearaunce. But one they diſpatched, by what meanes I cannot tell: whoſe name was Cornewall a Tanner.

Cornewall a Tanner diſpatched in ſecret priſon.

And thus hetherto paſſed the talke betwene Bland and the Iuſtices, and certaine Gentlemen of the ſhire. Nowe followeth the order of the reaſoning betwene him and the Clergymen, before whom he was examined. But for as much as the chiefeſt doer and Iudge againſt him was the biſhop of Douer or Suffragan of Canterbury called Doctor Richard Thornton, to the entent it may appeare what litle truth or cõſtancy is in theſe catholicke perſecuters, I thought here to exhibite by the way a certaine popiſh letter, written of a Papiſt vnto him. Wherein is declared what a Goſpeller the ſaid Rich. Thornton was in King Edwardes tyme, which now turning with ẏ world ſheweth him ſelf ſuch a bytter Perſecuter againſt Gods ſeruants in Quéene Maries time. The copy of this letter here followeth.

¶ A copy of a popiſh letter written to the biſhop of Douer by one Thomas Goldwel a Prieſt, declaring what a profeſſor he was in K. Edwards time.

He menneth of the arriuall of Cardinall *Poole* into Englãd: which was the 24. day of Nouem. 1554. pag. 1547.

Thornton Biſhop of Douer, a great doer agaynſt the Pope and Sacrament of the altar, in Kyng *Edwardes* time.

Right reuerend and my good Lord, after my hartye thankes for your good chere at my laſt being wyth your Lordſhip, this ſhall be to certify you, that as ſoone as I arriued with my Lordes Grace, I gaue hym your letters, but I had much worke to obtaine any thing of hym for you. For there hath bene geuen very euil informations of you, and it hath bene ſayd that you haue concurred with all maner of euill procedings the which haue theſe yeares paſt bene in England, as well againſt the holy Sacrament of the aultar, & agaynſt the ſupreme authoritie of Chriſtes Vicar in earth, as wyth the vſe of the abominable late Communion, and with the mariage of Prieſtes, as well religious as ſecular: and that you haue geuẽ orders to (I cãnot tell how many) baſe, vnlearned, and euill diſpoſed people, by reaſon of the which they haue taken vpon them to preach, and to doe much hurt in Kent. So that men thinke that yet if any newe mutacion (the which God forbid) ſhoulde chaunce, you woulde bee as ready to chaunge as any other. And in deede it maketh me to feare the ſame, by reaſon that notwithſtanding it pleaſed almighty God to prouide that your abſolution was ſent vnto you (not looking I dare ſay for any ſuch thing) of all maner of matters paſt, yet your Lordſhip (more regarding the vanity of the world then the office of God, the which he onely knoweth how much it greues me, for the due loue I beare vnto you) preſumed to ſing Maſſe in *Pontificalibus* the holy dayes immediately followyng, & alſo to miniſtrate to Children the ſacrament of Confirmation, becauſe that one (beyng a member of the Deuill) did ſomwhat comfort you ſo to do. Oh my Lord, what honour ſhould it haue bene both to God and your ſelfe, and alſo edification to all good people (though all worldly men and hereticks would therefore haue laughed you to ſcorne) if you conſidering your great offences toward God, & his goodnes againe toward you, would like as you haue offended in the face of the worlde to the damnation of many, likewyſe haue ſhewed your ſelfe penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, and not onely to haue celebrate for vanitie Pontificaliter, but alſo for a time to haue abſtained for reuerence totaliter from the aultar, accordyng to the old cuſtome of the church. The which I haue alſo ſeene obſerued of ſome honeſt men, not being therto inioyned of any man. But that which is paſt cannot be called againe. And I thought it not my part to leaue your lordſhip myne old friend and Maiſter in the myre. wherfore I ceaſed not to ſolicite your cauſe with my Lords grace, till at the laſt I obtained of his Grace for your Lordſhip all the faculties, of the which I ſend you a copy here incloſed, partly for your owne conſolation, and partly for other, deſiring your Lordſhip ſo to vſe them to the honor of God, that there come to me therof no rebuke: not publiſhing thẽ to any perſon, but to ſuch that you know will gladly receiue them. For hetherto there is neuer a Biſhop in England, who hath graũted him ſo great authority concerning thoſe the which bee vnder his cure. Onely Maſter Archdeacon hath the lyke, and in one thing more greater then be theſe your Lordſhips. wherfore you Lordſhip ſhall doe well to remit vnto hym all ſuch Prieſtes as haue cure of ſoule, whether they bee beneficed men, or pariſh Prieſts. For he hath not only authority to abſolue them as you haue, but alſo to geue thẽ authority to abſolue ſuch as be vnderneath their cures. And thus I commit your Lordſhip to the protection of almighty God. Written at Bruſſell the. xvj. of Iune. 1554.

The B. of Douer immediatly after his abſolution without penance, ſaid Maſſe *in Pontificalibus.*

Power to geue abſolution graunted to the B. of Douer from the Cardinall.

By your Lordſhips beadman
Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the Byſhop of Douer, by way of digreſſion. Now to returne agayne to the examinations of M. Bland, let vs heare hys owne reporte of hys aunſweres, as followeth.

¶ *Here followeth mine aunſwer, as nye as I can call to remẽbraunce, euery word and ſentence: yet if any that was preſent can helpe to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I ſay, that there is neuer one ſentence, but it was openly ſpoken, the ix. of March, in the Chapter houſe of Crechurch, in the preſence of as many as they had choſen, the Maior of the Citie being called to bee aſſiſtance and all other ſhut out.*

¶ The aunſwer of M. Bland in his appearaunce before the Commiſſary and other in the ſpirituall Court.

The aunſwers of Maſter *Bland* to the clergy men.

Maſter Collins ſaid: Maſter Bland, ye knowe that ye are preſented vnto vs, as one ſuſpected of hereſy. How ſay ye, be ye contented to reforme your ſelfe to the lawes of the realme, & of the holy church?

Maiſter Bland vniuſtly ſuſpected of hereſie, and moſt vniuſtly puniſhed.

Bland. I deny that I am ſuſpected iuſtly of hereſye: and that ye heard when I was preſented, that I denied the ſuſpition to be iuſt, but to defend the vniuſt puniſhment that I haue ſuffered: neither can ye approue that any occaſion hath bene geuen by me, wherby any man ſhould ſuſpect me therein. But if you haue any law or authority to procéede againſt me for any thing done for an whole yeare ago and more, I wyl aunſwer to it.

Col. Ye were conuented before Maiſter Archdeacon and me, and matter of hereſy layd to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and ſayd an whole yeare ago, and for that I haue ben in priſon this yeare and more. If ye haue any thing againſt me by any law, I deſire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will aunſwere accordyng to the law.

Then ſayd my Lord Suffragane: but that I am one of the Iudges, I would riſe, and ſtand by thée, and accuſe thée to be a Sacramentary, and bryng witnes to proue it: yea & further, that thou haſt called the Maſſe an abominable Idole.

The B. of Douer, once abhorred the Maſſe.

Bland. You (my Lord) neuer heard me ſay ſo: But I heard you once ſay, that in your conſcience ye had abhorred the Maſſe thrée yeares. Thou lyeſt (quoth he) I neuer ſayd ſo.

Collins the Commiſſary profeſſed before the true doctrine of free Iuſtification by Chriſt.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I cã bryng witnes to approue it, with the day, tyme, and place: & I once did heare M.Collins at a viſitatiõ in Wingam ſay, that CHRIST was a full ſatiſfaction for all ſinne preſent, paſt, & to come, contrary to that he ſayth now.

And here we had more wordes of this matter, which I let paſſe for lacke of good remembraunce.

Maſter Collins ſayd: this is but a driſt. You were better aũſwere now: for els you ſhall to priſon agayn, and be called on Monday, & haue Articles layd to you, and if ye then aunſwere not directly, ye ſhalbe condemned pro confeſſo, and that will be worſe for you.

Bland. Syr, I do not now, nor will not then deny to aunſwere to any thyng that ye can lay to my charge by the law: wherfore I truſt ye will let me haue the benefite of the law.

Collins. This is the law, that if ye be required of your Ordinary, reddere rationem fidei, ye may not deny it: And that we do now.

Maiſter Bland confeſſeth all the Articles of his Creede.

Bland. To that then I will aunſwere. For I beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauẽ and earth, & in IESVS CHRIST, his onely ſonne our Lord, with all the other Articles of the ſame Créede: And I beleue all the Articles conteined, both in the Créede called the Maſſe Créede, and in ẏ Créede of Athanaſius: And I do beleue, that all the holy Scriptures, and all thynges therin conteined, are moſt true.

If the forth of the Sacrament be in the Scripture and ſo neceſſary a thing, why did not the Apoſtles then put it in the Creede, and make 13. Articles? If it be not in the Scripture, nor yet put in the Creede, why then haue the Papiſtes ſo extremely burned vs for it?

Collins. This will not ſerue you: ye muſt aũſwere to all ſuch Articles in all theſe, as ſhall be layd to you, or aſked of you.

Bland. Let me know the lawe that is in that force (without any iuſt cauſe of ſuſpiciõ proued againſt me) and I will aunſwere.

Collins. How ſay ye, will ye aunſwere?

Bland. Syr, I haue aũſwered you. Haue him alway ſayd my Lord of Douer: he had better haue aũſwered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to aũſwere if ye haue any thyng agaynſt me by the law.

B.Douer. Ye haue preached many hereſies in Adiſham, where I am Parſon now: and therfore ye muſt make aunſwere to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the law, and I wil aunſwere them if ye can approue that I am bound to aunſwere to that was done a yeare and more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may alſo lay to my charge, and cõpell me to aunſwere to all thynges done in all my lyfe, I trow.

Collins. It is not a yeare ago ſince ye were before Maſter Archdeacon and me.

M. Bland appeared at v. Seſſions, and could not haue his cauſe tried.

Bland. It is truth: yet it is a yeare and ten wéekes ſince the wordes were ſpoken: and I haue bene a priſoner euer ſince, and haue bene at v. Seſſions, and neuer could haue my cauſe tried. Ye thinke your charities ſhould thinke it puniſhment enough, if I had bene giltie.

Collins. All this will not ſerue you: ye muſt néedes aũſwere, and it wil be better for you to aunſwere now, then an other tyme. Will ye reforme your ſelf, and go to the Church and worſhyp CHRIST in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, and be obedient vnto all the Quéenes lawes?

M. Bland called before the ſpirituall iudges not for any matter they had, but that they would haue againſt him.

Bland. I pray you, wherfore am I brought hither?

Collins. To aunſwere to ſuch thynges as are demaunded of you.

Bland. Syr, I thought ye had had ſome matters agaynſt me by the law.

Collins. Well, on Mõday at ix. of the clocke ye ſhall ſée the law, and haue Articles layd vnto you.

Then they had ſpied M.Cockes the Lawyer, and called hym in, and ſayd: Here is a Lawyer can tell, you are bound by the law to aũſwere: and he ſayd, as they had ſayd.

Collins. Do ye not beleue that after the conſecratiõ of the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar there remaineth no ſubſtaunce of bread, but the ſubſtaunce of IESVS CHRIST both God and man?

M. Bland denieth the realtie of Chriſtes preſence in the Sacrament.

Bland. Maſter Cõmiſſary, I know not by any law why ye ſhould aſke me that queſtion, more then any other mã here. And after a litle talke, my Lord of Douer aſked me this queſtiõ: Doeſt thou not beleue after the cõſecration, that it is the body of CHRIST? And I ſayd no, I do not ſo beleue: for the Scriptures do not teach me, that there ſhould remayne the fleſhe of CHRIST, to eate as a man ſhould eate mans fleſh.

The Capernaites tooke Chriſt to ſpeake literally of his body, and ſo do the Papiſtes, and not the Proteſtantes.

Then M.Glaſier ſayd, that was the opinion of the Capernaites: there is no man here of that opinion, and ſpake long of cuttyng of CHRISTES body, as men cut fleſh in the Shambels.

Then M.Doct.Faucet ſayd: M.Bland, for as much as you and I were brought vp both in one houſe, and borne both in one Pariſh, I would be as glad as any man alyue, to do you good: but ye may not thus ſtand agaynſt the Church. For CHRIST ſayth: ye muſt hũble your ſelfe, and take vp his Croſſe, and folow hym. And to humble your ſelfe in this place, is to be cõtent, and not ſticke to your owne iudgement, but to humble your ſelfe to the holy Church, which hath determined, that after the conſecration, there remaineth no bread but the naturall body and bloud of CHRIST.

Determination of the church, is to be folowed ſo farre as the church determineth by the ſcriptures.

Bland. Maſter Doctour, if ye take hũblyng of our ſelfe in that place, to admit the determination of the Church, thẽ we muſt know by the Scriptures, that the ſame Church determined nothing but accordyng to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therfore I do not beleue any ſuch tranſubſtantiation, nor neuer will, God willyng. Then (quoth he) I haue done with you: I will no more pray for you then for a dogge.

Then ſayd M.Glaſier: how thinke ye did Paul, whẽ he ſayd: *Is not the bread that we breake, a partaking of the body of CHRIST?* Did he ſay Bakers bread?

Bland. Though he did not meane Bakers bread, that doth not proue that he brake naturall & reall fleſh.

Gla. No by S. Mary, we ſay not ſo, but we ſay it is the naturall body glorified, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Bland. Then the Apoſtles had it not as we haue: or els his glorified body was crucified for vs.

Argument.
Feſ- The glorified body of Chriſt was not crucified.
ti- The Apoſtles did eat the body crucified:
no. Ergo, the Apoſtles did not eat the glorified body of Chriſt.

Gla. Tuſhe, ye do not vnderſtand the Scriptures. For CHRISTES body was euer glorified in that it was ſo meruelouſly vnited to the Godhead: yea, and he ſhewed his body diuers tymes glorified, as in the mount Thabor. And when he walked on the water, we ſée he was light, and had no weyght in hym. Was not that then a glorified body?

Bland. Thē belike Peters body was glorified: walkyng on the water was the deede of a glorified body: & the yron that Elizeus made to ſwym vpō the water.

Douer. Tuſh quoth my Lord of Douer, that was done by prayer. But they made ſuch a noyſe with laughing that I heard no more what my Lord ſayd.

It auayleth not to reaſon with the Papiſtes in time of theyr kingdome.

Bland. Maſters, I know that it auayleth vs nothyng to reaſon with you, no more then it booted you in the tyme of the Goſpell. For then neither the reaſon of Eckius, Coclæus, nor yet of detection of the deuils ſophiſtrie of my Lord Chauncelours doing, could take any place. And it is knowen to ſome that be here, that ſome thing I can ſay in them.

Douer. No, you know Oecolāpadius, Zuinglius, and ſuch other.

Bland. In dede my Lord, I haue ſeene part of theyr doinges.

Douer. That is ſeene by thee to day.

Glaſier. I was glad when I heard you ſay ye beleued the Catholike Church: and now go you from it?

Bland. No that I do not.

The church viſible.

Gla. Ye know that CHRIST ſayth: *If thy brother haue offended thee, go and reconcile hym, betwene thee and hym. If he heare thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, all thinges may be eſtabliſhed. If he heare not then,* Dic Eccleſiæ: *If he heare not the Church, take hym as an Heathen.* I pray you where could ye haue fōd this church of yours 50. yeres ago?

Bland. Ye know that the true Church did not at all times flouriſh, but was wonderfully perſecuted.

Bland commaunded away.

Douer. Then my Lord cryed: no more, I cōmaund you to hold your peace. Haue hym away, and bryng in an other.

Collins. Ye ſhall come agayne on Monday at ix. of the clocke, and in the meane tyme ye ſhall haue whom ye will to conferre withall, your frend Doct. Faucet, or M. Glaſier, if ye deſire them.

Bland. I will refuſe to talke with no mā: as for any conference of your part, it is but weake lawes, eſtabliſhed as they are. But when there was no law, I did deſire conference. And ſo for that tyme I departed.

The Monday after we were brought forth to the ſame place againe: And thē M. Collins began to ſpeake to me: but after what maner, it is cleane out of my mynde: but the ende was, that I would reforme my ſelfe. But as I did before, I demaunded what they had to lay to my charge, and to ſee the law, which they ſayd before I ſhould ſee.

*Yea but why then did you priſon hym a whole yeare before?

Douer. What neede that? we haue inough againſt you. For ye *denyed to me the trāſubſtantiation in the Sacrament.

Bland. I dyd refuſe to aunſwere, till ye promiſed that I ſhould ſee the law, wherby ye may compell me to aunſwere.

Douer. My Lord tooke the Scribes booke, and red the aunſwere that I made to D. Faucets reaſon, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no ſuch anſwere whē ye aſked me. I take M. Collins, and M. Glaiſier to witnes. Then they brought forth a decretall, a booke of the biſhop of Romes law, to binde me to anſwere, which my hart abhorred to loke vpon. The effecte was, that the Ordinary had authority to examine, and that they ſo examined, muſt neede anſwere. But I ſayd, that it meaned of ſuch as were iuſtly ſuſpecte, as I was not. And here we had much communication. For I charged them with vniuſt impriſonment, which they could not auoyde.

The Popes law.

M. Oxenden helpeth the Catholickes.

But M. Oxenden would haue helped them, and ſaid that the iuſtices put me in priſon for a Sermon ſeditiouſly ſpoken, and for troubling a prieſt at Maſſe.

Bland. That is not true. For after I had bene ten weekes in priſon, I was bayled till I was caſt in again (and as the iuſtice ſayd) for the diſobeying mine Ordinary, which I neuer did.

Collins. Will ye be content to confer with ſome? It will be better for you: now we offer it you, becauſe ye would not deſire it.

Maiſter *Bland* was tutor to Doct. *Faucet.*

Blād. As I did not refuſe before, no more wil I now. But I did not perceiue before, but that one might haue come without any leaue aſking, to conferre the Scriptures: and therfore I loked, that D. Faucet wold haue come to me without deſiring, if any commodity to me had bene in conference: for though I was neuer able to do him good, yet once I was his Tutor.

Collins. Are ye content to come to his chamber at after none?

These 3. belike were *Bland, Shetterdē, and Middleton.*

Miller a Clothier excommunicated.

Bland. Sir I am a priſoner, and therefore it is mete that I obey, and come whether you will, and ſo departed: At this tyme we were three. But they toke an other to appeare before them the Tewſday ſeuennight after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I heare, they excommunicated him, and let him goe. His name was Miller a Clothier.

¶Here foloweth a certaine confutation of M. Bland, againſt falſe and manifeſt abſurdities, graunted by M. Milles, Prieſt of Chriſtes Church in Caunterbury.

The Popiſh fayth of the Sacrament.

Mylles, We ſay that CHRIST is in or vnder the ſacrament really and corporally, which are the formes of bread and wyne, and that there his body is contained inuiſibly, and the qualities which we do ſee, as whitenes and roundnes, be there wythout ſubſtāce by Gods power, as quantitie and waight be there alſo by inuiſible meaſure.

*1. The matter of the Sacrament is bread and wine.

Bland. This is your own diuinity, to make accidēces the Sacrament, and CHRISTES reall body inuiſibly contayned in them, and ſo to deſtroy the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors ſay: * Materia ſacramēti eſt panis & vinum. And God by his power worketh no miracles with Hoc eſt corpus meum, ſo to chaūge the ſubſtance of bread and wyne into his body & bloud, in that he maketh accidences to be wythout their ſubſtance by inuiſible meaſure. I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo deſtroy CHRISTES ſacrament, contrary to your own Doctors, and trifle ſo with Gods worke.

Mylles. To CHRIST is geuen all power in heauen and in earth, ſo that by hys omnipotent power of hys Godhead he may be, and is where he liſteth, and is in the ſacrament really & corporally wythout occupying of place: for a glorified body occupieth no place.

If Chriſt be able to be where he liſt and occupie no place: Why then is not hee able to be aſwell vnder the ſubſtaunce of bread, as vnder the accidences of bread, ſeing he is omnipotent?

Bland. Marke your own reaſon. All power is geuen to CHRIST, both in heauen and in earth: by ỹ omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he lyſt, Ergo he is in the Sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I denye your argumēt: for it followeth neither of your maior nor minor. And firſt I wold learne of you, how you know that CHRIST liſteth to be preſent at euery Prieſtes lyſt. For if the Prieſt liſt not to ſay your Maſſe, then Chriſt liſteth not to be there. Againe, ye ſay, all power is geuē vnto CHRIST, both in heauen and in earth, ſo that that is the cauſe by your reaſon, that by the omnipotēt power of his Godhead, he may be where hee lyſt: and by that reaſon he had not the power of hys Godhead, tyll he had his humaine body, & then he was not equall with the father in diuinity: for all power was not geuen to CHRIST, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neyther was he Filius. Here is more daunger then ye are ware of, if ye would ſtand to it with iuſt Iudges.

Chriſt may be where he liſt: Ergo, Chriſt is really in the Sacramēt, without occupying of place. The Antecedent is true, and the conſequēt falſe.

Mylles. We eate Chriſtes fleſh and bloud ſpiritually, when we receiue it with faith and charity. And we alſo do eate it corporally in the ſacrament: and the body that we ſo receiue hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto. Which although it be receiued with the body of CHRIST, yet it is not inuiſible after a groſſe ſort, and the fleſh of CHRIST that we receaue is liuely, for it hath the ſpirit of God ioyned to it. And if a man be dronken, it is not by receauing of the bloud of Chriſt, for it is contrary to the nature of Chriſts bloud. If he be dronken, it is by the qualities and quantities, wythout ſubſtaunce of bloud.

Caſe being put, that the Prieſt takyng a great quantitie in the Chalice be made dronke, which of theſe three is it that maketh hym dronke, the nature of bloud? the accidences onely of wyne? or els the true ſubſtance of wyne? let any reaſonable man iudge.

Bland. I am glad that you are ſo much againſt all men, to ſay that CHRISTES body is alyue in the ſacrament: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in tyme to come. Ye thinke it is euyll to keepe CHRISTES body a lyue in your Pixe, or els muſt ye graũt that he is a lyue in receiuing, and dead in the Pixe. And ye ſay truth that it is * not the naturall receauyng of CHRISTES bloud that maketh a mã dronken: for it is ẏ nature of wine that doth that, which ye deny not. And a more truth ye confeſſe thẽ ye dyd thinke, whẽ ye ſaid: if a mã be dronken, it is by ẏ qualities & quãtities, wythout the ſubſtance of bloud: for in dede blood hath no ſuch qualities wyth it: which is euident that ther is no naturall bloud. If a man be dronken with wine conſecrated, it muſt be a miracle, as I thinke you wyll haue it, that the ſaid accidences ſhould be without their naturall ſubſtaunce, and worke all the operations of both ſubſtance and accidences: and ſo it followeth that a man may be dronken by myracle. The body that ye receiue ye ſay is alyue, becauſe it is annexed to the godhead, and the fleſh that ye receiue is lyuely, becauſe it hath the ſpirite of God ioyned to it. This diuiſion is of your new inuentions to deuide the body and the fleſh, the one alyue by the Godhead, the other liuely by gods ſpirite, and both one ſacrament: ye make of it a thyng ſo fantaſticall, that ye imagine a body without fleſhe, and fleſh without a body, as ye do qualities and quantities without ſubſtance, and a lyuing body wythout qualities and quantities.

Argument.

*Chriſtes bloud hath not that qualitie to make a man dronke:
Receauing of that in the Chalice can make a man dronke.
Ergo, that in the Chalice can not be the bloud of Chriſt.

Fantaſticall abſurdities in the Popes doctrine to be noted.

Myls. If caſe ſo requyre, and there be a godly intent in the Miniſter to conſecrate, after the cõſecration therof there is preſent the body and bloud of CHRIST, and no other ſubſtaunce, but accidentes without ſubſtance to a true beleuer.

Bland. Ye graunt thrée abſurdities, that in a Tun of wyne conſecrate is nothing but accidences, and to increaſe it withall, ye haue brought in iij. incõueniences: firſt that it is not the word of God that doth conſecrate, but the intent of the Prieſt muſt helpe to it: and if that lacke, ye ſéeme to graunt no conſecration, though the Prieſt ſpeake the word: and yet your Doctors ſay, that the wickednes of the Prieſt miniſheth not the ſacramẽt. And to an vnbeleuer ye ſéeme to ſay that it is not the ſame that it is to the true beleuer: and then muſt the beleuer haue ſomething to do in the conſecration. Incidit in ſcyllam qui vult vitare charybdim.

Three inconueniences graũted by the Papiſtes:
1. That a tune of wyne beyng conſecrated, nothyng remayneth but accidentes: which is falſe by the operation therof.
2. Where hee ſayth that the worde of God doth not conſecrate without the intent of the Prieſt: which is agaynſt their owne doctrine, ſaying that the wickednes of the prieſt miniſheth not the ſacrament.
3. Where he ſayth, that to the vnbeleuer it is not the Sacrament, as the Papiſtes ſaye, that the wicked receiue the body.

Myls. The ſubſtance of CHRISTES body doth not fyl the Mouſes belly. For although he doth receiue the outward formes of bread and wine, yet he doth not receiue the ſubſtance inwardly, but without violation. And a Mouſe doth not eate the body of CHRIST, to ſpeake properly: for it doth not féede him ſpiritually nor corporally as it doth man, becauſe he doth not receiue it to any inducement of immortality to the fleſh.

Argument. a contrario ſenſu.

Bland. Ye make not your doctrine plaine to be vnderſtand: we muſt knowe how a Mouſe can receyue the ſubſtance inwardly & outwardly. Ye ſay he doth not receiue the ſubſtãce inwardly, but without violation: Ergo with violation he receiueth the ſubſtaunce inwardly. Ye ſay that the Mouſe can not violate CHRISTES body. But he violateth the ſubſtaunce that hee eateth: And this your proper ſpéech doth importe as much, as that ẏ Mouſe ſhould eate the ſacramẽt to as great effect, and the ſame thing, as doth ẏ vnworthy receiuer. For if that be the cauſe that ſhe properly eateth not the body of Chriſt, becauſe ſhe doth not fede vpõ it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receiueth it to any inducemẽt of immortality as ye ſay: then it followeth that the vnbeleuer and the * Mouſe receiueth both one thyng. And yet it cannot be denyed but the * Mouſe wyll lyue with conſecrated bread, and then ye muſt graunt the abſurdity, that a ſubſtance is nouriſhed and fed onely with accidences.

The mouſe receaueth the body inwardly, but without violation:
Ergo, with violation he receiueth the body inwardly.

Argument.

The mouſe violateth not the body of Chriſt:
The mouſe violateth the ſubſtãce which he eateth:
Ergo, the mouſe eateth no ſubſtãce of Chriſtes body.

* The mouſe and the beleuer receaue the body of Chriſt, both a like, by the Papiſtes doctrine.

* Argument.

No mouſe can liue with accidẽces only without ſubſtance.
A mouſe may liue with conſecrated hoſtes.
Ergo conſecrated hoſtes haue not only accidences, but the ſubſtance of bread.

Myls. Mens bodies be fed with CHRISTES body as with immortall meate, by reaſon of the godhead annexed to eternall lyfe: but mens bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and formes of bread and wyne: and we deny, that by the ſacramentall eating any groſſe humor turned into bloud, is made miraculouſly in the body.

Bland. Where it cannot be denyed that a man may lyue, and naturally bee nouriſhed in his naturall body with the ſacramentall bread and wyne conſecrated: ye can not auoyd that: but then ye turne to the ſpirituall worſhipping of mans bodie, by CHRISTES body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the abſurdity, that either a mans naturall body ſhould bee fed naturally with accidẽces, or els to haue them chaũged into groſſe humors. But ye ſay mens bodies bee corporally nouriſhed with qualities & formes of breade and wyne, and then muſt ye néedes graunt that qualities and quantities muſt be made ſubſtaunce in man. For ex eiſdem ſunt & nutriuntur mixta, or els is all that is the nutriment in man, accidẽces & no ſubſtance.

An other abſurditie that mens bodies be nouriſhed naturally with accidẽces, and qualities.

Myls. If the formes of bread and wyne be burned, or wormes engendred, it is no derogation to the body of CHRIST, becauſe the preſence of his body ceaſeth to be there, and no ſubſtance commeth againe.

Bland. Ye graunt here that a ſubſtãce may be made of accidences, as aſhes or wormes: but I thincke you wyll haue it by your myracles, and this I count more abſurditye then the other, that CHRISTES body ſhould ceaſe to be there, and no ſubſtaunce to come agayne: for no woord in all the whole Bible ſéemes to ſerue you for the ceaſing of his preſence, though wee graunted you, which we do not, that it were there.

An other abſurditie, that ſubſtance is made of accidences, when aſhes or wormes be made of the formes of bread and wine.

God almighty open your hart, if it be his wyll and pleaſure, to ſée the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would aunſwere you to all the reſt, in theſe and all other my doinges.

I ſubmit my ſelf to our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST and hys holy worde, deſiring you in the bowels of CHRIST to do the ſame.

Your Oratour to the Lord Iohn Bland.

¶ The laſt appearance and examination of M.Bland.

Hetherto you haue heard the troubleſome handlyng of this faithfull & bleſſed ſeruaunt of God Iohn Bland, toſt to and fro, from priſon to priſon, from Seſſion to Seſſion. At laſt hee was brought before the Byſhop of Douer, the Commiſſary, and the Archdeacon at Canterbury, the .xiij. day of Iune. The name of thys Byſhop was Richard Thornton. The Cõmiſſary was Robert Collins, whom the Cardinall by his letters patent, had ſubſtitute to be his factor before his comming ouer to England. The Archdeacõ was Nicholas Harpſfield. Vnder theſe a great number of innocẽt Lãbes of CHRIST were cruelly entreated and ſlayne at Canterbury, amongeſt whõ this foreſayd M.Bland was one of the firſt: who as is ſayd, beyng brought before the ſayd Byſhop & his Colleagues,

Richard Thornton the bloudy Biſhop of Douer.

leagues, which were Iohn Frankeſh, Nich. Sheterden, Tho. Thacker, Vmfrey Middleton, William Coker, was examined of Articles. To whom it was obiected by the Commiſſary, whether he dyd beleue, that CHRIST is really in the Sacrament or no. &c. To this he aunſwered and ſayd: that he beleued that CHRIST is in the Sacrament, as he is in all other good bodyes: ſo that hee iudged not CHRIST to be really in the Sacrament. Whereupon the day beyng Monday, he was byd to appeare agayne vppon Wedniſday next, and from thence was differred agayne to Monday folowyng, beyng the .xx. of Iune in the ſame Chapterhouſe, then to heare further what ſhould bee done in caſe hee would not relent to their minde. The which day and place he appearyng as before, was required to ſay his minde playnly and fully to the foreſayd Articles, beyng againe repeted to him. Which Articles commonly and in courſe they vſe to obiect to their Examinates which bee brought before them, as here now foloweth, and neede not much hereafter, ſpecially for that countrey of Kent, to be repeted.

The wordes of Maſter Bland at his examination.

An other appearance.

The laſt appearance of M. Bland before the B. of Douer, and others.

Articles miniſtred by Richard B. of Douer, to Maiſter Bland, and likewiſe to the reſt folowyng after hym.

Articles of courſe miniſtred agaynſt M. Bland.

1. First that thou art of the Dioces of Canterbury, and ſo ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of the Archbiſhop there.
2. Item, that thou art a Chriſtẽ man, and doeſt profeſſe the lawes of God, and faith of CHRISTES Catholicke Church, and the determination of the ſame.
3. Item, that all perſons which teach, preach, beleue, affirme, hold, maintaine, or ſay, within the Dioces of Canterbury, otherwiſe then our holy mother the Church doth, are excommunicate perſons and heretickes, and as excommunicate and heretickes ought to be named, reputed, and taken.
4. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholicke faith and determination of our mother holy Church, within the Dioces of Canterbury haſt openly ſpoken, maynteined, holden, affirmed, and beleued, and yet doeſt hold, mayntaine, affirme, and beleue, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, there is not the very body and bloud of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST in ſubſtance, but onely a token, ſigne, and a remembraunce therof, and that the very body and bloud of CHRIST is onely in heauen, and no where els.
5. Item, that thou, cõtrary to the Catholicke faith, and determination of our mother holy Church, haſt within this Dioces of Canterbury openly ſpoken, ſayd, maynteined, holden, affirmed and beleued, and yet doeſt hold maintayne, affirme, and beleue, that it is agaynſt Gods word that the Sacramẽt of CHRISTES Church ſhould be miniſtred in an vnknowẽ toung: & that no mã ſafely & with a ſafe conſcience or without perill of ſinne, receiueth any Sacrament miniſtred in any toung that he vnderſtandeth not.
6. Item, that thou contrary to the Catholicke fayth of our mother holy Church haſt and yet doeſt hold opinion and ſay: that it is agaynſt Gods worde that the Sacrament of the aultar ſhould be miniſtred in one kynd: and that no man may with a ſafe conſcience ſo receiue it.
7. Item, that the premiſſes be true, and that there is a cõmon fame vpõ thẽ within the Dioces of Canterbury.

The aunſweres of Maſter Bland to the foreſayd Articles.

Anſwere to the firſt article out of the Regeſter.

1. To theſe Articles M. Bland aunſwering agayne in order as they were obiected to him, ſayth to the firſt, grauntyng the ſame, that he was a Prieſt, and of the Dioces of Canterbury.
2. To the ſecond alſo he aunſwereth affirmatiuely.
3. Item, to the third he aunſwereth that the Article is true, meaning ỹ Catholicke Church to be CHRISTES Church.

The Catholike church of Chriſt.

The Catholike church of Antichriſt.

4. Item, in the fourth Article as touchyng the firſt part of the Article, he doth confeſſe that he hath preached and taught it, as it is conteined in the ſame. And as touching the ſecond part of the Article, he doth confeſſe that he doth now alſo hold and ſay, as he preached and taught before.
5. Item, to the v. Article he graunteth.
6. To the ſixt, he hath preached and held & doth hold, as it is conteined in the Article.
7. Item, to the laſt Article he graunteth the ſame. &c.

This done, and his aunſweres and confeſſion takẽ, reſpite was geuen him yet a few dayes to deliberate with him ſelfe. So the xxv. day of the ſayd moneth of Iune he makyng his appearing agayn in ỹ ſayd Chapterhouſe, there openly and boldly withſtoode the authoritie of the Pope, wherupon his ſentence was red, & ſo he condemned and committed to the ſecular power. Touchyng ỹ forme and tenour of the ſentence, becauſe all their Sentences of courſe agree in one, read before in the ſtory of M. Rogers, pag. 1661.

M. Bland denieth the Pope.

M. Bland condemned.

The Prayer of Maſter Bland before hys death.

A prayer of Maſter Bland.

THe Lord IESVS, for whoſe loue I do willingly leaue this lyfe, and deſire rather the bitter death of this croſſe, with the loſſe of all earthly thynges, then to abyde the blaſphemy of thy holy name, or els to obey man in breaking thy commaundementes: thou ſeeſt, oh Lorde, that where as I might lyue in worldly wealth to worſhip falſe Gods, and honour thy enemy, I choſe rather the tormẽtes of this body, and loſſe of this my life, & haue counted all thyngs but vile, duſt, and dung, that I might wynne thee: Which death is more deare vnto me, then thouſandes of gold and ſiluer. Such loue oh Lord haſt thou layd vp in my breſt, that I hunger for thee, as the deare that is wounded deſireth thee ſoile. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to ayde, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weake peece of earth, which is voyde of all ſtrength of it ſelfe. Thou remembreſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and not able to do any thyng that is good. Therfore, O Lord, as thou of thy accuſtomed goodnes haſt byddẽ me to this bancket, & counted me worthy to drinke of thine own cup amongeſt thine elect: geue me ſtrength agaynſt this element, that as it is to my ſight moſt irckeſome and terrible: ſo to my mynd it may be at thy commaundement, as an obedient ſeruaunt, ſwete and pleaſaunt: and through the ſtrength of thy holy ſpirite, I may paſſe through the ſtrength of this fire into thy boſome, accordyng vnto thy promiſe, and for this mortalitie, to receaue immortalitie, and for this corruptible, to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt offering and ſacrifice, O Lord, not for the ſacrifice it ſelfe, but for thy deare ſonnes ſake my Sauiour: for whoſe teſtimony I offer thys freewill offering with all my hart and with all my ſoule. O heauenly father, forgiue me my ſinnes, as I forgiue the whole world. O ſweete Sauiour, ſpread thy wynges ouer me. O God, graunt me thy holy Ghoſt, through whoſe mercyfull inſpiration I am come hether. Conduct me vnto euerlaſtyng lyfe. Lord into thy handes I commend my ſpirite: Lord IESVS receaue my ſoule, So be it. 1555.

The hyſtory of Iohn Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden.

July. 12. Iohn Frãkeſh, Humfrey Midleton, Nicholas Sheterdẽ, Martyrs.

HAuing now paſſed ouer ỹ examinations of M. Bland, let vs farther proceede to the reſt of his fellowes concaptiues, beyng ioyned the ſame tyme with him both in the like cauſe, and like affliction. The names of whom were Iohn Frankeſh, Nic. Sheterden, Vmfrey Middletõ, Thacker and Coker: of whom Thacker only gaue backe. The reſt conſtantly ſtandyng to the truth, were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of Caunterbury the xxv. day of Iune, the yeare aboue expreſſed. Touching whoſe examinations I ſhall not nede long to ſtand, for ſomuch as the Articles miniſtred agaynſt them, were all one: ſo in their aunſweres they litle or nothing diſagreed, as hereafter (by the Lordes helpe) you ſhall heare. In the meane tyme, becauſe Nic. Sheterden in his examinations had a litle more large talke with ỹ Archdeacon and the Commiſſary, I will firſt begyn with the ſame.

¶ The fiſt examination or reaſonyng of Nic. Sheterden with M. Harpſfield Archdeacon and M. Collyns the Commiſſary for the whiche they ſent hym to priſon.

FIrſt, the Archdeacō and Commiſſary affirmed that the very bare wordes of CHRIST whē he ſayd: *this is my body*, did chaunge the ſubſtaūce, without any other interpretatiō or ſpirituall meanyng of ẏ wordes.

Shet. Then belike when CHRIST ſayd: *this cup is my bloud*, the ſubſtaunce of the cup was chaunged into his bloud, without any other meanyng, and ſo the cup was chaunged, and not the wyne.

Arch. Not ſo, for when CHRIST ſayd: *this cup is my bloud*, he ment not the cup, but the wyne in the cup.

Shet. If CHRIST ſpake one thing, and ment an other, then the bare wordes did not chaunge the ſubſtaunce: but there muſt be a meaning ſought as well of the bread, as of the cup.

Arch. There muſt be a meaning ſought of ẏ cup, otherwiſe then the wordes ſtand. But of the bread it muſt bee vnderſtand onely as it ſtandeth, without any other meanyng.

Shet. Then do ye make one halfe of CHRISTES inſtitution a figure, or borowed ſpeach, and the other halfe a playne ſpeach, and ſo ye diuide CHRISTES Supper.

Arch. CHRIST ment the wine, and not the cup, though he ſayd: *this cup is my bloud*.

Shet. Then ſhewe me whether the wordes which the Prieſtes do ſpeake ouer the cup, do chaūge the ſubſtaunce, or whether the minde of the Prieſt doth it?

Arch. The mynde of the Prieſt doth it, and not the wordes.

Shet. If the mynd of the Prieſt doth it, and not the wordes, if the Prieſt then do mind his harlot, or any other vaine thing, that thing ſo minded was there made, and ſo the people do worſhyp the Prieſtes harlot in ſtede of CHRISTES bloud: and againe none of the people can tell whē it is CHRISTES bloud, or whē it is not, ſeyng the matter ſtandeth in the minde of the Prieſt. For no man can tell what the Prieſt meaneth, but him ſelfe: and ſo are they euer in daunger of committing Idolatry.

Then was the Archdeacon ſomwhat moued, and ſat him downe, and ſayd to the Commiſſary: I pray you Maſter Commiſſary ſpeake you to him an other while for they are vnreaſonable and peruerſe aunſweres, as euer I heard of. Then ſtode vp the Commiſſary & ſaid.

Commiſ. Your Argument is much agaynſt your ſelfe: for ye graunt that the bread is a figure of CHRISTS body: but the cup can be no figure of his bloud, nor yet his very bloud: and therfore CHRIST did not meane the cup, but the wyne in the cup.

Shet. My argument is not agaynſt me at all: for I do not ſpeake it to proue that the cup is his bloud, nor the figure of his bloud, but to proue that ẏ bare wordes beyng ſpoken of the Prieſt, doe not chaunge the ſubſtaunce no more of the bread, then they do chaunge the cup into bloud.

Commiſ. It could not be ſpoken of the cup, when he ſayd: *this cup is my bloud*, but he ment the wyne in the cup.

Shet. Then it remaineth for you to aunſwere my queſtion to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the Prieſt, when hee ſpeaketh ouer the cup, doth chaunge it into bloud, or the bare wordes.

Commiſ. Both together doth it, the wordes and the minde of the Prieſt together: yea, the intent and the wordes together doth it.

Shet. If the wordes & intent together doe chaunge the ſubſtaunce, yet muſt the cup be his bloud, and not the wyne, for as much as the wordes are: *this cup is my bloud*, and the intent ye ſay was the wyne: or els the wordes take none effect, but the intent onely.

After, the Commiſſary in his chamber ſayd: it was the intent of the Prieſt before he went to Maſſe, without the wordes: for if the Prieſt did intende to do as holy Church had ordeined, then the intēt made the Sacrament to take effect.

Shet. If the Sacramentes take effect of the intent of the Prieſt, and not of Gods word, then many Pariſhes hauyng a Prieſt that intendeth not well, are vtterly deceiued, both in Baptiſing and alſo worſhipping that thing to bee God which is but bread, becauſe for lacke of the Prieſtes intent the wordes doe take none effect in it: ſo that by this, it is euer doubtfull whether they worſhip CHRIST or bread, becauſe it is doubtfull what the Prieſtes do intend.

The intent of the prieſt maketh not the Sacrament.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary would proue to me, that CHRISTES manhode was in two places at one tyme, by theſe wordes of CHRIST in Iohn the. iij. Chapter, where hee ſaith: no man aſcendeth vp to heauen, but hee that came downe from heauen, that is to ſay, the ſonne of mā, which is in heauen. By this he would proue that CHRIST was then in heauen and in earth alſo, naturally and bodily.

Chriſtes body whether it may be in 2. places at once.

Shet. This place and other muſt nedes be vnderſtand for the vnitie of perſons: in that CHRIST was God and man, and yet the matter muſt be referred to the Godhead, or els ye muſt fall into great errour.

Commiſ. That is not ſo: for it was ſpoken of the manhode of CHRIST, for as much as he ſayth the ſonne of man which is in heauen.

Shet. If ye will nedes vnderſtand it to be ſpoken of CHRISTES manhode, then muſt ye fall into the errour of the Anabaptiſtes, which deny that CHRIST toke fleſh of the Virgine: for if there be no body aſcended vp but that which came down, where is thē his incarnatiō? for thē he brought his body downe with him.

The Commiſſary brought to an other inconuenience.

Commiſ. Lo how ye ſeke an errour in me, and yet ſee not how ye erre your ſelfe. For it can not be ſpoken of the Godhead except ye graunt that God is paſſible, for God can not come downe becauſe he is not paſſible.

Shet. If that were a good argument, that God could not come down becauſe he is not paſſible: then it might be ſayd by the like argumēt that God could not ſit, and then heauen is not his ſeat, and then ſay as ſome do that God hath no right hand for CHRIST to ſit at.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary affirmed playnly that it was true, God had no right hand in dede.

Shet. Oh what a ſpoyle of CHRISTES Religiō will this be, that becauſe we can not tel how God came downe, therfore we ſhall ſay, that he came not down at all, and becauſe we can not tell what maner of hand he hath, to ſay that he hath no hand at all: & then he cā not reach the vtmoſt part of the ſea. O miſerie: at length it will come to paſſe, that God can not ſit, and then how can heauen be his ſeate, and if heauen be not his ſeate then there is no heauen: and then at length I doubt ye will ſay there is no God, or els no other God, but ſuch as the heathen Gods are, which can not go nor feele.

If God can not come down, then Chriſt were not God, for Chriſt came from heauen.

Commiſ. Why? doth not the Scripture ſay that God is a ſpirite, and what hand can a ſpirite haue?

Shet. Truth it is, God is a ſpirite, and therefore is worſhipped in ſpirite & truth: and as he is a ſpirite, ſo hath he a ſpirituall power, ſo hath he a ſpirituall ſeate, a ſpirituall hand, and a ſpiritual ſword: which we ſhall feele if we go this way to worke, as we begin. Becauſe we know not what hand God hath: therfore if we ſay hee hath none, then it may as well be ſayd there is no CHRIST.

Gods hand is ſpirituall.

Then the Commiſſary ſayd he would talke no more with me, and ſo departed: and alſo the Cōmiſſary was compelled to graunt, that CHRISTES Teſtament was broken, and his inſtitution was chaunged from that he left it: but he ſayd they had power ſo to do.

¶ My firſt aunſweryng, after their law was ſtabliſhed.

Declaration of the firſt examination of *Sheterden*, after the law was eſtabliſhed.

BEcauſe I know ye will deſire to heare frō me ſome certeinty of my ſtate: I was called before the Suffragan,

fragan, and .vij. or .viij. of the chief Prieſtes, and examined of certaine Articles, and thē I required to ſée their Commiſſion.

Sheterden requireth to ſee the Commiſſion.

They ſhewed it to me and ſayd: there it is and the Kyng and Quéenes letter alſo. Then I deſired to haue it read: and ſo in readyng I perceaued that on ſome notable ſuſpicion he might examine vppon two Articles: whether CHRISTES real preſence were in the Sacrament, and whether the Church of England bée of CHRISTES Catholicke Church.

Sheterden thrée quarters of a yeare in priſon before the law toke place.

To that I aunſwered, that I had bene a priſoner thrée quarters of a yeare, and as I thought, wrongfully: reaſon would therfore that I ſhould aunſwere to thoſe thinges wherfore I was priſoner.

Suff. The Suffragan ſayd, his Commiſſion was I muſt aunſwere directly yea or nay.

Shet. This Commiſſion (ſayd I) was not generall to examine whom he will, but on iuſt ſuſpicion.

Suff. He ſayd: I was ſuſpected, and preſēted to him.

Shet. Then I required that the accuſation myght be ſhewed.

Suff. He ſayd, he was not bound to ſhew it, but hée commaunded me in the Kyng and Quéenes name to aunſwere directly.

Shet. And I as a ſubiect doe require of you iuſtice for that I haue done: I aſke no fauour.

Suff. He ſayd I was ſuſpected.

Shet. I bad him proue that ſuſpicion, or what cauſe he had to ſuſpect.

Suff. Thou was caſt into priſon for that cauſe.

The proceedinges of the Papiſtes were agaynſt the law.

Shet. That was a prety ſuſpicion, becauſe I had ſuffered impriſonment contrary to Gods law and the Realme, that therfore I muſt now for amendes be examined of ſuſpicion without cauſe, to hyde all the wrong done to me before. For whē I was caſt in priſon, there was no law, but I might ſpeake as I did: therefore in that point I coulde bee no more ſuſpecte, then you which preached the ſame your ſelfe not long before.

The Biſhop of Douer a proteſtant in K. Edwardes time.

Suff. That was no matter to thée what I preached.

Shet. Well, yet in the Kyng and Quéenes name I I muſt aunſwere directly: and therfore I require, as a ſubiect that ye do not extend beyond your Commiſſion, but proue me ſuſpect, more then you your ſelfe.

Milles. Then ſayd M. Milles, I had written to my mother, and he did ſée the letter wherein I perſuaded my mother to my opinions.

Shet. In that I did but my duty, to certifie her I was not in priſon for any euill And that was before the law alſo, and therfore no more ſuſpicion was in me, then was in them which taught the lyke.

Mil. Well, ye are required here to aunſwere directly yea or no.

Shet. Firſt then I require of you to proue his ſuſpicion: and thus we toſſed two and fro. At laſt the Byſhop ſayd he hym ſelfe did ſuſpect me. I aſked wherby?

Suff. Well, ſayd he, I my ſelf did ſuſpect thée, and it is no matter wherby.

Shet. But your Commiſſion doth not ſerue you ſo to do without iuſt ſuſpicion.

Suff. Well, yet did I ſuſpect you.

Shet. It is not méete for you to be my accuſer and my iudge alſo: for that was to much for one mā. And thus many wordes were multiplied, and they were much gréeued.

Milles. If you were a Chriſtian man you would not be aſhamed of your fayth beyng required.

Shet. I am not aſhamed in déede, I thanke God, and if any man do come to me, either to teach or to learne I would declare it, but for as much as I perceaue you come neither to teach nor to learne, I hold beſt not to aunſwere you.

Vpon this it appeareth the letters were written to the B. of Wincheſter, by whom he was ſent for after and examined.

Myls. If you wyll not, then wil we certify the kings Counſell.

Sheter. I am therewith content that you ſhould certifie that I had ſuffered thrée quarters priſon wrongfully, and therefore I deſire to be iuſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuch priſonment: and then I wyl not refuſe to aūſwer your articles, though there were a buſhell of them. But to ſaye that I would aunſwer, whereby you ſhould heale all your wrong done to me againſt the law of God & the Realme, I wil not.

Sheterden refuſeth to anſwere before he be tried, fore he was priſon

Here much ado there was to proue that hee had no wrong: and again that it was not they that did it. But he ſayd the Commiſſary was one of them: he aunſwered no, it was the Archdeacon. He ſayd, you ſat wyth hym, and he aſked your counſell in it, and yet if it were he, it was your church, except the Archdeacon and you be deuided one from an other. Well ſayd they: will ye now deny that ye ſaid then, and promiſe here to ſubmit your ſelfe henceforth, and ye ſhall be deliuered?

Sheterden refuſeth to ſubmit him ſelfe,

Shet. I am not ſo much bound to you to graunt any ſuch promiſe: and agayne you ſhall well know that I would not promiſe to go croſſe the ſtréete for you: but if I did at any time offend your lawe, let me haue the puniſhment, I aſke no fauour.

Then ſayd they that it was obſtinacy in him that he would not aunſwere, and a token that his fayth was naught, ſeing he was aſhamed to vtter it.

Shet. Nay ſayd he, ye ſhall well knowe I am not aſhamed of my faith: but becauſe you do ſo gredely ſéeke bloud, I wil aūſwer only to that you haue agaynſt me.

Suffr. Nay, you ſhall aunſwer to the articles, or els be condemned vpon ſuſpicion.

Shet. I am content with that: yet al men ſhal know that as ye ſuſpect and can proue no cauſe, ſo ſhall ye cōdemne me without a matter, & then ſhall all men know ye ſéeke bloud, and not iuſtice.

Suffr. No we ſéeke not thy bloud, but thy cōuerſion.

Shet. That we ſhal ſée. For then wil you proue my peruerſion firſt, before you condēne me on your owne ſuſpicion without profe of the ſame: and by that I ſhall know whether you ſéeke bloud or no. Many other wordes were betwene them.

One Loueles a loueles lawyer.

At laſt ſtept vp one Loueles a lawyer, which would proue his priſonmēt not to be wrong, but right, by olde ſtatutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry. &c. but at laſt he was compelled to forſake thoſe ſtatutes from Michaelmas to Chriſtmas, and then he ſayd it was no wrong.

To this Nicholas ſayd, if he could proue that men might wrongfullye impriſon before a lawe, and in the meane while make lawes, and then vnder that hide the firſt wrong, then he ſaid true, or els not. Thus he kept the Bandogs at ſtaues end, not as thinking to eſcape them: but that I would ſée (ſayd he) the Foxes leape aboue ground for my bloud, if they can reach it (ſo it be the wyll of God): yet we ſhall ſée them gape, & leape for it. From Weſtgate in haſt.

By yours Nicholas Shetterden.

¶Notes of Nicholas Sheterden againſt the falſe worſhip and oblation of the Sacrament.

The holy ſygne in ſteede of yͤ thing ſignified, is ſeruile ſeruitude as S. Auguſtine termeth it, when the bread in the ſacrament is by common and ſolemne errour worſhipped in ſteede of the fleſhe aſſumpted of the word of God.

Falſe worſhip of the Sacrament.

There was no mencion of worſhipping the creatures at the feaſt or firſt ſupper that CHRIST did celebrate: therfore the ſaying of CHRIST concerning diuorce, may well be applyed to them: it was not ſo from the beginning, nor ſhall be to the end.

Agaynſt Sacramentall oblation.

The once made oblation of CHRISTES is herby derogate, when this ſacramentall oblation and offering of thankes geuing is beleued to be propiciatory, and that it purgeth the ſoule, as well of the liuing as of the dead, agaynſt this ſaying to the Hebrues: *with one onely oblation hee hath made perfecte for euer thoſe that are ſanctified.* Againe: *where is remiſſion, there is no more oblation for ſinnes, making vs cleane by hym.*

Hebr. 9.

This word *(by hym ſelfe)* hath a vehemency and pyth that dryueth all Prieſtes from authority to enterpryſe ſuch oblation, where as what he him ſelfe doth by hym ſelfe, he leaueth not for other to do. So ſeemeth our purgatory all ready paſt and done, not to come and remaining to be done.

His examination before the biſhop of Wincheſter then L. Chauncellour.

I Was called into a chamber before the L. Chauncellour, the Suffragan, & other, Prieſtes, I thinke, for the moſt part. He ſtãding to the table called me to him, and becauſe I ſaw the Cardinall was not there, I bowed my ſelfe and ſtode neare.

Then ſayd he, I haue ſent for you, becauſe I heare you are indyted of hereſy: and being called before the Cõmiſſioners ye wil not aũſwere nor ſubmit your ſelf.

I ſayd, if it lyke you, I dyd not refuſe to aunſwer: but I dyd plainly aunſwere, that I had beene in priſon long time, and reaſon it was that I ſhould be charged or diſcharged for that, & not to bee examined of articles to hyde my wrong impriſonment: neither did I know any inditement againſt me. If there were any, it could not be iuſt, for I was not abroad ſince the lawe was made.

Winch. Well, yet if ſuch ſuſpition be of you, if you be a Chriſtian ye wyll declare that it is not true, and ſo purge your ſelfe.

Shet. I thought it ſufficient to aunſwer to my offences. &c. truſting that they would lay no ſuch burden vpon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be couered, but I would be proued to haue wrong or right.

Winch. He ſayd, if thou wylt declare thy ſelfe to the church to be a Chriſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then haue a wryt of wrong impriſonment. &c.

Shet. I ſayd I was not mynded to ſue now, but require to haue right iuſtice: but to make a promiſe I wyll not: but if I offend ẏ law, thẽ puniſh accordingly. For it might be that my conſciẽce was not perſwaded, nor would be in priſon, ſeyng thoſe thynges whych I haue learned, were by Gods law openly taught and receaued by authority of the Realme. And he ſaid, it was neuer receiued that I might ſpeake againſt the ſacrament. I ſayd, againſt ſome opinion of the ſacrament it was openly taught.

Winch. By no law, and that was notable to conſider, that all that while God preſerued that, ſo that no law could paſſe againſt it.

Shet. I ſaid their law did not only perſwade me, but this moſt: when they preached vnto vs, they toke pain to ſet out the word of God in our tong, ſo that we may reade and iudge whether they ſay true or no: but now they take the light from vs, and would haue vs beleue it, bicauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great perſwaſiõ.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your guyde in vnderſtanding, but the Doctours and all the whole church: Now, whom wouldeſt thou beleue? either the few, or the many?

Shet. I did not beleue for the few, nor for the many, but onely for that he bringeth the word, and ſheweth it to me, to be ſo according to the proceſſe therof. &c.

Winch. Well ſaid he, then if the Arian come to thée with ſcripture, thou wilt beleue him, if he ſhewe thys text: *My father is greater then I.*

Shet. I aunſwered, no my Lord, he muſt bring me alſo the cõtrary places and proue them both true, wher he ſayth: *My father and I am one.*

Winch. Yea, ſayd he, that is by charity, as we be one wyth hym.

Shet. I ſaid, that gloſe would not ſtand with the reſt of the ſcripture, where he ſayd: *I am the very ſame that I ſay to you*: He ſaid the truth, & the truth was God. &c with much ſuch like. And here he made many wordes (but very gently) of ẏ ſacrament: Likewiſe CHRIST ſayd (quoth he) it was his body: yea that is to ſay, a figure of his body: and how mẽ did not conſider ẏ word was God, and God the worde, & ſo prouoked me with ſuch temptation: but I let him alone and ſayd nothing.

So after many woordes hee came to the churches fayth, and comely order of ceremonies & images. And then I ioyned to hym againe with the cõmaundemẽts.

Winch. He ſayd that was done that no falſe thyng ſhould be made, as the Heathen would worſhip a Cat becauſe ſhe kylled Myſe.

Winckeſter defendeth Images.

Shet. I ſayd that it was plaine that the lawe forbad not onely ſuch, but euen to make an image of God to any maner of lykenes.

Winch. Where finde ye that?

Shet. Forſoth in the law, where God gaue them the commaundements, for he ſaid: *Ye ſaw no ſhape, but heard a voyce onely*: and added a reaſon why: *leſt they ſhould after make images and marre them ſelues*, ſo that God would not ſhew his ſhape, becauſe they ſhould haue no image of him which was the true God. &c.

No image of God to be made.

Winch. He ſayd I made a goodly interpretation.

Sheter. I ſayd no, it was the text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bad me finde it, and I ſhould ſtraight be confounded with myne owne woordes: ſo that if there were any grace with me, I would truſt myne own wit no more: and when I loked, it was Latin.

Winch. Why ſayd he, can ye read nó Latin?

Shet. No. Then was the Engliſh Bible brought. He bad me fynd it: and ſo I read it alowd: and then he ſayd lo, here thou mayſt ſée: this is no more to forbid the Image of God, then of any other beaſt, foule or fiſh (the place was Deut. iiij). I ſayd it did playnely forbid to make any of theſe to the Image of God, becauſe no man myght knowe what ſhape hee was of. Therefore might no man ſay of any Image, this is an Image of God.

Deut. 4.

Winch. Well yet by your leaue, ſo much as was ſéene we may, that is of CHRIST, of the holy ghoſt: and the father appeared to Daniel like an old *mã. &c.

*But the commaundement ſayth: *Deut.* 4. Thou ſhalt make no image of God either man or woman, &c.

Shet. That is no profe that we may make Images contrary to the commaundement: for though the holy Ghoſt appeared like a doue, yet hee was not lyke in ſhape, but in certayne qualities, and therefore when I ſaw ẏ doue which is Gods creature, in dede I might remember the ſpirite to bee ſimple and louing. &c. And with that he was ſome what moued, and ſayd I had learned my leſſon, and aſked who taught me: with many wordes: and he ſayd, he would proue how good & profitable Images were to teach the vnlearned. &c. At the laſt I ſayd: my Lorde, although I were able to make neuer ſo good a gloſe vpon the commaundementes, yet obedience is better then all our good intentes, and much ado we had: at laſt he ſaw, he ſayd, what I was, and how he had ſent for mee for charity ſake to talke with me, but now hee would not medle, and ſayd my wrong priſonment could not excuſe mee, but I muſt cleare my ſelfe. I ſayd that was eaſy for me to doe. For I had not offended.

The holy ghoſt like a doue in ſome qualities, but not in ſhape.

The qualities of this ſemed here to want *in Wincheſt.*

Winch. He ſayd I could not ſcape ſo: there I was deceaued.

Shet. I ſayd: well then I am vnder the law. &c.

Arch. The Archdeacon was there called in for mee, and he layd to me, that with ſuch arrogancy and ſtoutnes as neuer was heard, I behaued my ſelfe before him, whereas he was mynded with ſuch mercy toward me. &c. and many lyes he layd to me, that I was ſent home tyll an other time: and I would not be contented but went out of the church with ſuch an outcry as was notable.

How the catholickes falſely ſlaunder the faythfull innocent.

Shet. I declared, that hée falſly herein reported mée, and brought in the lawes then in the Realme, and the Quéenes proclamation, that none of her ſubiectes ſhould be cõpelled tyll the law were to compell, & that I rehearſed ẏ ſame in ẏ Court for me, & I did vſe him then (ſayd I) as I vſe your grace now, & no otherwiſe.

Winch. He ſayd, that I did not vſe my ſelfe very well now.

Shet. I ſayd, I had offered my ſelfe to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

Wincheſt. He ſayd I ſhould not cōfer, but be obediēt. I ſaid let me go & I will not deſyre to confer neyther: & when I offended, let them puniſh me, and ſo departed.

By your brother, Nicolas Shetterden priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

❡The laſt examinations with the condemnation of M.Bland, Iohn Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Vmfrey Middleton.

The final condemnation of theſe 4. godly Martyrs.

AND thus much touchyng the particular, and ſeuerall examinations of Nicol. Sheterden, and of M. Bland. Now to touch ſomethyng alſo of the other Martyrs, which the ſame tyme were examined, and ſuffered with them together, to wytte, Vmfrey Middleton of Aſhford, and Iohn Frankeſh Vicare of Roluynden in the Dioces of Kent aboue mentioned, here firſt would be declared the Articles, which publickely in their laſt examinations were ioyntly and ſeuerally miniſtred vnto them by the foreſayd Thornton Byſhop of Douer. But for aſmuch as theſe Articles beyng ordinary and of courſe, are already expreſſed in the ſtory of M.Bland, as may appeare before, pag. 1852. It ſhall not therfore be nedefull, to make any new rehearſall therof.

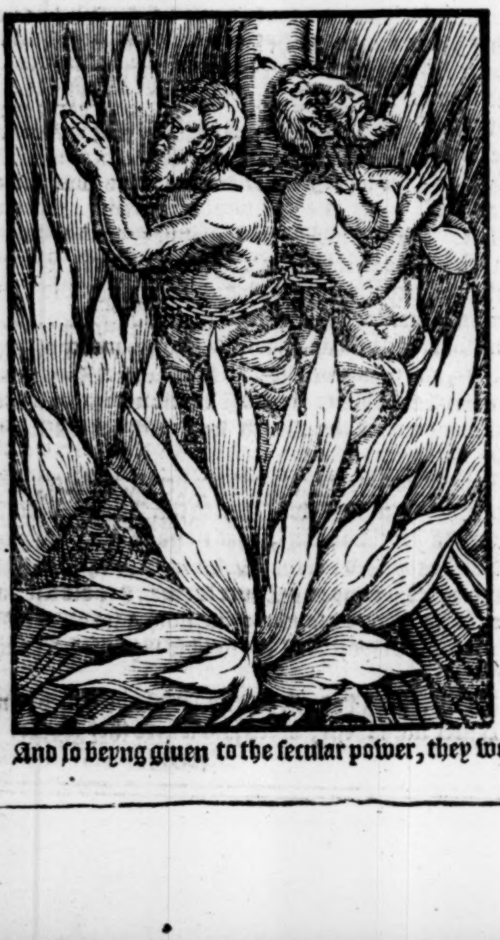
Read the Articles before, pag.1852.

Ex Regiſt. Cant.

To theſe ſeuen Articles then beyng propounded to the v. perſons aboue named, to wytte, Iohn Frankeſh, Iohn Bland, Nico. Sheterden, Vmfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, firſt aunſwered Iohn Frankeſh ſomewhat doubtfully, deſiryng further reſpite to be giuen hym of xiiij. dayes to deliberate with hym ſelfe. Which was graūted. M.Bland aunſwered flattely and roundly, as before ye heard. Nic. Sheterden, and Vmfrey Middleton aunſwered to the firſt, and ſecond Articles affirmatiuely. To the third cōcernyng the Catholicke Church after a ſort they graunted. To the 4. & the fift and Art touchyng the reall preſence, and the Sacramēt to be miniſtred in the Latin toung, & in one kind, they refuſed vtterly and to ſweare. Sheterden ſayd he would not aunſwere thereto before the cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtill remained priſoners, before the lawes of Parlamēt receaued. &c. Middleton added moreouer & cōfeſſed, that he beleued in hys owne God, ſaying, my liuyng God, and no dead God &c. Thacker onely relented and was content to take penaunce. Thus the foreſaid foure vpon theſe aūſweres were condemned by the Byſhop of Douer, the 25. day of Iune. an. 1555.

Thacker recanted.

¶The burnyng of foure Martyrs.



The Martyrdome of *Iohn Bland, Ioh. Frākeſh,* **Miniſters. Alſo of** *Nicholas Sheterden, and Vmfrey Middleton,* **burned at two ſeuerall ſtakes in Cāterbury.** An.1555. Iuly.12.

And ſo beyng giuen to the ſecular power, they were burned at Canterbury the 12. day of Iuly at ij. ſeuerall ſtackes, but all in one fire together, where they in the ſight of God and of his Aungels, and before men, lyke true ſouldiours of IESVS CHRIST, gaue a conſtant teſtimony to the truth of his holy Goſpell.

❡The Prayer of Nicolas Sheterden before hys death.

A chriſtian prayer of *Nicolas Sheterden* **before hys death.**

O Lord my God & Sauiour, which art Lord in heauē & earth, maker of all thyngs viſible and inuiſible, I am the creature & worke of thy hādes: Lord God looke vpō me, & other thy people, which at this time are oppreſſed of the worldly minded for thy lawes ſake: yea Lord thy law it ſelf is now troden vnder foote, and mēs inuentiōs exalted aboue it: and for that cauſe do I, and many thy creatures refuſe the glory, praiſe, and cōmoditie of this lyfe, & do chuſe to ſuffer aduerſitie, & to be baniſhed, yea to be burnt with the bokes of thy word, for the hopes ſake that is laid vp in ſtore. For lord thou knoweſt if we would but ſeeme to pleaſe men in things cōtrary to thy worde, we might by thy permiſſion enioy theſe commodities that other do, as wiſe children, goods, and frendes: which all I knowledge to bee thy giftes, geuen to the ende I ſhould ſerue thee. And now Lord that the world will not ſuffer me to enioy them, except I offende thy lawes, behold I geue vnto thee my whole ſpirite, ſoule and body, and loe I leaue here all the pleaſures of this lyfe, and do now leaue the vſe of them for the hope ſake of eternall lyfe purchaſed in CHRISTES blond, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide, and are content to ſuffer with him for his truth, whenſoeuer the world & the deuill ſhall perſecute the ſame.

Sacrifice of obedience to God.

O father I do not preſume vnto thee: in mine own righteouſnes: no, but onely in the merites of thy deare ſonne my Sauiour. For the which excellēt gift of ſaluatiō I cānot worthely prayſe thee, neither is any ſacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in compariſon of our bodies mortified, and obedient vnto thy will: and now Lord, what ſoeuer rebellion hath bene, or is found in my members, agaynſt thy will, yet do I here geue vnto thee my body to the death, rather then I will vſe any ſtraunge worſhippyng, which I beſech thee accept at my hand for a pure ſacrifice: let this torment be to me the laſt enemy deſtroyed, euen death, the end of miſery, and the beginnyng of all ioy, peace, ſolace: and when the tyme of reſurrection commeth, thē let me enioy agayne theſe members then glorified, which now bee ſpoyled and conſumed by the fire. O Lord IESV receiue my ſpirite into thy handes, Amen.

Sacrifice of thankes for redemption.

Sacrifice of the body.

❡Letters of Nicholas Shetterden, and fyrſt a letter to hys Mother.

A letter of *Nicolas Sheterden* **to his mother.**

AFter my humble and bounden dutye remembred, welbeloued Mother, this ſhalbe to wiſhe you increaſe of grace and godly wiſedome, that ye may ſee and perceiue the crafty bewitching of Sathan our mortall enemy, which as I haue diuers times declared vnto you, doth not openly ſhew him ſelfe in his own likenes, but vnder colour of deuotion deceaueth them that keepe not a diligent eye vpon him, but hauing confidence in mans traditions and cuſtomes of the world, leauing the commaundementes of God, and Teſtament of hys Sonne CHRIST IESVS our Lord, do grow more into ſuperſtition and hipocriſy, then into wiſedome and true holynes. For this is moſt true, that Sathan the enemye of ſoules, doth by his Miniſters make many beleue, that thoſe thinges which they compell vs vnto for their bellies ſake, haue many godly ſignifications, although they be moſt contrary to Gods will, as doubtles they be, euē as did the Serpent in Paradiſe to our firſt mother Eue. VVhat (ſayd he) *hath God commaunded ye ſhall not eate of all the trees in the Garden? The woman ſaid of the fruites of the trees in the Garden we may eate: but of the tree in the myddeſt of the Garden, ſayd God, ſee ye eate not, leaſt ye dye.* Euen ſo our Miniſters now adaies ſay: hath God commaunded ye ſhall not make you any Image or likenes of any thyng? Yea forſooth. Tuſhe ſay they, what harme can they do? May we not remember God the better when we ſee his Image or Picture? For they are good bookes for the lay men: but in dede they be better for the Prieſtes, becauſe they receiue the offeringes.

Sathan transformeth hym ſelfe into an Angell of light.

As the Serpent ſeduced Eue by an Aple: ſo prieſtes ſeduce the people by Images.

And looke how truely yͤ promiſe of the Serpent was kept with Eue, ſo is the perſwaſion of our Prieſts found true to vs. For as Adam & Eue did become like God in knowing good and euyll, ſo are we in remembring God by his Image. For Adams eyes were ſo opē, that he loſt both innocency and righteouſnes, and was become moſt miſerable of all creatures: and euen ſo wee remember CHRIST ſo well by Images, that we forget hys commaundements, and count his Teſtament confirmed in his bloud for ſtarke madnes or hereſy: ſo miſerably haue we remembred him, that of all people we are moſt blind: and this doth follow vpon our preſumption, when we remember God by breaking of his lawe: and therefore ſurely except we repent ſhortly, God wyll remember vs in hys wrath, and reward vs with his plages: as ſure as there is a God it wyll come to paſſe.

But I know the craftines of them herein (I thanke God) which wyll ſay: where went he to ſchoole? Is he wiſer then our great Doctors that ſtudied all their lyfe? And loe, they ſay that it is good hay, although we ſmell it muſty our ſelues, yet we muſt beleue it is ſweete, and then pay them wel for their ſo ſaying, and all is ſafe. But I myght ſay agayne: what Syr, bee ye wyſer then CHRIST, and God his Father, or the holy ghoſt? what wyſer then the Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, and all the holy Martyrs? I pray you Syr, where had you your high learning? Is it higher then God (being in heauen) is able to reach, or haue ye ſet it lower in hell then euer CHRIST durſt to venter? For it is ſome ſtraunge learning belike, that CHRIST nor hys Apoſtles could neuer attaine to the knowledge of it. But vayne men are neuer without ſome ſhift: For peraduenture they wyll not be aſhamed to ſay, that CHRIST comming on hys fathers meſſage, did forget halfe his errand by the way. For I dare ſay, the greater halfe of their ceremonies were neuer commaunded by CHRIST: yea I doubt it would be hard to finde one in the church perfectly as he left: ſo Romiſhly hath Antichriſt turned the church vpſydowne for lukers ſake.

Beloued mother, as I often tymes haue ſayd vnto you, euen ſo now I beſech you from my very hart roote in CHRIST, to conſider, your own ſoules health is offered you, do not caſt it of: wee haue not long tyme here. why ſhould we deceaue our ſelues, either for eaſe of our fleſh, or for yͤ winning of this worldes treaſure? I know that ſome will ſay to you, why ſhould we condemne our fathers that lyued thus? God forbid that we ſhould condemne any that did according to their knowledge. But let vs take heede that they condemne not vs: for if they had heard the word as we haue, & had beene warned as we haue, it is to be thought that they would more thākfully haue receiued it then wee doe: yea they were more faithfull in that they knew, then many now are. Therefore they ſhall bee our condemnation, if we doe not embrace this grace offered vs. And ſurely looke how many of thē God will accept & ſaue, thoſe ſhal we neuer ſee, nor haue any part among them: for our diſobediēce is more great then their ignorance. Wherefore if we wyll meete our fathers in blyſſe and ioy, let vs not refuſe hys mercy offered more largely to vs, then to them, euen according to CHRISTES promiſe, which ſaid, after ſuch great ignoraunce, as to ſeeke him from countrey to coūtrey, and finde him not: *yet ſhall the goſpell* (ſaith he) *be preached in all the world, and then ſhall the end come.*

And now let vs know the time of our viſitation, and not turne backe againe, ſeing we are once deliuered: for ſurely God wil not beare it at our hands to turne backeward. Oh remember Lots wife. God muſt needes puniſh out of hand our ſhamefull backſliding, either wyth induration and hardnes of hart, ſo that they ſhall perſecute his church and true ſeruantes, or els reward it with open vengeaunce and plages. And therefore good mother, accept this my ſimple letter as a fruite of my loue & obedience to you. Would God we myght ſo be knit in fayth and truſt in Gods word and promiſes here in this lyfe, as we might together enioy the bliſſe and conſolation of eternall lyfe: which I deſyre and ſeeke aboue all worldly treaſure, as ye partly know. If I would ſeke the good will of men contrary to my conſcience, I could make ſome my friendes, which now peraduenture are ielous ouer me amiſſe. But I thanke God, let them way the matter betwene God and their conſciences, and they haue no iuſt cauſe ſo to do: neuertheles I would they would yet refrayne and put their matter and myne into the euen balance of Gods moſt holy woord, there to bee wayed by the minde of the holy Ghoſt, expreſſed vnto vs by the holy Patriarches, and Prophets, and by IESUS CHRIST our onely Sauiour and mediator, and by his Apoſtles: and then I doubt not, but our matter ſhal be ended with peace, & ioyfulnes of hart, which God graūt vs for his mercies ſake, Amen.

Your own child Nicolas Shetterden priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate. 1555.

¶ *A letter to his brother Water Shetterden.*

I wiſh you health in CHRIST, true knowledge of his word, & a faithful obediēt hart vnto yͤ ſame. It is ſhewed me my brother, that ye willed me by a letter made to a friend of yours, to perſwade with me, that I ſhould be ruled by mine Uncle, which ſayth he will beſtowe hys goods very largely vpon me, if I would not ſtande to high in mine owne conceit. But my good brother, I truſt ye do not iudge ſo euyll of me, that I ſhould haue a faith to ſell for money. For though hee or you were able to geue me the treaſure of the whole coūtrey, yet I thāke my Lord God, I do iudge it but an heape of dong, in reſpect of that treaſure hid within: yet do I eſteme a buckle of your ſhoo, if it come with good will. And for to be counſelled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friendes, I do not, neither haue refuſed it, if they require no more of me then my power, and that which belōgeth to mortall men. But if they require of me any thyng which pertaineth to God onely, there is neither hye nor low, friend nor foe, I truſt in God, ſhall get it of me, no nor yet the Aungels in heauen.

My vncle hath bene with me and made great promiſes and greate threates alſo.

For though I be not learned (as the vaine men of the world call learning) yet I thanke my Lord God, I haue learned out of Gods booke, to know God from hys creatures, and to know CHRIST from his ſacramēts, and to put a difference betwene the merits of CHRISTES paſſion and his ſupper, and a difference betwene the water of Baptiſme, and the holy ghoſt, and not to mixe and mingle all thinges confuſely together, ſo that if one aſke me a queſtion or a reaſon of my faith, I muſt ſay thus, I beleue as holy church beleueth: if he aſke me what is the order of that fayth, I ſhould be ſo ignorant that I could not diſcerne God from his creatures, nor CHRIST from his ſacramentes. If I ſhould ſo monſtrouſly vtter my fayth, that I were not able to iudge betwene CHRISTES birth and his buriall, nor which were firſt, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would beleue that my fayth were ſound?

For ſome affirme that CHRIST did not geue to his Apoſtles a mortall and a paſſible body, but an immortall and a glorified body, ſo that hee ſhould haue a glorified body before his death, and ſo his glorificatiō was before his reſurrectiō: and that he was riſen before he was crucified, and crucified before his Baptiſme, and then they may as well ſay, hee was baptiſed before his birth, and borne before he was conceiued, and conceiued before hee was promiſed, and that were euen ryght Antichriſt to turne all thinges backeward, and then ſay: Oh ye muſt beleue, for God is almighty, hee can doe all thinges. &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty in deede, & yet I may not beleue thinges contrary to his word, that CHRISTES body was glorified before he dyed: for Gods omnipotēcy doth not ſtand in thinges contrary to his will, but in performing his wyll at his pleaſure in tyme. Neyther doth hee require of vs to iudge or beleue of his almighty power, that he hath made the ende of the world to come, before the beginning, nor yet the fruit to come before the bloſſome, and yet is he neuertheles almighty.

So ſhould he haue ij. bodies at once, one glorified, and an other mortall.

No order nor reaſon in the Popes doctrine.

We are bound to beleue that God hath expreſly willed, not what he is able to doe.

But if peraduenture ye ſhall thinke with your ſelfe: why, they are learned: it were maruell but they ſhould know what is the truth, as well as other which neuer kept no ſuch ſtudy. &c. To that I aunſwere, that if they had ſtudied gods word the author of truth, as they haue done Logicke, and Duns, with the Legend of lyes, they ſhould haue bene as expert in the truth, as they be nowe in bald reaſons. But thus hath God fulfylled his promiſe, that ſuch ſhould be deluded with lies, which would not beleue nor walke in his truth. And againe, this is a good cauſe to make vs thinke ſurely, that this was the cauſe that God gaue them ouer at the firſt to errour, after the Apoſtles time by litle and little, as they grewe in ſinne. For ſeing we had his truth now among vs a few yeares, becauſe we did not obey vnto it, we ſee what a ſodaine chaunge God hath brought vpon vs for our ſinnes ſake. And why ſhould not we thincke that thys and ſuch like diſobedience was the cauſe that God tooke

He ſpeaketh not heere againſt the true vſe of Logike.

Why God taketh his word from realmes.

his word from all chriſtendome at the firſt, ⁊ caſt a darknes vpon them that would not walke in his lyght. For it is euident enough to ſee how lyke their doinges be to CHRISTES and his Apoſtles, and that ſeene, either we muſt iudge CHRISTES doinges very ſlender, ⁊ theirs good, or els that in deede they bee the very Antichriſtes, which ſhould come and turne all thinges out of frame. Thus I haue bene bold to trouble you, which I truſt ſhall not be altogether in vayne. Pray for me, as I do for you.

By your brother Nicolas Shetterden,
priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

¶ *An other letter to his brother.*

An other Letter of *N. Sheterden* to his brother.

GOd, which is the geuer of all goodnes, and that freely for his loue to vs (not onely without our deſerts, but contrary to the ſame) graunt you my brother ſuche encreaſe of godly knowledge and loue vnto the vertues thereunto belonging, as may geue you ſuch a taſt in heauenly thinges that all treaſure of earthly things may ſauour to you, as in deede they are, moſt vaine and vncertaine: ſo ſhall ye neuer take them for no better then they be. Yea, whether God take them from vs, and geue thẽ vnto vs, we ſhall knowe our ſelues neither richer nor poorer before God: But if we laye vp in our hartes the treaſure of his word, we ſhal not onely enrich our ſelues againſt the time of nede, but alſo arme our ſelues againſt the battell with weapon ⁊ harnes, which is inuincible, and cloth our ſelues againſt the mariage. For beholde, the Lord hath called vs of long time to the feaſt, and blowen the trumpet to prepare the battell. Let vs knowe the time of our viſitation, leſt the Lorde ſitting on hys mount bewaile our deſtruction, which he deſireth not, but becauſe he is iuſt to puniſh ſuch as continue in ſinne, euen as hee is mercifull to forgeue the repentaunt that turne in time: for ſo is God that cannot deny himſelf.

Time of Gods viſitation to be receaued.

Let vs therefore in this day, while it is called to day, heare hys voyce, and not harden our harts by reſiſtance of his wyll, leſt hee ſweare in his wrath, that we ſhal not enter into hys reſt. Let vs count that ſufficient, *That we haue ſpent the tyme paſt* (as S. Peter ſayth) *after the wyll of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonnes, and in abominable idolatry. &c.* And now let vs aſſay a new life and trade our members in vertue an other whyle, leſt peraduenture we might run paſt any returne in the contrary. But if we may now returne and lay hand of his word in deede and verity, as we haue long tyme done in talke and liberty, then wyll God heape vp vpon vs ſuch certificat of conſcience, as ſhall kindle our conſolation in hym, ſo that all treaſure ſhall be doung, to that excellent knowledge of our Sauiour. Deare brother, my hartes deſyre and prayer to God is, that we may together enioy the bliſſe of eternall enheritaũce by one ſpirituall regeneration and new birth, as we are ioyned by nature. But alacke, the way and meane therunto hath ben much neglected of me (I will not ſay of you) for I had rather ye ſhould accuſe your ſelfe: for no doubt the beſt of vs both hath not ſought for wiſedome in Gods woord, as ſome in the world whom we know, haue ſought for money: therefore they ſhall be our Iudges, if wee doe not learne by them: yea the very Emmet, as Salomon ſayth, doth teach vs to prouide for the time to come: for ſhee prouideth in Sommer againſt winter.

Certificate of conſcience.

Spirituall prouiſion.

This is the beſt token I haue for you nowe, which though it be ſimple, yet ſhall it declare partly my hartes deſire to you wars, which is euen as myne own ſoule. Let nothing diſmay you, for my cauſe: but be ye ſure I ſhall haue victory in the truth, which truth is ſtronger then kinges, wyne, or women. For as Zorobabell ſayth: *Wyne is vnrighteous, the king is vnrighteous, women are vnrighteous, yea all the childrẽ of men are vnrighteous, but the truth endureth, & is alwaies ſtrõg & conquereth for euer without end:* therfore this is to deſire you ⁊ all other my frendes yͭ wiſh me good, to pray yͭ God wyll alwaies kepe me in his truth as he hath begun, which praier if it be of ſuch a mynde as laboureth to depart frõ euyll, ſhall be to me yͤ greateſt pleaſure vnder heauen. For I deſyre nothing in compariſon of Gods truth. I thanke him of his mercy, which ſo hath wrought, for I take it as a ſure ſeale of the endles ioy which ſhall hereafter follow: which God bryng vs vnto, when hys wyll and pleaſure is, Amen. From Canterbury.

3. *Eſdra*. 4.

The victorie of truth.

By yours Nicholas
Shetterden.

¶ An other letter of Nicholas Sheterden to hys mother.

To his mother an other letter written the day before his death.

O My good mother, whom I loue with reuerẽce in the Lord, and according to my duety, I deſire your fauourable bleſſing, and forgeuenes of all my miſdedes towardes you. Oh my good mother, in fewe wordes I wiſhe you the ſame ſalutation, which I hope my ſelfe to feele, ⁊ partly taſt of before this come to you to read: And in the reſurrection. I verely beleue to haue it more perfectly in body and ſoule ioyned together for euer: and in that day God graunt you to ſee my face with ioy: but deare mother then beware of that great Idolatry ⁊ blaſphemous Maſſe. O let not that bee your God, which mice and wormes cã deuoure. Behold I call heauen and earth to record that it is no God, yea the fire that conſumeth it, and the moiſtenes that cauſeth it to mould, and I take CHRISTES Teſtamẽt to witnes, that it is none of his ordinaunces, but a mere inuention of men, and a ſnare to catch innocentes bloud: and now that God hath ſhewed it vnto you, be warned in time: O geue ouer old cuſtomes, and become new in the truth. What ſtate ſo euer your fathers be in, leaue that to God: and let vs folow the counſell of his worde. Deare mother, imbrace it with hearty affection, read it with obediẽce, let it be your paſtime, but yet caſt of all carnall affections, and loue of worldly thinges: ſo ſhall we mete in ioy at the laſt day, or els I bid you fare well for euermore: Oh, farewell my frendes and louers all, God graunt me to ſee your faces in ioy, Amen.

Teſtimony and warning agaynſt the Idole of the altar.

Whatſoeuer the fathers were, Gods word muſt nedes be folowed.

From Weſtgate the 11. of Iuly. 1555. Your child written with his hand, and ſealed with his bloud, N. Sheterden beyng appointed to be ſlayne.

¶ The copy of a letter written to his wife.

An other letter of *Nicolas Sheterden* to hys wife.

I wrote vnto you as one that longed more to heare of your health, then of all worldly treaſure, willyng you to entreat Eſau the elder brother by nature gẽtly, geuing to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droues, and ſay they be Iacobs, ⁊ are ſent for a preſent to my Lord Eſau: but he wil not take it. ⁊c. Now my beloued ye know the bleſſyng of our father is, that the elder ſhall ſerue the yoũger, ⁊ wiſedome our mother hath taught vs yͤ ſame, and I know ye do complaine of your* ſeruaunt the fleſh, that he is rebellious, diſobedient, ⁊ vntoward: vnruly ⁊ crookedly ye thinke he doth his ſeruice: but yet behold, how ſhall ye pleade your cauſe before an indifferent iudge: for if it be true that his ſeruice be not accordyng to his duety, as it is many tymes found in ſeruauntes: yet (I ſay) can you ſhew your cauſe to no indifferent iudge, but he ſhall obiect agaynſt you that he is not kept lyke a ſeruaunt but he lacketh both meat and drinke, and other neceſſaries meete and due for a ſeruaunt: ſo ſhall ye take more ſhame of your owne cõplaint then remedy or vauntage agaynſt your ſeruaunt, and it ſhalbe a cloke for him to hide all his rebellion and vntoward ſeruice, becauſe ye haue miſuſed him.

*By thys ſeruaunt belike he meat her owne body, which ſhe pinched to much with penurie, ⁊ faſting, more then nedes.

And therefore my ſentence is, that ye paciently beare with him in ſmall faultes, and mend your owne great faultes, as oppreſſion, crueltie and couetouſnes, requiryng more then a ſeruaunt can do, ſpecially beyng tired with labour, famined with hũger, ⁊ lamed with ſtripes. And theſe thinges amended, if hee doe his ſeruice negligently (as no doubt ſomtime he will) yet then ye may boldly correct him with diſcretion, and ſometime if he do not his taſke, ye may make him goe to bed ſuperles: but yet beate him not with durable ſtrokes, neither withhold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually, but* let him haue ſome thyng to ioy in: onely watch him, and kepe him from doyng of harme. Though he be but a ſtraunger in the life that is in God: yet be good to ſtraungers for we were all ſtraungers in darkenes, and captiues in ſinne, as well ſoule and ſpirit, beyng in Egypt, as now the fleſhe is yet vnbaptiſed with the terrible read Sea of death, and remember that one law abydeth for yͤ ſtraũger, I meane one reward abideth both body and ſoule in the lãd of euerlaſtyng reſt. And therfore intreat him gently, and deale with him iuſtly now:* for the time wil come that the yoke of bondage ſhalbe taken from his necke, and he ſhalbe a felow heir with your yonger brother.

How a mans body is to be ordered with diſcretion.

**Corporis curam agite, non ad concupiſcentias.*

*The body of man is redemed as well as the ſoule.

Circumciſe him therefore, but do not miſuſe him, nor kepe him from his owne, but deale mercifully with the ſtraunger, that hee may ſay: Oh of what vnderſtãdyng hart is this people, who hath God? or where is God ſo nigh

The Gabaonites though they be but ſtrangers, and not to be pampered, yet are they not to be caſt out.

nigh as to theſe: God make you wiſe and politicke in hart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nations with a rod: but kill not the Gabaonites with whō peace is taken: but let them draw water, and hew wood, but geue them their meat and drinke due for labourers, and be glad becauſe your diſeaſe is ſo remedied: for it is better and eaſier for a thirſty labouryng man to drinke, them for a dronken man to tell a ſober wiſe tale. Yea, it is a token that ye haue earneſtly folowed your labour, and not kept cōpany with dronkardes and belly Gods: and therfore be glad I ſay, yea and glad agayn: for great is your reward in heauen: yea bleſſed ſhall ſhe be that in this your zeale ſhall meete you and withdraw your hād from reuengyng your ſelfe vppon that churliſh Naball: whiche thyng I hope to do now with theſe ſweete reaſons, and frayles of Figges, I beyng of one houſe with your ſeruaunt Nabal. I dare ſay to you, that churliſhnes is his name: but reuenge not, for the Lord ſhall do it in his due tyme. Farewell myne owne heart.

Yours in bondes at Weſtgate, Nicholas Sheterden.

The next day after the condemnation of theſe foreſayd, which was the 26. day of July, were alſo condemned for the ſame Articles W. Coker, W. Hopper of Crambroke, Henry Laurence, Rich. Wright of Aſhford, W. Stere of Aſhford. But becauſe the execution of theſe Martyrs perteineth not to this moneth, more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord willyng) of them, when we come to the moneth folowyng of Auguſt.

Nicolas Halle, and Chriſtopher Wayde, Martyrs.

July. 19.

Nic. Hall, and Chriſtofer Wayde, Martyrs.

THe ſame moneth of July next after the ſufferyng of the Kentiſh mē aboue named, folowed yͤ death & Martyrdome of Nicolas Halle Brickelayer, and Chriſtopher Wayd of Dartford, whiche both were condemned by Maurice B. of Rocheſter, about the laſt day of the moneth of June. The vj. Articles miniſtred to them were of the ſame ordinary courſe and effect, with the Articles of the other Martyrs before ſpecified pag. 1852. the brief ſūme wherof were theſe.

Articles miniſtred againſt Nic. Hall and Chriſtopher Wayde.

A brief ſumme of their Articles.

1. FIrſt, that they were Chriſten men, and profeſſed the Catholicke determinations of our mother holy Church.
2. That they which maintein or hold, otherwiſe then our holy mother the Catholicke Church doth, are heretickes.
3. That they haue and do mainteine, that in the Sacrament of the aultar vnder the formes of bread and wyne, is not very body and bloud of CHRIST. And that the ſayd very body of CHRIST is verely in heauen onely & not in the Sacrament.
4. Item, that they haue and do hold and mainteine, that the Maſſe as it is now vſed in the Catholicke Church is nought and abominable.
5. Item, that they haue ben and be amongeſt the people of that Juriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected vpon the premiſſes and therupon indicted. &c.

The aunſweres.

Their aunſweres.

TO theſe Articles they aunſwered as commonly other vſed to do, which ſtand with CHRIST and his truth agaynſt the falſe pretenſed Catholickes and their ſiniſter doctrine. Fyrſt grauntyng them ſelues Chriſtian men, and acknowledgyng the determinations of the holy Church, that is, of the congregatiō or body of CHRIST: ſaue that Halle denyed to cal yͤ Catholicke & Apoſtolicke church his mother, becauſe hee found not this wordes (mother) in the Scripture. To the ſecond they graunted. To the thyrd Article as touchyng yͤ very body & bloud of CHRIST to be vnder yͤ formes of bread & wyne in ſubſtance they would not graunt, onely affirmyng the very body of hym to be in heauen, & in yͤ Sacramēt to be a token or remēbraunce of CHRISTES death: Nicholas Halle addyng moreouer, and ſaying, that whereas before he held the Sacrament to be but onely a token or remembraunce of CHRISTES death, now hee ſayd, that therein is neither token nor remembraūce, becauſe it is now miſuſed and cleane turned from CHRISTES Inſtitution &c. And as concerning the Maſſe in the iiij. article to be abominable, Chriſtopher Wayd with the other aunſwered, that as they had confeſſed before ſo would they now not go from that they had ſaid. To the fift Article, for the peoples ſuſpiciō they made no great accoumpt nor ſtickyng to graunt to the ſame.

Thys word mother that: is, is not found in the Scripture.

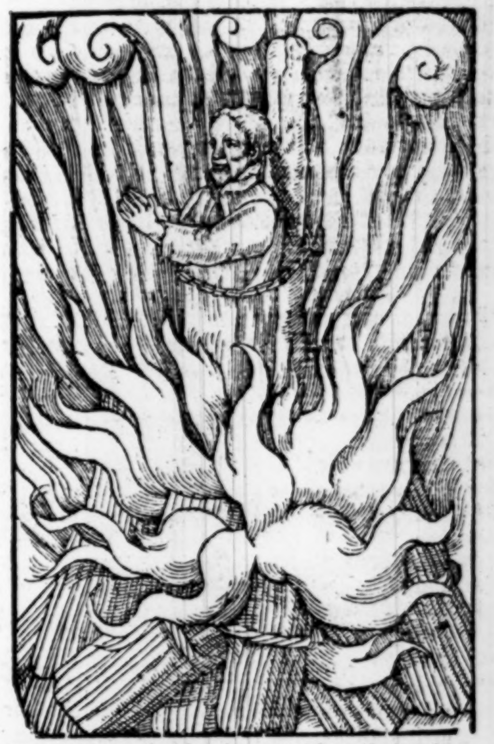
Aunſwere of N. Halle.

Aunſwere of Chri. Wayd.

And thus much concernyng the Articles and aunſweres of theſe good men. Which beyng receaued, immediatly Sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the ſayd Maurice the Byſhop agaynſt them, the copy of which ſentēce, as it runneth much what after the cōmon courſe in condemnyng all other lyke ſeruaūtes of CHRIST, ſo the ſame beyng examplified before in the ſtory of M. Rogers, pag. 1661. ſhall not greatly neede here agayne to bee repeated, but rather may bee referred ouer to the place aboue noted. Nic. Halle was burned at Rocheſter about the 19. day of July.

Condemnatiō of N. Halle and Chriſtopher Wayd, Martyrs.

The burnyng of Nicholas Halle.



The Martyrdome of Nich. Halle, at Rocheſter. An. 1555. July. 19.

As touching Chriſtopher Waide, albeit I haue no full certeintie where he ſuffred, yet moſt it is that hys martyrdome was at Dartford, about yͤ ſaid xix. of July.

Ex Regiſtro.

Furthermore, with the foreſaid Halle & Wayde, in the ſame moneth of July, three other moe were condēned by Maurice Byſhop aforenamed, whoſe names were, Ioane Beach wydow, Iohn Harpolle of Rocheſter, and Margery Polley. But becauſe their death folowed not vpō the ſame, we will therfore differre further tractation of them, till the due place and tyme ſhall require: except onely the death & Martyrdome of Margery Polley, which becauſe it happened in this moneth of July, it is not to be ouerpaſſed.

Ioane Beach, Iob. Harpolle, Margery Polley, condemned at Rocheſter.

The condemnation and Martyrdome of Margery Polley.

Margery Polley, Widow and Martyr.

MArgery Polley wydow, wife ſometyme of Richard Polley of Pepyngbery, was accuſed and brought before the foreſayd Maurice Byſhop of Rocheſter about the begynnyng of the moneth of June. Which Byſhop accordyng to the Pōtificall ſolemnitie of that Church, riſing vp out of the chaire of his Maieſtie in the hygh ſwellyng ſtile after his ordinary faſhion to daſhe the ſely poore woman, begynneth in theſe wordes.

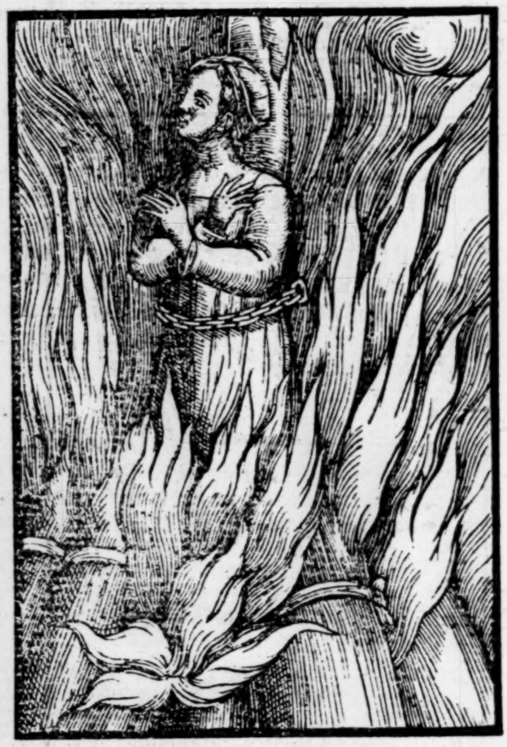
Ex Regiſtro.

WE Maurice by the ſufferaunce of God Byſhop of Rocheſter proceedyng of our mere office in a cauſe of hereſie, againſt thee Margery Polley of yͤ Pariſh of Pepyngbery of our Dioces and Iuriſdiction of Rocheſter, do lay and obiect againſt thee all and ſingular theſe articles inſuing. To the which, and to euery parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and playne aunſwere, by vertue of thyne othe therupon to be giuen. &c.

The condemnation of Margery Polley.

Thus the oth firſt beyng miniſtred, and the Articles commenced againſt her, which Articles were the ſame miniſtred to Nicol. Halle and Wayde before, ſhe ſo framed her aunſwers agayne eſpecially aunſwering to the third and forth Article, that ſhe neither alowed the deity of their Sacrament, nor the abſurditie of theyr Maſſe. For the which, Sentence was red agaynſt her about the begynnyng of Iune, and ſhe burnt at Tunbridge about the midle of Iuly.

¶ The Martyrdome of Margery Polley.



The Martyrdome of Margery Polley, at Tunbridge. An.1555. Iuly.

The apprehenſion, examination, condemnation, and burnyng of Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder, who ſuffred Martyrdome for the teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Iuly.22. and 23. Diricke Caruer, and Ioh. Launder, Martyrs.

THe .22. day of this moneth of Iuly was burned at Lewes, within the County of Suſſex, one Diricke Caruer, late of yͤ pariſh of Brighthãſted in the ſame countie. And the next day (being the .xxiij. day of the ſame moneth) was alſo burned at Stening an other named Iohn Launder, late of Godſtone, in the county of Surrey. Which two men were (with others) about the end of the moneth of October. an. 1554. apprehended by Edward Gage gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling houſe of the ſayd Diricke: and by him were ſent vp vnto the Queenes Counſayle. Who, after examination, ſent them as priſoners to Newgate, there to attend the leaſure of Boner biſhop of London. From whence (vpon the Biſhops receipt of a letter from the Lorde Marques of Wincheſter now Lord Treaſurer) they were brought by the keeper of the priſon, the .8. day of Iune next after, into the Biſhops chamber at hys houſe in London: and there (being examined vpon diuers points of religion) they made theyr ſeueral confeſſions, ſubſcribing & ſigning thē with their own hands Which being read, the Biſhop obiected vnto them certayne other articles, cauſing them to ſweare truely and directly to aunſwere thereunto: which Articles they confeſſed to bee true, referring them ſelues chiefly to their former confeſſions.

Edward Gage gentleman, perſecutor.

Caruer and Launder appearing before Biſhop Boner.

This done, after long perſuaſions and fayre exhortations, they were demaunded whether they woulde ſtand to their aunſweres. To whom Launder ſayd: I wyll neuer go from theſe aunſwers, ſo long as I lyue. The other alſo confirmed the ſame, and therfore they were commaũded to appeare againe before the biſhop in the Conſiſtory at Paules, the .x. day of the ſame moneth next following. Which articles and confeſſions, with the afore mentioned letter doe here enſue.

¶ A letter ſent from the Marques of Wincheſter L. Treaſurer, vnto Boner B. of London, touching the examination of the ſayd priſoners.

AFter my right harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your liuery of blacke againſt this time: no more I ſhall maſter Deane, to whō I wrote to make the ſermon, who muſt now aſſuredlye do it: for my L. of Chicheſter cannot attend it. To whō I haue geuē like knowledge by my letter now ſent, and your Lordſhip muſt commaunde the Sextens of your church to be in readynes for ringing in yͤ time of ſeruice. And if ye bee not furniſhed with blacke apparell for the aultar, and for the Prieſt, Deacon, and Subdeacon, I muſt haue knowledge thereof, that it bee taken of the Queenes ſtuffe, wherof I pray you let me be aduertiſed.

These funeralls were for the kings grandmother, the old Quene of Spaine.

And ye haue ſent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of hereſy before you: but as I perceiue he haue not ſent me a Significauit, and therefore you muſt ſend me one, that I may procede with him, and that ſhall I doe, aſſone as I am aunſwered of you.

A ſignificauit to be ſent to the Lord treaſuret for burning of Bradford.

There be diuers like priſoners that came frō Suſſex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to London, and ſo I pray you they may be, & I certified of your procedings, that I may follow, which I ſhal do, thanking your lordſhip hartely for my Conies, truſting to recompence your Lordſhip againe ſhortly with twiſe as many. From my houſe this. vij. of Iune. 1555.

He meaneth Diricke Caruer, and I. Launder.

Lord Treaſurer calleth vpon Boner for examination of theſe 2. perſons.

Your louing friend, Wincheſter.

¶ The Confeſſion of Diricke Caruer before Boner Biſhop of London.

Diricke Caruer, his confeſſion.

DIricke Caruer Berebrewer of Brighthamſted, in the county of Suſſex, where he hath dwelled by the ſpace of eight or nyne yeares, borne in the village of Dilſon by Stockome in the land of Luke, fourty yeares of age, or thereabout, and nowe priſoner in Newgate, where he hath remayned and continued at the Counſayles commaundement, ſince Allhollowne day laſt paſt, being examined concerning his Faith and beliefe in the Sacrament of the altar, ſayeth that hee hath and doth beleue, that the very ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of CHRIST is not in the ſayd Sacrament, and that there is no other ſubſtaunce remayning in the ſayd ſacrament after the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, but onely the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine.

The corporall ſubſtance of the Sacrament denyed to be the body of Chriſt really.

Item being examined concerning the Maſſe in latin, now vſed in the church of England, he beleueth that there is no ſacrifice in the ſayd Maſſe, and that there is in it no ſaluation for a Chriſtian man, except it ſhould be ſayd in the mother tonge, that he might vnderſtand it: and concerning the ceremonies of the Church, hee ſayeth and beleueth, that they bee not profitable to a Chriſtian man.

The vſe and ſacrifice of the Latin Maſſe denyed.

Item, being examined concerning Auricular confeſſion, he aunſwereth: that he hath and doth beleue, that it is neceſſary to go to a good Prieſt for good counſaile, but the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand vpon any mans head as is now vſed, is nothing profitable to a Chriſtians mans ſaluation. And further he ſayth, that hee hath not bene confeſſed, nor receyued the Sacrament of the aultar, ſince the coronation of the Queene that now is.

Auricular confeſſion and abſolution of the prieſt reiected.

Item, concerning the faith and religion, now taught ſet forth, and beleued in the church of England, he anſwe-

The fayth of the church of England in Queene Maries tyme reproued.

ſwereth and beleueth, that the fayth and doctrine now taught, ſet foorth, and vſed in the ſayd church of England, is not agreable to Gods word. And furthermore he ſayth, that Biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and other of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good chriſtian men, and did preach the true doctrine of CHRIST, as he beleueth: and ſaith that they did ſhed their bloud in yͤ ſame doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he ſayth & beleueth. And being further examined, ſayth, that ſince the Queenes Coronation, he hath had the Byble and Pſalter in Engliſhe red in his houſe at Bryghthamſted dyuers tymes, and lyke wyſe ſince his comming into Newgate, but the keper hearing thereof, did take them away: and ſayth alſo that about a tweluemoneth now paſt, he had the Engliſh proceſſion ſaid in his houſe, with other Engliſh prayers. And further ſayth, that Thomas Iueſon, Iohn Launder, and William Veiſy, beyng priſoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his houſe at Brighthamſted, as they were hearing of the Goſpell, then red in Engliſhe, a little before Allhollowne day laſt paſt, and brought to the Court: and being examined thereupon by the Counſayle were committed by them to priſon in Newgate.

Iueſon, Launder, & Veyſie, impriſoned for hearing the Goſpell.

¶The confeſſion of Iohn Launder before Boner Byſhop of London.

Iohn Launder his confeſſion.

IOhn Launder huſbandman, of the paryſh of Godſtone in the County of Surrey, of the age of .xxv. yeares, borne at Godſtone aforeſayd, being examined doth confeſſe and ſay, that about two dayes next before Allhollontyde now laſt paſt, this Examinate and one Diricke Caruer, Thomas Iueſon, William Veiſy, with diuers other perſons, to the number of twelue, (being all togethers in their praiers and ſaying the ſeruice in Engliſh ſet forth in the tyme of King Edwarde the ſyxt, in the houſe of the ſayd Diricke ſituate at Bryghthamſted in Suſſex) were apprehended by one M. Edward Gage, and by him ſent vp hether to London, to the King and Queenes Counſaile, and by them (vpon his examination) committed to Newgate, wher he with his ſayd other fellowes hath euer ſince remained in priſon.

The cauſe of the apprehenſion of Iohn Launder.

And further being examined, he doth confeſſe & ſay, that the occaſion of his comming to the ſayd Bryghthamſted, was vppon certayne buſines there to be ſped for his father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaid Diricke was a man that did much fauour the Goſpell, this Examinate dyd reſort to hys houſe and company, whom before that tyme he did neuer ſee or know and by reaſon of that his reſorte, he was apprehended as before: And further doth confeſſe, and beleue, that there is here in earth, one whole and vniuerſall catholicke church, whereof yͤ members be diſperſed through the world, and doth beleue alſo, that the ſame Church doth ſet forth and teach onely two ſacramentes: videlicet, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, and the ſacrament of the Supper of our Lorde. And whoſoeuer doth teach or vſe any more Sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not beleue that they be of the catholick church, but doth abhorre them from the bottome of his hart: And doth further ſay and beleue, that all the ſeruice, ſacrifices and ceremonies, nowe vſed in thys Realme of England (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which bene vſed after the ſame maner) bee erronious and naught, and contrary to CHRISTES inſtitution, and the determination of CHRISTES catholicke church, whereof he beleueth, that he himſelf is a member.

Two Sacraments only.

Ceremonies abhorred.

The reall preſence of Chriſtes body vnder the formes of bread and wine denyed.

Alſo he doth confeſſe and beleue, that in the Sacrament, now called the Sacrament of the Aultar, there is not really, and truely, contayned vnder the formes of bread and wyne, the very naturall body and bloud of CHRIST in ſubſtaunce: but his beliefe and faith therein is as followeth, Videlicet: that when hee doth receiue the materiall bread and wyne, he doth receyue the ſame in a remembraunce of CHRISTES death and paſſion, and ſo receyuing it, he doth eat and drinke CHRISTES body and bloud by fayth, and none other waies, as he beleueth.

The Maſſe abominable.

And moreouer he doth confeſſe, ſay, & beleue, that the Maſſe now vſed in the Realme of England, or elſwhere in all Chriſtendome, is nought and abominable and directly agaynſt Gods word, and his Catholycke church: and that there is nothing ſaid or vſed in it good or profitable. For he ſayth, that albeit the gloria in excelſis, the Crede, Sanctus, Pater noſter, Agnus, and other partes of the Maſſe bene of themſelues good and profitable, yet the ſame beyng vſed amongeſt other thinges that be nought and ſuperfluous in the Maſſe, the ſame good thinges doe became nought alſo, as hee beleueth.

Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary.

Alſo he doth beleue and confeſſe, that Auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any Prieſt, or to any other creature, but euery perſon ought to acknowledge and confeſſe his ſinnes onely to God: and alſo that no perſon hath any authority to abſolue any mā from his ſinnes: and alſo beleueth that the right and true way (according to the ſcripture) after a man hath fallen from grace to ſinne, to aryſe to CHRIST againe, is to be ſory for his offences, and to do the ſame, or the like no more: and not to make any auricular confeſſion of them to the Prieſt, either to take abſolution for them at the Prieſtes handes. All which his ſayd opinions, hee hath beleued by the ſpace of theſe .vij. or viij. yeares paſt, and in that tyme, hath diuers and many tymes openly argued and defended the ſame, as he ſayth &c.

¶Articles obiected by Boner biſhop of London, againſt Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder.

Articles laid t Diricke Caruer and Iohn Launder.

1 FIrſt, I do obiect againſt you, and euerye of you, that ye and euery of you, being within the ſaid priſon of Newgate, and within this ſayd Citye of London, are of my iuriſdiction (being Biſhop of London) and ſubiect vnto the ſame, offending and treſpaſſing wythin the ſaid priſon and City, in matters of Religion, and concerning the catholicke fayth and beliefe of the Church in any wyſe.

Sacraments of pennance and of the aultar.

2 Item I do obiect againſt you and euery of you, that ye and euery of you, ſince your firſt comming & entring into the ſaid Priſon, and during your abode there, both there, and in ſundry places within this city and dioces of London, haue holden, maintained, and defended ſundry opinions againſt the Sacramentes of the church, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of penaunce, and alſo againſt the ſacrament of the aultar.

Reall preſence.

3. Item, I do likewiſe obiect that ye, and euery of you, in all or in ſome of the ſayd places, haue (as concernyng the Sacramēt of the aultar) holdē, maynteined, and defended, to yͤ beſt of your power, yͭ in the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar there is not the very ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of our Sauiour CHRIST, but that in the Sacrament there is onely the ſubſtāce of natural bread and wyne, and no other ſubſtaunce.

The latin Maſſe.

4. Itē, I do likewiſe obiect that you and euery of you, in all or ſome of the ſayd places: haue concernyng the Maſſe in Latine now vſed in the Church, and the ſacrifice of the ſame, holden, maynteined and likewiſe defended, that the ſayd Maſſe is not good or profitable, and that there is no ſacrifice in the ſame.

Ceremonies.

5 Itē I do likewyſe obiect, that you & euery of you, in all, or ſome of the places, haue concerning the ceremonies of the church, holden, mainteined, and likewiſe defended, that the ſayd ceremonies are not profitable to a Chriſtian man, but hurtfull and euyll.

Auricular co feſſion.

6 Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that you and euery of you in all, or ſome of the ſaid places, haue concerning the Sacrament of penaunce, holden, maintained, and lykewyſe defended, that auricular confeſſion (being a part therof) albeit it may be made vnto a good Prieſt for counſaile, yet the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand vpon any mans head, and doing as is now vſually done in the church, is nothing profitable to any mans ſaluation, and that therefore ye neyther haue bene cōfeſſed to the Prieſt, after the vſuall maner of the Church, nor yet receiued the

ſayd ſacrament of the aultar ſince the coronation of the Quenes Maieſtye, which is more then the ſpace of one yeare and a halfe.

The fayth and doctrine of the Church of England.

7. Item, I do likeweſe obiect, that ye and euery of you in all or ſome of the ſayd places concerning the fayth and Religion now taught, ſet forth, vſed, and beleued in the Church of this Realme of England, and the Doctrine of the ſame, haue holden, beleued and ſayd, that it is not agreable to Gods word, but cleane cōtrary to the ſame.

Defending of *Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers.&c.*

8. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that ye and euery of you, in all, or ſome of the ſayd places, haue beleued, ſpokē, and ſayd, and to your power, vpholden, mainteined and ſayd that Byſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, whiche of late within this Realme were burnt for hereſie, were good Chriſtian men, in ſpeakyng and holdyng agaynſt the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, and that they did preache nothyng, but the true Doctrine of *CHRIST*, ſheeding theyr bloud for the maintenaunce of the ſayd doctrine.

Engliſh ſeruice.

9 Item I do likewyſe obiect, that ye and euery of you, haue earneſtly laboured and trauailed to the beſt and vttermoſt of your power, to haue vp agayne the Engliſhe ſeruice, and the Communion in all pointes, as it was vſed in the latter daies of king Edward the ſixt, here in this realme of England.

Defending the religion vſed in King *Edwardes* time.

10 Item I do likewiſe obiect, that ye, and euery of you haue thought and do thinke, firmly and ſtedfaſtly, and ſo haue and do beleue, that the faith, religion, and doctrine, ſet forth in the ſayd time of the foreſaid king Edward, was in all pointes good and godly, contayning in it the true faith and religion of *CHRIST*, in euery part.

Abſence from Popiſh ſeruice.

11 Item, I do likewiſe obiect and ſay, that ye, and euery of you, (for your miſbeliefe, offence, tranſgreſſion, and miſbehauiour in the premiſes, and for that alſo that you would not come to your ſeuerall pariſh Churches, and heare your diuine ſeruice ther, as other Chriſtian people did, and do, but abſent your ſelfe from the ſame, and haue your priuate ſeruice in your houſes, eſpeciallye in the houſe of Diricke Caruer) were ſent vp vnto the king and Quenes Maieſties priuy Counſaile, & by them or ſome of them, ſent afterwarde vnto the priſon of Newgate aforeſaid, hauing therby their authority, remained as priſoners, during all the time ye haue bene there.

If theyr putting to death were not lawfull by God, why do you accuſe it? If it were lawfull, why do you ſo at mans commaundement?

12 Item, I do likewiſe obiect and ſay, that I the ſayde biſhop of London, was commaunded by the authoritye of the ſaid Counſail, to make proces againſt you, and euerye of you, ſo that it was not my procuring or ſearching, that ye ſhould be commaunded or called before me in this matter of hereſy, but partly your own demerits, and partly the ſaid commaundement enforced me to call and ſend for you, to make aunſwer herein, and hereof to ſhew you the ſaid letters.

Their Aunſwers to the Articles.

Their aunſweres.

Vpon Monday, being the ſayd tenth day of Iune, theſe ij. perſons (with others) were brought by the keeper vnto the Biſhops Conſiſtory (as it was before commaunded) at one of the clocke in the after noone, where the Byſhop firſt beginning with the ſayd Diricke Caruer, cauſed his confeſſion with the Articles and aunſweres, to be openly red vnto hym (which order he kept at the condemnation of euery priſoner) aſkyng hym whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſayd Diricke anſwered, that he would: for your Doctrine (quoth hee) is poyſon and Sorcery. If *CHRIST* were here, you would put him to a worſe death, then he was put to before.

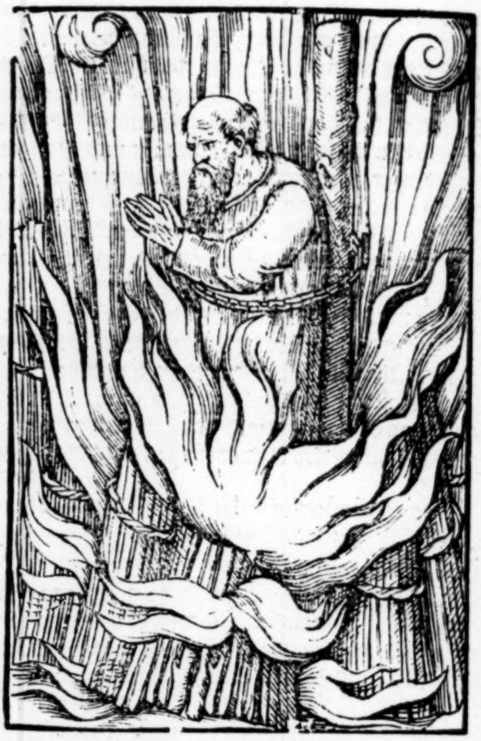
The wordes of *Diricke Caruer to Boner.*

You ſay, that you can make a God: ye can make a pudding as well. Your Ceremonyes in the Church be beggary and poyſon. And farther I ſay, that auricular cōfeſſion is contrary to Gods word, and very poyſon: with diuers other ſuch wordes.

The Byſhop ſeing this conſtancy, and that neyther his accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatnings could once moue this good man to enclyne to their Idolatry, pronounced his vſuall and generall bleſſing, as well towards this Diricke, as alſo vpon the ſayd Iohn Launder (although ſeuerally). Who (after the lyke maner of proceſſe vſed with him) remained in the ſame conſtancy, as did the other, and therefore were both deliuered vnto the Shiriffes, who were there preſent, but afterwardes were conueyed to the places aboue named, and there moſt ioyfully gaue their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their ſoules into the handes of Almighty God, by *IESVS CHRIST*, who hath aſſured them to a better hope of lyfe.

Diricke Caruer and Iohn Launder, ſent downe into the country to be burned.

The Martyrdome of Diricke Caruer.



The Martyrdome of *Diricke Caruer,* at Lewes An.1555 Iuly.22.

This Diricke was a man, whom the Lorde had bleſſed as well with temporall ryches, as with his ſpirituall treaſures: which riches yet were no clogge or let vnto his true profeſſing of *CHRIST*, ẏ Lord by his grace ſo working in him:) of the which, there was ſuch hauock made, by the gready raueners of that time, that his poore wyfe and children had little or none therof. Duryng his impriſonment, although he was well ſtricken in yeares (and as it were, paſt the tyme of learning) yet he ſo ſpent his tyme, that being at hys firſt apprehenſion vtterly ignoraunt of anye letter of the booke, hee coulde before his death read perfectly any printed Engliſh. Whoſe diligence and zeale is worthy no ſmall commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to let it paſſe ouer in ſilence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

The cruell ſpoyle of *Dirickes* goodes.

Diricke learned to read in the priſon.

Diricke burned at Lewes.

Moreouer, at his comming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called vpon hym, beſeechyng God to ſtrēgthen him in the faith of *IESVS CHRIST*. He thanked them, and prayed vnto God, that of hys mercy he would ſtrengthen them in the lyke faith. And when hee came to the ſigne of the Starre, the people drew neare vnto him, where the Sheriffe ſayd that he had found him a faithfull man in al his aunſwers. And as he came to the ſtake, he kneled downe and made his prayers, and the Sheriffe made haſt. Then hys booke was throwen into the barrel, and when hee had ſtrypt him ſelfe (as a ioyfull member of God) he went into the barrell him ſelfe. And as ſoone as euer he came in, he tooke vp the booke and threw it among the people, and then the Sheriffe commaunded in the kyng and Queenes name, in paine of death, to throw in the booke againe. And immediately, that faithfull member ſpake with a ioyfull voyce, ſaying:

Dirickes booke commaunded in the Queenes name to be throwen in agayne to the fier.

The teſtimonie of *Diricke* at the ſtake.

Deare brethren and ſiſtern, wytnes to you all, that I am come to ſeale with my bloud *CHRISTES* Goſpell, for becauſe I knowe that it is true: it is not vnknowen vnto al you, but that it hath bene truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and now it is not. And for becauſe that I wyll not denye here Gods Goſpell, and be obedient to mans lawes, I am con-

The ex-hortatiō of Diricke to the people.

am condemned to dye. Deare brethren and ſiſtern, as many of you as do beleue vpon the father, the ſonne, & the holye ghoſt, vnto euerlaſting lyfe, ſée you doe the workes appertaining to the ſame. And as many of you as do beleue vpon the Pope of Rome, or any of hys lawes, which he ſets forth in theſe daies, you do beleue to your vtter condemnation, and except the great mercy of God, you ſhall burne in hell perpetually.

Where ſée ye that in the Lorde, to beleue on the Pope?

Horrible prouoking of Gods iudgemēt.

Immediatly the Sheriffe ſpake vnto him, and ſayd: if thou doeſt not beleue on the Pope thou art damned body & ſoule. And farther the Sheriffe ſayd vnto him: ſpeake to thy God, that he may deliuer thée now, or els to ſtrike me down to the exāple of this people: but this faithfull member ſaid, the Lorde forgeue you your ſayinges. And then ſpake hée againe to all the people there preſent, with a loude voice, ſaying: deare brethrē, and all you whō I haue offended in wordes or in dede, I aſke you for the Lordes ſake to forgeue me, & I hartly forgeue all you, which haue offended me in thought, word, or déede. And he ſayd further in his prayer, Oh Lord my God, thou haſt written: *He that will not forſake wife, children, houſe, and all that euer he hath, and take vp thy croſſe and folow thee, is not worthy of thee.* But thou Lorde knoweſt that I haue forſaken all, to come vnto thee: Lorde haue mercy vppon me, for vnto thee I commēd my ſpirit: and my ſoule doth reioyce in thée. These were the laſt wordes of that faithfull member of CHRIST, before the fire was put to him. And afterward that the fire came to him, he cried: Oh Lord haue mercy vpon me, and ſprong vp in the fire, callyng vpon the name of IESVS, and ſo ended.

Dirickes prayer at his death.

Thomas Iueſon, Martyr.

Tho. Iueſon or Emerſon, apprehended with Diricke and other, and ſuffered at Chicheſter.

AT Chicheſter, about the ſame moneth was burned one Thom. Iueſon of Godſtone in the Countie of Surrey, Carpēter, whoſe apprehenſion, examination, & condemnation, (for as much as it was at one tyme, & in one forme with Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder) I do here omit, referring the reader to their hyſtory and proceſſe before mentioned, ſauyng onely this his ſeuerall confeſſion, and priuate aunſweres made before Byſhop Boner at his laſt examination in the Conſiſtory, I thought not to pretermitte: who being examined vppon the foreſayd Articles, aunſwered as followeth.

Aunſweres of Thomas Iueſon.

The aunſweres of Thomas Iueſon, to the obiections of Boner Biſhop of London, in a chamber at his houſe, in the moneth of Iuly.

1. First, that he beleued, that there is but one Catholicke, vniuerſall & whole Church of CHRIST through the whole world, which hath and holdeth the true fayth, and all the neceſſary Articles of Chriſten belief, and all the Sacramentes of CHRIST, with the true vſe and adminiſtration of the ſame.
2. Item, that he is neceſſarily bounden to beleue and geue credite, in all the ſayd fayth, Articles of the belief, Religion, and the Sacramētes of CHRIST, and the adminiſtration of the ſame.
3. Item, that that faith, Religion, and adminiſtration of Sacramentes, which is now beleued, vſed, taught, and ſet forth in this our Church of England, is not agréeyng with the truth and fayth of CHRIST, nor with the fayth of the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Church of CHRIST.
4. Item, concernyng the Sacrament of the aultar, he beleueth, that it is a very Idoll, and deteſtable before God, as it is now miniſtred.
5. Item, that the Maſſe is nought, and not of the inſtitution of CHRIST, but that it is of mans inuētion: and demaunded whether any thyng vſed in the Maſſe be good, he ſayd that he would aunſwere no further.
6. Item, that he had not receiued the Sacrament of the aultar, ſince it hath bene miniſtred as now it is in England, neither was confeſſed at any tyme within this vij. yeres, nor he hath not heard Maſſe by the ſame ſpace.
7. Item, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to a Prieſt, for that he cannot forgeue, nor abſolue him from ſinnes.
8. Itē, concernyng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, that it is a ſigne and token of CHRIST, as circumciſion was, and none otherwiſe, and he beleueth that his ſinnes are *not waſhed away therby, but his body onely waſhed: for his ſinnes be waſhed away onely by CHRISTES bloud.
9. Item, that there bee in the Catholicke Church of CHRIST, onely two Sacraments, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly vſed at this preſent tyme in England, and therfore be vnprofitable.
10. Item, he beleueth, that all the ceremonyes, now vſed in this Church of England, are vayne, ſuperfluous, ſuperſtitious, and nought.

* He meaneth not by the mere vertue of the element.

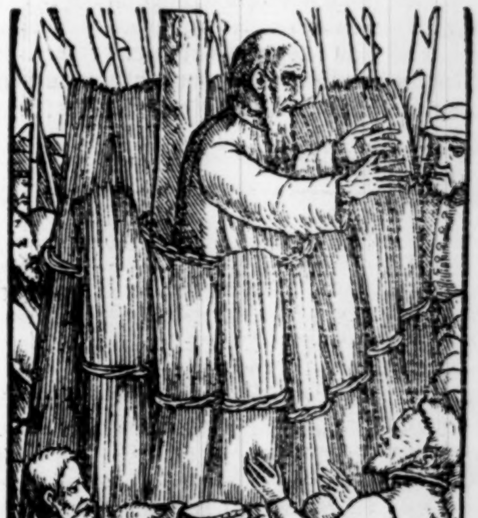
Two Sacramentes.

Agaynſt ceremonies.

Furthermore the ſayd Iueſon beyng earneſtly trauailed withall to recant, ſayd in this wiſe: I would not recant & forſake my opinion & belief, for all ÿ goodes in London. I do appeale to Gods mercy, & wilbe none of your Church, nor ſubmit my ſelfe to the ſame: and that I haue ſayd, I will ſay agayne. And if there came an Aungell from heauen, to teach me any other doctrine, then that which I am in now, I would not beleue him. Which aunſwere thus made, hee was condemned as an hereticke, and with the ſame perſons was committed to the ſecular power, (as they terme it) and at the place aboue mencioned was burned: perſeueryng ſtill in his conſtant fayth vnto the ende.

Tho. Iueſon condemned.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Iueſon.



The Martyrdome of *Thomas Iueſon*, at Chicheſter. An. 1555. Iuly.

Iohn Aleworth.

Ioh. Aleworth dyed in priſon.

IN the latter end of this moneth of Iuly, Iohn Aleworth dyed in priſon at ÿ towne of Readyng, beyng there in bondes for the cauſe and teſtimonie of the truth of the Lordes Goſpell. Whom although the Catholicke Prelates (accordyng to theyr vſuall ſolemnitie) dyd exclude out of their Catholicke

tholicke buriall, yet we ſee no cauſe why to exclude hym out of the number of CHRISTES holy Martyrs and heyres of hys holy kingdome.

Iames Abbes, a Martyr of bleſſed memory ſufferyng for the true cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpell.

August.2.

Iames Abbes, Martyr.

AMong many that trauailed in theſe troubleſome dayes to kepe a good conſciẽce, there was one Iames Abbes a young man, which through compulſion of the tyranny then vſed, was enforced to haue his part with his brethren in wandryng and goyng from place to place, to auoyde the perill of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had an other worke to doe for him, he was caught by the handes of wicked men, and brought before the Byſhop of Norwich, Doct. Hopton. Who examinyng hym of his Religion, and chargyng him therewith very ſore, both with threates and fayre ſpeach, at the laſt the ſayd poore Iames did yeld, and relented to their naughty perſuaſions, although his conſcience conſented not therto.

Iames Abbes relented.

Now when he was dimiſſed, and ſhould go from the Byſhop, the Byſhop callyng him agayne, gaue hym a peece of money, either fourty pence or .xx. pence, whether I know not: which when the ſayd Iames had receiued and was gone from the Byſhop, his conſcience begã to robbe and inwardly to accuſe his facte, how he had diſpleaſed the Lord by conſenting to their beaſtly illuſions. In which combate with him ſelfe (beyng piteouſly vexed) hee went immediatly to the Byſhop agayne, and there threw hym his ſayd money which he had receiued at his hand, & ſayd, it repented him that euer he gaue his conſent to their wicked perſuaſions, and that he gaue his conſent in takyng of his money.

Money geuen *to Iam. Abbes* by the Biſhop.

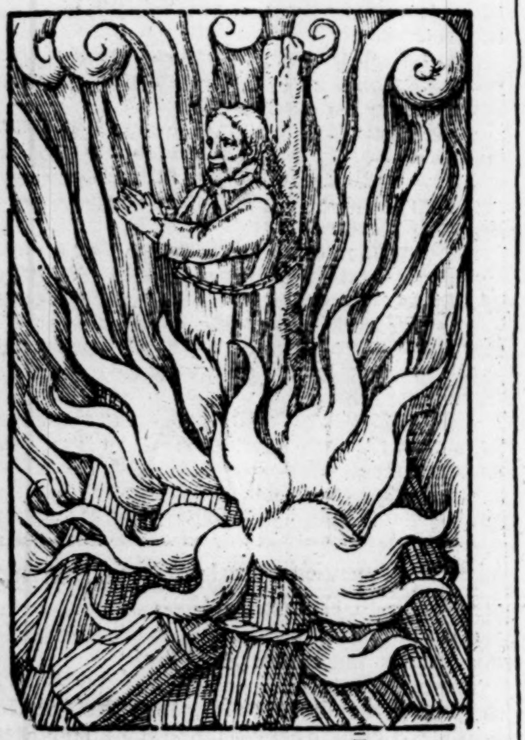
A notable example of ſting of conſcience.

Iames Abbes throweth to the Biſhop his money agayne.

Now this beyng done, the Byſhop with his Chaplaines, did labour a freſh to wynne him agayne: but in vayne, for the ſayd Iames Abbes would not yeld for none of them all, although he had playd Peter before through infirmitie, but ſtode manfully in his maſters quarell to the end, and abode the force of the fire, to the conſumyng of his body into aſhes, which tyranny of burnyng was done in Berie the ſecond day of Auguſt, an. 1555.

Iames Abbes made ſtrong by his infirmitie.

The Martyrdome of Iames Abbes.



The Martyrdome of *Iam. Abbes,* at Burie. An.1555. Auguſt.2.

A diſcourſe of the apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation, of Iohn Denley Gentleman, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pathingham, Martyred for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell.

IN the middeſt of this tempeſtuous rage of malignant aduerſaries perſecutyng & deſtroyng ẏ poore flocke of CHRIST, many there were, which though they were no ſpirituall men, yet thought to helpe forward, for their partes, & as one would ſay, to heape vp mo coales to this furious flame of perſecutiõ, whether of a blynd zeale, or of a Paraſiticall flattery I know not. Amongeſt which one was Edmond Tyrell Eſquier, and at that tyme a Iuſtice of peace within the County of Eſſex, an aſſiſter (as it ſeemeth) to the cruell murtherers of Gods Saints. Who as he came from the burnyng and death of certein godly Martyrs, met with M. Iohn Denley Gẽtleman, and one Iohn Newman, (both of Maidſtone in Kent) trauelyng vppon the way, and goyng to viſite ſuch their godly frendes, as then they had in the ſayd County of Eſſex. And vppon the ſight of them as he yet braggeth, firſt vpon ſuſpition apprehended, and ſearched them: and at laſt, findyng the confeſſions of their fayth in wrytyng about them, ſent them vp vnto the Queenes Commiſſioners, directyng alſo vnto one of the ſame Commiſſioners, theſe his fauourable letters in their behalfe. The copy whereof here may appeare as foloweth.

Iohn Denley gentlemã, *Ioh. Newman, Patrike Pathingham,* Martyrs.

Edmond Tyrrell Eſquier.

A copy of Edmund Tyrilles letter, to one of the Queenes Commiſſioners.

SIr, with moſt harty commendations vnto you, theſe ſhalbe to aduertyſe you, that I haue receiued a letter from ſir Nicholas Hare and you, and other of the King and Queenes maieſties Commiſſioners, by a ſeruaunt of the king and Quenes, called Iohn Failes, for certaine buſines, about Saint Oſythes, the which I could not immediately go about, for that I had receiued a letter from the Counſell, to aſſiſt the Shiriffe for the execution of the heretickes, the one at Rayleygh, and the other at Rocheford, the which was done vppon tueſday laſt.

A letter of detection written by Maſter *Edmond Tyrrell* to a Commiſſioner, whom I geſſe to be *Sir Rich. Southwel.*

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: Euen as I ſaw them, I ſuſpected them, and then I dyd examyne them, and ſearch them, and I did fynd about them certayne letters, which I haue ſent you, and alſo a certayne wryting in paper, what their fayth was. And they confeſſed to me that they had forſaken and fled out of their countrey for religions ſake; and ſythen they haue bene in many countreyes, by their confeſſion, which I haue ſent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them, then I yet haue vnderſtand) to ſend them to you, whereby you and others of the King and Queenes Commiſſioners there, might try them, ſo that their lewdnes might be throughly knowen: for I thinke theſe haue cauſed many to trouble their conſciences. So thys hath bene ſome let to me, wherfore I could not go about theſe matters expreſſed in your letters: but to morrow noone I entẽd by Gods grace to accõpliſh your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And this the holy trinity haue you euer in his keepyng, I beſech you to bee ſo good Maiſter, to diſcharge theſe poore men that bring theſe priſoners vp aſſone as may be. And thus moſt hartely farewell, from Rameſdon Parke, the .xi. day of Iune. 1555.

Maſter *Denley and Iohn Newman,* by the way mette and apprehended, by M. *Edmond Tyrrell.*

By your aſſured to commaund,
Edmund Tyrrell.

For ſo much as in this letter mention is made of a certaine writing in paper founde about them of their faith, what this writing was, and what were the contentes of them, the copy thereof here enſueth.

Certaine notes collected and gathered out of the ſcriptures, by Iohn Denley Gentleman, with a confeſſion of his faith, touching the ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, found about him ready written, at hys apprehenſion.

CHRIST is in the ſacrament, as he is where two or thee are gathered together in his name.

Maiſter Denleys notes touching matter of the Sacrament.

THe difference of doctrine betwene the Faythfull & the Papiſtes concerning yͤ Sacrament is: that the Papiſtes ſay, that CHRIST is corporally vnder or in the formes of bread & wyne: but the Faithfull ſay, that CHRIST is not there neither corporally, nor ſpiritually: but in them that worthely eate and drincke the bread and wyne, he is ſpiritually, but not corporally.

Figuratiuely. Spiritually. Really.

For figuratiuely he is in the bread and wyne, and ſpiritually he is in them that worthely eate and drinke the bread and wyne: but really, carnally, and corporally he is onely in heauen, from whence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.

My beliefe in the ſacrament of the bleſſed body and bloud of our Sauiour IESUS CHRIST.

The beliefe of M. Denley of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord.

AS concerning the ſacramēt of the body and bloud of our Sauiour IESUS CHRIST, my beliefe is this, that the bread and wyne is appointed vnto a ſacrament: and that after thankes be geuen to God the father, then it doth repreſent vnto me the very body and bloud of our Sauiour IESUS CHRIST: not that the bread is the body, or the wyne yͤ bloud, but that I in faith do ſee that bleſſed body of our Sauiour broken on the croſſe, and his precious bloud plēteouſly ſhed for the redemption of my ſinnes. Alſo in fayth I heare him call vs vnto him, ſaying: *Come vnto me all you that labour and are laden, and I will refreſh you.* Eſay. 55. a. b. Mat. 11. &c. In faith I come vnto him, & I am refreſhed, ſo that I beleue that al that do come vnto the table of the Lord in this fayth, feare, and loue, being ſory for their offences, intēding earneſtly to lead a godly conuerſation in this vale of miſery, do receiue yͤ fruite of the death of CHRIST, which fruite is our ſaluation.

How bread repreſēteth the body of Chriſt.

The fruite of Chriſtes death, what it is, and how it is receiued in the Sacrament.

I do vnderſtand [ſpiritually] that as the outward man doth eate the materiall bread which comforteth the body, ſo doth the inward man (through faith) eate the body of CHRIST, beleuing that as the bread is broken, ſo was CHRISTES body broken on the croſſe for our ſinnes, which comforteth our ſoules vnto life euerlaſting: and ſignifying thereby, that euen as that bread was diuided among them, ſo ſhould hys bodye and fruite of his paſſion bee diſtributed vnto as many as beleued hys wordes. But the bread broken and eaten in the ſupper, moniſheth and putteth vs in remembraunce of hys death, and ſo exciteth vs to thankeſgeuing, to laude and prayſe God for the benefites of our redemption. And thus we there haue CHRIST preſent, in the inward eye and ſight of our fayth we eat his body, and drinke his bloud, that is, we beleue ſurely that his body was crucified for our ſinnes, and hys bloud ſhed for our ſaluation.

How Chriſt is receiued ſpiritually in the Sacrament.

The groſſe errour of the Papiſtes in the reall being of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

CHRISTES body and bloud is not conteined in in the ſacramentall bread and wine as the papiſts haue ſayd, and as ſome yet do ſay, as ye read in theſe ſcriptures following: firſt read in Saint Mathew .ix. Luke v. Math .xxiiij. and .xxvj. Marke .xvj. Luke .xxiiij. Iohn xiij. Luke .xxij. in the end Iohn .xiiij. xv. xvj. xvij. Actes. j. ij. vij. ix. Rom viij. Pſal. viij. j. Cor. x. xj. Exo. xij. Col. j. ij. Ephe. j. iiij. Phil. ij. j. Theſ. j. iiij. Heb. j. v. viij. ix. x. xij. j. Pet. ij. Pſal. xj. xlvij. Ciij. x.

Chriſtes materiall body is not in all places, as theſe Scriptures do teſtify hereafter.

Chriſtes body not in all places at once.

First, reade S. Mathew the laſt, Marke the laſt, Luke the laſt, Iohn. xj. xx. xxj. These places of the ſcripture do plainly declare, that his body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, can not be in moe places then one, and that is in heauen, on the right hand of God, and not in the ſacrament, nor in al places, as the Papiſtes haue affirmed, and yet doe affirme. Therefore who ſo euer they be that do worſhip the creatures of bread & wyne, do commit idolatry, and make abominable Idols of them, and take the glory from God, and geue it to hys creatures: which is contrary to the mynde of God, as theſe ſcriptures hereafter do teſtify, firſt in Exodus .xx. xxij. xxiij. xxxiiij. Leui. xix. Deut. iiij. vj. xxxij. Pſal. lxxx. Eſa. xlv. Mal. ij. Math. iiij. Luk. iiij. Act. xiiij. Reuel. xiiij. Pſal. xcvij. i. Cor. viij. Ephe. iiij. i. Timo. ij. j. Iohn. v. Reuel. xix. xxij.

Idolatrie to the creatures of bread and wine.

Iohn Denley.

M. Denley and his fellow priſoners ſent to Byſhop *Boner.*

Now to returne to the Commiſſioners agayne, they receyuing theſe priſoners afore mentioned, after they ſaw they could litle preuaile by theyr own perſwaſions, ſent them vnto B. Boner, to bee handled after hys fatherly and charitable diſcretion. Which how diſcrete & fauourable it was, as wel yͤ hiſtory of others, as alſo the ſequele of this doth manifeſtly declare. For the .xxviij. day of Iune, then next following, hee cauſed the ſayd Denly and Newman with one Patrike Pachingham, to bee brought into his chamber wythin his houſe or palace, there examining them vppon their confeſſions (which Tyrrell had found about thē) obiecting alſo vnto them certayne other articles of hys own. To the which they all aunſwered in effect one thing, although Denley aunſwered more largely then the others: and therefore I thought it inough onely to manifeſt hys, as ſufficient, and in no part differing frō the others, except that Pachingham had one article of no great force obiected to him, which the reſt had not.

M. Denley, Newman, & Pachingham, had in examination before the Biſhop of London.

This done, the biſhop vſed with them his accuſtomed perſwaſions, to the which Maſter Denley ſayd: God ſaue mee from your counſell, & keepe me in the mynd that I am in, for that you count hereſy, I take to be the truth: and thereupon they were cōmaunded to appeare in the biſhops Conſiſtory the fiſt day of Iuly, then next comming, in the after noone, where theſe Articles were obiected againſt them.

The wordes of Maſter *Denley* to Biſhop *Boner.*

The Articles obiected by Edmond Boner B. of London, agaynſt Iohn Denley, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pachingham, ioyntly and ſeuerally the xxviij. of Iune. 1555.

Articles obiected.

FIrſt, that the ſayd N. now is of the Dioces of Lōdon, and of the Iuriſdiction of the Byſhop of London.

Slaunder of vntruth. Catholicke church.

Secondly, that the ſayd N. hath not beleued, nor doth beleue that there is any Catholicke Church of CHRIST here in earth.

Thirdly, that the ſayd N. hath not beleued, nor doth beleue, that this Church of England is any part or mēber of the ſayd Catholicke Church.

Maſſe.

Fourthly, the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that the Maſſe now vſed in this Realme of England, is naught, and full of Idolatrie and euill, & playne agaynſt Gods word, and therfore he the ſaid N. hath not heard it, nor will not heare it.

Auricular confeſſion.

Fiftly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that auricular confeſſion vſed now in this Realme of England, is not good but contrary to Gods word.

Popiſh abſolution.

Sixtly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that abſolution geuen by the Prieſt hearyng confeſſion, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but contrarie to the ſame.

Mattens, Euenſong, Eneling, with other rites of the Popes church.

Seuenthly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that Chriſtenyng of children, as it is vſed in the Church of Englād, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but agaynſt it: likewiſe confirmyng of children, geuyng of orders, ſaying of Mattens, and Euenſong, anoyntyng or enelyng of ſicke perſons, makyng of holy bread and and holy water, with the reſt of the Church.

2. Sacramentes.

Eightly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that there are but two Sacramentes in CHRISTES Catholicke Church, that is to ſay, yͤ Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the aultar.

Nynthly, that the ſaid N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that for as much as CHRIST is aſcended vp into heauen, therfore the very body of CHRIST is not in the Sacrament of the aultar.

This Article was onely obiected againſt *Patricke Pachingham.*

Tenthly, that thou Patrike Pachyngham now beyng of the age of xxj. at the leaſt, beyng within the houſe of the Byſhop of London at Paules, and by hym brought to the great Chappell to heare Maſſe there, the ſayd xxij.

day of Iune, the yeare of our Lord. 1555. diddeſt vnreuerently ſtand in the ſayd Chappell, hauyng thy cap on thy head all the Maſſe while, and diddeſt alſo refuſe to receiue holy water and holy bread at the Prieſtes hādes, there contcinuyng and deſpiſyng both the Maſſe, and the ſayd holy water and holy bread.

¶The aunſwere of Iohn Denley, and the reſt, to the Articles obiected.

Their aunſwers.

TO the firſt article, I aunſwere: it is very true.

The true Catholicke church not denyed.

To the ſecond article, I aunſwer, that it is not true: for I beleue the holy catholicke church which is builded vpon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apoſtles CHRIST being the head, which holy church is the congregation of the faythfull people, diſperſed through the whole world, and that where two or three are gathered together in CHRISTES name, they are the members of the ſaid holy Catholicke Church which is diſperſed through the whole world, the which church doth preach Gods worde truely, and doth alſo miniſter the two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſme & the ſupper of the lord, according to his bleſſed word.

A notice of the true church.

The church of England now vſed, is no member of the true catholicke church, and the reaſon why.

To the third article I aunſwere, that I doe beleue that this church of England, vſing the fayth and religiō which is now vſed, is no part or member of the foreſaid holy catholicke church, but is the church of Antichriſt, the biſhop of Rome beyng the head thereof: for it is playne, that they haue altered the teſtament of God, and ſet vp a teſtament of their owne deuiſing, full of blaſphemy and lies: for Chriſtes teſtament is, that hee would haue all thinges done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth whē he taught thē to pray, Math. 6. and alſo it appeareth by S. Paul. 1. Cor. 14. for he ſaith: *That he that prophecieth, ſpeaketh vnto mē, for their edifying, for their exhortatiō, & for their cōfort: he that ſpeaketh with the toung, profiteth him ſelfe: he that prophecieth, edifieth the congregation*. Alſo hee ſayth: *Euen ſo likewyſe when ye ſpeake wyth tounges, except ye ſpeake woordes that haue ſignification, how ſhal it be vnderſtand what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeake in the ayre*, that is as much to ſay, in vayne. Alſo he ſayth: *Thou verely geueſt thankes well, but the other is not edified. I thanke my God, I ſpeake with tounges more then ye all, yet had I rather in the congregation to ſpeake fiue wordes with vnderſtanding, to the information of other, then tenne thouſand wordes wyth the toung*. Alſo he ſayth: *Let all thinges be done to edificatiō*. Alſo it is written in the Pſalme. 46. *For God is king of al the earth: O ſing praiſes vnto him with vnderſtāding.* &c So it doth appeare that this church of England nowe vſed, is not builded vpon CHRIST, if S. Paules wordes be true, and alſo the Pſalmes: therefore this church is not bulded vpon the Prophetes, Apoſtels, nor CHRIST, as I haue declared before.

1. Cor. 14.

The Popes ſeruice in the toung which edifieth not the people.

The maſſe abominable and Idolatrous.

To this fourth article I aunſwer, and I do beleue (as I haue aforeſayd) that the Maſſe now vſed in thys Realme of England, is naught and abominable, idolatrie & blaſphemy againſt Gods word: For CHRIST in his holy ſupper inſtituted the ſacramentes of bread and wyne, to be eaten together in remembraunce of his death tyll he come, and not to haue them woorſhipped, and make an Idoll of them: for God wyll not be worſhipped in his creatures, but we ought to giue him prayſes for his creatures, which he hath created for vs. For hee ſayth in the ſecond commaundement: *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen image, nor the likenes of any thing that is in heauē aboue, or in the earth beneath, thou ſhalt not bow downe to them, nor worſhip them*. So it appeareth by this commaundement, that we ought not to worſhip the ſacrament of bread and wyne, for it is playne idolatrye, for he ſayth: *No ſimilitude*: therefore *thou ſhalt not bow downe to them, nor worſhip them*. I pray you what doe you call kneelyng downe, holding vp the handes, knocking of the breſt, putting of the cap, and making curteſye, wyth other lyke ſuperſtition? You would make mē to be ſo blind, that this is no worſhypping.

The Maſſe agaynſt Gods commaundement.

Obiectio of the pa pistes re moued.

Peraduenture ye wyll obiect and ſay, you doe not worſhip the bread and the wyne, but CHRISTES body which was borne of the virgin Mary, contayned vnder the forme of bread and wyne. But that is a very lye: for CHRISTES body that was borne of the virgin Mary, is in heauen, if S. Paules wordes be true, as vndoubtedly they are: for he ſaith in the tenth of the Hebrues: *But this man, after he hath offered one ſacrifice for ſinnes, is ſet downe for euer on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarieth tyll his foes be made his footeſtoole*. Alſo in the. ix. chap. he ſayth: *For CHRIST is not entred into holy places that are made with handes, which are ſimilitudes of true thinges, but is entred into very heauen, for to appeare now in the ſight of God for vs*, &c. Alſo Phil. 3. *But our conuerſation is in heauen, from whence we looke for the Sauiour, euen the Lord IESVS CHRIST*. &c. Theſſ. 1 *For they them ſelues ſhew of you, what maner of entring in we had vnto you, and how ye turned to God from Images, for to ſerue the lyuing God, and for to looke for hys ſonne from heauen, whō he rayſed frō death, euen IESVS, which deliuered vs frō the wrath to come*, &c. Alſo Ioh. 16. *I went out from the father, and came into the world: againe, I leaue the world, and go to the father*, &c. Ioh. 17. *Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee*. And theſe places of the ſcripture with other moe, proueth playnly, to them that haue eares to heare, that CHRISTES body that was borne of the virgin Mary, is in heauen, and not in the ſacramental bread & wine, and therefore it is idolatry to worſhip them. &c.

Heb. 10.

Heb. 9.

Phil. 3.

1. Theſ. 1.

Scriptures pro uing Chri not to be bodily in the Sa cramēt.

Ioh. 16.

Ioh. 17.

Agaynſt auricular confeſſiō.

To this fifth Article I aunſwere, that I do beleue as I haue aforeſayd, that auricular confeſſion is not good, as it is now vſed. Touchyng my ſinnes wherein I haue offended God, I muſt ſeeke to him for remiſſion therof, for our Sauiour CHRIST ſayth in the xj. of S. Mathew: *Come vnto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will eaſe you* &c. The riotous ſonne Luc. xv. ſayth: *I will ariſe and go to my father, and will ſay to hym, father, I haue ſinned agaynſt heauen and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy ſonne* &c. Pſal. xxxi. *I ſayd, I will knowledge myne offenſes, and accuſe my ſelf vnto the Lord, and ſo thou forgaueſt me the wickednes of my ſinne*, &c. Iob. xiij. *But I will reproue myne owne wayes in hys ſight: He ſhall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him*. Sirach. 34. ſayth: *Who can be clenſed of the vncleane?* And there was but one of ŷ x. Leapers that were clenſed, that came to CHRIST to geue him thankes. He aſked for the other ix. But if I haue offended my neyghbour, I muſt reconcile my ſelfe to my neyghbour: and if I be a notorious ſinner, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the Miniſter of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be takē as a Heathen perſon: not for a day, or xl. dayes, but vnto ſuch tyme as I do openly in the congregation knowledge my fault: then the Miniſter hath power by the word, to preach to me or them the remiſſion of our ſinnes in the bloud of IESVS CHRIST, as it is written in the xiij. of the Actes of ŷ Apoſtles, Math. xviij. Other confeſſion I know none.

Math. 11.

Luke. 15.

Pſal. 31.

Iob. 13.

Sirac. 34.

Remiſſion of ſinnes to be ſought only at the handes of Chriſt.

To this ſixt Article, I the ſayd Iohn Denley haue aunſwered in the fift, &c.

Baptiſme abuſed in the Popes church.

To this ſeuenth Article I aunſwere, that as touchyng the Sacramēt of Baptiſme, which is the chriſtening of children, it is altered and chaunged: for S. Iohn Baptiſt vſed nothyng, but ŷ preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appeare, whē CHRIST required to be baptiſed of him, & others alſo which came to Iohn to be Baptiſed, as it appeareth Mat. iij. Mar. 1. Luk. iij. and Act. viij. the Chamberlaine ſayd: *See here is water, what letteth me to be Baptiſed?* it appeareth here that Philip had preached vnto hym: for he ſayd: *here is water*. We do not read that he aſked for any creame, or oyle, nor for ſpettle, nor coniured water, nor coniured waxe, nor yet criſome, nor ſalt: for it ſemeth that Philip had preached no ſuch thynges to him: for he would as well

Act. 8.

Queene Mary. 1555. Auguſt.

well haue aſked for them, as for water: and the water was not coniured, but euē as it was afore. Alſo Act.x. *Then aunſwered Peter: Cā any man forbid water that theſe ſhould not be baptiſed? &c.* Act.16. *And Paul & Silas preached vnto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his houſe: and he tooke them the ſame houre of the night, and waſhed their woundes, and ſo was he baptiſed, and all they of his houſhold ſtraight way.* Where ye ſee nothyng but preaching the word, and the water. The like alſo is to be ſayd of the reſt of the ceremonyes of your Church.

Act.10.
Act.16.

To the viij. article I aunſwere ſhortly, that there be Sacraments no moe, but two: Baptiſme & the Sacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST, except ye will make the Raynbow a Sacrament: for there is no Sacramnet but hath a promiſe annexed vnto it.

The Reynbow as good a ſacrament as ſome of the popiſh ſacraments.

To the ninth Article I do aūſwere you, that ye haue my mynde writtē already. For it was found about me when I was taken: and alſo ye know my mynde in the 4. article, plainly expreſſed cōcerning ẏ bodily preſence: for CHRISTES body is in heauen, & will not be cōteyned in ſo ſmall a peece of bread: and as ẏ wordes which CHRIST ſpake are true in deede: ſo muſt they alſo bee vnderſtanded by other of the Scriptures which CHRIST ſpake hym ſelfe and alſo the Apoſtles after him. And thus I make an end. &c.

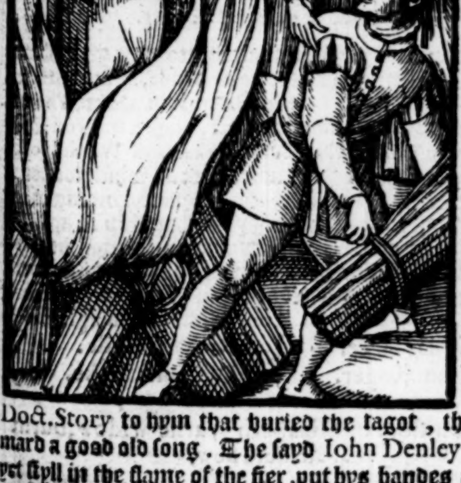
By me Iohn Denley.

The firſt day of ẏ moneth of July, ẏ ſayd iij. priſoners were brought into ẏ Cōſiſtory in Paules Church, where he proceeded againſt thē after hys vſuall forme and maner of law, reading fyrſt their confeſſions, articles, and aunſweres, and then tempting them, ſometyme with fayre promiſes, other whyles with threatenynges, which were alwaies hys chiefeſt argumentes and reaſons to perſwade wythall: in the end, ſeyng their vnmoueable conſtancy, vpon the fift day of July he condemned them as heretickes, and gaue them vnto the Shiriffes of London, as to hys common executioners: who kept them vntill they were commaunded by wrytte, to ſend them to their ſeuerall places of ſuffering: which was for Maiſter Denley, Uxbridge: where the. viij. day of Auguſt he was burned. And beyng ſet in the fier wyth the burning flame about hym, he ſang in it a Pſalme. Then cruell Doct. Story beyng there preſent, commaunded one of the Tormentors to hurle a fagot at him, whereupon being hurte therewyth vpon ẏ face that he bled agayne, hee left hys ſinging & clapt both hys handes on hys face. Truly, quoth Doct. Story to hym that hurled the fagot, thou haſt mard a good old ſong. The ſayd Iohn Denley beyng yet ſtyll in the flame of the fier, put hys handes abroad and ſang agayne, yelding at the laſt his ſpirite into the handes of God through his ſonne IESVS CHRIST.

Maiſter Denley, Newman, Pachingham, condemned the 5. day of July.

The [illegible] of Doctour Story againſt Maiſter Denley.

¶The Martyrdome of M. Iohn Denley.



The Martyrdome of Maiſter Denley, with a fagot caſt at his face, at Uxbridge. An. 1555 Aug. 8.

After the Martyrdome of M. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the. 8. of Auguſt, ſuffred alſo not long after, Patrike Pachinghā at the ſame towne of Uxbridge, about ẏ 28. day of ẏ ſayd moneth. This Pachinghā was charged of Boner (as ye heard in ẏ x. article before) for his behauiour ſhewed in ẏ biſhops chappell: who at the Maſſe time there ſtanding, woulde not put of hys cap: which was taken for an haynous offence. The ſaid Pachinghā alſo beyng much laboured by Boner to recāt, proteſted in theſe wordes to ẏ biſhop: that ẏ church which he beleued was no catholicke church, but was ẏ church of Sathan, and therfore he would neuer turne to it. &c.

The Martyrdome of *Patricke Pachingham* at Uxbridge. An. 1555. Aug. 28.

Furthermore, as touching ẏ other, which was Ioh Newman Peuterer, dwelling at Maydſtone in Kent, he was burned this laſt of Auguſt at Saffron Walden in the county of Eſſex, whoſe confeſſion is in ẏ former booke of Actes & Monumētes more at large to be ſeene.

The Martyrdome of *Ioh. Newman* at Saffron walden. An. 1555. Auguſt. 31.

❡William Hooke.

Likewyſe Richard Hooke about the ſame ſeaſon, and for the ſame matter gaue his life at Chicheſter.

Richard Hooke Martyred at Chicheſter.

The examinations, aunſwers, and condemnation of Wil. Coker, Will. Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, Wil. Stere, before the B. of Douer, and Harpeſfield Archd. of Cant.

Mention was made a litle before in the ſtory of M. Bland, & Nic. Sheterdē, pag. 1859. of certaine other Kentiſh men, who being the ſame tyme wyth them called forth, & examined by Thornton B. of Douer, N. Harpsfield, Ric. Faucet, & Rob. Collins: yet notwithſtādyng becauſe ẏ condemnation and execution of thē was differred a litle longer tyll ẏ latter end of ẏ moneth of Auguſt, cōming therefore now to ẏ tyme of their ſufferyng, we wyl briefly touch ſome part of their examinations & aunſwers, as we finde thē in ẏ Regiſters. The names of theſe were William Coker, W. Hopper, Hen. Laurēce, R. Colliar, R. Wright, W. Stere. What ẏ articles obiected to M. Blād & thē were, ye heard before, pag. 1852. To ẏ which articles they anſwered for thē ſelues ſeuerally in effect as foloweth.

6. Martyrs in Kent.

Thornton, Harpſfield, Rich. Faucet, Rob. Collins, perſecutours.

First William Coker ſayd, he would aunſwere no otherwiſe then he had already aunſwered: and beyng offred to haue longer reſpite of. vj. dayes after, he refuſed to take it, and ſo vpon the ſame, ſentence of condemnation, was red agaynſt him, the. xj. of July.

William Coker condemned.

William Hopper firſt ſeemed to graunt to the fayth and determination of the catholycke church: after callyng hymſelf better to mynd, conſtantly ſticking to ẏ truth, he was cōdēned ẏ next weeke after, ẏ 16. of July.

William Hopper condemned.

Henry Laurence examined the ſayd day of July xvj. and partly differred to the ſecond of Auguſt, aunſwered to ẏ Articles obiected agaynſt him: fyrſt, denying auricular cōfeſſion, & that he had not nor would receyue the Sacrament, becauſe (ſayth he) ẏ order of ẏ holy ſcriptures is chāged in ẏ order of ẏ Sacrament.

The wordes of *Henry Laurence.*

Ex Regiſtro.

Moreouer, the ſayd Laurence was charged for not putting of his cap when the Suffragan made mencion of the Sacrament and did reuerence to the ſame, the ſayd Laurence aunſwering in theſe wordes: what, ſaid he, ye ſhall not neede to put of your cap: for it is not ſo holy that you nede to put of your cap thereunto. Farther, being apposed cōcerning the verity of the Sacrament geuē to CHRISTES diſciples, he affirmed that euen as CHRIST gaue his very body to his Diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame, ſo lykewyſe CHRIST hymſelfe ſayd he was a doore. &c. adding moreouer that as he had ſaid before, ſo he ſaith ſtyll, that ẏ Sacrament of the aultar is an Idole and no remembraunce of CHRISTES paſſion, & contrary he knoweth not. At laſt being required to put to his hand in ſubſcribing to his aunſwers, he wrote theſe wordes vnder the bill of their examinations: *Ye all are of Antichriſt, and him ye fol.* And here his hand was ſtaied to wryte any further: Belike he would haue writtē out (folow) &c. And ſo vpō ẏ ſame, ſentence was red againſt him ẏ 2. of Auguſt.

Putting of his cap at the mention of the Sacrament.

Chriſt gaue his body, as he ſaid hee was a doore.

The ſubſcription of *Henry Laurence.*

Rich. Colliar.

¶ Richard Colliar of Aſhford.

The wordes of Rich. Colliar.

RIchard Colliar aboue mentioned, hauing the. xvj. day of Auguſt to appeare, examined of the sacrament of the popiſh aultar, aunſwered and ſayd, that he dyd not beleue, that after the conſecration there is the reall and ſubſtantiall body of Chriſt, but onely breade and wyne, and that it is moſt abominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wycked to beleue otherwyſe. &c. Upon this the ſentence was read agaynſt hym, and hee condemned the. xvj. of Auguſt. After hys condemnation he ſang a Pſalme. Wherefore the Prieſtes and theyr officers rayled at hym, ſaying he was out of hys wits.

Only in the ſubſtance he meaneth.

¶ Richard Wright.

Richard, Wright.

RIchard Wright the ſame place and day, beyng the xvj. of Auguſt appearing, and required of the iudge what he beleued of the reall preſence in the ſacrament, aunſwered agayne, that as touching the ſacrament of the altar and ẏ Maſſe, he was aſhamed to ſpeake of it or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was vſed in the church. Againſt whom ẏ ſentence alſo was read the day and place aforeſayd.

Richard Wright aſhamed to ſpeake of the Sacrament of the aultar.

¶ William Stere.

Williã Stere, Martyr.

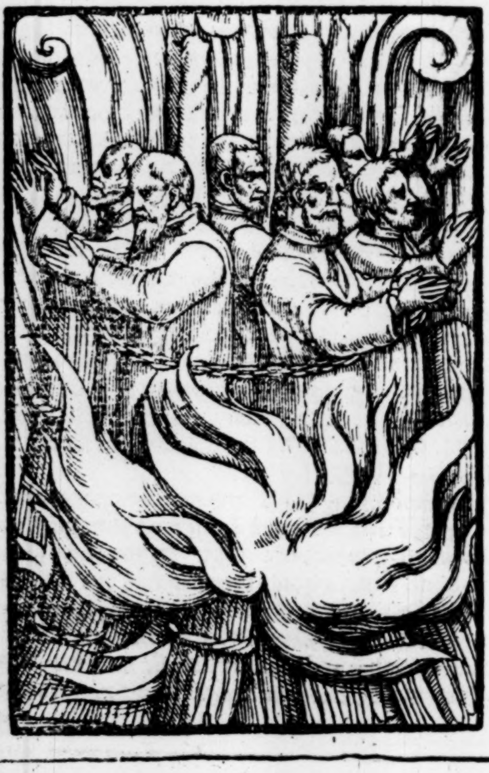
WIlliam Stere of the foreſayd pariſh of Aſhford, likewyſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appere the ſayd. xvj. day of Auguſt, where he in the ſayd chapterhouſe of Cant. being required to make aunſwere to the poſitions layd to hym by the Iudge, made aunſwer agayne that he ſhould cõmaund his dogs, and not him: and farther declared, that Dicke of Douer had no authority to ſit agaynſt him in iudgement, & aſked where hys authority was. Who then ſhewed hym certayne Bulles and writings from Rome, as he ſaid. William Stere denying that to be of ſufficiẽt force, the ſaid Dick ſayd alſo he had autority from the Quéene. Then the Martyr alledging that the biſhop of Canterbury (who then was in pryſon) was hys Dioceſan, vrged hym to ſhew his autority from the Archbiſhop, or els he denied hys autority to be ſufficient. And as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, he found it not (hee ſayd) in the ſcripture, & therfore he would not aunſwer therunto.

Dicke of Douer: ſo they termed then Richard Thornton B. of Douer.

He meaneth D. Cranmer impriſoned then at Oxford.

And moreouer, the Iudge ſpeaking of ẏ ſacrament of the aultar with reuerence therof, & putting of his cap, he ſayd that he néeded not to reuerence that matter ſo highly. And thus ſaying to ẏ iudge that he was a bloudy man. &c. the ſentẽce was pronoũced againſt him: after which ſentẽce being read, he ſayd that ẏ ſacramẽt of ẏ altar was ẏ moſt blaſphemous idol that euer was. &c.

Sentence agaynſt Williã Stere.



The burning of. vj. godly Martyrs in one fire.

The Martyrdome of vj. Martyrs, W. Coker, W. Hopper, Henr. Laurence, Rich. Colliar, R. Wright, W. Stere, at Cant. An. 1555. August.

And thus theſe. vj. heauenly Martyrs and wytnes bearers to ẏ truth, being cõdẽned by ẏ bloudy Suffragan & Archdeacon of Cant. M. Collins & M. Faucet, were burned altogether in ẏ ſame towne of Canterb. at. iij. ſtakes & one fire, about the latter end of Auguſt.

The copy of their ſentence condemnatory you may finde aboue in the ſtorye of Iohn Rogers, pag. 1661. for the Papiſts in all their condemnations followe one maner of ſentence of courſe commonly agaynſt all that bee condemned through their vnmercifull tyranny.

Read before, pag. 1661.

The perſecution of. x. Martyrs together ſent by certayne of the Counſell to Boner to be examined.

Ten Martyrs ſet vp together to Biſhop Boner.

AFter the burning of theſe. vj. aboue named, nexte followeth the perſecution of. x. other true ſeruauntes and Saints of the Lord, not ſuch Saintes as ẏ Pope maketh, or which are mencioned in Legenda ſanctorum or in vitis patrum, or in the fabulous booke de vita ſanctorum Wallenſium. &c. but ſuch as are ſpoken of in ẏ holy Apocalyps, of whom it is written: Hi ſunt qui ſequuntur Agnum quocunque ierit, quique lauarunt ſtolas ſuas in ſanguine Agni. i. *Theſe be they that follow the Lãbe whether ſoeuer he goeth, & which haue waſhed their ſtooles in the bloud of the Lãbe.* &c. Thus theſe Saintes be not of ẏ Popes making, or rather to ſay ẏ truth, they are of the Popes making, of the Popes making (I ſay) in this reſpect, not that the Saints of God are made by the Pope, but that the Saintes of God are tryed and declared by the Pope: ſo as by afflictions of Sathan Iobes patience was proued, by Pharao Gods power declared, and by Salinator, Tarentum was won (as Tully wryteth) for except hee had loſte it before, Q. Fabius coulde not haue recouered it: ſo in like maner, vnles by Antichriſt good men had ben deſtroyed, otherwyſe they had not ben tryed true Martyrs of CHRIST. The names of theſe were.

Apoc. 21.

Saintes of the Popes making.

Elizabeth Warne.
George Tankerfield.
Robert Smyth.
Steuen Harwood.
Thomas Fuſt.
William Hale.
Thomas Leyes.
George King.
Iohn Wade.
Ioane Layſhford.

Ten Martyrs ſent by the co miſſioners.

The Priſons of London beginning now to bee repleniſhed with Gods Sainctes, and ſtill moe and moe cõming in, the Counſell and Commiſſioners thinking to make ready diſpatch with the poore priſoners, cauſed theſe. x. aboue named to be ſent with their letter directed to Boner Biſhop of London by hym to be examined, and ryd out of ẏ way. The copy of which their letter, with their names ſubſcribed, here foloweth to be read and noted.

¶ A Letter ſent by the Commiſſioners to the Byſhop of London D. Boner.

The lette of the co miſſione to Biſho Boner.

AFter our harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend you here Iohn Wade, William Hayle, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Eſſex, Thomas Fuſt Hoſier, Robert Smith painter, Steuen Harwod Bruer, George Tankerfield Cooke, Elizabeth Warne, Ioane Layſhford of Lõdon Sacramẽtaries: all which we deſire your Lordſhip to examine, and to order according to the eccleſiaſticall lawes: praying your Lordſhip to appoint ſome of your officers to receyue them at this bearers hand. And thus moſt hartely, fare your Lordſhip well. From London, this ſecond of Iuly.

Your Lordſhips louing friendes.
Nicholas Hare.
William Roper.
Richard Rede.
William Cooke.

Names o the Com miſſione

¶ The hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne widow, burnt at Stratford Bow.

Elizab Warne Martyr.

NOw ſeuerally to proſecute the ſtories of theſe. x. Martyrs afore named, fyrſt we wyll begyn wyth the

Read before pag. 1751.

Of theſe [illegible] read before pag. 1654.

the hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne, who in thys month of Auguſt was burned at Stratford Bow, nye vnto Lõdon, wydow, late the wyfe of Iohn Warne Vpholſter, and Martyr, who alſo was burned in the ende of the moneth of May laſt paſt, as before in hys ſtory is recorded, pag. 1751. This Elizabeth had bene apprehended amongeſt others, the fyrſt day of Ianuary, in a houſe in Bow churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that preſent was caryed to the Counter (as is alſo aboue ſpecified) where ſhee lay as priſoner vntyll the. xi. day of Iune. At which tyme ſhe was brought vnto Newgate, and remayned there in lyke caſe vnto the ſecond day of Iuly. Then ſhe was ſent by the King and Queenes Commiſſioners vnto Boner biſhop of London: who the firt day of the ſame moneth, cauſed her wyth diuers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield. &c.) to be brought before him into his pallace, and there examined her vpon ſundry articles, ſuch as of common order he miniſtred vnto the poore Saintes and Martyrs of God, as ye may more playnly perceaue by other more large and ample proceſſes, as well before, as hereafter mencioned.

Elizabeth Warne brought to examination.

The chiefeſt obiection that he vſed, either towardes her, or the moſt of thoſe, was touchyng the reall and corporall preſence of the body and bloud of CHRIST in the Sacrament of the aultar, as the chiefeſt ground and profitableſt foundation for their Catholicke dignitie. Many other matters he obiected agaynſt them, as, for not commyng to the Church, for ſpeakyng agaynſt the Maſſe, for deſpiſing their ceremonies and new found Sacramentes, with diuers other fonde and triflyng toyes, not worthy any mencionyng. In the ende, when ſhe had bene diuers tymes brought before hym and other his adherentes, and there earneſtly exhorted to recant, ſhe ſayd: Do what ye wil. For if CHRIST was in an errour then am I in an errour. Vpõ which aũſwere, ſhe was the xij. day of the ſame moneth of Iuly adiudged and condemned as an hereticke, and ſo deliuered vnto the ſecular power (as they terme it) to be by them (yet at the Clergyes appointmẽt) put to death, which thyng was accõpliſhed in her the ſame moneth aboue mentioned.

The anſwers of Elizabeth Warne to her examination.

Story of D. Story. Priſoners [illegible] Doctour Martins [illegible].

The chief procurer of this her death was Doct. Story, beyng (as it is thought) of ſome alliaunce, either to her the ſaid Elizabeth, or els to her late huſbãd. Who, though he was at the firſt apprehẽſion of his ſayd kynſman a very earneſt ſuter for her deliueraũce, to Doct. Martin, then one of the Kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners in matters of Religion (him ſelfe beyng as yet not made Commiſſioner) and had by his ſute obtayned his deliueraunce for that preſent, as Doct. Martin him ſelfe (the author hereof) hath reported: yet afterwardes (vpon what occaſion God onely knoweth, except vpon ſome burning charitie) the ſaid Doct. Story, obtainyng now the roume of one of ẏ Commiſſioners, cauſed not onely the ſayd Ioh. Warne, but alſo his wife, and afterwardes his daughter, to be againe apprehended, neuer leauyng them vntill he had brought them all to aſhes. Such was the rage of that deuout Catholicke, & white childe of the mother Church that neither kynred, nor any other conſideration could preuayle with hym, although it did (at his requeſt) with others: who in reſpect of hym, were but ſtraũgers vnto thẽ. The Lord, if it be his will turne his hart, or els rid his poore Church from ſuch an Hidra.

D. Story [illegible].

George Tankerfield a faithfull Martyr and witnes of the Goſpel, conſtantly ſufferyng for the teſtimonie of the ſame.

The ſtory of George Tankerfield Martyr.

George Tankerfield of London Coke, borne in the Citie of Yorke, about the age of 27. or 28. yeares, was in kyng Edwardes dayes a very Papiſt, till the tyme Queene Mary came in, and then perceauyng the great crueltye vſed of the Popes ſide, was brought into a miſdoubt of their doynges, and began (as he ſayd) in his hart to abhorre them. And as concernyng the Maſſe, wherof he had but a doubtfull opinion before, and much ſtriuyng with him ſelf in that caſe, at length he fell to prayer, deſiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thorowly perſuaded therin, whether it were of God or no: If not, that he might vtterly hate it in his hart, & abhorre it: which accordyng to his prayer, ẏ lord mercifully heard, workyng dayly more and more in him to deteſt and abhorre the ſame: and ſo was moued to read ẏ Teſtamẽt, wherby, (as he ſaid) ẏ Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, workyng liuely fayth in him to beleue the ſame, and vtterly to deteſt all Papiſtry, & ſo he came no more to their doyngs: And not onely that, but alſo this liuely fayth, ſayd he, kyndled ſuch a flame in hym, as would not be kept in, but vtter it ſelfe by confeſſion therof, reprouyng his owne former doynges to his frendes, exhortyng them likewiſe to conuert and turne to the truth with him, and thus he began to bee ſmelled out among them, till at the laſt he was ſent for, as foloweth.

Tankerfield prayeth to God to know whether the Maſſe be good or no.

Tankerfield how he was firſt called to the knowledge of the Goſpell.

It pleaſed God to ſtrike hym with ſicknes, whereby he lay long ſicke: and on a certaine day to take the ayre abroad, he roſe vp and went and walked into the Temple fieldes, to ſee the ſhoters. In the meane ſeaſon came Beard home to his houſe, & inquired for him, pretẽding to his wife that he came onely for to haue him to come and dreſſe a banket at the Lord Pagets. The wife becauſe of his apparell (which was very braue) tooke him to be ſome honeſt Gentlemã, and with all ſpede prepared her ſelfe to fetch her huſband, hauyng a good hope he ſhould now erne ſome money: and leſt this Gentleman ſhould not be noyed with taryıng, ſhe ſet him a couſhen to ſet him ſoft, and layd a fayre napkin before hym, and ſet bread thereon, and came to her huſband: who when he heard it, ſayd: a banket woman? In deede it is ſuch a banket as will not be very pleaſaunt to the fleſh: but Gods will be done. And when he came home he ſaw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceiued, and wherfore he came, lyke a tall woman, would play Peters part, and in ſtede of a ſword tooke a ſpit, and had runne hym thorow, had not the Conſtable which Bearde had ſent for by his man, come in withall, who reſcued hym: yet ſhe ſent a brickebatte after him & hit him on ẏ backe. And ſo Tãkerfield was deliuered to the Conſtable, & brought to Newgate about the laſt day of February an. 1555. by the ſayd Beard Yeoman of the Gard, & Symon Ponder Petterer, Conſtable of S. Dunſtons in the Weſt, ſent in by Syr Roger Chomley Knight and by Doct. Martin.

The order and maner how Tankerfield was firſt apprehended by Beard.

A falſe Iudas part of Beard.

Beard & Symon Ponder troublers of Gods Saintes. Sir Roger Chomley, D. Martin.

Tankerfield thus beyng brought to priſon by his aduerſaries, at length with the other aboue named was brought to his examination before Boner. Who after his accuſtomed maner, ordered his Articles and poſitiõs vnto him: the copy and tenor of which his ordinary Articles ye may read aboue expreſſed, pag. 1865.

Articles ordinary.

To theſe Articles as aboue rehearſed, he aunſwered agayne, conſtantly declaryng his mind both touchyng auricular confeſſion, and alſo the Sacrament of the Popiſh altar, ãd likewiſe of ẏ Maſſe. &c: Firſt that hee was not confeſſed to any Prieſt v yeares paſt, nor to any other but onely to God, and further denying that he would hereafter be confeſſed to any Prieſt, for that hee found it not in CHRISTES booke, and tooke it onely to be a counſell.

Auricular confeſſion.

And concernyng the Sacrament, commonly called here in England of the aultar, he confeſſed that he neither had, nor dyd beleue, that in the ſayd Sacrament, there is the reall body and bloud of CHRIST, becauſe that the body is aſcended into heauen, and there doth ſit at the right hand of God the father.

Sacrament of the altar.

And moreouer he ſayd, that ẏ Maſſe now vſed in the Church of England was naught, and full of Idolatry

The Maſſe abominable.

and abomination, and agaynſt the word of God, affirmyng alſo, that there are but two Sacramentes in the Church of CHRIST, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord. &c. And to theſe aſſertions, he ſayd, he would ſtand and ſo dyd to the end.

Two Sacramentes.

And when at laſt the Byſhop began to read the ſentence, exhortyng hym before with many wordes to reuoke his profeſſed opinion (which they called damnable and hereticall) he notwithſtandyng, reſiſted all contrary perſuaſions, aunſweryng the Byſhop agayne in this forme of wordes: I will not (ſaid he) forſake myne opinions, except you (my Lord) can repell thē by Scriptures, and I care not for your Diuinitie: for you condemne all men, and proue nothyng agaynſt them. And after many fayre wordes of exhortation, which Boner then vſed (after his ordinary maner) to conuert or rather peruert him, he aunſwered boldly agayne, ſaying moreouer: that the Church whereof the Pope is ſupreme head, is no part of CHRISTES Catholicke Church: and adding therunto, and pointyng to the Byſhop, ſpake to the people ſaying: Good people beware of hym, and ſuch as he is: for theſe bee the people that deceaueth you. &c.

The wordes of *Tankerfield* to *Boner.*

The wordes of *Tankerfield* at his condemnation.

Tankerfield giueth the people warning of *Boner.*

Theſe with other wordes moe, he ſpake: wherupō the Byſhop readyng the ſentence of his Popiſh condēnation, gaue hym to the ſecular power.

Tankerfield condemned.

And ſo this bleſſed ſeruaunt of God was had to S. Albons, and there with much pacience and conſtancie ended hys lyfe, the 26. day of Auguſt, for the defence of the truth, which at length will haue the victory.

The Martyrdome of *George Tankerfield,* at S.Albons. An.1555. Auguſt.26.

The hyſtory and examinations of Robert Smith, conſtantly mayntaynyng the truth of Gods word, and ſufferyng for the ſame in the moneth of Auguſt.

Rob.Smith of London, Martyr.

Robert Smith was brought vnto Newgate the fift of Nouember, in the firſt and ſecond yeare of the Kyng and Queene, by Iohn Mathew, Yeoman of yͤ Gard of the Queenes ſide, by the commaundement of the Counſel. This Smith, firſt gaue him ſelfe vnto ſeruice in the houſe of Syr Thomas Smith Knight, being then Prouoſt of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windſore, hauyng there in the Colledge a Clerkeſhip of x. pound a yere. Of ſtature he was tall & ſlender, actiue about many thinges, but chiefly deliting in yͤ Art of Payntyng, which many times, rather for his mindes ſake then for any liuyng or luker, hee did practiſe and excerciſe. In Religiō, he was feruent, after he had once taſted the truth: wherin he was much cōfirmed by the preachynges & readynges of one M.Turner of Wyndſore and others: wherupon at the commyng of Queene Mary he was depriued of his Clerkeſhyp by her Viſitours, & not long after was apprehēded, and brought to examination before Boner, as here foloweth, written and teſtified with his owne hand.

Rob.Smith actiue in the arte of payntyng.

¶The firſt examination of Rohert Smith before Byſhop Boner.

The firſt examination of *Rob.Smith* before Biſhop *Boner.*

ABout 9. of the clocke in the mornyng, I was amōg the reſt of my brethrē brought to yͤ Byſhops houſe: and I firſt of all was brought before hym into his chāber, vnto whom the Byſhop ſayd as foloweth, after he had aſked my name.

Boner. How long is it agoe ſince the tyme that ye were confeſſed to any Prieſt?

Smith. Neuer ſince I had yeares of diſcretion. For I neuer ſaw it needefull neither commaunded of God to come to ſhew my faultes to any of that ſinfull number whom ye call Prieſtes.

Confeſſion not needefull.

Boner. Thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe euen at the firſt chop to be a ranke hereticke, which beyng weery of payntyng, art entred into Diuinitie, and ſo fallen, through thy departyng from thy vocation, into hereſie.

Smith. Although I haue vnderſtandyng in the ſayd occupation, yet (I prayſe God) I haue had litle nede all my lyfe hetherto to lyue by the ſame, but haue lyued without the ſame in myne owne houſe as honeſtly in my vocation, as ye haue lyued in yours, and yet vſed the ſame better then euer you vſed the Pulpit.

Reiectio criminis ingenioſa & diuina.

Boner. How long is it agoe ſince ye receaued the Sacrament of the aultar, and what is your opinion in the ſame?

Smith. I neuer receaued yͤ ſame ſince I had yeares of diſcretion, nor neuer will, by Gods grace: neither do eſteeme the ſame in any point, becauſe it hath not gods ordinaunce, neither in name, nor in other vſage, but rather is ſet vp and erected to mocke God withall.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Boner. Do ye not beleue, that it is the very body of CHRIST that was borne of the Virgin Mary, naturally, ſubſtancially and really, after the wordes of Conſecration?

Smith. I ſhewed you before, it was none of Gods ordinaunces, as ye vſe it: then much leſſe to be God, or any part of his ſubſtaunce, but onely bread and wyne erected to the vſe afore ſayd: yet neuertheles, if ye can approue it to be the body that ye ſpake of, by the word, I will beleue it: if not, I will, as I do, coumpt it a deteſtable Idoll, not God but contrary to God and truth.

Boner. Then after many raging words and vaine obiections, hee ſaid there was no remedy but I muſt be burned.

Boners argument to proue the Sacrament.

Smith. Ye ſhall do no more vnto mee, then ye haue done to better men then eyther of vs both But thinke not thereby to quench the ſpirite of God, neither therby to make your matter good. For your ſore is to well ſeene to be healed ſo priuely with bloud. For euen the very children haue all your deedes in deriſion: ſo that although ye patch vp one place with authority, yet ſhall it breake out in forty, to your ſhame.

Boner. Thē after much ado, & many railing ſentēces, he ſayd, throwing away the paper of myne examinatiō: well euen nowe by my truth, euen in good earneſt: if thou wilt go and be ſhriuen, I wyll teare thys paper in peeces.

Smith. To which I aunſwered: It would bee to much to hys ſhame to ſhew it to men of diſcretion.

After which aunſwer, I was caried downe into the Garden wyth my Gailer, and there remayned vntyll my brother Harwod was examined: and then beyng agayne brought vp before the ſayd biſhop, he demaunded if I agreed wyth Harwod in hys confeſſion vpon theſe Articles following.

Steuen Harwode examined before the Byſhop.

Robert Smith againe examined by the Byſhop.

Boner. What ſay you to the catholicke church? Do ye not confeſſe there is one in earth?

Smith. Yes verely, I beleue that there is one catholicke church, or faithfull congregation, which as the Apoſtle ſayth, is builded vpon the Prophets and Apoſtles, CHRIST IESVS beyng the heade corner ſtone: which church in all her wordes and workes, maintayneth the word, and bringeth the ſame for her autority, and wythout it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am aſſured I am by grace made a member.

Boner. Ye ſhall vnderſtand that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and wyll not bee reconciled, to bring hym before the cōgregation: now if your church be the ſame, where may a man finde it, to bryng hys brother before the ſame?

Where was the viſible church amongeſt the Proteſtants?

Smith. It is wrytten in the Actes of the Apoſtles, that when the tyranny of the biſhops was ſo great againſt the church in *Iewry, they were faine to congregate in houſes and priuy places, as they now doe: and yet were they neuertheles the church of God: and ſeing they had theyr matters redreſſed being ſhut vp in a corner, may not we do the lyke now adayes?

Where was the viſible church amongſt the Apoſtles?

*Here he would not aunſwere me to the church of Jury, but flieth to the v. of *Corin.*

Boner. Yea, their church was knowen ful wel. For S.Paule wryt vnto the Corinthians to haue the man puniſhed and excommunicate, that had committed euil with his fathers wyfe. Wherby we may well perceiue it was a knowen church, but yours is not knowen.

Smith.

Reiectio criminis ingenioſa & diuina.

Smith. Then could ye not perſecute it, as ye do: but (as ye ſay) yͤ church of God at Corinth was manifeſt both to God and Paule: euen ſo is thys church of God in England whom ye perſecute, both knowen to God and alſo euen to the very wicked, although they know not, nor wyll not know theyr truth nor conuerſation: yea and your ſinfull number haue profeſſed their verity, and mayntayned the ſame a long ſeaſon.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Boner. Well, thou ſayeſt that the Church of God was onely at Corinth when Paule wryt vnto them, and ſo wyll I put in writing: ſhall I?

How Boner layeth ſnares to catch the innocent.

Smith. I do maruayle greatly my Lord, that ye are not aſhamed to lay ſnares for your brethren on thys maner. Thys is now the third ſnare you haue layde for me. Firſt to make me confeſſe that the Church of England is not the church of CHRIST: Secondly to ſay it is not knowen. Thirdly to ſay the Church of God is not vniuerſall, but particular: and this is not yͤ office of a Biſhop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would haue done your beſt (I ſee) to haue entangled hym.

Harpſ. Wel friend, quoth one of my Lords Chaplaynes, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the grace of God I am that I am: and this grace in me, I hope is not in vayne.

Boners argument to proue the Sacrament.

Boner. Well, quoth my Lord, laughing: tell mee, how ſayeſt thou of the church?

The church of Chriſt is not vniuerſally in one particular place.

Smith. I told you whereupon the true Church is builded, and I affirme in England to be the congregation of God, and alſo in omnem terram as it is wrytten: *Their ſound is gone forth into all landes*, and that this is the afflicted and perſecuted Church, which ye ceaſe not to empriſon, ſlay, and kyll. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of thoſe holy and elect people of God. For Paule neyther Peter were preſent at Corinth when they wrote, & yet were they of the church of God, as many thouſandes moe, which alſo communicate in that holy ſpirite.

Boner. What call ye catholicke, and what call you Church?

Smith. Catholicke is vniuerſall, and Church in a Congregation knyt together in vnity.

Steuen Harwode examined before the Byſhop.

Robert Smith againe examined by the Byſhop.

*This was D.Dee.

Talke betwene Robert Smyth and the Biſhops chaplaine.

Then after much like vaine talke, it was layd to my charge, that my felow & I ſpake all one thing. Wherof I prayſed God, & was ſent agayn to a garden. Where after a whyle, as my brother Harwod and I had bene together, cometh one of my lords * Chaplaines, a Coniurer by report, that much deſired to comon wyth me, demaunding firſt if I were not a priſoner.

Smith. I am in this fleſh a priſoner, and ſubiect to my Maſter and yours: but I hope yet the Lordes free man through CHRIST IESV.

Abſurditie graunted by the Catholickes that the body of Chriſt goeth into the belly, and ſo into the draught.

Doct. I do much deſire to talke with you louingly, for becauſe ye are a man that I much lament, with many other ſweete wordes.

To which I aunſwered: Sub melle latet venenũ. And after much a do about hys God, I compelled him to ſay, that it muſt needes enter into the belly, and ſo fall into the draught. To which he aunſwered.

Where was the viſible church amongeſt the Proteſtants?

Compariſon betweene the Iewes that ſpitte in Chriſtes face and Papiſtes which let fall him into the draught.

Doct. What derogation was it to CHRIST, when the Iewes ſpyt in hys face?

Smith. If the Iewes beyng hys enemies, dyd but ſpyt in hys face, and we being his friendes throw hym into the draught, which of vs haue deſerued the greateſt damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth moſt iniury to CHRIST, ſhall haue a moſt plenteous ſaluation.

Where was the viſible church amongſt the Apoſtles?

How this Catholike [illegible] the body of Chriſt to incomprehenſible [illegible]

Doct. Then ſtart he away, and would haue hys humanitie incomprehenſible, making a compariſon betwene our ſoule and the body of CHRIST, bringyng in to ſerue hys turne, which way CHRIST came in among hys Diſciples, the dores being ſhut?

*Here he would not aunſwere me to the church of Iury, but flieth to the v. of Corin.

Smith. Although it be ſayd, that whẽ he came yͤ dores were ſhut, yet haue I as much to proue, that the dores opened at his comming, as ye haue to proue hee came through the dore. For that mighty God that brought yͤ diſciples out of priſons, which yet when ſearch came were found ſhut, was able to let CHRIST in at the doore although it were ſhut: and yet it maketh not for your purpoſe, for they ſaw him, heard him, and felt him, and ſo can we not ſay ye doe, neyther is hee in more then in one place at once. At which aunſwere when he had made many ſcoffinges, he departed away from me, and we were carried into my Lordes haule, where we were bayted of my Lordes band, almoſt all the day, vntill our Keeper ſeing their miſorder, ſhut vs vp all in a fayre chamber, whyle my Lorde went into his Sinagoge, to cõdemne M.Denly, & Ioh.Newman.

The queſtion is not what Chriſt is able to do in the Sacrament, but what he doth therin.

Rob. Smith brought agayne before the Biſhop and the Lord Mayor.

Then brought they vp my Lord Maior to heare our matter aboue in the chamber, and I firſt of all was called into the chãber where my Lord entended to ſuppe. Where my Lord Maior being ſet with the biſhop and one of the Shiriffes, wine was walking on euery ſide, I ſtanding before them as an outcaſt, which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made frends, but no man was ſory for Ioſephes hurt. But after my Lordes had well drunke, my articles were ſent for and red, and hee demaunded whether I ſayd not as was wrytten.

Smith. That I haue ſayd, I haue ſayd, and what I haue ſayd, I do meane vtterly.

B. Boner excuſeth himſelfe of bloudines.

Boner. Well my Lord Maior, your Lordſhip hath heard ſomwhat, what a ſtout hereticke this is, and that hys articles haue deſerued death: Yet neuertheles for ſo much as they report me to ſeeke bloud, and call mee bloudy Boner, wher as God knoweth, I neuer ſought any mans bloud in all my life, I haue ſtayed hym from the Conſiſtory this day, whither I might haue brought hym iuſtly: and yet here before your Lordſhyp, I deſire hym to turne, and I wyll wyth all ſpeede diſpatch hym out of trouble: and thys I profeſſe before your Lordſhip and all this audience.

B. Boner proued to be cruell and bloudy.

Of Tomkins hand, read before pag. 1710.

Smith. Why my Lord, do ye put on this fayre viſer before my Lord Maior, to make him beleue that ye ſeke not my bloude, to clooke your murthers through my ſtoutnes, as ye cal it? haue ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whoſe hand when you had burned moſt cruelly, ye burnt alſo his body, and not onely of him, but of a great many of the mẽbers of CHRIST, men that feared God and liued vertuouſly, and alſo the Queenes maieſties moſt true ſubiectes, as their goodes and bodies haue made manifeſt? and ſeeing in in theſe Saintes ye haue ſhewed ſo little mercy, ſhall it ſeme to my Lord and this audience, that ye wil ſhew me more fauour? no, no my Lord. But if ye meane as ye ſay, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to aunſwere you vnto?

By this queſtion it may appeare whether the B. ſought bloud, or no.

Boner. Well, what ſayeſt thou by the Sacrament of the Altar? is it not the very body of CHRIST, fleſh, bloud, and bone, as it was borne of the Virgin?

The Papiſtes dead God, hauing body without bloud.

Smith. I haue aunſwered, that it is none of Gods order, neyther any ſacrament, but mans own vaine inuention, and ſhewed hym the Lordes inſtitution. But when he was ſo earneſt before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringyng out hys Hoc eſt corpus meum to lay in my diſh, I proued before the audience that it was a dead God, declaring the diſtinction appoynted betwene yͤ two creatures of bread & wine, and that a body without bloud hath no lyfe. At which Harpesfield found hym ſelfe much offended, and tooke the tale out of my Lordes mouth, ſaying.

Harpſ. I will approue by the ſcriptures, that ye blaſpheme God in ſo ſaying: for it is geuen in two partes becauſe there is two thinges ſhewed, that is to ſay, his body and his paſſion, as ſayth Saint Paule: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wyne the repreſentation of his death and bloud ſheeding.

Smith. Ye falſifie the worde, and racke it to ſerue your purpoſe. For the wine was not only the ſhowing of his paſſion, but yͤ bread alſo: for our Sauiour ſaith:

ſo oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me. And ſaint Paule ſaith: *ſo oft as ye eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lordes death tyll he come.* And here is aſmuch reuerence geuen to the one, as the other.

Euen as the bread is the body: ſo is the cuppe the bloud.

Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup muſt be his bloud, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his bloud in the bread. Then vppe roſe my Lord and went to the table: where my Lord Mayor deſyred me to ſaue my ſoule. To whom I aunſwered, I hope it was ſaued through CHRIST IESVS, deſyring hym to haue pity on his owne ſoule, and remember whoſe ſword he carped. At which I was carped into the garden, and there abode vntill the reſt of my friends were examined, and ſo were we ſent away, with many foule farewelles to Newgate agayne, my Lorde Byſhop geuing the kéeper a charge to lay me in Limbo.

Robert Smith commaunded *of Boner* into Limbo.

An other examination of Rob. Smith before the ſayd Byſhop.

An other examination of *Rob. Smith.*

VPon Saterday at viij. of the clocke, I was brought to his chamber agayne and there by him examined as foloweth.

Boner beginneth with an vntrouth.

Boner. Thou Rob. Smith &c. ſayſt that there is no Catholicke Church here on earth.

Smith. Ye haue heard me both ſpeake the cōtrary, and ye haue written it as a witnes of the ſame.

Boner. Yea, but I muſt aſke thée this queſtion: how ſayeſt thou?

Smith. Muſt ye of neceſſitie begyn with a lye? it maketh manifeſt that ye determine to end with the ſame. But there ſhall no lyers enter into the kyngdome of God. Neuertheleſſe, if ye will be anſwered, aſke myne Articles that were written yeſterday, and they ſhall tell you that I haue confeſſed a Church of God, as well in earth as in heauen, and yet all one Church, and one mans members, euen CHRIST IESVS.

The church.

Boner. Well, what ſayeſt þu to auricular confeſſion? is it not neceſſary to be vſed in CHRISTES Church, and wilt not thou be ſhriuen of the Prieſt?

Smith. It is not nedefull to be vſed in CHRISTES Church, as I aunſwered yeſterday. But if it be nedefull for your Church, it is to picke mens purſes. And ſuch pickepurſe matters is all the whole rable of your ceremonies: for al is but money matters that ye maintayne.

Auricular confeſſion is but a pickepurſe matter.

Boner. Why, how art thou able to proue that Confeſſion is a picke purſe matter? Art thou not aſhamed ſo to ſay?

Smith. I ſpeake by experience. For I haue both heard and ſéene the fruites of the ſame. For firſt it hath bene, we ſée, a bewrayer of Kynges ſecretes, and the ſecretes of other mens conſciences. Who beyng deliuered and glad to be diſcharged of their ſinnes, haue geuē to Prieſtes great ſummes of money to abſolue them, & ſing Maſſes for their ſoules health.

The inconueniences of Auricular confeſſion.

And for enſample, I began to bryng in a pageaunt, that by report was played at S. Thomas of Acres, and where I was ſome tyme a child wayting of a Gentleman of Northfolke, which beyng bound in conſcience through the perſuaſiō of the Prieſt, gaue away a great ſomme of his gođes, and forgaue vnto M. Greſſam a great ſumme of money, and to an other as much. The Prieſt had for his part a ſumme, and the houſe had an annuity to kéepe hym, þe which thing when his brother heard, he came downe to London, and after declaratiō made to the Coūſaile, how by the ſubtilty of the Prieſt he had robbed his wife and children, recouered a great part agayne, to the value of ij. or thrée hūdreth poundes of M. Greſſam, and his other frend: but what he gaue to the houſe, could not be recouered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord ſaw it ſauoured not to hys purpoſe, he began to reuile me, and ſayd: by the Maſſe if the Quéenes Maieſtie were of his minde, I ſhould not come to talke before any man, but ſhould be put into a ſacke, & a dogge tyed vnto the ſame, and ſo ſhoulde be throwen into the water.

A falſe practiſe of a prieſt vnder confeſſion.

Smith. To which I aunſwered agayne, ſaying: I know you ſpeake by practiſe, as much as by ſpeculation: for both you and your predeceſſours haue ſought all meanes poſſible to kill CHRIST ſecretly: record of M. Hunne, whom your predeceſſour cauſed to bee thruſt in at the noſe with hote burnyng nedles, and then to be hanged, & ſayd the ſame Hunne to haue hanged hym ſelfe: and alſo a gođ brother of yours, a Byſhop of your profeſſion, hauyng in his priſon an innocent man, whom, becauſe he ſaw he was not able by the Scriptures to ouercome, he made hym priuely to be ſnarled, and his fleſh to be torne and plucked away with a payre of pinſers, and bringyng him before the people, ſayd the Rats had eaten him. Thus accordyng to your oth is all your dealyng & hath bene: and as you takyng vpon you the office, do not without othes open your mouth, no more do you without murder mayntaine your traditions.

Of this murder of *Richard Hunne*, read before Pag. 931.

Example of terrible crueltie ſhewed vpō a poore innocent.

Boner. Ah, ye are a generation of lyers: there is not one true word that commeth out of your mouthes.

Smith. Yes my Lord, I haue ſayd that IESVS CHRIST is dead for my ſinnes, and riſen for my iuſtification, and this is no lye.

Boner. Then made he his man to put in my tale of the Gentleman of Northfolke, and would haue had me recite it againe: Which when I would not do, he made his man to put in ſuch ſummes as he imagined. At the end of this, commeth in M. Mordant Knight, and ſate downe to heare my examination. Then ſayd my Lord, how ſayeſt thou Smith to the ſeuen Sacramētes? Beleueſt thou not that they be Gods order, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of. &c.

Sir Iohn Mordant knight.

Smith. I beleue that in Gods Church are but two Sacramentes, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Regeneration, and the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper: and as for the Sacrament of the Altar, and all your Sacramentes, they may well ſerue your Church, but Godes Church hath nothing to doe with them, neither haue I any thyng to doe to aunſwere them, nor you to examine me of them.

Two Sacramentes.

Boner. Why? is Gods order channged in Baptiſme? In what poynt do we diſſent from the worde of God?

Smith. Firſt, in halowyng your water: in coniuryng of the ſame: in Baptiſing children, with annoyntyng, & ſpittyng in their mouthes, mingled with ſalt, & with many other leude ceremonyes, of which not one poynt is able to be proued in Gods order.

Baptiſme in what poyntes it is abuſed by the Catholickes.

Boner. By the Maſſe this is the vnſhamefaſteſt heretike, that euer I heard ſpeake.

Smith. Wel ſworne my Lord, ye kéepe a gođ watch.

Boner. Well Maſter Controller, ye catch me at my wordes: but I will watch thée as well, I warrant thée.

Mordant. By my trouth my Lord, quoth M. Mordant I neuer heard the like in all my lyfe. But I pray you my Lord marke wel this aunſwere for Baptiſme. He diſaloweth therin, holy oyntment, ſalt, & ſuch other laudable ceremonies, which no Chriſtiā man wil deny.

Smith. That is a ſhamefull blaſphemy agaynſt CHRIST ſo to vſe any mingle mangle in Baptiſing young infantes.

Boner. I beleue I tell thée, that if they dye before they be Baptiſed, they be damned.

Smith. Ye ſhall neuer be ſaued by that belief. But I pray you my Lord, ſhew me, are we ſaued by water, or by CHRIST?

Boner. By both.

Smith. Then the water dyed for our ſinnes: and ſo muſt ye ſay that the water hath lyfe, and it beyng our ſeruaunt, and created for vs, is our Sauiour: this my Lord is a gođ doctrine, is it not?

Boner. Why? how vnderſtandeſt thou theſe Scriptures? *Except a man bee borne of water and the ſpirite, hee can not enter into the kingdome of God.* And agayne: *Suffer* (ſayth our Sauiour) *theſe children to come* *vnto me:* and if thou wilt not ſuffer thẽ to be baptiſed after the laudable order, thou letteſt them to come vnto CHRIST.

Smith. Where ye alledge S.Iohn, *Except a mã.&c.* and will therby proue the water to ſaue, & ſo the deede or worke to ſaue and put away ſinnes, I will ſend you to S.Paul, which aſketh of ẏ Galathians: *Whether they receiued the ſpirite by the deedes of the law, or by the preaching of fayth?* and there concludeth that the holy Ghoſt accompanieth the preachyng of fayth, & with the word of fayth entreth into the hart. So now if Baptiſme preach me the waſhyng in CHRISTES bloud, ſo doth the holy Ghoſt accompany it, and it is vnto me as a preacher, & not as a Sauiour. And where ye ſay, I let the children to come vnto CHRIST, it is manifeſt by our Sauiours wordes that ye let them to come, that will not ſuffer thẽ to come to him without the neceſſitie of water. For he ſayth, ſuffer them to come vnto me, and not vnto water: and therfore if ye condemne them, ye condemne both the merites and wordes of CHRIST. For our Sauiour ſayth: *Except ye turne and become as children, ye cã not enter into the kingdome of God:* and ſo brought I out many other enſamples, to make manifeſt, that CHRIST hath clenſed Originall ſinne, bryngyng in enſamples out of Scriptures for the ſame.

Boner. Then thou makeſt the water of none effect, and then put away water.

Smith. *It is not* (ſaith S. Peter) *the waſhing away of the fylth of the fleſh, but in that a good conſcience conſenteth vnto God:* And for to proue that water onely bringeth not ẏ holy ghoſt, it is written in the 8. of the Actes, that Simon receiued water, but would haue receyued the holy ghoſt for money. Alſo that ẏ holy ghoſt hath come before Baptiſme, it is written that Iohn had the holy ghoſt in his mothers wombe. Cornelius, Paule, and the Queene of Candace ſeruaunt, with many other receyued the holy ghoſt before Baptiſme. Yea, and although your generation haue ſet at nought the worde of God, & like ſwine turned his wordes vpſyde down, yet muſt his church kepe the ſame in order that he left them, which his Church dare not breake: and to iudge children damned that be not baptiſed, it is wicked.

Mord. By our Lady ſir, but I beleue that if my child dye without water, he is damned.

Boner. Yea, and ſo do I, and all Catholyke men, good Maſter Mordant.

Smith. Well my Lord, ſuch Catholycke, ſuch ſaluation.

Boner. Well ſir, what ſay you to the Sacrament of orders?

Smith. Ye may call it the Sacrament of miſorders: for all orders are appoynted of God. But as for your ſhauyng, annoynting, greaſing, poling, and rounding, there are no ſuch things appointed in Gods booke, and therefore I haue nothing to do to beleue your orders. And as for you my Lord, if ye had grace or intelligence, ye would not ſo diſfigure your ſelfe as ye doe.

Boner. Saieſt thou ſo? now by my trouth and I wil go ſhaue my ſelf to anger thee withall, & ſo ſent for his Barber, which immediatly came. And before my face at the dore of the next chamber he ſhaued him ſelfe, deſiring me before hee went, to aunſwere to theſe Articles.

Boner. What ſay you to the holy bread, and holy water, to the Sacrament of annointing, and to all the reſt of ſuch ceremonies of the Church?

Smith. I ſay they be bables for fooles to play withall, and not for the children of God to exercyſe themſelues in: and therefore they may goe amonges the refuſe. Then went away Maſter Mordant, and my Lorde went to ſhauing, leauing there certayne Doctors, as he called thẽ, to aſſay what they could do, of whom I was baited for halfe an houre: of whõ I alſo aſked this queſtion: where were all you in the dayes of King Edward, that ye ſpake not that which ye ſpeake now?

Talke betwene *Rob. Smith* and the Doctours.

Doct. We were in England.

Smith. Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye haue put on Lyons faces againe, as ſaith ſaint Iohn: *ye ſhew your ſelues now as full of malice as ye may be.* For ye haue for euery tyme a viſer: yea and if an other K. Rdward ſhould aryſe, yee woulde then ſay downe with the Pope, for hee is Antichriſt, and ſo are all hys Angels.

Then was I all to reuyled, and ſo ſent away and brought in agayne to come before theſe men: and one of them that bayted me before, aſked me if I diſobeyed confeſſion.

Smith. To whom I anſwered: loke in myne articles and they ſhall ſhew you what I allow.

Doct. Your articles confeſſe that you allow not Auricular confeſſion.

Smith. I allow it not becauſe the worde alloweth it not, nor commaundeth it.

Agaynſt Auricular confeſſion.

Doct. Why? it is writtẽ, thou ſhalt not hyde thy ſinnes and offenſes.

Smith. No more doe I when I confeſſe them to Almighty God.

Doct. Why? ye can not ſay that yee can hyde them from God, & therefore ye muſt vnderſtand the wordes are ſpoken to be vttered to thẽ that do not know them.

Smith. Ye haue made a good aunſwere: then muſt the Prieſt confeſſe him ſelfe to me, as I to hym. For I know his faultes & ſecretes no more, then he knoweth myne. But if ye cõfeſſe you to the Prieſt, and not vnto God, ye ſhall haue the reward that Iudas had: for hee cõfeſſed him ſelfe to the Prieſt, and yet went and hanged him ſelfe by & by: and ſo, as many as do not knowledge their faultes to God, are ſayd to hyde them.

Doct. What dyd they that came to Iohn to bee Baptiſed?

Smith. They came and confeſſed theyr ſinnes vnto almightie God.

Doct. And not vnto Iohn?

Smith. If it were vnto Iohn, as ye are not able to proue, yet was it to God before Iohn, and the whole congregation.

Confeſſing vnto Iohn in the wildernes, was not to him, but before him, to God.

Doct. Why, Iohn was alone in the wildernes.

Smith. Why, and yet the Scriptures ſay he had many Diſciples, and that many Phariſeis and Saduces came to his baptiſme. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confeſſed them ſelues to Iohn, as ye ſay, it was to all the Congregation, as S.Paul doth to Timothie, & to all that read his Epiſtle, in openyng to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe he had bene a Tyraunt: but as for eare confeſſion, ye neuer heard it allowed by the word. For the Prophet Dauid maketh his confeſſion vnto God, and ſayth: *I will confeſſe my ſinnes vnto the Lorde.* Daniell maketh his confeſſion vnto the Lord: Iudith, Toby, Ieremy, Manaſſes, with all the forefathers dyd euen ſo. For the Lord hath ſayd: *Call vpõ me in the tyme of trouble, and I will deliuer thee. Knocke, aske, ſeeke,* with ſuch lyke, & this is the word of God. Now bryng ſomewhat of the word to helpe your ſelfe withall. Thẽ they raged and called me dogge, and ſayd I was damned.

Smith. Nay ye are dogges, that for becauſe holy thinges are offered, you will ſlay your frendes. For I may ſay with S. Paul: *I haue fought with beaſtes in the likenes of men.* For here I haue bene bayted theſe two dayes, of my Lord and his great Bulles of Baſan, and in his Hall beneath haue I bene baited of the reſt of his band. With this came my Lord from ſhauyng, and aſked me how I liked hym?

Smith. Forſooth, ye are euen as wiſe as ye were before ye were ſhauen.

Boner. How ſtandeth it Maſter Doctors? haue ye done any good?

Doct. No by my trouth my Lord, we cã do no good.

Smith. Then is it fulfilled which is written: *How cā an euill tree bryng forth good fruite?*

Boner. Nay naughty felow, I ſet theſe Gentlemen to bryng thée home to CHRIST.

Smith. Such Gentlemen, ſuch CHRISTES: and as truly as they haue that name from CHRIST, ſo truly do they teach CHRIST.

Boner. Well, wilt thou neither heare them nor me?

Smith. Yes I am compelled to heare you: but ye cā not compell me to folow you.

Boner. Well, thou ſhalt be burned at a ſtake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turne.

The merueilous boldnes *of Rob. Smith* geuen him of God agaynſt Chriſtes enemies.

Smith. And ye ſhall burne in Hell, if ye repent not: but my Lord, to put you out of doubt, becauſe I am weery, I will ſtrayne curteſie with you. I perceiue ye will not with your Doctours come vnto me, and I am not determined to come vnto you, by Gods grace. For I haue hardned my face againſt you as hard as braſſe. Then after many rayling ſentences I was ſent away: and thus haue I left the truth of myne aunſweres in wrytyng (gentle Reader) beyng compelled by my frendes to do it: that ye may ſée how the Lord hath, accordyng to his promiſe, geuen me a mouth and wiſedome for to aunſwere in his cauſe, for which I am condemned, and my cauſe not heard.

¶The laſt examination of Rob. Smith.

The laſt examination of *Robert Smith* before Biſhop *Boner,* with his condemnation in the Conſiſtory.

THe xij. of July I was with my brethren brought into the Conſiſtory, and mine Articles red before my Lord Maior and the Sheriffes, with all the aſſiſtaunces: to which I aunſwered as foloweth.

Boner. By my faith my Lord Maior, I haue ſhewed hym as much fauour as any man liuyng might do: but I perceiue all is loſt, both in him and all his company.

Smith. At this word which he coupled with an oth, came I in, and takyng him with the maner, ſayd: my Lord, it is written: *Ye muſt not ſweare.*

Boner. Ah Maſter Countroller, are ye come? Lo my Lord Maior, this is Maſter ſpeaker, pointyng to my brother Tankerfield, and this is Maſter Cōtroller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my articles, he perſeuered til he came at my tale of the Gētleman of Northfolke, and then demaunded of my Lord Maior if he heard of the ſame before. To which he aunſwered, no. To whom I aunſwered.

Smith. My Lord Maior, ſhall it pleaſe you to heare me to recite it, as I heard it and told it, and then ſhall you heare the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is vntrue.

Boner. How ſay you good M. Mordant? ſpake hée not this that is heare, as it is written? were ye not by?

Mord. Yes my Lord, that it is: I heard him ſay it.

Syr Iohn Mordant came in after this ſtory was told.

Smith. How heard ye me ſay it, and were not preſēt when I ſpake it? ſhould ſuch a man make a lye? it is manifeſtly proued that the Prophet ſayth: *Euen as the king ſayth, ſo ſayth the iudge, that he may do him a pleaſure agayne.* And ſo was brought out my Gailer for triall therof, who there opēly profeſſed, that neither M. Mordant nor the Doctours before mentioned were preſent when I ſpake it. At which M. Mordant with bluſhyng chéekes ſayd he heard them read, and heard me affirme the ſame, which was alſo not true. Then proceded my Lord with the reſt of myne Articles, demaundyng of me, if I ſayd not as was written. To which I aunſwered no, and turnyng to my Lord Maior, I ſayd: I require you my Lord Maior in Gods behalfe, vnto whō pertaineth your ſword and iuſtice, that I may here before your preſence aūſwere to thoſe obiections that are layed agaynſt me, and haue the probation of the ſame: and if any thyng that I haue ſayd or will ſay, be to be approued (as my Lord ſayth) hereſie, I ſhall not onely with all my hart forſake the ſame and cleaue to the truth, but alſo recant where ſoeuer ye ſhall aſſigne me, and all this audience ſhalbe witneſſes to the ſame.

The wordes of *Robert Smith* to the Lord Mayor.

Maior. Why Smith, thou canſt not deny but this thou ſaydſt?

Here my brother *Tākerfield* recited the ſtory of my Lord Biſhops Cooke.

Smith. Yes my Lord, I deny that which hee hath written, becauſe he hath both added to, and dimiſhed from the ſame. But what I haue ſpoken, I will neuer deny.

Maior. Why, thou ſpakeſt agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar.

Smith. I denyed it to be any Sacrament, and I do ſtand here to make probation of the ſame: & if my Lord here or any of his Doctours be able to approue either the name, or vſage of the ſame, I will recant myne errour. Then ſpake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of thoſe things which they called hereſie, to which the Byſhop aunſwered.

Boner. By my trouth Maſter ſpeaker, ye ſhal preach at a ſtake.

Smith. Well ſworne my Lord, ye kepe a good watch.

Boner. Well Maſter Controller, I am no Saint.

B. Boner no Saint.

Smith. No my Lord, nor yet good Biſhop. For a Biſhop, ſayth S. Paul, ſhould be fautles, and a dedicate veſſell vnto GOD, and are ye not aſhamed to ſit in iudgement, and be a blaſphemer, condemnyng innocentes?

Boner. Well Maſter Controller, ye are fautles.

This Mayor was Sir *Iob. Lion.*

Smith. My Lorde Maior, I requyre you in Gods name, that I may haue Juſtice. We bee here to day a great many of Innocentes, that are wrongfully accu. of hereſy. And I require you, if you wyll not ſéeme to be partiall, let me haue no more fauour at your hands, then the Apoſtle had at the handes of Feſtus & Agrippa, which being Heathen and Infidels, gaue him leaue not onely to ſpeake for himſelf, but alſo heard ẏ probation of hys cauſe. Thys require I at your handes, which being a Chriſtan Judge, I hope wyll not deny me that right which the Heathē haue ſuffered: if ye do, then ſhal al this audience, yea, and the Heathen ſpeake ſhame of your fact. *For a city* (ſaith our Sauiour) *that is builded on an hyll, cannot be hyd:* if they therefore haue the truth, let it come to light. For all that well do, come to the light, and they that do euyl, hate the light.

Here my brother *Tākerfield* pulled out of his boſome a teſtament, requiring iudgement by the ſame, but it would not be heard.

Then my Lorde Maior hanging downe hys head, ſayd nothing, but the biſhop told me I ſhoulde preach at a ſtake, and ſo the Sheriffe cryed with the biſhop, away with me.

Thys Sheriffe was M. *Woodroſe.*

Thus came I in before them foure times, deſiring iuſtice, but could haue none: and at length my frendes requiring with one voyce the ſame, and could not haue it, we had ſentence, and then being caryed out, were brought in agayne, and had it euery man ſeuerally geuen. But before the biſhop gaue me ſentence, he told me in deriſion of my brother Tankerfield a tale betwene a Gentleman and hys Cooke. To which I aunſwered: My Lorde, ye fill the peoples eare wyth fantaſies and fooliſh tales, and make a laughing matter at bloud: but if ye were a true Biſhop, ye ſhould leaue theſe rayling ſentences, & ſpeake the wordes of God.

Iuſtice required in the Byſhops Conſiſtorie, but could not be had.

Boner. Well, I haue offred to that naughty felow Maſter Speaker, your companion the Cooke, that my Chauncellour ſhould here inſtruct hym: but he hath here wyth great diſdayne forſaken it. How saieſt thou, wylt thou haue hym inſtruct thée, and leade thée in the right way?

Smith. My Lord, if your Chauncellour ſhall do me any good, and take any paines as ye ſay, let hym take mine articles in hys handes, that ye haue obiected againſt me, and eyther proue one of them hereſy, or any thing that you do, to be good: and if he be able ſo to do, I ſtand here with all my hart to heare him: if not, I haue no néede, I prayſe God, of hys Sermon: for I come to aunſwer for my life, and not heare a ſermon.

A lawfull requeſt not heard.

Thē began the ſentence In dei nomine. To which I aūſwered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of hym where he learned in ſcriptures to geue ſentence of death againſt any man for hys conſcience ſake. To ẏ which

The Biſhops ſentence beginneth with a wrong name.

which he made no aunſwer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cryed away wyth me. Then I turned mee to the Maior and ſayd: Is it not enough for you my Lord Maior, and ye that are the Sheriffes, that ye haue left the ſtrayght way of the Lord, but that muſt condemne Chriſt cauſeles?

Where ... the catholickes ... the ſcrip... to put ... to ...uth for ... con- ...ſcience ...like.

Boner. Well Maſter Countroller, now ye cannot ſay, but I haue offered you fayre, to haue inſtruction. And now I pray thee call me bloudy Biſhop, and ſay I ſéeke thy bloud.

Smith. Well my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet ſhalll theſe ſtones cry it out, rather then it ſhall be hydden.

Boner. Away wyth hym, away wyth hym.

Woodrofe. Away wyth hym, take hym away.

Smith. Well good frendes, ye haue ſéene and heard the great wrong that we haue receiued this day, and ye are all recordes that we haue deſired the probation of our cauſe by Gods booke, & it hath not bene graunted: but we are condemned, and our cauſe not heard. Neuertheles my Lorde Maior, for as much as here ye haue exerciſed Gods ſword cauſeles, and wil not heare the right of the poore, I commit my cauſe to almighty God, that ſhall iudge all men according vnto ryght, before whom we ſhal both ſtãd without authority: and there wyll I ſtand in the right, and haue true iudgemẽt to your great cõfuſion, except ye repent, which the lord graunt you to do, if it be his will. And then was I with the reſt of my brethren caryed away to Newgate.

Robert Smith wrongfully condemned by the Byſhop.

The wordes of Robert Smyth ...to the Lord Mayor.

Thus gentle Reader, as neare as I can, I haue ſet out the truth of myne examination, and the veritye of of myne vniuſt condemnation for the truth, requiryng God that it may not be layd to yͤ charge of thée O England, requyring your harty prayers vnto God for hys grace and ſpirite of boldnes: which hope euen ſhortly to ſet to my ſeale at Uxbridge, the eyght of Auguſt, by Gods grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my ſaluation, and your conſolation, I pray you.

Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

Thus haſt thou (good Reader) not onely to note, but alſo to followe in this man, a ſingular example of Chriſtian fortitude, which ſo manfully and valiantly dyd ſtand in the defence of hys maiſters cauſe. And as thou ſeeſt hym here boldly ſtand in examination before the biſhop and Doctours: ſo was hee no leſſe comfortable alſo in the priſon among his fellowes. Which alſo is to be obſerued no leſſe in his other priſõ felowes, who being there together, caſt in an outward houſe within Newgate, had godly conference within them ſelues, with dayly praying, & publicke reading, which they to their great comfort vſed in that houſe together: amongeſt whom this foreſaid Smith was a chief doer. Whoſe induſtry was alwayes ſollicitous, not only for them of hys own company, but alſo hys diligence was carefull for other priſoners, whom hee ceaſed not to dehort and diſſwade from their old accuſtomed iniquitie: and many he conuerted vnto his religion. Diuers letters he wrote there in yͤ pryſon to ſundry his frends in metre, which becauſe we would not ouercharge this volume with matter more then is neceſſarily requiſite, we haue referred to the booke of our former edition to be red, pag. 1261. Onely ſuch as he wrote in proſe, we haue here expreſſed, as in the next page ſhall follow.

The godly behauiour of *Rob. Smith* and his felowes in priſon.

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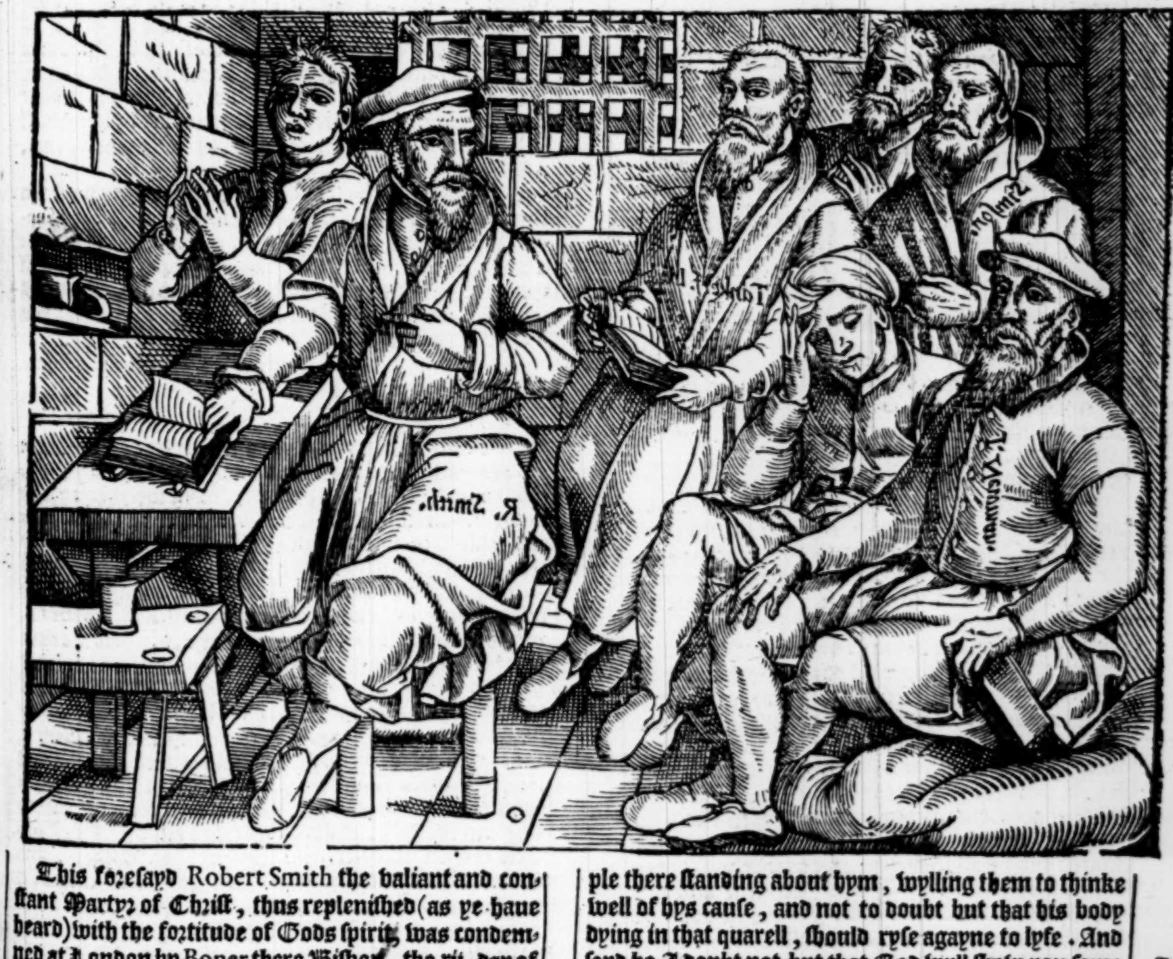
A picture deſcribing the maner and place of them which were in bondes for the teſtimony of the truth, conferring together among them ſelues.



George Tankerfield, Rob. Smith, Elizabeth Warne, with *Newman, Symſon,* and other Martyrs ſitting and conferring together in priſon.

This foreſayd Robert Smith the valiant and conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, thus repleniſhed (as ye haue heard) with the fortitude of Gods ſpirit, was condemned at London by Boner there Biſhop, the. xij. day of July, and ſuffered at Uxbridge the. viij. day of Auguſt: who as he had bene a comfortable inſtrument of God before to all them that were in priſon with hym, ſo alſo now being at the ſtake, he did no leſſe comfort yͤ people there ſtanding about hym, wylling them to thinke well of hys cauſe, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarell, ſhould ryſe agayne to lyfe. And ſayd he, I doubt not, but that God wyll ſhew you ſome token therof. At length he being wel nigh halfe burnt, & all blacke with fyre, cluſtered together as in a lumpe lyke a blacke cole, all men thinking him for dead, ſodenly roſe vp right before yͤ people, lifting vp the ſtumpes of

The Martyrdome and ...table ...th of R. Smith, ...dge. An. 1555 Aug. 8.

A token of comfort and reſurrection geuen by R. Smith at hys Martyrdome.

of hys armes, & clapping the ſame together, declaryng a reioyſing hart vnto them, and ſo bending downe agayne, and hanging ouer the fire, ſlept in the Lord, and ended this mortall lyfe.

¶ Letters.

¶ A ſententious letter of Rob. Smyth to Anne Smith hys wyfe.

Robert Smith to his wife, ful of ghoſtly inſtruction.

Seeke fyrſt to loue God deare wyfe wyth your whole hart, and then ſhall it be eaſy to loue your neighbour.

Be friendly to all creatures, and eſpeciallye to your own ſoule.

Be alwayes an enemye to the deuyll and the world, but eſpecially to your own fleſh.

In hearing of good thinges ioyne the eares of your head and hart together.

Seeke vnity and quietnes with al men, but eſpecially with your conſcience: for he will not eaſely be intreated.

Loue all men, but eſpecially your enemies.

Hate the ſyns ẏ are paſt, but eſpecially thoſe to come.

Be good to thine enemy.

Be as ready to further your enemye, as he is to hynder you, that ye may be the childe of God.

Defyle not that which CHRIST hath clenſed, leſt hys bloud be layd to your charge.

A double hedge to the toung.

Remember that God hath hedged in your toung, with ẏ teeth & lyps, that it might ſpeake vnder correctiõ.

Caſt out the mote in thine owne eye firſt.

Be ready at all times to looke in your brothers eye, but eſpecially in your own eye. For he that warneth other of that he him ſelf is faulty, doth geue his neighbour the cleare wine, and keepeth the dregs for himſelfe.

Couet not to be rich.

Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without vnderſtãding, prayer, and faſting, it is a ſnare & alſo pouerty, all which are lyke to conſuming fyre, of which if a man take a litle, it wyll warme hym, but if he take to much, it wyll conſume him. For it is hard for a man to cary fire in his boſome, and not to be brent.

Bleſſed be the mercifull.

Shew mercy vnto the Sainctes for CHRISTES ſake, and CHRIST ſhall reward you for the Saintes ſake. Among all other priſoners viſit your owne ſoule: for it is encloſed in a perilous priſon.

If ye wyll loue God, hate euyll, and ye ſhall obtayne the reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well good Anne. Haue me hartely cõmended to all that loue the Lorde vnfaynedly. I beſech you haue me in your prayer while I am liuing, and I am aſſured the Lord wyll accept it. Bring vp my Children and yours in the feare of God, and then ſhall I not fayle but receiue you together in the euerlaſting kingdome of God which I go vnto.

Your huſband Robert Smyth.

If ye wyll meete wyth me agayne,
Forſake not CHRIST *for any payne.*

¶ An other letter ſent to hys wyfe Anne Smith.

An other letter of *Rob. Smith* to his wife.

The grace of almighty God be alwaies with you and comfort, ſtrength, and ſtabliſh you in all things that what hys bleſſed wyll is, ye may folow faithfully to hys honour, my comfort, and your own ſaluation, and the good enſample to our poſterity.

Commendatiõ of Peter the keper.

I haue receiued your letter, & I prayſe God, without any daunger: neuertheles if Gods maruellous goodnes had not brought it to my hand by Peter the Keeper, there might haue riſen a great trouble vpon the ſame. For well ye know that George is a wicked man, vtterly without all feare of God: & if he had gotten it, the counſell had ſurely ſene it. But Peter like an honeſt man neuer opened it. wherefore I deſire you from hence forth let your letters be deliuered at Chauncery lanes ende, to my ſiſter Tankerfield, & ſhe may deliuer them ſafe into my hand. we are very ſtraightly kept, I prayſe God of hys mercy. Neuertheles almightye God is alwayes wyth vs. I haue ſent you that ye wrote for. The two Nutmegs that ſhould haue gone by Nicolas to our friendes, I ſend now, & deſire them to accept them as a poore priſoners gift, vntill God geue more largely. Thomas Iuiſon ſendeth you a peny, I pray you geue him thankes for the ſame, and Diricke alſo. I haue ſent you of that litle that I haue ij. peeces of ſpaniſh money. The Lord IESV haue you in his cuſtody, and ſend you good ſpede. In any caſe keepe your ſelfe cloſe, I doubt much your walkinges. Haue my hartie commendations to your parents, and deſire them with you to haue me in theyr praiers. Be feruent in praier, pray, pray, pray, that God will of his mercy put vp his ſword, and looke on hys people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer ſhall bring vp the Epiſtle and exhortation. I haue written all this fourthnight for my Lady, yea and almoſt done nothing els. I woulde haue ſent hym the articles of William Flower, and my talke with hym, if I could haue deliuered it from the priſon. The holy ghoſt kepe you. I wold ye could make a meanes for your money, to ſend a cheſe to Peter: for I fynde much kyndnes at his handes. Ye ſhall alwayes heare of me at Tankerfieldes houſe. All the congregation ſalute you. Fare you moſt hartely well.

I haue not yet (tell my brother) ſpoken with the perſon. There hath come ſo ſtrait a commaundement, that no man might come to vs, becauſe Toly curſed the Pope at the gallowes. They thought it to be our counſell.

Yours and euer yours, Robert Smith.

¶ Another letter ſent to his wyfe.

An other letter of *Robert Smyth* to his wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and frõ the Lord IESVS CHRIST be with you, deare wife now and euer Amen, and preuent your wayes through his holy ſpirite that ye may in all your words and workes, pleaſe God and eſchew euil to his honour and your ſaluation, that they which ſee your conuerſation may in all thinges learne to do the lyke, euen to the vtter ſhame and confuſion of the wycked and vngodly, Amen.

Behold here the communion of Saints.

I ſent you by M. Alexander a purſe with money. I haue certayne tokens for you, ſent by my priſon fellowes to you: that is, frõ M. Haukes. xij. d. frõ M. Simſon, xij. d. frõ his wyfe. iiij. d. frõ M. Wattes fiue new grotes, frõ M. Ardeley. xij. d. frõ M. Bradford. xij. d. which mẽ be all gone to death, except M. Bradford, he abydeth ſtyll. There is alſo gone to death Nicholas Chamberleine, Thomas Oſmund William Bamford. There is alſo condemned this Monday Diricke Caruer, Thomas Iuiſon, Iohn Launder, and William Vaſſy is repryued. Pray to God to haue mercy vpon his people, and bid my brother if he can conueniently, come downe on Monday next: if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Haue me hartely cõmẽded to your Parentes. I haue ſent ech of them a token, a bowed grote, and deſyre them for Gods ſake to helpe vs with their prayers. Haue little Katherin in mynd. Commend mee vnto all good friendes. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be diſhonored in your conuerſation, but lyke a good Matron kepe your veſſell in holynes. The peace of God reſt with you for euer, Amen.

My brother Iuiſon ſendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, & to Katherine a token. iij. pence. Iohn Launder ſendeth you a peece of Spaniſh money, Father Heralt a peece of vj. d. William Androwes ſendeth you a raſe of ginger, and I ſend your mother one, and a Nutmege. I ſend Katherine comfits for a tokẽ to eate. I haue ſent you a keyclog for a token.

Your Huſband Robert Smith.

¶ A letter ſent to hys frend.

An other letter of *Robert Smith* to a friend of his.

The eternall God kepe you in his feare. I haue harty commendations vnto you and your huſband, beſechyng almighty God to preſerue you in well doyng, and in perfect knowledge of his CHRIST, that ye may bee found faultles in the day of the Lord. I haue heard ſay that my frend is geuen ouer to vanity: it breaketh my hart, not onely to heare that he ſo doth, but alſo teacheth other, that it is vnhurtfull to go to all abominations, which now ſtand in the Idoles temples: neuertheleſſe deare frend be ye not moued to folow ſinners: for they haue no inheritaunce with God & CHRIST. But looke that by goyng into the Idoll temple, ye defile not the temple of God: for light hath no felowſhip with darkenes. But looke what the Lord hath commaũded, that do. For if not goyng to Church were without perſecution, they would not learne you that leſſon. But all thyng that is ſwete to the fleſh, is allowed of the fleſhly. The Lord ſhall reward euery man accordyng to his workes, and he that leadeth into captiuitie ſhall go into captiuitie, & he that by the fleſhly man is led in the fleſhe, ſhall of the fleſh reape corruptiõ. The Lord IESV geue thee his holy ſpirite, Amen.

I haue ſent thee an Epiſtle in metre which is not to be layd vp in thy cofer, but in thy hart.

Seeke peace and enſue it. Feare God, loue God with all thy hart, with all thy ſoule, and with all thy ſtrength.

Thy frend and all mens in CHRIST IESVS, Robert Smith, Scribled in much haſt frõ. N. the 12. of May.

1555. Auguſt.

An other letter of Rob. Smith to his wife.

To his wife an other letter.

THe God and father eternall, which brought agayne from death our Lord *IESVS CHRIST*, keepe thee deare wife and all thy Parentes and frendes, now and euer, Amen.

I prayſe God for his mercy, I am in the ſame ſtate that ye left me in, rather better then worſe, lookyng dayly for the liuyng God, before whom I hunger full ſore to appeare, and receiue the glory, of which I truſt thou art willing to be a partaker (I geue God moſt harty thãkes therfore) deſiryng thee of all loues, to ſtand faſt in that faith which thou haſt receiued, and let no man take away the ſeede that almighty God hath ſowen in thee, but lay handes of euerlaſtyng lyfe, which ſhall euer abyde when both the earth and all earthly frendes ſhall periſh: deſiryng them alſo to receaue thankefully our trouble which is momentane and light, and, as S. Paule ſayth, not worthy of the thinges which ſhal bee ſhewed on vs, that we paciently caryyng our Croſſe, may attayne to the place whether our Sauiour *CHRIST* is gone before, to the which I beſech God of his mercy bryng vs ſpedely. I haue bene much troubled about your deliueraunce, fearyng much the perſuaſions of worldlynges, and haue found a frend which will (I truſt) finde a meane for you, if you be not already prouided, deſiryng you in any caſe to abide ſuch order, as thoſe my frendes ſhall appoynt in God. And beare well in mynde the wordes which I ſpake at our departyng, that as God hath found vs, and alſo elected vs worthy to ſuffer with him, we may endeuour our ſelues to folow vprightly in this our vocation, deſiryng you to preſent my harty commendations to all our frendes, and eſpecially to your Parentes, kepyng your matter cloſe in any wiſe. Geue moſt harty thankes to my frend, which onely for our cauſe is come to Windſore. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be fautles in all thinges Beware abominations. Keepe you cleane from ſinne. Pray for me, as I do for you. I haue ſent you a peece of gold for a token, and moſt entierly deſire you to ſend me word if ye lacke any thyng. The Lord *IESV* preſerue you and yours, Amen. From Newgate the 15. of Aprill.

By your huſband here and in heauen
Robert Smith.

Robert Smith to all faithfull ſeruauntes of CHRIST, exhorting them to be ſtrong vnder perſecution.

Content thy ſelf with patience,
With CHRIST to beare the Croſſe of paine:
Which can and will thee recompenſe,
A thouſand folde with ioyes againe.
Let nothing cauſe thy heart to quaile,
Lanch out thy bote, hale vp thy ſaile.
Put from the ſhore:
And be thou ſure thou ſhalt attaine,
Vnto the port that ſhall remaine
For euermore.

The burning of Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fuſt, Martyred for the teſtimony of the Goſpell.

Steuen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, Martyrs.

ABout this time dyed alſo (by cruell fire) theſe ij. Martyrs of God, that is to ſay, Ste. Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fuſt at Ware. Which both two, as they were about one time burned with the fore mencioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in ſundry places: ſo were they alſo examined and openly condemned togethers with them. Their proceſſe becauſe it was ioyned all in one with the proceſſe of Rob. Smith and other of the ſayd company aboue mẽtioned, I thought it ſuperfluous agayne to repeate the ſame: ſaue that of Thom. Fuſt this is to be added, that where as he in his laſt appearing the 12. of July was moued by the Byſhop to reuoke his opinion, thus he aunſwered: No (ſayd he) my Lord, for there is no truth commeth out of your mouth, but all lyes. Ye condemne men, and will not heare the truth. Where can ye finde any annoyntyng or greaſing in Gods booke? I ſpeake nothing but the truth, & I am certaine that it is the truth that I ſpeake. This aunſwere of him onely I find noted by ẏ Regiſter: although how ſlenderly theſe Regiſters haue delt in vttering ſuch matters, that is, in omittyng thoſe thinges which moſt worthy were to be knowen, by their doynges it is eaſie to be ſeene. But to be ſhort, after their aunſweres made, both he and Tho. Fuſt were for their faithfull perſeuerance condemned together by the Byſhop in his accuſtomed pitie, as heretickes to be burned, and ſo (as before ye haue heard) finiſhed they their Martyrdome, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the moneth of Auguſt and yeare aboue ſayd.

The anſwer of Tho. Fuſt to the Biſhop Boner.

The cõdemnation and Martyrdome of *Steuen Harwoode and Tho. Fuſt.* An. 1555. Auguſt.

The conſtant Martyrdome of William Haile, burned at Barnet.

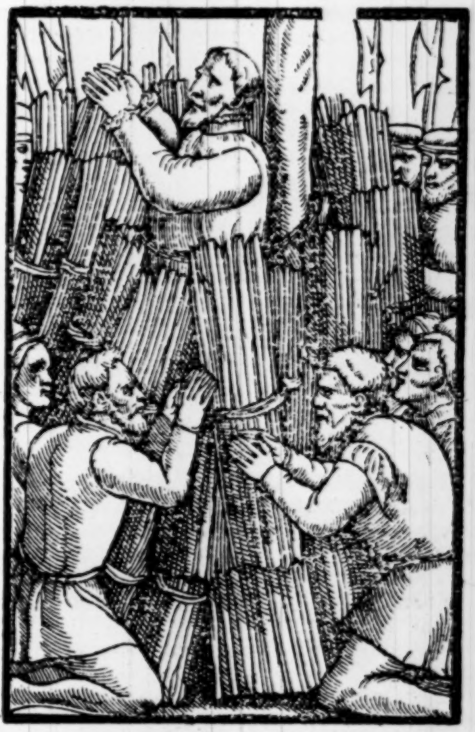
William Haile, Martyr.

OF the ſame company of theſe x. aboue recorded, which were ſent vp to Biſhop Boner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other Commiſſioners, in the cõpany of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was alſo William Hayle of Thorpe in the County of Eſſex, who likewiſe beyng examined with the reſt, the 12. day of July, receaued with them alſo the ſentence of condemnation. Giuyng this exhortation withall to the lookers on: Ah good people, (ſayd he) beware of this Idolatrer, and this Antichriſt, pointyng vnto the Biſhop of Lõdon, and ſo was he deliuered to ẏ Shriffes as an heretticke to be burned, who ſent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of Auguſt, he moſt conſtantly ſealed vp his faith with the conſuming of his body by cruell fire, yeldyng his ſoule vnto the Lord *IESVS* his onely and moſt ſure redemer.

Hayles wordes to the people.

Ex Regiſt.

The Martyrdome of William Haile.



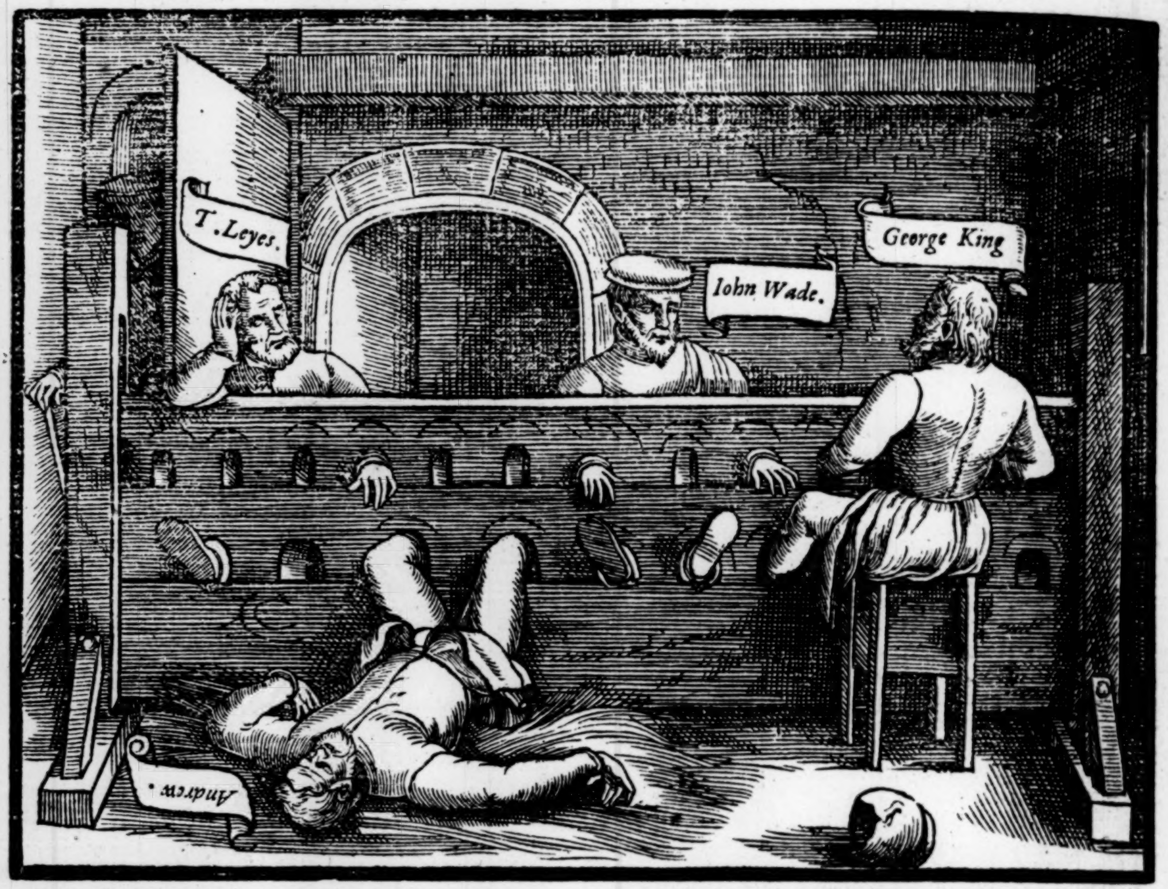
The Martyrdome of *W. Haile* at Barnet, about ẏ end of Auguſt. An. 1555.

George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade ſickened in priſon, and were buried in the fieldes.

3. Martyrs ſickened in priſon, and buried in the fieldes.

YE heard before pag. 1868. of ten ſondry perſons ſent out of Newgate by M. Hare and other Commiſſioners, to be examined of Boner biſhop of London. Of whom. vj. already haue bene executed in ſeuerall places, as hath bene ſhewed, whoſe

The picture deſcribing the ſtrait handlyng of the cloſe priſoners in Lollards tower.


T. Leyes.
Iohn Wade.
George King
Andrew.

George King, Tho. Leyes, Iohn VVade, VV. Andrew, ſickening in priſon, and afterward buried in the fieldes.

Geor. King, Tho. Leyes, Iohn Wade, Martyrs.

whoſe names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfild, Robert Smith, Steuen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, and William Haile. Other thrée, to wit, George King, Thomas Leyes, and Iohn Wade ſickning in Lollardes tower, were ſo weake that they were remoued into ſundry houſes within the citye of London, and there departed, and were caſt out into the fieldes, and there buried by night of the faithfull brethren, whē none in the day durſt do it, Propter metum Iudeorū. The laſt that remained of this foreſaid company, was Ioane Layſh or Layſhford, yͤ daughter in law to Iohn Warne and Elizabeth Warne Martyrs, but becauſe ſhe was repreued to a longer day, her ſtory and martyrdome we wyll deferre tyll the moneth of Ianuarye the next yeare following.

The ſtory of Ioane Layſhford hereafter followeth among the Martyrs of the next yeare.

William Andrew.

William Andrew buried in the fieldes.

The L. Rich the firſt ſender vppe of W. Andrew.

THe like catholicke charitie was alſo ſhewed vpon W. Andrew of Horſley in yͤ county of Eſſex Carpēter, who was brought to Newgate yͤ fyrſt day of April, 1555. by Iohn Motham Conſtable of Mauldon in Eſſex. The firſt and principall promoter of hym was the Lord Rich, who ſent him firſt to priſon. An other great doer agaynſt him alſo ſéemeth to be Syr Richard Southwell knight, by a letter wrytten by hym to Boner, as by the copy hereof appeareth.

A letter ſent to Boner biſhop of London, from Sir Richard Southwell Knight.

A letter of Sir Richard Southwell to Byſhop Boner.

PLeaſeth it your Lordſhip to vnderſtand, that the L. Rich did about. vij. or. viij. weekes by paſt, ſend vp vnto the Counſell one William Andrew of Thorpe wythin the county of Eſſex, an arrogant hereticke. Their pleaſure was to commaund me to commit hym vnto Newgate, where he remayneth, and as I am informed, hath infected a nomber in the pryſon with his hereſye. Your Lordſhip ſhall do very well (if it pleaſe you) to conuent hym before you, and to take order with him, as his caſe doth require. I know yͤ Cōſel ment to haue writ herein vnto your Lordſhip, but by occaſiō of other buſynes, the thing hath bene omitted. wherfore knowing their good pleaſure, I dyd aduiſe the Keeper of Newgate to wayte vpon you with theſe few lynes. And ſo referring the reſt to your vertuous conſideration, I remayne your good Lordſhips to commaund, this. xij. of Iune. 1555.

Richard Southwell.

W. Andrew twiſe before B. Boner.

W. Andrew through ſtrait handling died in Newgate.

W. Andrew buried in the fieldes.

This William Andrew being twyſe brought before Boner to examination, there manfully ſtood in the defence of hys religion. At length through ſtraite handling in the priſon of Newgate, there hee loſt hys lyfe, which els his aduerſaries would haue taken away by fire: & ſo after the popiſh maner he was caſt out into the fielde, and by night was priuely buryed by the handes of good men and faithfull brethren.

The Martyrdome of Robert Samuell Preacher, ſuffering for the true defence of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Maſter Foſter Iuſtice, a perſecutour of Chriſtes people.

MAſter Foſter iuſtice, dwelling at Cobdocke in the county of Suffolke and a litle from Ipſwich, being in continual hatred againſt the truth and the profeſſours of the ſame, did not onely not ceaſe day nor nyght to ſtudy how to bring thoſe in thrall & captiuity that were honeſt and godly inclined to religion, but alſo whatſoeuer they were that once came in hys clawes, they eaſely eſcaped not without clog of conſcience, or els loſſe of lyfe: ſo gréedy was he of bloud. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in king Edwards daies a very godly and right faythfull fauourer of Gods word, who for his valiant and conſtant behauiour in his Sermōs, ſéemeth worthy of high admiratiō. He was Miniſter at Barfold in Suffolke, where he taught faythfully and fruitfully that flocke which the Lord had committed to his charge, ſo long as the tyme would ſuffer him to do hys duty.

Robert Samuell in king Edwardes dayes a godly preacher.

Robert Samuell remoued from the miniſtery.

At the laſt being remoued from the miniſtery, and put from his benefice (as many other good Paſtors were beſide) when he could not auoyde the ragyng violence of the tyme, yet woulde hee not geue ouer the care that he had for hys flocke, but would teach them priuely and by ſtelth, when he could not openly be ſuffered ſo to do. At what tyme order was taken by the Quéene to be publiſhed by the Commiſſioners, that all

Prieſtes

Prieſts which had maried in king Edwards daies, putting their wyues from them, ſhould be compelled to returne agayne to their chaſtity and ſingle lyfe. This decrée would not Samuel ſtand vnto, for that he knew it to be manifeſtly wicked and abominable, but determining with him ſelfe, that Gods lawes were not to bee broken for mans traditions, kept his wyfe ſtyll at Ipſwich, and gaue his diligence in the meane time to the inſtructing of other which were about him, as occaſion ſerued. At laſt M. Foſter hauing intelligēce hereof, being a great doer in thoſe quarters, foreſlacked no tyme nor diligēce, but eſtſones ſēdeth out his eſpials abroad, laying hard wayte for Samuel, that if he came home to hys wyfe at any tyme, they might apprehend hym and cary hym to priſon.

Robert Samuell would not conſent to the wicked decree of Q. Mary to put away his wife.

In concluſion, when ſuch as ſhould betray him, eſpied hym at home with hys wyfe, they bringing word to the officer, came immediately flocking about his houſe, and beſet it with a great company, and ſo tooke hym in the nyght ſeaſon, becauſe they durſt not do it in the day time for feare of trouble and tumult, although good Samuell did nothing withſtand them at all, but meekely yelded him ſelfe into their clouches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipſwych gaile, where he paſſed his time méekely among his godly brethren, ſo long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was caried (through malice of the wycked ſort) to Norwich, where the ſayd Biſhop D. Hopton, (whether he or D. Dunnings his Chauncellour) full lyke vnmercyfull Prelates exerciſed great cruelty againſt him, as in déede they were men in that tyme of perſecution, as had not their matches for ſtraitnes and cruell tormenting the bodies of the Saintes among all the reſt beſide, and ſpecially through the procuring of Dunninges. For although the other were ſharpe inough in their generation: yet could they be ſatiſfied with impriſonment and death, and woulde go no further. Neyther did I euer yet heare of any beſides theſe which ſo farre excéeded all boundes of pity and compaſſion in tormēting their poore brethrē as this biſhop did: in ſuch ſort that many of them be peruerted & brought quite from the truth, and ſome from their wyts alſo.

Robert Samuell apprehended in his houſe by night.

Robert Samuell put in Ipſwich Gaile.

Robert Samuell remoued to Norwich.

The crueltie of D. Dunninges the biſhops Chauncellour.

The Biſhop therfore, or els his Chauncellour, thinking that he might as eaſely preuayle wyth Samuel, as he had done with other before, kept him in a very ſtrait pryſon at hys firſt cōming, where he was chained bolt vpright to a great poſt, in ſuch ſort, that ſtanding onely on tiptoe, hee was fayne to ſtay vp the whole payſe or waight of hys body therby. And to make amendes for yͤ cruelty or payne that he ſuffered, they added a farre more greuous torment, kéeping hym wythout meate & drinke, whereby he was vnmercifully vexed through hunger and thirſt: ſauing that he had euery day allowed two or thrée mouthfulls of bread, and thrée ſponefuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reſerued to farther torment, then that they woulde preſerue hys lyfe. O worthy conſtancye of the Martyr. O pityles harts of Papiſts, worthy to be complayned of, and to be accuſed before God and nature. O the wonderfull ſtrength of CHRIST in hys members. Whoſe ſtomacke, though it had bene made of Adamant ſtone, would not haue relented at theſe intollerable vexatiōs, and extreme paynes aboue nature? How often times would he haue dronken hys own water, but hys body was ſo dryed vp with this long emptines, that hee was not able to make one drop of water?

The cruell handling of Robert Samuell in priſon.

Robert Samuell famiſhed in priſon.

Robert Samuell deſirous to drinke his owne water, and could not.

[illegible]

[illegible]

At the laſt, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in compariſon of thoſe paynes that he had paſſed, certaine there were that heard him declare what ſtraunge things had happened vnto hym during the tyme of hys impriſonment: to wyt, that after he had bene famiſhed or pined with hunger two or thrée daies together, he then fell into a ſléepe, as it were one halfe in a ſlumber, at which tyme one clad all in white, ſemed to ſtand before him, which miniſtred cōfort vnto hym by theſe wordes: *Samuell, Samuell, be of good chere, and take a good hart vnto thee. For after thys day ſhalt thou neuer be either hungry or thirſty:* Which thing came euen to paſſe accordingly: for ſpéedely after he was burned, and from that tyme tyll he ſhould ſuffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirſt. And thys declared he, to the ende (as he ſayd) that all men myght behold the wonderfull workes of God. Many mo like matters cōcerning the great cōfort he had of CHRIST in hys afflictions, he could vtter (he ſayd) beſides thys, but that ſhamefaſtnes and modeſtye would not ſuffer hym to vtter it. And yet if it had pleaſed God, I would hee had bene leſſe modeſt in that behalfe, that the loue and care that CHRIST hath of hys, myght haue the more appeared thereby vnto vs by ſuch preſent argumentes, for the more plentifull comfort of the godly, though there be ſufficient teſtimonies of the ſame in the holy ſcriptures already.

Great comfort miniſtred by the Lord to Samuell in his paynfull priſonment.

No leſſe memorable it is, and worthy alſo to be noted cōcerning the thrée ladders which he told to diuers he ſaw in his ſlepe, ſet vp toward heauen: of the which there was one ſomewhat longer then the reſt, but yet at length they became one, ioyning (as it were) all thrée together. This was a forwarning reuealed vnto him, declaryng vndoubtedly the martyrdome, firſt of hym ſelfe, and then the death of two honeſt women, whych were brought forth and ſuffered in the ſame towne anon after.

Another memorable viſion of Samuell in priſon.

As this godly Martyr was goyng to the fire, there came a certain maide to him which tooke him about the necke and kiſſed him, who beyng marked by them that were preſent, was ſought for the next day after, to bée had to priſon and burned, as the very partie her ſelfe informed mee: howbeit, as God of hys goodnes would haue it, ſhe eſcaped their fiery handes, kéepyng her ſelfe ſecrete in the towne a good while after. But as this maide, called Roſe Nattinghā, was meruailouſly preſerued by yͤ prouidēce of God: ſo there were other ij. honeſt women did fall into the rage & fury of that time. The one was a Bruers wife, the other was a Shoemakers wife, but both together now eſpouſed to a new huſband CHRIST.

The name of this maide was Roſe Nattingham.

Two godly wemē, the one a bruers wife, the other a ſhomakers wife, apprehēded.

With theſe two was this mayd aforeſayd very familiar and well acquainted, who on a time geuing coūſell to the one of them, that ſhe ſhould conuey her ſelfe away while ſhe had tyme and ſpace, ſeyng ſhe could not away with the Quéenes vniuſt procedynges, had this aunſwere at her handes again: I know well ſaith ſhe, that it is lawful inough to flie away, which remedy you may vſe, if you liſt. But my caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe. I am tied to a huſband, and haue beſides a ſort of young children at home: and then I know not how my huſband being a carnall man will take my departure from him: therfore I am minded for the loue of CHRIST and his truth to ſtand to the extremitie of the matter.

This godly wife exhorted to fly, would not ſo do, hauing huſband and children to ſticke to.

And ſo, the next day after Samuell ſuffered, theſe ij. godly wiues, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Ioane Trunchfield, the wife of Michaell Trunchfield Shoemaker of Ipſwich, were apprehended, and had both into priſon together. Which as they were, both by ſexe and nature ſomewhat tender: ſo were they at firſt leſſe able to endure the ſtraitnes of the priſon, and eſpecially the Bruers wife was caſt into marueilous great agonyes and troubles of minde therby. But CHRIST beholdyng the weake infirmitie of his ſeruaunt, did not faile to helpe her when ſhe was in this neceſſitie. So at the length they both ſuffered after Samuell. an. 1556. February 19. as ſhalbe by the Lordes grace declared hereafter. And theſe (no doubt) were thoſe ij. ladders, which beyng ioyned with the third, Samuell ſaw ſtretched vp into heauen. This bleſſed Samuell yͤ ſeruaunt of CHRIST, ſuffered the 31. of Auguſt. an. 1555.

Anne Potten.

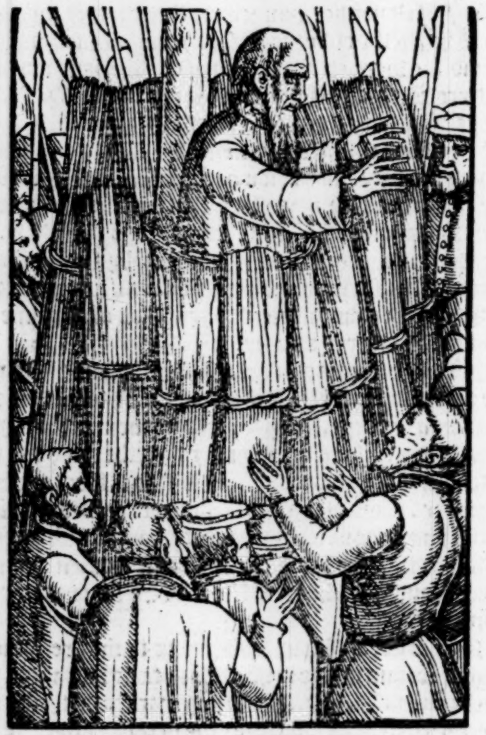
Michaell Trunchfieldes wife.

The Lord Ieſus a ready helper in time of weakenes.

The report goeth among ſome that were the preſēt, and ſaw him burne, that his body in burnyng did ſhyne as bright and white as new tried ſiluer in the eyes of them that ſtode by: as I am informed by ſome which were there, and did behold the ſight.

The Martyrdome of Rob. Samuell burned at Ipſwich. An. 1555. August. 31.

The cruell burnyng of Robert Samuell, Martyr.



¶ Letters of Robert Samuell Preacher.

¶ A letter or exhortation to the pacient ſufferyng of afflictions for CHRISTES cauſe.

Eccle. 9. Eccle. 4. Eſay. 1.

A Man knoweth not his tyme, but as the fiſh is taken with the angle, and as the byrdes are caught with the ſnare: euen ſo are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it commeth vpopn them. The tyme commeth: the day draweth neare. Ezechi. 7. Better it were to dye (as the Preacher ſayth) then to lyue and ſee the miſerable workes which are done vnder the Sunne: ſuch ſodeine and ſtraunge mutations, ſuch woful, haynous, and lamentable diuiſions ſo faſt approcheth, and none or very few thoroughly repēteth. Alas for this ſinnefull nation, a people of great iniquitie & ſeede of vngraciouſnes, corrupting their wayes. They haue forſaken the Lord, they haue prouoked the holy one of Iſraell to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liueth not in ſuch ſecurity and reſt, as though all daūgers were cleane ouerpaſt? who now blindeth and buffeteth not CHRIST, with ſeeſt me and ſeeſt me not? Yea who liueth not now in ſuch felicitie, worldly pleaſures, and ioyes, wholy ſeekyng the world, prouidyng and craftily ſhiftyng for the earthly clodde and all carnall appetites, as though ſinne were cleane forgottē, ouerthrowen, and deuoured? Like hoggyſh Gergeſites now are we more afrayd & aſhamed of CHRIST our Meſſias, fearyng the loſſe of our filthy pygges, I meane our trāſitory goods, and diſquietyng of our ſinnefull and mortall bodyes in this ſhort, vncertaine, and miſerable life, then of a legiō of Deuils ſeducyng and driuyng vs from hearyng, readyng, and beleuyng CHRIST Gods eternall ſonne and his holy word, the power to ſaue our ſoules: vnto vanities, lyes and fables, and to this bewitchyng world.

Complaynt againſt England and that not vndeſerued.

Math. 8. English people rightly reſembled to the Gergeſites. Marke. 5. Rom. 10.

Oh perilous aboundaunce of goodes, to much ſaturity of meates, wealth and quietnes, which deſtroyed with ſo many ſoules, thoſe goodly Cities Sodome and Gomorre. Ieroboam, ſo long as he was but a poore man, not yet auaunced to his dignitie, liued in the lawes of God without reprehenſion: but brought once to wealth and proſperous eſtate, he became a wicked and moſt ſhamefull Idolatour. And what made the couetous young mā ſo loth to folow CHRIST, when he was bydden to forſake but worldly wealth which he then enioyed? wo be vnto theſe falſe eluſions of the world, baites of perditiō, hokes of the Deuill, which haue ſo ſhamefully deceiued and ſeduced full many from the right path vnto the Lord, into the high wayes of confuſion and perpetuall perdition.

Aboundance of goodes is a thing perilous. Gene. 19. Math. 19.

Iob. 3. Eſay. 10. God hath alwayes a remnaunt, whom he pulliſheth with diuers aduerſities. 1. Cor. 4.

We might now worthily (deare Chriſtians) lament and bewayle our heauy ſtate, miſerable condition, and ſorrowfull chaunce: yea I ſay we might well accuſe our ſelues, and with Iob curſe theſe our troublous, wicked, and bloudy laſt dayes of this world, were it not that we both ſee and beleue, and finde in Gods ſacred booke, that a remnaunt God hath in all ages reſerued, I meane the faithfull, as many as haue bene from the begynnyng of the world, exerciſed, whetted and pulliſhed with diuers afflictions, troubles, and toſſynges, caſt and daſhed agaynſt all perils and daungers, as the very droſſe & outcaſtes of the earth, and yet will in no wiſe halt betwene God and Baal: for God verely abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are betwene both, but caſteth them away as a filthy vomite. CHRIST will not part ſpoile with his mortall enemy the deuill: he wil haue all or loſe all: he will not permit the Deuill to haue the ſeruice of the body, and he to ſtand contented with the harte and mynd: but *he will be glorified both in your bodyes and in your ſpirites, which are his*, as S. Paul ſayth. 1. Cor. 6. For he hath made all, bought all and dearely payd for all. As S. Peter ſayth: *With his owne immaculate body hath hee cleane diſcharged your bodies frō ſinne, death, & hell, & with his moſt precious bloud payd your raūſome & full price once for all & for euer.*

Two men in one, God abhorreth. Apoca. 3. 1. Pet. 1.

Now what harme I pray you, or what loſſe ſuſtaine you by this? why are you, O vayne men, more afrayd of IESVS your gentle Sauiour, and his Goſpell of ſaluation, then of a legion of cruell deuils, goyng about with falſe deluſions vtterly to deſtroy you both bodyes and ſoules? Thinke you to be more ſure thē vnder your captaine CHRIST? Do you promiſe your ſelues to be more quiete in Sathans ſeruice, then in CHRISTES Religion? Eſteeme you more theſe tranſitory and pernicious pleaſures, then God and all his heauenly treaſures? Oh palpable darknes, horrible madnes, and wilfull blyndnes, without compariſon, to much to be ſuffred any longer. We ſee and will not ſee: we know & will not know: yea we ſmart and will not feele, and that our owne conſcience well knoweth. Oh miſerable & brayneles ſoules, which would for fooliſh pleaſures and ſlippery wealth, loſe the royall kyngdome and permanent ioyes of God, with the euerlaſtyng glory which hee hath prepared for them that truly loue him, and renounce the world. The childrē of the world lyue in pleaſure and wealth, and the deuill, who is theyr God and Prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper vnto thē, and letteth them enioy it. But let vs which be of CHRIST, ſeeke & enquire for heauenly thinges, which by Gods promiſe & mercy in CHRIST, ſhalbe peculier vnto vs. Let (I ſay) the Cretians, Epicures and ſuch other beaſtly Belials and carnall people, paſſe for thynges that be pleaſaunt for the body, and do appertaine to this trāſitory life: *Yet ſhall they once* (as the kyngly Prophet ſayth) *runne about the Citie of God to and fro howling like dogges, deſiryng one ſcrappe of the ioyes of Gods elect*, but all to late, as the rich glutton dyd.

No true quietnes in Satans ſeruice.

The miſerable madnes of worldly mē lamented. 2. Cor. 4. Iob. 12. Tranſitory pleaſures of this life not to be paſſed vpon. Pſalm. 58. Luke. 16.

Coloſ. 3. Heb. 13. Iob. 7. Epheſ. 5. 1. Pet. 4. Luke. 14. Iere. 25.

Let vs therfore paſſe for thoſe things that do perteine to the ſpirite, and be celeſtiall. *We muſt be here* (ſayth Paul) *not as inhabitours and home dwellers, but as ſtraungers:* not as ſtraungers onely, but after the mynd of Iob, as paynefull ſouldiours appointed of our gouernour to fight agaynſt the gouernour of darkenes of this world, agaynſt ſpirituall craftines in heauenly thynges. The tyme is come: we muſt to it: the iudgemēt muſt begyn firſt at the houſe of God. Began they not firſt with the grene and ſappy tree? and what folowed then on the dry braunches? Ieremy ſpeakyng in the perſon of God, ſayth: *In the City wherin my name is innocate, will I begin to puniſhe:* but as for you (meaning the wicked) you ſhall be as innocentes & not once touched: for the dregges of Gods wrath the bottome of all ſorrowes, are reſerued vnto them in the end: but Gods houſhold ſhall drinke the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therfore let vs ſay with Ezechias: *Play the men and ſhrinke not: let vs comfort our ſelues, for the Lord is with vs our helper, and fighteth for vs. The Lord is* (ſayth he) *with you when you be with hym, and when you ſeeke hym he will be founde of you:* and agayn, whē you forſake him he wil forſake you.

2. Para. 3. 2. Cor. 5.

Wherfore we ought not to be diſmayde or diſcourage our ſelues, but rather to bee of good comfort: not to be ſadde but mery: not ſorrowfull, but ioyfull, in that God of his goodnes will vouchſafe to take vs as his beloued children, to ſubdue our ſinfull luſtes, our wretched fleſh & bloud vnto his glory, the promotyng of his holy word, and edifying of his Church. What if the earthly houſe of this our habitatiō (Paul meaning the body) be deſtroyed? we know aſſuredly we ſhal haue a building of God not made with handes, but euerlaſtyng in heauen, with ſuch ioyes as fayth taketh not, hope toucheth not, nor charitie apprehendeth not. They paſſe all deſires & wiſhes. Gottē they may be by CHRIST, eſtemed they cā not be. wherfore the more affliction and perſecution the word of God bryngeth, the more felicitie and greater ioy abydeth in heauē. But the worldly peace, idle eaſe, wealthy pleaſure, and this preſent and pleaſāt tranſitory life and felicitie, which the vngodly fooliſhly imagine to procure vnto them ſelues by perſecutyng, & thruſtyng away the Goſpell, ſhall turne vnto their owne trouble, and at laſt vnto horrible deſtruction and mutations of Realmes and Cōtreys, & after this life (if they repent not) vnto their perpetuall infelicity, perditiō, and damnation. For they had rather with Naball and his temporall pleaſures deſcend to the Deuill, then with poore CHRIST and hys bodily troubles, aſcend vnto the kyngdome of God hys father. *But an vnwiſe man* (ſayth the Pſalmiſt) *comprehendeth them not, neither doth the fooliſh vnderſtand them*, that is, theſe bloudy perſecutours growe vp and flouriſhe like the flower and graſſe in the field. But vnto this end do they ſo floriſh, that they might be cut downe and caſt into the fire for euer. For, as Iob ſaith: *Their ioy laſteth but the twinklyng of an eye*, and death ſhall lye gnawyng vpon them as doth the flocke vpon the paſture: yea the cruell worme, late repentaunce (as S. Marke ſayth) ſhall lye gnawyng, tormentyng, and accuſyng their wretched conſcience for euermore.

Let vs therefore (good Chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather then men. For although they ſlay our ſinfull bodies (yea rather our deadly enemies) for Gods verity: yet can they not do it, but by Gods ſufferaunce and good will, to his praiſe and honour, and to our eternall ioy and felicity. For our bloud ſhed for the Goſpell, ſhal preach it with more fruite and greater furtheraunce, then did our mouthes, lyues, and writinges: as did the bloud of Abel, Steuen, with many other moe. what though they laugh CHRIST and his worde to ſcorne which ſit in the chaire of peruerſe peſtilent ſcorners? To whom as to the wiſe Gentiles of the world, the Goſpel of CHRIST is but fooliſhnes, as it was to the Iewes a ſclaunder and a ſtumbling ſtone, wherat they now being fallen, haue prouoked the wrath and vengeaunce of God vpō them. Theſe are the dayes of vengeaunce (ſaith Luke) that all thinges written may be fulfilled. And ſurely it ſhall be no leſſe then a huge ſtorme of euils that ſhall come vpon vs, becauſe that a long and a curſed obſtinate maliciouſnes of vs, hath gone before crying in the eares of the Lord God of hoſtes, who ſo many times and ſo many waies haue bene prouoked with the vnſpeakeable riches of his goodnes, his pacience, and long ſuffering, to amendment, and haue neuertheles contemned the ſame, and proceeded forwarde to worſe and worſe, prouoking and ſtirring the preſence of Gods maieſty vnto anger. Now therfore ſaith God by the mouth of his Prophet: *I wyll come vpon thee, and I wyll ſend my wrath vpon thee:* vpon thee (I ſay) O England, and punyſhe thee according to thy waies, & reward thee after all thine abominatiōs. Thou haſt kindled the fire of Gods wrath and haſt ſtyrred vp the coales. For thou waſt once lightned and haddeſt taſted of the heauenly gift, and waſt become partaker of the holy ghoſt, and haddeſt taſted of the good word of God: Yea, it is yet in thy mouth, ſaith the Prophet. Alas O England, thou knewest thy Lord and Maſters will, but diddeſt nothing thereafter: *Thou muſt therefore* (ſaith he) *ſuffer many ſtripes*, and many ſharpe ſtrokes, and walke on in the glittering and whote flame of thine own fier, and in the coales that thou haſt kyndled. This cōmeth to thee from my hand, ſaith the Lord: namely: *That thou ſhalt ſleepe in ſorrow*, yea euen ſo thou ſhalt. The plaine truth telleth the tale, the immutable iuſtice of the euerliuing God, & the ordinary courſe of his plagues from the beginning, confirmeth the ſame. The ioy of our hart (ſaith Ieremy) is gone, our glory is fallen away, our mery ſinging is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas and weale away that euer we ſinned ſo ſore: wo worth all abominations and wickednes: wo worth cloked hypocriſy: wo worth our carnall liberty: wo worth our moſt curſed idolatry. For bicauſe of theſe things, ſaith the Lord, ye ſhal periſh with ſword, hunger, and peſtilence.

wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of CHRIST, and all the vnbeleuers, looke to bee tormented and vexed with all helliſh furies, and cleane without hope at Gods accompting day, which know not God in CHRIST to be their very righteouſnes, their life, their onely ſaluation and alone Sauiour, nor beleue not in hym. They muſt, ſaith S. Iohn, needes abide and periſh with their ſynnes in death and in eternall damnation. But we be the children of Saintes, as the elder Toby dyd aunſwer, & looke for an other lyfe, which God ſhall geue to al them which chaunge not their faith, nor ſhrinke not from hym. Reioyce therfore ye Chriſtian afflicted brethren, for they can not take our ſoules and bodies out of the handes of the almightye, which bee kept as in the boſome of our moſt ſwete and louing father, and if we abide faſt in CHRIST, and turne not away like weathercockes, ſurely we ſhall lyue for euer, CHRIST affirming the ſame, ſaying: *My ſhepe heare my voice, I know thē, they harkē vnto me & to no ſtraūgers, and I geue them euerlaſting lyfe, for they ſhall not be loſt, nor no man ſhall plucke them out of my handes:* no nor yet this flattering world with all his vaine pleaſures, nor any Tyranne with his great threates and ſtout brags can once moue them out of the way of eternall life, what conſolatiō and comfort may we haue more pleaſant and effectuous then this? God is on our ſide, and fighteth for vs: he ſuffereth, he ſmarteth, and is afflicted with vs. As the world can do nothing againſt his might, neither in taking away, or diminiſhing of his glory, nor putting him from his celeſtiall throne: ſo cā it not harme nor hurte any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, out of his fleſh & of his bones, and as deare to him as the apple of his eye.

Iohn.8.

Comfort to the afflicte brethren.

Math.10.

Iohn.10.

Chriſt himſelfe ſuffereth in his members afflicted.

Eſay.5.

Ephes.5.

Let vs therefore with an earneſt faith, ſet faſt hold and ſure feeling vpon the promiſes of God in the Goſpell, & let vs not be ſundred from the ſame by any temptation, tribulation, or perſecution. Let vs conſider the verity of God to be inuincible, inuiolable, & immutable, promiſing and geuing vs his faithfull ſoldiours lyfe eternall. It is he onely that hath deſerued it for vs: it is his onely benefite and of his onely mere mercy, and vnto hym onely muſt wee render thankes. Let not therefore the vaine fantaſies and dreames of men, the fooliſh gaudes and toyes of the world, nor the craftie deluſions of the deuill, driue and ſeparate vs frō our hope of the crowne of righteouſnes, that is laid vp in ſtore for vs againſt the laſt day. Oh that happy and merrye laſt day, I meane to the faithfull, when CHRIST by his couenaunt ſhall graunt and geue vnto them that ouercome and kepe his wordes to the end, that they may aſcend and ſit in ſeate with him, as he hath aſcended and ſitteth on throne with his father. The ſame body and ſoule that is now with CHRIST afflicted, ſhall then be with CHRIST glorified: now in the butchers handes as ſhepe appoynted to dye, then ſittyng at Gods table with CHRIST in hys kyngdome, as Gods honorable and deare childrē: where we ſhall haue for earthly pouerty, heauenly riches, for hunger and thirſt, ſaturitie of the pleaſaunt preſence of the glory of God, for ſorrowes, troubles, & colde yrons, celeſtiall ioyes, and the company of Angels, & for a bodily death, life eternal. Oh happy ſoules, oh precious death and euermore bleſſed: right deare in the eyes of God, to you the ſpryng of the Lorde ſhall euer bee floriſhyng. Then (as ſaith Eſay): *The redemed ſhall returne and come againe into* Sion *prayſing the Lord, and eternall mercyes ſhalbe ouer their heades: they ſhall obtayne myrth and ſolace: ſorrow and woe ſhalbe vtterly vanquiſhed:* yea I am euen he ſayth the Lord, that in all thinges geueth you euerlaſtyng conſolation. To whom with the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, be glory and prayſe for euer. Amen.

Gods promiſe is immutable.

O mery laſt day.

2.Timo.2.

Chriſtes Saintes to be here in Butchers handes.

Pſal.16.

Precious is the death of Gods Saintes.

Robert Samuell.

An other letter written to the Chriſtian congregation, by Robert Samuell, wherein he declareth the confeſſion of his fayth.

The beliefe of the hart iuſtifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. Rom.10.

Feare not the curſe of men, be not afrayde of their blaſphemyes and reuilynges, for wormes and mothes ſhall eate them vp like cloth and woll, but my righteouſnes ſhall endure for euer, and my ſauyng health from generation to generation. Eſay.51.

Conſideryng with my ſelfe theſe perillous tymes, periſhyng dayes, and the vnconſtant and miſerable ſtate of man, the decay of our faith, the ſiniſter report and falſe ſclaūder of Gods moſt holy word, theſe vrgent cauſes in conſcience do conſtraine me to confeſſe & acknowledge my fayth and meanyng in CHRISTES holy Religion, as S. Peter teacheth me, ſaying: be ready alwayes to geue an aunſwere to euery man that aſketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you, and that with meekenes &

2.Timo.3.

An other letter of Robert Samuell conteynyng his fayth.

1.Peter.3.

Marke. 8.

ſcare, hauing a good conſcience, that when they backbite you as euill doers, they may be aſhamed, for aſmuch as they haue falſely accuſed your good conuerſation in *CHRIST*. As touchyng my doctrine, for that litle talent that God hath geuen me, God I take to record, myne owne conſciēce and myne auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor maners, willyngly taught any other thing then I receiued of the holy Patriarckes, Prophetes, *CHRIST*, and his Apoſtels. For it were not onely ſinne, but alſo the very part of a curſed miſcreant, to deny, to belye, or betray the innocency of that heauenly doctrine, or to be aſhamed to confeſſe and ſtand to the defence of the ſame, ſeing that *CHRIST* planted it with his moſt precious bloude: and all good men haue more eſteemed the true and infallible worde of God, then all this tranſitory world, or their owne mortall lyues. And I beleue this doctrine of the Patriarkes, Prophetes, *CHRIST* and his Apoſtles to be ſufficient and abſolutely perfect to inſtruct and teach me & all the holy church, of our duties towardes God, the Magiſtrates, and our neighbours.

One God.

Three perſōs.

Firſt and principally I do aſſuredly beleue without any doubting, that there is one deity or diuine eſſence, and infinite ſubſtaunce, which is both called and is in dede God euerlaſting, vnbodily, vnpartible, vnmeaſurable in power, wiſdome, and goodnes, the maker and preſeruer of all thinges, as well viſible as inuiſible: and yet there be three diſtinct perſons, all of one Godhead or diuine being, and all of one power, coequall, conſubſtantiall, coeternall, the Father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

Epheſ. .

*Act.*17.
*Pſal.*176.

I beleue in God the father Almighty. &c. As touching God the Father of heauē, I beleue as much as holy ſcripture teacheth mee to beleue. The father is the firſt perſon in Trinity, firſt cauſe of our ſaluation, which hath bleſſed vs with all maner of bleſſinges in heauenly thinges by *CHRIST*: which hath choſen vs before the foundations of the world were layd, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him: who hath predeſtinate vs and ordayned vs to be his childrē of adoption through *CHRIST IESV*. In him, as it is ſayd, we liue, we moue and haue our being: he nouriſheth, feedeth, and geueth meate to euery creature.

The ſecond Article.

*Heb.*1.

And in IESVS CHRIST his onely ſonne our Lord. I beleue that the word, that is, the Sonne of God the ſecond perſon in Trinity, did take mans nature in the wombe of the bleſſed Virgin Mary: So that there be in him two natures, a diuine nature and an humaine nature in the vnity of perſon inſeperable, conioyned and knit in one *CHRIST*, truely God and truely man, the expreſſe and perfect Image of the inuiſible God, wherein the will of God the father ſhineth apparantly, and wherin man, as it were in a glaſſe, may behold what he ought to do that he may pleaſe God the Father.

No merites to ſaluation but only in Chriſt.

*Eſay.*48.43.
*Gen.*1.22.
*Eſay.*53.
*Act.*10.
*Math.*8.

Borne of the Virgin Mary: truely ſuffryng his paßion, crucified, dead and buryed, to the entent to bring vs agayne into fauour with God the father almighty, and to be a ſacrifice, hoſt and oblation, not onely for originall ſinne, but alſo for all actuall ſinnes of the whole generation of mankinde. For all the workes, merites, deſeruinges, doings and obedience of man towardes God, although they be done by the ſpirit of God in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validitie, worthynes, nor merite before God except God for his mercy and grace, accompt them worthy for the worthynes and merites of *CHRIST IESVS*.

The ſame CHRIST went downe to the hels, and truely roſe again the third day, and aſcended into the heauens, that he might there ſtill reigne and haue dominion ouer all creatures: *and from thence ſhall come &c.*

The catholicke church is the communiō of Saintes.

*Iohn.*10.8.
*Galat.*1.
1.*Timo.*3.

I beleue in the holy ghoſt, coequall with God the Father and the Sonne, and proceeding from thē both: by whoſe vertue, ſtrength and operation, the true catholycke church, which is the cōmunion and ſociety of Saintes, is guyded in all truth and verity, and kept from all errours and falſe doctrine, the deuill, and all power of ſinne. which church is ſanctified and halowed with the precious bloud, and ſpirit of our Lord *IESVS CHRIST*: which hath alſo her ſigne and marke, that ſhee heareth and followeth the voyce of her onely and true paſtour *CHRIST*, and no ſtraungers. Thys Church alſo is the houſe of God, the congregation of the liuyng God, the piller of truth, the liuely body of *CHRIST*, a church both in name and in deede.

I beleue the remißion of ſinnes, by the onely meanes and merites of *CHRISTES* death and paſſion: who was made vnto vs of God that onely ſacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for euer, for all them that be ſanctified.

Confirmation of our reſurrection.

I beleue the reſurrection of the body, whereby in the laſt day all men ſhall ryſe agayne from death, the ſoules ioyned agayne to the bodyes, the good to euerlaſting lyfe, the wycked to euerlaſting payne and puniſhment. And nothyng may more certaynly ſtabliſh and confirme our fayth that we ſhall ryſe agayne immortall both in body and ſoule, then the reſurrection of *CHRIST* our Sauiour and firſt fruites of the dead. Now that *CHRIST* our head is riſen, we being his body and members muſt follow our head. Death, hell, and ſinne cānot ſunder nor plucke vs from him. For as the Sunne can not be diuided nor ſundred from the Father, nor the holy ghoſt from them both, no more may wee being the faythfull members of *CHRIST*, be ſeperated from *CHRIST*. And for a confirmation of our reſurrection, *CHRIST* would be ſeene after his reſurrection in his moſt glorious body, his woūdes being handeled and felt, ſpeaking and teaching, eating & drinking. &c. we looke (ſayth S. *Paule) for IESVS CHRIST our Sauiour, which ſhall transfigure our vyle bodyes, and conforme them to his glorious body by the ſame power and vertue, wherwith he is able to ſubdue all thinges*: euen lyke as the grayne of wheat ſowē in the ground is firſt putrified and brought as into a thing of nought, yet after that it ſpringeth vp freſhly with a more goodly colour, forme, & beuty then it had before. The body is ſowen in corruption and ryſeth in incorruption: it is ſowen in diſhonour and ryſeth in honour.

*Iohn.*1?.
Iohn.?.
*Phil.*3.
*Iohn.*12.

1.*Cor.*15.

*Iohn.*5.

Thus I verely know and aſſuredly beleue the reſurrection of our bodies, and to haue lyfe eternall by Chriſt and for *CHRISTES* ſake. *Verely, Verely, I ſay vnto you* (ſayth *CHRIST*) *he that heareth my word and beleueth on him that ſent me, hath euerlaſting lyfe, and ſhall not come into damnation, but is eſcaped from death to lyfe.* It is *CHRIST* that dyed once for our ſinnes, and is riſen agayne, neuer more to dye: it is he that ſwallowed vppe death and hath caſt it vnder hys feete for euer. what now can death do vnto vs? Verely nothing els but for a little tyme ſeparate our precious ſoules from our wretched bodyes, that diuine ſubſtaunce from a Maſſe of ſynne, that eternall lyfe from a body of death, and ſo ſend our ſoules out of this miſerable, wretched, and ſorowfull lyfe cumbred withall calamities, vnto that moſt bleſſed felicity and ioyes eternall.

*Rom.*10.
*Oſe.*13.

The ſting of death plucke out.

His confeſſion touching the Sacramentes.

Sacramentes are confirmations of gods grace and acceptation.

As concerning the holy and reuerend Sacraments of *CHRISTES* church, which be in number two, the Sacrament of Baptiſme and the Super of the Lord, I beleue them to be as Saint Paule calleth them, confirmations or ſeales of Gods promiſes, which haue added to them a promiſe of grace, and therefore they are called inuiſible ſignes of inuiſible grace.

The Sacrament of Baptiſme.

The Sacrament of baptiſme is a marke of *CHRISTES* Church, a ſeale and confirmation of our acceptation into the grace and fauour of God, for *CHRISTES* ſake. For his innocency, his righteouſnes, his holynes, hys iuſtice is ours, geuen vs of God: and our ſinnes and vnryghteouſnes, by his obedience and abaſing of hym ſelfe to the death of the croſſe, are hys, whereof Baptiſme is the ſigne, ſeale, and confirmation.

Baptiſme is alſo a ſigne of repentaunce, to teſtify that we be borne to the waues of perils, and chaunges of life, to the intent that wee ſhould dye continually as long as we liue, from ſinne, and ryſe agayne like new men vnto righteouſnes. Rom.6.

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

Gods word to the eare. Gods word to the eye.

*Act.*1.?

The other Sacrament, which is the Supper and holy Maundy of our Sauiour *CHRIST*, wherby the church of *CHRIST* is knowen, I beleue to be a remēbraunce of *CHRISTES* death and paſſion, a ſeale and confirmation of his moſt precious body geuen vnto death, euen to the vyle death of the croſſe, wherewith wee are redeemed and deliuered from ſynne, death, hell, and damnation. It is a viſible word, becauſe it worketh the ſame thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the eares. For like as the worde is a meane to the eares whereby the holy ghoſt moueth the hart to beleue, Rom.10: ſo this Sacrament is a meane to the eyes whereby the holy ghoſt moueth the hart to beleue: it preacheth peace betwene God and man: it exhorteth to mutuall loue and all Godly lyfe, and teacheth to contemne the world for the lyfe to come, when as *CHRIST* ſhall appeare, which now is in heauen and no where els as concerning his humane body.

yet do I beleue aſſuredly that his very body is preſent in his moſt holy Supper at the cõtemplation of our ſpiritually eyes, and ſo verely eaten with the mouth of our fayth. For as ſoone as I heare theſe moſt comfortable and heauenly wordes ſpoken and pronounced by the mouth of the Miniſter: *This is my body which is geuen for you*, when I heare (I ſay) this heauenly harmonye of Gods vnfallible promiſes and truth: I looke not vpõ, neither do I behold bread and wyne, for I take and beleue the wordes ſimply & plainly euen as CHRIST ſpake them. For hearyng theſe wordes, my ſenſes be rapt and vtterly excluded: for fayth wholy taketh place, and not fleſhe nor the carnall imaginations of our groſſe, fleſhly, and vnreuerent eatyng after the maner of our bodily foode which profiteth nothyng at all, as CHRIST witneſſeth. Iohn. 6. but with a ſorrowfull and wounded conſcience, an hungry and thirſtie ſoule, a pure and faithfull mynde do fully embrace, behold, and feede and looke vppon that moſt glorious body of CHRIST in heauen at the right hand of God yͤ father, very God & very mã, which was crucified and ſlayne, and his bloud ſhed for our ſinnes, there now making interceſſion, offryng and geuyng his holy body for me, for my body, for my raunſome, for my full price and ſatiſfaction, who is my CHRIST and all that euer he hath: and by this ſpirituall and faythfull eatyng of this liuely and heauenly bread, I feele the moſt ſwete ſappe and taſt of the fruites, benefites, & vnſpeakable ioyes of CHRISTES death and paſſion fully digeſted into the bowels of my ſoule. For my minde is quieted from all worldly aduerſities, tormoylings, and troubles: my conſcience is pacified from ſinne, death, hell and damnation: my ſoule is full and hath euen enough, and will no more: for all things are but loſſe, vyle dunge and droſſe, vayne vanitie, for the excellent knowledge ſake of CHRIST IESV my Lord and Sauiour.

Leu. 8.
Heb. 9.
Iames. 5.
Phil. 3.

Thus now is CHRISTES fleſh my very meate in deede, and his bloud my very drinke in deede, and I am become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones. Now I liue, yet not I, but CHRIST liueth in me: yea I dwel in hym and he in me: for through fayth in CHRIST, and for CHRISTES ſake we are one, that is, of one conſent, mynd, and felowſhyp with the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt. Ioan. 17. Thus am I aſſured & fully perſuaded, & on this rocke haue I builded by Gods grace, my dwellyng and reſtyng place for body and ſoule, lyfe and death. And thus I cõmit my cauſe vnto CHRIST the righteous & iuſt iudge, who will an other day iudge theſe debates and controuerſies: whom I humbly beſech to caſt his tender and mercifull eyes vpon the afflicted and ruinous Churches, and ſhortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetuall concorde, Amen.

Iohn. 6.
Ephe. 5.
Gala. 2.

Thus do I beleue, and this is my fayth and my vnderſtanding in CHRIST my Sauiour, and his true and holy Religion. And this who ſoeuer is aſhamed to do among this adulterous and ſinnefull generation, of him ſhall the ſonne of man be aſhamed when he commeth in the glory of his father with the holy Angels.

Marke. 8.

Robert Samuell.

William Allen,

Martyr.

W. Allen, Martyr.

NExt after the ſuffering of Robert Samuell, about the begynning of September was burned William Allen in Walſingam, laboring man, ſeruant ſomtime to Iohn Houghton of Somerton. He being brought before the Biſhop, and aſked the cauſe why he was impriſoned: aunſwered, that he was put in priſon becauſe he would not follow yͤ Croſſe, ſaying that he would neuer go on proceſſion.

Then beyng wylled by the biſhop to returne againe to the catholicke church, he aunſwered: that he would turne to the catholicke church, but not to the Romiſhe church, and ſayd, that if he ſaw the King and Quéene, & all other folow the croſſe, or kneele downe to the croſſe, he would not. For the which, ſentence of condemnation was geuẽ againſt hym, the. xij. of Auguſt, & he burned at Walſingham about the beginning of September, who declared ſuch conſtancy at hys martyrdome, and had ſuch credite wyth the Iuſtices, by reaſon of hys vpright and well tryed conuerſation among them, that he was ſuffered to go vntyed to hys ſuffering, and there beyng faſtened wyth a chayne, ſtode quietly without ſhrincking, vntyll he dyed.

Anno 1555. Septem.

The martyrdome of Roger Coo of

Melford in Suffolke, Sheremã, firſt examined before the *Biſhop of Norwych, and by hym condemned.*
Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 12.

Roger Coo, Martyr.

ROger Coo brought before the biſhop, firſt was aſked why he was impriſoned.

Talke betwen Roger Coo, and Hopton Biſhop of Norwich.

Coo. At the Iuſtices commaundement

Biſh. There was ſome cauſe why.

Coo. Here is my accuſer, let hym declare.

And hys accuſer ſayd that he would not receyue the Sacrament.

Biſh. Then the biſhop ſayd that hee thought he had tranſgreſſed a law.

Coo. But Coo aunſwered that there was no lawe to tranſgreſſe.

Biſh. The Biſhop then aſked what hee ſayd to the law that then was?

Coo. He aunſwered howe hee had bene in priſon a long tyme, and knew it not.

No, ſayd hys accuſer, nor wylt not. My Lord, aſke hym when he receaued the Sacrament.

Roger Coo to his accuſer.

Coo. When Coo heard hym ſay ſo, he ſayd: I pray you my Lord, let him ſit downe & examine me him ſelf.

Biſh. But the biſhop would not heare that, but ſaid: Coo, why? wyll ye not receiue?

The Biſhop of Rome.

Coo. He aunſwered hym that the Biſhop of Rome had chaunged Gods ordinaũces, and geuen the people bread and wyne in the ſtéede of the Goſpell, and the beliefe of the ſame.

Biſh. How proue you that?

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

Coo. Our Sauiour ſayd: *My fleſh is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede. He that eateth my fleſh, & drinketh my bloud, abideth in me, and I in him*, and the bread and wyne doth not ſo.

Biſh. Well Coo, thou doeſt ſclaunder our holy Fathers. Did not CHRIST take bread, geue thankes, and brake it, and ſayd: *This is my body?*

Coo. Yes, ſayd he, and ſo he went further with the text, ſaying: *Which ſhall bee geuen for you: do this in the remembraunce of me.*

Biſh. You haue ſayd the truth.

Coo. Then Coo replied further and ſaid: CHRIST wylled to do thys in the remembraunce of him, and not to ſay thys in the remembraunce of hym, neyther dyd the holy Ghoſt ſo lead the Apoſtles, but taught them to geue thankes, and to breake bread from houſe to houſe, and not to ſay as the Biſhop ſayd.

Biſh. How proue you that?

Coo. It is wrytten in the ſecond of the Actes.

Then the Biſhops Chaplayne ſayd it was true.

Biſh. The Biſhop aſked hym if he could his beliefe.

Coo. Hee aunſwered yea, and ſo ſayd part of the Créede, and then after he ſayd, he beleued more: for he beleued the ten cõmaundementes, that it was méete for all ſuch as looke to be ſaued, to be obedient vnto thẽ.

Biſh. Is not the holy church to be beleued alſo?

Coo. Yes, if it be builded vpon the word of God.

Biſh. The biſhop ſayd to Coo, that he had charge of hys ſoule.

Coo. Haue ye ſo my Lord? Then if ye go to the deuyll for your ſinnes, where ſhall I become?

Biſh. Do you not beleue as your father dyd? Was not he an honeſt man?

Coo. It is written that after CHRIST hath ſuffered: *There ſhall come a people with the prince that ſhall deſtroy both City and Sanctuary.* I pray you ſhew me whether this deſtruction was in my fathers tyme, or now?

Daniell. 9.

Byſh. The Byſhop not aũſweryng his queſtion, aſked him whether he would not obey the kyngs lawes?

Coo. As farre as they agrée with the word of God, I will obey them.

Byſh.* Whether they agrée with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the kyng were an infidell.

* Well ſpoken and like the Popes clerke.

Coo. If Sydrach, Myſaach, and Abednago had ſo done, Nabuchadonoſor had not confeſſed the liuing God.

Byſh. Then the Biſhop told him, that these xxij. yeares we haue bene gouerned with ſuch Kinges.

Coo. My Lord, why were ye then dumme and dyd not ſpeake or barke?

Byſh. I durſt not for feare of death. And thus they ended.

¶ But after this done, it was reported that I rayled: wherfore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railyng, that light ſhould not be takē for darkenes, nor ſinne for holines, and the deuill for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and euer, Amen.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his ſondry troubles and conflictes with his aduerſaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yexford in the Countie of Suffolke, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his aged yeares. An. 1555. Menſ. Septemb.

The Martyrdome of *Roger Coo* at Yexford. An. 1555. Septem.

Thomas Cobbe of Hauerhill

Bocher, Martyr.

Tho. Cobbe of Hauerhill in Northfolke, Martyr.

Ouer & beſides this foreſaid Roger Coo, Williã Allen, Iames Abbes of Stokennayland, Rob. Samuell and other moe, in the ſame yeare vpon the xx. of Auguſt was alſo with them condemned Thomas Cobbe of Hauerhill, Bocher and executed in the moneth of Septēber aforeſayd. Who beyng brought and examined by Michaell Dunnynges the bloudy Chauncellour of Norwich, firſt whether he beleued that *CHRIST* is really and ſubſtantially in the Sacrament of the aultar, aunſwered that the body of *CHRIST* borne of the bleſſed virgine was in heauē, and otherwiſe (he ſayd) he would not aūſwere, becauſe he had red it in the Scripture, that *CHRIST* did aſcend, and did neuer deſcend ſince, and therfore ſayd that he had not learned in ẏ Scripture, that *CHRIST* ſhoud be in the Sacrament.

Examinations *of T. Cobbe.*

The reall preſence of Chriſt only in heauē.

Furthermore being demaunded, whether he would obey the lawes of the Realme of Englād made for the vnitie of fayth, or no, hee aunſwered, that his body ſhould be at the Kyng and Quéenes commaundement ſo farre, as the law of God would ſuffer. &c. In fine the ſayd Thomas Cobbe beyng condemned the ſame xx. day of Auguſt, with the other his felowmartyrs, was burned in the towne of Tetford. an. 1555. menſ. Septemb.

The Martyrdome of *Tho. Cobbe* at Thetford. An. 1555. September.

The Martyrdome of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and Iames Tuttye.

Now from Northfolke and Suffolke to returne agayne into the Dioces of Canterbury, we haue to entreate of fiue worthy Martyrs, whoſe bloud in the ſame yeare and moneth of September was ſpilt for the true teſtimony of *CHRIST*, and his Goſpels cauſe. The names of the which fiue Martyrs were theſe.

George Catmer, *of Hyth.*
Robert Streater, *of Hyth.*
Anthony Burward, *of Calete.*
George Brodbridge, *of Bromfield.*
Iames Tuttye, *of Brencheley.*

Who vppon the thyrd day of Auguſt were brought before Thornton the foreſayd Byſhop of Douer and his complices, and there were both ioyntly & ſeuerally examined vpon certaine Articles, touchyng the Sacrament of their aultar, auricular confeſſion, and other ſuch like.

Examinations of theſe fiue Martyrs.

To the which the ſayd Catmer (beyng firſt examined) made aunſwere on this wiſe: *CHRIST* (quoth he) ſitteth in heauen on the right hand of God the father, and therfore I do not beleue him to be in the Sacrament of the aultar: but he is in the worthy receiuer ſpiritually, and ẏ Sacrament as you vſe it, is an abominable Idoll.

Examination and anſwers of *Catmer.*

The reall preſence of Chriſt only in heauen.

Next vnto him was called forth Robert Streater: who beyng alſo asked whether he did beleue the reall preſence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament of the altar, ſayd, that he did not ſo beleue: for you do maintaine hereſie and idolatrie (quoth he) in that ye teach to worſhyp a falſe God in the Sacrament, encloſed in a boxe. It is you that are the malignaunt Church: for in your Church there are twenty thyngs vſed agaynſt the law of God.

Examination and anſwers of *Streater.*

The like obiection was articulate alſo agaynſt Anthony Burward, who alſo ſayd, that their Sacrament was made an Idoll.

Burward examined.

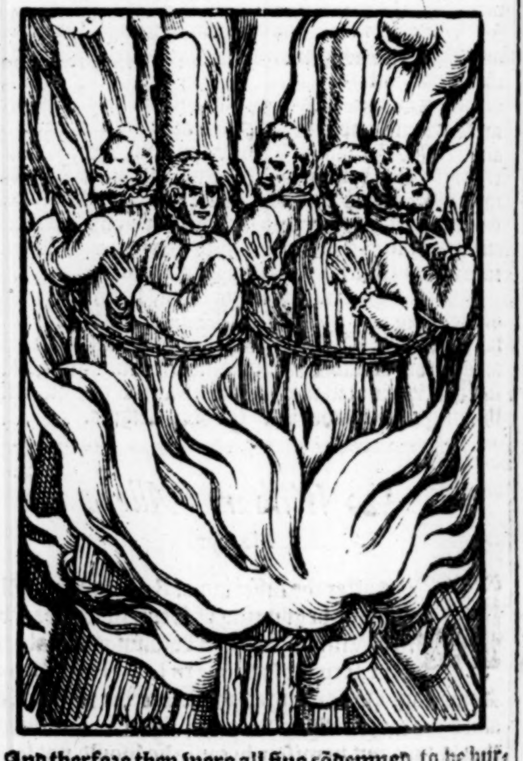
After him was George Brodbridge demaunded what he ſayd to thoſe Articles. Who aunſwered, that he would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, becauſe he could not forgeue his owne ſinnes: and further ſayd, that in the Sacrament of the aulter there is not the reall body of our Sauiour *CHRIST*, but bread geuen in the remembrāūce of hym. Moreouer, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your Maſſe, I do (quoth he) vtterly defie them.

Brodbridge examined.

And laſt of all did alſo Iames Tuttye make and confirme their ſayd former aunſweres.

Iames Tuttie examined, with his anſwere to the ſame.

¶ The burnyng of fiue Martyrs at Canterbury.



And therfore they were all fiue cōdemned to be burned as hereticks, and ſo were they all in one fire at Canterbury aforeſayd, about the vj. day of September then next folowyng.

The Martyrdome of *Catmer, Streater, Burward, Brodbridge, Tuttie,* at Canterbury. An. 1555 Septēb.

Ex Regiſt.

Thomas Hayward, and

Iohn Goreway, Martyrs.

Thomas Hayward, Iohn Goreway, Martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemēcie of this terrible perſecutiō in Quéene Maryes dayes did chiefly light in London, Eſſex, Northfolke, Suffolke, and Kent, as hath ben partly already declared: yet notwithſtandyng beſides the ſame, we finde but few partes of this Realme frée from this fatall

1555. Septemb.

fatall ſtorme, but ſome good Martyrs or other there ſhed their bloud. And firſt to begyn with ẏ Dioces of Lichfield & Couentry, there we finde theſe ij. to be condemned, & alſo burned about the middeſt of ẏ ſayd moneth of September at the towne of Lichfield: whoſe names were Thomas Hayward, and Iohn Gorway.

The condemnation of Thomas Hayward, and Iohn Gorway, at Lichfield. An. 1555. September.

The perſecutiõ and ſtory of Maiſter Robert Glouer Gentleman, and of Iohn Glouer his brother, in the dioces of Lichfield.

The ſtory of Maiſter Robert Glouer Martyr, and of M. Iohn Glouer his brother.

VNto this preſent tyme and moneth of September pertaineth alſo the memorable Martyrdome of M. Robert Glouer Gentleman, in the Dioces of Lichfield and Couentry. Of whoſe apprehenſion and troubles, becauſe I can not well entreate but I muſt alſo intermixt ſome mention of hys brother Iohn Glouer, forſomuch as this priuy cõmiſſion was chiefly ſent downe for the ſaid Iohn, and not for Robert Glouer (albeit it pleaſed almighty God, that Iohn eſcaped, & Robert in hys ſteede was apprehended) I thought therefore in one ſtory to comprehend them both, in deſcribing ſome part of their vertuous inſtitution and order of life, and firſt to begin with Iohn the eldeſt brother. Who beyng a Gentleman borne, and heyre to hys father, dwellyng in the towne of Mancetor, was endued wyth fayre poſſeſſiõs of worldly goodes, but yet much more plentifully enryched wyth Gods heauenly grace and inward vertues. Which grace of God ſo working in hym, he wyth hys two other brethren Robert and William, not onely receiued and embraced the happy light of CHRISTES holy Goſpell, but alſo moſt zelouſly profeſſed, and no leſſe diligently in theyr lyuing and conuerſation followed ẏ ſame: much vnlike vnto our tablegoſpellers now a daies, Virtutem qui verba putant, vt lucum ligna, as Horace ſayth.

Iohn Glouer, Robert Glouer, William Glouer, 3. godly brethren & zealous profeſſours of the Goſpel.

And as touching this foreſayd Iohn Glouer (who through his manifold afflictions ſemed to haue a deeper taſt & contẽplation of ſpirituall things, ioyned wͭ mortification from all worldly cares more thẽ the other had) although ſufficient relation be made before in our former edition to be ſeene, pag. 1277. yet as concernyng hys ſpirituall conflictes, and the Lordes gracious workiug in hym, becauſe the conſideration thereof is both worthy of memory, and the example may worke experience peraduenture to the comfort of the godly, it ſhal not be hurtfull to rehearſe ſome part of the ſame. So it pleaſed God to lay hys heauy hand of inward afflictiõs and greuous paſſions vpon thys man, that though hee ſuffered not ẏ paynes of ẏ outward fier, as hys brother & other Martyrs did: yet if we conſider what inwardly in ſpirite and mynde this man felt and ſuffered, and that of ſo long tyme, he may well be counted wyth hys brother Robert for a Martyr, being no leſſe deſirous wyth hym of the ſame martyrdome: yea and in compariſon may ſeeme to be chronicled for a double Martyr.

Touching further mention of Maiſter Iohn Glouer, read in the former edition, pag. 1277.

The inward conflictes and agonies of M. Iohn Glouer.

Iohn Glouer a double Martyr.

For as the ſayd Robert was ſpeedely diſpatched wyth the ſharpe and extreme tormentes of the fire in a ſhorte tyme: ſo thys no leſſe bleſſed Saynt of God, what and how much more greuous pãges, what ſorrowfull torments, what boyling heates of the fier of hell in hys ſpirite inwardly hee felt and ſuſteyned, no ſpeech outwardly is able to expreſſe. Being yonge I remember I was once or twyſe with hym, whom partly by hys talke I perceiued, & partly by myne own eyes ſaw to be ſo worne and conſumed by the ſpace of v. yeares, that neither almoſt any brooking of meate, quietnes of ſleepe, pleaſure of lyfe, yea and almoſt no kynde of ſenſes was left in hym. And doubtles I haue greatly wondred oftentimes at the marueilous works and operation of CHRIST ſhewed vpon hym, who vnleſſe he had relieued betimes his poore wretched ſeruant ſo farre worne, with ſome opportune conſolatiõ, now and then betwixt, it could not poſſible be, that hee ſhould haue ſuſtayned ſo vntolerable paynes and tormentes. And yet the occaſion thereof was not of ſo great moment and weight. But thys we ſee common among holy and bleſſed men, how the more deuout and godly they are, hauing the feare of God before theyr eyes, the more ſuſpicion and miſtruſt they haue of them ſelues: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that often they are ſo terrified and perplexed wyth ſmall matters, as though they were huge mountaynes: where as cõtrary other there bee, whom moſt haynous and very ſore crimes in deede doe nothing touch or ſtyrre at all.

5. yeares ſpace of inward torments vpon Iohn Glouer.

The better conſcience, the ſooner diſquieted.

The occaſion of this was, that he beyng firſt called by the lyght of the holy ſpirite to the knowledge of the goſpell, & hauing receaued a wonderous ſweete feelyng of CHRISTES heauenly kingdome, hys minde after that falling a litle to ſome cogitation of hys former affayres belonging to hys vocation, began by and by to miſdoubt hym ſelfe, vpon the occaſion of theſe wordes wrytten in the. vij. to the Hebrues: *For it cannot be that they which were once illumined, and haue taſted the heauenly gift. &c.* Vpon the conſideration of which wordes he fully perſwaded hym ſelfe, that he had ſinned verely againſt the holy Ghoſt: euen ſo much, that if hee had bene in the deepeſt pyt of hell, he could almoſt haue dyſpayred no more of hys ſaluation. Here readely euery good man may iudge of hym ſelfe, what terrours, boylynges, and conuulſions tormoyled in the meane time in hys woful breſt: although it bee hard for any man to iudge the greuouſnes thereof, vnleſſe he which hath experience of the lyke.

The firſt occaſion of Iohn Glouers inward affliction.

Heb. 7.

In comparing nowe the tormentes of all Martyrs wyth hys paines, I pray you what paynes, puniſhmẽt, and flames woulde not hee wyllingly haue ſuffered, to haue had ſome refocillation and tyme of refreſhing? Who in ſuch intolerable griefes of mynd, although he neyther had nor could haue any ioye of hys meate, yet was he compelled to eate agaynſt hys appetite, to the end to differre the tyme of hys damnation, ſo long as he might, thinking with him ſelfe no leſſe, but that hee muſt nedes be throwen into hell the breath being once out of the body. Albeit CHRIST he thought did pitye his caſe, and was ſory for him: yet he could not (as he imagined) helpe, becauſe of the veritie of the worde, which ſayd: *It can not be. &c.*

No greife like to the greife of conſcienſe.

Hebr. 7.

And this I rehearſe of hym, not ſo much to open his woundes and ſorrowes, as for that by hys example all we wyth hym may glorify the ſonne of God, who ſuffereth none to be tempted aboue his ſtrength, but ſo tempereth and ſeaſoneth the aſperitie of euylles, that what ſeemeth to vs intolerable, not onely hee doth alleuiate the ſame, that we may beare it, but alſo turneth it to our further cõmodity then we can thinke. Which well appeared in this good ſeruaunt of God, in no man more. Who albeit (as we haue ſayd) ſuffered many yeares ſo ſharpe temptations and ſtrong buffetynges of Satan: yet the Lord, who graciouſly preſerued him all the whyle, not onely at laſt dyd ryd him out of al diſcomfort, but alſo framed hym thereby to ſuch mortification of lyfe, as the lyke lightly hath not bene ſeene, in ſuch ſorte as hee being lyke one placed in heauen already and dead in this world, both in worde and meditation led a lyfe altogether celeſtiall, abhorryng in hys mynde all prophane doinges. Neyther was hys talke any thing diſcrepant from the fruites of his lyfe, throwing out neuer any idle, vile, or vayne language. The moſt part of hys lands he diſtributed to the vſe of hys brethren, and committed the reſt to the guiding of hys ſeruantes and officers, whereby the more quietly he might geue hym ſelfe to hys godly ſtudy, as to a continuall Sabboth reſt. This was about the latter ende of kyng Henryes reigne, and continued a great part of the tyme of kyng Edward. 6.

Chriſt a mercifull helper in tentations and hard diſtreſſes.

Iohn Glouer by the grace of Chriſt reſtored agayne to perfect tranquilitie.

After thys in the perſecutyng dayes of Q. Mary, as ſoone as the Biſhop of Couentry heard the fame of this Iohn aforeſayd beyng ſo ardent and zelous in the Goſpell of CHRIST, eftſoones he wrote his letter to the Maior and Officers of Couentrie to apprehēd him as ſoone as might bee. But it chaunced otherwiſe by Gods holy prouidēce, diſpoſing all thyng after his own ſecret pleaſure, who ſeyng his old and truſty ſeruaunt ſo many yeares with ſo extreme and many tormentes broken and dried vp, would in no wiſe heape to many ſorrowes vpon one poore ſely wretch: neither would cōmit him to the flames of fire, who had bene already baked & ſcorched with ẏ ſharpe fires of inward affliction, and had ſuſteined ſo many burnyng dartes & conflictes of Sathan ſo many yeares. God therfore of hys diuine prouidence thinkyng it to much, that one man ſhould be ſo much ouercharged with ſo many plagues and tormentes, did graciouſly prouide, that Robert his brother, beyng both ſtronger of body, and alſo better furniſhed with helpes of learnyng to aunſwere the aduerſaries (beyng a maſter af Art in Cambridge) ſhould ſuſteine that conflict: and euen ſo it came to paſſe, as ye ſhall heare.

The Mayor of Couentry ſendeth a priuie watchword to Iohn Glouer.

For as ſoone as ẏ Maior of Couentry had receaued the Byſhops letters for the apprehendyng of M. Iohn Glouer, he ſent forthwith a priuie watchword to the ſayd Iohn, to conuey away him ſelfe. Who with his brother William, was not ſo ſoone departed out of hys houſe, but that yet in ſight of the Shriffe and other, the ſearchers came and ruſhed in to take hym, accordyng to the Byſhops commaundement.

M.Robert Glouer apprehended lying ſicke in his chamber.

But when the ſaid Iohn could in no place be found, one of the officers goyng into an vpper chamber, foūd there Robert the other brother lying on his bed, and ſicke of a long diſeaſe, who was by him incontinent brought before the Shriffe. Which Shriffe not withſtādyng fauouring Robert and his cauſe, would in deede fayne haue dimiſſed him, and wrought what meanes he could, ſaying, that he was not the man for whō they were ſet: Yet neuertheles beyng feared with the ſtout wordes of the officer contēdyng with him to haue him ſtayed till the Biſhops commyng, he was cōſtrayned to cary him away agaynſt his will, and ſo layed him faſt while the Byſhop came. And thus much by the way of preamble firſt concernyng the worthy remembraunce M.Iohn Glouer.

Now to enter the matter which principally we haue in hand, that is, to cōſider the ſtory and Martyrdome of M.Robert Glouer, forſomuch as the whole narration of the ſame by his owne record and teſtimony in a writing was ſent vnto his wife cōcerning ẏ maner of hys ordering and handlyng, it ſhall therfore ſeeme beſt for the more credite of the matter, to exhibite the ſayd his owne letter, the wordes and contentes wherof here enſue, as followeth.

¶ A Letter of Maſter Robert Glouer to hys wife, conteinyng the whole diſcourſe and deſcription of hys troubles ſuſteined in pryſon, and of his ſundry conflictes betwene the Biſhop and him about Religion.

¶ *To my intyrely beloued wife Mary Glouer.*

A letter of M. *Rob. Glouer* to his wife, certifying her of all his troubles ſince his firſt apprehenſion.

The peace of conſcience which paſſeth all vnderſtandyng, the ſweete conſolation, comfort, ſtrength, and boldenes of the holy Ghoſt be continually increaſed in your hart, through a feruent, earneſt, and ſtedfaſt fayth in our moſt deare and onely Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, Amen.

I thanke you hartly moſt louyng wife, for your letters ſent vnto me in my impriſonment. I red them with teares more thē once or twiſe, with teares (I ſay) for ioy & gladnes, ẏ God had wrought in you ſo mercyfull a worke: firſt an vnfained repentaunce, ſecondly an humble and harty reconciliation, thirdly a willyng ſubmiſſion & obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I red in your letters, and iudged them to procede from the bottome of your hart, I could not but be thankeful to God, reioyſing with teares for you and theſe his great mercies poured vpon you. Theſe your letters, and the hearyng of your moſt godly procedings and conſtant doynges from tyme to tyme, haue much releued and comforted me at all tymes, and ſhall be a goodly teſtimony with you at ẏ great day, agaynſt many worldly and deinty dames, which ſet more by their owne pleaſure and pelfe in this world, then by Gods glory, litle regardyng (as it appeareth) the euerlaſtyng health of their own ſoules or others. My prayer ſhalbe whileſt I am in this worlde, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good worke in you, will finiſh it to the glory of his name, & by the mighty power & inſpiration of his holy ſpirite ſo ſtrengthen, ſtabliſh, & confirme you in all his wayes to ẏ end, that we may together ſhew forth his praiſes in the world to come, to our vnſpeakeable conſolation euerlaſtyngly, Amen.

So long as God ſhall lend you continuance in this miſerable world, aboue all thinges geue your ſelfe continually to prayer, liftyng vp, as S.Paul ſayth, cleane or pure handes without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgeuyng (as he ſayth alſo) if you haue any thyng agaynſt any mā, as CHRIST forgeueth vs. And that we may be the better willyng to forgeue, it is good often to call to remembraunce the multitude and greatnes of our owne ſinnes, which CHRIST daily and hourely pardoneth and forgeueth vs, and then we ſhall, as S. Peter affirmeth, be ready to couer and hide the offēces of our brethren, be they neuer ſo many. And becauſe Gods word teacheth vs, not onely ẏ true maner of prayyng, but alſo what we ought to do or not do in the whole diſcourſe and practiſe of this life, what pleaſeth or diſpleaſeth God, and that, as CHRIST ſayth, *The word of God that he hath ſpoken ſhall iudge in the laſt day*: let your prayer be to this end specially, that God of his great mercy would open and reuele more & more dayly to your hart the true ſenſe, knowledge, and vnderſtanding of his moſt holy word, and geue you grace in your liuyng to expreſſe the fruites therof. And for as much as it is, as the holy Ghoſt calleth it, ẏ worde of afflictiō, that is, it is ſeldome without hatred, perſecutiō, perill, daunger of loſſe of life and goodes, and what ſoeuer ſeemeth pleaſaunt in this world, as experience teacheth you in this tyme: call vpon God continually for his aſſiſtance alwayes, as CHRIST teacheth, caſtyng your accomptes what it is like to coſt you, endeuoryng your ſelfe, through the helpe of the holy Ghoſt, by continuaunce of prayer, to lay your foundation ſo ſure, that no ſtorme or tempeſt ſhalbe able to ouerthrow or caſt it downe: remembryng alwayes (as CHRIST ſayth) Lothes wife, that is, to beware of lookyng backe to that thyng that diſpleaſeth God. And becauſe nothyng diſpleaſeth God ſo much as Idolatry, that is, falſe worſhippyng of God, otherwiſe then his word commaundeth: looke not backe (I ſay) nor turne not your face to their Idolatrous and blaſphemous Maſſing, manifeſtly againſt the word, practiſe, & example of CHRIST: as it is moſt manifeſt to al that haue any taſt of the true vnderſtādyng of Gods word, that there remaineth nothyng in the Church of England at this preſent, profitable or edifying to the Church and cōgregation of the Lord, all thynges beyng done in an vnknowen toung, contrary to the expreſſe commaundement of the holy Ghoſt.

1.Tim.2.

Ghoſtly leſſons and precepts of Chriſtian life.

1.Peter.4.

Luke.17.

They obiect that they be the Church, and therefore they muſt be beleued. My aunſwere was, the church of God knoweth and reknowledgeth no other heade but IESVS CHRIST the Sonne of God, whom ye haue refuſed, and choſen the mā of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition, enemy to CHRIST, the deuils deputy and Lieſtenaunt the Pope.

CHRISTES Church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by hys word, as he ſayth: *My ſhepe heare my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my diſciples.* Theyr Church repelleth Gods word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

CHRISTES Church dare not adde or diminiſh, alter or chaunge his bleſſed teſtament: but they be not afrayde to take away all that CHRIST inſtituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture ſayth) with their own inuentions, Et lætari ſuper operibus manuum ſuarum. *s. To glory and reioyce in the workes of their own handes.*

The Church of CHRIST is, hath bene, and ſhal be in all ages vnder the Croſſe, perſecuted, moleſted and afflicted, the world euer hatyng them, becauſe they be not of the world. But theſe perſecute, murther, ſlay and kyl ſuch as profeſſe the true doctrine of CHRIST, be they in learning, liuing, conuerſation and other vertues neuer ſo excellent.

CHRIST and hys Church reſerued the triall of their doctrine to the word of God, and gaue the people leaue to iudge thereof by the ſame woord: *Search the ſcriptures*: But this Church taketh away the woorde from ẏ people, & ſuffereth neither learned nor vnlearned to examine or proue their doctrine by the woorde of God.

The true Church of God laboureth by all meanes to reſiſt and wythſtand the luſtes deſires, and motions of the world, the fleſh, and the deuil. Theſe for the moſt part, geue them ſelues to all voluptuouſnes, and ſecretly commit ſuch things, which (as S. Paule ſayth) it is ſhame to ſpeake of.

By theſe and ſuch lyke manifeſt probations they do declare them ſelues to be none of the church of Chriſt, but rather of the Sinagoge of Sathan. It ſhall be good for you oftentimes to conferre and compare their procedings and doinges, wyth the practiſe of thoſe whom the worde of God doth teach to haue bene true members of the Church of God, and it ſhall woorke in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldnes to withſtand wyth ſuffering, their doinges. I lykened them therefore to Nemrod, whom the ſcripture calleth a mightye Hunter or a ſtout Champion, telling them that that which they could not haue by ẏ word, they would haue by the ſword, and be the Church whether men wyll or no, and called them with good conſcience, as CHRIST called their forefathers, the children of the deuyll: and as their father the deuyll is a lyer and murtherer, ſo their kyngdome and Church (as they call it) ſtandeth by lying and murtheryng.

Haue no fellowſhip wyth them therefore, my deare wyfe, nor with their doctrine & traditions, leſt you bee partaker of their ſinnes: for whom is reſerued a heavy damnation, without ſpedy repentaunce. Beware of ſuch as ſhall aduertiſe you ſomthing to beare wyth the world as they do, for a ſeaſon. There is no dallying wyth Gods matters: *It is a fearefull thing* (as S. Paule ſaith) *to fall into the handes of God*. Remember the Prophet Helias: *Why halt you on both ſides?* Remember what CHRIST ſayth: *He that putteth hys handes to the plough and looketh backe, is not worthy of me*. And ſeing God hath hetherto allowed you as a good Soldiour in ẏ foreward, play not the coward, neither draw backe to the rereward. S. Iohn numbreth among them that ſhall dwell in the fiery lake, ſuch as be feareful in Gods cauſe. Set before your eyes alwayes the examples of ſuch as haue behaued them ſelues boldly in gods cauſe: as Steuen, Peter, Paule, Daniel, the thrée Children, the wydowes ſonnes, and in your dayes, Anne Aſkewe, Laurence Saūders, Iohn Bradford, with many other faithfull witneſſes of CHRIST. *Be not afraid in nothing*, ſayth S. Paule, *of the aduerſaries of CHRISTES doctrine: the which is to them the cauſe of perdition, but to you of euerlaſting ſaluation*. CHRIST commaundeth the ſame, ſaying: *Feare them not*. Let vs not follow the example of hym which aſked tyme, firſt to take leaue of his frendes. If we ſo do, we ſhall finde few of them that wyll encourage vs to go forward in our buſines, pleaſe it God neuer ſo much. We reade not that Iames and Iohn, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put of the tyme tyll they had knowen their fathers and friendes pleaſure, but the ſcripture ſayth: *They forſoke all, and by and by followed CHRIST*. CHRIST lykened the kyngdome of God to a precious pearle, the which whoſoeuer findeth, ſelleth all that he hath for to buy it. Yea, whoſoeuer hath but a litle taſte or glimering how precious a treaſure the kingdome of heauen is, wyll gladly forgo both lyfe and goodes for the obtaynyng of it. But the moſt part now adaies be lyke to Æſopes Cocke, which when he had found a precious ſtone, wiſhed rather to haue found a barely corne. So ignorant be they howe precious a iewell the woord of God is, that they choſe rather the thinges of thys world, which being cōpared to it, be leſſe in value thē a barely corne.

Math. 13.

Worldly chriſtians reſembled to *Æſopes* Cocke.

If I woulde haue geuen place to worldly reaſons, theſe myght haue moued me: Firſt the forgoing of you and my children: the conſideration of the ſtate of my children beyng yet tender of age and young, apt and inclinable to vertue and learning, & ſo hauing the more néede of my aſſiſtance, being not altogether deſtitute of giftes to helpe them withall: poſſeſſions aboue the cōmon ſort of men: becauſe I was neuer called to bee a Preacher or Miniſter: and (becauſe of my ſickenes) feare of death in impriſonment before I ſhoulde come to my aunſwere, and ſo my death to bee vnprofitable. But theſe and ſuch lyke, I thanke my heauenly father (which of hys infinite mercy inſpired me with his holy Ghoſt, for hys ſonnes ſake my onely Sauiour and redéemer) preuailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderful permiſſion of God, fallen into their hands, at the firſt ſight of the Shiriffe, nature a little abaſhed: yet ere euer I came to ẏ priſon, by the working of god and through hys goodnes, feare departed. I ſayd to the Shiriffe at hys comming vnto me: What matter haue you Maiſter Sheriffe to charge me withall? Hee aunſwered: you ſhall know whē you come before the Maſters: and ſo taking me with him, I loked to haue ben brought before the Maſters, and to haue heard what they could haue burdened me withall: but contrary to my expectation, I was cōmitted forthwith to the Iaile not being called to my aunſwer, litle iuſtice being ſhewed therein. But the leſſe iuſtice a man findeth at theyr hands, the more conſolation in conſcience ſhall he finde from God: for whoſoeuer is of the world, the world wyll loue hym. After I came into priſon, and had repoſed my ſelfe there a while, I wept for ioy and gladnes my belly full, muſing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) ſaying to my ſelfe after this ſort: O Lord who am I, on whom thou ſhouldeſt beſtowe thus thy great mercy, to be nūbred among the Saints that ſuffer for thy Goſpels ſake? And ſo beholding and conſidering on the one ſide my imperfection, vnablenes, ſinfull miſery, and vnworthines, and on the other ſide the greatnes of Gods mercy, to be called to ſo high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed & ouercome for a whyle with ioye and gladnes, concluding thus wyth my ſelfe in my hart: O Lord thou ſhewest power in weaknes, wyſedome in fooliſhnes, mercy in ſinfulnes: who ſhall let thée to chooſe where and whom thou wilt? As I haue zelouſly loued the confeſſion of thy word, ſo euer thought I my ſelfe to be moſt vnworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the ſame.

Worldly alurementes and motions of drawing back, by Gods grace withſtanded.

Experience of the Lordes aſſiſtance in confirming his ſeruauntes.

***M. Glouer* committed to the Iayle, before any cauſe was declared.**

Gods mighty conſolatiō vpō *Rob. Glouer* in priſon.

***M. Glouer* weepeth for ioye in priſon.**

Not long after, came vnto me M. W. Braſbrige, M. C. Phinees, M. N. Hopkyns, trauelyng with me to bée diſmiſſed vpon bondes. To whom my aūſwere was (to my remembraunce) after this ſort: For as much as the Maſters haue impriſoned me hauyng nothyng to burdeine me withall, if I ſhould enter into bondes, I ſhould in ſo doyng accuſe my ſelfe: and ſeyng they haue no matter to lay to my charge, they may aſwell let me paſſe without bondes, as with bondes. Secondarely, if I ſhall enter bondes, couenaunt, & promiſe to appeare, I ſhall do nothyng but excuſe, colour, and cloke theyr wickednes, and endaunger my ſelfe neuertheles, beyng bound by my promiſe to appeare. They alledged

***M. Glouer* counſelled to put in bondes.**

***Rob. Glouer* refuſeth to enter into bōdes.**

Worldly perſuaſions not receaued.

many worldly perſuaſions vnto me to auoyd the preſent perill, & alſo how to auoyd the forfiture, if I brake my promiſe. I ſayd vnto thē I had caſt my penyworth, by Gods helpe. They vndertooke alſo to make the bonde eaſie. And when they were ſomewhat importune, I ſayd to M. Hopkins, that libertie of conſcience was a precious thyng, and tooke as it were a pauſe, liftyng vp my hart to God earneſtly for his ayde & helpe that I might do the thyng that might pleaſe him. And ſo, whē they had let their ſute fal, my hart, me thought, was wonderfully comforted. M. Dudley commoned with me in like maner: whom I aunſwered in effect as I did before. Afterward debatyng the matter with my ſelfe, theſe conſiderations came to my head: I haue frō tyme to tyme with good conſcience (God I take to record) moued all ſuch as I had conference withall, to be no dalyers in Gods matters, but to ſhew them ſelues after ſo great a light and knowledge, harty, earneſt, cōſtant, and ſtable in ſo manifeſt a truth, and not to geue place one foote contrary to the ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw my ſelfe, and make any ſhiftes to pull my owne necke out of the collor, I ſhall geue great offence to my weake brethren in CHRIST, and aduaūtage to the enemyes to ſclaūder Gods word. It will be ſayd, he hath bene a great boldner of others to be earneſt & feruent, to feare no worldly perills or daungers, but he him ſelfe will geue no ſuch example.

M. Glouer agayne viſited with Gods holy comfort.

M. Glouer reaſoning with himſelfe.

M. Glouer taketh courage, all feare and daungers ſet aſide.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty both to God and man, beyng (as it were) by the great goodnes of God, maruelouſly called and appointed hereunto, to ſet aſide all feare, perils, and daungers, all worldly reſpectes and cōſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, accordyng to the meaſure of my ſmall gift, within the compaſſe of my vocation and calling, from the bottome of my hart vnfaynedly moued, exhorted, and perſuaded all that profeſſed Gods word, māfully to perſiſte in the defence of the ſame, not with ſword and violence, but with ſufferyng and loſſe of life, rather then to defile thē ſelues agayne with the whoriſhe abomination of the Romiſhe Antichriſt: ſo the houre beyng come, with my fact and example to ratifie, cōfirme, and proteſt the ſame to the hartes of all true beleuers: and to this end (by the mighty aſſiſtaunce of Gods holy ſpirite) I reſolued my ſelfe with much peace of conſcience, willyngly to ſuſtayne what ſoeuer the Romiſh Antichriſt ſhould do agaynſt me, and the rather becauſe I vnderſtode the Biſhops commyng to be at hand, and cōſidered that poore mens conſciences ſhould be then ſharpely aſſaulted. So remained I priſoner in Couentry by the ſpace of .10. or .11. dayes, being neuer called to my aunſwere of the Maſters, contrary to the lawes of the Realme, they hauing neither ſtatute, law, proclamation, letter, warrāt, nor cōmaundement for my apprehenſion. They would haue layd all the matter vpō the Sumner. Who beyng examined, denyed it before their faces (as one of my frendes told me) ſaying: that he had no cōmaundement concernyng me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doynges agaynſt me, to their charge at the great day.

M. Glouer reſolued in him ſelfe to abide the vttermoſt, in the Goſpels cauſe.

The Papiſtes procede with M. Glouer agaynſt the lawes of the realme.

Commaundement geuen to the Sumner agaynſt Iohn Glouer, and not againſt Rob. Glouer.

This Biſhops name was D. Banes.

M. Warren of Couentrie perſecutor of Rob. Glouer.

The ſecond day after the Biſhops commyng to Couentry, M. Warren came to the Yeldhall, and willed the chief Jayler to cary me to the Byſhop. I layd to M. Warrens charge the cruell ſeeking of my death: & whē he would haue excuſed him ſelfe, I told hym he could not wype his hādes ſo: he was as gilty of my bloud before God, as though he had murthered me wͭ his owne handes. And ſo he parted from me ſaying, I needed not to feare if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, & geue him grace to beleue this, which he and all of his inclination, ſhall finde (I feare) to true for their partes: that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt and afflict the members of CHRIST for their conſcience ſake, and for the true teſtimonie of CHRISTES word, and cauſe them moſt vniuſtly to be ſlayne and murthered: without ſpedy repentaunce, ſhall dwell with the deuill and his Aungels in the fiery lake euerlaſtyngly, where they ſhall wiſh and deſire, cry and call, but in vayne (as their right companiō Epulo did) to be refreſhed of thē, whom in this world they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdayned, as ſlaues, miſers, and wretches.

A leſſon for all perſecutors.

Luke. 16.

Rob. Glouer brought before Biſhop of Lichfield and Couentrie.

When I came before the Byſhop in one Dentons houſe, he began with this proteſtation, that he was my Byſhop for lacke of a better, and willed me to ſubmit my ſelfe.

I ſayd to him, I am not come to accuſe my ſelf: what haue you to lay to my charge?

He aſked me whether I was learned: I aunſwered, ſmally learned.

Maſter Chauncellour ſtādyng by, ſayd I was a maſter of Art.

Maſter Rob. Glouer Maſter of Arte in Cābridge.

Then my Lord layd to my charge, my not commyng to the Church.

Rob. Glouer charged for not comming to the church.

Here I might haue dalyed with him and put him to his proofes, foraſmuch as I had not bene for a long ſeaſon in his Dioces, neither was any of the Citizens hable to proue any ſuch matters agaynſt me. Notwithſtādyng I aūſwered him thorough Gods mercifull helpe, that I neither had nor would come at their Church as long as their Maſſe was vſed there, to ſaue (if I had them) v. hundreth liues. I willed him to ſhew me one iote or title in the Scripture for the proofe and defence of the Maſſe.

He aunſwered, he came to teach & not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learne of him, ſo farre as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Byſh. Who ſhall iudge the word?

Glouer. CHRIST was content that the people ſhould iudge his doctrine by ſearching the Scriptures, and ſo was Paul: me thinketh ye ſhould clayme no further priuiledge or preeminence then they had. Thus ſpake Rob. Glouer offering him further, that he was contēt the primitiue Church next to the Apoſtles time, ſhould iudge betwixt the Biſhop and him. But he refuſed alſo to be iudged by that. Then he ſayd he was his Byſhop and therfore he muſt beleue him.

The B. refuſeth to be iudged by the primitiue church.

Glo. If you ſay blacke is white my Lord (quoth Glouer) muſt I alſo ſay as you ſay, and beleue the ſame becauſe you ſay it is ſo? Maſter Chauncelour here noted me to be arrogant, becauſe I would not geue place to my Byſhop.

Glo. If you will be beleued becauſe you be a Byſhop, why finde you faut with the people that beleued M. Latymer, M. Rydley, M. Hoper, and the reſidue of them that were Biſhops?

Byſh. Becauſe they were heretickes.

Glo. And may not you erre (quoth I) as well as they? I looked for learnyng at my Lordes hand to perſuade me, and he oppreſſed me onely with his authoritie. He ſayd I diſſented from the Church, and aſked me where my Church was before kyng Edwardes tyme.

Where was the church before King Edwardes time.

I deſired him to ſhewe me where their Church was in Helias tyme, and what outward ſhew it had in CHRISTES tyme.

Byſhop. Helias complaint was onely of the tenne tribes that fell from Dauids houſe, whom he called heretickes.

Glo. You be not able to ſhew any Prophetes that the other two tribes had at the ſame tyme.

The Byſhop could not ſhew where Gods church was in Iſraell, nor where any prophet was in all Iuda, in Helias time.

My Lord makyng no aunſwere to that, M. Rogers one of the Maiſters of the City commeth in the meane ſeaſon, taking vpon him as though he would aunſwere to the text. But my Lord forthwith commaunded me to be committed to ſome Tower if they had any beſides the common Jayle, ſaying he would at the ende of his viſitatiō of his Dioces, weede out ſuch wolues. M. Rogers wylled hym to content hym ſelfe for that night till they had taken further order for me. Euen where it pleaſeth you, ſayd I to my Lord, I am content: and ſo I was returned at that tyme to the cōmon Jayle agayne

gayne from whence I came.

On the Friday morning beyng the next day after, I had warning by one of the priſoners to prepare my ſelf to ride wyth my fellow priſoners the ſame day to Lichfield, there to bee beſtowed at the Biſhops pleaſure. Which tidinges at the firſt ſomthing diſcouraged me, fearyng leſt I ſhould, by the meanes of my great ſicknes, through extreme hādling (which I loked for) haue dyed in the priſon before I ſhould come to my anſwer. But I rebuked immediately wyth Gods woord, thys infidelity in my ſelfe, and by the ſame corrected myne own miſtruſt and fantaſye after this manner: What make I of God? Is not hys power as great in Lichfield as in Couentry? Doth not hys promiſe extend as well to Lichfield, as to Couentry? Was he not wyth Abacuck, Daniel, Miſach, and Ieremy in theyr moſt dāgerous impriſonments? He knoweth what things we haue neede of. He hath numbred all the heares of our head. The Sparow falleth not on the ground without our heauenly fathers wyll: much more wyll hee care for vs if we be not faythles, whom hee hath made worthy to be wytneſſes of hys truth. So long as wee put our truſt in hym, we ſhall neuer be deſtitute of hys helpe, neither in priſō, neither in ſicknes nor in health, neyther in lyfe nor in death, neyther before Kings nor before Biſhops: not the deuyll hym ſelf, much leſſe one of hys miniſters ſhall bee able to preuayle agaynſt vs. Wyth ſuch lyke meditations, I wared cherefull, and of good conſolation and comfort: So that hearing one ſay that they could not prouide horſes enough for vs, I ſayd, let them cary vs in a dong cart for lacke of horſes, if they lyſt: I am well content for my part. Notwythſtanding, at the requeſt of my frendes, I wrote to maſter Maior and hys brethren, briefly requiring them, that I might make aunſwere here to ſuch thinges as ſhould be layd to my charge: the contentes of which letter were theſe.

¶A letter of M. Robert Glouer, to the Maior of Couentry and his Brethren.

I Beſech you to vnderſtand, that it is not vnknowen as well to the Keeper of the Iayle, as to the inhabitantes about me where I dwell, that I am a mā ſubiect to very great ſicknes, & haue bene by the ſpace of ſeuen yeares and more, ſo that it is not like that I ſhal be remoued without peryl and daunger of my life. And becauſe I was here committed to warde by your appoyntmēt, I would gladly here anſwer to ſuch things as ſhall bee layd to my charge. If I may obtayne thys of you, I haue cauſe thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency: if otherwyſe, I pray God it be not layd to your charge at the great day, where euery man ſhall haue iuſt iudgement without reſpect of perſon.

Your priſoner in the Lord, alwaies
myndful of you in my poore praier,
Robert Glouer.

But I receiued no aunſwer of my letters to nor fro. I coniectured that when the Biſhop and the Chauncellour had ſeene them, it moued them the rather to haue me alway, being more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to haue had me diſpatched priuely in priſon, then to come openly to my aunſwer. The maner of entreating and vſing me at my firſt comming to pryſon, dyd partly declare the ſame.

Certaine Sergeauntes and Conſtables of Couentry, beyng appointed to haue the conueying of vs to Lichfelde to bee delyuered there to one Iephcot the Chauncellours man ſent from Couentry wyth vs for the ſame purpoſe, we were commaunded to horſbacke about.xj.or.xij.of the clocke on Friday, being market day, that we might be the more gaſed and wondred at: and to kindle the peoples harts more againſt vs, they dyd proclayme a letter cōcerning a proclamation made for calling in and diſanulling of all ſuch bokes as truly expound and interprete the ſcriptures. We came to Lichfield about.iiij.of the clocke at night, and had leaue to repoſe our ſelues for our ſupper tyme. We Inned at the ſigne of the Swan, where we were entertained frendly and gently. After ſupper Iephcot repayred to vs, whom we intreated that vpon ſureties we myght reſt our ſelues that night, beyng vnprouided of any thing to helpe our ſelues wythall in the priſon at that preſent. He was content at the firſt (as he ſeemed) but afterwardes, whether it was by perſwaſion, or rather (as it ſeemed to me) he did but of policie put of the time tyll he had gathered a multitude to ſtare and wonder vpon vs, and alſo that we ſhoulde prouyde nothyng to eaſe our ſelues wythall: he reuoked hys promiſe, and ſo by conſent we were had to the pryſon, the multitude wondering at vs. I wylled Iephcot before, to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they ſhould haue iudgement wythout mercy, that ſhewed no mercy. And this mercy I founde at hys hand:

Iephcot the Chauncellours ſeruant.

Papiſtes kepe no promiſe.

He put me into a priſon the ſame nyght, where I continued vntyll I was condemned, a place next to the dungeon, narrow of roumes, ſtrong of building, & very cold, wyth ſmall light, and there alloweth he me a bundle of ſtrawe in ſtead of my bed, without chayre, forme, or any thing els to eaſe my ſelfe withall. God of his mercy gaue me great pacience through prayer that night, so that if it had bene hys pleaſure, I could haue bene contented to haue ended my lyfe. But Iephcot and one Perſey the Biſhops man, which afterwardes was my continual keeper for the moſt part, came to me in the mornyng: to whom I ſayd, this is a great extremity, God ſend vs patience: and no more. Then they were content that I ſhould haue a bed of myne owne procurement. But I was allowed no helpe, neyther nyght nor day, nor company of any man, notwithſtandyng my great ſicknes, nor yet paper, pen, or incke, or bookes, ſauyng my newe Teſtament in Latine, and a prayer booke which I priuely ſtole in.

Iephcot and Ferley cruell and ſtraite agaynſt *M. Glouer.*

Within two daies after, Maſter Chauncellour and one Temſey a Prebendary there, came to me into my priſon. Maſter Chauncellour exhorted me to conforme my ſelfe to my Lord and to the Church. He wiſhed to my ſoule no more hurt thē to his owne: belike becauſe I had layd to his charge at Couentry the ſeeking of my blood vniuſtly and wrongfully.

Talke betwen *M. Glouer*, and the Chauncellour in priſon.

Now thus the ſecond time I aunſwered M. Chauncellour to hys exhortation, that I refuſed not to bee ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and gouerned by the word of God.

Chaun. He aſked me how I knew the word of God but by the church?

Glouer. The church ſheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is aboue the word of God. This is no good reaſon in learning, ſayd I to Maſter Chauncellor. For it is lyke vnto this: Iohn ſhewed the people who was *CHRIST*: Ergo Iohn was aboue *CHRIST*. Or els, I haue a man that knoweth not the Kyng, and I tell hym who is the King: am I therefore aboue the king?

The Church geueth witnes which be the true bookes & writinges of the Apoſtles: as alſo the old Sinagoge of the Iewes doth witneſſe which be the true bookes of the holy prophetes: yet it followeth not therby that the Iewes haue authoritie ouer the ſcripture.

Maſter Chauncellour ſayd, hee came not to reaſon wyth me, and ſo departed. So remayned I wythout any further conference of any man by the ſpace of. viij dayes, and tyll the Biſhops comming: In the whych tyme I gaue my ſelfe continually to prayer, and meditation of the mercyful promiſes of God, made vnto all wythout exception of perſon, that call vpon the name of hys deare Sonne *IESVS CHRIST*. I found in my ſelfe dayly amendement of health of body, increaſe of peace in conſcience, and many conſolatiōs from God, by the helpe of his holy ſpirite, and ſometimes, as it were a taſte and glimmering of the lyfe to come: all for his onely ſonne *IESVS CHRISTES* ſake: to hym be all prayſe for euer and euer, Amen.

The comfortes and ſweete feelinges of *M. Glouer* in the priſon.

The enemy ceaſed not many tymes, ſundry wayes to aſſault me, oftentymes obiectyng to my conſcience myne

M. Glouer aſſaulted by the enemie in priſon concerning vnworthines.

Act. 24.

Rom. 11.

Roma. 4.

Iohn. 2.

Gods election bound to no worthines or perſon.

Roma. 10.

Pſal. 145.

It is no arrogancie to preſume vpon Gods promiſe.

Pſal. 50.

myne owne vnworthines, through the greatnes of the benefite to be counted among the number of them that ſhould ſuffer for *CHRIST*, or his Goſpels ſake. Againſt him I replied with the word of God in this ſort: What were all thoſe whom God had choſen frõ the begynnyng, to be his witneſſes and cary his name before the world: were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas ſayd, Similiter obnoxij peccato, aſwell ſubiect to wickednes, ſinne, imperfections, as other men be? Euen ſuch were Noe, Abrahã, Dauid and all the reſt. Quis prior dedit illi, as Paul ſayth? *Who gaue firſt vnto him?* And alſo ſpeakyng to euery man: *What haſt thou that thou receiuedſt not?* Likewiſe Iohn: *All haue receiued of his fulnes:* they were no bringers of any goodnes to god, but altogether receiuers. They choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them. They loued not God firſt, but he loued them firſt. Yea he both loued and choſe them whẽ they were his enemies, full of ſinne and corruption, & voyde of al goodnes. Eſt Dominus omnium, diues in omnes & ſuper omnes inuocãtes eum. He is & will bee ſtill ỹ ſame god, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as hable, as ready, as willing to forgiue ſinnes wᵗout reſpect of perſõ, to ỹ worldes end, of all thẽ that call vpõ him. Prope eſt Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eũ: God is neare, he is at hand, he is with all, with all (I ſay) & refuſeth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentane call vpon him, in what houre, what place, or what time ſoeuer it be. It is no arrogancy nor preſumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with his promiſe, and of duty to clayme and chalenge his ayde, helpe, and aſſiſtance in all our perils, daungers, and diſtreſſe, callyng vpon him, not in the confidence of our owne godlynes, but in the truſt of his promiſes made in *CHRIST*, in whom and by whom, and for whoſe ſake, who ſoeuer boldly approcheth to the mercy ſeate of ỹ father, is ſure to receiue what ſoeuer is expedient or neceſſary either for body or ſoule, in more ample wyſe and large maner, then he can well wiſhe, or dare deſire. His word cã not lye: *Call vpon me in the day of trouble and I will heare thee, and thou ſhalt prayſe me.*

Rob. Glouer replieth agaynſt the tentation of the enemy in that he is a ſinner.

I aunſwered the enemy alſo on this maner: I am a ſinner and therfore not worthy to bee a witnes of hys truth. What then? Muſt I deny his word becauſe I am not worthy to profeſſe it? What bring I to paſſe in ſo doyng, but adde ſinne to ſinne? What is greater ſinne then to deny the truth of *CHRISTES* Goſpell? as *CHRIST* him ſelfe beareth witneſſe: *He that is aſhamed of me or of my wordes, of him I will be alſo aſhamed before my father and all his Aungels.* I might alſo by like reaſon forbeare to do any of Gods cõmaundementes. When I am prouoked to pray, the enemy may ſay vnto me I am not worthy to pray, therefore I ſhall not pray: and ſo in like maner, of all ỹ cõmaundements: I ſhall not forbeare ſwearing, ſtealyng, murthering, becauſe I am not worthy to do any cõmaũdemẽt of God. Theſe be the deluſions of the deuill, & Sathans ſuggeſtions, which muſt be ouercome by cõtinuance of prayer, & with the word of God applied according to ỹ meaſure of euery mans gift, againſt al aſſaultes of ỹ Deuil.

M. Glouer brought againe before the Biſhop.

At the Byſhops firſt comyng to Lichfield after mine impriſonment, I was called into a bychamber next to my priſon, to my Lord. Before whom whẽ I came and ſaw none but his officers, chaplaines, & ſeruauntes, except it were an old prieſt, I was partly amazed & lifted vp my hart to God for his mercyfull helpe & aſſiſtance.

Reaſoning betwene Maſter *Glouer*, and the Biſhop.

My Lord aſked me how I liked my impriſonment. I gaue him no aunſwere touching that queſtion. He proceded to perſuade me to bee a member of his Church, which had cõtinued ſo many yeares. As for our church (as he called it) was not knowen, he ſayd, but lately in kyng Edwardes tyme.

I profeſſe my ſelfe to bee a member of that Church (ſayd I) that is builded vpon the foũdation of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, *IESVS CHRIST* beyng the head corner ſtone: and ſo alledged the place of S. Paul to ỹ Eph. And this church hath bene from the begynnyng (ſayd I) though it beare no glorious ſhewe before the world, beyng euer, for the moſt part, vnder the Croſſe & affliction, contemned, deſpiſed, and perſecuted. My lord on the other ſide, contended that they were the Church.

The true Church is alwayes builded
on the doctrine of the Apoſtles: whi
though it appeare not alwaies alike in ou
ward ſight, the fault is in the tyme, not
the Church. Tymes do alter, and with t
times the outward face of the Church m
alter, ſomtymes appearing more, ſomtim
leſſe, ſometymes very litle, ſometymes n
thyng at all, accordyng as the perſecutio
is. Neuertheles, the truth of the Chu
abydeth alwayes one. Neyther doth it
by nũber of mẽ, but by ſoundnes of tru
Many agreeing in one may make an vnit
but the v
ritie of t
word m
keth the
Church,
whether
be in fe
or in m
ny.

Glo. So cryed all the Clergy agaynſt the Prophetes at Ieruſalem, ſaying: Templum Domini, templum Domini, *The Churche, the Church.* &c.

Byſh. And alwayes when I was about to ſpeake any thing, my Lord cryed, hold thy peace, hold thy peace: I commaund thee by the vertue of obediẽce, to hold thy peace, callyng me a proud arrogaunt hereticke.

Glo. I willed my Lord to burthẽ me with ſome ſpecialties, and then to cõuince me with ſome Scriptures and good learnyng.

Then my Lord began to moue certaine queſtions. I refuſed to aunſwere him in corners, requiryng that I might make my aunſwere openly. He ſayd I ſhould aunſwere him there. I ſtode with him vpon that point vntill he ſayd I ſhould to priſon agayne, and there haue neither meate nor drinke till I had aunſwered hym. Then I lifted vp my hart to God, that I might ſtand and agree with the doctrine of his moſt holy word.

Byſh. The firſt queſtion was this: how many Sacramentes *CHRIST* inſtituted to bee vſed in the Church?

Glo. The Sacrament of Baptiſme, ſaid I, and the Sacrament that he inſtituted at his laſt Supper.

Byſh. No more ſayd he?

Glo. To all thoſe that declare a true and vnfayned repentaunce, a ſure hope, truſt, and confidence in the death of *CHRIST*, to ſuch miniſters (I graunt) that they haue authoritie to pronoũce by ỹ power of Gods word, the remiſſion of ſinnes.

Here interrupting me he would néedes beare me in hand that I called this a Sacramẽt. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, becauſe that matter was of no great wayght or importaunce: although he in ſo doyng, did me wrong, for I called it not a Sacrament.

He aſked me further whether I allowed their confeſſion.

I ſayd no.

Byſh. Then hée would know my mynde what I thought of the preſence of *CHRISTES* body in the Sacrament.

Glo. I aũſwered that their Maſſe was neither Sacrifice nor Sacrament, becauſe (ſaid I) you haue taken away the true inſtitution, which when you reſtore agayne, I will tell you my iudgement concernyng *CHRISTES* body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr of God leaue behind him by his owne hand in writyng concernyng the maner of his vſing and entreating in priſon, and alſo of his conflictes had with the Biſhop & his Chauncelour. Moe examinations he had (no doubt) with the Biſhop in the publicke Conſiſtory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which alſo he would haue left vnto vs, if either lẽgth of life, or layſure of time, or haſt of execution had permitted him to finiſh that he intended: but by reaſõ of ỹ writte of his burning being come down frõ Lõdon, lacke of time neither did ſerue him ſo to do, neither yet could I get the recordes of his laſt examinations, wherſoeuer they are become. Onely this which I could learne by relation of one Auſten Bernher a Miniſter & a familiar frend of his, concernyng ỹ goyng to his death I can report, that the ſaid bleſſed ſeruaunt of the Lord M. Robert Glouer, after he was condemned by the Biſhop, and was now at a poynt to bee deliuered out of this world, it ſo happened, that ij. or iij. dayes before, his hart beyng lumpiſh and deſolate of all ſpirituall conſolation, felt in him ſelfe no aptnes nor willyngnes, but rather a heauines and dulnes of ſpirite, full of much diſcōfort to beare that bitter Croſſe of Martyrdome ready now to be layd vpō him. Wherupon he fearing in him ſelfe, leſt the Lord had vtterly withdrawen his wonted fauour from him, made his mone to this Auſten his frend aboue remembred, ſignifyng vnto him, how earneſtly he had prayed day and night vnto the Lord, and yet could receaue no motion nor ſenſe of any comfort frō him. Unto whom the ſayd Auſten aunſwering againe, willed and deſired him paciently to waite the Lordes pleaſure, and how ſoeuer his preſent feelyng was, yet ſeyng his cauſe was iuſt & true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſticke to the ſame, & to play the man, nothing miſdoubtyng but the Lord in his good time would viſite him, & ſatiſfie his deſire with plenty of conſolatiō, wherof (he ſayd) he was right certaine and ſure, and therfore deſired him, when ſoeuer any ſuch feeling of Gods heauenly mercies ſhould begyn to touch his hart, that then he would ſhew ſome ſignification therof, wherby he might witnes with him the ſame, and ſo departed from him. The next day, whē the time came of his Martyrdome, as he was goyng to the place & was now come to the ſight of the ſtake, although all the night before praying for ſtrength & courage he could fele none, ſodenly he was ſo mightely repleniſhed with Gods holy cōfort & heauenly ioyes, that he cryed out clappyng his handes to Auſten, and ſaying in theſe wordes: Auſten, *he is come, he is come, &c.* and that with ſuch ioy and alacritie, as one ſeemyng rather to be riſen from ſome deadly daunger, to liberty of life, then as one paſſing out of the world by any paines of death. Such was the chaunge of the merueilous workyng of the Lordes hand vpon that good man.

Cornelius Bongey fellow Martyr with Maſter Robert Glouer.

IN the ſame fier wyth hym was burned alſo Cornelius Bongey a Capper of Couentry, and condemned by the ſayd Radulph Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield. As concernyng the Articles which were to hym obiected, the effect thereof was thys.

Fyrſt it was articulate agaynſt hym, that theſe three yeares laſt, in the City of Couentry and Lichfield, and other places about, he dyd hold, mayntaine, argue and teach, that the Prieſt hath no power here to abſolue any ſynner from hys ſinnes.

Secondly, that by Baptiſme ſynnes bee not waſhed away, becauſe he ſayd that the waſhing of the fleſh purgeth the fleſh outwardly, and not the ſoule.

Thirdly, that there be in the Church onely two Sacraments, that is, Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper.

Fourthly, that in the ſacrament of their popiſh aulter, was not the reall body and bloud of *CHRIST*, but the ſubſtance of bread and wyne there remayning ſtyl, becauſe S. Paule calleth it bread and wyne. &c.

Fiftly, that he within the compaſſe of the ſayd yeres and time, did hold, maintain and defend, that the Pope is not the head of the viſible church here in earth. &c.

Sixtly, that he was of the dioces and iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield. &c.

Seuenthly, that the premiſes are true, manifeſt, and notorious, and that vpon the ſame there hath beene and is a publicke voyce & fame, as well in the places aboue rehearſed, as in other quarters alſo about. &c.

¶ Hys aunſweres.

Unto the which articles he aunſwering agayne, to the firſt he graunted, and to euery part therof, meaning after the popiſh maner of abſolution.

The ſecond he grāted firſt, after reuoked the ſame.

To the thyrd alſo he graunted, adding wythall, that in ſcripture there be no more contayned.

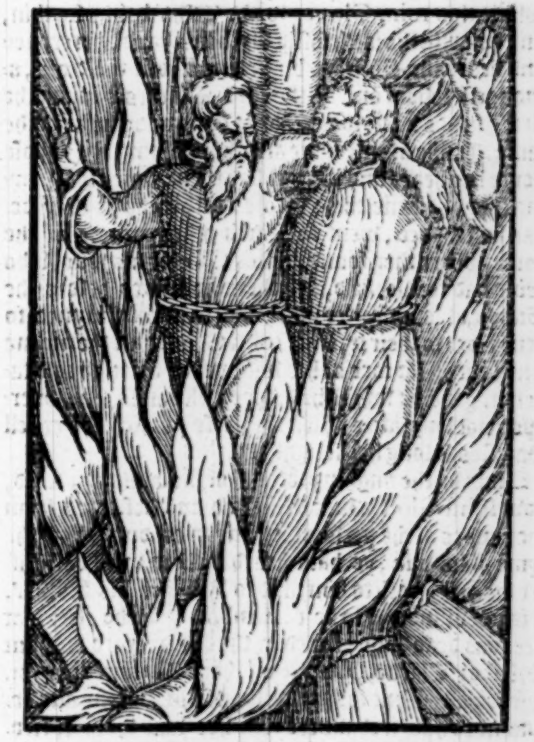
To the fourth, touching the ſacrament, he graunted and to euery part thereof.

To the fift concerning the Pope, likewyſe.

Alſo to the ſixt he graunted, & likewiſe to the ſeuenth.

Upon theſe articles and his aunſweres to the ſame, the ſayd Radulph the Biſhop read the ſentence, and ſo committed him alſo after the condemnation of Maſter Robert Glouer, to the ſecular power.

¶ *The burning of M. Rob. Glouer, and Cornelius Bongey at Couentry.*



The Martyrdome of *M. Robert Glouer and Cornelius Bongey* at Couentry. An. 1555. Septem. 20.

Thus thys foreſayd Cornelius falſely condemned by the Biſhop before mentioned, ſuffered at the ſame ſtake with the Chriſtian Martyr Maſter Robert Glouer at Couentry, about the. xx. day of September.

Here followeth the ſtorye of Iohn Glouer and William Glouer, how they were *excommunicate and caſt out after their death,* and buried in the fieldes.

NOw that we haue diſcourſed the ſtory of Maſter Robert Glouer, ſomething alſo would be touched of hys other two brethren Iohn and William Glouer. Who albeit they were not called to finiſh theyr courſe by lyke kynde of Martyrdome in the fier, as the other dyd: yet becauſe for theyr conſtant profeſſion of Gods Goſpell vnto the latter end, they were exempted after theyr death, and caſt out of the ſame Church, as the other was, I thought them not vnworthy therfore in the ſtory to be ioyned together, which in one cauſe and the ſame profeſſion were not ſundered one from the other. And firſt concerning M. Iohn Glouer the eldeſt brother, what inward ſtormes and agonies hee ſuſtained by the ghoſtly enemy, partly ye heard before deſcribed: now what hys bodely enemies wrought agaynſt hym, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe rage and malice, although God ſo reſtrayned, that they could little preuayle agaynſt hym ſo long as hys lyfe endured, yet after hys deceaſe, hauyng power vpon hym, what they dyd ye ſhall now vnderſtand.

Iohn Glouer, & W. Glouer after theyr death condemned and caſt out for heretickes.

After the Martyrdome of Maſter Robert Glouer, although Iohn Glouer ſeyng hys brother to be apprehended

A new ſearch made for *Iohn Glouer.*

The prouidẽce of God againe in ſauing *Iohn Glouer.*

Agnes Glouer wife of *Iohn Glouer* apprehended.

hended for hym, had ſmall ioy of hys lyfe for the great ſorow of hys hart, wherewyth he was ſore oppreſſed, and would gladly haue put hym ſelfe in hys brothers ſtéede, if friendes had not otherwyſe perſwaded wyth hym, ſhewing that in ſo doing he might intangle hymſelf, but ſhould do his brother no good. He thus in great care and vexation endured: yet notwithſtanding, rubbyng out as well as hee could, tyll at length about the latter ende of Quéene Mary there was a new ſearch made for the ſayd Iohn Glouer. Wherupon the Sheriffes wyth their vnder officers and ſeruauntes beyng ſent to ſéeke hym, came into hys houſe, where hee and hys wyfe were. It chaunced as he was in hys chamber by hym ſelfe, the Officers bruſting into the houſe, and ſearching other roomes, came to the chamber doore where this Iohn Glouer was. Who being wythin, and holdyng the latch ſoftly wyth hys hand, perceyued and heard the Officers buſkelyng about the doore, amongeſt whom one of the ſayd Officers hauyng the ſtring in hys hand, was ready to draw and plucke at the ſame. In the meane tyme an other cõming by (whoſe voyce hee heard and knew) bad them come away, ſaying they had bene there before. Whereupon they departyng thence, went to ſearch other corners of the houſe, where they found Agnes Glouer his wife, who being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the Biſhop, at length after much ado, was conſtrayned to geue place to their tyrãny. Iohn Glouer in the meane tyme, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in ŷ woods where he did lye, tooke an Agew, wherupon not long after he left thys lyfe, which the cruell Papiſtes ſo long had ſought for.

D. Dracot not ſuffering *Iohn Glouer* to be buried in the churchyarde.

Iohn Glouer after his death iudged of D. *Dracot* to be a damned ſoule.

Teſtimony of this ſtory.

Thus by the mighty protectiõ of the almighty Lord, how Iohn Glouer was deliuered and defended from the handes of the perſecuting enemyes duryng all the tyme of his lyfe, ye haue heard. Now what befell after his death both to him, and to William his brother, it is not vnworthy to be remembred. Who after that hee was dead, and buryed in the Churchyard without Prieſt or Clarke, D. Dracot then Chauncellour .vj. wéekes after ſent for the parſon of the Towne and demaunded how it chaunced that hee was there buried. The Parſon aunſwered that hee was then ſicke, and knew not of it. Then the Chauncellour commaunded the parſon to go home and to cauſe the body of the ſayd Iohn Glouer to bee taken vp, and to be caſt ouer the wall into the hye way. The Parſon agayne aunſwered, that he had bene ſixe wéekes in the earth and ſo ſmelled, that none was able to abide the ſauour of him. Well quoth D. Dracot, then take this bill & pronounce him in the pulpit a damned ſoule, and a tweluemonth after take vp his bones (for then the fleſh will be conſumed) and caſt them ouer the wal, that carts & horſes may tread vppon them, and then will I come and hallow again that place in the churchyarde where he was buried. Recorded by the Parſon of the towne who told the ſame to Hugh Burrowes dwelling at Fynden in Darbyſhiere, and to M. Rob. Glouers wyfe, by whoſe credible information we receaued the ſame.

The maner of handling the body of *William Glouer* after his death.

Bernard a Popiſh Curate of Weme.

Iohn Thorline agaynſt the burying of *W. Glouers* brother.

Not much vnlike vſage was practiſed alſo by theſe Catholicke children of the mother Church vpon the body of William the third brother. Whom, after it had pleaſed almightie God, about the ſame ſeaſon to call out of this vale of miſerie, the good diſpoſed people of the Towne of Weme in Shropſhyre, where he dyed, brought the body vnto the Pariſh Church, entendyng there to haue it buried. But one Bernard, beyng then Curate of the ſaid Church (and is yet as I heare ſay to this day) to ſtoppe the burial therof, rode to the Biſhop named Raufe Bayne, to certifie him of the matter, and to haue his aduiſe therin. In the meane time, the body lying there a whole day, in the night tyme one Rich. Morice a Taylour would haue enterred him. But thẽ came Iohn Thorlyne of Weme with other moe, and would not ſuffer the body to be buryed: expreſſing to vs the contrary example of good Toby, for as he was religious in burying the dead, ſo thys man putteth religion in not burying the dead: ſo that after it had layne there two dayes and one night, commeth the foreſayd Bernard the Curate with the Biſhops letter: the contentes of which letter beyng copied out worde for word here foloweth.

❡A copie of the Byſhops letter written to the Pariſh of Weme.

The letter *of Raufe Bayne B.* of Cheſter, for the not burying of *William Glouers* body.

VNderſtandyng that one Glouer an hereticke is dead in the Pariſh of weme, which Glouer hath for al the time of my beyng in this countrey bene knowen for a rebellion agaynſt our holy faith and Religion, a contemner of the holy Sacraments and ceremonies vſed in holy Church, and hath ſeparate him ſelfe from the holy Communion of all good Chriſtiã men, nor neuer required to bee reconciled to our mother holy Church, nor in his laſt dayes did not call for his ghoſtly father, but dyed without all rightes belongyng to a Chriſtian man: I thought it good not onely to commaunde the Curate of weme that he ſhould not be buried in Chriſtian mans buriall, but alſo will and commaunde all the Pariſhe of weme that no mã procure, helpe, nor ſpeake to haue him buried in holy ground, but I do charge and commaund the Church wardẽs of weme in ſpeciall, and all the Pariſh of the ſame that they aſſiſte the ſaid Curate in defendyng and lettyng, and procuryng that he be not buryed neither in the Churche nor within the wanybles of the Churchyeard, and likewiſe I charge thoſe that brought the body to the place, to cary it away agayne, and that at their charge, as they will aũſwere at their perill. At Ecclesch, this vj. of September. an. 1558.

By your Ordinary Radulph Couentry
and Lichfield.

The dead corpes of *William Glouer* dragged with horſe into the field.

By the vertue of this foreſaid letter ſo it fell out, that they which brought ŷ corps thether, were fayne at their owne charges to cary it backe agayne. But for ſo much as the body was corrupted, and ſmelt ſo ſtrongly that vnneth any mã might come nere it, they were forced to draw it with horſes vnto a broome field, and there was he buryed.

witneſſes of the godly ende of the ſayd W. Glouer dying in the true fayth and confeſſion of CHRIST, *M. Nowell now Deane of Lichfield, George Wileſtone and his wife, Tho. Conſtantine, Roger Wydouſe, Iohn Prynne, George Torpelley. &c.*

Maſter *Edward Bourton* not ſuffered to be buried in Chriſtian buriall, the ſame day when Q. *Elizabeth* was crowned.

The like example of charitable affection in theſe Catholicke Churchmẽ is alſo to be ſeene and noted in the burying of one M. Edward Bourton Eſquier, who in ŷ ſame Dioces of Cheſter departing out of this world, ŷ very day before Q. Elizabeth was crowned, required of his frendes, as they would aunſwere for it, that his body ſhould be buried in his Pariſh church (which was S. Chaddes in Shrouſbury) ſo that no Maſſemõger ſhould be preſent therat. Which thing beyng declared to ŷ Curate of that Pariſh named Syr Iohn Marſhall, and the body beyng withall brought to the buriall, vpõ the ſame day whẽ ŷ Quéene was crowned, the Curate beyng therewith offended, ſayd playnly that he ſhould not be buryed in ŷ church there. Wherunto one of his frendes, named George Torpelley aunſwering agayne ſayd, that God would iudge him in the laſt day. &c. Then the Prieſt, Iudge God (ſayth he) or deuill, the body ſhall not come there. And ſo they buried him in his owne garden. Where he is no doubt as nere the kyngdome of heauen, as if he had bene buried in the middeſt of the Church.

Oliuer Richardine in Hartford Weſt Martyr.

Moreouer, in the ſayd Countie of Salop, I find that one Olyuer Richardyne of the Pariſh of Whitchurch was burned in Hartford Weſte, Syr Iohn Ygone beyng Sheriffe the ſame tyme. Which ſéemeth to be about the latter yeare of kyng Henry. 8. Whoſe name becauſe it was not mentioned before, I thought here to giue ſome litle touch of hym, hauyng now in hand to ſpeake of the perſecution within the Dioces of Couentry and Lichfield.

The

Queene Mary. 1555. October.

The Martyrdome of William Wolſey, and Robert Pygot Painter.

William Wolſey, Robert Pigot, Martyrs.

AFter the ſufferyng of M. Robert Glouer and Cornelius Bongey at Couentry, followeth next the condemnation of other two bleſſed Martyrs which were iudged and condemned at Eley by Iohn Fuller the Biſhops Chauncellor of Eley, Doc. Shaxton hys Suffragane, Rob. Steward Deane of Eley, Ioh. Chriſtopherſon Deane of Norwich. ⁊c. an. 1555 October. 9. the names of which Martyrs were Williã Wolſey and Robert Pigot, dwelling both in the town of Wiſbich, which Will. Wolſey beyng a Conſtable, dwelling ⁊ inhabiting in yͤ towne of Well, was there brought to death by the meanes ⁊ procurement of one Rich. Euerard Gentlemã a Iuſtice appointed for thoſe dayes, who extremely handled the ſame W. Wolſey, ⁊ bound hym to the good abearyng, cauſing hym to put in Sureties vpon hys good behauiour vntil the next generall Seſſions holden within the Ile of Eley: and ſo the ſayd Wolſey beyng diſpatched of hys office, and brought in trouble, remoued hys houſe and dwellyng place, comming to dwell in the towne of Wyſbych. Then beyng called agayne at yͤ next Seſſions, he was ſtyll conſtrayned to put in newe ſureties, which at the length he refuſed to do, and ſo was commaũded to the Jayle, at the Syſe holden at Eley in Lent.

Richard Euerard extreame againſt William Wolſey.

William Wolſey commaunded to the Jayle.

In the Eaſter weeke following, there repayred to conferre wyth hym, Doct. Fuller the Chauncellour, wyth Chriſtopherſon, and one Doct. Younge: who layd earneſtly to hys charge that hee was out of the catholicke faith, wylling hym to medle no further wyth yͤ ſcriptures, then it dyd become ſuch lay mẽ as he was, to do. The ſayd W. Wolſey ſtanding ſtyll a great whyle, ſufferyng them to ſaye their pleaſures, at the laſt dyd aunſwere in thys wyſe: Good Maſter Doctour, what dyd our Sauiour CHRIST meane, when he ſpake theſe wordes written in the. xxiij. chapter of S. Mathewes Goſpell: *Wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariſeis, ye hypocrites, for ye ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen before men: ye your ſelues go not in, neither ſuffer ye them that come to enter in.*

D. Fuller, Chriſtopherſon, D. Yonge, come to talke with Wolſey.

Wolſey putteth a queſtion to the Doctors.

Yea ſayth Doct. Fuller, you muſt vnderſtand, that CHRIST ſpake to the Scribes and Phariſeis.

Nay Maſter Doctor (ſayth Wolſey) CHRIST ſpake euen to you, and your fellowes here preſent, and to all other ſuch lyke as you be.

Away maſter Doctor (ſaith Chriſtopherſon) for you can do no good of thys man. Yet ſayth Doctor Fuller, I wyll leaue thee a booke to read, I promyſe thee, of a learned mãs doing, that is to ſay of Doct. Watſons doing, (who was then biſhop of Lincolne.)

Doctor Watſons booke of Sermons [illegible]

Wolſey receauing the ſame booke, dyd diligently read it ouer, which in many places dyd manifeſtly appeare contrary to the knowen truth of Gods word. At the length a fourtnight or three weekes following, the ſayd Doct. Fuller reſortyng agayne to the priſon houſe to conferre wyth the ſayd Wolſey, dyd aſke hym howe he lyked the ſayd booke (thinking that he had woon him by the reading of yͤ ſame): who aunſwered him ⁊ ſayd: Syr, I lyke yͤ booke no otherwiſe then I thought before I ſhould finde it. Wherupon yͤ Chauncellor takyng hys booke departed home. At night when Doct. Fuller came to hys chamber to looke on it, hee dyd finde in many places contrary to hys mynde, the booke raced wyth a pen by the ſayd Wolſey. The which he ſeing, ⁊ beyng vexed therwith, ſayd: Oh this is an obſtinate hereticke and hath quyte marred my booke. Then the Syſe holden at Wyſbich drawing nye, Doctour Fuller commeth agayne to the ſayd Wolſey, ⁊ ſpeaketh vnto him on thys maner: Thou doeſt much trouble my conſcience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy toung, ſo that I heare no more complaynt of thee, and come to the church when thou wylt, ⁊ if thou bee complayned vpon, ſo farre as I may, I promiſe thee I wyll not heare of it.

D. Fuller [illegible] to William Wolſey.

The [illegible]

Maſter Doctor (quoth Wolſey) I was brought hether by a law, and by a law I wyll be deliuered.

Then beyng brought to the Seſſions before named, Wolſey was layd in the Caſtell at Wyſbych, thinking to him and all his friends, that he ſhould haue ſuffered there at that preſent tyme, but it proued nothing ſo.

Williã Wolſey layd in the caſtle of Wiſbich.

Then Robert Pigot the Paynter beyng at liberty, was there preſented by ſome euyll dyſpoſed parſons (ſworne men as they called them) for not comming to the church. The ſayd Pigot being called in the ſeſſiõs, would not abſent himſelf, but there did plainly appeare before Syr Clement Hygham being Iudge, who ſayd vnto hym: Ah, are you the holy father the Paynter? How chaũce ye came not to the church? Syr (quoth the Paynter) I am not out of the church, I truſt in God. No Syr, ſayd the Iudge, thys is no Church, thys is a Haull. Yea Syr ſayd Pigot, I know very well it is a Haull: but hee that is in the true fayth of IESVS CHRIST, is neuer abſent, but preſent in the Church of God.

Rob. Pigot paynter preſented for not comming to the church.

Talke betwene Sir Clement Higham Iudge, and Rob. Pigots.

Ah Syrha, ſayd the Iudge, you are to hygh learned for me to talke wythall; wherefore I wyll ſend you to them that be better learned then I, ſtraight waies cõmaunding hym to the Jayle where Wolſey lay. So the Seſſions being broken vp and ended, the ſayd Wolſey and Pigot were caryed agayne to Eley into pryſon, where they both dyd remayne til the day of their death.

Rob. Pigot brought to the Jayle where W. Wolſey lay.

Wolſey and Pigot remoued to Eley to priſon.

In the meane tyme certayne of their neyghbours of Wyſbych aforeſaid being at Eley, came to ſee how they dyd. There came thether alſo a Chaplayne of Biſhop Gooderikes a Frenchmã borne, one Peter Valẽtius, who ſayd vnto the ſayd Wolſey ⁊ Pigot: My brethren, according to myne office I am come to talke with you, for I haue bene Amner here this. xx. yeares and aboue. Wherefore I muſt deſire you my brethren to take it in good part that I am come to talke wyth you, I promiſe you, not to pull you from your fayth. But I both requyre and deſire you in the name of IESVS CHRIST that you ſtand to the truth of hys Goſpell and woord, and I beſech the almighty God for hys ſonne IESVS CHRISTES ſake, to preſerue both you and mee in the ſame vnto the end. For I know not my ſelfe (my brethren) how ſoone I ſhall bee at the ſame poynt that you now are. Thus with many other lyke wordes he made an ende, cauſing all that were there preſent to water their cheekes, contrary to all the hope that they had in hym, God be prayſed therefore.

T. Goodricke Biſhop of Eley.

The Biſhops chaplaine a frenchman confirmeth the priſoners in the truth.

Then wythin ſhort tyme after, Pigot and Wolſey were called to iudgement about the. ix day of October, before Doct. Fuller then Chaũcellour, with old Doct. Shaxton, Chriſtopherſon, ⁊ others in Cõmiſſiõ, who layd earneſtly to their charge for their beliefe in diuers articles, but eſpecially of yͤ ſacramẽt of yͤ aultar. Wherunto their aunſwere was: that the Sacrament of the aultar was an Idole, and that the naturall body and bloud of CHRIST was not preſent really in the ſayd ſacrament, ⁊ to this opinion they ſayd they would ſticke, beleuing perfectly the ſame to be no hereſy that they had affirmed, but the very truth whereupon they would ſtand. Then ſayd the Doctors, that they were out of the catholicke fayth.

Pigot and Wolſey called to iudgement in the Biſhops Conſiſtory.

Then Doctor Shaxton ſayd vnto them: good brethrẽ remember your ſelues and become new men, for I my ſelfe was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

The wordes of Nicholas Shaxton to the Martyrs.

Ah ſayd Wolſey, are you become a new mã? Wo be to thee yͭ wicked new mã, for God ſhal iuſtly iudge thee.

Wolſeyes aunſwere to Shaxton.

Doctor Fuller then ſpake ſaying, this Wolſey is an obſtinate felow, ⁊ one that I could neuer do good vpon. But as for the Painter he is a man quyet and indifferent (as farre as I perceiue) and is ſoone reformed, and may very well be deliuered for any euill opinion I find in him.

M. Christopherſon writeth what he would haue Pigot confeſſe of the Sacrament.

Then Christopherſon called for pen and inke and wrote theſe wordes folowing: I Rob. Pygot do beleue that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth no more bread & wyne, but the very body and bloud of CHRIST really, ſubſtancially, the ſelfe ſame that was borne of the virgine Mary: & reading it to the Painter, he ſayd thus: doeſt thou beleue all this accordyng as it is written?

Pigot refuſeth to ſubſcribe to Christopherſons faytb.

Pygot. No Syr, ſaid the Painter: that is your fayth and not myne.

Christof. Loe maſter Doct. Fuller you would haue letten this felow go: he is as much an hereticke as the other.

And ſo immediatly iudgement was giuen vpon thẽ to dye. Which done, after the ſentence red, they were ſent againe to the priſon, where they did lye till the day of their death.

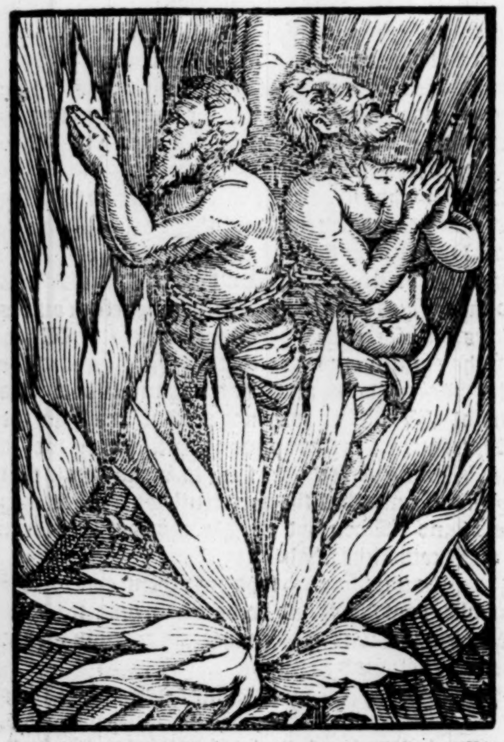
M. Peacoke appoynted to preach at the burning of Wolſey and Pigot.

At which day one Peacoke bachelor of Diuinitie beyng appointed to preach, toke his text out of the firſt Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Corinth. the 5. chap. of one that had lyued vnordinatly by abuſing hys fathers wife: likenyng the ſayd Pygot and Wolſey to the ſame mã, often tymes ſaying, that ſuch members muſt be cut of from the congregation, moſt maliciouſly reportyng the ſayd Wolſey to be cleane out of the faith and in many places quyte denying the Scripture.

So his Sermon beyng ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolſey beyng brought to the place of executiõ and ſo bound to the ſtake with a cheine, thether cõmeth one Syr Ric. Collinſon a Prieſt, at that time deſolate of any biding place or ſtay of benefice, who ſayd vnto Wolſey: brother Wolſey the preacher hath openly reported in his Sermõ this day that you are quyte out of the catholicke fayth, & deny Baptiſme, & that you do erre in the holy Scripture: Wherfore I beſech you for the certifying of my conſcience with others here preſent: that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do erre or find faut.

he Mar-rdome of illiã. Wolſey & Rob. Pigot t Eley. n. 1555. Octob. 16.

The burnyng of William Wolſey, and Robert Pygot, Martyrs.



W. Wolſey cleareth him ſelfe to be found in all poyntes of the ſcripture belonging to his ſaluatiõ.

Wolſey. I take the eternall and euerlaſtyng God to witneſſe that I do erre in no part or poynt of Gods boke the holy Bible, but hold and beleue in the ſame to be moſt firme and ſound doctrine in all pointes moſt worthy for my ſaluation and for all other Christians to the end of the world. What ſoeuer myne aduerſaries report by me, God forgeue them therfore. With that commeth one to the fire with a great ſhéete knit full of bokes to burne, like as they had ben new Teſtamẽtes. O ſayd Wolſey, geue me one of them, and Pygot deſired an other, both of thẽ clappyng them cloſe to their breſtes ſaying the 106. Pſalme, deſiryng all the people to ſay Amen, and ſo receiued the fire moſt thankefully.

Bookes burned wyth Wolſey & Pigot.

Witneſſes and informers hereof.
Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Beſt, &c.

Concerning the ſtory of William Wolſey I receaued moreouer from the vniuerſity of Cambridge by a credible perſon and my faithfull frend William Fulke, this relation which I thought in this place not vnméet to be notified vnto the reader in order and forme as followeth:

The natures of Wolſey, & Pigot deſcribed.

There were burned at Ely two godly Martyrs, the one called Wolſey, the other Pygot. In theſe two appeared diuers opinions of one ſpirit. Pygot was myld, humble, and modeſt, promiſing that he would be conformable to his perſecutours, if they coulde perſwade him by the ſcripture. The other Wolſey, was ſtout ſtrong and vehement, as one hauing πληροφορίαν of the ſpirit, and deteſted all their doinges, as of whom hee was ſuer to receiue nothing but cruelty and tyranny. Hee was wonderfull ielous ouer his companion, fearing leſt his gentle nature would haue bene ouercome by the flattering inticementes of the world, and therefore the ſame day that they were burned, when they would haue talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almoſt by force. He was ſo deſyrous to glorify God with his ſuffryng, that being wonderfull ſore tormented in the priſon with the tothake, hee feared nothing more, then that hee ſhould depart before the day of execution (which hee called hys glad day) were come.

The zealous ſpirite of Williã Wolſey.

William Wolſey deſirous of Martyrdome.

Wolſey calleth the day of hys Martyrdome, hys glad day.

Thomas Hodilo beerebruer of Cambridge, witnes of this ſtory.

This Wolſey being in priſon at Ely was viſited by Thomas Hodilo béerebruer in Ely. To hym hee delyuered certayne money to be diſtributed (as he appointed) part to his wyfe, and part to his kinſfolkes and friendes, and eſpecially .vj. ſhillinges. viij. d. to be delyuered to one Richard Denton Smith dwelling at Welle in Cambridge ſhire within the iuriſdiction of the Ile of Ely, with this commendation, that he maruayled that he taryed ſo long behynd him, ſeing he was the firſt that did delyuer hym the boke of ſcripture into his hand, and tolde him that it was the truth, deſyring him to make haſt after as faſt as he could. This Thomas Hodilo, both to auoyde daunger of the tyme, and to haue a witnes of his doinges herein, delyuered the ſayd ſumme of money, to one M. Laurence preacher in Eſſex (which then reſorted often to his houſe) to be deſtributed as Wolſey had appoynted: which thing they performed, ryding from place to place. And when this. vj. ſhilling. viij. d. was deliuered to Richard Denton with the commendation aforeſayd, his aunſwere was this: I confeſſe it is true, but alas I cã not burne. This was almoſt one whole yeare after Wolſey was burned. But hee that coulde not burne in the cauſe of CHRIST, was afterward burned againſt his wil whẽ CHRIST had geued peace to his Church. For in the yeare of our Lord. 1564. on Tueſday being the. 18. day of Aprill, his houſe was ſet on fyre, & while he went in, to ſaue his goodes hee loſt his lyfe, with two other that were in the ſame houſe.

Richard Denton firſt conuerter of Wolſey.

Money ſent by Wolſey to Denton.

Wolſey exhorting Richard Denton to perſiſt in the truth.

Denton afrayd of burning.

Richard Denton burned in his owne houſe, which before would not burne for Chriſt. An. 1564 Apr. 18.

Witneſſed by Thomas Hodilo, and William Fulke.

Not much vnlyke to thys, was alſo yͤ example of M. West Chapleine to B. Ridley, who refuſing to dye in Christes cauſe with his maſter, ſayd Maſſe agaynſt his conſcience, and ſoone after dyed.

Doct.

Doct. Nicholas Ridley and M. Hugh Latimer, both Byſhops, preachers, and Martyrs of Chriſt, with their doinges, conferences, and ſufferynges deſcribed.

THe ſame yeare, moneth, & day in which the foreſayd ij. Martyrs William Wolſey, and Tho. Pygot ſuffered at Eley, the which was. an. 1555. October 16. folowed alſo at Oxford the ſlaughter of ij. other ſpeciall and ſingular captaines, and principall pillars of *CHRISTES* Church, M. Ridley Biſhop of London, and M. Hugh Latimer, Biſhop ſome times of Worceſter: of whoſe famous doynges and memorable learnyng, and incomparable ornamentes and giftes of grace, ioyned with no leſſe commendable ſinceritie of life, as all the Realme can witneſſe ſufficiently: ſo it nedeth not greatly that we ſhould ſtand exactly at this tyme in ſettyng forth a full deſcription of the ſame, but onely to comprehend briefly a few wordes touchyng the order of their lyues, ſo much as neceſſarily ſerueth to the due inſtruction of the reader, and maketh to the vſe of this preſent hiſtory, in declaryng firſt their begynnyng & bringyng vp, then their ſtudies and actes in the Vniuerſitie, their prefermentes alſo by their ſtudies to higher dignitie, at laſt their trouble and trauaile in ſetting forth Religion, and in mainteinyng the ſame to the ſhedyng of their bloud. And firſt to begyn with the life of M. Ridley, whoſe ſtory here enſueth.

AMong many other worthy and ſondry hiſtories & notable Actes of ſuch as of late dayes haue bene tormoyled, murdered, and Martyred for the true Goſpell of *CHRIST* in Queene Maryes reigne, the tragicall ſtory and life of Doct. Ridley I thought good to commend to Chronicle and leaue to perpetuall memory: beſeching thee gentle reader, with care & ſtudy wel to peruſe, diligently to conſider, and deply to print the ſame in thy breſt, ſeing him to be a man beautified with ſuch excellẽt qualities, ſo ghoſtly inſpired, & godly learned, and now written doubtles in the booke of life with the bleſſed Saintes of the almighty, crowned and throned amongeſt the glorious company of Martyrs. Firſt deſcendyng of a ſtocke right worſhypfull, he was borne in Northumberlãdſhire, who being a child, learned his Grammer with great dexteritie in Newcaſtle, and was remoued from thence to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where he in ſhort ſpace became ſo famous, that for his ſingular aptenes he was called to higher functions and offices of the Vniuerſitie, by degree atteinyng thereunto, & was called to be head of Pembroke Hall, & there made Doctour of Diuinitie. After this, departyng frõ thence he trauailed to Paris, who at his returne, was made Chapleine to K. Henry the 8. and promoted afterwardes by him to yͤ Biſhopricke of Rocheſter: and ſo from thence tranſlated to the ſea & Biſhopricke of London in K. Edwardes dayes.

In which callyng and offices he ſo trauailed and occupyed him ſelfe by Preachyng and teachyng the true and holeſome doctrine of *CHRIST*, that neuer good child was more ſingularly loued of his deare parentes, then he of his flocke and Dioces. Euery holyday and Sonday he lightly preached in ſome one place or other, except hee were otherwiſe letted by waighty affaires and buſines: to whoſe Sermons the people reſorted, ſwarming about him like bees, and coueting the ſweete flowers and wholeſome ioice of the fruitfull doctrine, which he did not onely preach, but ſhewed the ſame by his life, as a glittering lanterne to the eyes and ſenſes of the blind, in ſuch pure order and chaſtitie of life (declinyng from all euill deſires and concupiſcences) that euen his very enemyes could not reproue him in any one iote therof.

B. Ridley, of great memory and reading.

Beſides this, he was paſſingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of ſuch readyng withall that of right he deſerued to be cõparable to the beſt of this our age, as can teſtifie as well diuers his notable workes, pythy Sermons, and ſundry his diſputations in both yͤ Vniuerſities, as alſo his very aduerſaries, all which will ſay no leſſe them ſelues.

Beſides all this, wiſe he was of counſaile, deepe of witte, and very politike in all his doinges. How mercyfull and carefull he was to reduce yͤ obſtinate Papiſtes from their erronious opinions, and by gentlenes to wynne them to the truth, his gentle orderyng and curteous handlyng of Doct. Heath late Archbyſhop of Yorke, beyng priſoner with him in K. Edwardes tyme in his houſe one yeare, ſufficiently declareth. In fine, he was ſuch a Prelate, and in all pointes ſo good, godly, and ghoſtly a mã, that Englãd may iuſtly rue the loſſe of ſo worthy a treaſure. And thus hitherto cõcernyng theſe publicke matters.

B. Ridley comely of proportion and complexion.

The fayre conditions of B. *Ridley*.

B. Ridley tender to his kinred yet not other wiſe then truth and right required.

Now will I ſpeake ſomthing further particularly of his perſon & conditiõs. He was a mã right comely, and wel proportioned in all pointes, both in cõplection & lineamentes of the body. He tooke all things in good part, bearyng no malice or rãcour in his hart, but ſtraight wayes forgetting all iniuries and offẽces done againſt him. He was very kynd and naturall to his kinſfolke, and yet not bearyng with them any thyng otherwiſe then right would require, geuing them allwayes for a generall rule, yea to his owne brother and ſiſter, that they doyng euill ſhould ſeeke or looke for nothing at his hand, but ſhould be as ſtraungers & alienes vnto hym: and they to bee his brother or ſiſter, which vſed honeſty, and a godly trade of life.

B. Ridley a great mortifier of hym ſelfe.

The order of his ſtudy and diet.

He vſing all kyndes of wayes to mortifie him ſelfe, was geuen to much prayer and contẽplation: For duely euery mornyng ſo ſoone as his apparell was done vpon him, he went forthwith to his bed chamber, and there vpõ his knees prayed the ſpace of halfe an houre: which beyng done, immediatly he went to his ſtudy (if there came no other buſines to interrupt him) where he cõtinued till x. of yͤ clocke, & then came to cõmon prayer daily vſed in his houſe. The praiers being done, he wẽt to dynner, where he vſed litle talke, except otherwiſe occaſiõ by ſome had ben miniſtred, & then was it ſober, diſcrete, & wiſe, and ſometime mery as cauſe required.

His order after ſupper.

The carefull diligence of *B. Ridley* in inſtructing his familie.

The dynner done, which was not very long, he vſed to ſit an houre or thereaboutes talking or playing at yͤ Cheſtes: That done, he returned to his ſtudy, and there would continue, except ſuters or buſines abroad were occaſion of the contrary, vntill. v of the clocke at nyght, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoone: which being finiſhed, he went to Supper behauing himſelfe there, as at his dynner before: After ſupper, recreating himſelfe in playing at Cheſtes the ſpace of an houre, he would then returne agayne to his ſtudie, continuing there till a .xj. of the clocke at nyght, which was his common houre to go to bed, then ſaying hys prayers vpon his knees as in the mornyng when hee roſe. Being at his Manour of Fulham, as diuers tymes he vſed to bee, hee red dayly a lecture to his family at the common prayer, begynning at yͤ Actes of the Apoſtles, and ſo going throughout all the Epiſtles of Saint Paul geuing to euery man that could read, a newe Teſtament, hyring them beſydes with money to learne by hart certayne principall Chapiters, but eſpecially the thyrtenth Chapiter of the Actes, reading alſo vnto his houſehold often tymes the hundred and one Pſalme, being maruaylous carefull ouer hys family, that they might bee a ſpectacle of all vertue and honeſty to other. To be ſhort, as hee was Godly and vertuous hymſelfe, ſo nothing but vertue and Godlynes reigned in his houſe, feeding them with the foode of our Sauiour *IESVS CHRIST*.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature & kindly pitie in the vſage of an old woman called Miſtres Boner, mother to Doctor Boner, ſometyme Biſhop of London: which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Doctor Ridley, as the vnworthy immanity and ingratefull diſpoſition againe of D. Boner. Biſhop Ridley being at hys Manour of Fulham, alwayes ſent for the ſayd Miſtres Boner, dwelling in an houſe adioyning to his houſe, to dynner and ſupper, with one Miſtres Mungey Boners ſyſter, ſaying: Go for my mother Boner: who comming was euer placed in the chayre at the Tables ende, being ſo gently intreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had bene borne of her owne body, being neuer diſplaced of her ſeate, although the kynges counſayle had bene preſent, ſaying, when any of them were there (as dyuers tymes they were) by your Lordſhips fauour, this place of ryght and cuſtome is for my mother Boner. But how well hee was recompenſed for thys hys ſingular gentlenes, and pitifull pietie after at the handes of the ſayd Doctor Boner, almoſt the leaſt chylde that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley then Boner and hys? Who more went about to ſeeke his deſtruction, then he? recōpenſing his gentlenes with extreme cruelty. As well appeared by the ſtrayt handeling of Ridleys own naturall ſyſter, and George Shypſyde her huſband, from time to tyme: where as the gentlenes of the other dyd ſuffer Boners mother, ſiſter, and other hys kynred, not onely quyetly to enioy all that which they had of Boner: but alſo entertayned them in hys houſe, ſhewing much courteſy and friendſhip dayly vnto them: whereas on the other ſyde, Biſhop Boner beyng reſtored agayne, would not ſuffer the brother and naturall ſyſter of Biſhop Ridley, and other hys friendes, not onely not to enioy that which they had by the ſayd their brother Biſhop Ridley, but alſo curriſhly without all order of lawe or honeſty, by extort power wraſted from them all the lyuinges they had.

The behauiour of Biſhop Ridley to Doctour Boners mother.

The courteſy of Ridley & the curriſhnes of Boner deſcribed and compared together.

B. Ridley good and kinde to Boners mother.

Boner vnkind and churliſh to B. Ridleyes ſiſter, & ſeketh the death of his brother in law.

And yet beyng not therewyth ſatiſfied, he ſought all the meanes he could, to worke the death of the foreſaid Shipſide ſaying that he would make. xij. Godfathers to go vpon him. Which had bene brought to paſſe in deede at what time he was priſoner at Oxford, had not God otherwiſe wrought his deliueraunce by meanes of Doctour Heath biſhop then of Worceſter. Teſte Georg. Shipſido.

Whereby all good indifferent Readers notoriouſly haue to vnderſtand, what great diuerſitie was in the diſpoſition of theſe two natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity: ſo the other againe as much or more excelled in churliſh ingratitude, and diſpitefull diſdayne. But of thys matter enough.

Now cōcerning Gods vocatiō, how D. Ridley was firſt called to the ſauouring & fauouryng of CHRIST & hys Goſpell, partly by hys diſputation before, & other hys treatiſes it may appeare, that the firſt occaſion of hys conuerſion was by reading of Bertrams booke of the Sacrament, whom alſo the conference with biſhop Cranmer, and wyth Peter Martyr dyd not a litle confirme in that behalfe. Who now by the grace of God, beyng throughly wonne and brought to the true way, as he was before blynde and zealous in hys olde ignoraunce: ſo was hee as conſtant and faythfull in the ryght knowledge which the Lord had opened vnto hym (as well appeared by hys preachinges and doings during all the tyme of King Edward) and ſo long dyd much good, whyle authoritie of externe power might defend and hold vp the peace of the church, and proceedinges of the Goſpell. But after that it pleaſed ſo the heauenly wyll of our Lord our God to beriefe vs of that ſtay, and to call from vs King Edward that precious Prince, as the whole ſtate of the Church of England was left deſolate and open to the enemies hand: ſo this Biſhop Ridley, after the cōming in of Queene Mary, eftſoone and wyth the firſt was layd hands vpon and committed to pryſon, as before hath ſufficiently bene expreſſed: fyrſt in the Tower, then after tranſlated from thence with the Archb. of Canterbury, & Maſter Latimer to Oxford, was wyth thē encloſed in the common Jayle and pryſon of Bocardo, while at lēgth being diſſeuered from them, he was committed to cuſtody in the houſe of one Iryſh, where hee remayned tyll the laſt day of hys death and Martyrdome, which was from the yeare of our Lord. 1554. tyll the yeare 1555. and xvj. day of October.

B. Ridley firſt conuerted by reading Bertrams booke.

B. Ridley one of the firſt in trouble after the death of K. Edward.

B. Ridley in the Tower.

B. Ridley remoued to the priſon of Bocardo in Oxford.

Furthermore, as touching his diſputations and cōflictes had at Oxford, and alſo of his determination had at Cambrige, alſo hys trauailes in perſwading and inſtructing the Lady Mary before ſhe was Queene, hys reaſons and conference lykewyſe had in the Tower at the Lieftenaunts boord, enough hath bene ſaid already. Beſides thys, other conferences he had in pryſon wyth Doct. Cranmer and Maſter Latimer, which becauſe they be ſomewhat long here to be inſerted, and becauſe I ſee thys volume ſwelleth already with aboundance of other matter, and partly alſo for that the ſame be expreſſed before in our former edition, page. 1285. I thought good eyther to referre the Reader to the ſame: or els to differre him tyll the latter end of this volume, where in the Appendix God wylling, both this and other diuers omiſſions and treatiſes ſhall be ſupplyed.

Read before pag. 1607.

Before pag. 1546.

Read in our former edition, pag. 1285.

In the meane tyme it ſhall content the Reader for thys preſent to haue certayne of hys letters, with a few other writinges of hys, which wee thought here to adioyne vnto the ſtory of hys lyfe aboue deſcribed, before we come to the death and burning of hym and Maſter Latimer together: the order and proſecuting of which his letters here vnder begynneth.

¶ *Here followeth the Letters of the Reuerend Biſhop and Martyr Nicholas Ridley.*

¶ A letter ſent from B. Ridley and his priſon fellowes, vnto M. Bradford, and hys priſon fellowes in the Kings Bench in Southwarke. an. 1554.

Well beloued in CHRIST our Sauiour, wee all wyth one hart wiſh to you, with al thoſe that loue God in deede and truth, grace and health, and ſpecially to our dearely beloued companions which are in CHRISTES cauſe, and the cauſe both of their brethren and of their own ſaluation, to put their necke wyllingly vnder the yoke of CHRISTES croſſe. How ioyfull it was to vs to heare the report of D. Tailour and of his godly confeſſion. &c. I enſure you it is hard for me to expreſſe. Bleſſed be God, which was and is the geuer of that, and of all godly ſtrength and ſtomacke in the tyme of aduerſitie. As for the rumors that haue or do go abroad, eyther of our relenting or Maſſyng, wee truſt that they which know God, and their dutie towardes their brethren in CHRIST, will not bee to light of credence. For it is not the ſclaunderers euill toung, but a mans own euyll deede that can with God defile a man: & therefore with Gods grace, ye ſhall neuer haue other cauſe to do otherwiſe then ye ſay ye do, that is not to doubt, but ẏ we wil, by Gods grace, continue. &c. Like rumour as you haue heard of our comming to London, hath bene here ſpread of the comming of certaine learned men priſoners, hyther from London: but as yet we knowe no certaintye whether of theſe rumours is, or ſhalbe more true. Know you, that we haue you in our dayly remembraunce, and wiſh you and all the reſt of our foreſayd companions, well in CHRIST.

A letter of B. Ridley to Maſter Bradford, & others.

Falſe reports ſpred by the policie of the Papiſtes.

It ſhould do vs much cōfort, if we might haue knowledge of the ſtate of the reſt of our moſt dearely beloued, which in this troubleſome time do ſtand in CHRISTES cauſe, and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we haue heard of Maſter Hopers matter: but of the reſt neuer a deale. We long to heare of father Crome, Doctor Sandys, M. Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers. &c. We are in good health, thākes be to God, and yet the maner of our entreating doth chaunge as ſower ale doth in ſummer. It is reported to vs of our keepers, that the Vniuerſity beareth vs heauely. A coale chaunced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floore, and no more harme was done, the Bailiffes ſeruauntes ſytting by the fier. An other night there chaunced (as maſter Bailiffes tolde vs) a drunken fellowe to multiply wordes,

This letter ſemeth to be written a litle before, or about the time of the burning of Maſter Rogers.

What ſo euer fault is done, the cauſe is layd vpon the poore chriſtians.

wordes, and for the ſame hee was ſet in Bocardo. Upon theſe thinges (as is reported) there is riſen a rumour in the towne and countrey about, that we ſhould haue broken the priſon with ſuch violence, as if Maſter Bailiffes had not played the pretty men, we ſhoulde haue made a ſcape. We had out of our priſon a wall that wee myght haue walked vpon, and our ſeruantes had liberty to go abroad in the towne or fieldes: but now both they and we are reſtrayned of both.

Maſter Ridley and his felow priſoners in Bocardo, reſtrayned of theyr liberty.

My Lorde of Worceſter paſſed by through Oxford, but he did not viſit vs. The ſame day began our reſtraint to be more, and the booke of the Communion was taken from vs by the Bailiffes, at the Maiors commaundemēt, as yͤ Bailiffes did report to vs. No mā is licēced to come vnto vs: afore they might that would, ſee vs vpon the walle: but that is ſo grudged at, and ſo euil reported, that we are now reſtrained. &c. Sir, bleſſed be God, with all our euyll reportes, grudges, and reſtraintes, we are mery in God, and all our cure and care is and ſhal be (by Gods grace) to pleaſe and ſerue him, of whom we looke and hope after this temporall and momentany miſeries, to haue eternall ioy and perpetuall felicitie wyth Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, Peter and Paule, and all the heauenly company of the Aungels in heauen, through IESVS CHRIST our Lorde. As yet there was neuer learned man or any ſcholer or other that viſited vs ſince we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may bee called a Colledge of *Quondams. For as ye know, we be no fewer then three: and I dare ſay euery one wel contented with his portion, which I do reckē to be our heauenly fathers fatherly good & gracious gyft. Thus fare you well. We ſhall by Gods grace one day meete together and bee mery. The day aſſuredly approcheth apace: the Lord graunt that it may ſhortly come. For before that day come, I feare me the world wil waxe worſe and worſe. But thē al our enemies ſhalbe ouerthrowen and troden vnder foote: righteouſnes and truth then ſhall haue the victory, and beare the bell away, whereof the Lord graunt vs to bee partners, and all that loueth truly the truth.

The ingratitude of the ſchollers in not viſiting the Biſhops in Bocardo.

*Bocardo a Colledge of Quondams.

We all pray you, as ye can, to cauſe all our commendations to be made, to all ſuch as ye know did viſit vs & you, whē we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembraunces and benefites. Miſtres Wilkenſon and Miſtres Warcup haue not forgotten vs, but euer ſince we came into Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly beneuolēce haue comforted vs: not that els we did lacke (for God bee bleſſed, hee euer hytherto hath prouided ſufficiently for vs) but that is a great comfort, and an occaſion for vs to bleſſe God, when we ſee that hee maketh them ſo friendly to tender vs, whom ſome of vs were neuer familiarly acquainted wythall.

The goodnes of Miſtres Wilkinſon, & Anne Warcup, to the Biſhops in Bocardo.

Yours in Chriſt Nic. Ridley.

❡A letter of Maſter Ridley, ſent to a Coſine of hys.

Another letter of B. Ridley to his Coſin.

GOds holy ſpirite be with you, now and euer, Amen.

When I call to remembraunce (beloued Coſin) the ſtate of thoſe that for feare of trouble, either for loſſe of goodes, will doe in the ſight of the world thoſe thynges that they know and are aſſured is contrary to the will of God, I can doe no leſſe but lament their caſe, beyng aſſured the end therof will be ſo pitifull (without ſpedy repentaunce) that I tremble and feare to haue it in remembraunce. I would to God it lay vpō ſome earthly burden, ſo that fredome of conſcience might be geuen vnto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of preſumption, but onely lamentyng the ſtate of thoſe, whom I I thought now in this daūgerous tyme ſhould haue geuen both you and me comfortable inſtructiōs. But (alas) in ſtede therof we haue perſuaſions to folow (I lament me to rehearſe it) ſuperſticious idolatry. Yea and that worſt of all is, they will ſeeke to proue it by the Scripture. The Lord for his mercy turne their hartes, Amen. Commend me. &c.

Maſter Ridley lamenteth the ſtate of them, which for feare of trouble do bend with the world and go contrary to theyr conſcience.

Yours Nicholas Ridley.

¶ To Maſter Bradford.

Another worthy letter of B. Ridley to Maſter Bradford.

BRother Bradford, I wiſh you and your company in CHRIST, yea and all the holy brotherhode that now with you in diuers priſons ſuffreth and beareth patiently Chriſtes croſſe for the mayntenance of his Goſpel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the father and from our Lord IESVS CHRIST. Syr, conſidering the ſtate of this chiualry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we bee ſet to fight vnder CHRISTES banner and his croſſe agaynſt our ghoſtly enemy the deuill and the olde ſerpent Satan, me thinke I perceaue two thinges to be his moſt perilous and moſt daungerous engines which he hath to impugne CHRISTES verity, hys Goſpell, & his fayth: and the ſame two alſo to be the moſt maſſy poſtes, and moſt mighty pillers, whereby he mayntaineth and vpholdeth his Satanicall ſinagoge. Theſe two ſyr, are they, in my iudgemēt: the one, his falſe doctryne & Idolatrycall vſe of the Lordes Supper, and the other, the wicked and abominable vſurpation of the primacy of the ſea of Rome. By theſe two Sathan ſeemeth to me principally to mayntayne and vphold his kingdome: by theſe two he dryueth downe myghtily (alas) I feare me, the third part of the ſtarres in heauen. Theſe two poyſonfull rotten poſtes he hath ſo paynted ouer with ſuch a pretence and coulour of religion, of vnity in CHRISTES church, of the catholicke fayth, and ſuch like, that the wyly ſerpent is able to deceaue (if it were poſſible) euen the elect of God. Wherfore Iohn ſaid not without great cauſe *if any know not Sathans ſubtilties and the profundities therof, I will wiſhe hym no other burden to be laden withall.*

Two mayne pillers holding vp the Sinagoge of Sathan.

1. Falſe Doctrine of the Sacrament.

2. The Popes primacie.

Apoc. 8.

Satans poyſon paynted ouer with fayre pretences of religion.

Apoc. 2.

Sir, becauſe theſe be his principall and mayne poſtes whereupon ſtandeth all his falſhode, craft, and trechery, therfore according to the poore power that God hath geuen me, I haue bended myne artillery to ſhoote at the ſame. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my ſhotte I know they paſſe not. Yet wil I not (God willing) ceaſe to do the beſt that I can, to ſhake thoſe cankered and rotten poſtes. The Lord graūt me good ſucceſſe, to the glory of hys name and the furtheraunce of CHRISTES Goſpell. I haue now already (I thanke God) for this preſent tyme ſpent a good part of my pouder in theſe ſcriblinges, whereof this bearer ſhal geue you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked ſurmiſe and ſay what they liſt, knowe you for a certayntie, by Gods grace, without all doubt, that in CHRISTES Goſpelles cauſe, agaynſt and vpon the foreſayd Gods enemyes, I am fully determined to liue and dye. Farewell deare brother, and I beſech you and all the reſt of our brethren, to haue good remembraunce of the condemned heretickes (as they call them) of Oxford, in your praiers. The bearer ſhall certify you of our ſtate. Farewell in the Lord. From Bocardo.

B. Ridleys purpoſe to liue and die vpon the enemies of Chriſt and of the Goſpell.

Yours in CHRIST Nicolas Ridley.

❡An other letter of Maſter Ridley vnto Maſter Bradford, and other hys priſon felowes, Anno. 1555.

Another letter of *B. Ridley* anſwering to *M. Bradford.*

DEarely beloued, I wiſh you grace, mercy and peace. According to your mind I haue runne ouer all your *papers, & what I haue done (which is but ſmall) therin may appeare. In two places I haue put in two looſe leaues. I had much ado to read that was writtē in your great leaues, and I weene ſomewhere I haue altered ſome wordes, becauſe I could not read perfectly that which was written. Syr, what ſhall beſt be done with theſe thinges, now ye muſt conſider: for if they come in ſight at this time, vndoubtedly they muſt to the fire with their father: and as for any ſafegard that your cuſtody cā be vnto them, I am ſure you looke not for it. For as you haue bene partner of the worke, ſo I am ſure ye looke for none other, but to haue and receiue like wages, and to drinke of the ſame cup. Bleſſed be God that hath geuen you libertie in the meane ſeaſon, that you may vſe your pen to his glory, and to the cōfort (as I heare ſay) of many. I bleſſe God dayly in you, and all your whole cōpany, to whom I beſech you cōmend me hartely. Now I loue my countreyman in deede and in truth, I meane D. Taylour, not for my earthly countreyes ſake, but for our heauenly fathers ſake, & for CHRISTES ſake, whō I heard ſay, he did ſo ſtoutly in tyme of perill cōfeſſe, and yet alſo for our countreyes ſake and for all our mothers ſake: but I meane of yͤ kingdome of heauē, & of heauenly Hieruſalem, & becauſe of the ſpirite, which bringeth in him, in you, & in your cōpany ſuch bleſſed frutes of boldnes in yͤ Lordes cauſe, of patience & cōſtancie. The Lord, which hath begun this worke in you all, performe & perfite this his own deede, vntill his own day come, Amen.

*This was a treatiſe of the Lordes Supper, with other thinges which Maſter *Bradford* ſent to him to peruſe, and to iudge therof.

Commendation of Doctour *Taylour.*

As yet I perceiue ye haue not bene bayted, and the cauſe thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, then is hys pleaſed will & pleaſure to ſuffer them to do for his owne glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the father which doth guyde thẽ that be CHRISTES to CHRIST, is more mighty then all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the fathers handes: except I ſay it pleaſe our father, it pleaſe our Maſter CHRIST to ſuffer them, they ſhal not ſtyrre one heare of your heades.

My brother P. the bearer hereof, and Maſter Hoopers letters, would that we ſhould ſay what we thincke good concerning your * minde: that is, not for to aunſwere except ye might haue ſomewhat indifferent Iudges. We are (as ye know) ſeparated, and one of vs cã not in any thing conſult with an other, and much ſtraite watching of the Bailiffes is about vs, that there bee no priuy conference amongeſt vs. And yet as we heare, the Scholers beareth vs more heauely then the townes men. A wonderfull thing: among ſo many, neuer yet Scholler offered to any of vs (ſo far as I knowe) anye maner of fauour, either for or in CHRISTES cauſe. Now, as concerning your demaund of our counſell, for my part I do not myſlike that which I perceiue ye are mynded to do. For I looke for none other, but if ye aunſwer afore the ſame Commiſſioners that we did, ye ſhall be ſerued and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as euer was either Peter or Paule. And yet further I thinke that occaſion afterward may bee geuen you, and the conſideration of the profit of your auditory may perchaunce moue you to do otherwiſe. Finally determinately to ſay what ſhall bee beſt, I am not able, but I truſt hee, whoſe cauſe ye haue in hand, ſhall put you in minde to do that which ſhal be moſt for hys glory, the profit of hys flocke, & your owne ſaluation. This letter muſt bee common to you and Maſter Hooper, in whom and in his priſon fellowe good father C. I bleſſe God, euen from the bottome of my hart: for I doubt not but they both do to our Maſter CHRIST, true, acceptable, and honourable ſeruice, and profitable to his flocke: the one with his penne, and the other with his fatherly example of pacience and conſtancy and all maner of true godlynes. But what ſhall I nede to ſay to you: let thys be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare ſay) it is wyth you as it is with vs, to whom all thinges here are common, meat, money, and whatſoeuer one of vs hath that cã or may do an other good. Although I ſayd ẏ Baliffes & our Hoſtes ſtraitly watch vs, that wee haue no conference or intelligence of any thing abroade, yet hath God prouyded for euery one of vs in ſtede of our ſeruauntes, faythfull fellowes, which will be content to heare and ſee, and to do for vs what ſoeuer they can. It is Gods worke ſurely, bleſſed be God for hys vnſpeakeable goodnes. The grace of our Lorde IESVS CHRIST, and the loue of God, and the communicatiõ of the holy Ghoſt be with you al, Amẽ, Amen.

* This matter was concerning the deliberation of the priſoners in London, what to do if they were called to open diſputations, mentioned before. pag. 1640.

Communion of Saintes in *B. Ridley, B. Hooper, D. Taylour,* and other.

Gods prouiſion for hys Saintes.

As farre as London is from Oxforde, yet thence wee haue receiued of late, both meate, money and ſhertes, not onely from ſuch as are of our acquaintaunce, but of ſome (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had neuer to my knowledge any acquaintaunce. I knowe for whoſe ſake they do it: to him therefore bee all honour, glory and due thankes.

The chriſtian charitie of certayne godly brethren of London toward the priſoned Biſhops in Oxford.

And yet I pray you do ſo much as to ſhew them that we haue receiued their beneuolence, and (God be bleſſed) haue plenty of all ſuch thinges. This I deſire you to do: for I know they be of Maſter Hoopers, and your familiar acquaintaunce. Maſter Latimer was craſed: but I heare now (thankes be to God) that hee amendeth agayne.

Nicholas Ridley.

¶An other letter from M. Ridley vnto Maſter Bradford.

This letter of *B. Ridley* was writen to *M. Bradford* ſoone after his condemnation, when it was thought that he ſhould be had to Lankeſhire.

OH deare brother, ſeyng the time is now come, wherein it pleaſeth the heauenly father, for CHRIST our Sauiour his ſake, to call vppon you, and to byd you to come, happy are you that euer you were borne, thus to be foũd awake at the Lordes callyng. Euge ſerue bone & fidelis: quia ſuper pauca fuiſti fidelis, ſuper multa te conſtituet, & intrabis in gaudium Domini. i. *Well good ſeruaunt and faithfull, becauſe thou haſt bene truſty in ſmall matters, he ſhall ſet thee ouer great thynges, and thou ſhalt enter into the ioy of thy Lord.* O deare brother, what meaneth thys, that you are ſent into your own natiue countrey? The wiſedome and policy of the world may meane what they will, but I truſt God will ſo order the matter finally by his fatherly prouidence, that ſome great occaſion of Gods gracious goodnes ſhall be plenteouſly poured abroad amõgeſt his, our deare brethren in that cõtrey, by this your Martyrdome. Where the Martyrs for CHRISTES ſake ſhed their bloud, and loſt their lyues, O what wondrous things hath CHRIST afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine? If it be not the place that ſanctifieth ẏ man, but the holy man doth by CHRIST ſanctifie the place: brother Bradford, then happy and holy ſhalbe that place, wherin thou ſhalt ſuffer, and ſhalbe with thy aſhes in CHRISTES cauſe ſprynkled ouer withall. All thy countrey may reioyce of thee, that euer it brought forth ſuch a one, which would render his lyfe agayne in his cauſe, of whom he had receiued it. Brother Bradford, ſo long as I ſhal vnderſtãd thou art in thy iorney, by Gods grace I ſhall call vpõ our heauenly father for CHRISTES ſake, to ſet thee ſafely home: and then good brother ſpeake you, and pray for the remnaunt that are for to ſuffer for CHRISTES ſake, according to that thou then ſhalt know more clearely.

Math. 25.

We do looke now euery day whẽ we ſhalbe called on: bleſſed be God. I weene I am the weakeſt many wayes of our company: and yet I thanke our Lorde God and heauenly father by CHRIST, that ſince I heard of our deare brother Rogers departing and ſtoute confeſſion of CHRIST and his truth euen vnto the death, my hart (bleſſed be God) ſo reioyced of it, that ſince that time, I ſay, I neuer felt any lumpiſh heauines in my hart, as I graunt I haue felt ſometymes before. O good brother, bleſſed be God in thee, and bleſſed be the time that euer I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

The reioyſing of B. *Ridley* at the conſtancy of Maſter *Rogers.*

Your brother in Chriſt, Nicholas
Ridley. Brother farewell.

¶To the brethren remainyng in captiuitie of the fleſh, and diſperſed abroad in ſundry priſons, but knit together in vnitie of ſpirite and holy Religion in the bowels of the Lord IESV.

A letter of *B. Ridley* to all the perſecuted flocke of Chriſt, written in Latin and tranſlated into Engliſh.

GRace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thankes can we render vnto the Lord for you my brethren, namely for the great conſolation which through you we haue receaued in the Lord, who notwithſtãdyng the rage of Sathan that goeth about by all maner of ſubtill meanes to begyle the world, and alſo buſily laboureth to reſtore & ſet vp his kyngdome agayn that of late began to decay and fall to ruine: ye remaine yet ſtill vnmoueable as men ſurely grounded vppon a ſtrong rocke. And now, albeit that Sathan by his ſouldiours & wicked miniſters, dayly (as we heare) draweth numbers vnto him, ſo that it is ſayd of him that he plucketh euen the very ſtarres out of heauen, whiles he dryueth into ſome mẽ the feare of death and loſſe of all their goods, and ſheweth and offereth to other ſome the pleaſaunt baites of the world, namely riches, wealth and all kynd of delightes and pleaſures, fayre houſes, great reuenewes, fat benefices, and what not? and all to the intent they ſhould fall downe and worſhyp, not the Lorde but the Dragon the olde Serpent which is the deuill, that great beaſt, and his image, and ſhould be enticed to commit fornication with the ſtrompet of Babylon, together with the kynges of the earth, with the leſſer beaſt, and with the falſe Prophetes, and ſo to reioyce and be pleaſaunt with her, and to be drunken with the wyne of her fornication: yet bleſſed be God the father of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, which hath geuen vnto you a manly courage and hath ſo ſtrengthned you in the inward mã by the power of his ſpirite, that you can contemne aſwel all the terrours, as alſo ẏ vayne flattering allurementes of the world, eſteemyng them as vanities, mere trifles, and thynges of nought: who hath alſo wrought, plãted, & ſurely ſtabliſhed in your hartes ſo ſtedfaſt a faith & loue of ẏ Lord IESVS CHRIST, ioyned with ſuch cõſtancie that by no engines of Antichriſt, be they neuer ſo terrible or plauſible, ye will ſuffer any other IESVS or any other CHRIST to be forced vpon you, beſides him whom the Prophetes haue ſpoken of before, the Apoſtles haue preached and the holy Martyrs of God haue cõfeſſed and teſtified with the effuſion of their bloud.

Apoc. 12.

Apoc. 17.

In this faith ſtand ye faſt my brethrẽ, & ſuffer not your ſelues to be brought vnder ẏ yoke of bondage & ſuperſtition any more. For ye know, brethren, how ẏ our Sauiour warned his before hãd, ẏ ſuch ſhould come as would point vnto the world an other CHRIST, and would ſet him out with ſo many falſe miracles, & with ſuch deceaueable and ſubtile practiſes, that euen the very elect (if it were poſſible) ſhould be therby deceaued: ſuch ſtrong deluſion to come did our Sauiour geue warning of before. But continue ye faithfull and conſtant, and be of good com-

Gal. 5.

Math. 24.

He exhorteth the brethren to ſtand faſt.

comfort, and remember that our graund captaine hath ouercome the world: for he that is in vs is ſtronger then he that is in the world, and the Lord promiſeth vnto vs that for the electes ſake the dayes of wickednes ſhall be ſhortned. In the meane ſeaſon abyde ye and endure with patiẽce as ye haue begun: endure I ſay, and reſerue your ſelues vnto better times, as one of the Heathen Poetes ſayd. Ceaſe not to ſhew your ſelues valiaũt Souldiours of the Lord, and helpe to mainteyne the trauelyng fayth of the Goſpell.

Ye haue nede of patience, that after ye haue done the will of God, ye may receaue the promiſes. *For yet a very litle while, and he that ſhall come will come, and will not tary, and the iuſt ſhall lyue by fayth: but if any withdraw him ſelfe, my ſoule ſhall haue no pleaſure in hym* (ſayth the Lord). *But we are not they which do withdraw our ſelues vnto damnation, but beleue vnto the ſaluation of the ſoule.* Let vs not ſuffer theſe wordes of CHRIST to fall out of our hartes by any maner of terrors or threatnyngs of the world. Feare not them which kil the body: the reſt ye know. For I write not vnto you as to men which are ignoraunt of the truth, but which know the truth, and to this end onely, that we agreeyng together in one fayth, may take comfort one of an other, and be the more confirmed and ſtrengthened therby. We neuer had a better or more iuſt cauſe either to contemne our life, or ſheed our bloud: we can not take in hand the defence of a more certaine, cleare, and manifeſt truth. For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend, but it toucheth the very ſubſtaunce of our whole Religion, yea euen CHRIST him ſelfe. Shal we, either can we receaue and acknowledge any other CHRIST in ſtead of him, who is alone the euerlaſting ſonne of the euerlaſtyng father, and is the brightnes of the glory, and liuely image of the ſubſtaunce of the father, in whom onely dwelleth corporally the fulnes of the Godhed, who is the onely way, the truth and the life? Let ſuch wickednes (my brethren) let ſuch horrible wickednes be farre from vs. For although there be that are called Gods, whether in heauen either in earth, as there be many Gods and many Lordes, yet vnto vs there is but one God, which is the father, of whom are all thinges and we in him, and one Lord IESVS CHRIST, by whom are all thinges, and we by hym: but euery man hath not knowledge. *This is lyfe eternall* (ſaith S.Iohn) *that they know thee to be the onelye true God, and whom thou haſt ſent IESVS CHRIST.* If any therefore would force vpon vs anye other God, beſides him whom Paule and the Apoſtels haue taught, let vs not heare him, but let vs flye from him, and hold him accurſed.

Brethren, ye are not ignoraunt of the deepe and profound ſubtilties of Sathan: for he will not ceaſe to raunge about you, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible whom he may deuour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the aduerſaries of the truth, armed with al worldly force and power that may be, do ſet vpon you: yet be not ye faint harted, nor ſhrincke not therefore: but truſt vnto your Captayne CHRIST, truſt vnto the ſpirite of truth, and truſt to the truth of your cauſe: which, as it may by the malice of Sathan be darkened, ſo can it neuer bee cleane put out. For we haue (high prayſe bee geuen to God therefore) moſt plainly, euidently, and clearely on our ſide, all the Prophetes, all the Apoſtels, and vndoubtedly, al the auncient Eccleſiaſticall writers which haue written vntyll of late yeares paſt.

Let vs be hartye and of good courage therefore, and throughly comfort our ſelues in the Lord. Be in no wiſe afraid of your aduerſaries: for that which is to them an occaſion of perdition, is to you a ſure token of ſaluation, and that of God. For vnto you it is geuen, that not onely ye ſhould beleue on hym, but alſo ſuffer for hys ſake. And when ye are railed vpon for the name of CHRIST, remember that by the voyce of Peter, yea and of CHRIST our Sauiour alſo, ye are counted with the Prophetes, with the Apoſtles, & with the holy Martyrs of CHRIST, happy and bleſſed therefore: for the glory and ſpirite of God reſteth vpõ you. On their part our Sauior CHRIST is euyll ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they els do vnto you by perſecuting you, and working all cruelty and vilanye againſt you, but make your crownes more glorious, yea beautify and multiply the ſame, & heape vpon them ſelues the horrible plagues and heauy wrath of God: and therefore good brethren, though they rage neuer ſo fiercely agaynſt vs, yet let vs not wiſh euyll vnto them againe, knowing that whyles for CHRISTES cauſe they vexe and perſecute vs, they are lyke mad men, moſt outragious and cruell agaynſt them ſelues, heaping hot burning coales vpõ their own heades: but rather let vs wyſh well vnto them, knowing that we are therunto called in CHRIST IESV, that we ſhould be heyres of the bleſſing. Let vs pray therefore vnto God that he woulde driue out of their hartes this darknes of errours, and make the light of his truth to ſhine vnto them, that they acknowledging their blindnes, may with all humble repentaunce be conuerted vnto the Lord, and together with vs confeſſe hym to be the onely true God, which is the father of light, and his onely ſonne IESVS CHRIST, worſhipping hym in ſpirite and verity, Amen. The ſpirite of our Lord IESVS CHRIST comfort your hartes in the loue of God, and pacience of CHRIST, Amen

1.Pet.3.

Your brother in the Lord, whoſe name this
bearer ſhal ſignify vnto you, ready alwaies by
the grace of God to lyue and dye with you.

¶ To the Brethren which conſtantly cleaue vnto Chriſt in ſuffering affliction wyth hym and for hys ſake.

In other letters of B. Ridley, wherein he confirmeth the brethren in captiuitie, translated out of the Latin.

GRace and peace from God the father, and from our Lord IESVS CHRIST be multiplied vnto you, Amen. Although brethren, we haue of late heard nothing frõ you, neyther haue at this preſent any newes to ſend you: yet we thought good ſomthing to write vnto you, whereby ye might vnderſtand that we haue good remẽbraunce of you continually, as we doubt not but ye haue of vs alſo. When this meſſenger comming vnto vs frõ you of late, had brought vs good tidinges of your great conſtancye, fortitude, and pacience in the Lord: we were filled with much ioye and gladnes, geuyng thankes to God the father through our Lord IESVS CHRIST, which hath cauſed his face ſo to ſhyne vpon you, & with the light of ſpirituall vnderſtanding hath ſo lyghtened your hartes, that now being in captiuity and bandes for CHRISTES cauſe, ye haue not ceaſed, as much as in you lyeth, by wordes, but much more by dede and by your example, to ſtabliſh and confirme that thyng, which whẽ ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publiſh and ſet abroad by the worde and doctrine: that is to ſay, holding faſt the worde of lyfe, ye ſhyne as lyghtes in the world in the midſt of a wicked and croked nation, and that with ſo much the greater glory of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, and profite of your brethren, by howe much Satan more cruelly now rageth and buſily laboureth to darken the lyght of the Goſpell.

Communion and vnitie of Saintes.

Phil.2.

And as for the darknes that Satan now bringeth vpon the church of England, who needeth to doubt therof? Of late tyme our Sauiour CHRIST, his Apoſtles, Prophetes, and teachers, ſpake in the temple to the people of England in the Engliſhe tongue, ſo that they might be vnderſtanded playnly and without any hardnes, of the Godly and ſuch as ſought for heauẽly knowledge in matters which of neceſſity of ſaluation perteyned to the obtayning of eternall lyfe: but now thoſe thinges which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are red in a ſtraunge tongue without interpretation, manifeſtly agaynſt Saint Paules commaundement, ſo that there is no man able to vnderſtand them which hath not learned that ſtraunge and vnknowen tongue. Of late dayes thoſe heauenly myſteries, whereby CHRIST hath ingraffed vs into hys body, and hath vnyted vs one to an other, whereby alſo being regenerate and borne a new vnto God, hee hath nouriſhed, encreaſed, and ſtrẽgthened vs, whereby moreouer, eyther he hath taught and ſet foorth an order amonges them which are whole, or els to the ſycke in ſoule or body hath geuen, as it were holſome medicines & remedies: thoſe (I ſay) were all playnly ſet forth to the people in theyr own language, ſo that what great and exceding good thinges euery man had receaued of God: what duety euery one owed to an other by Gods ordinaunce: what euery one had profeſſed in his vocation and was bound to obſerue: where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God had geuen a deſyre and willing hart to vnderſtand thoſe thinges, myght ſone perceaue and vnderſtand. But now all theſe thinges are taught and ſet forth in ſuch ſort, that the people redemed with CHRISTES bloude, and for whoſe ſakes they were by CHRIST him ſelfe ordayned, can haue no maner of vnderſtanding thereof at all.

Reaſons prouing the religion in Q. Maries time not to be of God.

Compariſon betwene the religion in K. Edwardes time, and the religion ſet out in Queene Maries time.

Scriptures in K. Edwardes time knowen, in Queene Maries time vnknowen.

Of late (for aſmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord IESVS CHRIST in hys prayer, whereof he would haue no man ignoraunt, and alſo the holy

In King *Edwardes* time the people knew what they prayed: in *Q. Maries* time they neyther knew what, nor to whom they prayed.

holy ghoſt in the Pſalmes, hymmes, and ſpirituall ſonges which are ſetforth in the Bible, did teach and inſtruct all the people of England in the Engliſh tounge, that they might aſke ſuch thynges as are according to the wil of the father, and might ioyne their hartes and lippes in prayer together: but now all theſe thinges are commaunded to be hid and ſhut vp from them in a ſtraunge tounge, whereby it muſt needes follow, that the people neyther can tell how to pray nor what to pray for: and how can they ioyne their hartes and voyce together when they vnderſtand no more what the voyce ſignifyeth, then a brute beaſt.

The Catechiſme ſet forth in King *Edwardes* time for children: in Q. *Maries* time forbidden.

Math. 23.

The Catholicke Phariſeis neyther enter themſelues, nor will ſuffer other to enter gods kingdome.

Apoc. 9.

The pit of the locuſts opened.

Finally, I heare ſay that the Cathechiſme which was lately ſet forth in the Engliſh toung, is now in euery pulpit condemned. Oh deuiliſh malice, and moſt ſpitefully iniurious to the ſaluation of mankind purchaſed be IESVS CHRIST. In deede Sathan could not long ſuffer that ſo great light ſhould be ſpread abroad in the world: he ſaw well inough that nothing was able to ouerthrow his kingdome ſo much, as if childrẽ being godly enſtructed in religion, ſhould learne to know CHRIST whileſt they are yet young: wherby not onely Children, but the elder ſort alſo & aged folkes that before were not taught to know CHRIST in their childhode, ſhould now euen with children & babes be forced to learne to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now hee rageth. But what els do they (brethrẽ) which ſerue Sathan and become hys miniſters and ſlaues in maintaining of this impiety, but euẽ the ſame which they did, to whom CHRIST our Sauiour threatneth this curſe in the Goſpell: *Wo vnto you which ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen before men, and take away the key of knowledge from thẽ: you your ſelues haue not entred in, neither haue you ſuffered them that would enter to come in.* And from whence ſhall we ſay (brethren) that this horrible and miſcheuous darkenes proceedeth, whych is nowe brought vpõ the world? From whence I pray you, but euen from the ſmoke of the great furnace the bottomles pit, ſo that the Sunne & the ayre are now darkned by the ſmoke of the pit? Now, euẽ now (out of doubt brethren) the pit is opened amongeſt vs, and the Locuſtes begyn to ſwarme, and Abbadon now raygneth.

Apoca. 7.

1. *Iohn.* 5.

Exhortation to ſtand conſtant in Chriſt and his truth.

Roma. 8.

Ye therfore (my brethren) which pertain vnto CHRIST and haue the ſeale of God marked in your foreheades, that is to wyt, are ſealed with the earneſt of the ſpirite to be a peculiar people vnto God, quite your ſelues lyke men and be ſtrong, for he that is in vs, is ſtronger then he which is in the world: and ye knowe that all that is borne of God ouercommeth the world, & this is our victorye that ouercommeth the world, euen our faith. Let the world freate, let it rage neuer ſo much, be it neuer ſo cruell and bloudy, yet be ye ſure that no man can take vs out of the fathers handes, for he is greater then all: who hath not ſpared his own ſonne, but hath geuen hym to death for vs all, and therefore how ſhall he not with him geue vs all thinges alſo? who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? It is God that iuſtifieth, who ſhal then condemne? It is CHRIST that is dead, yea rather which is ryſen agayne, who is alſo at the right hand of God, and maketh requeſt alſo for vs. who ſhal ſeperate vs from the loue of CHRIST? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakednes, or perill, or ſword? the reſt ye know brethren. we are certainly perſuaded with S. Paule by the grace of our Lorde IESVS CHRIST, that no kinde of thing ſhal be able to ſeparate vs from the loue of God which is in CHRIST IESVS our Lord. which thing, that it may come to paſſe by the grace and mercy of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, to the comfort both of you and of vs all, as we for our partes wyll continually (God wylling) pray for you: ſo (deare brethren in the Lord) with all earneſt and harty requeſt we beſeche you, euen in the bowels of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, that ye will not ceaſe to pray for vs. Fare ye well deare brethrẽ. The grace of our Lord IESVS CHRIST be with you all euermore, Amen.

Yours in the Lord Nich. Ridley.

¶A letter of Biſhop Ridley aunſwering to a certain letter of one M. Weſt ſometime his Chaplein.

Another letter of *B. Ridley* anſwering one *M. Weſt* ſometime hys Chaplayn.

1. *Iohn.* 2.

Math. 10.

No creature can b ſaued, wh Chriſt denyeth before his father.

What it i for a man well to remember himſelfe.

Luke. 12.

Feare of God.

B. Ridley refuſeth to haue ſute made for him.

I wiſh you grace in God and loue of the truth, without the which truly ſtabliſhed in mens harts by the mighty hand of almighty God, it is no more poſſible to ſtãd by the truth in CHRIST in time of trouble, then it is for the waxe to abide yͤ heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (bleſſed be God) perſuaded that this world is but tranſitory, and (as S. Iohn ſayth) *the world paſſeth away and the luſt therof.* I am perſuaded CHRISTES wordes to be true: *Whoſoeuer ſhall cõfeſſe me before men, hym will I confeſſe alſo before my father which is in heauen:* and I beleue that no earthly creature ſhalbe ſaued, whõ yͤ redemer & Sauiour of the world ſhall before his father deny. This the Lord graunt, that it may be ſo graffed, eſtabliſhed, and fixed in my hart, that neither thinges preſent nor to come, highe nor low, life nor death be able to remoue me thence. It is a goodly wiſh that you wiſh me deepely to conſider thinges pertaining vnto Gods glory: but if you had wiſhed alſo that neither feare of death, nor hope of worldly proſperity ſhould let me to maintaine Gods word & his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would haue liked me well. You deſire me for Gods ſake to remember my ſelfe. In deede Syr, now it is tyme ſo to do, for ſo farre as I can perceiue, it ſtandeth me vpon no leſſe danger, then of the loſſe both of body and ſoule, and I trow then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not feare him that threatneth to caſt both body and ſoule into euerlaſtyng fire, whõ will he feare? with this feare, O Lord, faſten thou together our fraile fleſh, that we neuer ſwarue from thy lawes. You ſay you haue made much ſute for me. Syr, God graunt that you haue not in ſuyng for my worldly deliueraunce, empayred and hindered the furtheraunce of Gods word and his truth.

Confeſſio to the miniſter in the way of asking counſayle, not miſliked.

B. Ridley euer a Reuerend handler of the Sacrament.

You haue knowne me long in deede: in yͤ which tyme it hath chaunced me (as you ſay) to miſlyke ſome things. It is true, I graunt: for ſodaine chaunges without ſubſtantiall and neceſſary cauſe, and the heady ſettyng forth of extremities, I did neuer loue. Confeſſion vnto the miniſter which is hable to inſtruct, correct, comfort, and informe the weake, wounded, and ignoraunt conſcience, in deede I euer thought might do much good in CHRISTES cõgregation, & ſo, I aſſure you, I thinke euen at this day. My doctrine and my preachyng you ſay you haue heard often, and after your iudgement haue thought it godly, ſauing onely for the Sacrament, which thyng although it was of me reuerently handled and a great deale better then of the reſt (as you ſay) yet in the margẽt you write warely, and in this world wiſely: and yet me thought all ſounded not well. Syr, but that I ſee ſo many chaunges in this world and ſo much alteration, els at this your ſaying I would not a litle maruaile. I haue taken you for my frend, and a man whom I fanſied for plaines and faithfulnes, as much (I aſſure you) as for your learnyng: & haue you kept this ſo cloſe in your hart from me vnto this day? Sir, I conſider moe things then one, and will not ſay all that I thinke. But what neede you to care what I thinke, for any thyng I ſhalbe able to do vnto you, either good or harme? You geue me good leſſons to ſtand in nothyng agaynſt my learnyng and to beware of vayne glory. Truly Syr, I herein like your counſell very well, and by Gods grace I entend to folow it vnto my liues ende.

The part of a true B. only to ſeke the glory of Chriſt his maſter.

B. Ridley repenteth that he was not more erneſt in ſtabliſhing the conſciences of his famely and cure.

To write vnto thoſe whom you name, I can not ſee what it will auayle me. For this I would haue you know, that I eſteme nothing auailable for me, which alſo will not further the glory of God. And now, becauſe I perceiue you haue an entire zeale and deſire of my deliuerance out of this captiuitie and worldly miſery, if I ſhould not beare you a good hart in God agayne, me thinke I were to blame. Syr how nigh the day of my diſſolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I can not tell: the Lordes will be fulfilled how ſoone ſoeuer it ſhall come. I know the Lordes wordes muſt be verified on me, that I ſhall appeare before the incorrupt iudge, and be countable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercy is my ſhootanker of eternall ſaluation, yet am I perſuaded, that whoſoeuer wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to cleare his cõſcience, he can not haue peace with God nor a liuely faith in his mercy. Conſciẽce therfore moueth me, conſideryng you were one of my familie and one of my houſehold, of whom then I thinke I had a ſpeciall cure, and of all thẽ which were within my houſe, which in deede ought to haue bene an example of godlines to all the reſt of my cure, not onely of good life, but alſo in promotyng of Gods word to the vttermoſt of their power (but, alas, now when the tryall doth ſeparate the chaffe from the corne, how ſmall a deale it is, God knoweth, whiche the wynd doth not blow away): this conſcience I ſay, doth moue me to feare leſt the lightnes of my family ſhalbe layd to my charge for lacke of more earneſt and diligent inſtruction which ſhould haue bene done. But bleſſed be God which hath geuen me grace to ſee this my default and to lament it from the bottome of my heart before my departyng hence.

This conſcience doth moue me alſo now to require both you & my frend Doct. Haruy, to remember your promiſes made to me in times paſt, of the pure ſettyng forth and preachyng of Gods word and his truth. Theſe promiſes, although you ſhall not neede to feare to be charged with thē of me hereafter before the world, yet looke for none other (I exhort you as my frēdes) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This cōſcience & the loue that I beare vnto you, byddeth me now ſay vnto you both in Gods name, feare God and loue not the world: for God is able to caſt both body and ſoule into hell fyre. when his wrath ſhall ſodenly be kyndled, bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him. And the ſaying of S. Iohn is true: *All that is in the world, as the luſt of the fleſhe, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the father, but of the world, and the world paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof, but he that doth the will of God, abydeth for euer.* If this gift of grace (which vndoubtedly is neceſſarily required vnto eternall ſaluation) were truly and vnfainedly graffed and firmely ſtabliſhed in mens hartes, they would not be ſo light, ſo ſodainly to ſhrinke from the maintenaunce and confeſſion of the truth, as is now (alas) ſeene ſo manifeſtly of ſo many in theſe dayes. But here peraduenture you would know of me what is the truth. Syr, Gods word is the truth, as S. Iohn ſayth, and that euen the ſame that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary & chaūge as the Moone, yet Gods word is ſtable and abideth one for euermore: and of CHRIST it is truly ſayd, CHRIST *yeſterday and to day, the ſame is alſo for euer.*

When I was in office, all that were eſteemed learned in Gods worde, agreed this to bee a truth in Gods word written, that the common prayer of the Church ſhould be had in the common tounge. You know I haue conferred with many, and I enſure you I neuer found man (ſo far as I do remember) neither old nor new, goſpeller nor Papiſt, of what iudgement ſo euer he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of Gods word, thinke you that ỳ alteration of the world can make it an vntruth? If it cannot, why then do ſo many men ſhrincke from the confeſſion and mayntenaunce of this truth receyued once of vs all? For what is it, I pray you, els to confeſſe or deny CHRIST in this world, but to maintaine the truth taught in Gods word, or for any worldly reſpect to ſhrink from the ſame? This one thing haue I brought for an enſample: other things be in lyke caſe, which nowe particularely I neve not to reherſe. For he that will forſake wittingly, either for feare or gayne of the worlde, any one open truth of Gods word, if he be conſtrayned hee will aſſuredly forſake God & all his truth, rather then he will endaunger himſelfe to loſe or to leaue that he loueth better in deede, then he doth God and the truth of hys word.

I lyke very well your playne ſpeaking, wherein you ſay: I muſt either agree or dye, and I thynke that you meane of the bodily death, which is cōmon both to good and bad. Syr, I know I muſt dye whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make ſuch an agreemēt by the which I could neuer eſcape this death which is ſo cōmon to all, and alſo incurre the gilt of death and eternall damnatiō? Lord graunt that I may vtterly abhorre and deteſt this damnable agreement ſo long as I lyue. And becauſe (I dare ſay) you wrote of friendſhip vnto me this ſhort earneſt aduertiſement, and I thinke verely, wiſhyng me to lyue, and not to dye, therefore bearing you in my hart no leſſe loue in God, then you do me in the world, I ſay vnto you in ỳ word of ỳ lord (and that I ſay to you I ſay to all my friendes and louers in God) that if you do not confeſſe and mayntayne to your power and knowledge that which is grounded vppon Gods word, but will eyther for feare or gayne of the world ſhrinke and play the *Apoſtata, in deede you ſhall dye the death: you know what I meane. And I beſech you all my true friendes and louers in God, remember what I ſay, for this may be the laſt tyme peraduenture that euer I ſhall wryte vnto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford the .viij.
day of Aprill. 1555.

M. Grindall, now Biſhop of Lōdon, being in ỳ time of exile in ỳ city of Frankford, wrote to D. Ridley then priſoner a certaine epiſtle. Wherin firſt he lamēteth his captiuitie, exhorting hym withall to be cōſtant. Secondly he certifieth him of ỳ ſtate of ỳ Engliſhe exiles being diſperſed in Germany, and of the ſingular prouidence of God in ſtyrring vp the fauour of the Magiſtrates and rulers there towardes them. Thirdlye he writeth to know hys mynde and wyll concerning the printing of his booke againſt tranſubſtantiation, and of certayne other treatiſes, and his diſputations. Whereunto B. Ridley aunſwereth agayne in order as foloweth.

¶ The aunſwer of Doctor Ridley to the letter aboueſayd.

An anſwere of B. Ridley to Maſter Grindalls letter ſent from Franckford.

BLeſſed bee God our heauenly father which enclined your hart to haue ſuch a deſire to write vnto me, and bleſſed be he againe which hath heard your requeſt, and hath brought your letters ſafe vnto my hands: and ouer all this, I bleſſe hym through our Lord IESVS CHRIST, for the great comfort I haue receiued by the ſame, of the knowledge of your ſtate, and of other our dearely beloued brethren and countrey men in thoſe parties beyond the Sea.

Dearely beloued brother Grindall, I ſay to you and all the reſt of our brethren in CHRIST with you, reioyce in the Lord, and as ye loue me and the other my reuerende fathers and concaptiues (which vndoubtedly are gloria CHRISTI) lament not our ſtate, but I beſech you and them all to geue to our heauenly father for his endles mercies and vnſpeakeable benefites euen in the myddeſt of all our troubles geuen vnto vs, moſt harty thankes. For know ye, that as ỳ weight of his croſſe hath increaſed vpon vs, ſo he hath not nor doth not ceaſe to multiply his mercies to ſtrengthen vs, and I truſt, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but he wyll ſo do for CHRIST our Maſters ſake euen to the ende. To heare that you and our other brethren doe finde in your exile fauour and grace with the Magiſtrates, Miniſters & Citizens at Tigury, at Frankford, and other where, it doth greatlye comfort (I dare ſay) al here that do in dede loue CHRIST and hys true word. I enſure you it warmed my hart to heare you by chaunce to name ſome, as Scory & Coxe. &c. Oh that it had come in your mynde to haue ſayde ſomewhat alſo of Cheeke, of Turner, of Leauer, of Sampſon, of Chambers, but I truſt to God they be all wel. And Syr, ſeing you ſay that there bee in thoſe parties with you of Students and Miniſters ſo good a number, now therefore care ye not for vs, otherwiſe then to wiſh that Gods glory may be ſet forth by vs. For whenſoeuer God ſhal call vs home (as we looke dayly for none other, but whē it ſhall pleaſe God to ſay, Come) you, bleſſed bee God, are enough through his ayde, to light and ſet vp againe the lanterne of his word in England. As concerning the copies ye ſay ye haue with you, I wōder how euer they did and could finde the way to come to you. My diſputation, except ye haue that which I gathered my ſelfe after the diſputation done, I can not thinke ye haue it truly. If ye haue that, then ye haue therewithall the whole maner after the which I was vſed in the diſputation.

Experience of Gods ſtrength toward hys Saintes in theyr impriſonment.

This diſputation of his own penning, is to be ſene before pag. 1612.

As for the treatiſe in Engliſh Contra tranſubſtantiationem, vix poſſum adduci vt credam [illegible] operæpretium fore vt in latinum transferatur. Cæterum quicquid [illegible] nullo modo velim vt quicquam quocunq; modo meo nomine ed[illegible]r, donec quid de nobis dominus conſtituerit fieri, vobis prius [illegible] to conſtiterit: and thus much vnto your letters. Nowe although I ſuppoſe ye know a good part of our ſtate here (for we are forthcomming, euen as when ye departed. &c.) you ſhall vnderſtand that I was in the Tower about the ſpace of two monethes cloſe priſoner, and after that had graunted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and ſo continued about halfe a yeare, and then becauſe I refuſed to allow the Maſſe wyth my preſence, I was ſhut vp in cloſe priſon agayne.

B. Ridley priſoner in the Tower halfe a yeare & more.

The laſt Lent ſaue one, it chaunced by reaſon of the tumult ſtyrred vp in Kent, there was ſo many priſoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, Maſter Latime, Maſter Bradford, and I were put altogether in one priſon, where we remained ſtil almoſt to the next Eaſter, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer and I, were ſodainly ſent a litle before Eaſter to Oxford, and were ſuffered to haue nothing with vs, but that we caryed vpon vs. About the whitſontide following was our diſputations at Oxford, after the which was all taken from vs, as pen and inke. &c. Our own ſeruantes were taken frō vs before, and euery one had put to him a ſtraunge man, and we ech one appointed to be kept in ſeuerall places, as we are vnto this day.

Canter. Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, priſoners together in the Tower.

Canter. Ridley, Latimer, remoued to Oxford.

Bleſſed be God, we three at the wryting hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheare, wee haue

D. Weſton condemner of Canter. Ridley, and Latymer.

looked long ago to haue bene diſpatched, for wee were all three on one day within a day or two of our diſputations, of Doctor Weſton being the head Cõmiſſioner, condemned for heritickes, & ſince that tyme we remayne as we were of him left. The Lordes will be fulfilled in vs, as I do not doubt, but by his grace it ſhall be to his glory and our endles ſaluation through IESVS CHRIST our Lord.

Writtes for the burning of Ioh. Bradford called in agayne.

Likewyſe the Lord hitherto hath preſerued aboue all our expectation, our deare brother, and in CHRISTES cauſe a ſtrong Champion Ioh. Bradford. He is lykewyſe condemned, and is already deliuered vnto the ſecular power, and writtes (as we haue heard ſay) geuẽ out for his execution, and called in agayne. Thus the Lorde, ſo long as his bleſſed pleaſure is, preſerueth whõ he liſteth, notwithſtanding the wonderfull raging of the worlde. Many (as we heare ſay) haue ſuffred valiantly, confeſſing CHRISTES truth, and nothyng yelding to the aduerſary, yea not for the feare or paynes of death.

Names of Martyrs.

The names of them which I knewe, and haue nowe ſuffred, are theſe, Farrar the Biſhop of Saint Dauides, Hooper the Biſhop of Worceter, Rogers tuus olim comprebendarius, D. Taylour of Hadley, M. Saunders, and one Tomkins a weauer, and now this laſt day M. Cardmaker, with an other, were burnt in Smithfield at Lõdon, and many other in Eſſex and Kent, whoſe names are written in the booke of lyfe, whom yet I do not know.

This Weſt, when he had relented and ſayd maſſe agaynſt his conſcience, ſhortly after pined away and died for ſorow.

Weſt your old cõpanion & ſometime mine officer (alas) hath relented (as I haue heard) but the Lord hath ſhortened hys dayes, for anone hee dyed and is gone. Grimbolde was caught by the heele & caſt into the Marſhalſe, but now is at liberty againe, but I feare me hee eſcaped not without ſome becking and bowyng (alas) of hys knee vnto Baal.

* Note how Boner here requited the kindnes of B. Ridley ſhewed to hys mother.

My deare friende Thomas Ridley of the Bulhead in cheape, which was to me the moſt faithfull friend that I had in my trouble, is departed alſo vnto God. My brother Shipſide that hath maried my Siſter, hath bene almoſt halfe a yeare in priſon, for deliuering (as hee was accuſed) of certaine things, I weene, from me: but now thankes be to God, he is at liberty again, but ſo that the biſhop hath taken from him his * Parke.

Of all vs three cõcaptiues at Oxford, I am kept moſt ſtraite, & with leaſt libertie, Vel quia viro in cuius ædibus, ego cuſtodior, vxor dominatur (licet modo ſit Præfectus ciuitatis) mulier vetula, moroſa, & ſuperſtitioſiſſ. quæ etiam hoc ſibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctiſsime & cautiſſime cuſtodire, vir autẽ ipſe Iriſchius nomine, mitis ſatis eſt omnibꝰ, vxori vero pluſquã obſequentiſſ. Licet vxorẽ (vti noſti) nũquã habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana cõſuetudine quẽ cũ illis cõiugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil poſſe intelligere quã graue malum & intollerabile iugum ſit cum mala muliere in coniugio colligari. Recte ergo ſapiens dixit, *Vxor bona donum Dei:* & iterum, *mulieris bonæ beatus vir*. Vel hæc vnquã cauſa eſt, vel quia a magnis magiſtratibus (neſcio quas ob cauſas) illud eſt, vt ita fieret, ipſis mandatum: id quod illi ſi quando de mea nimia ſeruitute apud eos conqueror, ſedulo ſæpe rurſus mihi inculcant.

Al the Statutes of reformacion in Cambridge broken and all thinges reduced againe into the old ſtate of Popery.

At Cãbridge (as I heare ſay) Omnes ſtudiorũ & ſtatutorũ reformationes nuper factæ, nũc ſunt denuo deformatæ & [illegible], & omnia ſunt in priſtinum chaos & in antiquum papiſmum reducta: omnes collegiorum præfecti qui ſinceritati Euangelij fauebant, vel qui coniugati erãt, loco moti ſunt, & alij Papiſticæ factionis in eorũ loca ſurrogati, quod & de ſocijs collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum eſſe audio. Nec mirum, nam & iſtud paſſim factum eſt in vniuerſo regno Angliæ, in omnibus Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Decanis, prebendarijs, Sacerdotibus Eccleſiarũ, & in toto clero: and to tell you much naughty matter in a fewe wordes, Papiſmus apud nos vbiq; in pleno ſuo antiquo robore regnat.

Unthankefull receauing of Gods great giftes and graces.

Coldenes of paſtors, corruption of Magiſtrates, waywardnes of the people, prouoked Gods wrath.

The Lord be mercifull, and for CHRISTES ſake pardon vs our old vnkindnes and vnthankfulnes: for whẽ he powred vpon vs the giftes of hys manifolde graces and fauour (alas) we did not ſerue him nor rendered vnto hym thankes according to the ſame. Wee paſtors many of vs were to colde and bare to much (alas) wyth the wicked world, our Magiſtrates did abuſe to their own worldly gayne, both Gods Goſpell and the miniſters of the ſame. The people in many places was wayward and vnkynde. Thus of euery ſyde and of euery ſorte wee haue prouoked Gods anger and wrath to fall vpon vs: but bleſſed might he be that hath not ſuffred hys to continue in thoſe wayes, which ſo wholy haue diſpleaſed hys ſecret Maieſty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his owne ſonnes croſſe, vnto his glory and our endles ſaluation, through IESVS CHRIST our Lord.

The pra... er of B. Ridley for all the churches abroad which openly pro... feſſe the Goſpell o... Chriſt I... ſus.

My dayly prayer is (as God doth knowe) and by Gods grace ſhall be ſo long as I liue in this world, for you my deare brethren that are fled out of your owne countrey, bicauſe ye will rather forſake all worldly thinges then the truth of Gods word. It is euen the ſame that I vſe to make to God for all thoſe churches abroade through the world, which haue forſaken the kingdome of Antichriſt, and profeſſed openly the purity of the Goſpell of IESVS CHRIST: that is, that God our eternall father for our Sauiour CHRISTES ſake, will dayly encreaſe in you the gracious gift of his heauenly ſpirite to the true ſetting forth of hys glory and of his Goſpell, and make you to agree brotherly in ẏ truth of the ſame, that there ryſe no rote of bitternes among you, that may infect that good ſeede which God hath ſowen in your hartes already, and finally that your lyfe may be ſo pure and ſo honeſt, according to the rule of Gods worde and according to that vocation whereunto wee are called by the Goſpell of CHRIST our Sauiour, that the honeſty and purity of the ſame may prouooke all that ſhall ſee or know it, to the loue of your doctrine, and to loue you for your honeſty and vertues ſake, and ſo both in brotherly vnity of your true doctrine and alſo in the Godly vertue of your honeſt lyfe, to glorify our father which is in heauen.

B. Ridle... prayeth ... Q. Ma...

Ex noſtratibus magni aliquot magiſtratus, Cancellarius Wint. Comes Arũdellus, & Dominus Pachetus iam legione funguntur, vna cum Cardinali Polo, in partibus tranſmarinis, ad componendam (vt aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regẽ noſtrum, & Francorum regem. Poſt illorum magiſtratuum noſtrorum reditum, & partũ reginæ, quem iam quotidie expectamus & iam aliquãdiu expectauimus, queq; Deus pro ſui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare: nos tunc ſtatim nihil aliud quam noſtræ confeſſionis de hoſte noſtro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium veſtrum precibus me humillime & ex toto corde commendo: In primis, tuis ô chariſſ. in CHRISTO frater, & dilectiſſ. Grindalle, & chariſſ. fratrum & vnicè mihi in domino dilectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leueri, Sampſonis, Chamberi, & omnium fratrum noſtrorum & conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt & diligunt dominũ noſtrum IESVM CHRISTVM in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reuerendiſſ. patres & concaptiuos meos in domino Thomã Cranmerum, iam vere magni paſtoris & Archipreſulis nomine digniſſ. & veteranũ illũ CHRISTI & noſtræ gẽtis Anglicanæ verũ Apoſtolũ Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi frater harum prolixitatem, non enim poſt hac credo chariſſime frater, meis literis iam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonij.

N. R.

To Auguſtine Bernher.

A letter ... B. Ridl... to one Auſten Bernher.

Commemoratio... Sainte...

BRother Auguſtine, I bleſſe God with all my hart in his manifold mercifull giftes, geuen vnto our deare brethren in CHRIST, eſpecially to our brother Rogers, whõ it pleaſed to ſet forth firſt, no doubt but of his gratious goodnes & fatherly fauour towards him. And likewyſe bleſſed be God in the reſt, as Hoper, Saunders, & Tailour, whom it hath pleaſed the Lord likewiſe to ſet in the forefront of the battail againſt his aduerſaries, and hath endued them all (ſo far as I can heare) to ſtande in the confeſſion of his truth, and to be content in hys cauſe, & for his Goſpels ſake to loſe their life. And euermore and without end bleſſed be euen the ſame our heauenly father for our deare & entirely beloued brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceiue) calleth for: for I weene he wil no longer vouchſafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I doo not doubt but that he (for thoſe gifts of grace which the lord hath beſtowed on him plenteouſly) hath holpen thoſe which are gone before in their iourney, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keepe the hie way, & ſic currere vti tandem acciperent præmium. The Lord be hys comfort, whereof I do not doubt, & I thanke God hartely that euer I was acquainted with him, and that euer I had ſuch a one in my houſe. And yet agayne I bleſſe God in our deare brother, and of this tyme Protomartyr Rogers, that he was alſo one of my calling to be a Prebendary Preacher of London. And now becauſe Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath & knoweth wherein he wil beſtow him) I truſt to God it ſhal pleaſe him of hys goodnes to ſtrengthen me to make vp the trinity out of Paules church, to ſuffer for CHRIST, whom God the father hath annointed, the holy ſpirite doth beare witnes vnto, Paule and al the Apoſtles preached. Thus fare you wel. I had no paper: I was conſtrained thus to write.

Protomartyr is the fir... Martyr: whom h... ſo called, becauſe h... was the firſt that ſuffered here in thoſe bl... dy dayes.

Here beginneth the lyfe, actes, and doinges of maiſter Hugh Latimer, the famous preacher and worthy Martyr of CHRIST and hys Goſpell.

Now conſequently after the life of B. Ridley, with other his letters, which partly we haue expreſſed, partly we haue differred to our latter appendix, foloweth likewiſe the life and doinges of the worthy champion and old practiſed ſouldiour of CHRIST M. Hugh Latimer, of whoſe Actes & long trauailes euẽ from his firſt yeares and tender age to begyn here to entreate: firſt he was the ſonne of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkeſſon, in the County of Leyceſter, a huſbandman of right good eſtimation: with whom alſo he was brought vp vntill he was of the age of iiij. yeares or thereabout. At which time his parentes (hauyng him as then left for theyr onely ſonne, with .6. other daughters) ſeyng his ready, prompt, and ſharpe wyt, purpoſed to traine him vp in erudition and knowledge of good literature: wherein he ſo profited in his youth at the common Scholes of his owne countrey, that at the age of xiiij. yeares, he was ſent to the vniuerſitie of Cambridge. Where, after ſome continuaunce of exerciſes in other thinges, he gaue him ſelfe to the ſtudy of ſuch ſchole Diuinitie, as the ignoraunce of that age did ſuffer.

Zelous he was then in the Popiſh Religion, & therwith ſo ſcrupulous (as him ſelfe confeſſeth) that being a Prieſt, and vſing to ſay Maſſe, he was ſo ſeruile an obſeruour of the Romiſh Decrées, that he had thought he had neuer ſufficiently mingled his Maſſyng wyne with water: and moreouer, that he ſhould neuer be dãned if he were once a profeſſed Frier, with diuers ſuch ſuperſtitious fantaſies. And in this blynd zeale he was a very enemy to the profeſſours of CHRISTES Goſpell: as both his Oration made when he proceded Bachelour of Diuinitie, agaynſt Philip Melancthon, & alſo his other workes did plainly declare. But eſpecially his Popiſhe zeale could in no caſe abyde in thoſe dayes good M. Stafford reader of the Diuinitie Lecture in Cãbridge, moſt deſpitefully raylyng againſt him and willyng the youth of Cambridge in no wiſe to beleue him. Read before pag. 1152.

Notwithſtandyng ſuch was the goodnes and mercyfull purpoſe of God, that when he ſaw his good tyme, by the which way hee thought to haue vtterly defaced the profeſſours of the Goſpell and true Church of CHRIST, he was at length him ſelfe by a member of the ſame, pretily caught in the bleſſed net of Gods word. For M. Thomas Bilney (whoſe ſtory is before deſcribed) beyng at that tyme a trier out of Sathãs ſubtilties, and a ſecret ouerthrower of Antichriſtes kyngdome, ſeyng M. Latymer to haue a zeale in his wayes (although without knowledge) was ſtrickẽ with a brotherly pity towards him, & bethought by what meanes he might beſt wyn this zelous ignoraunt brother to the true knowledge of CHRIST. Wherfore, after a ſhort tyme, he came to M. Latymers ſtudy, and deſired hym to heare him make his confeſſion. Which thing he willingly grãted: by the hearing wherof he was (through the good ſpirite of God) ſo touched, that hereupõ he forſoke his former ſtudying of the ſchole Doctours, and other ſuch fopperies, & became a earneſt ſtudent of true Diuinitie, as he him ſelfe, aſwel in his conference with M. Ridley, as alſo in his firſt Sermon made vpon the Pater noſter, doth confeſſe. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almoſt a perſecutor of CHRIST, he was now a zealous ſeker after him, chaungyng hys old maner of cauillyng and railing, into a diligent kynd of conferryng, both with M. Bilney and others, and came alſo to M. Stafford before he dyed, and deſired him to forgiue him. Read before pag. 1152.

After this his winnyng to CHRIST, he was not ſatiſfied with his own conuerſion onely, but like a true Diſciple of the bleſſed Samaritane, pitied the miſery of others, and therfore became both a publicke preacher, and alſo a priuate inſtructour to the reſt of his brethrẽ within the Vniuerſitie, by the ſpace of iij. yeares, ſpendyng his time partly in the Latin toung amongeſt the learned, and partly amongeſt the ſimple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Sathan neuer ſlepeth when he ſéeth his kingdome begin to decay, ſo likewiſe now ſeyng that this worthy member of CHRIST would be a ſhrewd ſhaker therof, he raiſed vp his impious imps to moleſt and trouble him.

M. Latymer a Papiſt, turned to a zealous Chriſtian.

M. Latymer becommeth a preacher at Cambridge.

Amõgeſt theſe there was an Auguſtine Frier, who toke occaſion vpõ certaine Sermons that M. Latymer made about Chriſtenmas. 1529. aſwell in the Church of S. Edward, as alſo in S. Auguſtines, within the Vniuerſity in Cambridge, to inueigh agaynſt him, for that M. Latimer in the ſayd Sermons (alludyng to the cõmon vſage of the ſeaſon) gaue the people certein cardes out of the. 5. 6. 7. chapters of S. Mathew, whereupon they might, not onely then, but alwayes els occupy their tyme. For ẏ chief triumph in ẏ cardes he lymited the hart, as the principall thyng that they ſhould ſerue God withall: wherby he quite ouerthrew all hypocriticall and externall ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary furtheraunce of Gods holy word & Sacraments. For the better atteinyng hereof, he wiſhed the Scriptures to be in Engliſh, whereby the common people might the better learne their duties, as well to God, as to their neighbours.

Enemies ſtirred in Cambridge againſt *M. Latymer.*

M. Latymers preaching of the Cardes in Cãbridge.

The hãdlyng of this matter was ſo apt for the time, and ſo pleaſauntly applied of him, that not onely it declared a ſingular towardnes of witte in ẏ preacher, but alſo wrought in ẏ hearers much fruit, to ẏ ouerthrow of Popiſh ſuperſtition, & ſettyng vp of perfect religion.

This was vppon the Sonday before Chriſtenmas day, on which day comming to ẏ Church, and cauſing the bell to be toled to a Sermon, he entred into ẏ Pulpit takyng for his text the wordes of the Goſpell aforeſayd red in the church that day: Tu quis es. &c. In deliueryng the which cardes (as is aboueſayd) he made the hart to bee triumph, exhortyng and inuityng all men thereby to ſerue the Lorde with inward hart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: addyng moreouer to the prayſe of that triumph, that though it were neuer ſo ſmal, yet it would make vp the beſt cote carde beſide in the bunch, yea though it were the Kyng of Clubbes. &c. meanyng thereby, how the Lord woulde bee worſhipped and ſerued in ſimplicitie of the hart and veritie, wherein conſiſteth true Chriſtian Religiõ, and not in the outward déedes of the letter onely, or in the gliſteryng ſhew of mans traditions, of pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vowes, deuotions, voluntary workes, & workes of ſupererogatiõ, foũdations, oblations, the Popes ſupremacy. &c. ſo that all theſe either were nedeles where the other is preſent, or els were of ſmall eſtimatiõ in cõpariſon of the other.

The difference betwixt true and falſe religions.

The tenour and effect of theſe his Sermõs, ſo farre as they could come to our handes, for ſomuch as they are collected and expreſſed in our former edition, pag. 1298. and peraduenture alſo may be repeted agayn in our latter Appendix belongyng to the end of this Volume, I ſhall therfore referre ẏ reader either to the one place or to the other.

It would aſke a long diſcourſe to declare what a ſtyrre there was in Cambridge vpon this preaching of M. Latymer. Belike Sathan began to féele hym ſelfe and his kingdome to be touched to neare, and therfore thought it time to loke about him, and to make out his men of armes.

Firſt came out the Priour of the Blacke Friers called Bucknham, otherwiſe ſurnamed Domine labia. Who thinkyng to make a great hand agaynſt M. Latymer, about the ſame tyme of Chriſtẽmas when M. Latymer brought forth his cardes to deface belike the do-

D.Dewſace playeth at dice with Maſter Latymer.

inges of the other brought out his Chriſtenmas dice, caſtyng there to his audiẽce cinque ⁊ quater: meanyng by the cinque fiue places in ẏ new Teſtament, and the foure Doctours by ẏ quater, by which his cinque quater he would proue that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in Engliſhe, leſt the ignoraunt ⁊ vulgare ſort through the occaſion therof, might happely be brought in daunger to leaue their vocation, or els to runne into ſome inconuenience: As for example the Plowman when he heareth this in the Goſpel: *No man that layth his hand on the plowgh and looketh backe, is meete for the kingdome of God,* might peraducture hearyng this, ceaſe from his plough. Likewiſe the Baker whẽ he heareth that *a litle leauẽ corrupteth a whole lumpe of dow,* may percaſe leaue our bread vnleauened, ⁊ ſo our bodyes ſhalbe vnſeaſoned. Alſo the ſimple man, when he heareth in the Goſpell: *If thyne eye offende thee, plucke it out, and caſt it from thee,* may make him ſelfe blind, and ſo fill the world full of beggars. Theſe with other mo, this Clerkely Frier brought out to ẏ nũber of fiue, to proue his purpoſe.

Note theſe great reaſons of the Catholickes, why the ſcriptures ſhould not come in Engliſh.

M.Latimer hearing this Frierly Sermon of Doct. Bucknham, commeth agayne the after noone or ſhortly after, to the Church to aunſwere the Frier, where reſorted to him a great multitude, as well of the Vniuerſitie as of the town, both Doctors and other graduates with great expectation to heare what he could ſay: amõg whom alſo directly in the face of Latymer vnderneth the Pulpit ſat Bucknham the foreſaid Frier Prior of ẏ Blacke Friers with his Blacke Friers coule about his ſhoulders.

Anſwere of M.Latymer to Doctour Bucknhams Sermon.

Then M. Latymer firſt repetyng the Frierly reaſons of Doct. Bucknham, whereby he would proue it a daungerous thyng for the vulgar people to haue the Scripture in the vulgar toung, ſo refuted the Frier, ſo aunſwered to his obiections, ſo dalyed with his balde reaſons of the Plowman lokyng backe, and of the Baker leauing his bread vnleauened, that the vanitie of the Frier might to all men appeare: well prouyng and declaring to ẏ people how there was no ſuch feare nor daunger for the Scriptures to bee in Engliſhe as the Fryer pretended: at leaſt thys requiring, that ẏ Scripture might be ſo long in Engliſh tounge, till Engliſhe mẽ were ſo mad, that neither the plowman durſt loke backe, nor the Baker would leaue his bread vnleauened: And proceding moreouer in his Sermon he begã to diſcourſe of the myſticall ſpeaches and figuratiue phraſes of the Scripture: which phraſes he ſayd were not ſo diffuſe and difficulte, as they were commõ in the Scripture, and in the Hebrue tounge moſt commonly vſed and knowen: and not onely in the Hebrue toung: but alſo euery ſpeach (ſayth he) hath his Metaphors and lyke figuratiue ſignifications, ſo common and vulgar to all men, that the very Paynters do paynt them in walles and in houſes: As for example (ſaith he, lokyng toward the Frier that ſat ouer agaynſt hym) whẽ they paynt a foxe preaching out of a Friers coule, none is ſo mad to take this to be a foxe that preacheth, but know well enough the meanyng of the matter, which is to paynt out vnto vs, what hypocriſie, craft, and ſubtile diſſimulation lyeth hyd many tymes in theſe friers coules, willyng vs therby to beware of thẽ. In fine, Frier Bucknham with this Sermon was ſo daſhed, that neuer after he durſt peepe out of the Pulpit agaynſt M.Latymer.

An other barking fryer agaynſt M. Latymer.

Beſides this Bucknham there was alſo an other railing Frier, not of ẏ ſame coate, but of ẏ ſame note ⁊ faction, a Gray Frier and a Doctour, an outlandiſhmã called Doct. Venetus, who likewyſe in his brawlyng Sermons railed and raged agaynſt M. Latymer, callyng hym a mad and braynles mã, and willyng the people not to beleue hym. ⁊c. To whom M.Latymer aunſweryng agayne, taketh for his ground the wordes of our Sauiour CHRIST. Mat. 5. *Thou ſhalt not kill &c. but I ſay vnto you, who ſoeuer is angry with his neyghbour ſhalbe in daunger of Iudgement: And who ſoeuer ſhall ſay vnto his neighbour Racha (or any other lyke wordes of rebuking, as braineles) ſhalbe in daunger of Counſaile: And who ſoeuer ſhall ſay to his neighbour foole, ſhalbe in daũger of hell fire. &c.* In diſcuſſing of which place, firſt he diuideth the offenſe of killyng into iij. braunches. One to be with hand, an other with hart, the thyrd with word. With hand, when we vſe any weapon drawen to ſpill the lyfe of our neighbour. With hart whẽ we be angry with hym. With word when in word or countenaunce we diſdaynfully rebuke our neighbour, or deſpitefully reuile him. Wordes of rebuking are whẽ we ſpeake any opprobrious ⁊ vnſemely thing, wherby the patience of our neighbour is moued, as when we call him mad (ſayd he) or braynles or ſuch lyke: which are giltie of counſeil. Wordes of ſpyte or reuilyng are whẽ we call hym foole: which CHRIST ſayth is gilty of hell fire. ⁊c.

Math.5.

Anſwere Maſter Latyme to an o railing fr er.

Thus M.Latymer in hãdlyng ⁊ trimming this matter, after that with the weight of CHRISTES wordes, and the explanyng of the ſame, he had ſufficiently borne the Frier cleane downe, then he turned to the v. chap. of the boke of Wiſedome. Out of the which chap. he declared to the audience, how the true ſeruauntes ⁊ preachers of God in this world commonly are ſcorned and reuyled of the proude enemyes of Gods word, which coũt thẽ here as mad mẽ, foles, brainles, ⁊ *drunkẽ: ſo dyd they (ſayd he) in the Scripture call thẽ which moſt purely preached and ſet forth the glory of Gods word. But, (ſayd hee) what will bee the end of theſe gely felowes, or what will they ſay in the end? Nos inſenſati, nos inſenſati, &c. We madmen, we mad foules, We, we, our ſelues. ⁊c. And that wilbe their end, except they repent. And thus endyng hys Sermon, he ſo confoũded the poore Frier, that he droue him not onely out of countenaũce, but alſo cleane out of the Vniuerſitie.

Sap.5.

*Act.2.

But what ſhould I here ſtãd decyphring ẏ names of his aduerſaries, when whole ſwarmes of Friers and Doctours flockte agaynſt hym on euery ſide almoſt through the whole Vniuerſitie preachyng lykewiſe ⁊ barking againſt him. Amõgeſt whom was D.Watſon maſter of CHRISTES Colledge, whoſe ſcholer Latymer had bene afore. D.Notaryes Maſter of Clarehall. Doct. Philo Maſter of Michael houſe, D.Metecalfe Maſter of S. Iohns, Doct. Blyth of the kynges hall. Doct. Bulloke Maſter of Queenes Colledge. D. Cliffe of Clement hoſtle, Doct. Donnes of IESVS Colledge, D.Palmes Maſter of S.Nicholas Hoſtle, Bain, Rud, and Grenewode Bach. of Diuinity, al. iij. of S.Iohns Colledge. Alſo Brykenden Bacheler of Diuinity of the ſame houſe, and ſcholer ſometyme to ẏ ſayd Latimer. Briefly, almoſt as many as were heades there of houſes, ſo many impugners dyd thys worthy Standerbearer of CHRISTES Goſpell ſuſtaine.

Then came at laſt Doct. Weſt biſhop of Eley, who preaching agaynſt M.Latimer at Barwell Abbey, forbad him wͭin the churches of that Vniuerſity to preach any more. Notwithſtanding ſo the Lord prouided, that D.Barnes Prior of the Auſten Friers, did licence Maſter Latimer to preach in hys Church of the Auſtens, and he hymſelfe preached at a Church by called S.Edwardes church, which was ẏ firſt ſermon of ẏ Goſpell which D.Barnes preached, being vpõ Chriſtmas euen vpõ a Sonday. Wherupon certayne Articles were gathered out of hys ſermon, and were cõmenced agaynſt hym by M.Tyrell felow of the Kings Haull, and ſo by the Vicechauncellour preſented to the Cardinall, as in hys ſtory before hath bene declared.

D.Weſt Biſhop of Eley forbidding Maſter Latymer to preach.

Of this read before pag. 1364.

Thys M.Latimer (as you haue heard) beyng bayted by the Friers, Doctors, and Maſters of that Vniuerſity about the yeare aforeſayd. 1529. notwithſtanding the maugre and malice of theſe malignant aduerſaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the ſpace of three yeares together, with ſuch fauour and applauſe of the godly, alſo with ſuch admiration of his enemies that heard hym, that the Biſhop hym ſelf commyng in and hearing hys gift, wiſhed hym ſelfe to haue the lyke, and was compelled to commende hym vppon the ſame.

So M. Latimer with M. Bilney after thys cōtinued yet in Cambridge a certayne ſpace, where he wyth the ſayd Bilney vſed much to conferre and company together, in ſo much that the place where they moſt vſed to walke in the fieldes, was called long after, the Heretickes hyll.

Bilney & Latymer [illegible]

The ſocietie of theſe two, as it was much noted of many in that Vniuerſity: ſo it was full of many good examples, to all ſuch as would followe their doinges, both in viſiting the priſoners, in releuyng the nede, in fedyng the hungry, whereof ſomewhat is before mentioned in the hiſtory of M. Bilney. In a place of hys Sermons M. Latimer maketh mention of a certaine hiſtory, which happened about this time in Cambridge betwene them two and a certayne woman, then pryſoner in the Caſtle or Tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not vnworthy to be remēbred. The hiſtory is this: It ſo chaūced that after M. Latimer had ben acquainted with the foreſayd M. Bylney, he went with him to viſit the priſoners in the Tower in Cambridge, and being there among other pryſoners, there was a woman which was accuſed that ſhe had kylled her own chylde, which acte ſhe playnly and ſtedfaſtly denyed. Whereby it gaue them occaſion to ſearch for the matter, and at length they found that her huſband loued her not, and therfore ſought all meanes he coulde to make her away. The matter was thus.

A chylde of hers had ben ſicke a whole yeare, and at length dyed in harueſt tyme, as it were in a conſumption. Which when it was gone, ſhe went to haue her neighbours to helpe her to the buriall, but all were in harueſt abroade: whereby ſhe was inforced with heauines of hart alone to prepare the chylde to the buriall. Her huſband commyng home, and not louing her, accuſed her of murthering the chyld. This was the cauſe of her trouble: and M. Latimer by earneſt inquiſition, of conſcience thought the woman not gilty. Then immediately after, was hee called to preach before Kyng Henry. 8. at Winſore: where after hys Sermon, the kings Maieſty ſent for hym, and talked with him familiarly. At which tyme M. Latimer finding oportunity, kneled downe, opened hys whole matter to the kyng, and begged her pardon: which the kyng moſt graciouſly graunted, and gaue it hym at hys returne homeward. In the meane tyme the woman was deliuered of a chyld in the priſon, whoſe Godfather was Maſter Latimer, and Miſtres Cheeke Godmother. But all that whyle he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to haue her confeſſe the truth of the matter. At length time came when ſhee looked to ſuffer: and Maſter Latimer came as he was wont, to enſtruct her: vnto whom ſhe made great lamentation and mone to be purified before her ſuffering, for ſhe thought to be damned, if ſhe ſhould ſuffer without purification. Thē M. Bilney being wyth M. Latimer, both tolde her that that law was made to the Iewes and not to vs, & howe women be aſwell in the fauour of God before they be purified, as after: and rather it was appointed for a ciuile and politicke law for naturall honeſty ſake, then that they ſhould any thing the more bee purified from ſinne thereby. &c. So thus they trauailed with this woman, tyll they had brought her to a good trade, & then at length ſhewed her the kinges pardon and let her go.

Story of a certaine woman condemned, [illegible] was ſaued by Maſter Latymer.

Maſter Latymer obtayned pardon of the kyng for the womā [illegible]

Purification of women.

Thys good act among many other at this tyme happned in Cambridge by M. Latimer and M. Bilney. But thys was not alone, for many moe like matters were wrought by them, if all were knowen, whereof partly ſome are touched before, ſuch eſpecially as concerne M. Bilney, mētion wherof is aboue expreſſed pa. 1146. But as it is commonly ſene in the naturall courſe of things, that as the fier beginneth more to kindle, ſo the more ſmoke ayſeth wythall, in much like ſort it happned with M. Latimer, whoſe towardnes the more it began to ſpring, hys vertues to be ſene, and his doinges to be knowē, the more hys aduerſaries begā to ſpurne and kindle agaynſt hym. Concerning theſe aduerſaries, and ſuch as dyd moleſt hym, partlye their names bee aboue expreſſed. Among the reſt of thys nomber was Doct. Redman, of whom mention is made before in the raygne of King Edward, pag. 1537. a man fauouring at that time ſomwhat more of ſuperſtition, thē of true religion, after the zeale of ỹ Phariſeyes, yet not ſo malignant or harmfull, but of a ciuile & quiet diſpoſition, and alſo ſo liberall in well doing, that fewe poore Scholers were in that vniuerſity, which fared not better by hys purſe. This Doctour Redman being of no litle autority in Cambridge, perceyuyng and vnderſtanding the bold enterpriſe of M. Latimer in ſettyng abroade the word and doctrine of the Goſpell, at thys tyme or much about the ſame, writeth to hym, ſekyng by perſwaſion to reuoke the ſayd Latimer from that kynde & maner of teaching: to whom M. Latimer maketh aunſwer agayne in few words. The ſumme and effect of both their letters tranſlated out of lattin here follow to be ſene.

D. Redman agaynſt M. Latymer.

The ſumme of the Epiſtle written by Doctour Redman, to Maſter Latimer.

The letter of D. Redman to Maſter Latymer.

GRace be vnto you, and true peace in CHRIST IESV. I beſech you hartely, and requyre you moſt earneſtly, euen for charities ſake, that you will not ſtand in your own conceit with a mynd ſo indurate, nor preferre your own ſingular iudgement in matters of religiō and controuerſies, before ſo many learned men, and that more is, before the whole catholicke Church, eſpecially conſidering that you neyther haue any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the teſtimony of any autenticall wryter. Nay, nay: I beſech you rather conſider that you are a man, and that lying and vanitye may quickely bleare your eye, which doth ſometyme transforme it ſelfe into an aungell of lyght.

Iudge not ſo raſhly of vs, as that wicked ſpirit hath tickled you in the eare. Witte you well that we are carefull for you, and that we wiſh you to be ſaued, and that we are carefull alſo for our owne ſaluation. Lay downe your ſtomacke I pray you, and humble your ſpirite, and ſuffer not the Church to take offence with the hardnes of your hart, nor that her vnity and CHRISTES coate without ſeame (as much as lyeth in you) ſhould be torne a ſunder. Conſider what the ſaying of the wyſe man is, and be obedient thereunto: *Truſt not in your owne wiſdome.* The Lord IESVS CHRIST. &c.

The ſumme of M. Latimers aunſwere to Doctour Redman.

Aunſwere of M. Latimer to Doctour Redman.

REuerend M. Redman, it is euen inough for mee that CHRISTES ſhepe heare no mans voice but CHRISTES; and as for you, you haue no voyce of CHRIST againſt me: whereas for my part, I haue a hart that is ready to harken to any voyce of CHRIST that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

After M. Latymer had thus trauelled in preachyng and teachyng in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge about the ſpace of 3. yeares, at length he was called vp to the Cardinall for hereſie, by the procurement of certain of the ſayd Vniuerſitie, where he was contēt to ſubſcribe and graunt to ſuch Articles as then they propounded vnto hym. &c.

M. Latymer called vp to the Cardinall.

After that, he returned to the Vniuerſity agayne, where ſhortly after by the meanes of Doct. Buttes the kynges Phiſicion, a ſingular good man and a ſpeciall fauorer of good procedynges, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cauſe of the kynges ſupremacy. Then went he to the Court, where he remayned a certain tyme in the ſayd Doct. Buttes chamber, preachyng then in London very often. At laſt beyng wery of the Court, hauyng a benefice offred by the kyng, at the ſute of the Lord Cromwell and Doct. Buttes, was

D. Buttes a worthy fauorer of Gods word.

glad therof, ſeekyng by that meanes to be rid out of the Court, wherewith in no caſe hee coulde agree: and ſo hauing a graunt of the benefice, contrary to the mynde of Doct. Buttes, he would needes depart and be reſident at the ſame.

M.Latimer beneficed in Wilſhire.

This benefice was in Wilſhire vnder the Dioces of Sarum, the name of which Towne was called Weſt Kington. Where this good preacher did exerciſe hym ſelfe with much diligence of teachyng to inſtruct his flocke: and not onely to them his diligence extẽded, but alſo to all the countrey about. In fine, his diligẽce was ſo great, his preachyng ſo mighty, the maner of his teachyng ſo zelous, that there in lyke ſorte he could not eſcape without enemyes. So true it is that S.Paul foretelleth vs: *Who ſoeuer will lyue godly in CHRIST, ſhall ſuffer perſecution*. It ſo chaunced that where as he preaching vpõ yͤ bleſſed Virgin CHRISTES mother (whõ we call our Lady) had therupon declared hys mind, referryng & reducyng all honour onely to CHRIST our onely Sauiour, certaine Popiſh Prieſtes beyng therewith offended, ſought and wrought much trouble agaynſt hym, drawyng out Articles and impoſitions, which they vntruly, vniuſtly, falſly, & vncharitably imputed vnto him, firſt that he ſhould preach againſt our Lady for that he reproued in a Sermon the ſuperſtitious rudenes of certeine blynd Prieſtes, which ſo held altogether vpon that bleſſed virgin, as though ſhe neuer had any ſinne, nor were ſaued by CHRIST the onely Sauiour of the whole world.

M.Latymer troubled for preaching Chriſt only to be our Sauiour, and not our Lady.

The ſuperſtitious rudenes of blind prieſtes.

Matter deuiſed agaynſt M.Latymer by Popiſh Prieſtes.

Item, that he ſhould ſay, that Saintes were not to be worſhipped.

Item, that Aue Maria was a ſalutation onely, and no prayer.

Item, that there was no materiall fire in hell.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, in ſaying, that he had leuer be in Purgatory then in Lollards tower.

Touchyng the whole diſcourſe of which Articles, with his reply and aũſwere to the ſame, hereafter ſhall folow (by the Lordes aſſiſtaunce) when we come to his letters.

Doct. Powell, Doct. Wilſon, D.Sherwood. Hubberdine, D. Warrham Archb. of Canterbury, D.Stokeſley B. of London, troublers of M.Latymer.

The chief impugners and moleſters of him, beſides theſe coũtrey Prieſtes, were Doct.Powell of Saliſbury, Doct.Wilſon ſometyme of Cambridge, M.Huberdin, and Doct.Sherwode. Of whom ſome preached agaynſt hym, ſome alſo dyd write agaynſt hym: in ſo much that by there procurement he was cited vp & called to appeare before W.Warrham Archbyſhop of Cãterbury and Iohn Stokeſley Byſhop of London. an. 1531. Ianu.29. the copy of which citatiõ may appeare in our former edition, pag.1332. more at large.

M.Latymer appealed from the Byſhop of Londons citation, to his own Ordinary.

M. Latymer moleſted by Warrham Archbiſhop of Cant. and Stokeſley Byſhop of London.

Agaynſt this citation, although M.Latimer dyd appeale to hys own Ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithſtanding, hee was had vp to Lõdon before Warrham the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of London, where hee was greatly moleſted and deteyned a long ſpace from hys cure at home. There he beyng called thriſe euery weeke before the ſayd Biſhops to make aunſwer for hys preaching, had certayne articles or propoſitions drawen out and layd to hym, whereunto they required him to ſubſcribe. At length he not onely perceiuing their practicall proceedings, but alſo much greued with their troubleſome vnquietnes, which neyther would preach thẽ ſelues nor yet ſuffer hym to preach and to do hys duty, writeth to the foreſayd Archbyſhop, partly excuſing hys infirmity, whereby he could not appeare at theyr commaundement, partly expoſtulating wyth them for ſo troublyng and deteinyng hym from hys duty doing, and that for no iuſt cauſe, but onely for preachyng the truth agaynſt certayne vayne abuſes crept into religion, much needefull to bee ſpoken agaynſt. Which all may appeare by his Epiſtle ſent to a certaine Biſhop or Archbiſhop in our former edition expreſſed in Latin at large, page.1333. if any be diſpoſed there to ſee and peruſe the ſame. In yͤ which foreſaid Epiſtle (as there is to be ſeene) he maketh mention of certaine Articles or propoſitions, whereunto he was required by the biſhops to ſubſcribe. The copy of which articles or bare propoſitions (as he termeth them) I thought here vnder to notifie, tranſlated out of lattin into Engliſh, as followeth.

Maſter Latimers letter to the Arch read there of in the fo mer edi pag.1333.

¶Articles deuiſed by the Biſhops, for M.Latimer to ſubſcribe vnto.

Articles propounded to Maſter Latymer to ſubſcribe vnto.

I Beleue that there is a Purgatory to purge yͤ ſoules of the deade after thys lyfe.

That the ſoules in Purgatory are holpen wyth the Maſſes, praiers, and almes of the liuing.

That the Saintes do pray as Mediators now for vs in heauen.

That they are to be honored of vs in heauen.

That it is profitable for Chriſtians to call vpon the Sainctes, that they may pray as Mediators for vs vnto God.

That Pilgrimages and oblations done to the ſepulchers and Reliques of Saintes, are meritorious.

That they which haue vowed perpetuall chaſtitye, may not marry nor breake their vow, without the diſpenſation of the Pope.

That the keyes of byndyng and loſyng deliuered to Peter, do ſtyll remayne with the Biſhops of Rome hys Succeſſors although they lyue wickedly, and are by no meanes nor at any tyme committed to lay men.

That men may merite and deſerue at Gods hand by faſting, prayer, and other workes of piety.

That they which are forbiddẽ of the biſhop to preach, as ſuſpect perſons, ought to ceaſe vntyll they haue purged them ſelues before the ſayd Biſhops or their Superiours, and be reſtored agayne.

That the faſt which is vſed in Lent and other faſtes preſcribed by the Canons, and by cuſtome receiued of the Chriſtians (except neceſſity otherwyſe require) are to be obſerued and kept.

That God in euery one of the. vij. Sacramentes geueth grace to a man rightly receiuing the ſame.

That conſecrations, ſanctifiynges and bleſſinges by vſe and cuſtome receiued into the Church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable that the venerable Images of the Crucifix and other Sayntes, ſhould bee had in the Church as a remembraunce, and to the honor and worſhip of IESVS CHRIST, and hys Saintes.

That it is laudable and profitable to decke & to cloth thoſe Images, and to ſet vp burnyng lightes before thẽ, to the honor of the ſayd Saintes.

Maſter Latymer whether he ſubſcribed or no, it is vncertein.

To theſe Articles whether he did ſubſcribe or no, it is vncerteine. It appeareth by his Epiſtle aboue written to the Byſhop, that he durſt not conſent vnto them, where hee writeth in theſe wordes: His ego nudis ſententijs ſubſcribere nõ audeo, quia popularis ſuperſtitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad poſſum, autorculus eſſe nolo. &c. But yet whether he was compelled afterward to agree, through the cruell handlyng of the Byſhops, it is in doubt. By the wordes and the title in Tonſtals Regiſter prefixed before the Articles, it may ſeeme that he ſubſcribed. The wordes of the Regiſter be theſe: Hugo Latimerus in ſacra Theologia Bacc. in vniuerſitate Cantab. coram Cant. Archiepiſcopo Iohan. Lond. Epiſcopo, reliquaq; concione apud Weſtmonaſt. vocatus, cõfeſſus eſt & recognouit fidem ſuam, ſic ſentiẽdo vt ſequitur, in his artic. 21. die Martij. An. 1531. If theſe wordes be true, it may be ſo thought that he ſubſcribed. And whether he ſo did, no great matter nor maruell, the iniquity of the tyme being ſuch that either he muſt needes ſo do, or els abyde the Byſhops bleſſyng, that is, cruell ſentence of death, which he at that tyme (as him ſelfe cõfeſſed preachyng at Stamford) was loth to ſuſteine for ſuch matters as theſe were, vnleſſe it were for Articles neceſſary of his beliefe, by which his words I cõiecture rather that he did ſubſcribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought ſo to do. Yet this by the way is to be noted concernyng the crafty and deceitfull hãdlyng of theſe Byſhops in his examinations, what ſubtile deuiſes

The crafty handlyng of the biſhops in examining M. Latymer.

Ex verbis Latimeri.

uiſes they uſed the ſame tyme to entrap him in their ſnares. The ſtory he ſheweth forth hym ſelfe in a certeine Sermon preached at Stamford an. 1550. Octob. 9. his wordes be theſe. I was once (ſayth he) in examination before fiue or ſixe Byſhops, where I had much tormoilyng: euery weeke thriſe I came to examinatiõs, and many ſnares and trappes were layd to get ſome thing. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gaue me aunſwere and wiſedome what I ſhould ſpeake: It was God in deede, for els I had neuer eſcaped them. At the laſt I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this tyme the Chamber was ſomwhat altered. For where as before there was wont euer to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged ouer the chimney, and the table ſtode neare the chimneys end.

There was amongeſt theſe Byſhops that examined me, one with whom I haue bene very familiar, and toke hym for my great frend, an aged man, and he ſat next the table end.

Then amõgeſt all other queſtions he put forth one, a very ſubtill and crafty one, and ſuch a one in dede, as I coulde not thinke ſo great daunger in. And when I ſhould make aunſwere, I pray you M. Latimer ſayd one, ſpeake out, I am very thicke of hearing, and here be many that ſit farre of. I maruayled at this, that I was bidden ſpeake out, and beganne to miſdeme, and gaue an eare to the chymney: and ſir, there I heard a penne walking in the chimney behynd the cloth. They had appoynted one there to write all myne aunſwers: for they made ſure that I ſhould not ſtart from them: there was no ſtarting from them. God was my good Lord, and gaue me aunſwere, I could neuer els haue ſcaped it. The queſtion to him there and then obiected, was this: *Whether he thought in his conſcience, that hee hath bene ſuſpected of hereſy.* This was a captious queſtion. There was no holding of peace would ſerue, for that was to graunt him ſelfe faultie. To aunſwere, it was euery way ful of daunger. But God which alway geueth in neede what to aunſwere, helped hym, or els (as he confeſſeth him ſelf) hee had neuer eſcaped their bloudy handes. Albeit what was his anſwere, he doth not there expreſſe. And thus hitherto you haue heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher in the tyme not only of his being in the Uniuerſity, but eſpecially at his benefice, as partly by his owne wordes aboue mencioned, and partly by his owne letters hereafter folowing may better appeare.

A ſubtile and captious queſtion put to Maſter Latymer by the Biſhops.

In theſe ſo hard and daungerous ſtraites, and ſuch ſnares of the Biſhops, hard it had bene for him and impoſſible to haue eſcaped and continued ſo long, had not the almighty helping hand of the higheſt, as he ſtyrred hym vp, ſo haue preſerued hym through yͤ fauour & power of hys Prince: who with much fauour embraced hym, and wyth his mere power ſometime reſcued and delyuered hym out of the croked clawes of his enemies. Moreouer, at length alſo, through the procurement, partly of D. Buttes, partly of good Cromwell, (whoſe ſtory ye had before) he auaũced him to yͤ degree & dignity of a Biſhop, making him the biſhop of Worceſter, which ſo continued a few yeares, inſtructing his dioces accordyng to the duty of a diligent and vigilant Paſtor wyth wholſome doctrine and example of perfect conuerſation duly agreing to the ſame. It were a long matter to ſtand particularly vpon ſuch thinges as myght here be brought to the commendation of hys paynes, as ſtudy, readynes & continuall carefulnes in teaching, preaching, exhorting, viſiting, correcting and reforming, eyther as hys ability could ſerue, or els the tyme would beare. But the daies then were ſo daungerous and variable, that he could not in all thinges do that he would: yet what he myght do, that he perfourmed to the vttermoſt of hys ſtrength, ſo that although he could not vtterly extinguiſh al the ſparkling relickes of old ſuperſtition, yet he ſo wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they ſhould be vſed wyth as litle hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As (for example) in this thing, as in diuers other it did appeare, that when it could not be auoyded, but holy water and holy bread muſt neede be receaued, yet hee ſo prepared and inſtructed them of hys dioces, with ſuch informations and leſſons, that in receauing thereof ſuperſtition ſhould be excluded, and ſome remembraunce taken thereby, teaching and charging the Miniſters of hys Dioces, in deliueryng the holy bread and holy water, to ſay theſe wordes following.

Maſter Latymer reſcued by the king.

Maſter Latymer aduanced to the Biſhoprike of Worceſter by the king.

The paynfull diligence of Maſter Latymer in his dioces.

The time vnſtable for B. Latimer to worke in.

¶ Wordes ſpoken to the people in geuyng them holy water.

Remember your promyſe in Baptiſme,
CHRIST hys mercy and bloud ſheedyng,
By whoſe moſt holy ſprinkelyng,
Of all your ſinnes you haue free pardonyng.

Wordes vſed in Byſhop Latimers dioces in geuing holy water.

¶ What to ſay in geuing holy bread.

Of CRISTES body thys is a token,
Which on the croſſe for your ſinnes was broken,
Wherefore of your ſinnes you muſt be forſakers,
If of CHRISTES death you wyll be partakers.

Words vſed in geuing holy bread.

By this it may be conſidered what the diligent care of thys Byſhop was in doing the duety of a faythfull Paſtour among his flocke. And moreouer it is to bee thought that he would haue brought more thinges els to paſſe, if the tyme then had aunſwered to his deſyre: for he was not ignorant, how the inſtitution of holy water and holy bread, not onely had no groũd in ſcripture, but alſo how full of prophane exorciſmes and coniurations they were, contrary to the rule & learning of the Goſpell. Thus this good man behaued him ſelfe in his dioces: but, as before, both in the vniuerſity, and at his benifice he was toſt and tormoiled by wicked and euill diſpoſed perſons, ſo in his Biſhopricke alſo hee was not all cleare and voyde of ſome that ſought his trouble. As among many other euill willers, one eſpecially there was, and that no ſmall perſon, which accuſed him then to the King for his Sermons. The ſtory, becauſe he ſheweth him ſelf in a Sermon of his before King Edward, I thought therefore to vſe his owne wordes, which be theſe.

The behauiour of Byſhop Latymer in his office.

The troubles of Maſter Latymer in his Biſhopricke.

In the Kings dayes that dead is, a great many of vs were called together before him, to ſay our mindes in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth downe and accuſeth me of ſedition & that I had preached ſeditious doctrine. A heauy ſalutation, and a hard poynt of ſuch a mans doing, as if I ſhould name, ye would not thinke it. The King turned to me and ſayd: What ſay you to that ſyr?

Then I kneeled downe, and turned me firſt to my accuſer, & requyred him: Syr what forme of preaching would you appoynt me? in preaching before a King would you haue mee preach nothing as concerning a King in the Kinges Sermon? haue you any commiſſion to appoint me what I ſhall preach? Beſides thys I aſked him diuers other queſtions, and hee woulde make me none aunſwere to any of them all: he had nothing to ſay.

Ex verbis Latimeri, pro concione.

B. Latymer accuſed to K. Henry for his preaching.

M. Latymer anſwereth his accuſer.

Then I turned me to the King, and ſubmitted my ſelfe to his grace, and ſayd: I neuer thought my ſelfe worthy, nor I neuer ſued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you miſlike mee) to geue place to my betters: for I graunt there bee a great many, more worthy of the rome then I am. And if it be your graces pleaſure ſo to allowe them for preachers, I could be content to beare their bokes after them. But if your grace alow me for a preacher, I would deſyre your grace to geue me leaue to diſcharge my conſcience, geue me leaue to frame my

The words of B. Latymer to the King.

The Kinges hart relented toward *B. Latymer.*

doctrine according to my audience. I had bene a very dolte to haue preached ſo at yͤ borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace.

And I thanke almighty God (which hath allwayes bene my remedy) that my ſayinges were well accepted of the King, for lyke a gracious Lord he turned into an other cõmunication. It is euen as the ſcripture ſaith: Cor Regis in manu Domini. i. *The Lord directed the Kinges hart.* Certayne of my friends came to me with teares in their eyes, and told me they looked I ſhoulde haue bene in the Tower the ſame night.

B. Latymer taketh the poore mans part agaynſt his oppreſſour.

Beſydes this, dyuers other conflictes and combattes this Godly Biſhop ſuſtained in his owne countrey and dyoces, in taking the cauſe of right and equity agaynſt oppreſſion and wrong. As, for an other example, there was at that tyme not far from the Dioces of Worceter a certayne Iuſtice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceaſed. This Iuſtice in purchaſing of certayne land for hys brother, or for hym ſelfe, went about to wrong or damnify a poore man, who made hys complaynt to M. Latimer. He firſt hearing, then tendryng hys rightfull cauſe, wrote hys letter to the Gentleman, exhortyng hym to remember him ſelfe, to conſider the cauſe and to abſtaine from iniury. The Iuſtyce of peace not content wythall (as the faſhion of men is when they are tolde of their fault) ſendeth word agayne, in great diſpleaſure, that he would not ſo take it at hys hãds, with ſuch threatning wordes. &c. M. Latimer hearing this, aunſwered agayn by writing: the copy wherof among hys letters in yͤ other edition is to be ſeene, pag. 1359.

It were a large and a long proceſſe to ſtory out all the doynges, trauailes, & writynges of this Chriſtian Byſhop, neither yet haue we expreſſed all that came to our handes: but this I thought ſufficient for this preſent. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a Byſhop the ſpace of certeine yeares, till the comming in of the vj. Articles. Then beyng diſtreſſed through yͤ ſtraitnes of tyme, ſo that either he muſt loſe the quiet of a good conſcience, or els muſt forſake his Byſhopricke, he dyd of his owne free accorde reſigne hys Paſtorſhyp. At which tyme Shaxton then Byſhop of Saliſbury reſigned likewyſe with hym his Byſhopricke. And ſo theſe two remained a great ſpace vnbiſhopped, kepyng ſilence till the tyme of kyng Edward of bleſſed memory. At what tyme he firſt put of hys Rotchet in his chamber among hys frendes, ſodeinly hee gaue a ſkippe in the floore for ioy, feelyng his ſhoulders ſo light, & being diſcharged (as he ſayd) of ſuch an heauie burden. Howbeit neither was he ſo lightened, but that troubles and labours folowed him where ſoeuer he wẽt. For a litle after he had renoũced hys Byſhopricke, firſt he was almoſt ſlayne, but ſore brouſed with the fall of a tree. Thẽ commyng vp to London for remedy, he was moleſted and troubled of the Byſhops, wherby he was agayne in no litle daũger, & at length was caſt into the Tower, where he continually remained priſoner, till the tyme that bleſſed K. Edward entred his crowne, by meanes wherof the golden mouth of this Preacher, long ſhut vp before, was now opened agayne. And ſo he begynnyng a freſh to ſet forth his plough agayne, continued all the tyme of the ſayd kyng, labouryng in the Lordes harueſt moſt fruitfully, diſchargyng his talent, as well in diuers other places of this Realme, as in Stamford, and before the Duches of Suffolke (whoſe Sermons be extant and ſet forth in Print) as alſo at London in the conuocation houſe: and eſpecially before the kyng at the Court, in the ſame place of the inward gardeh which was before applyed to laſciuious and courtly paſtimes, there he diſpenſed the fruitfull word of the glorious Goſpell of IESVS CHRIST, preachyng there before the kyng and his whole Court, to the edification of many.

Biſhop *Latymer* at the comming in of the ſixe Articles reſigned his Biſhopricke.

Maſter *Latymer* kept ſilence till the time of King *Edward.*

The whole life of M. *Latymer* full of tribulations.

Maſter *Latymer* almoſt ſlayne with the fall of a tree.

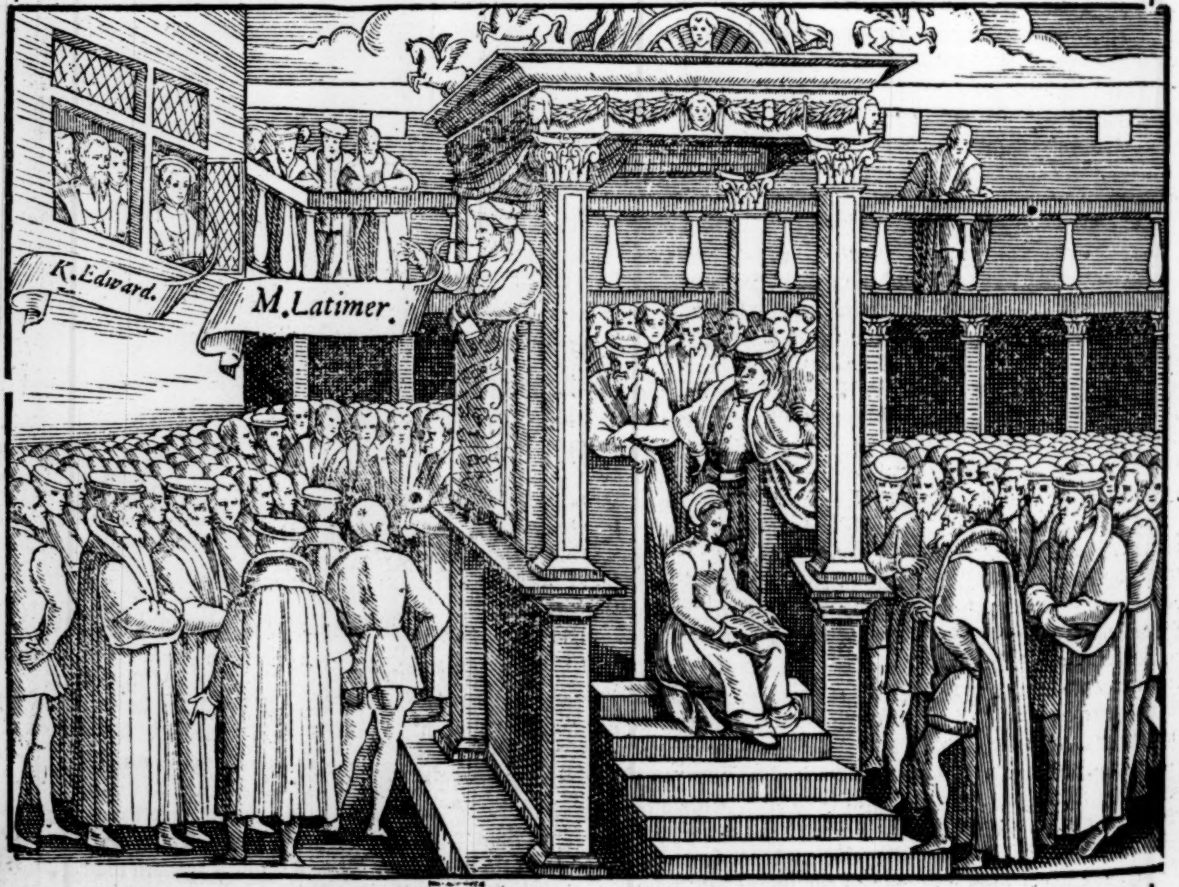
Maſter *Latymer* caſt into the tower.

Maſter *Latymer* reſtored by King *Edward* to liberty of preaching.

Diuers ſermons of Maſter *Latymer* in King *Edwardes* time.

¶A deſcription of Maiſter Latimer, preachyng before Kyng Edward the ſixt, in the Preachyng place at Weſtminſter.

M. Latymer pre ching before King *Edward.*


K. Edward.
M. Latimer.

The diligent traueling of *M. Latymer* in King *Edwardes* time.

IN thys his paynfull trauayle hee occupyed hym ſelfe all King Edwardes dayes, preachyng for the moſt part euery Sonday twyſe, to no ſmall ſhame of all other loyteryng and vnpreaching prelates, which occupy great romes and do lyttle good: and that ſo much more to their ſhame, becauſe he being a ſore bruſed mã by the fall of the trée, mencioned a little before, and aboue .lxvij. yeares of age toke ſo little eaſe, and care of ſparyng him ſelfe, to do the people good. Not to ſpeake here of his indefatigable trauayle and diligence in hys owne pryuate ſtudyes, who notwithſtandyng both his yeares, and other paynes in preaching, euery morning ordinarily, Wynter, and Sommer, about two of the clocke in the mornyng was at his boke moſt diligently. How carefull hys hart was of the preſeruation of the Church and the good ſucceſſe of the Goſpel, hys letters can teſtyfie, wherewyth hee contynually admonyſhed ſuch as then were in authority, of theyr duty, and aſſiſted them wyth hys godly counſell.

As the diligence of this man of God neuer ceaſed al the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publickely and priuately, ſo among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be ouerpaſſed, but worthy to bee obſerued, that God not only gaue vnto him hys ſpirite plenteouſly and comfortably to preach hys word vnto hys Church, but alſo by the ſame ſpirite hee did ſo euidently foreſhewe and prophecie of all thoſe kindes of plagues before, which afterward enſued, that if England euer had a Prophet, he myght ſéeme to be one. And as touching hym ſelfe, hee euer affirmed that the preaching of the Goſpell would coſt hym hys lyfe, to the which he no leſſe chearefully prepared hymſelfe, then certainly was perſwaded that Wincheſter was kept in the Tower for the ſame purpoſe, as the euent did to truely proue the ſame. For after the death of the ſayd bleſſed kyng Edward, not long after Quéene Mary was proclaymed, a Purſiuant was ſent downe (by the meanes no doubt of Wincheſter) into the countrey, to call hym vp, of whoſe cōming although maſter Latimer lacked no forewarning being premoniſhed about ſixe houres before by one Iohn Careles (whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth) yet ſo farre of was it that he thought to eſcape, that he prepared him ſelfe towardes hys iorney before the ſayd Purſiuant came to hys houſe.

At the which thing when the Purſiuant marueiled, ſeing hym ſo prepared towardes hys iourney, he ſayd vnto hym: My friend, you bee a welcome Meſſenger to me. And be it knowen vnto you, and to the whole world, that I go as wyllingly to London at this preſēt, beyng called by my Prince to render a reconing of my doctrine, as euer I was at any place in the world. And I doubt not, but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his worde before two excellent Princes, ſo he wyll able me to witnes the ſame vnto the third, eyther to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally. &c. At the which tyme the Purſiuaunt, whē he had deliuered his letters, departed, affirming that hee had commaundement not to tary for him. By whoſe ſodayne departure it was manifeſt that they would not haue him appeare but rather to haue fled out of the realme. They knew that hys conſtancy ſhould deface them in their popery, and confirme the godly in the truth.

Thus M. Latimer being ſent for, and comming vp to London through Smithfield (where merely he ſaid that Smithfield had long groned for hym) was brought before the Counſell, where he paciently bearyng al the mockes and tauntes geuen hym by the ſcornefull Papiſtes, was caſt agayne into the Tower, where he being aſſiſted wyth the heauenly grace of CHRIST, ſuſtayned moſt pacient impriſonment a long tyme, notwythſtanding the cruell and vnmercyfull handlyng of ẏ Lordly Papiſtes, which thought then their kingdome would neuer fall: yet he ſhewed him ſelfe not onely pacient, but alſo chereful in and aboue all that which they could or would worke agaynſt hym: yea ſuch a valiant ſpirite the Lord gaue hym, that he was able not onelye to deſpiſe the terriblenes of priſons and torments, but alſo to deride and laugh to ſcorne the doings of his enemies. As it is not vnknowen to the eares of many, what he aunſwered to the Lieutenaunt being then in the Tower. For when the Lieutenantes man vpon a tyme came to hym, the aged Father kept wythout fire in the froſty wynter, and welny ſtarued for cold, merely bad the man tell hys Maſter, that if he did not looke the better to hym, perchaunce he would deceiue hym.

M. Latymers mery meſſage to the Lieutenant.

The Lieutenaunt hearyng thys, bethought himſelf of theſe wordes, and fearing leſt that in deede hee thought to make ſome eſcape, begã to loke more ſtraitly to hys priſoner, and ſo comming to him, begynneth to charge hym with hys wordes, recityng the ſame vnto hym which hys man had told hym before: how that if he were not better loked vnto, perchaunce he would deceaue them. &c. Yea Maiſter Lieutenaunt, ſo I ſayd (quoth he) for you loke I thinke ẏ I ſhould burne: but except you let me haue ſome fire, I am lyke to deceaue your expectation, for I am like here to ſtarue for cold.

The anſwer of M. Latymer to the Lieutenant.

Many ſuch lyke aunſweres and reaſons, mery, but ſauery, commyng not frō a vaine mind, but frō a conſtãt & quiet reaſon, proceded frō that man, declaryng a firme & ſtable hart, litle paſſing for all this great bluſteryng of theyr terrible threates, but rather deridyng the ſame.

Thus M. Latimer paſſyng a longe tyme in the Tower, with as much pacience as a man in hys caſe could do, from thence was tranſported to Oxford, with Doct. Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and M. Ridley Byſhop of London, there to diſpute vpon Articles ſent down from Gardiner Byſhop at Wincheſter as is before touched, pag. 1591. the maner and order of which diſputations betwene them and the Vniuerſity Doctours is alſo before ſufficiētly expreſſed, pag. 1593. Where alſo is declared, how and by whom the ſayd Latymer with his other felow priſoners were cōdemned after the diſputations, and ſo committed agayne to ẏ priſon, & there they continued frō ẏ moneth of Aprill aboue mencioned, to this preſent moneth of October: where they were moſt godly occupyed, either with brotherly conference, or with feruent prayer, or with fruitfull wrytyng.

M. Latymer with Doctour Cranmer and B. Ridley, remoued from the Tower to Oxford.

Read before pag. 1593.

Octob. 16.

Albeit M. Latymer by reaſon of the feblenes of hys age, wrote leaſt of thē all in this latter tyme of his impriſonment: yet in prayer he was feruently occupyed, wherin often times ſo long he continued knéelyng, that he was not able to ryſe without helpe: and amongeſt other thynges, theſe were thrée principall matters hée prayed for.

First, that as god had appointed him to be a preacher of hys word, ſo alſo he would giue hym grace to ſtand to hys doctrine vntill hys death, that he might geue hys hart bloud for the ſame.

Three requeſtes of M. Latymers prayer.

Secondly, that God of hys mercy would reſtore hys Goſpell to England once agayne, and theſe wordes once agayne, once agayne, he did ſo inculcate and beate into the eares of the Lord God, as though he had ſeene God before hym, and ſpoken to hym face to face.

Once agayne & once agayne.

The thyrd matter was, to pray for the preſeruation of the Quéenes maieſty, that now is, whō in his prayer he was wont accuſtomably to name, and euen with teares deſired God to make her a comfort to his comfortles Realme of England. Theſe were the matters he prayed for ſo earneſtly. Neither were theſe thyngs of hym deſired in vayne, as the good ſucceſſe therof after folowyng did declare: for the Lord moſt graciouſly did graunt all thoſe his requeſtes.

M. Latimers prayer for Q. Elizabeth.

First, concerning his conſtancy, euen in the moſt extremity the Lord graciouſly aſſiſted hym. For when he ſtode at the ſtake without Bocardo gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to ſet the fire to hym, and to the learned and godly Byſhop M. Ridley, he lifted vp hys eyes towardes Heauen with an amiable and comfortable countenaunce, ſaying theſe wordes: Fidelis eſt Deus qui non ſinit nos tētari ſupra id quod poſſumus: *God is faythfull, which doth not ſuffer vs to be tēpted aboue our ſtrength*: and ſo afterward by and by ſhed hys bloud in the cauſe of CHRIST, the which bloud ranne of his hart in ſuch abundaunce, that all thoſe that

All three requeſtes of M. Latimer graunted of the Lord.

were preſent, beyng godly, dyd maruell to ſée the moſt part of the bloud in his body ſo to be gathered to hys hart, and with ſuch violence to guſhe out, hys body beyng opened by ẏ force of ẏ fire: by ẏ which thyng God moſt graciouſly graunted hys requeſt, which was that he might ſhéed hys hart bloud in ẏ defence of ẏ Goſpel.

The vnthankfulnes of England.

How mercifully the Lord heard hys ſecond requeſt, in reſtoryng hys Goſpell once agayne to this Realme, theſe preſent dayes can beare record. And what then ſhall England ſay now for her defenſe, which beyng ſo mercifully viſited and refreſhed with the word of God, ſo ſlenderly and vnthankefully conſidereth either her own miſery paſt, or the great benefite of God now preſent? The Lord be mercyfull vnto vs, Amen.

Againe, cõcernyng hys thyrd requeſt, it ſéemeth likewiſe moſt effectuouſly graunted, to the great prayſe of God, the furtheraunce of hys Goſpell, and to the vnſpeakable comfort of this Realme. For whether at the requeſt of his prayer, or of other Gods holy Saintes, or whether God was moued with the cry of his whole Church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a deſperate caſe, and ſo deſperate that the enemyes mightely floriſhed and triũphed, Gods word was baniſhed, Spaniards receiued, no place left for CHRISTES ſeruauntes to couer their heades: ſodenly the Lord called to remembrãũce hys mercy, and forgettyng our former iniquity, made an end of all theſe miſeries, and wrought a meruelous chaũge of thinges, at the chaũge wherof the ſayd Quéene Elizabeth was appoynted and annoynted, for whom this gray headed father ſo earneſtly prayed in his impriſonment: through whoſe true, naturall, and imperiall crowne, the brightnes of Gods word was ſet vp agayne to confound the darke and falſeuiſured kyngdome of Antichriſt, the true Tẽple of CHRIST réedified, the captiuity of ſorowfull Chriſtians releaſed, which ſo long was wiſhed for in the prayers of ſo many good men, ſpecially of this faythfull and true ſeruaunt of the Lord M.Latymer.

Gods gratious helpe in time of nede, vpon the realme of England.

Q. Elizabeth graunted of God to England.

The ſame God which at the requeſtes of his holy and faythfull Saintes hath poured vpon vs ſuch benefites of his mercy, peace, and trãquility, aſſiſt our moſt vertuous ⁊ Chriſtian Princeſſe, ⁊ her Subiectes, that we may euery one in his ſtate and callyng ſo ſerue his glory, and walke in our vocation, that we loſe not that which they haue obtained, but may procéede in all faythfulnes, to build and kéepe vp the houſe and tẽple of the Lord, to the aduanſing of his glory, and our euerlaſting comfort in hym. And thus much concerning the doings ⁊ laborious trauailes of M. Latimer. Now after theſe thinges thus finiſhed and diſcourſed pertayning to the ſtory of his life, let vs come to his letters which he wrote at diuers ⁊ ſundry times frõ the firſt beginning of hys preaching: all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in Engliſh and Latin, lacke of ſpace and place at this preſent will not permit, neuertheles certaine we will take, ⁊ firſt concerning the articles aboue mentioned, for the which he was troubled by ẏ prieſtes of the countrey about his benefice at Weſt Kington: what he writeth thereof to M.Morice, the copie therof here followeth.

God for Chriſtes ſake ſo graunt.

❡ *Letters of Maſter Latimer.*

❡ A letter of M.Latimer to maſter Morice, concerning the articles written, which were falſely and vntruly layde agaynſt hym.

A letter of M. *Latymer* to Maſter *Morice.*

Right worſhipfull, and mine own good M.Morice, ſalutem in CHRISTO IESV. And I thanke you for all harty kindnes, not onely heretofore ſhewed vnto me, but alſo that now of late, you would vouchſafe to wryte vnto me ſo poore a wretch, to my great comfort among all theſe my troubles. I truſt and doubt nothing in it, but God wyll reward you for me, and ſupply aboundãtly myne vnability. ⁊c. M.Morice you would wonder to know how I haue bene intreated at Briſtow. I meane of ſome of the Prieſtes, which firſt deſyred me, welcomed me, made me cheare, heard what I ſayd, allowed my ſaying in all thinges whiles I was with them: when I was gone home to my benefice, perceauing that the people fauoured me ſo greatly, and that the Maior had appointed me to preach at Eaſter, priuely they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the Biſhops licence, which they knew well inough I had not, and ſo craftely defeated maſter Maiors appointment, pretendyng that they were ſory for it, procuring alſo certayne Preachers to blatter againſt me, as Hubberdyn and Powell, wyth other moe: whom when I had brought before the Maior and the wyſe counſaile of the towne, to knowe what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they ſo declamed againſt me, they ſayd they ſpake of information: howbeit no man could bee brought forth that would abide by any thing: So that they had place ⁊ tyme to belye me ſhamefully, but they had no place nor tyme to lay to my charge, when I was preſent and ready to make them aunſwer. God amend them, and ſwage their malice that they haue agaynſt the truth and me. ⁊c.

Note the diſſembling inconſtancy of Popiſh prieſtes.

Inhibiti procured gainſt Latimer not to preach.

Hubberdine and Powell preach agaynſt *Latymer.*

Our Lady was a Synner.

So they dyd belye me to haue ſayd, when I had ſayd nothing ſo, but to reproue certayne both Prieſtes and beneficed men, which doe geue ſo much to our Ladye, as though ſhee had not bene ſaued by CHRIST, a whole Sauiour both of her, and of all that be and ſhalbe ſaued: I dyd reaſon after this maner, that eyther ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſynner: if a ſynner, then ſhe was deliuered frõ ſynne by CHRIST: ſo that he ſaued her, eyther by delyuering or by preſeruing her frõ ſinne, ſo that without him, neyther ſhe, nor none other, neyther be, nor could bee ſaued. And to auoyde all offence, I ſhewed how it myght be aunſwerd, both to certayn Scriptures which maketh all generally ſinners, and how it might be aũſwered vnto Chryſoſtome ⁊ Theophilact, which maketh her namely and ſpecially a ſynner. But all woulde not ſerue, their malice is ſo great: notwithſtanding that fyue hundred honeſt men can and wyll beare record. When they cannot reproue that thing that I do ſay, then they wyl belye me to ſay that thing that they can reproue, for they wyll needes appeare to be agaynſt me.

What the Papiſtes do geue to our Lady.

Our Lady not without ſinne.

Papiſtes depraue when they cannot proue.

Saintes are not to be worſhipped.

So they lyed, when I had ſhewed diuers ſignifications of this word [*Saintes*] among the vulgare people. Firſt Images of Saintes are called Saints, and ſo they are not to be worſhipped: take worſhipping of them for praying to them: for they are neyther Mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of interceſſion. And yet they may be well vſed, when they bee applied to that vſe that they were ordeyned for, to be lay mens bookes for remembraunce of heauenly thinges. ⁊c.

Differenc betwixt Images Saintes.

Take Saints for inhabiters of heauen, and worſhipping of them for praying to them, I neuer denyed, but that they might be worſhipped, and be our Mediatours, though not by way of redemption (for ſo CHRIST alonely is a whole Mediator, both for them and for vs) yet by the way of interceſſion. ⁊c.

Maſter *Latimer* errour in thoſe daies.

Pilgrimage.

And I neuer denied Pilgrimage. And yet I haue ſaid that much ſkurffe muſt be pared away ere euer it can bee well done, ſuperſtition, idolatry, falſe fayth, and truſt in the Image, vniuſt eſtimation of the thing, ſetting aſyde Gods ordinaunce for doing of the thing: debtes muſt be payd, reſtitutions made, wyfe and children prouided for, duty to our poore neighbours diſcharged. And when it is at the beſt, before it be vowed, it neede not to be done, for it is neyther vnder the bidding of God nor of man to bee done. And wyues muſt counſell wyth Huſbandes, and Huſbandes and wyues wyth Curates, before it bee vowed to be done. ⁊c.

Pare away the ſkurfe, and cleane take all Popery away.

Aue Maria.

As for the Aue Maria, who can thinke that I would deny it? I ſayd it was an heauenly greeting or ſaluting of our bleſſed Lady, wherein the Angell Gabriell ſent from the father of heauen, dyd annunciate and ſhew vnto her the good will of God towardes her, what he would do with her, and to what he had choſen her. But I ſayd, it was properly a prayer, as the Pater Noſter, which our Sauiour CHRIST hymſelfe made for a proper prayer, and bad vs ſay it for a prayer, not adding that we ſhould ſay. x. or. xx. Aue Maries, withall: and I denyed not but that we may well ſay the Aue Maria alſo, but not ſo that we ſhal thinke that the Pater Noſter is not good, a whole and a perfit prayer, nor can not bee well ſayd without

Aue Mria.

Aue Mria no prai er.

Aue Maria: ſo that I did not ſpeake agaynſt well ſaying of it, but agaynſt ſuperſtitious ſaying of it, and of the Pater Noſter to: and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which CHRIST made to be ſayd for a prayer. &c.

No fyre in hell.

Who euer could eyther ſay or thinke ſo? Howbeit good autors do put a difference betwixt a ſuffring in the fyre wyth bodyes, and without bodyes. The ſoule without the body is a ſpirituall ſubſtaunce, which they ſay can not receaue a corporall quality, and ſome maketh it a ſpirituall fyre: and ſome a corporall fyre. And as it is called a fyer, ſo it is called a worme, & it is thought of ſome not to be a materiall worme that is a lyuing beaſt, but it is a metaphor: but that is neither to nor fro. For a fyer it is, a worme it is, a paine it is, a torment it is, an anguiſh it is, a griefe, a miſery, a ſorrow, a heauines inexplicable, intolerable, whoſe nature and condition in euery poynt who can tell, but he that is of Gods priuy counſell, ſayth S. Auſten? God geue vs grace rather to bee diligent to keepe vs out of it, then to be curious to diſcuſſe the propertie of it: for certaine we be, that there is litle eaſe, yea none at al, but weeping, wailing, and gnaſhing of teeth, which be two effectes of extreme paine, rather certayne tokens what payne there is, than what maner payne there is.

No Purgatory.

He that ſheweth the ſtate and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had leauer be in it, then in Lollars tower the Biſhops priſon, for diuers ſkyls and cauſes.

Firſt, in this I myght dye bodily for lacke of meate and drinke: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might dye ghoſtly for feare of payne, or lacke of good counſell: There I could not.

Item, in this I might be in extreme neceſſity: In that I could not, if it be perill of periſhing.

Item, in this I might lacke charitie: There I could not.

Item, in this I myght loſe my pacience: In that I could not.

Item, in thys I might bee in peryll and daunger of death: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be without ſurety of ſaluation: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might diſhonor God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I myght murmur and grudge agaynſt God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might diſpleaſe God: In that I could not.

Item, in thys I might bee diſpleaſed with God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be iudged to perpetuall priſon as they call it: In that I could not.

Item, in thys I might be craftily handled: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be brought to beare a fagot: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be diſcontented with God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be ſeparated and diſſeuered frō CHRIST: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be a member of the deuyll: In that I could not.

Item, in this I myght be an inheritor of hell: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might pray out of charity and in vain: In that I coulde not.

Item, in this my Lorde and hys Chaplaynes myght manacle me by nyght: In that they could not.

Item, in this they might ſtrangle me, & ſay that I had hanged my ſelfe: In that they could not.

Item, in this they might haue me to the Conſiſtory and iudge me after their faſhion: From thenſe they could not.

Ergo I had leuer bee there then here. For though the fyre bee called neuer ſo hot, yet and if the Biſhops two fyngers can ſhake away a peece, a fryers cowle an other part, and ſcala cœli altogether, I will neuer found Abbey, Colledge, nor Chauntrey for that purpoſe.

For ſeing there is no pain that can breake my charity, breake my pacience, cauſe me to diſhonour God, to diſpleaſe God, to be diſpleaſed with God, cauſe me not to ioye in God, nor that can bryng me to daunger of death or to daunger of deſperation, or from ſurety of ſaluation, that can ſeperate me from CHRIST, or CHRIST from me, I care the leſſe for it. Iohn Chryſoſtome ſayth, that the greateſt payne the damned ſoules haue, is to be ſeparate and cut of from CHRIST for euer: which payne he ſaith is greater then many helles: which paynes the ſoules in Purgatory neyther haue nor can haue.

Chryſoſt. What is the greateſt payne to damned ſoules.

Conſider M. Morice, whether prouiſion for Purgatory hath not brought thouſands to hell. Dettes haue not ben payed: reſtitution of euill gotten lands and goodes hath not bene made: chriſten people (whoſe neceſſities we ſee, to whom whatſoeuer we do, CHRIST reputeth done to hymſelfe, to whom wee are bounden vnder payne of damnation to do for, as we would be done for our ſelfe) are neglect and ſuffred to periſhe: laſt willes vnfulfilled and broken: Gods ordinaunce ſet aſyde: and alſo for Purgatory, foundations haue bene taken for ſufficient ſatiſfaction: ſo wee haue tryfled away the ordinaunce of God, and reſtitutions. Thus wee haue gone to hell, with Maſſes, Diriges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill Pilgrimages from Idolatry, and purge Purgatory from robbery, but hee ſhalbe in peril to come in ſuſpition of hereſy with them? ſo that they may pill with Pilgrimage, and ſpoyle wyth Purgatory. And verely the abuſe of them cannot be taken away, but great luker and vauntage ſhall fall away from them, which had leuer haue profite with abuſe, then lacke the ſame wyth vſe: and that is the waſpe that doth ſting them, and maketh them to ſwell. And if Purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by ſetting aſyde reſtitution, and robbing of CHRIST, it would be but a poore Purgatory: So poore that it ſhoulde not bee able to feede ſo fatte, and tricke vp ſo many idle and ſlothfull lubbers.

Prouiſion for purgatory bringeth many to hell.

What the waſpe is that ſtingeth the Papiſtes, and maketh them to ſwell.

I take God to witnes I would hurt to no man, but it greueth me to ſee ſuch abuſe continue without remedy. I cannot vnderſtand what they meane by the Popes pardoning of Purgatory, but by way of ſuffrage: and as for ſuffrage, vnleſſe hee do his duetie, and ſeeke not his owne, but CHRISTES glory, I had leauer haue the ſuffrage of Iacke of the ſkullery which in his calling doth exercyſe both fayth and charity: but for his Maſſe. And that is as good of an other ſimple Prieſt as of hym. For as for authority of keyes, is to loſe from giltines of ſinne and eternall payne, dewe to the ſame, according to Chriſtes worde, and not to his owne priuate will. And as for Pilgrimage, you woulde wonder what iuggling there is to get money withall. I dwell within a halfe a mile, of the Foſſeway, and you woulde wonder to ſee how they come by flockes out of the Weſt countrey to many Images, but chiefly to the bloud of Hayles. And they beleue verely that it is the very bloude that was in CHRISTES body, ſhed vpon the Mount of Caluery for our ſaluation, and that the ſight of it with their bodyly eye, doth certifie them and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in cleane life, and in ſtate of ſaluation without ſpot of ſinne, which doth bolden thē to many things. For you would wonnder if you ſhould cōmon with thē both commyng and goyng, what faithes they haue. For as for forgeuing their enemies, & reconciling their Chriſten brethren, they can not away withall: for the ſight of that bloud doth quite them for the time.

The Popes pardoning out of purgatory, a bayne inuention.

Suffrage. Maſſe. Pilgrimage Authoritie of keyes.

This bloud of *Hayles* was proued before the King, and openly ſhewed at Poules croſſe by the Biſhop of Rocheſter that then was, to be but the bloud of a Ducke.

I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romanes: Iuſtificati ex fide pacem habemus. i. *We being iuſtified by fayth haue peace with God.*

If I ſee the bloud of CHRIST with yͤ eye of my ſoule, that is true faith that his bloud was ſhed for me. &c.

An other in the Epiſtle of Iohn: Nos ſcimus quod tranſlati ſumus de morte ad vitam, quoniā diligimus fratres. i. *We know that we are trāſlated frō death to life, becauſe we loue the brethrē.* But I read not that I haue peace with God, or that I am tranſlated from death to life, becauſe I ſee with my bodily eye the bloud of Hayles. It is very probable that al the bloud that was in the body of CHRIST, was vnited and knit to his Diuinitie, & thē no part therof ſhall returne to his corruption. And I maruaile that CHRIST ſhal haue two reſurrectiōs. And if it were, that they that did violently & iniuriouſly plucke it out of his body whē they ſcourged him and nayled him to the Croſſe, did ſee it with their bodely eye, yet they were not in cleane lyfe. And we ſee the ſelfe ſame bloud in forme of wyne, when we haue conſecrate, and may both ſee it, feele it, & receaue it to our damnation as touchyng bodily receauyng. And many do ſee it at Hayles without confeſſion, as they ſay. God knoweth all, and the deuill in our time is not dead.

Two certifications of our remiſſion out of the Scripture.

The bodily ſeing of Chriſtes bloud profiteth litle.

CHRIST hath left a doctrine behynd hym, wherin we be taught how to beleue, and what to beleue: he doth ſuf-

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Warning agaynſt falſe Prophets.

fer the deuill to vſe his craftie faſhion for our triall and probation. It were litle thanke worthy to beleue well and rightly, if nothing ſhould moue vs to falſe faith and to beleue ſuperſtitiouſly. It was not in vayne that CHRIST when he had taught truly, by and by bad: beware of falſe Prophetes, which would bryng in error ſlily. But we bee ſecure and vncarefull, as though falſe Prophetes coulde not meddle with vs, and as though the warnyng of CHRIST were no more earneſt and effectual, then is the warnyng of mothers when they triſle with their children, and byd them beware the bugge. &c.

Lo Sir, how I runne at riot beyond meaſure. When I began, I was minded to haue written but halfe a doſen lynes: but thus I forget my ſelfe euer when I write to a truſty frende, which will take in worth my folly, and kepe it from my enemy. &c.

D. Wilſon agaynſt M. Latymer, and why.

As for Doct. Wilſon, I wotte not what I ſhould ſay: but I pray God endue him with charitie. Neither he, nor none of his cou̅treymen did euer loue me ſince I did inuey agaynſt their factions, & partialitie in Cambridge. Before that, who was more fauoured of him the̅ I? That is the boile that may not be touched. &c.

A certaine frend ſhewed me, that Doct. Wilſone is gone now into his countrey about Beuerley in Holderneſ, and fro̅ thence he wil go a progreſſe through Yorkeſhire, Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and ſo from thence to Briſtow. What he ente̅deth by this progreſſe God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Briſtow I ſhall here tell. &c.

Hubberdin a great rayler agaynſt M. Latymer.

As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a ma̅ of no great learning, nor yet of ſtable witte. He is here ſeruus hominum: for he will Preach what ſoeuer the Byſhops will byd him Preach. Verely in my mind they are more to be blamed then he. He doth magniſie the Pope more then enough. As for our Sauiour CHRIST and Chriſten Kynges are litle beholdyng to hym. No doubt he dyd miſſe the cuſhion in many things. Howbeit they that did ſend him (men thinke) wil defend him: I pray God ame̅d him, and them both. They would fayne make matter agaynſt me, entendyng ſo either to deliuer him by me, or els to ridde vs both together, and ſo they would thinke him well beſtowed. &c.

D. Powell a ſtout preacher of Popery.

As touching Doct. Powell, how highly he tooke vpon him in Briſtow, and how litle he regarded the ſword which repreſenteth the kyngs perſon, many can tell you. I thinke there is neuer an Earle in this Realme that knoweth his obedience by CHRISTES co̅maundement to his Prince, and wotteth what the ſword doth ſignifie, that would haue taken vppon him ſo ſtoutly. Howbeit Maiſter Maior, as he is a profound wiſe ma̅, did twicke him prettily: it were to lo̅g to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a litle beholdyng to him. For to occaſion the people to them, he alledged this text.

Scripture applyed of the Papiſtes.

Omnis qui relinquit patrem, domos, vxorem. i. *Who ſo euer leaueth father, houſe, wyfe. &c.* By that you may perceaue his hoate zeale and crooked iudgement. &c. Becauſe I am ſo belied, I could wiſhe that it would pleaſe the kynges grace to co̅maund me to Preach before his highnes a whole yeare together euery Sonday, that he him ſelfe might perceaue how they belye me, ſaying, that I haue neither learning, nor vttera̅ce worthy therunto. &c. I pray you pardon me I can not make an end.

¶A brief digreſsion touchyng the raylyng of Hubberdin againſt M. Latimer.

A note touching Hubberdin.

Foraſmuch as mencion hath ben made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old diuine of Oxforde, a ryght painted Phariſey and a great ſtraier abroad in all quarters of the realme to deface and impeach the ſpringing of Gods holy Goſpel, ſome thing would be added more touching that man, whoſe doynges and pageants if they might be deſcribed at large, it were as good as any enterlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his lyfe and in all his actions (in one worde to deſcribe hym) ſeemeth nothing els but a right Image or counterfaite ſetting out vnto vs in lyuely colours the patterne of perfect hypocriſy. But becauſe the man is nowe gone, to ſpare therefore the dead (although he litle deſerued to be ſpared, which neuer ſpared to worke what vilany he could againſt the true ſeruauntes of the Lord) this ſhalbe enough for example ſake, for all chriſten men neceſſarily to obſerue, how the ſayd Hubberdin after his long raylyng in all places agaynſt Luther, Melangthton, Zuinglius, Iohn Frith, Tindale, Latimer, and all other lyke profeſſours, after his hypocriticall open almes giuen out of other mens purſes, his long prayers, pretenſed deuotions, deuout faſtinges, his wollwarde going, and other his prodigious demeanour, rydyng in his long gowne downe to the horſe heeles lyke a Phariſey, or rather lyke a ſlouen, dyrted vppe to the horſe belly, after his forged tales, and fables, dialogues, dreames, dauncinges, hoppinges and leapinges, with other lyke hiſtrionical toyes and geſtures vſed in the pulpit, and all agaynſt heretickes: at laſt riding by a church ſide where the youth of y^e^ pariſh were dauncing in the churchyarde, ſodeinly thys Silenus lyghting from his horſe, by occaſion of their dauncing came into the Church, and there cauſing the bell to tolle in the people, thought in ſtead of a fitte of mirth, to geue them a Sermon of dauncing. In the which Sermon after he had patched vp certayne common textes out of the ſcriptures, and then comming to the Doctors, fyrſt to Auguſtine, then to Ambroſe, ſo to Hierome, & Gregory, Chryſoſtome, & other Doctors, had made them euery one (after his dialogue maner) by name to aunſwere to his call, and to ſing after hys tune for the probation of the Sacrament of the altar agaynſt Iohn Fryth, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latymer, and other heretickes (as he called them) at laſt to ſhewe a perfect harmony of all theſe Doctors together, as hee had made them before to ſing after his tune, ſo nowe to make them daunce alſo after his pype, fyrſt hee calleth out CHRIST and his Apoſtles, then the Doctors and auncient Seniours of the Church, as in a round ring all to daunce together: with pype vppe Hubberdyn. Now daunce CHRIST, now daunce Peter, Paule, now daunce Auſten, Ambroſe, Hierome, and thus old Hubberdin as he was dauncing wyth hys Doctours luſtely in the pulpit agaynſt the heretickes, how hee ſtampt and tooke one I cannot tell, but craſhe quoth the pulpit, downe commeth the dauncer, and there lay Hubberdin not dauncing, but ſprawling in the midſt of his audie̅ce: where although he brake not his necke, yet he ſo brake his legge the ſame tyme and bruſed hys old bones, that he neuer came in pulpit more, and dyed not long after the ſame. Whereupon when the church Wardens were called and charged for the pulpit being no ſtronger, they made aunſwere agayne, ſo excuſing them ſelues that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dauncing. &c. But to ſpend no more paper about thys idle matter, now to our purpoſe agayne.

Hubberdin a great rayler agaynſt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt.

A daūcing Sermon of Hubberdine.

Hubberdine dauncing in the pulpit fell with the pulpit, and brake hys legge.

Aunſwere of the church wardens.

Amongſt many other impugners and aduerſaries, whereof there was no ſmall ſort which dyd infeſt thys good man in Sermons: ſome alſo there were, whych attempted the pen againſt him. In the number of who̅ was one Doctor Sherwode, who vpon the ſame occaſio̅ of preaching of the virgin Mary (or as they thought, againſt y^e^ Virgin) dyd inuade him with his pen, writing againſt him in latin, whoſe long Epiſtle, wyth M. Latymers aunſwer alſo in latin to the ſame, becauſe it would aſke to much roume here to bee inſerted, I deſyre the Reader to reſort to the booke of Actes and Monuments of the fyrſt edition, pag. 1317.

Doctour Sherwood wryteth agaynſt Maiſter Latymer.

Beſides theſe lattin letters aboue expreſſed, other letters alſo he wrote in Engliſhe, as well to others, as namely to Syr Edw. Baynton Knight: which letters albeit they do co̅taine much fruitfull matter worthy to be red & knowen, yet becauſe of haſt, which I am compelled to make, ſome of them for length I muſt pretermit, referring the Reader to my former edition, page 1321. Some agayne to ſatiſfie the Reader I thought here preſently to inſerte, which albeit may ſeeme ſomewhat prolixe in reading, yet the fruit thereof (I truſt) ſhall recompence the length of the̅. Firſt the anſwere of M. Bayntons letter to Latimer here vnder foloweth.

¶A Let-

❡A letter of Syr Edward Baynton Knyght, aunſwering to a letter of M. Latymer ſent to him before.

MAſter Latymer, *after harty recommendations, I haue communicated the effect of your letters to diuers of my frendes, ſuch as for Chriſten charitie (as they ſay) rather deſire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it ſwarue from the truth) or at the leaſt in your maner and behauiour, in aſmuch as it geueth occaſion of ſclaunder and trouble in let of your good purpoſes, then any other inconuenience to your perſon or good name. And for aſmuch as your ſayd letter miſliked them in ſome part, and that I haue ſuch confidence in your Chriſten breſte, as in my iudgement ye will conformably and gladly, both beare that may be reformed in you, and alſo (as it is worthy) ſo knowledge and cōfeſſe the ſame: I haue therfore deſired them to take the payne to note their myndes in this letter which I ſend to you, as aggregate of theyr ſayinges, and ſent from me your aſſured frend and fauourer, in that that is the very truth of Gods word, wherein neuertheles, as I truſt ye your ſelfe will temper your owne iudgement, and in a ſobernes affirme no truth of your ſelfe, which ſhoulde diuide the vnitie of the congregation in* CHRIST, *and the receiued truth agreed vppon by holy fathers of the Church, conſonant to the Scripture of God, euen ſo what ſo euer ye will do therein (as I thinke ye will not otherwiſe then ye ſhould do) I beyng vnlearned, and not of the knowledge to geue ſentence in this altercation and contention, muſt rather of good congruence ſhewe my ſelfe in that you diſagree with thē, readyer to folow their doctrine in truth, then yours, vnles it may pleaſe almighty God to inſpire and confirme the hartes of ſuch people to teſtifie the ſame in ſome honeſt number as ought to induce me to geue credence vnto them.*

Onely God knoweth the certaine truth, which is cōmunicate vnto vs, as our capacitie may comprehende it by fayth, but that is per ſpeculū in enigmate. *And there haue bene* qui zelū Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecūdum ſcientiā. *Among which I repute not you, but to this purpoſe I write it, that to call this or that truth it requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, conſidering that to me vnlearned, that I take for truth, may be otherwiſe, not hauyng* ſenſus exercitatos, *as* S. Paul *ſayth,* ad diſcernēdū bonū & malū: *and it is ſhewed me, that an opinion or maner of teachyng, which cauſeth diſſenſion in a Chriſtian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of* S. Iohn *in his Epiſtle, where hee ſayth:* Omnis qui confitetur Chriſtum in carne. &c. ex Deo eſt. *And lyke as the worde of God hath alwayes cauſed diſſenſion among men vnchriſtened, whereupon hath enſewed and folowed Martyrdome to the Preacher: ſo in* CHRISTES *congregation among them that profeſſe* CHRISTES *name,* In vno Domino, vno Baptiſmate & vna fide, *they that preach and ſtyrre rather contention, then charitie, though they can defend their ſaying, yet their teachyng is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chayne of Chriſten charitie, and maketh diuiſion in the people, congregate and called by God into an vnitie of fayth and Baptiſme. But for this poynt I would pray to God, that not onely in the truth may be agreement, but alſo ſuch ſobernes and vniforme behauiour vſed in teachyng and preachyng, as men may wholy expreſſe (as they may) the charitie of God, tendyng onely to the vnion in loue of vs all, to the profite and ſaluation of our ſoules.*

❡The aunſwere of M. Latimer to the letter of Syr Edward Baynton aboue prefixed.

RIght worſhipful Syr, and my ſingular good maſter, ſalutem in Chriſt Ieſu, with dewe commendation and alſo thankes for your great goodnes towardes me &c. And where as you haue communicate my laſt letters to certayne of your frendes, which rather deſire this or that in me &c. what I thinke therein I will not now ſay, not for that there coulde be any perill or daunger in the ſayde letters (well taken) as farre as I can iudge, but for that they were raſhly and vndeuiſedly ſcrybled, as ye might well know both by my excuſe, and by them ſelues alſo, though none excuſe had bene made. And beſides that, ye know right well, that where as the Bee gathereth hony, euen there the Spinner gathereth venome, not for any diuerſity of the flower, but for diuerſe natures in them that ſucketh the flower: As in times paſt, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in it ſelfe was to ſome, offence, to ſome fooliſhnes, to other otherwiſe diſpoſed, the wyſdome of God. Such diuerſitie was in the redreſſe of hearers thereof.

But this notwithſtanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad: if it be good, the communicating thereof to your friendes can not be hurtful to me: if it be otherwiſe, why ſhould you not communicate it to them, which both coulde and woulde inſtruct you in the truth, and reforme my errour. Let this paſſe, I wyll not contend: had I wyſt commeth euer out of ſeaſon. Truly I were not wel aduiſed if I would not eyther be glad of your inſtructiō, or yet refuſe myne own reformation, but yet it is good for a man to looke or he leapeth: and God forbyd that you ſhoulde bee addict and ſworne to me ſo wretched a foole, that you ſhould not rather follow the doctrine of your frendes in truth, ſo great learned mē as they appeare to be, then the opinions of me, hauyng neuer ſo Chriſten a breſt.

Wherefore do as you will: for as I would not if I could, ſo can I not if I would, be noyſome vnto you: but yet I ſay, I would my letters had bene vnwritten, if for none other cauſe, at leſt way, in aſmuch as they cauſe me to more wrytyng, an occupation nothyng meete for my mad head: and as touching pointes which in my foreſaid letters miſlike your frendes, I haue now litle layſure to make an aunſwere thereto for the great buſines that I haue in my litle cure. I know not what other mē haue in their great cures, ſeing yͭ I am alone without any prieſt to ſerue my cure, without my ſcholer to read vnto me, without any booke neceſſary to be loked vpon, without learned men to come and counſell withall. All which thinges other haue at hand abundantly: but ſome thyng muſt be done, how ſo euer it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long I temper mine owne iudgement, affirming nothing with preiudice of better. Firſt ye miſlike, that I ſay I am ſure that I preach the truth, ſaying in reproſe of the ſame, that God knoweth certaine truth. In deede alonely God knoweth all certaine truth, & alonely God knoweth it as of him ſelfe, & none knoweth certaine truth but God, & thoſe which be taught of God, as ſaith S. Paul: Deus enim illis patefecit: And CHRIST him ſelfe: erunt omnes docti a Deo. And your frends deny not but that certaine truth is communicate to vs, as our capacitie may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to bee required of any man, but accordyng to his capacitie: now certaine it is that euery man hath not like capacitie. &c.

Example of a true diligent paſtor.

M. Latymer vnfurniſhed with outward helpes.

M. Latymer blamed for ſaying: he was ſure of the truth which he preached.

As God alone knoweth all truth: ſo ſome truth he reueleth to be certayn to his ſeruauntes.

But as to my preſumption and arrogancie: either I am certaine or vncertaine that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may I not ſay ſo, to courage my hearers to receiue the ſame more ardently, and enſue it more ſtudiouſly? If I be vncertaine, why dare I be ſo bold to preach it? And if your frendes in whom ye truſt ſo greatly, be preachers them ſelues, after their Sermon I pray you aſke thē whether they be certaine and ſure, that they taught you the truth or no, and ſend me word what they ſay, that I may learne to ſpeake after them. If they ſay they be ſure, ye know what foloweth: If they ſay they be vnſure, when ſhal you be ſure that hath ſo doubtfull teachers and vnſure? And you your ſelues, whether are you certaine or vncertaine, that CHRIST is your Sauiour, & ſo forth of other Articles that ye be bounden to beleue, or whether be ye ſure or vnſure, that ciuile ordinaunces be the good workes of God, & that you do God ſeruice in doing of them, if ye do them for good intent: if ye bee vncertaine, take heede he be your ſure frend that heareth you ſay ſo: and then, with what conſcience do you doubt: Cum quicquid non eſt ex fide, peccatum ſit? But contrary ſay you, alonely God knoweth certaine truth, & ye haue it but per ſpeculum in enigmate: and there haue bene, qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam: and to call this or that truth, it requireth a deepe knowledge, cōſidering that to you vnlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwiſe, not hauing ſenſus exercitatos (as Paul ſaith) ad diſcernendum bonum & malum, as ye reaſon agaynſt me: and ſo you do beſt to know ſurely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekely hether and therther, omni vento doctrinæ. &c. Our knowledge here, you ſay, is but per ſpeculum in enigmate. What then? Ergo it is not certaine and ſure?

It is no preſumption in a preacher being certayne of that which he preacheth, to ſhew it to the people.

Let no man preach except he be certayne of that which he preacheth.

Euery true chriſtian ought to be certayne of his fayth.

The doubting doctrine of the Catholickes.

Argument.

I deny your argumēt by your leaue: yea if it be by faith, as ye ſay, it is much ſure, quia certitudo fidei eſt maxima certitudo, as Duns and other ſchole Doctors ſay: ſo that there is a great diſcrepaunce betwene certayne knowledge, and cleare knowledge: for that may bee of thinges abſent that appeare not, thys requyreth the preſence of the obiect, I meane of the thing knowen: ſo that I certaynely and ſurely know that thing which I perfectly beleue, though I do not clearely and euidently know it. I know your ſchole ſubtleties as well as you, which diſpute as though enigmaticall knowledge, that is to ſay, darke and obſcure knowledge might not be certayne and ſure knowledge becauſe it is not cleare, manifeſt, and euident knowledge: and yet there hath bene (they ſay) qui zelū dei habuerunt ſed non ſecundū ſcientiā, which haue had a zeale, but not after knowledge. Truth it is, there hath bene ſuch, and yet bee to many, to the great hinderaunce of CHRISTSES glory, which nothyng doth

Aunſwere.

1. The certenty of fayth is the moſt ſureſt certayntie.

Certaine knowledge.
Cleare knowledge.

M. Latymer not ignorant of the ſchole ſubtilties.

i. Which haue had knowledge without any zeale of God, who holding the veritie of God in vnrighteouſnes, ſhall bee beaten with many ſtripes, while they knowing the will of God, doe nothyng thereafter.

i. To hym that hath not, that alſo which he hath, that is, that which he ſeemeth to haue ſhall bee taken from hym: when as to abuſe that which a mã hath, or not to vſe it well, is as not to haue it. And alſo ſeing it is true, that Gods wiſedome will not dwell in a body ſubiect to ſinne, albeit he abound in carnall wiſedome too much: yet the ſame carnall and philoſophicall vnderſtãding of Gods Scriptures, is not the wiſedome of God, which is hidde from the wyſe and is reuealed to litle ones.

Euery preacher ought to be ſure of the truth.

There be many truthes, whereof a good man may well be ignorant.

There be many thinges in ſcripture in the profundities wherof a man may not wade to farre.

doth more obſcure, then an hote zeale accompanied with great authority wythout right iudgement. There haue bene alſo, Qui ſcientiam habuerunt abſque zelo dei, qui veritatem dei in iniuſtitia detinentes plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem domini cognoſcentes, nihil minus quàm faciunt: I meane not among Turkes and Sarazens that bee vnchriſtened, but of them that bee chriſtened: and there haue ben alſo that haue loſt ſcientiam dei, id eſt, ſpritualem diuini verbi ſenſum, quem prius habuerunt. i. *The ſpirituall knowledge of Gods word which they had before*, becauſe they haue not enſued after it, nor promoted the ſame, but rather with their mother wits haue impugned the wyſdome of the father, and hindred the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath bene taken away from them, vt iuſtificetur Chriſtus in ſermonibus ſuis, & vincat cum iudicatur, threatning, *Math.* 13: Ei vero qui non habet, etiã quod habet, id eſt, quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo, cum abuti habito, vel non bene vti, ſit non habere, nec non ſit verum illud quoq;, non habitaturam videlicet ſapientiam in corpore peccãtis ſubdito, qui adhuc & ſi carnalirer ſapiant plus ſatis, at ſtat ſententia, nempe carnalem & philoſophicam ſcripturarum intelligentiam, non eſſe ſapientiam dei, quæ a ſapientibus abſconditur, paruulis reuelatur. And if to call thys or that truth, requireth a deepe and profoũd knowledge, then either euery man hath a deepe and profound knowledge, or els no man can cal this or that truth: and it behoueth euery Preacher to haue ſo deepe and profounde knowledge, that he may cal this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth, and yet he may be ignorant and vncertaine in many things, both this and that, as Appollo was: but which things, whether this or that, he wil not attẽpt to preach for the truth. And as for my ſelf, I truſt in God, I may haue ſenſus exercitatos well inough ad diſcernendum bonum & malum. i. *ſenſes exerciſed to diſcerne good and euill* in thoſe thynges which without deepe and profound knowledge in many things I preach not: yea, there be many things in ſcripture in which I cannot certainly diſcerne bonum & malum, I meane verum & falſum: no, not wyth all the exerciſe that I haue in ſcripture, nor yet with helpe of all Interpreters that I haue, to content my ſelfe and other in all ſcrupuloſity that may aryſe: but in ſuch I am woont to wade no farther into the ſtreame, then that I may eyther go ouer, or els returne backe again, hauing euer reſpect, not to the oſtentation of my little wyt, but to the edification of them that heare me, as farforth as I can, neither paſſing myne own nor yet theyr capacity.

Againſt Preachers which take vpon them to define great ſubtilties and hie matters in the pulpit.

Vaine ſubtilties and queſtions to be deſiſted.

And ſuch maner of argumentation might well ſerue the Deuill contra puſillanimes, to occaſion them to wander and wauer in the fayth, & to be vncertayne in things in which they ought to be certaine: or els it may appeare to make and ſerue againſt ſuch Preachers which wil define great ſubtilties and hygh matters in the Pulpyt, which no man cã be certaine and ſure of by Gods word to be truth, ne ſenſus quidem habens ad diſcernendum bonum & malum exercitatiſſimos: as whether, if Adam had not ſynned we ſhould haue had Stockfiſhe out of Iſeland: how many Larkes for a peny if euery Starre in yͤ element were a flickering Hobby: how many yeares a man ſhall lye in Purgatory for one ſynne if he buy not plenty of the oyle that runneth ouer our lampes to ſlake the ſynne withall, and to forget hell which cannot be ſlaked, to prouide for Purgatory.

Simple and plaine preaching of faith, and of the fruites thereof.

Fooliſhe humilitie.

Wherein to bee humble, and wherein to be ſtoute.

I meane betweene the hie, and too low.

Such argumentation (I ſay) might appeare to make well againſt ſuch Preachers, not againſt me, which ſimply and plainly vtter true faith and fruites of the ſame, which be the good workes of God, quæ preparauit deus vt in eis ambularemus, i. *which he hath prepared for vs to walk in*, euery man to do the thing that perteyneth to his office and duty in hys degree and calling, as the woord of God appointeth it, which thing a man may doe with ſobernes, hauing ſenſus ad diſcernendum bonum & malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos. For it is but fooliſh humilitie, willingly to continue alwaies infantulus in CHRISTO & in infirmitate, i. *an infant ſtyll in Chriſt, and in infirmitie*: in reproofe of which it was ſayd: Facti eſtis opus habẽtes lacte non ſolido cibo. For S. Paule ſayth not: Eſtote humiles, vt non capiatis. For though he would not that we ſhould thinke arrogãtly of our ſelfe, and aboue that that it becommeth vs to thinke of our ſelfe, but ſo to thinke of our ſelfe, vt ſimus ſobrij ac modeſti, yet he byddeth vs ſo to thinke of our ſelfe, vt cuiq; deus partitus eſt menſuram fidei, i. *as God hath diſtributed to euery one the meaſure of faith.* For he that may not with meekenes thinke in him ſelfe what God hath done for him, and of hym ſelfe as God hath done for hym, how ſhall he or when ſhall hee geue due thankes to God for hys giftes? And if your friends wyll not allow the ſame, I pray you enquyre of thẽ whether they maye cum ſobrietate & modeſtia bee ſure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, cum ſobrietate & modeſtia folow S. Paules bidding, where hee ſaith vnto vs all: Nolite fieri pueri ſenſibus, ſed malitia infantes eſtote. i. *Be not children in vnderſtanding, but in malitiouſnes be infantes*. God geue vs all grace to keepe the meane, and to thinke of our ſelfe neyther to hygh nor to low, but ſo that we may reſtore vnto hym, qui perægre profectus eſt, hys giftes againe cum vſura, that is to ſay, with good vſe of the ſame, ſo that ædificemus inuicem wyth the ſame, ad gloriam dei, Amen.

Not euery thing wherupon diſſenſion cõmeth, is the cauſe of diſſẽſiõ.

He meaneth the Pope & his Papiſts, which could not abide the diſſoluing of the mariage betweene king Henry and his brothers wife.

Occaſion may be taken where none is geuen.

For my life I truſt in God that I neither haue, neither (by Gods grace) ſhall I, neither in ſobernes, nor yet in drunkennes affirme any truth of my ſelfe, therewith endeuoyng to diuide yͤ vnitie of the Cõgregation of CHRIST, and the receiued truth agreed vpõ by the holy Fathers of the Church conſonant to the Scripture of God, though it be ſhewed you neuer ſo often, that an opinion or maner of teachyng, which cauſeth diſſenſion in a Chriſtiã cõgregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of S. Iohn in his Epiſtle where he ſaith: Omnis qui confitetur *IESVM CHRISTVM* in carne, ex Deo eſt. i. *Euery one that confeſſeth CHRIST in the fleſh, is of God.* Firſt not euery thing wherupon foloweth diſſenſion, cauſeth diſſẽſion, as I would they that ſhewed you that, would alſo ſhew you, whether this opiniõ, that a man may not mary his brothers wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then as Gamaliel ſaid, diſſoluetur: if it be of GOD, as I thinke it is, and perchaunce your frendes alſo, quis poteſt diſſoluere niſi qui videbitur Deo repugnare? i. *Who cã diſſolue it but ſhall ſeme to repugne agaynſt God?* and yet there be many not in Heathennes, but in Chriſtẽdome, that diſſenteth from the ſame, which could beare full euill to heare ſayd vnto them: vos ex patre diabolo eſtis. So that ſuch an opinion might ſeeme to ſome to make a diſſenſiõ in a Chriſtian Congregation, ſauyng that they may ſay perchaũce with more libertie then other, that an occaſion is ſometime takẽ & not geuen, which with their fauour I might abuſe for my defenſe, ſauyng that, non omnia omnibus licent in hac temporum iniquitate.

The church of the Galathians.

Eraſmus in his epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſe, in 1. Cor.

The Galathians hauing for preachers & teachers yͤ falſe Apoſtles, by whoſe teachyng they were degenerate frõ yͤ ſweete libertie of the Goſpell into the ſowre bonde of Ceremonies, thought them ſelues peraduenture a Chriſtian congregation when S. Paule did write his Epiſtle vnto them, and were in a quiet trade vnder the dominiõ of maſterly Curates, ſo that the falſe Apoſtles might haue obiected to S. Paule that hys Apoſtleſhip was not of God, for as much as there was diſſenſion in a Chriſtian cõgregation by occaſion therof, while ſome would renue their opiniõs by occaſiõ of the epiſtle, ſome would opinari, as they were woont to do, and folow their great Lordes and maiſters the falſe Apoſtles, which were not Heathen and vnchriſtened, but Chriſtened, and hye Prelats of the Profeſſors of CHRIST. For your frendes I know right wel what Eraſmus hath ſaid in an Epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſis of the firſt Epiſtle to yͤ Corinthians, which Eraſmus hath cauſed no ſmall diſſenſion wyth hys pen in a Chriſtian Congregation, in as much as manye haue diſſented from hym, not alonely in cloyſters, (men more then chriſtened men) of high perfection, but alſo at Paules Croſſe, and Saint Marie Spittle: beſides many that with no ſmal zeale haue written againſt him, but not without aunſwere.

Hierome in prologo in Canon. Ep.

Hierome reported of ſome to be a falſifier and a corrupter of the ſcriptures.

Worſhipfull fathers of greater authority then of good charity.

And I would fayne learne of your frendes, whether yͭ S. Hieromes writing were of God, which cauſed diſſenſion in a Chriſtian congregation, as it appeareth by hys own wordes in the prologue before the Canonicall Epiſtles, which be theſe: Et tu virgo CHRISTI Euſtochiũ, dũ a me impenſius ſcripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo ſenectutem inuidorum dentibus vel morſibus corrodendam apponis; qui me falſarium corruptoremq; ſcripturarum pronunciant: ſed ego in tali opere nec illorum inuidentiam pertimeſco, nec ſcripturæ vritatem poſcentibus denegabo. I pray you what were they yͭ called S. Hierome falſarium & corrupter of Scripture, & for enuy would haue bitten him with their teeth? vnchriſten, or chriſten? what had the vnchriſten to doe with chriſten doctrine? They were worſhipfull fathers of a chriſtian congregation, mẽ of much more hoter ſtomackes then right iudgement, of a greater authority then good charitye: but S. Hierome would not ceaſe to do good for the euyll, ſpeaking of thẽ that were nought, geuyng in that an enſample to vs of the ſame: & if this diſſenſion were in S. Hieromes tyme, what may be in our tyme? de malo in peius ſcilicet.

And I pray you what meaneth your frends by a chriſtian congregation? All thoſe (trow ye) that haue bene chriſtened? But many of thoſe bene in worſe condition, and ſhall haue greater damnation, then many vnchriſtened. For it is not inough to a Chriſtian congregation that is of God, to haue bene chriſtened: but it is to be cōſidered what we promiſe when we be chriſtened, to renounce Sathan, his workes, his pompes: which thing if we buſy not our ſelf to do, let vs not crake that we profeſſe CHRISTES name in a chriſtian congregation, in vno baptiſmo. i. *in one Baptiſme.*

And where they adde in vno domino. i. *in one Lord*, I read in Math. 17. non omnis qui dicit, domine, domine. &c. i. *Not euery one that ſayth Lord, Lorde. &c.* And in Luke the Lord himſelf complaineth and rebuketh ſuch profeſſores, and confeſſores, ſaying to them: Cur dicitis domine, domine, & non facitis quæ dico? i. *VVhy call you me Lord, Lord, & do not that I byd you?* euen as though it were inough to a Chriſtian man, or to a Chriſtian congregation to ſay euery day, Domine dominus noſter, and to ſalute CHRIST wyth a double Domine. But I woulde your frendes would take the paynes to read ouer Chryſoſtome ſuper Mathæum, hom. 49. cap. 24. to learne to knowe a Chriſtian congregation, if it will pleaſe them to learne at him. And where they adde, in vna fide. i. *in one fayth*, S. Iames ſayth boldly: oſtende mihi fidem ex operibus. i. *ſhew me thy fayth by thy workes.* And S. Hierome: Si tamē credimus, inquit, opere veritatem oſtendimus. And ſcripture ſayth, qui credit deo, attendit mādatis: And the deuils beleue to their litle comfort. I pray God to ſaue you and your frends from that beleuyng congregation, and frō that faithfull company.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be vnchriſtened, but them that be chriſtened and aunſwer not vnto their chriſtendome. For S. Hierome ſheweth how true Preachers ſhould order them ſelues, when euil Prieſtes and falſe Preachers, et populus ab his deceptus. i. *The people be by them deceiued*, ſhould be angry with thē for preaching the truth, Tom. 5. in Hieremiam Capi. 26. exhortyng them to ſuffer death for the ſame of the euyll Prieſts and falſe preachers and the people deceiued of them, which euyll Prieſtes and falſe Preachers with the people deceiued, be chriſtened as well as other: & I feare me that S. Hierome might appeare to ſome Chriſtian congregation, as they wyll be called, to write ſeditiouſly, to deuide the vnity of a great honeſt nomber, confeſſing CHRIST in vno baptiſmate, vno domino, vna fide, ſaying: populus qui ante ſub magiſtris conſopitus erat, ibit ad montes, non illos quidem qui vel leuiter tacti fumigant, ſed montes veteris & noui teſtamenti, Prophetas, Apoſtolos, & Euāgeliſtas, & cum eiuſmodi montium lectione verſatus, ſi non inuenerit doctores (meſſis enim multa, operarij autem pauci) tunc & populi ſtudiū comprobabitur, quo fugerit ad mōtes, & magiſtrorū deſidia coarguetur. To. 6. in Naum cap. 30

I do maruaile why our Chriſtian congregation be ſo greatly greeued that lay people would reade ſcripture, ſeyng that S. Hierome alloweth and approueth the ſame, which compareth not here the vnchriſtened to the chriſtened, but the lay people chriſtened to their Curats chriſtened, vnder which they haue bene rocked and locked a ſleepe in a ſubtile trade a great while ful ſoundly, though now of late they haue bene waked, but to their payne, at the leaſt way, to the payne of them that haue wakened them with the worde of God: and it is properly ſayd of S. Hierome to call them Maſters & not ſeruaunts, meaning that ſeruauntes teacheth not their owne doctrine, but the doctrine of their Maſter CHRIST, to hys glory. Maſters teacheth not CHRISTES doctrine, but their own, to their own glory: which maſterly Curates cannot be quiet tyll they haue brought the people a ſlepe againe: but CHRIST the very true Maſter ſayth: vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes veſtræ, neque viæ meæ viæ veſtræ, dicit dominus: and there haue bene, qui cogitauerunt concilia, quæ non putuerunt ſtabilire. i. *which haue gone about councels, which they could not eſtabliſh.* I pray god giue our people grace ſo to wake, vt ſtudium illorū cōprobetur, & our maſters ſo to ſleepe, vt nō deſidia illorū coarguatur. For who is ſo blind that he ſeeth not how far our Chriſtiā cōgregation doth gainſay S. Hierome, & ſpeaketh after an other faſhiō. God amēd that is amiſſe: for we be ſomthing wyde, I wis.

But nowe your frendes haue learned of S. Iohn, that omnis qui confitetur Ieſum Chriſtum in carne, ex Deo eſt. i. *Euery one that confeſſeth IESVS CHRIST in fleſh, is of God.* And I haue learned of S. Paule, that there haue bene, not among the Heathen, but among the Chriſten, qui ore cōfitētur, factis autē negant. i. *which confeſſe CHRIST with their mouth, and deny hym with their actes:* ſo that S. Paule ſhould appeare to expound S. Iohn, ſaying that I wyll not affirme any thing as of my ſelfe, but leaue it to your frendes to ſhew you, vtrum qui factis negant Chriſtum & vita, ſint ex deo necne per ſolam oris confeſſionem: for your frendes knoweth well inough by the ſame. S. Iohn, qui ex deo eſt non peccat: and there both haue ben & be now to many, qui ore tenus confitentur Chriſtum veniſſe in carne, whych wyll not effectually heare the worde of God by conſenting to the ſame, notwithſtandyng that S Iohn ſaith, qui ex deo eſt, verbum dei audit, vos non auditis quia ex deo non eſtis: and many ſhall heare, nunquam noui vos, i. *I neuer knew you*, which ſhall not alonely be chriſtened, but alſo ſhall prophetare, and do puiſſant things in nomine Chriſti: and S. Paule ſayd there ſhould come Lupi graues qui non parcerent gregi. i. *rauening wolues which wyll not ſpare the flocke*, meaning it of them that ſhould confiteri Chriſtum in carne in their lips, and yet vſurpe by ſucceſſion the office. which CHRIST calleth Speudoprophetas. i. *falſe prophetes*, & byddeth vs beware of them, ſaying they ſhall come in veſtimentis ouium i. *in ſheepes cloathing*, and yet they may weare both ſatten, ſilke, and veluet, called afterwardes ſerui nequam, non paſcentes ſed percutientes conſeruos, edentes & bibentes cum ebrijs, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis. They are called ſerui, *ſeruauntes* I trowe, quod ore confitentur Chriſtum in carne: neqnam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominiū exercentes in gregē: And yet your frendes reaſon as though there could none barke & bite at true Preachers, but they ỹ be vnchriſtened, notwithſtādyng that S. Auſtine vpō the ſame Epiſtle of Iohn calleth ſuch confeſſors of Chriſt, qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, Antichriſtos: a ſtraunge name for a Chriſtian cōgregation: & though S. Auſtine could defend his ſaying, yet his ſaying might appeare not to be of God, to ſome mēs iudgemēt, in that it breaketh the chaine of Chriſtes charitie, ſo to cauſe men to hate Antichriſtianiſmum, Antichriſtes, according to the doctrine of Saint Paul: ſitis odio perſequentes quod malum eſt. i. *Hate that is euill*: and ſo making diuiſion, not betwene chriſtened and vnchriſtened, but betwene Chriſtians and Antichriſtians, when neither penne nor tonge can diuide the Antichriſtians from theyr blind folly. And I would you woulde cauſe your frendes to reade ouer S. Auſtine, vpon the Epiſtle of S. Iohn, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they thinke it expediente for you to know it, as I remember it is tractatu 3. but I am not ſure nor certayne of that, becauſe I did not ſee it ſince I was at Cambridge: and here haue I not Saint Auſtines workes to looke for it: but well I wotte, that there he teacheth vs to know the chriſtians from the Antichriſtians, which both be chriſtened, and both cōfeſſe Ieſum eſſe Chriſtum, if they be aſked the queſtion: and yet the one part denieth it in very deede: but to know whether, non linguā ſed facta attendamus, & viuendi genus, num ſtudeamus officia vocationis preſtare an non ſtudeamus, immo perſuaſi forte ſumus non neceſſe eſſe vt præſtemus, ſed omnia in primitiuam eccleſiam & tempora præterita &c. quaſi nobis ſat ſit dominari, et ſecularibus negotijs nos totos voluere, ac voluptatibus & pompæ inhiare: and yet we will appeare, vel ſoli ex deo eſſe: ſed longe aliter Chriſtum confitētur, qui confitendo ex Deo eſſe comprobantur.

i. Which with mouth only confeſſe Chriſt to be come in fleſh.

i. Naughtie ſeruauntes not fedyng, but ſmityng their fellowſeruauntes, eating and drinking with the drunken which ſhall haue their portion with hypocrites.

i. Becauſe they confeſſe Chriſt in fleſh: and naughtie they are called, becauſe they deny him in their deedes, not geuing meat in due ſeaſon, and exerciſing maiſterſhip ouer the flocke.

August. in Ioan. Tract. 3.

Both Chriſtians and Antichriſtians confeſſe the name of Chriſt.

i. Let vs not ſtand vpon our talkes but attend to our doynges and conuerſation of life, whether we, not onely doe not put our endeuour thereto, but alſo perſuade our ſelues ſo though it were not neceſſary for vs to accompliſh ſuch thinges &c. but that it is inough to be a rule and authoritie ouer them, & to beſtow our ſelues whole vpon ſecular matters, pleaſures, and pompe of this world.

And yet as long as they miniſter the word of God or his Sacramentes, or any thyng that God hath ordeyned to the ſaluation of mankind, wherewith God hath promiſed to bee preſent, to worke with ỹ miniſtration of the ſame to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honored for Gods ordinaunce ſake, which is effectuall & fruitfull, what ſoeuer the miniſter be, though he be the Deuill, and neither the Church, nor member of the ſame, as Origine ſayth, and Chryſoſtome: ſo that it is not all one to honour them, and truſt in them, as S. Hierome ſayth: but there is required a iudgement, to diſcerne when they miniſter Gods word and ordinaunce of the ſame, and their owne, leſt peraduenture we take chalke for cheſe, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digeſtion. For as it is commonly ſayd, the blind eateth many a flie, as they did which were perſuaded a principibus ſacerdotū vt peterent Barrabam, IESVM autem crucifigerent. i. *Of the hye Prieſtes, to aſke Barrabas and to crucifie IESVS:* and ye know that to folow blind guides is to come into the pyt with the ſame. And will you know, ſayth S. Auguſtine, how apertly they reſiſt CHRIST, when men begyn to blame them for their miſliuyng, and intolerable ſecularitie, and negligence? they dare not for ſhame blaſpheme CHRIST him ſelfe, but they will blaſpheme the miniſters and preachers of whom they be blamed.

In the people is required a iudgement to diſcerne, whether their tale or their miniſters chalke for cheeſe.

The blind eateth many a fly.

Intolerable ſecularitie & negligence in churchmen.

Therfore, where as ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in vtteryng of the truth, when ſhall that be as long as we will not heare the truth, but diſquiete with craftye conueyaunce the preachers of the truth, becauſe they reproue our ilneſſe with the truth: And to ſay truth better it were to haue a deformitie in preachyng, ſo that ſome would preach ẏ truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteratiō of the word (as Lyranus ſayth in his time few did, what they do now a dayes I report me to them that cā iudge) then to haue ſuch an vniformitie, that the ſely people ſhould be thereby occaſioned to continue ſtill in their lamentable ignoraunce, corrupt iudgement, ſuperſtition and idolatry, and eſteme things as they do all, prepoſterouſly, doyng that that they neede not for to do, leauyng vndone that they ought to do, for lacke or wāt of knowyng what is to be done, and ſo ſhew their loue to God, not as God byddeth (which ſayth: Si diligitis me, præcepta mea ſeruate. And agayne: Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic eſt qui diligit me) but as they byd qui quærunt quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ IESV CHRISTI. i. *which ſeeke their owne thynges, not CHRISTES*, as though to tythe mynt were more, then iudgement, fayth, and mercy.

Better is in the church a deforme diſagrement, ſo that Chriſt be truely preached, then vniforme ignoraunce agreeing in Idolatrie.

i. If ye loue me kepe my commaundementes.

i. He that knoweth my preceptes & doth them, he loueth me.

The ſtate of Curates what it is.

And what is to liue in ſtate of Curates, but that hee taught which ſaid: Petre amas me? paſce, paſce, paſce: *Peter loueſt thou me? feede, feede, feede:* which is now ſet aſide, as though to loue were to do nothyng els, but to weare rynges, miters, and rochets &c. And when they erre in right liuyng, how can the people but erre in louyng, and all of the new faſhion, to his diſhonour that ſuffred his paſſion, and taught the true kynde of louyng, which is now turned into pipyng, playing, and curious ſingyng, which will not be reformed (I trow) niſi per manum Dei validam. And I haue both S. Auſten, and S. Thomas, with diuers other, that lex is taken, not alonely for Ceremonies, but alſo for Moralls, where it is ſayd: Non eſtis ſub lege: though your frendes reproue the ſame. But they cā make no diuiſion in a Chriſtiā congregation. And where as both you & they would haue a ſobernes in our preachyng, I pray God ſēd it vnto vs, what ſoeuer ye meane by it. For I ſee well, who ſoeuer will be happy, and buſy with væ vobis, he ſhall ſhortly after come coram nobis.

The true honour of Chriſt turned to Piping, Playing, and Singing.

He that will be buſie with *væ vobis*, let him looke ſhortely for *coram nobis*.

And where your frēdes thinke that I made a lye, whē I ſayd that I haue thought in tymes paſt that the Pope had bene Lord of the world, though your frēdes be much better learned then I yet am I ſure that they know not what I either thinke, or haue thought, better thē I, iuxta illud: nemo nouit quæ ſunt hominis. &c. as though better men then I haue not thought ſo, as Bonifacius (as I remēber), Octauus, the great learned mā Iohn of the burnt Tower, præſbiter Cardinalis in his booke where he proueth the Pope to be aboue the Councell Generall and Speciall, where he ſayth that the Pope is Rex regum, and dominus dominantiū. i. *The king of kinges, and Lord of Lordes*, and that he is verus Dominus totius orbis, iure, licet non facto: i. *the true Lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not ſo:* and that Conſtantinus did but reſtore his own vnto him, whē he gaue vnto him Rome, ſo that in propria venit, as S. Iohn ſaith CHRIST did, & ſui eum nō receperūt: and yet I heare not that any of our Chriſtian congregation hath reclamed agaynſt him, vntill now of late diſſenſion began. Who be your frendes I can not tell: but I would you would deſire thē to be my good maſters, and if they wil do me no good, at the leaſt way do me no harme: and though they can doe you more good then I, yet I am ſure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with myne opinions, maner of Preachyng, or writyng.

Iohannes de turre Cremata.

The Pope great Maſter, Lord, and King ouer all the world.

i. He came into his owne, and his owne receaued him not. Ioh. 1.

And as for the Popes high dominion ouer all, there is one Raphaell Maruphus in London, an Italian, and in times paſt a Marchaunt of diſpenſations, which I ſuppoſe would dye in the quarell, as Gods true knight, and true Martyr. As touching Purgatory, & worſhipping of Saints, I ſhewed to you my mind before my Ordinary: and yet I marueiled ſomething, that after priuate communication had with him, ye would (as it were) admire me to open my mind before him, not geuing me warning before, ſauing I can not interprete euill your doynges towardes me: and yet neither myne Ordinary, nor you diſallowed the thing that I ſayd, and I looked not to eſcape better then Doct. Crome: but when I haue opened my mind neuer ſo much, yet I ſhalbe reported to deny my preaching, of them that haue belyed my preaching, as he was. Sed opus eſt magna patientia ad ſuſtinendas calumnias malignantis Eccleſiæ.

The Popes dominion.

Purgatory.

Worſhipping of Saintes.

i. I ſhall haue nede of great pacience to beare the falſe reportes of the malignant church.

Syr, I haue had more buſines in my litle cure ſince I ſpake with you, what with ſicke folkes, and what with matrimonies, thē I haue had ſince I came to it, or then I would haue thought a mā ſhould haue in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed which haue great cures and many, and yet peraduenture are in none of them all. But I pray you tel none of your frēdes that I ſayd ſo fooliſhly, leſt I make a diſſenſiō in a Chriſtian congregation, and diuide a ſweete and a reſtfull vnion, or tot quot, with hæc requies mea in ſeculum ſeculi. Syr I had made an ende of this ſcriblyng, and was beginning to write it agayn more truly and more diſtinctly, and to correct it, but there came a man of my Lord of Farleys, with a citation to appeare before my Lord of London in haſt, to be puniſhed for ſuch exceſſes as I cōmitted at my laſt beyng there, ſo that I could not performe my purpoſe: I doubt whether ye can read it, as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you ſend it me agayn, and that you ſo do, whether you can read it or not. IESV mercy, what world is this, that I ſhall be put to ſo great labour and paynes, beſides great coſtes, aboue my power, for preachyng of a poore ſimple Sermō? But I trow, our Sauiour CHRIST ſayd true: Oportet pati, & ſic intrare: tam periculoſum eſt in CHRISTO piè viuere velle: yea, in a Chriſten congregation. God make vs all Chriſten, after the right faſhion, Amen.

I pray nippe to ſuch as haue man cures, and are reſide at none,

Of this ci tation of *Iohn B.* of London, read befo pag. 1906.

1. I mu nedes ſuffe and ſo ente So perilo a thing it i to liue ve tuouſly in Chriſt.

Here foloweth an other letter of M. Latymer written to K. Henry 8. vpō this occaſion. Ye heard before pag. 1157. 1427. of ẏ ſondry proclamatiōs ſet out by ẏ Byſhops in ẏ time of K. Henry, ẏ one in ẏ yeare. 1531. and ẏ other ſet out an. 1546. In ẏ which proclamatiōs beyng authoriſed by the kynges name, were inhibited all Engliſh bokes either conteinyng or tendyng to any matter of the Scripture. Where alſo we haue expreſſed at large the whole Catalogue of all their errours and hereſies, which the ſayd Byſhops falſely haue excerpted, & maliciouſly imputed to godly writers, with their places and quotatiōs aboue aſſigned in the page aforeſayd. Now M. Latymer growyng in ſome fauour with the king, and ſeyng the great decay of CHRISTES Religion by reaſon of theſe proclamatiōs, and touched therfore with the zeale of conſciēce, directeth vnto king Henry this letter here vnder enſuyng, thereby entendyng by all meanes poſſible to perſuade the kynges mynd to ſet open agayne the frædome of Gods holy word amongeſt hys ſubiectes. The copy and tenour of hys letter here foloweth.

Of theſe 2 Proclama tions, rea before pa 1157. 142

¶ The letter of Maſter Latimer written to King Henry, for the reſtoring agayne the free liberty of reading the holy ſcripture.

¶ To the moſt mighty Prince King of England Henry the eight, Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father by our Lord Ieſus CHRIST.

THe holy Doctor Saint Auſtine in an Epiſtle which he wrote to Caſulanus ſayth that he which for feare of any power hydeth the truth, prouoketh the wrath of God to come vpon him: for he feareth men more thē God. And according to the ſame, the holy man S. Iohn Chryſoſtome ſayth: that he is not alonely a traytour to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lye, but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce & ſhew the truth that he knoweth. Theſe ſentences (moſt redoubted king) when I red now of late, and marked them earneſtly in the inward partes of mine hart, they made me ſore afraid, troubled and vexed me greuouſly in my conſcience, and at the laſt droue me to this ſtraite, that eyther I muſt ſhew forth ſuch thinges as I haue red and learned in ſcripture, or els to bee of the ſort that prouoke the wrath of God vppon them, and be traytours vnto the truth: the which thing rather then it ſhould happen, I had rather ſuffer extreme puniſhment.

An other letter of Maſter *Latymer* to King *Henry.*

Auguſt. ad Caſulanum.

Chryſoſt.

Maſter *Latimer* touched in cōſcience to write to the King.

For what other thing is it to be a traytour vnto the truth, thē to be a traytour & a Iudas to CHRIST, which is the very truth and cauſe of all truth: the which ſayth that who ſo euer denyeth him here before men, he wyll deny him before his father in heauen. The which denying ought more to bee feared and dred, then the loſſe of all temporall goods, honour, promotion, fame, priſon, ſclaunder, hurtes, baniſhmentes, and all maner of tormentes, and cruelties, yea, and death it ſelfe, be it neuer

What is to be a traytour t truth.

uer ſo ſhamefull and paynfull. But alas, how little do men regard thoſe ſharpe ſayinges of theſe two holy men? and how little do they feare the terrible iudgement of almighty God? and ſpecially they which boaſt them ſelues to be guydes and Captaynes vnto other, and challenging vnto them ſelues the knowledge of holy ſcripture, yet will neither ſhewe the truth them ſelues (as they be bound) neither ſuffer thē that would: So that vnto them may be ſayd that which our Sauiour CHRIST ſayd to the Phariſeis, Math. 23. *Wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariſeis, which ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen before men, and neither will you enter in your ſelues, neyther ſuffer them that would, to enter.* And they will as much as in them lieth, debar, not onely the word of God, which Dauid calleth *a lyght to direct and ſhew euery man how to order his affections and luſtes,* according to the commaundementes of God: but alſo by their ſubtill wylines they inſtruct, moue, and prouoke, in a maner, all Kings in Chriſtendome to ayde, ſuccour, and helpe them in thys their miſchiefe: And in eſpeciall in thys your realme, they haue ſore blynded your leige people and ſubiects with their lawes, cuſtomes, ceremonies, and Banbery gloſes, and puniſhed them with curſinges, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would ſay): and now, at the laſt when they ſee that they cannot preuayle agaynſt the open truth (which the more it is perſecuted, the more it increaſeth by their tyrāny) they haue made it treaſon to your noble grace to haue the ſcripture in Engliſh.

Here I beſech your grace to pardon me a while and paciently to heare me a worde or two: yea and though it be ſo that as concerning your hye maieſty and regall power, whereunto almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great differēce betwene you and me, as betwene God and man. For you be here to me and to all your ſubiectes, in Gods ſteede, to defend, ayde, and ſuccour vs in our ryght, and ſo I ſhould tremble and quake to ſpeake to your grace. But againe, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in daunger of ſinne, hauing in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all wee bee both conceaued and borne, ſo haue you no leſſe neede of the merites of CHRISTES paſſion for your ſaluatiō, then I and other of your ſubiectes haue, which be all members of the myſticall body of CHRIST. And though you be an hygher member, yet you muſt not diſdayne the leſſer. For as S. Paul ſaith: *thoſe members that be taken moſt vileſt and had in leaſt reputation, be as neceſſary as the other, for the preſeruation and keeping of the body.* This, moſt gracious King, when I conſidered, and alſo your fauorable and gentle nature, I was bolde to wryte this rude, homely, and ſimple letter vnto your grace, truſting that you will accept my true & faythfull mind euen as it is.

Firſt and before all thinges I will exhort your grace to marke the lyfe & proceſſe of our Sauiour CHRIST and his Apoſtles in preaching and ſetting forth of the Goſpell, and to note alſo the wordes of our Maſter CHRIST, which he had to his Diſciples when he ſent them forth to preach his Goſpell, and to theſe haue euer in your mynd the golden rule of our M. CHRIST: *The tree is knowen by the fruite.* For by the diligent marking of theſe, your grace ſhall clearely know and perceaue who be the true followers of CHRIST and teachers of his Goſpell, and who be not. And concerning the firſt, all ſcripture ſheweth playnely that our Sauiour IESVS CHRISTES lyfe was very poore.

Begin at hys byrth, and I beſeech you, who euer heard of a poorer or ſo pore as hee was? It were to long to write how poorely Ioſeph and the bleſſed Virgin Mary tooke their iourney from Nazareth toward Bethlem in the colde and froſty wynter, hauing no body to wayt vpon them, but he both Maſter and man, and ſhe both Miſtres and maide. How vylely thinkes your grace, they were intreated in the Innes and lodginges by the way? and in how vyle and abiect place was this poore mayde, the Mother of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, brought to bed in, without company, lyght or any other thing neceſſary for a woman in that plight? was not here a poore beginning, as concerning the world? Yes truely. And according to this beginning was the proceſſe and ende of hys lyfe in this world, and yet he myght by his godly power haue had all the goodes and treaſures of this world at his pleaſure, when and where he would.

But this hee did to ſhew vs that his followers and Vicars ſhould not regard nor ſet by the riches & treaſures of this world, but after the ſaying of Dauid we ought to take thē, which ſaith thus: *If riches, promotions, & dignity happen to a mā, let him not ſet his affiance, pleaſure, truſt, and hart vpō thē.* So that it is not agaynſt the pouerty in ſpirite which CHRIST praiſeth in ye Goſpel of S. Mathew, chap. 5. to be rich, to be in dignity, and in honour, ſo that their harts be not fixed and ſet vpō them ſo much, that they neyther care for God nor good man. But they be enemyes to this pouerty in ſpirite, haue they neuer ſo little, that haue greedy and deſyrous myndes to the goodes of this world, onely becauſe they would lyue after their owne pleaſure and luſtes. And they alſo be priuy enemyes (and ſo much the worſe) which haue profeſſed (as they ſay) wylfull pouerty, and wil not be called worldly men. And they haue Lordes landes, and Kinges ryches, yea rather then they would loſe one fot of that which they haue, they wil ſet debate betwene King, and King, Realme and Realme, yea betwene the King and his Subiectes, and cauſe rebelliō againſt the temporall power, to the which our Sauiour CHRIST himſelfe obeyed and payed tribute, as the Goſpell declareth: vnto whom the holy Apoſtle S. Paule teacheth euery Chriſtian man to obey. Yea and beſyde all this, they will curſe and ban, as much as in them lyeth, euen into the deepe pit of hell, all that gainſay their appetite, whereby they thynke their goodes, promotions, or dignities ſhould decay.

ple to be to caſt downe our riches, nor to ſet by them.

It is not agaynſt the pouertie of the ſpirite, to be rich.

What it is to be poore in ſpirit, & what not.

Priuy enemies to ſpirituall pouertye.

Agaynſt worldly Lordes and rulers, and prelates of the ſpiritualtie.

Math. 17.

Subiection to ſuperiour powers.

Your grace may ſee what meanes and craft the Spiritualty (as they will be called) imagine to breake and withſtand the Actes which were made in your Graces laſt Parlament agaynſt their ſuperfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be the true followers of Chriſt. And although I named the Spiritualty to be corrupt with this vnthrifty ambition: yet I meane not all to bee faulty therein, for there be ſome good of thē. Neither wil I that your Grace ſhould take away the goodes due to the church, but take away ſuch euill perſons from the goods, and ſet better in their ſteede.

Ambition of the ſpiritualtie.

¶ I name not appoynt no perſon nor perſons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Sauiour CHRIST, as in Mathew the ſeuenth Chapter: *By their fruites you ſhall know them.* As touching the wordes that our Sauiour CHRIST ſpake to his Diſciples when hee ſent them to preach hys Goſpell, they bee red in Mathew the fifteenth Chapter, where he ſheweth, *that here they ſhall be hated and deſpyſed of all men worldly, and brought before Kinges and Rulers, and that all euill ſhould bee ſayd by them, for their preaching ſake:* but he exhorteth thē to take paciently ſuch perſecution by hys owne example, ſaying: *It becommeth not the ſeruaunt to be aboue the Maſter. And ſeyng they called me* Belzebub, *what maruayle is it, if they call you deuilyſh perſons and heretickes?* Read the .xiiij. chapter of Saint Mathewes Goſpell, and there your grace ſhall ſee, that he promiſed to the true Preachers no worldly promotions or dignity, but perſecution and all kyndes of puniſhment, and that they ſhould be betrayed euen by their owne brethren and children. In Iohn alſo hee ſayth: *In the world ye ſhall haue oppreſſion, and the world ſhall hate you: but in me you ſhall haue peace.* And in the .x. chapiter of S. Mathewes Goſpell ſaith our Sauiour Chriſt alſo: *Loe I ſend you forth as ſhepe among wolues.* So that ye true preachers go like ſheepe harmeles, and be perſecuted, and yet they reuenge not their wrong, but remit all to God: ſo farre it is of that they wil perſecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapō. And ſo this is the moſt euident token, that our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST would that his Goſpell and the Preachers of it ſhould bee knowen by, and that it ſhould bee deſpyſed among thoſe worldly wyſe men, and that they ſhould repute it but foliſhnes and deceiuable doctrine, and the true preachers ſhould be perſecuted and hated, & driuen from towne to towne, yea and at the laſt loſe both goodes and lyfe.

Math. 7.

Math. 15.

Chriſt promiſeth no promotions, but perſecution to hys followers.

Math. 24.

Iohn. 16.

Math. 10.

Gods word onely is the weapon of ſpirituall paſtors.

And yet they that did this perſecutiō, ſhould thinke that they did well, and a great pleaſure to God. And the Apoſtles remembring this leſſon of our Sauiour CHRIST, were content to ſuffer ſuch perſecutions, as you may read in the Actes of the Apoſtles and the Epiſtles. But we neuer red that they euer perſecuted any man. The holy Apoſtle S. Paule ſayth, *that euery man that wyll lyue Godly in CHRIST IESV, ſhould ſuffer perſecution.* And alſo hee ſayth farther in the Epiſtle written to the Phillippians in the firſt chapter: *that it is not onely geuen you to beleue in the Lord, but alſo to ſuffer perſecution for his ſake.* Wherefore, take this for a ſure concluſion, that where

The Apoſtles were perſecuted, but neuer no perſecutors.

Philip. 1.

Perſecution a ſure marke of true preaching.

The word of the croſſe.

where the word of God is truely preached, there is perſecution, aſwell of the hearers as of the teachers: and where as is quietnes and reſt in worldly pleaſure, there is not the truth. For the world loueth all that are of the worlde, and hateth all thinges that is contrary to it. And to be ſhort, S. Paule calleth the Goſpell the word of the croſſe, the word of puniſhmēt. And the holy Scripture doth promyſe nothing to the fauourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and perſecution, which theſe worldly mē cannot ſuffer, nor away withall.

Iohn. 3.

Crafty pretences of the prelates to ſtoppe the reading of holy ſcripture.

Belly wiſedome.

Therefore, pleaſeth it your good Grace, to returne to this golden rule of our Maſter and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, which is this: *by their fruites you ſhall know them.* For where you ſee perſecution, there is the Goſpell, and there is the truth: and they that do perſecute, bee voyde and without all truth, not caring for the cleare lyght, which (as our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST ſaith in the thyrd Chapter of S. Iohns Goſpell) *is come into the world, and which ſhall vtter and ſhew foorth euery mans woorkes.* And they, whoſe workes bee nought, dare not come to thys lyght, but go about to ſtop it & hynder it, lettyng as much as they may, that the holy Scripture ſhould not bee red in our mother toung, ſaying that it would cauſe hereſy and inſurrection, and ſo they perſwade, at the leaſt way they would fayne perſwade your Grace to kepe it backe. But here marke their ſhameles boldnes, which bee not aſhamed, contrary to CHRISTES doctrine, to gather figges of thornes, and grapes of buſhes, and to call lyght darknes, and darkenes light, ſweete ſower, & ſower ſweete, good euill, & euill good, and to ſay that that, which teacheth al obediēce, ſhould cauſe diſſenſion and ſtryfe, but ſuch is their belly wiſdome: therewith they iudge and meaſure euery thyng, to hold and kepe ſtil this wicked Mammon, the goodes of this world, which is their God, and hath ſo blynded the eyes of their hartes, that they cannot ſee the cleare lyght of the ſacred Scripture, though they babble neuer ſo much of it.

Perſuaſion to let the ſcripture to be red in Engliſh.

Siniſter counſell about princes.

Wicked policie turned to hys owne deſtruction.

But as cōcerning this matter, other mē haue ſhewed your grace their myndes, how neceſſary it is to haue the Scripture in Engliſh. The which thing alſo your grace hath promiſed by your laſt Proclamatiō: the which promiſe I pray God ẏ your gracious highnes may ſhortly performe, euen to day before to morrow. Nor let not the wickednes of theſe worldly wiſe mē deceiue you frō your Godly purpoſe & promiſe. Remēber the ſubtyle worldly wyſe Councellours of Hammon the ſonne of Naas, king of the Ammonites, which, when Dauid had ſent his ſeruauntes to comfort the young king for the death of hys father, by crafty imaginations coūſelled Hammon, not alonely not to receiue them gently, but to entreate them moſt ſhamefully and cruelly, ſaying: *that they came not to comfort hym, but to eſpy and ſearch his lande, ſo that afterwarde they bringing* Dauid *word how euery thing ſtoode,* Dauid *myght come and conquer it:* And ſo they cauſed the young kyng to ſhere their heades, and cut their coates by the poyntes, and ſent them away lyke fooles: whom he ought rather to haue made much of, and to haue entreated them gently, and haue geuen them great thankes and rewardes. O wretched Counſellers. But ſee what followed of thys carnall and worldly wiſdome. Truely nothing but deſtruction of all the whole Realme, and alſo of all them which tooke their partes.

Under the pretence of inſurrections and hereſies, the prelates ſtoppe the libertie of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Obiection preuented and anſwered.

Therfore good kyng, ſeyng that the right Dauid, that is to ſay, our Sauiour CHRIST hath ſent his ſeruauntes, that is to ſay, true preachers, and his owne word alſo to comfort our weake and ſicke ſoules, let not theſe worldly men make your Grace beleue that they will cauſe inſurrection and hereſies, and ſuch miſchiefes as they imagine of their own mad braines, leſt that hee be auenged vpon you & your realme, as was Dauid vpō the Ammonites, & as he hath euer ben auēged vpō thē which haue obſtinatly withſtand and gainſayd his word. But peraduenture they will lay this agaynſt me, and ſay that experiēce doth ſhew, how that ſuch men as call them ſelues folowers of the Goſpel, regardeth not your Graces cōmaundement, neither ſet by your Proclamation, and that was well proued by theſe perſons which of late were puniſhed in London for keepyng of ſuch bookes as your grace had prohibited by proclamatiō: and ſo like as they regarded not this, ſo they will not regarde nor eſteeme other your Graces lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaūces. But this is but a craftie perſuaſion. For your grace knoweth that there is no man liuyng, ſpecially that loueth worldly promotion, that is ſo fooliſh to ſet forth, promote, or enhaunce his enemy, wherby he ſhould be let of his worldly pleaſures and fleſhly deſires: but rather he will ſeeke all the wayes poſſible that he can, vtterly to confound, deſtroy, and put him out of the way. And ſo as concernyng your laſt proclamation prohibityng ſuch bokes, the very true cauſe of it, and chief Counſellours (as men ſay, & of likelihode it ſhould be) were they whoſe euill liuing and cloked hipocriſie theſe bookes vttered and diſcloſed. And howbeit that there were iij. or iiij. that would haue had the Scripture to go forth in Engliſh, yet it happened there, as it is euermore ſeene, that the moſt part ouercōmeth the better, and ſo it might be that theſe men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs ſet forth in your name, as they haue done many times moe, which hath put this your Realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it to great penury, and more would haue done if God had not mercyfully prouided to bryng your grace to knowledge of the falſhode and priuy treaſon, which their head and captaine was about: and bee you ſure not without adherentes, if the matter be newly ſearched. For what maruaile is it, that they beyng ſo nighe of your Counſell, and ſo familiar with your Lordes, ſhould prouoke both your Grace and thē to prohibite theſe bookes, which before by their own authoritie haue forbiddē ẏ new Teſtament, vnder payne of euerlaſtyng damnation: for ſuch is their maner, to ſend a thouſand men to hell, ere they ſend one to God, and yet the new Teſtament (and ſo I thinke by the other) was mekely offered to euery man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreouer, I will aſke them the cauſes of all inſurrections, which hath bene in this Realme heretofore. And whence is it that there bee ſo many extortioners, bribers, murtherers, and theeues which dayly do not breake onely your Graces lawes, ordinaunces, and ſtatutes, but alſo the lawes and commaundementes of almighty God? I thinke they will not ſay theſe bookes, but rather their pardons which cauſeth many a man to ſinne in truſt of thē. For as for thoſe malefactours which I now rehearſed, you ſhal not find one amongeſt a hundreth, but that he will crie out both of theſe bookes, and alſo of them that haue them, yea and wilbe glad to ſpend the good which he hath wrōgfully gotten, vpon Fagots to burne both the bookes and them that haue them.

And as touchyng theſe men that were lately puniſhed for theſe bookes, there is no mā (I heare ſay) that can lay any word or deede agaynſt them that ſhould ſoūd to the breakyng of any of your Graces lawes (this onely except) if it be yours, & not rather theirs. And be it ſo that there be ſome that haue theſe bookes, that be euill, vnruly, and ſelfe willed perſons, not regardyng Gods lawes nor mans, yet theſe bookes be not the cauſe thereof, no more then was the bodily preſence of CHRIST and his wordes the cauſe that Iudas fell, but their owne froward mind and carnall wit, which ſhould be amended by the vertuous example of liuyng of their Curates, and by the true expoſition of the Scripture. If the lay people had ſuch Curates that wold thus do their office, theſe bokes nor the Deuill him ſelfe could not hurt them, nor make thē to go out of frame, ſo that the lacke of good Curates is the deſtruction and cauſe of all miſchief. Neither do I write theſe thinges becauſe that I will either excuſe theſe men lately puniſhed, or to affirme all to be true written in theſe bookes, which I haue not all read, but to ſhewe that there can not ſuch inconuenience folow of them, and ſpecially of the Scripture, as they would make men beleue ſhould folow.

And though it bee ſo that your Grace may by other bookes, and namely by the Scripture it ſelfe know and perceiue the hipocrite wolues clad in Sheepes clothing, yet I thinke my ſelfe bound in conſcience to vtter vnto your grace ſuch thinges as God put in minde to write. And this I do (God ſo iudge me) not for hate of any perſon or perſons liuyng, nor for that that I thinke the worde of God ſhould go foorth without perſecution, if your grace had commaunnded that euery man within your Realme ſhould haue it in his mothers toung. For the Goſpell muſt needes haue perſecution vnto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the laſt ſigne that CHRIST ſhewed to the Diſciples that ſhould come before the day of Iudgement: ſo that if your Grace had once commaunded that the Scripture ſhould be put forth, the Deuill would ſet forth ſome wyle or other to perſecute the truth. But my purpoſe is, for the loue that I haue to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is onely knowen by his worde, and for the true allegiaunce that I owe vnto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my hart the talent geuen me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may encreaſe to the pleaſure of God, to exhorte your grace to auoyde and beware of theſe miſchieuous flatterers & their abominable wayes and counſels.

And take hede whoſe counſels your grace doth take in this matter: for there bee ſome that for feare of loſyng of their worldly worſhyp and honour, will not leaue their opinion, which raſhly, and that to pleaſe men withall by whom they had great promotion, they tooke vpon them to defend by writtyng, ſo that now they thinke that all their felicity which they put in this life, ſhould be marde, and their wiſedom not ſo greatly regarded, if that which they haue ſo ſclaūderouſly oppreſſed, ſhould be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let theſe men remember S. Paul, how feruēt he was agaynſt yͤ truth (& that of a good zeale) before he was called: he thought no ſhame to ſuffer puniſhmēt & great perſecutions for that which he before deſpiſed & called hereſie. And I am ſure that their liuyng is not more perfect then S. Paules was, as concernyng the outward workes of the law, before he was conuerted.

Alſo the kyng and Prophet Dauid was not aſhamed to forſake his good entent in buildyng of the Temple, after that the Prophet Nathan had ſhewed him that it was not the pleaſure of God that he ſhould builde any houſe for him. And notwithſtanding that Nathan had before allowed and prayſed the purpoſe of Dauid, yet he was not aſhamed to reuoke and eate his wordes agayn when he knew that they were not accordyng to Gods will and pleaſure.

Wherfore they be ſore drowned in worldly wiſedome that thinke it agaynſt their worſhyp to knowledge their ignoraunce: whom I pray to God that your grace may eſpie, and take hede of their worldly wiſedome, which is fooliſhnes before God, that you may do that that God commaundeth, and not that ſeemeth good in your owne ſight without the word of God, that your grace may bee found acceptable in his ſight and one of the members of his Church, and according to the office that he hath called your grace vnto, you may be found a faithful miniſter of his giftes, and not a defender of his faith: for he will not haue it defended by man or mans power, but by hys wordes only, by the which he hath euermore defended it, and that by a way farre aboue mans power or reaſō, as all the ſtories of the Bible maketh mencion.

Wherfore gracious kyng remember your ſelfe, haue pitie vpon your ſoule, and thinke that the day is euen at hand whē you ſhal geue accomptes of your office & of the bloud that hath bene ſhed with your ſword. In yͤ which day that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly and bee not aſhamed, but to bee cleare and ready in your reckoning, and to haue (as they ſay) your Quites eſt, ſealed with the bloud of our Sauiour CHRIST which onely ſerueth at that day, is my dayly prayer to him that ſuffred death for our ſinnes, which alſo prayeth to his father for grace for vs continually. To whom be all honour & prayſe for euer, Amen. The ſpirit of God preſerue your grace. Anno dom. 1530. 1. die Decembris.

In this letter of M. Latymer to the kyng aboue prefixed, many thinges we haue to conſider: Firſt his good conſcience to God, hys good will to the kyng, the duety of a right Paſtor vnto truth, his tender care to yͤ cōmon wealth, and eſpecially to yͤ Church of CHRIST. Further we haue to conſider the abuſe of Princes Courts, how kynges many tymes be abuſed with flatterers and wicked counſellers about them, and eſpecially we may note the ſubtile practiſes of Prelates, in abuſing the name and authoritie of kynges to ſet forth their owne malignant proceedynges. We may ſee moreouer, and rather maruele at in the ſaid letter, the great boldnes and diuine ſtoutnes in this man, who as yet beyng no Byſhop, ſo freely and playnly without all feare of death aduentryng his owne lyfe to diſcharge his cōſcience, durſt ſo boldly, to ſo mighty a Prince, in ſuch a daūgerous caſe againſt the kings law & proclamatiō ſet out, in ſuch a terrible time, take vpon him to write, & to admoniſh that which no counſaillour durſt once ſpeake vnto him, in defenſe of Chriſtes Goſpell. Whoſe exāple if the Byſhops & Prelates of this Realme, for theyr partes likewiſe in lyke caſes of neceſſitie would folow, (as in deede they ſhould) ſo many thyngs peraduenture would not be ſo out of frame as they be, & all for lacke that the officers of Gods word do not theyr duety.

Finally, this moreouer in the ſayd letter is to be noted, how bleſſedly almighty GOD wrought with his faythfull ſeruaunt, whoſe bold aduenture, & holeſome coūſaile, though it did not preuaile through yͤ iniquitie of the tyme: yet notwithſtādyng God ſo wrought with his ſeruaunt in doyng hys duetie, that no daunger, nor yet diſpleaſure roſe to hym therby, but rather thankes and good wil of the Prince: for not long after the ſame he was aduaunced by the kyng to the Byſhopricke of Worceſter, as is aboue declared.

The king well pleaſed with the playnnes of M. Latymer.

Seing M. Latimer was ſo bold & plaine with yͤ king, (as is afore ſpecified) no great maruell if he did vſe like freedome and playnes toward other meaner perſons in admoniſhyng thē of their miſorder, eſpecially if any ſuch occaſion were geuen, where truth and equity required his defenſe agaynſt iniurie and oppreſſion. For example wherof we haue an other letter of hys, written to a certein Juſtice of peace in Warwickſhire, who as he is long ſince departed, ſo he ſhalbe here vnnamed. The letter although it may ſeeme ſomewhat longe and tedious: yet I though here not to ouerpaſſe the ſame for diuers & ſondry reſpectes: firſt that the vertue & faythfull conſcience of this good Paſtor may appeare more at large: alſo for that all other Byſhops and Paſtors by this example may learne with lyke zeale and ſtomacke to diſcharge their duety and conſcience in reformyng thynges amyſſe and in pouderyng with the ſalt of Gods word the ſores of yͤ people. Which thyng if euery Byſhop for hys part within hys Dioces had done in kyng Edwardes dayes, in redreſſyng ſuch corruption of that time with like diligence as this mā did, verely I ſuppoſe that the perſecution of Queene Mary had not ſo plagued the Realme as it dyd: but where as neuer a man almoſt lyueth in due order, and yet neuer a Byſhop will ſtyrre to ſeeke redreſſe, what can become of the Realme? Item, an other reſpect is becauſe of the Juſtices and all other placed in roome and office, which may take heede hereby, not to abuſe theyr authoritie to tread downe truth & beare down poore men with open wrong through extortiō or partialitie: & finally that all iniurious oppreſſours, what ſoeuer, by the ſayd letter may take ſome fruit of holeſome admonitiō. What the argumēt and occaſion was of this letter, I ſhewed before pag. 1908. The tenor & purport therof, as it was written to the Gentleman, is this as foloweth.

Example for Biſhops and all good Paſtors to follow.

Warning to Juſtices of peace.

¶A fruitful letter of M. Latimer, written to a certayne Gentleman.

A letter of M. Latymer to a certayne gentleman.

Right worſhipfull, ſalutem in domino. And now Syr I vnderſtand, that you be in grat admiratiōs at me, and take very greuouſly my maner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not beare it at my hand, no not and I were the beſt Biſhop in England. &c.

Ah Sir? I ſee well I may ſay as the common ſaying is: well haue I fiſhed and caught a Frog: brought litle to paſſe with much ado. You will not beare it with me, you ſay. Why Syr, what will ye do with me? you wyll not fight with me, I trow. It might ſeme vnſemely for a Juſtice of peace to be a breaker of peace. I am glad the doting time of my fooliſh youth is gone and paſt? what wyll you then do with me, in that you ſay you wyll not beare it at my hand? what hath my hand offended you? Perchaunce you wyll conuent mee before ſome Judge, and call me into ſome court. Deus bene vertat. Equidem non recuſo iudicium vllum. Accuſemus inuicem, vt emendemus alius alium in nomine domini. Fiat iuſticia in iudicio. And then and there, do beſt haue beſt, for club half peny. Or peraduenture ye wyll ſet pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein confuting me you will defend your ſelfe & your brother againſt me. Now that would I ſee, quoth long Roben, vt dicitur vulgariter. Non potero ſane non vehementer probare eiuſmodi induſtriam: For ſo ſhould both your integrities and innocencies beſt appeare, if you be able to defēd both your own procedings, and your brothers doinges in this matter to be vpright. Et ego tum iuſtis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter confeſſurus. But I thinke it will not be. But now firſt of all let me know what it is that ye wyll not

i. God turne it to good. I refuſe no iudgemēt. Let vs accuſe one an other, that one of vs may amend an other in the name of the Lord. Let iuſtice proceede in iudgement.

i. I cannot chuſe but much alow ſuch diligence.

i. And then will I gladly geue place, confeſſing my fault humbly, as one conquered with iuſt reaſons.

beare at my hand? what haue I done wyth my hande? what hath my hand treſpaſſed you? Forſooth, that can I tell, no man better. For I haue charitably moniſhed you in a ſecret letter, of your ſlipper dealing, and ſuch like miſbehauiour. O quàm graue piaculum? i. *what a ſore matter is thys?* And wyll ye not beare ſo much with me? wyl ye not take ſuch a ſhew of my good will towardes you, and toward the ſauyng of your ſoule at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would haue thought that Maſter N. had bene ſo impotent, that he would not beare a godly monition for the wealth of his ſoule? I haue in vſe to commit ſuch treſpaſſes many times in a yeare with your betters by two or three degrees, both Lords and Ladies, of the beſt in the Realme, and yet hetherto I haue not heard that any of them haue ſayd in their diſpleaſure, that they wyll not beare it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught, what is the office, liberty, and priuiledge of a Preacher? what is it els, but euen arguere mundum de peccato, without reſpect of perſons, quod quidem ipſum eſt ipſius ſpiritus ſancti peculiare in eccleſia munus & officium, ſed non niſi per Predicatores legitimos exequendum. You coulde but yll beare (belike) to heare your fault openly reproued in the pulpit, which cannot beare the ſame in a ſecrete ſealed vp letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly, niſi forte acriter reprehendere peccata, ſit iam omni charitate, amicitia, veritate carere. But Maiſter N. if you will geue me leaue to be plain with you, I feare me you be ſo plũged in worldly purchaſings, and ſo drowned in the manifold dregs of this deceiuable world, that I weene you haue forgotten your Cathechiſme. Reade therefore agayne the opening of the firſt commaundement, and thẽ tell me whether you of me, or I of you haue iuſt cauſe to complayne. &c.

As may well appeare by his letter ſent to the King before.

i. To rebuke the world of ſinne.

i. Which thing vndoubtedly is the peculiar office and duty of the holy ghoſt in the church of God, ſo that it be practiſed by lawfull preachers.

i. Vnleſſe perhaps to rebuke ſinne ſharpely, be now to lacke all charitie, frendſhip, and truth.

Item Syr, you ſaid further that I am wonderfully abuſed by my neyghbour. &c. How ſo, good Maſter N? wherein? Or how will ye proue it to be true, & when? So you ſaid that he had abuſed you, & geuen you wrong information: but the contrary is found true by good teſtimony of Maſter Chamber, which heard aſwel as you, what my neighbour ſayd, & hath teſtified the ſame, both to you, and againſt you, full lyke him ſelfe. Maſter N. to forge and faine (which argueth an yll cauſe) that is one thing: but to proue what a mã doth ſay, that is an other thing. As though you were priuiledged to outface poore men, & beare them in hãd what you liſt, as may ſeeme to make ſome maintenãce for your naughty cauſe. Truſt me maſter N. I was but very litle acquainted wt my neighbour when this matter began: but now I haue founde him ſo conformable to honeſty, vpright in his dealings, and ſo true in his talke, that I eſteme him better, then I do ſome other whom I haue perceiued and found otherwaies. For I wil flatter no man, nor yet claw his backe in his folly, but eſteme all men as I finde them, allowing what is good, and diſalowing what is bad, In omnibus hominibus, ſiue amicis ſiue inimicis, iuxta præceptum Paulinum, a filijs huius ſeculi in pretio non habitum: Sitis odio, inquit, proſequentes quod malum eſt, adhærentes autẽ ei quod bonum eſt: Neq; bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmemns vnquã, id quod filij huius ſeculi vulgo faciunt, vt eſt videre vbique. And nowe what maner of man doe you make me, Maſter N. when you note me to be ſo much abuſed by ſo ignorant a man, ſo ſimple, ſo playne, & ſo farre without all wrincles? Haue I lyued ſo long in this tottering world, and haue I bene ſo many waies turmoyled and toſſed vp and downe, and ſo much, as it were ſeaſoned with the pouder of ſo many experiences to and fro, to be nowe ſo farre bewytched & alienated from my wits, as though I could not diſcerne cheeſe from chalk, truth from falſhood, but that euery ſely ſoule, and baſe witted man might eaſely abuſe me to what enterpriſe he liſted at hys pleaſure? well, I ſay not nay, but I may be abuſed. But why do you not tell me how your brother abuſed me, promiſing before me and many mo, that he would ſtand to your awardſhip, and now doth deny it? why do you not tell me, howe thoſe two falſe faithles wretches abuſed me, promiſing alſo to abide your award, and doth it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your ſelfe haue abuſed mee, promiſyng me to redreſſe the iniury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and haue not fulfilled your promiſe? Theſe notable abuſes be nothing with you, but onely you muſt needes burden me with my neighbours abuſing of me, which is none at all, as farforth as euer I could perceiue, ſo God helpe mee in my neede. For if he had abuſed me as you and other haue done, I ſhould be ſoone at a point with hym, for any thing further doing for hym. &c.

M.Latymer flattereth no man.

i. Among all mẽ, eyther friendes or enemies according to Paules precept, not eſtemed of the children of this world: hate you ſayth he, that which is euill, and cleaue to that Which is good. And let vs not at any time for the fauour of men, call good euill, and euill good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is euery where to be ſeene.

Item Syr, you ſayd further, that I ſhall neuer be able to proue that either your brother, or the ij. tenauntes agreed to ſtand to your award. &c. No Syr? Maſter N. you ſay belike as you wold haue it to be, or as your brother with his adherentes haue perſuaded you to thinke it to be, ſo inducyng you to do their requeſt to your own ſhame and rebuke, if you perſeuer in the ſame, beſide the perill of your ſoule, for conſentyng at leaſt way, to the maintenaũce by falſhod of your brothers iniquitie. For in that you would your awardſhyp ſhould take none effect, you ſhew your ſelfe nothyng inclinable to the redreſſe of your brothers vnright dealyng with an honeſt poore man, which hath bene ready at your requeſt to do you pleaſure with his thynges, or els he had neuer come into this wrãgle for his owne goods with your brother.

Bolſtering of falſhod and iniquitie.

Ah Maſter N. what maner of man do you ſhew your ſelfe to be? or what maner of conſciẽce do you ſhew your ſelfe to haue? For firſt, as touchyng your brother, you know right wel, that Syr Tho. Cokin with a letter of his owne hand wrytyng, hath witneſſed vnto your brothers agreement, whiche letter he ſent to me vnſealed, and I ſhewed the ſame to my neighbour and other moe ere I ſealed it, and perchaunce haue a copy of the ſame yet to ſhew. with what conſcience then can you ſay that I ſhal neuer be able to proue it? Shall not three men vpon their othes make a ſufficient profe trow you? vel ipſo dicente Domino: in ore duorũ vel triũ. &c. Yea, you thinke it true I dare ſay, in your cõſcience, if you haue any conſcience, though I were in my graue, and ſo vnable to proue any thing. And as for the ij. tenauntes, they be as they be, and I truſt to ſee them hãdled accordyng as they be: for there be three men yet a liue that dare ſweare vppon a booke, that they both did agree. But what ſhould we looke for at ſuch mens handes, when you your ſelfe play the part you do? Verum viuit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia & iudicat iuſtè. &c.

Brother ought not to beare with brother, in beare right and truth, ſpecially being a Iuſtice.

i. The L himſelfe ſ ing: in the mouth of two o &c.

2. Certain tenauntes.

i. But God is yet ali which ſee all, and eth iuſtly.

Item Syr, you ſayd yet further, that the Iuſtices of peace in the countrey thinke you very vnnaturall, in takyng part with me before your brother. &c. Ah Maſter N. what a ſentẽce is this to come out of your mouth? For partakyng is one thyng, and miniſtryng of iuſtice is an other thyng: and a worthy miniſter of iuſtice will be no partaker, but one indifferent betwene partie and partie. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to miniſter iuſtice betwene your brother and my neighbour without any partakyng with either other. But what maner of iuſtices be they I pray you, which woulde ſo fayne haue you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and ſhould reforme and amend your brother? as you your ſelfe know, no mã better. what? Iuſtices? no Iugglers you might more worthly call ſuch as they be, then Iuſtices. Be they thoſe iuſtices which call you vnnaturall, for that you will not take your brothers part agaynſt all right and conſcience, whom you had picked out and appointed to haue the finall hearyng and determinyng of my neighbours cauſe after your ſubſtanciall & fine award makyng? Uerely I thinke no leſſe. For ſoth he is much beholdyng to you, & I alſo for his ſake. Is that the holeſome cõſell that you haue to giue your poore neighbours in their neede? In deede you ſhew your ſelfe a worthy Iuggler: oh, I would haue ſayd a Iuſticier, among other of your iugglyng and partakyng Iuſtices. Deum bonum, what is this world? Mary Syr my neighbour had ſponne a faire thred, if your partakyng Iuſtices through your good counſell had had his matter in orderyng, and finiſhyng. I pray God ſaue me and all my frendes, with all Gods litle flocke, frõ the whole felowſhyp of your ſo naturall and partaking Iuſtices, Amen.

Were not here a good ſort of Iuſtices, trow you?

Iuſtices turned to Iugglers.

Partaking Iuſtices.

i. O good God.

Lord God, who would haue thought that there had bene ſo many partakyng Iuſtices, that is to ſay, vniuſt iuſtices in Warwikſhyre, if Maiſter N. him ſelfe one of the ſame order (but altogether out of order) and therfore knoweth it beſt, had not told vs the tale? but theſe call you (you ſay) very vnnaturall. &c. And why not rather (I pray you) to much naturall? For we read de natura duplici, integra & corrupta. Illa erat iuſticiæ plena: hæc niſi reparata ſemper manet iniuſta, iniuſticiæ fructus alios poſt alios paritura: ſo that he that will not helpe his brother hauing a iuſt cauſe in his neede, may be iuſtly called vnnaturall, as not doyng iuxta inſtinctum naturæ, ſiue integræ, ſiue reparatæ. i. *According to the inſtinct of nature either as it was at the beginning, or as it was reſtored.* But he that will take his brothers part agaynſt right, as to ratifie his brothers wrõg deceiuyng, he is to much naturall, tanquam ſequens ingenium

i. Of a do nature, and corru That was full of Iu ſtice. This vnleſſe it b reſtored, a beth alwa vniuſt, b ing forth fruites of wickednes one after other.

nium ſiue inclinationem naturæ corruptæ , contra voluntatem Dei . i. *As one following the diſpoſition and inclination of corrupt nature agaynſt the will of God* : and ſo to bee naturall may well ſeeme to bee cater coſin or coſin germane with, to be diabolicall.

I feare me wee haue to many Iuſtices that bee to much naturall to their own periſhment both body and ſoule. For worthy Iuſtices, hauing euer the feare and dread of God before their eyes (quales ſunt pauciores apud nos, quàm vellem) will haue no reſpect at all in their iudgementes and proceedinges, ad propinquitatem ſanguinis , but altogether ad dignitatem et æquitatem cauſæ, vt quod iuſtum eſt ſemper iudicent intuitu dei, non quod iniuſtum eſt intuitu hominum : of which number I pray God make you one, Amen. Iuſtus eſt, (ſaith Iohn) qui facit iuſticiam . At, qui facit peccatum (id quod facit , quiſquis iniuſte facit in gratiam et fauorem vllius hominis) ex diabolo eſt. i. *He is iuſt that doth iuſtice. But he that ſinneth (as all they do which do vniuſtly for fauour and pleaſure of men) is of the deuill.* (ſaith he): which once all our partaking and vnnaturall Iuſtices be, with all their partialitie and naturallitie. Quare dignum et Iuſtum eſt , that as many as bee ſuch Iuſtices , iuſte priuentur mnnere , et amplius quoque plectantur pro ſui quiſque facinoris quantitate, vt vel ſic tandem abſcindantur , tanquam nati in incommodum reipub. noſtræ, qui nos conturbant cum adiuuare debeant, Amen.

Quare ſeponite iuſticiam et ſequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicals would haue you to doe, that is, euen as iuſt as Germanes lipps, which came not together by nyne myle, Vt vulgo dicunt. &c.

Item Syr, finally and laſt of al you added theſe wordes following : Well (quod you) let M. Latimer take heede how he medleth with my brother: for hee is lyke to fynd as crabbed and as froward a peece of hym, as euer hee found in his lyfe. &c. Ah Syr: and is your brother ſuch a one as you ſpeake of in dede? merciful God, what a cōmendation is this for one brother to geue an other? Eſt ne eiuſmodi gloriatio tua mi amice? And were it not poſſible, trow you, to make him better? It is written: Vexatio dat intellectum. And again: Bonū mihi Domine quòd humiliaſti me. At leaſt way I may pray to God for hym, as Dauid did for ſuch lyke, ad hunc modū: Chamo & freno maxillas eorum cōſtringe qui non approximant ad te. In the meane ſeaſon I would I had neuer knowen neither of you both: for ſo ſhould I haue ben without this inward ſorrowe of my hart, to ſee ſuch vntowardnes of you both to godlines: for I can not be but heauy harted, to ſee ſuch men ſo wickedly mynded. Well, let vs ponder a litle better your wordes, where you ſay, I ſhall fynde hym as crabbed and as froward a peece. &c. Marke well your owne wordes . For by the tenor of the ſame it playnely appeareth , that you confeſſe your brothers cauſe wherein hee ſo ſtifly ſtandeth, to be vniuſt and very nought. For he that ſtandeth ſo ſtifly in a good quarell and a iuſt cauſe, as many good men haue done, is called a faſt man, a cōſtant, a truſty man. But he that is ſo obſtacle and vntractable in wickednes and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and a froward peece, as you name your brother to be.

Wherefore, knowing ſo well your brothers cauſe to be ſo naughty, why haue you not endeuored your ſelf, as a worthy Iuſtice, to reforme him accordingly, as I requyred you, and you promiſed me to do, now almoſt twelue monethes ago, if not altogether ? Summa ſummarum , Maſter N. if you will not come of ſhortly, and apply your ſelfe therunto more effectually hereafter then you haue done heretofore, bee you well aſſured thereof, I ſhall detect you to all the frendes that I haue in England , both hye and lowe , aſwell hys crabbednes and frowardnes , as your colourable ſupportatiō of the ſame, that I truſt I ſhalbe able therby, eyther to bring you both to ſome goodnes , or at leaſt way, I ſhall ſo warne my frendes and all honeſt hartes to beware of your ilnes , that they ſhall take either no hurt at all, or, at leaſt way, leſſe harme by you through myne aduertyſement , in that, knowing you perfectly , they may the better auoyd and ſhunne your cōpany. You ſhall not ſtay me maſter N. no though you would geue me all the landes and goodes you haue, as rich as you are noted to be . Ego nolo tam iuſtam cauſam derelinquere : ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare . For whether it be per deteſtabilem ſuperbiam, whether per abominabilem auaritiam , or by both two linked together , it is no ſmall iniquitie to keepe anye one poore man ſo long from his right and duty ſo ſtifneckedly and obſtinately, or whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any maner of wayes to conſent to the ſame? You know, I trow, maſter N. furtum quid ſit : nempe quouiſmodo auferre vel retinere alienam rem inuito domino , vt quidam definiunt . Si fur ſit qui ſic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuſcūq; ambagibus ſuffulcit? i. *What theft is, that is, to take or deteine by any maner of way, an other mans good agaynſt his will that is the owner, as ſome define it. If he be a theefe that ſo doth openly, what ſhall he be that approueth hym which is the doer, defendeth, maintayneth, & ſupporteth him by any maner of colour?* Cōſider with your ſelfe good maſter N. quid ſit opprimere & fraudare in negotio fratrē, & what followeth therof. It is truly ſayd: non tollitur peccatū, niſi reſtituatur oblatū. No reſtitution, no ſaluation: which is as well to be vnderſtand, de rebus per fraudes, technas, & dolos, as de rebus per manifeſtum furtū & latrocinium partis. Wherefore let not your brother maſter N. by cauillation continue in the deuils poſſeſſion . I wyll doe the beſt I can, & wraſtle with the deuill, omnibus viribus, to deliuer you both from him . I will leaue no one ſtone vnmoued to haue both you and your brother ſaued. There is neyther Archbiſhop nor Biſhop , nor yet any learned man, either in Vniuerſities or elſwhere that I am acquaynted withall, that ſhall not write vnto you , and in theyr writing by their learning cōfute you. There is no godly man of law in this realme, that I am acquainted withal, but they ſhall write vnto you, & confute you by the law. There is neither Lord nor lady, nor yet any noble perſonage in this realme ẏ I am acquainted withall, but they ſhall write vnto you, and godly threaten you with their authority . I will do all this: yea, and kneele vpon both my knees before the Kinges Maieſty and all his honorable Counſell, with moſt humble petition for your reformation, rather then the deuill ſhall poſſeſſe you ſtyll, to your final damnation. So that I do not deſpaire, but verely truſt, one way or other, to plucke both you, and alſo your crabbed brother, as crabbed as you ſay he is, out of the deuils clawes, maugre the deuils hart.

i. What is to oppreſſe and to defraud your brother in his buſines.

i. The ſinne is not forgeuen, except the thing be reſtored agayne that is taken away.

i. Of things gotten by fraude, guile, and deceit, as of thinges gotten by open theft and robbery.

Godly threats of Maſter *Latymer* to ſaue the ſoule of hys friend.

Theſe premiſſes well conſidered, loke vpon it, good maſter N. that we haue no farther a doe. Gods plague is preſently vpon vs: therefore let vs now diligently looke about vs, and in no wiſe defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend what ſo euer hath bene amiſſe. Theſe were the capitall pointes of your talke (as I was informed,) after you had peruſed that my nipping and vnpleſant letter : and I thought good to make you ſome anſwer to them, if perchaunce I might ſo moue you, the rather to call your ſelf to ſome better remembrance , and ſo more earneſtly apply your ſelfe to accompliſh & performe what you haue begun and promiſed to doe , namely the thing it ſelf being of ſuch ſort, as apparently tendeth both to your owne worſhip, and alſo to Gods high pleaſure.

Thus loe wyth a mad head, but yet a good will, after long ſcribling, I wot not wel what (but I know you can read it, and comprehend it well inough) I bid you moſt hartely well to fare in the Lord, with good health, & long life to Gods pleaſure, Amen. From Baxterley the. xv. of Iuly.

Duryng the tyme that the ſayd M. Latymer was priſoner in Oxford, we read not of much that hee dyd write, beſides hys conference with D. Ridley, and hys proteſtation at the tyme of his diſputation. Otherwyſe of letters we find very few or none that he dyd write to hys frendes abroad , ſaue onely theſe few lynes which he wrote to one Miſtres Wilkynſon of London a godly matrone , and an exile afterward for the Goſpels ſake. Who ſo long as ſhe remayned in England , was a ſingular patroneſſe to the good Saintes of God , and learned Byſhops, as to M . Hoper , to the Byſhop of Herford, to M. Couerdale, M. Latymer, Doct . Cranmer with many other . The copy and effect of which hys letter to Miſtres Wylkynſon here foloweth.

¶ A letter ſent to Myſtres Wilkynſon of London, widow, from M. Hugh Latymer out of Bocardo in Oxford.

If the gift of a pot of colde water ſhall not be in obliuion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountifull gifts when he ſhall ſay to you : *I was in pryſon, and you viſited me.* God graunt vs all to do and ſuffer while we be here, as may be to his wil and pleaſure, Amen.

Yours in Bocardo, Hugh Latimer.

Touchyng the memorable Actes and doyngs of this worthy mā, among many other this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterpriſe he attempted in ſendyng to kyng Henry a preſent: the maner whereof was this. There was then, & yet remayneth ſtill, an old cuſtome receiued from ẏ old Romanes, that vpon Newyeares day, beyng the firſt day of January, euery Biſhop with ſome hādſome Newyeares gift ſhould gratifie ẏ kyng: & ſo they did, ſome with gold, ſome with ſiluer, ſome with a purſe full of money, & ſome one thyng and ſome an other: but M. Latimer beyng Byſhop of Worceſter then, among the reſt preſented a new Teſtament for his Newyeares gift, with a napkyn hauing this poſie about it: Fornicatores & adulteros iudicabit Dominus.

M. Latymers Newyeares gift ſent to K. Henry.

And thus haſt thou, gētle reader, the whole lyfe, both of M. Rydley, and of M. Latymet, two worthy doers in the Church of CHRIST, ſeuerally and by them ſelues ſet forth and deſcribed with all their doynges, wrytynges, diſputations, ſufferynges, theyr paynfull trauails, faythfull preachynges, ſtudious ſeruice in CHRISTES Church, their pacient impriſonment, and conſtant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their procedynges frō time to tyme, ſince their firſt ſpringyng yeares, to this preſent tyme and moneth of Quéene Mary, beyng the moneth of October. an. 1555. In the which moneth they were both brought forth together to their finall examination and execution. Wherfore, as we haue heretofore declared both their lyues ſeuerally and diſtinctly one from the other, ſo now ioyntly to couple them both together as they were together both ioyned in one ſocietie of cauſe and Martyrdome, we will by the grace of CHRIST proſecute the reſt that remaineth concernyng their latter examination, diſgradyng, and conſtant ſufferyng, with ẏ order & maner alſo of the Cōmiſſioners, which were M. White Byſhop of Lyncolne, M. Brokes Biſhop of Gloceſter, with others: and what were their wordes, their obiections, their Oratiōs there vſed, and what agayne were the aunſweres of theſe men to the ſame, as in proceſſe here foloweth to be ſeene.

B. Ridley, & M. Latymer brought forth to examinatiō. October. 1.

M. White B. of Lincolne M. Brokes B. of Gloceſter the Popes deputies.

¶ The order and maner of the examinatiō of Doctor Ridley and Maſter Latimer, had the .xxx. day of September. 1555.

The laſt examination of B. Ridley & M. Latymer.

First, after the appearing of Tho. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cant. before the Popes Delegate, and the Quéenes Commiſſioners in S. Maries Church at Oxford, about the .xij. day of September, whereof more ſhall be ſayd (by the Lords grace) when wee come to the death of the ſaid Archbiſhop: ſhortly after, vpon the .xxviij. day of the ſayd moneth of September, was ſent downe to Oxford an other Commiſſion from Cardinall Pole Legate a latere, to John White, biſh. of Lincolne, to Doct. Brokes biſhop of Gloceſter, and to doctor Holyman, biſhop of Briſtow. The contentes & vertue of which cōmiſſion was, that the ſayd John of Lincolne, James of Gloceſter, and John of Briſtow, they or two of them, ſhould haue full power and authority to aſcite, examine, and iudge M. Hugh Latimer, and M. Doctor Ridley, pretenſed Biſhops of Worceſter and London, for diuers and ſundry erronious opinions, which the ſayd Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley dyd hold and mayntaine in open diſputations had in Oxford in the monethes of May, June, and July, in the yeare of our Lord. 1554, as long before in the time of perdition, and ſithen. The which opinions if the named perſons would now recant, geuyng and yeldinq them ſelues to the determination of the vniuerſal and catholicke church, planted by Peter in the bleſſed ſea of Rome, that then the deputed Judges by the ſayd authority of their commiſſion ſhould haue power to receyue the ſayd penitent perſons, and forthwyth miniſter to them the reconciliation of the holy father the Pope: but if the ſayd Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would ſtoutly & ſtubburnly defend and mayntayne theſe their erronious aſſertiōs, that then the ſaid Lords by their commiſſion, ſhould procéede in forme of iudgement according to the law of Heretickes, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of Biſhops, Prieſtes, and all other eccleſiaſticall orders, ſhoulde pronounce them as Heretickes, and therefore cleane to cut them of from the Church, and ſo to yelde them to receaue puniſhment, due to all ſuch hereſye and ſchiſme.

The effect of the Cardinals commiſſion ſent downe to Oxford.

Wherfore, the laſt of September, the ſaid two perſons Nicolas Ridley and Hugh Latimer were aſcited to appeare before the ſayd Lords, in ẏ diuinitie ſchoole at Oxford, at .viij. of the clocke. At what tyme thyther repayred the Lordes, placing them ſelues in an hygh ſeate, made for publicke lectures and diſputations, according to the vſage of that ſchole, being then fayre ſet, and trimmed with cloth of Tiſſewe and cuſhynges of veluet: and after the ſayd Lords were placed and ſet, the ſayd Latimer and Ridley were ſent for: and fyrſt appeared M. Doctour Ridley, and anon M. Latimer. But becauſe it ſéemed góod ſeuerally to examine them, M. Latimer was kept backe, vntyll Doctor Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore ſóne after the comming of D. Ridley into the ſchóole, the Commiſſion was publiſhed by an appointed Notary, and openly read. But Doct. Ridley ſtanding bare headed, humbly expecting the cauſe of that his appearance, eftſones as he had heard the Cardinall named and the Popes holynes, put on hys cap. Wherefore after the commiſſion was publiſhed in forme and ſenſe aboue ſpecified, the B. of Lincolne ſpake in ſenſe following.

D. Rid... & M... Latym... aſcited to appeare, the laſt of Septem...

B. Ridle... putteth o... hys cap, ... hearing o... the Pope... name.

Linc. M. Ridley, although neyther I, neither my Lordes here in reſpect of our own perſons do lóke for cappe or knée, yet becauſe we beare and repreſent ſuch perſons as we do, that is, my Lord Cardinalls grace, Legate a latere to the Popes holynes, as well in that he is of a noble parentage, and (therewith M. Rydley moued his cap with lowely obeyſaunce) deſcending from the regall bloud, as in that he is a man worthy to bee reuerenced with all humility for his great knowledge and learning, noble vertues, and godly lyfe, and eſpecially in that hee is here in England Deputy to the Popes holines, it ſhould haue becommed you at hys name to haue diſcouered your head. Wherefore except you will of your owne ſelfe take the paines to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the ſayd Cardinall, as of the Popes holines vncouer the ſame, leſt that this your contumacy exhibited now before vs ſhould be preiudiciall to the ſayd moſt Reuerend perſons (which thing wee may in no caſe ſuffer) you ſhall cauſe vs to take the payne to cauſe ſome man to plucke of your cap from you. To whom M. Ridley makyng his petition for lycence, aunſwered.

The wordes o... the Biſho... of Lincol. to Docto... Ridley, for not pu... ting of his cappe.

Rid. As touching that you ſayd (my Lord) that you of your owne perſons deſyre ne cap ne knée, but onely requyre the ſame in conſideration that you repreſent the Cardinals graces perſon, I do you to wit, and thervpon make my proteſtation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the Cardinals grace neyther for any contumacy that I beare towardes your own perſons, neither for any derogation of honour toward the Lord Cardinalls grace. For I knowe him to bee a man worthy of all humility, reuerence, and honour, in that he came of the moſt regall bloud, & in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and vertue: and as touching theſe vertues and poyntes, I with all humility (therewith he put of his cap, and bowed his knée) and obeyſaunce that I may, will reuerence and honour his grace: but in that he is Legate to ẏ Biſhop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap) whoſe vſurped ſupremacy and abuſed authority I vtterly refuſe and renounce, I may in no wyſe giue any obeyſaunce or honour vnto hym, leſt that my ſo doing and behauiour

Anſwere of Doctor Ridley, to the B. of Lincol.

Doctor Ridley reuerenceth the perſon of the Car... dinall, but not his Le... gacie.

niour might be preiudiciall to myne oth, ⁊ derogation to the verity of Gods word: and therfore that I might not onely by confeſſion profeſſe the veritie in not reuerencing the renounced authoritie contrary to Gods word, but alſo in geſture, in behauiour, and all my doinges expreſſe the ſame, I haue put on my cap: and for this conſideration onely, and not for any contumacy to your Lordſhippes, neyther contempt of this worſhipfull audience, neyther derogation of any honour due to the Cardinall his grace, both for his noble parentage, and alſo his excellent qualities, I haue kept on my cap.

Linc. M, Rydley, you excuſe your ſelfe of that, with the which wee preſſed you not, in that you proteſt you keepe on your cap, neither for any contumacy towardes vs (which looke for no ſuch honour of you) neither for any contempt of this audience: which although iuſtly they may (yet as I ſuppoſe) in this caſe do not require any ſuch obeyſaunce of you: neither in derogatiõ of any honour due to my Lorde Cardinalls grace for his regall diſcent (at which word M. Ridley moued his cap) ⁊ excellent qualities: for although in all yͤ premiſſes honour be due, yet in theſe reſpectes we require none of you, but onely in that my Lorde Cardinalls grace is here in England Deputy of the Popes holynes (at which word the Lordes and others put of their caps, and M. Ridley put on his): and therfore we ſay vnto you the ſecond tyme, that except you take the paynes your ſelfe to put your hand to your head, and put of your cap, you ſhall put vs to the paine to cauſe ſome mã to take it from you, except you alledge ſome infirmitie and ſicknes, or other more reaſonable cauſe, vpon the conſideration wherof we may do as we thinke good.

Ryd. The premiſſes I ſayd onely for this end, that it might aſwell appeare to your Lordſhips, as to this worſhipfull audience, why and for what conſideration I vſed ſuch kynd of behauiour in not hũblyng my ſelfe vnto your Lordſhips with cap and knee: and as for my ſickenes, I thanke my Lorde God that I am as well at eaſe, as I was this long ſeaſon: and therfore I do not pretende that which is not, but onely this, that it might appeare by this my behauiour that I ackowledge in no point that vſurped ſupremacy of Rome, and therfore contemne and vtterly deſpiſe all authoritie commyng from hym. In takyng of my cap, do as it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips, and I ſhalbe content.

¶ Then the B. of Lincolne, after the third admonition, commaunded one of the Bedles (that is, an officer of the Vniuerſitie) to pluke his cap from his head. M. Ridley bowyng his head to the officer, gently permitted hym to take away his cap.

¶ After this, the B. of Lyncolne in a long Oration exhorted M. Ridley to recant, and ſubmit him ſelfe to the vniuerſall faith of CHRIST, in this maner.

Linc. M. Ridley, I am ſure you haue ſufficiently põdered with your ſelfe the effect of this our Commiſſion with good aduiſement, conſidering both pointes therof, how that authoritie is geuen to vs, if you ſhall receiue the true doctrine of the Church, which firſt was founded by * Peter at Rome immediatly after the death of CHRIST, and from hym by lineall ſucceſſion hath bene brought to this our tyme, if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your hereticall ⁊ ſeditious opinions, content to yeld your ſelfe to the vndoubted faith and truth of the Goſpell, receiued and alwayes taught of the Catholicke ⁊ Apoſtolicke Church, the which the kyng and Queene, all the nobles of this Realme, and commons of the ſame, al Chriſtian people haue and do confeſſe, you onely ſtanding alone by your ſelf. You vnderſtand and perceiue, I am ſure, that authoritie is geuẽ vs to receiue you, to reconcile you, and vpon due penaunce to adioyne and aſſociate you again into the number of the Catholickes and CHRISTES Church, from the which you haue ſo long ſtraid, without the which no man can be ſaued, the which thyng I and my Lordes here, yea and all, as well nobles as cõmons of this Realme moſt hartly deſire, and I for my part (wherewith he put of his cap) moſt earneſtly exhort you to doe.

Remẽber M. Ridley, it is no ſtraunge countrey whether I exhort you to returne. You were once one of vs: you haue taken degrees in the ſchole. You were made Prieſt and became a Preacher, ſettyng forth the ſame doctrine which we do now. You were made Byſhop accordyng to our lawes: and to be ſhort, it is not ſo long agone ſith you ſeparated your ſelfe from vs, and in the tyme of Hereſie became a ſetter forth of that deuiliſhe and ſeditious doctrine which in theſe latter dayes was preached amongeſt vs: for at what tyme the new doctrine of * onely fayth began to ſpryng, the Coũſell willyng to winne my Lord Chauncellour, ſent you to hym (I then being in my Lordes houſe vnknowẽ as I ſuppoſe to you) and after you had talked with my Lord ſecretly, and were departed, immediatly my Lord declared certaine pointes of your talke, and meanes of your perſuaſion, and amongeſt other this was one, that you ſhould ſay, * tuſh my Lord, this matter of iuſtificatiõ is but a trifle, let vs not ſticke to cõdiſcend herein to thẽ: but for Gods loue my Lord ſtand ſtoutly to the veritie of the Sacrament, for I ſee that they will aſſault that alſo. If thys be true (as my Lord is a man credible enough in ſuch a matter) hereby it is declared of what mynd you were then as touchyng the truth of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament.

Though the countrey of Rome be not ſtraunge: yet the doctrine of Rome is ſtraunge.

* In other [illegible] in B. *White*: for only fayth, is no new doctrine.

* The wordes *of D. Ridley* falſely reported.

Alſo in a Sermon of yours at Paules Croſſe, you as effectually and as Catholickly ſpake of that bleſſed Sacrament as any man might haue done, whereby it appeareth that it is no ſtraunge thyng nor vnknowen place wherunto I exhort you. I wiſh you to returne thether from whence you came: that is, together with vs to acknowledge the truth, to acknowledge yͤ church of God, wherin no mã may erre, to acknowledge yͤ ſupremacy of our moſt reuerend father in God the popes holynes (which as I ſaid) lineally taketh his diſcent frõ Peter, vppon whom CHRIST promiſed before hys death to build hys Church, the which ſupremacy or prerogatiue the moſt auncient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge: and here he brought a place or 2. out of the Doctours, but eſpecially ſtayd vpon a ſayng of S. Auſten which writeth in this maner: Totus orbis Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis & longe remotis terris Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubiectus eſt. That is: *All the Christian countreys beyond the ſea are ſubiect to the ſea of Rome*. Here you ſee M. Ridley that all Chriſtendome is ſubiect to the Church of Rome. What ſhould ſtay you therfore to confeſſe the ſame with S. Auſten, and the other fathers?

The Biſhop of Lincolne perſuadeth *D. Ridley* to returne to the Popes Church.

Dubitatur vtrum hæc forma verborum ſit Auguſtini.

Then maſter Ridley deſired hys patience to ſuffer hym to ſpeake ſomewhat of the premiſſes, leſt the multitude of thynges might confound his memory, and hauyng graunt thereunto, ſayd in thys maner:

Rid. My Lorde, I moſt hartely thanke your Lordſhip, as well for your gentlenes, as alſo for your ſobrietie in talke, and for your good and fauourable zeale in thys learned exhortation, in the which I haue marked eſpecially three poyntes, which you vſed to perſwade me to leaue my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am throughly perſwaded to be grounded, not vpon mans imagination and decrees, but vpon the infallible truth of CHRITES Goſpell, and not to looke backe and returne to the Romiſh ſea, contrary to myne oth contrary to the prerogatiue and crowne of thys Realme, and eſpecially (which moueth me moſt) contrary to the expreſſed word of God.

Anſwere of *D. Ridley* to the B. of Lincolne.

Three pointes noted in the biſhop of Lincolnes Oratiõ.

The firſt poynt is thys, that the ſea of Rome taking hys beginning from Peter, vpon whom you ſay Chriſt hath builded hys church, hath in all ages lineally from Biſhop to Biſhop bene brought to thys tyme.

1. The ſea of Rome founded vpon Peter.

Secondly, that euen the holy fathers from tyme to tyme, haue in their writings confeſſed the ſame.

2. The ſea of Rome confirmed by old Doctors.

Thirdly, that in that I was once of the ſame opinion

3. D. Ridley once of the ſame [illegible].

on, and together wyth you I dyd acknowledge the ſame. Firſt as touching the ſaying of CHRIST, frõ whence your Lordſhip gathereth the foundation of the church vpõ Peter, truly the place is not ſo to be vnderſtand as you take it, as the circumſtaunce of the place will declare. For after that CRHIST had aſked his diſciples whom men iudged hym to bee, and they had aunſwered, that ſome had ſayd he was a Prophet, ſome Helias, ſome one thing, ſome an other: then he ſayd, whom ſay ye that I am? Then Peter ſayd: *I ſay that thou art* CHRIST *the Sonne of God*. To whom CHRIST aunſwered: *I ſay*, Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petrã ædificabo eccleſiã meam. i. *Thou art Peter, and vpon this ſtone will I builde my church*: that is to ſay, vpon thys ſtone, not meaning Peter him ſelf, as though he would haue conſtitute a mortall man ſo fraile and brickle a foundation of his ſtable and vnfallible Church: but vpõ this rocke ſtone, that is, this cõfeſſion of thine, that I am ꝧ ſonne of God, I will build my Church. For this is the foundation & beginning of all chriſtianity, wyth word, hart, and mynde to confeſſe that CHRIST is the ſonne of God. Whoſoeuer beleueth not this, CHRIST is not in hym: and he can not haue the marke of CHRIST printed in hys forehead, which confeſſeth not that CHRIST is ꝧ ſonne of God. Therefore CHRIST ſayd vnto Peter, that vpon this rocke, that is, vpõ this his cõfeſſion, that he was Chriſt ꝧ ſonne of God, he would build his church, to declare that wythout thys fayth no mã can come to CHRIST: ſo that this beliefe, that CHRIST is the ſonne of God, is the foundation of our chriſtianity, and the foundatiõ of the Churche. Here you ſee vpon what foundation CHRISTES church is built, not vpon the frailtie of man, but vpon the ſtable and infallible word of God.

Math. 16.

The church not builded vpon Peter.

The church builded vpon fayth: not vpon any perſon.

The wordes of Chriſt to Peter. Math. 16. expounded.

Fayth is the fundacion of the church.

Now as touching the lineall diſcent of the biſhops in the ſea of Rome, true it is that the Patriarke of Rome, in the Apoſtles tyme and long after, was a great mainteiner and a ſetter forth of CHRISTES glory, in the which aboue all other countreys & regions, there eſpecially was preached the true Goſpell, the Sacraments were moſt duly miniſtred, and as before CHRISTES comming it was a citie ſo valiaunt in prowes and marſhall affaires, that all the world was in a maner ſubiect to it, and after CHRISTES paſſion diuers of the Apoſtels there ſuffered perſecution for the Goſpels ſake: ſo after that the Emperours, their hartes being illuminated, receiued the Goſpell and became Chriſtians, the goſpell there, aſwell for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place floriſhed moſt, whereby the Biſhops of that place were had in more reuerence and honor, moſt eſteemed in all counſels and aſſemblies, not becauſe they acknowledged them to bee their head, but becauſe the place was moſt reuerenced and ſpoken of, for the great power and ſtrength of the ſame. As nowe here in England the Biſhop of Lyncolne in Seſſions and ſittings hath the preeminence of the other Biſhops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignitie of the Biſhopricke (& therwyth the people ſinyled). Wherefore the Doctours in their writings haue ſpoken moſt reuerently of thys ſea of Rome, and in theyr writinges preferred it: and this is the prerogatiue which your Lordſhip dyd rehearſe the auncient Doctors to geue to the ſea of Rome.

Lineall diſcent of the Biſhop of Rome.

Why the Biſhops of Rome haue bene more eſteemed then the Biſhops of other cities.

The prerogatiue that the doctors geue to the ſea of Rome, and for what cauſe.

Semblably, I can not nor dare not but commende, reuerence, and honor the ſea of Rome, as long as it cõtinued in the promotion and ſetting forth of Gods glory, and in due preaching of the Goſpel, as it dyd many yeares after CHRIST. But after that the Biſhops of that ſea, ſeeking their own pride, & not Gods honour, began to ſet them ſelues aboue Kings and Emperors, challenging to them the title of Gods Vicars, the dominion and ſupremacy ouer all the world, I cã not but wyth S. Gregory a biſhop of Rome alſo, confeſſe that the Biſhop of that place is the very true Antichriſt whereof S. Iohn ſpeaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and ſay with the ſaid S. Gregory: he that maketh hym ſelf a biſhop ouer all the world, is worſe then Antichriſt.

The ſea of Rome ſo long as it continued in ſound doctrine, was worthy to be reuerenced.

The Sea of Rome proued to be Antichriſt.

Now, where as you ſay that S. Auſtine ſhould ſeeme, not onely to geue ſuch a prerogatiue, but alſo a ſupremacie to ꝧ Sea of Rome, in that he ſayth, all the Chriſtian world is ſubiect to the Church of Rome, and therfore ſhould geue to that Sea a certaine kinde of ſubiection: I am ſure your Lordſhip knoweth that in S. Auſtines time there were .iiij. Patriarckes, of Alexãdria, Conſtantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which Patriarckes had vnder them certaine countreys, as in England the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hath vnder him diuers biſhopricks in England and Wales, to whom he may be ſayd to be their Patriarcke. Alſo your lordſhip knoweth right well, that at what tyme S. Auſten wrote this booke, he was then Biſhop in Africa. Farther, you are not ignorant, that betwene Europe and Africa, lyeth the ſea called Mare mediterraneum, ſo that all the countreys in Europe to hym which is in Africa, may be called tranſmarine, countreis beyond the Sea. Hereof S. Auſten ſayth: Totus orbis Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis & longe remotis terris eccleſiæ Romanæ ſubiectus eſt. That is, all the Chriſtian countreyes beyond the ſeas and farre regions, are ſubiect to ꝧ ſea of Rome. If I ſhould ſay all countreyes beyond the ſea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyonde the ſea. In this ſenſe S. Auſten ſaith all the countreys beyond the ſea are ſubiect to the ſea of Rome, declaryng thereby that Rome was one of the Seas of the foure Patriarckes, and had vnder it Europe: but by what ſubiection I pray you? onely for a preeminẽce, as we here in England ſay that all the biſhopricks in England are ſubiect to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury and Yorke.

The place of Saint Auſten anſwered.

4. Patriarckes in ꝧ church in Auſtines time.

Cõtreys beyond the ſea ſubiect to Rome, how and in what reſpect.

For this preeminence alſo the other Doctors (as you recited) ſay, that Rome is the mother of Churches, as the biſhopricke of Lincolne is mother to ꝧ biſhopricke of Oxford, becauſe the Biſhopricke of Oxford came from the Byſhopricke of Lincolne, and they were both once one: and ſo is the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury mother to the other Biſhopricks which are in her prouince. In lyke ſort the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke is mother to the Northbiſhopricks: and yet no man wyll ſay that Lincolne, Caunterbury, or Yorke is ſupreme head to other Biſhopricks: neyther then ought wee to confeſſe the ſea of Rome to bee ſupreme head, becauſe the Doctors in their writings cõfeſſe the ſea of Rome to be mother of Churches.

Rome may be mother of churches, and yet no ſupreme head of churches.

Now, where as you ſay I was once of the ſame religion which you are of, ꝧ truth is, I can not but confeſſe the ſame. Yet ſo was S. Paule a perſecutor of CHRST. But in that you ſay that I was one of you not longe agone, in that I doing my meſſage to my Lord of Wincheſter ſhould deſire hym to ſtande ſtout in that groſſe opinion of the ſupper of the Lord, in very deede I was ſent (as your Lordſhip ſayde) from the Counſell to my Lord of Wincheſter, to exhort hym to receiue alſo the true confeſſion of iuſtification, and becauſe he was very refractorious, I ſayd to hym: why my Lord, what make you ſo great a matter herein? You ſee many Anabaptiſtes ryſe agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar: I pray you my Lorde bee diligent in confounding them: for at that tyme my Lord of Wincheſter and I had to do wyth two Anabaptiſtes of Kent. In thys ſenſe I wylled my Lord to be ſtiffe in the defence of the ſacramẽt agaynſt the deteſtable errours of the Anabaptiſts, and not in the confirmation of that groſſe and carnall opinion now maintained.

In lyke ſort, as touching my ſermon which I made at Paules croſſe, you ſhal vnderſtãd that there were at Paules & diuers other places, fixed railing bils againſt the Sacrament, terming it Iacke of ꝧ boxe, the ſacrament of the baker, round Robin, with lyke vnſeemely termes: for the which cauſes, I to rebuke the vnreuerent behauiour of certayne euyll diſpoſed perſons, preached

D. Ridley falſely charged to preach trãſubſtantiation at Paules croſſe.

preached as reuerently of that matter as I might, declaring what eſtimation and reuerence ought to be geuen to it, what daunger enſued the miſhandlyng thereof, affyrming in that ſacrament to be truely and verely the body and bloud of CHRIST effectuouſly by grace and ſpirite: which wordes the vnlearned vnderſtādyng not, ſuppoſed that I had ment of the groſſe and carnall beyng, which the Romiſh decrées ſet forth, that a bodye hauyng lyfe and motion, ſhould be in déede vnder the ſhapes of bread and wyne.

¶ Wyth that the B. of Lincolne, ſomewhat interrupting hym, ſayd.

Lincol. Well M. Ridley, thus you wreſt places to your own pleaſure: for where as S. Auſten ſayth that the whole Chriſtian world is ſubiect to the ſea of Rome without limitation, and vſeth theſe wordes: in tranſmarinis, & longe remotis terris, onely to expreſſe the latitude of the dominion of the ſea of Rome, wyllyng therby to declare that all the world, yea countreyes far diſtant from Rome, yet neuertheles are ſubiect to that ſea, yet you would wreſt it & leaue it onely to Europe. I am ſure ye wyll not deny, but that totus mundus is more then Europe.

Ridley. In déede my Lorde, if S. Auſten had ſayde ſimpliciter totus mundus, and not added in trāſmarinis, it had bene wythout limitation: but in that hee ſayd totus mundus in tranſmarinis partibus, all the countreys beyond the ſeas, he him ſelf doth limyte the vniuerſall propoſition, declaryng how farre hee ment by totus mundus.

¶ The B. not ſtaying for thys aunſwere, dyd procede, ſaying.

Linc. Well, if I would ſtay vpon this place, I could bring many moe places of the fathers for the cōfirmation thereof: but we haue certayne inſtructions, according to the which we muſt procede, and came not hether to diſpute the matter with you, but onely to take your aunſwers to certayne articles, and vſed this in the way of exhortation: in the which you interrupted me, wherefore I will returne thither agayne.

You muſt conſider that the Church of CHRIST lyeth not hidden, but is a city in the mountayne and a candle on the candleſticke. Ponder with your ſelfe that the Church of CHRIST is catholica, catholicke, which is deducted of κατα ὅλον, that is, per omnia: ſo that CHRISTES church is vniuerſally ſpread through out the world, not cōtained in the *alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuite of England, not contayned in the compaſſe of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore M. Ridley, for Gods loue bee ye not ſingular: acknowledge with all the realme, the truth, it ſhall not be (as you alledge) preiudiciall to the crowne, for the King and Quéene their maieſties haue renoūced that vſurped power taken of their predeceſſours, and iuſtly haue renounced it. For I am ſure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the ſword, the other by the keyes. The ſword is geuen to Kinges, and rulers of countreys: the keyes were deliuered by CHRIST to Peter, and of hym left to all the ſucceſſours. As touching our góodes, poſſeſſions, and lyues, we with you acknowledge vs ſubiect to the King and Quéene, who haue the temporall ſword: but as concernyng matters of religion, as touching Gods quarell and his word, we acknowledge an other head: and as the King and the Quéene their highnes do in all worldly affaires iuſtly chalenge the prerogatiue and primacy, ſo in ſpirituall and eccleſiaſticall matters they acknowledge them ſelues not to be heads and rulers, but members of CHRISTES body. Why therefore ſhould you ſticke at that matter, the which their maieſties haue forſaken and yelded?

Wherefore M. Ridley, you ſhall not onely not doo iniury to the crowne, and be preiudiciall to their Maieſties honour in acknowledging with all Chriſtendome ÿ Popes holines to be ſupreme head of Chriſtes Church, here militant in earth, but do a thing moſt delectable in their ſight, and moſt deſyred of their highnes. Thus if you ſhall do, renoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the reſydue of the realme the common and publicke fault, you ſhall do that that all men moſt hartely deſyre: you ſhall bring quyetnes to your conſcience, and health to your ſoule: then ſhal we with great ioy by the authority cōmitted to vs from the Cardinals grace, receiue you into ÿ church againe, acknowledging you to be no lōger a rotten but a liuely mēber of the ſame, but if you ſhall ſtill be ſingular, if you ſhall ſtill and obſtinately perſeuer in your errours, ſtubbornly mayntaynyng your former hereſies, then muſt we againſt our wil, according to our commiſſion, ſeperate you from vs, and cut you from the church, leſt ÿ rottennes of one part in proceſſe of tyme, putrify and corrupt ÿ whole body: then muſt we confeſſe and publiſh you to be none of ours: then muſt we yeld you vp to the temporall iudges, of whom except it otherwyſe pleaſe the king and Quéenes highnes, you muſt receiue puniſhment by the lawes of this realme, due for heretickes.

Feare of puniſhment ſet before him.

Wherefore M. Ridley, conſider your ſtate, remember your former degrées, ſpare your body, eſpecially conſider your ſoule, which CHRIST ſo dearely bought with his precious bloud, do not you raſhly caſt away that which was precious in Gods ſight, enforce not vs to do all that we may do, which is onely to publiſh you to be none of vs, to cut you of from the church: for we do not nor can not condemne you to dye (as moſt vntruely hath bene reported of vs) but that is the temporall iudges *office: we onely declare you to bée none of the church, and then muſt you, according to the tenour of them and pleaſure of the rulers, abyde their determination, ſo that we, after that wee haue geuen you vp to the temporall rulers, haue no farther to do wyth you. But I truſt M. Ridley, wee ſhall not haue occaſion to do that we may. I truſt you will ſuffer vs to reſt in that poynt of our commiſſion which we moſt hartely deſyre, that is, vppon recantation and repentaunce to receyue you, to reconcile you, and agayne to adioine you to the vnity of the church.

* But that office you your ſelues haue aſſigned vnto them.

¶ Then M. Ridly with often interuption at length ſpake.

Rid. My Lord, I acknowledge an vnſpotted church of CHRIST, in the which *no man can erre, without the which no man can be ſaued, the which is ſpred throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faythfull: neither do I alligate or bynd the ſame to any one place as you ſayd, but confeſſe the ſame to bee ſpred throughout all the world: and wher as Chriſtes Sacramentes are duely miniſtred, his Goſpell truely preached and followed, there doth CHRISTS church ſhine as a city vpon an hill, and as a candle in the candleſticke: but rather it is ſuch as you, that would haue the church of CHRIST bound to a place, which appoynt the ſame to Rome, that there and no where els is the foundation of CHRISTES church. But I am fully perſwaded that CHRISTES Church is euery where founded in euery place where his Goſpell is truely receiued, and effectually followed. And in that the Church of God is in doubt, I vſe herein the wyſe Counſell of Vincentius Lyranenſis, whom I am ſure you will allow: who geuing preceptes howe the catholicke Church may bee in all ſchiſmes and heriſies knowen, wryteth in this maner: *When* (ſayth he) *one part is corrupted with hereſies, then preferre the whole world before that one parte: but if the greateſt part bee infected, then preferre antiquity.*

Aunſwere of *D. Ridley* to Lincolne.

* He meaneth, in which no generall errour can be finally.

The church tied to no place.

The catholickes do bind the church to a certeine place, and that only to Rome.

The Proteſtantes bind the church to no one certaine place, but follow the true confeſſion of the word.

The Counſell of Lyra what church to follow.

In lyke ſort now, when I perceiue the greateſt part of Chriſtianity to be infected with the poyſon of the ſea of Rome, I repayre to the vſage of the Primatyue Church, which I find cleane contrary to the Popes decrées: as in that the Prieſt receyueth alone, in that it is made vnlawful to ÿ laitie to receiue in both kindes,

The greateſt part of Chriſtianitie infected with the church of Rome and in what poynts.

and ſuch lyke: wherefore it requyreth that I preferre the antiquity of the primatiue church before the nouelty of the Romiſh Church.

*The *Bohemians* required that, and were ſhent for theyr labour. Read before pa. 714.

Great reaſons of the Catholickes to proue the communion vnder one kinde.

Lin. M. Ridley, theſe faultes which you charge the Sea of Rome withall, are in déede no faultes. For firſt it was neuer forbid yͤ laitie, but that they might if they *demaunded, receiue vnder both kyndes. You know alſo that Chriſt after his reſurrection, at what tyme he went with his Apoſtels to Galile, opened hymſelfe by breaking of bread. You knowe that S. Paule after hys long ſailing towardes Rome brake bread, ⁊ that the Apoſtels came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not vnlawfull to miniſter the Sacrament vnder the forme of bread onely: ⁊ yet the church had iuſt occaſion to decrée that the laity ſhould receyue in one kynd onely, thereby to take away an opinion of the vnlearned, that CHRIST was not wholy both fleſh and bloud vnder the forme of bread. Therefore to take away that opinion, and to eſtabliſh better the peoples fayth, the holy ghoſt in the church thought good to decrée that the laity ſhould receiue onely in one kynde: and it is no newes for the church vpon iuſt cōſideration to alter rites ⁊ ceremonies. For you read in yͤ Actes of the Apoſtles, that S. Paule wryting to certaine of the Gentiles which had receyued yͤ Goſpell, biddeth thē *to abſtaine* a ſuffocato & ſanguine, *from thynges ſtifled and from bloud*, ſo that this ſéemeth to bée an expreſſe commaundement: yet who will ſay but that it is lawfull to eate bloudinges? how is it lawfull, but by the permiſſion of the church?

Argument. The church did abrogate the precept of the Apoſtle of ſtrangled and bloudinges: Ergo the church likewiſe hath authoritie touching the miniſtration vnder both kindes.

Aunſwere. The precept of the apoſtles was but for a time, and for a purpoſe, by litle to winne the Iewes. Chriſtes commaundement [*doe thys*] was for euer and ſimply commaunded without any bearing wyth the ſtrong or weake.

Rid. My Lord, ſuch things as S.Paule enioyned to yͤ Gentiles for a ſufferaunce, by a little and a litle to win the Iewes to CHRIST, were onely commaundements of tyme, and reſpected not the ſucceſſours: but CHRISTES commaundement: *doe thys* (that is, that which he dyd in remembraunce, which was not to miniſter in one kynde onely) was not a commaundement for a tyme, but to perſeuer to the worldes end.

¶ But the B. of Lincolne not attendyng to thys aunſwer, without any ſtay procéeded in hys oration.

So that the church ſéemeth to haue authoritye by the holy Ghoſt, whom CHRIST ſayd he would ſend after hys aſcenſion, which ſhould teach the Apoſtles all truth, to haue power ⁊ iuriſdiction to alter ſuch points of the ſcripture, euer reſeruyng the foundation: but we came not, as I ſayd before, in this ſort to reaſon the matter wyth you, but haue certayne inſtructions miniſtred vnto vs, according to the tenor of the which wee muſt procéede, propoſing certayne articles, vnto the which we require your aunſwer directly, eyther affirmatiuely either negatiuely to euery of them, either denying them, either graunting them without farther diſputations or reaſoning: for we haue already ſtretched our inſtructions, in that we ſuffered you to debate and reaſon the matter in ſuch ſorte as wee haue done: the which articles you ſhall heare now, and to morrow at eight of the clocke in S. Maries church, we wyl require and take your aunſwers, and then according to the ſame procéede: and if you require a copy of them, you ſhall haue it, pen, inke and paper, alſo all ſuch bookes as you ſhall demaund, if they be to bée gotten in the Vniuerſitye.

¶ *The Articles.*

Articles ioyntly and ſeuerally miniſtred to *D. Ridley & M. Latymer*, by the Popes deputies.

IN dei nomine, Amē. Nos Iohannes Lincoln. Iacobus Gloceſt. & Iohannes Briſtol. Epiſcopi, per Reuerendiſ. dominū Reginaldū miſeratione diuina S. Mariæ in Coſmedin. &c.

1. We do obiect to thee Nic. Ridley and to thee Hugh Latymer, ioyntly and ſeuerally, firſt that thou Nic. Ridley in this hye Vniuerſitie of Oxford. an. 1554. in the monethes of Aprill, May, Iune, Iuly, or in ſome one or mo of thē, haſt affirmed and openly defended and mainteined, and in many other tymes and places beſides, that the true and naturall body of CHRIST, after conſecration of the Prieſt, is not really preſent in the Sacramēt of the altar.

2. Item, that in the yeare and monethes aforeſaid, thou haſt publickly affirmed and defended, that in the Sacrament of the altar remaineth ſtill the ſubſtance of bread and wyne.

3. Itē, that in the ſaid yeare ⁊ monethes, thou haſt opēly affirmed, and obſtinatly mainteined, that in the Maſſe is no propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

4. Item, that in the yeare, place, and monethes aforeſayd, theſe thy foreſayd aſſertions ſolemnly haue bene cōdemned by the ſcholaſtical cenſure of this ſchole, as hereticall, ⁊ contrary to the Catholicke faith, by the worſhipfull M. Doct. Weſton Prolocutor then of the conuocation houſe, as alſo by other ſondry learned men of both the Vniuerſities.

5. Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and openly knowen by publicke fame, as well to them nere hand, as alſo to them in diſtant places farre of.

¶ *Examinations vpon the ſayd Articles.*

ALl theſe articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as herafter rehearſall ſhalbe of any of them, the reader may haue recourſe hether, and peruſe the ſame, and not to trouble the ſtory with ſeuerall repetitions therof.

Lincol. After theſe Articles were read, the Biſhops tooke counſell togethers. At the laſt the Byſhop of Lyncolne ſayd: theſe are the very ſame Articles which you in open diſputation here in the Vniuerſitie did mayntayne and defend. What ſay you vnto the firſt? I pray you aunſwere affirmatiuely or negatiuely.

Rid. Why my Lord, I ſuppoſed your gentlenes had bene ſuch, that you would haue geuen me ſpace vntill to morow, that vppon good aduiſement I myght bryng a determinate aunſwere.

Linc. Yea M. Ridley, I meane not that your aunſweres now ſhalbe preiudiciall to your aunſweres to morow. I will take your aunſweres at this tyme, and yet notwithſtandyng it ſhalbe lawfull to you to adde, diminiſh, alter, and chaunge of theſe aunſweres to morow what you will.

Rid. In déede, in lyke maner at our laſt diſputatiōs I had many thynges promiſed and few perfourmed. It was ſayd that after diſputations I ſhould haue a copie therof, and licence to chaunge myne aunſweres as I ſhould thinke good: it was méete alſo that I ſhould haue ſéene what was written by the Notaries at that tyme. So your Lordſhyp pretendeth great gentlenes in geuyng me a tyme, but this gentlenes is the ſame that CHRIST had of the hygh Prieſtes: for you, as your Lordſhyp ſayth, haue no power to condemne me, neither at any tyme to put a man to death: ſo in lyke ſorte the hygh Prieſtes ſayd that it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death, but committed CHRIST to Pylate, neither would ſuffer hym to abſolue CHRIST, although hée ſought all the meanes therefore that hée might. Then ſpake Doct. Weſton, one of the audience.

Weſt. What? do you make the kyng Pilate?

Rid. No Maſter Doctour, I do but compare your déedes with Cayphas his déedes and the high Prieſts, which would condemne no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not ſuffer Pylate to abſolue and deliuer CHRIST.

Linc. M. Ridley, we mynd not but that you ſhal enioy the benefite of aunſweryng to morow, and wil take your aunſweres now as now: to morow you ſhall chaunge, take out, adde, and alter what you will. In the meane ſeaſon we require you to aunſwere directly to euery Article either affirmatiuely or negatiuely.

Rid. Seyng you appoynt me a tyme to aunſwere to morow, and yet wil take myne aunſweres out of hand, firſt I require the Notaries to take and write my proteſtation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my iudges in that poynt you are authoriſed frō yͤ Pope. Therfore whatſoeuer I ſhal ſay or do, I proteſt, I neither ſay it neither do it willyngly, therby to admit yͤ authoritie of yͤ Pope: ⁊ if your Lordſhyp will geue me leaue, I will ſhew the cauſes which moueth me therunto.

Linc. No M. Ridley, we haue inſtructions to ÿ contrary. We may not ſuffer you.

D. Ridley not be ſuffered to ſpeake.

Rid. I will be ſhort: I pray your Lordſhip ſuffer me to ſpeake in few wordes.

Linc. No M. Ridley, we may not abuſe the hearers eares.

Rid. Why my Lord, ſuffer me to ſpeake iij. wordes.

Linc. Well M. Ridley, to morow you ſhall ſpeake xl. The tyme is farre paſt: therefore we require your anſwere determinatly. What ſay you to ÿ firſt Article? and therupon rehearſed the ſame.

Rid. My Proteſtation alwayes ſaued, that by this myne aunſwere I do not condeſcend to your authority in that you are Legate to ÿ Pope, I aunſwere thus: In a ſenſe the firſt Article is true, & in a ſenſe it is falſe: for if you take really for verè, for ſpiritually by grace & efficacy, then it is true that the naturall body and bloud of CHRIST is in the Sacrament verè & realiter, in déede and really: but if you take theſe termes ſo groſſely, that you would conclude thereby a naturall body hauyng motion, to be côteined vnder the formes of bread and wyne verè & realiter, then really is not the body and bloud of CHRIST in the Sacramêt, no more then the holy Ghoſt is in the element of water at our baptiſme. Becauſe this aûſwere was not vnderſtode, the Notaries wyſt not how to note it: wherefore the Biſhop of Lincolne willed him to anſwere either affirmatiuely or negatiuely, either to graunt the Article, or to deny it.

The reall preſence in the Sacrament may haue a double ſenſe.

Equiuocation in the word really.

How the body of Chriſt may be ſayd to be really, and how not really in the Sacrament.

Rid. My Lord, you know that where any æquiuocation (which is a word hauing two ſignifications) is, except diſtinction be geuen, no direct aunſwere can be made: for it is one of Ariſtotles fallacies, côteynyng ij. queſtiôs vnder one, the which can not be ſatiſfied with one aunſwere. For both you and I agrée herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and naturall body and bloud of CHRIST, euen that which was borne of the Virgin Mary, which aſcêded into heauen, which ſitteth on the right hand of God the father, which ſhall come from thêce to iudge the quicke and the dead: onely we differ in modo, in the way and maner of beyng: we confeſſe all one thyng to be in the Sacrament, and diſſent in the maner of beyng there. I beyng fully by Gods word therunto perſuaded, confeſſe CHRISTES natural body to be in the Sacrament in déede by ſpirite and grace, becauſe that who ſoeuer receiueth worthely that bread & wyne, receyueth effectuouſly CHRISTES body and drinketh his bloud, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his paſſion: and you make a groſſer kynd of being, encloſing a natural, a liuely and mouing body vnder the ſhape or forme of bread and wyne.

ij. Queſtions vnder one.

The Papiſtes and Proteſtantes in graunting the preſence do agree: onely in the maner of beyng they differ.

How Chriſtes body is effectually receiued in the Sacrament.

Now, this difference conſidered, to the queſtiô thus I aunſwere: that in the Sacrament of the altar is the naturall body and bloud of CHRIST verè & realiter, in déede and really, if you take theſe termes in dede and really for ſpiritually by grace and efficacy: for ſo euery worthy receiuer receiueth the very true body of CHRIST: but if you meane really and in déede, ſo that thereby you would include a lyuely and a moueable body vnder the formes of bread and wyne, then in that ſenſe is not CHRISTES body in the Sacramêt really and in déede.

How Chriſt may be graunted really to be in the Sacrament, and how not.

¶ This aunſwere taken and penned of the Notaries, the Byſhop of Lyncolne propoſed the ſecond queſtion or Article. To whom he aunſwered:

Rid. Alwayes my proteſtation reſerued, I aûſwere thus: that in the Sacrament is a certaine chaunge in that that bread which before was cômon bread, is now made a liuely repreſentation of CHRISTES body, and not onely a figure, but effectuouſly repreſenteth his body, that euen as the mortall body was nouryſhed by that viſible bread, ſo is the internall ſoule fed with the heauenly fode of CHRISTES body, which the eyes of fayth ſéeth, as the bodily eyes ſéeth onely bread. Such a Sacramentall mutation I graunt to be in the bread and wyne, which truly is no ſmall chaunge, but ſuch a chaunge as no mortall man can make but onely the omnipotencie of CHRISTES word.

What chaunge is in the Sacramentall bread.

Sacramentall mutation.

¶ Then the Biſhop of Lyncolne willed him to aunſwere directly, either affirmatiuely or negatiuely without further declaration of the matter. Then hée aunſwered:

Rid. That notwithſtâding this ſacramêtall mutatiô of the which he ſpake, and all the Doctours confeſſed, the true ſubſtance and nature of bread and wyne remayneth, with the which the body is in like ſort nouriſhed as is the ſoule by grace & ſpirite with the body of CHRIST. Euen ſo in Baptiſme the body is waſhed with the viſible water, and the ſoule is clenſed from all filth by the inuiſible holy Ghoſt, and yet the water ceaſeth not to be water, but kéepeth the nature of the water ſtill: In like ſort in the Sacramêt of the Lordes ſupper the bread ceaſeth not to be bread.

The ſubſtance of bread and wine in the Sacramêt not changed.

Compariſon betwene the Sacraments of the cômunion, and of Baptiſme.

Thê the Notaries penned, that he aunſwered affirmatiuely to ÿ ſecond Article. The Byſhop of Lyncolne declared a difference betwene the Sacrament of the altar and Baptiſme, becauſe that CHRIST ſayd not by the water: this is the holy Ghoſt, as he ſyd by the bread: *this is my body*.

What difference the Catholickes put betwene the Sacrament of the cômunion, and Baptiſme.

Then M. Ridley recited S. Auſten, which conferred both ÿ Sacramentes ÿ one with the other: but the Byſhop of Lyncolne notwithſtâdyng therupon recited the thyrd Article, and required a direct aûſwere. To whom Ridley ſayd:

Rid. CHRIST as S. Paul writeth, made one perfect ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the whole world, neither can any mâ reiterate that ſacrifice of his: and yet is the communiô an acceptable ſacrifice to God of prayſe and thankes geuyng: but to ſay that therby ſinnes are taken away (which wholy and perfectly was done by CHRISTES paſſion, of the which the communion is onely a memory) that is a great derogatiô of the merites of CHRISTES paſſion: for the Sacramêt was inſtituted that we receiuyng it, and thereby recogniſing and remembryng his paſſion, ſhould be partakers of the merites of the ſame: For otherwiſe doth this Sacrament take vpon it the office of CHRISTES paſſion, whereby it might folow that CHRIST dyed in vayne.

Aunſwere to the third Article.

Propitiatory ſacrifice of the maſſe is a derogatiô to Chriſtes paſſion.

¶ The Notaries penned this hys aunſwere to be affirmatiuely. Then ſayd the Byſhop of Lyncolne:

Linc. In déede as you alledge out of S. Paule, CHRIST made one perfect oblation for al the whole world, that is, that bloudy ſacrifice vpon the croſſe: yet neuertheles hee hath left this ſacrifice, but not bloudy, in the remembraunce of that, by the which ſinnes are forgeuen: the which is no derogation of CHRISTES paſſion.

Vnbloudy ſacrifice.

¶ Then recited the Byſhop of Lyncolne the fourth Article. To the which M. Ridley aunſwered:

Rid. That in ſome part ÿ fourth was true, & in ſome part falſe: true in that thoſe hys aſſertions were condemned as hereſies, although iniuſtly: falſe in that it was ſayd that they were condemned ſententia ſcholaſtica, in that the diſputations were in ſuch ſorte ordered, that it was farre from any ſchole acte.

Aunſwere to the fourth Article.

¶ This aunſwere penned of the Notaries, the Byſhop of Lyncolne rehearſed ÿ fift Article. To ÿ which he aunſwered:

Rid. That the premiſſes were in ſuch ſort true, as in theſe hys aunſweres he had declared. Whether that all mê ſpake euill of them he knew not, in that he came not ſo much abroad to heare what euery man reported.

¶ This aunſwere alſo written of the Notaries, the Byſhop of Lyncolne ſayd:

Linc. To morow at viij. of the clocke you ſhall appeare before vs in S. Maryes Church, & then becauſe we can not well agrée vppon your aunſwere to the firſt Article (for it was long before he was vnderſtode) if it

D. Ridley aſſigned to appeare agayne the next day.

ſhall

ſhall pleaſe you to write your aunſwere, you ſhall haue penne, inke, and paper, and bokes ſuch as you ſhall require: but if you write any thyng ſauyng your aunſweres to theſe Articles, we will not receiue it: and ſo he chargyng the Maior with hym, declaryng alſo to the Maior that he ſhould ſuffer hym to haue penne ⁊ inke, dimiſſed M. Ridley, ⁊ ſent for M. Latymer, who being brought to the Diuinitie ſchole, there taryed till they called for hym.

¶Maſter Latimer appeareth before the Commiſſioners.

M. Latimer appeareth before the deputies.

NOw after M. Ridley was cõmitted to yͤ Maior, then the Biſhop of Lincolne commaunded the Bailyffes to bryng in the other priſoner, who eftſoones as he was placed, ſayd to the Lords:

Lat. My Lordes, if I appeare agayne, I pray you not to ſend for me vntyll you are ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to myne old age to tary ſo long gaſing vpon the cold walles. Then the Biſhop of Lyncolne ſayd:

Linc. M. Latimer, I am ſory you were brought ſo ſoone, although it is the Bailiffes fault, and not myne: but it ſhall be amended.

The order of M. Latymers apparell.

Then M. Latymer bowed hys knée downe to the ground, holding hys hat in hys hand, hauing a kerchef on hys head, and vpon it a nightcap or two, and a great cap (ſuch as townes men vſe, with two broad flaps to butten vnder the chin) wearing an old thryd bare Briſtow fryſe gowne gyrded to hys body wyth a peny lether gyrdell, at the which hanged by a long ſtring of lether hys Teſtament, and hys ſpectacles without caſe, depending about hys necke vpon hys breſt. After this the Biſhop of Lincolne began on this maner:

The oration of Lincolne to M. Latymer.

Linc. M. Latimer, you ſhall vnderſtand that I and my Lordes here haue a Cõmiſſion from my Lord Cardinall Poles grace Legate a latere, to thys realme of England, from our moſt reuerend father in God the Popes holynes, to examine you vpon certayne opinions and aſſertions of yours, which you as well here openly in diſputations in the yeare of our Lord. 1554. as at ſundry and diuers other times did affirme, maintayne, and obſtinately defend. In the which commiſſion be eſpecially two pointes: the one which we muſt deſire you is, that if you ſhall now recant, reuoke, and diſanull theſe your errours, and together wyth all this realme, yea all the world confeſſe the truth, wee vpon due repentaunce of your part ſhould receiue you, recõcile you, acknowledge you no lenger a ſtrayed ſhéepe, but adioyne you agayne to the vnitie of CHRISTES church, from the which you in the tyme of ſchiſme fell: So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you: I deſire you but to returne thether frõ whẽce you went.

But thys church then ſtandeth vpon the truth of Gods word, and not vpon the fantaſie of man.

Conſider M. Latymer, that without the vnity of the church is no ſaluation, and in the church can be no errour. Therefore what ſhould ſtay you to confeſſe that which all the Realme confeſſeth, to forſake that which the King and Quéene their Maieſties haue renoũced, ⁊ all the realme recanted: it was a common errour, ⁊ it is now of all confeſſed: it ſhall bee no more ſhame to you, then it was to vs all. Conſider M. Latymer, that wythin theſe. xx. yeares thys Realme alſo wyth all the world confeſſed one church, acknowledged in CHRISTES church an head, and by what meanes and for what occaſion it cut of it ſelfe from the reſt of Chriſtianitie, it renounced that which in all tymes and ages was confeſſed, it is well knowen, and might bee nowe declared vpon what good foundation the ſea of Rome was forſaken, ſaue that wee muſt ſpare them that are dead, to whom the rehearſall would be obprobrious: it is no vſurped power as it hath bene termed, but founded vpon Peter by CHRIST, a ſure foundation, a perfect builder, as by diuers places as well of the aunciẽt fathers as the expreſſe word of God, may be proued.

What the firſt occaſion of this was, and what were the manifold miſdemeanours of yͤ Pope, read before pag. 1120. 1224. 1458.

How you ſpared the dead, your owne actes can beare witnes.

The Popes authority.

With that M. Latymer, which before leaned his head to hys hand, began ſomewhat to remoue hys cap and kerchef from hys eares.

ποιμαίνειν, ſignifieth to feede or to rule.

The Biſhop procéeded ſaying: for CHRIST ſpake expreſly to Peter ſaying, paſce oues meas, & rege oues meas, the which word doth not onely declare a certayne rulyng of CHRISTES flocke, but encludeth alſo a certayne preeminence and gouernment, and therfore is the kyng called Rex a regendo: ſo that in ſaying rege, CHRIST declared a power which he gaue to Peter, which iuriſdiction and power Peter by hand delyuered to Clement, and ſo in all ages hath it remayned in the ſea of Rome. This if you ſhall confeſſe with vs, and acknowledge with al the realme your errours and falſe aſſertions, then ſhal you do that which we moſt deſire: then ſhall we reſt vpon the firſt part of our commiſſion, then ſhall we receyue you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authoritye geuen to vs, miniſter vnto you, vpon due repentance, the benefite of abſolution, to the which the Kyng and the Quéene their Maieſties were not aſhamed to ſubmyt them ſelues: although they of thẽ ſelues were vnſpotted, and therefore néeded no reconciliation, yet leſt the putrifaction and rottennes of all yͤ body might be noyſome, and do damage to the head alſo, they (as I ſayd) moſt humbly ſubmitted them ſelues to my Lord Cardinall hys grace, by hym, as Legate to the Popes holynes, to be partakers of the recõciliation: but if you ſhal ſtubburnly perſeuer in your blindnes, if you wyll not acknowledge your errors, if you as you ſtand nowe alone, wyll be ſingular in your opinions, if by ſchiſme and hereſie you wyll ſtyll diuide your ſelfe from the Church, then muſt we procéede to the ſeconde part of our commiſſion, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemne you, for that we can not do (that the temporall ſword of the realme, and * not we wyll do) but to ſeparate you from vs, to acknowledge you to be none of vs, to renounce you as no mẽber of the church, to declare that you are filius perditionis, a loſt childe, and as you are a rotten member of the church, ſo to cut you of from the church, and ſo to cõmit you to the temporall Iudges, permitting them to procéede agaynſt you, according to the tenor of their lawes.

Benefite of the Popes abſolution offered to Maſter Latymer.

*Qui tradiderunt me tibi maius peccatum habent, ſayth Chriſt.

Perſwaſions vſed to Maſter Latymer to returne to the vnity of the Popes church.

Therfore M. Latimer, for Gods loue conſider your eſtate, remember you are a learned man, you haue taken degrées in the ſchoole, borne the office of a Biſhop, remember you are an old man, ſpare your body, accelerate not your death, ⁊ eſpecially remẽber your ſoules health, quiet of your conſcience, conſider that if you ſhould dye in this ſtate, you ſhall be a ſtinkyng ſacrifice to God: for it is the cauſe that maketh the Martyr, and not the death: conſider that if you die in this ſtate, you dye without grace, for without the Church can be no ſaluation. Let not vayne glory haue the vpper hãd, humiliate your ſelfe, captiuate your vnderſtandyng, ſubdue your reaſon, ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the church, doe not force vs to doe all that we may do, let vs reſt in that part which we moſt hartely deſire, and I, for my part (then the biſhop put of hys cap) againe with all my hart exhort you.

Reaſons to perſwade the fleſh, but not to ſatiſfy conſcience.

After the Biſhop had ſomwhat pauſed, then maſter Latimer lyft vp hys head (for before hee leaned on his elbow) and aſked whether hys Lordſhyp had ſayd: and the Biſhop aunſwered yea.

Lat. Then wyll your Lordſhip geue mee leaue to ſpeake a word or two?

Linc. Yea M. Latimer, ſo that you vſe a modeſt kind of talke, without rayling or tauntes.

Maſter Latymer hath leaue to ſitte downe.

Lat. I beſech your Lordſhip, licence me to ſit down.

Linc. At your pleaſure M. Latimer, take as much eaſe as you wyll.

Anſwere of Maſter Latymer to the B. of Lincol

Lat. Your Lordſhip gently exhorted me in many wordes, to come to the vnity of the church. I confeſſe (my Lord) a catholicke Church, ſpread throughout all the world, in the which no man may erre, without the which vnity of the church no man can be ſaued: but I know perfectly by Gods word that thys church is in all the world, and hath not hys foundation in Rome onely, as you ſay, & me thought your Lordſhip brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirme the ſame, that there was a iuriſdiction geuen to Peter, in that CHRIST bad hym regere, gouerne hys people. In deede my Lord, S. Peter dyd well and truly hys office, in that he was bid regere: but ſince the biſhops of Rome haue taken a newe kynde of regere, In deede they ought to regere, but how my Lord? not as they wyll them ſelues: but this regere muſt bee hedged in and diked in. They muſt regere, but ſecundũ verbũ dei: they muſt rule, but according to the word of God.

But the biſhops of Rome haue turned regere ſecũdum verbum dei, into regere ſecundum voluntatem ſuam: they haue turned the rule according to the word of God, into yͤ rule according to their own pleaſures, and as it pleaſeth them beſt: as there is a booke ſet forth which hath diuers pointes in it, and amongeſt other, thys poynt is one, which your Lordſhip went about to proue by this word regere, and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proofe of that matter, is takẽ out of Deuteronomie, where it is ſayd: if there ryſeth any contreuerſie among the people, the Prieſtes Leuitici generis, of the order of Leuiticus ſhall decide the matter ſecundum legem dei, according to the law of God: ſo it muſt be taken. This booke perceyuing thys authority to be geuẽ to the Prieſtes of the old law, taketh occaſion to proue the ſame to be geuen to the Biſhops and other the Clergy of the new law: but in prouing this matter, where as it was ſayde there, as the Prieſts of the order of Leuiticus ſhould determine the matter according to Gods law, that [according to gods law] is left out, and onely is recited: as the Prieſtes of the order of Leuiticus ſhall decide the matter, ſo it ought to be taken of the people: a large autority I enſure you. What gelding of ſcripture is this? what clippyng of Gods coyne? With the which termes the audience ſmyled. Thys is much lyke the regere whych your Lordſhip talked of. Nay, nay my Lords, we may not geue ſuch authority to the Clergy, to rule al things as they wil. Let them keepe them ſelues wythin their commiſſion. Now I truſt my Lord, I do not rayle yet?

Linc. No M. Latimer, your talke is more like taũts then rayling: but in that I haue not red the booke which you blame ſo much, nor know not of any ſuch, I can ſay nothing therein.

Lat. Yes my Lord, the booke is open to bee red, and is intituled to one which is biſhop of Gloceſter, whom I neuer knew, neyther dyd at any tyme ſee hym, to my knowledge. With that the people laughed, becauſe the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſat there in commiſſion.

Then the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſtoode vp, and ſaid it was hys booke.

Lat. Was it yours my Lord? In deede I knewe not your Lordſhip, neither euer dyd ſee you before, neither yet ſee you now, through the brightnes of the ſũne ſhining betwixt you and me. Then the audience laughed agayne: and M. Latimer ſpake vnto them ſaying: Why my maſters, this is no laughing matter, I aunſwere vpon lyfe and death. Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.

The Biſhop of Lincolne commaunded ſilence, and then ſayd:

Linc. M. Latimer, if you had kept your ſelfe wythin your boundes, if you had not vſed ſuch ſcoffes and tauntes, this had not bene done.

After this the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſayd in excuſing of hys booke:

Gloc. M. Latimer, hereby euery man may ſee what learning you haue.

Then M. Latimer interrupted hym ſaying:

Lat. Lo, you looke for learning at my handes, which haue gone ſo long to the ſchole of obliuion, making the bare walles my library, keeping me ſo long in pryſon without booke or pen and inke: and now you let me looſe to come and aunſwere to articles. You deale with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and ouer night the one through frendes and fauour is cheriſhed, and hath good counſell geuen hym how to encounter with his enemy. The other for enuy or lacke of friendes, all the whole night is ſet in the ſtockes. In the morning when they ſhall meete, the one is in ſtrength and luſty: the other is ſtarke of hys limmes, and almoſt dead for feeblenes. Thinke you that to runne through this man with a ſpeare is not a goodly victory?

The Catholickes how vnreaſonable they are in their vſing of men.

But the Biſhop of Gloceſter interrupting hys aunſwere proceeded, ſaying:

Glo. I went not about to recite any place of ſcripture in that place of my booke: for then if I had not recited it faythfully, you might haue had iuſt occaſion of reprehenſion: but I onely in that place formed an argument a maiore, in this ſenſe: that if in the olde lawe the prieſtes had power to decide matters of controuerſies, much more then ought the autority to be geuen to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what auayleth the reherſall, ſecundum legem dei?

The Catholickes alleage the ſcriptures, but take not all.

Lati. Yes my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge autority to be geuẽ to the ſpiritualty to decide matters of religion, and, as my Lord ſayd euen now, to regere: but they muſt do it ſecundum verbum dei, and not ſecundum voluntatem ſuam, according to the word and law of God, and not after their owne will, after their owne imaginations and fantaſies.

The Biſhop of Gloceſter would haue ſpoken more, ſauing that the biſhop of Lincolne ſaid, that they came not to diſpute with M. Latimer, but to take his determinate aunſweres to their articles, and ſo begã to propoſe the ſame articles which were propoſed to M. Ridley. But M. Latymer interrupted him, ſpeaking to the Biſhop of Gloceſter: well my Lord, I could wiſh more faythfull dealing with Gods word, and not to leaue out a part, and ſnatch a part here & an other there, but to rehearſe the whole faythfully.

Theſe Articles read before pag. 1926.

But the Biſhop of Lincolne not attending to thys ſaying of M. Latimer, proceeded in rehearſing the articles in forme and ſenſe as I declared before in the examination of the articles propoſed to M. Rydley, & required M. Latimers anſwere to the firſt. Then M. Latimer making his proteſtation, that notwithſtãding theſe his aunſwers it ſhould not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the Biſhop of Rome, ſaying that he was the King and Queene their Maieſties ſubiect and not the Popes, neither coulde ſerue two maſters at one tyme, except hee ſhould firſt renounce one of them: required the Notaries ſo to take his proteſtation, that what ſoeuer he ſhould ſay or do, it ſhould not be taken as though hee did thereby agree to any authority that came from the Biſhop of Rome.

The proteſtation of Maſter Latymer.

Lin. The Byſhop of Lincolne ſaid, that his proteſtation ſhould be ſo taken: but hee required him to aunſwere briefly affirmatiuely or negatiuely to the firſt article, and ſo recited the ſame agayne: and M. Latimer aunſwered as followeth.

1. Article.

Lati. I do not deny (my Lord) that in the ſacrament by ſpirite and grace is the very body & bloud of Chriſt, becauſe that euery man by receiuing bodily that bread and wyne, ſpiritually receyueth the body and bloud of CHRIST, and is made partaker therby of the merites of CHRISTES paſſion: but I deny that the body and bloud of CHRIST is in ſuch ſort in the Sacrament as you would haue it.

The body of Chriſt in the Sacrament receaued by ſpirite and grace.

Linc. Then M. Latymer, you aunſwere affirmatiuely.

Lat. Yea, if you meane of that groſſe and carnall being, which you do take.

M. Latymer againſt the groſſe and carnall being of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The Notaries tooke his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely.

Linc. What ſay you M. Latimer to the ſecond article?

2. Article.

cle? and recited the ſame.

What change is in the bread and wine in the Sacrament, not in the nature but in the dignitie of repreſenting.

Lat. There is, my Lord, a chaunge in the bread and wyne, and ſuch a chaunge as no power, but the omnipotencye of God can make, in that that which before was bread, ſhould now haue that dignity to exhibite CHRISTES body, and yet the bread is ſtill bread, and the wyne ſtill wyne: for the chaunge is not in the nature, but in the dignity, becauſe now that which was common bread, hath yͤ dignity to exhibite CHRISTES body: for where as it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to bee ſo taken, but as holy bread, ſanctified by Gods word.

With that the Biſhop of Lincolne ſmyled, ſaying:

Linc. Lo M. Latimer, ſee what ſtedfaſtnes is in your doctrine: That which you abhorred and deſpyſed moſt, you now moſt eſtabliſh: for where as you moſt rayled at holy bread, now you make your communion holy bread.

Lat. Tuſh, a ruſh for holy bread. I ſay the bread in the communion is an holy bread in deede.

But the Biſhop of Lincolne interrupted hym, and ſayd.

Substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament vnchaunged.

Linc. O, you make a difference betwene holy bread, and holy bread (with that the audience laughed). Well M. Latymer, is not this your aunſwere, that the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne remaineth after the wordes of conſecration?

Lat. Yes verely, it muſt needes be ſo, for CHRIST him ſelfe calleth it bread, S. Paule calleth it bread, the Doctors confeſſeth the ſame, the nature of a Sacrament confirmeth the ſame, and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of CHRISTES body, and not onely a bare figure, but effectually to repreſent the ſame.

Difference betwene Chriſtes holy bread, and the Popes holy bread.

So the Notaries penned his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely.

3. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the third queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Lat. No, no my Lord, CHRIST made one perfect ſacrifice for all the whole world, neyther can any man offer him agayne, neither can the prieſt offer vp Chriſt agayne for the ſinnes of mã, which he toke away by offering him ſelfe once for all (as S. Paule ſayth) vppon yͤ croſſe, neither is there any propitiatiõ for our ſinnes, ſauing his croſſe onely.

So the Notaries penned his aunſwere to this article alſo to be affirmatiuely.

4. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the fourth M. Latymer? and recited it. After the recitall whereof, when M. Latimer anſwered not, the Biſhop aſked him whether he heard him or no?

Lat. Yes, but I do not vnderſtand what you meane thereby.

Linc. Mary onely this, that theſe your aſſertions were condemned by M. Doctor Weſton as hereſies: is it not ſo M. Latimer?

Lat. Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how vniuſtly, he that ſhall be Judge of all knoweth.

So the Notaries toke his aunſwere to this article alſo to be affirmatiuely.

5. Article.

Linc. What ſay you M. Latymer to the .v. article? and recited it.

Lat. I know not what you meane by theſe termes. I am no Lawyer: I would you wold propoſe the matter playnely.

Linc. In that we procede according to the law, wee muſt vſe their termes alſo. The meaning only is thys, that theſe your aſſertions are notorious, euill ſpoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouthes of the people.

Lat. I cannot tell how much nor what men talke of them. I come not ſo much among them in that I haue bene ſecluded a long tyme. What men report of them I know not, nor care not.

This aũſwere taken, the Byſhop of Lyncolne ſayd:

Linc. M. Latimer, wee meane not that theſe your aunſweres ſhalbe preiudiciall to you. To morow you ſhall appeare before vs agayne, and then it ſhalbe lawfull for you to alter and chaũge what you will. We giue you reſpyte till to morow, truſting that after you haue pondered well all thinges againſt to morow, you wil not be aſhamed to confeſſe the truth.

Lat. Now my Lord I pray you geue mee licence in three wordes to declare the cauſes why I haue refuſed the authority of the Pope.

Linc. Nay M. Latimer, to morow you ſhall haue lycence to ſpeake .xl. wordes.

Lat. Nay my Lordes, I beſeech you to do with mee now as it ſhal pleaſe you Lordſhips: I pray you let not me be troubled to morow agayne.

Linc. Yes M. Latimer, you muſt needes appeare agayne to morow.

Lat. Truely my Lorde, as for my part I requyre no reſpite, for I am at a poynt: you ſhall geue me reſpite in vayne: therefore I pray you let not me trouble you to morow.

Linc. Yes, for we truſt God will worke wyth you againſt to morow. There is no remedy, you muſt nedes appeare againe to morow at eight of the clocke in S. Maries church. And forthwith the biſhop charged the Maior wyth M. Latymer, and diſmiſſed him, and then brake vp their Seſſion for that day, about one of the clocke at after none.

❡Here foloweth the ſecond Seſſion.

THe next day following (which was the firſt day of October) ſomewhat after eight of the clocke, the ſayd Lordes repayred to S. Maries Church, and after they were ſet in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tiſſewe and ſilke, then appeared M. Ridley, who was ſet at a framed table a good ſpace frõ the Biſhops ſeate, which table had a ſilke cloth caſt ouer it, yͤ which place was compaſſed about with framed ſeates in quadrate forme, partly for Gentlemen which repaired thether, (for this was the Seſſion day alſo of Gaile deliuery) and heades of the Vniuerſity to ſit, and partly to kepe of the preaſſe of the audience: for the whole body as well of the Vniuerſitie as of the towne, came thether to ſee the end of theſe two perſons. After M. Ridleys appearaunce, and the ſilence of the audience, the Byſhop of Lincolne ſpake in maner following:

Linc. M. Ridley, yeſterday when that we challenged you for not vncoueryng your head, you excuſed your ſelfe of that wherof no man accuſed you, in ſaying you did not put on your cap for any obſtinacy toward vs, which as touchyng our owne perſons deſired no ſuch obedience of you, but onely in reſpect of thẽ whoſe perſons we beare: neither (you ſayd) for any cõtempt that you beare to this worſhipful audience, which although iuſtly may, yet in this caſe require no ſuch humilitie of you: neither for any derogation of honour to my Lord Cardinalls grace, in that he deſcendeth from the regall bloud, in that he is a man moſt noble, both for his excellent qualities and ſingular learnyng: for as touchyng theſe pointes, you ſayd you with all humility would honour, reuerence and worſhyp hys grace: but in that he is Legate to yͤ moſt reuerent father in God yͤ Popes holines (with that yͤ byſhop with all thẽ preſent put of theyr caps, but M. Ridley moued not hys) you ſayd you ne could ne would by any meanes be induced to gyue him honour: but for as much as this is yͤ point as we told you yeſterday, why we require honour and reuerence of you, we tell you now as we dyd then, except you take the paynes to moue your bonet, we will take yͤ paynes to cauſe your bonet to be taken frõ you, except you pretend ſicknes, as yeſterday you dyd not.

Rid. I pretend now none other cauſe, then I did yeſterday, that is, onely that hereby it may appeare that not onely in word and confeſſion, but alſo by all my geſture and behauiour, in no poynt I agrée or admit any authoritie or power that ſhall come from the Pope, and not for any pride of minde (as God is my iudge) neither for contempt of your Lordſhyps, or of this worſhypfull audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my Lord Cardinals grace as concernyng thoſe pointes which your Lordſhyp ſpake of, that is, his noble parentage and ſingular graces in learnyng: And as for takyng my cap away, your Lordſhyp may do as it ſhall pleaſe you: it ſhall not offend me, but I ſhalbe content with your ordinance in that behalfe.

Linc. For as much as you do aunſwere now as you did yeſterday, we muſt do alſo as we dyd then, & forthwith one of the Bedles very haſtely ſnatched hys cap from hys head.

¶ After this the Byſhop of Lyncolne began the examination in ſenſe folowyng.

Linc. M. Ridley, yeſterday we tooke your aunſwere to certaine Articles, which we thē propoſed vnto you: but becauſe that we could not bee throughly ſatiſfied with your aunſwere then to the firſt Article, neither could the Notaries take any determinate aunſwere of you, we (you requiryng the ſame) graunted you licence to bryng your aunſwere in wrytyng, and therupō commaunded the Maior that you ſhould haue penne, paper and inke, yea any bookes alſo that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licenced you then alſo to alter your former aunſweres this day at your pleaſure: Therfore we are come now hether to ſée whether you are in the ſame mynd now that you were in yeſterday, (which we would not wyſh) or contrary, contented to reuoke all your former aſſertions, and in all pointes cōtent to ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the vniuerſal Church, and I for my part moſt earneſtly exhorte you (and therewith he put of hys cappe) not becauſe my conſcience pricketh me as you ſayd yeſterday, but becauſe I ſée you a rotten member and in the way of perdition.

Yeſterday I brought forth amongeſt other, S. Auſten, to proue that authoritie hath alwayes bene geuen to the ſea of Rome, and you wreſted the wordes farre cōtrary to S. Auſtens meaning, in that you would haue totus mundus to be applyed onely to Europe, which is but the thyrd part of all the world, where as in déede the proceſſe of S. Auguſtines wordes will not admitte that your interpretation. For he ſayth not totus mundus Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis &c. but firſt, totus mundus Chriſtianus Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubiectus eſt: *All the Chriſtian World is ſubiecte to the Church of Rome*, and afterward addeth in trāſmarinis partibus, beyond the Sea, but onely to augment the dominion of the ſea of Rome.

Rid. But M. Ridley ſtill perſeuered in hys former aunſwere, ſaying: I am ſure my Lord you haue ſome ſkill in Coſmographie, in the which you ſhall vnderſtād that there is a ſea called mare mediterraneum, caſt betwene Europe and Africa, in the which he ment Europe beyond the Sea, euen as I ſhould ſay the whole world beyond the Sea, exceptyng England in ẏ which I ſtand: and here many wordes were ſpent vppon the interpretation of the ſame place of S. Auſten.

Linc. After long diſceptation, the Byſhop of Lyncolne ſayd, that the meanyng of S. Auguſtine might be knowen by the conſent of other of the Doctours, and rehearſed diuers.

But M. Ridley required the rehearſal of the places, and to read the very wordes of the Doctours, ſaying that perhaps thoſe which the Byſhop rehearſed, beyng proponed in other termes in the Doctours, would admitte a contrary meanyng and interpretation: but in that booke out of the which ẏ Biſhop rehearſed them, was none of the Doctours, but onely of the ſentences drawen out of the Doctours of ſome ſtudious man: he could not recite the very wordes of the Doctours.

Linc. Then after he came to Cyrillus, which (as he ſayd) made agaynſt M. Ridley in the Sacrament, euen by Philippe Melancthon his owne alledging in his cōmon places, and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vayne, becauſe all ſuch bookes were burned a litle before: wherfore he paſſed it ouer.

A place of *Cyrillus* alledged by *Melancthon*.

Scripture bookes burned at Oxford.

Cyrillus alſo in an other place prouing to the Iewes that *CHRIST* was come, vſeth this reaſon: *Altars are erected in *CHRITES* name in Britaine and in farre countreyes: Ergo, *CHRIST* is come. But we may vſe the cōtrary of that reaſon: Altars are plucked downe in Britaine: Ergo, *CHRIST* is not come. A good Argument a contrarijs: I will ſtand to it in the ſcholes by & by with any mā. Ye ſée what a good Argument this your doctrine maketh for ẏ Iewes, to proue that *CHRIST* is not come.

* *Argumentū a contrario ſenſu ex Cyrillo contra Iudeos.*

D. Ridley ſmiling, aunſwered: Your Lordſhip is not ignoraunt that this word altare in ſcripture ſignifieth aſwell the altar wherupō the Iewes were wont to make their burnt ſacrifices, as the table of the Lordes Supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by this worde altare, not ẏ Iewiſh altar, but ẏ table of the Lord, and by that ſaying [altars are erected in *CHRISTES* name, Ergo *CHRIST* is come] he meaneth that the Communiō is miniſtred in his remembraunce, Ergo *CHRIST* is come: for the ſtrength of his Argument is, becauſe the remēbraunce of a thyng can not bee except the thyng it ſelfe be paſt: then could not all cōtreyes celebrate the Communion in the remembraūce of *CHRISTES* paſſion, except *CHRIST* had bene come and ſuffered. As for the takyng down of the altars, it was done vpō iuſt conſiderations, for that they ſemed to come to nigh to ẏ Iewes vſage. Neither was the Supper of ẏ Lord at any tyme more better miniſtred, more duely receiued, then in theſe latter dayes when all thynges were brought to the rites and vſage of the primatiue Church.

Altars be erected in Chriſtes remembrance in Brytaine:
Ergo, Chriſt is come.
Altars be now plucked downe in Brytaine:
Ergo, Chriſt is not come.

Aunſwere.

Thys argument is not *a ſenſu contrario*. For erecting of altars in the antecedent & plucking downe altars in the conſequent, be not cōtrary. In the antecedent Cyrill meaneth the table, or els the celebration of the Lordes ſupper in hys remembraunce.

In the cōſequent by plucking down of altars, is ment the takyng away of places and monumentes, ſeruing not to the Lordes Supper, but to Idolatrie, whereby the true table of the Lordes Supper in his remembraunce may be erected agayne

Linc. A godly receiuyng I promiſe you, to ſet an oyſter table in ſtede of an altar, and to come from puddynges at Weſtminſter, to receiue: and yet when your table was cōſtituted, you could neuer be contēt, in placyng the ſame now Eaſt, now North, now one way, now an other, vntill it pleaſed God of his goodnes to place it cleane out of the Church.

B. White blaſphemouſly calleth ẏ borde of the Lordes ſupper an Oyſter table.

Rid. Your Lordſhyps vnreuerent termes do not eleuate ẏ thyng. Perhaps ſome mē came more deuoutly frō puddyngs, then other mē now do frō other thyngs.

Lync. As for that, M. Ridley, you ought to be iudge of no mā: but by this your reaſonyng you cauſe vs to ſtretch & enlarge our inſtructions. We came not to reaſon, but to take your determinate aūſweres to our Articles: & eftſoones he red the firſt Article in maner aboue ſpecified.

The Articles red agayne to *M. Ridley*.

Now M. Rydley, what ſay you to the firſt Article? if you haue brought your aunſwere in wrytyng, we will receiue it: but if you haue written any other matter, we will not receyue it.

Ryd. Then M. Ridley tooke a ſheete of paper out of hys boſome, and began to read that which he had written: but the B. of Lyncolne commaunded the Bedle to take it from hym. But he deſired licence to read it, ſaying, that it was nothyng but his aūſwere, but the Byſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer hym.

B. Ridley not ſuffered to read his owne aunſwere.

Ryd. Why my Lord, will you require myne aunſwere, and not ſuffer me to publiſh it? I beſech you my Lordes, let the audience beare witnes in this matter. Your Lordſhyps may handle it at your pleaſures: therfore let the audience be witnes to your doynges.

Note the extreme dealing of theſe catholicke men.

Lync. Well M. Ridley, we will firſt ſée what you haue written, and then if we ſhall thinke it good to be red, you ſhall haue it publiſhed: but except you will deliuer it firſt, we will take none at all of you.

With that M. Ridley ſeyng no remedy, deliuered it to an Officer, which immediatly deliuered it to the Byſhop of Lincolne, who after he had ſecretly communicated it to the other ij. Byſhops, declared the ſenſe, but would not read it as it was writtē, ſaying, that it cōteined wordes of blaſphemie: therfore he would not fill yͤ eares of yͤ audience therwithall and ſo abuſe theyr patience: notwithſtanding M. Ridley deſired very inſtātly to haue it publiſhed, ſaying that except a line or two, there was nothyng cōteined but the auncient Doctors ſayinges for the confirmation of his aſſerſions.

The deputies durſt not read out the writing of Biſhop *Ridley*.

After the ſaid Biſhops had ſecretly vewed yͤ whole, then the Byſhop of Lyncolne ſayd: In the firſt part M. Ridley, is nothyng conteined but your proteſtation, that you would not haue theſe your aunſweres ſo to be taken, as though you ſeemed thereby to conſent to the authoritie or iuriſdiction of the Popes holynes.

Ryd. No my Lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may heare it: but the Byſhop of Lyncolne would in no wiſe, becauſe (he ſaid) there were cōteined wordes of blaſphemy.

To the firſt Article.

Then the Byſhop of Lyncolne recited the firſt Article, and required M. Ridleys aunſwere to it. Then M. Ridley ſaid, that his aūſwere was there in writyng, and deſired that it might be publiſhed: but the Byſhop would not read the whole, but here and there a peece of it. So the Notaries tooke his aunſwere, that he referred him to his aunſwere in writing exhibited now, and alſo before at the tyme of diſputatiō. M. Doct. Weſton beyng Prolocutor.

To the ſecond Article.

In lykewiſe the Byſhop of Lyncolne recited the ſecond Article, and required an aunſwere, and M. Ridley referred hym to his aunſwere in writyng, exhibited now and alſo before at the tyme of diſputation: and lyke aunſweres were taken to all the reſidue of the Articles.

Theſe aunſweres in maner rehearſed, taken, and penned of the Notaries, the Byſhop of Gloceſter begā an exhortation to moue M. Ridley to turne.

The wordes of exhortation *of Brookes.* Biſhop of Gloceſter to *B. Ridley.*

Glo. If you would once empty your ſtomacke, captiuate your ſenſes, ſubdue your reaſon, and together with vs conſider what a feble ground of your Religion you haue, I do not doubt but you might eaſely be perduced to acknowledge one Church with vs, to confeſſe one fayth with vs, and to beleue one Religion with vs. For what a weake and feble ſtay in Religion is this I pray you? Latymer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the ſingularity of hys own wyt: ſo that if you ouerthrew the ſingularitie of Ridleyes wyt, then muſt needes the Religiō of Cranmer and Latymer fall alſo. You remember wel M. Ridley, that the Prophet ſpeaketh moſt truly, ſaying: væ, væ, wo, wo be to them which are ſingular and wyſe in theyr owne conceptes.

But you will ſay, here it is true that the Prophet ſayth: but how know you that I am wiſe in myne own concept? Yes M. Ridley, you refuſe the determination of the catholicke Church: you muſt needes bee ſingular and wyſe in your owne conceite, for you bryng ſcripture for the probation of your aſſerſions, and wee alſo bryng ſcriptures: you vnderſtande them in one ſenſe, and we in an other. How wyll you knowe the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own interpretation, then are you ſingular in your own conceit: but if you ſay ye will follow the myndes of the Doctors and auncient fathers, ſemblably you vnderſtande them in one meanyng, and we take them in an other: how wyll ye knowe the truth herein? If you ſtande to your owne iudgement, then are you ſingular in your own conceit, then can not you auoyde the væ and wo which the Prophet ſpeaketh of.

B. Ridley vntruely charged with ſingularitie.

Wherefore, if you haue no ſtay but the catholycke church in matters of controuerſie, except you wyll reſt vpō yͤ ſingularitie ⁊ wiſdome of your own brain, if the Prophet moſt truly ſayth Væ, væ, wo, wo be to thē that are wyſe in their owne conceite: then for Gods loue M. Ridley ſtand not ſingular, be not you wyſe in your own conceite, pleaſe not your ſelfe ouermuch. Howe were the Arrians, the Manicheis, the Eutichians, with other diuers heretickes which haue beene in the church, how I pray you were they ſuppreſſed and conuinced? by reaſoning in diſputations? No truely, the Arrians had mo places of ſcriptures for the confirmation of their hereſie, then the Catholickes for the defence of the truth. How then were they conuinced? onely by the determination of the Church. And in deede except we do conſtitute the church our foundation, ſtay, and Iudge, we can haue no end of controuerſies, no end of diſputations. For in that wee all bryng ſcriptures and Doctors for the probation of our aſſerſions, who ſhould be iudge of this our controuerſie? If we our ſelues, then be we ſingular ⁊ wyſe in our own conceites, then can not we auoyde the wo that the prophet ſpeaketh of.

The deter mination of the chu ch is only that, where upon our catholicke men doe ground their faith

It remaineth therefore that wee ſubmit our ſelues to the determination and arbitrement of the Church, wyth whom God promiſed to remayne to the worldes end, to whom he promiſed to ſed the holy Ghoſt which ſhould teach it the truth. Wherefore M. Ridley, if you wyll auoyd the wo that the Prophet ſpeaketh of, be not you wyſe in your iudgement: if you wyll not be wyſe and ſingular in your owne iudgement, captiuate your own vnderſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, and ſubmyt your ſelfe to the determination of the Church.

This is briefly the ſumme of the Oration of the byſhop of Gloceſter, by the which he endeuored in many mo wordes, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquētly wyth ſundry pointes of Rethoricke, to moue affections, to perſwade maſter Ridley to recant and forſake hys religion.

A briefe anſwere of *B. Ridle* to Biſho *Brookes* tale.

To whō M. Ridley aunſwered in few wordes, that he ſaid moſt truly wyth yͤ Prophet, wo be to him which is wyſe in his owne conceit, but that he acknowledged no ſuch ſingularity in hym, ne knew any cauſe why he ſhould attribute ſo much to him ſelf. And where as he ſayd that M. Cranmer leaned to hym, that was moſt vntrue, in that he was but a yong ſcholer in compariſō of M. Cranmer. For at what time he was a yong ſcholer, then was M. Cranmer a Doctor: ſo that he confeſſed that M. Cranmer might haue ben his ſcholemaſter theſe many yeres. It ſeemed that he would haue ſpokē more, but the Byſhop of Gloceſter interrupted him, ſaying:

Gloc. Why M. Ridley, it is your own confeſſion, for M. Latimer at the tyme of diſputations confeſſed hys learning to lye in M. Cranmers bookes, and maſter Cranmer alſo ſayd that it was your doyng.

B. Ridle could no for his co ſcience y to the P pes doctrine.

Linc. Likewyſe the biſhop of Lincolne wyth many wordes ⁊ gētle, holdyng his cap in hand, deſired him to turne. But M. Ridley made an abſolute aunſwer, that he was fully perſwaded yͤ religion which he defended to be grounded vpon Gods word, and therefore wythout great offence towardes God, great peryll and damage of hys ſoule, he could not forſake hys maſter and Lorde God, but deſired the Biſhop to performe hys graunt in that hys Lordſhip ſayd the day before, that he ſhould haue licence to ſhew the cauſes why he could not with a ſafe conſcience admit the authoritye of the Pope: but the biſhop of Lincolne ſayd, that where as then he had demaūded licence to ſpeake three wordes, he was contented then that he ſhoulde ſpeake .xl. ⁊ that graunt he would performe.

D. Weſ ſhooteth his bolt.

Then ſtepped forth D. Weſton, which ſat by ⁊ ſaid: why my Lord, he hath ſpoken .iiij. hundred already.

M. Ridley confeſſed he had, but they were not of his preſcribed number, neyther of that matter. The biſhop of Lincolne bad hym take hys licence: but hee ſhoulde ſpeake but .xl, and he would tell them vpon his fingers, and eftſones M. Ridley began to ſpeake: but before he had ended halfe a ſentence, the Doctours ſittyng by cryed and ſayde, that hys number was out, and wyth that he was put to ſilence.

After this the Byſhop of Lyncolne which ſat in the middes, began to ſpeake, as foloweth.

Lync. Now I perceiue M. Ridley, you will not permit ne ſuffer vs to ſtay in that point of our Commiſsiō which we moſt deſired: for I enſure you, there is neuer a word in our commiſſion more true then, dolentes & gemētes. For in dede I for my part, I take God to witnes, am ſory for you. Wherunto M. Ridley anſwered:

Rid. I beleue it well my Lord, for as much as one day it wil be burdenous to your ſoule.

Linc. Nay not ſo M. Ridley, but becauſe I am ſory to ſée ſuch ſtubbornes in you, that by no meanes you may be perſuaded to acknowledge your errours, and receiue the truth: but ſeyng it is ſo, becauſe you wil not ſuffer vs to perſiſt in the firſt, we muſt of neceſſity procede to the other part of our Commiſſion. Therfore I pray you harkē what I ſhall ſay, and forthwith did read the ſentence of condemnation, which was written in a long proceſſe: the tenour of which becauſe it is ſufficiently already expreſſed before pag. 1661. we thought méete in this place to omit, for aſmuch as they are rather wordes of courſe then thynges deuiſed vpon deliberation. Howbeit in déede the effect was, that for as much as the ſayd Nic. Ridley did affirme, maynteyne, and ſtubburnely defend certayne opinions, aſſerſions and hereſies, contrary to the word of God, and the receyued fayth of the Church, as in denying the true and naturall body of CHRIST, and hys naturall bloud to be in the Sacrament of the altar: Secondarily in affirmyng the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne to remayne after the wordes of the cōſecration: Thirdly in denying the Maſſe to be a liuely ſacrifice of the Church for the quicke and the dead, and by no meanes would be perduced and brought frō theſe his hereſies, they therfore the ſayd Iohn of Lyncolne, Iames of Glocceſter, Iohn of Briſtow, dyd iudge and condēne the ſayd Nic. Ridley as an Hereticke, and ſo adiudged him preſētly both by word and alſo in déede to be degraduated frō the degrée of a Byſhop, frō Prieſthode & all eccleſiaſticall order: declaring moreouer the ſayd Nic. Ridley to be no member of the Church, and therfore committed him to the ſecular powers, of them to receiue due puniſhemēt accordyng to the tenour of the temporall lawes: and further excommunicatyng hym by the great excommunication.

The laſt appearaunce and examination of M. Latymer before the Commiſsioners.

This ſentēce beyng publiſhed by the Biſhop of Lyncolne, M. Ridley was cōmitted as a priſoner to the Maior, and immediatly M. Latymer was ſent for: but in the meane ſeaſon the Carpet or cloth which lay vpō the table, whereat M. Ridley ſtode, was remoued, becauſe (as men reported) M. Latymer had neuer the degrée of a Doctor as M. Ridley had. But eftſones as M. Latymer appeared as he did the day before, perceiuing no cloth vppon the table, layd hys hatte, which was an old felt, vnder hys elbowes, and immediatly ſpake to the Commiſſioners, ſaying:

Lat. My Lordes, I beſech your Lordſhyps to ſet a better order here at your entraunce: for I am an olde man and haue a very euil backe, ſo that the preſſe of the multitude doth me much harme.

Lync. I am ſory M. Latymer, for your hurt. At your departure we will ſée to better order.

With that M. Latymer thanked hys Lordſhyp, makyng a very low courteſie. After this the Byſhop of Lyncolne began on this matter.

Linc. M. Latymer, although yeſterday after we had taken your aunſwers to thoſe articles which we propoſed, might haue iuſtly proceded to iudgement againſt you, eſpecially in that you required the ſame, yet we hauing a good hope of your returning, deſiring not your deſtruction, but rather that you would recant, reuoke your errours, and turne to the catholicke church differred farther proceſſe tyll thys day, and now accordyng to the appointment, we haue called you here before vs, to heare whether you are content to reuoke your hereticall aſſertions, and ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the church, as we moſt hartely deſire, and I for my part, as I did yeſterday, moſt earneſtly doe exhort you, either to know whether you perſeuer ſtill the man that you were, for the which we would be ſory.

The Biſhop of Lincolnes wordes to M. Latymer.

It ſemed that the biſhop would haue farther proceded, ſauing that M. Latymer interrupted him, ſaying:

Lat. Your Lordſhip often doth repeate ẏ catholicke Church, as though I ſhoulde denie the ſame. No my Lord, I confeſſe there is a catholicke church, to the determination of the which I wyll ſtande, but not the church which you cal catholicke, which ſoner might be termed diabolicke. And where as you ioyne together the Romiſh and catholicke church, ſtay there I pray you. For it is an other thing to ſay Romiſh Church, and an other thing to ſay catholicke church. I muſt vſe here in thys myne aunſwer the counſel of Cyprianus, who at what time he was aſcited before certayne Biſhops that gaue hym leaue to take deliberation and counſell to try and examine hys opinion, he aunſwered thē thus: in ſtickyng & perſeueryng in the truth, there muſt no counſell nor deliberation be taken. And agayn being demaunded of them ſitting in iudgemēt, which was moſt like to be of ẏ church of CHRIST, eyther he which was perſecuted, either they which did perſecute: CHRIST, ſayd he, hath foreſhewed that he that doth follow him, muſt take vp hys croſſe and followe hym. CHRIST gaue knowledge that ẏ diſciples ſhould haue perſecutiō & trouble. How thinke you then my Lordes, is it lyke that the ſea of Rome, which hath bene a continuall perſecutor, is rather the Church, or that ſmall flocke which hath continually beene perſecuted of it euen to death? Alſo the flocke of CHRIST hath beene but few in compariſon to the reſidue, and euer in ſubiection: which he proued, beginning at Noes tyme euē to the Apoſtles.

M. Latymer ſhort with the Commiſſioners.

The Catholicke church, and the Romiſh church, be two thinges.

Ciprians counſell, in truth no deliberation to be taken.

M. Latymers queſtion to the Biſhops.

Whether is more like, the ſea of Rome, which perſecuteth: or the litle flocke which is perſecuted, to be the true church. &c.

Linc. Your cauſe and S. Ciprians is not one, but cleane contrary, for he ſuffred perſecution for Chriſtes ſake and the Goſpell: but you are in trouble for your errours and falſe aſſerſions, contrary to the word of God, and the receyued truth of the church.

Lat. M. Latimer interrupting hym, ſayd: yes verely, my cauſe is as good as S. Ciprians: for his was for the word of God and ſo is myne.

The cauſe of the Martyrs of the primitiue time, and of the Martyrs of the latter time al one.

But Lincolne goeth forth in his talke.

Alſo at the begginning and foūdation of the church, it could not be but that the Apoſtles ſhould ſuffer great perſecution. Further, before CHRISTES cōming, continually they were very fewe which truly ſerued God: but after his comming began the time of grace, then began the Church to encreaſe and was continually augmented vntill that it came vnto this perfection, and now hath iuſtly that iuriſdiction which the vnchriſtian Princes before by tyranny did reſiſt: there is a diuerſe conſideration of the eſtate of the Church new in the tyme of grace, and before CHRISTES comming. But M. Latimer, although we had inſtructions geuen vs determinately to take your anſwere to ſuch articles as we ſhould propoſe, without any reaſoning or diſputations, yet we hoping by talke ſomewhat to preuayle with you, appoynted you to appeare before vs yeſterday in the diuinity ſchole, a place for diſputations. And where as then not withſtanding you had lycence to ſay your mynde, and were aunſwered to euery matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors. We thynkyng that from that tyme ye woulde with good aduiſe-

The image of the church before Chriſtes comming compared with the church after his comming.

ment

ment conſider your ſtate, gaue you reſpyte from that tyme yeſterday when we dimiſſed you, vntill this time, and now haue called you agayne here in this place, by your aunſweres to learne whether you are the ſame man as you were then or no: Therefore wee will propoſe vnto you the ſame articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate aunſwere, without farther reaſoning, and eftſones recyted the firſt article.

The Articles agayne propounded to *M. Latymer.*

M. Latymer agayne aunſwereth with proteſtation, as before.

Lat. Alwayes my proteſtation ſaued, that by theſe myne anſweres it ſhould not be though that I did condeſcend and agrée to your Lordſhips authority in that you are legaſed by authority of the Pope, ſo that therby I might ſéeme to conſent to hys iuriſdiction, to the firſt article I aunſwere now as I did yeſterday, that in the Sacrament the worthy receiuer receiueth the very body of CHRIST, and drinketh his bloud by ſpirite, and grace. But after that corporall being which the Romiſh Church preſcribeth, CHRISTES body and bloud is not in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

The very body of Chriſt receaued in the Sacramẽt by the ſpirite & grace.

The Notaries tooke his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely. For the ſecond article, he referred himſelfe to hys aunſweres made before.

Anſwers to the 2. and 3. Articles.

Linc. After this the Biſhop of Lincolne recyted the third article, and requyred a determinate aunſwere.

Lat. CHRIST made one oblation and ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the whole world, and that a perfect ſacrifice, neyther needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory ſacrifice.

The Notaries tooke his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely.

In like maner did he aunſwere to the other articles, not varying from his aunſweres made the day before.

After his aunſweres were penned of the Notaries, and the Byſhop of Lyncolne had exhorted hym in lyke ſort to recant as he did M. Ridley, and reuoke his errours & falſe aſſerſions, and M. Latimer had aũſwered that he ne could, ne would deny his maſter CHRIST and his veritie, the Byſhop of Lyncolne deſired M. Latymer to harken to hym, and then Maſter Latymer harkenyng for ſome new matter and other talke, the Byſhop of Lyncolne red his condemnation, after the publication of the which, the ſayd thrée Biſhops brake vp their Seſſions, and dimiſſed the audience.

M. Latymer will not deny his Maſter Chriſt.

Condemnation red agaynſt *M. Latymer.*

But M. Latymer required the Byſhop to performe his promiſe, in ſaying ẏ day before, that he ſhould haue licence briefly to declare the cauſes why he refuſed the Popes authority.

The Papiſtes falſe in their promiſes.

Lincol. But the Biſhop ſayd, that now he could not heare hym, neither ought to talke with hym.

Then M. Latymer aſked hym whether it were not laufull for hym to appeale from this his iudgemẽt. And ẏ Byſhop aſke him againe, to whom he would appeale. To ẏ next generall Coũcell, quoth M. Latymer, which ſhalbe truly called in Gods name. With that appellation the Biſhop was content: but he ſayd it would be a long ſeaſon before ſuch a conuocation as he ment would be called.

M. Latimer appealeth to the next generall Councell truly called in ẏ lordes name: but that Coũcell is long a commyng.

Thẽ the Byſhop committed M. Latymer to the Maior, ſaying: now he is your priſoner Maſter Maior. Becauſe the preſſe of people was not yet diminiſhed, ech man lookyng for farther proceſſe, the Byſhop of Lyncolne commaunded auoydance, and willed M. Latymer to tary till the preſſe were diminiſhed leſt he ſhould take hurt at his egreſſion, as he dyd at his entrance. And ſo continued Byſhop Ridley, and M. Latymer in durance till the 16. day of the ſaid moneth of October.

October. 15.

The talke betwene Doctor *Brookes B. of* Gloceſter, and *D. Ridley,* vpon his degradation.

¶ A communication betwene D. Brokes, and D. Ridley in M. Iryſh hys houſe, the. xv. day of October, at which time he was degraded.

IN the meane ſeaſon vpõ the. 15. day in the mornyng and the ſame yeare aboue ſayd, the Biſhop of Gloceſter Doct. Brokes, and the Vicechauncelour of Oxford Doct. Marſhall, with diuerſe other of the chief and heades of the ſame Vniuerſitie, & many other moe accõpanying with them, came vnto M. Iriſhe his houſe thẽ Maior of Oxford, where Doct. Ridley, late Byſhop of London was cloſe priſoner. And when the Byſhop of Gloceſter came into the chamber where the ſayd D. Ridley did lye, he told him for what purpoſe their commyng was vnto hym, ſaying: that yet once agayne the Quéenes Maieſtie dyd offer vnto hym by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receiue the ſame, and come home agayne to the fayth which he was Baptiſed in, and reuoke hys erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the deſtruction of many. And further ſayd, that if he would not recant, and become one of the Catholicke Church with them, thẽ they muſt néedes (agaynſt their willes) procéede according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwiſe. But (ſayth he) we haue bene oftentymes with you, & haue requeſted that you would recant this your fantaſticall and deuiliſh opinion, where hetherto you haue not, although you might in ſo doyng wynne many, and do much good. Therfore good M. Ridley, cõſider with your ſelfe ẏ daunger that ſhall enſue both of body & ſoule, if that you ſhall ſo wilfully caſt your ſelf away in refuſing mercy offered vnto you at this tyme.

No merc to be had without conſentin to iniquit

My Lord, quoth D. Ridley, you know my mind fully herein: and as for the doctrine which I haue taught, my conſcience aſſureth me that it was ſound, and according to Gods word (to his glory be it ſpoken) the which doctrine the Lord God being my helper, I wyll maintaine ſo long as my tongue ſhall wagge, and the breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof, ſeale the ſame with my bloud.

Anſwere of *D. Ridley* to Biſhop *Brookes.*

O worthy champion of Chriſt Church.

Brok. Well, you were beſt, M. Ridley, not to do ſo, but to become one of the Church with vs. For you know this well enough, that whoſoeuer is out of the catholike church, can not be ſaued: therfore I ſay once againe, that whiles you haue time and mercy offered you, receiue it, and confeſſe with vs the Popes holines to be the chief head of the ſame Church.

With that their caps were of, bu *D. Ridley* held on h cap.

Rid. I marueile that you will trouble me with any ſuch vayne and fooliſh talke. You know my mynd concernyng the vſurped authoritie of the Romiſh Antichriſt. As I confeſſed opẽly in the ſcholes, ſo do I now, that both by my behauiour and talke I do no obediẽce at all vnto the Byſhop of Rome, nor to his vſurped authoritie, and that for diuers good and godly conſiderations. And here Doct. Ridley would haue reaſoned with the ſayd Brokes Byſhop of Gloceſter, of the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, but could not be ſuffered: & yet he ſpake ſo earneſtly agaynſt the Pope therin, that the Byſhop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he ſhould be compelled agaynſt his will. And ſeyng ſayth he, that you will not receiue the Quéenes mercy now offered vnto you, but ſtubburnly refuſe the ſame, we muſt, againſt our willes, procéede accordyng to our Cõmiſſion to diſgradyng, takyng from you the dignitie of Prieſthode. For we take you for no Byſhop, & therfore we will ẏ ſooner haue done with you: ſo, cõmittyng you to the ſecular power, you know what doth folow.

B. Ridley commaunded to ſilence, whẽ otherwiſe he could not be reuinced.

Rid. Do with me as it ſhal pleaſe God to ſuffer you, I am well content to abyde the ſame with all my hart.

Brok. Put of your cap M. Ridley, and put vpõ you this ſurples.

B. Ridley refuſeth to put on the ſurples.

Rid. Not I truly.

Brok. But you muſt.

Rid. I will not.

Brok. You muſt: therfore make no more a do, but put this ſurples vpon you.

Rid. Truly if it come vpõ me, it ſhalbe againſt my wil.

Brok. Will you not do it vpon you?

Rid. No, that I will not.

Brok. It ſhalbe put vpon you by one or other.

Rid. Do therin as it ſhall pleaſe you. I am well contented with that, and more then that: the ſeruaunt is not aboue his Maſter. It they delt ſo cruelly with our

Sauiour CHRIST, as the Scripture maketh mentiõ, and he ſuffered the ſame patiently, how much more doth it become vs his ſeruaũtes? and in ſaying of theſe wordes they put vppon the ſayd Doct. Ridley the ſurples, with all the trinkettes appertaining to the Maſſe, and as they were puttyng on the ſame, Doct. Ridley did vehemently inuey agaynſt the Romiſh Byſhop and all that fooliſh apparell, callyng him Antichriſt, and the apparell fooliſh and abominable, yea to fond for a Vice in a play, in ſo much that Brokes was exceedyng angry with him, and bad him hold his peace. For he did but raile. Doct. Ridley aũſwered agayne, and ſayd: ſo long as his toung and breath would ſuffer him, he would ſpeake agaynſt their abominable doinges, what ſo euer happened vnto hym for ſo doyng.

B. Ridley inueyeth against the Bishop of Rome, and his foolish apparell.

The surplis here called a foolish apparell.

Brok. Well, you were beſt to hold your peace, leſt your mouth be ſtopped. At which wordes one Edridge, the reader then of the Greeke Lecture ſtãding by, ſayd to Doct. Brokes: Syr, the law is he ſhould be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. At which wordes Doct. Ridley lookyng earneſtly vppon him that ſo ſayd, wagged his head at him, and made no aunſwere agayn, but with a ſigh ſayd: Oh well, well, well.

Maſter Edridge geueth aduise that B. Ridley should be gagged.

So they proceeded in their doinges: yet neuertheleſſe Doct. Ridley was euer talking thinges not pleaſant to their eares, although one or other bad hym hold hys peace, leſt hee ſhould be cauſed againſt hys wyll.

Degrading of B. Ridley.

When as they came to that place where as Doctor Ridley ſhould hold the chalice, and the wafer cake (called the ſinging bread) they bad hym holde the ſame in hys hand. And Doct. Ridley ſayd: they ſhal not come in my handes, for if they do, they ſhall fall to the groũd for all me. Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, whyle biſhop Brokes red a certayne thing in latin, touching the degradation of ſpiritual perſons, according to the Popes law.

Ridley would not come in hand the Chalice and Wafer cake.

Afterward they put a booke in hys hand, and withall red (as is before ſayd) a certaine thing in Latin, the effect thereof was: We do take from you the office of preaching the Goſpell. &c. At which wordes Doct. Ridley gaue a great ſigh, looking vp toward heauẽ, ſaying: Oh Lord God, forgeue them this their wickednes.

D. Ridley degraded from preaching.

And as they put vpõ him the Maſſe geare, ſo they began with the vppermoſt garment, in taking it away agayne, reading a thing in latin according to the order contayned in the ſayd booke of the Popes law. Nowe when all was taken from him, ſauing onely the Surplis left on his backe, as they were reading and taking it away, Doct. Ridley ſayd vnto them: Lorde God, what power bee you of, that you can take from a man that which he neuer had? I was neuer ſinger in al my lyfe: and yet you wyll take from me that which I neuer had.

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very ſolemnly, Doct. Ridley ſayd vnto Doct. Brokes: haue you done? If you haue done, then geue me leaue to talke with you a little concerning theſe matters. Brokes aunſwered and ſaid: Maſter Ridley, wee may not talke with you, you bee out of the church, and our lawes is that wee may not talke with any that be out of yͤ church. Thẽ M. Ridley ſayd: ſeyng that you wyll not ſuffer me to talke, neyther wyll vouchſafe to heare me, what remedy but patience? I referre the cauſe to my heauenly father, who wyll refourme thinges that bee amyſſe when it ſhall pleaſe hym.

At the stripping of him: scoffes and some mocketh apish toyes.

At which wordes they would haue bene gone, but that M Ridley ſaid: My Lord, I would wiſh that your lordſhip would vouchſafe to reade ouer and peruſe a litle booke of Bartrams doings concerning the Sacrament. I promiſe you, you ſhal finde much good learning therein if you wyll read the ſame with an indifferent iudgement. Doct. Brokes made no aunſwere to this, but would haue bene gone away. Then M. Ridley ſayd: Oh, I perceiue that you cannot away wyth thys maner of talke. Well it bootes not: I will ſay no more. I wyll ſpeake of worldly affaires. I pray you therfore (my Lord) heare me, and be a meane vnto the Queenes maieſtye in the behalfe of a great manye of poore men, and eſpeciallye for my poore Siſter and her huſbande, which ſtandeth there. They had a poore liuing graunted vnto them by me whileſt I was in the Sea of Lõdon, and the ſame is taken away from them, by hym that now occupieth the ſame roome, without all lawe or conſcience. Here I haue a Supplication to the Queenes maieſtie in their behalfes. You ſhall heare the ſame read: ſo ſhall you perceiue the matter the better. Then he red the ſame, and when he came to the place in the ſupplication that touched his Syſter by name, then he wept, ſo that for a litle ſpace he could not ſpeake for weeping. After that he had left of weepyng, he ſayde: this is nature that moueth me. But I haue now done, and with that read out the reſt, and deliuered the ſame to hys brother, commaunding hym to put it vp to the Queenes maieſty, and to ſue, not onely for him ſelfe, but alſo for ſuch as had any leaſes or graunts by hym, and were put from the ſame by Doct. Boner then biſhop of London, whereunto Brokes ſayd: In deede M. Ridley your requeſt in this ſupplication is very lawfull and honeſt: therefore I muſt needes in in conſcience, ſpeake to the Queenes maieſty for them.

A copy of a supplication from B. Ridley to his sister? is not given here.

Ridley. I pray you for Gods ſake do ſo.

Brookes. I thinke your requeſt wyll be graunted, except one thing let it, and that is (I feare) becauſe you do not allow the Queenes proceedings, but obſtinately withſtand the ſame, that it will hardly be graunted.

Ridley. What remedy, I can do no more but ſpeake and wryte: I truſt I haue diſcharged my conſcience therein, and Gods wyll be done.

Brookes. I wyll do what lyeth in me.

The copy of this ſupplicatiõ writtẽ to the Queene here followeth.

¶ Maſter Ridley to the Queenes maieſty.

It may pleaſe your Maieſtie for CHRIST our Sauiors ſake, in a matter of conſcience (and now not for my ſelfe, but for other poore men) to vouchſafe to heare and vnderſtand this myne humble ſupplication. It is ſo (honourable princeſſe) that in the time whiles I was in the miniſtery of the Sea of London, diuers poore men tenauntes therof, haue taken new Leaſes of their tenauntries and holdinges, and ſome haue renued and chaunged their old, and therefore haue payed fynes and ſummes of mony, both to me and alſo to the chapter of Paules, for the confirmation of the ſame.

Now, I heare ſay that the Biſhop which occupieth the ſame roome now, will not allow the foreſayd leaſes, which muſt redound to many poore mens vtter ruine and decay. wherefore this is myne humble ſupplication vnto your honorable grace, that it may pleaſe the ſame for CHRISTES ſake, to bee vnto the foreſayd poore men their gracious patroneſſe and defendour, either that they may enioy their foreſayd leaſes and yeares renued, as (I ſuppoſe) whẽ their matter ſhalbe heard with conſcience, both iuſtice, conſcience and equity ſhall requyre, for that their leaſes ſhalbe found (I truſt) made without fraude or couen, eyther of their part, or of myne, and alwayes alſo the old rentes reſerued to the ſea without any kind of damage therof: or if this wil not be graunted, then yͭ it may pleaſe your gracious hyghnes to cõmaund that the poore men may be reſtored to their former leaſes & yeares, & to haue rendred to them again ſuch ſũmes of money as they payd to me & to yͤ chapter for their leaſes and yeares ſo now taken from them. which thing concerning the fynes payed to me, may be eaſily done, if it ſhall pleaſe your maieſty to commaund ſome porcion of thoſe goodes which I left in my houſe when I fled in hope of pardon for my treſpaſſe towardes your grace, which goodes (as I haue heard) be yet reſerued in the ſame houſe. I ſuppoſe that halfe of the value of my plate which I left in myne offices, and ſpecially in an yron cheſt in my bed chamber, will goe nigh to reſtore all ſuch fynes receaued, the true ſummes and parcels whereof are not ſet in their leaſes: and therefore if that way ſhall pleaſe

Note the charitie of the papistes.

B. Ridleyes sister put from her leaſe by D. Boner.

A supplication of B. Ridley to Q. Mary, in the behalfe of certayne poore mens leases.

This Bishop was Doctor Boner.

It to ſuccour the widow and fatherles is pure and vndefiled religion, as Sainct James ſayth: Then is *Boner* and his religiõ filthy and abominable which doth ſuch wrong to the Widow and fatherles.

pleaſe your hyghnes, they muſt be knowen by ſuch waies and meanes as your maieſtie by the aduyſe of men of wiſdoome and conſcience ſhall appoynt: but yet for Chriſtes ſake I craue and moſt humbly beſech your maieſty of your moſt gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I haue alſo a poore Siſter that came to me out of the North, with three fatherles children for her reliefe, whom I married after to a ſeruaunt of myne own houſe: ſhe is put out of that I did prouyde for them. I beſech your honourable grace, that her caſe may bee mercifully conſidered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I neuer had of him, which ſuffred indurãce at my intrance to the ſea of London, not one peny of his moueable goodes, for it was almoſt halfe a yeare after his depoſition afore I did enter into that place: yea, and alſo if any were left, knowen to be his, he had licence to cary it away, or there for his vſe it did lye ſafe: as hys officers do know. I payed for the lead which I founde there, when I occupyed any of it to the behoofe of the church or of the houſe. And moreouer I had not onely no part of his moueable goods, but alſo (as his olde receiuer and then mine, called M.Staunton can teſtify) I paied for him towardes his ſeruauntes common liueries and wages, after hys depoſition. 53. or 55. poundes, I can not tell whether. In all theſe matters I beſeech your honorable maieſty to heare the aduiſe of men of cõſcience and in eſpecially the Archbiſhop now of Yorke, which for that he was continnally in my houſe a yeare and more before myne impriſonment, I ſuppoſe he is not altogether ignorant of ſome part of theſe thinges, and alſo his grace doth know my Siſter, for whoſe ſuccour and ſome reliefe now vnto your hyghnes I make moſt humble ſute.

Notwithſtanding theſe godly and iuſt requeſtes, no iuſtice could be had vntill that now of late ſome of theſe ſhamefull iniuries, by order of law haue bene redreſſed.

The.xvj. day of October. An.1555. N.R.

This degradation being paſt, and all thinges finiſhed, Doct. Brokes called the Bailiffes, deliuering to them M. Ridley with thys charge, to keepe him ſafely from any man ſpeaking with him, and that he ſhould be brought to the place of execution when they were commaunded. Then M.Ridley in praiſing God, braſt out with theſe wordes and ſayd: God I thanke thee, and to thy prayſe be it ſpoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it ſhould ſurely bee layd in my lap, I ſee very well. Whereunto Brokes ſayd, he playd the part of a proud Phariſey, exalting & prayſing himſelfe.

The life of *M. Ridley* ſuch as could not with any notorious crime be charged.

But M. Ridley ſayd: No, no, no, as I haue ſaid before, to Gods glory be it ſpoken. I confeſſe my ſelfe to be a miſerable wretched ſinner, and haue great neede of Gods helpe and mercy, and do dayly call and cry for the ſame: therefore I pray you haue no ſuch opinion in me. Then they departed, and in going away, a certaine Warden of a Colledge, of whoſe name I am not very ſure, bad Doct. Ridley repent hym, and forſake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto M.Ridley ſayd: Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God (if it bee hys bleſſed wyll) haue mercy vpon you, and graunt you the vnderſtanding of hys worde. Then the Wardẽ being in a chafe thereat, ſaid: I truſt that I ſhall neuer bee of your erroneous and deuilyſh opiniõ, neyther yet to be in that place whether you ſhal go. He is, ſaith he, the moſt obſtinateſt, and wilfulleſt man that euer I heard talke ſince I was borne.

The wordes of a certayne Warden or head of a Colledge.

The behauiour of Doctour Ridley at his Supper the night before his ſuffring.

The night before he ſuffered, hys beard was waſhed, and his legges: & as he ſat at ſupper the ſame night at M. Iriſhes (who was his keeper) he bad his hoſtes, and the reſt at the bourd to his mariage: for (ſayth hee) to morow I muſt be maried: and ſo ſhewed him ſelfe to be as mery as euer hee was at any tyme before. And wiſhing his ſiſter at his mariage, hee aſked his brother ſitting at the Table, whether ſhee could finde in her hart to bee there or no: and he aunſwered, yea, I dare ſay, with all her hart: at which worde he ſayd, hee was glad to heare of her ſo much therein. So at this talke Miſtres Iriſh wept.

D. Ridley biddeth geſtes to his mariage.

Miſtres Iriſh a great Papiſt before, weepeth for D. Ridley.

But M. Ridley comforted her, and ſayd: Oh Miſtres Iriſh, you loue me not now, I ſee well inough. For in that you weepe, it doth appeare you will not bee at my maryage, neither are content therwith. In dede you be not ſo much my friend, as I thought you had bene. But quiet your ſelfe: though my breakfaſt ſhal be ſomething ſharpe and paynefull, yet I am ſure my ſupper ſhall be more pleaſaunt and ſweete. &c.

When they aroſe from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he ſayd, no, no, that you ſhall not. For I mynde (God willing) to go to bed, and to ſleepe as quietly to nyght, as euer I dyd in my lyfe. So his brother departed, exhorting hym to bee of good cheere, and to take his Croſſe quyetly, for the reward was great. &c.

B.Ridle careles o his deat

The behauiour of Doctour Ridly and M.Latimer at the tyme of their death, which was the 16. day of October, An.1555.

Vpon the Northſide of the towne, in the Dytch ouer againſt Baily Colledge the place of execution was appointed: and for feare of any tumult that might aryſe to let the burnyng of them, the Lord Williams was commaunded by the Queenes letters, & the houſeholders of the City, to bee there aſſiſtant ſufficiently appointed, and when euery thing was in a readynes, yͤ priſoners were brought forth by the Maior & Bailifs.

The orde and mane of Bisho *Ridley* & Maste *Latymer* going to the ſtake.

M. Ridley had a fayre blacke gowne furred and faced with foynes, ſuch as he was wont to weare beyng Biſhop, and a tippet of veluet furred likewiſe about his necke, a veluet nightcap vpon his head, and a corner cap vpon the ſame, going in a payre of ſlippers to the ſtake, and going betwene the Maior & an Alderman. &c.

After him came M.Latimer in a poore Briſtow friſe frocke all worne, with his buttened cap and a kerchief on hys head all ready to the fire, a newe long ſhrowde hanging ouer his hoſe downe to his feete, which at the firſt ſight ſtyrred mens hartes to rue vpon them, beholding on the one ſide the honour they ſometime had, on the other, the calamity wherunto they were fallen.

Maſter Doct. Ridley, as he paſſed towardes Bocardo, looked vp where M.Cranmer did lye, hoping belike to haue ſeene hym at yͤ glaſſe window, to haue ſpoken vnto him. But then M.Cranmer was buſy wyth Frier Soto & his fellowes diſputing together, ſo that he could not ſee him through that accaſion. Then Maſter Ridley looking backe, eſpied M. Latimer cõming after. Vnto whom he ſayd: Oh be ye there? Yea (ſaid M.Latimer) haue after as faſt as I can follow. So he following a prety way of, at length they came both to the ſtake one after the other, where firſt Doct. Ridley entring the place, marueilous earneſtly holdyng vp both his handes, looked towards heauen: then ſhortly after eſpying M.Latimer, with a wondrous cherefull looke, ran to him, embraced and kiſſed hym (and as they that ſtoode neare, reported) comforted him, ſaying: bee of good hart brother, for God wyll either aſſwage the fury of the flame, or els ſtrengthen vs to abide it.

D.Ridle & Maste *Latymer* brought t gether to the ſtake.

With that went he to the ſtake, kneeled down by it, kiſſed it, moſt effectuouſly prayed, and behinde him maſter Latimer kneeled, as earneſtly calling vpon God as he. After they aroſe, the one talked with the other a litle whyle, tyll they which were appointed to ſee the execution, remoued them ſelues out of the ſunne. What they ſayd, I can learne of no man.

The beh uiour of *D. Ridl* & Maste *Latymer* at the ſtake.

Then Doct. Smith of whoſe recantation in kyng Edwardes tyme, ye heard before, pag. 1606. began his Sermon to them, vppon this text of Saint Paule in the. xiij. Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians: Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeo, nihil inde vtilitatis capio. That is: *If I yeld my body to the fire to be burnt, and haue not Charity, I ſhall gayne nothyng therby*. Wherein he alledged

D.Smith preaching at the bu ning of *B.Ridley* & Maste *Latymer.*

ledged that the goodnes of the cauſe, and not the order of death maketh the holynes of the perſon: which hee confirmed by the examples of Iudas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged her ſelfe, for that they and ſuch like as hee recited, might then bee adiudged righteous, which deſperately ſundred theyr liues from their bodyes, as he feared that thoſe men that ſtode before hym, would doe. But hee cried ſtill to the people to beware of them, for they were heretickes and dyed out of the Church. And on the other ſide, hee declared their diuerſitie in opiniōs, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which ſecte they were, (he ſayd) & that was the worſt: but the old Church of CHRIST and the Catholicke fayth beleued farre otherwiſe. At which place they lifted vp both their hādes and eyes to heauen, as it were callyng God to witnes of the truth. The which countenaunce they made in many other places of his Sermon, whereas they thought he ſpake amiſſe. He ended with a very ſhort exhortation to them, to recant and come home agayne to the Church, and ſaue their lyues and ſoules, which els were condemned. His Sermō was ſcant in all a quarter of an houre.

Doct. Ridley ſayd vnto M. Latymer: will you begyn to aunſwere the Sermon, or ſhall I? M. Latymer ſayd: begyn you firſt, I pray you. I will, ſayd Maſter Ridley.

Then the wicked Sermon being ended, Doct. Ridley and M. Latymer kneeled downe vpon their knees towardes my L. Williams of Tame, the Vicechaūcellour of Oxford, and diuers other Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, which ſat vpon a forme there by. Unto whō M. Ridley ſayd: I beſech you my Lord, euen for CHRISTES ſake, that I may ſpeake but ij. or iij. wordes: and whileſt my Lord bent his head to yͤ Maior & Vicechaūcellour, to know (as it appeared) whether he might geue hym leaue to ſpeake, the Bayliffes and Doct. Marſhall Vicechaūcellour ran haſtely vnto hym, and with theyr handes ſtopped his mouth, and ſayd: M. Ridley, if you wil reuoke your erroneous opinions and recant the ſame, you ſhall not onely haue libertie ſo to do, but alſo the benefite of a ſubiect, that is, haue your lyfe. Not otherwiſe, ſaid M. Ridley? No, quoth Doct. Marſhall: therfore if you will not do ſo, then there is no remedy but you muſt ſuffer for your deſertes. Well (quoth M. Ridley) ſo long as the breath is in my body, I will neuer deny my Lord CHRIST & his knowen truth: Gods will be done in me. And with that he roſe vp, and ſayd with a loude voyce: Well, thē I commit our cauſe to almighty God, which ſhall indifferently iudge all.

To whoſe ſaying, M. Latymer added his old Poſie: Well, there is nothyng hid but it ſhalbe opened: and he ſayd hee could aunſwere Smith well inough, if he might be ſuffered. Incontinently they were commaunded to make them ready, which they with all meekenes obeyed. M. Ridley toke his Gowne and his *Tippet, and gaue it to his brother in law M. Shepſide, who all his tyme of empriſonment, although he might not bee ſuffered to come to hym, lay there at hys own charges to prouide hym neceſſaries, which from tyme to tyme he ſent hym by the Sergeant that kept hym. Some other of hys apparell that was litle worth, he gaue away: other the Bayliffes toke.

He gaue away beſides, diuers other ſmall things to Gentlemen ſtandyng by, and diuers of them pitifully weepyng, as to Syr Henry Ley he gaue a new groate, and to diuers of my Lord Williams Gentlemen, ſome Napkyns, ſome Nutmegs, and races of Gynger, hys Diall, and ſuch other thinges as he had about hym, to euery one that ſtode next hym. Some plucked the pointes of hys hoſe. Happy was he that might get any ragge of hym.

M. Latymer gaue nothyng, but very quietly ſuffered hys keeper to pull of hys hoſe, and his other aray, which to looke vnto was very ſimple: & beyng ſtripped into his ſhrowde, he ſeemed as comely a perſon to thē that were there preſent, as one ſhould lightly ſee: and whereas in hys clothes, he appeared a withered and crooked ſely old man, he now ſtode bolt vpryght, as comely a father, as one might lightly behold.

M. Latymer ſtandyng at the ſtake in his ſhrute.

Then M. Ridley ſtandyng as yet in hys truſſe, ſayd to his brother: it were beſt for me to go in my truſſe ſtill. No (quoth hys brother) it will put you to more payne: and the truſſe will do a poore man good. Whereunto M. Ridley ſayd: be it, in the name of God, and ſo vnlaced him ſelfe. Then beyng in his ſhirt, he ſtode vpon the foreſayd ſtone, and held vp his handes, & ſayd: *Oh heauenly Father, I geue vnto thee most hartie thankes for that thou haſt called me to bee a profeſſour of thee, euen vnto death. I beſech thee Lord God, take mercy vpon thys Realme of England, and deliuer the ſame from all her enemies.*

B. Ridley thanketh God for his Martyrdome, and prayeth for England.

Then the Smith toke a chaine of iron, and brought the ſame about both Doct. Ridleyes and M. Latimers middles: and as he was knocking in a ſtaple, Doctor Ridley toke the chayne in his hand and ſhaked the ſame, for it did gyrd in his belly, and looking aſide to the Smith, ſayd: good fellow, knocke it in hard, for the fleſh wyll haue his courſe. Then his brother did bring hym gunpouder in a bag, and would haue tyed the ſame about his necke. Maſter Ridley aſked what it was. His brother ſayd gunpowder. Then ſayd hee, I take it to be ſent of God, therefore I wyll receiue it as ſent of him. And haue you any, ſayd he, for my brother, meaning maſter Latimer? Yea Sir, that I haue (quoth his brother.) Then geue it vnto hym, ſayd he, betyme, leſt you come to late. So his brother went and carryed of the ſame gunpouder vnto M. Latymer.

Gunpouder geuen to the Martyrs.

In yͤ meane tyme Doct. Ridley ſpake vnto my Lord Wyllyams, and ſayd. My Lord, I muſt be a ſuter vnto your Lordſhip in the behalfe of dyuers poore men, and eſpecially in the cauſe of my poore Siſter: I haue made a ſupplication to the Queenes maieſty in their behalfes. I beſech your Lordſhip for CHRISTES ſake, to be a meane to her grace for them. My brother here hath the ſupplication, and will reſort to your Lordſhip to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conſcience (I prayſe God) this onely excepted. Whyles I was in the ſee of London, diuers poore men toke Leaſes of me, and agreed with me for the ſame. Now, I heare ſay, the Biſhop that now occupyeth the ſame roome, wyll not allow my grauntes vnto them made, but contrary vnto all law and cōſcience, hath taken from them their liuinges, and will not ſuffer them to enioy the ſame. I beſech you my Lord bee a meane for them: you ſhall do a good dede, and God wyll reward you.

B. Ridleys ſute to the L. of Tame for leaſes of poore men.

D. Boner taketh away the leaſes from poore mē graūted before by *B. Ridley.*

Then brought they a fagot kindled with fyre, and layd the ſame downe at D. Ridleyes feete. To whom M. Latymer ſpake in this maner: Be of good comfort M. Ridley, and play the man: we ſhall this day lyght ſuch a candle by Gods grace in England, as (I truſt) ſhall neuer be put out.

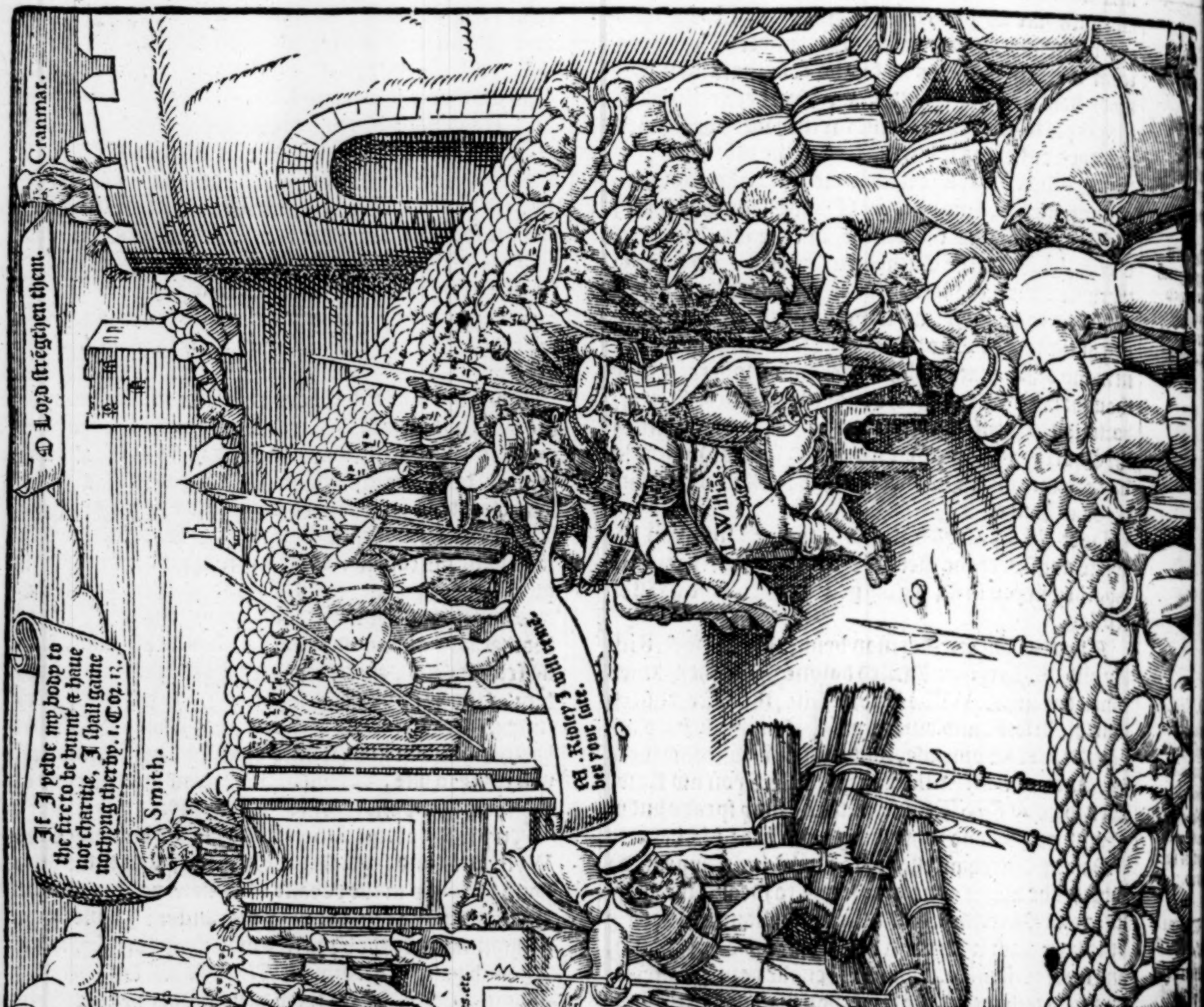
The Church lightened by the Martyrdome of Saintes.

And ſo the fier being geuen vnto them, when Doct. Ridley ſaw the fire flaming vp toward hym, he cryed with a wonderfull loud voyce: In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum, Domine recipe ſpiritum meum, and after repeated this latter part often in Engliſh: *Lord, Lord, receaue my ſpirite:* M. Latimer crying as vehemently on the other ſyde: *Oh Father of heauen receaue my ſoule:* who receyued the flame as it were embraſing of it. After, as he had ſtrooked hys face with his handes, and (as it were) bathed them a litle in yͤ fier, he ſone died (as it appeared) with very litle payne or none. And thus much concernyng the end of thys old and bleſſed ſeruaunt of God M. Latimer, for whoſe laborious trauailes, fruitfull life, and conſtant death, yͤ whole realme hath cauſe to geue great thākes to almightie God.

M. Latymers prayer and Martyrdome.

¶The

The Martyrdome of D. Nich. Ridley B. of London, and M. Hugh Latimer Preacher, at Oxford. An. 1555. Octob. 16.


Cranmar.
O Lord ſtrẽgthen them.
If I yelde my body to the fire to be burnt & haue not charitie, I ſhall gaine nothyng thereby. 1.Cor.13.
Smith.
M. Ridley I will commende your ſute.
I. Willia.
Lorde into thy handes etc.
Ridley.
Latimer.
Father of heauen receiue my ſoule.

A Table deſcribyng the burning of Byſhop Ridley and Father Latymer at Oxford, Doct. Smith there preachyng at the tyme of theyr Martyrdome.

¶ De Ridleo & Latimero Martyribus.
1555. Octob. 16. R. R.

QVod modo Ridleus quòd Latimerus abunde
Edocuit, firmat ſanguine vterq; ſuo.
Ambo Pontifices quondam, nunc Martyres ambo:
Et zelo ambo pares, & pietate pares,
Pro vero heu pereunt, quid vero fortius vno?
Pro vero eſt rapidos paſſus vterq; rogos.
Heu mihi, quos gemitus Cranmerus, qualia verba
Fuderat in veſtram (copula ſancta) necem?
Sed tamen inſani fuit hæc dementia mundi,
Quòd retegunt fucos Papa ſceleſte, tuos.
Heu pietas, heu priſca fides, non vlla fuerunt
Docta magis, ſed nec pectora ſancta magis,
Indigni mundo, nunc cœlo aſtriſq; beatis,
Gaudet vterq; Deo, perfruiturq; ſuo.

The order of B. Ridleys burning.

But M. Ridley by reaſon of the euill making of the fire vnto hym, becauſe the wodden fagottes were layd about the goſſe and ouer hye built, the fyre burned firſt beneath, being kept downe by the wood. Which when he felt, he deſired them for *CHRISTES* ſake to let the fyre come vnto him. Which when his brother in law heard, but not well vnderſtoode, entending to rid him out of hys payne (for the which cauſe he gaue attendaunce) as one in ſuch ſorrow, not well aduyſed what he did, heaped fagots vppon him, ſo that he cleane couered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned cleane all hys neather partes, before it once touched the vpper, and that made him leape vp and downe vnder the fagots, and often deſyre them to let the fyre come vnto hym, ſaying: I cannot burne. Which in deede appeared wel: for after his legges were conſumed by reaſon of his ſtruggling through ẏ payne, (whereof he had no releaſe, but onely his contentation in God) he ſhewed that ſyde towardes vs cleane, ſhirt and all vntouched with flame Yet in all this torment he forgat not to cal vnto God ſtil, hauing in his mouth: Lord haue mercy vpon me, intermedling this cry, let the fyre come vnto me, I cannot burne. In which paynes he laboured till one of the ſtanders by with his bill pulled of the fagots aboue, and where he ſawe the fire flame vp, he wreſted him ſelfe vnto that ſyde. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was ſeene ſtyrre no more, but burned on the other ſyde, fallyng downe at M. Latimers feete. Which ſome ſayd happened, by reaſon that the chayne loſed: other ſayd that he fell ouer the chayne, by reaſon of the poyſe of his body, and the weakenes of the neather limmes.

D. Ridley long in burning.

The death & martyrdome of D. Ridley.

Some ſay that before he was lyke to fall from the ſtake, he deſired them to hold him to it with their billes, howſoeuer it was, ſurely it moued hundreds to teares, in beholding the horrible ſight. For I thinke there was none that had not cleane exiled all humanitie & mercy, which would not haue lamented to behold the furye of the fire ſo to rage vpon their bodies. Signes there were of ſorrow on euery ſide. Some tooke it greuouſly to ſee their deathes whoſe liues they helde full deare. Some pitied their perſons that thought their ſoules had no neede thereof. His brother moued many men, ſeyng his miſerable caſe: ſeing (I ſay) him compelled to ſuch infelicity, that he thought then to do him beſt ſeruice, when he haſtened his end. Some cried out of the lucke, to ſee his endeuour who moſt dearely loued hym and ſought his releaſe, tourne to his greater vexation & encreaſe of paine. But who ſo conſidered their prefermēts in time paſt, the places of honour ẏ they ſometime occupied in this cōmon wealth, the fauor they were in with their Princes, & the opinion of learning they had, could not chuſe but ſorow with teares to ſee ſo great dignity, honour and eſtimatiō, ſo neceſſary members ſometyme accounted, ſo many godly vertues, the ſtudy of ſo many yeares, ſuch excellent learning, to bee put into the fire and conſumed in one moment. Wel, dead they are, and the reward of this world they haue already. What reward remayneth for them in Heauen, the day of the Lordes glory when he commeth with hys Saintes, ſhal ſhortly I truſt, declare.

The lamenting hartes of the people at the martyrdome of these .ij. Biſhops.

Albeit, I haue differred & put ouer many treatiſes, letters, and exhortations belongyng to the ſtory of the Martyrs, vnto the latter Appendix in the end of this volume: thinkyng alſo to haue done the like w̄ theſe farewels & exhortations folowing of D. Rydley, yet for certeine purpoſes mouyng me therunto, & eſpecially conſideryng the frutful admonitions, holeſome doctrine, and neceſſary exhortations cōteined in the ſame, I thought beſt here to beſtow and conſequently to adioyne the ſayd tractations of that learned paſtour, with the life and ſtory of the authour. Whereof the ij. firſt be in maner of his farewels, the one to his kynſfolkes and generally to all the faithfull of the number of *CHRISTES* congregation: the other more ſpecial to the priſoners and baniſhed Chriſtians in the Goſpels cauſe: the thyrd conteyneth a frutfull and a generall admonition to the Citie of London and to all other, with neceſſary preceptes of Chriſtian office, as by the tenour of them here foloweth in order to be ſeene.

¶ A treatyſe or a letter written by D. Ridley in ſtede of his laſt farewell, to all his true and faithfull frendes in God, with a ſharpe admonition withall vnto the Papiſtes.

The firſt farewel of B. Ridley to his frendes.

AT the name of Jeſus let euery knee bow, both of thinges in heauen, and thinges in earth, and thinges vnder the earth, and let euery toung confeſſe that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord vnto the glory of God the father, Amen.

As a man minding to take a farre iourney and to depart frō his familiar frends, commonly & naturally hath a deſire to bid his frendes farewel before his departure: ſo likewyſe now I looking dayly when I ſhould be called for to depart hence from you (O al ye my dearely beloued brethren and ſiſters in our Sauiour Chriſt, that dwell here in this world) hauing a lyke minde towardes you all (and bleſſed be God for this ſuch tyme and leaſure, whereof I right hartely thanke his heauenly goodnes): do byd you all my deare brethren and ſiſters (I ſay) in Chriſt, that dwell vpon the earth, after ſuch maner as I can, Farewell.

Commendation of George Shipſide his brother in law.

Farewell my deare brother George Shipſide, whom I haue euer found faithfull, truſty, and louing in all ſtate and conditions, and now in the tyme of my croſſe, ouer all other to me moſt frendly and ſtedfaſt, and that which lyked me beſt, ouer all other things, in Gods cauſe euer harty.

Farewell my deare ſiſter Alice his wyfe. I am glad to heare of thee that thou doeſt take Chriſtes croſſe, which is layde nowe (bleſſed be God) both on thy backe & myne, in good part. Thanke thou God that hath geuen thee a godly and a louyng huſband: ſee thou honour him, and obey him according to Gods lawe. Honour thy mother in law his mother, and loue all thoſe that pertaine vnto him, being ready to do them good, as it ſhal lye in thy power. As for thy childrē, I doubt not of thy huſband, but that he which hath giuen him a hart to loue and feare God, and in God them that pertaine vnto him, ſhal alſo make him frendly and beneficiall vnto thy children, euen as if they had bene gotten of his own body.

To his brother Jhon Ridley.

Farewell my welbeloued brother John Ridley of the Waltowne, and you my gentle and louing Siſter Elizabeth: whom beſides the natural league of amity, your tender loue, which you wer ſayd euer to beare towardes me aboue the reſt of your brethren, doth binde me to loue. My minde was to haue acknowledged this your louing affection, and to haue acquited it with deedes, and not wyth wordes alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I byd farewell, whom I loue for the meeke and gentle ſpirite that God hath geuen her, which is a precious thing in the ſight of God.

To his ſiſter in law of Unthanke, wife to Hugh his brother.

Farewell my beloued Siſter of Unthanke, with all your children my Nephewes and Nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my minde was to haue bene vnto them in the ſtede of their father: but the Lord God muſt and wyll bee their father, if they wil loue him and feare him, and lyue in the trade of hys law,

To his Coſin M. Nicholas Ridley.

Farewell my welbeloued and worſhipful Coſins maiſter Nicholas Ridley of Wyllimountſwick and your wyfe, and I thanke you for all your kindnes ſhewed both to mee, and alſo to all your own kinſfolke and myne. Good Coſyn, as God hath ſet you in our ſtocke and kindred (not for any reſpect of your perſon, but of hys abundant grace and goodnes) to be as it were the Belweather to order and conduct the reſt, and hath alſo endued you wyth hys manyfold giftes of grace both heauenly and worldly aboue others: ſo I pray you good Coſin (as my truſt and hope is in you) continue and increaſe in the maintenaunce of the truth, honeſty, righteouſnes, and all true godlynes, and to the vttermoſt of your power, to withſtand falſehood, vntruth, vnrighteouſnes and all vngodlynes, which is forbid and condemned by the word and lawes of God.

To his Coſin Rafe Ridley.

Farewell my young Coſin Rafe Whitfield. Oh your tyme was very ſhort with me. My minde was to haue done you good: and yet you caught in that little tyme a loſſe, but I truſt it ſhall be recompenſed as it ſhall pleaſe almighty God.

To all his kindred.

Farewell all my whole kindred and countreymen: farewell in Chriſt altogether. The Lord which is the ſearcher of ſecretes, knoweth that according to my hartes deſire, my hope was of late that I ſhould haue come among you, and to haue brought wyth me abundaunce of Chriſtes bleſſed Goſpell, according to the duty of that office and miniſtery, whereunto among you I was choſen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late perieles Prince kyng Edward, and ſo alſo denounced openly in hys court by hys priuy Counſell.

Biſhop Ridley appointed to be biſhop of Durham.

I warne you all my welbeloued kinſfolke and countreymen, that ye be not amaſed or aſtonied at the kynde of my departure or diſſolution: for I enſure you I thinke it the moſt honour that euer I was called vnto in all my lyfe, and therefore I thanke my Lord God hartely for it, that it hath pleaſed him to call me of hys great mercy vnto this high honour, to ſuffer death willingly for hys ſake, and in his cauſe: vnto the which honour hee called the holy Prophetes, and his dearely beloued Apoſtels, and his bleſſed choſen Martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the cauſes wherfore I am put to death, are Gods cauſes, and the cauſes of the truth, then I doubt that the Goſpell which John

Martyrdome Gods ſingular and rare promotion.

wrote, is the Goſpell of Chriſt, or that Paules Epiſtles are the very word of God. And to haue a hart wylling to abyde & ſtande in Gods cauſe and in Chriſtes quarell euen vnto death, I enſure thee (O man) it is an ineſtimable and an honourable gift of God, geuen onely to the true electes and dearely beloued children of God, and inheritours of the kingdome of heauen. For the holy Apoſtle, and alſo Martyr in Chriſtes cauſe, S. Peter ſayeth: *If ye ſuffer rebuke in the name of CHRIST*, that is, in Chriſtes cauſe, and for hys truthes ſake, *then are ye happy and bleſſed, for the glory of the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you.* If for rebukes ſake ſuffered in Chriſtes name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy Apoſtle, bleſſed and happy: how much more happy and bleſſed is he that hath the grace to ſuffer death alſo? wherefore, all ye that be my true louers and frendes, reioyce, and reioyce with me agayne, and render wyth me harty thankes to God our heauenly father, that for his ſonnes ſake my Sauiour and redemer Chriſt, he hath vouchſafed to call me, being elles without his gracious goodnes, in my ſelfe but a ſinnefull and a vile wretche, to call me (I ſay) vnto this highe dignitye of his true Prophettes, of his faythfull Apoſtles, and of his holy electe and choſen Martyrs, that is, to die and to ſpende this temporall life in the defence and maintenaunce of hys eternall and euerlaſting truth.

1. Peter. 4.

A bleſſed thing to ſuffer death for Chriſt.

Ye know that be my Countreymẽ dwelling vpon the borders, where (alas) the true man ſuffreth oftentimes much wrong at the theeues hand, if it chaunce a man ſo be ſlaine of a theefe (as it oft chaunceth there) which went out with his neighbour to helpe him to reſcue his goodes againe, that the more cruelly he be ſlaine, and the more ſtedfaſtly he ſtoocke by his neighbour in the fyght againſt the face of the theefe, the more fauour and frendſhip ſhall all his poſterity haue for the ſlaine mans ſake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact and his poſteritye doth endure: Euen ſo, ye that be my kinſefolke and cōtreymen, know ye (how ſoeuer the blind, ignoraunt, and wicked world hereafter ſhall raile vpon my death, which thing they can not doe worſe then theyr fathers did of the death of Chriſt our Sauior, of his holy prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs): know ye (I ſay) that both before God & all them that be godly, and that truely know and follow the lawes of God, ye haue and ſhal haue by gods grace, euer cauſe to reioyce, and to thanke God highly, and to thinke good of it, and in God to reioyce of me your fleſh and bloud, whom God of his gracious goodnes hath vouchſafed to aſſociate vnto the bleſſed company of his holy Martyrs in heauen: and I dout not in the infinite goodnes of my Lord God, nor in the faithfull felowſhip of his elect and choſen people, but at both theyr hands in my cauſe, ye ſhall rather find the more fauour & grace: For the Lord ſayth, that he will be both to them and theirs that loue him, the more louing againe in a thouſand generations: the Lord is ſo ful of mercy to them (I ſay) and theyrs which doe loue him in deede. And Chriſt ſayth agayne, *that no man can ſhew more loue then to geue his life for his frend.*

If it be a poynt of a faithfull frẽd to die wyth his frend vpō theues for worldly goods: how much more then to dye in Chriſtes quarel vpō the enemies of his church?

Deuter. 7.

Iohn. 15.

Now alſo know ye, all my true louers in God, my kinſfolke and countreymen, that the cauſe wherefore I am put to death, is euen after the ſame ſort and cōdition, but touching more nere gods cauſe and in more waighty matters, but in the general kind al one, for both is Gods cauſe, both is in the mainteinance of right, and both for the commō wealth, and both for the weale alſo of the chriſtian brother: although yet there is in theſe two no ſmal difference, both concerning the enemyes, the goods ſtolne, and the manner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there, when the pore true man is robbed by the theefe of his owne goods truely gottē (where vpon he and his houſhold ſhould liue) he is greatly wronged and the theefe in ſtealing and robbing with violence the poore mans goods, doth offend God, doth tranſgreſſe his law, and is iniurious both to the pore man and to the commen wealth: ſo I ſay, know ye all that euen here in the cauſe of my death it is with the Church of England, I meane the congregation of the true choſen children of God in this realme of England, which I knowledge not only to be my neighbors, but rather the congregation of my ſpirituall brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, yea members of one body, wherein by gods grace I am and haue bene grafted in Chriſt. This church of England had of late of the infinite goodnes and aboūdant grace of almighty God, great ſubſtāce, great riches of heauenly treaſure, great plēty of gods true and ſincere word, the true and wholeſome adminiſtration of Chriſtes holy Sacraments, the whole profeſſion of Chriſtes religion truely and plainely ſet forth in Baptiſme, the plaine declaration and vnderſtanding of the ſame taught in the holy Cathechiſme to haue bene learned of all true Chriſtians.

To die in any right, whatſoeuer it be, is to die in gods cauſe.

To die in the truth againſt theeues, and to die for the truth againſt Chriſtes enemies, compared.

Truth taught in the church of England.

This church had alſo a true and ſincere forme and manner of the Lordes ſupper, wherein according to Ieſus Chriſtes owne ordinaunce and holy inſtitution, Chriſtes commaundements were executed and done. For vpon the bread and wine ſet vpō the Lords table, thankes were geuen, the commemoration of the Lords death was had, the bread in the remembraunce of Chriſtes body torne vpon the croſſe, was broken, and the cuppe in the remembraunce of Chriſtes bloud ſhed, was diſtributed, and both communicated vnto al that were preſent and would receiue them, and alſo they were exhorted of the miniſter ſo to doe.

True miniſtratiō of the Lordes ſupper.

All was done openly in the vulgare tongue, ſo that euery thing might be both eaſly heard and plainly vnderſtand of all the people, to gods high glory, and the edification of the whole church. Thys church had of late the whole diuine ſeruice, all common & publique prayers ordeined to be ſaid and heard in the common congregation, not onely framed and faſhioned to the true vaine of holy ſcripture, but alſo ſet forth according to the commaundement of the Lord and S. Paules doctrine for the peoples edification in theyr vulgare tongue.

Seruice in the vulgare tongue.

It had alſo holy and wholeſome Homelies in commendation of the principall vertues which are commended in ſcrypture, and likewiſe other Homelies againſt the moſt pernicious and capitall vices that vſeth (alas) to raigne in this Realme of Englād. This Church had in matters of controuerſie, articles ſo penned and framed after the holy Scripture, and grounded vpon the true vnderſtanding of gods word, that in ſhort time, if they had bene vniuerſally receiued, they ſhould haue bene able to haue ſette in Chriſtes church, much concorde and vnitie in Chriſtes true religion, and to haue expelled many falſe errours and hereſies, wherewyth this church (alas) was almoſt ouergone.

Homilies in the church of England.

Articles ſet forth fo ters of con trouerſye.

But (alas) of late into this ſpirituall poſſeſſion of the heauenly treſure of theſe godly riches, are entred in theeues that haue robbed and ſpoiled all this heauenly treaſure away. I may well complaine on theſe theues, and cry out vpon them wyth the Prophet, ſaying: Deus venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam, &c. Pſalme. 72. *O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations are come into thy heritage: they haue defiled thy holy Temple, and made Ieruſalem an heape of ſtones*, that is: they haue broken and beate downe to the ground thy holy Citye. This hethenish generation, theſe theeues of Samaria, theſe Sabei and Caldei, theſe robbers haue ruſhed out of theyr dennes, and haue robbed the Church of England of all the foreſayd holy treaſure of God: they haue caryed it away and ouerthrowne it, and in the ſtede of Gods holy word, the true and right adminiſtration of Chriſtes holy Sacraments, as of Baptiſme and others, they mixt theyr myniſtery with mens folyſh fantaſies, and many wicked and vngodly traditions withall.

Theeues of Samaria in Chriſtes church, Sabei, Chaldei.

Robbing of Chriſtes church.

Baptiſ mixt wyth mens fantaſies.

In the ſtede of the Lords holy table, they geue the people, with much ſolemne diſguiſing, a thing which they call theyr Maſſe, but in deede and in truth it is a very maſking and mockery of the true ſupper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty iugling, whereby theſe falſe theeues and iuglers haue bewitched the mindes of the ſimple people, that they haue brought them from the true worſhip of God vnto pernicious Idolatry, and make them to beleue that to be Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour, which in deede is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in it ſelfe, but in ſubſtance is the creature of bread and wine, and in vſe of the Lordes table is the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud: and for this holy vſe, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table to repreſent vnto vs his bleſſed body torne vpon the croſſe for vs, and his bloud there ſhed, it pleaſed him to call them his body and bloud, which vnderſtanding Chriſt declareth to be his true meaning, when he ſayeth: *Doe thys in the remembrance of me.* And againe, S. Paule likewiſe doth ſet out the ſame more plainly, ſpeaking of the ſame Sacrament after the wordes of the conſecration, ſaying: *As often as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drinke of this Cuppe, ye ſhall ſet forth* (he meaneth wyth the ſame) *the Lordes death vntill his comming agayne.* And here againe theſe theeues haue robbed alſo the people of the Lordes cuppe, contrary to the playne wordes of Chriſt, wrytten in hys goſpell.

The Lordes ſupper turned to the Maſſe.

Luke. 22.

1. Cor. 11.

The Lordes cuppe robbe

Now, for the commen publique prayers which were in the vulgare tōgue, theſe theeues haue brought in againe a ſtrange tongue, whereof the people vnderſtand not one word. Wherein what doe they elles, but robbe the people of theyr diuine ſeruice, wherein they ought to pray together with the miniſter: and to pray in a ſtraunge tongue, what is it, but (as S. Paule calleth it) barbarouſnes, childiſhnes, vnprofitable folly, yea and plaine madnes?

Prayers tur ned to an vnknowne toungue.

For the godly articles of vnity in Religion, and for the wholeſome Homelies, what doe theſe theeues place in the ſtede of them, but the Popes lawes and decrees, lying Legendes, fayned fables and myracles, to delude and abuſe the ſimplicitie of the rude people. Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay ſacrilege and wicked ſpoile of heauenly things, but alſo in the ſtede of the ſame, is brought in and placed the abominable deſolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Senacherib, of the ſhameles faced king, and of the Babylonicall Beaſt. Unto this robbery, this thefte and ſacrilege, for that I cannot conſent, nor (God willyng) neuer ſhall ſo long as the breath is in my body, becauſe it is blaſphemy againſt God, high treaſon vnto Chriſt our heauenly King, Lord, maſter, and our only Sauiour and redemer, it is plaine contrary to Gods word and to Chriſtes goſpell, it is the ſubuerſion of all true godlines, and agaynſt the euerlaſtyng ſaluation of myne owne ſoule, and of all my brethren and ſiſters whom Chriſt my Sauiour hath ſo dearely bought with no leſſe price then wyth the effuſion and ſheedyng forth of hys moſt precyous bloude: therefore, all ye my true louers in God, my kynſefolke and Countreymen, for this cauſe (I ſay) know ye that I am put to death, which by Gods grace I ſhall willingly take, wyth harty thankes to God therefore, in certaine hope wythout any doubting, to receiue at Gods hand againe of his free mercy and grace, euerlaſting life.

In ſtead of Homelies the Popes decrees ſet vp.

The Popes doctrine containeth blaſphemy to God, treaſon to Chriſt, is contrary to Gods word, is a ſubuerſion of true godlines, & deſtruction of mans ſoule.

Although the cauſe of the true man ſlayne of the theefe, helping hys neighbour to recouer hys goodes againe, and the cauſe wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generalitie is both one (as I ſayd before) yet know ye that there is no ſmall difference. Theſe theeues againſt whom I do ſtand, are much worſe then the robbers and theeues of the borders. The goodes which they ſteale, are much more precious, & theyr kinds of fight are farre diuers. Theſe theues are worſe (I ſay) for they are more cruel, more wicked, more falſe, more deceitfull and crafty: for thoſe wil but kill the body, but theſe wil not ſticke to kil both body and ſoule. Thoſe for the generall theft and robbery, be called and are in dede theeues and robbers: but theſe for theyr ſpiritual kind of robbery are called Sacrilegi, as ye would ſay, church robbers. They are more wicked: for thoſe goe about but to ſpoyle men of worldly thinges, worldly riches, golde and ſiluer, and worldly ſubſtaunce: theſe goe about in the wayes of the Deuill theyr ghoſtly father, to ſteale from the vniuerſall Church, and perticularly from euery man, all heauenly treaſure, true fayth, true charitye, and hope of ſaluation in the bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, yea to ſpoyle vs

Compariſon betwene pi perſecu ters & t theeues.

vs of our Sauyour Chriſt, of his goſpell, of his heauenly ſpirite, and of the heauenly heritage of the kingdome of heauen ſo dearely purchaſed vnto vs wyth the death of our Maiſter and Sauyour Chriſt. These be the goodes and godly ſubſtance whereupon the Chriſtian before God muſt liue, and without the which he can not lyue: theſe goodes (I ſay) theſe theues, theſe church robbers, goe about to ſpoyle vs of. The which goodes, as to the man of God they excell and farre paſſe all worldly treaſure: ſo to wythſtande euen vnto the death, ſuch theues as goe about to ſpoyle both vs and the whole church of ſuch goodes, is moſt high and honourable ſeruice done vnto God.

Theſe churchrobbers be alſo much more falſe, crafty, and deceitfull, then the theues vpon the borders: for theſe haue not the craft ſo to commend theyr theft that they dare auouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themſelues to be euyll, they ſteale commonly vpon the nyght, they dare not appeare at iudgements and ſeſſions where iuſtice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thether, they neuer hang any man, but they be ofte times hanged for theyr faultes: But theſe Church robbers can ſo cloke and colour theyr ſpirituall robbery, that they can make the people to beleue falſhed to be truth, and truth falſhed, good to be euell, and euell good, light to be darknes, and darknes light, ſuperſtition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worſhyp of God, and that which is in ſubſtance the creature of bread & wine, to be none other ſubſtance but only the ſubſtance of Chriſt the liuing Lord both God and man. And with this theyr falſhed and craft, they can ſo iuggle and bewitch the vnderſtandyng of the ſimple, that they dare auouch it openly in court and in towne, and feare neyther hanging nor heading, as the pore theues of the borders doe, but ſtout and ſtrong like Nembroth, dare condemne to be burned in flaming fire quicke and aliue, whoſoeuer will goe about to bewray theyr falſhed.

The kind of fight agaynſt theſe Church robbers, is alſo of an other ſort and kind, then is that which is againſt the theues of the borders. For there the true mē go forth agaynſt them with ſpeare and launce, with bow and bill, and all ſuch kind of bodely weapons as the true men haue: but here as the enemyes be of an other nature, ſo the watchmen of Chriſtes flocke, the warriors that fight in the Lordes warre, muſt be armed and fight with an other kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the souldiours of Antichriſt, although the battell is ſetforth agaynſt the church by mortall mē being fleſh and bloud, and neuertheles members of theyr father the Deuill: yet for that theyr graund maſter is the power of darknes, theyr members are ſpirituall wickednes, wicked ſpirites, ſpirites of errours, of hereſies, of all deceite and vngodlines, ſpirites of idolatry, ſuperſtition and hipocriſye, which are called of S. Paule Principates and powers, Lordes of the world, rulers of the darknes of this world, and ſpirituall ſubtelties concerning heauenly things, and therfore our weapons muſt be fit and mete to fight againſt ſuch, not carnall nor bodely weapons as ſpeare and lance, but ſpiritual and heauenly: we muſt fight againſt ſuch with the armour of God, not entēding to kill their bodyes, but theyr errours, theyr falſe craft and hereſies, theyr idolatry, ſuperſtition and hipocriſy, and to ſaue (as much as lieth in vs) both theyr bodyes and ſoules,

And therefore, as S. Paule teacheth vs, *we fight not againſt fleſh and bloud*, that is, we fight not with bodely weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God, to put to flight his wicked errours and vice: and to ſaue both body and ſoule. Our weapones therfore are fayth, hope, charity, righteouſnes, truth, patience, prayer vnto God, and our ſword wherwith we ſmite our enemyes, we beate and batter and beare downe all falſhed, is the worde of God. With theſe weapons, vnder the banner of the croſſe of Chriſt we do fight, euer hauing our eye vpon our graund Maiſter, Duke and captaine Chriſt, and then we recken our ſelues to tryumph, and to winne the crowne of euerlaſting bliſſe, when enduryng in in this battaile without any ſhrinking or yelding to the enemyes, after the example of our graund capitaine Chriſt our Maiſter, after the example of his holy Prophets, Apoſtles and Martyrs, when (I ſay) we are ſlaine in our mortal bodyes, of our enemyes, and are moſt cruelly and without all mercy murdered downe like a meany of ſhepe. And the more cruell, the more painefull, the more vile and ſpitefull is the kind of the death wherunto we be put: the more gloryous in God, the more bleſſed and happy we recken, (without all doubts) our Martyrdome to be.

And thus much deare louers and frends in God, my countreymen and kinſfolke, I haue ſpoken for your comfort, leſt of my death (of whoſe life you loked peraduenture ſometimes to haue had honeſty, pleaſures, and commodities) ye might be abaſhed or thinke any euill: whereas ye haue rather cauſe to reioyſe (if ye loue me in deede) for that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, then euer I did enioy before either in Rocheſter or in the Sea of London, or euer ſhould haue had in the Sea of Durham, whereunto I was laſt of all elected and named: yea I count it greater honour before God in deede to die in hys cauſe (whereof I nothing doubt) then is any earthly or temporall promotion or honour that can be geuen to a man in this worlde. And who is he that knoweth the cauſe to be Gods, to be Chriſtes quarell and of his goſpell, to be the common weale of all the electe and choſen children of God, of all the inheritours of the kingdome of heauen, who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this aſſuredly by Gods word, and the teſtimony of his owne conſcience (as I through the infinite goodnes of God, not of my ſelfe, but by his grace, acknowledge my ſelfe to doe) who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this & both loueth and feareth God in dede and in truth, loueth and beleueth his Maſter Chriſt and his bleſſed goſpell, loueth his brotherhode the choſen children of God, and alſo luſteth and longeth for euerlaſting life, who is he (I ſay againe) that would not or can not finde in his hart in this cauſe to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any ſuch ſhould be that ſhould forſake this grace of God. I truſt in my Lord God, the God of mercyes and the father of all comfort through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, that he which hath put this minde, wil, and affection by his holy ſpirite in my hart to ſtand againſt the face of the enemy in his cauſe, and to chuſe rather the loſſe of all my worldly ſubſtaunce, yea and of my life too, then to deny his knowne truth, that he wil comfort me, ayde me, & ſtrengthen me euermore euen vnto the ende, and to the yelding vp of my ſpirite and ſoule into his holy hands: wherof I moſt hartely beſech his moſt holy ſacred Maieſty of his infinite goodnes and mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Now that I haue taken my leaue of my countreymen and kinſfolke, and the Lord doth lend me life and geueth me leyſure, I will bid my other good friendes in God of other places alſo, farewell. And whom firſt or before other, then the vniuerſitye of Cambridge, wheras I haue dwelt longer, found more faithful and harty frendes, receiued more benefits (the benefites of my natural parentes onely excepted) then euer I did euen in mine owne natiue countrey wherein I was borne.

Farewell therefore Cambridge my louing mother and tender nurſe. If I ſhould not acknowledge thy manyfold benefites, yea if I ſhould not for thy benefits at the leaſt loue thee againe, truely I were to be counted vngrate and vnkind. What benefites hadſt thou euer, that thou vſeſt to geue and beſtow vpon thy beſt beloued children, that thou thoughteſt to good for me? Thou diddeſt beſtow on me all thy Schole degrees: of thy common offyces, the Chaplainſhip of the Uniuerſitye, the office of the Proctorſhyp, and of a common reader, and of thy priuate commodities and emoluments in colledges, what was it that thou madeſt me not partner of? Firſt to be Scholer, then Fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledſt me againe to a Maſterſhip of a right worſhipfull colledge. I thanke thee my louing mother for all thys thy kindnes, and I pray God that his lawes and the ſincere goſpell of Chriſt, may euer be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewell Pembroke hall, of late mine owne Colledge, my cure and my charge: what caſe thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou waſt euer named ſithens I knewe thee (which is now a. xxx. yeares agoe) to be ſtudious, well learned, and a great ſetter forth of Chriſtes goſpell, and of gods true word: ſo I found thee, and bleſſed be God, ſo I left thee in deede. Wo is me for thee mine owne deare Colledge, if euer thou ſuffer thy ſelfe by any meanes to be brought from that trade. In thy Orchard (the wals, buttes, and trees, if they could ſpeake, would beare me witnes) I learned without booke almoſt all Paules Epiſtles, yea and I weene all the Canonicall Epiſtles ſaue only the Apocalipſe. Of which ſtudy, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the ſweete ſmell thereof I truſt I ſhall cary with me into heauen: for the profite thereof I thinke I haue felt in all my life tyme euer after, and I weene of late (whether they abide there now or no I can not tell) there was, that did the like. The Lord graunt that this zeale and loue toward that part of gods word, which is a kay and a true commentary to all holy ſcripture, may euer abide in that Colledge ſo long as the world ſhall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury Thomas Cranmer, that moſt reuerende father and man of God, and of him by and by ſent to be Vicar of Herne in Eaſt kent. Wherefore farewell Herne thou worſhipfull and wealthy pariſh, the firſt cure wherunto I was called to miniſter Gods word. Thou haſt heard of my mouth oft times the worde of God preached, not after the popiſh trade, but after Chriſtes goſpel: Oh that the frute had aunſwered to the ſeede. And yet I muſt knowledge me to be thy dettour for the doctrine of the Lordes ſupper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not reueled vnto me: but I bleſſe God in all that godly vertue and zeale of Gods word, which the Lord by preaching of his worde did kindle manifeſtly both in the hart and in the life & workes of that godly woman there my Lady Phines: the Lord graunt that his word tooke like effect there in many other moe.

Farewell thou Cathedrall church of Caunterbury, the Metropolitike ſea, whereof once I was a member. To ſpeake things pleaſant vnto thee, I dare not for daūger of conſcience and diſpleaſure of my Lord God, and to ſay what lieth in my hart, were now to much, and I feare were able to do thee now but little good. Neuertheles, for the frendſhip I haue found in ſome there, and for charity ſake, I wiſh thee to be waſhed cleane of all worldlines and vngodlines, that thou maiſt be found of God after thy name, Chriſtes church in dede and in truth.

Farewell Rocheſter, ſometime my Cathedrall Sea, in whom (to ſay the truth) I did find much gentlenes and obedience, and I truſt thou wilt not ſay the contrary but I did vſe it to gods glory, and thine owne profite in God. Oh that thou haddeſt and myghteſt haue continued and gone foreward in the trade of gods law wherin I did leaue thee: then thy charge and burden ſhould not haue bene ſo terrible and dangerous, as I ſuppoſe verely it is like to be (alas) on the latter day.

To Weſtminſter, other aduertiſement in God I haue not now to ſay, then I haue ſayd before to the Cathedrall church of Caunterburye: and ſo God geue thee of his grace that thou mayſt learne in deede and in truth to pleaſe him after his owne lawes. And thus fare you well.

Oh London, London, to whom now may I ſpeake in thee, or whom ſhall I bid farewel? Shal I ſpeake to the Prebendaries of Paules? Alas, all that loued gods word, and were true ſetters forth thereof, are nowe (as I heare ſay) ſome burnt and ſlaine, ſome exiled and banyſhed, and ſome holden in hard priſon, and appoynted daily to be put to moſt cruell death for Chriſtes goſpell ſake. As for the reſt of them, I know they could neuer brooke me well, nor I could neuer delight in them.

Let no man ſhrinke to die in ſuch a bleſſed and common quarell.

To his frendes in Cambridge.

Benefites ſhewed to D. Ridley in Cambridge.

Pembroke hall in Cambridge.

Commendation of Pembroke hall to be a ſetter forth euer of the goſpell.

D. Ridley learned the Epiſtles of S. Paul and Peter without boke in Pēbroke hal.

D. Ridley called into Kent by Archb. Cranmer.

To the pariſh of Herne in Kent.

The godly Lady Phines in Herne pariſhe.

To the metropolitike Sea of Canterbury.

To the Sea of Rocheſter.

To Weſtminſter.

To the Sea of London.

B. Ridley depoſed from the Sea of london, without right or iudgement.

Shall I ſpeake to the Sea thereof, wherein of late I was placed almoſt, and not fully by the ſpace of .iij. yeares? But what may I ſay to it, being (as I heare ſay I am) depoſed & expulſed by iudgement as an vniuſt vſurper of that roome. O iudgement iudgement. Can this be iuſt iudgement to condemne the chief miniſter of gods word, the paſtour and biſhop of the dioces, and neuer bryng hym into iudgement, that he might haue heard what crimes were layde to his charge, nor neuer ſuffer him to haue any place or tyme to anſwere for him ſelfe? Thinkeſt thou that hereafter when true iuſtice ſhall haue place, this iudgement can euer be allowed eyther of God or of man? Well, as for the cauſe and whole matter of my depoſition, and the ſpoyle of my goodes which thou poſſeſſeſt yet, I referre it vnto God which is a iuſt iudge: and I beſech God, if it be hys pleaſure, that that whych is but my perſonall wrong, be not layd to thy charge in the latter day: thys onely can I pray for.

The Sea of London worthely rebuked.

The bloudy Sea of London.

B. Ridleys propheſi. vpon the Epiſcopall Sea of London.

O thou now wicked and bloudy Sea, why doeſt thou ſet vp agayne many altares of Idolatry, which by the worde of God were iuſtly taken away? why haſt thou ouerthrowne the Lordes table? why doeſt thou daily delude thy people, maſkyng in thy Maſſes in the ſteede of the Lordes holy ſupper, whych ought to be commen aſwell (ſayth Chryſoſtome, yea the Lorde him ſelfe) to the people as to the prieſt? How dareſt thou denye to the people of Chriſt, contrary to his expreſt commaundement in the goſpell, his holy cuppe? why bableſt thou to the people the common prayer in a ſtraunge tongue, wherein S. Paule commaundeth in the Lordes name, that no man ſhould ſpeake before the congregatyon, except it ſhould be by and by declared in theyr common tongue, that all might be edifyed? Nay, harken thou whoryſh Baud of Babylon, thou wicked limme of Antichriſt, thou bloudye wolfe, why ſlayeſt thou downe, and makeſt hauocke of the Prophetes of God? why murthereſt thou ſo cruelly Chriſtes pore ſeely ſheepe whych will not heare thy voyce becauſe thou art a ſtraunger, and will follow none other but theyr owne paſtour Chriſt his voyce? Thinckeſt thou to eſcape, or that the Lord will not requyre the bloud of his Saintes at thy handes? Thy God, which is the worke of thy handes, and whom thou ſayeſt thou haſt power to make, that thy deafe and dumme God (I ſay) wil not in dede, nor cannot (although thou arte not aſhamed to call hym thy maker) make thee to eſcape the reuenging hand of the hygh and almightye God. But be thou aſſured that the liuing Lord our Sauyour and redemer, which ſytteth on the right hand of his father in glory: he ſeeth all thy wicked wayes and cruelty done to hys deare members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and hys handes (O thou whoriſh drabbe) ſhalt thou neuer eſcape. In ſteed of my farewell to thee now I ſay, fye vpon thee, fye vpon thee filthy drabbe, and all thy falſe Prophets.

To the city of London.

Commendation of ſyr Richard Dobbes, Alderman and knight.

The erecting of the hoſpitall by B. Ridley, and ſyr Richard Dobbes, Mayor of London.

Yet thou O London, I may not leaue thee thus. Although thy Epiſcopall Sea, now being ioyned in league with the ſeat of Sathan, thus hath now both handled me and the Saynctes of God: yet I doe not doubte but in that great Citye there be many priuy mourners which doe dayly mourne for that miſchiefe, the which neuer did nor ſhall conſent to that wickednes, but doe deteſt and abhorre it as the wayes of Satan. But theſe priuy mourners here I will paſſe by and bidde them farewell with theyr fellowes hereafter, when the place and occaſion ſhall more conueniently require. Among the worſhipfull of the city, and ſpecially which were in office of the Mairalty, yea and in other Citizens alſo (whom to name now it ſhall not be neceſſary) in the time of my Miniſterie, which was from the later parte of ſir Rowland Hilles yeare vnto ſir George Barnes yeare and a great part therof, I doe acknowledge that I found no ſmall humanity & gentlenes, as me thought: but (to ſay the truth) that I doe eſteeme aboue all other for true chriſtian kindnes which is ſhewed in Gods cauſe and done for his ſake. wherfore O Dobbes, Dobbes, Alderman and Knight, thou in thy yeare diddeſt winne my hart for euermore, for that honorable act, that moſt bleſſed worke of God of the erection and ſettyng vp of Chriſtes holy hoſpitals, and truely religious houſes whych by thee, and through thee were begone. For thou like a mã of God, when the matter was moued for the reliefe of Chriſtes poore ſelye members to be holpen from extreme miſery, hunger and famyne, thy hart (I ſay) was moued with pity, and as Chriſtes high honourable officer in that cauſe, thou calledſt together thy Brethren the Aldermen of the City, before whom thou brakeſt the matter for the poore: thou diddeſt pleade theyr cauſe, yea, and not only in thyne owne perſon thou diddeſt ſet forth Chriſtes cauſe, but to further the matter thou broughteſt me into the counſell Chamber of the City before the Aldermen alone, whom thou haddeſt aſſembled there together to heare me ſpeake what I could ſay as an aduocate by office and duety in the poore mens cauſe. The Lorde wrought wyth thee, and gaue thee the conſent of thy brethren: whereby the matter was brought to the common counſell, and ſo to the whole body of the City, by whom with an vniforme conſent, it was committed to be drawne, ordered, and deuyſed by a certayne number of the moſt witty Citizens and politique, endued alſo wyth godlynes, and wyth ready harts to ſet forward ſuch a noble act, as could be choſen in all the whole City, and they like true and faythfull miniſters both to theyr Citye and theyr Maſter Chriſt, ſo ordered, deuyſed, and brought forth the matter, that thouſandes of ſeely poore members of Chriſt, whych els for extreme hunger and miſery ſhould haue famyſhed and peryſhed, ſhall be relieued, holpen and brought vp, and ſhall haue cauſe to bleſſe the Aldermen of that time, the common Counſell and the whole body of the City, but ſpecially thee O Dobbes, and thoſe choſen men, by whom thys honorable worke of God was begone and wrought, and that ſo long through out all ages, as that godly worke ſhall endure: which I pray almighty God may be euer vnto the worldes ende, Amen.

And thou O Syr George Barnes (the truth is to be confeſſed to Gods glory, and to the good example of other) thou waſt in thy yeare not only a furtherer and continuer of that whych before thee by thy predeceſſor was well begon: but alſo diddeſt laboure ſo to haue perfyted the worke, that it ſhould haue bene an abſolute thing and a perfect ſpectacle of true charity and godlynes vnto all Chriſtendome. Thine endeuour was to haue ſet vp an houſe of occupations, both that all kind of pouerty being able to worke, ſhould not haue lacked whereupon profitably they myght haue bene occupied to theyr owne reliefe and to the profite and commodity of the commen wealth of the Citye, and alſo to haue retired thither, the pore babes brought vp in the Hoſpitals when they had come to a certaine age and ſtrength, and alſo all thoſe which in the Hoſpitalles aforeſayd had bene cured of theyr diſeaſes. And to haue brought this to paſſe, thou obtainedſt (not without great diligence and labor both of thee and thy brethren) of that godly king Edward, that chriſtian and pierles Princes hand, hys princely place of Bridewell, and what other things to the performance of the ſame, and vnder what condition it is not vnknowne. That this thine endeuour hath not had like ſucceſſe, yͤ fault is not in thee, but in the condition and ſtate of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchſafe to amend when it ſhalbe his gratious will and pleaſure.

Commenda tion of Sir George Barne Mayer of London.

Bridewell obtayned of king Edwa by ſir Georg Barnes, to ſet pore peo ple a worke.

To the Citi zens of Lo don.

Farewel now all ye Citizens that be of God, of what ſtate and condition ſo euer ye be. Undoubtedly in London ye haue heard Gods word truely preached. My hartes deſire and daily prayer ſhall be for you (as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am countable) that ye neuer ſwarue, neither for loſſe of life nor worldly goodes, from Gods holy word, and yelde vnto Antichriſt: wherupon muſt nedes folow the extreme diſpleaſure of god, and the loſſe both of your bodyes and ſoules into perpetuall damnation for euermore.

To the high er houſe a temporall Lordes of th Parliamen.

Apoc.17.

Apoc.11.

Now that I haue gone through the places where I haue dwelt any ſpace in the time of my pilgrimage here vpon earth, remembring that for the ſpace of king Edwards raigne, which was for the time of mine office in the Seas of London and Rocheſter, I was a member of the higher houſe of the parliament: therefore (ſeing my God hath geuen me leyſure and the remembrance therof) I will bid my Lordes of the temporalty farewell. They ſhall haue no iuſt cauſe (by Gods grace) to take it that I entend to ſay, in ill parte. As for the ſpirituall Prelacy that now is, I haue nothing to ſay to them, except I ſhould repete againe a great parte of that I haue ſayd before now already to the Sea of London. To you therefore my Lordes of the temporaltye will I ſpeake, and this would I haue you firſt to vnderſtande, that when I wrote this, I loked daily when I ſhould be called to the chaunge of this life, and thought that this my wryting ſhould not come to your knowledge, before the time of the diſſolution of my body and ſoule ſhould be expired, and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the feare of God, and chriſtian charity toward you, which moued me to wryte: for of you hereafter I loke not in thys world, either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure. If my talke ſhall do you neuer ſo much pleaſure or profite, you cannot promote me, nor if I diſpleaſe you, ye can not hurt me or harme me, for I ſhall be out of your reach. Now therefore if you feare God, and can be content to heare the talke of him that ſeketh nothing at your hãds, but to ſerue God and to doe you good: hearken what I ſay. I ſay vnto you, as S. Paule ſayth to the Galathians: I wonder my Lordes what hath bewitched you, that ye ſo ſodenly are fallen from Chriſt vnto Antichriſt, from Chriſtes goſpell vnto mens traditions, from the Lord that bought you, vnto the biſhop now of Rome. I warne you of your perill: be not deceyued, except you will be found willingly conſenters vnto your owne death. For if ye thinke thus: we are lay men, this is a matter of religion, we follow as we are taught and led, if our teachers and gouernors teach vs and lead vs amiſſe, the fault is in them, they ſhall beare the blame: My Lordes this is true (I graunt you) that both the falſe teacher, and the corrupt gouernour, ſhall be punyſhed for the death of theyr ſubiect, whom they haue falſly taught and corruptly led, yea and his bloud ſhall be required at theyr handes: but yet neuertheles ſhall that ſubiect dye the death himſelfe alſo, that is, he ſhal alſo be dãned for own his ſinne: *for if the blynd lead the blynd*, Chriſt ſayth not the leader onely, but he ſayth: *both ſhall fall in the dytch.* Shall the Sinagoge and the Senate of the Iewes (trowe ye) which forſoke Chriſt and conſented to his death, therefore be excuſed, bicauſe Annas, and Cayphas, with the Scribes & Phareſeis and theyr clergy, did teach them amiſſe? yea and alſo Pilate theyr gouernour and the Emperours Lieutenant by his tyranny did without cauſe put him to death? Forſoth no my Lordes, no. For notwithſtanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilates waſhing of his hands, neither of both ſhall excuſe either that Sinagoge and Seigniory, or Pilate: but at the Lordes hand, for the effuſion of that innocent bloud, on the latter day all ſhall drinke of the deadly whip. Ye are witty and vnderſtand what I meane: therefore I will paſſe ouer this, and returne to tell you how ye are fallen from Chriſt to his aduerſary the biſhop of Rome.

Gal.3

Apoc.17.
Daniel.7.

A good war ning or ... to the temp ral Lordes.

Ezech.3.
Luke.6.

Ignorance will not ex cuſe the tem poralty be ſeduced in ligion.

And leſt, my Lordes, ye may peraduenture thinke, thus barely to call the byſhop of Rome Chriſtes aduerſary, or (to ſpeake it in plaine termes) to call him Antichriſt, that it is done in mine anguiſh, and that I do but rage, and as a deſperate man doe not care what I ſay, or vpon whom I do raile: therfore, that your Lordſhips may perceiue my mind, and therby vnderſtand that I ſpeake the wordes of truth and of ſobrietie (as S. Paule ſayd vnto Feſtus) be it knowne vnto your Lordſhips all, that as cõcerning the biſhop of Rome, I nether hate the perſon nor the place. For I enſure your lordſhips (the liuing lord beareth me witnes, before whõ I ſpeake) I do thinke many a good holy man, many martyrs and Saynctes of God, haue ſitte and taught in that place Chriſtes goſpell truely, which therfore iuſtly may be called Apoſtolici, that is, true diſciples of the Apoſtles, & alſo that church and congregation of Chriſtians to be a right Apoſtolike church, yea & that certayne C. yeres after the ſame was firſt erected and builded vpon Chriſt,

The Lo the parl be falle fro Chriſt to Chriſtes enemy.

Act.2.6

Many go men in the ſea of Ro So long the ſea of Rome fol ed the rul of the Ap ſtles, it m be called ter or Pau chayre.

by the true Apoſtolicall doctrine taught by the mouthes of the Apoſtles them ſelues. If ye wil know how long that was and how many hundreth of yeres, to be curious in poynting the preciſe nōber of yeres I will not be to bolde, but thus I ſay: ſo long and ſo many hundreth yeres as that Sea did truly teach and preach that goſpel, that religion, exerciſed that power, and ordered euery thing by thoſe lawes and rules which that Sea receiued of the Apoſtles, and (as Tertullian ſaith) the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and Chriſt of God: ſo long (I ſay) that Sea might well haue bene called Peter and Paules chaire and Sea, or rather Chriſtes chaire, and the biſhop therof Apoſtolicus, or a true diſciple and ſucceſſour of the Apoſtles, and a miniſter of Chriſt.

But ſince the time that that Sea hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion the which it receiued of the Apoſtles at the beginning, and hath preached an other Goſpell, hath ſet vp an other religion, hath exerciſed an other power, and hath taken vpon it to order and rule the church of Chriſt by other ſtraunge lawes, Cannons and rules then euer it receiued of the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles of Chriſt, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued ſo doing (alas, alas) of too too long a time: ſince the time (I ſay) that the ſtate and condition of that Sea hath thus bene chaunged, in truth it ought of duty and of right to haue the names chaunged both of the Sea and of the ſitter therin. For vnderſtand my Lordes, it was neyther for the priuilege of the place or perſon therof, that that Sea and biſhop therof were called Apoſtolike: but for the true trade of Chriſtes Religion which was taught and maintained in that Sea at the firſt, and of thoſe godly men. And therfore as truly and iuſtly as that Sea then, for that true trade of religion and conſanguinity of doctrine with the religion & doctrine of Chriſtes Apoſtles, was called Apoſtolike: ſo as truely and as iuſtly for the contrariety of religion, and diuerſity of doctrine from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that Sea and the biſhop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are in dede antichriſtian.

The Sea is the ſeat of Sathan, and the biſhop of the ſame, that mainteineth the abominatiōs therof, is Antichriſt himſelf in deede. And for ẏ ſame cauſes this Sea at this day is the ſame which S. Iohn calleth in his reuelatiō, Babylon or the whore of Babylon, & ſpiritual Sodoma & Egyptus, the mother of fornications and of the abominations vppon the earth. And with this whore doth ſpiritually medle and lyeth with her, and committeth moſt ſtinking and abominable adultry before God, all thoſe kings and princes, yea and all nations of the earth which doe conſent to her abominations, and vſe or practiſe the ſame: that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to reherſe ſome for example ſake) her diſpenſations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her inuocation of ſaintes, her worſhipping of images, her falſe counterfait religion in her monkery and frerage, and her traditions whereby Gods lawes are defiled: as her maſſing and falſe miniſtring of Gods worde and the ſacraments of Chriſt cleane contrary to Chriſtes word and the Apoſtles doctrine, whereof in particularity I haue touched ſomething before in my talke had with the Sea of London, and in other treatiſes more at large: wherin (if it ſhall pleaſe God to bring the ſame to light) it ſhall appeare I truſt by Gods grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whoſe rule in iudgement of religion is Gods word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this whore of Babylon, & the Beaſt wherupon ſhe doth ſit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of fire and ſworde, with ſpoile and baniſhment (according to Daniels prophecy) and finally with all falſhed, deceit, hipocriſy, and all kind of vngodlines: are as cleane contrary to gods word as darknes is vnto light or light to darkenes, white to blacke or blacke to white, or as Beliall vnto Chriſt or Chriſt vnto Antichriſt him ſelf.

Apoc.17.
Apoc.11.
Apoc.17.
Daniel.7.

I know my Lordes, and foreſaw when I wrote this, that ſo many of you as ſhould ſee this my wryting, not being before indued with the ſpirit of grace and the light of gods word, ſo many (I ſay) would at theſe my wordes lordlike ſtampe and ſpurne, and ſpit thereat. But ſober your ſelues with pacience and be ſtill, and know ye that in my wryting of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the liuing God doth beare me witnes) both to doe you profit and pleaſure. And otherwiſe, as for your diſpleaſure, by that time this ſhal come to your knowledge, I truſt by gods grace to be in the hands & protection of the almightye my heauenly father and the liuing Lord, which is (as S. Iohn ſaith) the greateſt of al, and then I ſhall not neede (I trow) to feare what any Lord, no nor what king or prince can do vnto me.

My Lordes, if in times paſt ye haue bene contented to heare me ſometimes in matters of religion before the Prince in the pulpit, and in the Parlament houſe, and haue not ſeemed to haue deſpiſed what I haue ſayd (when as els if ye had perceiued iuſt occaſion, ye might then haue ſuſpected in my talke, though it had bene reaſonable, either deſire of worldly gaine, or feare of diſpleaſure) how hath then your Lordſhips more cauſe to harken to my worde and to heare me paciently, ſeing now ye cā not iuſtly thinke of me being in this caſe appointed to die, and loking daily when I ſhall be called to come before the eternall iudge, otherwiſe but that I only ſtudye to ſerue my Lord God, and to ſay that thing which I am perſuaded aſſuredly by gods word ſhall and doth pleaſe him, and profit all them to whom God ſhal geue grace to heare and beleue what I do ſay? And I do ſay euē that I haue ſaid heretofore both of the Sea of Rome and of the biſhop therof, I meane after this their preſent ſtate at this day. wherin if ye will not beleue the miniſters of God and true preachers of his word, verely I denounce vnto you in verbo domini, except ye do repent betime, it ſhall turne to your confuſion, and to your ſmart on the latter day. Forget not what I ſay my Lordes, for gods ſake forget not, but remember it vpō your bed. For I tell you moreouer, as I know I muſt be countable of this my talke and of my ſpeaking thus, to the eternall iudge (who will iudge nothing amiſſe) ſo ſhall you be countable of your duety in hearing, and you ſhal be charged, if ye wil harken to gods word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas my Lordes, how chaunceth this, that this matter is now a new againe to be perſuaded vnto you? who would haue thought of late, but your Lordſhips had bene perſuaded in deede ſufficiently, or that ye could euer haue agreed ſo vniformely with one conſent to the aboliſhment of the vſurpation of the biſhop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherin the Prince muſt be obeyed, how is it now made a matter, wherein (as your clergy ſayth now, and ſo ſayth the popes lawes in deede) ſtandeth the vnity of the catholike church, and a matter of neceſſity of our ſaluation? Hath the time, being ſo ſhorte ſince the death of the two laſt kings, Henry the .viij. and Edwarde his ſonne, altered the nature of the matter? If it haue not, but was of the ſame nature and daunger before God then as it is now, and be now (as it is ſayd by the popes lawes, and the inſtructions ſet forth in Engliſh to the curates of the dioces of Yorke) in deede a matter of neceſſity to ſaluation: how then chaunced it that ye were all (O my Lordes) ſo light, and ſo little paſſed vpon the catholicke fayth and the vnity thereof (without the which no man can be ſaued) as for your princes pleaſures, which were but mortal men, to forſake the vnitye of your catholike faith, that is, to forſake Chriſt and hys holy goſpell? And furthermore, if it were both then & now is ſo neceſſary to ſaluatiō, how chaūced it alſo that ye, al the whole body of the Parliament agreing with you, did not only aboliſh and expell the biſhop of Rome, but alſo did abiure him in your owne parſons, and did decree in your actes great othes to be takē of both the ſpiritualty and temporalty, whoſoeuer ſhould enter into any waighty and chargeable office in the common wealth? But on the other ſide, if the law and decree which maketh the ſupremacy of the Sea & biſhop of Rome ouer ẏ vniuerſal church of Chriſt, be a thing of neceſſity required vnto ſaluation by an Antichriſtian law (as it is in deede) & ſuch inſtructions as are geuen to the dioces of Yorke, be in deede a ſetting forth of the power of that Beaſt of Babylon by the craft and falſhode of hys falſe Prophets (as of truth, compared vnto gods word, and truely iudged by the ſame, it ſhall plainely appere that they be) then my Lordes neuer thynke other, but the day ſhall come whē ye ſhall be charged with this your vndoing of that, ẏ once ye had wel done, & with this your periury and breach of your oth, whych oth was done in iudgement, iuſtice, and truth agreable to gods law. The whore of Babylon may wel for a time dally with you, and make you ſo dronken with the wine of her filthy ſtewes and whoredome (as wyth her diſpenſations and promiſes of pardō A pœna & culpa) that for dronkēnes and blindnes ye may thynke your ſelues ſafe. But be ye aſſured, when the liuyng Lord ſhall try the matter by the fire and iudge it according to hys word, when all her abominations ſhall appeare what they be: then ye my Lordes, (I geue your Lordſhips warning in time) repent if ye be happy & loue your owne ſoules health, repēt I ſay, or els without all doubt, ye ſhall neuer eſcape the hādes of the liuyng Lord for the gilt of your periury and the breach of your oth. As ye haue banketted and laine by the whore in the fornication of her whoriſh diſpenſations, pardons, idolatry, and ſuch like abominations: ſo ſhall ye drinke wyth her (except ye repent betime) of the cuppe of the Lordes indignation and euerlaſting wrath, which is prepared for the Beaſt, hys falſe prophets, and all theyr partakers. For he that is partner with thē in their whoredome and abominations, muſt alſo be partner with them of theyr plagues, and on the latter day ſhall be throwne with them into the lake burning wyth brimſtone and vnquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well my Lordes all. I pray God geue you vnderſtāding of hys bleſſed will and pleaſure, and make you to beleue and embrace the truth, Amen.

Pſal.4.

If the vnitie of the Popes church ſtand vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation: why did the lordes of this realme abiure this vnitie in K. Henry, and King Edwardes dayes? If it be otherwiſe, why then do they periure themſelues turning to it againe?

Ieremy 4.

An other farewell to the priſoners in Chriſtes goſpels cauſe, and to al them which for the ſame cauſe are exiled and baniſhed out from their owne countrey chooſing rather to leaue al worldly cōmodity, then their maiſter Chriſt.

An other farewel of B. Ridley to the priſoners &c.

Farewell my dearely beloued brethren in Chriſt, both ye my fellow priſoners, and ye alſo that be exiled & baniſhed out of your countreys becauſe ye will rather forſake all worldly commoditye, then the goſpell of Chriſt.

Farewell all ye together in Chriſt: farewel and be mery, for ye know that the triall of your fayth bringeth forth patience, and pacience ſhall make vs perfect, whole and ſound on euery ſyde, & ſuch after triall (ye know) ſhal receiue the crowne of life, according to ẏ promiſe of the Lord made to his dearely beloued: let vs therfore be pacient vnto the comming of the Lord. As the huſbandman abydeth paciently the former and latter raine for the encreaſe of hys croppe: ſo let vs be patient and plucke vp our hartes, for the comming of the Lord approcheth apace. Let vs (my dear brethrē) take example of patience in tribulation of the Prophets, whych ſpake likewiſe gods word truely in his name. Let Iob be to vs an example of patience, and the end which the Lord ſuffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know my brethren by gods word, that our faith is much more precious then any corruptible gold, and yet that is tryed by the fire: euen ſo our fayth is therefore tried likewiſe in tribulations, that it may be found when the Lord ſhal appeare, laudable, gloryous, and honorable. For if we for Chriſtes cauſe doe ſuffer, that is grateful before God, for therunto are we called, that is our ſtate and vocation, wherwyth let vs be content. Chriſt we know ſuffred for vs afflictiōs, leauing vs an exāple that we ſhould folow his foteſteps, for he committed no ſinne, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed vpon, and all to reuiled, he rayled not againe: when he was euill intreated, he dyd not threaten, but committed the puniſhment therof to hym that iudgeth a ryght.

Iacob.4.
1.Peter.1.
1.Peter.2.

Let vs euer haue in freſh remembrance thoſe wonderfull comfortable ſentences ſpoken by the mouth of our Sauiour Chriſt: *Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake, for theyrs is the kingdome of heauen. Bleſſed are ye when men reuile you, perſecute you, and ſpeake all euill againſt you for my ſake: re-*

Math. 5.

Luke.21.

ioyſe and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen: for ſo did they perſecute the Prophets which were before you. Therefore let vs alway beare this in our minds, that if any incōmodity doe chaunce vnto vs for righteouſnes ſake, happy are we whatſoeuer yͤ world doth thinke of vs. Chriſt our maiſter hath told vs before hād, that the brother ſhould put the brother to death, & the father the ſonne, and the children ſhould riſe againſt theyr parents and kill them, and that Chriſtes true Apoſtles ſhould be hated of all men for hys names ſake: but he yͤ ſhal abide paciētly vnto the end, ſhalbe ſaued.

Luke.6. Math.10.

Let vs then endure in all troubles paciently after the example of our maiſter Chriſt, and be contented therewith, for he ſuffred being our maiſter and Lord: how doth it not then become vs to ſuffer? For the diſciple is not aboue his maſter, nor the ſeruaunt aboue his Lord. It may ſuffice the diſciple to be as his maſter, and the ſeruaunt to be as his Lord. If they haue called the father of the family, the maſter of the houſhold Belzebub, how much more ſhall they call ſo them of his houſhold? Feare them not then (ſayth our Sauiour) for all priuities ſhalbe made plaine: there is now nothing ſecrete, but it ſhall be ſhewed in light. Of Chriſtes wordes let vs neither be aſhamed nor afraid to ſpeake them, for ſo Chriſt our maſter commaundeth vs, ſaying: *that I tell you priuily, ſpeake openly abroade, and that I tell you in your eare, preach it vpon the houſe top. And feare not them which kill the body, for the ſoule they can not kill: but feare hym which can caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire.*

Math.10.

Math.10.

To confeſſe Chriſt, and not to feare daunger.

Know ye that the heauenly Father hath euer a gratious eye and reſpect towarde you, and a fatherly prouidence for you, ſo that without his knowledge and permiſſyon, nothing cā do you harme. Let vs therfore caſt al our care vpon him, and he ſhall prouide that which ſhalbe beſt for vs. For if of two ſmal ſparrowes which both are ſold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your father, and all the heares of our head are numbred, feare not then (ſayth our Maſter Chriſt) *for ye are more worth then many ſmall ſparrowes.* And let vs not ſticke to confeſſe our maſter Chriſt for feare of daunger whatſoeuer it ſhal be, remembring the promiſe that Chriſt maketh, ſaying: *whoſoeuer ſhall confeſſe me before men, him ſhall I confeſſe before my father which is in heauen: but whoſoeuer ſhall deny me, him ſhall I likewiſe deny before my father which is in heauen.* Chriſt came not to geue vnto vs here a carnall amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his vnto the world in eaſe and peace: but rather to ſeparate and diuide them from the world, & to ioyne them vnto himſelf: in whoſe cauſe we muſt if we will be his, forſake father and mother, and ſticke vnto him. If we forſake him or ſhrinke from him for trouble or deathes ſake, which he calleth his croſſe: he will none of vs, we cannot be his. If for his cauſe we ſhall loſe our temporall liues here, we ſhall finde them agayne and enioy them for euermore: but if in his cauſe we will not be contented to leaue nor loſe them here: then ſhall we loſe them ſo, that we ſhall neuer find them again, but in euerlaſting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the ſting of death bitter and vnpleaſaunt: yet we know that they ſhal not laſt in compariſon of eternitye, no not the twinckling of an eye, and that they paciently taken in Chriſtes cauſe, ſhall procure and get vs vnmeaſurable heapes of heauenly glory, vnto the which theſe tēporal paines of death and troubles compared, are not to be eſteemed, but to be reioyſed vpon. *Wonder not,* (ſaith S. Peter) *as though it were any ſtraunge matter that ye are tryed by the fire* (he meaneth of tribulation) *which thing* (ſayth he) *is done to proue you: nay rather in that ye are partners of Chriſtes afflictions, reioyce, that in his gloryous reuelation, ye may reioyce with mery harts. If ye ſuffer rebukes in Chriſtes name, happy are ye, for the glory & ſpirit of God reſteth vpon you. Of them god is reuiled and diſhonored, but of you he is gloriſied.*

2.Corin.4.

1.Peter.3

The cauſes why the Apoſtles ſo reioyſed in theyr afflictions.

Let no man be aſhamed of that he ſuffreth as a Chriſtian, and in Chriſtes cauſe: for now is the time that iudgement and correction muſt begin at the houſe of God, and if it begin firſt at vs, what ſhall be the end of thoſe, thinke ye, which beleue not the goſpel? And if yͤ righteous ſhall be hardly ſaued, the wicked and the ſinner where ſhall he appeare? Wherfore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay downe and commit their ſoules to hym by well doing, as to a truſty and faithfull maker. This (as I ſayd) may not ſeme ſtraunge to vs, for we know that al the whole fraternity of Chriſtes cōgregation in this world, is ſerued with the like, and by the ſame is made perfect. For the feruent loue that the Apoſtles had vnto their maſter Chriſt, and for the great commodityes and increaſe of all godlines which they felt by their fayth to enſue of afflictions in Chriſtes cauſe, and thirdly for the heapes of heauenly ioyes which the ſame doe get vnto the godly, which ſhall indure in heauen for euermore: for theſe cauſes (I ſay) the Apoſtles of theyr afflictions did ioy, and reioyced in that they were had and accompted worthy to ſuffer contumelies and rebukes for Chriſtes name. And Paule, as he gloryed in the grace and fauour of God, whereunto he was brought and ſtode in by faith: ſo he reioyced in his afflictions for the heauēly and ſpirituall profits which he numbreth to riſe vpon them: yea, he was ſo farre in loue with that that the carnall man lotheth ſo much, that is, with Chriſtes croſſe, that he iudged himſelf to know nothing els but Chriſt crucified: *he wyll glory* (he ſayth) *in nothing elles but in Chriſtes croſſe,* yea and he bleſſeth all thoſe, as the only true Iſraelites and elect people of God wyth peace and mercy, which walketh after that rule & after none other.

.Corin.2.

.Corin.11.

2.Tim.2. The glory of Paule wh in it conſiſted.

2.Tim.2.

O Lord, what a wonderful ſpirit was that that made Paule, in ſetting forth of himſelf againſt yͤ vanity of Satās Pſeudopoſtels, and in his claime there, that he in Chriſtes cauſe did excel and paſſe them all, what wonderfull ſpirit was that (I ſay) that made hym to reckē vp all his troubles, his laboures, his beatings, his whippings and ſcourgings, his ſhipwrackes, his daungers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakednes, and colde, wyth many moe, and the daily care of all the congregations of Chriſt, among whom euery mans paine did pearce his hart, & euery mans grief was greuous vnto him? O Lord, is this Paules Primacy, wherof he thought ſo much good that he did excell other? Is not this Paules ſaying vnto Timothy his owne ſcholer? and doth it not pertayne to whoſoeuer will be Chriſtes true ſouldiours: *beare thou* (ſayth he) *affliction like a good ſouldiour of IESV CHRIST. Thys is true: if we dye wyth hym* (he meaneth Chriſt) *we ſhall lyue wyth hym: if we ſuffer wyth hym, we ſhall raygne wyth hym: if we deny hym, he ſhall deny vs: if we be faythles, he remayneth faythfull, he cannot deny hymſelfe.* This Paule would haue knowen to euery body: for there is none other way to heauen but Chriſt and his way: *and all that wil liue godly in CHRIST, ſhall* (ſayth S. Paule) *ſuffer perſecution.* By this way went to heauen the Patriarkes, yͤ Prophets, Chriſt our Maſter, his Apoſtles, his martyrs, & all the godly ſince the beginning. And as it hath bene of old, that he which was born after yͤ fleſh, perſecuted him which was borne after yͤ ſpirit, for ſo it was in Iſaacks time: ſo ſayd S. Paul, it was in his time alſo. And whether it be ſo or no now, let the ſpirituall man, the ſelf ſame man I meane that is moued with the ſpirit of almighty God, let him be iudge. Of the croſſe of the Patriarkes, as ye may read in their ſtoryes if ye read the booke of Geneſis, ye ſhall perceiue. Of other S. Paule in few wordes comprehendeth much matter, ſpeaking in a generalitie of the wonderfull afflictiōs, death, and tormentes which the men of God in gods cauſe and for the truth ſake willingly and gladly did ſuffer. After much perticular rehearſal of many, he ſayth: *other were racked, and deſpiſed, & would not be deliuered, that they might obtayne a better reſurrection. Other againe were tried with mockings and ſcourgings, and moreouer with bondes and impriſonment: they were ſtoned, hewen aſunder, tempted, fell and were ſlaine vpon the edge of the ſworde, ſome wandred to and fro in ſheepes pilches, in goates pilches, forſaken, oppreſſed, afflicted, ſuch godly men as the world was vnworthy of, wandring in wildernes, in mountaines, in caues, and in dennes, and all theſe were commended for theyr faith.* And yet they abide for vs the ſeruaunts of God, and for thoſe theyr brethren which are to be ſlaine as they were for the word of gods ſake, that none be ſhut out, but that we may all goe together to meete our Maſter Chriſt in yͤ ayre at his comming, and ſo to be in bliſſe with him in body and in ſoule for euermore.

2.Time.3.

Gal.4

The way to heauen is by afflictions.

Heb.11.

Heb.12.

Reaſons to moue vs to patience vnder the croſſe.

Therfore, ſeing we haue ſo much occaſion to ſuffer and to take afflictions for Chriſtes names ſake paciently, ſo many commodities thereby, ſo waighty cauſes, ſo many good examples, ſo great neceſſity, ſo ſure promiſes of eternall life and heauenly ioyes, of him yͤ cannot lie: Let vs throw away whatſoeuer might let vs, al burden of ſinne, & all kinde of carnality, & patiently and conſtantly let vs run for the beſt game in this race yͤ is ſet before vs, euer hauing our eyes vpon Ieſus Chriſt the ringleader, capitain, & perfiter of our faith, which for the ioy that was ſet before him, endured the croſſe, not paſſyng vpon the ignominy and ſhame therof, and is ſet now at the right hand of the throne of God. Conſider this, that he ſuffred ſuch ſtrife of ſinners againſt himſelf, that ye ſhuld not geue ouer, nor faint in your minds, As yet brethren we haue not wythſtand vnto death, fighting againſt ſinne. Let vs neuer forget deare brethren for Chriſtes ſake, that fatherly exhortation of the wyſe that ſpeaketh vnto vs as vnto his children the godly wiſdome of God, ſaying thus: *My ſonne, deſpiſe not the correction of the Lorde, nor fall not from him when thou art rebuked of him, for whom the Lord loueth, him doth he correct, and ſcourgeth euery child whom he receiueth. What childe is he whom the father doth not chaſten? If ye be free from chaſtiſement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye baſtards and no children. Seing then, when as we haue had carnall parents which chaſtened vs, we reuerenced them, ſhall not we much more be ſubiect vnto our ſpirituall father that we might lyue? And they for a little tyme taught vs after theyr owne mind: but thys father teacheth vs to our commodity, to geue vnto vs his holynes. All chaſtiſement for the preſent tyme, appeareth not pleaſant but painfull: but afterward it rendreth the fruit of rightuouſnes on them, which are exerciſed in it.* Wherefore let vs be of good chere (good brethren) and let vs plucke vp our feble members that were fallen or began to faynt, hart, hands, knees, and all the reſt, & let vs walke vpright and ſtraight, that no limping nor haulting bring vs out of the way. Let vs loke, not vpon the things that be preſent, but with the eyes of our fayth let vs ſtedfaſtly behold yͤ things that be euerlaſting in heauen, and ſo chooſe rather in reſpect of that which is to come, with the choſen members of Chriſt to beare Chriſtes croſſe, then for this ſhort life tyme, to enioy al the riches, honors, and pleaſures of the broad world. Why ſhould we Chriſtians feare death? Can death depriue vs of Chriſt, which is all our comfort, our ioy, and our life? Nay forſoth. But contrary, death ſhall deliuer vs frō this mortall body, which lodeth and beareth downe the ſpirite that it can not ſo well perceyue heauenly things: in the which ſo long as we dwell, we are abſent from God.

Prouerb.3.

Heb.12.

.Corin.5.

2

2.Corin.5.

Wherefore, vnderſtandyng our ſtate in that we be chriſtians, that if our mortall body, which is our earthly houſe, were deſtroyed, we haue a building, a houſe not made wyth hands, but euerlaſting in heauen &c: therefore we are of good cheare, and know that when we are in the body, we are abſent from God, for we walke by fayth, and not by cleare ſight. Neuertheles we are bolde, and had rather be abſent from the body and preſence with God. Wherfore, we ſtriue, whether we be preſent at home, or abſent abroad, that we may alwayes pleaſe hym. And who that hath true fayth in our Sauiour Chriſt, whereby he knoweth ſomewhat truely what Chriſt our Sauiour is, that he is the eternall ſonne of God, lyfe, light, the wiſdome of the father, all goodnes, all righteouſnes and whatſoeuer is good that hart can deſire, yea infinite plenty of all theſe, aboue that that mans hart can eyther conceiue or thynke, (for in hym dwelleth the fulnes of the godhead corporally) and alſo that he is geuen vs of the father, and made of God to be our wiſdome, our righteouſnes, our holynes, and our redemption: who (I ſay) is he that beleueth thys in dede, that would not gladly be wyth his maſter Chriſt? Paule for this knowledge coueted to haue bene loſed from the body, and to haue bene wyth Chriſt, for that he counted it much better for himſelfe, & had rather to be loſed than to lyue. Therfore theſe wordes of Chriſt to the thiefe on the croſſe, that aſked of him mercy, were full of comfort and ſolace: *Thys day thou ſhalt be wyth me in Paradiſe.* To die in the defence of Chriſtes goſpel, it is our bounden duety to Chriſt, and alſo to our neyghbor. To Chriſt, for he dyed for vs, and roſe againe that he myght be Lorde ouer all. And ſeing he dyed for vs, we alſo (ſayth S. Ihon) ſhould ieopard, yea geue our lyfe for our brethren. And this kind of geuyng and loſing, is getting and winning in deede: for he that geueth or loſeth his life thus, getteth and wynneth it for euermore. Bleſſed are they therfore that dye in the Lord, & if they dye in the Lordes cauſe, they are moſt happy of all. Let vs not then feare death, which cā do vs no harme, otherwiſe then for a moment to make the fleſhe to ſmart: but that our fayth which is ſurely faſtned and fixed vnto the word of God, telleth vs that we ſhall be anone after death, in peace, in the handes of God, in ioy, in ſolace, and that from death we ſhall go ſtraight vnto life. For S. John ſayth: *he that lyueth and beleueth in me, ſhall neuer dye.* And in an other place: *he ſhall depart frō death vnto lyfe.* And therefore thys death of the chriſtian, is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entraunce into euerlaſtyng lyfe: Therefore Paule calleth it but *a diſſolution and reſolution,* & both Peter & Paule, *a putting of of thys Tabernacle or dwellyng houſe.* meanyng therby the mortall body, as wherin the ſoule or ſpirit doth dwell here in this world for a ſmall tyme. Yea this death may be called to the chriſtian, an end of all miſeryes. For ſo long as we lyue here, we muſt paſſe through many tribulations before we can enter into the kingdome of heauen. And now, after that death hath ſhot hys bolt, all the chriſtian mans enemyes haue done what they can, & after that they haue no more to do. What could hurt or harme pore Lazarus that lay at the rich mans gate? His former penury & pouerty? his miſery, beggery, and horrible ſores & ſicknes? For ſo ſone as death had ſtricken him with his dart, ſo ſoone came the angels, and caryed him ſtraight vp into Abrahams boſome. What loſt he by death, who from miſery and payne, is ſet by the miniſtery of Aungels in a place both of ioy and ſolace.

Farewell deare brethren, farewell, & let vs comfort our hartes in all troubles, and in death with the word of God: for heauen and earth ſhall periſh, but the word of the Lord endureth for euer.

Farewel Chriſtes dearly beloued ſpouſe here wādring in thys world as in a ſtraunge land, farre from thine owne countrey, and compaſſed about on euery hand with deadly enemies, whych ceaſe not to aſſault thee, euer ſeking thy deſtruction.

Farewell, farewell O ye the whole and vniuerſall congregation of the choſen of God here liuing vpon earth, the true church militāt of Chriſt, the true myſticall body of Chriſt, the very houſhold & family of God, and the ſacred temple of the holy ghoſt. Farewel.

Farewel, O thou little flocke of yͤ high heauēly paſtor Chriſt, for to thee it hath pleaſed the heauēly father to geue an euerlaſting and eternall kingdome. Farewell.

Farewell thou ſpirituall houſe of God, thou holy and royall prieſthode, thou choſen generation, thou holy nation, thou wonne ſpouſe. Farewell. Farewell.

N.R.

¶An other tretiſe of B. Ridley, wherin is contayned firſt a lamentation for the chaūge of religiō in England: then a compariſon betwene the doctrine of the goſpell and the Romiſh religion, with holſome inſtructions in the end to all chriſtians, how to behaue them ſelues in time of triall.

ALas, what miſery is thy church brought vnto (O Lord) at this day? where of late the worde of the Lord was truely preached, was red & heard in euery towne, in euery church, in euery village, yea almoſt in euery honeſt mans houſe: alas now is it exiled & baniſhed out of the whole realme. Of late who was not takē for a louer of gods word, for a reader, for a redy hearer, and for a learner of the ſame? and now (alas) who dare beare any open countenaūce towarde it, but ſuch as are content in Chriſtes cauſe and for his wordes ſake to ſtand to the daunger and loſſe of all that they haue?

Of late there was to be found of euery age, of euery degree & kind of people, that gaue theyr diligence to learne (as they could) out of gods word, the articles of the chriſtian fayth, the commaundements of God and the Lordes prayer. The babes and younge children were taught theſe things of theyr parents, of theyr maſters, and weekely of theyr Curates in euery church: and the aged folke which had bene brought vp in blindnes and in ignorance of thoſe things which euery chriſtian is bound to know, when otherwiſe they could not, yet they lerned the ſame by often hearing theyr children and ſeruaunts repeating the ſame: but now (alas, and alas again) the falſ prophets of antechriſt which are paſt al ſhame, do openly preach in pulpets vnto the people of God, that the catechiſme is to be coūted hereſy: wherby their old blindnes is brought home againe: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abaſhed and aſhamed euen of that which they haue learned, though it be gods word, and dare no more medle.

Of late in euery congregation throughout all England, was made prayer and petition vnto God to be deliuered from the tyrāny of the biſhop of Rome and all his deteſtable enormities: from al falſe doctrine and hereſye: and now alas, Sathan hath perſuaded England by his falſhed and craft to reuoke her old godly prayer, to recant the ſame, and prouoke the fearefull wrath and indignation of God vpon her owne pate.

The lamentable chaunge of religion in the church.

Of late by ſtrait lawes and ordinances, with the conſent of the nobles & communalty, and ful agrement and coūſaile of the prelates & clergy, was baniſhed hence the Beaſt of Babylō, with lawes (I ſay) & with othes and all meanes that then could be deuyſed for ſo godly a purpoſe: but now (alas) all theſe lawes are troden vnder fote: the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy are quite chaunged, and all thoſe othes, though they were made in iudgement, iuſtice and truth, & the matter neuer ſo good, dothe no more hold then a bond of ruſhes or of a barley ſtraw, nor publike periury no more feareth them, then a ſhadow vpon the wall.

Ieremy.4.

1.Corin.14

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, accordyng to Paules doctrine and Chriſtes commaundement (as Paule ſayth plaine) that nothing ought to be done in the church in the publike congregation, but in that tongue which the cōgregation could vnderſtand, that all might be edified therby, whether it were commō prayer, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, or any other thing belonging to the publike miniſtery of Gods holy and wholſome word: but (alas) all is turned vpſidedowne: Paules doctrine is put apart: Chriſtes commaundement is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the Church, but in a ſtraunge tongue that the people doth nothing vnderſtand.

Ignorance in prayer.

Of late all men and women were taught after Chriſtes doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could vnderſtād, that they might pray with hart, that which they ſhould ſpeake with theyr tonge: now (alas) the vnlearned people is brought in that blyndnes againe, to thinke that they pray when they ſpeake with theyr tongue they can not tell what nor wherof: theyr hart is nothing mindefull at all, for that it can vnderſtand neuer a whit therof.

Abuſe in the Lordes ſupper.

Of late the Lordes ſupper was duely miniſtred and taught to be made common to all that were true chriſtians, with thanks geuing and ſetting forth of the Lords death and paſſion, vntil his returning againe to iudge both quicke and dead: but now (alas) the Lords table is quite ouerthrowne, and that which ought to be cōmon to all godly, is made priuate to a few vngodly, without any kinde of thanks geuing, or any ſetting forth of the Lords death at all that the people is able to vnderſtand.

The ſacrament turned out of his right vſe & kind.

Idolatry in worſhipping the creature for the creator.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of vnderſtanding of Goddes holy myſteries, did bleſſe God which had brought them out of that horrible blindnes and ignoraunce, wherby in tymes paſt being ſeduced by Satans ſubtelties, they beleued that the ſacrament was not the ſacrament, but the thing it ſelfe wherof it is a ſacrament: that the creature was the creatour, and that the thing which hath neither life nor ſenſe (alas ſuch was the horrible blindnes) was the Lord him ſelfe, which made the eye to ſee, and hath geuen all ſenſes and vnderſtanding vnto man: but now (alas) Englād is returned again like a dogge to her owne vomit and ſpuing, and is in worſe caſe then euer ſhe was: for it had bene better neuer to haue knowne the truth, then to forſake the truth once receiued and knowne: and now, not onely that light is turned into darknes, and gods grace is receiued in vaine, but alſo lawes of death are made by high court of Parliament, maſterfully to mainteine by ſworde, fire, and all kind of violence that haynous Idolatry wherin that adoration is geuen vnto the liueles & dūme creature, which is onely due vnto the euerliuing God: yea they ſay they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their trāſubſtantiation. O wicked inuention, and Satans owne broode.

The cuppe debarred from the miniſtration of the lords ſupper.

Of late was the Lordes cuppe at his table diſtributed according to his owne commaundement, by his expreſſe wordes in hys goſpell as well to the laytie as to the clergy, which order Chriſtes church obſerued ſo many hundreth yeres after (as all the auncient eccleſiaſticall wryters do teſtify) without contradiction of any one of them, that can be ſhewed vnto this day: but now (alas) not only the Lords commaundement is broken, his cuppe is denied to his ſeruaunts, to whom he commaunded it ſhould be diſtributed, but alſo with the ſame is ſet vppe a new blaſphemous kind of ſacrifice to ſatiſfy and pay the price of ſinnes both of the dead and of the quicke, to the great and intolerable cōtumely of Chriſt our Sauyour his death & paſſion, which was and is the one onely ſufficient & euerlaſting auailable ſacrifice ſatiſfactory for al yͤ elects of god, frō Adam the firſt, to the laſt that ſhal be borne in the end of the world.

Blaſphemous ſacrifice for ſinnes.

Deuter.5

Of late that commaundement of God: *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen Image, nor any ſimilytude or lykenes of any thyng in heauen aboue, or in earth beneath, or in the water vnder the earth, thou ſhalt not bow downe to them nor worſhip them:* this commaundement of God (I ſay) was grauen almoſt euery where in churches, was learned of euery body both yong and old: wherupon Images that prouoked the ſimple and ignorant people vnto Idolatry (as the wiſe man ſaith) were taken out of the churches, and ſtraitly forbidden that none ſhould any where eyther bowe downe to them, or worſhip them: but now (alas) Gods holy word is blotted and raſed out of churches, and ſtockes and ſtones are ſet vp in the place therof. God commaunded his word ſo to be ordered, that it might be had in continuall remembraunce at all times, and in euery place: and on the other ſide he forbad Images and Idols ſo to be either made or ſet in any place where any ſhould bow or worſhip them: but now (alas) that which God commaūded, is not paſſed vpō, and that which he forbiddeth, is maſterfully maintained by falſhed and craft, and wickedly vpholden.

Idolatry to ſtockes and ſtones.

Of late al Miniſters that were admitted to the publike office and Miniſtery of Gods holy word, in their admiſſion made a ſolemne profeſſion before the congregation, that they ſhould teach the people nothing as doctrine neceſſary to attaine eternal ſaluation, but that which is gods owne holy word, or may be thereof grounded without any doubt: wherby vaniſhed and melted away of themſelues many vaine, yea wicked traditions of man, as waxe before the fire: but now at one brunt they are reuiued, and are in full hope all to returne againe, in as great ſtrength as euer they haue bene. And how can any man looke for any other thing, but when you haue receiued the head, you muſt alſo receiue the whole body withal, or els how can the head abide? The head, vnder Satan, of all miſchief is Antichriſt and his broode, and the ſame is he which is the Babilonical Beaſt. The Beaſt is he, whereupon the whore ſitteth. The whore is yͤ Citie, ſaith Iohn in plain wordes, which hath Empire ouer the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cuppe of abominations in her hand, wherof ſhe maketh to drinke the kings of the earth, and of the wine of thys harlot hath all nations dronke, yea and kings of the earth haue line by this whore, and marchaunts of the earth by vertue of her pleaſant marchandiſe haue bene made rich.

The whore of Babilon, with her cup of abominations mentioned, expoũded. *Apoca. 17.*

Now, what Citye is there in all the whole world, that when Iohn wrote, ruled ouer the kings of the earth? or what City can be red of in any time, that of the City it ſelf, chalenged the Empire ouer the kings of the earth but onely the city of Rome, and that ſince the vſurpation of that Sea hath growne to her full ſtrẽgth? And is it not red that yͤ old and auncient writers vnderſtand Peters former Epiſtle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the ſame Epiſtle in plaine termes, Babylon? by the abominations thereof I vnderſtand all the whole trade of the Romiſh religion vnder the name and title of Chriſt, which is cõtrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is gods word. What word of God hath that diueliſh drabbe for the maintenaunce of her manifold abominations, and to ſet to ſell ſuch marchaundiſe, wherewith (alas the madnes of man) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almoſt the whole world? Did not Peter the very true Apoſtle of Chriſt, of whom this ſtinking ſtrumpet beareth her ſelfe ſo high, (but falſly and without all iuſt cauſe) did not he, I ſay, geue al the world warning of her pelfe and traſhe, of her falſe doctors and apoſtles (for this whore ⁊ Beaſt wil be called Dominus Apoſtolicus, who ſo euer ſay nay) after this maner in his later Epiſtle? *There was among the people in times paſt falſe Prophets, as there ſhall be alſo amonge you in time to come falſe teachers, which ſhall priuely bring in peſtilent ſectes, euen denying the Lord whych hath bought them and redemed them, procuring to them ſelues ſwift damnation, and many ſhall follow their damnable wayes, by whom the way of truth ſhall be rayled vpon, and through couetouſnes by counterfaite tales or ſermons, they ſhall* (ſayth Peter) *make marchandiſe vpon you. &c.* And doth not Iohn likewiſe in his reuelation, after he hath reckened vp a great rablement of this whores myſticall marchãdiſe, at the laſt (as though he would knit vp all in plaine words, without any miſt at all, ſetting out yͤ whores marchandiſe) recken vp among the reſt, and concludeth ſaying, Et animas hominum: that is to ſay, *and the ſoules of men too?* Whereupon I pray you els roſe this true prouerbe in Latin: omnia Romæ venalia: Al things for mony are ſet to ſale at Rome? Was not that a worthy commendatiõ of Chriſtes Vicar in earth that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders a Byſhop of Rome, thus I weene, in Latin?

2. Peter. 2.

The myſticall marchandiſe of the Babylonicall ſtrumpet.

All thinges at Rome for money.

Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Chriſtum.
Vendere iure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

☞ Theſe two verſes in Laten, I haue red thus of one tranſlated into Engliſh rime.

Verſes agaynſt Pope Alexander.

Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,
ſelleth for money both right and dome:
And all kinde of holines the holy father doth not ſticke,
to ſet to ſell, ready money for to get.
And eke Chriſt him ſelfe he dare be bolde,
to chop and chaunge for ſiluer and golde.
And why ſhould any thinke this to be ſore,
For what doth he ſell, but that he bought before?

I graunt theſe verſes to be light gere, ⁊ the verſe is but rude, but (alas) ſuch conditions were more wicked ⁊ leud then any wit could expreſſe. If theſe had bene but the faults of one or a fewe in numbre, they had ben leſſe pernicious, and might haue bene taken for perſonal crimes, not to be imputed vnto yͤ Sea: but now (alas) the matter is more then euident to all that haue godly vnderſtanding, that theſe crimes be grounded vpon lawes, be eſtablyſhed by cuſtome, and ſet forth by all kinde of wicked doctrine, falſhod, and craft, and therefore are not now to be eſteemed for any one mans or a fewe mens perſonall crimes, but are now by lawes, cuſtome, and doctrine incorporated into that wicked Sea, ⁊ maketh in dede the body of the Beaſt wherupon the abominable whore doth ſit.

But you would know which be thoſe marchandiſe whych I ſaid this whore ſetteth forth to ſel, for the which all her falſe Prophets with all their iuggelings and crafty gloſes can not bryng one iote of Gods word. Surely, ſurely, they be not only all theſe abominations which are come into the church of England already (wherof I haue ſpokẽ ſomwhat before) but alſo an innumerable rablement of abominations and wicked abuſes whych now muſt nedes folow: as popiſh pardons, pilgrimages, Romiſh purgatory, Romiſh maſſes, Placebo & Dirige, with trentals and Scala cœli, diſpẽſations and immunities from all godly diſcipline lawes and good order, pluralities, vnions, and tot quottes, with a thouſand moe. Now ſhall come in the flattering friers, ⁊ the falſe pardoners and play their olde pranckes and knauery as they were wont to do. Now you ſhall haue (but of the Sea of Rome only, ⁊ that for money) canonizing of ſuch ſaintes as haue ſtand ſtoute in yͤ Popes cauſe, ſhrining of reliques, and from any kind of wickednes (if you will pay well for it) clere abſolution a pœna & culpa, with thouſands of yeres, yea at euery poore biſhops hande and ſuffragan, ye ſhall haue halowing of churches, chappels, altares, ſuperaltares, chalices, and of all the whole houſhold ſtuffe and adornament which ſhall be vſed in the church after the Romiſhe guiſe, for all theſe things muſt be eſteemed of ſuch high price, that they may not be done but by a conſecrate biſhop onely. O Lord, all theſe things are ſuch, as thy Apoſtles neuer knew. As for coniuring (they cal it halowing, but it is cõiuring in dede) of water and ſalt, of chriſtening of bels and ſuch like light things, what neede I to ſpeake? for euery prieſt that can but read, hath power (they ſay) not only to do that, but alſo hath ſuch power ouer Chriſtes body, as to make both God and mã once at the leaſt euery day, of a wafer cake.

Abominations, and wicked abuſes of the Sea of Rome declared.

After the rehearſall of the ſayd abominations, and remembrance of a number of many mo, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to thinke vpon, and were to long to deſcribe: when I conſider on the other ſide the eternall worde of God that abideth for euer, and the vndefiled law of the Lord which turneth the ſoule from al wickednes ⁊ geueth wiſedome vnto the innocent babes, I meane that milke that is without all guile, as Peter doth cal it, that good word of God, that word of truth which muſt be grauen wythin the hart and then is able to ſaue mens ſoules, that wholſome ſeede, not mortal but immortal of the eternal and euerliuing God, wherby the man is borne a new, and made the childe of God, that ſeede of God wherby the man of God ſo being borne can not ſinne, as Iohn ſayth (he meaneth ſo long as that ſeede doth abide in hym) that holy ſcripture which hath not bene deuiſed by the wit of man, but taught from heauen by the inſpiration of the holy ghoſt, which is profitable to teach, to reproue, to correct, to inſtruct and geue order in all righteouſnes that the man of God may be whole and ſound, ready to performe euery good worke: when (I ſay) I conſider this holy and wholeſome true worde that teacheth vs truely our bounden duety towards our Lord God in euery poynt, what his bleſſed will and pleaſure is, what his infinite great goodnes ⁊ mercy is, what he hath done for vs, how he hath geuen his owne only dearely beloued ſonne to death for our ſaluatiõ ⁊ by hym hath ſent vs the reuelation of his bleſſed will ⁊ pleaſure, what his eternal word willeth vs both to beleue and alſo to doe, ⁊ hath for the ſame purpoſe inſpired yͤ holy apoſtles with yͤ holy ghoſt ⁊ ſent thẽ abrode into al the world, and alſo made them and other diſciples of Chriſt inſpired by the ſame ſpirit, to write and leaue behinde them the ſame things that they taught (which as they did procede of the ſpirit of truth, ſo by the confeſſion of al them that euer were endued with the ſpirite of God, were ſufficient to the obteining of eternall ſaluation): and likewiſe whẽ I conſider that all that mã doth profeſſe in his regeneration when he is receiued into the holy Catholike church of Chriſt, and is now to be accounted for one of the liuely members of Chriſtes owne body, all that is grounded vpon Gods holy word, and ſtandeth in the profeſſion of that fayth, and obedience of thoſe cõmaundemẽts which are al cõtayned ⁊ compriſed in gods holy word: and furthermore when I cõſider whõ our Sauiour Chriſt pronoũceth in his goſpel to be bleſſed, ⁊ to whom Moyſes geueth his benedictions in the law, what wayes the law, the Prophets, the Pſalmes, ⁊ al holy Scriptures both new ⁊ old doth declare to be the wayes of the Lord, what is good for mã to obtaine ⁊ abide in Gods fauour, which is that faith that iuſtifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth paſſe and excell all, which be the properties of heauenly wiſedome, and which is that vndefiled religion that is allowed of God, which things Chriſt himſelf called the weighty matters of the law, what thing is that which is only auaileable in Chriſt, ⁊ what knowledge is that that Paule eſteemed ſo much, that he counted him ſelfe only to knowe, what ſhall be the maner of the extreme iudgement of the later day, who ſhall iudge and by what he ſhall iudge, and what ſhall be required at our handes at that fearfull day, how all things muſt be tried by the fire, and that that only ſhal ſtand for euer which Chriſtes words ſhall allow, which ſhall be the iudge of all fleſh to geue ſentence vpon all fleſh and euery liuing ſoule either of eternall damnation or of euerlaſting ſaluation, from which ſentence there ſhall be no place to appeale, no witte ſhall ſerue to delude, nor no power to withſtand or reuoke: when (I ſay) I conſider all theſe things, and conferre to the ſame againe and againe, al thoſe wayes wherin ſtandeth the ſubſtance of the Romiſh religion (wherof I ſpake before) it may be euident and eaſy to perceaue, that theſe two wayes, theſe two religions, the one of Chriſt the other of the Romiſh Sea, in theſe later dayes be as farre diſtant the one from the other, as light and darknes, good and euill, righteouſnes and vnrighteouſnes, Chriſt and Beliall. He that is hard of belief, let him note ⁊ way well with himſelfe the places of holy ſcriptures which be appoynted in the margent, whereupon this talke is groũded, and by Gods grace he may receiue ſome light. And vnto the contemner I haue nothing now to ſay, but to rehearſe the ſaying of the Prophet Eſay which Paule ſpake to the Iewes in the end of the actes of the apoſtles. After he had expounded vnto them the truth of Gods word, and declared vnto them Chriſt out of the lawe of Moſes and the Prophets from morning to night all the day long, he ſayd vnto them that would not beleue: *well* (ſayd he) *ſpake the holy ghoſt vnto our fathers ſaying, go vnto this people and tell them: ye ſhall heare with your eares and not vnderſtãd, and ſeing, you ſhal beholde and not ſee the thing, for the hart of this people is waxed groſſe or dul, and with their eares they are hard of hearing, and they haue ſhutte together theyr eyes that they ſhould not ſee, nor heare with their eares, nor vnderſtand with their harts, that they mighte returne and I ſhould heale them, ſayth the Lord God.*

The true wo of G and the of fice of the ſame decla red.

Note he that the ſcriptu were by *Ridley* in the gent: b were the cop which follow

Act. 2

Alas England, alas that this heauy plague of God ſhould fall vpõ thee. Alas my dearly beloued coũtrey, what thing is it now yͭ may do the good? Vndoubtedly thy plague is ſo great that it is vtterly vncurable but by the bottomles mercy and infinite power of almighty God. Alas my deare coũtrey what haſt thou done that thus haſt prouoked yͤ wrath of God ⁊ cauſed him to poure out his vengeaunce vpon thee for thine owne deſerts? Canſt thou be content to heare thy faultes told thee? Alas yͧ haſt heard oft, ⁊ wouldeſt neuer amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and ſortes of men, of the magiſtrates, of the myniſters, and of the common people were neuer more plainly tolde ſince thou bareſt that name, thẽ thou didſt heare them of late euen before the magiſtrates in king Edwards dayes, but thou heardeſt them only, and didſt amẽd neuer

uer a whit. For euen of thy greateſt magiſtrates ſome (the kings highnes then, that innocent, that godly harted, and pereles yong chriſtian prince excepted) euermore vnkindly and vngently againſt thoſe that wẽt about moſt buſely and moſt holeſomly to cure their ſore backes, ſpurned priuely, and would not ſpare to ſpeake euil of them, euen vnto the Prince himſelf, and yet would they towardes the ſame preachers outwardly beare a ioly countenaunce, and a faire face.

I haue heard that Cranmer and an other, whom I will not name, were both in high diſpleaſure, the one for ſhewing his conſcience ſecretely, but plainely and fully in the Duke of Somerſets cauſe, and both of late, but ſpecially Cranmer for repugning, as they might, againſt the late ſpoile of the church goods taken away only by commaundement of the higher powers, without any law or order of iuſtice, and without any requeſt of conſent of them to whom they did belong. As for Latimer, Leuer, Bradford, and Knoxe, their tonges were ſo ſharpe, they ripped in ſo depe in their galled backes, to haue purged them (no doubt) of that filthy mater that was feſtered in theyr harts, of inſaciable couetouſnes, of filthy carnality and voluptuouſnes, of intolerable ambition & pride, of vngodly lothſomnes to heare poore mens cauſes, and to heare Gods word, that theſe men of all other, theſe magiſtrates then could neuer abide. Other there were, very godly mẽ and wel learned, that went about by the wholeſome plaſters of Gods word, how be it after a more ſoft maner of hãdling of the matter, but (alas) all ſped in like. For all that could be done of all hãds, their diſeaſe did not miniſh, but daily did encreaſe which (no doubt) is no ſmal occaſion in that ſtate, of the heauy plague of God that is poured vpon England at this day. As for the common ſort of other inferior magiſtrates, as iudges of the lawes, iuſtices of peace, ſergeants, common lawyers, it may be truly ſayd of them, as of the moſt part of the Clergy, of Curates, Vicares, Perſons, Prebendaries, Doctors of the law, Archdeacons, Deanes, yea, & I may ſay, of Biſhops alſo, I feare me, for the more parte, although I doubt not but God had & hath euer whom he in euery ſtate knew and knoweth to be his, but for the moſt part (I ſay) they wer neuer perſuaded in their harts but from the teeth forwarde and for the kings ſake, in the truth of Gods word, and yet all theſe did diſſemble and bare a copy of a countenaunce as if they had bene ſound within.

And this diſſimulation Sathan knew well enough, and therfore deſired and hath euer gone about that the high magiſtrates by any maner of meanes, might be deceiued in maters of religion, for then he being of counſell with the diſſimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he ſhould bring to paſſe and rule al euen after his owne will.

Hypocriſy and diſſimulation S. Hierome doth call wel a double wickednes, for neither it loueth the truth (which is one great euill) and alſo falſly it pretendeth to deceiue the ſimple for an other thing. This hypocriſy and diſſimulation with God in matters of religion (no doubt) hath wholy alſo prouoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good where they were well and diligently taught, yet (God knoweth) a great number receiued Gods true word and high benefites wyth vnthankfull harts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to haue ſene in many places, the people ſo lothſomly and ſo vnreligiouſly to come to the holy Communion, & to receiue it accordingly, and to the cõmõ prayers and other diuine ſeruice, which were according to the true vaine of Gods holy worde, in all poyntes ſo godly and holeſomely ſet forth, in compariſon of that blinde zeale & vndiſcrete deuotion which they had afore times to thoſe thinges whereof they vnderſtode neuer one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And againe, as for almes deedes which are taught in Gods word (wherby we are certaine that God is pleaſed with them, and doth and will require ſuch at our hands, which are a parte of true religiõ, as S. Iames ſaith, and ſuch as he ſaith him ſelf, he ſetteth more by, then by ſacriſice, as to prouide for the fatherles infantes and orphanes, for the lame, aged, and impotent pore nedy folke, and to make publike prouiſiõ that the pouerty that might labor, ſhould haue wherwith to labour vpon, and ſo be kept from ſhameful beggery and ſtealing) in theſe works I ſay, how waiward were many, in compariſon (I meane) of that great prodigality, whereby in times paſt they ſpared not to ſpẽd vpon flattering friers, falſe pardoners, painting & gilting of ſtockes & ſtones to be ſet vp & honored in churches plainly agaiſt gods word. And yet becauſe no place is to be defrauded of theyr iuſt cõmẽdation, Londõ, I muſt cõfeſſe, for ſuch godly works in Sir Richard Dobs knight thẽ lord Maior his yere, began maruelous well: the Lord graunt the ſame may ſo likewiſe perſeuer, continue, yea and encreaſe to the comfort and relief of the nedy and helples, that was ſo godly begon, Amen.

All theſe things do miniſter matter of more mourning and bewailing the miſerable ſtate that now is: for by this it may be perceiued how well England hath deſerued this iuſt plague of God. And alſo it is greatly to be feared, that thoſe good things, whatſoeuer they were that had theyr beginning in the time when gods word was frely preached, now with the exile and baniſhmẽt of the ſame, will depart againe.

But to returne againe to the conſideration of this miſerable ſtate of Chriſtes church in Englãd, and to leaue farther and more exquiſite ſearching of the cauſes therof vnto Gods ſecrete and vnſerchable iudgements, let vs ſee what is beſt nowe to be done for Chriſtes little ſely flocke. This is one Maxime and principle in Chriſtes law: He that denieth Chriſt before men, him ſhall Chriſt deny afore his father & al his angels of heauen. And therfore euery one that loketh to haue by Chriſt our Sauior euerlaſting life, let hym prepare him ſelf ſo, that he deny not his Maſter Chriſt, or els he is but a caſt away and a wretch, how ſo euer he be counted or taken here in the world.

Now then ſeing the doctrine of Antichriſt is returned agayne into this realme, and the higher powers (alas) are ſo deceiued and bewitched, that they are perſuaded it to be truth, and Chriſtes true doctrine to be error and hereſy, and the old lawes of antechriſt are allowed to returne with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter loked for by reaſon, to the man of God and true chriſtian abiding in this realme, but extreme violence of death, or els to deny his maſter. I graũt the harts of princes are in Gods hands, and whether ſoeuer he wil, he can make them to bow: and alſo that chriſtian Princes in olde time vſed a more gentle kinde of puniſhment, euen to them which were herítickes in deede, as degradation and depoſition out of theyr rowmes and offices, exile and baniſhment out of theyr dominions and countreys, and alſo (as it is red) the true Biſhops of Chriſtes church were ſometime interceſſors for the herétickes vnto Princes, that they would not kil them, as is red of S. Auguſtine. But as yet antechriſtes kingdom was not ſo erected at that time, nor is now accuſtomed ſo to order them that will not fall downe and worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, but (euen as all the world knoweth) after the ſame manner that both Iohn and Daniell hath propheſied before, that is by violence of death: and Daniel declareth farther ẏ the kind of death accuſtomably ſhould be by ſword, fire, and impriſonment. Therefore if thou, O man of God, doſt purpoſe to abide in thys realme, prepare and arme thy ſelfe to die: for both by Antichriſtes accuſtomable lawes and theſe propheciеs, there is no apparance or likelyhode of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Maſter Chriſt, whych is ẏ loſſe at the laſt, both of body & ſoule vnto euerlaſting death. Therfore my good brother or ſiſter in Chriſt, whatſoeuer thou be, to thee that canſt and mayeſt ſo doe, that counſell that I thinke is the beſt ſauegard for thee, both for thy body and moſt ſuretie for thy ſoules helth, is that which I ſhall ſhew thee hereafter. But firſt I warne thee to vnderſtand me to ſpeake to him or her, which be not in captiuity or called already for to cõfeſſe Chriſt, but are at liberty abrode.

He exhorteth to conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt.

Puniſhment of heretiques more gentle in the old time, and how it was vſed.

My coũſell (I ſay) therfore is this, to flie from the plague and to get thee henſe. I conſider not only the ſubtelties of Sathã, and how he is able to deceiue by his falſe perſuaſions (if it were poſſible) euen the choſen of God, and alſo the great frailty which is often times more in a man then he doth know in himſelf, which in the time of temptation then will vtter it ſelfe: I doe not only conſider theſe things (I ſay) but that our Maſter Chriſt, whoſe life was & is a perfect rule of the Chriſtian mans life, that he himſelfe auoyded oftentimes the fury and madnes of the Iewes, by departing from the countrey or place.

Counſell geuen in theſe dayes of perſecution, what to doe.

Paule likewiſe when he was ſought in Damaſco, & the gates of ẏ city were layd in wayt for him, was cõueyed by nyght, being let downe in a basket out at a window ouer the wall: and Helyas ẏ prophet, fled the perſecution of wicked Ieſabell: and Chriſt our Sauiour ſaith in the goſpell: *When they perſecute you in one city, flye vnto an other*: and ſo did many good, great learned & vertuous men of God, which were great and ſtout champions neuertheles, and ſtout cõfeſſors and mainteiners of Chriſt and his truth in due time & place. Of ſuch was the great clarke Athanaſius. But this is ſo plaine to be lawfull by gods word and examples of holy men, that I nede not to ſtand in it. Hauing this for my ground, I ſay to thee O man of God, thys ſemeth to me to be the moſt ſure way for thy ſauegard, to depart and flie farre from the plague, and that ſwiftly alſo: for truely, before God, I thinke that the abomination that Daniell propheſied of ſo long before, is now ſet vp in the holy place. For all Antichriſtes doctrine, lawes, rites and religion, contrary to Chriſt and to the true ſeruing and worſhipping of God, I vnderſtand to be that abomination: Therfore now is the time in England for thoſe words of Chriſt: Tunc, inquit, qui in Iudea ſunt fugiant ad montes. *Then* (ſayth he): *mark thys Chriſtes* [*then*] for truely I am perſuaded and I truſt by ẏ ſpirit of God, that this [*then*] is cõmaunded: *Then* (ſayth Chriſt) *they that be in Iewry, let them flie into the mountaines, and he that is on the houſe toppe, let hym not come downe to take away any thing out of hys houſe, and he that is abrode in the fielde, let him not returne to take his clothes. Wo be to the great bellyed womẽ, and to them that geue ſucke, but pray,* (ſaith Chriſt) *that your flight be not in winter nor on the ſaboth day.*

Such as remayned out of captiuity counſayled to voyde the realme.

The abomination of deſolation ſet vp in Eng

These words of Chriſt are myſticall, and therefore haue nede of interpretation. I vnderſtand all thoſe to be in Iewry ſpiritually, which truely confeſſe one true liuing God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the goſpell of Chriſt. Such are they whom Chriſt here biddeth in the time of the raygne of Antichriſtes abominations, *to flye vnto the mountaynes*: which ſignifieth places of ſafegarde, and all ſuch things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the houſe toppe *not to come downe*, and him that is in the fielde, *not to returne to take wyth hym his clothes*, he meaneth that they ſhould ſpede them to get them away betime leſt in theyr tarying and trifling about worldly prouiſion, they be trapped in the ſnare ere euer they be aware, and caught by the backe, and for gaine of ſmall worldly things, endaunger and caſt them ſelues into great perils of more waighty matters. And where he ſayth: *wo to the great bellyed women, and to them that geue ſucke*: women great with childe, and nigh to theyr lying downe, & to be brought to bed, are not able to trauell: nor alſo thoſe women which are brought to bed, and now geueth theyr babes ſucke. By theſe therfore Chriſt ſpiritually vnderſtandeth all ſuch to be in extreme daunger, which this word [*wo*] ſignifieth: al ſuch (I ſay) as are ſo letted by any maner of meanes, ẏ they no wayes be able to flye frõ the plague. And where Chriſt ſaith: *pray that your flight be not in wynter, nor on the ſabboth day*: in winter the common courſe of the yeare teacheth vs that the wayes be foule, and therefore it is a harde thyng then to take a farre iourney for many incommodities and dangers of the wayes in that time of the yeare: and on the Sabboth day it was

Chriſt commaundeth to flie vnto the mountaynes.

was not lawfull to iourney but a little way. Now Chriſt therfore meaning yͭ we ſhould haue nede both to ſpeede our iourny quickly, which can not be done in winter for the incōmodities of the wayes, and alſo to go farre, which can not be done on the Sabboth day: he biddeth vs therfore pray that our flight be not in winter nor on the Saboth day: that is, to pray that we may flie in time, and alſo farre enough from the daunger of the plague. Now, the cauſes why we ſhould flie, foloweth in the ſame place of S. Mathewes goſpell, which I now paſſe ouer: thou mayſt read them there.

Apoca.18.

And in the. 18. chapter of the Reuelation, the aungell is ſayd to haue cryed mightely with a loud voice: *flie my people out of Babylon leſt you be infected with her faultes, and ſo be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and ſinnes are growne ſo great, that they ſwell and are come vnto the heauen:* certainely the tyme doth approch, and the Lordes day is at hand. Heare (I beſech you) alſo holy Paule, that bleſſed Apoſtle: he plainly forbiddeth vs: ducere iugum cum incredulis, that is, *to ioyne or couple our ſelues wyth the vnfaythfull, for what felowſhip can there be* (ſayth he) *of righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes, what company hath light wyth darknes, or what agrement hath Chriſt with Beliall, or what parte can the faithfull haue with the vnfaythfull, or how doth the temple of God agree with Images or Idols, for you are the temple of the liuing God: as God hath ſayd, I will walke and dwell in them, I wil be their God, and they ſhall be my people, wherefore depart from amongſt thē and get you from them* (ſayth the Lord) *and touch no vncleane thing, and I wil receiue you, and be to you in the ſtede of your father and you ſhall be vnto me as my ſonnes and daughters,* ſayth the almighty Lord.

2.Cor.6.

Counſell to depart the realme.

This counſell to depart the realme, I doe not maruell if it doe ſeeme to diuers (euen of them I meane that beare fauour to godward) diuerſly. Many (I truſt) that be learned ſhall thinke the counſell good. Other there be peraduenture that will thinke it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be in dede by gods word laufully done, rather then to be cōſailed to be done, for they will peraduenture ſay, we ſhould counſell a man always to doe that which is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection: but boldly in Chriſtes cauſe to ſpend a mans life, is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection, & to flie it may ſeeme to ſmell of cowardnes. In many thyngs, that which is beſt for one at ſome times, is not beſt for all at all tymes, & it is not moſt perfection nor meete for a childe to couet to runne before he can goe. I will not make here a diſcourſe in this matter what might here be obiected, and what might be anſwered againe: I leaue that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

Doubtes whether to fly or to tary debated.

This is my mind, which I would yͭ ſhouldeſt know, o man of God, as I, would wiſhe & I do pray to almighty God it may be, yͭ euery true chriſtian either brother or ſiſter (after they be called and brought into the wreſtling place, to ſtriue in Chriſtes cauſe for the beſt game, that is, to cōfeſſe the truth of the goſpel and of the chriſtian faith in hope of euerlaſting life) ſhould not ſhrinke nor relent one inch or geue backe, what ſoeuer ſhall befall, but ſtand to theyr tackle, and ſticke by it euen vnto death, as they will Chriſt ſhall ſticke by them at the latter day: ſo likewiſe I dare not wiſh nor counſell any, either brother or ſiſter of theyr owne ſwinge to ſtart vp into the ſtage, or to caſt themſelues either before or farther in daunger then time and neede ſhall require: for vndoubtedly when God ſeeth his time, and his pleaſure is that his glory ſhall be ſet forth, and his church edefied by thy death and confeſſion, meanes ſhall be found by his fatherly vniuerſal prouidence, that thou without thine owne preſumptuous prouocation, ſhalt be lawfully called to do thy feat and to play thy part. The miſerable ende that one Quintus came vnto, may be a warning and a feareful example for all men to beware of preſumption and raſhnes in ſuch things (as Euſebius wryteth in Eccleſia hiſtoria) for euermore,

Preſumptuous prouocation and raſh rūning into danger forbiddē.

Euſeb.hiſt. Eccle.lib.4. cap.15.

But a third ſort of men there be which alſo wil be counted fauourers of gods word, and are (I feare) in number farre moe and worſe to be perſuaded to that which is the godly meane. I meane of ſuch as will peraduenture ſay or thinke that my former counſel, which was to flie the infection of the Antichriſtian doctrine by departing out of the realme, is more then nedeth, and other wayes and meanes may be found both to abide, and alſo to be cleare out of daunger of the foreſaid plague. If that could be found in deede truely agreable to gods word, I would be as glad to heare it (god is my witnes) as who is the other. yes peraduenture wyll ſome ſay, thus it may be. Thou maiſt kepe thy ſelfe, thy faith, and thy religion cloſe to thy ſelf, and inwardly and priuately worſhip God in ſpirite and in truth, and outwardly ſee thou be no open medler, nor talker, nor tranſgreſſour of common order: ſo maiſt thou be ſuffred in the common wealth, and yet vſe thy religion without offence of thy conſcience. In other countreys ſomewhere thys peraduenture might be vſed, but in England what ſhall be, God wot, but it was neuer yet, ſo farre as euer I haue knowne or heard. And alſo how can it be, but either thou muſt tranſgreſſe the common order & the Romiſh lawes and cuſtomes which haue bene vſed in Englande in the times paſt of popery, and now (it is certaine) they returne againe: I ſay, thou muſt either be a breaker of theſe rites, lawes, & cuſtomes, and ſo bewray thy ſelfe, or elles if thou be in deede a man of God, thou ſhalt offend thy conſcience, for in obſeruyng of them thou ſhalt be compelled to breake Gods law which is the rule of conſcience to the man of God. For how canſt thou reſort euery holy day to the church, and beare a face to worſhip the creature for the creatour, as thou muſt do, and peraduēture confeſſe it too with thy mouth, and to ſprinckle thy ſelfe with thy coniured water?

Conſcience in religion would not be diſſembled.

Thou muſt be contributor alſo to the charges of all theyr popery, as of bokes for Antichriſtes ſeruice, of lights of yͤ roode loft, of the ſepulchre, for ſetting vp and painting of images (nay in dede of idols) and thou muſt beare a face to worſhip them alſo, or elles thou muſt be had by the backe. Thou muſt ſerue the turne to geue the holy loues (as they cal it) which is nothing els but a very mockery of the Lordes holy table. Thou muſt be a contributor to the charges of all the diſgiſed apparell that the popiſh ſacrificing prieſt, like vnto Aaron, muſt play his part in. Yea when the pardoner cometh about, or the flattering frier to begge for the maintenaunce of ſuperſtition, except thou doe as thy neighbours doe, loke not long for to liue in reſt. If any of thy houſhold dye, if thou wilt not paye money for ringing and ſinging, for requiem Maſſes, dirige, and commendations, and ſuch like trumpery of the Antichriſtian religion, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be reckned for a catholike man or for Amicus Cæſaris? A hundred things moe may be reckened, and many of more waight and of more euident ſuperſtition and Idolatry, thē ſome of theſe which I haue now reherſed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but theſe are enough to declare and to ſet before thine eyes the thing that I intend: that is, if thou abyde and wilt dwell in England, thou muſt either do theſe and many other moe contrary to gods word, which forbiddeth not onely the thyng which is euil, but alſo ſayth: Ab omni ſpecie mali abſtinete vos, *abſtaine from all things that haue any apparance of euill:* or elles if thou wilt not doe them, how thou canſt liue in England in reſt and ſafe from the ſtake, truely I can not tell.

A hard dwelling in England for a good man, either without danger of conſcience or perill of life.

But peraduenture (as a man is ready to finde and inuēt ſome colour to cloke his conſcience, to doe that thing that his hart deſireth) thou wilt ſay, though at any time I ſhall be forced to doe any of theſe things and ſuch like, yet will I haue no confidēce in them, but outwardly with my body: I will kepe my hart vnto God, and will not do that of mine owne mind willingly neither, but to auoyd an other inconuenience: I truſt therfore God wil hold me excuſed, for he ſhall haue my hart, what can I do more?

O my frend, beware for Gods ſake, and know that the ſubtelties of Sathan are depe. He that is not able by gods word to perceiue them, is heauely laden. Pray therfore with Dauid: Lord let me not haue a mind to inuent excuſes for to cloke my ſinne. Examine my deare frend, theſe thy wily wayes with the word of god, and if they do agree, thou mayſt vſe them: if not, know, though they may ſeeme neuer ſo fine and goodly, yet in dede they be of Sathās broode. Gods word is certaine, that forbiddeth to worſhyp the creature for the creatour, for that is haynous idolatry, and agaynſt the firſt commaundement of God, and it is alſo againſt the ſeconde commaundement of the firſt table to bow downe, or to do worſhip vnto any images of God or of any other thing: And gods word requireth not only the beliefe of the hart, but alſo the confeſſion of the mouth: and to beare part of the charges to the maintenāce of things vngodly, what is that but in thy ſo doing a cōſent to yͤ thing done? Now conſenters and the doers, gods word accounteth to be giltye both. And it is not lawfull by S. Paules doctrine which was inſpired him by the ſpirit of God, to do ill that therof the thing which is good may come.

Inuent no excuſes to cloke ſinne.

Cōfeſſion of mouth muſt goe with belief of hart.

Thy hart (thou ſayeſt) God ſhall haue, and yet wilt thou ſuffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhorre. Beware O man, take hede what thou ſayeſt. Man may be deceiued, but no mā may deceiue God, for he is called and is truely καρδιογνώστης, that is to ſay, the ſearcher of the hart. Now, to geue God thy hart, is to geue him thy whole hart, to loue him, to dread him, and to truſt in him aboue all other things. *He that hath my commaundementes* (ſayth Chriſt) *and obſerueth and kepeth them, it is he that loueth me:* and to dread God aboue all other, is rather willingly to incurre the dāger and perill of all fearefull things, then wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his bleſſed will and commaundement: and to truſt in him aboue all things, is aſſuredly to truſt to his promiſe of his reward, & of his tuition, & of his goodnes and mercy, & to preferre that aboue al things in the world, ſeeme they neuer ſo ſtrong, ſo wiſe, or ſo good. Now, how canſt thou ſay truely, that God hath thy hart after this maner of ſort (which is to haue thy hart in dede) when thy dedes do declare farre an other thing? Thy body, O mā, is Gods, and al the parts therof, euen as thy ſoule is: he made them both, and Chriſt with his bloud hath redemed them both, & is Lord of both, for he hath bought thē both dearely, and dareſt thou ſuffer any part of either of them to do ſeruice to Sathan? Surely in ſo doing, thou committeſt ſacriledge and doſt robbe God, thou defileſt the liuely temple of the liuing God if thou ſuffer thy body to do ſathan ſeruice. *Doe you not know* (ſayth S. Paul) *that your body is a liuely temple of God?* And may a man then take and vſe any parte thereof but in the ſeruice of God? No ſurely, it is not lawfull ſo to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor fote, nor any part of the whole body.

To truſt in God what it is.

1.Cor.3. 2.Cor.6.

Doth not Paule commaund to the Romaines, which pertayneth to euery chryſtian ſoule: *As you haue in times paſt* (ſayth he) *geuen your members to doe ſeruice vnto vncleanes and wickednes, from one wickednes to another: ſo now geue your members to doe ſeruice vnto righteouſnes, that you may be ſanctified.* And I pray thee good brother, what doſt thou thinke is to beare the marke of the beaſt in the forhead, and in the hand that S. Iohn ſpeaketh of? I know we ought warely to ſpeake of gods myſteries which he ſhewed by the ſpirite of propheſying to his ſeruaunt Ihon, yet to read them with reuerence, & to pray for the ſame ſo much as God knoweth is neceſſary for our time to know, I thinke it neceſſary & good. wherfore, what I ſuppoſe is to beare the beaſtes marke, I wil tel thee, and commit the iudgement of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the ſpirituall man. I ſuppoſe he beareth the beaſt of Babylons marke in his forhead, which is not aſhamed of yͤ beaſts wayes, but will profeſſe them openly to ſet forth his maſter yͤ beaſt Abaddon. And likewiſe he beareth his marke in his hande that wil and doth practiſe the workes of the Beaſt with his power & hand. And likewiſe I will not let to tell thee, what I thinke to be ſigned in the forhead for the ſeruant of God, whereof Ihon alſo ſpeaketh, reckening vp many thouſands ſo to haue bene ſigned of euery tribe. I ſuppoſe he is ſigned in the forhead for the ſeruaūt of God,

Rom.6.

To beare the beaſtes marke, what it is.

Apoca.13. 14.20.

whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodnes, and hath geuen him grace and ſtrength, ſtoutly to confeſſe him and his truth before the world. And to haue grace and ſtrength to confeſſe Chriſt and the doctrine of the croſſe, and to lament and mourne for the abominations of Antichriſt, I ſuppoſe is to be ſigned wyth Tau, wherof Ezechiell the Prophet doth ſpeake. Thus I ſuppoſe theſe propheſies are ſpiritually to be vnderſtanded: and to loke for other corporall markes to be ſeene in mens foreheads or in theyr hands, is nothing els but to loke that there ſhould come ſome brute Beaſt out of Babylon, or ſome Elephant, Leopard, Lyon, or Camell, or ſome other ſuch monſtrous beaſt with .x. hornes, that ſhould do all the wonderfull things ſpoken in Ihon: and yet of a Beaſt ſpeaketh Ihon, but I vnderſtand him ſo to be called, not for that he ſhalbe any ſuch brute Beaſt, but for that he is, and ſhalbe the child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beaſtly maners is well called a Beaſt.

The carnal Iewes knew there was a promiſe made that Helias ſhould come before Chriſt yͤ Meſſias the anointed of God, to prepare his wayes: they knew alſo there was a promiſe of Meſſias, that he ſhould come and be a king, & raigne in the houſe of Dauid for euermore, but they vnderſtode all ſo groſly and ſo carnally, that they neither knew Helias nor Meſſias when they came, for they loked for Helias to come downe from heauen in his owne perſon, and for Meſſias to come and raigne in worldly pompe, power, riches, and glory, when as the propheſies of both were ſpiritually to haue bene vnderſtanded: of Helias that he ſhould come, not in perſon but in ſpirit, that is, one which ſhould be indued with the ſpirite and giftes of grace of Helias, which was in deede Ihon Baptiſt, as Chriſt himſelfe did declare to his Apoſtles. And of Meſſias raigne, all the Prophets were to be vnderſtanded of the raigne of his ſpirituall kingdome ouer the houſe of Iacob, and the true Iſraelites for euermore. And ſo by that theyr groſſe and carnall vnderſtanding, they miſtake both Helias and the true Meſſias, and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewiſe I feare me (nay it is certaine) the world that wanteth the light of the ſpirite of God (for yͤ world is not able to receiue him, ſaith Iohn) neither doth, nor ſhall know the Beaſt nor his markes, though he rage cruelly, and liue neuer ſo beaſtly, and though his marked men be in number like the ſand of the ſea. The Lord therfore vouchſafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may ſee and perceiue, and vnderſtand the words of God after the minde of his ſpirite, Amen.

Here remaineth two obiections, which may ſeeme waighty, & the which may peraduenture moue many not to folow the former counſell. The former reaſon is: A man wil ſay, Oh ſir it is no ſmal matter ye ſpeake of, to depart from a mans owne natiue countrey into a ſtraunge realme. Many men haue ſo great lettes, as how is it poſſible that they can or may doe ſo? Some haue lands and poſſeſſions which they can not cary with them: ſome haue father, mother, wife, children, and kinſfolke, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and al one almoſt) as to ſuffer death, and to go to a ſtraūge countrey that thou knoweſt not, neither the maner of the people, nor how thou maiſt away either with the people or with the countrey. Oh what a hard thing is it to liue among a ſtraunge people, whoſe tongue thou doſt not vnderſtand. &c.

I graunt here thou maiſt heape a number of worldly incommodities, which are ſurely very like to enſue the departure out of a mans owne natiue countrey, I meane out of the whole realme into a ſtraunge land: but what of al theſe and a thouſand moe of the like ſort? I will ſet vnto them one ſaying of our Sauiour Chriſt, which vnto the faithfull childe of God and to the true Chriſtian, is able to counteruaile all theſe, yea and to way them downe. Chriſt our Sauiour ſayth in Luke: *If any come to me and do not hate his father and mother* (he meaneth, and wil not in his cauſe forſake his father and mother) *his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life to, he cannot be my diſciple: and whoſoeuer doth not beare his croſſe and come after me, he cannot be my diſciple.* And in the ſame place he declareth by two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrier, that euery man that will not in Chriſtes cauſe forſake all that euer he hath, he can not be his diſciple. Loke the place who will: the matter is ſo plainely ſet forth, that no gloſes nor cloking of conſcience to the man of God, can ſerue to the cōtrary. Many places there be for the ſame purpoſe, for the imbraſing of Chriſtes croſſe when Chriſt & his cauſe layeth it vpō our backe: but this is ſo plaine that I nede here to rehearſe no more.

The latter reaſon and obiection wherof I ſpake before, is of more force, and includeth a neceſſity which, after the common ſaying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to ſhape for it a good anſwer. This may be obiected of ſome: Alas ſir I graunt all theſe things doe greue me, and becauſe I vnderſtand they doe not agree with gods word, which is the rule of my conſcience, I loth eyther to loke on them, or to heare them. But ſir (alas) I am an impotent man, an aged man, a ſicke man, a lame mā, or I haue ſo many ſmall infants and a lame wife, which all liueth by my labour, and by my prouiſion: if I leaue them, they ſhall ſterue, and I am not able to cary them with me, ſuch is my ſtate. Alas ſir, what ſhall I doe? And theſe cauſes may chaunce to ſome men of God, wherby either it ſhall be for them vtterly impoſſible to depart the countrey, or els in departing, they ſhall be inforced to forſake ſuch in extreme neceſſities, of whom both God and nature hath committed vnto them the care.

Alas what counſel is here to be geuen? O lamentable ſtate. O ſorowfull hart that neither can depart, and without extreme daunger and perill, is not able to tary ſtill. And theſe are they whom our Sauiour Chriſt ſaw before ſhould be, and called them in his Propheſy of the latter time, great bellyed or trauelling women, & women that geue, after they be brought to bed, theyr ſmall babes ſucke. The ſtate of ſuch as are not able to flie the infectiō of the peſtiferous plague of Antichriſtes abominations, Chriſt lamenting and not curſing, ſaith: *Wo be to the great bellyed and trauelling women, and Women that geue ſucke in thoſe dayes.* For theſe alas my hart mourneth the more, the leſſe I am able to geue any comfortable counſaile but this: that alwayes, as they loke for euerlaſting life, they abide ſtill in the confeſſion of his truth, whatſoeuer ſhall befall, and for the reſt to put theyr truſt now wholy in God, which is able to ſaue them againſt all apparaunce: and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort fayleth, and the dāger is at higheſt, then vnto his he is wont, after his accuſtomed mercy, to be moſt ready for to put his helping hand. Daniell God ſuffered to be caſt into the denne of Lyons, and the three children into the hotte burning fornace, and yet he ſaued them all. Paule was plucked out of the mouth of the Lyon (as he ſayth of himſelf) & in Aſia he was brought in ſuch trouble, that he loked for no other thing, but for preſent death, and yet he that raiſeth yͤ dead to life againe, did bryng him out of all his troubles, and taught hym and all other that be in troubles for Chriſtes cauſe, not to truſt to themſelues but in almighty God.

A leſſon to truſt to the Lord, who is alwayes a helpe in extreme time of neede.

Of gods gracious aide in extreme perils toward them that put theyr truſt in him, all ſcripture is full both olde and newe. What dāgers were the Patriarks often brought vnto, as Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, but of all other Ioſeph, and how mercifully were they deliuered againe? In what perils was Moiſes whē he was faine to flie for the ſauegard of his life? And when was he ſent againe to deliuer the Iſraelites from the ſeruile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme miſery. And when did the Lord mightely deliuer his people from Pharao his ſword? Not before they were brought in ſuch ſtraytes that they were ſo compaſſed on euery ſide (the maine ſea on the one ſide, & the mayne hoſt on the other) that they could loke for none other (yea what did they els in deede loke for?) but either to haue bene drowned in the ſea, or elles to haue fallen on the edge of Pharao his ſword. Theſe iudges, which wrought moſt wōderfull things in the deliuery of the people, were euer geuen when the people was brought to moſt miſery before: as Othoniel, Aoth, Saugar, Gedeon, Iephthe, Samſon. And ſo was Saul indued with ſtrength and boldnes from aboue, agaynſt the Ammonites, Philiſtines, and Amalechytes for the defence of yͤ people of God. Dauid likewiſe felt gods helpe moſt ſenſibly euer in his extreme perſecutions. What ſhall I ſpeake of the Prophets of God, whom God ſuffered ſo oft to be brought into extreme perils, and ſo mightely deliuered them againe: as Helias, Ieremy, Daniell, Micheas, and Ionas, and many other, whom it were but to long to rehearſe and ſet out at large? And did the Lord vſe his ſeruants otherwiſe in the new law after Chriſtes incarnation? Read the actes of the Apoſtles, and you ſhall ſee no. Were not the Apoſtles caſt into priſon, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the Angell deliuer Peter out of the ſtrong priſon, & bryng him out by the yron gates of the City, and ſet him free? And when, I pray you? Euen the ſame night before Herod appointed to haue brought him in iudgement for to haue ſlaine him, as he had a little before killed Iames the brother of Ihon. Paule and Silas, when after they had bene ſore ſcourged, and were put into the inner pryſon, and there were layd faſt in the ſtockes, I pray you what apparance was there that the Mageſtrates ſhould be glad to come the next day themſelues to them, to deſire them to be content and to depart in peace? Who prouided for Paule, that he ſhould be ſafely cōducted out of all daunger, and brought to Felix the Emperours deputy, when as both the high prieſts, the Phariſeys, and rulers of the Iewes had conſpired to require iudgement of death agaynſt him, he being faſt in pryſon, and alſo more then .xl. men had ſworne eche one to other yͭ they would neuer eate nor drinke vntil they had ſlaine Paule? A thing wonderful, that no reaſon could haue inuented, or man could haue loked for: God prouided Paule his owne ſiſters ſonne a yong man, that diſapointed that conſpiracy, & all theyr former coniuration. The maner how the thing came to paſſe, thou mayſt read in the .xxiij. of the Actes. I wil not be tedious vnto thee here with the reherſall therof.

Examples of gods ready helpe in extreme perils.

Examples of gods deliuerance.

Act.23.

Now, to deſcend from the Apoſtles to the martyrs that folowed next in Chriſtes church, and in them likewiſe to declare howe gracious our good God euer hath bene to worke wōderfully with them which in his cauſe haue bene in extreme perils, it were a matter enough to wryte a long boke. I will here name but one man & one womā, that is, Athanaſius the great clarke & godly man ſtoutly ſtanding in Chriſtes cauſe againſt the Arrians, & that holy woman *Blandina*, ſtanding ſo conſtantly in all extreme paines, in the ſimple cōfeſſion of Chriſt. If thou wilt haue examples of moe, loke and thou ſhalt haue both theſe and a .C. moe in Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria of Euſebius, and in Tripartita hiſtoria.

But for all theſe examples both of holy ſcripture, and of other hiſtoryes, I feare me the weake man of God incombred with the frailty and infirmity of the fleſh, will haue now and then ſuch thoughts and quawmes (as they cal them) to runne ouer his hart, and to thinke thus: All theſe things which are rehearſed out of the ſcripture, I beleue to be true, and of the reſt truely I doe thynke well, and can beleue thē alſo to be true: but all theſe we muſt nedes graunt were ſpeciall miracles of God, whych now in our dayes are ceaſed we ſee, and to require them at gods hands, were it not to tempt God?

Welbeloued brother, I graunt ſuch were great wonderfull workes of God, and we haue not ſeene many of ſuch miracles in our time, either for that our ſight is not cleare (for truly god worketh with his, his part in all times) or elles becauſe we haue not the like fayth of them for whoſe cauſe God wrought ſuch things: or becauſe, after that he had ſet forth the truth of his doctrine by ſuch miracles then ſufficiently, the time of ſo many miracles to be done was expired withall. Which of theſe is the moſt ſpeciall cauſe of al others, or whether there be any other, God knoweth: I leaue that to God. But know thou this my welbeloued in God, yͭ gods hand is as ſtrong as euer it was, he may doe what his gracious pleaſure is, and he is as good and gracious as euer he was. Man chaungeth as the garment doth, but God our heauenly father is

God worketh great miracles in our time, although euery man doth not ſee them.

the ſame now that he was, and ſhalbe for euermore.

The world without doubt (this I do beleue, and therefore I ſay) draweth towardes an end, and in all ages God hath had hys owne maner, after his ſecrete and vnſearchable wiſdome, to vſe his elect, ſometimes to deliuer them and to keepe them ſafe, and ſometimes to ſuffer them to drinke of Chriſtes cuppe, that is, to feele the ſmart, and to feele of the whip. And though the fleſh ſmarteth at the one, and feeleth eaſe in the other: is glad of the one, and ſore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one, towardes them in both, and loueth them no leſſe when he ſuffereth them to be beaten, yea and to be put to bodily death, then when he worketh wonders for their maruellous deliuery. Nay rather he doth more for them, when in anguiſh of the torments he ſtãdeth by them and ſtrengthneth them in theyr faith, to ſuffer in the confeſſion of the truth and his faith, the bitter panges of death, then when he openeth the priſon dore and letteth them go loſe: for here he doth but reſpit them to an other time, and leaueth them in daunger to fall in like perill againe: and there he maketh them perfect, to be without daunger, paine, or perill after that for euermore. But this his loue towards them, howſoeuer the world doth iudge of it, is al one, both when he deliuereth and when he ſuffereth them to be put to death. He loued as well Peter and Paule, when, after they had (according to his bleſſed will, pleaſure, & prouidence, finiſhed theyr courſes, and done theyr ſeruices appointed them by him here in preaching of his Goſpel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero (as the Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſayth): as when he ſent the Aungell to bring Peter out of priſon, and for Paules deliuery he made all the dores of the priſon to flie wide open, and the foundation of the ſame like an earthquake to tremble and ſhake.

The Lords fauor no leſſe in aduerſitie, then in proſperitie.

Thinkeſt thou (O thou mã of God) that Chriſt our Sauiour had leſſe affection to the firſt martyr Stephen, becauſe he ſuffered his enemies euen at the firſt cõflict to ſtone him to death? No ſurely: nor Iames Ihons brother, which was one of the three that Paule calleth Primates or Principals amongſt the Apoſtles of Chriſt. He loued him neuer a whit the worſe then he did the other, although he ſuffered Herode the tyrants ſword to cut of his head. Nay, doth not Daniell ſay, ſpeaking of the cruelty of Antechriſtes time: Et docti in populo docebũt plurimos, & ruent in gladio & in flamma, & in captiuitate, & in rapina dierum. &c. Et de eruditis ruent vt conflentur & eligantur, & dealbentur. &c. That is, *and the learned* (he meaneth truely learned in Gods law) *ſhall teach many, and ſhall fall vpon the ſworde, and in the flame,* (that is, ſhall be burned in the flaming fire) *and in captiuitie* (that is, ſhall be in pryſon, and be ſpoiled and robbed of theyr goods for a long ſeaſon). And after a little in the ſame place of Daniel it foloweth: *and of the learned ther be, which ſhal fal or be ouerthrown, that they may be knowne, tried, choſen, and made white:* he meaneth, be burniſhed and ſcoured a new, picked and choſe, and made freſh and luſty. If that then was foreſeene for to be done to the godly lerned, and for ſo gracious cauſes, let euery one to whom any ſuch thing by the will of God doth chaunce, be mery in God, and reioyce, for it is to Gods glory, and to his owne euerlaſting wealth. Wherefore well is he that euer he was borne, for whom thus graciouſly God hath prouided, hauing grace of God, and ſtrength of the holy ghoſt to ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the height of the ſtorme. Happy is he that euer he was borne, whom God his heauenly father hath vouchſafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effuſion of his bloud.

Daniell. 11.

Daniell. ibid.

Martyrdome an high honour.

To die in Chriſtes cauſe is an high honour: to the which no man certainely ſhall or can aſpire, but to whom God vouchſafeth that dignitie: For no mã is alowed to preſume for to take vnto hym ſelfe any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therfore Ihon ſayth well, ſpeaking of them, which haue obtained the victory by the bloud of the Lambe, and by the word of his teſtimony, *that they loued not theyr liues, euen vnto death.* And our ſauiour Chriſt ſaith: *He that ſhal loſe his life for my cauſe ſhal find it.* And this maner of ſpeach pertaineth not to one kind of chriſtians, (as the worldly doth wickedly dreame) but to all ỹ doe truely pertaine vnto Chriſt. For when Chriſt had called vnto him the multitude together with his diſciples, he ſaid vnto them (marke that he ſayd not this to the diſciples and apoſtles only, but he ſayd it to all) *whoſoeuer will folow me, let him forſake or deny himſelfe, and take vp his croſſe & folow me: for whoſoeuer wil ſaue his life, ſhal loſe it* (he meaneth whoſoeuer will, to ſaue his life, both forſake or leaue him and his truth): *and whoſoeuer ſhall loſe his life for my cauſe, & the goſpels ſake, ſhall ſaue it:* For what ſhall it profit a mã if he ſhall winne the whole world and loſe his owne ſoule? his owne life? or what ſhal a man geue to recompence that loſſe of his owne life, and of his owne ſoule? *VVhoſoeuer ſhalbe aſhamed of me & my words* (that is to confeſſe me and my goſpell) *before this adulterous and ſinfull generation, of hym ſhall the ſonne of man be aſhamed when he commeth in the glory of his father, with the holy Angels.* Know thou O mã of God, that al things are ordained for thy behouſe, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy ſaluation. All things (ſaith Paule) worketh with the good to goodnes, euen the enemyes of God, and ſuch kind of puniſhments whereby they goe about to deſtroy them, ſhall be forced by gods power, might, and fatherly prouidence, for to do them ſeruice.

Apoca. 12.

Math. 16.

Mark. 8.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that pouerty, aduerſity, ſicknes, tribulation, yea painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not loue them: but euen cleane the contrary, as all the whole courſe of ſcripture doth euidently declare: for then he would neuer haue ſuffered his moſt dearly beloued the Patriarkes to haue had ſuch troubles, his Prophets, his Apoſtels, his Martyrs and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and goſpell, ſo cruelly of the wicked to haue bene murdered and ſlaine. *Of the whych ſome were racked* (as the Apoſtle ſayth) *and would not be deliuered, that they might receyue a better reſurrection. Some were tried by mockings and ſcourgings, yea moreouer by bondes and impriſonment: they were ſtoned, they were hewen and cut aſunder, they were tempted, they were ſlaine wyth the ſworde, they wandered vp and downe in ſheepe ſkins and Goates ſkins, being forſaken, afflicted and tormented: ſuch men as the world was not worthy to haue, wandring in wilderneſſes, in mountaines, in dennes and caues of the earth. All theſe were approued by the teſtimony of fayth, and receiued not the promiſe, bicauſe God did prouide better for vs, that without vs they ſhould not be cõſummated.* They tary now for vs vndoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commaunded to haue paciẽce yet (ſayth the Lord) a little while, vntil the number of theyr fellow ſeruaunts be fulfilled, and of theyr brethren which are yet to be ſlaine, as they were.

Heb. 11.

Now (thou O man of God) for our Lords ſake, let vs not for the loue of this life, tary them to long, and be occaſion of delay of that gloryous conſummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which alſo the liuing endued with gods ſpirite, ought ſo earneſtly to deſire and to grone for with all the creatures of God. Let vs all with Iohn the ſeruant of God, cry in our hearts vnto our Sauiour Chriſt: Veni domine Ieſu, *come Lord Ieſu come.* For then when Chriſt which is our life, ſhall be made manifeſt and appeare in glory, then ſhall the children of God appeare what they be, euen like vnto CHRIST: for this our weake body ſhall be transfigurated and made like vnto Chriſtes glorious body, and that by the power wherby he is able to ſubdue vnto himſelf all things. Then, that which is now corruptible, ſhall be made incorruptible: that is now vile, ſhal then be made glorious: that is now weake, ſhall riſe then mighty and ſtrong: that is groſſe and carnall, ſhall be made fine and ſpirituall; for then we ſhal ſee and haue the vnſpeakeable ioy and fruition of the gloryous maieſty of our Lord euen as he is.

Apoca. 22.

Who or what then ſhall let vs to ieopard, to ieopard? yea, to ſpend this life which we haue here, in Chriſtes cauſe? in our Lord God his cauſe? O thou therefore man of God, thou that art loden, and ſo letted like vnto a great bellied woman, that thou canſt not flie the plague, yet if thou luſt after ſuch things as I haue ſpoken of, ſtand faſt what ſoeuer ſhall befal, in thy maiſters cauſe: and take this thy letting to flie, for a calling of God to fight in thy Maiſter Chriſt his cauſe. Of this be thou certaine, they can do nothing vnto thee, which thy father is not aware of, or hath not foreſeene before: they can doe no more then it ſhall pleaſe him to ſuffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine owne ſaluation. Let them then do what they ſhal, ſeing to thee (O man of God) all things ſhalbe forced to ſerue, and to worke with thee vnto the beſt before God. O be not afraid and remember the end.

Nothing happeneth without gods ſuplight.

All this which I haue ſpoken for the comfort of the lamẽtable caſe of the man whom Chriſt calleth the great bellyed woman, I meane to be ſpoken likewiſe to the captiue and priſoner in Gods cauſe: for ſuch I count to be as it were already ſummoned and preſſed to fight vnder the banner of the croſſe of Chriſt, and as it were ſouldiers allowed and taken vp for the Lord warres, to do to theyr Lord and Maſter good and honorable ſeruice, and to ſticke to him, as men of truſty ſeruice in his cauſe, euen vnto death, and to thinke theyr life loſt in his cauſe, is to win it in eternall glory for euermore.

Therfore, now to conclude and to make an end of this treatiſe, I ſay vnto all that loue God our heauenly father: that loue Chriſt Ieſus our redemer and Sauiour: that loue to folow the wayes of the holy ghoſt, which is our comforter and ſanctifier of all: vnto all that loue Chriſtes ſpouſe and body, the true catholicke church of Chriſt, yea that loue life and theyr owne ſoules health: I ſay vnto all theſe, hearken my deare brethren and ſiſters, all you that be of God, of all ſortes, ages, dignities, or degree: harken to the word of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt ſpoken to his apoſtles, and ment to all his in S. Mathewes goſpell: *Feare not them which kill the body, for they can not kill the ſoule: but feare him more which may deſtroy and caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire. Are not two ſmall ſparrowes ſold for a mite, and one of them ſhall not fall or light vpon the ground without your father? All the heares of your head be nũbred. Feare them not, you are much more worth then are the little ſparrowes. Euery one then that confeſſeth me before men, him ſhall I likewiſe confeſſe before my father which is in heauen. But whoſoeuer ſhall deny me before men, I ſhall deny him likewiſe before my father which is in heauen.*

Mat. 10.

The Lord graunt vs therfore of his heauẽly grace & ſtrength, that here we may ſo confeſſe him in this world amongſt this adulterous and ſinfull generation, that he may confeſſe vs againe at the latter day before his father which is in heauen, to his glory & our euerlaſting comfort, ioy and ſaluation.

To our heauenly father, to our Sauiour and redemer Ieſus Chriſt, and to the holy ghoſt, be all glory and honour now and for euer. Amen.

Thus with the death and Martyrdome of theſe two learned paſtors, and cõſtant ſouldiours of Chriſt, M. Latimer, and B. Ridley, you haue diuers of their letters & other wrytings of theirs expreſſed, with the Farewels alſo of B. Ridley, wherein he toke his leaue of the world, taking his iourney to the kingdome of heauen. Diuers and ſondry other treatiſes of his remaine alſo in my hand both in Latine and Engliſh, wherof ye ſhall ſee God willing) the effect and contents, in the forepromiſed Appendix, which I purpoſe by the Lordes grace after the finiſhing of theſe ſtoryes, to adioyne.

The death and end of Stephen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter.

The death of Steuen Gardiner,

Nouember.

THe next moneth, after the burnyng of Doct. Ridley and M. Latymer, which was the moneth of Nouember, Stephen Gardiner Biſhop and Chaũcellour, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched lyfe. Concernyng the qualities, nature, and diſpoſition of which man, for ſomuch as ſomewhat hath bene declared before in the ſtory of kyng Edwardes reigne, I ſhall nede therfore the leſſe now to ſtãd greatly vpon the ſame. Firſt, this vipers byrd crept out of the town of Bery in Suffolke, brought vp moſt part of his youth in Cambridge, his witte, capacitie, memory, and other indumentes of nature not to be complayned of, if he had well vſed and ryghtly applyed the ſame: wherein there was no great want of Gods part in hym, if he had not rather hym ſelf wanted to the goodnes of his giftes. Through this promptnes, actiuitie, and towardnes of hys, hee profited not a little in ſuch ſtudies as hee gaue his head vnto, as firſt in the law ciuill, then in lãguages and ſuch other lyke, eſpecially in thoſe artes and faculties, which had any proſpect to dignitie and preferment to be hoped for. Beſides other ornamentes or helpes of nature, memory chiefly ſemed in hym very beneficiall, rather then diligence of ſtudy.

The vices of Winchest. described.

To theſe giftes and qualities were ioyned agayne as great or greater vices, which not ſo much followed hym, as ouertooke hym, not ſo much burdened hym, as made him burdenous to the whole realme. He was of a proude ſtomacke & hygh mynded, in his own opinion & conceite flatteryng hym ſelfe to much, in wytte crafty and ſubtile, toward his ſuperiour flatteryng and fayre ſpokẽ, to hys inferiours fierce, agaynſt his equall ſtout and enuious, namely if in iudgement and ſentence hee any thyng withſtode hym: as appeared betwen the good Lord Cromwell and him in the reigne of king Henry, beyng of lyke hautines of ſtomacke, as the Poetes writ of Pelides, Cedere neſcius. Who although woulde geue no place to men, yet notwithſtandyng I wiſh he would haue giuen place to truth, according as he ſemed not altogether ignorãt of the truth. What his knowledge was therin, it is euident partly to vnderſtand as well by his booke De vera obedientia, as alſo by hys Sermon before king Edward: alſo by hys aũſweres to the Counſell the ſame time: & moreouer by hys owne wordes may be gathered in ſũdry places, as more plainly may appeare by that which hereafter foloweth.

Vpõ his eſtimation & fame he ſtode to to much, more thẽ was mete for a mã of hys coate & calling, whoſe profeſſion was to be crucified vnto the world: which thyng made hym ſo ſtiffe in maintaynyng that he had once begon to take vpõ him. I wil not here ſpeake of that which hath bene conſtãtly reported to me, touchyng the monſtrous makyng and miſhaped faſhion of his feete and toes, the nailes wherof were ſaid not to be like to other mens, but to crooke downeward, & to be ſharpe like the clawes of rauening beaſts. What his learnyng was in ẏ Ciuil & Canõ law, I haue not to ſay. What it was in other liberall ſciences & artes, this I ſuppoſe, ẏ neither his continuance in ſtudy, nor diligence of readyng was ſuch (by reaſon of hys to much intermedlyng in Princes matters) as could truly wel merite vnto him ẏ title of a deepe learned man. But what learning or cunning ſoeuer it was he had, ſo it fared in hym, as it doth in butchers, which vſe to blow vp their fleſh: euen ſo he with boldnes & ſtoutnes, and ſpecially with authoritie made thoſe giftes that he had to appeare much greater then they were in very dede. Wherunto vſe peraduenture alſo & experiẽce abroad brought no litle helpes, rather thẽ either quicknes of wytte, or happines of education.

And as touchyng Diuinitie, he was ſo variable, wauering with tyme, that no conſtant cenſure can be geuen what to make of hym. If hys doynges & wrytynges were accordyng to hys conſcience, no man can rightly ſay whether he was a right proteſtant or Papiſt. If he wrote otherwiſe thẽ he thought, for feare, or to beare wt tyme, then was he a double depe diſſembler before God and man, to ſay & vnſay, to write & vnwrite, to ſweare and forſweare ſo as he dyd. For firſt in the begynnyng of Queene Annes time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſie in ẏ matter of ẏ kinges diuorce as Ste. Gardiner? who was firſt ſent to Rome & thẽ to ẏ Emperour with Edward Foxe, as chief Agẽt in the behalfe of Lady Anne. By whom alſo he was preferred to the Biſhoprike of Wynt. as Edm. Boner was by the Lord Cromwell to the Byſhopricke of London. Agayne, at the aboliſhing of the Pope, who ſo ready to ſweare, or ſo vehement to write agaynſt the Pope as he, as not onely by hys Sermõs, but alſo by hys booke De obediẽtia may appeare. In which booke De obedientia, leſt any ſhould thinke hym drawen therunto otherwiſe then by hys own conſent, hee playnly declareth how not raſhly nor vppon a ſodeine, but vppon long deliberation and aduiſement in him ſelfe about the matter, he at length vttered hys iudgement: Wherof read before, pag. 1204. And moreouer, hee ſo vttered his Iudgement in writyng agaynſt the vſurped ſupremacie of the Pope, that cõmyng to Louane, afterward he was there accempted for a perſon excõmunicate, & a ſchiſmaticke, in ſomuch ẏ he was not permitted in their church to ſay Maſſe, & moreouer in their publicke ſermõs they opẽly cryed out agaynſt him. Wherof read hereafter folowing pag. 1959.

The mutabilitie of Ste. Gardiner in religion.

Touching the doinges of Wincheſter at Louane, read the letter of Driander to Criſpine pag 1959.

And thus long cõtinued he firme & forward, ſo that who but Wincheſter duryng all the time and reigne of Queene Anne. After her deceaſe ẏ tyme by litle & litle caryed hym away, till at lẽgth the emulation of Cromwels eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſemeth) for his ſo much fauoring of Boner (whom Wyncheſter at that tyme in no caſe could abyde) made hym an vtter enemy both agaynſt hym, and alſo hys Religion: till agayne in kyng Edwardes dayes he begã a litle to rebate from certeine poyntes of Popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the Goſpell, as both by hys Sermon before kyng Edward, and alſo by his ſubſcribing to certein Articles may appeare: and this was an halfe turne of Ste. Gardiner frõ Popery agayn to the Goſpel, & (no doubt) he would haue further turned, had not the vnlucky decay of the Duke of Somerſet cleane turned hym away from true Diuinitie to playne Popery: wherin he cõtinued a cruell perſecutour to hys dying day.

The firſt turnyng of Wincheſter from the Goſpell, and why.

An other halfe turne of Wincheſter from Popery to the Goſpell.

Wincheſter turned to a full Papiſt.

And thus much concernyng the trade & profeſſion of Ste. Gardiners Popiſh Diuinitie. In which his popiſh trade, whether he folowed more true iudgement, or els tyme, or rather the ſpirite of ambition and vaine glory, it is doubtfull to ſay, and ſo much the more doubtfull, becauſe in his doynges and writyngs a man may ſee hym not onely contrary to hym ſelfe, but alſo in ſome points contrary to other Papiſtes. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he ſemeth therein not ſo much to folow hys owne ſenſe, as the mynde and meanyng of Pereſeus: out of whoſe booke the greateſt part of Wyncheſters Diuinitie ſeemeth to be borowed.

Wincheſter neuer conſtant in him ſelfe, nor agreing with other Papiſtes.

A great part of Wincheſters Diuinitie is to be found in Pereſeus.

And therfore, as in the true knowledge of Gods holy word & Scripture he appeareth no body: ſo in his pen & ſtile of writinges no leſſe farre he is frõ cõmendation, then he is frõ all playneſſe & perſpicuitie, In whoſe obſcure and perplexe kynd of writyng although peraduẽture ſome ſenſe may be foũde with ſome ſearchyng, yet ſhall no reader finde any ſweetnes in his readyng.

Wincheſters ſtile vnpleaſaunt.

What moued him to be ſo ſturdy againſt M. Cheke, & Sir T. Smith for the Greke pronũciation, other may thinke what they pleaſe: I ſpeake but what I thynke, that he ſo did, for that he ſaw it a thing rather newly begun, then truely impugned. Such was the diſpoſition of that man (as it ſeemeth) that of purpoſe hee euer

The vayne bragging of Ste. Gardiner noted.

affected to ſeme to be a patrone of all olde cuſtomes, though they were neuer ſo rottē with age. This one thing I cannot but ſmyle at in my mynde, when I ſee how he braggeth and vaunteth himſelfe in all hys letters to the Lord Protector and other of the Counſell, of the hye fauour of hys noble King of famous memory, the Kinges father that dead is. ⁊c. when nothing was leſſe true, neyther did the king leſſe fauour any Engliſh man then hym, as by the depoſitions both of the Earle of Warwicke and of the Lorde Paget may appeare in the pages of the olde booke. 824. 816. But into thys falſe and fooles paradyſe he was brought through the ſayd Lord Paget, who, as he reporteth hymſelfe in his meſſages from the King to the ſayd Wincheſter, deluded hym, telling hym much otherwiſe then the king had ſpoken: which thing puffed vppe this vayne glorious Thraſo not a little, thinking the Moone was made of grene cheeſe. ⁊c.

Read in the old booke of Actes and Monumentes pag. 824. 816.

But what ſoeuer he was, ſeing he is now gone, I referre hym to his Iudge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fal. As concerning his death and maner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat, would teſtify to vs what they ſaw. This we haue all to thynke, that his death happened ſo oportunely, yͭ Englād hath a mighty cauſe to geue thankes to the Lord therfore: not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in tyme paſt in peruerting his Princes, in bringing in the .vj. articles, in murdering Gods Saintes, in defaſing CHRISTES ſincere religion. ⁊c. as alſo eſpecially for that hee had thought to haue brought to paſſe in murdering alſo our Noble Queene that now is. For what ſoeuer daunger it was of death that ſhe was in, it did (no doubt) procede frō that bloudy Biſhop, who was the cauſe therof. And if it be certayne which we haue heard, that her hyghnes being in the Tower, a wrytte came downe from certayne of the Counſell for her execution, it is out of controuerſy, that wyly Wincheſter was the onely Dedalus and framer of that ingine. Who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole realme into woful ruine, had not the Lordes moſt gratious counſell, thorow M. Brydges then yͤ Lieutenant, cōming in haſt to the Queene, certified her of the matter, and preuented Achitophels bloudy deuyſes. For the which, thankes be to the ſame our Lord and Sauiour, in the congregation of all Engliſh Churches, Amen.

Ste. Gardiner eſpecially hunteth for the life of Lady Elizabeth.

Q. Elizabeth preſerued.

M Bridges Lieutenant, the Lordes organe in ſauing the Lady Elizabethes life.

Of thynges vncertayne, I muſt ſpeake vncertainly, for lacke of fuller information, or els peraduenture they be in the Realme that can ſay more thē here I haue expreſſed. For as Boner, Story, Thornton, Harpſfield, Dunning, with other, were occuped in putting yͤ poore braunches of Gods Sainctes to death: ſo this Biſhop for his part bent all his deuyſes ⁊ had ſpent all hys pouder in aſſaylyng yͤ roote, ⁊ in caſting ſuch a plat forme (as he himſelfe in wordes at his death is ſayd to confeſſe) to buyld hys popery vpon, as he thought ſhould haue ſtand for euer and a day. But (as I ſayd before) of vncertaine thinges I can ſpeake but vncertaynly. Wherfore as touching the maner and order of his death, how rich he dyed, what wordes he ſpake, what litle repentaunce hee ſhewed, whether hee dyed with his tounge ſwolne and out of his mouth, as Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Caunt. pag. 700. or whether hee ſtenke before he dyed, as Cardinall Wolſey dyd, read before pag. 1133. or whether he dyed in diſpayre as Latomus and others dyd. ⁊c. all this I referre either to their reportes of whom I heard it, or leaue it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Tho. Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Read before pag. 1133.

I could name the man (but I abſtayn from names) who being then preſent, and a great doer about the ſayd Wincheſter, reported to vs cōcerning the ſayd Biſhop, that when Doct. Day Biſhop of Chicheſter came to hym, and began to comfort him with wordes of Gods promiſe, and with the free iuſtification in the bloud of CHRIST our Sauiour, repeting the Scriptures to hym. Wincheſter hearing that, what my Lord (quoth he) will you open that gap now? then farewell altogether. To me and ſuch other in my caſe you may ſpeake it: but open this window vnto the people, then farewell altogether.

Steuen Gardine hauing h toes croo- ked and ſharpe li the tal of rauenin beaſtes.

Moreouer, what D. Boner then ſaw in him, or what he heard of him, and what wordes paſſed betwene them about the tyme of his extremity, betwixt him and him be it. If Boner dyd there behold any thing which might turne to his good example, I exhort hym to take it, and to beware in tyme, as I pray God he may. Here I could bringe in the friuolous Epitaph which was made of his death, deuiſed of a Papiſt for a popiſh Biſhop, but I pretermit it, and in ſtede thereof I haue here inferred certayne gatheringes out of his Sermons, wordes and wrytinges, wherein may appeare firſt what an earneſt and vehement enemy he was to the Pope if hee would haue bene conſtant in him ſelfe: then howe inconſtantly he varyed from him ſelfe: and thirdly how he ſtādyng vpon a ſingularity of his own wit, wauereth alſo from other Papiſts in certayne pointes. In the gathering whereof albeit there be ſome paynes, and tediouſnes, alſo in reading: yet I thought not to pretermit the ſame vppon certayne conſiderations, namely for that ſo many yet to this day there bee, which ſticke ſo much to Gardiners wit, learning, and religion, taking him for ſuch a doughty piller of the Popes church. To yͤ entent therefore, that ſuch as hetherto haue bene deceyued by him may no longer be abuſed therein, if they will eyther credit his owne wordes, workes, Sermons, wrytinges, diſputations: or els will be iudged by hys owne witneſſes of his owne party produced, we haue here collected ſuch manifeſt probations, which may notoriouſly declare how effectuouſly firſt he withſtode the Popes ſupremacy: and lykewyſe afterward may declare manifeſt contrariety and repugnaunce of the ſaid Gardiner, firſt with other wryters, ⁊ laſtly with hym ſelfe: firſt beginning with his Sermon preached before K. Edward. The ſumme ⁊ effect of which ſermon briefly collected by M. Vdall, here vnder foloweth to be ſeene.

A warnin to Doct B. ner.

¶The ſumme and effect of the Sermon which Gardiner B. of Wincheſter preached before King Edward. an. 1550.

The eff of Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Winche- ſters Ser mon.

MOſt honorable audience, I purpoſe by the grace of God to declare ſome part of the Goſpel that is accuſtomably vſed to be red in yͤ Church as thys day. And for becauſe yͭ without the ſpecial grace of God, neither I can ſpeake any thing to your edifying, nor ye receaue the ſame accordingly, I ſhall deſyre you all, yͭ we may ioyntly pray altogether for the aſſiſtāce of his grace. In which prayer I cōmend to almighty God, your moſt excellent maieſty our ſoueraigne lord, king of Englād, Fraunce ⁊ Ireland, and of the church of Englād and Ireland next ⁊ immediatly vnder God here on earth yͤ ſupreme head, Queene Katherin Dowager, my Lady Maries grace, my Lady Elizabethes grace your Maieſties moſt deare Syſters, my Lord Protectors grace, with all others of your moſt honorable Counſail, the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, and I ſhall deſyre you to commend vnto God wyth your prayer, the ſoules departed vnto God in Chriſtes fayth, and among theſe moſt ſpecially our late ſoueraigne Lord king Henry the eight, your maieſties moſt noble father. For theſe and for grace neceſſary I ſhall deſire you to ſay a Pater noſter, and ſo forth.

Suprem head.

The Goſpell beginneth: Cum veniſſet Ieſus in partes Cæſareæ Phillippi. &c. *When IESVS was come into the parties of Ceſaria a citie that Phillippus builded, he aſked his diſciples and ſayd: whom do men ſay that the ſonne of man is? They ſayd, ſome ſay that thou art Iohn the Baptiſt, ſome that thou art Elye, ſome that thou art Ieremy or ſome of the Prophets. He ſayd to them: but whom ſay ye that I am? Then aunſwered Simon Peter and ſayd, thou art CHRIST the ſonne of the liuing God, &c.* I cannot haue time I thinke to ſpeake of the Goſpell thoroughly,

Math. 16

for other matters that I haue here nowe to ſaye, but I ſhall note vnto you ſuch thinges as I may, and fyrſt of the diuerſity of opinions concerning CHRIST, which were among the people variable: but among his, that is the diſciples of Chriſtes ſchole, there was no varietye, they agreed altogether in one truth, and among them was no variety. For whē Peter had for all the reſt, and in the name of al the reſt made his aunſwer that CHRIST was the ſonne of God, they all with one conſent confeſſed that he had ſpoken the truth. Yet theſe opinions of CHRIST that the people had of him, though they were ſundry, yet were they honorable & not ſclaūderous: for to ſay that CHRIST was Elie and Iohn the Baptiſt, was honorable. For ſome thought him ſo to be becauſe hee dyd frankly, ſharply and openly rebuke vice. They that called him Ieremy, had alſo an honorable opinion of him, and thought him ſo to be becauſe of his great learnyng which they perceiued in him, and marueiled where hee had it. And they that ſayd he was ſome of the Prophets, had an honorable opinion of him, and fauoured him and thought well of him.

But there was an other ſort of people that ſpake euill of hym, and ſclaundered him, and rayled on hym, ſaying that he was a glotton, and a drinker of wyne, that hee had a deuill in him, that he was a deceauer of the people, that he was a Carpenters ſonne, as though he were the worſe for his fathers craft. But of theſe he aſked no queſtiō: for among theſe none agreed with yͤ other. Wherin ye ſhall note that man of his owne power and ſtrength can nothing doe, nor nothing that good is he can do of his own inuention or deuiſe, but erreth and faileth whē he is left to hys own inuention, he erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and ſo ſtout of his owne courage, that he deuiſeth nothing wel when ſoeuer he is left to him ſelfe, without God, and then neuer doe any ſuch agree in any truth, but wander and erre in all that they do. As men of law, if they be aſked their opinion in any poynt touching the law, ye ſhall not haue two of them agree in opinion in any point touching the law, ye ſhall not haue two of them agree in opinion one wyth the other. If there be two or three of them aſked their opiniō in any matter, if they ſhould aunſwer all one thyng, they feare leſt they ſhould bee ſuppoſed and thought to haue no learning. Therefore be they neuer ſo many of them, they wyll not agree in their aunſweres, but deuiſe ech man a ſundry aunſwer in any thing that they are aſked.

The Philoſophers that were not of CHRISTES ſchole, erred euery one in theyr vayne opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Yea, men of ſimplicitie, though they meane well, yet beyng out of CHRISTES ſchole, they agree not, but vary in their opinions: As theſe ſimple people here ſpoken of, becauſe they were not perfect diſciples of CHRISTES ſchole, they varied & agreed not in their opinion of CHRIST, though they thought well of him. Some ſayd he was Iohn, ſome Elie, ſome Ieremie, but none made the right aunſwere. He that aūſwered here, was Symon the ſonne of Ionas, and he ſayd: *Thou art CHRIST the ſonne of the lyuing God.*

Where ye ſhall note the properties that were in Peter. He was called Symon, which is obedience, and Ionas is a doue, ſo that in him that is of CHRISTES ſchole, muſt be theſe two properties, obedience and ſimplicitie. He muſt be humble and innocēt as a doue that will be of CHRISTES ſchole. Pryde is a let of CHRISTES ſchole, for as yͤ wiſe mā ſayth: *God reſiſteth the proud, & giueth grace vnto the humble and meeke.* And accordyng to the ſame, doth CHRIST in the Goſpell ſay: *O father, I confeſſe vnto thee,* that is: *I laude and magnifie thee, for that thou haſt hidden theſe thynges from the wiſe, and haſt opened them vnto the litle ones.* Whereupon ſayth S. Auguſtine, that the giftes of learnyng and knowledge of ſciences, are no let to CHRISTES ſchole, but a furtherance therunto if they be well applied and vſed as they ought to be: but he that is proude, and fedeth him ſelfe with his owne conceate and opinion of him ſelfe and abuſeth the giftes of God, applying hys learning and knowledge to the ſatiſfying and folowyng of his owne fantaſie, is no right Diſciple of CHRIST, but falleth into errour. Dicentes ſe ſapientes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt: whē they ſayd and affirmed them ſelues to be wiſe, they were made fooles.

The Philoſophers had euery one a ſect of his owne, and had many gay ſentences for the commendation of their opinions, and euery man thought his owne opinion to be beſt: but becauſe they applied all to their owne pride & glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled thē ſelues as they ought to haue done, but folowed their owne fanſie, they erred and fell out of the way, and were not of CHRISTES ſchole: and all that haue gone out of CHRISTES ſchole, pride hath brought them out of it, and ſuch as haue not entred, haue kept them ſelues out of it with pride likewiſe: therfore all ſuch as wilbe ſcholers of CHRITSTES ſchole and diſcipline, muſt be humble and meeke: otherwiſe, Dicentes ſe ſapientes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt.

Humilitie the porter of Chriſtes ſchole.

He that can not learne this leſſon of Peter, and hūbly cōfeſſe with Peter that CHRIST is the ſonne of the liuyng God, is no ſcholer of CHRISTES ſchole, be he otherwiſe neuer ſo well learned, neuer ſo well ſene in other ſciences. But now cōcernyng the aunſwere of Peter, Mathew here in this place ſayth: he aūſwered: Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei viui. S. Luke ſayth, he aunſwered: Tu es Chriſtus Dei. And S. Marke ſayth, he aūſwered: Tu es Chriſtus. But in all that is no varietie: for to ſay Chriſtus filius Dei viui, and to ſay Chriſtus Dei, and to ſay Chriſtus, is in effect all one, and no diuerſitie in it, for Chriſtus alone is the whole, and he that confeſſeth throughly CHRIST, is throughly a Chriſten man, and doth therein confeſſe him to be the Lord and Sauiour of the world. But now we muſt conſider what CHRIST is. CHRIST was ſent to be our Meſſias, our Sauiour: he was ſent to be our Byſhop and alſo our ſacrifice: he was ſent from the Trinitie to be our mediatour betwen God and vs, and to reconcile vs to the fauour of God the Father: he was the Byſhop that offred for our ſinnes, and the ſacrifice that was offred, and as he is our Byſhop, ſo is he our meane to pacifie God for vs, for that was the office of a Biſhop to ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the people, and to make interceſſion for the people, and as he was our ſacrifice, ſo was he our reconciliation to God agayne.

The office of Chriſt declared.

But we muſt confeſſe and beleue him throughly I ſay, for as he was our Byſhop then, ſo is it he that ſtill kepeth vs in fauour with God, and like as his ſacrifice thē made was ſufficient for vs to deliuer vs from our ſinnes and to bryng vs in fauour with God, ſo to continue vs in the ſame fauour of God, he ordeined a perpetuall remembraunce of him ſelfe, he ordeined him ſelfe for a memory of him ſelfe at his laſt Supper when he inſtituted the Sacrament of the altar, not for an other redemption, as though the world neded a new redēption from ſinne, but that we might throughly remember hys moſt holy paſſion he inſtituted this Sacrament by his moſt holy word, ſaying: *This is my body,* which worde, is ſufficient to proue the Sacrament, and maketh ſufficiētly for the ſubſtaunce therof. And this dayly ſacrifice he inſtituted to be continued amongeſt Chriſten men, not for nede of an other redēption or ſatiſfaction for the ſinnes of the world, for that was ſufficiētly perfourmed by his ſacrifice of his body and bloud done vpon the Croſſe: neither that he is now our Byſhop for neede of any farther ſacrifice to bee made for ſinne, but to * continue vs in the remembraūce of his paſſion ſuffred for vs, to make vs ſtrong in beleuyng the fruite of his paſſion, to make vs diligent in thankeſgeuyng for the benefite of his paſſion, to eſtabliſh our faith and to make it ſtrong in acknowledgyng the efficacie of his death and paſſion ſuffred for vs. And this is the true vnderſtandyng of the Maſſe, not for an other redemption, but that we may be ſtrong in beleuyng the benefite of CHRISTES death and bloud ſhedyng for vs vpon the Croſſe. And this it is that we muſt beleue of CHRIST, and beleue it throughly, and therfore by your pacience, as Peter made his confeſſion, ſo wil I make cōfeſſion, wherin by your Maieſties leaue and ſufferaunce. I will playnly declare what I thinke of the ſtate of the Church of England at this day, how I like it, and what I thinke of it.

To beleue Chriſt thorowly.

Note here *Winchester*: The Sacrament was ordeined to kepe vs in yͤ perpetuall fauour of God.

Winchesters dayly ſacrifiſe.

* Note here *Winchester* contrary to him ſelf: for before he ſayd the Sacrament was ordeined to kepe vs in the fauour of God, & now he ſayth it is to kepe vs in remembrance of his paſſion.

What *Winchester* thinketh of the church of England.

Where I ſayd of the Maſſe, that it was a ſacrifice ordeined to make vs the more ſtrong in the fayth and remēbraunce of CHRISTES paſſion, & for cōmendyng vnto God yͤ ſoules of ſuch as be dead in CHRIST (for theſe two thinges are the ſpeciall cauſes why yͤ Maſſe was inſtituted) the Parlamēt very wel ordeined Maſſe to be kept, and becauſe we ſhould be the more ſtrōg in the faith and deuocion towardes God, it was well done of the Parlament, for mouyng the people more and more with deuotion, to ordeine that this Sacrament ſhould be receyued in both kyndes. Therfore I ſay that the Act of Parliament for receauyng of the Sacrament of the altar in both kyndes, was well made.

What *Winchester* thinketh of the Maſſe.

Winchester alloweth the Sacrament in both kindes.

I ſay alſo that the proclamation which was made that no man ſhould vnreuerently ſpeake of the Sacrament, or otherwiſe ſpeake of it then Scripture teacheth them, was wel made. For this proclamatiō ſtoppeth the mouthes of all ſuch as will vnreuerently ſpeake of the Sacrament: for in Scripture is there nothing to be foūd that maketh any thing agaynſt the Sacrament, but all maketh with it. wherfore if they were the children of obediēce, they would not vſe any vnreuerēt talke agaynſt the Sacrament, nor blaſpheme the holy Sacrament. For no word of the Scripture maketh any thyng agaynſt it.

The opinion of *Wincheſter* of chauntry Maſſes.

But here it may be ſayd vnto me: why Sir, is thys your opinion? It is good you ſpeake plainly in thys matter, and halt nothing, but declare your mynde plainly without any colouring or couert ſpeaking. The Act for the diſſoluing and ſuppreſſing of the Chauntries ſeemeth to make againſt the Maſſe, how lyke you that Act? what ſay you of it? or what would you ſay of it, if you were alone? I wyll ſpeake what I thinke of it, I wyll vſe no colourable or couert wordes, I will not vſe a deuiſed ſpeech for a time, and afterwarde * go from it againe. If chaūtries were abuſed by applying the Maſſe for the ſatiſfaction of ſynne, or to bring men to heauen, or to take away ſynne, or to make men of wicked iuſt, I lyke the Act well, and they might well be diſſolued, for the Maſſe was not inſtituted for any ſuch purpoſe: yet neuertheles for them that were in them (I ſpeake now, as in the cauſe of the poore) it were well done that they were prouided of lyuinges. The Acte doth graciouſly prouide for them during their lyues, and I doubt not but that your maieſty and the Lordes of your moſt honorable Coūſell haue willed and taken order that they ſhould be well looked vnto, but yet how they ſhall be vſed at the handes of vnder officers, God knoweth, full hardly, I feare. But as for the Chauntryes them ſelues, if there were any ſuch * abuſe in them concerning the Maſſe, it is no matter if they be taken away.

* Whether ye did or not let *Q. Maries* time iudge.

Note, *Wincheſter* doth not alow maſſe for ſatiſfactiō, to bring men to heauē, to take away ſinne, or to make men iuſt, &c.

* As there was in deede.

King Henry the eight a noble and wyſe Prince, not without a great paine maintayned the Maſſe, and yet in his doctrine it was confeſſed that Maſſes of Scala cœli were not to be vſed ne allowed, becauſe they did peruert the right vſe and inſtitution of the Maſſe. For when men adde vnto the Maſſe an opinion of ſatiſfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to an other vſe then it was ordained for. I that allowe Maſſe ſo well, and I that allowe praying for the dead (as in deede the dead are of Chriſtian charity to be prayed for) yet can agree with the realme in that matter of puttyng downe Chauntries.

Maſſes of *Scala cœli.*

Wincheſter craftely ſpeaketh agaynſt the abuſe of the Maſſe, not agaynſt the Maſſe.

But yet ye would ſay vnto me: there be fewer maſſes by putting away the Chauntries. So were there when Abbeyes were diſſolued: ſo be there whē ye vnite many churches in one. But this is no iniury nor preiudice to the maſſe, it conſiſteth not in the nūber nor in the multitude, but in the thing it ſelfe, ſo that the decay of the maſſes by taking away of the chauntries, is aunſwered by the Abbeyes. But yet I would haue it conſidered for the perſons that are in them, I ſpeake of the poore mens liuinges.

Wincheſter agaynſt Chaūtreys.

I haue now declared what I thinke of the Act of parlamēt made for the receiuing of the ſacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST in both kindes. Ye haue my minde and opinion concerning the proclamation that came foorth for the ſame Act, and I haue ſhewed my minde therein euen plainly as I think, and I haue euer bene agreable to this point, I haue oftē times reaſoned in it, I haue ſpoken and alſo written in it, both beyonde the ſeas and on this ſyde the ſeas: my bookes be abroade, which I cannot vnwrite agayne. I was euer of this opiniō, ÿ it might bee receaued in both kindes, and it was a conſtitution prouinciall ſcarce two hundred yeare agone, made by Peckam then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that it ſhould be receiued in both kindes, at leaſt wyſe in eccleſijs maioribus, that is, in the greater churches, for in the ſmaller churches it was not thought to be ſo expediēt. Thus haue I euer thought of this matter: I haue neuer beene of other mynde, nor I haue not chaunged my conſcience, but I haue obeyed and followed the order of the Realme, and I praie you to obey orders as I haue obeyed, that we may all bee the children of obedience.

Wincheſter aloweth the proclamation ſet forth for receauing in both kindes.

It was a conſtitution prouinciall of *Peckum* to receaue in both kindes *in eccleſijs maioribus:* in ſmaller churches it was thought not to expedient.

Now I will returne to ÿ text. when Simon had aunſwered: Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei viui, *Thou art* CHRIST *the ſonne of the liuing God, Then* CHRIST *ſayd vnto him: bleſſed art thou Simon Bariona, for fleſhe and bloude haue not opened that vnto thee, but my father which is in heauen, and I ſay vnto thee that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke wil I build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle againſt it. Bleſſed art thou* (ſaid he) *for fleſh & bloud haue not opened that vnto thee.* For otherwiſe in Iohn, Andrew told of CHRIST and ſaid: *I haue found the Meſſias which is* CHRIST. But ÿ is not enough. He that ſhall cōfeſſe CHRIST, muſt haue an inward teaching, and muſt bee ſpiritually taught by the father of heauen, for Andrewes confeſſion was nothing but a carnall confeſſion, and ſuch a one as any other might haue made by naturall reaſon: but the confeſſion of Peter was aboue reaſon of man, for CHRIST was there a verye man, and Peters eyes told him that hee was a man and nothyng els, but he was inwardly taught by the father of heauen and had a ſecret knowledge geuen hym from heauē, not by fleſh and bloud, that is to ſay, by mans reaſon, but inwardly by the father of heauē: and ſeing this was aboue reaſon, it is a maruellous thing that reaſon ſhould be vſed to impugne faith, which is not wythin the precinct of carnall men, and ſuch as vſe groſſe reaſon.

Math 16.

But Peter had an other leſſon inwardly taught hym, and becauſe he could hys leſſon, CHRIST gaue him a new name: for Petra is a ſtone, a new name of a Chriſten man, for vppon this confeſſion of thy fayth, here I wyll build my church, that is, I wyll ſtabliſh all thoſe which I entend to gather vnto thee: Et Dæmones non preualebunt aduerſus eam, that is: *and the Deuils ſhall not preuaile againſt it:* for he that with a good hart, & ſure fayth confeſſeth this, he is ſure from all perill: this world nor Sathan can do him no harme.

But now for a further declaration, it is a meruelous thing, that vpō theſe wordes the Biſhop of Rome ſhould found his ſupremacie, for whether it be ſuper Petram, or Petrum, all is one matter, it maketh nothyng at al for the purpoſe to make a foūdation of any ſuch ſupremacie. For otherwiſe when Peter ſpake carnally to CHRIST (as in the ſame chapter a litle folowing) Sathā was his name, where CHRIST ſayd: *Go after me Sathan,* ſo that the name of Peter is no foundation for the ſupremacie, but as it is ſayd in Scripture: Fundati eſtis ſuper fundamentum Apoſtolorum & Prophetarum: that is, by participation (for godly participation geueth names of thynges) he might be called the head of the Church, as the head of the riuer is called the head, becauſe he was the firſt that made this cōfeſſion of CHRIST, which is not an Argument for dignitie, but for the qualitie that was in the mā. For the firſt mā is not euermore the beſt. The Headmā of a Queſt is not alwayes the beſt man in the Queſt, but is choſen to be the Headman for ſome other qualitie that is in hym. Vertue may allure men, ſo that the inferiour perſon in dignitie may be the better in place, as the king ſometime chuſeth a meane mā to be of his Counſayle of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the kyng the kyng ſtill. And in ſome caſe the kyng of England myght ſend to Rome, and if the Byſhop of Rome were a mā of ſuch wiſedome, vertue, & learning that he were able in matters of cōtrouerſie concernyng religion, to ſet a vnitie in the Church of England, the kyng might well enough ſend vnto him for his Counſell and helpe, & yet ſhould not in ſo doyng, geue the Byſhop of Rome any ſuperioritie ouer the king. For if a kyng be ſicke, he will haue the beſt Phiſition, if he haue warre, he will haue the beſt captaine, and yet are not thoſe the ſuperiours but the inferiours.

A ſcholemaſter is a ſubiect, a Phiſition is a ſubiect, a captaine is a ſubiect, Counſellours are ſubiectes, yet do theſe order and direct the kyng: wherfore leuyng the Biſhop of Rome, this I ſay to declare of what opiniō I am of. I do not now ſpeake what I could ſay. I haue ſpokē beyond the Seas, I haue written, my bokes be abroad. But this is not ÿ place here: I ſay that this place maketh nothyng for the Byſhop of Rome, but for CHRIST onely, for none can put Aliud fundamentū niſi id quod poſitum eſt, qui eſt CHRISTVS IESVS.

But now to go forth declaring my minde, in my time hath come many alterations. Firſt a great alteration it was to renounce the Byſhops of Romes authoritie, and I was one that ſtode in it. A great alteratiō it was that Abbayes were diſſolued. A great alteratiō it was that Images were pulled down: & to all theſe did I cōdeſcend, and yet I haue bene counted a mayntayner of ſuperſtition, and I haue bene called a Maſter of Ceremonies and of outward thynges, and I haue bene noted to take that religion which conſiſteth in outward things, as though he were a ryght Chriſtian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies, wherof I promyſed to declare my conſcience & ſo will I, & how I haue eſteemed ceremonies, & that I haue neuer bene of other opinion then I am concerning ceremonies, & myne opinion I haue gathered of Auguſtine, and Ierome, auncient fathers and Doctours of the Church.

Ceremonies ſerue to moue men to ſerue God, and as long as they be vſed for that purpoſe, they may bee well vſed in the church: but when man maketh him ſelf ſeruaunt to them and not them to ſerue him, then bee our ceremonies brought to an abuſe. If by ouer much familiarity of them men abuſe them, they do euill. For wee muſt not ſerue creatures, but Deo. We had Monkery, Nunry, Fryery of a wondrous number, much variety of garmentes, variety of deuiſes in dwelling, many ſondry orders and faſhiõs in mouing of the body. Theſe thinges were firſt ordayned to admoniſh them to their duety to God, to labour for the neceſſity of the poore, and to ſpare from their owne bellies to the poore, and therfore was theyr fare ordeyned and prepared. And becauſe they abuſed theſe thinges, and ſet them in an hyer place then they ought to do, not taking monition therby the better to ſerue God, but eſteming perfection to conſiſt in them, they were diſſolued, their houſes and garmentes were taken away.

But one thing king Henry would not take away, that was the vow of chaſtity. The vow of obedience he conuerted to himſelfe: the vow of chaſtity he willeth ſtill to remayne with them.

We had many Images whereto pilgremages were done, and many tombes that men vſed to viſit, by reaſon wherof, they fell in a fancy of Idolatry & ſuperſtitiõ, aboue the thinges that they might haue bene taken for. & becauſe they had not the vſe that they were ordeined for, they were left. When men put the Images in a higher place then they ſerued for: then were they taken cleane away: as giue a chyld a gay booke to learne vppon, and then if he gaſe vpon the gorgeouſnes of his booke, and learne not his leſſon according to the intent that yͤ boke was geuen for, the booke is taken away from him agayne. So the Images, when men deuyſed and fell to haue them in hygher place & eſtimation then they were firſt ſet vp in the Church for, then they might bee taken away: and I was neuer of other mynd, nor neuer had other opinion of thẽ. Diuers things there be in yͤ church which be in the liberty of the ruler to order as he ſeeth cauſe, and he that is ruler may eyther let thẽ ſtand or els may cauſe them to be taken way.

There be two maner of reformations. We haue had of both ſortes. There be thinges in the church the which if they be abuſed, may not be takẽ away. As for baptiſme, if it be abuſed, there may not an other thing bee put in the place of it, but the thing muſt be reformed & brought to the right vſe agayne. Alſo preaching, if it be abuſed, may not bee taken away, but muſt bee reformed and brought to the right vſe: but there be other thinges vſed in the church in which the Rulers haue liberty, either to reforme them or to take them away. We haue had many Images, which be now all taken away, for it was in the liberty of the Rulers for the abuſe of them, eyther to reforme thẽ, or to take thẽ away. And becauſe it was an eaſier way to take them away, then to bring them to the right vſe that they were ordayned for, they were all cleane taken away, and ſo they might be. Yea Sir will ye ſay, but ye haue maintayned and defended them and haue preached againſt ſuch perſons as deſpyſed them. It is truth, I haue preached agaynſt the deſpyſers of them, and haue ſayd, that Images myght bee ſuffered and vſed in the church as lay mens bookes, yet I neuer otherwiſe defended them, but to be vſed for ſuch purpoſe as they were firſt ſet vp in the church for: but now that mẽ be waxed wanton, they are cleane takẽ away, wherin our religion is no more touched then when bookes were taken away for abuſing of them.

There was an order taken for bookes not to be vſed, wherein ſome might haue ſaid, the bookes are good, and I know how to vſe them, I may therefore vſe them wel ynough, I will therefore vſe them though they be forbidden: but if thou haue any charity, thou oughteſt to be cõtented rather to haue them cleane taken away, then to declare thy ſelf to haue an other opinion then thou oughteſt to haue.

As touching ceremonies, I eſteeme them all as Paule eſteemeth them, thinges indifferent, where he ſayth: Regnum Dei non eſt eſca et potus. So of ceremonies. Neuertheles we haue tyme, place, and number, as a certayne number of Pſalmes to be ſayd at tymes, which may be vſed without ſuperſtition: but theſe thinges muſt ſerue vs, and not we ſerue them. Yet if an order be ſet in them by ſuch as haue power, we muſt follow it, and we muſt obey the Rulers that appoynt ſuch tyme, place, and nũber to be kept. Ye may not ſay, if yͤ tune will ſerue me, then I will come an houre after. No Syr ye muſt kepe this tyme and this houre, becauſe it is ſo appoynted by the rulers, not for the thinges, but for the order that is ſet. I haue bene euer of this opinion.

Taking away of Palmes and Candles.

We had palmes and candels takẽ away, which things may indifferently haue eyther of the two reformations aboue ſayd. When they were in place, they ſhould haue put men in remembraunce of their duety and deuotion towardes God, but becauſe they were abuſed, they were and myght be taken away. But the religion of CHRIST is not in theſe exerciſes, and therefore in taking away of them, the religion of CHRIST is nothing touched nor hindered. But men muſt in ſuch things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience ſake. S. Paul ſaith, *that we ſhould rebuke euery brother that walketh inordinately.* I haue tolde you myne opinion, and my conſcience telleth me that I haue ſpoken playnly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceyued in mee, nor bee ſclaundered in me, nor make no further ſearch to know my hart.

B. Gardiner ſpeaketh according to hys vnconſtant conſcience.

I like well the communion becauſe it prouoketh men more and more to deuotion. I lyke well the proclamation, becauſe it ſtoppeth the mouthes of all ſuch as vnreuerently ſpeake or rayle agaynſt the Sacrament. I lyke well the reſt of the Kinges maieſties proceedinges concerning the Sacrament. I haue now told you what I lyke. But ſhall I ſpeake nothing of that I miſlike? ye will then ſay I ſpeake not playnely. I wil therfore ſhew my conſcience playnely.

Wincheſter liketh well the communion.

B. Gardiner liketh well K. *Edwardes* proceedinges.

I miſlyke that preachers which preach by the Kinges lycence, & thoſe readers which by the Kinges permiſſion and ſufferaunce do read open lectures, do openly and blaſphemouſly talke agaynſt the Maſſe, and agaynſt the Sacrament. And to whom may I lyken ſuch readers and preachers? I may lyken them vnto Poſtes, for the prouerbe ſayth, that Poſtes do beare truth in their letters & lyes in their mouthes: and ſo do they, & to ſpeake ſo agaynſt the Sacrament, it is the moſt maruellous matter that euer I ſaw or heard of. I would wiſh therfore that there were a ſtay and an order in this behalfe, and that there might be but one order or rule, for as the Poet ſayth (I may vſe the verſe of a Poet well ynough, for ſo doth Paule of the great Poet, ὀυχ ἄγαθον πολυκοιρανίη εἷς κοίρανος ἔςω. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before yͤ king. They call it going before the King, and ſuch make them ſelues Kinges. Well what miſlyketh me els?

B. Gardiner miſliketh the preachers in *K. Edwardes* time, & why?

B. Gardiner compareth preachers to Poſtes carying truth in theyr letters and lyes in their mouthes.

It miſlyketh mee that Prieſtes and men that vowed chaſtity, ſhould openly mary and auow it openly: which is a thing that ſince the beginning of the church hath not bene ſeene in any tyme, that men that haue bene admitted to any eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration ſhould marry. We read of married Prieſtes, that is to ſay: of married men choſen to be prieſtes and Miniſters in the church. And in Epiphanius wee read, that ſome ſuch for neceſſity were wincked at. But that men being prieſtes already ſhould mary, was neuer yet ſeene in CHRISTES church from the beginning of the Apoſtles tyme. I haue written in it, and ſtudied for it, and the very ſame places that are therein alleadged to mayntayne the mariage of Prieſts, being diligently read ſhall playnely confound them that mayntayne to mary your Prieſts, or at the fartheſt, within two lynes after.

B. Gardiner miſliketh the breaking of a Vowe of chaſtitie.

B. Gardiner againſt mariage of Prieſtes.

Thus haue I ſhewed my opinion in order, proceeding from the inferiorities, and in order proceeding from the higher powers. And thus I haue (as I truſt) playnly declared my ſelfe, without any coloring or counterfayting. And I beſeech your moſt excellent maieſty to eſteme and take me as I am, and not to be ſclaũdered in me, for I haue told you the playne truth as it is, and I haue opened my conſcience vnto you. I haue not played the Poſt with you, to cary truth in my letters, and lyes in my mouth: for I would not for all the world make a lye in this place: but I haue diſcloſed the playne truth as it lyeth in my mynd. And thus I commit your moſt excellent Maieſty and all your moſt honorable Councellours with the reſt of the deuout audience here preſent, vnto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end.

Thus hauyng compriſed the ſumme & chief purpoſe of hys Sermon, with other ſuch matter aboue ſtoryed, wherein may appeare the double faced doynges of this Byſhop in matters of Religion: now for yͤ more fortificatiõ of that which hath ben ſayd, if any ſhall deny this foreſayd Sermon, or any part therof to be true, to con-

B. Gardiner agreing to reformation of Religion how farre and wherein.

firme therfore the ſame, we will here adioyne certeine briefnotes and ſpecialties in maner of a ſummary table, collected as well out of the teſtimonies and depoſitions of hys owne frendes and ſeruauntes, and other which were ſworne truly to declare theyr knowledge in this behalfe, as alſo out of hys owne writynges and workes agreyng with the ſame. In all which foreſayd allegations it may remayne notorious ⁊ famous to all mē, how, in what pointes, ⁊ how farre the ſaid Byſhop of Wynchester agreed with ẏ reformation of Religion receaued, not onely in kyng Henryes, but alſo in kyng Edwardes dayes.

And becauſe it will be long ⁊ a double labour to repeate all the wordes and teſtimoniall ſayinges of euery witnes particularly, ẏ ſame being expreſſed ſufficiently in our former impreſſion before, it ſhall therfore ſuffice by quotations briefly to aſſigne the place to the reader, where he may find all thoſe pointes of reformatiō, wherunto the ſaid Biſhop Gardiner fully agreed with the doctrine now receaued, and firſt in withſtandyng the Popes ſupremacie, as is here vnder noted.

¶The Popes ſupremacie impugned by Byſhop Gardiner.

Places in B. Gardiners bookes and Sermons expreſſed, where he impugneth the Popes ſupremacie.

First, as touchyng the confeßion and iudgement of Steuē Gardiner *agaynſt the ſupremacie of the B. of* Rome, *read in hys booke* De vera obedientia. fol. 6.

Item, concernyng the diſputations and defenſions of Byſhop Gardiner *at* Louane *agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie, read in our former impreßion, pag.* 802. *alſo in this preſent Volume.*

Item, how the ſayd Byſhop Gardiner *in hys Sermōs and preachings, as where he expoūdeth the place* [Tu es Petrus] *nothyng at all to make for the authority of the Romiſhe Byſhop, maruelyng how the Pope could vſurpe ſo much to take vp that place to buyld vppon, when* CHRIST *had taken it vp before to buyld hys Church, read in the old booke, pag.*845.*col.* 1.*pag.*847.*col.*1.*pag.*846.*col.*1. *& the depoſitions of* Doct. Redman, *pag.*853.*col.*1.

Read in the former impreſſion of Actes ⁊ Monuments.

Item, how the confeßion of Peter *was the confeßion of all the Apoſtles, lyke as the bleßing geuen to* Peter *pertayned as well to all the Apoſtles as to* Peter, *read ibidem. pag.* 847.*col.*1.

Item, that the place: Paſce oues meas, *was not ſpeciall to* Peter *alone, but generall to all the Apoſtles. Alſo that the* Greke *Church dyd neuer receaue the ſayd Byſhop of* Rome *for their vniuerſall head, read in the ſame booke, pag.*847.*col.*1.*pag.*836.*col.*2.

Item, that the authority of the Byſhop of Rome, *was not receyued of the moſt part of Chriſten Princes, read the depoſitions of Syr* Tho. Smyth, *pag.* 827.*col.*2.

Item, how the ſaid Byſhop Gardiner *would not graunt, that the ſayd authority was receyued generally. Ibid. pag.* 827. *col.*2.

Item, that the Church was buylded vpon CHRISTES *fayth, and not vpon* Peter, *read the depoſitiōs of* Rob. Willanton, *pag.*836.*col.*2.

The head man of Enqueſt.

And though Peter *was called* Princeps Apoſtolorũ, *that was nothyng els, but lyke as it is in an enqueſt, where the forman or headman is not ſo called becauſe hee is beſt or chiefeſt of that company, but becauſe he ſpeaketh firſt. Read in the depoſitions of* M. Baſſet, *pag.* 850. *col.*2.*pag.* 836. *col.*2.

Item, when the keyes were giuen, they were giuen generally to all the Apoſtles. Read the depoſitions of Rob. Willanton, *pag.*836.*col.* 2.

Item, how the ſayd Biſhop taketh away all ſuch Scriptures which are thought to ſerue for the Popes ſupremacie, as Super hanc Petrā: Paſce oues meas: Princeps Apoſtolorum. &c. *prouyng that they ſerue nothyng for his authoritie, read likewiſe in the ſame booke in the depoſitions of* M. Baſſet *hys owne ſeruaunt, pag.*850.*col.*2.

Item, how the ſayd Byſhop in his booke De vera obedientia, *dyd not onely write agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie, but alſo dyd defend the ſame at* Louane, *pag.* 802. *And moreouer in his Sermons dyd alledge and preach the ſame, pag.* 774. *col.* 2. *and that alſo*
Vehemently. 850. *col.*2. *Lin.*50.
Pithely, *pag.*846.*col. Lin.*31.
Earneſtly, *pag.*843.*col.*1.*Lin.*75.
Very earneſtly, *pag* 843.*col.*1.*Lin.*44.
Very forwardly, *pag.*827.*col.*2.*Lin.*82.

And not onely dyd ſo vehemently, pythely, earneſtly, and forwardly preach hym ſelfe agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie, but alſo dyd cauſe M. White *then Scholemaſter, after Byſhop of Wynt to make certayn verſes extollyng the kinges ſupremacy agaynſt the vſurped power of the Pope, encouraging alſo his ſcholers to do the lyke. Read the depoſitions of* Iohn White *ſcholemaſter of Wincheſter, pag.*845.*col.*2.

Item, how he, for the ſpace of 14. *yeares together, preached agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie in diuers Sermons, and eſpecially in one Sermon before king* Henry, *read the depoſitions of* Iohn Pottinger, *pag.*844.*col.*1. *Lin.*1.

¶Places noted wherin B. Gardiner impugned ceremonies, Monkery, Images, Chauntreys. &c.

Item, for ceremonyes and Images which were abuſed, to be taken away by publicke authoritie, he dyd well allow it, as a child to haue his boke takē frō hym when he abuſeth it, or deliteth onely in the golden couer. Read in the foreſaid old booke the depoſitions of Chriſtopher Malton, *pag.* 846. *col.*2.*pag.*849.*col.*2.*pag.*841.*col.*1.

Item, the diſſoluyng of Monaſteries and religious houſes he alloweth, and graunteth that they were iuſtly ſuppreſſed. Read the depoſitions of D. Weſton, *pag.*845.*col.*1.*pag.* 837. *col.*1.*pag.*851.*col.*1.

Concernyng Images beyng by king Edwardes *Iniunctions aboliſhed, how the ſayd Byſhop exhorted the people in his Sermons to be contented therwith, read the depoſitions of* W. Lorkyng, *pag.*840.*col.*1.

Monkes and Friers he calleth flatteryng knaues. Read the depoſitions of Syr Tho. Smith, *pag.*827.*col.*2.

*Friers he neuer liked in all his life. pag.*827.*col.*2. *Mōkes he counted but belly Gods. Ibid. pag.*827.*col.*2.

The goyng about of S. Nicolas, S. Katherine, *and* S. Clement, *he affirmeth to bee childrens toyes. Ibid. pag.* 827.*col.* 2.

The taking away or tranſpoſing of Chauntrey Obites he referreth to the arbitrement of the politicke rulers; grauntyng that if they dyd diſſolue them it might well be ſo done. Read the depoſitions of M. Baſſet *hys owne ſeruaunt, pag.* 850. *col.*2.

Item, hee wiſheth them to be committed to a better vſe, and that Monaſteries were iuſtly taken away. Read the depoſitions of George Bullocke, 847.*col.*1.

The obſeruyng of dayes, houres, nomber, tyme, and place, if they be orderly and publikely commaunded by the rulers, it is but to ſet the Church in an outward and publicke order: but if a mā inwardly and priuately be addicted to the ſame thynking hys prayer otherwiſe not auaylable but by obſeruyng thereof, it is an errour. Read the depoſitions of Doct. Redman, *pag.*853.*col.*2.*pag.*854.

The Communion ſet out by king Edward *he lyked well. Ibid. pag.*853.*col.*2.*pag.*854.

The booke of common ſeruice he was content both to kepe hym ſelfe, and cauſe it to be kept of others. Read the depoſitions of the Duke of Somerſet, *pag.*818.*col.*2.

For the Homelies, he exhorted the people in his preaching to come to the Church to heare thē. Read the depoſitions of M. Pottinger *hys owne ſeruaunt, pag.* 843.*col.*1.

In ſumme, to all Iniunctions, Statutes, and proclamations ſet forth by the king and ſuperiour powers, he yelded and grāted. Read in the depoſitions of George Bullocke, *pag.* 847.*col.*2.

Item, Cardinall Poole *commyng to the* French *king to ſtyrre hym vp agaynſt England, Wint. cauſed hym to be expelled out of* Fraunce. *Witnes* Cuth. *Byſhop of Dureſme, pag.*828.*col.*2.

Item, the ſayd Wincheſter ſworne agaynſt the Pope by expreſſe clauſes in his proxie. Read in the depoſition of Iohn

Coke *Regiſt. pag.860.col.1.lin.13.*

Now (gentle reader) lay theſe wrytynges, preachynges, and doynges of this Byſhop in the dayes of kyng Henry and kyng Edward, with hys doynges in Queene Maries tyme, and thou ſhalt ſee how variable he was, how inconſtant and contrary to hym ſelfe, how periured and falſe, & farre differyng frō that which he was reported to be in a certain Engliſh boke ſet out in Queene Maries tyme, which ſayth that there were iij. onely in England, whoſe conſcience had bene neuer diſteined in Religion, of whom he falſely ſayth the foreſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter was one.

Although B. Gardiner in graunting to theſe points of religion (as ye haue heard) and other ſome againe denying, could not therefore deſerue the name & fame of a perfect Chriſtian, yet notwithſtanding if hee had continued in this iudgement ſtyll, and bene conſtant in him ſelfe, he might haue wonne more commendation both with God and man. But as ſoone as the time began to alter, he likewyſe altering with the time, was ſo farre chaunged from that he ſeemed, that neyther he agreed with other Papiſtes, nor yet wyth him ſelf, as Doct. Ridley in certaine treatiſes hath noted well of him: wherein as in a glaſſe may be ſeene the manifeſt contrarietie and repugnaunce in hym, not onely from the truth of Gods bleſſed word, but alſo howe the ſayd biſhop ſtāding ſo much in a ſingularity by him ſelf, neyther agreeth with other hys fellow writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with hym ſelfe in certaine caſes of the ſacrament, as the foreſaid Doct. Ridley in examining his wordes and workes, hath well ſet out in thys table here vnder enſuing.

¶ Certayne matters wherein Ste. Gardiner B. of Wincheſter varieth from other of the Papiſts, touching the ſacrament of the Lords ſupper.

1. Other catholickes ſay that the body of Chriſt is made of bread. Thomas vult ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia, queſt. 75. artic. 4. Wincheſter ſaith, that the bodye of Chriſt is not made of the matter of bread, nor neuer was ſo taught, but is made preſent of bread, pag. 89. lin. 8. pag. 228. lin. 44. *Confutation of Wint. agaynſt Cranmer.*

Wincheſter ſaith that Chriſt called bread hys body, when he ſaid: *This is my body*, pag. 292. lin. 19. And in the deuils Sophiſtrye, fol. 27. Other ſay contrary. And Smith fol. 53. Marcus Antonius obiect. 13. 14. 20.

Wincheſter ſaith, that bread is my body, is as much to ſay, as bread is made my body. And ſo he taketh [eſt] for [fit] pag. 333. lin. 25. pag. 120. lin. 23. 28. 30. *Cōfutation.* Other ſay that [eſt] is taken there ſubſtantiuely, that is to ſay, onely for *is*, and not for *is made*. Marc. Anto. fol. 171. fac. 2.

Wincheſter ſayth that Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament carnally and corporally, after the ſame ſignificatiō that he is in heauen, pag. 161. lin. 6. *Confutation.*

Wincheſter ſaith alſo, that when we ſpeake of Chriſts
body, we muſt vnderſtand a true body, which hath both
2. forme and quantity, pag. 81. lin. 5. Marc. Anton. obiect. 77.
3. Smith ſaith that Chriſtes body in the ſacrament hath not
hys proper forme and quantitie. fol. 106. And the contra-
4. ry he ſayth. fol. 105. Chedſey in diſputatione cum Petro
Mart. fol. 41. fac. 2.

Wincheſter ſaith: we beleue ſimply that Chriſtes body is naturally and corporally in the Sacrament wythout drawing away hys accidences, or adding, pag. 367. lin. 41. Smith ſaith: we ſay that Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament agaynſt nature, wyth all hys qualities and accidences. fol. 105.

5. Wincheſter ſayth, that Gods workes be all ſeemelynes, withou confuſion, although he cā not locally diſtinct Chriſtes head frō his feete, nor his legs from his armes, pag. 70. lin. 5. 13. 14. pag. 69. lin. 34. *Confutation.* Other ſay that CHRISTES head and feete and other partes, be not in deede locally diſtinct in the Sacrament, but bee ſo confounded that where ſoeuer one is, there be all ẏ reſt. tert. parte ſum. q. 76. art. 3. Innoc, tert. lib. 4. &c. 8.

6. Wincheſter ſaith that CHRISTES body is in the Sacrament ſenſibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally. pag. 181. lin. 13. 22. &c. *Confutation.* Other ſay contrary. Smyth fol. 39.

7. Other ſay that CHRISTES feete in the Sacrament be there where his head is. Wincheſter ſayth, that whoſoeuer ſayth ſo may bee called mad, pag. 70. lin. 13. 14. *Confutation.*

8. Other ſay, that corporally CHRIST goeth into the mouth or ſtomacke, and no farther. Bonauentura, Hugo, Innoc. 13. lib. 4. cap. 15. gloſ. de conſecrat. deſtin. 2. cap. tribus, & in glo. non iſte. Thomas. parte. 3. queſt. 80. art. 3. Tamdiu manet dū eſt in digeſtione. Smyth. fol. 64. He ſayth contrary. pag. 59. lin. 30. & pag. 60. lin. 3. 8. 12. *Confutation.*

9. Wincheſter ſaith that CHRIST dwelleth corporally in hym that receyueth the Sacrament worthely, ſo long as he remayneth a member of CHRIST. pag. 64. lin. 22. *Confutation.* Other ſay contrary. Smith, fol. 64. &c. as before in the ſeuenth line aboue.

10. Wincheſter ſayth that no creature can eate the body of CHRIST but onely man. pag. 75. lin. 24. *Confutation.* Other ſay cleane contrary. Thomas part. 3. q 8. art. 3. hoc derogat (inquit) veritati corporis CHRISTI. Perin in his Sermon of the Sacrament. What inconuenience is it though the impaſſible body lye in the mouth or maw of the beaſt? &c. M. Sententiarum. Qui dicit corpus CHRISTI non poſſe a mure manducari aut a bruto, is condemned.

A mouſe may eate Chriſtes body, ſayth the Maſter of Sentence. A mouſe can not eate it ſaith *Wincheſter.*

11. Wincheſter ſayth that an vnrepentant ſinner receauing the Sacrament, hath not CHRISTES body nor ſpirit within him. pag. 256. lin. 18. 25. 26. Smith ſayth that he hath CHRISTES body and ſpirit wythin him. fol. 136.

Within hym, that is, within hys ſoule.

12. Wincheſter ſayth that of the figure it may not be ſaid: Adore it, worſhip it: and that is not to be adored which the bodily eye ſeeth. pag. 202. lin. 38. pag. 272. lin. 6. Marc. Ant. fol. 175. fa. 1. Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis. Smith ſayth contrary. fol. 145. fac. 2.

13. Wincheſter ſayth that reaſon will agree with the doc- doctryne of tranſubſtantiation well inough pag. 30. lin. 12. *Confutation.* Smith ſayth that tranſubſtantiation is agaynſt reaſon, and naturall operation. fol. 60.

14. Other ſay that wormes in the Sacramēt be gendred of Accidences. Ex ſpeciebus Sacramentalibus generantur vermes. Tho. par. q. 76. art. 5. Wincheſter ſaith that they be wrong borne in hand to ſay ſo. pag. 400. lin. 1. *Confutation.*

15. Wincheſter ſayth that the accidences of bread & wine do mould, ſower, and waxe vineger, pag. 300. lin. 24. and pag. 400. lin. 6. *Confutation.* & Marc. Anton. obiect. 73. But he aunſwereth ſo confuſely, that the Reader can not vnderſtand him, be he neuer ſo attentiue. Smith ſaith: thus I ſay that the conſecrated wyne turneth not into vineger, nor the conſecrated bread mouldeth, nor engendreth wormes, nor is burned, nor receiueth into it any poiſon, as long as Chriſtes body & bloud are vnder the formes of them: which doe abyde there ſo long as the naturall qualities and properties of bread and wyne tary there in their naturall diſpoſition and condition, and the bread and wyne might be naturally there, if they had not bene chaunged into Chriſtes body and bloud, and alſo as lōg as the hoſt and conſecrated wyne are apt to bee receyued of man, and no lōger, but go and depart thence by Gods power, as it pleaſeth hym: and then a new ſubſtance is made of God, which turneth into viniger, engendreth wormes, mouldeth, is burned, feedeth Rattes & Myſe, receiueth poyſon. &c. fol. 64. and fol. 105.

16. Wincheſter ſaith: euery yea containeth a nay in it naturally: So as who ſoeuer ſayth, this is bread, ſayth it is no wyne. For in the rule of common reaſon the graunt of one ſubſtaunce, is the deniall of an other. And therefore reaſon hath theſe cōcluſions throughly: what ſo euer is bread, is no wine, what ſo euer is wine, is no milke, and ſo forth. So Chriſt ſaying: *This is my body*, ſaith it is no bread, pag. 291. lin. 22. and pag. 300. lin. 17. Smith ſayth, that a boy which hath onely learned the Sophiſtry, wyll not diſpute ſo fondly. fol. 77.

17. Other ſay, that the Maſſe is a ſacrifice ſatiſfactorye by deuotion of the Prieſt, and of them for whom it is offred, and not by the thing that is offered. Thom. part. 3. 9. 79. art. 5. Wincheſter ſaith otherwiſe, pag. 92. lin. 5. *Cōfutation.*

The Maſſe taketh his ſatiſfaction by the deuotion of the prieſt and people, and not of the thing offered.

18. Wincheſter ſaith, that the onely immolation of Chriſt in him ſelfe vpon the aultar of the croſſe, is the very ſatiſfactory ſacrifice for the reconciliation of mankynd, vnto the fauour of God, pag. 437. lin. 31. Smith ſaith: what is it to offer Chriſtes body and bloud at Maſſe to purchaſe thereby euerlaſting lyfe, if the Maſſe bee not a ſacrifice to pacify Gods wrath for ſynne, and to obtaine his mercy? fol. 24. 148. and. 164. Where he ſayth further: Prieſtes do offer for our ſaluation, to get heauen, and to auoyd hell.

¶Matters wherein the biſhop of Wincheſter varieth from hym ſelfe.

Proposition. THe body of Chriſt in the Sacrament is not made of bread, but is made preſent of bread, pag. 89. lin. 9. &c. and pag. 228. lin. 44. *Confutation agaynſt Cranmer.*

Contradictiõ. Of bread is made the body of Chriſt, pag. 388. lin. 12.

The catholicke fayth hath from the beginning confeſſed truly Chriſtes intent to make bread hys body, pag. 29. lin. 2. *Confutation.*

And of many breades is made one body of Chriſt. pag 165. lin. 2. *Confutation.*

And fayth ſheweth mee, that breade is the body of Chriſt, that is to ſay, made the body of Chriſt, pag. 333. lin. 23. 25. *Confutation.*

Chriſt gaue that he made of bread, pag. 292. lin. 34.

2. Proposition. Chriſt ſpake plainly: *This is my body*, makyng demonſtration of the bread, when he ſayd: *This is my body*. In the deuils Sophiſtry. 27.

Contradiction. The demonſtration [*This*] may be referred to the inuiſible ſubſtaunce, pag. 120. lin. 41. *Confutation.*

The verbe [*Is*] was of hys body and of his bloud, and not of the bread and wyne, pag. 284. lin. 43.

Illis verbis [Hoc eſt corpus meum] ſubſtantia corporis ſignificàtur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de ſubſtantia ſua, non aliena prædicetur. Marc. Antonius fol. 24. fac. 2.

3. Proposition. When CHRIST ſayd: *This my body*, the truth of the literal ſenſe hath an abſurdity in carnall reaſon. pag. 157. lin. 34. *Confutation.*

Contradiction. What can bee more euidently ſpoken of the preſence of CHRISTES naturall body and bloud in the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, then is in theſe wordes: *This is my body*. In the diuils ſophiſtry. fol. 5.

4. Proposition. Where the body of CHRIST is, there is whole CHRIST God and man: and when we ſpeake of CHRISTES body, we muſt vnderſtand a true body which hath both forme & quantity. pag. 81. lin. 5. Mar. An. obiect. 77. Smith fol. 105.

And he is preſent in the ſacrament as he is in heauen. pag. 161. lin. 4. &c. *Confutation.*

We beleue ſimply the ſubſtaunce of CHRISTES body to be in the Sacrament without drawing away of the accidences or adding. pag. 397. lin. 41. *Confutation.*

Contradiction. CHRIST is not preſent in the Sacrament after the maner of quantity, but vnder the forme and quantity of bread and wyne. pag. 81. lin. 89. and pag. 101. lin. 22.

5. Proposition. In ſuch as receiue the Sacrament worthely, CHRIST dwelleth corporally, and naturally, & carnally. pag. 190. lin. 7. pag. 197. lin. 27. pag. 217. lin. 10.

Contradictiõ. The maner of CHRISTES being in the Sacrament is not corporall, not carnall, not naturall, not ſenſible, not perceptible: but onely ſpirituall pag. 181. lin. 18. &c. & lin. 25. & pag. 223. lin. 21. *Confutation.*

6. Proposition. We receiue CHRIST in the Sacrament of his fleſh and bloud, if we receaue him worthely, pag. 190. lin. 7. pag. 197. lin. 27. *Confutation.*

When an vnrepentant ſinner receaueth the Sacrament, he hath not CHRISTES body within hym pag. 256. lin. 18. *Confutation.*

He that eateth verely the fleſh of CHRIST, is by nature in CHRIST, and CHRIST is naturally in hym. pag. 18. lin. 51. *Confutation.*

Contradictiõ. An euill man in the Sacrament receaueth in deede CHRISTES very body. pag. 18. lin. 24. 25.

Euill men eat verely the fleſh of CHRIST, pag. 256. lin. 24. 25. &c. *Confutation.*

7. Proposition. CHRIST geueth vs to be eaten the ſame fleſhe that he toke of the Virgin Mary. pag. 274. lin. 25.

Contradictiõ. We receiue not in the Sacrament CHRISTES fleſh that was crucified. pag. 276. lin. 1. *Confutation.*

8. Proposition. Saint Auguſtines rule in hys booke De doctrina Chriſtiana, pertayneth not to CHRISTES ſupper. pag. 132. lin. 40.

Contradiction. Saint Auguſtine meaneth of the Sacrament. Ibidem. and pag. 10. lin. 44. *Confutation.*

9. Proposition. Reaſon in place of ſeruice (as being inferiour to faith) will agree with the fayth of tranſubſtantiation well ynough. pag. 300. lin. 12. *Confutation.*

And as reaſon receiued into faithes ſeruice doth not ſtriue with tranſubſtantiation, but agreeth well with it: ſo mans ſenſes be no ſuch direct aduerſaries to tranſubſtantiation, as a matter wherof they can not ſkyll: for the ſenſes can not ſkill of ſubſtances. pag. 307. lin. 11. &c.

Contradiction. Thyne eyes ſay there is but bread and wyne, thy taſt ſayth the ſame, thy feeling and ſmelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnall mans vnderſtanding, which becauſe it taketh the beginning of the ſenſes, proceedeth in reaſoning ſenſually. In the deuils Sophiſtry. fol. 6.

The Church hath not forborne to preach the truth, to the confuſion of mans ſenſes and vnderſtanding. fol. 15.

10. Propoſition. It is called bread, becauſe of the outward viſible matter, pag. 327. lin.

Contradiction. When it is called bread, it is ment CHRIST the ſpirituall bread, pag 320. lin. 41.

11. Propoſition. And the catholicke faith teacheth that the fraction is in the outward ſigne, and not in the body of CHRIST, pag. 165. lin. 9. and pag. 392. lin. 42. and in the Deuills Sophiſtry. fol. 17.

Contradiction. What which is broken is the body of CHRIST, pag. 392. lin. 49.

The inward nature of the bread is the ſubſtance, pag. 323. lin. 14.

12. Propoſition. Subſtance ſignifieth in Theodoret (he ſayth) the outward nature, pag. 404. lin. 40.

Contradiction. The ſubſtances of bread & wyne be viſible creatures, pag. 322. lin. 30. and. 323. lin. 32.

13. Propoſition. Accidences be the viſible natures and viſible elemẽts. pag. 406. lin. 16. and 25. &c.

Contradiction. CHRIST is our ſatiſfaction wholy and fully, & hath payed our whole debt to God the father for the appeaſing of his wrath againſt vs, pag. 92. lin. 6. 7.

14. Propoſition. The act of the Prieſt done according to Gods cõmaũdement muſt nedes be propitiatory, and ought to be truſted on, to haue a propitiatory effect, pag. 437. lin. 13.

Contradiction. The ſacrifice of our Sauiour CHRIST was neuer reiterate, pag. 416. lin. 8.

15. Propoſition. Prieſts do ſacrifice CHRIST, pag. 431. lin. 16. &c.

Contradiction. And the catholicke doctrine teacheth the dayly ſacrifice to be the ſame in eſſence that was offred on ẏ croſſe. pag. 439. lin. 11.

16. Propoſition. The Neſtorians graunted both the Godhead & mãhead alwaies to be in Chriſt cõtinually, pag. 348. lin. 11. 12.

Contradiction. The Neſtorians denied CHRIST conceiued God, or born God, but that he was afterward God, as a man that is not borne a biſhop, is after made Biſhop. So the Neſtorians ſayd that the Godhead was an acceſſiõ after by merite, and that he was conceiued onely man. pag. 347. lin. 47. 50. 51. and pag. 148. lin. 47.

17. Propoſition. CHRIST vſeth vs familiarly as he did his Apoſtles, pag. 93. lin. 21.

Contradiction. CHRIST is not to be ſayd conuerſant in earth, pag. 114. lin. 11. &c.

¶Certaine thynges that Wincheſter graunted vnto.

Notes declaring wherein Wincheſt graunted to the ſpirituall of the Sacramẽt.

CHRIST declared eating of him ſelfe to ſignify beleuing, pag. 29. lin. antepenultima. *Confutation.*

CHRIST muſt be ſpiritually in a man, before he receaue the ſacramẽt, or els he cã not receaue the ſacramẽt worthely, pag. 54. lin. 44. pag. 160. lin. vltima, pag. 196. lin. 3. pag. 205. lin. 32.

How CHRIST is preſent, pag. 69. lin. 29. &c. pag. 81. lin. 12. pag. 181. lin. 26. pag. 65. lin. 15.

By faith we know onely the being preſent of CHRISTES moſt precious body, not the maner thereof, pag. 70. lin. 15

When we ſpeake of CHRISTES body, we muſt vnderſtand a true body, which hath both fourme and quantitie, pag. 81. lin. 5. lin. 35.

Although CHRISTES body haue all thoſe truthes of fourme and quantitie: yet it is not preſent after the maner of quantitie, ibidem, lin. 8. 9.

The demonſtratiue [*this*] may bee referred to the inuiſible ſubſtance, pag. 120. lin. 42.

Al the old praiers and ceremonies ſoũd, as though the people did communicate with the Prieſt, pag. 165. lin. 46.

The maner of CHRISTES being in the Sacrament is not corporall, not carnall, not naturall, not ſenſible, not perceptible, but onely ſpirituall, pag. 181. lin. 19. &c. lin. 25. pag. 223. lin. 21.

When an vnrepentant ſynner receiueth the ſacramẽt, he hath not Chriſtes body within him, pag. 256. lin. 18.

We eate not CHRIST as he ſitteth in heauen raigning pag. 276. lin. 18.

Tranſubſtantiation firſt ſpoken of. The word [*Tranſubſtantiation*] was firſt ſpoken of in a generall Cõũcell, where the biſhop of Rome was preſent, pag. 284. lin. 11.

In the ſacrifice of the church CHRISTES death is not iterated, but a memory dayly renued of that death: So as CHRISTES offering on the Croſſe once done & cõſummate, is now onely remembred, pag. 440. lin. 40. &c.

To theſe notes and places of Doct. Ridley, let vs alſo adioyne other 12. places or Articles of the lyke affinitie, taken out of hys booke called the examination of the proud hunter noted in the latter end of D. Turners ſecond courſe. By theſe articles it may appeare how this Byſhop ſwarueth no leſſe from the ſound truth of CHRISTES Goſpel, then he dyd in the other both from hym ſelfe, and alſo from other hys felow brethren of hys own Catholicke mother Church of Rome. The Articles in ſumme are theſe.

¶ Twelue new found Articles of Steuen Gardiners Crede taught in his booke called the examination of the hunter.

1. The ceremonies and traditions which the Byſhop of Rome hath ordeyned, and are now allowed in England, are the pale of the Church of England. fol. 7.
2. The Popes ceremonies & traditions, are good and politicke lawes, wherby God hath encloſed the kynges ſubiectes vnder his Maieſtie alone. ibidem.
3. As kyng Richard an euill man made a good politicke law for the body and common wealth of England: ſo cā the Pope an euill man make good lawes and holeſome doctrine for mans ſoule and CHRISTES Church. fol. 23.
4. What ſoeuer is good ſpoken and vſed by man, is much more of God then CHRISTES doctrine is his fathers doctrine. fol. 33
5. He that ſayth that the law of the Goſpell ought only to be holden in CHRISTES Church & is ſufficiēt alone for it, ſpeaketh ſo farre out of reaſon that he is not worthy to be reaſoned withall. fol. 37.
6. They that hold that the croſſe of ſiluer or gold ought not to be worſhipped with kyſſyng of it and bowyng & kneelyng to it, are enemyes of CHRISTES true Croſſe, and take away the meanes that might ſet out the glory of CHRISTES Croſſe. fol. 49.
7. Neither Paul nor the Croſſe can be worſhipped with godly honor. fol. 61.
8. As CHRIST vſed clay for an inſtrument to heale the blind mans eyes withall, and hath ſaued diuerſe by faith and made it an inſtrumēt of ſaluation, and as God hath ordeined Timothe to be an inſtrument of ſaluation both to hym ſelfe and for other, ſo may the Pope ordeine holy water to be an inſtrument of ſaluation both of body and ſoule to all them that are ſprinkled with it. fol. 64.
9. No man can commit Idolatry with his body alone and in onely kiſſyng of an Image or Idole, and in onely kneelyng to it can no Idolatrie be committed. fol. 52.
10. For as much as God vnderſtandeth them that ſyng in Latin, though they vnderſtand not them ſelues theyr prayer is acceptable before God. fol. 76.
11. As a father may forbyd certaine of his children to mary, ſo may a kyng in his kyngdome forbyd certaine of hys ſubiectes to mary, that is to ſay, all the Prieſtes of his Realme. fol. 83.
12. He that would take away the Popes ceremonyes out of the Church, ſhould driue away all godlynes and ſemelines, all religious and deuout behauiour out of the Church. fol. 95.

Here haſt thou (good Reader) this ſtout Prelate of Winch. with all hys properties, doinges, and qualities as in a certaine Anatomie proportioned out vnto thee, wherby thou mayſt boldly iudge (and nothyng erre in thy iudgement) what is to be eſteemed of hym by hys fruites: as who neither was true Proteſtant nor right Papiſte: neither conſtant in hys error, nor yet ſtedfaſt in yͤ truth: neither frend to the Pope, and yet a perfect enemy to CHRIST: falſe in kyng Henryes tyme, a diſſembler in kyng Edwardes tyme, double periured, and a murderer in Queene Maryes tyme, mutable and inconſtant in all tymes. And finally, where in hys letters to the Lord Protectour and others, vſually he baunteth ſo much of his late ſoueraigne Lord kyng Henry the viij. and of the great reputation that he was in with him, read I beſech you, and behold in the depoſitions of the Lord Paget in the old booke, pag. 806. col. 1. and alſo in the depoſitions of the Earle of Bedford pag. 824. and there ye ſhal ſee that the kyng before his death, both excepting him out of hys Pardons and quite ſtrikyng him out of his laſt will and Teſtament, ſo deteſted and abhorred him, as he dyd no Engliſh mā more. And where as the Lord Paget being ſent in meſſage from the kyng to the Byſhop by other wordes thē the kynges mynde and will was, of his owne dexteritie gaue to him good and gracious wordes, which in deede the king neither knew nor yet were ſent by him: the B. perſuadyng him ſelfe otherwiſe of the kynges fauour towardes him then it was in deede, was therin farre deceaued, and brought into a fooles Paradiſe: wherof read both in the old booke before, pag. 806. 824 and alſo in this preſent volume. pag. 1478.

To deſcribe and paynt out the vnſtable mutabilitie of this Byſhop aforeſayd, albeit here neede no more to be added beſides that whiche is already declared: yet notwithſtandyng, ſeyng the matter is not long, it ſhall not be out of the way to annexe withall vnto the premiſſes a peece of Driranders letter written to one Criſpine Phiſition in Oxford, ſent frō Antwerpe, concernyng the doynges and behauiour of this Byſhop of Wyncheſter, whoſe ſtory we haue now in hand. The copy of which Drianders letter written to the ſayd Criſpine his frend, beginneth thus.

Wincheſter vnſtable in religion.

Read in the former Ed. non pag. [illegible]

¶ Doctiſsimo viro, Edmundo Criſpino amico integerrimo, Oxoniæ.

ANte meam ex Lutetia profectionem, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum, communem amicum noſtrum. &c.

¶ The Engliſh wherof, as much as to the preſent purpoſe appertaineth, here foloweth tranſlated.

BEfore my departure from the City of Paris, I wrote vnto you by our frend the Engliſhman. &c.

Now you ſhalbe contented onely with the narration of your Biſhop of wincheſter, who (as apparteined to yͤ Ambaſſadour of ſo noble a Prince) came to Louane with a great brauery, and was there receiued at one Ieremyes houſe and moſt honourably enterteined: where the faculty of Diuines for honor ſake preſēted him wyne in the name of the whole Vniuerſitie. But our famous Doctours & learned Maſters, for that they would more deepely ſearch and vnderſtand the learnyng and excellēcy of the Prelate, peruſed and ſcanned a certain Oration made by hym & now extāt, intituled De vera obediētia, in the which hys Oration he dyd impugne the ſupremacie of the B. of Rome, & preferred his Lordes & kinges authoritie before yͤ holy Apoſtolicke Sea, as they terme it: which beyng read & conſidered by thē, they did not only repēt thē for giuing him ſuch honor, but alſo recāted that which they had done: & did not ſo much honor him afore, but now they were as earneſt & as ſpitefull againſt him. Richard Lathomus, interpreter of termes, with yͤ fauorers of that fraternitie, and other champions of the fallyng church, diſputed with him concernyng the Popes ſupremacy. The Byſhop ſtoutly defended his ſayd Oration. The Diuines contrary ſtiffly mainteined their opiniōs, & diuers times opēly with exclamatiōs called the ſayd Biſhop an excōmunicate perſon, & a Sciſmaticke, to no litle reproch and infamy of the Engliſh nation. The Byſhop not long after, mindyng to ſay Maſſe in S. Peters church, they did deny vnto him, as to an excōmunicate perſon, yͤ ornamentes and veſtimentes meete for the ſame, where with he beyng highly offended, ſodaynly haſtened hys iorney from thence. The Deane the next day after made an eloquent Oration, wherein he openly diſgraced and diffamed hym. You haue heard now a true ſtory, for our Doctour was a beholder of the whole tragedy. &c.

A letter of *Driander* to one *Criſpine*, reportyng the doynges of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at *Louane*.

B. Gardiner defendeth his booke *De vera obedientia at Louane*.

Wincheſter compted for an excommunicate and a ſchiſmaticke, at *Louane*.

And this now beyng ſufficient for Gardiners ſtory to leaue hym to hys iudge, and to let hym go, we will returne & proceede (by the grace and leaue of the Lord) as the courſe of theſe doulfull dayes ſhall lead vs, to proſecute the reſidue of CHRISTES Martyrs, as now in order foloweth.

The burnyng of Iohn Web gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Caunterbury, as foloweth.

Nouēb. 30. *M. Webbe, George Roper, Gregory Parke, Martyrs.*

NExt after the death and conſtant Martyrdome of the two moſt worthy champions and ſtanderdbeabearers of CHRISTES army Doct. Nicolas Ridley, and M. Hugh Latymer (of whom ye haue heard at large) folowed thrée other ſtout and bold ſouldiours, that is to ſay, Iohn Webbe gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

The appearance of M. Webbe before the B. of Douer.

This Iohn Webbe was brought before the Biſhop of Douer and Nicolas Harpeſfield, or ſome other deputed in their roome, long before the other two, videlicet, the xvi. day of September, and there had propoūded vnto hym ſuch ordinary Articles (as it ſéemeth) as were commonly miniſtred by Boner to thoſe of his iuriſdiction: And beyng willed for that preſent to depart, & to deliberate with him ſelfe vpon the matter agaynſt the next tyme of his appearance, he made anſwere, that he woulde no otherwiſe ſay (by Gods grace) then hee had already ſayd, which was this: As touching the Sacrament of CHRISTES body, I do beleue (quoth he) it to be left vnto hys Church (with thākes geuing) in commemoration of his death and paſſion vntill hys commyng agayne. So that it is left in remembraunce of his body, and not by the wordes of conſecration to be made his body, really, ſubſtantially, and the ſame body that was borne of the Virgin Mary: I vtterly do deny that. After this (beſides ſondry other tymes) the thyrd day of October the ſayd Iohn Webbe, and Gregory Roper, and George Parke were brought all thrée together before the ſayd Iudge: who there and then agréeing and ſtedfaſtly allowyng the former aunſwere made before by Maſter Webbe, were by the bloudy Prelates adiudged as heretickes, and therfore about the end of the ſame moneth of Octob. or els as I otherwiſe finde, in the latter end of Nouēber they together were takē & brought out of priſon to the place of Martyrdome. Who by the way goyng toward the ſtake ſaid certeine Pſalmes mournfully. Roper was a yonger man of a freſh colour, courage, & cōplexion, the other two were ſomewhat more elderly, all goyng in white linnen with their gownes vppon. Roper at his cōmyng to the ſtake puttyng of hys gowne, fet a great leppe. So ſoone as yͤ flame was about him, the ſaid Roper put out both his armes from his body lyke a roode, and ſo ſtoode ſtedfaſt, continuyng in that maner, not plucking his armes in, till the fire had conſumed them, and burnt them of.

Aunſwers of Maſter *Webbe* to the Biſhops articles.

George Roper leapeth at the ſtake.

George Roper ſtode in the fier like a rode.

And thus theſe foreſayd Martyrs of CHRIST beyng brought (as I ſayd) to the ſtake, and there compaſſed about with a cheyne, were burnt and conſumed all iij. together in one fire at Caunterbury, abidyng moſt patiently their tormentes, and countyng them ſelues happy and bleſſed of yͤ Lord, that they were made worthy to ſuffer for CHRISTES Goſpels ſake.

The Martyrdome of *Webbe, Roper, & Parke,* at Caunterbury.

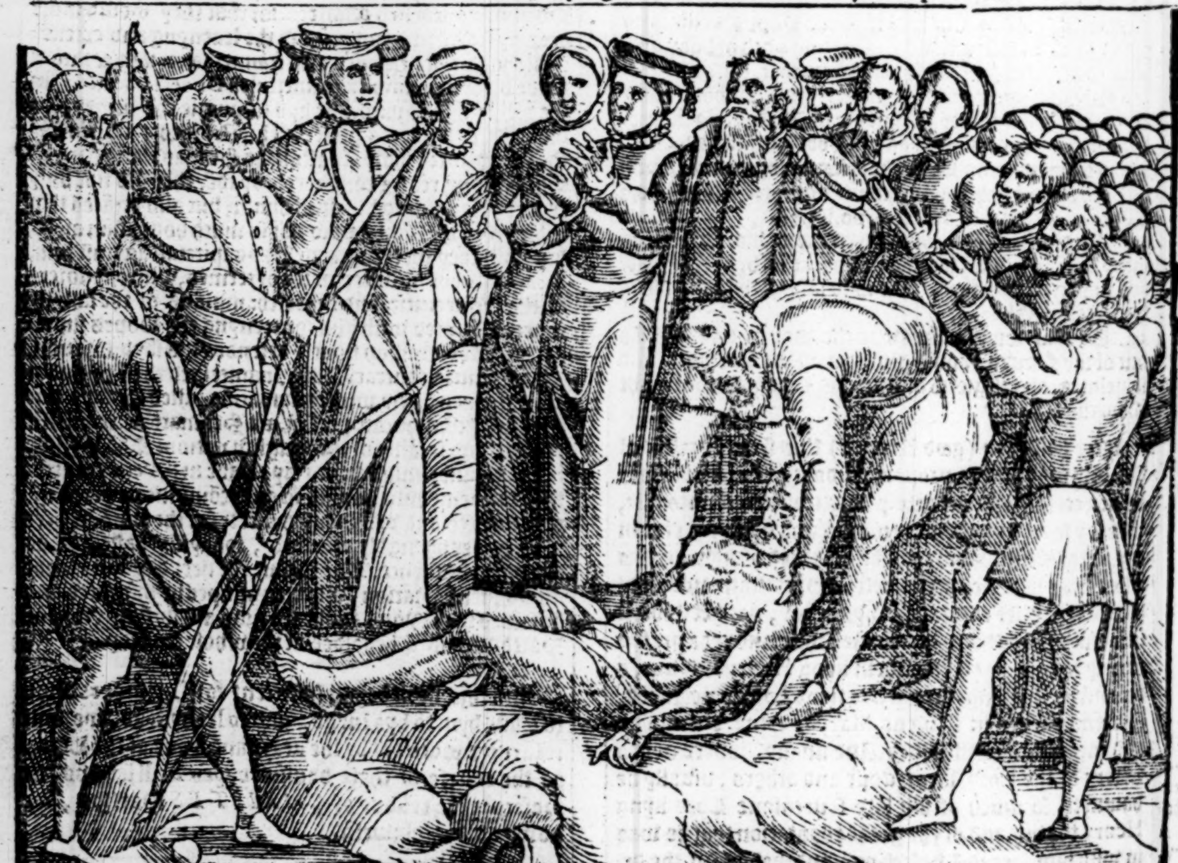
Of VVilliam VVyſeman.

December, 13.

William Wiſeman dead in Lollars tower, caſt into the fielde

THe. xiij. of December in the Lollards tower dyed William Wyſeman a Clothworker of London, where he was in priſon and bandes for the Goſpel and word of God. How and whereupon he deceaſed it is not fully certayne. Some thought that eyther through famine, or yll handelyng of ſome murthering Papiſtes he was made away. By reaſon whereof the Crowner named Iohn Gybbes Gentleman, with an enqueſt of. xij. men were faine to ſit vpon hym, who although to the outward appearaunce were ſaid to finde nothing in hym els but onely Gods viſitatiō, yet what other priuy cauſes there might bee of hys death, the Lord knoweth: I haue not to ſay. After the ſaid William was departed (as is ſayd) in yͤ Tower, the holy catholicke churchmen caſt him out into the fieldes, commaunding that no man ſhould bury him, according as their deuout maner is to do wyth all ſuch as dye in like ſort, whom they accompt as profane and worthy of no buriall, but to be caſt to dogges and byrdes, ἑλωρία κυνέσσι as the Poet ſayth. And yet all thys their mercyles commaundement notwithſtanding, ſome good Tobies there were which buried him in the euening, as commonly they did all the reſt throwen out in like ſort, whom they were wont priuily by night to couer, and many tymes the Archers in the fieldes ſtandyng by, and ſinging together Pſalmes at their buriall.

The bur ing of the poore ſaintes in the fielde



The order and maner of burying in the fieldes ſuch as dyed in priſons.

Iames Gore.

Iames Gore Martyr died in Colcheſt priſon.

IN the ſame moneth, about the vij. day of December deceaſed alſo Iames Gore in the priſon at Colcheſter, layd there in bandes for the right and truth of Gods word.

¶ The proces and hiſtory of Maſter Iohn Philpot, examined, condemned and martyred for the maintenaunce and defence of the Goſpels cauſe agaynſt the Antichriſtian Sea of Rome.

NExt followeth the conſtant Martyrdome of M. Iohn Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in ẏ beginning of Quéene Maries tyme in proſecuting the diſputation of the Conuocation houſe. pag. 1571. Hee was of a worſhipfull houſe, a Knightes ſonne borne in Hampſhere, brought vp in ẏ new College in Oxford, where he ſtudied the ciuill law the ſpace of .vj. or. vij. yeares, beſydes the ſtudy of other liberall artes, eſpecially of the tonges, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely in the knowledge of the Hebrue toung. &c. In witte he was pregnant & happy, of a ſingular courage, in ſpyrite feruent, in religion zelous, and alſo well practiſed, and exercyſed in the ſame (which is no ſmall matter in in a true Diuine) of nature and condition playne and aperte, farre from all flattery, farther from all hypocriſy and deceitfull diſſimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his owne hand can declare.

From Oxford, deſyrous to ſee other coũtreys as occaſion ſerued thereunto, he went ouer into Italy and places thereaboutes, where he cõming vpon a tyme frõ Venice to Padua, was in daunger through a certayn Franciſcan Fryer accompaning him in his iourney, who cõming to Padua ſought to accuſe hym of hereſy. At length returning to Englãd his coũtrey agayn, as ẏ tyme miniſtred more boldnes to hym, in the dayes of K. Edward hee had diuers conflictes with Gardiner the Biſhop in the City of Wincheſter, as appeareth by diuers of Wincheſters letters and hys examinations. Wherof read before pag. 1526.

After that, hauing an aduouſon by the ſayd Biſhop, he was made there Archdeacon of Wincheſter vnder Doctor Ponet, who then ſuccéeded Gardiner in that Biſhopricke. Thus during the tyme of K. Edwarde he continued to no ſmall profit of thoſe parties thereabout. When that bleſſed King was taken away, and Mary his ſiſter came in place, whoſe ſtudy was wholy bent to alter the ſtate of religion in the wofull Realme of England, firſt ſhee cauſed a Cõuocation of the prelates & learned mẽ to be congregate to the accompliſhment of her deſyre.

In the which Cõuocation M. Philpot being preſent according to his roume and degrée, with a few other, ſuſteyned the cauſe of the Goſpell manfully againſt the aduerſary part (as is aboue recited) for ẏ which cauſe, notwithſtanding the liberty of the houſe promiſed before, he was called to accompt before Biſhop Gardiner the Chaũcellour, then beyng his ordinary, by whõ he was firſt examined, although that examination came not yet to our handes. From thence agayne he was remoued to Boner and other Commiſſioners, with whõ he had diuers and ſondry conflictes, as in hys examinations here folowyng may appeare.

¶ The firſt examination of Iohn Philpot before the Queenes Cõmiſſioners, M. Chomley, M. Roper, and D. Story, & one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate ſeſſions hall. 2. Octo. 1555.

DOct. Story, before I was called into an inner parler where they ſat, came out into the hall where I was, to vew me among other that there were, and paſſing by me ſayd: Ha M. Philpot, and in returning immediately agayne, ſtayed againſt me, beholding me and ſaying that I was well fed in déede.

Ioh. Phil. If I be fat and in góod liking (Maſter doctor) it is no maruel, ſince I haue bene ſtalled vp in priſon this tweluemoneth and an halfe in a cloſe corner. I am come to know your pleaſure wherfore you haue ſent for me.

Story. We heare that thou art a ſuſpect perſon, and of hereticall opinions, and therfore we haue ſent for thee.

Phil. I haue bene in priſon thus long, onely vpon the occaſion of diſputation made in the Conuocation houſe, & vpon ſuſpect of ſetting forth the report therof.

Iohn Philpot impriſoned for the diſputation in the Cõuocation houſe.

Story. If thou wilt reuoke the ſame and become an honeſt man, thou ſhalt be ſet at liberty, and do right wel: or els thou ſhalt be committed to the Biſhop of London. How ſayeſt thou, wylt thou reuoke it or no?

Phil. I haue already aunſwered in thys behalfe to myne Ordinary.

Story. If thou aunſwereſt thus when thou commeſt before vs anon, thou ſhalt heare more of our myndes: and with thys hee went into the parler, and I within a litle whyle after was called in.

The Scribe. Syr, what is your name?

Phil. My name is Iohn Philpot. And ſo he intituled my name.

Story. This man was Archdeacon of Wincheſter, of Doct. Ponets preſentment.

Phil. I was Archdeacon in déede, but none of hys preſentment, but by the vertue of a former aduouſon geuen by my Lord Chauncellour that now is.

Story. Ye may be ſure that my Lorde Chauncellour would not make any ſuch as he is, Archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to me M. Philpot. We heare ſay that you are out of the catholike church, and haue béene a diſturber of the ſame: out of the which who ſo is, he cãnot be the childe of ſaluation. Wherefore if you will come in to the ſame, you ſhall be receiued and finde fauour.

Phil. I am come before your worſhipfull maſterſhips at your appointment, vnderſtanding that you are Magiſtrates authoriſed by the Quéenes maieſtye, to whom I owe and wyll do my due obedience to ẏ vttermoſt. Wherfore I deſire to know what cauſe I haue offended in wherfore I am now called before you. And if I cãnot be charged with any particular matter done cõtrary to the lawes of this realme, I deſire your maſterſhips that I may haue the benefite of a ſubiect, and be deliuered out of my long wrongfull impriſonment, where I haue lyen this tweluemoneth and thys halfe, without any calling to aunſwer before now, and my liuing taken from me wythout all law.

Iohn Philpot lying in priſon a yeare and a halfe before he was called to his anſwere.

No particular matter agaynſt *M. Philpot*, but only ſuſpicion.

Roper. Though wee haue no particular matter to charge you withall, yet we may both by our commiſſiõ and by the law driue you to aunſwer to the ſuſpicion of a ſclaunder going on you: and beſides this, we haue Statutes to charge you herein withall.

Phil. If I haue offẽded any ſtatute, charge me therwithall: and if I haue incurred the penaltie thereof, puniſhe me accordingly. And becauſe you are Magiſtrates and executors of the Quéenes maieſties lawes, by force whereof you do now ſit, I deſire that if I be found no notorious tranſgreſſour of any of them, I may not be burdened with more then I haue done.

Chomley. If the Iuſtice do ſuſpect a Felon, hee may examine him vpon ſuſpicion thereof and commit him to priſon, though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceiue whereabout this man goeth. He is plaine in Cardmakers caſe, for he made the ſelfe ſame allegations. But they wyll not ſerue thee, for thou art an hereticke, and holdeſt againſt the bleſſed Maſſe: how ſayeſt thou to that?

Phil. I am no hereticke.

Story. I will proue thee an hereticke. Whoſoeuer hath holdẽ againſt the bleſſed Maſſe, is an hereticke: but thou haſt holdẽ againſt the ſame, therfore thou art an hereticke.

The Maior is not vniuerſally true, for in the time of K. *Edward*, who that ſpake agaynſt the Maſſe as *M. Philpot* dyd, by thoſe lawes was no hereticke but a perfect chriſtian.

Phil. That which I ſpake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in ẏ Cõuocatiõ, where, by the Quéenes Maieſties wyll and her whole Counſell, liberty was geuen to euery man of the houſe to vtter hys conſcience, and to ſay hys minde freely of ſuch queſtions in religion, as there were propounded by the Prolocutor, for the which now I ought not to be moleſted and impriſoned as I haue bene, neyther now be compelled of you to aunſwer to the ſame.

Story. Thou ſhalt go to the Lollards Tower, and be handled there lyke an hereticke, as thou art, and anſwer to the ſame that thou there diddeſt ſpeake, and be iudged by the biſhop of London.

John Philpot appealeth to his ordinary.

Phil. I haue already bene conuented of this matter before my Lord Chauncellor myne Ordinarye, who this long tyme hath kept me in priſon: therefore if hys Lordſhip wyll take away my lyfe, as he hath done my liberty & liuing he may, the which I thinke he cánot do of hys conſcience, and therfore hath let me lye this long in priſon: wherefore I am content to abyde the ende of hym herein that is myne Ordinary, and do refuſe the auditory of the biſhop of London, becauſe he is an vncompetent Iudge for me, and not myne Ordinary.

M. Philpot hauing publicke leaue, ſpake in the conuocation: Ergo, he muſt be committed to Lollards Tower, by D. Storyes Logicke.

Story. But Syr, thou ſpakeſt the wordes in the Conuocation houſe, which is of the biſhop of Londons dioces, and therefore thou ſhalt be caryed to ẏ Lollards towere to be iudged by him for the wordes thou ſpakeſt in hys dioces againſt the bleſſed Maſſe.

Phil. Syr, you know by the law that I may haue exceptionem fori: and it is againſt all equitye, that I ſhould bee twyſe vered for one cauſe, and that by ſuch as by the law haue nothing to do with me.

Roper. You can not deny, but that you ſpake agaynſt the Maſſe in the conuocation houſe.

Story. Doeſt thou now deny that which thou ſpakeſt there, or no?

Phil. I cannot deny that I haue ſpoken there, and if by ẏ law you may put me to death therfore, I am here ready to ſuffer whatſoeuer I ſhalbe adiudged vnto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vaine glory.

Cholm. Play the wyſe Gentleman, and be conformable, and be not ſtubborne in your opinions, neyther caſt your ſelfe away. I would be glad to do you good.

John Philpot charged farther by the commiſſioners then the law would beare.

Phil. I deſire you Syr, with the reſt here, that I be not charged farther at your handes, then the law chargeth me for that I haue done, ſince there was then no law againſt that directly, wherewith I am nowe charged. And you maſter Doctor (of old acquaintaunce in Orford) I truſt wyll ſhew me ſome friendſhip, and not extremitie.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldeſt be a good catholike man, I would be thy friend, and ſpend my gowne to do thee good: but I wyll bee no friend to an hereticke, as thou art, but wyll ſpend both my gowne and my coate, but I wyll burne thee. How ſayeſt thou to the Sacrament of the aultar?

Now commeth in the Butchers ax.

Phil. Syr, I am not come now to diſpute with your maſterſhip, and the time now ſerueth not therto, but to aunſwer to that I may be lawfully charged withall.

Story. Well, ſince thou wilt not reuoke that thou haſt done, thou ſhalt be had into the Lollards Tower.

M. Philpot requireth to ſee their commiſſion.

Phil. Syr, ſince you wyll néedes ſhew me this extremity, & charge me with my cõſcience, I do deſire to ſée your Commiſſion, whether you haue this authority ſo to do, and after the vew thereof I ſhall (according to my duty) make you further aunſwer, if you may by the vertue thereof burthen me with my conſcience.

Roper. Let hym ſee the Commiſſion: is it here?

Story. Shal we let euery vile perſon ſee our cõmiſſion?

Cholm. Let hym go from whence hee came, and on Thurſday he ſhall ſee our Commiſſion.

Story. No, let hym lye in the meane while in the Lollardes Tower: for I will ſweepe the Kynges Bench and all other priſons alſo of theſe herecickes: they ſhall not haue that reſorte as they haue had, to ſcatter theyr hereſies.

Phil. You haue poure to transferre my body from place to place at your pleaſure: but you haue no power ouer my ſoule. And I paſſe not whether you cõmit me, for I can not bee worſe intreated then I am, kept all day in a cloſe chamber: wherfore it is no maruell that my fleſh is puft vp, wherewithall Maſter Doctour is offended.

Story. Marſhall, take hym home with you agayn, and ſee that you bryng him agayne on Thurſday, and then we ſhall ryd your fingers of hym, and afterward of your other heretickes.

Phil. God hath appoynted a day ſhortly to come, in the which he will iudge vs with righteouſnes, how ſoeuer you iudge of vs now.

Roper. Be contẽt to be ruled by Maſter Doctour, and ſhew your ſelfe a Catholicke man.

Phil. Syr, if I ſhould ſpeake otherwiſe then my conſcience is, I ſhould but diſſemble with you: and why be you ſo earneſt to haue me ſhewe my ſelfe a diſſembler both to God and you, which I can not do?

Roper. We do not require you to diſſemble with vs, but to be a Catholicke man.

Phil. If I do ſtand in any thyng againſt that wherin any man is hable to burthen me with one iote of the Scripture, I ſhall be content to be counted no Catholicke mã, or an hereticke, as you pleaſe.

Story. Haue we Scripture, Scripture? and with that he roſe vp, ſaying: who ſhalbe iudge, I pray you? This man is lyke his felow Woodman, which the other day would haue nothyng els but ſcripture. And this is ẏ begynnyng of this tragedy.

¶ The 2. examination of Iohn Philpot before the Queenes Cõmiſſioners, M. Cholmley, Roper, Doct. Story, D. Cooke, and the Scribe, the 24. of. October. 1555. at Newgate Seſſions hall.

At my comming, a man of Algate of myne acquaintaunce ſayd vnto me: God haue mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world: for Doctor Story ſayd, that my Lord Chauncellour hath commaunded to do you alway. After a litle conſultation had betwene them, Maiſter Cholmley called me vnto him ſaying.

Cholm. Maſter Philpot, ſhew your ſelfe a wyſe man, and be not ſtubburne in your own opinion, but be conformable to the Queenes proceedinges, and lyue, and you ſhalbe well aſſured of great fauour and reputation.

Phil. I ſhal do as it becõmeth a Chriſtian man to do.

Story. This mã is the rankeſt hereticke that hath ben in all my Lorde Chauncellours dioces, and hath done more hurt then any man els there: therefore his pleaſure is, that he ſhould haue the law to proceede agaynſt him, and I haue ſpoken with my Lord herein, and hee willeth him to be cõmitted to the biſhop of London, and there to recant or els burne. Hee howled and wept in the Conuocation houſe, and made ſuch a doe, as neuer man did, as all the heretickes doe when they lacke learning to aunſwer. He ſhall go after hys fellowes. How ſayſt thou? wylt thou recant?

Phil. I know nothing I haue done that I ought to recant.

Story. Well, then I pray you let vs commit him to the Lollards Tower, there to remayne vntill he be further examined before the Biſhop of London: for hee is to fine fed in the Kings bench, and he hath to much fauour there. For his Keeper ſayd at the doore yeſterday that he was the fineſt fellowe and one of the beſt learned in England: and with this he roſe vp, and went hys way.

Cooke. This man hath moſt ſtoutly maintayned hereſies ſince the Queenes commyng in, as any that I haue heard of: therfore it is moſt meete he ſhould be adiudged by the biſhop of London for the hereſies he hath maintayned.

Phil. I haue maintayned no hereſies.

Cooke. No haue? Did ye not openly ſpeake agaynſt the ſacrament of the altar in the Cõuocation houſe? Call you that no hereſie? wilt thou recant that or not?

Phil. It was the Quéenes Maieſties pleaſure that we ſhould reaſon thereof, not by my ſéeking, but by other mens procuring, in the hearing of the Counſell.

Cooke. Dyd the Queene geue you leaue to be an hereticke? You may be ſure her Grace will not ſo doe. Wel, we wyll not diſpute the matter with you, my Lorde of London ſhall proceede by inquiſition vpon thee, and if thou wylt not recant, thou ſhalt be burned,

Phil. My Lord of London is not mine Ordinary in this behalfe, and I haue already anſwered vnto mine Ordinary in this matter: and therfore (as I haue ſaid before) you ſhall do me great wrong to vexe me twyſe for one matter, ſince I haue ſuſteyned this long impriſonment, beſides the loſſe of my liuing.

Roper. You were a very vnmeete man to be an Archdeacon.

Phil. I know I was as méete a man, as he that hath it now.

Cooke. A meete man quoth he? He troubled maſter Roper and the whole countrey.

Phil. There was neuer pore Archdeacon ſo handled at your handes as I am, and that without any iuſt cauſe ye be able to lay vnto me.

Cooke. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. I am Archdeacon ſtil, although an other be in poſſeſſion of my liuing: for I was neuer depriued by any law.

Cooke. No Syr, that needeth not: for a notorious hereticke ſhould haue no Ordinary proceeding about hys depriuation: but the biſhop may vpō knowledge therof procede to depriuation.

Phil. Maſter Doctor, you knowe that the common law is otherwyſe: and beſides this, the ſtatutes of this Realme be otherwyſe, which geueth this benefite to euery perſon, though he be an hereticke, to enioye hys lyuing vntyll he be put to death for the ſame.

Cholm. No, there thou art deceiued.

Phil. Upon the lyuing I paſſe not. But the vniuſt dealing greueth me, that I ſhould be thus troubled for my conſcience, contrary to all law.

Cholm. Why? wil you not agree, that the Quenes maieſty may cauſe you to be examined of your faith?

Phil. Aſke you maiſter Doctor Cooke, and he wyll tell you, that the temporall magiſtrates haue nothyng to do with matters of faith for determination thereof. And S. Ambroſe ſayth, Diuina imperatoriæ maieſtati non ſunt ſubiecta, that the thinges of God are not ſubiect to the power and authority of Princes.

Cooke. No? may not the temporall power cōmit you to be examined of your faith to the biſhop.

Phil. Yea Sir, I deny not that: but you wil not graūt that the ſame may examine any of their own autority.

Cooke. Let hym be had away.

Phil. Your maſterſhip promiſed me the laſt tyme I was before you, I ſhould ſee your commiſſion, by what authority you doe call me, and whether I by the ſame be bound to aunſwer to ſo much as you demaund.

Roper. Let him ſee the Commiſſion.

The Scribe. Then he exhibited it to M. Roper, and was about to open the ſame.

Cooke. No, what wyll you do? he ſhall not ſee it.

Phil. Then do you me wrong, to call me and vexe me, not ſhewing your authority in this behalfe.

Cooke. If we do you wrong, complayne on vs: & in the meane while thou ſhalt lye in the Lollardes tower.

Phil. Syr, I am a pore gentleman: therfore I truſt of your gentlenes you will not commit me to ſo vyle & ſtrait a place beyng found no haynous treſpaſſer.

Cooke. Thou art no Gentleman.

Phil. Yes that I am.

Cooke. An hereticke is no Gentleman: for he is a Gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Phil. The offenſe can not take away the ſtate of a Gentleman as long as he lyueth, although he were a traytour: but I meane not to boaſt of my Gentlemanſhyp, but will put it vnder my fote ſince you do no more eſteme it.

Story. What? will you ſuffer this hereticke to prate with you all this day?

Cooke. He ſayth he is a Gentleman.

Story. A Gentleman quoth he? he is a vyle hereticke knaue: for an hereticke is no Gentlemā. Let the keper of Lollardes Tower come in, and haue hym away.

Iohn Philpot commaunded to Lollars Tower by D. *Story.*

The Keeper. Here Syr.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollardes Tower, or els to the Byſhops Colehouſe.

Phil. Syr, if I were a dogge, you could not appoynt me a worſe and more vile place: but I muſt be contēt with what ſoeuer iniury you do offer me. God gyue you a more mercifull hart: you are very cruell vpō one that hath neuer offēded you. I pray you M. Cholmly, ſhew me ſome frendſhyp, that I be not caryed to ſo vile a place. And he called me aſide, and ſayd:

Cholm. I am not ſkilfull of their doynges, neither of their lawes: I can not tell what they meane. I would I could do you good.

Cholmley talketh with *M. Philpot* a part.

Phil. I am content to go whether you will haue me. There was neuer man more cruelly handeled then I am at your hands, that without any iuſt cauſe knowē, ſhould thus be intreated.

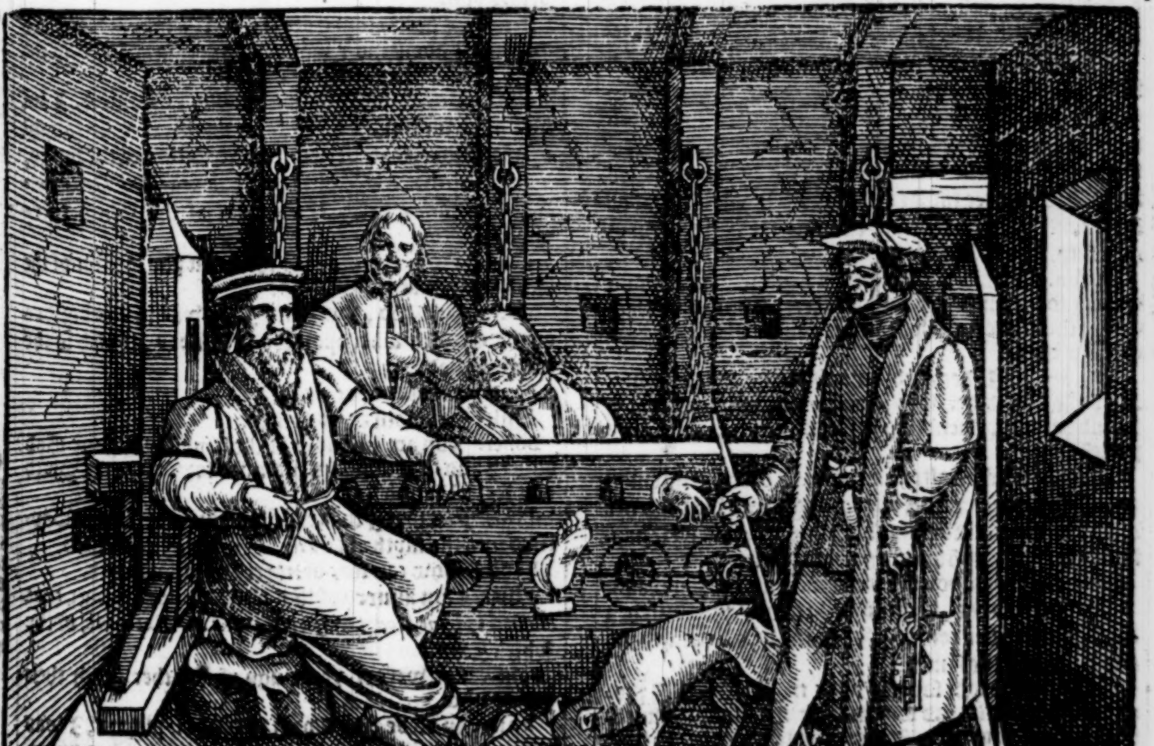
Story. Shall we ſuffer this hereticke thus to reproue vs? haue him hence.

Phil. God forgiue you, and giue you more mercyfull hartes, and ſhew you more mercy in the tyme of nede: Et quod facis, fac citius. *Do quickely that you haue in hand.*

Story. Do you not heare how he maketh vs Iudaſſes?

Phil. That is after your owne vnderſtandyng.

¶ Maſter Philpots being in the Colehouſe, where he found Thomas Whytell Prieſt, ſitting in the Stockes.



After this, I with .iiij. other moe were brought to the keepers houſe in Pater noſter Row, where we ſupped, and after ſupper I was called vp to a chamber by the Archdeacon of Londons ſeruaunt, and that in hys maſters name: who offred me a bed for that night. To whom I gaue thankes, ſaying: that it ſhould be a grief to me to lye well one night, and the next worſe: wherfore I wil begin (ſaid I) as I am like to cõtinue, to take ſuch part as my felowes do. And with that we were brought through Pater noſter row to my Lord of Londons Colehouſe: vnto the which is ioyned a litle blind houſe, with a great payre of ſtockes appoynted both for hand and foote (but thankes bee to God we haue not played of thoſe orgaynes yet, although ſome before vs had tried thẽ) & there we found a Miniſter of Eſſex, a maryed prieſt, a mã of godly zeale, with one other poore mã. And this miniſter (at my cõming) deſired to ſpeake with me, and did greatly lament his owne infirmity, for that through extremity of impriſonment, hee was conſtrayned by wryting to yeld to the Biſhop of London: whereupon he was once ſet at liberty, and afterwarde felt ſuch a hell in his conſcience that hee could ſcarſe refrayne from deſtroying himſelfe, and neuer could bee at quyet vntill hee had gone to the Biſhops Regiſter, deſyring to ſee his bill agayne, the which aſſoone as he had receiued, he tare it in peeces: and after he was as ioyfull as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had vnderſtanding, he ſent for hym, and fell vpon him lyke a Lion, and lyke a manly Biſhop buffeted him well, ſo that he made his face blacke and blewe, and pluckt away a great peece of his beard: but now thankes bee to God, he is as ioyfull vnder the Croſſe as any of vs, and very ſory of his former infirmity. I wryte this, becauſe I would all men to take heede how they do contrary to their conſcience: which is to fall into the paynes of hel. And here an end.

M. Philpot layd in Biſhop *Boners* Colehouſe.

This godly man was *Thomas Whittell*, whoſe ſtory followeth.

Example what an vnquiet conſcience doth.

Tho. Whittell after his recantation repenteth and tare his ſubſcription.

B. Boner pluckt away a great part of *Whittells* beard, and made his face blacke and blewe.

¶The maner of my calling firſt before the Byſhop of London the ſecond night of my impriſonment in his Colehouſe.

The Biſhop ſent vnto me M. Iohnſon hys Regiſter with a meſſe of meate and a good pot of drinke and bread, ſaying that my Lord had no knowledge erſt of my being here, for which he was ſory: therefore he had ſent me and my fellowes that meat, knowyng whether I would receyue the ſame.

The firſt appearing of *Iohn Philpot* before Biſhop *Boner*.

I thanked God for my Lordes charity, that it pleaſed hym to remember poore priſoners, deſyring almighty God to encreaſe the ſame in him and in al others: and therefore I would not refuſe his beneficence, and therwith tooke the ſame vnto my brethren, prayſing God for his prouidence towardes his afflicted flocke that he ſtirred our aduerſaries vp to helpe the ſame in theyr neceſſity.

B. Boners charitie ſent to *Iohn Philpot*.

Iohnſon. My lord would know ÿ cauſe of your ſending hether (for he knoweth nothing therof) and wondreth that he ſhould be troubled with priſoners of other dioces then his owne.

Philpot. I declared vnto him the whole cauſe. After the which hee ſayd, my Lordes will was that I ſhould haue any friendſhip I would deſyre, and ſo departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lordes gentlemen commeth for me, and I was brought into his preſence where he ſat at a table alone, with 3. or 4. of hys Chaplaines wayting vpõ him, and his Regiſter.

Boner. M. Philpot, you are welcome, giue me your hand.

Phil. With that, becauſe he ſo gently put forth hys hand, I to render courteſy for courteſy, kiſſed my hand and gaue him the ſame.

Boner. I am right ſory for your trouble, and I promiſe you, before it was within theſe ij. houres, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell mee what was the cauſe of your ſending hether: for I promiſe you I know nothing therof as yet, neyther I would you ſhould thinke that I was the cauſe therof: and I maruayle that other men wil trouble me with their matters. But I muſt be obedient to my betters: and ywis, men ſpeake otherwyſe of me then I deſerue.

B. Boner enterteyning *M. Philpot*.

Phil. I ſhewed hym the ſumme of the matter: that it was for the diſputation in the Cõuocation houſe, for the which I was againſt all right moleſted.

Boner. I maruaile that you ſhould be troubled therfore if there were none other cauſe but this. But peraduenture you haue mayntayned the ſame ſince, and ſome of your friendes of late haue aſked whether you doe ſtand to the ſame, and you haue ſayd yea, & for this you might be committed to priſon.

Phil. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip, I am burdened none otherwyſe then I haue told you by the commiſſioners, who haue ſent me hether becauſe I would not recant the ſame.

Boner. A man may ſpeake in the Parlament houſe, though it bee a place of free ſpeach, as he may be impryſoned for, as in caſe he ſpeake wordes of hygh treaſon, agaynſt the king or Quene: and ſo it might be that you ſpake otherwiſe thẽ it became you, of the church of chriſt.

Phil. I ſpake nothing, which was out of the articles which were called in queſtion, and agreed vpon to be diſputed by the whole houſe, and by ÿ Queenes permiſſion and the Counſail.

Boner. Why? *may we diſpute of our fayth?

Phil. Yea that we may.

Boner. Nay I trow not by the law.

Phil. In deede by the ciuill law I know it is not lawfull, but by Gods law we may reaſon therof. For S. Peter ſayth: *Be ye ready to render accompt vnto al men of that hope which is in you, that demaund you of the ſame.*

1. Pet. 3.

Boner. In deede S. Peter ſayth ſo. Why, then I aſke of you what your iudgement is of the Sacrament of the aultar?

Phil. My Lord, S. Ambroſe ſayth that the diſputatiõ of fayth ought to be in the cõgregation in the hearyng of the people, & that I am not bound to render accompt therof to euery mã priuatly, vnleſſe it be to edifie. But now I can not ſhew you my mynde, but I muſt runne vppon the pikes in daunger of my lyfe therefore. Wherefore as the ſayd Doctour ſayd vnto Valentinian the Emperour, ſo ſay I to your Lordſhyp: Tolle legem & fiet certamen. *Take away the law, and I ſhall reaſon with you.* And yet if I come in open iudgement, where I am bound by the law to annſwere, I truſt I ſhall vtter my conſciẽce as freely as any that hath come before you.

Boner. I perceiue you are learned. I would haue ſuch as you bee about me: but you muſt come and be of the Church, for there is but one Church.

Phil. God forbid I ſhould be out of ÿ Church. I am ſure I am within the ſame: for I know, as I am taught by ÿ ſcripture, that there is but one catholicke Church, Vna columba, vna ſponſa, vna dilecta, *One Doue, one Spouſe, one beloued congregation*, out of the which there is no ſaluation.

Boner. How chaunceth it then that you go out of the ſame, and walke not with vs?

Phil. My Lord, I am ſure I am within the bõdes of the Church wherupon ſhe is builded, which is the word of God.

Boner. What age are ye of?

Phil. I am foure and fourty.

Boner. You are not now of the ſame fayth your God fathers and Godmothers promiſed for you, in the which you were Baptiſed.

Phil. Yes that I thãke God I am: for I was Baptiſed into the fayth of *CHRIST*, which I now hold.

Boner. How can that be? there is but one fayth.

Phil. I am aſſured of that by S. Paule, ſaying: *that there is but one God, one fayth, and one Baptiſme*, of the which I am.

Boner. You were xx. yeare ago of an other fayth then you be now.

Phil. In deede (my Lord) to tell you playne, I was then nullius fidei, *of no fayth*, a neuter, a wicked lyuer, neither hote nor cold.

Boner. Why? do you not thinke that we haue now the true fayth?

Phil. I deſire your Lordſhip to hold me excuſed for aunſwering at thys time. I am ſure that Gods word throughly with the primatiue church and all the auncient writers do agrée wyth this fayth I am of.

Boner. Well, I promiſe you I meane you no more *hurt then to myne owne perſon: I wyll not therefore burthen you with your conſcience as nowe. I maruaile that you are ſo mery in priſon as you be, ſinging and reioycing as the Prophet ſayth: exultantes in rebus peſſimis, *reioycing in your naughtynes.* Me thinketh you doe not well herein: you ſhoulde rather lament and be ſory.

Phil. My Lord, the myrth that we make is but in ſinging certaine Pſalmes, accordyng as we are commaunded by S. Paule, willing vs *to be mery in the Lord, ſinging together in Hymnes and Pſalmes:* and I truſt your Lordſhip can not be diſpleaſed with that.

Boner. We may ſay vnto you, as CHRIST ſayd in the Goſpell: Tibiis cecinimus vobis, & non planxiſtis.

Phil. Here my Lord ſtumbled, and could not bryng forth the text, and required hys Chaplaynes to helpe, & put hym in remembraunce of the text better: but they were mumme: and I recited out yͤ text vnto him, which made nothing to his purpoſe, vnleſſe he would haue vs to mourne, becauſe they, if they laugh, ſing ſtill ſorowfull thinges vnto vs, threatning fagots and fyre.

We are my Lord, in a darke comfortles place, and therefore it behoueth vs to bée mery, leſt, as Salomon ſayth, ſorowfulnes eate vp our hart. Therfore I truſt your Lordſhip wyll not bee angrye for our ſinging of Pſalmes, ſince S. Paule ſayth: *If anye man bee of an vpright mynd, let hym ſing.* And we therefore, to teſtifie that we are of an vpright mynde to God (though wee be in miſery) do ſyng.

Boner. I wyll trouble you no further as nowe. If I can do you any good, I wyll bee glad to doe it for you. God be with you good maſter Philpot, & geue you good nyght. Haue hym to the Sellar, and let hym dryncke a cup of wyne.

Thus I departed, and by my Lordes Regiſter I was brought to hys Seller dore, where I dranke a good cup of wyne. And my Lordes Chaplaine maſter Couſyn folowed me, taking acquaintāce, ſaying that I was welcome, & wiſhed that I would not be ſinguiar.

Phil. I am well taught the contrary by Salomon, ſaying: Væ ſoli, *Wo be to hym that is alone.* After that, I was caryed to my Lordes Colehouſe agayne, where I wyth my ſixe fellowes do rouſe together in the ſtraw as cherefully (we thanke God) as other doe in theyr beds of downe.

Thus for the thyrd fit.

¶ The 4. examination of M. Iohn Philpot in the Archdeacons houſe of London, the ſaid moneth of October, before the biſhops of London, Bath, Worceſter, and Glouceſter.

BOner. Maſter Philpot, it hath pleaſed my Lordes to take paines here to day, to dine with my poore Archdeacon, and in the Dynner tyme it chaunced vs to haue communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the new Colledge in Oxford: and I alſo do pity your caſe, becauſe you ſeeme vnto me by yͤ talke I had wyth you the other night, to be learned, and therefore now I haue ſent for you to come before them, that it might not be ſayd hereafter, that I had ſo many learned biſhops at my houſe and yet would not vouchſafe thē to talke with you, and at my requeſt (I thanke thē) they are content ſo to do. Now therfore vtter your mynde frely, and you ſhall with all fauour be ſatiſfied. I am ſory to ſee you lye in ſo euyll a caſe as you doe, and would faine you ſhould do better, as you may if you liſt.

Bath. My Lords here haue not ſent for you to fawne vpon you, but for charities ſake to exhort you to come into the right catholicke way of the church.

Worceſt. Before he beginneth to ſpeake, it is beſt that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might pleaſe God to open his hart, that he may conceiue the truth.

Phil. With that I fell downe vpon my knées before them, and made my prayer on this maner:

The prayer of *Iohn Philpot* before the Biſhops.

Almighty God, which art the geuer of all wyſdome and vnderſtanding, I beſech thee of thine infinite goodnes and mercy in IESVS CHRIST, to geue me, moſt vile ſinner in thy ſight, the ſpirite of wyſdome to ſpeake and make aunſwer in thy cauſe, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I ſtand, and alſo to my better vnderſtanding if I be deceyued in any thing.

Boner. Nay my Lord of Worceſter, you did not wel to exhort hym to make any prayer. For this is the thyng they haue a ſingular pride in, that they can often make their vayne prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this poynt they are much like to certaine arrant heretickes, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that dyd dayly ſyng antelucanos hymnos: *prayſe vnto God before the dawning of the day.*

B. Boner againſt prayer.

B. Boner here ſeemeth more ſkilfull in his law, then in church hiſtoryes.

Phil. My Lord, God make me and all you here preſent such hereticks as thoſe were that ſong thoſe morning hymnes: for they were right Chriſtians, wyth whom the Tirantes of the worlde were offended for their well doyng.

Bath. Procede to that hee hath to ſay. He hath prayed I can not tell for what.

Boner. Say on Maſter Philpot: my Lordes will gladly heare you.

Phil. I haue, my Lordes, bene this tweluemoneth and an halfe in pryſon without any iuſt cauſe that I know, and my liuing taken from me without any lawfull order, & now am I brought (contrary to right) frō myne own territory and Ordinary, into an other mās iuriſdiction, I know not why. Wherefore if your lordſhips can burden me with any euyll done, I ſtand here before you to purge me of the ſame. And if no ſuch thing may be iuſtly layd to my charge, I deſire to be releaſed of this wrongfull trouble.

M. Philpot complayneth of his wrongfull impriſonment.

Boner. Ther is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to doe you good if wee can. For I promiſe you, ye were ſent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore ſpeake your conſcience without any feare.

Phil. My Lord, I haue learned to aunſwer in matters of religion In Eccleſia legitime vocatus, *In the Congregation being thereto lawfully called:* but now I am not lawfully called, neyther is here a iuſte Congregation where I ought to aunſwer.

M. Philpot called in no ſufficient aſſembly, and therefore not bound to aunſwere, wherby to put himſelfe in daunger.

Boner. In dede thys man tolde mee the laſt tyme I ſpake wyth hym, that he was a Lawyer, and would not vtter his conſcience in matters of faith, vnles it were in the hearyng of the people, where hee myght ſpeake to vayne glory.

Phil. My Lord, I ſaid not I was a Lawyer, neither do I arrogate to my ſelfe that name, although I was once a Nouice in the ſame, where I learned ſomething for myne own defence when I am called in iudgement to aunſwere to any cauſe, and whereby I haue bene taught, not to put my ſelfe further in daunger then I néede, and ſo farre am I a Lawyer and no further.

Bath. If you wyll not aunſwer to my Lordes requeſt, you ſeeme to be a * wilfull man in your opinion.

* Wilfull, becauſe he will not put himſelfe wilfully into yͤ Wolues mouth.

Phil. My Lorde of London is not myne Ordinary before whom I am bound to aunſwere in this behalfe, as maſter D. Cole (which is a Lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I haue not offended my Lord of London wherefore he ſhould call me.

Boner. Yes, I haue to lay to your charge, that you haue offended in my dioces by ſpeaking againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar, and therefore I may cal you, and procede againſt you to puniſhe you by the law.

Phil. I haue not offended in your dioces. For that which I ſpake of the ſacrament, was in Paules church in the Cōuocation houſe, which (as I vnderſtand) is a peculiar iuriſdiction belōging to the Deane of Paules and therefore is counted of your lordſhips dioces, but not in your dioces.

This offenſe was for ſpeaking in the Conuocation houſe with publicke libertie of the Parlament.

Boner. Is not Paules Church in my dioces? Well I wot, it coſteth me a good deale of money by the yeare the leaddyng therof.

Phil. That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordſhips iuriſdiction. And albeit I had ſo offended in your dioces, yet I ought by the law, to be ſent to myne Ordinary,

B. Boner not lawfull Ordinary to *Iohn Philpot.*

Ordinary, if I require it, and not to bee puniſhed by you that are not myne Ordinary. And already (as I haue told you) I haue bene conuented of myne Ordinarye for thys cauſe, which you go about to enquyre of me.

Boner. How ſay you M.Doct.Cole? may not I procede agaynſt hym by the law, for that hee hath done in my Dioces?

Cole. Me thinketh M. Philpot needeth not to ſtand ſo much with your Lordſhyp in that poynt as he doth, ſithen you ſeeke not to hynder hym but to further hym: therefore I thinke it beſt that he go to the matter that is layd agaynſt hym of the Cōuocation, and make no longer delay.

Phil. I would willingly ſhew my mynde of the matter, but I am ſure it will be layd agaynſt me to my preiudice when I come to iudgement.

Note how theſe men hunte for innocent bloud.

Cole. Why, then you may ſpeake by proteſtation.

Phil. But what ſhall my proteſtatiō auayle in a cauſe of hereſie (as you call it) if I ſpeake otherwiſe then you will haue me, ſince that which I ſpake in the Conuocation houſe, beyng a place priuileged, can not now helpe me?

Boner. But M. Doct. Cole, may I not procede agaynſt hym for that offenſe he hath done in my Dioces?

Cole. You may call hym before you my Lord, if he bee found in your Dioces.

M.Philpot agayne appealeth from *B.Boner* to hys Ordinary.

Phil. But I haue by force ben brought out of myne owne Dioces to my Lordes, and require to be iudged of myne owne Ordinary: and therefore I know Maſter Doctour will not ſay of his knowledge that your Lordſhyp ought to procéede agaynſt me. And here Maſter Doctour would ſay nothyng.

Worc. Do you not thinke to find before my Lord here as good equitie in your cauſe, as before your owne Ordinary?

Phil. I can not blame my Lord of Londons equity, with whō (I thanke his Lordſhyp) I haue found more gentlenes ſince I came, then of mine owne Ordinary (I ſpeake it for no flattery) this tweluemoneth and this halfe before, who neuer would call me to aunſwere, as his Lordſhyp hath done now twiſe. Sed nemo prohibetur vti iure ſuo: but I ought not to bee foreſtalled of my right, & therfore I challenge the ſame for diuers other conſiderations.

1. No man is forbid to vſe his owne right due vnto him.

Boner. Now you can not ſay hereafter, but that ye haue bene gently communed withal of my Lordes here, and yet you be wilfull and obſtinate in your errour and in your owne opiniōs, and wil not ſhew any cauſe why you wil not come into the vnity of the Church with vs.

Phil. My Lordes, in that I do not declare my mynd according to your expectatiō, is (as I haue ſaid) becauſe I can not ſpeake without preſent daunger of my lyfe. But rather then you ſhould report me by this, either obſtinate or ſelfe willed, without any iuſt groūd, wherupon I ſtand: I will open vnto you ſomwhat of my mynd, or rather the whole, deſiryng your Lordſhyps, which ſéeme to be pillers of the Church of England, to ſatiſfie me in the ſame: and I will referre all other cauſes in the which I diſſent from you, vnto one or ij. Articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both: in the which if I can by the Scriptures bee ſatiſfied at your mouthes, I ſhall as willingly agrée to you as any other, in all pointes.

Boner. Theſe herettickes come alwayes with their yfs, as this man doth now, ſaying: if he can be ſatiſfied by the Scriptures: ſo that he wil alwayes haue this exception, I am not ſatiſfied, although ẏ matter be neuer ſo plainly proued agaynſt him. But will you promiſe to be ſatiſfied if my Lordes take ſome paynes about you?

Nay rather theſe Catholicke Prelates will be ſatiſfied with no reaſonable offer.

Phil. I ſay (my Lord) I wil be ſatiſfied by the Scriptures in that wherin I ſtand. And I proteſt here before God, & his eternall ſonne *IESVS CHRIST* my Sauiour, & the holy Ghoſt, his Angels, & you here preſent that be Iudges of that I ſpeake, that I do not ſtand in any opinion, of wilfulnes, or ſingularitie, but onely vpon my conſcience, certainly informed by Gods word, frō the which I dare not go for feare of dānation: and this is the cauſe of myne earneſtnes in this behalfe.

Boner. I wil trouble my Lordes no longer, ſeyng that you will not declare your minde.

Phil. I am about ſo to do, if it pleaſe your Lordſhyp to heare me ſpeake.

Bath. Giue him leaue (my Lord) to ſpeake that he hath to ſay.

Phil. My Lordes, it is not vnknowen to you, that the chief cauſe why you do count me and ſuch as I am for heretickes, is becauſe we be not at vnitie with your Church. You ſay you are of the true Church: and we ſay we are of the true Church. You ſay, that who is out of your Church, is dāned: and we thinke verely on the other ſide, that if we depart from the true Church, wheron we are graffed in Gods word, we ſhould ſtād in the ſtate of damnation. Wherfore, if your Lordſhyp can bring any better authorities for your Church, then we can do for ours, and proue by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true Catholicke Church, as in all your Sermons, writynges, and Argumentes you do vphold, and that all Chriſten perſons ought to be ruled by the ſame vnder paine of damnation (as you ſay) and that the ſame Church (as you pretend) hath authoritie to interprete the Scriptures, as it ſéemeth her good, and that all men are bound to folow ſuch interpretations onely: I ſhalbe as conformable to the ſame Church as you may deſire me, the which otherwiſe I dare not: therefore I require you for Gods ſake to ſatiſfie me in this.

Cole. If you ſtand vppon this poynt onely, you may ſoone be ſatiſfied if you lyſt.

Phil. It is the thing that I require, & to this I haue ſayd I will ſtand and referre all other controuerſies wherin I ſtand now agaynſt you, and will put my hād therto if you miſtruſt my word.

Boner. I pray you M.Philpot, what faith were you of xx. yeares ago? This man will haue euery yeare a new fayth.

Phil. My Lord, to tell you plaine, I thinke I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liuer, and knew not God then, as I ought to do. God forgeue me.

Boner. No were? that is not ſo. I am ſure you were of ſome faith.

Phil. My Lord, I haue declared you on my conſciēce what I then was and iudge of my ſelfe. And what is that to the purpoſe of the thyng I deſire to be ſatiſfied of you?

Boner. M.D.Cole, I pray you ſay your mynd to him.

Cole. What will you ſay, if I can proue that it was Decreed by an vniuerſall Councell in Athanaſius tyme: that all the Chriſten Church ſhould folow the determination of the Church of Rome? but I do not now remēber where.

Phil. If you Maſter Doctor, can ſhew me the ſame, graunted to the ſea of Rome by the authoritie of the Scripture, I will gladly harken thereto. But I thinke you be not able to ſhew any ſuch thyng: for Athanaſius was Preſident of Nicene Coūcell, and there was no ſuch thyng Decréed, I am ſure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at an other tyme.

Phil. I deſire to ſée the profe therof. And vpon this M.Harpeſfield Chauncellour to the Byſhop of Londō, brought in a booke of Irenæus with certaine leaues turned in, and layd it before the Byſhops to helpe thē in their perplexitie if it might be: the which after the Byſhops of Bath and Gloceſter had red together, the Biſhop of Gloceſter gaue me the booke.

Gloc. Take the booke M.Philpot, and looke vpon that place, and there may you ſee how the Church of Rome is to be folowed of all men.

Phil. I toke the booke, and red the place, the which after I had red, I ſayd it made nothyng agaynſt me, but agaynſt the Arians and other heretickes agaynſt whom Irenæus wrote, prouyng that they were not to be credited becauſe they did teach & folow after ſtraūge doctrine in Europa, and that the chiefe Church of the ſame was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to hys tyme continued by faithfull ſucceſſion of the faithfull Byſhops, Biſhops in preaching the true Goſpell as they had receiued of the Apoſtles, and nothyng like to the late ſprong heretickes. &c. Whereby he concludeth agaynſt them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited. The which thyng if you my Lordes, be able to proue now of the Church of Rome, then had you as good authoritie agaynſt me in my cauſe now, as Irenæus had agaynſt thoſe heretickes. But the Church of Rome hath ſwarued from the truth and ſimplicitie of the Goſpell which it maintained in Irenæus tyme, and was vncorrupted from that which it is now: wherfore your Lordſhyps can not iuſtly apply the authoritie of Irenæus to the Church of Rome now, whiche is ſo manifeſtly corrupted from the primatiue Church.

Boner. So will you ſay ſtill, it maketh nothyng for the purpoſe what ſoeuer authoritie we bring, and wil neuer be ſatiſfied.

Phil. My Lord, when I do by iuſt reaſon proue, that the authorities which bee brought agaynſt me do not make to the purpoſe (as I haue already proued) I truſt you will receiue myne aunſwere.

Worc. It is to be proued moſt manifeſtly by all auncient writers, that the ſea of Rome hath alwayes folowed the truth, and neuer was deceiued, vntill of late certaine heretickes had defaced the ſame.

Phil. Let that be proued, and I haue done.

Worc. Nay, you are of ſuch arrogācy, ſingularitie, and vayne glory, that you will not ſee it, be it neuer ſo well proued.

Phil. Ha my Lordes, is it now tyme (thinke you) for me to folow ſingularitie or vayne glory, ſince it is now vpon daunger of my lyfe and death, not onely preſently, but alſo before God to come? and I know, if I dye not in the true faith, I ſhall dye euerlaſtingly, & agayne I know, if I do not as you would haue me, you wil kill me and many thouſandes moe: yet had I leuer periſh at your handes then to periſh eternally. And at this tyme I haue loſt all my commodities of this world, and now lye in a Colehouſe where a man would not lay a dogge, with the which I am well contented.

Cole. Where are you able to proue that the Church of Rome hath erred at any tyme? and by what hiſtory? certaine it is by Euſebius, that the Church was ſtabliſhed at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was Biſhop xxv. yeares at Rome.

Phil. I know well that Euſebius ſo writeth: but if we compare that which S. Paul writeth to the Galathians the firſt, it will manifeſtly appeare the contrary, that he was not halfe ſo long there. He liued not paſt xxv. yeares after he was called to be an Apoſtle: and Paul maketh mētion of his abyding at Hieruſalem after CHRISTES death more then. xviij. yeares.

Cole. What? did Peter write to the Galathians?

Phil. No, I ſay Paul maketh mention of Peter, writyng to ẏ Galathians, & of his abidyng at Hieruſalem. And further, I am able to proue, both by Euſebius & other Hiſtoriographers, ẏ the church of Rome hath manifeſtly erred, and at this preſent doth erre, becauſe ſhe agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primatiue Chuch did vſe accordyng to the Goſpell, and there nedeth none other profe but compare the one with the other.

Boner. I may compare this man to a certaine man I read of, which fell into a deſperation and went into a woode to hang himſelfe, and when he came there, hee went vewing of euery tree and could fynde none on the which he might vouchſafe to hang himſelfe. But I will not apply it as I myght. I pray you (M. Doctour) go forth with hym.

Cole. My Lord, there bee on euery ſyde on me that be better able to aunſwere him, and I loue not to fall in diſputation, for that now a dayes a man ſhall not but ſuſtaine ſhame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had leuer ſhew my mynd in wrytyng.

Phil. And I had leuer that you ſhould ſo doe then otherwyſe, for then a man may better iudge of your wordes then by argument, and I beſech you ſo to do. But if I were a riche man, I durſt wager an hundreth poundes, that you ſhall not be able to ſhew that you haue ſayd, to bee decreed by a generall Coūcell in Athanaſius tyme. For this I am ſure of, that it was concluded by a general Coūcel in Africa many yeares after, that none of Africa (vnder payne of excommunication) ſhould appeale to Rome: the which decrée I am ſure they would not haue made, if by the ſcriptures and by an vniuerſall Councell it had bene decréed that all men ſhould abyde and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

Reaſon why it is not like that in Athanaſius time all men were bound to abide the determination of Rome.

Cole. But I can ſhew that they reuoked that errour agayne.

Phil. So you ſay M. Doctor, but I pray you ſhew me where. I haue hetherto heard nothing of you for my contentation but bare wordes without any authority.

Boner. What, I pray you? ought we to diſpute wyth you of our fayth? Iuſtinian in the law hath a title De fide catholica, to the contrary.

Phil. I am certayne the ciuill law hath ſuch a conſtitution: but our fayth muſt not depend vpon the ciuill law. For as S. Ambroſe ſayth, non lex ſed fides congregauit Eccleſiam. *Not the law but the Goſpell (ſayth he) hath gathered the Church together.*

Not the law, but the Goſpell gathered the church together. *Ambroſe.*

Worceſt. M. Philpot, you haue the ſpirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which wil not let you to yeld to the truth: leaue it for ſhame.

Phil. Sir, I am ſure I haue the ſpirit of fayth by the which I ſpeake at this preſent: neither am I aſhamed to ſtand in my fayth.

Gloceſt. What? do you thinke your ſelf better learned then ſo many notable learned men as be here?

Phil. Elyas alone had the truth, when there were foure hundreth prieſtes agaynſt hym.

400. Prieſtes agaynſt one *Helias.*

Worceſt. Oh, you would be counted now for Helyas. And yet I tell the he was deceyued: for he thought there had bene none good but hymſelfe, and yet he was deceaued, for there were ſeuen hundreth beſydes hym.

Phil. Yea, but he was not deceyued in doctrine as the other .vij. hundreth were.

Worceſt. By my fayth your are greatly to blame, that you can not bee content to bee of the church which euer hath bene of that faythfull antiquity.

Phil. My Lord, I know Rome, and haue bene there, where I ſaw your Lordſhip.

Worceſt. In dede I dyd flie from hence thether, and I remember not that I ſaw you there. But I am ſory that you haue bene there: for the wickednes which you haue ſeene there, peraduenture cauſeth you to do as you do.

A good commendation for Rome by a Romaniſt.

Phil. No my Lord, I do not as I doe for that cauſe: for I am taught otherwyſe by the Goſpell, not altogether to refuſe the miniſter for his euill liuing, ſo that he bring ſound doctrine out of Gods booke.

Worc. Do you thinke that the vniuerſall church may be deceyued?

Whether the vniuerſall church may be deceaued?

Phil. S. Paule to the Theſſalonians propheſied that there ſhould come an vniuerſall departing from the fayth in the latter dayes before the cōming of Chriſt, ſaying: Nō veniet Chriſtus niſi venerit defectio prius: That is, *CHRIST ſhall not come, till there come a departing firſt.*

2. *Theſ.* 2.

A defection propheſied of in the church.

Cole. Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in S. Paule? It is not ment of fayth, but of the departing from the Empyre: for it is in Greke Αποςασια.

Phil. Mary in dede you (M. Doctor) put me in good remembraunce of the meaning of S. Paul in that place, for Apoſtaſia is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof commeth Apoſtata, which properly ſignifieth one that departeth from his fayth: and S. Paule in the ſame place after ſpeaketh of the decay of the Empyre.

ἀποςασία. ἀποςατησ.

Cole. Apoſtaſia doth not onely ſignify a departing from the faith, but alſo frō the Empire, as I am able to ſhew.

Phil. I neuer red it ſo taken, and when you ſhall be able to ſhew it (as you ſay in wordes) I will beleue it, and not before.

Worceſt. I am ſory that you ſhoulde bee agaynſt the Chriſten world.

Phil. The world commonly and ſuch as bee called Chriſtians (for the multitude) hath hated the truth, and bene enemyes to the ſame.

Gloc. Why M. Philpot, do you thinke that the vniuerſall Church hath erred, and you onely to be in the truth?

The Popes church which now is, was neuer vniuerſall.

Phil. The church that you are of, was neuer vniuerſall, for two partes of the world, which is Aſia and Africa neuer conſented to the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, as at thys day they do not, neyther do follow his decrées.

Of this *Florentines* Councell, which was about the yeare. 1432. read before pag. 792. 819.

Gloc. Yes, in Florentines councell they did agree.

Phil. It was ſayd ſo by falſe report, after they of Aſia and Africa were gone home: but it was not ſo in dede, as the ſequele of them all hetherto doth proue the contrary.

Gloc. I pray you, by whom wil you be iudged in matters of controuerſy which happen dayly?

The word or the church iudge in controuerſies.

Phil. By the word of God. For CHRIST ſayth in Saynt Iohn: *the word that hee ſpake ſhall be iudge in the latter day.*

Gloc. What if you take the word one way and I an other way: who ſhall be iudge then?

Phil. The primatiue Church.

Gloc. I know you meane the Doctors yͤ wrote therof.

Phil. I meane verely ſo.

Gloc. What if you take the Doctors in one ſenſe, and I in an other? who ſhall be iudge then?

Phil. Then let that be taken which is moſt agreable to Gods word.

Cole. My Lordes, why do you trouble your ſelues to anſwere him in this matter? It is not the thing which is layd to his charge, but his errour of the Sacrament, and he to ſhift him ſelfe of that brought in an other matter.

Phil. Thys is the matter M. Cole, to the which I haue referred all other queſtions, and deſyre to bee ſatiſfied.

Worceſt. It is wonder to ſee how hee ſtandeth wyth a few agaynſt a great multitude.

Phil. We haue almoſt as many as you. For we haue Aſia, Africa, Germany, Denmarke, & a great part of Fraunce, and dayly the number of the Goſpell daeth encreaſe: ſo that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I ſtand, and for the which I am lyke to dye, a great multitude doth dayly come out of Fraunce through perſecution, that the Cities of Germany be ſcarſe able to receaue them: and therfore your Lordſhip may bee ſure the worde of God wyll one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.

Iohn Philpots prophecie of the increaſe of the Goſpell.

Worc. They were well occupied to bring you ſuch newes, and you haue bene well kept to haue ſuch reſort vnto you. Thou art the arroganteſt fellow and ſtouteſt fond fellow, that euer I knew.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip to beare with my haſty ſpeach: for it is part of my corrupt nature to ſpeake ſomewhat haſtely: but for all that, I meane with humility to do my duty to your Lordſhip.

Boner. M. Philpot, my Lordes will trouble you no further at this tyme, but you ſhall go from whence you came, and haue ſuch fauour as in the meane whyle I can ſhew you: and vpon wenſday next you ſhall be called agayne to be heard what you can ſay for the maintenance of your errour.

Iohn Philpot put of to an other day.

phil. My Lord, my deſyre is to be ſatiſfied of you in that I haue requyred: and your Lorſhip ſhall fynd me as I haue ſayd.

Worc. We wiſh you as well as our ſelues.

phil. I thinke the ſame (my Lordes) but I feare you are deceyued, and haue a zeale of your ſelues, not according to knowledge.

Worc. God ſend you more grace.

phil. And alſo God encreaſe the ſame in you, and open your eies that you may ſee to maintaine his truth and his true church.

Then the Biſhops roſe vp and conſulted together, and cauſed a writing to be made, in the which I thinke my bloud by them was bought and ſolde, and thereto they put to their handes, and after this I was caryed to my Colehouſe agayne.

¶ Thus endeth the fourth part of thys tragedy. God haſten the end thereof to his glory. Amen.

BEcauſe I haue begun to write vnto you of mine examinations before the Biſhop and other, more to ſatiſfie your deſyre then it is any thing worthy to be written: I haue thought it good to wryte vnto you alſo that which hath bene done of late, that the ſame might come to light which they do in darkenes and priuy corners, and that the world nowe and the poſterity hereafter myght knowe howe vnorderly, vniuſtly, and vnlearnedly theſe rauening Wolues do proceede agaynſt the ſéely and faythfull flocke of CHRIST, and condemne and perſecute the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt in vs, which they are not able by honeſt meanes to reſiſt, but onely by tyranny and violence.

Iohn Philpot to certaine that required him to write his examinations.

The vnordinate and vnlearned proceedinges of theſe Catholickes againſt the poore flocke of Chriſt.

¶ The 5. examination of Iohn Philpot, had before the Bpſhops of London, Rocheſter, Couentry, S. Aſſes (I trow) & one other, whoſe ſeas I know not, D. Story, Curtop, Doct. Sauerſon, Doct. Pendleton, with diuers other Chaplaines and Gentlemen of the Queenes chamber and diuers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of Londons palace.

The fift examination of M. *Philpot.*

BOner. M. Philpot, come you hether. I haue deſired my Lordes here and other learned men to take ſome paynes once agayne, and to do you good: and becauſe I do minde to ſit in iudgement on you to morow (as I am commaũded) yet I would you ſhould haue as much fauour as I can ſhew you, if you wilbe any thyng conformable. Therfore play the wiſe man, and be not ſingular in your opinion, but be ruled by theſe learned men.

Phil. My Lord, in that you ſay you will ſit on me in iudgemẽt to morow, I am glad therof. For I was promiſed by them which ſent me vnto you, that I ſhould haue bene iudged the next day after: but promiſe hath not bene kept with me, to my farther grief. I loke for none other but death at your hãdes, and I am as ready to yelde my lyfe in CHRISTES cauſe, as you bée to require it.

Iohn Philpot ready to yeld his life in Chriſtes cauſe.

Boner. Lo what a wilfull man this is? By my faith it is but folly to reaſon with him, neither with any of theſe heretickes. I am ſory that you wyll be no more tractable, & that I am cõpelled to ſhew extremity againſt you.

Phil. My Lord, you néede not to ſhew extremitye againſt me vnleſſe you lyſt: neyther by the lawe (as I haue ſayd) you haue any thing to do with me, for that you are not myne Ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your priſon.

Boner. Why, the Queenes Commiſſioners ſent you hither vnto me vpon your examination had before them. I know not well yͤ cauſe: but I am ſure they would not haue ſent you hither to me, vnleſſe you had made ſome talke to them, otherwiſe then it becõmeth a chriſtian mã.

Phil. My Lord, in déede they ſent me hither without any occaſion than miniſtred by me. Onely they layde vnto mee the diſputation I made in the Conuocation houſe, requiring me to aunſwer the ſame, and to recant it. The which becauſe I would not do, they ſent me hither to your Lordſhip.

Boner. Why did you not aunſwer them thereto?

Phil. For that they were temporall men, and ought not to be iudges in ſpirituall cauſes whereof they demaunded me, without ſhewing any authority wherby I was bound to aunſwer them, and hereupon they cõmitted me to your priſon.

Boner. In deede I remember nowe, you maintayned open hereſy in my dioces: wherfore the Commiſſioners ſent you vnto me that I ſhould procede againſt you, for that you haue ſpoken in my Dioces.

B. Boner ſeeketh cauſe againſt him, and yet pretendeth to be ſory of hys trouble.

Phil. My Lord, I ſtand ſtyll vpon my lawful plea in this behalf, that though it were as great hereſie as you ſuppoſe it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore in reſpect of the priuiledge of the Parlamẽt houſe, whereof the Cõuocation houſe is a member, where all mẽ in matters propoũded may frankly ſpeake their mindes: and here is preſent a Gentleman of the Quéenes Maieſties that was preſent at the diſputation, and can teſtifie that the queſtions which were there in controuerſie, were not ſet forth by mee, but by the Prolocutor, who required in the Quéenes Maieſties name, all

men

Maſter *Philpots* iuſt defence for ſpeaking in the Parlament.

men to diſpute their myndes fréely in the ſame, that were of the houſe.

The Queenes Gentleman. Though the Parlament houſe bee a place of priuiledge for men of the houſe to ſpeake, yet may none ſpeake any treaſon agaynſt the Queene, or maintaine treaſon againſt the crowne.

Phil. But if there be any matter which otherwiſe it were treaſon to ſpeake of, were it treaſon for any perſon to ſpeake therein, ſpecially the thing being propoſed by the Speaker? I thinke not.

The Queenes Gentleman. You may make the matter eaſy inough to you yet, as I perceiue, if you wil reuoke the ſame which you did there ſo ſtubburnly mayntayne.

S. Aſſe. This man did not ſpeake vnder reformation, as many there did, but ἀγωνιστικῶς & κατηγορικῶς, which is earneſtly and perſwaſibly, as euer I heard any.

Phil. My Lordes, ſince you will not ceaſe to trouble me for that I haue lawfully done, neither wyll admyt my iuſt defence for that was ſpoken in the conuocatiõ houſe by me, contrary to the lawes and cuſtome of the realme: I appeale to the whole Parlament houſe, to be iudged by the ſame, whether I ought thus to be moleſted for that I haue there ſpoken.

Rocheſt. But haue you ſpoken and maintained the ſame ſynce that tyme, or no?

phil. If any man can charge me iuſtly therewith, here I ſtand to make aunſwer.

Rocheſt. How ſay you to it nowe? wyll you ſtand to that you haue ſpoken in the Conuocation houſe, and do you thinke you ſayd then well, or no?

Phil. My Lord, you are not myne Ordinary to procéede ex officio agaynſt me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conſcience of your demaundes.

S. Aſſe. what ſay you now? Is not there in the bleſſed ſacramẽt of the aultar (and with that they put of al their caps for reuerence of that Idol) the preſence of our Sauiour Chriſt, really and ſubſtantially after the wordes of conſecration?

Phil. I do beleue in the ſacrament of CHRISTES body duly miniſtred, to be ſuch maner of preſence, as the word teacheth me to beleue.

S. Aſſe. I pray you how is that?

Phil. As for that I wyll declare an other tyme when I ſhall be lawfully called to diſpute my mynde of thys matter: but I am not yet driuen to that poynt. And ẏ ſcripture ſaith: *All things ought to be done after an order.*

An other biſh. This is a froward & a vainglorious mã.

Boner. It is not lawfull for a man by the ciuill law to diſpute his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, De ſumma trinitate & fide catholica.

Phil. My Lord, I haue aunſwered you to this queſtion before.

Boner. why? I neuer aſked thee of this before now.

Phil. Yes that you dyd at my laſt examination, by that token I aunſwered your lordſhip by S. Ambroſe, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by mans law. Wherefore I adde now further of this ſaying: Quòd qui fidem repudiat, & legem obijcit, iniuſtus eſt, quia iuſtus ex fide viuit. i. *That he which refuſeth the word, and obiecteth the law, is an vniuſt man, becauſe the iuſt ſhall lyue by fayth.* And moreouer (my Lord) the title which your Lordſhip alledgeth out of the law, maketh it not vnlawfull to diſpute of al the articles of the fayth, but of the Trinity.

Boner. Thou lyeſt, it is not ſo: and I wyll ſhewe you by the booke how ignorant he is. And with that he went wyth all haſt to his ſtudy, and fet hys booke and openly red the text and the title of the law, & charged me with ſuch wordes as ſéemed to make for his purpoſe, ſaying: how ſayeſt thou to this?

Phil. My Lord, I ſay as I ſayd before, that the lawe meaneth of the catholicke fayth determined in ẏ Coũcell of Calcedonia, where the articles of ẏ créede were onely concluded vpon.

Boner. Thou art the veriest beaſt that euer I heard. I muſt needes ſpeake it, thou compelleſt me thereunto.

Phil. Your Lordſhip may ſpeake your pleaſure of me. But what is this to the purpoſe, which your lordſhip is ſo earneſt in? You know that our faythe is not grounded vpon the ciuill law: therefore it is not materiall to me what ſoeuer the law ſayth.

Boner. By what law wylt thou be iudged? wilt thou be iudged by the common law?

Phil. No my Lord, our fayth dependeth not vpon the lawes of man.

S. Aſſe. He wyll be iudged by no law, but as he liſt him ſelfe.

Worceſt. The common lawes are but abſtractes of the ſcriptures and Doctours.

Phil. What ſoeuer you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be iudged.

Boner. I muſt nedes procede agaynſt thee to morow.

Iohn Philpot ſtill ſtandeth to his defence of the law, in refuſing the iudge, not to be competent.

Phil. If your Lordſhyp ſo do, I will haue Exceptionem fori, for you are not my competent Iudge.

Boner. By what law canſt thou refuſe me to bee thy Iudge?

Phil. By the Ciuill law, De competente Iudice.

Boner. There is no ſuch title in the law. In what booke is it, as cunnyng a lawyer as you be?

Phil. My Lord, I take vppon me no great cunnyng in the lawe: but you driue me to my ſhiftes for my defenſe, and I am ſure, if I had the bookes of the law, I were able to ſhew what I ſay.

De officiis ordinarij, is a title in the 1. booke of the Decretales.

De foro competente, is a title in the 2. booke of the Decretales.

Boner. What? De competente Iudice? I will go fet thee my bookes. There is a title in dede De officijs Iudicis ordinarij.

Phil. Verely that is the ſame De cõpetente Iudice which I haue alledged. With that he ran to his ſtudy, and brought the whole courſe of the lawe betwene hys handes, which (as it might appeare) he had well occupyed, by the duſt they were embrued withall.

Boner. There be the bookes: find it now (if thou canſt) and I will promiſe thee to releaſe thee out of priſon.

Phil. My Lord, I ſtand not here to reaſon matters of the Ciuill law, although I am not altogether ignoraunt of the ſame for that I haue bene a Student in the ſame ſixe or vij. yeares: but to aunſwere to the Articles of faith with the which you may lawfully burthen me. And where as you go about vnlaufully to procede, I challẽge, accordyng to my knowledge, the benefite of the law in my defenſe.

Boner. why, thou wilt aunſwere directly to nothyng thou art charged withall: therfore ſay not hereafter but you might haue ben ſatiſfied here by learned men, if you would haue declared your mynde.

M. Philpot returneth agayne to hys queſtion of the church.

Phil. My Lord, I haue declared my minde vnto you and to other of the Byſhops at my laſt beyng before you, deſiring you to be ſatiſfied but of one thyng, whereunto I haue referred all other controuerſies: the which if your Lordſhyps now, or other learned men cã ſimply reſolue me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all thinges, as you ſhall require: the which is to proue that the Church of Rome (whereof you are) is the Catholicke Church.

Couen. why? do you not beleue your Crede, Credo eccleſiam Catholicam?

That Peter did build the church of Rome it is falſe, for both the ſcripture ſaith, that Peter was ſet ouer the circũciſed, and not ouer the Gentiles, and alſo it is to be proued by *Oroſius, Suetonius, Tertullianus,* and other ſtories, that the fayth of Chriſt was in Rome *in Tyberius* time before Peter euer ſaw Rome.

Phil. Yes that I do: but I cannot vnderſtand Rome (wherewith all you burden vs) to be the ſame, neither lyke to it.

S. Aſſe. It is moſt euident that S. Peter did buylde the catholicke church at Rome. And CHRIST ſayd: Tu es Petrus, et ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam. Moreouer, the ſucceſſion of biſhops in the Sea of Rome can be proued from tyme to tyme, as it can be of none other place ſo wel, which is a manifeſt probation of the catholike church, as dyuers Doctours do wryte.

Phil. That you would haue to be vndoubted, is moſt vncertayne, and that by the autority which you alledge of CHRIST, ſaying vnto Peter: *Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my Church,* vnles you canne proue the rocke to ſignify Rome, as you would make me falſly beleue. And although you can proue the ſucceſſion of Biſhops from Peter, yet this is not ſufficient to proue Rome the catholicke Church, vnleſſe you can proue the ſucceſſion of Peters fayth whereupon the Catholicke church is builded, to haue continued in his ſucceſſours at Rome, and at this preſent to remayne.

Boner. Is there any moe Churches then one catholicke church? And I pray you tell mee, into what fayth were you baptiſed.

Phil. I acknowledge one holy catholicke and Apoſtolicke church, whereof I am a mẽber (I praiſe God) and I am of that catholicke fayth of CHRIST, whereinto I was baptiſed.

Catholicke.

Couen. I pray you, can you tell what this word Catholicke doth ſignifie? ſhew if you can.

The Popes fayth hangeth vpon the multitude.

Fides catholica ſecundum Auguſt.

Phil. Yes that I can, I thanke God. The catholicke fayth, or the catholicke Church is not as nowe a dayes the people be taught, to be that which is moſt vniuerſall, or of moſt part of men receaued, wherby you do inferre our fayth to hang vpon the multitude, which is not ſo: but I eſteeme the catholicke church to be as S. Auſten defineth the ſame. Æſtimamus fidem catholicam a rebus præteritis, præſentibus, & futuris. i. *We iudge* (ſayth he) *the catholicke fayth, of that which hath bene, is, and ſhalbe*. So that if you can bee able to proue that your fayth and Church hath bene from the beginning taught, and is, and ſhall bee: then may you count your ſelues catholike, otherwiſe not. And catholicke is a Greeke word compounded of κατα, which ſignifieth after or according, and ὅλον, a ſumme, or principle, or whole. So that catholicke Church or Catholicke faith is as much to ſay, as the firſt, whole, ſoũd, or chiefeſt faith.

Boner. Doth S. Auſten ſay ſo as he alledgeth it? or doth hee meane as hee taketh the ſame? How ſay you maſter Curtop?

Curtop. In deede (my Lord) S. Auguſtine hath ſuche a ſaying, ſpeaking againſt the Donatiſtes, that the catholicke fayth ought to be eſteemed of thinges in tymes paſt, and as they are practiſed according to the ſame, & ought to be through all ages, and not after a new maner, as the Donatiſtes began to profeſſe.

Phil. You haue ſayd well M. Curtop, and after the meaning of S. Auſten, and to confirme that which I haue ſayd for the ſignification of catholicke.

Couent. Let the booke be ſeene my Lord.

Boner. I pray you my Lord be content, or in good faith I wyll breake euen of and let all alone. Do you thynke the catholike church (vntil it was within theſe few yeres in the which a few vpon ſingularity haue ſwerued from the ſame) hath erred?

Phil. I do not thinke that ẏ catholicke church cã erre in doctrine: but I require you to proue this church of Rome to be the catholicke church.

Where M. *Curtop* **findeth this, I can not ſay: but this I finde ẏ** *Euſebius* **doth reporte ẏ** *Irenæus* **did reproue** *Victor* **Biſhop of Rome for his raſh ſentence in excommunicating the churches of Grece concerning the obſeruation of the feaſt of Eaſter.** *Euſeb. lib. 5. ca. 26. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 22.*

Curtop. I can proue that Ireneus (which was wythin an hundred yeares after *CHRIST*) came to Victor then biſhop of Rome, to aſke hys aduiſe about the excommunication of certayne heretickes, the which hee woulde not haue done (by all lykelyhood) if he had not taken hym to be ſupreme head.

Couent. Marke well this argumẽt. How are you able to aunſwer to the ſame? Aunſwer if you can.

Phil. It is ſoone anſwered my Lord, for that it is of no force, neither this fact of Irenæus maketh no more for the ſupremacie of the biſhop of Rome, then myne hath done which haue bene at Rome as well as hee, & might haue ſpoken with the Pope if I had liſt: and yet I would none in England dyd fauour hys ſupremacy more then I.

S. Aſſe. You are the more to blaine (by the faith of my body) for that you fauour the ſame no better, ſince all the catholicke church (vntill theſe fewe yeares) haue taken hym to be ſupreme head of the church, beſides this good man Irenæus.

Phil. That is not likely, that Irenæus ſo tooke hym, or the primatiue church: for I am able to ſhew ſeuen generall Councels after Irenæus tyme wherein hee was neuer ſo taken, which may bee a ſufficient proofe that the catholicke primatiue church neuer tooke hym for ſupreme head.

The other biſh. This man will neuer bee ſatiſfied, ſay what we can. It is but folly to reaſon any more wt him.

7. Gener Coũcels which the Biſhop o Rome wa neuer tak for ſupreme head.

Phil. Oh my Lordes, would you haue me ſatiſfied with nothyng? Iudge (I pray you) who of vs hath better authoritie, hee which bringeth the example of one man goyng to Rome, or I that by theſe many generall Councels am able to proue, that he was neuer ſo takẽ in many hundred yeares after *CHRIST*, as by Nicene, Epheſine the firſt and the ſecond, Calcedone, Conſtantinopolitane, Carthaginenſ. Aurelienſe.

Couen. Why will ye not admit the Church of Rome to be the Catholicke Church?

The church of Rome diſſenteth fr the primatiue church.

Phil. Becauſe it foloweth not the primatiue Catholicke Church, neither agreeth with the ſame, no more then an apple is like a nut.

Couen. Wherein doth it diſſent?

Phil. It were to long to recite all, but two thinges I will name: the ſupremacie and tranſubſtantiation.

Curtop. As for Tranſubſtantiation, albeit it was ſet forth and Decreed for an Article of faith not much aboue three hundreth yeares, yet it was alwayes beleued in the Church.

Boner. Yea that it was. Very well ſayd of you Maſter Curtop.

Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation.

Phil. Ye haue ſayd right, that Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plãtation of ẏ Byſhop of Rome, & you are not able to ſhew any auncient writer, that ẏ primatiue Church did beleue any ſuch thing: and with this Curtop ſhranke away. And immediatly after, the Ambaſſadour of Spayne came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leauing the other with me. To whom I ſayd: my Lordes, if you can ſhew me that this Church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true Catholicke Church, I ſhalbe content to be one therof, and as conformable to the ſame as you can require me in all thynges: for I know there is no ſaluation but within the Church.

Iohn Philpot **returneth agayne to his iſſue.**

Couent. Can you diſproue that the Church of Rome is not the Catholicke Church?

Rome is not the Catholicke church, and why?

Phil. Yea that I am able: but I deſire rather to heare of you for the proofe therof. And ſeyng I can not haue my requeſt at your handes, neither be ſatiſfied with any probable authoritie, I will ſhew you good proofe why it is not. For if the primatiue Church were Catholicke, as it was in deede, & ought to be the forme and Scholemaſtres of the Church to the worldes end: then is not the Church of Rome now the Catholicke Church which diſſenteth ſo farre from the ſame both in doctrine and vſe of the Sacramentes.

Couent. How proue you that ẏ Church of Rome now diſſenteth in doctrine and vſe the Sacramentes from the primatiue Church?

Compariſon betwen the primatiue church and the Popes Catholicke church.

Phil. Compare the one with the other, and it will ſoone appeare, as you may ſee both in Euſebius and in other Eccleſiaſticall and auncient writers.

Couent. What haue you to ſay more, why it is not the Catholicke Church?

The fayth of the Popes church was neuer vniuerſall.

Phil. Becauſe it is not (by your owne interpretation of Catholicke) vniuerſall neither neuer was, albeit you falſly perſuade the people that it is ſo. For the world beyng diuided in three partes, Aſia, Africa, and Europa, ij. partes thereof, Aſia and Africa profeſſyng *CHRIST* as well as we, dyd neuer conſent to the Church of Rome which is of Europa: which is a ſufficient teſtimony that your fayth was neuer vniuerſall.

Couent. How proue you that?

Phil. All the Hiſtoriographers which write of the proceedynges of the Church, doe teſtifie the ſame. Beſides that, this preſent time doth declare that to be true which I ſay: For at this preſent the Church of Aſia and Africa doe not conſent to the Church of Rome. Yea and beſides all this, the moſt part of Europa doth not agree, neither allow the Church of Rome: as Germany, the kyngdome of Denmarke, the kyngdome of Poole, a great part of Fraũce, Englãd, & Zelãd, which is a manifeſt probation that your Church is not vniuerſall. And after this, the Byſhop of London called away the other Byſhops, and left with me diuers Gẽtlemen, with certaine of his Chaplaines, as Doct. Sauerſon an Engliſhman, which had proceeded Doctour in Bonony, who after began with me in this maner.

Doct. Sauer. Maſter Philpot, I remember you beyond ſea ſince the tyme you reaſoned with a Frier (a notable learned mã) commyng from Venice to Padua in a barge.

Phil. I can not forget that, for the Frier threatned me to accuſe me of hereſie as ſone as hee came to Padua, for that I talked with hym ſo boldly of the truth. He was no ſuch learned man as you name hym to be, but onely in his ſchole points a good Purgatory Frier.

D.Sauer. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am ſory to heare that you this day hauyng communed with ſo many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them then you be.

Phil. I wilbe conformable to al them that be conformable to CHRIST in his word. And I pray you good M. Doctor, be not ſo conformable to pleaſe men more then God, contrary to your learnyng for worldly eſtimations ſake.

D.Sauer. No that I am not. Upõ what occaſiõ ſhould you thinke thus of me?

Phil. Upon no euill that I do know of you, Maſter Doctour: but I ſpeake as one wiſhyng that you ſhould not be led away from the truth for promotions ſake, as many Doctours be now adayes.

D.Sauer. I haue heard your argumentations hitherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the old auncient writers be agaynſt you in that you do not allowe the Church of Rome neither the ſupremacy: for S. Cyprian (which is an old auncient writer) doth allow the Biſhop of Rome to be the ſupreme head of the Church.

phil. That I am ſure of he doth not. For he writing vnto Cornelius then Byſhop of Rome, calleth hym but his companion and felow Byſhop, neither attributed to him the name either of Pope, or els of any other vſurped termes which now be aſcribed to the Byſhop of Rome to the ſettyng forth of his dignitie.

D.Sauer. You can not bee able to ſhew that S. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his felow Byſhop.

Phil. I wil wager with you that I am able to make, that I can ſhew it you in Cyprian, as I haue ſayd.

D.Sauer. I will lay none other wager with you, but booke for booke, that it is not ſo.

Phil. I agrée therto, & I pray you one of my Lordes Chaplaines to fet vs Cyprian hither for the trial hereof. And with that one of them went to my Lordes ſtudy and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by hee turned to the firſt booke of his Epiſtles, the 3. Epiſtle, and there would haue ſémed to haue gathered a ſtrong Argument for the ſupremacy of the Byſhop of Rome, becauſe he ſayth: *It goeth not well with the Church when the hygh Prieſt is not obeyed, which ſupplieth the ſtede of CHRIST after Gods word, and the conſent of his felow Biſhops, and the agreement of the people.*

Cipri.lib. 1.Epiſt.3.

D.Sauer. How can you auoyd this place which maketh ſo plainly for the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacy?

Phil. It maketh not ſo plaine, Maſter Doctour, on your ſide, as you gather, as by and by I will giue you to vnderſtand. But firſt I challenge the wager which we made, that your booke is myne. For here you may ſée that he calleth Cornelius his felow Byſhop, as he doth alſo in other places. And now for ŷ vnderſtanding of that place, you do miſcõſtrue it, to make ŷ high prieſt onely for the Byſhop of Rome & otherwiſe then it was in his tyme. For there were by Nicene Coũcell 4. Patriarckes appointed, the Patriarke of Hieruſalem, the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, the Patriarke of Alexandria, and the Patriarke of Rome, of which foure the Patriarke of Rome was placed loweſt in the Coũcell, and ſo continued many yeares, for the time of .vij. or .viij. generall Councels, as I am able to ſhew. Therefore S. Cyprian wrytyng to Cornelius Patriarke of Rome (whom he calleth his fellow biſhop) findeth him ſelfe offended, that certaine heretickes being iuſtly excommunicated by hym (as the Nouatians were) dyd flie from his dioces, which was their chiefe Biſhop, refuſing to bee obedient to hym and to bee reformed, to the Biſhop of Rome and to the Patriarcke of Conſtantinople, and there were receaued in communion of congregation, in derogation of good order and diſcipline in the church, and to the mayntaining of hereſies and ſchiſmes: and that hereſies did ſpring vp & ſchiſmes dayly aryſe hereof, that obedience was not geuen to the Prieſt of God, nor once conſidered hym to be in the church, for the tyme, the Prieſt, and for the time the Iudge in CHRISTES ſtéede (as in the decrée of Nicene Coũcell was appointed) not meaning the B. of Rome only, but euery Patriarke in his precinct: who had euery one of them a Colledge or cathedrall church of learned Prieſtes, in hearing of whom by a conuocation of all hys fellow biſhops, with the conſent of ŷ people, all hereſies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meaning of S.Cyprian.

Cipri lib. 4.Epiſt.2.

For there is a portion of the flocke appoynted to euie and gouerne, for the which hee muſt make an accompt before God. Cipri.lib.4. Epiſt.2.

Sauer. You take it ſo, but it ſeemeth to me otherwyſe.

Phil. Upon what ground it ſhould ſéme otherwyſe vnto you, I knowe not: but thys meanyng which I haue declared, the generall Coũcels .vij. or .viij. one after an other, confirmed it ſo to be, which did not allow one ſupreme head onely.

Pend. There were not ſo many generall Coũcels, but foure onely allowed.

Phil. That is not ſo M. Pendleton, although there be foure ſpecially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity: but beſide theſe foure there were many other general Coũcels, as you may learne by many writers.

A chaplain. Did not CHRIST build his church vpon Peter? S.Cyprian ſayth ſo.

How Saint Ciprian meaneth, Chriſt to build his church vpon Peter.

Phil. S.Cyprian De ſimplicitate prælatorũ declareth in what reſpect he ſo ſayd. In perſona vnius dedit dominus omnibus claues, vt omniũ vnitatẽ denũciaret. i. *God gaue in perſon of one man the keyes to al, that he might ſignifie the vnitie of all men.* And alſo S.Auſten ſayth in the .x. treatiſe of S.Iohn: Si in Petro non eſſet eccleſiæ myſterium, non ei diceret dominus: tibi dabo claues. Si autem hoc Petro dictum eſt, non habet eccleſia: ſi autem eccleſia habet, quando claues accepit, eccleſiam totam deſignauit. i. *If in Peter had not bene the myſterie of the Church, the Lorde had not ſayd vnto him: I wyll geue vnto thee the keyes. For if that were ſayd vnto Peter, the Church hath them not: if the Church haue them, whẽ Peter receiued them he ſignified the whole Church.* As alſo S.Hierom a Prieſt of Rome writyng to Nepotian, ſayth: *that all Churches doe leane to their own Paſtors, where he ſpeaketh of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie or regiment,* where hee maketh no mention of the biſhop of Rome. And Ad Euagium he ſayth, *that where ſoeuer a biſhop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Euagie, or at Regium, he is of one power and of one iuriſdiction.*

Cipria. De ſimplicitate Prælatorum.

Auguſt. tract. 10. in Ioan.

Hieronym. ad Nepotianum.

Hieronym. ad Euagrium.

Sauer. S.Hierome De cœleſti hierarchia? It was Dyoniſius you meane.

Phil. I ſay not that Hierom wrote any booke ſo entituled. But I ſay that in the Epiſtle by me alledged, he maketh mention of the eccleſiaſticall regiment.

Sauer. I wonder you will ſtand ſo ſtedfaſt in your errour, to your own deſtruction.

Phil. I am ſure we are in no errour, by the promyſe of CHRIST made to the faythfull once, which is, that hee wyll geue to hys true church ſuch a ſpirite of wyſedome, that the aduerſaries therof ſhould neuer be able to reſiſt. And by this I know wee are of the truth, for that neither by reaſoning neither by writing, your Sinagoge of Rome is able to aunſwere. Where is there one of you al that euer hath ben able to anſwere any of ŷ godly learned Miniſters of Germany, who haue diſcloſed your counterfait religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to aunſwere Caluins Inſtitutions, which is Miniſter of Geneua?

Sauer. A godly Miniſter in dede, of receit of cutpurſſes and runagate traytours. And of late I can tel you, there is ſuch contention fallẽ betwene hym and his own ſects, that he was faine to fly the towne, about predeſtination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneua hither.

Falſe ſlaunders.

Phil. I am ſure you blaſpheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is Miniſter, as it is your churches condition when you cannot aunſwer men by learning, to oppreſſe them with blaſphemies and falſe reportes. For in the matter of Predeſtination he is in none other opinion then all the Doctors of the Church be, agreing to the ſcriptures.

Sauer. Men be able to aunſwer hym if they lyſt. And I praye you which of you haue aunſwered Biſhop Fyſhers booke?

Phil. Yes (maiſter Doctor) that booke is aunſwered and aunſwered agayne, if you lyſt to ſeeke what hath bene written againſt hym.

D. Story tommeth in.

And after this D. Story came in. To whom I ſaid: Maſter Doctor, you haue done me great iniurie, and wythout law haue ſtraightly impriſoned me, more like a Dog then a man. And beſides this, you haue not kept promyſe with mee, for you promiſed that I ſhould be iudged the next day after.

Story. I am come nowe to keepe promyſe wyth thee. was there euer ſuch a fantaſticall man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beaſt. Yea theſe heretickes be worſe then brute beaſtes: for they will vpon a vayne ſingularitie take vpon them to be wiſer then all men, beyng in dede very fooles and Aſſeheads, not able to mayntayne that which of an arrogant obſtinacie they do ſtand in.

Happy are you when they reuile you, and ſay all euil againſt you for my names ſake. Math. 5.

Phil. Maſter Doctor, I am content to abide your railing iudgement of me now. Say what you wyll, I am content, for I am vnder your feete to bee troden on as you liſt, God forgeue it you: yet am I no hereticke. Neither you nor any other ſhall be able to proue that I hold any iote agaynſt the word of God, otherwiſe then a Chriſtian man ought.

Story. The word of God? forſoth the word of God. It is but a folly to reaſon with theſe heretickes, for they are incurable and deſperate. But as I may reaſon wyth thee, not that I haue any hope to wyn thee, whom wylt thou appoint to be iudge of the word wherto yͧ ſtandeſt?

The Papiſtes will not be ruled by the ſcriptures without their owne iudge.

Phil. Verely the word it ſelfe.

Story. Do you not ſee the ignorancie of this beaſtly hereticke? He willeth the word to be iudged of the worde. Can the word ſpeake?

Phil. If I can not proue that which I haue ſayd by good authority, I wyl be content to be counted an hereticke & an ignorant perſon, & further what you pleaſe.

Story. Let vs heare what wyſe authoritye thou canſt bryng in.

Phil. It is the ſaying of CHRIST in S. Iohn: verbum quod locutus ſum, iudicabit in nouiſſimo die. *The word which I haue ſpoken* (ſayth CHRIST) *ſhall iudge in the laſt day*. If the word ſhall iudge in the laſt day, much more it ought to iudge our doings now: and I am ſure I haue my iudge on my ſide, who ſhall abſolue & iuſtify me in an other world. How ſoeuer now it ſhall pleaſe you by authority vnrighteouſly to iudge of me and others, ſure I am in an other world to iudge you.

Iohn. 12.

What ſay you now Maſter Doctor?

Story. what? you purpoſe to bee a ſtincking Martyr, and to ſit in iudgement wyth CHRIST at the laſte day to iudge the .xij. tribes of Iſraell.

M. Doctor hauing not to anſwer, falleth to rayling.

Phil. Yea Syr, I doubt not thereof, hauing the promiſe of CHRIST, if I dye for righteouſnes ſake, which you haue begun to perſecute in me.

Story. I tolde you it is but vayne to argue wyth thys hereticke: hee is drowned in hys hereſies wythout all learning.

Phil. Syr, I haue brought you for that I haue ſaid, good authority out of Gods booke, to the which you anſwer nothing, but go about ſtyll to geue rayling iudgement againſt me without any cauſe.

Story. I will come to you by'and by. when the Iudge in weſtminſter hall geueth ſentence, doth the word geue ſentence, or the Iudge? tell me.

Gods iudgement, and ciuill iudgement not like.

Phil. Ciuill matters be ſubiect to ciuill men, and they haue authority by the word to be iudge of them. But the word of God is not ſubiect to mans iudgement, but ought to iudge all the wiſdome, thoughtes, and doings of men, and therefore your compariſon diſproueth nothing that I haue ſayd, neyther aunſwereth any whyt therto.

Story. wilt thou not allowe the interpretation of the Church vpon the ſcripture?

The iudgement of the church, how far it ſerueth.

Phil. Yes, if it be according to the word of the true Church: and this I ſay to you, as I haue ſayd heretofore, that if ye can proue yͤ church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholicke church which I ought to follow, I wyll be as ready to yeld thereto (as long as it can be ſo proued) as you may deſire me.

Story. what a fellow is this? He will beleue nothyng but what he lyſt him ſelfe. Are we not in poſſeſſion of the church? Haue not your forefathers theſe many hundred yeares takẽ this church for the catholicke church wherof we are now? And if we had none other proufe but this, it were ſufficient: for preſcriptiõ of time maketh a good title in the law.

Preſcrip tiõ of tim

Phil. You do well (M. Doctor) to alledge preſcriptiõ of many yeares, for it is all that you haue to ſhew for your ſelues. But you muſt vnderſtand, ex diuinis nulla occurrit præſcriptio, that preſcriptiõ hath no place in matters belonging to God, as I am able to ſhew by the teſtimony of many Doctours.

Preſcrip tion of t maketh title in gods ma ters.

Story. well Syr, you are lyke to go after your fathers, Latimer the Sophiſter, and Ridley, who had nothing to alledge for him ſelfe but that hee had learned hys hereſy of Cranmer. where I came to him with a poore Bacheler of Arte, he trembled as though he had had the palſey, as theſe heretickes haue alwayes ſome token of feare whereby a man may know them, as you may ſee thys mans eyes doe tremble in his heade. But I diſpatched them: and I tell thee that there hath beene yet neuer a one burnt, but I haue ſpoken with him, and haue bene a cauſe of hys diſpatch.

D Story confeſſeth himſelfe be the c diſpatche of al Go Sainctes that ſuffered in Q. *Maries* time.

Phil. You haue the more to aunſwere for, Maſter Doctor, as you ſhal feele in an other world, how much ſoeuer you do now triumph of your procedinges.

Story. I tell thee I will neuer be confeſſed therof. And becauſe I cannot now tary to ſpeake with my Lord, I pray one of you telll my Lord, that my comming was to ſignify to his lordſhip, that he muſt out of hand rid this hereticke away. And going away hee ſayd vnto me, I certify thee that thou mayeſt thanke none other man but mee.

Stories cruelty.

Phil. I thanke you therefore with all myne hart: and God forgeue it you.

Story. what? doeſt thou thanke me? if I had thee in my ſtudy halfe an houre, I thinke I ſhould make you ſing an other ſong.

Phil. No M. Doctor, I ſtand vppon too ſure a ground to be ouerthrowen by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after an other, vntill I was left all alone. And afterwardes with my Keeper going to my Colehouſe (as I went) I met with my Lord of London, who ſpake vnto me gently, as he hath hitherto in wordes, ſaying:

Iohn Philpot left poſt a lone.

London. Philpot, if there be any pleaſure I may ſhew you in my houſe, I pray you requyre it, and you ſhall haue it.

Phil. My Lord, the pleaſure that I will require of your Lordſhyp is to haſten my iudgement which is cõmitted vnto you, and ſo diſpatch me forth of this miſerable world, vnto my eternall reſt. And for all hys fayre ſpeach I can not attaine hitherto this fortnight ſpace, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodgyng. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted among the vileſt, that he may in tyme of reward receiue exaltation and glory. Therfore praiſed be God that hath humbled me, and geuen me grace with gladnes to be content therewithall.

The ſtr handling *Iohn Philpot* in priſon, for all the Biſhops faire wordes.

Let all that loue the truth ſay, Amen.
Thus endeth the fift Tragedy.

¶*The ſixt examination of Iohn Philpot had before the the right honorable Lordes, Lord Chamberlayne to the kinges Maieſtie, the Vicount Herford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Rich, the Lord S. Iohns, the Lord Winſore, the Lord Shandoys, Sir Iohn Bridges Lieuetenaunt of the Tower, and two other moe whoſe names I know not, with the Byſhop of London and D. Chedſey, the ſixt day of Nouember. An. Do. M.D.LV.*

The ſixte examinat of Maſter *Philpot* before ce tame l and the B of Lon

PHil. Before that I was called afore the Lordes, and whiles they were in ſittyng downe, the Biſhop of London came aſide to me and whiſpered in myne eare, willyng me to vſe my ſelfe before the Lordes of the Queenes Maieſties Counſel prudently, and to take heede what I ſayd: and thus hee pretended to geue me counſaile becauſe he wiſhed me to do well, as I might now do if I liſt. And after the Lordes and other worſhipfull Gentlemē of the Quéenes Maieſties ſeruaūts were ſet, my Lord of London placed him ſelfe at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by ẏ Lordes I was placed at the vpper end agaynſt him: where I knéelyng downe, ẏ Lordes cōmaunded me to ſtand vp, and after in this maner the Byſhop began to ſpeake.

London. M. Philpot, I haue heretofore both priuately my ſelfe, and opēly before my Lordes of the Clergy, moe tymes then once cauſed you to bee talked withall to reforme you of your errours, but I haue not found you yet ſo tractable as I would wiſh: wherefore now I haue deſired theſe honorable Lordes of the temporaltie & of the Quéenes Maieſties Counſaile, who haue taken paines with me this day (I thanke them therefore) to here you what you can ſay, that they may be iudges whether I haue ſought all meanes to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to ſay in their behalfe, that if you ſhew your ſelfe conformable to ẏ Quéenes Maieſties procedinges, you ſhall find as much fauour for your deliueraunce, as you can wiſhe. I ſpeake not this to fawne vpon you, but to bryng you home into the Church. Now let them heare what you can ſay.

Phil. My Lord, I thāke God of this day, that I haue ſuch an honorable audience to declare my mind before. And I can not but commend your Lordſhyps equitie in this behalfe, which agréeth with the order of the primatiue Church: which was, if any body had ben ſuſpected of hereſie (as I am now) he ſhould be called, firſt before the Archb. or Biſhop of the Dioces where he was ſuſpected, ſecondly in ẏ preſence of others his felow byſhops & learned elders, & thirdly in the hearing of ẏ laitie: where after ẏ iudgemēt of Gods word declared, & with the aſſent of other Byſhops and cōſent of the people he was condemned to exile for an hereticke, or abſolued. And the ſecond poynt of that good order I haue found at your Lordſhyps hādes already in being called before you and your fellow Byſhops: and now haue the thyrd ſort of men, at whoſe handes I truſt to finde more righteouſnes in my cauſe thē I haue found with my Lordes of the Clergy: God graunt I may haue at laſt the iudgement of Gods word cōcernyng the ſame.

Lond. M. Philpot I pray you ere you go any farther, tell my Lordes here plainly whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to priſon or not, and whether I haue ſhewed you any crueltie ſithen ye haue bene committed to my priſon.

Phil. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhyp to geue me leaue to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

Rich. Aunſwere firſt of all to my Lordes two queſtions, and then procede forth to the matter. How ſay you? were you impriſoned by my Lord or no? can you find any faut ſince with his cruell vſing of you?

Phil. I can not lay to my Lordes charge the cauſe of my impriſonment, neither I may ſay that he hath vſed me cruelly, but rather for my part I might ſay that I haue found more gentlenes at his Lordſhips handes then I did at mine own Ordinaries for ẏ tyme I haue bene within hys priſon, for that he hath called me thrée or foure tymes to mine aunſwere, to the which I was not called tweluemoneth and a halfe before.

Rich. Well, now go forth to your matter.

Phil. The matter is, that I am impriſoned for the diſputation had by me in the Cōuocation houſe againſt the Sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moued principally by me, but by the Prolocutor, with the conſent of the Quéenes Maieſty & of the whole houſe: and that houſe beyng a member of the Parlament houſe, ought to be a place of frée ſpéech for all men of the houſe, by the auncient and laudable cuſtome of this Realme. Wherfore I thinke my ſelfe to haue ſuſtayned hitherto great iniury for ſpeakyng my conſcience fréely in ſuch a place as I might lawfully do it: and I deſire your honorable Lordſhyps iudgementes which be of the Parlament houſe, whether of right I ought to be empeached therfore, & ſuſtaine the loſſe of my liuing (as I haue done) & moreouer of my life, as it is ſought.

Rich. You are deceiued herein: for the Conuocation houſe is no part of the Parlament houſe.

Phil. My Lord, I haue alwayes vnderſtanded the contrary by ſuch as are more expert men in thynges of this Realme then I: and agayne, the title of euery act leadeth me to thinke otherwiſe, which alledgeth the agréement of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie aſſembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is ment of the ſpirituall Lordes of the vpper houſe.

Winſor. In déde the Cōuocation houſe is called together by one writ of the ſummons of the Parlament of an old cuſtome: notwithſtandyng that houſe is no part of the Parlament houſe.

Whether the conuocation be part of the Parlament houſe or no: yet free libertie was geuen by the Quéene, euery man to ſpeake his conſcience.

Phil. My Lordes, I muſt be contented to abide your iudgementes in this behalfe.

Rich. We haue told you the truth. Mary yet we would not that you ſhould be troubled for any thyng that there was ſpoken, ſo that you hauyng ſpoken amiſſe, do declare now that you are ſory therfore.

Lond. My Lordes hee hath ſpoken there manifeſt hereſie, yea and there ſtoutly maintained the ſame agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar (and with that he put of his cap that all the Lordes might reuerence and vayle their bonets at that Idole as they did) and would not allow the reall preſence of the body and bloud of CHRIST in the ſame: yet my Lords, God forbid that I ſhould go about to ſhew him extremitie for ſo doyng, in caſe he will repent and reuoke his wicked ſayinges: and in faith if he will ſo do, with your Lordſhips conſent he ſhalbe releaſed by and by: Mary if he will not, he ſhall looke for the extremitie of the law, and that ſhortly.

Chamb. My Lord of London ſpeaketh reaſonably vnto you: take it whiles it is offred you.

Rich. How ſay you? will you acknowledge the reall preſence of the bloud and body of CHRIST, as all the learned men of this Realme do in the Maſſe, and as I do, and will beleue as long as I liue, I do proteſt it?

Phil. My Lord, I do acknowledge in the Sacramēt of the body and bloud of CHRIST ſuch a preſence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That ſhall be none otherwiſe then you liſt.

Lond. A Sacrament is the ſigne of a holy thyng: So that there is both the ſigne which is the accident (as the whitenes, roundnes, and ſhape of bread) and there is alſo ẏ thyng it ſelf, as very CHRIST both God and mā. But theſe heretickes will haue the Sacramentes to bee but bare ſignes. How ſay you? declare vnto my Lordes here whether you do allow the thing it ſelfe in the Sacramēt or no?

How *Boner* taketh in the Sacrament, to be both the ſigne and the thing ſignified.

Phil. I do confeſſe that in the Lordes Supper there is in due reſpectes both the ſigne and the thyng ſignified, when it is duely miniſtred after the inſtitution of CHRIST.

Both the ſigne and the thing ſignified in due reſpectes, be in the Sacrament.

Lond. You may ſee how hee goeth about the buſh (as he hath done before) with my Lordes of the Clergie, and dare not vtter his mynd plainly.

Riche. Shew vs what maner of preſence you allow in the Sacrament.

Phil. If it ſhall pleaſe you my Lord of London, to geue me leaue to procede orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mynd without interruption, I will throughly open my mynd therin.

L.Shand. I pray you my Lord, let him ſpeake his mind.

Phil. My Lordes, that at the firſt I haue not plainly declared my iudgement vnto you is this, becauſe I can not ſpeake hereof without the daunger of my life.

Rich. There is none of vs here that ſeeketh thy life, or meane to take any aduantage of that thou ſhalt ſpeake.

Ye ſay ye ſeeke not hys life, and yet ye know to aunſwere to that ye aske will be hys death.

Phil. Although I miſtruſt not your honorable Lordſhyps that be here of ẏ tēporalitie: yet here is one that ſitteth agaynſt me (poynting to my Lord of London) that will lay it to my charge euē to the death. Notwithſtandyng, ſeing your honours do require me to declare my mynde of the preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament, that ye may perceiue that I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell of CHRIST, neither do maintayne any opinion without probable and ſufficient authoritie of the Scripture, I will ſhew frankely my mind without all colour, what ſoeuer ſhall enſue vnto me therefore, ſo that my Lord of London will not let me to vtter my mynde.

Rich. My Lorde, permit him to ſay what he can, ſeyng he is willyng to ſhew his minde.

London. I am content my Lordes, let him ſay what he can, I will heare him.

The proteſtation of *Iohn Philpot* before the lordes.

Phil. That which I doe entend to ſpeake vnto you (right honorable Lordes) I do proteſt here, firſt before God and his Aungells, that I ſpeake it neither of vaynglory, neither of ſingularitie, neither of willfull ſtubburnes, but truly vpon a good conſcience grounded on Gods word, againſt ẏ which I dare not do for feare of damnatiō which will folow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I diſagrée to the procedynges of this Realme in Religion for that I loue not the Quéene (whom I loue from the bottom of my hart) but bicauſe I ought to loue and feare God in hys word more then man in hys lawes, though I ſtand as I ſéeme to do, in this cōſideration, and for none other, as God I call to witnes.

Two thinges wherein the clergie deceaueth the whole realme.

There be two thinges principally, by the which the Clergy at this day doth deceiue the whole realme: that is, the Sacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST, and the name of the Catholick church: the which both they do vſurpe, hauing in déede none of them both. And as touching their Sacrament, which they terme of the aultar, I ſay now as I ſayd in the Conuocation houſe, that it is not the Sacrament of CHRIST, neyther in the ſame is there any maner of CHRISTES preſence. Wherfore they deceiue the Quenes maieſty, and you of the nobility of this realme, in making you to beleue that to be a Sacrament which is none, and cauſe you to commit manifeſt idolatry in worſhipping that for God, which is no God. And in teſtimony of this to be true, beſydes manifeſt proofe which I am able to make to the Quéenes maieſty and to all you of her nobility, I will yeld my lyfe. The which to do, if it were not vpon a ſure ground, it were to my vtter damnation.

The Papiſtes haue neither the Sacramēt of the lordes body nor the true church.

Papiſtes vntruly vſurpe the name of the church.

And where they take on them the name of the Catholicke church (wherby they blynd many folkes eyes) they are nothing ſo, calling you from the true religion which was reueled and taught in K. Edwardes tyme, vnto vayne ſuperſtition. And this I will ſay for the triall hereof, that if they can proue them ſelues to be the Catholicke church (as they ſhall neuer be able to do) I will neuer be againſt their doinges, but reuoke all that I haue ſayd. And I ſhall deſyre you (my Lordes) to be a meane for me to the Quéenes maieſty, that I may be brought to the iuſt tryall hereof. Yea I will not refuſe to ſtand againſt ten of the beſt of them in this realme. And if they be able to proue otherwyſe then I haue ſayd, eyther by wryting or by reaſoning, with good and lawfull autority, I will here promiſe to recant whatſoeuer I haue ſaid, and to conſent to them in al points. And in the declaration of theſe thinges more at large, which now I wryte in ſumme, the Biſhop of London eftſones would haue interrupted me, but ẏ lordes procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of my Lord Biſhop of London, as it appeared by hys dumpes he was in.

M. Philpot offereth him ſelfe to ſtand againſt 10 of the beſt learned in the realme in proofe of hys cauſe.

London. It hath bene tolde me before, that you loue to make a long tale.

Rich. All heretickes do boaſt of the ſpirit of God, and euery one would haue a church by himſelfe: as Ione of Kent and the Anabaptiſtes. I had my ſelfe Ione of Kent a ſeuennight in my houſe after the writ was out for her to bee burnt, where my Lorde of Caunterbury and Biſhop Ridley reſorted almoſt dayly vnto her: but ſhee was ſo high in the ſpirit that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But ſhe went wilfully vnto the fyre, was burnt, and ſo do you now.

The Popes Catholickes when they haue no iuſt reaſon wherewith to perſuade, they fall to raiting, and to charge men with ſtubbernes.

Phil. As for Ione of Kent, ſhe was a vaine woman (I knew her well) & an hereticke in dede, well worthy to be burnt becauſe ſhe ſtode againſt one of the manifeſt articles of our fayth, contrary to the ſcripture: and ſuch vayn ſpirites be ſone knowen from the true ſpirit of God and his church, for that the ſame abydeth within the limites of Gods word and will not go out of the ſame, neyther ſtubburnely mayntayne any thing contrary to the word, as I haue Gods word throughly on my ſyde to ſhew for that I ſtand in.

London. I pray you, how will you ioyne me theſe two ſcriptures together: Pater maior me eſt: et pater & ego vnum ſumus, I muſt interprete the ſame, becauſe my Lordes here vnderſtand not the latin: that is to ſay: *The Father is greater then I*: and, *I and the father are one*. But I I cry you mercy my Lordes, I haue miſſpoken, in ſaying you vnderſtand no latine: for the moſt part of you vnderſtand latine as well as I. But I ſpake in conſideration of my Lord Shandoys and M. Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great latin men. Now ſhew you your cunning, & ioyne theſe two ſcriptures by the word if you can.

Phil. Yes that I can right well. For we muſt vnderſtād that in *CHRIST* there be two natures, the diuinitie and humanitie, and in reſpect of his humanitie it is ſpoken of *CHRIST*: *The Father is greater then I.* But in reſpect of his deitie, he ſayd agayn: *The Father and I be one.*

London. But what ſcripture haue you?

Phil. Yes, I haue ſufficient ſcripture for the proofe of that I haue ſayd. For the firſt, it is written of *CHRIST* in the Pſalmes: Diminuiſti eum paulominus ab Angelis: *Thou haſt made him a little leſſer then Angels*. It is the .xv. Pſalme, beginning: Cœli enarrant. And there I miſreckened, wherewithall my Lord toke me.

Pſalm.8.

London. It is in Domine Dominus noſter. Yee may ſee my Lords how wel this man is vſed to ſay his mattins.

Phil. Though I ſay not mattins in ſuch order as your Lordſhip meaneth: yet I remember of olde, that Domine dominus noſter, and Cœli enarrant, be not farre aſunder: and albeit I miſnamed the Pſalme, it is no preiudice to the truth of that I haue proued.

London. What ſay you then to the ſecond ſcripture? how couple you that by the worde to the other?

Scriptures alleged.

Phil. The text it ſelfe declareth, that notwithſtanding *CHRIST* dyd abaſe himſelfe in our humane nature: yet hee is ſtill one in deitie wyth the father. And thys S.Paule to the Hebrewes doth more at large ſet forth. And as I haue by the ſcriptures ioyned theſe two ſcriptures together, ſo am I able to do in all other articles of fayth which we ought to beleue, and by the manifeſt worde of God to expound them.

London. How can that be, ſeing S.Paule ſaith, *that the letter killeth, but it is the ſpirite that geueth lyfe.*

How the letter killeth, and whom. *2.Cor.3.*

Phil. S.Paule meaneth not that the woorde of God written in it ſelfe killeth, which is the worde of lyfe and the faythfull teſtimony of the Lord, but that the word is vnprofitable and killeth him that is void of the ſpirit of God, although hee bee the wyſeſt man of the world: and therefore S. Paule ſayd, *that the Goſpell to ſome was a ſauour of lyfe vnto lyfe, and to ſome other a ſauour of death vnto death*. Alſo an exāple hereof wée haue in the vj. of Iohn, of them who hearing ẏ word of God without the ſpirite were offended therby: wherefore *CHRIST* ſayd: *the fleſh profiteth nothing, it is the ſpirit that quickeneth.*

Iohn. 6.

London. What? do you vnderſtand that of S.Paule and of S. Iohn ſo?

Phil. It is not myne owne interpretation, it is agreable to the word in other places: and I haue learned the ſame of auncient Fathers interpreting it likewiſe. And to the Corinthians it is written: Animalis homo nō percipit ea quæ ſunt ſpiritus Dei: ſpiritualis diiudicat omnia. *The naturall man perceyueth not the thinges that be of the ſpirit of God: but the ſpirituall man which is indued with the ſpirit, iudgeth all thinges.*

1.Cor.2.

London You ſee my Lordes, that this man will haue but his owne mynd, and will wilfully caſt away hymſelfe. I am ſory for hym.

Phil. The wordes that I haue ſpokē be none of myne but of the Goſpell, whereon I ought to ſtand. And if you my Lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me vnto, then that which I ſtand vpō, I will gladly heare the ſame by you or by any other in this realme.

Wherefore I kneeling downe, beſought the Lords to be good vnto me a poore gentleman, that would fain liue in the world if I might: and to teſtify, as you haue heard me to ſay this day, that if any man can approue that I ought to be of any other maner of fayth then that of which I now am, and can proue the ſame ſufficiently, I will be neyther wilfull neyther deſperate, as my Lord of London would make you beleue me to be.

Rich. What countrey man be you? are you of the Philpots of Hampſhiere?

Phil. Yea my Lord, I was Sir Peter Philpots ſone of Hampſhiere.

Rich. Hee is my neare kinſman: wherfore I am the more ſory for him.

Phil. I thanke your Lordſhip that it pleaſeth you to chalenge kinred of a poore priſoner.

Rich. In fayth I would go an hundreth myles on my bare feete to do you good.

Cham. He may do well inough if he liſt.

S.Iohn. M. Philpot, you art my countrey man, and I would be glad you ſhould do well.

Rich. You ſayd euen now, that you would deſyre to maintain your beleife before ten of the beſt in the realm. You did not well to compare with the Nobility of the realme. But what if you haue x. of the beſt of the realme to heare you, will you be tryed by them?

Phil. My Lord, your lordſhip miſtaketh me to thinke that I challenge ten of the beſt of the Nobility in thys realme: It was no part of my mynd, but I ment of the beſt learned on the contrary ſyde.

Rich. Well, I take your meaning. What if meanes be made to the Queenes maieſty, that you ſhall haue your requeſt? will you be iudged by them?

Phil. My Lord, it is not meete that a man ſhould bee iudged by his aduerſaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be iudged?

Phil. I will make your honours iudges, that ſhalbe hearers of vs.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queenes maieſty that you ſhall haue tenne learned men to reaſon with you, and twenty or forty of the Nobility to heare, ſo you will promiſe to abyde their iudgement. How ſay you? will you promiſe here afore my Lordes ſo to do?

Phil. I will be contented to be iudged by them.

Rich. Yea, but will you promiſe to agree to their iudgment.

Phil. There be cauſes why I may not ſo do, vnleſſe I were ſure they would iudge according to the worde of God.

Rich. O, I perceiue you will haue no man iudge but your ſelfe, and thinke your ſelfe wiſer then all the learned men of this realme.

Phil. My Lord, I ſeeke not to be myne owne Iudge, but am content to be iudged by other, ſo that the order of iudgement in matters of religion be kept that was in the primatiue church, which is, firſt that Gods wyll by hys word was ſought, & thereunto both the ſpiritualtie & temporaltie was gathered together, & gaue their conſents and iudgement: and ſuch kinde of iudgemēt I wyll ſtand to.

London. My Lordes, he would make you beleue that he were profoundly ſene in aūcient writers of the iudgements of the primatiue church, and there was neuer any ſuch maner of iudgement vſed as he now talketh of.

Phil. In the Epiſtles of Saint Cyprian I am able to ſhew it you.

London. A, I tell you there is no ſuch thing: fet mee Cyprian hether.

Phil. You ſhall finde it otherwyſe when the booke commeth. And D. Chadſey hys Chaplaine (whom he appointed to fet hys booke) whiſpered the biſhop in hys eare, and fet not the booke, by lykelyhood that he ſhould haue ſuſteined the reproch therof if the booke had bene fet. Wel my Lord (quoth I) maſter Doctor knoweth it is ſo, or els he would haue fet the booke ere this.

Rych. You woulde haue none other iudge (I ſee) but the word.

Phil. Yes my Lord, I wyll be tryed by the word, and by ſuch as wyll iudge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controuerſie betwixt your lordſhip and an other vpon the wordes of a Statute, muſt not the wordes of the Statute iudge and determine the controuerſie?

In a controuerſie of the law whether the law or the iudge of the law doth iudge.

Rych. No mary, the Iudges of the law may determine the meaning thereof.

London. He hath brought as good example againſt him ſelfe, as can be.

And here the Biſhop thought he had good handfaſt againſt me, and therfore enlarged it with many wordes to the iudgement of the church.

B. Boner triumpheth before ẏ victory.

The Lords. He hath ouerthrowen hymſelfe by his own argument.

Phil. My Lordes, it ſeemeth to your honors that you haue great aduantage of me by the example I brought in to expreſſe my cauſe: but if it be pondered throughly, it maketh wholy wyth me, and nothing againſt me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I wil aſke of my L. Rich here, whom I know to haue good knowledge in the lawes and ſtatutes of this realme, albeit a Iudge may diſcerne the meaning of a ſtatute agreable to the wordes, whether the ſame may iudge a meaning contrary to the expreſſe wordes or no?

If a Iudge of the law may not diſcerne the meaning of a ſtatute otherwiſe then agreable to the wordes: ſo hath the church no power to iudge the meaning of Gods word, contrary to it ſelfe.

Rich. Hee cannot ſo do.

Phil. Euen ſo ſay I, that no man ought to iudge the worde of God to haue a meanyng contrary to the expreſſe wordes thereof, as thys falſe Church of Rome doth in many things: and wyth thys the Lordes ſeemed to be ſatiſfied, and made no further replication herein.

Rich. I maruayle then why you doe denye the expreſſe wordes of *CHRIST* in the ſacrament, ſaying: *This is my body*, and yet you wyll not ſticke to ſay it is not hys body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by hys omnipotencie to make it his body, as hee was to make man fleſh of a peece of clay? Did not he ſay: *This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you?* and was not his very body betraied for vs? therfore it muſt needes be his body.

Obiection of ẏ Lord *Rich*, why the wordes of thys ſcripture are not to be taken: [this is my body?]

Lond. My L. Rich, you haue ſaid wōderful wel & learnedly. But you might haue begun wyth hym before alſo in ẏ ſixt of Iohn, where *CHRIST* promiſed to geue hys body in the ſacrament of the aultar, ſaying: Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea eſt: *The bread which I wyll geue, is my fleſh.* Howe can you aunſwer to that?

Phil. If it pleaſe you to geue me leaue to aunſwere firſt my L. Rich, I wyll alſo aunſwere this obiection.

Rich. Aunſwere my Lorde of London firſt, and after come to me.

Phil. My Lord of London may be ſoone aunſwered, that the ſaying of Saint Iohn is, that the humanity of *CHRIST*, which he tooke on hym for the redemption of man, is the bread of lyfe, whereby our bodies and ſoules be ſuſteyned to eternall lyfe, of the which the ſacramentall bread is a lyuely repreſentation and an effectuall cohabitation to all ſuch as beleue on his paſſion: and as *CHRIST* ſayth in the ſame ſixt of Iohn, *I am the bread that came downe from heauen*, but yet hee is not materiall neither naturall bread. Likewyſe the bread is hys fleſhe, not naturall or ſubſtantiall, but by ſignification, and by grace in a Sacrament.

Aunſwere to *B. Boners* obiection.

The place *Iohn. 6.* expounded, [The bread that I will geue is my fleſh, &c?]

And now to my Lord Riches argument. I doe not deny the expreſſe wordes of *CHRIST* in the ſacramēt, *This is my body*: but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they muſt be taken ſacramētally and ſpiritually, according to the expreſſe declaration of *CHRIST* ſaying, that the wordes of the Sacrament which the Capernaites tooke carnally, as the Papiſtes nowe do, ought to be taken ſpiritually, and not carnally, as they falſely imagine, not waying what interpretatiō Chriſt hath made in this behalfe, neyther followe the inſtitution of *CHRIST*, neyther the vſe of the Apoſtels and of the primatiue Church, who neuer taught, neyther declared no ſuch carnall maner of preſence as is now exacted of vs violently without any ground of ſcripture or antiquity, who vſed to put out of ẏ church all ſuch as dyd not receiue the ſacrament with the reſt, and alſo to burne that which was left after the receyuing, as by the Canon of the Apoſtles and by the decree of the Councell of Antioch, may appeare.

Anſwere to the *L. Riches* obiection.

Papiſtes cater coſins to the Capernaites.

Tranſubſtantiation hath neither ground of ſcripture, nor antiquitie.

London. No, that is not ſo: they were onely Cathecumeni which went out of the Church at the celebration of the Communion, and none other.

Phil. It was not onely of ſuch as were Nouices in fayth, but all others that did not receiue.

London. What ſay you to the omnipotency of God? is not he able to performe that which he ſpake, as my Lord Rych hath very wel ſaid? I tel thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himſelfe to be this carpet if he wyl.

Pſal. 150.

Phil. As concerning the omnipotency of God, I ſay that God is able to do (as the Prophet Dauid ſayth) what ſoeuer he wylleth: but he wylleth nothing that is not agreable to his word: as that is blaſphemy which my Lord of Lōdon hath ſpoken, that God may become a Carpet. For as I haue learned of auncient writers: Non poteſt Deus facere quæ ſunt naturæ ſuæ contraria: that is, *God cannot do that which is contrary to hys nature*, as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a Carpet. A Carpet is a creature, and God is the creator: and the creator cannot be the creature: wherfore vnleſſe you can declare by the word, that *CHRIST* is otherwyſe preſent with vs then ſpiritually and ſacramentally by grace, as he hath taught vs, you pretende the omnipotency of God in vayne.

B. Boners irreuerent and blaſphemous ſpeaking of God.

The omnipotencie pretended in vaine.

London. Why? wyll you not ſay that *CHRIST* is really preſent in the ſacrament? Or do you deny it?

Phil. I deny not that *CHRIST* is really in the Sacrament to the receauer thereof, according to *CHRISTES* inſtitution.

Chriſt in the Sacrament really preſent to the receauer.

London. What meane you by really preſent?

Phil. I meane by really preſent, preſent in deede.

What he calleth really.

London. Is God really preſent euery where?

Phil. He is ſo.

London. How proue you that?

Phil. The Prophet Eſay ſayth: *that God filleth all places*: and wherſoeuer be two or three gathered together in *CHRISTES* name, there is he in the middeſt of thē.

London. What? his humanitie?

Phil. No my Lord, I meane the deitie, according to that you demaunded.

Rich. My Lorde of London, I pray you let M. Doctor Chedſey reaſon with him, and let vs ſee how he can aunſwere him: for I tell thee he is a learned man in dede, and one that I do credite before a great many of you, whoſe doctrine the Queenes maieſty & the whole realme doth doth well allow, therefore heare him.

B. Boner to ſpeake for *Iohn Philpot.*

London. My Lordes I pray you, will it pleaſe you to drinke? you haue talked a great whyle, and much talke is thirſty. I wil leaue M. Doctor & him reaſoning together a whyle, with your leaue, and will come to you by and by agayne. He went (as I ſuppoſe) to make roume for more drinke, after the Lordes had dronke.

The Lordes fall to drinking.

Rich. My Lord Rich ſaid to the Lordes, I pray you let the poore man drinke, for hee is thirſty: and with that, he called for a cup of drinke, and gaue it me, & I dranke before them all: God requyre it him, for I was a thirſt in deede. Afterwardes D. Chadſey began in this wyſe, making a great proceſſe, of the which this is the effect.

L. Rich biddeth *M. Philpot* to drinke.

Chad. M. Philpot fyndeth fault with the Conuocation houſe before your Lordſhips, that hee hath layne thys long in priſon, and that he had there a doſen arguments, wherof he could not be ſuffred to proſecute one throughly, which is not ſo: for hee had* leaue to ſay what hee could and was aunſwered to aſmuch as he was able to bring: and when he had *nothing els to ſay, he fell to weeping. I was there preſent and can teſtify thereof: albeit there is a booke abroad of the report of the diſputation to the contrary, in the which there is *neuer a true word. And where as you requyre to be ſatiſfyed of the Sacrament, I will ſhew you the*truth thereof, both by the ſcriptures, and by the Doctours.

Chadſey beginneth to diſpute with *M. Philpot.*

4. Untruthes of *Chadſey*, at one clappe.
*1. Untruth.
*2. Untruth.
*3. Untruth.
*4 Untruth.

Phil. It is a ſhrewed lykelyhhode that you will conclude vs any truth, ſince you haue begun with ſo manifeſt vntruthes, as to ſay that I was aūſwered whiles I had any thing to ſay, & that I wept for lacke of matter to ſay, and that the booke of the report of the diſputation is nothing true. God be prayſed, there were a good many of noble men, gentlemen, and worſhipfull men that heard and ſaw the doings thereof, which can teſtifie that you here haue made an vniuſt report before theſe honourable Lordes. And that I wept, was not for lacke of matter, as you ſclaūder me: for I thāke God, I haue more matter then the beſt of you all ſhall euer be able to annſwere, as little learning as I haue: but my weeping was, as *CHRISTES* was vpon Ieruſalem ſeing the deſtruction that ſhoulde fall vppon her: and I foreſeing then the deſtruction which you (through violence & vnrighteouſnes, which you there declared) would worke agaynſt the true Church of *CHRIST* and his faythfull members (as this day beareth witnes) was compelled to weepe in remembraunce of that which I with infinite more haue felt and ſhall feele.

M. Philpot aunſwereth *D. Chadſey.*

All theſe wordes I did not then ſpeake out, being interrupted by my Lord Rich, ſaying that I ſhould ſuffer him to procede out in his matter, and afterwards I ſhould haue leaſure to anſwere him in euery article. But he promiſed more then he could performe as the ende did well declare: for hee had not the conſent of the ſpiritualty to his promiſe, which now rule the roſt. God ſhorten their cruell dayes, for his electes ſake. And therefore I adde this, which I had purpoſed to haue ſpoken if then I might haue bene ſuffered, leſt any that perfectly know not the thinges done in the Cōuocation houſe & now layd to my charge, if they ſhould not be aunſwered by me, might recken D. Chadſeys ſayinges to be true. And as concerning the booke of the report of the diſputations, I wrote the ſame, and it is true in euery argument, as M. Deane of Rocheſter, and M. Cheyney Archdeacon of Harford (yet being alyue, and within this realme) can teſtify.

Iohn Philpot interru ted in h anſwere.

Prayſ to the for to he hath.

Cōcern this boo of the C nocati houſe, before 1574.

Chad. You haue of ſcriptures the foure Euangeliſtes for the probation of *CHRISTES* reall preſence to be in the Sacrament after the wordes of conſecration, with Saint Paul to ẏ Corinthians: which all ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meū: *this is my body*. They ſay not as you woulde haue me to beleue, this is not the body. But ſpecially the. vj. of Iohn proueth the ſame moſt manifeſtly, where *CHRIST* promiſed to geue his body, which hee performed in his laſt ſupper, as it appeareth by theſe wordes: Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea eſt, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita: *The bread which I will geue is my fleſh, which I will geue for the lyfe of the world.*

Chadſe proueth the Sacrament the 6. of Iohn.

Phil. My Lord Rich, with your leaue, I muſt nedes interrupt him a little, becauſe hee ſpeaketh open blaſphemy agaynſt the death of *CHRIST*: for if that promiſe brought in by S. Iohn was performed by Chriſt in his laſt ſupper, then neded he not to haue dyed after he had geuen the Sacrament.

Rich. Let M. Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward obiect to hym what you can.

Chad. You muſt note that there is twiſe *Dabo in this ſaying of S. Iohn, & the firſt is referred to the Sacrament of the altar, & the ſecond to the ſacrifice vpon the croſſe: and beſides theſe manifeſt Scriptures, there bee many auncient Doctours prouing the ſame, as Ignatius, Irenæus, & S. Cyprian (whoſe authorities he recited at large) which I do omitte becauſe I was not permitted to aunſwere the ſame.

*Do is there tw Ego two and yet one natu rall body

Riche. Now aunſwere, and obiect to him what you can, and you ſhalbe heard.

Phil. My Lord, the chiefeſt ground where he with the reſt of his ſide do ground them ſelues againſt vs, be theſe wordes: *This is my body*, with a falſe pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I wil come to the particular aunſweres of all that he hath alledged, for that your Lordſhyps may the better vnderſtand me, what I meane and wherupon I ſtand, I will require Maſter Doctour to aūſwere me one queſtion. But firſt of all, I do proteſt to your honours that I thinke as reuerently of the Sacrament, as a Chriſtian man ought to do: and that I acknowledge the Sacrament of the body and bloud of *CHRIST*, miniſtred after *CHRISTES* inſtitution, to be one of the greateſt treaſures and comfortes that he left vs on the earth: and contrarywiſe it is moſt diſcomfort & abominable, not beyng miniſtred as it ought to be, as it is vſed now a dayes. And now to my queſtion, which is this: whether theſe wordes only: Hoc eſt corpus meum: *This is my body*, ſpoken by Prieſt ouer the bread and wyne, may make the

Iohn Philpot anſwere with pro teſtatio

A que ſtion of *Iohn Philpot.*

the body and bloud of CHRIST, as you ſuppoſe or no?

Chadſey. Staggering what he might ſay, at laſt he ſaid, that theſe wordes alone, pronoūced by the Prieſt, be ſufficient to make the bread and the wyne the very body and bloud of CHRIST really.

Phil. That is blaſphemy to ſay, and agaynſt all the Scriptures and Doctours, who affirme that the forme and ſubſtaūce in conſecration muſt be obſerued which CHRIST vſed and did inſtitute, as S. Cyprian ſayth. In ſacrificio quod Chriſtus eſt, non niſi Chriſtus ſequendus: *In the ſacrifice which is CHRIST, only is CHRIST to be followed.* And by the law it is forbidden to adde or take away from Gods word. And S.Peter ſaith: *if any man ſpeake, let him ſpeake as the worde of God.* Wherfore whoſoeuer ſayth that theſe words only, *this is my body,* doe make a preſence of CHRIST, with out, *bleſſe, take, and eate,* which be thrée as ſubſtantiall pointes of the Sacrament as, *this is my body,* is, hee is highly deceaued. Therefore S.Auſten ſayth, Accedat verbum ad elementum & fit ſacramentum: *Let the worde be ioyned to the element, and it becommeth a Sacrament:* So that if ẏ entier word of CHRISTES inſtitution be not obſerued in the miniſtration of a Sacrament, it is no Sacrament: as the ſacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable becauſe they were not in all pointes done accordyng to Gods word. Wherfore except bleſſing be made after the word (which is a due thankeſgeuyng for our redemption in CHRIST): and alſo a ſhewyng forth of the Lordes death in ſuch wiſe as the congregation may be edified: and moreouer a takyng and eatyng after CHRISTES cōmaundemēt: except (I ſay) theſe thrée partes be firſt performed (which is not done in the Maſſe) theſe wordes: *This is my body,* which are laſt placed in the inſtitution of the Lordes Supper, can not be verified. For CHRIST commaunded aſwell, *take ye, eate ye,* as *this is my body.*

Chadſey. CHRIST ſayd: *take, eate, thys is my body,* and not, take ye, eate ye.

Phil. No did Maſter Doctour? Be not theſe the wordes of CHRIST: accipite, manducate? and do not theſe wordes in the plurall number ſignifie, *take ye, eate ye:* and not take thou, eate thou, as you would ſuppoſe?

Chadſey. I graunt it is as you ſay.

Phil. Likewiſe of conſequency, you (Maſter Doctour) muſt néedes deny, which you haue ſayd, that theſe wordes, *This is my body,* beyng onely ſpokē, be ſufficiēt to make the body and bloud of CHRIST in the Sacrament, as you haue vntruly ſayd.

Lond. Then came in the Biſhop agayne, & ſayd, what is that you would haue Maſter Doctour deny?

Phil. My Lord, Maſter Doctour hath affirmed that theſe wordes, *This is my body,* ſpokē by the Prieſt, onely do make the Sacrament.

Lond. In deede if M.Bryges ſhould ſpeake theſe words ouer the bread and wine, they would bee of none effect: but if a Prieſt ſpeake them after a due maner, they are effectuall, and make a reall body.

Phil. Maſter Doctour hath ſayd otherwiſe.

Lond. I thinke you miſtake him: for he meaneth of the wordes duely pronounced.

Phil. Let him reuoke that he hath graunted, & then will I begyn agayn with that which before was ſayd: that, *this is my body,* hath no place, except, *bleſſe, take, and eate,* duely go before. And therefore becauſe the ſame wordes do not go before *this is my body,* but prepoſterouſly folow in your Sacrament of the Maſſe, it is not the Sacrament of CHRIST, neither hath CHRIST in it preſent.

Chadſey. If, *this is my body,* onely do not make the Sacrament, no more do, *bleſſe, take, and eate.*

Phil. I graunt that the one without the other can not make the Sacrament. And it can be no Sacramēt vnleſſe the whole action of CHRIST doth concurre together accordyng to the firſt inſtitution.

Chadſey. Why, then you will not haue it to be the body of CHRIST, vnleſſe it be receaued.

Phil. No verely, it is not the very body of CHRIST to none other, but to ſuch as condignely receaue the ſame after his inſtitution.

Sacramentes with out their vſe, be no Sacramentes.

Lond. Is not a loafe a loafe, beyng ſet on the table though no body eate therof?

Phil. It is not lyke my Lord. For a loafe is a loafe before it be ſet on the table: but ſo is not the Sacrament a perfect Sacramēt before it be duely miniſtred at the table of the Lord.

The Sacrament of the Lordes body without receauing, is no Sacrament.

Lond. I pray you, what is it in the meane while, before it is receaued, after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken? aunſwere me.

Phil. It is (my Lord) the ſigne begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect Sacramēt vntill it be receaued. For in the Sacrament there be two things to be cōſidered, the ſigne and the thyng it ſelf, which is CHRIST & his whole paſſiō: and it is that to none but to ſuch as worthely receaue ẏ holy ſignes of bread & wine, according to CHRISTES inſtitution.

Winſor. There were neuer none that denied ẏ wordes of CHRIST as you do. Did not he ſay: *This is my body?*

Phil. My Lord, I pray you be not deceaued. We do not deny the wordes of CHRIST: but we ſay, theſe wordes be of none effect, beyng ſpoken otherwiſe then CHRIST did inſtitute them in his laſt Supper. For an example: CHRIST byddeth the Church *to Baptiſe in the name of the Father, the Sonne, & the holy Ghoſt:* if a prieſt ſay thoſe wordes ouer the water and there be no child to be Baptiſed, thoſe wordes onely pronounced do not make Baptiſme. And agayne, Baptiſme is onely Baptiſme to ſuch as be Baptiſed, and to none other ſtandyng by.

No Baptiſme is no Baptiſme, but to the child that is Baptiſed, and not to the ſtanders by: ſo the Sacrament of the body is no Sacrament but to them that worthely receaue.

L.Chamb. I pray you my Lord, let me aſke him one queſtion. What kynd of preſence in the Sacrament (duely miniſtred accordyng to CHRISTES ordinance) do you allowe?

Phil. If any come worthely to receaue, then do I cōfeſſe the preſence of CHRIST wholy to bee, with all the fruites of his paſſion, vnto the ſayd worthy receauer, by the ſpirite of God, and that CHRIST is therby ioyned to him and he to CHRIST.

L.Chamb. I am aunſwered.

Lond. My Lordes, take no heede of him, for he goeth about to deceaue you. His ſimilitude that he bringeth in of Baptiſme, is nothing like to the Sacrament of the altar. For if I ſhoulde ſay to Syr John Bryges being with me at Supper, and hauing a fat Capon, take, eate, this is a fat Capon, although he eate not therof, is it not a Capon ſtil? And likewiſe of a peece of Beefe, or of a cup of wyne, if I ſay: drinke, this is a good cup of wyne, is it not ſo, becauſe he drinketh not therof?

My Lord is better ſkilled in a fat Capon, then in Chriſtes Sacramentes.

Phil. My Lord, your ſimilitudes be to groſſe for ſo hygh myſteries as we haue in hand, as if I were your equall, I could more plainly declare: and there is much more diſſimilitude betwene common meates and drinkes then there is betwene Baptiſme and the Sacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST. Like muſt be compared to like, and ſpirituall thinges with ſpirituall, and not ſpirituall thinges with corporall thinges. And meates and drinkes be of their own natures good or euill, and your wordes commendyng or diſcommendyng, do but declare what they are. But the Sacramentes be to be conſidered accordyng to the worde which CHRIST ſpake of them: of the which, *take ye, and eate ye,* be ſome of the chief, concurrent to the makyng of the ſame, without the which there can be no Sacramentes: and therfore in Greke, the Sacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST is called κοινωνία. i. *Communion:* and likewiſe in the Goſpell CHRIST commaunded ſaying: Diuidite inter vos. i. *diuide it among you.*

Chadſed. S.Paul calleth it a *Communication.*

Phil. That doth more expreſly ſhewe that there muſt be a participation of the Sacrament together.

Lond. My Lordes, I am ſory I haue troubled you ſo long with this obſtinate man, with whom we can do no good: I will trouble you no longer now: and with that the

You are to ſpeake my Lord, you may riſe when ye will.

the Lordes roſe vp, none of them ſaying any euill word vnto me, halfe amazed, in my iudgement, God worke it to good.

Thus endeth the ſixt part of this tragedie:
The ſeuenth looke for with ioy.

¶ The vij. examination of Iohn Philpot, had the xix. of Nouember, before the Byſhops of London and Rocheſter, the Chauncellour of Lichefield, Doctour Chadſey, Maſter Dee bacheler of Diuinitie.

An other calling of *Iohn Philpot* before the Biſhop.

LOndon. Syrha come hither. How chaunce you come no ſooner? Is it well done of you to make Maſter Chauncellour and me to tary for you this houre? by the faith of my body, halfe an houre before Maſſe, and halfe an houre euen at Maſſe, lookyng for your comming?

Phil. My Lord, it is not vnknowen vnto you, that I am a priſoner, and that the doores bee ſhut vppon me, and I can not come when I lyſt: but as ſoone as the doores of my priſon were open, I came immediatly.

Lond. We ſent for thee to the intẽt thou ſhouldeſt haue come to Maſſe. How ſay you, would you haue come to Maſſe or no, if the doores had ſooner bene opened?

Phil. My Lord, that is an other maner of queſtion.

Lond. Loe Maſter Chauncellor, I told you we ſhould haue a froward felow of him: he will aunſwere directly to nothyng. I haue had him before both the ſpirituall Lordes and the temporall, and thus he fareth ſtill: yet he reckeneth him ſelfe better learned then all the Realme. Yea, before the temporall Lordes the other day, he was ſo fooliſh to chalenge the beſt: hee would make him ſelfe learned, and is a very ignoraunt foole in deede.

You ſayd before he was learned.

Phil. I recken I aunſwered your Lordſhyp before the Lordes playne enough.

London. Why aunſwereſt thou not directly, whether thou wouldeſt haue gone to Maſſe with vs or no, if thou haddeſt come in tyme?

Phil. Mine aunſwere ſhalbe thus, that if your Lordſhyp can proue your maſſe, wherunto you would haue me to come, to be the true ſeruice of God, whereunto a Chriſtian ought to come, I wil afterward come with a good will.

Note how ſubſtancially *B.Boner* proueth the Maſſe.

Lond. Looke I pray you: the kyng and the Queene, and all the nobilitie of the Realme do come to Maſſe, and yet he will not. By my faith thou art to well handled: thou ſhalt be worſe hãdled hereafter, I warrãt thee.

Phil. If to lye in a blynde Colehouſe, may be counted good handlyng, both without fire and candle, then may it be ſayd, I am well handled. Your Lordſhip hath power to entreate my body as you lyſt.

London. Thou art a foole, and a very ignorant foole. Maſter chauncellor, in good fayth I haue handled hym and hys felowes with as much gentlenes as they can deſire. I let their frends come vnto them to relieue thẽ. And wot ye what? the other day they had gotten them ſelues vp into the top of the leades with a many of prentiſes, galing abroad as though they had bene at liberty: but I ſhall cut of your reſort: and as for the Prentiſes, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

The priſoners charged with that which they neither did nor knew of.

Phil. My Lorde, wee haue no ſuch reſorte to vs as your Lordſhip imagineth, and there cõmeth very fewe vnto vs. And of Prentiſes I knowe not one, neyther haue we any leades to walke on ouer our Colehouſe, that I wot of: wherefore your Lordſhip hath myſtaken your marke.

He meaneth *Steuen Gardiner,* which in this moneth dyed a litle before.

Lond. Nay, now you thinke (becauſe my Lord Chauncellour is gone) that we will burne no mo: yes I warrãt thee, I wil diſpatch you ſhortly, vnleſſe you do recant.

Phil. My lord, I had not thought that I ſhould haue bene alyue now, neyther ſo raw as I am, but well roſted vnto aſhes.

Chaun. Caſt not your ſelfe wilfully away M. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, & by other learned men of this realme, and you may do wel inough.

M.Philpot ſtandeth vpon his conſcience and the feare of God.

Phil. My conſcience beareth me recorde that I ſeeke to pleaſe God, and that the loue and feare of God cauſeth me to do as I doe: and I were of all other creatures moſt miſerable, if for myne owne wyll onely I dyd loſe all the commodities I might haue in thys lyfe, and afterwarde to bee caſt to damnation. But I am ſure, it is not my will whereon I ſtand, but Gods wil, which wyl not ſuffer me to be caſt away, I am ſure.

Chaun. You are not ſo ſure, but you may be deceaued.

London. Well, ſince thou wylt not be conformable by no faire meane, I wyll procede againſt thee Ex officio, and therefore harken here to ſuch Articles as I haue here wrytten, and I charge thee to make anſwer to thẽ: and with that he red a libell which he had in his hand of diuers articles, & whẽ he had done, he bad me anſwere.

Phil. Your libell (my Lord) containeth in ſũme, two ſpeciall poyntes: The firſt pretendeth, that I ſhould be of your dioceſſe, and therefore your Lordſhip vpon diuers ſuſpects and infamies of hereſie goyng vpon me, is moued to procede agaynſt me by your Ordinary office: the which firſt is not true, for that I am not of your Lordſhips dioces, as the lybell doth pretend. And the ſecond is, that I beyng baptiſed in the catholicke Church, and in the catholicke fayth, am gone from them: the which is not ſo, for I am of that catholycke fayth and church as I was baptiſed vnto.

London. What? art thou not of my dioces? where are ye now, I pray you?

Phil. My lord, I cã not deny but I am in your Colehouſe, which is in your dioceſſe: yet am I not of your dioceſſe.

London. You were ſent hether vnto me by the Queenes maieſties cõmiſſioners, and thou art now in my dioces: wherfore I wyll procede againſt thee as thy Ordinary.

Phil. I was brought hether through violence, and therefore my preſent beyng now in your dioces, is not inough to abrydge me of myne own ordinarye iuriſdiction, neyther maketh it me vnwillyngly ſubiect to your iuriſdiction, ſince it commeth by force, and by ſuch men as had no iuſt authority ſo to do, no more then a ſanctuary man beyng by force brought foorth of hys place of priuiledge, doth therby loſe hys priuiledge, but alwaies may chalenge the ſame where ſoeuer he be brought.

Chadſey. Hath not the Queenes Maieſty authority by her Commiſſioners, to remoue your body whether ſhee wyll? and ought you not to obey herein?

Phil. I graunt that the Queenes maieſtye (of her iuſt power) may tranſpoſe my body, whether it ſhall pleaſe her grace to commaunde the ſame. But yet by your lawes, Spiritualia non ſunt ſubiecta Imperatoris poteſtati. i. *Spirituall cauſes bee not ſubiect to the temporall power*. As for example: you maſter Doctor, if the Queenes maieſtye woulde appoynt two temporall men to be iudges ouer you in certayne ſpirituall matters, might not you alledge ẏ priuiledge of a Clarke, & demaund competent ſpirituall iudges in your cauſes?

London. Doth not a man (I pray you) ſortiri forum ratione delicti?

Phil. My Lord, your rule is true in temporall matters, but in ſpirituall cauſes it is not ſo: which bee otherwyſe priuileged.

London. What ſayeſt thou then to the ſeconde article, & to the other?

Phil. My Lord, I ſay that I am not boũd to anſwer the ſecond, neyther the reſt, vnleſſe the fyrſt be proued.

London. Well, ſuppoſe the fyrſt may bee proued (as it wyll be) what will you ſay then to the ſecond, that you are not of the ſame catholicke fayth, neither of the ſame church now, as you were baptiſed in?

Phil. I am of the ſame catholicke fayth, and of the ſame catholicke church which is of *CHRIST*, the pyller and ſtabliſhment of truth.

London. Nay that you are not.

Phil. Yes that I am.

London. Your Godfathers and Godmothers were of an other faith then you be now.

Phil. I was not baptiſed neyther into my Godfathers fayth nor my Godmothers, but into the fayth, & into the church of *CHRIST*.

Lond. How know you that?

Phil. By the word of God, which is the touchſtone of fayth, and the limites of the Church.

Lond. How long hath your church ſtand, I pray you?

Phil. Euen from the beginning, from *CHRIST* and from his Apoſtels, & from their immediate ſucceſſors.

Chaun. He wil proue his church to be before *CHRIST*.

Phil. If I dyd ſo, I go not amyſſe: for there was a Church before the comming of *CHRIST*, which maketh one catholicke Church.

Chaun. It is ſo in deede.

Phil. I wyll deſire no better rule then the ſame which is often tymes brought in of your ſide, to proue both my fayth and ẏ catholicke church: that is, antiquitie, vniuerſalitie, and vnitie.

London. Do you not ſee what a bragging fooliſhe felow this is? He would ſeeme to be very well ſeene in the Doctors, and he is but a foole. By what Doctor art thou able to proue thy Church? Name hym, and thou ſhalt haue hym.

Phil. My Lord, let me haue all your auncient wryters with pen, and ynke, and paper, and I wyll proue both my faith and my church out of euery one of them.

London. No, that thou ſhalt not haue. You ſhall ſee how he lyeth. S. Cyprian ſayth, *there muſt be one high Prieſt, to the which the reſidue muſt obey*, and they wyll allowe no head, neither Vicar generall.

Phil. S. Cyprian ſaith not, that there ſhould be a Vicar generall ouer all. For in hys booke De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, I am ſure he ſayth the contrary: Vnus epiſcopatus eſt, cuius pars in ſolidum a ſingulis tenetur. i. *There is but one biſhopricke which is wholy poſſeſſed of euery biſhop in part.*

London. Fet hyther the booke, thou ſhalt ſee the manifeſt place agaynſt thee.

Doctor Chadſey brought the booke, and turned to the place in an Epiſtle written vnto Cornelius then biſhop of Rome, and recited theſe wordes in ſumme, *that it went not well with the church, where the high Prieſt was not obeyed*, and ſo woulde haue concluded for the confirmation of the biſhops ſaying.

Phil. Maſter Doctor you miſconſtrue the place of S. Cyprian: for hee meaneth not there by the hygh Prieſt, the biſhop of Rome: but euery Patriarke in hys precinct, of whom there were foure appoynted in hys tyme. And in writing vnto Cornelius hee meaneth by the high Prieſt, himſelf, which was then chiefe biſhop of Africa, whoſe authority the heretickes began to deſpiſe. Wherof he complayneth to Cornelius, and ſayth: the Church can not be well ordered, where the chiefe Miniſter by order, after the iudgement of the ſcriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the conſent of hys fellow biſhops, is not obeyed.

London. Hath not the biſhop of Rome alwayes beene supreme head of the Church, & CHRISTES Vicar in earth euen from Peter?

Phil. No, that he was not. For by the worde of God he hath no more autority, then the B. of London hath.

London. What not Peter head of the Church? And hath not the Biſhop of Rome, which is hys ſucceſſour, the ſame authoritie?

Phil. I graunt that the byſhop of Rome as hee is the ſucceſſour of Peter, hath the ſame authoritie as Peter had: but Peter had no more authority, then euery one of the Apoſtles had.

Chaun. Yes that S. Peter had: for CHRIST ſayd ſpecially vnto him: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorũ: *I will geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*: The which hee ſpake to none other of his Diſciples ſingularly but to hym.

phil. S. Auguſtine aunſwereth otherwyſe to the obiection, and ſayth: *That if in* Peter *there had not beene the figure of the Church, the Lord had not ſayd vnto hym, to thee wyll I geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. The which if* Peter *receaued not, the Church hath them not. If the church hath them, then* Peter *hath them not.*

London. What if I can proue and ſhew you out of the ciuil law, that all Chriſtendome ought to folow the holy Catholicke Church of Rome, as there is a ſpeciall title thereof, De catholica fide & ſancta Romana eccleſia.

Phil. That is nothing materiall, ſeing the things of God be not ſubiect to mãs lawes: and diuine matters muſt be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

M. Dee. What wyll you ſay, if I can proue that CHRIST builded hys church vpon peter, and that out of S. Cypriã? wyll you then beleue that the biſhop of Rome ought to be ſupreme head of the Church?

Phil. I know what S. Cyprian wryteth in that behalfe: but he meaneth nothyng as you take it.

M. Dee. S. Cyprian hath theſe wordes: Quòd ſuper petrum fundata fuit eccleſia, tanquam ſuper originem vnitatis. *That vpon Peter was builded the church, as vpon the firſt begynnyng of vnitie.*

The place of *Cyprian* expounded.

Phil. He declareth that in an example, that vnitye muſt be in the church: he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not vpon mẽ. The which he doth more manifeſtly declare in the booke De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, ſaying: in perſona vnius Chriſtus dedit omnibus claues, vt omnium vnitatem denotaret. *In the perſon of one man God gaue the keyes to all, that he in ſignification therby might declare the vnity of all men.*

M. Dee. What? wyll you vnderſtand S. Cyprian ſo? That were good in deede.

Phil. I thynke you can not vnderſtand S. Cyprian better, then he doth declare hym ſelfe.

B. Boner goeth to the Parlament.

Lond. I wyll deſyre you (M. Chauncelor) to take ſome paynes with maſter D. Chadſey, and Maſter Dee, about his examination, for I muſt go to the Parlamẽt houſe. And I wyll deſyre you to dyne with me.

Phil. Then M. Dee tooke agayne hys former autority in hand for want of an other, & would haue made a farther circumſtance, digreſſing from hys purpoſe. To whom I ſayd, he knew not whereabout he went, and therewythall he laughed. And I ſayd, hys diuinity was nothyng but ſcoffyng.

M. Dee ſlippeth away.

M. Dee. Yea? then I haue done wyth you: and ſo went away.

Phil. M. Dee, you are to yonge in diuinity to teach me in the matters of my fayth. Though you be learned in other thinges more then I, yet in diuinitie I haue bene longer practiſed then you, for any thyng I can heare of you: therefore bee not to haſty to iudge that you do not perfectly know.

The wordes of Chriſt to Peter, feede my ſheepe.

Chaun. Peter and hys ſucceſſours from the beginning haue bene allowed for the ſupreme head of the Church, & that by the ſcriptures, for that CHRIST ſaid vnto him in S. Iohn thriſe: *Feede my ſheepe*, paſce oues meas.

Paſce oues meas, expounded by *Ite, prædicate.*

Phil. That is none otherwyſe to be taken, then Ite, predicate, *go ye and preach*: which was ſpoken to all the Apoſtles, as well as vnto Peter. And that CHRIST ſayd thryſe: paſce oues meas, *fede my ſheepe*, it ſignifieth nothing els but ẏ earneſt ſtudy that the miniſters of God ought to haue in preaching the woorde. God graunt that you of the Clergy would way your duety in this behalfe more then you do. Is this a iuſt interpretation of the ſcripture, to take paſce oues meas, for to be Lord of ẏ whole world? In this meane whyle came in an other bacheler of diuinity, which is a reader of Greke in Oxford belonging to the Biſhop, and he toke vpon him to helpe M. Chauncellour.

Scholer. What will you ſay if I can ſhewe you a Greeke authour called Theophilact, to interprete it ſo? will you beleue his interpretation?

Theophilacte of no great authoritie.

Phil. Theophilacte is a late wryter, & one that was a fauourer of ẏ B. of Rome: and therfore not to be credited ſince his interpretation is contrary to the manifeſt wordes of the ſcripture, and contrary to the determination of many generall Cõucels.

Scholar. In what generall Cõucell was it otherwyſe, that ẏ Biſhop of Rome was not ſupreme head ouer all?

In Nice councell the B. of Rome was no ſupreme head, nor Preſident there.

Phil. In Nice Cõucell I am ſure it was otherwiſe: for Athanaſius was there the chiefe Biſhop and preſident of the Councell, and not the Biſhop of Rome.

Scholer. Nay, that is not ſo.

Phil. Then I perceiue you are better ſene in words then in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is ſo: as you may ſee in the Epitome of the Councels.

The Scholer of Oxford ſhrinketh away.

Scholer. I will fet Euſebius and ſhew the contrary, and the booke of generall Councels. Hee went into my Lordes cloſet, and brought Euſebius: but the generall Councels he brought not, ſaying (for ſauing of his honeſty) that he could not come by them, & there he would haue defended that it was otherwyſe in Euſebius, but was not able to ſhew the ſame, and ſo ſhranke away confounded.

Chaun. The church of Rome hath bene alwayes taken for the whole Catholicke church: therefore I would aduiſe you to come into the ſame with vs. You ſee all the men of this Realme doe condemne you. And why will you be ſo ſingular?

The Popes ſide not able to proue the church of Rome to be the holy Catholicke church.

Phil. I haue ſayd, and ſtill do ſay, that if you can be able to proue it vnto mee, that I will bee of the ſame. But I am ſure that the church which you do make ſo much of, is a falſe church, and a Sinagoge of Satan. And you with the learned men of this realme do perſecute the true Church, and condemne ſuch as bée more righteous then you.

Chaun. Do you heare (M. Doctour) what he ſaith, that the church of Rome is the deuill?

Chad. I wiſh you dyd thinke more reuerently of the church of Rome. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you out of S. Auſtine in his Epiſtle written vnto Pope Innocentius, that the whole generall Councell of Carthage did allow ỹ church of Rome to be chiefeſt ouer all other?

Phil. I am ſure you can ſhew no ſuch thing. And with that he fet the booke of S. Auſtine, and turned to the Epiſtle: but he could not proue his allegation manifeſtly, but by coniectures in this wyſe:

Blind coniectures out of the epiſtle of *Auſten to Innocentius*, prouing the Sea of Rome to be ſupreme head.

The ſucceſſion of Biſhops from Peter to *S. Auſtens* time.

Chad. Here you may ſe that the counſell of Carthage wryting to Innocentius the Biſhop, calleth the Sea of Rome the Apoſtolicke ſea. And beſydes this they wryte vnto him, certifying him of thinges done in the Coũcell for the condemnation of the donatiſts, requiring his approbatiõs in the ſame, which they would not haue done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the ſupreme head of others. And moreouer you may ſee how Saint Auſtine doth proue the Church of Rome to be the catholicke Church by continuall ſucceſſion of the Biſhop vntill his tyme, which ſucceſſion we can proue vntyll our dayes: therefore by the ſame reaſon of S. Auſtine we ſay now, that the church of Rome is the catholicke church.

The coniectures of D. *Chadſey* anſwered.

How the Sea of Rome may be called Apoſtolicall and how not Apoſtolicall.

The being of Peter at Rome geueth no perpetuitie to Rome to be the head of the whole church.

Phil. Maſter Doctour, I haue conſidered how you doe way S. Auguſtine: and contrary to his meaning and wordes you would inferre your falſe concluſion. As concerning that it was called by hym the Apoſtolicall Sea, that is not materiall to proue the Church of Rome now to be the catholicke church. I will graunt it now that it is ỹ Apoſtolicke ſea, in reſpect that Paul & Peter did once there preach the Goſpel, & abode there for a certayne ſeaſon. I would you could proue it to bée the Apoſtolicall ſea of that true religion and ſincerity as the Apoſtle left it, and did teach the ſame: the which if ye could do, you might boaſt of Rome as of the Apoſtolicall ſea: Otherwyſe it is now of no more force, then if the Turke at Antioch, & at Ieruſalem ſhould boaſt of the Apoſtolicke ſeas, becauſe ỹ Apoſtles once dyd there abyde, and founded the Church of Chriſt.

The Councell *of Carthage* wrote to *Innocentius* B. of Rome to confirme their actes with his ſubſcription: Ergo the B. of Rome is aboue all Biſhops. Argument. a cauſa non ſufficiente.

And where as that the whole Coũcell of Carthage did wryte vnto Pope Innocentius, certifying him of that was done in the generall Coũcell, and willing him to ſet his helping hand to the ſuppreſſing of the Donatiſtes, as they had done, that fact of the Coũcell proueth nothing the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome, no more then if the whole Conuocation houſe now gathered together, and agréeing vppon certayne articles, might ſend the ſame to ſome Biſhop that vpon certain impedimẽtes is not preſent, willing him to agrée therto, and to ſet them forth in his Dioces. The which fact doth not make any ſuch biſhop of greater authoritie thẽ the reſt, becauſe his conſent is brotherly required.

And touchyng ỹ ſucceſſion of the Byſhops of Rome brought in by S. Auſten, it maketh nothing now therby to proue the ſame the Catholicke Church, vnleſſe you can conclude with the ſame reaſon as S. Auſten doth. And the rehearſall of the ſucceſſion of the Byſhops doth tend to this only, to proue the Donatiſtes to be heretickes, becauſe they began aſwel at Rome as in Africa, to founde an other Church of their owne ſetting vp, then was grounded by Peter and Paul and by their ſucceſſours, whom he reciteth vntill his time, which all taught no ſuch doctrine, neither no ſuch Church as the Donatiſtes. And if preſently you be able to proue by the ſucceſſiõ of Byſhops of Rome (wherof you do glory) that no ſuch doctrine hath ben taught by any of the ſucceſſours of Peters ſea as is now taught and beleued of vs, you haue good reaſon agaynſt vs: otherwiſe, it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

The ſcope of S. Auguſtines argument is not to proue the Church of Rome therefore to bee ſound in doctrine becauſe it hath ſucceſſion of Byſhops from the Apoſtles, but to proue the Donatiſtes to bee ſchiſmatickes, for that the Church of Rome continuing both ſound in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and alſo in reteyning ſtill ſucceſſion of Biſhops frõ the Apoſtles tyme, yet they woulde forſake the vnitie of that Church, and ſet vp an other Church of theyr owne. The Argument is this.

To diſceuer from that Church which, by continuall ſucceſſion of Byſhops deſcendeth from the Apoſtles, and keepeth the ſame inſtitution ſtill in fayth and doctrine, is to breake the vnitie of the church, & to be ſchiſmaticks.

The Donatiſtes do ſo frõ the church of Rome, hauing no iuſt cauſe of doctrine ſo to do.

Ergo, the Donatiſtes be Schiſmatickes.

The Chaun lor abou miniſte articles agaynſt *Iohn Philpot*.

Chaunc. Well Maſter Doctour, you ſee we can do no good in perſuading of him: let vs miniſter the Articles which my Lord hath left vs, vnto him. How ſay you M. Philpot to theſe Articles? Maſter Iohnſon, I pray you write his aunſweres.

Iohn Philpot refuſeth ỹ Chaũ lor to be his Or narie.

Phil. Maſter Chauncellour, you haue no authoritie to enquire of me my belief in ſuch Articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of Londons Dioces: and to be brief with you, I will make no further aunſwere herein, then I haue already to the Byſhop.

Chaunc. Why, then let vs go our wayes, and let his keper take him away.

Thus endeth the vij. part of this tragedie.

The ſumme of a priuate conference or talke betwene M. Philpot and the Byſhop.

Priuate talke be twene *Philpot*, & Biſho *Boner*.

PHil. The next day in the morning betyme the Byſhop ſent one of his men vnto me, to call me vp into his Chapell to heare Maſſe.

Biſhops man. Maſter Philpot where be you?

Phil. Who is that calleth me?

Biſ. man. My Lordes will is, you ſhould riſe and come to heare Maſſe: will you come or no?

Phil. My ſtomacke is not very good this mornyng: you may tell my Lord I am ſicke. After this the kéeper was ſent to bring me to my Lord.

The keper. Maſter Philpot, you muſt riſe and come to my Lord.

Phil. I am at your cõmaundement (Maſter Keper) as ſoone as I can: and goyng out of the priſon he aſked me, ſaying:

The keper. Will you go to Maſſe?

I marue How the prieſtes ting vp a whole m fleſh, blu and bone breakefaſt can haue ſuch a hu gry ſtomake to theyr dinner afterward as they haue, as if they had eaten neuer a bit of meate before.

Phil. My ſtomacke is to raw to diſgeſt ſuch raw meates of fleſh, bloud, and bone this mornyng. After this my kéeper preſented me to the Byſhop in his hall.

London. Maſter Philpot, I charge you to aunſwere to ſuch Articles as my Chaplaine M. Dee, and my Regiſter haue from me to obiect againſt you, go & aũſwere them.

Iohn Philpot refuſeth to anſwere but in ope iudgemẽt.

Phil. My Lord, Omnia iudicia debent eſſe publica: *All iudgementes ought to be publicke*. Therefore if your Lordſhyp haue any thyng to charge me lawfully withall, let me be in iudgement lawfully & openly called, and I will aunſwere accordyng to my duety: otherwiſe in corners I will not.

Lord. Thou art a fooliſh knaue I ſee wel inough: thou ſhalt aunſwere whether thou wilt or no. Go thy wayes with them I ſay.

Phil. I may well go with them at your Lordſhyps pleaſure: but I will make them no further aunſwere then I haue ſayd already.

Lond. No wilt thou knaue? Haue him away, and ſet him in the ſtockes. What fooliſh knaue?

Iohn Philpot commaun ded to be ſet in the ſtockes in the Colehouſe.

Phil. In déede (my Lord) you handle me with others like fooles: and we muſt be content to be made fooles at your handes: ſtockes and violence is your Byſhoplike almes. You go about by force in corners to oppreſſe, and be aſhamed that your doings ſhould come to light: God ſhorten your cruell kyngdome for his mercyes ſake. And I was put by and by into the ſtockes in an houſe alone ſeparate from my felowes. God be prayſed that he hath thought me worthy to ſuffer any thyng for his names ſake. Better it is to ſit in the ſtockes of this world, then to ſit in the ſtockes of a dãnable conſcience.

An other conference betwene the Byſhop and M. Philpot and other priſoners.

In other dayes talke of the B. with *Iohn Philpot* and other priſoners.

PHil. The next day after, an houre before day, the Byſhop ſent for me agayne by the keper.

The keper. M. Philpot, ariſe, you muſt come to my lord.

Iohn Philpot ...nech to ...me before ...y B. for ...re of ...me priuy ...miſe.

Phil. I wonder what my Lord meaneth that he ſendeth for me thus earely. I feare he wil vſe ſome violẽce towardes me: wherfore I pray you make hym this aũſwere, that if he ſend for me by an order of law, I will come and aunſwere: otherwiſe, ſince I am not of hys Dioces neither is he myne ordinary, I will not (without I be violently conſtrained) come vnto him.

Keper. I will goe tell my Lord what aunſwere you make: and ſo hee went away to the Biſhop, and immediatly returned with two of the Biſhops men, ſaying that I muſt come whether I would or no.

Iohn Philpot ...ught to ...e B. by ...lence.

Phil. If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then muſt I go, otherwiſe I will not: and therwith one of them toke me with force by the arme, and led me vp into the Byſhops Gallery.

Lond. What? thou art a fooliſh knaue in deede: thou wilt not come without thou be fet.

Phil. I am brought in déede (my Lord) by violence vnto you, and your crueltie is ſuch, that I am afrayed to come before you. I would your Lordſhip would gẽtly procede agaynſt me by the law.

...her here ...e old ...ings ...heſe ...ſhops.

...his B. ...f Lincolne ...as D. ...hite.

London. I am blamed of the Lordes the Byſhops for that I haue not diſpatched thee ere this. And in fayth I made ſute to my Lord Cardinall and to all the Conuocation houſe, that they would heare thee. And my Lord of Lincolne ſtode vp, and ſayd that thou were a frantike felow, and a man that will haue the laſt word. And they all haue blamed me, becauſe I haue brought thee ſo often before the Lordes openly: and they ſay it is meate and drinke to you to ſpeake in an opẽ audiẽce, you glory ſo of your ſelfe. Wherfore I am commaũded to take a farther order with thee, and in good faith if thou wilt not relẽt, I will make no farther delay. Mary if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgeue thee al that is paſt, and thou ſhalt haue no hurt for any thyng that is all ready ſayd or done.

Iohn Philpot ...g archdeacon, excommunicate ...e B. ...hite ...preaching ...ſe doctrine.

Phil. My Lord, I haue anſwered you already in this behalfe, what I wil do. And as for report of M. White B. of Lincolne, I paſſe not: who is knowen to be mine enemy, for that I being Archdeacon did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If CHRIST my Maſter were called a mad man, it is no maruayle though ye count me franticke.

London. Haddeſt not thou a pig brought thee thother day with a knyfe in it? wherefore was it (I pray thee) but to kill thy ſelfe? Or as it is tolde mee (mary I am counſelled to take heede of thee) to kill mee? but I feare thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee vnder my fete: do the beſt thou canſt.

...tter ...ofa ...ſent ...hn ...ilpot ...pigg ...

Phil. My Lord, I can not deny but that there was a knyfe in the pigges belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpoſe, I know not, vnleſſe it were becauſe he that ſent the meate thought I was without a knyfe, and ſo put it in. But other things your Lordſhip néedeth not to feare: for I was neuer without a knyfe ſince I came into priſon. And touching your owne perſon, you ſhould liue long if you ſhould liue vntill I would go about to kill you: and I confeſſe, by violence your Lordſhip is able to ouercome mée.

London. I charge thee to aunſwere to myne articles. Hold him a boke. Thou ſhalt ſweare to anſwere truely to all ſuch articles, as I ſhall demaund thee of.

...ticles to ...wpot ...ohn ...lpot.

Phil. I will firſt know your Lordſhip to bee myne Ordinary, before I ſweare herein.

London. What? we ſhall haue an Anabaptiſt of thee, which thinketh it not lawfull to ſweare before a Iudge.

Phil. My Lord, I am no Anabaptiſt. I thinke it lawfull to ſweare before a competent iudge, being lawfully requyred. But I refuſe to ſweare in theſe cauſes before your Lordſhip, becauſe you are not myne Ordinary.

London. I am thine Ordinary, and here do pronounce by ſentence peremptory, that I am thyne Ordinary, and that thou art of my dioces: and here he bad call in more to beare witnes. And I make the (taking one of hys ſeruaunts by the arme) to be myne Notary. And nowe harken to my articles, to the which (when hee had red them) he moniſhed me to make aunſwere, and ſayd to the keeper, fet me his fellowes, and I ſhall make them to bee witnes agaynſt him. In the meane whyle came in one of the Shriffes of Lõdon, whom the Biſhop (calling for two chayres) placed by hym, ſaying: M. Sheriffe I would you ſhould vnderſtand how I do proceede agaynſt this man. M. Sheriffe you ſhall heare what articles this man doth mayntayne: and ſo he red a tablemẽt of fained articles: that I ſhould deny baptiſme to be neceſſary to them that were borne of Chriſtian parents, that I denyed faſting and prayer, and all other good deedes, and I maintayned onely bare fayth to be ſufficient to ſaluation what ſoeuer a man did beſydes, and I maintayned God to be the authour of all ſinne and wickednes.

Falſe Articles fayned againſt *Iohn Philpot.*

Phil. Ha my lord, haue ye nothing of truth to charge me withall, but ye muſt be fayne to imagine theſe blaſphemous lyes agaynſt me? You might as well haue ſayd I had killed your father. The ſcriptures ſay, *that God will deſtroy all them that ſpeake lies.* And is not your Lordſhip aſhamed to ſay before this worſhipfull gentleman (who is vnknowen vnto me) that I mayntayne theſe abominable blaſphemies which you haue rehearſed: which if I did mayntayne, I were well worthy to be counted an hereticke, and to bee burned an hundred tymes if it were poſſible?

London. I do obiect them vnto thee, to heare what thou wilt ſay in them, and howe thou canſt purge thy ſelfe of them.

B. Boner taken with an vntruth.

Phil. Then it was not iuſtly ſayd of your Lordſhip, in the beginning, that I did mayntayne them, ſince almoſt I hold none of theſe articles you haue red, in forme as they are written.

London. How ſayeſt thou? wilt thou anſwere to them or no?

Phil. I will firſt know you to be myne Ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with ſuch things, and then afterward being lawfully called in iudgemẽt, I will ſhew my mynd fully thereof, and not otherwiſe.

London. Well, then I will make thy fellowes to bee witnes againſt thee: where are they? come.

Other priſoners called in to beare witnes agaynſt *Iohn Philpot.*

Keeper. They be here my Lord.

London. Come hether ſirs, hold them a booke, you ſhall ſweare by the contentes of that booke, that you ſhall (all maner of affections layd apart) ſay the truth of all ſuch articles as you ſhall be demaunded of concerning this man here preſent, which is a very naughty man, and take you heede of him that he doth not deceiue you, as I am afeard he doth you much hurt, and ſtrengtheneth you in your errours.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not ſweare except we know whereto: we can accuſe him of no euill, we haue bene but a whyle acquaynted with him.

The priſoners refuſe to be ſworne againſt *M. Philpot.*

Phil. I wonder your Lordſhip knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the ſame, to haue infamous perſons to be witneſſes, for your Lordſhip doth take them to be heretickes, and by the law an hereticke can not be a witnes.

London. Yes, one hereticke againſt an other may bee well inough. And M. Sheriffe, I will make one of them to be witnes againſt an other.

B Boner agayne doth agaynſt the law.

Phil. You haue the law in your hand, and you wil doe what you liſt.

Priſoners. No my Lord.

Lond. No will? I will make you ſweare, whether you will or no. I weene they be Anabaptiſtes, M. Shrieue: they thinke it not lawfull to ſweare before a iudge.

Note how the Biſhops make Anabaptiſtes.

Phil. We thinke it lawful to ſweare for a man iudicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

Lond. Why then, ſeyng you will not ſweare agaynſt your felow, you ſhall ſweare for your ſelues, and I do here in the preſence of M. Shriffe obiect the ſame Articles vnto you, as I haue done vnto him, and do require you vnder the payne of excommunication, to aunſwere particularly vnto euery one of them when you ſhall be examined, as you ſhall bee by and by examined after by my Regiſter and ſome of my Chaplens.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not accuſe our ſelues. If any man can lay any thyng agaynſt vs, we are here ready to aunſwere thereto: otherwiſe we pray your Lordſhyp not to burden vs: for ſome of vs are here before you, we know no iuſt cauſe why.

Lond. Maſter Sheriffe, I will trouble you no longer with theſe froward men. And lo he roſe vp and was goyng away, talkyng with Maſter Sheriffe.

B. Boner ſeeketh corners.

Phil. M. Sheriffe, I pray you record how my Lord procedeth agaynſt vs in corners without all order of law, hauyng no iuſt cauſe to lay agaynſt vs. And after this were all commaunded to bée put in the ſtockes, where I ſat from mornyng vntill night, and the kéeper at night vpon fauour let me out.

An other priuate conference betwene the Byſhop and M. Philpot in the Colehouſe.

An other priuate talke or conference, betwene him and the Biſhop.

B. Boner vewing hys Colehouſe.

PHil. The Sonday after, the Byſhop came into the Colehouſe at night with the kéeper, and viewed the houſe, ſaying that he was neuer here afore: wherby a man may geſſe how he hath kept Gods commaundemēt in viſiting the priſoners, ſeyng he was neuer with them that haue bene ſo nigh his noſe: And he came not then for any good zeale, but to view the place, & thought it to good for me, and therfore after Supper betwene eight and nine he ſent for me, ſaying.

Lond. Sir, I haue great diſpleaſure of the Queene and the Counſell for kepyng you ſo long and for lettyng you haue ſo much libertie. And beſides that, you be yonder, and ſtrengthen the other priſoners in their errours, as I haue layd wayte for your doinges, and am certified of you well inough: I will ſequeſter you therfore frō them, and you ſhall hurt no mo as you haue done, and I will out of hand diſpatch you, as I am commaunded, vnleſſe you will be a conformable man.

Phil. My Lord, you haue my body in your cuſtody: you may tranſport it whether it pleaſe you: I am content. And I would you would make as quicke expedition in my iudgement, as you ſay. I long therfore, & as for conformitie, I am ready to yeld to all truth, if any can bryng better then I.

Lond. Why? you wyll beleue no man but your ſelfe, whatſoeuer they ſay.

Phil. My beliefe muſt not hang vpon mens ſayings, wythout ſure autority of Gods word, the which if any can ſhew me, I wyll be plyant to the ſame: Otherwyſe I can not go from my certayne fayth, to that which is vncertayne.

Lond. Haue you then the truth onely?

He meaneth Ste. Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Good counſell geuen to B. Boner.

Phil. My Lord, I wyll ſpeake my mynde fréely vnto you, and vpon no malice I beare you, before God. You haue not the truth, neyther are you of the Church of God: but you perſecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cauſe you cannot proſper long. You ſée God doth not proſper your doynges according to your expectation. He hath of late ſhewed his iuſt iudgement againſt one of your greateſt doers, who by report died myſerably. I enuy not your authoritye you are in. You that haue learnyng ſhould knowe beſt how to rule. And ſeing God hath reſtored you to your dignitie and lyuing agayne, vſe the ſame to Gods glory, and to the ſettyng forth of his true religion: otherwyſe it wyll not continue, do what you can. With this ſaying he was apauſed, and ſayd at length.

Lond. That good man was puniſhed for ſuche as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come let him haue him to the place that is prouided for hym. Go your way before.

John Philpot conueyed into a cloſe Tower ioynyng to Paules church.

Phil. And he followed me, calling the Keeper aſide, commaunding to kéepe all men from me, and narrowly to ſearch me (as the ſequele did declare) and brought me to hys priuy doore that goeth into the Church, and commaunded two of hys men to accompany the kéeper and to ſée me placed. And afterwards I paſſed through Paules vp to Lollards tower, and after that turned a long all the weſt ſide of Paules thorowe the wall, and paſſing through .vj. or .vij. doores, came to my lodgyng through many ſtraites: where I called to remembraunce that ſtraite is the way to heauen. And it is in a tower right on the other ſide of Lollards tower, as high almoſt as the batlements of Paules, .viij. foote of breadth, and .xiij. of length, and almoſt ouer the priſon where I was before, hauyng a wyndowe opening towards the Eaſt, by the which I may looke ouer ẏ tops of a great many of houſes, but ſée no man paſſing into them: and who ſo walketh in the biſhops vtter gallery goyng to hys chappel, may ſee my wyndow and me ſtanding in the ſame. And as I was come to my place, the kéeper pluckt of my gowne, and ſearched me very narowly, and tooke away penner, inkhorne, girdle, and knife, but (as God would) I had an incklyng a lyttle before I was called, of my remouing, and thereupon made an errant to the ſtoole, where full ſore agaynſt my wyll I caſt away many a ſwéete letter and frendly: but that I had wrytten of my laſt examination before, I thruſt into my hoſe, thynking the nexte day to haue made an ende thereof, and with goyng it was fallen downe to my leg, the which he by féeling did ſoone eſpy, and aſked what that was. I ſayd they were certayne letters: and with that he was very buſie to haue them out. Let me alone (ſayd I) I wyll plucke them out, and wyth that I put in my hand, hauyng two other letters therein, and brought vp the ſame wryting to my codpéece, and there left it, geuyng hym the other two letters that were not of any great importaunce. The which for to make a ſhew that they had bene weighty, I began to teare aſwell as I could, tyl they ſnatched thē from me, and ſo deluded him (I thanke God) of hys purpoſe.

Maſter Philpot ſearched for wrytinges.

The copie of his examinations by Gods great workyng preſerued.

After this he went hys way, and as he was goyng, one of them that came wyth hym ſayd, that I dyd not delyuer the writinges I had in my hoſe, but two other letters I had in my hand before. No dyd quoth he? I wyll go ſearch him better: the which I hearyng, conueyed myne examination I had wrytten, into an other place beſides my bed, and tooke all the letters I had in my purſe, and was tearing of them when hee came agayne, and as he came I threwe the ſame out of my wyndow, ſaying that I heard what he ſayd: wherfore I dyd preuent hys ſearching agayne, whereof I was ryght glad. God be prayſed that gaue me that preſent ſhift to blynde their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had knowen, it would haue bene a great occaſion of more ſtraiter keeping and looking vnto, although they loke as narowly as they may.

The eight examination of Iohn Philpot before the B. of London, the B. of S. Dauids, M. Mordant and others, in the Biſhops chappel.

The eight examination of Maſter Philpot.

THe next day after, my keper came before day in the mornyng to call me down, and ſo was I brought downe into hys wardrobe, where with a kéeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called downe into the chappell before the biſhop of London, the biſhop of S. Dauids, M. Mordant one of the Quéenes Counſell, maſter Archdeacon of London, and before a great many mo Balaamites: and the Biſhop ſpake vnto me in thys wyſe:

Articles obiected and red to Iohn Philpot.

Lond. Sir, here I obiecte and lay vnto you in the prepreſence of my Lord of S. Dauids, and of M. Mordant, and of theſe worſhipfull men, theſe articles here in this Libel contayned, and openly hee red them.

To whom when I would particularly haue aunſwered to ſome of his blaſphemies, he would not permit me but ſayd I ſhoulde haue leaſure inough to ſay what I would, when he had ſayd, & to theſe here I adde an other ſchedule. Alſo I require thee to aunſwere to the Cathechiſme ſet forth in the ſchiſmaticall tyme of king Edward. Alſo I will thee to aunſwere to certayne concluſions, agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth theſe witneſſes againſt thee, in thine own preſence, namely, my Lord of S. Dauids, maſter Mordant, and maſter Harpſfield, with as many of you as were preſent in the diſputation he made in the cōuocation houſe, willing you to teſtify (of your othes takē vpon a booke) hys ſtubburne and vnreuerent behauiour hee did there vſe againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar. Geue me a booke, and receauyng one, he opened the ſame, ſaying: I wyll teach hym here one tricke in our law which hee knoweth not, that is: My lord of S. Dauids, becauſe you are a are a biſhop you haue this priuilege, yͤ you may ſweare, Inſpectis Euangelijs & non tactis: *by looking on the Goſpel boke wythout touching of the ſame.* And ſo he opened the booke in hys ſight, and ſhut it againe, and cauſed the other to put their handes on the booke, and tooke their oth, and will led them to reſort to his Regiſter to make their depoſitiōs whē they might be beſt at leaſure: and afterwardes he turned to me, and ſayd: now Sir, you ſhall aunſwer but in two wordes, whether you wyl anſwere to theſe articles which I haue laid vnto you directly, yea, or nay.

Phil. My Lord, you haue told a long tale againſt me, contaynyng many lying blaſphemies, which can not be aunſwered in two wordes. Beſides this, you promyſed me at the beginning, that I ſhould ſay what I could for my defence, and nowe wyll you not geue me leaue to ſpeake? What law is this?

Lond. Speake, yea or nay: for you ſhall ſay no more at thys tyme. The cauſe was (as I geſſe) that he ſawe ſo many there gathered to heare.

Phil. Then my two wordes you woulde haue mee ſpeake, ſhalbe that I haue appealed from you, and take you not for my ſufficient iudge.

Iohn Philpot appealeth frō B. Boner.

Lond. In deede (M. Mordant) hee hath appealed to the king & to the Queene: but I wyll bee ſo bolde wyth her maieſty, to ſtay that appeale in myne own handes.

Phil. You will do what you lyſt (my Lord) you haue the law in your hands.

London. Wylt thou aunſwere or no?

Phil. I wil not anſwer otherwiſe then I haue ſayd.

Lond. Regiſter note hys aunſwer that he maketh.

Phil. Knocke me in the head wyth an hatchet, or ſet vp a ſtake and burne me out of hand wythout farther law: aſwell you may do ſo, as doe that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyrannye was neuer ſeene as you vſe now adaies. God of hys mercy deſtroy your cruell kingdome. And whyleſt I ſpake this, the biſhop went away in haſt.

S. Dauids. Maſter Philpot, I pray you bee quiet, & haue patience with you.

Phil. My Lorde, I thanke God I haue patience to beare and abide all your cruell intents againſt me, notwithſtanding I ſpeake this earneſtly, beyng moued therunto iuſtly, to notifie your vniuſt & cruel dealings with men in corners without all due order of law.

After this, at night I was conducted agayne by thrée or foure into the Colehouſe.

The ninth examination of M. Philpot before Boner and his Chapleines.

IN the mornyng the next day I was called downe betimes by my keper, and brought againe into the Wardrobe, where I remained vntill the Byſhop had heard his maſſe, & afterward he ſent vp for me vnto his inward Parlour, and there he called for a chaire to ſit downe, and brought his infamous libell of his forged Articles in his hand, and ſat down, willing me to draw nere vnto him, and ſaid:

Lond. I am this day appointed to tary at home from the Parlament houſe, to examine you and your felowes vpō theſe Articles, and you ſtand dallying with me and will neither aunſwere to nor fro. Iwis all your exceptions will not ſerue you. Will it not be a fayre honeſty for you (thinke ye) that when thou commeſt afore my Lord Maior and the Sheriffes & other worſhipfull audience, when I ſhall ſay before them all, that I haue had thee theſe many tymes before me, and before ſo many learned men, and then thou couldeſt ſay nothyng for that thou ſtandeſt in, for all thy bragges of learning, neither wouldeſt aunſwere directly to any thyng?

Phil. My Lord, I haue told you my minde playne inough: but yet I do not entend to loſe that priuiledge the law geueth me, the which is frée choiſe to aūſwere where I am not bound, and this priuiledge will I cleaue vnto vntill I be compelled otherwiſe.

Lond. Well, I perceiue you will play the obſtinate foole. Lay thine appellation when thou cōmeſt in iudgement, and aūſwere in the meane while to theſe Articles.

Phil. No my Lord, by your leaue I wil not aūſwere to them vntill my lawfull appeale be tried.

Lond. Well, thou ſhalt heare them, and with that hee began to read them.

Iohn Philpot will not heare his articles red.

phil. I ſhranke backe into the window, and loked on a boke, and after hee had red them ouer, hée ſayd vnto me.

Lond. I haue read them ouer, althought it hath not pleaſed you to heare me. I marueile (in good faith) what thou meaneſt to be ſo wilfull & ſo ſtubborne, ſeyng thou mayſt do wel inough if thou liſt. It is but a ſingularitie. Doeſt thou not ſee all the Realme agaynſt thee?

Phil. My Lord, I ſpeake vnto you in the witnes of God, before whom I ſtand, that I am neither wedded vnto mine owne will, neither ſtand vpon myne owne ſtubbornnes or ſingularitie, but vppon my conſcience inſtructed by Gods word: and if your Lordſhyp can ſhew better euidence then I haue for a good faith, I will folow the ſame.

Lond. What? thou wilt not (loe) for all that. Well all that is paſt ſhalbe forgotten: and bee conformable vnto vs. Iwis thou mighteſt finde as much fauour as thou wouldeſt deſire.

Phil. Then I perceiuing that hee fawned ſo much vpon me, thought it good to geue him ſome comfort of relenting, to the end I might openly geue him and his hypocriticall generation openly a further foyle, perceiuing that they dare reaſon openly with none, but with ſuch as be vnlearned, and for lacke of knowledge not able to aunſwere, or els with ſuch as they haue a hope, that for feare or loue of the world, will recant. I ſaid, my Lord it is not vnknowē to you, that I haue openly in the audience of a great number ſtand to the mayntenaunce of theſe opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them: therfore (my Lord) I would it might openly appeare to yͤ world, that I am wonne by learning, or els what will they ſay, but that eyther for feare or loue of the world I am without any groūd turned from the truth? and if I haue any kynd of learning openly ſhewed, I ſhalbe as conformable as you may requyre me.

London. Yea mary, now yee ſpeake ſomewhat lyke a reaſonable man. Iwis you might haue had a great deale more fauour in my houſe and liberty then you haue had: and you ſhall lacke nothing that is within my houſe, call for it and you ſhall haue it. And what is it that you would openly by learning ſome what be ſatiſfied in? tell mee.

phil. My Lord, I haue openly ſayd, and do beleue it alſo, that your ſacrifice of the maſſe is no ſacrament.

Talke of the Sacrament.

London. What? do you deny the preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament?

Phil. No my Lord, I deny not yͤ preſence of Chriſt in yͤ ſacrament, but I haue denied yͤ ſacramēt of the altar, as it is vſed in your Maſſe, to be the true ſacramēt of CHRISTES inſtitution. And firſt it muſt be proued a ſacramēt, ere there cā be any kynd of preſence graūted.

London. Why? do you deny the Maſſe to bee a ſacrament? I pray you what is a ſacrament? is it not a ſigne of a holy thing, as Auſtine doth defyne it?

Phil. Yes verely, that it is.

Lodon. Then I make this argument vnto you. A ſacrament is the ſigne of a holy thing: but the Maſſe is a ſigne of a holy thing: ergo it is a ſacrament.

This argument in the ſecond figure concluding affirmatiuely, doth not hold by logike.

Phil. You muſt adde this to your Maior or firſt propoſition, as S. Auſtine doth meane, that a ſacramēt is the ſigne of a holy thing inſtituted of God and commaunded: for otherwyſe it can be no ſacrament, for all men cannot make a ſacrament.

London I graunt that, and ſuch a ſigne of a holy thing is the maſſe of Chriſtes inſtitution.

Phil. I deny that, my Lord.

London. I will proue this by S. Auſtine by and by. I will go ſhew you the booke, and you ſhal haue any boke I haue, that you will demaund. Hoe? who is without there? call me M. Doctour Chadſey, Maſter Archdeacon, M. Coſins, and other Chapleins hether.

The Biſhop being brought to a narrow ſtraite, is faine to call for more helpe.

Here my Lord: M. Doctour Chadſey is gone to Weſtminſter, and Maſter Archdeacon was here euen now.

London. M. Coſins, I pray you examine him vpon theſe articles, and write his aunſwere he maketh to euery one of them of them. I will go examine his fellowes, and ſend you Saint Auſtine by and by. I fynd this man more comformable then he was before.

Coſins. I truſt my Lord you ſhall finde him at length a good Catholicke man. Mary here bee a ſight of hereſies: I dare ſay you will hold none of them, neither ſtand in any of them. How ſay you to the firſt?

Phil. M. Coſins, I haue told my Lord already, that I will aunſwere to none of theſe articles he hath obiected agaynſt me: but if you will with learning aunſwere to that which is in queſtion betwene my Lorde and me, I will gladly heare and common with you.

Coſins. No will you? why, what is that then which is in queſtion betwene my Lord and you?

Whether the maſſe be a Sacrament.

Phil. Whether your Maſſe be a ſacrament or no.

Coſins. What? the maſſe to be a ſacrament? who euer doubted thereof?

Phil. If it be an vndoubted truth, you may the ſooner proue it: for I doubt much thereof.

Coſins. Why? I will proue it. It is the ſigne of a holy thing: Ergo it is a ſacrament.

Phil. I deny your antecedent.

Coſins. What? wyll you ſo? then there is no reaſoning wyth you.

M. Coſins geueth ouer in the plaine field.

Thus M. Coſins gaue ouer in the playne fielde for want of further proofe: And then the morrowmaſſe Chaplein began to ſpeake for his occupation, and with that M. Harpsfield came out from my Lorde with S. Auſtines Epiſtels, ſaying:

Harpſ. My Lord hath ſent you here S. Auſtine to looke vpon, and I pray you looke what he ſayth in a certaine Epiſtle which hee writeth: I will read ouer the whole. Here may you heare the celebration of the Maſſe, and howe he reproueth them that went a hauking and hunting before the celebration of the ſame, and on the Sabboth and holy dayes.

Phil. I perceiue the contentes of thys Epiſtle, and I ſee nothing herein againſt me, neither nothing that maketh for the proofe of your ſacrament of the Maſſe.

Harpſ. No? doth he not make mention of the Maſſe, & the celebration therof? what can be ſpoken more playne?

The epiſtle of *S. Auſten* alleged for confirmation of the Maſſe, anſwered. how it is deriued.

Phil. S. Auſtine meaneth of the celebration of the Communion, and of the true vſe of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST, and not of your priuate Maſſe which you of late yeres haue erected in the ſtede therof. For this word Maſſe hath beene an olde terme attributed to the Cõmunion euen from the primatiue church. And I pray you tel me what Miſſa doth ſignifie. I thinke not many that ſay Maſſe can wel tell.

Coſins. No can? that is maruell.

Phil. Then tell if you can. But M. Coſins and my morrowmaſſe Chaplayne were dumme, looking vpon M. Harpsfield for helpe, and at length he ſpake.

Harpſ. You thinke it cõmeth of the Hebrue word Maſſah, as though none were ſene in Hebrue but you.

The word *Miſſa*,

Phil. I haue not gone ſo long to ſchoole, to deriue the ſignificatiõ of Miſſa, which is a lattin word, out of Hebrue: but I haue learned to interprete Greeke words by Greeke, and Latin by Latin, & Hebrue by Hebrue. I take the Cõmunion to be called Miſſa a Mittendo, of ſuch thynges as, at the celebration of the Communion, were ſent by ſuch as were of habilitie, to the reliefe of the poore, where the rich brought after their deuotiõ and hability, and required the miniſter in the celebration of the Communion to pray vnto God for them, and to accept their common almes, which they at ſuch tymes dyd ſend for the helpe of their poore brethren and ſiſters: and for this cauſe was it called Miſſa, as learned men do wytneſſe. At the which celebration of the Maſſe, all that were preſent dyd communicate vnder both kyndes, according to CHRISTES inſtitution, as they dyd in S. Auſtines tyme. But vnleſſe you can ſhew that your Maſſe is vſed as then was, ye ſhall neuer by the name of Maſſe (which S. Auſtine attributed to the true vſe of the Cõmunion) proue your priuate Maſſe to bee a ſacrament, vnleſſe ye can proue the ſame vſe to bee nowe in your Maſſe as was then, which is cleane contrary.

Harpſ. What? deny you the Maſſe to bee a ſacrament? For ſhame ſpeake it not.

Phil. I wyll not be aſhamed to deny it, if you can not proue it.

Harpſ. Why, it is a ſacrifice, which is more then a Sacrament.

Phil. You may make of it as much as you liſte: but you ſhall neuer make it a ſacrifice as you imagine therof, but firſt it muſt be a ſacrament, for of the ſacrament you deduce your ſacrifice.

Harpſ. Why? doth not CHRIST ſay: *This is my body?* & doth not the Prieſt pronounce the ſame that CHRIST dyd?

Phil. The pronunciation is not only inough, vnleſſe the woordes bee therewithall applyed to the vſe, as CHRIST ſpake them to. For though you ſpeake the words of Baptiſme ouer water neuer ſo many times, yet there is no Baptiſme vnleſſe there be a Chriſtian perſon to be baptiſed.

Harpſ. Nay, that is not lyke: for Hoc eſt corpus meum is an indicatiue propoſition, ſhewing a woorking of God in the ſubſtance of bread and wyne.

Phil. It is not onely an indicatiue propoſitiõ, but alſo imperatiue or commaunding. For he that ſaid: Hoc eſt corpus meũ. i. *This is my body:* ſayd alſo: accipite, manducate. i. *Take ye, eate ye.* And except the former part of the inſtitution of CHRISTES ſacrament bee accompliſhed according to the commaundement, the latter part, *this is my body*, cã haue no verification, take it which way you wyll, and how you wyll.

Morowmaſſe Chap. Why? then you will make the ſacrament to ſtand in the receiuing, and that receiuing maketh it a ſacrament.

Phil. I doe not ſay that the receyuing maketh it the ſacrament onely: but I ſay, that a common receyuing muſt needes be concurrent wyth the true ſacrament as a neceſſary member without the which it can not be a ſacramẽt, becauſe CHRIST hath made this a principall part of the ſacrament, *Take ye, eate ye*, which you do not in your Maſſe according to CHRISTES inſtitution: wherefore it can bee no ſacrament, for that it wanteth of CHRISTES inſtitution.

Coſins. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as lyſt may be partakers with vs at the Maſſe, if they requyre it.

Phil. Nay, that they ſhall not though they requyre it. You wyll miniſter but one kinde vnto them, which is not after CHRISTES inſtitution. Beſides that, you ought before you go to Maſſe, to exhort all that be preſent, to make a ſacrifice of thankes geuyng for CHRISTES paſſion wyth you, and to exhort them to be partakers wyth you, according to CHRISTES commaundement, ſaying vnto all that be preſent: *Take ye, eate ye:* and lykewyſe by preaching ſhew forth the lords death, which you do not.

Coſins. What and if all thynges bee done euen as you would haue it, and whileſt the miniſter is about to miniſter the ſacrament, before any haue receiued it there riſe a ſodaine hurly burly that the cõmunicantes be compelled to go away: is it not a ſacrament for all that none hath communicated beſide the Prieſt?

Phil. In thys caſe where all thinges are appointed to be done according to Gods word if incident neceſſity had not let, I can not ſay but it is a ſacrament, and that he which hath receyued, hath receiued the true ſacrament. After thys the morrowmaſſe Prieſt made thys apiſhe reaſon.

The morowmaſſe prieſt. If the ſacrament of the maſſe be no ſacramẽt vnleſſe all do receiue it, becauſe CHRIST ſaid *Take ye, eate ye*, then the ſacrament of Baptiſme is no ſacrament, wher there is but one baptiſed, becauſe CHRIST ſayd to his Apoſtles: *Go preach the Goſpell to all creatures, baptiſing all nations in the name of the father. &c.*

Phil. In that ſaying of CHRIST: *Baptiſing all natiõs*, is a commaundement to the Apoſtles to Baptiſe all ſortes of men, and to exclude none that do beleue, be he Gẽtile or Iew, not meanyng all at once, for that were impoſſible. And there are many exãples that Baptiſme may be ſingularly miniſtred to one perſon, as we haue example in CHRIST Baptiſed of Iohn, and in the Eunuch

nuch Baptiſed of Philip, with many moe ſuch lyke: but ſo haue you not of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST, but contrarywiſe by the expreſſe wordes of S.Paul you are cōmaunded to vſe it in a communion and participation of many together, the xj. to the Corinth: Quoties conuenitis ad manducandū, alius alium expectate: *As oft as you come together, to eate* (meaning the Lordes Supper) *tary one for an other.* And alſo the miniſter in the celebration of the Sacrament ſpeaketh vnto all that be preſent in CHRISTES behalfe, to communicate with hym, ſaying: *Take ye, and eate ye.* Wherfore as many as be preſent, & do not communicate, breake Gods commaundement in not receiuyng the ſame, and the miniſter is no iuſt miniſter that doth not diſtribute the Sacrament as CHRIST did, to all that are preſent, and where Gods word is tranſgreſſed, there is not CHRIST preſent, and conſequently it is no Sacrament.

Harpſ. What? would you haue it no Sacrament without it be a Communion?

Phil. I make it not ſo, but Gods expreſſe word teacheth me ſo, yea alſo all the aūciēt writers: As S.Chryſoſtome writyng vppon the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, ſayth: *That the oblation is in vayne where as none doth communicate with the Prieſt.* If by his iudgement the action of the Prieſt alone is in vayne where is no communion, how can that be a Sacrament which hee calleth a vayne oblation, & a vayne ſtandyng at the altar?

Coſins. You are ſuch an other felowe as I haue not heard, that will not haue the Maſſe to be a Sacrament: you are no man for me to reaſon withall. Come, let vs goe, pointyng to the morowmaſſe Chaplein: we will leaue you (Maſter Archdeacon) and him together: and ſo they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earneſt perſuaſions with me, ſaying:

Harpſ. M.Philpot, you and I haue bene of old acquaintaunce a long tyme. We were ſcholefelowes both in Wincheſter and in Oxford many yeares. Wherefore I muſt wiſhe you as wel to do as my ſelfe, and I pray you ſo thinke of me.

Phil. I thanke you for your good will towardes me. But if you be deceiued (as I am ſure you are) I ſhall deſire you, not to wiſhe me deceiued with you. For afore God I tell you plainly you are highly deceiued, and maintaine falſe Religion, and be not thoſe mē you take your ſelues for: and if you do not repent, & leaue of your perſecutyng of CHRISTES truth, you will go to the deuill for it. Therfore conſider it in tyme, I geue you warnyng: for in the day of iudgement els I ſhal be a witnes agaynſt you that I told you this here talkyng together.

Harpſ. Fye, that is but your owne vaine ſingular opinion. I perceiue you are ſtill now that man you were in Oxford.

Phil. I truſt you can report no notorious euill that euer you knew by me there.

Harpſ. I can ſay no euill of your conuerſation, but I knew you to be a ſtudious mā. Mary if you remember, when we met in diſputation in Paruis, you would not lightly geue ouer, and for that cauſe I ſpeake that I haue ſayd.

Phil. M.Harpſfield, you know in the ſcholes at Oxford, when we were yong men, we did ſtriue much vppon vaine glory and vppon contention, more then for the truth: but now our yeares and our riper learnyng teach vs to fall to a truth, which muſt be our portiō for euer. And if I was then, in my tyme of ignoraūce, earneſt in myne owne cauſe, I ought now to be earneſt in my Maſter CHRISTES cauſe, and in his truth. I know now that nothyng done vppon vayne glory and ſingularitie can pleaſe God, haue it neuer ſo goodly a ſhew: wherfore I pray you, iudge not ſo of me now.

Harpſ. What? will you thinke your ſelfe better learned, then all the learned men in this Realme?

Phil. My fayth hangeth not vpon the learned of the world, but vpon the learned of Gods word.

Harpſ. Well, I will talke with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your hart.

Phil. I pray God open both our heartes, to do more his will then we haue done in tymes paſt.

Harpſ. Ho keper, take him away with you.

Phil. I pray you M. Harpſfield, tell me what this pronowne [hoc] doth demonſtrate and ſhew in this indicatiue propoſitiō as you call it: Hoc eſt corpus meū, *This is my body.*

What this Pronowne [Hoc] doth demonſtrate.

Harpſ. It doth demonſtrate the ſubſtance of bread, which by the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, and by the omnipotencie of God, is turned into the ſubſtance of CHRISTES very body.

Phil. Is the ſubſtance of the bread (as you ſay) turned into CHRISTES body?

Harpſ. * Yea, that it is.

* That is agaynſt the opinion of *Wincheſter*. Read before pag. 1957. co. 1. lin. 39. pag. 1958. col. 1. lin. 3.

Phil. Why, then CHRISTES body receiueth dayly a great increaſe of many thouſand péeces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now which was not before, and by this you would ſéeme to make, that there is an alteration in CHRISTES glorified body, which is a wicked thyng to thinke.

Harpſ. Then he ſet about agayne, and remēbryng better him ſelfe, and ſeyng the inconuenience of his firſt aſſertion of the trāſubſtantiation of bread into CHRISTES body, he ſayd, that ẏ ſubſtaunce of bread after the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, was euacuated or vaniſhed away by the omnipotencie of God.

M. Harpſfield in a double tale.

Phil. This is an other ſong then you ſang firſt. And here you may ſée, how contrary you are to your ſelues. For in déede your ſcholemen do hold, that the very ſubſtaunce of bread is really turned into the ſubſtaunce of CHRISTES body. And now you perceiuyng of late the inconuenience which is obiected agaynſt you in that opinion, you are driuen to imagine a newe ſhifte, and ſay, the ſubſtance of bread is euacuated, contrary to that your Church hath firſt beleued and taught. O what cōtrarietie is there among you, and all to deface the ſincere truth?

Contrarietie in Popiſh doctrine.

Harpſ. Is not God omnipotent? and can not he do as he hath ſayd?

Phil. But his omnipotencie will not do as you ſay, cōtrary to his word and to his honour. It is not Gods honour to include him bodily in a péece of bread, and of neceſſitie to tie him therto. It is not Gods honour for you to make a péece of bread God and man, which you ſée before your face doth putrifie after a certeine tyme. Is not Gods omnipotencie as hable to geue his body with the Sacramentall bread, as to make ſo many turnynges away of the bread as you do, and that directly agaynſt the Scripture, which calleth it bread many tymes after the conſecration? Are you not aſhamed to make ſo many alterations of the Lordes holy inſtitution as you do, and to take away the ſubſtantiall partes of the Sacrament, as *take ye, eate ye, drinke ye all of this, Do ye this in remembraunce of me*: and to place in their ſtedes, here ye, gaſe ye, knocke ye, worſhyp ye, offer ye, ſacrifice ye for the quicke and the dead? If this bée not blaſphemy to God and his Sacrament, to adde and to plucke away in this ſort, and that contrary to ẏ mind of all auncient writers, and contrary to the example of CHRIST and hys Apoſtles, tell me.

Pretence of Gods omnipotencie.

The ſubſtanciall partes of the Sacramēt taken away by the Papiſtes.

Harpſ. I know you haue gathered the ſayinges of the Doctors together, which make for your purpoſe. I will talke no longer with you.

M. Harpſfield geueth ouer for lacke of good matter.

Phil. I pray God open both our hartes, to do more his will, then we haue in tymes paſt.

Harpſ. O keper, take him away with you.

The tenth examination of Iohn Philpot before Biſhop Boner, his Regiſter and others.

His tenth examination before the B. and others.

THe next day after dynner I was brought into my Lordes vpper hall, and there he called me before him and his Regiſter, and before Doct. Chadſey, in the preſence of two homely Gentlemē and a Prieſt which I knew not: at what tyme the Byſhop ſayd.

London. I do here lay vnto this man in your preſence (requiring you to be witnes againſt him, as much as you know in any of them) theſe Articles, this booke of the Cathechiſme made in kyng Edwardes dayes, alſo theſe concluſions agreed vpō both in Oxford and Cambridge:

bridge: alſo I lay vnto him that he hath deſpiſed the cenſures of the Church, and hath ſtanden accurſed more thē this twelue moneth, and neuer required abſolution therof. How ſay you? waſt thou not accurſed by my Lorde Chauncellour.

Iohn Philpot accurſed by St. Gardiner, without order of law.

Phil. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any iuſt cauſe, and without order of law, beyng neuer perſonally cited.

Lond. Diddeſt thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the Maſſe, that thou waſt excōmunicated, and therfore by the law couldeſt not heare Maſſe? How long haſt thou bene thus excommunicate?

Phil. More then a xij. moneth and a halfe.

Lond. Lo, you may heare what he ſayth: write it.

Phil. But as you would haue written that I haue ſayd, I haue bene thus long excommunicated, ſo alſo let him write, that I did require of my Lord Chauncellour that did excommunicate me, my abſolution: but he would not geue it me, ſaying that I was excommunicatus ipſo iure becauſe I was an hereticke (as it pleaſed him to call me) therfore accurſed by your law, and ſo commaunded me to priſon, where I remaine.

Iohn Philpot required abſolution of Wincheſter and was denied it.

Gentleman. Why do you not require abſolution at my Lordes handes here now?

Phil. Becauſe hée is not mine Ordinary, neither hath by the law any thyng to do with me of right.

Lond. What an obſtinate foole is this? I tell thee I will be thine Ordinary whether thou wilt or no.

B. Boner will nedes be his ordinary.

Phil. And becauſe of this your vnrighteous force towardes me, I haue appealed from you, and require you Maſter Regiſter, that my appeale may be entred in writyng.

M. Philpot appealeth from the Biſhop of London agayne.

Lond. Haue you heard ſuch a froward felow as this? he ſemed yeſterday to bee very tractable, & I had a good hope in him. I tell thee thou art of my Dioces.

Phil. I am of Wincheſter Dioces, and not of London Dioces.

Lond. I pray you, may not a man bee of two Dioces at once?

Phil. No that he can not.

Lond. Lo, will you ſee what an ignoraunt foole is this in the law, in that which he would ſeeme to be ſeene? I tel thee a mā may be of thrée Dioceſſes at once: as if thou were borne in Lōdon, by reaſon therof thou ſhouldeſt be of my Dioces: or els, if thou were not borne but haddeſt a dignitie here, alſo thou art to be counted of my Dioces, or els by reaſon of thy habitation in my Dioces.

How one may be of 3. Dioceſſes at once.

Phil. In none of theſe reſpectes I am of your Lordſhyps Dioces. But for all that, this will not folow that I dwellyng at Wincheſter, am at that preſent, of London Dioces.

Lond. What will you lay therof? wilt thou recant, if I proue it?

Phil. But what ſhall I wynne, if you do not?

Lond. I will geue thee my Byſhoprike if I proue it not.

Phil. Yea, but who ſhall deliuer it me if I wynne?

Lond. Thou art an arrogant foole. Enter their othes, and take theſe witneſſes depoſitions. I muſt be gone to to the Parlament houſe.

After this ſpake vnto me a Prieſt ſtandyng by, aſking me whether I was kyn to my Lord Rich or no?

Phil. I ſayd, he ſaid ſo himſelf vnto me yͤ other day: but how I know not.

Chad. I heard him ſay that he was his very nigh kinſman.

Baalamite. Why, then you & I muſt be of kinne, for he is my nigh kinſman. How chaunce it that you and I bee of contrary iudgementes?

Hys Baalamit kinſman.

Phil. It is no maruayle, for *CHRIST* prophecied, *that the father ſhall be deuyded againſt the ſonne, and the ſonne againſt the father for his truthes ſake.*

Baala. You do hold (as I vnderſtand) againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar and againſt the holy Maſſe.

Phil. If you can proue it a ſacrament, I will not hold againſt you.

Baala. What? proue it a ſacrament quoth he? doth not S. Paul ſay: Quæ occulus nō vidit & auris nō audiuit, ea præperauit Deus diligētibus ſe: *that ſuch things as the eye hath not ſene, neither eare heard, God hath prepared for them that loue him?*

Scripture handſomely applyed.

Phil. That ſaying of S. Paule concerneth nothing your ſacrament, but is ment of the heauenly ioyes that be prepared for all faythfull beleuers.

Baala. Why, then I perceiue you vnderſtand not S. Paule. By God you are deceaued.

Phil. You ought not to ſweare kinſman, if you will that I ſhall ſo call you: and wout diſworſhip of our kindred, I vnderſtand S. Paule as well as you, and know what I ſay: and with that ſhewed him a Greke teſtament with Eraſmus tranſlation, and with the old alſo, demaunding him which text hee was beſt acquainted withall.

Baala. I knew Greke too once, as well as you: I care not which you read.

Phil. You knowe them then all alyke: you vnderſtand the one as well as the other. With this my Baalamite kinſman departed in a fury.

The next day after I was brought downe agayne after dinner to the chappell, and there my Baalamite kinſman (to verify the ſcriptures, that a mans owne kinſfolkes ſhall be his enemies) came in with the Byſhop as a witnes agaynſt me: and there the Byſhop cauſed an other that came to him about other matters, to ſweare alſo to be a witnes againſt me, which was a prieſt alſo, ſaying.

The nex dayes ta with the Biſhop.

London. You ſhall ſweare to depoſe all the truth of certaine articles you ſhalbe enquyred of concerning this man: and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy preſence.

Witneſſe agaynſt ſworne agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Phil. My Lord, I do not agrée to the production of them, but doe appeale from all theſe and others your proceedinges againſt me: and requyre you Maſter regiſter, that my appeale may be entred, and I will geue you for your labour.

Iohn Philpot appealeth againſt yͤ Biſhop.

Reg. Your appeale ſhal be entred at leaſure. Whom do you appeale vnto? tell me?

I appeale to a hygher iudge, as to the Lieutenaunt of the Archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury: for I know not who is Biſhop thereof at this preſent. With that the Biſhop went away, and my Baalamite kinſman loked big vpon me, but ſayd neuer a word.

Thus I haue in haſt ſcribled out all myne examinations hetherto, that the ſame which hath bin done vnto mee in darke, might come to light, and that the papiſtes vniuſt procédinges and nakednes in their falſe religion, might be knowen to their confuſion. Ieſus is Imanuell, that is, our God with vs, Amen. 1555.

¶ *The 11. examination of Ioh. Philpot had on S. Andrewes day, before the Biſhop of Dureſme, the Biſhop of Chicheſter, the Byſhop of Bath, the Byſhop of London, the Prolocutor, Maſter Chriſtopherſon, and Doct. Chadſey, M. Morgan of Oxford, Maſter Huſſey of the Arches, Doct. VVeſton, Doct. Harpſfield Archdeacon, Maſter Coſins, and Maſter Iohnſon Regiſter to the Biſhop of London, in his Palace.*

I Was comming, being ſent for with my Kéeper, and the Biſhop of London met me at his hall doore and full manerly he played the gentleman Vſher, to bring me before the Lordes, ſaying.

Yet another examination of Iohn Philpot before Biſhops and Doctors.

London. My Lordes, I ſhall deſyre you to take ſome paynes with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he ſhould do well: but he will wilfully caſt away himſelf.

Dureſ. Come hether ſir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is Philpot.

Dureſ. I haue heard of that name to bee a worſhipfull ſtocke, and ſince you be a gentleman, do as you may liue worſhipfully among other gentlemen. What is the cauſe of your trouble now?

Phil. I told him the cauſe as in my former examinations is expreſſed.

Dureſ. Well, all cauſes ſet apart, will you now be a cōformable man to the catholicke fayth, and leaue all new fāgled opinions and hereſies? Iwis I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of theſe opinions, & can tell howe they began. Leaue thē, & follow yͤ catholicke church through out the whole worlde, as the whole Realme now doth.

Phil. My Lord, I am of the catholich fayth and deſire to liue and dye in the ſame, but it is not vnknowen to your Lordſhip, that I with others theſe xx. yeares haue bene taught an other maner of fayth then you now go about to compell vs vnto: wherfore it is requiſite that we haue a tyme to way the ſame, and to heare how it agreeth with Gods word. For fayth is not at a ſodein neither wonne neither remoued, but as Saint Paule ſaith: *fayth commeth by hearing and hearing by the word:* fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum

Chich. And if you will geue me leaue my Lord I will ſhew him how he taketh the ſaying of S. Paule amiſſe, as many other now adayes alleadging the ſame do, that they ought not be compelled to beleue, where as S. Paule meaneth of infidels, and not of the faythfull. And ſo S. Auſtine wryting againſt the Donatiſtes, ſayth that the faythfull may be compelled to beleue.

Phil. Saint Barnard (and it pleaſe your Lordſhip) doth take that ſenſe of S. Paule as I do, ſaying that fides eſt ſuadenda & non imponenda, *fayth must bee perſwaded to a mā and not enioyned.* And S. Auſtine ſpeaketh of ſuch as were firſt throughly perſwaded by manifeſt ſcriptures, and yet would reſiſt of ſtubburne wilfulnes.

Chic. So Bernard meaneth of Infidels alſo.

Phil. No my Lord, that he doth not: for he writeth not of the Infidels, but he wryteth of ſuch as were deceyued by errours.

Chic. My Lord of Dureſme, I haue bene ſo bold to interrupt your Lordſhip of your tale: I pray you now proceede on.

Dureſ. Maſter Philpot, will you bee of the ſame catholicke faith and church with vs, you were baptiſed in, and your Godfathers promiſed for you, and hold as wee do? and then may you be rid out of trouble. I perceiue you are learned, and it is pity but you ſhould do well.

Phil. I am of the ſame catholicke fayth and catholicke Church I was baptiſed vnto, and in that wyll I lyue and dye.

Dureſ. That is well ſayd: if you hold there you can not doe but well.

Chic. Yea my Lord, but he meaneth otherwiſe then you do. Are you of the ſame faith your Godfathers and godmothers were, or no?

Phil. I can not tell what fayth they were of certaynly, but I am of the fayth I was baptiſed vnto, which is in the faith of CHRIST. For I was not baptiſed in the faith of my Godfathers, but in yͤ faith of CHRIST.

Chriſto. S. Auſten ſayth, that Infātes are baptiſed in fide Suſceptorum, in the faith of their Godfathers.

Phil. S. Auſten yet in ſo ſaying meaneth of the fayth of CHRIST, which the Godfathers do or ought to beleue, and not otherwyſe.

Dureſ. How ſay you? wyll you beleue as we do, and all the learned of the Realme, or no, and bee of one Church wyth vs?

Phil. My Lordes, it is not vnknowen vnto you, that there hath bene allwayes two churches.

Chic. Nay, that is not ſo: there is but one Catholicke church.

Phil. I ſhall deſire your Lordſhips to heare out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I knowe there is but one true church: but allwayes from the begynning there hath bene ioyned to the ſame true church, a falſe church, aduerſary to the true, and that was declared at the firſt in Abel and Cain, who perſecuted and ſlewe hys brother, in whom (as S. Auſten wytneſſeth) is repreſented the falſe and true church. And after that, as ſone as God had choſen hys peculiar people, and ſhewed vnto them hys Sanctuary, holy ſtatutes and will, anone after aroſe the falſe church, and ten of the twelue tribes of Iſrael diuided them ſelues frō the true church of Iuda and Beniamin, and made to them ſelues at Bethel, and ſet vp golden Calues, and yet pretended therewyth to ſerue God, and ſo abuſed hys word: Notwithſtanding God was diſpleaſed with them, & ceaſed not hys wrath, vntil he had vtterly deſtroyed them.

Chic. I will graunt you before the cōmyng of CHRIST there were two churches in the old law: but in the new law, ſince CHRISTES comming you cannot ſhew it to be ſo by the ſcripture.

Phil. Yes my Lord, that I can, if you wyll geue me leaue. After CHRIST had choſen hys twelue Apoſtles, was there not a Iudas in the new law, and a Symon Magus? And were not they of the falſe church?

Chic. Yea, but I meane after the Goſpell was written, where can you finde me two churches, after CHRIST had aſcended, and ſent the holy Ghoſt?

Phil. The Goſpel was within eight yeares after the aſcenſion written by S. Mathew, and the writing therof is not materiall to the declaration of theſe two churches to haue beene allwayes from tyme to tyme, as by example it may be ſhewed: and yet as euill as my memory is, I remember in the new teſtament is mention made of two Churches, as it appeareth in the Apocalyps: and alſo S. Paule to the Theſſalonians maketh mention, that Antichriſt wyth hys falſe generation ſhal ſit in the temple of God. To the which Chicheſter replyed not.

The biſhop of *Chicheſter D.Day* driuen to a ſtrayte.

Dureſ. The church in the ſcripture is likened to a great fiſhers net, which contayneth in it both good fiſhes and bad fiſhes. I truſt you will be of the better ſort, & leaue to the truth.

Phil. My Lord, it is my whole deſyre now to follow that which is good, whatſoeuer I haue done in tymes paſt, and to cleaue to Gods truth.

Dureſ Do you ſo, and then ſhall you do well. It is almoſt night, my Lorde of London I muſt nedes bee gone.

London. Nay my Lord of Dureſme, I muſt deſyre your Lordſhip, and my Lord of Chicheſter, to tary a little while. And before he had ſo ſayd, the Biſhop of Bath went his way without ſaying any word. what my Lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you tary. My Lords I haue earneſt matter to charge this man withal, wherof I would your Lordſhippes to be made priuy: and I haue them here written in a libell. I pray you ſit downe agayne, or els I will. Firſt I lay to him here, that hee hath written in a Bible which I toke from him, this erronious ſaying, quod ſpiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terra .i. *the holy ghoſt is CHRISTES Vicar in earth.* Wilt thou abyde by this ſaying of thyne, *that the ſpirit is CHRISTES Vicar on earth?*

The biſhops begin to be wery of theyr part.

B.Boner would fayne pike out matter if he could tell how.

Phil. My Lord, it is not my ſaying: it is a better learned mans then myne. For I vſe not to write myne own ſayinges, but yͤ notable ſayinges of other auncient wryters, as all the others be where ye fynd the ſame written. And as I remember, it is euen the ſaying of S. Bernard, and a ſaying that I nede not to be aſhamed of, neither you to be offended, as my lord of Dureſme and my Lord of Chicheſter by their learning can diſcerne, and will not recken it euill ſayd.

London. No will? why, take away the firſt ſyllable, and it ſoundeth Arius.

Phil. That is farre fetched in déede: if your Lordſhip will ſcanne mens ſayinges in ſuch wiſe, you may finde out what you liſt.

London. But to helpe this, I fynd moreouer written with his owne hand in an other boke: In me Ioanne Philpoto vbi abundauit peccatum, ſuperabundauit & gratia, That is: in me Iohn Philpot, where ſinne did abound, grace hath ſuperabounded. I pray you what ſuperaboūdaunt grace haue you more then other men? So ſayd Arius, that he had the abundaunce of grace aboue al other.

An other matter piked agaynſt *John Philpot.*

Phil. My Lord, you nede not to be offended wyth that ſaying more then the other, for it is the ſaying of S. Paule himſelfe, and I did apply it to my ſelfe for my comfort, knowing that though my ſinnes be huge and great in the ſight of God, yet is his mercy and grace aboue them all. And concerning Arius and his adherentes, I deſye them, as it is wel knowen I haue written againſt them.

Rom.5. 1.Tim.1.

London Alſo I lay to thy charge, that thou killedſt thy father, and waſt accurſed of thy mother in her deathbed, as I can bring witnes hereof.

Phil. O Lord, what blaſphemy is this? Hath your Lordſhip nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may ſpeake it with your honours) ſuch forged blaſphemous lyes? If any of theſe can bee proued, I wyll promiſe here to recant at Paules Croſſe what you will haue me: I am ſo ſure they are as great blaſphemies as

John Philpot falſely charged with vntruth, when no truth can be found agaynſt him.

An. 1555. December.

may bee obiected againſt any man. Ha my Lordes, I pray you conſider how my Lord of London hath hetherto procéeded againſt me: for in dede he hath none other but ſuch pretenſed ſclaunderous lyes.

Chic. They be parerga: that is, matters beſide the purpoſe.

Dureſ. My Lord, I muſt needes byd you fare well.

M. Philpot charged with a letter written to Maſter *Grene*.

Lond. Nay my Lord, here is a letter which I ſhall deſire your Lordſhip to heare ere you go. This mã (beyng in my kepyng) hath taken vpon him to write letters out of priſon, and to peruert a young Gentleman called M. Grene, in my houſe (cal him hether) and hath made a falſe report of his examination, as you ſhall heare, not beyng content to be euill him ſelfe, but to make others as bad as him ſelf. He all to tare the letter, when he ſaw my mã went about to ſearch him, but yet I haue peeced it agayne together, and cauſed a copy to be written thereof, and hee red the torne letter, biddyng M. Chriſtopherſon, and Morgan to marke the copy therof.

Of this letter torne in ÿ blind Tower, read before pag. 1982 col. 2.

The contentes of Maſter *Philpots* letter, to M. *Grene*.

The contentes of the letter was the examination of M. Grene *before the Byſhop of London, in the preſence of* M. Fecknam *Deane of Paules, and of diuerſe others, whoſe ready aunſweres in the Scriptures and in the Doctours was wondered at of the Deane hym ſelfe and of many others, as* M. Fecknam *did report: and that he was firſt committed to* Doct. Chadſey, *and after to* D. Dee *the great Coniurer, and to haue his meate from the Biſhops owne table. How ſay you my Lordes? was this well done of him, beyng my priſoner to write this? And yet he hath written a ſhamefull lye, that he was in* Doct. Chadſeys *kepyng. How ſay you* M. Doct. Chadſey? *is it not a ſhamefull lye?*

Chad. Yes my Lord, he was neuer in my keping.

M. Grene called.

Lond. Art thou not aſhamed to write ſuch ſhamefull lyes? come hether Maſter Grene, did not I ſhewe you this letter?

Grene. Yea forſooth my Lord, you ſhewed it me.

A great fault to call the Biſhops Chaplaine Cõiurer.

Lond. How thinke you my Lordes? Is not this an honeſt man to belye me, and to call my Chaplain a great Coniurer? my Lord of Dureſme ſmiled therat.

M. Philpot agayne charged with an vntruth.

Phil. Your Lordſhip doth miſtake all thinges. This letter (as your Lordſhyp may perceiue, and all other that haue heard the ſame) was not written by me, but by a frend of myne, certifiyng me at my requeſt how M. Grene ſped at the Biſhop of Londons handes: and there is nothyng in the letter that either I or hée that wrote it, néede to feare, but that might be written as my report.

Lond. Then tell me, who wrote it, if you dare.

Phil. No my Lord, it is not my duty to accuſe my frend, and ſpecially ſeyng you will take all thinges to the worſt: neither you ſhall neuer know of me, who wrote it. Your Lordſhyp may ſée in the end of the letter that my frend did write vnto me vppon the occaſion of my appeale which I haue made to the whole Parlamẽt houſe, about ſuch matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Lond. I would ſee any ſo hardy, to put vp thine appeale.

Phil. My Lord, I can not tell what God wil worke: I haue written it, ſpede as it may.

Lond. My Lord, I haue vſed him with much gentlenes, ſince he came to me. How ſayeſt thou, haue I not?

Note what great gentlenes this B. ſheweth to *Philpot*, and compare the ſame with the handling now of the B. in his impriſonment.

Phil. If to lye in the vileſt priſon in this towne (beyng a Gentleman and an Archdeacon) and in a Colehouſe by the ſpace of v. or vj. wéekes already, without fire or candle, be to be coũted gentlenes at your hands, I muſt néedes ſay I haue found gentlenes. But there were neuer men ſo cruelly handled as we are at theſe dayes.

London. Loe, what a varlet is this? Beſides this (my Lordes) euen yeſterday he procured his man to bryng a bladder of blacke pouder, I can not tell for what purpoſe I.

Phil. Your Lordſhip néedeth not to miſtruſt the matter: it is nothyng but to make inke withall, for lacke of inke, as I had it before in the kynges Bench when my kéeper toke away my inkhorne.

London. And why ſhouldeſt thou go about any ſuch thyng vnknowyng vnto me, beyng thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this houſe, I tell thee.

Blacke pouder ſ to *Iohn Philpot* to make Inke.

Phil. My Lord, becauſe you haue cauſed my pennar and inkhorne to be taken from me, I would yet fayne that my frendes might vnderſtand what I lacke, not that I intended to write any thing that I would be afeard ſhould come to your ſight.

Lond. More then this my Lordes, he cauſed a pigge to be roſted, and made a knife to be put betwene the ſkinne and the fleſh, for what purpoſe iudge you. How ſayeſt thou? diddeſt thou not ſo?

Phil. I can not deny but there was halfe a pigge ſent me, and vnder the ſame a knife lying in the ſawſe: but for no ill purpoſe that I know: your Lordſhyp may iudge what you will. It was not to kill my ſelfe, nor none other, as you would haue men to beleue: for I was neuer yet without a knife, ſince I came to priſon. Therfore all theſe be but falſe ſurmiſes, and not worth rehearſall.

Falſe ſur miſes lay agaynſt *Iohn Philpot*.

Lond. I haue here to lay to his charge (chiefeſt of all) his booke of the report of the diſputation had in the Cõuocation houſe, which is the rankeſt hereſie that may be, agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar. How ſay you M. Doct. Weſton? did hee mainteine the ſame there ſtubbornly or no?

Weſt. Yea my Lord, that he did, and would neuer be aunſwered. And it is pitie that the ſame worſhipfull cõgregatiõ ſhould be ſclaũdered with ſuch vntrue reportes.

Doctor *Weſtons* chiefe argumente in the Co uocation houſe,

Phil. You aunſwered me in déede Maſter Doctour (beyng then Prolocutor) godly, with hold thy peace, and haue him to priſon, and, put him out of the houſe. I haue read the booke, and I finde the report of euery mans Argument to be true in all pointes. And if there be any fault, it is becauſe it ſetteth forth your doynges to fauourably, and nothyng lyke to that you did vſe me, beyng an Archdeacon, & not of the worſte of the houſe.

Weſt. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. In déede Maſter Doctour ye haue among you vnarchdeaconed me as now (I thanke God of it) and that without all order of law.

Lond. I pray you my Lordes harken what he writeth of him ſelfe. I red it ouer this mornyng, and made a note of it. He ſayth that Doct. Weſton called him frãticke and mad man, and ſayd he ſhould go to Bedlem.

Phil. In déede my Lord, ſo it pleaſed M. Weſton to taunt at me, and ſay his ſhamefull pleaſure: but yet I was no whitte the more ſo for all his ſayinges, then CHRIST was when the Scribes and the Phariſeis ſayd likewiſe he was mad, and that he was poſſeſſed of a deuill, moſt blaſphemouſly.

Byſhop *Tonſtall*, & Maſter *Weſton*, geue ouer the matt

Dureſ. My Lord of London, I can tary no longer. I muſt nedes bid you farewell. M. Philpot, me thinketh you haue ſayd well, that you will abide in the Catholicke faith, and in the Catholicke Church: I pray you ſo doe, and you ſhall do right well. And ſo he departed with M. Weſton and M. Huſſey.

Phil. I haue purpoſed ſo to do, how ſoeuer I ſpede, by Gods grace.

Lond. I pray you my Lord of Chicheſter, and Maſter Prolocutor, and M. Doct. Morgan, to common with hym, whiles I bring my Lord of Dureſme goyng.

Chriſto. Maſter Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, (if you bee remembred, but you haue forgotten me) and talked ſomewhat with you of theſe matters and I finde you now the ſame mã as you were then. I wiſh it were otherwiſe. For Gods ſake be conformable to mẽ that be better learned then you, and ſtand not in your owne conceit.

Phil. Where as you call me to remembraunce of acquaintaunce had at Rome, in déede it was ſo, though it were but very ſtraunge on your part to me warde beyng driuen to neceſſitie.

Chriſto. You knowe the worlde was daungerous at that tyme.

Phil. Nothyng ſo daungerous as it is now: but let that paſſe. Where as you ſay you finde me the ſame man I was then, I prayſe God for that you ſée not me like a rede wandering with euery wynde. And where as you would haue me folow better learned men then my ſelfe: in déede I do acknowledge that you with a great many other are farre better learned thẽ I, whoſe bookes in reſpect of learning I am not worthy to carry after you: but faith and the wiſedome of God cōſiſteth not in learning onely, and therfore S. Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded vpon the wiſedome of man. If you can ſhew by learnyng out of Gods booke, that I ought to be of an other faith then I am, I will heare you and any other man what ſoeuer he be.

Chriſto. I maruaile why you ſhould diſſent frō the catholicke church, ſince it hath thus long vniuerſally bene receaued, except within this fyue or ſixe yeares here in England.

Phil. I do not diſſent frō the true catholicke church: I doe onely diſſent from the biſhop of Rome, which if you can proue to be the catholicke church of CHRIST, I wyll be of the ſame alſo wyth you.

Chriſto. Will you beleue S. Cyprian, if I can ſhewe you out of hym, quòd Eccleſia Romana eſt talis ad quam perfidia accedere non poteſt: *That the church of Rome is ſuch a one, vnto the which myſbeliefe cannot approche?*

Phil. I am ſure you can not ſhew any ſuch ſaying out of S. Cyprian.

Chriſto. What will you lay thereon?

Phil. I wyll lay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Wyll you promiſe to recant if hee ſhewe hys ſaying to be true?

Phil. My fayth ſhall not hang vpon any Doctours ſaying, further then he ſhall be able to proue the ſame by Gods word.

Chriſto. I wyll go fet the booke and ſhewe it hym by and by: and therewithall hee went into the Biſhops ſtudy, and fet Cyprian, and appointed out theſe wordes in one of his Epiſtles: Ad Romanos autem quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, non poteſt accedere perfidia. *But vnto the Romaynes, whoſe fayth by the teſtimonye of the Apoſtle is praiſed, myſbeliefe can haue no acceſſe.*

Phil. Theſe wordes of Cyprian do nothyng proue your pretenſed aſſertion, which is that to the church of Rome there could come no miſbeliefe.

Chriſto. Good Lord, no doth? what can be ſayd more playnly?

Phil. He ſpeaketh not of the church of Rome abſolutely.

Chriſto. By God, a childe that can but hys Grammer wyll not deny that you do, the wordes be ſo plaine.

Phil. Sweare not maſter Doctor, but way Cyprians wordes with me, and I ſhall make you to ſay as I haue ſayd.

Chriſto. I am no Doctor: but I perceiue it is but labour loſt to reaſon with you.

Boner. And wyth that the biſhop of London came in blowing againe, and ſaid: what? is my Lord of Chicheſter gone away alſo? (for he euen a litle before departed alſo without any other word ſaying, but he muſt needes be gone). What is the matter you now ſtand vpon?

Morgan. Maſter Chriſtopherſō hath ſhewed maſter Philpot a notable place of the autority of the church of Rome and he maketh no thing of it.

Boner. Where is the place? let me ſee. By my fayth here is a place alone. Come hether Syr, what ſay you to this? Nay tary a little, I will helpe this place with S. Paules own teſtimony the firſt to the Romaines, where he ſaith that their fayth is preached throughout the world: how can you be able to aunſwer to this?

Phil. Yes my Lord, it is ſoone aunſwered if you will conſider all the wordes of Cyprian: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as in hys tyme were faithfull at Rome, that followed the doctrine of S. Paule, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world by an Epiſtle which he had written in the cōmendation of their faith. With ſuch as are prayſed of S. Paule at Rome, for followyng the true fayth, myſbeliefe can haue no place. And now if you can ſhew that ỹ fayth which the church of Rome holdeth nowe, is that fayth which the Apoſtle prayſed and allowed in the Romaines in hys time, then wyll I ſay that S. Cyprian then ſayd, and with you, that infidelitye can haue no place there: but otherwyſe it maketh not abſolutely for the authoritye of the church of Rome, as you do miſtake it.

Chriſto. You vnderſtand Cyprian wel in deede: I thinke you neuer red him in your lyfe.

Phil. Yes maſter Doctor that I haue, I can ſhewe you a booke noted with myne owne hand: though I haue not red ſo much as you, yet I haue red ſomewhat. It is ſhame for you to wraſt and wrieth the Doctors as you do, to maintaine a falſe religiō, which be altogether againſt you if you take them aright, & in deede your falſe packing of the Doctors together hath geuen me and others occaſion to looke vpon them, whereby we finde you ſhamefull lyers and myſreporters of the auncient Doctors.

Papiſtes wholiers and miſreporters of the Doctors.

Morgan. What? will you be in hand to allowe Doctors now? they of your ſect do not ſo. I maruaile therof you wyll allow them.

Phil. I do allow them, in aſmuch as they doe agree with the ſcriptures: and ſo do all they which be of the truth, howſoeuer you terme vs: and I prayſe God for that good vnderſtanding I haue receaued by them.

Chriſto. What? you vnderſtand not the Doctors: you may be aſhamed to ſay it.

Phil. I thanke God I vnderſtand them better then you: for you haue excæcationem cordis, *the blindnes of hart*, ſo that you vnderſtād not truly what you read, no more then the wall here, as the taking of Cyprian doth wel declare. And afore God you are but deceauers of the people, for all your brag you make of learnyng, neyther haue ye ſcripture or auncient Doctor on your ſide, beyng truly taken.

Doctours make agaynſt the Papiſts, if they be rightly taken.

Morgan. Why, all the Doctors be on our ſide, & againſt you altogether.

Phil. Yea, ſo you ſay when you be in your pulpits alone, and none to aunſwer you. But if you wyll come to caſt accountes with me thereof, I wyll venter wyth you a recantation, that I (as little ſight as I haue in the Doctors) will bring more authorities of auncient doctors on my ſide, then you ſhall be able for yours, and he that can bryng moſt, to hym let the other ſide yeld. Are ye content herewyth?

Chriſto. It is but folly to reaſon with you: you wil beleue no man but your ſelfe.

Phil. I wyll beleue you or any other learned man, if you can bryng any thing worthy to bee beleued. You can not wyn me with vayne woordes from my fayth. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, he.

Phil. Except the articles of the Trinitie, you are corrupt in all other things, and ſound in nothing.

Morgan. What ſay you? do we not beleue well on the Sacrament?

Phil. It is the thyng which (among all other) you do moſt abuſe.

Morgan. Wherein, I pray you tell vs?

Phil. I haue told you before (maſter Doctor) in the Conuocation houſe.

Morgan. Yea mary: in deede you tolde vs there very well. For there you fell downe vpon your knees, and fell to weeping: ha, ha, ha.

Morgan here beginneth to play the eigur.

Phil. I dyd weepe in deede, and ſo dyd CHRIST vpon Ieruſalem, and am not to be blamed therfore, if you conſider the cauſe of my weeping.

Morgan. What? make you your ſelfe CHRIST? ha, ha.

Phil. No Syr, I make not my ſelfe CHRIST: but I am not aſhamed to do as my maſter & Sauiour did, to bewaile and lament your infidelitie and idolatrye, which I there foreſawe through tirannye you would bring againe to this realme, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your argument.

Chriſto. Wherein do we abuſe the ſacrament, tell vs?

Phil. As I may touch but one of the leaſt abuſes, you miniſter it not in both kindes as you ought to doe, but keepe the one halfe from the people contrary to CHRISTES inſtitution.

The Sacrament abuſed by the Papiſtes, how and wherein.

Chriſto. Why, is there not as much contayned in one kynde, as in both? And what neede is it then to miniſter in both kindes?

Phil. I beleue not ſo: for if it had, CHRIST would haue geuen but one kinde onely: for he inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous: & therfore you cānot ſay that the whole effect of the ſacrament is as well in the one kind, as in both, ſince the ſcripture teacheth otherwiſe.

Sacrament in one kinde.

Chriſto. what if I can proue it by ſcripture that wee may miniſter it in one kinde? The Apoſtles did ſo, as it may appere in the Actes of the Apoſtles in one or two places, where it is written that the Apoſtles continued In orationibus & fractione panis: *In prayers, and in breaking of bread*, which is ment of the ſacrament.

Phil. Why, maſter Doctor, doe you not knowe that S. Luke by the makyng mencion of the breakyng of bread, meaneth the whole vſe of the ſacrament, accordyng to *CHRISTES* inſtitution, by a figure which you haue learned in Grāmer, * Synechdoche, where part is mencioned, & the whole vnderſtanded to be done, as *CHRIST* commaunded it?

Synechdoche is a figure, when by one thing or by part, the whole is vnderſtanded.

Chriſto. Nay, that is not ſo: For I can ſhew out of Euſebius in Eccleſ. Hiſtoria, that there was a man of God, (whom he named) that ſent the Sacrament in one kinde by a Boy to one that was ſicke.

Euſebius hath theſe wordes: parū Euchariſtiæ puero dedit. i. He gaue a litle of the Sacrament to the boy: which wordes may very wel comprehende both partes: and it ſemeth by the wordes that follow, that part of it was licour, for it is written in the ſame place: iuſſit vt id infunderet et in os ſenis inſtillaret. i. He commaunded that he ſhould poure it and droppe it into the old mans mouth, and ſo he did. Euſebius in eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 6. ca. 44.

Phil. I haue red in déede that they dyd vſe to geue that was left of the Cōmunion bread, to Children, to Mariners, and to women, and ſo peraducture the boy might cary a péece of that was left to the ſicke man.

Chriſto. Nay, as a Sacrament it was purpoſely ſent vnto hym.

Phil. If it were ſo, yet can you not preciſely ſay that he had not the cup miniſtred vnto him alſo by ſome other ſent vnto hym: but though one man dyd vſe it thus, doth it follow that al men may do the like? S. Cyprian noteth many abuſes of the ſacramēt in his tyme, which roſe vpon ſingular mens examples, as vſing of water in ſtéede of wyne: therefore he ſayth: Non reſpiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit, ſed quid Chriſtus qui omniū primus, ante nos fecerit & mādauit. That is: *We muſt not looke what anye man hath done before vs, but what CHRIST firſt of all men did and commaunded.*

Chriſto. Hath not the church taught vs ſo to vſe the ſacrament? and how do we know that *CHRIST* is Homouſios, that is, of one ſubſtance with the father, but by the determination of the Church? How can you proue that otherwiſe by expreſſe wordes of ſcripture, and where finde you Homouſios in all the ſcripture?

Phil. Yes that I doe, in ẏ firſt to the Hebrues, where it is wrytten that *CHRIST* is the expreſſe Image of Gods own ſubſtance, eiuſdem ſubſtantiæ.

Chriſto. Nay, that is not ſo. It is there no more but expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ: *the expreſſe image of Gods ſubſtance*, & image is accident.

Phil. It is in the text, of his ſubſtance, ſubſtantiæ illius, or of his owne ſubſtannce, as it may be right wel interpreted. Beſydes this, that which *CHRIST* ſpake of him ſelfe in S. Iohn, manifeſteth the ſame, ſaying: *I and the father be one thing*: Ego & pater vnum ſumus. And where as you ſay Imago here is accidence, the auncient fathers vſe this for a ſtronge argument to proue *CHRIST* to be god, becauſe he is the very image of God.

Chriſto. Yea do? is this a good argument, becauſe we are the image of God, Ergo we are God?

The image of God is not like in Chriſt, and in vs.

Phil. We are not called the expreſſe image of God, as it is written of *CHRIST*, and we are but the image of God by participation, and as it is written in Geneſis, we are made to the lykenes and ſimilitude of God. But you ought to knowe (M. Chriſtopherſon) that there is no accidence in God, and therefore *CHRIST* cannot be the image of god, but he muſt be of the ſame ſubſtance with God.

Chriſto. Tuſhe.

Preſēce of the Sacrament.

Morgan. How ſay you to the preſence of the ſacrament? will you ſtand to ẏ iudgement here of your booke or no? or will you recant?

Phil. I know you go but about to catch me in wordes. If you can proue that booke to bee of my ſetting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to iudgement.

Morgan. Speake, bee you of the ſame mynde as thys boke is of or no? Sure I am you were once, vnleſſe you become an other maner of man then you were.

Phil. What I was, you know: what I am, I wyll not tel you now: but this I will ſay to you by the way, that if you can proue your Sacrament of the Maſſe (as you nowe vſe it) to be a ſacrament, I will then graunt you a preſence: but firſt you muſt proue ẏ ſame a Sacrament, and afterward intreat of the preſence.

Morgan. Hoo, doe you doubt that it is a ſacrament?

Phil. I am paſt doubting, for I beleue you can neuer be able to proue it a Sacrament.

Chriſto. Yea do? good Lord, doth not Saint Auſtine call it the Sacrament of the aultar? how ſay you to that?

Phil. That maketh nothing for the probation of your ſacrament. For ſo hee with other auncient wryters do call ẏ holy cummunion or ẏ ſupper of the Lord in reſpect that it is the ſacrament of the ſacrifice, which *CHRIST* offered vpon the aultar of the croſſe, the which ſacrifice all the aultars and ſacrifices done vpon the aultars in the olde lawe did prefigure and ſhadow, the which pertayneth nothing to your ſacrament hanging vpon your aultars made of lyme and ſtone.

Chriſto. No doth? I pray you, what ſignifieth aultar?

Phil. Not as you falſly take it materially, but for the ſacrifice of the aultar of the croſſe.

Chriſto. where fynd you it euer ſo taken?

Phil. Yes that I do, in S. Paule to the Hebrewes xiij. where he ſayth: Habemus altare de quo non eſt fas edere his qui tabernaculo deſeruiunt: *We haue an altar, of the which it is not lawfull for them to eate, that ſerue the tabernacle.* Is not altar there taken for the ſacrifice of the aultar, and not for the aultare of lyme and ſtone?

Chriſto. well, God bleſſe me out of your company. You are ſuch an obſtinate heriticke, as I haue not heard the lyke.

Phil. I pray God kepe me from ſuch blind Doctors, which when they are not able to proue what they ſay, then they fall to blaſpheming (as you nowe do) for lacke of better profe. In the meane whyle the Biſhop of London was talking with ſome other by, and at length came in to ſupply his part, and ſayd.

Boner. I pray you Maſters harkē what I ſhall ſay to this mā: come hether M. Grene. And now ſyr (poynting to me) you can not thinke it ſufficient to be naught your ſelfe but muſt go about to procure this yong gentleman by your letters to do the lyke.

Phil. My Lord, hee can not ſay that I euer hitherto wrote vnto him concerning any ſuch matter, as hee here can teſtify.

Grene No, you neuer wrote vnto me.

Boner. why, is not this your letter which you did wryte concerning him?

Phil. I haue ſhewed your Lordſhip my mynd concerning that letter already: it was not written to M. Grene, neither was he priuy of the wryting thereof.

Boner. How ſay you then? if a man be in an error and you know therof, what are you boūd to do in ſuch a caſe?

Phil. I am bound to do the beſt I can to bring him out of it.

Boner. If M. Grene here bee in the lyke, are you not bound to reforme him thereof if you can?

Phil. Yes that I am, and will do the vttermoſt to my power therein. The Biſhop remembring himſelf, thinking that he would but ſhrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an errour, ceaſed to go any further in his demaund, and called M. Grene aſide, and before his Regiſter red him a letter, I know not the contents thereof: and therewithall he gaue M. Grene the boke of my diſputation in the Conuocation houſe, and afterward went aſide, cōmoning with M. Chriſtopherſon, leauing M. Morgan, M. Harpſfield, and M. Coſins to reaſon with me in the hearing of M. Grene.

Morgan. Maſter Philpot, I would aſke you how olde your Religion is.

Phil. It is older then yours by a thouſand yeares and moe.

Morgan. I pray you, where was it fifty yeares ago?

Phil. It was in Germany apparent by the teſtimonies of Huſſe, Ierome of Prage, and Wickleffe, whō your generation a hundreth yeares ago and more did burne burnt for preaching the truth vnto you : and before their time and ſince hath bene, although vnder perſecution it hath bene put to ſilence.

Morgan. That is a maruelous ſtraunge religiō, which no man can tell certainly where to finde it.

Phil. It ought to bee no maruell vnto you to ſée Gods truth through violence oppreſſed : for ſo it hath bene from the begynnyng from time to time, as it appeareth by ſtories, and as *CHRISTES* true Religiō is now to be found here in England, although hypocriſie hath by violence the vpper hand. And in the Apocalyps you may ſée it was propheſied that the true Church ſhould be driuen into corners, and into wyldernes, and ſuffer great perſecution.

Morgan. A, are you ſene in ẏ Apocalyps? there are many ſtraunge thinges.

Phil. If I tell you ẏ truth which you are not able to refell, beleue it, and dally not out ſo earneſt matters. Me thincke you are liker a ſcoffer in a play, then a reaſonable Doctour to inſtruct a man: you are bare arſed and daunce naked in a net, and yet you ſée not your owne nakednes.

Morgan. What (I pray you) be not ſo quicke with me. Let vs talke a litle more coldly together.

Phil. I will talke with you as mildly as you can deſire, if you will ſpeake learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with tauntes to delude truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morgan. Why will you not ſubmitte your iudgement to the learned men of this Realme?

Phil. Becauſe I ſée they can bryng no good ground, whereupon I may with a good conſcience ſettell my faith more ſurely then on that which I am now grounded vpon by Gods manifeſt word.

Morgan. No do? that is maruell that ſo many learned men ſhould be deceaued.

Phil. It is no meruell, by S. Paul : for he ſayth, *that not many Wiſe, neither many learned after the World be called to the knowledge of the Goſpell.*

Morgan. Haue you then alone the ſpirite of God and not we.

Phil. I ſay not that I alone haue the ſpirite of God, but as many as abyde in the true faith of *CHRIST*, haue the ſpirite of God aſwell as I.

Morgan. How know you that you haue the ſpirite of God?

Phil. By the faith of *CHRIST* which is in me.

Morgan. A, by fayth, do you ſo? I wene it be the ſpirite of the buttry, which your fellowes haue had that haue bene burned before you, who were dronke the night before they went to their death, and I wene went dronken vnto it.

Phil. It appeareth by your communication that you are better acquainted with the ſpirite of the buttry, thē with the ſpirite of God. Wherfore I muſt now tel thée (thou painted wall and hipocrite) in the name of the lyvyng Lord, whoſe truth I haue told thée, that God ſhal rayne fire and brimſtone vppon ſuch ſcorners of hys word and blaſphemers of his people, as thou art.

Morgan. What, you rage now.

Phil. Thy fooliſhe blaſphemies haue compelled the ſpirite of God which is in me, to ſpeake that which I haue ſayd vnto thée, thou enemy of all righteouſnes.

Morgan. Why do you iudge me ſo?

Phil. By thine own wicked wordes I iudge of thée, thou blind and blaſphemous Doctour: for as it is written: *By thy wordes thou ſhalt be iuſtified, and by thy wordes thou ſhalt be condemned*. I haue ſpoken on Gods behalfe and now haue I done with thée.

Morgan. Why, then I tell thee Philpot, that thou art an hereticke, and ſhalt bee burnt for thy hereſie, and afterwardes go to hell fire.

Phil. I tell thée thou hypocrite, that I paſſe not this for thy fire & fagots, neither (I thanke God my Lord) ſtand in feare of the ſame : my faith in *CHRIST* ſhall ouercome them. But the hell fire which thou thretneſt me, is thy portion, & is prepared for thée (vnleſſe thou ſpedely repent) and for ſuch hypocrites as thou art.

Morgan. What, thou ſpeakeſt vpon wyne: thou haſt tipled well to day by likelyhode.

Phil. So ſayd the curſed generation to the Apoſtles beyng repleniſhed with the holy Ghoſt, and ſpeakyng the wonderous workes of God : they ſayd they were dronke when they had nothyng els to ſay, as thou doeſt now.

Morgan. Why, I am able to aunſwere thee iwis, I trow.

Phil. So it ſemeth, with blaſphemies and lyes.

Morgan. Nay euē with learnyng, ſay what thou canſt.

Morgan fombling and ſtammering in the Cōuocation houſe.

Phil. That appeared well at my diſputation in the Conuocation houſe, where thou tokeſt vppon thée to aunſwere thoſe few Argumentes I was permitted to make, and yet waſt not able to aunſwere one, but in thine aunſweres diddeſt fomble and ſtammer, that the whole houſe was aſhamed of thée: and the finall concluſion of al thine aunſweres was, that thou couldeſt aunſwere me, if I were in the ſcholes at Oxford.

Morgan. What? did I ſo? thou belyeſt mee.

Phil. I do not belye thee : the booke of the report of the diſputation beareth record therto, and all that were preſent then, can tell (if they liſt) thou ſaydſt ſo. And I tell thée plaine, thou art not able to anſwere that ſpirite of truth, which ſpeaketh in mee for the defence of *CHRISTES* true Religion. I am able by the might therof, to driue thée roūd about this gallery before me: and if it would pleaſe thée Quéenes Maieſty and her Counſell to heare thée and me, I would make thée for ſhame ſhrinke behind the dore.

Morgan. Yea, would you ſo?

Morgan taken vp for halting.

Phil. Thou haſt the ſpirite of illuſion and ſophiſtry, which is not hable to counteruaile the ſpirite of truth. Thou art but an Aſſe in the true vnderſtandyng of thinges pertainyng vnto God. I call thée Aſſe, not in reſpect of malice, but in that thou kickeſt agaynſt the truth, and art voyde of all Godly vnderſtandyng, not able to aunſwere to that thou braggeſt in.

Morgan. Why, haue I not aūſwered thee in all thinges thou haſt ſayd vnto me? I take them to record.

Phil. Aſke of my felow whether I be a théefe.

Coſins. Harke, hee maketh vs all theeues.

Phil. You know the phraſe of that Prouerbe that like will hold with like. And I am ſure, you will not iudge with me againſt him, ſpeake I neuer ſo true: and in this ſenſe I ſpeake it. The ſtrongeſt anſwere that he hath made agaynſt me, is, that you will burne me.

Morgan. Why, we do not burne you: it is the temporall men that burne you and not we.

Phil. Thus you would (as Pilate did) waſh your handes of all your wicked doynges. But I pray you, inuocate ſeculare brachium: call vppon the ſecular power to be executioners of your vnrighteous iudgementes. And haue you not a title in your law, De hæreticis comburendis, for to burne heretickes?

Harpſ. I haue heard you both a good while reaſon together, and I neuer heard ſo ſtoute an hereticke as you are, M. Philpot.

Coſins. Neither I in all my life.

Phil. You are not able to proue me an hereticke, by one iote of Gods word.

M. Harpsfield and Coſins depart.

Harpſ. You haue the ſpirite of arrogācie. I will reaſon with you no more. And ſo he was departing, and M. Coſins alſo. And with that the Byſhop and Chriſtoforſon came in agayne, and ſayd.

Boner. Maſter Doctour, how doth this man and you agree?

Morgan. My Lorde, I do aſke him where his Church was fiftie yeares ago.

Boner. Are you not halfe agreed, as one mā ſayd once to tway parties, of whō the one was equally diſagreeing from the other?

Chriſto. My Lord, it is but folly to reaſon with him any further: your Lordſhip ſhall but loſe tyme, for he is incurable.

Boner. Well then, let his keper haue him away. And with that Doct. Chadſey led me a way by the which we could not paſſe, and therfore came backe agayne through the Biſhops chamber, where all theſe Doctours were cluſtred together : and as I was paſſing, the Byſhop tooke me by the gowne, and ſayd: wot you what M. Chriſtoforſon telleth me? I pray you M. Chriſtoforſon reherſe the ſentence in Latin, and ſo he did. The contentes therof was, that an hereticke would not be won.

Chriſto. S. Paul ſayth: Hæreticum hominem poſt vnam atque alteram admonitionem deuita. *Flee an hereticke after once or twiſe warnyng.*

All the Doctours. Yea my Lord, it is beſt you ſo do, and trouble your Lordſhip no more with him.

Chriſtien truth called hereſie.

Phil. You muſt firſt proue me iuſtly to be an hereticke, before you vſe the iudgement of S. Paul agaynſt me: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold opinion agaynſt the manifeſt word, the which you cã not proue by me. And becauſe you want in your profe, and be hable to proue nothing agaynſt me, therfore you go about falſly to ſuppoſe me to be an hereticke for yͤ ſafegarde of your own coũterfaite honeſties: but afore God, you are yͤ heretickes, which ſo ſtoutly and ſtubburnely mainteine ſo many thinges directly agaynſt Gods word, as God in his tyme ſhall reueale. As I went out of his chamber, the Byſhop called me aſide and ſayd.

Boner. I pray thee in good ſadnes, what meaneſt thou by writing in the beginnyng of thy Bible: Spiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terris: *The ſpirite is the Vicar of CHRIST on the earth?* Iwis you haue ſome ſpeciall meanyng therof.

The holy ghoſt is Chriſtes Vicar in earth, and howe.

Phil. My Lord, I haue none other meaning then (as I haue told you already) that CHRIST ſince his Aſcenſion worketh all thinges in vs by his ſpirite, and by his ſpirit doth dwel in vs. I pray you my Lord, let me haue my Bible with other lawfull bookes and writinges which you haue of myne, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my frendes.

Boner. Your Bible you ſhall not haue, but I will perhaps let you haue an other: and after I haue peruſed the reſt, you ſhall haue ſuch as I thinke good.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip then, that you would let me haue candle light.

Boner. To what purpoſe, I pray you?

Phil. The nightes be long and I would fayne occupy my ſelfe about ſomewhat, and not ſpend my tyme idlely.

Boner. You may then pray.

Phil. I can not well ſay my prayers without light.

Iohn Philpot denyed to haue candle light.

Boner. Can you not ſay your Paternoſter without a candle? I tell you Syr you ſhall haue ſome meate and drinke of me, but candle you get none.

Phil. I had leuer haue a candle then your meat or drinke: but ſeing I ſhall not haue my requeſt, the Lord ſhall be my light.

Boner. Haue him downe.

Chadſey. I will bring him to his keeper, my Lord. M. Philpot I wonder that all theſe learned men whom you haue talked withall this day, can nothing perſuade you.

Phil. Why M. Doctour, would you haue me to be perſuaded with nothing? or would you haue me build my fayth vpon ſand? what do you all bring, wherby I ought by any ſufficiẽt authority to be perſuaded to you?

Chadſey. I am ſory you will ſo wilfully caſt away your ſelfe, where as you might liue worſhipfully. Do you not thinke other haue ſoules to ſaue as well as you haue?

Phil. Euery man ſhal receaue according to his own doinges. Sure I am you are deceiued, and maintaine a falſe religion: and as for my caſting away, I would my burning day were to morrow: for this delay is euery day to dye, and yet not to be dead.

Chadſey. You are not lyke to dye yet, I can tell you.

Phil. I am the more ſory thereof. But the will of God be done of me, to his glory, Amen.

¶*The 12. examinatiõ of Ioh. Philpot on Wedneſday the. 4. of December before the Byſhop of London, the B. of Worceſter, and the Byſhop of Bangor.*

The twelfth examination of *M. Philpot* before certeine biſhops.

IN the morning I was ſet downe to the wardrobe adioyning to the Chappell, and within a whyle after came three of the Biſhops chaplaines vnto me, ſaying.

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Chapleins. M. Philpot, my Lord hath ſent vs vnto you, to deſyre you to come to Maſſe, certifying you that there is a Doctor of diuinitie a Chaplaine of my Lords, a notable learned man called Doct. Chadſey, going to maſſe: therefore we alſo pray you good M. Philpot, be content to come: it is hard hereby.

Phil. I wonder my Lord would trouble you in ſending you about this matter, ſeing hee knoweth I am a man (by your law) that can not heare Maſſe, becauſe I ſtand excommunicate.

B. Chap. Your excommunication is but vpon a contumacy, and my Lord will diſpenſe with you, if you will come.

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Boner. Syr, what can you now ſay, why I ſhould not proceede to giue ſentence agaynſt thee as an hereticke?

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Phil. It appeareth in dede, you may do what you liſt.

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Phil. I haue aunſwered as much as I entend to do, vntill I be called to lawfull iudgement: and as concerning my conſcience, I will not make you God to ſit ther as yet: it is Gods part onely to be ſearcher of the hart.

Boner. Loke how fooliſhly he ſpeaketh. Art thou god? and yet doeſt thou not ſit in thyne owne conſcience?

Phil. I ſit not in mine own cõſcience: but I know it, and God there onely ought to ſit and no man els.

Boner. Thou art a naughty fellow and haſt done much hurt, and haſt ſeduced other poore fellowes here in priſon with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errors, and haſt made them reioyce and ſing with thee,

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Phil. I feare nothing (I thanke God) you can do to me. But God ſhall deſtroy ſuch as thou art, and that ſhortly, as I truſt.

Boner. Haue him away: this is a knaue in dede.

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Boner. Syr, I haue talked with you many tymes, and haue cauſed you to bee talked withall of many learned men, yea and honorable both temporall and ſpirituall, and it auaileth nothing with you. I am blamed that I haue brought thee afore ſo many: for they ſay thou glorieſt to haue many to talke withall. Well, now it lieth thee vppon to looke to thy ſelfe: for thy tyme draweth neare to an end, if thou do not become conformable. And at this preſent we are ſent from the Sinode to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the vnitie of the Church of Rome with vs, and acknowledge the real preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament of the aultar with vs, all that is paſt ſhalbe forgeuen, & you receiued to fauor.

Talke betwene *Iohn Philpot* & the B. Worceſter and Ban gor.

Worc. Maſter Philpot, we are ſent (as you here haue heard by my Lord of London) from the Synode, to offer you mercy, if you wil receiue it. And of good wil I beare you, I wiſh you to take it whileſt it is offered, and bee not a ſingular man againſt a whole multitude of learned men, which now in faſting and prayer are gathered together to deuiſe thinges to doe you good. There haue many learned men talked with you: why ſhoulde you thinke your ſelfe better learned then them all? Bee not of ſuch arrogancie, but haue humilitie, & remember there is no ſaluation but in the church.

Bangor. Me thinketh my Lorde hath ſayd wonderfully well vnto you, that you ſhould not thynke your ſelfe ſo well learned, but other men are as well learned as you, neither of ſo good witte, but other bee as wiſe as you, neither of ſo good memory, but other haue as good memory as you. Therefore miſtruſt your own iudgement, and come home to vs againe. Iwis I neuer liked your religion becauſe it was ſet forth by violēce and tiranny, and that is no token of true religion. And I was that ſame maner of man thē that I am now, and a great many mo. Mary, for feare we held our peace, and bare with that tyme. Wherefore M. Philpot, I would you did well, for I loue you: and therefore bee content to come home with vs againe into the catholicke church of Rome.

Phil. Where my Lord (as I may begyn firſt to anſwere you) you ſay that religion is to bee miſliked, which is ſet forth by tyranny, I pray God you geue not men occaſion to thynke the ſame by yours at thys day, which haue none other argument to ſtand by, but violence. If you can ſhew me by any good ſufficient groūd, whereby to ground my conſcience, that the Church of Rome is the true catholicke church, wherunto you call me, I will gladly be of the ſame: otherwyſe I cā not ſo ſone chaunge the religion I haue learned theſe many yeares.

Bangor. Where was your religion (I pray you) an hūdred yeares ago, that any man knew of it?

Phil. It was in Germany, and in diuers other places apparent.

Worc. IESVS, will you be ſtill ſo ſingular a man? what is Germany to the whole world?

Boner. My Lordes, I pray you geue mee leaue to tell you, that I ſent for him to heare Maſſe this mornyng: & wote you what excuſe he made vnto me? forſoth that he was accurſed, alledging his own ſhame. He playeth as that varlet Latimer dyd at Cambridge. When the vice Chauncellour ſent for him (who entended to haue excōmunicated him for ſome of hys hereſies) and the Chauncellour was comming to his chamber, he hearyng that the Chauncellour was comming, made aunſwer that he was ſicke of the plage, and ſo deluded the Chauncellour: Euen ſo this man ſayth he is accurſed, becauſe hee wyll not come to Maſſe.

Worc. My Lord (I am ſure) here, doth behaue hymſelfe like a father vnto you: therefore be admoniſhed by him, and by vs that come now frendly vnto you, and folow your fathers before you.

Phil. It is forbydden vs of God, by the Prophet Ezechiel, to folow our fathers, neither to walke in their commaundementes.

Worc. It is written alſo in an other place: Interroga patres: *aske of your fathers.*

Phil. We ought to aſke in déede our Fathers ẏ haue more experience & knowledge then we, of Gods will, but no more to allow them then wee perceiue they agree with the Scripture.

Worc. You wyll be a contentious man, I ſee well: and S. Paule ſayth, that we, neither the church of God haue no ſuch cuſtome.

Phil. I am not cōtētious but for the veritye of my fayth, in the which I ought to contend wyth all ſuch as do impugne the ſame without any iuſt obiection.

Worc. Let vs ryſe my Lord, for I ſee we ſhall doe no good.

Boner. Nay, I pray you tary & heare the articles I lay to his charge. And after he had recited them, they aroſe, & afterward ſtanding they reaſoned with me a while.

Worc. Maſter Philpot, I am very ſory that you will be ſo ſingular. I neuer talked with none yet in my dioces, but after once communication had with mee, they haue bene contented to reuoke their errours, and to teache the people howe they were deceiued, and ſo doe much good, as you may if you liſt. For as I vnderſtand, you were Archdeacon of Wincheſter (which is ẏ eye of ẏ Byſhop) & you may do much good in that coūtrey if you would forſake your errours, & come to the catholicke Church.

Phil. Wherewithall you ſo ſone perſuaded them to your will, I ſée not. Errour, that I know, I hold none, and of the Catholicke Church I am ſure I am.

Worc. The Catholicke Church doth acknowledge a reall preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament, and ſo will not you.

Phil. That is not ſo: For I acknowledge a very eſſentiall preſence in the duly * vſing of the Sacrament.

* Note. he ſayth not in the Sacrament, but in the administration and vſe of the Sacrament.

Worc. What? a reall preſence?

Phil. Yea a reall preſence by the ſpirite of God in the right adminiſtration.

Worc. That is well ſayd: and do you agree with the Catholicke Church alſo?

Phil. I do agrée with the true Catholicke Church.

Worc. My Lord of London, this man ſpeaketh reaſonably now.

Boner. You do agree in generalities, but when it ſhall come to the particularities, you will farre diſagree.

Worc. Well, keepe your ſelfe here, and you ſhall haue other learned Biſhops to common farther with you, as my Lord of Durreme, and my Lord of Chicheſter (whō I heare ſay) you do like well.

Phil. I do like them as I do all other that ſpeaketh the truth. I haue once already ſpoken with them, and they found no fault with me.

Worc. Pray in the meane ſeaſon for grace to God.

Phil. Prayer is ẏ comfortableſt exerciſe I féele in my trouble, and my cōſcience is quiet and I haue the peace of minde, which can not be the fruites of hereſie.

Worc. We will bid you fare well for this time.

Phil. After dynner they called for me againe, and demaunded of me whether I ment as I ſpake before dinner, & not to go from it. To whom I aunſwered, that I would not go from that I had ſayd.

After dinner *M. Philpot* called againe.

Worc. You ſaid at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burne you, wee ſhould burne a catholicke man. Will you be a catholicke man, and ſtand to the catholicke church?

Phil. I wyll ſtand to the true catholicke church.

Worc. Will you ſtand to the catholick church of Rome?

Phil. If you can proue the ſame to bee the catholycke church, I wyll be one thereof.

To ſtand to the catholicke church is not enough with theſe men, except you be in the church of Rome.

Worc. Did not CHRIST ſay vnto Peter, and to all his ſucceſſours of Rome: Paſce oues meas, paſce agnos meos, *Feede my ſheepe, feede my lambes?* which doth ſignifie, that he gaue him a more authority then the reſt.

Phil. That ſaying pertayneth nothing to the authoritie of Peter aboue others, but declareth what Chriſt requireth of hys beloued Apoſtles, that they ſhoulde wyth all diligence preach to the flocke of CHRIST the way of ſaluation, and that doth the iteration of féeding ſpoken to Peter onely ſignify. But the biſhop of Rome litle regardeth this ſpirituall féeding, and therefore hee hath imagined an eaſier way to make himſelfe Lord of the whole world, yea and of Gods word to, and doth not féede CHRISTES flocke, as Peter dyd.

The wordes of Chriſt, [feede my ſheepe] opened.

The Pope is no feeder.

Worc. How can you tell that?

Phil. Yes, I haue bene there, and I could not learne of all hys countreymen, that euer he preacheth.

Worc. Though he preacheth not one way, he preacheth an other, by procuring good order for the Church to bee kept in.

Phil. I am ſure that it wyll be hys damnation before God, that he leaueth that he is cōmaūded of CHRIST, & ſetteth forth hys own decrées to deface the Goſpell.

Worc. It is the euill lyuing ẏ you haue ſene at Rome, that cauſeth you to haue this yll iudgement of the church of Rome. I can not tary now with you to reaſon further of this matter. How ſay you to the reall preſence of the ſacrament? will you ſtand to that?

Phil. I do acknowledge (as I haue ſayd) a reall preſence of the ſacrament in the due adminiſtration thereof, to the worthy receiuers by the ſpirit of God.

By really, he meaneth truly.

Worc. You adde now a great many mo woordes then you did before: yet you ſay more of the ſacrament, then a great many will do.

Thus they departed: and after them came in to me D. Chadſey, and D. Wright Archdeacon of Oxforde, wyth a great many mo.

Talke with *D. Chadſey.* and Doctor *Wright,* and other.

Chadſey. Maſter Philpot, here is maſter Archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to geue you good counſell: I pray you heare him.

Phil. I wyll refuſe to heare none that wyll counſell me any good: and if any can bryng anye matter better then I haue, I wyll ſticke thereunto.

Wright. I would wiſhe you Maſter Philpot, to agree with tooke me by the gown, and ſayd: wot you what M. Chriſtoforſon telleth me? I pray you M. Chriſtoforſon reherſe the ſentence in Latin, and ſo he did. The contentes therof was, that an hereticke would not be won.

Chriſto. S. Paul ſayth: Hæreticum hominem poſt vnam atque alteram admonitionem deuita. *Flee an hereticke after once or twiſe warnyng.*

All the Doctours. Yea my Lord, it is beſt you ſo do, and trouble your Lordſhip no more with him.

Chriſtian truth called hereſie.

Phil. You muſt firſt proue me iuſtly to be an hereticke, before you vſe the iudgement of S. Paul agaynſt me: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold opinion agaynſt the manifeſt word, the which you cã not proue by me. And becauſe you want in your proofe, and be hable to proue nothing agaynſt me, therfore you go about falſly to ſuppoſe me to be an hereticke for yͤ ſafegarde of your own cõterfaite honeſties: but afore God, you are yͤ heretickes, which ſo ſtoutly and ſtubburnely mainteine ſo many thinges directly agaynſt Gods word, as God in his tyme ſhall reueale. As I went out of his chamber, the Byſhop called me aſide and ſayd.

Boner. I pray thee in good ſadnes, what meaneſt thou by writing in the beginnyng of thy Bible: Spiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terris: *The ſpirite is the Vicar of CHRIST on the earth?* I wis you haue ſome ſpeciall meanyng therof.

The holy ghoſt is Chriſtes Vicar in earth, and how.

Phil. My Lord, I haue none other meaning then (as I haue told you alreadye) that *CHRIST* ſince his Aſcenſion worketh all thinges in vs by his ſpirite, and by his ſpirit doth dwel in vs. I pray you my Lord, let me haue my Bible with other lawfull bookes and writinges which you haue of myne, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my frendes.

Boner. Your Bible you ſhall not haue, but I will perhaps let you haue an other: and after I haue peruſed the reſt, you ſhall haue ſuch as I thinke good.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip then, that you would let me haue candle light.

Boner. To what purpoſe, I pray you?

Phil. The nightes be long and I would fayne occupy my ſelfe about ſomewhat, and not ſpend my tyme idlely.

Boner. You may then pray.

Phil. I can not well ſay my prayers without light.

Boner. Can you not ſay your Paternoſter without a candle? I tell you Syr you ſhall haue ſome meate and drinke of me, but candle you get none.

John Philpot denyed to haue candle light.

Phil. I had leuer haue a candle then your meat or drinke: but ſeing I ſhall not haue my requeſt, the Lord ſhall be my light.

Boner. Haue him downe.

Chadſey. I will bring him to his keeper, my Lord. M. Philpot I wonder that all theſe learned men whom you haue talked withall this day, can nothing perſuade you.

Phil. Why M. Doctour, would you haue me to be perſuaded with nothing? or would you haue me build my fayth vpon ſand? what do you all bring, wherby I ought by any ſufficiẽt authority to be perſuaded to you?

Chadſey. I am ſory you will ſo wilfully caſt away your ſelfe, where as you might liue worſhipfully. Do you not thinke other haue ſoules to ſaue as well as you haue?

Phil. Euery man ſhal receaue according to his own doinges. Sure I am you are deceiued, and maintaine a falſe religion: and as for my caſting away, I would my burning day were to morrow: for this delay is euery day to dye, and yet not to be dead.

Chadſey. You are not lyke to dye yet, I can tell you.

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ueene lary. 555. Decemb.

The Bo= pes religi= on hath no other ground to ſtand by, but vio= lence.

Boner with on Latymer.

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Phil. It was in Germany, and in diuers other places apparent.

Worc. *IESVS*, will you be ſtill ſo ſingular a man? what is Germany to the whole world?

Boner. My Lordes, I pray you geue mee leaue to tell you, that I ſent for him to heare Maſſe this mornyng: & wote you what excuſe he made vnto me? forſoth that he was accurſed, alledging his own ſhame. He playeth as that varlet Latimer dyd at Cambridge. when the vice Chauncellour ſent for him (who entended to haue excõmunicated him for ſome of hys hereſies) and the Chauncellour was comming to his chamber, he hearyng that the Chauncellour was comming, made aunſwer that he was ſicke of the plage, and ſo deluded the Chauncellour: Euen ſo this man ſayth he is accurſed, becauſe hee wyll not come to Maſſe.

Worc. My Lord (I am ſure) here, doth behaue hymſelfe like a father vnto you: therefore be admoniſhed by him, and by vs that come now frendly vnto you, and folow your fathers before you.

Phil. It is forbydden vs of God, by the Prophet Ezechiel, to folow our fathers, neither to walke in their commaundementes.

Worc. It is written alſo in an other place: Interroga patres: *aske of your fathers.*

Phil. We ought to aſke in deede our Fathers ỹ haue more experience & knowledge then we, of Gods will, but no more to allow them then wee perceiue they agree with the Scripture.

Worc. You wyll be a contentious man, I ſee well: and S. Paule ſayth, that we, neither the church of God haue no ſuch cuſtome.

Phil. I am not contẽtious but for the veritye of my fayth, in the which I ought to contend wyth all ſuch as do impugne the ſame without any iuſt obiection.

Worc. Let vs ryſe my Lord, for I ſee we ſhall doe no good.

Boner. Nay, I pray you tary & heare the articles I lay to his charge. And after he had recited them, they aroſe, & afterward ſtanding they reaſoned with me a while.

Worc. Maſter Philpot, I am very ſory that you will be ſo ſingular. I neuer talked with none yet in my dioces, but after once communication had with mee, they haue bene contented to reuoke their errours, and to teache the people howe they were deceiued, and ſo doe much good, as you may if you liſt. For as I vnderſtand, you were Archdeacon of wincheſter (which is ỹ eye of ỹ Byſhop) & you may do much good in that coũtrey if you would forſake your errours, & come to the catholicke Church.

Phil. Wherewithall you ſo ſone perſuaded them to your will, I ſee not. Errour, that I know, I hold none, and of the Catholicke Church I am ſure I am.

Worc. The Catholicke Church doth acknowledge a reall preſence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament, and ſo will not you.

Phil. That is not ſo: For I acknowledge a very eſſentiall preſence in the duly * vſing of the Sacrament.

* Note. he ſayth not in the Sacrament, but in the due adminiſtration and vſe of the Sacrament.

Worc. What: a reall preſence?

Phil. Yea a reall preſence by the ſpirite of God in the right adminiſtration.

Worc. That is well ſayd: and do you agree with the Catholicke Church alſo?

Phil. I do agree with the true Catholicke Church.

Worc. My Lord of London, this man ſpeaketh reaſonably now.

Boner. You do agree in generalities, but when it ſhall come to the particularities, you will farre diſagree.

Worc. well, keepe your ſelfe here, and you ſhall haue other learned Biſhops to commen farther with you, as my Lord of Dureſme, and my Lord of Chicheſter (whõ I heare ſay) you do like well.

Phil. I do like them as I do all other that ſpeaketh the truth. I haue once already ſpoken with them, and they found no fault with me.

Worc. Pray in the meane ſeaſon for grace to God.

Phil. Prayer is ỹ comfortableſt exercise I feele in my trouble, and my cõſcience is quiet and I haue the peace of minde, which can not be the fruites of hereſie.

Worc. we will bid you fare well for this time.

After dinner *M. Philpot* called againe.

Phil. After dynner they called for me againe, and demaunded of me whether I ment as I ſpake before dinner, & not to go from it. To whom I aunſwered, that I would not go from that I had ſayd.

Worc. You ſaid at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burne you, wee ſhould burne a catholicke man. will you be a catholicke man, and ſtand to the catholicke church?

Phil. I wyll ſtand to the true catholicke church.

Worc. will you ſtand to the catholick church of Rome?

Phil. If you can proue the ſame to bee the catholycke church, I wyll be one thereof.

To ſtand to the catholicke church is not enough with theſe men, except you be in the church of Rome.

Worc. Did not *CHRIST* ſay vnto Peter, and to all his ſucceſſours of Rome: Paſce oues meas, paſce agnos meos, *Feede my ſheepe, feede my lambes?* which doth ſignifie, that he gaue him a more authority then the reſt.

Phil. That ſaying pertayneth nothing to the authoritie of Peter aboue others, but declareth what Chriſt requireth of hys beloued Apoſtles, that they ſhoulde wyth all diligence preach to the flocke of *CHRIST* the way of ſaluation, and that doth the iteration of feeding ſpoken to Peter onely ſignify. But the biſhop of Rome litle regardeth this ſpirituall feeding, and therefore hee hath imagined an eaſier way to make himſelfe Lord of the whole world, yea and of Gods word to, and doth not feede *CHRISTES* flocke, as Peter dyd.

The wordes of Chriſt, [feede my ſheepe] opened.

The Pope is no feeder.

Worc. How can you tell that?

Phil. Yes, I haue bene there, and I could not learne of all hys countreymen, that euer he preacheth.

Worc. Though he preacheth not one way, he preacheth an other, by procuring good order for the Church to bee kept in.

Phil. I am ſure that it wyll be hys damnation before God, that he leaueth that he is cõmaũded of *CHRIST*, & ſetteth forth hys own decrees to deface the Goſpell.

Worc. It is the euill lyuing ỹ you haue ſene at Rome, that cauſeth you to haue this yll iudgement of the church of Rome. I can not tary now with you to reaſon further of this matter. How ſay you to the reall preſence of the ſacrament: will you ſtand to that?

Phil. I do acknowledge (as I haue ſayd) a reall preſence of the ſacrament in the due adminiſtration thereof, to the worthy receiuers by the ſpirit of God.

By really, he meaneth truly.

Worc. You adde now a great many mo woordes then you did before: yet you ſay more of the ſacrament, then a great many will do.

Thus they departed: and after them came in to me D. Chadſey, and D. Wright Archdeacon of Oxforde, wyth a great many mo.

Talke with *D. Chadſey*, and Doctor *Wright*, and other.

Chadſey. Maſter Philpot, here is maſter Archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to geue you good counſell: I pray you heare him.

Phil. I wyll refuſe to heare none that wyll counſell me any good: and if any can bryng anye matter better then I haue, I wyll ſticke thereunto.

Wright. I would wiſhe you Maſter Philpot, to agree with conclude againſt me?

Chicheſt. I ſee my Lords, we do but loſe our labours to reaſon wyth hym: he taketh him ſelfe better learned then wee.

Phil. I take vpon mee the name of no learning: I boaſt of no knowledge, but of fayth and of CHRIST, and that I am bound vndoubtedly to know, as I am ſure I do.

Leaue your reuiling termes, my lord, and go to the matter.

Chicheſt. These heretickes take vpon them to be ſure of all thinges they ſtand in. You ſhould ſay rather wyth humility, I truſt I know CHRIST, then that you bee ſure thereof.

Phil. Let him doubt of his faith that liſteth: God geue me allwayes grace to beleue that I am ſure of his faith and fauour in CHRIST.

Note how theſe men ground theyr faith not vpon Gods word, but vpon the determination of their owne known church.

Bath. How will you be able to aunſwere heretickes, but by the determination of the knowen Catholicke Church?

Phil. I am able to aunſwere all heretickes by the word of God, and conuince them by the ſame.

Chicheſt. How arrogantly is that ſpoken? I dare not ſay ſo.

Phil. My Lord, I pray you beare with me: for I am bold in the truth ſyde, and I ſpeake ſome what by experience that I haue had with heretickes: and I know the Arrians be the ſubtilleſt that euer were, and yet haue I manifeſt ſcriptures to beate them downe wythall.

Chicheſt. I perceiue now you are the ſame maner of man I haue heard of, which will not be ſatiſfied by learning.

Phil. Alas my Lord, why do you ſay ſo? I do deſire moſt humbly to bee taught, if there bee any better way that I ſhould learne: and hytherto you haue ſhewed me no better: therefore I pray your Lordſhip not to myſiudge without a cauſe.

Bath. If you be the true catholicke Church, then wyll you hold with the real preſence of CHRIST in the ſacrament, which the true church hath euer maintained.

Phil. And I (my Lord) wyth the true church, do hold the ſame in the due miniſtration of the Sacrament: but I deſire you my Lord, there may be made a better concluſion in our firſt matter, before we enter into any other: for if the church be proued, we ſhal ſoone agrée in the reſt. In this meane while my Lord of Yorke was turning his boke for mo places to helpe forth his cauſe.

My Lord of Yorke driuen to ſeeke hys bookes.

Yorke. I haue found at length a very notable place, which I haue looked for all thys whyle, of S. Auſtine, De ſimplicitate credendi.

Auguſt. De ſimplicitate credendi.

Chicheſt. It is but folly (my Lord) that your grace doe read him any moe places, for he eſteemeth them not.

Phil. I eſtéeme them in as much as they bée of force: as your Lordſhip doth heare me deny no Doctors you bryng, but onely require the true application of them, according to the writers meaning, and as by hys owne wordes may be proued.

M. Philpot falſely reported to deny Doctours.

Yorke. I will read him the place, and ſo make an ende. After he had red the ſentence, hee ſaid that by foure ſpeciall pointes here S. Auſtine proueth the catholicke church. The firſt is by the conſent of all nations, the ſecond by the Apoſtolicke ſea, the thirde by vniuerſalitie, and the fourth by this word Catholicke.

4. Poyntes to proue the Catholicke church, out of S. Auſten.
1. Conſent of all nations.
2. Sea Apoſtolicall.
3. Uniuerſalitie.
4. Catholicke.

Chicheſt. That is a notable place in dede, and it pleaſe your grace.

Phil. I pray you my Lord, of what church doth S. Auſtine wryte the ſame? of Rome, or not?

Yorke. Yea, he writeth it of the church of Rome.

Phil. I wyll lay wyth your Lordſhip as much as I can make, it is not ſo: and let the booke be ſéene.

Bath. What art thou able to lay, that haſt nothing?

Yorke. Doth he not make mention here of the Apoſtolicke ſea, whereby he meaneth Rome?

Anſwere to the Archbiſhops 4. poyntes.

Phil. That is very ſtraitly interpreted my Lorde, as though the Apoſtolicke ſea had bene no where els but at Rome. But let it be Rome, & yet ſhal you neuer verifie the ſame, vnleſſe all the other conditions doe go therewith as S. Auguſtine doth procéede withal, whereof none except the Apoſtolicke ſea can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the fayth which that Sea now maintayneth, hath not the conſent of all nations, neither hath had. Beſides that, it cãnot haue the name of catholicke, becauſe it differeth frõ ẏ catholicke churches which the Apoſtles planted, almoſt in all thinges.

Yorke. Nay, he goeth about here to proue the catholicke church by vniuerſalitie: and howe can you ſhewe your church to be vniuerſall fifty or an hundred yeares ago?

Chriſtes church ceaſeth not to be hys church, albeit in time of perſecution it be hid ſome time in corners.

Phil. That is not material, neither any thing againſt S. Auguſtine. For my church (whereof I am) were to be counted vniuerſall, though it were but in. x. perſõs, becauſe it agréeth with the ſame that the Apoſtles vniuerſally did plant.

Yorke. I perceiue you are an obſtinate man in your opinion, and wil not be taught: wherfore it is but loſt labour to talke with you any lenger: you are a member to be cut of.

Firſt anſwere to his reaſon, and cal him obſtinate afterward.

Chicheſt. I haue heard of you before how you troubled the good Byſhop of Wincheſter, and now I ſee in you that I haue heard.

Phil. I truſt you ſée no euill in me by this. I deſire of you a ſure ground to build my faith on, and if you ſhew me none, I pray you ſpeake not ill of him that meaneth well.

Chich. Thou art as * impudent a felow as I haue cõmoned withall.

* Becauſe, my lord, you be not able to anſwere him.

Phil. That is ſpoken vncharitably my Lord, to blaſpheme him whom you cannot iuſtly reproue.

Chicheſt. Why, you are not God. Blaſphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.

Phil. Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy layd to man ſpeakyng in Gods cauſe, as you now do lay vnto me for ſpeakyng fréely the truth afore God, to maintayne your vayne Religion. You are voyde of all góod ground. I perceiue you are blind guides and leaders of the blind, and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrãnouſly perſecuting the truth, which otherwiſe by iuſt order you are able to conuince by no meanes. Your owne Doctours and teſtimonies which you bryng, be euidently againſt you, and yet you will not ſée the truth.

Chicheſt. Haue we this thanke for our good will, comming to inſtruct thee?

Veritas odium parit.

Phil. My Lordes, you muſt beare with me, ſince I ſpeake in CHRISTES cauſe: and becauſe his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully ſlayne by you becauſe they will not conſent to ẏ diſhonour of God, & to hypocriſie wͭ you. If I told you not your fault it ſhould be required at my handes in the day of iudgement. Therfore know you (ye hypocrites in déede) that it is the ſpirite of God that telleth you your ſinne, and not I. I paſſe not (I thanke God) of all your cruelty. God forgeue it you, and geue you grace to repent. And ſo they departed.

The free hart of Iohn Philpot in telling truth.

¶ An other talke the ſame day.

The ſame day at nyght before ſupper, the biſhop ſét for me into hys chappell in the preſence of Archdeacon Harpesfield, D. Chadſey, and other hys Chaplains, and hys ſeruantes: at what tyme he ſayd.

An other calling of Maſter Philpot before the Biſhop.

London. Maſter Philpot, I haue by ſundrye meanes gone about to do you good, and I marueil you do ſo little conſider it: by my truth I can not tell what to ſay to you. Tell me directly, whether you will be a conformable man or no, and whereupon you chiefly ſtand?

Phil. I haue told your Lordſhip oftentimes playne enough, whereon I ſtand chiefly, requiring a ſure probation of the church whereunto you call me.

Harpſ. Saint Auſtine writing agaynſt the Donatiſtes, declareth foure ſpeciall notes to know the church by: the conſent of many nations, the fayth of the Sacramentes confirmed by antiquitie, ſucceſſion of Biſhops, and vniuerſalitie.

To this was anſwered ſufficiently before.

Lond. I pray you maſter Archdeacon, ſet the booke hether: it is a notable place, let hym ſee it. And the booke was brought, and the biſhop red it, demaunding howe I could aunſwer the ſame.

Phil. My Lord, I like S. Auſtines foure poyntes for the triall of the catholicke church, whereof I am: for it can abyde euery poynt thereof together, which yours can not do.

Harpſ. Haue not we ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the Sea and church of Rome? wherefore then do you denye our church to be the catholicke church?

Phil. S. Auſtine doth not put ſucceſſion of Biſhops onely to be ſufficient, but he addeth the vſe of the Sacramentes, accordyng to antiquitie and doctrine vniuerſally taught and receiued of moſt nations from the beginning of the primatiue Church, the which your church is farre from. But my Church can auouch all theſe better then yours: therefore by S. Auſtins iudgement which you here bryng, myne is the catholicke church, and not yours.

Harpſ. Chad. It is but folly (my Lord) for you to reaſon with him, for he is irrecuperable.

Phil. That is a good ſhyft for you to runne vnto, when you be confounded in your own ſayinges, and haue nothing els to ſay: you are euidently deceyued, and yet wyll not ſee it when it is layd to your face.

Thus haue I at large ſet forth, as many of the ſayde Iohn Philpot hys examinations and priuate conferences, as are yet come to light, being faithfully written wyth hys own hand. And although he was diuers other times, after this, examined, both openly in the Conſiſtory at Paules, and alſo ſecretly in the Biſhops houſe: yet, what was there ſayd is not yet ſufficiently knowen, either becauſe maſter Philpot was not hymſelfe ſuffered to write, or els for that hys writinges are by ſome kept cloſe, and not brought forth, otherwyſe then as the biſhops Regiſter hath noted, whoſe handelyng of ſuch matters, becauſe it is (eyther for feare or for fauour of his Lord and maſter) verye ſlender, litle light of any true and right meaning can be gathered, eſpecially on the behalfe of the aunſwerer. How be it ſuch as it is, ſuch thought I good to put forth, requiring the Reader to iudge hereof according to hys anſweres in hys former examinations.

The laſt examinations of M. Philpot in opẽ iudgement, with his finall condemnation by biſhop Boner in the Conſiſtory at Paules.

The biſhop hauyng ſufficiently taken hys pleaſure wyth maſter Philpot in hys priuate talkes, and ſeing hys zealous, learned, and unmutable conſtancie, thought it now hygh tyme to ryd hys handes of hym, and therefore on the xiij. and xiiij. dayes of December, ſitting iudicially in the Conſiſtory at Paules, he cauſed hym to be brought thither before hym and others, as it ſeemeth, more for order ſake, then for any good affection to iuſtice and right iudgement. The effect aſwell of which two ſundry their proceedinges, as alſo of one other had the xj. day of the ſame moneth in hys chappel, appeare in a maner to be all one. The biſhop therfore firſt ſpeaking to Maſter Philpot, ſaid:

Lond. M. Philpot, amongeſt other thinges that were layd and obiected vnto you, theſe three thinges ye were eſpecially charged and burdened withall.

The firſt is, that you beyng fallen from the vnitie of CHRISTES catholicke church, do refuſe and will not come and be reconciled thereunto.

The ſecond is, that you haue blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, calling it idolatry.

And the third is, that you haue ſpoken againſt the ſacrament of the aultar, denying the real preſence of CHRISTES body and bloud to be in the ſame.

And according to the will and pleaſure of the Synode legatiue, ye haue bene oft and many times by me inuited and required to go from your ſaid errours and hereſies, and to returne to the vnitie of the catholicke church, which if you will now willingly do, ye ſhall be mercifully and gladly receiued, charitably vſed, and haue all the fauour I can ſhew you. And now to tell you true, it is aſſigned and appointed to geue ſentence againſt you, if you ſtand herein, and wyll not returne. Wherefore if ye ſo refuſe, I doe aſke of you whether you haue any cauſe that you can ſhew, why I ſhould not now geue ſentence agaynſt you?

Phil. Under proteſtatiõ, not to go from my appeale that I haue made, and alſo not to conſent to you as my competent iudge, I ſay, touchyng your firſt obiection concerning the Catholicke Church, I neither was nor am out of the ſame. And as touching the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, & the Sacramẽt of the *altar, I neuer ſpake agaynſt the ſame. And as concerning the pleaſure of the Sinode, I ſay: that theſe xx. yeares I haue bene brought vp in the faith of the true Catholicke Church, which is cõtrary to your Church, wherunto ye would haue me to come: and in that time I haue bene many times ſworne (as well in the reigne of kyng Henry the viij. as in the reigne of good Kyng Edward his ſonne) agaynſt the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome, which oth I thinke that I am bound in my conſcience to keepe, quia teneor reddere domino iuramentum. But if you or any of ye Synode can by Gods word perſuade me that my ſayd oth was vnlaufull, and that I am bound by Gods law to come to your Church, faith, and Religion, wherof you be now, I wil gladly yeld, agree, and be conformable vnto you: otherwiſe not.

*Here either the Regiſter belieth Maſter Philpot, or els he ment as not offendyng the law, thereby to be accuſed, for otherwiſe all his former examinations doe declare that he ſpake agaynſt the Sacramẽt of the altar.

Boner then not able with all his learned Doctours to accompliſh this his offered condition, fell to perſuading of him, as well by his accuſtomed vaine promiſes, as alſo by bloudy threatnynges to returne to their Church: to the which he aunſwered.

B. Boner with all hys Doctors, not able to ſatiſfie M. Philpots offer.

Phil. You and all other of your ſorte are Hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocriſie, your tyranny, ignoraunce and idolatrie.

Upon theſe wordes, the Biſhop did for that tyme diſmiſſe him, commaunding that on Monday the xvj. day of the ſame moneth, betwen the houres of one and three in the after noone, he ſhould again be brought thether, there to haue the definitiue ſentence of condemnation pronounced agaynſt him, if he remained then in his former conſtancie.

Decẽb. 16.

The laſt examination of M. Iohn Philpot.

At which day and time, M. Philpot being there preſented, before the Byſhops of Lõdon, Bath, Worceſter, and Lichfield, Boner Byſhop of London began his talke in this maner.

The laſt examination of Iohn Philpot.

Lond. My Lord Stokeſley, my predeceſſour, when hee went about to geue ſentence agaynſt an hereticke, vſed to make this prayer.

Deus qui errantibus vt in viam poſſint redire iuſtitiæ, veritatis tuæ lumen oſtendis, da cunctis qui Chriſtiana profeſſione cenſentur, & illa reſpuere quæ huic inimica ſint nomini, & ea quæ ſint apta ſectari per Chriſtum dominum noſtrum, Amen. Which I will folow. And ſo he red it with a loude voyce in Latin. To the which M. Philpot ſayd:

B. Stokeſleyes prayer when he gaue ſentence vpõ any.

Phil. I would ye would ſpeake in Engliſh, that all men might heare and vnderſtand you: for Paul willeth that all thinges ſpoken in the congregation to edifie, ſhould be ſpoken in a tongue that all mẽ might vnderſtand. Wherupon the Byſhop did read it in Engliſh: and when he came to theſe wordes: to refuſe thoſe thynges which are foes to this name, Philpot ſayd:

Phil. Then they all muſt turne away from you: for you are enemies to that name (meanyng CHRISTES name) and God ſaue vs from ſuch hypocrites as would haue thinges in a tounge that men cannot vnderſtand.

B. Boner prayeth againſt him ſelfe.

Lond. Whom do you meane?

Phil. You and all other that be of your generation and ſect. And I am ſory to ſee you ſit in the place that you now ſit in, pretending to execute iuſtice, and do nothing leſſe but deceiue all men in this Realme. And thẽ turning him ſelfe vnto the people, he farther ſayd: oh all you Gentlemen, beware of theſe men (meaning the Biſhops) and all their doynges, which be contrary vnto the primatiue Church. And I woulde know of you my Lord by what authoritie you doe procede againſt me?

Lond. Becauſe I am Biſhop of London.

Phil. Well, then ye are not my Biſhop nor I haue not offended in your Dioces: and moreouer I haue appealed from you, and therfore by your owne law you ought not to procede agaynſt me, eſpecially beyng brought

B. Boner hath no authoritie by right to procede agaynſt M. Philpot.

brought hether from an other place by violence.

Lond. Why? who ſent you hether to me?

Phil. That did Doct. Story and Doct. Cooke, with other the Kyng and Quenes Commiſsioners: and my lord, is it not enough for you to wirry your own ſhepe, but ye muſt alſo meddle with other mens ſhepe? Then the Biſhop deliuered vnto Philpot ij. bokes, one of the Ciuile law, and the other of the Canō, out of the which hee would haue proued that hee had authoritie to procede agaynſt him in ſuch ſorte as he did. M. Philpot then peruſing the ſame, and ſeyng the ſmall and ſlender profe that was there alledged, ſayd vnto the Byſhop:

Phil. I perceiue your law and Diuinitie is all one: for you haue knowledge in neither of them: & I would ye did know your owne ignoraunce: but ye daunce in a net, & thinke that no mā doth ſee you. Hereupon they had much talke, but what it was, it is not yet knowen. At laſt Boner ſpake vnto him and ſaid:

Lond. Philpot, as concerning your obiections agaynſt my iuriſdiction, ye ſhall vnderſtand that both the Ciuill and Canō lawes make agaynſt you: and as for your appeale, it is not allowed in this caſe. For it is written in the law: A iudice diſpoſitionem iuris exequente, non eſt appellandum.

B. Boner noted to be ignorant in the law.

Phil. My Lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye haue no knowledge therin, nor that ye do vnderſtand the law: for if ye did, ye would not bryng in that text.

This law ſeemeth either blindly compared of the Biſhop, or els not rightly collected of his Regiſter.

Hereupon ỹ Byſhop recited a law of the Romains, that it was not lauful for a Iew to kepe a Chriſtiā mā in captiuitie, and to vſe him as his ſlaue, laying then to the ſayd Philpots charge, that he did not vnderſtand the law, but did like a Iewe. Wherunto Philpot aunſwered:

Phil. No, I am no Iewe: but you my Lord are a Iewe. For you profeſſe CHRIST and mainteine Antichriſt: you profeſſe the Goſpel, and mainteine ſuperſtition, and ye be able to charge me with nothyng.

Lond, and other Biſh. With what can you charge vs?

Phil. You are enemyes to all truth, and all your doynges be naught and full of Idolatrie, ſauyng the Article of the Trinitie.

The Lord Mayor with ỹ Shrieffes aſsiſtant to B. Boner agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Whyleſt they were thus debating the matter, there came thether Sir William Garret Knight then Maior of London, Sir Martin Bowes Knight, and Thomas Leigh, then Sheriffe of the ſame City, and ſat down with the ſayd Biſhops in the ſayd Conſiſtory, where, and what tyme Biſhop Boner ſpake theſe woordes in in effect as foloweth.

London. Philpot, before the comming of my Lorde Maior, becauſe I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I haue heretofore and now intend to charge you withall, vntill his comming, I did rehearſe vnto you a prayer, both in Engliſh and in Latin, which Biſhop Stokeſley my predeceſſor vſed, when he intended to procede to geue ſentence againſt an hereticke.

And here they did agayne read the ſayd prayer both in Engliſh and alſo in Latin: which being ended, hee ſpake againe vnto him and ſayd:

The 3. Articles agaynſt Iohn Philpot againe repeated.

Boner. Philpot, amongeſt other I haue to charge you, eſpecially with three thinges.

1. First, where you haue fallen from the vnity of Chriſtes Catholicke church, you haue thereupon bene inuited and requyred, not onely by me, but alſo by many and diuers others catholicke Biſhops, and other learned men, to returne & come againe to the ſame: and alſo you haue ben offered by me, that if you would ſo returne and confeſſe your errours and hereſies, you ſhould bee mercifully receiued, and haue ſo much fauour as I could ſhew vnto you.

2. The ſecond is, that you haue blaſphemouſly ſpoken agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, calling it idolatry and abomination.

3. And thirdly, that you haue ſpoken and holden againſt the ſacrament of the aultar, denying the reall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud to be in the ſame.

This being ſpoken, the Biſhop recyted vnto him a certayne exhortation in Engliſh, the tenour and forme whereof is this.

¶ Byſhop Boners exhortation.

An exh tation o B. Bon to Iohn Philpo Decem ber. 1

Maſter Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconcyled to the vnity of the Catholicke church, from whence yee did fall in the tyme of the late ſchiſme here in this realme of England, agaynſt the ſea Apoſtolicke of Rome, will now hartely and obediently be reconciled to the vnity of the ſame catholicke church, profeſsing and promiſing to obſerue and kepe to the beſt of your power the fayth and Chriſtiā religion obſerued and kept of all faythfull people of the ſame: and moreouer if ye which heretofore, eſpecially in the yeare of our Lord .1553. 1554. 1555. or in one of them, haue offended and treſpaſſed greuouſly againſt the ſacrifice of the maſſe calling it idolatry and abominable, and lykewyſe haue offended & treſpaſſed againſt the ſacrament of the aultar, denying the reall preſence of CHRISTES body and bloud to be there in the Sacrament of the aultar, affirming alſo withall materiall bread and materiall wyne to be in the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, and not the ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of CHRIST: if ye I ſay, wilbe reconcyled as is afore, and will forſake your hereſies and errors before touched, being hereticall and damnable, and will allow alſo the Sacrament of the Maſſe, ye ſhall bee mercifully receiued and charitably vſed, with as much fauour as may be: if not, ye ſhall be reputed, taken and iudged for an hereticke (as ye be in dede.) Now do you chuſe what ye will do: you are counſelled herein friendly and fauourably.

Ita eſt quod Ed. Boner Epiſ. Lond.

The Biſhops exhortation thus ended, M. Philpot turned him ſelfe vnto the Lord Maior and ſayd:

Iohn Philpot anſwere to the B ſhops ex hortatio before th Lord M or.

Phil. To you my Lord Mayor bearing the ſword, I am glad that it is my chaunce now to ſtand before that autority that hath defended the Goſpell, and the truth of Gods word: but I am ſory to ſee that that authority which repreſenteth the Kings and Quenes perſons, ſhould nowe be chaunged, and be at the commaundement of Antichriſt. And ye (ſpeaking to the Biſhops) pretend to be the felowes of the Apoſtles of CHRIST, and yet ye be very Antichriſtes and deceiuers of the people: and I am glad that God hath geuen me power to ſtand here this day, and to declare and defend my fayth, which is founded on CHRIST.

To th firſt Ar cle. Iohn Philpot is of the Cathol church, not of th Babylon cal chur

Therefore as touching your firſt obiection, I ſay that I am of the catholicke church, whereof I was neuer out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be the catholicke church) is the church of Rome, and ſo the Babilonicall and not the catholicke church: of that church I am not.

To the Article. Iohn Philpot ſpake not aga the true crifice, b againſt t ſacrifice vpon th altar, vſe in priuat maſſes.

As touching your ſecond obiection, which is, that I ſhould ſpeake againſt the ſacrifice of ỹ Maſſe, I do ſay, that I haue not ſpoken againſt the true ſacrifice, but I haue ſpoken againſt your priuate Maſſes that you vſe in corners, which is blaſphemy to the true ſacrifice: for your ſacrifice dayly reiterated, is a blaſphemy againſt CHRISTES death, and it is a lye of your owne inuention. And that abominable ſacrifice which ye ſet vpon the aultar, and vſe in your priuate Maſſes in ſtede of the lyuely ſacrifice, is Idolatry, and ye ſhall neuer proue it by Gods word: therefore ye haue deceiued the people wyth that your ſacrifice of the Maſſe, which ye make a maſking.

To the Article, Philpot denieth the Sac ment of t altar of t croſſe, b the Sac ment of t altar of ſtone he firſt.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge that I deny the body and bloud of CHRIST to be in the Sacrament of the aultar, I can not tell what altar ye meane, whether it be the aultar of the Croſſe, or the aultar of ſtone. And if ye call it the ſacrament of the aultar in reſpect of the aultar of the ſtone, then I defie your CHRIST: for it is a rotten CHRIST.

And as touching your tranſubſtantiation, I vtterly deny it: for it was brought vp firſt by a Pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the Sinode, which is gathered together in Antichriſtes name: proue me that to be of the catholicke church (which ye ſhall neuer do) and I will follow you, and do as you would haue me to do.

to do. But ye are Idolaters, and daily do commit Idolatry. Ye be alſo traitors: for in your pulpits you raile vpon good kings, as king Henry, and king Edward his ſonne, which haue ſtand againſt the vſurped power of the biſhop of Rome: againſt whom alſo I haue taken an othe, which if ye can ſhew me by gods law that I haue taken vniuſtly, I will then yelde vnto you. But I pray God turne the King and Queenes harts frō your Sinagoge and church, for you do abuſe that good Queene.

Here the biſhop of Couentrie and Lichfield began to ſhew where the true church was, ſaying.

Couen. The true catholicke Church is ſet vpon an high hill.

Phil. Yea, at Rome, whych is the Babylonicall Church.

Couen. No: in our true catholicke church are the Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, and Martyrs: but before Martin Luther, there was no Apoſtle, Euangeliſt, or Martyr of your church.

Phil. Will ye know the cauſe why? CHRIST did propheſie, that in ẏ latter dayes there ſhould come falſe Prophets and Hypocrites, as you be?

Couen. Your Church of Geneua, whych ye call the catholicke Church, is that which CHRIST propheſied of.

Phil. I allow the church of Geneua, and the doctrine of the ſame: for it is, vna catholica, & Apoſtolica, and doth follow the doctrine that the Apoſtles did preach: and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edwards dayes, was alſo according to the ſame. And are ye not aſhamed to perſecute me and others for your Churches ſake, which is Babylonicall and contrary to the true catholicke church?

After this they had great conferēce togethers, aſwell out of the ſcriptures, as alſo out of the Doctors. But whē Boner ſaw that by learning they were not able to conuince M. Philpot, he thought then by his diffamatiōs to bring him out of credite: and therfore turning him ſelfe vnto the Lord Mayor of London, brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of pouder, and ſayd:

Lon. My Lord, this man had a roſted pigge brought vnto him, and this knife was put ſecretly betwene the ſkin and the fleſh therof, and ſo was it ſent him, being in priſon. And alſo this pouder was ſent vnto him, vnder pretence that it was good and cōfortable for him to eate or drinke: which pouder was only to make ink to wryte withall. For when his keper did perceiue it, he toke it & brought it vnto me. Which when I did ſee, I thought it had bene gunpouder, and therupon I put fire to it, but it would not burne. Then I toke it for poyſon, & ſo gaue it to a dogge, but it was not ſo. Then I toke a litle water, and it made as faire inke, as euer I did write withall. Therefore my Lord, you may vnderſtande what a naughty fellow this is.

Phil. Ah my Lord, haue ye nothing els to charge me withall but theſe trifles, ſeeing I ſtād vpon life & death? Doth the knife in the pigge proue the Church of Rome to be a catholicke church? &c.

Then the Biſhop brought forth a certaine inſtrument conteining articles and queſtions, agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof ye haue mention before Page. 1591. and 1697. Alſo he did exhibite two bookes in print: the one was the Catechiſme made in king Edwardes dayes. An. 1552. the other concerning the true report of the diſputation in the Conuocation houſe, mention wherof is aboue expreſſed. Moreouer he did bring forth and laid to M. Philpots charge two letters: the one touching Barthelet Grene, the other containing godly exhortations and cōfortes: which both were wrytten vnto him by ſome of his godly frendes: the tenour whereof we thought here alſo to exhibite.

¶ A letter exhibited by Boner, wrytten by ſome frend of M. Philpot, and ſent to him concerning the handling of M. Grene in Boners houſe at London.

A letter written to Maiſter *Philpot* touching the handling of *M. Grene*, exhibited by *B. Boner*.

Boner breaketh promiſe.

YOu ſhall vnderſtand that M. Grene came vnto the biſhop of London on ſonday laſt, where he was curteouſly receiued: for what policy the ſequele declareth. His entertainement for one day or two, was to dine at my lords own table, or els to haue his meate frō thence. During thoſe dayes he lay in D. Chedſeys chāber, & was examined. Albeit in very dede the Biſhop earneſtly & faithfully promiſed many right worſhipfull men (who were ſutors for him, but to him vnknowne) that he in no caſe ſhould be examined: before which M. FeckNam would haue had him in his frendly cuſtody, if he would haue deſired to haue conferred with him, which he vtterly refuſed. And in that ẏ Biſhop obiected againſt him ſingularitie and obſtinacie, his anſwere thereunto was thus: To auoide all ſuſpition thereof, although I my ſelfe am yōg and vtterly vnlearned in reſpect of the learned (and yet vnderſtand, I thanke my Lord) yet let me haue ſuch bokes as I ſhall require: and if I, by gods ſpirite, do not therby anſwer all your bokes and obiections contrary therto, I wil aſſent to you. wherunto the biſhop and his aſſented, permitting him at the firſt to haue ſuch bookes. who at ſondry times haue reaſoned with him, and haue found him ſo ſtrong and rife in the ſcriptures and godly fathers, that ſithens they haue not onely taken from him ſuch libertie of bokes, but all other bokes, not leauing him ſo much as the new Teſtament, and haue ſythens committed him in chamber to Doctor Dee the great coniurer: wherunto coniecture you. Sithens they haue baited and vſed him moſt cruelly. This M. Fecknam reported: ſaying farther, that he neuer heard ẏ like yong mā, & ſo perfect. what ſhal become farther of him God knoweth, but death I thinke, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I vnderſtand. Concerning your bill I ſhall conferre with others therein, knowing it at the ſame Court is able to redreſſe the ſame. And yet I thinke it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or wil ſpeake therin, or preferre the ſame, becauſe it concerneth ſpirituall thinges. Notwithſtanding, I will aſſertaine you therof: cōmitting you to the holy ghoſt, who kepe you and vs all as his.

Your owne. &c.

M. Greno ſtrōg in ſcriptures and Doctours.

Fecknams report of *Bart. Grene*.

This bill was a ſupplication to be offred vp in the Parliament.

¶ The copie of an other letter written by the faithfull and Chriſten harted Lady, the Lady Vane, to M. Philpot, exhibited likewiſe by B. Boner.

A letter written to Maiſter *Philpot* by the faythfull Chriſten Lady, the Lady *Vane*.

HArty thankes rendred vnto you my well beloued in CHRIST, for the boke ye ſent me, wherein I finde great conſolations, and according to the doctrine therof, do prepare my cheekes to ẏ ſtrikers, and my womaniſh backe to their burthens of reproufe, and ſo in the ſtrēgth of my God I truſt to leape ouer the wall: for his ſweetenes ouercommeth me daily, and maketh all theſe Poticarye drugges of the world, euen medicinelike in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beſech thee (my deare fellow ſouldiour) make thy faithfull prayer for me, that I may with a ſtrong and gladſome conſcience finiſh my courſe, and obtaine the reward, though it be no whyt due to my worke. I am not content that you ſo oftē gratifie me with thankes for that which is none worthy, but duety on my part and ſmall reliefe to you. But if you would loue me ſo much, ẏ I might ſupply your lackes, then would I thinke ye beleued my offers to be ſuch, as agreed with my hart. And for the ſhort charges ye ſpeake of, the meanes are not ſo pleaſant, if god (whom my truſt is in) will otherwiſe prepare: but Salomon ſaith: *All thyng hath here his time:* You to day, and I to morow, and ſo the end of Adams line is ſoone runne out. The mighty God geue vs his grace, that during this time his glory be not defaced through our weakenes. Becauſe ye deſire to ſhew your ſelf a worthy ſouldiour, if neede ſo requyre, I will ſupply your requeſt for ẏ Scarfe ye wrote of, that ye may preſent my handy worke before your Captaine, that I be not forgottē in the odours of incenſe which our beloued CHRIST offereth for his owne: to whom I bequeth both our bodyes and ſoules.

Your very owne in the Lord, F. E.

Ouer and beſides theſe letters, the Biſhop did alſo bring forth a ſupplication made by M. Philpot vnto the high

high court of Parlament, whereof mention is made in the firſt of the two letters laſt mentioned: the copy whereof doth here enſue, as followeth.

To the King and Queenes maieſties highnes, the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons of this preſent Parlament aſſembled.

A ſupplication of I. Philpot to the King and Queene.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth vnto this honorable Court of Parlament Ihon Philpot Clarke, that where there was by the Queenes highnes a parlament called in the firſt yeare of her gracious raigne, and after the old cuſtome a conuocation of the clergie, your ſuppliant then being one of the ſaid conuocation houſe, and matters there riſing vpon the vſing of Sacraments, dyd diſpute in the ſame, knowing that there all men had and hath had free ſpeach, and ought not to bee after troubled for any thing there ſpoken, and yet, that notwithſtanding, not long after the ſaid Parlament, your ſayd ſuppliant (without any acte or matter) was commaunded to priſon to the kings Bench by the late Lord Chauncelour, where he hath remained euer ſithens, vntill now of late that my Lord the Biſhop of London, hath ſent for your ſaid ſuppliant to examine him, (being none of his dioces) vpon certaine matters, wherin they would haue your Oratour to declare his conſcience, which the ſayd Biſhop ſayth he hath autoritie to do, by reaſon of an acte of Parlament made in the firſt and ſecond yeares of the King and Queenes maieſties raignes, for the reuiuing of three ſtatutes made againſt them that hold any opinion againſt the catholicke faith: whereby he affirmeth that euery Ordinarie may ex officio examine euery mans cõſcience: and for that your ſaid Oratour hath and doth refuſe, that the ſayd Biſhop of London hath any autoritie ouer your ſaid Oratour, for that he is neither his dioceſane, nor hath publiſhed, preached, nor held any opinion againſt the Catholicke faith (notwithſtanding the ſayd biſhop of London deteineth him in the Colehouſe in the ſtockes, without either bed, or any other thing to lie vpon, but ſtraw): and for that your ſaid Oratour cã not appeale for his reliefe from the ſayd Biſhop, to any other Iudge, but the ſame Biſhop may refuſe the ſame by their law, and therefore hath no ſuccour and helpe, but by this high court of Parlament, for the explanation of the ſayd act: therefore it may pleaſe you, that it may be enacted by the King and Queenes maieſties, the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons of this preſent Parlament aſſembled, and by the autoritie of the ſame, that no Biſhop nor Ordinarie ſhall commit nor detaine in priſon, any ſuſpecte perſon or perſons for the catholicke faith, except he or they haue ſpoken, written, or done ſome manifeſt acte againſt the catholicke fayth, and the ſame to bee lawfully proued againſt euery ſuch perſon and perſons, by the teſtimony of two lawfull witneſſes, to be brought afore the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo accuſed, before he or they ſhall either be committed to priſon, or conuict for any ſuch offence or offences: the ſayd former ſtatute, made in the ſayd firſt and ſecond yeare of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord and Lady notwithſtanding. Whereby your ſayd Oratour ſhall not only be ſet at libertie, and diuerſe other moe now remaining in priſon: but alſo the bloud of diuerſe of the Queenes maieſties true and faithfull ſubiects preſerued.

Of thys acte read before pag. 1634.

The ſtrait handling of Ioh. Philpot in the Biſhops Colehouſe.

The condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, Iohn Philpot.

THeſe bokes, letters, ſupplications and other matters being thus red, the Biſhop demaundes of him, if the boke intituled, *The true report of the diſputatiõ. &c.* were of his penning or not? Whereunto Philpot aunſwered, that it was a good and true booke, & of his owne penning and ſetting forth. The Biſhops waxing now weery, and being not able by any ſufficient ground, eyther of Gods word, or of the true aũcient catholicke fathers, to conuince and ouercome him, fell by fayre and flattering ſpeach, to perſuade with him, promiſing that if he would reuoke his opiniõs, and come home againe to their Romiſh and Babylonicall church, he ſhould not only be pardoned that which was paſt, but alſo they would with all fauour and cherefulnes of hart, receyue him againe as a true member thereof. Which wordes when Boner ſaw would take no place: he demaunded of M. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection, I warrant you) whether he had any iuſt cauſe to alleage, why he ſhould not condemne him as an heritike. Well quoth M. Philpot, your Idolatrous ſacrament whych you haue found out, ye would faine defend, but ye can not, nor neuer ſhall.

Of this booke read before pag. 1571.

In the end, the Biſhop ſeeing his vnmoueable ſtedfaſtnes in the truth, did pronounce openly the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. In the reading whereof, when he came to theſe wordes: Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obſtinatum, pertinacem & impœnitentem. &c. M. Philpot ſayd, I thanke God that I am an heretike out of your curſed church: I am no hereticke before God. But God bleſſe you & geue you once grace to repent your wicked doings: and let all men beware of your bloudy church. Moreouer, whileſt Boner was about the middeſt of the ſentence, the Biſhop of Bath pulled him by the ſleeue and ſayd: My Lord, my Lord: know of him firſt whether he will recant or no? Then Boner ſayd (full like himſelf) oh let me alone: and ſo red forth the ſentence.

And when he had done, he deliuered hym to yͤ Sheriffes: and ſo two officers brought him thorow the Biſhops houſe into Pater noſter rowe, and there hys ſeruant met him, and when he ſaw him, he ſayd: Ah deare maſter. Then M. Philpot ſaid to his man: content thy ſelfe, I ſhall do wel inough, for thou ſhalt ſee me againe. And ſo the Officers thruſt him away, and had his maſter to Newgate. And as he went, he ſayd to the people: Ah good people, bleſſed be God for this day: and ſo the Officers deliuered him to the Keeper. Then hys man thruſt to go in after his maſter, and one of the Officers ſayd vnto him: hence fellow, what wouldeſt thou haue? And he ſayd, I would goe ſpeake with my maſter. Maſter Philpot then turned him about, and ſayd to him: to morow you ſhall ſpeake with me. Then yͤ vnderkeeper ſaid to M. Philpot: is this your mã? And he ſayd yea. So he did licence his man to goe in wyth him, and M. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, vntill Alexander the chiefe Keper did come vnto him: who at his entring, greeted him with theſe wordes: Ah, ſaid he, haſt not thou done well to bryng thy ſelfe hether? Well ſayd M. Philpot, I muſt be content, for it is Gods appointment: and I ſhall deſire you to let me haue your gentle fauour, for you and I haue bene of olde acquaintance. Well ſayd Alexander, I will ſhew thee gentlenes and fauour, ſo thou wilt bee ruled by me. Then ſaid M. Philpot: I pray you ſhew me what you would haue me to doe.

He ſayd, if you would recant, I will ſhewe you any pleaſure I can. Nay, ſaid M. Philpot, I will neuer recant whileſt I haue my life, that which I haue ſpoken: for it is a moſt certaine truth, and in witnes hereof, I will ſeale it with my bloud. Then Alexander ſayd: this is the ſaying of all the whole packe of you heretickes. Whereupon he commaunded him to be ſet vpon the blocke, and as many irons vpon his legges as he might beare, for that he would not folow his wicked mynde. Then the Clarke tolde Alexander in his eare that M. Philpot had geuen his man money. And Alexander ſayd to his man: what money hath thy maſter geuen thee? His man ſayd: my maſter hath geuen me none. No ſayd Alexander? hath he geuen thee none? that will I know, for I will ſearch thee. Do with me what you liſt, and ſearch me al that you cã, quoth his ſeruaũt. He hath geuen me a token or two, to ſend to his frends, as to his brother & ſiſter. Ah ſayd Alexãder to M. Philpot: Thou art a mainteiner of heretikes. Thy man ſhould haue gone to ſome of thine affinitie: but he ſhall be knowne well inough. Nay, ſaid M. Philpot: I doe ſende it to my frẽdes. There he is: let him make anſwer to it. But good M. Alexander, be ſo much my frend, that theſe irons may be taken of. Well, ſayd Alexander, geue me my fees, and I will take them of: if not, thou ſhalt weare thē ſtill. Thē ſayd M. Philpot, ſir, what is your fees? he ſaid, foure pound was his fees. Ah ſayd M. Philpot, I haue not ſo much: I am but a poore man, and I haue bene lōg in priſon. What wilt thou geue me then, ſayd Alexander? Sir (ſayd he) I will geue you .xx. ſhillings, and that I will ſend my man for, or els I will lay my gowne to gage: for the time is not long (I am ſure) that I ſhall be with you: for the Biſhop ſayd vnto me that I ſhould be ſone diſpatched. Then ſayd Alexander vnto him, what is that to me? and wyth that he departed from him, and commaunded him to be had into Limbo, and ſo his cōmaundentent was fulfilled: but before he could be takē from the blocke, the Clarke would haue a grote.

Then one Wittrence, ſtewarde of the houſe, toke him on his backe, and caryed him downe, his mā knew not whether. Wherefore M. Philpot ſayd to his man: goe to maſter Sheriffe and ſhew him how I am vſed, and deſire M. Sheriffe to be good vnto me. And ſo hys ſeruant went ſtraight way, & toke an honeſt mā wyth him. And when they came to maſter Sheriffe (which was maſter Macham) & ſhewed him how M. Philpot was handled in Newgate, the Sheriffe hearing this, toke his ring of from his finger, and deliuered it vnto that honeſt man which came with M. Philpots man, and bad him goe vnto Alexander the keeper, and commaund him to take of his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to geue his man againe that which he had taken from him. And when they came againe to the ſayd Alexander, and told their meſſage from the Sheriffe, Alexander toke the ring, and ſayd: Ah, I perceyue that maſter Sheriffe is a bearer with hym, and all ſuch heretikes as he is: therefore to morrow I will ſhew it to his betters. Yet at .x. of the clocke he went into M. Philpot where he lay, and tooke of his irons, and gaue him ſuch things as he had taken before frō his ſeruant.

Note the ſpitefulnes of this keper.

M. Philpot with much adoe releaſed of his yrons.

Deceb. 17.

Vpon Tueſday at ſupper, being the .xvij. day of December, there came a meſſenger from the Sheriffes, and bad M. Philpot make him ready, for the next day he ſhould ſuffer, and be burned at a ſtake wyth fire. M. Philpot anſwered and ſayd, I am ready: God graūt me ſtrength, and a ioyfull reſurrection. And ſo he went vnto his chamber, and poured out his ſpirite vnto the Lord God, geuing him moſt harty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthy to ſuffer for his truth.

M. Philpot warned by the Sheriffes to prepare him agaynſt the next day to the fire.

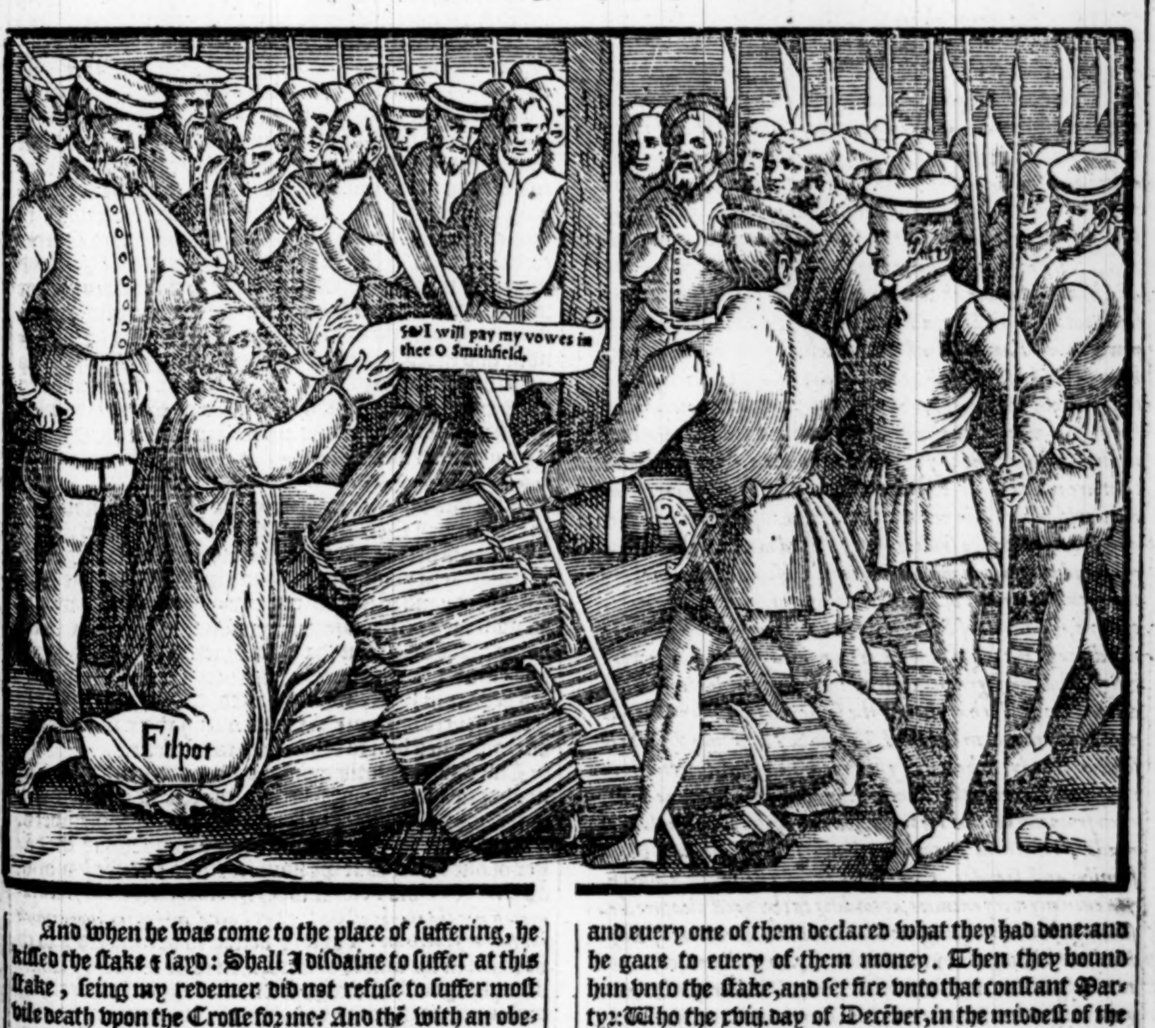
Deceb. 18.

In the morning the Sheriffes came according to the order, about .viij. of the clocke, and called for him, and hee moſt ioyfully came downe vnto them. And there his man did mete him, and ſayd: A deare maſter, farewell. His maſter ſayd vnto him, ſerue God, and he will helpe thee. And ſo he went with the Sheriffes vnto the place of execution: and when he was entryng into Smithfield, the way was foule, and two officers tooke him vp to beare him to the ſtake. Then he ſayd merily: what? will you make me a Pope? I am cōtent to go to my iourneys end on fote. But firſt coming into Smithfield, he kneled downe there ſaying theſe wordes: *I will pay my vowes in thee O Smithfield.*

M. Philpot brought to the place of Martyrdome.

M. Philpots wordes going to the ſtake.

The Martyrdome of M. Iohn Philpot Archdeacon, with the maner of his kneling, and praying at the ſtake.


I will pay my vowes in thee O Smithfield.
Filpot

The Martyrdome of *M. Iohn Philpot* Archdeacon, in Smithfield.

An. 1555.

Deceb. 18.

And when he was come to the place of ſuffering, he kiſſed the ſtake & ſayd: Shall I diſdaine to ſuffer at this ſtake, ſeing my redemer did not refuſe to ſuffer moſt vile death vpon the Croſſe for me? And thē with an obedient hart, full meekely he ſayd the Cvj. Cvij. & a Cviij Pſalme: and when he had made an ende of all his prayers, he ſaid to the officers: What haue you done for me? and euery one of them declared what they had done: and he gaue to euery of them money. Then they bound him vnto the ſtake, and ſet fire vnto that conſtant Martyr: Who the .xviij. day of Decēber, in the middeſt of the fiery flames, yelded his ſoule into the handes of the almighty God, and full like a Lambe gaue vp his breath, his body being conſumed into aſhes.

Ioh. Philpot geueth the Officers money.

pppp.ij. Thus

The writings and examinations of M. Ioh. Philpot by the meruailous prouidence of almighty God preſerued.

Thus haſt thou (gentle reader) the life and doinges of this learned and worthy ſouldiour of the Lord, Iohn Philpot, with all his examinations that came to our hands, firſt penned & written with hys owne hād, being marueilouſly reſerued from the ſight and handes of his enemies: who by all maner meanes ſought not onely to ſtoppe him from all wryting, but alſo to ſpoile and depriue him of that which he had written. For the which cauſe he was many times ſtripped and ſearched in the priſō of his keper: but yet ſo happely theſe hys wrytings were conueyed and hid in places about him, or els hys kepers eyes ſo blinded, that notwithſtanding all this malicious purpoſe of the Biſhops, they are yet remaynyng and haue come to light.

A prayer to be ſayd at the ſtake, of all them that God ſhall account worthy to ſuffer for his ſake.

A godly prayer to be ſayd at the time of Martyrdome.

MErcifull God and father, to whom our Sauiour CHRIST approched in his feare and neede by reaſon of death, and found comfort: Gracious God and moſt bounteous CHRIST, on whom Steuen called in his extreme nede, and receiued ſtrength: Moſt benigne holy ſpirit, which in the middeſt of all croſſes and death, diddeſt comfort the Apoſtle S. Paule, with more conſolations in Chriſt, then he felt ſorrowes and terrours, haue mercy vpon me miſerable, vile, and wretched ſinner, which now draw nere the gates of death, deſerued both in ſoule and body eternally, by reaſon of manifold, horrible, old, and new tranſgreßions, which to thine eyes (O Lord) are open and knowne. Oh be mercifull vnto me, for the bitter death and bloudſheding of thine owne onely ſonne IESVS CHRIST. And though thy iuſtice doe require (in reſpect of my ſinnes) that now thou ſhouldeſt not heare me, meaſuring me with the ſame meaſure I haue meaſured thy maieſty, contemning thy daily calles: yet let thy mercy which is aboue al thy workes, and wherwith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I ſay) preuaile towards me, through, and for the mediatiō of CHRIST our Sauiour. For whoſe ſake in that it hath pleaſed thee to bring me forth now as one of his witneſſes, and a record bearer of thy veritye and truth taught by him, to giue my life therfore (to which dignity I do acknowledge deare God, that there was neuer any ſo vnworthy & ſo vnmete, no not the theefe that hanged with him on the croſſe): I moſt humbly therfore pray thee that thou wouldeſt, accordingly aide, helpe, and aßiſt me with thy ſtrength and heauenly grace, that with CHRIST thy ſonne I may finde cōfort, with Steuen I may ſee thy preſence and gracious power, with Paule and all others which for thy names ſake haue ſuffred afflictiō & death, I may find ſo preſēt with me thy gracious cōſolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, propagate & ratifie thy veritie, cōfort the harts of the heauy, confirme thy church in thy veritie, conuert ſome that are to be conuerted, and ſo depart forth of this miſerable world, where I do nothing but daily heape ſinne vpō ſinne, and ſo enter into the fruitiō of thy bleſſed mercy: wherof now geue and encreaſe in me a liuely truſt, ſenſe, and feling, wherthrough the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the panges of ſinne, the dartes of Sathan, and the dolours of hell may neuer depreſſe me, but may be driuen away through the working of that moſt gracious ſpirite: which now plenteouſly endue me withall, that thorow the ſame ſpirite I may offer (as now I deſire to do in CHRIST and by him) my ſelf wholy ſoule and body, to be a liuely ſacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy ſight. Deare father, whoſe I am, and alwayes haue bene, euen from my mothers wombe, yea euen before the world was made, to whom I commend my ſelfe, ſoule and body, family, and frendes, countrey, and all the whole Church, yea euen my very enemies, according to thy good pleaſure, beſeching thee entirely to geue once more to this realme of England, the bleßing of thy word againe, with godly peace, to the teaching and ſetting forth of the ſame. Oh deare father, now geue me grace to come vnto thee. Purge and ſo purifye me by this fire in CHRISTES death and paßion through thy ſpirite, that I may be a burnt offering of ſwete ſmell in thy ſight, which liueſt and raigneſt with the ſonne and the holy ghoſt, now and euermore world without end, Amen. I. B.

He prayeth for reſtoring of the Goſpell and peace in England.

Letters of M. Philpot.

A letter which he ſent to the Chriſtian congregation, exhorting them to refraine from the Idolatrous ſeruice of the Papiſtes, and to ſerue God after his worde.

IT is a lamentable thing to beholde at this preſent in England, the faithles departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and vſe of CHRISTES ſyncere religion, which ſo plentifully they haue bene taught and do know, their owne conſciences bearing witnes to the veritie thereof. If that earth be curſed of God, which eftſones receiuing moiſture and pleaſant dewes frō heauen, doth not bring forth fruite accordingly: how much more greuous iudgement ſhall ſuch perſons receyue, which hauing receiued from the father of heauen the perfite knowledge of his word by the myniſtery thereof, do not ſhew forth gods worſhip after the ſame? If the Lord will require in the day of iudgement a godly vſury of all maner of talents which he ſendeth vnto men and womē: how much more will he require yͤ ſame of his pure religion reueled vnto vs (which is of all other talentes the chiefeſt and moſt pertaining to our exerciſe in this life) if we hide yͤ ſame in a napkin and ſet it not forth to the vſury of gods glory, and edifying of his Church by true confeſſion? God hath kindled the bright light of his goſpell, which in times paſt was ſuppreſſed and hyd vnder the vile aſhes of mans traditions, and hath cauſed the brightnes therof to ſhine in our harts, to the end that the ſame might ſhine before men to the honour of his name. It is not only geuen vs to beleue, but alſo to cōfeſſe and declare what we beleue in our outward cōuerſation. For as S. Paul wryteth to the Romaines: *The beliefe of the hart iuſtifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth, maketh a man ſafe.* It is all one before God, not to beleue at all, and not to ſhew forth the liuely workes of our belief. For CHRIST ſayth: *Eyther make the tree good & his fruits good, or els make the tree euil and the fruits euil, becauſe a good tree bryngeth forth good fruits:* ſo that the perſon which knoweth hys maſters wil and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. And not all they which ſay lord lord, ſhall enter into the kingdome of God, but he that doth the will of the father. And *whoſoeuer in the time of triall is aſhamed of me* (ſayth Chriſt) *and of my words, of him the ſonne of man will be aſhamed before his father.* After that we haue built our ſelues into the true church of God, it hath pleaſed him by geuing vs ouer into the hāds of the wicked Sinagoges, to proue our building, and to haue it knowne as well to the world as to our ſelues, that we haue bene wiſe builders into the true church of God vpon the rocke, and not on the ſande, and therefore now the tempeſt is riſen, and the ſtormes doe mightely blow againſt vs, that we might notwithſtanding ſtand vpright and be firme in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternall felicitie. There is no new thing happened vnto vs, for with ſuch tempeſts and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually bene exerciſed. Now once againe as the Prophet Aggeus telleth vs: *The lord ſhaketh the earth, that thoſe might abide for euer, which be not ouerthrowne.*

Therfore my dearely beloued, be ſtable & immoueable in the word of God, & in the faithfull obſeruation therof, & let no mā deceiue you with vayne wordes: ſaying, that you may kepe your faith to your ſelues, and diſſēble with Antichriſt, and ſo liue at reſt and quietnes in the world, as moſt men doe, yelding to neceßitie. This is the wiſedome of the fleſh, but the wiſedome of the fleſh is death and enmitie to God, as our Sauiour for enſample aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted CHRIST not to goe to Ieruſalem to celebrate the Paſſeouer & there to be ſlaine, but counſelled him to loke better to himſelfe.

Likewiſe the world would not haue vs to forſake it, neither to aſſociate our ſelues to the true Church which is the body of CHRIST, whereof we are liuely members, and to vſe the ſacraments after gods word, wyth the dāger of our liues. But we muſt learne to anſwer yͤ world, as CHRIST did Peter, and ſay: *go behind me Sathan, thou ſauoureſt not the things of God. Shall I not drinke of the cuppe which the father geueth me?* For it is better to be afflicted and to be ſlaine in the church of God, then to be counted yͤ ſonne of the king in the Sinagoge of falſe religion. Death for righteouſnes is not to be abhorred, but rather to be deſired, which aſſuredly bringeth with it the crowne of euerlaſting glory. Theſe bloudy executioners doe not perſecute CHRISTES Martyrs, but crowne them with euerla-

ſting

ſtyng felicicity. we were borne into this worlde to be wytneſſes vnto the truth, both learned and vnlearned.

Now, ſince the tyme is come that wee muſt ſhew our fayth, and declare whether we will be Gods ſeruaunts in righteouſnes and holynes, as we haue bene taught and are bound to follow, or els with hypocriſy ſerue vnrighteouſnes: let vs take good heede that we be found faythfull in the Lordes couenaunt and true members of his church, in the which through knowledge we are ingraffed: from the which if we fall by tranſgreſſion wyth the cõmon ſort of people, it wil more ſtraitly be requyred of vs, then many yet do make accompt thereof. We can not ſerue two Maſters: we may not halt on both ſides, and thinke to pleaſe God: we muſt be feruent in Gods cauſe, or els he will caſt vs out from hym. For by the fyrſt cõmaundement we are commaunded to loue God wyth all our hart, with all our mynd, wyth all our power and ſtrength: but they are manifeſt tranſgreſſours of this commaundement, which wyth theyr hart, mynd, or bodely power do communicate wyth a ſtraunge religion, cõtrary to the word of God, in the Papiſticall Sinagoge, which calleth it ſelfe the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which ſo do, as the Iſraelites did in times paſt by forſaking Ieruſalem the true church of God, and by going to Bethell to ſerue God in a congregation of their own ſetting vp, and after theyr own imaginations and traditions: for the which doyng God vtterly deſtroyed all Iſraell, as all the Prophetes almoſt do teſtify. This happened vnto them for our enſample, that wee might beware to haue any fellowſhip with any like congregation to our deſtruction.

God hath one catholicke church diſperſed throughout the world, and therfore we are taught in our Crede to beleue one catholicke church, and to haue cõmunion therewith: which catholicke church is groũded vpõ the foundatiõ of yͤ Prophets & of the Apoſtles, & vpõ none other, as S.Paul witneſſeth to the Epheſians. Therfore, whereſoeuer we perceiue any people to worſhip God truly after that worde, there we may bee certayne the Church of CHRIST to be: vnto the which we ought to aſſociate our ſelues, and to deſyre with the Prophet Dauid, to prayſe God in the middeſt of this church. But if we behold through iniquitie of time, ſegregations to be made wyth counterfait religion, otherwyſe then the woord of God doth teach, we ought then if we be required, to bee companions thereof, to ſay againe with Dauid: *I haue hated the Sinagoge of the malignant, and will not ſit with the wicked*. In the Apocalyps the Church of Epheſus is highly commended, becauſe ſhe tried ſuch as ſayde they were Apoſtels, & were not in deede, and therefore would not abide the cõpany of them. Further, God commaunded his people that they ſhould not ſeeke Bethell, neither enter into Gilgall where idolatry was vſed, by the mouth of his Prophet Amos. Alſo we muſt conſider that our bodies be the temple of God, and *whoſoeuer* (as S.Paule teach) *doth prophane the temple of God, him the Lord will deſtroy.* May we then take the tẽple of CHRIST & make it yͤ member of an harlot? All ſtraunge religion and Idolatrye is counted whoredome with the Prophetes, and that more deteſtable in the ſight of God, then the aduoutrous abuſe of the body.

Therefore the Princes of the earth in the Reuelation of S.Iohn, be ſayd to go a whoring, when they are in loue with falſe religion, and follow the ſame. How then by any meanes may a Chriſtian man thincke it tolerable to be preſent at the popiſh priuate Maſſe (which is the very prophanation of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST) and at other idolatrous worſhippinges and rites, which be not after yͤ worde of God, but rather to yͤ derogation thereof, in ſettyng mans traditions aboue Gods preceptes, ſince God by hys worde iudgeth all ſtraunge religion, which is not according to his inſtitution, for whoredome and aduoutry?

Some fondly thinke that the preſence of the bodye is not material, ſo that the hart do not conſent to their wicked doings. But ſuch perſons litle conſider what Saint Paule wryteth to the Corinthians, commaundyng them to glorify God as well in body as in ſoule. Moreouer, we cã do no greater iniury to yͤ true Church of CHRIST, then to ſeeme to haue forſaken her, and diſalowe her by cleauyng to her aduerſarye: whereby it appeareth to others which be weake, that we allowe the ſame, and ſo contrary to the woorde, doe geue a great offence to the Church of God, and do outwardly ſclaunder (as much as men may) the truth of CHRIST. But woe be vnto him by whom any ſuch offence commeth. Better it were for hym to haue a mylſtone tyed about his necke, and to be caſt into the bottome of the ſea. Such bee traytors to the truth, like vnto Iudas, who with a kiſſe betraied CHRIST. Our God is a gelous God, and cannot be content that we ſhoulde bee of any other then of that vnſpotted church, whereof hee is the head onely, and wherein hee hath planted vs by Baptiſme. This gelouſy which God hath towards vs, wyll cry for vengeaunce in the day of vengeaunce, againſt all ſuch as now haue ſo large conſciences to doe that which is contrarye to Gods glory, and the ſincerity of hys word, except they do in tyme repent, and cleaue vnſeperably to the Goſpell of CHRIST, how much ſoeuer at this preſent both men and women otherwyſe in their own corrupt iudgement, doe flatter them ſelues. God wylleth vs to iudge vprightly, and to allow and followe that which is holy and acceptable in hys ſight, and to abſtaine from all maner of euyll, and therefore CHRIST commaundeth vs in the Goſpell to beware of the leauen of the Phariſeis, which is hypocriſy.

A leſſon for large conſciences.

Mark.8.

Reaſons prouing that true Chriſtians ought in no wiſe to participate with Papiſtes.

S.Paul to the Hebrues ſaith: if any man withdraw him ſelfe from the faith, his ſoul ſhal haue no pleaſure in him: therefore he ſayth alſo: *that we are none ſuch as do withdrawe our ſelues into perdition, but we belong vnto faith, for the attainment of lyfe*. S.Iohn in the Apocalyps telleth vs playnly, that none of thoſe, who were written in the booke of life, doe receiue yͤ marke of the Beaſt, which is of the papiſticall Synagoge, either in their foreheades, or els in their hands, that is, apparantly or obediently.

Heb.10.

Apoc.13.

Ephe.5.

S.Paule to the Philipians affirmeth, that we may not haue any fellowſhip with the workes of darknes, but in the middeſt of thys wicked and froward generation we ought to ſhine like lightes vpholding the woorde of truth. Further hee ſayth, that wee may not touch any vncleane thing: which ſignifieth that our outwarde conuerſation in forreine thinges, ought to bee pure and vndefyled as well as the inward, that wyth a cleane ſpirite and rectifyed body, we myght ſerue God iuſtly in holynes & righteouſnes all the dayes of our lyfe. Finally in the.18. of the Apocalyps, God biddeth vs plainely to depart from this Babilonicall Sinagoge, and not to be partakers of her treſpaſſe. S. Paule to the Theſſalonians commaundeth vs in the name of the lord IESUS CHRIST, to withdraw our ſelues from euery brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the inſtitutiõ which he had receaued of him.

Phil.2.

2.Cor.6.

Apoc.18.

2.Theſ.3.

Ponder ye therefore well good brethren and ſiſters, theſe ſcriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one iote is not written in vayne: which be vtterly agaynſt all counterfayte illuſion to be vſed of vs wyth the Papiſtes in their fantaſticall religion, and be aduerſaries to all them that haue ſo light conſciences in ſo doing: and if they doe not agree wyth this aduerſary (I meane the word of God) which is cõtrary to their attemptes, he wyll (as it is ſignified in the Goſpell) delyuer them to the Iudge, which is CHRIST, and the Iudge wyll deliuer them to the executioner, that is the Deuill, and the Deuill ſhall commit them to the horrible priſon of hel fyre (where is the portion of all hypocrites) with ſulphure and brimſtone, wyth waylyng and gnaſhyng of teeth world without end. But yet many will ſay for their vayne excuſe: God is mercifull and hys mercy is ouer all. But the ſcripture teacheth vs, that curſed is he that ſinneth vpõ hope of forgeuenes. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is aboue all his workes, and yet but vpon ſuch as feare hym: for ſo is it written in the Pſalmes: *The mercy of God is on them that feare hym, and on ſuch as put their truſt in him.* Where we may learne that they onely put their truſt in God, that feare hym, and to feare God, is to turne from euill and to do that is good. So that ſuch as doe looke to bee partakers of Gods mercy, may not abyde in that which is knowen to bee manifeſt euill and deteſtable in the ſight of God.

The place of *Mat.5.* expounded.

Math.24.

A curſed thing to ſinne vpon hope of forgeuenes.

Pſal.102.146

An other ſort of perſons do make them a cloke for the rayne vnder the pretence of obedience to the magiſtrates, whom we ought to obey although they bee wycked. But ſuch muſt learne of CHRIST to geue to Cæſar that is Cæſars, and to God that is due to God, and wyth Saint Peter, to obey the hyer powers in the Lord, albeit they be euil, if they commaund nothing contrary to Gods word: otherwiſe we ought not to obey theyr commaundementes, although we ſhould ſuffer death therfore: as we haue the Apoſtles for our exãple herein to follow,

Luke.20.

1.Pet.2.

Obedience to Magiſtrates, what, and how farre.

Actes.4.
Daniel.6.
Math.15.

who anſwered the magiſtrates as we ought to do in this caſe, not obeying theyr wicked preceptes, ſaying: *Iudge you whether it bee more righteous that wee ſhoulde obey men rather then God.* Alſo, Daniel choſe rather to bee caſte into the denne of Lions to be deuoured, then to obey the kings wicked commaundements. If the blinde lead the blinde, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuſe for the tranſgreſſion of gods word, whether a man doe it voluntarily or at commaundement, although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence commeth. Some other there be that for an extreme refuge in their euill doings, doe run to gods predeſtination and election, ſaying: that if I be elected of God to ſaluation, I ſhalbe ſaued, whatſoeuer I do. But ſuch be great tempters of God & abhominable blaſphemers of gods holy election, and caſt them ſelues downe from the pinacle of the temple in preſumption, that God may preſerue them by his angels through predeſtination. Such verily may recken themſelues to be none of gods elect children, that will do euil that good may enſue: whoſe damnation is iuſt, as S. Paule ſayth. Gods predeſtination and electiõ ought to be with a ſimple eye conſidered, to make vs more warely to walke in good and godly conuerſation according to Gods word, and not to ſet cocke in the hoope, & put all on gods backe to do wickedly at large: for the elect children of God muſt walke in righteouſnes & holines after that they be once called to true knowledge: For ſo ſayth S. Paul to the Epheſians: *that God hath choſen vs before the foundations of the world were layd, that we ſhould be holy and blameles in his ſight.* Therefore S. Peter willeth vs through good works to make our vocation and election certaine to our ſelues, which we know not but by the good working of gods ſpirit in vs, according to the rule of the goſpell: and he that conformeth not himſelf to the ſame in godly conuerſation, may iuſtly tremble and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkenes. For the children of light will walke in the workes of light and not of darkenes: though they fall, they do not lie ſtill.

Againſt ſuch as ſinne wilfully vpõ hope of election.

Rom.3.

Ephe.1.

2.Peter.1.

Prouerb.24.

Let all vaine excuſations be ſet a part, and whiles ye haue light, as CHRIST commaũdeth, beleue the light and abide in the ſame, leſt eternal darknes ouertake you vnwares. The light is come into the world, but (alas) men loue darknes more then the light. God geue vs his pure eieſalue to heale our blindnes in this behalf. O that men and women would be healed, and not ſeeke to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open theyr eyes, that they may ſee how daungerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conſcience. But what ſaid I conſcience? many affirme their conſcience will beare them well enough to do all that they do, and to goe to the Idolatrous Church to ſeruice: whoſe conſcience is very large to ſatiſfy man more than God. And although their conſcience can beare them ſo to doe, yet I am ſure that a good conſcience will not permit them ſo to do: which can not be good vnleſſe it be directed after the knowledge of Gods word: and therfore in Latin this feling of mind is called Conſcientia, which ſoundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

Iohn.12.

Iohn.3.

Heb.6.10.

Large conſciences.

And therfore if our conſcience be led of her ſelfe, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not ſo to be excuſed, as S. Paule beareth witnes, ſaying: *although my conſcience accuſeth me not, yet in this I am not iuſtified.* And he ioyneth a good cõſcience with theſe 3. Siſters, charity, a pure hart, and vnfained fayth. Charitie kepeth gods commaũdements, a pure hart loueth and feareth God aboue all, and vnfained fayth is neuer aſhamed of the profeſſion of the goſpell, what ſoeuer damage ſhe ſhall ſuffer in body thereby. The Lord which hath reuealed his holy wil vnto vs by his word, graunt vs neuer to be aſhamed of it, and geue vs grace ſo earneſtly to cleaue to his holy word and true Church, that for no manner of worldly reſpecte we become partakers of the workes of hypocriſie, which God doth abhorre; ſo that we may be found faithfull in the Lordes Teſtament to the end both in hart, word, and dede, to the glory of God and our euerlaſting ſaluation, Amen.

1.Cor.4.
1.Tim.1.

Charitie.
Pure hart.
Faith vnfained.
Good conſcience.

Iohn Philpot priſoner in the kings Benche for the teſtimony of the truth. 1555.

To his deare frend in the Lord Iohn Careles priſoner in the Kings Bench.

An other letter of M. Philpot to Iohn Careles.

My dearely beloued brother Careles, I haue receiued your louing letters full of loue and compaſſion, in ſo much that they made my hard hart to wepe, to ſee you ſo carefull for one that hath bene ſo vnprofitable a member as I haue bene & am in CHRISTES church. God make me worthy of that I am called vnto, & I pray you ceaſe not to pray for me, but ceaſe to weepe for hym who hath not deſerued ſuch gentle teares: and praiſe God with me, for that I now approch to the company of them, whoſe want you may worthely lament: God geue your pitifull hart his inward conſolation. In dede my deare Careles, I am in this world in hell, and in the ſhadow of death: but he that hath brought me for my deſertes downe vnto hell, ſhall ſhortly lift me vp to heauen, where I ſhal loke continually for your comming and others my faithfull brethren in the kings Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the iudgement of this world, yet aſſuredly I feele in the ſame, the conſolation of heauen, I praiſe God: and this lothſome & horrible priſon is as pleaſant to me, as the walke in the garden of the kings Bench.

Experi
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trouble.

You know brother Careles, that the way to heauen out of this life, is very narrow, and we muſt ſtriue to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ouglenes of mine impriſonment, what wil he do in the rage of ye fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened vnto me that I might be hereafter an enſample of comfort, if the like happen vnto you or to any other of my deare brethren with you in theſe cruell dayes, in the which the deuil ſo rageth at the faithful flocke of CHRIST, but in vaine (I truſt) againſt any of vs, who be perſuaded that neither life neither death is able to ſeparate vs from the loue of CHRISTES goſpell, which is gods high treaſure committed to our brittle veſſels to glorify vs by the ſame. God of his mercy make vs faithfull ſtewardes to the end, & geue vs grace to feare nothing whatſoeuer in his good pleaſure we ſhall ſuffer for the ſame.

Examp
of Chri
comfort
be take
by M.
Philpot

That I haue not written vnto you erſt, the cauſe is our ſtrait keping and the want of light by night, for the day ſerueth vs but a while in our darke cloſet. This is the firſt letter that I haue written ſince I came to priſon, beſides the report of mine examinations, and I am faine to ſcrible it out in haſt.

Commend me to all our faythfull brethren, and byd them with a good courage looke for theyr redemption, & frame thẽ ſelues to be harty ſouldiours in CHRIST. They haue taken his preſt money a great while, and now let them ſhew them ſelues ready to ſerue him faithfully, and not to flie out of the Lords campe into the world, as many do. Let them remẽber that in the Apocalyps the fearful be excluded the kingdome. Let vs be of good cheare for our Lord ouercame the world, that we ſhould doe the like. Bleſſed is the ſeruaunt whom when the Lord commeth, he findeth watching. O let vs watch and pray earneſtly one for an other, that we be not led into temptatiõ. Be ioyfull vnder the croſſe, and praiſe the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt ſacrifice which the Lord chiefly delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and deſire him to loue & continue in the vnity of CHRISTES true church, which he hath begon, and then ſhall he make me more & more to ioy vnder my croſſe wyth him. Tell my brother Clements that he hath cõforted me much by his louing token in ſignification of an vnfained vnitie with vs: let him encreaſe my ioy vnto the ende perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my louing frendes, M. Mering, M. Crooch, with the reſt, and ſpecially M. Marſhal and his wife, with great thankes for his kindnes ſhewed vnto me. Fare wel my deare Careles. I haue dalyed with the Deuill a while, but now I am ouer the ſhooes: God ſend me wel out.

Apoc.

Out of the Colehouſe by your brother Iohn Philpot.

An other letter to Iohn Careles, profitable to to be red of all them which mourne in repentaunce for theyr ſinnes.

An other letter of M. Ph
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The God of all comfort, and the father of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, ſed vnto thee my deare brother Careles, the inward conſolation of his holy ſpirite, in all the malicious aſſaultes and troublous temptations of our common aduerſary the Deuill, Amen.

That God geueth you ſo contrite a hart for your ſinnes, I can not but reioyce to behold the liuely marke of the children of God, whoſe propertie is to thinke more lowly and vily of them ſelues, then of any other, and often times do ſet theyr ſinnes before them, that they might the more be ſtirred to bring forth the fruits of repentãce, and learne to mourne in this world, that in an other they might

To this letter Careles maketh very go
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ſtory.

might the more be ſtirred to bring forth the fruites of repentance, and learne to mourne in this world, that in an other they might be glad and reioyce. Such a broken hart is a pleaſant ſacrifice vnto God: O that I had the lyke contrite hart. God mollify my ſtony hart, whych lamēteth not in ſuch wiſe my former deteſtable iniquities. Prayſed be God that he hath geuen you thys ſorrowfull hart in reſpect of righteouſnes, and I pray you let me be pertaker of theſe godly ſorrowes for ſynne, which be the teſtimony of the preſence of the holy Ghoſt. Did not the ſword of ſorrow pearce the hart of the elect and bleſſed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weepe bitterly for his ſynnes, which was ſo beloued of CHRIST? Did not Mary Magdalen waſh the feete of our Sauiour with her teares, and receiued therwithal remiſſion of her ſeuēfold ſinnes?

Be of good comfort therfore mine own deare hart, in this thy ſorrow, for it is the earneſt peny of eternall conſolation. In thy ſorrow laugh, for the ſpirite of God is with thee. *Bleſſed be they* (ſayth Chriſt) *that mourne: for they ſhall be comforted.* They wēt forth and wept, ſayth the Prophet: ſuch ſhall come againe, hauing theyr gripes full of gladnes. And although a ſorrowfull hart in conſideration of his ſynne, be an acceptable Sacrifice before God, wherby we are ſtirred vp to more thākfulnes vnto God, knowing that much is forgeuen vs that we myght loue the more: yet the man of God muſt kepe a meaſure in the ſame, leſt he be ſwallowed vp by to much ſorrow. S.Paul would not the Theſſalonians to be ſory as other mē which haue no hope. Such a ſorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, & is farre from the children of God, who are continually ſorrowfull in God when they loke vpon theyr own vnworthines, wyth hope of forgiuenes. For God to this end by his ſpirite ſetteth the ſynnes of his elect ſtill before them, that where they perceyue ſynne to abound, there they might be aſſured that grace ſhall ſuperabound: and bringeth them downe vnto hell, that he might lyft them vp wyth greater ioy vnto heauen. Wherfore, myne own bowels in CHRIST, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not diſmayd through your penſiue hart for your ſinnes, how huge ſo euer they haue bene, for God is able to forgeue more then you are able to ſynne: yea, and he will forgeue him which wyth hope is ſory for his ſynnes.

But know brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the helpe of Gods ſpirite, to do that is good, the euill ſpirite Sathā layeth hard wayt to turne the good vnto euil, and goeth about to mixe the deteſtable darnel of deſperation with the godly ſorrow of a pure penitent hart. You be not ignorant of his malicious ſubtelty, and how that continually he aſſaulteth that good which the grace of God planteth. I ſee the battell betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours, yea & that daily: For you haue layd hold vpon ẏ anker of ſaluation, which is hope in Chriſt, the which wyll not ſuffer you to be made aſhamed. Be not diſcomforted that you haue this conflict: but be glad that God hath geuen you the ſame to try your fayth, and that you might appeare daily worthy of the kingdome of God, for the which you ſtriue. God beholdeth your ſtriuing fayth againſt Sathan, & is pleaſed with your mighty reſiſtance. The ſpirite which is in you, is mightier thē all the aduerſaryes power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heeles, geue you a fall vnwares: but ouercome he ſhall not: yea he can not, for you are ſealed vp already with a liuely fayth to be the child of God for euer: and whom God hath once ſealed for his own, him he neuer vtterly forſaketh. The iuſt falleth .vij. times, but he riſeth againe. It is mans frailty to fall, but it is the property of the Deuils childe to lie ſtill.

This ſtrife againſt ſynne is a ſufficiēt teſtimony that you are the childe of God, for if you were not, you ſhould feele no ſuch malice as he now troubleth you withall. When this ſtrong Goliah hath the hold, all things be in peace whych he poſſeſſeth, and becauſe he hath you not, he will not ſuffer you vnaſſaulted. But ſtand faſt, and holde out the buckler of fayth, and wyth ẏ ſword of Gods promiſes ſmite him on the ſcalpe, that he may receiue a deadly wound, and neuer be able to ſtand againſt you any more. S.Iames telleth you that he is but a coward, ſaying: *Reſiſt the Deuill and he wil flie away.* It is the wil of God that he ſhould thus long tempt you and not goe away as yet, or els he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he ſhall receiue the foyle at your hands, and encreaſe the crowne of your glory: for he that ouercometh ſhall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, ſince they ſhall turne to your felicitie. Be not afraid of your continual aſſaults: which be occaſions of your daily victory. The word of god abideth for euer. In what hour ſoeuer a ſynner repenteth him of hys ſynnes, they be forgeuen. Who cā lay any thing to the charge of gods elect? Do you not perceiue the manifeſt tokens of your election? Firſt your vocation to the goſpell, and after your vocation, the manifeſt gifts of the ſpirit of God geuen vnto you aboue many other of your condition, wyth godlines which beleueth and yeldeth to the authority of the ſcriptures, & is zelous for the ſame? Seing you are gods own dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a deiect minde for theſe temptations, neyther make your vnfayned frendes to be more ſorrowful for you, then nede doth require.

Ezech.33

True Chriſtians how they ought to be careles in their carefull eſtate.

Since God hath willed you at your Baptiſme in CHRIST to be Careles, why do you make your ſelf careful? Caſt all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes alwayes, for he is on your right ſide that you ſhall not be moued. Behold the goodnes of God toward me. I am careles, being faſt cloſed in a payre of ſtocks, which pinch me for very ſtraitnes: and will you be careful? I will not haue that vnſemely addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtles you haue none other cauſe but ſo to be. Pray, I beſech you, that I may bee ſtill careles in my carefull eſtate, as you haue cauſe to be careles in your eaſyer condition. Be thankfull and put away all care, and then I ſhall be ioyfull in my ſtrait preſent care. Commend me to al our brethren, and deſyre them to pray for me that I may ouercome my temptatiōs: for the Deuill rageth againſt me. I am put in the ſtockes in a place alone, becauſe I would not anſwer to ſuch articles, as they would charge me with all in a corner at the biſhops appoyntment, and becauſe I did not come to Maſſe whē the Byſhop ſent for me, I will lye all the daies of my life in the ſtockes (by gods grace) rather then I will conſent to the wycked generation. Praiſe God and be ioyful that it hath pleaſed him to make vs worthy to ſuffer ſomewhat for hys names ſake. The Deuill muſt rage for ten dayes. Cōmend me to Maſter F. and thanke him for hys law bokes, but law, neither equity will take any place among theſe bloudthirſty. I would for your ſake theyr vniuſt dealing were noted vnto the Parlament houſe, if it might auayle. God ſhorten theſe euil dayes. I haue anſwered the Biſhop meetely plaine already, and I ſayd to hym, if he wil call me in open iudgement, I wil anſwere him as plainly as he wil require: otherwiſe I haue refuſed, becauſe I feare they wil cōdemne me in hugger mugger. The peace of God be wyth you my deare brother. I can wryte no more for lacke of lyght, and that I haue wrytten I can not read my ſelfe, and God knoweth it is wrytten farre vneaſely. I pray God you may picke out ſome vnderſtanding of my mind towards you. Wrytten in a Colehouſe of darkenes out of a payre of painefull ſtockes by thyne owne in CHRIST,

Ihon Philpot,

¶ An other letter of M.Philpot to certaine godly women, forſaking theyr own countrey for the goſpell: full of frutefull precepts and leſſons for all good women.

An other letter of M. Philpot to certaine godly women.

The ſpirite of truth reueled vnto you my derely beloued, by the goſpell of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, be continually abiding wyth you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the liuely temple of God, through the mighty operation of his power, Amen.

I read in the Euangeliſts of certayne godly women that myniſtred vnto CHRIST, following him in the dayes of his paſſion, and neuer forſoke him, but being dead in his graue, brought oyle to annoynt him, vntill that he had ſhewed himſelf vnto them after his reſurrection, and bidden them ſhew vnto hys diſciples, which at his paſſion were diſperſed, and tell them that he was riſen, & that they ſhould ſee him in Galile. To whom I may iuſtly compare you (my louing Siſters in CHRIST) who of late haue ſeene him ſuffer in hys mēbers, and haue miniſtred to theyr neceſſity, annoynting them with the comfortable oyle of your charitable aſſiſtance, euen to the death: and now ſince ye haue ſeene CHRIST to liue in the aſhes of them whom the tyrannes haue ſlayne, he willeth you to go away vpon iuſt occaſion offered you, and to declare to our diſperſed brethren and ſiſters, that he is riſen and lyueth in hys elect members in England, & by death doth ouercome infidelitie, and that they ſhal ſee him in Galile, which is by forſaking this world, and by a faythful deſire to paſſe out of thys world by thoſe wayes which he wyth his holy Martyrs hath gone on before.

God therefore (entire Siſters) direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias vnto a ſtraunge land: God geue you health both of body and ſoule, that ye may go from vertue to vertue, and grow from ſtrength to ſtrẽgth, vntill ye may ſee face to face the God of Sion in his holy hil, with the innumerable company of his bleſſed Martyrs & Saintes. Let there be continuall aſcenſions vnto heauen in your hartes. Let there be no decreaſe of any vertue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the iuſt, ſuch as Salomon ſaith increaſeth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the ſtrength of God be commended in your weake veſſels, as it is. Be examples of fayth and ſobrietie to all that ye ſhal come in company withall. Let your godly conuerſation ſpeake where your toung may not, in the congregation. Be ſwift to heare and ſlow to ſpeake, after the coũſell of S. Iames. Be not curious about other mens doynges, but be occupied in prayer and continuall meditation, with reuerent talkyng of the word of God, without cõtention amongeſt yͤ Saintes. Let your faith ſhine in a ſtraunge coũtrey, as it hath done in your owne, that your father which is in heauen may be glorified by you to the end.

Wholſome & godly precepts of life.

This farewell I ſend you, not as a thyng nedefull, (which know already what your duety is, and be deſirous to performe the ſame) but as one that would haue you vnderſtand that he is myndfull of your godly conuerſation, wherof he hath had good experience, and therfore writeth this to be as a perpetuall memoriall betwixt you and him vntill our metyng together before GOD, where we ſhall ioy that we haue here louyngly put one an other in memory of our duety to performe it.

Farewell agayne, myne owne bowels in CHRIST, and take me with you where ſoeuer you go, and leaue your ſelues with me, that in ſpirite we may be preſẽt one with an other. Commend me to the whole congregation of CHRIST, willyng them not to leaue their countrey without witnes of the Goſpell, after that we all be ſlayne, which already be ſtalled vp & appointed to the ſlaughter, and in the meane ſeaſon to pray earneſtly for our cõſtancy, that CHRIST may be glorified in vs and in them both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

Yours for euer, Iohn Philpot.

¶ An exhortation to his owne Siſter conſtantly to ſticke to the truth, whiche ſhe had fruitefully profeſſed.

An other letter of M. Philpot to his owne Siſter, full of fruitfull exhortation.

GOd the eternall father, who hath iuſtified you by the bloud of his ſonne IESVS CHRIST, and called you to hallow his name thorough a good cõuerſation and profeſſion of lyfe, he ſanctifie you with dayly encreaſe of vertue and faith by his holy ſpirite, that you may appeare a veſſell of ſanctification in the middeſt of this wicked and peruerſe generation, to the laude and prayſe of the Goſpell, Amen.

I haue occaſion (myne owne deare ſiſter) to prayſe God in you for two cauſes: the one, that to your hability you are ready to ſhew your ſelfe a naturall louyng ſiſter vnto me your poore afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you haue eftſoones teſtified beyng abſent, as alſo preſently viſityng me: which well declareth that you be a very natural ſiſter in dede, and to be prayſed in this behalfe. But in the other, that you be alſo a ſiſter to me in faith after CHRISTES Goſpell, I am occaſioned to thanke God ſo much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the ſpirituall conſanguinitie is more perdurable then that which is of fleſh and bloud, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly ſuch as be vngodly, be vnnatural and onely louers of them ſelues, as dayly experiẽce teacheth vs. The lyuyng Lord, which through the incorruptible ſeede of his word hath begotten you to be my liege ſiſter, geue you grace ſo to grow in that generatiõ, that you may encreaſe to a perfect age in the Lord to bee my ſiſter with CHRIST for euer.

Spirituall conſanguinitie and naturall, compared.

Looke therfore that you continue a faithfull ſiſter as you are called and are godly entered, not onely to me but to all the Church of CHRIST, yea to CHRIST him ſelfe, who voucheth you in this your vnfained faith, worthy to be his ſiſter. Conſider this dignitie to ſurmount all the vayne dignities of the world, & let it accordingly preuayle more with you, then all earthly delightes: for therby you are called to an equall portion of the euerlaſtyng inheritaunce of CHRIST, if now in no wiſe you do ſhewe your ſelfe an vnnaturall ſiſter to him in forſakyng hym in trouble, which I truſt you will neuer for no kynde of worldly reſpect do. You are vnder daungerous temptations to be turned from that naturall loue you owe vnto CHRIST, and you ſhalbe tryed with Gods people thorough a ſieue of great affliction: for ſo Sathan deſireth vs to be ſifted, that through feare of ſharpe troubles we might fall from the ſtableneſſe of our faith, and ſo be depriued of that honour, ioy, and reward, which is prepared for ſuch as continue faithfull brothers and ſiſters in the Lordes couenant to the end. Therfore the wiſe man in the booke of Eccleſiaſticus, byddeth them that come to the ſeruice of the Lord, *To prepare thẽ ſelues to ſuffer temptations.*

The ſieu of afflicti ons.

Luke.22.

Eccle.2.

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunte of them, and that whẽ our aduerſary hath done all that he can, yet we may be ſtable and ſtand: this CHRIST our firſt begotten brother looketh for at our hãdes, and all our brethren and ſiſters in heauen deſire to ſee our faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfill their nũber: and the vniuerſall Church here militant, reioyceth at our conſtancy, whom all by the contrary we ſhould make ſory, to the daunger of the loſſe both of body and ſoule. Feare not therfore, what ſoeuer be threatned of the wicked world: prepare your backe, and ſee it be ready to cary CHRISTES croſſe. And if you ſee any vntowardnes in you (as the fleſh is continually repugnant to the will of God) aſke with faithfull prayer that the good ſpirite of God may lead your ſinnefull fleſh whether it would not: for if we will dwell in the fleſh and folow the counſell therof, we ſhall neuer do the will of God, neither worke that tendeth to our ſaluation.

Chriſt our firſt borne brother.

A Chriſte mās back ſhould alwayes be ready to beare Chriſtes croſſe.

You are at this preſent in the confines and borders of Babilon, where you are in daunger to drinke of the whores cup, vnleſſe you be vigilãt in praier. Take heede the Serpent ſeduce you not from the ſimplicity of your fayth, as he dyd our firſt mother Eue. Let no worldly felowſhyp make you partaker of iniquitie. He that toucheth tarre can not but be defyled thereby. With ſuch as be peruerſe, a man ſhall ſoone be peruerted: with the holy you ſhalbe holy. Therfore ſay continually with the Prophet Dauid: *Vnto the Sainctes that bee on the earth, all my will is on them.* You haue bene ſanctified and made pure through the truth: take heede you be not vnholyed and defiled, leſt the laſt be worſe then the firſt. I write not this becauſe I ſtand in any doubt of your ſincere continuance (of the which I haue had ſo good experience): but becauſe the dayes be euill, and in the ſame it is the duty of euery one of vs to exhort an other.

Vngodly fellowſhip to be eſchewed.

Pſal.15.

I am bold to put you (my good ſiſter) in remẽbraunce of that which doth not a litle comfort me to remẽber, in my troubles and dayly temptations. Wherfore I doubt not, you will take that in good part which commeth frõ your brother both in ſpirit and body, who tendreth your ſaluation as earneſtly as his own, that we might ioy together eternally with ſuch ioy as the world ſhall neuer be able to take from vs. Thankes bee vnto God, you haue begon to runne a good and great tyme well in the wayes of the Lord: run out of the trace to the end which you haue begon, and then ſhall you receiue the crowne of glory. None ſhalbe crowned but ſuch as lawfully ſtriueth. Be not ouercome of euill, but ouercome euill with good, and the Lord ſhall make you one of thoſe faithfull virgins that ſhall folow the Lambe where ſoeuer hee goeth: the which CHRIST graunt both you & me, Amen.

2.Tim.2

Apoc.4

Commend me to all them that loue me in the Lord vnfainedly. God encreaſe our faith and geue vs neuer to bee aſhamed of his Goſpell. That ſame requeſt which I haue made to my brother Thomas, I make alſo to you, deſiryng you by all meanes you can to accompliſh my requeſt, that my ſureties might be ſatiſfied with that is mine owne, to the contentation of my minde, which can not be quyet vntill they be diſcharged: therefore I pray you helpe to purchaſe quyetnes that I might depart out of this world in peace. My diſſolution I looke for dayly, but the Lord knoweth how vnworthy I am of ſo hygh an honour, as to dye for the teſtimony of hys truth. Pray that God would vouchſafe to make mee worthy, as hee hath done of long impriſonment, for the which his name be prayſed for euer. Pray and looke for the comming of the Lord, whoſe wrath is great ouer vs, and I wil pray for you as long as I liue. The .ix. of Iuly in the kynges Bench.

This ſe for the fi fruits of his Arch deacon whereof the time his impri ſonment had no co moditye yet his ſureties were com pelled to pay the ſame.

Your owne louing brother as well in fayth as in body, Iohn Philpot.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Philpot to certaine godly brethren.

An other letter of I. Phil contei

THe grace of God the father, and the peace of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST his eternall ſonne, and the conſolaſolation of the holy Ghoſt our comforter, ſtrēgthen your hartes and comfort your myndes that you may reioyce, and lyue in the truth of CHRISTES Goſpell to the end, Amen.

I do much reioyce, dearely beloued in the Lord, to heare of your conſtant fayth in the word of God, which you haue ſo purely receaued: whiche do not with the worldlynges decline from the puritie therof, albeit ye ſuffer grief and trouble thereby: for the which I prayſe God moſt hartely: and the Lord of all ſtrength, who hath begun this good worke in you, make it perfite to yͤ end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faythfull zeale ye haue to his truth and to his afflicted Church. Therfore that ye may the better ſtand and beare the brunt of many temtations which you are lyke to bee aſſaulted withall in theſe wicked and ſtormy dayes: I thought it good, as it is the duety of one Chriſtian man to exhorte an other in the tyme of trouble, to put you in remēbrance therof, and to will you with the wiſe man to prepare your ſelues to temtations: and to beware that ye, which yet do ſtand by the goodnes of God, may not fall from your liuely knowledge and hope. It is an eaſy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the onely propertie of the children of God, and ſuch as aſſuredly ſhalbe ſaued. For ſo ſayth our Sauiour in his Goſpell: *Bleſſed are they that perſeuere to the end.*

Let not therefore this certayntie of your ſaluation, which is continuaunce in the ſincerity of fayth, ſlide from you. Eſteme it more then all the riches and pleaſures of this world: for it is the moſt acceptable treaſure of eternall lyfe. This is that precious ſtone for yͤ which yͤ wiſe marchant man, after the Goſpell, doth ſell all that he hath and byeth the ſame. God in the iij. of the Apocalyps doth ſignify to the Church, that there ſhall come a tyme of temptation vpō the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the daunger of which temptation, all ſuch ſhalbe deliuered as obſerue his word: which worde there is called *the word of pacience*: to gyue vs to vnderſtand that we muſt be ready to ſuffer all kynde of iniuries and ſclaunders for the profeſſion therof. Therfore God commaundeth vs there to hold it faſt, that no man might bereft vs of our crowne of glory. And as S. Peter telleth vs: *Now we are afflicted with diuerſe aſſayes, as it is neede it ſhould ſo be. That the triall of our faith beyng much more precious then gold that periſheth, and yet is tryed by fire, might redounde to the laud, glory and honor of IESVS CHRIST.* S. Paul to the Hebrues ſheweth vs, that CHRIST our Sauiour was in his humanitie made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfectiō in him, might more willyngly ſuſteine the troubles of the world, by the which God giueth all them that be exerciſeth in the ſame for his ſake, his holynes. And in the xij. chap. of the ſayd Epiſtle is written. *My ſonne refuſe not the correction of the Lord, nor ſhrinke not, whē thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chaſtice euery ſonne, whom he receaueth. &c.* CHRIST in the Goſpell of S. Iohn byddeth his Diſciples to looke after afflictions, ſaying: *In the world ye ſhall haue trouble, but in me ye ſhall haue ioye.* And therfore in the middeſt of their trouble, in yͤ xxi. of S. Luke he byddeth them, looke vp & lift vp their heades. *for your redemption* (ſayth he) *is at hand.* And in the xxij. he ſayth to all ſuch as be afflicted for him: *You are thoſe that haue abiden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoynt vnto you a kingdome, as my father hath appoynted for me, to eate and drinke vpon my table in my kingdome.*

O how glorious be the croſſes of CHRIST, which bring the bearers of them vnto ſo bleſſed an end. Shall we not be glad, to be partakers of ſuch ſhame as may bryng vs to ſo high a dignitie? God open their eyes to ſee all thinges as they be, and to iudge vprightly. Then doubtles we would thinke with Moyſes, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, then to bee counted the king of Ægyptes ſonne. Then ſhoulde we ioyfully ſay, with Dauid in all our aduerſities and troubles: *It is good (O Lord) thou haſt brought me low, to the ende I might learne thy righteouſnes.* Therfore S. Paule would not glory in any other thyng of the world, but in the Croſſe of CHRIST, and in other his infirmities. We haue the commaundement of CHRIST, dayly to take vp his croſſe and folow him. We haue the godly enſamples of all his Apoſtles and holy Martyrs, which with great ioy and exultation, haue ſuffred the loſſe of landes, goodes, and lyfe for the hope of a better reward: which is layd vp for all thoſe in heauen, that vnfaynedly cleaue to the Goſpel, & neuer be aſhamed therof.

Great is the felicitie of the world to the outward mā, & very pleaſant are the tranſitory delightes therof: but the reward of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excell them all, in ſo much that S. Paule to the Rom. doth playnly affirme, that all the tribulations of this world can not deſerue that glory, which ſhal bee ſhewed vpon vs.

The delightes of the world nothing cōparable to them that are to come.

Let vs therfore, good brethrē & ſiſterne, be mery & glad in theſe troubleſome dayes, the which bee ſent of God, to declare our faith, & to bring vs to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we woulde enter into the Lordes Sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for vs, we could not but deſire the Lord, to haſt the day of our death, in the which we might ſet forth by true confeſſion, his glory. Neither ſhoulde we bee afrayed to meete our aduerſaries, which ſo earneſtly ſeeke our ſpoyle & death, as CHRIST did Iudas and that wicked route which came to apprehend hym ſaying: *I am he whom ye ſeke.* It is commaunded vs by the Goſpell, not to feare them, that can kill the body, but to feare God, who can caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire. So much we are boūd to obſerue this commaundement as any other which God hath giuen vs. The Lord encreaſe our faith, that we may feare God more then man. The Lord geue vs ſuch loue towardes hym and his truth, that we may be content to forſake all and folow hym.

Conſideration of the ioyes to come.

Now wil it appeare what we loue beſt: for to that we loue, we wil ſticke. There is none to be coūted worthy a Chriſtiā, except he cā find in his hart for CHRISTES ſake, if the confeſſion of his truth doth require it, to renounce al which he hath and folow him: and in ſo doyng he gaineth *an hundreth fold more in this lyfe* (as our Sauiour ſayd to Peter) *and hereafter is aſſured of eternall lyfe*. Behold I pray you, what he loſeth, which in this lyfe receaueth an hundreth for one, with aſſurance of eternall life. O happy exchaunge. Perchaunce your outward man will ſay: if I were ſure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forſake all. But where is this hundreth fold in this life to be found? Yes truly: for in ſtede of worldly riches which thou dooſt forſake, which be but temporall, thou haſt found the euerlaſting riches of heauen, which be glory, honour, and prayſe, both before God, Aungels and men: and for an earthly habitation, haſt an eternall manſion with Chriſt in heauen, for euen now thou art of the Citie and houſhold of the Saintes with God, as it is verified in the iiij. to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can laſt but a while, thou doeſt poſſeſſe the peace of God, which paſſeth all vnderſtandyng: and for the loſſe of a few frēdes thou art made a felow of the innumerable company of heauen, and a perpetuall frend of all thoſe that haue dyed in the Lord frō the beginnyng of the world. Is not this more then an hūdreth fold? Is not the peace of God which we in this world haue thorough faithfull imitation of CHRIST (which the world cā not take from vs) ten thouſand fold more, then thoſe thynges that moſt highly be eſtemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguiſh and a gnawyng fury of hell. As of late God hath ſet example before our eyes, to teach vs how horrible an euill it is to forſake the peace of CHRISTES truth, whiche bredeth a worme in conſcience that neuer ſhall reſt.

The note of a true Chriſtian.

How a Chriſten man gayneth an hundreth fold in this life.

Phil.4.

A compariſon betwene the loſſe and the gayne that commeth by following of Chriſt.

Peace with God a thing incomparable.

The lacke of Gods peace a thing moſt miſerable.

O yͭ we would way this with indifferēt ballances. Thē ſhould we not be diſmayed of this troublous tyme, neither ſorrow after a worldly maner, for the loſſe whych we are now lyke to ſuſteyne, as the weake faythles perſons do, which loue their goodes, more then God, and the thinges viſible, aboue thoſe which be inuiſible: but rather would hartely reioyce and be thankefull, that it pleaſeth God to call vs to bee ſouldiers in his cauſe, agaynſt the workes of hypocriſy, and to make vs lyke vnto our Sauiour CHRIST in ſuffering, whereby wee may aſſure our ſelues of hys eternall glory: *for bleſſed are they* ſayth CHRIST, *that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake.* And as S. Paule witneſſeth to Timothe: *if we die with CHRIST, we ſhall liue with CHRIST: and if we deny hym, he will denye vs.*

2.Tim.2.

O that we would enter into the veile of Gods promiſes. Then ſhould we wyth S. Paule to the Philippians, reiect all and count all thinges but for droſſe, ſo that we may gayne CHRIST. God which is the lightner of all darknes & putter away of al blindnes, annoint our eyes with the true eyeſalue, that we might behold his glory, & our eternall felicity, which is hidden wyth CHRIST, and prepared for vs that do abyde in his teſtament: for bleſſed is that ſeruant that whom the Maſter when he commeth, as CHRIST ſayd, doth fynd faythfull. Let vs therefore watch, and pray one for an other, that we yeld not in any

Phil.3.

He exhorteth to be ioyfull in affliction.

any poynt of our religion to the Antichriſtiā Sinagoge, and that we be not ouerthrowen of theſe temptations. Stand therefore and be no cowards in the cauſe of your ſaluation: for his ſpirite that is in vs, is ſtronger then he which in the world doth now rage agaynſt vs. Let vs not put out the ſpirite of God from vs, by whoſe myght we ſhall ouercome our enemyes, and then death ſhall be as great a gaine to vs as it was to the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Paule. why then do yee mourne? why do yee weepe? why be ye ſo carefull, as though God had forſaken you? he is neuer more preſent wyth vs, then when we be in trouble, if we do dot forſake hym. we are in his handes, and no body can do vs any iniury, or wronge without his good will and pleaſure. He hath commaunded his Aungels to keepe vs, that wee ſtomble not at a ſtone wythout his diuine prouidence. The deuill cannot hurt any of vs, and much leſſe any of his miniſters, wythout the good will of our eternall father.

To be patient and not to murmure in afflictions.

Therefore let vs be of good comfort, and continually geue thākes vnto God for our eſtate, what ſoeuer it be: for if we murmure againſt ẏ ſame, we murmure againſt God, who ſendeth the ſame. which if we do, we kycke but agaynſt the pricke, and prouoke more the wrath of God agaynſt vs: which by pacient ſuffring, otherwyſe would ſoner be turned into our fauour through faythfull prayer.

Iob.1.

Gene.22.

How to ſacrifice our Iſaac to God.

I beſech you with S.Paule, to geue your bodies pure, & holy ſacrifices vnto God. Hee hath geuen vs bodies to beſtow vnto hys glory, and not after our owne concupiſcence. If many yeares God hath ſuffred vs to vſe our bodies, which be his temples, after the luſt of the fleſh, in vayne delyghtes, not according to hys glory: is it not our duety in the latter end of our lyfe, the more willingly to yeld vnto Gods glory our bodyes, wyth all that wee haue, in demonſtration of trew repentaunce of that wee haue euill ſpent before? Cannot the enſample of the bleſſed man Iob horribly afflicted, cauſe vs to ſay? *the Lorde hath geuen it, the Lord hath taken it: bleſſed bee the name of the Lord. Euen as it hath pleaſed the Lord, ſo is it come to paſſe.* If we caſt our whole care likewiſe vppon God, hee will turne our myſery into felicitie, as well as he did to Iob. God tempteth vs now, as hee did our father Abraham, commaundyng him to ſlay his ſonne Iſaac in ſacrifice to him: which Iſaac by interpretation doth ſignifieth mirth and ioy. who by his obediēce preſerued Iſaac vnto long lyfe, and offered in his ſtede a Ramme that was tyed by the hornes in the brambles. Semblably we all are cōmaunded, to ſacrifice vnto God our Iſaac, which is our ioy and conſolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our ioy ſhall not periſh, but lyue and be encreaſed, although our Ramme be ſacrificed for our Iſaac: which doth ſignifie that the pride and concupiſcence of our fleſh entangled through ſinne, with the cares of this ſtingyng world, muſt be mortified for the preſeruation, and perfect augmentation of our myrth and ioy, which is ſealed vp for vs in CHRIST.

Remedyes agaynſt the temptations of the deuill and the world.

And to withſtand theſe preſent temptations, wherewith all we are now encombred, ye can not haue a better remedy then to ſet before your eyes, how our Sauiour CHRIST ouercame them in ẏ deſert, and to folow his enſample: that if the deuill him ſelfe, or any other by him, willeth you to make ſtones bread, that is, to take ſuch a worldly wiſe way that ye may haue your fayre houſes, landes, and goodes to lyue on ſtill, ye muſt ſay, that man lyueth not onely by bread, but by euery word that procedeth out of the mouth of God.

Chriſtes temptations miſtically applied.

Againe, if the deuil counſaileth you, to caſt your ſelues downe to the earth, as to reuoke your ſincere beliefe, and godly conuerſation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretendyng that GOD wilbe well enough content therewith: ye muſt aunſwere that it is written, that a man ſhall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the deuill offer you large promiſes of honour, dignitie and poſſeſſions, ſo that ye will worſhyp Idols in his Synagoge, ye muſt ſay: go behind me Sathan, for it is otherwiſe written, that a man muſt worſhyp his Lord God and ſerue him onely.

Finally, if your mother, brother, ſiſter, wife, childe, kynſman, or frend, do ſeeke of you, to do otherwayes thē the word of GOD hath taught you, ye muſt ſay with CHRIST that they are your mothers, brothers, ſiſters, wiues children and kynſmen, which do the will of God the father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy, cōforme vs all vnfaynedly to the end, Amen.

Your louing and faithfull brother in Chriſt,
in captiuitie, Iohn Philpot. An. 1555.

¶ To his frende and faithfull brother in the Lord M. Robert Harrington.

Another letter of I.Philp to Ma Harring ton his frend

GEntle M. Harrington, I can not tell what condigne thankes I may geue vnto God for you, in reſpect of that great gentlenes and payne which you haue taken for the reliefe of me and of other our afflicted brethren in CHRIST. God be prayſed for his mercy, whoſe louyng prouidence we haue ſeene towardes vs by ſuch faythfull ſtewardes as you haue bene towardes a great many. Bleſſed bee you of GOD for the louyng care which you haue taken for his poore flocke. God hath reſerued your reward of thankes in heauen, and therfore I do not goe about to rēder you any, leſt I might ſeeme to iudge that you looked for that here, which is reſerued to a better place. I thāke God for that I haue found by your faithfull and diligent induſtry, and God forgeue me my vnworthines for ſo great benefites. God geue me grace to ſerue hym faithfully, and to runne out my race with ioy. Glorious is the courſe of the Martyrs of CHRIST at this day. Neuer had the electes of God a better time for their glory then this is. Now may they be aſſured vnder the croſſe, that they are CHRISTES diſciples for euer.

Iohn.21.

Me thinke I ſee you deſiryng to be vnder the ſame. The fleſh draweth backe, but the ſpirite ſayth, it muſt be brought whether it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is true fayth and euerlaſtyng glory. who is he which deſireth not to be found faithfull to his maſter? And now is the tyme that euery faythfull ſeruant of CHRIST hath iuſt oportunitie to ſhew hym ſelfe a glorious ſouldiour in the Lordes ſight. Now do the Amalachites inuade the true Iſraelites, that the Iſraelites might with ſpede be glorified. I neede not, for want of vnderſtandyng, to admoniſh you hereof, but as a willyng ſouldiour in CHRIST, to exhort you ſo to runne as you may get the victory, and that ſpedely, with vs. A mā that is byd to a glorious feaſt, wiſheth his frend to goe with him and to be partaker therof. God doth call me moſt vnworthy, among other, to drinke of the bridecup of his ſonne, wherby we ſhalbe made worthy (as many of our brethren haue bene before vs) to ſit at the right hand and at the left hand of CHRIST. O what vnſpeakeable condition is that? may any worldly thing ſtay vs from the deſire therof? Since we ſeeke the kyngdome of God, why do we not apprehend it beyng ſo neare offred vnto vs?

Let vs approch nere vnto God, and God will draw nere vnto vs. God draw vs after hym, that we may all runne after the ſauour of his ſweete oyntmētes. CHRIST annoynt vs, that we may be ſuppled in theſe euill dayes, to runne lightly vnto the glory of the Lord. Shame, impriſonment, loſſe of goodes, and ſhedyng of our bloud, be the iuſt price which we muſt willingly beſtow for the ſame. wherfore (dearely beloued in the Lord) let not the great charges kepe you backe from bying this glory: for the reward is ten thouſand fold greater then the price.

Reward greater then the price.

Godly ma trimony how to be vſed.

That you haue maryed a wife, whom God bleſſe, I can not excuſe you from this Marte, but you muſt bryng your wife for a vſury to the Lord, whoſe pleaſure is in godly yokefelowes. I wiſh you to be as I am, except theſe horrible bandes, but yet moſt comfortable to the ſpirite, aſſuryng vs that we are made worthy through CHRIST, of the kyngdome for the which we ſuffer. Prayſed be the Lord for the affliction which we ſuffer, and he geue vs ſtrength to continue to the end.

Commend me to M. Heath, and tell hym that I would wiſhe him with me, to proue how apt he is to cary the croſſe of CHRIST. I pray for his continuance in CHRIST, as for myne owne. Commend me to his wyfe and to Miſtres Hall, certifying thē that I am brought to the gates of hel, that I might neuer enter into the ſame, but be raiſed vp from hell to heauen, through the word that ſanctifieth vs. Commend me to M. Elſing and his wyfe, and thanke them that they remembred to prouide me ſome eaſe in priſon, and tell them that though my Lordes Colehouſe be but very blacke, yet it is more to be deſired of the faythfull, then the Queenes palace. God make her a ioyfull mother, and preſerue them both to the comfort of Gods people. Thus for this time, farewell deare brother, written in poſthaſt becauſe of ſtraite kepyng.

This day I looke to be called before the Commiſſioners agayne. Pray (deare brother) for the ſpirite of wiſedome to remayne with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thanke you both for your tokens. Your token I haue ſent to your wife, and my token vnto you, is my faythfull hart with this letter. Commend me to all my frendes, and tell them, I thanke God, I am cherefull in

CHRIST, wiſhyng them to feare God more then mā, and to learne to deſpiſe earneſtly the vanities of this world: deſiryng you all to pray for me, that I may end my iourney with fidelitie, Amen.

Iohn Philpot.

¶Here followeth an other letter of M. Philpot to the Lady Vane, which, becauſe for the length I could not wholy inſert, I haue excerpted certain ſpecialties therout, as followeth.

THe principall ſpirite of God the father, geuen vnto vs by CHRIST IESVS our mercyfull Sauiour, confirme, ſtrengthē, and ſtabliſh you in the true knowledge of the Goſpell, that your faithfull hart (worſhipfull and deare ſiſter in the Lord) may attaine and taſt with all the Saintes, what is the height, the depth, the length, & the breadth of the ſweete croſſe of CHRIST, Amen. &c.

O, happy are you amongeſt all other women, that haue founde thys precious ſtone which is hydden in the Goſpell: for the which we ought to ſell all other things, and to purchaſe the ſame. O happy woman, whoſe hart God hath moued & enlarged to be in the profeſſiō therof. Other ſeeke worldly goods, honours, and delights: but you ſeeke with a good vnderſtanding, to ſerue God in ſpirite and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heauē: this is your portion for euer. By this ſhall you ſee God face to face (which ſight is vnſpeakeable ioy) and by this ſhall ye ſee whatſoeuer your hart cā deſyre. By this ſhall you haue a full ſight of all the beutiful heauenly powers, and of all the celeſtiall Paradiſe. By this ſhall ye knowe them that you neuer knew, and be ioyous and glad with thoſe which you haue knowen here in God, world without end. &c.

e bewayleth the tate of England.

Ah, I lamēt yͤ infidelity of Englād, that after ſo great light, is ſtept into ſo huge darknes againe. *The ſeruaunt that knoweth his maſters wyll and doth it not, ſhall be beaten wyth many ſtripes.* Ah, great be yͤ plagues that hang ouer England, yea though the Goſpell ſhould be reſtored agayne. Happy ſhall that perſon be, whō the Lord ſhall take out of this worlde, not to ſee them. Ah the great periury which mē haue runne into ſo wilfully againſt God by receiuing Antichriſt againe and his wicked lawes: which doe threaten a great ruine vnto England. O that the Lord would turne his iuſt iudgements vpon the autors of the trucebreakyng betwene God and vs, that they might be brought low (as Nabuchodonoſer was) that his people might be deliuered, and his glorye exalted. God graunt that that good lucke which you hope ſhortly to come vpon the houſe of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well wiſhing onely. Ah Lorde, take away thy heauy hand from vs, & ſtretch it out vpon thyne enemies theſe hypocrites, as thou haſt begun, yͭ they may be cōfoūded. O let not the weake periſh for want of knowledge thorow our ſinnes. Although thou kill vs, yet wyll we put our truſt in thee.

Plagues pphesied a Englād though the Goſpell be reſtored agayne.

Good luck ſhewed [illegible] pone the Goſpell.

Thus (deare hart) you teach me to pray with you in writing. God heare our prayers, and geue vs the ſpirite of effectuall prayer, to poure out our harts continually together before God, that we may finde mercy both for our ſelues, and for our afflicted brethren and ſiſtern. I can not but prayſe God in you, for that pitifull hart that taketh other folkes calamities to hart, as your owne. Bleſſed be they that mourne, for ſuch ſhall be comforted. God wipe away all teares from your pitifull eyes, and ſorrow from your mercifull hart, that you may (as doutles you ſhall do ſhortly) reioyce with his elects for euer. You haue ſo armed me to the Lords battell both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I can not faint, but ouercome by death. You haue appointed me to ſo good & gracious a Generall of yͤ field, to ſo victorious a Captayne, and to ſo fauourable a Marſhall, that if I ſhould not go on luſtely, there were no ſparkle of heauenly manhood in me. I wyll preſent your coate armour before my Captaine, & in yͤ ſame I truſt by him to ouercome. The Scarffe I deſyre as an outward ſigne to ſhew to our enemies, who ſee not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in vs, through the blyndnes of their harts, that they perſecute CHRISTES croſſe in vs, whereby he hath ſealed vp the truth of hys Goſpell by hys death vnto vs, that we by our death (if neede be) might confirme the ſame, and neuer bee aſhamed, what ſoeuer torment we doe ſuffer for hys names ſake: and our weake brethren ſeing the ſame myght be more encouraged to take vp CHRISTES croſſe, and to follow him. God geue vs grace to do al things to hys glorye, Amen. &c.

hilpots carffe.

Experience of Gods comfort in the tyme of affliction.

Perſecutors when they priſon mens bodyes, they ſet theyr ſoules at liberty.

The world wondreth how we can be mery in ſuch extreme miſery, but our God is omnipotēt which turneth miſery into felicitie. Beleue me deare Siſter, there is no ſuch ioy in the world as the people of CHRIST haue vnder the Croſſe. I ſpeake by experiēce: therfore beleue me, & feare nothyng yͭ the world can do vnto you. For when they impriſon our bodies, they ſet our ſoules at liberty with God. when they caſt vs down, they lift vs vp: yea whē they kil vs, thē do they bryng vs to euerlaſtyng life. And what greater glory can there be, then to be at cōformitie with CHRIST? which afflictions do worke in vs.

God open our eyes to ſee more and more the glory of God in the croſſe of IESVS CHRIST, and make vs worthy partakers of the ſame. Let vs reioyce in nothing, with S. Paul, but in the croſſe of IESVS CHRIST, by whom the world is crucified vnto vs, and we to the world. The croſſe of CHRIST be our ſtandard to fight vnder for euer. whiles I am thus talkyng with you of our commō conſolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and vnordinate tediouſnes: but you muſt impute it to loue which can not quickly depart from them whom he loueth, but deſireth to poure him ſelf into their boſoms. Therfore though your fleſh wold be offēded (as it might iuſtly be) at ſuch rudenes, yet your ſpirite will ſay nay, which taketh all thyng in good part that cōmeth of loue. And now I am departyng: yet will I take my leaue ere I go, & would fayne ſpeake ſomwhat that might declare my ſincere loue to you for euer: farewell. O electe veſſell of the Lord, to the comfort of hys afflicted flocke, farewell on earth, whom in heauen, I am ſure, I ſhall not forget. Farewell vnder the croſſe moſt ioyfully: and vntill we meete, alwayes remember what CHRIST ſayth: *Bee of good cheere, for I haue ouercome the world. &c.*

God poure hys ſpirite abundātly vpō you mine own deare bowels in CHRIST, vntill you may come to ſee the God of all Gods with his electes in the euerlaſting Syon. I ſend to you the kiſſe of peace with the which I doe moſt entierly take my leaue of you, at this preſent. It is neceſſary we depart hence or els we could not be glorified. Your hart is heauy becauſe I ſay I muſt depart frō you. It is the calling of our mercyfull father, wherwithall you are cōtent, and ſo am I. Be of good comfort: hold out your buckler of fayth: for by the ſtrength thereof we ſhall ſhortly mete in eternall glory: to the which CHRIST bryng both vs, Amen, Amen. The x. of Decēb. 1555.

Death why ſhould I feare thee,
Since thou canſt not hurt me:
But rid me from miſery,
Vnto eternall glory.

Dead to the world and liuyng to CHRIST, your owne brother ſealed vp in the verity of the Goſpell for euer.

Iohn Philpot.

¶An other letter of M. Philpot written to the ſame Lady, being a great ſupporter of hym.

An other letter of *M. Philpot* to a certaine godly Lady.

I Can not but moſt hartly geue God thankes for theſe his giftes in you, whoſe brightnes many beholdyng that are weake, are much encouraged to ſeeke God likewiſe & to cleaue to hym, hauing the enſample of ſo faythfull and conſtant a Gentlewoman before their eyes. If the Queene of the South ſhall riſe with the men of CHRISTES generation, and cōdemne them for that ſhe came from the end of the world to heare the wiſedome of Salomon: then ſhall your ſincere & godly conuerſation, thus ſhynyng in this daungerous tyme of the triall of CHRISTES people (beyng a woman of a right worſhypfull eſtate and wealthy condition) condemne in the latter day a great many of theſe faynte harted Goſpellers, which ſo ſoone be gone backe and turned frō the truth, at the voyce of a handmayden: ſeyng that neither the feare of impriſonment, neither the poſſeſſions of the world (wherewithall you are ſufficiently endued aboue a great many) can ſeparate you from the loue of the truth, which God hath reueled vnto you. wherby it appeareth that the ſede of Gods word which was ſowne in you, fell not, neither in the high way, neither amōg the thornes, neither vpon the ſtones, but on a good ground, which is bleſſed of God & bryngeth forth fruite, with great afflictiō, an hundreth fold, to the glory of God & the encreaſe of his Church. &c.

Againſt faint harted Goſpellers.

In conſideration wherof, S. Iames byddeth vs highly to reioyſe when ſoeuer we fall into many tentations, knowyng that it is but the triall of our fayth, that we might bring forth that excellent vertue patience, by the which we are made like to our redeemer Chriſt, with whom we here being like in ſuffring, aſſuredly ſhal hereafter be partakers of hys eternall glory. Therfore S. Paul ſayth: *God forbyd that I ſhould glory in any thyng, but in the croſſe of our* of our Lord IESVS CHRIST. I that am vnder the croſſe with you (thankes be geuen to God therfore) haue felt in the ſame more true ioy and conſolation, then euer I did by any benefite that God hath geuen me in my lyfe before. For the more the world doth hate vs, the nyer God is vnto vs, and there is no perfect ioy, but in God. wherefore CHRIST ſayd: *In me you ſhall haue ioy, but in the world affliction*. Bleſſed be God which ſendeth vs this affliction, that we might perfectly ioy in him. For this cauſe in the ripeſt tyme of iniquity, and in the moſt feruent ſeaſon of perſecution of the true church, which CHRIST in the .xxi. of Luke prophecied to come, he willeth vs to be of good chere, and to lyft vp our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

Iohn.16.

Luke.21.

Perfect ioy conſidered.

O that the Lord would come and deliuer vs frō thys world, which is a vale of miſerye, vnto his owne kingdome, where floweth perpetuall ioy and cōſolation. And verely that is the true and onely ioy which is conceiued, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do poſſeſſe, no body cā take it away from vs. To the which ioy all other ioyes being compared, are but mournings, all delightes ſorrow, all ſweetenes ſower, al beuty filth, and finally all other thinges that bee counted pleaſant, are tedioſneſſe. Your own ſelfe is better witnes of this, then I: aſke your ſelfe, wyth whom you are beſt acquainted. Doth not the holy Ghoſt ſpeake the ſame in your hart? Haue you not perſwaded your ſelfe thys to be true, before I wrote therof? For how ſhould you, being a woman, and a young Gentlewoman, beutyfull, and at your own liberty, haue ouercome this your fraile kynde and age, and deſpiſed your excellent beuty and eſtate, vnles all thoſe things which bee ſubiect to the ſenſes, had bene counted of you vyle, and litle to be eſteemed in comparſon of thoſe thinges which inwardly do comfort you, to ouercome the fleſh, the world, & the deuill. &c.

Compariſon betwene the ioy in God and the ioy in this world.

God increaſe your ioy in all ſpirituall thinges, and eſtabliſh your hope to the day of eternall reſt. You haue forſaken darknes, and are entred into lyght, God graūt the ſame may ſhine ſtill in you, vntil the perfite day come of the Lord, in the which is all our conſolation. Here we muſt bee darkned, yͭ there we may appeare as bright as the Sunne in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemne vs for well doing: whoſe iudges then we ſhall be to their horrible griefe, though now wrōgfully they iudge vs. Pray hartely, & that often, that God once againe for hys CHRISTES ſake, would be mercyfull to his afflicted church in England. Faithful praier is the only remedy that we haue againſt the fiery dartes of the deuill, that be kindled againſt vs. By praier the Amalachites ſhall be ouercome, and the roaringes of the Lyon, which ſeeketh ſtyll to deuour vs, ſhall be ſtopped and put to ſilence. The Lord ſtop Leuiathans mouth, that he ſwallow not vp Gods ſeely people, according to hys expectation. &c.

Gods Saincts ſhall be as iudges agaynſt their aduerſaries.

Praiſe the Lord for the faithfull teſtimony and ſacrifice which two of our brethren of late haue through fire rendred to the truth of the Goſpell, which now triumpheth by the death of Godly Martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray. The laſt of May. 1555. Captiue in the Kings Bench.

The Goſpell triumpheth by the death of Martyrs.

Yours with hart in CHRIST, Iohn Philpot.

¶ *An other letter of M. Philpot, to the godly Lady Vane.*

An other letter of ***Ioh. Philpot*** **to the Lady** ***Vane.***

GOd the father of our Lord IESVS CHRIST increaſe in your godly hart yͤ faith of the Goſpell, which is your eternall inheritance, and by the holy Ghoſt comfort your ſpirite with all ſpirituall conſolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

I can not but prayſe God moſt hyghly and earneſtly, my deare and faythfull Lady, for the great and vnfayned loue which you beare vnto me in CHRIST, declared oftentymes, aſwell now as of late, by manifeſt and liberall tokens. Bleſſed be God that hath made you ſo worthy a member in his kyngdome. For it can not be but ſuch ſhal reape with abundance in tyme of reward, yͭ here do ſow ſo plentiouſly in well doyng. Albeit I am moſt vnworthy to receiue any ſuch benefite at your hands, as in reſpect of a piller of CHRISTES Church, which am ſcarſe a ſhadow therof. But the zeale of CHRISTES Church in you wiſheth me to be ſuch a one as yͤ tyme doth require. God fulfill your deſire of me, that I may be found conſtant and no wandryng ſtarre. I am not worthy of the name of a Prophet or of a Miniſter of Gods worde, for that I haue (beyng letted by the iniquitie of tyme) litle or nothyng laboured therin. I am a frend of our common ſpouſe IESVS, and do reioyſe of the veritie of his word: for the which (prayſed be his name) he hath counted me worthy to ſuffer: and in deede *who that geueth a draught of water in the name of a Diſciple* (as CHRIST hath promiſed) *ſhall not loſe his reward.* Therfore, that your gentlenes doth in the name of him, which I am not, the Lord recōpenſe vnto you in all his bleſſinges, which he is accuſtomed to poure on them which loue his flocke vnfainedly.

Lady Vane **a liberall benefactor to Gods Saintes.**

Mark.9.

Good Lady, you haue to ioy that yͤ kingdome of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not aſhamed of the bandes of CHRIST, which you with his people in part do ſuffer. They may be aſſured of the glory euerlaſtyng, which here are not aſhamed to take vp the croſſe of CHRIST and to folow him. Here we muſt weepe and lament, whiles the world laugheth and triumpheth ouer vs: but our teares ſhall ſhortly be turned into vnſpeakeable ioy, and we ſhall eternally be mery together, when the world ſhal lament their infidelitie without end. &c.

I would I were able to do any thing that might ſhew condigne thākes for that ſincere loue you beare vnto me in CHRIST. You adiure me (as it were) by your gētle letters to be bold on you in all my nedes. I thanke God which ceaſeth not to prouide for his. I lacke nothyng at this preſent, but onely habilitie to thanke your faithfull hart for your goodnes towardes me. I loue you and not yours, as it is meete Chriſtiās to loue one an other in God: and your faith which I beholde in you, is more worth vnto me then all your poſſeſſions. And I thinke I ſhall not nede long to be chargeable vnto you, for that this weeke I looke for Commiſſioners to ſit on me and on my felow priſoners in priſon, leſt the ſpirite of our breth might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not ſo good as Iohn the Baptiſt which was beheaded in priſon. Darkenes can not abyde the light. Therfore their doyngs muſt declare what they are. We are as ſhepe appointed for a ſacrifice to the lord. We muſt not feare the fire, for our Lord is a conſumyng fire, which will put out the fierceneſſe of ragyng tormētes from vs. Be not afrayd of them that can kill the body, but feare him that can caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire. God forbid that we ſhould reioice otherwiſe then in the croſſe of CHRIST, and pray that he would make vs worthy to ſuffer for his ſake. God will haue our fayth tried and knowen, and therfore let vs willyngly humble our ſelues vnder the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriouſly lift vs vp in his good tyme. There is none perfectly faithfull in dede til he can ſay with S. Paul: *I am perſuaded that neither death, neither lyfe, neither aungels, neither princes or powers, neither thyngs preſent, neither thynges to come, neither hyghnes, neither lownes, neither any other creature is hable to ſeparate me from the loue of God which is in CHRIST IESV our Lord.* This fayth God plante both in you and me vnmoueably. In this fayth we haue to reioyce and in none other.

A perfect Chriſten man how he is knowen.

Rom.8.

All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternall waight of glory which is prepared for them, that here do with pacience abyde the croſſe. wherfore let vs bee ſtrong with the ſtrength in him, that is hable to make vs ſtrong, and lament the weakenes, I might ſay the infidelitie of our fainte Goſpellers. CHRIST whom we would pretend to haue put vppon vs, is the ſtrength of GOD, and how then may they be weake where CHRIST is? we haue more to be glad, touching our ſelues, of this tyme, then we haue had of any time before, in the which we haue ſo ready away to goe vnto God, and ſo good occaſion to ſhew our duety in glorifying his holy name. For if we be impriſoned in this cauſe, we are bleſſed. If we loſe all that we haue, we are bleſſed a hundreth fold. If we dye we are bleſſed eternally: ſo that in ſufferyng of perſecutions all is full of bleſſynges. Be bleſſed therfore (O elect Lady) of God with the bleſſed of God, and flye (as you do) the concupiſcence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and ioyfully looke for the comming and the croſſe of our Lord IESVS CHRIST. &c. Thus deſiring God to preſerue you to his true peace, & to giue you victory of that tēptation which now is come to try our fayth, CHRIST be with you & bleſſe you both in body and ſoule: and my prayer ſhall folowe you whereſoeuer you go, as I deſire that you may be with me. The laſt weeke I ſent your beneficēce to Oxford: I could not before haue a conuenient meſſenger. As ſoone as I haue word, you ſhalbe ſatiſfied of your requeſt. Loue me as you do & the god of loue be with you. The xx. of Auguſt.

The tyme of tribulation better for a Chriſtian, then the tyme of ioy.

By yours with all his power, in the
Lord, Iohn Philpot.

¶An other letter full of ſpirituall conſolation to the ſayd Lady.

Mark. 9.

THe mercy of God the father, and the conſolation of the holy ghoſt through IESVS CHRIST, be with you and ſtrength you my deare mother and ſiſter in the Lord in theſe daungerous daies, to the crowne of eternal glorye which is now offered to all faythfull ſouldiers in the Goſpell, Amen.

As your good Ladyſhip doth deſire to heare from me, ſo am I deſirous to wryte, as your gentlenes and dayly goodnes byndeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who enuying all good exerciſes which I haue had and receyued by myne eaſy impriſonment in times paſt, hath brought me out of the Kinges Bench into the Biſhop of Londons Colehouſe a darke & a vglie priſon as any is about London (but my darke body of ſinne hath well deſerued the ſame, & the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkenes that I might the more bee lightened by him, as he is moſt preſent with his childrē in ẏ midſt of darknes) where I cannot be ſuffred to haue any candle light, neyther inke, nor paper, but by ſtealth. wherfore I can not wryte to you as I would, neyther as my duty is. As CHRIST my Maſter was ſent from Annas to Caiphas, ſo am I ſent frō wincheſter dioces to Lōdon. I truſt to make a ſpedy ende of my courſe: God geue me grace and pacience to be a faithful folower of my maſter. I haue ben already this ſeuennight in this Colehouſe, and haue of late bene foure tymes called to myne aunſwere, but hitherto not called to iudgement, which I do dayly loke for, but I feare they will prolong me and trye mee by ſtrait impriſonment a whyle, in the which Gods will be done.

Pray (deare Lady) that my fayth faynt not, which I prayſe God is preſently more liuely with me then it hath bene in tymes paſt. I taſt and feele the faythfulnes of God in his promiſe, who hath promiſed to be with his in their trouble and to deliuer thē. I thanke the Lord, I am not alone but haue ſixe other faithfull companions: who in our darkenes do chearefull ſing hymmes and praiſes vnto God for his great goodnes. we are ſo ioyfull that I wiſh you part of my ioy. For you that are ſo carefull of my bodily reliefe, how can I but wiſh you ſpirituall conſolation & that aboundantly? Let not, deare hart, my ſtrait impriſonment any thing moleſt you: for it hath added and dayly doth, vnto my ioy: but rather be glad and thankfull vnto God with me, that it hath pleaſed him to make me moſt wretched ſinner, worthy to ſuffer any thing for his ſake. Hitherto we haue not reſiſted vnto bloud. God make vs neuer to count our bloud more precious in our eyes then his truth.

A perfect Chriſten man how he is knowne.

Rom. 8.

Ah my deare ſiſter, I thanke you agayne for your laſt letter you ſent me: it is a ſingular comfort vnto me as oft as I read ẏ ſame. I haue it in my boſome & wil cary the ſame euen to the ſtake with me in witnes that CHRIST hath ſo conſtant and faythfull a Lady in England. God ſuccour and kepe that ſpirit in you, for it is the very ſpirite of adoption of the chyld of God. Such chearfull and holy ſpirites vnder the croſſe be acceptable ſacrifices in the ſight of God: for CHRIST came to caſt fyer into the earth and loketh that it ſhould be kindled. Be you feruent in ſpirit in our CHRISTES cauſe as you haue begon, for that is the principall ſpirit wherewithall Dauid deſyred to be confirmed. O how I do reioiſe your Ladyſhip to go arme in arme with me vnto CHRIST, or rather before me. I can not but ioy of ſuch a worſhipfull felowe. Me thinketh I ſee you to mourne & deſyre to be looſed out of the earthly and frayle habitacle of this body. O how amiable and pleaſaunt is it to dwell in the Lords tabernacle? Our CHRIST and his heauenly company looke for vs: let vs haſt and runne therto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace vs. Myne own bowels in the Lord, be mery in ẏ lord with your afflicted brother, who dayly offreth your mercifull almes, which moſt vnworthely I do receiue ſtill of you, vnto the Lord. But nowe deare mother, you nede not to burden ſo much your ſelf, (as my laſt letters did ſignify) for that my chargable impriſonment is cut of, and a little now ſerueth me: wherefore I pray you ſend no more vntill I ſend to you, for I haue ſufficient and abound. Gods peace be wyth you for euer. Out of my Lorde of Londons Colehouſe the laſt of October.

The tyme of tribulation better for a Chriſtian, then the tyme of ioy.

Your owne Iohn Philpot.

¶An other letter of M. Philpot to the ſayd Lady wherein partly he complaineth of the diſſimulation & periurie of Engliſh men, falling again to the Pope, & partly he expreſſeth his ioy in his afflictions.

An other letter of Maſter Philpot.

I Cānot but ioy with you, my harty beloued in CHRIST, of the fall of Senacherib, ſince it is to the glory of God, and to the conſolation of his church, to ſee the fal of their enemies before their face, according as it is written: *The iuſt ſhall reioyce when he ſeeth the vengeaunce of the wicked.* God make this your ioy perfite: for as concerning my ſelfe, I count not to ſee thoſe good daies whereof you haue a glimmering, in this life. For although the Cokatrice be dead, yet his peſtilent Chickens, wyth the whoore of Babylō yet liueth. But a great hope there is of their ſhort cōmiſſion, becauſe God doth not proſper their doings according to their expectation. Moſt happieſt ſhall hee be, whom the Lord ſhall moſt ſooneſt take out of this lyfe, that he may not ſee the plagues, which the manifeſt periury, and the manifold idolatry and deteſtable diſſimulation, and that of ſuch as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

By this Senacharib, he meaneth the death of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

The Lord is iuſt, and all vnrighteouſnes diſpleaſeth him, and either here or els in an other world he wyll puniſh this groſſe infidelitie of the world: but his elect, and ſuch as he loueth, will he puniſhe here, that they ſhoulde not bee condemned hereafter with the world eternally. we haue nothing ſo much to reioyce in, as in the croſſe of IESV CHRIST, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earneſt penny of that eternall kyngdome, which hee vpon the croſſe for vs hath purchaſed. For as Paule his faithfull witnes ſaith: *If wee ſuffer wyth hym, we ſhall raygne wyth hym. If we dye wyth hym, we ſhall lyue wyth hym.*

wherfore, mine own deare bowels, prayſe God with me moſt intirely, that it hath pleaſed hym now mercifully to viſit the ſinnes of my youth, & my huge vnthankfulnes, and by the ſame doth geue mee ſuch conſolation, that he aſſureth me of his great goodnes and mercy, and turneth his fatherly caſtigatiō into my crowne of glory. O good God, what am I on whom he ſhould ſhew this great mercy? To him that is immortall, inuiſible, and onely wiſe, be all honor, praiſe & glory therefore, Amen.

He expreſſeth the great ioy which Gods priſoners fele in their ſufferinges.

This is the day that the lord hath made, let vs reioyce and be glad in the ſame. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth vnto eternall bliſſe. O how my hart leapeth for ioy, that I am ſo neare the apprehenſion thereof. God forgeue me myne vnthankefulnes, and vnworthines of ſo great glory. The ſwordes which pearced Maries hart in ẏ paſſion of our Sauiour, which daily alſo go through your faithfull hart, be more glorious, and to be deſired then the golden Scepters of this world. O bleſſed be they that mourne in this world to Godward, for they ſhall eternally be comforted. God make my ſtony hart to mourne more then it doth. I haue ſo much ioy of the reward that is prepared for me moſt wretched ſinner, that though I be in a place of darkenes and mourning, yet I cā not lament, but both night and day am ſo ioyfull, as though I were vnder no croſſe at all: yea in all the daies of my life I was neuer ſo mery, the name of the Lord bee prayſed therfore for euer and euer, and he pardon mine vnthankfulnes. Our enemies do freate, fume, and gnaſh their teeth to ſee and heare that we, vnder this greuous affliction in the world, can be ſo mery. we are of them counted as deſperate perſons, for the certaine hope and feeling which we haue of our euerlaſtyng ſaluation: and it is no maruell, for the worldly man can not perceiue the thinges of God, it is mere fooliſhnes and abomination to them.

Iohn Philpot neuer ſo mery in all his life before.

Be thankefull vnto our God myne owne deare helper, for his wonderous working in his choſen people. Pray inſtantly that this ioy be neuer taken from vs, for it paſſeth al the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which ſurmounteth al vnderſtanding: this peace the more his choſen be afflicted, the more they feele, and therefore can not faint, neither for fire neither for water. Let vs pray for our weake brethren and ſiſters ſake, that it may pleaſe God to alleuiate the greeuous and intolerable burden of theſe cruell daies. But touching our ſelues, let vs hartely beſech our Sauiour to vouchſafe to geue vs this glorious gift to ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, and that we may thinke the ſhame of the world to be our glory, as it is in deede. God increaſe our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for vs. I lacke nothing, prayſe be to God. I truſt my mariage garment is ready. I will ſend you my examinations as ſoone as I can get them written, if you be deſirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your mercifull hart with all ioye and conſolation of the hope to come. Out of the Colehouſe, the .xix. of Nouemb.

Your own louer Iohn Philpot.

¶A Letter of M.Philpot to a frend of his priſoner the ſame tyme in Newgate, wherin is debated and diſcuſſed the matter or queſtion of Infantes to be Baptiſed.

A letter of M. Philpot, ſtabliſhing a certeine brother in the matter of baptiſing of infantes.

THe God of all light and vnderſtanding lighten your hart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfite to the day of our Lord IESUS CHRIST, wherunto you are now called through the mighty operation of his holy ſpirit, Amen.

I receiued yeſternight from you deare brother S. and felow priſoner for the truth of CHRISTES Goſpell, a letter wherin you gently require my iudgement cōcernyng the Baptiſme of infantes, which is the effect therof. And before I do ſhew you what I haue learned out of Gods word and of his true and infallible church touchyng the ſame, I thinke it not out of the matter firſt to declare what viſion I had the ſame night whiles muſing on your letter I fell a ſleepe, knowyng that God doth not without cauſe reuele to his people, who haue their mindes fixed on him, ſpeciall and ſpirituall reuelations to their comfort, as a taſt of their ioy, & kingdome to come, which fleſh and bloud can not comprehend.

A viſion reueiled to M. Philpot, vpon a letter to be anſwered.

Beyng in the middeſt of my ſweet reſt, it ſemed me to ſee a great beautifull Citie all of the colour of Azer and white, foure ſquare in a marueilous beautifull compoſitiō in the middeſt of the ſkye, the ſight wherof ſo inwardly comforted me that I am not able to expreſſe the conſolation I had thereof, yea the remembraunce therof cauſeth as yet my harte to leape for ioy, and as charitie is no chorle but would others to be partakers of his delight, ſo me thought I called to others (I can not tell whom) and whiles they came and we together beheld the ſame, by and by to my great grief it vaded away.

The viſion expounded.

This dreame I thinke not to haue come of the illuſiō of the ſenſes, becauſe it brought with it ſo much ſpirituall ioy, and I take it to bee of the workyng of Gods ſpirite for the contētation of your requeſt, as he wrought in Peter to ſatiſfie Cornelius. Therfore I interprete this beautiful Citie to be the glorious Church of CHRIST, and the appearaunce of it in the ſkye ſignifieth the heauenly ſtate therof, whoſe cōuerſation is in heauen, and that accordyng to the primatiue Church which is now in heauen, men ought to meaſure and iudge the Church of CHRIST now in earth, for, as the Prophet Dauid ſayth, *The fundations therof be in the holy hilles, and glorious thynges be ſpoken of the Citie of God.* And the meruelous quadrature of the ſame, I take to ſignifie the vniuerſall agreement in the ſame, and that all the Church here militant ought to conſent to the primitiue Church throughout the foure partes of the world, as the Prophet affirmeth, ſaying: *God maketh vs to dwell after one maner in one houſe.* And that I conceiued ſo wonderfull ioy at the contemplation therof, I vnderſtand the vnſpeakeable ioy which they haue that be at vnitie with CHRISTES primitiue Church: For there is ioy in the holy Ghoſt and peace which paſſeth all vnderſtandyng, as it is written in the Pſalmes: *As of ioyfull perſons, is the dwellyng of all them that be in thee.* And that I called others to the fruitiō of this viſion and to behold this wonderfull Citie, I conſter it by the will of God this viſion to haue come vpō me, muſing on your letter, to the end that vnder this figure I might haue occaſion to moue you with many others to behold the primatiue Church in al your opinions concernyng faith, and to cōfirme your ſelfe in all pointes to the ſame, which is the piller and ſtabliſhment of truth, and teacheth the true vſe of the Sacramentes, and hauyng with a greater fulnes then we haue now the firſt fruites of the holy Ghoſt, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures accordyng to all veritie, euen as our Sauiour promiſed to ſed them an other comforter, which ſhoulde teach them all truth.

The primitiue example for vs to follow.

Pſal.67.

And ſince all truth was taught and reueled to the primatiue Churche which is our mother, let vs all that be obedient childrē of God ſubmit our ſelues to the iudgement of that Church for the better vnderſtandyng of the Articles of our faith and of the doubtfull ſentences of the Scripture. Let vs not go about to ſhew in vs by folowyng any priuate mans interpretation vpon the word, an other ſpirite then they of the primatiue Church had, leſt we deceaue our ſelues. For there is but one faith & one ſpirite, which is not contrary to him ſelfe, neither otherwiſe now teacheth vs then he did then. Therfore let vs beleue as they haue taught vs of the Scriptures, & be at peace with them, accordyng as the true catholicke church is at this day: and the God of peace aſſuredly will be with vs and deliuer vs out of all our worldly troubles and miſeries, and make vs partakers of their ioy and bliſſe through our obedience to fayth with them.

Therfore God commaundeth vs in Iob, to aſke of the elder generation and to ſearch diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yeſterdayes children and bee ignorant, & our dayes are lyke a ſhadow, and they ſhall teach thee (ſaith the Lord) and ſpeake to thee and ſhal vtter wordes from their hartes. And by Salomon we are commaunded, not to reiect the direction of our mother. The Lord graūt you to direct your ſteppes in all things after her, and to abhorre all contention with her. For as S.Paul writeth: *If any man be cōtētious, neither we neither the Church of God hath any ſuch cuſtome.*

Iob.8.

Pro.6.

1.Co

Hetherto I haue ſhewed you good brother S. my iudgement generally of that you ſtand in doubt and diſſent from others, to the which I wiſh you as mine own hart to be conformable, and then doubtles you can not erre, but boldly may be glad in your troubles and triumph at the houre of your death, that you ſhal dye in the Church of God a faithfull Martyr & receiue the crowne of eternall glory. And thus much haue I written vpon the occaſion of a viſion before God vnfained. But that you may not thinke, that I go about to ſatiſfie you with vncerteine viſions onely & not after Gods word, I will take the ground of your letter & ſpecially anſwere to the ſame by the Scriptures and by vnfallible reaſons deduced out of the ſame, and proue the Baptiſme of Infants to be lawfull, commendable, and neceſſary, whereof you ſeeme to ſtand in doubt.

Prooft
teſtimonies and
ſcripture

In dede if you looke vpon the Papiſticall Synagoge onely, which hath corrupted Gods word by falſe interpretations, and hath peruerted the true vſe of CHRISTES Sacraments, you might ſeeme to haue good handfaſt of your opinion agaynſt the Baptiſme of Infātes. But foraſmuch as it is of more antiquitie, and hath his begynnyng from Gods word and frō the vſe of the primatiue Church, it muſt not in reſpect of the abuſe in the Popiſhe church, be neglected, or thought not expedient to be vſed in CHRISTES Church. Auxentius one of the Arrians ſect with his adherentes, was one of the firſt that denied the Baptiſme of children, and next after him Pelagius the hereticke, & ſome other there were in S. Bernardes time, as it doth appeare by his writynges, and in our dayes the Anabaptiſtes, an inordinate kynd of men ſtirred vp by the deuill to the deſtruction of the Goſpell. But the Catholicke truth deliuered vnto vs by the Scriptures plainly determineth, that all ſuch are to be Baptiſed, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of ſāctificatiō or remiſſion of their ſinnes. Therefore ſince that Infantes bee in the nomber or ſcrole of Gods people, and be partakers of the promiſe by their purification in CHRIST, it muſt nedes folow therby, that they ought to be Baptiſed, as well as thoſe that cā profeſſe their faith. For we iudge the people of God as well by the free and liberall promiſe of God, as by the confeſſion of faith. For to whom ſoeuer God promiſeth hym ſelfe to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, thoſe no mā without great impietie may exclude frō the nomber of the faithfull. But God promiſeth that he will not onely be the God of ſuch as do profeſſe him, but alſo of Infātes: promiſing them his grace & remiſſion of ſinnes, as it appeareth by the wordes of the couenaunt made vnto Abraham: *I will ſet my couenaunt betwene thee and me* (ſayth the Lorde) *and betwene thy ſeede after thee, in theyr generations, with an euerlaſtyng couenaunt, to be thy God and the God of thy ſeede after thee.* To the which couenaunt circumciſiō was added to be a ſigne of ſāctificatiō aſwell in children as in men, and no man may thinke that this promiſe is abrogated with circumciſion & other ceremoniall lawes. For CHRIST came to fulfyll the promiſes, and not to diſſolue them. Therefore in the Goſpell he ſayth of Infantes, that is, of ſuch as yet beleued not: *Let the lytle ones come vnto me and forbyd them not, for of ſuch is the kingdome of heauen.* Agayne: *It is not the wyll of your Father whych is in heauen, that any of theſe lytle ones do peryſh.* Alſo: *He that receaueth one ſuch lyttle Chylde in my name, receaueth mee. Take heede therefore that ye deſpyſe not one of theſe Babes, for I tell you, theyr Angels do continually ſee in heauen my fathers face.*

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Gene.17.

Math.5.

Mat.10.

Mat.19.

Math.18.

And what may be ſayd more plainer then this: It is not yͤ will of yͤ heauēly father, that yͤ Infantes ſhould periſh: whereby we may gather that hee receyueth them freely vnto this grace, although as yet they confeſſe not theyr faith. Since then that the word of the promiſe which is contained in Baptiſme, pertaineth as well to children as to mē, why ſhould the ſigne of the promiſe which is baptiſme in water, bee withdrawen from Children, when *CHRIST* him ſelfe commaundeth them to bee receiued of vs, and promiſeth the reward of a Prophet to thoſe that receiue ſuch a lytle Infant as he for an example dyd put before hys Diſciples.

Now will I proue wyth manifeſt argumentes that children ought to bee baptiſed, and that the Apoſtles of *CHRIST* did baptiſe children. The Lorde commaunded his Apoſtels to baptiſe all nations: therefore alſo Children ought to be baptiſed, for they are comprehended vnder this word all nations.

Further, whom God doth accompt among the faythfull, they are faythfull, for it was ſayd to Peter, *that thyng which God hath purified, thou ſhalt not ſay to be cōmō or vncleane:* But God doth repute Childrē among the faythful: Ergo they be faithfull, except we had leaue to reſiſt God, and ſeeme ſtronger and wyſer then he.

And wythout all doubt the Apoſtles baptiſed thoſe which *CHRIST* commaunded: But he commaunded the faithfull to bee baptiſed, among the which Infantes bee reckoned: The Apoſtles then baptiſed Infants.

The Goſpel is more then Baptiſme, for Paul ſaid: *The Lord ſent me to preach the Goſpell, and not to baptiſe:* not that he denyed abſolutely that he was ſent to baptiſe, but that he preferred doctrine before Baptiſme, for the Lord commaunded both to yͤ Apoſtles: But Childrē be receiued by yͤ doctrine of the Goſpel of God, & not refuſed: Therfore what perſon being of reaſon, may deny them Baptiſme, which is a thing leſſer then the Goſpell? For in the Sacramentes be two thinges to be conſidered, the thyng ſignified and the ſigne, and the thing ſignified is greater then the ſigne, and from the thing ſignified in Baptiſme Children are not excluded: who therefore may deny them the ſigne, which is Baptiſme in water?

S.Peter could not deny them to bee baptiſed in water to whom he ſaw the holy Ghoſt geuen, which is the certaine ſigne of Gods people: for he ſayth in the Actes: *May any body forbyd them to be baptiſed in water, who haue receaued the holy Ghoſt as well as we?* Therefore S. Peter denied not Baptiſme to Infants, for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of *CHRIST*, and by the couenaunt which is euerlaſting, that yͤ kyngdom of heauē pertained to Infants:

None be receiued into the kingdome of heauen but ſuch as God loueth, and which are endued wyth hys ſpirite, for who ſo hath not the ſpirite of God, he is none of his: But Infants be beloued of God, and therefore want not the ſpirite of God: wherefore if they haue the ſpirite of God as well as men, if they be numbred amōg the people of God, as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withſtād childrē to be baptiſed wyth water in the name of the Lord?

The Apoſtels in times paſt being yet not ſufficiently inſtructed, dyd murmure agaynſt thoſe which brought theyr Children vnto yͤ Lord, but the Lord rebuked thē & ſayd: *Let the Babes come vnto me.* Why then doe not theſe rebellious Anabaptiſtes obey the commaundemēt of the Lord? For what do they now a daies els that bring their Children to Baptiſme, then that they did in tymes paſt which brought theyr children to the Lord, and our Lorde receiued them, and putting his handes on them, bleſſed them, & both by wordes & by gentle behauiour towards them, declared manifeſtly that Children be the people of God, and intierly beloued of God. But ſome wyll ſay, why then did not *CHRIST* baptiſe thē: Becauſe it is written: *IESVS* himſelfe baptiſed not but his diſciples.

Moreouer, Circumciſion in the olde lawe was miniſtred to Infants: therefore Baptiſme ought to bee miniſtred in the new lawe vnto Children. For Baptiſme is come in the ſteede of Circumciſion, as S.Paule witneſſeth ſaying to the Colloſſians: *By CHRIST ye are circumciſed wyth a circumciſion which is wythout hands, when ye put of the body of ſinne of the fleſh, by the circumciſion of CHRIST, being buryed together wyth hym through Baptiſme.* Behold, Paule calleth Baptiſme the Circūciſion of a Chriſtian man, which is done without handes, not that water may bee miniſtred without handes, but that with handes no man any longer ought to be circumciſed, albeit yͤ myſtery of Circumciſion do ſtill remaine in faithfull people.

Ioſua.5.

To this I may adde that the ſeruantes of God were alwaies ready to miniſter the Sacraments to them, for whom they were inſtituted. As for an example, we may behold Ioſue, who moſt diligently procured the people of Iſraell to be circumciſed before they entred into the land of promiſe: but ſince the Apoſtels were the Preachers of the worde and the very faithfull Seruantes of *IESVS CHRIST*, who may hereafter doubt that they baptiſed Infants, ſithen Baptiſme is in place of Circumciſion?

Another reaſon.

Item the Apoſtles did attemperate all their doinges to the ſhadowes and figures of the old Teſtament: therfore it is certain that they did attemperate Baptiſme accordinly to Circumciſion, and baptiſed Children, becauſe they were vnder the figure of Baptiſme: for the people of Iſraell paſſed through the read ſea and the bottome of the water of Iordane with their Childrē. And although the Children be not alwaies expreſſed, neither the women in the holy ſcriptures, yet they are comprehended & vnderſtand in the ſame.

An other reaſon.

Alſo the Scripture euidently telleth vs that the Apoſtles baptiſed whole families or houſeholdes: But the Children be comprehended in a family or a houſehold, as the chiefeſt and deareſt part thereof: Therefore we may conclude, that the Apoſtels did baptiſe Infants or Children, and not onely men of lawfull age. And that the houſe or houſehould is taken for man, womā & Childe, it is manifeſt in the .xvij. of Geneſis, and alſo in that Ioſeph doth call Iacob with all his houſe to come out of the land of Chanaan into Egipt.

Argumentes of example, and Antiquitie.

Origen who was 200. yeares after Chriſt.

S.Auſten & S.Ierome 400. after Chriſt.

Verba Iohannis Conſtātinopol. διὰ τοῦτο χαὶ τα παιδια βαπτίζομεν χαὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ουχ ἔχοντα.

Cyprian 250. after Chriſt.

Auguſt. contra donatiſtas.

Cyrillus.

Finally, I can declare out of aūcient writers, that the baptiſme of Infants hath continued from the Apoſtles tyme vnto ours, neither that it was inſtituted by any Councels, neither of the Pope, or of other men, but commended from the ſcripture by the Apoſtles them ſelues. Origen vpon the declaration of S.Paules Epiſtles to the Romaines, expounding the ſixt chapter, ſayth: *That the Church of CHRIST receaued the baptiſme of Infants from the very Apoſtles.* S. Hierome maketh mention of the Baptiſme of Infants in the third booke againſt the Pelagians, and in his Epiſtle vnto *Leta*. S. Auſten reciteth for this purpoſe a place out of Iohn biſhop of Conſtantinople in hys firſt booke againſt Iulian. cap.2. and he againe writing to S.Hierom, epiſt.28. ſaith: *That S Cyprian not making any newe decree, but firmly obſeruing the faith of the church, iudged wyth his fellow byſhops that as ſoone as one was borne, he might be lawfully baptiſed.* The place of Cyprian is to be ſeene in his Epiſtle to Fidus.

Alſo S.Auſtine writing againſt the Donatiſtes in the .4. booke, cap.23. and .24. ſaith that the baptiſme of Infantes was not deriued frō yͤ authority of mē, neither of Councels, but from the tradition or doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Cyrill vpon Leuiticus, cap.8. approueth the baptiſme of Children, and condemneth the iteration of Baptiſme. Theſe authorities of men I do alledge, not to tie the baptiſme of Childrē vnto yͤ teſtimonies of mē, but to ſhew how mens teſtimonies do agree with Gods word, and that the veritie of antiquitie is on our ſide, and that the Anabaptiſtes haue nothing but lyes for them, and newe imaginations which fayne the baptiſme of children to be the Popes commaundement.

After this will I anſwer to yͤ ſūme of your argumēts for the contrary. The firſt which includeth all the reſt, is, It is written: *Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidinges to all creatures. He that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued: but he that beleueth not, ſhall be damned. &c.*

Math.18.

To this I aunſwere that nothyng is added to Gods worde by the Baptiſme of children as you pretend, but that is done which the ſame worde doth require, for that children are accounted of *CHRIST* in the Goſpell among the nomber of ſuch as do beleue, as it appeareth by theſe wordes: *He that offendeth one of theſe litle babes which beleue in me, it were better for hym to haue a mylſtone tyed about hys necke & to be caſt into the bottom of the Sea.* Where plainly *CHRIST* calleth ſuch as be not able to cōfeſſe their faith, beleuers: becauſe of his mere grace he reputeth them for beleuers. And this is no wonder ſo to be taken, ſithen God imputeth fayth for righteouſnes vnto men that be of a ryper age: for both in men and children righteouſnes, acceptation, or ſāctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of Gods grace might be prayſed.

Righteouſnes & acceptation, is only by imputation, and mere grace.

1.Cor.7.

And that the children of faithfull parentes are ſanctified, and among ſuch as do beleue, is apparent in the .1. Cor.7. And where as you do gather by the order of the wordes in the ſayd commaūdement of *CHRIST*, that children ought to be taught before they be Baptiſed, and to this end you alledge many places out of the Actes prouyng that ſuch as confeſſed their faith firſt, were Baptiſed after: I aunſwere that if the order of wordes might way any thyng in this cauſe, we haue in the Scripture that maketh as wel for vs. For in *S. Marke we read, that Iohn did Baptiſe in yͤ deſert preaching Baptiſme of repẽtaunce. In the which place we ſee Baptiſyng go before and preachyng to folow. And alſo I will declare this place of Mathew exactly conſidered, to make for the vſe of Baptiſme in children, for S. Mathew hath it writtẽ in this wiſe: *All power is geuen me* (ſayth the Lord) *in heauen and in earth*, therfore goyng forth, μαθητεύσατε, that is, *Diſciple ye* (as I may expreſſe the ſignification of the word) that is, make or gather to me Diſciples of all nations. And followyng hee declareth the way how they ſhould gather to him Diſciples out of all nations, *baptyſing them and teachyng*: by Baptiſing & teachyng, ye ſhall procure a church to me. And both theſe aptely and briefly ſeuerally he ſetteth forth, ſaying: *Baptiſing them in the name of the father and the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt, teachyng them to obſerue all thynges what ſoeuer I haue commaunded you.* Now then Baptiſme goeth before doctrine.

*Marke.1.

Math.28.

The place of *Mathew.28.* [he that beleueth and is Baptiſed] opened.

But hereby I do not gather that the Gentiles which neuer heard any thing before of God, and of the ſonne of God, & of the holy Ghoſt, ought to be Baptiſed, neither they would permitte them ſelues to bee Baptiſed before they knew to what end. But this I haue declared to ſhew you, vppon how feble foundation the Anabaptiſtes bee grounded. And plainely it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did onely commaunde ſuch to be Baptiſed whom the Apoſtles had firſt of all taught: Neither here verely is ſignified who onely be to be Baptiſed, but he ſpeaketh of ſuch as be of perfite age, and of the firſt fundations of faith, and of the Church to be planted among the Gentiles which were as yet rude and ignoraunt of Religion.

Such as be of age may heare, beleue, & confeſſe that is preached and taught, but ſo can not infantes: therfore we may iuſtly collect that hee ſpeaketh here nothyng of infantes or children. But for all this they be not to be excluded from Baptiſme.

It is a generall rule: *He that doth not labour muſt not eate*, But who is ſo barbarous that might thinke hereby that children ſhould be famiſhed?

The Lord ſent his Apoſtles at yͤ begynnyng of yͤ ſettyng vp his true Religion vnto all nations, vnto ſuch as were both ignoraunt of God and were out of yͤ couenaunt of God, & truly ſuch perſõs it behoued not firſt to bee Baptiſed and afterward taught, but firſt to bee taught and after Baptiſed. If at this day we ſhould go to the Turkes to conuert them to the fayth of CHRIST, verely firſt we ought to teach them, and afterward Baptiſe ſuch as would yeld to be yͤ ſeruauntes of CHRIST. Likewiſe the Lord him ſelfe in tymes paſt did when firſt hee renewed the couenaunt with Abraham and ordained circumciſion to be a ſeale of the couenaunt after that Abraham was circumciſed. But he when he perceiued the infantes alſo to pertaine to the couenaũt and that circumciſion was the ſealyng vppe of the couenaunt, did not onely circumciſe Iſmael his ſonne that was xiij. yeares of age, but all other infãtes that were borne in his houſe, among whom we recken Iſaac.

In the firſt conuerting of infidels, beleuing ought to go before baptiſing. But where fayth is receiued: gods grace and Sacramentes go not by age, but as well be children of the faythfull receaued as the fathers.

Euen ſo faithfull people which were conuerted from heathen idolatrie by the preachyng of the Goſpell, and confeſſyng the fayth, were Baptiſed, when they vnderſtode their children to be counted amõg the people of God, & that Baptiſme was the tokẽ of yͤ people of God, they procured alſo their childrẽ to be Baptiſed. Therfore as it is writtẽ: *Abrahã circũciſed al the male childrẽ of his houſe.* Semblably we read in the Actes & writynges of the Apoſtles that after the maſter of the houſe was turned to the faith, all the whole houſe was Baptiſed. And as concernyng thoſe which of old tyme were cõpelled to cõfeſſe their faith before they receiued Baptiſme, which were called Cathecumeni, they were ſuch as with our forefathers came frõ the Gẽtiles to the Church, whom beyng yet rude of fayth they did inſtruct in yͤ principles of theyr beleſe, & afterward they dyd Baptiſe them: but the ſame auncient fathers notwithſtandyng dyd Baptiſe the children of faithfull men, as I haue already partly declared.

Why children of chriſten parentes be receaued to baptiſme.

Cathecumeni is as much to ſay as young Nouecies and beginners in Chriſtes faith.

And becauſe you do require a haſty aunſwere of your letter of one that is but a dul writer, I am here inforced to ceaſſe particularly to go through your letter in aunſweryng therto, knowyng that I haue fully aunſwered euery part therof in that I haue already writtẽ, although not in ſuch order as it had ben meete, & as I purpoſed. But for as much as I vnderſtand that you will be no contentious man neither in this matter neither in any other, contrary to the iudgement of CHRISTES true primatiue church, which is the body and fulnes of CHRIST, I deſire you in the entire loue of him, or rather CHRIST deſireth you by me (that your ioy may be perfite, wherto you are now called) to ſubmit your iudgement to that Church, and to be at peace and vnity with the ſame, that the coate of CHRIST which ought to bee without ſeame, but now alas moſt miſerably is torne in peeces by many daungerous ſectes and damnable opinions, may appeare by you in no part to haue bene rented, neither that any gyddy head in theſe dog dayes might take an exãple by you to diſſent from CHRISTES true Church. I beſech thee deare brother in the Goſpel, folow yͤ ſteps of yͤ fayth of the glorious Martyrs in the primatiue Church, and of ſuch as at this day follow the ſame: decline not from them neither to the right hand neither to the left. Then ſhall death be it neuer ſo bitter, be more ſweter then this life: then ſhall CHRIST withall the heauenly Hieruſalem triumphantly embrace your ſpirit with vnſpeakable gladnes and exaltation, who in this earth was content to ioyne your ſpirite with their ſpirites, accordyng as it is cõmaũded by yͤ word, that yͤ ſpirite of Prophets ſhould be ſubiect to yͤ Prophets. One thing aſke with Dauid ere you departe, and require the ſame, that you may dwell with a ful accord in his houſe, for there is glory and worſhyp: & ſo with Symeon in the temple embraſing CHRIST, depart in peace: to the which peace CHRIST bryng both you and me and all our louyng brethren that loue God in the vnity of fayth, by ſuch wayes as ſhall pleaſe hym, to hys glory. Let the bitter paſſion of CHRIST which hee ſuffred for your ſake, and the horrible tormentes which the godly Martyrs of CHRIST haue endured before vs, & alſo yͤ ineſtimable reward of your life to come, which is hydden yet a litle while from you with CHRIST, ſtrenthen comfort and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, Amen.

1. Cor. 14.

Concernyng the partie to whom this letter was written, note that he was conuerted and afterward died in the ſame fayth, as this letter did perſuade him.

Your yoke felow in captiuitie for the veritie
of CHRISTES Goſpell to lyue and dye with
you in the vnitie of faith, Iohn Philpot.

¶ AN. 1556.

The ſtory of ſeuen Martyrs ſufferyng together at London for the lyke teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell.

An. 1556. Ianuary.

THe Catholicke Prelates of the Popes band beyng as yet not ſatiſfied wt this their one yeares bloudy murderyng of the reuerend, learned, and principall members of CHRISTES Church, (whereof there were now very few, which either were not conſumed by moſt cruell fire, or els for the auoydyng of their Popiſh rage compelled to flye their naturall coũtrey) cõtinued ſtill this next yeare alſo, which was an. 1556. in no leſſe cruelty towards yͤ more ſimple and inferiour ſorte of people (I meane in degrée, though God be praiſed, not in ſtedfaſtnes) hauing yet ſometimes amongeſt them ſuch as were both learned and of good eſtimation, as in continuaunce of of this hiſtory ſhall appeare.

Wherfore (as the firſt frutes therof) to begyn this yeare withall: about the xxvij. day of Ianuary were burned in Smithfield at London, theſe ſeuen perſons hereafter folowyng, to wytte.

Thomas Wittle, *Prieſt*.
Barthelet Grene, *Gentleman*.
Iohn Tudſon, *Artificer*.
Iohn Went, *Artificer*.
Thomas Browne.
Iſabell Foſter, *wife*.
Ioane Warren, *alias* Laſhford, *Mayd*.

Seuen godly Martyrs ſuffering together in Smithfield. An. 1556 Ianuary. 27.

All which vij. as they were burned together in one fire, ſo were they likewiſe all vppon one ſort and forme of Articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, for as much as the giftes of God in them were diuerſe (ſome more aboundyng in knowledge then others) their dealyngs withall were alſo diuers, as ſhalbe more playnly perceiued in the diſcourſing of their ſeuerall proceſſes hereafter folowing. And therfore for yͤ better vnderſtãdyng hereof, I will firſt (by yͤ leaue of yͤ Lord) paſſing ouer their priuate Articles & examinations had at ſondry times in yͤ Biſhops houſe, ſet forth their generall examinations in the publicke Cõſiſtory vpõ the Byſhops

Articles there miniſtred vnto them, with their aunſweres alſo vnto the ſame, according as they all agreed after one maner and ſorte together, as here by the wordes both of the Articles and their aunſweres vnder written may appeare.

¶The forme and wordes of Boners Articles miniſtred to the ſeuen perſons aboue mentioned in his Conſiſtory.

AND firſt to behold ẏ maner of ſpeech in theſe Byſhops, ſittyng in there Maieſtie to terrifie ẏ eares of the ſimple withall, let vs heare the pontificall phraſe of this Byſhops begynnyng in this ſorte.

The within written Articles, and euery of them and euery part and parcell of them, we Edmund *by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of London, doe obiect & miniſter to thee* Tho. Whittle *&c. of our mere office, for thy ſoule health and reformation of thine offenſes and miſdemeanors, moniſhyng thee in the vertue of obedience, and vnder the paynes both of the cenſures of the Church, and alſo of other paynes of the law, to aunſwere fully, playnly, and truly to all the ſame.*

1. FIrſt, that thou N. haſt firmely, ſtedfaſtly, and conſtantly beleued in times paſt and ſo doeſt now beleue at this preſent that there is here in earth a Catholicke Church, in the which Catholicke Church, the faith and Religion of CHRIST is truly profeſſed, allowed, receiued, kept, and reteined of all faithfull & true Chriſten people.

2. Item, that thou the ſayd N. in times paſt, haſt alſo beleued, and ſo doeſt beleue at this preſent, that there are in the ſayd Catholicke Church ſeuen Sacraments, inſtituted and ordeined by God, and by the conſent of the holy Church allowed, approued, receiued, kept, and reteined.

7. Sacramentes.

3 Item, that thou the ſayd N. waſt in times paſt baptiſed in the faith of the ſaid catholicke church, profeſſing by thy Godfathers and Godmothers the faith and religion of CHRIST, and the obſeruation thereof, renouncing there the deuill and al his pompes and works, and waſt by the ſaid ſacrament of Baptiſme incorporate to the catholicke church, and made a faithfull member thereof.

The godfathers fayth.

4 Item, that thou the ſaid N. comming to the age of. 14 yeares, and ſo to the age of diſcretion, dyddeſt not depart from thy ſaid profeſſiō, and faith, nor diddeſt miſlike any part of the ſame faith or doings, but diddeſt like a faythfull chriſtian perſon abide and continue in al the ſame by the ſpace of certaine yeares, ratifying and confirming all the ſame.

5 Item that thou the ſaid N. notwithſtanding the premiſſes, haſt of late, that is to ſay, within theſe two yeres laſt paſt, within the City and Dioces of London, ſwarued at the leaſt way from ſome part of the ſaid catholicke faith and religion: and among other thinges, thou haſt miſliked and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the ſacrament of the aultar, and the vnitie of the church, railing and maligning on the authority of the ſea of Rome, and the faith obſerued in the ſame.

Sacrifice of maſſe.

6 Item, that thou the ſaid N. haſt heretofore refuſed, and doeſt refuſe at this preſent to be reconciled againe to the vnitie of the church, knowledging and confeſſing the authoritie of the ſaid ſea of Rome to be lawfull.

Sea of Rome.

7 Item, that thou the ſayd N. miſliking the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and the ſacrament of the aultar, haſt refuſed to come to thy pariſh church to heare Maſſe, and to receiue the ſayd Sacrament, and haſt alſo expreſſely ſayd that in the ſaid Sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and bloud of our Sauiour CHRIST, really, ſubſtantially, and truly, but haſt affirmed expreſſely that the maſſe is idolatry and abomination, and that in the ſacrament of the aultar there is none other ſubſtance, but only materiall bread, and materiall wyne, which are tokens of CHRISTES body and bloud onely, and that the ſubſtaunce of CHRISTES body and bloud, is in no wyſe in the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar.

Sacrament of the altar.

8 Item, that thou the ſayd N. beyng conuented before certain Iudges or Commiſſioners, for thy diſorder herein, and being found obſtinate, wilfull, and heady, waſt by their commaundement ſent vnto me and my priſon, to be examined by me, and proceſſe to be made againſt thee for thy offence herein.

9 Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes haue bene, and be true and manifeſt, and thy ſelfe not onely infamed and ſuſpected thereof, but alſo culpable therein: and by reaſon of the ſame thou waſt and art of the iuriſdiction of me Edmond Biſhop of London, and before me accordingly to the order of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, art to bee conuented, and alſo by me to be puniſhed and reformed.

¶Here follow likewiſe their aunſwers in a generall, made to the articles aboue rehearſed.

¶And firſt concerning the firſt article in beleuing there is a Catholicke church.

TO ẏ firſt article they all together agreeing, affyrmed the ſame to be true: Iohn Tudſon and Thomas Browne farther adding, that the Church of England as it was at that preſent vſed, was no part of the true Catholicke Church.

Anſwere to the firſt Article.

¶Concerning the ſecond article, that there be in ẏ church ſeuen Sacramentes.

To ẏ ſecond article they anſwered, that they acknowledged but onely two Sacramentes in CHRISTES catholicke church, that is to ſay, baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord: Iohn Went and Tudſon affirming that the Sacrament of the aultar, as it is vſed, is an Idoll and no Sacrament at all.

To the 2. Article.

¶Concerning the third article, that they were firſt baptiſed in the fayth of the Catholicke church, profeſſing by their godfathers the profeſſion of the ſame. &c.

To the third article they agreed and confeſſed all to be true, that they were baptiſed in the fayth of CHRIST and of the Church, then taught: and afterward during the tyme of K. Edward the ſixt, they hearing the Goſpell preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of Religion and Doctrine then vſed and ſet forth in the reigne of the ſayd King Edward the ſixt.

To the 3. Article.

¶Concerning the fourth article, that they for the ſpace of certayne yeares did ratify or allow, & not depart from any part of the profeſſion of the ſame Church.

To this fourth article they graūted alſo & agreed: Iohn Went adding moreouer that about ſeuen yeares paſt, he then being about twenty yeares of age, began to miſlike certayne thinges vſed in the Church of England as the miniſtration of the Sacrament of the altar: likewyſe all the ceremonies of the ſayd Church, and dyd likewiſe at that preſent tyme miſlyke the ſame, as they were vſed, although his Godfathers and Godmothers promiſed for him the contrary.

To the 4. Article.

Iohn Tudſon added alſo in much like ſort and ſayd, that when hee came to the yeares of diſcretion, that is, about. ix. yeares paſt, being about. xviij. yeares of age, hee did miſlyke the doctrine and religion then taught and ſette forth in the church of England, ſauing in King Edwardes tyme, in whoſe tyme the Goſpel was truely ſet foorth: and farther ſayd that the doctrin ſet forth in the Quenes reigne was not agreeable to Gods word, nor yet to the true catholicke Church that CHRIST ſpeaketh of. &c.

The fayth which they were Baptiſed in, was in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, beleuing the Articles of the Crede, with promiſe made to abrenounce the Deuill, the fleſh, and the world: of the which fayth their godfathers and godmothers were ſuerties for them, and in this fayth they continue ſtill. As for other ceremonies & abuſes of the church, they neuer made any promiſe in their Baptiſme.

Iſabell Foſter with other graunted, adding likewiſe and ſaying to the ſaid foure articles, that ſhe continued in the ſame fayth and religion which ſhe was baptiſed in, after ſhe came to the yeares of diſcreation, as other cōmon people did, howbeit blyndly & without knowledge, till the reigne of king Edward the ſixt: at which tyme ſhe hearing the Goſpell truely preached and opened to the people, receiued thereupon the faith and religion then taught and ſet forth. &c.

¶Concerning the fift article, that they of late yeares haue ſwarued and gone away, miſlyked, and ſpoken againſt the profeſſion of the ſame church, at leaſt ſome part thereof, eſpecially the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the ſacrament of the aultar, and the authority of ẏ Church of Rome.

To the fift article they aunſwered the ſame to bee true according to the contentes thereof: Thomas Whittell adding moreouer, that hee had ſwarued and gone away, not in whole, but in part, not from the whole Catholicke church, but from the Church of Rome in ſpeaking againſt the Maſſe, the ſacrifice thereof, and the ſea of Rome.

To ſwarue from the corruptions of the ſea of Rome, and ſacrifice of the maſſe is not to go from the Catholicke church of Chriſt.

Ione Laſhford (alias Ione Warne) graunting with the other the ſayd article, addeth moreouer, that ſhee neuer hetherto ſwarued or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of *CHRISTES* catholicke fayth and religion: but ſaith that from the tyme ſhe was .xi. yeares of age, ſhe hath miſlyked the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the Sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the ſea of Rome with the doctrine thereof, becauſe they be agaynſt *CHRISTES* catholicke church and the right fayth of the ſame.

Bartlet Grene aunſwering wyth the other to thys article addeth and ſayth, that hee ſwarueth not from the Catholicke fayth but onely from the Church of Rome. &c.

To the 6. article.

Concerning the ſixt Article, that they refuſe to bee reconciled to the vnity of the ſayd church of Rome.

To the ſixt Article they aunſwere and confeſſe the ſame to be true, rendring the cauſe therof, becauſe (ſay they) the ſame church and doctrine therin ſet forth and taught, diſagreeth from the vnity of *CHRISTES* word, and the true catholicke fayth. &c.

The Catholicke church, and the church of Rome are 2. thynges.

Whereunto Bartlet Grene added that he is contented to be reconciled to the vnity of *CHRISTES* catholicke church, but not of the church of Rome.

In the lyke maner added alſo Iohn Went.

To the 7. article.

Concerning the .vij. article, that they refuſe to come to heare maſſe, and to receaue the ſaid Sacrament calling it an Idoll. &c.

To the .vij. article they aunſwere and confeſſe the contentes thereof to be true, geuing withall the reaſon and cauſe of this their ſo doing, for that the Maſſe with the ſacrament thereof, as was then vſed and ſet forth in the church of England, is diſſonant to the word and teaching of the Goſpell.

The Maſſe diſſonant from the word of the Goſpell.

The Maſſe full of idolatrie.

Iohn Went repenteth his geing to maſſe.

Iohn Went furthermore ſayd, as concerning the Maſſe, that he beleueth no leſſe: but the Maſſe which he calleth the Supper of ẏ Lord, as it is now vſed in ẏ Realme of England, is nought, full of Idolatry, and agaynſt Gods word, ſo farre as he ſeeth it: howbeit, he ſayd that ſince the Queenes coronation, by chaunce he hath bene preſent, where the Maſſe hath bene ſayd, wherof he is ſory.

Iſabell Foſter alſo aunſwering to the ſayd articles with the other before, confeſſed moreouer that ſince Queene Maries reigne ſhe hath not heard Maſſe, nor receaued the Sacrament, but hath refuſed to come in place where it was miniſtred: for ſhe knoweth no ſuch ſacrament to be. And being demaunded of her beleife in the ſame, ſhe ſaith, that there is but only materiall bread and materiall wyne, and not the ſubſtaunce reall of the body of *CHRIST* in ẏ ſame ſacrament: For ſo ſhee hath bene taught to beleue by the preachers in the tyme of king Edward, whom ſhe beleueth to haue preached the truth in that behalfe.

To the 8. article.

Concerning the .viij. article, that they were ſent by the Cōmiſſioners to the Biſhop to be examined and impriſoned.

To the .viij. article they graunt the ſame and the contentes thereof to be ſo.

Thomas Whittle adding & affirming that ẏ Lorde Chauncellour that then was, ſent hym vp to the byſhop there preſent.

Bartlet Grene added, that hee was ſent vp to the ſayd Byſhop, but for no offence herein articulate.

Iohn Went ſaid that Doct. Story Queene Maries Commiſſioner examined hym vpon the Sacrament, and becauſe he denyed the reall preſence he preſented this Examinate to the Biſhop.

Iohn Tudſon lykewyſe examined by M. Cholmly and Doct. Story vpon the ſame matters and for not cōming to the church, and accuſed by the ſame, becauſe he would not agree to them, was ſent to the byſhop.

Thomas Browne alſo ſayd, that he, for not cōming to the Church of S. Brides, was brought by the Conſtable to the biſhop. &c.

Of thys *Ioane Warne*, read before pag. 1878.

Ioane Warne cōfeſſed that ſhe was ſent by D. Story to the biſhop of London, about .xij. weekes ago, ſince which tyme ſhe hath continued wyth the ſayd biſhop.

To the 9. article.

Concerning the .ix. article.

To the .ix. article they confeſſe and ſay, that as they beleue the premiſſes before by them confeſſed to bee true: ſo they deny not the ſame to be manifeſt, and that they be of the iuriſdiction of London.

And thus hauyng expreſſed their articles, with their aunſwers ioyntly made vnto the ſame, yet remayneth further more fully now to diſcourſe the ſtories & handlyng of all the .vij. foreſaid Martyrs ſeuerally & particularly by thē ſelues, firſt beginning with Tho. Whittell.

The hiſtory of all theſe 7. Martyrs particurlarly deſcribed in order here foloweth, and firſt of Tho. Whittell, who firſt recanting, then returning againe with great cōſtancie & fortitude, ſtoode to the defence of Chriſtes doctrine againſt the Papiſtes, to the fire.

Thomas Whittell, Martyr.

IN the ſtory of M. Philpot mention was made before, pag. 1963. of a maried Prieſt, whom he found in the Colehouſe at hys firſt cōming thither, in heauines of mind & great ſorrow for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in K. Edwardes dayes, whoſe name was Thomas Whittel of Eſſex: and thus lyeth hys ſtory. Thys Thomas Whittell after he had bene expulſed from the place in Eſſex where he ſerued, went abroad where he myght, now here & there as occaſion was miniſtred, preaching and ſowing the Goſpell of *CHRIST*. At length being apprehended by one Edmond Alabaſter, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miſerably gaped after, he was brought firſt as priſoner before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who then was fallen lately ſicke of hys diſeaſe, whereof not long after he dyed moſt ſtraūgely. But the apprehender for his profered ſeruice was highly checked and rated of the biſhop, aſkyng if there were no man vnto whom he myght bring ſuch Raſcals, but to hym? Hence (quoth he) out of my ſight thou varlet: what doeſt thou trouble me with ſuch matters? The greedy Cormorant being thus defeated of hys deſired pray, yet thinking to ſeeke and to hunt further, caryed his priſoner to ẏ biſhop of London, wyth whō what an euill meſſe of hādling this Whittell had, & how he was by ẏ biſhop all to beaten and buffeted about the face, by thys hys own narration in a letter ſent vnto his frend, manifeſtly may appeare.

Edmond Alabaſter, after a promoter & perſecuter.

Thomas Whittell reporteth of the maner of hys handling with B. *Boner*.

Upon Thurſday, which was the .x. of January, the biſhop of London ſent for me Thomas Whittell Miniſter out of the Porters lodge, where I had bene all nyght, lying vpon the earth vpon a pallet, where I had as paynfull a nyght of ſicknes as euer I had, God bee thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many thinges of the ſacrament ſo groſſely, as is not worthy to be rehearſed. And amongeſt other thinges he aſked me if I would haue come to Maſſe that morning, if he had ſent for me. Whereunto I aunſwered, that I woulde haue come to hym at hys commaundement, but to your Maſſe (ſayd I) I haue ſmall affection. At which aunſwer he was diſpleaſed ſore, and ſayd I ſhould be fed wyth bread and water. And as I followed hym through the great hall, he turned backe & beat me wyth his fiſt, firſt on the one cheeke, and then on the other, as the ſigne of my beating dyd many dayes appeare.

Thomas Whittell beaten on the face by *Boner*.

peare. And then he led me into a litle ſaltehouſe, where I had no ſtraw nor bed, but lay two nyghtes on a table and ſlept ſoundly, I thanke God.

Then vppon the Friday next after I was brought to my Lord, and he then gaue me many fayre wordes, and ſayd he would be good to me. And ſo he goyng to Fullam, committed me to D. Harpſfield, that he and I in that after noone ſhould common together, and drewe out certayne articles, whereunto if I woulde ſubſcribe I ſhould be diſmiſſed. But D. Harpeſfield ſent not for me tyll nyght, and then perſwaded me very ſore to forſake my opinions. I aunſwered I helde nothyng but the truth, & therefore I could not ſo lightly turne therfrom. So I thought I ſhould at that tyme haue had no more ado: but he had made a certayne byll, which the Regiſter pulled out of hys boſome, and red it. The byll in deede was very eaſely made, and therefore more daungerous: for the effect thereof was to deteſt al errours and hereſies againſt the ſacrament of the aultar, and other ſacraments, and to beleue the fayth of the catholicke church, and lyue accordingly.

piſcopum non percuſſoré, &c. oportet. Tit. 1.

homas Whittell recanted before D. Harpſfield.

The copy of thys byll here mencioned, if it pleaſe the gentle Reader to peruſe, ſo as it came to our hands we haue hereunto adioyned, written and conceiued in their own wordes, as followeth to be ſeene.

The Bill of ſubmiſsion offred to Thomas Whittell to ſubſcribe.

I Thomas Wittel Prieſt, of the Dioces of Londō, knowledge and confeſſe with my mouth agreeyng with my hart before you reuerend father in God Edm. Byſhop of London my Ordinary, that I do deteſt & abhorre all maner of hereſies and errours agaynſt the Sacramēt of the aultar, or any of the Sacramentes of the Church, which hereſies and errours haue heretofore bene condemned in any wiſe by the Catholicke church: and I do proteſt and declare by theſe preſentes that I do both now hold, and alſo inted by Gods grace alwayes hereafter to hold, obſerue, and keepe in all pointes the Catholicke fayth and beleſe of CHRISTES Church, accordyng as this Church of England beyng a member of the ſayd Catholicke church doth now profeſſe and keepe, & in no wiſe to ſwarue, decline, or go from the ſayd fayth duryng my naturall lyfe, ſubmittyng my ſelfe fully and wholy to you reuerend father my ſayd Ordinary in all thyngs concernyng my reformation and amendement at all tymes. In witnes whereof I the ſayd Thomas Whittell Prieſt haue hereunto ſubſcribed my name, written. &c.

he bill of ſubmiſſion put to Thomas Whittell to ſubſcribe.

To this Bill I did in deede ſet to my hand, beyng much deſired and counſelled ſo to do, and the fleſhe beyng allwayes deſirous to haue libertie. I cōſidered not throughly the incōuenience that might come thereupon: and reſpite I deſired to haue had, but earneſtly they deſired me to ſubſcribe. Now whē I had ſo done, I had litle ioy therof. For by and by my minde and conſcience told me by Gods word that I had done euill by ſuch a ſleighty meanes to ſhake of the ſweete Croſſe of CHRIST, and yet it was not my ſeekyng, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. O the crafty ſubtilty of Sathan in his members. Let euery mā that God ſhall deliuer into their hands, take good heede, and cleaue faſt to CHRIST: for they will leaue no corner of his conſcience vnſought, but will attempt all gilefull and ſubtile meanes to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no mā diſpaire of Gods helpe: for Peter did fall & riſe agayn. And Dauid ſaith: *A righteous man though hee fall, hee ſhall not bee caſt away: for the Lorde vpholdeth hym with hys hand.* For I for my part haue felt my infirmities, and yet haue I found Gods preſent helpe and cōfort in tyme of neede, I thanke him therfore.

homas Whittell through frailtie ſubſcribeth the bill.

homas Whittell

The night after I had ſubſcribed, I was ſore greeued, and for ſorrow of conſcience could not ſleepe. For in the deliueraunce of my body out of bondes, which I might haue had, I could finde no ioy nor comfort, but ſtill was in my conſcience tormented more and more, being aſſured by Gods ſpirit and hys word, that I through euill counſell and aduyſement had done amiſſe. And both with diſquyetnes of mynde and with my other cruell handeling, I was ſickely, lying vpon the ground when the keeper came: and ſo I deſired hym to pray Doct. Harpſfield to come to me, and ſo he did.

And when he came, and the Regiſter with him, I told him that I was not well at eaſe, but eſpecially I tolde him I was greeued very much in my conſcience and mynd becauſe I had ſubſcribed. And I ſayd that my conſcience had ſo accuſed me, through the iuſt iudgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conſcience, and Sathan ready to deuour me: and therfore I pray you M. Harpſfield (ſayd I) let me haue the bill agayne, for I wyll not ſtand to it. So hee gently commaunded it to be fetched, and gaue it me, and ſuffred me to pull out my name, wherof I was right glad when I had ſo done, although death ſhould folow. And hereby I had experience of Gods prouidence and mercy towardes me, who tryeth hys people, and ſuffereth them to fall, but not to bee loſt: for in the myddeſt of this temptation and trouble hee gaue me warning of my deede, and alſo delyuered me, hys name bee prayſed for euermore, Amen.

Tho. Whittell repenteth his recantation.

Experience of Gods prouidence ſuffering his people to fall, but not to be loſt.

Neyther deuill nor cruell tyraunt can plucke any of CHRISTES ſheepe out of hys hand. Of the which flocke of CHRISTES ſheepe I truſt vndoubtedly I am one by meanes of hys death and bloudſhedding, which ſhall at the laſt day ſtand at hys ryght hand, and receiue with other hys bleſſed benediction. And nowe beyng condemned to dye, my conſcience and mynde, I prayſe God, is quiet in CHRIST, and I by hys grace am very well wylling and content to geue ouer thys body to the death for the teſtimony of hys truth and pure religion, againſt Antichriſt and all his falſe religiō and doctrine. They that report otherwiſe of me, ſpeake not truly. And as for Fountayne, I ſaw not hym all that while.

By me Tho. Whittell Miniſter.

Peace of conſcience a great treaſure.

Concerning the troubled mynde of this godly man, and the tearyng of hys name out of the byll, hereſolloweth the report of the ſame, written in the letters both of the ſayd Harpsfielde, and alſo of Iohnſon the Regiſter, being then preſent thereat, and reporters of the ſame vnto the Biſhop, as in their letters hereto annexed is to be ſeene.

The copy of Nic. Harpsfields letter, touching M. Whittell, written to Boner B. of London.

PLeaſeth your good Lordſhip to vnderſtand, that yeſterday I dined with my Lord of Exceter, who ſone after my fyrſt cōming vnto him, aſked me what newes. I aunſwered, none but good, that I had heard. No ſaith he: why, it is a rumor in the Citie, that to morrowe the Queenes grace will take her iourney towardes ẏ king. I aunſwered, ẏ I thought it not to be any whit true, but an inuention of heretickes: yea and further ſaith he, ther is reporte made abroad of my Lorde your Maſter, that he is in diſcomfort, and therefore wyll ſuffer no man to come vnto him. when I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and declare how vntrue this report was, ſo that my Lord (who before was very ſad) afterward knowing the truth, reioyced much to heare that all was wel wyth your Lordſhip, and deſired me to do my harty commendations to your Lordſhip.

A letter of M. Harpſfield declaring how Tho. Whittell rent his ſubſcription out of the biſhops Regiſter.

One of my Lord of Penbrokes retinue a very hādſom man, and as farre as I cā yet learne Catholicke, is a ſuter to your Lordſhip to haue licence to erect a ſchole: and the order which he intendeth to vſe is conteined in this printed paper, which I ſēd herein incloſed to your Lordſhyp. I would be glad for my Lord of Pēbrokes ſake that he vnderſtode, that vpō my motiō your Lordſhyp were contēt he ſhould teach as he intendeth. M. Iohnſon and I haue traueled with the Prieſt, and he hath ſubſcribed his name to this draught which is herein incloſed, and hath promiſed hee will ſtand to the ſame before your Lordſhyp.

when I had written thus much, ſodeynly came tidyngs to me that Iordanis conuerſus eſt retrorſum. Cluney commyng to the Prieſt, found him lying proſtrate, and gronyng as though he ſhould haue dyed forthwith. Thẽ Cluney tooke hym vp, and ſet him vpõ a ſtoole, and came to me and told me of this reuell. It chaũced that M. Iohnſon was with me, and we went to this fond hereticke, and found hym lying all along, holdyng his hands vp, and lookyng hypocritically towardes heauen. I cauſed Thomas More and Cluney to ſet him on the ſtole, & with much ado at length he told me that Sathã had bene with him in the night, and told hym that he was damned, and weppyng he prayed M. Iohnſon & me to ſee the Bill wherunto he ſubſcribed, and when he ſaw it, he tare out hys name è libro, ſcilicet viuentium. Me thinketh by hym hee will needes burne a Fagot, neither is there any other likelyhode of the young woman. I haue enquired of the two perſons which ſue to haue a licẽce to eate fleſh. And the woman of CHRIST Church is in deede very much diſeaſed, and hath bene long diſtracted, and ſhe and her huſband both Catholicke. Of the other yet I can learne nothyng. Thus IESVS euermore preſerue your good Lordſhyp, and my miſtres your Lordſhyps ſiſter, with all yours. This preſent Saterday.

He meaneth of the returne agayne of *Tho. Whittel.*

This young woman was *Ioane Warrẽ,* otherwiſe named *Ioane Laſhford,* who was burned alſo with the ſame *Whittell.*

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden ſeruaunt
Iohn Harpeſfield.

¶ Here foloweth an other letter of Rob. Iohnſon Regiſter, touchyng Thom. Whittell, written to Boner Byſhop of London.

An other letter of *Iohnſon* touching the ſayd *Tho. Whittel.*

MY bounden duty premiſed, pleaſeth your Lordſhyp to vnderſtãd that this laſt Friday in the after noone, Maſter Archdeacon of London did diligently trauaile with Sir Tho. Whittell, I beyng preſent, and perceiuing his conformitie, as outwardly appeared, deuiſed a ſubmiſſion, and he beyng content therwith did ſubſcribe the ſame. But now this Saterday mornyng Maſter Archdeacon and I, vpon Cluneyes report, declaryng that he fayned him ſelfe to be extracted of his ſenſes, went vnto hym, to whom he declared that Sathã in the night tyme appeared vnto him, and ſayd that he was damned, for that he had done agaynſt his conſcience in ſubſcribyng the ſayd ſubmiſſion, with other like wordes. &c. And then Maſter Archdeacõ at his earneſt requeſt, deliuered vnto him the ſubmiſſion. And therupon the ſayd Whittel dyd teare out his ſubſcription, made in the foote of the ſame, as your Lordſhyp ſhall perceiue by the ſubmiſſion ſent now vnto your Lordſhip by Maſter Archdeacon: wherwith the ſayd Whittell was ſomwhat quieted.

Touching *Ioane Laſhford.*

And as touchyng Ioane Laſhford, Maſter Archdeacon did likewiſe trauail with her, and ſhewing her Sir Thomas ſubmiſſion, which I red vnto her two tymes, demaunded if ſhe could be content to make the like ſubmiſſion, and ſhe deſired reſpite vntill this mornyng. And beyng now eftſoones demaunded, in lykewiſe ſayth that ſhe will not make any thyng in writyng, nor put any ſigne therunto. Maſter Archdeacon and I entẽdeth this after noone to examine the ſayd Syr Thomas vpon Articles: for as yet there doth appeare nothyng in writyng agaynſt hym, as knoweth almighty God, who preſerue your good Lordſhyp in proſperitie long with honor to endure. From London this Saterday.

By your Lordſhyps dayly bedeſman, and
bounden ſeruaunt, Robert Iohnſonne.

¶ The condemnation, death, and Martyrdome of Thomas Whittell.

The laſt examination of *Tho. Whittel.*

CONcerning the wordes and aunſwers of the ſayd Thomas Whittell at hys laſt examination before the biſhop, vpon the .xiiij. day of Ianuarye, the yeare aboue expreſſed, Boner wyth his other fellowe Bonerlings ſitting in hys Conſiſtory at after none, firſt called forth Thomas Whittell, with whom he began in effect as followeth: Becauſe ye be a Prieſt (ſayth he) as I and other Biſhops here bee, and dyd receaue the order of Prieſthode after the rite and forme of the catholicke church, ye ſhall not thinke but I will miniſter iuſtice as well vnto you, as to other. And then the ſaid Boner in further communication dyd charge him: that when in times paſt he had ſayd Maſſe according to the order then vſed, the ſame Whittell now of late had railed and ſpoken againſt the ſame, ſaying that it was idolatry and abomination. Wherunto Thomas Whittell aunſweryng agayne ſayd, that at ſuch time as he ſo ſaid Maſſe, he was then ignorant. &c. adding moreouer that the eleuation of the ſacrament at the Maſſe geueth occaſion of idolatry to thẽ that be ignorant & vnlearned.

Eleuation of the Sacrament cauſe of Idolatry.

After thys the Biſhop makyng haſt to the articles (which in all hys examinations euer he harped vpon) came to this article: That thou waſt in times paſt baptiſed in the fayth of the catholicke church.

B. Boners argument. He was baptiſed in the fayth of the Catholicke church: Ergo, he was baptiſed in the fayth of Rome.

To this the ſayd Whittell inferred agayne: I was baptiſed in the faith of the catholicke church, although I dyd forſake the church of Rome. And ye my Lord do call theſe hereſies that be no hereſies, and doe charge me therewith as hereſies, and ye ground your ſelf vpon ẏ religion which is not agreable to Gods word. &c.

Then the ſayd victorious ſouldiour and ſeruant of our Sauiour, conſtant in ẏ verity receiued and profeſſed, was againe admoniſhed, and with perſwaſions entreated by the biſhop: who becauſe he would not agrée vnto the ſame, the biſhop forthwith procéeded, firſt to hys actuall degradation, that is, to vnprieſt hym of all hys prieſtly trinckets, and clarkly habite. The order & maner of which their popiſhe and moſt vaine degradation, before in the ſtory of biſhop Hoper page. 1681. is to be ſéene. Then Whittel in the myddeſt of the ceremonies, when he ſaw them ſo buſy in diſgradyng hym after their father the Popes pontificall faſhion, ſayd vnto them: Paul and Titus had not ſo much ado wyth their Prieſtes and Biſhops. And farther, ſpeaking to the Biſhop, he ſayd vnto hym: My Lord, your religion ſtandeth moſt with the church of Rome, and not wyth the catholicke church of CHRIST.

Thomas Whittell degraded.

Whittels wordes to *B. Boner.*

The biſhop after this, according to hys accuſtomed and formall procéedings, aſſayed hym yet agayne with wordes, rather then with ſubſtantiall argumentes, to conforme hym to hys religion. Who then denying ſo to do, ſayd: As for your religion I can not be perſwaded that it is according to Gods word.

The biſhop then aſked what fault he founde in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament of the aultar.

Whittell aunſwered and ſayd, it is not vſed according to CHRISTES inſtitutiõ, in that it is priuately, & not openly done: and alſo for that it is miniſtred but in one kinde to the lay people, which is agaynſt CHRISTES ordinaunce. Farther, CHRIST commaunded it not to be eleuated nor adored: For the adoration and eleuation cannot be approued by ſcripture.

Cauſes why the adminiſtration of the Popes ſacrament is to be reproued.

Well, quoth Boner, my Lords here and other learned men haue ſhewed great learnyng for thy conuerſion: wherefore if thou wylt yet returne to the fayth and religion of the catholicke church, I wil receiue thée thereunto, and not cõmit thée to the ſecular power. &c. To make ſhort, Whittell ſtrengthened with the grace of the Lord, ſtoode ſtrong and vnmoueable in that hee had affirmed. Wherefore the ſentence being red, the next daye following hee was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo in fewe dayes after brought to the fyre with the other ſixe aforenamed, ſealyng vp the teſtimonie of hys doctrine wyth his bloud, which he willingly and chéerefully gaue for the witnes of the truth.

¶ *Letters of Thomas Whittell.*

¶ A letter of Thomas Whittell to Iohn Careles priſoner in the Kinges Bench.

A letter of *Thomas Whittell* written to *Iohn Careles.*

THe peace of God in CHRIST be with you continually dearely beloued brother in CHRIST, with the aſſiſtãce of Gods grace and holy ſpirit, to the working and performyng of thoſe things which may comfort and edifye his church (as ye dayly do) to the glory of hys name, and the increaſe of your ioy and ſolace of ſoule in this lyfe, & alſo your reward in heauen wyth CHRIST our Captain, whoſe faithful ſouldiours ye are in the life to come, Amẽ.

I haue greatly reioyced (my deare hart) with thanks to God for you, ſince I haue heard of your faith and loue which you beare towardes God & hys Saintes, wyth a moſt godly ardent zeale to the veritie of CHRISTES doctrine and religion which I haue heard by the report of many, but ſpecially by the declaring of that valiant captayn in CHRISTES church, that ſtout Champion in Gods cauſe, that ſpectacle to the world, I meane our good brother Philpot, who now lieth vnder the aultar, and ſweetely enioyeth the promiſed reward. And ſpecially I and my condemned fellowes geue thankes to God for your louyng and comfortable letter in the deepenes of our trouble (after the fleſh) ſent vnto vs to the conſolation of vs all, but moſt ſpecially to me moſt ſynfull myſer on myne own behalf, but happy, I hope, through Gods louing kindnes in CHRIST ſhewed vnto mee: who ſuffered me to faynt and fayle through humane infirmity, by the working of the archenemy in hys ſworne ſouldiours the Biſhops and Prieſts: In whom ſo liuely appeareth the very viſage and ſhape of Sathan, that a man (if it were not preiudice to Gods word) myght well affirme them to be deuils incarnate, as I by experiēce do ſpeake. Wherefore, who ſo ſhall for conſcience matters come in their handes, had neede of the wilines of the Serpent to ſaue hys head, though it bee wyth the wounding of hys body, and to take diligent heede howe hee conſenteth to their wicked writings, or ſetteth hys hand to theyr conueiances.

His iudgement and experience in popiſh prelates.

Sore dyd they aſſault mee and craftelye tempt mee to their wicked wayes, or at leaſt to a denegatiō of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour & diſſimulation. And (alas) ſomthing they dyd preuail. Not that I am any thing at all lyked their opinions and falſe papiſticall religion, or els doubted of the truth wherein I ſtand, but onely the infirmity of the fleſh beguiled me, deſiring liberty by an vnlawfull meanes: God lay it not to my charge at that day, and ſo I hartely deſyre you to pray. Howbeit vncertaine I am whether more profite came thereby: profit to me, in that God ſuffered Sathan to buffet me by his foreſayd miniſter of miſchiefe, ſhewing me mine infirmity, that I ſhould not boaſt nor reioyce in my ſelfe but onely in the Lord, who when hee had led me to hell in my conſcience through the reſpect of hys fearefull iudgements agaynſt me for my fearfulnes, miſtruſt, and crafty cloking in ſuch ſpirituall and weighty matters (in the which myne agony and diſtreſſe, I found this old verſe true, Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus) yet he brought me from thence agayne to the magnifying of hys name, ſuſpecting of fleſhe and bloud, and conſolation of myne own ſoule, or els that I might feele diſprofite in offendyng the congregation of God, which peraduenture wyll rather adiudge my fal to come of doubtfulnes in my doctrine and religion, then of humaine imbecilitie.

bitters ts hild ſcience.

Wel, of the importune burden of a troubled conſcience for denying or diſſembling the knowen verity, I by experience could ſay very much more, which perhaps I wyll declare by wryting, to the warning of other, if God graunt tyme: For now am I and my fellowes ready to go hence euen for CHRISTES cauſe: Gods name be praiſed who hath hetherto called vs. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our courſe with ioy, and at your appoynted tyme you ſhall come after. But as the Lorde hath kept you, ſo wyll he preſerue your lyfe ſtyll, to the intent you ſhould labour (as you do) to appeaſe and conuince theſe vngodly contentions and controuerſies, which now do to to much raigne, brawling about termes to no edification. God is diſhonored, the Church diſquieted, and occaſion to ſpeake euyll of the Goſpell miniſtred to our aduerſaries. But ſuch is the ſubtilty of Sathan, that whō he cannot wyn with groſſe idolatry in open religion, thē he ſeeketh to corrupt and deceiue in opinions, in a priuate profeſſion. But here I wil abruptly leaue, leſt with my rude and ſimple veyne I ſhould be tedious to you, deſyring you (my louing brother) if it ſhall not ſeeme greeuous vnto you, to write vnto me and my fellowes yet once agayne, if you may haue leaſure, and we time to the ſame.

Prouide me M. Philpots .ix. examinations for a friend of myne, and I ſhall pay you therefore, by the leaue of almighty God our heauenly father, who correcteth all hys deare children in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world, and tryeth the fayth of hys Saintes through many tribulations, that being found conſtant to the end, he may crowne his owne giftes in them, and in heauen highly reward them: whether I truſt to go before, looking for you to follow (my faythfull friend) that we may ſing perpetuall praiſe to our louing Lord God for victory ouer Satā and ſinne, woon for vs by Ieſus Chriſt God and man, our only and ſufficient Sauiour and Aduocate. Amen. Farewell, and pray in fayth.

Yours Thomas Whittell Miniſter,
and now condemned to dye for the
Goſpels ſake. 1556. Ianuary. 21.

All my fellowes ſalute you. Salute all our faythfull brethren wyth you.

To my deare frend and brother Iohn Went and other his priſon felowes in Lollardes Tower.

He that preſerued Ioſeph priſoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the Lyons denne, and deliuered Paul, Peter, and the Apoſtles out of priſon, vouchſafe of his goodnes to kepe, fede, and deliuer you my good brother Went, with the other our felow ſouldiours your priſon felowes, as may be moſt to hys glory, to your conſolation, and the edification of his Church.

Act.16.

I cānot but prayſe God moſt earneſtly, when I heare of your conſtancy in the fayth and ioy in the Croſſe of CHRIST which you now beare and ſuffer together, with many other good members of CHRIST: which is a token that by CHRIST ye are counted worthy the kyngdome of God, as Paul ſayth. And though the world counteth the yoke and croſſe of CHRIST as a moſt pernicious & hurtfull thyng, yet we which haue taſted how frendly the Lord is, cannot but reioyce in this perſecution as touchyng our ſelues, in as much as the cauſe for the which we ſuffer is the Lordes cauſe, and not ours: at whoſe hand, if we endure to the end, we ſhall receiue through his liberal promiſe in CHRIST, not onely a great reward in heauen, but alſo the kyngdome of heauen it ſelfe, and alſo in the meane ſeaſon be ſure to be defended and cared for, ſo that we ſhal lacke no neceſſary thinges, neither a heare of our heades ſhall periſhe without hys knowledge. O what is he that would miſtruſt, or not gladly ſerue ſo louyng a father? O how vnhappy are they that forſake him and put their truſt in man? But how bleſſed are they that for his loue and for hys holy wordes ſake, in theſe troubleſome dayes do committe their ſoules and bodyes into his handes with well doyng, countyng it greater happines and riches to ſuffer rebuke with CHRIST and hys Churche, then to enioy the pleaſures of this lyfe for a litle ſhort ſeaſon? This croſſe that we now beare, hath bene common to all the faythfull from Abel hetherto, and ſhalbe to the end, becauſe the deuill hauyng great wrath agaynſt God and hys CHRIST, can not abyde that hee ſhould for hys manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and CHRIST to be taken and beleued vpon for our onely and ſufficient redeemer, Sauiour, and aduocate: and therfore, becauſe we will not deny CHRIST, nor diſſemble with our fayth, but openly proteſte and profeſſe the ſame before the world, he ſeeketh by all meanes to ſtyrre vp hys wicked members, to perſecute and kill the bodyes of the true Chriſtians: as S. Iohn ſayth, *the deuill ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon*. And Dauid ſayth, *I beleued, and therefore haue I ſpoken, but I was ſore troubled*. Thys notwythſtandyng, go forward deare brethren, as ye haue begon, to fight the Lordes battell, conſideryng CHRIST the Captaine of your warre, who will both fight for you, geue you victory, and alſo hyghly reward your paynes. Conſider to your comfort, the notable and chief ſhepheardes and ſouldiours of CHRIST which are gone before vs in theſe dayes, I meane thoſe learned and godly Byſhops, Doctours, and other miniſters of Gods word: whoſe fayth and examples we that be inferiours ought to follow, as S. Paul ſayth: *Remember them that haue declared vnto you the worde of God, the end of whoſe conuerſation ſee that ye looke vppon, and followe theyr fayth.* The grace and bleſſing of God, with the miniſtery of hys holy Angels, be with you for euer, Amen. All my priſon felowes grete you.

2.Theſſ.1.
1.Pet.2.
Math.10.
1.Pet.4.
Heb.11.
Apo.12.

Sathan cā not abide Chriſt to be receaued for our only ſauiour and thereof riſeth all this perſecution.

Apo.2.
Pſal.115.
Heb.13.

From the Colehouſe this. 4. of December. By
your poore brother Thomas Whittell, an vnworthy miniſter of CHRIST, now his priſoner
for the Goſpels ſake. Amen.

To all the true profeſſours and louers of Gods holy Goſpel within the Citie of London.

A letter of Tho. Whittell to the true profeſſors of the citie of Londō.

The ſame faith for the which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary bleſſed, the Lord God encreaſe and make ſtable in your harts, my dere and faythfull brethren and ſiſters of London, for euer and euer, Amen.

Rom.4.
Luke.1.

Dearly beloued, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amonges

1.Pet.4.

amongs you to try you, as though ſome ſtraunge thing had happened vnto you, but reioyce in as much as ye are pertakers of Chriſtes paſſions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be mery and glad. &c. Out of theſe wordes of S. Peter I gather moſt ſpecially theſe. 4. notes. Firſt that perſecution happeneth to Chriſtes church for theyr triall, that is, for the probatiõ and proofe of their faith. Which fayth, like as it is knowne with God in the depth of our hartes, ſo will he haue it made manifeſt to the whole world thorow perſecution, that ſo it may euidently appeare that he hath ſuch a church and people vpon earth, which ſo truſteth in him and feareth hys holy name, that no kind of perſecution, paynes, nor death ſhall be able to ſeparate them from the loue of him. And thus was Abraham tried, and Iob tempted, that theyr faith which before lay hid almoſte in theyr harts, might be made known to the whole world to be ſo ſtedfaſt and ſtrong, that the deuill, naturall loue, nor no other enemy could be able to bereue them thereof. Whereby alſo God was to be magnified, who both tryeth his people by many tribulations, & alſo ſtandeth by them in the middeſt of their troubles to deliuer them by life or death, as he ſeeth beſt: like as he aſſiſted Loth, and deliuered him out of his enemies hands, Ioſeph out of the hands of his brethren and out of priſon, Paule from his enemies in Damaſco, and the Apoſtles out of the ſtockes and priſon. Theſe with many mo he deliuered to life: and alſo he deliuered Abell, Eleazar, Steuen, and Iohn Baptiſt, with other many by death, and hath alſo by the triall of theyr faith made them good preſidents and examples to vs & all that come after, to ſuffer affliction in the like cauſe, as Saint Iames ſayth: *Take, my brethren* (ſayth he) *the Prophets for an enſample of ſuffering aduerſity and of long patience, which ſpake vnto you in the name of the Lord: behold we count them happy which endure. Ye haue heard of the patience of Iob, and haue knowne what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitifull and mercifull.* Alſo the Lord tryeth vs, to let vs ſee our owne hartes and thoughts, that no hypocriſye nor ambition deceiue vs, and that the ſtrong in Chriſt may pray that he fall not but endure to the end, & that thoſe that fall through fearfull infirmity, might ſpedely repent and riſe againe with Peter, and alſo that the weake ones might bewaile theyr weakenes, and cry with Dauid: *haue mercy vpon me O Lord, for I am weake: O Lord heale me for all my bones are vexed.*

4. Notes.

Rom. 8.
Gene. 22.
Iob. 1.

Rom. 9.
2. Cor. 11.
Act. 16.
Geneſis. 4.
2. Macha. 6.
Act. 7.
Math. 17.
Iames. 5. 4

Pſal. 6.

Of this opening of the hart by perſecution, ſpake holy Simeon to Mary Chriſtes mother when he ſayd: *the ſword, that is, the croſſe of perſecution ſhall pearſe thy ſoule, that the thoughts of many harts may be opened.* For like as a king that ſhould go to battell, is cõpelled to loke in his cofers what treaſure he hath, and alſo what number and puiſance of men and weapons he hath, ſo that if he ſee himſelfe vnready and vnarmed to bicker with his enemy, he ſurceaſeth and taketh truce for a time: euen ſo we by perſecutions haue our harts opened that we may loke therein to ſee what fayth in Chriſt we haue, and what ſtrength to withſtand the enemyes, and to beare yͤ croſſe, that if we be rich in theſe treaſures, we might reioyce and valiantly go to battell: or if we want theſe things, with all ſpeede to call and cry vpon him which geueth all good giftes to thoſe that aſke them. Item, the croſſe trieth the good people from the bad, the faithfull from the worldlings and hypocrites, and alſo cleanſeth and ſcoureth the faythfull hartes from all corruption and filthines both of the fleſh and the ſpirite. And euen as yron, except it be oftẽ ſcoured, will ſoone waxe ruſty: ſo except our ſinfull harts and fleſh be often ſcoured with the whetſtone of the Croſſe, they will ſoone corrupt and ouergrow with the ruſt of all filthynes and ſinne. And therefore it is meete and good for vs (as the wiſe man ſayth) that as gold and ſiluer are tried in the fire, ſo ſhould the harts of acceptable men be tried in the fornace of aduerſitye. Abide the trial (deare frendes) that ye may obtaine yͤ crowne of life. Fight manfully in this the Lordes cauſe, that ye may obtaine a glorious victory here, and receiue a great reward in heauen hereafter. As ye are called Chriſtians, and would be angry to be called Iewes or Turkes, ſo declare your chriſtianity by folowing yͤ ſteps of Chriſt, whoſe name ye beare: ſuffer with him and for his goſpels ſake, rather then to denye him or to defile your fayth and conſcience wyth falſe worſhipping or Romiſh religion.

Luke. 2.

The croſſe tryeth the good people from the bad.

Sirach. 2.

Take vp your croſſe (my deare harts) now when it is offred you, and goe vp with Chriſt to Ieruſalem amongſt the Byſhops, Prieſts, and rulers if God call you thereto, and they will anone ſend you to Caluary: from whence (dying in the cauſe of the goſpel, wherin our good preachers and brethren haue geuen theyr lyues) your ſoules (I warrant you) through Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall aſcend to God that gaue them, and the body ſhall come after at the laſt day, & ſo ſhall ye dwell with the Lord for euer in vnſpeakeable ioy and bliſſe. O bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake, as Chriſtes people in this Iewiſh England now doth, for theyrs is the kingdom of heauen. O my beloued, ſet your minds on this kingdome where Chriſt our head and king is, cõſidering that as the brute beaſt loketh downewards with the face towardes the earth, ſo mã is made contrarywiſe with his face loking vpward towardes the heauens, becauſe his conuerſatiõ ſhould be in heauen & heauenly things, and not vpon the earth and earthly thyngs, & S. Paule ſayth: *ſet your minds on things which are aboue, where Chriſt is.* And againe he ſayth: *our conuerſation is in heauen, from whence we loke for our Sauiour, who will chaunge our vile bodyes, and make them like to his gloryous body.* Oh the gloryous eſtate that we be called vnto. The lord preſerue vs harmeles to his eternal kingdom through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, Amen.

Preach. 12.

Col. 3.

Phil. 3.

The ſecond thing that I note in the foreſaid wordes of Peter, is, that he calleth perſecution no ſtraunge thing. And truth it is: for which of the Prophets were not perſecuted with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and ſome of them in the end cruelly killed for the truthes ſake: Caine killed Abel, Iſaac was perſecuted of Iſmaell, Iacob was hated of Eſau, Ioſeph was priſoned and ſet in the ſtockes, the Prophet Eſay was cut in two with a ſawe, Ieremy was ſtoned, Micheas was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Helias was ſore perſecuted, Eleazer, and the woman with her vij. ſonnes were cruelly killed. What Chriſt & the Apoſtles ſuffered, it is wel known. So that *by many tribulatiõs* (as Paul ſaith) *we muſt enter into the kingdome of heauen.* All the holy Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſuffered ſuch afflictions, not for euill doing, but for preaching gods word, for rebuking the world of ſinne, and for theyr faith in Ieſus Chriſt. This is the ordinance of God (my frends) this is the high way to heauen, by corporall death to eternall life: as Chriſt ſayth, *he that heareth my words and beleueth in him that ſent me, hath eternall life, and ſhall not come into iudgement, but is eſcaped from death to life.* Let vs neuer feare death, which is killed by Chriſt, but beleue in him and liue for euer, as Paul ſayth: *There is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſu, which walke not after the fleſhe, but after the ſpirite.* And agayne Paule ſayth: *Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which hath geuen vs victory through Ieſu Chriſt.* Beſides this, ye haue ſeene and daily do ſee the bloud of your good preachers and brethren which hath bene ſhed in the goſpels cauſe in this ſinfull Sodome, this bloudy Ieruſalem, this vnhappy city of London. Let not theyr bloud be forgotten, nor the bloud of your good biſhop Ridley, who like a good ſhepeherd, to your comfort and example, hath geuen his life for his ſhepe. S. Paule ſayth: *remember them that haue ſpoken to you the word of God, and loke vpon the ende of theyr conuerſation, and folow theyr fayth.*

The ſecond note. Perſecution no ſtrange thing in the church.

3. Regum.
4. Regum.
2. mac. 6. 7
Act. 14.

Iohn. 5.

Roman. 8.

1. Cor. 15.

Example of Gods Martyrs going before.

Iohn. 10.
Heb. 13.

The deuill euer ſtirreth vp falſe teachers, as he hath done now ouer al England, as Peter, Paule, and Iude propheſied it ſhould be, to poyſon and kill our ſoules with falſe doctryne. And where he fayleth of his purpoſe that way, then moueth he his mẽbers to perſecute the ſely carcaſes of the Sainctes, becauſe they will not deny nor diſſemble theyr pure faith in our liuing Chriſt, and confeſſe a dead bready Chriſt, and honour the ſame as Chriſt God and man, contrary to gods commaundement. This is the working of Sathan, who knowing his owne iuſt damnation, would all mankind to be pertakers with him of the ſame: ſuch a mortal hatred beareth he againſt God and his people. And therefore when this wycked tempter could not kill Chriſt with ſubtell tentation to fall downe and worſhip him, then he ſtirred vp his ſeruaunts the biſhops and Phariſees to kill his body, wherby notwithſtanding the deuill loſt his title and intereſt which he had to mans ſoule, and man by hys precious paſſion and death was raunſomed from the deuill, death and hell, to immortality and life euerlaſtyng: and ſo when Sathan thought to haue woon all in killing of Chriſt, he loſt all: and ſo ſhal he do in vs if we abide conſtant and ſtrong in the fayth of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt vnto the end. God graunt it, for hys mercyes ſake in Chriſt. Bleſſed are all they that put theyr truſt in hym, Amen.

2. Pet. 2.
1. Timo. 4.
2. Timo. 3.
Iude. 1.

Exod. 10.
1. Iohn. 5.
1 Cor. 10.

Math. 4.

When Sathan could not bring Chriſt to fall downe and worſhip him, he ſet the Phariſies to kill him.

Wherfore (my hartely beloued brethren and ſiſters) be of good comfort through Ieſus Chriſt: for he that is in vs, is ſtronger thẽ he that is in the world. Therfore draw ye nere to God, and he will draw nere to you. Reſiſt yͤ deuill and he will (as Iames ſayth) flie frõ you. Beware of the leuen of the Phariſees. Touch not pitch, leaſt ye be defiled therewith. Eate no ſwines fleſh, for it is agaynſt the law: I meane, defile not your ſelues neither inwardly nor outwardly with this falſe and wicked religion of Antichriſt: for it is nothing els but pitch, and ſwines fleſh. Beware of the beaſts marke leſt ye drinke of the cup of gods wrath. If God haue geuen you knowledge and fayth, diſſemble not therwith. Deny not yͤ knowne verity before men, leſt Chriſt deny you before his father. Come away from Babylon, as Iohn biddeth you, and touch no vncleane thing, but ſeparate your ſelues from the company of the vngodly, as Paule cõmaundeth you. What ſo euer ye haue done amiſſe heretofore, now repent and amend, for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption.

Iames. 2.
Math. 16

Apo. 13. 14.

Apo. 18.

2. Cor. 6.

Pſal. 129

The third thing and note which I gather out of the foreſayd wordes of Peter, is this, that he ſaith: *reioyce becauſe ye are partakers of Chriſtes paſſions.* Our ſufferings (my welbeloued) are Chriſtes ſufferings: and that iniury that is done to vs for his ſake, he reckeneth it to be done to himſelf, as he ſayd to Paule: *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* Therfore we ought to reioyce in our ſufferings, as Paule wryteth: which we ſuffer with Chriſt and one with an other, as Peter ſayth, and ſo to fulfill that which is behind of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh: which Chriſt hath by his paſſion, fully redeemed and ſaued vs in his owne perſon: howbeit his elect muſt ſuffer with him and for him vnto the worldes end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and clenſed from ſinne in this world, and be made more meete temples for the holy ghoſt, and alſo obtaine a great reward in heauẽ for theyr ſuffering for righteouſnes ſake, according to his promiſe. And therefore I ſay (my brethren) reioyce in the Lord alwayes, and againe I ſay reioyce. Let vs reioyce in the croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, wherby the world is crucifyed to vs, and we to it.

The third note.

Act. 9.

Col. 1.

Mat. 5.

Phil. 3.
Galat. 6.

And why ſhould we ſo greatly reioyce in the croſſe of Chriſt, which we now ſuffer? *Becauſe* (ſayth Peter) *when his glory appeareth, we may be mery and glad.* And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his wordes aboue written: wherein is ſet out the reward of ſuffering, not to be had in this world: but at his comyng to iudgement when we ſhall be raiſed againe, and then ſhall they that haue ſowen in teares, reape in ioy, as Chriſt ſayth: *Bleſſed are they that weepe here, for they ſhall laugh. Bleſſed are ye when men hate you, and thruſt you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an euell thing for the ſonne of mans ſake, reioyce ye in that day & be glad, for your reward is great in heauẽ.*

The 4. note.

Luke. 6.

Wherfore (my dearely beloued) through hope of this heauenly ioy and reward, which he that can not lie hath promiſed (which ioy

is

1.Cor.2 Heb.12 1.Peter.1. Phil.1. Iohn.14.

is ſo great that no eare hath heard, no eye hath ſene, nor the hart cã thinke, where we ſhall dwell for euer in the heauenly city, the celeſtiall Ieruſalem, in the preſence of God the father, & Ieſus Chriſt our Mediatour, as Paule ſayth, and in the company of innumerable Angels, and with the ſpirites and ſoules of all faithfull and iuſt men) reioyce and be glad: and ſeing ye be called to ſo great glory, ſee that ye make your election and vocation ſure by good workes, and ſpecially by ſuffering aduerſity for the goſpels ſake: *for it is geuen vs of God* (ſayth Paule) *not only to beleue in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for hys ſake.* Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my courſe with ioy. Haue brotherly loue amongſt your ſelues, which is a token that ye be Chriſtes diſciples. Edifie and comfort one an other in the word of the Lord, and the god of peace and loue be with you alwayes, Amen. For your liberality and kindnes ſhewed vpon the pryſoners and afflicted people of God in this time of perſecution, the Lord will reward you when he commeth to reward euery man according to theyr dedes, and will not leaue a cup of cold water beſtowed vpon his faithful people, vnrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye alwayes hauing ſufficient, may be rich vnto all manner of good workes. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, the loue of God, and the felowſhip of the holy ghoſt be with you alwayes, Amen.

Math.10. 2.Cor.8.

Your brother now in bondes for the
goſpell, Thomas Whittel.

¶ To my louing and faithfull brother Iohn Careles priſoner in the Kynges Bench

Another letter of Thomas Whittell.

THe ſame faith for the which Abraham was accounted iuſt and Mary bleſſed, whereby alſo all iuſt men liue, the Lord God our louing father encreaſe and ſtabliſh in you and me, to the obtaining of eternall life in our alone and ſwete Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, Amen.

I can not worthely and ſufficiently prayſe God (my hartely beloued brother) for the conſolation and ioy that I receyued by reaſon of your louing letters, repenting me much that I being ſo long ſo neare you, did not enterpryſe to ſtirre vp familiarity and communication betwene vs by wryting, to mutuall conſolation in Chriſt. For what is there vpon earth wherein to reioyſe (where all things are tranſitory and vayne, yea man him ſelfe, reſpecting this lyfe) but, as Dauid ſayth, *the Saintes that dwell vpon the earth, and ſuch as excell in vertue?* But here now I conſider, that if the fellowſhip, loue, and ioy of faithfull mẽ and children of god being as we now be in double bondage, the body within clay walles, and the ſoule within theſe frayle earthly bodies, be ſo great and comfortable: how vnſpeakeable will thoſe ioyes be, when we ſhall be deliuered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the ſonnes of God? where we ſhall be preſent together continually in our glorified bodyes, beholding the face of our father preſently (whom now wee ſee but in the glaſſe of fayth) with his deare ſonne CHRIST our redeemer and brother, and the bleſſed company of Aungels and all faythfull ſaued ſoules?

Oh the incomperable good things and heauenly treaſures layd vp for vs in heauen by CHRIST IESV. For the obtayning whereof, we ought to ſet light by all temporall greefes and tranſitory afflictions ſo much the more, in that our good God is faythfull and will not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our ſtrẽgth, and that namely in the end of our lyfe, when the tree where it falleth, lyeth ſtill, as the preacher ſayth: when euery one, cauſa ſua dormit & cauſa ſua reſurget: for els before the end he ſuffereth his ſometyme to fall, but not finally to periſh: as Peter ſincked vpon the ſea, but yet was not drowned, and ſinned greuouſly vpon the land through infirmity denying his Maſter, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth oftentymes. And CHRISTES holy Apoſtels are taught to ſay, remitte nobis debita noſtra. Yea though the righteous fall, ſayth Dauid, hee ſhall not bee caſt away for the Lord vpholdeth hym with his hand. Oh the bottomles mercy of god towards vs miſerable ſinners. He vouchſafe to plant in my hart true repentance and fayth, to the obtaining of remiſſion of all my ſinnes in the mercies of God and merites of CHRIST his ſonne, and thereto I pray you ſay, Amen.

Oh my hartely beloued, it greeueth me to ſee yͤ ſpoile & hauocke that Saule maketh with the congregation of CHRIST: but what remedy? This is Gods will & ordinance, that his people ſhall here both be puniſhed in the fleſh, & tryed in their fayth, as it is written: *Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord deliuereth thẽ out of all:* for by a ſtrait path & narow dore muſt we enter. Whether? Into yͤ ioyfull kingdome of heauen: therefore bleſſed are you, & other that ſuffer perſecutiõ for CHRISTES ſake, for the poſſeſſing of yͤ ſame. Pray for me & my felowes (good brother) that we may fyght a good fyght, that we may kepe the fayth, and end our courſe with ioyfull gladnes, for now the tyme of our deliueraunce is at hand. The Lord guyde, defend, and kepe vs and you, and all hys people in our iourney, that we may ſafely through a ſhort death, paſſe to that long laſting lyfe.

Farewell my deare and louing brother and fellowe ſouldiour in CHRIST: farwell (I ſay) in him: who receiue our ſoules in peace when they ſhal depart from theſe tabernacles, and he graunt vs a ioyfull reſurrection, and a mery meeting at the laſt day, and continuall dwelling together in his eternall heauenly kingdome, through IESVS CHRIST our Lord, Amen.

Yours with my pore prayer, other pleaſure can I
do you none, Thomas Whittell Miniſter.

¶ *To my deare brethren M. Filles and Cutbert.*

Another letter of Thomas Whittell to certeine of hys friendes.

MY deare and welbeloued brethren in CHRIST, M. Filles and Cutbert, I wiſh you all welfare of ſoule and body. Welfare to the ſoule, is repentaunce of ſinne, faithfull affiance in CHRIST IESVS, and a godly life. Welfare to the body, is the health of the ſame, with all neceſſary thinges for this bodely life. The ſoule of man is immortall, and therfore ought to be wel kept, leſt immortalitie to ioy, ſhould turne to immortalitie of ſorow. As for the body, be it neuer ſo well kept and much made of, yet ſhortly by nature will it periſh and decay. But thoſe that are engraffed & incorporated into CHRIST by true faith, feelyng the motion of Gods holy ſpirite, as a pledge of their election and enheritaunce, excityng and ſtirryng them, not only to ſeeke heauenly thyngs, but alſo to hate vice, & embrace vertue, will not onely do thoſe thinges, but alſo if neede require, will gladly take vp their croſſe and folow their Captaine, their kyng, and their Sauiour IESVS CHRIST (as hys poore afflicted Church of England now doth) agaynſt that falſe and Antichriſtian doctrine and Religion now vſed, and ſpecially that blaſphemous Maſſe, wherein CHRISTES Supper and holy ordinaunce is altogether peruerted and abuſed contrary to hys inſtitution, and to Paules procedynges: ſo that, that which they haue in their Maſſe is neither Sacrament of CHRIST, nor yet ſacrifice for ſinne, as the Prieſtes falſely pretend. It is a Sacrament, that is, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, a viſible ſigne of inuiſible grace, when it is miniſtred to the communicantes accordyng to CHRISTES exãple, and as it was of late yeares in this realme. And as for ſacrifice, there is none to be made now for ſinne: for CHRIST with one ſacrifice hath perfited for euer thoſe that are ſanctified.

Welfare of ſoule. Welfare of body. Mat.26. Mar.14. Luc.22. 2.Cor.11. No ſacrifice in the maſſe is to be made for ſinne. Heb.9.10.

Beware of falſe Religion and mens vayne traditiõs, and ſerue God with reuerẽce and godly feare, accordyng to the doctrine of his Goſpell, whereto cleaue ye that ye may be bleſſed, though of wicked mẽ ye be hated and accurſed. Rather drinke of the cup of CHRIST with hys Church, then of the cup of that roſecoloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather ſtriue ye to go to heauẽ by the path which is ſtrait to fleſh and bloud, with the litle flocke, then to go the wyde way, folowyng the enticementes of the world and yͤ fleſh, which leadeth to damnation. Lyke as CHRIST ſuffered in the fleſh, ſayth S. Peter, ſo arme ye your ſelues with the ſame mind: for CHRIST ſuffered for vs, leuyng vs example to folow his footeſteppes. Bleſſed are they that ſuffer for his ſake, great is their reward in heauen. *He that ouercommeth* (ſayth S. Iohn,) *ſhall eate of the tree of lyfe: he ſhall haue a crowne of lyfe, and not be hurt of the ſecond death: he ſhalbe clothed with white aray, and not be put out of the booke of lyfe:* Yea I will confeſſe his name ſayth CHRIST, before my father, and before hys Aungels, and he ſhalbe a piller in yͤ houſe of God, and ſit with me on my ſeate. And thus I byd you farewell, myne owne brethren and deare felowes in CHRIST. Whoſe grace and peace be alway with you, Amen.

Luke.11. Apo.18. Pet.4.3. Apo.2.3.

This world I do forſake:
To Chriſt I me betake,
And for his Goſpell ſake,
Patiently death I take.

My body to the duſt
Now to returne it muſt:
My ſoule I know full well,
With my God it ſhall dwell.

Thomas Whittell.

¶ An other letter of M. Thomas Whittell wrytten to a certaine godly woman.

An other letter of Tho. Whittell to a godly woman.

OH my deare and louing ſiſter in CHRIST, be not diſmayde in this ſtorme of perſecution, for Paul calleth the Goſpel the word of the croſſe, becauſe it is neuer truly taught, but the croſſe and cruell perſecution immediately

To be ſtrong agaynſt Sathan and not to feare perſecution.

Good counſell not to forſake the Lord for perſecution.

ately and neceſſarily doth follow the ſame, and therefore it is a manifeſt token of Gods truth, and hath bene here and is ſtyll abroad, and that is a cauſe of the rage & cruelty of Sathan againſt *CHRIST* and his members, which muſt bee corrected for their ſynnes in this worlde: theyr fayth muſt be tryed, that after triall and pacient ſuffering the faythfull may receaue the crowne of glory. Feare not therefore my welbeloued, but procede in the knowledge and feare of God, and he will keepe you from all euyll. Call vpon hys holy name, and hee wyll ſtrengthen you and aſſiſt you in all your wayes: and if it pleaſe hym to lay hys croſſe vpon you for hys Goſpels ſake, refuſe it not, neyther ſhake it of by vnlawfull meanes, leſt you ſhould (as God forbid) finde a more greuous croſſe, and torment of conſcience if you ſhould diſſemble and denye the knowen verity, then is any perſecution or death of body. Oh how happy are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake: their rewarde is great in heauen. The momentane afflictions of this lyfe are not worthy of the glory that ſhall be ſhewed vpon vs. Oh remember the godly women of the old teſtament & new, which lyued in Gods ſeruice and feare, and therefore are nowe in blyſſe and commended for euer: as namely Iudith, Heſter, Abigael, the Mother of the. vij. ſonnes, Mary, Elizabeth, Suſanna, Lidia, and Phebe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and feare nothing: for Sathan is conquered by our Sauiour *CHRIST*: ſynne is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternall lyfe is ſet wyde open: God graunt we may enter therein through the doore *IESVS CHRIST*, Amen.

Thomas Whittell.

The ſtory of M. Bartlet Greene,

Gentleman and Lawyer, Martyr.

The ſtory of Maſter *Bartlet Grene* Gentleman & Martyr. January. 27.

After the martyrdom of Thomas Whittell, next followeth in order to ſpeake of Bartlet Greene, who the next day after the foreſayd Whittell, was lyke wyſe cōdemned. Thys Grene was of a good houſe and hauyng ſuch parents as both fauoured learnyng, and were alſo wyllyng to bryng vp thys theyr child in the ſame. Who after ſome entraunce in other inferiour ſchooles, was by them ſent vnto the vniuerſitie of Oxford: where through exerciſe and diligent ſtudy he ſo profited, that within ſhort tyme he attained aſwell vnto the knowledge of ſundry prophane ſciences, as alſo now in hys laſt yeares, vnto the godlye vnderſtanding of Diuinitie. Whereunto through ignoraunce (in which he was trayned vp from hys youth) he was at the firſt an vtter enemy, vntyll ſuch tyme as God of hys mercy had opened his eyes by his often repayring vnto the cōmon Lectures of Peter Martyr, Reader of yͤ Diuinitie Lecture in the ſame vniuerſity: ſo that thereby (as by Gods inſtrument) he ſawe the true light of *CHRISTES* Goſpell.

Bartlet Grene ſtudent at Oxford.

M. Grene conuerted by yͤ Lectures of *Peter Martyr.*

Whereof when he had once taſted, it became vnto hym as the fountayne of lyuely water that our Sauiour *CHRIST* ſpake of vnto the woman of Samaria, ſo as he neuer thirſted any more, but had a well ſpringing vnto euerlaſtyng lyfe. In ſo much as when he was called by hys frendes frō yͤ vniuerſity, & was placed in yͤ Temple at London, there to attayne the knowledge of the common lawes of the Realme, he yet continued ſtill in hys former ſtudy and earneſt profeſſion of the Goſpell: wherein alſo he dyd not a little profite. Howbeit (ſuch is the frailty of our corrupt nature, wythout the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of Gods holy ſpirite) through the cōtinuall accompanying and fellowſhyp of ſuch worldly (I wyll not ſay to much youthfull) young Gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the lyke houſes, hee became by lyttle and lyttle a compartener of theyr fonde follyes and youthfull vanities, aſwell in hys apparell, as alſo in banketinges and other ſuperfluous exceſſes, which hee afterward (beyng agayne called by Gods mercyfull correction) dyd ſore lament and bewayle: as appeareth by hys own teſtimony, notified and left in a booke of a certayne frend of his a litle before his death, written wyth hys own hand, in maner as followeth.

Iohn. 4.

M. Grene ſtudent in the Temple at London.

¶This dyd M. Bartlet Grene write in M. Bartram Calthrops booke.

*T*wo things haue very much troubled me whyleſt I was in the Temple, Pride and Glottony, which vnder the coulour of glory and good fellowſhip, drewe me almoſt from God. Agaynſt both there is one remedye, by prayer earneſt and without ceaſing. And for as much as vayne glory is ſo ſubtile an aduerſarye, that almoſt it woundeth deadly ere euer a man can perceiue hym ſelfe to bee ſmitten, therefore we ought ſo much the rather by continuall prayer to labour for humblenes of mynde. Truly Glottony beginneth vnder a charitable pretence of mutuall loue and ſociety, and hath in it moſt vncharitablenes. when we ſeeke to refreſh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to ſerue God, and performe our duties towards our neighbours, thē ſtealeth it in as a priuy theefe, and murdereth both body and ſoule, that nowe it is not apt to pray, or ſerue God, nor apt to ſtudy or labour for our neighbours. Let vs therefore watch and be ſober: *for our aduerſary the deuyll walketh about lyke a roaryng Lion, ſeeking whom he may deuour*. And remember what Salomon ſayth: Melior eſt patiens viro forti, & qui dominatur animo, expugnatore vrbium. i. *A pacient man is better then a ſtrong warriour, and he that conquereth hys own ſtomacke, is better then he that conquereth townes and Cities.*

Bartlet Greene.

Animorum in fide vnio, per charitatem aucta, firma eſt amicitia. Vale (mi Bartrame) & mei memineris, vt ſemper ſimillimi efficiamur. Vale. Apud nouam Portam. 20. Ianuarij. 1556.

Set ſober loue againſt haſty wrath.

Bartlet Grene.

Thus we ſee the fatherly kyndnes of our moſt gracious and mercyfull God, who neuer ſuffereth hys elect children ſo to fall, that they lye ſtyll in ſecuritye of ſinne, but often times quickneth them vp by ſome ſuch meanes, as perhaps they thinke leaſt of, as he dyd here thys hys ſtrayed ſheepe. And now therefore to returne to our hiſtory: for the better maintenance of himſelfe in theſe hys ſtudies & other hys affayres he had a large exhibition of hys Grandfather Maſter Doctor Barlet, who during the tyme of Grenes impriſonment made vnto hym large offers of great liuinges, if he would recant, and (forſaking the truth, and goſpel of *CHRIST*) come home agayn to the church & Sinagoge of Rome. But theſe hys perſwaſions (the Lord be therfore praiſed) tooke ſmall effect in thys faythfull hart, as the ſequell dyd declare. He was a man beloued of all men, (except of the Papiſtes, who loue none that loue the truth) and ſo he well deſerued: for he was of a meeke, humble, diſcrete, and moſt gentle behauiour to all. Iniurious he was to none, beneficiall to many, eſpecially to thoſe that were of the houſhold of faith: as appeared (amongeſt other) by hys frendly dealyng with maſter Chriſtopher Goodman, beyng at that preſent a poore Exile beyond the ſeas. With whom this Bartlet Grene (aſwell for hys toward learning, as alſo for hys ſober and godly behauiour) had often ſocietie in Oxford in the dayes of good K. Edward: which nowe, notwithſtandyng hys frendes miſery and baniſhment, he dyd not lightly forget, and that turned as it chaūced (not without the prouidence of almighty God) to the great griefe of both, the one of hart for the loſſe of hys frend, and the other of body in ſuffering the cruell and murthering rage of Papiſtes.

The cauſe hereof was a letter which Greene dyd write vnto the ſayd Goodman, containyng aſwell the report of certaine demaūdes or queſtions, which were caſt abroad in London (as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his owne pennyng, which he ment to haue ſent vnto M. Philpot, wherin he declareth his full vſage before the Byſhop of London and others) as alſo an anſwere to a queſtiō made by yͤ ſayd Chriſtopher Goodman in a letter written vnto him, in which he required to haue yͤ certainty of the report which was ſpread amongeſt them on the other ſide of the ſeas , that the Quéene was dead. Wherunto M. Greene aunſwered ſimply, & as the truth then was, that ſhe was not dead.

Theſe letters with many other, written to diuers of the godly exiles by their frendes here in England, being deliuered to a meſſenger to cary ouer, came by the apprehenſion of the ſaid bearer, vnto the handes of the King & Quéenes Cōſell. Who at their conueniẽt leaſures (which in thoſe dayes by ſome of thẽ was quickly foũd out for ſuch matters) peruſed the whole nõber of the ſaid letters, & amõgeſt them eſpied this letter of M. Greenes, written vnto his frend Chriſtopher Goodman, in the contentes wherof (amongeſt other newes and priuate matters) they found theſe wordes : *The Queene is not yet dead.* Which wordes were onely written as an aunſwere , to certifie M. Goodman of the truth of his former demaund. Howbeit (to ſome of the Counſell) they ſemed very hainous wordes , yea treaſon they would haue made thẽ if the law would haue ſuffred. Which when they coulde not doe (and beyng yet very loth to let any ſuch depart fréely, whom they ſuſpected to be a fauourer of the Goſpell) they then examined him vpon his fayth in religion, but vpon what pointes, it is not certainly knowen.

Neuertheles (as it ſéemeth) his aũſwers were ſuch, as litle pleaſed them (eſpecially the anoynted ſort)and therfore after they had long detained him in priſon, as well in the Tower of London, as els where, they ſent him at laſt vnto Boner Byſhop of London, to be ordered accordyng to his Eccleſiaſticall law : as appeareth by their letters ſent vnto the Biſhop, with ẏ ſayd priſoner alſo: wherin it may appeare that Sir Ioh. Bourne (then Secretary to the Quéene) was a chief ſtyrrer in ſuch caſes, yea and an entiſer of others of the Cõſell: who otherwiſe (if for feare they durſt) would haue ben content to haue let ſuch matters alone. The Lord forgeue them their weakenes (if it be his good pleaſure) and geue them true repentaunce, Amen.

¶A letter ſent vnto Boner Byſhop of London, by the Queenes Counſell, dated the xi. day of Nouember. 1555. but not deliuered vntill the 17. of the ſame moneth.

AFter our right harty commendations to your good Lordſhyp, we ſend to the ſame herewith, the body of one Bartlet Greene, who hath of good time remained in ẏ Tower for his obſtinate ſtandyng in matters agaynſt the Catholicke Religiõ, whom the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties pleaſures are (becauſe hee is of your Lordſhyps Dioces) ye ſhall cauſe to bee ordred accordyng to the lawes in ſuch caſes prouided. And thus we byd your goodſhyp hartly farewell . From S. Iames the xj. of Nouember. 1555.

Your good Lordſhyps louyng frendes.

Wincheſter.
Penbroke.
Tho. Ely.
William Haward.
Iohn Bourne.
Thom. Wharton.

Syr Iohn Bourne will wayt vpon your Lordſhyp , and ſignifie further of the King and Queenes Maieſties pleaſures herein.

Now that ye may the better vnderſtand the certeintie of his handlyng after this his commyng vnto Boners cuſtody , I haue thought it good to put forth his owne letter , containyng at large the diſcourſe of the ſame. Which letter he wrote & did meane to haue ſent vnto M. Philpot , but was preuented , belike either by Philpots death or els (and rather) by the wyly watchyng of his kéeper ; for it came (by what meanes I know not certeinly) vnto the Biſhops handes, & beyng deliuered vnto his Regiſter , was found in one of his bookes of record. The copy wherof here foloweth.

¶A letter of Barthelet Greene , written vnto Iohn Philpot, containing beſides other particular matter betwixt him and M. Philpot, a brief rehearſall of his handlyng , and certaine his conferences with Boner and others, at hys firſt commyng to the Byſhops.

THat which was lackyng in talke (through my default) at your beyng here , I haue ſupplied by writyng in your abſẽce, now at ẏ lẽgth getting ſome oportunity & leaſure. The 17. day of Nouẽb. being brought hether by two of the clocke at after noone , I was preſented before my Lord of London and other two Byſhops, Maſter Deane, M. Roper, M. Welch, Doct. Harpſfield Archdeacon of London , and other two or thrée, all ſittyng at one table . There were alſo preſent Doct. Dale, M. George Mordãt, and M. Dee. Then, after the Biſhop of London had red vnto him ſelfe the letter that came from the Counſell , he ſpake with mo wordes, but (as I remember) to this effect: that the cauſe of their aſſemblie was , to heare mine examination, whereunto he had authoritie by ẏ Counſell, & had prouided M. Welch & an other, whoſe name I know not (but well I remember , though he obteined it not, yet deſired he my Lord , that I might heare the Counſels letters) to be there if any matters of the common law ſhould ariſe , to diſcuſſe them , he intreated my Lord to determine all controuerſies of Scriptures : and as for the Ciuill law, he and Doct . Dale ſhould take it on them.

M. Greene preſẽted before *B. Boner.*

Wherfore he demaunded of me the cauſe of myne impriſonment . I ſayd that the occaſion of mine apprehenſion was a letter which I wrote to one Chriſtofer Goodman, wherin (certifying hym of ſuch newes as happened here) amongeſt the reſt , I wrote that there were certaine printed papers of queſtions ſcattered abroad. Wherupon, being ſuſpected to be priuy vnto the deuiſing or publiſhyng of the ſame , I was committed to the Fléete: but ſithens heard I nothing therof, after the Commiſſioners had receaued my ſubmiſſion . The ſumme whereof was : that as I was ſure there neither could be any true witnes , nor probable coniecture agaynſt me in that behalfe: ſo refuſed I no puniſhment, if they of their conſciẽces would iudge me priuy to the deuiſing, printing, or publiſhyng of thoſe queſtiõs. But my Lord affirmyng that there was an other cauſe of mine impriſonment ſithens , demaunded if I had not after, ſith I was committed vnto the Fléete , ſpoken or written ſomewhat agaynſt the naturall preſence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament of the aultar.

M. Greene committed firſt to the Fleete and vpon what occaſion.

Then deſired I his Lordſhyp to bee good vnto me, truſtyng that he would put me to aunſwere to no new matters, except I were firſt diſcharged of the old. And when I ſtode long on that, M. Welch aunſwered that it was procured that I ſhould ſo do, right well . For albeit I were impriſoned for treaſon, if duryng the tyme of endurance I had maintained hereſie , that were no ſufficiẽt allegation againſt the Ordinary: neither, whether I were before him acquitted or cõdemned, ſhould it take away the former fault. Thẽ my Lord affirmyng that I was not brought before him but for hereſie, and the other Gentleman ſaying that doubtles I was diſcharged of my former matter , my deſire was , that I might be charged accordyng to the order of the law , to heare my accuſers.

Then Doct . Chadſey was ſent for , who reported that in the preſence of M. Moſley and the Lieutenant of the Tower, I ſpake agaynſt the reall preſence and the ſacrifice of ẏ Maſſe , and that I affirmed that their Church was the Church of Antichriſt.

D. Chadſey witneſſeth agaynſt *M. Grene.*

Is not this true, quoth my Lord ? I ſayd yea . Will you continue therin, quoth he? Yea ſayd I. Wilt thou thẽ maintaine it by learning, ſaid he? Therin, quoth I, I ſhould ſhewe my ſelfe to haue litle witte , knowyng myne owne youth and ignoraunce, if I would take on me to maintayne any controuerſie agaynſt ſo many graue and learned men . But my conſcience was ſatiſfied in the truth, which was ſufficient to my ſaluation.

Talke betwene *M. Grene* and the Commiſſioners.

Roper. Conſcience ? (quoth M. Roper) ſo ſhall euery Iew and Turke be ſaued.

We had hereafter much talke to no purpoſe , and eſpecially on my part , who felt in my ſelfe , through colde and open ayre much dulnes of wit and memory. At the length , I was aſked what conſcience was: and

I ſayd, the certifying of the truth.

Perſwaſion of *M. Welch to M. Grene.*

M. Welch. With that M. Welch roſe vp, deſiring leaue to talke with me alone. So hee taking mee aſide into an other chamber, ſayd, that hee was ſory for my trouble and would gladly ſee me at liberty: he marueled, that I being a yong man, would ſtand againſt all the learned men of the realme, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the Catholicke church from *CHRISTES* tyme, in a matter wherein I could haue no great learning. I ought not to thinke myne owne wit better then all mens, but ſhould beleue them that were learned. I promiſe you (quoth he) I haue red all Peter Martyrs booke, and Cranmers, and all the reſt of them, and haue conferred them with the contrary, as Roffenſis and the Biſhop of Wincheſter. &c. and could not perceaue, but that there was one continuall truth which from the beginning had ben maintayned: and thoſe that at any tyme ſeuered from this vnitie, were aunſwered and aunſwered agayne. This was the ſume of his tale, which lacked neyther witte nor eloquence.

Aunſwere of *M. Greene to M. Welch.*

Modeſtie of *M. Greene.*

Roma. 9.

M. Grene. Then ſpake I. For aſmuch as it pleaſeth your Maſterſhip to vſe me ſo familiarly (for hee ſo behaued him ſelfe towardes me, as though I had bene his equall) I ſhall open my mynd freely vnto you, deſyring you for to take it in good worth. I conſider my youth, lacke of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little vnder the opinion that ſome men haue of me. But God is not bound to tyme, witte, or knowledge, but rather chooſeth infirma mundi, vt cōfunderet fortia. Neyther can men appoint bondes to Gods mercy: For, *I will haue compaſſion* (ſayth hee) *on whom I will ſhewe mercy*. There is no reſpect of perſons wyth God, whether it bee olde or younge, ritch, or poore, wyſe, or fooliſh, Fiſher or Baſketmaker. *God geueth knowledge of his truth, through his free grace, to whom he liſt.* Iames. i. Neyther do I thinke my ſelfe only to haue the truth, but ſtedfaſtly beleue that Chriſt hath his ſpouſe the Catholicke and vniuerſall church diſperſed in many realmes where it pleaſeth hym: ſpiritus vbi vult ſpirat: no more is he addicted to any one place, then to the perſon and quality of one man. Of this church I nothing doubt my ſelfe to be a member, truſting to be ſaued by the fayth that is taught in the ſame. But how this church is knowen, is in a maner the end of all controuerſies. And the true markes of *CHRISTES* church is the true preaching of hys word, and miniſtring of his Sacramentes. Theſe markes were ſealed by the Apoſtles, and confirmed by the auncient fathers, till at the length they were through the wickednes of men and the Deuill, ſore worne and almoſt vtterly taken away. But God be prayſed that he hath renued the print, that his truth may be knowē in many places. For my ſelfe, I call God to witnes, I haue no hope in mine owne wit and learning, which is very ſmall: but I was perſwaded thereto by hym, as by an *inſtrument, that is excellent in all good learning and liuing. And God is my record, that cheifly I ſought it of hym by continuall prayer wyth teares.

The ſpirite of God addicted neyther to perſon, nor place.

The end of all controuerſies is to know the true church.

Markes of the true church.

*By this inſtrument, he meaneth *Pet. Martyr.*

M. Greene ſeaking hys knowledge of God with teares.

Furthermore, what I haue done herein, it is not nedeful for me to ſpeake: but one thing (I ſay) I wiſh of god w̃ all my hart, ẏ al men which are of cōtrary iudgement, would ſeke the truth in lyke maner. Now I am brought hether before a great many of Biſhopes and learned men, to bee made a foole and laughing ſtocke: but I way it not a ruſhe: For God knoweth that my whole ſtudy is to pleaſe hym: beſydes that, care I not for mans pleaſure or diſpleaſure.

M. Welch replyeth to *M. Grene.*

M. Welch. No M. Grene (quoth he) thinke not ſo vncharitably of any man, but iudge rather that men labour for your ſoules health as for their own. And alas, how wyll you condemne all our forefathers? Or how can you thinke your ſelf to bee of the catholicke church, wythout any continuance, and contrary to the iudgement of all learned men?

Grene. Then ſayd I, Syr I haue no authoritye to iudge any man: neuertheles, I doubt not, but that I am of the true catholicke church, how ſo euer our learned men here iudge of me.

Welch. Why, then (ſaid he) do you ſuppoſe your owne wit and learning better then all theirs? If you do not geue credite onely to them, other learned men ſhall reſort vnto you that ſhall perſwade you by the ſcriptures and Doctours.

M. Gre contente geue plac in all ot thinges, ſaue only in fayth.

Grene. Syr (quoth I) God knoweth that I refuſe not to learne of any childe, but I woulde embrace the truth from the mouth of a naturall foole, in anye thyng wherein I am ignorant, and that in all thinges ſauyng my fayth. But concernyng the truth, wherein I am throughly perſwaded, I cānot ſubmit my ſelf to learne, vnleſſe it be, as your maſterſhip ſayd, that ye peruſed ẏ bookes on both ſides: For ſo might I make my ſelfe an indifferent iudge: other wyſe I may be ſeduced.

And here we fell out agayne in a long talke of the church, wherein hys learning and wyt was much aboue myne: but in the end when I told him I was perſwaded, and that he dyd but loſe hys labour:

Welch. Why then (quoth he) what ſhall I report to my Lord?

Grene. Euen as pleaſe you (quoth I) or els you may ſay that I would be glad to learne, if I had bookes on both ſides. So he going in, the Biſhops (euen then riſen, and ready to depart) aſked how he lyked me? Hee aunſwered: in fayth my Lord he wyll be glad to learne. Which wordes when they were taken, leſt they ſhould myſtake his meaning and mynde, I ſaid: yea my Lord, ſo that I may haue bookes on both ſides, as Caluin, & my Lord of Canterburies booke, and ſuch other. Well (quoth my Lord) I wyl ſatiſfie thy mynde therin alſo: and they all were in great hope, that ſhortly I ſhoulde become a good Catholicke, as they call it.

* Wher *Philpot* was, he meaneth, whom h wrote t letter.

Frendly entertei ment of *M. Gre* in Biſho *Boners* houſe fo tune.

Then was I brought into my Lordes inner chamber (* where you were) and there was cōmitted to maſter Dee, who entreated me very frendly. That nyght I ſupped at my Lordes table, and lay with M. Dee in the chamber you dyd ſee. On the morrowe I was ſerued at dynner from my Lordes table, and at nyght dyd eate in the hall with hys Gentlemen: where I haue bene placed euer ſithence, and fared wonderfull well. Yea, to ſay the truth, for my liberty wythin the bondes of his Lordſhips houſe, for my lodging and fare, ſcarce haue I bene at any tyme abroade in better caſe ſo long together, and haue found ſo much gentlenes of my Lord and his Chaplaynes, and other ſeruauntes, that I ſhould eaſily haue forgotten that I was in priſon, were it not that this great cheare was often poudered with vnſauery ſawces of examinations, exhortations, poſinges, and diſputations.

M. Gre had in pr uate exa mination before th Biſhop.

M. Gren vrged wi the literal ſenſe of t wordes [this is m body.]

Cauſes mouing *M. Gre* from the literall ſenſe of t wordes forеſaid.

For ſhortly after ſupper the firſt Monday at nyght I was had into my Lordes bed chamber, and there he would know of me how I cam firſt into theſe hereſies. I ſayd I was perſuaded thereto by the ſcriptures and authorities of the Doctours, alleadged by Peter Martyr in his Lectures vpon the .xj. Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, whyleſt he intreated there on that place De cœna domini, by the ſpace of a moneth together. But then my Lord enforced the playnes of *CHRISTES* wordes and hys almighty power, demaunding of me, what reaſon ſhould moue me frō the literall ſenſe of the wordes: but I hauing no luſt to thoſe matters, woulde haue alledged that there were bookes ſufficient of that matter, as Pet. Martyr, Cranmer, & Oecolampadius: neuertheles when this ſhift wold not ſerue, but I was cōſtrained to ſay ſomwhat, I ſayd I was moued from the literall ſenſe by the maner of ſpeaking, by the circumſtance, and by conferēce of other places of the Scriptures. It is euident that *CHRIST* tooke bread, and that he ſhewed them (they ſeyng it) bread, which he affirmed to be hys body.

Argum

CHRIST affirmed that bread was hys body:

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no meanes bée true.

Ergo, the wordes, if they be taken according to the letter, can not bee true.

For this predication, Panis eſt corpus Chriſti, or Corpus Chriſti eſt panis, is neither identica, nor accidentalis, nor eſſentialis prædicatio. Wherefore of neceſſity I muſt ſay it was ſpoken in the lyke ſenſe, as: *CHRIST* was a doore, a vyne, and a way. Neyther can it ſerue to ſay, that it was not of bread that he affirmed to be hys body, and that for two cauſes.

For whatſoeuer he ſhewed, that was bread: for nought els was ſéene.

But ẏ which he ſhewed, he affirmed to be his body:
Ergo he affirmed of bread that it was hys body.

The ſecond reaſon is: for that it was not chaunged before, ſeing benedixit, is gratias egit, or els Chriſt affirmed no true propoſition, and you are without authority.

In the ende of this letter there were noted theſe ſentences following, collected for confirmation of hys former aſſertions, videlicet.

Eadem locutio poculi. i. *The ſame phraſe is vſed & ſpoken vpon the cup.*

Dicitur poſtea panis. i. *It is called bread in the ſame place afterward.*

Eadem ratione reiecero, corpus, qua tu panem. i. *By the reaſon, as it may be denyed to be bread, it may be denyed to be the body.*

Aſcendit in cœlum. i. *His body is aſcended into heauen.*

Corpore nobis factus eſt ſimilis iu omnibus poſt natiuitatem. At noſtrum corpus non poteſt eſſe in in duobus locis: Ergo. &c.

In body he was like to vs in all thinges after his natiuitie (ſinne excepted). Seing then our body can not bee in two places at once: Ergo, *neither his.*

Diſcipuli non ſtupebant. &c. *His diſciples tooke it as no miracle nor wonder.*

¶ The laſt examination and condemnation of Maſter Greene.

Thus (as it ſéemeth) for this tyme, they left of. But not long after the Biſhop perceiuing Greenes learnyng and conſtancy to be ſuch, as neyther hee nor any of hys Doctors & Chaplains could by the ſcripture refel, began then to obiect and put in practiſe his chiefe and ſtrongeſt argument agaynſt hym: which was the rigour of the law, and the cruelty of execution: an argument I enſure you, which wythout the ſpeciall grace of our God, to fleſhe is importable. And therefore vſyng law as a cloke of hys tyranny, the xxvij. day of Nouember, the ſayd biſhop examined hym vpon certain points of chriſtian religion. Whereunto when hee had aunſwered, the biſhop appoynted hys Regiſter (as theyr moſt common maner is) to draw therout an order of cōfeſſion. Which being afterwardes red vnto Greene, was alſo ſubſcribed by hym, as a confirmation of hys former aſſertions: the tenour wherof here enſueth.

¶ *The confeſſion and ſaying of Bartlet Greene.*

Bartlet Greene borne in the Citie of Lōdon in the Pariſh of Baſſingſhall of the Dioces of London, and of the age of. xxv. yeares, beyng examined in the Byſhops palace there, the xxvij. day of Nouember, anno. 1555. vpon certaine Articles aunſwered as foloweth. videlicet, that neither in the tyme of K. Edward after that the Maſſe by hym was put downe, neither in the tyme of Q. Mary, after that the Maſſe was reſtored agayne, he hath heard any Maſſe at all: but he ſayth that in the raigne of ẏ ſayd Queenes Maieſty, he the ſayd Bartlet. ij. tymes, to witte, at. ij. Eaſter tydes or dayes, in the chamber of Iohn Polline, one of the Preachers in kyng Edwardes tyme within the Pariſh of S. Michaels in Cornhyll of the Dioces of London, did receaue the Communion with the ſayd Pulline and Chriſtopher Goodman, ſometyme reader of the Diuinitie lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the Sea, and the ſecond tyme with the ſayd Pulline with one Runneger, Maſter of Arte of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford: and this Examinate alſo ſayth that at both the ſayd Communions hee and the other before named did take and receaue bread and wine, which bread and wyne he called Sacramentall bread, and Sacramentall wyne, which he ſayth were vſed there by thē, Pullen onely readyng the wordes of the inſtitution expreſſed in the booke of Communion.

Ex Regiſt.

In which receauyng & vſyng, this Examinate ſayth, that the other afore named did receaue the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, & that they receaued materiall bread & materiall wyne, no ſubſtance therof chaūged, and ſo no real preſence of ẏ body & bloud of *CHRIST* there being, but onely grace added thereto. And farther this Examinate ſayth, that he hath heretofore, duryng the raigne of the Queenes Maieſty aforeſayd, refuſed and ſo now doth refuſe to come and heare Maſſe, and to receiue ẏ Sacrament of the aultar, as they are now vſed and miniſtred in this Church of England, becauſe he ſayth that concernyng the Maſſe he can not be perſuaded in his conſciēce that the ſacrifice pretended to be in the ſame, is agreable to Gods word, or mainteinable by the ſame: or that without deadly offence he can worſhyp the body and bloud of *CHRIST* that is pretēded to be there. And as concernyng the Sacrament of the aultar, this Examinate ſayth, that he heretofore duryng the ſayd raigne, hath refuſed and now doth refuſe to receaue the ſame as it is now vſed in this Church of Englād, becauſe it is not vſed accordyng to the inſtitution of *CHRIST*, but both in a ſtraunge tong, and alſo not miniſtred in both kyndes, and beſides that contrary to Gods word it is there taught that the thyng there miniſtred is to be adored, as the reall and true body of *CHRIST*. And farthermore this Examinate ſayth, that duryng the ſayd reigne he hath not bene confeſſed to the Prieſt, nor receaued abſolution at his handes, becauſe he is not bound by Gods word to make auricular confeſſion.

Bartlet Greene.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

M. Greene refuſing to heare Maſſe.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe not mainteinable by Gods word.

M. Greene agaynſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Auricular confeſſion refuſed.

Many other ſondry conferences, and publicke examinations they brought him vnto. But in the end (ſeyng his ſtedfaſtnes of fayth to be ſuch as agaynſt the which, neither their threatninges, nor yet their flattering promiſes could preuaile, the xv. day of January the Byſhop cauſed him wᵗ the reſt aboue named to be brought into the Cōſiſtory in Paules: where, beyng ſet in hys iudgemēt ſeat, accōpanied with Fecknam then Deane of the ſame Church, and other his Chaplaines, after he had condemned the other ſixe, he then callyng for Bartlet Greene began with theſe or the like wordes.

M. Greene with the other ſix Martyrs brought to the Cōſiſtory.

Honorable audience, I thinke it beſt, to open vnto you the conuerſation of this mā called Bartlet Grene. And becauſe you ſhal not charge me that I go about to ſéeke any mans bloud, here you ſhal here the Counſels letters, which they ſent with hym vnto me. The effect wherof is: that where he had bene of long tyme in the Tower of London for hereſie, they haue now ſent him vnto me to be ordered accordyng to the lawes therfore prouided. And now to thée Bartlet Greene I propoſe theſe ix. Articles. Then hee red the Articles aboue mētioned, which were generally obiected to all theſe ſeuē priſoners, to witte, Tho. Whittle, Iohn Tudſon, Iohn Went, Tho. Browne, Iſabell Foſter, Ioane Laſhford, Bartlet Greene.

B. Boners wordes to the audience.

9. Articles put to *M. Greene.*

But when M. Greene would haue aunſwered them particularly, he was put to ſilence, with promiſe that he ſhoulde haue time to aunſwere ſufficiently: and therfore the Biſhop procedyng, ſayd that when Greene came firſt to his houſe, he deſired to haue the bookes of the auncient Doctours of the Church to read, which he ſayd he graunted him.

M. Greene not ſuffered to anſwere to the Articles.

Wherunto Greene aunſwered and ſayd, that if the Doctours were with indifferēt iudgement weyed, they made more a great deale with him, then they did with them.

Doctors red with indifferēt iudgement, make more agaynſt the Papiſtes, then with them.

Feck. Vppon which wordes Fecknam Deane of Paules ſtode vp, and maruelyng why he ſayd ſo, aſked hym if he would be content to ſtand to yͤ iudgement of the Doctours.

Grene. Grene then ſayd that hee was content to ſtand to their Doctours iudgement.

Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antioch.

*i. Elias going vp left his cloke behind him, but Chriſt aſcending vp toke his fleſh, and alſo left it behind him.

Feck. I will then propound vnto you (quoth Fecknam) the Doctours and interpretate them your ſelf. So he alledged a place of Chryſoſtome. ad popul. Antioch. which was this: *Elias aſcēdens melotem ſuū poſt ſe reliquit: Chriſtus vero aſcendēs carnem ſuā aſſumpſit, & eandem poſt ſe reliquit: and he demaūded Grene how he vnderſtode the place.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. 10.

† Is not the bread which we bleſſe the communication of the Lordes body.

Grene. Then Grene prayed him that he would cōfer the Doctours ſayinges together, and therfore alledged the ſame Doctour agayne, writyng vppon the. 1. Cor. 10. An non eſt panis quem nos benedicimus, communicatio corporis Domini? Non ne eſt Calix. &c. Wherby he proued that this Doctor called this ſacrament but a ſigne of the Lordes body. Many other wordes of probation and deniall were betwixt them.

M. Grene firſt a ranke Papiſt.

Feck. At laſt Fecknam demaunded of hym how lōg he had bene of this opinion? For M. Grene (ſayd he) you confeſſed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at ſchole, you were called the ranckeſt Papiſt in that houſe, and beyng compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were conuerted from your old doctrine.

Grene. And Grene confeſſed the ſame.

Vntrue report *of Peter Martyr.*

Feck. Then agayne hée ſayd that Grene told hym that the ſayd Peter Martyr was a Papiſt at his firſt commyng to Oxford. Wherupō he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to conſider how vayne his doctrine that he profeſſed was, which was grounded vpon one man, and that vpon ſo vnconſtant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiuyng the wicked intent of the Counſell, was content to pleaſe them, and forſake the true and Catholicke fayth.

Peter Martyr firſt turned from popery to the truth, by prayer and readyng the Doctors.

Grene. Grene ſayd that he grounded not his fayth vpon Martyr nor any other, nor did beleue ſo becauſe Martyr beleued the ſame, but becauſe that he had heard the Scriptures and the Doctours of the Church truly and wholeſomely expounded by him: neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he ſpake. And further he ſayd that he heard the ſayd M. Peter ſay often, that he had not as yet, while he was a Papiſt, red Chryſoſtome vppon the. x. to the Corinthes, nor many other places of the Doctours: but when he had red them and well conſidered them, he was content to yeld to the Doctours, hauyng firſt humbled him ſelfe in prayer, deſiryng God to illuminate him, and bryng him to the true vnderſtandyng of yͤ Scripture. Which thyng (ſayd Grene) if you my Lord would do, I do not doubt but God would open your eyes, and ſhew you his truth, no more then I do doubt his wordes to bée true, that ſayth: *Aſke, and it ſhalbe geuen to you, knocke, and it ſhalbe opened vnto you. &c.*

Feck. Then Fecknam aſked him what he thought of this article: Sanctam eccleſiam catholicam?

One holy Catholicke church.

Grene. And Grene aunſwered that he did beleue one holy and vniuerſall church throughout al yͤ world.

Feck. Then Fecknam ſayd that hee would fayne haue a ſure marke and token wherby he might know this Church, and therfore he prayed Greene to define vnto him this Church.

True markes of the church.

Grene. Grene aunſwered that his Church dyd agrée in veritie of the true doctrine of CHRIST, and was knowen by the true adminiſtration of his Sacramentes.

Diſagrement noted amongſt profeſſors of the Goſpell, by *Fecknam.*

Feck. Whereupon Fecknam ſayd that he would proue the Church wherof he was, to be neuer agréeyng in doctrine, but alwayes to haue ben in controuerſie in their Religion. For (ſayd he) Luther and Zwinglius could neuer agrée in their writynges or ſayings, nor Oecolampadius with Caroloſtadius, nor Caroloſtadius with either Zwinglius or Luther. &c. for Luther, writyng vppon the Sacrament of the aultar, ſayd: that in hoc pane vel ſub hoc pane corpus domini accipimus: and Zwinglius cōtrolling him ſayd: that ſub ſigno panis corpus domini accipimus: and the other controlled him in like caſe.

The Goſ pellers in wordes ſeeme to diſſent, b in effect agree wi the word.

Grene. Then M. Grene proued their opinions of the Sacramēt to be one in effect, beyng rightly wayed: and though their wordes dyd not ſound all one, yet they meant one thing, and their opinions were all one, as he proued by diuers other examples.

Feck. Then Fecknam deſired him that hee would not ſo wilfully caſt hym ſelfe away, but to be rather comformable to reaſon, and that my lord Biſhop there preſent would be good vnto him, and would graūt him reſpite (if he would demaunde it) for a fortnight or iij. wéekes, and that he ſhould chooſe any learned man whom he would, and ſhould go with him home to his houſe, and that he whom he would chuſe, would willingly take the paynes to read and conferre the Doctours with him, and open the Doctours mindes and meanynges vnto him.

Boner forbiddet *M. Gren* to be called Maſter.

Boner. Then Boner ſayd, that he was proude and an obſtinate boy, and therefore he bad Feckman to hold his peace, and to call him no more M. Grene: for (ſayd he) you ought not to call an hereticke Maſter.

Pendleton. After this, Doct. Pendleton alleadged to hym this text out of the. xxij. of Luke: Ex hoc non manducabo illud, donec impleatur in regno Dei. Here (ſayd he) you muſt confeſſe your opinion to bee falſe, els you muſt ſay that CHRIST was a lyer: for CHRIST ſayd: *I will eat no more of this, whyle it be fulfilled in my fathers kingdom.* If CHRIST did eat no more the bread when he ſpake theſe wordes, then muſt you ſay that hee was a lyer, for hee did eate bread after wyth his Diſciples before hee aſcended. But if you ſay he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agrée with the ſcriptures, nor with good reaſon.

Note the blind igno rance of *Pendletō,* as though the kingdome of Chriſt wa not gotten at the dea of Chriſt.

Grene. Then Grene aunſwered and ſaid, that this was ſpoken by anticipation, as one of their owne Byſhops (which is now dead) did ſay.

This Bi ſhop beli was the Biſhop of *Winche*

Pendle. Then D. Pendleton ſaid, that that was no ſufficient diſcharge, nor no ſufficient aunſwere for him in this caſe: for (ſayd he) it is well knowen that that Biſhop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he dyed a good Chriſtian man.

Grene. To which wordes Grene ſayd: I do not cal him to witnes in this caſe, as though he were a ſufficient mā to proue my ſaying to be true in this matter: but I do alledge him againſt you, as Paul did the ſcripture which he found grauen in the aultar of the Atheniens againſt them ſelues, ignoto Deo.

In the ol time excō municatio was the greateſt penaltie in matters fayth and conſcience

Theſe with many other wordes, were betwene thē, which I do ouer paſſe becauſe it were to long to ſtand vpon recitall of euery thing. Laſt of all the Biſhop aſked him if he would recant. He ſayd nay, he would not. But my Lord (ſayd he) in old tyme there were no men put to death for their conſcience, vntill ſuch time as Biſhops found the meanes to make it death to beleue contrary to them: but excommunication (my Lord) was the greateſt penalty which men had for their conſcience: yea in ſo much that S. Auſten wrote, and commaunded that no man ſhould be put to death for his opinion.

Boner. Then Boner ſayd that when S. Auſten ſaw what inconueniences followed of that commaundement, he wrote agayne to the temporall rulers, commaunding them to puniſh their bodyes alſo.

Grene. But, ſayd Grene, he bad not put them to death.

Boner. He bad puniſh them, quoth Boner.

Grene. Yea, ſayd Grene, but not put them to death.

Bon. That they ſhold be puniſhed, quoth Boner again. This talke ended, he aſked Grene if he would recant & returne to their romiſh mother. Which whē he denied, the Biſhop pronounced the ſentence diffinitiue againſt hym, and ſo committed hym to the Sheriffes of London, who cauſed hym to be caryed to Newgate.

And as he was going thether, there met hym two gentlemen, being both his eſpeciall friendes, myndyng belyke to comfort this their perſecuted brother: but at their meeting their louing and friendly hartes (not able any longer to hyde them ſelues) were manifeſted by the aboundaunce of their pitifull teares. To whom, when Grene ſaw them, he ſaid in theſe or like wordes: Ah my friendes, is thys your comfort ye are come to geue me in thys my occaſion of heauines? muſt I, who neded to haue comfort miniſtred to me, become nowe a comforter of you? And thus declaring hys moſt quiet and peaceable mynd and conſcience, he chearefully ſpake to them and others, vntyll he came to the priſon dore, into the which he ioyfully entred, & there remained allwaies either in praier (wherunto he much gaue hymſelfe) or els in ſome other godly meditations and exerciſes, vnto the .xxvij. day of January, when he with hys other aboue mentioned brethren went moſt cherefully vnto the place of their torments, often repeating, aſwell by the way, as alſo at the ſtake, theſe latine verſes followyng.

Chriſte deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis,
Te duce vera ſequor, te duce falſa nego.

In Engliſh thus.

O CHRIST my God, ſure hope of health,
beſides thee haue I none:
The truth I loue, and faſehoode hate,
by thee my guide alone.

During the time of his impriſonment in Newgate, diuers of hys friendes had acceſſe vnto hym, to whom hee gaue ſundry godly exhortations: wherewith they were not onely well contented, but for better remembraunce, aſwell of the ſame hys inſtructions, as alſo of hys own good and godly perſon, they deſired hym to wryte ſome what in their bokes, which requeſt he willyngly graunted, as in maner here enſueth.

¶These verſes were written in a booke of maſter Huſſey of the Temple.

Behold thy ſelfe by me, ſuch one was I, as thou:
And thou in time ſhalt be, euen duſt as I am now.
Bartlet Grene.

¶These verſes were alſo written in a booke of maſter William Fletewood, of the ſame houſe.

My reſting roade is found, vayne hope and hap adew:
Lout whom you liſt with chaunge, death ſhal me rid frō you.
Bartlet Grene.

Emonges other diuers and ſingular good vertues of this good man, eſpecially in hym was to be noted ſuch a modeſt nature, ſo humbly thinking of hym ſelfe as in few mē is to be found, euer deiecting him ſelfe vnder that was in hym, and euer ſeeming to be leſſe then hee was, ſo that nothing leſſe he could abyde, then to heare of his prayſe or commendation: as well declareth not onely hys letter written to M. Philpot, wherin he doth earneſtly expoſtulate wyth hym for ſclaunderyng hym with praiſe of hys wyt and learnyng, and other manyfold vertues of great excellency, but alſo by hys owne ſpeech and aunſwers in hys examination, wherein hee caſteth from hym all knowledge of learning and cunnyng, when notwithſtanding he had more in him, then to any mens eyes dyd appeare.

So great and admirable was this gift of modeſty grafted in the nature of him, ſo farre abhorring frō all pride and arrogantie, that as he could not abyde any thyng that was ſpoken to his aduancement or prayſe: ſo neither did there appeare in him any ſhew of bragge in thoſe thinges wherein he might iuſtly glory, which were his puniſhmentes and ſufferynges for the cauſe and quarell of CHRIST. For when he was beaten and ſcourged with rods by Byſhop Boner (which ſcarſe any man would beleue, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him which heard it of his mouth) and he greatly reioyced in the ſame, yet his ſhamefaſt modeſty was ſuch, that neuer he would expreſſe any mention therof, leſt he ſhould ſeme to glory to much in him ſelfe, ſaue that onely he opened the ſame to one M. Cotten of the Temple a frend of his, a litle before his death.

The pitifull nature of *M. Grene.*

Moreouer, to this rare & maydenly modeſty in him, was alſo adioyned the like nature of mercy and pitiful compaſſion: which affection though it ſeemed to be litle regarded of ſome, yet in my minde is there no other thyng wrought in nature, wherein man reſembleth more truly the Image of the high Maieſty of almighty God, then this. And as in this reſpecte of mercifull tendernes, man onely excelleth all other beaſtes: ſo almoſt no leſſe may this man ſeme to paſſe many other men, whoſe cuſtomable propertie & exerciſe was to viſite the poore priſoners with him in priſon, both with bodyly relief, and alſo with ſpirituall comfort: and finding many of them (I meane ſuch as were there for theft, and other naughty factes) very penitent and ſory for their euill demeanors, in hope of their amendemēt, did not onely by mouth, but alſo by his letters require, yea as it were of duety in loue did charge his frendes, to trauaile for their deliueraunces: ſuch was the pitie and charitable mercy of this godly and moſt true member of CHRISTES Church: as appeareth by this letter here folowyng.

¶To my very louing friendes and Maſters M. Goring, M. Farneham, M. Fletewode, M. Ruſewell, M. Bell, M. Huſſey, M. Calthorp, M. Boyer and other my Maſters of the Temple, Bartlet Grene wiſheth health of body and ſoule.

A letter of M. *Bartlet Grene* to certeine of his louing friendes in the Temple.

What true friendſhip is.

True friendſhip is not meaſured by diſtance of place or of perſons.

VEry friendes are they which are knit together with the knot of Charity. Charity doth not decay but increaſe in them that dye faythfully: whereof it followeth that though we be abſent in body, yet are we preſent in the ſpirit, coupled together with the vnity of faith in the bonde of peace, which is loue. How is hee worthy the name of a freind that meaſureth his friendſhip with the diſtance of place, or parting of perſons? If thy friend be out of ſight, is thy frendſhip ended? If he be gone into ẏ countrey, wilt thou ceaſe to loue hym? If he be paſſed the ſeas, will you ſo forſake hym? If hee bee caried into heauen, is charity hindred thereby? On the one ſyde wee haue the vſe of the fathers from the primatiue church, that gaue thankes for their friendes that dyed in the fayth, to proue that charity dyed not with death. On the other ſyde (ſayth Horace) Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

Loue only coupleth together.

All other thinges fayle, loue only indureth for euer.

What ſpeake I of Horace? ſayth not S. Paule the ſame thing? *For we are members of his body of his fleſh, and of his bloud, yea, we are members one of an other.* Is the hand or arme, foote or legge a member when it is diſſeuered from the body? How can we bee members except wee be ioyned together? what is the line that coupleth vs, but loue? when all thynges ſhall fayle, loue fayleth neuer. Hope hath his end when we get that wee hoped for. Fayth is finiſhed in heauen, loue endureth for euer: Loue (I ſay) that proceedeth of charity, for carnall loue, when that which he loued is loſt, doth periſh with the fleſh. Neyther was that euer but fleſhly loue, which by diſtaunce of place, or ſeuering of bodies, is parted aſunder. If loue be the end or ſumme of the law, if heauen and earth ſhall periſh, if one iote of Gods worde ſhall not decay, why ſhould we thinke that loue laſteth not euer?

Loue vnfayned neuer endeth.

I nede not to wryte much to you my friendes, neyther can I haue leyſure now that the keepers are riſen: but this I ſay, if we kept CHRISTES commaundement in louing ech other, as he loued vs, then ſhould our loue be euerlaſting. This frendſhip Paule felt when it moued him to ſay, that *neither lēgth nor bredth* (meaning no diſtāce of place) *neither height nor depth ſhould ſeuer him frō the loue of CHRIST.* wey well this place, and mete it with *Paules* meaſures: ſo ſhall we fynd, that if our loue bee vnfained, it can neuer be ended. Now may you ſay, why wryteſt thou this? Certes to the end that if our friendſhip be ſtable, you may accompliſh this the laſt requeſt of your friend, and perfourme after my death the friendſhip we began in our lyfe, that amity may encreaſe vntill God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

The ſute of M. Grene for the ſauing of certeine poore priſoners in Newgate.

Maſter Fleetewood, I beſech you remember Wittrance and Cooke, two ſingular men amongeſt common priſoners. M. Fernham and M. Bell, with M. Huſſey (as I hope) will diſpatch Palmer and Richardſon with his companions. I pray you M. Calthorp thinke on Iohn Groue, an honeſt poore man, Traiford, and Rice Aprice his accomplices. My Coſin Thomas Witton (a Scriuener in Lomberdſtreete) hath promiſed to further their deliuery: at the leaſt he cã inſtruct you which way to worke. I doubt not but that M. Boyer will labour for the good wife Cooper (for ſhe is worthy to be holpen) and Berard yͤ Frenchman. There be alſo diuers other well diſpoſed mẽ, whoſe deliueraunce if ye will not labour for: yet I humbly beſech you to ſeeke theyr relief as you ſhal ſee cauſe, namely of Henry Aprice, Lancelote, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham, a young man of goodly giftes in wit and learning, and (ſauyng that he is ſomwhat wild) lykely to do well hereafter. There be alſo two women, Coningham and Alice Alexander that may proue honeſt. For theſe and al other poore priſoners here I make this my humble ſute and prayer to you all my maſters, and eſpeciall good frendes, beſechyng you of all bondes of amitie, for the precious bloud of IESVS CHRIST, in the bowels of mercy to tender the cauſes of miſerable captiues: helpe to cloth CHRIST, viſite the afflicted, comfort the ſorowfull, and releue the nedy. The very God of peace guide your hartes to haue mercy on the poore, and loue faythfully together, Amen. This preſent Monday, when I looke to dye, and lyue for euer.

Yours as euer Bartlet Greene.

¶An other letter of M. Grene to Miſtres Elizabeth Clarke.

An other letter of *Bartlet Grene* to Miſtres *Elizabeth Clarke.*

WOuld God (if it were hys pleaſure) that wyth this letter I might ſend you my hart and mynde, and whatſoeuer there is in me els that pertayneth vnto God: So ſhould I thinke it the beſt meſſage and happieſt letter that euer I could wryte. But though I obtain not my deſyre, yet ſhall I not ceaſe wyth continual praier to labour for you, deſyring almighty God to encreaſe that which he hath long ſith begon in you, of ſober lyfe, & *1. Timo. 5.* earneſt zeale towards hys religion. *In fayth* (as ſayth S. Paule) *ſhe that is a true widow and frendles, putteth her truſt in God, continuing day and night in ſupplication and prayer: but ſhe that lyueth in pleaſure is dead, euen yet aliue.* And verely, a true widow is ſhe that hath maried CHRIST, forſaking yͤ vanities of the world, and luſt of the fleſh. For as the maried woman careth how to loue, pleaſe, and ſerue her huſband: *1. Cor. 5.* ſo ought the wydow to geue all her hart & ſoule, thoughtes and wordes, ſtudies and labours, faythfully to loue God, vertuouſly to bring vp her children & houſhold, and diligently to prouide for the poore and oppreſſed. Therfore S. Paul firſt inſtructeth a widow how to behaue *1. Timo. 5.* her ſelf, that is: *Not to lyue in pleaſure, then to watch vnto praier, as the onely meanes to obtayne all our deſires, ſtedfaſtly laying* *Pſalm. 34.* *vp all our truſt in God*, as Dauid right well ſayth: *Luke. 2.* *firſt eſchew euyll, then do good.* Of Anna the prayſe was wrytten, that ſhe neuer went out of the Temple, but ſerued God with faſting and prayer night and day: ſo well had ſhee *Iudith. 8.* eſpouſed CHRIST. Iudith ware a ſmocke of heare, continuing in faſtyng, and had good report of all men. The next care that belongeth vnto a wydow, is that ſhe bring *Epheſ. 6.* vp her children and houſhold godly, in the nourture and information of the Lord. Whereof S. Paule ſayth: *1. Tim. 5.* *If anye haue children or Nephewes, let them learne firſt to rule theyr own houſe godly, and to recompence their elders.* The incontinencie *1. Reg. 2.* and couetouſnes of Phinees and Ophny not corrected by Ely their father, prouoked Gods vengeaunce vpon hym and all hys kynred. The ouer tender loue of *2. Regũ. 15.* Abſolon expelled Dauid from his kingdome. The vnre*1. Reg. 3.*buked ſinnes of Ammon encouraged Abſolon to ſlea hys brother: moſt manifeſt examples agaynſt the parentes, for the offences of their children. Contrarywyſe, howe *2. Reg. 13.* greatly myght Hannah reioyce ouer Samuell her ſonne, whom ſhe had brought vp in the houſe of the lord? what thankes myght Tobias wyfe geue for her ſonne Toby? *3. Reg. 1.* How happy was Salomon to be taught by the Prophet Nathan? But aboue all wydowes, thriſe bleſſed was the *2. Mach. 7.* happy mother of yͤ vij. ſonnes, that ſo had inſtructed thẽ by the feare of God, that by no tormentes they woulde ſhrincke from the loue of hys truth? Of the laſt part S. *1. Timo. 5.* Paule ſheweth that a widow ſhould be choſen, *If ſhe haue nouriſhed her children, if ſhe haue bene lyberall to ſtraungers, if ſhe haue waſhed the Saintes feete, and if ſhe haue miniſtred to them in aduerſitie.* Herein it is euident howe earneſtly S. Paule would haue wydowes bent towardes yͤ poore, for that (as though they onely had bene therefore meete) hee appoynted onely wydowes to miniſter to the Sainctes, and to gather for the poore. Which vſe alſo continued almoſt throughout the primitiue church, yͤ wyddowes had the charge and gathering for poore men and ſtraungers.

The offi & exerciſe of chriſte widowe in the pri matiue church,

Of your neighbours I nede not to put you in remẽbraunce ſeyng you dayly fede them with good hoſpitalitie, by which meanes alſo many forreners are of you relieued: but of the poore almes houſes and myſerable priſoners here in London, many lacking theyr liberty without cauſe, ſome vnder the coulour of religiõ, ſome onely kept for fees, and ſome on priuate mens dyſpleaſure. Alas that CHRIST ſo hungreth, and no man wyll feede him: is ſo ſore oppreſt with thurſt, & no man wyll geue hym to drinke: deſtitute of all lodgyng, and not relieued: naked, and not cloathed: ſicke, and not viſited: impriſoned, and not ſeene. In time paſt men could beſtow large ſummes of money on copes, veſtmentes, & ornamentes of the church. Why rather followe wee not * S. Ambroſes example, which ſolde yͤ ſame to the reliefe of the poore, or Chryſoſtomes commaundement, which willeth fyrſt to decke and garniſh the liuing temple of God? But alas, ſuch is the wickednes of theſe our laſt dayes, that nothing moueth vs: neyther the pure doctrine, the godlynes of lyfe, nor good examples of the auncient fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they haue written any thing that ſerueth for ſectes and diſſenſion, that wyll their charitable children embrace, publiſh and maintaine wyth ſword, fagot and fyre. But all in vayne: they ſtriue agaynſt the ſtreame. For though in deſpite of the truth, by force of the ores of craftie perſwaſion, they may bring them ſelues into the hauen of hel: yet can they not make all men beleue, that the bankes moue whyleſt the ſhyp ſayleth, nor euer ſhall bee able to turne the direct courſe of the ſtreame of Gods truth. Our Lord IESVS CHRIST ſtrengthen you in all pure doctrine and vpright lyuing, and geue you grace, vertuouſly to bryng vp your children and familie, and carefully to prouide for the poore and oppreſſed, Amen. At Newgate the 20. of January. An. 1556.

*Saincte *Ambroſe* tooke fro the church and gaue the poore: we take from the poore the tithes an impropriations, and geue them to churches & miniſte where is nothing but ſinging, and idlenes.

Your aſſured, Bartlet Grene.

¶An other certayne wryting of M. Bartlet Greene.

An other certaine wrytting Maiſter *Bartlet Greene.*

BEtter is the day of death (ſaith Salomon) then the day of birth. Man that is borne of woman, liueth but a ſhort time, and is repleniſhed with many miſeries: but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is borne in trauell, to liue in miſery: Mã through Chriſt, doth die in ioy, and liue in felicitie. He is born to die, and dieth to liue. Straight as he cometh into yͤ worlde, with cries he vttereth his miſerable eſtate: ſtrayghte as he departeth, with ſonges he prayſeth God for euer. Scarce yet in his cradell, iij. deadly enemies aſſault him: after death no aduerſary may annoy him. Whileſt he is here, he diſpleaſeth God: whẽ he is dead he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through ſinne: in yͤ life to come he liueth in righteouſnes. Through many tribulations in earth is he ſtill purged: with ioy vnſpeakeable in heauen is he made pure for euer. Here he dieth euery houre: there he liueth continually. Here is ſinne: there is righteouſnes. Here is time: there is eternitie. Here is hatred: there is loue. Here is payne: there is pleaſure. Here is miſery: there is felicitie. Here is corruption: there is immortalitie, Here we ſee vanitie: there ſhal we behold the Maieſty of God, with triumphant and vnſpeakeable ioy in glory euerlaſting. Seeke therfore the thinges that are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God the father: vnto whom with the ſonne and the holy ghoſt, be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen.

Yours in Chriſt,
Bartelet Grene.

Diuers others letters and matters there were beſyde which this ſeruaunt of God did write, as namely certayne notes & extractes in Latin out of yͤ Doctours and other authours for his memory, whereby is declared how ſtudious he was in yͤ ſearching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profeſſion was the temporall law. Where I would to God hee were not among the lawiers ſuch a Phenix that he had very few or no fellowes to flye with hym, or to follow hys ſteppes. But God is to be prayſed, that although we read of fewe or none among that ſort that dyed as hee did: yet good wittes do ſpring vp dayly of the ſame profeſſion, to ſuch towardnes and Godly zeale, that ſome hope already appeareth, ſhortly to come to paſſe, ẏ this godly Phenix ſhal not flye alone. Theſe foreſayd notes and gatherings of his out of the Doctours, were takē from hym by Boner, being found about hym, which was to hym no litle griefe. He among the reſt was firſt apprehended, but laſt of them condemned, which was the .xv. day of Ianuary, and afterward burned wyth the other Martyrs, the .27. of the ſame moneth.

A commendation of Lampes.

3. Thomas Browne, Martyr.

Ex Regiſt.

Thomas Browne, Martyr. January. 27.

THomas Browne, borne in the paryſh of Hiſton within the dioces of Ely, came afterward to London, where he dwelled in the pariſh of S. Brides in Fleeteſtréete, a maryed man, of the age of .37. yeares: who becauſe hee came not to hys pariſh church, was preſented by the Conſtable of the pariſh to Boner. As touching whoſe articles, wherupon hee was examined by the ſayd Boner, wyth hys anſwers alſo annexed to ẏ ſame, mention goeth before, as in the generall proceſſe of hym & of the reſt, may appeare. This Thomas Browne beyng had to Fulham, wyth the other there to be examined, was required vpon Thurſday, being the .xxvj. day of Septēber, to come into the Chappell to heare Maſſe, which he refuſing to do went into the warren, and there knéeled among the trées. For this he was greatly charged of the biſhop, as for an haynous matter, becauſe he ſayd it was done in deſpite and contempt of their Maſſe: which ſéemed to the biſhop and hys Chaplaines no ſmall offence. At length beyng produced to hys laſt examination before the ſayd biſhop the .xv. day of Ianuary, there to heare ẏ ſentēce diffinitiue againſt him, firſt he was requyred wyth many faire wordes and gleſing promiſes to reuoke hys doctrine, to whom the foreſayd biſhop ſpeaking theſe wordes, ſaid: Browne, ye haue bene before me many times and oft, and I haue trauailed with thée to wyn thée from thine errours: yet thou and ſuch lyke haue and do report, that I go about to ſeke thy blood. &c.

Thomas Browne preſented by the Conſtable of Saint Brides.

Browne kneleth among the trees at the maſſe time.

D. Boners wordes to Thomas Browne.

To whom the ſayd Thomas Browne aunſwered agayne: yea my Lord (ſayd he) in déede ye be a bloudſucker, and I would I had as much bloud, as is water in the Sea, for you to ſucke.

D. Boner charged to be a bloudſucker.

Boner then procéeding to the articles, when hee had red them vnto hym agayne, as hee had done diuers times before, aſked him whether hee was content and wylling to relinquiſh thoſe hys hereſies and erronious opinions (as he called them) and returne agayne vnto the vnity of the catholicke fayth. Whereunto he made anſwer again, ſaying: If they were hereſies, he would forſake them. They be hereſies (quoth the Biſhop.) How wyll ye proue it, ſayd Browne? for I wyll not go from myne aunſwers, except you can proue them to be hereſies, which ye ſhall neuer do. For that which you call hereſie, is no hereſie. With that Boner not able, or els not diſpoſed to ſupply the part of a ſufficient teacher, in prouing that which the other had denyed by good authority and doctrine of the ſcripture, went about with words and promiſe of pardon, to allure him to renoūce thoſe his hereſies, as he called them, & to returne vnto the vnitie of his mother the Catholicke church. &c.

The anſwere of Thomas Browne to Biſhop Boner.

To whom the ſayd Thomas inferred agayne, as followeth: Proue it (ſayd he) to be hereſie, that I do hold and mayntayne, and I wyll turne to you. But you cōdemne me, becauſe I wyll not confeſſe and beleue the bread in the ſacrament of the aultar (as you cal it) to be the body of CHRIST, and therefore ye ſpyll myne and ſuch like innocents bloud, being the Quéenes true ſubiectes, for which you ſhall aunſwer, and that ſhortly.

After this being ſpoken, Boner as he had done to the other before, red in writing the ſentence diffinitiue againſt him. The copy & forme of which ſentence wherwith the Papiſts were went to condemne all the innocēt ſaintes of CHRIST, is aboue expreſſed, pag. 1661. And ſo this done, he was cōmitted vnto the Shieriffes to bee had away, and burned the .xxvij. day of the ſayd moneth of Ianuary, cōſtantly abiding, with the other, the Popes tormentes for the true confeſſion of hys Chriſtian fayth.

Sentence red againſt Thomas Browne.

4. Iohn Tudſon, Martyr.

Iohn Tudſon, Martyr.

Ianuary, 27.

THe ſame day and tyme, when the foreſayd Tho. Browne with his felowes was condemned (as is aboue rehearſed) beyng the .xv. day of Ianuary, was alſo produced Ioh. Tudſon with the reſt of the ſayd company, vnto the lyke condemnation. This Iohn Tudſon was borne in Ipſwich in the County of Suffolke, after that apprentiſe in London dwelling with one George Goodyere of the pariſh of Saint Mary Botulph, within the dioces of London, who being complayned of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Doct. Story, was by them ſent vnto Boner Biſhop of London, and was diuers times before him in examination.

The Articles and interrogatories miniſtred vnto hym, as vnto the reſt, before are ſpecified, with his aunſweres alſo to the ſame annexed. &c. After this he was brought vnto the open Conſiſtory: where the ſaid bleſſed and true ſeruaunt of the Lord Iohn Tudſon, appearing before the ſayd Biſhop and his complices, was moued with ſondry perſuaſions (as their maner is) to go from his opinion (which they named hereſy) and to perſiſt in the vnity of the Church which they were of. But he cōſtantly perſiſting in that which he had receiued by the Preachers in king Edwardes time, refuſed ſo to doe, ſaying there was no hereſy in his aunſwers. For I (ſayd he) deſye all hereſy. The Biſhop yet ſtill vſed his olde accuſtomed perſuaſions to remoue hym, promiſing moreouer all his offenſes and errours, (as he called them) to be forgeuen hym, if he would returne. &c. Then ſayd Tudſon: Tell me wherein I haue offended, and I will returne. Then ſayd the Byſhop: In your aunſwers. No, ſayd Tudſon againe, I haue not therein offended: and ye, my Lord pretend charity, but nothing therof appeareth in your workes. Thus after a few words the Byſhop did lykewyſe promulgate againſt hym ſentence of condemnation which beyng red, the Godly and conſtant Martyr was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo with much pacience finiſhed this lyfe with the other aboue named, the .xxvij. day of Ianuary.

Of theſe Articles, read before pag. 1615.

The conſtant perſiſting of Ioh. Tudſon.

Sentence red agaynſt Ioh. Tudſon.

5. Iohn Went, Martyr.

Iohn Went, Martyr.

Ianuary. 27.

IOhn Went borne in Langham in Eſſex, within the Dioces of Lōdon, of the age of .27. and a Shereman by occupation, firſt was examined (as partly is touched before) by Doct. Story vpon the Sacrament of his Popiſh altar, and becauſe the poore man did not accord with him throughly in the reall preſence of the body & bloud of CHRIST, the ſayd Story did ſend hym vp to Boner B. of London. Who likewiſe after diuers examinations vpō the Articles aforeſayd in the Cōſiſtory, attempted the lyke maner of perſuaſiōs with him, as he did with the other to recant and returne. To whom in few wordes the ſayd Went aunſwered agayne, he would not, but that by the leaue of God, he would ſtand firme and conſtāt in that he had ſayd. And when the Byſhop yet notwithſtandyng did ſtill vrge and call vpon hym with wordes and fayre gloſes, to geue ouer him ſelfe to their opiniō, he could haue no other aunſwere of hym but this: No, I ſay as I haue ſayd. &c. Wherupon beyng condemned by ẏ biſhops ſentẽce, he was cõmitted vnto ẏ Sheriffes (whom that ſhameles ſhaueling at that time abuſed for his ſeruile Butchers) and ſo brought to his Martyrdome, which he with no leſſe conſtancy ſuffred to the end with the reſt of that bleſſed ſocietie of Martyrs aboue named.

John Went withſtandeth the biſhops perſuaſions.

Iohn Went condemned.

6. Iſabell Foſter, Martyr.

Iſabel Foſter, Martyr.

January. 27.

WIth theſe fiue perſons aboue recited and condemned, were alſo two womẽ in the foreſaid cõpany condẽned ẏ ſame tyme, and lykewiſe burned for the ſame cauſe, the one a wife called Iſabell Foſter, the other a mayde named Ioane Warne, or otherwiſe Laſhford.

This foreſayd Iſabell was borne in Grafeſtocke in the Dioces of Carlyll, and afterward maryed to one John Foſter Cutler of the Pariſhe of S. Brides in Fleeteſtrete, being of the age of lv. yeares. She likewiſe for not comming vnto the Church, beyng ſent vnto Boner, and ſo impriſoned, was ſondry tymes examined by the ſayd Byſhop, but neuer ouercome, nor remoued from the conſtant cõfeſſion of CHRISTES Goſpell. At length commyng vnto her finall examination before the Byſhop in the Conſiſtory the xv. day of the ſayd moneth of January, ſhe was moued agayne, whether ſhe would yet go from her former aunſweres. Whereunto ſhe gaue a reſolute aunſwere in few wordes: I will not (ſayth ſhe) go from them by Gods grace: and thereunto did adhere, neither beyng caſt downe by the manacyng threates of the Byſhop, nor yet yeldyng through hys alluryng enticementes, promiſing both lyfe and libertie if ſhe would aſſociate her ſelfe in the vnity of the Catholicke Church. Whereunto ſhe ſayd agayne in this wiſe, that ſhe truſted ſhe was neuer out of the Catholicke Church. &c. and ſo perſiſtyng in the ſame, continued conſtant, till the ſentence diffinitiue was pronounced, & then ſhe was committed by the commaundement of the Byſhop to the ſecular power, and ſo brought a few dayes after to the ſtake, the. 27. day of the foreſayd moneth: where ſhe lyke a faithfull witnes of the Lordes truth (with the other fiue aforeſayd) ended her troubles here, to finde a better reſt in the kyngdome of CHRIST our Sauiour.

Iſabell Foſter conſtant in confeſſing Chriſtes goſpell.

The wordes of Iſabell Foſter at her laſt examination.

Iſabell Foſter condemned.

7. Ioane Laſhford, alias

Ioane Warne, Martyr.

Ioane Laſhford, aliâs Ioane Warne, Martyr.

January. 27.

IN a certayne place of theſe Actes and Monumentes heretofore, mẽtion was made of one Elizabeth Warne. pag. 1878. col. 1. who with her huſband Iohn Warne (as is aforeſayd) in the beginning of Queene Maries reigne was apprehended in Bow Churchyard for being there at a Communion: and both ſuffered for the ſame, firſt the man in the moneth of May, then the wyfe in July after: and now the daughter in the moneth of January followed her parentes in the ſame Martyrdome. Furthermore in the ſame place and page mencion was made alſo of Doctour Story: who there (we ſayd) was ſomewhat neare vnto the ſayd parties, either in kyndred or alliaunce; albeit as I vnderſtand ſince of ſome, there was no kindred betwene them, but onely that ſhe was his ſeruaunt. Yet notwythſtanding the ſayd Doct. Story (as it is aboue ſpecified) before he was commiſſioner, made interceſſion for the parties to Doct. Martin then Commiſſioner: but afterward being placed in commiſſion hymſelfe, ſo farre forgat himſelfe and his old ſeruaunt, that he became no ſmall procurer of their deathes. I will not here expoſtulate with the hard hart of that mã, nor with hys inconſtancie. Who yet notwithſtandyng, after he had brought them to death, was reſted hym ſelfe for lx. pound, charged with dette in their behalfe: which if it be true, it may therby appeare that he was in ſome peece of kyndred ioyned or allied vnto them. But leauyng that perſon vnto the good pleaſure of the Lord, let vs returne vnto that we haue in hand.

D. Story firſt interceſſor for Iohn Warne and his daughter, & afterward the chiefeſt perſecutor agaynſt them.

This Ioane Laſhford borne in the Pariſhe of litle Hallowes in Thamis ſtreete, was the daughter of one Rob. Laſhford Cutler, and of the foreſayd Elizabeth, who afterward was maryed to Iohn Warne vpholſter, who (as is ſayd) was perſecuted for the Goſpel of God, to the burnyng fire: and after him his wife, & after her this Ioane Laſhford theyr daughter. Who about the age of twenty yeares, miniſtring to her father and mother in priſon, ſuſpected and knowen to be of ẏ ſame doctrine and religion, was ſent vp to Boner B. of London by D. Story (as is aboue in her anſwers to the articles declared) & ſo cõmitted to the Counter in ẏ Poultry, where ſhe remained the ſpace of. v. weekes, & frõ thence had to Newgate, where ſhe continued the ſpace of certane monethes.

Ioane Laſhford daughter of Elizabeth Warne.

The daughter burned after the father and mother.

After that, remaining priſoner in the cuſtodie of the ſayd Boner, her confeſſion was, being examined, that the whole. xij. moneth before and more, ſhee came vnto no Popiſhe Maſſe ſeruice in the Church, neyther would do, eyther to receiue the Sacrament of the aultar, or to bee confeſſed, becauſe her conſcience would not ſuffer her ſo to do, confeſſing and proteſting that in the Sacrament of the aultar, there is not the reall preſence of CHRISTES body and bloud, nor that auricular confeſſion or abſolution after the Popiſh ſort, was neceſſary, nor the Maſſe to be good or accordyng vnto the Scripture, but ſayd that both the ſayd Sacrament, confeſſion, abſolution, and the Maſſe, with all other their ſuperfluous Sacramentes, ceremonies and Diuine ſeruice as then vſed in this Realme of England, were moſt vyle and contrary to CHRISTES wordes and inſtitution, ſo that neither they were at the begynnyng, nor ſhall be at the latter end. This godly Damoſell feble and tender of age, yet ſtrong by grace in this her confeſſion and faith, ſtood ſo firme, that neither the flatteryng promiſes, nor the violent threates of the Byſhops could turne her, but beyng moued and exhorted by the Byſhop to returne to the Catholicke vnity of the Church, ſayth boldly to him agayne: if ye wyll leaue of your abomination, ſo I will returne, and otherwyſe I wyll not.

The confeſſion of Ioane before the Biſhop.

Superfluous and Popiſh ceremonies.

The worthy conſtancie of a mayde.

The wordes of Ioane Laſhford at her laſt examination.

Wherevpon the biſhop yet agayne promiſed her pardon of all her errours (as he called thẽ) if ſhe would be conformed. To thys ſhe aunſwered agayne, ſaying vnto the Biſhop: Doe as it pleaſeth you, and I pray God that you may doe that which may pleaſe God.

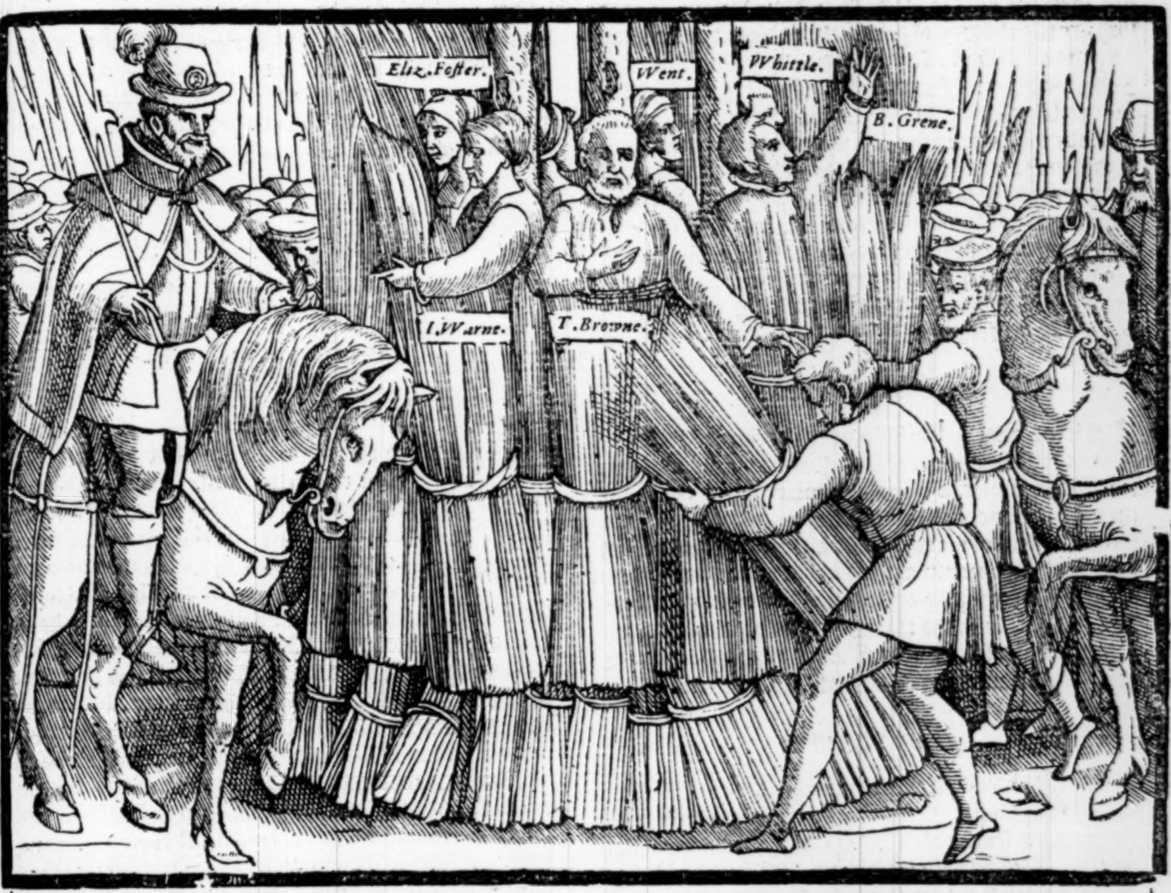
And thus ſhe conſtantly perſeuering in the Lords holy truth, was by the ſentence diffinitiue condemned, & committed vnto the Sherifs, by whom the foreſayd. xxvij. day of January, ſhee with the reſt beyng brought vnto the ſtake, there waſhed her clothes in the bloud of the Lambe, dying moſt conſtantly for hys word and truth, to whom moſt louingly ſhe eſpouſed her ſelfe.

The ſentence and condemnation of Ioane Laſhford.

January 27.

(*)

Seuen godly and conſtant Martyrs, ſuffering at one fire together in Smithfield.


Eliz. Foſter.
Went.
Whittle.
B. Grene.
I. Warne.
T. Browne.

The Martyrdome of Tho. Whittle, Bart. Greene, Tho. Browne, Ioh. Tudſon, Iohn Went, Eliza. Foſter, Ioane Warne, in Smithfield.

An. 1556. Ianuary. 27.

And thus much concerning the life, ſtory, and condemnation of theſe vij. Martyrs aboue ſpecified.

Fyue other Martyrs in Canterb.

foure women and one man, at two ſtakes and one fyre all together burned.

After theſe ſeuen aboue rehearſed, martyred together in Smithfield, ſhortly after in the ſame moneth the. xxxj. day of January, followed an other like fellowſhip of godly Martyrs at Canterbury, foure women and one man, whoſe names be theſe.

- Iohn Lomas, *a yong man.*
- Anne Albright.
- Ioane Catmer.
- Annes Snoth, *wydow.*
- Ioane Sole, *wyfe.*

1. ¶ Iohn Lomas, Martyr.

John Lomas of the pariſhe of Tenterden, detected and preſented of that religion which the Papiſtes call hereſie, and cited vpon the ſame to appeare at Canterbury, examined there of the fyrſt article, whether he beleued the catholicke church or no, aunſwered thus: that he beleued ſo much as is cõtayned in Gods booke and no more.

Then beyng aſſigned to appeare agayne vnder the payne of law the next Wedenſday ſeuennyght after, which was the. xvij. day of January, the ſayd Lomas examined whether he would bee confeſſed of a Prieſt or no, aunſwered & ſayd, that he found it not wrytten that he ſhould be confeſſed to any prieſt, in Gods boke, neither would bee confeſſed, vnleſſe hee were accuſed by ſome mã of ſinne. Agayn examined whether he beleued the body of *CHRIST* to be in the ſacrament of the aultar really vnder the formes of bread and wyne after the conſecration or no: he aunſwered that he beleued no realty of *CHRISTES* body to be in the ſacrament, neither found he writtẽ that he is there vnder forme or treſtell, but he beleued ſo much as is writtẽ. Being thẽ demaũded whether he beleued that there is a catholicke church or no, and whether he would be content to be a mẽber of ẏ ſame, he aunſwered therunto that hee beleued ſo much as was written in Gods booke, and other aunſwer then this he refuſed to geue. &c. Whereupon the ſentence was geuen and red againſt him the. xviij. day of January, and ſo cõmitted to the ſecular power, he conſtantly ſuffered for the conſcience of a true faith, with the other foure women here following.

Sentence agaynſt *John Lomas.*

2. ¶ Agnes Snoth, Martyr.

Ianuary. 31.

AGnes Snoth wydow, of the pariſh of Smarden, likewyſe accuſed and cited for the true profeſſion of *CHRISTES* religion, was diuers tymes examined before ẏ Phariſaicall fathers. Who there cõpelled to anſwer to ſuch articles and interrogatories as ſhould be miniſtred vnto her, firſt denyed to bee confeſſed to a Prieſt: notwithſtanding ſhe denyed not to confeſſe her offences as one to an other, but not auricularly to any Prieſt. And as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, ſhe proteſted that if ſhe or any other dyd receiue the ſacrament ſo as *CHRIST* and as hys Apoſtles after him dyd delyuer it, then ſhee and they dyd receiue it to theyr comfort: but as it is now vſed in the Church, ſhe ſayd that no man could otherwiſe receiue it then to hys damnation, as ſhe thought. Afterward being examined agayne concerning penaunce, whether it were a ſacrament or no, ſhee plainly denyed the ſame, & that the popiſh maner of their abſolution was not conſonãt to the word, nor neceſſary to be taken: with ſuch other like, agreing with the aunſwers and cõfeſſion of Iohn Lomas before mencioned. Whereupon the ſentence lykewiſe being red, ſhe was cõmitted to the Sheriffes of Canterbury, and ſo ſuffering Martyrdome with the reſt, declared her ſelfe a perfect and conſtant wytnes of *CHRIST* and of his truth, the. xxxj. day of January.

Confeſſion auricular refuſed.

The ſacrament how to be receaued.

Pennance is denied to be a ſacrament.

Agnes Snoth condemned & committed to the ſecular power.

3. ¶ Anne Albright, aliâs Champnes, Martyr.

AGaynſt Anne Albright likewyſe appearing before ẏ Judge and hys Colleagues, it was alſo obiected cõcerning the ſame matter of confeſſion. Whereunto ſhe aunſwered in theſe wordes ſaying: that ſhee would

Anne Albright, Martyr.

Auricular confeſſion.

The words of *Anne Albright* to the prieſtes.

would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, and added moreouer, ſpeaking vnto the Prieſtes: You Prieſtes (ſayd ſhe) are the children of perdition, and can doe no good by your confeſſion. And lykewyſe ſpeaking vnto the Iudge and hys aſſiſtauntes, ſhe told thẽ that they were ſubuerters of *CHRISTES* truth.

An. Albright denyeth the ſacrament of the aultar.

And as touchyng the ſacrament of the aultar, ſhee ſayd it was a naughty and abominable idoll, and ſo vtterly denyed the ſame ſacramẽt. Thus perſiſting ⁊ perſeuering in her former ſayings and aunſwers, ſhe was condemned the ſayd. xviij. day of the ſayd moneth, with the other aboue mencioned: with whom alſo ſhe ſuffered quietly and wyth great comfort for the ryght of *CHRISTES* religion.

Condemnation of *Anne Albright*. Ianuary. 18.

❡ *Ioane Sole.*

Ioane Sole, Martyr. Ianuary. 31.

IN like maner Ioane Sole, of the pariſhe of Horton, was condemned of the ſame Phariſeis and Prieſts, for not allowing confeſſion auricular, and for denying the reall preſence and ſubſtaunce of *CHRIST* to be in the ſacrament of yͤ altar. Who after their Phariſaicall Sẽtence being promulgate, was brought by the Shiriffes to yͤ ſtake with yͤ other foure, ⁊ ſuſtained the lyke Martyrdome with thẽ through the aſſiſtance of Gods holy grace and ſpirite mightely working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of hys truth.

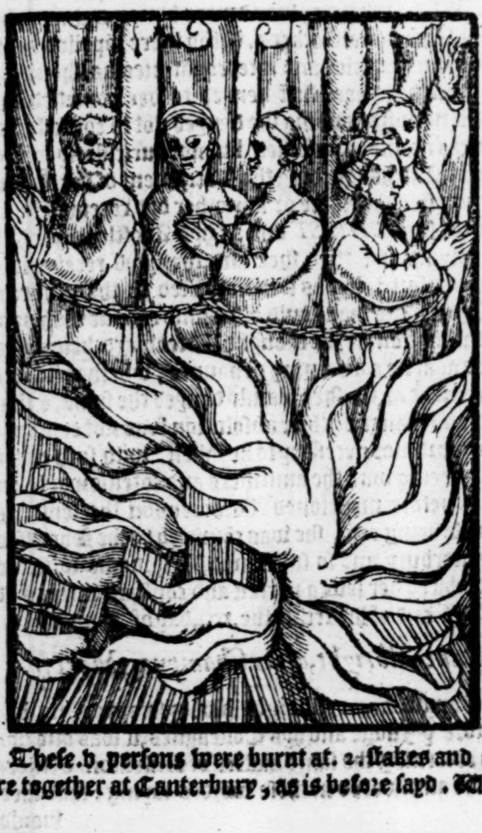
Condemnation *of Ioane Sole.* Ianuary. 18.

❡ *Ioane Catmer.*

Ioane Catmer, Martyr. Ianuary. 31.

THe fift and laſt of thys heauenly company of Martyrs was Ioane Catmer of yͤ pariſh of Hith, wyfe (as it ſhould ſeeme) of George Catmer burned before pag. 1884. Who being aſked what ſhe ſaid to cõfeſſion made to a prieſt, denied to be cõfeſſed to any ſuch prieſt. And moreouer the Iudge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of yͤ aultar, ſhe ſaid ⁊ affirmed that ſhe beleued not in that Sacrament, as it was then vſed, for that it was made (ſayd ſhe) a very idoll. In thys her confeſſion ſhee remayning and perſiſting, was by the lyke ſentence cruelly of them condemned, and ſo ſuffered with the foreſayd Thomas Lomas and the other three fellowe Martyrs, ratifying and confeſſing wyth their bloud the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious Goſpell of *CHRIST IESVS* our Sauiour.

❡ *The burning of the foreſayd man and foure women.*



The Martyrdome of *Ioh. Lomas, Agnes Snoth, Anne Albright, Ioane Sole, Ioane Catmer,* at Canterbury. An. 1556. Ianuary. 31.

These. v. perſons were burnt at. 2. ſtakes and one fire together at Canterbury, as is before ſayd. Who, when the fire was flaming about their eares, did ſing Pſalmes. Whereat the good knight Syr Iohn Nortõ being there preſent, wept bytterly at the ſight thereof.

The Iudges and the other aſſiſtants which ſet vpõ her and the other foure aboue mencioned, were Richard Faucet, Iohn Warren, Iohn Milles, Robert Collins, and Iohn Baker the Notary.

Perſecutours.

❧ *The life, ſtate, and ſtory of the Reuerend* paſtour and prelate Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Martyr, burned at Oxford for the confeſſion of Chriſtes true doctrine vnder Quene Mary. An. 1556. March. 21.

March. 21.

Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Martyr.

AS concerning the lyfe and eſtate of that moſt reuerend father in God and worthy prelate of Godly memory Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and of the originall cauſe and occaſiõ of his preferment vnto his Archiepiſcopall dignity, who of many hath ben thought to haue procured yͤ ſame by frendſhip onely, ⁊ of ſome other eſteemed vnworthy of ſo hygh a vocation: it is firſt therfore to be noted and conſidered that yͤ ſame Tho. Cranmer comming of an auncient parentage, from the conqueſt to be deducted, ⁊ continuing ſithens in the name and family of a Gentleman, was borne in a Village called Arſelacton in Notyngham ſhiere. Of whoſe ſaid name and family there remayneth at theſe dayes one Manour and manſion houſe in Lincolne ſhiere called Cranmer Hall. ⁊c. ſome tymes of heritage of the ſayd ſtocke and family. Who being from his infancie kept at ſchole, and brougt vp not without much good ciuilitie, came in proceſſe of tyme vnto the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and there proſpering in right good knowledge amongſt the better ſort of ſtudents, was choſen fellow of Ieſus Colledge in Cambridge. And ſo being Maiſter of Arte, and fellow of the ſame Colledge, it chaunced hym to mary a Gentlemans Daughter: by meanes whereof he loſt and gaue ouer his fellowſhip there, ⁊ became the reader in Buckingham Colledge: and for that he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, placed his ſayd wyfe in an Inne called the dolphin in Cambridge, the wife of the houſe being of affinitie vnto her. By reaſon whereof and for that his oftẽ reſort vnto hys wife in that Inne, he was much marked of ſome Popiſh marchauntes: wherupon roſe the ſclaunderous noiſe and report againſt him after he was preferred to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury rayſed vp by the malicious diſdayne of certain malignaunt aduerſaries to *CHRIST* and his truth, bruting abroad euery where that he was but an hoſteler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whoſe malicious reportes, one of their practiſes in that behalf ſhall hereafter be declared as place and and tyme ſhall ſerue.

Thomas Cranmer a gentleman bo

Thomas Cranmer firſt comming to Cambrig

Thomas Cranmer fellow of Ieſus colledge.

Cranmer maried.

Thomas Cranmer reader in Buckingham Colledge.

But in yͤ meane time to returne to yͤ matter preſent. Whileſt this ſayd M. Cranmer continued as reader in Buckinghã Colledge, his wife dyed in child bed. After whoſe death, the Maſters and fellowes of Ieſus Colledge deſirous agayne of their old companion, namely for his towardnes in learning, choſe him agayn fellow of the ſame Colledge. Where he remayning at his ſtudy, became in few yeres after, the reader of yͤ Diuinity lecture in the ſame Colledge, and in ſuch ſpeciall eſtimation and reputation with the whole vniuerſity, that being Doctour of Diuinity he was commonly appointed one of the heades (which are two or three of the chiefeſt learned men) to examine ſuch as yearely profeſſe in Cõmencement, eyther Bachelers, or Doctours of Diuinity, by whoſe approbation yͤ whole vniuerſity licenceth

Thomas Cranmer after the deceaſſe o his wife, choſen fel low vnto Ieſus c ledge.

Thomas Cranmer made r der in Je ſus col ledge, a Doctour diuinitie licenceth them to procede vnto their degrée: and again by whoſe diſalowaunce the vniuerſity alſo reiecteth them for a tyme to procéede vntill they bee better furniſhed with more knowledge.

Now, Doct. Cranmer euer much fauouring the knowledge of the ſcripture, would neuer admit any to procéede in Diuinity, vnleſſe they were ſubſtantially ſéene in the ſtory of the Bible: by meanes whereof certayne Fryers and other religious perſons, who were principally brought vp in yͤ ſtudy of ſchole autors without regard had to the autority of ſcriptures, were commonly reiected by hym, ſo that he was greatly for that his ſeuere examination of yͤ religious ſort, much hated and had in great indignation: and yet it came to paſſe in yͤ end that dyuers of thẽ being thus cõpelled to ſtudy the ſcriptures, became afterwardes very well learned and well affected, in ſo much, that when they proceded Doctours of Diuinitie, could not ouermuch extoll and commend Maſter Doctor Cranmers goodnes towards them, who had for a tyme put them backe, to aſpyre vnto better knowledge and perfectiõ. Amongſt whom D. Barret a white Fryer who afterwards dwelt at Norwich was after that ſorte handled, giuing him no leſſe commendation for his happy reiecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repete that our apiſh and popiſh ſort of ignoraunt prieſtes may well vnderſtand that this his exerciſe, kynd of lyfe, and vocation was not altogether Hoſtelerlyke.

Well, to go forwardes: Like as he was neither in fame vnknowen, nor in knowledge obſcure, ſo was hee greatly ſolicited by Doct. Capon, to haue ben one of the felowes in the foundation of Cardinall Wolſeys Colledge in Oxford: which he vtterly refuſed not without daunger of indignation. Notwithſtãdyng foreſeyng that which after chaunced, to the vtter confuſiõ of many well affected learned men there without cõſideration (becauſe mans glory was there more ſought for, then gods) he ſtode to the daunger of the ſayd indignation, which chaunced more proſperouſly vnto hym within few yeares after, then he looked for. For whiles he thus continued in Cãbridge. The great and weightie cauſe of kyng Henry the viij. his diuorce with the Lady Katherine dowager of Spayne, came into queſtion, which beyng many wayes by the ſpace of ij. or iij. yeares amongeſt the Canoniſtes, Ciuilians, and other learned men diuerſly diſputed and debated, it came to paſſe that this ſayd Doct. Cranmer by reaſon that yͤ plague was in Cambridge, reſorted to Waltham Abbey to one M. Creſſes houſe there, whoſe wife was of kynne to the ſayd M. Cranmer. And for that he had ij. ſonnes of the ſayd Creſſey with him at Cambridge as his pupilles, he reſted at Waltham Croſſe at the houſe of the ſayd M. Creſſey, with the ſayd ij. children, during that ſomer tyme whiles the plague reigned.

In this ſomer tyme Cardinall Campeius and Cardinall Wolſey, beyng in Commiſſion from the Pope to here and determine that great cauſe in controuerſie betwen the Kyng and the Quéene his pretended wife, dalied and delaied all that ſomer time vntill the moneth of Auguſt came in hearyng the ſayd cauſe in controuerſie debated. When Auguſt was come, the ſayd Cardinals litle myndyng to procede to ſentence giuyng, tooke occaſion to finiſhe their Commiſſion, and not further to determine therin, pretendyng not to be permitted by the lawes to kéepe Courtes of Eccleſiaſticall matters in harueſt tyme. Which ſodeine ſtay and giuyng ouer of the ſayd Commiſſion by both the Cardinalls beyng vnknowen to the kyng, it ſo much moued him that he takyng it as a mocke at the Cardinals handes, commaunded the Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke to diſpatch forthwith Cardinal Campeius home again to Rome, and ſo in haſt remoued him ſelfe from Londõ to Waltham for a night or twaine whiles his houſhold remoued to Grenewich: by meanes whereof it chaunced that the harbengers lodged Doct. Stephens Secretary, and Doct. Foxe Almoſiner (who were the chief furtherers, preferrers and defendours on the kings behalfe of the ſayd cauſe) in the houſe of the ſayd M. Creſſey, where the ſayd Doctor Cranmer was alſo lodged and reſident. When ſupper tyme came, they all thrée Doctours mette togethers, Doct. Stephens and Doct. Foxe much maruailyng of Doct. Cranmers beyng there. Who declared to thẽ the cauſe of his there beyng, namely for that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old acquaintaunce, ſo yͤ Secretary & the Almoſiner right well enterteined D. Cranmer, myndyng to vnderſtand part of his opiniõ touching their great buſines they had in hãd. And ſo as good occaſion ſerued, whiles they were at ſupper, they conferred with Doct. Cranmer concernyng the kyngs cauſe, requeſtyng him of his opinion what he thought therein.

Stephen Gardiner and Doctour *Foxe*, chiefe furtherers of the kings diuorce.

D. Stephens, D. Fox, D. Crammer, conferring together in the kinges cauſe.

Wherto Doct. Cranmer aunſwered, that he could ſay litle to the matter, for that he had not ſtudied nor looked for it. Notwithſtanding he ſayd to them, that in his opinion they made more ado in proſecutyng the lawes Eccleſiaſticall, then néeded. It were better as I ſuppoſe (quoth Doct. Cranmer) that the queſtiõ, whether a man may mary his brothers wife or no, were decided and diſcuſſed by yͤ Diuines, and by the authoritie of the word of God, whereby the conſcience of the Prince might be better ſatiſfied and quieted, thẽ thus from yeare to yeare by fruſtratory delayes to prolong the tyme, leauyng the very truth of the matter vnbulted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will ſoone declare, make open, & manifeſt being by learned men well handled, & that may be aſwel done in England in yͤ Vniuerſities here, as at Rome or els where in any foreine nation, the authoritie wherof will compell any Iudge ſoone to come to a diffinitiue ſentence: and therfore as I take it, you might this way haue made an end of this matter long ſithens. When Doct. Cranmer had thus ended hys tale, the other two well liked of his deuiſe, and wiſhed that they had ſo proceded afore tyme, and thereupon cõceiued ſome matter of that deuiſe to inſtruct the king withall, who then was minded to ſend to Rome again for a new Commiſſion.

D. Cranmers anſwere in the queſtion of the kings diuorce.

D. Cranmers deuiſe well liked of.

Now the next day whẽ the kyng remoued to Grenewich, lyke as hee tooke hymſelfe not well handled by the Cardinalls in thus differryng his cauſe, ſo his mynde beyng vnquieted and deſirous of an end of hys long & tedious ſute, he called to him this his ij. principall doers of his ſayd cauſe, namely the ſaid Doct. Stephens and Doct. Foxe, ſaying vnto them: What now my maſters (quoth the kyng) ſhall we do in this infinite cauſe of mine? I ſée by it there muſt be a new Commiſſion procured from Rome, and when we ſhall haue an ende God knoweth and not I. When yͤ kyng had ſayd ſomewhat his mynde herein, the Almoſiner Doctor Foxe ſayd vnto the kyng agayne: we truſt that there ſhalbe better wayes diuiſed for your Maieſty, then to make trauaile ſo farre as to Rome any more in your highnes cauſe, which by chaunce was put into our heades this other night beyng at Waltham. The kyng beyng very deſirous to vnderſtand his meanyng, ſayd: Who hath taken in hand to inſtruct you by any better or ſhorter way to procede in our ſayd cauſe? Then ſayd Doct. Foxe: It chaunced vs to be lodged at Waltham in M. Creſſeys houſe this other night, your hyghnes being there, where we mette with an old acquaintaũce of ours named Doct. Cranmer, with whom hauyng conference concerning your highnes cauſe, he thought that the next way were, firſt to inſtruct and quyet your Maieſties conſcience by trying your highnes queſtion out by yͤ authoritie of yͤ word of God, & therupõ to procede to a finall ſentẽce. With this report the Secretary was not content with yͤ Almoſiner, for yͤ he dyd not vtter this deuiſe as of their owne inuention. And when the Secretary would haue ſéemed by colorable wordes

The king troubled about the cauſe of his diuorce.

D. Cranmers deuiſe reported to the king.

Note the glorious head of *D. Stephens.*

to make it appeare to the king, that they of them ſelues had deuiſed that meanes: the kyng then ſayd, where is that Doct. Cranmer? is he ſtill at Walthã? They aunſwered that they left hym there. Mary, ſayd the kyng, I will ſurely ſpeake with hym, & therfore let hym be ſent for out of hand. I perceiue, quoth the kyng, that that mã hath the ſow by the right eare. And if I had knowẽ this deuiſe but ij. yeare agoe, it had bene in my way a great peece of money, and had alſo ryd me out of much diſquietnes.

D. Cranmer ſent for to the King.

D. Cranmer ſeeketh excuſes loth to come vnto the Kinges preſence.

Whereupon Doct. Cranmer was ſent for, and being remoued from Waltham to Cambridge and ſo towardes his frends in Notingham ſhiere, a Poſt went for hym. But when he came to London, hee began to quarell with thoſe two his acquaintaunces, that he by their meanes was thus troubled and brought thither to be combred in a matter wherein hee had nothing at all trauayled in ſtudy, and therefore moſt inſtantly intreated them, that they would make his excuſe in ſuch ſort that he might be diſpatched away from comming in the Kings preſence. They promiſed and tooke the matter vpon them ſo to do if by any meanes they might compaſſe it. But all was in vayne, for the more they began to excuſe Doct. Cranmers abſence, the more the King chid with them for that they brought hym not out of hand to his preſẽce, ſo that no excuſe ſeruing, he was faine vndelaiedly to come to yͤ Court vnto yͤ king, whõ the gentle Prince benignely accepting, demaunded his name, and ſayd vnto hym: Were you not at Waltham ſuch a tyme, in the company of my Secretary and and my Almoſiner? Doctor Cranmer affirming the the ſame, the King ſayd agayne: had you not conference with thẽ concerning our matter of diuorce nowe in queſtion after this ſort, repeting the maner and order thereof? That is right true, if it pleaſe your highnes, quoth D. Cranmer. Well ſayd the king, I well perceiue that you haue the right ſcope of this matter. You muſt vnderſtand, quoth the king, that I haue ben long trroubled in conſcience, and now I perceyue that by this meanes I might haue bene long agoe releaued one way or other, from the ſame, if we had this way proceded. And therefore Maſter Doctour I pray you, and neuertheles becauſe you are a ſubiect I charge and commaũd you (all your other buſines and affayres ſet apart) to take ſome paines to ſee this my cauſe to be furthered according to your deuyſe, aſmuch as it may lye in you, ſo that I may ſhortly vnderſtand whereunto I may truſt. For this I proteſt before God and yͤ world, that I ſeke not to be deuorced from the Queene, if by any meanes I were iuſtly perſuaded that our matrimony were inuiolable, and not againſt the Lawes of God: for otherwyſe there was neuer cauſe to moue me to ſeeke any ſuch extremity. Neither there was euer Prince had a more gentleler, a more obedient and louing companion & wife then yͤ Queene is, nor I neuer fantiſed womã in all reſpectes better, if this doubt had not riſen: aſſuring you that for the ſingular vertues wherwith ſhe is indued, beſydes yͤ cõſideration of her noble ſtocke, I could be right well contented ſtill to remayne wͭ her, if ſo it would ſtand with yͤ wil & pleaſure of almighty God. And thus greatly cõmending her many & ſingular qualities, yͤ king ſaid: I therfore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with aſmuch dexteritie as lyeth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the diſcharging of both our conſciences.

D. Cranmer brought to the King.

Talke betwen the King and *D. Cranmer.*

The King troubled in conſcience.

Marke thys you Papiſtes, which ſo raſhly vrdge the Kinges diuorce, and the Popes ouerthrow to haue ſprong of light cauſes.

D. Cranmer excuſing and diſabling himſelfe to the King.

Doct. Cranmer much diſabling himſelfe to medle in ſo weighty a matter, beſought the kinges hyghnes to commit the tryall and examining of this matter by the worde of GOD, vnto the beſt learned men of both his Vniuerſities Cambridge and Oxford. You ſay well, ſayd the kyng, and I am content therewith. But yet neuertheles, I will haue you ſpecially to wryte your mynd therin. And ſo calling the Earle of Wiltſhiere to hym, ſayd: I pray you my Lord, let D. Cranmer haue intertaynement in your houſe at Durham place for a tyme, to the entent hee may bee there quyet to accompliſh my requeſt, and let hym lacke neither bookes ne any thing requiſite for hys ſtudye. And thus after the kings departure, D. Cranmer wẽt with my Lord of Wiltſhiere vnto his houſe, where he incõtinent wrote his mynde concerning the kings queſtiõ: adding to yͤ ſame beſides, the authorities of ſcriptures, of general Councels, and of auncient writers: alſo hys opinion, which was this: that the Biſhop of Rome had no ſuch authoritie, as whereby hee might diſpence with the word of God and the Scriptures. When D. Cranmer had made thys booke, and committed it to the kyng, the king ſayd to hym: wyll you abide by thys, that you haue here written before the biſhop of Rome? That wil I doe, by Gods grace, quoth D. Cranmer, if your maieſty do ſend me thether. Mary quoth yͤ king, I will ſend you euen to him in a ſure Ambaſſage.

Doctour *Cranmer* aſſigned b the King to ſearch the ſcriptures in the cauſe his diuorce.

The Kin firſt grou to vnderſtand that the Pope hath no au thoritie to diſpenſe with the word of God.

And thus by meanes of D. Cranmers handlyng of this matter wyth the king, not onely certaine learned men were ſent abroade to the moſt part of the vniuerſities in Chriſtendome to diſpute the queſtion, but alſo the ſame being by Commiſſion diſputed by the diuines in both the vniuerſities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded that no ſuch matrimony was by yͤ word of God lawfull. Whereupon a ſolemne ambaſſage was then prepared and ſent to the biſhop of Rome then being at Bonony, wherein went the Earle of Wiltſhiere, D. Crãmer, D. Stokeſly, D. Carne. D. Benet, and diuers other learned men and gentlemen. And when the tyme came that they ſhould come before the biſhop of Rome to declare the cauſe of their ambaſſage, the Biſhop ſitting on high in hys cloth of eſtate, and in hys rich apparell, wyth hys ſandales on hys feete, offering, as it were, his foote to be kiſſed of yͤ Ambaſſadors, the Earle of Wiltſhere diſdayniug thereat, ſtoode ſtyll, and made no countenaunce therunto, ſo that al the reſt kept them ſelues from that Idolatry.

The Kinges matter remoued from the Popes Cannon law, to the triall of the ſcriptures.

The Kinges mariage found by gods wor vnlawfull.

Doctour *Cranmer* with oth ſent to Rome am baſſadour to the Pope.

The Eng liſh amba ſadours not haſty kiſſe the Popes foote.

Howbeit, one thing is not here to be omitted, as a prognoſticate of our ſeperation from the ſea of Rome, which then chaũced by a Spaniel of the Earle of Wiltſhere. For hee hauyng there a great Spaniell which came out of England with him, ſtoode directly betwene the Earle and the biſhop of Rome. When the ſayd biſhop had aduaunced forth his foote to bee kyſſed, nowe whether the Spaniell perceaued the Byſhops foote of an other nature then it ought to be, and ſo takyng it to be ſome kynde of repaſt, or whether it was the wyll of God to ſhew ſome tokẽ by the Dog vnto the biſhop of hys inordinate pride, that hys feete were more meete to be bitten of dogges, then kyſſed of Chriſten men: the ſpaniell (I ſay) when the biſhop extended hys foote to bee kyſt, no man regarding the ſame, ſtraight way (as though hee had bene of purpoſe appointed thereunto) went directly to the Popes feete, and not onely kyſſed the ſame vnmanerly, but as ſome plainly reported and affirmed, toke faſt with hys mouth the great toe of the Pops, ſo that in haſt he pulled in hys glorious feete from the Spaniell. Whereat our men ſmyling in their ſleeues, what they thought, God knoweth. But infine the pontificall biſhop after that ſought no more at that preſent for kyſſing of hys feete, but without any further ceremony gaue eare to the Ambaſſadours, what they had to ſay.

The vnmannerly nature of Dogge preſumin to kiſſe t Popes foote.

Who entryng there before the biſhop, offered on the kynges behalfe to be defended, that no man Iure diuino coulde or ought to marry hys brothers wyfe: and that the biſhop of Rome by no meanes ought to diſpẽce to the contrary. Diuers promiſes were made, and ſundry dayes appointed, wherin the queſtion ſhould haue bene diſputed, and when our parte was ready to aunſwer, no man ther appeared to diſpute in that behalfe. So in the end the biſhop making to our Ambaſſadours good countenaunce, and gratifiyng D. Cranmer wyth the office of the Penitenciariſhip, diſmiſſed them vndiſputed wythall.

Arguing to yͤ Pop face, tha contrary the word of God had no power to diſpenſe.

Doctou *Cranme* made th Popes Peniten ary.

Wherupon the Earle of Wiltſhiere and other Cõmiſſioners, ſauing D. Cranmer, returned home againe into England. And forthwith D. Cranmer went to the Emperour beyng in hys iourney towardes Vienna in expedition agaynſt the Turke, there to aunſwer ſuch learned mẽ of the Emperours counſail, as would or could ſay any thing to the contrary part. Where, amongeſt the reſt at the ſame tyme, was Cornelius Agrippa an hygh Officer in the Emperours court, who hauyng priuate conference with D. Cranmer in the queſtion, was ſo fully reſolued and ſatiſfied in the matter, that afterwardes there was neuer diſputation openly offered to D. Cranmer in that behalfe. For thorow ẏ perſwaſion of Aggrippa, all other learned men there were much diſcouraged: In ſo much that after D. Cranmer was returned into England, Aggrippa fell into ſuch diſpleaſure wyth the Emperour, as ſome men thought, that becauſe of the hyndering and diſcouraging ſo much the contrary part, he was committed to pryſon, where he for ſorrow ended hys lyfe, as it was reported. In the meane ſpace while the Emperour returned home from Vienna through Germany, D. Cranmer in that viage had conference with diuers learned men of Germany concerning the ſaid queſtiõ, who very ambiguouſly heretofore cõceiuing the cauſe, were fully reſolued and ſatiſfied by hym.

This matter thus proſperyng on Doct. Cranmers behalfe, aſwell touchyng the kynges queſtion, as cõcernyng the inualiditie of the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, Biſhop Warrham then Archbiſhop of Canterbury departed this tranſitory life: wherby that dignitie then beyng in the kynges gift and diſpoſition, was immediatly giuẽ to D. Cranmer as worthy for his trauaile, of ſuch a promotion. Thus much touchyng ẏ preferment of Doct. Cranmer vnto his dignitie, & by what meanes he atchiued vnto ẏ ſame: not by flattery, not by bribes, nor by none other vnlawfull meanes: which thyng I haue more at large diſcourſed, to ſtoppe the raylyng mouthes of ſuch, who beyng themſelues obſcure and vnlearned, ſhame not ſo to detract a learned man moſt ignominiouſly with the ſurname of an hoſtler, whõ for his godly zeale vnto ſincere religiõ they ought with much humilitie to haue had in regard & reputatiõ.

Now as concerning his behauiour and trade of life towardes God and the world, beyng now entered into his ſayd dignitie, and for ſomuch as the Apoſtle S. Paul writyng to ẏ. Byſhops, Timoth. and Titus, ſetteth out vnto vs a perfect deſcription of a true Biſhop, with all the properties and conditions belõgyng to the ſame, vnto the which exemplar it ſhalbe hard in theſe ſtraunge dayes to find the image of any Biſhop correſpondent: yet for example ſake let vs take this Archbyſhop of Cant. and trye him by the rule therof, to ſee either how nere he commeth to the deſcriptiõ of S. Paul, or els how farre of he ſwarueth from the cõmon courſe of other in his tyme, of his callyng. The rule of S. Paul is to be found, firſt. 1. Timot. 3. alſo in his Epiſtle to Titus. cap. 1. in theſe wordes.

A Byſhop muſt bee faultles, as becommeth ẏ Miniſter of God: Not ſtubburne, not angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not geuen to filthy luker: but harberous, one that loueth goodnes, ſober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaueth vnto the true worde and doctrine, that he may be hable to exhort. &c.

Unto this rule and touchſtone, to lay now the lyfe and conuerſation of this Archbyſhop, we will firſt begynne with that which is thus written: *A Byſhop muſt bee fautles as becommeth the Miniſter of God.* Lyke as no man is without ſinne, and euery man caryeth with hym his eſpeciall vice and fault: ſo yet neuertheles, the Apoſtle meaneth, that the Byſhop and miniſter muſt be fautles in cõpariſon of the cõmon cõuerſation of mẽ of the world, which ſeeme more licẽtiouſly to liue at their owne liberties and pleaſures, then the Byſhop or Miniſter ought to do, hauyng ſmall regard vnto good example giuyng: which a Byſhop and Miniſter moſt carefully ought to conſider, leſt by his diſſolute lyfe, the worde of God be ſclaundered & euill ſpoken of. Which thyng to auoyd, and the better to accompliſh this precept of the Apoſtle, this worthy man euermore gaue hym ſelfe to continuall ſtudy, not breakyng that order that he in the Uniuerſitie commonly vſed: that is, by v. of the clocke in the mornyng at his booke and ſo conſumyng that tyme in ſtudy and prayer vntill ix. of the clocke, he thẽ applied him ſelfe (if the Princes affaires did not cal him away) vntill dynner tyme, to heare ſuters, and to diſpatch ſuch matters as apperteined vnto his ſpeciall cure & charge, committing his temporall affaires both of his houſhold and other forraine buſines, vnto his Officers. So that ſuch thynges were neuer impedimentes neither to his ſtudy, nor to his paſtorall charge, which principally conſiſted in reformation of corrupt Religion, & in ſetting forth of true and ſincere doctrine. For the moſt part allwayes beyng in Commiſſion, hee aſſociated hym ſelfe with learned men for ſiftyng and boultyng out of one matter or other for the cõmoditie & profite of the Church of England. By meanes wherof, & what for his priuate ſtudy, he was neuer idle: beſides that, he accompted it an idle point to beſtow one houre or twaine of the day in ouer reading ſuch works & bookes as daily came frõ beyond ẏ Seas.

The order of D. Cranmers ſtudy.

After dinner, if any ſuters were attendant, he would very diligẽtly heare them, and diſpatch thẽ in ſuch ſort, as euery man commended his lenitie and gentilnes, although the caſe required that ſome whiles diuers of them were committed by him to priſon. And hauyng no ſuters after dynner, for an houre or thereabout he would play at the Cheſſes, or behold ſuch as could play. That done, thẽ agayn to his ordinary ſtudy, at ẏ which cõmonly he for ẏ moſt part ſtode, & ſeldome ſate: & there cõtinuing vntill v. of the clocke, beſtowed that houre in hearyng the cõmon prayer, and walking or vſing ſome honeſt paſtyme vntill ſupper tyme. At ſupper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not ſup) yet would he ſit down at ẏ table hauing his ordinary prouiſion of his meſſe furniſhed with expedient cõpany, he wearing on his hands his gloues, becauſe he would (as it were) thereby weane himſelfe from eating of meate: but yet keeping the company with ſuch fruitfull talke as did repaſt and much delyght the hearers: ſo that by this meanes hoſpitalitie was well furniſhed, and the almes cheſt well mainteined for the reliefe of the poore. After ſupper hee woulde conſume one houre at the leaſt, in walking or ſome other honeſt paſtyme: and then again vntill. ix. of the clocke, at one kynde of ſtudy or other: So that no houre of the day was ſpent in vayne, but the ſame was ſo beſtowed as tended to the glory of God, the ſeruice of the Prince, or to the commoditie of the Church. Which his well beſtowing of his time procured to hym moſt happely a good report of all men, to be in reſpect of other mens conuerſation faultles, as it became the miniſter of God.

The temperate dyet of D. Cranmer.

That a Byſhop ought not to be ſtubburne.

Secondly it is requyred: *that a Byſhop ought not to bee ſtubburne.* With which kind of vice without great wrong this Archbiſhop in no wiſe ought to be charged: whoſe nature was ſuch, as none more gentle, or ſooner wonne to any honeſt ſute or purpoſe, ſpecially in ſuch things wherin by his word, writing, counſel, or deede, he might gratify eyther any gentle or noble man, or do good to any meane perſon, or els relieue the needy and poore. Onely in cauſes pertaynyng to God or hys Prince, no man more ſtoute, more conſtant, or more hard to be wonne: as in that part his earneſt defence in the Parlament houſe aboue three dayes together in diſputing againſt the. vi. articles of Gardiners deuiſe,

The gentle nature of D. Cranmer.

Cranmer ſtout & conſtant in Gods cauſe.

can teſtify. And though the king would needes haue them vppon ſome politicke conſideration to goe forward, yet hee ſo handled himſelf aſwell in the Parlament houſe as afterwards by writing, ſo obediently and with ſuch humble behauiour in wordes towardes his prince, proteſting ẏ cauſe not to be his but almighty Gods who was the authour of all truth, that the king did not onely well lyke hys defence, willing him to depart out of the Parlament houſe into the Coũſail chamber whileſt the Act ſhould paſſe and be graunted, for ſafegard of hys conſcience, which hee with humble proteſtatiõ refuſed, hoping that hys maieſty in proceſſe of tyme would reuoke them agayne: but alſo after the Parlament was finiſhed, the kyng perceiuing the zealous affection that the Archbiſhop bare towards the defence of hys cauſe, which many wayes by ſcriptures & manifold authorities and reaſons he had ſubſtantially confirmed and defended, ſent the Lord Cromwel then Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke and all the Lordes of the Parlament, to dine wyth hym at Lambeth: Where it was declared by the Vicegerent, and the two Dukes, that it was the kings pleaſure, that they all ſhoulde in hys hyghnes behalfe, cheriſh, comfort and animate hym, as one that for hys trauail in that Parlament, had ſhewed him ſelfe both greatly learned, and alſo diſcrete and wyſe, & therefore they willed him not to bee diſcouraged for any thing that was paſſed contrary to hys allegations. He moſt humbly thanked the kings maieſtye of hys great goodnes towardes hym, and them all for their paines, ſaying: I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities ſhall take place to the glory of God and the commoditie of the realme, in the meane tyme I wyl ſatiſfie my ſelfe with the honorable conſent of your honours and the whole Parlament.

D.Cranmer a ſtout enemy againſt the vj. Articles.

Of this comming of the *L.Cromwell*, and the two Dukes to the Archbiſhop read before. pag.1350. Col.1.

Here is to be noted, that this mans ſtoute and godly defence of the truth herein, ſo bound the Princes conſcience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be cleane ouerthrowen wyth authority and power, and therefore this way God working in the Princes mynde, a playne token was declared hereby that all thinges were not ſo ſincerely handled in the confirmation of the ſayd ſixe Articles, as it ought to haue bene, for els the Prince myght haue had iuſte cauſe to haue borne hys great indignation towardes the Archbiſhop. Let vs pray that both the lyke ſtoutnes may be perceiued in all Eccleſiaſticall & learned men where the truth ought to be defended, and alſo the like relenting & flexibilitie may take place in Princes & Noble men, when they ſhall haue occaſion offered them to mayntayne the ſame, ſo that they vtterly ouerwhelme not the truth by ſelfe will, power, and authority. Now in the end thys Archbiſhops conſtancy was ſuch towards Gods cauſe, that he confirmed all his doinges by bitter death in the fire, without reſpecte of any worldly treaſure or pleaſure. And as touching his ſtoutnes in his Princes cauſe, the contrary reſiſtance of the Duke of Northumberland agaynſt hym proued ryght well hys good mynde that way: which chaunced by reaſon that he would not conſent to the diſſoluing of Chaũtreyes vntill the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better ſerue to furniſh his royall eſtate, then to haue ſo great treaſure conſumed in hys noncage. Which his ſtoutnes ioyned with ſuch ſimplicity, ſurely was thought to diuers of the Counſaile, a thing incredible, ſpecially in ſuch ſort to contend with him who was ſo accoũted in this realme, as few or none would or durſt gainſtand him.

Example for eccleſiaſticall paſtors.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* in diſpleaſure about the imployng of Chaũtrey landes.

So deare was to hym the cauſe of God, and of hys Prince, that for ẏ one he would not kéepe his conſciẽce clogged, nor for ẏ other lurke or hide his head. Otherwiſe (as it is ſayd) his very enemyes might eaſely intreate him in any cauſe reaſonable: and ſuch thyngs as he graũted, he did without any ſuſpicion of rebraidyng or meede therfore: So that he was altogethers void of the vice of the ſtubburnes, and rather culpable of ouer much facilitie and gentilnes.

Not angry.

Thẽ foloweth: *Not angry.* Surely if ouermuch pacience may be a vice, this man may ſéeme peraduenture to offend rather on this part then on the contrary. Albeit for all his doinges I cannot ſay: for the moſt part, ſuch was his mortification that way, that fewe wee ſhall finde in whom the ſaying of our Sauiour CHRIST ſo much preuailed as with hym, who would not onely haue a man to forgiue his enemyes, but alſo to pray for them: that leſſon neuer went out of his memory. For it was knowen that he had many cruell enemyes, not for his owne deſertes, but only for his Religion ſake: and yet what ſoeuer he was that either ſought his hinderaunce, either in goodes, eſtimation, or lyfe, and vpon conference would ſéeme neuer ſo ſlenderly any thyng to relent or excuſe hymſelfe, he would both forget the offence committed, and alſo euermore afterwardes frédly enterteine hym, and ſhew ſuch pleaſure to hym, as by any meanes poſſible hee might performe or declare: In ſomuch that it came into a common prouerbe: Do vnto my Lord of Canterbury diſpleaſure or a ſhrewed turne, and thẽ you may be ſure to haue him your frend whiles he lyueth. Of which his gentill diſpoſition in abſteinyng frõ reuengement, amõgeſt many examples therof I will repete here one.

It chaunced an ignoraunt Prieſt and parſon in the North parties, the Towne is not now in remẽbrance, but he was a kinſman of one Cherſey a Grocer dwelling within Lõdon (being one of thoſe prieſtes that vſe more to ſtudy at the Alehouſe then in his chamber or in hys ſtudy) to ſit on a tyme with his honeſt neighbors at the Alehouſe within hys owne Pariſh, where was communication miniſtred in commendatiõ of my Lord Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cant. This ſayd parſon enuying his name onely for Religion ſake, ſayd to hys neighbors: what make you of hym (quoth he) he was but an Hoſtler, and hath no more learnyng then the goſlyngs that goeth yonder on ẏ gréene, with ſuch lyke ſclaunderous & vncomely wordes. Theſe honeſt neighbours of hys not well bearyng thoſe hys vnſéemely wordes, articled againſt him, and ſent thier complaynt vnto ẏ Lord Cromwell, then Vicegerẽt in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, who ſent for the Prieſt and cõmitted hym to the Fléete, mindyng to haue had hym recant thoſe his ſclaũderous wordes at Paules croſſe. Howbeit the Lord Cromwell hauyng great affaires of the Prince then in hand, forgat his priſoner in the Fléete: So that this Cherſey the Groſſer vnderſtãdyng that his kynſman was in duraunce in the Fléete, onely for ſpeakyng wordes agaynſt my Lord of Cant. conſulted with the Prieſt, and betwene them deuiſed to make ſute rather vnto the Archbyſhop for his deliueraunce, then to the Lord Cromwell, before whom he was accuſed: vnderſtandyng right well that there was great diuerſitie of natures betwene thoſe ij. eſtates, the one gentill and full of clemency, and the other ſeuere and ſomewhat intractable, namely agaynſt a Papiſt: So that Cherſey tooke vpõ him firſt to try my Lord of Canterburyes benignitie, namely for that his coſins accuſation touched onely the offence agaynſt hym and none other. Wherupon the ſayd Cherſey came to one of the Archb. Gentlemen (whoſe father bought yearely all his ſpices and frute of the ſayd Cherſey, and ſo therby of familiar acquaintaunce with the Gentlemã) who opening to him the trouble wherin his kinſmã was, requeſted that he would be a meanes to my Lord his maſter to heare his ſute in the behalfe of his kynſman.

The ſtory betwene the Archb. of Canterbury and a popiſh prieſt his enemy.

The raylings of a popiſh prieſt agaynſt Doctor *Cranmer*.

The matter was moued. The Archbyſhop lyke as he was of nature gentill, & of much clemency, ſo would he neuer ſhew hym ſelfe ſtraunge vnto ſuters, but incontinently ſent for the ſayd Cherſey. When he came before hym, Cherſey declared, that there was a kynſman

man of hys in the Fleete, a Prieſt of the North countrey, & as I may tell your grace the truth (quoth Cherſey) a man of ſmall ciuilitie and of leſſe learnyng. And yet he hath a perſonage there, which now (by reaſon that my Lord Cromwell hath layd him in priſon beyng in his cure) is vnſerued, and hee hath continued in duraunce aboue ij. monethes, & is called to no aunſwer, and knoweth not when he ſhal come to any end, ſo that this hys impriſonment conſumeth hys ſubſtance, and wil vtterly vndoe hym, vnleſſe your Grace be his good Lord. I know not the man (ſayd the Archbiſhop) nor what he hath done why he ſhould be thus in trouble.

Sayd Cherſey agayne, hee onely hath offended agaynſt your Grace, and agaynſt no man els, as may well be perceued by the Articles obiected agaynſt him: the copy whereof the ſayd Cherſey then exhibited vnto the ſayd Archb. of Canterbury. Who well peruſing the ſayd Articles, ſayd: This is the common talke of all the ignorant Papiſtical Prieſts in England againſt me. Surely, ſaid he, I was neuer made priuy vnto this accuſation, nor of hys indurance I neuer heard before thys tyme. Notwithſtanding if there be nothing els to charge hym withall agaynſt the Prince or any of the Counſail, I wyll at your requeſt take order wyth hym, and ſend hym home agayne to his cure to do hys duty: and ſo thereupon ſent hys ryng to the Warden of the Fleete, wylling him to ſend the priſoner vnto him with hys keeper at after noone.

When the keper had brought the priſoner at the houre appointed, & Cherſey had well inſtructed his coſyn in any wyſe to ſubmit himſelf vnto the Archbiſhop, confeſſing hys fault, where by that way he ſhould moſt eaſely haue an ende and wyn hys fauour: thus the perſon being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there ſitting vnder the vyne, the Archbiſhop demaunded of the perſon what was the cauſe of his indurance, and who committed hym to the Fleete? The Perſon aunſwered and ſayd: that the Lord Cromwel ſent him thether, for that certaine malicious pariſhioners of his pariſh, had wrongfully accuſed hym of words which he neuer ſpake nor ment. Cherſey hearyng hys fooliſhe Coſyn ſo farre out of the way from hys former inſtruction, ſayd: Thou daſterdly dolt and varlet, is thys thy promyſe that thou madeſt to me? Is there not a great number of thy honeſt neighbours handes againſt thee to proue thee a lyer? Surely my Lord (quoth Cherſey) it is pitie to do him good. I am ſory that I haue troubled your Grace thus farre wyth hym.

Well, ſayd the Archb. vnto the Parſon, if you haue not offended me, I can do you no good, for I am intreated to helpe one out of trouble that hath offended againſt me. If my Lord Cromwell hath committed you to priſon wrongfully, that lyeth in himſelfe to amend and not in me. If your offence onely toucheth me, I will bee bolde to do ſome what for your friendes ſake here. If you haue not offended againſt me, then haue I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remayn from whence you came. Lord what ado his kinſman Cherſy made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names. In the end my Lord of Caunterbury ſeeming to ryſe and go his wayes, the fonde Prieſt fell down on his knees, and ſaid: I beſech your grace to forgiue mee this offence: aſſuring your grace that I ſpake thoſe words being drуncke and not well aduyſed. Ah, ſayd my Lord, this is ſome what, and yet it is no good excuſe, for drunckennes euermore vttereth that which lieth hid in the hart of man when he is ſober, alleadging a text or twayne out of the ſcriptures concerning the vyce of drunckennes, which commeth not to now to remembraunce.

Now therfore (ſaid the Archbiſhop) that you acknowledge ſomewhat your fault, I am content to common wyth you, hoping that you are at this preſent of an indifferent ſobrietie. Tell me then, quoth he, dyd you euer ſee me, or were you euer acquainted with me before this day? The Prieſt aunſwered and ſayd, that neuer in his lyfe, he ſaw his grace. Why than (ſaid the Archbiſhop) what occaſion had you to call mee an Hoſtler: and that I had not ſo much learning as the Goſlinges which then went on the greene before your face? If I haue no learning, you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appoſe me, either in Grammer or in other liberall ſciences, for I haue at one tyme or other taſted partly of them. Or els if you are a Diuine, ſay ſome what that way.

The raſh tounges of men ſlaunderouſly ſpeaking euill by men whom they neuer knew, nor ſaw before.

The prieſtes aunſwere.

The Prieſt being amaſed at my Lordes familiar talke, made aunſwere and ſayd: I beſech your grace to pardon me. I am altogethers vnlearned, and vnderſtand not the Latin toung but very ſimply. My onely ſtudy hath bene to ſay my ſeruice and Maſſe faire and deliberate, which I can do aſwell as any Prieſt in the countrey where I dwell, I thanke God. Well, ſayd the other, if you will not appoſe me, I will be ſo bold to appoſe you, & yet as eaſly as I cã deuiſe, & that onely in yͤ ſtory of the Bible now in Engliſh, in which I ſuppoſe that you are dayly exerciſed. Tell mee therefore who was king Dauids father, ſaid my Lord? The Prieſt ſtoode ſtyll pauſing a whyle and ſayd: In good fayth my Lord, I haue forgotten hys name. Then ſayd the other agayne to hym: if you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then who was Salamons father? The fond fooliſh Prieſt without all conſideration what was demaunded of him before, made aunſwer: Good my Lord beare with me, I am not further ſeene in the Bible then is dayly red in our ſeruice in the church.

The maſſe prieſt ignorant in the ſcripture.

The Archb. then aunſwering ſayd: this my queſtiõ may be found well aunſwered in your ſeruice. But I now well perceiue, howſoeuer you haue iudged heretofore of my learning, ſure I am that you haue none at all. But this is the common practiſe of all you which are ignorant and ſuperſticious Prieſtes, to ſclaunder, backbite, and hate all ſuch as are learned and wel affected towards Gods word and ſincere religion. Cõmon reaſon myght haue taught you what an vnlikely thyng it was, & contrary to all maner of reaſon, that a Prince hauing two Uniuerſities wythin his realme of well learned men, and deſirous to bee reſolued of as doubtful a queſtion as in theſe many yeares was not moued the lyke within Chriſtendome, ſhould be driuen to that neceſſity for the defence of hys cauſe, to ſend out of hys realme an Hoſtler, being a mã of no better knowledge then is a goſlyng, in an amballade to aunſwere al learned men, both in the court of Rome, and in the Emperours court, in ſo difficult a queſtion as toucheth the kyngs Matrimony, and the diuorce thereof. I ſay, if you were men of any reaſonable conſideration, you myght thinke it both vnſeemely and vncomely for a Prince ſo to do. But looke where malice raygneth in men, there reaſon can take no place: and therefore I ſee by it, that you all are at a point with me, that no reaſon or authority cã perſwade you to fauour my name, who neuer ment euyll to you, but your both commoditie and profite. Howbeit God amend you all, forgeue you, and ſend you better myndes.

The gyſe of Popiſh prieſtes when they fauour not the religion of a man: they ſclaunder his perſon.

Euill will neuer ſayth well.

Wyth theſe wordes the Prieſt ſeemed to weepe, and deſired hys Grace to pardon hys fault and frailty, ſo that by hys meanes hee myght returne to hys cure agayne, & he would ſure recant thoſe hys fooliſh wordes before hys pariſhioners ſo ſoone as he came home, and would become a new man. Well, ſayd the Archbiſhop, ſo had you neede. And geuyng hym a godly admonition to refuſe the haunting of the Alehouſe, and to beſtow hys tyme better in the continuall reading of the ſcriptures, he dimiſſed him from the Fleete.

The Archbiſhop forgeueth and dimiſſeth the prieſt.

The Lord Cromwell perceiuyng within a fortenight after, that his priſoner was ſent home without any open puniſhmẽt, came to Lambeth vnto the Archb. and in a great heate ſayd to him: My Lord, I vnderſtãd that you haue diſpatched the Northen Prieſt that I of late

The Lord *Cromweell* offended with the Archbiſhop in forgiuing the Popiſh prieſt.

late ſent to the Fleete home agayne, who vnhoneſtly railed of you and called you an hoſtler.

The Archbiſhop defendeth his enemy that before railed vpon him.

In deede I haue ſo done (ſayd he agayne) for that in his abſence the people of his cure wanted their diuine ſeruice. It is very deuout diuine ſeruice that he ſayth, quoth yͤ lord Cromwell: It were more mete for hym to be an hoſtler then a Curate, who ſticked not to cal you an hoſtler. But I thought ſo much what you would do, and therfore I would not tell you of his knauery when I ſent hym to priſon. Howbeit henceforth they ſhall cut your throte, before that I ſay any thyng more to them on your behalf. Why? what would you haue done with him, quoth the Archbyſhop? there was nothyng layde to his charge, other then wordes ſpoken agaynſt me: and now the man is repentaunt and well reconciled, and hath bene at great charges in priſon: it is tyme therfore that he were rid of his trouble. Well, ſayd my Lord Cromwell, I ment yͤ he ſhould haue preached at Paules Croſſe a recãtation before he had gone home. That had ben well done, quoth the other: for then you would haue had all the world aſwell to wonder at me as at hym. Well, well, ſayd the Lord Cromwell: we ſhall ſo long beare with theſe Popiſh knaues, that at length they will bryng vs in deede to bee wondered at of the whole world.

The Archb. *Cranmer* was neuer heard to call any of his houſe other varlet, or knaue.

This example among other, ſerueth to declare that there remained ſmall deſire of reuengyng in the ſayd Archbyſhop. But what ſhould I ſay more? His quietnes and mortification this way was ſuch, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he neuer raged ſo far with any of his houſhold ſeruauntes, as once to call the meaneſt of them varlet or knaue in anger, much leſſe to reproue a ſtraunger with any reprochfull wordes: Much vnlike in this part to the propertie (as it ſemeth) to ſome other inferiour Byſhops of this Realme, which haue not ſpared to flye in the faces, to plucke of the beardes, to burne the handes, to beate and ſcourge with roddes the bodies both of gentlemen, maried men and other, hauyng almoſt nothyng els in their mouth, but fooles and knaues, &c. and yet after all this, thinke thẽ ſelues good perfect Byſhops, after the rule which foloweth and ſayth.

” No ſtriker, nor fighter.

” *No ſtriker, nor fighter:* From which kynd of vice the nature of this Archbyſhop was ſo farre of, as was hys doctrine which he profeſſed, and death which he ſuffered farre of from all condition & example of blynd Popery. After the prohibition of theſe foreſayd vices, ſucceedeth the mother of all good vertues neceſſarily required of all true Chriſtians, but chiefly of a ſpirituall Prelate, which is.

” Not giuen to filthy luker, but harberous.

Not geuen to filthy luker, but harberous.

” *Not geuen to filthy luker, but harberous. &c.* The contrary whereof was ſo odious vnto S.Paul, that he eſtemed the ſame no leſſe then a kynde of Idolatry in that it maketh men to forget their dutie to God ſo farre, and in ſtede of him to worſhyp their treaſure. How litle this Prelate we ſpeake of, was infected with this vice, and how hee was no nyggard, all kynd of people that knew him, aſwell learned beyond the Seas and on this ſide, to whom yearly he gaue in exhibition no ſmal ſumes of money, as other, both Gẽtlemen, meane men, and poore men, who had in their neceſſitie that which he could cõueniently ſpare, lende, or make, cã well teſtifie. And albeit ſuch was his liberalitie to all ſortes of men, that no man did lacke whom he could do for, either in giuyng or lendyng: yet neuertheles ſuch was agayne his circũſpection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Q.Mary to yͤ Tower, he ought no man liuyng a peny that coulde or would demaũde any duty of him, but ſatiſfied euery man to the vttermoſt: where els no ſmall ſummes of money were owyng to hym of diuers perſons, which by breakyng their billes & obligatiõs he freely forgaue and ſuppreſſed before his attainder: In ſomuch that when he perceiued the fatall end of kyng Edward ſhould worke to him no good ſucceſſe touchyng his body and goodes, he incontinenly called for his Officers, his Steward & other, commaundyng them in any wiſe to pay where any peny was owyng, which was out of hand diſpatched. And then he ſayd: Now I thanke God I am myne owne man & in conſcience with Gods helpe hable els to aunſwere all the world and worldly aduerſities, which ſome men ſuppoſeth he might alſo haue auoided if he would haue bene counſelled by ſome of hys frendes. It followeth moreouer.

The liberall doinges of this Archbiſhop.

The Ar bisho ring all debtes b fore his tainder.

” Harberous.

” And as touchyng this word *Harberous*, whereby is ment yͤ good mayntenaunce of hoſpitalitie, ſo litle was this propertie lacking in him, that ſome men miſliking the ſame, thought it rather a houſe of ouermuch lauiſhing and vnprofitable expenſe. But as nothyng can be ſo wel done, which by ſome or other ſhall not be maligned and detracted: ſo neither did this man lacke his cauillers: ſome findyng fault with his ouermuch prodigalitie: ſome on the contrary part repynyng and complaynyng of his ſpare houſe and ſtrait order, much vnder the ſtate of his reuenues and callyng: of which two, yͤ firſt ſort muſt cõſider the cauſes which moued him to that liberall & large kynd of expenſes. Wherin here cõmeth to be cõſidered the time wherin he ſerued: which was when reformation of religion firſt began to bee aduaunced: in which tyme the whole weight and care of the ſame moſt chiefly depended vppon his hand. Duryng which ſeaſon almoſt for the ſpace of xvj. yeares together, his houſe was neuer lightly vnfurniſhed of a nũber, both of learned men & Cõmiſſioners frõ time to time appoynted for decyding of Eccleſiaſticall affaires.

The la expenſes Doctour *Cranme*

And thus as he ſeemed to ſome ouer large & lauiſhing more then needed in hoſpitalitie: ſo on the other ſide there wanted not ſome, of whom he was much noted and accuſed agayne, yea and alſo complained of to kyng Henry viij. for to ſlender and nyggardly houſekepyng, as not worthy to be accompted the hoſpitalitie of a meane Gentleman: as here folowyng ſhall appeare.

After that the ample and great poſſeſſiõs, reuenewes, iuelles, rich ornamentes and other treaſures of the Abbeys were diſſolued & brought into the kynges handes, in the diſſoluyng whereof many Cormorantes were fedde and ſatiſfied, and yet not ſo fully ſatiſfied, but that within a few yeares they began to wax hungry agayn: and for ſomuch as no more could be ſcraped now out of the Abbeys: they begã to ſeeke, how by ſome other pray to ſatiſfie their appetites, which was to tickle yͤ kyngs eares with the rich reuenew of the Byſhops landes. And to bryng this deuiſe to paſſe, they procured Syr Tho.Seymour Knight, of yͤ priuy Chãber, to be a promoter of the matter, who not in all pointes much fauoryng the Archbiſhop, hauing tyme and a conuenient occaſion, declared to the kyng, that my Lord of Canterbury did nothyng els, but ſell hys woods and let hys leaſes by great and many fines, makyng haueocke of all the royalties of the Archbyſhoprike, and that onely to the intent to gather vp treaſure for hys wife and hys children, kepyng no maner of hoſpitalitie in reſpect of ſo great a reuenew: aduertiſing the kyng further that it was the opiniõ of many wiſe men, that it were more meete for the Byſhops to haue a ſufficient yearely ſtipend in money out of the Exchequer, then to be cõbered with thoſe tẽporall affaires of their royalties, being impedimentes vnto their ſtudy and paſtorall charge, & his highnes to haue their lãdes & royalties conuerted to his proper vſe, which beſides their honeſt ſtipendes would be vnto his Maieſty no ſmall commoditie and profite.

The Bi ſhops la ſought.

Vntroth told to the King of the Arch biſhop of Canterbu ryes houſe keping.

When the king had heard this fayre tale, hee ſayd little then therunto, other then this: Well (quoth hee) we will talke more of this matter at an other time. Now, within a fortnight after or therabout (whether by chaunce or of ſet purpoſe, it is not knowen) it came to paſſe that one day when his highnes going to dinner had waſhed, Sir Thomas Seymour then holding the Ewer, he ſayd to the ſayd Sir Thomas: Go you out of hand to Lambeth vnto my Lorde of Caunterbury, and bid hym to be with me at .ij. of the clocke at after noone, and fayle not. Sir Thomas ſtraight wayes went to Lambeth, and as hee came to the gate, the Porter being in the Lodge, came out and conueied him to the Hall, which was throughly furniſhed and ſet, both with the houſhould ſeruauntes and ſtraungers, with foure principall head meſſes of Officers, as dayly it was accuſtomed to bee. When Sir Thomas Seymour ſaw that ſtately large Hall ſo well ſet and furniſhed, being therewith abaſhed and ſomewhat gylty of an vntruth told to the king before, hee retyred backe and would needes haue gone to my Lord of Caunterbury by the Chappell, & not through the Hall. Richard Newell gentleman, then Steward of the houſhould, perceyuing his retyre, came by and by vnto hym, and after gentle intertainment, demaunded of him whether he would ſpeake with my Lord or no. Sir Thomas ſayd that he muſt needes ſo do from ỹ kinges hyghnes, ſaying to hym: and thys way I am going to my Lordes grace. Sir, ſayd the Steward, you cannot go that way, for the dore is faſt ſhut in the dinner tyme: and ſo by gentle meanes brought him vp to my Lordes Chamber through the Hall, who then was at dinner: wyth whom he dyned after he had done his meſſage: whoſe ordinary fare might allwayes welcome a right honorable perſonage. When dinner was ſcarſe done, ſir Thomas tooke his leaue of my Lord and went agayne to the Court.

So ſoone as the kings highnes ſaw hym, he ſayd to him: haue you ben with my Lord of Canterbury? Syr Thomas aunſwered: that I haue, if it pleaſe your maieſty, and he will be with your hyghnes ſtraight waies. Dyned you not with him ſayd the king? Yes Sir (ſayd he) that I haue done. And with that word, whether he eſpied by the kings countenance or by his wordes any thing tending to diſpleaſe, he ſtraight way without delay kneeled downe vpon his knee, & ſayd: I beſech your Maieſty to pardon me: I do now wel remẽber and vnderſtand, that of late I told your hyghnes a great vntruth concerning my Lord of Canterburyes houſekeeping: but from henceforth I entend neuer to beleue that perſon which did put that vaine tale into my head: For I aſſure your hyghnes, that I neuer ſaw ſo honorable a Hall ſet in this realme, beſides your maieſties, Hall in all my lyfe, with better order and ſo well furniſhed in ech degree. If I had not ſeene it my ſelf, I could neuer haue beleued it: and himſelfe alſo ſo honorably ſerued.

Ah ſir, quoth the kings highnes? haue you now eſpyed the truth? I thought that you would tell me an other tale when you had bene there. He was a very varlet (quoth the king) that told you that tale: for he ſpendeth (ah good mã, ſaid the king) all that he hath in houſekeeping. But now I perceyue which way the wynde bloweth. There are a ſort of you, to whom I haue liberally geuen of the poſſeſſiõs and reuenewes of the ſuppreſſed Moneſtaries, which lyke as you haue lightely gottẽ, ſo haue you more vnthriftely ſpẽt, ſome at Dyce, other ſome in gay apparell, and other wayes worſe, I feare me: and now all is gone, you would fayne haue me make an other cheuaunce with the Biſhops Landes to accompliſh your greedy appetites. But let no other Biſhops beſtow their reuenewes worſe then my Lord of Caunterbury doth, then ſhall you haue no cauſe to complayne of their houſe keeping.

And thus the tale being ſhut vppe and ended by the kings hyghnes, neyther Sir Thomas Seymour nor none els on his behalfe euer after durſt renew or reuiue that ſute any more in king Henries daies: So that it may be euident to all indifferent men, the liberalty of the Archbiſhop in houſekeeping what it was, which being defended and cõmended by the Prince him ſelf, rather may giue a good example to his poſterity to follow, then was then to be depraued of any priuate ſubiect ſuch as knew him not.

In which Archb. this moreouer is to be noted, with a memorãdum, touching the reliefe of the poore, impotent, ſicke, and ſuch as then came from the warres at Bullen and other partes beyond the ſeas, lame, wounded, & deſtitute, for whom he prouided, beſides his mãſion houſe at Beckiſborn in Kent, the perſonage barne wel furniſhed with certayne lodgings for the ſicke and maymed ſoldiours. To whom were alſo appointed the Almoſiner, a Phiſicion, and Surgion, to attende vpon them, and to dreſſe and cure ſuch as were not able to reſort to their coũtreyes, hauing daily from the biſhops kytchin hot broth and meate, for otherwyſe the cõmon almes of the houſhold was beſtowed vpon the poore neyghbours of the ſhiere. And when any of the impotent did recouer, and were able to trauaile, they had cõuenient money delyuered to beare their charges, according to the number of myles from that place diſtant. And this good example of mercy and liberall benignitie, I thought here good not in ſilẽce to be ſuppreſſed, whereby other may be moued, according to their vocation, to walke in the ſteps of no leſſe liberalitie, then in hym in thys behalfe appeared.

One that loueth goodnes, ſober mynded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

Now foloweth together theſe vertues: *One that loueth goodnes, ſober mynded, righteous, holy and temperate.* As concerning theſe qualities, the trade of hys lyfe before ioyned wyth hys benigne and gentle diſpoſition, do teſtifie that he could not be voide of theſe good vertues raygning in hym, which was ſo abundantly adorned with the other which aboue we haue declared.

To cleaue faſt vnto the true woord of doctrine, that hee may bee able to exhort wyth wholſome learning, and to improue that ſay agaynſt it.

To cleaue faſt to the word of doctrine: able to exhorte in holſome: learning, and to reproue the gaynſayer.

Then concludeth S. Paule wyth the moſt excellent vertue of all other to bee wiſhed in a Prelate of the church. For if this conſtancie be not in him to this end, that is: *To cleaue faſt vnto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholeſome learning, and to improue that ſay agaynſt it:* If hee bee voide (I ſay) of theſe giftes and graces, hee is worthy of no commendation, but ſhall ſeeme an Idoll, and a deceiuer of the world. Neither ſhall he deſerue the name of a Biſhop, if either for dread or meede, affection or fauour, he do at any tyme or in any point ſwarue from the truth. As in this behalfe the worthy conſtancie of this ſaid Archbiſhop neuer, for the moſt part, ſhroncke at any maner of ſcorne: but was ſo many waies tryed, that neyther fauour of his Prince, nor feare of the indignation of the ſame, nor any other worldly reſpect could alienate or chaunge hys purpoſe grounded vpon that infallible doctrine of the Goſpell. Notwithſtanding, hys conſtãt defence of Gods truth was euer ioyned with ſuch meekenes toward the kyng, that he neuer tooke occaſion of offence againſt hym.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* euer conſtant in defence of Chriſtes truth and Goſpell.

At the ſetting forth of the ſixe articles, mention was made before in the ſtory of king Henries tyme, page 1297. col. 2. how aduenturouſly this Archbiſhop Thomas Cranmer dyd oppoſe him ſelf, ſtãding, as it were, poſt alone againſt the whole parlament, diſputyng and replying three dayes together againſt the ſayd articles:

in ſo much that the kyng, when neyther hee could myſlyke hys reaſons, and yet would needes haue theſe articles to paſſe, requyred hym to abſent hym ſelfe for the tyme out of the chamber, whyle the Acte ſhould paſſe, and ſo he did: and how the king afterward ſent all the Lordes of the Parlament vnto the Archbiſhop to Lambeth, to cheere hys mynde agayne that hee might not be diſcouraged: all which appeareth in the page aboue expreſſed. 1297. And this was done duryng yet the ſtate and tyme of the Lord Cromwels authoritie. And now that it may appeare lykewyſe that after the decay of the Lord Cromwell, yet hys conſtancie in *CHRISTES* cauſe dyd not decay, you ſhall heare what followed after.

Read before pag. 1297.

For after the apprehenſion of the Lord Cromwell, when the aduerſaries of the Goſpell thought al things ſure now on their ſyde, it was ſo appoynted amongeſt thē, that.x.or.xij. Biſhops & other learned mē ioyned together in cōmiſſion, came to ÿ ſaid Archb. of Canterbury for the eſtabliſhing of certayne articles of our religion, which the Papiſtes then thought to wynne to their purpoſe agaynſt the ſayd Archb. For hauing nowe the Lord Cromwel faſt and ſure, they thought all had bene ſafe and ſure for euer: As in deede to all mens reaſonable conſideration, that tyme appeared ſo daungerous, that there was no maner hope that religion reformed ſhould any one weeke longer ſtand, ſuch accōpt was thē made of ÿ kings vntowardnes therunto: in ſo much that of al thoſe Cōmiſſioners, there was not one left to ſtay on ÿ Archbiſhops part, but he alone agaynſt them all ſtood in defence of the truth, and thoſe that he moſt truſted to, namely biſhop Heath, and B. Skyppe left hym in the playne field: who then ſo turned againſt him, that they toke vpon them to perſwade him to their purpoſe: and hauing him downe from the reſt of the Commiſſioners into hys garden at Lambeth, there by all maner of effectuall perſwaſions entreated hym to leaue of hys ouermuch conſtancie, and to encline vnto the kyngs entent, who was fully ſet to haue it otherwyſe then he then had penned or ment to haue ſet abroad. When thoſe two hys familiars, with one or.ij. others hys frendes, had vſed al their eloquence and policy, he litle regarding their inconſtancie and remiſnes in Gods cauſe or quarel, ſaid vnto them right notably:

The Archbiſhop alone ſtandeth in defenſe of the truth.

B. Heth and B. Skippe forſake the Archbiſhop in the plaine field.

The Archbiſhop incenſed *by B. Heath and Skippe* to geue ouer the defenſe of the Goſpell.

The aunſwere of the Archbiſhop to D. *Heath, and Skippe.*

You make much ado to haue me come to your purpoſe, alledging that it is the kings pleaſure to haue the Articles in that ſort you haue deuiſed them to procede, and now that you doe perceiue his highnes by ſiniſter information to bee bent that way, you thinke it a conuenient thyng to apply vnto hys hyghnes mynde. You be my frendes both, eſpecially the one of you I did put to his Maieſty as of truſt. Beware I ſay, what you do. There is but one truth in our Articles to be concluded vpon, which if you doe hyde from hys hyghnes by conſenting vnto a contrary doctrine, and then after in proceſſe of tyme whē the truth cannot be hidden frō hym, hys hyghnes ſhall perceiue how that you haue dealt colourably wyth hym, I know hys Graces nature ſo well (quoth the Archbiſhop) that he wyll neuer after truſt and credite you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my frendes, ſo therfore I wyll you to beware thereof in tyme, & diſcharge your conſciences in mainteinaunce of the truth. But all this would not ſerue, for they ſtyll ſwarued: and in the end by diſcharging of his conſcience, and declaring the truth vnto the king, God ſo wrought with ÿ kyng, that his highnes ioyned with hym agaynſt the reſt, ſo that the booke of Articles paſſyng on hys ſide, he wan the gole from them all, contrary to al their expectatiōs, when many wagers would haue bene layd in London that he ſhould haue bene layde vp with Cromwel at that tyme in the Tower, for hys ſtyffe ſtanding to hys tackle. After that day there could neither Counſeller, Biſhop, or Papiſt win hym out of the kings fauour.

Notwithſtanding not long after that, certayn of the Counſayl, whoſe names neede not to bee repeated, by the entiſement and prouocation of his auncient enemy the biſhop of Wincheſter and other of the ſame ſect, attempted the kyng agaynſt hym, declaryng plainly, that the realme was ſo infected with hereſies and hereticks, that it was daungerous for his hyghnes farther to permyt it vnreformed, leſt peraduenture by long ſuffering, ſuch contention ſhould aryſe and enſue in the realme among hys ſubiectes, that thereby might ſpring horrible commotions and vprores, lyke as in ſome partes of Germany it dyd not long ago: the enormity whereof they could not impute to any ſo much, as to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who by hys own preachyng and hys Chapleins, had filled the whole Realme full of diuers pernitious hereſies. The kyng woulde needes know hys accuſers. They aunſwered, that forasmuch as he was a Counſeller, no man durſt take vpon hym to accuſe hym: but if it would pleaſe his hyghnes to commit hym to the Tower for a tyme, there would be accuſatiōs and proufes inough againſt him, for otherwyſe iuſt teſtimonye and wytnes agaynſt hym would not appeare, and therefore your highnes (ſayd they) muſt needes geue vs the Counſail libertie and leaue to commit hym to durance.

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The king perceyuing their importune ſute againſt the Archbiſhop (but yet meaning not to haue hym wronged and vtterly geuen ouer vnto their handes) graunted to them, that they ſhould the next day cōmit hym to the Tower for his tryall. When night came, the king ſent ſir Antony Deny about midnight to Lābeth to the Archbiſhop, willing him forthwith to reſort vnto hym at the Court. The meſſage done, the Archbiſhop ſpeedely addreſſed hymſelfe to the Court, and commyng into the Galery where the king walked and taryed for him, his hyghnes ſayd: Ah my Lorde of Caunterbury? I can tell you Newes. For dyuers waighty conſiderations it is determined by mee and the Counſaile, that you to morrow at.ix. of the clocke ſhal be committed to the Tower, for that you and your Chaplaynes (as information is geuen vs) haue taught and preached, and thereby ſowen within the Realme, ſuch a number of execrable hereſies, that it is feared, the whole Realme being infected with them, no ſmall contentions and cōmotions will ryſe thereby amongeſt my ſubiectes, as of late dayes the lyke was in diuers partes of Germany: and therefore the Counſail haue requeſted me for the trial of this matter, to ſuffer them to commit you to the Tower, or els no man dare come forth as witnes in theſe matters, you being a Counſellour.

The king ſent Syr *Antony Deny* at midnight for the Archbiſhop.

The kinges wordes & aduiſe for the ſuppo
tation of the Archbiſhop.

When the king had ſayd his mynd, the Archbiſhop kneeled downe, and ſayd: I am content if it pleaſe your grace, with all my hart, to go thether at your hyghnes commaundement, and I moſt humbly thanke your maieſty, that I may come to my triall, for there bee that haue many wayes ſclaundered me, and now this way I hope to try my ſelfe not worthy of ſuch a report.

The Archbiſhops anſwere t
the king.

The king perceyuing the mans vprightnes, ioyned with ſuch ſimplicity, ſayd: Oh Lord, what maner a man be you? what ſimplicity is in you? I had thought that you would rather haue ſued to vs to haue taken the paynes to haue heard you and your accuſers together for your triall without any ſuch indurance. Do not you know what ſtate you be in with ÿ whole world, & how many great enemies you haue? Do you not conſider what an eaſye thing it is to procure three or foure falſe knaues to wytnes againſt you? Thinke you to haue better lucke that way, then your maſter *CHRIST* had? I ſee by it, you wyll runne headlong to your vndoing, if I would ſuffer you. Your enemies ſhal not ſo preuayle agaynſt you, for I haue otherwyſe deuiſed with my ſelfe to keepe you out of their handes. Yet notwithſtanding, to morrow when the Counſaile ſhall ſit and ſend for you, reſorte vnto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower:

The kinges fauorable care and conſideration toward the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Tower: require of them, becauſe you are one of them a Counſeller, that you may haue your accuſers brought before them, and that you may aunſwere their accuſations before them, without any further indurance, and vſe for your ſelfe as good perſuaſions that way as you may deuiſe, and if no intreaty or reaſonable requeſt wil ſerue, then deliuer vnto them this my ryng (which thẽ the kyng deliuered vnto the Archbyſhop) and ſay vnto them, if there be no remedy my Lordes, but that I muſt nedes go to the Tower, then I reuoke my cauſe from you and appeale to the kynges own perſon by this hys token vnto you all, for (ſayd the kyng then vnto the Archbyſhop) ſo ſone as they ſhal ſee this my ryng, they know it ſo well, that they ſhall vnderſtand, that I haue reſumed the whole cauſe into mine owne handes and determination, and that I haue diſcharged them therof.

The Archbyſhop perceiuyng the kynges benignitie ſomuch to hym wardes, had much adoe to forbeare teares. Well, ſayd the kyng, goe your wayes my Lord, and do as I haue bydden you. My Lord humblyng hym ſelfe with thankes, toke hys leaue of the kynges highnes for that night.

On the morow about ix. of the clocke before noone the Counſaile ſent a Gentleman huſher for the Archbyſhop, who when he came to the Counſaile chamber dore, could not be let in, but of purpoſe (as it ſemed) was compelled there to waite among the pages, lackeys, and ſeruyngmen all alone. Doct. Buttes the kynges Phiſicion reſortyng that way, and eſpying how my Lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the kynges hyghnes and ſayd: My Lord of Cant. if it pleaſe your grace, is well promoted: for now he is become a lackey or a ſeruyngman, for yonder he ſtandeth this halfe houre without the Counſaile Chamber dore amongeſt them. It is not ſo, quoth the kyng, I trow, nor the Counſaile hath not ſo litle diſcretion as to vſe the Metropolitane of the Realme in that ſort, ſpecially beyng one of their owne number: but let them alone (ſayd the king) and we ſhall here more ſone.

Anone the Archbyſhop was called into the Counſaile Chamber: to whom was alledged, as before is rehearſed. The Archbyſhop aunſwered in lyke ſort as the kyng had aduiſed hym: and in the end when he perceiued that no maner of perſuaſiõ or intreaty could ſerue, he deliuered to them ỹ kinges ryng, reuokyng his cauſe into the kynges handes. The whole Counſaile beyng thereat ſomewhat amaſed: the Earle of Bedford with a loude voyce confirmyng his wordes with a ſolemne oth, ſaid: Whẽ you firſt began this matter my Lordes, I told you what would come of it. Do you thinke that the kyng wil ſuffer this mans finger to ake? much more (I warrant you) wil he defend his life againſt brabling varlets. You do but comber your ſelues to heare tales and fables agaynſt him. And ſo incontinently vpon the recept of the kynges token, they all roſe and caryed to the kyng his ryng, ſurrenderyng that matter as the order and vſe was, into his owne handes.

When they were all come to the kynges preſence, his hyghnes with a ſeuere countinãce, ſayd vnto them: Ah my Lordes, I thought I had had wiſer men of my Cõuſaile then now I finde you. What diſcretion was this in you, thus to make the Primate of the Realme ⁊ one of you in office, to wayte at the Counſaile Chãber dore amongeſt ſeruyngmen? You might haue cõſidered that he was a Counſeller as well as you, and you had no ſuch Commiſſion of me ſo to handle him. I was content that you ſhould try him as a Counſeller, and not as a meane ſubiect. But now I well perceiue that thinges be done agaynſt him malitiouſly, ⁊ if ſome of you might haue had your myndes, you would haue tried hym to the vttermoſt. But I do you all to witte, and proteſt, that if a Prince may be beholdyng vnto his ſubiect (and ſo ſolemnly laying his hand vpon his breſt) ſayd: by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here my Lord of Cãterbury, to be of all other a moſt faythfull ſubiect vnto vs, and one to whom we are much beholdyng, giuyng hym great commendacions otherwiſe. And with that one or ij. of the chiefeſt of the Counſaile, makyng their excuſe, declared, that in requeſtyng his induraunce, it was rather ment for his triall and his purgation agaynſt the common fame and ſclaunder of the world, then for any malice conceiued agaynſt him. Well, well my Lordes quoth the kyng, take him ⁊ well vſe hym, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado. And with that euery man caught him by the hand and made fayre wether of altogethers, which might eaſely be done with that mã.

The Lordes of the Counſail glad to be friends againe with the Archbiſhop.

And it was much to be marueiled that they would go ſo farre with him, thus to ſeeke his vndoyng, this well vnderſtanding before, that the king moſt entirely loued him, and alwayes would ſtand in his defence who ſoeuer ſpake agaynſt hym: as many other tymes the kynges patience was by ſiniſter informations, agaynſt hym tryed: In ſomuch that the Lord Cromwell was euermore wont to ſay vnto him: My Lord of Canterbury, you are moſt happy of all men: for you may do and ſpeake what you liſte, and ſay what all men can agaynſt you, the kyng will neuer beleue one word to your detriment or hinderaunce. I am ſure, I take more paynes then all the Counſaile doth, and ſpend more largely in the kynges affaires, aſwell beyond the Seas as on this ſide: yea I aſſure you, euen very ſpyes in other forreine Realmes and at Rome els where coſteth me aboue a 1000. markes a yeare: and do what I cã to bryng matters to knowledge for the commoditie of the kyng and the Realme, I am euery day chidden, and many falſe tales nowe and then beleued agaynſt me: and therefore you are moſt happye, for in no poynt can you be diſcredited with the kyng. To this the Archb. agayne aunſweryng, if the kynges Maieſty (ſayd hee) were not good to me that way, I were not able to ſtand and endure one whole weeke, but your wiſedome and policie is ſuch that you are hable to ſhift well enough for your ſelfe.

The kings [illegible] ſupporter of Cranmer.

The Lord *Cromwels* wordes to the Archbiſhop.

Now, when the kynges highnes had thus benignely and mercyfully diſpatched the ſayd Archbiſhop from this ſore accuſation by the Counſaile layde agaynſt him, all wyſe men woulde haue thought, that it had bene mere folly afterwardes to haue attempted any matter agaynſt him: but yet loke where malice reigneth, there neither reaſon nor honeſty can take place. Such therfore as had conceiued deepe rancor and diſpleaſure agaynſt hym, ceaſed not to perſecute him by all poſſible meanes. Then brought they agaynſt hym a new kynd of accuſation, and cauſed Syr Iohn Goſtwike Knight, a man of a contrary Religion, to accuſe the Archbiſhop openly in the Parlament houſe, laying to his charge his Sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures red at Caunterbury, wherin ſhould be conteined manifeſt hereſies agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar. ⁊c. which accuſation came to the kings eare. Why, quoth the kyng, where dwelleth Goſtewicke? as I take it, either in Bedfordſhyre or Buckynghamſhire, and hath he ſo open an eare that he can heare my Lord of Cãterburies preaching out of Kent? this is very like, ſayd the kyng. If he had ben a Kentiſhmã, there had ben ſomethyng worthy of conſideration: but as for Goſtwicke, I know him well enough and what good Religion he is of. Go to him and tell him, ſayd the kyng to one of his priuy Chãber, if he go not to my Lord of Cãterbury, and ſo recõcile him ſelf to him, that he may become his good Lord, I will pull the goſlynges fethers ſo, that hereafter he ſhall haue litle luſt to ſclãder the Metropolitane or any other learned mã. When Syr Iohn Goſtewyke heard these wordes, it was no nede to byd him

Another accuſation brought into the Parlament houſe by Syr *Iohn Goſtwicke*, agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

Goſtwicke checked of the king for accuſing the Archbiſhop.

him haſt himſelf to Lambeth vnto the Metropolitane, makyng to him as many frendes as poſſible he might. When he came to the Archb. he was fayne to diſcloſe vnto hym by what meanes he was procured to do that he dyd, requeſting hys clemency to be hys good Lord, or els he tooke hymſelfe vtterly vndone, being ſo in the kings indignation, as he vnderſtood hee was by that afore declared, which ſute was ſone woon at his hand: and ſo the Archbiſhop caſting into the ſatchell behinde hym, all thoſe Syr Iohn Goſtewickes ingratitudes, went to the kyng, and wan to Syr Iohn hys Princes fauour agayne. And thus the kyng made a ſhort ende of thys accuſation.

Goſtwicke glad to fall in agayne with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Well: here you may perceiue that malicious inuention went not the wyſeſt way to worke, to procure a ſtraunger dwelling a farre of, to accuſe ẏ Archb. of his doctrine preached in hys Dioceſſe: and therefore now hath blynd malice learned ſome more wiſedome now to accuſe the Archbiſhop in ſuch ſort, as he ſhal neuer be able to auoide it. And therefore it was procured by his auncient enemies, that not onely the Prebendaries of hys Cathedrall church in Canterbury, but alſo the moſt famous Iuſtices of the peace in the ſhire ſhoulde accuſe hym, and article agaynſt hym: which in very deede was moſt ſubſtancially brought to paſſe, and the Articles both well writtẽ and ſubſcribed, were deliuered to the kinges highnes, as a thing of ſuch effect, that there muſt needes follow to the ſayde Archbiſhop, both indignation of the Prince and condigne puniſhment for hys greuous offence committed by hym & hys chaplayns in preaching ſuch erroneous doctrine as they did within hys dioces of Canterbury: wherof they being ſuch wytnes of credite, no man had cauſe to doubt of their circumſpect doinges. Thys accuſation articularly ſent out, was deliuered to the kyng by ſome of the Counſails meanes. When the kyng had peruſed the booke, he wrapt it vp and put it into hys ſleeue: and finding occaſion to ſolace himſelfe vpõ the Thames, came with his Barge furniſhed with his Muſicions alonge by Lãbeth bridge towards Chelſey. The noyſe of the Muſicions prouoked the Archbiſhop to reſorte to the brydge to do hys duty, and to ſalute his Prince. Whom when the king had perceiued to ſtand at the bridge, eftſoones he cõmaunded the watermen to draw towards the ſhore, and ſo came ſtrayght to the bridge.

New accuſation by the Prebendaries and Iuſtices of Kent agaynſt the Archbyſhop.

Articles put vp to the King in writing agaynſt *D. Cranmer.*

Ah my Chapleyn, ſayd the kyng to the Archbiſhop: come into the barge to me. The Archb. declared to his highnes, that he would take hys own barge, and waite vpon eys Maieſty. No ſayde the king, you muſt come into my barge, for I haue to talke with you. When the kyng & the Archb. all alone in the barge were ſet togethers, ſaid the king to the Archbiſhop, I haue newes out of Kent for you my Lord. The Archb. aunſwered: Good I hope, if it pleaſe your highnes. Mary ſayd the kyng they be ſo good, that I now know the greateſt hereticke in Kent, and wyth that pulled out of his ſleeue the booke of Articles againſt both the ſayd Archbiſhop, and hys Preachers, and gaue the booke to hym, willing hym to peruſe the ſame. When the Archb. had red the Articles, and ſaw him ſelfe ſo vncurteouſly handeled of hys own church, whereof he was head, I meane of the Prebendaries of hys Cathedrall church, and of ſuch hys neighbours as he had many wayes gratified, I meane the Iuſtices of the peace, it much greeued him. Notwithſtanding he kneeled downe to the kyng, and beſought hys Maieſty to graunt out a Commiſſion to whomſoeuer it pleaſed hys highnes, for them to try out the truth of this accuſation. In very deede, ſaid the kyng, I do ſo meane, and you your ſelfe ſhall bee chiefe Cõmiſſioner, to adioyne to you ſuch two or three more as you ſhall thinke good your ſelfe. Then it will bee thought (quoth ẏ Archb. to the kyng) that it is not indifferent (if it pleaſe your Grace) that I ſhould be myne own Iudge, and my Chaplains alſo. Well, ſayd the kyng, I wyll haue none other but your ſelfe, and ſuch as you wyll appoynt. For I am ſure that you will not halt wyth me in any thing, although you be dryuen to accuſe your ſelfe, and I know partly how this geare proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wyſely, you ſhall finde a pretye conſpiracie deuiſed agaynſt you. Whom wyll you haue with you, ſayd the king? Whom it ſhal pleaſe your grace to name, quoth ẏ Archb. I wil appoint Doct. Belhous for one, name you ẏ other, ſaid the king, meete for that purpoſe. My Chauncellour D. Cox, & Huſſey my Regiſter, ſaid the Archb. are mẽ expert to examine ſuch troubleſome matters. Wel, ſaid ẏ kyng, let there be a Commiſſion made forth, and out of hãd get you into Kent, & aduertiſe me of your doings.

The King maketh the Archbiſhop priuy of the Articles.

Commiſſion appoynted to be ſent into Kent for triall of the Articles.

Commiſſ oners appoynted t *Cranmer*, Doctour *Bellowes*, *D. Coxe* Chancel, Maſter *Huſſey* Regiſter.

They came into Kẽt, & there they ſat aboue 3. weekes to bult out who was the firſt occaſiõ of this accuſation, for therof ẏ kyng would chiefly be aduertiſed. Now the Inquiſition being begun by ẏ Commiſſioners, euery man ſhroncke in his hornes, & no mã would confeſſe any thing to the purpoſe. For Doct. Coxe and Huſſey, being friendly vnto the Papiſtes, handled the matter ſo, that they would permit nothing material to come to lyght. This thing being well perceyued by one of the Archbiſhops ſeruauntes his Secretary, he wrote incontinently vnto Doct. Buttes and Maſter Deny, declaring that if the kyngs Maieſty dyd not ſend ſome other to aſſiſt my Lord, then thoſe that then were there with hym, it were not poſſible that any thing ſhould come to lyght: and therefore wiſhed that Doct. Lee or ſome other ſtoute man that had bene exercyſed in the kings Eccleſiaſtical affaires in his viſitatiõs, might be ſent to the Archbiſhop. Vpon theſe letters Doct. Lee was ſent for to Yorke by the king, & hauing the kings farther mynd declared vnto hym, when he came to the Court, he reſorted incontinenly into Kent, ſo that on Alhallow euen, hee deliuered to the Archbiſhop the kings Ring, with a declaration of his hyghnes farther pleaſure: and by & by vpon his meſſeſſage done, he appointed the Archbiſhop aforeſaid to name hym a doſen or xvj. of his Officers and gentlemen, ſuch as had both diſcretion, wit, and audacitie: to whom he gaue in Cõmiſſion frõ the king, to ſearch both the purſes, Cheſts, and Chambers, of all thoſe that were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this confederacy both within the Cathedrall Church and without, and ſuch letters or writings as they could find about them, to bring thẽ to the Archbiſhop and him.

D. Coxe Chancel, & Maſter *Huſſey* falſe to the Archbiſhop.

This Secretary was M. *Raph Morris* witnes and drawer of this ſtory.

D. Lee of Yorke appoynted Commiſſ on with the Archbiſhop for trying out the conſpiracie.

Theſe men thus appointed, went in one houre and inſtant, to the perſons, houſes, and places, that they were appoynted vnto: and within foure houres afterwardes the whole conſpiracy was diſcloſed by fynding of letters, ſome from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſome from D. London at Oxford, and from Iuſtices of the ſhiere, wyth other: ſo that the firſt beginning, the proceeding, and what ſhould haue bene the end of their conſpiracy, was now made manifeſt. Certayne Chambers and Cheſts of Gentlemen of the ſhiere were alſo ſearched, where alſo were found letters ſeruing to this purpoſe. Amongſt all other, came to my Lordes handes two letters, one of the Suffragan of Douer, and an other of Doct. Barbar a Ciuilian, whom continually the Archbiſhop reteined with him in houſhold for expeditiõ of matters in ſute before him, as a coũſellour in the Law when nede requyred. Theſe two men being wel promoted by the Archbiſhop, he vſed euer in ſuch familiarity, that when the Suffragan being a prebend of Caunterbury, came to hym, he alwayes ſet hym at his owne Meſſe, and the other neuer from his table, as men in whom he had much delyght and comfort, when tyme of care and penſiuenes chaunced. But that which they dyd, was altogether counterfait, and ẏ Deuill was turned into the Aungell of light, for they both were of this confederacy.

The conſpiracie of the Papiſtes agaynſt the Archbyſhop found out.

The Biſhop of Wincheſt. Doctour *London*, The Suffragan of Douer, Doctour *Barbar*, with certeine Iuſtices of Kent chiefe conſpirers againſt the Archbyſhop.

Domeſticall enemies and conſpirers againſt their Maſter.

When my Lord had gotten theſe their letters into his handes, he on a day, when it chaunced the Suffragan to come to hym to hys houſe at Bekiſburne, called to him into his ſtudy the ſaid Suffragan of Douer and

D. Barbar, ſaying: come your wayes with me, for I muſt haue your aduiſe in a matter. When they were with him in his ſtudy all togethers, he ſaid to them, you twayne be men in whom I haue had much confidence and truſt: you muſt now giue me ſome good counſaile, for I am ſhamefully abuſed with one or twayne to whō I haue ſhewed all my ſecretes from tyme to tyme, and did truſt them as my ſelfe. The matter is ſo now fallen out that they not onely haue diſcloſed my ſecretes, but alſo haue taken vpon them to accuſe me of hereſie and are become witnes againſt me. I require you therfore of your good aduices how I ſhall behaue my ſelfe towardes them. You are both my frendes, and ſuch as I alwayes haue vſed when I needed counſell. What ſay you to the matter, quoth the Archbiſhop?

Mary, quoth Doct. Barbar, ſuch vilens and knaues, (ſauing your honour) were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law. Hanging were to good, quoth the Suffragan, and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman my ſelfe.

At theſe wordes, the Archbiſhop caſt vp his handes to heauen and ſayd: Oh Lord moſt merciful god, whom may a man truſt now adayes? It is moſt true which is ſayd: Maledictus qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem brachium ſuum. There was neuer man hādled as I am: but oh Lorde thou haſt euermore defended me, and lent me one great frend and Maſter (meanyng the kyng) without whoſe protection I were not able to ſtand vpright one day vnouerthrowen, I prayſe thy holy name therfore: and with that he pulled out of his boſome their ij. letters, & ſaid: know ye theſe letters my maſters? With that they fel down vpō their knees, & deſired forgiuenes, declaring how they a yeare before were attempted to do the ſame, and ſo very lamentably weeping and bewailyng their doynges, beſought his grace to pardō and forgeue them. Well, ſaid the gentle Archbiſhop, God make you both good men. I neuer deſerued this at your handes: but aſke God forgeuenes, againſt whom you haue highly offended. If ſuch men as you are, be not to be truſted, what ſhould I do aliue? I perceiue now that there is no fidelitie or truth amongeſt men. I am brought to this point now that I feare my left hand will accuſe my right hand. I neede not much meruaile herat, for our Sauiour Chriſt truly prophecied of ſuch a worlde to come in the latter daies. I beſech him of his great mercy to finiſhe ẏ tyme ſhortly, & ſo departyng he diſmiſſed thē both with gentle and comfortable wordes, in ſuch ſort that neuer after appeared in his countenaunce or wordes any remembraunce therof.

Now, when all thoſe letters and accuſations were found, they were put into a Cheſte, the kynges Maieſtie mindyng to haue peruſed ſome of them and to haue partly puniſhed the principals of it. The Cheſt and writynges were brought to Lābeth. At what time began the Parlament, Lorde what adoe there was, to procure the kyng a ſubſidie, to the intent that therupon might enſue a pardon, which in dede folowed, and ſo nothing was done, other then their falſehode knowen. This was the laſt puſh of the pike that was inferred agaynſt the ſayd Archbiſhop in kyng Henry the viij. his dayes: for neuer after durſt any man moue matter againſt him in his tyme.

And thus haue ye both the working and diſcloſing of this Popiſh conſpiracy agaynſt this worthy Archbiſhop and Martyr of CHRIST Tho. Cranmer. In the which conſpiracie for ſomuch as complaint was alſo made vnto the kyng of his Chaplaines, and good preachers in Kent, it ſhall not be out of the ſtory ſomething likewiſe to touch therof, eſpecially of Rich. Turner thē Preacher the ſame tyme in this Archbiſhops Dioces and Curate to M. Moryce the Archbiſhops Secretary, in the Towne of Chartham, by whoſe diligent preachyng a great part of this hartburnyng of the Papiſtes tooke his firſt kyndlyng agaynſt the Archbyſhop. Touchyng the deſcriptiō of which ſtory, becauſe by me nothing ſhalbe ſaid either more or leſſe, thē is the truth, ye ſhall heare the very certeinty therof truly compiled in a letter ſent the ſame time to Doct. Buttes and Sir Anth. Deny, to be ſhewed vnto the king, and ſo it was, written by the foreſaid M. Moryce Secretary then to the Archb. farmour of the ſame benefice of Chartham, and patrone to M. Turner there miniſter and Preacher aforeſaid.

Papiſtes ſet agaynſt the Archbiſhop by occaſion of *Turners* preaching.

¶A letter or Apologie of M. Moryce, ſent to Syr W. Buttes, and Syr Anth. Deny, defendyng the cauſe of M. Rich. Turner preacher, agaynſt the Papiſtes.

THe letter firſt beginning in theſe wordes: I am certeine right worſhipfull, that it is not vnknowen to your diſcret wiſedomes. &c. And after a few lynes, comming to the matter, thus the ſayd letter procedeth:

As your worſhips well knowe, It was my chaunce to be brought vp vnder my Lord of Canterbury my maſter, in writing of ẏ Eccleſiaſticall affaires of this realme, aſwell touching the reformatiō of corrupt religion, as concernyng ẏ aduauncement of ẏ pure and ſincere religiō receiued by the doctrine of the Goſpell, which I take to be ſo ſubſtātially handled and buylded vpon the doctrine of the Prophetes and Apoſtels, that hell gates ſhall neuer preuayle againſt it. The conſideration wherof compelled me, being a Farmour of the Parſonage of Chartham in Kent, to reteyne with me one named M. Richard Turner, a mā not onely learned in the ſcriptures of God, but alſo in conuerſation of life towardes the world, irreprehenſible, whom for diſcharging of my conſcience I placed at Chartham aforeſayd to bee Curate there. This man becauſe hee was a ſtraunger in the countrey there, and ſo thereby voyde of grudge or diſpleaſure of any old rancour in the coūtrey, I thought it had bene a meane to haue gotten hym the better credite in his doctrine: but where malice once taketh fyre agaynſt truth, no policie I ſee is able to quench it. well, thys man as hee knew what appertayned vnto hys office, ſo hee ſpared not weekely both Sundayes and holydaies to open the Goſpell and Epiſtell vnto hys audience, after ſuch a ſort (when occaſion ſerued) that aſwell by hys vehement inueying againſt the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power & authoritie, as in the earneſt ſetting forth and aduauncing of the kinges Maieſties ſupremacie, innumerable of the people of the coūtrey reſorting vnto hys ſermons, chaūged their opinions, and fauoured effectually the religion receiued. The confluence of the people ſo dayly encreaſed that the church beyng a fayre, ample, & large church, was not now and then able to receyue the number. The fame of this new inſtruction of the people was ſo blaſted abroad, that the popiſh Prieſtes were wonderfully amaſed and diſpleaſed, to ſee their Pope ſo to be defaced, and their Prince ſo highly aduaunced.

The troubles of *Richard Turner* miniſter at Chartham.

M. Raph Morris patrone of *Richard Turner* preacher.

The great concourſe of people to M. *Turners* preaching.

Now thought they, it is hygh tyme for vs to worke, or els al wil here be vtterly loſt by this mans preaching. Some then went with Capons, ſome with Hens, ſome with Chickens, ſome with one thing, ſome wyth an other vnto the Iuſtices, ſuch as then fauoured their cauſe & faction, & ſuch as are no ſmall fooles, as Syr Iohn Baker, Syr Chriſtofer Hales, Syr Thomas Moyle Knightes, wyth other Iuſtices. The Prebendaries of CHRISTES Church in Canterbury were made priuy hereof, gyuing their ſuccour and ayd thereunto: So that in concluſion poore Turner and other Preachers were greuouſly complayned of vnto the kings Maieſty. whereupon my L. of Canterbury and certaine other Commiſſioners were appoynted at Lambeth to ſit vpon the examination of theſe ſeditious Preachers. Howbeit before Turner went vp to hys examination, I obtayned of Syr Tho. Moyle that he in Eaſter weeke was content to heare Turner preach a rehearſall ſermon in hys pariſh church at weſtwell, of all the doctrine of hys ſermons preached at hys cure in Chartham, which hee moſt gently graunting, heard Turner both before noone and after noone on the wedenſday in Eaſter weeke laſt paſt, and (as it ſeemed) tooke al thinges in good part, remitting Turner home to hys ſayd cure with gentle and fauorable wordes. I ſuppoſed by this meanes to haue ſtayed Maſter Turner at home from farther examination, hoping that Syr Thomas Moyle

Syr Iohn Baker, Syr Chriſtopher Hales, Syr Thomas Moyle, Iuſtices, with the Prebendaries of Canterbury, perſecuters of Gods people.

Syr Thomas Moyle hearing *Turner*, could find no fault with his doctrine.

M. Turner appearing before the Commiſſioners at Lambeth, was diſcharged, and ſent home.

mas Moyle would haue aunſwered for hym at Lambeth before the Commiſſioners. Notwithſtanding, after maſter Moyles comming to London, ſuch information was layd in agaynſt Turner, that he was ſent for to make aunſwer hym ſelfe before the ſayd Cōmiſſioners, and there appearing before them, he made ſuch an honeſt, perfite, & learned aunſwer vnto the Articles obiected, that he was with a good exhortation diſcharged home againe, without any maner of recantation or other iniunction.

New matter made agaynſt *Richard Turner.*

The practiſe of Papiſtes to hold vp theyr kingdome with lyes.

Now, whē the Popecatholicke Clergy of Kent vnderſtode of his comming home without controlement, ſo that he preached as freely as he did before, agaynſt their blind and dumme ceremonies, ſtraight way by the helpe of the Biſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, they found a new meanes to put him to an vtter confuſion, deuiſing that hee came home from examination in ſuch glorious Pompe by the hyewayes ſide in the woodes adioyning, that v. C. perſons met hym then with banketting diſhes to welcome him home, ſtirring the people rather to an vprore and a commotion, then to kepe them in any quiet obedience: when in very deede, contrary to this ſurmyſe (as God would) on this ſyde Rocheſter a mile or two, for auoyding all ſuch light and glorious talke with any of his familiars or acquaintaunce, he of purpoſe left the hye way, and came through the woodes all alone aboue xviij. myles together on fote, ſo weried and megered for want of ſuſtinance, that when he came into my houſe at Chartham, he was not well able to ſtand or ſpeake for fayntnes and thurſt.

The King deceaued by ſiniſter information.

This malicious tale being reported vnto the kinges hyghnes, his Maieſty was ſo ſore agreeued therewyth, that he ſent for the Archb. of Caunterbury, willing him to cauſe Turner to be whipt out of the countrey. By meanes whereof the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury ſent agayn for Turner. I hearing thereof, made incontinently report by my letters, with ſuch vehemencie prouyng it mere malyce, that the Archbiſhop vnderſtanding the truth, pacified agayne the kings maieſties wrath. Home commeth Turner once agayne to his Cure without blot. Which ſo wroong yͤ Papiſts, in that they could not preuayle, that they thought it all in vayne any farther to attempt againſt him concerning any accuſatiō for matters in Kent, the Archb. of Canterbury beyng hys Ordinarye. Well, yet would they not thus leaue hym vndiſcredited. Then was there other new matter deuiſed, howe that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other countreyes before he came into Kēt, laying to hys charge that he had both tranſlated the Maſſe in to Engliſh, and ſayd or miniſtred the ſame, and that he had preached agaynſt Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and praying for the dead. &c. By meanes whereof he was nowe conuented before the whole Counſayle by the biſhop of Wincheſter. Who ſent Siriacke Petite Gentleman for hym, which brought hym vp to London bound (as I heard ſay) and being examined before the ſayd biſhop of Wincheſter and other, was committed to ward for a ſeaſon.

New matter made agaynſt *Rich. Turner.*

Conſpiracie agaynſt the Archbiſhop *Cranmer,* by the Iuſtices of Kent.

In the which meane tyme the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury being in Kent, about the tryall of conſpiracy purpoſed agaynſt himſelfe by the Iuſtices of the ſheare, and the Prebendaries of *CHRISTES* Church, Turner is now ſent downe to the Archbiſhop to the intent hee ſhould recant that doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had preached, to the vtter ſubuerſion and defacing of all that he had moſt godly and earneſtly here in Kent taught both to the glory of God, and the furtheraunce and ſetting forth of the kinges highnes proceedinges. If his maieſty will thus permit learned honeſt men thus dayly to bee ouercrowed and troden vnder fote with a ſort of tyrannous, or rather trayterous Papiſts (who cā not abide to heare his maieſties ſupremacy aduaunced, nor the ſincere woorde of God preached) it were better for men to dwell amongſt the Infidels and miſcreants then in England. What reaſon is this that Turner ſhould recant here in Kent, the doctrine which in other Countreyes he hath taught, to the wounding and ouerthrowing moſt deſperatly of fyue hundred mens conſciences, and aboue (I dare ſay) who lately by hys ſincere preaching haue embraced a ryght good opinion both of the Kinges ſupremacy, and alſo of the reformed religion receiued. All good ſubiectes may well lament the kinges Maieſties eſtate in this behalfe, that no mā may dare to be ſo bold to aduaunce his highnes title, but that euery ignorant and malicious Papiſt ſhall ſpurne agaynſt hym, ſeekyng hys vtter vndoyng, and that by the ayde of papiſticall Iuſtices ſet in authoritie, I beſech you worſhips to pardon me of my rude and homely termes. They herein deſerue worſe, if worſe maye be deuiſed. For what honeſt man can beare wyth this, that ſo noble a Princes eares ſhall bee thus impudently abuſed wyth manifeſt lyes and fables, as this one is of Turners comming home in ſuch a triumph as they craftely and falſely had deuiſed? It is eaſely to be eſpied what they meane and go about, that the Prince being alyue dare take in hand ſo vncurteouſly to abuſe both the gentle nature of the Prince, and hys godly Preacher, the aduauncer and extoller of hys iuſt authoritye. What thinke your worſhips they would attēpt, if hys maieſty were at Gods mercy (as God forfend that euer any of vs ſhould ſee that day, without better reformation) that can thus dally wyth hys hyghnes, blyndyng hys eyes wyth miſtes, whyleſt he lyueth and raygneth amongeſt vs in moſt proſperitie? As for my Lord of Canterbury dare nothing do for the poore mans delyuery, hee hath done ſo much for hym already. And his Grace hath told me playnly that it is put in to the kinges head, that hee is the mayntener and ſupporter of all the hereticks with in the realme, nor wyll not permit me nor my neighbors to reſort vnto the Counſaile for hys purgation whileſt he was at Chartham, ſauing onely I haue obtained this at his hand, that I may become a ſuter in writing to my frendes and good Maſters in the court for his deliuery.

And therfore it is (right worſhipfull) that I haue now taken pen in hand, thus to diſcourſe and open our miſerie vnto you concernyng the extreme handlyng of this honeſt poore man M. Turner, that if it may poſſibly bee brought to paſſe by your godly wiſedomes, that yͤ poore man my be releaſed and diſcharged of this his recantation, you can not do to God and your Prince a more acceptable ſeruice, in my poore opinion. For otherwiſe if he ſhould be driuē to recant (as I am ſure he wil ſooner dye) both Gods cauſe & the kynges ſhall ſuffer no ſmall detriment amōgeſt his poore louyng ſubiectes here. For if there bee no better ſtay for the maynteinaunce of theſe godly Preachers, the kynges authoritie concernyng hys ſupremacie, ſhall lye poſt alone hidden in the Act of Parlament, and not in the hartes of his ſubiectes. If they cā bring to paſſe, that Turner may recant, to the defacyng of his good doctrine preached here, then haue they that for which they haue thus long trauailed. And yet in effect ſhall not Turner recant, but kyng Henry the viij. in Turners perſon ſhall moſt odiouſly recant to the woundyng of all mens conſciences here. If the kynges maieſtie do not eſteme his authoritie giuen to his highnes by Gods word and his Parlament, it were well done, that the Preachers had good warnyng to talke no more to the people thereof, then thus to be toſſed and tormoiled for doyng their duties, by the members of Antichriſt.

Sander, & Browne, 2. perſecuting Papiſtes.

And now to the intent that they might effectually for euer ſclaunder Turners doctrine here, they haue indited hym for offendyng agaynſt yͤ vj. Articles this laſt Seſſions, by the witnes of ij. Papiſtes of the Pariſh of Chartham his vtter enemies, Sander and Browne by name, for a Sermon preached at Chartham on paſſion Sunday, which chaūced on S. Gregories euē, they both being abſent that day at Wye faire, as it is wel proued, namely for that he ſhould preach agaynſt the Maſſe, ſaying that our Sauiour *CHRIST* was the onely ſoule Prieſt which ſong Maſſe on the aultar of the Croſſe, there ſacrificing for the ſinnes of the world once for euer, & that all other Maſſes were but remembraunces and thankes giuyng for that one ſacrifice, or ſuch wordes in effect.

Wherefore, to conclude (right worſhypfull) knowyng your godly zeales, aſwel towardes the preferment of ſincere Religion, as your no leſſe affection towardes the kyng his Maieſties perſon and his godly procedynges, I moſt humbly beſech you in the bowels of our Sauiour *CHRIST*, ſo to ponder the weighty conſideration of the premiſſes, as by your trauailes vnto the kings Maieſtie or to the honorable Coūſaile, we here in Kent, that haue now of late our hartes bent towardes the obſeruation of the law of God and the Prince, thorough Turners godly perſuaſions, may receyue frō your worſhips ſome comfortable worde of his deliueraunce, or els certeinly many an honeſt & ſimple man lately embracing the truth may perhaps fall away deſperatly frō the ſame, not without daunger of their ſoules. In accompliſhyng wherof your worſhyps ſhall not onely do vnto almighty God and the Prince moſt true and acceptable ſeruice, but alſo bynd the ſayd M. Turner, with all other to whō this cauſe doth appertein, both dayly to pray for your proſperities, and alſo bee at your commaundementes duryng their liues. From Canterbury the ij. day of Nouember.

Your worſhips euermore at comaundement, R. M.

And thus much cõteineth the letter ſent (as is ſayd) by M. Moryce to Doct. Buttes and Syr Anth. Deny. Now, what ſucceſſe and ſpede this letter had, it foloweth to be declared. For Doct. Buttes the kynges Phiſicion aforeſayd, after the receate of theſe letters, conſideryng the weyghtie contentes of the ſame, as he was euer a forward frende in the Goſpels cauſe, ſo hee thought not to forſlacke this matter to the vttermoſt of his diligẽce, and ſo ſpying his tyme, when the kyng was in trymmyng and in waſhyng (as his maner was at certeine tymes to call for his Barbar) Doct. Buttes (whoſe maner was at ſuch times euer to be preſent, & with ſome pleaſaunt conceites to refreſh and ſolace the kynges mynde) brought with him in his hand this letter. The kyng aſkyng what newes, Doct. Buttes pleaſauntly and merely begynneth to inſinuate vnto the kyng the effect of the matter, and ſo at the kynges commaundement red out the letter: which when the king had heard, and pauſed a litle with him ſelfe vppon the ſame, commaũded agayne the letter to be red vnto him. The hearyng and conſideration wherof ſo altered the kyndes mynde, that whereas before he commaunded the ſayd Turner to bee whypped out of the countrey, he now commaunded him to be reteined as a faithfull ſubiect. And here of that matter an end. Let vs now returne to the Archbyſhop agayne.

Who although he was cõpaſſed about (as is ſaid) wᵗ mighty enemies, and by many crafty traynes impugned, yet through Gods more mighty prouidence, worlyng in the kynges hart ſo to fauour him, hee rubbed out all kyng Henryes tyme without blemiſhe or foyle by meanes of the kynges ſupportation, who not onely defended the ſayd Archbyſhop agaynſt all hys conſpired aduerſaries, but alſo extended ſuch ſpeciall fauour vnto him in ſuch ſort, that he beyng not ignorant of his wife, whom he had maryed before at Noremberge (beyng Niece to the wife of Oſiander) kepyng her alſo all the vj. Articles tyme contrary to the law, notwithſtandyng he both permitted the ſame, and kept his counſell.

Thẽ after the death of kyng Henry, immediatly ſucceded his ſonne kyng Edward, vnder whoſe gouernement and protection the ſtate of this Archbiſhop, being his Godfather, was nothyng appaired, but rather more aduaunced.

Duryng all this meane tyme of kyng Henry aforeſayd, vntil the entryng of kyng Edward, it ſemeth that Cranmer was ſcarſely yet throughly perſuaded in the right knowledge of the Sacrament, or at leaſt, was not yet fully rypened in the ſame: wherin ſhortly after he being more groũdly cõfirmed by conference wᵗ B. Ridley, in proceſſe of tyme did ſo profite in more ryper knowledge, yͭ at laſt he toke vpõ him yͤ defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw downe firſt the corporall preſence: ſecondly the phantaſticall tranſubſtãtiatiõ: thirdly the Idolatrous adoration: fourthly the falſe errour of the Papiſtes, that wicked men do eate the naturall body of *CHRIST*: and laſtly the blaſphemous ſacrifice of the Maſſe. Wherupon in concluſion he wrote fiue bokes for the publicke inſtruction of the Church of England, which inſtruction yet to this day ſtandeth & is receaued in this Church of England.

Agaynſt theſe fiue bokes of the Archbiſhop, Steuen Gardiner, the Archenemy to *CHRIST* and his Goſpell, beyng then in the Tower, ſlubbereth vp a certein aunſwere ſuch as it was, which he in open Court exhibited vp at Lãbeth beyng there examined by the Archbiſhop aforeſayd and other the kynges Commiſſioners in kyng Edwardes dayes, which booke was intitled: An Explication and aſſertion of the true Catholicke fayth, touchyng the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, with a confutation of a boke written agaynſt the ſame.

Agaynſt this Explication, or rather a cauillyng Sophiſticatiõ of Ste. Gardiner Doctour of law, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury learnedly and copiouſly replyng agayn, maketh aunſwere, which alſo he publiſhed abroad to the eyes and iudgements of all men in print. All which writynges and bokes, as well of the one part as of the other, our preſent ſtory woulde require here to bee inferred: but becauſe to proſecute the whole matter at length will not bee comprehended in a ſmall rowme, and may make to long tariaunce in our ſtory, it ſhall therfore be beſt to put of the ſame vnto the place of the Appendix folowyng, wherein (the Lord willyng) we intende to cloſe vp both theſe, and other diuers treatiſes of theſe learned Martyrs, as to this our ſtory ſhall apperteine.

The anſwere of Doctor *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, againſt *Stephen Gardiner.*

The vnquyet ſpirite of Ste. Gardiner beyng not yet contented, after all this thruſteth out an other boke in Latine of the like Popiſh argument, but after an other title, named Marcus Anthonius Conſtantius. Whereunto firſt the Archbiſhop agayne intendyng a full confutation, had already abſolued iij. partes of his aunſwere lying in priſon. Of the which partes, two periſhed in Oxford: the other yet remaineth in my hãdes ready to be ſéene and ſet forth, as the Lord ſhall ſée good. Alſo B. Ridley lying likewiſe the ſame tyme in priſon, hauing there the ſayd boke of Marcus Anthonius, for lacke of penne and paper, with a lead of a window in yͤ margent of the boke wrote annotations, as ſtraitnes of tyme would ſerue him, in refutation of yͤ ſame boke. And finally becauſe thoſe worthy Martyrs had neither libertie nor layſure to go through with that trauaile, that which lacked in them, for accõpliſhment of that behalfe, was ſupplied ſhortly after by Peter Martyr, who aboundantly and ſubſtancially hath ouerthrowen that boke in his learned Defenſion of yͤ right truth, againſt the falſe Sophiſticatiõ of Marcus Antonius aforeſayd.

Marcus Anthonius written by *St. Gardiner.*

Archbiſhop of Cant. about an anſwere to *Marcus Anthonius.*

Notes of *B. Ridley* agaynſt *Marcus Anthonius.*

Peter Martyrs booke of Defence agaynſt *Marcus Anthonius.*

Beſides theſe bokes aboue recited, of this Archbyſhop diuers other thyngs there were alſo of his doyng, as the boke of reformation, the Catechiſme, with the boke of Homilies, wherof part was by him cõtriued, part by his procurement approued & publiſhed. Whereunto alſo may be adioyned an other writyng or confutation of his agaynſt 88. Articles by the conuocation deuiſed and propounded, but yet not ratified nor receaued, in the reigne and tyme of kyng Henry.

And thus much hetherto concernyng the doynges and trauailes of this Archbyſhop of Caunterbury duryng the lyues both of kyng Henry, and of kyng Edward his ſonne. Which ij. kynges ſo long as they continued, this Archbyſhop lacked no ſtay of mayntenaũce agaynſt all his maligners.

Afterward this K. Edward Prince of moſt worthy towardnes fallyng ſicke, when hee perceiued that hys death was at hand, and the force of hys paynfull diſeaſe would not ſuffer him to liue longer, and knowing that hys ſiſter Mary was wholy wedded to popiſh religion, bequeathed the ſucceſſion of the Realme to the lady Iane (a lady of great byrth, but of greater learning, beyng Néece to kyng Henry the eight by hys ſiſter) by conſent of all the Counſell and lawyers of this realme. To this teſtament of the Kinges, when all the Nobles of the realme, ſtates and Iudges had ſubſcribed: they ſent for the Archbiſhop, and requyred him that hee alſo would ſubſcribe. But hee excuſing hymſelfe on thys maner, ſayd: that it was otherwyſe in the teſtament of kyng Henry hys father, and that he had ſworne to the ſucceſſion of Mary as then the next heyre, by which oth he was ſo bound, that without manyfeſt periurie hee could not go from it. The Counſell aunſwered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conſciences as well as hee, and moreouer that they were ſworne to that teſtament, and therefore hee ſhould not thinke there was any daunger therin, or that he ſhould be in more peryll of periury then the reſt.

Lady Iane.

Cranmer refuſeth to ſwere to Lady *Iane.*

To thys the Archbiſhop aunſwered, that hee was iudge of no mans conſcience but hys own: and therefore as he would not bee preiudiciall to others, ſo hee

would

woulde not commit hys conſcience vnto other mens factes, or caſt him ſelfe to daunger, ſeyng that euery man ſhould geue accompt of hys owne conſcience and not of other mens. And as concerning ſubſcription, before he had ſpoken with the kyng him ſelfe, he vtterly refuſed to do it.

The kyng therefore beyng demaunded of the Archbiſhop concerning this matter, ſayd: that the Nobles and Lawyers of the Realme counſelled hym vnto it, and perſwaded hym that the bond of the firſt teſtament could nothing let, but that this Lady Iane might ſuccéede him as heyre, and the people without daunger acknowledge her as their Quéene. Who then demaunding leaue of the kyng, that he myght firſt talke wyth certayne Lawyers that were in the Court, when they all agreed that by law of the Realme it might be ſo, returning to the king, with much ado he ſubſcribed.

Cranmer through the perſwaſion of the Counſell, the king and lawyers ſubſcribed to king *Edwardes* Teſtament.

Well, not long after this, king Edward died, being almoſt ſixtene yeares old, to the great ſorrow, but greater calamitie of the whole Realme. After whoſe deceaſe immediately it was commaunded that the Lady Iane which was vnwyllyng thereunto, ſhould bee proclaymed Quéene. Which thing much myſliked the cōmon people: not that they did ſo much fauour Mary, before whom they ſaw the Lady Iane preferred, as for the hatred conceiued againſt ſome, whom they coulde not fauour. Beſides this, other cauſes there happened alſo of diſcord betwene the Nobles and the Commons the ſame tyme, for what iniuries of commons and encloſures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate polings and vncharitable dealyng betwene the landlordes and tenantes, I can not tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that Mary hearyng of the death of her brother, & ſhifting for her ſelfe, was ſo aſſiſted by the Cōmons, that eſtſones ſhe preuayled. Who being eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the Realme, not long after came to London, and after ſhe had cauſed firſt the two fathers, the Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of Suffolke to bee executed (as is aboue remembred) lykewyſe ſhe cauſed the Lady Iane being both in age tender and innocent from this crime, after ſhee coulde by no meanes bee turned from the conſtancie of her fayth, together with her husband to be beheaded.

The reſt of the Nobles paying fines, were forgeuē, the Archbiſhop of Cant. onely excepted. Who though he deſired pardon by meane of frendes, could obtayne none: in ſo much that the Quéene woulde not once vouchſafe to ſée him: For as yet the olde grudges agaynſt the Archbiſhop for the diuorcement of her mother, remayned hyd in the bottome of her hart. Beſides this diuorce, ſhe remembred the ſtate of religion chaunged: all which was reputed to the Archbiſhop, as the chiefe cauſe thereof.

Manet altamente repoſtum Iudicium paridis, ſpretęque iniuria matris. Virg. æneid, 1.

Whyle theſe thinges were in doing, a rumor was in all mens mouthes, that the Archbiſhop, to curry fauour with the Quéene, had promiſed to ſay a Dirige Maſſe after the olde cuſtome, for the funerall of kyng Edward her brother. Neither wāted there ſome which reported that he had already ſayd Maſſe at Cāterbury: which Maſſe in déede was ſaid by D. Thornton. This rumor Cranmer thinking ſpéedely to ſtay, gaue forth a writing in his purgation: the tenour wherof being before expreſſed, pag. 1635. col. 1. I néede not here againe to recite.

This Doct. *Thornton* was after the byſhop of Douer, a cruell and wicked perſecuter.

Thys byll being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, commeth in by chaunce M. Scory, Biſhop then of Rocheſter, who after he had red and peruſed the ſame, requyred of the Archbiſhop to haue a copy of the byll. The Archbiſhop when he had graunted and permitted the ſame to Maſter Scory, by the occaſion thereof M. Scory lending it to ſome frend of hys, there were diuers copies taken out therof, and the thing publiſhed abroad among the cōmon people: in ſo much that euery Scriueners ſhop almoſt, was occupied in wryting & copying out the ſame, & ſo at lēgth ſome of thoſe copies comming to the Biſhops handes, and ſo brought to the Counſell, and they ſending it to the Cōmiſſioners, the matter was knowen, and ſo he commaunded to appeare.

Wherupon D. Crāmer at his day prefixed, appeared before the ſayd Commiſſioners, bringing a true Inuentory, as he was commaunded, of all his goodes. That done, a Byſhop of the Quéenes priuy Counſell, being one of the ſayd Commiſſioners, after the Inuentory was receaued, bringing in mēcion of the byll: My Lord (ſaid he) there is a bil put forth in your name, wherein you ſeeme to be agréeued wyth ſetting vp the Maſſe agayne: we doubt not but you are ſory that it is gone abroad.

This
ſhop wa
D. Hea
byſhop
ter of
Yorke.

To whom the Archbiſhop aunſwered agayne, ſaying: as I do not deny my ſelfe to be the very autour of that bill or letter, ſo muſt I confeſſe here vnto you, concerning the ſame byll, that I am ſory that the ſayd byll went from me in ſuch ſort as it dyd. For when I had written it, M. Scory got the copy of me, & is now come abroad, and as I vnderſtand, the City is full of it. For which I am ſory, that it ſo paſſed my handes: for I had intended otherwiſe to haue made it in a more large and ample maner, and mynded to haue ſet it on Paules Church dore, and on the dores of all the Churches in London, with myne owne ſeale ioyned thereto.

At which wordes when they ſaw the conſtantnes of the man, they diſmiſſed hym, affirming they had no more at that preſent to ſay vnto him, but that ſhortly hee ſhould heare further. The ſaid Biſhop declared afterward to one of Doctour Cranmers friendes, that notwithſtandyng hys attainder of treaſon, the Quéenes determination at that tyme was, that Cranmer ſhould onely haue bene depriued of his Archbiſhopricke, and haue had a ſufficient liuyng aſſigned hym, vpon his exhibiting of a true Inuentory, wyth commaundement to kéepe his houſe wythout medling in matters of religiō. But how that was true, I haue not to ſay. Thys is certain, that not long after this, he was ſent vnto the Tower, & ſoone after condemned of treaſon. Notwithſtanding, the Quéene when ſhe could not honeſtly deny hym hys pardon, ſeing all the reſt were diſcharged, and ſpecially ſeyng he laſt of all other ſubſcribed to king Edwardes requeſt, and that againſt his owne will, releaſed to him his action of treaſon, and accuſed hym onely of hereſy: which liked the Archbiſhop ryght well, and came to paſſe as hee wiſhed, becauſe the cauſe was not now hys owne, but CHRISTES, not the Quéenes, but the Churches. Thus ſtode the cauſe of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the Quéene and the Counſell, that he ſhould be remoued from the Tower where he was priſoner, to Oxford, there to diſpute with the Doctours and Diuines. And priuely word was ſent before to them of Oxford to prepare them ſelues, & make thē ready to diſpute. And although the Quéene and the Byſhops had concluded before what ſhoulde become of him, yet it pleaſed them that the matter ſhould bee debated with argumentes, that vnder ſome honeſt ſhew of diſputation, the murther of the man might be couered. Neither could their haſty ſpéede of reuengement abide any long delay: and therefore in all haſt he was caryed to Oxford.

Cranme
condem
of treaſo

Cranme
releaſed
treaſō, a
accuſed o
hereſy.

Cranme
had to O
ford.

What thys diſputation was, and how it was handled, what were the queſtions, and reaſons on both ſydes, and alſo touchyng hys condemnation by the Vniuerſity & the Prolocutor, becauſe ſufficiently it hath ben declared pag. 1591. we mynd now therfore to procede to his finall iudgement & order of condemnation, which was the .xij. day of September. an. 1556. and ſeuen dayes before the condemnation of Biſhop Ridley and M. Latimer, as is aboue foretouched. pag. 1922. col. 1. The ſtory wherof here followeth, faythfully collected by the report and narratiō (comming by chaunce to our handes) of one who being both preſent therat, and alſo a deuout fauorer of the Sea and faction of Rome can lacke no credit (I trowe) wyth ſuch, which ſeeke what they can to diſcredit what ſoeuer maketh not wyth their phantaſied religion of Rome.

After the diſputations done & finiſhed in Oxford betwene ẏ Doctors of both Uniuerſities & the three worthy biſhops D.Cranmer, Ridley,& Latimer, ye heard then how ſentence cōdemnatory immediatly vpon the ſame was miniſtred agaynſt thē by D.Weſton & other of the vniuerſitie: wherby they were iudged to be heretickes,and ſo committed to the Maior and Sheriffes of Oxford. But foraſmuch as the ſentence geuen them, was voyd in law (for at that tyme the authority of the Pope was not yet receiued into the land) therefore was a new Cōmiſſion ſent from Rome,and a new proceſſe framed for the conuiction of theſe reuerende and godly learned men aforeſayd. In which cōmiſſion firſt was Doct. Iames Brokes Byſhop of Glocester the Popes Subdelegate, wyth Doct.Martin, and Doct. Story Cōmiſſioners in the king & Queenes behalfe,for execution of the ſame. Of the which 3.Commiſſioners aboue named,as touching D.Martin,this by the way is to be vnderſtand, that although hee was vſed for an inſtrument of the Popes ſide, to ſerue a turne (whoſe booke alſo is extāt againſt ẏ lawfull mariage of Prieſts) yet notwithſtādyng neither was he ſo bytter an enemy in this perſecution,as other Cōmiſſioners were,& alſo in this time of Queene Elizabeth, where diuers other Doctors of the Arches refuſed to be ſworne againſt the Pope,he denied not ẏ oth: and yet notwithſtādyng not altogether here to be excuſed. But to the purpoſe of this ſtory. Whereof firſt it ſhall be requiſite to declare the circumſtance,and the whole ſtate of the matter, as in a generall deſcription,before we come to their Orations,accordyng as in a parcell of a certayne letter touchyng the ſame,it came to our handes.

In primis here is to be vnderſtand, that the cōming downe of the foreſayd Cōmiſſioners, which was vpon Thurſday, the xij. of Septēber, an.1555.in the church of S.Mary, and in the Eaſt end of the ſayd Church at the high aultar, was erected a ſolemne Scaffold for Biſhop Brokes aforeſaid,repreſenting the Popes perſon,ten foote hye. The ſeate was made that he myght ſit vnder the Sacrament of the aulter. And on the right hand of the Popes Delegate beneath hym ſat Doctor Martyn, and on the left hand ſat Doct.Story the kynges and Queenes Commiſſioners,which were both Doctours of the Ciuill lawe, and vnderneath them other Doctours, Scribes and Phariſeis alſo, wyth the Popes Collector and a rablement of ſuch other lyke.

And thus theſe Biſhops being placed in their Pontificalibus,the biſhop of Canterbury was ſet for to come before them. He hauyng intelligence of them that were there,thus ordered him ſelfe. He came forth of the priſon to the church of S.Mary, ſet forth wyth bylles and gleues for feare leaſt he ſhould ſtart away, being cloathed in a fayre blacke gowne, wyth hys hoode on both ſhoulders, ſuch as Doctors of Diuinity in the Uniuerſitie vſe to weare. Who after hee was come into the church, and dyd ſee them ſit in their Pontificalibus,hee dyd not put of hys cap to none of them, but ſtood ſtyll till that he was called. And anon one of the Proctors for the Pope, or els his Doctor, called: Thomas Archb. of Canterbury, appeare here and make aunſwere to that ſhall be layd to thy charge: that is to ſay, for blaſphemy,incontinency,and hereſie: make aunſwere here to the B.of Worceſter repreſenting ẏ Popes perſon.

Upon thys he beyng brought more neare vnto the ſcaffold, where the foreſayd Biſhops ſat, hee firſt well viewed the place of iudgement, and ſpying where the kyng and Queenes maieſties Proctors were, puttyng of hys cap,he firſt humbly bowing his knee to ẏ groūd, made reuerence to the one,and after to the other.

That done, beholding the biſhop in the face, he put on hys bonet agayne, making no maner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the Byſhop beyng offended,ſayd vnto hym,that it might be ſeeme him right well,waying the authoritie he did repreſent,to do hys dutie vnto hym. Whereunto Doctour Cranmer aunſwered and ſayd, that he had once taken a ſolemne othe, neuer to conſent to the admittyng of the Byſhop of Romes authority into this Realme of England agayne,and that he had done it aduiſedly, and ment by Gods grace to keepe it, and therfore would commit nothyng either by ſigne or token, which might argue hys conſent to the receiuyng of the ſame, and ſo hee deſired the ſayd Byſhop to iudge of hym, and that he dyd it not for any contempt to hys perſon, which hee could haue bene content to haue honored as well as any of the other, if hys Commiſſion had come from as good authoritie as theirs. This aūſwered he both modeſtly, wiſely,prudently,& patiently,with hys cap on hys head, not once bowyng nor making any reuerēce to hym that repreſented the Popes perſon, which was wonderouſly of the people marked, that was there preſent and ſawe it,and marked it as nye as could be poſſible.

The Archb. geueth reuerence to the Cōmiſſioners.

D.Cranmer ſheweth no reuerence to the Popes Delegate.

¶The Oration of D.Brokes Byſhop of Gloceſter vnto Doct.Cranmer Archb.of Cant.in the Church of S.Mary at Oxford. Anno 1556. Mart.12.

When after many meanes vſed, they perceyued that the Archbyſhop would not moue hys bonet, the Byſhop proceded in theſe wordes folowyng.

My Lord,at this preſent we are come to you as Commiſſioners and for you, not intrudyng our ſelues by our own authoritie, but ſent by Commiſſion partly from the Popes holynes, partly from the Kyng & Queenes moſt excellent Maieſties, not to your vtter diſcomfort, but to your comfort if you wil your ſelfe. we come not to iudge you, but to put you in remembraunce of that ye haue bene and ſhalbe. Neither come we to diſpute with you but to examine you in certaine matters: whiche beyng done,to make relation therof to hym that hath power to iudge you. The firſt beyng well taken ſhall make the ſecond to be well taken. For if you of your part be moued to come to a conformitie, then ſhall not onely we of our ſyde take ioy of our examination, but alſo they that haue ſent vs.

The oration of Biſh. Brokes.

And firſt, as charitie doth moue vs, I would thinke good ſomewhat to exhort you, and that by the ſecond chapiter of S. Iohn in the Apocal: Memor eſto vnde excideris & age pœnitentiam & prima opera fac. Sin minus.i. *Remēber from whence thou art fallē,and do the firſt workes. Or if not,* and ſo as ye know what foloweth. Remember your ſelfe from whence you haue fallen. You haue fallen from the vniuerſall and Catholicke Church of Chriſt,from the very true and receaued fayth of all Chriſtendome, and that by open hereſie. You haue fallen from your promiſe to God,from your fidelitie and alledgeaunce, and that by open preachyng,Mariage and adultery. You haue fallen from your ſoueraigne Prince & Queene by open treaſon. Remember therfore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great,the daunger can not be ſene. wherfore when I ſay remember from whence you haue fallen, I put you in mynde not onely of your fall, but alſo of the ſtate you were in before your fall. You were ſometyme as I and other poore men,in a meane eſtate. God I take to witnes I ſpeake it to no reproch or abaſement of you, but to put you in memory how God hath called you from a low to an hygh degree,from one degree to an other, from better to better, and neuer gaue you ouer till he had appointed you Legatum natum, Metropolitanum Angliæ, Paſtorē gregis ſui. Such great truſt dyd he put you in,in his Church. what could he do more? for euen as he ordayned Moyſes to be a ruler ouer hys Churche of Iſraell, and gaue hym full authoritie vpon the ſame: ſo did he make you ouer his Church of England. And when dyd he this for you? forſoth when you gaue no occaſion or cauſe of miſtruſt either to hym or to hys Magiſtrates. For although it be coniectured that in all your tyme ye were not vpright in the honor and fayth of Chriſt, but rather ſet vp of purpoſe as a fitte inſtrument whereby the Church might be ſpoyled and brought into ruine, yet may it appeare by many your doynges otherwiſe, and I for my part, as it behoueth eche

Apoc.2.

Hereſy,adultery.treaſon, layde to Doct. *Cranmer.*

The high eſtate of Doct. *Cranmer,* ſometyme Archb.of Canterbury.

ech one of vs ſhall thinke the beſt. For who was thought as then more deuout? who was more religious in the face of the world? who was thought to haue more conſcience of a vow makyng, and obſeruyng the order of the Church, more earneſt in the defence of the reall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar then ye were? and then all thynges proſpered with you: your Prince fauoured you, yea God hym ſelfe fauoured you: your Candleſticke was ſet vp in the higheſt place of the Church, and the light of your candle was ouer all the Church. I would God it had ſo continued ſtill.

But after you began to fall by ſchiſme, and would not acknowledge the Popes holynes as ſupreme head: but would ſtoutly vphold the vnlawfull requeſtes of kyng Henry the eight, and would beare with that ſhould not be borne withall, then began you to fanſy vnlawfull libertie, and when you had exiled good conſcience, then enſued a great ſhipwracke in the Sea, which was out of the true and Catholicke Church caſt into the Sea of deſperation, for as he ſayth,* Extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus. when you had forſaken God, God forſoke you, and gaue you ouer to your owne will, and ſuffred you to fall frõ ſchiſme to Apoſtacy, from Apoſtacy to hereſie, from hereſie to periury, from periurie to treaſon, and ſo in concluſion into the full indignation of your ſoueraigne Prince, which you may thinke a iuſt puniſhment of God for your other abominable opinions.

* That is, without the church there is no ſaluation.

After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the loweſt degree of all, to the ende of honour and lyfe. For if the light of your Candle be as it hath bene hetherto duſkye, your Candleſticke is like to be remoued and to haue a great fall, ſo low and ſo farre out of knowledge that it ſhalbe quyte out of Gods fauour, and paſt all hope of recouery: * Quia in inferno nulla eſt redemptio. The daunger wherof beyng ſo great, very pitie cauſeth me to ſay: * Memor eſto vnde excideris. I adde alſo, and whether you fall.

* That is, for in hell there is no redemptiõ.

* That is, remember from whence thou haſt fallen.

But here peraduenture you will ſay to me: what Syr, my fall is not ſo great as you make it. I haue not yet fallen from the Catholicke Church. For that is not the Catholicke Church that the Pope is head of. There is an other Churche. But as touchyng that, I aunſwere: you are ſure of that as the Donatiſtes were, for they ſayd that they had the true Church, and that the name of the true Chriſtians remained onely in Aphricke, where onely their ſeditious ſecte was preached, and as you thinke, ſo thought Nouatus, that all they that did acknowledge their ſupreme head at the ſea of Rome, were out of the Churche of Chriſt. But here S. Cyprian defendyng Cornelius agaynſt Nouatus, Libro ſecundo, Epiſtola Sexta, ſayth on this wiſe? Eccleſia vna eſt, quæ cum ſit vna intus et foris eſſe non poteſt. So if that Nouatus were in the true Church: then was not Cornelius, who in deede by lawfull ſucceſſion ſucceded Pope Fabian. Here S. Cyprian entendeth by the whole proceſſe to proue, and concludeth thereupon that the true Church was onely in Rome. Gather you then what will folow of your fall. But you will ſay peraduenture that ye fell not by hereſie, and ſo ſayd the Arrians, alledgyng for them ſelues that they had Scripture, and goyng about to perſuade their ſchiſme by Scripture, for in deede they had more places by .xlij. which with theyr torture ſeemed to depende vpon Scripture, then the Catholickes had.

Cyprian. lib. 2 Epiſt. 6.

So dyd the Martians prouoke their hereſie to Scripture. But thoſe are no Scriptures, for they are not truely alledged nor truely interpreted, but vntruly wreſted and wrong accordyng to their owne fantaſies. And therefore were they all iuſtly condemned for theyr wrong takyng of the Scriptures: and the Church replyeth agaynſt them ſaying: Qui eſtis vos? quando? vnde? quid agitis in meo non mei? The Church ſayth, what make you here in my inheritage? From whence came you? The Scripture is my inheritage. I am right heyre therof. I hold it by true ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles, for as the Apoſtles required me to hold, ſo do I hold it. The Apoſtles haue receaued me and put me in my right, and haue reiected you as baſtardes hauyng no title therunto.

Prouoking to ſcripture.

Alſo ye will deny that you haue fallen by Apoſtacy, by breakyng your vow, and ſo Vigilantius ſayd, in ſo much that he would admit none to hys miniſtery, but thoſe that had their wiues bagged with children. what now? Shall we ſay that Vigilantius did not fall therefore? Dyd not Donatus and Nouatus fall becauſe they ſayd ſo, and brought Scripture for theyr defence? Then let vs beleue as we lyſt, pretendyng well and ſay ſo: nay there is no man ſo blynd that will ſay ſo. For except the Church, which condemneth them for their ſay ſo, do approue vs for do ſo, then will ſhe condemne you alſo. So that your deniall will not ſtand. And therfore I tell you, remember from whence you haue fallen. and how low ye ſhall fall if you hold on as ye do begin. But I truſt you will not continue, but reuoke your ſelfs in tyme, and the remedy followeth.

Breaking of vowe.

*Age pœnitentiã et prima opera fac, for by ſuch meanes as ye haue fallen ye muſt riſe againe. Firſt your hart hath fallen, then your tounge and your penne, and beſydes your owne damage hath cauſed many more to fall. Therfore firſt your hart muſt turne, and then ſhall the tounge and the pen be quickly turned: Sin minus, veniam tibi cito et mouebo Candelabrum tuum de loco ſuo.

* That repent thy firſt workes

I nede not to teach you a methode to turne: you know the ready way your ſelf. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right & truth, then the way ſhould ſone be found out. For if ye remember how many ye haue brought by abhominable hereſy into the way of perdition, I doubt not but very conſcience would moue you as much for them, as for your ſelfe to come agayne. And ſo would ye ſpare neither toung nor pen, if hart were once reformed: for as touching that poynt, the holy ghoſt toucheth their hartes very neare, by the mouth of his holy Prophet Ezechiel, when he requyreth the bloud of hys flocke at the Prieſtes handes for lacke of good and holſome foode: how much more ſhould this touch your gilty hart, hauing ouer much diligence to teach them the way of perdition, and feeding them wyth baggage and corrupt foode, which is hereſy. Qui conuertere fecerit peccatorem ab errore vitæ ſuæ, ſaluã faciet animã ſuam a morte, et operiet multitudinẽ peccatorum ſuorum. *He that ſhall conuert a ſinner from his wicked lyfe, ſhall ſaue his ſoule from death, and ſhall couer the multitude of ſinnes.* So that if it be true that he who conuerteth a ſinner ſaueth a ſoule, then the contrary muſt needes be true, that he that peruerteth a ſoule and teacheth him the way of perdition, muſt nedes be damned.

Ezech.

Origenes ſuper Paulum ad Romanos: *The dãnation of theſe that preacheth hereſie, doth increaſe to the day of iudgement. The more that periſhe by hereticall doctrine, the more greuous ſhall their torment be that miniſter ſuch doctrine.* Beringarius who ſemed to feare that daunger, prouided for it in his life tyme, but not without a troubled and diſquiet conſcience. He dyd not onely repent, but recãt, and not ſo much for hym ſelfe as for them whom he had with moſt peſtilent hereſies infected. For as he lay in his death bed vpon Epiphanie day, he demaũded of thẽ that were preſent, is this (quoth he) the day of Epiphanie and appearing of the Lorde? They aunſwered hym, yea. Then (quoth he) thys day ſhall the Lord appeare to me eyther to my comfort, either to my diſcomfort. Thys remorſe argueth that he feared the daunger of them whom he had taught and led out of the fayth of Chriſt. Origenes vpon him ſayth in this wiſe: Although his owne bloud was not vppon his head for that he did repent and was ſory for hys former errours, yet beyng conuerted he feared the bloud of them, whom he had infected, & who receaued his doctrine.

Orig. i Epiſt. Paul. a Rom.

Bereng rius.

Let this moue you euen at the laſt point. In ſomuch as your caſe is not vnlike to Beringarius, let your repentaunce be lyke alſo. And what ſhould ſtay you (tell me) frõ this godly returne? feare, that ye haue gone ſo farre, ye may not returne? nay, then may I ſay as Dauid ſayd? Illic trepidauerunt vbi non erat timor. Ye feare where you haue no cauſe to feare. For if ye repent and be hartely ſory for your former hereſie & apoſtaſie, ye neede not to feare. For as God of his part is mercyfull and gratious to the repentaunt ſinner, ſo is the King, ſo is the Queene mercyfull, which ye may well perceaue by your owne caſe, ſince ye might haue ſuffered a great whiles agoe for treaſon committed againſt her highnes, but that ye haue bene ſpared and reſerued vppon hope of amendment, which ſhe conceaued very good of you, but now as it ſemeth is but a very deſperate hope. And what do you therby? *Secundum duriciem cordis theſaurizas tibi iram in die iræ.

* That accordin to ẏ hart nes of yo hartſye treaſure to your ſelfe ang in the da wrath.

Wel, what is it then, if feare do not hinder you? ſhame, to vnſay that, that you haue ſaid? Nay it is no ſhame: vnleſſe ye thinke it ſhame to agree with the true and the Catholicke Church of Chriſt. And if that be ſhame, then blame S. Paul, who perſecuted the Diſciples of Chriſt with ſword, then blame S. Peter, who denied hys maſter Chriſt with an oth that he neuer knew hym. S. Cyprian before his returne beyng a witch. S. Auguſtine beyng ix. yeares out of the Church. They thought it no ſhame after their returne of that they had returned. Shall it then be ſhame for you to conuerte and conſent with the

Church of CHRIST? no no.

what is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanitie of the world I for my part iudge not in you, beyng a man of learning and knowyng your eſtate.

And as for the loſſe of your eſtimatiō, it is ten to one that where you were Archbiſhop of Cāterbury and Metropolitane of Englād, it is ten to one (I ſay) that ye ſhal be as well ſtill, yea and rather better.

And as for the winnyng of good mē, there is no doubt but all that be here preſent, and the whole congregation of CHRISTES Churche alſo will more reioyce of your returne, then they were ſory for your fall. And as for the other, ye nede not to doubt, for they ſhal al come after: and to ſay the truth, if you ſhould loſe them for euer, it were no force, ye ſhould haue no loſſe thereby. I do not here touch them which ſhould confirme your eſtimation. For as S. Paule after his conuerſion was receaued into the Church of CHRIST with wonderfull ioy to the whole congregatiō, euen ſo ſhall you be. The fame of your returne ſhalbe ſpread abroad throughout all Chriſtēdome where your face was neuer knowen.

But you will ſay perhappes, your conſcience will not ſuffer you. My Lord, there is a good cōſcience, and there is a bad conſcience. The good conſcience haue not they, as S. Paul declareth to Timothe concernyng Hymæneus and Alexander. This euill and bad conſcience is (ſayth S. Cyprian) well to be knowen by his marke. what marke? This cōſcience is marked with the print of hereſie. This cōſcience is a naughty, filthie, and a bronded conſcience, which I truſt is not in you. I haue conceaued a better hope of you then ſo, or els would I neuer go about to perſuade or exhort you. But what conſcience ſhould ſtay you to returne to the Catholicke fayth and vniuerſall Church of CHRIST? what conſcience doth ſeparate you to that deuiliſh & ſeuerall Church? to a libertie which neuer had ground in the holy Scriptures? If you iudge your libertie to be good, then iudge you all Chriſtendome to do euill beſides you.

O what a preſumptuous perſuaſion is this, vpō this vtterly to forſake the Church of CHRIST? Vnder what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuſes? as though in your Church were no abuſes: yes that there were. And if you forſake the vniuerſall Church for the abuſes, why do ye not then forſake your particular Church, and ſo be flitting from one to an other? That is not the next way, to ſlippe from the Church for the abuſes: for if you had ſene abuſes, you ſhould rather haue endeuoured for a reformation then for a defection. He is a good Surgeō who for a litle paine in the toe wil cut of yͤ whole legge. He helpeth well the tooth ache, which cutteth away the head by the ſhoulders. It is mere folie to amend abuſes by abuſes. Ye are like Diogenes: for Diogenes on a tyme enuiyng the clenlines of Plato, ſaid on this wiſe: Ecce calco faſtum Platonis. Plato aūſwered, Sed alio faſtu. So that Diogenes ſemed more faulty of the two.

But when we haue ſayd all that we can, peraduenture you wyll ſay, I wyll not returne. And to that I ſay, I wyll not aunſwer. Neuertheles heare what CHRIST ſayth to ſuch obſtinate and ſtifnecked people in the parable of the Supper. when he had ſent out hys men to call them in that were appointed, and they woulde not come, he bad hys ſeruauntes going into the waies and ſtreetes, to compell mē to come in: Cogite intrare. If then the Church wyll not leeſe any member that may be compelled to come in, ye muſt thinke it good to take the cōpulſion, leſt you loſe your part of the ſupper which the Lord hath prepared for you: and thys compulſion ſtandeth well with charitye.

But it may be perhaps, that ſome hath animated you to ſticke to your tackle, & not to geue ouer, bearyng you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye ſhall dye in a good quarell, and God ſhall accept your oblation. But heare what CHRIST ſayth of a meaner gyft: *If thou come to the aultar to offer thy oblation, and knoweſt that thy brother hath ſomwhat to lay agaynſt thee, leaue there thy gift, and go & be recōciled to thy brother, & then come & offer vp thy gift,* or els thy brother wyll make thy offering vnſauerye before God. This he ſayd vnto al yͤ world, to yͤ end they ſhould know how their offeringes ſhould bee receaued, if they were not accordyng.

Remember you therefore before you offer vp your offeryng, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of Rome and alſo of Englād, where not one onely brother, but a number haue matter agaynſt you, ſo iuſt, that they wyll make your burnt offeryng to ſtincke before God, except you be reconciled. If you muſt nedes appoynt vpon a Sacrifice, make yet a meane fyrſt to thē that haue to ſay agaynſt you. I ſay no more then the Church hath allowed me to ſay. For the ſacrifice that is offered without the church, is not profitable. The premiſſes therefore conſidered, for Gods ſake, I ſay, Memor eſto vnde excideris, & age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus, &c. Caſt not your ſelfe away, ſpare your body, ſpare your ſoule, ſpare them alſo whom you haue ſeduced, ſpare the ſhedyng of CHRISTES bloud for you in vaine. Harden not your hart, acknowledge the truth, yeld to the preſcript word of God, to yͤ catholicke church of Rome, to the receaued veritye of all Chriſtendome. wed not your ſelfe to your owne ſelfwyll. Stande not to much in your own conceite, thinke not your ſelfe wyſer then all Chriſtendome is beſides you. Leaue of this vniuſt cauil, *How*: leaue *why*: leaue *Reaſon*: leaue *wonder*: and beleue as the catholicke church doth beleue & teache you. Perſwade with your ſelfe, that extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus. i. *without the Church there is no ſaluation.* And thus much haue I ſayd of charity. If this poore ſimple exhortation of myne may ſinke into your head, and take effect wyth you, then haue I ſayd as I would haue ſayd, otherwyſe not as I would, but as I could for this preſent.

Melle lita pernicies.

And thus biſhop Brokes finiſhyng hys Oration, ſat downe. After whom Doctor Martin takyng the matter in hand, begynneth thus.

The Oration of Doctor Martyn.

Oration of *D. Martin.*

ALbeit there be two Gouernmentes, the one ſpirituall and the other temporall, the one hauing the keyes, the other the ſword, yet in all ages we read that for the honour and glorye of God both theſe powers haue bene adioyned together. For if we read the olde Teſtamēt, we ſhall find that ſo did Ioſias & Ezechias. So did the kyng of the Niniuites compell a generall faſt through all the whole City. So did Darius in breakyng the great Idoll Bell, and deliuering godly Daniell out of the denne of Lyons. So dyd Nabuchodonoſor make and inſtitute lawes againſt yͤ blaſphemers of God. But to let paſſe theſe examples with a great number more, and to come to CHRISTES time, it is not vnknowen what great trauayle they toke to ſet forth Gods honour: and although the rule and gouernment of the Church did onely appertaine to the ſpiritualty, yet for the ſuppreſſion of hereſies and ſchiſmes, Kinges were admitted as ayders thereunto. Fyrſt Conſtantinus the great called a Councell at Nyce for the ſuppreſſion of the Arrians ſect, where the ſame tyme was rayſed a great contention among them. And after long diſputation had, when the Fathers coulde not agrée vpon the putting downe of the Arrians, they referred their iudgement to Conſtātine. God forbyd, quoth Conſtantine: you ought to rule me and not I you. And as Conſtantine dyd, ſo dyd Theodoſius agaynſt the Neſtorians, ſo dyd Martianus agaynſt Manichæus. Iouinian made a law, that no mā ſhould marry with a Nunne, that had wedded her ſelfe to the Church.

Temporall Magiſtrates ayders, not rulers in ſpirituall cauſes.

So had kyng Henry the eyght the title of Defender of the fayth, becauſe he wrote agaynſt Luther and hys complices. So theſe .ix. hundred yeares the kynges of Spayne had that title of Catholicke, for the expulſion of the Arrians: and to ſay the truth, the Kyng and the Quéenes Maieſties doe nothing degenerate frō theyr auncetrie, takyng vpon them to reſtore againe yͤ title to bée Defender of the fayth, to the ryght heyre therof the Popes holynes.

Therefore theſe two Princes, perceuing thys noble realme, how it hath bene brought from the vnity of the true and catholicke church, the which you and your cōfederates do and haue renounced: perceauing alſo that ye do perſiſt in your deteſtable errours, and wyll by no meanes be reuoked from the ſame, haue made theyr humble requeſt and petition to the Popes holynes Paulus. 4. as ſupreme head of the church of CHRIST, declaring to him, that where you were Archbiſhop of Cāterbury and Metropolitane of England, and at your conſecration tooke two ſolemne othes for your due obedience to be geuen to the ſea of Rome to become a true Preacher or Paſtor of hys flocke, yet contrary to your othe and allegiance for vnitye, haue ſowed diſcord: for chaſtity, mariage and adultery: for obedience, contention: and for faith, ye haue bene the author of all miſchiefe. The Popes holynes conſidering their requeſt and petition, hath graunted them, that according to the cenſure of thys Realme, proceſſe ſhoulde bee made agaynſt you.

The Popes charity and iuſtice to the Archbiſhop.

And where as in thys late tyme you both excluded charity and iuſtice, yet hath his holynes decreed, that you ſhall haue both charity & iuſtice ſhewed vnto you. He willeth ye ſhould haue the lawes in moſt ample maner to aunſwer in your behalf, & that ye ſhal here come before my Lord of Gloceſter as hygh Cōmiſſioner frō hys holynes, to the examination of ſuch articles as ſhall be propoſed agaynſt you, and that we ſhould requyre the examination of you in the king and Queenes maieſties behalfe. The king and Queene as touching them ſelues, becauſe by the law they cannot appeare perſonally, Quia ſunt illuſtriſ. perſonæ, haue appointed as their atturneis Doct. Story and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good lordſhip our Proxie ſealed with the broade ſeale of England, and offer my ſelfe to be Proctor in the kyngs Maieſties behalfe. I exhibite here alſo certayne articles contayning the manifeſt adulterye and periurie: Alſo bookes of hereſie made partly by hym, partly ſet forth by hys authority. And here I produce hym as party principall to aunſwere to your good Lordſhip.

Thus when D.Martin had ended his Oration, the Archbyſhop begynneth, as here foloweth.

Cran. Shall I then make myne aunſwere?

Mart. As you thinke good: no man ſhall let you.

And here the Archbyſhop kneelyng downe on both knees toward the Weſt, ſayd firſt the Lordes Prayer. Then riſing vp, hee reciteth the Articles of the Crede. Which done, he entreth with his proteſtatiō in forme as followeth.

¶ The fayth and profeſsion of Doct. Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cant. before the Commiſsioners.

The profeſſion or proteſtatiō of Doctour *Cranmer*, before the Cōmiſſioners.

THis I do profeſſe as touchyng my faith, and make my proteſtatiō, which I deſire you to note. I wil neuer conſent that the Byſhop of Rome ſhall haue any iuriſdiction within this Realme.

Story. Take a note therof.

Mart. Marke M. Cranmer, how you aunſwere for your ſelf. You refuſe and deny him, by whoſe lawes ye yet do remayne in lyfe, beyng otherwiſe atteynted of high treaſon, and but a dead man by the lawes of this Realme.

Cran. I proteſt before God I was no traitour, but in deede I confeſſed more at my arraynement then was true.

Mart. That is not to be reaſoned at this preſent. You know ye were cōdemned for a traitour, and Res iudicata pro veritate accipitur. But procede to your matter.

Cauſes alleaged why *D.Cranmer* cannot receiue the Pope.

Cran. I will neuer cōſent to the Byſhop of Rome, for then ſhould I geue my ſelfe to the deuill: for I haue made an othe to the kyng, and I muſt obey the kyng by Gods lawes. By the Scripture the kyng is chief, and no foreine perſon in his owne Realme aboue him. There is no ſubiect but to a king. I am a ſubiect, I owe my fidelitie to the crowne. The Pope is contrary to the crowne. I can not obey both: for no man can ſerue two maſters at once, as you in the beginnyng of your Oration declared by the ſword and the keyes, attributyng the keyes to the Pope, and the ſword to the kyng. But I ſay the kyng hath both. Therfore he that is ſubiect to Rome and the lawes of Rome, he is periured, for the Popes and the iudges lawes are contrary, they are vncerteine and confounded.

The la of this realme the Po contrary

A Prieſt indetted, by the lawes of the Realme ſhall be ſued before a temporall iudge: by the Popes lawes contrary.

The Pope doth the kyng iniury in that he hath hys power from the Pope. The kyng is head in his owne Realme: but the Pope claimeth all Biſhops, Prieſtes, Curates. &c. So the Pope in euery Realme hath a Realme.

Agayne by the lawes of Rome the benefice muſt be geuē by the Byſhop: by the lawes of the Realme, the patron geueth yͤ benefice. Herein the lawes be as contrary as fire and water.

No mā can by the lawes of Rome procede in a premunire, and ſo is the law of the Realme expelled, and the kyng ſtandeth accurſed in mainteinyng his owne lawes. Therefore in conſideration that the Kyng and Queene take their power of him, as though GOD ſhould geue it to them, there is no true ſubiect vnleſſe he be abrogate, ſeyng the crowne is holden of him beyng out of the Realme.

The po proce- dings trary to God.

The Biſhop of Rome is contrary to God, and iniurious to his lawes: for God commaunded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law, and therfore hath appointed one holiday in the Weeke at the leaſt, for the people to come to the church and heare yͤ word of God expounded vnto them, and that they might the better vnderſtand it, to heare it in their mother toung which they know. The Pope doth cōtrary: for he willeth the ſeruice to be had in the latin toung, which they do not vnderſtand. God would haue it to be perceaued: the Pope will not. When the Prieſt geueth thankes God would that the people ſhould do ſo to, and God will them to confeſſe altogether: the Pope will not.

The rea preſence not to b proued any Doc aboue a 1000. yeares a ter

Now, as concerning the Sacrament, I haue taught no falſe doctrine of the Sacrament of the aultar: For if it can be proued by any Doctour aboue 1000. yeares after *CHRIST*, that *CHRISTES* body is there really, I wil giue ouer. My boke was made ſeuē yeares ago, and no man hath brought any autors againſt it. I beleue that whoſo eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, *CHRIST* is within them, whole *CHRIST*, hys Natiuity, Paſſion, Reſurrection and aſcenſion, but not that corporally that ſitteth in heauen.

Now, *CHRIST* commaunded all to drynke of the Cup. The Pope taketh it away from the lay men: & yet one ſayth that if *CHRIST* had dyed for the Deuil, that he ſhould drinke thereof.

CHRIST byddeth vs to obey the kyng, etiam diſcolo. The Byſhop of Rome biddeth vs to obey hym: therefore vnleſſe he be Antichriſt, I can not tell what to make of hym. Wherfore if I ſhould obey hym I can not obey *CHRIST*.

The Po likened the deu and wh in.

He is lyke the Deuill in hys doyngs, for the Deuill ſayd to *CHRIST*: *if thou wilt fall downe and worſhip me, I wil geue thee all the kingdomes of the world*. Thus hee tooke vppon hym to geue that which was not hys owne. Euen ſo the Biſhop of Rome geueth Princes their Crownes being none of his owne: for where Princes eyther by election, eyther by ſucceſſion, either by inheritage obtayn their Crowne, he ſayth that they ſhould haue it from hym.

The Po proued Antich

CHRIST ſaith that Antichriſt ſhall be. And who ſhal he be? Forſoth hee that aduaunceth himſelfe aboue all other creatures. Now, if there be none already that hath aduaunced hymſelfe after ſuch ſorte beſydes the Pope, then in the meane tyme let hym be Antichriſt.

Story. Pleaſeth it you to make an end.

Cranmer. For he wyll be the Vicar of *CHRIST*, he will diſpenſe with the old and new Teſtament alſo, yea and wyth Apoſtacy.

Now I haue declard why I can not wyth my conſcience obey the Pope. I ſpeake not thys for hatred I beare to hym that nowe ſupplyeth the roome, for I

know

knowe hym not. I pray God geue hym grace not to folow hys aunceſtors. Neyther ſay I this for my defence, but to declare my conſcience for the zeale that I beare to Gods woorde, troden vnder foote by the Byſhop of Rome. I caſt feare apart, for CHRIST ſayd to his Apoſtels, *that in the latter dayes they ſhould ſuffer much ſorow, and be put to death for his names ſake: feare them not* (ſayth he) *but feare hym which when he hath killed the body, hath power to caſt the ſoule into fyre euerlaſting*. Alſo CHRIST ſayth: *that he that will lyue ſhall dye, and he that looſeth his lyfe for my names ſake, he ſhall fynd it agayne*. Moreouer he ſayd: *confeſſe me before men, and be not afrayd: if you doe ſo I will ſtand with you: if you ſhrincke from me I will ſhrincke from you*. Thys is a comfortable & a terrible ſaying, this maketh me to ſet all feare apart. I ſay therfore the Biſhop of Rome treadeth vnder foote Gods lawes and the kings.

The Pope would geue Biſhoprickes: ſo would the king. But at the laſt the kyng gat the vpper hand, and ſo are all Biſhops periured, firſt to ỹ Pope and then to the kyng.

The Crowne hath nothing to doe with the Clergy. For if a Clarke come before a Judge, the Judge ſhall make proceſſe againſt him, but not to execute any lawes. For if ỹ iudge ſhould put him to execution, then is ỹ king accurſed in maintaining his own lawes: And therefore ſay I that he is neyther true to God, neither to the king that firſt receaued the Pope. But I ſhall hartely pray for ſuch Couſellours, as may informe her the truth, for the King and Queene if they be well informed, will do well.

Mart. As you vnderſtand, then if they mayntayne the Supremacy of Rome, they can not maynetayne England too.

Cranmer. I requyre you to declare to the king and Queene what I haue ſayd, and howe their othes do ſtand with ỹ Realme and the Pope. S. Gregory ſayth, *he that taketh vpon him to be head of the Vniuerſal church, is worſe then the Antichriſt*. If any man can ſhew me, that it is not agaynſt Gods worde to holde hys ſtyrrop when he taketh hys horſe, and kyſſe hys feete (as kings do) then will I kiſſe hys feete alſo.

And you for your part my Lorde, are periured, for now ye ſit iudge for the Pope, and yet ye did receaue your Byſhopricke of the king. You haue taken an oth to be aduerſary to this Realme, for the Popes lawes are contrary to the lawes of the Realme.

Gloc. You were the cauſe that I dyd forſake the Pope, and did ſweare that he ought not to be ſupreme head, and gaue it to king Henry the eight, that he ought to be it, and this you made me to do.

Cran. To this I aunſwere, ſayd hee: You report me ill, and ſay not the truth, & I will proue it here before you all. The truth is, that my predeceſſor biſhop Warrham gaue the ſupremacy to K. Henry. 8. & ſayd that he ought to haue it before the biſhop of Rome, and that Gods word would beare him. And vpon the ſame was there ſent to both the Vniuerſities Oxford and Cambridge, to knowe what the word of God woulde doe touching the ſupremacy, and it was reaſoned vpon and argued at length. So at the laſt both the Vniuerſities agreed, and ſet to their ſeales, and ſent it to kyng Henry the eight to the court, that hee ought to bee ſupreme head, and not the Pope. Wherupon you were then Doctor of diuinitie at that time, and your conſent was thereunto, as your hand doth appeare. Therfore you miſreport me, that I was the cauſe of your fallyng away from the Pope, but it was your ſelfe. All thys was in biſhop Warrhams tyme and whileſt he was alyue, ſo that it was three quarters of a yeare after ere euer I had the biſhopricke of Canterbury in my hands, & before I might do any thing. So that here you haue reported of me that which you cannot proue, which is euil done. All this whyle hys cap was on hys head.

Gloc. We come to examine you, and you, me thinke, examine vs.

¶ Doctor Storyes oration.

Doct. Storyes oration agaynſt the Archb.

Story. Pleaſeth it your good Lordſhip: becauſe it hath pleaſed the kyng and Queenes Maieſties to appoint my companion and me, to heare the examination of thys mã before your good Lordſhip, to geue me leaue ſomewhat to talke in that behalfe. Although I knowe that in talke wyth heretickes there commeth hurt to all men, for it weerieth the ſtedfaſt, troubleth the doubtfull, and taketh in ſnare the weake and ſimple: yet becauſe he ſayth, he is not bound to aunſwer your Lordſhip ſitting for the Popes holines, becauſe of a Premunire, and the word of God, as he termeth it: I thynke good ſomwhat to ſay, that all men may ſee how hee runneth out of hys race of reaſon into the rage of common talke, ſuch as here I truſt hath done much good. And as ỹ kyng & Queenes Maieſties wyll be glad to heare of your moſt charitable dealyng wyth hym, ſo wil they be weery to heare the blundering of thys ſtubburne heretike. And where he alledgeth diuinity, mingling fas nefaſq; together, he ſhould not haue bene heard. For ſhall it be ſufficient for hym to alledge, the iudge is not competent? Do we not ſee that in the common law it is not lawfull for a man in Weſtminſter hall to refuſe hys Judge? And ſhall we diſpute contra eum qui negat principia? Although there be here a great company of learned men that know it vnmeete ſo to do, yet haue I here a plaine Canon wherein he declareth him ſelfe conuicted ipſo facto. This Canon is this: Sit ergo ruinæ ſuo dolore proſtratus quiſquis Apoſtolicis voluerit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, ſed exors a ſancto fiat miniſterio, nec de eo eius iudicio quiſq̃ poſthac curã habeat, quin iam damnatus a ſancta & Apoſtolica Eccleſia ſua inobediẽtia ac preſumptione a quoquã eſſe non dubitetur. Quin maioris excommunicationis deiectione eſt abijciendus, cui ſanctæ Eccleſiæ commiſſa fuerit diſciplina, qui non ſolum iuſſionibus prælatæ ſanctæ eccleſiæ parere debuit, ſed etiã alijs ne preterirent inſinuare. Sitq; alienus a diuinis & pontificalibus officijs, qui noluerit præceptis Apoſtolicis obtemperare.

Wordes of the Popes Canon.

He hath alledged many matters agaynſt the ſupremacy, but maliciouſly. Ye ſay that ỹ kyng in his Realme is ſupreme head of ỹ church. Well Syr, you will graũt me that there was a perfect Catholicke Church before any kyng was Chriſtened. Then, if it were a perfect Church, it muſt neede haue a head, which muſt nedes be before any kyng was member therof, for you know Conſtantinus was the firſt Chriſtined kyng that euer was. And although you are boũd (as S. Paul ſayth) to obey your rulers, and kynges haue rule of the people, yet doth it not folow that they haue cure of ſoules: for A fortiori, the head may do that the miniſter can not do: but the Prieſt may conſecrate and the kyng cã not, therfore the kyng is not head.

Note the worſhipfull reaſons of Doct. Story wherewith he proueth the Popes ſupremacie.

It was licẽced by CHRIST to euery mã to bring into the ſhepefold, and to augmẽt the flocke, but not to rule, for that was onely geuen to Peter.

Doct. Story reaſoneth as though to fede with the word, and to gouerne with the ſworde, were all one.

And where the Apoſtles do call vppon men to obey their Princes, Cui Tributum, tributũ, cui veſtigal, veſtigal: they perceiuyng that men were bent to a kynde of libertie and diſobedience, were enforced to exhorte them to obedience & payment of their tribute: which exhortation extendeth onely to tẽporall matters.

And again, where you ſay that the Biſhop of Rome maketh lawes contrary to ỹ lawes of the Realme, that is not true, for this is a maxime in the law: Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit vniuerſale falſum.

A maxime in the lawe

Now, as touchyng that monſtrous talke of your conſcience, that is no conſcience that ye profeſſe: it is but priuata ſcientia, electio and ſecta. And as yet for al your glorious bable, you haue not proued by Gods lawes that ye ought not to aunſwer ỹ Popes holines.

The Canons which be receaued of all Chriſtendome compell you to aunſwere, therfore you are bound ſo to

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do. And although this Realme of late tyme, through ſuch Schiſmatickes as you were, haue exiled and baniſhed the Canons, yet that can not make for you. For you knowe your ſelfe that Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid ſtatuere poteſt. Wherefore this Ile beyng in deede but a member of the whole, could not determine agaynſt the whole. That notwithſtanding the ſame lawes beyng put away by a Parlament, are now receaued agayne by a Parlament, and haue as full authoritie now as they had then, and they will now that ye aunſwere the Popes holynes: therfore by the lawes of this Realme ye are bounde to aunſwere hym. Wherefore my good Lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I can no otherwiſe terme hym conſideryng his diſobedience) hath brought for his defence, ſhall nothyng preuaile with you nor take any effect. Require him therfore to aunſwere directly to your good Lordſhyp: commaunde him to ſet aſide his trifles, and to be obedient to the lawes and ordinaũces of this Realme. Take witnes here of his ſtubburne contempt agaynſt the Kynges and Queenes Maieſties and compell him to aunſwere directly to ſuch Articles, as we ſhal here lay againſt him, and in refuſall, that your good Lordſhyp will excommunicate him.

A rule of law.

D. Story chargeth the Archb. with ſtubbarnes.

As ſoone as Doct. Story had thus ended hys tale, begynneth Doct. Martyn agayn to enter ſpeach with the Archbyſhop, which talke I thought here lykewyſe not to let paſſe, although the report of the ſame be ſuch, as the author thereof ſeemeth in hys wryting very partiall: for as he expreſſeth the ſpeach of Doct. Martyn at full, and to the vttermoſt of hys diligence, leauing out nothing in that part, that either was or could be ſayd more: ſo agayne on the other part how raw and weake he leaueth the matter, it is eaſie to perceiue, who neyther comprehendeth all that Doct. Cranmer agayn aunſwered for his defence, nor yet in thoſe ſhort ſpeaches which he expreſſeth, ſemeth to diſcharge the part of a ſincere and faythfull reporter. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as it is, I thought good the reader to vnderſtand, who in peruſing the ſame may vſe therin hys owne iudgement and conſideration.

Partialitie in the reporter.

¶ Talke betwene Doctour Martyn and the Archbyſhop.

Talke betwene Doctor Martyn and the Archb.

MAſter Cranmer, ye haue told here a long glorious tale, pretending ſome matter of conſcience in apparaunce, but in verity you haue no conſcience at all. You ſay that you haue ſworne once to king Henry the eight againſt the Popes iuriſdiction, and therfore ye may neuer forſweare the ſame, and ſo ye make a great matter of conſcience in the breach of the ſayd oth. Here will I aſke you a queſtiõ or two. What if you made an oth to an harlot to liue with her in continuall adultery? ought you to kepe it?

Cran. I thinke no.

Mart. What if you did ſweare neuer to lend a poore man one penny, ought you to kepe it?

Cran. I thinke not.

Mart. Herode did ſweare what ſoeuer his harlot aſked of him, he would geue her, and he gaue her Iohn Baptiſtes head: did he well in keeping his oth?

Unaduiſed othes are not to be kept.

Cran. I thinke not.

Mart. Iehpthe one of ẏ Iudges of Iſrael did ſweare vnto God, that if he would geue him victory ouer hys enemies, he would offer vnto God the firſt ſoule that came forth of hys houſe: it happened that his owne daughter came firſt, and he ſlue her to ſaue his oth. Did he well?

Iephthes oth.

Cran. I thinke not.

Mart. So ſayth S. Ambroſe de officijs. *Miſerabilis neceſſitas quæ ſoluitur parricidio. Thẽ M. Cranmer, you can no leſſe confeſſe by ẏ premiſſes but that you ought not to haue conſcience of euery oth, but if it be iuſt, lawfull, and aduiſely taken.

* That is, it is a miſerable which is payed with parricide.

Cran. So was that oth.

Mart. That is not ſo, for firſt it was vniuſt, for it tẽded to the takyng away of an other mans right. It was not lawfull for the lawes of God and the Church were agaynſt it. Beſides, it was not voluntary, for euery mã and woman were compelled to take it.

Cran. It pleaſeth you to ſay ſo.

Mart. Let all the world be iudge. But Syr, you that pretend to haue ſuch a conſcience to breake an oth, I pray you, did you neuer ſweare and breake the ſame?

Cran. I remember not.

Martin. I will helpe your memory. Did you neuer ſweare obedience to the Sea of Rome?

The Archbiſhop being ſworne to the kyng ought not to ſwere to the Pope.

Cran. In dede I dyd once ſweare vnto the ſame.

Martin. Yea that ye dyd twyſe, as appeareth by recordes and wrytinges here ready to be ſhewed.

Cran. But I remember I ſaued all by proteſtation that I made by the counſaile of the beſt learned men I could get at that tyme.

The Archb. ſworne firſt to the Pope by proteſtation.

Mart. Harken good people what this man ſayth. He made a proteſtation one day, to kepe neuer a whit of that which he would ſweare the next day: was this the part of a chriſtian man? If a Chriſtian man would bargayne wyth a Turke, and before he maketh hys bargayne ſolemnly, before witnes readeth in his paper that he holdeth ſecretely in hand, or peraduenture proteſteth before one or two, that hee myndeth not to performe what ſoeuer he ſhall promiſe to the Turke: I ſay if a Chriſtian mã would ſerue a Turke in this maner, that the chriſtian man were worſe then the turke. What would you then ſay to this man that made a ſolemne oth and promiſe vnto God and his church, and made a proteſtation before quite contrary?

Cran. That which I did, I dyd by the beſt learned mens aduyſe I could get at that tyme.

Mart. I proteſt before all the learned men here, that there is no learning will ſaue your periury herein, for there be two rules of the Ciuill law cleane contrary agaynſt you, and ſo brought forth his rules: which being done, he proceedeth further. But will you haue the truth of the matter? King Henry the eight euen then ment the lamentable chaunge which after you ſee came to paſſe: and to further his pitifull procedinges from the diuorcement of his moſt lawfull wyfe, to the deteſtable departing from the vnity of CHRISTES Church, thys man made the foreſayd proteſtation, and on the other ſide, he letted not to make two ſolemne othes quite contrary, and why? for otherwyſe by the Lawes and Cannons of this Realme hee could not aſpyre to the Archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury.

Doctor Martyn would proue the Archb. periured forſweri his oth made to the Pope.

Cran. I proteſt before you all, there was neuer man came more vnwilling to a Biſhopricke, thẽ I did to that. In ſo much that when K. Henry did ſend for me in Poſt, that I ſhould come ouer, I prolonged my iourney by ſeuen weekes at the leaſt, thinkyng that he would be forgetfull of me in the meane tyme.

Doctor Cranmer vnwilling to be mad Archb.

Mart You declare wel by the way that the king toke you to be a man of a good conſcience, who could not finde within all his Realme any man that would ſette forth his ſtraunge attemptes, but was inforced to ſend for you in Poſt to come out of Germany. What may we coniecture hereby, but that there was a compact betwen you beyng then Quene Annes Chaplen, and the king. Geue me the Archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury, and I will geue you licence to liue in adultery.

Falſe ſlaunder Doctou Marty

Cran. You ſay not true.

Mart. Let your proteſtation, ioined wyth the reſt of your talke, geue iudgement. Hinc prima mali labes. Of that your execrable periury, and his coloured and ſo ſhamefully ſuffered adultery, came heriſy and all miſchiefe to this Realme.

And this haue I ſpoken as touching your conſciẽce you make for breaking your hereticall oth made to the kyng. But to breake your former othe made at two ſundry tymes both to God and his church, you haue no conſcience at all. And now to aunſwere an other part of your Oꝛation, wherein you bꝛing in Gods woord, that you haue it on your ſide & no man els, & that the Pope hath deuiſed a new ſcripture cõtrary to the ſcriptures of God, ye play herein as yͤ Phariſeis did which cryed allwayes: * Verbũ Domini, Verbum Domini: *The word of the Lord, the word of the Lord*, when they ment nothing ſo. Thys bettereth not your cauſe, becauſe you ſay, you haue Gods woꝛd foꝛ you: foꝛ ſo Baſilides and Photinus the heretickes ſayd, that they had Gods woꝛd to maintaine their hereſie. So Neſtorius, ſo Macedonius, ſo Pelagius, and bꝛiefly all the Heretickes that euer were, pꝛetended that they had Gods woꝛd foꝛ them, yea and ſo the Deuill being the father of hereſies alledged Gods woꝛd foꝛ hym, ſaying: Scriptũ eſt, *It is written*: So ſayd he to *CHRIST*, Mitte te deorſum, *Caſt thy ſelfe backward*, which you applied moſt falſely agaynſt yͤ Pope. But if you marke yͤ deuils language well, it agreed w̃ your pꝛocœdinges moſt truly. Foꝛ, Mitte te deorſum, *Caſt thy ſelf downward*, ſaid he: and ſo taught you to caſt all thinges downward. Down wyth the Sacrament, downe wyth Maſſe, downe with aultars, downe wyth the armes of *CHRIST*, and vp wyth a Lyon and a Dog, downe wyth Abbeies, downe wyth Chauntreys, downe with Hoſpitals and Colledges, downe wyth *faſting, and pꝛayer, yea down wyth all that good and godly is. All your pꝛocœdinges and pꝛeachings tended to no other, but to fulfill the diuels requeſt, Mitte te deorſum. And therefoꝛe tell not vs that you haue Gods woꝛd. Foꝛ God hath geuen vs by hys woꝛd, a marke to know that your teaching pꝛocœded not of God, but of the deuill, and that your doctrine came not of *CHRIST*, but of Antichꝛiſt. Foꝛ *CHRIST* ſayd there ſhould come againſt hys Church, Lupi rapaces. i. *Rauening Wolues*, and Pſeudoapoſtoli. i. *Falſe Apoſtles*. But how ſhould we knowe them? *CHRIST* teacheth vs ſaying: Ex fructibus eorũ cognoſcetis eos. i. *By their fruites ye ſhall know them*. Why, what be their fruites? S. Paul declareth: Poſt carnẽ in cõcupiſcentia & inmũditia ambulant: poteſtatẽ cõtẽnunt. &c. i. *After the fleſh they walke in cõcupiſcence, & vncleanes: they contemne Poteſtates.* Agayne: In diebus nouiſſimis erunt periculoſa tempora, erunt ſeipſos amantes, cupidi, elati, immorigeri parentibus, proditores. &c. i. *In the latter dayes there ſhall bee perelous tymes. Then ſhall there be men louyng them ſelues, couetous, proud, diſobedient to parentes, treaſon workers.* Whether theſe be not the fruites of your Goſpell, I referre me to this woꝛſhipfull audience: whether the ſayd Goſpell began not wyth periury, pꝛocœded with adultery, was maintained with hereſie, and ended in conſpiracy.

Now Syꝛ, two pointes moꝛe I marked in your raging diſcourſe that you made here: the one agaynſt the holy Sacrament: the other agaynſt the Popes iuriſdiction, and the authoꝛity of the Sea Apoſtolicke.

Touching the firſt, ye ſay you haue Gods woꝛd with you, yea and all the Doctoꝛs. I woulde here aſke but one queſtion of you: whether Gods woꝛd be contrary to it ſelfe, and whether the Doctoꝛs teach doctrine contrary to them ſelues, oꝛ no? Foꝛ you Maſter Crãmer, haue taught in this hygh Sacramẽt of the aultar thꝛee cõtrary doctrines, and yet you pꝛetended in euery one, Verbum Domini.

Cran. Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the ſame.

Mart. What doctrine taught you when you cõdemned Lambert the Sacramẽtary in the kynges pꝛeſence in Whitehall?

Cran. I maintayned then the Papiſtes doctrine.

Mart. That is to ſay, the Catholicke and vniuerſall doctrine of *CHRISTES* Church. And how when kyng Henry died? did you not tranſlate Iuſtus Ionas booke?

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. Then there you defended an other doctrine touchyng the Sacrament: by the ſame token, that you ſent to Lynne your Pꝛinter, that where as in the firſt Pꝛint there was an affirmatiue, that is to ſay, *CHRISTES* body really in the Sacrament, you ſent then to your Pꝛinter to put in a not, whereby it came miraculouſly to paſſe, that *CHRISTES* body was cleane conueyed out of the Sacrament.

Cran. I remember there were two Pꝛintes of my ſayd booke, but where the ſame not was put in, I can not tell.

Mart. Then from a Lutherane ye became a Zuinglian, which is the vyleſt hereſie of all in the high miſtery of the Sacrament, and foꝛ the ſame hereſie you did helpe to burne Lambert the Sacramẽtary, which you now call the Catholicke faith and Gods woꝛd.

Cran. I graunt that then I beleued otherwiſe then I do now: and ſo I did vntill my Loꝛd of Lõdon Doct. Ridley did cõferre with me, & by ſondꝛy perſuaſions and authoꝛities of Doctours dꝛaw me quite from my opinion.

D.Cranmer firſt wonne to the knowledge of the Sacrament by *B.Ridley*.

Mart. Now Syꝛ, as touchyng the laſt part of your Oꝛation, you denyed that the Popes holynes was ſupꝛeme head of the Church of *CHRIST*.

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. Who ſay you then is ſupꝛeme head?

Cran. *CHRIST*.

Mart. But whom hath *CHRIST* left here in earth his vicar and head of his Church?

Supꝛemacy of the Pope.

Cran. No body.

Mart. Ah, why told you not kyng Henry this when you made hym ſupꝛeme head? and now no body is. This is treaſon agaynſt his owne perſon, as you then made him.

Cranm. I meane not but euery kyng in his owne Realme and dominion is ſupꝛeme head, and ſo was he ſupꝛeme head of the Church of *CHRIST* in England.

K.Henry was not ſupꝛeme head but only of hys owne Realme, The Pope wil be vniuerſall head ouer all.

Mart. Is this allwayes true? and was it euer ſo in *CHRISTES* Church?

Cran. It was ſo.

Mart. Then what ſay you by Nero: he was yͤ mightieſt pꝛince of the earth after *CHRIST* was aſcended: was he head of *CHRISTES* Church?

Cran. Nero was Peters head.

Mart. I aſke whether Nero was head of the church oꝛ no? if he were not, it is falſe that you ſaid befoꝛe, that all Pꝛinces be and euer were heades of the Church within their Realmes.

Cranmer. Nay it is true, foꝛ Nero was head of the church, that is, in woꝛldly reſpect of the tẽpoꝛall bodies of men, of whom the Church conſiſteth: foꝛ ſo hee beheaded Peter & the Apoſtles. And yͤ Turke too is head of the Church in Turky.

Mart. Then hee that beheaded the heades of the Church and crucified yͤ Apoſtles, was head of *CHRISTES* Church, and he that was neuer member of the Church, is head of the Church, by your new found vnderſtandyng of Gods woꝛd.

¶ It is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but much other matter paſſed in this communication betwene them, eſpecially on the Archbyſhops behalfe. Whoſe aunſwers I do not thinke to be ſo ſclender, noꝛ altogether in the ſame foꝛme of woꝛdes framed, if the truth, as it was, might be knowen: but ſo it pleaſed the Notary thereof beyng to much particially addicted to his mother ſea of Rome in fauour of his faction, to diminiſh & dꝛiue down yͤ other ſide, either in not ſhewing all, oꝛ in repoꝛting the thing otherwiſe then it was: as the cõmon guyſe is of moſt wꝛiters, to what ſide their affection moſt weyeth, their Oꝛation commonly inclineth. But let vs pꝛocœde farther in the ſtoꝛy of this matter.

The anſwere of the Archbiſhop not ſincerely repoꝛted.

It followed then (ſayth thys repoꝛter) when the Archb. thus had aunſwered & the ſtanders by began to murmur agaynſt hym, the Iudges not contented with his aunſweres, willed him to aunſwere directly to the Interrogatoꝛies: which Interrogatoꝛies articulated

against

agaynſt hym in forme of law, were theſe vnder folowyng.

Interrogatories layde agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

Interrogatories obiected to the Archbiſhop, with his aunſweres annexed to the ſame.

The firſt mariage of the Archbiſhop.

1. INterrog. Firſt was obiected, that hee the foreſayd Tho. Cranmer, beyng yet free, and before he entred into holy orders, maryed one Ioane ſurnamed blacke or brown, dwellyng at yͤ ſigne of yͤ Dolphine in Cãbridge.

Aunſwere. *Wherunto he aunſwered, that whether ſhe was called blacke or browne, hee knewe not, but that hee maryed there one Ioane, that he graunted.*

2. Interro. That after the death of the foreſayd wife, he entred into holy orders, and after that was made Archbyſhop by the Pope.

Aunſ. *He receaued (he ſayd) a certeine Bull of the Pope, which hee deliuered vnto the king, and was Archbyſhop by hym.*

The ſecond mariage of the Archbiſhop.

3. Inter. Item, that he beyng in holy orders, maryed an other womã, as his ſecõd wife, named Anne, and ſo was twiſe maryed.

Aunſ. *To this he graunted.*

4. Inter. Item, in the tyme of kyng Henry 8. he kept the ſayd wife ſecretly, and had children by her.

Aunſ. *Hereunto he alſo graunted: affirmyng that is was better for him to haue his own, then to do like other Prieſts, holdyng and keping other mens wiues.*

5. Inter. Item, in the tyme of kyng Edward he brought out the ſayd his wife openly, affirmyng and profeſſyng publickly the ſame to be his wife.

Aunſ. *He denyed not but hee ſo dyd, and lawfully might do the ſame, for aſmuch as the lawes of the Realme dyd ſo permit hym.*

6. Inter. Item, that he ſhamed not openly to glory him ſelfe to haue had his wife in ſecret many yeares.

Aunſ. *And though he ſo dyd (he ſaid) there was no cauſe why he ſhould be aſhamed therof.*

The Archb. charged with his doctrine and bookes.

7. Inter. Item, that the ſayd Tho. Cranmer fallyng afterward into the deepe bottome of errours, did flye and recuſe the authoritie of the Church, did hold and folow the hereſie concernyng the Sacrament of the aultar, and alſo did compile, and cauſed to be ſet abroad diuers bookes.

Aunſ. *Wherunto, when the names of the bookes were recited to hym, he denyed not ſuch bookes which he was the true author of. As touchyng the treatiſe of Peter Martyr vpon the Sacrament, he denyed that he euer ſaw it before it was abroad, yet dyd approue and well like of the ſame. As for the Catechiſme, the booke of Articles, with the booke agaynſt Wincheſter, he graunted the ſame to be his doynges.*

8. Inter. Item, that hee compelled many agaynſt there willes to ſubſcribe to the ſame Articles.

Aunſ. *He exhorted (he ſayd) ſuch as were willyng to ſubſcribe: but agaynſt their willes, he compelled none.*

9. Inter. Item, for ſomuch he ſurceaſed not to perpetrate enorme and inordinate crimes, he was therfore caſt into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what tyme it was cõmonly thought that the Parlamẽt there ſhould be holden.

Aunſ. *To this he ſayd, that he knew no ſuch enorme and inordinate crimes, that euer he committed.*

10. Inter. Item, that in the ſayd Citie of Oxford, he did openly mainteyne his hereſie, and there was conuicted vpon the ſame.

Aunſ. *He defended (he ſayd) there the cauſe of the Sacrament, but to be conuicted in the ſame, that he denyed.*

11. Inter. Item, when he perſeuered ſtill in the ſame, he was by the publicke cenſure of the Vniuerſitie, pronoũced an hereticke, and his bookes to be hereticall.

Aunſ. *That he was ſo denounced, he denyed not: but that he was an hereticke, or his bookes hereticall, that he denied.*

12. Inter. Item, that he was and is notoriouſly infamed with the note of Schiſme, as who not onely him ſelfe receded from the Catholicke Church and ſea of Rome, but alſo moued the kyng, and ſubiectes of this Realme to the ſame.

Aunſ. *As touchyng the receding, that he well graunted: but that recedyng or departing (ſayd he) was onely from the ſea of Rome, and had in it no matter of any ſchiſme.*

The Arc bishop ſworne t the Pope by proteſtation.

13. Inter. Item, that hee had bene twiſe ſworne to the Pope: and withall Doct. Martin brought out the inſtrument of the publicke Notary, wherein was cõteined his proteſtation made whẽ he ſhould be conſecrated, aſkyng if he had any thyng els proteſted.

Aunſ. *Wherunto he aunſwered, that he dyd nothing but by the lawes of the Realme.*

14. Inter. Item, that he the ſayd Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, dyd not onely offend in the premiſſes, but alſo in takyng vpon hym the authority of the Sea of Rome, in that without leaue or licence from the ſayd Sea, hee conſecrated Biſhops and Prieſtes.

Aunſ. *He graunted, that he dyd execute ſuch thynges as were wont to bee referred to the Pope, at what tyme it was permitted to hym by the publicke lawes and determination of the Realme.*

15. Inter. Item, that when the whole Realme had ſubſcribed to the authoritie of the Pope, he onely ſtill perſiſted in his errour.

Aunſ. *That hee dyd not admitte the Popes authoritie, he confeſſed to bee true. But that hee erred in the ſame, that he denyed.*

16. Interroga. Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes be true.

Aunſ. *That likewiſe he graunted, exceptyng thoſe thinges wherunto he had now aunſwered.*

After he had thus anſwered to the obiections aforeſayd, and the publicke Notary had entred the ſame, the Iudges and Commiſſioners, as hauing now accompliſhed that wherefore they came, were about to ryſe and depart: but the Biſhop of Gloceſter, thinking it not beſt ſo to diſmiſſe the people, beyng ſomewhat ſtirred wyth the wordes of the Archbiſhop, began with this Oration in the hearing of the people, to declame.

The Oration of Biſhop Brookes in cloſing vp this examination agaynſt Doctour Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Another oration of Byſhop Brokes to Archb. Cranmer.

MAſter Cranmer, I can not otherwyſe terme you conſidering your obſtinacy, I am right ſory, I am right hartely ſory to heare ſuch wordes eſcape your mouth ſo vnaduyſedly. I had conceaued a right good hope of your amendement: I ſuppoſed that this obſtinacy of yours came not of a vayne glory, but rather of a corrupt conſcience, which was the occaſion that I hoped ſo well of your returne. But now I perceaue by your fooliſh bable, that it is farre other wyſe. Ye are ſo puffed vp wyth vayne glory, there is ſuch a cauteria of hereſy crept into your cõſcience, that I am cleane void of hope, & my hope is turned into wan hope. But who cã ſtay hym that willingly rũneth into perdition? Who can ſaue that which will be loſt? God would haue you to be ſaued, and you refuſe it. Perditio tua ſuper te Iſrael, tantummodo in me ſaluatio tua, ait Dominus per Prophetã.i. *Thy perdition is onely vpon thy ſelfe, O Iſraell: onely in me is thy ſaluation, ſayth the Lorde by his Prophet.* You haue vttered ſo erroneous talke, with ſuch open malice againſt the Popes holines, with ſuch open lying agaynſt the Church of Rome, with ſuch open blaſphemy agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, that no mouth coulde haue expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

Maiſter Cranmer not to be reaſoned withall.

To reaſon wyth you, although I would of my ſelfe to ſatiſfy this audience, yet may I not by our Commiſſion, neither can I fynd how I may do it with the ſcriptures: For the Apoſtle doth cõmaund that ſuch a one ſhould not onely not be talked withall, but alſo ſhunned and auoyded ſaying: Hereticũ hominem poſt vnum aut alterum conuentum, deuita, ſciens quòd huiuſmodo peruerſus eſt et delinquit, quũ ſit proprio iudicio condemnatus.i. *An heriticall perſon after once or twyſe conferring, ſhunne, knowing that hee is peruerſe and ſinneth, being of his owne iudgement condemned.* Ye haue bene conferred wythall not once nor twyſe, but often tymes, ye haue oft bene louingly admoniſhed, ye haue bene oft ſecretely diſputed wyth. And the laſt yeare, in the open ſchole, in open diſputations ye haue bene openly conuict, ye haue bene openly dryuen out of the Schole wyth hiſſes, your booke which yee bragge you made ſeuen yeares ago, & no man aunſwered it: Marcus Antonius hath ſufficiently detected and confuted, and ye perſiſt ſtill in your wonted hereſy.

Wherefore (being ſo oft admoniſhed, conferred withall, and conuicted) if ye deny you to be the man whom ẏ Apoſtle noteth, heare then what *Origine* ſaith, who wrote aboue 1300. yeares ago: and interpreteth the ſaying of ẏ Apoſtle in this wiſe, in Apologia Pamphili. Hereticus eſt omnis ille habendus, qui Chriſto ſe credere profitetur & aliter de Chriſti veritate ſentit quàm ſe habet Eccleſiaſtica traditio. Euen nowe ye profeſſed a kynde of Chriſtianitie and holines vnto vs, for at your beginning you fell downe vpon your knees, and ſaid the Lords prayer (God wotte like an hypocrite) and thē ſtanding vp vpon your feete, you rehearſed the articles of your fayth: but to what end I pray you els, but to cloke that inward hereſie rooted in you, that you might blynde the poore ſimple and vnlearned peoples eyes? For what wyll they ſay or thynke, if they do not thus ſay? Good Lord, what meaneth theſe mē to ſay that he is an hereticke, they are deceiued, this is a good Chriſtian, he beleueth as we beleue.

But is this ſufficient to eſcape the name of an hereticke? To the ſimple and vnlearned it is ſufficient, but for you that haue profeſſed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not inough to recite your beliefe. For vnleſſe (as Origene ſayth) ye beleue all thinges that the Church hath decreed beſides, you are no Chriſtian man. In the which becauſe you do halt and wyll come to no conformitie, from hence forth ye are to bee taken for an hereticke, wyth whom we ought neither to diſpute, neyther to reaſon, whom wee ought rather to eſchew and auoyd.

Neuertheles, although I do not intende to reaſon wyth you, but to geue you vp as an abiect and outcaſt from Gods fauour, yet becauſe ye haue vttered to the annoying of the people ſuch peſtilent hereſies as may do harme among ſome rude and vnlearned, I thinke meete and not abs re, ſomewhat to ſay herein: not becauſe I hope to haue any good at your handes, which I would wyllingly wyſh, but that I may eſtabliſhe the ſimple people which bee here preſent, leſt they beyng ſeduced by your diabolicall doctrine, may periſh therby. And firſt (as it behoueth euery man to purge hym ſelfe firſt before he enter wyth anye other) where you accuſe me of an oth made agaynſt the biſhop of Rome, I confeſſe it and deny it not, and therefore do ſay with the reſt of this realme, good and catholicke men, the ſaying of the Prophet: Peccauimus cum patribus noſtris, iniuſtè egimus, iniquitatem fecimus. i. *We haue ſinned wyth our fathers: we haue done iniuſtly, and wickedly.* Delicta iuuentutis meæ, & ignorantias meas ne memineris Domine. i. *The ſinnes of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord do not remember.* I was then a young man, and as yong a Scholer here in the vniuerſity.

I knew not then what an othe dyd meane, and yet to ſay the truth, I dyd it compulſed, compulſed I ſay by you Maſter Cranmer, & here were you the authour & cauſe of my periury, you are to be blamed herein, & not I. Now where you ſay I made two othes, the one contrary to the other, it is not ſo, for the oth I made to the Popes holynes, appertayneth onely to ſpirituall things. The other oth that I made to the king, pertayneth onely to Temporall thinges: that is to ſay, that I do acknowledge all my temporall liuings to procede onely from the king and from none els. But all men may ſee, as you agree in this, ſo ye agree in the reſt of your opinions.

Now Sir, as concerning the Supremacy which is onely dew to the ſea of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a nūber of places which do cōfirme that Chriſt appoynted Peter head of the Church, yet this is a moſt euident place. Whē *CHRIST* demaunded of his Apoſtles whom mē called him: they anſwered: *ſome Elias, ſome a Prophet*, &c. But *CHRIST* replied to Peter, and ſaid: *Whō ſayeſt thou* Peter *that I am?* Peter *aunſwered*: Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei, & *CHRIST* replyed: Tu es Petrus et ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiā meam. The Doctours interpreting this place, ſuper hanc Petram expound it, id eſt, non ſolum ſuper fidem Petri ſed ſuper te Petre. And why did *CHRIST* chaunge hys name from Simon to Peter, which in latine is a ſtone, but onely to declare that he was onely the foundation and head of the Church.

Supremacie.

The church builded vpon Peter.

Again, where *CHRIST* demaunded of Peter being amongſt the reſt of his Apoſtels three tymes a rew, Petre amas me? hee gaue hym charge ouer his ſheepe Paſce oues meas, Paſce agnos meos. Which place Chryſoſtome interpreting ſayth, Paſce, hoc eſt, loco mei eſto præpoſitus & caput fratrum tuorum. To conclude, whē they came that required Didrachma of *CHRIST*, hee commaunded Peter to caſt his net into the ſea, and to take out of the fiſhes mouth that he toke ſtaterem hoc eſt duplex Didrachma, & da inquit pro te et me Petre. Which wordes do ſignifye, that when he had payed for them two, he had payed for all the reſt. For as in the old law there were appoynted two heades ouer the people of Iſrael, Moyſes and Aaron, Moyſes as chief, and Aaron next head vnder him: ſo in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were *CHRIST* & Peter, *CHRIST* as head of al, and Peter next vnder him. S. Auſtine in 75. queſtione veteris & noui Teſtamēti, Saluator (inquit) quū pro ſe & Petro dari iubebat Didrachma, pro omnibus ipſum dari cenſuit, ipſum enim conſtituit caput eorū. i. *Our Sauiour CHRIST (ſaith* S. Auſtin) *cōmaūding the tribute to be geuen for hym and for* Peter, *ment thereby the ſame to be geuen for all other, for hee appoynted him to be head of them.* What can bee more playne then thys? But I will not tary vpon this matter.

[Paſce] expounded by *Chryſoſtome.*

Auguſt. Queſt. 75.

Now, as touching the Popes lawes, where you ſay they be cōtrary, bicauſe the ſeruice which ſhould be (as you ſay) in Engliſh, is in latin, I aunſwere: who ſo euer will take the paines to peruſe the chapter, which is the .xiiij. of the firſt to the Corinthians, ſhall finde that his meaning is concerning preaching, and obiter only of praying.

Seruice in Latin.

Againe, where you ſay that the Popes holynes doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the lay men, and *CHRIST* would haue it vnder both, ye can ſay no more but this, bibite ex eo omnes: *drinke ye all of this*: and what followeth? Et biberunt ex eo omnes. i. *And all dranke thereof.* Now, if a man would be ſo proterue with you, he might ſay that *CHRIST* gaue it onely to hys Apoſtels in whoſe places ſucceded Prieſtes and not lay men.

Sacrament in one kinde.

And admitte that *CHRIST* commaunded it to be receaued vnder both kindes, yet the Church hath authoritie to chaunge that as well as other. Ye read that *CHRIST* callyng his Apoſtles together ſayd to them: Ite, prædicate Euangeliū omni nationi Baptizantes in nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti. i. *Go and preach the Goſpell to euery nation, baptiſing in the name of the father, of the ſonne, & of the holy Ghoſt.* But the Apoſtles beyng deſirous to publiſh *CHRISTES* name euery where, did Baptiſe onely in *CHRISTES* name. Againe, *CHRIST* before his laſt Supper waſhed his Apoſtles feete ſaying: Si ego laui pedes veſtros Dominus & magiſter, & vos debetis alter alterius lauare pedes. i. *If I haue waſhed your feete beyng your Lord and Maſter, alſo you ought to waſh the feete one of an other.*

Authoritie of the church in chaunging rites.

Exēplum dedi vobis.i. *I haue geuen you example.* This was a precept, yet hath the Church altered it, becauſe the ſimple people ſhould not thinke a rebaptization in it. So ſaid ẏ Apoſtle: Accepi a Domino quod & tradidi vobis: Dominus noſter qua nocte tradebatur. &c.i. *I haue receaued of the Lorde the ſame which I haue deliuered to you, that our Lord the ſame night in which hee was betrayed. &c.* Notwithſtādyng that this was a precept that the Sacramēt ſhould be miniſtred after Supper, the Church hath altered it and commaunded it to be receaued faſtyng. And where CHRIST did breake the bread, we receaue the whole hoſt. CHRIST miniſtred ſitting at the table, we ſtandyng at the aultar.

Rites and ceremonies ſubiect to the diſpoſition of the church.

It was alſo commaunded in the xv. of the Actes that Chriſtiā men ſhould abſteine a Suffocato & ſanguine. i. *From ſtrangled, and bloud.* But the Church perceauing it to be a precept but for a tyme, hath altered it. Chriſt commaunded to kepe holy, diem Sabbati.i. *the Sabbat day,* and the Church hath altered it to Sonday. If then the Church may chaūge thinges that be ſo expreſſed in the Scriptures, ſhe may alſo chaunge the forme of receauyng of lay men vnder both kyndes for diuerſe occaſions.

Reaſons why lay mē receaue not vnder both kindes.

Firſt, becauſe in caryyng to the ſicke, the bloud may not be ſhed, loſt, or miſuſed.

And next that no occaſion might bee geuen to heretickes to thinke that there is not ſomuch vnder one kynde as vnder both.

But why would you haue it vnder both kyndes I pray you els, but onely to peruert and cōtrary the commaundement of the Church? For when you had it vnder both kinds, you beleued in neither. And we hauing but one, beleue both kindes. Now Syr, as cōcernyng the Sacrament of the aultar, where you ſay you haue a number of Doctours of your ſide and we none of our ſide, that is to ſay, to confirme the reall preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament of the aultar, in deede one to ſtoppe your mouth I thinke it not poſſible to finde. Neuertheleſſe where your requeſte is to haue one ſhewed vnto you and then you will recant, I will ſhew you two.

Reall preſence proued by *B. Brokes.*

Auguſt. Pſal. 33.

S. Auguſtine ſuper 33. Pſal. Et ferebatur manibus ſuis: I finde not how this is true in Dauid (ſayth he) literally, that he was borne in his own handes, but in CHRIST I finde it literally, when he gaue his body to his Apoſtles at his laſt Supper.

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini.

Agayne S. Cyprian De cœna Domini, ſayth: Panis quē dominus noſter diſcipulis ſuis porrigebat, nō effigie, ſed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro. What can be more playne then thys? yet to your expoſitiō it is not playne inough. But geue me your figuratiue, ſignificatiue, & ſuch other lyke termes, and I will defend that CHRIST hath not yet aſcended: no nor yet that he was incarnate. &c. Wherefore I cā no other but put you in the number of them, whō Chryſoſtome ſpake of in thys wyſe ſaying: Audi homo fidelis qui contra hæreticum contendis, ſi Phariſei conuicti, & nō placati & hæretici. &c. Heare O thou Chriſtian man: wylt thou do more then CHRIST could do? CHRIST confuted the Phariſeis, yet could he not put them to ſilence: et fortior es tu Chriſto? And art thou ſtronger then CHRIST? Wylt thou go about to bryng them to ſilence, that will receaue no anſwer? as who ſhould ſay, thou canſt not. Thus much haue I ſayd, not for you Maſter Cranmer, for my hope that I conceaued of you is nowe gone and paſt, but in ſomwhat to ſatiſfie the rude and vnlearned people, that they perceauing your arrogant lying and lying arrogancy, may the better eſchew your deteſtable and abominable ſchiſme.

And thus ended this Prelate hys worſhipfull tale. After whom Doct. Story taketh the matter, and thus inferreth in wordes as followeth.

Doct. Storyes talke to the Archbiſhop.

Maſter Cranmer you haue made a goodly proceſſe concerning your hereticall othe made to the kyng, but you forget your othe made to the See Apoſtolicke. As concerning your othe made to the kyng, if you made it to hym onely, it toke an end by hys death, & ſo is it releaſed: if you made it to hys ſucceſſours, well Syr, the true ſucceſſours haue the empyre, and they wyll you to diſſolue the ſame, and become a member of CHRISTES church agayne, and it ſtandeth wel with charity.

To this the Archbiſhop aunſwered agayne, ſayth the Reporter: but what hys aunſwer was, that he ſuppreſſeth, and returneth to the wordes of D. Story, who imperiouſly turning hys ſpeach agayne to the Archbiſhop, ſayd as followeth.

Hold your peace Syr, and ſo ſhall it ryght well become you, conſidering that I gaue you licence before to ſay your fanſie. Your othe was no othe, for it lacked the three pointes of an othe, that is to ſay, iudiciū, iuſtitiam, et veritatem.

Three thinges r quired in an oth.

These with lyke wordes to the ſame effect being vttered by Doct. Story, ſekyng to breake vp & to make an end of that Seſſion, he eftſones called for witneſſes to be produced, who ſhould be ſworne vpon the boke, to vtter and declare the next day, what ſoeuer they knew, or could remember to be infered agaynſt Doct. Cranmers hereſie. The names of the witneſſes were theſe.

D. Story calleth for witneſſi

Doct. Marſhall, *Commiſſary and Deane of Chriſtes church.*
Doct. Smith, *Vnder Commiſſary.*
Doct. Treſham.
Doct. Crooke.
M. London.
M. Curtop.
M. Warde.
M. Serles.

Witneſſe ſworne againſt the Archb.

After the depoſitions of which witneſſes beyng taken, Doct. Story admoniſhed the Archbyſhop, permittyng him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the ſayd witneſſes to be refuſed. Who then would admitte none of them all, beyng men periured, and not in Chriſtian Religion. For if to ſweare (ſayd he) agaynſt the Pope were vnlawfull, they ſhould rather haue geuen their lyues, then their othe. But if it were lawfull, then are they periured to defende him whom they forſware before. Neuertheles this anſwere of the Archb. beyng lightly regarded, as litle to the purpoſe apperteinyng, he was commaunded agayn to the place from whence he came. Who at his departyng out, like as at his firſt commyng in, ſhewed low obedience to Doct. Martin, and to Doct. Story the Queenes Commiſſioners. Then Doct. Story poyntyng him to the Byſhop of Gloceſter, ſayd that he ought rather to geue reuerence vnto him. So the reuerend Archbyſhop departing without any obeyſance exhibited to the Biſhop, all the other roſe vp, and departed euery one to his owne. And thus brake vp the Seſſion for this day, about 4. of the clocke at after noone.

The Archb. refuſeth thoſ Iurates periured.

The Archb. ſent againe to Bocardo.

The Archb. againe geueth no reuerence to the Popes Delegate.

And thus much hetherto concernyng the ſummary effect of this Action or Seſſion, with the Orations, diſcourſes, and Articles commenced agaynſt the Archbyſhop of Cant. alſo with the reaſons and aunſweres of the ſayd Archbyſhop to their Obiections and Interrogatories. Touchyng which his aunſweres, for ſomuch as they being recited by report of a Papiſt (as is aforeſayd) ſeeme to be not indifferently handled, it ſhall therfore not greatly be out of our matter, as ye haue heard the Orations of Byſhop Brokes, with the reaſons and talke of the other Commiſſioners, amplified and ſet forth at large of the one ſide, ſo now in repetyng the wordes and aunſweres of the other part, to declare and ſet forth ſomewhat more amply and effectually, what ſpeach the ſayd Archbyſhop vſed for hym ſelfe in the ſame Action, by the faythfull relation and teſtimonie of certeine other, who were likewiſe there preſent, & do thus report the effect of the Archbyſhops wordes, aunſweryng to the firſt Oration of Byſhop Brokes, in maner as foloweth.

The anſweres of the Archb. not indifferently reported.

¶ A more

¶ A more full aunſwere of the Archbyſhop of Cant, to the firſt Oration of Byſhop Brokes.

My Lord, you haue very learnedly and eloquently in your Oration put me in remēbrance of many thinges touching my ſelfe, wherein I do not meane to ſpend the tyme in aunſwering of them. I acknowledge Gods goodnes to me in all his giftes, and thanke him as hartely for this ſtate wherein I fynde my ſelfe now, as euer I did for the tyme of my proſperity: and it is not the loſſe of my promotions that greeueth mee. The greateſt greefe I haue at this tyme, is and one of the greateſt that euer I had in all my life, to ſee the king and Queenes maieſties by their Proctours here to become my accuſers, and that in their owne realme and countrey, before a forreine power. If I haue tranſgreſſed the lawes of the land, their maieſties haue ſufficient autority and power both from God, and by the ordinaunce of the realme to puniſh me, whereunto I both haue, and at all tymes ſhall be content to ſubmit my ſelfe.

Alas what hath the Pope to do in Englād? whoſe iuriſdiction is ſo farre different frō ẏ iuriſdiction of this realme, that it is impoſſible to be true to ẏ one & true to ẏ other. The lawes alſo are ſo diuers, that who ſo euer ſweareth to both, muſt neede incurre periury in the one. Which as often as I remēber, euē for ẏ loue that I beare to her grace, I cannot be but hartely ſory to thinke vpon it, howe that her hyghnes the day of her coronation, at which tyme ſhe tooke a ſolemne oth to obſerue all the lawes and liberties of this realme of England, at the ſame tyme alſo tooke an oth to the Bi. of Rome, and promiſed to maintaine that Sea. The ſtate of England being ſo repugnant to the ſupremacy of the Pope, it was impoſſible but ſhe muſt nedes be forſworne in the one. Wherein if her grace had ben faythfully aduertiſed by her Counſell, then ſurely ſhe would neuer haue done it.

The lawes of this Realme are, that the king of Englād is the ſupreme and ſole gouernour of all his countreyes and dominions: and that he holdeth his crowne and ſcepter of hym ſelfe by the auncient lawes, cuſtomes, and deſcentes of the Kinges of the realme, and of none other. The Pope ſayth that all Emperours and Kynges holde their crownes and regalities of hym, and that hee may diſpoſe them when he liſt: which is hygh treaſon for any man to affirme and thinke, being borne within the kinges dominions.

The Lawes of England are, that all Biſhops and Prieſtes offending in caſes of fellony or treaſon, are to be iudged and tryed by the lawes and cuſtomes of the realme. The Popes lawes are that the ſecular power can not iudge the ſpirituall power, and that they are not vnder their iuriſdiction: which robbeth the king of the one part of his people.

The Lawes alſo of England are, that who ſo euer hindereth the execution or proceeding of the Lawes of England for any other forreine lawes, Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall, incurreth the daunger of a premunire. The Popes lawes are, that who ſoeuer hindereth the procedinges or executions of his lawes, for any other lawes of any other king or countrey, both the Prince him ſelfe, his Counſell, all his Officers, Scribes, Clarkes, and whoſoeuer geue conſent or ayde to the makyng or executing of any ſuch lawes, ſtādeth accurſed. A heauy caſe (if his curſe were any thing worth) that the kyng and Queene cā not vſe their own lawes, but they & all theirs muſt ſtand accurſed. Theſe things and many more examples he alledged, which (he ſayd) ſtirred him that he could not geue his conſent to the receyuing of ſuch an enemy into the realme, ſo ſubuerting the dignity and auncient liberties of the ſame.

And as for the matter of hereſy and ſchiſme wherewith he was charged, hee proteſted and called God to witnes, that he knew none that hee maynetayned. But if that were an hereſy, to deny ẏ Popes authority, & the Religion which ẏ Sea of Rome hath publiſhed to the world theſe latter yeares, then all the auncient Fathers of ẏ primatiue church, ẏ Apoſtels, and Chriſt hymſelfe taught hereſy: and hee deſyred all them preſent to beare him witnes, that he tooke the traditions & religiō of that vſurping prelate to be moſt erroneous, falſe, and againſt the doctrine of the whole ſcripture: which he had often tymes well proued by writing, and the autour of the ſame to bee very Antichriſt, ſo often preached of by the Apoſtles and Prophetes, in whom did moſt euidently concurre all ſignes & tokens whereby he was paynted to the world to be knowen.

The Popes religion moſt erroneous.

All markes of Antichriſt moſt concurre in the Pope.

For it was moſt euident that he had aduaunced him ſelfe aboue all Emperours and Kynges of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their ſtates and Empires of hym, as of their chiefe, and to bee at hys commaundement to depoſe and erect at hys good wyll and pleaſure: and that the ſtories make mention of hys intolerable and inſolent pride and tiranny, vſed ouer them in ſuch ſort, as no king would haue vſed to hys Chriſtian ſubiectes, nor yet a good maſter to hys ſeruauntes, ſetting hys feete in the Emperours necke, affirming that to be verified in hym, which was ſpokē only of our Sauiour *IESVS CHRIST*, in theſe wordes: Super Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem et draconem. Other ſome he had made to hold his ſtirrops: others he had diſplaced and remoued from their Empires and ſeates royall: and not content herewithall, more inſolent then Lucifer, hath occupied not onely the hygheſt place in this world, aboue Kinges and Princes, but hath further preſumed to ſit in the ſeat of almighty God, which onely hee reſerued to him ſelfe, which is the conſcience of man: and for to keepe the poſſeſſion thereof, hee hath promiſed forgeuenes of ſinnes totiens quotiens.

The Popes pride and intolerable tyranny.

Of this treading of the Emperours necke, read before pag. 263.

Markes of Antichriſt.

He hath brought in Gods of hys own framing, and inuented a new religion full of gayne and luker, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy ſcripture, onely for the maintayning of his kingdome, diſplacing *CHRIST* from hys glory, and holdyng hys people in a miſerable ſeruitude of blindnes, to the loſſe of a great number of ſoules, which God at the latter day ſhall exacte at hys hand: boaſting many times in hys Canons & decrees, that he can diſpenſe contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra vetus & nouum Teſtamentum: and that he, plenitudine poteſtatis, tantum poteſt quantum Deus. That is, *agaynſt Peter, againſt Paul, againſt the old and new Teſtament: and of the fulnes of power may do as much as God*. O Lorde, who euer heard ſuch blaſphemy? If there be any man that can aduaunce hymſelfe aboue hym, let hym be iudged Antichriſt.

The Pope diſpenſeth againſt the new and the olde Teſtament.

If any can go before the pope in pride, let him be Antichriſt.

This enemy of God and of our redemption, is ſo euidently paynted out in the ſcriptures by ſuch manifeſt ſignes and tokens, which all ſo clearely appeare in him, that except a man wyll ſhut vp hys eyes and hart agaynſt the lyght, he cannot but know hym: and therfore for my part I wyll neuer geue my conſent to the receiuing of hym into this Church of England. And you my Lord, and the reſt that ſit here in commiſſion, conſider well and examine your own conſciences: you haue ſworne agaynſt hym, you are learned, and can iudge of the truth. I pray God you bee not wylfully blinde. As for me, I haue herein diſcharged mine own conſcience toward the world, and I will wryte alſo my mynd to her grace touching this matter. The copy of which letter ſent to the Queene, ye ſhall finde after in the end of hys ſtory.

Whyle he in this ſort made his aunſwer, ye heard before how Doct. Story and Martin diuers times interrupted him wyth blaſphemous talke, & would fayne haue had ẏ Biſhop of Glouceſter to put him to ſilence: who notwithſtanding did not, but ſuffered hym to end hys tale at full. After this ye heard alſo how they proceeded to examine hym of diuers articles, whereof the chiefe was: That at the tyme of hys creating Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was ſworne to the Pope, and had hys inſtitution and induction from hym, and promiſed to mayntaine then the authoritie of that ſea, and therefore was periured: wherefore hee ſhould rather ſticke to hys firſt othe, and returne to hys olde folde agayne, then to continue obſtinately in an oth forced in the tyme of ſchiſme.

His anſweres to their Articles.

How *Cranmer* was made Archbyſhop agaynſt his wyll.

To that hee aunſwered, ſauyng hys proteſtation, (which terme he vſed before all hys aunſwers) that at ſuch tyme as Archb. Warrham dyed, he was Embaſſador in Germany for ẏ king, who ſent for him therupon home, & hauing intelligẽce by ſome of his frendes (who were neare about the Kyng) how he ment to beſtowe the ſame biſhopricke vpon him, and therefore counſelled hym in that caſe to make haſt home, he feelyng in hymſelfe a great inhabilitie to ſuch a promotion, and very ſory to leaue hys ſtudy, and eſpecially conſidering by what meanes he muſt haue it, which was cleane agaynſt hys conſcience, which hee could not vtter wythout great peryll and daunger, deuiſed an excuſe to the kyng, of matter of great importance, for the which hys longer abode there ſhould be moſt neceſſary, thinking by that meanes in hys abſence, that the kyng woulde haue beſtowed it vpon ſome other, and ſo remayned there by that deuiſe one halfe yeare after the kyng had written for hym to come home. But after that no ſuch matter fel out, as he ſeemed to make ſuſpitiõ of, ẏ king ſent for hym agayne. Who after hys returne, vnderſtanding ſtyll the Archbiſhopricke to bee reſerued for him, made meanes by diuers of hys beſt friendes, to ſhift it of, deſiring rather ſome ſmaller lyuing, that he might more quietly follow hys booke.

To be brief, when the kyng him ſelfe ſpake with him, declaryng his full intention for his ſeruice ſake, and for the good opiniõ he conceiued of him, was to beſtow that dignitie vppon him, after long diſablyng of him ſelfe, perceauyng he could by no perſuaſions alter the kynges determination, he brake frankely his conſcience with him, moſt humbly crauyng firſt his graces pardon, for that he ſhoulde declare vnto hys highnes. Which obtained, he declared that if he accepted that office, then he muſt receiue it at the Popes hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his highnes was onely the ſupreme gouernour of this Church of England, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, and that the full right and donation of all maner of Byſhopríckes and benefices, aſwell as of any other temporall dignities and promotions, appertained to his grace, and not to any other foraine authoritie, what ſoeuer it was: and therefore if hee might ſerue God in that vocation, him, and his countrey, ſeyng it was his pleaſure ſo to haue it, he would accept it, and receiue it of his Maieſtie, and of none other ſtraunger, who had no authoritie within this Realme, neither in any ſuch gift, nor in any other thing. Wherat the king (ſayd he) ſtaying a while and muſing, aſked me how I was able to proue it. At which tyme I alledged many textes out of ẏ ſcriptures, & the fathers alſo, approuing ẏ ſupreme and higheſt authoritie of kyngs in their Realmes and dominions, diſcloſing therwithall the intolerable vſurpation of the Pope of Rome.

D. Cranmer denied that hee tooke the Archbiſhopricke at the Popes handes.

Cranmers anſwere to *K. Henry* refuſing to be Archbiſhop.

Firſt breaking of the matter of the Popes ſupremacie to *K. Henry.*

Afterwards it pleaſed his highnes (quoth ẏ Archb.) many & ſundry times to talke with me of it, and perceiuyng that I could not bee brought to acknowledge the authoritie of the B. of Rome, the kyng him ſelf called Doct. Oliuer & other Ciuill Lawyers, & deuiſed with them how he might beſtow it vppon me, inforcyng me nothyng agaynſt my conſcience. Who therupon informed him that I might do it by the way of proteſtation, and ſo one to be ſent to Rome, who might take the oth, and do euery thyng in my name. Which when I vnderſtode, I ſayd he ſhould do it ſuper animam ſuam: and I in deede bona fide made my proteſtation, that I did not acknowledge his authoritie any farther, then as it agreed with the expreſſe word of God, and that it might be lawfull for me at all tymes to ſpeake agaynſt hym, and to impugne his errours when tyme and occaſion ſhould ſerue me. And this my proteſtation dyd I cauſe to be inroled, and there I thinke it remaineth.

Cranmer ſworne to the Pope vnder proteſtation.

Cranmer in ſwearing to the Pope did nothing without aduiſe of the beſt learned in this Realme.

They obiected to hym alſo that hee was maryed: which he cõfeſſed. Wherupon Doct. Martin ſayd that his children were bondmen to the Sea of Canterbury. At which ſaying ẏ Archb. ſmiled, and aſked him if a Prieſt at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her baſtardes, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, ſaying I truſt you will make my childrens cauſes no worſe.

The Archb. anſwer for his wife an childre

After this Doct. Martin demaunded of him who was ſupreme head of the Church of England. Mary quoth my Lorde of Canterbury, *CHRIST* is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the vniuerſall church. Why (quoth Doct. Martin) you made king Henry the eight ſupreme head of the church. Yea (ſayd ẏ Archb.) of all the people of England, aſwell eccleſiaſticall as temporall. And not of the church, ſaid Martin? No, ſayd hee, for *CHRIST* is onely head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the ſame. The kyng is head and gouernour of hys people, which are the viſible church. What (quoth Martyn) you neuer durſt tell the king ſo. Yes, that I durſt (quoth he) and dyd, and in the publication of his Stile, wherin he was named ſupreme head of the church, there was neuer other thing ment. A number of other fond and fooliſh obiections were made, with repetition wherof I thought not to trouble the Reader.

Becauſe there w offence kenat t word S preme h it was d clared in the Queene ſtyle to b Suppre gouern

Thus, after they had receiued his anſwere to al their obiections, they cited hym (as is afore ſayd) to appeare at Rome within. 80. dayes, to make there his perſonall aunſwers: which he ſayd, if the king & Queene would ſend hym, he would be cõtent to do, and ſo thence was caryed to priſon agayne, where he continually remayned, notwythſtandyng that hee was commaunded to appeare at Rome.

The Archb. ci ted to ap peare at Rome.

Wherein all men that haue eyes to ſee, may eaſely perceaue the crafty practiſe of theſe Prelates, and the viſured face of their iuſtice, as though ẏ court of Rome would condemne no man, before he anſwered for himſelfe, as all lawe and equitie required. But the verye ſame inſtant tyme, the holynes of that vnholy father, contrary to all reaſon and iuſtice, ſent hys letter executory vnto the kyng and Queene to degrade and depriue hym of hys dignity: which thing he did not onely before the. 80. dayes were ended, but before there were xx. dayes ſpent. Farthermore, where as the ſayd Archbiſhop was faſt deteyned in ſtraite priſon, ſo that hee could not appeare (as was notorious both in Englãd, and alſo in the Romiſh court) and therefore had a lawfull and moſt iuſt excuſe of hys abſence by all lawes, both popiſh and other: yet in the ende of the ſayd. 80. dayes was that worthy Martyr decreed Contumax, that is, ſturdely, frowardly, and wylfully abſent, and in payne of the ſame hys abſence, condemned and put to death.

A poynt be noted the crafty practiſe romiſh pocrites.

As touching the foreſayd executory letters of the Pope ſent to the king and Queene, begynning thus Paulus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, chariſſimo in Chriſto filio Philippo Regi, & Chariſſ. in Chriſto filiæ Mariæ Reginæ. &c. becauſe the full tenour thereof is expreſſed in our former impreſſion of Actes, pag. 1490. it ſhal not be needefull to comber this volume in repeatyng the ſame againe.

Of this letter of Pope, re in the ol booke, pa 1490.

¶ Doctour Thurlby, and D. Boner comming with a new commiſſion to ſit vpon the Archbiſhop the. 14. day of February.

This letter or ſentence diffinitiue of the Pope, was dated the firſt day of Ianuary, and was delyuered here in England about the midſt of February. Vpon the receit of which letters an other Seſſion was appoynted for the Archbiſhop to appeare the. xiiij. daye of February before certayne Commiſſioners directed downe

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down by the Quéene, the chiefe wherof was yͤ Biſhop of Eley D.Thurlbye. Concerning which D. Thurlbye, by the way here is to bee noted, that albeit hée was not the ſayd Archbiſhops houſehould Chaplaine, yet he was ſo familiarly acquainted with him, ſo dearly beloued, ſo inwardly accepted and aduaunced of him (not lyke a Chaplayne, but rather lyke a naturall brother) that there was neuer any thing in the Archbiſhops houſe ſo deare, were it plate, iewell, horſe, mappes, bookes, or any thing els, but if Thurlbye did neuer ſo litle commende it (a ſubtile kynd of begging) the Archbiſhop by & by, either gaue it to hym, or ſhortly ſent it after him to his houſe. So greatly was the Archbiſhop inamored with him, that whoſoeuer would obtayne any thing of hym, moſt cõmonly would make their way before by D. Thurlbye. Which bymatter of the ſayd D.Thurlbye, I thought here to recite, not ſo much to rebrayd the mã with yͤ vyce of vnthankfulnes, as chiefly and onely for thys, to admoniſh hym of old benefites receiued, whereby he may the better remember his old benefactor, and ſo to fauour the cauſe and quarell of him whom he was ſo ſingularly bounden vnto.

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With the ſaid Doct. Thurlbye Biſhop of Eley, was alſo aſſigned in the ſame Commiſſion D.Boner biſhop of London, which two comming to Oxford vpon S. Valentines day, as the Popes delegates, with a new commiſſion from Rome, by vertue thereof commaunded the Archbiſhop aforeſayd to come before them, in the Quyer of *CHRISTES* church before the hygh aultar, where they ſitting (accordyng to their maner) in their pontificalibus, firſt begã, as the faſhion is, to read their Commiſſion: wherin was conteined, how that in the Court of Rome all thinges beyng indifferently examined, both the Articles layd to his charge, with the aunſweres made vnto them, and witneſſes examined on both partes, and counſel heard aſwell on the Kyng and Quéenes behalfe hys accuſers, as on the behalfe of Tho. Cranmer, the partie giltie, ſo that he wanted nothing appertainyng to his neceſſary defenſe. &c. Which foreſaid Cõmiſſion as it was in reading, O Lord, ſayd the Archb. what lyes be theſe, that I beyng continually in priſon, and neuer could be ſuffered to haue counſell or aduocate at home, ſhould product witnes and appoint my counſell at Rome? God muſt nedes puniſhe this opẽ and ſhameles lying. They red on the Commiſſion which came from the Pope, Plenitudine poteſtatis, ſupplying all maner of defectes in law or proceſſe, cõmitted in dealing with yͤ Archbiſhop, & geuing them full authoritie to procede to yͤ depriuation & degradation of him, and ſo vpon excõmunicatiõ to deliuer him vp to the ſecular power, Omni appellatione remota.

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When the Commiſſion was red thus, they procedyng therupon to his degradation, firſt clothed and diſguiſed him, putting on him a Surplis, & thẽ an Aulbe: after that the Veſtiment of a Subdeacon, and euery other furniture, as a Prieſt ready to Maſſe.

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Whẽ they had apparelled him ſo farre: What, ſayd he, I thinke I ſhall ſay Maſſe: Yea, ſayd Coſins, one of Boners Chaplains, my Lord, I truſt to ſée you ſay Maſſe for all this. Doe you ſo, quoth he? that ſhall you neuer ſée, nor I will neuer do it.

Then they inueſted him in all maner of robes of a Byſhop and Archbyſhop as he is at his inſtallyng, ſauyng that, as euery thyng then is moſt rich and coſtly, ſo euery thyng in this was of canuas and old cloutes, with a miter & Palle of the ſame ſute done vpõ him in mockery, and then the croſiar ſtaffe was put in his hãd.

This done after the Popes pontificall forme & maner, Boner, who by yͤ ſpace of many yeares had borne, as it ſéemed, no great good will towardes him, and now reioyced to ſée this day wherin he might triumph ouer him, and take his pleaſure at full, began to ſtretch out his eloquence, makyng hys Oration to the aſſemble after this maner of ſort:

B. Boners eloquent oration againſt the Archbiſhop *Cranmer.*

This is the man who hath euer deſpiſed the Popes holynes, and now is to be iudged by him. This is the man who hath pulled downe ſo many Churches and now is come to be iudged in a Church. This is the mã that contemned the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, and now is come to be condẽned afore that bleſſed Sacrament hanging ouer the aultar. This is the man that lyke Lucifer ſat in the place of *CHRIST* vpon an altar to iudge other, and now is come before an altar to be iudged him ſelfe.

Boner taken with an vntruth.

Wherunto the Archbiſhop interruptyng him, ſayd: that in that he belyed hym, as he did in many other thinges: For that which he would now ſéeme to charge him withall, was his owne fault, if it was any, and none of his. For yͤ thyng you meane of, was in Paules Church (ſaid he) where I came to ſit in Cõmiſſion: and there was a ſcaffold prepared for me & others, by you and your officers, and whether there were any aultar vnder it, or not, I could not perceiue it, nor once ſuſpected it: wherefore you do wittyngly euill to charge me with it.

But Boner went on ſtil in his rethoricall repetitiõ, lying and railyng agaynſt the Archbyſhop, begynnyng euery ſentence with: This is the man, this is the mã, till at length there was neuer a man but was wery of the vnmanerly vſage of him in that time and place: Inſomuch that yͤ Biſhop of Eley aforeſayd diuers tymes pulled him by the ſleue to make an end, and ſayd to him afterward when they went to dynner, that he had brokẽ promiſe with him: for he had entreated him earneſtly to vſe him with reuerence.

Vnmanerlines of *B. Boner* to his brother, in time of aduerſity.

After all this done and finiſhed, they began then to buſtle toward his diſgradyng, and firſt to take frõ hym his Croſiar ſtaffe out of his handes, which he held faſt, and refuſed to deliuer, and withall imitatyng the example of M. Luther, pulled an appeale out of his left ſléeue vnder the wreſt, which he there and then deliuered vnto them, ſaying: I appeale to the next generall Councell: and herein I haue comprehended my cauſe and forme of it, which I deſire may be admitted: and prayed diuers of the ſtãders by, by name to be witneſſes, & eſpecially M. Curtop, to whom he ſpake twiſe. &c.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* appealeth from the Pope to a generall Councell.

The copy of which his appellation, becauſe it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibite ad rei memoriam, as in forme here foloweth.

¶The tenour of the Appeale of the Archb. of Canterbury from the Pope, to the next generall Councell.

In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

Chalenge or appeale of the Archb. from the Pope to a generall Councell.

Firſt, my playne proteſtation made, that I entend to ſpeake nothing againſt one holy catholicke and Apoſtolicall church, or the authority thereof (the which authoritye I haue in great reuerence, and to whom my mynde is in all thinges to obey) and if any thing peraduenture eyther by ſlipperneſ of toung, or by indignation of abuſes, or els by the prouocation of myne aduerſaries be ſpoken or done otherwyſe then well, or not with ſuch reuerence as becommeth me, I am moſt ready to amend it.

The Pope not vnſinneable.

The Pope hath no power to deſtroye, but to edify.

Although the biſhop of Rome (whom they cal Pope) beareth the rowme of *CHRIST* in earth, & hath authority of god, yet by that power or authority he is not become vnſinneable, neither hath he receiued that power to deſtroy, but to edifie the cõgregation: Therfore if he ſhall commaund any thing that is ryght to be done, hee ought to take it paciently and in good part, in caſe he be not therein obeyed. And he muſt not be obeyed, if hee cõmaund any thing agaynſt the preceptes of God: no, rather he may lawfully be reſiſted, euen as Paule withſtood Peter. And if he be ayded by helpe of Princes, deceiued perchaunce by a falſe ſuggeſtion or wyth euyll counſell, can not be reſiſted, but the remedies of wythſtanding hym be taken away, there is neuertheles one remedy of appealing (which no Prince can take away) vttered by the very law of nature: for as much as it is a certayne defence, which is meete for euery body by the law of God, of nature, and of man.

Remedy of appealing ſtandeth with law, of God and nature.

The inferiour cannot forbid to appeale to the ſuperiour.

Generall Councell is ſuperiour to the Pope.

And wher as the lawes do permit a mā to appeale, not onely from the griefes and iniuries done, but alſo from ſuch as ſhall be done hereafter, or threatned to be done, in ſomuch that the inferiour cannot make lawes of not appealing to a ſuperiour power: & ſince it is opēly inough confeſſed, that a holy general Councell, lawfully gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, & repreſenting yͤ holy Catholicke Church, is aboue the pope, eſpecially in matters concerning faith, that he cannot make decrees that men ſhall not appeale from hym to a generall Councell: therfore I Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or in tyme paſt ruler of the Metropolicall church of Canterbury, Doctor in diuinitie, do ſay and publiſh before you the publicke Notary and witneſſes here preſent, with mynde and entent to challenge and appeale from the perſons and griefes vnderneath written, and to profer my ſelfe in place and tyme conuenient and meete, to proue the Articles that follow. And I openly confeſſe, that I would lawfully haue publiſhed them before this daye, if I might haue had eyther lyberty to come abroad my ſelfe, or licence of a Notary and wytneſſes. But farther then I am able to do, I know well is not required of the lawes.

The cauſes why he doth appeale.

The 1. cauſe.

1 First I ſay and publiſh that Iames by the mercy of God Prieſt, called Cardinall of the Pyt, of the title of our Lady in the way of the church of Rome, Iudge and Commiſſary ſpecially deputed of our moſt holy lord the Pope (as he affirmed) cauſed me to be cited to Rome, there to appeare .lxx. dayes after the citation ſerued on me, to make aunſwer to certayne articles touching the peryll of my ſtate and lyfe. And where as I was kept in pryſon with moſt ſtraite warde, ſo that I coulde in no wyſe be ſuffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of pryſon, and in ſo greuous cauſes concerning ſtate and lyfe, no man is bound to ſend a Proctor, and though I would neuer ſo fayne ſend my Proctor, yet by reaſon of pouerty, I am not able (for all that euer I had, wherwyth I ſhould beare my Proctors coſtes and charges, is quite taken from me) neuertheleſſe the moſt reuerend Cardinall aforeſayd doth ſore threaten me, that whether I ſhall appeare or not, he will neuertheles yet proceede in iudgement agaynſt me. Wherein I feele my ſelf ſo greeued, that nothing can be imagened more miſcheuous, or farther from reaſon.

The Archb. cited to appeare at Rome, when he was faſt in priſon that he could not come.

Note with what iuſtice and ſincerity this Catholicke church doth proceede.

The 2. cauſe.

2 Secondly, the reuerend father Iames Brokes by the mercy of God biſhop of Gloceſter, Iudge and vnderdeputy (as he affirmed) of the moſt reuerende Cardinall, cauſed me to be cited at Oxford (where I was then kept in pryſon) to aunſwer to certayne articles, concerning the daunger of my ſtate and lyfe. And when I being vnlearned and ignorant in the lawes, deſired counſell of the learned in the law, that thing was moſt vnrighteouſly denyed me, contrary to the equitie of all lawes both of God and man. Wherein agayne I feele me moſt wrongfully greeued.

The Archb. denied to haue counſell of the law.

The 3. cauſe.

The Papiſtes procede contrary to law.

3 And when I refuſed the ſayd Biſhop of Gloceſter to be my Iudge, for moſt iuſt cauſes, which I then declared, hee neuertheles went on ſtyll, and made proceſſe agaynſt me, contrary to the rule of the lawes of appealing, which ſay: *A Iudge that is refuſed, ought not to procede in the cauſe, but to leaue of.* And when he had required of me aunſwers to certayne articles, I refuſed to make hym any aunſwere. I ſayd I woulde yet gladly make aunſwer to the moſt renowmed kynges and Queenes deputies or atturneys then preſent, with this condition notwithſtanding, that myne aunſwere ſhould be extraiudiciall, & that was permitted me. And with this my proteſtation made and admitted, I made aunſwer, but myne aunſwer was ſodayne and vnprouided for: and therfore I deſired to haue a copy of mine aunſwers, that I myght put to, take away, chaūge and amend them: and this was alſo permitted me. Neuertheles contrary to hys promiſe made vnto me, no reſpect had to my proteſtation, nor lycence geuen to amēd myne aunſwer, the ſayd reuerend father biſhop of Gloceſter (as I heare) commaunded myne aunſwers to be enacted, contrary to the equitye of the lawe. In which thing agayne I feele me much greeued.

The Pa pistes co trary to their ow promiſe.

The 4. cauſe.

Cauſes mouing the Archb why he could not admit the Popes au thoritie.

4. Furthermore, I coulde not for many cauſes admit the Biſhop of Romes vſurped authority in this Realme, nor conſent to it: firſt my ſolemne oth letting mee, which I made in the tyme of moſt famous memory of K. Henry the 8. according to the lawes of England: ſecondly, becauſe I knew the authority of the biſhop of Rome, which he vſurpeth, to be agaynſt the crowne, cuſtomes, and lawes of thys Realme of England, in ſo much, that neither the King can bee crowned in this Realme, with out the moſt greuous crime of periury, nor may Biſhops enioy their Biſhoprickes, nor iudgementes be vſed according to the lawes and cuſtomes of this realme, except by the byſhop of Romes authority be accurſed both yͤ king & Quene, the Iudges, wryters, and executors of the Lawes and cuſtomes, wyth all that conſent to them. Finally the whole realme ſhall be accurſed.

The popes authoritie cannot be admitted in thys Realme without periury.

The 5. cauſe.

Inconue nience to this Realme i receiuing the Pope authoritie

5. Moreouer, that haynous and vſurped authority of the Byſhop of Rome, thorow reſeruations of the byſhoprickes, prouiſions, annuates, diſpenſations, pardons, appellations, bulles, and other curſed marchandyſe of Rome, was wont exceedingly to ſpoile and conſume the ryches and ſubſtaunce of this realme, which all thinges ſhould follow agayne by recognyſing and receyuing of that vſurped authority, vnto the vnmeaſurable loſſe of this realme.

The 6. cauſe.

6. Finally it is moſt euident by that vſurped autority, not onely the Crowne of England to be vnder yoke, the lawes and cuſtomes of thys Realme to be throwen downe and troden vnder foote: but alſo the moſt holy decrees of Councels, together with the preceptes both of the Goſpell, and of God.

The pri tiue ſtate the church of Rome ſincere a pure.

When in tymes paſt the ſonne of righteouſnes beyng ryſen in the world, Chriſtian religion, by the preaching of the Apoſtles began to be ſpread very farre abroade and to floriſh, in ſo much that their ſound went out into all the worlde: innumerable people, which walked in darkenes, ſaw a great light, Gods glory euery where publiſhed dyd floriſh, the onely carke & care of the miniſters of the church was, purely and ſincerely to preach *CHRIST*, the peoples, to imbrace & follow *CHRISTES* doctrine. Then the Church of Rome, as it were lady of yͤ world, both was, & alſo was coūted worthely yͤ mother of other churches, for as much as thē ſhe firſt begat to *CHRIST*, noriſhed with the foode of pure doctrine, dyd helpe them with her ryches, ſuccoured the oppreſſed, and was a ſanctuary for the miſerable, ſhe reioyced with them that reioyced, and wept with them that wepte. Then by the examples of the Byſhops of Rome ryches were deſpyſed, worldly glory and pompe was troden vnder foote, pleaſures and ryot nothing regarded. Then this fraile and vncertayne lyfe, beyng full of all miſeries, was laughed to ſcorne, whiles thorow yͤ example of Romiſh Martyrs, men did euery where preſſe forthward to the lyfe to come. But afterward the vngracionſnes of damnable ambition neuer ſatiſfied, auarice and yͤ horrible enormitie of vices had corrupted and taken the Sea of Rome, there followed euery where almoſt, the deformities of all Churches, growyng out of kynd into the manners of the church their mother, leauing their former innocency and purity, and ſlipping into foule and haynous vſages.

The church of Rome ho and when in it beg to alter.

Deform ties of th church of Rome, fecting a other ch ches.

The B. Rome no equall iudge is his owne cauſe.

For the foreſayd and many other grieffes and abuſes (which I entend to proue, and do profer my ſelfe in tyme cōuenient to proue hereafter) ſince reformatiō of yͤ aboue mentioned abuſes, is not to be loked for of the Byſhop of Rome, neyther can I hope by reaſon of hys wicked abuſes and vſurped autority, to haue him an equall iudge in hys owne cauſe: therefore I do challenge and appeale in theſe wrytinges, from the Pope, hauyng no good counſell, and from the aboue named pretenſes, commiſſions, and iudges, from their citations, proceſſes, and from all other thinges that haue or ſhall follow thereupon, and from euery one of them, and from all their ſentences, cenſures, paynes and puniſhmentes of curſing, ſuſpenſion, and interdytyng, and from all others, what ſoeuer, their denouncinges and declaratiõs (as they pretend) of ſchiſme, of hereſy, adultery, depriuation, diſgrading, by them or by any of them in any maner wyſe attempted, done, and ſette forward, to be attempted, to bee done, and to bee ſet forth hereafter (ſauing alwayes their honours and reuerences) as vnequall and vnrighteous, mere tirannicall and violent, and from euery griefe to come, which ſhall happen to me, as well for my ſelfe as for all and euery one that cleaueth to me, or will hereafter bee on my ſyde, vnto a free generall Councell, that ſhall hereafter lawfully be, and in a ſure place, to which place I or a Proctour deputed by me, may freely and wyth ſafety come, and to hym or them, to whom a man may by the lawe, priuiledge, cuſtome, or otherwyſe challenge and appeale.

And I deſire, the firſt, the ſecond, and the third time, inſtantly, more inſtantly, and moſt inſtantly that I may haue* meſſengers, if there be any man that wil and cã giue me them. And I make open promiſe of proſecutyng this mine appellation, by the way of diſanulling, abuſe, inequalitie, & vnrighteouſnes, or otherwiſe as I ſhalbe better able: choiſe and libertie reſerued to me, to put to, diminiſh, chaunge, correct, & interpretate my ſayinges, and to reforme all thinges after a better faſhiõ, ſauyng alwayes to me euery other benefite of the law, and to them that either be, or wilbe on my part.

And touchyng my doctrine of the Sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kynd ſoeuer it be, I proteſt that it was neuer my mynd to write, ſpeake, or vnderſtand any thyng cõtrary to the moſt holy word of God, or els agaynſt the holy catholicke Church of CHRIST, but purely and ſimply to imitate & teach thoſe thynges onely, which I had learned of the ſacred Scripture, and of the holy Catholicke Church of CHRIST from the begynnyng, and alſo accordyng to the expoſition of the moſt holy and learned fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

And if any thyng hath peraduenture chaũced otherwiſe then I thought, I may erre: but hereticke I can not be, for as much as I am ready in all things to folow the iudgement of the moſt ſacred word of God, and of the holy Catholicke Church, deſiryng none other thyng, then mekely and gently to bee taught, if any where (which God forbid) I haue ſwarued from the truth.

And I proteſt and openly confeſſe, that in all my doctrine and preachyng, both of the Sacrament, and of other my doctrine what ſoeuer it be, not onely I meane and iudge thoſe thyngs, as the Catholicke Church and the moſt holy fathers of old with one accord haue ment & iudged, but alſo I would gladly vſe the ſame wordes that they vſed, and not vſe any other wordes, but to ſet my hand to all and ſingular their ſpeaches, phraſes, wayes and formes of ſpeach, which they do vſe in their treatiſes vpon the Sacramẽt, and to keepe ſtill their interpretatiõ. But in this thyng I only am accuſed for an hereticke, becauſe I allow not the doctrine lately brought in, of the Sacramẽt, & becauſe I cõſent not to wordes not accuſtomed in Scripture and vnknowen to the auncient fathers, but newly inuented & brought in by men, and belongyng to the deſtructiõ of ſoules, & ouerthrowen of the pure and old Religion. Peuen. &c.

This Appeale being put vp to the Biſhop of Ely, he ſaid: My Lord, our Commiſſion is to proceede agaynſt you, omni appellatione remota: and therfore we can not admit it.

Talke betwen D. Thurlby and the Archb. about the appeale.

Why (quoth he) then you do me the more wrong: for my caſe is not as euery priuate mãs caſe. The matter is betwene the pope and me immediatè, and none otherwyſe: and I thinke no man ought to be a iudge in hys owne cauſe.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted, it ſhall, and ſo receiued it of him. And then began he to perſuade earneſtly with the Archbyſhop to conſider his ſtate, and to way it wel, while there was time to do him good, promiſing to become a ſuter to the Kyng and Queene for him: and ſo proteſted his great loue and frendſhyp that had ben betwen thẽ, hartely weepyng, ſo that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After goyng forward, he earneſtly affirmed, that if it had not ben the Kyng & Queenes commaundement, whom he could not deny, els no worldly commoditie ſhould haue made hym to haue done it, concluding that to be one of the ſorowfulleſt things that euer happened vnto him. The Archbyſhop gently ſeemyng to comfort hym, ſayd he was very well cõtent withall: and ſo proceded they to his degradation: the perfect forme wherof, with all the rites and ceremonies therto apperteining, taken out of ẏ Popes Põtificall, becauſe it is already deſcribed at full in our former booke of Monumentes, I ſhall referre the reader to the ſame, which he ſhall find pag. 1493.

Thurlby weepeth for the Archb.

Of this forme of degradatiõ, read in the old boke of Actes pag. 1493.

Here then to be ſhort, when they came to take of his Palle (which is a ſolemne veſture of an Archb.) then ſayd he: which of you hath a Palle to take of my Palle? which imported as much as they being his inferiours, could not diſgrade him. Whereunto one of them ſayd, in that they were but Byſhops, they were his inferiours and not competent iudges: but beyng the popes delegates they might take his Palle, & ſo they did: and ſo procedyng, tooke euery thyng in order from him, as it was put on. Then a Barber clipped his heare round about, and the Byſhop ſcraped the tops of his fingers where he had ben annointed, wherein Byſhop Boner behaued him ſelfe as roughly and vnmanerly, as the other Byſhop was to him ſoft & gentle. Whiles they were thus doyng, all this (quoth the Archbyſhop) neded not: I had my ſelfe done with this geare lõg ago.

Laſt of all, they ſtriped him out of his gowne into his iacket, and put vppon him a poore yeoman Bedles gowne, full bare and nearely worne, and as euill fauoredly made as one might lightly ſee, and a townes mãs cap on his head, and ſo deliuered hym to the ſecular power.

After this pageant of degradation and all was finiſhed, then ſpake Lorde Boner ſaying to him: Now are you no Lord any more: and ſo whẽ ſoeuer he ſpake to the people of him (as he was continually barkyng agaynſt him) euer he vſed this terme: this Gentleman here. &c.

Lord Boner vnlordeth the Archbiſhop.

It is happy this Biſhop had ſo much maner yet to call him gentleman.

And thus with great cõpaſſion & pitie of euery man, in this euill fauored gowne was he caried to priſõ. Whõ there folowed a Gentleman of Gloceſterſhyre with the Archbyſhops own gowne, who ſtandyng by, and being thought to be toward one of the Byſhops, had it deliuered to him: who by the way talkyng with hym, ſayd: the Biſhop of Ely proteſted his frendſhip with teares. Yea (ſayd he) hee might haue vſed a great deale more frendſhyp toward me, and neuer haue bene the worſe thought on, for I haue well deſerued it: and goyng in to the priſon vp with him, ared him if he would drinke. Who aunſwered him, ſaying: if he had a peece of ſalte fiſh, that he had better will to eate: for he had bene that day ſomwhat troubled with thys matter, and had eaten litle, but now that it is paſt, my hart (ſaid he) is wel quieted. Whereupon the Gentleman ſayd he would giue hym money wyth all hys hart, for he was able to do it. But he beyng one toward the law, and fearing maſter Farmers caſe, durſt therefore geue hym nothing, but gaue money to the Bailiffes that ſtood by, and ſayd, that if they were good men, they would beſtow it on him: for my Lord of Canterbury had not one peny in his purſe

Curteſy ſhewed to the Archb. by a gentleman.

This *Farmer* had loſt all his landes for releuing a prieſt in the Tower in King *Henryes* tyme.

to helpe hym, and ſo left hym, my Lorde bidding hym earneſtly farewell, commending hym ſelfe to his prayers and all hys frendes. That night this Gentleman was ſtayd by Boner and Ely, for geuing hym this money: and but by the helpe of frendes had bene ſent vp to the Counſell. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of yͤ tyme, that men could not do good without puniſhmēt.

The gentleman in daunger for releuing the Archbiſhop.

¶ Here followeth the recantation of the Archb. with his repentance for the ſame.

IN this meane tyme, while the Archbiſhop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept nowe in priſon almoſt the ſpace of thrée yeares) the Doctors and Diuines of Oxforde buſied them ſelues all that euer they could, about M. Cranmer, to haue him recant, aſſaying by all craftie practiſes and allurementes they might deuyſe, how to bring their purpoſe to paſſe. And to the entent they might wyn hym eaſely, they had him to the Deanes houſe of CHRISTES church in the ſaid Vniuerſity, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowles, had hys pleaſure for walkyng, and al other things that might bring him from CHRIST. Ouer and beſides al this, ſecretly and ſleightly they ſuborned certayne men, which when they coulde not expugne hym by arguments and diſputation, ſhould by entreaty and fayre promiſes, or any other meanes allure hym to recantation: perceyuing otherwyſe what a great wound they ſhould receiue, if the Archbiſhop had ſtoode ſtedfaſt in hys ſentence: and agayne on the other ſide, how great profit they ſhould get, if he as the principall ſtanderd bearer, ſhould be ouerthrowē. By reaſō wherof yͤ wyly Papiſts flocked about him, wyth threatning, flattering, entreating & promiſing, & all other meanes: eſpecially Henry Sydall, and Frier Iohn a Spaniarde, De villa Garcina, to the end to driue him to the vttermoſt of their poſſibility, from hys former ſentēce, to recantation.

Perſwaſiōs of the Papiſtes to the Archb. to recant.

Firſt they ſet forth how acceptable it would be both to the kyng and Quéene, and eſpecially how gaynful to hym, and for hys ſoules helth the ſame ſhould be. They added moreouer, how the Counſell and the noble men bare hym good wyll. They put hym in hope, that hee ſhould not onely haue hys lyfe, but alſo bee reſtored to hys auncient dignity, ſaying it was but a ſmall matter, and ſo eaſy that they required him to do, onelye that he would ſubſcribe to a few wordes with hys own hand, which if he dyd, there ſhould bee nothing in the realme that the Quéene would not eaſely graunt him, whither he would haue riches or dignity, or els if hee had rather lyue a priuate life in quiet reſt, in whatſoeuer place he lyſted, without all publicke miniſtery, onely that hee would ſet his name in two wordes to a litle leafe of paper: but if he refuſed, there was no hope of health and pardon: for the Quene was ſo purpoſed that ſhe would haue Cranmer a Catholicke, or els no Cranmer at al: Therefore, he ſhould chuſe whether hee thought it better to end hys lyfe ſhortly in the flames and firebrands now ready to be kyndeled, then with much honour to prolong his life, vntyll the courſe of nature did cal him: for there was no myddle way.

Moreouer, they exhorted hym that he would looke to hys wealth, hys eſtimation and quietnes, ſaying, hee was not ſo old, but that many yeares yet remayned in this hys ſo luſty age: and if he woulde not doe it in reſpect of the Quene, yet he ſhould do it for reſpect of his lyfe, & not ſuffer that other mē ſhould be more carefull for hys health, then he was hym ſelfe, ſaying: this was agreable to hys notable learning and vertues, which being adioyned wyth his lyfe, would be profitable both to hym ſelfe, and to many other: but beyng extinct by death, ſhould be fruitful to no man: that he ſhould take good hede that he went not to farre: yet there was time inough to reſtore all thing ſafe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to hym ſelfe. Therfore they would him to lay hold vpon the occaſion of hys health while it was offered, leſt if hee would nowe refuſe it while it was offred, hee might hereafter ſéeke it when he could not haue it.

Finally, if the deſire of lyfe dyd nothing moue hym, yet he ſhould remember that to dye is greuous in all ages, and eſpecially in theſe hys yeres and flower of dignitie it were more gréeuous: but to dye in the fire and ſuch torments, is moſt greuous of all. Wyth theſe and like prouocations theſe faire flatterers ceaſed not to ſolicite and vrge him, vſing al meanes they could to drawe him to their ſide: whoſe force his manly cōſtancie dyd a great whyle reſiſt: but at laſt when they made no end of calling and crying vpon hym, the Archbiſhop being ouercome, whether through their importunitie, or by hys own imbecillity, or of what mynde I can not tell, at length gaue hys hand.

The Archb. contented to recant.

It might be ſuppoſed that it was done for the hope of lyfe, and better dayes to come. But as wee maye ſince perceaue by a letter of his ſent to a Lawyer, the moſt cauſe why he deſired hys tyme to be delayed, was that he wold make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun: but howſoeuer it was, playne it was to bee agaynſt hys conſcience. The forme of which recantation made by the Friers and Doctors, whereunto he ſubſcribed, was this.

Cauſes mouing the Archb to geue with the tyme.

¶ The copy and wordes of Cranmers recantation.

I Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, do renounce, abhorre, and deteſt all maner of hereſies and errours of Luther and Zwinglius, and all other teachinges which be contrary to ſound and true doctrines. And I beleue moſt conſtantly in my hart, and wyth my mouth I confeſſe one holy and Catholicke church viſible, without the which there is no ſaluation, and therof I knowledge the Biſhop of Rome to bee ſupreme head in earth, whom I knowledge to be the hygheſt Biſhop and Pope, and CHRISTES Vicar, vnto whom all chriſten people ought to be ſubiect.

The copy of Cranmers recantation ſparſed abroad by the Papiſtes.

And as concerning the Sacramentes, I beleue and worſhip in the Sacrament of the aultar the very body and bloud of CHRIST, being contayned moſt truly vnder the formes of bread and wyne, the breade through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, and the wyne into his bloud.

And in the other .vj. ſacraments alſo (lyke as in this) I beleue and hold, as the vniuerſall church holdeth and the Church of Rome iudgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I beleue, that there is a place of purgatory, where ſoules departed be puniſhed for a tyme, for whom the church doth godly and wholſomely pray, lyke as it doth honour Saintes and make prayers to them.

Finally in all thinges I profeſſe, that I do not otherwyſe beleue, then the Catholicke church, and the church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am ſory that euer I held or thought otherwiſe. And I beſech almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchſafe to forgiue me, whatſoeuer I haue offended agaynſt God or his church, and alſo I deſyre & beſech all chriſtian people to pray for me.

And all ſuch as haue bene deceiued either by myne example or doctrine, I requyre them by the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, yͭ they will returne to the vnity of the church that we may be all of one mynd, without ſchiſme or diuiſion.

And to conclude, I ſubmit my ſelfe to the Catholicke church of CHRIST, and to the ſupreme head thereof, ſo I ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the moſt excellent maieſties of Phillip and Mary, king and Quene of this realm of England. &c. and to all their lawes and ordinaunces, being ready alwayes as a faythfull ſubiect euer to obey them. And God is my witnes that I haue not done this for fauour or feare of any perſon, but willingly and of myne owne mynde, aſwell to the charge of myne owne conſcience, as to the inſtruction of other.

This recātation of the Archbiſhop was not ſo ſoone conceaued, but the Doctours & Prelats without delay cauſed the ſame to be imprinted and ſet abroad in all mens hands. Wherunto for better credit, firſt was added the name of Thom. Cranmer with a ſolemne ſubſcription, then followed the witneſſes of this recantation, Henry Sydall, and Frier Iohn De villa Garcina.

cina. All this while Cranmer was in no certaine aſſuraũce of his life, although the ſame was faithfully promiſed to him by the Doctours: but after that they had their purpoſe, the reſt they committed to all aduenture, as became men of that Religion to do.

The Quéene hauyng now gotten a tyme to reuẽge her old grief, receaued his recantation very gladly: but of her purpoſe to put him to death, ſhe would nothyng relent. Now was Cranmers cauſe in a miſerable takyng, who neither inwardly had any quietnes in his owne conſcience, nor yet outwardly any helpe in hys aduerſaries. Beſides this, on the one ſide was prayſe, on the other ſide ſcorne, on both ſides daunger, ſo that neither he could dye honeſtly, nor yet vnhoneſtly lyue: And where as he ſought profite, he fell into double diſprofite, that neither with good mẽ he could auoyd ſecret ſhame, nor yet with euill mẽ the note of diſſimulation.

The Queenes ut ſet ganſt anmer.

anmer n miſe- atecaſe.

In the meane tyme while theſe thinges were a doyng (as I ſayd) in the priſon among the Doctours: the Quéene takyng ſecrete counſell, how to diſpatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her ſecret hate, and looked for nothyng leſſe then death) appointed D. Cole, and ſecretly gaue him in cõmaundement, that agaynſt the 21. of March, he ſhould prepare a funerall Sermon for Cranmers burnyng, and ſo inſtructing hym orderly and diligently of her will & pleaſure in that behalfe, ſendeth him away.

Soone after, the Lord Williams of Tame, and the Lord Shandoys Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir Iohn Browne were ſent for, with other worſhipful men and Iuſtices, commaunded in the Quéenes name, to be at Oxford at the ſame day, with their ſeruaũtes & retinue, leſt Cranmers death ſhould raiſe there any tumult.

The Queene nferreth ith Doct. Cole out Cranmers rning.

L. Williams of Thame, L. Shandys Syr Tho. Bryges, Syr Iohn Browne, ppoynted be at Cranmers ution.

Cole the Doctour hauyng his leſſon geuen hym before, and charged by her commaundement, returned to Oxford ready to play his part, who as the day of execution drew nere, euen the day before came into the priſon to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the Catholicke fayth wherein before he had left hym. To whom, when Cranmer had aunſwered, that by Gods grace he would dayly be more confirmed in the Catholicke faith: Cole departing for that time, the next day folowyng repaired to the Archbiſhop agayne, geuyng no ſignification as yet of his death that was prepared: And therefore in the mornyng, which was the 21. day of March appointed for Cranmers executiõ, the ſaid Cole cõmyng to hym aſked, if he had any money. To whom when he aũſwered that he had none, he deliuered him 15. crownes to geue the poore to whom he would: and ſo exhortyng him ſo much as hee could to conſtancy in fayth, departed thence about his buſines, as to hys Sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other lyke arguments, the Archbiſhop began more and more to ſurmiſe what they went about. Then, becauſe the day was not farre paſt, and the Lords and knightes that were loked for, were not yet come, there came to hym the ſpaniſh Fryer, witnes of hys recantation, bringing a paper wyth articles, which Cranmer ſhould openly profeſſe in hys recantation before the people, earneſtly deſyring that he would wryte the ſayd inſtrument with the articles with his own hand, and ſigne it with his name: which whẽ he had done, the ſaid Frier deſired that he would wryte an other copy therof which ſhould remaine with him, and that he did alſo. But yet the Archbyſhop being not ignoraunt whereunto their ſecrete deuiſes tended, and thinking that the tyme was at hand, in which he could no longer diſſemble the profeſſion of his faith with *CHRISTES* people, hee put ſecretely in his boſome his prayer with his exhortatiõ, writtẽ in an other paper, which he mynded to recite to yͤ people before he ſhould make the laſt profeſſion of his fayth, fearing leſt if they had heard the confeſſion of his fayth firſt, they would not afterward haue ſuffered hym to exhort the people.

Cranmer riteth & ſcribeth e Arti- es with s owne nd.

Soone after, about .ix. of the clocke, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir Iohn Browne, and the other Iuſtices with certayne other noble men, that were ſent of the Quéenes counſell, came to Oxforde wyth a great trayne of wayting men. Alſo of the other multitude on euery ſyde (as is woont in ſuch a matter) was made a great concourſe and greater expectation. For firſt of all they that were of the Popes ſide, were in great hope that day to heare ſomething of Cranmer that ſhould ſtabliſh the vanity of their opinion: the other part which were endued wͭ a better mynde, could not yet doubt, that he which by cõtinuall ſtudy and labour, for ſo many yeres had ſet forth the doctrine of the Goſpell, either would or coulde nowe in the laſt Act of his lyfe forſake hys part. Briefly, as euery mans will enclyned, eyther to this part or to that, ſo according to the diuerſitie of their deſyres, euery man wiſhed and hoped for. And yet becauſe in an vncertayne thing the certaynty could be knowen of none what would be the end: all their myndes were hanging betwene hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in ſo doubtfull a matter, the more was the multitude that were gathered thether to heare and behold.

In thys ſo great frequence and expectation, Cranmer at length commeth from the priſon Bocardo, vnto S. Maries church (becauſe it was a foule and a rainy day) the chiefe church in the Vniuerſity, in this order. The Mayor went before, next him the Aldermen in their place and degrée: after them was Cranmer brought, betwene two Fryers, which mombling to and fro certayne Pſalmes in the ſtréetes, aunſwered one an other vntill they came to the Church doore, and there they began the ſong of Simeon, Nunc dimittis: and entring into the church, the Pſalmeſaying Friers brought him to his ſtanding, and there left him. There was a ſtage ſet vp ouer agaynſt the Pulpit, of a meane height from the ground, where Cranmer had his ſtanding, waytyng vntyll Cole made hym ready to hys Sermon.

D. Cranmer brought to *Doct. Coles* Sermon.

Cranmer ſet vp vpon yͤ ſtage.

The lamentable caſe and ſight of that man gaue a ſorowfull ſpectacle to all Chriſten eies that beheld him. He yͭ late was Archbiſhop, Metropolitane, & Primate of England, and the kynges priuy Counſellour, being now in a bare and ragged gowne, and ill fauoredly clothed, with an old ſquare cap, expoſed to yͤ contempt of all men, dyd admoniſhe men not onely of his owne calamity, but alſo of their ſtate and fortune. For who would not pity his caſe, and bewayle his fortune, and might not feare his own chaunce, to ſée ſuch a Prelate, ſo graue a Coũſellour, & of ſo long continued honour, after ſo many dignities, in hys old yeares to be depryued of hys eſtate, adiudged to dye, and in ſo paynfull a death to end hys lyfe, & now preſently frõ ſuch freſh ornamentes, to deſcend to ſuch vyle & ragged apparell?

In thys habite when hee had ſtoode a good ſpace vppon the ſtage, turning to a piller neare adioining thereunto, hee lifted vp his handes to heauen, and prayed vnto God once or twiſe: till at the length Doctour Cole comming into the Pulpit, and beginnyng hys Sermon, entred firſt into mencion of Tobias and Zachary. Whõ after that he had praiſed in the beginning of hys Sermon for their pereſeuerance in yͤ true worſhipping of God, he then deuyded hys whole Sermon into thrée partes (according to the ſolemne cuſtome of the ſcholes) entending to ſpeake firſt of the mercy of God, ſecondly of hys iuſtice to be ſhewed: and laſt of all, how the Princes ſecretes are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, hee toke occaſion by and by to turne his tale to Cranmer, and wyth many hote wordes reproued hym, that once hee being endued wyth the fauour and féeling of holeſome and catholicke doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicions errour, which he had not onely defended by writinges and all his power: but alſo allured other men to do the lyke, with great liberalitie of giftes, as it were, appoynting rewardes for errour:

Doct. Coles ſermon diuided into thrée partes.

The ſumme and effect of *Doct. Coles* Sermon at Oxford.

and after he had allured them, by all meanes did cheriſh them.

It were to long to repete all thinges, that in long order were then pronounced. The ſumme of this tripartite declamatiō was, that he ſayd Gods mercy was ſo tempered with hys iuſtice, that he did not altogether requyre puniſhment according to the merites of offenders, nor yet ſometymes ſuffred the ſame altogether to goe vnpuniſhed, yea though they had repented. As in Dauid, who when hee was bidden chuſe of thrée kyndes of puniſhment which he would, and hee had choſen peſtilence for thrée daies: the Lord forgaue him halfe the time, but did not releaſe all: And that the ſame thing came to paſſe in him alſo, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the Canons, ſeing he repented from his errors: yet ther were cauſes why the Quéene and the Counſell at this tyme iudged hym to death: of which, leſt he ſhould maruell to much, he ſhould heare ſome.

If Cole gaue this iudgemēt vpō *Cranmer* when he had repented, what iudgement is then to be geuē of *Cole* which alwayes hath perdured in errour, and neuer yet repented.

Firſt, that being a traitour, he had diſſolued the lawfull matrimony betwene the kyng her father and mother: beſides the driuing out of the Popes authoritye, whyle he was Metropolitane.

Secondly, that he had bene an hereticke, from whō as from an authour and onely fountayne, all hereticall doctrine and ſchiſmaticall opinions that ſo many yeres haue preuayled in England, dyd firſt ryſe and ſpryng: of which he had not bene a ſecrete fauourer onely, but alſo a moſt earneſt defender euen to the end of his life, ſowing them abroad by writings and arguments, priuately and openly, not wythout great ruine and decay of the catholicke church.

If all heretikes in England ſhould be burned, where ſhoulde *Doctour Cole* haue bene ere now.

And further, it ſéemed méete, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late, made euen with Thomas More Chaūcellour that dyed for the church, ſo there ſhoulde be one that ſhould make euen with Fiſher of Rocheſter: and becauſe that Ridley, Hoper, Ferrar, were not able to make euen with that man, it ſéemed méete, that Cranmer ſhould bee ioyned to them to fill vp thys part of equalitye.

Lex nō æqualitatis, ſed iniquitatis.

Beſide theſe, there were other iuſt and weightye cauſes, which ſéemed to the Quéene and the Counſell, which was not méete at that tyme to be opened to the common people.

After thys, turning hys tale to the hearers, he bad al men beware by thys mans example, that among men nothing is ſo high, that can promiſe it ſelfe ſafetye on the earth, and that Gods vengeaunce is equally ſtretched agaynſt all men, and ſpareth none: therfore they ſhould beware and learne to feare their Prince. And ſeing the Quéenes maieſty would not ſpare ſo notable a man as this, much leſſe in the lyke cauſe ſhee woulde ſpare other men, that no man ſhoulde thinke to make thereby any defence of hys errour, eyther in riches or any kynde of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whoſe calamitie euerye man myght conſider hys own fortune: who from the top of dignitie, none beyng more honorable then hee in the whole realme, and next the kyng, was fallen into ſo great miſery, as they might now ſée, being a man of ſo high degrée, ſomtime one of the chiefeſt Prelats in the church and an Archbiſhop, the chiefe of the Coūſell, the ſecond perſon in the realme of long tyme, a man thought in greateſt aſſurance, hauing a kyng on hys ſide: notwithſtanding all hys authoritye and defence to bee debaſed from high eſtate, to a low degrée, of a Counſellour to become a caitiffe, and to be ſet in ſo wretched a ſtate, that the pooreſt wretch woulde not chaunge condition wyth hym: briefly ſo heaped with miſery on all ſides, that neyther was left in hym any hope of better fortune, nor place for worſe.

No ſtate in this earth ſo hye nor ſo ſure, but it may fall.

The latter part of hys ſermon hee conuerted to the Archbiſhop: whō he comforted and encouraged to take hys death well, by many places of ſcripture, as wyth theſe and ſuch lyke: bidding him not miſtruſt, but he ſhould incōtinently receiue that yͤ théefe dyd, to whom *CHRIST* ſayd: Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo. i. *This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe.* And out of S. Paule he armed hym agaynſt the terrour of the fire, by this: Dominus fidelis eſt, non ſinet vos tentari vltra quàm ferre poteſtis. i. *The Lord is faithfull which wyll not ſuffer you to be tempted aboue your ſtrength*, by the example of the thrée children, to whom God made the flame to ſéeme like a pleaſant dew, adding alſo yͤ reioyſing of S. Andrew in hys croſſe, the pacience of S. Laurence on the fire, aſſuring him, that God, if hee called on hym, and to ſuch as dye in hys fayth, either would abate the fury of the flame, or geue hym ſtrength to abyde it.

Doct. Cole encourageth the Archb. to take hys death patiently.

1. Cor. 10.

He glorified God much in his conuerſion, becauſe it appeared to be onely hys worke, declaring what trauel and conference had bene wyth him to conuert him, and all preuayled not tyll that it pleaſed God of hys mercy to reclaime hym, and call hym home. In diſcourſing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified hys former doinges, thus tempering hys iudgement and talke of hym, that whyle the tyme (ſayd he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was vnworthy of hys lyfe: and now that he might not liue, he was vnworthy of death. But leſt he ſhould cary with him no cōfort, he would diligently labour (he ſayd) & alſo he did promiſe in yͤ name of all yͤ Prieſtes that were preſent, that immediately after hys death, there ſhoulde bee Diriges, Maſſes, and funerals executed for hym in all the churches of Oxford for the ſuccour of hys ſoule.

Doct. Cole reioyſeth in the Archbiſhops conuerſion, but that reioyſing laſted not long.

Diriges and Maſſes promiſed for *Cranmers* ſoule.

Cranmer in all this meane tyme with what great grief of minde he ſtoode hearing this ſermō, yͤ outward ſhewes of his body & countenaunce did better expreſſe, then any mā cā declare: one while lifting vp his hands and eyes vnto heauen, and then agayne for ſhame letting them down to the earth. A man might haue ſeene the very image and ſhape of perfite ſorrowe lyuely in hym expreſſed. More then twenty ſeuerall tymes the teares guſhed out aboundantly, dropped downe marueilouſly from hys fatherly face. They which wer preſent doe teſtify, that they neuer ſaw in any childe more teares, then braſt out from hym at that tyme, al the ſermon whyle: but ſpecially when he recited hys prayer before the people. It is marueilous what commiſeration and pity moued all mens harts, that beheld ſo heauy a countenaunce and ſuch aboundance of teares in an old man of ſo reuerend dignity.

The teares of the Archb.

Cole after he had ended his ſermon, called backe the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. Brethren (ſayd hee) leſt any man ſhould doubt of this mans earneſt conuerſion and repentaunce, you ſhall heare hym ſpeake before you, and therefore I pray you Maſter Cranmer, that you wyll nowe performe that you promiſed not long ago, namely that you would openly expreſſe the true and vndoubted profeſſion of your fayth, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from men, and that all men may vnderſtand that you are a catholicke in déede. I wyll do it (ſayd the Archbiſhop) and wyth a good wyll: who by and by riſing vp, and putting of his cap, began to ſpeake thus vnto the people.

Cranmer required to declare his fayth.

Cranmer willing to declare his fayth.

I deſire you welbeloued brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgeue me my ſinnes, which aboue all men both in number and greatnes, I haue committed: but among all the reſt, there is one offence which of all at this tyme doth vexe and trouble me, wherof in proceſſe of my talke you ſhal heare more in his proper place, and then puttyng his hand into his boſome, he drew forth hys Prayer, which he recited to the people in this ſenſe.

The wordes of the Archb. to the people.

¶ *The Prayer of Doct. Cranmer Archbyſhop.*

GOod Chriſten people, my dearely beloued brethren & ſiſters in *CHRIST*, I beſech you moſt hartely to pray

The prayer of the Archb.

pray for me to almighty God, that he will forgeue me all my ſinnes and offenſes, which be many, without nūber, & great aboue meaſure. But yet one thing greueth my cōſcience more then al yͤ reſt, wherof God willyng, I entend to ſpeake more hereafter. But how great & how many ſoeuer my ſinnes be, I beſech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon & forgeue thē all. And here knælyng down, he ſaid: *O father of heauē: O ſonne of God redemer of the world: O holy Ghoſt three perſons and one God, haue mercy vpō me moſt wretched caitiſe and miſerable ſinner. I haue offended both againſt heauē & earth more then my toung can expreſſe. Whether then may I go, or whether ſhould I flie? To heauē I may be aſhamed to lift vp mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or ſuccour. To thee therfore (O Lord) do I runne: to thee do I humble my ſelfe, ſaying: O Lord my God, my ſins be great, but yet haue mercy vpō me for thy great mercy. The great miſtery that God became man, was not wrought for litle or few offenſes. Thou diddeſt not geue thy ſonne (O heauenly father) vnto death for ſmall ſinnes onely, but for all the greateſt ſinnes of the world, ſo that the ſinner returne to thee with his whole hart, as I do here at this preſent. Wherfore haue mercy on me O God, whoſe propertie is alwayes to haue mercy: haue mercy vpō me O lord, for thy great mercy. I craue nothing O Lord, for myne owne merites, but for thy names ſake, that it may be halowed therby, and for thy deare ſonne IESVS CHRISTES ſake: And now therfore, our father of heauen, halowed be thy name. &c.* And then he ryſing, ſayd:

The pra-yer of Archb. Cranmer.

Euery man (good people) deſireth at the time of their death to geue ſome good exhortation, that other may remember the ſame before their death, and be the better thereby: ſo I beſech God graunt me grace, that I may ſpeake ſome thyng at this my departyng, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

The laſt wordes of exhortatiō of the Archb. to the people.

Firſt, it is an heauy caſe to ſee that ſo many folke be ſo much doted vpō the loue of this falſe world, and ſo carefull for it, that of the loue of God, or the world to come, they ſeeme to care very litle or nothing. Therfore this ſhalbe my firſt exhortatiō, that you ſet not your mindes ouer much vpon this gloſing world, but vpon God and vpon the world to come: & to learne to know what this leſſon meaneth, which S. Iohn teacheth, *that the loue of thys world is hatred agaynſt God.*

Exhortation to contempt of the world.

The ſecond exhortation is, that next vnder God you obey your Kyng and Queene willyngly and gladly, without murmuryng or grudgyng: not for feare of them onely, but much more for yͤ feare of God: knowyng that they be Gods miniſters, appointed by God to rule and gouerne you: and therfore who ſoeuer reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God.

Exhortation to obedience.

The third exhortatiō is, that you loue altogether like brethren and ſiſters. For alas, pitie it is to ſee what contention and hatred one Chriſten mā beareth to an other, not taking ech other as brother and ſiſter, but rather as ſtraungers and mortal enemyes. But I pray you learne and beare well away this one leſſon, to do good vnto al men, aſmuch as in you lyeth, and to hurt no mā, no more then you would hurt your owne naturall louyng brother or ſiſter. For this you may be ſure of, that who ſoeuer hateth any perſon & goeth about maliciouſly to hinder or hurt him, ſurely and without al doubt, God is not with that man, although he thinke him ſelfe neuer ſo much in Gods fauour.

Exhortation to brotherly loue.

The fourth exhortatiō ſhalbe to them that haue great ſubſtaunce and riches of this world, that they will well conſider and wey three ſayinges of the Scripture. One is of our Sauior CHRIST hym ſelf, who ſayth: *It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdome of heauen.* A ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoken of hym that knoweth the truth. The ſecond is of S. Iohn, whoſe ſaying is this: *He that hath the ſubſtance of this world, and ſeeth his brother in neceſsitie, and ſhutteth vp his mercy from him, how cā he ſay that he loueth God?* The third is of S. Iames, who ſpeaketh to yͤ couetous rich man after this maner: *Weepe you and howle for the miſery that ſhall come vpon you: your riches do rotte, your clothes be moth eaten, your gold and ſiluer doth canker and ruſt, and their ruſt ſhal beare witnes agaynſt you, and conſume you lyke fire: you gather a horde or treaſure of Gods indignation agaynſt the laſt day.* Let them that be rich, ponder well theſe three ſentences: for if euer they had occaſion to ſhew their charitie, they haue it now at this preſent, the poore people beyng ſo many, and victuals ſo deare.

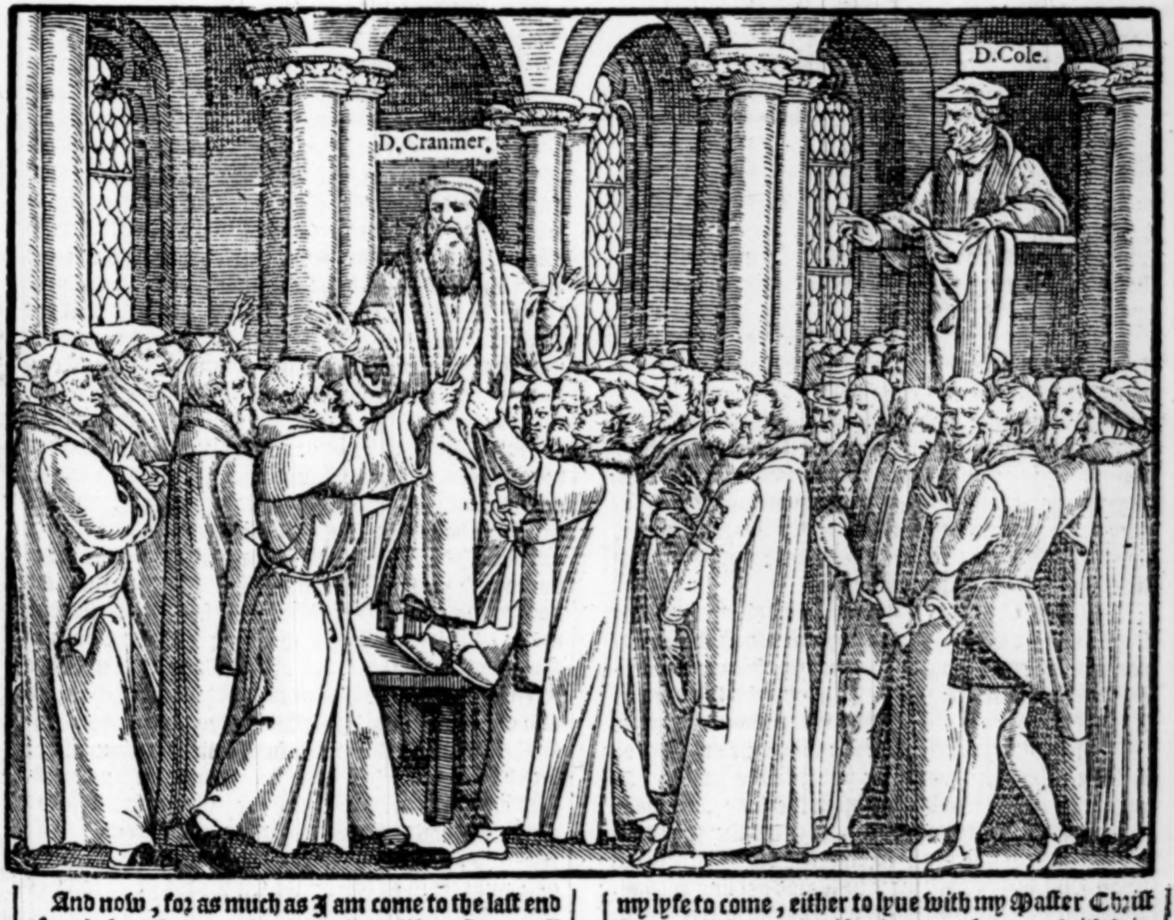
Exhortation to rich men of this world, mouing them to charitable almes.

Luke.18.

1.Iohn.3.

Iacob.5.

¶The deſcription of Doct. Cranmer, how he was plucked downe from the ſtage by Friers and Papiſtes, for the true confeſſion of hys fayth.


D.Cranmer.
D.Cole.

The maner of Fryers and Prieſtes pluckyng downe *Cranmer* from the ſtage.

And now, for as much as I am come to the laſt end of my lyfe, wherupon hangeth all my life paſte, and all my lyfe to come, either to lyue with my Maſter Chriſt for euer in ioy, or els to be in payne for euer with wicked deuils in hell, and I ſee before myne eyes preſently either heauen ready to receiue me, or els hell ready to ſwallow me vp: I ſhall therfore declare vnto you my very fayth how I beleue, without any colour or diſſimulation: for now is no tyme to diſſemble, what ſoeuer I haue ſayd or written in time paſt.

The Archb. declareth the true confeſſion of his fayth without all colour or diſſembling.

Firſt, I beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth. &c. And I beleue euery Article of the Catholicke faith, euery word and ſentence taught by our Sauiour *IESVS CHRIST*, his Apoſtles & Prophetes, in the new and old Teſtament.

The Archb. renoketh his former recantation and repenteth the ſame.

And now I come to yͤ great thyng that ſo much troubleth my conſciēce more then any thing that euer I did or ſayd in my whole life, and that is the ſettyng abroad of a writyng contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuſe as thynges written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my hart, and writtē for feare of death, and to ſaue my lyfe if it might be, and that is, all ſuch billes and papers which I haue written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation: wherin I haue written many thinges vntrue. And for as much as my hand offended, writyng contrary to my hart, my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed therfore: for may I come to the fire, it ſhalbe firſt burned.

The Archb. refuſeth the Pope as Chriſtes enemy, and Antichriſt.

And as for the Pope, I refuſe him as *CHRISTES* enemy and Antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine.

The Archb. ſtandeth to his booke written againſt *Winchester*.

And as for the Sacrament, I beleue as I haue taught in my booke agaynſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the which my booke teacheth ſo true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it ſhall ſtand at the laſt day before the iudgement of God, where the Papiſticall doctrine contrary therto, ſhalbe aſhamed to ſhew her face.

The expectation of the papiſtes deceaued.

Here the ſtanders by were all aſtonyed, maruailed, were amaſed, did looke one vpō an other, whoſe expectation he had ſo notably deceiued. Some began to admoniſh him of his recantation, & to accuſe hym of falſhode.

Briefly, it was a world to ſee the Doctours begyled of ſo great an hope. I thinke there was neuer crueltie more notably or better in tyme deluded and deceiued. For it is not to bee doubted but they looked for a glorious victorie and a perpetuall triumph by this mans retractation. Who as ſoone as they heard theſe thynges, began to let downe their eares, to rage, fret, and fume: and ſo much the more, becauſe they could not reuenge their griefe: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the moſt miſerable man in the world can dye but once: and where as of neceſſitie he muſt needes dye that day, though the Papiſtes had bene neuer ſo well pleaſed: now being neuer ſo much offended with him, yet could he not be twiſe killed of them. And ſo when they could do nothyng els vnto him, yet leſt they ſhould ſay nothyng, they ceaſſed not to obiect vnto him hys falſehode and diſſimulation.

The papiſtes in a great chaffe againſt the Archb.

Cranmers anſwere to the papiſtes.

Vnto which accuſation he aunſwered: Ah my Maſters (quoth he) do not you take it ſo. Allwayes ſince I lyued hetherto, I haue bene a hater of falſehode, and a louer of ſimplicitie, and neuer before this tyme haue I diſſembled: and in ſaying this, all the teares that remained in his body, appeared in his eyes. And when he began to ſpeake more of the Sacrament and of the Papacy, ſome of them began to cry out, yalpe, and baule, and ſpecially Cole cried out vpon him: ſtoppe yͤ heretickes mouth, and take hym away.

Cranmer pulled downe from the ſtage.

Cranmer led to the fire.

And then Cranmer beyng pulled downe from the ſtage, was led to the fire, accompanied with thoſe Friers, vexyng, troublyng, and threatnyng him moſt cruelly. What madnes (ſay they) hath brought thee agayne into this errour, by which thou wilt drawe innumerable ſoules with thee into hell? To whom he aunſwered nothyng, but directed all his talke to the people, ſaying that to one troublyng him in the way, he ſpake and exhorted him to get hym home to his ſtudy, and apply his booke diligently, ſaying if he did diligently call vpon God, by readyng more he ſhould get knowledge. But the other Spaniſh barker, ragyng and fomyng, was almoſt out of his wittes, alwayes hauyng this in his mouth: Non feciſti? diddeſt thou it not?

The Archb. brought to the place of execution.

But when he came to the place where the holy Byſhops & Martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the cōfeſſion of yͤ truth: kneling downe, he prayed to God, and not long taryng in his prayers, puttyng of his garmentes to hys ſhirt, he prepared hym ſelfe to death. His ſhirt was made long downe to hys feete. His feete were bare. Lykewyſe his head, when both his cappes were of, was ſo bare, that not one heare could be ſene vpō it. His beard was long and thicke, couering his face with maruaylous grauity. Such a countenaunce of grauity moued the hartes, both of hys friendes and of his enemies.

M. Ely refuſeth to geue his hand to the Archb.

Then the Spaniſh Fryers, Iohn & Richard, of whō mention was made before, began to exhort hym & play their partes with him a freſh, but with vayne & loſt labour, Cranmer with ſtedfaſt purpoſe abydyng in the profeſſion of hys Doctrine, gaue hys hand to certayne old mē, and other that ſtode by, bidding them farewell. And when he had thought to haue done ſo lykewyſe to Ely, the ſayd Ely drew backe his hand and refuſed, ſaying: it was not lawfull to ſalute heretickes, and ſpecially ſuch a one as falſely returned vnto the opiniōs that he had forſworne. And if he had knowen before that he would haue done ſo, he would neuer haue vſed hys company ſo familiarly, and chid thoſe Sergeantes and Citizēs which had not refuſed to geue him their hands. This Ely was a Prieſt lately made, and ſtudēt in diuinitie, being then one of the fellowes of Braſennoſe.

The Archb. tyed to the ſtake.

Cranmer putteth his right hand which ſubſcribed firſt into the fire.

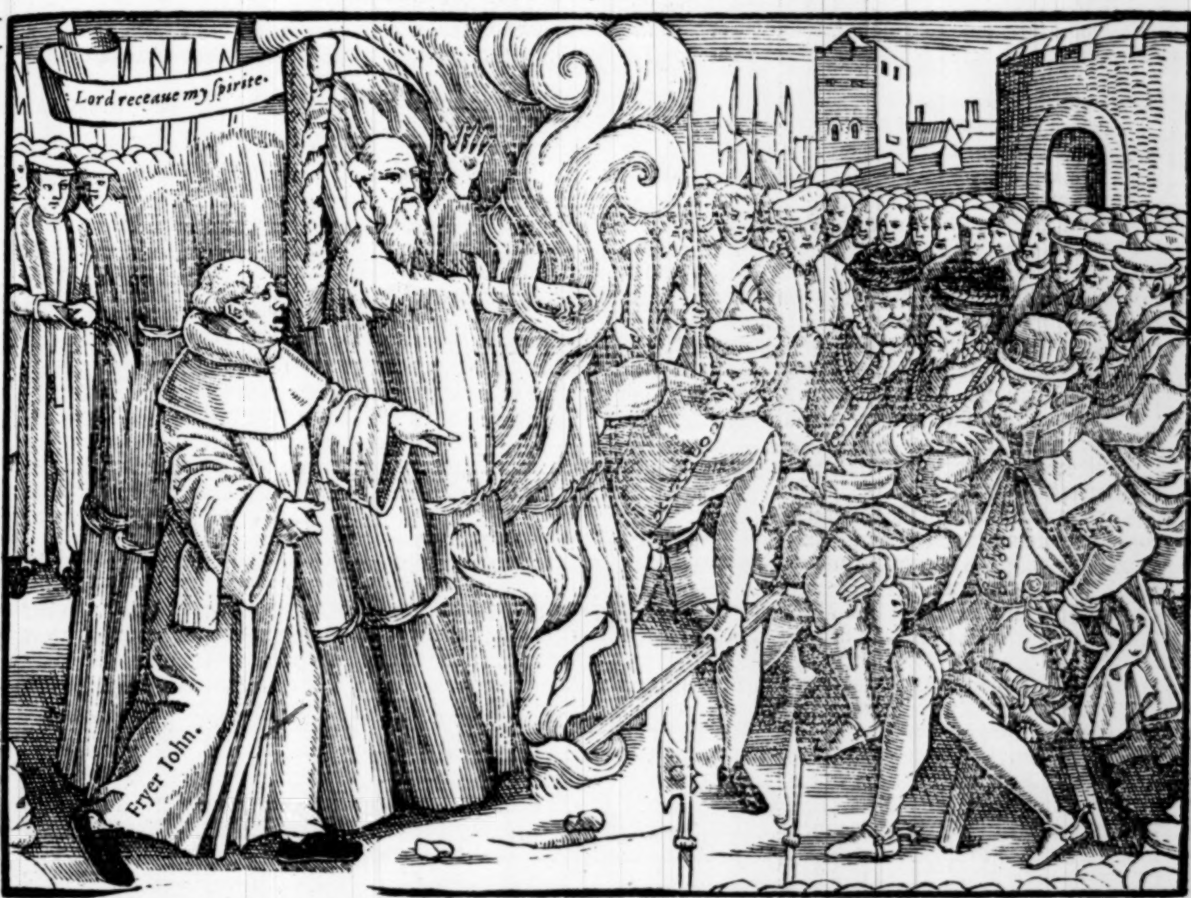
Then was an yron chayne tyed about Cranmer, whom when they perceiued to bee more ſtedfaſt then that he could be moued from his ſentence, they commaunded the fire to bee ſet vnto hym. And when the wood was kyndled, and the fire began to burne neare him, ſtretching out his arme, he put hys right hand into the flame: which he held ſo ſtedfaſt & immouable (ſauing that once with the ſame hand he wiped hys face) that all men might ſee hys hand burned before hys body was touched. Hys body did ſo abide the burning of the flame, with ſuch conſtancye and ſtedfaſtnes, that ſtanding allwayes in one place without mouing of hys body, hee ſeemed to moue no more then the ſtake to which he was bound: his eyes were lifted vp into heauen, and often tymes he repeated, hys vnworthy right hand, ſo long as his voice would ſuffer hym: and vſing often the wordes of Steuen, *Lord IESVS receiue my ſpirite*, in the greatnes of the flame, he gaue vp the ghoſt.

The laſt wordes of *Cranmer* at his death.

The fryers lying report of *Cranmer*.

This fortitude of mynd, which perchaunce is rare and not vſed among the Spaniards, when Frier Iohn ſaw, thinking it came not of fortitude but of deſperation (although ſuch maner examples which are of the like conſtancy haue bene common here in England) ran to the Lord Williams of Tame, crying that the Archbiſhop was vexed in mynd, and dyed in great deſperation. But he which was not ignorant of the Archbiſhops conſtancy, being vnknowen to the Spaniards, ſmyled onely, and (as it were) by ſilence rebuked the friers folly. And this was the end of this learned Archbiſhop, whom, leſt by euill ſubſcribing he ſhould haue periſhed, by well recanting God preſerued: and leſt he ſhould haue lyued longer with ſhame and reproofe, it pleaſed God rather to take him away, to yͤ glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church in fortifying the ſame with the teſtimony and bloud of ſuch a Martyr: and ſo good alſo to the man, wyth this croſſe of tribulation to purge hys offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but alſo of hys ſtanding againſt Iohn Lambert, and M. Allen, or if there were any other wyth whoſe burning & bloud his handes had bene before any thing polluted. But eſpecially hee had to reioyce, that dying in ſuch a cauſe, he was to bee numbred amongſt *CHRISTES* Martyrs, much more worthy the name of S. Thomas of Caunterbury then he whom the the Pope falſly before dyd Canoniſe.

The burning of the Archbiſhop of Cant. D. Tho. Cranmer, in the Towndich at Oxford, with his hand firſt thruſt into the fire, wherewith he ſubſcribed before.


Lord receaue my ſpirite.
Fryer Iohn.

The Martyrdome of Doct. Tho. Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterb. at Oxford. An. 1556. March. 21.

And thus haue you the full ſtory concerning the life and death of this reuerend Archbiſhop and Martyr of God Thomas Cranmer, and alſo of diuers other the learned ſort of CHRISTES Martyrs burned in Quene Maries tyme, of whom this Archbiſhop was the laſt, being burnt about the very middle tyme of the raygne of that Quéene, and almoſt the very middle man of al the Martyrs which were burned in al her raygne beſides.

Now, after the life and ſtory of this foreſaid Archbiſhop diſcourſed, let vs adioyne withall hys letters, beginning firſt wyth hys famous letter writtē to Quene Mary, which he wrote vnto her incontinent after hee was cited vp to Rome by biſhop Brokes and hys fellowes, the tenour whereof here followeth.

Letters of D. Tho. Cranmer Archb.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburies letter to the Queenes hyghnes.

IT may pleaſe your Maieſty to pardon my preſumption, that I dare be ſo bold to wryte to your highnes. But very neceſſity conſtrayneth me, that your Maieſtye may know my mynde rather by myne own writing, thē by other mens reportes. So it is that vpon wedenſday being the. 12. day of this moneth, I was cited to appeare at Rome, the. lxxx. day after, there to make aunſwer to ſuch matters as ſhould be obiected againſt me, vpon the behalfe of the kyng, and your moſt excellent Maieſtye: which matters the Thurſday following were obiected againſt me by Doctor Martyn, and Doct. Story your maieſties Proctours, before the biſhop of Gloceſter, ſittyng in iudgement by commiſſion from Rome. But (alas) it can not but greeue the hart of a naturall ſubiect, to be accuſed of the kyng and Queene of hys own realme: and ſpecially before an outward Iudge, or by authority comming from any perſon out of thys Realme: where the kyng and Queene, as they were ſubiectes within theyr own Realme, ſhall complayne, and require iuſtice at a ſtraungers hands againſt their own ſubiect, being alredy condemned to death by their own lawes: As though the kyng and Queene could not do or haue iuſtice within their own realmes, agaynſt their own ſubiectes, but they muſt ſeeke it at a ſtraungers handes in a ſtraunge land: the like whereof (I thinke) was neuer ſeene. I would haue wiſhed to haue had ſome meaner aduerſaries: and I thinke that death ſhall not greue me much more, then to haue my moſt dread and moſt gracious ſoueraygne Lord and Ladye, to whom vnder God I doe owe all obedience, to bee myne accuſers in iudgement, within their own Realme, before any ſtraunger and out warde power. But for as much as in the tyme of the Prince of moſt famous memory king Henry. VIII. your Graces father, I was ſworne neuer to conſent, that the biſhop of Rome ſhould haue or exerciſe any authority or iuriſdiction in this realme of England, therefore leſt I ſhould allow hys authoritie contrary to myne oth, I refuſed to make aunſwer to the biſhop of Gloceſter ſitting here in iudgement by the Popes authority, leſt I ſhould runne into periury.

The firſt cauſe why the Archb. would not make anſwere to the Popes delegate, is to auoyde periury.

An other cauſe why I refuſed the Popes authority is this, that hys authority, as he claymeth it, repugneth to the crowne imperiall of this Realme, and to the lawes of the ſame: which euery true ſubiect is bound to defend. Firſt, ſo that the Pope ſayth, that all maner of power, as well temporall as ſpiritual, is geuen firſt to him of God, and that the tēporall power he geueth vnto Emperours and kings to vſe it vnder hym, but ſo as it be alwaies at hys commaundement and becke.

The 2. cauſe is, that the Popes lawes are contrary to the crowne and lawes of England.

But contrary to this clayme, the Emperiall crowne and iuriſdiction temporal of this realme is taken immediatly from God, to be vſed vnder hym onely, and is ſubiect vnto none, but to God alone.

Moreouer, to the Emperiall lawes and cuſtomes of thys realme, the King in hys Coronation, and all Iuſtices when they receaue their offices, be ſworne, and al the whole realme is bound to defend and mayntayne. But contrary hereunto the Pope by his authoritye maketh voyde, and commaundeth to blot out of our bookes, all lawes and cuſtomes being repugnant to hys lawes, and declareth accurſed all Rulers and Gouernours, all the makers, writers & executors of ſuch lawes or cuſtomes: as it appeareth by many of the Popes lawes, whereof one or two I ſhall rehearſe. In the decrees Diſtinct. 10. is written thus: Conſtitutiones contra Canones & decreta præſulum Romanorum vel bonos mores, nullius ſunt momenti. That is: the conſtitutions or ſtatutes enacted againſt the Canons and decrees of the biſhops of Rome or their good cuſtomes, are of none effect. Alſo, Extra, de ſententia excommunicationis, nouerit: Excommunicamus omnes hæreticos vtriuſque ſexus, quocunq; nomine cenſeantur

The oth of the king & Iuſtices, and the duty of ſubiectes.

Diſt. 10. Conſtitutiones.

Extran. De Sententi. et re iudic. Nouerit.

tur, & fautores, & receptores, & defenſores eorum: nec non & qui de cætero ſeruari fecerint ſtatuta edita & conſuetudines, contra Eccleſiæ libertatem, niſi ea de capitularibus ſuis intra duos menſes poſt huiuſmodi publicationem ſententiæ fecerint amoueri. Item excommunicamus ſtatutarios, & ſcriptores ſtatutorum ipſorum, nec non poteſtates, conſules, rectores, & conſiliarios locorum, vbi de cætero huiuſmodi ſtatuta & conſuetudines editæ fuerint vel ſeruatæ: nec non & illos qui ſecundum ea præſumpſerint iudicare, vel in publicam formam ſcribere iudicata. That is to ſay: we excom-
” municate all heretickes of both ſexes, what name ſoeuer
” they be called by, and their fautors and receptors and
” defendors: and alſo them that ſhall hereafter cauſe to be
” obſerued ẏ ſtatutes & cuſtomes made agaynſt the liber-
” ty of the church, except they cauſe the ſame to be put out
” of their recordes and chapters within two monethes af-
” the publication hereof. Alſo we excommunicate the ſta-
” tute makers and wryters of thoſe ſtatutes, and all the
” poteſtates, conſuls, gouernours and counſellours of
” places where ſuch ſtatutes and cuſtomes ſhall be made
” or kept: and alſo thoſe that ſhall preſume to geue iudge-
” ment according to them, or ſhall notify in publicke forme
the matters ſo iudged.

Now by theſe lawes, if the Biſhop of Romes authority which he claimeth by God, be lawfull: all your graces lawes and cuſtomes of your realme, being contrary to the Popes lawes, be naught, and as well your maieſty as your Iudges, Iuſtices, and all other executors of the ſame, ſtand accurſed among heretickes, which God forbyd. And yet this curſe can neuer be auoyded (if the Pope haue ſuch power as he claimeth) vntill ſuch time as the lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme (being contrary to hys lawes) bee taken away and blotted out of the law bookes. And although there be many lawes of this realme cõtrary to the lawes of Rome, yet I named but a few: as to conuicte a Clarke before any temporall Iudge of this realme for debt, felony, murther, or for any other crime: which Clarkes by the Popes lawes be ſo exempt from the kings lawes, that they can be no where ſued, but before their Ordinary.

The Popes lawes and the lawes of England do vary, how and wherein.

Alſo the Pope by hys lawes may geue all biſhopriks and benefices ſpiritual, which by ẏ lawes of this realme can be geuen but onely by the king and other patrones of the ſame, except they fall into the lapſe.

Caſes wherein the Popes lawes repugne agaynſt our lawes.

By the Popes lawes Ius patronatus ſhall be ſued onely before the eccleſiaſticall Iudge: but by the lawes of this realme, it ſhall be ſued before the temporall Iudge.

And to be ſhort, the lawes of thys Realme doe agree with the Popes lawes like fire and water. And yet the kinges of this Realme haue prouided for their lawes by the Premunire: ſo that if any man haue let the execution of the lawes of this realme by any authority frõ the Sea of Rome, he falleth into the Premunire.

Prouiſion againſt the Popes lawes by premunire.

But to meete with this, the Popes haue prouided for their lawes by curſyng. For who ſo euer letteth the Popes lawes to haue full courſe within this realme, by the Popes power ſtandeth accurſed. So that the Popes power treadeth all the lawes & cuſtomes of this realme vnder his feete, curſing all that execute them, vntill ſuch tyme as they geue place vnto his lawes.

The prouiſo of the Pope agaynſt our Premunire.

But it may be ſayd, that notwithſtãding al the Popes decrees, yet we do execute ſtyll the lawes and cuſtomes of this realme. Nay, not all quietly without interruptiõ of the Pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it vniuſtly, if the Popes power be of force, and for the ſame we ſtand excommunicate, and ſhall do, vntill wee leaue the execution of our owne lawes and cuſtomes. Thus we bee well reconciled to Rome, allowing ſuch authority, whereby the realme ſtandeth accurſed before God, if the Pope haue any ſuch authority.

Marke this well.

Theſe thinges (as I ſuppoſe) were not fully opened in the Parlament houſe, when the Popes authority was receiued agayne within this realme: For if they had, I do not beleue that either the kyng or Queenes Maieſty, or the Nobles of this realme, or the Commons of the ſame woulde euer haue conſented to receiue agayne ſuch a forrayne authority, ſo iniurious, hurtfull, & preiudiciall as well to the crowne, as to the lawes and cuſtomes & ſtate of this realme, as wherby they muſt nedes acknowledge them ſelues to be accurſed.

But none could open this matter well but the Clergye, & ſuch of them as had red the Popes lawes, whereby the Pope had made himſelf, as it were a God. Theſe ſeeke to maintaine the Pope, whom they deſired to haue their chiefe head, to the intent they might haue as it were a kyngdome and lawes within them ſelues, diſtinct frõ the lawes of the crowne, and wherewyth the crowne may not medle: and ſo being exempted from the lawes of the realme, might lyue in this realme lyke Lords and kings, without dammage or feare of anye man, ſo that they pleaſe their high and ſupreme head at Rome. For this conſideration (I weene) ſome that knew the truth, held their peace in the Parlament, whereas, if they had done their duties to the crowne and whole realme, they ſhould haue opened their mouthes, declared the truth, and ſhewed the perils and daungers that myght enſue to the crowne and realme.

The clergies duety in the parlament.

And if I ſhould agree to allow ſuch authority within this realme, whereby I muſt needes confeſſe that your moſt gracious highnes, & alſo your realme ſhould euer continue accurſed vntill ye ſhall ceaſe from the executiõ of your owne lawes and cuſtomes of your realme: I could not thinke my ſelfe true, either to your highnes, or to this my naturall cõutrey, knowing that I do know. Ignoraunce, I know, may excuſe other men: but he that knoweth how preiudiciall and iniurious the power and authority which he challengeth euery where, is to the crowne, lawes, and cuſtomes of this realme, and yet wil allowe the ſame, I cannot ſee in any wyſe howe hee can keepe hys due allegiance, fidelitie, & truth, to the crowne and ſtate of this realme.

The Cle gie of En land mo addicted the Pope then to their true allegeanc to theyr Countre

An other cauſe I alledged, why I could not allow the authority of the Pope, which is this: That by his autority he ſubuerteth, not only the lawes of this realme, but alſo the lawes of God: ſo that whoſoeuer bee vnder hys authoritie, he ſuffereth them not to be vnder CHRISTES religion purely, as CHRIST dyd commaund. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by Gods lawes all Chriſtian people be bounden diligently to learne his word, that they may know how to beleue and lyue accordingly, for that purpoſe he ordained holydaies, when they ought, leauyng apart all other buſynes, to giue thẽ ſelues wholy to know & ſerue God. Therfore Gods wil & cõmaundement is, ẏ whẽ the people be gathered together, ẏ Miniſters ſhould vſe ſuch language as ẏ people may vnderſtand and take profit therby, or els hold their peace. For as an harpe or lute, if it giue no certaine ſound that men may know what is ſtricken, who can daunce after it? for all the ſound is in vayne: ſo is it vaine and profiteth nothing, ſayth almighty God by the mouth of S. Paule, if the Prieſt ſpeake to the people in a language which they know not: *For els he may profit him ſelfe, but profiteth not the people*, ſayth S. Paule.

The thy cauſe wh he coulde not allow the Pope.

The pope religion i againſt Chriſtes religion.

Why La tine ſeruic ought not to be reſt red in En land.

But herein I was aunſwered thus: that S. Paul ſpake only of preachyng, ẏ the preacher ſhould ſpeake in a tõg which the people did know, or els his preachyng auayleth nothyng. But if the preaching auaileth nothyng, beyng ſpoken in a language which the people vnderſtand not, how ſhould any other ſeruice auaile thẽ, beyng ſpokẽ in ẏ ſame lãguage? And yet that S. Paul ment not only of preachyng, it appeareth plainly by his owne wordes. For he ſpeakyng by name expreſſely of praying, ſinging, laudyng, and thankyng of God, and of all other thynges which the Prieſtes ſay in the Churches, whereunto the people ſay Amen, which they vſed not in preachyng, but in other Diuine ſeruice: that whether the Prieſtes rehearſe the wonderful workes of God, or the great benefites of God vnto mankynd aboue all other creatures, or giue thankes vnto GOD, or make open profeſſion of their fayth, or humble confeſſion of their ſinnes, with earneſt requeſt of mercy and forgeuenes, or make ſute or requeſt vnto God for any thyng: then all the people vnderſtandyng what the Prieſtes ſay, might giue their mindes and voyces with them and ſay Amen, that is to ſay, allow what the Prieſtes ſay, that the rehearſall of Gods vniuerſall workes & benefites, ẏ giuyng of thankes, the profeſſion of fayth, the confeſſion of ſinnes, & the requeſtes & petitions of ẏ Prieſtes & of the people, might aſcend vp into the eares of God all together, and be as a ſwete ſauour, odour, & incenſe in his noſe: and thus was it vſed many hundred yeares after CHRISTES Aſcenſion. But the aforeſayd thinges can not be done when the Prieſts ſpeake to ẏ people in a lãguage not knowen, and ſo they (or their Clarke in their name) ſay Amen, but they can not tell whereunto: where as S. Paul ſayth: *How can the people ſay* Amen *to thy well ſaying, when they vnderſtand not what thou ſayeſt?*

And thus was S. Paul vnderſtãden of all interpretors, both the Grekes and Latines, old and new, ſchole authors & others that I haue red, vntill aboue xxx. yeares paſt. At which tyme one Eckius, with other of his ſort, begã to deuiſe a new expoſition, vnderſtandyng S. Paul of preachyng

chyng onely. But when a good number of the beſt learned men reputed within this Realme, ſome fauoring the old, ſome the new learnyng, as they terme it (where in dede that which they call the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is in dede the old) but when a great nūber of ſuch learned men of both ſortes were gathered together at Winſore, for the reformatiō of the ſeruice of the Church: it was agreed by both without cōtrouerſie (not one ſaying contrary) that the ſeruice of the Church ought to be in the mother toung, and that S. Paul in the xiiij. chap. to the Corinthians was ſo to be vnderſtanden. And ſo is S. Paul to be vnderſtanden in the Ciuil law more then a thouſand yeares paſt: where Iuſtinianus a moſt godly Emperour, in a Synode writeth on this maner: Iubemus vt omnes Epiſcopi pariter & præſbyteri non tacito modo, ſed clara voce, quæ a fideli populo exaudiatur, ſacram oblationem & preces in ſacro Baptiſmate adhibitas celebrent, quo maiori exinde deuotione in depromendis Domini Dei laudibus audientium animi afficiantur. Ita enim & Diuus Paulus docet in Epiſtola ad Corinth: Si ſolummodo benedicat ſpiritus, quomodo is qui priuati locum tenet, dicet ad gratiarum actionem tuam, *Amen*, quandoquidem quid dicas non videt? Tu quidem pulchre gratias agis, alter autem non ædificatur. That is to ſay:

1549.

Cor.14.

VVe commaunde, that all Byſhops and Prieſtes celebrate the holy oblation and prayers vſed in holy Baptiſme, not after a ſtill cloſe maner, but with a cleare loude voyce, that they may be playnly heard of the faithfull people, ſo as the hearers mindes may be lifted vp therby with the greater deuotion, in vtteryng the prayſes of the Lord God. For ſo Paule *teacheth alſo in the Epiſtle to the* Corinthians: *If the ſpirit do onely bleſſe (or ſay well) how ſhall he that occupyeth the place of a priuate perſon ſay,* Amen, *to thy thankes geuyng? for he perceaueth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou doeſt geue thankes well, but the other is not edified.* And not onely the Ciuill law and all other writers a thouſand & fiue hundreth yeares continually together haue expounded S. Paul not of preaching onely, but of other ſeruice ſaid in the church: but alſo reaſon geueth the ſame, that if men be commaūded to heare any thyng, it muſt be ſpoken in a language which the hearers vnderſtand, or els (as S. Paul ſayth) what auayleth it to heare? So that the Pope giuing a contrary commaundement, that the people comming to the church ſhall heare they wot not what, and ſhall anſwere they know not whereunto, taketh vpon him to commaund, not only againſt reaſon, but alſo directly againſt God.

And agayne I ſayd, where as our Sauiour Chriſt ordayned the ſacrament of his moſt precious body and bloud, to be receaued of all chriſtian people vnder the formes of bread and wine, and ſaid of the cuppe: *Drinke ye all of thys*: the Pope geueth a cleane contrary commaundement, that no lay men ſhall drinke of the cuppe of their ſaluatiō: as though the cuppe of ſaluation by the bloud of Chriſt, perteined not to lay men. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whoſe workes S. Hierome did tranſlate about 11. hundred yeares paſt) ſayth: *that if Chriſt had bene crucified for the deuilles, his cuppe ſhould not be denyed them*: yet the Pope denieth the cuppe of Chriſt to Chriſtian people, for whom Chriſt was crucified. So that if I ſhould obey the Pope in theſe thinges, I muſt nedes diſobey my Sauiour CHRIST.

But I was aunſwered hereunto (as commonly the Papiſtes do aunſwere) that vnder the forme of bread is whole CHRISTES fleſh and bloud: ſo that who ſoeuer receaueth the forme of bread, receaueth aſwell CHRISTES bloud as his fleſh. Let it be ſo: yet in the forme of bread onely, CHRISTES bloud is not dronken, but eaten: nor is receaued in the cup in the forme of wyne, as CHRIST commaunded, but eaten with the fleſh vnder the forme of bread. And moreouer, the bread is not the Sacrament of his bloud, but of his fleſh onely: nor the cup is not yͤ Sacrament of his fleſh, but of his bloud onely. And ſo the Pope kepeth frō all lay perſons yͤ Sacramēt of their redemption by CHRISTES bloud, which CHRIST commaūdeth to be geuen vnto them.

And furthermore CHRIST ordained the Sacrament in ij. kyndes, the one ſeparated from the other, to be a repreſentation of his death, where his bloud was ſeparated from his fleſh, which is not repreſented in one kynde alone: So that yͤ lay people receaue not yͤ whole Sacrament, wherby CHRISTES death is repreſented, as hee commaunded.

Moreouer, as the Pope taketh vppon him to giue the temporall ſworde, by royall and Imperiall power, to Kyngs and Princes, ſo doth he lykewiſe take vpon him to depoſe them from their Imperial ſtates, if they be diſobedient to him, and commaundeth the ſubiectes to diſobey their Princes, aſſoilyng the ſubiectes aſwell of their obedience, as of their lawfull othes made vnto their true Kynges and Princes, directly contrary to Gods commaundement, who commaundeth all ſubiectes to obey their Kyngs, or their rulers vnder them. One Iohn, Patriarke of Conſtantinople in the tyme of S. Gregory claymed ſuperioritie aboue all other Byſhops. To whom S. Gregory writeth, that therein he did iniury to his three brethren, which were equall with him: that is to ſay, the Byſhop of Rome, the Byſhop of Alexandria, and of Antiochia: which three were Patriarckall ſeas, as well as Conſtantinople, and were brethren one to an other. But (ſayth S. Gregory) *If any one ſhall exalte hym ſelfe aboue all the reſt, to be the vniuerſall Byſhop, the ſame paſſeth in pride*. But now the Byſhop of Rome exalteth him ſelfe, not onely aboue all Kinges and Emperours, and aboue all the whole world, taking vpon him to giue and take away, to ſet vp and put downe, as he ſhall thinke good. And as the Deuill hauing no ſuch authority, yet toke vpon him to geue vnto Chriſt all the kingdomes of the world, if he would fall downe and worſhip him: in like maner the Pope taketh vpō him to geue Empires and kyngdomes, beyng none of his, to ſuch as will fall downe and worſhip him, and kiſſe his feete.

Miſorder in the Pope, in aſſoyling the diſobedience of ſubiectes toward their Princes.

Note the ſaying of *Gregory*.

The deuill and the Pope are like.

And moreouer, his lawyers and gloſers ſo flater him, that they fayne he may commaunde Emperours & kynges to hold his ſtirop when he lighteth vpon his horſe, and to be his footemen: and that, if any Emperour or Kyng giue him any thyng, they giue him nothyng but that is his owne, and that hee may diſpenſe agaynſt Gods word, agaynſt both the old and new Teſtament, agaynſt S. Paules Epiſtles, and agaynſt the Goſpell. And furthermore what ſoeuer he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heapes with him ſelfe into hell: yet may no mortall man reproue him, becauſe he beyng iudge of all men, may be iudged of no man. And thus he ſitteth in the Temple of God as he were a God, and nameth him ſelf Gods Vicar, and yet he diſpenſeth agaynſt God. If this be not to play Antichriſtes part, I can not tell what is Antichriſt, which is no more to ſay but CHRISTES enemy and aduerſary: who ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, aduauncing him ſelfe aboue all other, yet by hypocriſie and fayned Religion ſhall ſubuert the true Religiō of CHRIST, and vnder pretenſe and colour of Chriſtian Religion, ſhal worke agaynſt CHRIST, and therfore hath the name of Antichriſt. Now, if any man lift hym ſelfe higher then the Pope hath done, who lifteth him ſelfe aboue all the world, or can be more aduerſary to CHRIST, then to diſpenſe agaynſt Gods lawes, and where Chriſt hath geuen any commaundement, to commaund directly the contrary: that man muſt needes be taken for Antichriſt. But vntill the tyme that ſuch a perſon may be found, men may eaſily coniecture, where to finde Antichriſt.

Emperours & kings made the Popes footemen.

The Pope is Antichriſt, that is, Chriſtes enemy.

True markes prouing that yͤ Pope is Antichriſt.

Wherefore, ſeyng the Pope thus, to ouerthrow both Gods lawes & mans lawes, taketh vpon hym to make Emperours and Kyngs to be vaſſals and ſubiectes vnto him, ſpecially the crowne of this Realme, with the lawes and cuſtomes of the ſame: I ſee no meane, how I may conſent to admitte this vſurped power within this Realme, cōtrary to myne oth, mine obedience to Gods law, myne allegeance and duty to your Maieſty, and my loue and affection to this Realme.

Note this concluſion.

This that I haue ſpoken agaynſt the power & authoritie of the Pope, I haue not ſpoken (I take God to record and iudge) for any malice I owe to the Popes perſon, whom I know not, but I ſhal pray to God to giue him grace, that he may ſeeke aboue all thinges to promote Gods honor and glory, and not to folow the trade of his predeceſſours in theſe latter dayes.

The cauſe why the Archbiſhop ſpake and wrote thus.

Nor I haue not ſpoken it for feare of puniſhment and to auoyde the ſame (thinking it rather an occaſion to aggrauate, then to diminiſh my trouble): but I haue ſpoke it for my moſt bounden dutye to the crowne, liberties, lawes & cuſtomes of this Realme of England, but moſt ſpecially to diſcharge my conſcience in vttering the truth to Gods glory, caſtyng away all feare, by yͤ cōfort which I haue in CHRIST, who ſaith: *Feare not thē that kill the body, and can not kill the ſoule, but feare hym that can caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire.* He that for feare to loſe this lyfe, will forſake the truth, ſhall loſe the euerlaſtyng lyfe: And he that for the truthes ſake will ſpend his life, ſhall finde euerlaſtyng life. And CHRIST promiſeth to ſtand faſt with them before his father, which will ſtand faſt with hym here. Which comfort is ſo great, that who ſoeuer hath his

Math. 10.

eyes fixed vpon CHRIST, can not greatly paſſe on this lyfe, knowyng that he may be ſure to haue CHRIST ſtand by him, in the preſence of his father in heauen.

The Sacrament.

And as touchyng the Sacramēt, I ſayd: For as much as the whole matter ſtandeth in the vnderſtandyng of theſe wordes of CHRIST: *This is my body: This is my bloud:* I ſayd that CHRIST in theſe wordes made demonſtration of the bread and wyne, and ſpake figuratiuely, callyng bread his body, and wyne his bloud, becauſe he ordained them to be Sacramentes of his body and bloud. And where the Papiſtes ſay in thoſe two pointes contrary vnto me, that CHRIST called not bread his body, but a ſubſtaunce vncertaine, nor ſpake figuratiuely: Herein I ſayd, I would be iudged by the old Church, and which doctrine could be proued the elder, that I would ſtand vnto. And forasmuch as I haue alledged in my booke many old authours, both Greekes and Latines, which about a thouſand yeares after CHRIST continually taught as I do: if they could bryng forth but one old author, that ſayth in theſe two points as they ſay, I offered vi. or vij. yeares ago, and do offer yet ſtill, that I will geue place vnto them.

A double errour of the Papiſtes in the wordes of the Sacramēt.

Cranmer ſtandeth to be iudged by the olde church.

But when I bryng forth any author that ſaith in moſt playne termes, as I do, yet ſayth the other parte, that the authors ment not ſo: as who ſhould ſay, that the authors ſpake one thyng and ment cleane contrary. And vpon the other part when they can not find any one author, that ſayth in wordes, as they ſay: yet ſay they, that the authours ment as they ſay. Now, whether I or they ſpeake more to the purpoſe herein, I referre me to the iudgement of all indifferent hearers: yea the old Church of Rome aboue a thouſand yeares together, neither beleued nor vſed the Sacramēt, as the Church of Rome hath done of late yeares.

The Papiſtes not able to bring forth one old author aboue a thouſand yeares, to make with the ſacrament.

For in the begynnyng, the Church of Rome taught a pure and a ſound doctrine of the Sacrament. But after that the Church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: with the doctrine they chaunged the vſe of the Sacrament, contrary to that CHRIST commaunded, and the old Church of Rome vſed aboue a thouſand yeares. And yet to deface the old, they ſay that the new is the old: wherin for my part I am content to ſtand to the triall. But their doctrine is ſo fonde and vncomfortable, that I maruaile that any mā would allowe it, if he knew what it is. But what ſoeuer they beare ỹ people in hand, that which they write in their bookes hath neither truth nor comfort.

With the ſubſtaunce the vſe alſo chaunged of the Sacrament.

For by their doctrine, of one body of CHRIST is made two bodyes: one natural, hauing diſtaunce of members, with forme and proportion of mans perfite body, & this body is in heauen: but the body of CHRIST in the Sacrament, by their owne doctrine, muſt needes be a monſtrous body, hauyng neither diſtaunce of members, nor forme, faſhion or proportiō of a mans natural body. And ſuch a body is in the Sacramēt (teach they) and goeth in to the mouth with the forme of bread, and entreth no farther then the forme of bread goeth, nor tarieth no longer then the forme of bread is by naturall heat in digeſtyng: So that when the forme of bread is digeſted, that body of CHRIST is gone. And for aſmuch as euill men be as long in digeſtyng as good men, the body of CHRIST (by their doctrine) entreth as farre, and tarieth as long in wicked men, as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Chriſtiā man, to receaue CHRISTES vnſhapen body, and it to enter no farther then the ſtomacke, and to depart by and by, as ſoone as the bread is conſumed?

The Papiſtes make Chriſt two bodyes.

Neither truth nor comfort in the Popes doctrine of the Sacrament.

Marke the errours of the Papiſtes in their doctrine of the Sacrament.

It ſemeth to me a more ſounde and comfortable doctrine, that CHRIST hath but one body, & that hath forme & faſhion of a mās true body: which body ſpiritually entreth into ỹ whole mā, body & ſoule: and though ỹ ſacramēt be cōſumed, yet whole CHRIST remaineth, & feedeth the receauer vnto eternal life, if he continue in godlines, and neuer departeth, vntil the receauer forſake him. And as for the wicked, they haue not CHRIST within them at all, who can not bee where Belial is. And this is my fayth, and (as me ſeemeth) a ſound doctrine, according to Gods word, and ſufficient for a Chriſtian to beleue in that matter. And if it can be ſhewed vnto me, that the Popes authority is not preiudiciall to the things before mencioned, or that my doctrine in the ſacrament is erroneous (which I thinke cannot be ſhewed) then I was neuer nor will be ſo peruerſe, to ſtand wylfully in myne own opinion, but I ſhall wyth all humility ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the Pope, not onely to kyſſe hys feete, but an other part alſo.

The Proteſtantes doctrine of the Sacrament more cōfortable, then the doctrine of the Papiſtes.

An other cauſe why I refuſed to take the Biſhop of Gloceſter for my Iudge, was the reſpect of his own perſon, being more then once periured: Fyrſt, for that he being diuers times ſworne neuer to cōſent that the biſhop of Rome ſhold haue any iuriſdictiō within this realme, but to take the king & his ſucceſſours for ſupreme heads of this realme, as by Gods lawes they be: contrary to that lawfull oth, the ſayd biſhop ſat then in iudgemēt by authoritie from Rome: wherein he was periured, and not worthy to ſit as a Iudge.

An othe reſpect, why the Archb.r fuſed B Brokes to be his iudge.

The ſecond periury was, that he tooke his biſhopricke both of the Quenes maieſtie and of the Pope, making to ech of them a ſolemne oth: which othes bee ſo contrary, that the one muſt needes be periured. And furthermore in ſwearyng to the Pope, to maintayne hys lawes, decrees, conſtitutions, ordinaunces, reſeruations, and prouiſions, he declareth him ſelfe an enemye to the imperiall crowne, & to ỹ lawes and ſtate of this realme: wherebye hee declared him ſelfe not worthye to ſit as a Iudge within this Realme. And for theſe conſiderations I refuſed to take him for my iudge.

Double periury B.Brok

This was written in an other letter to the Queene.

I Learned by D.Martyn, that at the daye of your Maieſties coronation, you tooke an othe of obedience to the Pope of Rome, and the ſame tyme you tooke an other othe to this realme, to maintayne the lawes, liberties, and cuſtomes of the ſame. And if your maieſty did make an othe to the Pope, I thinke it was according to the other othes, which he vſeth to miniſter to Princes: which is to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to mayntayne his authority, honour, lawes, landes, and priuileges. And if it be ſo (which I know not, but by report) then I beſeech your Maieſtye to looke vppon your oth made to the crowne & realme, & to expend & weigh the ij. othes together, to ſee how they do agree, & then to do as your graces conſcience ſhall geue you: For I am ſurely perſwaded, that willingly your maieſty wil not offēd, nor do againſt your conſcience for nothing.

A peece an other letter to Queene

Contra dictiō in Queene othes, ſworne both to t Realme, and to th pope in o day.

But I feare me that there be contradictions in your othes, and that thoſe which ſhoulde haue informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therin. And if your Maieſty ponder the two othes diligently, I thinke you ſhall perceiue you were deceiued: and then your hyghnes may vſe the matter as God ſhall put in your hart. Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned men, from bookes, from counſail, from pen and inke, ſauing at this tyme to write vnto your Maieſty: which all were neceſſary for a man being in my caſe. Wherefore I beſech your Maieſty, that I may haue ſuch of theſe as may ſtand wyth your Maieſties pleaſure. And as for mine appearance at Rome, if your Maieſty wil geue me leaue, I wyll appeare there. And I truſt that God ſhall put in my mouth to defēd his truth there, aſwel as here. But I referre it wholy to your Maieſties pleaſure.

¶An other letter of the Archbiſhop to D. Martyn, and D.Story.

I Haue me commended vnto you. And as I promiſed, I haue ſent my letters vnto the Quenes maieſty vnſigned: praying you to ſigne them and delyuer them with all ſpeede. I might haue ſent them by the Caryer ſooner, but not ſurer. But hearing maſter Bailiffe ſay, that he would go to the court on Friday, I thought him a meete Meſſenger to ſend my letters by. For better is later and ſurer, then ſooner and neuer to bee deliuered. Yet one thing I haue written to the Queenes maieſtye incloſed and ſealed: which I requyre you, may be ſo deliuered without delay, and not be opened vntill it be deliuered vnto her graces own handes. I haue written all that I remember I ſayd, except that which I ſpake agaynſt the biſhop of Gloceſters own perſon: which I thought not meete to write. And in ſome places I haue written more then I ſayd, which I would haue anſwered to the biſhop, if you would haue ſuffered me.

His lett to Doct *Martyn* and Do *Story.*

You promiſed I ſhould ſee myne anſwer to the xvi. articles, that I might correct, amend and chaunge them where I thought good, which your promiſe you kept not. And myne anſwer was not made vpon mine oth, nor repeated nor made in Iudicio, but Extra iudicium, as I proteſted: nor to the biſhop of Gloceſter as Iudge, but to you the kings and Queenes Proctors. I truſt you deale ſincerely with me without fraud or craft, and vſe me as you would wyſh to bee vſed in lyke caſe your ſelues. Remember that, Qua menſura menſi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis, i. *What meaſure you meat, the ſame ſhall be*

Cranm anſwers before *Brokes* extra iu ciall.

ſhall be meaſured to you agayne. Thus fare you well, and God ſend you his ſpirite to induce you into truth.

Ye heard before how the Archbyſhop Doct. Cranmer, in yͤ moneth of February was cited vp to Rome, and in the moneth of March next followyng was degraded by the Byſhop of Eley, and Byſhop Boner. In the tyme of which his degradation hee put vppe his Appellation. In thys his Appellation, becauſe hee neded the helpe of ſome good and godly lawyer, he writeth to a certeine frend of his, about the ſame: the copy of which letter in Latine is before expreſſed in the old booke of Actes there to be read pag. 1492. The Engliſh of the ſame I thought here to inſerte, as vnder enſueth.

¶A letter of D. Cranmer Archb. to a Lawyer for the drawyng out of his Appeale.

The law of nature requireth of all men, that ſo farre forth as it may be done without offence to God, euery one ſhould ſeeke to defend and preſerue his owne life. which thyng, when I about three dayes ago bethought my ſelfe of, and therewithall remembred how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from Pope Leo the tenth, to a generall Councell (leſt I ſhould ſeeme raſhly and vnaduiſedly to caſt away my ſelfe) I determined to appeale in like ſort to ſome lawful and free generall Councell. But ſeyng the order and forme of an Appeale perteineth to the Lawyers, wherof I me ſelfe am ignoraunt, and ſeeyng that Luthers Appeale cõmeth not to my hand: I purpoſed to breake my minde in this matter to ſome faithfull frend & ſkilfull in the law, whoſe helpe I might vſe in this behalfe, and you onely among other, came to my remembraunce, as a man moſt meete in this Vniuerſitie for that purpoſe. But this is a matter that requireth great ſilence, ſo that no man know of it before it be done. It is ſo that I am ſummoned to make myne aunſwere at Rome, the xvj. day of this moneth: before the which day I thinke it good, after ſentence pronounced, to make mine Appeale. But whether I ſhould firſt appeale from the iudge delegate to the Pope, and ſo afterward to the generall Councel, or els leauyng the Pope, I ſhould appeale immediatly to the Councell: herein I ſtand in nede of your Counſell.

Many cauſes there be for the which I thinke good to appeale. Firſt bicauſe I am by an oth bound, neuer to cõſent to the receiuyng of the Byſhop of Romes authoritie into this Realme. Beſides this, where as I vtterly refuſed to make aunſwere to the Articles obiected vnto me by the Byſhop of Gloceſter appointed by the Pope to be my iudge, yet I was content to aunſwere Martin and Story, with this proteſtation, that mine aunſwere ſhould not be taken as made before a iudge, nor yet in place of iudgement, but as pertainyng nothyng to iudgement at all: and moreouer, after I had made mine aũſwere, I required to haue a copy of the ſame, that I might, either by addyng therunto, or by alteryng or takyng frõ it, correct and amend it, as I thought good. The which, though both the Byſhop of Gloceſter and alſo the Kyng and Queenes Proctours promiſed me, yet haue they altogether broken promiſe with me, and haue not permitted me to correct my ſayd aunſweres accordyng to my requeſt, & yet notwithſtandyng haue (as I vnderſtand) regiſtred the ſame as Actes formally done in place of iudgemẽt. Finally for aſmuch as all this my trouble commeth vpon my departing from the Byſhop of Rome and from the Popiſh Religion, ſo that now the quarell is betwixt the Pope him ſelfe and me, and no man can be a lawfull and indifferent iudge in his owne cauſe: it ſeemeth (me thinke) good reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuffered to appeale to ſome generall Councell in this matter: ſpecially ſeyng the law of nature (as they ſay) denieth no man, the remedy of appeale in ſuch caſes.

Now, ſince it is very requiſite that this matter ſhould be kept as cloſe as may be, if perhaps for lacke of perfect ſkill herein you ſhall haue neede of further aduiſe: then I beſech you euen for the fidelitie and loue you beare to me in CHRIST, that you wil open to no creature aliue, whoſe the caſe is. And for aſmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expeditiõ, let me obteine this much of you, I beſech you, that laying aſide al other your ſtudies and buſines for the time, you wil apply this my matter onely, till you haue brought it to paſſe. The chiefeſt cauſe in very deede (to tell you the truth) of this myne Appeale is, that I might gayne tyme (if it ſhall ſo pleaſe God) to lyue vntill I haue finiſhed mine aũſwere agaynſt Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, which I haue now in hand. But if the aduerſaries of the truth will not admit mine Appeale (as I feare they will not) Gods will be done: I paſſe not vpon it, ſo that God may therin be glorified, be it by my life or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in CHRISTES quarell and to raigne with him, then here to be ſhut vp and kept in the priſon of this body, vnleſſe it were to continue yet ſtill a while in this warrefare, for the commoditie and profite of my brethren, and to the further aduauncing of Gods glory: to whom be all glory for euermore, Amen.

¶This *Conſtantius* was *Stephen Gardner,* as conſtant in dede as a wether cock: who thus named himſelf, writing againſt this good Archbyſhop.

There is alſo yet an other cauſe why I thinke good to appeale, that where as I am cited to goe to Rome to aunſwere there for my ſelfe, I am notwithſtandyng kept here faſt in priſon, that I can not there appeare at the tyme appointed. And moreouer, for aſmuch as the ſtate I ſtand in is a matter of lyfe and death, ſo that I haue great neede of learned counſell for my defence in this behalfe: yet when I made my earneſt requeſt for the ſame, all maner of counſell and helpe of Proctours, Aduocates, and Lawyers was vtterly denyed me.

Your louyng frend Thomas Cranmer.

¶An other letter of D. Cranmer Archbiſhop to Miſtres Wilkynſon, exhortyng her to flye in the tyme of perſecution.

The true comforter in all diſtreſſe, is onely God thorow his ſonne IESVS CHRIST, and who ſo euer hath him, hath company enough, although he were in a wyldernes all alone: and he that hath .xx. thouſand in his cõpany, if God be abſent, is in a miſerable wyldernes and deſolation. In hym is all comfort, and without hym is none. wherefore I beſech you ſeeke your dwelling there as you may truly and rightly ſerue God, and dwell in him, and haue him euer dwelling in you. what can bee ſo heauy a burden as an vnquiet conſcience, to be in ſuch a place as a man can not bee ſuffered to ſerue God in CHRISTES true religion? If you be loth to depart from your kynne and frendes, remember that GHRIST calleth them his mother, ſiſters, and brothers that do his fathers wyll. where we finde therfore God truly honoured according to his wyl, there we cã lacke neither frend nor kinne.

An other letter of the Archb. to Miſtres *Wilkinſon.*

Math. 3.

If you bee loth to depart for ſclaunderyng of Gods word, remember that CHRIST, when his houre was not yet come, departed out of hys countrey into Samaria, to auoid the malice of the Scribes and Phariſeis: and commaunded his Apoſtles that if they were purſued in one place, they ſhould flye to an other. And was not Paule let down by a baſket out at a window, to auoyd the perſecution of Aretas? And what wyſdome and policie he vſed from tyme to tyme to eſcape the malice of his enemies, the Actes of the Apoſtles do declare. And after the ſame ſort dyd the other Apoſtles: albeit when it came to ſuch a point, that they could no longer eſcape daunger of the Perſecutors of Gods true religion, then they ſhewed them ſelues, that their flying before came not of feare, but of godly wyſdome to do more good: and that they would not raſhly without vrgent neceſſity, offer them ſelues to death, which had bene but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehẽded and could no longer auoid, then they ſtoode boldly to the profeſſion of CHRIST: then they ſhewed how litle they paſſed of death: how much they feared God more then men: how much they loued and preferred the eternall lyfe to come, aboue this ſhort and miſerable lyfe. wherefore, I exhort you, aſwell by CHRISTES commaundement, as by the example of hym and hys Apoſtels, to withdraw your ſelfe from the malice of yours and Gods enemies, into ſome place where God is moſt purely ſerued: which is no ſclaunderyng of the truth, but a preſeruing of your ſelfe to God and the truth, and to the ſocietie and comfort of CHRISTES lytle flocke. And that you wyll do, do it with ſpeede, leſt by your own folly you fal into the perſecutors handes. And the Lord ſend his holy ſpirit to leade & guyde you where ſoeuer you go, and all that be godly, wyll ſay, Amen.

Iohn. 4.

Math. 5.

2. Cor. 12.

¶Vnto theſe former letters of D. Cranmer Archbiſhop, writtẽ by hym vnto others, it ſeemeth to me not much out of place to annexe withal a certein letter alſo of Doct. Taylour written to hym and his felow priſoners: the tenour of which letter here foloweth.

¶To my deare fathers and brethren D. Cranmer, Doct. Ridley, and Doct. Latymer priſoners in Oxford for the faithfull teſtimony of Gods holy word.

A letter written to Doctor *Cranmer* and his felowes, by *D. Taylor.*

Right reuerend fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to enioy continually Gods grace and peace through IESVS CHRIST: and God be prayſed agayne, for this your moſt excellent promotion which ye are called vnto at this preſent, that is, that ye are counted worthy to bee allowed amongeſt the number of CHRISTES recordes and witneſſes. Englād hath had but a few learned Byſhops that would ſticke to CHRIST ad ignem incluſiuè. *Once agayne I thanke God hartely in CHRIST for your moſt happy onſet, moſt valiant procedyng, moſt conſtant ſuffring of all ſuch infamies, hyſſynges, clappynges, tauntes, open rebukes, loſſe of lyuyng and liberty for the defence of Gods cauſe, truth, and glory. I can not vtter with penne how I reioyce in my harte for you iij. ſuch Captaines in the foreward vnder CHRISTES croſſe, banner, or ſtanderd in ſuch a cauſe and ſkirmiſh, when, not onely one or ij. of our deare redemers ſtrong holdes are beſieged, but all his chief Caſtels ordeined for our ſafegard, are traiterouſly impugned. This your enterpriſe in the ſight of all that be in heauen, and of all Gods people in earth, is moſt pleaſant to behold. This is an other maner of nobilitie, then to be in the forefronte in worldly waerefares. For Gods ſake pray for vs, for we fayle not dayly to pray for you. We are ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his name bee prayſed, and we doubt not but ye be ſo in CHRISTES own ſweete ſchole. Heauen is all and wholy of our ſide: therfore* Gaudete in domino ſemper, & iterum gaudete & exultate. i. *Reioyce alwayes in the Lord: and agayne reioyce and be glad.*

Many profeſſe God *ad ignem excluſiuè,* that is, in wordes and outward profeſſion, but few ſticke to him *ad ignem incluſiuè,* that is, in dede, and in ſuffring for his ſake.

Your aſſured in Chriſt Rowland Taylor.

¶De Tho. Cranmeri Archiepiſcopi qui carcere detinebatur palinodia.

Te Cranmere, grauis ſontem prope fecerat error,
  Sed reuocas lubricos ad meliora pedes.
Te docuit lapſus magis vt veſtigia firmes,
  Atq; magis Chriſto conſociere tuo:
Vtq; tuæ melius ſtudeas hæreſcere cauſæ:
  Sic mala non raró cauſa fuere boni.
Et benè ſucceſſit, nam ficta & adultera turba
  Illudens alijs, luditur arte pari.
Nempè pia ſic eſt fruſtatus fraude papiſmus:
  Et ceſſit ſummo gloria tota Deo.

Perſecution in Suffolke. Agnes Potten, and Ioane Trunchfield, Martyrs.

Agnes Pottē, Ioane Trunchfield, Martyrs.

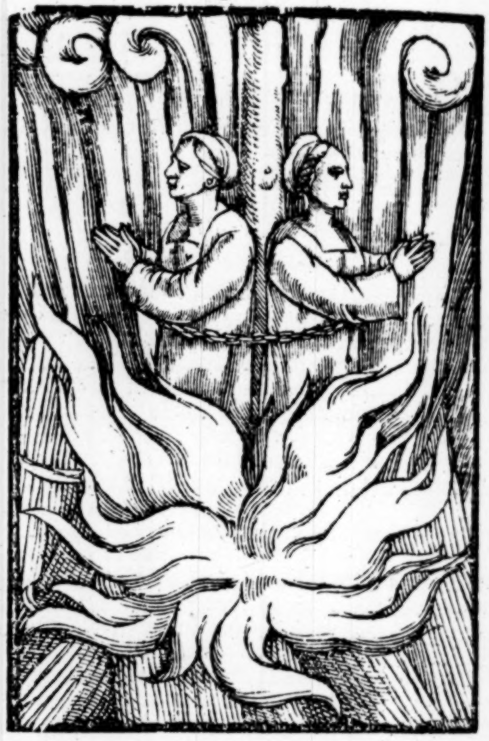
IN the ſtory of Rohert Samuell, mencion was made before pag. 1879. of two godly women in the ſame towne of Ipſwitch, which ſhortly after hym ſuffered lykewyſe, and obtayned the crowne of Martyrdome: the names of whom was Agnes the wyfe of Robert Potten, and an other wife of Michaell Trunchfield, a Shomaker, both dwelling in one towne: who about the ſame tyme that the Archbiſhop aforeſayd was burned at Oxford, ſuffred lykewyſe in the foreſayd towne of Ipſwitch, eyther in the ſame moneth of March, or (as ſome ſay) in the end of February the next moneth before. Their opinion or perſwaſion was this, that in the Sacrament was the memoriall onely of *CHRISTES* death and paſſion: for ſaid they, *IESVS CHRIST* is aſcended vp into heauen, and is on the ryght hand of God the father, according to the ſcriptures, and not in the Sacrament, as he was borne of the Virgin Mary.

The opinions of theſe two Matrons and Martyrs.

For this they were burned. In whoſe ſuffring, their conſtancy worthely was to be wondered at, who beyng ſo ſimple women, ſo manfully ſtode to the confeſſion and teſtimony of Gods word and verity: In ſomuch that, whē they had prepared and vndreſſed themſelues ready to the fyre, wyth comfortable wordes of the ſcripture they earneſtly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not vpon mans deuiſes and inuentions, deſpyſing the ordinances and inſtitutions of the Romiſhe Antichriſt, with all his ſuperſtitions and rotten religion: and ſo continuing in the torment of fyre, they held vp their handes and called vnto God conſtantly, ſo long as lyfe did endure.

The ſtrength of God in weake veſſels.

The burning of two women.



This Pottens wyfe in a nyght a little before her death, being a ſlepe in her bed, ſaw a bright burning fyre, ryght vp as a pole, and on the ſyde of the fire ſhe thought there ſtoode a nūber of Q. Maries friendes looking on. Thē being a ſleepe, ſhe ſeemed to muſe with her ſelfe whether her fire ſhould burne ſo bright or no: and in deede her ſuffring was not farre vnlyke to her dreame. This alſo I thought further to note, how theſe two being alwayes together in priſon, the one which was Michaels wyfe, ſeemed to bee nothyng ſo ardent and zelous as Pottens wife was, although (God bee thanked) they dyd ſtoutly ſtand to the confeſſion of the truth both: but when the ſaid Michaels wyfe came to the ſtake and ſawe nothing but preſent death before her, ſhe much exceeded the other in ioye, and comfort. Albeit both of thē did ioyfully ſuffer, as it was maruailed at of thoſe that knew thē, and did behold their end. And thus theſe two Martyrs ended their lyues wyth great triumph: the Lorde graunt wee may doe the lyke, Amen.

The burning of *Agnes Potten* reuealed her being in her ſleepe.

God geueth ſtrength many times, where moſt weaknes is.

Perſecution in the Dioces of Saliſbury.

AFter theſe ij. womē of Ipſwich, ſucceeded iij. mē which were burnt ẏ ſame moneth at one fyre in Saliſbury, who in the lyke quarell with the other that went before them and led the daūce, ſpared not their bodies, to bring their ſoules to the celeſtiall felicity, whereof they were throughly aſſured in *CHRIST IESVS* by his promiſes, aſſone as the furious flames of fyre had put their bodies and ſoules aſonder.

March 24.

Other Martyrs ſuffring at Saliſbury.

¶Their names were,

Robert Spicer, free Maſon.
William Coberley, Taylor.
Ioh. Maūdrell, huſband mā.

¶The

¶The ſtory of Iohn Maūdrell, VVilliam Coberley, and Iohn Spicer, Martyrs.

FIrſt, Iohn Maundrell which was the ſonne of Rob. Maundrell of Rowd in the County of Wiltſhyre Fermer, was from his childhode brought vp in huſbādry, and after he came to mans ſtate, did abyde & dwell in a Village called Buchamton in the Pariſh of Keuel with in the County of Wiltſhyre aforeſayd, where he had wife and children, beyng of good name and fame. Which Ioh. Maundrell, after that the Scripture was tranſlated into Engliſh by the faithfull Apoſtle of England, W. Tyndall, became a diligent hearer and a feruent embracer of Gods true Religion, ſo that he delited in nothing ſo much, as to heare and ſpeake of Gods word, neuer beyng without the new Teſtament about him, although he could not read him ſelf. But when he came into any company that could read, his booke was alwayes ready, hauyng a very good memory: ſo that he could recite by hart moſt places of the new Teſtamēt, his conuerſation & liuyng beyng very honeſt and charitable as his neighbours are able to teſtifie.

So it was, that in the dayes of kyng Henry the viij. at what tyme Doct. Trigonion, and Doct. Lee did viſit Abbayes, the ſayd Iohn Maundrell was brought before Doct. Trigonion at an Abbay called Edyngton within in the Coūty of Wiltſhyre aforeſayd: where he was accuſed that he had ſpoken againſt holy water and holy bread and ſuch like ceremonies, and for the ſame did weare a white ſheete bearing a candle in his hand about the market in the towne of the Deuiſes, which is in the ſayd County. Neuertheleſſe his feruency did not abate, but by Gods mercifull aſſiſtance he tooke better hold, as the ſequele hereof will declare.

For in the dayes of Queene Mary, when Popery was reſtored agayne and Gods true Religion put to ſilence, the ſayd Iohn Maundrell left his own houſe and departed into ẏ County of Glocesterſhyre and into the north part of Wiltſhyre, wandryng from one to an other to ſuch men as he knew feared God, with whom as a ſeruaūt to keepe their cattel, he there did remaine, with Iohn Bridges or ſome other at Kingeſwode: but after a tyme he returned to his countrey, and there cōmyng to the Veys to a frend of his named Anthony Clee, had talke and conference with hym in a Garden of returnyng home to his houſe. And when the other exhorted him by the wordes of Scripture, to flee from one Citie to an other, he replying agayne by ẏ wordes of the Apocal. 21. of them that be fearefull &c. ſayd that he nedes muſt go home, & ſo did. Where he with Spicer and Coberley vſed at tymes to reſort and conferre together. At lēgth vpō ẏ Sonday folowing they agreed together to go to the pariſh church called Keuel, where the ſayd Iohn Maundrell and the other two, ſeyng the Pariſhners in the proceſſion to folow and worſhyp the Idol there caried, aduertiſed them to leaue ẏ ſame and to returne to the liuyng God, namely ſpeakyng to one Robert Barkeſdale head man of the Pariſhe, but he tooke no regarde to theſe wordes.

After this the Vicar came into the Pulpite, who there beyng about to read his bedroll and to pray for the ſoules in Purgatory, the ſayd Ioh. Maundrell ſpeakyng with an audible voyce, ſaid: that that was the Popes pynfold: the other two affirmyng the ſame. After which wordes, by commaundement of the Prieſt, they were had to the ſtockes, where they remained till their ſeruice was done, and then were brought before a Iuſtice of peace, & ſo ẏ next day caryed to Saliſbury all three, and preſented before Byſhop Capon, and W. Geffrey beyng Chauncelour of the Dioces. By whom they were impriſoned & often tymes examined of their faith in their houſes, but ſeldome openly. And at their laſt examination theſe were the Articles, which the Chauncellour alledged agaynſt them, beyng accompanyed with the Sheriffe of ẏ ſhyre one M. Seint Iohns, and other Popiſh Prieſtes in the Pariſh Church of Fiſherton Anger, demaundyng how they did beleue.

Confeſſion of their beliefe.

They aūſwered: as Chriſten men ſhould and ought to beleue: and firſt they ſayd they beleued in God the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the holy Ghoſt, the xij. Articles of the Crede, the holy Scripture from the firſt of Geneſis to the laſt of the Apocalyps.

Sacrament of the altar.

But that ſayth the Chauncellour would not allow. Wherfore he apposed thē in particular Articles: Firſt, whether that they did not beleue that in the Sacramēt of the altar (as he termed it) after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt at Maſſe, there remained no ſubſtance of bread nor wine, but CHRISTES body fleſh & bloud as he was borne of ẏ virgine Mary. Whereunto they anſwered negatiuely, ſaying that the Popiſhe Maſſe was abominable Idolatry and iniurious to the bloud of CHRIST: but confeſſing that in a faithfull congregation, receauing the Sacrament of CHRISTES body and bloud, being duely miniſtred accordyng to CHRISTES inſtitution, CHRISTES body and bloud is ſpiritually receiued of ẏ faithfull beleuer.

Againſt the Popes Supremacy.

Alſo, being aſked whether the Pope was supreame head of ẏ Church, & CHRISTES Vicar on earth: they aūſwered negatiuely, ſaying that the Byſhop of Rome doth vſurpe ouer Emperours and Kinges, beyng Antichriſt and Gods enemy.

The Chauncellour ſayd: will you haue the Church without a head?

Chriſt only Supreame head of his church: vnder him euery Prince in his own dominiō.

They anſwered: CHRIST was head of his church, and vnder CHRIST ẏ Queenes Maieſtie. What, ſayd the Chaūcelour? a woman head of ẏ Church? yea ſayd they, within her graces dominions.

Purgatory.

Alſo, that the ſoules in Purgatory were deliuered by the Popes pardōs and the ſuffrages of the Church?

They ſayd they beleued faithfully that the bloud of CHRIST had purged their ſinnes and the ſinnes of all them that were ſaued, vnto the end of ẏ world, ſo that they feared nothyng the Popes Purgatory nor eſteemed his pardons.

Images.

Alſo, whether Images were neceſſary to bee in the Churches, as lay mens bookes, & Saintes to be prayed vnto and worſhipped?

Sentence red againſt theſe 3. Martyrs.

They aunſwered negatiuely: Iohn Maundrell addyng that wodden Images were good to roſt a ſhoulder of mutton, but euill in the Church: wherby Idolatry was cōmitted. Thoſe Articles thus aunſwered (for their Articles were one, and their aunſweres in maner like) the Chauncelour red their condemnation, and ſo deliuered them to the Sheriffe.

March. 23.

Then ſpake Iohn Spycer, ſaying: Oh M. Sheriffe, now muſt you be their butcher, that you may be gilty alſo with them of innocent bloud before ẏ Lord. This was the 23. day of March. an. 1556. and the 24. day of the ſame moneth they were carryed out of the commō Gayle to a place betwixt Saliſbury and Wiltō, where were ij. poſtes ſet for them to be burnt at. Which men commyng to the place, kneeled downe and made their prayers ſecretly together, and then beyng diſclothed to their ſhirtes, Ioh. Maundrell ſpake with a loud voyce: not for all Saliſbury. Which wordes men iudged to be an aunſwere to the Sheriffe, which offered hym the Queenes pardon if he would recant. And after that, in lyke maner ſpake Iohn Spicer ſaying: this is the ioyfulleſt day that euer I ſaw. Thus were they three burnt at two ſtakes: where moſt conſtantly they gaue their bodyes to the fire and their ſoules to the Lord for teſtimonie of his truth.

Maundrell, Spicer, Coberley, brought to the place of Martyrdome.

The wordes of *Maundrell.*

Alice Coberley being in diſtrance, how ſhe was brought by the kepers wife to reuolte.

As touchyng William Coberley, this moreouer is to be noted, that his wife alſo, called Alyce, beyng apprehended, was in the keepers houſe the ſame time deteined while her huſband was in priſō. Where the keepers wife named Agnes Penycote, had ſecretly heated a key fire hoate, and layd it in graſſe on the backſide. So ſpeakyng to Alyce Coberley to fet her the key in all haſt, the ſayd Alyce went with ſpede to bryng the key, and ſo takyng vp the key in haſt did pitiouſly burne her hād. Wherupon ſhe crying out at the ſodein burnyng of her hand: Ah thou drabbe, quoth the other, thou that canſt not abyde the burnyng of the key, how wilt thou be able to burne the whole body, and ſo ſhe afterward reuoked. And thus much concernyng theſe thrée Saliſbury Martyrs.

A diſcourſe of the death and Martyrdome of .vj. other Martyrs ſuffering at London, whoſe names here follow.

Aprill. 24.

Sixe Martyrs burnt in Smythfild at one ſtake.

ABout the .xxiiij. day of Aprill. Anno Do. 1556. were burned in Smithfielde at one fyre, theſe ſixe conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, ſuffering for yͤ profeſſion of yͤ Goſpel, viz.

- Robert Drakes *Miniſter.*
- William Tyms *Curate.*
- Rychard Spurge *Shereman.*
- Thomas Spurge *Fuller.*
- Iohn Cauell *VVeauer.*
- George Ambroſe *Fuller.*

These Martyrs were ſent vp by the *L. Rich, by M. Tyrrell,* and others.

They were all of Eſſex, and ſo of the dioces of London, & were ſent vp, ſome by the Lord Rich, & ſome by others at ſundry tymes, vnto Steuen Gardiner B. of Wincheſter, then L. Chauncellour of England, about the .xxij. day of March. An. 1555. Who vpon ſmall examination, ſent them, ſome vnto the kynges Bench, and others vnto the Marſhalſey, where they remayned almoſt all the whole yeare, (vntill the death of the ſayd Biſhop of Wincheſter) and had during that tyme nothing ſayd vnto them. Whereupon, after that Doct. Heath Archbyſhop of Yorke was choſen to the offyce of Lord Chauncellorſhip, foure of theſe perſecuted brethren, being now weery of thys their long impryſonment, made their ſupplication vnto the ſayd D. Heath, requyring his fauour and ayde for their deliueraunce: the copy whereof enſueth.

To the right reuerend father Thomas Archbiſhop of Yorke, Lord Chauncellour of England.

A ſupplication vnto the Lord Chauncelor.

MAy it pleaſe your honorable good Lordſhip, for the loue of God, to tēder the humble ſute of your lordſhips poore Orators, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, which haue lyen in great miſery in the Marſhalſey, by the ſpace of .x. monethes and more, at the commaundement of the late Lord Chauncellour, to their vtter vndoing, wyth their wiues and children. In conſideration wherof, your Lordſhips ſayd Oratours do moſt humbly pray and beſech your good Lordſhip to ſuffer them to be brought before your honour, and there, if any man of good conſcience can lay any thing vnto our charge, we truſt eyther to declare our innocency againſt their accuſations, or if otherwyſe theyr accuſations can bee proued true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping vs) wyth our condigne puniſhmentes to ſatiſfy the law according to your wyſe iudgement, as we hope full of fatherly mercy towardes vs and all men, according to your godly office, in the which we pray for your Godly ſucceſſe to the good pleaſure of God, Amen.

This Supplication was ſent (as is ſayd) and ſubſcribed with the names of theſe .iiij. vnder following.

Names ſubſcribed to the ſupplication.

- Richard Spurge.
- Thomas Spurge.
- George Ambroſe.
- Iohn Cauell.

Richard Spurge.

Rich. Spurge examined.

The Parſon of Bocking accuſer.

Upon the receat and ſight hereof, it was not longe after, but Sir Richard Read Knight, then one of the Officers of the Court of the Chauncery. 16. day of Ianuary, was ſent vnto the Marſhalſey, to examine the ſayd foure priſoners: and therefore beginning firſt wyth Richard Spurge vpon certayne demaundes, receyued his aunſwers thereunto: the effecte whereof was, that he with others were complayned vpon by the Parſon of Bocking, vnto the Lord Rich, for that they came not vnto their Pariſh Church of Bocking, where they inhabited: and thereupon was by the ſaid Lord Rich, ſent vnto the late Lord Chauncellour, about the .xxij. day of March laſt paſt, viz. Anno. 1555. And farther he ſaid, that he came not to Church ſithens the firſt alteration of the Engliſh ſeruice into Latine, (Chriſtmas day was thē a tweluemoneth only except) and that, becauſe hee miſlyked both the ſame and the Maſſe alſo, as not conſonant and agréing with Gods holy word. Moreouer, he requyred that he might not be any more examined vpon the matter, vnleſſe it pleaſed the Lord Chauncellour that then was, to know his fayth therein, which to hym he would willingly vtter.

For not commin to the p pish church.

Thomas Spurge.

Thoma Spurge examine

Not co ming to church, why.

Thomas Spurge being then next examined, made the ſame aunſwere in effect that the other had done: confeſſing that he abſented him ſelfe from the Church, becauſe the word of God was not there truely taught, nor the Sacramentes of CHRIST duely miniſtred in ſuch ſort as was preſcribed by the ſame word. And being farther examined of his beliefe concerning the Sacrament of yͤ aultar, he ſayd: that if any could accuſe hym thereof, he would then make aunſwere as God had geuen hym knowledge therein.

Sacrament of altar.

George Ambroſe.

George Ambro examine

The like aunſwere made George Ambroſe, adding moreouer, that after hee had red the late Byſhop of Wincheſters booke, intituled De vera obedientia, with Boners Preface thereunto annexed, inueying (both) againſt the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, he did much leſſe ſet by their doinges then before.

Iohn Cauell.

Ioh. Ca examine

The ca why *Ioh. Ca* same no church.

Iohn Cauell agréeing in other matters wyth them, aunſwered that the cauſe why he did forbeare the comming to the Church, was, that the Parſon there had preached two contrary doctrines. For firſt in a Sermon that hee made at the Quéenes firſt entry to the crowne, he did exhort the people to beleue the Goſpell: for it was the truth, and if they did not beleue it, they ſhould be damned. But in a ſecond Sermon, he preached that the Teſtament was falſe in fourty places. which contrarietie in hym was a cauſe amongſt other, of his abſenting from the Church.

The P ſon of king fal and con ry to hy owne do trine.

Robert Drakes.

Robert Drake Parſon Thund ſley exa ned.

About the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes alſo was examined, who was Parſon of Thūderſley in Eſſex, & had there remayned yͤ ſpace of thrée yeares. He was firſt made Deacon by Doct. Taylor of Hadley, at the commaundement of Doct. Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Cāterbury. And within one yeare after (which was the third of the reigne of Kyng Edward) hee was by the ſayd Archbiſhop and Doctour Ridley Biſhop of London, admitted miniſter of Gods holy word and Sacramentes, not after the order then in force, but after ſuch order as was after ſtabliſhed, and was preſented vnto the ſayd benefice of Thunderſley by the Lord Rich, at the ſute of M. Cauſton and M. Treheron: and now notwithſtanding was ſent vp by the ſayd Lord Rich, with the others before mentioned: and at his comming to the biſhop of Wincheſter, was by hym demaunded whether hee would conforme hym ſelfe lyke a ſubiect to the lawes of this realme then in force. To the which he ſayd, he would abide all lawes that ſtoode with the lawes of God: and thereupon was committed to pryſon, where hee and the reſt aboue named did remayne euer ſythens.

Drake placed i the ben fice of Thund ſley by *L. Ric*

William Tyms.

Now remayneth likewyſe to declare the examination of W. Tyms, Deacon and Curate of Hocley in Eſſex. But before I come to hys examination, firſt here is to be opened and ſet forth the order and maner of his hys trouble, how and by whom he was firſt apprehended in Eſſex, and from thence ſent vp to London: the ſtory whereof followeth in this maner.

❡The ſtory of W. Tyms Deacon, and Curate of Hocley, with the maner of his taking.

There was at Hocley in Quéene Maries dayes. ij. Sermons preached in the woods, the which woods were appertaynyng to M. Tyrrell, and the name of the one wood was called Plomborow wood, and the other Becheſwood, and there was at the ſame Sermons an honeſt man and his wyfe wyth hym, whoſe name was Iohn Gye, the which Gye was Maſter Tyrrels ſeruaunt, and dyd dwell vnder him, being his Herd at a farme of hys called Plomborow. Shortly after it was knowen to maſter Tyrrell, how that his woodes were polluted with Sermons, the which he dyd take very euyll, and much matter did ryſe about it, as an vnlawfull aſſembly: the which was layd to Iohn Gyes charge, becauſe he dyd not diſcloſe that vnlawful act to his Maſter, being then in the commiſſion of the peace, appointed at that tyme to kepe down the Goſpell, the which hee did to the vttermoſt, as it may appeare in many of hys actes. Good God geue hym repentaunce, if it be thy wyll.

Shortly after it pleaſed M. Tyrrell to come to Hocley, to ſift out this matter, and to knowe who was at theſe preachings. Well, there were fōd many faults: for it is ſuppoſed there were a hundred perſons at the leaſt. So it pleaſed M. Tyrrell to begin firſt wyth Iohn Gye, and aſked hym where that naughty fellowe was that ſerued their pariſh, one Tyms: for it is tolde me (ſayd he) that he is ẏ cauſer to bring theſe naughty fellowes into the countrey. Therfore I charge thée Gye to fet me this naughty fellow Tyms, for thou knoweſt where he is. No ſayd Gye, I do not know. So in no wyſe he could not make him fet him.

Then ſtepped forth an other of M. Tyrrels men, willyng to ſhew his maſter pleaſure, whoſe name was Richard Shereffe, and ſayd to his Maſter: Syr I knowe where he is. Well ſayd M. Tyrell, go to the Conſtables and charge them to bring hym to me.

So this Shereffe being diligent, made ſure worke, and had hym brought before his maſter with the Conſtabels, whoſe names be theſe, Edward Hedge and Iohn Iames. So when hee came before M. Tyrrell, then M. Tyrrell cōmaunded all men to depart: and it was wyſely done, for he was not able to opē his mouth agaynſt Tyms without reproch, and there he kept him about thrée houres. But there were ſome that liſtened at the walles, and herd M. Tyrrel ſay thus to Tyms.

Me thinketh (ſayde he) that when I ſée the bleſſed Roode, it maketh me thinke of God?

Why Syr, ſayd Tyms, if an Idole that is made with mans handes doth make you remember God: howe much more ought the creatures of God, as man beyng hys workemanſhip, or the graſſe, or the trées that bringeth forth fruit, make you remember God.

So Maſter Tyrrel ended hys talke wyth Tyms, it ſhould ſéeme in an heate, for he braſt out and called him trayterly knaue.

Why Syr, ſayd Tyms, in kyng Edwardes daies you did affirme the truth that I do now.

Affirme, quoth Tyrrell? nay by Gods body, I neuer thought it with my hart.

Well ſayd Tyms, then I pray you M. Tyrrell beare wyth me, for I haue bene a Traytor but a whyle, but you haue bene a Traytor ſixe yeares.

After this, Tyms was ſent to London to the biſhop, and from hym to the biſhop of Wyncheſter, and ſo frō him to ẏ Kings Bench, and then was M. Tyrrels rage ſeaſed with them that were in the woods at the ſermōs. So M. Tyrrell toke away Gyes coate, and gaue it to Iohn Trayford, and ſent hym to S. Toſies to ſée good rule kept there.

Whē Tyms came before the biſhop of Lōdon, there was at that tyme the biſhop of Bathe, and there was Wil. Tyms examined of hys fayth before thē both. So mightely God wrought wyth this true harted man, that he had wherewyth to aunſwer them both, for the Conſtables did ſay that brought him before the biſhop, that they neuer heard the lyke. Then the biſhop (as though he woulde haue had Tyms to turne from the truth) ſayd to the Conſtables: I pray you (ſaid he) geue hym good counſayle, that he may turne from his error. My Lord, ſayd the Conſtables, he is at a point, for hée wyll not turne. Then both the Biſhops waxed weery of him, for he had troubled them about a ſixe or ſeuen houres. Then the biſhops began to pitye Tyms caſe, and to flatter him ſaying: Ah good fellow (ſayd they) thou art bold, & thou haſt a good freſh ſpirite, we would thou hadſt learning to thy ſpirite. I thanke you my Lordes ſayd Tyms, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good ſpirit to your learning. So thus they broke vp, and ſent Tyms to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and there were Edward Hedge and Iohn Iames the Conſtables aforenamed diſcharged, and Tyms was cōmaunded to ẏ kyngs Bench, whereas he was mightely ſtrēgthened wyth the good mē that he found there.

Will. Tyms brought & examined before *B. Boner* and the biſhop of Bath.

And thus hetherto ye haue heard, firſt vpō what occaſion thys William Tyms was apprehended, how he was entreated of M. Tirrell the Iuſtice, and by hym ſent vp to the Ordinary of the Dioces, which was Byſhop Boner: who after certayne talke and debating he had wyth the ſayd Tyms, at length directed hym to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, being then Lord Chauncellor, and yet liuing, and ſo was commaunded by him vppon the ſame to the kynges Bench.

Will. Tyms ſent from *B. Boner*, to the Biſh. of Wincheſter.

Here by the way is to be vnderſtanded, that Tyms as he was but a Deacon, ſo was hee but ſimply or at leaſt not prieſtly apparelled, for as much as hee went not in a gowne, but in a coate: and his hoſen were of two colours, the vpper part whyte, and the neather ſtockes of ſheepes ruſſet. Whereupon the proud prelate ſending for him to come before hym, and ſeyng his ſimple attire, begā to mocke him ſaying: Ah ſyrha, are you a Deacon? Yea my Lorde that I am, quoth Tyms. So me thinketh ſaid the biſhop, ye are decked lyke a Deacon. My Lord ſaid Tyms, my veſture doth not ſo much vary from a Deacon, but me thinketh your apparell doth as much vary from an Apoſtle. So then there ſpake one of the biſhops Gentlemē: My Lord (ſayd he in mockadge) geue him a chaire, a toſte, and drinke, and he will be luſty. But the biſhop bad, haue hym away, and commaūded him to come before him agayne the next day at an houre appointed.

Talke betwene the Biſhop of Wincheſter, & *Will. Tyms*.

But Wincheſter for lacke of layſure, or becauſe of ſicknes growing vpon hym, or for what cauſe els I know not, eyther would not, or could not attende vnto hym, but returned him agayne to his ordinary Biſhop frō whence he came. So W. Tyms being put of againe to B. Boner, was placed together and coupled with the other fyue Martyrs aboue named, and with them brought together to publicke examination before the Byſhop, the .xxj. day of March, fyrſt in the Biſhops Palace of Lōdon: where the ſaid Biſhop after hys accuſtomed maner procéeding agaynſt them, enquyred of them their fayth vpon the Sacrament of the altar. To whom they aunſwered, that the body of CHRIST was not in the Sacrament af the aultar really and corporally after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, of the which opinion they had bene of longe tyme, ſome later, ſome ſooner, euen as God of hys mercy did cal them vnto the knowledge of his Goſpel. Then the Byſhops Chapleins began to reaſon wyth them, but wyth no great autorities either of the ſcriptures, or of the auncient fathers (ye may be ſure) as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Theſe 5. Martyrs were *R. Drakes*, *Tho. Spurge*, *Rich. Spurge*, *Cauell*, *Ambroſe*.

Their examinations before the Biſhop of London.

Sacrament of the altar.

An other examination of Tyms and Drakes, and the reſt, before the Byſhop.

March.23.

Drakes and W. Tyms with the reſt, againe examined.

THe .xxiij. day of the ſame moneth next after, the Byſhop ſent agayne for Tyms and Drakes, and Ex officio did obiect vnto them certayne articles, the ſumme and maner whereof ye may read before in the pag. 2015. col. 1. And the .xxvj. day of the ſame moneth, he ſent for the other foure, miniſtring vnto them alſo the ſame generall articles. Unto the which they all in effect aunſwered in matters touching their faith, as did the ſaid Bartlet Grene and the reſt. Other appearinges they had, as the Biſhops common maner of proceeding was, more (as I haue often ſayd) for order and forme of law, then for any zeale of iuſtice.

March.28.

But in concluſion, the .xxviij. day of this moneth of March, William Tyms and Rob. Drakes with the other 4. aboue named, were brought to the open Conſiſtory in Paules before the ſaid Biſhop of London, to be condemned for hereſy.

B. Boners wordes to W. Tyms.

The biſhop firſt began in this or lyke ſort: Tyms, quoth he, I wyll begyn with thee firſt, for thou art and haſt bene the ryngleader of theſe thy companions, thou haſt taught them hereſies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and haſt indeuored as much as in thee lyeth, to make them lyke vnto thy ſelfe. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of other, I would then haue vſed thee more charitably, and not haue brought thee to this open rebuke, I woulde accordyng to the rule of *CHRIST* in the. 18. of Mathew, haue told thee thy fault betwene me and thee: if thou wouldeſt not haue heard me, I would not ſo haue left thee, but I with two or .iij. other, would haue exhorted thee: if that would not haue ſerued, then would I haue told the church. &c. But for that thy fault is open & manifeſt to the world, & thou thy ſelfe remayneſt ſtout in thine errour, thys charitable dealing is not to be extended towardes thee. I haue therefore thought good to proceede by an other rule, whereof S. Paule ſpeaketh, 1. Timoth. 5. *Such as ſinne, rebuke them openly, that other may feare.* For thys cauſe art thou brought before me in the face of this people, to receaue iudgement accordyng to thy deſertes. Let me ſee what thou canſt ſay, why I ſhoulde not proceede agaynſt thee as thyne Ordinary.

Mat.18.

1. Tim.5.

The anſwer of Will. Tyms to B. Boner.

My Lord (quoth Tyms) wyll you nowe geue mee leaue to ſpeake? Yea quoth the Biſhop. Then ſayd Tyms: My Lord, I maruaill that you wyll begyn wyth a lye. You call me the ringleader and teacher of thys company, but how vntruly you haue ſayd, ſhall ſhortly appeare: for there is none of all theſe my brethren, which are brought hether as priſoners, but when they were at liberty and out of priſon, they diſſented from you and your doinges, as much as they doe at this preſent: and for that cauſe they are nowe priſoners. So it is euident that they learned not their religion in priſon. And as for me, I neuer knew them, vntyll ſuch tyme as I by your commaundement was priſoner with them: how could I then be their ryngleader and teacher? So that all the world may ſee how vntruly you haue ſpoken. And as for my fault which you make ſo greeuous, whatſoeuer you iudge of me, I am well aſſured that I hold none other religion, then *CHRIST* preached, the Apoſtels witneſſed, the primatiue Church receaued, and now of late the Apoſtolicall and Euangelicall Preachers of this realme haue faithfully taught: for the which you haue cruelly burned them, and now you ſeeke our bloud alſo. Proceede on hardly by what rule you wyll: I force not, I doe not refuſe you for my Ordinary.

B. Boners wordes.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, I perceaue thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou ſubmit thy ſelfe to the catholicke church as an obediēt child: in ſo doing thou ſhalt be receaued and do well inough, otherwyſe thou ſhalt haue iudgement as an hereticke.

One of
priſoner
anſwere
to biſh.
Boner.

Then one of the priſoners (whoſe name is not certainly knowen) ſayd: my Lord, you are no vpryght Iudge, for you iudge after your own luſt. But if you will iudge vs accordyng to the holy teſtament of Chriſt, which is the word of truth, we wil accord to your iudgement: for vnto that word we wholy ſubmit our ſelues. But as for your iudgement without that truth, God ſhall condemne. And this priſoner was very earneſtly in hand with the biſhop, that they might be iudged by the word of God.

With this the biſhop was offended, callyng him buſie knaue, and commaunded hym to hold hys toung, or els he ſhould be had away to a place of ſmaller eaſe.

W. Ty
agaiuſt a
ſwereth.

Then Tyms anſwered and ſayd: My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholicke church, whatſoeuer you iudge of me. But as for your church, you haue before this day renounced it, & by corporall oth promiſed neuer to conſent to the ſame. Contrary to the which you haue receaued into this realme the Popes authoritye, and therefore you are falſely periured and forſworne all the ſort of you. Beſides this, you haue both ſpoken and writtē very earneſtly agaynſt that vſurped power, and now you do burne men that will not acknowledge the Pope to be ſupreme head.

B. Bone
charged
with pe
iury, an
inconſtā

Haue I, quoth the biſhop? Where haue I written any thing agaynſt the church of Rome?

Boners
preface
Winche
ſters
booke
De obe
entia,

My Lord, quoth Tyms, the Biſhop of Wincheſter wrote a very learned Oration intituled De vera obedientia, which contayneth worthy matter agaynſt the Romiſh authority. Unto the which booke you made a Preface, inueying largely againſt the biſhop of Rome, reprouing hys tyranny and falſehood, callyng hys power falſe and pretenced. The booke is extant, and you cannot deny it.

B. Bone
excuſeth
himſelfe
feare.

Then was the biſhop ſomewhat abaſhed, and lookyng vpon ſuch as were preſent, ſpake very gently ſaying: Lo, here is a goodly matter in deede. My Lord of Wincheſter beyng a great learned man, did wryte a booke againſt the ſupremacy of the Popes holynes, and I alſo did write a Preface before the ſame booke, tendyng to the ſame effect. And thus dyd wee becauſe of the perilous world that then was. For then was it made treaſon by the lawes of this realme to maintayn the Popes authoritie, and great daunger it was to be ſuſpected a fauourer of the Sea of Rome, and therfore feare compelled vs to beare with the tyme, for otherwyſe there had bene no way but one. You know when any vttered hys conſcience in mayntaining the Popes authority, he ſuffered death for it. And then turnyng hys tale vnto Tyms, he ſayd: but ſince that tyme, euen ſithens the comming in of the Queenes maieſty, when we might be bold to ſpeake our conſcience, we haue acknowledged our faultes, and my Lord of Wincheſter hym ſelfe ſhamed not to recant the ſame at Paules Croſſe. And alſo thou thy ſelfe ſeeſt that I ſtande not in it, but wyllingly haue ſubmitted my ſelfe. Do thou alſo as we haue done.

Tyms
againe
plyeth
the biſ

My Lorde, quoth Tyms, that which you haue written agaynſt the ſupremacie of the pope, may be well approued by the Scriptures. But that which you now do, is agaynſt the word of God, as I can well proue.

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plied.

Thē an other, I ſuppoſe it was Doct. Cooke, ſayd: Tyms I pray thee let me talke with thee a litle, for I thinke we two are learned a like. Thou ſpeakeſt much of the Scripture, and yet vnderſtandeſt it not. I will tel thee to whō thou mayſt be cōpared. Thou art like to one which intendyng to go on huntyng, riſeth vp early in the mornyng, taketh his houndes & forth he goeth vp to the hilles, and down into the valleys: he paſſeth ouer the fieldes ouer hedge and dich, he ſearcheth the woods and thickets: thus laboureth he all the whole day without finding any game. At night home he cōmeth wery of his trauell, not hauyng caught any thyng at all: and thus fareth it by thee. Thou laboureſt in readyng of the Scriptures, thou takeſt the letter, but the meanyng thou knoweſt not, and thus thy readyng is as vnprofitable vnto thee, as huntyng was vnto the man I ſpake of euen now.

Syr, quoth Tyms, you haue not well applied your ſimilitude: for I prayſe God, I haue not red Scriptures vnprofitably: but God I thanke him, hath reueled vnto me ſo much as I doubt not is ſufficient for my ſaluation.

Then ſayd the Biſhop: you brag much of knowledge and yet you know nothyng, you ſpeake much of Scripture and you know not what Scripture is. I pray thée tell me: How knoweſt thou that thyng to be the worde of God which thou calleſt Scripture.

To this aunſwered Rob. Drakes, that he did know it to be the word of God, for that it doth ſhew vnto thē their ſaluation in CHRIST, and doth reuoke and call backe all men from wicked lyfe, vnto a pure and vndefiled conuerſation.

The Biſhop replied, that the heathen writers, haue taught preceptes of good liuyng, aſwell as the Scripture, and yet their writynges are not eſtéemed to bée Gods word.

To this aunſwered Tyms ſaying: the olde Teſtament beareth witnes of thoſe thinges which are written in the new, for (quoth he) there is nothyng taught in the new Teſtament, but it was foreſhewed in the law and Prophetes.

I will deny all, quoth the Byſhop, I will deny all: what ſayeſt thou then? Then Rob. Drakes alledged a ſentence in Latin out of yͤ Prophet Eſay in yͤ 59. chap. of his Propheſie: Spiritus meus qui eſt in te. &c. *My ſpirite which is in thee, and my wordes which I haue put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of the mouth of thy ſeede, nor out of the mouth of the ſeede of thy ſeede, from hence foorth euen for euer*: meanyng therby to proue that he which had the ſpirite of God, could therby diſcerne and iudge truly which was Gods word: but before he could explicate his minde, he was interrupted by the Byſhop, who ſpake vnto Doct. Pendleton, ſaying:

Maſter Doctour I pray you ſay ſomwhat vnto theſe folkes that may do them ſome good. Then Doct. Pendleton as he leaned neare vnto yͤ Biſhop, couered hys face with both his handes, to yͤ end he might the more quietly deuiſe what to ſay, but other talke was preſently miniſtred, ſo that for that tyme he ſayd nothyng.

And thus much William Aleſbury witnes hereof, being therat preſent, ſo farre as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was ſpoken and there ſayd (for they made not yet an ende a good whyle after) becauſe hee departed then out of the houſe, hee doth not know, nor dyd not heare.

Then the Byſhop after this and ſuch like cōmunication thus paſſed betwene them, procéedyng at length in forme of law, cauſed both his Articles and aunſweres to yͤ ſame, there and then to be openly red: the ſumme of which his confeſſion recorded & left by his one hand wrytyng tended to this effect, as followeth.

¶ The Articles for the which William Tims of Hokley in Eſſex was condemned in the Cōſiſtory in Paules the .xxviij. day of March, with his aunſwers and confeſſion vpon the ſame.

FIrſt I did truly confeſſe and beleue that I was baptiſed into the true Catholicke church of CHRIST: for when I was baptiſed there was the element and the word of God, according to CHRISTES inſtitution. And my godfathers and godmother did promiſe for me that I ſhould forſake the deuill and all hys workes, and that I ſhould kepe Gods commaundementes, and beleue all the Articles of the chriſten fayth: the which I do beleue at thys day, and with Gods helpe, I truſt to do whyle I lyue: for it was not the wickednes of the miniſter that made the Sacrament of none effect. &c.

Item, I confeſſed two Sacramentes, and but two in CHRISTES true church: that is, the Sacramēt of baptiſme and the ſacrament of the body and bloud of CHRIST, and that CHRIST is preſent with his Sacraments as it pleaſeth hym.

Item, I confeſſed that CHRIST hath a viſible church wherein the word of God is truely preached and the ſacramentes truely miniſtred.

Item, I confeſſed the Sea of Rome to bee as the late Biſhop of Wincheſter hath written in his bookes De vera Obedientia, to the which I ſayd vnto the Byſhop of London, that hee had made a godly Preface: and alſo Iohn Bale hath playnely declared in hys booke called the Image of both churches, euen ſo much as I beleue thereof.

Wincheſters booke *De obedientia.*

Item, I confeſſed the Maſſe to be blaſphemy to Chriſtes death and Paſſion.

The Maſſe blaſphemous.

Item, I confeſſed that in the Sacrament of the altar CHRIST is not preſent neyther ſpiritually nor corporally, but as they vſe it, it is an abominable Idole.

Sacrament of the altar an Idoll.

Laſt of all, I confeſſed the Byſhop of London to bee myne Ordinary.

After this the Biſhop falling to entreatyng and perſuaſions, earneſtly exhorted him to reuoke his hereſies (as he termed them) and to reforme him ſelfe vnto the Church of Rome, and not to ſticke ſo much to the lyterall ſenſe of the Scriptures, but to vſe the interpretation of the old fathers.

To which Tyms aunſwered: I will not reforme my ſelfe therunto. And I thanke God of this day: for I truſt hee will turne your curſinges into bleſſinges.

And furthermore aſking this queſtion, he ſayd: and what haue you to maynteine the reall preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament, but onely the bare letter?

We haue (quoth the Byſhop) the Catholicke church.

No ſayd Tymes, you haue the Popiſhe Church of Rome for you, for which you bee periured and forſworne. And the Sea of Rome is the ſea of Antichriſt: and therefore to that Church I will not conforme my ſelfe, nor once conſent vnto it.

The Popes church.

The Sea of Rome, yͤ Sea of Antichriſt.

Then the Byſhop ſeyng his conſtant boldnes to be vnmoueable, procéedyng to his condemnation, pronounced the ſentence definitiue vppon him, and gaue hym ouer vnto the ſecular power.

Sentence red agaynſt *Will. Tyms.*

¶ *The condemnation of Robert Drakes.*

After, callyng for Rob. Drakes, hée vſed towardes him the lyke maner of exhortatiō that he did before. To whom Drakes ſayd: as for your Church of Rome, I vtterly defie and deny it, with all the workes therof, euen as I deny the deuill and all his workes.

The aunſwere *of Robert Drakes.*

The Biſhop thē vſing his accuſtomed order of law, with his lyke exhortations, at laſt gaue hym the like bleſſyng that Tyms had, and ſo charged the Sheriffe with him.

Sentence geuen agaynſt *Drakes.*

¶ *The condemnation of Thomas Spurge* and of the other 3. Martyrs.

Thomas Spurge beyng next demaūded if he would returne to the Catholicke Church, ſayd as followeth: as for your Church of Rome, I do vtterly deny it: but to the true Catholicke church I am content to returne and continue in the ſame, wherof I beleue the Church of Rome to be no part or member. Then in fine, callyng the reſt in their courſes, and vpon the like demaūdes receiuyng the lyke aunſweres, the ſayd Byſhop gaue vnto ech of them their ſeuerall iudgementes, and ſo riddyng his bloudy handes, committed them vnto the cuſtody of the Sheriffes of Londō, who ſent them vnto Newgate, whether they went all moſt ioyfully, abidyng there the Lordes good tyme, wherin they ſhould ſeale this their faith with the ſhéedyng of their bloud: which they moſt ſtoutly and willyngly performed the xiiij. day of Aprill, as before is mentioned.

The aunſwere of *Tho. Spurge.*

Sentence geuen againſt *Tho. Spurge, Rich. Spurge, Cauell, Ambroſe.*

The Martyrdome of the 4. Martyrs. An. 1556. Aprill. 14.

Letters of William Tyms.

¶ To his faythfull Siſter in the Lord pariſhner in the towne of Hockly, named Agnes Glaſcocke.

THe grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father throw IESVS CHRIST our Lorde and onely Sauiour, wyth the ſwete comfort of hys holy and myghty ſpirite, to the performaunce of hys wyll, to your euerlaſting comfort, be with you my deare ſiſter Glaſcocke, both now and euermore, Amen.

A letter of *Will. Tyms to Agnes Glaſcocke.*

My moſt deare and entierly beloued ſiſter, yea mother I may right well call you for the motherly care which you haue alwayes had for me, I haue mee moſt hartely commended vnto you, giuing God moſt harty thankes for you, that he hath geuen you ſo louing a hart to *CHRISTES* poore Goſpel, and his poore afflicted flocke for the ſame: and as you haue full godly begon, ſo I beſech God to geue you power, to go forward in ẏ ſame, and neuer more to loke backe, fearyng neyther fyre, neyther ſword: and then I warrant you, you haue not farre to runne.

And now my deare hart, remember wel what I haue both taught you when I was preſent wyth you, and alſo written being abſent, and no doubt we ſhall ſhortly meete agayne wyth a moſt ioyfull meeting. I go vpon Friday next to the biſhop of Londons Colehouſe, which is the .xx. day of March, where I thinke it will be hard for any of my friendes to ſpeake with me. Howbeit I truſt I ſhall not long tary there, but ſhortly after be caryed vp after my deare brethren and ſiſterne which are gone before me into heauen in a fyery chariot: therfore now I take my leaue of you tyll we mete in heauen: and hye you after. I haue taryed a great whyle for you: and ſeing you be ſo long a making ready, I will tary no longer for you. You ſhall fynd me merely ſinging, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabboth, at my iourneyes end. Therefore now my deare hart, make good haſt and loyter not by the way, leſt nyght take you, and ſo ye bee ſhut out of the gate wyth the foolyſh virgins. And now my ſiſter, in witnes that I haue taught you nothing but the truth, here I wryte my name wyth my bloude for a teſtimoniall vnto you, that I will ſeale the ſimple doctaine which I haue taught you, wyth the reſt. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from Antichriſt and all hys miniſters the falſe Prieſtes, Amen

Theſe words following were written with his owne bloud.

Continue in prayer.
Aſke in fayth.
And obtayne your deſyre.

By me william Tims in the kings Bench for the goſpell of Chriſt.

❡An other letter of the ſayd W. Tyms, wherin he doth comfort his ſiſter Glaſkock, being in great ſorow and repentaunce, for goyng to the Maſſe.

An other letter of *Will. Tyms* to Miſtres *Glaſcocke.*

GOD be mercifull vnto you, pardon & forgeue all your ſinnes, and ſend you faith to beleue the ſame, that you may be partaker of his heauenly kyngdome, Amen.

My deare ſiſter, I haue me moſt hartely commended vnto you: and as I haue lamented your fallyng from God, by beyng partaker with that Idolatrous Prieſt, ſo haue I ſince I heard of your earneſt repentance, very much reioyced, and alſo prayſed almighty God for his mercy ſhewed vnto you, in that he hath not left you to your ſelfe, but ſince your denial he hath ſhewed his mercy on you by lookyng backe on you as hee did on Peter, and ſo cauſed you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weepe for your ſinnes: where as if God had left you to your ſelfe, you had run forward from one euill vnto an other, till at the length your harte ſhould either haue bene hardened, or els you ſhould haue diſpaired of the mercy of God. And ſeyng that God hath bene ſo mercyfull vnto you as he hath bene, bee you not vnthankefull vnto him for the ſame. For I certify you that your ſorrowfull hart that you haue had, doth declare vnto me that God hath pardoned & forgeuen all your ſinnes for the bloudſhedyng of that immaculate lambe *IESVS CHRIST* our Lord and Sauiour.

Therfore, as Peter, after ẏ time that *CHRIST* had forgiuen him his ſinne, did boldly confeſſe *CHRIST* before al his enemies: euen ſo my deare hart in the Lord, ſeyng that God hath ſo mercyfully pardoned and forgeuē your ſinnes, now cleaue vnto him and be at defiance with his enemies the Papiſtes: and as they do beare witnes with their father the deuill by goyng to the Church and ſhedyng of the innocent bloud of all thoſe that will not go with them, euen ſo do you beare witnes with *CHRIST*, by not comming there. For all thoſe that do go thether ſhalbe partakers of their brethrē̄s bloud that is ſhed for the teſtimony of *CHRIST*, except they repent and amend: which grace that they may ſo doe, I beſech the eternall God for his *CHRISTES* ſake if it be his good will, to giue them in his good time. And the ſame good God that hath bene ſo mercyfull vnto you to cal you to repētance, him I beſech to kepe you in his feare and loue, that you may haue alwayes affiaunce in him and euermore ſeeke his honour and glory to your euerlaſtyng comforte in *CHRIST*, Amen. Thus fare you well from the kynges bench this xxviij. of Auguſt.

By me William Tyms.

❡An other letter of W. Tyms to certain godly women of his pariſh, followers of the Goſpell.

In other letter of *W.Tym* to certai godly wo men of h Pariſh.

GRace, mercy and peace from God the father, through our Lord *IESVS CHRIST* be wyth you both now and euermore, Amen.

Deare Siſters, I haue me moſt hartely commended vnto you, thankyng you for the great kyndnes ſhewed vnto me in this time of my impriſonmēt, & not only vnto me, but alſo vnto my poore wyfe and children: and alſo for the great kindnes that you ſhew vnto all the lyuing Saintes that be diſperſed abroad, and are fayne to hyde their heades for feare of thys cruell perſecution. Deare Siſters, when I do remember your conſtancy in *CHRIST*, I call to remembraunce the conſtancy of diuers godly women, as Suſanna, Iudith, Heſter, and the good wyfe of Naball, that through her godly conditions saued both her huſbands lyfe and all her houſhold, when Dauid had thought to haue ſlaine him for his churliſhe aunſwere that hee ſent him. Alſo I doe remember Rahab that lodged the Lordes Spies, how God preſerued her and her whole houſhold for her faithfulnes that ſhee bare to Gods people. So I doe beleue, that when the Lord ſhall ſend hys Aungell to deſtroy theſe idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and ſhall fynde the bloud of the Lābe ſprinckled on the doore poſtes of your harts, he wyll go by and not hurt you, but ſpare your whole houſholdes for your ſakes. Alſo I doe remember Mary Magdalen, how faithfull ſhe was: for ſhe was the firſt that preached the reſurrection of *CHRIST*. Remember the bleſſed Martyr Anne Aſkew in our tyme, and followe her example of conſtancy. And for the loue of God take heede that in no caſe you do not conſent to idolatry, but ſtand faſt to the Lord, as the good woman dyd that had her ſeuen ſonnes put to death before her face, and ſhe alwayes comfortyng them, yea and laſt of al ſuffered death her ſelfe for the teſtimony of her God, which is the lyuing God. Thus I beſech God to ſende you grace and ſtrength to ſtand faſt to the Lord as ſhe did, and then you ſhall be ſure of the ſame kyngdome that ſhe is ſure of: to the which kyngdome I pray God bring both you and me, Amen.

By me William Tyms priſoner in the kings bench.

❡An other letter of William Tyms to hys frendes in Hocley.

An other letter of *W Tym* to hys frendes i Hocley.

THe grace of God the father, through the merites of hys deare ſonne *IESVS* our Lord and onely Sauiour, wyth the continuall ayde of hys holy and mighty ſpirite, to the performaunce of hys wil to your euerlaſting comfort, be with you my deare brethren both nowe and euermore, Amen.

My dearely beloued, I beſech God to reward the great goodnes that you haue ſhewed vnto me, ſeuēfolde into your boſomes: and as you haue alwayes had a moſt godly loue vnto his word, euen ſo I beſech him to giue you grace to loue your owne ſoules, and then I truſt that you will flye from all thoſe thyng that ſhould diſpleaſe our good and mercyfull God, and hate and abhorre all the company of thoſe that would haue you to worſhyp God any otherwiſe then is cōtained in his holy worde. And beware of thoſe maſters of Idolatry, that is theſe Papiſticall Prieſtes. My deare brethren for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I haue ſayd vnto you and alſo written, the which I am now ready to ſeale with my bloud. I prayſe God that euer I liued to ſee the day, and bleſſed bee my good and mercyfull G O D that euer hee gaue me a body to glorifie his name. And deare hartes, I do now write vnto you for none other cauſe, but to put you in remembraunce, that I haue not forgotten you, to the end, that I would not haue you forget me, but to remember well what I haue ſimply by word of mouth and writyng taught you. The which although it were moſt ſimply done, yet truly, as your owne conſcience beareth me record: and therfore in any caſe take good hede that you do not that thing which your owne conſcience doth condemne. Therfore come out of Sodome and go to heauenward with the ſeruauntes and Martyrs of God, leſt you bee partakers of the vengeaunce of God that is commyng vppon this wicked nation, from the which the Lord our God defēd you, and ſend vs a ioyfull meetyng in the kyngdome of heauen: vnto the which God bryng you al, Amen. Thus now I take my leaue of you for euer in this world, except I be burned amongeſt you, which thyng is vncerteine vnto me as yet.

By me your pooreſt and moſt vnworthy brother in CHRIST, W. Tyms in Newgate the xij. day of Aprill, condemned to die for CHRISTES veritie.

An other letter of William Tyms geuing thankes to his Pariſhners for their charity ſhewed to hys wyfe being brought to bed of a chylde in his captiuitie.

THe euerlaſting peace of our deare Lorde and onely Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, wyth the ſwete cōfort of his holy & mighty ſpirite, to the increaſe of your faith, to the perfourmance of hys wyll, and to your eternall comfort in the euerlaſting kingdome of heauen, be wyth you my deare brethren and ſiſterne both now and euer, Amen.

My moſt deare brethren and ſiſterne in our Lord and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, I haue me moſt hartely cōmended vnto you, with harty thākes for all the great liberality that you haue ſhewed vnto me, and ſpecially now in this tyme of myne neceſſity, when that God hath ſent my poore wyfe a childe in my captiuitie: which is no litle care to me ſo to prouyde that I myght keepe both the child and my wife frō the Antichriſtian church: the which thing, I thancke my good God, through his moſt gracious prouidence I haue yet done, though it bee (as you know) great charge, not to me but to the congregation of God: and it greeueth me that I haue bene ſo chargeable to them as I haue bene, and ſpecially you my deare brethren, I being ſo vnworthy a member as I haue bene, and alſo of ſo ſmall acquayntaunce: but ſuch is the mercifull goodnes of God, ſo to moue your hartes with charity towardes me. And as he hath moued your hartes ſo to do, euen ſo I beſech God to geue you power to forſake and refuſe all thinges the which be diſpleaſant in his ſight, and to do all things which be requiſite to a chriſtiā: and ſend you grace to go forwards in the ſame as you haue godly begon, neyther fearyng fyre nor ſworde. And my moſt deare hartes, remember well the ſimple playne doctrine the which I haue taught you and alſo written vnto you, which was the truth, & for a teſtimony of the ſame, I truſt that you ſhall ſhortly heare, or els ſee that I wil ſeale yͤ ſame with my bloud. And in the meane tyme I deſyre you all to remēber me in your prayers as I know you do, & as with Gods helpe I will do for you, that God for his deare ſonne CHRISTES ſake wyll ſo finiſh the dayes of our pilgrimage, that we may reſt together wyth Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob in the euerlaſting kingdome of heauen: to the which I beſech the eternall God for hys CHRISTES ſake to bring both you and all yours, Amen.

By me William Tyms.

An other letter of William Tyms to his Siſter Colfoxe and Agnes Glaſcocke.

GRace and peace from God the father of all mercye, through the merites of our deare Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, be perceaued and felt in the hartes of you my dearly beloued Siſters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the holy Ghoſt the comforter, both nowe and euermore, Amen.

My moſt deare and entirely beloued Siſters in the Lord, after my moſt harty commendations, accordyng to my moſt bounden duty I do as I am accuſtomed, or at leaſt bound to do: that is, I geue you warning of your enemies, which be the Papiſtes, and take good heede to them, for they ſerue a crafty maſter, yea and as ſaint Peter ſayth, he ſleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring Liō ſeeking whom hee may deuour. For your olde familiar friendes or worldly companions, whē they ſee that you will not run to the Idols temple with thē, it wyll ſeeme a ſtraunge thing vnto thē that ye runne not to the ſame exceſſe of ryot, as S. Peter ſaith, and therefore they wyll ſpeake euyll of you, rayle on you, and perſecute you.

But my deare Siſters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not ſeeme a ſtraunge thing vnto you. But when they do ſo, remember wherefore it is, and for whoſe ſake, euen becauſe you wyll not forſake God as they do. For the hatred they beare you is for the word of God, and then it is Gods cauſe, and I tell you he wyll reuenge it. And therefore if ye be rayled on & troubled for his ſake, thinke your ſelues moſt happy. For if you ſuffer with the Patriarches, Prophetes, and Apoſtels, then ſhall you be ſure to bee partakers of the ſame ioy that they are in. Yea you haue heard by the word of God how cruelly the Tyrantes haue alwayes perſecuted the true members of CHRIST, as he hym ſelfe hath promiſed that they ſhal do vnto the end of yͤ world.

Rom. 12.

By the way I will bring to your remembraunce the holy Martyr S. Steuen, who for fauouring, maintaining, and defending the ſame doctrine that we now ſuffer for, was called a blaſphemer, and ſtoned to death at Ieruſalem. And CHRISTES Apoſtles were diuerſly afflicted the world ouer, for the ſame by this viperous generatiō. Antipas the faythfull witnes of CHRIST was ſlayne at Pergamus. Iaſon for receauing of Paule and Silas wyth other diſciples and teachers of the Goſpel, was brought before the Counſell at Theſſalonica, and accuſed for a ſeditious Traytor agaynſt Cæſar. No maruell therefore though at this day we be vexed on the ſame ſort, mayntaynyng the ſame cauſe, and fauouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true Seruants of God now, then hath bene afore times? No ſurely, for ſo hath CHRIST promiſed. And if they haue perſecuted him, needes muſt they perſecute his mēbers: if they haue called the maſter of the houſe Belſebub, ſo wyll they do hys houſhold: *Ye ſhall bee hated of all men* (ſayth CHRIST) *for my names ſake.*

Stephen for the ſame Goſpell put to death.

Antipas.
Iaſon.
Act. 7.
Apo. 2.
Math. 2.3.
1. Theſ. 2.
Rom. 16.
Act. 17.
Iohn. 16.
Act. 9.
Phil. 2.
Luke. 21.
Iohn. 1.3.
1. Cor. 6.
Math. 10.

It is no new thing my deare hartes, to ſee yͤ true mēbers of CHRIST handled as in our dayes they be, as it is not vnknowē to you how they be cruelly entreated, & blaſphemed without any reaſonable cauſe. For heretickes muſt they be taken, which followe not their traditions. And then they may as well call CHRIST an hereticke, for he neuer allowed their dirty ceremonies. He neuer wēt a proceſſion with Cope, Croſſe, nor Cādleſticke. He neuer ſenſed Image, nor ſang latyn ſeruice. He neuer ſat in cōfeſſion. He neuer preached of Purgatory, nor of the Popes pardons. He neuer honored Saints, nor prayed for the dead. He neuer ſayd Maſſe, Mattins, nor Euenſong. He neuer commaunded to faſt Friday nor Vigil, Lent nor Aduent. He neuer hallowed church nor Chalice, Aſhes nor Palmes, Candels nor Bels. Hee neuer made holy water, nor holy bread: with ſuch lyke. But ſuch diuine ceremonies, not hauyng the expreſſe commaundement of God, he calleth the leauen of the Phariſeis and damnable hypocriſie: admoniſhing his diſciples to beware of them. He curſeth all thoſe that addeth to his word ſuch beggerly ſhadowes, wiping their names cleane out of the booke of lyfe. S. Paule ſaith, they haue no portion with CHRIST, which wrap them ſelues agayne with ſuch yokes of bondage.

Chriſt may as well be called an hereticke as theſe men.

Math. 16.
Luke. 12.
Deut. 4.
Apoc. 22.
Pſal. 68.
Galat. 4.

Therefore my deare hartes, ſeing that our good God hath by the light of his holy word deliuered vs from all ſuch darke, blinde, dumme, beggerly traditions of men, ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith CHRIST hath made you free, and wrap not your ſelues againe in the yoke of bondage. But let vs alwayes be ready, lookyng for the comming of our Lord and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, which, as S. Peter ſaith, *wyll come as a theefe in the night.* And as our captaine CHRIST ſaith: *If the good man of the houſe knew what houre the theefe would come, he would ſurely watch.*

Gal. 5.
2. Pet. 3.
Math. 24.

Therefore my deare hartes, bee of good comfort, although the world rage neuer ſo ſore againſt you. And for your comfort marke well the great mercy of God, who according to his promiſe, for the weakenes of our nature hath ſo aſſwaged the heate of the fire, that our deare brethren which are gone before vs, to the ſight of all men, haue found it rather to be ioy then payne. And thynke you ſurely that God wyll be as mercyfull vnto you, as he hath bene vnto them: and ſay with S. Paule: *who ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſhe, or perſecutiō, either hunger, either nakednes, either peril, either ſword? as it is written: for thy ſake are we killed all the day long. &c.*

Rom. 8.

Therefore my deare Siſters, if to ſaue your lyues, any diſſemblyng Goſpellers would haue you to go to the Idols temple with them, ſay vnto them: No, for my Maſter CHRIST ſayth: *He that would ſaue his lyfe, ſhall loſe it.* And in an other place to comfort vs he ſaith: *There ſhall not one heare fall from your head, without it be your heauenly fathers will.* And therefore ſay you that you will not be of that ſorte, that be neither hot nor colde, leſt God ſhoulde ſpue you out of his mouth. But make them this aunſwer ſaying: S. Paule ſaith: *Beare no ſtraunge yoke with the vnbeleeuers. For what fellowſhip hath righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes, what company hath light with darkenes, what concord hath* CHRIST *wyth Bellial, either what part hath hee that beleeueth, with an Infidell?*

Math. 10.
2. Cor. 6.

How agreeth the temple of God with Images? &c. And ye are the temple of God, as God ſaith: *I wyll dwell among them, walke among thē, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. VVherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelues, (ſayth the Lord) and touch no vncleane thing: ſo wyll I receaue you and wyll be a father vnto you, and ye ſhall be my ſonnes and daughters, ſayth the Lord.*

Thus myne own bowels in the Lord, as I began, ſo make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, & take vp your croſſe and follow your captaine CHRIST in at the narrow gate here by perſecution, and then you ſhall bee ſure to raygne and reioyce with him in hys euerlaſting kyngdome, which he him ſelfe hath purchaſed with his own moſt precious bloud: to whom wyth the father and the holy ghoſt be al honour both now and for euer. Amen.

By me William Tyms.

¶An other letter of W. Tyms, with an exhortation to all Gods faithfull ſeruauntes to eſchue the ſocietie of Idolaters, and Gods enemies.

An other letter of *Will. Tyms* to Gods faithfull ſeruaunts.

GRace be with you, and peace from God the father, and from the Lord *IESVS CHRIST.*

I thanke my God with all remembraunce of you alwayes in my prayers for you, and pray with gladnes, becauſe of the felowſhip which ye haue in the Goſpel, from the firſt day that I knew you, vntill this day: and I am ſurely certified of this, that he which hath begon a good worke in you, ſhall go forth with it vntill yͤ day of *IESVS CHRIST*, as it becommeth me to iudge of you: whom I haue in my hart, and as companions of grace with me, euen in my bondes. And thus I pray, that your loue may increaſe more and more in knowledge. Good brethren I moſt hartely deſire of God, that as you haue a willyng mind to cōfort my vile earthly body in this tyme of perſecution, ſo he will ſtrengthen you with his holy ſpirite, that my priſonement do not diſcomfort, but rather ſtrēgthen and cōfort you, to ſee the goodnes of God ſhewed vnto me, in that, beyng a man without learnyng, and brought before three ſuch Biſhops concernyng worldly wiſedome, hee gaue me both mouth and wiſedome: in ſo much that the Biſhop of Lōdon went away in a great haſt from me, and after that, he ſent his man with a Bible, turnyng to the ix. chap. to the Heb. and the Biſhop of Bath lookyng on it, ſayd: what meaneth my Lord? this maketh nothing for his purpoſe. Then I looke on it and ſaid: my Lord ſeeth that I was weake & therfore he hath holpen me: for here he hath condēned the ſacrifice of your Maſſe: For you ſay that you offer a daily ſacrifice in your Maſſe, both for the quicke and the dead: and here Paule ſaith: *VVithout bloudſheding there is no forgiuenes of ſinnes:* therfore that is here condemned. He aunſwered: Yea, ſaith hee ſo? So ſay all ſuch hereticks: and ſo forth with many like argumentes: which my neighbours that heard thē can declare: therfore I leaue them.

B. Boner went away frō *Will. Tyms*, belike not able to make his party good.

Heb. 9.

This haue I writtē that you ſhould not be afeard: but call vpon God, for he hath commaunded vs to aſke, and we ſhall haue: *Seeke and you ſhall find, knocke and it ſhalbe opened vnto you.* Alſo he hath commaunded vs to call one him in the day of trouble: and he hath promiſed to here vs. Therfore if we haue not both mouth and wiſedome at his hand, the fault is in vs, that we either wil not repent vs of our wickednes and amend our liues, or els we be vnfaithfull, and beleue not the promiſes of God: and ſo we our ſelues are the cauſe that this wiſdome is lacking in vs. Therfore let vs repent and amend our liues, and God is merciful. And in any caſe, as I haue alwaies ſaid vnto you ſince I firſt knew you, ſo ſay I now: beware of Idolatrie, and of your owne good intentes: if not, marke what hath followed vppon them that haue left Gods commaundementes, and done their owne good intentes. Remēber when the children of Iſraell had made them a golden calfe, did not God ſay they had marde all, and would haue deſtroyed them had not Moyſes earneſtly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that proueth the wrath of God to come vppon the people for Idolatrie: therfore as we will auoide the wrath of God, let vs kepe vs vnſtained from it.

God geueth mouth and vtterance to hys Saintes.

You haue examples out of the olde Teſtament, how loth the godly fathers were to be partakers with the wicked. And yet to ſee how little we regard it, it would make any chriſten mans harte to weepe. God ſende vs more grace. Firſt loke in the .xj. & xij. of Geneſis. Abraham, becauſe he would not bee partaker of their Idolatry, fled from the people of Caldea, beyng his natyue cōtrey. Alſo in the .xix. of Geneſis, Lot at the cōmaundement of the Aungels departed from Sodome, leſt hee tarying with the Sodomites, ſhould haue ben cōſumed with thē. In the xxj. of Geneſis, Sara would not ſuffer Iſmaell which was giuen to mocking, to keepe companye wyth her ſonne Iſaac, leſt he alſo ſhould become a mocker. Loke in Num. the. xvj. Moyſes at Gods appointment, cōmaunded the people to depart frō the dwelling places of Chore, Dathan, & Abiron, leſt they alſo ſhould be al wrapped in their ſinnes and to periſh among them. ſo doe I, euen as Moyſes commaunded thē yͭ they ſhould not keepe company wyth thoſe wicked people leſt the vengeaunce of God ſhould light on them, ſo doe I geue you warning that you ſhould not keepe company wyth the Idolaters in their Idolatrous tēples, leſt the wrath of God come vpon you to deſtroy you.

Warning to come away from the wicked.

Loke what S. Paule ſayth in his ſecond Epiſtle and the vj. chapiter to the Corinthians: *Set your ſelues* (ſayth hee) *therefore at large, and beare no ſtraunge yoke with the vnbeleuers, for what fellowſhip hath righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes? what company hath lyght wyth darkenes? what concord hath CHRIST wyth* Beliall? *eyther what part hath hee that beleueth wyth an infidell? How agreeth the temple of God with Images? And ye are the temple of God,* as ſayth God: *I will dwell among them and walke among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. VVherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelues (ſayth the Lord) and touch no vncleane thing.*

2. Cor. 6.

Good brethren marke what commeth of keping company wyth the wicked. Syrach ſayth: *he that toucheth pitch ſhall be defyled wythall: and hee that keepeth company wyth the proud, ſhall cloth hymſelfe wyth pride.* Euen ſo he that is familiar wyth Idolaters, can not bee vnſtayned from Idolatry, except hee doe it to wyn them to *CHRIST*, as there be but a few that do: Yea it may not be where Idolatry is openly committed, as for an inſample: Peter, ſo long as he continued wyth *CHRIST* and *CHRISTES* Diſciples, he continued in the truth, preached the truth, confeſſed openly *CHRIST* to bee the ſonne of the liuing God, and promiſed that he would not only go to priſon, but alſo to very death wyth hym: but when he came once into the court into the Byſhops houſe, he ſtraight way was ſtricken with ſuch a feare, that a poore maydē & ſimple ruffin (ſuch a one as my L. of London hath, that ſaid: by Gods bloud if I meete wyth any of theſe vile hereticks I will thruſt a narow in hym): whē Peter (I ſay) was amongſt them, he denyed hys Maſter, and ſwore that he neuer knew hym, whom he before he came there, boldly confeſſed before all men: and agayne, after that he had repented hym of his wicked dede, he boldly preached to the beleeuing Iewes, commaunding them among other hys godly exhortations, to ſaue them ſelues from that vntoward generation. How many of our Prieſtes before this ſtorme of perſecution when the Goſpell was freely preached, were bolde, and could ſay, they would dye rather then deny their Maſter? but when they come once into the Biſhops houſes, they preach *CHRIST* no more, but vtterly deny hym: therefore I pray God kepe them from thence, or els ſend them more grace and ſtrength. It is needefull to pray: therefore, watch in prayer.

Sirach. 13.

What it is to be aſſociate in ill company.

A vile ſeruaunt of *B. Boners.*

Act. 12.

Paul, all the while he was among the Byſhops, was a cruel perſecuter, but after he was called of God from the Biſhops, he became a true preacher: therfore God kepe all Chriſtian men out of the handes of our Biſhops. S. Paul in the xv. to the Romains, ſayth: I dare not ſpeake any of thoſe thinges, that *CHRIST* hath not wrought by He ſaith alſo: *I beſech you brethren, marke them that make diuiſion, & geue occaſions of euil, cōtrary to the doctrine that ye haue learned: & them auoyd, for they that are ſuch, ſerue not the Lorde IESVS CHRIST, but theyr owne bellies, and with ſweete and flatteryng woordes deceaue the hartes of the ſimple.* Our Maſter *CHRIST* him ſelfe hath giuen vs warning which they be: for he hath ſet yͤ plaine marke on thē in the xxiiij. of Mathew: *If they ſay here is CHRIST or there is CHRIST, beleue thē not,* ſayth *CHRIST*. *If they ſay, he is in the deſert, go not forth. If they ſay, he is in the ſecret place, beleue them not.* And I pray you, where can he be more ſecret then in ſo ſmall a peece of bread? for my Lord of London like a lyer, ſayd to me, that after the wordes be ſpoken, there remaineth neither bread nor wyne. Then I aſked him what he ſayd to Dauid, where he ſaith: *thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption?* how ſay you to that? will not your Sacrament of the aultar putrifie or corrupt? He aunſwered, yes. I aſked him, what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wine. He aunſwered and ſayd, the accidences

Rom. 15.

Rom. 16.

Math. 24

B. Boner not able to anſwere to this place of *Dauid.*

cidences. I ſayd vnto him, it was a mad accidence without ſubſtaũce: for you ſay there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothing to * corrupt: with many ſuch like Argumentes.

Therfore beware of them, for they go about to deceiue you with ſuch arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deale the more worthy of your damnation if they deceiue you, becauſe you haue had ſo much warning. Repent you betimes of your ſinful lyues, and amende, and then no doubt but God will either turne their hartes, or els take them away, or els hee will geue vs that, that he promiſed to his Diſciples, if we bee contented to take the ſame reward that they had. And if we diſdayne the one, let vs not looke for the other. For hee that wyll be his fathers heyre, muſt bee contented to receiue his fathers correction. For S.Paule ſaith in the. xij. to the Romaines: *If we be not vnder correction, wherof all are partakers, then are we baſtards, and not ſonnes.* And you know what belongeth to a baſtard: he ſhall not be his fathers heyre. And if we remember our ſelues well how negligent we haue bene to keepe our fathers commaundemẽt, we ſhall finde our ſelues worthy to bee corrected at hys hand. If we refuſe his correction, he will refuſe vs to be his ſonnes. I pray you looke what he promiſed to his Diſciples, and I pray you alſo looke how willingly they receiued it. And ſo muſt we do if we wyll be partakers with them. Firſt let vs ſee what CHRIST promiſed to his Diſciples. Looke in the. x. of S. Mathew, and there ſhall you ſee theſe wordes: *Behold, I ſend you forth as Sheepe among wolues. Be wyſe therfore as ſerpents, and innocent as doues. Beware of mẽ, for they ſhall deliuer you vp to the Counſels, and ſhal ſcourge you in their Synagoges: ye ſhall be brought before the head Rulers and Kinges for my names ſake. But when they put you vp, take ye no thought, how or what ye ſhall ſpeake, for it ſhall be geuen you in the ſame houre what ye ſhall ſpeake. For it is not you that ſpeake, but the ſpirite of my father which ſpeaketh in you. &c.* Read the whole chapter, for it is very comfortable to a Chriſtian man: and marke it well, and you ſhall finde what wee ought to do in the tyme of perſecution. Alſo looke in the ſecond Epiſtle of S.Paule to the Corinthians, and the. 4. chapter. He ſayth: *For we which lyue, are alwayes deliuered vnto death for IESVS ſake, that the lyfe alſo of IESVS might appeare in our mortall fleſh.* Thus you heare that S.Paule doth boaſt of perſecution: euen ſo ſhoulde wee, for it is the way to bryng vs to reſt.

Therfore let vs ſtriue to enter in at the narrow gate, and let vs remember the ſaying of S. Paule in the. xxi. chapter of the Actes of the Apoſtles, when hee was going to Ieruſalem. whẽ he was in yͤ houſe of Phillip the Euangeliſt, there came in a Prophet, and toke of his girdle, and bound hys handes and his feete, ſaying: thus ſhall they do with the man that oweth thys gyrdle when he commeth to Ieruſalem. when the Diſciples hearde that, they would haue perſwaded him that he ſhould not go thether. Here you ſhall ſee what aunſwere thys Paſtor made them: he was a faithfull Shepheard: *VVhat doe ye, weping & breaking of my hart? I am not ready to be bound only, but alſo to dye at Hieruſalem for the name of the Lord IESVS.*

Yet I thinke there bee ſome that will ſay that I needed not to haue bene taken, if I would haue kept me out of the way. But I ſay vnto you, that the ſhrinking away of ſo many of our Shepheardes as bee gone, maketh ſo many of the flocke to ſcatter: which wyll bee required at their handes, of yͤ Maſter of the ſhepe. what ſhall he ſay to thẽ at the day of accompt, when they ſhall come to receaue their wages? He ſhall ſay to thẽ: depart from me ye wicked hyrelings, for when ye ſaw the wolfe come, ye ran away and left my ſheepe in the wyldernes. If you had bene good ſhepheardes, ye woulde rather haue loſt your lyues, then haue loſt one ſheepe committed to your charge through your fault. And I pray you, what caſe be the ſheepe in when their ſhepheard runneth away frõ them? I neede not to tel you, you know the daunger that followeth ſo well.

Therfore let vs pray to God to ſend vs faithfull ſhepheards, & alſo obediẽt ſheepe, that wil not heare a ſtraũgers voice. I would all men would marke well the ſaying of S.Paul in the viij. to the Rom. where he ſaith in theſe wordes. *VVho ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of God? Shall tribulatiõ, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either nakednes, either perill, either ſword?* As it is written: *For thy ſake are we killed all day long, and are counted as ſhepe appoynted to be ſlayne: neuertheles we ouercome ſtrongly through his helpe that loued vs. Yea, I am ſure that neither death, neither lyfe, neither Aungels, neither rule, neither power, neither thinges preſent, neither thinges to come, neither height, neither depth, neither any other creature, ſhalbe able to ſeparate vs from the loue of God:* & ſo forth. Alſo, he ſaith in an other place: *All that will lyue godly in CHRIST IESVS, muſt ſuffer perſecution.* Thus I proue it to be our heauenly fathers rod: therfore let vs thankefully receaue it like obedient children, and then our father will loue vs.

2.Tim.3.

Yet heare what S. Peter ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle, and the iiij. chap. *Dearely beloued* (ſaith hee) *be not troubled in this heate which is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtraunge thyng had happened vnto you: but reioyce in as much as ye are partakers of CHRISTES paſsions, that when his glory appeareth, you may be mery and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of CHRIST, happy are ye: for the ſpirit of glory, and the ſpirite of God reſteth vpõ you. On their part he is euill ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified.* Here S. Peter ſayth it is no ſtraunge thyng: and that I haue partly proued before, becauſe we haue nothing els promiſed vs in this world.

1.Pet.4.

Therfore, let vs call on God for grace. Be ye ſure that they can do nothyng to vs till God permit it. As for enſample: looke in the firſt booke of Kynges the xix. chap. there you ſhal ſee how Saul perſecuted Dauid, purpoſyng to kill him: but his labour was in vaine.

1.Regum.19.

Alſo in yͤ 3. booke of Kings yͤ xix. chap. Ieſabell threatned and ſware to ſlea Elyas, but the Lord preſerued hym. Alſo in the ſecond chapter of Iob, you ſee that Satan could doe nothing to Iob tyll God ſuffered hym, neither exerciſe his cruelnes any farther then God had appointed hym. The godly woman Suſanna, in the. viij. of Daniell, thorow the falſe accuſation of the wicked Iudges, was euen at a poynt to dye, yet God wonderfully deliuered her. Theſe haue I written to put you in remembrance that man can do no more then is the will of God: therefore let vs not reſiſt his will but referre all to hym: and let vs be doing that thing that God hath commaũded vs in his holy word.

3.Regum.19.

Iob.2.

Dan.8.

Deare brethren, for the bloud of CHRIST, refuſe not the croſſe of CHRIST, but remember the ſaying of the godly man Dauid in hys. 119. Pſalme, where he ſayth: *It is good for me that I haue bene in trouble, that I may learne thy ſtatutes.* In the ſame place he ſayth: *before I was in trouble, I went wrong, but now I haue kept thy word.* Euen ſo it is in trouble wyth vs: for the word of God was neuer ſo ſweete and cõfortable as it is now that we be in trouble. Alſo Saint Paule ſayth in the. v. chapter to the Romaynes: *we reioice in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth pacience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not aſhamed.*

Exhortation not to refuſe Chriſtes croſſe.

Pſal.119.

Gods word neuer ſo ſweete as in trouble.

Rom.5.

Alſo, I pray you remember the ſaying of S. Paule in the ſecond to Timothe and the firſt chapiter, where he ſayth: *Be not aſhamed to teſtify the Lord, neyther bee aſhamed of me.* Euẽ ſo ſay I vnto you deare brethrẽ: Be not aſhamed of my priſonment, neither ſory, but reioyce with me that it hath pleaſed God of his goodnes to call me to ſuch a dignitie as this ſhalbe vnto me, if I may haue his grace to loſe my life (which I regard as moſt vile) for his name ſake: for then I ſhalbe ſure to find it agayne with aduauntage. Therfore I deſire you all that you wil pray with me vnto almighty God, that he of his mercyfull goodnes will ſend me his grace and ſtrength, that I may cõtinue vnto the end: as I will pray for you, yͭ God will preſerue you frõ all the wicked wayes of Antichriſt, and ſtrengthen and comfort you, if it bee his good pleaſure that you ſhall ſuffer any thing for his names ſake: as he hath faithfully promiſed to do. And I certifie you that if all men knew the comfort they ſhould receaue at the hand of God, beyng in priſon, I thinke there would come mo to priſon then there do. For ſurely we find ſuch comfort at the hand of God ſince we haue bene in priſon, that we had rather dye then to be abroad to ſee the Idolatrie that is committed among them that be abroad: beſide the ſeekyng one of an others bloud, with other wickednes to much. God ſend men more grace. But I truſt amongeſt you there be none ſuch: and if there be, repent and amend, leſt it be verified on you that is ſpoken by the Prophet Ierem. ij. chap. where he ſaith: *My people hath committed two great euils. They haue forſaken me the fountaine of the liuyng waters, and digged thẽ pittes: pittes (I ſay) that are broken, & cã hold no water.* Alſo in the vij. he ſaith: *Take hede: ye truſt in counſells that begile you and do you no good.* In the xxiij. he ſayth: *Here not the wordes of the Prophetes that preach their owne dreames.* Good brethren beware of thoſe falſe Prophetes that I haue giuen you warnyng of.

2.Tim.1.

Experience of Gods comfort in impriſonment to be noted.

Ierem.2.

Ierem.7.

Ierem.23.

Dearely beloued, here I make an end at this time, deſiring the ſame health both of body and ſoule, vnto you all, that I would haue my ſelfe: and I end with the ſame that S.Peter ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle and the v. chapter:

Submit your ſelues therfore vnder the mighty hand of God, that he may exalte you when the tyme is come. Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be ſober and watch, for your aduerſary the deuill like a roryng Lion walketh about, ſeking whom hee may deuour, whom reſiſte ſtedfaſt in faith: remembring that ye doe but fulfil the ſame afflictions that are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. The God of all grace that called you vnto his eternal glory, by CHRIST IESVS, ſhall his owne ſelfe, after you haue ſuffered a litle affliction, make you perfite, ſhall ſetle, ſtrengthē, and ſtabliſh you. To him be glory and dominion for euer and while the world endureth, Amen.

Grete one an other with the holy kiſſe of loue. Peace be with you all which are in CHRIST IESVS. I pray you all ſay, Amen. Theſe be in the ſame pryſon where I am: the Byſhop of S. Dauies, Doct. Taylour of Hadley, M. Philpot, and my ſingular good father M. Bradford, wyth fiue other of Suſſex lay men.

I deſyre ſome good brother to wryte this new, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with feare. For if the keepers had found me, they would haue takē it from me, and my pen and incke alſo.

Experiment of Gods comfort in the priſonment of hys ſeruauntes.

Good brethren, I am kept alone and yet I thanke God he comforteth mee paſt all the comfort of any man: for I thanke hym I was neuer merier in CHRIST.

By me William Tyms priſoner in
the Kynges Bench.

About this tyme or ſomewhat before, came downe certayne Commiſſioners aſſigned by the Quéene and Counſell, to Norfolke and Suffolke (as to other countreys els beſides) to inquire of matters of religion: vnto the which Commiſſioners, there was a Supplication then exhibited by ſome good and well diſpoſed men (as by the ſame may appeare) dwellyng about thoſe parties. Which ſupplication, as I thought it not vnworthy to be red, bearing the date of this preſent yeare to be printed, ſo I thought it was not to be omitted, nor vnworthy here to be placed, in conſideration of the fruite which thereof myght enſue to the Reader.

¶ A certaine godly ſupplication exhibited by certaine inhabitants of the country of Norfolke, to the Commiſſioners comming downe to Norfolke and Suffolke, fruitful to be red & marked of all men.

A ſupplication exhibited to the Cōmiſſioners in Norfolke.

In moſt humble and lowly wiſe, we beſech your honours right honorable Commiſſioners, to tender and pitie the humble ſute of vs poore men, and true, faithfull, and obedient Subiectes: who as we haue euer heretofore, ſo intend we with Gods grace, to continue in Chriſtian obedience vnto the ende, and (according to the holy word of God) with all reuerent feare of God to do our bounden dutye to all thoſe ſuperiour powers, whom God hath appointed ouer vs, doing as S. Paule ſaith: *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the ſuperiour powers. For there is no power but of God: but thoſe powers that are, are ordained of God. VVherefore, whoſoeuer reſiſteth the powers, the ſame reſiſteth God, and they that reſiſt, get themſelues iudgemēt.* Theſe leſſons (right honorable Commiſſioners) we haue learned of the holy word of God in our mother toung:

Rom. 13.

The Authoritie of kinges and Queenes approued.

Firſt, that the authority of a King, Queene, Lord and other their officers vnder them, is no tirannicall vſurpation, but a iuſt, holy, lawfull and neceſſary eſtate for man to be gouerned by, and that the ſame is of God, the fountaine and authour of righteouſnes.

Secondly, that to obey the ſame in all thinges not againſt God, is to obey God: and to reſiſt them, is to reſiſt God. Therefore as to obey God in hys Miniſters and Magiſtrates, bringeth life: ſo to reſiſt God in them, bringeth puniſhment and death. The ſame leſſon haue we learned of S. Peter, ſaying: *Be ye ſubiect to all humane ordinances for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the king, as to the moſt higheſt, or to the Lieutenants ſent from him to the puniſhment of euyll doers, but to the prayſe of ſuch as do well. For ſo is the wyll of God, that with well doing ye ſhould ſtop the mouthes of fooliſh and ignorant men, as free, and not as hauing the liberty to be a cloke to malice, but as the ſeruantes of God.* Wherfore, cōſidering with our ſelues both that the Magiſtrates power is of God, and that for the Lordes ſake, we be bounde to Chriſtian obedience vnto them, hauing now preſently a commaūdement as though it were from the Queenes maieſtye: with all humble obedience due to the regall power and authority ordayned of God (which wee acknowledge to ſtand whole and perfectly in her grace) and with due reuerence vnto you her Graces Commiſſioners, we humbly beſech you with patience and pitie to receiue this our aunſwer vnto that commaundement, geuen vnto vs.

1. Pet. 5.

Chriſten men bound to obey God in his Magiſtrates.

Firſt, right honorable Commiſſioners, wee haue conſidered our ſelues to be, not onely Engliſh men, but alſo Chriſtians, and therefore bound by the holy vowe made to God in our Baptiſme, to preferre Gods honour in all thinges, and that all obedience (not onely of vs mortall men, but euen of the very Angels and heauenly ſpirits) is due vnto Gods word: in ſo much that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that wholy and fully agreeth not with Gods word.

The ho nour of God to b preferred before all regall ho nour and power.

Then haue we weyed the commaundement concerning the reſtitution of the late aboliſhed latin ſeruice geuen vnto vs, to diſcent and diſagree from Gods worde, and to commaund manifeſt impietie, and the ouerthrow of godlines and true religion, and to import a ſubuerſiō of the regall power of this our natiue countrey & realme of Englād, with the bringing in of the Romiſh biſhops ſupremacy, with all errours, ſuperſticions, and idolatry, waſtyng of our goods and bodies, deſtroying of our ſoules, bringing with it nothing, but the ſeuere wrath of of God: which we already feele, and feare leſt the ſame ſhalbe more fearcely kyndled vpon vs. Wherfore we hūbly proteſt, that we cānot bee perſwaded, that the ſame wicked commaundement ſhould come from the Queenes maieſty, but rather frō ſome other, abuſing the Queenes goodnes and fauour and ſtudying to worke ſome feate againſt the Queene, her crowne, and the realme, to pleaſe with it the Romaine biſhop, at whoſe handes the ſame thinketh hereafter to be aduaunced.

Queens Maryes Iniuncti ons diſa greeing Gods word, and whe in.

As the Agagite Aman wrought maliciouſly againſt the noble king Aſſuerus: & as the Princes of Babel wrought againſt the good king Darius: ſo thinke we the Queenes moſt gentle hart to be abuſed of ſome, who ſeeking them ſelues & their own vaine glory, procure ſuch commaundements as are againſt the glory of God. For we cānot haue ſo euill an opinion in her Maieſtye, that ſhe would ſubuert the moſt godly & holy religion (ſo accordingly to Gods word ſet forth by the moſt noble, vertuous, and innocent King, a very Saint of God, our late moſt deare king Edward, her Graces brother) except ſhe were wonderfully abuſed: who as hating reformation, wyl rather the deſtruction of all others, then acknowledge their errours, & to be according to Gods word, reformed. For truly the religion lately ſet forth by king Edward, is ſuch in our cōſciences, as euery Chriſtian man is bound to confeſſe to bee the truth of God: and euery member of CHRISTES church here in England muſt needes embrace the ſame in hart, and confeſſe it with mouth, and (if nede require) loſe and forſake, not onely houſe, land, and poſſeſſions, riches, wyfe, chyldren, and frendes: but alſo (if God wil ſo call them) gladly to ſuffer all maner of perſecution, and to loſe their lyues in the defence of Gods word and truth ſet out amongeſt vs. For our Sauiour CHRIST requireth the ſame of vs, ſaying: *VVho ſoeuer ſhall be aſhamed of me and my word before this adulterous and ſinful generation, the ſonne of man will alſo be aſhamed of him, when he ſhal come in the glory of his father with the holy Aungels.* And againe ſaith he: *whoſoeuer wyll confeſſe me before men, I wil confeſſe him before my father that is in heauen. And who ſoeuer wyll deny me before men, I wyll alſo deny him before my father that is in heauen. And whoſoeuer ſhall ſpeake a word againſt the ſonne of man, it ſhall be forgeuen him: but whoſoeuer ſhall rayle againſt the holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgeuen him.*

Heſt. 3.

1. Eſd. 4.

Queene Mary euill ince ſed.

Religion ſet forth in king Edward time, co mended.

Luke. 9.

Math. 1

Math. 1

We humbly beſech the Queenes Maieſtye, and you her honorable Commiſſioners, be not offended with vs for confeſſing this truth of God, ſo ſtraitly geuen vs in charge of CHRIST: neither bryng vpon vs that great ſynne that ſhal neuer be forgeuen, & ſhall cauſe our Sauiour IESV CHRIST in the great day of iudgement, before hys heauenly father and all hys Aungels, to deny vs, and to take from vs the bleſſed price and raunſome of his bloudſhed, wherewith we are redeemed. For in that day neyther the Queenes highnes, neither you, nor any man ſhall be able to excuſe vs, nor to purchaſe a pardon of CHRIST for this horrible ſynne and blaſphemie of caſtyng aſyde and condemning his woord. We cannot agree nor conſent vnto this ſo horrible a ſynne: but we beſech God for his mercy to geue vs & all men grace, moſt earneſtly to flye from it, and rather (if the wyll of God be ſo) to ſuffer all extremity and puniſhment in this world, then to incurre ſuch damnation before God.

An hone petition Queene Mary.

Manaſſes, who reſtored againe the wickednes of Idolatrous religion (before put downe by Ezechias hys father) brought the wrath of God vpon the people: ſo that the ſcripture ſayth: *Notwithſtanding the reformation made by* Ioſias, *the Lorde turned not frō the fearcenes of his great wrath, wherewith he was angry agaynſt* Iuda, *becauſe of the prouocation wyth the which* Manaſſes *prouoked hym. And the Lord ſayd euen* Iuda *wyll I take away from my preſence, as I caſt away Iſraell: and I will caſt away this city of Ieruſalem, and the houſe whereof I ſaid: my name ſhall be there*; Ieroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected vp a new found ſeruice of God, and not onely ſinned him ſelfe, but alſo made al Iſraell to ſinne wyth him: ſo that not onely hee was damned for commaunding, but the wrath of God came vpon all Iſraell, for obeying that his vngodly commaundement. Yet was it not ſo hainous offence to bring in an Idolatry neuer yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly kinges and Princes, by the vertuous & holy Biſhops, by the Prophetes and ſeruauntes of God, to reiect and caſt of the worde and true religion of God, and to receiue agayne a damned impiety.

This moſt haynous offence is now offered vnto vs: although the ſame bee paynted and coloured wyth the name of reformation, reſtoryng of religion, auncient ſayth, wyth the name of the catholicke church, of vnity, catholicke truth, and wyth the cloke of fayned holynes. Theſe are ſheepe ſkins, vnder the which (as CHRIST ſayth) rauening wolues couer them ſelues. But Chriſt willeth vs to looke vpon their fruites, whereby we may know them: and truly this is no good fruit, to caſt a ſide Gods word and to baniſh the Engliſh ſeruice out of the churches, and in the place of it, to bring in a Latin tong vnknowen vnto the people. which as it edifyeth no man, ſo hath it bene occaſion of all blyndnes and error among the people. For afore the bleſſed reformation begon by the moſt noble Prince of godly memorye the Queenes good father, and by our late holy and innocent king, her good brother finiſhed: it is not vnknowen what blindnes and errour we were all in, when not one man in all this realme vnlearned in the latin, coulde ſay in Engliſhe the Lordes prayer, or knew any one article of hys beliefe, or rehearſe any one of the .x. commaūdementes. And that ignorance, mother of miſchief, was the very roote and welſpring of all idolatry, Sodomiticall monkery, & whoriſh chaſtity of vnmaried prieſtes, of all whordome, dronkennes, couetouſnes, ſwearyng, and blaſphemy, with all other wicked and ſynful lyuing. Theſe brought in the ſeuere wrath and vengeaunce of God, plagyng ſynne with famine and peſtilence: and at laſt the ſword conſumed and auenged all their impietie and wicked lyuing. As it is greatly to bee feared the ſame or more greuous plagues ſhall now agayn follow.

We cānot therefore conſent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our Engliſh toung which we vnderſtand, ſhould be taken away from vs, and for it a Latyn ſeruice, we wot not what (for none of vs vnderſtand it) to be agayne brought in amongeſt vs, ſpecially ſeing that CHRIST hath ſayd: *My ſheepe heare my voyce and followe me, and I geue to them euerlaſting lyfe*. The Seruice in Engliſh teacheth vs that we are the Lordes people, and the ſhepe of his paſture: and God commaundeth that wee harden not our hartes, as when they prouoked the lords wrath in the wildernes, leſt hee ſweare vnto vs, as hee dyd ſweare vnto them, that they ſhoulde not enter into hys reſt. The Seruice in Latine is a confuſed noyſe: which if it be good (as they ſay it is) yet vnto vs that lacke vnderſtanding, what goodnes can it bring? S.Paul commaundeth, that in the churches all things ſhould be done to edifying, which we are ſure is Gods cōmaūdement. But in the Latin ſeruice nothing is done to edyfying, but contrarily, all to deſtroy thoſe that are already edified, and to driue vs from Gods word and truth, and from beleuing of the ſame, and ſo to bryng vs to beleue lyes and fables, that temptyng and prouoking God, we ſhould be brought into that iudgement that bleſſed Paule ſpeaketh of, ſaying: *Antichriſt ſhall come, according to the working of Satan, with all maner of power and ſignes and lying wonders, in all diſceaueablenes of vnrighteouſnes in thoſe that peryſhe: becauſe they haue not receued the loue of the truth that they might be ſaued. And therefore God wyll ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould beleue lyes and be damned, as many as haue not beleued the truth, but haue approued vnrighteouſnes*. Thus altogether drawen from God, we ſhall fall into his wrath through vnbeliefe, tyll he ſweare vnto vs, as he did vnto the vnfaithful Iewes, ỹ ſuch infidels ſhal not enter into his reſt.

The true vſe of the Lordes ſupper extincted.

In the adminiſtration of the Lords ſupper, which we confeſſed to be the holy Communion, and partaking wyth CHRIST & his holy congregation, we haue learned Gods holy commaundementes, and at the rehearſall of euery one of them, to aſke God mercye for our moſt greeuous tranſgreſſions againſt them, and to aſke grace of God to keepe them in tyme to come, that the ſame maye not onely outwardly ſound in our eares, but alſo inwardlye by the holy ghoſt be written in our hartes.

We haue learned alſo the holy prayer made for the Queenes Maieſty: wherein we learne that her power and authority is of God: therefore we praye to God for her, that ſhe and all Magiſtrates vnder her, may rule according to Gods word, and we her ſubiects obey according to the ſame.

Cauſes why the Commiſſioners cōmaundement ought not to be receaued.

Truly (moſt honorable Commiſſioners) we can not thinke theſe thinges euyll, but thinke them moſt worthy to be retained in our churches, and we would thinke our ſelues not to haue true ſubiectes harts, if we ſhould go about to put away ſuch godly prayers, as put vs perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we thinke, at this preſent ỹ vnquiet multitude had more nede to haue theſe things more often and earneſtly beaten & driuen into them (ſpecially geuen in many places to ſturre and trouble) then to take from them that bleſſed doctrine, whereby onelye they may to their ſaluation, be kept in quiet.

Receauing in both kyndes.

Furthermore, we cānot forſake that bleſſed partaking of the body and bloud of our Sauiour IESV CHRISTES inſtitution, miniſtred with ſuch godly prayers, exhortatiōs and admonitions, teaching vs the knowledge of God, the exceding loue and charitye of our louing redemer CHRIST, breaking hys bodye vpon the croſſe for our ſynnes, and ſheeding his moſt precious bloud for our redemption, which we in eatyng that bleſſed bread, and drinking of that bleſſed cup aſſuredly beleue that we receaue, and be perfectly ioyned with CHRIST and his holy catholicke church into one body, and into one vnitye and brotherly loue, whereby ech member faithfully embraceth other. We muſt nedes confeſſe this inſtitution of CHRIST to be moſt holy and godly, whereof we haue the onely comfort in conſcience againſt ſinne & damnation, with the aſſurance of ſaluation, and whereof hath enſued reformation of many haynous ſynnes, much lawyng, ſtrife and contention is ended: dronkennes, whordome, and other vices in ſome reformed: goodnes and vertue increaſed and nouriſhed.

The Maſſe hath nothing in it but an heape of ceremonies.

In the latin Maſſe we neuer had no ſuch edifying, but onely we ſaw a great many of ceremonies & ſtrāge geſtures: as turnynges of the Prieſt, croſſinges, bleſſinges, brethinges, waſhing of handes, and ſpreading abroad of his armes, with like ceremonies that we vnderſtand not. And concerning the Latin toung wherein the Prieſt prayeth, we wotte not whether he bleſſeth or curſeth vs. We are not partakers of the Sacrament, as CHRISTES inſtitution appointeth we ſhould be. In the miniſtring of the Sacrament the Prieſtes alter the inſtitution of CHRIST, committing theft, and ſacrilege, robbing vs of the cup of CHRISTES bloud, contrary to CHRISTES commaundement, ſaying: *Drinke ye all of this.*

The people robbed of Gods word.

They robbe vs alſo of Gods worde, ſpeakyng all thinges in Latin, whiche nothyng edifieth vs either in faith or maners. CHRIST commaūded not that his Supper ſhould be miniſtred in an vnknowen toung: but foraſmuch as faith commeth of hearyng, and hearing commeth of Gods word, how cā we beleue CHRISTES word & promiſe made vnto vs in this holy Sacramēt, ſaying: *This is my body brokē for you, & this is my bloud of the new Teſtamēt which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſiō of ſinnes*, if ỹ ſame promiſes of CHRIST either be not at all recited, or els ſo recited in Latin, ỹ the cōgregatiō vnderſtādeth not or heareth not what is ſpokē? S.Paul ſaith thus, reciting ỹ ſaying of Eſay: *As truly as I lyue, ſaith the Lord, all knees ſhall bow vnto me, all tounges ſhall geue prayſe vnto God*. Alſo he ſaith: *All tounges muſt confeſſe, that IESVS CHRIST is the Lord, vnto the glory of God the father*. The holy ghoſt came vpon the Apoſtles in fierie tounges, ſo that they ſpake the tounges of all nations vnder heauen. S. Paul miniſtred to the Corinthians and preached to them in their owne mother toung, and rebuked the bringyng in of ſtraunge tounges into the congregations. We cannot thinke it to be well, that ſo holy an Apoſtle rebuked. And what ſoeuer vertue the Latin toung hath to ſuch as vnderſtand it, to vs Engliſh men not vnderſtanding it, it is altogether without vertue and edifying, & therfore vnmete for our churches.

Phil.2.

All thinges done in the church ought to bee in a knowne tongue.

That Prieſtes be not had in honour, it is their owne fault.

The Prieſtes complaine that we lay men loue them not, nor haue them in honour. But it is their own fault. For how ſhould we loue them, that onely ſeeke to keepe vs in blindnes and ignorance, to damne our ſoules, to deſtroy our bodies, to robbe and ſpoile our goodes and ſubſtãce vnder a colour of pretenſed holines? we know (right honourable Commiſſioners) what honour is due to ſuch wolues, and how by the authority of Gods word ſuch are to be fled as peſtilences to the Lordes Lambes, whom they miſerably dayly murther.

Gods word and true religion caſt out of the church in Q. Maryes tyme.

But we haue rather choſen by this our meeke ſupplication, humbly to deſire the Queenes Maieſtie, & you her honourable Commiſſioners, to rẽder Gods word againe vnto the Churches, and to permitte vs freely to enioy the ſame. For we certainly know that the whole Religion, lately ſet out by the holy Saint of God, our late moſt deare king Edward, is CHRISTES true Religion, written in the holy Scripture of God, and by CHRIST and his Apoſtles taught vnto his Church. Wherfore we can not allow with ſafe conſciences this refuſal of it, and caſting of it out of our Churches, foraſmuch as to refuſe, caſt of, and to reiect it, is to caſt of CHRIST him ſelfe, and to refuſe our part in his bleſſed body brokẽ for our ſins, and in his bloud ſhed for our redemption. Which thyng who ſo doth, the ſame without repentaunce cã looke for no ſacrifice for his ſinnes, but muſt fearcefully wayt for the iudgement, and for that vehement fire, that ſhall deuour CHRISTES aduerſaries. For if he that deſpiſeth the law of Moſes, is without mercy put to death vnder ij. or iij. witneſſes: how much more greuous torments ſhal he ſuffer that treadeth vnder foote the ſonne of God, and eſtemeth the bloud of the Teſtament (whereby he was ſanctified) as a prophane thyng, and cõtumeliouſly vſeth the ſpirite of grace?

Wherefore, we moſt humbly pray and beſech the Queenes gracious Maieſty, to haue mercy & pity vpon vs her poore and faithfull ſubiectes, and not to compell vs to do the thing that is againſt our conſciences, and ſhal ſo incurably wound vs in hart, by bringing into the Church the Latin Maſſe and ſeruice that nothing edifieth vs, and caſting out Chriſtes holy Communion and the Engliſh ſeruice, ſo cauſing vs to ſinne agaynſt our redemption. For ſuch as willingly and wittingly againſt theyr conſciences ſhall ſo do (as it is to be feared many one doth) they are in a miſerable ſtate, vntil the mercy of God turne them: which if he do not, we certainly beleue, that they ſhal eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny CHRISTES holy word and Communion before men, ſo will CHRIST deny them before his heauenly father and his aungels.

The Popiſhe following of Chriſtes croſſe in proceſſion.

The true following of Chriſtes croſſe.

And where as it is very earneſtly required that we ſhould go on proceſſion (as they call it) at which time the Prieſtes ſay in Latin ſuch thinges as we are ignoraunt of, the ſame edifieth nothyng at all vnto godlines. And we haue learned that to folow CHRISTES croſſe, is an other matter, namely to take vp our croſſe and to folow CHRIST in pacient ſuffering for his loue, tribulations, ſickenes, pouertie, priſon, or any other aduerſitie, when ſoeuer Gods holy will and pleaſure is to lay the ſame vpon vs. The triumphant paſſion and death of CHRIST, wherby in his owne perſon he conquered death, ſinne, hell, and damnation, hath moſt liuely bene preached vnto vs, and the glory of CHRISTES croſſe declared by our preachers: wherby we haue learned the cauſes & effectes of the ſame more liuely in one Sermon, then in all the proceſſions that euer we went in, or euer ſhall go in.

When we worſhipped the diuine Trinitie kneeling, & in the Letany inuocating the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, aſkyng mercy for our ſinnes & deſiryng ſuch petitions as the neede of our frayle eſtate and this mortall life requireth, we were edified both to know vnto whom all Chriſtian prayers ſhould be directed, and alſo to know that of Gods hand we receiue all thinges, as wel to the ſaluation of our ſoules, as to the reliefe of our mortall neceſſities. And we humbly beſech the Queenes Maieſty, that the ſame moſt holy prayers may be continued amongeſt vs: that our Miniſters praying in our mother toung, & we vnderſtanding their prayers & petitions, may anſwere Amen vnto thẽ. At Euening ſeruice we vnderſtode our Miniſters prayers, we were taught and admoniſhed by the Scriptures then red: which in the Latin Euenſong is all gone.

Prayers & euening ſeruice in Engliſh.

Baptiſme in Engliſh.

At the miniſtratiõ of holy Baptiſme, we learned what league and couenaunt GOD had made with vs, and what vowes and promiſes we vpon our part had made: namely to beleue in hym, to forſake Sathan and hys workes, and to walke in the way of Gods holy worde and commaundementes.

Catechiſme in Engliſhe.

The Chriſtian Catechiſme continually taught and called to remembraunce the ſame, whereas before no mã knew any thyng at all. And many good mẽ of lx. yeares, that had ben Godfathers to 30. childrẽ, knew no more of yͤ Godfathers office, but to waſh their hãds ere they departed yͤ church, or els to faſt v. Fridaies, bread & water.

O mercyfull God, haue pitie vppon vs. Shall we be altogether caſt from thy preſence? We may well lament our miſerable eſtate to receiue ſuch a commaundement to reiect and caſt out of our Churches all theſe moſt godly prayers, inſtructions, admonitions and doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and CHRIST our Sauiour, his holy word and all his doctrine of our ſaluation, the candle to our feete and light to our ſteppes, the bread commyng downe from heauen, that geueth lyfe, which who ſo drinketh, it ſhalbe in him a wellſpring ſtreamyng vnto eternall life: Whereby we haue learned all righteouſnes, all true Religion, all true obedience towardes our gouernours, al charity one towardes an other, all good workes that God would vs to walke in, what puniſhment abydeth the wicked, and what heauenly reward God will geue to thoſe, that reuerently walke in hys wayes and commaundementes.

The ef-fectes of Gods word b ſermon.

Wherfore, right honourable Commiſſioners, we can not without impietie, refuſe and caſt from vs the holy worde of God which we haue receiued, nor condemne any thing ſet forth by our moſt Godly late king Edward and his vertuous procedynges, ſo agreable to Gods word. And our moſt humble ſuite is that the cõmaundement may be reuoked, ſo that we be not cõſtrayned thereunto. For we proteſt before God, we thinke, if the holy word of God had not taken ſome roote among vs, we could not in tyme paſt haue done that poore duetie of ours, which we did in aſſiſtyng the Queene our moſt deare ſoueraigne, agaynſt her graces mortall foe that then ſought her deſtruction. It was our bounden duety, and we thanke God for the knowledge of his worde and grace, that we then did ſome part of our bounden ſeruice. And we meekely pray and beſech the Queenes Maieſty, for the deare paſſion of IESVS CHRIST, that the ſame word be not taken away out of her Churches nor from vs her louyng, faithfull and true ſubiectes: leſt if the like neceſſitie ſhoulde hereafter chaunce (which God for his mercy ſake forbyd, and euer ſaue and defend her grace & vs all) the want of knowledge of due remẽbrance of Gods word, may be occaſion of great ruine to an infinite number of her graces true ſubiectes. And truly we iudge this to be one ſuttell part of the deuill (enemy to all godly peace and quietnes) that by taking Gods word from among vs and planting ignoraunce, he may make away to all miſchief and wickednes: and by baniſhyng the holy Goſpell of peace, hee may bryng vppon vs the heauy wrath of GOD, with all maner of plagues: as death, ſtraunge ſickenes, peſtilence, morren, moſt terrible vproares, commotions, and ſeditions. These things did the Lord threaten vnto the Iewes for refuſyng his word, ſaying: *Goe and thou ſhalt ſay vnto this people: Ye ſhall heare in deede, but ye ſhall not vnderſtand: yee ſhall playnely ſee and not perceiue. Harden the hart of this people, ſtoppe their eares, and ſhut their eyes, that they ſee not wyth their eyes, heare not with their eares, and vnderſtand not with their hartes, and conuert and be healed. And I ſayd: how long Lord? And he aunſwered: Vntill the Cities be deſtroyed, vtterly waſted without inhabitors, and the houſes wythout men, till the land alſo bee deſolate and lye vnbuilded.* And the Prophet Micheas, conſidering the contempt of Gods word among the Iſraelites, threatned them thus: *when the day, that thy preachers warned thee of, commeth, thou ſhalt be waſted away. And let no man beleue his friend, or put his confidence in his brother. Keepe the doore of thy mouth frõ her that lyeth in thy boſome: for the ſonne ſhall put his father to diſhonour, & the daughter ſhall riſe againſt her mother, the daughter in law againſt the mother in law: and a mans foes ſhall be euen they of his owne houſhold.* The ſame plage threatned CHRIST vnto yͤ Iewes, for refuſing his peace profered thẽ in the Goſpell, & he wept on the city Ieruſalem, which murdered the Prophets and ſtoned ſuch as were ſent vnto her.

Suffol and No folke m moued b Gods word to ſet by th Queen

Incon niences that fol by tak away G word.

Eſay.6

Mich.6

Luke.

The ſame plages, we are afrayd, will alſo fall vppon vs. For where as heretofore with the receauing of Chriſtes word and peaceable Goſpell we had great benedictions of God, eſpecially this chriſtian concord and holy peace, ſo that all were at a full and perfect ſtay in religion, no man offended wyth an other, but as the ſonnes of peace ech of vs with chriſtian charity embraced other: now, alas for pity, the deuill (ryding vpon the red horſe, ſhewed vnto S. Iohn in the Reuelation) is come forth, & power is geuen him to take peace frõ the earth. For now a man can go to no place but malicious buſy bodyes curiouſly

Apoc.6

riouſly ſearch out his deedes, marke his wordes, and if he agree not with them in deſpyſing Gods word, then will they ſpytefully and hatefully rayle agaynſt him and it, calling it errour and hereſy, and the profeſſours therof heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, wyth other odious and deſpitefull names: as traytours and not the Queenes frendes, not fauourers of the Queenes proceedinges: as if to loue Gods word were hereſy, and as though to talke of *CHRIST*, were to be ſchiſmatickes: as though none could be true to the Queene, that were not falſe to God: as though none were the Queenes frendes, but ſuch as deſpitefully rayle on her graces father and brother, and on Gods word that they ſet foorth: as though none fauoured the Queenes maieſty, but ſuch as hate all godly knowledge.

And in very dede theſe thinges that all this turmoile is made for, are mere inuentions of Popes, brought into the Church, of their own imaginatiōs, wythout commaundement or enſample eyther of *CHRIST* or of hys Apoſtels: and there is not one word in the Bible that being truely alleadged, mayntayneth thē, nor any Doctor of antiquity before S. Auſtines dayes, as it hath bene diuers times ſufficiently proued before all the whole Parlament and conuocation of this realme. Yet theſe being mere traditions of Byſhops, are ſet out for Gods commaundementes: and the Queenes autority (geuen to her of God to mayntayne his word) muſt bee abuſed to put downe Gods worde. And you ryght honourable Iuſtices and keepers of lawes and ryghteouſnes, are alſo abuſed and made the Byſhops apparatours, to ſet forth ſuch Romiſh traſh, as is to *CHRISTES* diſhonour, and agaynſt the ſupreme authority of the regall eſtate of thys Realme. And wee poore ſubiectes, for ſpeaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are dayly puniſhed, rayled vppon, and noted for ſeditious, and not the Queenes frendes.

But God (who is bleſſed for euer) knoweth that they ſclaunder vs, and pull the thorne out of their own foote, and put it in ours: for the ſearcher of hartes knoweth, that we beare a faythfull and true hart vnto her grace, and vnto all her proceedings that are not againſt God and his holy word. And we dayly pray vnto the heauenly father, to lighten her graces royall hart wyth the glorious lyght of hys Goſpell, that ſhee may eſtabliſh and confirme that religion, that her graces brother, our moſt deare king, did ſet out amongſt vs: and ſo gouerning & ruling this her realme in the feare and true way of God, ſhe may long liue, and with proſperity, peace, and honour raigne ouer vs.

But we cannot thinke that thoſe men do ſeeke eyther Gods honour, or her graces proſperity, or wealth of the realme, that take from her graces faythfull ſubiectes Gods woorde, which onely is the roote of all loue and faythful obedience vnto her grace, and of all honeſty, good lyfe and vertuous concord among her commons. And thys we feare, leſt the roote being taken away, the braunches will ſoone wither and be fruitles. And when the Philiſtines haue ſtopped vp the wellſpring, the fayre ſtreames that ſhould flow, ſhall ſoone be dryed vp. All our watch men, our true preachers haue taught vs, that as lōg as we reteined Gods word, we ſhould haue God our gracious mercifull father, but if wee refuſed & caſt of the Lords yoke of his doctrine, then ſhall we loke for the Lords wrath and ſeuere viſitation to plage vs, as he did the Iewes for the lyke offenſes. And Paule ſayth: *God gaue to them the ſpirit of vnquietnes or vprore, eyes wherwith they ſhould not ſee, and eares wherewith they ſhould not heare vntyll this day:* and as Dauid ſayd: *let their table be made a ſnare to take them ſelues wythall, a trap to catch them, and a ſtumbling blocke to fall at. Let their eyes be blynded, that they ſee not, and bowe thou downe their backes alwayes.*

O merciful God, all this is now come vpō vs, & dayly more & more encreaſeth, & we feare at laſt it will ſo bow down our backes, yͭ we ſhall vtterly be deſtroyed. The troubleſome ſpirit of vprores & vnquietnes, dayly troubleth mens hartes, and worketh ſuch vnquietnes in all places, that no man that loueth quyetnes, can tell where to place hym ſelfe. Men haue eyes and ſee not how greuous offence it is, to caſt of the yoke of Gods doctrine, and to beare the heauy burthen that vnfaithfull hypocrites lay vpon vs. Wee haue eares and heare not the warning of Gods word, calling vs to true repentance, nor his threates agaynſt our impiety. Our moſt ſwete table of *CHRISTES* word and moſt holy communion, is taken away, & turned to a moſt perilous ſnare, through the brawling diſputations of men. And as the Idoll of abomination, betokeneth finall ſubuerſion vnto the Iewiſh nation: ſo we feare, this ſetting aſyde of the Goſpell and holy communion of *CHRIST*, and the placing in of Romiſh religion, betokeneth deſolation to be at hand of this noble realme of England.

For the plagues of hunger, peſtilence, and ſword, can not long tary: but except we repent and turne agayne to the Lord, our backes ſhall bee ſo bowed, that the lyke horrible plages were neuer ſeene. And no maruayle: for the lyke offence was neuer cōmitted, as to reiect and caſt of *CHRIST* and his word, and in playne Engliſh to ſay: *we will not haue hym to reigne ouer vs*. O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the Goſpell? *Thoſe myne enemies that would not haue me to reigne ouer them, bring them hether, & ſlay them before me.* God be mercifull vnto vs, and moue the Queenes maieſties hart, and the hartes of her honorable Counſayle, and your hartes (ryght honorable Commiſſioners) to wey theſe daungers in due tyme, and to call Gods word vnto your counſayle, and then you ſhall ſee, how it agreeth with this Biſhoplike commaundement: and to be as ware to auoyde the contempt of the eternall God, & daungers of the ſame, as you are prudent & wyſe in matters of this world: leſt if the almighty be contemned, he ſtretch forth his arme, which no man can turne, and kindle his wrath that no man can quench.

Luke.19.

Warning to *Q. Mary*, to her Counſaile, and Cōmiſſioners.

We haue humbly opened vnto you our conſciences, doubtles ſore wounded and greued by this commaundement: and we meekely pray and beſech the Queenes maieſty, for the precious death and bloudſhed of *IESVS CHRIST* our Sauiour, to haue mercy and pity vppon vs her graces poore commons, faithfull and true ſubiectes, members of the ſame body polliticke, whereof her grace is ſupreme head. All our bodies, goodes, landes, and lyues are ready to do her grace faythfull obedience, and true ſeruice, in all commaundementes that are not agaynſt God and hys word: but in theſe thinges that import a deniall of *CHRIST*, and refuſall of hys woord and holy communion, we can not conſent nor agree vnto it. For we haue bound our ſelues in baptiſme to bee *CHRISTES* Diſciples, and to kepe his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny hym before men, he will deny vs before hys heauenly father and his holy Aungels in the day of iudgement: which we truſt her benigne grace will not requyre of vs.

The dutie of true ſubiectes declared, firſt to Chriſt, then to yͤ Queene.

How farre a Prince ought to require obedience of his ſubiectes.

And we humbly beſech her maieſty that we be not enforced vnto it: but as we ſerue her grace wyth body and goods, and due obediēce, according to Gods commaundement: ſo we may be permitted freely to ſerue God and *CHRIST* our Sauiour, and keepe vnto hym our ſoules, which he hath wyth his precious bloud redeemed: that ſo (as *CHRIST* teacheth) we may render to Cæſar that is due to Cæſar, and to God that is due to God.

For we thinke it no true obedience vnto the Queenes hyghnes, or to any other magiſtrate ordayned of God vnder her, to obey in thinges contrary to Gods word, although the ſame bee neuer ſo ſtraitly charged in her graces name. The Byſhop of Wincheſter hath truely taught in that poynt, in his boke of true obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not agaynſt the Lord: as the Apoſtels aunſwered before the counſayle at Ieruſalem, cōmaunding thē no more to preach in the name of the Lord *IESVS*. *Iudge you* (ſayd they) *whether it be ryght in the ſight of God, to heare you rather then God.* And agayne they ſayd: *we muſt obey God rather then man.* Wherfore we learne that true obedience is to obey God, king of all kinges & Lord of all Lordes: and for him, in him, & not agaynſt hym and hys word, to obey the Princes and magiſtrates of this world, who are not truely obeyed when God is diſobeyed, nor yet diſobeyed when God is faythfully obeyed.

True obedience how farre it ſtretcheth.

Act.4.

Tobias diſobeyed not his king, although contrary to hys commaundement, and contrary to the vſage of all other, when they went to Dan and Bethell, he went vnto Ieruſalem, and worſhipped in the temple of the Lord. The three yong men in Babylon, refuſing king Nabuchodonoſors commaundement, pleaſed God more then the whole multitude that obeyed it. And Daniell, that prayed to the God of heauen, contrary to kyng Darius commaundementes, bare a more true and faythfull hart to the kyng, then thoſe wicked counſellours, that procured that wicked law, or thoſe that for feare or flattery obeyed it. Which two peſtilences (feare and flattery) haue euer deſtroyed true obedience to God and man: when wicked godles mē (that care not if the Deuill were worſhipped, ſo they may get and obtayne riches, promotions, and dignityes and worldly glory) turne to and fro, as euery wynd bloweth: and weake and frayle men fea-

True obedience.

Example of true obedience.

Feare and flattery, enemies to true obedience to God and man.

ring loſſe of goods, puniſhmẽt or death, do outwardly in body that thing, that their harts & conſciences inwardly abhorreth: & ſo outwardly diſobey God, & in hart diſſemble wyth man. Which diſſimulation we thinke worthy hate of all men, and moſt vncomely for Chriſtian men.

Falſe diſſemblers worthy to be hated of all men.

Wherefore wee humbly beſech the Queenes maieſty, wyth pity and mercy to tender the lamentable ſute of vs her poore ſubiectes, which be by this commaundement ſore hurt and wounded in our conſciences, and driuen to many miſeries, and by the malicious attemptes of wicked men, ſuffer great wronges and iniuries, ſclaunders, loſſe of goodes, and bodily vexations. We thynke not good, by any vnlawfull ſturre or cõmotion, to ſeeke remedy: but intend by Gods grace, to obey her maieſty in all thinges not agaynſt God and his holy word. But vnto ſuch vngodly Byſhoplyke commaundementes as are againſt God, we aunſwere wyth the Apoſtels: *God muſt obeyed rather then man*. If perſecution ſhall enſue (which ſome threaten vs wyth) we deſyre the heauenly father, according to hys promiſe, to looke from heauen, to heare our cry, to iudge betwene vs and our aduerſaries, and to geue vs fayth, ſtrength, and patience, to continue faythfully vnto the end, and to ſhorten theſe euill dayes for his choſens ſake: and ſo we faythfully beleue he wyll.

Notwithſtanding, wee truſt the Queenes gracious and merciful hart will not ſuffer ſuch tyranny to be done agaynſt her poore innocent, faythfull, and obedient ſubiectes, that dayly pray vnto God for her: which haue no remedy in this world, but to ſue vnto her highnes, our moſt gracious and benigne ſoueraigne: whom we pray and beſech, for the deare bloud of CHRIST, to pity our lamentable caſe and hurt of conſcience, and to call backe all ſuch commaundementes, as are agaynſt Gods honour, as the good king Darius, Aſſuerus, Traianus, Theodoſius, and diuers other haue done: and to permit the holy worde of God and true religion (ſet foorth by our moſt holy and innocent K. Edward, a very ſaint of God) to be reſtored agayn vnto our churches, to be frequented amongſt vs. So ſhall we grow & increaſe in the knowledge of God & of CHRIST, in true repentance & amendment of lyfe: ſo ſhall we exhibite true obedience to our lawfull magiſtrates and all ſuperiors ordained of God: ſo ſhall loue and charity (of late thorow thys commaundement ſo decayed) bee agayne reſtored, the honour of her regall eſtate the more confyrmed and eſtabliſhed, and godlynes and vertuous lyfe among her louing ſubiectes increaſed and mayntayned.

Queene *Maryes* authority ſtriuing agaynſt mens conſciences.

And we moſt hartely pray you (right honorable commiſſioners) to bee meanes vnto the Queenes hyghnes, and to her honorable Counſaile, that this our humble ſute may be fauourably tendred, and graciouſly hearde and graunted. And we ſhall not ceaſe day and nyght, to pray vnto the heauẽly father, long to preſerue her grace, and all other magiſtrates, in his feare & loue, & in proſperous peace and wealth, wyth long lyfe and honour, Amen.

Your poore Suppliantes, the louers of Chriſtes true Religion in Norffolke and Suffolke.

The ſtory of Iohn Harpole of the Pariſh of S. Nicolas in Rocheſter, Ioane Beach wydow of Tunbridge, Martyrs.

Ioh. Harpole, Ioane Beach, Martyrs.

TOuching yͤ examinatiõ of Ioane Beach widow, and of Iohn Harpole wythin the dioces of Rocheſter, by Maurice byſhop of the ſayd dioces, remembrance was made before in the ſtory of Nicholas Halle, pag. 1829. Wherein was declared the. iiij. Articles conſiſtoriall of the biſhop, obiected and laid, as vnto the ſayd Nich. Halle & his cõpany, ſo alſo to thys Ioane Beach widdow: whereof the firſt was this.

Ex Regiſt. Articles leyd to *Ioane Beach.*

1 That ſhe was of the pariſhe of Tunbridge in the dioces of Rocheſter.

2 Item, that all perſons which preach, teach, beleue, or ſay otherwyſe or contrary to that their mother holy catholicke church of CHRIST, are excõmunicate perſons and heretickes.

3 Item, that the ſayd Ioane Beach hath, and yet doth affirme, maintaine and beleue contrary to the ſaid mother holy church of CHRIST, vidz, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, vnder forme of breade and wyne, there is not the very body and bloud of our Sauiour in ſubſtance, but onely a token and a memoriall therof: and that the very body and bloud of CHRIST is in heauen, and not in the ſacrament.

4 Item, that ſhe hath bene, and yet is, amongeſt the pariſhioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently ſuſpected, to be a ſacramentary, and hereticke.

¶ *Her perſonall aunſwers to the ſaid Articles.*

TO the which foreſayd Articles her aunſwers were theſe: Firſt, that ſhe was and is of the ſayd pariſh of Tunbridge, in the Dioces of Rocheſter.

Anſwer *of Ioan Beach,* to the ticles.

2 That all perſons which doe preach or holde otherwyſe and contrary to that, which the holy catholycke church of CHRIST doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretickes: Adding withall, that neuertheles ſhe beleueth not the holy catholicke church to be her mother, but beleueth onely the father of heauen to be her father.

The C tholike church mother.

3 Thirdly, that ſhe hath, and yet doth verily beleue, holde, and affirme, in the Sacrament of the aultar vnder formes of bread and wyne, not to bee the very body and bloud of our Sauiour in ſubſtance, but onely a token and remembrance of his death to the faythfull receauer, and that his body and ſubſtance is onely in heauen, and not in the Sacrament.

4 Laſtly, as touching how ſhe hath bene or is noted and reputed among the pariſhners of Tunbridge, ſhe ſayd, ſhe could not tell: howbeit ſhe beleued, ſhe was not ſo taken and reputed.

¶ Examination and condemnation of Iohn Harpole and Ioane Beach.

THe lyke matter, and the ſame. iiij. articles were all ſo the ſame preſent tyme & place, miniſtred to Iohn Harpole by the foreſayd biſhop Maurice: who, after the lyke aunſwers receaued of him, as of the other before, adiudged and condemned them both together to death, by one forme of ſentence, according to the tenor and courſe of their vſuall ſentence, which ye may reade before in M. Rogers ſtory, pag. 1661.

And thus theſe two Chriſtian Martyrs coupled in one confeſſion, being condemned by the biſhop, ſuffered together at one fire in the towne of Rocheſter, where they together ended their lyues about the fyrſt day of this preſent moneth of Apryll.

The M tyrdome *Ioh. H pole, an Ioane Beach,* at Ro cheſter. An.15 Aprill.

John Hullier Miniſter and Martyr.

John Hullier, Marty

NExt after theſe enſueth the Martyrdome of Iohn Hullier Miniſter, who firſt being brought vp in the ſchoole of Eaton, was afterward ſcholer, & then Conduct in the kings Colledge at Cãbridge, and in the ſame vniuerſitie of Cambridge ſuffered vnder D. Thurlby biſhop of Ely, and hys Chauncellour, for the ſincere ſetting out of the lyght of Gods gracious Goſpell reuealed in theſe our dayes. In whoſe behalfe this is to be lamented, that among ſo many freſh wits and ſtyrring pens in that vniuerſity, ſo little matter is left vnto vs touching the proceſſe of hys iudgemẽt and order of his ſuffering, which ſo innocently gaue hys lyfe in ſuch a cauſe amonge the myddeſt of them. By certayne letters which hee hym ſelfe left behind him, it appeareth that he was zealous and earneſt in that doctrine of truth, which euery true Chriſtian man ought to embrace. Hys Martyrdome was about the ſecond day of this preſent moneth of Aprylll.

The M tyrdom *I.Hull* Miniſte who ſuf fred at Cambridge. An.15 Aprill.

¶ Letters of M. Iohn Hullier Miniſter.

¶ A letter of Iohn Hullier to the Chriſtian congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abyde in the doctrine of the Lord.

IT ſtandeth now moſt in hand (O deare Chriſtians) all thē that looke to be accopted of CHRISTES flocke at that great and terrible day, when a ſeparation ſhall be made of that ſort that ſhall be receaued, from the other which ſhall be refuſed, faythfully in this tyme of great afflictions, to heare our Maiſter CHRISTES voyce, the onely true ſhepeheard of our ſoules, which ſayth: *whoſoeuer ſhall endure to the ende, ſhall be ſafe.* For euen now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well ſee) that our Sauiour CHRIST ſpake of ſo long before, which ſhould follow the true and ſincere preaching of hys Goſpell. Therefore in this tyme, we muſt nedes eyther ſhew that we be his faythfull ſouldiers, & continue in hys battell vnto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckeler of fayth, the breſt plate of loue, the helmet of hope and ſaluation, and the ſword of his holy word (which we haue heard plentifully) with all inſtance of ſupplication and prayer: or els if we do not worke & labor with theſe, we are Apoſtataes and falſe ſoldiours, ſhrinking moſt vnthankfully from our gracious and ſoueraigne Lord and Captaine CHRIST, and leaning to Beliall. For as he ſaith plainly: *who ſoeuer beareth not my croſſe & followeth me, he cannot be my Diſciple.* And: *No man can ſerue two Maſters: for either he muſt hate the one, and loue the other, or els he ſhall leane to the one, and deſpiſe the other.* The which thing the faithfull Prophet Helias ſignified, when he came to the people, and ſaid: *why halt ye betwene two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, thē follow him.* Now let vs not thinke, but that the ſame was recorded in writing for our inſtruction, whom the endes of the world are come vpon, as the Apoſtle S. Paule ſayth: *whatſoeuer things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning.* If CHRIST be that onely good and true ſhepheard, that gaue his lyfe for vs, then let vs that beare his marke, & haue our conſciences ſprinkled with his bloud, follow all together for our ſaluation, his heauenly voyce and calling, according to our profeſſiō and firſt promiſe. But if we ſhall not ſo do, certainly (ſay what we can) although we beare the name of CHRIST, yet we be none of his ſheepe in deede. For, he ſaith very manifeſtly: *My ſhepe heare my voyce, and follow me: a ſtraunger they will not follow, but wyll flie from him, for they know not the voyce of a ſtraunger.*

Therefore let euery man take good heede in theſe perilous daies (whereof we haue had ſo much warning aforehand) that he be not begiled by the goodly outwarde ſhew and appearance, as Eue was of our old ſubtill enemy, whoſe craft and wilynes is ſo manifold and diuers, and ſo full of cloſe windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the playne ſtraygh t way to conſent to hys ſuggeſtions, then he will allure him and wynde hym in by ſome other falſe wayes (as it were by a traine) that he ſhall not perceaue it, to deceaue him withall, and to ſteale frō hym that goodly victory of the vncorruptible & eternall crowne of glory, which no man els can haue, but he that fighteth lawfully: As at this preſent day, if he can not induce him throughly, as other do, to fauour hys deuelliſh religion, and of good will and free hart to helpe to vphold the ſame, yet he wyll enuegle him to reſort to his wicked and whoriſh ſcholehouſe, and at the leaſt wyſe, to be conuerſant and keepe company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and ſay nothyng, what ſoeuer he thinke, ſo that he be not a diligent ſoldiour and a good labourer on CHRISTES ſyde to further his kyngdome: by that ſubtyl meanes flattering him, that he ſhall both ſaue hys lyfe, and alſo his goods, and lyue in quiet. But if we looke well on CHRISTES holy wyll and teſtament, we ſhall perceiue that hee came not to make any ſuch peace vpō earth, nor yet that he gaue any ſuch peace to his Diſciples: *I leaue peace with you* (ſaith he): *my peace I geue you, not as the world geueth it, geue I vnto you. Let not your hart be troubled, nor fearefull. Theſe things haue I ſpoken vnto you, that in me ye ſhould haue peace. In the world ye ſhal haue afflictiō, but be of good chere, I haue ouercome the world. The ſeruant is not greater then his Lord and Maſter: if they haue perſecuted me, they ſhall alſo perſecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wyfe, children, ſiſters, yea and moreouer his own lyfe, it is not poſſible for him to bee my Diſciple. Bleſſed be ye that now weepe, for ye ſhall laugh: and wo be vnto you that nowe laugh, for ye ſhall mourne and weepe. He that wyll finde hys lyfe, ſhall loſe it.*

Iohn.12.

Therfore the God of that true peace and comfort, preſerue & keepe vs, that we neuer obey ſuch falſe flattering, which at length will pay vs home once for all, bringyng for temporall peace and quietnes, euerlaſtyng trouble, vexation, and diſquietnes: for theſe vayne and tranſitory goodes, extreme loſſe and vtter dammage of the eternall treaſure and inheritaunce: for this mortall life, depriuation of the moſt ioyfull life immortall: finally, the entraunce into endles death moſt miſerable, vnmeaſurable payne and torment both of body and ſoule.

The ſtrait way of Chriſt better then the broad way of this world.

Now, conferryng theſe two ſcholemaſters together, let vs conſider the thyng well, and determine with our ſelves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which ſeemeth here moſt pleaſant, and that the moſt part of people take. Surely I iudge it to be better to go to ſchole with our maſter CHRIST, and to be vnder hys ferula and rod (although it ſeeme ſharpe and greuous for a tyme) that at the length we may be inheretours with him of euerlaſtyng ioy, rather then to kepe company with the Deuils ſcholers, the adulterous generation, in his Schole that is all full of pleaſure for a while, and at the ende to be payd with the wages of continual burnyng in the moſt horrible lake, which burneth euermore with fire & brimſtone without any end. What ſhall then theſe vayne goodes and temporall pleaſures auayle? who ſhal thē helpe when we cry inceſſantly, wo, wo, alas & weale away, for vnmeaſurable payne, grief, and ſorrow? O let vs therfore take heede betime, and rather be content to take paynes in this world for a tyme, that we may pleaſe God. Our Sauiour CHRIST the true teacher ſayth: *Euery braunch that bryngeth not forth fruite in me, my father will take away.*

Iohn.15.

Eccle.41.

Ungodly company to be auoyded.

It is alſo written not in vayne: *the children of the vngodly are abominable children, and ſo are they that kepe company with the vngodly.* What doth he els I pray you, that reſorteth to the miniſtration and ſeruice, that is moſt repugnant and contrary to CHRISTES holy Teſtament, there kepyng ſtill ſilence and nothyng reprouyng the ſame, but in the face of the world by his very deede it ſelfe, declareth hym ſelfe to be of a falſe, fearefull, diſſemblyng, faynED and vnfaythfull hart, and to haue layd away from hym the armour of light, diſcouragyng, aſmuch as lyeth in hym, all the reſidue of CHRISTES hoſte, and geuyng a manifeſt offence to the weake, and alſo confirmyng, encouragyng, and reioycyng the hartes of the aduerſaries in all their euill doyng? By which example he doth ſhew him ſelf, neither to loue God, whom he ſeeth to be diſhonoured and blaſphemed of an Antichriſtian miniſter, nor yet his neighbour, before whom he ſhould rebuke the euill, as it is expreſſely commaunded in Gods holy law, where it is ſayd: *Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, that thou beare not ſinne for his ſake.* Wherefore let ſuch a one neuer fantaſie to deceiue him ſelfe, that his name is regiſtred in the booke of lyfe to haue the ſtipend of CHRISTES ſouldiour, except he do the duety and performe the part of a faythfull, and right true ſouldiour, as other haue done before. For ſuch fearefulnes commeth not from God, as teſtifieth S. Paul ſaying: *God hath not geuen vs the ſpirite of feare, but of power and of loue. Be not aſhamed, ſaith he, to teſtifie our Lord, but ſuffer aduerſitie alſo with the goſpell through the power of God, which ſaued vs, and called vs with an holy callyng.*

Leuit.18.

Gods ſtipend commeth not, but to ſuch as play his ſouldiours.

2.Tim.1.

To be now fearefull, whē moſt nede is that we ſhould be of ſtrong hartes, is vtterly the reiectyng of the feare of God, and plaine vnfaithfulnes and diſobedience to the expreſſe commaundemēt of our Sauiour CHRIST, which ſayth in his holy goſpel: *Feare not thē that kill the body. &c.* For what faithfulnes do we expreſſe towardes hym, whē he ſayth thus to vs, & yet we declare in our doynges the very contrary, being euer fearefull, euen as the vnbeleuyng Iſraelites, which vnfaithfully feared Gods enemies the heathen Cananites, where as he had oftentimes geuē them commaundement by his true Prophet Moſes, to do the contrary? for the which cauſe, all the whole number of ye ſecte were deſtroyed in proceſſe of time in ye wildernes, & enioyed not the pleaſaunt land of promiſe. Which was a bodily figure ſhewed before, and now agreyng to the promiſe of the heauenly inheritance, which ſhall be geuen to none other, but onely to all ſuch as with loue vnfayned, be wholy bent, without any feare of man, to fulfill Gods holy will & pleaſure. But all they that pertaine to the liuely faith to the winnyng of the ſoule, will faithfully ſticke to the commaundement, truſtyng moſt firmely and faithfully, that he that gaue the ſame, will alſo geue ſtrength plentyfully to performe it euen in the weakeſt veſſels of all, as we haue heard and ſene by many and diuers examples, he onely be prayſed therfore.

Fearefulnes in Chriſtes cauſe diſproued.

Math.10.

Num.13.14.

Example by the fearefull Iſraelites.

1.Pet.3. Phil.1. Apoc.21. Apoc.3.

S.Peter ſayth: *Feare not though they ſeeme terrible vnto you, neither bee troubled, but ſanctifie the Lord GOD in your hartes.* Onely (ſayth S.Paul) *let your cõuerſation be as it becommeth the Goſpell of CHRIST. Continue in one ſpirite, and in one ſoule, labouring as we doe, to maintayne the fayth of the Goſpell, and in nothing fearing your aduerſaries: which is to them a token of damnation, and to you of ſaluation, and that of God: for vnto you it is geuen, that not only ye ſhould beleue in Chriſt, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake.* Wherfore let vs be right wel aſſured, that we ſhall yelde a moſt ſtraight reckening and accompt, if we tranſgreſſe the ſaid moſt wholſome precepts geuen vs of our maiſter Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and now in this troubleſome time wherin the Goſpel is perſecuted, ſhew our ſelues feareful ſouldiours: as it is manifeſtly declared in the Reuelation of S.Iohn, where it is written: *that the fearefull ſhal haue their part with the vnbeleuyng, and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire & brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.* Agayne, it is written in the ſame booke for our warnyng: *Becauſe thou art betwixt both, and neither colde nor hote, I will ſpue thee out of my mouth.*

Eſay.8. Prouer.3. Heb.12. 1.Cor.11. 2.Reg.7. Math.7. 1.Pet.5.

Now therfore good Chriſtians, theſe true teſtimonies of Gods liuely word deepely conſidered and wayed, let vs chiefly ſtand in awe of his moſt terrible iudgements, and be not as they that preſumptuouſly tempt hym. Let him alway be our feare and dread. He now chaſteneth, hee now nurtereth vs for our profite, delightyng in vs euen as a louyng father in his beloued child, to make vs perfect, and to haue vs to be partakers of his holynes. He now iudgeth vs, not vtterly takyng away his euerlaſtyng loue and mercy from vs, as he doth from the malignaunt and wicked, that we ſhould not be condemned with the wicked world: but if we now refuſe hys moſt louyng chaſtiſyng, and folow the world, we muſt needes haue our portion with the world. Wyde is the gate and broad is the way which leadeth to deſtruction, and many there be which go in thereat. But ſtraite is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth vnto lyfe, and few there be that fynd it. Oh how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, then to enioy the pleaſures of ſinne for a tyme? In conſideration wherof let vs without any more ſlackyng and further delayes in this great warnyng by Gods louyng viſitation, ſubmit our ſelues betyme vnder his mighty hand, that he may exalte vs whẽ the tyme is come. And thus I wholy commit you to him, and to the worde of his grace, which is able to build further, beſechyng you moſt hartly to pray for me, that I may be ſtrong through the power of his might, and ſtand perfect in all thynges, beyng alwayes prepared and ready, lookyng for the mercy of our Lord vnto eternall reſt, and I will pray for you as I am moſt bound. So I truſt he will graciouſly heare vs for his promiſe ſake made vnto all faithfull in his dearely beloued ſonne CHRIST our alone Sauiour, whoſe grace be with your ſpirite, moſt deare Chriſtians, for euer. So be it.

By your Chriſtian brother Iohn Hullyer
a priſoner of the Lord.

¶Iohn Hullier being of long time priſoner, & now openly iudged to die for the teſtimony of the Lord IESVS, wiſheth hartely to the whole cõgregation of God, the ſtrẽgth of his holy ſpirite, to their euerlaſting helth both of body and ſoule.

Another letter of Ioh. Hullier to the congregation of Chriſtes faithfull followers.

Apoc.14.

He exhorteth the faithfull to ſeparate themſelues from the Popes marked miniſters.

I Now (moſt deare Chriſtians) hauing the ſwete comfort of Gods ſauing health, and being confirmed with his free ſpirit (be he onely prayſed therfore) am conſtrayned in my cõſcience, thinking it my very duty to admoniſh you, as ye tender the ſaluation of your ſoules, by all maner of meanes to ſeperate your ſelues from the company of the Popes hirelinges, conſidering what is ſayd in the Reuelation of S.Iohn, by the Aungell of God, touching all men. The wordes be theſe: *If anye man worſhyp the Beaſt and his image, and receiue his marke in his forehead, or in his hand, the ſame ſhall drinke the wyne of the wrath of God, which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall bee puniſhed with fire and brymſtone before the holy Aungels and before the Lambe, and the ſmoke of their torment aſcendeth vp euermore.* Marke well here good Chriſtians, who is this Beaſt, & worſhippers, that ſhal be partakers of that vnſpeakable torment. This Beaſt is none other but the carnall and fleſhly kingdome of Antichriſt, the Pope with hys rable of falſe Prophets and Miniſters, as it is moſt manifeſt: which to maintaine their high titles, worldly promotions and dignities, doe with much cruelty dayly more and more ſet forth and eſtabliſh their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to Gods holy ordinances, ſtatutes, lawes, and commaundements, and wholy repugnant to his ſincere and pure religiõ & true worſhipping.

2.Pet. Iohn.3. Iohn.10. Eze.13. Iohn.10.

Agaynſt diſſembl bearers with the Papiſt

Mark. Luke.9. Mala.1. Heb.6. Luke.6. 1.Iohn.2. Ephe.4.

Now what doe they els but worſhip this Beaſt and his Image, who after they had once already eſcaped frõ the filthines of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, are yet againe tangled therein and ouercome, vſing diſſimulation vnfaythfully, for feare of their diſpleaſure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly an other: ſo hauing thẽ in reuerence vnder a cloke and coulour, to whom they ought not ſo much as to ſay God ſpeede: and adioyning them ſelues to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhorre as a den of theeues and murtherers, and as the brothell houſe of moſt blaſphemous fornicators: whoſe voyces being contrary to CHRISTES voyce, if they were of his flocke, they woulde not knowe, but would flee from them: as he hymſelfe being the good ſhepeheard of our ſoules doth full well in his holy Goſpell teſtify. Agayn, what do they els I pray you, but receiue the Beaſtes marke in their foreheads and in theyr hands, which do beare a faire face and countenance outwardly in ſupporting them as other do, being aſhamed openly to confeſſe CHRIST and his holy Goſpell? But this fainednes and diſſimulation, CHRIST and his Goſpell will in no wiſe allow. Of whom it is ſayd: *whoſoeuer ſhall be aſhamed of me and my words in this adulterous and ſinfull generation, of him alſo ſhall the ſonne of man be aſhamed, when he ſhall come in the glory of his father with his holy Aungels.* Therefore ſaith almighty God by his Prophet Malachy: *Curſed be the diſſemblers.* Ye were once lightned and taſted of the heauenly gifte, and were become partakers of the holy Ghoſt, and taſted of the word of God, and of the power of the world to come. And our Sauiour CHRIST ſayth: *No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh backe, is apt for the kingdome of God.* Therefore S.Iohn the Apoſtle vſeth this for a manifeſt token, that the backſliding from the true teachers of Gods word, declareth euidently that they be not of the number of them. For, ſaith he: *they went out from vs, but they were not of vs: for if they had bene of vs, no doubt, they would haue continued with vs.* Surely, ſo longe as we vſe diſſimulation, and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatſoeuer is manifeſt, the ſame is light, as the elect veſſell of God S.Paule wytneſſeth.

1.Cor.3. Pſal.1. Heb.3. 2.Cor.4.

Gods mercy to whom it belongeth.

Wherfore (good Chriſtians) for Gods moſt deare loue, deceiue not your ſelues through your own wiſdome and through the wyſdome of the world, which is foliſhnes before God, but certify and ſtay your own cõſcience with the ſure truth and faithfull word of God, and wyth the infallible teſtimonies of holy ſcripture. For although Gods mercy is ouer all his workes: yet it doth not extend, but onely to them that hold faſt the confidence and reioycing of hope vnto the end, not being weery in well doing, but rather waxing euery day ſtronger & ſtronger in the inward man. Therefore in the Reuelation of ſaint Iohn, where it is entreated of the Beaſt & his Image, it is alſo ſayd: *Here is the ſufferance of Saintes, and here are they that keepe the commaũdements, and the faith of IESVS CHRIST.* Whereby almighty God doth ſhew plainly that he doth vſe thoſe wicked men as inſtruments for a tyme, to trye the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance wherof we can haue no part among the liuing, but as it is ſayd in the ſame Reuelation: *the fearful ſhall haue their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brymſtone, which is the ſecond death.*

Obiection anſwered.

1.Cor.12. Rom.18. Apoc.18. Eccle.3. Pſal.36. 2.Cor.6.

But peraduenture ye will obiect and ſay vnto me: what ſhall we do? Shall we caſt our ſelues headlong to death? I ſay not ſo. But this I ſay, that we are al bound (if euer we looke to receiue ſaluation at Gods hand) in this caſe wholy to be obedient to his determinate counſell and foreknowledge, expreſſed by the gift of the ſpirite in holy Scripture: and then to caſt all our care vppon hym, who worketh all in all for the beſt vnto them that loue hym: and thus he geueth commaundement ſaying: *Come away frõ her my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſinnes and that ye receiue not of her plagues.* Now who hearing this terrible voyce of God, which muſt needes be fulfilled, will not with all ſpede and diligence apply him ſelfe to do thereafter, except ſuch as will preſumpteouſly tempt hym? And as touchyng ſuch, the wiſe man ſayth: *He that loueth perill and daunger ſhall periſh therin.* But they that be of the fayth of Abraham, euen as he dyd, ſo will they in all aſſayes and trials be obediẽt to the heauenly voyce, howſoeuer it ſemeth contrary to their owne natural will and carnall reaſon, accordyng to the ſure word of faith which ſayth: *Hope thou in the Lord and keepe his way: hold thee ſtill in the Lord and abyde patiently vpon hym.* Let not thy ielouſy moue thee alſo to do euill. Come out from among them, and ioyne not your ſelues to their vnlawful aſſemblies: yea, do not once ſhew your ſelues with the leſt part of your body, to fauour their wicked doynges, but glorifie God (as moſt right is) ſo well in your whole body outwardly, as inwardly in your ſpirite, or els you can do neither of both well: for your body doth belong to God, ſo well as your ſpirite. At the dreadfull day of iudgemẽt we ſhall all receiue the workes of our bodyes, accordyng to that we haue done, whether it be good or bad.

Therefore whatſoeuer we do, we may not bryng the ſpirite in bondage to the body, but cõtrarywiſe we muſt ſubdue the body and the will of the fleſh to the ſpirit, that the ſpirite may freely accompliſhe the will of God in all thinges: for otherwiſe we ſhall neuer be partakers of his promiſe, with the true children of Abraham. For as S. Paul ſayth: *They which are the children of the fleſhe, are not the children of God. If we ſhall lyue accordyng to the fleſh, we ſhall dye. For to be carnally mynded, is death: but to be ſpiritually mynded, is lyfe and peace, becauſe that the fleſhly mynded is enmitie to God: for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the fleſh can not pleaſe God.* Now chuſe you which way you will take: eyther the narrow way that leadeth vnto lyfe, which *CHRIST* hymſelfe and hys fathfull followers haue gone through before: or els the broad path way that leadeth to deſtruction, which the wicked worldlinges take their pleaſure in for a while. I for my part haue now written this ſhort admonition vnto you of good wyll (as God be my witnes) to exhort you to that way which at length you your ſelues ſhould proue and find to be beſt, yea and reioyce thereof. And I do not onely wryte this, but I will alſo with the aſſiſtance of Gods grace) ratify, and confirme, and ſeale the ſame wyth the effuſion of my bloud, when the full tyme ſhall be expyred that he hath appoynted: which (ſo farre forth as I may iudgde) muſt nedes be within theſe few daies. Therefore I now byd you all moſt hartely farewell in the Lord, whoſe grace be with your ſpirite, Amẽ. watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray. Sobeit.

Iohn Hullier.

Beſides theſe letters the ſayd Iohn Hullier left alſo a godly prayer, which if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, it is extant in the old boke of Actes to be foũd, pag. 1515.

The death and matyrdome of ſixe

conſtant profeſſours of Chriſt, burned at Colcheſter for the teſtimony of the Goſpell, the .28. day of Aprill.

Aprill. 28.

NOt long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Eſſex Martyrs, executed in Smithfield, as is aboue ſpecified, followed in the ſame order lykewyſe of Martyrdome, at one lyke fyre in the towne of Colcheſter, (where the moſt part of them did inhabite) ſixe other bleſſed Martyrs, whoſe names be theſe:

Chriſtopher Liſter, *of Dagneham, huſbandmã.*
Iohn Mace, *of Colcheſter, Poticary.*
Iohn Spenſer, *of Colcheſter, VVeauer.*
Simon Ioyne, *Sawyer.*
Richard Nicols, *of Colcheſter, VVeauer.*
Iohn Hamond, *of Colcheſter, Tanner.*

Wyth theſe .vj. was alſo ioyned an other, whoſe name was Roger Graſbroke, but hee afterward ſubmitted him ſelfe. Theſe aboue named, the Byſhop, becauſe he (as it ſeemeth by the ſhort proceſſe recorded by hys Regiſter) wared now weery, made a very quicke diſpatch. For ſone after that, they were deliuered vnto one Iohn Kingſtone, Bacheler of ciuill law, and then Commiſſary to the Biſhop, by the Earle of Oxford and other Commiſſioners (as appeareth by a byll endented, made betwene the Commiſſioners, and the ſayd Commiſſary, for the receipt of the ſayd priſoners, dated the .xxviij. day of March, Anno regni Regis & Reginæ, Philippi & Mariæ, ſecundo & tertio. which is the yeare of our Lord. 1556.) and by him ſent vp vnto his Lord and Maſter, the Byſhop cauſed them to bee brought vnto his houſe at Fulham: Where in the open church, iudicially were miniſtred vnto them the ſame articles, that were propounded vnto Bartlet Grene and others, mencioned before pag. 2015. To the which they made their ſeuerall aunſweres, agreeing all together in one truth, as by the ſũme and effect thereof here enſuing, more playnely appeareth.

Theſe Articles reade before pag. 2015.

1. To the firſt article they all conſented and agréed: Iohn Spenſer adding further thereto, that the church malignant, (which is the church of Rome) is no part of *CHRISTES* Catholicke church: and that hee neyther hath, nor doth beleue the doctrine and religion, taught and ſet forth in the ſayd Romiſh and malignant Church.

Their aunſweres to the Biſhops articles.

The church of Rome no part of Chriſtes Catholicke Church.

2. To the ſecond they aunſwered: that they beleued that in the true Catholicke church of *CHRIST*, there be but two Sacraments: that is to ſay, the Sacrament of baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the body and bloud of *CHRIST*.

Two Sacramentes.

3. To the thyrd article they all agréed, confeſſing that they were baptiſed in the fayth and beliefe of the catholick church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had profeſſed and promiſed for them as is conteyned in the ſame article.

4. To the fourth they aunſwered, that they alwaies were, and yet then did continue in the fayth and profeſſion, wherein they were baptiſed: Richard Nicols adding alſo: that hee had more playnely learned the truth of his profeſſion by the doctrine ſet forth in king Edward the ſixt his dayes, and thereupon he had builded hys fayth, and would continue in the ſame to hys lyues ende, God aſſiſting hym.

Profeſſion of Baptiſme.

5. To the fift they anſwered, that they neyther ſwarued nor went away from the catholicke faith of Chriſt. Howbeit they confeſſed, that wythin the tyme articulate (and before) they had miſlyked, and earneſtly ſpoken agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, affirming that they would not come to heare or bee partakers thereof, becauſe they had and then dyd beleue, that they were ſet forth and vſed contrary to Gods word and glory. And moreouer they did graũt that they had ſpokẽ againſt ẏ vſurped autority of the Byſhop of Rome, as an oppreſſour of *CHRISTES* church, and Goſpell, and that he ought not to haue any autority in England. For all which ſayings they were no whit ſory, but rather reioyced and were glad.

To deny the beggerly vſages of the Popes church, is not to deny the Catholike faith of Chriſt.

The Pope ought to haue no authority in England.

6. To the ſixt they aunſwered, that they neuer refuſed, nor yet then preſently dyd refuſe to be reconciled to the vnity of *CHRISTES* catholicke church, but they ſayd they had, and then did, and ſo euer would hereafter vtterly refuſe to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge the autority of the ſea thereof, but did vtterly abhorre the ſame, for putting downe ẏ boke of God the Bible, and ſetting vp the Babylonical Maſſe, wyth all other of Antichriſtes marchaundiſe.

The church of Rome to be abhorred.

7. To the ſeuenth article, the effect thereof they all graunted. And Simond Ioyne declared further, that the cauſe of hys refuſing to be partaker of their trumpery, was for that the commaundements of God were there broken, and *CHRISTES* ordinances chaunged and put out, and the Byſhop of Romes ordinances in ſtéede threof put in. Moreouer, as touching the Sacrament of *CHRISTES* body, Chriſtopher Liſter affirmed that in the ſayd Sacrament there is the ſubſtance of bread and wyne, as well after the wordes of conſecration as before, and that there is not in the ſame the very body and bloud of *CHRIST* really, ſubſtantially, and truely, but onely ſacramentally and ſpiritually by fayth in the faythfull receiuers, and that the Maſſe is not propitiatory, for the quicke or for the deade, but mere idolatry and abomination.

Againſt the Popes trumpery.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Againſt the Maſſe.

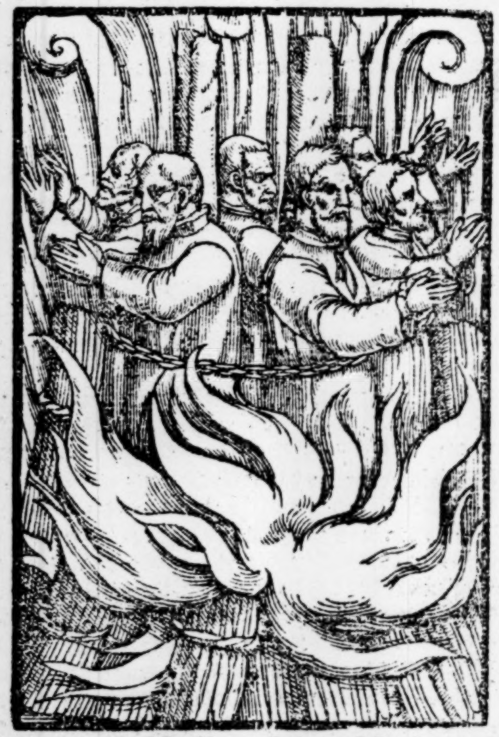
8. To the eight they ſayd, that they were ſent to Colcheſter priſon by the king and Queenes Commiſſioners, because they would not come to their pariſh churches, and by them ſent vnto the Biſhop of London, to be thereof further examined.

9. To the .ix. they all generally agréed, that that which they had ſayd in the premiſſes was true, and that they were of the dioces of London.

These aunſweres thus made, the Biſhop did diſmiſſe them for that preſent, vntill the after noone. At which tyme hauing firſt their articles and aunſweres red vnto them agayne, and they ſtanding moſt firmely vnto their chriſtian profeſſion, they were by diuers wayes and meanes aſſayed and tryed if they would reuoke the ſame their profeſſed fayth, and returne to the vnity of Antichriſtes church. Which thing when they refuſed, the Biſhop ſtoutly pronounced the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt them, committing them vnto the temporall power. Who vpon the receit of the king and Queenes wryt, ſent them vnto Colcheſter, where the .xxviij. day of Aprill, moſt chearefully they ended their lyues, to the glory of Gods holy name, and the great incouragement of others.

Sentence geuen agaynſt them by *B. Boner.*

❡*The burning of theſe foreſayd vj. men at Colcheſter.*



The Martyrdome of *Christopher Liſter, Iohn Mace, Ioh. Spencer, Simon Ioyne, Rich. Nicols, Ioh. Hamōd,* **at Colcheſter.** An. 1556. Aprill. 28.

Hugh Lauerocke an old lame mā, Iohn Apprice a blynd man, Martyrs, burned at Stratford the Bow.

May. 15.

Two burned together at one ſtake, ***Hugh Lauerocke*** **an old lame man, and** ***Ioh. Apprice,*** **a blind man.**

IN the diſcourſe of this parcell or part of Hiſtory, I know not, whether more to maruayle at the great and vnſearchable mercies of God (wyth whom there is no reſpect in degrées of perſons, but he chooſeth as well the poore, lame, and blynde, as the rich, mighty, and healthfull, to ſet forth his glory) or els to note the vnreaſonable or rather vnnaturall doinges of theſe vnmercifull catholickes (I meane B. Boner and his complices) in whom was ſo little fauour or mercy to all ſortes and kyndes of men, that alſo they ſpared neyther impotent age, neyther lame, nor blynd, as may well appeare by theſe poore creatures, whoſe names and ſtories here vnder folow.

Hugh Lauerocke, *of the pariſh of Barking Paynter, of the age of* .68. *a lame creple.*
Iohn Apprice, *a blynd man.*

These two poore and ſimple creatures being, belike, accuſed by ſome promoting neighbour of theirs, vnto the Byſhop and other of the king and Quéenes Commiſſioners, were ſent for by their officer: and ſo being brought and deliuered into the handes of the ſayd Byſhop, were the firſt day of May examined before hym in his Palace at London: Where he firſt propounded and obiected agaynſt them thoſe .ix. articles, whereof often mencion is made before, miniſtred as well vnto Bartlet Grene, as alſo vnto many others. To the which they anſwered in effect, as Chriſtopher Liſter, Iohn Mace, and other before mencioned had done. Whereupon they were agayne ſent to priſon, and beſide other tymes, the .ix. day of the ſame moneth, in the conſiſtory at Poules were againe openly producted and there after the old order, trauayled withall to recant their opinions agaynſt yͤ Sacrament of the altar.

Wherunto Hugh Lauerocke firſt ſayd: I will ſtand to myne aunſwers, and to that that I haue confeſſed: and I cannot find in the ſcriptures, that the Prieſtes ſhould lyft vp ouer their head a cake of bread.

The wordes of *Iohn Lauerocke to Boner.*

The Byſhop then turned hym vnto Iohn Apprice and aſked what he would ſay. To whom he anſwered: Your doctrine (ſayd he) that ye ſet forth and teach, is ſo agreable wyth the world, and imbraced of the ſame, that it cannot be agreable wyth the ſcripture of God. And ye are not of the Catholicke church: for yee make lawes to kill men, ⁊ make the Quéene your hangmā.

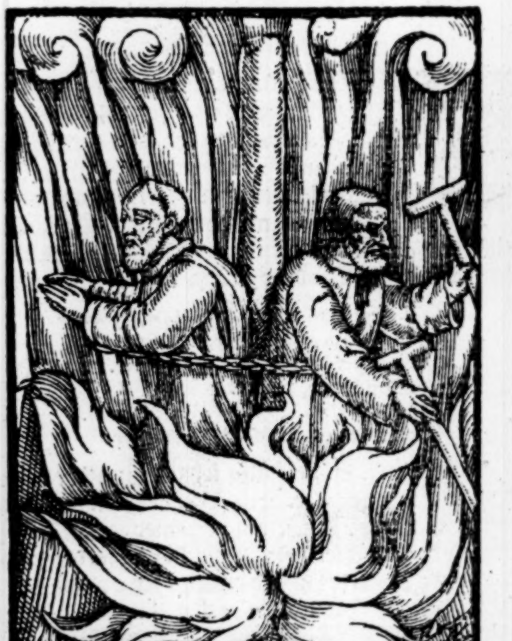
The wordes of *Iohn Apprice* **to the Biſhop.**

At which wordes the biſhop, belike, ſomewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their condemnation any longer (ſuch was now his hot burning charity) commaunded that they ſhould be brought after him vnto Fulham, whether he before dynner did go, and there in the after noone after his ſolemne maner, in the open church he pronounced the definitiue ſentence of condemnation againſt them, and ſo deliuering them into the handes of the temporall officer, thought to diſpatch his hādes of them, but could not ſo diſpatch hys conſcience before the iudgement of God, from the giltines of innocent bloud.

Sentence of condemnation geuen againſt *Hugh Lauerocke, and Iohn Apprice,*

The poore men being now in the temporall officers handes, might not there be ſuffered long to remayne, and therefore the .xv. day of May, very early in the morning they were caryed frō Newgate in a cart to Stratford the Bow, and moſt quietly in yͤ fire praiſing God, yelded vp their ſoules into his hands, through a lyuely fayth in *IESVS CHRIST*, whom vnto the end they did moſt conſtantly confeſſe

The Martyrdome of a blind man, and a lame man, at Stratford the Bow.



The Martyrdome of *Hugh Lauerocke & Iohn Apprice,* **at Stratford the Bow.** An. 1556 May. 15.

At their death, Hugh Lauerocke, after he was cheined, caſting away his crooch, ⁊ cōforting Iohn Apprice hys fellow Martyr, ſayd vnto hym: be of good comfort my brother: for my Lord of London is our good Phiſition. He wyll heale vs both ſhortly, thee of thy blyndnes, and me of my lamenes. And ſo paciently theſe two good Saintes of God together ſuffered.

❡*Three*

Three women the ſame tyme burned in Smithfield, Katherin Hut, Elizabeth Thackuel, and Ioane Hornes.

The next day after the martyrdome of this lame and blind man aboue ſpecified, in the ſayd moneth of May were brought to the fire thrée women, wyth whom alſo was adioined an other, who being in the ſame conſtancy with them, was lykewyſe partaker of the ſayd condemnation. The names of theſe were.

Katheryn Hut *of Bocking, wyddow.*
Ioane Hornes *of Billerica, Mayde.*
Elizabeth Thackuell *of great Burſted, Mayde.*
Margaret Ellys *of Billerica, Mayde.*

How theſe with diuers other mo were perſecuted and ſent vp, eſpecially by Sir Iohn Mordant, and Edmund Tyrrell Eſquier, Iuſtices of peace, this their letter following wyll declare.

¶ A letter ſent vntó Boner B. of London, from Syr Iohn Mordant knight, and Edmund Tyrrel Eſquire, Iuſtices of peace for the County of Eſſex.

Our humble cōmendations to your Lordſhip: theſe ſhall bee to aduertiſe you, that wee haue ſent your good Lordſhip, Ioane Potter, the wyfe of Hugh Potter, Iames Harrys ſeruant of W. Harrys of Bromehil, and Margaret Ellys, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the church, nor to the reall preſence of *CHRISTES* body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, to vſe your Lordſhips pleaſure with them, as you thinke good, not doubting with the puniſhment of theſe and the other before ſent to your Lordſhip, but that the pariſhe of great Burſtede and Billerica ſhall be broght to good conformity. Thus committing your good Lordſhip to the tuition of almighty God, we take our leaue. From great Burſted this preſent ſecond day of March. 1556.

Your Lordſhips to commaund,
Iohn Mordant. Edmond Tyrrell.

After the receite of theſe letters, B. Boner entryng to examination of theſe .iiij. women aboue named, layd and obiected the lyke articles to them, as after hys vſuall forme he vſed to miniſter, and are before expreſſed pag. 2015. Whereunto the ſayd women lykewyſe agréeing in the ſame vnity of ſpirite and doctrine, accorded in their aunſweres, much agréeing vnto the other before them.

As firſt, to the article in the firſt place obiected, they conſented and graunted, beleuing the ſayd Article to be true in euery part thereof.

2 To the ſecond, partly they aunſwered, they coulde not tell what a Sacrament is: Elizabeth Thackuell, and Katheryn Hut adding moreouer, that Matrimony and Baptiſme, and the Lords ſupper were Sacraments ordeined in the church: but whether the other ſpecified in this article be Sacraments (as they heard thē called) ordayned by God or not, they could not tell. Margeret Ellys being examined ſeuerally, as the other were, vpō yͤ ſame, how many ſacraments there were, aunſwered (as a young Mayde vnſkilled, in her ſimple ignorance) that ſhe could not tell. Howbeit ſhee had heard (ſhe ſayd) that there was one Sacrament, but what it was ſhe could not tell. &c.

3 To the third likewyſe they grāūted, that they were baptiſed by their Godfathers and Godmothers, which Godfathers and Godmothers (ſayd Margeret Ellys) did not then know ſo much, as ſhe nowe doth knowe: Katherin Hut adding withall, and ſaying, that ſhe was baptiſed: but what her godfather and godmothers did then promiſe for her in her name, ſhe could not tell.

4 To the fourth article, Margaret Ellys, and Elizabeth Thackuell dyd graunt therunto: Katherin Hut ſaid moreouer that ſhe being of the age of .xiiij. yeares, was of the fayth wherein ſhe was chriſtened, and yet neuertheles the ſaid fayth in that age (ſhe ſaid) was but a dead fayth, becauſe ſhe did not then vnderſtand what ſhe did beleue. Ioane Hornes added that ſhe being a .xj. yeares of age, began to learne the faith ſet forth in king Edwardes dayes, in the which fayth and religion (ſhe ſayd) ſhe hath hetherto, and yet doth, and ſo will hereafter continue, God ſo aſſiſting her.

5 To the fift article, they aunſwered and confeſſed, according all in this effect, that as touching the Maſſe, they knew no gœdnes in it, and as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, they beleued that *CHRISTES* naturall body is in heauen, and not in the Sacrament of the aultar: And as concerning the ſea of Rome, they acknowledged no ſuch ſupremacy in that ſea, neyther haue they any thing to do therewith.

Agaynſt the Maſſe and Sacrament of the altar.

6 In aūſwering the ſixt article, they did all generally refuſe to bee reconciled or vnited to yͤ church of Rome, or any other church contrary to that wheerin they now ſtœde and dyd profeſſe.

7 To the ſeuenth article, they aunſwered lykewyſe that they had ſo done and ſayd in all thinges, as is in this article contayned: Katherin Hut adding moreouer the reaſon why: for that (ſayd ſhe) neyther the ſeruice in Latin, Maſſe, Mattins, and Euenſong, nor the Sacraments were vſed & miniſtred according to Gods word: And furthermore, that the Maſſe is an idoll, neither is the true body and bloud of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament of the aultar, as they make men beleue.

8 Their aunſwere to the eight article declared that they were all and euery one ſent vp to Boner by Syr Iohn Mordaunt knight, and Iuſtice of peace in Eſſex (the Lorde of hys mercy ſend vs better Iuſtices I beſech hym) for that they could not affirme the preſence of *CHRISTES* body and bloud to bee truely and really in the Sacrament, and for that they came not to their pariſh popiſh church.

Syr Iohn Mordant Promoter.

9 To the nynth article, they aunſwered and confeſſed the premiſſes thereof to bee true, and denyed not the ſame: ſaue that Katherin Hut ſayd, that ſhee was of Bocking in Eſſex of the peculiar iuriſdiction of Caunterbury, and not of the Dioces and iuridiction of London.

After theſe their aunſweres receiued, they were produced agayne about the .xij. of Aprill to further examination, and ſo at length to their finall iudgement, where Katherin Hut widow ſtanding before the Byſhop boldly and conſtantly, ſtœde to that which ſhe had ſayd before, neyther yelding to hys fayre promiſes, nor ouerthrowen wyth his terrour. Who being requyred of the Sacrament to ſay her mynde, and to reuoke her ſelfe vnto the fellowſhip of the Catholicke faith, openly proteſted, ſaying: I deny it to be God, becauſe it is a dūme God and made with mans hands. Wherein the gœd and faythfull Martyr of *CHRIST* firmely perſiſting, ſo receaued her ſentence being condemned of Boner to the fyre: which ſhe with great cōſtancy ſuſteined by the grace and ſtrength of the Lorde, and did abyde for the cauſe and loue of *CHRIST*.

Katherin Hutte.

The words of *Katherin Hut*, of the Sacrament.

Ioane Hornes mayde, producted lykewyſe to her iudgement and condemnation, wyth lyke firmnes and chriſtian fortitude declared her ſelfe a true Martyr and follower of *CHRISTES* teſtamēt, geuing no place to the aduerſary: but being charged that ſhœ dyd not beleue the Sacrament of *CHRISTES* body and bloud to be *CHRIST* hym ſelfe, of the which ſacrament (contrary to the nature of a Sacrament) the aduerſaries are woont to make an Idol ſeruice: to this ſhe proteſting openly her mynd, ſayd as followeth: If you can make your God to ſheed bloud, or to ſhew any condition of a true lyuely body, then will I beleue you: but it is but bread (as touching the ſubſtance thereof) meaning the matter wherof the ſacrament conſiſteth: and that you call hereſy, I truſt to ſerue my Lord God in. &c.

Ioane Hornes mayde.

The wordes & profeſſion of *Ioane Hornes* touching the Sacrament.

And as concerning the Romiſh ſea, ſhee ſayd: my Lord (ſpeaking to Boner) I forſake all his abominations

tions, and from them good Lord deliuer vs. From this her ſtable and conſtant aſſertion, when the Byſhop was to weake to remoue her, and to ignoraunt to conuince her, he knockt her downe with the butcherly axe of his ſentence. And ſo the holy Virgine and Martyr committed to the ſhambles of the ſecular ſworde, was offered vp wyth her other fellowes a burnt ſacrifice to the Lord, in odorem bonæ fragrantiæ, in the fauour of a ſwéete and pleaſant ſmell.

The Butcherly axe of *Boner*.

As touching Margaret Ellys, ſhe lykewyſe perſeuering in her foreſayd cõfeſſion, & reſiſting the falſe catholicke errours & hereſies of the Papiſtes, was by yͤ ſaid Boner adiudged and condemned: but before the tyme of her burning came, preuented by death in Newgate priſon, departed and ſlept in the Lord.

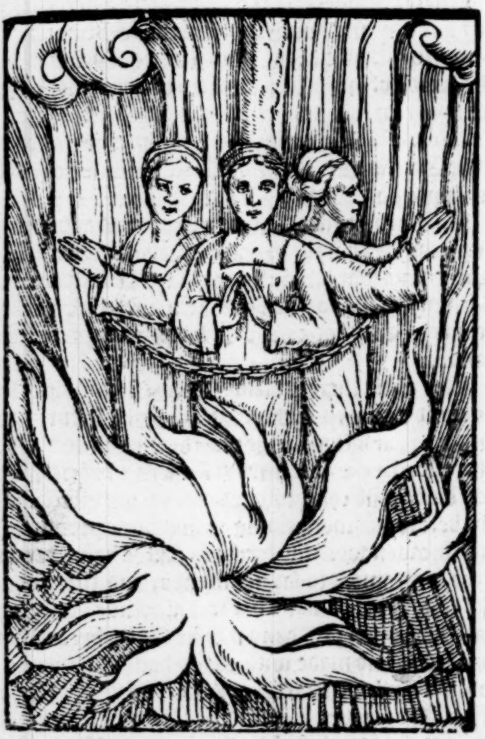
Margaret Ellys died in Newgate.

No leſſe ſtrength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other mayd Elizabeth Thackuell, whoſe hart & mynd the Lord had ſo confirmed in hys truth, ſo armed wyth patience, that as her aduerſaries could by no ſufficient knowledge of ſcripture conuict her affirmation, ſo by no forceable attemptes they coulde remoue her confeſſion. Whereupon ſhe ſtanding to the death, being in lyke ſort condemned, by the ſayd vnbyſhoplyke *πλήκτης, gaue her lyfe willingly & myldly for the confirmation and ſealing vp of the ſincere truth of Gods worde.

Elizabeth Thackuell, Mayd and Martyr.

* i. A perſecutor.

The Martyrdome of three wemen.



The Martyrdome of *Katherine Hutte, Ioane Hornes, Elizabeth Thackuell*, in Smithfield. An. 1556. May. 16.

These thrée innocent and godly wemen, thus falſly and wronfully by men condemned for the iuſt quarell and cauſe of Gods Goſpell, were had to Smithfield, and there cruelly bound to the ſtake, gaue their bodies to the tormentours, their ſpirites they commended to God. For whoſe glory they were willing and ready to ſuffer what ſoeuer the cruell handes of their enemies ſhould worke agaynſt them, dying more ioyfully in the flamyng fire, then ſome of that burned them, did peraduẽture in their beddes. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderfull in all his Saintes. The Martyrdome of theſe Saintes of God was the 16. of May.

¶ Thomas Drowry a blynd boy, and Thomas Croker Briclayer, Martyrs.

May. 5. *Tho. Drowry* a blind boy, and *Tho. Croker*, Martyrs.

YE heard a litle before, of ij. men, the one blynd, the other lame, which ſuffered about yͤ xv. of May. And here is not to be forgottẽ an other as godly a couple, which ſuffered the lyke paſſion & Martyrdome for yͤ ſame cauſe of religion at Gloceſter: of the which two, the one was the blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, mencioned before in the hiſtory of Byſhop Hoper, whom the ſayd vertuous Biſhop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word.

Perſec at Gloc ſter.

Of this blind bo read be pag. 168

With him alſo was burned an other in the ſame place, and at the ſame fire in Gloceſter, about the v. of May, whoſe name was Thomas Croker Briclayer.

¶ Perſecution in Suffolke. Three burnt at Beckles. May. 21.

AFter the death of theſe aboue rehearſed, were thrée men burnt at Beckles in Suffolke, in one fire, about the xxj. day of May. an. 1556. Whoſe names are here vnder ſpecified.

The Ma tyrdome thre burned Beckle

Thomas Spicer, *of VVynſton, Laborer.*
Iohn Deny, *and* Edmund Pole.

This Thomas Spicer was a ſingle mã, of the age of xix. yeares, and by vocation a Labourer, dwellyng in Wynſton in the County of Suffolke, and there taken in his maſters houſe in Sommer, about or anone after the riſing of the ſõne (beyng in his bed) by Iames Ling and Iohn Keretch of the ſame Towne, and William Dauies of Debnam, in the ſayd County. The occaſion of his takyng was, for that he would not go to their Popiſh Church to heare Maſſe, and receiue their Idole at yͤ cõmaundement of Sir Iohn Tyrrell knight, of Gyppyng hall in Suffolke, & certeine other Iuſtices there, who ſent both hym & them to Eay dungeon in Suffolke, till at lẽgth they were all 3. together brought before Dunning then Chauncellour of Norwich, and M. Mynges the Regiſter, ſittyng at the Towne of Beckles to be examined.

Iamet Ling, Iohn Keretc Willia Dauies, perſecutors.

Dũning, Minges, perſecutors.

And there the ſayd Chauncellour perſuadyng what he could to turne them from the truth, could by no meanes preuaile of his purpoſe. Whereby mindyng in the end to giue ſẽtence on them, he burſt out in teares, intreatyng them to remẽber them ſelues, and to turne agayne to the holy mother Church, for that they were deceaued and out of the truth, and that they ſhould not wilfully caſt away them ſelues, with ſuch lyke wordes. Now, as he was thus labouryng them and ſemed very loth to read yͤ ſẽtence (for they were the firſt that he cõdemned in that Dioces) the Regiſter there ſittyng by, beyng weery, belyke, of taryng, or els perceauyng the conſtãt Martyrs to be at a point, called vpon the Chaũcelour in haſt to rid them out of the way, and to make and end. At which wordes the Chauncellour red the condemnation ouer them with teares, and deliuered them to the ſecular power.

¶ Their Articles.

THe Articles obiected to theſe and commonly to all other condemned in that Dioces by Doct. Hoptõ Byſhop of Norwich, and by Dunning his Chauncelour, were theſe.

The arti cles vpon the were co demned.

1. Firſt, was articulate agaynſt them, that they beleued not the Pope of Rome to be ſupreme head immediatly vnder *CHRIST* in earth of the vniuerſall Catholicke Church.
2. Item, that they beleued not holy bread, and holy water, aſhes, Palmes, and all other lyke ceremonies vſed in the Church, to be good and laudable for ſtyrryng vp the people to deuotion.
3. Item, that they beleued not, after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, the very natural body of *CHRIST*, and no other ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, to be in the Sacrament of the altar.
4. Itẽ, that they beleued it to be Idolatry to worſhyp *CHRIST* in the Sacrament of the altar.
5. Item, that they toke bread and wyne in remembraunce of *CHRISTES* paſſion.
6. Item, that they would not folow the croſſe in proceſſion

Ceremo nies.

Sacra of the al tar.

ceſſion nor be confeſſed to a Prieſt.

7. Item, that they affirmed no mortall man to haue in him ſelfe frée will to do good or euill.

For this doctrine and Articles aboue prefixed, theſe thrée (as is aforeſayd) were condemned by Doct. Dunnyng, and committed to the power ſecular, Syr Iohn Silliard beyng the ſame tyme highe Sheriffe of Northfolke and Suffolke. And the next day folowyng vppon the ſame, they were all burnt together in the ſayd towne of Beckles. Wherupõ it is to be thought, that yͤ writte De comburendo, was not yet come down, nor could not be, the Lord Chauncelour B. Heath, beyng the ſame tyme at London. Which if it bee true, then it is playne, that both they went beyond their Commiſſion, that were the executioners, & alſo yͤ Clergy which were the inſtigatours therof, can not make good that they now pretend: ſaying, that they did nothyng but by a law. But this let the Lord find out, when he ſéeth hys tyme.

In yͤ meane tyme, while theſe good men were at the ſtake, & had prayed, they ſayd their beliefe: & when they came to the recityng of yͤ Catholicke church, Syr Iohn Silliard ſpake to them. That is well ſayd Syrs, quoth he. I am glad to heare you ſay, you do beleue yͤ Catholicke Church. That is the beſt word I heard of you yet.

To which his ſayinges, Edmond Pole aunſwered, that though they beleue the Catholicke Church, yet do they not beleue in their Popiſhe Church, which is no part of *CHRISTES* Catholicke Church, and therfore no part of their beleſe.

When they roſe from prayer, they all went ioyfully to the ſtake, and beyng bound thereto, and the fire burnyng about them, they prayſed God in ſuch an audible voyce, that it was wonderfull to all thoſe which ſtoode by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwellyng in the ſayd Beckles, a very enemy to Gods truth, and a perſecutour of his people, beyng there preſent within hearyng therof, willed the tormentours to throw on Fagots to ſtop the knaues breathes, as he termed them: ſo hotte was his burnyng charity. But theſe good men not regardyng their malice, confeſſed the truth, and yelded their lyues to the death for the teſtimony of the ſame, very gloriouſly and ioyfully. The which their cõſtancy in the like cauſe, the Lord graunt we may imitate & folow vnto the end, whether it be death or lyfe to glorifie the name of *CHRIST*, Amen.

And forasmuch as we haue here entred into yͤ perſecution of Northfolke & Suffolke, it cõmeth therfore to mynd by occaſiõ hereof, briefly to touch by the way, ſome part (for the whole matter can not be ſo expreſt as it was done) touchyng the troubles of the Townes of Wynſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke, raiſed and ſtirred vp by the ſayd Syr Iohn Tyrrell and other Iuſtices there of the like affinitie. The ſũme and effect of which briefly is thus ſignified to me by writing.

¶ *The perſecution in the townes of VVynſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke.*

BY the procurement of Syr Iohn Tyrrell Knight & other of his Colleagues, there were perſecuted out of the Towne of Wynſon in Suffolke theſe perſons hereafter folowyng. an. 1556.

- *Miſtres* Alyce Twaites *Gentlewoman, of the age of lx. yeares and more, and two of her ſeruantes.*
- Humfrey Smith *and his wife.*
- William Katchpoole *and his wife.*
- Iohn Maulyng *and his wife.*
- Nicholas Burlingham *and his wife.*
- *And one* Rought *and his wife.*

Such as were perſecuted & driuen out of the towne of Mendleſam, in the County of Suffolke.

Gods people perſecuted.

- Symon Harlſton *and* Katherine *hys wife, with his fiue children.*
- William Whityng *and* Katherine *his wife.*
- Thomas Dobſon *and his wife.*
- Thomas Hubbard *and his wife.*
- Iohn Doncon *and his wife and his mayde.*
- William Doncon.
- Thomas Wodward *the elder.*
- *One* Konnoldes *wife.*
- *A poore wydowe.*
- *One mother* Semons *mayde.*

Beſides thoſe that were conſtrayned to do agaynſt their conſcience, by the helpe of the Pariſhe Prieſt, whoſe name was Syr Iohn Brodiſh.

¶ These be the chiefeſt cauſes why thoſe aboue named were perſecuted.

The faith and doctrine of theſe confeſſours.

1. FIrſt, they did hold and beleue the holy worde of God to be the ſufficient doctrine vnto their ſaluation.

2. Secondly, they denyed the Popes vſurped authoritie, and did hold all that Church of Antichriſt to bee *CHRISTES* aduerſaries: & further, refuſed the abuſed Sacramẽtes, defied the Maſſe and all Popiſhe ſeruice and ceremonies, ſaying they robbed God of his honor, and *CHRIST* of his death and glory, and would not come at the Church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

3. Thyrdly, they did hold, that the Miniſters of the Church, by Gods word might lawfully marry.

4. Fourthly, they held the Quéene to be as chief head: and wicked rulers to be a great plague ſent of God for ſinne. &c.

5. Fiftly, they denyed mans frée will, and that the Popes Church did erre, and many other in that point with them, rebukyng their falſe confidence in workes, and their falſe truſt in mans righteouſnes. Alſo when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted for goyng ſo openly, and talking ſo fréely, their anſwere was: they knowledged, cõfeſſed, & beleued, and therfore they muſt ſpeake: and that their tribulation was Gods good will and prouidence, and that his iudgementes were right, to puniſh them, with other, for their ſinnes: and that of very faithfulnes and mercy God had cauſed them to be troubled: So that one heare of their heades ſhould not periſh before the tyme: but all thinges ſhould worke vnto the beſt, to them that loue God: and that *CHRIST IESVS* was their lyfe and onely righteouſnes: and that onely by faith in him, and for his ſake, all good thynges were fréely geuen them: alſo forgiuenes of ſinnes, and lyfe euerlaſtyng.

Witneſſed by the faithfull report of Suffolke men.

Many of theſe perſecuted, were of great ſubſtance, and had poſſeſſions of their owne.

Geue God the prayſe.

¶ For ſo much we are now in the moneth of May, before we ouerpaſſe the ſame, and becauſe the ſtory is not long, & not vnworthy peraduenture of noting, it ſhall not greue the ſtudious reader, a litle to geue the hearing thereof, wherby to learne to maruayle and muſe at the great workes of the Lord. *They that go downe* (ſayth the Pſalme) *into the ſea, labouring vppon the water, haue ſeene the workes of the Lorde, and his mighty wonders vpon the deepe. Pſal. 106.* &c. The truth whereof may well appeare in this ſtory followyng: which ſtory as it is ſignified and written to me by relation of the party him ſelfe, which was doer thereof, called Thomas Morſe, ſo I thought to purport the ſame as followeth.

Pſal. 106.

¶ *A ſtory of one Gregory Crow maruailouſly preſerued wyth hys new teſtament vpon the Seas.* May. 26.

A ſtory of *Gregory Crow* maruelouſly preſerued vpon the ſea, with his new Teſtament.

VPõ Thurſday after Whitſonday, which was yͤ 26. day of May, in this preſent yere. 1556. (or els, as he rather thinketh, in the yeare next before, which was 1555.) a certain poore man, whoſe name was Gregory Crow, dwelling in Malden, went to the Sea, myndyng to haue gone into Kent for fullyng earth, but by the way being foule wether, was driuen vpon a ſande, where preſently the boate ſanke and was full of water: ſo that the men were forced to holde them ſelues by the maſt of the boate, and al things that would ſwim did ſwim out of her. Amongeſt which, Crow ſaw hys Teſtament in the water, and caught it and put it in his boſome. Now it was ebbing water, ſo that wythin one houre the boate was dry, but broken, ſo as they could not ſaue her: but they went thẽ ſelues vpon the ſand (being .x. myles at the leaſt from ẏ land) and there made their prayers together, that God would ſẽd ſome ſhyp that way to ſaue them (being two men and one Boy in all): for they might not tary vppon the ſand but halfe an houre, but it would be floud. In ẏ which tyme they found their cheſt wherein was mony to the ſumme of .v. pound .vj. ſhillings .viij. pence, the which money the man that was with the ſayd Crow (whoſe name I know not) tooke and gaue it to Crow who was owner thereof, and he caſt it into the ſea ſaying: if the Lord will ſaue our lyues, he wyll prouide vs a lyuyng. And ſo they went vpon the maſt there hangyng by the armes and legs for the ſpace of .x. houres, in the which time the boy was ſo weery, and beaten with the Sea, that he fell of and was drowned.

Crowes boat broke vpon the ſand.

Crow taketh his Teſtament and caſteth his money away.

The boy beaten with ſea, and drowned.

And when the water was gone agayn, and the ſand dry, Crow ſayd to his man: It were beſt for vs to take downe our maſtes, and when the floud commeth wee wyll ſit vpon them, and ſo it may pleaſe God to bryng vs to ſome ſhyp that may take vs vp. Which thyng they dyd, and ſo at .x. of the clocke in the nyght of the ſame Tewſday, the floud dyd beare vp the maſt wherupon they ſat. And vpon the Wedenſday in the night the man dyed, beyng ouercome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this Crow, who driuing vp and downe in the ſea, calling vpon God as he could, and might not ſleepe for feare that the ſea would haue beaten hym of.

Crowes man dead vpon the maſte.

Gregor. Crow driuen vpon the ſeas ſitting vpon a Maſte.

So at the length I my ſelfe (ſayth Thomas Morſe) being laden to Antwarpe with my Crayer, going from Lee vpõ Fryday, hauyng within my Crayer, of Marriners and Marchants, to the number of .xlvj. perſons, and ſo comming to the Foreland, ẏ wynd was not very good, ſo that I was conſtrayned to go ſomwhat out of my way, beyng in the after noone about .vj. of the clocke, where at ẏ laſt we ſaw a thing a farre of, appearing vnto vs lyke a ſmall Boy, that Fiſhermen doe vſe to lay with their hookes.

Gods prouidence to be noted.

When we ſaw it, ſome ſayd, let vs haue ſome fiſhe. And I ſayd to hym that was at the helme: keepe your courſe alway, for we ſhall but hinder the fiſherman, and haue no fiſh neither, and ſo at my commaundement he dyd. But at length he at the helme ſtanding hygher then all we dyd, ſayd: Me thinke Maſter, it is a man. But yet they being in doubt that it was but a Fiſhers Boy, returned the ſhip from hym againe to keepe their courſe. Crow beholdyng the ſhyp to turne from hym, beyng then in vtter deſpayre, and ready now to periſh with watching, famine, and moreouer myſerably beaten with the ſeas, at laſt tooke hys Marryners cap from hys head, and holdyng vp the ſame with hys arme, as hye as he could, thought by ſhaking it as well as hee might, to geue them ſome token of better ſight. Wherupon the Styremã more ſenſibly perceiuing a thing to moue, aduertiſed vs agayne, declaring how he did ſee playnly a mans arme: and with that wee all behelde hym well, and ſo came to hym, and tooke hym vp. And as ſoone as we had hym in our ſhyp, hee began to put hys hand in hys boſome: and one aſked hym if hee had mony there. No ſayd he, I haue a booke here, I thinke it be wet: and ſo drew out hys Teſtament which we then dried. But the Sea had ſo beaten hym, that his eyes, noſe and mouth was almoſt cloſed with ſalt, that the heate of his face, and the weather had made. So we made a fire and ſhifted him wyth dry clothes, and gaue hym Aqua compoſita to drinke, and ſuch meat as was in the ſhyp, and then let hym ſleepe.

God a marueilous helper in tyme of neede.

Crow with the Teſtament preſerued on the ſea.

The next day whẽ we awaked hym about .viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, & his bloud began ſomewhat to appeare in his fleſh (for when we toke him vp his fleſh was euen as though it had bee ſodden, or as a drowned mans is) and then wee talked wyth hym of all the matter before rehearſed. And ſo ſayling to Antwarpe, the Marchauntes which ſaw the thyng publiſhed the ſame in Antwerpe, and becauſe it was wonderfull, the people there both men and wemen came to the ſhyp to ſee hym many of them, and ſome gaue him a petycoate, ſome a ſhert, ſome hoſen, and ſome money, alwayes notyng how he caſt away his money, and kept his booke. And many of the women wept when they heard and ſaw him. And Maſter gouernour of the Engliſhe nation there, had hym before hym, and talked wyth him of all the matter: and pityng his caſe commaunded the Officer of the Engliſh houſe to go with him to the free oſte houſes amongſt the Engliſh Marchauntes, and I with them and at three houſes there was geuen him .vj. pound .x. ſhillinges. And ſo from thence he went wyth me to Roane, where the people alſo came to hym to ſee him, maruaylyng at the great workes of God.

The ſu
of his m
ney caſt
to the ſ
reſtored
him agayne.

And thus much concerning this poore man with his new teſtament preſerued in the ſea (which Teſtamẽt the Popes Clergy condemneth on the land) ye haue heard, as I receaued by the relation of the party aboue named, who was the doer thereof, and yet aliue dwelling in Lee, well knowen to all marchantes of London. In which ſtory this by the way vnderſtand good reader (which rightly may bee ſuppoſed) that if this poore man thus found and preſerued in the Sea with a new teſtament in his boſome, had had in ſteede of that, a pyxe wyth a conſecrated hoſte about him, no doubt it had ben rong ere this tyme, all Chriſtendome ouer for a miracle, ſo farre as the Pope hath any land. But to let ẏ Pope with his falſe miracles go, let vs returne agayne to our matter begun, & adioyne an other hiſtory of much lyke condition, teſtified lykewyſe by the information of the ſaid Thomas Morſe aboue mentioned, to the intent to make knowen the worthy actes of the Almighty, that he may bee magnified in all his wonderous workes. The ſtory is thus declared, which happened an. 1565. about Michaelmas.

¶ *An other like ſtory of Gods prouidence vpon three men deliuered vpon the Sea.*

An othe
like ſtory
three me
that fear
God, by
Gods pro
uidence
preſerued
on the
ſeas.

There was a ſhyp (ſayth the ſayd Thomas Morſe) whereof I had a part, goyng toward the Bay for ſalt, wyth two ſhippes of Brickelſey, which were altogether going for ſalte, as before is ſayd. At what tyme they were wythin ten myle of the north Foreland, otherwyſe called Tennet, the wynde dyd come ſo cõtrary to our ſhip, that they were forced to go cleane out of the way, and the other two ſhyppes kept theyr courſe ſtill, vntill our ſhippe was almoſt out of ſight of them. And then they ſaw a thyng dryuing vppon the ſea, and hoyſed out their boate and went vnto it: and it was three men ſitting vpõ a peece of their ſhip, which had ſitten ſo two dayes and two nightes. There had bene in their ſhip eight men more, which were drowned, being all French men, dwelling in a place in Fraunce called Olloronne. They had bene at Danſwicke and loſt their ſhip about Orford Nas, as myght be learned by their wordes. They were men that feared God: the one of thẽ was owner of the ſhyp. Their exerciſe, while they were in our ſhyp, was, that after their commyng in they gaue thankes for their deliueraunce: both mornyng and euenyng they exerciſed prayer, and alſo before and after meate, and when they came into Fraunce, our ſhyps went to the ſame place, where theſe men dwelled and one of them did ſell vnto our men their ſhyps ladyng of ſalt, and did vſe them very cur-

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ry curteouſly and frendly, and not at that tyme onely, but allwayes when ſoeuer that ſhyp commeth thether (as ſhe hath bene there twiſe ſince) he allwayes doth for them, ſo that they can lacke nothyng. I ſhould haue noted that after our ſhyp had taken vp thoſe iij. men out of the Sea, they had the wynd fayre preſently, and came and ouertoke the other two ſhyps againe, and ſo they proceded in their viage together.

¶For the more credite of this ſtory aboue recited, to ſatiſfie eyther the doubtfull, or to preuent the quareller, I haue not only alleaged yͤ name of the partie which was yͤ doer therof, but alſo expreſſed yͤ matter in his own wordes, as I of him receaued it: the partie & reporter himſelf being yet aliue & dwelling at Lee, a mā ſo well knowen amongeſt the moſt Marchauntes of London, that who ſo heareth yͤ name of Tho. Morſe, will neither doubt therof. And againe, yͤ matter it ſelf being ſo notoriouſly knowen to marchantes aſwell here as at Antwarpe, yͤ though his name were not expreſſed, the ſtory cā lacke no witneſſes.

The death of William Slech
in the Kinges Bench.

THe laſt day of the ſayd moneth of May, in the yeare aforeſayd, Iohn Slech beyng in priſon for the ſayd doctrine of the Lordes Goſpell, and the confeſſion of his truth, dyed in the Kyngs Bench, and was buryed on the backeſide of the ſaid priſon, for that the Romiſh catholicke ſpiritualtie thought him not worthy to come within their Popcholy Churchyardes, neither in any other Chriſtian buriall, as they call it.

The ſtory of foure men condemned at Lewes the vj. day of Iune.

IN Iune next folowyng, about the vj. day of the ſame moneth, iiij. Martyrs ſuffered together at Lewes, whoſe names were theſe.

Thomas Harland, *of VVoodmancote, Carpenter.*
Iohn Oſwald, *of VVoodmancote, huſbandman.*
Thomas Auyngton, *of Ardyngly, Turner.*
Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland I finde in the Byſhop of Lōdons Regiſters, to bee obiected for not commyng to Church. Whereunto he aunſwered: that after the Maſſe was reſtored, he neuer had will to heare yͤ ſame, becauſe (ſayd he) it was in Latin, which he did not vnderſtand: and therefore as good (quoth he) neuer a whitte, as neuer the better.

Iohn Oſwald, denied to aunſwere any thyng, vntill his accuſers ſhould be brought face to face before him: and neuertheles ſayd, that fire and Fagots could not make him afrayde: but as the good preachers which were in kyng Edwardes tyme haue ſuffred, and gone before: ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad therof.

Theſe iiij. after long impriſonment in the Kynges Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Suſſex in one fire, the day of the moneth aforeſayd.

The Martyrdome of Thomas
Whoode, and Thomas Mylles.

IN the ſame towne of Lewes, and in yͤ ſame moneth likewyſe, were burned Thomas Whoode Miniſter, and Thomas Mylles, about the .xx. day of the ſame moneth, for reſiſting the erroneous and hereticall doctrine of the pretenſed Catholicke Church of Rome.

¶Two dead in the Kings Bench.

IN the which moneth lykewyſe William Adherall Miniſter, impriſoned in the Kinges Bench, there dyed the .xxiij. day of the ſame month, and was buryed on the backeſyde: Alſo Iohn Clement whelewright, who dying in the ſayd priſon, in lyke ſorte vpon the dunghil was buried in the backſide two daies after, videlicet, the .xxv. day of Iune.

¶A Marchauntes ſeruaunt burnt at Leiceſter.

Iune. 26.

A marchantes ſeruaunt.

THe next day following of the ſayd month of Iune, we read of a certayn yong man a Marchaunts ſeruaunt, who for the lyke godlynes ſuffered cruell perſecution of the Papiſtes, and was burnt at Leiceſter, the .xxvj. of the month of Iune aboue named.

Xiij. Martyrs burnt at Stratford the Bowe.

Iune. 27.

Xiij. Martyrs ſuffering at Stratford the Bowe.

NOt lōg after the death of the marchants ſeruaunt, before mencioned, there followed in this happy and bleſſed order of Martyrs burnt in one fyre at Stratford the Bow by London, a .xj. men and .ij. wemen, whoſe dwellinges were in ſondry places in Eſſex, and whoſe names hereafter followeth.

Henry Adlington.
Laurence Pernam.
Henry Wye.
William Hallywell.
Thomas Bowyer.
George Searles.
Edmund Hurſte.
Lyon Cawch.
Raphe Iackſon.
Iohn Deryfall.
Iohn Routh.
Elyzabeth Peper, *and*
Agnes George.

Read before pag. 2015.

Unto whom the .vj. of Iune, anno. 1556. D. Darbeſhere Boners Chauncellour, in forme of law, miniſtred the ſame articles that were propounded vnto Tho. Whitle and hys company, mentioned before, pag 2015. to the which they made their ſeuerall anſwers, in ſimplicity, and in a good conſcience. The ſumme and effect whereof enſueth.

Aunſwere to their articles.

1 To the firſt they all aunſwered affirmatiuely: but Lion Cawch added further, that he beleued that the true fayth and religion of *CHRIST* is, where ſoeuer the word of God is truely preached

Aunſwere to the 2. article.

2 To the ſecond article, they all aunſwered in effect, denying that there be .vij. Sacramentes: Some affirming that in the church of *CHRST*, there be but two Sacramentes, that is to ſay, Baptiſme, and the Lordes ſupper. Others referring them ſelues to beleue as the ſcripture teacheth them. And other ſome refuſed to make aunſwere becauſe of their ſimplicity.

Aunſwere to the 3. article.

3 To the third article, they all aunſwered affirmatyuely.

Aunſwere to the 4. article.

4 To the fourth article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely: ſauing Iohn Routh, who ſayd he would make no anſwere therunto. But Lion Cawch added, that he beleued yͤ article to be true: but it was becauſe he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in king Edward the ſixt his tyme, ſhe went from her old fayth and religion, and beleued in the fayth and religion that was then taught and ſet forth.

Aunſwere to the 5. article.

5 To the fift they all aunſwered in effect affirmatiuely: ſauing Iohn Routh, whoſe aunſwere was, that the Maſſe is ſuch a thing, which cannot nor will not enter into his conſcience: And Henry Adlington aunſwered, that for .ix. or .x. yeares before, hee miſlyked the Maſſe, and alſo the Sacrament of the aultar, becauſe they cannot be proued by the ſcriptures. And as touching the autority of the Sea of Rome, hee being but xiiij. yeares of age, toke an oth againſt the ſame, which oth (he ſayd) he intended to kepe, by the grace of God.

Aunſwere to the 6. article.

6 To the ſixt they all anſwered affirmatiuely: ſauing Iohn Routh, & Will. Hallywell, who both refuſed to aunſwere, becauſe they knew not what they mente by thys article. But the two wemen added, that they refuſed to be reconciled to the fayth and religion that was then vſed in the realme of England. And Laurēce Pernam added, that he neuer refuſed to bee reconciled and brought to the vnity of the catholicke Church of *CHRIST*.

Aunſwere to the 7. article.

7 To the ſeuenth article, they all aunſwered affirma-

tiuely: but William Hallywell denyed that euer hee called the Maſſe idolatry and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the article to be true: yet he confeſſed his infirmity, that he went to his pariſh church and receyued before he was put in priſon.

To the 8. article their aunſweres.

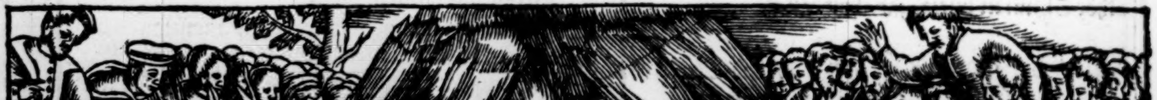
To the eight article Edmund Hurſt, Rafe Iackſon, and George Searles aunſwered affirmatyuely. Henry Wye ſayd he was brought before certayne Iuſtices of peace in Eſſex, concerning one Higbed, hys late Maſter, and thereupon he was committed to Colcheſter Caſtell, and from thence ſent to London to the Byſhop, to be further examined. William Hallywell affirmed the like confeſſion, as Henry Wye did, onely Higbed excepted. Iohn Derifall ſaid he was called before the Lord Rich, and M. Mildmay of Chelmiſford and was by them ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, to be further by hym examined. Thomas Bowyer ſayd he was brought before one M. Wyſeman of Felſed, And by hym was ſent to Colcheſter Caſtell, and from thence was caryed to Boner Byſhop of London, to be by hym further examined. Lion Cawch ſayd that hee was ſent to come before the King and Quéenes maieſties Commiſſioners, and there before them appearing thrée tymes, was ſent to Boner Biſhop of Londō, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington ſaid, that he cōming to Newgate to ſpeake with one Gratwicke, there being priſoner for the teſtimony of IESV CHRIST, was apprehended and brought before Doct. Story, and by hym ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, to be by hym further examined. Iohn Routh ſaid, that he was conuented before the Erle of Oxford and by hym ſent to the Caſtell of Colcheſter: and from thence conueyed to Boner Byſhop of London to be by hym further examined. Laurence Parnam ſayd, that he was committed to Harford priſon, bicauſe he would not go to church, and from thence ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, to be by hym further examined. Agnes George ſayd, that ſhe was committed to pryſon in Colcheſter, at the commaundement of one M. Maynarde an Alderman of the towne, because ſhe would not go to church, and from thence was ſent to Boner B. of Londō to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Peper ſayd, ſhe was apprehended by two Conſtables & an Alderman, for that ſhe would not come to church, and by them was ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, to be by him further examined.

To the 9. article their aunſweres.

9 To the ninth article, they all beleued the premiſſes to be true, aboue by them cōfeſſed, and that they were of the Dioces and iuriſdiction of London. But Elizabeth Peper added that ſhee was of the Towne of Colcheſter. And Agnes George added that ſhe was of the pariſh of Barefolde. And Lion Cawch added that hee was then of the city of London, by reaſon that he was at that preſent a marchant there.

The buruyng of xiij. perſons at Stratford the Bow nere London, wherof the two women went in among them to the ſtake vntyed.

The Martyrdome of *Henry Adlington, Laurence Pernam, Henry Wye, William Hallywell, Tho. Bowyer, George Searles, Edmund Hurſt, Lion Cauch, Rafe Iackſon, Ioh. Deryfall, John Routh, Elizabeth Peper, Agnes George,* at Stratford the Bowe. An.1556. Iune.27.



Henr. Wye.

Henry Wye Bruer, was of the Pariſh of Stanford le hope, and of.xxxvj.yeares of age.

W. Halliwell.

William Hallywell was a Smith, of the Pariſhe of of Waltham Holle Croſſe, & of the age of xxiij. yeares, or thereaboutes.

Rafe Iackſon.

Rafe Iackſon was a Seruingman of Sheppyng Onger, and of the age of xxxiiij. yeares.

Laur. Pernā.

Laurēce Pernam was a Smith of Hoddeſdon, within the Pariſh of Amwell, in the County of Hartford, and of the age of xxij. yeares.

Ioh. Derifall.

Iohn Derifall was a Labourer, of the Pariſhe of Kettington in Eſſex, and of the age of l. yeares.

Edm. Hurſt.

Edmund Hurſt was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of S. Iames in Colcheſter, and of the age of L. yeares and aboue.

Thomas Bowyer.

Thomas Bowyer was a Weauer of Much Dunmow, and of the age of.xxvj.yeares.

George Searles.

George Searles was a Tailour, betwene xx. and xxj. yeares of age, of the Pariſh of White Nottle, where he was taken and caried to the L. Rich, who ſent hym to Colcheſter Caſtle, with a commaundement that no frend he had ſhould ſpeake with him. There he lay ſixe wéekes, and was ſent vp to London, where he was ſometyme in the Byſhops Colehouſe, ſometyme in Lollards Tower, & laſt of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent about a fortnight before Eaſter, in the place aforeſayd.

Lion Cauch.

Lyon Cauch was a Broker, borne in Flaunders, and then reſident at his takyng, in the Citie of London, and of the age of xxviij. yeares or thereaboutes.

Henry Adlington was a Sawyer, and of Gréeneſted in the Countie of Suſſex, and of the age of .xx. yeares.

Iohn Routh was a Labourer, and of the Pariſh of Wyekes in Eſſex, and of the age of xxvj. yeares.

Elizabeth Peper was the wife of Thomas Peper Weauer, of the Pariſh of S. James in the Towne of Colcheſter, & of the age of xx. yeares or thereaboutes.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George huſbandman of Weſt Barefold in the Countie of Eſſex, and of the age of xxvj. yeares. This Richard George had an other wife burned beſide her in the Poſterne at Colcheſter, and hym ſelfe lay in priſon vntill Quéene Elizabeth came to the reigne, and then was deliuered.

When theſe xiij. were condemned, and the day appointed they ſhould ſuffer, which was the xxvij. day of June. an. 1556. they were caried from Newgate in London the ſayd day, to Stratford the Bowe (which was the place appointed for their Martyrdome) and there diuided into two partes, in two ſeuerall chābers. Afterward the Sheriffe who there attended vpō them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lyues therfore ſhould be ſaued, willyng and exhortyng them to do the like, and not to caſt away them ſelues.

Unto whom they aunſwered, that their faith was not builded on man, but on *CHRIST* crucified. Then the Sheriffe perceauing no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and ſayd (like a lyar) the like to them, that they whom he had bene with before, had recāted, & ſhould therfore not ſuffer death, coūſellyng thē to do the like, and not wilfully to kill them ſelues, but to play the wiſe men &c. Unto whom they aunſwered as their brethren had done before, that their fayth was not builded on man, but on *CHRIST* and his ſure word &c. Now when he ſaw it booted not to perſuade (for they were, God be prayſed, ſurely grounded on the rocke *IESVS CHRIST*) he then led them to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, and beyng all there together, moſt earneſtly they prayed vnto God, and ioyfully went to the ſtake and kyſſed it and embraced it very hartely. The eleuen men were tyed to iij. ſtakes, and the two women loſe in the middeſt without any ſtake, and ſo were they all burnt in one fire, with ſuch loue to ech others, and conſtancie in our Sauiour *CHRIST*, that it made all the lookers on to maruell. The Lord graunt vs ẏ like grace, in the like néede, accordyng to the good pleaſure of his will, Amen.

In the company of theſe foreſayd xiij. were thrée more condemned to dye, whoſe names are here vnder ſpecified.

Thomas Freman.
William Stannard, *and*
William Adams.

Which thrée aunſwered to thoſe Articles that were propounded vnto the ſayd xiij. in effect as they did. And beyng thus in the handes of the ſecular power, Cardinall Poole ſent his diſpenſation for their lyues, by what occaſion I cā not ſafely ſay, but by meanes therof they then eſcaped. The copy of which diſpenſatiō becauſe it is exemplified in our former impreſſion, I ſhall deſire the reader to reſort to the place of the pag, which is. 1525.

The Sonday after theſe foreſayd xvj. were condēned, Fecknam Deane of Paules preached at Paules Croſſe, where he declared, that they had as many ſondry opiniōs, as there were ſondry perſons. At the hearing wherof, they drue out their fayth, and ſet to their hands as hereafter foloweth, and directed the ſame to their frendes, and the faithfull congregation, as foloweth.

¶ Vnto all our dearely beloued frendes, & the holy Congregation of *IESVS CHRIST*, euen ſo many as loue God, grace be with you and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord *IESVS CHRIST*. So be it.

A Letter or Apologie of the Martyrs, purging themſelues of the falſe ſclaunder of M. *Fecknam*.

BE it manifeſt to all, vnto whom thys our certificate ſhall be ſeene, that where vpon Saterday, beyng the xiij. day of June, at Fulham before the biſhop of Londō, xvj. of vs (whoſe names here vnder are ſubſcribed) were condemned to dye for the moſt pure and ſincere truth of *CHRISTES* veritie: which moſt godly truth hath bene frō the beginning, with the wicked aduerſaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the deuill and his impes euen at this preſent likewyſe dayly ſclaundered. Upon which occaſion, dearely beloued brethren, wee are moued, yea conſtrained, in the eares of all men to manifeſt our beliefe, and alſo briefly the articles wherefore we are condemned, for the anoyding of falſe reportes and ſclaunderous tounges, which might happen by the moſt vngodly and vncharitable ſermon, late preached at Paules croſſe the. xiiij. day of the ſaid moneth, being Sonday, by M. Fecknā, now Deane of the ſame church: where hee in that moſt worthy audience defamed vs to bee in. xvj. ſundry opinions, which were a thing preiudiciall to al Chriſtian verity: and for a true teſtimoniall thereof, this here vnder written ſhall aunſwer our cauſe, and therefore wee pray you that are of God to iudge.

Uniforme agreement in their faythe.

The fyrſt, we beleue we were baptiſed in the fayth of *CHRISTES* church, and incorporate vnto hym, and made members of hys church, in the which faith we continue. And although we haue erred for a certayne tyme, yet the roote of faith was preſerued in vs by ẏ holy ghoſt, which hath reduced vs into a full certaintie of ẏ ſame, & we do perſiſt, & will by Gods aſſiſtance to ẏ end. Now marke, that although the Miniſter were of the church malignant, yet his wickednes did not hurt vs, for that he baptiſed vs in the name of the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

The profeſſion of their Baptiſme.

There was both the word and the element, and our Godfathers and Godmothers renouncing for vs the deuyll and all his workes, and confeſſing the articles of the Chriſtian faith for vs, & alſo witneſſes that we were baptiſed, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the fayth of *CHRISTES* church.

Sacramentes of the Church.

1 Item, there are but two Sacramentes in *CHRISTES* church, that is, the ſacrament of baptiſme, and the Lords ſupper. For in theſe are contayned the fayth of *CHRIST* hys church: that is, the two Teſtamentes, the law and the Goſpell. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the Goſpell remiſſion of ſynnes.

The viſible Church.

2 Item, we beleue that there is a viſible church, wherin the word of God is preached, and the holy Sacramentes truly miniſtred: viſible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of Saintes confirmed, as it was in the tyme of Helias ẏ Prophet, aſwel as now.

The Sea of Rome.

3 Item the ſea of Rome is the ſea of Antichriſt, the congregation of the wicked. &c. wherof the Pope is heade vnder the Deuill.

The Maſſe.

4 Item, the Maſſe is not onely a prophanation of the Lordes ſupper, but alſo a moſt blaſphemous Idoll.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

5 Item, God is neither ſpiritually nor corporally in the ſacramēt of the aultar, and there remaineth no ſubſtance in the ſame, but onely the ſubſtance of bread and wyne.

For theſe the articles of our beliefe, we being cōdemned to dye, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be diſſolued in the fire, all with one voyce aſſenting and conſenting thereunto, and in no one poynt diſſenting or diſagreeing from any of our former articles.

Apparant alſo let it be and knowen, that being of the former articles before the bloudy biſhop examined, the ſayd day & tyme, we affirmed to beleue all that he or they would approue by the ſcriptures. But hee ſayd that hee woulde not ſtand to proue it with heretickes, but ſayd, they thē ſelues were the holy church, and that we ought to beleue thē, or els to be cut of like withered branches.

¶ Their names ſubſcribed to the ſame.

Rafe Iackſon.
Henry Adlington.
Lyon a Cawch.
William Hallywell.
George Searles.
Iohn Routh.
Iohn Derifall.
Henry Wye.
Edmund Hurſt.
Laurence Parnam.
Thomas Boyer.
Elizabeth Peper.
Agnes George.
Thomas Freman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

Xiij. of theſe were Martyrs, as to before ſayd.

Trouble and buſines in the Dioces of Lichfield.

Iune. 14.

IN ỹ dioces of Lichfield, about ỹ 14. of Iune, in ỹ ſame yere, Ioh. Colſtoke, who was lately come frō London before, & now dwellyng at Welyngtō, though he ſuffered no Martyrdome, yet ſuſteined ſome trouble, being attached & examined by the Byſhop, named Rafe Bane, for his Religion, eſpecially for ij. pointes, in holdyng agaynſt ỹ realtie of CHRIST in the Sacrament, and agaynſt Auricular confeſſion to be made to ỹ Prieſt. For ỹ which cauſe beyng cōpelled to recant, he was enioyned in ỹ Church of S. Cedde to beare a Fagot before ỹ Croſſe, bareheaded, hauyng in ỹ one hand a Taper, & in ỹ other a payre of beades. &c.

Rafe Bane B. of Couentry and Lichfield, a cruell perſecuter.

Amongeſt diuers other which in the ſame Dioces and the ſame tyme were ſuſpected and troubled for the lyke, was Tho. Flyer of Vttorater Shomaker, Nicholas Ball of Vttorater Capper, Thomas Pyot of Chedull. Item Henry Crimes, for marying hys wife on Palmeſonday euen. &c. Some other alſo there were which had the like penance enioyned thē, as Thomas Iohnſon, about ỹ xxvj. day of this moneth of Iune, becauſe he ſware by the holy Maſſe before the Byſhop ſittyng in iudgement: who for the ſame was driuen to go before the croſſe with his Taper and beades &c.

Marying in Lent puniſhed.

Iune. 26.

Thomas Iohnſon for ſwearing by the holy Maſſe, dyd penance.

Concernyng the which Thomas Flyer aboue named, beyng a godly and a zelous mā, this furthermore is to be noted, and not vnworthy of gratefull memory, that where as in ỹ towne of Vttorater, cōmaundemēt was directed vnto hym amōgeſt others, from the Ordinary, for pullyng down Monumentes of ſuperſtitiō, and namely the rode loft: he beyng one of the Church Wardens, or ſide men, on a tyme had talke vpon the ſame with certaine of his neighbours: where one wiſhed thē ill to chieue, ỹ ſhould go about ſuch an acte. What wordes paſſed els amōgeſt thē, miniſtring matter of further prouocatiō, it is not perfectly knowē. In fine the ſayd Flyer beyng offended, and afterward metyng with him that had vſed ſuch wordes before, began to common with him of the matter: but in the end the man ſo litle repented him of thoſe ſayinges, that he added yet more fierce wordes, and at length ſtrokes alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that at that conflict, the ſayd Thomas Flyer was ſlayne: and yet ſo was the matter handled, and ſuch amendes was made with money by the murtherer, and his frendes, to the ſayd Flyers wife, that he ſuffered litle or nothyng for the ſame, ſaue onely that he was baniſhed that towne, & ſworne & bound, neuer to come in it ſo long as ỹ ſaid Flyers wife ſhould liue.

Tho. Flyer ſlaine in Gods quarrell.

¶ *Three men dead in the priſon of the Kynges Bench.*

Iune. 27. *Thomas Parret.*

Iune. 29. *Martyn Hunt.*

Ioh. Norice, Confeſſors.

AFter the burnyng of theſe in Stratford, the ſame moneth dyed in the priſon of the Kynges Bench in Southwarke one Tho. Parret, and was buryed in the backſide, the xxvij. day of the moneth aboue ſaid. Alſo Martin Hunt (as is reported) in the ſame priſō was famiſhed the xxix. day. At which time likewiſe dyed in ỹ ſame priſon, as I find recorded, one Iohn Norice, and after the ſame ſort as ỹ other, was buried on the backſide of the ſayd priſon, the day aboue mentioned.

¶ The ſtory of three Martyrs ſufferyng at S. Edmundes Bury.

Iune. 30.

AFter the death of the aforeſayd Tho. Parret, Martin Hunt, and Ioh. Norice, were thrée Martyred at S. Edmondes Bury in Suffolke in one fire, whoſe names are here vnder ſpecified:

- Roger Bernard.
- Adam Foſter.
- Robert Lawſon.

Roger Bernard, Martyr.

¶ The firſt examination of Roger Bernard, before Doct. Hopton Byſhop of Norwich.

WHen Roger Bernard came before the Byſhop, firſt he was aſked whether he had bene with the Prieſt at Eaſter to be ſhriuen, and whether he had receiued the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar or no. Vnto whom Roger Bernard aunſwered no: I haue not bene with the Prieſt, nor confeſſed my ſelfe vnto hym, but I haue cōfeſſed my ſinnes vnto almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgeuen me: wherfore I ſhall not néede to go to the Prieſt for ſuch matters, who can not helpe him ſelfe.

Roger Bern refuſet auricu confeſſ

Byſhop. Surely Bernard thou muſt nedes go and confeſſe thy ſelfe vnto hym.

Roger. That ſhall I not do (by Gods grace) while I lyue.

Byſh. What a ſtoute boyly hereticke is this? how malipertly he aunſwereth.

Ro. My Lord, it gréeueth me not one whit (I thāke God) to be called hereticke at your handes: for ſo your forefathers called the Prophetes and Confeſſors of CHRIST, long before this time.

At theſe wordes the Biſhop roſe vp in a great heate, and bad Bernard folow him. Then ỹ Byſhop wēt and knéeled before that they call the Sacrament of the aultar, and as he was in his prayers knéelyng, he loked backe, and aſked Bernard why he came not, and did as he did. Vnto whom Bernard aunſwered: I cā not tell why I ſhould ſo do. Why (quoth the Byſhop) thou lewde felow, whom ſéeſt thou yonder, poyntyng to the pyx ouer the aultar?

Roger. I ſée no body there: do you my Lord?

Biſh. Why naughty man, doeſt ỹ not ſée thy maker?

Roger. My maker? No, I ſée nothyng but a fewe cloutes hangyng together on a heape. With that the Byſhop roſe vp ſore diſpleaſed, and commaunded the Gailor to take him away, and to lay yrons enough on him: For (quoth he) I wil tame him or he go from me, I trow ſo: and ſo he was caried away.

Note catholi charit this pr late.

¶ The ſecond examination of Roger Bernard before the ſayd Biſhop.

THe next day Bernard was brought agayne before the biſhop, who aſked him if he dyd not remember hym ſelfe ſince the day before that he was before hym.

An oth examination *Roger Bernar*

Roger. Yes my Lord, I haue remembred my ſelfe very well, for the ſame man I was yeſterdaye, I am this day, and I hope ſhall bee all the dayes of my lyfe, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

Then one of the Garde ſtanding by, ſaid: my Lord I pray you trouble not your ſelfe any more with hym, but let me haue the examining of hym: I ſhall handle him after an other ſort, I trow, and make him a fayre childe or he go, you ſhall ſée. So was he committed to hym, and brought by him to an Inne, where were a great many of Prieſtes aſſembled together, and there they fell all in flattering him, and perſwading him with gay intiſing wordes what they could: but when therein they might not preuaile, for that the Lord aſſiſted the good poore man, then began they to threaten him with whipping, ſtocking, burning, and ſuch lyke, that it was wonderfull the do they made with hym. Vnto whom Bernard ſayd: frendes, I am not better then my Maſter CHRIST, and the Prophetes, which your fathers ſerued after ſuch ſort, and I for his names ſake am content to ſuffer the lyke at your hands if God ſhall ſo permit, truſting that he wyll ſtrengthen me in the ſame according to his promiſe, in ſpite of ỹ deuill & all his miniſters. So when they could not make him to relent or yeld, they ſayd: behold a right ſcholer of Ioh. Fortune: whom they had then in priſon. Then caryed they him to the B. who immediately condemned him as an hereticke, and deliuered him to the ſecular power.

One of the Ga taketh *Bernar* to ſchol

A whol ſome co pany of Caterp lers.

Roger Bernar condem by ỹ B Norw

This Roger Bernard was a ſingle man, and by hys vocatiō a labourer, dwelling in Franſden in Suffolke, Who was taken in the night by maſter Tamages men becauſe he would not go to church to heare their vnſauery ſeruice, and ſo by them caryed to pryſon.

Bernar taken Maſte *Tamag* men.

¶ *Adam Foſter.*

Iune.

Adam Foſter, Marty

ADam Foſter of the age of. xxvj. yeares, huſbandman, being maried, dwelling in Mendleſam in the county of Suffolke, was taken at home in his houſe a litle before the Sunne going downe, by the Conſtables of the ſayd towne, George Reuet and Thomas Mowſe, at the commaundement of Sir Iohn Tirrel of Gipping hall in Suffolke knight, becauſe he would not go to church and heare Maſſe, and receaue at Eaſter, except he might haue it after CHRISTES holye ordinance. When they came for hym, they tolde hym he muſt go with them vnto the Iuſtice. Vnto whom Adam Foſter ſayd: for CHRISTES cauſe, and to ſaue hys conſcience he was well contented: and ſo they led hym to Sir Iohn Tyrrell, and he ſent hym to Aye dungeon in Suffolke, from whence at length he was ſent to Norwich, and there condemned by biſhop Hopton.

Now after this takyng, the ſayd Tho. Mowſe and George Reuet were ſtricken with a great feare and ſicknes, whereby Mowſe pined and conſumed away euen vnto death, although he was a man of a yong and luſtye age. But George Reuet, who was the ſayd Mowſes fellow, and a great reader of the ſcripture, or (as a man may terme it) a talkatiue Goſpeller, would not be premoniſhed by the workes of God, but ſet hys ſonne to helpe the Prieſt ſay Maſſe, and to be Clarke of the ſame towne of Mendleſhã for lukers ſake: yet was there a fayre warnyng geuen him of God, although he had not the grace ſo to conſider it: the which thing was this. A young man of the ſame Pariſh newly maryed, called Robert Edgore, beyng of a rype wytte & ſound, was Clarke in the ſayd Church before the ſayd Reuet ſet his ſonne in that rowme, and executed the office a litle, yea, alas to long, agaynſt his owne conſcience: wherby at length the Lord ſo tooke away his wits, that many yeares after, his poore and wofull wife, good woman, was compelled to keepe hym cheyned & bound continually, leſt he ſhould vnwares do him ſelfe or ſome other, ſome miſchiefe, as many tymes (ỹ more pitie) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I ſaid) woulde not admoniſhe Reuet, but needes he muſt perſiſt in his wicked purpoſe. Notwithſtanding at the length, as many mẽ were offended wyth hym in the pariſhe, ſo honeſt women eſpecially (being mightely grieued at his vngodly doinges) came to hym and ſayd: neighbour Reuet, are ye not afrayd to let your ſonne helpe the naughty prieſt to ſay maſſe, and to ſerue that abominable Idoll? and hee ſayd no. Then ſayd they, we feare not to go to church and heare Maſſe, ſeing you being a man, that ſo much profeſſe Chriſtianity, will let your ſonne helpe the Prieſt ſay Maſſe &c. At which wordes Reuet waxed angry, and in his rage immediatly made his prayer vnto God after this maner or wͭ ſuch like wordes, ſaying: O Lord, if it be not thy will that my ſonne ſhould ſo do, then I beſech thee ſend ſome ſtraunge token to let me vnderſtãd what thy good pleaſure is therin &c. So, according to his petition, within ſhort ſpace after his neighbors Bull came into his paſture, and there he hauyng a very proper geldyng which was his felicitie aboue any thyng he had, the Bull runnyng vppon hym, did ſo wound and gore him, that immediatly therof his geldyng dyed, and he therby nothyng amended. For although he knew and confeſſed, that it was the Lordes hand vppon him, for the ſufferance of his ſonne in that wicked vocatiõ: yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him ſtill to vſe and frequẽt the ſame agaynſt his owne conſcience. At the laſt the Lord iuſtly ſent vppon him a great ſwellyng in his legges, which did ſo greuouſly vexe and trouble him by reaſon it ſwelled vpward, that at length hauyng therby brought vppon him a very ſtraunge ſicknes, he died moſt miſerably, in ſo impatient maner, that it terrified all good hartes to heare therof. The Lord graũt, for CHRISTES ſake, that we may obſerue his iudgemẽtes better, to his glory and our comfort, Amen. Ex teſtimonio quorundam Suffolcenſium.

¶*Robert Lawſon.*

ROBERT Lawſon was a ſingle man, of the age of xx. yeares, and by vocation a linnen Weauer, who was apprehended in the night by one Robert Kereth, at the commaundement of Syr Iohn Tyrell of Gypping hall in Suffolke Knight, and ſo was immediatly caried to Aye Dungeon in Suffolke, where he remayned a certaine time, and after was led to Bery. The cauſe of his takyng was, for that hee would not go to Church to heare Maſſe, & receiue their Popiſh Idoll.

Rob. Kereth a perſecuter.

When theſe three foreſayd Martyrs were caried to their deathes, videl. Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, & Robert Lawſon at Bery, after they had made their prayer, beyng at the ſtake, & the tormentors attendyng the fire, they moſt triumphantly ended their lyues, in ſuch happy & bleſſed condition, as did notably ſet forth their conſtancie, and ioyfull end, to the great prayſe of God, and their cõmendation in him, and alſo to the encouragement of others in the ſame quarell to do the like. The Lord of ſtrength fortifie vs to ſtand as his true ſouldiours in what ſtanding ſoeuer he ſhall thinke it good to place vs, Amen.

The Martyrdome of *Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, Robert Lawſon,* at Bury.
An. 1556.
Iune. 30.

¶In the examination of Roger Bernard, ye heard a litle before, how he was cõpared by the prieſtes there, to Iohn Fortune, and called his ſcholer. This Iohn Fortune, otherwiſe called Cutler, of Hintleſham in Suffolke, was by his occupatiõ a Blackeſmith, whom they had before them in examination a litle before the 20. day of Aprill. In ſpirite he was zelous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in CHRISTES cauſe ſtoute & valiant, in his aunſweres maruellous, & no leſſe pacient in his wrongfull ſufferyng, then cõſtant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or dyed in priſon, I cã not certeinely finde: but rather I ſuppoſe that he was burned. Certeine it is, how ſoeuer he was made away he neuer yelded. What his aunſweres and examinations were before D. Parker & the Byſhop, ye ſhall heare hym, although not with his owne mouth ſpeakyng, yet with his owne hand you ſhall ſee written, what he dyd ſay, as foloweth.

¶The examination of Iohn Fortune before Doctour Parker and Maſter Foſter.

FIrſt Doct. Parker aſked me how I beleued in the Catholicke fayth.

And I aſked him which fayth he ment: whether the fayth that Steuen had, or the fayth of them that put Steuen to death.

The examination of *Ioh. Fortune* before Doct. *Parker and M. Foſter.*

D. Parker beyng moued, ſayd: what a naughty fellow is this? you ſhall ſee anon he will deny the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar.

M. Foſter. Then ſayd M. Foſter: I know you well enough. You are a buſie marchaunt. How ſayeſt thou by the bleſſed Maſſe?

Fort. And I ſtode ſtill and made no aunſwere.

Foſt. Then ſayd M. Foſter: why ſpeakeſt thou not, and make the Gentleman an aunſwere?

Fort. And I ſayd: ſilence is a good aunſwere to a fooliſh queſtion.

Park. Then ſayd the Doctour: I am ſure he will deny the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar alſo.

The Sacrament of the altar.

Fort. And I ſayd: I know none ſuch, but onely ỹ Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord IESVS CHRIST.

Park. Then ſayd he: you deny the order of the ſeuen Sacramentes. And why doeſt not thou beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar?

Fort. And I ſayd: becauſe it is not written in Gods booke.

Park. Then ſayd he: you will not beleue vnwritten verities.

Fort. And I ſayd: I will beleue that thoſe vnwrittẽ verities that agree with ỹ writtẽ verities, be true: but thoſe vnwritten verities that be of your own makyng, and inuented of your owne brayne, I do not beleue.

Foſt. Well ſayd M. Foſter: you ſhalbe whipped and burned for this geare, I trow.

M. Foſter threatneth *Iohn Fortune* to be whipped.

Fort. Then ſayd I: if you knew how theſe wordes do reioyce my hart, you would not haue ſpoken them.

Foſt. Why thou foole, doeſt thou reioyce in whypping?

Fort. Yea, ſayd I, for it is writtē in the Scriptures, and CHRIST ſayth: thou ſhalt be whipped for my names ſake: and ſince the tyme that yͤ ſword of tyranny came into your hãds, I heard of none that was whypped. Happy were I, if I had the maydenhead of this perſecution.

Away with him then (ſayd he): for he is ten tymes worſe then Samuell: and ſo was he caried to priſon agayne.

¶ The ſecond examination of Iohn Fortune before the Byſhop of Norwich.

When I came before the Byſhop, he aſked me if I did not beleue in the Catholicke Church. I ſayd: I beleue that Church whereof CHRIST is the head.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: doeſt thou not beleue that the Pope is ſupreme head of the Church? And I ſayd: no, CHRIST is the head of the true Church.

Byſh. So do I beleue alſo: but the Pope is Gods Vicar vpon earth, and the head of the Church, and I beleue that he hath power to forgeue ſinnes alſo.

Pſal.49.

Fort. Then ſayd I: the Pope is but a man, and the Prophet Dauid ſayth: *that no man can deliuer his brother, nor make agreement for hym vnto God: For it coſte more to redeme their ſoules, ſo that hee muſt let that alone for euer.*

The Pope likened to a Belwether or a maſter Bee.

Byſh. And yͤ Byſhop agayne fetching about a great circūſtance, ſayd: like as yͤ Belwether weareth yͤ bell, and is yͤ head of yͤ flocke of ſhéepe: ſo is the Pope our head. And as the hiues of Bées haue a maſter Bée that bringeth the Bées to the hiue agayne: ſo doth our head bryng vs home agayne to our true Church.

Poyſoned Popes.

Fort. Then I aſked hym whether the Pope were a ſpirituall man: and he ſaid yea. And I ſaid agayne: they are ſpitefull men, for in xvij. monethes there were thrée Popes, and one poiſoned an other for that preſumptuous ſtate of Antichriſt.

Byſh. It is maliciouſly ſpoken (ſayd he): for thou muſt obey the power and not the man. And thus was the Pope denyed to be ſupreme head.

Ceremonies of the church.

Well, ſayd he, what ſayeſt thou to the ceremonies of the Church?

Math.15.

Fort. And I aunſwered: *All thinges that are not plāted by my heauenly father, ſhalbe plucked vp by the rootes,* ſayth CHRIST. For they were not from yͤ begynning, neither ſhall they continue to the end.

Byſh. They are good and godly, and neceſſary to be vſed.

Fort. S.Paul called them weake and beggarly.

Byſh. No, that is a lye.

Gal.4.

Math.15.

Fort. I hearyng that, ſayd: that Saint Paule writeth thus in the fourth to the Galathians: *Ye fooliſh Galathians* (ſayth he) *who hath bewitched you, that ye ſeeke to be in bōdage to theſe weake and beggarly ceremonies?* Now which of you do lye? you or S.Paul? And alſo it is ſayd, that workes inſtituted and enioyned without the commaundemēt of God, perteine not to yͤ worſhip of God, accordyng to the text: *In vayne do men worſhyp me with mens traditiōs and commaundementes.* And S.Paul ſayth: *wherfore do ye cary vs away from the grace of* CHRIST *to an other kinde of doctrine?* And CHRIST openly rebuked the Scribes, Lawyers, Phariſeis, Doctours, Prieſtes, Byſhops and Hypocrites, for makyng Gods cōmaundementes of none effect, to ſupport their owne tradition.

Byſh. Thou lyeſt, there is not ſuch a word in all the Scriptures, thou naughtie hereticke. Thou art worſe then all other heretickes: for Hoper (ſayd he) and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou doeſt not. Away with him.

It is pitie that popiſh prelates can not lie.

¶ Here you may perceiue, how that the Catholicke Church can not erre, but what ſoeuer they ſay, muſt nedes be true. And ſo my Lord Byſhop can not lye, as it may appeare to all men moſt plainly in the text.

¶ The third examination of Iohn Fortune before the Byſhop of Norwich.

An other examination of *Iohn Fortune.*

The next day I was brought before the ſayd Byſhop agayn, where he made a Sermon vppon the vj. Chapter of S. Iohns Goſpell of CHRISTES wordes: *I am the bread that came downe from heauē. &c.* and therupon had a great bibble babble to no purpoſe. So in the end I was called before him, and he ſayd to me.

Sacramēt of the Altar.

Byſh. How beleueſt thou in the Sacrament of the aultar? doeſt thou not beleue that after yͤ conſecration, there is the reall ſubſtaunce of the body of CHRIST?

Fort. And I aunſwered him, that it is the greateſt plague that euer came into England.

Byſh. Why ſo?

Fort. I ſayd: if I were a Biſhop, and you a poore man as I am, I would be aſhamed to aſke ſuch a queſtion. For a Byſhop ſhould be apt to teach and not to learne.

Byſh. I am appointed by the lawe to teach, ſo are not you.

Fort. And I ſayd: Your law breaketh out very wel: for you haue burned vp the true Byſhops & preachers, and maintained lyers to be in their ſtede.

Catholicke prelates obſequious to hyer powers ſo long as they make for their dignitie, but when they do otherwiſe, then they excōmunicate them.

Byſh. Now you may vnderſtand that hee is a traytour: for he denieth the higher powers.

Fort. I am no traitour: for S. Paul ſayth: *All ſoules muſt obey the hyer powers,* and I reſiſt not the hyer powers, concernyng my body, but I muſt reſiſte your euill doctrine wherwith you would infect my ſoule.

A Doct. Then ſaid a Doctour: my Lord, you do not well: let him aunſwere ſhortly to his Articles.

Byſh. How ſayeſt thou? make aunſwere quickly to theſe Articles.

Heb.10.

Fort. S.Paul ſayth: *CHRIST did one ſacrifice once for all, and ſet him downe on the right hand of his father,* triumphing ouer hell and death, making interceſſion for ſinnes.

Byſh. I aſke thée no ſuch queſtion, but make aunſwere to this Article.

Fort. If it be not God before the conſecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginnyng & without ending.

Byſh. Then ſayd he: lo, what a ſtiffe hereticke is this? He hath denied altogether: how ſayeſt thou? Is it Idolatrie to worſhyp the bleſſed Sacrament or no?

Fort. God is a ſpirite, and wil be worſhipped in ſpirite and truth.

Byſh. I aſke thée no ſuch queſtion: aunſwere me directly.

Dan.11.

Fort. I aunſwere that this is the God Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

Byſh. It is pitie that the groūd beareth thee, or that thou haſt a toung to ſpeake. Then ſayd the Scribe: here are a great many more Articles.

Byſh. Then ſayd the Byſhop: Away with him, for he hath ſpoken to much.

¶ *An other examination.*

Other talke betwene *Iohn Fortune* and the Biſhop of Norwich.

Iohn.6.

And when I came to mine examination agayne, the Biſhop aſked me if I would ſtand vnto myne aunſwere that I had made before: and I ſayd, yea, for I had ſpoken nothyng but the truth. And after that hée made a great circumſtaunce vppon the Sacrament. Then I deſired him to ſtand to the text, and he red the Goſpell on Corpus Chriſti day, which ſayd: *I am the bread which came downe from heauen:* beleueſt thou not this? And I ſayd: yea truly.

And he ſayd, why doeſt thou denie the Sacrament? Becauſe your doctrine is ſo falſe, ſayd I.

Then ſayd he: how can that bee falſe which is ſpokẽ in the Scripture? And I ſayd, CHRIST ſaid: *I am the bread,* and you ſay the bread is he. Therfore your doctrine is falſe, ſayd I.

And he ſayd: doeſt thou not beleue that the bread is he? And I ſayd, no.

Byſh. I will bryng thée to it by the Scriptures.

Fort. Holde that faſt my Lorde: for that is the beſt Argument that you haue yet.

Byſh. Thou ſhalt be burned like an hereticke.

Fort. Who ſhall geue iudgement vpon me?

Byſh. I will iudge an hundred ſuch as thou art, and neuer be ſhriuen vpon it.

Fort. Is there not a law for the ſpiritualtie as well as for the temporaltie? and Syr Clement Highã ſayd: yes, what meaneſt thou by that?

Fort. When a mã is periured by the law, he is caſt ouer the barre, and ſitteth no more in iudgement. And the Byſhop is a periured mã, and ought to ſit in iudgement of no man.

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Byſh. How proueſt thou that?

Fort. Becauſe you tooke an oth by kyng Henryes dayes to reſiſt the Pope. So both ſpiritual and temporall are periured, that here can be no true iudgement.

Byſh. Thinkeſt thou to eſcape iudgement by that? no, for my Chauncellour ſhall iudge thée. He tooke no oth, for hee was out then of the Realme.

M. Hygham. It is tyme to wéede out ſuch felowes as you be, in déede.

Byſh. Good felow, why beleueſt not thou in the Sacrament of the aultar?

Fort. Becauſe I find it not in Gods booke, nor yet in the Doctours. If it were there, I would beleue it with all my hart.

Byſh. How knoweſt thou it is not there?

Fort. Becauſe it is contrary to the ſecõd commaundement: and ſeyng it is not written in Gods booke, why do you then robbe me of my life?

Then the Byſhop hauyng no more to ſay, cõmaũded the Bailiffe to take him away.

And thus much touchyng the examinations of this man. Now whether he dyed in fire, or otherwiſe preuẽted with death, as I ſayd before, I am vncerteine.

he death
f Iohn
rtune.

In the Regiſters of Norwich this I do find, that his ſentence of condemnation was drawen and Regiſtred, but whether it was pronounced in the ſayd Regiſter, it is not expreſſed according as the vſuall maner of the Notary is ſo to declare in ẏ end of the ſentẽce. Neuertheles this is moſt certeine, that he neuer abiured nor recanted, how ſoeuer it pleaſed the Lord by death to call him out of this world.

The death of Iohn Careles in the Kinges Bench.

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ABout this time, the firſt day of Iuly, amongeſt diuers other priſoners which dyed the ſame yeare in ẏ Kings Bench, was alſo one Ioh. Careles of Couẽtrie, a Weauer. Who though he were by the ſecret iudgement of almighty God preuented by death, ſo that hee came not to the full Martyrdome of his body, yet is he no leſſe worthy to be counted in honour and place of CHRISTES Martyrs, thẽ other that ſuffered moſt cruell tormẽtes, aſwell for that he was for the ſame truthes ſake a long tyme impriſoned, as alſo for his willyng mynd and zelous affectiõ he had therunto, if ẏ Lord had ſo determined it, as wel may appeare by his examination had before Doct. Martin. Which examination becauſe it conteineth nothing almoſt but wranglyng interrogations, and matters of contention, wherin Doct. Martin would enter into no communication about the Articles of his accuſation, but onely vrged him to detect his felowes, it ſhall not be greatly materiall therefore to expreſſe the whole, but onely to excerpt ſo much, as perteinyng to the queſtion of predeſtination, may bryng ſome fruits to the reader.

hn
Careles
examined
before
Doctor
Martyn.

The effect of Iohn Careles examination before Doct. Martin briefly declared.

The effect of *Iohn Careles* examination.

FIrſt, Doct. Martin calling Iohn Careles to hym in his chamber, demaunded what was his name. To whom when the other had aunſwered, that his name was Iohn Careles, then began Doct. Martin to deſcant at his pleaſure vppon that name, ſaying: that it would appeare by his conditions, by that tyme he had done with hym, that he would be a true careles man in déede. And ſo after other bytalke there ſpent about much nedeles matter, then he aſked him where hée was borne.

Carel. Forſooth, ſayd he, at Couentry.

Mart. At Couẽtrie? what ſo farre, mã? How cameſt thou hether? Who ſent thée to the Kynges Bench to priſon?

How *Ioh. Careles* was brought to the Kinges Bench.

Carel. I was brought thether by a writte, I trow, what he was I can not tell. I thinke M. Marſhall can tell you.

Marſhall. In good faith I can not tell what the matter is: but in déede my Lord chief Iuſtice ſent him frõ the barre.

Mart. Well Careles, I would wiſhe, thou ſhouldeſt play the wiſe mans part. Thou art a handſom man: And it is pitie but thou ſhouldeſt do well, and ſaue that which God hath bought.

Carel. I thanke your good maſterſhyp moſt hartely: And I put you out of doubt, that I am moſt ſure and certaine of my ſaluation by IESVS CHRIST: ſo that my ſoule is ſafe already what ſoeuer paynes my body ſuffer here for a litle time.

Mart. Yea mary, you ſay truth. For thou art ſo predeſtinate to life, that thou canſt not periſh, in what ſoeuer opinion thou doeſt dye.

Iohn Careles examined vpon predeſtination.

Carel. That God hath predeſtinate me to eternall life in IESVS CHRIST, I am moſt certaine, and euen ſo am I ſure that his holy ſpirite (where with I am ſealed) will ſo preſerue me from all hereſies and euill opinions, that I ſhall dye in none at all.

Mart. Go to, let me heare your fayth in predeſtination. For that ſhalbe written alſo.

Carel. Your maſterſhyp ſhall pardõ me herein. For you ſayd your ſelfe erewhile, that you had no Commiſſion to examine my conſcience. I will trouble my ſelfe with aunſweryng of no mo matters thẽ I nedes muſt, vntill I come before them that ſhall haue more authoritie farther to examine me.

D. Martyn declareth his Commiſſion.

Mart. I tell thée then I haue Commiſſion: yea, and commaundement from the Counſell to examine thée: for they deliuered me thy Articles.

Carel. Yea, I thinke in déede that your maſterſhyp is appointed to examine me of my Articles which you haue there in writyng, and I haue told you the truth. I do confeſſe them to be myne owne fact and déede: but you do now examine me of predeſtination, wherof my Articles ſpeaketh nothyng at all.

Mart. I tell thée yet agayne, that I muſt alſo examine thée of ſuch things as be in controuerſie betwene thée and thy felowes in the Kynges Bench, whereof predeſtination is a part, as thy felow N. hath confeſſed and thy ſelfe doeſt not deny it.

Carel. I do not deny it. But he that firſt told you that matter, might haue found him ſelfe much better occupyed.

Why Doct. *Martyn* would not examine him of the Sacrament.

Mart. Why? what if he had not told me? thinkeſt thou I would not haue knowen it? yes, or els thou ſhouldeſt haue withſtand my Commiſſion. For I tell thée truth, I may now examine thée of the bleſſed Sacrament, or any other thyng that I liſt, but that I would ſhew thée fauour, and not bée to haſty with thée at the firſt.

Marſhal. Yea in déede Careles, Maſter Doctour hath Commiſſion to examine you or any other of your felowes.

Mart. Yea mary haue I, I tell the truth of it.

Carel. Then let your Scribe ſet his pen to yͤ paper, and you ſhall haue it roundly euen as the truth is. I beleue that almighty God our moſt deare louyng father of his great mercy and infinite goodnes, did electe in *CHRIST*.

Mart. Tuſh, what néede all that long circumſtance? write, I beleue that God elected, & make no more ado.

Carel. No, not ſo M. Doctour. It is an high miſtery, & ought reuerently to be ſpoken of. And if my wordes may not be written as I do vtter thẽ, I will not ſpeake at all.

Mart. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more buſines then néedeth.

Careles opinion of Gods election.

Carel. I beleue that almighty God our moſt deare louyng father, of his great mercy and infinite goodnes (through *IESVS CHRIST*) did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the earth was layd, a Church or congregation, which hee doth continually guide and gouerne by his grace and holy ſpirite, ſo that not one of them ſhall euer finally periſhe. When this was written, Maſter Doctour toke it in his hand and read it, ſaying.

D. Martyn alloweth Careles iudgement of Gods election.

Mart. Why? who will deny this?

Carel. If your Maſterſhyp do allow it, and other learned men when they ſhall ſée it, I haue my hartes deſire.

Mar. And do you hold none otherwiſe, then is there written?

Carel. No verely, nor neuer did.

Mart. Write that he ſayth, otherwiſe he holdeth not. So that was written. It was told me alſo that thou doeſt affirme, that *CHRIST* did not dye effectually for all men.

Carel. What ſoeuer hath bene told you it is not much materiall vnto me. Let the tellers of ſuch tales come before my face, and I truſt to make them aunſwere. For in déede I do beleue that *CHRIST* did effectually dye for all thoſe that do effectually repent and beleue, and for none other: ſo that was written alſo.

Mart. Now Syr, what is Trewes faith of predeſtination? he beleueth that all men be predeſtinate, and that none ſhalbe damned. Doth he not?

Carel. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Mart. How then?

A wrong fayth of predeſtination, beleuing to be elected in reſpect of good workes.

Carel. Truly I thinke he doth beleue as your Maſterſhyp and the reſt of the Clergy do beleue of predeſtination, that we be elected in reſpect of our good workes, and ſo lõg elected, as we do them, & no longer.

Mart. Write that he ſayth, his fellow Trew beleueth of predeſtination as the Papiſtes do beleue.

Carel. Ah Maſter Doctour, did I ſo terme you? Seyng that this my confeſſion ſhall come before the Cou̇ſaile, I pray you place my termes as reuerently as I ſpake them.

Mart. Well, well. Write that Trew is of the ſame faith as the Catholickes be.

Carel. I did not ſo call you neither. I wonder what you meane.

Marſhal. You ſaid the Clergy, did you not Careles?

Carel. Yes forſoth did I. So then it was written, of the Clergy.

Mart. Now Syr, what ſay you more?

Ca. Forſoth I haue no farther to ſay in this matter.

Mart. Well, Careles I pray thée proue thy ſelfe a wiſe man, and do not caſt away thy life wilfully.

Carel. Now the Lord he knoweth, good Maſter Doctour, I would full gladly lyue, ſo that I might do the ſame with a ſafe conſcience. And your Maſterſhyp ſhall right well perceiue that I will be no wilfull man, but in all thynges that I ſtand vppon, I will haue a ſure grounde.

Doctour Martyn pretendeth fauour to Careles.

Mart. Nowe the Lorde knoweth, good Careles, that I would gladly make ſome meanes to preſerue thy lyfe: but thou ſpeakeſt ſo much of the Lord, the Lord. Wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzwater into Ireland? me thinkes thou art a goodly tal felow to do the Quéene ſeruice there. How ſayeſt thou?

Carel. Verely Maſter Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, Fraunce, or Spayne, or any place els, I am ready to do her grace the beſt ſeruice that I can, with body, goodes, and lyfe, ſo long as it doth laſt.

Mart. That is honeſtly ſayd. I promiſe thée euery mã will not ſay ſo. How ſay you M. Marſhall, this man is méete for all maner of ſeruice. In déede thou art worthy Careles, to haue the more fauour.

Careles. In déede Syr, I hope to be méete and ready vnto all thinges that pertaineth vnto a true Chriſtian ſubiect to do. And if her grace or her officers vnder her do require me to any thyng contrary vnto *CHRISTES* Religion, I am ready alſo to do my ſeruice in Smithfield for not obſeruyng it, as my bedfelow and other brethren haue done, prayſed be God for them.

Mart. By my trouth thou art a pleaſaunt felow as euer I talked with of all the Proteſtantes, except it were Tomſon. I am ſory that I muſt depart with thée ſo ſone: but I haue ſuch buſines now, that I can tary with thée no longer. Well, yet thou canſt not deny, but you are at iarre amongeſt your ſelues in yͤ Kynges Bench, and it is ſo thorow out all your congregation: for you will not be a Church.

More varietie in the Popes Church, then is amongeſt the Proteſtantes.

Carel. No Maſter Doctour, that is not ſo. There is a thouſand tymes more varietie in opinions among your Doctours, which you call of the Catholicke Church, yea and that in the Sacrament, for the which there is ſo much bloudſhed now a dayes. I meane of your latter Doctours and new writers: as for the old they agrée wholy with vs.

Mart. No Careles, that is not ſo: there thou art deceiued.

Carel. Verely it is ſo, Maſter Doctour. I am not deceiued therein any thyng at all, as it hath bene, and is euidently proued by ſuch as God hath endued with great learnyng. Then he turned to the Marſhall, and whiſpered with him a while.

Doctour Martyn taketh his leaue gently of Careles.

Mart. Turnyng vnto me agayne, ſayd: Farewell Careles, for I can tary no longer with thée now, my buſines is ſuch.

Carel. God be with you, good Maſter Doctour. The Lord geue your Maſterſhyp health of body and ſoule.

Mart. God haue mercy good Careles: and God kéepe thée from all errours, and geue thée grace to do as well as I would wiſhe my ſelfe.

Carel. I thanke your good Maſterſhyp. I pray God I may do allwaies that is acceptable in his ſight. Wherunto they all ſayd, Amen. And ſo I departed with a glad hart: God onely haue the whole prayſe, Amen.

It appeareth by examination of the foreſayd Iohn Careles, that he endured priſoner the ſpace of ij. whole yeares, hauyng wife and children. In the which his captiuitie, firſt beyng in Couentry Iayle, he was there in ſuch credite with his kéeper, that vpon his word hée was let out to play in the pageant about the Citie with other his companions. And that done, kepyng touch wͭ his kéeper, he returned again into priſon at his houre appointed. And after that beyng brought vp to Londõ, he was indued with ſuch pacience and conſtant fortitude, that he longed for nothyng more earneſtly, then to come to that promotion to dye in the fire for the profeſſiõ of his faith: and yet it ſo pleaſed the Lord to preuent him with death, that he came not to it, but dyed in the priſon, and after was buryed in the fieldes in a dounghill.

Iohn Careles died in priſon, and was buried in the fieldes.

¶ In the meane tyme while he was in priſon in the Kynges Bench, it chaunced he was in great heauines and perturbation of mynde and conſcience, wherupon he wrote to M. Philpot beyng then in the Colehouſe. Uppon the occaſion hereof M. Philpot ſent an Epiſtle conſolatory vnto him, ſpecified before among M. Philpots letters, pag. 2005. Unto the which Epiſtle Iohn Careles maketh aunſwere agayne as foloweth.

¶ Letters of Iohn Careles.

¶ A letter of Iohn Careles aunſweryng to the louyng Epiſtle or Letter ſent to hym before by Maſter Iohn Philpot.

A faithfull frend is a ſtrong defenſe, who ſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure.

A faithfull frend hath no peere, the weight of gold and ſiluer is not to be compared to the goodnes of his fayth.

A faythfull frend is a medicine of lyfe, and they that feare the Lord ſhall finde hym. Eccleſiaſt. 6.

A letter of Iohn Careles to Maſter Philpot.

THe father of mercy and God of all conſolation, comfort you with his eternall ſpirite (my moſt deare and faithfull louyng frẽd, good M. Philpot) as you haue comforted me by the mighty operation of the ſame: the euerlaſtyng God be praiſed therfore for euer, Amen.

Ah my deare hart and moſt louyng brother, if I ſhould do nothyng els day and night, ſo long as the dayes of heauen do endure, but kneele on my knees & read Pſalmes, I can neuer be able to render vnto God condigne thankes for his great mercy, fatherly kindnes, and moſt louing compaſſion extended vnto me moſt vile, ſinnefull, wicked, and vnworthy wretch. Oh that the Lord would open my mouth and geue me a thankefull hart, that frõ the bottome of the ſame might flow his continual praiſe. Oh that my ſinnefull fleſh (which is the cauſe of my ſorrow) were cleane ſeparated from me, that I might ſing Pſalmes of thankes geuing vnto the Lordes name for euer: that with good Samuels mother I might cõtinually record this noble verſe folowyng, the which by good experience I haue found moſt true, praiſed be my good God therfore:

1. Reg. 2.

The Lord (ſayth that good woman) killeth and maketh aliue: hee bryngeth downe to hell and fetcheth vp agayne.

Iohn Careles raiſed by the Lord, out of great troubles.

Praiſed bee that Lord for euer, yea, and prayſed be his name, for that he hath geuen me true experiẽce and lyuely feelyng of ye ſame. Bleſſed be ye Lord God, whoſe mercy endureth for euer, which hath not dealt with me accordyng to my deepe deſertes, nor deſtroyed me in his diſpleaſure, whẽ I had iuſtly deſerued it. Oh what reward ſhal I geue agayne vnto the Lord for all the great benefites that he hath done for my ſoule? I will gladly receiue the cup of ſaluation at his hand, and will worſhyp his name with prayer and with praiſe.

Ah my deare hart, yea moſt deare vnto me in the Lord, thinke not this ſodeine chaunge in me, to be ſome fickle phantaſie of my fooliſhe head (as in deede ſome other would ſurely ſuſpect it to be). For doubtles it is ye marueilous doyng of the Lord, moſt mercyfull vnto me his vnworthy creature. God for his great mercies ſake geue me grace to be more thankefull vnto him then I heretofore haue bene, and keepe me that I neuer fall forth of his fauour agayne. And now my deare brother, and moſt bleſſed meſſenger of the Lord, whoſe beautiful feete haue brought much glad tidinges vnto my ſoule, what ſhal I do or ſay vnto you, in the leſt part to recompenſe the fatherly affection and godly care that you cõtinually keepe for me? Oh that God would geue me the ſpirite of feruẽt prayer, that I might yet that way ſupply ſome litle part of my duety toward you. Ah my true louing frend, how ſoone did you lay aſide all other buſines, to make a ſwete plaſter for my wounded conſcience, yea and that out of a painefull paire of ſtockes, which place muſt nedes be vneaſie to write in. But God hath brought you into a ſtrait place, that you might ſet my ſoule at liberty. Out of your pinchyng and painfull ſeate you haue plentifully poured vpon me your precious narde, the ſweete ſauour wherof hath greatly refreſhed my tired ſoule. The Lord likewiſe refreſh you both body and ſoule, by pouryng the oyle of his gracious ſpirite into your ſweete hart.

This commendation of M. Philpot, read in M. Philpots letters, pag. 2005.

Iere. 20. Iere. 26.

Ah good Ieremy, hath Phaſure put thee in the ſtockes? why, now thou haſt the right reward of a Prophet. Thy glory neuer began to appeare vntill now. I doubt not but ſhortly, in ſtede of Ahikam the ſonne of Shaphan, IESVS the ſonne of the liuing God will come and deliuer thee forth of the handes of all thine enemies, and will alſo make good againſt them and their Antichriſtian Synagoge, all the wordes that thou haſt ſpokẽ in his name. The Lord hath made thee this day a ſtrong defended Tower, an yron piller, and a braſen wall againſt the whole rable of Antichriſt, and though they fight agaynſt thee neuer ſo fiercely, yet ſhall they not ouercome thee, for the Lorde him ſelfe is with thee to helpe and deliuer thee: and he will rid thee out of the handes of the wicked, and will deliuer thee out of the handes of the Tyrantes. And in that you are not buſie in caſtyng pearles before ſwyne, nor in geuing the holy things vnto dogs, you are much to be commended, in my ſimple iudgemẽt. And ſure I am that your circumſpect and modeſt behauiour hetherto hath bene as much to Gods glory and to the ſhame and confuſion of your enemies, as any mans doynges that are gone before you.

Iere. 1. Iere. 15. Math. 7.

The circumſpect behauiour of Maiſter Philpot.

Ioh. Careles aduiſe to M. Philpot.

Wherfore mine aduiſe and moſt earneſt deſire is, with all other of your louing frendes, that you ſtill keepe that order with thoſe bloudthurſty byteſheepes, Byſhops I ſhould ſay, that you haue begon. For though in concluſion they will ſurely haue your bloud, yet ſhal they come by it with ſhame inough, and to their perpetuall infamy whiles the world doth endure. They would in dede condemne you in hugger mugger, to darken Gods glory if it might be. But Sathans thoughtes are not vnknowen to you, & the depth of his ſubtiltie is by you wel forſeene. Therfore let them do what ſoeuer God ſhall ſuffer them to doe: for I know all thinges ſhall turne to your beſt. Though you lye in the darke, ſloryed with the Biſhops blacke coale duſt: yet ſhall you bee ſhortly reſtored vnto the heauenly light, & made as white as ſnow in Salmon, and as the winges of a Doue that is couered with ſiluer winges, and her fethers like gold. You know the veſſell, before it be made bright, is ſoiled with oyle and other thinges that it may ſcoure the better.

Pſal. 68.

Iohn Careles care turned into ioy.

Oh happy be you that you be now in the ſcouryng houſe: for ſhortly you ſhalbe ſet vpon the celeſtiall ſhelfe as bright as Aungels. Therfore my deare hart, I will now accordyng to your louing requeſt, caſt away all care, and reioyce with you, and praiſe God for you, and pray for you day and night: yea, I will now with Gods grace ſing Pſalmes of prayſe and thankes geuyng with you. For now my ſoule is turned to her old reſt againe, and hath taken a ſwete nappe in CHRISTES lap. I haue caſt my care vpon the Lord, which careth for me, and wil be Careles accordyng to my name, in that reſpect which you would haue me. I will leaue out my vnſeemely addition as long as I liue: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is reſident. So ſoone as I had red your moſt godly and comfortable letter, my ſorowes vaniſhed away as ſmoke in the winde, my ſpirite reuiued, and comfort came agayne, whereby I am ſure the ſpirite of God was author of it.

Gods gracious worke through M. Philpots letter.

Oh good M. Philpot, which art a principal pot in dede, filled with moſt precious licour, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouryng forth of the ſame: Oh pot moſt happy, of the high Potter ordained to honour, which doeſt containe ſuch heauenly treaſure in thy earthen veſſel: Oh pot thriſe happy, in whom CHRIST hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature and turning water into wine, and that of the beſt, whereout the Maſter of the feaſt hath filled my cup ſo full, that I am become drunken in ioy of the ſpirit through the ſame: when Martyrdome ſhall breake thee (O veſſell of honour) I know the fragrant ſauour of thy precious Narde will much reioyce the heauy hartes of CHRISTES true members, although the Iudaſſes will grudge and murmure at the ſame, yea and burſt out into wordes of ſclaunder, ſaying: it is but loſt and waſt.

Ioh. Careles druncken with ioy of the ſpirite.

2. Reg. 6.

Bee not offended deare hart, at my metaphoricall ſpeach. For I am diſpoſed to be mery, and with Dauid to daunce before the Arke of the Lord: and though you play vpon a paire of Organes not very comely or eaſy to the fleſh, yet the ſweete ſound that came from the ſame, cauſeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in body, as preſently I am in ſpirit, that I might ſing all care away in CHRIST: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you ſhortly, if all thinges happen aright: For my old frendes of Couentry haue put the Counſell in remembraunce of me, not ſixe dayes agoe, ſaying that I am more worthy to be burned, thẽ any that was burned yet. Gods bleſſing on their hartes for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignitie, and haſten the time, that I might ſet forth his glory.

Careles accuſed to the Counſell by certaine backe frendes in Couentry.

Pray for me deare hart I beſech you, and will all your company to do the ſame, and I will pray God for you all ſo long as I liue. And now farewell in CHRIST thou

bleſſed

Note how cõfortably the Lord worketh in his priſoned Sainctes.

bleſſed of Gods owne mouth. I will for a time take my leaue, but not my laſt farewell. Bleſſed be the time that euer I came into the Kings Bench, to be ioyned in loue and felowſhip with ſuch deare children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford ſhall not be dead whiles you be aliue: for verely the ſpirite of him doth reſt on you in moſt ample wiſe. Your letters of comfort vnto me in ech point do agree, as though the one were a copie of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water: the Lord geue good increaſe. My deare brethren and felow priſoners here, haue them humbly and hartly commẽded vnto you, and your company, mourning for your miſery, but yet reioycing for your plenteous conſolation & comfort in CHRIST. We are all cherefull and mery vnder our Croſſe, and do lacke no neceſſaries, praiſed be God for his prouidence, and great mercy towardes vs for euermore, Amen.

Gods prouidence toward hys people.

¶To his Wife.

An other Letter of Iohn Careles to his wife.

AS by the great mercy of GOD, at the time of his good will and prouidence appointed (my dearely beloued wife) you and I were ioyned together in the holy and Chriſtian ſtate of Godly matrimony, as well to our great ioy and comfort in CHRIST, as alſo to the encreaſe of his bleſſed Church & faithfull congregation, by hauing lawfull children by and in the ſame, with the which God of his mercy hath bleſſed vs, praiſed be his name therfore: euen ſo now, by his merciful will and diuine ordinaunce, the time is come (ſo farre as I can perceiue) wherin he will, for his glory and our eternall cõfort, diſſolue the ſame and ſeparate vs aſunder againe for a time. Wherfore I thought it good, yea and my bounden duety, by this ſimple letter to prouoke, ſtirre, & admoniſh you, to behaue your ſelfe in all your doynges, ſayings, and thoughtes, moſt thankfully vnto our good God for the ſame. And therfore (my deare wife) as you haue hartely reioyced in the Lord, and oftentimes geuen God thankes for his goodnes in bringyng vs together in his holy ordinaunce: euen ſo now I deſire you, when this time of our ſeparation ſhall come, to reioyce with me in the Lord, and to geue him moſt harty thãkes, that he hath (to his glory and our endles commoditie) ſeparated vs agayne for a litle time, and hath mercyfully taken me vnto him ſelfe forth of this miſerable world, into his celeſtiall kingdome: beleuing and hoping alſo aſſuredly, that God of his goodnes, for his ſonne CHRISTES ſake, will ſhortly bring you and your deare children thether to me, that we may moſt ioyfully together ſing praiſes vnto his glorious name for euer. And yet once againe I deſire you for the loue of God, & as euer you loued me, to reioyce with me, and to geue God continuall thankes for doyng his moſt mercifull will vpon me.

Here is a true marke of a faythfull Chriſtiã, forſaking wife and children for Chriſtes ſake.

I heare ſay that you do oftentimes vſe to repete this godly ſaying: The Lordes will be fulfilled. Doubtles it reioyceth my poore hart to heare that report of you, and for the Lordes ſake vſe that godly prayer continually, and teach your children and familie to ſay the ſame day and night: and not onely to ſay it with your tounges, but alſo with your hart and mind, and ioyfully to ſubmit your wil to Gods wil in very dede, knowing & beleuing aſſuredly that nothing ſhall come to you or any of yours, otherwiſe then it ſhall be his almightie and fatherly good will and pleaſure, and for your eternal comfort and commoditie. Which thing to be moſt true and certaine, Chriſt teſtifieth in his holy Goſpel, ſaying: Are not two litle ſparrowes ſold for a farthing, and yet not one of them ſhall periſh without the will of your heauenly father? And he concludeth ſaying: Feare not ye therfore, for ye are better then many ſparowes. As though he ſhould haue ſayd, if GOD haue ſuch a reſpect & care for a pore ſparow, which is not worth one farthing, that it ſhall not be taken in the lyme twig, nette, or pitfall, vntill it be his good will and pleaſure: you may be well aſſured that not one of you (whom he ſo dearely loueth, that he hath geuen his onely deare ſonne for you) ſhall periſh, or depart forth of this miſerable life without his almightie good will and pleaſure.

True obedience of a faythfull woman.

Math. 10.

Therfore deare wife, put your truſt and confidence wholy and onely in him, and euer pray that his will be fulfilled and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will: the which I pray God it may euer be. Amen. And as for worldly thinges, take you no care, but be you well aſſured the Lord your deare God and father will not ſee you nor yours lacke, if you continue in his loue and childly feare, and keepe a cleare conſcience from all kinde of idolatrie, ſuperſtition and wickednes, as my truſt is that you will do, although it be with the loſſe and daunger of this temporall life. And good Margaret, feare not thẽ that can but kill the body (and yet can they not do that vntill God geue them leaue) but feare to diſpleaſe him that can kill both body and ſoule, and caſt them into hell fire. Let not the remembraunce of your children keepe you from God. The Lord him ſelfe will be a father and a mother, better then euer you or I could haue ben, vnto them. He him ſelfe will do all thinges neceſſary for them: yea as much as rocke the cradell if neede be. He hath geuen his holy Aungels charge ouer them, therfore commit them vnto him. But if you may liue with a cleare conſcience (for els I would not haue you to liue) and ſee the bringing vp of your children your ſelfe, looke that you nourture them in the feare of God, and kepe them farre from Idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and al other kinde of wickednes: and for Gods ſake helpe them to ſome learning, if it be poſſible, that they may increaſe in vertue & godly knowledge, which ſhalbe a better dowry to mary them withall, then any worldly ſubſtance: and when they be come to age, prouide them ſuch huſbandes as feare God, and loue his holy word. I charge you take heede that you match them with no Papiſtes, and if you liue, and marry againe your ſelfe (which thing I would wiſhe you to do if neede require, or els not) good wife take heede how you beſtow your ſelfe, that you and my poore children be not compelled to wickednes. But if you ſhalbe able well to liue Gods true widow, I would counſell you ſo to liue ſtill, for ỹ more quietnes of your ſelfe and your poore children. Take heede Margaret & play the wiſe womans part. You haue warning by other if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my ſwete children vnto Gods moſt mercifull defence. The bleſſing of God be with you, and God ſend vs a mery meetyng together in heauen. Farewell in CHRIST, farewell mine owne deare hartes all. Pray, pray.

Good counſell geuen to hys wife.

Care of children t be caſt vp the Lord.

The mothers dutie in bringing vp her children.

¶To my good brother M. Iohn Bradford.

A ſweete Letter of Iohn Careles to Maſter Bradford, a little before hys Martyrdome.

THe peace of God in IESVS CHRIST, the eternal comfort of his ſwete ſpirite, which hath ſurely ſealed you vnto eternall ſaluation, be with you and ſtrengthen you in your ioyfull iourney towardes the celeſtial Hieruſalem (my deare frend and moſt faythfull brother M, Bradford) to the ſettyng forth of Gods glory, and to your eternall ioy in CHRIST, Amen.

Euer ſince that good M. Philpot ſhewed me your laſt letter (my deare hart in the Lord) I haue continued in great heauines and perplexitie: not for any hurt or diſcommoditie that I can perceaue comming towardes you, vnto whom doubtles, death is made life and great felicitie: but for the great loſſe that Gods Church here in England ſhall ſuſtaine by the taking away of ſo godly, worthy, and neceſſary an inſtrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. Oh that my life & a thouſand ſuch wretched liues mo might go for yours. Oh, why doth GOD ſuffer me and ſuch other Caterpillers to liue, that can do nothing but conſume the almes of the Church, and take away you ſo worthy a workemã & labourer in ỹ Lordes vineyard? But wo be to our ſinnes and great vnthankfulnes, which is the greateſt cauſe of the taking away of ſuch worthy inſtrumentes of God as ſhould ſet forth his glory and inſtruct his people. If we had bene thankefull vnto God for the good Miniſters of his word, we had not ben ſo ſoone depriued both of it and them. The Lord forgeue our great ingratitude and ſinnes, and geue vs true repentaunce and faith, and hold his hand of mercy ouer vs, for his deare ſonne CHRISTES ſake. Take not away all thy true preachers forth of this realme (O Lord) but leaue vs a ſeede, leſt England be made like vnto Sodome and Gomorre, when thy true Lothes be gone.

He mourneth for the loſſe and lacke of Maſter Bradford in the Church.

But what goe I about to mingle your myrth with my mourning, and your iuſt ioy with my deſerued ſorow? If I loued you in deede, as I haue pretended, I ſhoulde ſurely reioyce with you moſt hartely, and prayſe God on your behalfe from the very bottome of my hart: I ſhould praiſe God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and ſhould geue him moſt humble thãkes for your vocation by his Goſpell and your true knowledge in the ſame: I ſhould earneſtly praiſe him for your ſwete iuſtification, whereof you are moſt certaine by Gods grace and ſpirit, and ſhould inſtantly pray vnto him for your glorificatiõ which ſhall ſhortly enſue: I ſhould reioyce and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified by ỹ crowne of Martyrdome, and to be appointed to that honour, to teſtifie his truth, and

He reioyceth for th honour of Maſter Bradfords Martyrdome.

to ſeale it with your bloud: I ſhould highly extolle the Lord who hath geuen you a glorious victory ouer all your enemies, viſible and inuiſible, and hath geuen you grace and ſtrength to finiſhe the tower that you haue begon to build. Finally, if I loued you, I ſhould moſt hartely reioyce and be glad to ſee you deliuered frō this body of ſinne and vile priſon of the fleſh, and brought into that heauēly tabernacle where you ſhalbe ſafely kept, and neuer offend him more.

This & much more ſhould I do, if I had a good hart towardes God, or you his deare child. But (alas) I am an hypocrite, and do ſeeke nothing but mine owne commoditie. I would haue Gods euerlaſting prouidence, geue place to my peuiſhe will and purpoſe, although it were to the hinderāce of his glory and your ſweete commoditie. God forgeue me my horrible ingratitude, ſins, and offences againſt him, and good brother do you forgeue me my great negligence and vnthankefulnes towardes you, and henceforth I promiſe you, I will put my will to Gods wil, and pray that the ſame may be fulfilled in you, ſo long as you be on this earth: and when you are taken hence, I will moſt hartely praiſe the Lord for you, ſo long as I haue my being in this world. Ah my deare hart, now I muſt take my leaue of you, and as I thinke, my *Vltimum Vale* in this life, but in the life to come I am right well aſſured we ſhall merely meete together, & that ſhortly I truſt. And in taking of my leaue of you (my deare hart in the Lord) I ſhal deſire you faithfully to remember all the ſweete meſſages that the Lord our good G O D and moſt deare louing father hath ſent you by me his moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt, which as they are moſt true, ſo ſhall they be moſt truly accompliſhed vpon you eternally: and for the more aſſuraunce and certificate therof to your godly conſcience, he hath cōmaunded me to repete the ſame vnto you againe in his owne name and word.

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Therfore now geue eare and faithfull credence. Harkē O ye heauens & thou earth geue eare, and beare me witnes at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lordes meſſage vnto his deare ſeruaunt, his ſingularly beloued & elect child Iohn Bradford. Iohn Bradford, thou man ſo ſpecially beloued of God, I pronounce and teſtifie vnto thee in the word and name of the Lord Iehouah, that all thy ſinnes what ſoeuer they be, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed, and forgeuen thee, by the mercy of God in *IESVS CHRIST* thine onely Lord and ſwete Sauiour, in whom thou doeſt vndoubtedly beleue. *CHRIST* hath clenſed thee with his bloud, and clothed thee with his righteouſnes, and hath made thee in the ſight of G O D his father, without ſpot or wrinckle: ſo that when the fire doth his appointed office, thou ſhalt be receaued (as a ſwete burnt ſacrifice) into heauē, where thou ſhalt ioyfully remaine in Gods preſēce for euer, as the true inheritour of his euerlaſting kingdome, vnto the which thou waſt vndoubtedly predeſtinate & ordained by the Lordes vnfallible purpoſe and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is moſt true that I haue ſaid, I call the whole Trinitie, the almightie and eternall Maieſtie of God the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt to my record at this preſent: whom I humbly beſech to cōfirme and ſtabliſh in thee ẏ true and liuely feeling of the ſame, Amen. *Selah.*

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Now with a mery hart and a ioyfull ſpirite, ſomthing mixed with lawfull teares, I take my farewell of you, mine own deare brother in the Lord: who ſend vs ſhortly a mery meeting in his kingdome, that we may both ſing praiſes together vnto him with his holy Aungels and bleſſed ſpirites for euer & euer. Farewell thou bleſſed of the Lord, farewell in *CHRIST*: depart vnto thy reſt in the Lord: and pray for me, for Gods ſake.

As I had made an end of this ſimple letter, I heard ſome comfort both of good M. Philpots ſeruaunt and yours: but (alas) I do ſcarcely beleue them. well I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will ſend me ſome comfort to morrow, and if the Lord geue you ſparing to morrow, let me heare foure wordes of comfort from you for Gods ſake. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for euer, Amen.

Yours for euer in the Lord Ieſus, Iohn
Careles, liuyng in hope agaynſt hope.

In readyng this letter of Iohn Careles to M. Bradford, aboue prefixed, wherin he maketh ſo much mentiō of a certeine letter of his ſent to him, & of the great exceedyng cōſolation, he receaued of the ſame, thou wilt wiſhe peraduenture (good louyng reader) in thy mynd, to haue ſome ſight alſo of the ſayd letter of M. Bradford. Wherin to ſatiſfie thy deſire, or rather to preuent thy petition, I haue hereunto annexed the ſame, to the entent thou mayſt not onely vnderſtand the contentes therof, but alſo receaue fruite therof to thy conſolation likewiſe. The purporte of the letter here foloweth.

¶ *Maſter Bradford to Careles,*

A comfortable Letter of M. *Bradford to Ioh. Careles.*

Almightie God our deare father, through and for the merites of his dearely beloued ſonne *IESVS CHRIST*, be mercifull vnto vs, pardon vs our offences, and vnder the winges of his mercie he protect vs from all euill, from henceforth and for euer, Amen.

Deare brother Careles, I hartely pray you to pray to God for me for the pardō of my manifold ſinnes & moſt greuous offences, which neede no other demonſtration vnto you then this, namely that I haue behaued my ſelfe ſo negligently in aunſwering your godly triple letters, which are three witneſſes agaynſt me. God lay not them nor none other thyng to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, not my will but his will be done.

Practiſe of the keyes of the Goſpell.

Concernyng your requeſt of abſolution (my deareſt brother) what ſhall I ſay, but euen as truth is, that the Lord of all mercie and father of all comfort, through the merites and mediation of his deare ſonne thy onely Lord and Sauiour, hath clearely remitted and pardoned all thy offences what ſoeuer they be, that euer hetherto thou haſt committed againſt his maieſtie: and therfore he hath giuen to thee as to his child (deare brother Iohn Careles) in token that thy ſinnes are pardonned: he (I ſay) hath giuen vnto thee a penitent and beleuing hart: that is, a hart which deſireth to repent and beleue: For ſuch a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deede) for a penitent and beleuing hart in deede. wherfore (my good brother) be mery, glad, and of good cheare, for the Lord hath taken away thy ſinnes: thou ſhalt not dye. Go thy wayes: the Lord hath put away thy ſinnes. The Eaſt is not ſo farre from the weſt, as the Lord now hath put thy ſinnes from thee. Looke how the heauēs be in compariſon of the earth, ſo farre hath his mercie preuailed towardes thee his deare child Iohn Careles, through Chriſt the beloued. Say therfore with Dauid: Prayſe the Lord oh my ſoule, and all that is within me prayſe his holy name: for hee hath forgiuen thee al thy ſinnes: as truly he hath. And hereof I deſire to be a witnes. God make me worthy to heare from you the like true meſſage for my ſelfe. Myne owne dearely beloued, you haue great cauſe to thanke God moſt hartely that hath giuen you ſuch repētaunce and faith: the Lord increaſe the ſame in you and me a moſt miſerable wretch, whoſe hart is harder then the Adamant ſtone, or els I could not thus long haue ſtayed from writing vnto you. If I liue and may, I purpoſe and promiſe you to make amendes. Pray for me my moſt deare brother, I hartely beſeche you, and forgiue me my long ſilence. God our father be with vs for euer, Amen.

Yours in the Lord, Ioh. Bradford.

¶ To my moſt deare and faithfull brethren in Newgate, condemned to dye for the teſtimonie of Gods euerlaſtyng truth.

An other Letter of *Iohn Careles* to the conſtant brethren in Newgate cōdemned.

The euerlaſtyng peace of God in *IESVS CHRIST*, the continual ioy, ſtrength and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, & mighty ſpirite, with the encreaſe of faith & liuely feeling of his eternall mercy, bee with you my moſt deare and faithfull louing brother Timmes, and with all the reſt of my deare hartes in the Lord, your faithfull felow ſouldiours, & moſt conſtāt companions in bondes, yea of men condemned moſt cruelly for the ſincere teſtimonie of Gods euerlaſting truth, to the full finiſhing of that good worke, which he hath ſo graciouſly begon in you all, that the ſame may be to his glory, the commoditie of his poore afflicted Church, and to your euerlaſting comfort in him, Amen.

Example of true loue and charity among the Martyrs.

Ah my moſt ſweete and louing brethren, and deareſt harts in the Lord, what ſhall I ſay, or how ſhal I write vnto you in the leaſt point or part, to vtter the great ioy that my poore hart hath conceaued in God, through the moſt godly example of your Chriſtian conſtācie and ſincere confeſſion of *CHRISTES* veritie: Truly my toung cā not declare, nor my penne expreſſe the abundance of ſpirituall mirth and gladnes, that my mind and inwardmā hath felte, euer ſince I heard of your hartie boldnes, and modeſt behauiour before that bloudy butcher in the time of all your craftie examinations, eſpecially at your cruell condemnation in their curſed Conſiſtorie place. Bleſſed be God the father of all mercy, and praiſed be his name, for that hee hath ſo graciouſly performed vppon you his deare darlinges, his moſt ſweete and comfortable promiſes, in not only geuing you the cōtinuall aide, ſtrēgth, and comfort of his holy and mightie ſpirite, to the faithfull confeſſion of his CHRIST, for whoſe cauſe (O moſt happy men) ye are condemned to die: but alſo in geuing you ſuch a mouth and wiſedome, as al your wicked enemies were not able to reſiſt, but were faine to crie: peace, peace, and not ſuffer you to ſpeake. As truly as God liueth (my deare brethren) this is not onely vnto you a moſt euident probation that God is on our ſide, and a ſure certaintie of your euerlaſting ſaluation in him, but alſo to your cruell aduerſaries (or rather Gods curſed enemies) a plaine demonſtration of their iuſt eternal wo and damnation, which they ſhall be full ſure ſhortly to feele, when ye ſhall full ſweetely poſſeſſe the place of felicitie and pleaſure prepared for you from the beginning.

The enemyes not able to withſtand the wiſedome of God in hys Sainctes, but compelled to bid them holde their peace.

Therfore (my dearely beloued) ceaſe not ſo long as ye be in this life, to praiſe the lord with a luſtie courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodnes, he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignitie, to ſuffer for his ſake, not onely the loſſe of goodes, wife and children, long impriſonment, cruel oppreſſion &c: but alſo the very depriuation of this mortall life, with the diſſolution of your bodies in the fire. The which is ẏ greateſt promotion that God can bring you or any other vnto in this vale of miſery, yea ſo great an honour, as the higheſt angell in heauen is not permitted to haue: and yet hath the Lord (for his deare ſonne CHRISTES ſake) reputed you worthy of the ſame, yea and that before me and many other, which haue both long looked & longed for the ſame.

Iohn Careles longeth to dye a Martyr in the Goſpels cauſe.

Ah my moſt deare brother Timmes, whoſe time reſteth altogether in the handes of thy Lord, in a ful happy time cameſt thou into this troubleſome world, but in a much more bleſſed houre ſhalt thou depart forth of the ſame: ſo that the ſwete ſaying of Salomon, or rather of the holy ghoſt, ſhalbe full well verified vpon thee, yea and all thy faithfull felowes: Better is the day of death (ſaith hee) then the day of birth. This ſaying can not be verified vpō euery mā, but vpon thee my deare brother, and ſuch as thou art, whoſe death is moſt precious before God, and full deare ſhall your bloud be in his ſight. Bleſſed be GOD for thee my deare brother Timmes, and bleſſed be God againe that euer I knew thee, for in a moſt happy time I came firſt into thy company. Pray for me deare brother, pray for me, that God will once vouch me worthy of that great dignitie whereunto he hath now brought you.

Eccle. 7.

Of ẏ Martyrdome of thys *Tymmes*, read before pag. 2075.

Ah my louing brother Drake, whoſe ſoule draweth now nigh vnto God, of whom you haue receaued the ſame, full glad may you be that euer G O D gaue you a life to leaue for his ſake: Full well will he reſtore it to you againe in a thouſād fold more glorious wiſe. Praiſe God good brother, as you haue great cauſe, and pray for me, I beſech you, which am ſo much vnworthy (ſo great are my ſinnes) of that great dignitie whereunto the Lord hath called you and the reſt of your godly brethrē: whom I beſech you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full wel: praiſed be God for his gifts, which you haue hartely applied to the ſetting forth of his glory and the commoditie of his poore afflicted Church. Which thing ſhal ſurely redounde to your euerlaſting ioy and comfort, as you ſhal moſt effectually feele or euer it be long, though the wicked of the world iudge farre otherwiſe.

The Martyrdome of *Drake. ibid.*

Ah mine owne hartes, and moſt dearely beloued brethren, Cauell, Ambroſe, and both the Spurges: bleſſed bee the Lord on your behalf, and praiſed be his name: which hath geuen you ſuch a glorious victory. Full valiant haue you ſhewed your ſelues in the Lordes fight, and ful faithfull in your painfull ſeruice. Faint not but go on forward as ye haue moſt godly begon, for great ſhall your reward be at the end of this your trauell. Ah my good faithfull brethren all, what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall I write vnto you, but euen the ſame that good Elizabeth did ſay to her godly kinneſwoman Mary the bleſſed Mother of CHRIST: Happy art thou (quoth that good woman) which haſt beleued: for all thinges which the Lord hath ſpoken to thee, ſhalbe fulfilled. So I ſay to you (my deare hartes in the Lord) happy are ye al, yea twiſe happy ſhall ye be for euermore, becauſe ye haue ſtedfaſtly beleued the moſt ſwete promiſes which G O D the father hath made vnto you with his owne mouth, in that hee hath promiſed you (which are the faithfull ſeede of the beleuing Abraham) that ye ſhalbe bleſſed euer, world without end. The promiſes of God your ſwete father, as ye do beleue, ſo do ye beare record that God is true. The teſtimonie wherof ye haue full worthely borne to the world, and ſhortly will full ſurely ſeale the ſame with your bloud, yea euen to morow, I do vnderſtand. Oh conſtant Chriſtians: oh valiant ſouldiours of the high Captaine IESVS CHRIST, who for your ſake hath conquered the deuill, death, ſinne and hell, and hath geuen you full victory ouer them for euermore. Oh worthy witneſſes and moſt glorious Martyrs, whoſe inuincible faith hath ouercome that proud, ſturdie, bragging prince of the world, and all his wicked army, ouer whom ye ſhall ſhortly triumph for euermore. Ah my ſweete harts, the euerlaſting treaſures are full ſurely layd vp for you in heauen. The immarceſſible and moſt glorious crowne of victorie is already made and prepared for you, to bee ſhortly clapt vpon al your happy heades. The holy Angels of your heauenly father are already appointed to conduct your ſweete ſoules into Abrahams boſome. All the heauenly hoſt reioyceth already, for that they ſhall ſhortly receaue you with ioy and felicitie into their bleſſed felowſhip. *Selah.*

The Martyrdome of *Cauell*, *Ambroſe*, and both the *Spurges*, read in ẏ ſame page. 2075.

Luke. 1.

He enco
rageth
Gods
Martyr
vnto th
death.

Reioyce with double ioy, and be glad my deare brethren, for doubtles ye haue more cauſe then can be expreſſed. But (alas) I that for my ſinnes am left behind, may lye and lament with the holy Prophet ſaying: Wo is me that the dayes of my ioyfull reſt are prolonged. Ah curſed Sathan, which hath cauſed me ſo ſore to offend my moſt deare louing father, wherby my exile and baniſhment is ſo much prolonged. Oh CHRIST my aduocate, pacifie thy fathers wrath which I haue iuſtly deſerued, that he may take me home to him in his ſweete mercy. Oh that I might now come home vnto thee with my bleſſed brethren. well, thy will (Oh Lord) be effectuouſly fulfilled, for it is onely good, and turneth all thinges to the beſt, for ſuch as thou in thy mercies haſt choſen.

Pſal. 11

And now farewel my deare hartes, moſt happy in the Lord. I truſt in my good God, yet ſhortly to ſee you in the celeſtiall Citie, whereof vndoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free Citizens. Though ye be yet with vs for a litle time, your very home is in heauen, where your treaſure doth remaine with your ſweete Lord and redemer IESVS CHRIST, whoſe calling you haue heard with the eares of your hartes, and therfore ye ſhall neuer come into iudgement, but paſſe from death to life. Your ſinnes ſhall neuer be remembred, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great: for your Sauiour hath caſt them all into the bottome of the Sea: hee hath remoued them from you as farre as the Eaſt is frō the weſt, and his mercy hath much more preuailed ouer you, then is diſtaunce betwene heauen and earth: and he hath geuen you for an euerlaſting poſſeſſion of ẏ ſame, all his holines righteouſnes, and iuſtification, yea and the holy ghoſt into your hartes, wherewith ye are ſurely ſealed vnto the day of redēption, to certifie you of your eternall election, and that ye are his true adopted ſonnes, wherby ye may boldly crie vnto God: Abba deare father, for euermore: ſo that now no creature in heauen, earth, nor hell ſhalbe able to accuſe you before the throne of the heauenly King. Sathan is now caſt out from you: he him ſelfe is iudged and hath no part in you. He will once more bite you by the heele, and then he hath done, for at that time you ſhal ſquiſe his head through your owne good CHRIST, and ſo haue you finall victorie for euermore. In ioyful triumph wherof, ye ſhall ſwetely aſcende into the place of eternall reſt, whether your eldeſt brother CHRIST is gone before you, to take poſſeſſion for you, and to prepare your place vnder the holy aultar, with Cranmer, Latymer, Ridley, Rogers, Hoper, Saunders, Farrer, Taylour, Bradford, Philpot, with many other, who wil be ful glad of your comming, to ſee vj. mo of their appointed number, that their bloud may ſo much the ſooner bee reuenged vppon them that dwell on the earth.

Pſal. 10

The tri-
umph of
Martyrs.

Gen. 3.

Thus I make an end, committing you all to Gods moſt mercifull defence, whoſe quarell ye haue defended, whoſe cauſe ye haue promoted, whoſe glory ye haue ſet foorth, and whoſe name ye haue conſtantly confeſſed. Farewell for a while my deare hartes in the Lord: I wil make as much haſt after you as I may. All our deare brethren ſalute you. They pray for you and praiſe God for you continually. Bleſſed bee the dead that dye in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, ſaith the holy ghoſt, and their workes folow them.

Apoc. 11.

Your owne, Iohn Careles, a moſt vnprofitable ſeruant of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray.

¶In the page. 2021. ye heard before the letter of Tho. Whittell written to Iohn Careles, wherein he yeldeth great thankes vnto hym, for the ſingular ioy and conſolation receaued by his letters. The copy of which letters ſent vnto hym, if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, here vnder followeth, to ſatiſfie his deſire.

¶To M. Greene, M. Whittell, and certaine other priſoners in Newgate, condemned and ready to be burnt for teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus.

THe euerlaſting peace in IESVS CHRIST, the continuall comfort of his moſt pure and holy ſpirite, be with you my moſt deare and faithfull brethren and ſiſters of Newgate, the Lordes appointed ſhepe vnto the ſlaughter, to the good performance of the great and notable worke of the Lord, which he hath ſo graciouſly begon in you all: that the ſame may redounde to the ſetting forth of his glory, and to the commoditie of his Churche, and to your owne euerlaſting comfort in him. So be it.

Ah my deare hartes, and moſt faithful brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, what high laudes and praiſe, yea what humble and continuall thankes am I bound to geue to God our father for you and on your moſt happie behalf, who ſo mightely hath magnified him ſelf in you thus far forth, in geuing you his holy and mighty ſpirit, to the cōſtant confeſſing of CHRISTES veritie, euen to the cruell condemnation, and I doubt not but he will do the ſame to the death. Oh happie and bleſſed are you that euer you were borne, that the Lord wil vouch you worthie of this great dignitie, to dye for his ſake. Doubtles it is the greateſt honour that God can geue you in this life. Yea if they be ſo bleſſed of God that die in the Lord, as the holy ghoſt ſaith they be: how much more bleſſed and happie then are you that die not onely in the Lord, but alſo for the Lord. Oh that it were the good will of God that the good houre were now come, that I might go with you. Ah that my ſinnes made me not vnworthy of ſuch an excellent dignitie.

Be thankefull deare hartes, be thankefull and reioyce in the Lord: for mightie is his mercy towardes you, and great is your reward in heauē, the which you like faithfull perſons, haue plucked to you with a godly violence of an inuincible faith. Oh worthy warriours of the moſt high Captain: oh conſtant confeſſours of the euerlaſting veritie: how glorious a crown of victory ſhall you ſhortly receaue, which is prepared for all ſuch as do continue to the end? Oh you ſwete Saintes of the Lord how precious ſhall your death be in his ſight? Oh how deare are your ſoules to your redemer, in whoſe hand they ſhall moſt ioyfully reſt, and the paynes of death ſhall neuer touch you? Oh how bleſſed ſhall you be, when CHRIST ſhall appeare, at the which time you ſhall receaue your bodies againe full of immortalitie? Oh how ioyfull ſhall you be, when CHRIST, according to his promiſe, ſhall knowledge you before his father and his holy Aungels, as you haue moſt conſtantly confeſſed him to bee your Lord and onely Sauiour before men?

Oh bleſſed Greene, thou meeke and louing lambe of the Lord, how happie art thou to be appointed to die for his ſake? A full deintie diſhe art thou for the Lordes owne toth. Freſhe and greene ſhalt thou be in the houſe of the Lord, and thy fruites ſhal neuer wither nor decay. Although thou go here forth ſowyng thy good fruites with teares, the time ſhall come that thou ſhalt reape with ioy and gladnes, the fruites of euerlaſting life, and that without ceaſing. Be mery therfore and feare not. for it is thy fathers will to geue thee a kingdome, whereunto he hath choſen thee before the foūdations of the world were layd.

Oh happie Miniſter, thou mā of God, how glad mayeſt thou be of Gods gracious fauour, which hath preuēted thee in the day of thy triall? Oh happie Peter, whoſe part thou haſt well played: therfore thy reward and portion ſhalbe like vnto his. Now haſt thou good experiēce of mans infirmitie, but much more profe & taſt, yea ſenſe and feeling of Gods aboundaunt bottomles mercy. Although Sathan deſired to ſifte thee, yet CHRIST thy good Captaine, prayed that thy faith ſhould not faile. Gods ſtrength is made perfect by thy weaknes, and his grace is ſufficient for thee his deare child. Thine example did ſo encourage and ſtrength thy poore brethrē, that God is euery way glorified by thee, and ſhortly will he glorifie thee with him ſelfe, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect dearling, before the world was made. Therfore reioyce and be glad, for thou haſt good occaſion in finding ſuch fauour in his ſight.

This is moſt true (Oh my other brethren whom I do not know, neither haue I heard much of you) happie are you that euer you were borne, and bleſſed be our GOD which hath geuē you ſuch victory ouer the bloudy beaſt. Shortly ſhall you be clothed in large white garmentes, and fine raynes of righteouſnes, and ſo ſhall you folow the Lambe on mount Sion with new ſonges of mirth and melodie, for your deliuerie forth of Sathans power and tyrannie. God for euermore be bleſſed for you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will: for he neuer failed them that put their truſt in him.

Apo.xix.

Oh my deare and faithfull Siſter Ioane Warner, what ſhall I ſay to thee? Thy triall hath bene great: thy victorie in CHRIST hath bene notable. Thou haſt ouercome many a ſharpe ſhower and ſtorme. Shortly ſhalt thou arriue at the hauen of quiet reſt, and receiue a reward due to a conſtant Martyr. Thou ſhalt go home to thy heauēly father, and poſſeſſe for euer the inheritaunce whiche CHRIST hath purchaſed for thee, where thy earthly parentes be, ſtill looking for thee, whiche haue triumphed ouer Antichriſt moſt victoriouſly. Oh bleſſed parentes of happie children, which haue ſhewed ſuch an example, as the like hath ben ſeldome ſene. I ſalute thee deare Siſter of like conſtant mind: whoſe conſtant example is worthy of continuall memory. Praiſed be God for you my owne ſwete Siſters, whiche hath made you to play ſuch wiſe Virgins partes. He hath plentifully poured the oyle of his ſpirite into the lampes of your faith, ſo that the light therof ſhall neuer be extinct. You ſhall enter with your bridgrome into euerlaſting ioy, whereunto you were choſen in him from the beginnyng.

Of Ioane Warner, read before pag. 2030.

He meaneth *Eliz. Foſter,* pag. 2030.

Mat. xxv.

Oh my deare brethren and ſiſters, you bleſſed Saintes of the Lord, how much and how depely am I bound to praiſe God for you both day and night. Pray pray for me (my deare hartes) for the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to folow your trace. Oh that I had runne ẏ race of my life, as farre as you haue done yours, and were as nigh my iourneyes ende as you bee vnto yours. But alas, I lye like the lame man at the pooles ſide by Salomons porch, and euery man goeth into the place of health before me. But God wil appoint me one, one day to put me in. I truſt my Lord of Lōdons Colehouſe is emptie, and all his officers idle. Therfore they muſt ſhortly fetch more ſhepe to the Shambles: for he is the common ſlaughter ſlaue of all England. But happie are you that are paſſed through the pikes, and deliuered out of his handes, and from all the aungels of the darkenes of this world, whiche long tempted you in the wildernes of the ſame: but now ſhall the aungels of GOD come and miniſter vnto you, for they are your ſeruantes to hold you vp in their handes, that you ſhall not hurte your foote, no nor one heare of your head ſhall periſhe. They ſhall cary you vp to heauen in a fierie chariot, though you leaue your mantell behind you for a tyme, til God reſtore the ſame to you agayne in a more ample and glorious ſort.

Iohn. v.

B. Boner called the ſlaughter ſlaue of England.

Pſal. lx.
iiij. Reg. ij.

Thus in haſt, as it doth appeare, I am conſtrained to make an ende, committyng you all to Gods moſt mercifull defence: who euer haue you in his bleſſed kepyng, deſiring you all to remember me in your godly and faithfull prayers, as I will not forget you in mine by Gods grace. The bleſſing of God be with you al my deare brethren and ſiſters. All our brethren and felow priſoners here, haue thē moſt hartely cōmended vnto you, & pray for you without ceaſing. God ſend vs a mery meting in his kingdome, Amen.

By your brother and vnfained louer Iohn Careles priſoner, abydyng his moſt mercifull will and pleaſure. Pray, pray, pray.

¶To my deare and faithfull brother William Tymmes priſoner in Newgate.

THe euerlaſting peace of God in IESVS CHRIST, with the continuall ioy, comfort, and ſtrength of his ſwete ſpirite, be multiplied, and daly more and more encreaſed in your good hart (my moſt faithfull & deare brother Tymmes) to the full quieting of your conſcience, and beating backe of all the fierie dartes of the wicked, that you may ſhortly receaue the glorious crowne of victory, and in the ſame triumph ouer all your enemies for euermore, Amen.

An other Letter of *Iohn Careles* priuately written to hys bedfellow *W. Timmes.*

I can not expreſſe the exceeding great ioy and conſolation of my poore hart, cōſidering the meruelous workes of God moſt graciouſly wrought vpon you, not onely in prouing you and tryeng your faith by his great & huge croſſes both inwardly and outwardly, but alſo in geuing you ſo great conſolation & conſtancie in the middes of the ſame. Faithfull is God and true of his promiſes, who hath ſaid: That he will neuer ſuffer his choſen children to be tẽpted aboue their ſtrength, but in the middes of their temptation wil make an outſcape for them, by ſuch meanes as may make to his glory and their euerlaſting conſolation. My deare hart, great cauſe haue you to be of good comfort, for I ſee in you as liuely a tokẽ of Gods euerlaſting loue and fauour in *IESVS CHRIST*, as euer I perceiued in any man. In reſpect wherof I do euen with my hart, loue, honour and reuerence you, beſeching God for his glorious names ſake, in the bowels and bloud of our Lord and onely Sauiour *IESVS CHRIST*, to finiſh his good worke in you, as I doubt not but he wil do, according to his vnfallible promiſes: yea I am well aſſured therof, for aſmuch as you haue ſo effectually receiued his holy ſpirite into your hart, as a pledge and ſure ſeale of your eternall redemption, and a teſtimonie of your adoption in *CHRIST IESV*. For which cauſe Sathan ſo ſore enuieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce ordinaunce againſt you, thinking therby vtterly to deſtroy the inuincible forte of your faith foũded moſt firmly vpõ the vnmoueable rocke *CHRIST*, againſt the which, the deuill, ſinne, nor yet hell gates ſhall neuer preuaile. *Selah.*

Gods children neuer tempted aboue their ſtrength.

He confirmeth *W. Tymmes* being condemned, to the day of hys Martyrdome.

Therfore mine owne bowels in the Lord, be not diſcomforted for this your conflict, whiche doubtles ſhall greatly encreaſe your crowne of glorie, triumphe, and victorie: but take a good hart vnto you, and buckle boldly with Sathan both in him ſelfe and in his ſuttle members. It is the very Diuine ordinaunce of God, that all his regenerate childrẽ ſhalbe tempted, proued, and tried: as we ſee by the example of our Sauiour *CHRIST*, who as ſoone as he was Baptiſed, was ſtraight wayes led of the holy ghoſt into the wildernes, there to be tempted of the deuill. But there got he ſuch a glorious victorie of Sathã, that he could neuer ſince finally preuaile againſt any of his poore mẽbers, but in euery aſſault that he maketh either inwardly or outwardly, he getteth a foile and taketh ſhame: ſo that now he rageth with all the ſpite poſſible, ſpecially becauſe he knoweth his time is but ſhort. S. James teſtifieth that he is but a very coward, that will ſoone flie if he bee faithfully reſiſted. And as for his tẽpting tooles, ỹ Lord hath made thẽ manifeſt vnto vs, ſo that he can not deceiue vs, though he aſſault vs: for as S. Paul ſaith, His very thoughtes are not vnknowen to vs, as it doth in you largely appeare, praiſed be the Lordes name therfore.

It is the nature of Gods children to bee tempted.

Math. iiij.

Iames. iiij.

Sathans tempting tooles.

ij. Cor. ij.

You ſee deare brother, that now to moleſt you and ſuch as you are, that be euen paſſing from this vale of miſerie, hee hath but two wayes, or two peeces of ordinaunce to ſhoote at you, with the which he can not hurt you becauſe you haue ij. bulwarkes to defend you. The firſt of theſe terrible gunnes that Sathan hath ſhotte at you, is the very ſame that he continually ſhooteth at me, that is to ſay, feare, and infidelitie for the vgleſomnes of death, and horror of my ſinnes, which bee ſo many, greuous, and great. But this pellet is eaſily put away with the ſure ſhield of faith in ỹ moſt precious death & bloudſheeding of our deare Lord and onely Sauiour *IESVS CHRIST*, whom the father hath geuen vnto vs wholy to bee ours for euermore, and with him hath geuen vs all thinges, as Paul ſaith: ſo that though we bee neuer ſo great ſinners, yet *CHRIST* is made vnto vs holynes, righteouſnes, and iuſtification. He hath clothed vs with all his merites, mercies, and moſt ſwete ſufferinges, and hath taken vnto him all our miſerie, wretchednes, ſinne and infirmitie. So that if any ſhould now be condemned for the ſame, it muſt nedes be *IESVS CHRIST*, which hath taken them vpon him. But in deede he hath made ſatiſfaction for them to the vttermoſt iote: ſo that for his ſake they ſhall neuer be imputed to vs, if they were a thouſãd times ſo many mo as they be. This do you moſt effectuouſly feele and know, deare brother, a great deale better then I can tell you, bleſſed be God therfore.

Two principall pellets of Sathã wherby he aſſaulteth Gods ſeruauntes.

1. Feare of ſinne & death, and infidelitie of Gods promiſes.

Remedie agaynſt feare, and infidelitie.

And now Sathan, ſeing that he can not preuaile with his boiſtrous battery againſt this bulwarke of faith, which doth ſo quenche all his fierie dartes that they can do you no harme, but rather do you good ſeruice to caſt you downe vnder the mightie hand of God, that he may take you vp by his onely grace and power, and ſo you may render him all the glory by *IESVS CHRIST*, (whiche thing the enemy can not abide in no wiſe) therfore hee ſhooteth of his other peece moſt peſtilẽt, to prouoke you to put ſome part of your truſt & confidence in your ſelfe, and in your owne holines and righteouſnes, that you might that way robbe God of his glorie, *CHRIST* of his honour and dignitie of his death. But bleſſed be the Lord God, you haue alſo a full ſtrong bulwarke to beate backe this peſtiferous pellet alſo, euen the pure law of God, which proueth the beſt of vs all damnable ſinners in the ſight of GOD, if he would enter into iudgement with vs, according to the ſeueritie of the ſame, and that euen our beſt workes are polluted & defiled in ſuch ſorte, as the Prophet deſcribeth them. with which maner of ſpeaking, our freewill Phariſeis are much offended: for it felleth al mans righteouſnes to the ground (I had like to haue ſaid to the bottome of hel) and extolleth onely the righteouſnes of *IESVS CHRIST*, which is allowed before God, and is freely geuen to all thoſe that firmely beleue, as bleſſed be God, you do.

The ſecond pell of Sath is confidence an truſt in ou own good workes.

Remedie agaynſt t 2. pellet.

Eſa. lxiiij.

Ah my good brother Tymmes, Sathan hath put his hand in a wrong boxe when he beginneth to tempt you, either to vaine glory or miſtruſt: for you are an old beaten ſouldiour, and haue had good experience of theſe maner of temptations both by your ſelfe, and other, whom you know well were the beloued of God. Be of good chere therfore, deare hart, be of good chere, for now Sathan hath wrought all his malice: he hath done all that he can, and hath ſhotte of all his laſt peeces wherewith hee had thought to haue done moſt miſchief: but now he ſeeth he can not preuaile (the ſtrong tower of your faith being ſo inuincible) he will plucke vp all his tentes, & get him to ſome other place to practiſe the like aſſaultes: and then wil the aungels of God come and miniſter vnto you the moſt ſwete and heauenly conſolations of the holy ghoſt. To him therfore who is able to do exceding abondantly aboue all that euer we can deſire or thinke, I do moſt hartily commit you, with all the reſt of your godly priſon felowes, who comfort, ſtrengthen, and defend you with his grace and mightie operation of his holy ſpirite, as he hath hetherto done, that you hauing a moſt glorious victorie ouer the ſuttle Serpent and all his wicked ſeede, may alſo receiue the crowne of glory and immortalitie prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is ſo ſurely kept for you in the handes of him whoſe promiſe is vnfallible, that the Deuill, ſinne, death, or hell ſhall neuer be able to depriue you of the ſame. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for euermore, Amen. Pray, pray, pray, for me.

Sathan o uercome Gods Saincte

Your owne for euer Iohn Careles,

To my good Syſter. M. C.

The peace of God in *IESVS CHRIST*, the eternall comfortes of his ſwete ſpirite, be with you my deare and faithfull Siſter, to the full accompliſhment of that good worke which he hath moſt graciouſly begon in you, that the ſame may be effectual to the ſetting forth of his glory, and to your euerlaſting conſolation in him, Amen.

An other letter of *Iohn Careles* to *M. Cotto* a faythfull ſiſter and fauourer o the goſpell.

My louing and faithfull Siſter in the Lord, I thanke you for all your louing kindnes ſhewed vnto me, but ſpecially for your godly remembraunce of me in your feruent and faithfull prayers, and for your moſt godly and comfortable letter, whereby you do not onely much encreaſe my ioy and comfort, but alſo put me in remembraunce of my duetie towardes you. Bleſſed be the Lord our God, which of his great mercy hath ſo beautified his Church in theſe our dayes, that euen vnto many godly women, hee hath geuen moſt excellent giftes of knowledge & vnderſtanding of his truth, ſo that they are not onely well able to enforme their owne conſciences in all thinges neceſſarie to ſaluation, but alſo moſt ſwetely to comfort their ſorowfull brethren and ſiſters that ſuſtaine any trouble for the teſtimonie of Gods truth, yea & that which is more, euen in the middeſt of their great conflictes of conſcience. Of which moſt happie number of godly and vertuous womẽ, my deare hart, you are one, and that of the chiefeſt, being plentifully endued with the giftes of Gods moſt gracious ſpirite, as it doth full well appeare in your dayly doinges, GOD onely haue the praiſe therfore.

Gods great gift to wome

For aſmuch then as GOD hath geuen you the gift to write, I ſhal moſt hartly deſire you to let me heare from you ſometimes, be it neuer ſo litle, for truly I take great comfort and courage thereby, ſpecially in my poore conſcience, which is ſore aſſaulted of ſubtill Sathan, and in a maner oppreſſed of my ſinnes. Pray deare ſiſter, that God may geue me true, harty, and earneſt repentaunce, and increaſe my faith, for they are both the good giftes of

Note ho God ſome time geueth comfort by weaker veſſels.

God onely, & farre paſſe the reach of my power to take at my pleaſure. Therfore deare ſiſter, if you wil helpe me to begge the ſame of our deare louing father, I am ſure that he both cã and will geue them me in his good time. And as for the feare of death or terrour of the fire, I moſt hartely thanke my good God, I feele it not: onely it is mine owne ſinnes and vnthankfulnes, which holdeth hard battel, and wageth ſtrong warre againſt me, which onely goeth about to ſeparate me from my good captain *CHRIST*, that I ſhould not enioy his glorious victorie: but God being on my ſide (as I am ſure he is) that can not continually preuaile againſt me. Though God for a time permit Sathan to take his pleaſure on me, as hee did vppon Iob, yet I doubt not but in the ende all ſhall turne to my profit, through the merites of our Lord and Sauiour *IESVS CHRIST*: to whoſe moſt mercifull defence I commit you deare ſiſter, with all the reſt of the Lordes elect. Farewell in *CHRIST*.

Your vnfaynedly, Iohn Careles.
Pray, pray, pray, pray.

¶ To my deare brother. T. V.

THe euerlaſting peace of God in *IESVS CHRIST*, the continuall comfortes of his moſt pure and holy ſpirite, be with you my moſt deare frend and faithfull brother V. to the increaſe of your faith, and comfort of your ſorowfull ſpirite, which is to the father a ſweete ſacrifice through *CHRIST*: for whoſe ſake he will neuer deſpiſe your humble and contrite hart, but doth fauourably accept the ſame, and will in moſt ample wiſe performe the deſire, therof to his glory and your eternal cõfort in him.

In the middes of my manifold croſſes and troubles, wherein I am conſtrained to flye vnto God for refuge and ſuccour by earneſt and faithful prayer, I can not forget you (my deare harte in the Lord) but eſteming your ſtate for mine owne, I do poure forth my complaint for you, as I do for my ſelf, & rather more, as I thinke preſente neede doth require, deſiring moſt hartely to heare of the good ſucceſſe of the ſame in you. The Lord GOD for his great mercies ſake, accompliſh my deſire, as I doubt not but he will, when he ſeeth it good and moſt to his glory, and to your comfort and commoditie. Oh that I might once ſee you ſo mery in *CHRIST* as you haue iuſt cauſe to be, that you might ſay with Dauid: Awake my glory, awake Lute and Harpe, bryng foorth the Pſalter with the mery ſong, that I might ſing a new ſong of prayſe and thankeſgeuyng vnto the Lord for the light of his fauourable countenance, his helpe and deliuerance. Oh, that would refreſh me as a moſt precious oyle, and gladden my poore harte, which is aſſaulted with ſorow, moe wayes then one. I doubt not but the ſame ſhall by your meanes receiue much comfort, though for a time it doth mourne with you, that we may be made both glad together, yea and that with ſuch gladnes as ſhal continue for euer. But in the meane ſpace (I ſay) moſt happie are you that ſo hartely mourne the abſence of the bridgrome. If you were not a weddyng child, you could neuer do it. Onely *CHRISTES* true Diſciples do mourne for his abſence: therfore ſhall they doubtles reioyce at his preſence, which will be ſo much more ioyful, by how much the abſence is more ſorowfull.

Therfore my good brother, take a good hart vnto you and be of good chere. Say with the Prophet Dauid: O my ſoule why art thou ſo heauie, and why art thou ſo diſquieted with in me? O put thy truſt in God, for I will yet geue him thankes for the helpe of his louyng countenance, and becauſe he is my God. Read Pſalm. the. 41. and. 42. for your comfort, and conſider that the holy king and Prophet, at the making and firſt ſaying of them, was euen in the ſame caſe that you are now in: but he ſtill comforted him ſelf with the ſweete promiſes of God: and ſo do you my deare harte, for to you they do as well pertaine as they did to him, and as ſurely ſhall they be performed vpon you, as they were vpon him: for he is one God and deare father vnto you both, and for his mercie, truth, and promiſe ſake, he muſt nedes make good vnto you all that he hath ſaid.

If his loue towardes you, ſtode in the reſpect of your owne merite or worthines, you might well mourne, lament and complaine: yea you had good cauſe to doubt, feare, and miſtruſt. But ſeing he loueth you onely for and in *IESVS CHRIST*, who is your whole holines, righteouſnes, and redemption: lay away all mourning, lamenting and complaining: baniſh from you all feare, miſtruſt and infidelitie, and know that as long as *CHRIST* doth continue Gods ſonne, ſo long muſt the loue of the father cõtinue towardes you immutable, and his good will vnchaungeable, and can not be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is moſt true, that as long as the cauſe of any thing doth laſt, ſo long muſt the effect remaine: but *CHRIST* is the whole cauſe, why the father loueth you, and he alſo continueth for euer, then muſt I nedes conclude that the loue of the father continueth towardes you for euer, and (as the Pſalmiſt moſt ioyfully ſo often ſingeth) his mercy endureth for euer and euer.

Chriſt onely is ȳ cauſe why his father loueth vs.

This is moſt true, mine owne deare hart, although the Lord for a time hyde it from your ſenſes, that you might be the more earneſt in prayer to him for the feelyng of it, and alſo the more thankeful for it when he doth geue the liuely taſt of it, as doubtles he will do ere euer it be lõg: and then ſhall you be well hable to comfort other in the ſame ſtate that you are now in, with the ſame comfort wherewith you are and further ſhalbe cõforted of God.

Why God ſometyme hydeth him ſelfe from vs.

Heb. 12.

Therfore, lift vp your handes that are now a litle fallen downe, and ſtretch forth the weake knees of your troubled minde, which now mourneth with a godly mourning, and therfore ſhall it be full well comforted with that ſweete peace of God which paſſeth all vnderſtandyng: and you are ſure already to enioy the bleſſing that *CHRIST* gaue vnto the godly mourners of Syon vppon the mount, at the firſt Sermõ that he made. Oh happy V. in whoſe mourning company I had rather be, thẽ in the houſe of mirth and bancketting of ſuch as ſee not what cauſe they haue to mourne and be ſorie. But yet my good brother, vſe a meaſure in this your godly mournyng, and make not your faithfull frendes to much ſorie for you. Let the perſuaſions of ſuch godly louers as you do dayly company with all, or rather the perſuaſions of the holy Ghoſt by them, moue you to ſome godly mirth and reioycing. Conſider that you are commaunded of God by ȳ mouth of S. Paul, therto: Reioyce in the Lord (ſaith he) and I ſay agayne reioyce. Marke how hee doubleth the ſentence, that we may perceiue it is a moſt earneſt and neceſſarie thing hee requireth. Obey the commaundement of God in this behalfe: wherin as you can not but highly pleaſe him, ſo I aſſure you, you ſhall very much reioyce my poore harte, and the hartes of other which pray for you with mourning teares, and make that cruell enemie Sathan and all your aduerſaries ſorie, which will reioyce and laugh to ſee you mourne. Oh my good brother, let it manifeſtly appeare that the Lord of his great mercy hath heard our faithful and hartie requeſtes for you. Oh how would that reioyce me in the middes of my troubles?

Eccle. 7.

Meaſure ought to be in mourning.

Phil. 4.

Example of Chriſtian charitie and compaſſiõ towardes hys afflicted brother.

Therfore now to conclude, becauſe the darknes conſtraineth me to make an ende for this time, I ſay my deare and faithfull brother V. in reſpect of the great cauſe you haue of your owne part through *CHRIST*, and for the glorie and honour of almighty God: the comfort, ioy, and reioycing of your deare brethren and Siſters in *CHRIST*: alſo your owne duetie by the commaundement of God: and laſt of all to vexe, moleſt and greue Sathan with all, reioyce in the Lord, and be moſt hartely glad in him, who is wholy yours and you are his and ſhalbe for euermore. *Selah.*

Farewell mine owne bowels in the Lord, and praiſe God with ioyfull lippes and a mery harte, and pray for me his moſt vnprofitable ſeruant, which haue more cauſe concerning my ſelfe, to lament, then any one man liuing: but my good bridgrome is preſent, and biddeth me caſt away my mourning garmentes, and therfore I muſt nedes be mery with him: and ſo he biddeth you to be by my mouth, for he is preſent with you, although for ſorow you can not know him, as Magdalene could not in the garden, vntill he ſpake vnto her. The Lord God ſpeake the wordes of comfort in your hart, and open the eyes of your minde, that you may perfectly perceiue and feele his bleſſed preſence, and ſo reioyce in the ſame for euermore, Amen. Comfort your hart in *CHRIST*, and caſt your care vpon him, for he careth for you.

Your brother in the Lord abidyng his
good pleaſure, Iohn Careles.

¶ To my deare and faithfull brother, Auguſtine Bernher.

An other Letter of *Iohn Careles* to faythfull *Auguſtine Bernher*, counſelling him to be circumſpect in thoſe daungerous dayes.

THe peace of God in *IESVS CHRIST*, the helpe, comfort, and aſſiſtance of his eternall ſpirite, be with you my deare and faithfull brother Auguſtine, and with all the reſt of my good brethren and ſiſters of the houſes of Baxterley, and Manceter (which mourneth for the miſerie of Gods people) to your euerlaſting conſolation in him, Amen.

Right glad I am to heare (my deare and faithful brother Auguſtine) that God of his great mercy and infinite goodnes, hath yet ſo graciouſly deliuered and preſerued you out of your enemies handes, beſeching almightie God alſo, from the bottome of my hart, to be your continual defence vnto the end, as hetherto he hath moſt graciouſly ben, that you may both liue and die to Gods glorie, the commoditie of his Church, and to the increaſe of your owne euerlaſting ioy and comfort in him.

Know you deare brother, that I haue receaued your letter, for the which I hartely thanke you. In deede I thinke it very ſhort, although it ſemeth ſomthing ſharply to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my promiſe in not writing to you of this long time. well brother, I am content to beare it with pacience, conſidering that you are troubled otherwiſe (the Lord comforte you & all heuie hartes) neither wil I ſpend ynke and paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be ſo mindles of my promiſe as it appeareth in your ſight I am. Your requeſt I will truly performe to the vttermoſt of my power, as gladly as any poore wretch ſhall do in the world, and I thanke God I haue done no leſſe of long time. And as my poore prayer ſhalbe a handmayd to wayte vppon you which way ſo euer you ryde or goe, ſo I beſech you, that my ſimple counſell may take ſome place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you paſſe in no ſmal perill: God keepe and preſerue you for his names ſake. I do not diſalow, but much praiſe and commende your harty boldenes in putting your ſelfe in preaſſe, when any one of Gods people needeth your helpe in any point. But yet I would not haue you thruſt your ſelfe in daunger, when you can do thẽ no good, or at leaſt wiſe whẽ they may well enough ſpare that good you would do them: For if you ſhould then chaunce to be taken, you ſhall not onely be no comfort vnto them, but alſo a great diſcomfort, adding ſorrow vnto their ſorrow.

He counſelleth *Auguſtine* to be circumſpect, and not raſhly to thruſt hym ſelfe in daunger.

I do not perſuade you to abſent your ſelfe from any place where your preſence of neceſſitie is required: for in all ſuch places, I know, God will preſerue you, as he hath hetherto wõderfully done, praiſed be his name therfore: or if it ſhall pleaſe him to permitte you in any ſuch place to be taken, I know he will moſt ſweetely comfort your conſcience with this conſideration, that it is the very prouidence and appointment of God that you ſhould there and then be taken vp for a witnes of his truth vnto the world: but I can not allow, nor bee contented that you ſhould raſhely or negligently thruſt your ſelfe into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea and lay waite for you, when no neceſſitie of your ſelfe nor of any other of Gods people doth require your companie. If they neede any of your godly counſell, you may write vnto them that thing that you thinke good: which (I dare ſay) will be ſufficient vnto them. For (continuall thankes and praiſes be geuen vnto the euerlaſting GOD) there is none of thoſe that be cruelly condemned for Gods truth, that now be weakelinges: for they haue manfully paſſed through the pikes, and they haue boldly abidden the brunt of the battel, and therfore I recken the worſt is paſt with them already: So that now and then a godly letter from you to them, ſhall do as much good as your company ſhall do, and perchaunce more too: for writing ſticketh longer in the memorie then wordes do: yea though your letters were as ſhort to them, as your laſt was to me, ſo that the ſame be ſomething ſweeter and not althing ſo ſharpe.

This (deare brother) is the ſimple counſell which I would gladly haue you obſerue, partly for that I hartely pray for your preſeruation to the commoditie of CHRISTES Church, and partly for that I vnfainedly wiſh the peace, comfort, and tranquilitie of your owne conſcience, which I know will bee quickly ready to accuſe you, if you do any thing wherin you haue not the word of God for your warrant. For in a glaſſe that is cleare, a ſmall mote will ſoone appeare: euen ſo the good conſcience of Gods choſen children being more cleare then Criſtall, will quickely accuſe them at the leaſt fault they do commit, where as the wicked worldlinges haue their conſcience ſo clogged and corrupted through the cuſtome of ſinne, that they can not once ſee nor perceaue their owne ſhamefull deedes and wicked workes, vntil God ſet the ſame before them for their vtter deſtruction, and then diſpaire they immediatly. But ſeing that God hath geuen you a cleare conſcience and a pure, ſharpe, quicke, & liuely ſight in your ſoule, I would wiſhe you to beware that you do nothing vnaduiſedly, but vppon a good ground. For an accuſing conſcience is a ſore thing when death doth approch, and then Sathan will not ſticke to tell you that you haue to much tempted God, when peraduenture you haue done nothing ſo at all. For this cauſe (I ſay) partly I haue thought it good to admoniſh you (as I haue done often) to be circumſpect, according to the counſell of CHRIST, which biddeth you to beware of men. Other thinges I haue not to write, for I know this bearer can certifie you of all thinges at large, better then I can declare it by writing.

A good conſcience is ſoone troubled.

Conſcien of ſinne ſometym is taken Where none is c mitted.

Math.10

I beſech you good Auguſtine, helpe mee forwardes with your hartie prayers, for I truſt I haue but a ſmall time to tarie in this troubleſome world. Doct. Story told our Marſhall that we ſhould all be diſpatched ſo ſoone as he came from Oxford, whether he and other bloudy butchers be gone to make ſlaughter of CHRISTES ſheepe that lye there appointed to be ſlaine. God for CHRISTES ſake put them and ſuch like, beſides their cruell purpoſe, if it bee his good will and pleaſure: Amen good Lord. I pray you do my moſt hartie commẽdations to my deare ſiſter and faithfull frend, good Miſtres Mary Glouer. I beſech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to heare that ſhe doth ſo ioyfully and ſo patiently beare this great croſſe that God hath layd vpon her. I pray God ſtrengthen her, and all other his deare Saintes vnto the end, Amen. Commende me vnto my deare and faithfull Siſter Elizabeth B. I thanke her moſt hartely for my napkin, and ſo I do you deare brother, for my ſherte. Truly that day that we were appointed to come to our anſwere before the Commiſſioners (which had ſent word the ſame morning, that they would come to the Kinges Bench by viij. of the clocke, and the houſe and al thinges were trimmed and made ready for them) I got that ſhert on my backe & that napkin in my hand, and me thought that they did helpe to harneſſe me and weapon me well, to go fight againſt that bloudy beaſt of Babylon. And truſt me truly, if they had come, I would haue ſtrikẽ iij. ſtrokes ẏ more for your two ſakes, aſwell as God would haue abled me to haue ſet them on, as by Gods grace I will not faile to do at the next ſkirmiſhe that I come to: wherfore I pray you pray for me, that I may be ſtrong and hardie to lay on good loade. Oh that I might ſo ſtrike him downe, that he ſhould neuer be able for to riſe againe. But that ſtroke belongeth onely vnto the Lord, to ſtrike at his cõming, the which I truſt will be ſhortly. Oh haſten it good Lorde, & ſhorten theſe ſorowfull and ſinfull dayes, for thy great mercies ſake.

D.Story.

The Ch ſtian cou rage of *Iohn Carelet.*

Farewell my deare and faithfull louyng brother. The Lorde defend, keepe, and preſerue you from the power of your enemies viſible and inuiſible, and ſend vs a moſt ioyfull and mery meetyng here or elſwhere, as it ſhall pleaſe his goodnes to appoint vs. In the meane ſpace I ſhall moſt earneſtly deſire you to pray for me, for I neuer had more neede in my life: and doubtles you ſhall neuer want my poore prayer, if it ſhal pleaſe God to accept the prayer of ſo ſinnefull a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my ſinnes to me, for IESVS CHRISTES ſake: vnto whoſe moſt mercifull defẽce, I do moſt hartely commit you. The bleſſing of God be with you now and euer, Amen. I pray you do my moſt hartie commendations vnto M. Iohn Glouer. I do not forget him in my dayly prayers, and I truſt he doth remember me.

Of this *Iohn Glouer,* read bef pag.188

Your poore brother, alwaies mindfull of you in my prayer, Iohn Careles priſoner, abydyng Gods pleaſure.

¶To my deare brother Harry Adlington priſoner in the Lolardes Tower.

THe euerlaſting peace of God in IESVS CHRIST, the continuall aide, ſtrength, ioy, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mightie ſpirite, with the increaſe of faith and liuely feeling of his mercies: be moſt effectuouſly wrought in your hart, my deare and faithfull louing brother Adlington, & in the hartes of all your other godly priſon fellowes, to the full finiſhing of that good worke, which the Lord hath moſt graciouſly begon in you: that the ſame may be to the ſetting forth of his glory, the commoditie of his poore afflicted Church, and to your owne eternall ioy and comfort in him, Amen.

An other Letter of *Iohn Careles to Hen Adling* after a Marty partly c forting, partly c ſelling how to ſwere h aduerſa ries.

My moſt deare and faithfull louing brother in our Lord, I with all the reſt of my louing brethren here with me, do moſt humbly and hartely commẽde vs vnto you, with all faithful remembraunce of you in our daily prayers, geuing God earneſt thankes on your moſt happie behalfe, for that he hath geuen you ſuch hartie boldnes and Chriſtian conſtancie in the faithfull confeſſion of his euerlaſting veritie. Bleſſed be God for thee my dearely beloued brother, whiche hath vouched thee worthy of ſo great dignitie, as to ſuffer for his ſake and the ſettyng forth of his glorie. Oh glad in hart mayeſt thou be, to whom it is geuen, not onely to beleue in thy Lord and CHRIST moſt liuely: but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, as one of his ſeely ſhepe appointed to the ſlaughter. Be of good comfort therfore my good brother, for your callyng vnto the croſſe of CHRIST, was after a marueilous ſo[illegible] Surely, it was onely the Lordes appointment, and therfore he will well performe his owne worke in and vpõ you, to the great magnifying of his glorie, and comfort of your brethren: whoſe hartes are mightely refreſhed, to heare how hartely you haue behaued your ſelfe hetherto. This preſent day I receaued a letter from you, at the reading wherof my brethren and I were not a litle comforted, to ſee your conſcience ſo quieted in CHRIST, and your continuaunce ſo ſtedfaſt in him: which thinges bee the ſpecial giftes of God, not geuen vnto euery man, but to you his deare dearling, elect, and choſen in CHRIST, and ſuch as you be. And where as you do require to know my ſimple minde concerning your aunſwere vnto Doct. Story and the Chauncelour: truly I ſay you did aunſwere them very well: for there are but two Sacramentes in deede: that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, & the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, as you haue full well aunſwered them: praiſed be God for his good giftes, who chuſeth the weake to confounde the ſtrong, and the fooliſh to confound the worldly wiſe. If, when you come before them againe, they do aſke you what a Sacrament is, ſay you that a Sacrament, beyng miniſtred according to CHRISTES inſtitution, is a viſible ſigne of an inuiſible grace, and hath the promiſe of Gods mercy annexed vnto it, auailable to al ſuch as do worthely receaue it, and not vnworthely worſhip it: as they would haue vs to do, contrary to Gods commaundement. And theſe properties belonging to CHRISTES true Sacramentes, can not be applied vnto any one of thoſe fiue Sacramentes which they haue inuented of their owne braine, ſince Antichriſt began to reigne, to blind the people withall.

I perceiue deare hart, that vpõ Friday they do entend to condemne you & to geue you your iudgement. Therfore I thinke they will haue no great reaſoning with you, but bidde you aunſwere them directly, either yea or nay, to all ſuch thinges as they haue to charge you withall, which they haue gathered of you ſince you came into their cruell handes. But if they will needes make many wordes with you, becauſe you are but a ſimple man, and therfore perchaunce they will be the buſier with you to trouble you with many queſtiõs, to comber your knowledge, and then ſeeme to triumph ouer you & that truth that you do hold: if (I ſay) they do this (as perhappes for ſome euill purpoſe they will) then be you ſo plaine and ſhort as you can, ſaying roundly vnto them theſe or ſuch like wordes, as nigh as you can.

Be it knowen vnto you, that I in all pointes do beleue as it becommeth a true Chriſtiã, and as I haue bene truly taught in the dayes of that good kyng Edward, of ſuch godly Preachers and Prophetes ſent of God, as haue ſealed their doctrine with their bloud: from whom I will diſſent in no point: for I am a poore man without learning, but am commaunded of God to folow the counſell of his conſtant Preachers, and ſo do I entend to do, God geuing me grace and aſſiſtance thereto. As for you, I know you to be none of CHRISTES ſhepeheardes, but rauening wolues which come to kill and ſcatter the flocke of CHRIST, as the Lord ſayd you ſhould: and doth will vs to beware of you and your poiſoned doctrine, bidding vs to iudge you according to your fruites, wherby all men may ſee and know what you be, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good ſhepeheardes haue geuen their liues for the defence of CHRISTES flocke: and I am commaunded to folow their faithfull and Godly example, and to confeſſe with them one truth, euen to the fire, if God ſhall ſee it good: and this as a true Chriſtiã, I haue hetherto done, and henceforth by Gods grace entend for to do. And if for the ſame, God ſhall ſuffer you to take away my life, as you haue done theirs, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that onely is good. But of this be you ſure, the Lord wil ſhortly call you to accompt for al the innocent bloud that is ſhed within this Realme: which you haue brought into a moſt wofull caſe, and made many a heauie harte in the ſame, and mo I perceaue you will make, ſo long as the Lord for our ſinnes will ſuffer you to proſper, and vntill the time that your owne iniquitie be full ripe. But then be you ſure the Lord will ſit in iudgement vppon you, as well as you do now vpon his Saintes, and will reward you according to your deſeruinges: to whõ with my whole harte I commit my cauſe, and he will make aunſwere for me, when the full tyme of my refreſhyng commeth. In the meane ſpace I will keepe ſilence with this that I haue ſaid, truſting that I haue ſufficiently diſcharged my conſcience in confeſſing my faith and Religion to you, declaring of what Church I am, euen of the Catholicke Church of IESVS CHRIST, which was well knowen to be here in England in our late good kinges dayes, by two ſpeciall tokens which can not deceaue me, nor ſuffer me to be deceaued: that is to ſay, the pure preaching of his holy word, and the due adminiſtration of the holy Sacramentes: which is not to bee ſene in your Romiſh Church, and therfore it can not iuſtly be called the Church and ſpouſe of CHRIST. I beleue in the holie Trinitie, and all the other Articles of the Chriſtian faith contained in the three Credes, and finally all the canonicall Scripture to be true in euery ſentence. And I deteſt all ſectes both of the Arrians and Anabaptiſtes, or any other that diuide them ſelues from the true Church of CHRIST, which is his myſticall body, the ground and piller of truth, and the verie houſe of the liuing God. And if for theſe thinges you take away my life, and make your ſelues giltie of my bloud, you may: for I am in your handes, as the ſheepe brought to the Shambles, abiding the grace of the Butcher. And be you ſure, your iudgement ſlepeth not, but when you crie peace, peace, and all is ſafe: then ſhall your plagues begyn like the ſorrowes of a woman trauelling with child, according to CHRISTES infallible promiſe.

The Catholicke Church in Kyng *Edwardes* dayes in England.

Two ſpeciall markes to know the true Church in England in *K. Edwardes* dayes.

1.*Theſ.*5.

This kind of aunſwere my deare harte, it ſhall be beſt for you to make, and by Gods grace, I do entend to take the ſame order my ſelfe in time to come, when the Lord ſhall vouch me worthie of that great dignitie, wherunto he hath called you. And if they ſhall laugh you to ſcorne, as I know they will, ſaying thou art a foole and an vnlearned aſſehead, and art able to make aunſwere to nothing &c: care not you for it, but ſtill commit your cauſe vnto God, who will make aunſwere for you, and tell them that they haue bene aunſwered againe and agayne of diuers godly and learned men: but all will not helpe, for you haue one ſolution for all maner of queſtions, euẽ a faire fire and Fagots: this will be the ende of your diſputations. Therfore I pray you to trouble me no more, but doe that which you are appointed, when God ſhall permit the time. I am no better then CHRIST, his Apoſtles, and other of my good brethren that are gone before me.

The Papiſtes haue one ſolution for all maner of queſtions.

This kinde of aunſwere will cut their combes moſt, and edifie the people that ſtand by, ſo that the ſame bee done coldly with ſobrietie, mekenes, and patience: as I heard ſay our ſwete brethren Thomas Harland and Iohn Oſwald did at Lewes in Suſſex, to the great reioycing of the children of GOD that were in thoſe parties: and I heare ſay, that they were diſſolued from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes on Saterday laſt, and were condemned but the wedniſday before: ſo that we may perceiue the Papiſtes haue quicke worke in hand, that they make ſuch haſt to haue vs home to our heauenly father. Therfore let vs make our ſelues ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leauing theſe ſorie mantels and old clokes behinde vs for a litle time which God ſhall reſtore vnto vs againe in a more glorious wiſe.

Of Thomas Harland and Iohn Oſwald, read before pag.2095.

4.*Reg.*2.

My good brother Harry, you ſhall vnderſtand that bragging Iohn T. hath begilde his keepers (who truſted him to wel) and is runne away from them, and hath brought the poore men into great daunger by the ſame. The one of them is caſt by the Counſels commaundement, into the gate houſe at weſtminſter, the other is fled forth of the countrey for feare. Thus you may ſee the fruites of our freewill men, that made ſo much boaſt of their owne ſtrength. But that houſe which is not builded ſurely vppon the vnmoueable rocke, will not long ſtand againſt the boiſtrous windes and ſtormes, that blow ſo ſtrongly in theſe dayes of trouble.

Freewill.

But my dearely beloued brother, bleſſed be God for you and ſuch as you be, which haue played the partes of wiſe builders. You haue digged downe paſt the ſand of your owne naturall ſtrength, and beneath the earth of your owne worldly wiſedome, and are now come to the hard ſtone and vnmoueable rocke CHRIST, who is your onely keper: and vpon him alone you haue builded your faith moſt firmely, without doubting, miſtruſt, or wauering. Therfore neither the ſtormes nor tẽpeſtes, windes nor weathers that Sathan and all his wily workemen can bring againſt you, with the very gates of hell to helpe them, ſhall euer be able once to moue your houſe, much leſſe to ouerthrow it: for the Lord God him ſelfe, and no man, is the builder therof, and hath promiſed to preſerue and kepe the ſame ſafe for euer. Unto his moſt mercifull defence therfore, I do hartely commit you and all your good company, deſiring him for his ſwete ſonne IESVS CHRISTES ſake, to confirme and ſtrengthen you all, that you may be conſtant vnto the very ende: that after the finall victory is once gotten, you may receiue the immerceſſible crown of glory, of Gods free gift, through his great mercy in IESVS CHRIST our alone Sauiour. To whom with the father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glorie, praiſe, thankes, power, rule and dominion for euer and euermore, Amen. The bleſſing of God be with you all.

Iohn Careles.

¶ *To my moſt deare and faithfull brother. T. V.*

A Letter of ***Ioh. Careles*** **written with heauenly power to comfort an afflicted brother oppreſſed with penſiuenes and mourning for hys ſinnes.**

THe euerlaſting peace of God in IESVS CHRIST, the continuall ioy and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirite, with the increaſe of faith and liuely feeling of his mercy, be with you my deare hart in the Lord, and faithfull louing brother T.V. to the full accompliſhing of that good worke which he hath ſo graciouſly begon in you, that the ſame, by all meanes, may be to the ſetting forth of his glory, to the commoditie of his poore afflicted congregation, and to the ſwete comfort & quietnes of your conſcience in him now and euermore. Amen.

With ſuch due honour, loue, and reuerence, as it becõmeth me to beare vnto the ſweete Saintes and dearely beloued children of God, I haue me moſt hartely commended vnto you, my deare brother V. with all earneſt and faithfull remembraunce of you in my dayly prayers, thanking God right hartely that you do likewiſe remẽber me in yours, aſſuring you that my poore harte doth dayly feele great conſolation therby, God onely haue the praiſe for yͤ ſame and all other his benefites. Ah my deare harte in the Lord, wel is me that euer I was borne, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodnes hath vſed me moſt miſerable wretch at any time, as his inſtrumẽt, to miniſter any thing vnto you either by wordes or writing, that might be an occaſion of your ioy and comfort in the Lord, & a prouoking of you to praiſe and thankeſgeuing vnto God for the ſame, as your moſt louing and godly letter ſeemeth to import. Oh happie am I that the Lord hath appointed me vnto ſo good a ground to ſowe his ſeede vppon: but much more happie are you whoſe harte the Lord hath prepared and made ſo meete to receiue the ſame ſo effectuouſly, geuing therto the ſweete ſhowers and heauenly dewes of his grace and holy ſpirite, that it may bring forth fruite in due ſeaſon accordingly: the increaſe whereof we ſhall ſhortly reape together with perfect ioy and gladnes, and that continually.

Luke.1.

Therfore (my deare brother) I ſay vnto you as good Elizabeth did to her deare coſin Mary: Happy are you, and happy ſhall you be for euermore, becauſe you haue beleued. The moſt ſweete and faithfull promiſes of your redemer IESVS CHRIST you haue ſurely laid vp in the treaſury of your hart. His comfortable callinges you haue faithfully heard: his louing admonitiõs you haue humbly obeyed, and therfore you ſhall neuer come into iudgement: your ſinnes ſhall neuer be remembred: for your Sauiour hath caſt them all into the bottome of the Sea: he hath remoued them from you as farre as the Eaſt is frõ the weſt, and hath geuen you for an euerlaſting poſſeſſion his iuſtification and holines: ſo that now no creature neither in heauen nor in earth ſhalbe able to accuſe you before the throne of the heauenly king. Sathan is now iudged: he is now caſt out from you: he hath no part in you: you are wholy geuen vnto CHRIST, which will not loſe you: your ſtedfaſt faith in him hath ouercome that ſturdie and bragging prince of the world: CHRIST hath geuen you the finall victorie ouer him and all his armie, that they ſhall neuer hurt you. What would you haue more? Oh my deare hart, how great treaſures are laid vp in ſtore for you, and how glorious a crown is already made and prepared for you?

Remiſſion of ſinnes.

Mich.7.

Pſal.103.

Teſtimony of go ſpirite.

And albeit the holy Ghoſt doth beare witnes of all theſe things in your hart, and maketh you more ſure and certaine therof, then if you had all the outward oracles in the world: yet I being certainely perſuaded and fully aſſured by the teſtimony of Gods ſpirit in my conſcience, of your eternal and ſure ſaluation in our ſwete Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, haue thought it good, yea and my bounden duetie, not onely at this time to write vnto you, and to ſhew my ioyfull hart in that behalfe: but alſo by the word and commaundement of CHRIST, to pronounce and affirme in the name and word of the heauenly king Iehouah, and in the behalfe of his ſweete ſonne IESVS CHRIST our Lord, to whom all knees ſhall bow, whom all creatures ſhall worſhip: and alſo by the impulſion of the holy ghoſt, by whoſe power and ſtrength all the faithfull be regenerate: I do (I ſay) pronounce to thee my deare brother T.V. that thou art already a Citizen of heauen. The Lord thy God in whom thou doeſt put all thy truſt, for his deare ſonnes ſake, in whom thou doeſt alſo vndoubtedly beleue, hath freely forgeuen thee all thy ſinnes, clearely releaſed al thine iniquities, and fully pardoned all thine offences, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great, & will neuer remember them any more to condemnation. As truly as he liueth, he will not haue thee dye the death, but hath verely determined, purpoſed, and eternally decreed, that thou ſhalt liue with him for euer. Thy ſore ſhalbe healed, and thy woundes bounde vp euen of him ſelfe for his owne names ſake. He doth not nor wil not looke vpon thy ſinnes in thee: but he reſpecteth and beholdeth thee in CHRIST, in whom thou art liuely graffed by faith in his bloud, and in whom thou art moſt aſſuredly elected and choſen to be a ſweete veſſell of his mercie and ſaluation, and waſt thereto predeſtinate in him before the foundation of the world was laid. In teſtimonie and earneſt whereof, he hath geuen thee his good and holy ſpirite which worketh in thee, faith, loue, and vnfained repentaunce, with other godly vertues, contrary to the corruption of thy nature.

Practiſe of the true kepes of the Goſpell.

Experi of Chri working in hys church.

Alſo he hath commaunded me this day (although a moſt vnworthy wretch) to be a witnes hereof by the miniſterie of his holy word, grounded vppon the truth of his moſt faithfull promiſes: the which thou beleuing, ſhalt liue for euer. Beleueſt thou this my deare hart? I know well thou doeſt beleue. The Lord increaſe thy faith, and geue thee a liuely feeling of all his mercies: wherof thou art warranted and aſſured by the teſtimonie of the holy ghoſt, who confirme in thy conſcience (to the vtter ouerthrowing of Sathan, and thoſe his moſt hurtfull dubitations, wherby he is accuſtomed to moleſt and vexe the true children of God) all that I haue ſayd: and by Gods grace I will, as a witnes therof, confirme & ſeale the ſame with my bloud, for a moſt certaine truth.

Wherefore (my good brother) praiſe the Lord with a ioyfull hart, and geue him thankes for this his exceding great mercy, caſting away all dubitation and wauering, yea all ſorrow of hart and penſiuenes of minde: for this the Lord your God and moſt deare and louing father, commaundeth you to do by me, nay rather by his owne mouth and word pronounced by me. But now my deare brother, after that I haue done my meſſage, or rather the Lordes meſſage in deede, I could finde in my harte to write ij. or iij. ſheetes of paper, declaring the ioy I beare in my hart for you, mine owne bowels in the Lord: yet the time being ſo ſhort (as you do well know) I am here conſtrained to make an end, deſiring you to pardon my ſlacknes, and to forgeue my great negligence towardes you, promiſing you ſtil that ſo long as my poore life doth laſt, my prayer ſhall ſupplie that my penne doth want: as knoweth the almightie God, to whoſe moſt mercifull defence I do hartely commit you and all other his deare children, as wel as though I had rehearſed thẽ by name, deſiring them moſt hartely to remember me in their hartie and dayly prayers, as I know right well they do: for I feele the dayly comfort & commoditie therof, and therfore I neither will nor can forget them, nor you, or any ſuch like. The bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

Yours for euer vnfaynedly, Iohn Careles.

❡ A letter of thankes to a faithfull frend of his, by whom he had receaued much comfort in his inward troubles.

An oth Letter ***Iohn Carele*** **to a f full fr of hys thank geuing**

BLeſſed be God yͤ father of all mercy, for the great cõfort and Chriſtian conſolation which hee hath ſo mercifully miniſtred vnto my poore afflicted harte by your meanes, my moſt deare and faithfull brother. Truly me thinketh your wordes or rather Gods wordes by you vttered, haue a wonderfull power and efficacie working in my harte at the hearing or reading of them. Reioyce therfore my deare brother, and be thankefull vnto God: for verily he both is & wil be mightely magnified in you, and that diuers and many wayes, both to the ſtrengthening of them that ſtand in his truth, and alſo to the raiſing vp of ſuch as are fallen from the ſame. God make me thankefull for you and on your behalfe, for verily great is the goodnes of God towardes me in geuing me acquaintaunce in faithfull loue & amitie with you: Gods name for euer be praiſed therfore, and he performe all his mercifull promiſes vpō you, as I doubt not but he will, for his ſake in whom you truſt.

I thanke my God moſt hartely, and alſo you my good brother, for that you are carefull for me in your faithfull prayers, remembring my iuſt deſerued ſorrowes, as though they were your owne, and labouring ſo much to ſolace the ſame. Ah my gracious good God, what am I, for whom thou and thy deare children ſhould be ſo carefull? Oh ſwete Lord, forgeue me my great ingratitude and ſinne, and graunt that I neuer abuſe thy great benefites. Oh let the loue of thine elect, which loue me for thy ſake, be a ſure ſigne and token, yea a moſt firme teſtimonie and a ſeale to my ſinnefull conſcience of thine euerlaſting loue and mercie towardes me in CHRIST: as verely it would and ought to be, if mine infidelitie did not let it. Oh circumciſe therfore the foreſkinne of my hart, ẏ I may with liuely faith behold thy great loue towardes me in all thine elect, that I may alwayes be thankefull for the ſame, and loue thee and them againe moſt hartely and vnfainedly.

Ah my deare hart, how ſwetely and how truly, yea how godly and how comfortably haue you rehearſed the ſwete ſaying of Salomon cōcerning proſperitie with true & godly frendes? I will ioyne with it the ſentence which goeth a litle before, for doubtles it may be well verified on you. A ſure frend (ſaith the wiſe man) will be vnto thee euē as thine owne ſoule, and deale faithfully with thy houſehold folke. If thou ſuffer trouble and aduerſitie, hee is with thee and hideth not his face from thee. A faithfull frend is a ſtrong defence: who ſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure. A faithfull frend hath no peere: the waight of gold is not to be compared to the goodnes of his fayth. A faythfull frend is a medicine of life, and they that feare the Lord, ſhall finde him. &c. Lo (my deare hart in the Lord) here is a liuely image or deſcription of you: for verely ſuch a one haue I alwayes found you vnto me, not onely ſorrowyng for my great ſorrow: but alſo oftentimes makyng me mery and ioyfull, with ſuch ioyes as the world can not feele. Now let the world brag of his fained frendſhip: but I will boaſt of this true frendſhip in God, and eſteme it a more treaſure then all tranſitorie thinges. And as for my mourning, deare brother, GOD hath made you to turne it vnto mirth: for God hath put you in the ſtede of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I truſt henceforth to leaue the mourning for my great loſſe, and to praiſe God for gainyng vnto him ſelfe ſo great glorie by his choſen children. GOD make me a true mourner of Sion, both for mine owne ſinne and wickednes, and alſo to ſee his honor defaced, that I may be made meete and apt to beare the ioyfull and comfortable meſſage that your beautifull feete ſhall bring me. God bleſſe thee my deare hart and faithfull louing brother, and increaſe his good giftes of grace in thee, as he hath moſt happely begon, that you may dayly more effectually feele and liuely perceiue the certaintie of Gods grace wherin you ſtand, and firmely to teſtifie the ſame, to the conuerſion or confounding of all gainſayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all Gods deare children, Amen. Farewell mine owne ſwete brother, farewell as mine owne hart.

Your owne in Chriſt, Iohn Careles.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Careles to a certein godly faithfull ſiſter, by the name of E.K.

THe grace and free mercy of God in IESVS CHRIST, the ſwete conſolations of the holy Ghoſt the guide of all Gods deare children, be with you, ſtrengthen and comfort you my dearely beloued ſwete ſiſter E. K. now and euer, Amen.

Albeit, my dearely beloued ſiſter in CHRIST, that as yet we did neuer ſee one an other perſonally to any knowledge, yet by the vertuous reporte that I haue heard of you, and alſo by the large louing token that I haue receaued from you, me thinke that I do euen preſently ſee you, and behold your perſon, faithfully walking in the feare and loue of God, ioying and reioycing with you in the ſpirite as though we were ſwetely talking together of CHRISTES veritie. The Lord God do I humbly beſech in the bowels and bloud of our Lord and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST, that he will ſtrengthen vs both with his holy and mightie ſpirite, that we may cōſtantly continue in the confeſſion of his truth vnto the ende: that like as we now ſee one an other preſently in ſpirite, we may alſo ſee one an other perſonally in the glorious preſence of God, and his holy aungels, where vndoubtedly, we ſhall know one an others perſonage, to our great ioy, felicitie, and endles comfort.

Preparatiō to the Croſſe.

And now therfore deare ſiſter K. be ſtrong in the Lord our God, for doubtles the time of triall is at hand: a great perſecution with cruel murthering of Gods deare Saintes is like to be very ſhortly in this wofull wicked Realme of Englād. Therfore deare ſiſter, for the loue of God, prepare you to the croſſe with all diligence, & make your ſelfe ready to dye with CHRIST, that you may alſo liue with him for euer. There is no remedy, if you wil be CHRISTES Diſciple, you muſt needes take vp your croſſe and folow him, for the Diſciple muſt not looke to be aboue his maſter, nor the ſeruaunt to be better intreated then his Lord. If we were of the world (good ſiſter) no doubt, the world would loue vs. But for as much as CHRIST hath choſen vs out of the world, to ſerue God in ſpirit and veritie, let vs be well aſſured the world will hate vs and perſecute vs, as it hath done our Lord and maſter CHRIST. But yet let vs bee of good chere, for CHRIST hath ouercome the world. The payne is but ſhort that we can feele here, but the pleaſure is perpetuall that we ſhall feele elſwhere.

Conſolatiō vnder the croſſe.

Let vs ſet before vs the example of CHRIST, which abode the croſſe and deſpiſed the ſhame in reſpect of the ioy that was ſet before him: Euen ſo let vs conſider for whoſe ſake we ſuffer, whoſe cauſe we defend, and what glorious reward we ſhal haue at the day of our victorie, and then doubtles the conſolation of theſe thinges will make ſwete all our ſufferinges, and ſoone ſwallow vp al the ſorrowes that we are ſowſed in for Gods ſake. I could recite diuers textes of the Scripture to confirme this point. But I neede not, for I am well aſſured that you do know them moſt perfectly already. The Lord geue you ſtrength and aſſiſte you with his holy ſpirite, that you may continually walke in all pointes according to your godly knowledge: And then ſhall you not do as the moſt part of our Goſpelers do now adayes, the more is the pitie. There are a great many in England, that do perfectly know, that the idolatrous Maſſe is abominable, deuiliſh, and deteſtable in the ſight of God. And yet, alas they be not afrayd to pollute and defile their bodies, which ought to bee the temples of the holy ghoſt, with beyng preſent at it, ſo ſinning againſt GOD and their owne conſcience.

Againſt Maſſing Goſpellers.

Exhortation to flye from the Maſſe.

But deare ſiſter K. do you flie from it, both in body and ſoule, as you would flie from the very deuill him ſelfe. Drinke not of the whore of Babylons cuppe by no meanes, for it will infect the body and poiſon the ſoule. Be not partakers of her ſinnes (ſaith the aungell) leſt you be partakers of the plagues that ſhortly ſhalbe powred vppon her. O what an aray is this? that ſo many that know Gods truth, will now turne agayne and defile them ſelues in the filthie puddle of Antichriſtes ſtinking Religiō? They go about to ſaue their liues with their double diſſimulation: but doubtles, they ſhall loſe euerlaſting life by it, if they do not repent in time and turne vnto the Lord. But deare ſiſter, my truſt is, that you do vtterly abhorre the comming to any ſuch thing. I hope that you will not by any meanes turne backe into Egypt now, but that you will boldly venter through the wildernes of trouble and perſecutiō, that you may come into the land that floweth with all kinde of heauenly pleaſures and ioyfull delectations, and poſſeſſe the ſame for euer.

Let vs conſider, how that euery one of vs doth owe vnto God a death by nature, and how ſoone the Lord will require it of vs, we know not. O how happy are we then, if God of his goodnes appoint vs to pay natures det with ſuffring for his truth and Goſpels ſake, and ſo making vs his faithfull witneſſes with the Prophetes, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Confeſſours, yea with his dearely beloued ſonne IESVS CHRIST, to whom he doth here begyn to faſhion vs like in ſuffering, that we might be like him alſo in glory. Thus my dearely beloued ſiſter, I haue ben bold to trouble you a litle with my rude and ſimple letter, beyng made in haſt as it doth appeare: yet I deſire you to take it in good worth, as a token of my poore zeale vnto you, and to accept my good will. And if it pleaſe God to ſpare me life and libertie, I truſt hereafter to write vnto you more largely. Fare ye well deare ſiſter E. K. the Lord bleſſe you and all yours, and powre vpon you the heauenly dewe of his grace. The Lord endue you with plentifull knowledge of his veritie, and fill you with his holy and mightie ſpirite, that you may continually reioyce in the comfortes of the ſame now and euer, Amen. Pray, pray, pray, with ſtedfaſt fayth.

Your dayly Oratour Iohn Careles
priſoner of the Lord.

Read before pag. 1078.

In the letters of William Tymmes, ye heard before pag. 2079. much mencion made of Agnes Glaſcoke. This Agnes Glaſcoke, through infirmitie, and her huſbandes perſuaſion, was allured to go to Maſſe. For which cauſe ſhe fallyng in great ſorow and repentaunce was raiſed vp agayne by the comfortable letters of W. Tymmes and Iohn Careles, as before you may read, & after that was conſtant in ye ſincere profeſſion of the veritie, and in daunger for the ſame of perſecution: vnto whom Iohn Careles writeth therfore this letter as foloweth.

A Letter of Careles to Agnes Glaſcocke.

A Letter of Iohn Careles to Miſtres Agnes Glaſcocke.

The euerlaſting peace of God in IESVS CHRIST: the continuall ayd, ſtrength, and comfortes of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirite, be with you my deare and faithfull ſiſter Glaſcoke, to the good performance of that good worke which God hath ſo graciouſly begon in you, to his glory, the cōmoditie of his poore afflicted church, and to your owne eternall comfort in him, Amen.

In our Lord I haue my moſt humble and hartie cōmendations vnto you my deare ſiſter, and moſt faithfull mother Glaſcoke, with all remēbraunce of you in my daily prayers, geuing God moſt hartie laude, prayſe, and thankes, for you and on your behalfe, in that he of his great mercy hath hetherto ſo mightely ſtrēgthened you, conſtantly to cleaue vnto your Captaine CHRIST, notwithſtanding the great aſſaultes and manifold temptations, that you haue had to the contrary. Doubtles deare hart it can not be expreſſed, what ioy and comfort it is vnto my very ſoule, to ſee how mightely the Lord hath magnified him ſelfe in you, & other his deare electe darelynges, whom he will ſhortly glorifie with him ſelfe, as he hath done other of his ſweete Saintes that are gone before you. Reioyce therfore and be glad: for verilie you haue good cauſe if you diligently conſider the great dignitie that God hath called you vnto euen now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witneſſes vnto ye world, and I thinke you ſhall with me and other your brethren in bondes, ſeale the Lordes veritie with the teſtimony of your bloud. Surely ſwete ſiſter, this is the greateſt promocion that God can bring you or any other vnto in this life: and an honor that the higheſt aungell in heauen is not permitted to haue.

What an high honour it is to ſuffer for Chriſt.

Therfore happy are you, oh faithful daughter of Abraham, that the Lord will now preferre you before many other, yea or any other of your age, that I do know in Englād. Oh faithful and vertuous matrone, which wilt not be moued from the ſure rocke CHRIST, vpon whom you haue ſo firmly built your houſe, that neither ſtormes nor tempeſtes, neither yet hell gates, or any other temptations ſhall euer be able once to preuaile againſt it. Full well doth it appeare by your conſtant continuance, that you haue played the part of a wiſe builder in counting the coſt afore hand belonging to the finiſhyng of your tower, and I doubt not but (through Gods gift) you haue ſufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites, of their part ſhall haue no iuſt cauſe to triumph againſt you or to mocke you, ſaying, loe this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therfore goe on boldly and feare not: for God is faythfull (as S. Paule ſayth) which will not ſuffer you to bee tempted aboue your ſtrength, but either will hee geue you grace and ſtrength to ſtand vnto the death (which is the gate and entraunce into life) or els he will make ſuch an outſcape for you as ſhalbe to the ſettyng forth of his glory: the which aboue all other things, we that are his choſē children ought for to ſeeke, yea euen with the loſſe of our owne liues, beyng yet well aſſured that the ſame ſhal not be ſhortened one minute of an houre before the time that God hath appointed.

Caſt therfore (deare ſiſter) all your care vpō the Lord, which (as S. Peter ſayth) careth for you. Great is his prouidence for you, and mighty is his loue and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his holy ſpirite he will euermore guide you: wherewith he hath ſurely ſealed you vnto the day of redemption: he hath alſo geuen you the ſame in earneſt for the recouery of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, which hee hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was layd. Be ſtrong therfore and take a good hart, as I heare ſay you be. God for euer be bleſſed for you, which hath graft his loue in your good hart that nothyng is able to ſeparate you from the ſame, but will rather chuſe to ſuffer aduerſitie with the people of God then to enioy the pleaſure of ſinne for a litle ſeaſon. Oh happy woman that canſt finde in thyne hart to eſteme the rebukes of CHRIST to be greater riches then all the treaſures of the world, as good Moyſes did. Doubtles great is your reward in heauen: which you ſhall ſhortly receaue of his free gift, and not of any deſeruing.

He exhorteth her to be ſtrong.

Thus deare mother Glaſcoke, I haue bene bold to trouble you with my rude and ſimple letters, deſiryng you to take thē in good worth, beyng done in great haſt, as it doth appeare: but yet proceedyng from a poore harte which floweth ouer in loue towardes you: as my dayly prayers for you can teſtifie: which I truſt ſhall ſupply that part of my duety towardes you that my penne now wanteth. I thanke you deare hart, for all your louing tokens, and for the great kyndenes you haue hetherto ſhewed vnto my poore brother Tymmes and his wife & children, with all other of Gods people to whom you dayly do good: the Lord recompence the ſame ſeuenfold into your boſome, as I doubt not but he will, accordyng to his vnfallible promiſes. I pray you haue my hartie commendations vnto your huſbande. I beſech the Lord ſtrength him in the confeſſion of his truth (as my truſt is that he will) that we may all ioyfully reſt with Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob in the kyngdome of God: vnto the which hee bryng vs, that with his moſt precious bloud hath bought vs. The bleſſing of God be with you now and euer, Amen.

The charitie of Miſtres Glaſcocke to the priſoned Sainctes.

Your dayly Oratour and vnfayned louer
Iohn Careles, priſoner of the Lord. Pray,
pray, pray.

A brief admonitiō written to Miſtres Agnes Glaſcoke, in a booke of hers when ſhe came to the priſon to viſite him.

There is nothyng that the holy Scripture throughout doth ſo much commend vnto vs, as true fayth and ſtedfaſt truſt in the promiſes of Gods eternall mercies towardes vs in IESVS CHRIST. For from the ſame, as forth of the chiefe fountaine and welſpryng of lyfe, do flow all kindes of vertues and godly fruites, ſpecially true loue towardes GOD, in the which we ought purely to ſerue hym all the dayes of our life: and alſo Chriſtian charitie towardes our neighbours, aſwell to helpe them at al needes, as alſo not to hurt them by any meanes. Therfore pray earneſtly for the increaſe of faith and liuely feeling of Gods mercy: for all thinges are poſſible vnto hym that can vndoubtedly beleue. Faith is ye thyng which aſſureth vs of Gods mercy, and whereby we vanquiſhe all the fiery dartes of the deuill: our victory that ouercommeth the world: the knife that killeth and mortifieth the fleſhe: and finally that which ſetteth vs at peace with God, and quieteth our conſciences alwayes before hym, and maketh vs mery and ioyfull vnder the croſſe, with many moe thinges then I can now expreſſe. Pray therfore for fayth, in faith. And for the Lordes ſake, beware of Popery and Popiſh Idolatry, the Idoll of the wicked Maſſe, and other Idolatrous ſeruice. Make not your body, which is a member of CHRIST, a member of Antichriſt. Remember that we ſhall receaue of God accordyng to that we do in the body, be it good or euill. Therfore glorifie God in your body, which is dearely bought.
Betray not the truth, leſt the Lord deny you.
If God be God, follow him. You can not
ſerue two maſters. I write not this as
doubtyng you, but by the way of
admonition. GOD keepe you
from all euill.

A note or poeſy written in Miſtres Glaſcockes booke by Iohn Careles.

The effectes of fayth.

My Siſter deare, God geue you grace
With ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſtes name,
His Goſpell ſtill for to embrace,
And liue accordyng to the ſame.
To dye therfore, thinke it no ſhame,
But hope in God with faithfull truſt,
And he will geue you prayſe with fame
When you ſhall ryſe out of the duſt.
For which moſt ſwete and ioyfull day
To God with faith your prayer make,
And thinke on me I do you pray,
The which did write this for your ſake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your caſtell and ſtronge rocke:
He keepe you whether you ſlepe or wake.
Farewell deare Miſtres A. Glaſcocke.

An other letter of Iohn Careles to Miſtres A. G. to comfort her in her repentaunce, after ſhe had bene at Maſſe, fruitefull for all them to bee read, which haue fallen, and are to be rayſed vp agayne.

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THe peace of God in IESVS CHRIST: the eternall comfortes of his ſwete ſpirite be with you, and ſtrength and comfort you my deare and faithfull ſiſter, Amen.

Although the perillous dayes become, wherof CHRIST propheſied, that if it were poſſible the very elect ſhould be deceiued: yet let the true faithfull Chriſtians reioyce and be glad, knowyng that the Lord him ſelfe his their keper, who will not ſuffer one heare of their heades to periſh without his almightie good will and pleaſure, neither will ſuffer them to be further tempted then he will geue them ſtrength to beare: but will in the middeſt of their temptation make away for them to eſcape out: So good and gracious a God is he to all his choſen childrẽ. And though ſometymes he do let his elect ſtumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he wil raiſe them vp agayn to the further encreaſe of their comfort and to the ſettyng forth of his glory and prayſe. which thyng (my deare and faithfull louing ſiſter) I truſt ſhalbe wel verified on you. For I do heare ſay that by the manifold allurements, intycementes, procuremẽts, yea & enforcemẽtes that you deare hart haue had, your foote hath chaũced to ſlyp forth of the way, to yͤ great diſcōfort of your ſoule & the heauines of your hart: but my good ſiſter, be of good cheare, for the Lord will not ſo leaue you, but he will raiſe you vp againe and make you ſtronger then euer you were: ſo that your fall ſhall turne to his glorie and your profite. For if you had not by this proued the experience of your owne ſtrength, or rather your owne weakenes, you would haue ſtand to much in your owne conceite, or perchaunce haue gloried in your ſelfe, and haue deſpiſed and condemned other weake perſons that haue committed the like offence. Therfore now you may ſee what the beſt of vs all can do, if G O D leaue vs to our ſelues. which thyng ought to moue you to be diligent to call earneſtly vpon God for his grace and the ſtrength of his holy ſpirite (without the which we are not hable to ſtand one houre) and to be moſt thankefull for the ſame when you haue it, and then to be more circumſpect in tyme to come.

Therfore deare ſiſter, ſeyng that you haue done otherwiſe then the word of God & your own cōſcience would allow, yet deare hart, do you not thinke yͭ God therefore will caſt you cleane away, but know that he hath mercy enough in ſtore for all them that truly repent & beleue in him, although the ſinnes of thē were as many in nūber as the ſandes in the Sea, and as great as the ſinnes of the whole world. It is a greater ſinne to miſtruſt the mercy and promiſes of God, then to commit the greateſt offence in the world. Therfore (good ſiſter) beware in any wiſe, that you do not once miſtruſt the promiſes of Gods mercy towardes you: but know for a very ſuretie that all your ſinnes be vtterly forgeuen you for CHRISTES ſake, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great.

truſt
Gods
miſe.

But now (deare hart) take heede and beware that you do not cloke that ſinne and increaſe the ſame dayly, in communicating with the wicked in their Idolatrie, and deuiliſh doings at their denne of theeues. Do not (I ſay) deare ſiſter, come at any of their Antichriſtian ſeruice, leſt by litle and litle you vtterly loſe a good conſcience, and at length eſteme it for none offence: as (alas) a great nōber doth at this day, to the great perill of their ſoules. The Lord be mercifull vnto them and geue them grace to repent in time and turne to the Lord, and then they ſhalbe ſure to finde mercie at the Lordes hãd, as doubtles you haue done, praiſed be his name therfore.

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atter.

A. G. intiſed by her huſband to go to the Maſſe.

Ah my deare ſiſter, you may now ſee the wordes of CHRIST verified vpon your ſelfe: that a mans greateſt foes ſhall be they of his own houſhold: for your huſband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrantes in the world could neuer haue made you to do. Doubtles he may be ſorie for it. God geue him grace to repent, or els, without doubt, it will be layd to his charge one day when he would not by his will heare it for all the goods in the world. well, I thinke my brother Tymmes will write him a letter ſhortly that ſhall touch his conſcience, if he haue any conſcience at all.

The rayſing vp of a troubled conſcience after hys fall.

But now agayne to you deare ſiſter. The thing that is done can not be vndone, and you are not the firſt that hath offended, neither are you ſo good and ſo holy, as hath at a time ſlipt forth of the way. Therfore I would not haue you to be ſo much diſcomforted as I heare ſay you be, as though G O D were not as hable to forgeue you your offence, as he was to forgeue his deare Saints that offẽded him in times paſt: or as though God were not as mercifull now, as euer he was. where as in very deede, There is with the Lord (as the Prophet ſaith) mercy and plentifull redemption: and his mercy farre ſurmounteth all his workes: and he neuer faileth any that put their whole truſt and confidence in him, how great an offẽder or how wicked a treſpaſſer ſo euer it be: No, he maketh theyr falles and backeſlydinges many times to turne to their profite and commoditie, and to the ſetting forth of his glory: As doubtles deare ſiſter, yours ſhall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and truſt only in his infinite and eternall ſweete mercies.

God turneth all thinges to yͤ beſt, to them that be hys.

Sathan when he can not bryng a man to hys ſeruice, he preſſeth hym with diſtruſt of Gods mercie.

Oh what a ſutel, craftie, lying ſerpent is that Sathan our old enemie, that when he ſeeth that he can not make vs to cōtinue in our wickednes to do him ſeruice, would then bring vs into a doubting and miſtruſtyng of the mercy of God: which is the greateſt offence that can be: yea infidelitie is the roote & originall of all other ſinnes. Therfore (my ſwete ſiſter) geue no place to that cruell aduerſarie of mankinde, who hath bene a lyer and a murtherer frō the beginnyng, but ſtedfaſtly beleue the Lord, who hath ſent you word by me his moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt, that all your ſinnes be pardoned, forgeuen, and cleane releaſed for IESVS CHRISTES ſake our onely Lord and Sauiour. To whom with the father, and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glorie, praiſe, thankes, power, rule, and dominion for euer and for euer, Amen. Farewell my deare ſiſter, and be of good chere. Beleue in the Lord and you ſhall liue for euer. The Lord increaſe your faith, Amen, Amen.

Your poore brother and dayly faithfull
Oratour Iohn Careles, priſoner of the
Lord. Pray for me.

An other letter of Iohn Careles to A. B. a faythfull Miniſter of the Lord, conteining certaine fruitfull preceptes of Matrimony.

A Letter of Ioh. Careles to A. B. a faythfull ſeruant of Chriſt.

I Beſech the ſame euerlaſting Lord (my deare and faithfull brother) that bleſſed young Tobias with his wife Sara, and brought them together in due tyme with reuerence and feare, preſerue and bleſſe you both, and your ſede after you, that they may encreaſe the number of the faithfull by thouſandes and thouſãdes. And as the Lord of his great mercie and fatherly prouidence hath bene alwayes carefull for you, and now hath for your comfort accompliſhed his good worke in couplyng you with a faithfull mate: ſo ſee that you be thankefull for his prouidence towardes you, that it may euery way in you be an encreaſe of loue and godlynes, yea of Chriſtian ioy and gladnes in theſe ſorrowfull dayes: but yet ſo, that you mourne with the true mourners of Syon, and be ſory (yet in meaſure) for the hurt of the ſame. Pray alſo in faith for her proſperitie, that the Lord may build vp the walles of Hieruſalem agayne.

Pſal. 146.

Oh that the Lord would turne Sions captiuitie as the riuer, into the South: Then ſhould our hartes be made glad and our mouthes filled with laughter. Thẽ would the heathen hypocrites ſay: the Lord hath done much for them. Oh, the Lord hath done great things for vs already: whereof let vs hartely reioyce, and prayſe his name therfore. For though we now ſowe with teares, yet ſhal we be ſure to reape with gladnes: and as we now go forth weepyng, bearyng forth good ſeede, ſo ſhall we come again with ioy, and bring our ſheaues ful of corne. Yea the death of the Martyrs (which is moſt precious in his ſight) ſhalbe the life of the Goſpell, ſpite of the Papiſtes hartes.

The death of the Martyrs is the life of the Goſpell.

Pray for me (deare hart) that I may be counted worthy to ſowe ſome ſeede amongeſt the ſweete Saintes of the Lord, that I may reape the ſame againe without ceaſing, at the harueſt. It is now ſowyng time of the yeare, men ſay in the countrey, and I thinke that I ſhall make an ende of ſowyng before all march be paſt: for I heare ſay that I ſhall proue how my plough will enter into the ſtonie ground of the hard harted Papiſtes, within theſe foure dayes. I hope to hold faſt, and not to looke backe, neither for feare nor flattery, vntill I haue made an ende of ſowyng, and then will I ſet me downe and reſt me, and aſke them all no leaue, and looke for the liuely fruite and encreaſe therof with ioy and gladnes.

A ſowing time in Chriſtes Church.

My deare brother, the time approcheth nere (I prayſe God therfore) that I muſt put of this ſinfull tabernacle and go home to my heauenly father, where diuers of my deare brethren are already, looking and wiſhing for me. I beſech you therfore that you will helpe me forward with your faithfull prayers, as I know you do, for I do feele the comfort and commoditie therof.

That you haue obſerued my ſimple counſell, I am right glad, and I truſt in the Lord God, you ſhall fynde comfort in the ſame. And that you may ſo do in deede, I haue bene ſo bold to write theſe few wordes vnto you, becauſe I ſhall ſee you no more in this corruptible life: therfore marke them well. Firſt and aboue all thynges, you muſt be very circumſpect to keepe the band of loue, and beware that there neuer ſpryng vp the roote of bitternes betwene you. If at any tyme there happen to riſe any cauſe of vnkindnes betwene you (as it is vnpoſſible alwayes to be free frõ it) ſee that you weede vp the ſame with all lenitie, gentlenes and patience, and neuer ſuffer your ſelfe, nor your wife to ſleepe in diſpleaſure.

This counſell was that hee ſhould marry, notwithſtandyng certeine letters wherby Sathã ſought to hynder hys mariage.

The roote of bitternes to be weeded out with the ſpade of patience.

If you haue cauſe to ſpeake ſharpely, and ſometymes to reproue, beware that you do not the ſame in the preſence of other: but kepe your wordes vntill a conuenient tyme (which is the poynt of a wiſe man, ſayth Salomon) and then vtter them in the ſpirite of meekenes and the growyng ſpirite of perfect loue: which you muſt alſo let ſometymes to couer faultes, and winke at them if they be not intolerable. What ſo euer loſſe and miſchaunce ſhal happen vnto you, take it patiently, and beare it merely: and though the ſame ſhould come partly through your wiues negligence, yet let it rather be a louing warning to take heede in tyme to come, thẽ a cauſe of ſorrow for that which is paſt and can not be holpen. I know by mine own experiẽce that we are in this life ſubiect to many inconueniences, & that of nature we are prone to diſpleaſure, and ready to thinke vnkindnes for euery litle trifle, & ſpecially with our beſt frendes, yea ſooneſt with our louyng wiues, which be moſt lotheſt to diſpleaſe vs.

How and whẽ the huſband ought to reproue.

Faultes ſometyme muſt bee couered with loue.

Not to take vnkindnes for euery trifle.

But let vs beware of this cankered corruption, and conſider that we ought moſt of all, in loue to beare with them, accordyng to CHRISTES example towardes hys congregation, for whom he gaue him ſelfe to clenſe it. &c. I had thought to haue treated this matter at large, but euen now I am interrupted & otherwiſe letted. I doubt not but you know your duetie therin a great deale better them I can declare it vnto you, and as you know it, ſo will do it: but I loue to be bold with you. I entende to write alſo to your wife very ſhortly and ſo take my laſt farewell of you for euer in this world. And thus in great haſt I am now conſtreined to make an end. The bleſſing of God be alwayes with you.

Your owne for euer Iohn Careles.
Pray, pray, pray with fayth.

❡An other Letter of Iohn Careles to Eliſabeth, wife of the ſayd A. B. conteinyng likewiſe certaine godly preceptes of Matrimony perteynyng to her duty.

An other Letter of Iohn Careles to the wife of the partie aboue ſpecified.

THe euerlaſtyng peace of God in IESVS CHRIST, the continuall ayde, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt holy & mighty ſpirite, with increaſe of knowledge, faith, and perfect feelyng of Gods eternall mercy be with you my deare and faithfull louyng ſiſter. E. B. and with your godly louyng huſbãd my deare & faithfull brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath ſo graciouſly begon in you, that in all things you may be made rich and bleſſed in him, and your ſeede after you, now and euer, Amen.

As I haue bene long deſirous to write vnto you (my deare hart in the Lord) not onely beyng therto bounde of dutie, but alſo often prouoked of hym, to whom I owe my ſelfe and all that I am hable to do (I meane euẽ that bleſſed of the Lordes own mouth, whom God hath ioyned with you in that holy and Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony) euen ſo at the laſt I haue obteined tyme and occaſion, in ſome parte to performe that which I haue long purpoſed. And for as much as the Lord of his great mercie and fatherly care and prouidence ouer you his deare child, hath now graciouſly accõpliſhed that good worke amongeſt many others, which I (as a frend of the bridgrome) haue full hartely wiſhed and often prayed for: I thinke it good, yea and my bounden dutie, to treate of ſuch thinges as may be profitable to preſerue mutuall loue and faithfull amitie betwene you: which I know Sathan will chiefly labour to diminiſh, if he can not altogether deſtroy the ſame, leſt by many ioyfull occaſions you ſhould bee prouoked continually to prayſe God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all meanes ſought to hynder from you.

Sathan enemie o all godly affayres.

As for all other thynges, I know you are ſufficiently inſtructed, and alſo haue a moſt godly learned companion, who is well hable further to teach you if neede do require. But in this thyng I know my experience is more then his. Therfore my good ſiſter, firſt and before all thynges, ſee that you do diligently conſider, that as euery good and perfect gift perteinyng to ſoule and body, is giuen from aboue, and commeth from the father of light: euen ſo to whom ſo euer the Lord dealeth any of his benefites, of them he doth chiefly require alwayes a thankefull hart for the ſame: For els he will either take away his good giftes agayne, or turne the ſame to their great diſcommoditie, and in the ende to the encreaſe of their damnation: So deteſtable in his ſight is the ſinne of ingratitude. But to ſuch as be thankefull for his benefites, he doth not onely to the old euer adde new, but alſo maketh the commoditie of his former giftes euer more and more to encreaſe, vntill by them they are fully perſuaded and throughly certified of his euerlaſtyng loue in CHRIST IESV, which is eternall lyfe it ſelfe: So much doth he of his great mercie, delight in a thankefull hart.

The ſin of ingrat tude.

Therfore I do yet once agayn earneſtly require you, that aboue all thinges you be thankefull to God for hys benefites: not onely for your election, creation, redemption, and preſeruation, but alſo for his other temporall giftes wherewith he hath indued you: amongeſt ẏ which the chief and moſt excellẽt is (as teſtifieth the holy ghoſt) your good, godly, and faithfull louyng huſband. For (as the wiſe man ſayth) Goodes and poſſeſſions may come to a man by the death of his frendes, but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will gyue for a good portion, to ſuch as feare hym.

God lo neth a thankfull hart.

A good wife is t gift of God.

And the lyke is of a good huſband, as the Lord hath now giuen you, prayſed be his name therfore. He hath not giuen you an ignorant, froward, churliſh, brawlyng, waſtefull, riotyng, dronken huſband, wherewith he hath plagued many other (as he might alſo haue done you) but he hath giuen you a moſt godly, learned, gentle, louyng, quiet, patient, thriftie, diligent and ſober huſbãd: by whom he will nouriſh, cheriſh, keepe and defend you: inſtruct and teach you, yea care and prouide for you and your children (the which he will alſo by hym giue you) ſuch thynges as be neceſſary for you. He hath not dealt ſo with euery body: and yet he hath done this and much more for you my deare ſiſter, and will thereto increaſe ioy and loue betwene you: For as he delighteth in the loue and godly agreement of man and wife together: ſo is it he onely that maketh them and all the whole houſhold to be of one mynde. Unto the which his gracious worke he requireth your diligence, and will vſe you as his inſtrument and meane, the more effectuouſly to accompliſh the ſame. And therefore I now require you to obſerue this my ſimple counſell, the which I haue here written as a teſtimoniall of my good will towardes you, becauſe I thinke in this lyfe I ſhall neuer more ſee you.

God deli teth in th agreemen betwene man and wife.

Now, as I haue ſhewed you how you ſhould bee thãkefull vnto God for his good giftes: ſo I exhort you, and (as much as in me lyeth) charge you to be euermore thankefull vnto your deare louyng huſband: who hath giuen him ſelfe vnto you: which is a more precious Iuell in the Church of God, then perchaunce you are yet aware of. Thinke your ſelfe vnworthy to be matched with ſuch an inſtrument of God: and alſo reuerence euer more the giftes of God in hym, and ſeeke with true obedience and loue to ſerue hym, in recompenſe of hys true and paynefull hart towardes you. Be loth in any wiſe to offende him: yea rather be carefull and diligent to pleaſe hym, that his ſoule may bleſſe you. If at any tyme you ſhall chaunce to anger hym, or to do or ſpeake any thyng that ſhall greue hym, ſee that you neuer reſt vntill you haue

The dut of wiue toward their hu bandes.

haue pacified hym and made hym mery agayne.

If at any tyme he ſhall chaunce to blame you without a cauſe, or for that you can not do therwith (which thyng happeneth ſometymes of the beſt men liuyng) ſee that you beare it paciẽtly, and giue him no vncomely or vnkind word for it: but euermore looke vpon hym with a louyng and cherefull countenaunce, and rather take the fault vpon you, then ſeeme to be diſpleaſed.

Be alwayes mery & cherefull in his company, but not with to much lightnes. Beware in any wiſe of ſwelling, powtyng, or lowryng, for that is a token of a cruell and vnlouyng hart: except it be in reſpect of ſinne, or in the tyme of ſicknes.

Be not ſorrowfull for any aduerſitie that God ſendeth: but beware that nothyng be ſpilt or go to waſt through your negligence. In any wiſe ſee that you be quicke and cleanely about his meate and drinke, and prepare hym the ſame accordyng to hys diet in due ſeaſon. Go cleanely and welfauouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wiſe.

Finally in word and deede ſhew your ſelfe wiſe, humble, mery, and louing towardes hym, and alſo towardes ſuch as hee doth loue, and then ſhall you lead a bleſſed lyfe. I could ſpeake of many other thynges, the which I haue learned and proued true by experiẽce: but I know ȳ you will do in all thyngs much better then I cã teach you, becauſe you haue that anoynting that teacheth you all thyngs: who hath alſo giuen you an hart to obey and ſerue hym. Yet I truſt you will not be offended for this which I haue written: but rather accept my good will towardes you, whom I loue in the Lord as well as I do my daughter Iudith.

Thus as myne owne ſoule, I commende you both to God, deſiryng hym to bleſſe you with all maner of ſpirituall bleſſynges in heauenly thynges, and alſo with the dewe of heauen and fatnes of the earth, that in all things you may be made rich in *IESVS CHRIST* our Lord and onely Sauiour. The Lord encreaſe and bleſſe the fruite of your bodyes that your children may ſtand round about your table, thicke, freſh, and luſty like the Olyue braunches. God gyue you both a long lyfe, that you may ſee and bleſſe your childrens children vnto the thyrd and fourth generatiõ, and teach them the true feare and loue of God, and that fayth for the which they ſhall be accepted in his ſight.

God let you ſee the proſperitie of Syon, for whoſe lying in the duſt, let your hartes mourne. The Lord make perfect your loue together in hym, and alwayes encreaſe the ſame, and bryng you both in peace to your graues at a good age. And now I byd you both moſt hartely farewell: and I thinke I ſhall now take my leaue of you for euer in this life. I beſech you both to ayde me with your continuall prayers (as I will not forget you in myne) ȳ I may haue a ioyfull victory through *IESVS CHRIST*: To whoſe moſt mercifull defence I doe moſt hartely for euer cõmẽde you to be kept vnblameable vntill his commyng: the which I beſech him to haſten for his mercyes ſake.

Your owne vnfaynedly Iohn
Careles, priſoner of the Lord.

¶ Here endeth the letters of Iohn Careles.

The Hiſtorie and Martyrdome of a learned and vertuous younge man called *Iulius Palmer*, ſometyme fellowe of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford, with two other Martyrs, to wytte, Iohn Gwyn, and Thomas Aſkine, burned together in Newbery, at a place there called the ſand pyttes.

THe ſame moneth of Iuly, in which Careles, as before is declared, was releaſed out of priſõ by death, in ſhort time after, about ȳ 16. day of ȳ ſayd moneth of Iuly, ſuffered theſe iij. godly and conſtãt Martyrs aboue mẽtioned, at Newbery, in which nomber was Iulius Palmer, ſomtime ſtudent & felow of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford, and afterwardes Scholemaſter in the towne of Readyng. Concerning whoſe ſtory and Martyrdome, here foloweth, although not ſo much as he deſerueth to be ſayd: yet ſo much as ſufficiently may ſet forth the great workyng of God in thys younge man.

¶ *Iulius Palmer.*

The ſtory of the godly Martyr *Iulius Palmer*, fellowe ſometime of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford.

AS all Gods workes are wonderous, in callyng of all ſortes of men to confirme his truth, & to beare witnes vnto his aſſured, and infallible word, which the aduerſaries haue depraued and corrupted, with their falſe gloſes, to eſtabliſh the fleſhly kyngdome of Antichriſt, and to purchaſe ſecuritie in the world, whiche they ſeeke to keepe in their poſſeſſion, by al meanes poſſible, rather curſing with the thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hangyng, drownyng, racking, ſcourging, and perſecutyng by ſecret practiſe and open violence, the ſimple ſheepe of our Sauiour *CHRIST*, then that their falſe forged packyng ſhould be detected, their eſtimation appayred, their kitchin cooled, their rentes, reuenues, goodes, landes, and poſſeſſions abated: I ſay as Gods workes be wonderfull, which chooſeth ſome of all ſortes to confeſſe his Goſpell: ſo there is no one example in the whole godly felowſhip of Martyrs more to be marked, yea more to be wondered at, then this: that one which in all kyng Edwardes dayes was a papiſt within the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and ſo obſtinate, as that he did vtterly abhorre all godly prayer, and ſincere preachyng, and almoſt of all them with whom he liued, was therfore likewiſe abhorred, and (as I may ſay) pointed at with the finger: did yet after in Queene Maries time ſuffer moſt cruell death at the Papiſtes handes, at Newbery in Barkſhyre, for the moſt ready and zelous profeſſion of the bleſſed truth.

Iulius Palmer borne in Couentrie.

His name was Iulius Palmer, borne in Couentrie, where alſo his parentes dwelt. His father had ſome time bene Maior of that Citie, and occupied marchandiſe, albeit he was an Vpholſter by his miſtery. How he was brought vp in his yõg tender yeares, from his firſt entryng, we know not but as we haue learned, he was ſometime ſcholer to M. Harley, which taught the free ſchole of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, by whoſe diligẽce, & the goodnes of his own capacitie, he became a toward young ſcholer in Proſe & Verſe. For he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit ſharpe & pregnant, he ſpake Latine with great facilitie of vtterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greeke toung, in ſo much that diuers tymes, he ſupplied the Rome of a Greeke reader in his houſe. He was a ſubtile diſputer both in the publicke ſcholes, and alſo at home. He vſed to ſay, that he was neuer ſo pleaſantly occupyed, as whẽ he came to the hard debatyng of profoũd queſtions in Philoſophie: in ſomuch that he hath oftentymes watched, and ſpent the whole night in the diſcuſſyng and ſearching out the truth of deepe and diffuſe queſtiõs, as De principijs, de infinito, de vacuo, de tempore, de caſu & fortuna. &c. And this vſed he ſondry tymes all the night long to do with diuers of his equalls.

Iulius Palmer ſcholer to *M. Harley* ſcholemaſter of Magdalens Colledge.

Iul. Palmer addicted to Philoſophie.

In familiar talke he greatly delited, for the exerciſe of his learnyng) to defend the contrary to that whiche was affirmed, yet with modeſtie, and without al oſtentation. For he greatly abhorred all ouerthwart cauillyng, all friuolous talke, and vnſauery brabblyng, hee was not captious, but would reaſon ſo ſoberly and with ſuch probabilitie, that euẽ his aduerſaries would no leſſe maruell at the dexteritie of his inuention, then at hys comely and decent behauiour in proſecutyng the ſame.

And although he applyed Diuinitie very lately, yet it appeareth, that he recompenſed the ſmall time of his ſtudy with the greatnes of diligence beſtowed in the ſame, and his late commyng to the truth, with his earneſt and zelous proceedyng therin. For by the ſecret inſpiration of Gods ſpirite inwardly workyng in hys hart, he gaue an apparant ſignification in hys young yeares, that if God had ſpared his life to age, he would haue growen to ſuch maturitie and rypenes of iudgement, as wherby he ſhould haue bene an ornament to *CHRISTES* Church, and an honour to his countrey.

Iul. Palmer beginneth to applie Diuinitie.

And ſomwhat to ſpeake of his ciuill behauiour, he was

The ciuile behauiour of Iul. Palmer.

Palmers Prouerbe.

was of maners courteous without curioſitie, of coūtenance cherefull without high lookes, of ſpéech pleaſant wout affectation, he was affable & lowly as any child; and yet quicke ſpirited and vehement in reaſoning. He practiſed no deceit toward any mā, for he was of ſuch ſimplicitie, that he was apter to be deceiued, then to deceaue, and he was ſo great a contemner of all reproches and iniuries, that he would ſay, none were to bée counted valiant, but ſuch as could deſpiſe iniurie.

In priuate ſtudy he was ſo infatigable, that he aroſe ordinarely euery mornyng at foure of the clocke, and went not lightly to bed before ten at night: in ſo much that as he grew in yeares and vnderſtandyng, ſo he came to be a Bacheler of Arte, and at length for the hope appearyng in hym, to the preferment of a felowſhyp in Magdalene Colledge, where alſo he was admitted to the office of a reader in Logicke an. 1550. Now if he had at the firſt fauoured ſincere Religion, ſo much as he folowed his booke, then had we had the leſſe matter to note in him, but in dede, he was ſo much (as is before ſayd) addicted to the Romiſh faith, that his companie and conuerſation in the ſame houſe, was altogether with ſuch as were vtter enemies to ye Goſpell of CHRIST. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulſion, for otherwiſe he came not. Sermons would he heare none him ſelfe, nor yet ſuffer his ſcholers that he taught, to reſorte vnto them, by his good will: for he was fully perſuaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The Preachers them ſelues he did both diſdayne and deſpiſe, and all ſuch as were ſetters forth of ſound doctrine beſide. For the which contumacy and ſtubburnes, he was ſo often called before the officers of his Colledge, and puniſhed, ſome tyme by the purſe, ſome tyme by the lacke of his commons, and other whiles by certaine taſkes and exerciſes of learnyng enioyned vnto hym, that diuers ſuppoſed him to haue endeuoured, as of a ſet purpoſe, and continually to ſéeke occaſiō wherby he might be counted a ſufferer for that fantaſied Religion, of the Romiſh Church.

Palmer fellow of Magdalene Colledge.

Iul. Palmer reader of Logicke in hys Colledge.

Iulius Palmer an vtter enemie to ſound religion.

Iul. Palmer impugner of true preachers in King Edwardes tyme.

Libells ſet vp in Oxford agaynſt Doct. Haddon Preſident.

In the end, not long before ye death of kyng Edward that godly prince certaine ſclaunderous libels, and raylyng verſes were priuily fixed to the walles, and dores in ſondry places of the Colledge, agaynſt the Preſidēt, (which was then Doct. Haddon) whereby was miniſtred further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well knowen, that he and ſome of his companions, had ſpoken very litle before contumelious wordes agaynſt the Preſident, it could not be now auoyded, but that therby aroſe a vehement ſurmiſe and ſuſpicion, that he conſpiryng with others had contriued, made, and ſcattered abroad the ſayd ſclaunderous writynges. Great inquiſition was made in the Colledge, to ſearche out the authour of ſo malicious and deſpitefull a dede, but nothyng could be found certainly. Now Palmer beyng hereupon examined by the Officers, did not onely with ſtout courage deny the fact to haue bene his, but alſo ſpake further many reprochfull wordes touching the ſayd officers, and ſent the ſame to them in wrytyng, wherby he was by them adiudged to be an vnworthy member of that ſocietie, and ſo for this and other Popiſh prankes (continuyng obſtinate ſtill) he was expelled the houſe.

Iulius Palmer expelled the Colledge for Popery.

Iulius Palmer driuen to teach children.

After he was thus diſpatched of his rowme, he was fayne for his own maintenance, to apply him ſelf to be a teacher of children, in whiche trade he continued vntill the commyng in of Quéene Mary: and when her viſitours were ſent to Magdalene Colledge, vnder a title of reformation (whereas in déede all thinges were better afore) I meane to diſplace diuers of the felowes that were learned, and to put right Catholickes as they called them, in their rowmes: then came this Iulius Palmer, wayting to be reſtored to his liuyng againe, of which he had bene depriued afore, thinking by good right, to be reſtored of them, whoſe fayth and Religion, (as is ſayd) he did to the vttermoſt of his power defend and mainteyne, and in déede at length obteined the ſame.

Palmer reſtored gayn to Colledg

Then after he was reſtored agayne to hys houſe, in Quéene Maryes raigne, God dealt ſo mercyfully with him, that in the ende hee became of an obſtinate Papiſt, an earneſt Goſpeller: of whoſe conuerſion to the truth, that I may make faythfull relation, you ſhall heare what I haue learned of them, that dwelt in the ſame houſe, and were familiar with him.

The con uerſion Palmer after hy reſtoryng againe the Co ledge.

Plaine Palmer could ne uer diſſe ble with hys conſ ence.

When he was by the viſitours reſtored to his Colledge, although he began ſome thyng to fauour and taſt of Gods truth, by the conference of certaine godly and zelous men abroad in tyme of his expulſion: yet was he not throughly perſuaded, but in moſt pointes continued for a while, either blynd or els doubtfull. Neither could he choſe but vtter him ſelfe in priuate reaſoning, from tyme to tyme, both in what pointes he was partly reſolued, and alſo of what pointes he doubted. For ſuch was his nature alway, both in Papiſtry, and in the goſpell, vtterly to deteſt all diſſimulatiō: in ſo much, that by the meanes of his plainneſſe, & for that he could not flatter, hee ſuffered much woe, both in kyng Edwardes dayes, and alſo in Quéene Maries time, whereas he might at the firſt haue liued in great quyet, if he could haue diſſembled, and both done and ſpoken agaynſt his conſcience, as many ſlyding Papiſtes then did. And lykewiſe hee might haue eſcaped burnyng in Quéene Maries tyme, if he would either haue ſpoken or kept ſilence agaynſt his conſcience, as many weake Goſpellers did: but Palmer could in no wiſe diſſēble.

The firſt occaſion Iulius Palmers conuerſio was by t conſtant death of the Ma tyrs.

Now within ſhort ſpace, God ſo wrought in hys hart, that he became very inquiſitiue and carefull to heare and vnderſtand, how the Martyrs were apprehended, what Articles they dyed for, how they were vſed, & after what ſort they tooke their death: in ſo much that he ſpared not at his owne charges to ſend ouer one of his ſcholers in the company of a Bacheler of that houſe, to Gloceſter, to ſée and vnderſtād the whole order of M. Hopers death, and to bryng him true report therof. Which thyng, ſome thinke, he the rather did, becauſe he was vſed in kyng Edwardes tyme to ſay, that none of them al would ſtand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what extreme and horrible crueltie the Martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they ouercame all kinde of tormentes to the end. Wherof he hym ſelfe alſo had ſene more experience afterward at the examination and death of thoſe holy confeſſors and Martyrs aboue mentioned, which were burned at Oxford before his eyes: in ſo much, that the firſt hope which the godly conceaued of hym, was at his returne from the burnyng of Byſhop Ridley and M. Latymer, where in the hearyng of diuers of his frendes, he braſt out into theſe wordes: O ragyng cruelty, O tyrāny tragicall, and more then barbarous.

Note ho the bloud of Mar tyrs wo keth.

From that day forward, he ſtudiouſly ſought to vnderſtand the truth, and therfore with all ſpede he borowed Peter Martyrs Commentary vppon the firſt to the Corinth. of one in Maudlins yet alyue, & other good bookes of other men: and ſo through harty prayer, and diligent conference, at length he beleued and imbraced the truth with great ioy, and ſo profited in ye ſame, that dayly more and more, he declared it both by word and fact: in ſuch ſort, as he neuer hated the truth more ſtubburnly before, but afterward he embraced the truth as willyngly, when it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to ſhew vnto hym the light of his word.

Palmer feruent the goſp cauſe.

And now agayne, when hee ſhould come to Church at ſuch tyme, there to be occupyed among the reſt, in ſingyng of reſpōdes, readyng of legendes, and ſuch like dueties, as were allotted vnto hym, he had as much pleaſure to be at them, as a Beare to be bayted and vexed with dogges. When he came, it was more to auoyde diſpleaſure and daunger, then for any good will and ready affection.

At length through Gods grace he grew vp to ſuch ripenes in the truth, that he ſpared not to declare certaine ſparkes therof in his outward behauiour. For when he ſhould kepe his bowyng *meaſures at yͤ Confiteor, as the cuſtome there was in turnyng him ſelfe vpward and downeward, and knocke his breſt in the eleuation tyme. Which Idolatrous adoratiō, his harte did ſo vehemently riſe agaynſt, that euen then, he would get him out of the Churche to auoyde thoſe vngodly geſtures.

To be ſhort, perceiuyng after a time, that he was greatly ſuſpected, & abhorred of yͤ Preſident then beyng (which was D. Coueney) & of diuers other, which before were his hie frendes, & therwithall felyng great conflict & torment of cōſcience, ſo that his new life & old liuyng, might not quietly ſtand together, he addreſſed him ſelfe to depart the houſe. For he thought it not beſt now to abyde the daunger of expulſion, as he dyd at the firſt, ſeyng the weather was waxed hotter. And beyng demaunded at that tyme, of a ſpeciall frend, (who would gladly haue perſuaded hym to the contrary) whether he would go or how he would liue, he made this aunſwere: Domini eſt terra & plenitudo eius. i. *The earth is the Lordes, and the fulnes therof.* Let the Lord worke, I wil commit my ſelfe to God and the wyde world.

Here I thinke it expedient, before I write of the paynfull ſurges that he ſuffered after he came abroad into the perillous gulffes and depe Sea of this wretched wyde world: firſt to rehearſe one or two examples of his open behauiour at ſuch times, as he had recourſe to the Colledge after his laſt departure: whereby the reader may better vnderſtād, how farre wyde he was, from all diſſimulation in Gods cauſe. Beyng at Oxford on a time, and hauyng knowledge that the Spaniſh Frier Iohn, who ſucceded Doct. Peter Martyr in the office of the Diuinitie leſſon, would preache in Magdalene Colledge that preſent Sonday, he would not at the firſt graunt to be preſent at it. At length a frend of his a felow of that houſe, perſuaded ſo much with him, that he was content to accompanie hym thether. Sodenly as the Frier inueyed agaynſt Gods truth and defended certaine Popiſh hereſies, Palmer hauyng many eyes bent and directed towardes hym, departed from amongeſt the middeſt of the auditory, and was found in his frendes chamber weepyng bitterly. Afterward beyng demaunded why he ſlipt away vpon ſuch a ſodeine: Oh ſayth he, if I had not openly departed, I ſhould haue openly ſtopped myne eares. For the Friers blaſphemous talke, in diſprouing or rather deprauyng the veritie, made myne eares, not to glow, but worſe to ſmart, then if they had bene cut frō my head.

It chaunced an other tyme, that the ſame frend of his, beyng burſar of the houſe, bad hym to a dynner in his chamber: Palmer not knowyng what geſtes were alſo thether inuited, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to mete with the foreſayd Frier with whō were preſent alſo diuers other Papiſtes, whoſe companie Palmer could not well beare: and therfore, whiſteryng his frend in yͤ eare, he ſayd: he would be gone, for yͭ was no place for hym. The burſar deſired hym of all frendſhyp, not to do ſo, alledging that it were yͤ next way, to bewray him ſelfe, with many other perſwaſions, as the ſhortnes of time would permit. He condeſcended to his requeſt, and taryed. Now as he came to the fire ſide, the Frier ſaluted him cherefully. Palmer with an amiable countenance, reſaluted him gentilly. But when the Frier offred him his hand, he caſtyng his eye aſide, as though he had not ſene it, found matter of talke to an other ſtandyng by, and ſo auoyded it: which thyng was wel marked of ſome, not without great grudge of ſtomacke.

After they were ſet, and had well eaten, the Frier with a pleaſaūt loke, offering him the cuppe, ſayd: Propino tibi iuuenis erudite. i. *I drinke to you, O learned young mā.* Palmer at that word bluſhing as red as ſcarlet, aunſwered: Non agnoſco nomen domine. i. *I knowledge no ſuch name, O Syr:* and therewith taking the cuppe at hys hand, he ſet it downe by him as though he would haue pledged him anone: but in the end it was alſo well marked, that he did it not.

Iulius Palmer refuſeth to drinke with Fryer *Iohn.*

When dyner was done, beyng ſharply rebuked of his frend, for this ſo vnwiſe and vnciuill behauiour, as he termed it: he made aunſwere for him ſelfe and ſayd: Oleum eorū nō demulcet, ſed frangit caput meū. i. *The oyle of theſe mē doth not ſupple, but breaketh my head.*

An other tyme, which was alſo the laſt tyme of hys beyng at Oxford before his death, one Barwicke an olde acquayntaunce of his, beyng ſometyme Clarke in Magdalenes, and then felow of Trinitie Colledge, a ranke Papiſt, begā to reaſon with hym, in his frēdes chamber aforeſayd, and perceyuyng hym to be zelous and earneſt in the defence of the verity, he ſayd vnto hym: Well Palmer, now thou art ſtout and hardy in thine opinion. But if thou were brought to the ſtake, I beleue thou wouldeſt tell me an other tale. I aduiſe thee, beware of the fire, it is a ſhrewd matter to burne.

Barwickes wordes to *Palmer.*

Truly, ſaith Palmer I haue bene in daunger of burnyng once or twyſe, and hetherto I thanke God haue eſcaped. But I iudge verely it will be my end at laſt. Wellcome be it by the grace of God. In dede it is a hard matter for thē to burne that haue yͤ ſoule lynked to the body, as a theues fote is tyed in a payre of fetters. But if a man be once hable through the helpe of Gods ſpirite, to ſeparate and diuide the ſoule from the body, for hym it is no more maſtery to burne, then for me to eate this pece of bread. Thus much by the way concerning his playnneſſe, wͭout diſſimulatiō. Now let vs procede in our ſtory, and faythfully declare, both the occaſion and maner of his death.

Palmers godly aunſwere to *Barwicke.*

Immediatly after he had yelded vp his felowſhyp in Oxford, he was through Gods prouidence (who neuer fayleth them, that ſeke his glory) placed ſcholemaſter by patent in the Grāmer ſchole of Readyng, where he was well accepted of all thoſe that feared God, and fauoured hys word, aſwell for his good learnyng & knowledge, as alſo for his earneſt zeale and profeſſion of the truth. But Sathan the enemy of all godly attemptes, enuying his good procedinges, and proſperous ſucceſſe in the ſame, would not ſuffer hym there to be long quyet: wherefore he ſtyrred vp agaynſt hym, certaine dubble faced hypocrites, which by diſſimulation, and crafty inſinuation, had crept in, to vnderſtand his ſecretes, vnder the pretenſe of a zeale to the Goſpell: which men he (ſuſpectyng no diſceite) right ioyfully imbraced, and made them pryuie of all his doynges. For as he hym ſelfe was then feruently inflamed with the loue of heauēly doctrine, ſo had he an incredible deſire, by all meanes poſſible, to allure and encourage other, to the profeſſion of the ſame.

Iulius Palmer placed by patent to be Scholemaſter at Reading.

Palmer circumuented by falſe Iudaſſes.

Theſe faithfull and truſty brethren, ſo ſone as they had found good oportunite, ſpared not in his abſence, to rifle his ſtudy of certaine good bokes and wrytynges, amongeſt the which was his replication to Morwyns Verſes touchyng Wincheſters Epitaphe, and other Argumentes both in Latin and Engliſhe, written by hym agaynſt the Popiſh procedynges, and ſpecially agaynſt their vnnaturall and brutiſhe tyranny, executed toward the Martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not aſhamed to threaten him, that they would exhibite the ſame to the Coūſel, vnles he would without delay, depart out of their coſtes, and gyue ouer the ſchole to a frend of theirs. The truth of this ſtory appeareth in part, by a letter written with his owne hand out of priſon, about 8. dayes before he was burned, and ſent vnto two eſpeciall frendes of his: which

Iulius Palmers ſtudy ſearched for bookes.

* By theſe meaſures, he mea a certain ceremony of that ledge, which was thys: that Confiteor tyme at euēſong, whole cōpany of the Quier ich was ther to the nūber of ſtāding vp, & turning their firſt to the high altar, ſhould turne them to the Preſi and from hym to the altar ne. And ſo after thys tur and returning three tymes

becauſe it is of certain credite and came to our handes, therfoꝛe we are the moꝛe bold to auouch it foꝛ a truth.

Iulius Palmer foꝛced to depart the towne of Readiug.

Thus then was this ſely yoũg man, foꝛ the ſafegard of hys lyfe, foꝛced to depart vpon a ſodeyne from Readyng, leauyng behynd hym in the handes of hys enemyes, hys ſtuffe and one quarters ſtypend. And ſo he tooke hys iourney toward Cuſham, where his mother then dwelt, hopyng to obtayne at her handes, certaine legacies due to hym by hys fathers laſt will, which he ſhould haue receaued foure yeares befoꝛe. His mother vnderſtandyng hys ſtate and errand by hys bꝛother, (whom he had ſent befoꝛe to intreate foꝛ hym) as ſoone as ſhe beheld hym on hys knees aſkyng her bleſſyng, as hee had bene accuſtomed to do: thou ſhalt (ſayth ſhe) haue *CHRISTES* curſe & mine, where ſoeuer thou go.

Unnaturall woꝛdes of a mother.

He pauſing a litle, as one amaſed at ſo heauy a greetyng, at length ſayd: O mother, your owne curſe you may giue me, which (God knoweth) I neuer deſerued. But Gods curſe ye can not giue me. Foꝛ he hath already bleſſed me. Nay, ſayth ſhe, thou wenteſt from Gods bleſſyng into a warme ſonne, whẽ yͧ waſt baniſhed foꝛ an hereticke, out of that woꝛſhipful houſe in Oxfoꝛd, & now foꝛ yͤ lyke knauery art dꝛiuen out of Readyng to.

Mothers may geue their own curſe: but Gods curſe they can not geue: much leſſe can the Pope.

Alas mother (ſaith he) ye haue bene myſſeinfoꝛmed I was neither expelled noꝛ dꝛiuen away, but freely reſigned of myne own accoꝛd. And hereticke I am none: Foꝛ I ſtand not ſtubburnely agaynſt true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And ye may be ſure they vſe not to expell noꝛ baniſhe, but to burne heretickes. Well (quoth ſhe) I am ſure, thou doeſt not beleue, as thy father and I, and al our foꝛefathers haue done: but as we were taught by the new law in kyng Edwardes dayes, which is damnable hereſie.

The father ſhall be deuided agaynſt the ſonne, the mother agaynſt the daughter, and daughter agaynſt the mother. *Luke.12.*

In deede I confeſſe (ſayth he) that I beleue that doctrine which was taught in king Edwardes time which is not hereſie, but truth, neither is it new, but as old as *CHRIST*, and his Apoſtles. If thou be at that point (ſayth ſhe) I require thee depart from my houſe, & out of my ſight, and neuer take me foꝛ thy mother hereafter. As foꝛ money & goods I haue none of thyne, thy father bequethed nought to heretickes. Fagots I haue to burne thee, moꝛe thou getteſt not at my handes.

Mother (ſayth he) whereas ye haue curſed me, I agayne pray God to bleſſe you, and pꝛoſper you all your life long, and with like ſoft talke, ſweete woꝛdes, and aboundance of teares tricklyng downe his cheekes, he departed from her, wherwith he ſo mollified her ſtony harte, that ſhe hurled an old Aungell after hym, and ſayd, take that to keepe thee a true man.

Iul. Palmer dꝛiuen from hys mother.

Thus poore Palmer, beyng deſtitute of woꝛldly frẽdſhyp, and cruelly repelled of her, whom he tooke to haue bene his ſureſt frend, wiſte not which way to turne his face. Soone after, when he had bethought him ſelfe, it came to his mind to returne ſecretly to Magd. College, vpon the aſſured truſt & affiance that he had on a pꝛiuie frend oꝛ two in yͤ houſe, where by yͤ ſute of one Alane Cope, thẽ felow of the houſe, he obteined letters commendatoꝛie from M. Cole the Pꝛeſident, foꝛ his pꝛefermẽt to a ſchole in Gloceſterſhyꝛe: ſo he getteth hym away, committed by hys frendes, to Gods diuine pꝛotection, which Cope accompanied him as farre as Cuſham Ferry.

Alane Cope a helper and ſuppoꝛter to *Iul. Palmer.*

Afterward as he went alone, muſing and ponderyng of matters, it came in his head to leaue his appointed iourney, and to returne cloſely to Readyng, truſting by the helpe of frendes, to receiue his quarters ſtipend, and cõuey his ſtuffe, to the cuſtody of ſome truſty body. To Readyng he commeth, and taketh vp hys lodgyng, at the Cardinalls hat, deſiryng his hoſtys inſtãtly, to aſſigne hym a cloſe chamber, where he might be alone from all reſoꝛte of company. He came not ſo cloſely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge therof. Wherfoꝛe without delay, they layd their heades together, and conſulted, what way they might moſt ſafely pꝛocede agaynſt hym, to bꝛyng theyꝛ old cãkered malice to paſſe. And ſoone it was concluded, that one M. Hamton (whiche then bare two faces in one hoode, and vnder the coulour of a bꝛother, played the part of a diſſemblyng hypocrite) ſhould reſoꝛte to hym, and vnder the pꝛetence of frendſhyp, ſhould feele and fiſhe out the cauſe of his repayꝛe to Readyng.

Hampt of Read a diſſembling hypocrite, and a fa iudge.

Palmer as he was a man ſimple, and without all wꝛincles of cloked colluſiõ, opened to him his whole intent. But Hamton earneſtly perſuaded hym to the cõtrary, declaryng what daunger might enſue, if this were attempted. Agaynſt his counſell, Palmer replyed very much: and as they waxed hoate in talke, Hamton flange away in a furie, and ſayd: As he had fiſhed, ſo he ſhould foule foꝛ hym. Palmer not yet ſuſpectyng ſuch pꝛepenſed and deuiſed miſchief as by this crooked and peſtiferous generation was now in bꝛuyng agaynſt hym, called foꝛ hys ſupper; and went quietly to bed. But quietly he could not long reſt there: Foꝛ foꝛthwith the officers and their retinue came ruſhyng in, with Lanternes and Billes and required hym in the Kyng and Queenes names, to make ready hym ſelfe, & quietly to departe with them. So the ſelly young man perceiuyng that he was thus Iudaſly betrayd, without openyng his lyppes, was led away as a lambe to the ſlaughter, and was committed to ward, whom the keeper as a rauenyng wolfe gredy of his pꝛay, bꝛought downe into a vyle ſtinkyng and blynd doungeon, pꝛepared foꝛ theeues & murtherers, and there he left him hangyng by the legges and feete in a payꝛe of ſtockes, ſo hygh, that no part of his body touched the ground.

Palmer betrayed and appꝛehended.

Palmer miſerably vſed in pꝛiſon.

In this pꝛiſon he remained ten dayes vnder the tyranny of this vnmercyfull keeper.

¶ Here foloweth the firſt examination and accuſation of Iulius Palmer.

AFter this, he was bꝛought befoꝛe the Maioꝛ, and there by the pꝛocurement of a falſe bꝛother, one Thomas Thackam (not M. Thackã of Durſley in Gloceſterſhyꝛe, but an other of the ſame name yet alyue, and no kyn to hym) which had then obtained the pꝛeferment of the ſchole, foꝛ hym and his aſſignes, he had diuers greuous & enoꝛmious crimes laid to his charge. Foꝛ this Thackã takyng on hym yͤ office of an accuſer, had ſuboꝛned three falſe witneſſes: to wit, Cox, Gateley, and Downer, which men vnder the name of bꝛethꝛen, had bene conuerſaunt with him, and robbed his ſtudy, as is afoꝛeſayd. Theſe burdened hym with treaſon, ſedition, ſurmiſed murther, and adulterie.

The firſt examination of *Iulius Palmer.*

Coxe, Gateley, Downer, thꝛee falſe perſecuting accuſers.

To whom Palmer aunſwered, that if ſuch hoꝛrible and heynous crimes, might be pꝛoued agaynſt hym, he would paciently ſubmit hym ſelfe to all kynde of toꝛmentes, that could be deuiſed. But O ye cruell bludſuckers (ſayth he) ye folow the old pꝛactiſes of your pꝛogenitours the woluiſh generation of Phariſeis and Papiſtes: but be ye well aſſured, that God already ſeeth your ſubtile deuiſes, and craftie packyng, and will not ſuffer this outragious furie of your venemous tõges & firie hartes to eſcape vnpuniſhed. All this while, no mencion was made of hereſie oꝛ hereticall wꝛitinges.

¶ Their greateſt proffes agaynſt him were theſe.

FIrſt, that Palmer ſayd, the Queenes ſwoꝛd was not put in her hand to execute tyꝛanny, and to kill & murther the true ſeruantes of God.

Euidence put by agaynſt *Palmer.*

Item, that her ſwoꝛd was to blũte towardes the Papiſtes, but towardes yͤ true Chꝛiſtians, it was to ſharpe.

Itẽ, that certaine ſeruauntes of Syꝛ Fraũces Knowles, and others, reſoꝛtyng to hys lectures, fell out among thẽ ſelues, and were lyke to haue committed murther: and therefoꝛe he was a ſowre of ſedition, and a pꝛocurer of vnlawfull aſſembles.

Note the woꝛſhipful pꝛou of theſe quarrel Papiſtes.

Item, that his hoſtys had wꝛitten a letter vnto hym, which they had intercepted, wherein ſhe requeſt hym to returne to Readyng, and ſent her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hyd vnder the beame. wherby they gathered, that ſhe had cõſpired with him to murther her huſband.

Item, that they found him alone with his hoſtys, by the fiers ſide, the dooꝛe beyng ſhut to them.

When this euidence was giuen vp, the Maior diſmiſſed them and went to dyner, commaundyng Palmer to the cage, to make him an open ſpectacle of ignominie to the eyes of the world. And Thackam the better to couer his owne ſhame, cauſed it to be bruted, that he was ſo puniſhed for his ill life and wickednes already proued agaynſt hym. In the after noone, Palmer came to his aunſwere, and did ſo mightely and clearely deface their euidence, and defend his owne innocency, prouyng alſo that the ſayd letters were by them ſelues forged, that the Maior him ſelfe was much aſhamed, that he had borne with thẽ, ſo that he ſought meanes, how they might conuey him away priuely.

But here among other thynges, this is not with ſilence to be paſſed ouer: that one Iohn Galant a zelous profeſſour of the Goſpell, a litle after this, came to the priſon, and found hym ſomewhat better intreated, thẽ before. When he beheld him, O Palmer (ſayth he) thou haſt deceaued diuers mens expectations, for we heare, that ye ſuffer, not for righteouſnes ſake, but for your owne demerites.

O brother Galant (ſayth he) theſe be ẏ old practiſes, of that Sathanicall broode. But be ye well aſſured, and God be prayſed for it, I haue ſo purged my ſelfe, and detected their falſhoode, that from hence forth I ſhalbe no more moleſted therewith. And there hauyng penne and inke, he did write part of this ſtory, here rehearſed. But now to theſe bloudy aduerſaries.

When they ſaw the matter frame ſo ilfauoredly, and fearyng that if he ſhould eſcape priuely, their doynges would tend no leſſe to their ſhame and daũger, then to the Maiors diſhoneſtie alſo, they deuiſed a new pollicie, to bryng to paſſe their long hidden and feſtred malice agaynſt hym: which was this extreme refuge. For whereas before they were partly aſhamed to accuſe him of hereſie, ſeyng they had bene counted earneſt brethren them ſelues, & partly afrayd, becauſe they had broken vp his ſtudy, & cõmitted theft: yet now, leaſt their iniquitie ſhould haue bene reueiled to the world, they put both feare & ſhame aſide, & began to refricate and rippe vp the old ſore, the ſkarre wherof, had bene but ſuperficially cured, as ye haue heard, and ſo to colour their former practiſes, with the pretenſe of his reformation in Religion, they charged hym with the writynges, that they had ſtolen out of his ſtudy.

Thus Palmer was once againe called out of priſon, to appeare before ẏ Maior, & Burd ẏ Officiall, & ij. other Iuſtices, to render an accompt of his fayth before thẽ, to aũſwere to ſuch informations, as were layd agaynſt him. And when they had gathered of his owne mouth, ſufficient matter to entrappe hym, they deuiſed a certificate or byll of inſtructions agaynſt him, to be directed to Doct. Ieffrey, who had determined to hold his viſitation the next Tueſday at Newbery, which was the x. of Iuly: and thus were theſe falſe witneſſes & bloudy accuſers wincked at, and the innocent deliuered to the Lyõ to be deuoured. When it was concluded that Palmer ſhould be ſent ouer to Newbery, the ſayd letters teſtimoniall were conueyed ouer together with hym, the contentes wherof, ſhall partly appeare hereafter. In the meane tyme I thinke it good here to rehearſe one example among other, both of a charitable affection towardes hym, and of hys modeſty correſpondent to the ſame.

M. Ryder of Redyng, a faithfull witnes of Gods truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had ben dealt withall in the priſon, and pyned away for lacke of neceſſaries, and how euidently he had proued him ſelfe Innocent before the officers, of ſuch crimes as were obiected agaynſt hym: he ſent to hym his ſeruaunt ſecretly, the night before his departure to Newbery, with a bowde groate in token of his good hart, requiryng him, to let hym vnderſtand, if he lacked neceſſaries, and he would prouide for him. Palmer aunſwered, the Lord reward your Maſter for hys beneuolence towardes me, a miſerable abiect in this world, and tell hym that (God be prayſed) I lacke nothyng.

Thomas Aſkine, or Robertes, fellow priſoner with *Iulius Palmer.*

In the mornyng before they toke their iourney Thomas Aſkine, *aliâs* Robertes, beyng felow priſoner with him in *CHRISTES* cauſe, ſittyng at breckfaſt, and beholding Palmer very ſadly leaning to a windowe, in the corner of the houſe, aſked why he came not to breckfaſt. Bicauſe I lacke money (ſaith Palmer) to diſcharge the ſhotte. Come on man (quoth he) God be prayſed, I haue inough for vs both. Which thyng whẽ M. Ryder hard of, it can not be expreſſed, how much he lamẽted that Palmer had deceiued hym with ſo modeſt an aunſwere.

Iulius Palmer brought to Newbery.

Thus to Newberie they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hoſtry of the blynd houſe, where they founde Iohn Gwyn, their faithfull brother in the Lord. Now, how they came before the conſiſtory of Doct. Ieffrey, & how he was examined, it doth in part appeare by this examination hereunto annexed: which although it be not ſo perfectly penned, as the report goeth it was ſpoken, nor perchaunce altogether in ſuch order: yet there is here not one ſentence more written, then was demaũded and aunſwered in the hearyng of aboue three hundreth perſons, gathered out of the ſeuerall notes of Iohn Hunt, Iohn Kyrry, Richard White and other.

Witneſſes to the ſtory.

¶ The ſecond examination and accuſation of Iulius Palmer, at Newbery.

Examinatiõ of *Iulius Palmer* before D. *Ieffrey* at Newbery.

IN the yeare. 1556. and the 10. of Iuly, foure ſeates were prepared in the quyre of the Pariſh Church of Newbery, for the viſitours, whoſe names here enſue: Doct. Ieffrey for the Byſhop of Sarum, Syr Richard Abridges Knight, M. Iohn Winchcom Eſquyer, and the Parſon of Inglefield. After the priſoners were preſented, the Commiſſion read, and other thynges done in order, Doct. Ieffrey called to Palmer & ſaid: Are you that iolly writer of three halfepeny bookes that we heare of?

D. Ieffrey, Syr Richard Abridges Knight, *M. Winchcombe,* Parſon of Inglefield. Iudges agaynſt *Iul. Palmer.*

Palmer. I know not what ye meane.

Ieffrey. Haue ye taught Latine ſo long, that now ye vnderſtand not Engliſh?

To this he aunſwered nothyng.

Then Doct. Ieffrey ſtanding vp, ſayd. We haue receaued certaine writynges and Articles agaynſt you, from the right worſhipfull the Maior of Readyng, and other Iuſtices. Wherby we vnderſtand, that beyng cõuented before thẽ, ye were conuict of certaine hereſies.

Firſt, that ye denie the Popes holynes ſupremacie.

Next, that there are but two Sacramentes.

Thirdly, that the Prieſt ſheweth vp an Idoll at Maſſe: and therfore ye went to no Maſſe, ſince your firſt commyng to Readyng.

Fourthly, that there is no Purgatory.

Laſt of all, that ye be a ſower of ſedicion, and haue ſought to deuide the vnitie of the Queenes ſubiectes.

Syr Richard Abridges. Ye were beſt ſee firſt, what he will ſay to his owne handy worke.

Ieffrey. Ye ſay truth. Tell me, Palmer art thou he that wrote this fayre Volume? Looke vpon it.

Palmer. I wrote it in deede, and gathered it out of the Scripture.

Ieffrey. Is this doggiſhe ryme yours alſo? looke.

Palmer. I wrote this, I denie not.

Ieffrey. And what ſay you to theſe Latine verſes, entituled Epicedion. &c. are they yours too?

Palmer. Yea Syr.

Ieffrey. Art thou not aſhamed to affirme it? It came of no good ſpirite, that thou diddeſt both rayle at the dead, and ſclaunder a learned and Catholicke man yet alyue.

Palmer. If it be a ſclaunder, he had ſclaundered him ſelfe: For I do but report his own writyng, and open the follie therin declared. And I recken it no railing to inuey agaynſt Annas and Cayphas beyng dead.

Ieffrey. Sayeſt thou ſo? I will make the recant it, and bring peccaui out of your lying lyps, ere I haue done with thée.

Palmer. But I know, that although of my ſelfe I be hable to do nothyng, yet if you and all myne enemyes both bodyly and ghoſtly, ſhould do your worſt, ye ſhall not be hable to bryng that to paſſe, neither ſhall ye preuaile agaynſt Gods mightie ſpirite, by whõ we vnderſtand the truth, and ſpeake it boldly.

Ieffrey. Ah, ye are full of the ſpirite: are ye inſpired with the holy ghoſt?

Palmer. Syr, no man can beleue, but by the inſpiration of the holy ghoſt. Therfore if I were not a ſpirituall man, and inſpired with Gods holy ſpirite, I were not a true Chriſtian. Qui ſpiritũ Chriſti non habet, hic non eſt eius. i. *He that hath not the ſpirite of Chriſt, is none of his.*

Ieffrey. I perceiue ye lacke no wordes.

The holy Ghoſt ſhall teach you in that houre what ye ſhall aunſwere. *Luke.12.*

Pal. Chriſt hath promiſed not onely to giue vs ſtore of wordes neceſſary, but with thẽ ſuch force of matter, as the gates of hell, ſhall not be hable to confound.

Ieffrey. *CHRIST* made ſuch a promiſe to his Apoſtles. I trow ye will not compare with them.

Palmer. With ẏ holy Apoſtles I wil not cõpare, neither haue I any affiãce in mine own wit or learning, which I know is but ſmall: yet this promiſe, I am certaine, pertaineth to all ſuch as are appointed to defend Gods truth agaynſt his enemies, in the tyme of their perſecution for the ſame.

Ieffrey. Then it pertaineth not to thée.

A maruell to the Papiſtes, that young mẽ ſhould haue the gift of the holy Ghoſt.

Palmer. Yes I am right well aſſured, that through his grace, it pertaineth at this preſent to me, as it ſhall I doubt not appeare, if ye geue me leaue to diſpute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I haue there written.

Ieffrey. Thou art but a beardles boy, ſtart vp yeſterday out of the ſcholes, and dareſt thou preſume to offer diſputations, or to encounter with a Doctour?

Gods ſpirite is not bound to place or perſon.

Palmer. Remember M. Doctour: Spiritus vbi vult ſpirat. Ex ore infantiũ. Et abſcondiſti hęc a ſapientibus. i. *The ſpirite breatheth where it pleaſeth hym. Out of the mouth of Infantes. And thou haſt hydden theſe things from the wiſe. &c.* God is not bound to tyme, wit, learning, place, nor perſon. And although your wytt & learnyng, be greater then mine, yet your belief in the truth, & zeale to defend the ſame, is not greater then myne.

Regiſter. Syr, if ye ſuffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will neuer haue done.

Note how theſe men dare not abide diſputation.

Ieffrey. Well, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that I haue it not in cõmiſſion at this preſent to diſpute with you, neither were it méete we ſhould call agayne into queſtion, ſuch Articles, as are already diſcuſſed, and perfectly defined, by our mother the holy Churche, whom we ought to beleue without why, or wherfore, as the Crede telleth vs. But the cauſe why ye be now called hether, is that ye might be examined vpon ſuch Articles, as are miniſtred agaynſt you, and ſuch matter as is here conteined in your hand writyng, that it may be ſéene, whether ye will ſtand to it, or nay. How ſay ye to this?

The Church of Rome is but a particular Church.

The Church is not to be beleued for her ſelfe.

Palmer. By your holy Church, you meane the Sinagoge of Rome, which is not vniuerſall, but a particular Church of ſhauelynges. The Catholicke Churche I beleue, yet not for her owne ſake, but becauſe ſhe is holy, that is to ſay, a Churche that groundeth her belief vpon the word of her ſpouſe *CHRIST*.

Ieffrey. Leaue railyng, & aũſwere me directly to my queſtion. Will ye ſtand to your writing, or will ye not?

Palmer. If ye proue any ſentẽce therin cõpriſed, not to ſtand with Gods word, I wil here preſently recãt it.

Ieffrey. Thou impudent felow, haue I not told thée, that I came not to diſpute wͭ thée but to examine thée.

Here the Parſon of Ingleſield, pointing to the pixe, ſayd. What ſéeſt thou yonder.

Palmer. A Canapy of ſilke broydred with gold.

Perſon. Yea, but what is within it.

Palmer. A péece of bread in a cloute.

Perſon. Thou art as froward an hereticke as euer I talked withall. Here was much ſpoken of confiteor and other partes of the Maſſe.

Perſon. Do ye not beleue that they which receaue the holy Sacrament of the aultar, do truly eate *CHRISTES* naturall body?

Palmer. If the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper be miniſtred, as *CHRIST* did ordeine it, the faythfull receauers do in déede ſpiritually and truly eate and drinke in it, *CHRISTES* very natural body and bloud.

Perſon. The faithfull receauers? ye can not blere our eyes with ſuch Sophiſtrie. Do not all maner receauers, good and bad, faithfull and vnfaithfull, receaue the very naturall body in forme of bread?

Palmer. No Syr.

Perſon. How proue ye that?

Palmer. By this place. Qui manducat me, viuet propter me. i. *He that eateth me, ſhall lyue for me.*

Perſon. Sée the fond felow, whiles he taketh hym ſelfe to be a Doctour of the lawe, ye ſhall ſée me proue him a ſtarke fooliſh daw. Do ye not read likewiſe, Quicunq; inuocauerit nomen Domini ſaluus erit. i. *Who ſoeuer inuocateth the name of the Lord, ſhalbe ſaued?* Ergo, Do none but ẏ godly call vpon him? therfore you muſt marke how S. Paul aunſwereth you. He ſayth, that the wicked do eate the true body to their condẽnation.

As Palmer was bent to aunſwere him at the full, the perſon interrupted him, crying ſtill, what ſayeſt thou to S. Paul?

Palmer. I ſay, that S. Paul hath no ſuch wordes.

Perſon. Sée, the impudent felow denyeth the playne text. Qui edit & bibit corpus Domini indigne, reus erit Iudicij. i. *He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord vnworthely, is giltie of iudgement.*

Palmer. I beſech you lend me your booke.

Perſon. Not ſo.

Syr Richard Abridges. I pray you lend hym your booke. So the booke was giuen ouer to him.

Palmer. Your own booke hath, Qui manducat hũc panem. &c. i. *He that eateth this bread.*

Perſon. But S. Hieromes tranſlation hath Corpus.

Palmer. Not ſo Maſter Perſon, and God be prayſed that I haue in the meane ſeaſon, ſhut vp your lyppes with your owne booke.

Ieffrey. It ſkilleth no matter, whether ye write bread or body, for we be able to proue that he ment the body. And whereas you ſay, they eate it ſpiritually, that is but a blynd ſhift of deſcant.

Palmer. What ſhould I ſay els?

Ieffrey. As holy Churche ſayth, really, carnally, ſubſtantially.

Palmer. And with as good Scripture, I may ſay groſly or monſtrouſly.

Ieffrey. Thou ſpeakeſt wickedly. But tell me: Is Chriſt preſent in the Sacrament, or no?

Palmer. He is preſent.

Ieffrey. How is he preſent.

Palmer. The Doctours ſay modo ineffabili. Therfore why do ye aſke me. Would God ye had a mynde ready to beleue it, or I a toung able to expreſſe it.

Ieffrey. What ſay you, to the Baptiſme of Infãtes.

Pal. I ſay that it ſtandeth with Gods word, & therfore it ought of neceſſitie to be retayned in ẏ Church.

Ieffrey. Ye haue forgotten your ſelfe Iwis, for ye write that children may be ſaued without it.

Palmer. So I write, and ſo I ſay.

Ieffrey. Then it is not neceſſarie to be frequented and continued in the Church.

Palmer. Your Argument is not good Maſt. Doctour.

Ieffrey. Will ye ſtand to it?

Palmer. Yea Maſter Doctour, God willyng.

Ieffrey. Note it regiſter.

More of his examination in that tyme and place is not yet come to our handes. When ſoeuer God ſendeth it, we will impart, and communicate the ſame to the reader. In the meane ſeaſon, we are credibly informed of this, that Syr Richard Abridges the ſame day after dynner was done, ſent for him to his lodging, and there in the preſence of diuers perſons, yet alyue in Newbery, frendly exhorted him to reuoke his opinion, to ſpare his young yeares, witte, and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and ſhew thy ſelfe corrigible, and repentaunt, in good faith (ſayth he) I promiſe thee before this company, I will giue thee meate, drinke and bookes, and x.l. yearely as long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt ſet thy mynd to Mariage, I will procure thee a wife, and a farme, and helpe to ſtuffe & fit thy farme for thee.

How ſayeſt thou?

Palmer thanked hym very courteouſly, and made him further aunſwere concernyng his Religion ſomewhat at large, but very modeſtly and reuerently, concludyng in the ende, that as he had already in two places renounced his lyuing for CHRISTES ſake, ſo he would with Gods grace be ready to ſurrender and yeld vp his life alſo for the ſame, when God ſhould ſend tyme.

When Syr Richard perceaued, that by no meanes he would relent: Well Palmer (ſayth he) then I perceaue that one of vs twayne ſhall be damned. For we be of two faythes, and certaine I am, that there is but one faith that leadeth to life and ſaluation.

Palmer. O Syr, I hope that we both ſhall be ſaued.

Sir Richard. How may that be?

Palmer. Right well Syr: For as it pleaſed our mercifull God accordyng to the Goſpels parable to call me at the third houre of the day, euen in my flowres, at the age of 24. yeares: euen ſo I truſt he hath called & will call you at the eleueth houre of this your old age, and giue you euerlaſting lyfe for your portion.

Syr Richard. Sayeſt thou ſo? well Palmer well, I would I might haue thee but one moneth in my houſe, I doubt not, but I would cõuert thee, or thou ſhouldeſt conuert me.

Thẽ ſaid M. Winchcome: Take pitie on thy golden yeares and pleaſaunt flowres of luſty youth before it be to late.

Palmer. Syr, I long for thoſe ſpringing floures that ſhall neuer vade away.

Winchome. If thou be at that point, I haue done with thee.

Then was Palmer commaunded agayn to the blynd houſe, but the other two ſeely men were led agayne the ſame after none to the conſiſtorie, and there were condemned and deliuered to the ſecular power of the Sheriffe there preſent, by name Syr Richard Rainſford.

It is reported alſo that Doct. Ieffrey offred Palmer a good lyuing if he would outwardly ſhew him ſelfe cõformable, kepyng his conſcience to him ſelfe, or at leſt declare that he doubted which was the trueſt doctrine. But we can not affirme it for a ſuretie.

The next mornyng the xj. of Iuly, Palmer was required to ſubſcribe to certayne Articles, whiche they had drawen out, touchyng the cauſe of his condemnation: in the front wherof, were packt together many haynous termes, as horrible, heretical, damnable, deuiliſh, and execrable doctrine. To theſe Palmer refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirmyng, that the doctrine which he profeſſed was not ſuch, but good and ſound doctrine.

Ieffrey. Ye may ſee good people, what ſhiftes theſe heretickes ſeeke to eſcape burnyng, when they ſee Iuſtice miniſtred. But I tell thee this ſtile is agreable to the law. And therfore I can not alter it.

Palmer. Then can not I ſubſcribe to it.

Ieffrey. Wilt thou thẽ craue mercy, if thou lyke not Iuſtice? and reuoke thy hereſie?

Palmer. I forſake the Pope & his Popelinges, with all Popiſh hereſie.

Ieffrey. Then ſubſcribe to thyne aunſwere.

Palmer. Alter the Epithetons, and I will ſubſcribe.

Ieffrey. Subſcribe and qualifie the matter with thine owne penne. So he ſubſcribed. Wherupon Doct. Ieffrey proceded to read ẏ Popiſh ſentẽce of his cruel condemnation, wherupon he was deliuered to the charge of the ſecular power, and was burned the ſame day in the after none about fiue of the clocke.

Palmer ſubſcribeth to hys articles.

The Popiſhe ſentence red agaynſt *Palmer*.

Within an houre before they went to the place of execution, Palmer in the preſence of many people, comforted his felowes with theſe wordes: Brethren (ſayth he) be of good chere in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the wordes of our Sauiour CHRIST, where he ſayth: *Happy are you, whẽ men reuile you, and perſecute you for my ſake. Reioyce and be glad for great is your reward in heauen. Feare not thẽ that kill the body, & be not hable to touche the ſoule. God is faythfull, and will not ſuffer vs to be tempted farther then we ſhalbe hable to beare.* We ſhall not ende our liues in the fire, but make a chaunge for a better lyfe. Yea for coales, we ſhall receaue pearles. For Gods ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite, that he hath euen now prepared for vs a ſweete ſupper in heauen, for his ſake which ſuffered firſt for vs.

Palmer comforteth his two felowe Martyrs goyng to their death.

With theſe and ſuch lyke wordes, he did not onely comforte the hartes of his ſely brethren, that were with him appoynted as ſheepe to be ſlayne, but alſo wreſted out plentyfull teares from the eyes of many that heard hym. And as they were ſingyng a Pſalme, came the Sheriffe Syr William Raynſford, and the Conſtables of the Towne with a great company of harneſed and weaponed men to conduct them to the fire. Now when they were come to the place, where they ſhould ſuffer, they fell all three to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voyce pronounced the xxxj. Pſalme: but the other two made their prayers ſecretly to almightie God.

Palmer, Gwyn, Aſkine, brought to the place of ſlaughter.

And as Palmer began to aryſe, there came behynde hym two Popiſhe Prieſtes, exhortyng hym yet to recant and ſaue his ſoule. Palmer aunſwered and ſayd: Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away I ſay from me, all ye that worke iniquitie. For the Lord hath heard the voyce of my teares. And ſo forthwith they put of their rayment, and went to the ſtake, and kyſſed it. And when they were bounde to the poſt, Palmer ſayd: Good people pray for vs, that we may perſeuere to the end. And for CHRISTES ſake beware of Popiſh teachers, for they deceiue you.

The wordes of *Palmer* to the popiſhe prieſtes.

As he ſpake this a ſeruaunt of one of the Conſtables, threw a Fagot at his face, that the bloud guſhed out in three places. For the which fact the Sheriffe reuyled hym by the name of a cruell tormentor, and with his goyngſtaffe brake his head, that the bloud lykewiſe fell about his ſhoulders. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold vppon theyr bodyes: they lift theyr handes towardes heauen and quietly and cherefully, as though they had felt no ſmart, they cried: Lord IESV ſtrengthen vs, Lord IESV aſſiſte vs, Lord IESV receaue our ſoules. And ſo they continued without any ſtruglyng, holdyng vp their handes, and knockyng their hartes, and callyng vpon IESV, vntill they had ended their mortall lyues.

The facte of a cruell tormentor.

The Shrieffe brake the tormentors head.

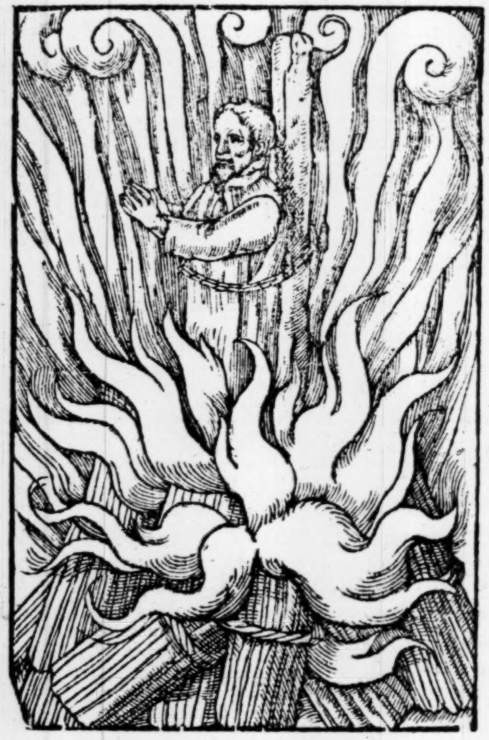
The wordes of theſe Martyrs at their death.

The Martyrdome of theſe three godly Saincts.

Among other thynges, this is alſo to be noted, that after their three heades by force of the ragyng and deuouryng flames of fire, were fallen together in a plumpe or cluſter, which was maruelous to behold, and they all iudged already to haue geuen vppe the ghoſt, ſodenly Palmer as a man waked out of a ſleepe, moued hys tounge and Iawes and was hard to pronounce IESV. So beyng reſolued into aſhes, he yelded to GOD as ioyfull a ſoule (confirmed with the ſweete promiſes of CHRIST) as any one that euer was called beſide, to ſuffer for his bleſſed name. God graunt vs all to bee moued with the lyke ſpirite, workyng in our hartes conſtantly to ſtand in defence and confeſſion of Chriſtes holy Goſpell, to the end, Amen.

A notable ſpectacle in the Martyrdome of *Iulius Palmer*.

¶ The burnyng of Iulius Palmer, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of Iulius Palmer at Newbery. An. 1556. Iuly. 16.

De martyrio Palmeri hexaſticon.

Epitaphium in Palmerũ.

Palmerus flammas Chriſti pro dogmate paſſus,
Impoſitum pondus, ceu bona palma tulit.
Non retroceſsit, ſed contra audentior iuit,
Illæſam retinens, fortis in igne fidem.
Propterea in cœlum nunc Palmifer iſte receptus,
Iuſtitiæ Palmam non pereuntis habet.

Iuſtus vt Palma florebit.

A memorable ſtory of one Agnes Wardall in the Towne of Ipſwiche, purſued for the true fayth of CHRISTES Goſpell.

Iuly.

A notable ſtorye of Agnes Wardall of Ipſwich.

D. Argentine ſcholemaſter, Mat. Butler Conſtable, Phil. Vlmes, Edm. Leach, Ioh. Steward, perſecutors.

About the ſayd moneth of Iuly, in this preſent yeare. 1556. there was one Richard Argentine, Doct. of Phyſicke, otherwiſe called Richard Sextẽ, with certaine other dwelling then in the Towne of Ipſwiche, not many in number, but in hart and purpoſe mightily bent to impugne and impeach the growyng of CHRISTES Goſpell, and the fauourers of the ſame. In the number of whõ were Philip Vlmes, Edmond Leache, Iohn Steward, and Mathew Butler Apothycarie, a curious ſinging man, a fine player of the Organes, a perfect Papiſt, and a diligent promoter of good men. This Butler beyng then Conſtable in the Towne of Ipſwiche, as he was in his watch by night vpon Cornehill, commeth to him Doct. Argentine in great haſt, geuyng him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, beyng then lately come home to her houſe in Ipſwiche. Wherupon immediatly ſuch a way was contriued betwene them, that the ſaid Agnes Wardall forthwith ſhould be apprehended: but God in whoſe prouidence the direction of all thinges conſiſteth, by whoſe diſpoſition they haue their operation, ſo gratiouſly prouided for his ſeruant, and ſo preuented their malignant deuiſes, that they came to no great effect in workyng, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here conſequently you ſhall further vnderſtãd.

This Agnes Wardall was a woman that lyued in Gods feare, and was at defiance with their Romiſh traſh, deſiryng rather with hard fare and euill lodging to be abroad, then to be at home in her houſe, & among the tentes of the vngodly: Her huſband alſo being a mã lyuing in the feare of God, and for the teſtimony of his conſcience beyng alſo hunted, by force of the law was conſtrained to auoyde his houſe, and got into a Crare with an honeſt man, ſeruyng as a ſayler, a facultie not before of him frequented, nor he a man nymble for that trade, becauſe God had geuen him an impediment by reaſon of a ſtumped foote, vnfit to clymbe to top and yard: yet ſo it pleaſed God to enhable him with hys ſtrength, that he was ſtrong and luſty to do good ſeruice, as they can well witnes that were of his cõpany.

The ſayd Agnes Wardall chaũced on a day to come home to ſee her poore houſe and childrẽ, which was vnder the guidyng of a young mayd, and beyng eſpyed, newes was borne to Doct. Argentine, who hauyng knowledge therof, as is afore ſaid, went ſpedily vnto yͤ Apothecary the Conſtable aforeſaid, and informed him what a notable cure was to be wrought on Wardals wife, in the apprehendyng of her. Which was more like to ſpede then myſſe, had not the mightie prouidẽce of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

This knowen to the Conſtable the watch was charged ſpedely, and eche company ſent to his place. And Argentine and Butler tooke vnto them a good nomber, and forth they go vnto the houſe of this poore woman to lay handes vpon her, and beſet the houſe on the foreſide and backeſide, lying open in the fieldes, and other ſome were ſet to the houſe of his mother, which was not farre from his houſe. This done, one knockt at the ſtreet doore, where Argentine and Butler was, with one of their weapons, and no aunſwere was made: the ſecond tyme ſomwhat harder, but had no aunſwere. In the meane tyme they fearyng that ſome conueyance was made, knocked the thyrd tyme more harder then before.

There was not far from the doore where they knocked, a certein bay wyndow where one might looke out, and ſpeake: And ſo at the third knockyng, a woman, who at that time was tenant to Robert Wardalls mother, & had but two nightes before lien in yͤ houſe, ſpeakyng out hard by their eares, aſked who was there?

Ah ſyrrha, quoth Argentine, are ye ſo nie & will not ſpeake? How fortuned it that ye ſpake not at the firſt, beyng ſo nie? How fortuned it, quoth the woman? Mary I ſhall tell you: I am but a ſtraunger here, and I haue heard ſay, that there be ſpirites walkyng hereabout, which if a man do aunſwere at the firſt call, or ſecond, he ſtandes in great daunger: and I was neuer ſo afrayd of my lyfe. At this her anſwere, they laughed, and commaunded her to open the doore in the Queenes name: for they were the Queenes watch.

Agnes Wardall beyng at that tyme in bed in an inner chamber, hauing her mayd with her, and her two children, ſhe beyng at that time very heauy a ſleepe, hard not the knockyng. Her mayd hearyng at the ſecõd knocke, called & ſhogged her dame, and with much ado, awaked her, and ſayd: the watch is at the doore. What thou lyeſt, ſaid ſhe. Yes truly, ſaid the mayd, and hath knockt twiſe. With that ſhe aroſe with all ſpeede, and put on her clothes very ſleyghtly, and tooke with her a bocarom apron, which afterward ſhe caſt on her head when ſhe was fayne to creepe in a ditch with nettels, and ſo paſſed down into a parlour, wherein ſtode a cupbord with a fayre preſſe, into the which the mayd did locke her.

And immediatly went vp to a chamber, which was hard by the ſtreete, where ſhe might ſee and ſpeake to the watch, and ſayd: who is there. Then they bad her open the doore. And ſhe ſayd, we haue no candle. And they ſayd, open the doore or we will lay it in the floore: With that ſhe came down & opened the doore. Then aſked they the mayde: who is within? And ſhe ſaid, none but a woman that dwelleth within vs, & two children. Thẽ ſaid they, where is thy dame? Truly, ſaid ſhe, I cã not tell, ſhe is not within. She was here in yͤ euenyng, ſayd they. Yea, ſaid yͤ mayd, but ſhe went forth I know not whether. Notwithſtandyng they charged her that ſhe knew where ſhe was, which ſhe denyed. Then got they a candle light at one of the neighbours houſes, and came in: and in the entry met the woman which had aunſwered them at the wyndow, and ſayd, ſhe was afrayd of ſpirites. Argentine looking vpon her, clapt her on the backe, & ſayd: thou art not the womā whom we ſeeke for.

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So entred they yͤ houſe, & ſearched a parlour next the ſtreet where the woman lay, which was his mothers tenant, & a young child that ſucked on her breſt, and not onely in the bed turnyng it downe paſt all honeſt humanitie, but alſo vnder the bed, behind the painted clothes, and in the chymney, and vp into the chymney. And findyng the bed hoate, ſayd: who lay here in the bed. The woman ſayd: I and my child. And none els, quoth they. No, ſayd the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpoſe, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in the which ſtode the cupbord wherein ſhe was, and ſearched the parlour, which was but a litle one. And one of the cōpany laying his hand on yͤ cupbord, ſayd: this is a fayre cupbord, ſhe may be here for any thyng that is done. That is true, ſayth an other of them. Notwithſtādyng they looked no farther, but went frō that into the chāber a loft, wherin the ſaid Agnes had layen with her mayd and childrē, with all other rowmes and chambers.

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At length came downe into the yarde, where they found a horſe tyed at a pale eating of ſhorne graſſe. Then aſked they yͤ maide: whoſe horſe is this? She anſwered, it is her horſe in dede, and ſhe came in before night, and went abroad agayne, but I know not whether. Then were they in good hope to finde their pray, and beſtyrred them with ſpeede, and went into an out chamber that was in the yarde, in which was a boy in bed of 13. or 14. yeres old. And being in his dead ſlepe, they ſodenly awaked hym, and examined him for his dame. Who aunſwered he knew not where ſhe was. and vnto that ſtode firmly, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poore ſely boy, but alſo to the good ſimple plaine mayd. Then cauſed they him to ariſe and dreſſe him, and ſent both mayd and boy vp to the cage, where they put the mayd, but kept the boy amōg their truſty ſouldiours, ſo that one of them ſhould not ſpeake with an other.

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Now, while ſome were on the cornehill, and other ſome ſearching the neighbours houſes and backeſides, the wife of Wardall beyng in the preſſe faſt locked, and almoſt ſmothered for want of breath, deſired the womā her mothers tenaunt, when ſhe hard her in the Parlour, to let her out. She aſked her where yͤ keyes were: Who aūſwered they were in a hāper, which ſhe found and aſſayed to vnlocke the preſſe, and of a long tyme could not. Then deſired ſhe her to breake it open: for (ſayd ſhe) I had rather fall into their handes, then to kill my ſelf. Then went her mothers tenaunt, & ſought for her huſbādes hammer and chyſel, to breake it open, but could not find it, nor any thyng els to breake it opē with all, and came agayne and told her ſhe could finde nothyng to breake it open with.

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Then ſayd ſhe, aſſay agayne to open it, for I truſt God will geue you power to open it. And being within in much extremitie, ſhe hartily prayed vnto God, who heard her prayer, and helped her: for at the firſt aſſay and turne of the key, it opened eaſely. When ſhe came out, ſhe looked as pale and as bleake as one that were layd out dead by the walles, and as ſhe her ſelfe looked afterward when ſhe was dead, as the ſame womā reported, which thē let her out, and was alſo at her death long after in yͤ Queenes Maieſties raigne that now is, and all on a vehement ſweate was the lyke droppes of rayne.

Then went ſhe out into the backeſide, where was a pale toward the fieldes for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or ij. loſe pales, by the which both ſhe and her huſband had diuers times vſed to come and go in & out: ſo went ſhe out into yͤ fieldes. And paſſyng one litle field and ouer a ſtile, ſhrouded her ſelfe in a low ditch with nettles: and couered her head with the bocarom apron afore mentioned, and ſo crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long ſearch, when they could not find her in the towne, certaine of the watch returned agayne into the fieldes ſide: among whom was one George Mannyng with Iohn Bate the crier of the ſame towne commyng together. This Mannyng was a ſimple honeſt playne mā, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in Q. Maries time would haue bene a Prieſt, as it was reported, but that he was maryed.

Iohn Bate cryer of Ipſwich, a ſpitefull enemie agaynſt Gods people.

Mannyng eſpying where ſhe lay, gaue a hemme, & made a noyce with his bill, he being before Bate, at the which ſhe lay ſtill: and at laſt they departed to the ſtreet ſide to the Conſtable. All this tyme the mayd was in the cage, and the boy with the other of the watch vntill perfite day light. Then went they vp and let out the mayd, and ſent her home, & the boy alſo: but they made the mayd beleue they had found her dame. Who aunſwered: if ye haue her, kepe her faſt.

Another eſcape of Ag. Wardall by Gods good prouidence.

On the morow, Mannyng ſent her word to beware that ſhe ſhould hyde her ſelfe no more ſo neare.

George Manning an honeſt man.

Thus by the might and power of God was his faithfull ſeruaunt deliuered from their cruelty, and they knowen to be his aduerſaries, not onely at that tyme, but diuers tymes after and before. Notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Argentine at his firſt commyng to Ipſwiche, came in a ſeruyng mans coate. And then beyng in the dayes of kyng Henry the viij. he would accuſtomably vſe the readyng of Lectures him ſelfe, in the which he was well commended at that tyme. After obtained the office of vſher of the free Grammer ſchole: and the Maſter beyng dead, got to be maſter him ſelfe. And beyng maryed to a very honeſt woman, remained there the dayes of king Edward. And when God toke him from vs for our iuſt deſerued plague, & Queene Mary came to her raygne, none more hoate in all Papiſtrie and ſuperſtition, then he, payntyng the poſtes of the towne with viuat Regina Maria, in euery corner.

The doinges and conditions of Doct. Argentine deſcribed.

D. Argentine in king Edwardes tyme a Proteſtant.

D. Argentine in Q. Maryes tyme a foule Papiſt, and perſecutor.

Furthermore, after the death of his wife (which was an honeſt woman) was made a Prieſt, takyng vppon him diuers times to preache (but neuer without his whyte miniuer hode) ſuch doctrine as was ſhamefull to heare, ſaying Maſſe, and caryng about the pixe in hye proceſſions. Furthermore, leadyng the boy S. Nicolas with his miniuer hode, about the ſtreetes for apples and bely chere. And who ſo would not receaue him, he made them heretickes, and ſuch alſo as would not giue his fagot to the bonefire for Queene Maryes child. And thus continued he at Ipſwich the moſt part of Queene Maryes dayes, moleſtyng there good men: ſome for not goyng to the Church: ſome for not beyng confeſſed: ſome for not receauyng, &c. till at length, toward the end of Queene Mary, he came to Lōdon, and in this Queenes tyme began to ſhew him ſelfe agayne a perfect proteſtant. And thus much of Argentine. Ex teſtimonio Petri Moonæi.

The trouble of Peter Moone and his wife, & of other godly Proteſtantes at Byſhops Hoptons viſitation in Ipſwiche.

IN the yeare of our Lord God. 1556. The ſceane or viſitation, being kept before Whiteſontyde, in the towne of Ipſwich in Suffolke, by Doct. Hopton beyng thē Byſhop of Norwich, and Myles Dunnynges, beyng then his Chauncelour, diuers and ſondry godly Proteſtantes, through the accuſation of euil men, were ſore troubled & preſented before him: among whom were accuſed one Peter Moone a Taylor, and Anne his wife: for their diſobedience to the law, in not ſhewyng their readynes to come to the Church, and to bee partaker of ſuch Romiſh obſeruaunces as at that tyme were vſed.

Peter Moone accuſed to B. Hopton.

3. Articles obiected to *Peter Moone*.

And firſt the ſayd Peter Moone was commaunded to come before the Byſhop, where he was examined of three ſondry Articles, to witte: 1. Whether the Pope were ſupreme head: 2. Whether Kyng Philippe and Queene Mary were right inheritours to the crowne. 3. And whether in the Sacrament of the aultar was the very body of *CHRIST* ſubſtancially and really there preſent.

Peter Moone graunteth to the biſhops articles through infirmitie.

Unto the which, the ſayd Peter being timerous and weake, fearyng more the face of man then the heauy wrath of God, affirmed and in maner graunted vnto yͤ demaũdes. Wherupon yͤ Biſhop being in good hope that although he had not come to the Church, nor receiued their Sacrament of the altar, nor bene ready to do his duety as the law had commaũded: yet there ſhewing his minde, ſayd, that he liked well yͤ man: for ſuch as haue ben (ſaid he) earneſt in euill things, will alſo be earneſt in yͤ that is good & godly, if once they be wonne.

Commendation of *Sharpe* of Ipſwich.

Rich. Sharpe of Ipſwich repenteth hys Popery at hys death.

Thus as this ſpirituall father was commendyng his carnall child, and rather preferring him to hell fire, then vnto the ſincere word and commaundementes of God, it chaunced amongeſt many others in the chamber, was one of the portmen of the ſame towne named Sharpe, an earneſt member of their Romiſh law, doyng of a very conſciẽce that he did, who after the death of Queene Mary liued not many yeares, but rendred his life in godly repentaunce, proteſtyng that if God ſhould ſuffer him tp liue, he would neuer be the man he had bene before, what lawes ſoeuer ſhould come againe: ſo that before the time of his ſickenes, he frequẽtyng earneſtly the Sermons made in the ſame towne by diuers godly learned, would wepe as it had bene a child, beyng notwithſtandyng of courage as ſtoute a man as any was in Ipſwiche. Such is the maruelous mercy of God, in callyng to his kyngdome, whom, and when he pleaſeth.

Sharpe accuſeth *Moones* wife.

This portman aforeſayd, perceiuyng the Byſhop thus, as it were, at an end with the ſaid Moone, and ſo he like to be diſcharged, ſaid vnto yͤ Biſhop: my Lord, in dede I haue a good hope in the man, and that he will be conformable: but my Lord, he hath a perillous woman vnto his wife. For I will tell you my Lorde, ſhe neuer came to Church yet, ſince the Queenes reigne, except it were at euenſong, or when ſhe was churched. And not then vntill Maſſe were done. Wherfore your good Lordſhyp might do a good deede to cauſe her to come before you, and to ſee if ye could do any good. And therfore I beſech your good Lordſhyp to commaunde him to pray her to come before your Lordſhip.

At the which wordes, Moone was ſomwhat ſtirred in that he ſayd, commaund him to pray her to come before your Lordſhip. And he ſayd vnto him, vnder my Lordes correction I ſpeake, I am as able to commaũd her to come before my Lord, as ye are to commaunde yͤ worſt boy in your houſe. Yea my Lord, ſaid yͤ other, I cry your Lordſhyp mercy: I haue informed your Lordſhip with an vntroth, if this be ſo. But if he be ſo able as he ſayth, he might haue commaunded her to haue come to Churche in all this tyme, if it had pleaſed him. Well ſayd the Byſhop, looke ye come before me agayne at after noone, and bryng your wife with you: I will talke with her.

Peter Moone commaunded to bring hys wife before the Byſhop.

As my Lordes dyner at that tyme was ſeruyng vp, Moone departed and taried not to take part therof, hauing ſuch an hard breakfaſt giuen him before to digeſt. At after noone Moone delayd and waited his tyme, bethinkyng when he might moſt cõueniently come, eſpecially when his accuſer and his wiues ſhould not haue bene there. And accordyng to commaundement came with his wife, which was not ſo ſecretly, but his accuſer had knowledge therof, and came with all expeditiõ in ſuch poſt ſpeede, that in a maner he was wyndleſſe entryng into the Biſhops chamber.

Moone & hys wi brought fore the Byſhop.

The Biſhop hearyng that Moone & his wife were come, called for them, and ſaid to Moone: Is this your wife Moone? Yea my Lord, ſaid he. O good Lord (ſaid the Biſhop) how a man may be deceaued in a woman. I promiſe you a mã would take her for as honeſt a woman, by all outward appearaunce, as can be. Why my Lord, ſaid Moones wife, I truſt there is none that can charge me with any diſhoneſtie, as concernyng my body. I defie all the world in that reſpect.

B. Hopton preferreth xx. men cõmitting adultery, before one woman tranſgreſſing the Popes ordinaunces.

Nay (quoth the Biſhop) I meane not, as cõcernyng the diſhoneſty of thy body: but thou hadſt bene better to haue geuen the vſe of thy body vnto xx. ſondry men, then to do as thou haſt done. For thou haſt done as much as in the lyeth, to plucke the King & the Queenes Maieſties out of their royall ſeates, through thy diſobedience, in ſhewyng thy ſelfe an open enemy vnto Gods lawes, and their procedinges.

Then began the Biſhop to examine the ſaid Moone agayn, with the aforeſaid Articles, & his wife alſo. And hearyng her huſband relent, dyd alſo affirme the ſame, which turned vnto either of them no ſmall trouble of mind afterward, but yet neither were they like thus to eſcape, but that in the meane tyme Dunnyng the Biſhops Chauncelour came vp in great haſt, and brought newes to the Biſhop, that there were ſuch an nomber of heretickes come, of which ſome came from Boxford, ſome from Lanham, and about from the cloth countrey, that it would make a man out of his wittes to heare them, and there are among them both heretickes and Anabaptiſtes, ſayd he. And thus Doct. Dunnyng with his bloſteryng wordes interruptyng Moones examination, went downe agayne as the deuil had driuẽ him, to keepe his ſturre among them, and to take order what ſhould be done with them.

The Byſhop beginnyng to bewayle the ſtate of the countrey, in that it was ſo infected with ſuch a number of heretickes and rehearſing partly their opinions to thoſe that were at that tyme in the chãber, Moones wife had a young child, which ſhe her ſelfe nurſed, and the child beyng brought into the yarde vnder the Byſhops chamber cryed, ſo that ſhe heard it, and then ſayd: My Lorde, I truſt ye haue done with me. My child crieth beneth, I muſt go giue my child ſucke, with ſuch like wordes. And the Biſhop being, as it were, out of mynd to talke with thẽ any more, ſayd: go your way, I will talke with you in the mornyng: looke ye bee here againe in the mornyng: with this they both departed.

Moones childe a part of Gods prouidence in their deliuerance from further trouble.

And beneath in the ſtone hall of the ſame houſe, the Chauncelour Dunnyng beyng very buſie about hys bloudy buſines, eſpyed Moone and his wife comming, and muſt nedes paſſe by the place where he ſtode, and ſayd: Nay ſoft, I muſt talke with you both: for ye are as euil as any that are here to day. To whom Moones wife anſwered: My Lord hath had vs in examination, and therfore ye ſhall haue naught to do with vs. Nay, quoth he, ye ſhall not ſo eſcape, I muſt talke with you alſo. Unto whom Moone aunſwered: In the preſence of the more, yͤ leſſe hath no power: My Lord hath takẽ order with vs, and therefore we are as hys Lordſhyp hath appoynted, and muſt repayre before him agayne to morow. At yͤ which he let them go, although he was earneſtly procured by yͤ partie aboue ſpecified, to haue ſhewed his qualitie, which was nothing els but tirãny.

Moones aunſwere to the By ſhops Chauncellor.

Moone & hys wi eſcaped f the Biſho and his Chauncellour.

So departed Moone and his wife without hurt of body: but afterward when they with Peter the Apoſtle beheld the face of *CHRIST*, they were ſore wounded in cõſciences, aſhamed of their doinges, and alſo at the doore of deſperation. In ſo much, that when the ſayd Moone came home to hys houſe, and entryng into a parlour alone by him ſelfe, cõſideryng his eſtate, and ſaw where a ſword of his did hang agaynſt a wall, was earneſtly allured by the enemy Sathan to haue taken it down, and therwith to haue ſlayne hym ſelf: but God, who caſteth not away the penitent ſinner repentyng his fall with hart, defẽded his vnworthy ſeruaunt from that temptation, & hath (I truſt) left him to the amendement of lyfe by the aſſiſtaunce of his holy ſpirite

Moone & his wi cõfounded in cõſcienc for their denial.

Moone ſeeketh t kill him ſelf, but b Gods mercifull prouidenc was preſerued.

and to make him one among the elect that ſhalbe ſaued.

The morow they both remayned and kept houſe with no ſmall grief of conſciēce waytyng and lookyng with feare, whē to be ſent for to the Biſhop, rather thē offeryng their diligence to kepe the Byſhops appointment, but God ſo wrought that when the tyme drew neare that they feared callyng forth, the bels ronge for the byſhops departure out of the towne. For the which they were not onely glad, but alſo many a good hart in Ipſwiche reioyſed and gaue thankes to God. God for hys mercy graunt that our ſinne neuer deſerue to prouoke Gods ire, that the lyke dayes come agayne. And if it ſo do, God make them, with all other weakelynges, ſtrong and worthy ſouldiours to incoūter with the ghoſtly enemies, the world, the fleſh, and the deuill. And boldly to ſtand to the confeſſion of *CHRIST*, and of his Goſpell, ſaying with the Apoſtles: *Whether it be right in the ſight of God, that we ſhould obey you more then God, iudge ye.*

ods pro- uidence in oung a- y the yſhop.

eſtified re- ed by eter oone.

☞ *A tragicall, lamentable, and piti*full hyſtory, full of moſt cruell and tyrannicall murder, done by the pretenſed Catholiques, vpon thre women and an Infant: to wytte, the mother, her ij. daughters, and the child, in the Iſle of Garneſey, for Chriſtes true Religion, the yeare of our Lord. 1556. Iuly. 18.

he Mar- dome of women th a ung In- t, burnt e Iſle Garne- . ly. 18.

AMong all & ſingular hyſtories touched in this booke before, as there be many pitifull, diuers lamentable, ſome horrible and tragical: ſo is there none almoſt either in cruelty to be compared or ſo farre of from all compaſſion and ſenſe of humanitie, as this mercyles fact of the Papiſtes, done in the Iſle of Garneſey, vpon thrée women and an infant, whoſe names be theſe, as folow.

- Katherine Cawches, *the mother.*
- Guillemine Gilbert, *the daughter.*
- Perrotine Maſſey, *the other daughter.*
- *An Infant, the ſonne of* Perrotine.

But before I come to the purpoſe of this ſtory, it ſhalbe neceſſary, for the better explaning of the matter, to begyn firſt with the circumſtances, whereupon the firſt originall & occaſion dyd riſe of this tragicall cruelty. The caſe was this.

The xxvij. day of May, an. 1556. in the Iſle of Garnſey, which is a mēber of Englād, in a town there called S. Peters Port, was a noughty womā named Vincēt Goſſet, who beyng euill diſpoſed, went (the day aforeſayd) to the houſe of one Nicolas le Conronney, dwellyng in the towne of the ſayd S. Peters Porte, about x. of the clocke at night, and there takyng the key of the houſe (lying vnder the doore) entred into a chamber toward the ſtréete, where ſhe eſpyeng a cuppe of ſiluer within a cuphord, tooke it a'way, and ſo conueyed her ſelfe out of the houſe agayne. Who immediatly after this fact done, (whether by counſell or by what occaſiō els, I haue not to ſay) brought the ſayd cup to one Perrotine Maſſey, an honeſt woman, dwellyng in the ſayd towne, deſiryng her to lend her. vj. d. vpon the ſame.

e firſt ſion of trouble theſe men.

Perrotine ſeyng the cup or goblet, and ſuſpecting (as truth was) the ſame to be ſtollen, aunſwered that ſhe would not take it: yet neuertheles hauyng knowledge of the owner thereof, tooke it, to reſtore it agayne to whom it dyd appertayne, and to the ende ſhe ſhould not cary it to an other, gaue her then preſently vj. d. Where moreouer is to be noted, that Thomas Effart ſayth and teſtifieth, that knowledge was giuen by the ſayd Perrotine to Conronney touchyng the ſtealyng of his péece, who eſtſoones vpon the myſſing therof attached ẏ ſaid Vincent Goſſet of the treſpaſſe. Who beyng apprehended & examined vpon ẏ ſame, immediatly confeſſed the fact, deſiryng to haue one ſent with her (which was Collas de Loutre) with vj. d. to fette agayne the goblet, where it was: And ſo did.

Nicho. Cary Conſtable, accuſer.

The next day folowyng, the kynges officers beyng informed of the premiſſes by one Nicolas Carye of the ſayd towne Conſtable, aſſembled the Iuſtices there, to inquire and examine further, as well vpon that fact of Vincent Goſſet, as vppon other griefes and thynges there amiſſe. So that after declaration made by the officers and the Conſtable before the Iuſtice, for that the ſayd Conſtable did reporte to haue found certeine veſſell of peuter in the houſe of the foreſayd Perrotine Maſſey (who then dwelt with her mother Katherine Cawches, and her ſiſter Guillemyne Guilbert) the which veſſell dyd beare no marke, and eſpecially for that there was a peuter diſhe, wherof the name was ſcraped out, their bodyes vpon the ſame were attached, and put in priſon, and their moueable goodes taken by Inuentory. Within a fewe dayes after theſe thinges done and paſt, theſe thrée ſely women abydyng thus induraunce in the Caſtle, made their ſupplication to the Iuſtices to haue iuſtice miniſtred vnto them, videlicet: If they had offended the law, then to let them haue the law: if not, beſechyng to graunt thē the benefite of ſubiectes. &c. Which ſupplication put vp, thereupon were they appointed to come to their aūſwere the v. day of Iune, in the yeare aforeſayd. Vpō which day, after ſtraight examinyng of the matter, and the honeſt aunſweryng of the cauſe by the ſayd good women, at the laſt they ſubmitted thē to the report of their neighbours, that they were no théeues, nor euil diſpoſed perſones, but liued truly and honeſtly, as became Chriſtiā women to do, the falſe and vntrue reporte of their accuſers notwithſtandyng.

Katherine with her two daughters, impriſoned in the Caſtle.

Katherin with her two daughters, ſtand to the iudgement of their neighbours.

So the cauſe beyng thus debated, after the inquirie made by the kynges officers, they were found by their ſayd neighbours not giltie of that they were charged with, but had liued alweayes as honeſt women among them: ſauyng only that to the cōmaundementes of holy Church, they had not bene obedient. &c. Vppon this triall, and verdite of the neighbours, it was in fine adiudged, firſt that the ſayd Vincent Goſſet, beyng atteinted of felony and condemned for the ſame ſhould be whipped, and after her eare being nayled to the Pillory ſhould ſo be baniſhed out of the Iſle without further puniſhment. And as touchyng the other thrée women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not comming to the Church, they were returned priſoners agayne into the Caſtle the firſt of Iuly. And thus farre concernyng the true diſcourſe of this matter, with all the circumſtances and appurtenance of the ſame in euery poynt as the caſe ſtode, accordyng to the faithfull tenour & teſtimony of the Garneſey men written with their own handes both in the French & Engliſh toūg. Wherein you ſée what falſe ſurmiſed matter was pretended agaynſt theſe women, and nothing proued, and how by the atteſtation of their neighbours they were fully clered of that fact, and ſhould by the temporall Court haue bene diſmiſſed, had not the ſpirituall Clergy men pykyng matter of Religion agaynſt them, exerciſed ſuch extremitie in perſecuting theſe miſerable priſoners, that in no caſe they could eſcape their bloudy handes, till at length they had brought thē (as you ſhall heare) to their finall end. For after ẏ time of this declaration aboue mētioned made by the neighbours, wherby they were purged of all other thinges, and beyng then knowen of their not commyng to the Church, the Bailiffes Lieutenaunt & the Iuſtice, thinkyng the matter not to perteine to thē, but to the Clergy, forthwith wrote their letters or mandate vnder their ſignes, to ẏ Deane, whoſe name was Iaques Amye, & Curates of the ſayd Iſle: The contentes wherof here foloweth.

The thrée women quit of theft and diſhoneſtie.

New trouble agaynſt the thrée women, for not cōming to the church.

Iaques Amye Deane of Garneſey, perſecutor.

¶ A Letter ſent from the Bailiffes Lieutenaunt, and Iurates of Saint Peters Porte, to the Deane and Curates of the Iſle of Garneſey.

MAſter Deane, and Iuſtices in your Court and iuriſdiction, after all amiable recommēdations, pleaſeth you to know that we are informed by the depoſition

tion of certaine honeſt men, paſt before vs in maner of an inquiry: in the which inquiry Katherine Cawches and her two daughters haue ſubmitted them ſelues in a certeine matter criminall. wherein we be informed that they haue bene diſobedient to the commaundementes, and ordinaunces of the Church, in contemnyng and forſaking the Maſſe and the ordinaunces of ẏ ſame, agaynſt the will and commaundement of our ſoueraigne Lord the Kyng and the Queene. wherof we ſend you the ſayd matter for aſmuch as the matter is ſpirituall, to the ende you may procede therin after your good diſcretions, and as briefly as you can poſſible, and alſo that it perteyned to your office, recommendyng you to God, the whiche geue you grace to doe that pertaineth to right and iuſtice. writtē the firſt day of the moneth of Iuly, the yeare of our Lord. 1556.

After theſe letters, and information thus addreſſed to Iaques Amy Deane, and to other of the Clergy, the ſayd women were agayne commēſed before the Iuſtice aforeſaid with his aſſiſtances. In the preſence of whom they beyng examined of their faith, concernyng the ordinances of the Romiſh Church, made their anſwers that they would obey and kéepe the ordinances of the Kyng & Quéene, & the cōmaundemētes of the Church, notwithſtandyng that they had ſayd & done ẏ contrary in the tyme of kyng Edward the vj. in ſhewyng obedience to his ordinances and cōmaundementes before. After which aūſwere taken, they were returned agayn to priſon, vntill the other had an annſwere of their letter from the Deane and his complices. Duryng which tyme, the Deane & Curates gaue their informatiō touchyng the ſayd women, & deliuered ẏ ſame to the Bailife & Iurates, condemnyng & reputyng them for heretickes, the women neither hearing of any informatiō, neither yet beyng euer examined at any tyme before of their fayth and Religion. Whereupon when the ſayd Bailife and Iurates vnderſtode that the ſayd Deane and Curates had not examined the women of their fayth, would not ſit in iudgement on that day, but ordayned the women to come firſt before the Deane and Curates to be examined of their faith. And ſo the officers at the commaundement of the Iuſtices, did fetch and preſent them before the ſayd Deane and Curates. The which beyng accompliſhed and done, they were examined a part ſeuerally one from an other. After which examination they incontinently were returned agayne into priſon.

Raſh information geuen, before the cauſe was heard.

Katherine Cawches, Ferrotine Maßey, Guillemine Guilbert, examined before the Deane and hys felowes.

Then the xiiij. day of the ſayd moneth of Iuly, in the yeare aforeſayd, after the examination aboue ſpecified before Elyer Goſſelin Bailyfe, in the preſence of Thomas Deuicke, Pierres Martine, Nicolas Cary, Iohn Blondel, Nicolas de Liſle, Iohn Leuerchaunt, Iohn le Feuer, Pierres Bonnamy, Nicolas Martine, Iohn de la March Iurates, Syr Iacques Amy Deane, and the Curates, did deliuer before ẏ Iuſtice vnder ẏ ſeale of the Deane, and vnder the ſignes of the Curates, a certaine Acte and Sentence the ſumme whereof was that Katherine Cawches and her ij. daughters were foūd heretickes, and ſuch they reputed them, and haue deliuered them to Iuſtice, to do execution, accordyng to the Sentence, of the which the tenour foloweth.

The names of the perſecutors which ſatte vpon the death of the three women.

Katherine Cawches, Perrotine Maßey, Guillemine Guilbert, wrongfully condemned by the Deane and Iuſtices.

The vniuſt ſentence of the Deane againſt the 3. Martyrs.

¶The Sentence,

AN.dom.milleſimo, quingētiſimo, quinquageſimo ſexto, die vero .xiij. mēſis Iulij apud Eccleſiā diui Petri in portu maris inſula promotor. per nos Dominū Decanū inquiſitio facta fuit de fide Catholica, & ſuper Sacramenta Eccleſiaſtica, videlicet ſuper Sacramentum Baptiſmi, cōfirmationis, pœnitentiæ, ordinis, Matrimonij, Euchariſtiæ, & extremæ vnctionis, nec non ſuper ceremonias Eccleſiæ, ac de veneratione & honoratione beatæ Mariæ & ſanctorū, de Miſſa & eius efficacia, & de ceremonijs Eccleſiæ, videlicet Katherinæ Cawches eiuſdemq; duarum filiarum Guilleminæ & Parotinæ nuncupatarum, & harum tam coniunctim quam ſeparatim & via iuris. Et quamuis pluries ad veniam petendam, & ad delicta ſua cognoſcenda † hortauimus & inuitauimus, quæ quidem prædicta omnino negauerunt & negant, quod locutæ fuerunt aliquod verbum inane, inhoneſtum, ocioſum, & vanum contra fidem Catholicam, Sacramenta Eccleſiæ, & alias ceremonias Eccleſiæ. Quapropter auditis negationibus prædictarum, & atteſtationibus & depoſitionibus teſtium per nos viſis, conſideratis, & bene ponderatis, & per opiniones Curatorum & Vicariorum ibidem aſsiſtentium ſuper eaſdem Katherinam & Parotinam, nec non & Guilleminam crimine hæreticas inuenimus & reputamus. Quapropter coram vobis Domino Balliuo omnino remittimus vt antea remiſimus. Thomas le Coll de mandato, Iohn Alles, Guillielmus Panquet, Petrus Tardiſe, & Iohannes Manatiel.

† Soloiciſmus catholicus.

When this was done, commaundement was geuē to the kynges officers, to go to the caſtle to fetche the ſayd woman, to heare the ſentence agaynſt them in the preſence aforeſayd. And they appearyng before them, ſayd in the eares of all the auditory, that they would ſee their accuſers, and know them that had depoſed againſt them, becauſe they might make aūſweres to their ſayinges and perſonages and to haue their libell accordyngly: for they knew not to haue offended the maieſties of the kyng and Queene, nor of the Church, but intierly would obey, obſerue and keepe the ordinaunces of the Kyng and Queene, and of Church, as all good and true ſubiectes are boūd to do. And for any breach of the Kyng and Quéenes lawes that they had done, they required iuſtice. All which their reaſons & allegations notwithſtandyng, the ſayd poore women were condemned, and adiudged to be burnt, vntill they were conſumed into aſhes, accordyng to a ſentence geuen by Elyer Goſlyne Bailife: of the which ſentence the tenour hereafter foloweth.

¶The effect of the ſentence in Engliſh.

THe xvij. (or as ſome other thinke the xxvij. day) of the moneth of Iuly. 1556. Elier Goſſelin Bailiſe in the preſence of Thomas Deuicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary Iohn Bloundell, Nicholas Deuiſe, Iohn le Marchaunt, Iohn le Feauer, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine and Iohn de la March Iurates: Katherine Cawches, Perotine Maſſey, & Guillemyne Guilbert, the ſayd Perotine and Guillemyne daughters to the ſayd Katherine, are all condemned and iudged this day to be burned, vntill they be conſumed to aſhes in the place accuſtomed, with the confiſcation of all their goodes, moueables, & heritages, to be in the hands of the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties, accordyng and after the effect of a ſentence deliuered in Iuſtice, by maſter Deane and the Curates the xiij. day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare aforeſayd, in the which they haue bene approued heretickes.

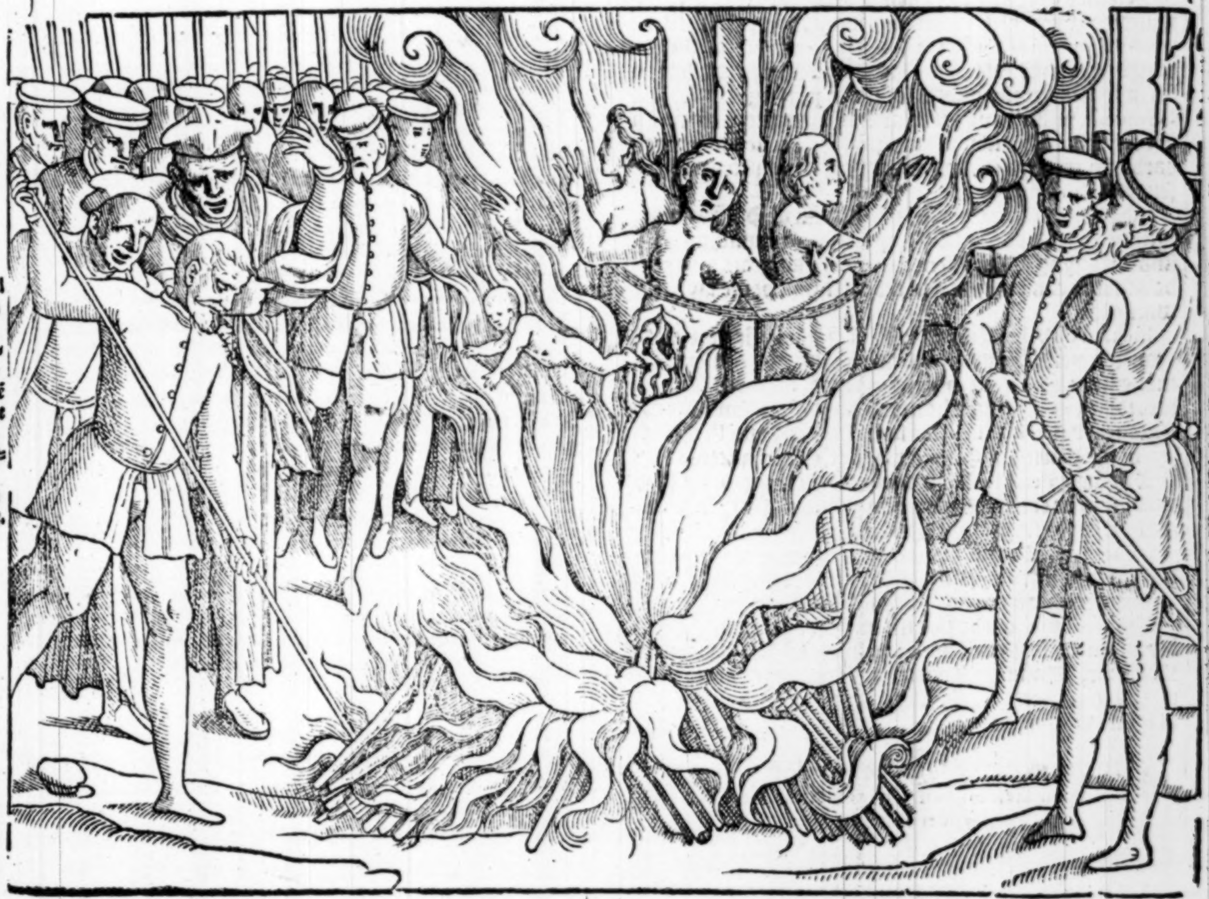
After which ſentence pronounced, the ſayd women did appeale vnto the King and Quéene, and their honorable Counſell, ſaying that agaynſt reaſon and right they were cōdemned, and for that cauſe they made their appeale: notwithſtandyng they could not be heard, but were deliuered by the ſayd Bailiffe, to the Kyng and Quéenes officers, to ſée the execution done on them, accordyng to the ſayd ſentence.

The tyme then beyng come, when theſe thrée good ſeruauntes and holy Saintes of God, the Innocent mother with her two daughters ſhould ſuffer, in the place where they ſhould conſumate their Martyrdome, were iij. ſtakes ſet vp. At the midle poſt was the mother, the eldeſt daughter on the right hand, the youngeſt on the other. They were firſt ſtrangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and ſo the poore women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her ſide, where happened a ruefull ſight, not onely to the eies of all that there ſtode, but alſo to the eares of all true harted Chriſtians, that ſhall read this hiſtory: For as the bely of the woman braſt a ſonder by vehemence of the flame, the infant being a fayre man child, fell into the fire, and eftſoones beyng takē out of the fire by one W. Houſe, was layd vpon the graſſe.

Then was the child had to the Prouoſt, and from him to the Bailiſe, who gaue cenſure, that it ſhould be caried backe agayne and caſt into the fire. And ſo the infant

fant Baptiſed in his owne bloud, to fill vp the number of Gods innocent Saintes, was both borne and dyed a Martyr, leauing behind it to the world, which it neuer ſaw, a ſpectacle wherein the whole world may ſée the Herodian crueltie of this graceles generation of Catholicke tormentors, Ad perpetuam rei infamiam.

A lamentable ſpectacle of iij. women, with a ſely infant braſtyng out of the mothers wombe, beyng firſt taken out of the fire, and caſt in agayne, and ſo all burned together in the Iſle of Garneſey. 1556. *Iuly.* 18.



The Martyrdome of *Katherine Cawches* the mother, *Guillemine Guilbert*, & *Perrotine Maſſey*, the ij. daughters, with an Infant the ſonne of *Perrotine*, in the Iſle of Garneſey. An. 1556. Iuly. 18. Or as ſome ſay, Iuly. 28.

Now for ſomuch as this ſtory percaſe, for the horrible ſtraũgenes of the fact wilbe hardly beleued of ſome, but rather thought to be forged or els more amplified of me, then truth will beare me out, therfore to diſcharge my credite herein, I haue not onely foretold thée a litle before, how I receaued this ſtory by ÿ faithfull relation both in French and Engliſh, of them which were there preſent witneſſes and lookers vpon: but alſo haue hereto annexed the true ſupplication of the ſayd inhabitants of Garneſey, and of the brother of the ſayd two ſiſters, complainyng to the Quéene and her Commiſſioners, concernyng the horriblenes of the acte: which ſupplication for ÿ more euidence here vnder foloweth to be ſene.

To the right honorable, and the Queenes highnes moſt gratious Commiſsioners, for the hearyng and determinyng of matters of Religion and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

Moſt lamentably and wofully cõplainyng, ſheweth vnto your gratious & honorable Lordſhips, your poore and humble Oratour Mathew Cauches, of the Iſle of Garneſey, that where Iaques Amy Clerke, Deane of the Iſle aforeſayd, aſſiſted by the Curates there, agaynſt all order, law, and reaſon, by colour of a ſentence of hereſie, pronoũced agaynſt Katherine Cauches, the Siſter of your honours ſayd ſuppliant, & Perrotine and Guillemine, her two daughters, did cauſe the ſame Katherine, beyng a poore widow, and her ſayd two daughters, moſt cruelly to be burned, although the ſayd perſons, ne any of them did hold, mainteine, or defend any thing directly agaynſt the eccleſiaſticall lawes then in place, vnder the raigne of the late Quéene Mary, but in all thinges ſubmitted them ſelues obediently to the lawes then in force, and yet the crueltie of the ſayd Deane and his accomplices in perpetratyng ſuch murther as aforeſayd, raged ſo farre, that where as, whileſt the ſayd perſons did cõtinue with violent fire, the wombe of the ſayd Perrotine beyng burned, there did iſſue from her a goodly man child, which by the Officers was taken vp and handled, and after in a moſt deſpightfull maner, throwne into the fire, and there alſo with the ſely mother moſt cruelly burnt. In tender conſideration wherof, and for ſo much as this bloudy murther was not in due order of any law, or in any maner accordyng to iuſtice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copie of the whole procedings in this matter, by the ſayd Deane and his accõplices, here ready to be ſhewed to your honours, wil make very plaine and manifeſt: It may therfore pleaſe your good & gracious Lordſhips, of the zeale that you beare to Iuſtice, and for our Lord Ieſu Chriſtes ſake, to haue due conſideratiõ in Iuſtice of ſuch horrible murther, ſo cruelly committed as aforeſayd, accordyng to the right demerite therof. And that it may pleaſe your honorable Lordſhips to order and decree alſo, that all the goodes of all the ſayd parties, by pretence aforeſayd wrongfully taken as confiſcate, may be deliuered to your ſaid poore beſecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your honours ſayd Suppliant will dayly pray to God for your long preſeruatiõ, to his glory, and your euerlaſtyng health.

This ſupplication beyng preſented in maner aforeſayd, to the Queenes honorable Commiſſioners in the yeare. 1562. ſuch order therin was taken, that the matter beyng returned agayne downe, to the ſayd countrey further to be examined, the Deane therupon was committed to priſon, and diſpoſſeſſed of all his liuinges. So that in concluſion, both hee, and all other partakers of that bloudy murder, whether of conſcience, or feare of the law, were driuen not long after to acknowledge their treſpaſſe, & to ſubmit them ſelues to the Queenes pardon. The tenour of whoſe ſeuerall Submiſſions, as they are left in the rolles, I thought here to publiſhe to the world, for a memoriall of more truth of this ſtory.

Iaques Amye the Deane diſpoſſeſſed of his liuinges.

The

¶The ſeuerall Submiſsion of certeine Garneſey men, confeſsing their treſpaſſe in the wrongfull condemnation of the thre women aboue ſpecified.

The Submiſſions of the Garneſey mē, cōfeſſing their treſpaſſe agaynſt the Garneſey wo‑mē aforeſayd.

HEllyer Goſſeline, of the Pariſh of S. Peter le porte in Gerneſey Marchaunt, Nicolas Carye, the elder, Iohn Marchant, Peter Bonamy, of the Pariſh of S. Martin, and Nicolas Martin, ſonne of Iohn, hauing humbly ſubmitted them ſelues to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, acknowledgyng their erronious iudgementes, aſwell agaynſt Katherine Cauches, & Guillemine, & Perotine, her ij. daughters, & the infant of ẏ ſaid Perotine, executed by fire for ſuppoſed hereſie, as alſo for the acquityng of Nicholas Norman, a wilfull murderer, and other matters cōteyned in their ſeuerall Submiſſions, pray ẏ Quenes maieſtyes pardō for the ſayd crimes and others committed in their ſeuerall Submiſſions.

Iohn Blondell the elder, of the Pariſh of S. Sauiour, within the Iſle of Garneſey, vpon like Submiſſion & acknowledgyng of his offence, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent giuen to the execution of the ſayd thre women.

Richard de Vike, of the Pariſh of S. Peter le port, Marchant, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent and iudgement giuen for the acquittyng of the ſayd Norman, accordyng to his Supplication and Submiſſion late preſented by Peter Bonamy, the ſame De Vike, and Peter Pelley, of the Pariſh of S. Peter le port, Marchantes.

The ſayd Peter Pelley prayeth the benefite of the ſayd pardon to be extended vnto him accordyng to his Submiſſion in the ſayd Supplication.

Iaques Amy Clerke, praieth the benefite of the ſaid pardon for his ſentence with the Clergies, agaynſt the ſayd women, according to his Submiſſion.

Thomas Effart, of the Pariſh of S. Peter le port, humbly prayeth, as Procuratour lawfully conſtituted by the Chapiter, Bailiſe, & Iurates, that the ſame pardon may extend to acquitte all the inhabitantes of the ſayd Iſle, of the arrerages. &c.

¶The copy of the Queenes pardon, folowyng vpon their Submiſsion, as in forme here vnder enſueth.

The copie of the Queenes pardon to thē of Garneſey.

REgina, omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia noſtra ſpeciali ac ex certa ſciētia & mero motu, noſtris perdonauimus, remiſimus, & relaxauimus, ac pro nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribꝰ noſtris, per præſentes perdonamꝰ, remittimꝰ & relaxamꝰ Hillerio Goſſelyne, de Parochia ſācti Petri in Portu, infra inſulam noſtram de Garneſey, Mercatori: Iohāni Blundell de Parochia ſancti Saluatoris infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey ſeniori, Marchant: Nicolao Carie ſeniori de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra eandem inſulam de Garneſey, Mercatori: Iohanni Marchant de eiſdem Parochia & inſula Generoſo: Nicolao Martin filio Iohannis de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey Mercatori: Richardo Deuike de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey Mercatori: Petro Pelley de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictā inſulā de Garneſey, Mercatori: et Iacobo Amy de Parochia ſancti Saluatoris, infra dictam inſulam de Garneſey, Clerico: & eorum cuilibet, cōiunctim & diuiſim, ſeu quocunq; alio nomine, ſiue quibuſcunq; alijs nominibus cognominibus ſiue addicionibus, nominis vel cognominis, officiorū, artiū vel locorū, ijdē Hillerius, Nic. Carie, Iohānes, Nicholaus Martin, Iohānes Blundell, Richardus, Petrus, & Iacobus cēſeantur, vocētur, ſiue nuncupentur aut nuper cēſebātur, vocabantur ſiue nūcupabātur, aut quocunq; alio nomine, ſeu cognomine, aut additione nominis, vel cognominis, dignitatis, officij, artis, aut loci, aliqui eorundem Hillerij, Nicolai Carie, Iohannis Marchant, Nicolai Martin, Iohannis Blundell, Richardi, Petri, & Iacobi, cenſeantur, vocentur, ſiue nuncupentur, aut nuper cenſebantur, vocabantur, ſiue nuncupabantur, omnia & omnimoda murdra, homicid. felonias, & felonicas interfectiones Katherinæ Cauches, & Guilleminæ, & Perotinæ, filiarū eiuſdē Katherinæ, & earū cuiuſlibet, ac acceſſarias earūdē, ac omnia, & ſingula, felonias, inſultus, verberationes, vulnerationes, cōbuſtiones, trāſgreſſiones, offēſas, riotas, routas, cōuēticula illicita, aſſēblationes, cōgregationes, inſidiationes, cōſpirationes, acceſſarias, auxiliationes, cōpercuſſiones, procurationes, abbettationes, cōfortationes, & manutētiones, cōcelamēta, foreſſacturas, contemptus, impetitiones, negligentias, & alia malefacta quæcunq;, murdra, homicidia & felonicam interfectionem, prædictarum, Katherinæ, Guilleminæ, & Perotinæ, ſeu alicuius earum tangen. in aliquo, ſeu concernen. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohannem, Nicolaum Martin, Iohannem Blundell, Richardum, Petrum, & Iacobū, ſeu eorum aliquem vel aliquos, ante præſentem diem, qualitercūq; fact. habit. commiſſ. ſiue perpetrat. ac omnes & ſingulas fugam, & fugas, quaſcunq;, per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohānem, Nicolaum Martin, Iohannem Blundell, Richardum Deuicke, Petrum Pelley, & Iacobum Amy, ſeu eorum aliquē, ſiue aliquos, ratione ſeu occaſione murdr. homicid. aut feloniā interfectionem præd. fact. ſiue habit. adeo plenè & integrè, ac in tam amplis. modo, & forma, prout, ſi quilibet prædictorum Hellerij Goſſelyne, Nicolai Carie, Iohannis Marchant, Nicholai Martin, Iohannis Blundell, Richardi Deuicke, Petri Pelley, & Iacobi Amy, ſpecialiter litteras noſtras patentes de perdonatione habuiſſet.

Perdonauimus etiam, remiſimus, & relaxauimus, ac pro nobis hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes, perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus, præfato Hillerio Goſſelyne, Nicolao Carie, Iohāni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Iohanni Blundell, Richardo Deuicke, Petro Pelley, & Amy, & eorum vnicuiq;, hæredibus, executoribus, adminiſtratoribus, & aſsign. ſuis imperpet. omnes & omnimodas intruſiones, infractiones, & ingreſſus, per ipſos ſeu eorū aliquem, eiuſuè aut eorum vel alicuius eorum procuratores, agentes, vel miniſtros, in omnia & ſingula maneria, terras, tenemēta, poſſeſſiones, & hæreditamenta noſtra, quæcunq;, quaruncunq; nuper Cātariarum, Gildarum, obit. fraternitat. ſeu collegiorum noſtrorum, aut alicuius ſeu aliquorum progenitorum noſtrorum, infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey exiſten. ante decimum ſeptimū diem Nouemb. Anno regni noſtri primo fact. perpetrat. ſiue commiſ. Ac omnia & ſingula debita, redditus, computa, arreragia, & collectiones, receptiones, detētiones, & non ſolutiones granorum, & aliorum reddituum, exituū, proficuorum quorumcunq; nobis aut alicui progenitorū noſtrorum, pro eiſdem Cātarijs, Gildis, obit. fraternitatibus, ſeu collegijs, ſiue eorum aliquo vel aliquibus, quouiſmodo ante prædictum decimum ſeptimum diem Nouēb. Decimo Anno regni noſtri primo, debit. pertinen. ſiue ſpectant.

Perdonauimus, remiſimus, & relaxauimus, ac de gratia ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia, & mero motu noſtris prædictis, pro nobis, hæredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus præfatis Hillerio Goſſelyne, Nicolao Carie, Iohanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, & Richardo Deuicke, & eorum cuiq; liberationem, euaſionem, eſcapiam, & volūtar. ad libertatem poſitionem cuiuſdam Nicolai Norman, nuper de Parochia ſancti Saluatoris, infra prædictam inſulam Yoman, de homicidio, ſiue murdro, nuper iudicat. attinct. & conuict. exiſten. pro interfectione ſiue murderatione, cuiuſdam Iohannis Breghault, de dicta Parochia ſancti Saluatoris, infra inſulam predictā, huſbandmā. Ac omnia & omnimoda, felonias, crimina, offenſas, pœnas, mortis, punitiones, foriſſactur. contemptus negligēc. ignorantias ac aliā delicta & offenſas, quæcūq; prædictam liberationem, euaſionem, eſcapiam, & ad libertatem poſitionē prædicti Nicolai Norman tangen. ſeu aliquo modo concernen. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohānem Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, & Richardum Deuicke, ſeu eorum aliquem, vel aliquos, ante præſentem diem, qualitercunq; habit. fact. commiſſ. ſiue illapſa.

Perdonauimus etiam, remiſimus & relaxauimus, ac per præſentes, ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, pro nobis, hæredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, perdonamus, remittimus & relaxamus, præfatis Hillerio Goſſelyne, Nicolao Carie, Iohanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Iohanni Blundell, Richardo Deuicke, Petro Pelley, & Iacobo Amy, omnia & omnimoda riotas, routas, illicitas congregationes, & conuenticula illicita, in pacis noſtræ perturbationē, per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carye, Iohannem Marchant, Nicolaū Martin, Iohannem Blundel, Richardum Deuicke, Petrum Pelley, & Iacobum Amy, ſeu eorum aliquem, ſiue aliquos, ante hac qualitercunq; infra inſulam prædictam habit, comiſſ. fact. ſiue perpetrat. &c.

Defence of this Garneſey ſtory

againſt M. Harding.

ANd thus haue you the true narratiō of this hiſtory, diſcourſed without corruptyng or falſifiyng any part or ſentence therof, no leſſe faithfully of my part reported, then I receaued of them, who dwelling in the ſame Iſle, and beyng preſent the ſame tyme, were beſt acquainted with the matter, and haue giuen ſufficient euidence not onely to me, but alſo to the Queenes hygh Commiſſioners cōcernyng the ſame, as both by the letter of the Bailiſe, by the Sentēce of the Deane, by the

Supplication of the plaintife, and Submiſſion of the parties, and likewiſe by the Queenes pardon graunted vnto them, may well appeare.

By all which proufes and circumſtances thus debated, it remaineth manifeſt for al men to perceaue, what crueltie and wrong was wrought agaynſt theſe poore women aboue ſpecified, and no leſſe matter offered, in a caſe ſo vniuſt iuſtly to expoſtulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hartes of theſe mē, but eſpecially of the Catholicke Clergie of Garneſey, who profeſſing the Goſpell of peace and charitie, ſhould after the example of Chriſt, walke in the ſteppes of mekenes and mercy, & yet contrary, not onely to all Chriſtian charitie & manſuetude, but alſo agaynſt all order of equitie or humanitie, were ſo extreme and rigorous to condemne them to the burnyng fire, vnder the pretenſed colour of hereſie. Who if they had bene heretickes in deede, yet mercy would haue corrected the errour and ſaue life, equitie would haue conſidered mans weake fragilitie, at leaſt true iuſtice would haue heard both the parties aduiſedly, and alſo ſubſtancially haue ſurueyed the cauſe, and not to raſh out the Sentence of death ſo haſtely as they did: yea & though they had bene heretickes in deede, yet true chriſtiā charitie would haue ſtretched farther, and at leaſt to haue giuen them layſure and reſpite of tyme, to reclame them ſelues. But now what is here to be ſayd, they beyng no heretickes at all, as neither it could then, nor yet cā be proued? For if king Edwardes Religion (which was obiected to them) were hereſie, yet were they thē no heretickes, whē they reuoked the ſame: and if Q. Maryes Religion were hereſie, then were they much more heretickes them ſelues whiche condemned them of hereſie.

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But moſt of all we haue herein to wonder at M. H. who in his late *Reioynder* written agaynſt the Byſhop of Saliſbury, notwithſtandyng all theſe euidēces and demonſtrations ſo certeine and manifeſtly appearing, yet goeth about, firſt to deny the ſtory, termyng it to bee a fable, afterward beyng forced to flye a ſtatu inficiali, and to admitte the ſtory, hee remoueth ad tranſlationem criminis, & there ſeekyng by all meanes to cleare the Clergie from the ſpotte of crueltie, transferreth the whole blame onely vppon the women that ſuffered, but principally vpon poore Perotine: whom he ſpecially chargeth with ij. capital crimes, to wit, whoredome, and murder.

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And firſt touching his accuſation of whoredome, let vs heare, how he proueth his matter. *Becauſe* (ſayth he) *by ſtory it is graunted, that ſhe was with childe: and yet the Hiſtoriographer doth not declare (neither durſt for ſhame) who was her huſband, or father to the child. &c.* As though Hiſtoriographers beyng occupyed in ſettyng forth the perſecution of Gods people ſuffering death for Religion and doctrine of Chriſt, were bound or had nothyng els to do but to play the Sumner, and to bryng forth, who were huſbandes to the wiues and fathers to their children: which newfound law of hiſtory, beyng neuer required before, nor obſerued of any ſtorywriters, if M.H. now ſhall exact of me, firſt let him begyn with him ſelfe and ſhew vs (as wiſe as he is) who was his own father, if he can. And yet I thinke not contrary, but his mother was an honeſt woman. And no leſſe do I thinke alſo of this Perotine aforeſayd, whereof more ſhalbe ſayd (God willyng) hereafter.

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.184.
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But in the meane tyme here commeth in the cauillyng obiection of M.H, and beareth the reader in hand, as though *for ſhame I durſt not, or of purpoſe would not expreſſe it. &c.* My aunſwere whereunto is this. Firſt to expreſſe euery minute of matter in euery ſtory occurrēt, what ſtorywriter in al the world is able to performe it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reaſonable reader would require it? Thirdly, and albeit ſome curious readers would ſo require, yet I ſuppoſe it neither requiſite, nor conuenient to be obſerued. And fourthly, what if it were not remēbred of the author? What if it were to him not knowen? what if it were of purpoſe omitted as a matter not materiall to the purpoſe? Many other cauſes beſides might incurre, which the reader knoweth not of. And ſhall it then by and by be imputed to ſhame and blame, what ſoeuer in euery narration is not expreſſed? or doth M.H. him ſelfe in all his Sermōs neuer pretermit any thing, that conueniently might be inferred? Who was the huſbād of this Perotine, the Hiſtoriographer hath not expreſſed: I graunt, and what therof? Ergo thereupon, concludeth he, *that for ſhame I durſt not.* Nay I may marueile rather that he durſt for ſhame vtter ſuch vntydy Argumentes, or ſo aſſeuerantly to pronoūce of an other mans mind & purpoſe, which is as priuie to him, as then it was to me vnknowen what was her huſbandes name. And though it had ben knowen, what was that materiall in the ſtory to be vttered? or what had it relieued the cruell partes of them, which burned both the mother and infant together, though the infantes father had bene expreſſed? And how then did I for ſhame conceale that, which was not in my knowledge at that tyme (if I would) to expreſſe, nor in my ſuſpicion to miſeeme?

M. Harding requireth of others to doe that, which he is not able to do him ſelfe.

Neuertheles if he be ſo greatly deſirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me, who was this infantes father, I will not ſticke with M.H. although I can not ſweare for the matter, yet to take ſo much payne for his pleaſure, to goe as neare it as I may. For preciſely and determinatly to point out the right father either of this, or of any child: I trow, neither will M. H. require it of me, neither is he able peraduenture him ſelfe beyng aſked, to demonſtrate his owne. And yet as much as I may, to ſatiſfie his daintie deſire herein, and partly to helpe the innocencie of the woman, touching this demaunde, *who ſhould be the infantes father,* who, ſay I, but his own mothers huſbād? the name of which huſband was Dauid Iores, a Miniſter, and maryed to the ſayd Perotyne in kyng Edwardes tyme, in the Church of our Ladyes Caſtle Pariſh at Garneſey: the partie which maryed them beyng called M. Noel Regnet a French man, & yet alyue, wytnes hereunto, and now dwelling in London in S. Martyns Le grande.

Dauid Iores huſband to *Perrotine Maſſey.*

Perrotine maried, where, and by whom.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I haue ſhewed forth, for M.H. pleaſure the right huſband of this Perotyne, and what was his name, who was alſo alyue, his wife beyng great with child, and partaker of the perſecution of the ſame time, and a Scholemaſter afterward in Normandie, &c. Now if M.H. can take any ſuch aduantage hereof to diſproue that I haue ſaid: or be ſo priuie to the begettyng of thys child, that he can proue the ſayd Dauid Iores, which was the right huſband to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him ſhew herein his cunning, by what mightie demonſtrations he cā induce vs to deeme ẏ contrary, and as I ſhall ſee his reaſons, I ſhall ſhape him an aunſwere, in ſuch ſorte (I truſt) that he ſhall well perceaue, that whoredome, whereſoeuer I may know it, ſhall finde no bolſteryng by me: I wiſhe it might finde as litle amongeſt the chaſte Catholickes of M.H. Church.

From this I procede now to the ſecond part of his infamous accuſation, wherin he chargeth her of murder. A ſtraūge caſe, ẏ ſhe which was murdered her ſelf, with her child, and dyed before him, ſhould yet be accuſed to murder the childe. Murder doubtles is an horrible iniquitie in any perſon. But the mother to bee the murderer of her owne infant, it is a double abomination, and more then a monſter, ſo farre diſagreeyng from all nature, that it is not lightly to be ſurmiſed of any, without vehement cauſes of manifeſt probation.

Perrotine falſely accuſed of murder.

Wherefore, to try out this matter more thorowly touchyng this murdering mother, let vs ſee. Firſt, what hād did ſhe lay vpon ẏ child? None. What weapon vſed

Vide ſupra pag. 1320. col. 2.

A ſtory of yong infantes murdered in Lenton Abbay, and found in yͤ 8. yeare of Q. Elizab.

ſhe? None. Did ſhe then drowne it, or caſt it in ſome ponde, as we read of the ſtrompetes at Rome, whoſe childrẽs heads were takẽ vp in Pope Gregoryes mote, by hundrethes, what time Prieſtes began firſt to be reſtrained of lawful wedloke: witnes yͤ epiſtle of Voluſianus. pag. 1320. or els did ſhe throw it by the walles into ſome priuie corner, as I am credibly certified, yͭ in yͤ viij. yeare of Q. Eliſabeth, certeine ſcalpes & other yong infantes bones were found & taken out with a ſticke in yͤ hole of a ſtone wall in Lenton Abbay, by certein Gentemen wͭin yͤ County of Nottyngham, Iames Baruſſe, Rich. Loueyt, & W. Louelace walkyng in the Priors chamber: witnes the ſayd W. Louelace, with other which ſaw the bones aforeſayd? Or otherwiſe did ſhe take any hurtfull drinke to impotionate the child within her, as commonly it is reported, few Nonneries to haue bene in England, wherin ſuch a tree hath not bene growing wͭin their ground, meete for practiſing of ſuch a purpoſe? Neither ſo, nor ſo. What then? did ſhe purpoſely and wyttyngly thruſt her ſelfe in ieoperdy, to the deſtruction of her childe, when ſhe neded not, as Pope Ioane, whẽ ſhe might haue kept her bed, would neede aduenture forth in proceſſion, where both ſhe her ſelfe, and her infant periſhed in the open ſtreete?

Pope Ioane murderer of her childe.

Wel then, thus much by this hetherto alledged and graunted, we haue gottẽ this womã here to be accuſed of murderyng her child, which neither layd hand vppon it, nor vſed weapon agaynſt it, neyther vſed any other practiſe, in drownyng, hangyng, breakyng, burying, poyſoning, or any other wilfull meanes, wherby to deſtroy it. And how then? by what maner of way was this womã a murderer of her yong babe? Forſoth, (ſayth M.H.) when ſhe was accuſed and condemned to be burned, ſhe did not clayme the benefite of her bely, whereby the life both of her ſelfe for the tyme might haue bene delayd, and the child preſerued.

How and by what reaſon M. Harding proueth Perrotine to be a murderer.

Whether ſhe did or no, I haue not perfectly to ſay: no more, I weene, hath M.H. Howbeit this is certeine, and by witnes knowen, that ſhe vttered no leſſe to her ghoſtly father in confeſſion. And what if ſhe had opened the ſame vnto the Iudges? They would (ſayth he) haue ſpared her life for the tyme, and ſo the innocent had ben preſerued. And how is M.H. ſure of this, more thẽ was the lyfe ſpared of the yong Lady, and miſtres ſometime of M.H who ſuffered, notwithſtandyng ſhe was reported of ſome to be with child? Becauſe the law (ſayth he) is beneficiall to women in her caſe, claymyng the benefite therof.

Lady Iane thought to be with childe at her death.

The law beneficiall to women claming the benefite of their belly.

The law ſo giueth, I graunt. But it foloweth not therfore, what ſoeuer the law giueth or preſcribeth, the ſame to be put by and by in executiõ. But many times the law goeth as pleaſeth them which haue the handlyng of the law. As for example, the law willeth none to be condemned by ſentẽce of death, for hereſie, which the firſt time reuoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law, they condemned her vnlawfully. Agayne, the lyke law preſcribeth, none to be executed for hereſie, before the writte be ſent down de comburendo, and yet cõtrary to this law, wͭout any ſuch writ (as farre as I yet vnderſtãd) they burned her moſt cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of theſe men, who in their doynges herein ſeemed, neither to obſerue law, nor to regard honeſty, nor much to paſſe for charitie? And albeit ſhe had claimed neuer ſo much the priuiledge of the law, what had that auayled with thoſe men, whoſe hũtyng altogether (as by their procedynges may appeare) ſeemeth to be for the houſhold goodes of theſe women, which after their death immediatly they encroched into their owne handes.

Unlawfull proceding in the death of Perrotine.

But be it admitted, that neither ſhe demaunded this benefite of the law, nor that the Iudges would euer haue denyed her, if ſhe had ſo done: yet had it bene the part of a graue accuſer, before he had deſcẽded into ſuch a raylyng action of murder agaynſt a poore womã now dead and gone, firſt to haue aduiſed wiſely with him ſelfe, whether it might be, that ſhe had no ſuch intelligence what benefite the law would haue giuen, in caſe it had bene required. For not vnlike it is, and well may be thought rather yea, then no, that the ſimple woman, brought vp all her life long in her mothers houſe in an obſcure Ilelãd, and in ſuch an outcorner of the realme, farre of from the Court, and practiſe of Engliſh lawes, neuer heard before of any ſuch benefite of the law: and therefore vpon mere ſimplicitie, and for lacke of ſkill required it not, becauſe ſhe knew not what to require. Peraduenture alſo her ſenſes might be ſo aſtoyned with the greatnes and ſodenes of the feare, that it was out of her remembrance. Certes, it had bene the duetie of the Iudges, which knew the law, and hauing the woman before them could not be ignorant of her caſe, to haue queſtioned with her therof, and to haue holpen her ſimplicitie in that behalfe. Or at leaſt, if they had diſdayned, yet it had bene the prieſtes part, who was her ghoſtly father, and made priuy therunto, eyther to haue inſtructed her, or to haue ſtayed the execution of her death, for ſauegard of the childe.

Perrotine defended by ſimple ignorance.

Lacke in yͤ Iudge

The prie to blame,

But all thys denyeth M.H. and to aggreuate the matter, inferreth, that ſhe, not of any ſimple vnſkilfulnes of the law, *but only of mere wilfulnes, for auoyding of worldly ſhame, concealed her owne turpitude, and ſo became a murderer of her babe. &c.* Theſe be the wordes of M.H. written by him not of any ſure ground, but only vpon his catholike coniecture: for other demonſtration certenly to proue this true, he bringeth none. Wherfore to anſwere coniecture by coniecture, thus I reply to him agayne, that in caſe ſhe had bene aſked the queſtion of the Iudges and Inquiſitours, whether ſhe had ben with child, and then had denyed the ſame: or els if ſhe, by any other colorable meanes, had cloked her being with child, wherby it ſhould not appeare, this accuſer might haue ſome probable aduantage agaynſt the woman. Now, as ſhe was neuer demaunded of their partes any ſuch queſtion, nor did euer deny any ſuch matter: ſo to anſwere this man with as good probabilitie, I hold, that in caſe they had inquired that matter of her, ſhe would neuer haue denyed it. And therfore where as ſhe is accuſed for her not vttering of her child: why may ſhe not, by as good reaſon againe be defended for not denying the ſame.

Reioynde fol. 185. pag. 1.

M. Hardinges ground onely vpo cõiectures

Perrotine as ſhe did not open her being with chi ſo neither dyd ſhe euer deny it.

But ſhe ſhould haue vttered it, ſaieth he. It had bene well done, ſay I. And I would ſhe had, but yet yͭ is not yͤ queſtion betwene him and me, what ſhe ſhould haue done, but why ſhe did it not. M. Harding wandring in his blind ſurmiſes, phantaſieth the cauſe only to be, *for hyding her diſhoneſty, and for that ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpell.* So that in Summa, to this effect tendeth all his accuſation

The ſtate of Maiſter Hardinges accuſation.

> Perotine beyng byg with child at her condemnation did not ſhew it to the Iudges.
>
> Ergo, ſhe did it to conceale her turpitude, and becauſe ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpell.

M. Hardinges argumẽt.

But here this accuſer muſt vnderſtand, if he haue not forgotte his Logike, that ſuch argumentes which truly do hold, a Signis, do allwayes preſuppoſe, that the ſignes which go before the thinges ſignified, muſt be neceſſarie, perpetuall, and firme, as is betwene cauſes naturall and their effectes. Otherwiſe if the ſignes bee doubtfull, voluntarie, or accidentall, there is no firme conſequent can procede therof.

The Argument anſwered.

Now, if the ſayd accuſer ſhould be put to his proofe, how to iuſtifie this his ſequele to be true by euident demõſtration, that ſhe did it onely for couering her diſhoneſtie: I ſuppoſe verely he ſhould be found to ſay more, then he is able to make good, and in concluſion ſhould be brought into the like caſe, as were the phariſeis, who cõming to accuſe the adultereſſe before Chriſt, went away

A gumẽts of ſignes and coniectures ho they holde.

way mute, with as much ſhame out of the temple, as the woman her ſelfe came in, hauing not one word to aunſwere. For a man to pronounce aſſuredly vpon the ſecret cogitation and intent eyther of man or woman, farther then by vtterance of ſpeach is to him ſignified, paſſeth his capacitie & is to be left only to hym, which is ſcrutans corda & renes Deus.

Perrotin defended by ſimple ignorance.

But forſomuch as M. H. worketh (as I ſaid) by ſurmiſes, conſtruyng euery thyng to the worſt, let vs ſee what may be ſurmiſed as much againe to the contrary, cõcerning the qualitie of this ſurmiſed murder. Wherin diuers thinges are to be conſidered, as here in order foloweth.

Lacke in ÿ Judge

he firſt ncture.

The firſt coniecture is this, that ſuch maner of women which for worldly ſhame are diſpoſed to murder their children, haue other wayes to compaſſe that wickednes, then by ſilence keeping. Now, as touchyng this Perotine goyng to be burned, neither could this ſilence ſaue her if ſhe would, from worldly ſhame, neither is it to be thought any ſuch intent euer to be in her, to murder her child: as might well appeare in her mothers houſe, where if ſhe might haue continued her whole time out, ſhe entẽded no leſſe but honeſtly to be brought to bed, & to nurſe vp her child, neither caryng for ſhame of the world, nor fearyng any ſclaunder to the Goſpell. Wherby may be argued, that no ſuch intent of murder was euer in her thought. For how is it like that ſhe, which had gone ſo long with child, almoſt to the full time of her deliuerãce, and neuer thought nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that while, ſhould now going to her owne death, minde more hurt to her child, then ſhe did before, hoping her ſelfe to liue?

The prie to blame.

Reioynder fol. 185. pag. 1.

M. Hardinges ground onely vpo cõiecture

cture.

Secondly, how knoweth M.H. to the contrary, but that ſhe was knowne in the towne to be with child, and went boldely abroade without note of any ſhame, before the time ſhe came in trouble? Which being true, ſhame then could be no cauſe, why ſhe ſhould conceale her child more now after her condemnation, then ſhe did before ſhe was condemned.

Perrotin as ſhe did not open her being with chil ſo neither dyd ſhe euer deny it.

cture.

Thirdly, admit the caſe it was not knowne before, what aduantage therby ſhould riſe to her, being now appoynted to dye, by concealing her being with child. She ſhould haue eſchued (ſayth M.H) the publike ſhame and obloquie of the worlde, in that none ſhould haue knowne her to be wt child. Firſt, what ſhame was it for a maried wife to be noted to be with child? Again, what gaine had that bene to her, to auoyde ÿ ſhame & fame of the world, which had not to liue in the world, being now condemned to dye?

The ſtate of Maſter *Harding* accuſatio

4. cture.

Fourthly, how is it like, that for ſhame ſhe ment to conceale that from the world, which both knew ſhe ſhould not liue in the world, and alſo ſuffer that kind of death, wherby her child could not be hidden from the ſight of the world, though ſhe had gone about her ſelfe neuer ſo much to conceale it?

M. Hardinges Argumẽt.

The Argument anſwered.

5. cture.

Fiftly, how is it to be thought, that any woman, going to ſuch a ſharpe puniſhement of fier to be conſumed, would let for any wordly ſhame, to reſchue her own life from ſo bitter torment, at leaſt ſo long as ſhe might, beſide the ſafegard alſo of her child, if by any meanes ſhe had knowne any remedy?

6. cture.

Sixtly, forſomuch as M. Harding doth ſo haynouſly charge her with the wilfull murdering of her owne naturall child: let all indifferent conſciences this conſider with themſelues, what was the cauſe that moued her ſo willingly to recant as ſhe did, but partly to ſaue her owne life, and eſpecially the poore innocent? Wherby it is manifeſt to be vnderſtanded, what a motherly affection ſhe had to ſaue her infãt, if the fathers of the ſpiritualtie had not bene ſo cruell, agaynſt all order of law to caſt both her and her child away, all this her ſayd recantation notwithſtanding.

gumẽts of ſignes and coniec tures he they holde

7. cture.

Seuenthly and laſtly, whan M.H. hath inueied all that euer he can agaynſt this poore Perotine, yet is all the ſame but a bymatter from his principall purpoſe pretended, ſuppoſing therby through his deprauing of her, to iuſtifie and excuſe the Popeholy Clergye, which wrought her death. Which will not be. For whatſoeuer her life was beſides, yet forſomuch as the cauſe of her death and condemnation, was neither for theft, whoredome, nor murder, but onely and merely for Religiõ, which deſerued no death: I therfore hauing in my ſtory no further to deale, as I ſayd before, ſo do I ſay agayn, that the cauſe of her condẽnyng was wrongfull, her death was cruell, the ſight of the babe was ruefull, the procedyng of the Iudges was vnlawfull, the whole ſtory is pitiefull, and of all this the Prieſtes and Clergie were the authors principall. All which beyng conſidered, and well expended, M.H. I truſt, may ſtand ſufficiently contented. Or if he thinke murder to be a thyng, which ought not (as it ought not in deede) lightly to be paſſed ouer, let him then finde out murder where it is, and tell vs truly without affection of parcialitie, where the true murder lieth: whether in the poore woman, which together with her child was murdered, or in thẽ which without all law and conſcience, brought them both to death?

The concluſion of this Defence.

Briefly and finally to conclude with this mã, whatſoeuer the womã was, ſhe is now gone. To byte ſo bitterly againſt the dead it is litle honeſty. And though the accuſation had in it ſome truth, yet this accuſation here neded not. Now the ſame beyng falſe, it is to much vnmercifull. At leaſt beyng doubtfull & to him vnknowen, charitie would haue iudged the beſt. Humanitie would haue ſpared the dead. And if he could not foord her hys good word: yet he might haue left her cauſe vnto the Lord, which ſhall iudge both her and him. To pray for the dead, he findeth in his Maſſe: but to backbyte the dead, he neither findeth in his Maſſe, Mattens, nor Euenſong. And no doubt but in his Dirige and commendations he commendeth many one, leſſe deſeruyng to be commended then this woman, let Catholicke affection be ſet aſide. And though the merites of her cauſe deſerued not his commendations, yet did ſhe neuer deſerue this at M. Hardynges handes to giue her ſuch a Kyrieleſon (as they ſay) after her departure. Cruelty ſhe ſuffered enough a lyue, though M.H. had not added this cruell inuectiue to her former afflictions: wherin notwithſtandyng he hurteth not her, but hurteth peraduenture him ſelfe, neither ſo much deſteineth her honeſty, as he blemeſheth his owne. It hath bene the maner of learned men in time paſt, with their defending oration, euer to be more ready, then to accuſe. And if they did at any time accuſe: yet neuer but enforced, neither dyd they accuſe any but ſuch onely as were aliue, and that neither but in ſuch matters, wherin either the common wealth, or them ſelues were vehemently touched.

Now, if this greue him ſo greatly, that in my ſtory I haue termed her to be a Martyr, let him conſider the cauſe wherfore ſhe ſuffered, which was neither for felony, murder, nor whoredome, but only for the religiõ in K. Edwardes time receaued, & when he hath confuted that religion, I ſhall croſſe her out of ÿ booke & fellowſhip of Martyrs. In ÿ meane tyme my exhortatiõ ſhalbe this to M. Hardyng:

Exhortatio *M. Har*

Firſt, that if he will nedes become a writer in theſe ſo furious and outragious dayes of ours, he will ſeaſon his veyne of writyng with more mildenes and charitie, and not to giue ſuch example of raylyng to others.

Secondly, that he will moderate his iudgyng and condemnyng of other with more equitie and indifferẽcie, and not to be ſo raſh and partiall. For if ſhe be to be accounted a murderer, which ſo carefully went about by recantation to ſaue both her ſelfe and her child from the fire: what is to be ſayd of them which condemned her ſo cruelly, and cauſed both her and the infant to be burned, notwithſtandyng that ſhe for ſafegard of their lyues had (as I ſayd) recanted. And yet ſo partiall is he, that in all this inuectiue crying out ſo intemperatly agaynſt the woman and the child that were burned, hee ſpeaketh neuer a word of their condemners and true murderers in deede.

Murder in the ſpirituall Clergie noted.

Thirdly, for ſomuch as M.Hardyng is here in hãd with infanticide, and with caſtyng away yong childrẽs liues, I would wiſhe, that as he hath ſifted the doynges of this woman to ẏ vttermoſt, who was rather murdered then a murderer, ſo he would with an indifferent eye loke on the other ſide a litle vpon them of his owne clergie, and ſee what he could finde there among thoſe wilfull contemners of immaculate mariage. Not that I do accuſe any of incontinencie, whoſe liues I know not, but there is one aboue, that well knoweth and ſeeth all things, be they neuer ſo ſecret to man, and moſt certainely will pay home at length with fier and brimſtone when he ſeeth his time. I ſay no more, and not ſo much as I might, following herein the Painters, which when theyr colours will not ſerue to expreſſe a thing that they meane, they ſhadow it with a veile. But howſoeuer the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not bee ſuſpected touching this crime aforeſaid of infanticide, moſt ſure and manifeſt it is, that they are more then worthely to be accuſed of homicide in murdering the children and ſeruauntes of God, both men and women, wyues and maydes, old & yong, blind and lame, madde and vnmadde, diſcreete and ſimple innocentes, learned with the vnlearned, and that of all degrees from the hye Archbiſhoppe to the Clarke and Sexten of the church, and that moſt wrongfully and wilfully, with ſuch effuſion of innocẽt Chriſtian bloud, as cryeth vp dayly to God for vengeance.

God knoweth ſecret ſinning and murdering of infantes there is in the Clergie.

And therfore M.H. in my minde ſhould do well, to ſpare a litle tyme frõ theſe his inuectiues wherwith he appeacheth ẏ poore Proteſtantes of murder, whom they haue murdered them ſelues, and exerciſe his penne with ſome more fruitfull matter, to exhorte theſe ſpirituall fathers firſt to ceaſe frõ murdering of their own children, to ſpare the bloude of innocentes, and not to perſecute Chriſt ſo cruelly in his members, as they doo: and furthermore to exhorte in like maner theſe Agamiſtes, and wilfull reiecters of matrimonie, to take themſelues to lawfull wiues, and not to reſiſt gods holy ordinance, nor encounter his inſtitution with an other contrary inſtitution of their owne deuiſing, leſt perhaps they preuented by fragilitie, may fall into daunger of ſuch inconueniences aboue touched: which if they be not in them, I ſhalbe glad: but if they be, it is neither theyr rayling agaynſt the poore proteſtantes, nor yet theyr ſecrete auricular confeſſion, that ſhall couer their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he ſhall come to reuele abſcondita tenebrarum, & iudicare ſæculum per ignem.

Agamiſtæ, of ἄγαμος, which ſignifieth the vnmaried, or againſt mariage.

And thus for lacke of further layſure, I end with M. H. hauing no more at this tyme to ſay vnto him, but wiſh him to feare God, to embraſe his truth, to remember him ſelfe, and to ſurceaſe from this vncharitable raylyng and brawlyng, eſpecially agaynſt the dead which can not aunſwere him: or if he will nedes continue ſtill to be ſuch a vehement accuſer of other, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuſer: Firſt, that his accuſation be true: ſecondly, that no blynd affection of partialitie be mixt withall: thirdly, who ſoeuer taketh vpon them to carpe and appeach the crimes of other, ought them ſelues to be ſincere & vpright, and to ſee what may be written in their owne foreheades. Whoredome and murder be greuous offẽſes, and worthy to be accuſed. But to accuſe of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leaue the other perſons vntouched which were the true murderers, it is the part of an accuſer, whiche deſerueth hym ſelfe to be accuſed of partialitie. As verely I thinke by this woman, that if ſhe had bene a Catholicke Papiſt & a deuout follower of their Church, as ſhe was a Proteſtant, ſhe had neither bene condemned then aliue of them, nor now accuſed beyng dead of M.H. But God forgeue him, and make him a good man, if it be his will.

The partes of a true accuſer.

¶ Three Martyrs burned at Greneſtede in Suſſex.

Iuly. 1

The Mar tyrdome o two men & one wo men at Greneſte in Suſſe

Nere about the ſame tyme that theſe three women with the infant were burned at Garneſey, ſuffered other three likewiſe at Greneſted in Suſſex, two mẽ and one womã, the names of whom were Tho. Dungate, Iohn Forman, and mother Tree, who for rightouſnes ſake, gaue them ſelues to death and tormentes of the fire, paciently abidyng what the furious rage of man could ſay or worke agaynſt them, at the ſayd Towne of Greneſted endyng their liues, the xviij. of the ſayd moneth of Iuly, and in the yeare aforeſayd.

The burnyng and Martyrdome of Thomas Moore in the towne of Leyceſter.

Iune. 26. the yeare. 1556.

Iune. 2

The burning of Thomas Moore a ſimple innocent, at Leyceſter.

As the bloudy rage of this perſecutiõ ſpared neither man, woman, nor child, wife, nor maide, lame, blind, nor creple, and ſo through all men & women, as there was no difference either of age or ſexe conſidered: ſo neither was there any condition or qualitie reſpected of any perſon: but who ſoeuer he were that held not as they did on the Pope, and Sacrament of the altar, were he learned or vnlearned, wiſe or ſimple innocẽt, all went to the fire. As may appeare by this ſimple poore creature, and innocent ſoule named Tho. Moore, reteinyng as a ſeruaunt to a Marchant mans houſe in the towne of Leiceſter, about the age of 24. and after in maner of an huſband mã, for ſpeakyng certeine wordes that his maker was in heauen and not in the pixe, was therupon apprehended in the countrey, beyng with his frendes. Who commyng before his Ordinary firſt was aſked, whether he did not beleue his maker there to be, poynting to the high altar. Which he denyed.

Thomas Moore examined before the Byſhop.

Then aſked the Byſhop, how then, ſayd he, doeſt thou beleue.

The young man aunſwered agayne: as his Crede did teach him.

To whom the Byſhop ſaid: and what is yonder that thou ſeeſt aboue the altar? He anſweryng, ſayd: forſoth I cannot tell what you would haue me to ſee. I ſee there fine clothes, with golden taſſels, and other gay gere hãgyng about the Pixe. What is within I cannot ſee.

Why: doeſt thou not beleue, ſayth the Biſhop, Chriſt to be there, fleſh, bloud, and bone? No, ẏ I do not, ſaid he.

The condemnation and Martyrdome of Thomas Moore.

Wherupon the Ordinary makyng ſhort with hym, red the ſentence, and ſo condemned ẏ true and faithfull ſeruaunt of Chriſt to death in S. Margaretes Church in Leyceſter: who was burnt and ſuffered a ioyfull and glorious Martyrdome for the teſtimonie of righteouſnes, in the ſame towne of Leyceſter, the yeare of our Lord aboue mentioned. 1556. about the 26. of Iune.

Ex Regiſt. Epiſc. Lin

¶ To this Tho. Moore, we haue alſo annexed the aunſweres and examination of one Iohn Iackſon before Doct. Cooke one of the Commiſſioners, for that it belongeth much vnto the ſame tyme.

¶ The

The examination of Iohn Iackeſon, had before Doct. Cooke, the xi. day of March, Anno. 1556.

FIrſt when I came before him, he rayled on me, and called me heretike. I aunſwered and ſaide: I am no heretike.

Cooke. Yes, quod he. For maſter Read tolde me that thou waſt the rankeſt heretike of all them in the Kinges Benche.

Iack. I ſaid, I knew him not.

Cooke. No, quod he? Yes, he examined thee at the kinges Bench.

Iack. I anſwered him, & ſaid: he examined fiue other, but not me.

Cooke. Then aunſwer me: What ſaieſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Tell me.

Iack. I anſwered: It is a diffuſe queſtion to aſke me at the firſt daſh, you promiſing to deliuer me.

Cooke. What an heretike is this, quod he?

Iack, I ſaid: It is eaſier to call a man heretike, then to proue him one.

Cooke. Then he ſaid: What Church art thou of?

Iack. What church, quod I? I am of the ſame Church that is builded on the foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt beyng the head corner ſtone.

Cooke. Thou art an heretike, quod he.

Iack. Yea, quod I? how can that be, ſeing that I am of that Church? I am ſure you wil not ſay that the Prophetes and Apoſtles were heretikes.

Cooke. No, quod he. But what ſayeſt thou to ẏ bleſſed ſacrament of the altar again? Tell me.

Iack. I anſwered him and ſaid: I finde it not written.

Cooke. No, quod he? Keper, away with him.

Iack. Yet I taried there longer, & dyd talke with him, & I ſaid: Sir, I can be content to be tractable & obedient to the word of God.

Cooke. He anſwered, and ſaid to me, that I knew not what the woorde of God mente, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Iack. I anſwered and ſaid to him, yes that I doe.

Cooke. Wherby, quod he?

Iack. Hereby ſaid I. Our ſauiour Chriſt ſayth: *ſearch the ſcriptures, for in them you thinke to haue eternall life. For they be they that teſtifie of me, ſayth Chriſt.*

Cooke. This is a wiſe profe, quod he.

Iack. Is it ſo, quod I? What ſaye you then to theſe wordes that the Prophet *Dauid* ſayd? *Whatſoeuer he be that feareth the Lorde, he will ſhew him the way that he hath choſen: his ſoule ſhall dwell at eaſe, and his ſede ſhal poſſeſſe the land. The ſecretes of the Lord are among them that feare him, and he ſheweth them his couenaunt &c.*

Cooke. Wel, quod he, you ſhal be rid ſhortly one way or other.

Iack. Then I ſayd vnto him: My life lieth not in mãs handes; therfore no man ſhall doe more vnto me then God will ſuffer him.

Cooke. No, quod he? thou art a ſtubborne and a noughtie fellow.

Iack. You can not iudge me, quod I, except you did ſée ſome euil by me.

Cooke. No, quod he? Why maye not I iudge thée as well as thou and thy fellowes iudge vs, and call vs Papiſtes?

Iack. Why, quod I, that is no iudgement, but Chriſt ſayth: *If you refuſe me, and receaue not my worde, you haue one that iudgeth you. The worde that I haue ſpoken vnto you now, ſhall iudge you in the laſt day.*

Cooke. I pray thee tell me, who is head of the congregation?

Iack. I aunſwered and ſayde: Chriſt is the head.

Cook. But who is head in earth?

Iack. I ſayd: Chriſt had members here in earth.

Cooke. Who are they, quod he?

Iack. They, quod I, that are ruled by the word of god.

Cooke. You are a good fellow, quod he.

Iack. I am that I am, quod I.

Cooke. Then he ſayde to my kéeper, haue him to priſon agayne.

Iack. I am contented with that, quod I: and ſo we departed. I aunſwered no further in this matter, becauſe I thought he ſhoulde not haue my bloude in a corner. But I hope in the liuing God, that when the time ſhall come before the congregation, I ſhall ſhake their building on an other maner of faſhion. For they builde but vppon ſande, and theyr walles bee daubed with vntempered morter, and therfore they cannot ſtand long.

The building of ẏ Papiſtes be but daubed walles.

Therfore good brothers and Siſters, be of good chere, for I truſt in my God, I, and my other priſon fellowes ſhall go ioyfully before you, prayſing God moſt hartely, that we are coũted worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. I pray you accept my ſimple aunſwere at this time, committing you vnto God.

¶ Of this Iohn Iackeſon, beſides his foreſayd aunſweres and examination before Doctour Cooke one of the Commiſſioners, no more as yet came vnto our handes.

The examination of Iohn Newman Martyr, which is to be referred to his ſtory before, pag. 1864.

IOhn Newman firſt was apprehended in Kent, dwellyng in the town of Maydſtone, & there was examined before D. Thornton Suffragan, & others, at Tẽterdẽ. Frõ thẽce he was brought to Boner, & there condemned with M. Denley & Pachinghã, and burned at Saffran Walden, as is before ſtoryed. But becauſe his examination and aunſweres before ẏ Suffragan came not thẽ to my hãdes, I thought here in this place to beſtow thẽ, rather then they ſhould vtterly be ſuppreſſed. And firſt what his anſwere was by writing to the ſayd Suffragan, after his apprehenſion, you ſhall heare by the tenour of his own wordes as folow.

Referre thys to the pag. 1864.

IT may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that for the ſpace of all the time of kyng Edwards raigne, we were diligẽtly inſtructed with continuall Sermons made by ſuch mẽ whoſe faith, wiſedome, learning & vertuous liuing, was commended vnto all men, vnder the kynges hand and ſeale, and vnder the handes of the whole Coũſell. Theſe men taught diligently a long time, perſuading vs by the allegations of Gods word, that there was no tranſubſtantiation, nor corporall preſence in the Sacrament. Their doctrine was not beleued of vs ſodenly, but by their cõtinuall preaching, & alſo by our continuall prayer vnto God that we might neuer be deceaued: but if it were true, that God would incline our hartes vnto it: and if it were not true, that we might neuer beleue it. We wayed that they laboured with Gods word, and we aſked the aduiſe of our frendes: neither could we finde that they preached falſe doctrine. We conſidered alſo, as we did learne, that the kynges grace and his Counſell, and the moſt part of the whole Realme, beleued as they taught, becauſe no man preached the contrary. Alſo we know that the preachers were cõmaunded by the kyng and lawes of the Realme, to preach vnto vs ſuch doctrine, as was to the authoritie of Gods word, agreable and no other. And by their diligent ſettyng forth of it, by the kynges commaundement, and the whole conſent of the whole Counſell, and by the authoritie of the Parlament, we embraſed it, and receiued it, as a very infallible truth taught vnto vs, for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. Wherfore, vntill ſuch tyme as our conſciences are otherwiſe taught and inſtructed by Gods word, we cannot with ſauegarde of our conſciences, take it, as many ſuppoſe at this tyme. And we truſt in God that ẏ Queenes mercyfull highnes, neither yet her moſt honorable Coũſell will in a matter of faith vſe compulſion, nor violẽce, becauſe fayth is the gift of God, and commeth not of mã,

The copie of *Ioh. Newmãs* wordes in writing to *D. Thornton.*

neither of mans lawes, neither at ſuch time as men require it, but at ſuch tyme as God geueth it.

¶The examination and aunſweres of Iohn Newman Martyr, before D. Thornton and others.

The examination and anſweres of *Ioh. Newmā*: Which is to be referred to the pag. 1564.

FIrſt, one of the Doctours, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon, or Fauced, or ſome other, whoſe name Iohn Newman doth not expreſſe, begynneth aſkyng in this wiſe.

Doctor. How ſay ye to this? *This is my body, whiche is giuen for you.*

Newman. It is a figuratiue ſpéech, one thyng ſpoken, & an other ment, as Chriſt ſaith: *I am a vine, I am a dore, I am a ſtone, &c.* Is he therfore a material ſtone, a vine, or a dore?

Doct. This is no figuratiue ſpéech: For he ſayth: *This is my body which is geuen for you*, and ſo ſayth he not of the ſtone, vyne, or dore: but that is a figuratiue ſpéech.

This cup is the New Teſtament, is a figuratiue ſpeech.

New. Chriſt ſayth, *this cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud.* If ye will haue it ſo ment, then let them take and eate the cup.

Doct. Nay, that is not ſo ment, for it is a common phraſe of ſpéech among our ſelues: we ſay to our frend, drinke a cup of drinke, & yet we ment he ſhould drinke the drinke in the cup.

New. Why if we will haue the one ſo vnderſtand ye muſt ſo vnderſtand the other.

Doct Nay, it is a cōmō vſe of ſpéech, to ſay drinke a cup of ale, or béere? And therfore it is no figuratiue ſpéech.

What is a figuratiue ſpeech.

New. The often vſing of a thing doth not make that thyng otherwiſe then it is: but where ſoeuer one thing is ſpoken, and an other ment, it is a figuratiue ſpéech.

Doct. Well, we wil not ſtand here about. How ſay ye by the reall preſēce? Is not Chriſtes natural body there that was borne of the virgine Mary?

New. No, I do not ſo beleue, neither can I ſo beleue: for the ſoule of mā doth not féede vpon natural things, as the body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth he féede?

New. I thinke the ſoule of man, doth féede as the aungels in heauen, whoſe féedyng is onely the pleaſure, ioy, felicitie, and delectatiō that they haue of God: and ſo the ſoule of man doth féede and eate, through fayth, the body of Chriſt.

Collens reaſoneth with *Newman.*

Colens. Yea, but if the body do not féede vpon naturall thinges, the ſoule can not continue with the body: therefore the body muſt nedes féede vpon naturall thinges, that both may liue together.

New. I graūt it to be true: but yet the ſoule doth liue otherwiſe then the body, which doth periſh: therfore naturall things do but féede the body onely. I pray you what did Iudas receiue at the Supper?

Colens. Mary, Iudas did receiue the very body of Chriſt, but it was to his dampnation.

Whether Iudas receaued the body of Chriſt, or no?

New. Why? was the deuill entred into him before. Then he had both the deuill and Chriſt in him at one tyme.

Colens. Nay, the deuil did enter into him afterward.

New. Yea, and before to, what do ye thinke? Had he but one deuill. Nay I thinke he had rather a legion of deuills at the latter end.

Colens. Well, put caſe it be ſo, what ſay you to that?

New. Mary, if Chriſt & the deuill were both in Iudas at once, I pray you how did they two agrée together?

Colens. We graunt they were both in Iudas at that tyme: for Chriſt may be where the deuill is, if he will, but the deuil cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

New. Chriſt will not be in an vncleane perſon that hath the deuill.

D. Thornton reaſoneth with *Ioh. Newmā.*

Thornton. Why, will ye not beleue ÿ Chriſt was in hell, and ye will graunt that the deuill is there: and ſo might he be in Iudas, and if it pleaſed him.

New. Chriſt would not ſuffer Mary Magdalene to touch him, which ſought him at his graue, and did loue him entirely: much leſſe he will ſuffer an vngodly man to receiue him into his vncleane body.

Thornt. Yes, ſeyng God may do all thinges, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will: And doth not the Pſalme ſay: he is in hell, and in all places. Why ſhould we then doubt of his beyng there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient, to proue that his humanitie is in all places.

Thornt. No, do you not beleue that God is omnipotent, and may do all thinges?

New. I do beleue that God is almightie, and may do all that he will do.

Thornt. Nay, but and if he be omnipotent, he may do all thinges, & there is nothyng vnpoſſible for him to do.

The omni potencie o Chriſt w not proue hym to b really in the Sa crament.

New. I know God is almightie, and can do all that he wil, but he can not make his ſonne a lier, he can not deny him ſelfe, nor he can not reſtore virginitie once violated and defiled.

Thornt. What is that to your purpoſe. God doth not defile virginitie: we ſpeake but of thinges ÿ God doth.

New. Why, will ye haue the humanitie of Chriſt in all places, as the deitie is?

Thornt. Yea, he is in all places, as the deitie is, if it pleaſe him.

Abſurditi in ÿ Pop doctrine.

New. I will promiſe you that ſéemeth to me a very great hereſie: for heauen and earth are not able to conteine the diuine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in euery place: and yet ye will ſay, that where ſo euer the deitie is, there is alſo the humanitie: and ſo ye will make him no body, but a fantaſticall body, and not a body in déede.

Thornt. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places, as the deitie is, but if it pleaſe him, he may be in all places, with the deitie.

New. I promiſe you that it ſéemeth to me as great an hereſie as euer I heard in my life: & I dare not graunt it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to be a very man, and that were agaynſt all the Scriptures.

The humanitie o Chriſt m not be in a places.

Thornt. Tuſh, what ſhall we ſtand reaſonyng with him? I dare ſay he doth not beleue, that Chriſt came out of his mother, not opening the matrice. Do you beleue that Chriſt roſe from death and came thorough the ſtone?

New. I do beleue that Chriſt roſe from death: But I do not beleue that he came thorough the ſtone, neither doth the Scripture ſo ſay.

Thornt. Loe, how ſay you, he doth not beleue that Chriſt came thorough the ſtone: And if he doth not beleue this, how ſhall he beleue the other? If he could beleue this, it were eaſie for him to beleue the other.

Note the groſſ ignorau of thys Suffragane.

New. The Scripture doth not ſay he went through the ſtone, but it ſayth the aungels of God, came downe and roled away the ſtone, and for feare of him, the kéepers became euen as dead men.

Thornt. A fóole, fóole, that was becauſe ÿ womē ſhould ſée that he was riſen agayne from death.

New. Well the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you and more to.

Thornt. Well, let vs not ſtand any longer about him. Backe agayne to the reall preſence. How ſay ye, is the body of Chriſt really in the Sacrament, or no?

New. I haue aunſwered you already.

Thornt. Wel, do ye not beleue that he is there really?

New. No, I beleue it not.

Thornt. Well, will ye ſtand to it?

New. I muſt nedes ſtand to it, till I be perſuaded by a further truth.

Thornt. Nay, ye will not be perſuaded, but ſtand to your owne opinion.

New. Nay I ſtand not to myne owne opinion, God I take to witnes, but onely to the Scriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witnes with me, and nothyng but the Scriptures: and I take God to witnes, that I do nothyng of preſumptiō, but that that

I

I do, is onely my conſcience, and if there be a further truth, then I ſée, except it appeare a truth to me, I can not receiue it as a truth. And ſeyng faith is the gift of God & cōmeth not of mā, for it is not you that cā giue me faith nor no man els, therfore I truſt ye will beare the more with me, ſeyng it muſt be wrought by God, and when it ſhall pleaſe God to open a further truth to me, I ſhall receiue it with all my hart, & embrace it.

Thornton had many other queſtions, which I did not beare away: but as I do vnderſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt: as for tauntes, fooliſh, & vnlearned, he lacked none. Prayſe God for his giftes, and God increaſe in vs ſtrength.

The Argumentes of Iohn Newman.

The omni potencie o Chriſt no prouy hym to b really in the Sa crament.

If the body of Chriſt were really and bodely in the Sacramēt, then who ſoeuer receaued the Sacrament, receiued alſo the body.

The wicked, receauing the Sacrament, receaue not the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not really in the Sacrament.

Argument.

Abſurditi in ỹ Pop doctrine.

Ca. They which eate the fleſh, and drinke the bloud of Chriſt, dwell in him, and he in them.
meſ. The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them.
tres Ergo, the wicked eate not the fleſhe, nor drinke the bloud of Chriſt.

Argument.

Ca. They that haue Chriſt dwellyng in thē, bring forth much fruite. Ioh. 15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruite. &c.
meſ- The wicked bring forth no fruite of goodnes.
tres. Ergo, they haue not Chriſtes body dwellyng in thē.

Argument.

Da. Where remembraunce is of a thing, there is imported the abſence therof.
ti. Remembraunce of Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament: Do this in remembraunce of me. &c.
ſi. Ergo, Chriſtes body there is imported to be abſent.

The hu manitie o Chriſt m not be in a places.

Mary they wil ſay, we ſée him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended vnder the forme of bread and wyne, and that that we ſée, is nothing but a qualitie or an accidence. But let them ſhew me a qualitie or an accidēce without a ſubſtaunce & I will beleue them. And thus much concerning Newmans examinations & argumentes, whoſe Martyrdome is before, pag. 1864.

The Martyrdome of Ioane Waſt, a blind woman, in the towne of Darby.

Note the groſſ ignoraun of thys Suffra gane.

The firſt day of Auguſt, in the yeare aboue ſpecified, ſuffered likewiſe at the Towne of Darby, a certaine poore honeſt godly womā, being blind from her birth, & vnmaried, about the age of xxij. named Ioane Waſt, of the pariſh of Alhallowes. Of them that ſat vpon this innocēt womans bloud, the chiefeſt was Rafe Bayne B. of the Dioces, Doct. Draycot his Chauncelour, Syr Iohn Porte Knight, Henry Vernon Eſquyre, Peter Finſh officiall of Darby, with ỹ aſſiſtance alſo of diuers other, Rich. Ward, and William Bembrige, the ſame tyme beyng Bailiffes of the townes of Darby &c. Firſt after the aboue named Biſhop, and Doct. Draycot had cauſed the ſayd Ioane Waſt to be apprehended in the towne of Darby, ſuſpecting her to be guiltie of certaine hereſies, ſhe was diuers times priuely examined, as well in priſon as out of priſon, by Finſh the Official aforeſaid: After that brought to publicke examination before the Biſhop, at laſt was there burnt in Darby, as is aboue ſayd. Touchyng whoſe life, bringing vp, and conuerſation, ſomwhat more amply we mynd to diſcourſe, as by faythfull relation hath come to my handes.

The life and conuerſatiō of Ioane Waſte.

Firſt, this Ioane Waſte was the daughter of one William Waſte, an honeſt poore man, and by his ſcience a Barber: who ſometime alſo vſed to make ropes. His wife had the ſame Ioane, and one other at one birth, and ſhe was borne blynd. And when ſhe was about xij. or xiiij. yeares old, ſhe learned to knit hoſen & ſleues, and other thinges, which in time ſhe could do very well. Furthermore as time serued ſhe would helpe her father to turne ropes, & do ſuch other things as ſhe was able, and in no caſe would be idle. Thus cōtinued ſhe with her father & mother during their liues: After whoſe departure then kept ſhe with one Roger Waſte her brother, who in the time of kyng Edward the vj. of bleſſed memorie, gaue her ſelfe dayly to go to the Church to heare Diuine ſeruice read in the vulgare tounge. And thus by hearing Homelies and Sermons, ſhe became meruelous well affected to the religion then taught. So at length hauing by her labor gotten and ſaued ſo much monie as would buy her a new Teſtament, ſhe cauſed one to be prouided for her, And though ſhe was of her ſelfe vnlearned and by reaſon of her blindnes vnable to reade, yet for the great deſire ſhe had to vnderſtand and haue printed in her memory the ſayinges of holy ſcriptures conteined in the new Teſtament, ſhe acquainted her ſelfe chiefelie with one Iohn Hurt, then priſoner in the cūmon hall of Darby, for debtes.

Ioane Waſte drawen by the ſpirite of God to the loue of religion.

The ſame Iohn Hurt being a ſober graue man of the age of thrée ſcore and ten yeares, by her earneſt intreatie, and being a priſoner, and many times idle and and without company, did for his exerciſe dayly reade vnto her ſome one Chapiter of the new Teſtament. And if at any time he were otherwiſe occupied or letted through ſickenes, ſhe would repaire vnto one Iohn Pemerton Clarke of the pariſh church of all Saintes in the ſame towne of Darby, or to ſome other perſon which could reade, and ſometimes ſhe would geue a pennie or two, (as ſhe might ſpare) to ſuch perſons as would not fréely reade vnto her, appoynting vnto them aforehand how many Chapiters of the new Teſtamēt they ſhould reade, or how often they ſhould repeate one Chapiter vpon a price.

The earneſt deſire of Ioane Waſte to learne the Scriptures.

Iohn Hurt and Iohn Pemerton readers to Ioane Waſte.

Moreouer in ỹ ſaid Ioane Waſt, this was notorious that ſhe being vtterlie blinde, coulde notwithſtanding without a guide, go to any church within ỹ ſaid towne of Darby, or to any other place or perſon, with whō ſhe had any ſuch exerciſe. By which exerciſe ſhe ſo profited, that ſhe was able not only to recite many Chapiters of the New Teſtament without booke, but alſo coulde aptly impugne, by diuers places of ſcriptures, as well ſinne, as ſuch abuſes in religion, as then were to much in vſe, in diuers and ſondry perſons.

A notable gift of God in a blinde womā.

Ioane Waſte both blind and vnlearned, yet was perfect in the Scriptures.

As this godly woman thus dayly increaſed in the knowledge of Gods holy word and no leſſe in her life expreſſed the vertuous fruites and exerciſe of the ſame. Not long after, through ỹ fatall death of bleſſed King Edward followed the wofull ruine of religion, in the raigne of Q. Mary his ſiſter. In which alteration, notwithſtanding ỹ generall backſliding of ỹ greateſt part & multitude of the whole realme into the old papiſme agayne: yet this poore blind woman cōtinuing in a conſtant conſcience, proceaded ſtill in her former exerciſe, both being zealous in that ſhe had learned, and alſo refuſing to communicate in religion with thoſe which taught contrary doctrine to that ſhe before had learned in King Edwardes time, as is aboue declared.

For the which ſhe was called and conuented before the foreſayd Biſhop and D. Draycot, with diuers others called in to beare witnes.

Articles miniſtred vnto her.

The articles miniſtred to her, and wherwith ſhe was charged, were theſe: Firſt, that ſhe did hold the ſacrament of the altar, to be but onely a memorie or repreſentation of Chriſtes body, and materiall bread and wyne, but not his naturall body, vnleſſe it were receyued. And that it ought not to be reſerued from time to time ouer

The articles obiected to Ioane Waſte.

the altar, but immediatly to be receyued. &c.

Item that ſhe did hold, in the receyuing of the ſacrament of the aultar, ſhe did not receyue the ſame body that was borne of the virgin Mary, and ſuffred vpon the croſſe for our redemption. &c.

Item, ſhe did hold, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper did not bleſſe the bread that he had then in his handes, but was bleſſed himſelfe, and by the vertue of the wordes of conſecration, the ſubſtance of the bread and wyne is not conuerted and turned into the ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Item, ſhe did graunt that ſhe was of the pariſh of Alhallowes in Darby. &c.

Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes are true and notorious by publike report and fame. &c.

The aunſwere of *Ioane Waſte* to ẏ Articles.

Wherunto ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe beleued therin ſo much as the holy Scriptures taught her, and according to that ſhe had heard preached vnto her by diuers learned men: Wherof ſome ſuffered impriſonment, and other ſome ſuffered death for the ſame doctrine. Amongeſt whom, ſhe named, beſides other, Doctor Taylor, whom ſhe ſaid tooke it of his conſcience that that doctrine which he taught was true, and aſked of them, if they would doo ſo in like caſe for their doctrine, which if they would not, ſhe deſired them for Gods ſake not to trouble her being a blinde, poore, and vnlerned woman, with any further talke, ſaying (by Gods aſſiſtance) that ſhe was readie to yeld vp her life in that faith, in ſuch ſort as they ſhould appoint.

Well argued: Becauſe Chriſt is omnipotent. Ergo, there is no bread in the Sacrament.

And yet notwithſtanding being preſt by the ſaid Biſhop and Doctor Draycot, with many argumentes of Chriſtes omnipotēcie, as, why was not Chriſt able as well to make the bread his body, as to turne water into wine, raiſe Lazarus from death, and ſuch other like argumentes: and many times being threatned with greuous impriſonmentes, tormentes, and death. The poore woman thus being, as it were, halfe aſtoyned through theyr terrors and threates, and deſirous (as it ſemed) to prolong her life, offred vnto the Biſhop then preſent, that if he would before that company, take it vpon his conſcience, that that doctrine which he would haue her to beleue cōcerning the ſacrament, was true, and that he would at the dreadfull day of iudgement anſwere for her therin (as the ſayd Doctor Tayler, in diuers of his ſermons did offer) ſhe would then further aunſwere them.

The offer of *Ioane Waſte* to the Biſhop, if he would take vpon hys conſcience to aunſwere before God for hys doctrine.

Wherunto the Biſhop aunſwered, he would: but Doct. Draycot his Chauncelor, hearing that, ſaid: My Lord, you know not what you doe: you may in no caſe anſwere for an heretike. And immediatly he aſked the poore woman whether ſhe would recant or no, and ſaid ſhe ſhould aunſwere for her ſelfe. Unto whoſe ſayinges the Biſhop alſo reformed himſelfe.

Note here the difference betwene the conſcience of the Proteſtant, and of the Papiſt.

The poore womā perceauing this, anſwered again, ẏ if they refuſed to take of their cōſcience ẏ it was true they would haue her to beleue, ſhe would anſwere no further, but deſired them to doe their pleaſure, and ſo after certein circumſtances, they pronounced ſentence agaynſt her, and deliuered her vnto the Baliffes of the ſayd towne of Darby afore named. Who after they had kept her about a moneth or fiue wekes, at length there came vnto them a writ De heretico comburendo: by vertue wherof, they were appoynted by the ſaid Biſhop to bring her to the pariſh church of all Saintes at a day appoynted where Doct. Draycot ſhould make a Sermon.

The Byſhop and his Chaūcellor durſt not take vpō their conſcience, to aunſwere before God for their doctrine.

Sentence pronounced agaynſt *Ioane Waſte.*

The writte brought down for the burning of *Ioane Waſte.*

When the day and time was come that this innocent Martyr ſhould ſuffer, firſt commeth to the church D. Draycot accompanied with diuers gentlemen, as M. Thomas Powthred, M. Henry Vernon, M. Dethicke of Newall, and diuers others. This done, and all thinges now in a readines, at laſt the poore blinde creature and ſeruaunt of God was brought and ſet before the Pulpit, where the ſaid Doctor being entred into his ſermon, and there inueying agaynſt diuers matters, which he called hereſies, declared vnto the people that that woman was condemned for denying the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar to be the verie bodie and bloud of Chriſt really and ſubſtancially, and was therby cut of from the bodie of the catholicke church: and ſaid, that ſhe was not only blind of her bodily eies, but alſo blind in the eyes of her ſoule. And he ſayd, ẏ as her body ſhould be preſently conſumed with materiall fire: ſo her ſoule ſhould be burned in hel with euerlaſting fire, as ſoone as it ſhould be ſeparated from the bodie, and there to remayne world without end, and ſayd it was not lawfull for the people to pray for her: & ſo with many terrible threates he made an end of his Sermon, and commaunded the Bayliffes and thoſe gentlemen to ſee her executed. And ẏ ſermon thus ended, eftſoones the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God was caried away from the ſayd church, to a place called ẏ windmil pit, neare vnto the ſaid towne, and holding the ſaid Roger Waſt her brother by the hand, ſhe prepared her ſelfe, and deſired the people to pray with her, and ſayd ſuch prayers as ſhe before had learned, and cried vpon Chriſt to haue mercy vpon her as long as life ſerued. In this meane ſeaſon, ẏ ſayd D. Draycot went to his Inne, for great ſorrow of her death, & there layed him downe, and ſlept during all the time of her execution. And thus much of Ioane Waſte.

D. Draycot appoynted to preach at the burning of *Ioane Waſte.*

D. Draycots rayling Sermon agaynſt *Ioane Waſte.*

Bleſſed a
you wh
men ſh
reuile yo
and ſay
euill a-
gainſt yo
for my n
mes ſake
Mat. 5.

Ioane Waſte brought
the place
execution.

The M
tyrdome
Ioane Waſte.

Now, forſomuch as I am not ignorant (faithfull reader) that this, & other ſtories mo, ſet forth of ẏ Martyrs, ſhall not lacke carpers & markers enow, ready to ſeeke all holes & corners, how to diffame ẏ memory of Gods good Saintes, and to condemne theſe hiſtories, of lyes and vntruths: eſpecially hiſtories wherin they ſee their ſhamefull Actes and vnchriſtian cruelty detected and brought to light: therfore for better cōfirmation of this hiſtorie aboue written, and to ſtoppe the mouthes of ſuch Momes, this ſhalbe to admoniſh all and ſingular readers hereof, that the diſcourſe of this poore blind womans life and death, in ſuch ſort as is aboue prefixed, hath bene confeſſed to be very true, by diuers perſons of worthy credit and yet liuing: and alſo hath bene ſpecially peruſed and examined by W. Baynbridge, tofore mentioned, Bayliffe then of Darby: who aſwell of his owne knowledge, as by ſpeciall enquirie and conferēce, by him made, with diuers others, hath certified vs the ſame to be vndoubted: beſides the teſtimoniall of Iohn Cadman Curate of the ſayd towne, and of other alſo, vpon whoſe honeſtie well knowen, and their reporte herein nothing differing from ſuch, as were beſt acquainted with that matter, I haue bene here the more bold to commit this ſtory to poſteritie, for all good men to conſider and to iudge vpon.

Edward Sharpe.

Septēb. 8.

The M
tyrdome
Edward Sharpe
at Briſtow.

ABout the beginning of the nexte moneth following, which was September, a certayne godly, aged, deuout, and zelous perſon of the Lordes glory, borne in Wiltſhire named Edward Sharpe, of the age of. lx. yeares, or thereaboute, was condemned at Briſtow to the like Martyrdome, where he conſtantly and manfully perſiſting in the iuſt quarell of Chriſtes Goſpell, for miſliking and renouncing the ordinaunces of the Romiſh church, was tried as pure golde, and made a liuely ſacrifice in the fyre: in whoſe death, as in ẏ death of all his other Sainctes, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of conſtancy: to whom bee prayſe for euer, Amen.

Fowre ſuffered at Mayfield.

Septēb. 24.

The M
tyrdome
4 at M
field in
Suſſex.

NExt after the martyrdome of Edward Sharpe aboue ſayd, followed. iiij. which ſuffered at Mayfield in Suſſex, the. xxiiij. day of September. an. 1556. Of whoſe names. ij. we finde recorded, and the other. ij. we yet know not, and therfore according to our regiſter, here vnder they be ſpecifyed, as we finde them.

Iohn

Iohn Hart.	A Shomaker.
Tho. Rauenſdale.	And a Coriar.

Which ſayd. 4. being at the place where they ſhould ſuffer, after they had made theyr prayer, and were at the ſtake, ready to abyde the force of the fire, they conſtantly and ioyfully yelded theyr liues for the teſtimony of the glorious Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt: vnto whom be prayſe for euer and euer, Amen.

The daye after the martyrdome of theſe foreſayd at Mayfield, which was the 24. of September. an. 1556. was a young man (which by ſcience was a Carpenter, whoſe name we haue not) put to death for the like teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt at Briſtow, where he yelding him ſelfe to the tormentes of the fyre, gaue vp his life into the handes of the Lord, with ſuch ioyfull conſtancy and triumph, as all the Church of Chriſt haue iuſt cauſe to prayſe God for him.

The Martyrdome of John

Horne, and a Woman.

NOw, not long after the death of the ſaid young man at Briſtow, in the ſame moneth were ij. mo godly Martyrs conſumed by fire at Wotton Underhedge in Gloceſterſhiere, whoſe names are aboue ſpecified, which died very gloriouſly in a conſtant faith, to the terror of the wicked, & comfort of the Godly. So graciouſly did the Lord worke in them, that death vnto them was life, and life with a blotted conſcience was death.

A pitifull ſtory concernyng the

vnmercifull handlyng of W. Dangerfield, and Ioane his wife beyng in childbed, taken out of her houſe, with her ſuckyng infant of xiiij. dayes old, and layd in the common Iayle amongeſt theeues and murderers.

WHen I had written and finiſhed the ſtory of ẏ Garneſey women, with ẏ yong infant there with them burned, and alſo had paſſed the burnyng of the poore blind woman Ioane Waſt at Darby: I well hoped I ſhould haue found no mo ſuch like ſtories of vnmercifull crueltie ſhewed vpon ſely women with their childrē and young infants: but now commyng to the perſecutiō of Gloceſterſhyre about the partes of Briſtow, I find an other ſtory of ſuch vnmercifulnes ſhewed agaynſt a woman in childbed, as farre from all charitie and humanitie, as hath bene any other ſtory yet hetherto rehearſed, as by the ſequele hereof may appeare.

In ẏ Pariſh of Wotton Underhedge, not far from Briſtow, was dwellyng one W. Dangerfield a right honeſt and godly poreman, who by Ioane Dangerfield his wife had ix. children, & ſhe now lying in childbed of the tenth. This Williā after he had bene abroad from his houſe a certeine ſpace, for feare of perſecutiō, hearyng that his wife was brought to bed, repayred home to viſite her, as naturall duetie required, and to ſee his children, ſhe beyng now deliuered foure dayes before.

The returne of this man was not ſo ſoone knowen to ſome of his vnkynd and vncharitable neighbours, but they incenſed with the ſpirite of Papiſtrie, eftſones beſet the houſe about, & there tooke ẏ ſayd Williā Dangerfield, and caried him to priſon, & ſo at lēgth he was brought to the Byſhop, beyng thē Doct. Brokes: in whoſe cruell handlyng he remained a certeine ſpace, ſo long till his legges almoſt were freted of with yrons.

After ẏ apprehenſion of ẏ huſband, ẏ wife likewiſe was taken, with her yong borne childe, being but 14. dayes old (as is ſayd) out of her child bed, & caryed into the common Iayle, and there placed amongſt theues and murderers, where both ſhe and her poore innocent found ſo ſmall charitie amongſt the catholike men, that ſhe neuer could come to any fire, but was driuen to warme the clothes that ſhe ſhould put about the child, in her boſome.

Ioane the wife of *W. Dangerfield* take with her younge infant out of childbed, and had to priſon.

In the meane ſeaſon while they lay thus incloſed in ſeuerall priſons, the huſband and the wife, the Byſhop begynneth to practiſe not with the woman firſt, as the Serpent did with Eue, but with the mā, craftely deceiuyng his ſimplicitie, with fayre gloſing wordes, falſely perſuadyng him that his wife had recanted: and aſking him, wherfore he ſhould more ſtand in his owne conceate, then ſhe, beyng as well learned as he, and ſo ſubtilly drew out a forme of recantation, wherwith he deceiued the ſimple ſoule. Wherunto after that he had once graunted that he would conſent, although he had not yet recanted, they ſuffered him to go to his wife, where ſhe lay in the common Iayle.

Dangerfield made to beleue falſely, that his wife had recanted.

Dangerfield vppon hope of hys wiues recantation, conſented to the Byſhop.

Thē they with meltyng hartes opening their mindes one to the other, whē he ſaw his wife not releaſed, and perceauing that he had not done well, he declared vnto her the whole matter, how falſely he was circumuēted by the ſubtile flatteringes of the Byſhop, bearyng him in hand that certeinely ſhe had recanted: and thus deceauing me (ſayd he) brought this vnto me, and ſo plucked out of his boſome the copy of the recātation, wherunto he had graunted his promiſe. At the ſight wherof, the wife hearyng what her huſband had done, her hart claue aſunder, ſaying: Alacke, thus long haue we continued one, and hath Sathan ſo preuailed, to cauſe you to breake your firſt vow made to Chriſt in Baptiſme? And ſo departed the ſaid William and Ioane his wife, with what harts the Lord knoweth. Then began he not a litle to bewayle his promiſe made to the Byſhop, and to make his prayer to almighty God, deſiring him, that he might not liue ſo long as to call euill good, and good euill: or light darkeues, or darkenes light, and ſo departed he home toward his houſe: where by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he tooke his death, and ſhortly after departed, accordyng to his prayer, after he had endured in priſon xij. weekes.

The wife lamenteth the fall of her huſband.

Dangerfield lamenteth hys promiſe made to the Biſhop.

The prayer of *Dangerfield* to God.

The death of the huſband.

After this, Ioane his wife cōtinued ſtill in priſon with her tender infant, till at laſt ſhe was brought before the biſhop to be examined. Wherunto what her aunſwers were, it is not certainly knowne. Howbeit moſt like it is, whatſoeuer they were, they pleaſed not the biſhop, as appeared by his ire increaſed againſt the poore woman and her long continuance in the priſon, together with her tender babe, which alſo remained with her in the Iayle, partaker of her martyrdome, ſo long as her milke would ſerue to geue it ſucke, till at length the child being ſtarued for cold and famine, was ſent away when it was paſt all remedy, and ſo ſhortly after died. And not long after the mother alſo followed, beſides the old woman which was mother of the huſband, of the age of 80. yeares and vpward. Who being left in the houſe after their apprehenſion, for lacke of comfort there periſhed alſo.

The young infant famiſhed in priſon.

The Martyrdome of the mother.

The death of the old womā.

And thus haue ye in one ſtory the death of 4. together: firſt of the old woman: then of the huſband, after that of the innocent child, & laſtly of the mother. What became of the other 9. children, I am not perfectly ſure, but that I partly vnderſtand, that they were all vndone by the ſame.

This ſtory is reported and teſtified as well by other as namely by Miſtres Bridges, dwelling in the ſame towne, and partaker then of the like afflictions, and hardly eſcaped with her life.

M. Bridges perſecuted the ſame tyme for Gods word, and witnes of thys ſtory.

A Shomaker ſuffering in

Northampton.

IN the moneth of Octob. following, was burned at ẏ Towne of Northāpton, a Shomaker, a true witnes & diſciple of ẏ Lord, who, according to ẏ grace of God geuen vnto him, cleauyng faſt to the ſound doc-

Octob. 12.

The Martyrdome of a Shomaker at Northāpton.

doctrine and preaching of Gods word, renounced the vntrue and falſe coloured Religion of the Romiſh ſea, wherin many a good man hath ben drowned.

Octob. 18.

Three dyed in the Caſtell of Chiciſter, cōfeſſors.

After whom, not long after in the ſame moneth of October dyed alſo in the Caſtle of Chiciſter three godly confeſſors, being there in bondes for the like cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpel, who alſo ſhould haue ſuffered the like Martyrdome, had not theyr naturall death, or rather (as it is to be ſuſpected) the cruell handling of the papiſtes made them away before, and afterward buried them in the field.

Iohn Hoke, Martyr.

I reade moreouer that in this preſent yeare, to wit an. 1556. was burnt one called Hooke a true witnes of the Lordes truth, at Cheſter.

Fiue famiſhed in Canterbury Caſtell

by the vnmercifull tiranny of the papiſtes, about the beginning of Nouember.

B. Boner, Nicholas Harpſfield, D. Dunning, three ſore perſecutors.

AS among all the Biſhops, Boner Byſhop of London principally excelled in perſecutyng the poore members and ſaintes of Chriſt: ſo of all Archdeacons Nicholas Harpeſſield Archdeacon of Canterbury (as may by mans ſight appeare) was the ſoreſt, and of leſt cōpaſſion (onely Dunning of Norwich excepted) by whoſe vnmercifull nature and agreſt diſpoſitiō very many were put to death in that dioces of Canterbury, not only in the bloudy time of that Queene, but ſome alſo in the bleſſed beginning of this our moſt renowned Queene that now is, as by the grace of Chriſt, hereafter ſhall appeare.

Perſecution in Kent.

Of thoſe that ſuffered in Queene Maries time within the forſayd dioces of Canterbury, ſome be recited already, with the order and forme ſet downe of ſuch articles as then were moſt commonly miniſtred to the Examinates by Thornton, ſuffragne of Douer, and ẏ ſaid N. Harpſfield and other, as before in the volume of this hiſtory may appeare pag. 1852. Now to procede in the order and courſe of time where we left, next followeth the moneth of Nouember.

Read before pag. 1852.

XV. Martyrs & Confeſſors together priſoned in Canterbury.

In the beginnyng wherof were together in the Caſtell of Cant. xv. godly & innocent Martyrs, of which nūber, not one eſcaped with theyr life, but either were burned, or els were famiſhed in priſon. Of ẏ which ij. ſortes, which is ẏ eaſier death God knoweth: it is hard to iudge. Notwithſtandyng, ẏ truth is, that of theſe. xv. x. were burned and ſuffered in the fire, of whom in the next booke more ſhal folow hereafter, the Lord willing. The other v. were pined & famiſhed moſt vnmercifully in the ſtraite priſon, of whom we haue here preſently to entreate. Whoſe names were theſe.

V. Confeſſors and Martyrs famiſhed in priſon.

1. Iohn Clerke. 2. Dunſton Chittenden.	which ij. were yet vncondemned.
3. W. Foſter *of Stone.* 4. Alice Potkins *wife, of Stapleherſt.* 5. Iohn Archer *of Cranbroke, Weuer.*	Theſe were condemned to be brent.

W. Foſter, Alice Potkins, Ioh. Archer, dyed after their condemnation.

Of theſe fiue priſoners, the firſt two were vncondēned, the other three laſt were condēned & ſhould haue bene burned, but ſuffered no leſſe tormentes then if they had abid the fire, being macerat & pined to death by famine. What their articles and anſwers were, it nedeth not here to recite, ſeing all they, in that time of Queene Mary, commonly ſuffered for one maner & ſorte of cauſe, that is, for holding againſt the. vij. ſacraments, againſt the reality of Chriſtes being in his ſupper, for ſpeaking againſt the church of Rome, and determinations of the ſame, agaynſt Images ſet vp and worſhipped in the church, for not cōming to ẏ Church, and ſuch other like. &c.

W. Foſter, Martyr. His aunſwere to ẏ articles.

Firſt, William Foſter aunſwering to theſe and like articles, ſayd, that he beleued well in all the articles of the Crede: but to beleue to be mo ſacramentes then two, & to pray to ſainctes eyther to profite vs, or to pray for ſoules in purgatory to profit them, that faith and workes do iuſtify, or to allow the papiſh ceremonies in the Church, that hee denied. Moreouer he ſayd, to cary candels vppon Candelmas day were as good for him as to cary a dungforke, and ẏ it is as neceſſary to cary the gallowes about, if his father were hanged, as the croſſe. To come to the church he cannot, ſayd he, with a ſafe conſcience. Concerning fiſh dayes and fleſh dayes, he grāunted it good to put difference therin, except where neceſſitie required the contrary.

This William Foſter was a laboring, man of the age of. xl. yeares. He was apprehended and imprisoned by Syr Thomas Moyle Knight.

Alice Potkins alſo for the like confeſſion, was condemned to be burned, for that ſhe was not neither would be confeſſed to the Prieſt, for that ſhe receaued not the ſacrament of the aultar, becauſe ſhe would not pray to ſainctes, nor creepe to the croſſe. &c. Being demaunded of her age, ſhe ſayd that ſhe was xlix. yeares old according to her old age, and accordyng to her yong age, ſince ſhe learned Chriſt, ſhe was of one yeares age, and was committed by mayſter Robertes to priſon.

The aunſwere and confeſſion of Iohn Archer of Crambrocke, was much in like ſort. And although certein of theſe vpon ignoraunt ſimplicitie ſwarued a litle in the number of Sacramentes, ſome graunting one Sacrament, that is, the body of Chriſt hangyng vpon the croſſe, ſome mo, ſome leſſe. &c. yet in the principall matters touchyng the doctrine of ſaluation for faith to ſtay vpon, and in diſagreeing frō the dremyng determinatiōs of the Popiſh Church, they moſt agreed. Concernyng the not praying to Saintes, and for the dead in Purgatory, for not creeping to ẏ croſſe, for faith onely to iuſtifie, for takyng of an othe and ſuch other like, he graunted as the other had done. This father Archer by his occupation a Weuer of ẏ town of Crābroke, of the age of l. yeares, was attached & impriſoned by Syr Iohn Gilford Knight. And thus haue ye the cauſe and impriſonment of theſe fiue godly priſoners. Now as touchyng the crueltie of their death, for that ye ſhall not ſurmiſe the ſuſpicion or relation therof to procede of my ſelfe, ye ſhall heare their own teſtimony and certification by their owne letter throwen out of the priſon concernyng the vnmerciful dealyng of the Catholicke tyrauntes in famiſhyng them, as is afore ſayd. The wordes and copy of their letter is this.

¶ The copy of a letter writtē & caſt out of the Caſtle of Cant. by the priſoners, there in bandes for Gods word, declaryng how the Papiſtes went about to famiſh them to death: of the which company v. were famiſhed amongeſt them already.

BE it knowen to all men that ſhall read or here red theſe our letters, that we the poore priſoners of the Caſtell of Canterbury for Gods truth, are kept and lye in cold yrons, and our keper will not ſuffer any meate to be brought to vs to comfort vs. And if any mā do bring any thing, as bread, butter, cheeſe, or any other foode, the ſayd keper will charge them that ſo bring vs any thyng, except money or rayment, to cary it with them agayne, or els if he do receaue any foode of any for vs, he doth kepe it for him ſelfe, and he and his ſeruauntes do ſpend it, ſo that we haue nothing therof: and thus the keper kepeth away our vittals frō vs. In ſo much ẏ there are iiij. of vs priſoners there for Gods truth, famiſhed already and thus is it his minde to famiſh vs all: and we thinke he is appointed therunto of the Byſhops and Prieſtes, & alſo of the Iuſtices, ſo to famiſh vs, & not onely vs of the ſayd Caſtell, but alſo all other priſoners in other priſons for the like cauſe to be alſo famiſhed: notwithſtandyng we write not theſe our letters to that entent we mought not afforde to bee famiſhed for the Lorde Ieſus ſake, but for this cauſe and entent, that they hauyng no law ſo to famiſh vs in priſon, ſhould not do it priuely, but that the murtherers hartes ſhould be openly knowē to all the world, that all men may know of what Church they are, and who is their father.

Out of the Caſtle of Canterbury.

¶ The

The trouble and vexation of good people in the Dioces of Lichfield.

These foreſayd monethes of September, Nouember, and Decemb. as they were troubleſome to diuers other places, and eſpecially to the dioces of Caunterbury by reaſon of the Archdeacon aboue named: ſo likewiſe they brought no litle buſines in the countrey of Lichfield and Couentrey by a cruell Biſhop there called Rafe Bane, and a more cruell Chaūcellor named Doct. Draycot, through ẏ fierce inquiſition of whom great ſtirre was there among the people, being called to examination for their fayth, & many cauſed to beare fagots. Who although they were not put to ẏ torment of death, yet becauſe it may appeare what a number there is in the countreyes of Englād abroad, which in theyr hartes haue a miſliking of ẏ popes romiſh lawes and religion, if for feare they durſt vtter theyr myndes, I thought to make a rehearſall of theyr names which in the aforeſayd dioces of Couētry and Lichfield were taken in ſuſpicion and examined for theyr religion.

And firſt amongeſt them that were detected and inioyned to the popiſh penance, that is, to beare a fagot, candell, and beades about in proceſſion, were Agnes Forman, detected, examined, and by witnes conuicted and bare a fagot the xij. of Septēb. Likewyſe Margery Kyrry, Thomas Norreis, Thomas Styffe, William Kayme, Robert Katrenes, Thomas Smith, Iohn Borſleye the yonger. Item Iohn Waterhouſe: againſt whom came in witnes and accuſers Richard Caterbanke, I. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying agaynſt hym for ſeldome comming to the Church, for geuing no reuerence at the leuation of the Sacrament, but looking vpon his booke, for not kiſſing the pace. &c. Robert Byſſel, Leonard Weſt, Richard Bayly of the Pariſh of Whiteacre.

Nicholas Cartwright, Doct.
Richard Iurdian, Prieſt.
Edmund Crokel, *Prieſt.*
Thomas Whithed, *Prieſt.*
William Taylour, *Prieſt.*
Anſelme Sele, *Prieſt.*
Richard Slauy, *Prieſt maried.*
Edward Hawes, *Prieſt maried.*
Robert Aſton, *Prieſt depriued.*
Henry Tecka, *Prieſt depriued.*
Robert Moſſey, *Prieſt, maried and depriued.*

These were depriued.

Beſide theſe were diuers other which in like ſorte were detected, accuſed, & examined, although they bare no fagot, but were dimiſſed, as Richard Kemp, Iohn Frankling, William Marler, Ielius Dudley, Euſtache Byſacre, William Shene, Antony Afterwittel, Thomas Steylbe, Henry Birdlim, William Moſley, Iohn Leech, Iohn Richardſon, Antony Iones, alias Pulton, Thomas Wylſon, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres hys ſon, Iſabel Parker, Martine Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preſton, Thomas Saulter, Iohn Stamford Shomaker, Richard Wodburne, Thomas Arnal Shomaker, Iohn Robynſon, Hugh Moore Shomaker, Iohn Adale, Thomas Arch, Fraūces Warde, Iohn Auines, Richard Foxal, Thomas Vnderdoune, Richard Weuer.

The next moneth following, being October, came vnder examination Ioyce Lewes gentlewoman, of whom we differ to ſpeake vntil the next yeare, at what tyme ſhe was burned.

Theſe fornamed perſons with many mo following in the next yeare after, although they did ſubſcribe and relent through feare of death: yet for this cauſe I do here recite them that by them it might appeare, what a nūber there were not only in ẏ countrey of Lichfield, but alſo in other parties in hart ſet agaynſt the Popes proceedinges, if that feare rather then conſcience had not compelled them to the contrary.

❧ *The concluſion of this xj. booke,*

with a brief ſtory of Syr Iohn Cheeke. &c.

The concluſion of the xj. Booke.

AND thus haue ye the whole perſecution of this yeare declared, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1556. and the fourth of Quéene Maryes reigne, with the names and cauſes of all them which ſuffered Martyrdome within the cōpaſſe of ẏ ſaid yeare: the number of all which ſlayne and martyred in diuers places of England at ſundry tymes this yeare came to aboue. 84. perſons, wherof many were womē, wiues, widowes, and maydens: beſides them which otherwiſe by ſecret practiſe were made away, or driuen out of goodes and houſes, or out of the realme, or els within the realme, were put to penaunce, and coacted by forceable violence to recant, ſaue onely that I haue omitted the ſtory of Syr *I*ohn Cheeke, Knight, and ſcholemaſter ſometymes to kyng Edward. The worthynes of whiche man deſerueth much to be ſayd: but his fall would rather be couered in ſilence and obliuion. Onely to note a word or two of a few thinges to the preſent ſtory moſt principally appertayning, it ſhall ſuffice.

84. Martyrs and aboue in thys yeare 1556. put to death in thys realme.

Firſt, M. Cheeke beyng in ẏ countrey of Germany out of all daūger of perſecution, with many moe of his owne countreymen and acquaintance, was not only in ſafetie, but alſo with reputation accordingly eſtemed among the Germanes, and alſo well placed in the Citie of Strauſbourgh. Where if he had contented him ſelfe to haue remained, rather giuyng place to tyme, then to preſume vpō aduentures, peraduenture it had ben better wᵗ him. But what fatall inſtigation wrought in his mind, I know not. In the end ſo it fell, that he would nedes take his iourney with Syr Peter Carew frō hye Germany vnto Bruxels, and that (as I haue credibly heard of them which knew ſomewhat) not without the forecaſtyng of his aduentured iourney by the conſtellation of ſtarres and diſpoſition of the heauēs aboue. For as he was a man famouſly expert and trauayled in the knowledge of ſundry artes & ſciences: ſo was he a litle to much addicted to the curious practiſing of this ſtardiuinitie, which we call Aſtrologie. But how ſoeuer it was, or whatſoeuer it was that the ſtarres did promiſe him, truth was, that mē here in earth kept litle promiſe with him. For hauyng (as it is ſayd) kyng Philippes ſafeconduct to paſſe and repaſſe, & that by the meanes (as I finde) of the lord Paget and Sir Iohn Maſ. pledging for hys ſafegarde K. Philips fidelitie, he came to Bruxels to ſée the Quéenes Ambaſſadours, and hauing brought the lord Paget on his way towarde England, in the returne betwene Bruxels and Antwarpe was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the Prouoſt Marſhal, ſpoyled of their horſes, and clapped into a carte, their legges, armes, and bodies tyed with halters to the body of the carte, and ſo ſhipped, beyng blyndfield vnder the hatches, and ſo brought to the Tower of London.

A briefe declaration of *M. Cheekes* recantation.

Aſtrologie.

M. Cheeke, and Syr Peter Carew apprehended in their iourney to Antwerpe.

Thus the good man being intrapped, & in the handes now of his enemies, had but one of theſe two waies to take, either to change his religiō, or to change his life. Other remedy with thoſe holy Catholickes there was none. Neyther could his conſcience excuſe hym, nor truth defend him, nor learnyng helpe him.

Albeit M. Fecknham, whether by the Quéene ſuborned, or vpon his owne deuotion and frendſhip toward his old acquayntance, tooke vpon him the defence and commendation of M. Cheeke, ſpeaking in hys behalfe: yet no mercy could be had with ẏ Quéene, but he muſt nedes recant, & ſo dyd he. The copy of whoſe recantation preſcribed vnto hym, becauſe it is knowne and in the handes of diuers, it nedeth not here to be expreſſed.

M. Feckname ſpeaketh for *M. Cheeke.*

The death and repentance of Syr Iohn Cheeke.

Then after his recantation, he was thorough the crafty handlyng of the catholickes, allured firſt to dine and company with them, at length drawen vnwares to ſit in place, where the poore Martyrs were brought before Boner and other Byſhops to be condemned, the remorſe wherof ſo mightely wrought in his hart, that not long after he left this mortall life. Whoſe fall although it was full of infirmitie, yet hys riſing agayne by repentaunce was great, and hys end comfortable, the Lorde bee prayſed.

¶ The ende of the xj. Booke.

Here begynneth the xij. booke

conteinyng the bloudy doynges and perſecutions of the aduerſaries agaynſt the faithfull and true ſeruauntes of Chriſt, with the particular proceſſes, and names of ſuch as were put to ſlaughter from the begynnyng of Ianuary, Anno. 1557. and the fift of Queene Mary.

The order and maner of the Cardinals viſitation in Cambridge, with the condemnyng, taking vp, and burnyng the Bones and Bookes of Bucer, and Paulus Phagins, anno. 1557. Ianuar. 9.

Anno. 1557. Ianuary. 9.

Viſitation at Cambridge, with the burning of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phegins bones.

The Inquiſitors.

CArdinal Poole, three yeares after his returne into England, hauyng ſomewhat withdrawen his mind from other affaires of the Realme, and hauing in all points eſtabliſhed the Romiſhe Religion, began to haue an eye to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, which place among other, eſpecially ſeemed to haue nede of reformation out of hand. To performe this charge, were choſen Cuthbert Scot, not long before conſecrated Biſhop of Cheſter, Nicolas Ormanet an Italian, Archprieſt of the the people of Bodolon, in the Dioces of Veron, profeſſed in both the lawes, & bearing the name of the popes Datary, Thomas Watſon, elected biſhop of Lincolne, Iohn Chriſtopherſon, elected Byſhop of Chicheſter, and Henry Cole Prouoſt of the Colledge of Eton. There was good cauſe why the matter was eſpecially committed to theſe perſons. For as touchyng Ormanet, it is well knowen that he was a man of much eſtimation with Iulius the third, at that time B. of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinall Poole, becauſe without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief truſt and cõfidence) the Byſhop would haue nothyng done that was of any importance or weight.

A Citation ſent before Doct. Andrewe Perne Vicechauncellor.

Theſe perſons thus appointed (in the meane while as the viſitours were addreſſing them ſelues to their iourney) ſent their letters with ẏ Cardinals Citation before to Doct. Andrew Perne, Vicechauncellour then of Cambridge, with the other Cõmiſſioners aſſociate, commaundyng him to warne all the Graduates of the Vniuerſitie in their name, to be in a readynes agaynſt the. xj. day of Ianuary betwixt vij. and x. of the clocke in the Church of S. Mary the virgin: willyng him eſpecially to be there him ſelfe in preſence, and alſo to ſet forward all the reſidue to whoſe charge it belõged, that they ſhould ſearch out all Statutes, Bookes, Priuileges, and Monumentes apperteinyng to the Vniuerſitie, or to any of the Colledges, or finally to any of thẽ ſelues, and there to preſent the ſame before them at the day appointed, and euery man to appeare there perſonally: for they would not fayle, but be there at ẏ ſame tyme, to lay before them ſuch thynges as ſhould ſeeme neceſſary to this charge of reformyng the Vniuerſitie, and further to geue charge of all ſuch things as ſhould ſeeme moſt for the profite and behoofe of the ſame, together with ſuch things as were to be done on their part, accordyng as ſhould ſeeme moſt agreable to the Decrees of the Canon law.

This Citation of the Cardinall being brought to Cãbridge by M. Bullocke, was firſt exhibited in the Conuocation houſe of the Regentes, and there openly red by the Oratour of ẏ Vniuerſitie the xj. day of Decẽber.

After this, vppon the 24. of December, which was Chriſtenmaſſe euen, the Vicechauncellour, with the heades of houſes metyng together in the Scholes, it was there concluded, that the viſitours charges ſhould be borne by the Vniuerſitie and Colledges (which thẽ coſt the Vniuerſitie an hundreth pound thicke) and alſo that no maſter of any Colledge ſhould ſuffer any of the felowes, ſcholers, or miniſters, to go forth of ẏ towne, but to returne before the viſitation.

On Friday, the viij. of Ianuary, the Queenes Commiſſioners, videlicet, Doct. Perne Vicechauncellour, Doct. Seghwicke, Doct. Haruy, M. Franck, Kuſt, & an other who is here nameles, alſo with ſir Iames Dyer, ẏ Recorder, M. Chapman, Euered ſitting together in ẏ Hall, certain were there called by ẏ appointment of L. Hawes, and charge giuen what ſhould be done. And firſt the Commiſſion was read. Then were all the high Conſtables called to bryng in their preceptes, and ſworne. Alſo ij. of euery Pariſh of x. or xij. hundrethes, were ſworne to inquire of hereſie, lollardy, conſpiracie, ſeditious wordes, tales, and rumors agaynſt the Kyng and Queene. Item, for hereticall and ſeditious bookes, for negligences & miſdemanour in the church, for obſeruation of ceremonies, for ornamentes, and ſtocke of the church.

We ſayd at ẏ firſt, that ẏ Cardinall thought ẏ Vniuerſitie to haue neede of reformation. The reaſon why he ſhould thinke ſo, was this: either becauſe the ſame of long cõtinuaũce ſince any man could remẽber, had caſt of the yoke of ẏ B. of Rome, & cleaued to ẏ wholeſome doctrine of ẏ Goſpell, or els by reaſon that both for the late ſchiſme, not yet worne out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the ſaid Vniuerſitie interpreted holy Scripture, they ſaw many ſo ſore corrupted and ſpotted with this infection, that (euen as when a fire is ſpread in a towne) vnleſſe a ſpeedy remedy were adhibited out of hand, it were not poſſible, to their thinking, to quench it many yeares after. Who alſo feared (if it were not looked to in tyme) leſt this miſchief ſhould take roote, and by litle and litle infect all the members next vnto it, which yet were whole and ſound.

This was the yeare of our Lord. 1556. To the entent therfore to make a ſalue for this ſore, the Inquiſitours, of whom we ſpake before, came vnto Cãbridge the ninth day of Ianuary. As they were yet on their iourney, not farre from the towne, diuers of the Maſters and Preſidentes of the Colledges met them, and brought them courteouſly, firſt into the towne, and after to their lodgyng. They were entertained in Trinitie Colledge by M. Iohn Chriſtopherſon Maſter of the ſame houſe, & lately before elected Byſhop of Chicheſter. Notwithſtãding they were deſired, ſome to one place, & ſome to an other, as occaſion ſerued, either to do their duties, or to ſhew their good willes: Cole to the kinges Colledge, & D. Watſon to S. Iohns. But whether it were for ẏ acquaintance of Chriſtopherſon, or for the largenes of the houſe, which ſemed moſt conuenient for their purpoſe, they all toke vp their lodgings in the ſayd Colledge with M. Chriſtopherſon.

At their comming thether an Oration was made by a felow of the houſe, who in the name of all the reſt, with long Proteſtation declared that they were moſt hartely welcome thither, and that he and his fellowes gaue them great thãkes, that it had pleaſed their Lordſhips to haue ſo good opinion of them, as to chooſe their houſe eſpecially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to ſtãd in hope of ſome further beneuolence towardes them, and alſo done great worſhyp to their Colledge by their beyng there: wherfore they ſhould looke at their hand agayn for as much duety and reuerence, as lay in their power to performe.

To this Oration Watſon made aunſwere, that this forward and earneſt good willes and minde of theirs, in doyng ſuch curteſie, was right thankefully taken, both of him and his, exhortyng them to continue ſtedfaſtly in the ſame, and to procede alſo whẽ nede ſhould require: for it was ſo farre from any of their thoughts, to ſtop them in this their race, that they would rather haſt them forward to runne through more ſpedely, beyng not without good cauſe perſuaded to conceiue good hope of their beneuolence towardes them, in aſmuch as they would do for them, what ſoeuer might turne to their profite and commoditie.

This day, for aſmuch as it was toward euening ere they came, and the ſunne was goyng downe, was nothing els done. The next day being the tenth of Januarie, they beſtowed in recreatyng them ſelues after their iourney, and in ſetting other thinges at a ſtay. Neuertheles to the entent the ſame ſhould not eſcape altogether without doing of ſomewhat, they interdited the 2. Churches, namely, S. Maries, where Martin Bucer, and S. Michaels, where Paulus Phagius lay buried.

Theſe men were dead a good while before. Paulus Phagius had ſcarce yet ſhewed the proofe of his wit and learning, whẽ he departed to God. 1549. Bucer liued but a litle after. During which time ſomwhat by writing, but chiefly by readyng & preachyng openly (wherin the old mã beyng painful in the word of God, neuer ſpared him ſelfe nor regarded his health) he brought al men into ſuch admiratiõ of him, that neither his frẽdes could ſufficiẽtly prayſe him, neither his enemies in any point finde fault with his ſingular life and ſincere doctrine. A moſt certaine token wherof may be his ſumptuous buriall, ſolemniſed with ſo great aſſiſtence and gladnes of al the degrees of the Uniuerſitie, that it was not poſſible to deuiſe more to ẏ ſetting out and amplifying of the ſame. The whole maner and order of the doyng wherof, beyng written by M. Nicolas Carre, a learned man in a litle treatiſe to Syr Iohn Cheke Knight, with an Epiſtle full of conſolation as concernyng his departure added thereunto, was ſent afterward vnto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the buriall of Bucer and Phagius, vnto the commyng of theſe viſitours were paſſed about three or iiij. yeares more or leſſe. And frõ the tyme that that bleſſed kyng Edward the vj. deceaſed, vnto that day, the Prieſtes neuer ceaſſed to celebrate their Maſſes, and al other kinde of Ceremonies in thoſe places, and that without ſcruple of conſcience, as farre as men could perceiue. But after the time that theſe Cõmiſſioners came thether, thoſe thinges that before were accompted for ſacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and vnholy. For they commaunded that all thoſe aſſemblies that ſhould hereafter be made for the executyng of holy Ceremonies, ſhould be remoued to the kynges Chappell, which is a place farre more ſtately then all the other.

Now was come the xj. day, in the which the Uicechauncellor of ẏ Uniuerſity, with the maiſters & Preſidentes of ẏ Colledges, & all other ẏ Graduates of euery houſe, were commaunded to appeare before the ſayd Commiſſioners in there habites. It was commãded that the ſcholers alſo ſhould come in there ſurpliſes, but that was not done. They aſſembled in great number to Trinity Colledge: hauing the vniuerſity croſſe borne before them and in the gatehouſe a forme was ſet and couered, with cuſſhings and carpet on the ground for the viſitors. Where the Uicechauncellour hauing on a tyſhew cope ſprinkled holy water on thẽ, and purpoſed to ſence them, but they refuſed it there, which notwithſtanding afterwarde in the Queenes Colledge and elſwhere they refuſed not.

There M. Iohn Stokes cõmon Orator of ẏ vniuerſity, made an oration in the name of all the reſt. The copie wherof I thought good here to exemplificate, in Latin as it was pronounced.

Maſter Stokes Oration to Queene Maryes Viſitors at Cambridge, an. 1557. Ianu. 11.

The oration of *M. Stokes* publicke Oratour of the Uniuerſitie.

ACademia, Reuerendi Patres, in expectatione aduentus veſtri ſollicita aliquandiu fuit, nunc præſentia dominationum veſtrarum valde recreata libentiſſime vultus veſtros intuetur, & ad apertam voluntatis ſuæ teſtificationẽ, ecce vniuerſa ſe ſuaſque opes effudit. Conuenit in hũc locum tota cãtabrigiæ frequentia, adſunt omnes ordines, de quorum certa mihi & explorata ad hanc rem voluntate, illud publica fide apud dominationes veſtras affirmo, eos & ſeparatim ſingulos, & coniunctim omnes optatiſſimum hũc aduentum mirificis ſtudijs, & conſentientibus animis gratulari. Illud enim omnium animis habemus perſuaſum, & negotium hoc quod hodierno die, fauente Deo, excellentia veſtra auſpicatur, ad academiæ rationes fore accommodum, neque in re, ad communem ſalutem tam neceſſaria, operam aliquando veſtram nobis defuturam. Permulta ſunt ad hanc opinionem confirmandam, ſed cœtera non perſequor: ea tantum oratione attingam, quæ ita intimè cum præſenti negotio cohærent, vt diuelli ab eo diſiungique nulla ratione poſſint. Atque ſunt illa quidem numero certa & finita: verum re & virtute, ita immenſa, vt nulla dicendi facultate mea plene comprehendi poſſent: quoniam tamen & antea ſum profeſſus ſummam eſſe academiæ lætitiam, eamque iuſtis de cauſis in aduentu veſtro ſuſceptam, quæſo a vobis, vt dum eas breuiter recenſeo faciles mihi aures præbeatis.

Cardinal. Polus.

Reuerẽdiſſ. in Chriſto Pater Cardinalis Polus, Legatus, qui religionẽ oppreſſã reſtituit, patriæ ruinas ſuffulſit, leges & decreta quaſi poſtliminio reduxit, iſte inquàm, iſte polus anglus, & verè noſter Moyſes, legationis veſtræ autor eſt, a cuiꝰ excellenti virtute in omnes ſuæ patriæ partes plurima cõmoda dimanarunt. Quo vinculo neceſſitudinis, & ſi omnibus tẽporibus optima ab illo ſperare liceret, quòd ex corpore ſimus ipſius reipublicæ, arctior eſt tamẽ & interior cauſa, quæ nobis cum dominatione illius ſeparatim intercedit. Superiore anno academiæ procurationem in ſe humaniſſimè recepit, quam liberali cuſtodia ita cœptam tenere ſe velle, literis ſignificauit, vt non ſolum incommoda dimoueret, quibus ſtudia noſtra affligerentur, ſed vt ornamenta adijceret ea, quorum ſplendore augeri dignitas academiæ aut maximè illuſtrari poſſet. Quæ res & ſpem antea noſtram confirmauit, & nunc in eam cogitationem nos adducit, vt omnẽ illius humanitatem in hanc vnam viſitationem eſſe collectam putemus, in qua quidem ea a vobis expectamus omnia, quæ ſummi cancellarij noſtri inſignis amor præter communem charitatem academiæ, quaſi pupillæ ſuæ propriæ pollicetur. Atq; vtinam quidem ipſe ſine reipublicæ detrimento, hoc tempore adeſſe poſſet, & academiam ſuã è tenebris & profunda nocte emerſam, ipſe ſuis radijs veræ religionis ſplendore illuſtraret, verum optioni noſtræ publica vtilitas repugnat, qua valde impeditus ſanctiſſimæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ legatus, vos Vicarios ſubſtituit: quorum naturas propter prouidentiam, perſonas propter dignitatem, voluntates propter educationem aptiſſimas ad hanc rem eſſe iudicauit. Itaq; illud verè & ex animis iſtorum omnium affirmare poſſum, vos eos eſſe viros quorum religionem amamus, virtutem colimus, voluntatem, fidem, & conſilium ad publicam ſalutem impendimus. Poſtquàm enim ſingulari & preſtantiſſima virtute Cardinalis Poli, legati è ſuperiorum temporum caligine, & tenebris, lucem in republicà reſpicere cœpimus, vnà certè grauiſſima etiam ſuperioris ætatis mala ſenſimus, quibus profecto infinitis & miſerrimis etſi antea premeremur, tamen ad calamitatis noſtræ magnitudinem acceſſit eiuſdem ignoratio, vt (mea quidem opinione) eo ſimus magis miſerabiles iudicandi, quòd tam turbulenta tempeſtate iactati ne moueri quidẽ nos, tã graui & periculoſo hæreſis morbo oppreſſi, aut ægrotare mentes noſtras, non intelleximus. Valde enim periculoſa eſt ægrotatio illa, quæcunq; ſine doloris ſenſu naturam conficit, & affectos ſæpe priùs extinguit, quàm ægrotare ſe fateâtur. Eiuſmodi morbo Academia laborabat, quæ ad alias fortaſſe res ſatis ingenioſa & ſolers, in hac Religionis cauſa, propter caput Eccleſiæ læſū, vnde omnis ſētiēdi vis eſt, omnino hebes, ſtupida, & ſine mēte fuit, quoad tertio ante hūc anno diuina ſanctiſſimi patris Iulij Clemētia Angliæ ferè emortuæ miſerata, iterum nos Eccleſiæ inſerit, corpus ſenſuſq; recreat, cuius ope conualeſcens Britannia, quàm certa gehennæ pericula effugerit, quiuis facile intelligit. Idem Academia cernit acutius, nequè quicquàm mali vſpiam accidiſſe putat, quo noſtra Regio in hac religionis vaſtitate & ſchiſmate miſerius fuerit afflicta. Non eſt opus recenſere in hoc loco euerſa Monaſteria, ſpoliata Templa, ſtrages ſacerdotū, cædes nobilium, motus & tumultus populi, totius Regni egeſtatem, quæ & ſi aliunde accidere poſſunt, tamen cum tam grauia ſint vt opprimant, vltionis & vindictæ potius q̃ probandi cauſa in malos & nocentes infligi putamus. Sed ſunt iſta fortunæ ludibria, grauiora ſumus paſſi religionis & conſcientiæ detrimenta: pietas in Deum omnis euanuerat, virginalis ſacerdotum profeſſio ad libidinem ſoluta eſt, animus quaſi cōſopitus iacebat, quem nullæ Ceremoniæ excitabāt, ipſa mens opinionum varietate ita diſtracta, ita ſibi ipſi diſſentiens, vt infinitis erroribus implicaretur. In his erant duo præcipuæ fontes, ex quorum riuulis & hauſiſſe Academiam paulo liberalius, & illa potione ferme inebriatam confitemur.

Prior ortū habebat ex illa noſtri violenta diuulſione, a Catholicæ Eccleſiæ vnitate, re nō diſſimili illius pugnæ, quā olim Menenius Agrippa in inteſtina ciuium diſcordia, de corpore humano memorabat. Poſterior ex immenſa palude & cœno Wicleuiano emanauit: quem celebris apud nos imo miſerabilis de Sacramento altaris patefecit. De cuius rei veritate pleriq; ſuo ſenſu abūdantes, pro arbitrio quiſq; ſuo ſtatuerat. Nos Philoſophos, nec illos quidem optimos, imitati ex Epicureorum ſchola ad ſcripturæ lumen aliquid attulimus, quòd enim Chriſtus omnino, præciſe, & ſine exceptione, de vera & perpetua ſui corporis præſentia affirmarat (in cuius verbi veritate fundamentum fidei noſtræ collocatur) id nos ita ſumus interpretati, vt mancam & alienam Chriſti vocem iudicaremus, niſi illa Epicuri propria particula (quaſi) adderetur, & quod Chriſtiani corpus & ſanguinem, id nos quaſi corpus & ſanguinem diceremus. Sed non eſt iſtius temporis præterita nimium meminiſſe, quæ vtinam æterna obliuione obrui poſſent, neq; vlla tantæ labis memoria ad poſteros noſtros propagetur, tamen fuerunt attingenda generatim quidem, quòd erranti confeſſio ſalutaris ſit, membratim verò, quod Academia his vulneribus a Cenſoria poteſtate confecta, a Cenſoria medicina ad ſalutem reduci poſtulat. Ipſa vero pro ſe & ſuis ſpondet omnes in authoritate veſtra futuros, quos aſſiduis concionibus adeo ad pœnitentiam edocuit, vt et eos ad ſanam religionem fidiſſime tranſijſſe, & in eadem diligenti præſentis vitæ vſu ſuperioris ætatis damna ſarcituros putetis. Nam qui primi in hoc curſu ſunt acerrime contendunt in eo, quod tam voluntarie ſuſceperunt & qui pigrius egreſſi, quaſi pomeridianis horis ad hoc certamen acceſſerunt, ea certè præbent iam immutatæ voluntatis indicia, vt quomodo temerè & iuueniliter a ſana religione defecerunt, ita non niſi maturi & cum iudicio ab hæreſi deſciuiſſe videantur. Vniuerſis vero ſimul reſtituta & deſiderata religio magis placere videtur, quia ſi aſſiduè percepta, neque ad tempus obſcurata fuiſſet.

Quapropter Academia ſupplex & poſtrata primùm a Deo immortali pacem & veniam petit precaturq; ab eo, vt hodiernum diem ad ſuorum ſalutem cōſeruandam, & rempublicam hanc conſtituendam illuxiſſe patiatur. Deinde pro ſe, pro ſuis, pro vniuerſis, pro ſingulis, hanc petitionem ad celſitudines veſtras affert, vt ſuperiorum temporum offenſas ex errore & iuſtitia profectas præſenti hominum induſtriæ condonetis. De reliquis vero pro ſumma prudentia veſtra, & ſingulari in nos amore eam ſententiam feratis, vt ſuorum cauſas vel iuſtitia veſtra bonas inueniat, vel clementia bonas eſſe faciat. In vtroq; par erit beneficium, ſiue Academiam pro cauſarum æquitate iudicaueritis, ſiue pro amoris veſtri abundantia innocentem eam eſſe volueritis. Nos pro referenda gratia, ſummam in ſacris modeſtiam, aſſiduam in literis operam, perpetuum veræ religionis amorem, ſempiternam veſtri beneficij memoriam repromittimus.

The aunſwere of *M. Scot* Byſhop of Cheſter, to the Oration of *Iohn Stokes.*

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the Biſhop of Cheſter aunſwered thereunto, that they toke in right good part, that ẏ mother the vniuerſity had made ſo open a declaration of her good will towardes them: for the which he gaue moſt harty thankes, deſiring her to perfourme in dede and in her workes, the thinges that ſhe had ſo largely promiſed of her ſelfe in wordes and communication.

As concernyng theyr good willes, there was no cauſe to miſtruſt. For theyr comming thether was not to deale any thing roughly with ſuch as fell to the amendement: but both the Cardinal himſelfe, and they alſo, were fully minded to ſhew fauour, deuiſing how to bring al things to peace and tranquility, deſyring nothing more earneſtly, then that they which haue erred and gone aſtray, ſhould returne into the right path agayne. The right reuerend father the lord Cardinal (whom hee wiſhed to haue bene preſent) wiſhed the ſelfe ſame thing alſo, deſyring nothing ſo much as he with his owne handes to ſuſteyne and hold vp now ready to fall, or rather to rayſe vp already fallen to the ground, the vniuerſity his ward: for he gladly taketh vppon hym the name and duety of her Gardein, whom it greatly greued that the infections of the tymes paſt had ſpread abroade ſo greuous diſeaſes, that euen the vniuerſity it ſelfe was touched with the contagious ayre therof. For he would gladlier haue come thither to viſite & ſalute it, then to correct it, if the weighty affayres of the realme would haue permitted it. But now ſeing he could not ſo do, he had appoynted thys Commiſſion, in the which he had aſſigned them to be hys deputyes, which (for becauſe they knew hym to ſet much ſtore by the vniuerſity) ſhould extend the more fauor to it, and (for becauſe they thēſelues had bene there brought vp) would the more earneſtly embrace it. The chiefe matter that they came for, tended to thys ende, that ſuch as had erred ſhould confeſſe theyr faultes, and returne into the right way agayne. For they were in good forwardnes of healing, that acknowledged themſelues to haue offended. And therfore it was wiſely propounded on his part that he would not altogether excuſe the faultes of the vniuerſity, nor of other men, but confeſſe and acknowledge the crime, as that there were many thinges had nede to be corrected and amended.

The Commiſſion aſ- ſigned by the Cardi- nall, and why.

The cauſes declared.

The cauſe why they were ſent thither was to rayſe vp them that were fallen, & to receyue into fauour ſuch as were ſory and would amend, wherin if (contrary to theyr expectation) they ſhould not be able to do ſo much with ſome men as they would: yet notwithſtanding accordyng to theyr duety, they would ſhew themſelues ſo diligent for theyr part, as that no lacke might be found in them. For it was more openly knowne than that it could be denyed, that many men dyd diuers thinges of a froward wilfulnes, and toke ſtoutly vpon them, wherwith as they were greatly moued and agreued (as reaſon was) ſo they coueted to remedy the miſchief. Agaynſt whom, if any thing ſhould ſeeme hereafter to be ſtraitly determined, it was to be imputed to theyr own deſerts, and not to the willes of them. Neyther ought ſuch as are whole and ſounde to bee moued at the chaſtiſment of others, forasmuch as it pertayned not only to the wyping out of ẏ foule blot, which now ſticked in the vniuerſity, but alſo to ẏ helth of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For theyr own partes, they more enclined vnto mercy then to rigor. Howbeit cōſidering that ſo great diſeaſes could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driuen of neceſſity to vſe ſtronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought agayne to theyr right minds, which thing they chiefely coueted (for they wiſhed ẏ all ſhould amend & be led by wholſome coūſell) & would yet at lēgth ware wery of theyr errors, and in ſtede of them frequent agayne the auncient cuſtomes of themſelues, and of theyr forefathers, they myght boldly loke for all kind of humanitie and gentlenes at theyr handes, in all this theyr buſines of reformation, which they had now entred and begon, requeſting no more of the vniuerſity but to do as became them: which being perfourmed, he promiſed that theyr beneuolence, neyther in any publike nor in any priuate perſons caſe ſhould in any wyſe be behynd hand.

Mercy more com- mended all mē, b- rigor mo- commonl- in actes o- most me- expreſſed.

These thinges being finiſhed, they were brought proceſſionaliter to ẏ kings colledge, by all the Graduates of ẏ Uniuerſity, wheras was ſong a Maſſe of the holy ghoſt with great ſolemnity, nothing wanting in that behalfe that might make to the ſetting forth of the ſame. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly ſurnamed Datary (who albeit he were inferior in eſtate vnto Cheſter beyng a Byſhop, yet was ſuperior to them all in authoritie) while the Maſſe was a celebrating, eft ſtanding, eft ſitting, and ſometyme kneling on his knees, obſerued certayne Ceremonyes, which afterwarde were required of all others

A Maſ- at ẏ king- Colledg-

Orma- Dat-

thers to be obſerued, as in proceſſe hereof was to be ſene.

From thence they attended all vpon the Legates to S. Maryes church, which we declared before to haue bene interdited. In the which place, for as much as it was ſuſpended, although no Maſſe myght be ſonge, yet there was a Sermon made in open audience by M.Pecocke in the Latin toung, preaching agaynſt hereſies and heretickes, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley. &c. The which being ended, they proceded eftſones to the viſitation. Where firſt Doct. Haruy dyd in the Cardinals name exhibite the commiſſion to the Byſhop of Cheſter with a few wordes in Latin. Which being accepted, and by M.Clarke openly redde to the end, then the Vicechauncellour with an oration did exhibite the certificat vnder his ſeale of office, with the Cardinals citation annexed, conteining euery mans name in the Vniuerſitie, and Colledges, with the officers and all the maſters of houſes. Among whom was alſo Robert Braſſey Maſter of the kinges Colledge, a worthy old man, both for hys wyſedome and his hoare heares, who hearing his own name recited next after yͤ Vicechauncellors, ſayd: he was there preſent as al the other were: neuertheles for as much as the reformation of hys houſe was wholly reſerued to the diſcretion of the Biſhop of Lincolne, not only by the kynges letters patentes, but alſo by graunt of confirmation from the biſhop of Rome him ſelfe, vnder a penaltie if he ſhould ſuffer any ſtraungers to intermedle, he openly proteſted in diſcharge of his duety, that vnleſſe theyr commiſſion gaue them authority and iuriſdiction vpon that Colledge, eyther by expreſſe wordes or manifeſt ſenſe, he vtterly exempted him ſelf from beyng preſent. This hys exception they toke all in great diſpleaſure: alleging that they were fully authoriſed for the order of that matter by the Cardinall, out of whoſe iuriſdiction no place nor perſon was exempted: wherefore he had done euill to call into queſtion theyr authority, ſo well knowen to all men. Cheſter ſemed to be more moued at the matter then all the other: and that was becauſe Braſſey had a litle before obtayned the worſhip of that roume, euen vtterly agaynſt his will, and maugre his head, doing the worſt he could agaynſt hym.

After the formall ſolemnity of theſe thinges thus accompliſhed, the Commiſſion being red, and the citation exhibited, alſo yͤ maſters of houſes being only cited, euery man for a whyle departed home to his owne houſe, with commaundement to be at the common ſcholes of the ſayd Vniuerſity at one of the clocke of the ſame day. When the degrées of the Vniuerſity, commonly called Regents and non Regents, were aſſembled thither, they ſpēt the reſt of the day in reading ouer of Charters, graunted to the Vniuerſity by kings and Princes, in ſearching out of Bulles and pardons from the Pope, and in peruſing of other monumentes pertaynyng to the Vniuerſity.

The next day following, being the. 12. of January, they reſorted to the kinges Colledge to make Inquiſition, eyther becauſe the ſame for the worthynes therof was chiefe and ſoueraigne of all the reſidue, or els becauſe that that houſe eſpecially before all others, had bene counted, time out of minde, neuer to be without an heretike (as they terme them) or twain. And at that preſent time, albeit that many now alate had withdrawen themſelues from thence, yet they iudged there were ſome remaynyng ſtill. The order and maner how they would be interteyned of euery Colledge, when they ſhould come to make Inquiſition, they themſelues appoynted, which was in this ſort.

They commaunded the maſter of euery houſe together with the reſidue, as well fellowes as ſcholers, apparelled in prieſtlike garmēts (which they call habits) to mete them at the vttermoſt gate of theyr houſe toward the towne. The maſter him ſelfe to be dreſſed in lyke apparell as the prieſt when he raueſheth hymſelfe to Maſſe, ſauyng that he ſhould put on vppermoſt hys habit, as the reſt dyd. The order of theyr going they appoynted to be in thys wyſe. The Maſter of the houſe to go formoſt. Next vnto him euery man in his order as he was of degree, ſeignioritie, or of yeares. Before the maſter ſhould be caried a croſſe & holy water, to ſprinckle the Commiſſioners withall, and then after that the ſayd commiſſioners to be ſenſed. And ſo after thys meting, and mumbling of a few deuotions, they determined with thys pompe and ſolemnity to be brought to the Chappell.

Note the ambitious pompe of theſe Papiſtes.

Many thought they tooke more honor vpon them than belonged to the ſtate of man. Other ſome (foraſmuch as at that tyme they not only pretended the iuriſdiction of the Cardinal, but alſo repreſented the power and authoritie of the biſhop of Rome himſelfe, who was accoumpted to be more than a mortall man) ſayd it was farre leſſe then of duety appertayned to hys holynes, in that the honor that was done to his Legates, was not done to them but to hys holynes. Now was the houre come at which they appoynted to méete: and being entred the kinges Colledge gate, where they looked for the Maſter and fellowes of the houſe, ſeing no man came to méete them, they proceded forth to the church dore, where they ſtayed. There perceauing how the maſter and the reſt of the houſe were dreſſing them ſelues as faſt as they could, in ſuch order as was appoynted before, they came in ſodainly vpon them before they had ſet any foote out of theyr places.

The Commiſſioners repreſent the Pope.

Here was a foule fault cōmitted, that theſe mē came in without proceſſion.

Then the maſter firſt excuſed him ſelfe, that he was ready no ſoner, acknowledging that it had bene hys duety to haue bene in a readines. Secondly, he ſayd he was very glad of theyr comming, promyſing firſt in his owne name, and after in the name of all the reſt, as much reuerence as might be, in all matters concerning theyr common vtility, the which he doubted not but ſhould be performed at theyr handes, according to hys expectation. But lyke as he had done the other day in S. Maryes church, the ſame exception he made to them now alſo: the which hys doyng he beſought them not to be offended withall. For ſeing he dyd it onely for the diſcharge of hys duety, he had iuſter cauſe to be held excuſed.

D. Braſſey excuſeth hym ſelfe for the ſlacknes of his proceſſion.

M. Braſſey maketh exception agayne.

He had ſcarcely yet finiſhed his tale, but the Biſhop of Cheſter with a frowning looke and an angry countenaunce, interrupting him of his talke, ſayd: he neded not to repeat the things he had proteſted before, nor they to make aunſwer any more to thoſe thinges wherin they had ſufficiently enformed him before. He rather feared that their quarel was not good, that they made ſuch a do about it, and ſought ſuch ſtarting holes. For ſo were diſeaſed perſons oftentimes wont to do, when for the payne and griefe they are not able to abide a ſtrong medicine. As though that any man were able to graunt ſo ſtrong a priuiledge, as to withſtande the Popes authority. As for the biſhops letters, he ſaid muſt néedes make on his ſide, and with ſuch as were wyth him, and could not in any wiſe be alleged againſt him. Therfore he admoniſhed hym to deſiſt from hys vnprofitable altercation, and to conforme himſelfe and his to ſuch thinges as then were in doyng.

Doct. Scots aunſwere to M. Braſſey.

The Popes authoritie ſwalloweth vp all other priuileges.

After this they went to maſſe. Which finiſhed, wyth great ſolemnitie, firſt they went to the hygh altar of the church, and hauyng there ſaluted their God, and ſearching whether all were wel about him or no, they walked through all the inner chappels of the church. The church goodes, the croſſes, the chalices, yͤ maſſe bokes, the veſtimentes, and whatſoeuer ornamentes were beſides, were commaunded to bee brought out vnto them. When they had ſufficiently vewed all thinges, and had called forth by name euery fellow and ſcholer of the houſe, they went to the maiſters lodging, where firſt and formoſt ſwearyng them vpon a booke to aunſwer to all ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be propoun-

The Legates ſaluting firſt their God.

The oth refuſed of ſome in the Kinges Colledge, and why.

ded vnto them (as far as they knew) they examined firſt the maſter himſelfe, and afterward all the reſidue, euery man in his turne. But there were ſome that refuſed to take this othe, both becauſe they had geuē their faith to the colledge before, and alſo becauſe they thought it againſt all right and reaſon to ſweare agaynſt themſelues: for it was contrary to all law that a man ſhould be compelled to bewray himſelfe, and not to be ſuffred to kepe his conſcience free, when there is no manifeſt proofe to be laid to hys charge: but much more vniuſt is it, that a man ſhould be conſtrained perforce to accuſe himſelfe. Neuertheles theſe perſons alſo, after much altercation, at length (conditionally, that their fayth geuen before to the colledge, were not impeched therby) were contented to be ſworne.

The conſultation of ẏ Maiſters vpon the takyng vp of *M. Bucer.*

Inquiſition to be made of *Mart. Bucers* doctrine.

Mart. Bucers buriall agaynſt the holy Canon lawes.

Cauſes why *Mart. Bucer and Paulus Phagius* bodyes ought to be takē vp.

Thrée dayes long laſted the Inquiſition there. This was now the third day of their commyng, and it was thought that the caſe of Bucer and Phagius was delaid longer then neded. For they looked to haue had much altercation and buſines about the matter. Now, forasmuch as the preſent ſtate of the caſe required good deliberation and aduiſement, the Vicechauncelor and the Maiſters of the Colledges aſſembled at the common ſcholes, where euery man gaue hys verdite what he thought mete to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debatyng, they agréed altogether in this determination: that forasmuch as Martin Bucer whiles he liued, had not onely ſowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but alſo had himſelf bene a ſectary ⁊ famous hereticke erring frō the catholike church, and geuing others occaſion to fall from the ſame likewyſe: a ſupplication ſhould be made to the lord Commiſſioners, in the name of the whole vniuerſitie, that his dead carkas might forthwith be digged vp (for ſo it was nedefull to be done) to the intent that inquiſition might be made as touchyng hys doctrine, the which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholeſome, the law myght procéede agaynſt hym: for it was agaynſt the rule of the holy Canons, that hys body ſhould be buried in chriſten buriall. Yea, and beſides that it was to the open derogation of gods honour, and the violating of hys holy lawes, wyth the great perill of many mens ſoules, and the offence of the faythfull, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a tyme as that was. Wherfore it was not to be ſuffered, that they, which vtterly diſſented from all other men in the trade of their liuyng, lawes, and cuſtomes, ſhould haue any part with them in honour of burial. And therfore the glory of God fyrſt and before all thinges ought to be defended, the infamie (which through thys thyng riſeth on thē) with all ſpéede put away, no roume at all left vnto thoſe perſons to reſt in, who euen in the ſame places where they lay, were iniurious and noyſome to the very elementes, but the place ought to be purged, and all thinges ſo ordered as might be to the ſatiſfying of the conſciences of the weake. In executing wherof, ſo notable an example ought to be geuen to all men, that no man hereafter ſhoulde be ſo bolde to attempt the like.

Andr. Perne Vicechauncelour, made factor for the Vniuerſitie in the caſe of *M. Bucer & Phagius.*

M. Chriſtophersons teſtimony of *Perne.*

A Supplication put vp to the Inquiſitors by the Vniuerſitie.

Note this feate of conueyance.

They gaue the ſame verdicte by common aſſent vpon Phagius alſo. Vnto this writing they annexed an other, by the which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne the Vicechauncelor, to be the common factor for the vniuerſity. He was a man méeteſt for the purpoſe, both for the office that he bare, ⁊ alſo becauſe that by the teſtimony of Chriſtopherſon he was demed to be moſt catholicke of all others. This ſupplicatiō confirmed by the conſent of all the degrées of the vniuerſity, and ſigned with their common ſeale, the next day, which was the xiij. of January, the Vicechauncelour put vp to the Commiſſioners. Note here good Reader, what a feate conueyaunce this was, to ſuborne the vniuerſitie vnder a colourable pretenſe to deſire this thyng of them by way of peticion. As who ſhould ſay, if they had not done ſo, the other would neuer haue gone about it of themſelues.

But this gloſe was ſoone found out. For the Commiſſioners had geuen the vicechauncelor inſtructions in wrytyng before. But peraduenture they thought by this meanes to remoue the enuy of this acte from themſelues.

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M. Buce

Thus the vicechauncelour came vnto the Commiſſioners according to appointment made ẏ day before, about vij. of the clocke in the morning. He had ſcarce declared the cauſe of his commyng, but that he had not onely obteyned his ſute, but alſo euen at the very ſame tyme receiued the ſentence of condemnation, for taking vp Bucer and Phagius, faire copied out by Ormanet Datary himſelfe. This was to be confirmed by the conſent of the degrées of the vniuerſitie. Wherupon a ſolemne conuocation called congregatio regentium & non regētium for the ſame purpoſe was appointed to be at ix. of the clocke: where the graduates being aſſembled together, the demaund was propounded concernyng the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace aſked, which was this: Pleaſeth it you that M. Bucer for the hereſies now recited, and many other by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he dyed without repentaunce, and was buried in chriſten buriall, may be exhumate and taken vp agayne, ⁊c. After this grace eftſoones beyng graunted, then was the ſentence of condemnation drawen by the Datary, openly red, and immediatly an other grace aſked, that the ſame might be ſigned with the cōmen ſeale. The which requeſt was very lightly and eaſily obteyned. And it was no meruayle. For now after the death of king Edward, ſince the tyme that the gouernement of ẏ realme came to the hand of Quéene Mary, all ſuch perſons beyng driuen away as had reiected the Romiſhe religion (in whom well nye alone ẏ reſted whatſoeuer wit and learning was in ẏ whole vniuerſity beſides) ſuch a ſort of raſkalls were put in their roumes, ẏ all places now ſwarmed wᵗ vnlearned ⁊ vnnurtured Chapleins. To whom nothing was greater pleaſure, then to cauſe all men to ſpeake ſclaunder and reproch of Bucer. There were diuers yet lefte among them, that ſpake agaynſt their demaundes. But they (becauſe, as it commonly commeth to paſſe, that might ouercōmeth right) coulde nothing auaile. For this is a common cuſtome in all ſuch matters and ordinances, that loke what the greater number decréeth, is publiſhed in the name of all: ⁊ that which ẏ better part diſalloweth, ſemeth as though no man at all diſallowed it.

Ianuary 14.

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The next day beyng the 14. of January, all the viſitors (onely Chriſtopherſon elect of Chicheſter excepted) came to the kynges colledge. Where firſt goyng in to the church, ⁊ there making their prayers at the greſinges, they ſo proceded into the ſtalles, there ſitting all the maſſe tyme, the company ſtanding in their copes, and ſinging a ſolemne reſponde in honour of the viſitors. After the reſpond done, ẏ Prouoſt in the beſt cope made to them his proteſtation, vnto whom the biſhop of Cheſter made aunſwer alſo in latine, declaring that he could not perceaue to what purpoſe hys proteſtatiō was, notwithſtanding they would accept it and beare with hym. Then went they to maſſe: which ended, the catholike viſitors approched vp to the altar, and toke down the ſacrament, and ſearched the pixe, but firſt the two biſhops ſenſed the ſacrament. Then they went to the reueſtry, and opened the chalices, corporas caſes, and criſmatory, and vewed all thoſe thinges. And ſo returning into the Prouoſtes chāber, deuided thēſelues in examination of the Prouoſt, Viceprouoſt, ⁊ the reſt of the company. The ſame day D. Bacon maiſter of Gonwell hall, bad the Vicechauncelour, D. Yong, D. Haruy, Swineborne, Maptide with others, home to diner. Theſe men immediately after dinner, cauſed the common ſeale of the vniuerſitie to be put to the foreſaid inſtrument of condemnation, accordyng as was determined the day before by the generall conſent of the Graduates of the vniuerſitie. And by and by after, they caried yͤ ſame to yͤ Cõmiſſioners to their lodging. The which when they had receyued, foraſmuch as after more diligent peruſing therof, it liked not them in all pointes, ſome thinges they raſed out, ſome they enterlined, other ſome they chaunged: ſo that in fine, they were faine to take the paine to engroſſe it new againe.

...e ſen- ...es en- ...ſed ...y a- ...

To the ſigning wherof a congregatiõ was eftſones called of all the Graduates of the Uniuerſitie agaynſt the next day, which there beyng red ouer, a new grace agayne was aſked and graũted for ſettyng to the ſeale. Then were the Graduates diſmiſſed with commaũdemẽt to reſort forthwith to S. Mary church, whether the Commiſſioners alſo repayred. When they had taken their places, Doct. Haruy preſented to them before all the company, a new Commiſſion to make enqueſt vpon hereſie, then newly ſent from the Cardinal, which was red immediatly by Vincent of Noally, Ormanets Clarke. This done, Doct. Perne (who as ye heard, was factour for the Uniuerſitie) exhibited to the Commiſſioners in the name of the Uniuerſitie, the ſentence of the foreſayd condemnation. The copie and tenour wherof, hereafter (God willing) ſhal folow. This condemnation beyng openly red, then Doct. Perne aforeſaid deſired to ſend out proceſſe to cite Bucer and Phagius to appeare, or any other that would take vpõ them to pleade their cauſe, & to ſtand to the order of the Court againſt yͤ next Monday: to the intent that when they had exhibited thẽ ſelues, the Court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

...uary. 15.

...Haruy ...with a ...ndate ...f Car- ...al.

...Perne ...eth pe- ...n that ...cer and ...gius ...be ci- ...n the ...rt.

The Commiſſioners condeſcended to his requeſt, and the next day proceſſe went out to cite the offendours. This citation Vincent of Noally their commõ Notarie, hauyng firſt read it ouer before certaine witneſſes appoynted for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed to bee fixed vp in places conuenient, to witte, vpon S. Marie church dore, the dore of the common Scholes, and the croſſe in the marketſteade of the ſame towne. In this was ſpecified, that who ſoeuer would mainteyne Bucer and Phagius, or ſtand in defenſe of their doctrine, ſhould at the xviij. day of the ſame moneth ſtand forth before the L. Commiſſioners in S. Mary church, which was appointed the place of iudgement, and there euery man ſhould be ſufficiently heard what he could ſay. This commaundement was ſet out with many wordes.

...uary. 16.

...Bucer ...Paulus ...out of ...gra- ...to ap- ...r, or a- ...her ...would ...fere ...them.

Shortly after, the matter drew toward iudgement. Therefore the next day before the day limited, which was the xvij. of January, the Uicechauncellour called to hym to Peterhouſe (wherof he was Maiſter.) Doct. Yong, Doct. Segiſwyke, and with them Bullocke, Tayler, Parker, and Redman, Whitlocke, Mytch, and certaine others. Theſe mẽ caſt their heades together how they might beare witnes agaynſt Bucer and Phagius, to conuince them of hereſie. For ſeyng the matter was brought in face of open Court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſſe, that ſome Patrones of their cauſe would come out, they thought it nedefull to haue witneſſes to depoſe of their doctrine. What came of this their conſultation, it is not perfectly knowen.

...uary. 17.

...eſſes ...e ...t ...ucer.

The xviij. day the Uicechaũcellour going to the Inquiſitours ſittyng at the kinges Colledge, did put them in remembraunce, that the ſame was the day in which by their proceſſe ſent forth the xvj. day before, they had commaunded to appeare in S. Mary Church ſuch as would take vpon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He deſired therfore that they would vouchſafe to ſit there, if perchaunce any man would trie the aduenture of the law. They lightly condeſcended therunto. When the Uicechauncellour had brought them thether, he exhibited vnto them the proceſſe of the Citation which he had receiued of them to publiſhe a litle before, ſaying that he had diligẽtly executed what ſoeuer the contentes of the ſame required. After that they had taken their places, and that no man put forth hym ſelfe to aunſwere for the offendours, the iudges called aſide Doct. Yong, Doct. Segiſwike, Bullocke, Tayler, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, aboue mentioned. Alſo Browne, Gogman, Rud, Iohnſon, Mytch, Rauen and Carre, who had before written out the buriall of Bucer, with a ſingular commẽdation of hym, and ſent it to Syr Iohn Cheke Knight. Theſe men taking firſt their oth vpon a booke, were cõmaunded to beare witneſſe agaynſt the hereſies & doctrine of Bucer & Phagius. The xxij. day of yͤ ſame moneth was limited to this iury to bring in their verdicte.

...uary. 18.

Other witneſſes ſworne agaynſt M. Bucer.

In the meane while, Ormanet and Doct. Watſon abode at home in their lodgyng, to take the depoſitiõs of them whom we ſhewed you before to haue bene called to Peterhouſe, and to haue communicated with the Uicechauncellour as cõcernyng that matter, whoſe depoſitions (as I told you) neuer came to light. The Byſhop of Cheſter and Doct. Cole this day viſited them of Katherine Hall, where, as farre as could be learned, nothyng was done worthy of rehearſall.

As Ormanet the Popes Datary was ſitting at Trinitie Colledge, Iohn Dale, one of the Quenes Colledge, came to hym, whom he had commaunded before to bryng with hym the pixe, wherein the Byſhop of Romes God of bread is wont to be encloſed. For Ormanet told thẽ he had a precious iewell: the ſame was a linnen clout that the Pope had conſecrated with hys owne hands, which he promiſed to beſtow vpon them for a gift. But Dale miſunderſtandyng Ormanet, in ſtede of the pixe brought a chalice and a ſingyng cake, called the hoſte, the which he had wrapped vp and put in his boſome. When he was come, Ormanet demaũded if he had brought him the thing he ſent him for. To whõ he aunſwered, he had brought it. Thẽ geue it me (quoth he). Dale pulled out the chalice and the ſingyng cake. When Ormanet ſaw that, he ſtepped ſomewhat backe as it had bene in a wonder, callyng hym blockhead, & litle better then a mad man, demaundyng what he ment by thoſe thynges, ſaying: he wylled hym to bryng none of that gere, and that he was vnworthy to enioy ſo hygh a benefite: yet notwithſtandyng for as much as he had promiſed before to geue it them, he would performe hys promiſe. Wherupon with great reuerẽce and Ceremony he pulled out the linnen cloth and layd it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commaundyng them both for the holynes of the thyng, and alſo for the authour of it, to kepe it among them with ſuch due reuerence as belonged to ſo holy a relique.

A Relicke geuen by Ormanet to Trinitie Colledge.

Ormanet in a pelting chafe with M. Dale.

About yͤ ſame time the Cõmiſſioners had geuen cõmaundement to the Maiſters of the Colledges, that euery man ſhould put in wrytyng what bokes he had, with the authours names. And to the intent that euery mã ſhould execute it without deceit, they toke a corporall othe of them. This commaundement ſome executed exactly and diligently: other ſome, for as much as they demed it wrongfull, executed it ſlackely enough.

A commaundement for bringing in of hereticall bookes.

We declared before that the xviij. day was limited for the day of iudgement. Whẽ the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appeare at their call in the Court, nor that any put forth him ſelfe to defend them: yet the courtuous Commiſſioners woulde not procede to iudgemẽt, which neuertheleſſe, for their contumacy in abſentyng them ſelues, they might haue done, conſideryng how that day was peremptory. But theſe men beyng bent altogether to equitie and mercy, had rather ſhew ſome fauour, then to do the vttermoſt they might by the law. Wherupon Vincent publiſhed the ſecond proces, and ſet it vp in the ſame places, as in maner before. The meanyng therof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put of the iudgement day vnto the xxvj. of the ſame moneth. Upon the which day the Uicechauncellour was ſent for to their lodgyng, with whom they agreed concernyng the order of publiſhing the ſentence. And becauſe there ſhould want no ſolempnitie

Graciouſly conſidered.

Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius the ſecond tyme cited to appeare.

nitie in the matter, they commaunded hym further to warne the Maior of the Towne to be there at the day appointed, with all his burgeſſes, which the Uicechaũcellour did ſpéede with all readines.

January. 26.

This day (as I ſaid) was the 26. of January, which being now come, firſt al degrées of the mother Uniuerſitie were aſſembled. And to fill vp this pageãt, thether came alſo the Maior and his townesmen, and all met together in S. Marie Church to behold what there ſhould be determined vpõ theſe men. After long attendaunce, at length the Commiſſioners came forth and went vp to a ſcaffold that was ſomewhat higher then the reſidue, prepared for the ſame purpoſe. When they had taken their places, Doct. Perne the Uicechauncellour, the player of this enterlude, faſhionyng his countenaunce with great grauitie, reached to them the proces that was laſtly publiſhed, to cite them, ſaying theſe wordes: I bryng forth agayne (quoth he) to you right reuerẽd fathers and Commiſſioners of the moſt reuerend my Lord Cardinall Poole (payntyng out the reſt of his ſtile) this Citatiõ executed according to the purport and effect of the ſame: omittyng nothyng for his part that might make to the commẽdation of this matter. When he had thus finiſhed his tale, by and by the Byſhop of Cheſter, after he had a litle bewed the people, began in maner as followeth.

An hie matter in a low houſe.

¶ The oration of Doct. Scot byſhop of Cheſter, before the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

The oration of *Doct. Scot* Byſhop of Cheſter, before the pronouncing of the ſentence of condemnation.

YE ſee (quoth he) how ſore the Uniuerſitie preſſeth vpon vs, how earneſt interceſſion it maketh vnto vs, not onely to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which, theſe certain yeares paſt haue ſpread moſt pernicious doctrine amõg you, to be heretickes (as they be in dede) but alſo ẏ we will commaũd their dead carcaſſes, which vnto this day haue obtained honourable buriall among you, to be digged vp, and as it is excellently ordeined by the Canõ law, to be caſt into fire, or what ſoeuer is more greuous then fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the Uniuerſitie deale not ſlyghtly nor ſlackly with vs in this caſe, but do ſo preſſe vpon vs, and folow the ſute ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce geue vs any reſpite of delay. And I aſſure you, albeit this caſe of it ſelfe be ſuch, as that euen the vnworthynes of thoſe perſons though there were no further cauſe, ought to induce vs to the doyng therof, much the rather moued with theſe ſo wholeſome petitions, it is mete and conuenient we ſhould graunt it. For how ſoeuer we of our ſelues are enclined to mercy in our hartes (then the which we proteſt there is nothyng vnder the ſunne to vs more deare and acceptable) yet notwithſtandyng, the very law riſeth vp to reuengement, ſo that the common ſaluation of you all, which the law prouideth for, muſt be preferred before the priuate charitie of our mindes. Neither ought any ſuch negligence to ouertake vs for our partes, that we beyng ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the ſhypwracke of our former calamitie, ſhould now ſuffer this vnexpiable miſchief, to diſquiet any longer the conſciences of the weake.

What diſſembling is here in theſe Popeholy Catholickes?

Tirannie couered with the viſour of mercye.

Sathan transforming hym ſelfe into an Angell of light.

Moreouer, it is but reaſon that we ſhould doe ſomewhat at ſo earneſt entreataunce and ſute of the Uniuerſity. It nedeth not me to ſpeake much of our ſelues. For if we had bene deſirous to enterpriſe this matter, it had bene lawfull after the firſt Citation, to haue proceded to iudgement: but for becauſe wee were willing that their defendours ſhould be heard, and that the matter ſhould be denounced and tried by law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſſe. If we had deſyred reuengement, we myght haue ſhewed cruelty vppon them that are aliue: of the which (alas the more pity) there are to many that embrace thys doctrine. If we thirſted for bloud, it was not to be ſought in withered carcaſſes and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceaue, it was no part of our willes that we now came hether, but partly induced at the entreatance of the Uniuerſity, partly moued with the vnworthynes of the caſe it ſelfe, but eſpecially for the care and regarde we haue of your health and ſaluation, which we couet by all meanes to preſerue.

O Lord God: as though this were the doyng of the Uniuerſitie and not your own.

The Wolfe pretendeth to be a Lambe.

As though the Cardinall ſent you not downe before ye came to the Uniuerſitie?

For you your ſelues are the cauſe of this buſines: you gaue occaſion of thys confeſſion, among whom this day ought to be a notable example to remayne as a memoriall to thẽ ẏ ſhall come after: as in ẏ which ye may learne, not onely to ſhake of the filth which ye haue taken of theſe perſons, but alſo to beware hereafter, that ye fall no more ſo ſhamefully as ye haue done. But I truſt God will defende you, and geue ye myndes to keepe your ſelues from it.

As concerning the partyes them ſelues, whoſe caſe now hangeth in law, they bare aboute the name of the Goſpell, where as in dede they wrought nothing els thã theuery and deceit. And ſo much the wickeder were they, in that they ſought to couer ſo ſhamefull actes, with the cloke of ſo fayre and holy a name. wherfore it is not to be doubted but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of it ſelfe wicked, to you pernicious, by the autours thereof ſhamefull and abominable. But if God, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeaunce, will wynke at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding, if wee vpon whom the charge of the lords flocke leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable crimes to eſcape vnpuniſhed, we ſhuld not liue in quiet one houre.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the ſentence out of a ſcroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of hereſie: the forme and tenour of which ſentence, framed after the barbarous rude ſtile of that church, thus followeth.

¶ *The ſentence of condemnation agaynſt M. Bucer, and Paul. Fagius.*

NOs Cutbertus Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopus Ceſtrenſis, Nicolaus Ormanetus, Archipreſ. plebis Bodoloni Veronen. diœceſis infraſcripti, reuerendi domini Cardinalis & Legati auditor, Thomas Watſon Decanus Duuelmen. & Henricus Cole, Præpoſitus Collegij Etonen. ad vniuerſitatem ſtudij generalis oppidi Cãtabrigien. Elien. dioc. viſitand. Necnõ ad in quibuſcũq; cauſis in eodẽ oppido Cãtabrigiæ, & locis ei adiacen. commorantes perſonas, motis, & mouendis, inquirendum & quomodolibet procedendum, & expreſſe ad eorum, qui in hæreſi deceſſerint, memoriã damnandum, per literas illuſtriſsimi ac reuerendiſsimi in Chriſto patris, domini Reginaldi Mariæ in Coſmedin, S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ Præsbiteri Cardinalis Poli nuncupati, ſanctiſsimi domini noſtri Papæ & ſedis Apoſtolicæ ad Sereniſsimum Philippum ac Sereniſsimam Mariam Angliæ Regem & Reginã, & vniuerſum Angliæ Regnum de latere Legati, Commiſſarij, ſiue delegati ſpecialiter deputati, & ad huiuſmodi peragendum ſufficienti facultate muniti, ſaluatoris & Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti nomine inuocato, pro tribunali ſeden. & ſolum Deum qui iuſtus eſt Dominus præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitiuam ſententiam, quam de ſacræ Theologiæ, & Iuriſperitorũ conſilio ferimus, in his ſcriptis, in cauſa & cauſis, quæ coram nobis inter Vicecancellarium & Vniuerſitatem Cantabrigien. denunciatores ex vna, & iniquitatis filios quondam Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Phagium, natione Germanos, & in hoc oppido olim commorãtes & decedentes, reos denunciatos, de & ſuper crimine hæreſis notorie per eos, dũ vixerint, incurſo, rebuſq; alijs in actis cauſæ & cauſarum huiuſmodi latius deductis, ex altera, partibus, in prima verſæ fuerunt & vertuntur inſtãtia, pronũciamus, ſententiamus, decernimus, & declaramus prædictos.

Martinum quidem Bucerum contra regulas & dogmata ſanctorum patrum, necnon Apoſtolicas Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & ſacrorum cõciliorum traditiones, chriſtianæq; religionis, hactenus in Eccleſia conſuetos ritus ac proceſſus (qui ſingulis annis in die cenæ domini per Romanos Pontifices celebrari & legi conſueuerunt, in quibus, inter alia, Wicleffiſtæ, & Lutherani, & omnes alij hæretici damnati, & anathematizati fuerunt) de Sacramẽtis Eccleſiæ, preſertim circa illorum nunerum, aliter quàm ſancta mater Eccleſia prædicat & obſeruat, ſentiẽdo, & docendo, ac ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ, & ſummi Pontificis primatum, & authoritatem negando, & publicè damnando, & præſertim hunc articulum.

Quod Eccleſia erret in fide & moribus.

Hic in publicis commitijs expreſſè defendendo, & illum verum eſſe definiendo, & determinando, ac multa alia tam per damnatæ memoriæ Iohannem Wicleffe & id maxime.

Omnia fato & abſoluta neceſsitate fieri.

Et per Martinum Lutherum, & alios hæreſiarchas propoſita & damnata, quam a ſe etiam inuenta & fabricata, falſa & hæretica dogmata credendo, & ſequendo, ac deſuper etiam libros ſcribendo & imprimi faciendo, impreſſoſq; publicãdo in illiſq; ſcripta etiam hic publicè legendo, & in publicis diſputationibus defendẽdo, ac in pertinacia & obſtinatione huiuſmodi permanendo, & decedendo, notorium non ſolum hæreticum, ſed hæreſiarcham.

Paulum verò Fagium, qui præter alia, quæ hæreſim ſapiũt, ab eo in ſuis ſcriptis prolata, impiæ memoriæ Iohannem Oecolampadium,

colampadium,ac Martinū Bucerum prædictum, necnon Philippum Melancthonem,& Iohannem Brentium , notorios & inſignes hæreſiarchas,& eorum doctrinam,& in eius ſcriptis impreſſis & vulgo æditis,non ſolum probando , ſed ſummis laudibus attollendo, ſe non ſolum hæreticis fauere , ſed eorū falſis dogmatibus aſſentire,& ea credere,& probare: ad eaq; credenda,alios inducere,niti manifeſte ſe oſtendit,& hic pro hæretico cōmuniter & notoriè habitus & reputatus, in huiuſmodi errore impænitens deceſſit,non ſolum hæreticorum fautorem, ſed hæreticum fuiſſe , necnon eoſdem Martinum Bucerum,& Paulum Fagium excommunicationis & anathematis,ac alias quaſcunq; contra huiuſmodi perſonas , tam de iure communi,quàm per literas,proceſſuum predictorū ſtatutas ſententias, cenſuras , & pœnas damnabiliter incidiſſe & incurriſſe: & eorum memoriam condemnandam eſſe , & cōdemnamus,ac eorū corpora & oſſa quæ hoc tempore perniciosiſſimi ſchiſmatis,& aliarum hæreſium, in hoc regno vigentium,Eccleſiaſticæ fuerunt temere tradita ſepulturæ,quatenus ab alijs fideliū corporibus, & oſſibus diſcerni poſſunt iuxta canonicas ſanctiones,exhumanda,& procul ab Eccleſia proijcienda,& exhumari & proijci mandamus, & eorum libros ac Scripturas,ſi quæ hic reperiantur,publicè comburen. & comburi præcipimus: ac eoſdem libros & Scripturas quibuſcunq;,tam huius vniuerſitatis , quàm oppidi, & locorum eis adiacentium,perſonis,ſub pœnis , tam ex iure communi, quàm literis proceſſuum prędictorū, ſeu quomodolibet alias cōtra haben. & legen.libros hæreticos ſtatutis,interdicimus.

After the ſentence thus red,the Biſhop commaunded theyr bodyes to be digged out of theyr graues,and being diſgraded from holy orders, deliuered them in to the hands of the ſecular power. For it was not lawfull for ſuch innocent perſons as they were,abhorring from all bloudſhed, and deteſting all deſire of murder, to put any man to death.

The effect of Doct. Pernes ſermon agaynſt Maſter Bucer.

OVer and beſides thys oration & ſentence of Doctour Scot , came in alſo Doctor Perne Vicechauncellour, with hys ſermon tendyng to the ſame effect,to the depraning of M.Bucer, taking for hys theme the place of the 132. Pſalme: Behold , how good and pleaſant a thing it is. &c. Where ,beginning firſt with the cōmendation of cōcord and of the mutuall knitting together of the mindes, hee alledged that it was not poſſible to holde together, vnles the concorde were deriued out of the head , the which he made to be the Byſhop of Rome , and that it alſo reſted in the ſame.

After he had made a long proteſtation hereof , he paſſed forth to Bucer , vppon whom he made a ſhamefull raylyng , ſaying:that his doctrine gaue occaſion of diuiſion in the common wealth , and that there was not ſo greuous a miſchiefe,which by his meanes had not bene brought into the Realme. Although all men might perceaue by the bookes he had compyled , what maner of doctrine it was:yet notwithſtanding(he ſayde)he knew it more perfectly himſelfe than any dyd , and that he had learned it a part at the autours hand himſelfe.

For at ſuch tyme as they had communication ſecretly among them ſelues,Bucer (ſayd he) would oftentymes wyſhe he might be called by ſome other name , than by the name he had : for this purpoſe , as though knowing himſelfe gilty of ſo greauous a cryme, he might by thys meanes eſcape vnknowen to the worlde, and auoyd the talke that went among men of him.

Moreouer among other thinges, he tolde how Bucer held opinion (which thing he ſhould confeſſe to hym his owne ſelfe)that God was the author and welſpring,not onely of good,but alſo of euill:and that whatſoeuer was of that ſort , flowed from hym as from the head ſpring, and maker therof . The which doctrine he vpheld to be ſincere:howbeit,for offending diuerſe mens conſciences, he durſt not put it into mens heades.

Many other thynges he patched together of lyke purport and effect , as of the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome,of the mariage of prieſtes,of diuorcementes, and of ſhamefull vſury alſo , as though he had demed the ſame lawfull to be vſed among Chriſten people, with diuerſe other of the like ſort. In all which his allegations,conſidering how lewdely without all ſhame he lyed vpon Bucer (as his wrytinges euidently declare) he dyd not ſo much hynder his name with raylyng vpon hym, as wynne vnto hym ſelf an inexpiable infamy, by forging ſo ſhamefull leaſinges vpon ſo worthy a man. But what neadeth witneſſe to proue hym a lyar? hys owne conſcience ſhall make as much agaynſt hym as a number of men.

It was reported for a truth , and that by hys owne familiar frendes teſtified,that the ſayd D. Perne him ſelfe eyther immediatly after his Sermon, or els ſomewhat before he wēt to it, ſtriking himſelfe on the breſt, and in a maner wepyng, wyſhed at home at hys houſe with all hys hart , that God would graunte his ſoule might euen then preſently departe and remaine with Bucers . For he knew well inough that hys life was ſuch,that if any mans ſoule were worthy of heauen,he thought his in eſpecially to be moſt worthy.

D.Perne ſpeaketh agaynſt hys owne conſcience,in rayling agaynſt M.Bucer.

Whyles he was thus talking to the people , in the meane tyme the leaues of the church dores were couered ouer with verſes : in the which the yong men , to ſhew theyr folly,which ſcarce knew him by ſight,blaſed Bucers name with moſt reprochfull Poetrie.

Verſes agaynſt M.Bucer & Phagius.

Theſe thinges being diſpatched, Perne (as though he had ſped hys matter marueylouſly well) was for hys labour,of courteſie bydden to dynner to Trynity Colledge by the Commiſſioners. Where,after the table was taken vp, they cauſed the ſentence of condemnation to be copyed out with all ſpede : which being ſigned with the Byſhop of Cheſters ſeale,the next day followyng was for a triumph ſent to London with diuerſe of thoſe verſes and ſclaunderous libells.

The Sẽtence of condemnation ſent to London with the Commiſſioners letters.

Beſides this,they ſent alſo theyr own letters,wherin they both aduertiſed the Cardinall how farre they had proceaded in that matter , & alſo deſired his grace, that he would cauſe to be ſent out of hand to Smith the Mayor of the towne , the commaundement , commonlye called a wrytte for the burning of Heretickes. For vnleſſe he had the Quenes warrante to ſaue him harmeleſſe he woulde not haue to doe in the matter: and that which remayned to be done in that caſe,could not be diſpatched tyll that warraunt came . Whiles thys Purſiuant went on hys iorney , they willed to be brought vnto them the bokes that they commaunded before to be ſerched out. For they determined to throw them into the fyre with Bucer and Phagius.

A writte for burning of heretickes.

About the ſame tyme, Doct.Watſon taking occaſiō vpon the day,becauſe it was a high feaſt , in the which was wonte to be celebrated the memoriall of the purification of the bleſſed Virgin , made a Sermon to the people vpō that Pſalme : We haue receiued thy mercy O Lord,in the middeſt of thy temple. &c . In the which Sermon he ſpake much reproch of Bucer and Phagius,and of theyr doctrine.

Watſons Sermon vpon Candelmas day.

He ſayd that theſe men and all the heretickes of our tyme that were of the ſame opinion (the which for the moſt part he ſayd were budded out of Germany) among other thinges which they had pernicioully put into mens heades,taught to caſt away all ceremonyes. Wheras notwithſtanding the Apoſtle himſelfe commaunded all thinges to bee done in due order . And vpō that dede of the bleſſed Virgin and Ioſeph which was done by them as vpon that day,it was manifeſtly apparant,that they with our ſauiour being then a litle babe,obſerued theſe rites and Ceremonyes, for catholike men to teach. For he ſayd that they came to ỷ temple the ſame tyme with waxe candels in their handes after the maner of proceſſion (as they terme it) in good order,with much reuerence and deuotion : and yet we were not aſhamed to laugh and mocke at theſe thinges with the heretickes, and Schiſmatickes.

Mary and Ioſeph went a proceſſion with waxe candels, or els D. Watſon ſayth falſe.

As he was telling his tale of Chriſt, Mary and Ioſeph,one of them that heard hym,a pleaſaunt and mery concepted fellow, turning himſelfe to hym ỷ ſtode next him,ſayd: & if it be true(quoth he) ỷ this mā preacheth,which of them I pray you (if a mā might ſpurre him a queſtion) bare the Croſſe before them ? for that

A queſtion to be ſpurred to D.Watſon.

might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemne ceremonies. Not onely this man ieſted at the pꝛeachers folly, but diuers other alſo laughed at his manifeſt vnſhamefaſtnes, in pꝛeaching theſe ſo vayne and foliſh ſuperſtitions.

The ſodaine ſwounde of Chriſtopherſon.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Chriſtopherſon elected B. of Chicheſter, beyng ſtricken with a ſodayne ſicknes, fell downe in a ſounde among the pꝛeaſe, and with much a do, beyng ſcarce able a good while to come to himſelfe againe, in yͤ meane tyme babled many thinges vnaduiſedly, and as though he had bene out of his wittes. Some thought it came vpon this occaſion, becauſe he had bene greatly accuſed befoꝛe yͤ Cõmiſſioners foꝛ miſpendyng ⁊ miſoꝛdꝛyng the goods of yͤ Colledge, ⁊ therefoꝛe was greued with the matter, knowing that they had bene offended with hym, by that that Ormanet had cancelled befoꝛe his face a leaſe of hys, by yͤ which he had let to ferme to his bꝛother in law a certayne Manour of that colledge, becauſe the couenauntes ſeemed vnreaſonable.

The day aſſigned foꝛ burning of Martyn Bucer and Paulus Phagius bodyes.

By thys time, was returned agayne the Purſiuant, who (as we befoꝛe told) was ſent to London with the Commiſſioners letters, and bꝛought with hym a warraunt foꝛ the burning of theſe men. Upon the receyte wherof they appoynted the vj. day of Febꝛuary foꝛ the accompliſhment of the matter. Foꝛ it had hanged already a great while in hand. Therfoꝛe when the ſayd day was come, the Commiſſioners ſent foꝛ the Uicechauncellour, demaunding of him in what caſe things ſtoode, whether all thinges were in a readines foꝛ the accompliſhment of thys buſines, oꝛ no. Underſtanding by hym that all thinges were ready, they commaunded the matter to be bꝛoched out of hand.

The takyng vp of Martyn Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

The Uicechauncellour therefoꝛe taking with hym Marſhall the cõmon Notary, went firſt to S. Michaels church, where Phagius was buryed. There he called foꝛth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the ſame pariſhe, and bounde them with an othe to digge vp Phagius bones, and to bꝛing them to the place of execution. Marſhall tooke their othes, receiuyng the lyke of Roger Smith, and W. Haſell, the Towne Sergeauntes, and of John Capper, Warden of the ſame Church, foꝛ doyng the lyke with Bucer. Smith the Maioꝛ of the Towne, which ſhould be their executioner (foꝛ it was not lawfull foꝛ them to entermedle in caſes of bloud) commaunded certaine of hys towneſmen to waite vpon hym in harneſſe, by whom the dead bodyes were garded, and beyng bound with ropes, and layd vpõ mens ſhoulders (foꝛ they were encloſed in cheſtes, Bucer in yͤ ſame that he was buried, ⁊ Phagius in a new) they were boꝛne into yͤ middeſt of the marketſtede with a great trayne of people folowyng them.

The burnyng of Mart. Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

This place was pꝛepared befoꝛe, and a great poſt was ſet faſt in the ground to bynd the carcaſſes to, and a great heape of woode was layd ready to burne them withall. When they came thether, the cheſtes were ſet vp on end, with the dead bodyes in them, and faſtened on both ſides with ſtakes, and bound to the poſt with a long yꝛon chayne, as if they had ben alyue. Fire beyng foꝛthwith put to, as ſoone as it began to flame round about, a great ſoꝛt of bookes that were condemned with them, were caſt into the ſame.

The talke of the countreyfolke of the burning of M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

There was that day gathered into the Towne, a great multitude of coũtryfolke (foꝛ it was market day) who ſeyng men boꝛne to execution, and learnyng by enquirie that they were dead befoꝛe, partly deteſted and abhoꝛred the extreme cruelty of the Cõmiſſioners toward the rottē carcaſſes, and partly laughed at theyꝛ folly in makyng ſuch pꝛeparature. Foꝛ what nedeth any weapon, ſayd they? as though they were afrayd that the dead bodyes which felt them not, would do them ſome harme? Oꝛ to what purpoſe ſerueth that chayne wherewith they are tyed, ſithens they might be burnt loſe without perill? foꝛ it was not to be feared that they would runne away.

Thus euery body that ſtood by, found fault with the cruelnes of the deede, either ſharply oꝛ els lightly, as euery mans mind gaue him. There were very few that lyked their doyng herein.

The purpoſe of Doct. Watſons Sermon agaynſt Martin Bucer.

Watſons Sermon at the bur ning of Bucer a Phagius.

In the meane tyme that they were a roſtyng in the fire, Watſon went into yͤ pulpit in S. Mary church, and there befoꝛe his audiēce rayled vpon their doctrine as wicked and erronious: ſaying that it was the groũd of all miſchief that had happened of a long tyme in the common weale. Foꝛ behold (ſayd he) as well the pꝛoſperitie as yͤ aduerſitie of theſe yeres that haue enſued, and ye ſhall finde that all thinges haue chaunced vnluckely to thē that haue folowed this new found faith: as contrary all thinges haue happened foꝛtunately to thē that haue eſchewed it. What robbyng and polyng (quoth he) haue we ſene in this Realme, as long as Religion was defaced with Sectes, the common treaſure (gathered foꝛ the maintenaunce of the whole publike weale) ⁊ the goodes of the realme ſhamefully ſpent in waſt foꝛ the maintenaunce of a few folkes luſtes: all good oꝛder bꝛoken: all diſcipline caſt aſide: holy dayes appointed to the ſolemniſing of ceremonies, neglected: and that moꝛe is, the places them ſelues beaten down, fleſh and other kynd of pꝛohibited ſuſtenaunce eaten euery where vpon dayes foꝛbidden, without remoꝛſe of conſcience: the Pꝛieſtes had in deriſiõ: the Maſſe railed vpon: no honour done to the Sacramentes of the Church: all eſtates and degrees geuen to ſuch a licencious liberty without checke, that all thynges may ſeeme to dꝛaw to their vtter ruine and decay.

As though in theſe dayes of Q. Mary had bene rayſed no ſubſidies at all.

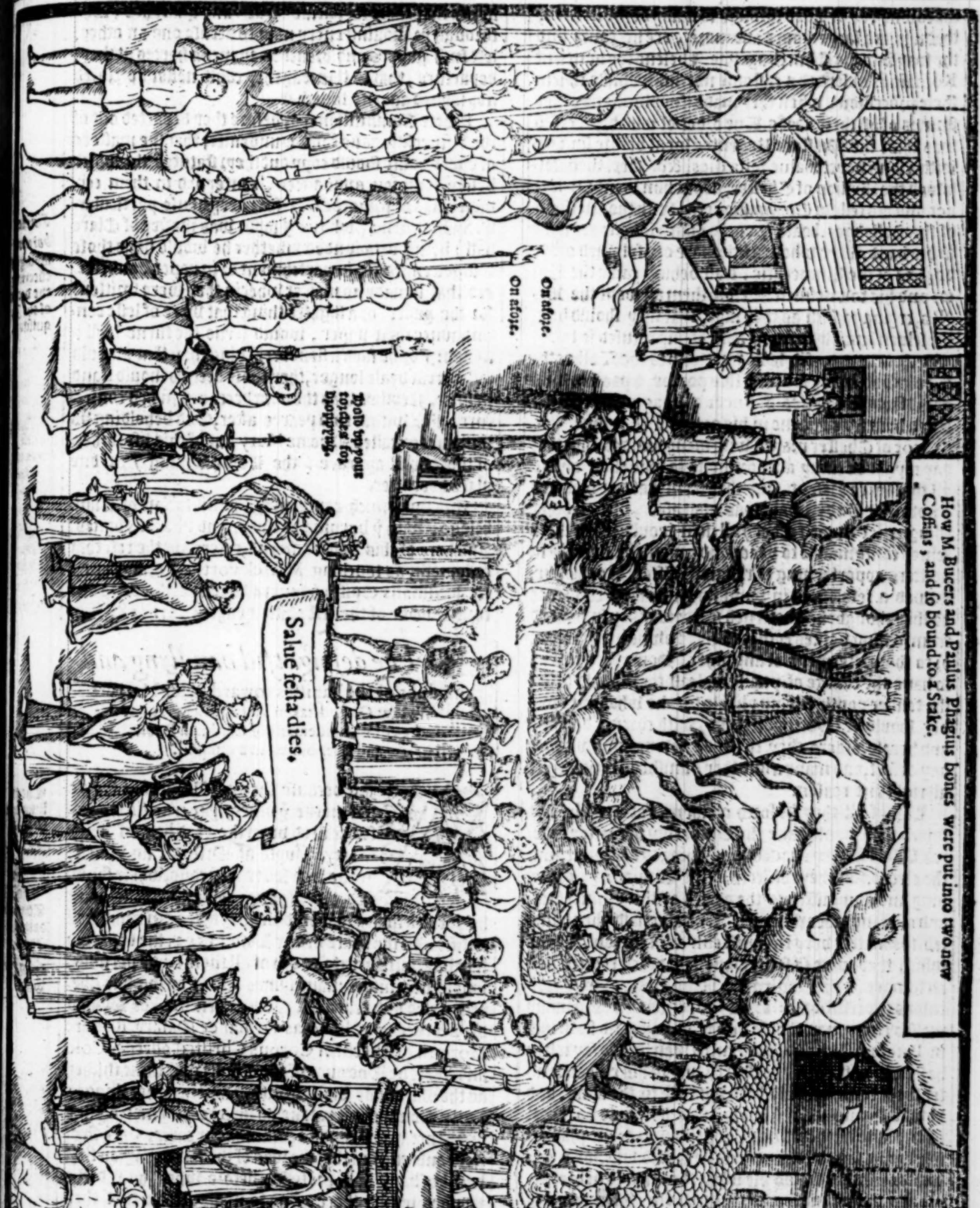
And yet in the meane tyme, the name of the Goſpell was pꝛetended outwardly, as though that foꝛ it men ought of duety to geue credit to their erroneous opinions: whereas in deede there is nothyng moꝛe diſcrepant, oꝛ moꝛe to the ſclaunder of Gods woꝛd then the ſame. Foꝛ what other thyng taught they to remaine in that moſt bleſſed and myſticall Sacrament of the body of our Loꝛd, thē bare vnleauened bꝛead? And what els do the remnaunt of them teach vnto this day? Wheras Chꝛiſt by expꝛeſſe woꝛdes doth aſſure it to be his very body. How perillous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatall and abſolute neceſſitie of Pꝛedeſtinatiõ? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they haue left no choiſe at all in thynges. As who ſhould ſay, it ſkilled not what a man purpoſed of any matter, ſithens he had not the power to determine otherwiſe then the matter ſhould come to paſſe. The which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the authour of euill, bꝛingyng men thꝛough this perſwaſion into ſuch a carceles ſecuritie of the euerlaſtyng eternity, that in the meane ſeaſon, it made no matter either toward ſaluation, oꝛ toward damnation what a man did in this lyfe. Theſe errours (which were not euen among the Heathen men) were defended by them with great ſtoutnes.

Watſon ſclaunderouſly deprau eth yͤ doctrine of yͤ Proteſtantes.

Theſe and many ſuch other thinges he ſclaũderouſly and falſely alledged agaynſt Bucer, whoſe doctrine (in ſuch ſoꝛte as he hym ſelfe taught it) either he would not vnderſtand, oꝛ els he was minded to ſclaũder. And yet he was not ignoꝛaũt, that Bucer taught none other thynges, then the very ſame wherunto both he and Scot in the reigne of kyng Edward the vj. had willingly aſſented by ſubſcribyng therto with their owne hãds. While he talked in this wiſe befoꝛe the people, many of them that had wꝛitten verſes befoꝛe, did ſet vp other new, in the which lyke a ſoꝛt of water frogges, they ſpewed out their venemous malice agaynſt Bucer and Phagius. This was the laſt acte of this enterlude, and yet there remained a few thynges to be done, among the which was the reconcilyng of two Churches, of our Lady, and of S. Michaell, which we declared to haue bene enterdicted befoꝛe.

Watſon & Scot had both ſubſcribed to the doc trine of the Goſpell in the raigne of kyng Edward the vj.

The rec ciling of the Chur ches that were in terdicted.


How M. Bucers and Paulus Phagius bones were put into two new Coffins, and ſo bound to a Stake.
On afore.
On afore.
Hold vp your torches for hoppyng.
Salue feſta dies.

The order and maner of burnyng M. Martin Bucers and Paulus Phagius bones, and alſo of their Bookes, with a ſolemne generall proceſſion, at Cambridge. Anno. 1557. February. 6.

This was done the next day folowyng by the aforeſayd Byſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremoniall ſolemnitie as the law required. But that impanate God, whom Bucers Carcaſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet returned thether agayne: neither was it lawfull for him to come there any more, but if he were brought thether with great ſolemnitie. As I ſuppoſe, duryng all the tyme of hys abſence he was enterteined by the Commiſſioners at Trinitie Colledge, and there cōtinued as a ſoiourner. For thether came all the Graduates of the Uniuerſitie, the vij. day of February, of gentlenes and courteſie to bryng hym home agayne. Amongeſt the which number, the Byſhop of Cheſter (worthy for his eſtate to come neareſt to him, becauſe hee was a Byſhop) toke and caried him clad in a long Rochette, and a large tippet of ſarcenet about his necke, wherin he wrapped his Idoll alſo. Ormanet Datary had geuen the ſame a litle before to the Uniuerſitie for that and ſuch lyke purpoſes.

A ſolemne Proceſſion of the Uniuerſitie and of the townesmen.

When this Idoll ſhould returne home, he went not the ſtraighteſt & neareſt way as other folke are wont to go, but he fetched a compaſſe about the moſt part of the towne, and romed through ſo many of the ſtreetes, that it was a large houre and more, ere he could find the way into his Church agayne. I beleue the auncient Romaines obſerued a cuſtome not much vnlike this in their proceſſion, when they made ſupplications at the ſhrines of all their Gods. The order of which proceſſiō was this: the Maiſters Regentes went before ſinging with a loud voyce: Salue feſta dies. &c. Next them folowed the Byſhop of Cheſter, about him went Ormanet and his fellow Commiſſioners, with the Maiſters of the Colledges, bearing euery man a long taper light in his hand. After whom a litle ſpace of, folowed other degrees of the Uniuerſitie. Laſt behind came the Maior and his towneſmen. Before them all went the Bedles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow thē ſelues humbly before yͤ hoſt. If any refuſed ſo to do, they threatned to ſed hym forthwith to the Tolbooth. Their God being led with this pompe, & pacified with great ſacrificed hoſtes of Bucer & Phagius, at length ſetled hym ſelfe agayne in his accuſtomed roume.

The order of proceſſion in Cambridge.

Scot of Cheſter prayed with many wordes, that that day myght be lucky and fortunate to himſelfe, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (now that Gods wrath was appeaſed, and all other thinges ſet in good order) all men would make them ſelues conformable to peace and quietnes, namely in matters appertayning to religion. After thys, they beſtowed a few dayes in puniſhing and amercing ſuch as they thought had deſerued it. Some they ſuſpended from geuing voyces eyther to theyr owne preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbad to haue the charge of pupilles, leaſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what print ſoeuer ſhould be layd vppon them) with corrupt doctrine and hereſy, others they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert, and many a one they puniſhed, contrary to all right and reaſon.

Certaine of the Uniuerſitie amerced and puniſhed.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certayne ſtatutes, by the which they would haue the Uniuerſity hereafter ordered. Wherin they enacted many thinges as concerning the election of theyr officers of the Uniuerſity, of keeping and adminiſtryng the goodes of the Uniuerſitie, and of many other thinges. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for religion. In the which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all thinges, eyther with open blaſphemy, or with ridiculous ſuperſtition. For they preſcribed at how many maſſes euery man ſhould be day by day, and how many Pater noſters and Aues euery man ſhould ſay when he ſhould enter into the church, and in his entrance after what ſort he ſhould bow himſelfe to the altar, and how to the maſter of yͤ houſe, what he ſhould do there, & how long he ſhould tary, how many & what prayers hee ſhould ſay, what and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations other ſhould vſe while the prieſt is in his Memento mumbling ſecretly to him ſelfe, what tyme of the Maſſe a man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit down, when he ſhould make courteſy, when excluſiuely, when incluſiuely, & many other ſuperſtitious toyes they decreed, that it was a ſport then to behold their ſuperſtitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

The decrees of the Inquiſitors.

Moreouer, theſe Maſters of good order, for faſhion ſake, ordained that euery mā ſhould put on a Surplice, not torne nor worne, but cleane forbydding them in any wyſe to wype theyr noſes theron.

These thinges thus ſet at a ſtay, when the Commiſſioners were now ready to go theyr wayes, the Uniuerſity for ſo great benefites (which ſhe could not ſuffer to fall out of remembraunce many yeares after) couetyng to ſhew ſome token of courteſy towardes them agayne, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of Doctorſhip for all the reſidue, ſauing Chriſtopherſon, who now by reaſon he was elected Byſhop, preuenting that degree, had receaued that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace makers, that came to pacifie ſtrifes and quarelles, who through prouoking euery man to accuſe one an other, left ſuch gappes and breaches in mens hartes at theyr departure, that to this day they could neuer be cloſed nor ioyned agayne together.

Ormanet and Cole proceded Doctors.

These Commiſſioners, before they departed out of the vniuerſity, gaue commaundemēt, that the maſters of euery houſe ſhould copy out theyr ſtatutes, the which beſide common ordinances, conteyned in them certayn rules of priuate order for euery houſe particularly. Swineborne (who as I ſayde was maſter of Clare hall) being demaunded whether he would haue thoſe thinges engroſſed in partchment or in paper, aunſwered that it made no matter wherin they were written: for the paper, or a ſlighter thing that were of leſſe continuaunce then paper, would ſerue the turne well inough: For he ſayd a ſlenderer thing then that, would laſt a great deale longer, then thoſe decrees ſhould ſtand in force. Neyther was the man deceaued in hys coniecture. For within two yeares after, God beholding vs with mercy, called Queene Mary out of this life: wherof more ſhall appeare (the Lorde willing) in due place hereafter.

***Swineborne*s ſaying concerning the decrees of the Inquiſitors.**

And thus much concerning the viſitation of Cambridge, with yͤ burning of Bucer and Phagius bones. And here of this matter an end, referryng the reſt that followeth, as touching M. Ackworthes oration and D. Redmans Epitaph funerall vpon M. Bucer, to our former booke of the firſt edition pag. 1552. 1558.

The deſpightful handlyng and
madnes of the Papiſtes toward Peter Martyrs Wyfe at Oxford, taken vp from her graue at the commaundement of Cardinall Poole, and after buried in a dunghil.

AND becauſe the one Uniuerſity ſhould not mocke yͤ other, lyke crueltie was alſo declared vpon the dead body of Peter Martyrs wyfe at Oxford, an honeſt, graue, and ſober Matrone, whyle ſhe lyued, and of poore people allwayes a great helper, as many that be dwelling there can right well teſtifie. In the yeare of our Lord. 1552. ſhe departed this lyfe, with great ſorrow of all thoſe needy perſons, whoſe neceſſityes many tymes and often ſhee had liberally eaſed and relieued. Now, when Brokes Byſhop of Glouceſtre, Nicholas Ormanet Datary, Robert Morwen Preſident of Corpus Chriſti Colledge, Cole and Wright Doctours of the Ciuill law, came thither as the Cardinals Uiſitours, they among other thinges had in Commiſſion to take vp thys good woman agains out of her graue, and to conſume her carcas with fire, not doubtyng but that ſhe was of the ſame religion that her huſband had profeſſed before when he red the Kynges lecture there. And to make a ſhew that they would do nothing diſorderly, they called al thoſe before them that had any acquaintaunce with her or her huſband. They miniſtred an othe vnto thē that they ſhould not conceale whatſoeuer was demaunded. In fine, theyr aunſwere was that they knew not what religion ſhe was of, by reaſō they vnderſtood not her language.

The taking vp of *Peter Martyrs* wiues bones.

Commendation of *Peter Martyrs* wife.

Iurates ſworne agaynſt *Peter Martyrs* wife

To be ſhort, after theſe viſitours had ſped theyr buſines, they came for, they gat them to the Cardinall agayne, certifying him that vpon due inquiſition made, they could learne nothing, vpon which by the law they might burne her. Notwithſtanding the Cardinall dyd not leaue the matter ſo, but wrote downe his letters a good while after to Marſhal, then Deane of Friſwides, that he ſhould dyg her vp, and lay her out of Chriſtian buriall, becauſe ſhe then was interred nygh vnto S. Friſwides relickes, ſometyme had in great reuerence in that Colledge. D. Marſhal lyke a prety man callyng hys ſpades and mattockes together in the euening, when he was well whitled, cauſed her to be taken vp, and

Cardinall *Poole* earneſt in burning dead mens bodyes.

Doctor *Marſhall* Deane of Frideſwides.

and buryed in a dunghil.

Howbeit, when it pleaſed God vnder good Queene Elizabeth to geue quietnes to hys church, long tyme perſecuted with pryſon and death, then Doctour Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edmond Grindal byſhop of London, Richard Goodricke, with diuers other her Maieſtyes hygh Commiſſioners in matters of religion (nothing ignorant how farre the aduerſaryes of the truth had tranſgreſſed the boũdes of al humanity, in violating the ſepulchre or graue of that good and vertuous womã) willed certaine of that Colledge, in the which this vncurteous touch was attempted and done, to take her out of that vncleane and diſhoneſt place where ſhe lay, & ſolemnly in the face of the whole towne to bury her again in a more decent & honeſt monument. For though of the body being once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, how or where ẏ bones were layd: yet was ſome reuerence to be vſed towarde her for ſexe and womanhode ſake. Beſides, to ſay the truth, it was great ſhame, that he which had trauayled ſo far at king Edwardes requeſt, from the place wherin he dwelt quietly, and had taken ſo earneſt paynes, beyng an old man, in reading & ſetting forth the truth all he could, with learning to teach and inſtruct, and ſo wel deſerued of that Vniuerſity: ſhould with ſo vngentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded agayne, as to haue hys wyfe, that was a godly woman, a ſtrãger, good to many, eſpecially to the poore, and hurtful to none, eyther in worde or dede, without iuſt deſeruing, and beſide theyr owne lawe, not proceding agaynſt her according to the order therof, ſpitefully to bee layd in a ſtinking dunghill.

To all good natures the fact ſeemed odious, and of ſuch as be endued wyth humanity, vtterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Maſter Calfield, then Subdeane of the Colledge diligently prouided, that from Marſhals dũghil ſhe was reſtored & tranſlated to her proper place againe, yea and withall coupled her with Frideſwides bones, that in caſe any Cardinal wil be ſo mad hereafter to remoue thys womans bones agayne, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcerne the bones of her from the other. And becauſe to the intent the ſame myght be notified to the mindes of men the better, the next day after, which was ſonday M. Rogerſon preached vnto the people, in which ſermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the aduerſaryes, which were not contented to practiſe theyr cruelty agaynſt the liuing, but that they muſt alſo rage agaynſt one that was dead, & had lyen. 2. yeares in her graue. God graunt them once to ſe theyr owne wickednes, Amen.

And thus much touching the noble Actes & ſtrangnes of this worthy Cardinal in both the Vniuerſities: wherunto it ſhall not be impertinent, here alſo conſequently to adioyne and ſet forth to the eyes of ẏ world the blynd & bloudy articles ſet out by Cardinal Poole, to be inquired vpon within his dioces of Canterbury, wherby it may the better appeare what yokes & ſnares of fond and fruitles traditions were layed vppon the poore flocke of Chriſt, to intangle & oppreſſe them with loſſe of lyfe and liberty. By the which alſo wiſe men haue to ſee what godly fruites proceded from that catholicke church and ſea of Rome. In which albeit thou ſeeſt (good reader) ſome good articles inſparſed withall, let that nothing moue thee: for els how could ſuch poyſon be miniſtred, but it muſt haue ſome honie to reliſh the readers taſte.

¶Here foloweth the Articles ſet forth by Cardinal Poole, to be inquired in his ordinary viſitation, within his Dioces of Caunterbury.

¶ *Touching the Clergie.*

FIrſt, whether the diuine ſeruice in the Church at times, dayes, howers, be obſerued, and kepte duely or no.

Item, whether the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates do comly, and decently in their maners & doinges, behaue themſelues or no.

3. Item, whether they do reuerently and duely miniſter the Sacramentes and Sacramentalls or no.

4. Item, whether any of their pariſhioners do die without miniſtration of the Sacramentes, through the negligence of their Curates or no.

5. Item, whether the ſayd Parſons, Vicars, or Curats, do haunt Tauernes or Ale houſes, encreſing therby infamye and ſclaunder, or no.

6. Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the midwiues how to chriſten children in time of neceſſitie, according to the Canons of the Church or no.

7. Item, whether they ſee that the font be comely kept, and haue holy water alwayes ready for children to be chriſtened.

8. Item, if they do kepe a booke of all the names of them that be reconciled to the vnitie of the Church.

9. Item, whether there be any Prieſtes that late vnlawfully had women vnder pretenſed mariage, and hetherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places.

10. Item, whether they do diligently teach their pariſhoners the articles of the faith, and the tenne commaundementes.

11. Item, whether they do decently obſerue thoſe thinges that do concerne the ſeruice of the Church and all thoſe thinges that tende to a good and a Chriſtian life, according to the Canons of the Church.

12. Item, whether they do deuoutly in their prayers pray for the proſperous eſtate of the King and Queenes maieſties.

13. Item, whether the ſayde Parſons, and Vicars do ſufficiently repayre their Chauncels, Rectories, and Vicarages, & doe kepe and maintayne them ſufficiently repayred and amended.

14. Item, whether any of them do preach or teach any erronious doctrine, contrary to the Catholike fayth, and vnity of the Church.

15. Item, whether any of them do ſay the diuine ſeruice or do miniſter the Sacramentes in the engliſh tong, contrary to the vſuall order of the Church.

16. Item, whether any of them do ſuſpiciouſly keepe any women in their houſes, or do keepe company with men ſuſpected of hereſies, or of euill opinions.

17. Item, whether any of them that were vnder pretence of lawfull matrimony maryed, and now reconciled, do priuely reſorte to their pretenſed wiues, or that the ſayd women do priuely reſort vnto them.

18. Item, whether they do go decently apparelled, as it becommeth ſad, ſober, and diſcrete miniſters, and whether they haue their crownes and berdes ſhauen.

19. Item, whether any of them do vſe any vnlawfull games, as dice, cardes, and other like, wherby they grow to ſclaunder and euill report.

20. Item, whether they do kepe reſidence and hoſpitality vpon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to the lawes eccleſiaſticall.

21. Item, whether they do keepe the booke or Regiſter of Chriſtening, Burying, & Mariages, with the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers.

¶ *Touching the lay people.*

Articles of Card. Poole to be inquired vpon, touching the Laitie.

1. FIrſt, whether any maner of perſon of what eſtate, degree, or condicion ſoeuer he be, do hold, maintaine, or affirme, any hereſies, errours, or erronious opinions, contrary to the lawes eccleſiaſticall, and the vnity of the Catholike Church.

2. Item, whether any perſon doth holde, affirme or ſay, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar there is not contayned the reall and ſubſtanciall preſence of Chriſt: or that by any maner of meanes do contemne and deſpiſe the ſayd bleſſed Sacrament, or doe refuſe to do reuerence or worſhip thereunto.

3. Item, whether they do contemne or deſpiſe by any maner of meanes any other of the Sacramentes, rites, or ceremonies of the Church, or do refuſe or deny auricular confeſſion.

4. Item, whether any do abſent or refraine, without vrgent and vnlawfull impediment, to come to the Church, and reuerently to heare the diuine ſeruice vppon Sondayes, and holy dayes.

5. Item, whether beyng in the Church, they do not apply themſelues to heare the diuine ſeruice, and to be contemplatiue in holy prayer, and not to walke, iangle, or

talke, in the tyme of the diuine ſeruice.

Item, whether any be fornicatours, adulterers, or do commit inceſt, or be baudes, and receauers of euill perſons, or be vehemently ſuſpected of any of them.

6. Item, whether any do blaſpheme and take the name of God in vaine, or be common ſwearers.

7. 8. Item, whether any be periured, or haue committed ſimony or vſery, or do ſtill remayne in the ſame.

9. Item, whether the churches and churchyardes be wel and honeſtly repayred and incloſed.

10. Item, whether the churches be ſufficiently garniſhed and adorned with al ornamentes, and bookes neceſſary, and whether they haue a Roode in their Church of a decent ſtature, with Mary and Iohn, and an Image of the Patrone of the ſame church.

11. Item, whether any do withholde, or doth draw from the church any maner of money or goods, or yͭ do withholde their due and accuſtomed tithes from their Parſons and Vicars.

12. Item, whether any be common drunkards, ribaldes, or men of euill liuing, or do exerciſe any lewde paſtimes, eſpecially in the tyme of diuine ſeruice.

13. Item, if there be any that do practiſe or exerciſe any artes of Magike, or Necromancy, or do vſe or practiſe any Incantations, ſorceryes, or witchcraft, or be vehemently ſuſpected thereof.

14. Item, whether any be maryed in the degrees of affinitie, or conſanguinitie, prohibited by the lawes of holy church, or that do mary, the banes not aſked, or do make any priuy contractes.

15. Item whether in the time of Eaſter laſt, any were not confeſſed, or did not receaue the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, or did irreuerētly behaue themſelues in the receauing thereof.

16. Item, whether any do kepe any ſecret conuenticles, preachinges, lectures, or readings, in matters of religiō, contrary to the lawes.

17. Item, whether any do now not keepe duly the faſting and imbring dayes.

18. Item, whether the altars in the churches be conſecrated or no.

19. Item, whether the Sacrament be caryed deuoutly to them that fall ſicke, with light & with a little ſacring bell.

20. Item, whether the common ſcholes be well kept, and that the ſchole maiſters be diligent in teaching, and be alſo Catholike, and men of good and vpright iudgement, and that they be examined & approued by the Ordinary.

21. Item, whether any do take vpon them to miniſter the goodes of thoſe that be dead without authoritie from the Ordinary.

22. Item, whether yͤ poore people in euery pariſh be charitably prouided for.

23. Item, whether there do burne a lampe or a candle before the Sacrament. And if there do not, that then it be prouided for, with expedition.

24. Item, whether infantes and children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient tyme.

25. Item, whether any do keepe or haue in their cuſtody, any erronious or vnlawfull bookes.

26. Item, whether any do withholde any mony, or goods bequeathed to the amending of the high wayes, or any other charitable deede.

27. Item, whether any haue put away their wiues, or any wiues do withdraw thēſelues from their huſbandes, being not lawfully diuorced.

28. Item, whether any do violate or breake the Sōdayes and holidayes, doing their dayly labours and exerciſes vpon the ſame.

29. Item, whether the Tauernes, or Alehouſes, vpon the Sondayes, and holydayes in the tyme of Maſſe, Matins, and Euenſong, do kepe open theyr doores, & do receaue people into their houſes to drinke and eate, & thereby neglect their duties in commyng to the church.

30. Item, whether any haue, or do depraue or contemne the authoritie or Iuriſdiction of the Popes holines, or the Sea of Rome.

31. Item, whether any Minſtrels, or any other perſones do vſe to ſing any ſonges againſt the holy Sacraments, or any other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32. Item, whether there be any hoſpitals within your pariſhes, and whether the foundations of them be duely & truely obſerued and kept. And whether the charitable contributions of the ſame be done accordingly.

33. Item, whether any goodes, plate, Iewels, or poſſeſſions be taken away, or withholden from the ſayde hoſpitals, and by whome.

A ſtory of x. Martyrs condemned and burned within the Dioces of Canterbury, for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt, and truth of hys Goſpell.

Mention was made a litle before of yͤ perſecutiō in Kēt. pag. 2139. Where we declared, that xv. were in the Caſtell of Cant. impriſoned & condēned for Gods word. Of yͤ which xv. moreouer we ſhewed and declared fiue to be famiſhed vnto death within the ſayd Caſtell, and buried by the high way, about the beginning of Nouemb. The other x. in yͤ firſt moneth of the next yeare folowing, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1557. Janua. 15. were committed vnto the fire, and there conſumed to aſhes, by Thornton, called B. or ſuffragane of Douer, other wiſe alſo called Dicke of Douer, and by Nicholas Harpeſfield the Archdeacon of the ſayde Prouince,

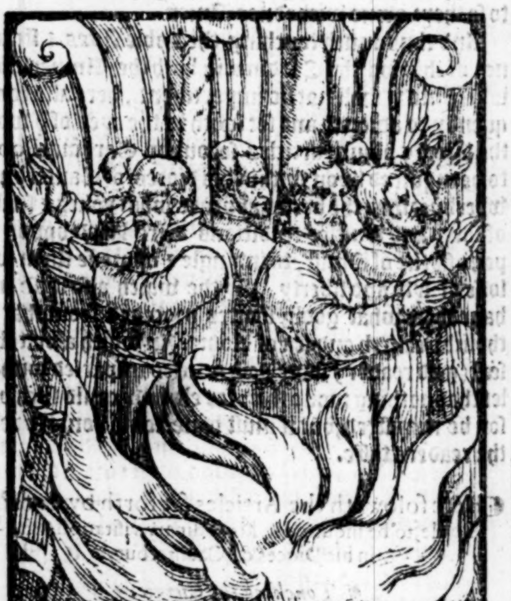
The names of the x. Godly and Chriſtian Martyrs be theſe.

- Iohn Philpot of Tenterden.
- W. Waterer of Bedyngdey.
- Steph. Kemp of Norgate.
- W. Haye of Hythe.
- T. Hudſon of Sellenge.
- Mat. Bradbrige of Tenterden.
- T. Stephens of Bedyngdē.
- Nic. Finall of Tenderden.
- W. Lowick of Crābrooke.
- W. Prowtyng of Thornham.

What the Ordinary articles were cōmonly obiected to thē of Canterbury dioces, is before rehearſed, pag. 1852. ſaue onely that to ſome of theſe, as to them that folowed after, as the time of their perſecutiō did grow, ſo their articles withall did increaſe to the number of 22. contayning ſuch like matter as ſerued to the maintenaunce of the Romiſh Sea.

To theſe articles what their aunſweres were, likewiſe, nedeth here no great rehearſall, ſeing they all agreed together, though not in the ſame forme of words, yet in much like effect of purpoſes: firſt graunting the Church of Chriſt, and denying the Church of Rome, denying the ſeuen Sacramentes, refuſing the Maſſe, and the hearing of Latin ſeruice, praying to Saintes, iuſtification of workes &c. And though they did not all aunſwere vniformely in ſome ſmaller thinges, as their learning ſerued them, yet in the moſt principall & chiefeſt matters they did not greatly diſcorde. &c.

¶ The burnyng of ſix Martyrs at Canterbury.



Of theſe tenne godly Martyrs of Chriſt, ſixe were burned at Canterbury about the xv. of January, that is, Kemp, Waterer, Prowting, Lowike, Hudſon, and Haye. Other two, that is, Stephens and Philpot at Wye, about the ſame month. Other two, which were Final and Bradbrige were burned both together at Aſhford, the xvj. of the ſame.

The next moneth folowyng, which was February, came out an other bloudy Commiſſion from the Kyng and Quéene to kyndle vp the fire of perſecution, as though it were not hoate enough already: the cõtentes of which commiſſion I thought here not to pretermit: not for lacke of matter, whereof I haue to much: but that the reader may vnderſtand how kinges and princes of thys world, lyke as in the firſt perſecutiõs of the primitiue church vnder Valerianus, Decius, Maximian, Diocleſian, Licinius. &c. ſo now alſo in theſe latter perilous dayes, haue ſet all their maine force, and power, with lawes, policy, and authority, to the vttermoſt they could deuyſe agaynſt Chriſt and hys bleſſed Goſpell. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe lawes, conſtitutions, iniunctions, and terrible proclamations prouyded agaynſt Chriſt and hys Goſpell, Chriſt yet ſtyll contynueth, hys Goſpell floriſheth, and truth preuayleth: Kynges and Emperours in their owne purpoſes ouerthrowne, their deuiſes diſſolued, their counſailles confounded: as examples both of thys, and of all tymes and ages do make manifeſt. But now let vs heare the intent of thys commiſſion in tenour as followeth.

A bloudy Commiſsion geuen forth by Kyng Philip and Queene Mary, to perſecute the poore members of Chriſt.

PHillippe and Mary by the grace of God kyng and Queene of England. &c. To the right reuerend father in God our right truſty and welbeloued Counſaillor Thomas Biſhop of Ely, and to our right truſty and welbeloued William Windſore Knight, L. Windſore, Edward North Knight, L. North, and to our truſty and welbeloued Counſailours, Iohn Bourne Knight, one of our chief Secretaries, Iohn Mordant Knight, Frances Englefield Knight, Maiſter of our wardes & liueries, Edward Walgraue Knight, Maiſter of our great wardrop, Nicolas Hare Knight, Maſter of the Rolles, & our highe Court of Chauncery, and to our truſty and welbeloued Thomas Pope Knight, Roger Cholmeley Knight, Richard Read Knight, Rouland Hill Knight, William Raſtall Sergeant at Law, Henry Cole Clerke, Deane of Paules, William Roper, and Rafe Cholmeley, Eſquiers, William Cooke, Thomas Martin, Iohn Story, and Iohn Vaughan, Doctours of law, gretyng.

Foraſmuch as diuers deuiliſh and ſlaunderous perſons, hauing not onely inuented, bruted and ſet forth diuers falſe rumours, tales & ſeditious ſlaunders agaynſt vs, but alſo haue ſowen diuers hereſies, and heretical opinions, and ſet forth diuers ſeditious bookes within this our realme of Englãd, meanyng therby to ſtirre vp diuiſion, ſtrife, contention, & ſedition, not onely amõgeſt our louyng ſubiectes, but alſo betwixt vs and our ſayd ſubiectes, with diuers others outragious miſdemeanors, enormities, contemptes, and offences, dayly committed and done to the diſquietyng of vs and our people, we myndyng the due puniſhment of ſuch offendors and the repreſſing of ſuch like offences, enormities, and miſbehauiours from henceforth, hauyng ſpeciall truſt & confidence in your fidelities, wiſedomes, and diſcretiõs, haue authoriſed, appointed, and aſſigned you to be our Cõmiſſioners, and by theſe preſentes do geue ful power and authoritie vnto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the othes of. xij. good and lawfull mẽ, as by witneſſes and all other meanes and politicke wayes you cã deuiſe, of all and ſingular hereticall opinions, lollardies, hereticall & ſedicious bookes, concelementes, contẽptes, conſpiracies, and all falſe rumours, tales, ſedicious and ſlaunderous wordes or ſayinges, rayſed, publiſhed, bruted, inuented, or ſet forth agaynſt vs, or either of vs, or agaynſt the quiet gouernaunce and rule of our peoples and ſubiectes, by bookes, lyes, tales, or otherwiſe, in any county, key, bowing or other place or places, within this our Realme of England or elſwhere, in any place or places beyond the ſeas, and of the bringing in, vtterers, byers, ſellers, readers, keepers, or conueyors of any ſuch letter, bookes, rumor, and tale, and of all and euery their coadiutors, cõuſellors, cõfortors, procurors, abbettors, & mainteinours, geuyng vnto you, & iij. of you, full power and authoritie by vertue hereof to ſearch out and take into your handes and poſſeſſions, all maner of hereticall and ſedicious bookes, letters, & wrytynges, whereſoeuer they or any of them ſhalbe found, aſwell in Printers houſes and ſhops, as elſwhere, willyng you, and euery of you to ſearch for the ſame in all places accordyng to your diſcretions.

What watch is here to kepe down Chriſt, but yet he will ryſe.

And alſo to enquire, heare and determine all and ſingular enormities, diſturbaunces, miſbehauiours, and negligences committed in any Church, Chapell, or other hallowed place within this Realme, & alſo, for, & concernyng the taking away or withholding any landes, tenementes, goodes, ornamentes, ſtockes of money, or other thynges belongyng to euery of the ſame Churches and Chappels, and all accomptes and reckoninges concernyng the ſame.

Enormities or miſbehauours.

And alſo to enquire & ſearch out al ſuch perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to receiue ẏ bleſſed ſacramẽt of ẏ altar, to heare Maſſe, or come to their Pariſhe Churches, or other conuenient places appointed for diuine ſeruice, and all ſuch as refuſe to go in proceſſion, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwiſe do miſuſe them ſelues in any Church or other hallowed place, whereſoeuer any of the ſame offenſes haue bene, or hereafter ſhalbe committed within this our ſayd Realme.

Not cõming to the Church ſeruice.

Neuertheles our will and pleaſure is, that when, and as often as any perſon or perſons, hereafter being called or conuented before you, doe obſtinately perſiſte, or ſtand in any maner of hereſie, or hereticall opiniõ, that then ye or three of you, do immediatly take order that the ſame perſon or perſons, ſo ſtandyng or perſiſting, bee deliuered and committed to his Ordinary, there to be vſed accordyng to the ſpirituall and Eccleſiaſticall lawes.

Heretickes to be committed to their Ordinary.

And alſo we geue vnto you, or. 3. of you, full power and authoritie, to enquire & ſearch out all vacaboundes, and maſterles men, Barrettors, quarellers, and ſuſpect perſons, abidyng within our Citie of London, and x. miles compaſſe of the ſame, and all aſſaultes & affrayes done and committed within the ſame City and cõpaſſe.

Vacaboundes or maiſterles men.

And further to ſearch out al waſt, decayes, and ruines of Churches, Chaũcels, Chappels, Perſonages and Vicarages in the Dioces of the ſame, beyng within this Realme, geuyng you, and euery of you full power and authoritie by vertue hereof to heare and determine the ſame, and all other offences and matters aboue ſpecified and rehearſed, accordyng to your wiſedomes, conſciẽces and diſcretions, willyng and commaundyng you, or. iij. of you from tyme to tyme, to vſe and deuiſe all ſuch politicke wayes and meanes, for the triall and ſearching out of the premiſſes, as by you, or thre of you ſhal be thought moſt expedient and neceſſary: and vpon inquirie and due proofe had, knowen, perceiued and tried out, by the confeſſion of the parties, or by ſufficiẽt witneſſes before you, or. iij. of you, concernyng the premiſſes or any part therof, or by any other wayes or meanes requiſite, to geue and award ſuch puniſhmẽt to the offendors, by fine, impriſonment, or otherwiſe and to take ſuch order for redreſſe and reformation of the premiſſes, as to your wiſedomes, or three of you ſhalbe thought meete and conuenient.

Decay of Churches and Chappells.

Further willyng and commaundyng you and euery three of you, in caſe you ſhall finde any perſon or perſons obſtinate or diſobedient either in their apperaunce before you, or three of you, at your callyng or aſſignement, or els in not accompliſhyng or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commaundementes in any thyng or thynges, touchyng the premiſſes or any part therof, to commit the ſame perſon or perſons ſo offendyng to ward, there to remayne, till by you or three of you, he be diſcharged or deliuered. &c. And ſo forth with other ſuch lyke matter, as foloweth, ſee in our former edition, pag. 1563.

Priſoning of the obſtinate.

The apprehenſion of 22. priſoners ſent vp together for Gods worde to London, from Colcheſter.

AFter thys bloudy proclamation or commiſſion thus geuē out at London, which was February. 8. the 3. and 4. yeares of the Kyng and Quéenes raigne, theſe newe Inquiſitours, eſpecially ſome of them, began to ruffle and to take vppon them not a litle: ſo that all quarters were ful of perſecution, and priſones almoſt full of priſoners, namely in the dioces of Canterbury, wherof (by the leaue of Chriſt) we will ſay more anone.

Perſecution about Colcheſter.

XXij. for Gods worde apprehended.

The aray and order of theſe xxij. priſoners comming vp to London.

In the meane tyme, about the towne of Colcheſter the wind of perſecutiō began fiercely to ryſe: inſomuch that xxiij. together men and women were apprehended at one clap, of the which xxiij. one eſcaped. The other xxij. were driuen vp lyke a flocke of chriſten lambes, to London, with ij. or iij. leaders with them at moſt, ready to geue theyr ſkins to be pluckt of for ỹ Goſpels ſake. Notwithſtanding the Byſhops, afrayd belyke of the nūber, to put ſo many at once to death, ſought meanes to deliuer them, and ſo they dyd, drawing out a very eaſy ſubmiſſion for them, or rather ſuffring thē to draw it out thē ſelues: notwithſtanding diuers of thē afterward were taken agayne and ſuffered, as hereafter ye ſhall heare (God willyng) declared. Such as met them by the way comming vp, ſaw them in the fieldes ſcattering in ſuch ſort as that they might haue eaſily eſcaped away. And when they entred into the townes, theyr kéepers called them agayne into aray, to goe two and two together, hauyng a band or a line going betwene them, they holding the ſame in theyr handes, hauyng an other corde euery one about hys arme, as though they were tyed. And ſo were theſe. 14. men, and 8. women caryed vp to London, the people by the way praying to God for them to geue them ſtrength. At the entring into London, they were pinioned and ſo came into the city, as the picture here ſhortly after followyng wͭ their names alſo ſubſcribed, doth deſcribe. But firſt let vs declare concerning theyr taking and theyr attachers, conteyned in the Commiſſaryes letter written to Boner: then, the indenture made betwene the Commiſſioners and the popiſh Commiſſary. The letter of the Commiſſary is thys.

The letter of the commiſſary, called Iohn Kingſton, written to B. Boner.

Lorde of Oxforde, L. Darcy, H. Tyrrell, Ant. Browne, William Bendelowes, Edm. Tyrrell, Ric. Weston, Roger Appleton, Io. Kingſtone Commiſſary, perſecutors.

AFter my dutie done in receauing and accompliſhing your honorable and moſt louing letters, dated the 7. of Auguſt: bee it knowen vnto your Lordſhip, that the xxviij. of Auguſt the Lord of Oxenforde, Lord Darcy, H. Tyrell, A. Brown, W. Bendlowes, E. Tirel, Ric. Weſten, Roger Appleton publiſhed their commiſſion to ſeaſe the landes and tenementes and goodes of the fugitiues, ſo that the owners ſhould haue neither vſe nor commoditie thereof, but by inuentory remayne in ſafe keeping, vnto the cauſe were determined.

And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the Queenes Graces warrant, for the reſtitution of the church goods within Colcheſter, and the hundreds thereabout, to the vſe of Gods ſeruice. And then were called the pariſhes perticularly, and the Heretikes partly committed to my examination. And that diuers perſons ſhoulde certifye me of their ornamentes of their Churches, betwixt this and the Iuſtices next appearaunce, which ſhalbe on Mighelmaſſe euen next. And that pariſh which had preſented at two ſeuerall tymes, to haue all ornamentes, with other thinges in good order, were exonerated for euer, to they were warned againe, and others to make their appearaunce from tyme to tyme. And thoſe names blotted in the indenture, were indited for Treaſon, fugitiues, or diſobedientes, and were putte forth by maiſter Brownes commaundement. And before the ſealing, my Lord Darcy ſayde vnto me a part, & maiſter Bendlowes, that I ſhoulde haue ſufficient tyme to ſende vnto your Lordſhip, yea, if nede were, the Heretikes to remayne in duraunce tyll I had an aunſwere from you: yea to the Lorde Legates graces commiſſioners come into the Countrey.

And maiſter Browne came into my Lord Darcies houſe and parlour, belonging vnto maiſter Barnaby, before my ſayde Lord and all the Iuſtices, and layde his hand of my ſhoulder with a ſmiling countenaunce, and deſired me to make his harty commendations vnto your good Lordſhip, and aſked me if I woulde, and I ſayde yea, with a good will. wherefore I was glad, and thought that I ſhould not haue bene charged with ſo ſodayne cariage. But after diner, the Iuſtices counſelled wyth the Bailiffes, and with the Gaolers, and then after toke me vnto them, and made collatiō of the indentures, and ſealed: and then maiſter Browne commaunded me thys after noone, being the. xxx. of Auguſt, to goe and receiue my priſoners by and by. And then I ſayde, it is an vnreaſonable commaundement, for that I haue attended of you here theſe three dayes, and this Sonday carely I haue ſent home my men. wherefore I deſire you to to haue a conuenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it wil pleaſe my Lord my maiſter to ſend his commiſſioners hether, or that I ſhall make cariage of them vnto his Lordſhip. Then maſter Brown. we are certified that the counſel hath written vnto your maiſter to make ſpeede, and to rid theſe priſoners out of hande: therefore go receiue your priſoners in haſt. Then I. Sir I ſhall receiue them within theſe ten dayes. Then maiſter Browne. The limitation lyeth in vs, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

Maiſter
Browne
a hoate a
haſtie iu
ſtice in pe
ſecuting
Gods pe
ple.

Syr, ye haue indited and deliuered me by this indenture, whoſe faith or opinions I know not, truſting that ye will graunt me a time to examine them, leſt I ſhoulde puniſhe the Catholikes. well ſayd mayſter Brown, for that cauſe ye ſhall haue tyme betwixt this and wedneſday. And I ſay vnto you maiſter Bailiffes, if he do not receiue them at your handes on wedniſday, ſet opē your dores and let them go.

Then I. My Lord and maiſters all, I promiſe to diſcharge the towne and countrey of theſe heretiques within ten dayes. Then my Lord Darcy ſayd: Commiſſary, we do and muſt all agree in one. wherefore do you receiue them, on, or before wedenſday.

What ado is here with the butchers to bryng the poore Lambes t ỹ Shambles.

Then I. My Lord, the laſt I caryed, I was goyng betwixt the Caſtell, and S. Katherins chappell, two howers and an halfe, and in great preſſe & daunger: wherefore this may be to deſire your Lordſhip to geue in commaundement vnto my maiſter Saier, Bayliue here preſent, for to ayde me through his liberties, not onely with men and weapons, but that the towneclarke may be ready there with his booke to write the names of the moſt buſy perſons, and this vpon three howers warning, all which both my Lord & maiſter Browne cōmaunded. And the 31. of Auguſt, William Goodwin, of Muchbyrch, huſbandman, thys brynger, and Thomas Alſey of Copforde your Lordſhips apparitour of your conſiſtory in Colcheſter, couenaunted wyth me that they ſhould hyre 2. other men at the leaſt, whereof one ſhould be a bowman, to come to me the next day about 2. of the clocke at after noone, ſo that I might recite this bargayne before maiſter Archdeacō, and pay ỹ money, that is, xlvj. ſhillinges viij. pence. wherefore they ſhoulde then goe forth wyth me vnto Colcheſter, and on wedniſday before three of the clocke in the morning receiue there at my hand within the Caſtell, and Mote Hall, fourtene men, and eight women, ready bound with giues and hempe, and driue, cary, or leade and fede with meate and drinke, as Heretickes ought to be found cōtinually, vnto ſuch tyme that the ſayd William and Thomas, ſhall cauſe the ſayd xxij. perſons for to be deliuered vnto my Lord of Londons officers, and within the ſafe keeping of my ſayd Lorde, and then to bring vnto me agayne the ſaide Giues, with a perfect token, of, or from my ſayd Lorde, and then this couenaunt is voide, or els. &c.

Thomas Alſey of Copfor Apparito to Byſhop *Boner.*

XXij. po priſoners in bondes for Chriſt and hys worde.

Maiſter Bendlowes ſayd vnto me in my Lorde of Oxenfordes Chamber at the kinges head, after I had ſayde Maſſe before the Lordes, that on the morrow after Holy Roode day, when we ſhall meete at Chelmesford for the diuiſion of theſe landes, I thinke maiſter Archdeacon, you, and maiſter Smith ſhalbe fayne to ride with certayne of the Iury to thoſe porcions and manours in your part of Eſſex, and in like caſe deuide our ſelues, to tread & view the ground with the Queſt, or els I thinke the Queſt will not labour the matter, and ſo do you ſay vnto maiſter Archdeacon.

Alice the wife of William Walleys of Colcheſter, hath ſubmitted herſelfe, abiured her erroneous opinions, aſked

ked abſolution, promiſed to do her ſolemne penaunce in her pariſh Church at Saint Peters on Sonday next, and to continue a Catholique and a faithfull woman, as lõg as God ſhould ſẽd her life. And for theſe couenantes, her husband ſtãdeth bound in fiue pound. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your Indenture: and that ſhe is bigge with childe. Wherefore ſhe remayneth at home, and this done in the preſence of the Baylifes, Aldermen, and townclarke. And for that maiſter Browne was certified, there was no Curate at Lexdon, he inquired who was the Farmer. The aunſwere was made: ſir Frances Iobſon. Who is the Parſon? They of the Queſtmen aunſwered, Syr Roger Goſtlow. When was he with you? Not theſe fourtene yeares. How is your cure ſerued? Now and then. Who is the patron? My Lord of Arundel. And within ſhort time after Sir Frances Iobſon came with great curteſy vnto my Lorde Darcies place. And of al Gentlemen about vs I ſaw no more come in. Syr R. Smith Prieſt, ſometime Chanon of Bridlington, now Curate of Appledore, in the wilde of Kent, came to Colcheſter the 28. day of Auguſt with his wife big wyth childe, of late diuorced, taken on ſuſpition, examined of the Lords, and maiſter Brown told me that they haue receiued letters from the counſell, for the attachment of certayne perſons, & eſpecially of one Prieſt, whoſe name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith) doubting this prieſt to be he the ſayd Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confeſſe the ſame. Wherefore he lyeth ſtill in priſon, but ſurely this is not Pullen. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip to haue in remembraunce, that the houſeholders might be compelled to bring euery man his owne wife to her owne ſeat in the church in time of diuine ſeruice, it would profit much. And alſo there be yet ſtanding hoſpitals and other of like foundation about Colcheſter, which I haue not knowen to appeare at any viſitation, as the maiſter and Lazars of Mary Magdalene in Colcheſter, the Proctor of Saint Katherins Chappell in Colcheſter, the Hoſpitall or beadhouſe of the foundation of Lord H. Marney, in Larcmarney, the Hoſpitall and beadmẽ of litle Horkſley. Thus preſuming of your lordſhips goodnes, I am more then bolde euer to trouble you, with this worldly buſines, beſeching almighty god to ſend your honorable Lordſhip a condigne reward.

From Eaſtthorp this preſent xxx. of Auguſt.

We found a letter touching the mariage of Prieſtes in the handes of the aforeſayd Syr Robert Smith. Alſo I deſired maiſter Browne the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in theyr vnlawfull writinges and bokes. Who aſked me if I had proclamed the proclamation. And I ſayd, yea. Then hee ſayd openly on the Bench, that they ſhoulde be proclamed euery quarter once. And then take the conſtables and officers, and they alone take and puniſh the offenders, accordingly.

¶ By your poore Beadman,
Iohn Kingſton, Prieſt.

An indenture made betwene the Lordes and Iuſtices within ſpecified, and Boners Commiſſary, concerning the deliuery of the priſoners aboue named.

THys Indenture made the .xix. day of Auguſt, in the third & fourth yeares of the raignes of our ſoueraigne Lord and Lady Phillip and Mary by the grace of God King and Quéene of Englãd, Spaine, Fraunce, both Cicils, Ieruſalẽ, & Ireland, defẽders of ẏ faith, Archdukes of Auſtria, Dukes of Burgundye, Millayn, & Brabant, Cõuties of Haſpurgh, Flaunders, and Tiroll, betwene the ryght honourable Lord, Iohn de Veere, Erle of Oxenford, Lorde hygh Chamberlaine of Englande, Thomas Lord Darcy of Chiche, Henry Tirell Knight, Anthony Browne, the King and Quéenes maieſties Sergeaunt at Law, William Bendelowes, Sergeaunt at Law, Edmund Tirell, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton, Eſquiers, Iuſtices of Oyer and determiner, and of the peace, within the ſayd Countye of Eſſex, to be kept of the one party, & Iohn Kyngſton clerke Bacheler at law, Commiſſary to the Biſhop of London of the other party, witneſſeth ẏ Robert Colman of Walton in the County of Eſſex labourer, Iohn Winſeley of Horſley Magna in the ſayd County, Spinſter, Steuen Glouer of Raylye, in the County aforeſayd, Glouer, Richard Clerke of much Holland in the ſayd County Mariner, William Munt of much Bently, in the ſayd County, husbandmã, Tho. Winſeley of much Horſeley in the ſayd County, Sawyer, Margaret Field of Rameſey, in the ſayd County Spinſter, Agnes Whitlocke of Douercorte in the ſayd County, Spinſter, Alice Munt of much Bentley in the ſayd County, Spinſter, Roſe Allin of the ſame towne and County, Spinſter, Richard Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſayde County, Corier, Richard Atkin of Halſted in the ſayd County, Weauer, Robert Barcocke of Wiſton, in ẏ County of Suffolke, Carpẽter, Richard George of Weſtbarhoult, in the Countie of Eſſex, laborer, Kich. Iolley of Colcheſter in the ſayd County, Mariner, Thomas Feerſanne of the ſame towne and County, Mercer, Robert Debnam late of Dedham in the ſayd County, Weauer, Cicely Warren of Cockſal in ẏ ſaid County, Spinſter, Chriſtian Peper widow, of ẏ ſame towne & County, Allin Simpſon, Elene Ewring, Alice the wife of William Wallies of Colcheſter, Spinſter, and William Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſayd County, Glaſier, being indited of Hereſy, are deliuered to the ſayd Iohn Kingſton clerke, Ordinary to the Byſhop of Lõdon, according to the ſtatute in that caſe prouided.

The names of Chriſtes priſoners perſecuted.

In witnes whereof to the one part of this Indenture, remayning with the ſayd Erle, Lord, and other the Iuſtices, ẏ ſayd Ordinary hath ſet to hys hand and ſeale, and to the other part remayning with the ſayd Ordinary, the ſayd Erle, Lord, and other the Iuſtices haue ſet to theyr ſeuerall handes & ſeales, the day and yeares aboue written.

The names of the perſecutors.

Oxenford.
Thomas Darcy.
Henry Tyrell.
Antony Browne.
William Bendelowes.
Edmund Tyrell.
Richard Weſton.
Roger Appleton.

Theſe xxij. aforeſayd priſoners thus ſent from Colcheſter to London, were brought at length to Byſhop Boner. As touchyng the order and maner of their commyng and bryngyng, the ſayd Boner hym ſelfe writeth to Cardinal Poole, as you ſhall heare.

¶ *A letter of B. Boner to Cardinall Poole.*

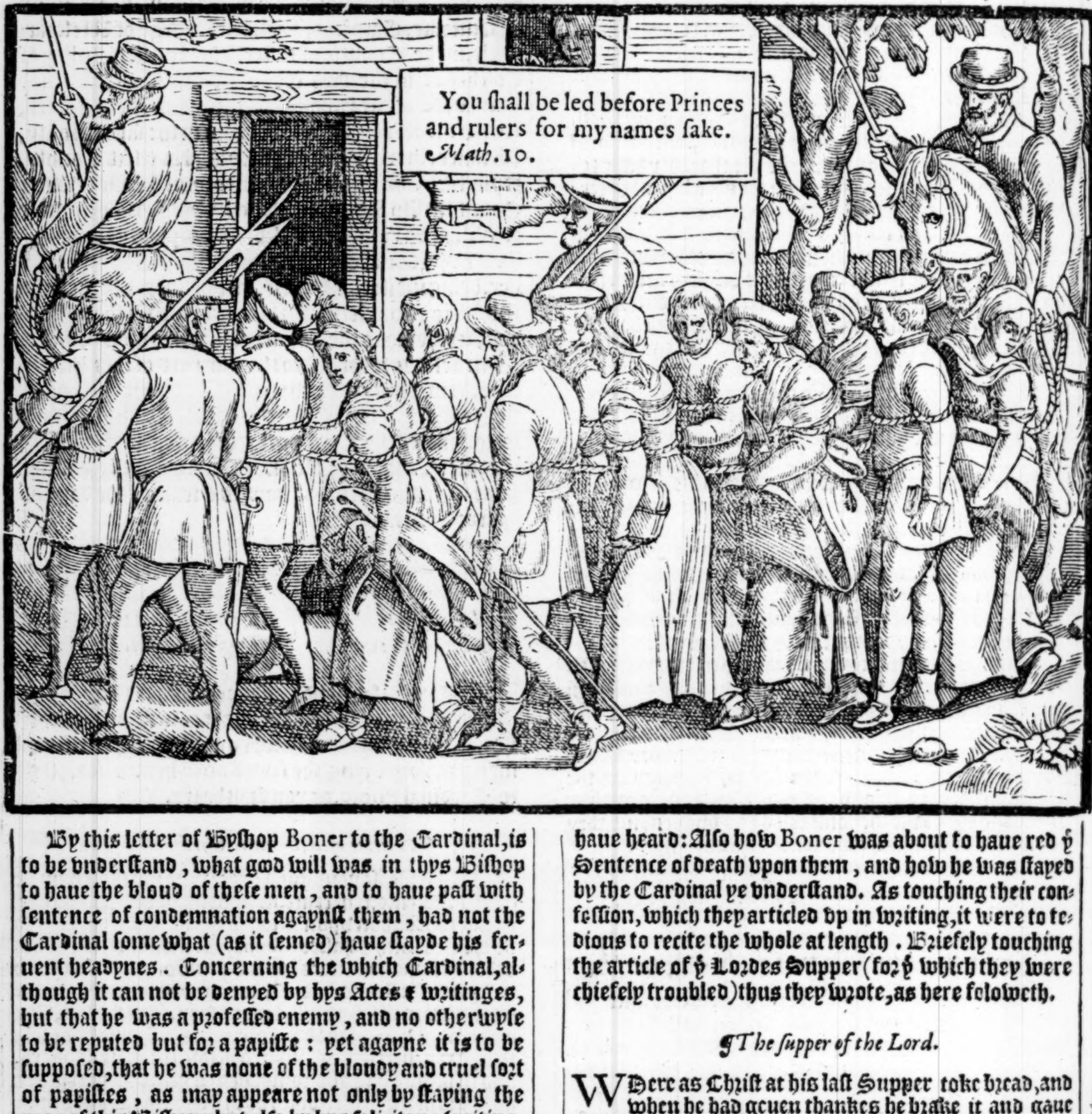
B. Boners Letter to *Card. Poole,* concerning the xxij. priſoners aforeſayd.

MAy it pleaſe your good grace with my moſt humble obedience, reuerence, and duetie, to vnderſtand that going to London vpon Thurſday laſt, and thinking to be trobled with Maſter Germaynes matter only, & ſuch other common matters as are accuſtomed, enough to wery a right ſtrong body, I had the day folowing to cõfort my ſtomake with all, letters from Colcheſter, that eyther that day, or the day following I ſhould haue ſent thence xxij. heretickes, indited before the Cõmiſſioners, and in dede ſo had and compelled to beare theyr charges as I did of the other, which both ſtoode me aboue xx. nobles, a ſumme of money that I thought full euil beſtowed. And theſe heretickes, notwithſtanding they had honeſt catholicke keepers to conduct and bring them vp to me, and in all the way from Colcheſter to Stratforde of the Bow, did go quietly and obediently, yet comming to Stratforde, they began to take hart of grace and to do as pleaſed them ſelues, for there they began to haue their garde, which generally encreaſed till they came to Algate, where they were lodged Friday night. And albeit I tooke order that the ſayd heretickes ſhould be with me very early on Saterday mornyng, to the entent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was betwene x. and xj. of the clocke before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheape ſyde, ſo that they were brought to my houſe with about a thouſand perſons. Which thyng I tooke very ſtraunge & ſpake to Syr Iohn Greſſam then beyng with me, to tell the Maior and the Shriefes that this thyng was not well ſuffred in ẏ Citie. Theſe naughty heretickes, all the way they came through Cheapſyde both exhorted ẏ people to their part, & had much cõfort à promiſcua plebe, and beyng entred into my houſe, and talked withall, they ſhewed them ſelues deſperate and very obſtinate, yet I vſed all the honeſt meanes I could, both by my ſelfe and other to haue wonne them, cauſing diuers learned men to talke with them: and findyng nothyng in them but pride and wilfulnes, I thought to haue had them all hether to Fulham, & here to geue Sentence agaynſt them. Neuertheles perceiuyng by my laſt doyng that your grace was offended, I thought it my duety before I any thyng further proceeded herein, to aduertiſe firſt your grace herof, & know your good pleaſure, which I beſech your grace I may do by this truſty bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my leaue of your good grace, beſeching almighty God alwaies to preſerue the ſame. At Fullam, poſtridie Natiu.1556.

Your graces moſt bounden Bedeſmā
and ſeruaunt, Edmund London.

The Picture of xxij. godly and faithfull Chriſtians, apprehended about Colcheſter, priſoned together in one bande, and ſo with three leaders at the moſt, brought vpto London.

The maner how theſe xxij. priſoners were brought vp from Colcheſter to London by three keepers.


You ſhall be led before Princes
and rulers for my names ſake.
Math. 10.

By this letter of Byſhop Boner to the Cardinal, is to be vnderſtand, what good will was in thys Biſhop to haue the bloud of theſe men, and to haue paſt with ſentence of condemnation agaynſt them, had not the Cardinal ſomewhat (as it ſemed) haue ſtayde his feruent headynes. Concerning the which Cardinal, although it can not be denyed by hys Actes & writinges, but that he was a profeſſed enemy, and no otherwyſe to be reputed but for a papiſte: yet agayne it is to be ſuppoſed, that he was none of the bloudy and cruel ſort of papiſtes, as may appeare not only by ſtaying the rage of this Biſhop: but alſo by hys ſoliciteous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer: alſo by the complaynts of certayne papiſtes, accuſing hym to the pope to be a bearer with the heretickes, and by the Popes letters ſent to hym vpon the ſame, callyng him vp to Rome, and ſettyng Frier Peto in his place, had not Quéene Mary by ſpeciall entreaty haue kept hym out of the popes daunger. All which letters I haue (if néede be) to ſhew: beſides alſo that it is thought of hym that toward his latter ende, a litle before hys comming from Rome to England, he began ſomewhat to fauour the doctrine of Luther, and was no leſſe ſuſpected at Rome: Yea and furthermore did there at Rome conuert a certayne learned Spanyard from papiſme to Luthers ſide: notwithſtanding the pompe and glory of the world afterward caryed hym away to play the papiſt thus as he did. But of this Cardinal enough.

B.Boners crueltie ſomewhat ſtayed by the Cardinall.

Card. Poole a Papiſte, but no bloudy Papiſt.

Card. Poole halfe ſuſpected for a Lutheran at Rome.

To returne now to this godly company agayne, firſt how they were brought vp in bandes to London, ye haue heard: Alſo how Boner was about to haue red yͤ Sentence of death vpon them, and how he was ſtayed by the Cardinal ye vnderſtand. As touching their confeſſion, which they articled vp in writing, it were to tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefely touching the article of yͤ Lordes Supper (for yͤ which they were chiefely troubled) thus they wrote, as here foloweth.

¶ The ſupper of the Lord.

WHere as Chriſt at his laſt Supper toke bread, and when he had geuen thankes he brake it and gaue it to his diſciples & ſayd: take, eate, this is my body: and likewiſe tooke the cuppe and thanked, &c. we do vnderſtand it to be a figuratiue ſpeach, as the moſt maner of his language was in parrables and darcke ſentences, that they which are carnally mynded, ſhoulde ſee wyth theyr eyes, and not perceaue, and heare with their eares, and not vnderſtād, ſignifying this, that as he did breake the bread among them, beyng but one loafe, and they all were pertakers thereof, ſo we through his body, in that it was broken, and offered vpon the croſſe for vs, are all partakers thereof, and his bloud clenſeth vs from our ſinnes, and hath pacified Gods wrath towards vs, and made the atonement betwene God and vs, if we walke henceforth in the light euen as he is the true light.

Their opinion and iudgement of yͤ Lordes Supper.

Chriſtes language to ſpeake in parrables.

And in that hee ſayd further, do this in the remēbrance of me, it is a memoriall and token of the ſuffring & death of Ieſu Chriſt: and he commaundes it for this cauſe, that the congregatiō of Chriſt ſhould come together to ſhew his death, and to thanke and laude hym for all his benefites, and magnifie his holy name, and ſo to breake the bread and drinke the wine, in remembraunce that Chriſt hath

The cauſe why the bread and cup was geuē in the Supper.

hath geuen his body and ſhed his bloud for vs. Thus ye may wel perceaue, though Chriſt called the bread his body, and the wine his bloud, yet it foloweth not, that the ſubſtance of his body ſhould be in the bread and wine: as diuers places in ſcripture are ſpoken by Chriſt and the Apoſtles in like phraſe of ſpeach, as in Iohn. 15. I am the true vine, alſo in Iohn the. 10. I am the doore, and as it is written in the 9. to the Hebrewes, and in Exodus 24. how Moyſes toke the bloud of the Calues and Goates with water and purple woll and Iſope, and ſprinckled both the booke & all the people, ſaying: This is the bloud of the couenaunt or Teſtament. And alſo in the 5. chapter of Ezechiell, how the Lord ſayd vnto him concerning the third part of his heare ſaying: This is Ieruſalem &c. Thus we ſee the ſcriptures how they are ſpoken in figures, and ought to be ſpiritually examined, and not as they would haue vs to ſay, that the bodily preſence of Chriſt is in the bread, which is a blaſphemous vnderſtanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy ſcriptures. Alſo we do ſee that great Idolatry is ſprong out of the carnall vnderſtanding of the worde of Chriſt: this is my body, and yet dayly ſpringeth, to the great diſhonour of God, ſo that men worſhip a peece of bread for God, yea and holde that to be their maker.

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After this confeſſion of their fayth and doctrine, being writtē and exhibited, they alſo deuiſed a letter withall, in maner of a ſhort ſupplication, or rather an admonition to the Iudges and Commiſſioners, requiring that iuſtice and iudgement, after the rule of Gods word might be miniſtred vnto thē. The copy of which their letter I thought here alſo to ſhew vnto the reader in forme as foloweth.

A letter or ſupplication of the priſoners to the Iudges.

letter or
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priso-
rs to the
dges.

TO the right honorable audience before whom theſe our ſimple writinges and the confeſſion of our faith ſhall come to be red or ſeene, we poore priſoners beyng faſt in bands vpon the triall of our fayth, which we offer to be tryed by the ſcriptures, pray moſt hartely, that forasmuch as God hath geuen you power and ſtrength ouer vs, as concerning our bodyes, vnder whom we ſubmit our ſelues as obedient ſubiectes in all thinges due, ye being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true iudgement, keepe the lawes of righteouſnes, gouerne the people according to right, and to heare the poore and helpeles in truth, and to defend their cauſe.

God for his ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, geue you the wiſdome and vnderſtanding of Salomon, Dauid, Ezechias, Moſes, with diuers other moſt vertuous rulers, by whoſe wiſdome and moſt godly vnderſtanding, the people were iuſtly ruled, and gouerned in the feare of God, all wickednes was by them ouerthrowen and beaten downe, and al godlines and vertue did floriſhe & ſpring. O God which art the moſt higheſt, ẏ creator & maker of all thinges, and of all men both great and ſmall, and careſt for all alike, which dooſt try all mens workes and imaginations, before whoſe iudgement ſeate ſhall come both high and low, rich and poore, we moſt humbly beſech thee to put into our rulers hartes the pure loue and feare of thy name, that euen as they them ſelues would be iudged, and as they ſhall make aunſwere before thee, ſo to heare our cauſes, to iudge with mercy, & to reade ouer theſe our requeſtes and confeſſions of our faith, with deliberation, and a godly iudgement.

Their opi
nion and
iudgement
of ẏ Lord
Supper.

Chriſtes
language
to ſpeake i
parrables.

And if any thing here ſeemeth to your honorable audience to be erroneous or diſagreing to the ſcripture, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip to heare vs patiently, which do offer our ſelues to the ſcripture, thereby to make anſwere, and to be tryed, in ſo doyng we poore ſubiectes being in much captiuitie and bondage are moſt bound to pray for your noble eſtate and long preſeruation.

The requeſt of theſe men being ſo iuſt, and their doctrine ſo ſound, yet all thys could not preuayle with the Biſhop and other Iudges, but that ſentēce ſhould haue proceded agaynſt them incontinent, had not the godnes of the Lord better prouided for hys ſeruaūts, then the Biſhop had intended. For as they were now vnder the edge of the Axe, ready to be condemned by Sētence, it was thought otherwyſe by the Cardinal, & ſome other wyſer heades, fearing belike, leſt by the death of ſo many together, ſome diſturbance might riſe peraduenture among the people, and ſo was decreed among themſelues, that rather they ſhould make ſome ſubmiſſion or confeſſion, ſuch as they would thē ſelues, and ſo to be ſent home agayne, as they were in deede: howbeit diuers of them afterward were apprehended and put to death. But in the meane ſpace as touching their ſubmiſſion which they made, thys it was, as in forme here followeth.

The cauſe
why the
bread and
cup was
geuē in th
Supper.

The ſubmiſſion or confeſſion of theſe aforeſayd priſoners,

An eaſy ſubmiſſion of the priſoners.

BEcauſe our ſauiour Chriſte at his laſt ſupper tooke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it vnto his diſciples and ſayd: *Take, eate, this is my body which is geuē for you, this do in the remembraunce of me:* therefore according to the wordes of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, we do beleue in the Sacrament, to be Chriſtes body. And likewiſe he tooke the cuppe, gaue thankes, and gaue it to his diſciples and ſayde, *This is my bloud of the new teſtament, which is ſhed for many.* Therfore likewiſe we doe beleue that it is the bloud of Chriſt, according as Chriſtes church doth miniſter the ſame. Vnto the which catholicke church of Chriſt, we doe in this, like as in all other matters ſubmit our ſelues, promiſing therein to lyue as it becommeth good Chriſten men, and here in this realme to vſe our ſelues, as it becommeth faythfull ſubiectes vnto our moſt gracious King and Queene, & to all other ſuperiors both ſpirituall and temporall, according to our bounden duties.

The names of them which ſubſcribed to this ſubmiſſion were theſe, Iohn Atkine, Alyn Symſon, Richard George, Thomas Fireſanne, William Munt, Richard Iolye, Richard Gratwicke, Tho. Wynſley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clerke, Stephen Glouer, Robert Colman, Thomas Merſe, William Bongeor, Robert Bercocke, Margeret Hide, Elyn Ewryng, Chriſtiā Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Ioane Winſley, Cyſly Warren, Roſe Alyn, Anne Whitlocke, George Barker, Iohn Saxbye, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.

A ſtory of 5. other godly Martyrs burned at one fire in Smithfield, the 12. day of Aprill

Aprill. 12.

TO procede further in this ſtory of perſecuted Martyrs, next in order folow fiue other burned at London in Smithfield in the foreſayd yeare of the Lord 1557. Aprill 12. whoſe names were theſe.

V. Martyrs.

Thomas Loſeby.
Henry Ramſey.
Thomas Thyrtell.
Margaret Hyde, *and*
Agnes Stanley.

Who being, ſome by the Lord Rich, ſome by other Iuſtices of peace, and Conſtables (theyr owne neyghbours) at the firſt accuſed, & apprehended for not comming to theyr pariſhe churches, were in the ende ſent vnto Boner Biſhop of London, and by his commaundement the xxvij. day of Ianuary, were examined before Doctor Darbyſhyre, then Chaūcellour to the ſaid Biſhop, vpon the former generall articles mencioned, Pag. 2015.

Touching theſe articles, read before pag. 2015.

Aunſwers to the Articles.

WHoſe aunſwers thereunto were, that as they confeſſed there was one true and catholicke church, wherof they ſtedfaſtly beleued, and thought the church of Rome to be no part or member: ſo in ẏ ſame church they beleued there were but two ſacramentes, that is to ſay: baptiſme, and the ſupper of the Lord. Howbeit, ſome of thē attributed ẏ title & honour of a Sacramēt, to ẏ holy eſtate of matrimony, which vndoubtedly was done rather of ſimple ignoraunce then of any willfull opinion, and are thereof to be adiudged as before is admonyſhed.

Their aunſweres to the articles.

Two Sacramentes only.

Moreouer, they acknowledged themſelues to be baptiſed into the fayth of that true church, as in the third article is ſpecified. And here in reading, as well of theſe articles, as alſo of the reſt, marke I beſech you, the craftie ſubteltie of theſe catholicke champions, who intermitting certayne pointes of fayth, and of the true church, with the idolatrous & ſuperſticious mametrie of theyr Romiſh Sinagoge, cauſe the poore and ſimple people, for lacke of knowledge, often tymes to fall into theyr craftie nettes.

Craftie dealing in the Papiſtes.

For after they haue made thē graunt a true church, with the Sacramentes of the ſame, though not in ſuch number as they would haue them, and alſo that they were chriſtened into the fayth thereof, that is, in the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, they craftely now in the other theyr obiections, deſcending as it were from the faith of the trinitie, vnto their idolatrous maſſe and other ſuperſticious ceremonies, would make them graunt, that now in denying therof, they haue ſeuered themſelues from the faith of the true church, wherunto they were baptiſed, which is moſt falſe. For though the true light of Gods Goſpell and holy worde, was marueilouſly darkened, and in a maner vtterly extinguiſhed: yet the true fayth of the trinitie, by the mercifull prouidence of God, was ſtill preſerued, and into the fayth therof were we baptiſed, and not into the beliefe and profeſſion of their horrible idolatrie and vayne ceremonies.

Simple ignorance deceiued.

They which ſeparate them ſelues frō certayne traſhe brought into the Church, do not ſeparate thē ſelues frō the Church.

These thinges not throughly wayed by theſe poore, yet faythfull, and true members of Chriſt, cauſed ſome of them ignorauntly to graunt, that when they came to the yeares of diſcretion, and vnderſtode the light of the Goſpell, they did ſeparate thē ſelues from the faith of yͤ church, meaning none other but only to ſeparate thēſelues from the admitting or allowing of ſuch their Popiſh and erroneous traſh, as they now had defiled the church of Chriſt withall, and not from theyr fayth receiued in baptiſme, which in expreſſe wordes in their anſweres to yͤ other articles they conſtantly affirmed, declaring the Maſſe and ſacrament of the altar, to be moſt wicked blaſphemy agaynſt Chriſt Ieſus, and contrary to the truth of hys Goſpell, and therfore vtterly they refuſed to aſſent and to be reconciled agayne thereunto.

These aunſweres in effect, of them thus taken by the ſayd Chauncellour, they were for that time diſmiſſed: but the Biſhop taking the matter into his owne handes, the firſt day of March, propounded vnto them certayne other newe articles, the copie whereof followeth.

¶ Other Articles obiected by Boner Byſhop of Lōdon, agaynſt Tho. Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thyrtell, Margarete Hide, and Agnes Stantley, the vj. day of March, beyng the ſecond tyme of their examination.

1. Other new articles propounded to them by B. *Boner*. Maſſe & 7. Sacramētes.

FIrſt, that thou haſt thought, beleued, & ſpoken, within ſome part of the Citie and Dioces of London, that the fayth, religion, and Eccleſiaſticall ſeruice here obſerued and kept, as it is in the Realme of England, is not a true and a laudable faith, religion, and ſeruice, eſpecially concerning the Maſſe, and the ſeuē Sacramentes, nor is agreable to Gods word and Teſtamēt, and that thou canſt not finde in thy hart without murmuryng, grudgyng, or ſcruple to receiue and vſe it, and to conforme thy ſelfe vnto it, as other ſubiectes of this Realme cuſtomably haue done and do.

2. Engliſhe ſeruice.

Item, that thou haſt thought &c. that the Engliſh ſeruice ſet forth in the tyme of kyng Edward the vj. here in this Realme of England, was and is good, godly, and Catholicke in all pointes, and that it alone ought here in this Realme to be receiued, vſed, and practiſed, and none other.

3. Comming to Church.

Item, likewiſe thou haſt thought &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy Pariſh Church, & there to be preſent, & heare Mattins, Maſſe, Euenſong, & other diuine ſeruice, ſong or ſayd there.

4.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that thou art not bound to come to proceſſion to the Church vppon dayes and tymes appointed, and to go in the ſame with others of the Pariſh, ſingyng or ſaying then the accuſtomed prayers vſed in the Church, nor to beare a taper or candel on Candelmas day, nor take Aſhes vpon Aſhewedniſday, nor beare Palmes vpon Palme Sonday, not to creepe to the Croſſe vpon dayes accuſtomed, nor to receiue and kyſſe the paxe at Maſſe tyme, nor to receiue holy water or holy bread, or to accept and allow the ceremonies and vſages of the Church, after the maner and faſhion as they are vſed in this Realme.

Aſhes, Palmes, Creeping to yͤ croſſe, Holy bread, Holy water. &c.

5. Cōfeſſion.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that thou art not bound at any tyme to confeſſe thy ſinnes to any Prieſt, and to receiue abſolution at his handes, as Gods miniſter, nor to receiue at any tyme the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, eſpecially as it is vſed in the Church of England.

6.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that in matters of Religion and fayth, thou muſt follow and beleue thine owne conſcience onely, and not geue credite to the determination and common order of the Catholicke Church, and the Sea of Rome, nor to any member therof.

7. Abſolute neceſſitie.

Itē, thou haſt thought &c. that all thinges do chaunce of an abſolute and preciſe mere neceſſity, ſo that whether man do well or euill, he could not chooſe but do ſo, and that therfore no man hath any free will at all.

8. Chriſtening of Infantes.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that the faſhion and maner of Chriſtenyng of infantes, is not agreable to Gods word, and that none cā be effectually Baptiſed, and therby ſaued, except he haue yeares of diſcretiō to beleue him ſelfe, and ſo willyngly accept or refuſe Baptiſme at hys pleaſure.

9. Praying for yͤ dead.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that prayers to Saintes, or prayers for the dead, are not auailable and not allowable by Gods word, or profitable in any wiſe, and that the ſoules departed do ſtraightwayes go to heauen or hell, or els do ſleepe till the day of dome, ſo that there is no place of purgation at all.

10. Martyrs yͤ ſuffred.

Itē, thou haſt thought &c. that all ſuch as in the tyme of kyng Henry the viij. or in tyme of Queene Mary Q. of England, haue bene burned as heretickes, were no heretickes at all, but faithful and good Chriſten people, eſpecially Barnes, Garret, Ierome, Frith, Rogers, Hoper, Cardemaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and ſuch like, and that thou diddeſt and doeſt allow, like, and approue all their opinions, and doeſt miſlike their condemnations and burnynges.

11. Faſting dayes.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that faſtyng and prayers vſed in this Church of England, and the appointyng of dayes for faſting, and the abſtainyng from fleſh vpon faſtyng dayes, and eſpecially in the tyme of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by Gods word, but is hypocriſie and fooliſhnes: and that men ought to haue libertie to eate at all tymes all kyndes of meate.

12. Sacramēt of yͤ altar.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that the Sacrament of the altar, is an idoll, and to reſerue and keepe it, or to honor it, is playne idolatrie and ſuperſtition: and likewiſe of the Maſſe and the eleuation of the Sacrament.

13. Taking an oth.

Item, thou haſt thought &c. that thou or any els, conuented before an Eccleſiaſticall Iudge concernyng matters of belief and faith, art not nor is bound to make anſwere at all, eſpecially vnder an othe vpon a booke.

¶ Their aunſweres to the Articles before obiected.

Their anſweres to the articles before obiected.

THeir aunſweres to theſe obiections were, that as touching the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fift, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally graunted vnto, ſauing that they denied the ſoules of the departed to ſleepe till the day of iudgement, as is mentioned in the ninth article. And as concerning the firſt obiection, they thought themſelues bound to beleue yͤ true catholicke church, ſo farre forth as the ſame doth inſtructe them according to Gods holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous & Babilonicall church of Rome. As for the ſeuenth, eight, and thirtenth, they vtterly denied, that euer they were of any ſuch abſurde opinions as are contained therin, but they graunted that man of himſelfe without the helpe and aſſiſtaunce of Gods ſpirite, hath no power to do any good thyng acceptable in Gods ſight. To the eleuenth they ſayd, that true faſting and prayer, vſed accordyng to Gods word, are allowable and auailable in his ſight, and that by the ſame worde euery faithfull man may eate all meates at all tymes, with thankeſgeuing to God for the ſame.

True faſting.

After this, yͤ firſt day of Aprill, were they agayn cōuented before yͤ Biſhop in his palace at Londō, where litle appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether

ther they would ſtand to their anſweres, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refuſed to recant and deny the receaued and infallible truth, the byſhop cauſed them to be brought into the open Conſiſtory, the third day of the ſame month of April in the forenoone, where firſt vnderſtanding by them their immutable conſtãcie and ſtedfaſtnes, he demaunded particularly of euery one what they had to ſay, why he ſhoulde not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation.

To whom Thomas Loſebye firſt aunſwered: God geue me grace and ſtrength to ſtand agaynſt you and your ſentence, and alſo agaynſt your law, which is a deuouring lawe, for it deuoureth the flocke of Chriſt. And I perceaue there is no way with me but death, except I would conſent to your deuouring law, and beleue in that Idoll the Maſſe.

Next vnto him anſwered Tho. Thyrtell, ſaying: my Lord, I ſay thus, if you make me an hereticke, then you make Chriſt ⁊ all the xij. Apoſtles heretickes, for I am in the true fayth and ryght beliefe, ⁊ I wyll ſtand in it, for I know full well I ſhall haue eternall lyfe therfore.

The byſhop then aſked the like queſtion of Henry Ramſey. Who ſayde agayne: my Lord, will you haue me to goe from the truth that I am in? I ſay vnto you that my opinions be the very truth, which I will ſtand vnto, and not go from them: and I ſay vnto you farther, that there are two churches vpon the earth, and we (meaning him ſelfe and other true Martyrs and profeſſours of Chriſt) be of yͤ true church, ⁊ ye be not.

Vnto thys queſtion, next aunſwered Margaret Hyde, ſaying: My Lorde, you haue no cauſe to geue ſentence agaynſt me, for I am in the true fayth and opinion, and will neuer forſake it: and I do wyſhe that I were more ſtronger in it then I am.

Laſt of all aunſwered Agnes Stanley, and ſayd: I had rather yͭ euery heare of my head were burned, if it were neuer ſo much worth, then that I will forſake my fayth and opinion which is the true fayth.

The tyme beyng now ſpent, they were commaunded to appeare agayne at afternoone in the ſame place, which commaundement beyng obeyed, the Byſhop firſt called for Loſeby, and after his accuſtomed maner wylled his articles and aunſweres to bee red: and in reading thereof, when mention was made of the Sacrament of the altar, the Byſhop wyth hys Colleagues put of their cappes. Wherat Loſeby ſayd: my Lorde, ſeyng you put of your cappe, I wyll put on my cappe, and therewithall did put on his cappe. And after, the Byſhop continuyng in his accuſtomable perſwaſions, Loſeby agayne ſayd vnto hym: my Lorde, I truſt I haue the ſpirite of truth, which you deteſt ⁊ abhorre, for the wiſdome of God is foliſhnes vnto you. Wherupon the Biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. And deliuering him vnto the Sheriffe, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he vſed the lyke order of exhortations.

To whom notwithſtanding ſhe ſayd: I wyll not depart from my ſayinges till I be burned: and my Lord (quoth ſhe) I would ſee you inſtruct me wyth ſome part of Gods word, and not to geue me inſtructions of holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the ſcripture. But he beyng neyther himſelfe, nor any of his, able rightly to accompliſh her requeſt, to make ſhort worke, vſed hys finall reaſon of conuincement, which was the ſentence of condemnation. And therefore leauing her of, called for an other, videl. Agnes Stanley, who vpon the Biſhoppes like perſwaſions made thys aunſwere.

My Lord, where you ſay I am an hereticke, I am none: neither yet wyll I beleue you, nor any mã that is wyſe wyll beleue as you do. And as for theſe that ye ſay be burnt for hereſie, I beleue are true Martyrs before God: therefore I wyll not goe from my opinion and fayth, as long as I lyue.

Her talke thus ended, ſhe receiued the lyke reward that the other had. And the Byſhop then turning hys tale and maner of intiſement vnto Thomas Thyrtell, receiued of him lykewyſe thys finall aunſwere: My Lord, I wyll not holde wyth your idolatrous wayes, as you do: for I ſay the Maſſe is idolatry, ⁊ will ſticke to my fayth and beliefe ſo long as the breath is in my body. Vppon which wordes he was alſo condemned as an hereticke.

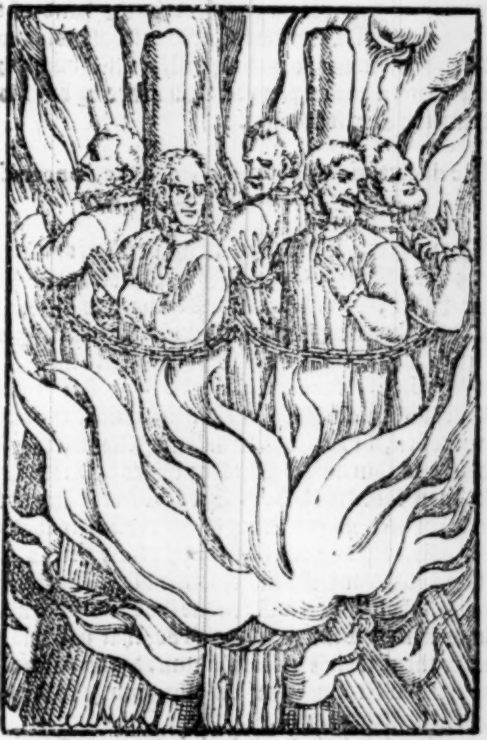
The words of *Tho. Thirtell* to the byſhop.

Tho. Thyrtell condemned.

The aunſwere and condemnation of *Henry Ramſey.*

Laſt of all, was Henry Ramſey demaunded if he woulde (as the reſt) ſtand vnto his aunſweres, or els recanting the ſame, come home agayne, and be a member of their church. Whereunto he aunſwered: I wyll not go from my religion and beliefe as long as I lyue: and my Lord (quoth he) your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to Gods word. After theſe wordes, the Byſhop (to conclude) pronouncing the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt hym and the reſt (as ye haue heard) charged the Sheriffe of Londõ with them: who being thereunto commaunded, the xij. day of the ſame moneth of April, brought them into Smithfield, where al together in one fire, moſt ioyfully and cõſtantly they ended theyr temporall lyues, receiuing therefore the lyfe eternall.

¶ *The cruell burnyng of fiue Martyrs in Smithfield.*



The Martyrdome of *Tho. Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thyrtell, Marg. Hyde, Agnes Stanley,* in Smithfield. An. 1557. Aprill. 12.

Three burned in ſaint Georges field in Southwarke.

May.

W. Morant, Steuen Gratwicke, One *King,* Martyrs.

The ſtraunge dealing of the Biſhops with *Steuen Gratwicke,* Martyr.

AFter theſe, moreouer in the moneth of May, folowed 3. other that ſuffred in S. Georges fielde in Southwarke, Williã Morant, Steu. Gratwicke, ⁊ one King.

Among other hiſtories of the perſecuted and condemned ſaintes of God, I finde the cõdemnation of none more ſtraunge nor vnlawfull, thẽ of this Steuen Gratwyke. Who firſt was condemned by yͤ Biſhop of Wincheſter, and yͤ Biſhop of Rocheſter, which were not his Ordinaries.

Secondly, when he did appeale from thoſe incompotent Iudges to hys right Ordinary, hys appeale could not be addmitted.

Thirdly, whan they had no other ſhifte to colour theyr inordinate procedinges withall, they ſuborned one of the prieſtes to come in for a counterfeate and a falſe Ordinary, and to ſit vpon hym.

Fourthly, being openly conuinced and ouerturned in his owne argumentes, yet the ſayd Biſhop of Wincheſter D. White, neither would yeld to the force of

truth,

truth, nor ſuffer any of the audience aſſiſtant, once to ſay, God ſtrengthen hym.

Fiftly, as they brought in a falſe Ordinary to ſit vpon hym: ſo they pretended falſe Articles agaynſt him, which were no part of hys examinations, but of their owne diuiſing, to haue hys bloud.

Sixtly and laſtly, hauing no other ground nor iuſt matter agaynſt hym, but only for ſaying theſe wordes: that which I ſayd, I haue ſayd, they red the Sentence of death vpon hym.

And this was the dealing of theſe men, which nedes will be reputed for catholicke fathers of the ſpiritualtie, ſucceders of the Apoſtles, diſciples of Chriſt, pillers of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whoſe doinges and procedinges, how agreable they are to the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, I leaue to diſcuſſe, referring the iudgement hereof to them, which know the inſtitution of Chriſtes religion & doctrine.

The vnordinate hādling of *Steuen Gratwicke*, written and teſtified by his owne record.

Now, leſt peraduenture the diſordered miſrule of theſe Chriſtmas Lordes, will not be credited vppon the ſimple narration of the ſtory, ye ſhall heare ẏ whole diſcourſe of this proces regiſtred by the hand of the Martyr himſelfe, who as he could tell beſt what was done: ſo I am ſure would not teſtifie otherwiſe, then truth was, according as you ſhall heare by his owne declaration here following.

¶ The declaration of Steuen Gratwyke, concerning hys owne ſtory and condemnation.

The ſtory and examinatiō of *Steuen Gratwicke* Martyr, vnder the B. of Wincheſter and Rocheſter. &c.

VPon the xxv. day of May, in the yeare of our Lord, 1557. I Steuen Gratwyke came before the B. of Wincheſter, D. White, into S. Georges Church in Southwarke, at eyght of the clocke in the morning, and then he called me before him, and ſayd vnto me.

B. Wincheſt. Steuen Gratwyke, how ſtandeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to reuoke thy hereſies, the which thou haſt mayntayned & defended here within my dioces, often tymes before me, and alſo vpon Sunday laſt, ye ſtoode vp in the face of the whole Church, maynteining your hereſies, ſo that you haue offended within the libertie of my dioces, and now I being your Ordinary you muſt anſwere to me directly, whether you will reuoke thē or not: the which I haue here in writing, and if ſo be, that you will not reuoke them, then I will excōmunicate you: and therfore note well what you doo, for now I reade here the articles agaynſt you.

And ſo when he had ended, he bad me aunſwere vnto them.

Gratw. My Lord, theſe articles which you haue here obiected agaynſt me, are not mine but of your owne making. For I neuer had any of mine examinations written at any tyme, and therfore theſe be obiections that you lay againſt me as a ſnare to get my bloud. Wherefore I deſire your lawfull fauour to allow my lawful appeale vnto mine ordinary, for I haue nothing to doo with you. And whereas you do burden men, that I haue offended within your dioces, it is nothing ſo, for I haue not enterpriſed neither to preach nor teach within your dioces, but was apprehēded by mine own Biſhop, and ſent priſoner into your dioces, by the conſent of the Counſel and mine own Ordinary, and therfore I ſo being in your dioces, you haue no cauſe to let my lawfull appeale.

Steuen Gratwicke appealeth frō the Biſhop of Wincheſter to hys owne Ordinary.

The B. of Rocheſter commeth in.

And with that there came the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and was receaued at the Biſhop of Wincheſters hands with much gladnes, according to their determinate purpoſe, before inuented. And ſo followed the archdeacon of Canterbury. And then the biſhop againe ſtart vp as a man halfe rauiſhed of his wittes for ioye, embracing him with many gentle wordes, and ſayd, that he was very glad of his comming, making himſelfe ignoraunt therof, as he thought it ſhould appeare to me. Then ſayd Wincheſter.

Catholicke conueyance among their Byſhops.

B. Winc. Syr, I am very glad of your commyng. For here I haue one before me, who hath appealed vnto you beyng his Ordinary. Then ſaid the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Archd. Cant. I know this man very well. He hath bene diuers tymes before me. And then I aunſwered and ſayd.

Gratw. My Lord, I am not of his Dioces, not by fiue myles: for his Dioces reacheth on that parties but to the Cliffes of Lewes, and I dwelled at Bright Hempſon, fiue myles beyond, in the Dioces of the Byſhop of Chicheſter, and therefore I am not of his Dioces.

St. Grat
wicke
not of W
cheſter d
oces.

Then the Byſhop of Wincheſter, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and ẏ Archdeacon of Cāterbury, caſt their heades together, & laughed: and then they ſayd my Ordinary would be here by & by, and ſo they ſent forth for a counterfeite in ſteede of mine Ordinary, & then I ſaw them laugh, and I ſpake vnto them, and ſayd:

The By
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Ste. Gr
wicke.

Grat. Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my bloud, and therein triumph? you haue more cauſe to looke waightely vpō the matter, for I ſtād here before you vpon lyfe and death. But you declare your ſelues what you are, for you are lapped in Lambes apparell, but I would to God ye had the coates according to your aſſembly here, which is ſcarllet gownes, for I do here perceiue you are bent to haue my bloud.

See wh
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And then came ruſhyng in their counterfeited Byſhop, who was the hyred ſeruaunt to deliuer me into the handes of ẏ high Prieſt: and ẏ Biſhop hering him come, with haſt enquired of his man, who was there, and he ſayd, my Lord of Chicheſter. Then the Byſhop with haſt roſe vp, and ſayd.

Here co
meth in
the vice
the play.

Wint. Ye are moſt hartely welcome, and required hym to ſit down: and then ſayd ẏ Byſhop of Wincheſter to me: Lo here is your Ordinary. What haue you now to ſay vnto hym?

Grat. I haue nothyng to ſay to hym. If he haue nothyng to ſay to me, I pray you let me departe. Then aunſwered my Counterfeite Ordinary, and ſayd.

Counterf. Here ye ſtand before my Lordes and me in triall of your fayth, and if you bryng the truth, we ſhall by compulſion geue place vnto you, as it is to be proued by the word, and your doctrine to be heard and placed for a truth.

Grat. Then I demaunded of him whether he ment by authoritie, or by the iudgemēt of the ſpirite of God in his members.

And he aunſwered me, by authoritie as well as by the ſpirite.

Grat. Then I ſayd: Now will I turne your owne Argument vpon you: for Chriſt came before the hygh Prieſtes, Scribes and Phariſeis, bryngyng the truth with hym, beyng the very truth him ſelfe, which truth can not lye, yet both he and his truth was condemned, and tooke no place with them. And alſo ẏ Apoſtles, and all the Martyrs that dyed ſince Chriſt: therfore I turne your own Argument vpon you: aunſwere it if you cā.

Chriſt
bringing
the truth
could no
be heard
ẏ Scrib
and Ph
riſeis.

Counterf. Then hee with a great haſt of coller, ſayd vnto the Byſhop of Wincheſter: obiect ſome Articles agaynſt him, for he is obſtinate, and would fayne get out of our handes, therfore hold him to ſome particular: ſo that other aunſwere could I not haue of hys Argument.

Wint. Then the Byſhop of Wincheſter begā to read hys obiections of his owne makyng agaynſt me, and bad me aunſwere vnto them. And I ſayd:

Obiecti
of the B
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making.

Grat. No, except you would ſet the lawe aparte, becauſe I ſee you are mindfull of my bloud.

Wint. Now you may ſee he wil not aūſwere to theſe, but as he hath aforeſaid. Then ſpake the Counterfeate Ordinarie agayne, and ſayd:

Counterf. My Lord, aſke hym what he ſayth to the Sacrament of the aultar. Then the Byſhop aſked me, as my counterfeate Ordinary required him.

Grat. My Lord, I do beleue that in the Sacrament

Sacram
of ẏ Lor
Suppe

of the ſupper of the Lord truely miniſtred in both kyndes accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſt, vnto the worthy receauer, he eateth miſtically by fayth the body and bloud of Chriſt. Thē I aſked him if it were not the truth. And he ſayd yes. Then ſayd I, beare witnes of the truth.

Winc. Then the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe head beyng ſubtileſt to gather vpon my wordes, ſayd: My Lorde ſee you not how he creepeth away wyth hys hereſies, and couereth them priuily? Note how he here ſeperateth the Sacrament of the aultar, from the ſupper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true Sacrament, and alſo how he condemneth our miniſtration in one kind, and alloweth that the vnworthy receauer doth not eate and drinke the body and bloud of Chriſt: which be ſore matters truely wayed, being couered very craftely with hys ſubtill ſhiftes of ſophiſtry, but he ſhall aunſwere directly or euer he depart.

Grat. My Lord, thys is but your gatheryng of my wordes, for you before confeſſed the ſame ſayinges to be the truth, and this you catch at me, and fayne would haue a vauntage for my bloud: but ſeeing you iudge me not to meane the Sacrament of the aultar, now come to the probation of the ſame Sacrament, and proue it to be the true Sacrament, and I am with you: or els if you can proue your church to be yͤ true church, I am alſo wyth you.

But then he called to memory the laſt probation of yͤ church & Sacramentes, how he before was driuen to forſake the ſcriptures, and to ſhew me by good reaſon how they myght miniſter the Sacrament in one kynd: and hys reaſon was this: Like as a man or woman dyeth on a ſodayne, and ſo when we haue geuen hym the body of Chriſt, in the meane tyme the party dieth, and ſo he eateth the body of Chriſt, and not drynketh his bloud. And this was his ſimple ſhift in the prouing of theyr Sacramentes: ſo that he was now halfe abaſhed to beginne that matter agayne.

But yet a little ſubtill ſhift he brought in, and ſayd.

Winc. What ſayeſt thou by the adminiſtration of the prieſtes euery day for themſelues, and they miniſter in both kyndes?

Grat. To that I aunſwered: you haue two adminiſtrations: for I am ſure at Eaſter you miniſter but in one kynd, and therefore it is not according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but after your owne imaginations.

Winc. Why, then what ſayeſt thou to theſe wordes: *Take, eate, this is my body*. Theſe are the wordes of Chriſt. Wylt thou deny them?

Grat. My Lord, they are the wordes of ſcripture: I affirme them, and not deny them.

Rocheſt. Why, then thou doeſt confeſſe in the Sacrament of the aultar to be a reall preſence, the ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the virgine Mary, and is aſcended vp into heauen.

Grat. My Lorde, what do you meane? do you not alſo meane a viſible body? for it can not be, but of neceſſity, if it be a reall preſence, and a materiall body, it muſt be a viſible body alſo.

Winc. Nay, I ſay vnto thee, it is a reall preſence, and a materiall body, and an inuiſible body to.

Grat. My Lord, then of neceſſity it muſt needes be a phantaſticall body, for if it ſhould be materiall, and inuiſible as you affirme, then it muſt needes be a phantaſticall body: for it is apparant that Chriſtes humaine body was viſible, and ſene.

Winc. Then the Biſhop brake out and ſayd: when diddeſt thou ſee him? I pray thee tell me.

Grat. To that I aunſwered and ſayd: a ſimple argument it is. Becauſe our corporall eyes cannot comprehend Chriſt, doth that proue or folow, that he is inuiſible, becauſe we can not ſee him?

Winc. And with that the biſhop began to ware wery of his argument, and remoued his talke to Iudas in eating the ſacrament, and ſayd: he eate him wholy, as the Apoſtles did.

Grat. And then I aſked him, if he ment Chriſtes fleſh and bloud the which he ſpeaketh of in the vj. of John, and ſayth: *he that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath eternall life in me.*

Winc. To that he aunſwered, and ſayd, yea.

Grat. Then ſaid I, of neceſſitie Iudas muſt nedes be ſaued, becauſe he eate the fleſh, and dranke the bloud of Chriſt, as you haue affirmed, & alſo all the vngodly that die without repentaunce, becauſe they haue eaten your ſacrament, which you ſay is the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt: therfore of neceſſitie they ſhall receaue the benifite therof, that is, eternall life. Which is a great abſurditie to graunt, and then of neceſſitie, it muſt follow, that all that eate not, and drinke not of your ſacrament, ſhall finally periſh & be damned: for Chriſt ſaith, *except you eate my fleſh, and drinke my bloud, you can haue no life in me*. And you haue afore ſayd, that your ſacrament is the ſame fleſh and bloud that Chriſt ſpeaketh of, and here I proue, that all children then, that dye vnder age to receaue the ſacrament, by your owne argument, they muſt be damned, which is horrible blaſphemy to ſpeake. Now here I turne your own argument vpon you: aunſwere it if you can.

If the wicked do eate yͤ body of Chriſt, they muſt nedes be ſaued. And if Infantes eate hym not, they muſt be condemned by the Popes doctrine.

Winc. My Lord, doo you not ſee what diſceatfull argumentes he bringeth in here agaynſt vs, mingled with ſophiſtrie, and kepeth himſelfe in vauntage, ſo that we can get no holde vpon him. But I ſay vnto thee, thou peruerſe hereticke, I ſee now, thou art a peruerſe fellow. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I ſee we looſe our tyme about thee, yet I aunſwere thee: S. Paul doth open the ſixt of John playne, if thou wilt ſee, for he ſayth: *they eate Chriſtes body, and drinke his bloud vnworthely*, and that was the cauſe of their damnation.

Grat. My Lord, take hede you doo not adde vnto the text, for he that addeth vnto the text, is accurſed of god, and I am ſure here you haue brought more then Paul hath ſpoken, for he ſayth not, becauſe they haue eaten his body and drunke his bloud vnworthely, but Saint Paul ſayth: *who ſo euer ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of the Cuppe vnworthely, ſhall be gilty of the body and bloud of Chriſt*. Note my Lord, he ſaith not as you haue affirmed, but cleane contrary. And with that they all were in a great rage.

Falſehoode in alleaging the Scriptures.

The Byſhops fayled of theyr purpoſe, and in a rage.

Winc. And the biſhop of Wincheſter ſayd, I belyed the texte.

Grat. And then I called for the texte.

Winc. And he ſayd, I aſked thee euen now if thou vnderſtodeſt latin, and thou ſaydſt whether I can or no, the people ſhall beare witnes in engliſh.

Grat. And ſo I called agayne for the teſtament, whether it were lattin or engliſh for the triall of the texte.

Winc. And then the B. of Wincheſter ſaw that I cared not, whether of the tranſlations I had, he ſtoode vp thinking to begyle ſome ſimple mā yͭ had a booke there, and bad him that had an engliſh teſtament to bring it in, that he might get ſome hold at him that ſhould bring a teſtament, but God diſapoynted him therof, and ſo he flue away from his matter, and began to rayle vpon me, and ſayd my ſubtill argumentes ſhould not ſerue, for if I would not aunſwere directly, I ſhould neuertheles be excommunicated: for (ſayd he) I ſee a madde toye in thine head: thou glorieſt much in thy talke, and thinkeſt now the people are come about thee, that thou ſhalt encourage them with thy conſtant hereticall opinion. For the laſt day whē thou waſt before me vpon ſonday in S. Mary Oueries church, yͭ there reproueďſt my ſermō, & haddeſt a thouſand by thee at yͤ leaſt, to bid God ſtrengthen thee: but now let me ſee him here that dare open his mouth to bid God ſtrengthen thee: he ſhall dye the death that thou ſhalt dye.

No Engliſhe Teſtament durſt bee brought forth.

The B. of Wincheſter reproued of *Gratwicke* in hys ſermon.

The B. of Wincheſter threateneth thē yͭ prayeth to God to ſtrengthen *Gratwicke*.

Grat. To that I aunſwered: my Lord I know your crueltie doth extend more largelyer then your pitie. Good experience ſo I haue to ſay, for you keepe men in priſon a yeare or two takyng their bookes from them, permittyng them not ſo much as a Teſtament to looke vpon for their ſoules comfort, the which all men ought to haue: and ſo you entreat thē more lyke brute beaſtes then Chriſten men.

The crueltie of catholickes vpon Chriſtian priſoners.

A popiſhe ſimilitude, and well applied.

Wint. No, Syr we will vſe you as we will vſe the child, for if the child will hurt him ſelfe with the knife, we will keepe the knife from him. So becauſe you will damne your ſoule with the word, therfore you ſhall not haue it.

Winchester ouerthrowen in hys owne ſimilitude.

Grat. My Lord, a ſimple Argument you bryng for to maintayne and couer your fault. Are you not aſhamed to make the word the cauſe of our damnation? I neuer knew any mā but onely you that did not affirme our ſinnes to be the cauſe of our damnation, and not the word, as you ſay: and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good alſo: Becauſe that ſome men doe abuſe drinke, therefore the benefite of drinke ſhould be taken from all men, or any other ſuch lyke good gift.

Wint. My Lordes, here we loſe much tyme, for this fellow is peruerſe, ſpeaking nothing but ſophiſtry and peruerſe queſtions: ſo that we can get no aduauntage vpon him. Then ſpake my counterfeate Ordinary as one halfe a ſleepe all this while: yet ſomwhat with haſt, when he was awaked he began to tell hys tale, & ſayd.

Counterf. Read theſe articles againſt him once more, and if he will not aunſwere them, take hym vpon hys firſt wordes: That which I ſayd, that I haue ſayd.

Wint. Then the Byſhop of Wincheſter beganne to read them agayne.

Grat. But I ſayd vnto hym, I would not aunſwere them, becauſe they were none of myne examinations, but obiections of their owne makyng, becauſe they would haue my bloud. But yet I ſayd, if they would ſet the law apart, I would talke my conſcience freely to them.

Counterf. Then my counterfeat Ordinary begā to ſpeake agayne chargyng me with yͤ ſaying of S. Peter, that I ſhould render accoūt of ſuch hope as was in me.

These Catholickes will not be contented with the confeſſing of Chriſt only.

Grat. So can I do, and yet ſhall I not pleaſe you, for here I now render my hope as S. Peter willeth me: I beleue onely in Jeſus Chriſt, to haue my whole ſaluation in him, by hym, and through hym: but I perceaue you would haue me render my fayth in ſuch ſort, as you might haue my bloud, and therefore you bring good Scriptures and euill apply them.

Wint. Why, this fellow is peruerted, and we ſhall get no more at his handes then we haue already: therfore let vs pronoūce ſentence agaynſt hym, for we do but loſe our tyme.

The raylyng Sermon of *Winchester* agaynſt good men.

Winchester preacheth agaynſt hym ſelfe.

True Chriſtians not ſuffered to purge them ſelues.

He meaneth agaynſt the reall preſence.

Grat. Nay good my Lords, ſeing you wil neede haue my bloud, let me ſay a little more for my ſelf. Vpon ſonday laſt, when I was before you, you preached thys, which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the Apoſtle S. James, and ſayd: If any man thinke himſelfe a religious man, and in the meane tyme ſeduce his tonge or his hart, the ſame mans religiō is a vaine religion: and ſo my Lord you ſtanding there in the pulpit, in the meane tyme ſeduced your tounge to ſclaunder vs poore priſoners beyng there preſent in Iron bondes, burdenyng vs wyth the ſecte of Arrians, and with the ſect of Herodians, and with the ſect of Anabaptiſtes, and wyth the ſect of Sacramentaries, and with the ſect of Pelagians. And when we ſtoode vp to purge our ſelues thereof, you ſayd you would cut out our tonges, and cauſe vs to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gaue your ſelfe a ſhrewde blow, for your tounge in the meane tyme ſclaundered your neighbour. For I my Lord wyll geue my lyfe agaynſt all theſe hereſies, the which you there burdened vs wythall, euen as I will geue my life agaynſt that wherein I now ſtand before you. And wyth that he was raging angry and caught my condemnation and ſayd.

Wint. Thou wilt graunt here no more, but this word: That I haue ſayd, I haue ſayd: and here I gather matter enough to condemne thee, for thys is a confirmation of all that thou haſt heretofore ſayd.

Grat. Then I anſwered: If you can proue that euer any of myne examinations were written, it were inough: but you haue nothyng againſt me, but obiections of your owne making.

Winchest. condēneth *Ste.Gratwicke,* and why?

Wint. Haue at thee now. If thou wilt not yelde, I wyll pronounce ſentence agaynſt thee, and ſo he proceded forth onward apace, curſing and banning in latin: ſo that I tolde him: If the people might heare it in engliſh, they would thinke you an vncharitable biſhop.

St.Gratwicke condemned agaynſt or- der, both o temporall and ſpirituall lawe.

Grat. And then I ſayd, ſtay my Lord and note what you do, for you haue neyther temporall law nor ſpirituall here agaynſt me in any iuſt cauſe.

Then ſtepped forth a gentleman and ſayd vnto my Lord: take heede what you do, for he doth here ſay that you haue no title nor cauſe why you ſhoulde condemne him.

Then the Byſhop looked about hym agayne and aſked me if I would recant.

I aſked hym whereof I ſhould recant?

Then ſayd the Byſhop: are you there? nay then I know what I haue to do, and ſo he proceeded forth in reading my condemnation.

And there was an other gentleman which began to ſnappe and ſnach at me: and then ſayd I, I woulde God I had known this or euer I had come frō home: I would ſurely haue put on my breech, and not had my ſkynne thus torne. And all this while the Byſhop red forth ſtyll.

At laſt his chaplynes cryed, ſtoppe, ſtoppe my Lord, for now he wyll recant, and then the Byſhop aſked me agayne.

Ste.Gratwicke conſtant t Chriſt and in hys death.

And I aunſwered and ſayd: my Lord, my fayth is groūded more ſtedfaſtly, then to chaūge in a moment, it is no proceſſe of tyme can alter me, vnles my fayth were as the waues of the ſea: and ſo the Byſhop made an end, and deliuered me into the hāds of the Sheriffe, to be carryed priſoner to the Marſhalſey againe.

Gratwik after hys condemn tion pray- eth for hy enemyes.

And when I was condemned, I deſired God with a loude voyce that he would not lay my blould to theyr charges, if it were his good wyll, and ſo then they refuſed my prayer and ſent me away. Then I beganne to talke as I went, and they cryed, cut out his tounge, or ſtoppe his mouth, and ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſey, & lapped in Iron bandes. Therfore I pray vnto God that they vnto whō thys preſent wryting ſhall come, may take example by my death and ſouldiour fare. So be it.

By me Steuen Gratwycke condemned for Gods euerlaſting truth.

¶ *Steuen Gratwike to the Reader.*

Ste.Gra wicke to the Re der.

Here for want of tyme I haue left out many matters, becauſe the Lord hath haſtened the tyme, ſo that I haue written but the briefnes of the matter in probation of faith, and the reward of fayth, the whiche the Byſhop of Rocheſter and I debated vpō: the which matter I would haue bene very glad to haue ſet down in wrytyng. Alſo much more talke there was, that the Biſhop of Wyncheſter & I had concernyng my worldly frendes and perſonable eſtate: for he played Sathan with me: he caried me vp to the moūtaines, and there told me, my learnyng was good and my eloquence, and alſo my knowledge, ſaue yͭ I did abuſe it (ſaid he): and then he fel to prayſing of my perſon, that it was comely and worthy to ſerue a prince. Thus Sathan flattered with me to make me aunſwere vnto ſuche obiections as he would lay agaynſt me, that I might falle into hys dioces.

Winche attempte *Ste.Gr wicke* with fla tering a prayſing

Thus Steuen Gratwycke this chriſtian Martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the Biſhop of Wincheſter (as ye haue heard) was burned with William Morant,

rant, and one King in S. Georges field, about the latter end of May.

Seuen Godly Martyrs, fiue women and two men, burned at Maydſtone for the worde of truth, and profeſſing of ſincere Religion of Chriſt.

Iune. 18.

I Shewed a litle befoꝛe, how after yͤ vnmercifull pꝛoclamation was ſent and ſet foꝛth by the King and Queene, in the moneth of Febꝛuary laſt, the ſtoꝛme of perſecution began in all places to riſe (whereof ſome part alſo is declared befoꝛe): but yet in no place moꝛe then in yͤ countrey and dioces of Canterbury, by reaſon of certaine the afoꝛeſayd Inquiſitours, being now armed with authoꝛity, but eſpecially by reaſon of Richard Thornton ſuffragan of Douer, and yͤ Archdeacon of Canterbury, who of theyꝛ own nature were ſo furious and fiery agaynſt the harmeles flocke of Chꝛiſt, that there was no neede of any pꝛoclamation to ſtyꝛre vp yͤ coales of theyꝛ burning crueltie: by reaſon whereof many a Godly ſainct lyeth ſlayne vnder the altar: as in diuers places of thys booke well may appeare. And now to returne to the ſayd dioces of Canterbury agayne, in the next moneth following, being yͤ moneth of Iune, the xviij. day of the ſame were vij. chꝛiſtian and true faythfull Martyꝛs of Chꝛiſt burned at Maidſtone, whoſe names here folow.

Ioane Bradbridge *of Stapleherſt.*
Walter Apelbye *of Maydſtone.*
Petronill *hys wife.*
Edmund Alen *of Frytenden.*
Katherine *his wife.*
Ioane Mannynges *wife, of Maydſtone.*
Elizabeth *a blynd mayden.*

As concerning the generall articles commonly obiected to them in the publike conſiſtoꝛy, and the oꝛder of theyꝛ condemnation, it differeth not much frō the vſuall maner expꝛeſſed befoꝛe, Pag. 1852. neyther did theyꝛ aunſweres in effect much differ from the other that ſuffred vnder the ſame Oꝛdinary in the foꝛeſayd dioces of Canterbury.

Now as touching theyꝛ accuſers, and maner of apꝛehenſion, and their pꝛiuate conflictes with the aduerſaries, I finde no great matter comming to my hands, ſaue onely of Edmund Alen ſome intimation is geuen me, how hys troubles came, what was his cauſe and aunſweres befoꝛe the Iuſtices, as here conſequently ye ſhall vnderſtand.

¶ *The examination of Edmund Alen.*

This Allen was a Milner of the pariſh of Frytenden in Kent, and in a deare yeare, when as many poꝛe people were like to ſtarue, he fed them, and ſolde his coꝛne better chepe by halfe then others did: and did not that onely, but alſo fed them wyth the foode of life, reading to them the ſcriptures and interpꝛeting them.

This beyng knowne to the popiſhe pꝛieſtes there aboutes dwelling, by the pꝛocurement of them, namely of Iohn Taylour Parſon of Fritenden, and Tho. Henden Parſon of Stapleherſt, he was eftſones complayned of to the Iuſtices, and bꝛought befoꝛe Syꝛ Ioh. Baker knight, who firſt ſending foꝛ them, committed both him ⁊ his wife to ward: but not lōg after they were let out, I know not how, and ſo went ouer vnto Calyce. Where after yͤ he had cōtinued a certaine ſpace, he began to be troubled in conſciēce, and there metyng with one Iohn Webbe of the ſame Pariſhe of Fritenden, (who was likewiſe fled from the tyꝛanny of Syꝛ Iohn Baker, and Parſon Taylour) ſayd vnto hym, that hee could not be quyet there, what ſoeuer the cauſe was: foꝛ God (ſaid he) had ſome thing to do foꝛ hym in England, ⁊ thus ſhoꝛtly he returned home again to the Pariſh of Fritenden. Where was a cruell Pꝛieſt, there Parſon, called Iohn Taylour.

Edm. Alen returneth agayne from Calice, and is appꝛehend.

Parſon *Taylor* ⁊ his bꝛother *Sextan*, two bloudy perſecutoꝛs.

Marke what a holy Maſſe ſaying was here, and what a charitable religion is thys.

Witneſſes to the ſtoꝛy.

This Parſon Taylour beyng infoꝛmed by his bꝛother Sextan, that Edmund Alen the Milner and hys wife, were returned, and were not at Maſſe time in the Church: as he was the ſame tyme in the myddeſt of his Maſſe, vpon a Sonday, a litle befoꝛe the eleuation (as they terme it) euen almoſt at the liftyng vp of his Romiſh God, he turned him to the people in the Church in great rage, and commaunded them, with all ſpeede, to go vnto their houſe, and appꝛehende them, and he would come to thē with as much haſt as might be poſſible. Which pꝛomiſe he well perfoꝛmed. Foꝛ he had not ſo ſoone made an end of Ite miſſa eſt, and the veſtimentes of his backe, but by and by he was at the houſe, and there laying hand of the ſayd Alen, cauſed hym agayne to be bꝛought to Syꝛ Iohn Baker, with a greuous complaint of his exhoꝛtyng and readyng the Scriptures to the people, and ſo was he and his wyfe ſent to Maydſtone pꝛiſō. Witneſſed by Rich. Fletcher Vicare of Crambꝛoke, and Ioh. Webbe of Fritenden.

Iohn Done, Tho. Beſt, Tho. Linſey, Perciuall Barbell, ⁊ perſecutoꝛs.

They were not ſo ſoone in pꝛiſon, but M. Baker immediatly ſent vnto their houſe, certayne of hys men, Iohn Doue, Thomas Beſt, Thomas Linley, Perciuall Barbell, with yͤ foꝛeſayd Iohn Taylour Parſon of Fritenden, ⁊ Thomas Henden Parſon of Stapleherſt, to take an inuentoꝛy of all yͤ goods that were in the houſe. Where they found in yͤ bedſtraw a caſket locked with a padlocke, and ſo cutting the wiſte thereof, opened it, and found therein a ſackcloth bagge of money conteynyng the ſumme of xij. oꝛ xiiij. pound, partly in golde, and partly in ſiluer. Which money after they had tolde and put in the bagge agayne, like good caruers foꝛ themſelues, they caryed away wyth them. Beſides alſo they found there certayne bookes, as Pſalters, Bibles, and other wꝛitings. Al which bookes, wyth the money, were deliuered to yͤ foꝛeſayd pꝛieſt Tho. Henden, parſon of Stapleherſt, ⁊ after in yͤ raigne of this Queene, an. 5. Reg. Eliſab. was by right law recouered frō hym agayne, as in recoꝛds remayneth to be ſeene.

Tho. Henden pꝛieſt perſecutoꝛ.

Thus good Edmund Allen and his wife, beyng maliciouſly accuſed, wꝛongfully impꝛiſoned, and cruelly ſpoyled and robbed of all their goodes, were bꝛought (as is afoꝛeſayd) befoꝛe Syꝛ Iohn Baker the iuſtice, to be examined: who taunting and reuiling him without al mercy and pity, aſked him if thoſe were the fruits of his Goſpell, to haue conuenticles to gather people together, to make conſpiracies, to ſow ſedition and rebellion: and thus he began with him to reaſon.

The talke or reaſoning betwene Syr Ioh. Baker, Colins hys chaplayne, and Edmund Allen.

The examination of *Edm. Alen* befoꝛe Syꝛ *Ioh. Baker.*

Baker. Who gaue thee authoꝛity to pꝛeach and interpꝛet? Art thou a pꝛieſt? art thou admitted thereunto? Let me ſee thy licence.

Martin Collins, Syꝛ Ioh. Bakers ſcholemaiſter ſaid, ſurely he is an arrant hereticke ⁊ woꝛthy to be burned.

Pꝛiuate reading oꝛ expounding of the Scriptures foꝛbidden to no man.

Allen. And it may pleaſe your honour to geue me leaue to aunſwere in the cauſe of my fayth, I am perſwaded that God hath geuen me thys authoꝛity as he hath geuen to all other Chꝛiſtians. Why are we called Chꝛiſtians if we do not folow Chꝛiſt, if we do not read hys law, if we do not interpꝛete it to others that haue not ſo much vnderſtandyng? Is not Chꝛiſt our father? ſhall not the ſonne follow the fathers ſteppes? is not Chꝛiſt our maiſter? and ſhall the ſcholer be inhibited to learne and pꝛeach his pꝛeceptes? Is not Chꝛiſt our redemer? and ſhal not we pꝛayſe his name, and ſerue him that hath redemed vs from ſinne and damnation? Did not Chꝛiſt beyng but 12 yeares of age diſpute with the Doctours and interpꝛete the Pꝛophet Eſay, and notwithſtādyng he was neyther of the tribe of Leuy which were pꝛieſtes, but of the ryall tribe of Iuda, neyther had taked any outward pꝛieſthoode? wherefoꝛe if we be Chꝛiſtians, we muſt do the ſame.

Luke. 4.

Collins. And it ſhall like your honour, what a knaue is this, that compareth himſelfe with Chriſt.

Baker. Let him alone, he will pumpe out anone an infinite heape of hereſies. Haſt thou any more to ſay for thy ſelfe?

Allin. Yea that I haue. Adam was licenced of God, and Abraham was commaunded to teach his children and poſterity, & ſo Dauid teacheth in diuers pſalmes: and Salomon alſo preached to the people, as the booke of the preacher prooueth very well, where he teacheth that there is no immortall felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noe taught them that were diſobedient in his dayes, and therefore is called *the eyght preacher of righteouſnes* in the ſecond Epiſtle of Peter. Alſo in the 11. of Numbers, where Moyſes had choſen 52. elders to helpe him to teach and rule the reſt, Eldad and Medad preached in the tentes, wherefore Ioſua beyng offended, complained to Moyſes that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moyſes anſwered and wiſhed that all the people coulde do the like. What ſhould I be long? moſt of yͤ Prieſtes were not of the tribe of Leuy and Aaron.

Preaching without licence in the old Teſtamẽt.

Collins. Theſe are authorities of the old Teſtament and therefore abrogated, but thou art a foole and knoweſt no ſchole poyntes. Is not the law deuided into the law ceremoniall, morall, and iudiciall?

Allin. I graunt that the ceremonies ceaſed when Chriſt came, as S. Paule prooueth to the Hebrues, and to the Colloſſians, where he ſayth: *Let no man iudge you in any part of a ſaboth day, new moone, or other ceremonies which are figures of thinges to come, for Chriſt is the body.*

Coloſſ. 2.

Collins. And are not yͤ iudicials abrogated by Chriſt?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Chriſt in the 5. of Mathew, and by Paul in the 1. Epiſtle to Timothe. 4. The law ſayth he is not ſet forth for the vertuous and godly, but for menſlayers, periured, aduouterers and ſuch like.

*Albeit the poſitiue law of Moſes Iudicials doe not binde the Gentiles with the ſame neceſſitie abſolutely in euery cõdition, as it did the Iewes, to whom it was peculiarly geuen: yet may the Gentiles borow out of the ſame lawe, ſuch thinges that ſhall be expedient for their regiment. Neither can they borowe any lawes better then out of Moſes.

Collins. * Thou art an heretike. Wilt thou call the iudicials of Moiſes againe? wilt thou haue adultery puniſhed wyth death? diſobedient children to their parẽts to be ſtoned? wilt thou haue legem talionis? But thou art an Aſſe. Why ſhoulde I ſpeake latin to thee thou cronious rebell? ſhall we now ſmite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? thou art worthy to haue thy teeth and tounge plucked out.

Allin. If we had that law, we ſhoulde neither haue diſobedient children, neyther adulterers, neyther falſe witnes bearers, neyther Ruffians.

Baker. M. Collins, let vs returne to our firſt matter. Why didſt thou teach yͤ people, whom thou ſaydſt thou didſt feede both bodely and ſpiritually, beyng no prieſt?

In tyme of publicke corruption, and in want of true teachers, it is not forbidden to any man to teach.

Allin. Becauſe that we are all kinges to rule our affections, preſt to preach out the vertues and word of God, as Peter writeth: and liuely ſtones, to geue light to other. For as out of flint ſtones commeth forth that, that is able to ſet all the worlde on fire, ſo out of chriſtians ſhould ſpring the beames of the Goſpell, which ſhould inflame all yͤ world. If we muſt geue a reckning of our fayth to euery mã, and now to you demaunding it, then muſt we ſtudy the ſcriptures and practiſe them. What auayleth it a man to haue meate and will eate none, or apparel & wil weare none, or to haue an occupation, and to teach none, or to be a lawyer and vtter none? Shall euery artificer be ſuffred, yea & cõmended to practiſe his facultie and ſcience, and the chriſtian forbidden to exerciſe his? Doth not euery lawyer practiſe his law? Is not euery chriſtiã a folower of Chriſt? Shal ignoraunce which is condemned in all ſciences be practiſed of chriſtians? Doth not S. Paul forbid any mans ſpirite to be quenched? Doth he prohibite any man that hath any of theſe giftes, which he repeateth. 1. Cor. 14. to practiſe the ſame? Only he forbiddeth womẽ, but no mã. The Iewes neuer forbad any. Read the Actes of the Apoſtles. And yͤ reſtraint was made by Gregory the 9. Pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man preach in King Edwardes dayes.

Pope Gregory the 9. firſt reſtrayned lay men to teach or inſtruct others in ſcriptures.

Collins. Thys villaine (and it like your honour) is mad. By my prieſthoode, I beleue, that he will ſay, a prieſt hath no more authoritie then an other mã. Doth not a prieſt binde and looſe?

Allin. No, my ſinne bindeth me, and my repentaunce looſeth. God forgeueth ſinne onely, & no prieſt. For euery chriſtian when he ſinneth, bindeth himſelfe, and whẽ he repenteth, looſeth himſelfe. And if any other be looſed from his ſinne by my exhortation, I am ſayd to looſe him: and if hee perſeuer in ſinne, notwithſtanding my exhortation, I am ſayd to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looſeth, and geueth the increaſe: Therfore ſaith Chriſt, Mat. 18. *Wherſoeuer 2. or 3. are gathered together in my name, there am I in the middeſt of them, and whoſoeuer ſinnes they forgeue, they are forgeuen: and whoſoeuer they retayne they are retayned.* Neyther hath the Pope any keyes, ſaue the keyes of error: for the key that openeth the locke to Gods miſteries and to ſaluation, is the key of fayth and repentance. And as I haue heard learned mẽ reaſon. S. Auſtine and Origen, with others, are of this opinion. Then they reuiled him and layd him in the ſtockes all the night. Wherwith certayne that were better mynded, being offended with ſuch extremitie, willed Allin to kepe his conſcience to himſelf, and to follow Baruckes counſell in the 6. chap. *Therfore when ye ſe the multitude of people worſhipping thẽ behinde and before, ſay ye in your hartes, O lord it is thou that ought only to be worſhipped.*

Sinne bindeth: Repẽtance looſeth: God forgeueth: Man exhorteth.

Math. 18.

How man remitteth ſinne or reteyneth.

The Popes keyes be the keyes of errour.

Baruc. 6.

Wherwith he was perſwaded to go to heare Maſſe the next day, & ſodenly before the ſacring went out, and conſidered in the churchyard with himſelfe, that ſuch a litle cake betwene the prieſtes fingers could not be Chriſt, nor a materiall body, neyther to haue ſoule, life, ſinnewes, bones, fleſh, legges, head, armes, nor breſt, & lamented, yͭ he was ſeduced by the place of Barucke, which his cõſcience gaue him, to be no ſcripture, or els to haue an other meaning: & after thys he was brought agayne before Syr Iohn Baker, who aſked why he did refuſe to worſhip the bleſſed Sacramẽt of the altar.

Allen brought agayne before Syr *Iohn Baker.*

Talke of the Sacrament.

Allin. It is an Idoll.

Collins. It is Gods bodye.

Allin. It is not.

Collins. By the Maſſe it is.

Allin. It is bread.

Collins. How prooueſt thou that?

Allin. When Chriſt ſat at his laſt ſupper, and gaue them bread to eate.

Collins. Bread, knaue?

Allin. Yea bread, which you cal Chriſtes body. Sat he ſtill at the table, or was he both in their mouthes, and at the table? If he were both in their mouthes and at the table, then had he ij. bodies, or els had a fantaſticall bodie: which is an abſurditie to ſay it.

Syr Iohn Baker. Chriſtes body was glorified, and might be in mo places then one.

Thys Papiſt graunteth that Chriſt had a glorified body at his Supper.

Allin. Then had he more bodyes then one, by your one placyng of him.

Collins. Thou ignoraunt Aſſe, the ſchole men ſay, that a glorified body may be euery where.

Allin. If his body was not glorified till it roſe againe, then was it not glorified at his laſt Supper, and therfore was not at the table, & in their mouthes, by your owne reaſon.

Collins. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God, nor any thyng els: but Chriſtes body ſay you, occupieth no place: therfore it is neither God nor any thyng els. If it be nothing, thẽ is your religiõ nothing. If it be God, then haue we iiij. in one Trinitie, which is the perſon of the father, the perſon of the ſonne, the perſon of the holy ghoſt, the humane nature of Chriſt. If Chriſt be nothyng, which you muſt nedes confeſſe if he occupie no place, then is our ſtudy in vayne, our faith proſtrate, and our hope without reward.

The Papiſts make 4. perſons in one Trinitie.

Collins. This rebell wil beleue nothyng but Scripture. How knoweſt thou that it is yͤ Scripture but by the Church? and ſo ſayth S. Auſtin.

Allin. I cannot tell what Auſtin ſayth, but I am perſuaded, that it is Scripture, by diuers Argumentes:

...the
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Firſt that the law worketh in me my condemnatiō. The law telleth me that of my ſelfe I am damned: and this damnation, M. Collins, you muſt find in your ſelf, or els you ſhall neuer come to repentance. For as this grief and ſorrow of conſcience, without fayth, is deſperation, ſo is a glorious and Romiſh fayth without the lamentation of a mans ſinnes, preſumption.

The ſecond is the Goſpell, which is the power and ſpirite of God. *This ſpirite* (ſayth S. Paul) *certifieth my ſpirite, that I am the ſonne of God*, and that theſe are the Scriptures.

The thyrd, are the wōderfull workes of God, which cauſe me to beleue that there is a God though we glorifie hym not as God. Rom. 1. The ſunne, yͤ moone, the ſtarres, and other his workes (as Dauid diſcourſeth in the 19. Pſalme) declareth that there is a God, and that theſe are the Scriptures, becauſe that they teach nothyng els but God and his power, maieſty and might: and becauſe that the Scripture teacheth nothyng diſonant from this preſcription of nature.

...l. xix.

And fourthly, becauſe that the word of God gaue authoritie to yͤ church in Paradiſe, ſaying that the ſeede of the womā ſhould braſt down the Serpētes head. This ſeede is the Goſpel: this is all the Scriptures, & by this we are aſſured of eternal life & theſe wordes: *The ſeede of the woman ſhall braſt the Serpentes head*, gaue authoritie to the Church, and not the Church to the word.

Baker. I heard ſay that you ſpake againſt Prieſts and Byſhops.

Allin. I ſpake for them, for now they haue ſo much liuing & eſpecially Biſhops, Archdeacons, & Deanes, that they neither cā nor will teach Gods word. If they had a hundreth poundes a peece, then would they apply their ſtudy: now they can not for other affaires.

Collins. Who will then ſet his children to ſchole?

Allin. Where there is now one ſet to ſchole for that end, there would bee fortie, becauſe that one Byſhops lyuyng deuided into xxx. or xl. partes, would find ſo many as well learned men as the Byſhops be now, who haue all this lyuyng: neither had Peter or Paule any ſuch reuenew.

...e reme-
...ues of
...ſhops &
...elates
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...d.

Baker. Let vs diſpatch him: he will marre all.

Collins. If euery mā had a hundreth poundes, as he ſayth, it would make moe learned men.

Baker. But our Byſhops would be angry if that they knew it.

Allin. It were for a common wealth to haue ſuch Byſhopricks deuided for the further increaſe of learning.

Baker. What ſayeſt thou to the Sacrament?

Allin. As I ſayd before.

Baker. Away with hym. And thus was he caryed to priſon and afterward burned. And thus much touchyng the particular ſtory of Edm. Allin and his wife.

Who with the fiue other Martyrs aboue named, beyng vij. to witte, v. women, and ij. men, were altogether burned at Maydſtone, the yeare and moneth afore mentioned, and the xviij. day of the ſame moneth.

...e Mar-
...dome of
...women
...ij.men,
...Cant.
...n.1557
...ne.18.

An other ſtory of like crueltie

ſhewed vpon other vij. Marryrs burnt at Canterbury iii.men and iiii.women.

...ne.19.
...e ſtory
...vij.M-
...r Mar-
...s.

AMong ſuch infinite ſeas of troubles in theſe moſt daungerous dayes, who can withholde himſelfe from bitter teares, to ſee the madding rage of theſe pretenſed catholickes, who being neuer ſatiſfied wͭ bloud to mainteine theyr carnall kingdome, preſume ſo hyly to violate yͤ preciſe law of Gods cōmaundementes in ſlaying yͤ ſimple poore lambes of the glorious congregation of Ieſus Chriſt, and that for the true teſtimony of a good conſcience, in confeſſing the immaculate Goſpell of theyr ſaluation. What hart will not lamēt yͤ murdering miſchief of theſe mē, who for want of worke, do ſo wrecke theyr tine on ſely poore womē, whoſe weake inbecillitie yͤ more ſtrength it lacketh by naturall imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at leaſt pitied, and not oppreſſed of men that be ſtronger, and eſpecially of prieſtes that ſhould be charitable.

Vnmercifull crueltie of the Catholickes agaynſt poore women.

But bleſſed be the Lord omnipotent, who, ſupernaturally, hath indued from aboue ſuch weake creatures with ſuch manly ſtomacke and fortitude, ſo conſtantly to withſtand the vttermoſt extremitie of theſe pitiles perſecutours: as he did before ſtrengthen the mother of the ſeuen ſonnes in the Machabées, and as he hath done ſince with diuers & ſondry other godly women in theſe our latter daies, partly before mentioned & partly to be mencioned hereafter, and here preſently may appeare by yͤ Martyrdome of theſe vij. here vnder folowing, of the which were 4. women and 3. men, burnt together at Canterbury the xix. day of the ſayd moneth of Iune, in the yeare aforeſaid, whoſe names are theſe.

Iohn Fiſhcocke.
Nicolas Whyte.
Nicolas Pardue.
Barbara Fynal, *widow*.
* Bradbreges *widow*.
Wilſons *wyfe*.
Bendens *wyfe*.

* Thys *Bradbreges* wife was thought to be with childe.

As it were to tedious exactly and particularly to proſecute the ſeuerall ſtory of euery one of theſe godly Martyrs: ſo I cannot paſſe ouer vntouched the cruell and vnchriſtian handling of Alice Benden during her impriſonment, according as I haue receaued by the faithfull relation of them which beſt were acquainted wyth her, and partly alſo ſome doers in the matter, beyng her own naturall brethren. The ſtory is thus.

Roger and Tho. Hall two godly brethren of *Alice Benden*.

¶The order of the impriſonment & tragicall hādling of Alice Benden, wife of Edw. Benden of the pariſh of Stapleherſt in the county of Kent, for the teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell.

The impriſonment of *Alice Bēden*, and maner of her handling.

FIrſt Alice Benden was brought before one Maiſter Roberts of Crambroke in the ſayd county, the 14. day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1556. of whom ſhe was demaunded, why ſhe would not go to the church.

M. Robertes of Crambroke perſecutor.

And ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe could not ſo do wyth a good and cleare conſciēce, becauſe there was much idolatry cōmitted againſt the glory of God. For the which, wyth many mockes and tauntes ſhe was ſent to priſon, where ſhe lay xiiij. dayes. For on the 20. day of October her huſband required hys neyghbours the wealthy men of Stapleherſt to write to the Byſhop of Douer, who had the chiefe gouernment of the tyrannicall ſword in Kent for thoſe dayes, which they did, deſiring him to ſend her home.

Alice Benden impriſoned for not cōming to the Church.

Alice Benden deliuered by ſute of her neighbours.

Wherefore the Byſhop called her before hym and aſked her if ſhe would goe home and goe to the church.

Whereunto ſhe anſwered: If I would haue ſo done I neede not to haue come hether.

Then wilt thou go home and be ſhreuen of the pariſh prieſt? And ſhe ſaid, no, that would ſhe not.

Well, ſayd he, goe thy wayes home, and goe to the church when thou wilt. Whereunto ſhe aunſwered nothing. But a prieſt that ſtoode by, ſaid: ſhe ſaith, ſhe will, my Lord. Wherefore he let her goe, and ſhe came forthwith home.

On the Satterday folowing, her huſband willed her to goe to the church: which ſhe both then and els when refuſed to do. Wherefore on the Sanday, 14. dayes after, he going to the church, came into the company of diuers inhabitantes of the ſame pariſh, among whom through his fond talke and behauiour, he procured her to be ſent to Syr Iohn Gilford, who cōmaunded her to priſon agayne, yea and the more to vtter hys owne ſhame, the ſayd her huſband tooke money of the Counſtable to carry her to priſon, the price of hys wiues bloud, meaning in deede to carry her to priſon

The huſband procureth the trouble and impriſonment of hys wife.

Syr Iohn Gilford cōmaundeth *Alice Benden* to the Caſtle of Cāterbury.

himſelfe. But ſhe hauing much more care of hys honeſt and good report, then he had regard (as it is eaſy to ſee) of hys own infamy, and no leſſe aſhamed of his ſo rude and vnnaturall doinges, choſe rather to commit her ſelfe willingly into the handes of her ennemyes, then that the world ſhould witnes agaynſt her husband, of ſo facinorous a fact. Wherfore ſhe went to the Conſtable, deſiring him to go with her. But he anſwered that he coulde not ſo doe, but graunted her his boy to goe wyth her: with whom ſhe went to priſon, namely, the Caſtle of Canterbury, according to the commaundement geuen.

The ſpare dyet of *Alice Bẽden and Potkins* wife in Cãterbury Caſtle.

Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that whyle ſhe was in this priſon, ſhe practiſed wyth a priſon fellow of hers, the wife of one Potkin, to liue both of them with two pence halfepeny a day, to try thereby how well they coulde ſuſtayne penurie and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard that when they ſhoulde bee remoued from thence to the Byſhops priſon, their liuinges ſhoulde be but three farthinges a peece a day, and did in deede both ſo liue for xiiij. dayes ere ſhe were from thence remoued.

The 22. day of January following, her husband wẽt agayne to the Byſhop, deſiring him to deliuer hys wife out of priſõ: but he ſayd ſhe was an obſtinate hereticke and would not be reformed, and therefore ſayd that he could not deliuer her.

The husband complayneth of hys wiues brother *Rog Hall.*

Then ſayd he: my Lorde, ſhe hath a brother whoſe name is Roger Hall, that reſorteth vnto her. If your Lordſhip could keepe hym from her, ſhe woulde turne: for he comforteth her, geueth her money, and perſwadeth her not to returne or relent.

Alice Benden remoued to the Byſhops priſon.

This occaſion was not ſo ſoone giuen, but it was as quickly taken, & as cruelly put in execution. For the Byſhop commaundyng her vppon the ſame to a priſon called Mondayes hole, there alſo hee gaue ſtraite charge that if at any tyme her brother came, he ſhould be taken and apprehended.

The Byſhops priſon deſcribed.

Example of Gods mercifull prouidence in relieuing his Saunctes.

This priſon was within a Court where the Prebendes chãbers were, being a valt beneath the groũd, and being before the window incloſed with a pale of height, by eſtimation 4. foote and an halfe, and diſtant from the ſame 3. foote, ſo that ſhe looking from beneth might only ſee ſuch as ſtoode at the pale. After thys, her Brother ſought often for her, with no leſſe daũger of life, then diligence. But for the vnknowne ſituation of the place, it being alſo but rarely vſed for a priſon, and the matter as cloſely kept as it was ſecretly done, he could neuer come to vnderſtand of her being there, vntill through Gods mercifull will and vnſearchable prouidence, he comming thither very rath in a morning, her keper being then gone to the church to ring (for he was a bell ringer) chaunced to heare her voyce, as ſhe powred out vnto God her ſorowfull complayntes, ſaying the Pſalmes of Dauid: and then could he none otherwiſe reliue her, but by putting money in a loafe of bread and ſticking ẏ ſame on a pole, and ſo reached it vnto her: for neither with meate nor drinke he could ſuſteyne her. And thys was fiue weekes after her comming thether. All the which tyme no creature was knowne to come at her, more then her keper.

Alice Benden kept in ẏ Byſhops priſon ix. weekes with bread and water.

Their lying in that priſon was onely vpon a litle ſhort ſtraw, betwene a paire of ſtockes & a ſtone wall: being allowed three farthinges a day, that is, a halfe peny bread, and a farthing drinke: neither could ſhe get any more for her money. Wherfore ſhe deſired to haue her whole alowance in bread, and vſed water for her drinke. Thus did ſhe lye ix. weekes. During all which tyme ſhe neuer changed her apparell: wherby ſhe became at the laſt a moſt pitious and lothſome creature to beholde.

The affliction of *Alice Benden* at her firſt cõming to priſon.

At her firſt comming into this place, ſhe did greuouſly bewayle with great ſorrow and lamentation, and reaſoned with her ſelfe: why her Lord God did with his ſo heauy Juſtice, ſuffer her to bee ſequeſtred from her louing fellowes into ſo extreame miſery.

In theſe dolorous morninges did ſhe continue till on a night as ſhe was in her ſorowfull ſuppications in rehearſing this verſe of the pſalme: *why art thou ſo heauy O my ſoule?* and agayne: *The right hãd of the moſt hieſt can change all:* ſhe receaued comfort in the middeſt of her miſeries, and after that continued very ioyfull vntill her deliuery from the ſame.

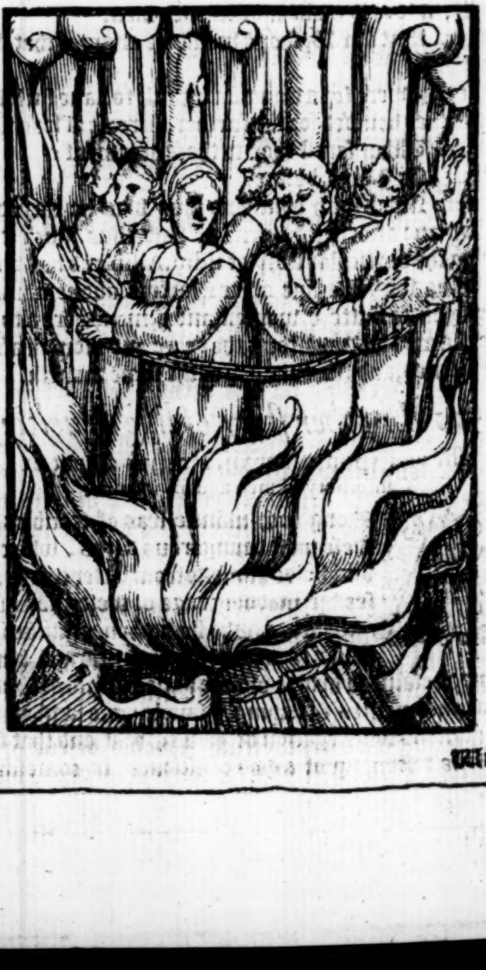
About the xxv. day of March, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1557. ſhe was called before the Biſhop: who demaunded of her, whether ſhe would now go home, and go to the church or no, promiſing her great fauour if ſhe would be reformed and doo as they did.

To whom ſhe aunſwered: I am throughly perſuaded by the great extremitie that you haue already ſhewed me, that you are not of God, neyther can your doinges be godly: and I ſee (ſaith ſhe) that you ſeke my vtter diſtruction, ſhewing how lame ſhe then was, of cold taken, and for lacke of foode, while ſhe lay in that paynfull priſon: wherby ſhe was not able to moue her ſelfe without great payne.

Then did the biſhop deliuer her frõ that filthy hole, and ſent her to Weſtgate, wheras after ſhe had bene changed, and for a while bene cleane kept, her ſkinne did wholy ſo pille and ſcale of, as if ſhe had bene with ſome mortall venome poyſoned. Here ſhe cõtinued till the latter end of Aprill. At which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the priſon called the Caſtle. Where ſhe continued tel the ſlaughter day, which was the xix. day of June, when by terrible fire they tooke away her life.

Whẽ ſhe was at the ſtake, ſhe caſt her handkerchife vnto one Ioh. Bankes, requiring him to kepe the ſame in the memory of her, & from about her middle ſhe tooke a white lace which ſhe gaue to the keper, deſiring him to geue the ſame to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him that it was the laſt band that ſhe was bound with, except ẏ chaine. A ſhilling alſo of Phillip and Mary ſhe tooke forth, which her father had bowed and ſent her when ſhe was firſt ſent to priſon, deſiring that her ſayd brother ſhould with obedient ſalutations render the ſame to her father agayne, and ſhew him that it was ẏ firſt peece of money that hee ſent her after her troubles begun, which (as ſhe proteſted) ſhe had kept and now ſent him to doo him to vnderſtand that ſhe neuer lacked money while ſhe was in priſon.

¶ *The burnyng of vij. Martyrs at Canterbury.*



With this Alyce Benden were burned alſo the reſidue of the other bleſſed Martyrs aboue named, beyng vij.in number. Who being brought to the place where they ſhould ſuffer for the Lordes cauſe at Canterbury, vndreſſed them ſelues ioyfully to the fire, and beyng ready therto: they all (like the communion of Saintes) kneled downe and made their humble prayers vnto the Lord, with ſuch zeale and affectiō, as euen the enemies of ẏ croſſe of Chriſt could not but like it. Whē they had made inuocation together, they roſe and went to the ſtake, where beyng compaſſed with horrible flames of fire, they yelded their ſoules & liues gloriouſly into the handes of the Lorde.

This Bradbreges wife, when ſhe was condemned of the Byſhop to be burned, had ij. children, named Pacience & Charitie. Who then ſayd to the Biſhop, that if he would nedes burne her, yet ſhe truſted, that he would take and kepe Pacience & Charitie, meanyng her ij. children. Nay, quoth the Byſhop, by the fayth of my body, I will medle with neither of them both.

The troubles and examination of Matthew Plaſe.

Vnto theſe holy Martyrs of Kent aboue ſpecified, wherof vij. ſuffered at Maydſtone, and vij. at Canterbury, I thought not vnmete here alſo to be adioyned the examination of Mat. Plaſe, a Weauer, of the ſame Countie of Kent, and a faithfull Chriſtian. Who beyng apprehended and impriſoned likewiſe for ẏ teſtimonie of a good conſcience, in the Caſtle of Canterbury, was brought to examination before the B. of Douer, and Harpſfield the Archdeacon, as here is to be read and ſeene.

¶ The examination and aunſweres of Mathew Plaſe Weauer, of the Pariſh of Stone in the Coūty of Kent, before Thornton Biſhop of Douer, Harpeſfield Archdeacon, Collins Commiſſary, & other Inquiſitours moe. an. 1557.

First when I came before the Byſhop, he aſked me whether I was not of that dioces, and where I dwelt, for that was my firſt article.

Aunſw. I aunſwered, I was of the pariſh of Stone in Kent, and ſubiect vnto the king and Quene of England.

Biſh. Then he ſayd, I was indicted by twelue men, at Aſhford at the ſeſſions, for hereſie.

Aunſ. I ſayd, that was ſoner ſayd then proued.

Byſh. Then he ſayd, it was the truth that he had ſpoken to me, for he had whereby to proue it.

Aunſ. Then I deſired him to let me heare it, and I would aunſwere to it.

Biſh. But he ſayd he would not ſo do, but I ſhoulde anſwere to my article, yea or nay.

Aunſ. I ſayd, he could not: for I was not at Aſhforde, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. But now I perceaue you goe about to lay a net to haue my bloud.

Arch. After many wordes betwixt the Byſhop and me, the Archdeacon ſayd: peace, peace, we do not deſire thy bloud, but we are glad to heare that thou art no hereticke, with many flattering wordes, and ſayd: yet I was ſuſpected of hereſy, and if I would be content to confeſſe how I did beleue as cōcerning theſe articles, they would gladly teach me.

Aunſ. But I ſayd, I did not ſo thinke, for I talked with one of your Doctours, and after long talke, he would nedes know how I did beleue in the Sacrament, and I recited vnto him the text, and becauſe I would not make hym an expoſition, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed hym for my learning to write his mynde, and if it were the truth, I would beleue hym: and thys I did deſire hym for the loue of God, but it would not be.

Arch. Then ſayd he, it was not ſo, he durſt ſweare vpon a boke.

Aunſ. I ſayd, it would be ſo proued.

Arch. Then he ſtode vp wyth a longe proceſſe, and ſayd: he would tell me the truth, and was ſure that the ſame Doctour did beleue as he did.

Aunſ. I aſked him how he knew that, ſeyng S. Paule doth ſay, that no man knoweth what is in man but the ſpirite which dwelleth in him: but if you wiſt what Chriſt ment by theſe wordes, *I require mercy and not ſacrifice*, you would not kill innocentes.

Oſe. vi.
Math. xij.

Biſh. The Byſhop began with me agayne, and charged me in the king and Quenes name, and the Lorde Cardinals, to anſwere yea or nay, to the articles that followed.

Aunſ. Then I commaunded him in hys name that ſhould come in flaming fire with his mighty Angels to render vengeance to the diſobedient, & to all thoſe that beleued not ẏ Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which ſhould be puniſhed with euerlaſting dampnation, that he ſhould ſpeake nothing but the truth grounded vpon Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and then I would aunſwere him, or els not.

Biſh. Then he was very angry, and ſayd: if I woulde not aunſwere he would cōdemne me in dede: vnleſſe I would aunſwere euery article.

Aunſ. Well ſayde I, if you do, you ſhalbe gilty of my bloud, and proue your ſelfe a murderer.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon toke the articles in his hand and red the ſecond article, which was, that I was a chriſtian man, and did beleue in their mother the catholike church, and the determination thereof.

The Catholicke Church.

Anſ. I ſaid, I was a Chriſtian man in dede, and therfore they had nothing agaynſt me.

Arch. Then ſayd he, what ſayſt thou to the catholicke church, which hath ſo long continued, except it were ix. or x. yeares, that this hereſie hath ſpronge vp here in thys realme.

Aunſ. I ſayd, no man can accuſe me of any thing ſpoken agaynſt the catholike church of Chriſt.

Biſh. Then ſayd the Byſhop: doſt thou not beleue the Crede?

Aunſ. Yes verely I beleue my Crede, and all that is written in the Teſtament of Chriſt, with the reſt of the Scriptures.

Biſh. Then ſayth he: thou doſt confeſſe that there is a catholicke church. I am glad of that: but tell me, is the king and Quene of that church or not?

Thys Article of ẏ King and Queene, is no article of hys Catholicke Crede.

Aunſ. Well ſayd I, now I perceaue, you go about to be both myne accuſer, and alſo my iudge, contrary to all right. I confeſſe Chriſt hath a church vpon earth, which is built vpon the Apoſtels and Prophetes, Chriſt beyng the head thereof, and as touching the king and Quene, I anſwere, I haue nothing to do wyth no mās faith but wt my owne: neither came I hether to iudge, for I iudge not my ſelf, but the Lord muſt iudge me.

And yet he ſaid before that he went not about to ſeeke hys bloud.

Biſh. Thē ſaid he: Is there no part of that church here in England?

Aunſ. Well I perceaue, you would fayne haue ſome thing to lay to my charge. I wyll tell you where. Chriſt ſayth, whereas two or thre be gathered together in his name, there is he in the middeſt among them.

Then the Archdeacon ſtode vp with his mockes, to put me out of comfort, and ſayd to the people: that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceaued ſo long time, and that halfe a doſen of vs ſhould haue the truth in a corner, and that all they ſhould be deceaued, with ſuch like tauntes and mockes: but would not ſuffer me to ſpeake one word.

Iudgement without truth.

Arch. Then he red the article of the Sacrament, and ſayd, I did deny the reall preſence to be in the ſacramēt after it was once conſecrated, and that I ſaid, Chriſtes body was in heauen and no where els, and that the bread was nothing but a ſigne, token, or remebrance.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: you haue to ſhew where & what my wordes were: and hereof we talked a great while.

Biſh. At the laſt yͤ biſhop was ſo angry, that he charged me in the Kinges, Queenes, & Cardinals name before the Mayor and his brethren, taking thē to witnes, if I did not ſay yea or nay, he would condemne me.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: ſeing you haue nothing to accuſe me of, wherfore ſhould I ſo anſwere?

Arch. Then the Archdeacon ſaid, I was giltie: & ſaid I was like a thiefe at the barre, which would not confeſſe his fault becauſe his accuſers were not preſent: with a great many wordes, and would not let me open my mouth agaynſt him.

Mat. Plaiſe confeſſeth hys minde of the Sacrament.

Aunſ. Then I ſaw whereabout they went, graũting to anſwere thē by the word, or els I thinke they would haue condemned me for holding of my peace: and this was my beginning: I beleue that Chriſt tooke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, & ſayd: *take, eate, this is my body which is geuen for you, this do in remembrance of me.*

Arch. Doſt thou beleue that Chriſt ment euen as he ſayd?

Aunſ. I ſayd, Chriſt was no diſſembler, but ſpake the very truth.

Arch. Thou haſt very wel ſaid: we will make the beſt of thy wordes. Thē he prayſed me with many wordes, going about to proue it his body reall & ſubſtãtiall, and ſaid: Chriſt called himſelf bread: and this to proue, whē Chriſt ſayd: *this is my body*, the bread was his body, ſaid he, in dede, reall & ſubſtantiall, not ſo long & ſo big as it houng on yͤ croſſe, as the Capernaites did thinke: but we eate it, as mans weake nature can eate Chriſt. Therfore when he had ſayd: *this is my body*, the bread was his body in very deede.

Capernaicall doctrine.

Aunſ. Then I aſked him, what Chriſt ment by theſe wordes: *Which is geuen for you?*

Arch. He ſayd: Chriſt ſpake that by the bread alſo, but it was not writtē in Mathew, but Luke had thoſe wordes.

Aunſ. Thē I aſked him, if Chriſtes body were made of bread, that was geuen for our redemption, or whether the bread was crucified for vs, or not?

Arch. Then he ſaid: no by ſaint mary, I ſay not ſo.

Aunſ. You haue ſaid the truth in dede, and euen as I beleue.

Arch. Thē he ſtoode vp with a great many of words & ſaid: yͭ I did thinke it but bare bread ſtill, as other bread is: but he was ſure Chriſt called it his body, and then it was his body in dede, for he would beleue Chriſt.

Chriſt called it hys body: Ergo, he made it hys body. It followeth: For a thyng may be called, and yet no nature changed.

Aunſ. When he had ſpoken his pleaſure by me, thinking to haue condẽned me by their law, I ſayd: he had not Iudged right of me, for I had not ſo ſpoken, but did beleue the wordes of Chriſt as well as he, and as much as he could proue by the word.

Arch. Then he would heare what I did ſay it was.

Aunſ. I ſayd, I did beleue it was that he gaue them.

Arch. Then he aſked me, what it was that he gaue them.

Aunſ. I ſayd, that which he brake.

Arch. Then he aſked me, what was that he brake?

Aunſ. I ſayd, that he tooke.

Arch. What was it that he did take?

Aunſ. I ſayd the text ſayeth, he tooke bread.

Arch. Well, then thou ſayeſt it was but bread that his diſciples did eate, by thy reaſon.

Aunſ. Thus much I ſay: looke what he gaue them, they did eate in deede.

Arch. Why, then was not that his body that they did eate?

Aunſ. It was that which he brake.

Arch. Well ſayd he, I perceaue thy meanyng well enough, for thou doeſt thinke it is but bread ſtill, and that he was not able to make it his body.

Aunſ. That is your expoſition vpon my minde.

Arch. Then ſayd he, what diddeſt thou receaue when thou diddeſt receaue laſt?

Aunſ. I ſayd, I do beleue, that I did eate Chriſtes fleſh, and drinke his bloud. For he ſayth: *my fleſhe is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.*

Arch. Then he ſayd, I had well aunſwered, thinkyng to haue had ſome aduauntage at my hand, and prayed me to tell hym, how I did eate hys fleſh and drinke his bloud.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd, I muſt aũſwere you by the word. Chriſt ſayth: *He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

Arch. Then hee faced out the matter with ſophiſtry, and ſayd, I did eate Chriſt, as that Church was in his eye, with many ſuch like mockes, but would not let me aunſwere one word.

Commiſ. Then yͤ Cõmiſſary did aſke me, if I did not remẽber S. Paul, which did rebuke the Corinthes for their euill behauiour, & becauſe they made no differẽce of yͤ lordes body, & brought in to proue his matter how he called him ſelf bread in yͤ vj. of Iohn. So Paul ſaith: *So oft as ye eate of this bread* (meanyng Chriſtes body) *vnworthely, ye eate and drinke your owne damnation, becauſe ye make no difference of the Lordes body.* For thus ſayth Chriſt: *The bread that I will geue you is my fleſhe.* Now, it is no bread, but it is his fleſh. And thus he alledged euery Scripture falſe to make vp the matter.

Falſe alleaging the Scriptures.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd, I did beleue the wordes of Paul very wel, euen as he had ſpoken thē. For thus he ſaith: *He that eateth and drinketh vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lordes body.*

Commiſ. What is the cauſe that he eateth his owne damnation?

Aunſ. I ſayd, S. Paul declareth it plainly with theſe wordes: *If ye had iudged your ſelues, ye ſhould not haue bene iudged of the Lord.*

Arch. Then the Archdeacon ſayd, he marueled why I would not ſay, that he called the bread his body, ſeyng Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer with many other, ſaid he called it his body.

They ſayd that Chriſt called it hi body: but they ſayd not, that it was hys body.

Aunſ. I ſayd, you haue condemned them as heretickes, and you would haue me ſay with them, becauſe you would kill me.

Arch. Thē he ſayd: In that they ſayd it was his body, they did ſay the truth.

Aunſ. I aſked wherfore they were killed, ſeyng they ſayd the truth?

Byſh. Then ſayd the Biſhop, that he had all their aunſweres, and that they did not beleue as they ſayd. For they ſayd, Chriſt called it his body, but it was not his naturall body: but thou ſhall aunſwere me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or els I will anger thee.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: I had aũſwered him by the word already, and did beleue it alſo: therefore if he did condemne me for that, my life was not deare vnto me, & I was ſure he ſhould not ſcape vnpuniſhed: for God will be reuenged vpon ſuch murtherers.

Arch. Thē the Archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered: for if I were condemned, I muſt needes be burned. Yet he would not ſay but my ſoule might be ſaued: with many mo wordes, & deſired me that I would beleue him, for hee woulde ſpeake the truth, beginnyng how Chriſt fed fiue thouſand with foure loaues, and how he turned yͤ water into wyne: euen ſo Chriſt tooke bread, and bleſt it, and when he had done, he brake it, and ſayd: *This is my body*, and then he commaunded them to eate it, and therfore it muſt nedes be his body.

Aunſ. Then I deſired him to ſpeake the text right or els I would not beleue him.

Arch. Then he ſtode vp and put of his cap and thanked me for teachyng of him, and ſayd: I was a ſtubborne felow, and toke ſcorne to be taught.

Aunſ. I ſayd, I ought to hold hym accurſed, if hee taught doctrine contrary to Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Arch. Then he aſked me, whether I did beleue that Chriſt did geue that he tooke, or not?

Aunſ. I ſaid, I do beleue as much as can be proued by the ſcripture, and more I will not beleue.

Arch. Then he began with Moyſes rod, how God cōmaunded hym to lay it downe, and it was turned into a ſerpent. Seyng that this was by Moyſes being but a man, how much more Chriſt beyng both God and mā tooke one thing, and gaue to hys diſciples an other?

Aunſ. I ſayd, his compariſon was nothing like, for Moyſes rod when it was layd downe, he ſaw that it was turned into a very ſerpent in deede, but in thys ſacrament no man can ſee neyther quality nor yet quantytie to be chaunged.

mpari- between ing yſes the into ſtes y, not

Biſh. Then ſayd the Byſhop, that myne opinion and fayth was like vnto the Capernaites.

Aunſ. I ſayd, it was more like their opinion thē mine.

e opini- of the ſtes h lyke e Ca- naites.

Arch. The Archdeacō aſked me, whether Chriſt tooke not one thing, and gaue an other?

Aunſ. I ſayd, looke what he brake, he gaue vnto them, and bad them eate: and other aunſwere I will make none contrary to the worde.

Arch. Then he ſayd, he meruayled why I woulde not beleue them, ſeyng thys learning had continued thys fiftene hundreth yeares: neyther yet did ſay as other had before, how Chriſt did call it his body.

Falſe alleaging th Scriptures.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd, when Cranmer which was here Byſhop, was in authority, he ſayd, that he dyd holde the truth, and commaunded vs to beleue him, and he hath geuen his lyfe for hys opinion, and woulde you haue me to beleue you, becauſe you ſay, that you holde the truth? and that which makes me beleue chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am ſure is the truth in deede.

Biſh. The Byſhop ſayd, he had ſpoken the truth, and that I would not beleue hym.

Aunſ. I ſayd, if he dyd not now ſpeake the truth, I was ſure he had ſpoken the truth, for he had preached before, doctrine cleane contrary vnto this.

hys ching Doct. ruton, before 1848.

Then were the reſt of my articles red: which I anſwered, & in euery article, we had vp this breadē God. And they ſent for a candle light, & I thought they would haue condemned me, but God would not ſuffer their cruel hartes to haue their pleaſure at that time: bleſſed be hys name for euermore, Amen.

They ſay that Chri called it hi body: but they ſayd not, that it was hys body.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon was angry and began to chyde wyth me becauſe I would not deſire a day of the Byſhop, and ſayd: I was a noughty ſtubborne felow, & ſayd, it had ben my duty to haue deſired him to haue bene good to me, that I might haue a day.

Aunſ. Then I ſaid: I haue ſpoken the truth, and therfore I would aſke him no day, except he would geue me a day of his owne mynd.

Commiſ. Then ſayd the Commiſſary: dooſt thou not thinke that thou mayeſt be deceiued, ſeyng he may be deceaued that hath gone to ſtudy al the dayes of his life?

Aunſ. I ſayd yes, I myght be deceaued in yͭ I was a mā: but I was ſure Gods word could not be deceaued.

Commiſ. Then he prayed me to be content and confeſſe that I might learne, and ſayd they would be glad to teach me.

Aunſ. And I ſayd, I would be as glad to learne as any man. And thus they roſe vp and went away ſaying nothing. What became of this Mathew Playſe after, whether he died in priſon, or was executed, or deliuered, I haue as yet no certeine knowledge.

☞ The hiſtory of ten true godly Diſciples and Martyrs of Chriſt, burnt together in one fire at Lewes. an. 1557. Iune 22.

ne.22.

IN the Towne of Lewes were tene faythfull ſeruaūtes of God put in one fire, the xxij. day of Iune, whoſe names here folow.

1. Rich. Woodeman.
2. George Steuens.
3. W. Maynard.
4. Alexander Hoſman. *his ſeruaunt.*
5. Tomaſin a Woode, *Maynardes mayde.*
6. Margery Morys.
7. Iames Morys, *her ſonne.*
8. Denys Burgys.
9. Aſhdons wyfe.
10. Groues wyfe.

X. Godly Martyrs.

Of the which number Rich. Woodmā was yͤ firſt. Concerning whoſe apprehenſion firſt by his enemies, and of his deliueraunce out of B.Boners handes, then of his ſecond taking agayne by the procurement of hys father, brother, kinſfolkes, and frendes, alſo of hys ſundry examinations, and couragious aunſweres before the Byſhops, and laſtly of his condemnation, and of his letters ſent to hys faithfull frendes, here followeth to be declared by his owne wordes, and relation reported. Which Rich. Woodman, by his occupation was an Irenmaker, dwelling in the pariſh of Warbleton, in the Countye of Suſſex, and Dioces of Chicheſter, of the age of xx. yeares, and ſomewhat more. The occaſion of his firſt apprehenſion was this.

The life and ſtory of *Rich. Woodman.*

There was one Fayrebanke, who ſometymes had bene a maryed prieſt, and ſerued the cure of Warbleton, where he had often perſwaded the people, not to credite any other doctrine but that, which he then preached, taught and ſet forth in K. Edwardes dayes. And afterwardes in the beginning of Q.Maryes raygne, the ſayd Fayrebanke, turning head to tayle, preached cleane contrary to that which he had before taught.

Fayrebanke preaching contrary to hym ſelfe.

Whereupon Rich. Woodman hearing him in the church of Warbleton ſo to preach contrary to himſelfe, admoniſhed hym of his inconſtancie, how before tyme he had taught them one thyng, and now an other, and deſired hym to teach them the truth. For the which wordes he was apprehended, and brought before M. Iohn Aſhbornham, M.Toſton, M.Culpeper, and M. Robertes, iuſtices of peace in the Countye of Suſſex: and by them committed to the kinges Bench, where he continued from Iune, the ſpace almoſt of a yeare and halfe: and from thence was tranſferred by Doct. Story into Boners Colehoſe, where he remained the ſpace of a month, before he came to examination.

Iuſtices of Suſſex troublers of *Richard Woodman,* and what were their names.

At length the ſame day, when M.Philpot was burned, which was the 18. of December, he with 4. other priſoners was deliuered, and ſet at libertie by Boner himſelfe. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he was ſought for agayne, and at laſt found out and taken by meanes of his father, brother, and certayne other his acquainted frendes, and ſo was ſent vp agayne to London to B.Boner, where he remayned in the Colehouſe viij. weekes. He was there vj. tymes examined, and xxvj. tymes before, ſo that his examinations in all were xxxij. from his firſt apprehenſion to his condemnation. Touching the whole diſcourſe wherof, forſomuch as the matter is ſomething ſtraunge, and wyll paraduenture ſcarſe finde credite vpon my narration, with thē which deny all thinges, that like them not to beleue, ye ſhall heare himſelfe ſpeake, and teſtifie both of the maner of his troubles, & alſo his own examinations by himſelfe recorded in order as followeth.

Richard Woodman deliuered out of hys firſt trouble.

Richard Woodman agayne apprehended, and by whoſe meanes.

XXXij. examinations of *Richard Woodman.*

¶ A true certificate written by Richard Woodman, of his taking, and how he was brought to the Shrieffes the 15. day of March. 1556. and how long he was in priſon, & how he was there vſed, til he was brought before the Byſhop of Chicheſter, at Blacke Friers in London, with the order of his examinations folowyng after the ſame.

GEntle reader here you ſhal perceaue how the ſcriptures be partly fullfilled on me, being one of the leaſt of his poore lambes. Firſt you ſhall vnderſtand, that ſince I was deliuered out of the biſhop of Londōs handes, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1555. and the ſame day that M. Philpot was burned (which was the 18. of December) I lay in his cole houſe viij.

The certificate of *Richard Woodman* concerning the truth of his true ſtory and troubles.

The firſt apprehenſion of Rich. Woodman.

weekes, lacking but one day. And before that, I was a yeare and almoſt a halfe in the kinges Bench after my firſt apprehenſion, for reprouing of a preacher in the Pulpit in the pariſh of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherfore I was at ij. ſeſſions before I was ſent to priſon, & caried to ij. more Seſſions while I was in priſon, twice before the B. of Chicheſter, and v. times before the Commiſſioners: and then ſent to Londons Colehouſe, and many tymes called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations, which I wrote, the which examinations the B. of Chicheſter now hath, for they were found in my houſe when I was taken: wherein is contayned all the talke which I had before them aforenamed. Alſo there be in London that had copies of the ſame of me, when I was in the colehouſe.

Richard Woodman deliuered out of Boners handes, with 4. moe.

What the Biſhop required at their deliueraunce.

And it pleaſed God to deliuer me with foure or more out of the Butchers handes, requiriring nothing els of vs but that we ſhould be honeſt men and members of the true catholicke church, that was builded vpon the Prophetes and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head of yͤ true church: the which all we affirmed, that we were members of the true church, and purpoſed by Gods helpe therin to dye. And hereupō we were deliuered: but he willed vs many tymes to ſpeake good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be prayſed, becauſe he had bene ſo faythfull an ayde in his maſter the deuills buſines. For he had burnt good M. Philpot that ſame morning, in whoſe bloud his hart was ſo dronken (as I ſuppoſed) that he could not tell what he did: as it appeared to vs, both before and after. For but two dayes before, he promiſed vs that we ſhould be condemned that ſame day that we were deliuered: yea and the morow after that he had deliuered vs, he ſought for ſome of vs agayne, yea and that earneſtly. He waxed dry after his great dronkenes, wherfore he is like to haue bloud to drinke in hell, as he is worthy, if he repent it not with ſpeede. The Lord turne all theyr hartes if it be hys will.

B. Boner bloud thirſtie.

Woodman purgeth hym ſelfe of falſe ſclaunder.

This haue I written, chiefely to certifie all people how we were deliuered, becauſe many carnall goſpellers and papiſtes haue ſayd, that it was not preſcribed that we ſhould be ſo deliuered, becauſe they thincke that God is ſubiect to mā, and not man to God. For if they did, they would not blaſpheme him as they doe, or if they thought they ſhould geue accompt for it. Haue not many of them red, how God deliuered Iſraell out of Egypt? Daniell out of the Lyons denne? Sidrach, Miſaake, & Abednago out of the burning ouen? with diuers other ſuch like examples? yea God is the ſame God yͭ he was then. He is no older, nor leſſe in power as ſome count him in wondring at his workes. Now to the matter.

Falſe ſurmiſes agaynſt Richard Woodman.

Woodman complayned of to Syr Iohn Gage Lord Chamberlaine.

Warrantes ſent out to attache Woodman.

After I was deliuered, the papiſtes ſayd that I had cōſented to them, wherof they made themſelues glad: the which was the leaſt part of my thought (I prayſe God therfore) as they well perceaued, and knew the contrary within a while. For I wēt from pariſh to pariſh, and talked with them to the number of 13. or 14. and that of the chiefeſt in all the countrey: and I angred them ſo, that they with the Commiſſioners complayned on me to my Lorde Chamberlaine that was then to the Queene, Syr Ioh. Gage, ſhewing him that I baptiſed children, and maryed folkes, with many ſuch lyes, to bring me into theyr handes agayne. Then the Commiſſioners ſent out certayne citations to bring me to the Court. My Lord Chamberlaine had directed out 4. or 5. warrantes for me, that if I had come there, I ſhould haue bene attached and ſent to priſon ſtraight way. Which was not Gods will: for I had warning of theyr laying awayt for me, and came not there, but ſent my deputy, & he brought me word yͭ the Bailiffes wayted for me there: but they miſt of theyr pray for that time: wherupon they were diſpleaſed.

L. Cha berlaine ſendeth to take Woodmā at hys plough.

Woodmā areſted.

Feare cōming vpo Woodmā at hys fir takyng.

Then wͭin 3. daies after, my lord ſent 3. of his mē to take me, whoſe names were, Deane, Ieffrey, & Fraunces, I being at plow with my folkes, right in the way as they were comming to my houſe, leaſt miſtruſting them of all other, came to them and ſpake to them, aſking them how they did. And they ſayd, they areſted me in the King and Queenes name, and that I muſt go with them to theyr maſter the Lord Chamberlayne. Which wordes made my fleſh to tremble and quake becauſe of that ſodein. But I anſwered thē yͭ I would go with them. Yet I deſired thē that they would go to my houſe with me, that I might breake my faſt and put on ſome other gere. And they ſaid I ſhould. Then I remembred my ſelfe, ſaying in my hart: why am I thus affrayd? they can lay no euill to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may thincke my ſelfe happy. I remembred how I was contented gladly before to dye in that quarrell and ſo had continued euer ſince: and ſhould I now feare to dye? God forbid that I ſhould, for then were all my labour in vaine.

Woodmā comforted in hys ſpirite after hys feare.

So by and by I was perſuaded, I praiſe God, conſideryng it was but the frailtie of my fleſh which was loth to forgo my wife & children & goods: for I ſaw nothing but preſent death before mine eyes. And as ſoone I was perſuaded in my mind to die, I had no regard of nothing in this world, but was as mery and glad, and ioyfull, I praiſe God, as euer I was. This battel laſted not a quarter of an hower, but it was ſharper thē death it ſelfe for the time, I dare ſay.

Woodmā asketh for their warrant.

How God worketh for his ſeruauntes.

The vnorderly doings of the Papiſtes in attaching men without any warrant.

Woodmā refuſeth to goe with them, vnleſſe they ſhew their warrant.

So, whē I had my breakfaſt, I deſired them to ſhew me their warrant, thinking therby I ſhould haue ſeene wherefore I was areſted: to the intent that I myght the better aunſwere for my ſelfe when I came before their maiſter. And one of them anſwered, they had not theyr warrant there. Which words made me aſtonied: and it was put in my minde by God, that I nede not to goe with them vnles they had their warrāt. Then ſayd I to them, that is maruayle, yͭ you will come to take a man without a warrāt. It ſeemeth to me that you come of your owne mynde to get thanke of your maiſter, for in deede I heard ſay (ſayd I) that there was 4. or 5. warrantes out for me, but they were called in agayne, becauſe I had certified my Lord and the Cōmiſſary by a letter that I ſent to the commiſſaryes court, that I was not faulty in that they layed to my charge, which was for baptiſing of children, and marying of folkes: the which I neuer did, for I was neuer miniſter appointed to do any ſuch thing. Wherefore ſet your hartes at reſt: I will not goe with you (ſayd I) vnleſſe you will cary me by force. And if you will do ſo, at your own aduentures. And ſo I roſe from the borde and ſtepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them if I coulde poſſibly, ſeing God had made the way ſo open for me. I ment to play Peters part wyth them, but god would not it ſhoulde bee ſo, but ſent a feare amongeſt them, that as ſone as I was gone into my chamber, ere euer I coulde come out againe, they were gone out of my houſe.

Gods great worke, how the perſecutors which came to take Woodmā, went away without hym.

When I ſaw that, I knew it was Gods doing to ſet me at libertie once agayne. Yet I was compelled to ſpeake to them and ſayd: if you haue a warrant, I deſire you for Gods ſake ſhew it me, and I will goe with you wyth all my hart: if not, I deſire you to depart in Gods peace and the kinges: for ſurely I will not goe with you without the order of the law: for I haue bene too ſimple in ſuch things already. For before I was ſent to priſon firſt, I went to the iuſtices to two ſeſſions, without any warrant or cōmaundement, but had word by one of theyr men, and I went gently to them, and they ſent me to priſon, and kept me there almoſt a yeare and iij. quarters without all right or equity, as it is openly knowen, not hearing my cauſe iuſtly debated. And it ſeemeth to me that I ſhould bee thus euill handled, and therefore I wyll not goe to none of them all henceforth, wythout the extremitie of the law.

Then one of them anſwered me and ſayd: we haue not the warrant here, but it is at home at my houſe: the worſt is you can but make vs fetch it. Then I ſayd, fetch it if you will, but if you come in my houſe before you haue it, at your owne aduenture. So I ſhutte the doore and went my way out of the other doore. So they got helpe to watch my houſe, while one of them ſet the Conſtable and many moe, thinking to haue had me in my houſe, and to haue taken me in my houſe, and caried me away wyth a licence: but I was gone before, as God would haue it. Notwithſtandyng they ſought euery corner of my houſe, but could not preuayle. I miſtruſted they would ſearch it agayne that nyght, and kept me abroade, and in deede there came ſeuen of hys men and the Conſtable and ſearched my houſe. And when they ſaw that they could not meete with me, they were ready to rent their coates that I had ſcaped thẽ ſo, knowing they ſhould haue ſuch a checke of their maiſter. When I heard that they had ſought ſo for me again, I perceiuing that they were greedy of their pray, came home, and my wife tolde me all thinges.

oodmã kepeth handes hys ta-

oodmãs ſe a- ne ſear- d for

Then I ſuppoſed that they would lay all the Countrey for me, and the ſea coaſte, becauſe I ſhould not goe ouer, and then I thought they would not miſtruſt that I would dare be nigh home. So I tolde my wife that I would make my lodging in a wood not paſt a flight ſhot from my houſe, as I did in deede, euen vnder a tree, and there had my Bible, my penne and myne incke, and other neceſſaries, and there cõtinued a vj. or vij. weekes, my wyfe bringing me meat dayly, as I had neede. Yea I thought my ſelfe bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lye in the woods for the name of Chriſt. Then there came word into the Countrey that I was ſeene and ſpoken to in Flaunders: whereupon they left laying a wayte for me, for they had layd all yͤ countrey for me, and the ſea coaſt from Porteſmouth to Douer, euen as God put in my mynde they would.

oodmã ged vj. ekes in oode.

the ntrey ſea des e for oodmã.

So when all was huſht, I went abroad among our freendes and brethren, and at length I went beyond the ſea, both into Flaunders & in Frãce: but I thought euery day vij. yeare or euer I were at home agayne. So I came home againe as ſoone as it was poſſible. I was there but 3. weekes, but as ſoone as I was come home, and it once knowen among Bales Prieſtes, they could not abide it, but procured out warrantes agaynſt me, cauſing my houſe to be ſearched ſometymes twiſe in a weeke. This continued from S. James tyde to the firſt Sonday in Lẽt. Otherwhile I wẽt priuely, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or iij. weekes, otherwhile I was at home a moneth or fiue weekes together, liuing their moſt commonly, and openly, doyng ſuch workes as I had to do: and yet all myne enemyes could lay no hands on me, till the houre was full come: and then by the voyce of the Countrey, and by manifeſt proofes, myne owne brother as concer- yͤ fleſhe, deliuered me into their hands by that he knew that I was at home.

odmã ured is own r in- s ene- s es.

For my father and he had as much of my goodes in their handes as I might haue lvj. ľ. for by the yeare cleare, and therunto prayed. It was a Lordſhyp and a honnor and halfe a honnor, that I had deliuered into their handes, to pay my debtes, and the reſt to remaine to my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debtes: which greued me ſore. For it was ij. hũdreth poundes better thẽ yͤ debtes came too. Which cauſed me to ſpeake to ſome of my frẽdes, that they would ſpeake to them to come to ſome reckenyng with me, and to take all ſuch money agayne of mẽ, as they were charged with, and to deliuer me ſuch wrytynges and writtes, as they had of myne agayne, or to whom I would appointe them.

i ſacra es d non ralia s pec- Vir-

So it was agreed betwixt my father and me, that I ſhould haue it agayne, and the day was appointed, that the reckening ſhould be made and ſent to me that ſame day that I was taken, my brother ſuppoſing that I ſhould haue put him out of moſt of all hys occupying, that he was in: for it was all mine in a maner that he occupyed, as all the countrey can, and do well know. Whereen (as it is reported) he told one Gardillar my next neighbour, and he told ſome of M. Gages men, or to M. Gage him ſelfe: and ſo he ſent to his brother, and his brother ſent xij. of his men (he beyng Sheriffe) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the buſhes not farre from my houſe, till about ix. of the clocke, euen the houre that was appointed amongeſt them ſelues: for about the ſame tyme they thought to haue had me within my houſe.

Brother betrayeth the brother.

They had taken a man of mine, and ij. of my childrẽ that were abroad in the lãd: and kept them with them, till theyr houre was appointed to come in, & then a litle girle, one of my children, ſaw them come together, and came runnyng in, and cryed: mother, mother, yonder commeth xx. men. I ſittyng in my bed and makyng of ſhooe thonges, heard yͤ wordes, & ſuſpecting ſtraight way that I was betrayd. I ſtirred out of my bed & whipt on my hoſe, thinkyng to haue gone out of yͤ doores or euer they had bene come. My wife beyng amaſed at the childes wordes, looked out of the doore, and they were hard by. Then ſhe clapped to the doore and barred it faſt, euen as I came out of my chamber into the Hall, and ſo barred the other: So the houſe was beſet round ſtraight way, and they bad open the doores, or els they would breake them in peeces. Then I had no ſhift, but eyther I muſt ſhew my ſelfe openly, or make ſome other remedie.

So there was a place in my houſe that was neuer found, which was at the leaſt, I dare ſay, xx. tymes and ſometymes almoſt of xx. men ſearched at once, both by night & day. Into which place I went: And as ſoone as I was in, my wife opened the doore: wherby incontinẽt they came, and aſked for me: and ſhe ſayd I was not at home. Then they aſked her wherfore ſhe ſhut the doore if I were not at home. She ſayd, becauſe ſhe had bene made affraid diuers times, with ſuch as came to ſearch vs, and therfore ſhe ſhut the doore. For it is reported (ſayth ſhe) yͤ who ſoeuer cã take my huſbãd, ſhall hang hym or burne hym ſtraight way: and therfore I doubt they will ſerue me or my children ſo: for I thinke they may do ſo vnto vs aſwell as to him, ſhe ſaid. Well ſayd they, we know he is in the houſe, and we muſt ſearch it, for we be the Shriues mẽ: let vs haue a cãdle. It is told vs, there be many ſecret places in your houſe. So ſhe lighted a candle, and they ſought vp and downe in euery corner that they could find, and had geuen ouer, and many of them were gone out of my houſe into the Churchyarde, and were talkyng with my father, and with ſome that he had brought with hym.

Woodman put to hys ſhiftes.

The part of a truſtie wife to her huſband.

Now, when they could not finde me, one of them went to him that gaue them word that I was at home, and ſayd we can not find him. Then he aſked thẽ whether they had ſought ouer a wyndow that was in the Hall (as it was knowne afterward) for that ſame place I had told hym of my ſelfe. For many tymes when I came home, I would ſend for hym to beare me compapany: yet as it chaũced I had not told hym the way into it. Then they began to ſearch a new. One looked vp ouer the window and ſpyed a litle loft, with iij. or iiij. cheſtes, and the way went in betwixt ij. of the cheſtes, but there could no man perceaue it. Then he aſked my wife, which was yͤ way into it. Here is a place that we haue not ſought yet. Thẽ ſhe thought they would ſee it by one meanes or other. She ſayd the way was into it out of a chamber they were in euen now. So ſhe ſent them vp and cried, away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but make the beſt ſhift for my ſelf that I could. The place was boarded ouer, and faſt nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I muſt needes come amongeſt them all in yͤ hall. Then I had no ſhift, but ſet my ſhoulders to the bourdes that were nayled to the rafters to keepe out the raine, and brake them in peeces, which made a great noyſe and they that were in the other chamber, ſeekyng for the

Thys belike was his brother.

way into it, heard the noyſe, and looked out of a window, and ſpyed me and made an outcry. But yet I got out and leaped downe, hauing no ſhoes on.

So I tooke downe a lane that was full of ſharpe ſinders, and they came runnyng after, with a great cry, with their ſwordes drawen, crying ſtrike hym, ſtrike hym. Which wordes made me looke backe, and there was neuer a one nigh me by an hūdred foote: and that was but one, for all the reſt were a great way behynd. And I turned about haſtely to go my way, and ſtepped vpon a ſharpe ſinder with one foote, and ſauyng of it I ſtepped in a great miery hole, and fell downe withall, and ere euer I could ariſe and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the wild, as he is coūted in al Suſſex. But if I had had on my ſhoes, they had bene lyke to haue gone away arrandles if there had bene v.C. more, if I had caught the playne grounde once, to the which I had not a ſtones caſt: But it was not Gods will: for if it had, I ſhould haue ſcaped from them all, if there had bene ten thouſand of them.

Parker in Suſſex a bloudy perſecutor of Woodman.

Then they tooke me and led me home agayne to put on my ſhooes and ſuch gere as I had neede of. Thē ſayd Iohn Fauconer: Now your maſter hath deceaued you. You ſaid you were an Angell, & if you had ben an Angell, why did you not fly away frō vs? Then ſaid I, what be they that euer heard me ſay that I was an Angell? It is not the firſt lye by a thouſand that they haue made of me. Angells were neuer begotten of mē, nor borne of women: but if they had ſaid, that they had heard me ſay, that I do truſt I am a ſaint, they had not ſayd amiſſe. What? doo you thinke to be a ſaint? Yea yͭ I doo, & am already, in Gods ſight, I truſt in God: for he that is not a ſaint in Gods ſight already, is a deuill. Therfore he yͭ thinketh ſkorne to be a ſaint, let him be a deuill. And with that worde they had brought me to mine owne doore: where met with me my father, and willed me to remember my ſelfe.

Euery true Chriſtian man is a Saincte in Gods ſight.

To whom I aunſwered: I prayſe God, I am well remēbred whereabout I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be deliuered into the handes of mine enemies, but woe vnto hym by whom I am betrayed. It had ben good for that man, that he had neuer bene borne if he repent not with ſpeede. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me: *For the father ſhall be agaynſt the ſonne, and the brother ſhall deliuer the brother to death,* as it is this day come to paſſe. Then ſayd one: he doth accuſe hys father: a good child in deede. I accuſe hym not, but ſay my minde: for there was no mā knew me at home but my father, my brother, and one more, the which I dare ſay would not hurt me for all the good in this towne.

Woodman betrayed eyther by hys owne father, or by his owne brother.

There was one George Bechyng that maried one of my ſiſters, and he thought that I had ment hym, that he had betrayed me, and he ſayd: Brother I would you ſhould not thinke that I was the cauſe of your takyng. To whom I aunſwered that I ment hym not: I ment one that was nerer of my bloud then he was. Then ſayd one of Lauſe, that had bene a Goſpeller, and ſtode from thē, when I was brought to a Seſſions to Lauſe, and he ſayd, I thought you would haue bene an honeſt man when you were at Lauſe, and I offred Huſſey the Sheriffe to be bound for you that you ſhould go home to your wife and come to hym agayn. Then I remembred what he was, & ſaid: Be you the Pewterer? And he ſayd, yea. Then ſayd I: It is happened to you accordyng to yͤ true Prouerbe, as ſayth S. Peter: *The dogge is turned to his vomit agayne, and the ſowe that is waſhed to wallow in the mire,* and yͤ end of all ſuch, wil be worſe then the begynnyng. Then his mouth was ſtopped ſo that he had nothyng to ſay.

George Beching brother in lawe to *Woodman.*

A Pewterer of Lawſe, a turne coate.

All this while I ſtode at my doore without: for they would not let me go in. So I put on my ſhoes and my clothes, and then they put on an harnes about myne armes made of a dogs ſlippe: which reioiſed my hart that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I tooke my leaue of my wife & children, my father, and other of my frendes, neuer thinkyng to ſee them more in this world. For it was ſo thought of all the countrey, that I ſhould not lyue vj. dayes after my takyng: for they had ſo reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, vnleſſe God would graunt it. I know what God can do: but what he will do I know not: but I am ſure he will worke all thinges for the beſt, for them that loue and feare hym. So we dranke, and went our way, and came to Firle about iij. of the clocke. And thus much touchyng the cauſes and effect of the troubles of Rich. Woodman. Now let vs ſee hys examinations, which follow in this order.

Woodmā reioyſeth to be bound for the name of Chriſt.

Woodmā taketh hys leaue of his wife and children.

The name of thys place, ſo farre as we could gather by the copy. was Firle.

¶The firſt examination of Rich. Woodman before Doct. Chriſtopherſon Byſhop of Chicheſter, D.Story, Doct.Cooke, and other.

FIrſt you ſhall vnderſtand, that I was ſent from the Sheriffes to London, the 12. day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1557. and afterward vpon the 14. day of the ſame moneth I was brought before the Byſhop of Chicheſter, and Doct.Story, and Doct.Cooke. So the Sheriffes man deliuered my warrant and me to the Byſhop. Then the Byſhop aſked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Rich. Woodman.

Richard Woodmā brought before the B. of Chicheſter, *D.Story, & Doct. Cooke.*

Chicheſ. I am ſory for you, and ſo are all the worſhipfull men of your countrey. For it hath bene reported to me, that you haue bene a man of good eſtimation in all yͤ countrey, amōgeſt the poore and rich, tyll now of late. Wherefore looke well vpon your ſelfe, your wife and children, your father, and other of your frends, and be ruled. Thinke not your ſelfe wyſer thē all the realme. Be enformed, and you ſhall haue theyr fauours all, as much as euer you had.

Wood. You haue charged me with many thinges, wherein I haue neuer offended, and if you will geue me leaue, I wyll ſhew you.

Chicheſt. Yes, I pray you ſay your mynde.

Wood. If it pleaſe you, you haue charged me as though I made my ſelfe wyſer then all the realme: God doth know, I ſtand to learne of euery man that wyll or can teach me the truth. And where as you ſay I haue bene wel eſteemed both of the poore and rich, God doth know, I know not that I haue geuen any iuſt offence, eyther to rich or poore. And as for my wyfe and childrē, God doth know how I loue them in hym, and my lyfe alſo. My life, my wife, and my children are all in Gods hands, and I haue them all, as I had them not, I truſt, accordyng to S. Paules words. But if I had ten thouſand pound of golde, I had rather forgoe it all, then thē, if I myght be in choyce, and not diſpleaſe God.

Richard Woodmā preferreth the kingdome of Chriſt, before life, or wife, & all worldly reſpectes.

Chicheſt. The Sheriffe tooke payne to come to me of loue, he ſayd, which he bare to you, as to him ſelfe: and ſayd, you were deſirous to ſpeake with me.

Wood. I thought it meete to appeale to my Ordinary. For they goe about to ſheede my bloud vnrighteouſly. For they haue layde many vniuſt things to my charge. Wherfore I thought it meete to appeale to you, yͭ if you can find any fault in me, meete to be reformed by Gods word, I ſtand to be reformed: and likewiſe, if my bloud ſhall be ſhedde vnrighteouſly, that it might be required at your handes, becauſe you haue taken vpon you to be the Phyſicion of our Countrey.

Woodmā appealed to hys Ordinary.

Story. Is not this a peruerſe fellow, to laye to your charge, that his bloud ſhalbe required at your handes? Thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be put to death vniuſtly, that thy bloud ſhould be required? No, if he ſhould condemne a hundred ſuch heretickes as thou art. I helped to ridde a good ſort of you, and I promiſe thee I wyll helpe to ridde thee to, the beſt that I can.

D.Story a great ſpiller of bloud, by hys owne confeſſion.

Wood. Then I would haue aunſwered hym, but the Byſhop deſired vs both to geue hym place.

Chicheſt. Well, neighbour Woodman: I call you neighbour, becauſe you be one of my Dioces: and you are ſent to me that I ſhoulde geue you ſpirituall counſell: for I am your ſpirituall paſtor. Therefore here what I ſhall ſay to you.

Wood. Fyrſt I deſire you to heare me a few wordes. You haue ſaid you will geue me ſpirituall counſell. Be you ſure that you haue the ſpirite of God?

Chicheſt. No, I am not ſure of that.

Wood. No? be you not ſure of that?

Chicheſt. No by Saint Mary, I dare not be ſo bolde to ſay ſo: I doubt of that.

Wood. Then you be lyke the waues of yͤ ſea, as ſaith Saint James, that be toſſed about with the wind, and be vnſtable in all your wayes, and can looke for no good thing at the Lordes hand: Yea, ye are neyther hote nor colde, and therfore God wil ſpue you out of his mouth, as ſayth S. John. Then they were in a great fury, eſpecially Doctor Story, ſaying.

Story. What a peruerſe fellow is this? he hath the Deuill within hym, and is madde. He is worſe then the Deuill. Now I perceaue that it is true that is reported by thée, and it is the pride of al ſuch heretickes, to boaſt themſelues.

Chicheſt. Yea ſurely, he is ſent to me to learne, and taketh vpon hym to teach me.

Wood. I ſeing their blindnes and blaſphemy, it made my hart melt, and mine eyes guſhe out with teares, ſaying: The Jewes ſayd to Chriſt, he had the Deuill, and was madde, as you haue ſaid here by me. But I know, the ſeruaunt is not aboue his maiſter. And God forbid that I ſhould learne of him that confeſſeth that he hath not the ſpirite of God.

Chicheſt. Why? do you thinke that you haue the ſpirite of God?

Wood. I beleue verely that I haue the ſpirit of God.

Chicheſt. You booſt more then euer Paule did, or any of the Apoſtles, the which is great preſumption.

Wood. I boaſt not in my ſelfe, but in the gift of God, as Paul did, for he ſayd: he beleued verely that he had the ſpirit of God, making therof no doubtes, in the firſt to the Corinthians the ſeuenth chapter.

Chicheſt. It is not ſo: you belie the text.

Wood. If it be not ſo, let me be burned to morrow.

Story. Thou ſhalt not be burned to morrow: but yͧ ſhalt be burned within theſe ſixe dayes, I promiſe thée.

Chicheſt. If it be ſo, it is wrong tranſlated, as it is in a thouſand places more.

Wood. Then one looked in a Latin teſtament, and an other in a Gréeke Teſtament, and they ſayd it was in them both, that Paul ſuppoſed that he had yͤ ſpirite of God, but he was not ſure.

Chicheſt. Euen ſo I hope, and ſuppoſe that I haue the ſpirite of God, but I am not ſure.

Wood. If that place be wrong tranſlated, and ſo many places of the Bible as you ſay, then I may ſay with Chriſt, it cannot be auoided but offences muſt be geuē: But wo vnto them by whom they come. I may ſay wo vnto falſe Tranſlatours. For curſed are they that adde or take away. But take you héede that you belie not the Tranſlatours. I beleue they had the feare of God more before their eyes, then you report of them. And yet if that place bee wrong tranſlated, I can proue places inough that Paule had the ſpirite of God, as I my ſelfe and all Gods elect haue.

Chicheſt. How proue you that?

Wood. *No man can beleue that Jeſus is the Lord, but by the holy ghoſt*. Firſt to the Corinth. the vij. I do beleue that Jeſus Chriſt is my redemer, and that I ſhalbe ſaued from all my ſinnes by his death and bloudſheding, as Paule and all the Apoſtles did, and as all faythfull people ought to do: which no man can do without the ſpirite of God. And there is no damnation to thē that are in Chriſt Jeſus: ſo is there no ſaluation to them that are not in Chriſt Jeſu. *For he that hath not the ſpirite of Chriſt, is none of his*, but is a caſt away, as he ſaith in the ſame text. And agayne, *we haue not receiued the ſpirite of bōdage, to feare any more; but we haue receiued the ſpirite of adoption, wherby we cry: Abba father. The ſame ſpirite certifieth our ſpirites, that we are the ſonnes of God.* Here are proofes inough, that Paule was ſure that he had the ſpirite of God. Alſo S. John ſaith: *He that beleueth not that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is an Antichriſt, and denieth both the father and the ſonne:* which is ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſhall neuer be forgeuen in this world nor in the world to come. Beſides al this, *He that beleueth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in hym.* So is it impoſſible to beleue in God, vnles God dwell in vs. Oh good God, what more iniury can be done vnto thée, then to miſtruſt that we haue receiued thy holy ſpirite by thy gift? Thus may all mē ſée their blindnes, and whoſe ſeruauntes they be, as they do declare themſelues both by their wordes and déedes.

Rom. viij.
Gal. iiij.
ij. Tim. j.

The Papiſtes bewray their own blindnes.

Story. Oh my Lord, what an hereticke is thys ſame? Why heare you hym? Sende him to priſon to his fellowes in the Marſhalſea, and they ſhalbe diſpatched within theſe xij. dayes.

Wood. When I heard him ſay ſo, I reioyſed greatly in my hart, deſiring God, if it were his will, to kéepe hym in that minde. For I looked ſurely to haue gone to yͤ Biſhop of Londōs Colehouſe, or to Lollards tower: yea I thought my ſelfe happy, if I might haue gone to Lollards tower: but it pleaſed God to put in the hartes of them, to ſend me to the Marſhalſea amongeſt our brethren and my olde priſon fellowes: So mercifully hath God dealt with me in eaſing of my burden, that I looked for. So when they perceaued that I feared not impriſonment, but rather reioyced, as they well perceiued, then ſayd the Byſhop: me thinkes he is not afrayde of the priſon.

Richard Woodman glad to go to the Marſhalſey.

Wood. No, I prayſe the liuing God.

Story. This is an hereticke in déede: he hath the right termes of all heretickes: the liuing God. I pray you be there dead Gods, that you ſay, the liuing God?

The liuing God, is a point of hereſie among the Catholickes.

Wood. Be you angry with me, becauſe I ſpeake the wordes which are written in the Bible?

Story. Bible babble, bible babble. What ſpeakeſt thou of the bible? There is no ſuch word written in all the Bible.

Story ſcorneth at the holy Bible.

Wood. Then I am much to blame if it be not ſo written. *Beholde, for the offenſes that you haue done, you ſhall be caried away captiue by Nabuchadonoſer to Babylon, and there ye ſhall be vij. generations: and when you be there, you ſhall ſee gods of Golde, of Siluer, of Wood, and of Stone borne before you and behinde you vpon mens ſhoulders, to caſt out a feare among the Heathen. When you ſhall ſee all theſe abominations, then ſay you in your hart: it is the liuing God that ought to be worſhipped* Here I proue my ſaying true, both that there is a liuing God, and that there be dead Gods. Alſo Dauid ſayth in his Pſalmes: *my ſoule hath a deſire and longing to enter into the courtes of the Lorde: My hart and my fleſh reioyce in the liuing God:* with diuers other places, that I could receite. Wherfore I maruell that you rebuke me for ſpeaking the truth.

Baruck. vj.

D. Story ſet to ſchole in yͤ ſcriptures.

Pſal. 84.

Chicheſt. I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you: but ſuch is the ſpeach of all heretickes.

If the liuing God in heauen do make an hereticke, what maketh then the dead God on the altar?

Story. My Lord, I will tel you how you ſhall know an hereticke by his wordes, becauſe I haue bene more vſed to thē then you haue bene, that is: they will ſay (the Lord) and (we prayſe God) and (the liuing god). By theſe wordes you ſhall know an hereticke.

Storyes rule to know an hereticke, that is a true Chriſtian.

Wood. All theſe wordes are writtē for our learning, and we are commaunded of the Prophetes to vſe them dayly, as this: *the Lordes name be prayſed from the riſing vp of the Sunne, vnto the going downe of the ſame.* Alſo, *as many as feare the Lord, ſay alwayes, the Lord be prayſed.*

Story. My Lord, ſend him to priſon: you ſhal do no good with him. I will go to church & leaue you here. This is an old hereticke. Waſt thou neuer before me ere now?

Wood. Yes forſooth, that I haue.

Story. Yea I trow ſo: and I ſent thée to the Biſhop of London,

When *D. Story* can not cōfute them by learning, he confuteth thē by impriſonment.

London, and he releaſed thée, and thou promiſedſt him to be an honeſt man, and that thou wouldeſt be of the true catholicke church, which thou haſt not fulfylled.

Wood. I promiſed him nothing but I haue fulfilled it. No man ſhalbe able to proue the contrary.

Story. Well, it wilbe tried well inough. My Lord, I will take my leaue. I feare me you ſhall do this man no good.

No. But if he ſhould ſay: the Sacrament of the altar, worſhipped might he be: then he were a perfect catholicke.

The Lord, hereticall, our Lorde, catholicke, with the Papiſtes.

Chicheſ. I would not haue you to vſe ſuch ſpeach as you doo: as, the Lord be prayſed, and the liuing God, with ſuch like wordes. Can you not ſay as well, our Lord, or our God, as otherwiſe?

Wood. I maruaile why you ſhould reprone me therfore, ſeing it is the wordes of God. I do not refuſe to ſay our God, or our Lord, when I talke the ſcriptures where it is written. If I ſhould, it muſt follow that I denied the wordes of God, and muſt nedes be an hereticke: but I doe not. Wherfore I maruell what you meane to finde fault therin. It ſemeth to me that you miſtruſt that I beleue not as you doo.

Chicheſ. Yea, that is my meaning in déede.

Wood. I beleue in the liuing God: if you doo not ſo, then our beliefes be not alike in déede. But if it pleaſe you to examine me vpon any particular matter, now or at any other time, I will make you aunſwere therto by Gods helpe.

Fallacia equiuoci.

He that erreth frō the church, which church erreth not in the right faith, his fayth can not be good in déede.

Chicheſ. Though you beleue in God, I can proue you beleue not as you ought to do, as I can ſhew you by your hand writing. You haue denied the catholicke church. Wherefore he that erreth from the Church, it can not be ſayd that his fayth is good. Wherfore be ruled by the church, from the which ye haue erred. I can ſhew you perilous thinges of your writing, if it ſhould be knowne: but ye ſhall not be hurt for me, if you will come to any good order. But I promiſe you, I would not for thrée thouſand pound, ſome had ſo much againſt me, as I can ſhew agaynſt you of your owne hand writing, which you cannot deny.

Wood. I will not deny my hand, by Gods helpe. For I know well, I haue written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be thinges written agaynſt me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: but my hand cā not well be counterfeted: thers be inow that know my hand.

Chicheſ. Do you know it your ſelfe, if you ſée it?

Wood. Yea that I do. Then he aroſe, and fet a great bundle of writinges, and opened them, and bad me come ſée. I looked on them, and it was my hand in déede.

Woodman charged with hys owne writinges.

Chicheſ. How ſay you? is it not your writing?

Wood. Yes ſurely is it.

Chic. How ſay you to this? is not this your hand alſo?

Wood. I looked, & it was: And I ſaid: yes verely is it.

Chic. Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare ſay.

Richard Woodman v. times before the Commiſſioners.

Wood. Yea, I know very well: here is a great deale, the which I had thought had bene in my houſe, but I thanke God that it is here: for in this you ſhall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contayned all the talke that was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me when I was before them fiue times, and alſo before the biſhop of London diuers times: & I am ſure you nor they ſhall finde no wordes falſe therein written: and I thinke the ſhrieffes men when they ſearched my houſe for me, when I was taken, found this, and caried it with them: but I neuer knew it before now. But I am not ſory for it, but am rather glad. For herein you may ſée all the wrong that I receaued at theyr handes, and how long I was in priſon, and how I was toſſed vp and downe, and how I was deliuered at length, & by this you may trye, whether it be ſo or not. I dare ſay they that found it, and they that brought it to you had thought it would haue turned me to diſpleaſure: but in very déede all thinges worke for the beſt, to them that feare God.

Chicheſ. In déede I finde no great fault in this: but here is perilous geare, here is ſedicion. This was ſet vp vppon the church doore, you know it well inough.

Richard Woodmās childe being baptiſed by ẏ midwife, was brought out of the houſe by the Papiſtes and confirmed in the Church.

Wood. In déede I wrote it to the Prieſt, and to other that toke vpō them to fetch my Childe out of my houſe without my leaue, and vſed it at theyr pleaſure, when they knew it was baptiſed already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conſcience compelled me to ſhew them my minde in writing, wherin is conteyned nothing but the ſcriptures of God, rebuking them for theyr folly.

D. Chriſtopherſon Byſhop of Chicheſt. beginneth with fayre wordes to perſwade *Woodmā* from hys doctrine.

Chicheſ. Yea, but it is terribly ment, and vncharitably. It is ſuch gere coupled together I promiſe you, as I neuer ſée the like. But I promiſe you I will make the beſt of it. And I proteſt before god, I would you ſhould doo as well as mine owne ſoule and body. Be cōtented to bee enformed. God hath done his part on you. Caſt not your ſelfe away. Remember your wife and childrē, and the poore that lacke your occupying. Meane to follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher, nor a preacher. Saint Paul ſayth: *Let euery man walke wherin he is called, and therin abide.* Remēber you are called to an other vocation: for Gods ſake walke therin. It is not your office to doo as you haue done. You might doo as much good, by the report of worſhipfull men, as any man might doo in all the countrey, by your example: and if you would follow the lawes of the catholicke church, it would be an occaſion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out as you are.

Woodmā not out of ẏ church.

Wood. I would not that you ſhould ſay that I am out of the church of God. For I am not, but doo allow the church of God, according to his word. Yea, if I were abroade, if I could winne any into the true church, that be out, by any meanes that I could vſe, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I loue al people as my ſelfe. And where you ſay I haue bene a preacher, it is not ſo. I neuer toke any ſuch thing vpon me, as it is well knowen. But as for teaching, I can not deny: for it becommeth euery man to teach and inſtruct his houſhold in the feare of God, and all other (as farre as he can) that deſire it of him. And where as you haue blamed me for reading ẏ ſcripture, and leauing my vocation, as you ſay, I left not my vocation in reading the ſcripture. For I truſt I followed my vocation the better therefore. And the greateſt cauſe that I was compelled to read the ſcriptures, was, becauſe the preachers and teachers were ſo changeable.

A man may teach though he be no preacher.

Reading the Scripture lette no man to walke in his vocati on, but ther doth further hym.

Chicheſ. No? Did you not preach at a faire?

Wood. No ſurely, but it was ſo reported. I was at a fayre in déede. Whileſt I was in priſon, I had leaue of the Counſell to go home to pay my debtes, and then I went to a fayre to ſell cattell, and there met with me diuers poore men that I had ſet a worke, and of loue aſked me how I did, & how I could away with impriſōment. And I ſhewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deale with all thē that put theyr truſt in him: and this they called preaching. And ſince that, it hath bene reported that I haue baptiſed childrē, & maried folkes, ẏ which I neuer did: for I was neuer miniſter. Wherfore if I had ſo done, I had done cōtrary to the order of the Apoſtles, as God forbid I ſhould.

Lies and ſclaunders.

Chicheſ. I am well apayde if you be faultles in thoſe thinges, for I haue heard ſay the contrary.

Wood. I haue ſhewed you the truth, and that no man liuing ſhalbe able to proue the contrary.

Chicheſ. You ſaid you doo not diſallow the true catholicke church.

Wood. No, that I doo not.

Woodmā diſallowe not the Catholi Church.

Chicheſ. Why do you not then go to the church? You come not there, it is enformed me.

Wood. I truſt I am in the true church euery day. But to tell you truth, I come not at the church where the moſt doo reſorte. For if I ſhould, I ſhould offende, & be offended. For the laſt time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended my ſelfe. Wherefore for conſcience ſake I would not come there. For I was ſent

The Byſhop chargid with hys office.

ſent to priſon for my comming there, and now I am ſent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleaſed any way with me, for they ſeeke my life. Wherfore loke you to it, for I am now in your handes, and you ought to be a houſe of defence agaynſt mine enemies. For if you ſuffer them to kill me, my bloud ſhall be required at your handes. If you can finde any iuſt cauſe in me worthy of death by Gods worde, you may condemne me your ſelfe, and not offend God: wherfore loke to it. The matter is weighty: deliuer me not into theyr handes, and thinke ſo to be diſcharged.

Chicheſ. I tell you truth, I can do litle in the matter. For I haue not full authoritye, as yet, of myne office: but I will ſend for you and talke with you, if I wiſt I ſhuld do you any good.

Wood. I would be glad to talke with you and to ſhew you my minde in any thyng that you ſhall demaund of me, now or at any other tyme.

The Byſhop ddeth Woodmā dinner.

Chicheſ. So then he deſired the Sheriffes men to tary dinner wͭ him: that this man (ſayd he) may dine with me alſo: for it is poſſible ỹ he may haue no great ſtore of meate whether he ſhall go.

alke twene Richard Woodmā to the Byſhop bout rieſtes riage.

Wood. So we taryed dynner with hym, & had no further talke, neither how to proue where the true church of God is, nor of the Sacramentes, nor of any other thyng pertainyng to me ward, not for the ſpace of two houres or more: but he entred in talke with me, how I vnderſtode many Scriptures, and for Byſhops and Prieſtes Mariages, and whether Paule had a wyfe or not. To whom I aunſwered: it is a thyng that I haue litle to do with, as concernyng Mariages: but I am very well content to talke with you in the matter as far as my poore learnyng wil ſerue. So when he had talked with me of diuers Scriptures, he lyked my talke well. He aſked me how I ſaid by Paul, whether he were maryed or not. To whom I aunſwered: I proue by the Scriptures that he was neuer maryed.

ule if he re not ryed, he had er to ry as llas the er had.

Chicheſ. How proue you that?

Wood. I will proue it well ynough, by Gods helpe. But yet I wil proue that Paul might haue had a wife as well as the other Apoſtles had.

Chicheſ. Why? had the other Apoſtles wyues?

r. ix.

Wood. Yea, all ſauyng Paul and Barnabas, as I vnderſtād it. For theſe are Paules wordes in the firſt to ỹ Cor. ix. chap. *Am I not an Apoſtle? am I not free? haue I not ſeene Ieſus Chriſt? Are not ye my worke in the Lord? And if I be not an Apoſtle to other, yet to you I am an Apoſtle. For you are the ſeale of my Apoſtleſhyp in the Lord. Mine aunſwere to them that aſke me, is this: Haue we not power to eate & to drinke? either, haue we not power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other Apoſtles haue, and as the brethrē of the Lord? Either haue not Barnabas and I power thus to do?* So this text proueth that Paul & Barnabas were vnmaryed. But Paul declareth that ỹ reſt had wyues, & that they had power likewiſe ſo to haue, but they found no nede therof. But Paul declareth in the vij. chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, that he that hath no power ouer hys owne fleſhe, may mary: *For it is better to mary then to burne. Wherefore to auoyde fornication* (ſayth he) *let euery man haue his wife.* He ſayth: *let euery man haue his wife, and euery womā her huſ band.* By this place of Scripture I vnderſtand, that Byſhops and Prieſtes may haue wyues, becauſe they are men, rather then to burne, or to commit fornicatiō. But I thinke verely, hee that can abſtayne, hauyng power of his owne will, doth beſt: but if he mary, he ſinneth not.

r. vij.

ſtes t to e wi: , rather n to e, by Paules nde.

So then he debated the Scriptures with me diuers wayes, that a Byſhop nor a Prieſt ought not to haue a wife: but I proued by diuers Scriptures, both in the old law and in the new, that wemen were at firſt made for the helpe of men, the which was ſpoken generally to all men. Wherfore (ſayd I) euery mā may haue a womā, & ſinne not, in honeſt Matrimony, as well Biſhops and Deacons as other men, which you call Prieſtes, if they be true Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, and of that order that the Byſhops and Deacons were in Paules tyme. For Paul declareth to Timothy. i. and the iij, *That a Byſhop ſhould be the huſ band of one wife,* and how they ſhould be honeſtly apparelled, and how they ſhould bring vp their children: and likewiſe the Deacons. This (ſayd I) proueth more plainly, that both Biſhops and Deacons had wyues in the Apoſtles tyme: the which he could not deny. But then he alledged that no Byſhop nor Prieſt might take a wife, after he had taken vpon hym that office: but if he had a wyfe before he toke the office, tryed mete for the purpoſe, for his life, & for hys learnyng, he might kepe hys wyfe, & bring vp his children accordyng to S. Paules meanyng to Timothy, or els might they haue no wiues. Then ſayd I: I thinke Paules meaning in that place was, that a mā that hath had two wyues, might not be made a Biſhop nor a Deacon, if he had neuer ſo much learnyng. But that place maketh not that a Byſhop or a Deacon may not mary after they be made Byſhops and Deacons. For I am ſure that Paul was in the ſtate of a Byſhop when he ſayd: *He had power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other Apoſtles had.* Here Paul declareth that it was in hys power to haue a wife, after he had the office of a Byſhop, which was not in his power, if he had bene forbidden of God.

e. ij.

j. Tim. iij.

Byſhops and Deacons were maryed in ỹ Apoſtles tyme.

Papiſtes hold, that Byſhops and Deacons hauing wiues before, might kepe thē ſtill: but not hauing before, might not afterward mary.

Paul confeſſeth him ſelfe after hys Apoſtleſhip to haue power to mary.

Thus haue I ſhewed you my minde in this behalfe, both of Paul, and alſo for the mariages of Biſhops and Prieſtes, as I vnderſtand the ſcriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I haue litle to do withall: but as you required me to ſay my minde in that matter, ſo I haue done.

Chicheſ. Mary I am glad that you haue ſayd as you haue done. Many do affirme boldly that Paul had a wife, and yet can not proue whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures: but you haue ſayd very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by Gods word. And if you wil be contented likewiſe in other matters, no doubt you ſhall do well: therefore gentle goodman Woodman be ruled. God hath geuen you a good wit. I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as myne owne ſoule and body, and ſo would (I dare ſay) all the worſhypfull men in the countrey, as they haue reported to me.

The Byſhops fayre wordes to *Richard Woodman.*

Wood. Why my Lord, I take God to record (whom I truſt to ſerue) that I would be as glad to lyue in reſt and peace, as any man in all the world, if I might. And I ſtand to learne, and am contented to be reformed of any thyng that I hold, if it can be proued that it be not agreable to Gods word. And the truth is ſo, I haue talked with a doſen Prieſtes at the leaſt, ſince I was deliuered out of priſon, of certaine matters, and they haue not ben able to certifie me in any thyng that I haue aſked them: and therfore haue they complayned on me to the Sheriffe & Iuſtices, makyng tales & lyes on me, to turne me to diſpleaſure, as much as in thē lyeth. I promiſe you, there be as many vnlearned Prieſtes in your Dioces, as in any one Dioces in England, I thinke: the more it is to be lamented.

Richard Woodman complained of by vnlearned Prieſtes, which could not certifie him in matters of religion.

Chicheſ. I promiſe you I do much lamēt it my ſelfe: for I heare ſay no leſſe, but it is true that you ſay. I would I could remedy it, but I can not: but I will do the beſt that I can when I come into the countrey, and I will be glad to talke with you ſome other tyme, when I am ſomewhat better at eaſe. You ſee I am very tender now, as I haue bene this halfe yeare & more. Come to dynner: our dynner is ready. I cauſed you not to tary for any great chere that you ſhall haue, nor I would you ſhould not thinke that I goe about to wynne you with my meate. But you be welcome with all my hart. Come, ſit downe.

A Byſhoplike dinner without any talke of ſcriptures.

Wood. I thãked him, and went to dinner: and there dyned with hym a Marchaũt man, one of the Sheriffes men, and I, and no mo, and we had good chere, God bee prayſed therfore. We had no talke of the Scriptures al the dynner while: but when dynner was done, the Biſhop ſayd.

Chicheſ. Now cal M. Stories man. For the Commiſſioners haue committed you to priſon: but I will ſend for you or euer it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.

D. Story a man without reaſon.

Wood. If it pleaſe you to ſend for me, I would be very glad to talke with you, for I lyke your talke well. And then if it pleaſe your Lordſhyp to examine me vpõ any particular matter, I will ſhew you my mynd therin, by Gods grace, without diſſimulation. But I pray you let me haue nothyng to do with M. Story, for he is a man without reaſon, me thinke.

Chicheſ. Well, or euer you go, how ſay you to the vij. Sacraments? Let me heare what you ſay to them, that I may be the willynger to ſend for you agayne.

vij. Sacramentes denied.

Wood. I know not ſeuen Sacramentes.

Chicheſ. Then what ſhall I talke with you? How many do you know?

Two onely Sacramẽtes.

Wood. I know but two: one the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the other the Supper of the Lorde. But if you can iuſtly proue by Gods word, that there be more then two, I ſtand to be reformed.

Chicheſ. If I proue not ſeuen by Gods word, then beleue me not: and ſo he bad me farewell.

Then the Sheriffes two men, and one of Doct. Stories men, caryed me to Doct. Cookes houſe, which Doct. Cooke commaũded them to cary me to the Sheriffes priſon in Southwarke, ſaying: he ſhalbe called before vs agayne ſhortly, and all his felowes, and we ſhal diſpatch them for troublyng the countrey any more.

Richard Woodman caryed to the Marſhalſey.

Luk. xxij.

And ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſea, where I now am mery (God be prayſed therefore) lookyng for iudgement of my fleſhe: for they intende to diſpatch me ſhortly, if God will geue thẽ leaue: but God hath their hartes in his hands, and they can do nothyng to me, but as God will geue them leaue. Wherfore I commit my cauſe to God onely, and I am ſure there ſhall not one heare of my head periſh without my heauenly fathers will, although I bide neuer ſo much trouble. Iob periſhed not for all his trouble, although God gaue the deuil leaue to trouble & try him diuers and many wayes, as God hath ſuffered his members to trouble and trye me diuers & many wayes, I prayſe God. They ſhall as litle preuayle agaynſt my fayth (I haue no miſtruſt) as the deuill preuayled not agaynſt Iob, what ſoeuer they do with my goodes, lyfe or body. For he that kept Iob in all hys trouble, neither ſlombreth nor ſleepeth, but keepeth me and all hys elect, that whether we lyue or dye, it ſhalbe to the prayſe and glory of God. For if we lyue, we lyue at the Lordes will: and if we dye, we dye to the Lordes will: ſo, whether we lyue or dye, we are the Lordes, bleſſed be hys name therfore.

The deuils members perſecutors of the Chriſtians.

Iob.

Pſal. cxxj.

Rom. xiiij.

Richard Woodman to the faithfull brethren.

Wherfore, deare brethren and ſiſters to whom this my wrytyng ſhall come, be of good chere, and feare not what man can do vnto you. For they can but kil the body: but feare him that hath power to kill both body and ſoule. And yet once agayne I bid you be of good chere. For the Sheriffe with diuers other Gentlemen and Prieſtes, whileſt I was at the Sheriffes houſe ſayd to me, that all the heretickes in the countrey hong on me, as the people did in tymes paſt vpon S. Auguſtin, or S. Ambroſe, or ſuch lyke. Wherfore ſayd they, looke well on it, you haue a great thyng to aunſwere for. To the which I aunſwered: I pray God lay nothyng more to my charge, then he will do for hereſie, as I am ſure he wil not. For he hath ſet my ſinnes as farre from me, as it is frõ the Eaſt to the Weſt: So that I am ſure they ſhall neuer come nere me any more. Yea, and that that they call hereſie, we ſerue God withall. And I am ſure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet ẏ is their imagination & thoughts, that if they might wynne me to them, they ſhoulde winne a great many lykewiſe: & thinkyng to kill me if they can not wynne me, as I truſt in God, and am ſure they neuer ſhall by Gods grace, if it were poſſible to kil me .x. tymes: for I am ſo linked to Chriſt in a chayne by fayth, that it is vnpoſſible for men to louſe vs a ſonder, neither for lyfe nor death, I prayſe my Lord God therfore. And no doubt theyr full intent and purpoſe is to kill me, thinking therby to make other afrayde. Which death of my body were beſt of all for me, if God were ſo pleaſed. But if I may lyue for the comforte of other, his name be prayſed therfore. I know what he can do: but what he will doe I know not. But if death be offered me, ſo that I cannot refuſe it without diſpleaſing of God, I truſt in God I ſhall not offend my brethren in receauing of death, but ſhalbe rather an occaſion of the ſtrengthnyng of their fayth by chooſing and receauyng of it, and that with ioy. For as Chriſt hath geuen hys lyfe for vs, ſo ought we to geue our lyues for the defenſe of the Goſpell, and comfort of our brethren. And where as the Byſhop ſayth, he will proue vij. Sacramentes, be ye out of doubt he ſhall neuer be able to do it, no more then he hath proued other argumẽtes with me already.

Pſal. ciij.

Those that feare God hang not on man.

The inſeparable knot of loue betwene Chriſt and hys members.

Chriſtians ought to geue their liues for defence of the goſpell, if they be therto called.

This fare ye well from the Marſhallſey where I now am, as a ſheepe appointed to be ſlayne, God be prayſed therfore.

The ſecond examination of Richard Woodmam before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, two of his chaplaynes: and Doctor Story at the laſt came to vs, the xxvij. day of Aprill.

The ſecond examinatiõ of Richard Woodmã, before D. Chriſtopherſon Byſhop of Chicheſt. D. Story, &c.

First, I was ſent for to the Marſhalſea by Doctor Story, and was caryed to hys houſe beſides Saint Nicholas Shambles: and when I had ſpoken to him, he ſent me to the biſhop of Chicheſter and ſaid he would come to him his ſelfe ſtraight way: and when we were in the biſhops hall, we had not taried long, but the Byſhop ſent for me: and when I came before him, I dyd my duty to hym as much as I could.

Chicheſt. Then ſayd the Byſhop: You be welcome: how do you now?

Wood. Well, I prayſe God, thanking your Lordſhip for the gentle talke that you had with me at my laſt departing from you.

Chicheſt. Well goodman Woodman, I haue ſent for you of loue, and good will that I bare to you, to talke with you: and I would haue you tell me your minde in fewe wordes. For in deede the laſt tyme that I talked with you, our talke was ſo long, that I fell into a great drieth thereby, and haue bene the worſe in my body euer ſince. Wherfore I pray you ſhew me your minde briefely in thoſe particular matters that I ſhall demaunde of you, according to your promiſe ẏ you made when you were with me the laſt tyme. How ſay you, will you?

Wood. Yea forſoth: I will aunſwere to any thyng that you ſhall demaunde of me (by Gods helpe) as well as I can.

Chicheſt. How ſay you by the ſeuen Sacramentes? for there we left of, and there we will beginne agayne. You ſayd then there were but two. How ſay you now to it? will you deny all ſauing two?

Prouing of vij. Sa-cramen

Wood. I ſay now as I ſayd then. You ſayd there bee ſeuen Sacramentes, and I ſayd I knew but two: but if you could approue ſeuẽ by Gods word when I came before you agayne, I muſt neede graunt them. And you ſayd, if you could not proue them by Gods word, I ſhould not beleue them: and now I am come to ſee how wel you can proue them. Herewith he was moued, and all his chaplaynes.

Chicheſt. By God and by my trouth, I wene he thinketh

keth I can not proue them. How ſay you to the Sacrament of Matrimony?

Wood. Why my Lord, Saint Paule ſaith to Timothy: a Biſhop ſhould be faultles: & you vſe much ſwearing, which is a great fault in a Biſhop, of al other, that ſhould be an example to the flocke. Thē he and his prelats were in a great rage with me, becauſe I reproued him for his ſwearing.

Chicheſt. What? I perceaue this man is worſe thē he was the laſt day, what? he taketh vpon him to teach me to ſpeake, as though I could not tell what I had to do.

Prieſt. So me thinketh my Lord: he is a ſtout felow in deede, as we haue ſeene.

Wood. Yea, I am ſtout becauſe I do that I am commaunded. I dare not for my life hold my peace, for I ſhould beare your ſinne, the which I will not doe for none of you all, I tell you playnely.

Chicheſt. Where finde you that you are commaunded to reproue me?

Wood. If thou ſee thy brother ſinne, reproue him: if he repent, thou haſt won thy brother. But you repent it not, me thinketh, but rather goe about to maintaine the ſame. Chriſt ſayth: *He that breaketh one of the leaſt of my commaundements, and teacheth men ſo, ſhall be called leaſt in the kingdome of heauē:* and you goe about to teach men ſo, as farre as I ſee.

Prieſt. Why my Lord, this man is paſt cure. I ſee no hope in him.

Chicheſt. No, ſo me thinketh. I wil neuer talke with him more. Goe cal M. Story: let him do with him what he wyll. He hath bene with his fellowes in the Marſhalſea, and now he is worſe then he was before. I had ſome hope in him the other day, but now I ſee none.

Wood. No, I prayſe God, my fayth hangeth vpon no men, but vpon God.

Prieſt. Nay, my Lord, I thinke he is not the worſe for thē: but I feare me, they be the worſe for him. I know this man of olde, before myne olde Lord.

Wood. Well my Lord, looke well to it: will you deliuer me to other men, to ſheede my bloud, and ſo thinke to waſh your hands of me, as Pilate did by Chriſt? nay you can not be ſo diſcharged.

Chicheſt. I haue nothing to do with you: but of my gentlenes I haue ſent for you, becauſe you ſayd you woulde declare your mynde in any particular matter that I would demaunde of you.

Wood. Why? I do not deny but I will do ſo, if you do demaunde it of me. But you go about to deliuer me to other, to kill me: and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chicheſt. I am not conſecrated yet: wherefore my Lord Cardinall may examine you, and condemne you, or my Lord of London: for you are now in his dioces.

Wood. Yea my Lord? is the matter euen ſo? Then I perceaue where about you goe. Nay I will talke no more with you then, if you be at that point. Aſke me what you will: but I will ſhewe you nothing of my mynde. I promiſe you, I will not aunſwere in particular matters, and ſo you to accuſe me to other, and they to kill me.

Chicheſt. I goe not about to kill you, but woulde be glad to heare your mynde in the Sacramentes, that if you vnderſtand them not a right, I woulde bee glad with all my hart to ſhew you my mynde how I vnderſtand thē. For I would you ſhould do as well as mine owne ſelfe.

Wood. If you woulde talke with me to do me good, I woulde be content to heare you, and ſhewe you my mynde: otherwiſe I would be loath.

Chicheſt. Nay I will promiſe you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harme: for if I ment to do you harme, I coulde lay your owne hand writing agaynſt you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How ſay you to ẏ ſacramēt of matrimony? Is it a Sacrament or no? how thinke you by it?

Wood. I thinke it is a holy inſtitution, ordayned of God in Paradiſe, and ſo to continue to ẏ worldes end.

Chicheſt. Lo, now you ſhal ſee how you be deceaued in that, as you be in all the reſt. Come hether. You can read Latine I am ſure.

Wood. Yea, I can read Latin, but I vnderſtand very litle.

Chicheſt. Come to me, you ſhall ſee that Paule calleth it a holy Sacrament. For theſe be the wordes: *For this cauſe ſhall a man leaue father and mother, and ſhall be ioyned to hys wife: and two ſhalbe made one fleſh. Thys is a great Sacrament*

Ephe. v.

Wood. I remēber ſuch a ſaying: but S. Paul calleth it not a Sacramēt. But he ſayth: *It is a great myſterye.*

S. Paules wordes bee theſe: Thys miſtery is great. &c.

Chicheſt. Where ſayth he ſo?

Wood. I am not ſure in what text it is, but I am ſure theſe be S. Paules wordes, and that he calleth it not a Sacrament in all his writinges.

Chicheſt. What? the laſt day ye were full of ſcriptures: here it is writtē, and there it is written. What? we can rehearſe the ſcriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be ſure it be writtē, it is no great matter for the place. Come hether, and I will ſhew you the place, I thinke, that you meane.

Wood. I looked, and it was written, Sacramentum. I know it is a great myſtery in ẏ Engliſh tranſlatiō.

In ẏ Greke text S. Pauls calleth it myſterium.

Chich. I permit it be a myſtery. What is a myſtery?

Wood. A myſtery is (I take it) vnſeene: for he ſaith, he ſpeaketh betwixt Chriſt and the congregation. So the great myſtery that he ſpeaketh of, I take to bee the fayth of them that be maried, which is hid in Chriſt, the which we ſee not, but Chriſt. But the deede which is in the congregation, which is the outward mariage we ſee, but the inward mariage of the hart we ſee not. Wherfore Paul calleth it a myſtery. And therfore, if it be a Sacrament, it is inuiſible to vs: It is not ſeene as other Sacramentes be.

What is a myſtery, and what difference there is betwene a myſtery and a Sacrament.

Chicheſt. Nay, I tell you it is a viſible Sacrament, ſene as the other be: for is not the mariage ſene? is not the man and woman ſene?

Wood. My Lord, I pray you what is a Sacrament?

Chicheſt. It is the ſigne of a holy thing.

Wood. Me thinkes you haue certified me very well. There neede not be a ſigne of a holy thing, where the holy thing is it ſelfe. Then hys Chaplaynes woulde haue interrupted me, but I deſired my Lord I might ſay out my minde in the matter. So with much ado he bad me ſay what I could.

There neede not be a ſigne of a thing where the thing is it ſelfe. Matrimony is a holy thyng it ſelfe, and is ended outwardly, and neede no more ſignes but them ſelues: wherefore it cannot be a Sacrament, as other be.

¶ *Argument.*

A thyng ſignified, and a thyng ſignifying, can not bee at one tyme in reſpecte of it ſelfe, in one ſubiecte.

Matrimony is a holy thing it ſelfe ſignified,

Ergo, matrimony can not bee a Sacrament ſignifying a holy thyng.

Chich. Lo, how much you ſpeake agaynſt your ſelfe. As for an example: I come by a hoſier, and there hangeth a payre of hoſe, the which be hoſe and be a ſigne of hoſe that be to ſell within.

The hoſe in a Hoſiers ſtalle, may bee a ſigne ſignifying moe hoſe to be within: but it is no ſignifying ſigne of it ſelfe. Neyther agayne is euery ſigne of an other thing to be called a Sacrament.

Prieſt. How ſay you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home in deede.

Wood. He hath hit me perilouſly, I tell you with ſophiſtry, to blind myne eyes withall. I maruaile you be not all aſhamed of it. I can aunſwere that to all your ſhames, if I might be iuſtly heard, I tell you playnly.

Prieſt. What? you be angry me thinkes.

Wood. I am not angry, but I am earneſt, I tel you, to ſee your blindnes and folly. I talked of ẏ ſcriptures that be written, & it is Gods word to proue my matter true by, and you wil proue your matter true by a payre of hoſe. And as well can you proue it by that, as by Gods worde.

Chicheſter proueth Matrimonie to be a Sacrament, by a payre of hoſe.

Prieſt. Why? is there nothing true but that is written in the Bible?

Wood. Sainct Paule ſayth to the Galathians the firſt chapter: *If an Aungell come from heauen and preach any other doctrine then may be proued by Gods worde, hold him accurſed*: and ſo do I, I tell you playnly.

Letters written in ẏ booke ſpeakyng properly, be one thyng: the teſtament and worde of God is an other thing: And yet by vſe of ſpeach, the booke of the Teſtament is called the Teſtament, as bread & wine be called the body and bloud of the Lord.

Prieſt. Here is a Teſtament in my hand: if I hurle hym in the fire and burne him, haue I burned Gods word, or not? I will bye a new for xvj. pence.

Wood. I ſay you haue burned Gods worde, and I beleue, he that wyll burne a Teſtament willingly, would burne God him ſelf if he were here, if he could: for hee and his word are all one.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on (quoth I). Your laughing wyll be turned to weeping, and all ſuch ioy wyll be turned to mournyng, if you repent it not with ſpeede.

Chicheſt. Then the Byſhop begon to helpe to cloke the prieſtes folly, ſaying: why? if my counting houſe were ful of bookes, and if my houſe ſhould be on fire by chaunce, and ſo be burned, were Gods word burned?

Wood. No my Lord, becauſe they were burned againſt your will: but yet if you ſhould burne them willingly, or thinke it well, and not being ſory for it, you burne Gods word as wel as he. For he that is not ſory for a ſhrewd turne, doth allow it to be good.

Heb. xiij.

Chicheſt. Follow your vocation: you haue little learning. *We haue an aultar, whereof you may not eate.* What meaneth S. Paule thereby.

Wood. There is no man ſo fooliſhe to eate ſtones I trow.

Chicheſt. What mockers and ſkorners be you, to ſay no man wyll be ſo fooliſhe to eate ſtones? it is a plaine mocke.

Wood. Why, my Lord, you ſayd I had no learning, nor knowledge, or vnderſtanding. Wherefore it becommeth you to make thinges more playne to me, and not to aſke me ſuch darke queſtions, and yet blame me to: me thinke it is to much.

Chicheſt. I dare ſay you know what it meaneth wel inough. The moſt foole in my houſe will vnderſtād my meaning better then you do.

Wood. There ſtoode ſome of his men not farre of, talking together beſide a window. He called one of thē by his name

Chicheſt. Come hether. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eate of this table. What do I meane thereby?

The Byſhop of Chicheſter rightly aunſwered of hys man according to hys queſtion.

The man. Forſoth my Lord, you would not haue me eate of this table, laying his hand thereupō. With this aunſwere he made all thē in the houſe to fall on laughing, and I coulde not holde it in, but burſt out wyth laughter and ſayd.

Wood. He hath expounded the matter almoſt as well as I.

Chicheſ. He meaneth well enough, if you would vnderſtand hym.

Aunſwere me againe, to make it more playne. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eate of thys table. What meane I therby?

The man. Forſooth, you woulde not haue me eate this table.

Wood. Theſe wordes made them all laugh. Wherewith the Biſhop was almoſt angry, becauſe the aunſwere proued no better, and ſayd.

Chicheſ. He meaneth, that I woulde not haue hym eate any of the meate that is ſet vpon this table. How ſayeſt thou? dooſt thou not meane ſo?

Ait, ais.

The man. Yes forſooth my Lorde, that was my meaning in deede.

Wood. Yea my Lord, now you haue told him what you meane, he can ſay ſo to: and ſo could I haue done (as litle wit as I haue) if you had ſayd, Paul ment that no man might eate of that which was offered vpon the altar, but the Prieſtes.

Chich. Yea, I perceaue you vnderſtand ẏ meaning of Paule well enough, but that you liſt to cauell with me.

Wood. Why my Lord? do you thinke I vnderſtand ſuch darke places of ſcripture without learning? you ſayd euen now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherfore I aunſwered you as you iudged of me.

Sacram of ẏ altar,

Chich. Well, let this matter paſſe, and let vs turne to the principall agayne. How ſay you by the ſacrament of the altar?

Wood. You meane the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt.

Chich. I meane the ſacrament of the altar, & ſo I ſay.

Wood. You meane Chriſt to be the altar, do you not?

Chich. I meane the ſacrament of the altar in the church. What, is it ſo ſtraunge to you?

Wood. It is ſtraunge to me in deede, if you meane the altar of ſtone.

The altar how it is to be tak and whe it is.

Chich. It is that altar that I meane.

Wood. I vnderſtand not the altar ſo.

Chich. No, I thinke ſo in deede: and that is the cauſe that you be deceaued. I pray you how do you vnderſtand the altar then?

Wood. If you will geue me leaue till I haue done, I wil ſhew you how I vnderſtād the altar, & where it is.

Chich. Yes, you ſhall haue leaue to ſay your minde, as much as you will.

Mat 18.

Mat. v.

Wood. It is written, Math. 18. *That whereſoeuer 2. or 3. be gathered together in Chriſtes name, there is he in the middeſt among them: and whatſoeuer they aske the father vpon earth, it ſhalbe graunted them in heauen*, agreing to the 5. of Math. ſaying: *When thou cōmeſt to offer thy gift at the altar, & there remēbreſt that thy brother hath ought agaynſt thee, leaue there thy offring, and go firſt and be reconciled to thy brother, & then offer thy gift.* The prieſtes would haue interrupted me: but the Biſhop bad them let me alone.

Chich. You ſhall heare a prety concluſion anone.

Chriſt th true and onely alta

The place of *Mat. v.* expounde

Wood. I pray you let me make an end, and then finde fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In theſe two places of ſcripture I proue that Chriſt is the true altar, wheron euery Chriſtian man and woman ought to come and offer theyr giftes. Firſt, whereſoeuer the people are gathered together in Chriſtes name, there is he in the middeſt: and where he is, there is the altar, ſo that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in loue and charitie: if we be not, we muſt leue there our offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickely, & ſo forth, and thē come and offer the gift. Some will ſay, how ſhall I agree with my aduerſary, when he is not nighe by a C. miles? may I not pray till I haue ſpoken with him? to all ſuch I anſwere: If thou preſume to pray among the faythfull, wiſhing any euill to any man, woman, or childe, thou aſkeſt vengeance vpon thy ſelfe. For no ſuch aſketh any thing els of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thy aduerſary: that is, make thy life agreable to Gods word. Say in thy hart without diſſimulation, that thou aſkeſt God & all the world forgeuenes from the bottome of thy hart, entending neuer to offend them more. Then all ſuch may be bold to come and offer theyr gift, theyr prayer on the altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus haue I ſhewed you my minde, both of the altar and of the offering, as I vnderſtand it.

Chich. Doo you vnderſtand the offering and the altar ſo? I neuer heard any man vnderſtand it ſo, no not Luther the great hereticke, that was condemned by a generall counſell, and his picture burned.

Wood. If he were an hereticke, I thinke he vnderſtoode it not ſo in deede: but I am ſure all chriſtians ought to vnderſtand it ſo.

Heb. x

Chich. O what vaine glory is in you, as though you vnderſtood all thing, and other mē nothing. Heare me: I will ſhew you the true vnderſtanding, both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. *We haue an altar*, ſayth Paul, *that ye may not eate of*: meaning therby, ẏ no man might eate of that which was offred on the altar but the Prieſt. For in Pauls time all the liuing that the Prieſt had, the people came and offred it on the altar, money or other thinges: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembred that they had any thing agaynſt theyr brother, then they left theyr offering vpon the altar, and went and were reconciled to theyr brother: and they came agayne and offred theyr gifte, and ẏ Prieſt had it. This is the true vnderſtanding of the place that you haue reherſed: wherefore you be deceaued.

Wood. My Lord, that was the vſe in the olde lawe. Chriſt was the end of that. But in déede I perceaue by Paules wordes, the ſacrifice was offred in Paules time: yet that maketh not that it was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherfore it ſemeth to me that you be deceaued.

Chich. Who ſhalbe Iudges betwixt vs in the matter?

Wood. The 12. of Iohn declareth who ſhal be Iudge in the laſt day.

Chich. You meane the word ſhall iudge the worde: How can that be?

Wood. S. Peter ſayth: *the ſcripture hath no priuate interpretation*, but one ſcripture muſt be vnderſtand by an other.

Chicheſt. And you will vnderſtand it one way, and I wil vnderſtand it an other way: and who ſhalbe Iudges betwixt vs then?

Wood The true church of God is able to diſcuſſe all doubtes: to whom I referre it.

Chich. I am glad you ſay ſo, if you will do ſo in déede.

Wood. My Lord, I neuer ment otherwiſe.

Chich. The church of God doth allow the ſacrament of the altar.

Wood What do you offer now vpon the altar?

Chich. We offer vp in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar the body of Chriſt, to pacifie the wrath of God the father: and therewith they put of theyr caps all to that abominable idole.

Wood. Saint Paul ſaith to the Hebrues, in the tenth chapter: *We are ſanctified by the offering of the body of Ieſus Chriſt vppon the Croſſe once for all:* and euery prieſt is dayly miniſtring, and oftentimes offereth one maner of offering which can neuer take away ſins: and that is the offering that you vſe to offer. As farre as I can ſée, you be prieſtes after the order of Aaron, ẏ offered vp ſacrifice for theyr owne ſinnes, & the ſinnes of the people.

Chich. Nay, Aarons ſacrifice was with bloud, which ſignifieth the death of Chriſt, the which was ended vpon the croſſe by his bloudſheding: but we are prieſtes after the order of Melchiſedech, ẏ which offered bread to the King in remembrance, and ſignified the geuing of Chriſtes body in bread & wine at his laſt ſupper, the which he gaue to his diſciples, and commaunded it to be vſed to the end of the world. This is ẏ ſacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Wood. Me thinke you haue made the matter very playne to me, that as Chriſt was the end of all ſacrifices, ſo was he the beginning of the ſacramentes, willing them to be vſed in the remembrance of him to the worldes ende.

Chich. What? in remembraunce of him, and not him ſelfe, as his word ſayth, *take, eate, this is my body?* It is not the ſigne onely, but the thing it ſelf. How ſay you? is it not his body after the wordes be ſpoken by the prieſt? How ſay you? go briefely to worke, for I can not long tary with you.

Wood. My Lord, if you will aunſwere me to one ſacrament, I will aunſwere you to an other.

Chich. Yes, I am very well contented with that.

Wood. If you ſay the wordes of baptiſme ouer the water, & there be no child there, is there true baptiſme?

Chich. No, there muſt be the water, the word, and the childe, and then it is baptiſme.

Wood. Very well. Then if a childe be baptiſed in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, it is not truely Baptiſed?

Chich. No, the childe muſt be baptiſed in the name of the father, and the ſonne, and of the holy ghoſt, or els it is not truly baptiſed.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the ſacramentes: may there?

Chicheſt. No, ſayd the Biſhop.

Wood. Now my Lord, I will aunſwere to you, if it pleaſe you.

Chich. Well, how ſay you: *take, eate, this is my body:* is it not Chriſtes body, as ſone as the wordes be ſayd?

Wood. My Lord, I will aunſwere you by your owne wordes, that you aunſwered me, which is true: the water, the word, & the childe, all theſe together make baptiſme: the bread, wine, and the worde make the Sacrament: and the eater eating in true fayth, maketh it hys body. Here I proue it is not Chriſtes bodye, but to the faythfull receauer. For he ſayd: *Take, eate, this is my body.* He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And S. Auſten ſayth: Crede et manducaſti. Beleue and thou haſt eaten. And S. Iohn ſayth: *He that beleueth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him:* wherefore it is vnpoſſible to dwell in God, and to eate his body, without a true fayth.

The worde, water, and childe, make baptiſme: So the word, bread, and the receauer, make the Sacramēt of the Lordes body.

Prieſt. Then the fayth of the receauer maketh it his body, & not his word, by your ſaying. I pray you what did Iudas eate?

The fayth of the receauer maketh it the body.

Wood. Iudas did eate ẏ ſacrament of Chriſt, & the deuill with all.

Prieſt. He eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely, as S. Paul ſayth.

Wood. Nay, S. Paul ſayth no ſuch thing. He ſpeaketh not of eating of his body vnworthely, but of the ſacramēt vnworthely. For he ſaith: *whoſoeuer eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne dānation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lordes body*, and not becauſe he eateth the Lordes body. If Iudas had eate Chriſts body, it muſt nedes follow that Iudas is ſaued. For Chriſt ſayth in the vj. of Iohn: *who ſo euer eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath eternal life, & I wil raiſe him vp againe at the laſt day.*

If Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt, then muſt he be ſaued.

Prieſt. My Lord, this man is an interpreter after his owne minde.

Chich. I ſée it is but folly to talke with you: it is but loſt labour. How ſay you? Do you not beleue that after the wordes bee ſayd, there remayneth neither bread nor wyne, but the very body of Chriſt really? make me a playne anſwere, for I will talke no more with you.

Whether bread remaine in the Sacrament.

Wood. I will make you a direct aunſwere, how I beleue of the of the true Sacrament. I do beleue, that if I come to receiue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, truly miniſtred, beleuyng that Chriſt was borne for me, and that he ſuffered death for me, and that I ſhalbe ſaued from my ſinnes by his bloudſheding, and ſo receiuyng the Sacrament in that remembraunce, then I beleue I do receiue wholy Chriſt, God and mā, miſtically by fayth: this is my beliefe.

The true confeſſion of *Richard Woodman* touching the Sacrament.

Chicheſ. Why? then it is no body without fayth. Gods word is of no force, as you counte it.

Wood. My Lord, I haue told you my minde without diſſimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talke with me by the Scriptures: and if you will do ſo, I will begyn a new with you, and proue it more playnly thrée or foure maner of wayes, that you ſhall not ſay nay to that I haue ſayd, your ſelfe.

Then they made a great laughyng, and ſayd this is an hereticke in déede: it is time he were burned. Which wordes moued my ſpirite, and I ſayd to them: iudge not leaſt you be iudged. For as you iudge me, you ſhall be iudged your ſelues. For that you call hereſie, I ſerue God truly with, as you all ſhall well know when you ſhall be in hell, and haue bloud to drinke, and ſhalbe cōpelled to ſay for payne: this was the man that we ieſted on

Sap. v.

An. 1557. *Iune.*

on, and whoſe talke we thought fooliſhnes, and his ende to be without honour: but now we may ſee how he is counted among the Saintes of God, and we are puniſhed. These wordes ſhal you ſay beyng in hell, if you repent it not with ſpede, if you conſent to the ſhedyng of my bloud: Wherfore looke to it, I geue you counſell

Prieſt. What? you be angry me thinkes. Now I will ſay more to you then I thought to haue done. You were at Barill a twelue moneth agone, and ſent for the Parſon and talked with him in the Churchyard, and would not go into the Church: for you ſayd it was the idolles temple. Yea I was with myne old Lord, when he came to the Kynges Bench to you, and you ſayd many ſtoute wordes to hym.

The zeale of Gods ſpirite in *Richard Woodman.*

Wood. That I ſayd, I ſayd: and where you ſayd I was angry, I take God to my record I am not, but am zelous in the truth, and ſpeake out of the ſpirite of God with cheerefulnes.

Prieſt. The ſpirite of God? hough, hough, hough: thinke you that you haue the ſpirite of God?

Wood. I beleue ſurely that I haue ẏ ſpirite of God, I prayſe God therfore: and you be deceiuers, mockers, and ſcorners before God, and be the children of hell, all the ſort of you, as farre as I can ſee. And therwith came in Doct. Story, poyntyng at me with his finger, ſpeakyng to the Byſhop in Latin, ſaying at length.

D. Story commeth in.

Story. I cã ſay nothing to him, but he is an hereticke. I haue heard you talke this houre and a halfe, and can heare no reaſonablenes in hym

Wood. Iudge not, leſt you bee iudged: for as you iudge, you ſhalbe iudged your ſelfe.

Story. What? be you a preachyng? you ſhall preach at a ſtake ſhortly with your felowes. My Lord, trouble your ſelfe no more with him.

With thoſe wordes, one brought word that the Abbot of Weſtminſter was come to dyne with the Byſhop, and many other gentlemẽ and womẽ. Then there was ruſhyng away with ſpeede to meete hym. Thẽ ſayd Doct. Story to my keeper.

D. Story commaundeth *Richard Woodman* agayne to the Marſhalſey.

Story. Cary him to the Marſhalſee againe, and let him be kept cloſe, and let no body come to ſpeake to hym.

Wood. And ſo they departed. Thẽ one of the Prieſtes begon to flatter with me, and ſayd: for Gods ſake remẽber your ſelfe. God hath geuen you a good witte: you haue read the Scriptures well, & haue borne them well in memory: It were great pitie you ſhould do amiſſe.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to ſay my witte is good, and that I haue read the Scriptures well: and but euẽ now you ſayd I was an hereticke, and deſpiſed me. If I be an hereticke I can haue no good witte, as you haue confeſſed. But I thinke your own conſcience doth accuſe you. God geue you grace to repẽt, if it be his will.

Prieſt. I call it a good witte, becauſe you are expert in all queſtions.

Wood. You may call it a wicked witte, if it agree not with Gods word. Then one cried, away, away: here cõmeth ſtraungers. So we departed, and I came agayne to the Marſhalſee with my keper.

¶ The third examination of Richard Woodman, (copied with his own hand) before Doct. Langdall, Parſon of Buxted in Suſſex, and Chaplein to my Lord Montague, and M. Iames Gage, at my Lord Montagues houſe beſides S. Marye Oueries in Southwarke, the 12. day of May. Anno. 1557.

The third examination of *Richard Woodman*, before Doct. *Langdale*, and Maiſter *Iames Gage.* May. 12.

THe xij. day of May, the Marſhall came to the Marſhalſee, and ſent for me to ſpeake with him. When I came before him, and had done my dutie, he aſked my name, and what countrey man I was. I ſhewed hym both. Then he aſked me when I was abroad in the Citie. To whom I aunſwered: If it ſhall pleaſe your maiſterſhyp, I was abroad in the Citie on Monday was ſeuennight.

Marſhall. What made you abroad?

Wood. The Byſhop of Chicheſter ſent for me to talke with me at home at his houſe beſides S. Nicholas Shambles.

Marſhall. Were you abroad no otherwiſe then ſo?

Wood. No forſoth: I was neuer abroad ſince I was ſent hether, but then. For I haue nothing to do abroad, vnleſſe they ſend for me.

Falſe lyes and lewde reportes.

Mar. This is a marueleus matter. I promiſe you I was not ſo rebuked theſe ſeuẽ yeares, as I was for you within theſe three dayes. It is reported that you were abroad in the Citie at certaine tauernes, and ſpake ſeditious wordes, both in the tauernes and in the ſtreetes as you went.

Wood. Syr, the truth is, I was in neuer a houſe nor tauerne whiles I was abroad, but in ẏ Byſhops houſe, as my keper can, and will (I am ſure) teſtifie: nor I neuer talked with any man in the ſtreetes as I came, but with my keper, ſauyng with one mã in deede, of the Pariſhe of Framfield in Suſſex, where M. Iames Gage dwelleth. His name is Rob. Smith, beyng one of my moſt enemies: who ſtode in a wayne as we came by, and was vnladyng of cheeſe (me thought) but a litle way frõ the Marſhalſey. In deede I bad him God ſpeede, and aſked him how he did: and he ſayd, well he thanked me: and he aſked me how I did, and I ſayd, wel I prayſe God: and that was all the talke that we had: and theſe wordes were ſpoken as I came by him. I promiſe you Syr, I ſtode not ſtill while I ſpake them, as my keper can tell: and I thinke theſe wordes were no ſeditious wordes, but might be ſpoken well enough (I thinke) or els it were very ſtraite.

Woodmã warned to appeare.

Mar. Then it is to be thought that that man reported otherwiſe then it was. I am glad it is as you ſay. Wel, make you ready, for you muſt go forth ſtraight way, where you ſhalbe examined of that and of other things, where you ſhall aunſwere for your ſelf. Go, make haſt: for I will tary till you be ready.

Woodmã taketh h leaue of hi fellowes.

Wood. So I departed from him, & went to my priſon felowes, & tooke my leaue of thẽ, deſiryng them to pray for me, for I thought verely to come no more to thẽ. For I ſuppoſed I ſhould haue gone before the Counſell, becauſe the Marſhal ſayd he would tary for me him ſelfe: and eſpecially becauſe he ſayd it was reported that I had ſpoken ſedicious wordes, it made me to thinke: it is poſſible that there may be ſome falſe thinges imagined vppon me, to bryng me to my ende. I remembred that Chriſt ſayd: *The ſeruaũt is not aboue his Lord.* Seyng the Iewes brought falſe witnes agaynſt Chriſt, I thought they would do much more, or at the leaſt do ſo to me, if God would ſuffer them: which made me caſt the worſt. But I was and am ſure (I prayſe my Lord God) that all the world is not able to accuſe me iuſtly of any ſuch thyng. Which thyng cõſidered, made me mery and ioyfull: & I was ſurely certified that they could do no more agaynſt me, then God would geue them leaue: And ſo I bad my priſon felowes fare wel, and went into the porters lodge to the Marſhall, and he deliuered me to one of his owne men, and to one of my Lord Mountagues men, and bad me go with them: and they caryed me to my Lord Mountagues place in Southwarke, not far from S. Mary Oueries, and brought me into a chamber in my Lord Mountagues houſe: and there was one D. Langdale, Chapleine to my Lord. My kepers ſayd to the Doctor: this is the man that we went for.

Woodmã deliuered to one of the Lord Mounta gues men.

Lang. Is your name Woodman?

Wood. Yea forſoth, that is my name.

Lang. Then he began with a great circumſtaũce and ſayd: I am ſory for you, that you will not be ruled, but ſtand ſo much in your owne conceit, diſpleaſing your father and other, iudgyng that all the Realme doth euill ſaue a few that do as you do: with many ſuch wordes, which be to long to rehearſe: but I will declare the ſubſtaunce of them.

Lang. What thinke you of them that dyed lōg agone, your graunfather, with their fathers before them? you iudge them to be dāned, ⁊ all other that vſe yͤ ſame that they did, throughout all Chriſtendome, vnleſſe it be in Germanie, ⁊ here in England a few yeares, ⁊ in Denmarke: and yet they are returned again. Thus we are ſure this is the truth, and I would you ſhould do well. Your father is an honeſt mā, and one of my pariſh, and hath wept to me diuers tymes becauſe you would not be ruled: and he loueth you wel, and ſo doth all the coūtrey, both rich and poore, if it were not for thoſe euil opinions that you holde: wth many ſuch like tales of Robin Hode.

Wood. I pray you geue me leaue to ſpeake a fewe wordes to you.

Lang. Yes, ſay your minde.

Wood. You haue told a great tale and a long, as it were againſt me (as you thinke) ſaying: I hold this and that: I iudge my father and my graundfather, and almoſt all the world, without it be a few that be of our ſect. But I iudge no man. But the xij. of Iohn declareth who it is that iudgeth, and ſhall iudge in the laſt day. The father ſhall not beare yͤ ſonnes offences, nor the ſonne the fathers offences: but *that ſoule that ſinneth ſhall dye*, as ſayth the Prophet. And agayn, we may not folow a multitude to do euil, as ſayth the Prophet: For the moſt go the wrong way. And Chriſt ſayth in the xij. of Luke, that his flocke is a litle flocke. Here be places enough to diſcharge me, although I do not as the moſt do. But can any man ſay that I do not as I ought to do? where be my accuſers?

Lang. What? you be full of Scripture me thinke, and call for your accuſers, as though you were afrayde to vtter your minde to me. But I would haue you not to be afrayde to talke with me: For I meane no more hurt to you then I do to my ſelfe, I take G O D to my recorde.

Wood. I can not tell. It is hard truſting of faire wordes, when a man can not truſt hys father, nor brother, nor other that haue bene his familiar frends, but they deceaue hym. A man may lawfully follow yͤ example of Chriſt, towardes thē that he neuer ſaw before, ſaying: *Be as wiſe as ſerpentes, and as innocent as doues. Beware of men, for they goe about to betray you.* And it maketh me ſuſpect you much, becauſe you blame me for aunſwering wyth the ſcriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vātage of me, if I ſhould ſpeake myne owne wordes. Wherefore I will take as good heede as I can, becauſe I haue bene deceaued already by thē I truſted moſt. Wherfore blame me not though I anſwere cirūſpectly. It ſhall not be ſayd by Gods helpe, yͭ I will rūne wilfully into myne enemies handes: and yet, I prayſe God, my lyfe is not deare to my ſelfe, but it is deare with God: Wherefore I will do the vttermoſt that I can to keepe it.

Lang. You be afrayde where no feare is, for I was deſired of maiſter Sheriffe ⁊ his brother, and of other of your frendes, to talke wyth you, and they tolde me that you were deſirous to talke wyth me, and now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, ⁊ as though you were ſent to priſon for nothing: for you call for your accuſers, as though there were no man to accuſe you. But if there were no man to accuſe you, your owne hand writyng did accuſe you enough, that you ſet vpon the church doore (if you be remembred) and other letters that you let fall abroad, ſome at one place, and ſome at an other. Wherefore you neede not call for your accuſers. Your owne hand will accuſe you enough, I warrant you: it is kept ſafe enough. I would not for two hundred pound there were ſo much againſt me.

Wood. I wyll not deny myne owne hand, by Gods helpe: For it can not lightly be counterfaited. I do not deny but I wrote a letter to the prieſt and other of the pariſh, declaring to them their folly and preſumptiō, to come into my houſe without my loue or leaue, and fet out my childe, and vſe it at their pleaſure. Which moued me to write my mynde to thē: and becauſe I could not tell how to conuey it to them, I ſet it on the church doore. Which letter my Lord of Chicheſter hath: for he ſhewed it me when I was before hym: wherin is contayned nothing but the very ſcriptures, to their reproche. Let it be layd before me when you or he wyll: I wyll aunſwere to it by the helpe of God, to all their ſhames yͭ I wrote it too. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you ſay I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honeſt neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me, for that I will aunſwere thē with Chriſtes wordes, in the xviij. of Mathew: wo vnto them ſelues becauſe they geue me the occaſion.

Richard Woodmans writing ſet vpō yͤ Church doore, vpon what occaſion.

And where as you ſayd, I was deſirous to ſpeake with you, and that maiſter Sheriffe and his brother, and other of my frendes willed me to talke with you, and that I fare now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were ſent to priſon for nothing: the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am ſent to priſon, thē the leaſt childe in this towne knoweth. And as for me, I deſired not maiſter Sheriffe to ſpeake with you: but in deede he deſired me that I would ſpeake with you, and to vtter my fayth to you. For he ſuppoſed that I did not beleue well: and he reported you to be learned. But I refuſed to talke wyth you at the firſt. For I remembred not that you were the Parſon of Burted: wherefore I ſayd to hym, I would not vtter my fayth to any but to the Byſhop. I ſayd, he is myne Ordinary: wherefore I appeale vnto him. I am commaunded by S. Peter in the firſt epiſtle the third chapter, to render accompt of my hope that I haue in God, to him that hath authority: wherefore I will talke with none in that matter but wyth hym. Wherefore ſēd me to him if you will, or els there ſhall no man know my faith, I tell you plainely.

Woodman required of M. Shrieffe and other hys frendes, to talke with *D. Langdale.*

D. Langdale parſon of Buxſtede, where *Woodmans* fathers dwelt.

These wordes then made the Sheriffe angry, and he went his way: and when he was gone from me, I remembred that it was you that he would haue me to talke with, and then I remembred that I had made a promiſe to my father, and goodmā Day of Vckfeld, not paſt a fourtnight before I was taken, that when ſoeuer you came into the Countrey, I would ſpeake with you by Gods helpe, becauſe they prayſed you ſo much, that ye were learned, and they would fayne heare vs talke.

Woodmans frēdes deſirous to heare hym and Doct. *Langdale* talke together.

So all theſe thynges called to remembraunce, I deſired my keeper, which was the Sheriffes mā, to ſhew hys maiſter that I would fayne ſpeake with him: for I had remembred thinges that were not in my mynde before whē I ſpake to hym. So he wēt to hys maiſter, and ſhewed hym the matter, and he came to me: and then I told hym my minde, and what promiſe I had made: and he ſayd he would ſend for you on the morrow, as he did, and the meſſenger brought word you could not come: you preached before the Queene, he ſayd. Whereupon the Sheriffe came vp himſelfe, and ſpake to the Biſhop that he ſhould come downe, but he was ſicke. So when he came home agayne, he ſent me to the Byſhop, and I haue talked wyth hym twyſe already, and I am ſure he can finde no fault in me if he ſay iuſtly: and yet I know not wherefore I was ſent to priſon. For I was not gilty of that which was layd to my charge, that I had baptiſed children, the which I neuer did, as God knoweth: wherefore I haue wrong to be thus handled.

This Byſhop was Doct. *Chriſtopherſon.*

Woodman ſent to priſon not knowing wherefore.

D. Lang. In deede, it hath bene reported that you haue chriſtened children, and that you chriſtened your own childe: but ſince I heard ſay you would not haue the childe chriſtened, which is a damnable way, if you deny baptiſme: and they ſayd, your child was not chriſtened in a fourtnight or iij. weekes after it was borne, and then the chiefeſt of the pariſh were fayne to fetch it out of your houſe agaynſt your will. Wherefore you wrot rayling wordes agaynſt the Prieſt and them for theyr good wyll: the which declareth that you allow not baptiſing of children. And if the childe had dyed, it had bene damned, becauſe it was not chriſtened, & you ſhould haue bene damned becauſe you were the let thereof.

Richard Woodman falſely ſclaundered for denying baptiſing of children.

Wood. What abominable lyes haue you told? Be you not aſhamed to ſpeake ſuch wordes as you haue done? Firſt you ſayd I chriſtened myne owne childe, and by and by you ſayd I denyed baptiſing of children, and that my child was a fourthnight or three weekes olde ere it were baptiſed. What abominable lyes be theſe? I neyther baptiſed my childe my ſelfe, neyther helde agaynſt the baptiſing of it, but did moſt gladly allow it: for it was baptiſed as ſone as it was borne, and I was glad thereof: therefore you be to blame to report ſo of me.

Lang. I pray you, who baptiſed it? ſome vnthrift of your prouiding.

Woodmans childe baptiſed by yͤ midwife.

Wood. Nay ſurely, the midwife baptiſed it.

Lang. But it was your mynde that it ſhould be ſo.

Woodman falſely belyed.

Wood. Nay ſure, I was not nigh home by almoſt xx. myles, nor heard that my wife was brought in bedde foure dayes after the childe was chriſtened. For it was not like to liue: and therefore the midwife baptiſed it.

D. Langdale too curious an Inquiſitour.

Lang. Would you haue had it to church to haue bene chriſtened, if it had not bene chriſtened?

Wood. That is no matter what I would haue done. I am ſure you can not deny but it is ſufficiently done, if the midwife do it, and I hold not againſt the doyng of it, neyther did I it my ſelfe as you ſayd I did.

Lang. Wherefore were you diſpleaſed with them that fet it to church?

Wood. Fyrſt tell me whether the childe were not truely baptiſed by the midwyfe?

Lang. Yes, it was truely baptiſed, if ſhe baptiſed it in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

Woodman troubled without iuſt cauſe.

Wood. Yes that I am ſure ſhe did, and you graunt that was ſufficient: and the cauſe that I blamed them for, was becauſe they did more to it then neede was, by your owne ſaying. Yea they fette it out of my houſe without my leaue: the which was not well done.

Lang. They had it to church to cõfirme yͤ was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more thẽ needes. But God forgeue them if it be his wil. But let that matter paſſe. But I would you ſhoulde not ſay that I hold agaynſt baptiſing of children, for I do not, I take God to record: but do allow it to be moſt neceſſary if it be truely vſed. But me thought you ſpake wordes euen now that were vncomely to be ſpoken: If a childe die and be not baptiſed, it is damned. How thynke you? be all damned that receiue not yͤ outward ſigne of baptiſme?

All children be damned, by *D. Langdale*, which die without baptiſme.

Lang. Yea, that they be.

Wood. How proue you that?

Lang. Goe ſayth Chriſt, and baptiſe in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, and he that beleueth, and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued: and he that beleueth not, ſhall be damned. Theſe be yͤ wordes of Chriſt, which are my warrant.

Wood. Then by your ſaying baptiſing bringeth faith, and all that be baptiſed in yͤ water ſhall be ſaued: ſhall they? how ſay you?

All children being baptiſed, by *D. Langdale*, ſhall be ſaued.

Lang. Yea, that they ſhal: if they die before they come to diſcretion they ſhal be ſaued euery one of them, and al that be not baptiſed ſhal be damned euery one of thẽ.

Wood. Then my ſpirite was moued with hym to reproue hym ſharply, becauſe I had manifeſt ſcriptures freſh in my mynde agaynſt hys ſaying. Then ſayd I.

O Lord God, how dare you ſpeake ſuch blaſphemy agaynſt God and hys word, as you doe? how dare you for your lyfe to take vpon you to preach and teach the people, and vnderſtand not what you ſay? For I proteſt before God you vnderſtand not the ſcriptures, but as farre as naturall reaſon can comprehend: For if you did, you would be aſhamed to ſpeake as you do.

Richard Woodmã chargeth Doctor *Langdale* with ignoraunce in the Scriptures.

Lang. Wherein haue I ſpoken amiſſe? take hede, you haue a toy in your head will make you diſpayre. I dare ſay you can not tell what you ſay? Wherfore reproue you me as you do?

Wood. Becauſe you blaſpheme God: and as for diſpayring, take heede to your ſelfe. For I can not ſee but you be out of your wit already: and as for me I prayſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and what you haue ſayd: the which ſhall turne to your ſhame, if you will talke the ſcriptures with me.

So, when he perceaued that I ſpake earneſtly, and challenged him to talke by the word, his colour began to chaunge, and hys fleſh began to tremble and quake. And I ſaid.

Proue your ſayinges true, if you cã: for I wil proue them falſe by Gods helpe. You ſayd all children, or other that be not baptiſed with water, all ſhall be damned. I dare not ſay ſo for all the good in the world. And you brought in the ſaying of Chriſt for your warrant. In the xvi. of Marke it is written: *who ſo beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued*, whih wordes be very true: *and who ſo beleueth not, ſhalbe damned*, which wordes be very true alſo. He ſaith: *he that beleueth not ſhall be damned.* Yea S. Iohn ſayth: *he that beleueth not, is condemned already, becauſe he beleueth not*. But neyther of theſe two ſcriptures, nor no other ſcriptures in all the new teſtament ſayth, that he that is not baptiſed ſhal be damned, or is dãned already. *But if he beleue not, he ſhall be damned, & is damned already*, as is aforeſaid. Thẽ he would haue interrupted me, and would haue layed to my charge that I was an Anabaptiſt. But I would geue him no place to ſpeake, but ſayd:

Mar. xvj.

Let me make an end, and then ſay what you can. You ſhall haue as much to do, by Gods helpe, with this matter, as euer you had to aunſwere thing in your life. You know (I am ſure) it is no maner to plucke a tale out of a mans mouth, nor it is not the order of reaſoning, as you know that better then I can tell you. Thẽ Doct. Langdale bad me ſay on.

Fayth, not Baptiſme ſaueth. Not lacke of baptiſme, but lacke of fayth condemneth.

Wood. My ſaying was, that they that beleue not, ſhal be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not ſay for all the goodes vnder heauen, that all they that receaue no materiall baptiſme by the water, ſhall be damned, as you haue ſayd: yet I woulde you ſhould not gather of theſe wordes, that I deny baptiſme, as you were about to lay to my charge, or euer I had halfe tolde my tale. But I would not haue you, nor no man ſo raſh in iudgement, to condemne the thing that they are not able to proue by the worde, and to make it ſeeme to the ſimple, that the outward waſhing of the water were the cauſe of fayth.

Baptiſing of water is not yͤ cauſe of fayth. The Catholickes do hold the contrary.

Lang. Why? is it not ſo? will you deny it? How ſay you? Will you deny it? I ſay the child hath no fayth before it is baptiſed: and therefore the baptiſing bringeth the fayth. How ſay ye to it? make me a playne aunſwere to thys queſtion.

A Catholicke paradoxe.

Wood. Now I perceaue you go about nothing els, but to take vantage of my wordes. But by gods helpe, I will anſwere you ſo, that you ſhall well ſee your ſayinges vntrue. And yet I will not ſpeake mine owne wordes, but the wordes of the holy ghoſt, out of the mouth of the Prophetes and Apoſtles: and then aſke them whether they will deny it. You ſayde that fayth commeth by Baptiſme, had by the vſe of material water. I muſt be ſo bold to aſke you where Iacob was baptiſed before he had fayth. S. Paule ſayth in the ninth chap. to the Romanes, *or euer the children were borne, or euer they had done eyther good or bad, that the purpoſe of God which is by election might ſtand, not by the reaſon of workes, but by the grace of the caller, the elder ſhall*

The purpoſe of Gods election ſtandeth by grace, and not by reaſon of workes.

ſerue the yonger. Iacob I haue loued, and Eſau I hated. How thinke you? had this childe faith or euer he were borne, or no? aunſwere to this if you can.

Ricbard Voodmā hargeth Doctor angdale ith ignoraunce in e Scriptures.

Lang. What, you ſpeake of the olde law. Iacob was not chriſtened, but circumciſed. I ſpake of Baptiſme, and you are gone from Baptiſing to the time of circumciſion: aunſwere me to the Baptiſing. And me thinke by your talke, you deny originall ſinne and free will, by the wordes that you brought in of S. Paul. For if children can be ſaued without Baptiſme, then it muſt nedes follow, that children haue no originall ſinne, the which is put away in the baptiſing. But I thinke you know not what originall ſinne is, nor free will neither, me thinke by your talke.

Doctor Langdales argument. Children dying without baptiſme may be ſaued: Ergo, children haue no originall ſinne.

Wood. Yes, I prayſe God (I thinke) I can tell them all better then you can, me thinke euen by your wordes. Firſt I pray you what free will hath man to doo good of himſelfe? Tell me this firſt, and then I will aunſwere to all your other queſtions that you haue obiected agaynſt me.

Abſurde doctrine.

Lang. I ſay that all men haue as much free will now, as Adam had before hys fall.

Wood. I pray you, how proue you that?

Lang. Thus I proue it, that as ſinne entred into the world, and by the meanes of one that ſinned, al men became ſinners, the which was by Adam, ſo by the obedience of man, righteouſnes came vppon all men that had ſinned, and ſet them as free as they were before theyr fall, the which was by Ieſus Chriſt. Rom. v.

Mar. xvj.

nſwere. This righteouſnes y Ieſus Chriſt cōmeth vpō l mē, not aking ay imperfectiōs f nature, t in not puting e imperfections man, to mnatiō.

Wood. Oh Lord, what an ouerthrowe haue you geuen your ſelfe here in originall ſinne, and yet cannot ſee it? For in prouing that we haue free will, you haue denied quite originall ſinne. For here you haue declared that we be ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall, and I am ſure Adam had no originall ſinne before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marueile wherfore Paul complayned thriſe to God, to take away the ſting of it, God making him aunſwere, and ſaying: *my grace is ſufficient for thee.* These wordes, with diuers other, approueth originall ſinne in vs: but not that it ſhal hurt Gods elect people, but that his grace is ſufficient for all his. But you ſaye in one place: it is not without Baptiſme: and in an other place you put it away quite by the death of Chriſt: and in very deede you haue ſpoken truer in the matter, then you be aware of. For all that beleue in Chriſt, are baptiſed in the bloud of Chriſt that he ſhed on the Croſſe, and in the water that hee ſwette for payne, and putting away of our ſinnes at his death. And yet I ſay with Dauid in the li. Pſalme: *In ſinne was I borne, in ſinne hath my mother conceaued me:* but in no ſuch ſinne that ſhall bee imputed, becauſe I am borne of God by fayth, as ſaith S. Iohn. Therefore I am bleſſed as ſaith the Prophete, *becauſe the Lord imputeth not my ſinne,* and not becauſe I haue no ſinne: but becauſe God hath not imputed my ſinnes. Not of our owne deſeruing, but of his free mercy he ſaueth vs. Where is now your free will become that you ſpeake of? If we haue free will, then our ſaluation commeth of our owne ſelfe, and not of God: the which is great blaſphemy agaynſt God, and his word.

eare e free death Chriſt, t from ing, but m damnatiō due the lawe ur falling.

Fayth, not Baptiſme ſaueth. Not lacke of baptiſme, but lacke of fayth condemneth.

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rket ine.

Baptiſing of water is not ẏ cauſe of fayth. The Catholickes do hold the contrary.

For S. Iames ſayth: *Euery good gift, and euery perfect gifte commeth from aboue, from the father of light, with whome is no variablenes, neither is he chaunged into darkenes. Of hys owne will begat he vs. For the winde bloweth where it luſteth, and we heare the ſound therof,* as ſaith S. Iohn. *But we cannot tell from whence it commeth, neither whether it goeth: Euen ſo is it with euery one that is borne of God.* For S. Paul ſayth, *it is God that worketh in vs the will and alſo the dede, euen of good will.* Seing then that euery good and perfect gifte commeth from aboue, and lighteth vpō whom it pleaſeth God, & that he worketh in vs both the will and the deede: me thinke all the reſt of our owne will is litle worth, or nought at all, vnleſſe it be to wickednes. So me thinke here be places inough to proue that a man hath no free will to doo good of himſelf: with a hundred places moe, ẏ I could recite if time did ſerue. And as for originall ſinne, I thinke I haue declared my minde therein, how it remayneth in man: which you cannot deny vnleſſe you deny the word of God. Now if you will ſuffer me, I will proue my ſaying of Iacob & Eſau, that I brought in to proue that fayth was before Baptiſme, and you refuſed it, becauſe (you ſayd) Iacob was not Baptiſed. If you will geue me leaue, you ſhall ſee what I can ſay therin: for me thinke you thinke my talke long. This I ſayd, becauſe I ſaw he was ſore offended at my ſayinges.

es j.

n.iij.

A Catholicke paradoxe.

ij.

The purpoſe of Gods election ſtandeth by grace, and not by reaſon of workes.

ng will ng.

Faith was before baptiſme.

Lang. Say what you can. For it auayleth me to ſay nothyng to you. For I was deſired to ſend for you, to teach you, and there will no wordes of mine take place in you: but you go about to reproue me. Say what you will, for me.

D. Langdale ſeemeth to be put to ſilence.

Wood. I take not vpon me to teach you, but to aunſwere to ſuch thinges as you lay vnto my charge: and I ſpeake not mine owne minde, but the minde of the holy Ghoſt, written by the Prophetes and Apoſtles. Will you geue me leaue to aunſwere briefly in that matter, that you may report to other what I hold? And he ſayd he was contented. But I thinke it was for nothyng, but to haue caught vantage of my wordes.

Wood. Firſt, if you be remembred, you ſayd that if my child had dyed without Baptiſme, if I had bene the cauſe that it had not bene Baptiſed, the childe ſhoulde haue bene damned, and I to. How ſay you?

Children dying without baptiſme are not therfore damned, ſpeaking abſolutely.

Lang. Yea, that you ſhould.

Wood. That is moſt vntrue. For the Prophet ſayth: *the father ſhall not beare the childes offences, nor the child the fathers offences: but that ſoule that ſinneth ſhall dye.* What could the child haue done withall, if it had dyed without Baptiſme? the child could not do withall. How ſay you vnto this? And I am ſure that which I brought in, in ẏ old law, to proue that fayth is before Baptiſme, is not diſagreable vnto the worde. For Circumciſion was a figure of Baptiſme. And that I may bring, to proue Baptiſme by, as well as S. Peter did: for hee brought in Noes floud, which was a long tyme before Iacob and Eſau, to proue Baptiſme, ſaying: *While the Arke was a preparyng, wherin few* (ẏ is to ſay) *viij. ſoules were ſaued by water, like as Baptiſme alſo now ſaueth vs, not in puttyng away of the filth of the fleſhe, but that there is a good conſcience conſentyng to God.* Here Peter proueth that the water had not ſaued Noe, and the other. vij. no more then it ſaued all the reſt, if it had not ben for their fayth, which fayth now ſaueth vs: not in puttyng away of the filthy ſinne of the fleſhe by the waſhyng of the water, but by a good cōſcience cōſenting vnto God. But you ſayd: if they be Baptiſed with the water, if they dye before they come to yeares of diſcretion, they be all ſaued: the which S. Peter is cleane agaynſt, vnleſſe you graunt that children haue fayth before they be Baptiſed. Now I aſke you what cōſent of conſcience the children haue, beyng infantes. For you ſay they beleue not, before they be Baptiſed: Ergo, then they conſent not to be Baptiſed, becauſe they beleue not. And by this it foloweth that none ſhalbe ſaued, although they be Baptiſed. I would fayne ſee how you can aunſwere to this.

Childrē beare not the offences of their fathers.

j. Pet. iij.

Gene. vj.

Lang. You are the moſt peruerſe man that euer I knew. You wote not what you ſay. The children are Baptiſed in their * Godfathers & Godmothers faith, and that is the good conſcience that S. Peter ſpeaketh of: and the Chriſtenyng is the keepyng of the law, that S. Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying: neither is circumciſiō any thyng worth, nor vncircumciſion any thyng worth, but keepyng of the law is altogether. Like as the circumciſion was the keepyng of the old law, ſo is Baptiſme the keepyng of the new law.

* Nay, rather in the fayth of their parentes. Neither is it the fayth of the Godfathers and Godmothers ẏ ſanctifieth the child, but their diligence may helpe hym in ſeing hym catechiſed.

Wood. Ah, me thought if you would talke with me, you ſhould be fayne to bryng in the old law, to mainteine your ſayinges by (for all that you refuſed it) when

Falſe doctrine of Doct. *Langdale.*

Fyrſt, where he ſayth the keeping of the lawe is altogether.

Secondly, that the keeping of the lawe ſtandeth in the outward ſignes.

Thirdly, that children dying before Baptiſme are damned.

Fourthly, that children be baptiſed in the fayth of their Godfathers & Godmothers. &c.

I brought it in. But yet it ſerueth not for your purpoſe, ſo much as you thinke for. For here you haue confeſſed that neither circumciſion auaileth, nor vncircumciſion: the which you your ſelf haue coupled with Baptiſme, prouyng that none of them both preuayleth, but kepyng of the law is altogether: the which law is kept (you ſay) by the outward ſignes: the which is nothyng ſo, for Abraham beleued God, and that was counted to him for righteouſnes: And this was before hee was circumciſed. So the children beleue before they be either circumciſed, or Baptiſed, according to my firſt ſaying of Iacob and Eſau: Iacob *I loued, but* Eſau *I hated.* Theſe wordes declared that Iacob had faith in his mothers wombe: alſo Iohn Baptiſt was ſanctified in his mothers wombe, and therfore it was counted to them for righteouſnes: and I am ſure, if they had dyed before, they had either receiued Circumciſion or Baptiſme as concernyng the outward deede, they ſhould haue bene ſaued. For Gods giftes and callynges are ſuch, that he cannot repent him of them. But by your ſaying he doth both repent and chaunge. For you ſay, keepyng of the outward law is altogether. But a bad excuſe is as good as none at all.

And where you ſayd, the childrē be Baptiſed in their Godfathers and Godmothers faith, they beyng all vnbeleuers, in what fayth is that child Baptiſed then? in none at all, by your own ſaying. Which wordes made him ſtampe and ſtare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very fewe beleuers, if there be not one of three that beleueth. You enter into iudgemēt againſt yͤ people. Belike you thinke there be none that beleue well vnleſſe they be of yonr mynde. In deede then Chriſtes flocke were a very litle flocke.

Many called, but few choſen. Luke. 12.

Wood. In deede theſe be Chriſtes wordes, in the 12. of Luke, the which we may ſee to be very true. Yea you ſayd, if there were not one amongſt three, that were very fewe. But there is not one amongeſt three hundred, for any thing that I can ſee. For if there were, there would not be ſo many that would ſeeke their neighbours goodes and liues, as there be.

Lang. Is the flocke of Chriſt ſuch a litle flocke as you ſpeake of? you may call it a great flocke. How many be there of them: Can you tell me?

Wood. A prety queſtion, I promiſe you, it is that you aſke me: as though I did make my ſelfe equall wyth God. No, no, you ſhall catch no ſuch vauntage of my wordes, nor I know not how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you looke, I am ſure, that I ſhould enter into iudgement.

Lang. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, ſeing you be ſo cunning.

Gods election ſtandeth not by yͤ moſt part, but by the feweſt.

Math. vij.

Luke. xij.

Mark. iij.
Math. ij.

4. Argumētes prouing Chriſtes flocke to be a ſmall number.

Wood. You ſhall ſee my iudgement in it by & by. Firſt the Prophet: *Follow not a multitude to do euill, for the moſt go the wrong way.* There is one poynte to know them. Then Chriſt ſayth in the vij. of Mathew: *Broad is the way and wyde is the gate that leadeth into deſtruction, and many there be that goe in therat: and ſtraite is the gate, & narrow is the way that leadeth vnto life, and fewe there be that finde it.* And in the xij. of Luke, it is writtē (which wordes were ſpoken of Chriſt): *Come you little flocke, it is my fathers wyll to geue you a kingdome.* The third point is this. In the third of Marke, and ſecond of Mathew: *You* (ſayth Chriſt) *ſhall know the tree by the fruites. A good tree bringeth forth good fruites, and a badde tree bringeth forth badde fruites:* ſo by fruites I know them. For euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruites, muſt be hewen downe and caſt into the fire (into Hell I thinke Chriſt ment) and your fruites declare that you be one of them. Thus haue I proued foure wayes that yͤ people that ſhalbe ſaued, is but a ſmall company in compariſon of yͤ reſt. But if that be not inough for the proofe thereof, I haue twēty wayes more to proue it by, and you were neuer the nere of your purpoſe.

Doctor *Langdale* taketh on agaynſt *Woodmā* without cauſe.

Lang. What a noughty man are you? you woulde make the patienteſt man in the world angry with you. I thinke your talke is nothyng but pryde and vayne glory, wyth frompes and mockes, and deſpiſing and iudging of men. It was time ſuch a fellow were taken in deede. Such a one is inough to trouble a whole countrey. I thinke he is bleſt of God that tooke you: for you are not meete to be in a common wealth.

Wood. With diuers other ſuch like wordes that I cannot recite, they came out ſo thicke, wyth ſtamping, and ſtaring, and chafing as though he had bene out of his witte. I held my peace, vntill he had made an ende of his tormentours talke, and then I ſpake.

Wherein haue I ſayd amiſſe? or haue I not anſwered you vnto euery queſtion that you haue demaunded of me? What fault can you finde in one worde that I haue ſaid? I dare ſay you can finde none. I maruaile why you take on thus agaynſt me, hauing no cauſe ſo to do.

Lang. No, no, you haue not aunſwered me to originall ſinne, you deny originall ſinne.

Wood. With theſe wordes came in at the doore maiſter Iames Gage: and I thinke he ſtoode at the doore a good while before he came in, and that Doctour Langdale ſaw hym: For hys face was to the doore warde, and my face was from it.

M. Iames Gage entreth talke with *Woodmā.*

Gage. Ah VVoodmā, me thinke maiſter Doctor and you cannot agree.

Wood. Yes ſir, me thinke we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt ſir, he is the noughtieſt man that euer I talked wyth in all my life: for he will haue hys owne way in all thynges.

Gage. VVoodmā, leaue that pride. Doe not truſt ſo much to your owne wit. Harken to this man. This is a learned mā, I tell you. He is knowen to be learned. For els he ſhould not be allowed to preach before the Queenes maieſty: & I dare ſay he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do nothing, but that he will do himſelf: and I dare ſay he wyll not goe to the Deuill to bryng thee thether: How ſay you maiſter Doctour? Thou mighteſt thinke vs mad, if we would hurt our ſelues to hurt thee. No I promiſe thee, my brother, neither I, nor no gentleman in the countrey, I thinke of my conſcience, but would thou ſhouldeſt do as wel as their own bodyes and ſoules, as a great many of them haue ſayd to thy face whileſt thou waſt at my brothers, yͭ which thou canſt not deny.

Wood. Sir, I can ſay none otherwiſe but I was gētly entreated at your brothers, both with meate and drinke and gentle wordes, both of you and hym, and diuers other Gentlemen: and I am ſure you nor they can ſay, that you found me vnreaſonable at any tyme. For I ſaid I was contēted to learne of them that were able to teach me, and ſo I am, as God knoweth: and here maiſter Doctour (I thinke) can ſay no otherwiſe: For I dare ſay he can finde no fault in al the talke that we haue had.

Doctor *Langdale* complayneth to M. *Gage* of *Woodmā,* cauſeles.

Lang. No mary, I can finde nothing els in you. I promiſe you maiſter Gage, if you had bene here, you would haue ſayd ſo your ſelfe. He tooke me vp in dede, and ſayd he maruayled how I durſt preach. For he ſayd, I vnderſtoode not the ſcripture, but as farre as naturall reaſon comprehended: as though he vnderſtoode all, and I nothing. With diuers other ſuch like wordes he made a great complaint to hym on me, and ſayd to maiſter Iames Gage, he would make you beleue that I could finde no fault in him. Yes iwis: he denieth original ſinne, meaning therby that he is without ſinne.

Woodmā falſely belyed.

Gage. Yea? Doth he ſo? by S. Mary that is a great matter, VVoodmā: leaue that pride. That pride wyll come to naught. Can you liue without ſinne?

VVood. Sir, now I perceiue he will ſoone lie on me behind my backe, when he will not ſticke to lie before my face. He ſayth I denied originall ſinne: and it was he himſelfe, as I wyll let you be iudge in the matter.

For

une.

For as he went about to proue that man hath frée wil, he ſayd we were ſet as frée by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before hys fall: which wordes proue plainely that we haue no originall ſinne: And I toke hym with all, and ſayd: had Adam originall ſinne before hys fall? and then he could not tell what to ſay but cauilled with wordes, and ſayd he ment not ſo; and therefore I marueile he is not aſhamed to make ſuch lies to my face. Theſe wordes made them both aſtonied.

octoȝ Langdale unteth o gi ll nne, yet cuſeth Woodmā: n the which he culpable m ſelfe.

Gage. M. Doctour, he ſayd euen now you could finde no fault in all his talke. I wil bidde you aſke him a queſtion, that I will warrant you ſhall finde fault inough. I pray you aſke hym how he beleueth in the Sacrament of the aultar. I thinke he wyll make but a bad account thereof.

VVood. Yes, I wyll make account good inough of that, by Gods helpe.

Lang. Well, how ſay you to the Sacrament of the aultar?

VVood. I ſay I know no ſuch Sacrament, vnleſſe Chriſt be the aultar that you meane.

Gage. Lo, I tolde you, you ſhould ſone finde fault in him, if you came to that point wyth hym. You ſhoulde haue begon with that firſt, and neuer haue talked with hym about other thinges. What? know you not the Sacrament of the aultar?

oodmā weth Sacra- nt of the ar, vn- e they ke Chriſt bee the ar.

VVood. No ſure, I know none ſuch, vnleſſe Chriſt be the aultar that you meane: for Chriſt is the aultar of al goodnes. And if you meane Chriſt to be the aultar of the Sacrament you ſpeake of, you ſhall ſone heare my mynde and beliefe therein.

Lang. Well, we meane Chriſt to be the aultar. Say your mynde, and goe briefly to worke: for I thinke it is almoſt dinner.

Gage. I pray you goe roundly to worke, that you may make an end before dinner.

oodmās gement the Sa- ment.

VVood. Yes, you ſhall ſone heare my mynde therein by Gods helpe. I do beleue that whenſoeuer I come to receaue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, beyng truely miniſtred according to Chriſtes inſtitution, I beleuing that Chriſt was borne of the virgin Mary, and that he was crucified on ẏ croſſe, and ſhed his bloud for the remiſſion of my ſinnes, and ſo take and eate the Sacrament of bread and wine in that remembraunce, that then I do receiue wholly Chriſt, God and man, miſtically by fayth. This is my beliefe of the Sacrament, the which no man is able to diſproue.

Gage. By S. Mary I can finde no fault in this. How ſay you maiſter Doctor?

octoȝ Langdale keth a t in a ſhe.

Lang. Sir, you ſée not ſo much in it as I doe. For he goeth craftily to worke: I tel you, as I haue heard. For though he haue graunted that the faithful receauer receaueth the body of Chriſt, God and man, yet he hath not graunted that it is the body of Chriſt before it be receiued, as you ſhall ſée by and by I warrant you, by his owne words. How ſay you? is it the body of Chriſt as ſone as the wordes be ſpoken by the prieſt or not? For theſe wordes will trie hym more then all the reſt.

hether e Sacra- nt be the y of iſt be- e it be eaued.

VVood. Doth the word ſay that it is his body before it is receiued? if it do, I wyll ſay ſo to.

Gage. Why? then you ſhall agrée well inough, if you wyll be tryed by the word.

VVood. Yes forſooth, that I wyll: God forbid els.

Gage. Why? the worde ſayth it is his body before it is eaten.

VVood. Thoſe words would I faine heare: but I am ſure they be not in the Bible.

Lang. No? that you ſhal ſée by & by (M. Gage quoth he) and turned to ẏ 22. of Luke, & there he red: *when ſupper was done, Chriſt toke bread, gaue thākes, & brake it, & gaue to his diſciples, & ſaid: take, eate, this is my body.* Thē they ſpake both at once: Here he ſaith it is his body.

k. xxij.

Wood. Maſter Gage, I do not deny but he called it his body, but not before eating, as I ſaid before. Wherfore I pray you marke the wordes. Chriſt ſayd, *take, eate.* I pray you ſir marke theſe wordes that he ſayd: *Take and eate,* and then he ſayd, *it was his body.* So you ſée, eating goeth before. For he ſayd: *eate, this is my body.* So according to the very word, I do beleue it is his body. Which wordes made them both aſtonied.

Eating goeth before the wordes of conſecrating.

Lang. Why, then by your ſaying Iudas eate not the body of Chriſt. How ſay you? did he not?

D. Langdale driuen to hys ſhiftes.

Wood. Nay, I aſke you. Did he?

Lang. I aſke you.

Wood. And I aſke you.

Lang. And I aſke you.

Wood. Mary and I aſke you. And I bidde you aunſwere if you dare for your life. For whatſoeuer you anſwere, vnleſſe you ſay as I haue ſayde, you will damne your owne ſoule. For Maſter Gage, I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine owne ſoule and body: and it lamenteth my hart to ſée how you be deceaued with thē: they be deceauers all ẏ ſort of them. He cannot anſwere to this, but either he muſt proue Iudas to be ſaued, or els he muſt proue that it is no body before it be receaued in fayth: as you ſhall well perceaue by Gods helpe, if he dare to aunſwere the queſtion.

Gage. Yes, I dare ſay he dareth. What? you néede not to threaten him ſo.

Wood. Then let him aunſwere if he can.

Then he ſayd he knew what I would ſay to him: therfore he was much in doubt to anſwere the queſtiō.

D. Langdale afrayde to anſwere to *Rich. Woodman.*

Lang. Maſter Gage, I will tell you in your eare what wordes he will aunſwere me, or euer I ſpeake to him.

Wood. Thē he told M. Gage a tale in his eare, & ſaid:

Lang. I haue tolde Maſter Gage what you will ſay.

Gage. Yea, and I will tell the truth for both parties.

Wood. Well, how ſay you? did Iudas eate the body of Chriſt or not?

Lang. Yea, I ſay Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt.

The Catholickes holde that Iudas dyd eate the body of Chriſt.

Wood. Then it muſt néedes follow, that Iudas hath euerlaſting life. For Chriſt ſayth in the 6. of Iohn: *who ſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath eternal life, and I will rayſe him vp at the laſt day.* If Iudas did eate Chriſtes body, I am ſure you cannot deny but that he did both eate his fleſh, and drinke his bloud, and then is Iudas ſaued by Chriſtes owne wordes. Therefore now you are compelled to ſay that it was not Chriſtes body, or els that Iudas is ſaued.

Argument.
Who ſo euer eateth the fleſhe of Chriſt hath euerlaſting life. *Iohn. 6.*
Iudas dyd eate the fleſhe of Chriſt:
Ergo, Iudas hath euerlaſting life.

Gage. Surely theſe be the very wordes that M. D. tolde me in mine eare, that you would ſay to him.

Wood. Well, let vs ſée, how well he can auoyde this argument.

Lang. Iudas is damned, and yet he eate the body of Chriſt: but he eate it vnworthely, and therefore he is damned.

Wood. Where finde you that Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely?

Lang. They be S. Paules words. j. Corinth. xj. chap.

S. Paules wordes miſalleaged by *D. Langdale.*

Wood. M. Gage, I deſire you for Gods ſake marke my wordes well what I ſay. If S. Paul ſpeake any ſuch wordes there, or in any other place, or if there be any ſuch wordes written in all the whole Bible, that euer any mā eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely, then ſay that I am the falſeſt mā that euer you heard ſpeake with tong. But in déede theſe be the words of S. Paul: *who ſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no differēce of the Lordes body:* that is, becauſe he preſumeth to eate the ſacrament of the Lordes body with out fayth, making no difference betwixt the ſacramēt and other bread and drinke: And that is S. Paules meaning, and not that any man doth or can eate the body of Chriſt * vnworthely. For who ſo euer eateth the body of Chriſt, hath euerlaſting life, as is aforeſayd in

j. Cor. xj.

Makyng no differēce of the Lordes body, expounded.

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* Chriſt ſpeaketh of eatyng hys fleſhe ſimply, without any determination of vnworthines: that is, ſimply who ſoeuer beleueth in Chriſt hee ſhall bee ſaued: neyther is any vnworthines in beleuing in Chriſt.

the 6. of Iohn. With which wordes one came for them to come to diner in all the haſt.

Gage. I am ſory. I would faine here more of this talke: but we ſhall haue an other day well inough.

Lang. Nay Maſter Gage, I wil neuer talke with him more: for he is the vnreaſonableſt man that euer I talked with in all my life.

VVood. Then Maſter Gage put of his cap and deſired him that he would not refuſe to talke with me, and that it might not bee greauous to him. For he ſayd: we will ſeke all the meanes poſſible to make him an honeſt man, and ſo kepe him from burning, if we could. For if my brother and I had not bene, he had bene burned ere this time. Then there was great curteſy betwixte them.

Note well the working of thys mans charitie, to do for a man more at requeſt, then for any compaſſion of the partie.

Lang. Sir, for your ſake, and for my maſter your brothers ſake, and for his fathers ſake, and other of hys frendes ſakes that haue ſpokē to me many times with weping teares, I will do the beſt to him that I can: but for no loue nor fauor ẏ I beare to him, I tell you truth.

Gage. VVoodman, you heare what M. Doctor ſaith. When will you come agayne?

VVood. Euen when you will ſend for me. For I am a priſoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I ſhould deſire to come, it wil coſt me money, and I haue none to geue: but if you ſend for me, it ſhall coſt me none.

Gage. Well, I will ſend for you on Friday or Saterday, at the fartheſt: for to morrow I muſt ride forth of towne, and I would faine here your talke.

VVood. Sir, I would be very glad you ſhould heare our talke alway: and I truſt in God you ſhall heare me ſay nothing, but the worde of God ſhal be my warrant. So maſter Gage toke his leaue and went his way to his lodging, which was right in my way as I went vnto priſon ward agayne, and when he came without my Lord Moūtagues gates, there we met with one Hode of Burted, a Smith. Then ſayd maſter Gage.

Gage. VVoodmā, I had forgot one thing, that Hode hath brought me in remembrance of as ſone as I ſaw him, for he heard when the tale was tolde me.

Gage. Hode, did not you here when Smith of Framfield tolde me that he ſaw VVoodman abroade in the citie at libertie?

Hode. Yes forſoth, that I did.

Gage. Yea ſurely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had bene conformable. But I heard otherwiſe afterwarde agayne, that you had leaue of the keper to go abroade and ſpeake openly in the ſtretes, as you went vp and downe.

VVood. In deede ſo the Marſhall told me to day. But in deede I was neuer abroad ſince I came to priſon, but whē I was ſent for, & in dede the ſame time I was abroad with my keper, comming from the Biſhop, and as I was comming, euen not farre from the Marſhalſea, I ſaw goodman Smith ſtand in a Waane vnlading of Cheſe, and I aſked him how he did, euen as I went by, and neuer ſtayed for the matter: & thereupon it did riſe. So I departed from them, with my keper, to the Marſhalſea agayne, where I now am mery I prayſe God therefore, as a ſhepe appoynted to be ſlaine.

Lewde tales and falſe lyes rayſed vpon *Woodman.*

The fourth examination of Rich. VVoodman, had before the Byſhop of VVincheſter, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and a certayne Doctour, with diuers other prieſtes and gentlemen, the xxv. day of May. An. 1557.

VVoodman.

I Was ſet from the Marſhalſea to the ſayd Byſhops and Prieſtes, ſitting in S. Georges Church in Southwarke, by one of the Marſhals men and one of the Sheriffes men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them, as nigh as I could, then ſayd the Biſhop of VVincheſt.

The 4. examination of *Richard Woodman* before the Byſhop of Wincheſter. &c.

VVincheſt. What is your name?

Wood. My name is Richard VVoodman forſoth.

VVincheſt. Ah VVoodman, you were taken and apprehended for Hereſie about a three yeares agone, and were ſente to priſon in the Kinges Bench, and there remained a long time. Mine olde lord of Chicheſter, being a learned famous man well knowne in this realme of England, and almoſt throughout all Chriſtendome, I thinke, came to priſon to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him diuers times, traueling and perſwading with you many wayes (becauſe he was your Ordinary) to plucke you from your hereſies that you held, but he could by no meanes aduertiſe you. Wherupō you were deliuered to the Commiſſioners, and they could doo no good with you neither. Then they ſent you vnto my Lord of London. My Lord of Londō calling you before him diuers times, labour was made vnto him of your frendes, that you might be releaſed. My Lord hauing a good hope in you, that you would become an honeſt man, becauſe he had heard ſo of you in times paſt, yea and you your ſelfe promiſing him that you would go home and recant your hereſies that you held, deliuered you: ſending alſo a letter of your recantation to the Commiſſary that he ſhould ſee it done. But as ſone as you were out of his handes, you were as bad as euer you were, and would neuer fulfill your promiſe, but haue hid your ſelfe in the woodes, Buſhes, Dennes, and Caues, and thus haue continued euer ſince, till it was now of late. Then the ſheriffe of that ſhire (being a worſhipfull man) hearing therof, ſent certaine of his men, and toke you in a wood, and ſo caried you to his houſe. I can not tell his name. What is your ſheriffes name?

Thys olde B. of Chicheſter was Doct. *Day.*

Vntrue. For B. *Boner.* deliuered hym of hys owne accord at the burning of *Philpot* vpon other cauſes.

Falſe and vntrue.

Wood. Forſoth his name is ſir Edward Gage.

Syr Edw. Gage Shirieff of Suſſex.

VVincheſt. Well, you were apprehended for hereſie, and being at maſter Gages three weekes or more, ye were gently entreated there: he and other gentlemen perſwading with you diuers times, little preuailed. Then you appealed to ẏ biſhop of Chicheſter that now is. The ſheriffe like a worſhipfull man ſent you to him, and he hath trauelled with you, and other alſo, and cā doo no good with you, wherupon we haue ſent for you.

Wood. Thē I ſpake to him. For I thought he would be lōg, before he would make an end. I thought he was a yeare a telling of thoſe lies ẏ he had told there againſt me already. Yea I kept ſilence from good wordes: but it was great payne & griefe vnto me (as Dauid ſaid). At length the fyre was ſo kindled within my hart, that I coulde not chooſe but ſpeake with my toung: for I feared leaſt any of the company ſhould haue departed or euer I had aunſwered to his lyes, and ſo the Goſpell to haue bene ſclaundered by my long ſilence keping. So I ſpake, I prayſe God therefore, and ſayd: my Lorde, I pray you let me now aunſwere for my ſelfe, for it is time.

VVinchef. I permit you to aunſwere to theſe thinges that I haue ſayd.

Wood. I thanke God therfore. And I thinke my ſelfe happy (as Paul ſaid when he was brought before king Agrippa) that I may this day aunſwere for my ſelfe. My Lord, I promiſe you there is neuer a word of your ſayinges true that you haue alledged againſt me.

Woodmā charged with falſe matter.

VVinchef. I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I neuer did ſee you before this day: but I am ſure it is not all lyes that I haue ſayd, as you reporte.

Wood. Yes my Lord, there is neuer a true word of that you ſayd. And further, where you ſayd you neuer ſaw me before this day, you haue both heard me, & ſeene me, I dare ſay, before this day.

VVinchef. I thinke I heard you in deede on Sonday, where you playde the malapert: but I can not tell that I ſaw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woodes by the Sheriffes men?

Wood. No ſure, I was taken beſides my houſe, I beyng in my houſe when they came: wherefore that is not true.

VVin. Were not you at the Sheriffes three weekes.

Wood. Yes that I was, a moneth iuſt, and was gently entreated of him, I can ſay no otherwiſe: for I had meate and drinke inough, and fayre wordes.

VVinchest. Ah, I am well appayed: it is not all lyes then, as it chaunced. For I ſpake but of three Weekes, and you confeſſe a moneth your ſelfe.

Wood. Yet your tale is neuer the truer for that. For you ſayd I was there three weekes for hereſie, the which is not ſo. For I was not apprehended for hereſie at the firſt, neither did mine old Lord of Chicheſter trauayle with me to pull me from hereſie, as you ſayd: for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I ſent to the Commiſſioners nor to the Byſhop of London for hereſie, neither was I deliuered to him for any ſuch thing, nor promiſed him to recāt, as you ſayd I did. Wherfore I maruaile you be not aſhamed to tell ſo many lyes, beyng a B. that ſhould be an exāple to other.

VVinchest. Lo, what an arrogant hereticke this ſame is. He will denie God: for he that denieth his owne hād, denieth God.

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Wood. My Lord, iudge not leaſt you be iudged your ſelfe. For as you haue iudged me, you ſhalbe iudged, if you repent not. And if I haue ſet my hand to any recantation, let it be ſene to my ſhame, before this audience: for I will neuer deny mine owne hand, by Gods helpe.

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tation.

VVin. It is not here now, but I thinke it will be had well inough: but if it can not be found, by whom will you be tryed?

Wood. Euen by my Lord of London: for he delt lyke a good man with me in that matter that I was ſent to priſon for. For it was vppon the breach of a ſtatute, as Maiſter Sheriffe here can tel. For he was Sheriffe thē, as he is now, and can tell you how I was toſſed vp and down, from Seſſions to Seſſions: and becauſe I would not conſent that I had offended therein, they ſent me to priſon agayne. Then my Lord of Chicheſter beyng mine Ordinary, and I being his tenaunt, came to me, to perſwade with me that I ſhoulde haue conſented to them, and to finde my ſelfe in fault, where I was in none. To the which I woulde not agree, but I deſired him that hee woulde ſee me releaſed of my wrong: but he ſayd he could not, but willed me or my frendes to ſpeake to the Commiſſioners for me, becauſe it was a temporall matter: and when I came before them, they ſent me to my Lord of London, and my Lord of London was certified by the handes of almoſt, xxx. men, both Eſquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefeſt in al the countrey where I dwelt, that I had not offended in that matter that I was ſent to priſon for. Wherupon he deliuered me, not willyng me to recant hereſies, for I held none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: nor I know not wherfore I was ſent to priſon, no more then any man here knoweth: for I was taken from my worke.

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Boner.

VVin. No? wherfore appealed you then to my Lord of Chicheſter, if it were not for hereſie?

Wood. Becauſe there was layd to my charge that I had Baptiſed children, and maried folkes, the which I neuer did, for I was no where Miniſter. Wherefore I appealed to mine Ordinary, to purge my ſelfe thereof, as I haue. Wherfore if any mā haue any thyng agaynſt me, let them ſpeake: for I came not hyther to accuſe my ſelfe, neither will I.

herefore
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his Or:
ry.

VVin. Maiſter Sheriffe, can you tell vpō what breach of the ſtatute he was ſent to priſon firſt?

The Sheriffe. Yea forſooth my Lord, that I can.

Wood. My Lord, if you will geue me leaue, I will ſhew you the whole matter.

VVin. Nay Maiſter Sheriffe, I pray you tell you the matter, ſeyng you know it.

The Sheriffe. My Lord, it was for ſpeakyng to a Curate in the Pulpit, as I remember.

The cauſe why *Woodman* was firſt apprehended.

VVin. Ah, like inough, that he would not ſticke to reproue a Curate. For did you not ſee how he faſhioned him ſelfe to ſpeake to me in the Pulpite on Sonday? You played the malapert felow with me, and therfore it was no great maruaile though hee played that part with an other.

Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am ſure. For we ſpake for no other cauſe, but to purge our ſelues of theſe hereſies that you layed to our charge. For theſe were your wordes: Good people, theſe men that be brought before vs, beyng here, deny Chriſt to be God, and the holy ghoſt to be God (pointyng to vs with your left hand) the which might ſeeme to the whole audience, that you mēt vs all. Wherfore to cleare our ſelues therof, we ſpake, and ſayd we held no ſuch thyng. And you ſayd you would cut out our toungs. But I am ſure you haue no ſuch law.

Richard Woodman and hys felowe priſoners falſely accuſed and belyed of the B. of Winchester in the pulpit.

VVin. Yes, that we haue, if you blaſpheme, and as it chaunced, I found ſuch amongeſt you.

VVood. In deede, after we ſpake, you declared who they were, but not before: for you ſpake generally. Wherfore we blaſphemed not, but purged our ſelues.

VVin. But I pray you, how can you purge your ſelfe for ſpeakyng to the Curate, that it is not hereſie?

Speaking to the Curate in the pulpit, made hereſie:

VVood. Forſooth theſe be the wordes of the Statute: "Who ſoeuer doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, "lawfully authoriſed by the Queenes Maieſty, or by any "other lawfull Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three "monethes impriſonment, and furthermore be brought "to the quarter Seſſions, there (being ſory for the ſame) "to be releaſed vpon his good abearing one whole yeare. But I had not ſo offended as it was well proued. For hee that I ſpake too, was not lawfully authoriſed, nor had not put away his wife. Wherfore it was not lawfull for him to preach by your owne law, & therefore I brake not the Statute, though I ſpake to him.

Woodman cleareth him ſelfe from breach of the Statute.

VVin. I am glad. I perceaue this man ſpeaketh agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages: hee is not contented with Prieſtes that haue wiues. He is honeſter man, then I tooke him for. Maiſter Sheriffe, haue him away. I am glad he loueth not Prieſtes Mariages.

VVood. Then I would haue aunſwered to his sayinges, but hee would in no wiſe heare me, but bad the Sheriffe haue me away. So the Sheriffe tooke me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me ſpeake, but goyng out of the Chauncell doore, I ſayd: I would ſhew him the whole matter, if he would haue geuen me leaue: but ſeyng he will not, if he will let me go ſo, they ſhall ſee whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keepe them as my bounden duty is, by the helpe of God. So I was ſent to the Marſhalſea againe, where I now am mery, I prayſe God therfore, as a ſheepe appointed to be ſlaine.

Note the pretie ſhift of thys Catholicke Prelate.

Moreouer, I was credibly enformed by one of our brethrē that heard our talke, that the Byſhop ſayd whē I was gone, that they would take me whileſt I was ſome what good. Which wordes ſeemed to many of the people that were there, that I ſpake agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages: but I did not, but did not onely aunſwere to ſuch queſtions as he aſked me, as you ſhall perceiue well by the wordes if you marke them, which wordes were theſe. How can you purge your ſelfe from hereſy, for talkyng to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offend the Statute, ſayd the Biſhop: meaning therby I thinke to haue taken vauntage of my wordes: but it was not Gods will, that he ſhould at that tyme. For I aunſwered him by the wordes of the Statute, which wordes be as here after foloweth (that is): "who ſo euer doth interrupt any preacher, or preachers lawfully authoriſed by the

Woodman falſely taken to ſpeake agaynſt prieſtes mariage.

the Queenes Maieſty, or by any other lawfull Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three monethes impriſonment. But I proued that this man was not lawfully authoriſed to preach (by their owne law) becauſe he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no Prieſt may ſay Maſſe, nor preach with the Maſſe, but he muſt firſt be ſeparated from his wife: That is, becauſe honeſt Mariages be good and commendable, and theirs nought and abominable, therfore they cannot dwell together.

A prieſt keping hys wife, yet would needes holde agayne with Papiſtrie.

Now, I geue you all to vnderſtand, that I did not reproue this Prieſt becauſe he had a wife, but becauſe he taught falſe doctrine, which greued my ſoule, becauſe he had bene a feruent Preacher agaynſt the Maſſe and all the idolatrie therof vij. yeare before, & then came and held with it againe: for the which cauſe I reproued him in the Pulpit. And the wordes that I ſpake to him, are written in diuers of my Examinations of my firſt impriſonment for that ſame. But in very deede, I knew not of the Statute when I reproued him. But becauſe I was ſent to priſon vppon the breach of it, I bought a Statute booke, and when I had peruſed it, I perceiued I had not offended by their owne law: and therfore ſtill when I was called to aunſwere, I aunſwered them with their owne law. But yet they kept me in priſon a yeare and almoſt three quarters or euer I was releaſed. I was at myne aunſwere for that eightene times. If any thinke I do not allow Byſhops and Prieſtes Mariages, let them looke in my firſt examinatiō before the Byſhop of Chicheſter that now is, duryng this my impriſonment now, & there they ſhall find what I haue ſayd in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that ſame day. But we may al ſee, ẏ they can do nothyng but as God wil permit thē to do. But when the tyme is full come, I truſt in God, I ſhall runne that ioyfull race that my brethren haue done. Thus I commit you all into the handes of God, who is the preſeruer, defender, and keeper of all his elect for euermore. Amen.

Richard Woodman ſauing him ſelf from hys enemyes by their owne lawe.

¶The fift examination of Richard Woodmam, had before the Byſhop of Wincheſt, the Archdeacon of Canterb. Doctor Langdale, with a fat headed prieſt, and other whoſe names I know not, with certayne alſo of the Commiſſioners, at S. Mary Oueries church in Southwarke, in the preſence of three C. people at the leaſt, the xv. day of Iune. An. 1557.

The fift examination of *Richard Woodman*, before the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and diuers other. Iune. 15. An. 1557.

WIncheſt. Woodman, you were before vs the laſt day, and would not be acknowen in any wiſe that you were ſent to priſon for hereſy, and called for your accuſers, and ſtoode ſtoutly in defending of your ſelfe, and in your departing I had thought you had ſpoken agaynſt Prieſtes mariages, thinking by your wordes we ſhould haue found you an honeſt man, and conformable when we had called you before vs agayne. You tolde ſuch a faire tale for your ſelfe, as though you had bene free from all that was layd to your charge. For you ſayd it was all lyes that I tolde agaynſt you: but ſince I haue proued the contrary, as here is your own hand to ſhew. By the which I haue proued that you reproued not the Prieſt for lacking of authority, and becauſe he had not put away his wife, but becauſe you liked not hys preaching. For in deede I tooke it that you reproued him for becauſe he was not lawfully authoriſed, but I haue proued the contrary ſince.

Wood. I told you not that I dyd eyther reproue him for lacke of authority, or becauſe I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherfore I was firſt ſent to priſon. For you ſayd I was ſent to priſon for hereſie, and made a long tale agaynſt me. And in deede I told you that there was neuer a worde of your ſayinges true, but was all lyes, as it was in deede. For I neuer was ſent to priſon for hereſie, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heauē and earth to witnes: but I told you I was ſent to priſon vpon the breach of a Statute, which was for ſpeaking to a Prieſt in the Pulpite, and for that cauſe the iuſtices of that Coūtrey had thought I had offended the Statute, and called me before them, and would haue had me to haue ben bound to my good abearyng: and becauſe I refuſed it, they ſent me to priſon. And theſe be the wordes of the Statute, as I told you the laſt day.

The wordes of the Statute.

> „ If any man do interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authoriſed by the Queenes Maieſty, or by any other lawfull Ordinary, that then euery partie that ſo offendeth, ſhal ſuffer three monethes impriſonmēt, and furthermore be brought to the quarter Seſsiōs, and there beyng ſory for the ſame, and alſo boūd for his good abearyng, one whole yeare, to be releaſed, or els to remaine to priſon agayne.

And when I was in priſon, I bought a Statute booke, which when I had peruſed ouer, I found by the wordes therof that I had not offended, becauſe he was not lawfully authoriſed, as the Byſhop of Londō was certified by the handes almoſt of. xx. men, both Eſquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeomē, the chiefeſt in all that countrey. For he had not put away his wife; and therfore the Statute tooke no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherfore my Lord of London ſeing me hauyng ſo much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and releaſed me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bad the Sheriffe haue me away. You ſayd you were glad I held againſt priſtes mariges, becauſe I aunſwered to the queſtion you aſked me.

No breach of this Statute, and why.

The fat prieſt. My Lorde, do yow not heare what he ſayth by my lord of London? He ſaith he is a good man in that he releaſed him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing els.

The prieſt ſcanneth vpon the meaning of *Woodmā*.

Wood. What? can you tell what I meane? let euery man ſay as he findeth: he did iuſtly to me in that matter. I ſay, if he be not good in any thing els, as you ſay, he ſhall aunſwer for it, and not I: for I haue nothing to doo with other mens matters.

Winc. Well, how ſay you? how lyked you his preaching? I praye you tell vs.

VVood. That is no matter how I liked it. How ſo euer I liked it, I offended not the ſtatute. Wherefore you haue nothing to ſay to me for that, I am ſure.

See how nerely theſe men ſeeke matter agaynſt him, whereby to trap hym.

VVinc. Well, how like you this then? Here is your owne hand writyng: I am ſure you wyll not deny it. Will you looke on it?

Wood. It is myne owne handy worke in deede, the which by Gods helpe I will neuer deny, nor neuer did yet, I prayſe God therefore.

VVinc. And here is good geare I tell you. I pray you harken well to it: theſe be the wordes, before the commiſſioners. How ſay you? Do you not beleue, as ſoone as ẏ wordes be ſpoken by the prieſt, that there remayneth neither breade nor wyne, but onely the very body of Chriſt, both fleſh and bloud as he was borne of the virgin Mary? theſe were the wordes of the Commiſsioners. And then thou ſaydeſt: thou durſt not ſay otherwiſe then the ſcripture ſayth. I cannot finde (ſayd you) that it is the body of Chriſt before it is receaued by fayth, bringing in the xxij. of Luke, ſaying: *Chriſt ſayd, take, eate, this is my body*: ſo I can not proue that it is his body before it is eaten. Then ſayd the commiſſioners: did not Iudas eate Chriſtes body? And if you cā proue that Iudas is ſaued (ſaid you) I muſt graunt that he eate his body. For Chriſt ſayth in the 6. of Ioh. *Who ſo eateth my fleſh, & drinketh my bloud, hath eternall lyfe, and I will rayſe him vp at the laſt day:* which wordes proue (ſayd you) that if Iudas eate the body of Chriſt, he muſt needes be ſaued. How ſay you now? did Iudas eate the body of Chriſt or no?

Woodmā in great ...ning of ...ſcience, ...feare ...he had ...unted ...much to ...Com- ...ſioners ...ſe, ſay- ...that ...as did ...more ...bare

Luk. xxi

Woodmā charged with hys anſweres before the Commiſſi- oners at hys laſt ex- amination

Wood. Thē I perceiued they went about nothing but to catch wordes of me in his dioces, to cōdēne me with. Though I ſhould confound him neuer ſo much, I perceiued that he was fully bent therto. To whom I aunſwered and ſayd:

D. Whi B. of Wn cheſt. bent to haue t bloud of *Woodmā*

I will aunſwere you to no ſuch thyng, for I am none of your Dioces: Wherefore I will not aunſwere to you.

Richard Woodmā appealeth fro ÿ B. of Winchester, to hys owne Ordinary.

VVinc. Thou art within my dioces, and thou haſt offended within my dioces: and therefore I will haue to doe with thée.

Wood. Haue to do with me and you wyll: but I wil haue nothing to do with you, I tell you playnely: For though I be now in your dioces, I haue not offended in your dioces: if I haue, ſhew me wherein.

VVinc. Mary here is thine owne hand writing the which thou affirmidſt in my dioces.

Wood. I do not deny, but it is myne owne hand writing: but that proueth neuer the more that I haue offended in your dioces: for that doth but declare what talke there was betwixt ÿ commiſſioners and me, the which you haue nothing to doe withall.

Woodmā refuſeth to ſweare or anſwere before Wincheſt. beyng not hys Ordinary.

VVinc. No? hold him a booke, and thou ſhalt ſweare, whether thou holdeſt it now or not, and whether thou wroteſt it not in my dioces, as I thinke thou dideſt. Lay thy hand on the booke.

Wood. I will not be ſworne for you: for I am not of your dioces, and therfore you haue nothing to do with me. And as for the writing of that ſame, I neuer wrote word of it in your dioces.

Lang. No? did you not? my Lord let me ſée: I will finde where you wrote it.

Wood. Then he tooke it, and looked on it and anone he found that I was ſent for out of the kinges bench, to come before the commiſſioners.

Lang. My Lord, here you may ſée, it was in the kings Bench, the which is in your Dioces.

Wood. Although I were ſet out of the kings Bench, that proueth not that I wrote it there, nor I did not, I promiſe you truely.

The fat Prieſt. Where wrote you it then?

Wood. Nay, I owe you not ſo much ſeruice to tell you: finde it out as well as you can: For I perceaue you go about to ſhéede my bloud.

Woodmā in great ming of science, feare the had graunted much to Comi ſſioners ne, say that das did more bare

Winc. It is no great matter where it was written: it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You ſhall heare more of it. Here ÿ Cōmiſſioners aſked you whether Iudas did eate any more then bare bread, and you aunſwered, that he eate more then bare bread. Whereupon they ſent you away backe to the Kinges Bench agayne, and aſked you not what more, for the which cauſe (as you haue writtē here) you had a hell burning in your conſcience. For you had thought they would haue ſent a diſcharge to ÿ Kinges Bench, and ſo let me goe (ſayd you) and regiſter my name in theyr bookes, that I had graunted that Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt, and ſo the Goſpell ſhould haue bene ſlaundered by me. For the which cauſe I was in ſuch caſe, I could ſcantly eate, drinke, or ſléepe for that ſpace, as all my priſō fellowes can teſtify. If all you (I ſay) that goe to the Church of Sathan, and there heare the deteſtable doctrine, that they ſpit, & ſpue out in their churches, and Pulpittes, to the great diſhonour of God, if all you (I ſay) that come there, had ſuch a hell burning in your conſcience for the tyme, as I had till I came before them agayne and had vttered my conſcience, more playnely, I dare ſay you wolud come there no more. All thys is your writing, is it not? how ſay you?

Wood. I do not deny, but it was myne owne déede.

Winc. And I pray yon, where is there ſuch ſpitting and ſpuing out of falſe doctrine, as you ſpeake of?

Wood. In the ſinagog of Sathan, where God is diſhonoured with falſe doctrine.

Winc. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that iudge your ſelfe: I came not hether to be a iudge.

Winc. Wel, here you haue affirmed that Iudas (your maiſter) eate more then bread: but yet he eate not the body of Chriſt, as you haue declared by your wordes. For you had a hel burning in your conſcience, becauſe you were in doubt, that the cōmiſſioners vnderſtoode by your wordes that Iudas had eatē the body of Chriſt, becauſe you ſayd, he eate more then bread. Therefore thou haddeſt a great ſort of Deuils in thée, for in hell be many Deuils: and therefore the Deuill, and Iudas is thy maiſter, by thine owne wordes.

Wood. Nay, I defie Iudas, and the Deuill, and hys ſeruauntes: for they be your maiſters & you ſerue thē, for any thing that I can ſée, I tell you truth.

VVincheſt. Nay, they be thy maſters. For the Deuill is maiſter where hell is, and thou ſaydeſt thou hadſt a hell burning in thée. I pray thée tel me, how thou canſt auoyde it but that the deuil was in thée by thyne own ſaying.

Wood. The hell that I had, was the louing correction of God towarde me, to call me to repentaunce, that I ſhould not offende God and his people in leauing thinges ſo darke, as I left that. For the which cauſe, my conſcience bare me record I had not done well, as at all times I haue felt the ſting of it when I haue broken the commaundementes of God by any meanes, as all Gods people doo, I dare ſay, and it is the louing kindnes of God towardes them, to driue them to repentaunce. But it is to be thought that your conſcience is neuer troubled, how wickedly ſo euer you doo. For if it were, it would not be ſo ſtraunge to you as you make it, which declareth playnly whoſe ſeruant you be.

❧ The Biſhops Argument.

The deuill is maiſter in hell.

Woodman felt a burning hell in hys conſcience:

Ergo, the deuill was Woodmās maiſter.

☞ Aunſwere.

Hell is taken in Scripture two waies: eyther for the place where damned ſpirites and ſoules bee tormented for euer out of thys lyfe: or els for Gods correction and anguiſhe of the ſoule in thys lyfe, which ſometyme is felt ſo ſharpe, that it is reſembled to hell it ſelfe. As where we read: *The Lorde bringeth to hell, and bringeth out againe. &c.* Tob. 13. *The paines of hell haue found me. &c.* Pſal. 114.

VVincheſt. What a naughty fellow is this? This is ſuch a peruerſe villaine as I neuer talked withall in all my life. Holde him a booke. I wil make him ſweare, to aunſwere directly to ſuch thinges, as I will demaūd of him: and if he will not aunſwere, I will condemne hym.

Wood. Call you me a fellow? I am ſuch a fellow I tel you, that will driue you all to hell if you conſent to the ſhéeding of my bloud, & you ſhall haue bloud to drinke, as ſayth S. Iohn in his Reuelation the ix chap. and being in hell, you ſhall be compelled to ſay for payne of conſcience: this is the man that we had in deriſion, and thought his life madnes, and his ende to be without honour: but now we may ſée how he is counted among the Saintes of God, and we are puniſhed. This ſhall you ſay in hell, if you repent it not, if you doo condemne me. This you ſhall finde in the fifte chapter of the booke of wiſdome: and therefore take héede what you doo, I geue you counſell.

Sap. v.

VVin. Wiſdome? what ſpeakeſt thou of wiſdome? thou neuer haddeſt it: for thou art as very a foole as euer I heard ſpeake.

Wood. Doo you not know, that the fooliſh thinges of this world muſt confound the wiſe thinges? Wherfore it greueth me not to be called a foole at your hand.

j. Cor. j.

VVin. Nay, thou art none of thoſe fooles: thou art an obſtinate foole, and an heretike. Lay hand on the booke, and aunſwere to ſuch things as I will lay againſt thée.

Wood. I will not lay hand on the booke for none of you all. You be not my biſhop, and therfore I will haue nothing to doo with you.

Richard Woodman agayne refuſeth to ſweare or anſwere before the Byſhop, being not his Ordinary.

Wincheſt. I will haue to doo with you. This man is without law: he careth not for the King nor Quéene, I dare ſay, for he will not obey theyr lawes. Let me ſée the Kinges commiſſion. I will ſée whether he will obey that or not.

Wood. I would you loued the King and Quéenes maieſty no worſe then I doo, if it pleaſed God: You would not doo as you doo then.

Wincheſt. Hold him a booke, he is a ranke hereticke.

Thou ſhalte aunſwere to ſuch thinges as I will demaund of thée.

Wood. I take heauen and earth to recorde I am no hereticke, neyther can I tell wherfore I am brought to priſon, no more then any man here can tell, and therwith I looked round about on the people, and ſayd to the biſhop: If you haue any iuſt cauſe againſt me, worthy of death, lay it agaynſt me, and let me haue it: for I refuſe not to dye (I prayſe God) for the truth ſake, if I had x. liues. If you haue no cauſe, let me go home (I pray you) to my wife and children, to ſée them kept, and other poore folke that I would ſet aworke, by the helpe of god. I haue ſet aworke a hũdreth perſons, ere this, all the yeare together, and was vniuſtly taken from them: but God forgeue them that did it, if it be his wil.

Wincheſt. Doo you not ſée how hee looketh about for helpe? But I would ſée any man ſhew thée a cherefull countenaunce, and eſpecially you that be of my dioces. If any of you bid God ſtrengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or ſhew him a cherefull coũtenance, you ſhall be excommunicated, and ſhall not be receaued in againe, till you haue done open penaunce, and therefore beware of it.

A charitable cõmaundement of a Catholicke prelate, vnder paine of excommunication, no mã to ſay: God ſtrengthẽ him.

Wood. I looke for no helpe of men, for God is on my ſide, I prayſe him therfore, and therfore I néede not care who be againſt me, neither doo I care.

Then they cried: away with him, and bring vs an other. So I was caried agayne to the Marſhalſea, where I am now mery (I prayſe God therfore) as a ſhepe appoynted to be ſlayne. But for lacke of tyme, I haue left out much of our talke, but this is the chiefeſt of it.

The vj. and laſt examinations of Rich. VVodman written and copied with his owne hand.

BE it knowen vnto all men by this preſent wrytyng, that I Rich. Woodman, ſometyme of the Pariſh of Warbelton, in the County of Suſſex, was cõdemned for Gods euerlaſtyng truth, an. 1557. Iul. 16. by the Byſhop of Winchester, in the Church of S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke, there ſittyng with hym the ſame tyme the B. of Chicheſter, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Doct. Langdale, M. Roper, with a fatte headed Prieſt, I can not tell his name. All theſe conſented to the ſhedyng of my bloud, vpon this occaſion, as hereafter foloweth. I affirmed that Iudas receaued the Sacrament with a ſop and the deuill withall: and becauſe I would not be ſworne vppon a booke to aunſwere directly to ſuch Articles as he would declare to me: and becauſe I would not beleue that there remained neither bread nor wyne after the wordes of cõſecration: and that the body of Chriſt could not be receaued of any but of the faithfull. For theſe Articles I was condemned, as hereafter ſhall folow more at large, by the helpe of God.

The firſt examination of *Richard Woodman*, before the Biſhop of Winchester and diuers other, in the Church of S. Mary Oueries.

FIrſt, the Byſhop ſayd when I came before him.

VVin. You were before vs on Mõday laſt paſt, and there you affirmed certain hereſies. How ſay you now? Do you hold them ſtill, or will you reuoke them?

VVood. I held no hereſies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Win. No? did you not affirme, that Iudas receiued bread? which is no hereſie, vnleſſe you tell what more then bread.

VVood. Is it hereſie to ſay that Iudas receaued more then bread? I ſayd he receaued more then bare bread: for he receiued the Sacrament, that was prepared to ſhew forth the Lordes death: and becauſe he preſumed to eate without faith, he eate the deuill withall, as the wordes of Chriſt declare: after he eate ẏ ſoppe, the deuill entred into him, as you can not deny.

Win. Hold him a booke. I will haue you aunſwere directly whether Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt, or no.

Richard Woodman again refuſeth *Winchester* to be hys Iudge.

Wood. I will aũſwere no more: for I am not of your dioces: wherfore I will haue nothing to do with you.

Win. No, you be in my Dioces, & you be of my dioces, becauſe you haue offended in my Dioces.

Wood. I am not of your Dioces, although I am in your Dioces: and I was brought into your Dioces agaynſt my will: and I haue not offended in your Dioces: if I haue, tell me wherin.

Win. Here is your owne hand wrytyng, the which is hereſie. Theſe be the wordes. I can not finde (ſay you) that it is the body of Chriſt to any, before it be receaued in faytb. How ſay you? is not this your owne hand wrytyng?

Truth taken for hereſie.

Wood. Yea, I do not deny but it is myne own hand wrytyng: but when, or where was it written, or where were the wordes ſpoken?

Before the Commiſſioners: and here is one of thẽ. M. Roper, the wordes were ſpoken before you Were they not?

M. Roper Commiſſioner, and witnes agaynſt *Woodmã.*

Roper. Yes in déede, that they were Woodman. I am ſure you will not deny them: for you haue written the wordes euen as you ſpake them.

Wood. No Syr, in déede I will not deny but that I ſpake them, and I am glad that you haue ſene it. For you may ſée by that whether I lye or not.

Roper. In deds the wordes be writtẽ word by word as we ſpake them.

Woodmãs hand wrytyng brought in agaynſt him.

Win. Well, here you affirme that it is your owne déede. How ſay you now? wil you be ſory for it, and become an honeſt man?

Wood. My Lord, I truſt no man can ſay, but that I am an honeſt man: and as for that, I maruell that you wil lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lord of Londõ diſcharged me of all matters that were layd agaynſt me, when I was releaſed of him.

Woodmã firſt releaſed, and yet called to accompt agayne, agaynſt all good order.

Win. You were releaſed, and it might fortune, it was not layd to your charge then: therfore we lay it to your charge now, becauſe you be ſuſpected to be an hereticke: and we may call you before vs, and examine you of your fayth vpon ſuſpicion.

Wood. In dede S. Peter willeth me to render accoũt of my hope that I haue in God, and I am contented ſo to do, if it pleaſe my Byſhop to heare me.

Chicheſter. Yes, I pray you let vs heare it.

Wood. I do beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and of earth, & of all thinges viſible and inuiſible, and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my Sauiour, very God and man. I beleue in God the holy Ghoſt, the comforter of all Gods elect people, and that he is equall with the Father, and the ſonne. I beleue the true Catholicke Church, and all the Sacramentes that belongeth thereto. Thus I haue rendered accompt of my hope that I haue of my ſaluation.

Win. And how beleue you in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar? And with that word they all put of theyr cappes to that abominable Idole.

Sacrament of the altar.

Wood. I pray you be contented: for I will not aunſweare to any mo queſtions: for I perceiue you go about to ſhéede my bloud.

Win. No? hold him a booke. If he refuſe to ſweare, he is an Anabaptiſt, and ſhalbe excommunicated.

Woodmã made an Anabaptiſt, becauſe he will not ſweare before hym that is not hys Ordinary.

Wood. I will not ſweare for you: excommunicate me if you wil. For you be not méete to take an oth: for you layd hereſies to my charge in yonder Pulpite, the which you are not able to proue: wherefore you be not méete to take an oth of any man. And as for me, I am not of your Dioces, nor will haue any thyng to do with you.

Win. I will haue to do with thée: and I ſay thou art a ſtrong hereticke.

All truth is hereſie, with theſe men.

Wood. Yea, all truth is hereſie with you: but I am content to ſhew you my minde, how I beleue ou the Sacramẽt of the body and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, without flattering. For that you looke for, I am ſure. But I will medle no further, but what I hold my ſelfe of it. I will not medle of any other mans belief on it.

N. Harp? Why? I am ſure all mens faith ought to be alyke.

Wood. Yea, I graunt you ſo, that all true Chriſtiãs faith ought to be a like. But I wil aũſwere for my ſelf.

N.Harp. Well,let vs here what you ſay to it.

Wood. I do beleue that when I come to receaue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt,if it be truly miniſtred according to Chriſtes inſtitution, I commyng in faythe,as I truſt in God I will,when ſo euer I come to receiue it, I beleuyng that Chriſt was borne for me, and that he ſuffered death for the remiſſion of my ſinnes,and that I ſhalbe ſaued by his death and bloudſheddyng, and ſo receiue the Sacrament of bread and wyne in that remembraunce, that then I do receaue whole Chriſt, God & man,myſtically,by faith. This is my belief on the Sacrament.

oodmãs effion the Sa= ment.

Thẽ they ſpake all at once,ſaying: myſtically by faith?

The fatte Prieſt. What a foole art thou? myſtically by faith? thou canſt not tell what myſtically is.

yſtical- y.

Wood. If I be a foole, ſo take me: But God hath choſen ſuch fooles of this would to confound ſuch wiſe thinges as you are.

Cor.j.

The fatte Prieſt. I pray thee what is myſtically?

hat is yſtically.

Wood. I take myſtically to be ỹ faith that is in vs,that the world ſeeth not,but God onely.

Win. He can not tell what he ſayth. Aunſwere to the Sacrament of the aultar, whether it be not the body of Chriſt before it be receiued, and whether it be not the body of Chriſt to who ſoeuer receaueth it. Tell me,or els I will excommunicate thee.

Wood. I haue ſayd as much as I will ſay: excommunicate me if you will. I am not of your Dioces. The Byſhop of Chicheſter is myne Ordinary. Let hym do it, if you will neede haue my bloud, that it may be required at his handes.

oodmã ayne ap- eleth to s Ordi- y.

Chicheſ. I am not conſecrated yet,I told you when you were with me.

.Chri- pherſon of Chi- ſter hys dinary, yet cõ- ued.

Wood. No in deede, your Kyne bring forth nothyng but Cow calues, as it chaunceth now: Meanyng therby that he had not his Bulles from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me,and called me altonought, and ſayd I was out of my wyt,becauſe I ſpake feruently to euery mans queſtion: all the which I can not remember: But I ſayd:

So Feſtus ſayd to Paul when he ſpake the wordes of ſobernes and truth out of the ſpirite of God, as I do. But as ye haue iudged me,you be your ſelues. You will go to hell all the ſort of you,if you condemne me,if you repent it not with ſpeede.

Wood. Then my keeper and the Shrieffes deputie Fuller,rebuked me,becauſe I ſpake ſo ſharply to them. And I ſayd: I pray you let me alone: I anſwere for my life. Then there was much ado, that I ſhould kepe ſilence,& ſo I held my peace. Then ſpake the B.of Wincheſter and the Archdeacon of Caunterbury, ſaying: we goe not about to condemne the, but goe about to ſaue thy ſoule,if thou wilt be ruled & doo as we would haue thee.

oodmã his ſer- t ſpeach buked.

Wood. To ſaue my ſoule? nay you can not ſaue my ſoule. My ſoule is ſaued already, I prayſe God therefore. There can no mã ſaue my ſoule,but Ieſus Chriſt: and he it is that hath ſaued my ſoule before ỹ foundation of the world was layd.

The fatte Prieſt. What an hereſye is that my Lord? here is an other hereſye. He ſayth his ſoule was ſaued before the foundations were layde. Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayeſt. Was thy ſoule ſaued before it was?

s fatte well in the rip- s.

Wood. Yes I prayſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and I ſay the truth. Looke in the firſt of the Epheſians,and there you ſhall finde it,where Paul ſayth: *bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which hath bleſſed vs with all maner of ſpirituall bleſſinges in heauenly thinges, by Chriſt, according as he hath choſen vs in him ſelfe before the foundation of the earth was layd,that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him, through loue, and therto were we predeſtinated.* Theſe be ỹ wordes of Paul: and I beleue they be moſt true. And therfore it is my faythe, in and by Ieſus Chriſt that ſaueth, and not you, nor any man els.

pheſ.j.

iſt one- ſoul- of mãs , and man.

The fat Prieſt. What? faythe without workes? Saint Iames ſayth: faythe without workes is dead, and we haue free will to doo good workes.

Wood. I would not that any of you ſhould thinke ỹ I do diſalow good workes. For a good faith cã not be without good workes. Yet not of our ſelues,but it is the gift of God, as ſaith S.Paul to the Phillippiãs,the 2.chap. *It is God that worketh in vs both the will and alſo the dede, euen of good will.*

Good workes not diſallowed.

Phill.ij.

Wincheſt. Make an ende: aunſwere to me. Here is your Ordinary, the Archdeacon of Canterbury: he is made your Ordinary by my Lord Cardinall: and he hath authoritye to examine you of your faythe vppon a booke,to aunſwere to ſuch articles as he wil lay to you. And I pray you refuſe it not: for the daũger is great if you doo. Wherfore we deſire you to ſhew your ſelfe a ſubiect in this matter.

The Archdeacon of Cant. made Ordinary by the Cardinall to examine *Rich.Woodman.*

Then they ſpake all,and ſayd: loe,my Lord deſireth you gently to aunſwere to him,and ſo we do all. For if you refuſe to take an othe,he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinall may put whom he will in the biſhops office,vntill he is conſecrated.

Wood. I know not ſo much. If you wil geue me time to learne the truth of it (if I can proue it be as you ſay) I will tell you my minde in any thing that he will demaund of me,without any flattering.

Prieſt. My Lord and all we tell thee it is true: & therfore aunſwere to him.

Wood. I will beleue none of you all,for you be turne coates, and chaungelinges, and be wauering minded, as ſayth ſaint Iames: you be neither hoat nor cold, as ſayth S.Iohn, therefore God will ſpew you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can beleue none of you all, I tell you truth.

Wincheſt. What? be we turne coates, and chaungelinges? what meaneſt thou by that?

Wood. I meane that in King Edwardes time you taught the doctrine that was ſet fourth then,euery one of you,and now you teache the contrary: and therfore I call you turne coates,and chaungelinges, as I may well inough. Which wordes made the moſt part of them quake.

Richard Woodman challengeth hys iudges to be all turne coates and chaungelinges.

Wincheſt. Nay,not all,as it chaunced.

Wood. No? I pray you where were you then?

Wincheſt. I was in the Tower, as the Lieutenaũt will beare me record.

Wood. If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore, I dare ſay: it was for ſome other matter.

Then they tooke al hart of grace,and ſaid: my Lord, he commeth to examine you,we thinke: if he will not aunſwere to the articles, you were beſt to excommunicate hym.

Winc. He is ỹ naughtieſt verlet hereticke, that euer I knew. I will reade the ſentence agaynſt hym.

Wood. Then they ſpake all at once: and I aunſwered them as faſt as I could. But I can not remember it all,the wordes came out ſo thicke, and that I ſpared them not (I prayſe God therefore): for I ſpake freely.

The free ſpeach of *Woodman* to the Biſhops and Prieſtes.

Then they that ſtoode by,rebuked me,and ſayd: you cannot tell to whom you ſpeake,I thinke.

Wood. No? thinke you ſo? they be but men. I am ſure I haue ſpoken to as good as they be,and better thẽ they will euer be,for any thing that I can ſee, if they repent not with ſpeede.

Winc. Geue eare: for I will reade ſentence agaynſt you.

Winchester about to read the ſentence.

VVood. Will you ſo? wherefore will you? you haue no iuſt cauſe to excommunicate me: and therefore if you doe condemne me you will bee condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I prayſe God, I am not afrayde to die for Gods ſake, if I had a hundred liues.

Winc. For Gods ſake? nay for the deuilles ſake. Thou ſayeſt thou art not afrayd to die: No more was

Iudas that hanged him ſelfe, as thou wilt kill thy ſelfe wilfully, becauſe thou wilt not be ruled.

Wood. Nay, I defye the deuill, Iudas and all theyr members. And Iudas fleſh was not afrayd, but his ſpirite and conſcience was afrayd, and therefore diſpayred, and hong him ſelfe. But I prayſe God, I fele lothſomnes in my fleſh to die, but a ioyfull cōſcience and a willing minde therto. Wherfore my fleſh is ſubdued to it, I prayſe God: and therefore I am not afrayd of death.

Chich. Woodman, for Gods ſake be ruled. You know what you ſayd to me at my houſe. I could ſay more if I would.

Read before pag 2176.

Wood. Say what you can: the moſt fault that you found in me was, becauſe I prayſed the liuing God, and becauſe I ſaid, I praiſe God, and the Lord: which you ought to be aſhamed of, if you haue any grace, for I told you where the wordes were written.

Wincheſt. Well: how ſay you? will you confeſſe that Iudas receaued the body of Chriſt vnworthely? tell me playnely.

No man can receaue the body of Chriſt vnworthely.

Wood. My Lord, if you, or any of you all can proue before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man euer eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely, then I will be with you in all thinges that you will demaund of me: of ẏ which matter I deſire all this people to be witnes.

Prieſt. Will you ſo? then we ſhall agree well inough. Saint Paul ſayth ſo.

Wood. I pray you where ſayth he ſo? rehearſe the wordes.

j.Cor.xj.

Prieſt. In the xj. of the firſt to the Corinthians, he ſaith: *who ſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lordes body.*

The place of S. Paule. *j.Cor.xj.* expounded.

What it meaneth to make no difference of the Lordes body.

Wood. Doth theſe wordes proue ẏ Iudas eate ẏ body of Chriſt vnworthely? I pray you let me ſee thē. They were cōtented. Thē ſaid I: theſe be ẏ wordes euen that you ſayd. Good people, herken well to thē: *Who ſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup vnworthely.* He ſaith not, who ſo eateth of this body vnworthely, or drinketh of this bloud vnworthely. But he ſayth: *who ſo eateth of this bread, & drinketh of this cup vnworthely* (which is the ſacrament) *eateth and drinketh his own dānation,* becauſe he maketh no difference of the ſacrament which repreſenteth ẏ Lords body, and other bread & drinke. Here good people, you may all ſee they are not able to proue theyr ſayinges true. Wherfore I cannot beleue them in any thing that they doo.

Wincheſt. Thou art a ranke hereticke in deede. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read ſentence agaynſt thee.

Winchester readeth ſentence agaynſt *Woodman,* and can not tell wherefore.

Wood. Iudge not leaſt you be iudged. For as you haue iudged me, you be your ſelfe. Then hee red the ſentence. Why, ſayd I? will you read the ſentence agaynſt me, and cannot tell wherfore?

Wincheſt. Thou art an hereticke, and therfore thou ſhalt be excommunicated.

Wood. I am no hereticke. I take heauen and earth to witnes, I defie al heretickes: and if you condemne me, you will be damned, if you repent it not. But God geue you grace to repent all, if it be his will: and ſo he red forth the ſentence in latin, but what he ſayd, God knoweth, and not I. God be iudge betwene them and me. Whē he had done, I would haue talked my minde to them, but they cried away: away with him. So I was caried to the Marſhalſea agayne, where I am, and ſhall be as long as it ſhal pleaſe God: and I praiſe God moſt hartely, that euer he hath elected, and predeſtinated me to come to ſo high dignity, as to beare rebuke for his names ſake: his name be prayſed therfore, for euer and euer, Amen.

Richard Woodman condemned and caryed to the Marſhalſey, being not ſuffered to ſpeake.

And thus haue you the examinations of this bleſſed Woodman, or rather Goodmā: wherin may appeare as well the great grace and wiſdome of God in that man, as alſo the groſſe ignorance & barbarous crueltie of his aduerſaries, eſpecially of D. White Biſhop of Wincheſter. Now followeth likewiſe the effect of hys letter.

¶ A godly letter of Rich. Woodmā written to a Chriſtian woman Miſtres Robertes of Hawkhurſt.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and frō his ſonne our alone Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, by the operation and workyng of the holy Ghoſt, be multiplied plenteouſly vppon you (deare ſiſter Robertes) that you may the more ioyfully beare the Croſſe of Chriſt that ye are vnder, vnto the end, to your only comfort & conſolation, and to all our brethren and ſiſters that are round about you, both now and euer, Amen.

In my moſt humble wiſe I commend me vnto you, and to all our brethrē & ſiſters in thoſe parties, that loue our Lord vnfainedly, certifiyng you that I and all my brethren with me, are mery and ioyfull, we prayſe God therfore, looking daily to be diſſolued frō theſe our mortall bodies, accordyng to the good pleaſure of our heauenly father: prayſing God alſo for your conſtancie, and gentle beneuolence, that you haue ſhewed vnto Gods elect people, in this troubleſome time of perſecution: which may be a ſure pledge and tokē of Gods good will and fauour towards you, and to all other that heare therof. For bleſſed are the mercifull, for they ſhall obteine mercy. wherfore the fruites declare alway what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treaſure of their hartes bryng forth good thinges.

Phil.ij.

Math.24.

Mat.v.

Wherfore deare Siſter, it is not as many affirme in theſe dayes (the more it is to be lamented) that ſay God aſketh but a mans hart: which is the greateſt iniury that cā be deuiſed againſt God and his word. For S. Iames ſayth: Shew me thy faith by thy deedes, and I wil ſhew thee my fayth by my deedes, ſaying: the deuills haue fayth, and tremble for feare, and yet ſhall be but deuils ſtill, becauſe their mindes were neuer to do good. Let not vs therfore be like vnto them, but let our faith be made manifeſt to the whole world by our deedes: and in the middeſt of a crooked and peruerſe nation, as S. Paule ſayth, let our light ſhine as in a darke place.

God aſketh more then the hart onely.

Iames.ij.

Phil.ij.

Oh deare hartes, now is the Goſpell of God ouerwhelmed with many blacke and trombleſome cloudes of perſecution, for the which cauſe very fewe go about to haue their eyes made cleare by the true light of the Goſpell, for feare of loſing of the treaſures of this worlde which are but vaine, and ſhall periſh. Let not vs therfore be like vnto them which light their cādle & put it vnder a buſhell: but let vs ſet our candle vppon a candleſticke, that it may geue light vnto al them that are in the houſe: that is to ſay, let al the people of the houſhold of God ſee our good workes, in ſufferyng all things patiently that ſhalbe layd vpon vs for the Goſpels ſake, if it be death it ſelfe. For Chriſt dyed for vs, leauing vs an example, that we ſhould folow his ſteppes, and as he hath geuen his lyfe for vs, ſo ought we to geue our lyues for the defenſe of the Goſpell, to the comfort of our brethren.

Mat.v.

How is it then that ſome will ſay, that their faith is good, and yet they do all the deedes of Antichriſt the deuill, and bee not aſhamed to alledge certaine Scriptures to mainteine their wickednes? S. Paul ſayth: To beleue with the hart iuſtifieth, and to confeſſe with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. Oh good God: here may all mē ſee, that no man nor woman cā haue a true faith, vnleſſe they haue deedes alſo: and he that doubteth, is like the waues of the Sea toſſed about of the wynde, and can looke for no good thing at the Lordes handes. May not a mā iudge all ſuch to be like thoſe which S. Iohn ſpeaketh of, ẏ bee neither hoate nor cold, & therfore God will (he ſayth) ſpue thē out of his mouth? If we iudge euill of ſuch, haue not they geuen vs occaſion? Had it not bene better for them to haue had a milſtone tyed about their neckes, & to haue ben caſt into the Sea, then they ſhould geue ſuch offences to Gods elect people in condemnyng them as they do, in goyng to the ſinagoge of Sathā, and there to receiue the marke of the beaſt, in that they ſee & heare God blaſphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow their doynges to be good? and theſe do not onely defile them ſelues, but alſo be an occaſion to confirme the Papiſtes in their Papiſtrie, and ſo be an occaſiō of our weake brothers falling, the which wil be all required at their hāds: which will be to heauy a burden for them to beare, if they repent it not with ſpede. For they that know their maiſter

Rom.x.

Confeſſing with the mouth, and beleuing in hart, muſt goe together.

Apoc.j.

Mat 18.

Apo.xiij.

Sclaunderers of the Goſpell.

Luke.

Heb.iij.

ſters wil and do it not, ſhalbe beaten with many ſtripes. Oh, do not we perceiue that now is the acceptable tyme that Chriſt ſpeaketh of? yea euen now is the axe put to the rootes of the trees, ſo that euery tree that bryngeth not forth good fruites now, muſt be hewed downe and caſt into the fire.

Mat.xxv. Luk.xiij. Luk.xiiij. Mat.xxv.

Now is the Lord come with his fanne in his hand, to trie the wheate from the chaffe. The wheat he will gather into his barne, and the chaffe he will burne as is aforeſayd. Now is the tyme come, that we muſt go meete the bridgrome with oile in our lampes. we are alſo bidden to the feaſt: let vs make no excuſes. Yea, our maiſter hath deliuered his talentes vnto vs: God geue vs grace to occupy them well, that at his comming he may receiue his owne with vauntage. Yea now is the Lord come to ſee if there be any fruite vpō his trees, ſo that if the Lord come and find none, he will ſerue vs as he did the wild figge tree, that is, neuer fruite ſhall grow on him more. Alſo, if we go to mete the bridgrome without oyle in our lampes, and ſhould go to bye: the doubt is, we ſhould be ſerued as was the fooliſh virgines: that was, God ſayd to them: depart, I know you not. Or if we ſhoulde make excuſes to come to the feaſt, other ſhall be bidden in our rowmes. If we occupy not our talentes well, they ſhalbe taken away from vs and geuen to other, and all ſuch vnprofitable ſeruauntes ſhalbe caſt into priſon in hell, where ſhalbe weepyng and gnaſhing of teeth.

Mat.x. Mat.v.

Richard Woodmā hated of hys owne frendes.

Oh good God, what a ſort of fearefull ſayinges are here contained? what Chriſtian hart will not harken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceaue now that this is the tyme that our maiſter Chriſt ſpeaketh of, that the father ſhould be agaynſt the ſonne, and the ſonne agaynſt the father, and one brother agaynſt an other: that the brother ſhall deliuer the brother to death: yea & that the wicked ſhall ſay all maner of euill ſayings agaynſt vs for his names ſake? the which I haue well found by experience, I prayſe God therefore, that hath geuen me ſtrength to beare it. For I thinke there can no euill be deuiſed but it hath bene imagined agaynſt me, and that of my familiar frendes, as Dauid ſayd: but I prayſe my Lord God, they are not able to proue any of their ſayinges true, but that they go about to finde fault in them that God hath choſen, becauſe they themſelues liſt not to take vp their croſſe and follow Chriſt, and therefore they ſpeake euill of the thing that they know not: the which ſhall geue account for it before hym that is ready to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

Iohn.x. I.Ioh.iiij.

But my truſt is, that all the people of God wil be ruled by the counſeil of S. Iohn ſaying: My ſheepe will heare my voyce, ſtraungers they will not heare: meaning thereby that ye ſhould not beleue ſtrāgers, counting thē ſtrāgers that goe about to ſubuert the Goſpell. wherefore marke well what they be, and try them well or euer you geue credite to them, according to S. Iohns counſell in his epiſtle, ſaying: Beleue not euery ſpirite, but try the ſpirites whether they bee of God or not: meaning thereby that they that be not of God, will ſpeake good of none but of them that be as they be. wherefore (deare ſiſter) be of good cheere, & geue no credite to ſuch people, what ſo euer ye heare them ſay. For I haue no miſtruſt, by Gods helpe, but that all the worlde ſhall ſee and know that my bloud ſhall not be deare in myne owne ſight, when ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe God to geue my aduerſaries leaue to ſheede it. I do earneſtly beleue, that God which hath begon thys good worke in me, will performe it to the ende, as he hath geuen me grace, and will alway, to beare this eaſy yoke and light burden: the which I haue alwayes found, I prayſe my Lord God.

The manifolde troubles which Woodmā hath paſſed through.

Pſal.

Woodmā comforted in his troubles.

For whē I haue bene in priſon, wearing other while boltes, other while ſhakels, other while lying on the bare ground, ſometyme ſitting in the ſtockes, ſometyme bound with cordes, that all my body hath bene ſwollen, much like to be ouercome for the payne that hath bene in my fleſh, ſometyme fayne to lie without in the woods & fieldes, wandring to & fro, few I ſay, that durſt to keepe my company for feare of the rulers, ſometyme brought before the Iuſtices, Sheriffes, Lordes, Doctours, and Biſhops, ſometime called dogge, ſometime deuill, hereticke, whoremonger, traytour, thefe, deceauer, with diuers other ſuch like: yea & euen they that dyd eate of my bread, that ſhould haue bene moſt my frends by nature, haue betrayed me. Yet for all this I prayſe my Lorde God that hath ſeparated me from my mothers wombe, all this that hath happened to me hath bene eaſy, light, and moſt delectable and ioyfull of any treaſure that euer I poſſeſſed: for I prayſe God they are not able to proue one iote or title of their ſayings true. But that way that they call hereſy, I ſerue my Lord God, & at all tymes before whō ſo euer I haue ben brought, God hath geuē me mouth and wiſdome, whereagaynſt all my aduerſaries haue not bene able to reſiſt, I prayſe God therefore.

Luke.xxj. Mat.x.

Experience of the Lord to keepe promiſe with hys people.

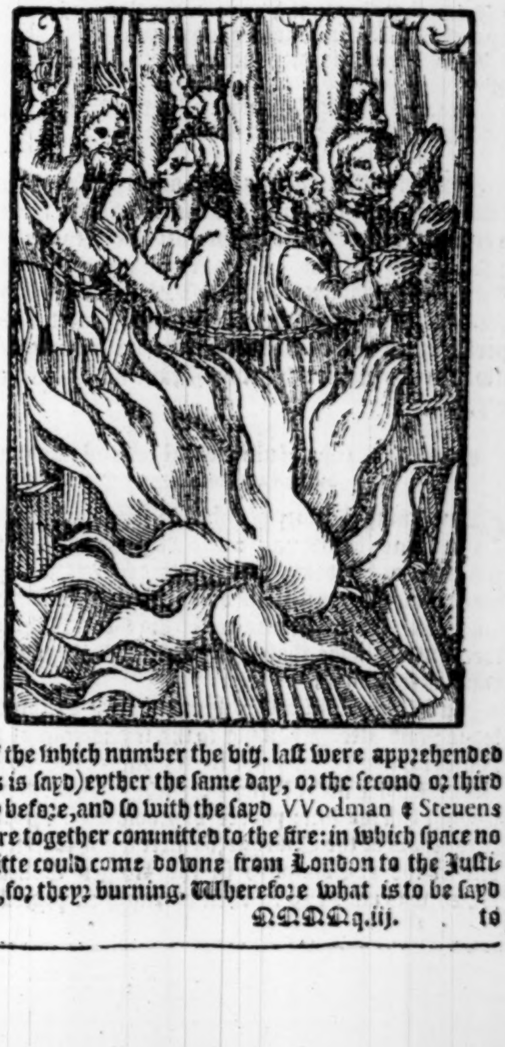
j.Cor.xiij. Rom.viij.

Wherefore deare ſiſter, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and ſiſters, and take no thought what you ſhall ſay, for it ſhall be geuen you the ſame hower, according to the promiſes, as I haue alwayes found, and as you and all other of Gods elect ſhall well find when the time is full come. And where as I and many other haue hoped, that this perſecution would haue bene at an ende ere this tyme: now I perceaue, God wyll haue a further tryal to roote out all diſſemblers, that no mā ſhould reioyce in hymſelfe: but he that reioyceth, ſhall reioyce in God. wherefore if prophecy ſhould fayle, and tounges ſhould ceaſe, yet loue muſt endure. For feare hath painefulnes, but a perfect loue caſteth out all feare: which loue I haue no miſtruſt but God hath poured it vpon you ſo aboundantly, that nothing in the world ſhalbe able to ſeparate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poore, life nor death, ſhal be able to put you from Chriſt: but by him I truſt you ſhall enter into new Ieruſalem, there to liue for euer, beholding the glory of God with the ſame eyes that you now haue, and all other faythful people that continue to the ende. Geue all honour and glory to God the father, God the ſonne, and God the holy ghoſt, three perſons and one God, to be honoured now and euer, Amen.

After theſe examinations thus had and commenſed betwene Richard Woodman and the Biſhops, he was (as is afore tolde) iudged by ſentence of condemnation, and ſo depriued of his life: with whom alſo was burned 9. other, to wit, fiue men and foure women, which were taken not paſt two or three dayes before their iudgement. The names of all which beyng alſo before expreſſed, here agayne follow in this order. Richard Woodman, George Steuens, W. Maynard, Alexāder Hoſman his ſeruaunt, Tomaſine a Wood his mayde, Margery Morys, Iames Morys her ſonne, Denys Burgis, Aſhdownes wife, Groues wyfe.

Theſe perſones here aboue named, and bleſſed Martyrs, were put to death at Lewes, the xxij. of Iune.

¶ The burnyng of ten Martyrs at Lewes.



The Martyrdome of x. godly Martyrs of Chriſt at Lewes. An.1557. Iune.22.

Of the which number the viij. laſt were apprehended (as is ſayd) eyther the ſame day, or the ſecond or third day before, and ſo with the ſayd VVodman & Steuens were together committed to the fire: in which ſpace no writte could come downe from London to the Iuſtices, for theyr burning. Wherefore what is to be ſayd

Certayne Iuſtices charged for burning of Chriſtes people without any lawfull warrant, or writte.

to ſuch Iuſtices, or what reckening they wyll make to God and to the lawes of this Realme, I referre that to them that haue to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found alſo of other Iuſtices, who without any lawfull writte of diſcharge, or order of law, haue vnlawfully and diſorderly burnt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt (whoſe bloud the law both may and alſo ought to reuenge): eſpecially at Saliſbury, and alſo at Canterbury, and Gerneſey. But concerning theſe matters though mans law doe wincke or rather ſleepe at them, yet they ſhall be ſure Gods law will finde ſuch murtherers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betyme.

¶ One Ambroſe dyed in Maydſtone priſon.

Ambroſe died in priſon, Confeſſor.

After theſe x. aboue named burnt at Lewes, about the ſame tyme and moneth, one Ambroſe dyed in Maydſtone priſon, who els ſhould haue bene burned in the like cauſe and quarell, as the other were.

¶ The Condemnation and Martyrdome of Rich. Luſh in the dioces of Wiltſhiere.

The condemnation of *Rich. Luſhe* in Wiltſhiere.

In the Regiſters of Gilbert Biſhop of Bathe and Welles, I finde a certificate made to K. Philip and Q. Mary, of one Richad Luſh, there condemned and geuen to the ſecular power to be burned for the cauſe of hereſie, whoſe affirmations in the ſayd certificat be expreſſed in tenour and effect, as followeth.

His Articles.

Firſt, for denying the veritie of the body and bloud of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

2 Item, for denying auricular confeſſion to be made to the Prieſt.

3 Item, for affirming onely to be three ſacramentes, to wit, of Baptiſme, of the Supper and of Matrimonie.

4 Item, for refuſing to call the Lordes Supper by the name of the ſacrament of the altar.

5 Item, for denying Purgatory, and that prayer and almes profite not the dead.

6 Item, that Images are not to be ſuffered in yͤ church, and that all that kneele to Images at the church, be idolators.

7 Item, that they which were burnt alate for religion, dyed Gods ſeruauntes and good Martyrs.

8 Item, for condemning the ſingle life of prieſtes, and other votaries.

9 Item, for denying the vniuerſall and catholicke church (meaning belike the church of Rome).

The Martyrdome of *Rich. Luſhe* in the dioces of Bathe and Welles.

For theſe aſſertions, as there are expreſſed, he was condemned, and committed to the Sheriefes, and alſo a certificat directed by the biſhop aforeſayd, to the King and Queene. Wherby we haue apparantly to vnderſtand, that the ſayd Richard Luſh, thus condemned by Biſhop Borne, was there burnt and executed, vnleſſe peraduẽture in the meane ſeaſon he dyed or was made away in the priſon: whereof I haue no certaintie to expreſſe.

¶ A note of Iohn Hullier Miniſter and Martyr, burned at Cambridge.

Referre thys to the ſtory of *Iohn Hullier*, Martyr, pag. 2086.

The ſtory of *Iohn Hullier* with more matter enlarged.

Concerning the ſtory of Ioh. Hullier Martyr, partly mentioned before pag. 2086. for the more full declaration of the death and Martyrdome of that good man, becauſe the ſtory is but rawly and imperfectly touched before, for yͤ more perfetting therof, I thought thereunto to adde that which ſince hath come to my hand, as followeth.

Iohn Hullier firſt Scholer at Eton.

Iohn Hullier Conduct in the Kinges Colledge.

Firſt Iohn Hullier was brought vp at Eaton Colledge: and after, according to the foundation of that houſe, for that he was ripe for the vniuerſitie, he was elected ſcholer in the Kinges Colledge, where alſo not tarying full the three yeares of probation, before he was fellow of the Colledge, he after a litle ſeaſon was one of the x. Conductes in the Kinges Colledge, which was an. 1539. Then at length in proceſſe of time, he came to be Curate of Babrame 3. miles from Cambridge, and ſo went afterward to Linne: where he hauing diuers conflictes with the papiſtes, was frõ thence caried to Ely, to D. Thurlby thẽ Biſhop there: who after diuers examinations, ſent him to Cambridge Caſtle, where he remanied but a while.

Hullier brought frõ Linne to the B. of Ely.

Hullier priſoned in the Tolboth.

From thence he was conueyed to the towne priſon commonly called the Tolboth, lying there almoſt a quarter of a yeare, while at length he was cited to appeare at great S. Maries on Palmeſonday euẽ, before diuers Doctors, both Diuines and Lawyers, amõgeſt whom was chiefeſt Doct. Shaxton, alſo D. Yong, D. Sedgewyke, D. Scot, Mytch, and others. Where after examinatiõ had, for yͭ he would not recant, he was firſt cõdemned, the ſentence being read by D. Fuller. Then cõſequently he was diſgraded after their popiſh maner with ſcrappyng crowne & handes. When they had diſgraded him, he ſayd cherefully: this is the ioyfulleſt day that euer I ſaw, and I thanke ye all, that ye haue deliuered and lightened me of all this paltry.

Hullier diſgraded.

In yͤ meane time whileſt it was a doing, one ſtãdyng by, aſked Hullier what booke he had in his hand. Who aũſwered: a Teſtamẽt. Wherat this mã in a rage toke it and threw it violently frõ him. Then was he giuen ouer to the ſecular powers, Braſey beyng Maior, who carying him to priſon agayne, tooke from him all his bookes, writynges, and papers.

Braſey Mayor of Cãbridge.

On Maundy Thurſday comming to the ſtake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, & praying to him ſelfe, one ſpake to him ſaying, yͤ Lord ſtrẽgthen thee. Wherat a Sergeant named Briſley, ſtayd and bad him hold his toung or els he ſhould repent it.

Briſey Sergeant, perſecutor.

Neuertheleſſe Hullier aunſwered and ſayd (either thus or very like, the effect was all one): frend I truſt that as God hath hetherto begon, ſo alſo he wil ſtrengthen me, and finiſh his worke vpon me. I am bydden to a Maundy, whether I truſt to go, & there to be ſhortly. God hath layd yͤ foundatiõ, & I by his aide will end it. Then goyng to a ſtoole (prepared for him to ſit on) to haue his hoſen plucked of, he deſired the people to pray for him againe, & alſo to beare witneſſe that he dyed in the right fayth, & that he would ſeale it with his bloud, certifying them that he died in a iuſt cauſe, and for the teſtimonie of the veritie and truth, & that there was no other rocke but Ieſus Chriſt to build vppon, vnder whoſe banner he fought, and whoſe ſouldier he was: and yet ſpeakyng, he turned him ſelf about towardes the Eaſt, and exhorted the people there likewiſe.

Hulliers ſtedfaſt truſt in God.

Hullier preparing him ſelf to the ſtake.

Three notorious Papiſtes in Trinitie Colledge.

Now it chaunced on a bancke to ſtand three Archpapiſtes, George Boyes, Henry Barley, and Gray, all three of Trinitie Colledge. This Boyes was one of the Proctours of the Vniuerſitie that yeare. To whom M. Gray ſpake, ſaying: heare ye not M. Proctor, what blaſphemie this felow vttereth? ſurely it is euill done to ſuffer him. At whoſe wordes, this Boyes ſpake with a loude voice: M. Maior, what meane ye? if ye ſuffer him thus to talke at libertie, I tell ye yͤ Counſaile ſhal heare of it, and we take you not to be the Queenes frend. He is a pernitious perſon, and may do more harme then ye wot of. Wherat ſimple Hullier as meeke as a lãbe, takyng the matter very patiently, made no aunſwere, but made him ready, vtteryng his prayer. Which done, he went meekely him ſelfe to the ſtake, & with chaynes beyng bound, was beſet with reed and wood, ſtandyng in a pitchbarrell, and the fire beyng ſet to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his backe. Then he feelyng it, began earneſtly to call vpon God. Neuertheles his frendes perceiuyng the fire to be ill kindled, cauſed the Sergeantes to turne it & fire it in that place where the wind might blow it to his face.

Boyes Proctor of Cãbridge.

The Martyrdome of *Iohn Hullier.*

Bookes burned with *Hullier.*

That done, there was a company of bookes which were caſt into the fire, and by chaunce a Communion booke fell betwene his handes, who receauing it ioyfully, opened it, and red ſo long as the force of the flame and ſmoke cauſed him that he could ſee no more: and then he fell agayne to prayer holding his handes vp to heauen, and the booke betwixt his armes next his hart, thanking God for ſending him it: and at that time the day being a very fayre day & a whot, yet the winde was ſomwhat vp, and it cauſed the fire to be ẏ fiercer, and when all the people thought he had bene dead, he ſodenly vttered theſe wordes: Lord Ieſu receaue my ſpirite, dying very mekely. The place where he was burned is called Ieſus greene, not farre from Ieſus Colledge. Seager gaue him certayne gunpouder, but litle to the purpoſe: for he was dead before it tooke fire. All the people prayed for him, & many a teare was ſhed for him. Which the papiſtes ſeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, & being but a damned man, it could profite him nothing: neuertheles they continued praying. Whereat the papiſtes fell in ſuch a rage that they manaced them with terrible threatninges to warde. Hys fleſh being conſumed, his bones ſtoode vpright euen as if they had bene aliue. Of the people ſome tooke as they could get of him, as peeces of bones. One had his hart, the which was diſtributed ſo farre as it would go: one tooke the ſcalpe and looked for the tong, but it was conſumed except the very roote.

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One rounded him in the eare and deſired him to be conſtant to the ende, at which he ſpake nothing but ſhewed a ioyfull countenaunce, and ſo continued both conſtant and ioyfull to the end.

¶ A note of Edmund Allin.

IN the ſtory of Edmund Allin before mentioned pag. 2165. I ſhewed thee good reader, that he being taken by Sir Iohn Baker, eſcaped out of priſon: how I could not then tell. The truth thereof now thou ſhalt heare, with other certayne matter, not vnworthy in the ſayd ſtory to be noted.

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.2165.

Edmũd Allin when he was firſt taken by Syr Iohn Baker of Cranbroke, & kept priſoner, both he and his wife in the ſayd Syr Iohn Bakers houſe the one from the other, Syr Ioh. Baker entreated the ſayd Edmund Allin to come to Maſſe in his Chappell the next day. after much adoe he graunted, and thẽ he ſayd he ſhould goe lye with his wife that night, and deſired hym to perſwade her to come alſo, and he would deliuer them both out of priſon. When he was come to his wife, he told her what he had promiſed, and ſhee with teares ſayd, hee ſhoulde goe alone for her. Then hee likewiſe lamentyng the ſame, ſayd, he would go with her to death. The next day, Syr Iohn Baker came to haue hym fulfill his promiſe to come to his Chappell. He ſayd: I will not: do what you will with me. And he called out his wife, and ſayd, thou old whore, thy huſband would be a Chriſtian but for thee. Then he beate her very ſore with hys ſtaffe in his hãd, and ſent them both to priſon the next day, ſending with them a cruell letter that they ſhould be burned out of hand: and yet by Gods mighty power they were deliuered by thys meane: their keeper beyng a Bell ringer of Canterbury, who had Allin and hys wife to an Inne, and there they dined, and the keeper with them. When they had dyned, the keeper went his way and left them in the Inne geuyng no man charge with them: and ſo they eſcaped that tyme.

¶ A note of Thomas Rede.

THom. Rede, who was burned at Lewes, as it appeareth aboue pag. 2095. before he was in priſon, determined wͭ himſelf to go to church. The night following, he ſaw in a viſion, a cõpany of talle young mẽ in white, very pleaſaunt to behold: to whom he would haue ioyned himſelfe, but it would not be. Then he looked on himſelfe and he was full of ſpottes, and therwith waked and toke hold and ſtoode to the truth: God be thanked therefore, and ſo conſtantly was burned with his felowes, as is aboue ſpecified, pag. 2095.

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Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, burnt at Norwich.

Iuly. 13.

Simon Miller a Marchaunt, Martyr.

IN the month of Iulye next enſued the Martyrdome of Simon Miller, and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling thẽ in the towne of Linne, a Godly and zelous mã in the knowledge of the Lord and of his truth, deteſting & abhorring the contrary enforced Religion then ſet forth, came frõ Linne to Norwiche, where he ſtandyng in the preaſe and hearing of the people, commyng out the ſame time from their Popiſh ſeruice ended in the Church, began to aſke thẽ cõmyng out of the Church, where he might go to haue the communion. At which wordes diuers much maruelyng to heare and ſee his boldnes, one that was an euill diſpoſed Papiſt, hearyng the ſame, ſayd: if he would needes goe to a communion, hee woulde goe bryng him thether where hee ſhould bee ſped of hys purpoſe. Whereupon ſhortly after hee was brought to the Chauncellour of Norwich (whoſe name was Dunnyng): who after a few wordes and ſmall talke paſſed with this examinate, committed him to warde.

The wordes of Sim Miller to ẏ people.

The cauſe why Simon Miller was taken.

In the meane while as he was in examination, he had in his ſhoe his confeſſion written in a certaine paper, whereof a peece appearyng aboue his ſhoe, was ſpyed and taken out. The Chauncellour aſkyng if he would ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame fayth therein conteined, he conſtantly affirmed the ſame. Wherupõ, as is ſayd, he was committed. Thus the ſayd Simon beyng in the Byſhops houſe vnder cuſtody of the keeper there called M. Felow, how it happened it is not certaine, whether by gentilnes of the keeper (who was ſomewhat gentle that wayes) or by leaue geuen of the Byſhop, or els whether he had condeſcended of a purpoſe to their Articles, he was diſmiſſed and wẽt home to his houſe at Linne. Where he continued a certaine ſpace, while he had diſpoſed and ſet there all thyng in an order.

Simon Miller examined before Doct. Dunning.

Sim. Millers cõfeſſion eſpyed in his ſhoe.

Sim. Miller diſmiſſed to his houſe at Linne.

That done, he returned agayne to the Byſhops houſe to his priſon and keeper, till the tyme at length he conſtantly abyding in his profeſſed purpoſe, and defence of Gods truth, was by the ſayd Byſhop and hys Chauncellour condemned and committed to the fire about the xiij. day of Iuly.

Sim. Miller returneth agayne to hys cõfeſſion, and is condemned.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

WIth this Simon Miller alſo was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper (as is afore ſayd) a pewterers wife, dwelling in Saint Andrewes pariſh in Norwich, where ſhe had before recanted, and being vnquiet for the ſame, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the laſt came into the ſaid S. Andrewes church, the people being at their popiſh ſeruice, and there ſtanding in the ſame, ſayd ſhe reuoked her recantation before made in that place, and was hartely ſory that euer ſhe did it, willing the people not to be deceiued, neither to take her doinges before for any example, &c. Theſe or ſuch like wordes ſhe ſpake in the church. Then cryed one Bacon of the ſayd pariſh, laying his armes abroade, ſaying: maiſter Sheriffe, will you ſuffer this? and repeting the ſame, vrged hym to go from the church to her houſe, at whoſe knocking ſhe came downe, and was taken and ſent to priſon.

Eliz. Cooper reuoketh her recantation in ẏ open church.

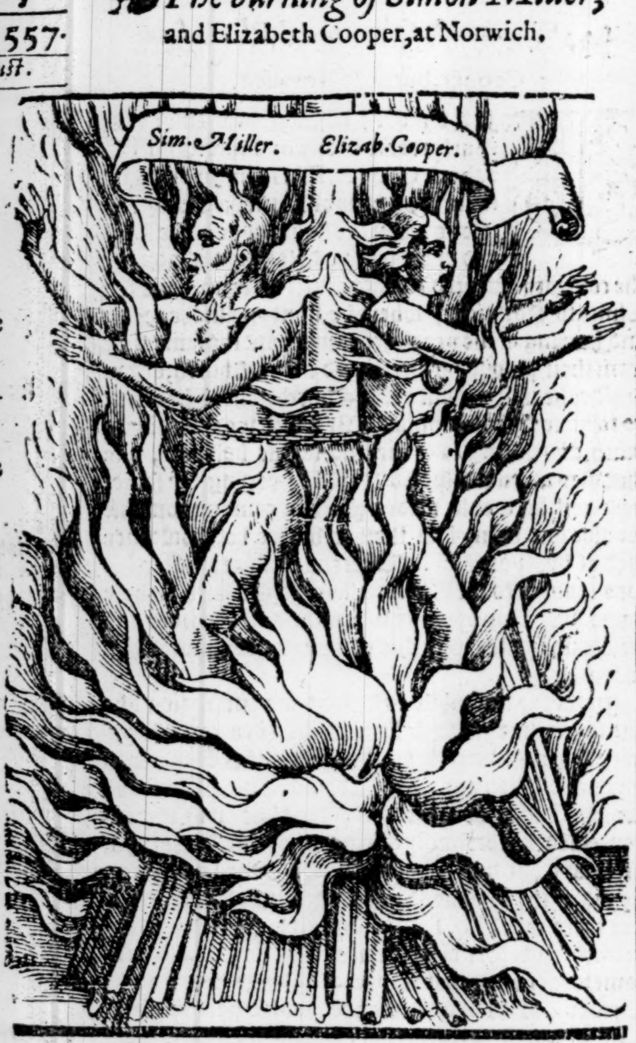
This Sheriffe (named M. Thomas Sutterton) and ſhe had bene ſeruauntes together before in one houſe, and for the frendſhip he bare vnto her, and the more for the Goſpels ſake, he was very loth to do it, but that he was enforced by thoſe other perſons (before ſpecified) much againſt his owne conſcience, which he now earneſtly repenteth.

The Shrieffe agaynſt hys will enforced to lay handes vppon Elizabeth Cooper.

The burning of Simon Miller, and Elizabeth Cooper, at Norwich.

The Martirdome of Sim. Miller, & Elizabeth Cooper, at Norwich.

1557. July. 13


Sim. Miller.
Elizab. Cooper.

Elizabeth Cooper ſtrengthned at the ſtake by Simon Miller.

This good woman being condemned, and at the ſtake with Simon Miller to be burnt, when the fire came vnto her, ſhe a little ſhranke thereat, with a voyce crying once, ha. When the ſayd Simon Miller heard the ſame, he put hys hand behinde him towarde her, and willed her to be ſtrong, and of good chere: For good ſiſter (ſayd he) we ſhal haue a ioyfull and a ſweete ſupper. Wherat ſhe being, as it ſeemed, therby ſtrẽgthned, ſtoode as ſtill and as quiet as one moſt glad to finiſh that good worke which before moſt happely ſhe had begon. So in fine ſhe ended her life with her companion ioyfully, committing her ſoule into the handes of almighty God.

The Martyrdome of X. faithfull and bleſſed Martyrs, v. men and v. women, burnt at Colcheſter, v. in the forenoone, and v. in the afternoone, for the teſtimony and witnes of Chriſt Ieſus and his glorious Goſpell.

August. 2.

The Martyrdome of x. godly Martyrs, v. men and v. women at Colcheſter.

As it is no new thing in thoſe whom we call prelates & prieſtes of the church, to be raiſers vp of perſecutiõ againſt Chriſt, and his poore flocke: ſo is it much to be maruailed or rather lemẽted, that noble perſons, and men of honour, and worſhip, would be made ſuch miniſters to ſerue the affections of theſe tyrauntes, as commonly, as wel in all the ſorowful dayes of the late Queene Mary, as namely in this preſent ſtory is to be marked.

And firſt thou remembreſt (gentle Reader) how mẽtion was made a litle before pag. 2156. of 22. which were ſent vp priſoners together from Colcheſter to London by the Earle of Oxford, the L. Darcy, M. Tirrill of Saint Oſithes, and other Commiſſioners & Iuſtices &c. The which 22. (as is aforeſaid) through a gẽtle ſubmiſſion put vnto them, were afterward releaſed and deliuered. In the number of theſe foreſayd 22. was one William Mount of Muchbentley in Eſſex, husband mã, with Alice his wife, and Roſe Allin maid, the daughter of the ſayd Alice Mount: which comming home agayne to their houſe at Muchbentley afore-ſayd, refrayned themſelues from the vnſauery ſeruice of the popiſh church, and frequented the company of good men and womẽ which gaue them ſelues diligently to reading, inuocating, and calling vpon the name of God through Chriſt: wherby they ſo freated ẏ wicked prieſt of the towne called Sir Thomas Tye, and other like vnto him, that caſting their heades together, they made a peſtilent ſupplication to the Lord Darcy, in the name of the whole pariſh, the tenure whereof hereafter followeth.

William Mount, Alice hys wife, Roſe Allin her daughter.

Tho. Tye prieſt, a wicked promotor.

The maner of a Supplication to the Lord Darcy, and by hym deliuered to Syr Iohn Kyngſtone, Prieſt and Commiſſary.

A ſupplicatiõ of ẏ perſecutors, to the L. Darcy.

Pleaſeth it your honorable Lordſhyp to be aduertiſed that we cõfeſſe, whileſt your good Lordſhyp lay here in the countrey, the people were ſtayed in good order, to our great comfort: but ſince your Lordſhips departure, they haue made digreſſion from good order in ſome places, and namely in the Pariſh of Muchbentley, by reaſon of three ſedicious perſons, William Mount and his wife, and Roſe her daughter, who by their colourable ſubmiſſion (as it doth appeare) were diſmiſt and ſent downe from the Byſhop of Londõ, and ſince their comming home, they haue not onely in their owne perſons ſhewed manifeſt ſignes and tokens of diſobedience, in not commyng to the Church, nor yet obſeruyng other good orders: but alſo moſt maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly haue ſeduced many from commyng to the Church, and from obeying all other good orders, mockyng alſo thoſe that frequent the church, & callyng them church Owles, & blaſphemouſly callyng ẏ bleſſed Sacramẽt of ẏ altar a blind God, with diuers ſuch like blaſphemies. In conſideration wherof, may it pleaſe your honour (for the loue of God, and for the tẽder zeale your good Lordſhip beareth to iuſtice, and comunõ peace & quietnes of the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties louing ſubiectes) to award out your warrant for the ſayd William Mount, his wife, and Roſe her daughter, that they beyng attached and brought before your good Lordſhyp, we truſt the reſt will feare to offend (theyr ryng leaders of ſedition beyng apprehẽded) to the quietnes of other obedient ſubiectes.

Your dayly Oratours the Pariſhners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye Prieſt, Iohn Carter, Thomas Candeler, Iohn Barker, Richard Mere, Iohn Paynter, William Harris, Iohn Ricarde, with other.

Cruell perſecutors.

Tho. Tye a falſe brother, and a bloudy perſecutor.

This being done, the ſayd Syr Thomas Tye bethought with him ſelf where the perſecuted did reſort. For in the beginning of Queene Maries raygne, for a tweluemoneth and more, he came not to church, but frequented the company of Godly men and women, which abſtayned frõ the ſame, and, as they thought, he laboured to keepe a good conſcience, but the ſequele ſhewed hym to be a falſe brother. Now (as I ſayd) he partly knowing the places of refuge for honeſt men, did further enquire of other about the ſame, and being thereof ſufficiently (as he thought) inſtructed to his purpoſe, immediatly about the tyme the ſupplication aboue ſpecified was exhibeted to the ſaid Lord Darcy, wrote ſecretly a letter to Boner Byſhop of London, wherein he maketh his accompt how he had beſtowed his tyme, and complayned of diuers honeſt men, amõg the which was the ſayd William Mount and his company. The tenure of which letter hereafter followeth.

A letter ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, from Syr Thomas Tye Prieſt.

Tyes letter to B. Boner.

Right honorable Lord, after my boũden duty done in moſt humble wiſe, theſe ſhall be to ſignify vnto your Lordſhip the ſtate of our parties concerning religion. And firſt ſince the comming downe of the xxij. rancke heretickes diſmiſſed from you, the deteſtable ſorte of Schiſmatickes were neuer ſo bolde ſince the King and Queenes maieſtyes raignes, as they are now at thys preſent. In Muchbentley where your Lordſhip is Patrone of the church, ſince William Mount, and Alice hys wife, with Roſe Allin her daughter came home, they do not onely abſent themſelues from the church, and ſeruice of God: but do dayly allure many other away from the ſame, which before did outwardly ſhew ſignes and tokens of obedience.

They aſſemble together vppon the Sabboth day in the tyme of diuine ſeruice, ſometimes in one houſe, ſometime in an other, and there keepe theyr priuy conuenticles and ſcholes of hereſy. The Iurates ſayth, the Lords commiſſion is out, and they are diſcharged of their oth. The queſt men in your Archdeacons viſitation alleageth that foraſmuch as they were once preſented and now ſent home, they haue no more to do with them nor none other. Your officers ſaith, namely M. Boſwell, that the counſell ſent them not home without a great conſideration. I pray God ſome of your officers proue not fauourers of heretickes. The rebels are ſtout in the towne of Colcheſter.

The miniſters of the church are hemde at in the open ſtreetes, and called knaues. The bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar is blaſphemed and rayled vppon in euery Alehouſe and Tauerne. Prayer and faſting is not regarded. Sedicious talkes and newes are riſe, both in towne and countrey, in as ample and large maner, as though there had no honorable Lordes and Cõmiſſioners bene ſent for reformation thereof. The occaſion riſeth partly by reaſon of Iohn Lone of Colcheſter hieth (a peruerſe place) which Iohn Lone was twiſe indicted of hereſie, and there vppon fledde with his wyfe and houſhould, and his goodes ſeaſed within the towne of Colcheſter, to the king and Queenes maieſties vſe. Neuertheleſſe the ſayd Iohn is come home agayne, and nothing ſayd or done to hym. whereupon the heretickes are wonderfully encouraged, to the no litle diſcomfort of good & Catholicke people, which dayly prayeth to God for the profite, vnity, and reſtauration of his church agayne, which thyng ſhall come the ſooner to paſſe, thorough the trauaile and paynes of ſuch honorable Lords and reuerend fathers, as your good Lordſhip is, vnto whom I wiſh long life and cõtinuance, with encreaſe of much honor. From Colcheſter the xviij. of December.

Your humble Bedes man
Thomas Tye Prieſt.

Whẽ Iudaſly this wicked Prieſt had thus wrought his malice agaynſt the people of God, within a while after, the ſtormes began to ariſe agaynſt thoſe poore perſecuted William Munt and his company, wherby they were enforced to hide them ſelues from the heate therof. And continuyng ſo a litle ſpace, at the laſt, the ſeuenth day of March. an. 1557. beyng the firſt Sõday in Lent, and by. ij. of the clocke in the morning, one M. Edmũd Tirrell (who came of the houſe of that Tirrels which murdered kyng Edward the fift and his brother) tooke with him the Bailiffe of the hundred called William Simuell, dwelling in Colcheſter, and the two Conſtables of Muchbentley aforeſayd, named Iohn Baker and William Harries, with diuers other a great number: and beſettyng the houſe of the ſayd W. Munt round about, called to thẽ at length to open the doore, which beyng done M. Tirrell with certaine of his cõpany, went into the chamber where yͤ ſayd father Munt and his wife lay, willyng them to riſe: for (ſayd he) ye muſt go with vs to Colcheſter Caſtell. Mother Munt hearyng that, beyng very ſicke, deſired that her daughter might firſt fetch her ſome drinke: for ſhe was (ſhe ſayd) very ill at eaſe. Then he gaue her leaue & bad her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Roſe Allin, mayd, tooke a ſtone pot in one hãd, and a candel in the other, & went to draw drinke for her mother: and as ſhe came backe agayne through the houſe, Tirrell met her, & willed to geue her father and mother good counſell, and to aduertiſe them to be better Catholicke people.

W. Simuell, Ioh. Baker, W. Harries, perſecutors.

The taking of W. Munt, hys wife, and Roſe Allin their daughter.

Talke betwene Ed. Tyrrell, and Roſe Allin.

Roſe. Syr, they haue a better inſtructour then I. For the holy Ghoſt doth teach them I hope, which I truſt will not ſuffer them to erre.

Tirrell. Why ſayd Maiſter Tirrel, art thou ſtill in that mind, thou naughty houſwife? Mary it is tyme to looke vpon ſuch heretickes in deede.

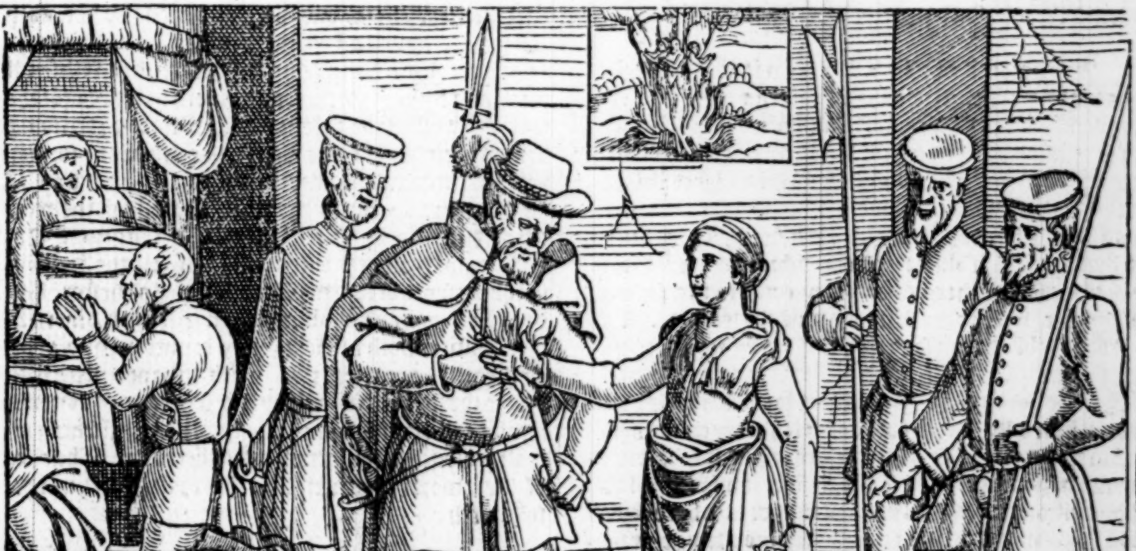
Roſe. Syr, with that which you cal hereſſe, do I worſhyp my Lord God, I tell you trouth.

Tirrell. Then I perceiue you will burne, goſſyp, with the reſt, for companies ſake.

Roſe. No Syr, not for companies ſake, but for my Chriſtes ſake, if ſo I be compelled, & I hope in his mercies, if he call me to it, he will enhable me to beare it.

Tirell. So he turning to his cõpany, ſayd? Syrs this goſſip wil burne: do ye not thinke it? Mary Syr, quoth one, proue her, & you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by & by.

The burnyng of Roſe Allins hand, by Syr Edmund Tirrell, as ſhe was goyng to fetch drinke for her mother, lying ſicke in her bed.



Then

Tyrrell burneth *Roſe Allins* hand.

Then that cruell Tirrill taking the candell from her, held her wriest, and the burning candell vnder her hand, burning croſſe wiſe ouer the backe thereof, ſo long till the very ſinnowes crackt aſunder. Witnes hereof William Kandler then dwelling in Muchbentley, which was there preſent and ſawe it. Alſo Miſtres Bright of Romforde, with Anne Starky her mayde, to whom Roſe Allin both declared the ſame, & the ſaid Miſtres Bright alſo miniſtred ſalue for yͤ curing thereof, as ſhe lay in her houſe at Romford going vp towardes London with other priſoners. In which tyme of his tyrāny, he ſaid oftē to her: why whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou yoūg whore, wilt thou not cry? &c. Unto which alwayes ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe had no cauſe, ſhe thāked God, but rather to reioyce. He had, ſhe ſaid, more cauſe to weepe then ſhe, if he conſidered the matter well. In the end, when the ſinnowes (as I ſayd) brake that all the houſe heard them, he then thruſt her from him violently, and ſayd: ha ſtrong whore, thou ſhameleſſe beaſt, thou beaſtly whore. &c. with ſuch lyke vile wordes. But ſhe quietly ſufferyng his rage for the tyme, at the laſt, ſayd: Syr, haue ye done what ye will do? And he ſayd, yea, and if thou thinke it be not well, then mend it.

The pacience of the faythfull.

Roſe. Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and giue you repentaunce, if it be his will. And now if ye thinke it good, begyn at the feete, and burne to the head alſo. For he that ſet you a worke, ſhall pay you your wages one day I warrant you: and ſo ſhe went and caried her mother drinke as ſhe was cōmaunded. Furthermore, after the ſearching of the houſe for more company, at the laſt they found one Iohn Thurſton and Margarete hys wife there alſo, whom they caried with the reſt to Colcheſter Caſtell immediatly. And this ſayd Roſe Allin beyng priſoner, told a frend of hers this cruell act of the ſayd Tirrell, and ſhewyng him the maner therof, ſhe ſayd: while my one hand (quoth ſhe) was a burnyng, I hauing a pot in my other hand, might haue layd him on the face with it, if I had would: for no man held my hand to let me therin. But I thanke God (quoth ſhe) with all my hart, I did it not.

The deuill payeth the perſecutors their wages.

She reuengeth not euill for euill.

Alſo beyng aſked of an other how ſhe could abyde the paynefull burnyng of her hand, ſhe ſayd, at firſt it was ſome grief to her, but afterward, the longer ſhe burned the leſſe ſhe felt, or well nere none at all.

And becauſe M. Tyrrell ſhall not goe alone in this kinde of crueltie, you ſhall heare an other lyke example of a blinde Harpers hand burnt by B. Boner, as is teſtified by yͤ relation of Valentine Dyngley ſomtime gentleman to yͤ ſaid Biſhop: who declared before credible witneſſe, as followeth: how yͤ ſaid B. Boner hauing this blinde Harper before him, ſpake thus vnto him: that ſuch blinde abiectes which followe a ſort of hereticall preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the firſt that will flie from it. To whom the blind man ſayd: that if euery ioynt of him were burnt, yet he truſted in the Lorde not to flie. Then Boner ſignifying priuilie to certaine of his men about him what they ſhould doe, they brought to hym a burning coale. Which coale being put into yͤ poore mans hand, they cloſed it faſt againe, and ſo was hys hand pitiouſly burned. Amōgeſt the doers wherof was the ſayd M. Valentine Dyngley, witnes and reporter hereof, as is afore declared.

We read in the ſtory of Titus Liuius of King Porſenna: who after yͤ burning of yͤ right hand of M. Scæuola, which came purpoſely to kill him, being onely cōtented therwith, ſent him home to Rome againe. But thus to burne the handes of poore men and women which neuer ment any harme vnto them, and yet not contented with that, but alſo to conſume their whole bodies without any iuſt cauſe, we finde no example of ſuch barbarous tyrannie, neither in Titus Liuius, neither in any other ſtory amongeſt yͤ heathen.

But to returne to our Colcheſter Martyrs againe, as touching William Munt and his wife, & burning of their daughter Roſe Allins hand, ſufficient hath bene declared. With yͤ ſayd W. Munt and his familie, was ioyned alſo in the ſame priſon at Colcheſter, an other faythfull brother named Iohn Iohnſon, *aliâs* Aliker, of Thorpe in the Countie of Eſſex, labourer, of the age of xxxiiij. yeares, hauing no wife aliue but three younge children, who alſo was with them indicted of hereſie, and ſo all theſe iiij. lay together in Colcheſter Caſtle.

The other vj. priſoners lay in Mote Hall in the ſayd towne of Colcheſter, whoſe names were:

Firſt, William Bongeor of the pariſhe of S. Nicholas in Colcheſter, Glaſier, of the age of lx. yeares.

2. Tho. Benold of Colcheſter, Tallow Chaūdler.

3. W. Purcas of Bocking in the Countie of Eſſex, Fuller, a young man, of the age of xx. yeares.

4. Agnes Siluerſide, *aliâs* Smith, dwelling in Colcheſter, widow, of the age of lx. yeares.

5. Helene Ewring, the wife of Iohn Ewring, Miller, dwelling in Colcheſter, of the age of xlv. yeares or therabouts, who was one of the xxij. priſoners mentioned before pag. 2158. ſent vp in bandes from Colcheſter to London, and after being deliuered with the reſt, repayred home to Colcheſter againe to her huſband, where notwithſtanding ſhe enioyed her libertie not very long: for ſhortly after her returne met with her one Rob. Maynard then Bailiffe of Colcheſter, a ſpeciall enemie to Gods Goſpell, who ſpying her, came to her, and kiſſed her, & bad her welcome home from London. Unto whom ſhe conſiderately anſwered againe, and ſayd, that it was but a Iudas kiſſe. For in the end (quoth ſhe) I know you will betray me: As in deede it came to paſſe, for immediately after that talke ſhe was apprehended by him againe, and there lodged with the reſt in yͤ towne priſon (as is afore ſaid) called the Mote Hall.

Helene Ewring apprehended the ſecond time.

Robert Maynard a great enemie to the Goſpell.

6. The ſixt of this company was Elizabeth Folkes, a younge maide, and ſeruaunt in Colcheſter, of the age of xx. yeares.

Theſe vj. were impriſoned in the towne priſon of Colcheſter, called Mote Hall, as the other iiij. aboue ſpecified, were in the Caſtle.

Diuers examinations theſe good men had at ſondry times before diuers Iuſtices, prieſtes, and officers, as M. Roper, Iohn Kingſtone Cōmiſſary, Iohn Boſwell prieſt and Boners Scribe, and others moe, wherof the ſayd Boſwell made relation to B. Boner, certifying hym of their depoſitions, as is to be red in our former booke of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 1607. Laſt of all they were examined againe in Mote Hall the xxiij. day of Iune by Doct. Chadſey, Iohn Kingſtone Cōmiſſary, with other prieſtes, and Boſwell the Scribe, in the preſence of the two Bailiffes of Colcheſter, Robert Browne and Robert Maynard, with diuers other Iuſtices both of the towne & countrey, and other gentlemen a great ſort: at which time and place, and before the ſayd perſons, they had ſentence of condemnation red againſt them, chiefly for not affirming the reall preſence in the ſacrament of their altar. The effect of their wordes therein, was this or ſuch like, as here followeth.

Firſt, the Lordes faithfull priſoners in Mote Hall.

William Bongeor.

William Bongeor of the Pariſh of S. Nicholas in Colcheſter, Glaſier, ſayd: that the Sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and ſo remayneth bread, and for the conſecration, it is not the holyer, but rather the worſe. To this he did ſtand, as alſo agaynſt all the reſt of their Papiſticall doctrine: and ſo had ſentēce red againſt him.

Thomas Benolde.

Thomas Benold of Colcheſter, Tallow Chaundler, affirmed yͤ like in effect that the ſaid William Bongeor did: and ſo had ſentence alſo red againſt hym.

W. Purcas of Bocking ſayd, that when he receaued the ſacrament, he receaued bread in an holy vſe, that preacheth the remembrance that Chriſt died for him. To this he ſtode, & againſt other their popiſhe matters: and ſo alſo had ſentence red againſt him.

Agnes Siluerſide, *alias* Smith, ſayd: that ſhe loued no conſecration. For the bread & wine is rather worſe then better therby, ſhe ſayd. Thys good olde womã aunſwered thẽ with ſuch ſound iudgement & boldnes, to euery thing they aſked her, that it reioyced the hartes of many, and ſpecially to ſee the pacience in ſuch a reuerent olde age, againſt the tauntes and checkes of her enemies. To thys ſhe alſo ſtode, and had ſentence red againſt her in like maner.

Helene Ewring aunſwered the like in effecte as the other did, clearely denying all the lawes ſet forth by the Pope, with her whole hart. Thys good woman was ſomewhat thicke of hearing, but yet quicke in vnderſtanding the Lordes matters (his name therefore be prayſed). Againſt her alſo there was ſentence red.

Elizabeth Folkes the younge maiden, being examined whether ſhe beleued the preſence of Chriſtes body to be in the ſacrament ſubſtantially and really, or no: aunſwered, that ſhe beleued that it was a ſubſtantiall lie, and a reall lie. At which wordes the prieſtes and others chafed very much, and aſked her againe whether after the conſecration there remained not the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament. And ſhe aunſwered, that before conſecration and after, it is but bread, and that man bleſſeth without Gods worde, is curſed and abominable by the worde. &c. Then they examined her of confeſſion to the prieſt, of going to Church to heare Maſſe, of the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome. &c. Vnto all which ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe would neither vſe nor frequent none of them all, by the grace of God, but vtterly did deteſt and abhorre them from the bottome of her hart, and all ſuch lyke trumperye.

Then red they the ſentence of condemnation againſt her. In which time Doct. Chadſey wept, that yͤ teares trickled downe his cheekes. So the ſentence being red, ſhe kneeled downe on both her knees, lifting vp her handes and eyes vnto heauen, with feruent prayer in an audible voyce, prayſing God yͭ euer ſhe was borne to ſee that moſt bleſſed and happy day, that the Lorde would count her worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimonie of Chriſt: and Lorde, ſayd ſhe (if it be thy will) forgeue them that thus haue done agaynſt me, for they know not what they doe. Then riſing vp, ſhe exhorted all thoſe on the Bench to repentance, eſpecially thoſe who brought her to priſon, as Robert Maynard the Bailiffe, and ſuch like: which Maynard commonly when he ſat in iudgement vpon life and death, would ſit ſlepying on the Bench many times: ſo carefull was his minde on his office. Further ſhe willed halting Goſpellers to beware of bloud, for that would cry for vengeance. &c. And in the end ſhe tolde them all, laying her hand on the barre, if they did not repent their wicked doinges therin, that vndoubtedly yͤ very barre ſhoulde be a witnes againſt them at the day of iudgement, that they had there that day ſhed innocent bloud.

This Elizabeth Folkes the day before ſhe was cõdemned, was examined onely vpon this article, whether ſhe beleued that there was a Catholicke Church of Chriſt, or no. Vnto which ſhe aunſwered, yea. Then was ſhe immediatly (by Boſwells meanes the Scribe) deliuered vnto her Vncle Hoult of the ſame towne of Colcheſter, to keepe: who caried her home vnto hys houſe, and ſhe being there, might haue departed thence many tymes, if ſhe had woulde: for there was meanes offred to conuey her away. But ſhe hearing that ſome doubted that ſhe had yelded to the Pope (although it was moſt vntrue) would in no wiſe content her ſelfe, but wept, and was in ſuch anguiſhe of minde, and terrour of conſcience, that (no remedie) ſhe would to the Papiſtes againe, for any perſwaſion that coulde bee, and comming before them at Coſins houſe at yͤ white Hart in Colcheſter, ſhe was at vtter defiance with them and their doctrine: and ſo had, as ye haue heard, in the end, a Papiſticall reward, as the reſt of her brethren had.

The Lordes faythfull priſoners in Colcheſter Caſtell.

William Munt of Muchbentley in Eſſex, of the age of lxj. yeares, ſayd: that the Sacramẽt of the altar was an abominable Idoll, and that if he ſhould obſerue any part of their popiſhe proceedinges, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bring hys curſe vpon hym, & therefore for feare of his vengeance he durſt not do it. This good father was examined of many thinges, but God be thanked, he ſtode to the truth, and in the end therefore had ſentence of condemnation red againſt him.

1. *W. Munt* condemned.

Iohn Iohnſon of Thorpe in Eſſex, widower, of the age of xxxiiij. yeares, was examined as yͤ reſt, and made aunſwere in ſuch ſort, as the Papiſtes counted hym none of theirs, and therfore cõdemned hym with their bloudy ſentence, as they had done the reſt before. This Iohn Iohnſon affirmed that in the receauing of the ſacrament, according to Chriſtes inſtitution, he receaueth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually. &c.

2. *Ioh. Iohnſon* condemned.

Alice Munt, the wife of the ſayd William Munt, of the age of xlj. yeares, being alſo examined as the reſt, ſayd and confirmed the ſame in effecte as her huſband did, and was therfore alſo condemned by their bloudy ſentence in like maner.

3. *Alice Munt* condemned.

Roſe Allin maide, the daughter of the ſayd Alice Munt, of the age of xx. yeares, being examined of auricular confeſſion, of going to Church to heare Maſſe, of the Popiſhe ſeuen Sacramentes. &c. aunſwered ſtoutly, that they ſtanke in the face of God, and ſhe durſt not haue to doe with them for her life, neither was ſhe (ſhe ſayd) any member of theirs: for they were the members of Antichriſt, and ſo ſhould haue (if they repented not) the reward of Antichriſt. Being aſked further what ſhe could ſay of the Sea of the Byſhop of Rome, whether ſhe would obey hys authoritie, or no: ſhe aunſwered boldly that ſhe was none of his. As for hys Sea (quoth ſhe) it is for Crowes, Kites, Owles, & Rauens to ſwimme in, ſuch as you be: for by the grace of God I ſhall not ſwimme in that Sea, while I liue, neither will I haue any thyng to do therwith. Then red they the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt her, and ſo ſent her vnto priſon againe vnto the reſt, where ſhe ſong with great ioye, to the wonder of many.

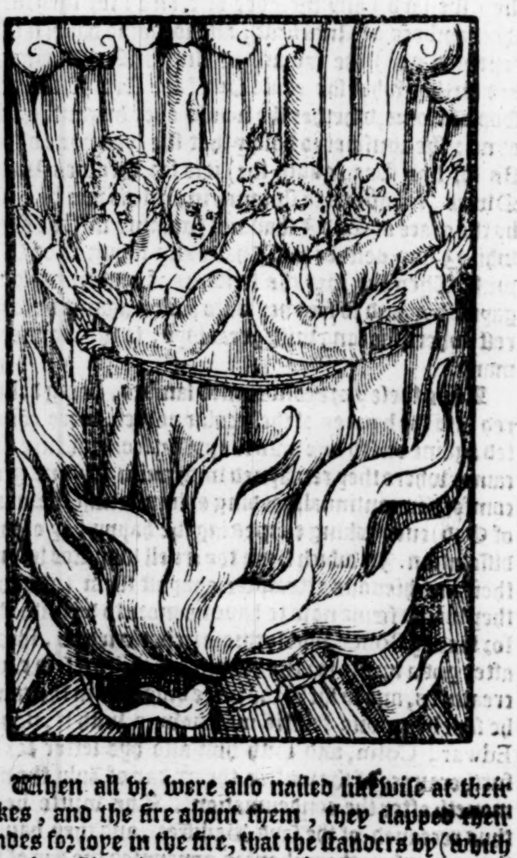
4. *Roſe Allin.*

Roſe Allins aunſweres.

Roſe Allin condemned.

Thus theſe poore condemned lambes, being deliuered into the handes of the ſecular power, were cõmitted againe euery one vnto the priſon from whence they came, where they remayned with much ioy and great comfort (in continuall reading & inuocating the name of God) euer looking & expecting the happy day of their diſſolution. In which tyme the cruell Papiſtes left not their miſchieuous attemptes agaynſt them (although they would ſeeme now to haue no more to do with thẽ) for bloudy Boner, whoſe throte neuer cried ho, ſhortly after got a writte for the burning of the foreſaid x. good creatures, and to ſhew the more diligence in the cauſe, he ſent hys owne truſtie man downe with it, named Edward Coſin, and with him alſo hys letter for the furtheraunce of the matter, the xx. day of Iuly, the next moneth after the condemnation. The writte being thus receaued of the ſayd Bailiffes, and they hauing then no leyſure thereaboutes, appoynted the day of the execution therof, to bee the ij. day of Auguſt next following. And becauſe the faithfull ſoules were in two ſeuerall priſons, as the Caſtell was for the countrey, and Mote Hall for the towne, therefore it was agreed among them, that they in Mote Hall ſhould be burnt in the forenone, and thoſe at the Caſtell, by the Shrieffe of the Shiere, in the afternone, as here thou mayeſt ſee it more plaine how it came to paſſe accordingly.

The ij. day of Auguſt. 1557. betwixt vj. and vij. of the clocke in the morning, was brought frõ Mote Hall vnto a plat of ground hard by the towne wall of Colcheſter on the outward ſide, Williã Bongeor, W. Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Siluerſide, *alias* Smith, Helene Ewring, & Elizab. Folkes afore named, which being there, and all thinges prepared for their Martyrdome, at yͤ laſt theſe ſaid cõſtant perſons kneeled down and made their humble prayers to God, but not in ſuch ſort as they would: for the cruell tyrantes would not ſuffer them: eſpecially one Maiſter Clere among the reſt (who ſometime had bene a Goſpeller) ſhewed him ſelfe very extreme vnto them: the Lorde geue hym repentaunce (if it be hys good will) and grace to be a better man. Whẽ they had made their prayers, they roſe and made them ready to yͤ fire. And Elizabeth Folkes when ſhe had pluckte of her peticote, would haue geuen it to her mother (which came and kiſt her at the ſtake, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lorde) but the wicked there attending, would not ſuffer her to geue it. Therefore takyng the ſayd peticote in her hand, ſhe threw it away frõ her, ſaying: farewell all the world, farewell fayth, farewell hope: and ſo taking the ſtake in her hand, ſayd: welcome loue. &c. Now ſhe being at the ſtake, and one of the officers nayling the chaine about her, in the ſtriking of the ſtaple, he miſt the place, & ſtroke her with a great ſtroke of the hammer on the ſhoulder bone: wherat ſhe ſodainly turned her head, lifting vp her eyes to the Lorde and prayed ſmilingly, and gaue her ſelfe to exhorting the people agayne.



¶The Martyrdome of iij. men and iij. women at Colcheſter, burned in the forenoone, beſides iiij. other burned at afternoone.

The Martyrdome of *W. Bongeor, W. Purcas, Tho. Benold, Agn. Siluerſide,* alias *Smith, Helene Ewring, Elizabeth Folkes,* at Colcheſter in yͤ forenoone. An.1557. Auguſt.2.

When all vj. were alſo nailed likewiſe at their ſtakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their handes for ioye in the fire, that the ſtanders by (which were by eſtimation thouſandes) cried generally all almoſt: the Lorde ſtrengthen them, the Lorde comfort them, the Lord poure hys mercies vpon thẽ, with ſuch like wordes, as was wonderfull to heare. Thus yelded they vp their ſoules and bodies into the Lordes handes, for the true teſtimonie of hys truth. The Lord graunt we may imitate the ſame in the lyke quarell (if he ſo vouch vs worthy) for hys mercies ſake, Amen.

In like maner, the ſayd day in the afternoone, was brought forth into the Caſtell yarde, to a place appoynted for the ſame, William Munt, Iohn Iohnſon, Alice Munt, and Roſe Allin aforeſayd, which godly cõſtant perſons, after they had made their prayers, and were ioyfully tyed to the ſtakes, calling vppon the name of God, and exhorting the people earneſtly to flie from Idolatry, ſuffered their Martyrdome with ſuch triumph and ioy, that the people dyd no leſſe ſhowte therat to ſee it, then at the other that were burnt the ſame day in the morning.

W. Mu *Alice* hys wi *Roſe* *Allin* theyr daught *Iohn* *Iohnſon* burnt th ſame da at afternoone.

Thus ended all theſe glorious x. ſoules that day, their happy liues vnto the Lorde, whoſe ages all dyd grow to the ſumme of 406. yeares or thereaboutes. The Lord graunt we may well ſpend our yeares and dayes likewyſe, to hys glory, Amen.

The ag theſe te made th ſumme 406.

¶Iohn Thurſton dyed in Colcheſter Caſtle.

Before you haue heard of the takyng of one Iohn Thurſton at Muchbentley in the houſe of one William Munt of the ſame towne: which ſayd Iohn Thurſton afterward, about the moneth of May, in the yeare aforeſayd, dyed in Colcheſter Caſtle, a conſtant confeſſor of Ieſus Chriſt.

Iohn Thurſto a confeſſ or Chri

The ſtory and death of George Eagles, otherwiſe termed Trudgeouer, a moſt paynefull trauailer in Chriſtes Goſpell, who for the ſame Goſpell moſt cruelly was Martyred by the cruell Papiſtes.

Auguſt

George Eagles Martyr

Among other Martyrs of ſingular vertue and conſtancie, one George Eagles deſerueth not yͤ leaſt admiration, but is ſo much the more to be cõmended, for that he hauing litle learning or none, moſt manfully ſerued & fought vnder the bãner of Chriſtes Church. For oftentimes yͤ will and pleaſure of God is to beautifie and adorne hys kingdome with the weake and ſimple inſtrumentes of thys world: ſuch as in the olde Teſtament Amos was, who with many other of obſcure and vnknowen names, were called from the heardes and foldes to the honour of Prophets: as likewiſe we read of the Apoſtles that were called from fiſhermens craft, and put into Churches. Wherefore this George Eagles is not to be neglected for hys baſe occupation, whom Chriſt called thence to ſet forth and declare abroad hys Goſpell. Rather we ought to glorifie God the more therby in hys holines, which in ſo blinde a tyme inſpired hym with the gift of preaching, and conſtancie of ſuffering: who after a certaine tyme he had vſed the occupation of a Taylor, being eloquent and of good vtteraunce, gaue and applied hym ſelfe to the profite of Chriſtes Church.

Which man, as before in thoſe moſt bright & cleare dayes of K. Edward the 6. hee had not vnfruitfully ſhewed and preached the power and force of the Lord: ſo afterward in the tempeſtuous tyme and fall of the Church (at what tyme the confeſſors of Chriſt and his Goſpell were turmoyled, diuers of them murthered, part baniſhed, and other ſome conſtrayned for feare not to ſhew their heades) he expreſſed and vttered hys manly ſtomacke. For he wandring abroad into diuers and farre countreyes, where he coulde finde any of hys brethren, he did there moſt earneſtly encourage and comfort them, now tarying in thys towne, and ſometime abyding in that certaine monethes together, as occaſion ſerued, lodging ſometime in the countrey about, and ſometime for feare liuing in fieldes & woods, who for hys immoderate and vnreaſonable going abroad, was called Trudgeouer. Oftentimes did he lie abroad in the night without couert, ſpending the moſt part therof in deuout and earneſt prayer. His diet was ſo aboue meaſure ſpare & ſclender, that for the ſpace of 3. yeares, he vſed for yͤ moſt part, to drinke nothing but

The pai full trauell of *George Eagles*

very water,wherunto he was cõpelled through neceſſitie of ẏ time of perſecution: and after whẽ he perceaued that his body by Gods prouidence proued well inough with this diet,he thought beſt to inure himſelfe therwithall againſt all neceſſities.

Now when he had profited Chriſtes church in this ſort by goyng about and preaching the goſpell a yeare or two, and eſpecially in Colcheſter and the quarters therabout,that priuy enemy which enuieth always the ſaluation and bleſſed eſtate of the good, lurketh and layeth waite by all meanes poſſible for him, ſo that there were diuers eſpies ſent out, who had in commaundement whereſoeuer they found him,to bring him either quicke or dead. But when this theyr attempt could not preuaile,but all was in vaine (the ſaid Eagles with his brethren keping in cloſe,and hidyng themſelues in out and darke places,as in barnes,thickets,holes,and priuy cloſets) his aduerſaries went about another way to compaſſe this their enterpriſe of taking hym. For in ẏ quenes name a greuous edict was proclaimed through out 4. ſhires,Eſſex,Suffolke,Kent, and Norfolke,promiſing the party that tooke hym twenty pounde for hys paynes: doubtles a worthy hyer to entice any Iew to trechery. For many being enflamed with greedy deſire of the money,deuiſed and inuented all wayes and reaſons they could poſſible to be enriched with the hurte and deſtruction of this ſely man.

At length it came to paſſe that this George beyng ſeene by chaunce at Colcheſter vpon Mary Magdalen day,at which tyme they kept a fayre in ẏ towne, ſhould haue forthwith bene deliuered to his aduerſaries, if he perceiuing the ſame (as God would haue it) had not conueyed himſelfe away as faſt as he coulde, a great multitude purſuing after,and ſeeking diligẽtly for him. Who firſt hid himſelfe in a groue,and from thence he ſtale into a corne fielde there by,and ſo lay ſecretly couched from the violence of his enemies, in ſo muche as they were all,ſauing one,paſt hope of taking him, and therfore ready to depart their way. This one hauyng more ſuttlety and wicked craft in his head thẽ the reſt, would not depart thence with his fellowes,but clymed vp into a high tree,there to view and eſpy if he might ſee Eagles any where ſtirre or moue. The poore man thinking all ſure enough by reaſon ẏ he heard no noiſe abroad,roſe vp vpon his knees,& lifting vp his handes, prayed vnto God. And whether it were for that hys head was aboue the corne, or becauſe his voyce was heard, the lurker perceiuyng hys deſired pray that he hunted after,forthwith came downe,and ſodainly laying handes on hym, brought hym as priſoner to Colcheſter. Notwithſtanding the greedy and Iudas knaue which had ſo much promiſed him,was fayne to be content with a very ſmal reward,and glad to take that to, leaſt he ſhould haue had nothyng at all. This George, not without great lamentation of diuers good mẽ, and great lacke vnto the church of God (of which to hys power he was a worthy inſtrument) was committed to priſon there, and from thence within 4. dayes after conueyed to Chelmſford,where he abode all that night in deuoute prayer,and would not ſlepe,neither would eate or drinke but bread and water. The next day he was caried to London to the biſhop or the counſel,and there remayned a certayne tyme, and thẽ was brought downe to Chelmſforde to the ſeſſions, and there was indited and accuſed of treaſon becauſe he had aſſembled companies together, contrary to the lawes & ſtatutes of the realme in that caſe prouided. For ſo it was ordayned a little before to auoyde ſedition, that if men ſhould flocke ſecretly together aboue the number of 6. they ſhould be attached of treaſon : which ſtraite law was the caſtyng away of the good Duke of Somerſet before mentioned.

And albeit it was well knowne ẏ poore Eagles dyd neuer any thing ſeditiouſly againſt the Queene, yet to cloke an honeſt matter withall, and to cauſe him to be the more hated of the people,they turned religion into a ciuill offence or crime. And though he defended hys cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion or fayth before the Iudges : yet coulde he not bring to paſſe by any means but that he muſt nedes be indited (as is ſayd) of treaſon,whoſe enditement did runne much after this faſhion.

George Eagles inditement.

George Eagles, thou art indited by the name of George Eagles otherwiſe Trudge ouer the world,for that thou didſt ſuch a day make thy prayer, that God ſhould turne Q. Maries hart or els take her away.

He denied that he prayed that God ſhould take her away,but he confeſſed that he prayed that God would turne her hart in his prayer. Well, notwithſtãding he was condemned for a traytor, although the meanyng therof was for religion.

Richard Potto Inholder at the Cocke in Chelmeſford.

This thyng done,he was caried to the newe Inne, called the ſigne of the crowne in Chelmeſford by the beaſtly bayliffes, which ſome of thẽ were they that before did the beſt to take him, and beyng in the Inne, one Richard Potto the elder,an Inholder dwelling at the ſigne of the Cocke in the ſame towne, dyd much trouble him in perſwading him to confeſſe he had offended the Queene in his prayer which he was condemned for,and to aſke her forgeuenes. To whom he ſaid,that he had not offended her grace in that behalfe. So in proceſſe of tyme he was layd vppon a ſlede with an hurdell on it, and drawne to the place of execution beyng faſt bound, hauing in his hand a Pſalme booke, of the which he red very deuoutly all the way wyth a loude voyce till he came there: and beyng on the ladder this aforeſaid Potto did much trouble him wyth the matter aforeſaid, when he would haue vttered other thinges,till ſuch tyme that ẏ Shrieffe cõmaunded Potto to hold his peace and trouble him no more. So he made his confeſſion and ſtoode very conſtant ſtill,then he was turned of the ladder. With him were caſt certayne theeues alſo, and the next day when they were brought out to be executed with him,there happened a thing that did much ſet forth and declare the innocency and godlines of this man. For being ledde betwene two theeues to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, when as he exhorted both them and all other to ſtand ſtedfaſtly to the truth,one of theſe turned the counſell he gaue into a ieſting matter,and made but a floute of it.

Why ſhould we doubt to obtayne heauen,ſayth he, foraſmuch as this holy man ſhall goe before vs,as captaine and leader vnto vs in the way. We ſhall flie thether ſtreight,as ſoone as he hath once made vs ẏ entry.

In this, George Eagles and that other did greatly reproue him,who on the other ſide gaue good heede to Georges exhortation, earneſtly bewaylyng hys owne wickednes,and calling to Chriſt for his mercy. But ẏ more that the firſt was bidde to be ſtill and to leaue of his ſcoffing,the more peruerſe did he continue in hys fooliſhnes, & his wicked behauior. At lẽgth they came to ẏ gallowes, where they ſhould be hãged, but George was caried to an other place therby to ſuffer. Betwene the two, it was the godliers chaunce to go the formoſt, who beyng vpon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and take hede to themſelues, how they did tranſgreſſe the commaundementes of God, and then had committed his ſoule into Gods handes, he ended his lyfe after a godly and quiet maner.

An example to be noted of a theefe,reiecting and deriding wholeſome and godly preaching.

The mockers turne commeth next, which would haue ſayd likewiſe ſomewhat : but his tongue dyd ſo fumble and falter in his head, that he was not able to ſpeake a worde. Fayne would he haue vttered hys mynde,but he could not bring it out. Then did the Vnderſhriefe bidde him ſay the Lordes prayer, which he could not ſay neither,but ſtutteringly, and as a man would ſay, one worde to day and an other to morow. Then did one begin to ſay it, and ſo bad him ſay after. Such as were there and ſaw it, were very much aſtonied: eſpecially thoſe that did behold ẏ iuſt puniſhment of God, againſt him ẏ had mocked ſo earneſt a matter. George Eagles in ẏ meane tyme, after he had hanged a ſmal tyme, hauing a great checke with the halter, immediately one of the Bailiffes cut the halter aſunder, and he fel to the ground being ſtil aliue, although much amaſed with the checke he had of the ladder.

W. Swallow tormentor of *George Eagles.*

Then one William Swallow of Chelmeſforde a Bailiffe did draw him to ẏ ſlede that he was drawne thether on, and layd his necke theron, and with a cleauer, ſuch as is occupied in many mens kitchins, and blunt, did hackell of his head, and ſometyme hit hys necke, & ſometime his chinne, & did fouly mangle him, and ſo opened him. Notwithſtanding this bleſſed martir of Chriſt abode ſtedfaſt and conſtant in the very midſt of his tormentes, till ſuch tyme as this tormentor W. Swallow did plucke the harte out of his body. The body being deuided in iiij. partes, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the aforeſaid Swallowes doore, and there laid vpon the fiſhe ſtalles before his doore, till they had made ready a horſe to cary his quarters one to Colcheſter and ẏ reſt to Harwich, Chemſford, and S. Rouſes.

God iuſt puniſhment vpon a cruell perſecutor.

His head was ſet vp at Chelmeſford on the market croſſe on a long pole, and there ſtoode till the wynde did blow it downe, and lying certaine dayes in the ſtreete tūbled about, one cauſed it to be buried in ẏ churchyard in ẏ night. Alſo a wonderful worke of God was it ẏ he ſhewed on this wicked Bailiffe Swallow, who within ſhort ſpace after was ſo puniſhed, that all the heare wēt wellneere of his head, his eyes were as it were cloſed vp and could ſkant ſee, the nayles of his fingers & toes went cleane of. He was in ſuch caſe of his body as though he had bene a leper, and now in his laſt age almoſt a very begger, and his wife which he a little after maried, God hath puniſhed with the falling ſickenes or a diſeaſe lyke vnto that: which may be a warning or glaſſe for all men and women to looke in, that be enemies to Gods true ſeruauntes.

William Swallowes wife puniſhed with ẏ falling ſicknes.

Gods iudgement vpon *Rich. Potto* an other perſecutor of *George Eagles.*

No leſſe token of hys marueilous iudgement dyd God ſhewe vppon the foreſayd Richard Potto, which did ſo much trouble thys George Eagles in the Inne, and at the place of execution, as is aboue ſpecified. He liued till the beginning of Queene Elizabethes raigne, all which tyme he little ioyed, and on a tyme being in a great chafe with ij. or iij. of his neighbors in his own houſe, feling himſelf not well, he ſaid to one of his ſeruauntes: go with me into the chamber, & when he came there, he fell downe on a low bed as heauy as it had bene lead, and lay there foming at the mouth and could neuer ſpeake after, neither yet vnderſtand what was ſaid to hym, as by all meanes was tryed by hys neighbours with ſignes to him made, but lay as ſenceles as it had bene a very dūme beaſt, & within iij. or iiij. dayes dyed. God graunt that this token ſent of God, with many mo like, may be a warning to vs euer hereafter while we ſhall liue vnto the worldes end.

Beſides this, god hath wōderfully ſhewed his worke. For at a tyme when they laid great waite for thys George Eagles, ſo that it was thought that it was vnpoſſible but that he ſhould be taken being ſo beſet, his frendes did put him in a prentice apparell, that is to ſay, watchet hoſe, as their maner is, & an olde cloke, and ſet him on a packe of woll, as though he had riddē to cary woll to the ſpinners, & ſo he rode amongeſt the midſt of his aduerſaries, and eſcaped them all for that tyme. An other troubler of the ſayd George Eagles was alſo Iuſtice Browne, who inioyed not his cruelty many yeares after, &c.

Alſo when he was at the Seſſions at Chelmeſford, there was a rumor rayſed that he had accuſed diuers honeſt mē that did kepe him in their houſes, & was cōuerſant with him, & all to diſcredite him, which rumor was very falſe and vtterly vntrue. Witneſſe one Reynold, with diuers other dwelling in Chemſforde.

The Martyrdome and examination of Richard Craſhfield of Wymoundham, condemned to death for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt.

Aug. 5.

ABout this time ſuffered at Norwich a godly man & a conſtant Martyr of Chriſt called Richard Craſhfield, whoſe examinations before the Chauncellor, named Dunninges, as he penned them with his owne hand, ſo haue we faythfully recorded the ſame.

The examination o *Richard Craſhfiel* before *Dunning* Chauncel lour of Norwich.

How ſay you Syrha, ſayd the Chauncellour, to the ceremonies of the church?

Then ſayd I: what ceremonies?

He ſayd vnto me: do you not beleue that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly?

My aunſwere was: I do beleue ſo many as are grounded in the teſtament of Ieſu Chriſt.

Sacramē of the altar.

Tuſh, ſayd he: do you beleue in the Sacrament of the Altar?

I ſayd I knew not what it was.

Then ſayd he: do you not beleue that Chriſt tooke bread, gaue thankes, brake it, and ſayd: *take, eate, this is my body?*

Yes verely ſayd I, and euen as Chriſt did ſpeake, ſo did he performe the worke.

Tuſh ſayd he, do you not beleue this, that after the wordes be ſpoken by the prieſt, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body, fleſh and bloud? How ſay you? do you not beleue this? ſpeake man.

I do beleue that Chriſtes body was broken for me vpon the croſſe, and his bloud ſhed for my redemption, whereof the bread and the wine is a perpetuall memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ringe or ſeale of his promiſe, and a perpetuall memory for the faythfull vnto the end of the world. So then I was commaunded into priſon vntill the next day.

An other examination of Richard Craſhfield.

An other examination of *R. Craſ field.*

THe day following I was brought forth. Then the Chauncellor ſaid vnto me: Richard, how ſay you? Are you otherwiſe minded then you were yeſterday? He rehearſing all the wordes that we had afore, ſayd: are not theſe your wordes? Whereto I anſwered, yes.

Worſh ping of Imag

Then ſayd he: how ſay you? can you not finde in your hart, when you come to church, to knele downe before the Roode, and make you prayer?

I aunſwered and ſayd no: rehearſing the commaundement of God forbidding the ſame.

He ſayd, haue you not read or heard that God commaunded an image to be made?

I anſwered, what image?

He ſayd, the braſen ſerpent.

I ſayd yes, I haue hearde it red, how that God dyd commaund it to be made, and likewiſe to be broken downe.

Then D. Brigges ſayd: wherefore did God commaunde the Seraphines and Cherubines to be made?

I ſayd I could not tell: I would fayne learne.

Then ſayd the Chauncellour, but how ſay you to this? can you finde in your hart to fall downe before the picture of Chriſt which is the Roode?

I ſayd no: I feare the curſe of God: for it is written that God curſeth the handes that make them, yea, and the handes that make the tooles wherwith they are carued.

Then D. Brigges raged, and ſayd: liſt now what a peece of Scripture he hath here gotten to ſerue his purpoſe: for he will not allowe but where he liketh.

Then ſayd the Chauncellor: how ſay you to confeſſion

ſion to the prieſt? When were you confeſſed?

I ſayd, I confeſſe my ſelfe dayly vnto the eternall God, whom I moſt greuouſly offend.

Then the Chauncellour ſayd: you do not then take confeſſion to the prieſt to be good.

I aunſwered no, but rather wicked.

playing at the Or- gans.

Then the Chauncellour ſayd: how ſay you by yonder geare, yonder ſinging, and yonder playing at the organs? is it not good and godlye

I ſayd, I could perceaue no godlines in it.

Pſal.

Then he ſayd: why, is it not writtē in the Pſalmes: *that we ſhall praiſe God with hymnes and ſpirituall ſonges?*

I ſayd yes, ſpirituall ſonges muſt be had: but yonder is of the fleſh and of the ſpirite of errour. For to you it is pleaſaunt and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Eſay lvj.

Then ſayd the Chauncellour: Why? is it not written, *my houſe is an houſe of prayer?*

Luk.xix.

I ſayd yes. It is written alſo: *that you haue made my houſe of prayer a denne of theues.*

With that the Chauncellour loked & ſaid: haue we?

I aunſwered and ſayd, Chriſt ſayd ſo. Then was I commaunded to warde.

In other examination of Richard Craſhe- field.

The thurſday next following, was D. Brigges ſent to me for to examine me of my fayth. And he ſayd: coūtreyman, my Lord biſhop (for loue he would haue you ſaued) hath ſent me vnto you, becauſe to morrow is your day appoynted: therefore my Lord hath thought it mete, that you ſhould declare vnto me your fayth: For to morrowe my Lorde will not haue much a do with you.

I aunſwered and ſayd: hath my Lord ſent you? It is not you to whom I am diſpoſed to ſhewe my minde.

Thē he ſayd to me: I pray you ſhew me your minde concerning the Sacrament of the altar.

I aunſwered: are you ignorant what I haue ſayd?

He ſayd no: for it was well written. Except you beleue, ſayth he, as the church hath taught, you are damned both body and ſoule.

I aunſwered and ſaid: Judge not leſt ye be iudged: condemne not leaſt ye be condemned.

And he ſayd: loe, we ſhall haue a traytour as well as an hereticke: for he will diſallow the kings iudgemēt.

I ſayd no: I do not diſalowe the kinges iudgemēt, but yours I do diſalow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this iudgement?

He aunſwered & ſayd: by the church: for the church hath power to ſaue and condemne, for if you be condemned by the church, be ye ſure that you be damned both body and ſoule.

The popes church taketh Chri- ſtes office out of hys hand.

Then I aunſwered: if you haue this power, I am ſore deceaued. For I beleue that Chriſt ſhall be our Judge. But now I perceaue, you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the payne.

Then he ſayd: ſtand nearer countreymā: why ſtand ye ſo farre of?

I ſaid, I am nere enough, and a litle to nere.

Then he ſaid: did not Chriſt ſay: *Is not my fleſh meat, and my bloud drinke in deede?*

I ſayd: to whom ſpake Chriſt thoſe wordes?

He ſayd: to his diſciples.

I (entending to rehearſe the text) ſayd: wherat did Chriſtes diſciples murmur inwardly?

He ſayd no, they did not murmur, but they were the infidels (ſayd he): for the diſciples were ſatiſfied with thoſe wordes.

Note here the igno- raunce of theſe Ca- tholicke men, in the ſcrip- ture.

I ſayd: did not Chriſt ſay thus, as hee taught at Capernaum? wherat his diſciples murmured ſaying: *this is an hard ſaying. Who cā abide the hearing of it? Ieſus perceauing their thoughtes ſayd: doth this offend you?*

Then he raged and ſayde: oh, thou wraſteſt the text for thine owne purpoſe. For the diſciples did neuer murmur, but the vnbeleuers, as thou art.

I ſayd: yes, but I perceaue you know not the text.

Then ſayd he with much raging: I wil lay my head thereon, it is not ſo.

Then ſayd I: I haue done with you.

Then ſayd he: what ſhall I tell my Lorde of you?

If you haue nothing to tell him, your errant ſhall be the ſooner done, ſayd I. And ſo we parted.

In other examination of *Rich. Craſhfield.*

Then on friday I was brought forth to receaue iudgement. Then the Chauncellour ſayd vnto me: are you a new man, or are you not?

I aunſwered and ſayd: I truſt I am a new man borne of God.

God geue grace you be ſo, ſayd he. So he rehearſed all my examination, and ſayd: How ſay you? are not theſe your wordes?

I ſayd yes: I will not deny them.

Then he ſayd to Doctor Pore, ſtanding by: I pray you talke with him. Then he alledging to me many fayre flattering wordes, ſayd: *take, eate, this is my body.* How ſay you to this? Doe you not beleue that it is Chriſtes body? ſpeake.

I ſayd: haue you not my minde? Why doe you trouble me?

He ſayd: what did Chriſt geue? was it bread? or was it not?

j. Cor. x.

I ſayd: Chriſt tooke bread, and gaue thankes, and gaue it, and they tooke bread, and did eate. And Saint Paul maketh it more manifeſt, where he ſayeth: *ſo oft as ye ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cuppe, ye ſhall ſhew foorth the Lordes death vntill he come.* Saint Paul ſayeth not here, as you ſay: for he ſaith, *ſo oft as you ſhal eate of this breod.* He doth not ſay body. So they entending that I ſhould go no further in the text, ſayd: tuſh, you go about the buſh. Anſwere me to the firſt queſtiō. Let vs make an ende of that.

What ſay you to the bread that Chriſt gaue? Let me haue your minde in that.

I anſwered: I haue ſayd my minde in it.

Then the Chauncellour ſayd: no, we will haue your mynde in that.

I aunſwered, I haue ſayd my mynde in it.

Thē the Chauncellour ſayd: no, we will haue your mynde more playnly: For we intende not to haue many wordes with you.

I ſayd: my faith is fully grounded & ſtabliſhed, that Chriſt Jeſus the Eaſter lambe, hath offered his bleſſed body a ſacrifice to God the father, the price of my redemption. For by that onely ſacrifice are all faithfull ſanctified, and he is our only aduocate and mediatour, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your dayly oblations.

Vnbloudie ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Then Doctor Brigges ſtarte vp and ſayd: truth, your wordes are true in deede. You take well the litterall ſenſe: but this you muſt vnderſtand, that like as you ſayd that Chriſt offered his body vpon the croſſe, which was a bloudy ſacrifice, and a viſible ſacrifice: ſo likewiſe we dayly offer the ſelfe ſame body that was offered vpon the croſſe, but not bloudye and viſible, but inuiſible vnto God the father.

Doe you offer Chriſtes body, I ſayd? why then Chriſtes ſacrifice was not perfect. But Chriſt is true, when all men ſhall be liars.

Then he ſayd: thou ſhalt not feare him that hath power to kill the bodie: but thou ſhalt feare him that hath power to kill both body and ſoule.

I aunſwered and ſayd: it is not ſo. But the text is thus: *Thou ſhalt not feare them that haue power to kill the body, and then haue done what they cā. But thou ſhalt feare him that hath power to kill both body and ſoule, and caſt thē both into hell fire, and not them.*

He aunſwered and ſayd: yes, for it is the church.

I aunſwered and ſayd: why, Chriſt ſayeth: *I geue my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me* (ſayth he) *but I geue it of mine owne power, and ſo I haue power to take it agayne.* Therfore Chriſt ẏ ſonne of God did offer his bleſſed body once for al. And if you will preſume to offer his body dayly, then your power is aboue Chriſtes power. With that he chafed, & ſaid: What? ſhall we haue doctrine? Ye are not hereto appoynted.

Then the Chauncellour ſtoode vp, and ſayd: will ye turne from this wicked errour, and be an example of goodnes, as you haue bene an example of euill (for by your wicked reading you haue perſwaded ſimple wemen to be in this errour) and ye ſhall haue mercy.

And I ſayd: it is of God that I doe craue mercy, whom I haue offended, and not of you.

Then ſayd the Chauncellour: When were you at your pariſh church? Theſe two yeares and more you haue ſtand excommunicate. Wherfore you are condẽned. And ſo I was condemned.

Craſhfield condemned.

The Martyrdome of Rich. Craſhfield. An. 1557. Auguſt. 5.

Thus haſt thou, gentle Reader, the examinations of this godly young man, ſet forth and written with hys owne hand, who not long after his condemnation, was by the Sherifes and officers there, brought to the ſtake, where with much pacience and conſtancie he entred his bleſſed Martyrdome. At the burning of which Chriſtiã Martyr, one Thomas Carman the ſame time was apprehẽded, by what occaſiõ, it is not yet to vs fully certayne, whether it was for wordes, or for praying with him, or for pledging him at his burning: concerning which Thomas Carman, his ſtory here after followeth in his order and place, further to be ſene.

One Friar, and a certayne godly woman burned at Rocheſter, who was the ſiſter of George Eagles.

Auguſt. 20.

One Friar, & the ſiſter of George Eagles, burned at Rocheſter.

ABout the ſame time and moneth, one named Friar, with a woman accompanying him, who was the ſiſter of George Egles, in yͤ lyke cauſe of righteouſnes, ſuffered the like Martyrdome by the vnrighteous Papiſtes, whoſe tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut ſhort, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better minde.

The apprehenſion and death of Maiſtres Ioyce Lewes, wife to Thomas Lewes of Mancetter, moſt conſtantly ſuffering for Gods worde, at Lichfield.

The ſtory of Miſtres Ioyce Lewes, Martyr.

MIſtres Ioyce Lewes a gentlewomã borne, was delicately brought vp in the pleaſures of the world, hauing delight in gay apparell and ſuch like foliſhnes, with the which follies, the moſt part of the gentle folkes of England were then and are yet infected: who was maryed firſt to one called Appelby, afterward to Thomas Lewes of Mancetter. In the beginning of Q. Maryes time, ſhe went to the Church and heard Maſſe as others dyd, but when ſhe heard of the burning of that moſt godly and learned, M. Laurence Saunders, who ſuffered in Couentrie, ſhe began to take more heede to the matter, and inquired earneſtly of ſuch as ſhe knew feared God, the cauſe of hys death: and when ſhe perceaued it was becauſe he refuſed to receaue the Maſſe, ſhe began to be troubled in conſcience, & waxed very vnquiet, and becauſe her houſe was euen hard by M. Iohn Glouers houſe, of whom mention was made before, pag. 1885. and 1891. (a man of bleſſed memorye, & of a ſingular example for hys vnfayned godlines & manifold troubles which he ſuffered for yͤ Goſpell) ſhee did oftentimes reſort to hym, and deſired hym to tell her the faultes that were in the Maſſe, and other thinges that at that tyme were vrged as neceſſary to ſaluation.

Of Maſter Iohn Glouer read afore pag. 1885. & 1891.

Now he perceauing both her vnquiet minde, and alſo the deſire ſhe had to know the truth, dyd moſt diligently inſtructe her in the wayes of the Lorde, approuing vnto her out of Gods holy worde, that yͤ Maſſe, with all other papiſticall inuentions, was odious in Gods ſight: and beſides this, reproued her for that ſhe delited in the vanities of thys world ſo much. By the which godly counſell geuen by hym, it happened that ſhe began to waxe weary of the worlde, throughly ſorrowfull for her ſinnes, being inflamed with the loue of God, deſirous to ſerue him according to hys word, purpoſing alſo to flie from thoſe thinges the which dyd diſpleaſe the Lorde her God. And becauſe ſhe had learned the Maſſe to be euill and abominable, ſhe began to hate it. And when at a tyme ſhe was compelled by the furiouſnes of her huſband, to come to the Church, at the ſame tyme when the holy water was caſt ſhe turned her backe towardes it, and ſhewed her ſelfe to be diſpleaſed with their blaſphemous holy water, iniurious to the bloud of Chriſt: Wherupon ſhe was accuſed before the Byſhop for the deſpiſing of theyr ſacramentalls.

Miſtres Lewes cited by the Byſhop.

Immediatly a Citation was ſent for her to her huſbandes houſe, to appeare before the Byſhop incontinently. The Sumner that brought the Citation, deliuered it to her huſband: who looked vpon it, and perceauing what it was, was moued with anger, willing the Sumner to take the Citation with hym agayne, or els he would make hym to eate it. The Sumner refuſed to take it agayne, for he thought no man durſt haue bene ſo bolde to trouble hym. But in the end Lewes compelled the ſayd Sumner to eate the Citation in deede, by ſetting a dagger to hys hart: and whẽ he had eaten it, he cauſed hym to drinke to it, and ſo ſent hym away. But immediately after, the ſayd Lewes with his wife were commaunded to appeare before the Biſhop, where the ſayd Lewes by and by ſubmitted hym ſelfe, and deſired the Biſhop to be good to him, excuſing him ſelfe after the beſt faſhion he could. Wherupon the Byſhop was content to receaue hys ſubmiſſion, with condition that hys wife ſhould ſubmitte her ſelfe alſo. But ſhe ſtoutly tolde the Byſhop, that by refuſing of the holy water, ſhe had neyther offended God nor any part of hys lawes. At the which wordes, the Biſhop being greuouſly offended, and becauſe ſhe was a gentlewoman he would not take her at the worſt (as he ſaid) he gaue her one monethes reſpite, binding her huſbãd in a hundred pound to bring her againe vnto hym at the monethes end, and ſo they were both let goe.

Miſtres Lewes inſtructed by Maſter Iohn Glouer.

When they came to theyr owne houſe, the ſaid Miſtres Ioyce Lewes gaue her ſelfe to moſt diligent prayer and inuocating of the name of God, reſorting continually to the aboue named mã of God M. Iohn Glouer, who did moſt diligently inſtructe her with Gods worde, willing her in any wiſe not to medle with that matter in reſpecte of vaine glory, or to get her ſelfe a name, ſhewing her the great daungers ſhe was lyke to caſt her ſelfe in, if ſhe ſhould medle in Gods matters otherwyſe then Chriſt doth teach.

When the moneth was now almoſt expired, & the tyme at hand that ſhe ſhoulde bee brought before the Byſhop, her huſband being aduertiſed by the ſayd M. Iohn Glouer and others, not to cary her to the Byſhop, but to ſeeke ſome wayes to ſaue her, or if yͤ worſt ſhould come, to be content to forfet ſo much money, rather then to caſt hys owne wife into the fire: he aunſwered, he would not loſe or forfet any thyng for her ſake: and ſo lyke a murtherer of hys owne wife, caryed her to the bloudy Byſhop, where ſhe was examined and found more ſtoute then ſhe was before death was threatned. And to begin withall, ſhe was ſent to ſuch a ſtincking priſon, that a certayne maide which was appoynted to keepe her company, dyd ſwound in the ſame priſon.

Miſtres Lewes impriſoned.

Being thus kept in priſon, & oftentimes examined, and euer found ſtoute, at the length ſhe was brought in iudgement, and pronounced an hereticke, worthy to be burned. When the Byſhop reaſoned with her, why ſhe would not come to the Maſſe, and receaue the Sacramentes and ſacramentals of holy Church, ſhe aunſwered

ſwered: becauſe I finde not theſe thinges in Gods worde which you ſo vrge & magnifie, as thinges moſt nédefull for mens ſaluation. If theſe thinges were in the ſame worde of God commended, I would with all my hart receaue, eſtéeme, and beleue them. The Byſhop aunſwered: if thou wilt beleue no more then is in the Scripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable caſe. At the which wordes ſhe was wonderfully amaſed, & being moued by the ſpirite of God, tolde the Byſhop, that hys wordes were vngodly and wicked.

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After her condemnation, ſhe continued a whole xij. moneth in priſon, becauſe ſhe was committed to the Shrieffe that was of late choſen, who could not be cōpelled to put her to death in hys time, as he affirmed: for the which thyng, after her death, he was ſore troubled and in daunger of hys life. All that tyme ſhe was in priſon, her behauiour was ſuch, both in wordes and déedes, that all they that had any ſparke of godlines or ciuile honeſtie, dyd greatly lament her caſe that ſhe ſhould be put to death.

Miſtres
Lewes
ited by the
Byſhop.

Now, when the tyme dyd drawe neare the which God had appointed for her deliueraunce, the writte De comburendo (as they terme it) being brought downe frō London, ſhe deſired certayne of her frendes to come to her, with whom, when they came, ſhe conſulted how ſhe might behaue her ſelfe, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to hys people, and alſo moſt diſcomfortable vnto the enemies of God. As for death, ſayd ſhe, I doe not greatly paſſe: when I behold the amiable countenance of Chriſt my deare Sauiour, the vgſome face of death doth not greatly trouble me. In the which tyme alſo ſhe reaſoned moſt comfortably out of Gods word, of Gods election and reprobation.

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In the euening, before the day of her ſuffering, two of the prieſtes of the Cloſe of Lichfield came to the vnder Shrieffes houſe where ſhe lay, and ſent worde to her by the Shrieffe, that they were come to heare her confeſſion: for they would be ſory ſhe ſhould die without it. She ſent them word agayne, ſhe had made her confeſſion to Chriſt her Sauiour, at whoſe handes ſhe was ſure to haue forgeuenes of her ſinnes: As concerning the cauſe for the which ſhe ſhould die, ſhe had no cauſe to confeſſe that, but rather geue vnto God moſt humble prayſe that he did make her worthy to ſuffer death for hys worde: And as concerning that abſolution that they were able to geue vnto her, being authoriſed by the Pope, ſhe did defie the ſame, euen from the bottome of her hart. The which thyng whē ÿ Prieſtes heard, they ſayd to the Shrieffe: Well, to morrow her ſtoutnes will be proued and tryed. For although perhappes ſhe hath now ſome frendes that whiſper her in her eares, to morrow will we ſée who dare be ſo hardy as to come neare her: and ſo they went theyr wayes with anger that their confeſſion and abſolution was nought ſet by.

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All that night ſhe was wonderfully cherefull and mery, with a certaine grauitie, in ſo much that the Maieſtie of the ſpirite of God did manifeſtly appeare in her, who dyd expell the feare of death out of her hart, ſpending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with them that were purpoſely come vnto her for to comfort her with the worde of God.

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About thrée of the clocke in the morning, Sathan (who neuer ſléepeth, eſpecially when death is at hand) began to ſtyrre him ſelfe buſily, ſhooting at her that firy darte the which he is wont to doe agaynſt all that are at defiaunce with hym, queſtioning with her, how ſhe could tell that ſhe was choſen to eternall life, and that Chriſt dyed for her. I graunt that he died, but that he dyed for thée, how canſt thou tell? With thys ſuggeſtion when ſhe was troubled, they that were about her, did counſell her to follow the example of Paule, Gal. 2. where he ſayth: *Which hath loued me, and geuen him ſelfe for me.* Alſo, that her vocation and calling to ÿ knowledge of Gods worde, was a manifeſt token of Gods loue towardes her, eſpecially that ſame holy ſpirite of God working in her hart that loue & deſire towardes God to pleaſe hym, and to be iuſtified by hym through Chriſt. &c. By theſe and lyke perſwaſions, and ſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſt, brought out of the Scripture, Sathan was put to flight, and ſhe comforted in Chriſt.

Ioyce Lewes comforted in her tēptations.

About 8. of the clocke maſter Sheriffe came to her into her chāber, ſaying theſe words: Miſtres Lewes, I am come to bring you tidinges of ÿ Quéenes pleaſure, the which is, that you ſhal liue no longer but one houre in this world: therfore prepare your ſelfe therunto: it ſtandeth you in hand. At which wordes being ſo groſely vttered and ſo ſodeinly by ſuch an officer as he was, ſhe was ſomwhat abaſhed. Wherfore one of her frendes & acquaintaunce ſtanding by, ſayd theſe wordes: Miſtres Lewes, you haue great cauſe to prayſe God, who will vouchſafe ſo ſpéedely to take you out of thys world, & make you worthy to be a witnes to his truth, and to beare record vnto Chriſt that he is the onely Sauiour.

After the which wordes ſpoken thus, ſhe ſayd: maſter Sheriſe your meſſage is welcome to me, and I thanke my God that he will make me worthy to aduenture my life in his quarel. And thus maſter Sheriſe departed: and within the ſpace of one houre, he came agayne, cum gladijs & fuſtibus: and when he came vp into the chamber, one of her frends deſired him to geue him leaue to go with her to the ſtake, and to comfort her, the which the Sheriffe graunted at that time, but afterwardes hée was ſore troubled for the ſame when ſhe was dead.

Ioyce Lewes brought to the place of Martyrdome.

Now when ſhe was brought through the towne with a number of bill men, a great multitude of people being preſent, ſhe being led by ij. of her frends (which were M. Michaell Renigar & M. Auguſtine Bernher) ſhe was brought to the place of execution: and becauſe the place was far of, & the throng of the people great, and ſhe not acquainted with the freſh ayre (being ſo long in priſon) one of her frendes ſent a meſſenger to the Sheriffes houſe for ſome drinke: and after ſhe had prayed thrée ſeuerall times, in the which prayer ſhe deſired God moſt inſtātly to aboliſh ÿ idolatrous maſſe, and to deliuer this Realme from Papiſtry (at the end of the which prayers the moſt part of the people cried Amen, yea, euen the Sheriffe that ſtode hard by her, ready to caſt her in the fire for not alowing the maſſe, at this her prayers ſayd with the reſt of the people, Amen): when ſhe had thus prayed, ſhe toke the cup into her handes ſaying: I drinke to all them that vnfaynedly loue the goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, and wiſh for the aboliſhment of papiſtry. When ſhe had dronken, they that were her frendes, dranke alſo. After that a great number, eſpecially the women of the towne did drinke with her: which afterward were put to open penaūce in the church by the cruell Papiſtes, for drinking with her.

Her prayers.

Women put to penance for pledging *Ioyce Lewes.*

When ſhe was tied to the ſtake with the chayne, ſhe ſhewed ſuch a cherefulnes, that it paſſed mans reaſon, being ſo well coloured in her face, and ſo patient, that the moſt part of them that had honeſt harts did lamēt, and euen with teares bewayle the tiranny of the Papiſtes. When the fire was ſette vpon her, ſhe neyther ſtruggled nor ſturred, but onely lifted vp her handes towardes heauen, being dead very ſpedely: for the vnder Shrieffe at the requeſt of her frendes had prouided ſuch ſtuffe, by the which ſhe was ſodeinly diſpatched out of this miſerable world.

The Martyrdome of Miſtres *Ioyce Lewes.*

This amongeſt other thinges may not be forgottē, that the papiſtes had appointed ſome to rayle vpon her openly, and to reuile her, both as ſhe went to the place of execution, and alſo when ſhe was at the ſtake. Amongeſt others there was an old prieſt, which had a payre of writing tables to note both the names of the women that dranke of her cup (as before you heard) and alſo deſcribed her frendes by their apparell: for preſently he could not learne theyr names, and afterwardes enquired for theyr names, and ſo immediately proceſſe was ſent out for them, both to Couentry and to other places: but God, whoſe prouidence ſlepeth not, did defend them from the handes of theſe cruell tirants. Unto the which God, with the Sonne and the holy ghoſt be honour and glory for euer, Amen.

The Martyrdome of Rafe Allerton, Iames Awſtoo, Margery Awſtoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Iſlington.

Septēb.17.

The ſtory of Rafe Allerton.

IN ſearching ont the certayne nomber of the faithfull martyrs of God that ſuffred within the time and raigne of Quéene Mary: I finde that about the .xvij. day of September, were burned at Iſlington, nigh vnto London, theſe foure conſtant profeſſours of Chriſt, Rafe Allerton, Iames Awſtoo, Margery Awſtoo his wife, & Richard Roth. Amongſt the which: it firſt appeareth that this Rafe Allerton was more then a yeare before his condemnation, apprehended & brought before the Lord Darcy of Chich, and was there accuſed, aſwell for that he would not conſent and come vnto the idolatry and ſuperſticion which then was vſed, as alſo that he had by preaching entiſed others to doo the like. Being then hereupon examined, he confeſſed that he comming into his pariſh church of Bentley, and ſeing the people ſitting there, eyther gaſing about, or els talking together, exhorted them that they would fall vnto prayer and meditacion of Gods moſt holy worde, and not ſit ſtill idely. Wherunto they willingly conſented. Then after prayer ended, he red vnto them a chapter of the new teſtament, and ſo departed.

In which exerciſe he continued vntill Candlemas, and then being enformed that he might not ſo doo by the law (for that he was no prieſt or miniſter) he left of, and kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe vntill Eaſter then next after. At what time, certayne ſworne men for the inquiry of ſuch matters, came vnto his houſe and attached him for reading in the pariſh of Welley. But whē they vnderſtode that he had red but once, & that it was of obedience (wherunto he earneſtly moued ẏ people) they let him for that time depart. Notwithſtanding for feare of theyr crueltie he was not long after conſtrained to forſake his owne houſe, and kepe him ſelfe in woods, barnes, and other ſolitary places, vntill the time of his apprehenſion. After this examination, the Lord Darcy ſent him vp vnto the Counſell: but they (not minding to trouble them ſelues with him) ſent him vnto Boner. Who by threatninges and other ſubtill meanes, ſo abuſed the ſimple and fearefull hart of thys man (as yet not throughly ſtayed vppon the ayde and helpe of God) that within ſhort time he woon him vnto his moſt wicked will, and made him openly at Paules croſſe to reuoke and recant his former profeſſion, and therupon ſet him at liberty of body. Which yet brought ſuch a bondage and terror of ſoule and conſcience, and ſo caſt him down, that except the Lord (whoſe mercies are immeſurable) had ſupported and lifted him vp agayne, he had periſhed for euer.

Rafe Allerton attached.

But the Lord, who neuer ſuffereth his elect children vtterly to fall, caſting his pitifull eyes vpon this loſt ſhepe, with his mercifull and fatherly chaſtiſement, did (with Peter) rayſe him vp againe, geuing vnto him not onely harty and vnfayned repentance, but alſo a moſt conſtant boldnes to profeſſe agayne (euen vnto the death) his moſt holy name and glorious goſpel. Wherfore at the procurement of one Thomas Tye prieſt, ſometime an earneſt profeſſor of Chriſt, but now a fierce perſecutour of the ſame (as apperaeth more at large before in the hiſtory of William Munt and hys wife, pag. 2198.) he was agayne apprehended, and ſent vp agayne vnto Boner, before whom he was the eyght day of Aprill, and ſondry other times els examined. The reporte of which examinations, written by his owne hand with bloud for lacke of other incke, hereafter followeth.

Thomas Tye prieſt, perſecutor and promoter.

❧ The examinations of Rafe Allerton at his ſecond apprehenſion, appearing before the Byſhop of London at Fulham, the viij. day of Aprill. An.1557. written by hym ſelfe, with hys owne bloud.

The examinations of Rafe Allerton.

Boner. A ſyrha, how chaunceth it that you are come hether againe on thys faſhion? I dare ſay thou art accuſed wrongfully.

Rafe. Yea my Lord, ſo I am. For if I were giltie of ſuch thinges as I am accuſed of, then I would be very ſory.

Boner. By ſaint Mary that is not well done. But let me heare: art thou an honeſt man? for if I can proue no hereſie by thée, then ſhall thine accuſers doe thée no harme at all. Goe to, let me heare thée: For I did not beleue the tale to be true.

Rafe. My Lord, who doth accuſe me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accuſation, that I may aunſwere thereunto.

Boner. Ah, wilt thou ſo? Before God, if thou haſt not diſſembled, then thou néedeſt not to be afrayde, nor aſhamed to aunſwere for thy ſelfe. But tell me in faith, haſt thou not diſſembled?

Rafe. If I can not haue mine accuſers to accuſe me before you, my conſcience doth conſtraine me to accuſe my ſelfe before you: For I confeſſe that I haue greuouſly offended God in my diſſimulation at my laſt being before your Lordſhip, for the which I am right ſory, as God knoweth.

Boner. Wherin I pray thée, diddeſt thou diſſemble, when thou waſt before me?

Rafe. Forſoth my Lorde, if your Lordſhip remember, I did ſet my hand vnto a certaine writing, the contentes wherof (as I remēber) were, that I did beleue in all thinges as the Catholicke Church teacheth. &c. In the which I did not diſcloſe my minde, but ſhamefully diſſembled, becauſe I made no differēce betwene the true Church and the vntrue Church.

Boner. Nay, but I pray thée let me heare more of thys geare. For I feare me thou wilt ſmell of an hereticke anone. Which is the true Church, as thou ſayeſt? Doeſt thou not call the heretickes Church the true Church, or the Catholicke Church of Chriſt? Now which of theſe two are the true Church, ſayeſt thou? Go to: for in fayth I will know of thée ere I leaue thée.

Rafe. As concerning the Church of heretickes, I vtterly abhorre the ſame, as deteſtable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and hereſies: and the Church Catholicke is it that I onely embrace, whoſe doctrine is ſincere, pure, and true.

Boner. By S. Auguſtine, but that is wel ſayd of thée. For by God almightie, if thou haddeſt allowed the Church of heretickes, I would haue burned thée with fire for thy labour.

Morton. Then ſayd one Morton, a prieſt: My Lorde, you know not yet what Church it is that he calleth Catholike. I warrant you he meaneth naughtely enough.

Boner. Thinke you ſo? Now by our bleſſed Lady, if it bee ſo, he might haue deceaued me. How ſay you ſyrha, which is the Catholicke Church.

Rafe. Euen that which hath receaued the wholeſome ſound, ſpoken of by Eſay, Dauid, Malachie, and Paule, with many other moe. The which ſound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in euery place, and vnto the endes of the world.

Boner. Yea, thou ſayeſt true before God. For thys is the is the ſound that hath gone throughout all Chriſtendome, and he that beleueth not the ſound of the holy Church, as S. Cyprian ſayth, doth erre. For he ſayth, that who ſoeuer is out of the Church, is lyke vnto thē that were out of Noes ſhip when the floud came vpon all the whole world: ſo that the Arke of Noe is likened vnto the Church: and therefore thou haſt well ſayd in thy cōfeſſion. For ẏ Church is not alone in Germanie, nor was here in Englād in ẏ time of the late ſchiſmes, as the heretickes doe affirme. For if ẏ Church ſhould be there alone, then were Chriſt a lyer. For he promiſed that the holy Ghoſt ſhould come to vs, lead vs into all truth, yea, and remaine with vs vnto the end of the world. So now if we will take Chriſt for a true ſayer, then muſt we needes affirme, that the way which is taught in Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, Flaunders, Denmarke, Scotland, and all Chriſtendome ouer, muſt needes be the true Catholicke Church.

Rafe. My Lord, if you remember, I ſpake of all the worlde, as it is written, and not of all Chriſtendome onely, as me thinke your Lordſhip taketh it, the which kinde of ſpeaking you doe not finde in all the Bible. For ſure I am that the Goſpell hath bene both preached and perſecuted in all landes: firſt, in Iewry by the Scribes and Phariſeis, and ſince that tyme by Nero, Dyocleſian, and ſuch like, and now here in theſe our dayes by, your Lordſhip knoweth whom. For truth it is that ẏ Church which you call Catholicke, is none otherwyſe Catholicke then was figured in Caine, obſerued of Ieroboam, Ahab, Iezabell, Nabuchadonozor, Antiochus, Herode, with innumerable more of the like: and as both Daniell and Eſdras maketh mention of theſe laſt daies by a plaine prophecie, & now fulfilled as appeareth, & affirmed by our Sauiour Chriſt, and hys Apoſtles, ſaying: there ſhall come greuous wolues to deuoure the flocke.

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Boner. Now, by the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, Maiſter Morton, he is the ranckeſt hereticke that euer came before me. How ſay you? haue you heard ẏ like?

Morton. I thought what he was, my Lorde, at the firſt, I.

Boner. Now by al Hallowes thou ſhalt be brent with fire for thy lying, thou horeſon verlet and pricklouſe, thou. Doeſt thou find a prophecy in Daniell of vs? nay you knaue, it is of you that he ſpeaketh of, and of your falſe pretenſed holines. Go to, let me heare what is the ſaying of Eſdras, and take heede ye make not a lye, I aduiſe you.

4.Eſd.16.

Rafe. The ſaying of Eſdras is this: *the heate of a great multitude is kindled ouer you, and they ſhall take away certayne of you, and feede the Idoles with you, and hee that conſenteth vnto them, ſhall be had in deriſion, laughed to ſcorne, and troden vnder foote: yea they ſhall be like mad mē, for they ſhall ſpare no man: they ſhall ſpoyle and waſt ſuch as feare the Lord. &c.*

Boner. And haue you taken this thing to make your market good? Ah ſyrha, wilt thou ſo? by my fayth a prety inſtruction, and a neceſſary thing to be taught among the people. By my trouth I thinke there be no more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me? Is there any that vnderſtandeth this ſcripture on this faſhion? Before god, I thinke there be none in all England, but thou.

ee ſo- of relig s in gland.

Rafe. Yes my Lorde, there are in England three religions.

Boner. Sayſt thou ſo? which be thoſe three?

Rafe. The firſt is that which you hold: the ſecond is cleane contrary to the ſame: and the third is a Neuter, being indifferent, that is to ſay, obſeruing all thinges that are commaunded, outwardly, as though he were of your part, his hart being ſet wholy againſt ẏ ſame.

Bonor. And of theſe three which art thou? for now thou muſt needes be of one of them.

Rafe. Yea my Lord, I am of one of them: and that which I am of, is euen that which is contrary to that which you teach to be beleued vnder payne of death.

Boner. Ah Syr, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheare, yea and mony in your purſe when you went away, and by my fayth I had a fauour vnto thee, but now I ſee thou wilt be a naughty knaue. Why, wilt thou take vpon thee to reade the ſcripture, and canſt not vnderſtand neuer a word? for thou haſt brought a text of ſcripture, the which maketh cleane agaynſt thee. For Eſdras ſpeaketh of the multitude of you heretickes, declaring your hate agaynſt the catholicke church, making the ſimple or idle people to beleue that al is idolatry that we do, and ſo intiſe them away vntill you haue ouercome them.

The place of Eſdras explaned.

Rafe. Nay not ſo my Lord. For he maketh it more playne, and ſayth on this wiſe: *They ſhall take away their goods, and put them out of their houſes, and then ſhall it bee knowen who are my choſen* (ſayth the Lorde): *for they ſhall bee tryed, as the ſiluer or golde is in the fire.* And we ſee it ſo come to paſſe, euen as he hath ſayd. For who is not now driuen from houſe and home, yea and his goods taken vp for other men that neuer ſwette for thē, if he do not obſerue as you commaund and ſet forth? Or els, if he be taken, then muſt he eyther deny the truth, as I did, in diſſembling, or els he ſhall be ſure to be tried, as Eſdras ſayth, euen as the gold is tryed in the fire. Whereby all the world may knowe that you are the bloudy Church, figured in Cayne the tyrant, neyther yet are ye able to auoyde it.

Morton. I promiſe you my Lord, I like him better now then euer I did when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but diſſemble, as I perceaued well inough: but now me thinke he ſpeaketh playnely.

Boner. Mary ſyr, as you ſay in deede, he is playne. For he is a playne hereticke and ſhall be burned. Haue the knaue away. Let him be caryed to Litle eaſe at London, vntill I come.

Rafe. And ſo was I caryed to London vnto Little eaſe, and there remayned that night, and on the next morrowe I appeared before hym agayne, the Deane of Paules and the Chauncellour of London being preſent. Then were brought forth certayne writinges that I had ſet my hand vnto.

Allerton charged with his own hand writing.

Boner. Come on your wayes, ſyrha. Is not thys your hand, and this, and this?

Rafe. Yea, they are my hand all of them: I confeſſe the ſame, neyther yet will I denie any thyrg that I haue ſet my hand vnto. But if I haue ſet my hand to any thyng that is not lawfull, therefore am I ſory. Neuertheles, my hand I will not denie to be my doing.

Boner. Well ſayd. Now ye muſt tell me: Were you neuer at the Church ſince you went from me, at Maſſe and Mattins? &c.

Rafe. No my Lord, not at Maſſe, Mattins, nor none other ſtraunge worſhipping of God.

Boner. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? Waſt thou neyther at thine owne Pariſh Church, nor at none other? And doeſt thou alſo ſay that it is a ſtraunge worſhipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not beleue the Scripture to bee true?

Rafe. Yes my Lorde, I beleue the Scripture to bee true, and in the defenſe of the ſame I entend to geue my life, rather then I will denie any part therof, God willing.

Deane. My Lord, this fellow will be an honeſt man, I heare by hym. He wyll not ſtand in his opinion: for he ſheweth himſelfe gentle and pacient in hys talke.

Boner. Oh, he is a glorious knaue, Hys paynted termes ſhall no more deceaue me. Ah horeſon Pricklouſe, doth not Chriſt ſay: *thys is my body?* And how dareſt thou deny theſe wordes, for to ſay as I haue a writing to ſhew, and thyne owne hand at the ſame? Let me ſee, wylt thou deny thys? Is not this thyne owne hand?

Rafe. Yes my Lord, it is myne owne hand, neyther am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my confeſſion therein is agréeable to Gods word. And where as you doe lay vnto my charge that I ſhould deny the wordes of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt: oh good Lord, from whence commeth this raſh, haſty, and vntrue iudgement? Forſoth not from the ſpirite of truth: for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of lyers. Whereupon ſhould your Lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo diffamouſly? wherefore I beſech you, if I deny the ſcriptures canonicall, or any part thereof, then let me dye.

Syr Tho. Tye lately turned to hys vomet, thyrſteth for bloud.

Tye the Prieſt. My Lord, he is a very ſeditious fellow, and perſwadeth other men to doo as he him ſelfe doth, contrary to the order appoynted by the Quéenes highnes and the Clergye of this Realme. For a great ſort of the pariſh wil be gathered one day to one place, and an other day to an other place to heare him, ſo that very few commeth to the church to heare diuine ſeruice: and this was not onely before that he was taken and brought vnto the Counſell, but alſo ſince hys returne home agayne, he hath done much harme. For where both men and women were honeſtly diſpoſed before, by ſaint Anne, now are they as ill as he almoſt. And furthermore, he was not aſhamed to withſtand me before all the pariſh, ſaying that we were of ẏ malignant church of Antichriſt, and not of the true church of Chriſt, alleadging a great many of ſcriptures to ſerue for his purpoſe, ſaying: good people, take héede, and beware of theſe bloudthirſty dogges. &c. And then I commaunded the Conſtable to apprehend him, and ſo hee did. Neuertheles after his apprehenſion, the Conſtable lette him go about his buſines all the nexte day, ſo that without putting in of ſureties he let him go into Suffolke and other places, for no goodnes, I warrant you my Lord: it were almes to teach ſuch officers theyr duetie, how they ſhould let ſuch rebels go at theyr owne liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken, but to kepe them faſt in the ſtockes vntill they bring them before a Juſtice.

Allerton apprehended contrary to the lawes of the realme.

Rafe. As I ſayd before, ſo ſay I now agayne: thou art not of the church of Chriſt, and that will I proue, if I may be ſuffered. And where you ſayd, that you commaunded the Conſtable to apprehend me, you did ſo in déede, contrary to the Lawes of this Realme, hauing neither to lay vnto my charge, treaſon, fellony, nor murther: no neyther had you precept, proces, nor warrant to ſerue on me, and therefore I ſay, without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſéeke to trouble the conſtable becauſe he kept me not in the ſtockes .iij. dayes and iij. nightes, it doth ſhew a parte what you are. And my going into Suffolke was not for any euill, but onely to bye halfe a buſhell of corne for bread for my poore wife and children, knowing that I had no longer tyme to tarye with them. But if I had r..me away, then you would ſurely haue layd ſomewhat to his charge.

Boner. Go to, thou art a Marchaunt in déede. Ah ſyrha, before God thou ſhalt be burnt with fire. Thou knoweſt Richard Roth, doeſt thou not? Is he of the ſame mynde that thou art of or no? canſt thou tell?

Rafe. He is of age to aunſwere: let him ſpeake for himſelfe: for I heare ſay that he is in your houſe.

Boner. Lo what a knaue here is. Go Cluny, fetch me Roth hither. By my trouth he is a falſe knaue: but yet thou art worſe then he. Ah ſyrha, did not you ſet your hand to a writing, the tenure wherof was, that if thou ſhould at any time ſay or doo heretically, then it ſhould be lawfull for me to take thee as a Relaps, and to procede in ſentence agaynſt thée?

Allerton charged with relaps.

Rafe. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be aſked whether it be ſufficient, that my hand or name writing be able to geue authoritie to you or to any other to kil me. For if I, by writing my name can doo ſo much, then muſt my authoritie bee greater then yours. Neuertheles, I haue neither ſayd nor doone heretically, but like a true chriſten man haue I behaued my ſelfe. And ſo I was committed into priſon agayne, and the .xxiiij. day of the ſame moneth, I was brought before the biſhop, the Lord North, D. Story, and others, and after a long talke in latine amongeſt them ſelues (vnto the which I gaue no aunſwere, becauſe they ſpake not to me, although they ſpake of me) at the laſt the biſhop ſayd:

Boner. How ſay you ſyrha? tell me briefly at one worde, wilt thou be contented to go to Fulham wyth with me, and there to knéele thée down at Maſſe, ſhewing thy ſelfe outwardly as though thou didſt it with a good wyll? Go to, ſpeake.

Rafe. I wyll not ſay ſo.

Boner. Away wyth hym, away wyth hym.

Allerton brought agayn before Boner and certein Lordes.

The ſecond day of May I was brought before the Byſhop, and thrée noble men of the Counſell, whoſe names I do not remember.

Boner. Lo my Lordes, thys ſame is the fellow that was ſent vnto me from the Counſell and did ſubmit himſelfe, ſo that I had halfe a hope of hym: but by S. Anne I was allwayes in doubt of him. Neuertheles he was wyth me, and fared well, and when I deliuered hym, I gaue hym money in hys purſe. How ſayeſt thou? was it not ſo, as I tell my Lordes here?

Rafe. In déede my Lord, I had meate and drinke enough: but I neuer came in bed all the while. And at my departure you gaue me xij.d. howbeit I neuer aſked none, nor would haue done.

A Lord. Be good to hym my Lord. He wyll be an honeſt man.

Boner. Before God, how ſhould I truſt hym? he hath once deceaued me already. But ye ſhall heare what he will ſay to the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar. How ſay you ſyrha? after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken by the prieſt, there remayneth no bread, but the very body of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, God and mā, and none other ſubſtance, vnder ẏ forme of bread.

Rafe. Where finde you that, my Lord, written?

Boner. Lo ſyr. Why? doth not Chriſt ſay: *this is my body?* How ſayeſt thou? Wilt thou deny theſe wordes of our ſauiour Chriſt? Or els, was he a diſſembler, ſpeaking one thing, and meaning an other? Go to, now I haue taken you.

Transubſtantiation.

Rafe. Yea my Lord, ye haue taken me in déede and wyll kéepe me vntill you kill me. Howbeit my Lord, I maruaile why you leaue out the beginning of the inſtitution of the Supper of our Lord? For Chriſt ſayd: *take ye, and eate ye, this is my body.* And if it wyll pleaſe you to ioyne the former wordes to the latter, then ſhall I make you an aunſwere. For ſure I am that Chriſt was no diſſembler, neyther dyd he ſay one thing, and meane an other.

Boner. Why? then muſt thou néedes ſay that it is hys body: for he ſayth it hymſelfe, and thou confeſſeſt that he wyll not lye.

Rafe. No my Lord: he is true, and all men are liers. Notwithſtāding I vtterly refuſe to take the words of our ſauiour ſo fantaſtically as you teach vs to take thē: for then ſhould we conſpire with certayne heretickes called the Neſtorians: for they deny that Chriſt had a true naturall body, and ſo me thinke you do, my Lord. If you will affirme hys body to be there as you ſay he is, then muſt you nedes alſo affirme, that it is a fantaſticall body and not a true naturall body, and therefore looke to it for Gods ſake, and let theſe wordes goe before: *take ye, and eate ye:* without which wordes the reſt are not ſufficient: but when the worthy receauers do take and eate, euen then is fulfilled the wordes of our ſauiour, vnto hym, or euery of them, that ſo receaueth.

Boner. Ah, I ſée well thou canſt not vnderſtād theſe wordes: I will ſhew thée a parable. If I ſhould ſet a péece of béefe before thée and ſay, eate: is it not béefe? and then take part of it away, and ſend it to my cooke and he ſhall chaunge the faſhion thereof, and make it looke like bread. What wouldeſt thou ſay that it were?

B. Boners parable.

no beefe, because it hath not the faſhion of beefe?

Rafe. Let me vnderſtand a litle further my Lord: ſhall ẏ cooke adde nothing thereunto, nor take nothing therefrom?

Boner. What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, ſo long as the ſhape is chaunged into an other likenes?

Rafe. Ah, will you ſo my Lord? your ſophiſtry wyll not ſerue: the truth wyll haue the victory, neuertheles as Eſay ſayth: *He that reſtrayneth him ſelfe from euyll, muſt be ſpoyled.* And Amos hath ſuch like wordes alſo. *For the wyſe muſt be fayne to holde their peace: ſo wicked a tyme it is,* ſayth he. Neuertheles he that can ſpeake the truth and wyll not, ſhall geue a ſtrait accountes for the ſame.

ſay.lix.

mos.v.

A Doctor. By my Lordes leaue, here me thinkes thou ſpeakeſt like a foole. Wilt thou be a iudge of the ſcripture? Nay thou muſt ſtand to learne, and not to teach: for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long a go.

A Prieſt. No by your leaue, we haue a church and not a congregation. You miſtake that worde, Maiſter Doctor.

Rafe. Then ſayd I to my fellow priſoners ſtanding by: My brethren, do ye not heare how theſe men helpe one an other? let vs do ſo alſo. But we neuer came all in together after that tyme, but ſeuerally one after an other. Then was I caried away for that time. The xix. day of May I was brought before the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and Chicheſter with others.

B. Rocheſt. Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwiſe called Trudgeouer? My Lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Rafe. I know him very well, my Lord.

Rocheſter. By my fayth I had him once, and then he was as dronke as an Ape, for he ſtonke ſo of drinke, that I could not abyde him, and ſo ſent him away.

Rafe. My Lord, I dare ſay you tooke your markes amiſſe. It was either your ſelfe or ſome of your owne company: for he did neither drinke wine, ale, nor beere in a quarter of a yeare before that tyme, and therfore it was not he forſooth.

The reſt of myne examinations you ſhall haue whẽ I am cõdemned, if I can haue any tyme after my commyng into Newgate, the which I truſt ſhall touch the matter a great deale more plainly: for the pithy matters are yet vnwritten. Thus fare you wel good frẽdes all. Yea I ſay, fare well for euer in this preſent world. Greete ye one an other, and be ioyfull in the Lord. Salute the good widowes among you, with all the reſt of the congregatiõ in Barfold, & Dedham, & Colcheſter.

This promiſe of his, beyng either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or els if he did write the ſame not commyng to my handes, I am fayne in the reſt of his examinations to follow the onely reporte of the Regiſter: who witneſſeth that the xv. day of May. an. 1557. in the Byſhops Palace at London, he was examined vpon certeine interrogatories, the contentes wherof be theſe.

ticles miſtred gainſt fe llerton.

1. First, that he was of the pariſhe of Muchbentley, and ſo of the dioces of London.

2. Secondly, that the x. day of January, then laſt paſt, Maiſter Iohn Morant preaching at Paules, the ſayd Rafe Allerton did there opẽly ſubmit hymſelfe vnto the church of Rome, with the rites and Ceremonies thereof.

3. Thirdly, that he did conſent and ſubſcribe aſwell vnto the ſame ſubmiſſiõ, as alſo to one other byll, in the which he graunted, that if he ſhould at any tyme turne agayne vnto his former opinions, it ſhould be then lawfull for the Biſhop immediatly to denounce and adiudge hym as an hereticke.

4. Fourthly, that he had ſubſcribed to a byll, wherein he affirmed, that in the ſacramẽt, after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken by the prieſt, there remayneth ſtill materiall bread and materiall wine: and that he beleued that the bread is the bread of thankes geuing, and the memoryall of Chriſtes death: and that when he receaueth it, he receaueth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually in hys ſoule, but materyall bread in ſubſtance.

5. Fiftly, that he had openly affirmed, and alſo aduiſedly ſpoken that which is cõtayned in the ſayd former fourth article laſt before ſpecified.

6. Sixtly, that he had ſpoken againſt the Biſh. of Rome, with the ſea and church of the ſame, and alſo agaynſt the ſeuen ſacramentes and other ceremonies and ordinaunces of the ſame church, vſed then within this Realme.

7. Seuenthly, that he had allowed and commended the opinions and fayth of M. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others of late burned within this Realme, and beleued that their opinions were good and godly.

8. Eightly, that he had diuers times affirmed that the religion vſed within this Realme at the time of his apprehenſion, was neither good nor agreable to gods word, and that he could not conforme himſelfe therunto.

9. Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the booke of common prayer ſet forth in the reigne of King Edward the vj. was in all partes good and godly: and that the ſayd Rafe and his company priſoners, did dayly vſe amongſt them ſelues in priſon ſome part of the ſame booke.

10. Tenthly, that hee had affirmed, that if he were out of priſon, he would not come to Maſſe, Mattins, nor Euẽſong, nor beare Taper, Candle, or Palme, nor go in proceſſion, nor would receaue holy water, holy bread, aſhes, or pax, nor any other ceremonie of the church then vſed within this Realme.

11. Eleuenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confeſſe his ſinnes to any prieſt, nor receaue abſolution of him: nor yet would receaue the ſacrament of the altar, as it was then vſed.

12. Twelfty, that he had affirmed, that praying to ſaintes and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his owne will and pleaſure, neither that it is lawfull to reſerue the ſacrament or to worſhip it.

13. Thirtenthly, that the ſayd Allerton hath, according to theſe his affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come vnto his pariſh church euer ſithens the tenth day of January laſt, or to vſe, receaue or alow any ceremonies, ſacramentes, or other rites then vſed in the church.

To all theſe articles he anſwered affirmatiuely, denying preciſely none of them: ſauing to this clauſe conteined in the xij. article, that a man is not bound to faſt and pray but at his owne will and pleaſure, he ſayd that he had affirmed no ſuch thing, but he confeſſed that he had not faſted nor prayed ſo ofte as he was bound to do. And vnto this anſwere he alſo ſubſcribed in this ſorte.

> Except it be proued otherwiſe by the holy ſcripture, I do affirme theſe articles to be true. By me Rafe Allerton. 2.

The next examination was the fourth day of July. The actes whereof, because they doe appeare more amply in his other examination, had the x. day of September, I doo here omitte, geuing you farther to vnderſtand, that vpon the vij. day of the ſame moneth of July, he was brought before Doctor Darbiſhere in the Biſhops Palace, who examined him agayne vppon the former articles, and after perſwaded him to recãt, threatning him that otherwiſe he ſhould be burned. To whom he boldly anſwered: I would I might be condemned euen to morrow: for I perceaue my Lord (meaning Boner) doth nothing but ſeeke mens bloud. Upon which ſaying Darbiſhere committed him againe to priſon, and the x. day of September the biſhop cauſed him (with ẏ other three aboue named) to be brought vnto Fulham, and there in his priuate chappell within his houſe, he iudicially propounded vnto him certayne other new articles: of the which, the tenours of the firſt, fifte, ſixte, and ſeuenth are already mencioned in the ſecond, third, and fourth former obiections: as for the reſt, the contentes thereof here followeth.

Thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the information geuen agaynſt thee, and remaynyng now in the actes of this court of thine Ordinary Edmund Biſhop of London, was and is a true information.

Perſecutors. This information was geuen by Thomas Tye, Curate of Bentley (of whome ye haue already heard) and certeine other of yͤ ſame pariſh and affinitie: as namely Iohn Painter, William Harris, Iohn Barker, Iohn Carter, Thomas Candeler, Ieffrey Beſtwod, Iohn Richard, Richard Meere.

Information geuen agaynſt *Raſe Allerton*, by Syr *Thomas Tye* prieſt, a wicked promotor. The effect wherof was, that one Laurẽce Edwardes of Bentley aforeſayd, had a child that was vnchriſtened, and being demaunded by the ſayd Tye, why hys child was not baptiſed, he made aunſwere it ſhould be when he could find one of his religion (meaning a true profeſſor of Chriſtes Goſpel). Whereat the Curate ſayd: ah, ye haue had ſome inſtructor that hath ſchooled you of late. Yea (quoth the ſayd Edwardes) that I haue: and if your doctrine be better then his, then I will beleue you: and therwithall fondly offered to fetch him. Wherupon the Conſtable going with him, they brought before the ſayd Curate the ſaid Rafe Allertõ: of whom in this information they make this reporte that he was a ſedicious perſon, who ſithens his comming downe from the biſhop had ſet vppon the Conſtables dore certayne ſedicious letters, mouing and perſwading thereby the people to follow his malicious diſobedience: and that theſe his perſwaſions had taken effect in many: And farther that the ſayd Rafe Allerton (the Curate aſking him whether he had inſtructed this Laurence Edwardes that it was agaynſt Gods commaundement to enter into the Church) caſting abroad his handes, ſhould ſay: Oh good people, now is fulfilled the ſaying of the godly prieſt and prophet Eſdras, who ſayth: *The fire of a multitude is kindled agaynſt a few: they haue taken away their houſes, and ſpoyled their goods. &c.* Which of you all haue not ſeene this day? who is he here amongeſt you, that ſeeth not all theſe thinges done vpõ vs this day? The church which they call vs vnto, is the church of Antichriſt, a perſecuting church, and the church malignant. With theſe and many mo words (ſayd they) moſt maliciouſly and falſely alleged out of the ſcriptures, he thus perſwaded a great multitude there preſent (as much as in him lay) vnto diſobedience. For the which cauſe the Conſtables did then apprehend him. *iiij. Eſd. xvj.*

3. Item, thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the letter ſent vnto me by my Lord Darcy, begynnyng with theſe wordes (pleaſeth it your Lordſhyp. &c.) was thine owne letter, and was ſubſcribed by thyne owne hand.

The contentes of the letter mentioned in this Article, and written by Allerton, vnto the Lord Darcy, was a confeſſion of his demeanour before his firſt apprehenſion: the effect and purporte wherof becauſe it appeareth in the begynnyng of this his hyſtory, I do here omit.

4. Item thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the other letter, ſent alſo to me frõ my ſaid L. Darcy, beginning thus (pleaſeth it your Lordſhyp &c.) and endyng with theſe wordes (when ſoeuer it be) is thyne owne very letter, and ſubſcribed with thyne owne hand.

This was alſo an other letter written by him vnto the Lord Darcy, the contẽtes wherof were, that where the ſayd Lord had commaunded hym to declare where he had bene euer ſithens Whitſontyde laſt before hys firſt apprehenſion, this was to certifie his Lordſhyp, that he was not able ſo to do, otherwiſe then as he had already ſhewed hym by his former letters. And moreouer, where as he charged hym to haue read vnto the people abroad in the woodes, he certified hym that he did neuer read any thyng abroad, ſauing once when he was in the cõpany of George Eagles and others, Richard Roth toke a writyng out of his boſome and deſired the ſayd Rafe to read it, which requeſt he then accompliſhed: and demaundyng of hym whoſe doyng the ſame was, the ſayd Roth told that it was M. Cranmers, late Archbyſhop of Canterbury: and farther he could not ſhew hym. Neuertheles he was ready and willyng to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as his Lordſhyp ſhould thinke mete, deſiryng yet that the ſame might be with fauour and mercy, although he feared neither puniſhment nor death, praying the Lord, that it might be in his feare, when ſoeuer it ſhould be.

8. Item, thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the letters written with bloud, begynnyng with theſe wordes (Grace, mercy and peace. &c.) and endyng thus (Farewell in God) remaynyng now regiſtred in the actes of this Court, were writtẽ voluntaryly with thine owne hand.

He wrote this letter in the priſon with bloud for lacke of other inke, and did meane to ſend yͤ ſame vnto Agnes Smith, *aliâs* Siluerſide, at that tyme impriſoned and afterwardes burned at Colcheſter for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell of Chriſt, as before is mencioned. The copy of which letter here enſueth.

¶ A letter written by Rafe Allerton, vnto Agnes Smith, widow.

A letter of *Raſe Allerton.* GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and frõ our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of Gods holy ſpirite, and the aboundant health both of ſoule and body, I wiſh vnto you, as to myne owne ſoule, as God knoweth, who is the ſearcher of all ſecretes.

Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed almighty God of his infinite mercy, to call me to the ſtate of grace, to ſuffer Martyrdome for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, although heretofore I haue moſt negligently dalyed therwith, and therfore farre vnworthy I am of ſuch an hygh benefite, to be crowned with the moſt ioyfull crowne of Martyrdome: neuertheleſſe it hath pleaſed God not ſo to leaue me, but hath raiſed me vp agayn according to his promiſe, which ſayth: Although he fall, yet ſhall he not be hurt: For the Lord vpholdeth hym with his hand. *Pſal. 37.* Wherby we perceiue Gods election to be moſt ſure: for vndoubtedly he will preſerue all thoſe that are appointed to dye. And as hee hath begon this worke in me: euen ſo I do beleue that he will finiſh the ſame, to his great glory, & to my wealth, through Ieſus Chriſt. So be it.

Dearely beloued ſiſter (I am conſtrained ſo to cal you becauſe of your conſtant fayth and loue vnfained) conſider, that if we be the true ſeruauntes of Chriſt, then may not we in any wiſe make agreemẽt with his enemy Antichriſt. For there is no concord nor agreement betwene them ſayth the Scriptures: and a man can not ſerue two maſters, ſayth Chriſt. And alſo it is prefigured vnto vs in the old law, whereas the people of God were moſt ſtraightly commaunded that they ſhould not myngle them ſelues with the vngodly heathen, & were alſo forbidden to eate, drinke, or to marye with them. For as often as they did either marry vnto their ſonnes, or take their daughters vnto them, or to their ſonnes, euen ſo oft came the great and heauy wrath of God vppon hys owne people, to ouerthrow both them and all their Cities, with the holy ſanctuary of God: and brought in ſtraunge Princes to reigne ouer them, and wicked Rulers to gouerne them, ſo that they were ſure of hunger, ſword, peſtilence, & wilde beaſtes to deuour them. which plages neuer ceaſed, vntill the good people of God were cleane ſeparated from the wicked idolatrous people.

Oh dearely beloued, thys was written for our learning, that we through patiẽce and comfort of the ſcriptures might haue hope. And is it not in like caſe happened now in this realme of England? For now are the people of God had in deriſion, and troden vnder foote, and the Cities, Townes, and houſes where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that haue no right thereunto, and the true owners are ſpoyled of their labours: yea, and the holy ſanctuary of Gods moſt bleſſed word, is layd deſolate and waſt, so that the very Foxes run ouer it. &c. yet is it yͤ foode of our ſoules, yͤ laterne of our feete, & the light vnto our pathes: & where it is not preached, there the people periſh. But as the Prophet ſaith: he that refrayneth himſelfe from euil, muſt be ſpoyled. *Eſay. lix.* Why ſhould we thẽ be abaſhed to be ſpoyled, ſeing that it is tolde vs before, that it muſt ſo happen vnto them that refrayne from euill? And thus I bid you farewel in God.

R. A.

9. Item thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the letters written with bloud, beginning with theſe wordes in the ouer part thereof. (The angell of God. &c.) and ending thus (be with you, Amen) and hauing alſo this poſtſcript (do ye ſuppoſe that our brethren &c.) remaynyng now regiſtred in the actes of this court, are thyne owne hand writing.

For

ueene
ary.
57.
temb.

Foꝛ the better vnderſtanding of this article, I haue alſo here inſerted the copy of the letter mencioned in the ſame: which letter he wrote (by his owne confeſſion) vnto Richard Roth, then in daunger of the ſubtill ſnares of that bloudy Wolfe Boner.

¶A letter written by Rafe Allerton vnto Richard Roth, his fellowe Martyr.

etter of afe llerton.

THe angell of God pitch his tent about vs, and defend vs in all our wayes. Amen, Amen.

A letter of Rafe Allerton. O deare brother, I pray for you, for I heare ſay that you haue bene diuers times before my Lord in examination. Wherefore take hede for Gods ſake what the wiſe man teacheth you, and ſhrinke not away when you are entiſed to cōfeſſe an vntruth, for hope of life, but be ready alwayes to geue an anſwere of yͤ hope that is in you. For whoſoeuer confeſſeth Chriſt before men, hym will Chriſt alſo confeſſe before hys father. But he that is aſhamed to confeſſe hym before men, ſhall haue his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore deare brother go forward: ye haue a redy way, ſo fayre as euer had any of the Prophetes or Apoſtles, or the reſt of our brethren, the holy Martyrs of God. Therefore couet to go hence with the multitude, while the way is full. Alſo deare brother vnderſtand that I haue ſeene your letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceiue your meaning therin, and very gladly I would copy it out, wyth certayne comfortable aditions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to paſſe for lacke of paper, vntyll my Lorde be gone from hence, and then your requeſt ſhalbe accompliſhed, God willing, without delay. Psal.37. Thus fare ye well in God. Our deare brother and fellow in tribulation Robert Allen ſaluteth you, and the fellowſhip of the holy ghoſt be with you, Amen.

Rafe Allerton.

oſt ſcrip- on. Do ye ſuppoſe that our brethren and ſiſtern are not yet diſpatched out of thys world? I thinke that eyther they are dead, or ſhalbe within theſe two dayes.

And for the other obiection yet remayning, and not ſpecified, if it were not more ſomewhat to ſhew the folly of thoſe bloudy tyrantes (which of ſo ſmall trifles take occaſions to quarrell wyth the Saintes of God) then for any weighty thing therein contayned: I would neyther trouble you wyth the reading thereof, nor yet my ſelfe wyth writing. But that ye may iudge of them as their doinges do geue occaſion, I will now procede in the matter.

10. Item thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but confeſſeſt, that the writing of letters in a little peece of paper on both ſides of it, with this ſentence on the one ſide following (looke at the foote of the ſtockes for a knife) and with this ſentēce following vpon the other ſide (looke betwene the poſt and the wall for two bokes and two epiſtles leaue them here whē ye go) remaynyng now in the Regiſtry and actes of this court, is voluntarily written by thee Rafe Allerton with thyne owne hand.

11. Item, thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but that thou art priuy to a certayne writing, remaynyng now in the Regiſtry and actes of this court, the beginning whereof is with theſe wordes (I would haue men wiſe. &c.) and ending thus (from houſe to houſe.)

12. Item, thou Rafe Allerton, canſt not deny, but that thou art priuy and of conſent and maintenaunce of a certaine great woodknife, a long cord, a hoke, a ſtone, and of a trencher written vpon with chalke, hauing this ſentence (All is gonne and loſt, becauſe of your folly:) of two bordes written vpon with chalke, the one hauing this ſentence (vnder the ſtone loke) and the other hauing this ſentence, (whereas you byd me take hede, I thanke you, I truſt in God that I ſhalbe at peace with him ſhortly) remaynyng now regiſtred in the actes of this court.

Anſweres to the articles. Ex Regiſt. For anſwere vnto all theſe articles, he graunted that the firſt nine were true: as the Regiſter recordeth. Howbeit, I finde noted in the backeſide of the information, ſpecified in the ſecond article (although croſſed out agayne) that he denyed ſuch thinges as were there in the ſame, informed againſt hym. Wherefore it is not likely that he did ſimply graunt vnto the contentes of the ſecond article, but rather that he onely affirmed that ſuch an information was geuen agaynſt hym, and not that the ſame was true.

Thus much I thought to warne the Reader of, leſt that in miſtaking his aunſwers, it might ſeme that he graunted him ſelfe to be a ſeditious and a rebellious perſon: of which facte he was moſt cleare and innocēt. And being farther demaunded, vpon the contentes of the eight article, where he had the bloud he wrote that letter withall: he ſayd that Richard Roth, ſometime his priſon fellow did make his noſe blede, and thereby he got the bloud wherwith he did then write. The biſhop agayne aſked him to whom he would haue ſent the ſame. He annſwered, vnto one Agnes Smith, *alias* Siluerſide of Colcheſter. Why (quoth the biſhop) Agnes Smith was an hereticke, and is burned for hereſie. Nay, ſayd Allerton, ſhe is in batter caſe, then either I my ſelfe, or any of vs all. Then being agayne demaunded (vpon the ninth obiection) to whom he would haue ſent the letter mencioned in the ſame: he anſwered, that he ment to haue ſent it vnto Richard Roth, at that preſent ſeparated from him. Wherupon the biſhop farther enquired, what he ment by theſe wordes (brethren, and ſiſterne) ſpecified in the ſayd letter? He anſwered that he ment thereby, ſuch as were lately condempned at Colcheſter, and were like (at the writing thereof) ſhortly to be burned. Now, as for the contentes of the x. and xi. articles he vtterly denied them. But to the xii. he confeſſed, that he did write vpon the ſayd trencher and other boardes, the wordes mencioned in the ſayd article, and that he did leaue the ſame in the priſon houſe, to thintent that Richarh Roth ſhould read thē. Boner alſo bringing out the woden ſword, mencioned in the ſayd article, aſked him who made it, and for what purpoſe. Wherunto he anſwered, that he was the maker therof, howbeit for no euill purpoſe. But being idell in the priſon, & finding there an olde board, he thought the time better ſpent in making thereof, then to ſit ſtill and do nothing at all.

The forenone being now ſpent, the reſt of this tragedy was differed vntill the afternone. Wherin was miniſtred vnto him yet certayne other obiections, the tenour wherof was.

Other obiections miniſtred to Rafe Allerton.

1. FIrſt, that he had miſliked the maſſe, calling vppon Saintes and carying the Croſſe in proceſſion, with other their ceremonies, callyng them Idolatry, and alſo had diſſuaded them therefrom.

2. Item, that he was much deſirous to haue the people beleue as he did, and therfore beyng in priſon with hys fellowes did ſing Pſalmes and other ſonges againſt the Sacrament of the altare and other ordinaunces of the Church, ſo loud, that the people abroad might here them and delight in them.

3. Item, that he had diuers tymes conſpired againſt his keeper, and had prouided thinges to kill him, and ſo to breake the priſon and eſcape away.

4. Item, that he had railed agaynſt the Byſhop beyng his Ordinary, callyng him a bloudy butcher, tyrant, and rouenning woulfe, and alſo agaynſt his officers, eſpecially Cluny his Sumner, callyng him butchers Cur, with other ſuch names.

5. Item, that he had murmured, grudged, diſdained, and miſliked that the Byſhop had proceded agaynſt certeine of his Dioces, and had condemned them as heretickes: or that he ſhould procede now agaynſt hym and others yet remaynyng in errours, notwithſtandyng that he and his Chapleyns had charitably admoniſhed and exhorted them from the ſame.

6. Item, that he ought faythfully to beleue, that there is one Catholicke Church, without the which there is no ſaluation: of the which Church Ieſus Chriſt is the very Prieſt and ſacrifice, whoſe body and bloud is really and truly conteined in the Sacrament of the altar vnder the formes of bread and wyne: the bread and wyne being by the diuine power tranſubſtanciated into hys body and bloud.

7. Item, that he had kept him ſelfe, and alſo diſtributed to others certeine heretical and corrupt bookes, condemned and reproued by the lawes of this Realme.

8. Item, that he had, contrary to the orders and ſtatutes of this Realme, kept company with that ſeditious hereticke and traitour, George Eagles, commonly called Trudgeouer, and had heard him read in woods and other places, yet not accuſing, but allowyng and prayſing hym.

Vnto

Unto which articles, becauſe they were for the moſt part, ſo fooliſh and full of lyes, he would in a maner make no anſwere, ſauing he graunted that he did miſlike theyr maſſe and other ceremonies, becauſe they were wicked and naught. And moreouer he tolde the biſhop that he and his complices did nothing but ſeeke how to kill innocentes.

The biſhop then aſked him, whether he would beleue in all poyntes touching the ſacrament of the altar, as is conteined in the generall Coũcel holden and kept vnder Innocentius .3: and therwithall hee dyd read the decree of yͤ ſayd Councell touching yͤ Sacrament.

Wherunto Allerton agayne made aunſwere and ſayd: I beleue nothing conteined in the ſame Councel, neither haue I any thing to doo therwith: and it were alſo very neceſſary that no man els ſhould haue to doo therwith.

Then (quoth Boner) thou art of the opinion that the heretickes lately burned at Colcheſter were of.

Yea (ſayd he) I am of their opinion, and I beleue that they be ſaintes in Heauen.

This doone the Biſhop perceauing that he would not recant, demaunded what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt him. To whom he anſwered: ye ought not to condemne me as an hereticke, for I am a good Chriſtian. But now go to, doo as you haue already determined: for I ſee right well, that right and truth be ſuppreſſed, and cannot appeare vpon the earth.

Theſe wordes ended, the Biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation, and ſo deliuered him vnto the temporall officers: Who reſerued him in theyr cuſtody vntill the xvij. day of September, at which time, both he and the other three before mencioned were all burned, as ye haue already heard. Of which other three, becauſe as yet litle is ſayd, I will therfore now procede to declare ſuch cauſe of theyr cruell deathes as in the Regiſtry is recorded.

¶ *James Auſtoo and Margery his wife.*

Examinatiõ of James Auſtoo & Margery hys wife.

TOuchyng the firſt apprehenſion of theſe two perſons, I finde neither occaſion why, neither time, nor maner how. Howbeit as the dayes then ſerued, it was no hard or ſtraunge matter to fall into the handes of ſuch as with crueltie perſecuted the true profeſſours of Gods Goſpell, eſpecially hauyng ſo many promoters, and vnneighbourly neighbours to helpe them forwardes. By which kinde of people, it is not vnlike theſe two godly yokefellowes were accuſed and taken: and beyng once deliuered into the pitileſſe handlyng of Boner: their examinations (ye may be ſure) were not long differred. For yͤ xvj. day of July. 1557. they were brought before him into his palace at London. Where firſt he demaunded of the ſaid James Auſtoo (amõgeſt other queſtions) where he had bene confeſſed in Lent, and whether he receaued the Sacrament of the altare at Eaſter or not.

To whom he aunſwered that in deede he had bene confeſſed of the Curate of Alhallowes Barkyng, nigh vnto the Tower of London, but that he had not receaued the Sacrament of the altar, for he defied it from the bottom of his hart.

Why, quoth the Byſhop, dooſt thou not beleue that in the Sacrament of the altare there is the true body and bloud of Chriſt?

No ſayd Auſtoo, not in the Sacrament of the altar: but in the Supper of the Lord, to the faythfull receauer is the very body and bloud of Chriſt by faith.

Boner not well pleaſed with this talke, aſked then the wife, how ſhe did like the Religiõ then vſed in this Church of England.

She aunſwered that ſhe beleued, that the ſame was not accordyng to Gods word, but falſe and corrupted, and that they which did go therunto, did it more for feare of the law, then otherwiſe.

Then he agayne aſked her if ſhe would go to the Church and heare Maſſe, and pray for the proſperous eſtate of the kyng, beyng then abroad in his affaires.

Wherunto ſhe ſayd that ſhe defied yͤ Maſſe with all her hart, and that ſhe would not come into any Church wherin were Idols.

After this the Byſhop obiected vnto them certaine Articles, to the number of xviij. The tenure wherof (becauſe they touch onely ſuch common and triflyng matters as are already mẽcioned in diuers and ſondry places before) I do here for breuity ſake omit and paſſe ouer: geuyng you yet this much to vnderſtand, that in matters of fayth, they were as ſound, and aunſwered as truly (God be therfore prayſed) as euer did any, eſpecially the woman, to whom the Lord had geuen the greater knowledge & more feruentnes of ſpirite. Notwithſtandyng, accordyng to the meaſure of grace that God gaue them, they both ſtode moſt firmely vnto the truth. And, therfore to conclude, the .x. day of September, they were (with Rafe Allerton, of whom ye haue heard) brought agayne before the Byſhop within hys Chappell at Fulham, where he ſpeakyng vnto them, ſayd firſt on this wiſe: Auſtoo, dooſt thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou haſt to doe?

Yea (quoth Auſtoo) I know where I am: For I am in an idols temple.

After which wordes their Articles being again read, and their conſtancy in fayth perceaued, Boner pronoũced agaynſt either of them ſeuerally the ſentence of cõdemnatiõ, and deliuering them vnto the Shrieffe there preſent, did rid his handes (as he thought) of them: but the Lord in the end will iudge that: to whom I referre hys cauſe.

Margery Auſtoo terrified in priſon.

It ſo happened vppon a night that as this Margery Auſtoo was in the Byſhops priſon (which priſon I ſuppoſe was his dogge kennell, for it was, as is reported, vnder a payre of ſtayres) by the Byſhops procurement there was ſent a ſtout champion (as appeared) about twelue of the clocke at night, who ſuddenly opened the doore, & with a knife drawen or ready prepared, fel vpon her, to the intent to haue cut her throte. Which ſhe by reaſon of the clearnes of the Moone perceauyng, and callyng vnto God for helpe, he (but who it was ſhe knew not) giuyng a grunt, and fearyng (belike) to commit ſo cruell a deede, departed his wayes without any more hurt doyng.

The next night followyng, they cauſed a great rumbelyng to be made ouer her head, which ſeemed to her to haue bene ſome great thunder, which they did for to haue feared her out of her wittes, but yet thankes be to God, they myſſed of their purpoſe.

Richard Roth.

Examination of Richard Roth.

IN the Godly fellowſhip of the forenamed three Martyrs, was alſo this Richard Roth, as is already before ſpecified. Who being apprehended and brought vp vnto the Biſhop of London, was by him examined the fourth day of July: at what time the biſhop did earneſtly trauell to induce him to beleue that there were ſeuen ſacramentes in Chriſtes Church, and that in the ſacrament of the altar (after the wordes of conſecration duely ſpoken) there remayned the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud and none other. Wherunto, (at that preſent) he made only this aunſwere: that if the ſcriptures did ſo teach him, and that he might be by the ſame ſo perſwaded, he would ſo beleue, otherwiſe not. But at an other examination (which was the ix. day of September) he declared playnly, that in the ſaid ſacramẽt of yͤ altar (as it was then vſed) there was not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but that it was a dead God, and that the maſſe was deteſtable and contrary to Gods holy worde and will, from the which fayth and opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day being the .x. day of the ſame moneth of

September, the biſhop at his houſe at Fulham (by way of an article) laid and obiected againſt him: that he was a comforter and boldener of heretickes, and therfore had written a letter to that effect vnto certayne that were burned at Colcheſter: the copy wherof enſueth.

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¶A letter written by Rich. Roth, vnto certaine brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, condemned at Colcheſter, and ready to be burned for the teſtimony of the truth.

O Deare brethren and ſiſters, how much haue you to reioyce in God, that he hath geuen you ſuch fayth to ouercome this bloud thirſty tirauntes thus farre: and no doubt he that hath begon that good worke in you, will fulfill it vnto thend. O deare hartes in Chriſt, what a crowne of glory ſhall ye receaue with Chriſt in the kingdome of God? Oh that it had bene the good wil of God, that I had bene ready to haue gone with you. For I lye in my lordes litle eaſe in the day, and in the night I lye in the Colehouſe, from Rafe Allerton, or any other: and we looke euery day when we ſhall bee condemned. For he ſayd that I ſhould be burned within x. dayes before Eaſter: but I lye ſtill at the pooles brinke, and euery mā goeth in before me: but we abide paciently the Lordes layſure, with many bandes, in fetters and ſtockes: by the which we haue receaued great ioye in God. And now fare you well deare brethren and ſiſters, in thys world: but I truſt to ſee you in the heauen face to face.

Oh brother Munt, with your wife and my deare ſiſter Roſe, how bleſſed are you in the Lorde, that God hath found you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake: with all the reſt of my deare brethren and ſiſters knowen and vnknowen. O be ioyfull euē vnto death. Feare it not, ſayth Chriſt: for I haue ouercome death, ſayth he. Oh deare hartes, ſeing that Ieſus Chriſt will be our helpe, oh tary you the Lordes layſure. Be ſtrong, let your hartes be of good comfort, and wayte you ſtill for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea the angell of the lord pitcheth his tent round about them that feare him, and deliuereth them which way he ſeeth beſt. For our liues are in the Lords hands: and they can do nothing vnto vs before god ſuffer them. Therfore geue all thankes to God.

Oh deare hartes, you ſhall be clothed with long white garmentes vpon the mount Sion, with the multitude of Saintes, & with Ieſus Chriſt our Sauior, which will neuer forſake vs. Oh bleſſed Virgins, ye haue plaied the wiſe virgines part, in that you haue taken oyle in your lampes, that ye may go in with the brydegrome when he commeth, into the euerlaſting ioy with him. But as for yͤ fooliſh they ſhall be ſhut out, becauſe they made not themſelues ready to ſuffer with Chriſt, neither go about to take vp his croſſe. O deare hartes, how precious ſhall your death be in the ſight of the Lord? for deare is the death of his ſaintes. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you all, Amen, Amen Pray, pray, pray.

By me Rich. Roth, written with
mine owne bloud.

This letter he confeſſed in dede (vpon the ſayd examination) to haue written with his bloud, and that he ment to haue ſent the ſame vnto ſuch as were condemned at Colcheſter for the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and were afterwardes burned there, as ye haue already heard.

The Byſhop then farther aſked hym, what he thought his priſon fellow Rafe Allerton to be?

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rton.

He anſwered that he thought hym to be one of the elect children of God: and that if at any tyme hereafter he happened to be put to death for hys fayth and religion, he thought he ſhould dye a true Martyr. And moreouer finding himſelfe agreued with the Biſhops priuy and ſecret condemninges of Gods people, he ſayd vnto hym in this ſort: My Lord, becauſe the people ſhould not ſee and behold your doinges, ye cauſe me and others to be brought to our examinatiōs by night, beyng afrayd (belike) to do it by day.

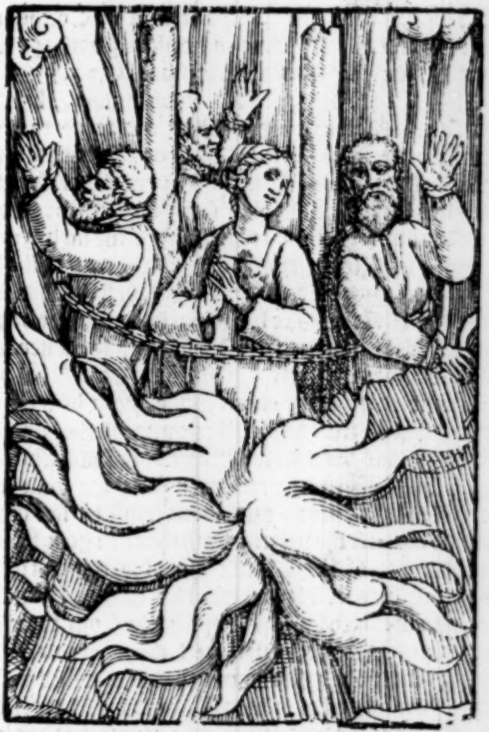
The Biſhop not greatly caring for thys talke, proceded to examine him of other matters, amōgeſt which this high and waighty thing was one, videlicet, how he did lyke the order and rites of the church then vſed here in England.

To whom he ſayd, that he euer had and yet then did abhorre the ſame with all his hart.

Then diuers of the Biſhops complices entreated and perſwaded hym to recant, and aſke mercy of the Byſhop.

Condemnation of Rich. Roth.

No (quoth Roth) I will not aſke mercy of hym that can not geue it. Whereupon he was (as the reſt before mencioned) condemned, and deliuered vnto the Shriffe. And the xvij. day of September they all moſt ioyfully ended their lyues in one fire at Iſlington, for the teſtimony of Chriſt, as before is declared.


¶ Foure Martyrs burned at Iſlington.

The Martyrdome of Rafe Allerton, Iames Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo, Rich. Roth, at Iſlington. An. 1557. Septēb. 17.

Agnes Bongeor, and Margaret Thurſton, two godly Chriſtian women, burnt at Colcheſter for the ſincere profeſſing of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Septēb. 17. Margaret Thurſton, Agnes Bongeor, Martyrs.

A note of Margaret Thurſton.

A Little before (gentle reader) was mention made of tenne that ſuffred Martyrdome at Colcheſter pag. 2198, at which tyme there were two other women alſo, one called Margaret Thurſton, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that ſhould haue ſuffred with them, and were likewiſe condemned at the ſame tyme and place that the other aboue named ten were, for the like cauſe, and anſwered alſo in their examinations the like in effect as the other did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurſton, that morning ſhe ſhould ſuffer with thoſe that went from the Caſtle, was for that time deferred. What yͤ cauſe was, the teſtimony of Ioane Cooke ſhall declare vnto vs. Which Ioane Cooke, the wife now of Iohn Sparke beyng then in the Caſtell of Colcheſter for religion, did demaund of this widow Thurſton, whoſe husband dyed in the priſon being impriſoned for religion, wherfore the ſayd Margaret beyng a condemned woman, ſhould be reſerued, when the other ſuffered in the Caſtell Baily. She aunſwered, that it was not for any feare of death, but beyng prepared as the reſt were that ſuffered the ſame day, ſhe felte in her ſelfe a great ſhiuering and trembling of the fleſhe. Wherupon forſaking the company ſhe went aſide to pray. And whileſt ſhe was a praying, ſhe thought that ſhe was lifted vp with a mighty winde that came round about her. Euen at that inſtant came in the Iayler and company with hym, and whileſt ſhe turned her ſelfe to fetch her Pſalter, they tooke the other priſoners and left her alone. Shortly after ſhe was remoued out of the Caſtell and put into the towne priſon: where ſhe continued vntill Friday ſeuennight after her company were burnt. That day, not two howers before her death, ſhe was brought to the Caſtell agayne, where ſhe declared thus much to the aforeſayd Ioane Cooke.

The Martyrdome of *Margaret Turſton, and Agn. Bongeor* deferred, for what cauſe.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who ſhould haue ſuffered in like maner wyth the vj. that went out of Motehall, was alſo kept backe at that tyme, but not in like ſort, becauſe her name was wrong writtẽ within the writ, as in the Bayliffes letters of Colcheſter, ſent to Boner about ỹ ſame, more plainly doth appeare in the booke of our former edition. pag. 1632.

The name of *Agn. Bongeor* miſtaken.

The ſame morning, the ſecond of Auguſt, that the ſayd ſixe in Motehall were called out to go to theyr Martyrdome, was Agnes Bongeor alſo called wyth them, by the name of Agnes Bowyer. Wherefore the Bayliffes vnderſtanding her (as I ſayd) to be wrong named within the writ, commaunded the ſayd Agnes Bongeor to priſon agayne, as ye haue heard in the letter before named, and ſo from Mote Hall that day ſent her to the Caſtel, where ſhe remayned vntil her death. But when ſhe ſaw her ſelfe ſo ſeparated from her ſayd priſon fellowes in that ſort, Oh good Lord what pitious mone that good woman made, how bitterly ſhe wept, what ſtraunge thoughtes came into her mynde, how naked and deſolate ſhe eſtemed her ſelfe, and into what plunge of diſpayre and care her poore ſoule was brought, it was pitious and wonderfull to ſee: which all came becauſe ſhe wẽt not with them to geue her life in the defence of her Chriſt: For of all thinges in the world, life was leaſt looked for at her handes. For that morning in which ſhe was kept backe from burning, had ſhe put on a ſmocke that ſhe had prepared only for that purpoſe: And alſo hauing a childe, a litle young infant ſucking on her, whom ſhe kept with her tenderly all the tyme ſhe was in priſon, agaynſt that day likewiſe did ſhe ſend it away to an other nurſe, and prepared her ſelfe preſently to geue her ſelf for the teſtimony of ỹ glorious Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. So litle did ſhe looke for life, and ſo greatly did Gods giftes worke in her aboue nature, that death ſeemed a great deale better welcome then life. But thys tooke not effect at that tyme as ſhe thought it would, and therfore (as I ſayd) was ſhe not a litle troubled.

Agnes Bongeor troubled for not ſuffering with her company.

Being in thys great perplexitie of mynde, a frend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abrahams obedience was accepted before God for that he did ſacrifice his ſonne Iſaac, or in that he would haue offered hym. Vnto which ſhe aunſwered thus: I know (quoth ſhe) that Abrahams will before God was allowed for the deede, in that he would haue done it, if the Angell of the Lord had not ſtayed hym: but I (ſayd ſhe) am vnhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abrahams caſe and myne is not alike.

Why (quoth her frend) would ye not willingly haue gone with your company, if God ſhould ſo haue ſuffered it?

Yes (ſayd ſhe) with all my hart, and becauſe I did not, it is now my chiefe and greateſt griefe.

Then ſayd her frend: my deare ſiſter, I pray thee cõſider Abraham and thy ſelfe wel, and thou ſhalt ſee thou doeſt nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas (quoth ſhe) there is a farre greater matter in Abraham then in me: For Abraham was tried with the offering of his owne child, but ſo am not I, and therfore our caſes are not like.

Good ſiſter (quoth her frend) way the matter but indifferently. Abraham I graũt (ſayd he) would haue offered his ſonne: and haue not you done the like in your litle ſucking babe? But conſider further then this, my good ſiſter (ſayd he) where Abraham was commaunded but to offer his ſonne, you are heauy & greued becauſe you offer not your ſelfe: which goeth ſomewhat more neare you then Abrahams obedience did, & therfore before God aſſuredly, is no leſſe accepted & alowed in his holy preſence: which further the preparing of your ſhroude alſo doth argue full well &c. After which talke betwene them, ſhe began a litle to ſtay her ſelfe, and gaue her whole exerciſe to reading and prayer, wherein ſhe found no litle comfort.

Agnes Bongeor receaueth comfort.

In the time that theſe foreſayd ij. good wemen were priſoners, one in ỹ Caſtle, and the other in Mote hall: God by a ſecret meane called the ſayd Margaret Thurſton vnto his truth agayne, who hauing her eyes opened by the working of his ſpirite, did greatly ſorrow and lament her backſliding before, and promiſed faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, neuer more while ſhe liued to doo the like againe, but that ſhe would conſtantly ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame, agaynſt all the aduerſaries of the croſſe of Chriſt. After which promiſe made, came in ſhort time a writ from London for the burning of them, which according to the effect thereof, was executed the xvij. day of September, in the yeare aforeſayd.

A writte for the burning of *Margaret Thurſton & Agnes Bongeor.*

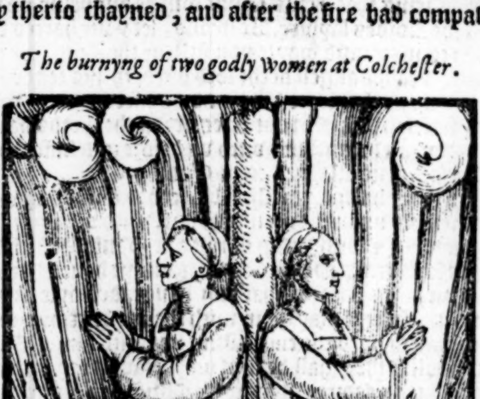
{ Margaret Thurſton.
Agnes Bongeor. }

The Martyrdome of *Margaret Thurſton, Agnes Bongeor,* at Colcheſter.

An. 1557 Septeb. 17.

Now when theſe foreſayd good wemẽ were brought to the place in Colcheſter where they ſhould ſuffer, the xvij. day of September, in the yeare aforeſayd, they fell downe both vpon theyr knees, and made theyr humble prayers vnto the Lord: which thing being done, they roſe and went to the ſtake ioyfully, and were immediatly therto chayned, and after the fire had compaſſed them about, they with great ioy and glorious triumph, gaue vp theyr ſoules, ſpirites, and liues into the hands of the Lord: vnder whoſe gouernement and protection, for Chriſtes ſake we beſech him, to graunt vs hys holy defence and helpe for euer more, Amen.

The burnyng of two godly women at Colcheſter.



Thus (gẽtle Reader) God chooſeth the weake things of the world, to confound mighty thinges.

¶ *Iohn Kurde, Martyr.*

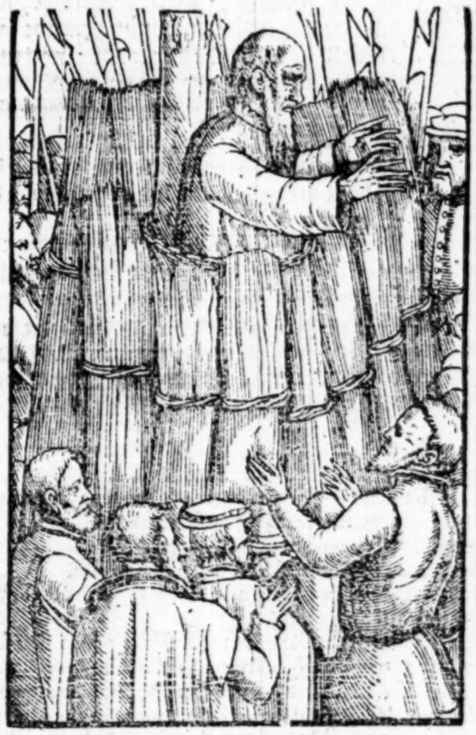
Septẽb. 20.

Iohn Kurde, Martyr.

IN the ſtory before, in the pag. thus marked 2139. ſome thing was touched of a certein Shomaker, ſuffering at Northampton, being vnnamed, whom becauſe we vnderſtand, ſtãd by a letter ſent from the ſayd parties, that he ſuffered in this yeare. 1557. and in the moneth of September, therefore we thought here to place hym. His name was Iohn Kurde a Shomaker, late of the Pariſh of Syrſam, in Northampton ſhiere, who was impriſoned in Northampton caſtell, for denying the Popiſh tranſubſtantiation, for the which cauſe William Bynſley Bacheler of law, and Chauncellour vnto the Biſhop of Peterborow, and now Archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce ſentence of death agaynſt the ſayd Kurde, in the Church of all Saintes in Northãpton in Auguſt. an. 1557. And in Septẽber followyng, at the commaũdement of Syr Tho. Treſham, Shrieffe thẽ of the ſhiere, he was led by his officers without the Northgate of Northãpton, and in the ſtonepittes was

William Bynſley Chauncelour to the B. of Peterborow, and now Archdeacon of Northampton, condemned Iohn Kurde.

Iohn Kurde Martyr, burned at Northampton.



The Martyrdome of Iohn Kurde at Northãpton. An. 1557 Septeb. 20.

burned. A Popiſh Prieſt ſtãdyng by, whoſe name was Iohn Rote, Vicare of S. Giles in Northampton, did declare vnto him, that if he would recant, he was authoriſed to geue him his pardon. His aunſwere was that he had his pardon by Ieſus Chriſt. &c.

Ioh. Rote popiſhe vicar. Popiſhe pardon refuſed.

The true certificate of the taking

of one Iohn Noyes of Laxfield in the Countie of Suffolke Shomaker, which was taken the ix. day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord God. 1557. as hereafter followeth.

Septẽb. 22.

IN the moneth of September this preſent yeare, or (as ſome reporte) in the yeare paſt, ſuffered the bleſſed Martyr Ioh. Noyes, whoſe ſtory here foloweth.

Firſt M. Thomas Louell beyng then chief Conſtable of Horton Hundred, in the Countie aforeſayd, and one Iohn Iacob, and William Stannard then beyng vnder Conſtables of the aforeſayd towne of Laxfield, and Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard of the ſame towne, beyng then accompted faithfull and Catholicke Chriſtians, though vndoubtedly they approued moſt cruell hinderers of the true profeſſours of Chriſt and his Goſpell, with others, were commaunded to be that preſent day before the Iuſtices, whoſe names were M. Thurſton, Syr Iohn Tyrrell, and M. Kene, and Syr Iohn Syllyerd beyng hye Shriffe.

Perſecution by the Conſtables, Shrieffes, & Iuſtices of Suffolke.

These ſittyng at Horton in the Countie of Suffolke aforeſayd, and there the ſayd townesmen aforeſayd hauing commaundemẽt of the ſayd Iuſtices, to inquire in their towne, if there were any that would neglect to come to their ſeruice and Maſſe, further to examine the cauſe why they would not come, and thereupon to bryng the true certificate to the ſayd Iuſtices within xiiij. dayes then next enſuyng: they then cõmyng homeward, beyng full of hatred agaynſt the truth, and deſirous to get promotion, without any ſuch commaundement of the Iuſtices (as farre as we can learne) tooke counſell one with an other how to attach the ſayd Iohn Noyes without any more delay.

ge by the piſt

This deuiliſh enterpriſe agréed vpõ, chiefly through the coũſell of M. Thomas Louell, Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard aforeſayd, with expedition his houſe was beſet on both ſides. This done, they found the ſayd Iohn Noyes on the backſide of the ſayd houſe goyng outward, and Nicolas Stannard called to the ſayd Iohn and ſayd, whether goeſt thou? And he ſayd: to my neighbours. And the ſayd Nicolas Stannard ſaid: your Maſter hath deceiued you: you muſt go with vs now. But the ſayd Iohn Noyes aunſwered: no, but take you héede your Maſter deceiue not you. And ſo they tooke him, and caried him to the Iuſtices the next day. After his appearance and ſundry cauſes alleaged, the Iuſtices and the Shriffe together caſt him into Eye dongeon, & there he lay a certaine tyme: And then was caried from thence to Norwich, and ſo came before the Byſhop where were miniſtred vnto hym theſe poſitions folowyng.

Counſell taken for attaching of *Iohn Noyes.*

Iohn Noyes houſe beſet about.

Iohn Noyes taken by *Nicholas Stannard* perſecutor.

Iohn Noyes caſt in Eye dungeon.

Ex Regiſt.

Articles agaynſt *Iohn Noyes.*

1. *Whether he beleued that the ceremonies vſed in the Church, were good and godly to ſtirre vp mens myndes to deuotion.*
2. *Item, whether he beleued the Pope to be ſupreme head of the Church here in earth.*
3. *Itẽ, whether he beleued the body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to bee in the Sacrament of the altar vnder the formes of bread and wyne, after the wordes of conſecration.*

Wherunto he aunſwered, that he thought the naturall body of Chriſt to be onely in heauen, and not in the Sacrament. &c.

Reall preſence denied.

For the which, Sẽtence at laſt was read by the Byſhop agaynſt him, in the preſence of theſe there ſittyng the ſame time, Doct. Dunnyng Chauncelour, Syr W. Woodhouſe, Syr Thomas Woodhouſe, M. George Heydon, M. Spenſer, W. Ferrar Alderman of Norwich, M. Thurſton, Wyneſden with diuers other.

Sentence red agaynſt *Iohn Noyes.*

More of his examinations then this, came not to our handes.

In the meane time, his brother in law one Nicholas Fiſke of Dinnyngton goyng to comfort him at ſuch tyme as he remained priſoner in the Guild Hall of Norwich, after Chriſtiã exhortation aſked him if he did feare death when the Biſhop gaue Iudgement agaynſt him, conſideryng the terrour of the ſame. And the ſayd Noyes anſwered: He thanked God he feared not death no more at that tyme, then he or any other did beyng at libertie. Then the ſayd Nicholas required him to ſhew the cauſe of his condẽnation. Vpon which requeſt the ſayd Iohn Noyes writ with his owne hand as followeth.

I ſayd (quoth he) that I could not beleue that in the Sacrament of the altare there is the naturall body of Chriſt, that ſame body that was borne of the virgine Mary. But I ſayd that the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt is receiued of Chriſtian people in the remembraunce of Chriſtes death as a ſpirituall foode, if it be miniſtred accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution.

The cauſe of *Iohn Noyes* cõdemnation.

But they ſayd I could not tel what ſpiritually ment. The Biſhop ſayd that ẏ Sacramẽt was God, and muſt be worſhipped as God. So ſayd the Chauncellor alſo.

Then aunſwered I: My Lord, I can not ſo beleue. Then quoth the Byſhop, why? then ſay thou dooſt beleue. Notwithſtandyng theſe ſubtle colluſions could not preuayle.

Now beyng condemned he was ſent agayne from Norwich to Eye priſon, and vpon the xxj. day of September in the yeare aforeſayd about midnight, he was

John Noyes brought to the place of Martyrdome.

brought from Eye to Laxfield to be burned, and on the next day morning was brought to the ſtake where was ready agaynſt his commyng the foreſayd Juſtice. M. Thurſton, one M. Waller then beyng vnder Shriffe, and M. Thomas Louell beyng high Conſtable, as is before expreſſed, the which commaunded men to make ready all thinges méete for that ſinfull purpoſe. Now the fire in moſt places of the ſtréete was put out ſauing a ſmoke was eſpied by the ſayd Thomas Louell procedyng out from the toppe of a chymney, to which houſe the Shriffe and Grannow his man went and brake open the dore and therby got fire and brought the ſame to the place of execution. When Iohn Noyes came to ẏ place where he ſhould be burned, he knéeled down and ſayd the 50. Pſalme with other prayers, and then they makyng haſt bound him to the ſtake, and beyng bound the ſayd Iohn Noyes ſayd: *Feare not them that can kill the body, but feare him that can kill both body and ſoule, and caſt it into euerlaſtyng fire.*

The fire put out in the towne where John Noyes ſhould be burned.

When he ſaw his ſiſter wéepyng and makyng mone for him, he bad her that ſhe ſhould not wéepe for hym, but wéepe for her ſinnes.

The wordes of John Noyes to hys ſiſter.

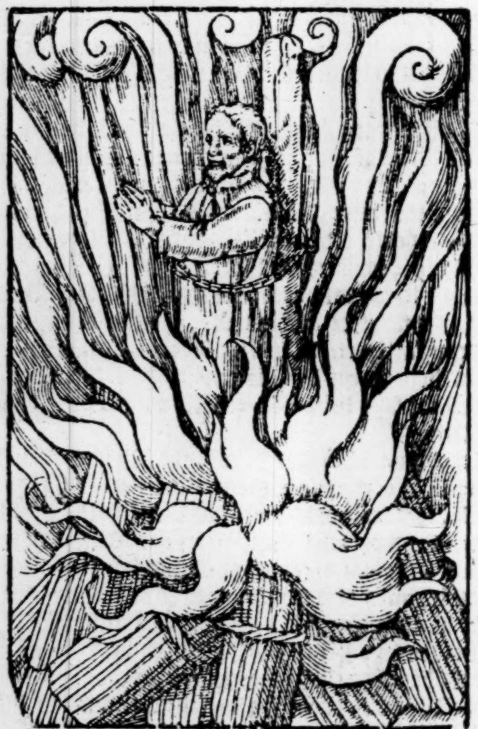
Then one Nicholas Cademan being Haſtler, a valiant champion in the Popes affaires, brought a fagot and ſet agaynſt hym: and the ſayd Iohn Noyes toke vp the fagot and kiſſed it, and ſayd: bleſſed be the time that euer I was borne to come to this.

Then he deliuered his Pſalter to the vnder ſhrieffe, deſiring hym to be good to hys wife and children, and to deliuer to her that ſame boke: and the Sheriffe promiſed hym that he would: notwithſtanding he neuer as yet performed his promiſe. Then the ſayd Iohn Noyes ſayd to the people: they ſay they can make God of a péece a bread: beleue them not.

Then ſayd he, good people beare witnes that I do beleue to be ſaued by the merites and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by my owne déedes: and ſo the fire was kindled and burned about hym: and then he ſayd: *Lord haue mercy vpon me: Chriſt haue mercy vpon me: Sonne of Dauid, haue mercy vpon me.*

The wordes of John Noyes to the people.

The burnyng of Iohn Noyes, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of *John Noyes* at Laxfield.
An.1557.
(or as ſome ſay. An.1556.)
Septēb. 22.

And ſo he yelded vp his life: and when his body was burned they made a pit to bury the coales and aſhes, and amongſt the ſame they found one of hys féete that was vnburned whole vp to ẏ ancle wyth the hoſe on, and that they buried with the reſt.

Now while he was a burning, there ſtode one Iohn Iaruis by, a mans ſeruant of the ſame towne, a plaine fellow, which ſayd: Good Lord, how the ſinnewes of hys armes ſhrinke vp. And there ſtode behinde hym one Grannow and Benet being the Sheriffes men, and they ſayd to their Maſter, that Iohn Iaruis ſayd, what vilayne wretches are theſe. And their Maſter bad lay hand on hym, and then they toke hym and pinyed him, and caryed him before the Juſtice that ſame day, and the iuſtice did examine hym of ẏ wordes aforeſayd, but he denyed them, and aunſwered, that he ſayd nothing but this: good Lord, how the ſinnewes of hys armes ſhrinke vp. But for all this the Juſtice did binde hys father & hys maſter in fiue poundes a péece, that he ſhould be forth comming at all tymes. And on the Wedneſday next he was brought agayne before theſe Juſtices, Maſter Thurſton and Maſter Kene, they ſitting at Freſingfielde in Horton hundred, and there they did appoint and commaund that the ſayd Iohn Iaruis ſhould be ſet in the ſtockes the next market day, and whipt about the market naked. But hys Maſter one William Iaruis did after craue frendſhip of the Conſtables, and they did not ſet him in ẏ ſtockes till the Sonday morning, & in the afternone they did whippe hym about the market with a dog whippe hauing thrée cordes, and ſo they let hym go.

Ioh. Iarui
wrongful-
ly troub
for word
ſpoken at
the burning of
Noyes.

The copy of a certaine letter that he ſent to cōfort his wife at ſuch tyme as he lay in priſon.

A letter of *Iohn Noyes* to hys wife.

Wife, you deſired me that I would ſend you ſome tokens that you might remember me. As I dyd read in the new Teſtament, I thought it good to write vnto you certaine places of the Scripture for a remembraunce. S. Peter ſayth: Dearely beloued, be not troubled with this heate that is now come among you to trye you, as though ſome ſtraunge thing had happened vnto you, but reioyce in ſomuch as ye are partakers of Chriſtes ſuffrings, that when hys glory appeareth ye may be mery and glad. If ye be rayled on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the ſpirite of glory, and the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. *j. Pet. iiij.*

It is better if the will of God be ſo, that ye ſuffer for well doyng then for euill doing. *j. Pet. iij.*

See that none of you ſuffer as a murtherer, or as a theefe, or an euill doer, or as a buſy body in other mens matters: but if any man ſuffer as a Chriſtian man, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorifie God in this behalfe: for the time is come that iudgement muſt begin at the houſe of God. If it firſt beginne at vs, what ſhall the end of thē be that beleue not the Goſpell of God? Wherefore let them that ſuffer according to the will of God, commit their ſoules to hym in well doing. *j. Pet. iiij.*

S. Paule ſayth: All that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt ſuffer perſecution. *ij. Tim. ii*

S. Iohn ſayth: See that ye loue not the world, neither the thinges that are in the world. *j. Iohn. ij.*

If any man loue the world, the loue of the father is not in hym. For all that is in the world, as the luſte of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the father, but is of the world, which vaniſheth away and the luſt thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for euer.

S. Paule ſayth: If ye be riſen agayne with Chriſt, ſeeke thoſe thinges which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on thinges that are aboue, and not on thinges which are on the earth. *Coloſ. iij.*

Our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: Who ſo euer ſhall offend one of theſe litle ones that beleue in me, it were better for hym that a milſtone were hāged about his necke, and that he were caſt into the ſea. *Mat. 18.*

The Prophet Dauid ſayth: Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord deliuereth them out of all. *Pſal. 34.*

Feare the Lord ye hys ſaintes, for they that feare hym, lacke nothing.

When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and deliuereth them out of all their troubles: But miſſfortune ſhall ſlay the vngodly & they that hate the righteous ſhall periſh.

Heare oh my people. I aſſure thee, O Iſraell, if thou wilt harken vnto me, there ſhall no ſtraunge God be in thee, neither ſhalt thou worſhip any other God. Oh that my people would obey me, for if Iſraell would walke in my wayes, I ſhould ſoone put downe their enemies and turne my hand againſt their aduerſaries.

Our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: The Diſciple is not aboue hys maiſter, nor yet the ſeruaunt aboue his Lord. It is enough for the Diſciple to be as his maſter is, and that the ſeruaunt *Math. x.*

uaunt be as his Lord is. If they haue called the maiſter of the houſe Belſebub, how much more ſhall they call them of hys houſhold ſo: feare not them therefore.

r. vj. S. Paule ſayth: Set your ſelues therefore at large, and beare not a ſtraungers yoke with the vnbeleuers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes? what company hath light with darckenes? eyther what part hath the beleuer with the Infidell? &c. Wherfore come out from among them, and ſeperate your ſelues now, ſayth the Lord, and touch none vncleane thyng: ſo will I receiue you: And I will be a father vnto you, and ye ſhalbe my ſonnes and daughters, ſayth the Lord almighty.

Cor.ij. For neither eye hath ſeene, nor the eare hath heard, neyther can it enter into the hart of man, what good thinges the Lord hath prepared for them that loue hym.

Pet.j. Ye are not bought neither with ſiluer nor golde, but with the precious bloud of Chriſt.

ct.iiij. There is none other name geuen to men, wherein we muſt be ſaued.

So fare ye well wife and children, and leaue worldly care, and ſee that ye be diligent to pray.

ath.vj. Take no thought (ſayth Chriſt) ſaying what ſhall we eate or what ſhall we drinke, or wherewith ſhall we be clothed: (for after all theſe thinges ſeeke the Gentils) for your heauenly father knoweth that ye haue neede of al theſe thinges: but ſeeke ye firſt the kingdome of heauen, and the righteouſnes thereof. And all theſe things ſhalbe miniſtred vnto you.

The martyrdome and ſuffering of Cicelie Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the teſtimonie and witnes of Chriſtes Goſpell.

ptēb. 23.

celie mes, rtyr.

ABout the xxiij. day of the ſayd moneth of September, next after the other aboue mencioned, ſuffered at Norwich Cicelie Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes worſtedweuer, dwelling in S. Laurence pariſh in Norwich. She being of the age of xxij. yeares or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper aboue mencioned, in a place called Lollardes pit without Biſhops gate, at the ſayd Norwich, for that ſhe ſayd ſhe would pledge them of the ſame cup that they dranke on. For ſo ſaying, one maſter Corbet of Sprowſon by Norwich, tooke her and ſent her to the Chaūcellor. Whē ſhe came before him, he aſked her, what ſhe ſayd to ẏ ſacrament of Chriſtes body. And ſhe ſayd, ſhe did beleue, that it was the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. Yea ſayd the Chauncellor? but what is that that the prieſt holdeth ouer hys head? She anſwered him and ſayd, it is bread: and if ye make it any better, it is worſe. At which wordes the Chauncellor ſent her to the biſhops priſon to the keeper called Fellow, with many threatning and hote wordes, as a man being in a great chafe.

.Corbet Sprow- ,perſe- or.

The hauncel- rs name as Dūning.

The xxiij. day of Iulye ſhe was called before the Chauncellor agayne, who ſat in iudgement with Maſter Brigges and others. The Chauncellor offered her if ſhe would go to the church and keepe her toung, ſhe ſhould be at libertie, and beleue as ſhe would. But ſhe tolde him ſhe would not conſent to his wicked deſire therin, do with her what he would: for if ſhe ſhould, ſhe ſayd God would ſurely plague her. Then ẏ Chauncellor told her, he had ſhewed more fauour to her, then euer he did to any, and that he was loth to condemne her, conſidering that ſhe was an ignorant, vnlearned, and foliſh woman. But ſhe not weying hys wordes, tolde him if he did, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinfull fleſh, as ſhe would (by Gods grace) be content to geue it in ſo good a quarell. Then roſe he and red the bloudy ſentence of condemnatiō againſt her, and ſo deliuered her to the ſecular power the Sheriffes of the City, maiſter Thomas Sutherton, and maiſter Leonard Sutherton brethren, who immediatly caryed her to the Gildhal in Norwich, where ſhe remayned vntill her death.

rigges popiſhe ſecutor.

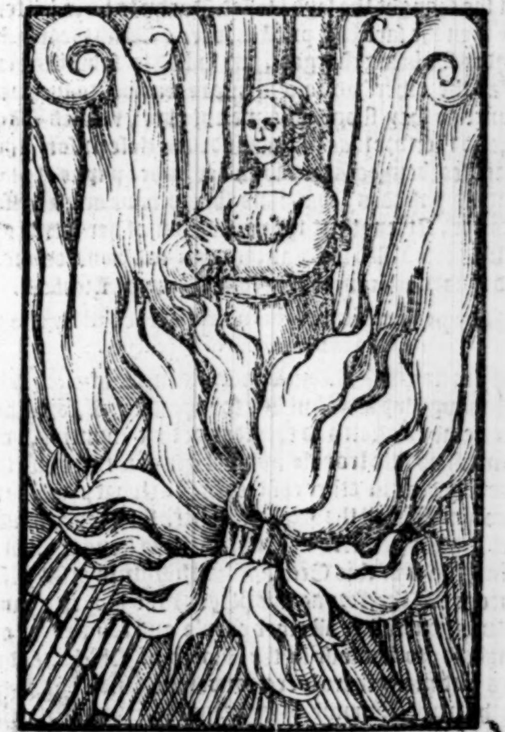
This Cicely Ormes was a very ſimple woman, but yet zelous in the Lordes cauſe, being borne in Eaſt Deram, and was there the daughter of one Thomas Hawnd, Tailor. She was taken the v. day of Iuly, and did for a tweluemoneth before ſhe was taken, recant, but neuer after was ſhe quiet in conſcience, vntill ſhe was vtterly driuen frō all their Popery. Betwene the tyme ſhe recanted, and that ſhe was taken, ſhe had gotten a letter made, to geue to the Chauncellour, to let hym know that ſhe repented her recantation from the bottome of her hart, and would neuer do ẏ like agayne while ſhe liued. But before ſhe exhibited her bill, ſhe was taken & ſent to priſon, as is before ſayd. She was burnt the 23. day of September, betwene vij. and viij. of the clocke in the morning, the ſayd two Sheriffes beyng there, and of people to the number of 200. Whē ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe kneled downe and made her prayers to God. That being done, ſhe roſe vp, and ſaid: good people, I beleue in God the father, God ẏ ſonne, and God the holy ghoſt, three perſons and one God. This do I not, nor will I recant, but I recant vtterly from the bottome of my hart, the doinges of the Pope of Rome, and all his popiſh prieſtes and ſhauelinges. I vtterly refuſe, and neuer will haue to do with them agayne by Gods grace. And good people, I would you ſhould not thinke of me, that I beleue to be ſaued in that I offer my ſelfe here vnto the death for the Lordes cauſe, but I beleue to be ſaued by the death of Chriſtes paſſion: and this my death is and ſhall be a witnes of my faith vnto you all here preſent. Good people, as many of you as beleue as I beleue, pray for me. Then ſhe came to the ſtake and laid her hand on it, and ſaid: welcome the croſſe of Chriſt. Which being done, ſhe looking on her hand, & ſeing it blacked with the ſtake, ſhe wiped it vpō her ſmocke, for ſhe was burnt at the ſame ſtake that Simon Miller & Elizab. Cooper was burned at. Thē after ſhe had touched it with her hand, ſhe came and kiſſed it, and ſayd welcome the ſweete croſſe of Chriſt, and ſo gaue her ſelfe to be bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, ſhe ſaid: *My ſoule doth magnifie the Lord, and my ſpirite reioyceth in God my Sauiour*, and in ſo ſaying, ſhe ſet her hāds together right againſt her breſt, caſting her eyes and head vpward, and ſo ſtoode, heauing vp her handes by litle and litle, till the very ſinowes of her armes braſt aſunder, and then they fell: but ſhe yelded her life vnto the Lord as quietly as ſhe had ben in a ſlumber, or as one feeling no paine: So wonderfully did the Lorde worke wyth her: hys name therefore be prayſed for euermore, Amen.

Cicelie Ormes firſt recanted.

Cicelie Ormes repenteth her recantation.

Note well this ſaying of *Cicelie Ormes*.

The burnyng of Cicelie Ormes at Norwich.



The Martyrdome of *Cicelie Ormes* at Norwich. An. 1557. Septēb. 23.

The laſt wordes of *Cicelie Ormes* at the ſtake.

The trouble and diſturbance among good men and wemen at Lichfield.

Octob. 27.

AFter ý death & Martyrdome of Miſtres Ioyce Lewes, a litle aboue ſpecified pag. 2207. diuers good men and wemen in the ſame towne of Lichfield were vexed and in trouble before the biſhop and his Chauncellor, for kiſſing the ſayd Ioyce Lewes, and drinking with her about the time of her death, the names of which perſons were theſe: Ioane Loue, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Byddell, Helene Bowring, Margaret Cooteſfote, Nicholas Byrde, Iohn Hurleſton and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glouer, Agnes Penyfather. &c. Theſe with other were produced to theyr examination before the biſhop and his Chauncellour for the cauſe aboue named, and therfore adiudged for heretickes, for that they did pray and drinke with ý ſayd Miſtres Lewes, but eſpecially Agnes Penyfather ſuſteined the moſt trouble, for ý ſhe accompanied the ſaid Ioyce Lewes going to her death.

Good men and womē troubled in Lichfield, for kiſſing miſtres Ioyce Lewes before her death.

Which Agnes being examined farther of the ſayd biſhop, what wordes ſhe had ſpoken to two prieſtes of the church of Lichfield, called Iohn Adye and Iames Foxe, concerning the ſayd Ioyce Lewes after her burning, ſayd as followeth: that ſhe being aſked by the ſaid two prieſtes being at her fathers houſe in the citie of Lichfield, at ſuch time as ſhe came frō the burning of the ſayd Ioyce Lewes, wherfore ſhe the ſayd Agnes did wéepe for ſuch an hereticke, meaning Ioyce Lewes, whoſe ſoule, ſaid they, was in hell: the ſayd Agnes Penyfather to the demaund made this aunſwere, that ſhe thought the ſayd bleſſed Martyr to be in better caſe then the ſayd two prieſtes were. With the which wordes ſhe being charged, and willed to ſubmitte her ſelf as the other had done aboue rehearſed, to ſuch penaunce as they ſhould inioyne vnto her, refuſed ſo to doo, and therfore was commaunded to cloſe priſon, the Shrieffes being charged with her vnder payne of one hundred poundes, that none ſhould haue any acceſſe vnto her. At length at the perſwaſion of her frendes, ſhe was compelled to doo as the other had doone before. And thus much concerning things done at Lichfield.

Agnes Penifather accuſed of two Prieſtes for wordes.

The perſecution and crueltie exerciſed by the Papiſtes in the Dioces of Chicheſter.

ANd now frō Lichfield to come to Chicheſter, although we haue but litle to report therof, for lacke of certeine relation and recordes of that countrey, yet it ſemeth no litle trouble and perſecution there alſo to haue raged, as in other coūtreyes. For what place was there almoſt in all the Realme, where the Popes miniſters did not beſturre thē, murtheryng ſome or other, as in ý Actes of this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory may ſufficiētly declare. Wherfore as this plage of the Popes tyranny was generall to all other people and countreyes of England, ſo likewiſe in the Dioces of Chicheſter diuers and many there were condemned and Martyred for the true teſtimonie of righteouſnes within the cōpaſſe of Quéene Maries reigne. In the number of whō were theſe.

Perſecution among the godly men at Chicheſter.

Martyrs.

Iohn Foremā, of Eſtgrymſted.
Iohn Warner, of Berne.
Chriſtian Grouer, of the Ardeaconry of Lewes.
Thomas Athoth, Prieſt.
Thomas Auyngton, of Erdinglie.
Denys Burgis, of Burſted.
Thomas Rauenſdale, of Rye.
Iohn Milles, of Hellinglegh.
Nicholas Holden, of Withiam.
Iohn Hart, of Withiā.
Margery Moris, of Hethfield.
Anne Trye, of Eſtgrenſted.
Iohn Oſeward, of Woodmancote.
Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote.
Iames Moris, of Hethfield.
Thomas Dougate, of Eſtgrenſtede.
Iohn Aſſhedon, of Retherfield.

The greateſt doers agaynſt theſe godly & true faithfull Martyrs, & ſitters vpon their condemnation, were theſe: Chriſtopherſon the B. after Day, Rich. Briſley Doctour of law and Chauncellour of Chicheſter, Rob. Taylor Bach. of law his deputy, Thomas Paccarde Ciuilian, Anthony Clerke, Albane Langdale Bach. of Diuinitie. &c.

Perſecutors.

The examination of Tho. Spurdance one of Q. Maries ſeruauntes, before the Chauncellor of Norwich.

The examination of Thomas Spurdāce.

THe Byſhops Chauncellor did aſke me, if I had béene with the prieſt, and confeſſed my ſinnes vnto him. And I ſayd: no, I had confeſſed my ſinnes to god, and God ſaith: In what houre ſo euer a ſinner doth repent and be ſory for his ſinnes, and aſke him forgeuenes, willing no more ſo to doo, he will no more recken his ſinne vnto him, and that is ſufficient for me.

Then ſayd the Chauncellour: thou denyeſt the ſacrament of penance.

I ſayd: I deny not penāce, but I deny that I ſhould ſhew my ſinnes vnto the prieſt.

Then ſayd the Chauncellor: that is a denying of the ſacrament of penance. Write this article.

Haue you receaued the bleſſed ſacrament of the alter (ſayd he) at this tyme of Eaſter?

And I ſayd, no.

And why haue ye not, ſaith he?

I ſaid: I dare not medle with you in it, as you vſe it.

Why? do not we vſe it truly, ſaid he?

I ſayd: no, for the holy ſupper of the Lorde ſerueth for the Chriſten congregation, and you are none of Chriſtes members, and therfore I dare not medle with you, leſt I be like vnto you.

Why are we none of Chriſtes members, ſayd the Chauncellor?

I ſayd: becauſe you teach lawes contrary to Gods lawe.

What lawes are thoſe, ſayd he?

I ſayd: theſe iij. articles that you ſweare the people vnto here, be falſe and vntrue, & you doo euill to ſweare the people vnto them.

Then ſayd he: good people, take no héede vnto hys wordes: for he is an hereticke and teacheth you diſobediēce: and ſo he would no more ſpeake of that matter.

Then ſayd he: how beleueſt thou in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? doeſt thou not beleue that after it is cōſecrated, it is the very ſame body that was borne of the virgin Mary?

Spurdāce examined vpō the ſacrament of the altar.

I ſayd: no, not the ſame body in ſubſtance: for the ſame body hath a ſubſtance in fleſh, bloud, and bones, and was a bloudy ſacrifice, and this is a dry ſacrifice.

And I ſayd: is the maſſe a ſacrifice?

Unto which a Doctor anſwered that ſat by him: it is a ſacrifice both for the quicke and the dead.

Then ſayd I: no, it is no ſacrifice: for S. Paul ſayth that Chriſt made one ſacrifice once for all: and I do beleue in none other ſacrifice, but only in that one ſacrifice that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt made once for all.

Then ſaid the Doctor: that ſacrifice ý Chriſt made, was a wet ſacrifice, and the maſſe is a drie ſacrifice.

Then ſayd I: that ſame drie ſacrifice is a ſacrifice of your owne making, and it is your ſacrifice: it is none of mine. Then ſayd the Chauncellor: he is an hereticke: he denieth the ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſayd I: will ye know how I beleue in the holy ſupper of our Lord?

And he ſaid, yea.

Then ſayd I: I beleue that if I come rightly & worthely as God hath commaūded me, to the holy ſupper of the Lord, I receaue him by faith, by beleuing in him. But the bread being receaued, is not God, nor the bread that is yonder in the pixe, is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with handes, neither will be worſhipped with the workes of mens handes. And therfore you do very euill to cauſe the people to knele downe, and worſhip the bread: for God did neuer bid you holde it vp aboue your heades, neither had the Apoſtles ſuch vſe.

Then ſayd the Chauncellor: he denieth the preſence in the ſacrament. Write thys article alſo. He is a very hereticke.

Then ſayd I: the ſeruaunt is not greater then his maſter. For your predeceſſors killed my maſter Chriſt, the Prophets, and Apoſtles, and holy vertuous men, and now you alſo kill the ſeruauntes of Chriſt, ſo that all the righteous bloud that hath bene ſhed, euen from righteous Abel vntill thys day, ſhall be required at your handes.

Well, ſayd the Chauncellor: haue him away.

¶ An other examination of Spurdance before the Byſhop in his houſe.

An other examination of Thomas Spurdãce before the Byſhop.

The Biſhop ſayd: ſirrha, doſt thou not beleue in the catholicke fayth of holy church?

And I ſayd: I beleue Chriſtes catholicke church.

Yea ſayd he: in Chriſtes church, of the which the Pope is ẏ head. Doſt thou not beleue that the Pope is supreame head of the catholicke church?

And I ſayd, no. I beleue not that he ſhould be aboue the Apoſtles if he take them to be his predeceſſors. For when there came a thought among the Apoſtles, who ſhould be ẏ greateſt whẽ their maſter was gone, Chriſt anſwered them vnto their thoughtes: *The kinges of the earth beare dominion aboue other, but ye ſhall not ſo do, for he that will be greateſt among you, ſhall become ſeruaunt vnto you all.* How is it then (ſayd I) that he will clime ſo high aboue his fellowes? And alſo we were ſworne by my maſter K. Henryes tyme, that we ſhould to the vttermoſt of our power, neuer conſent to him againe. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, ſo neither in hys owne countrey more then a Biſhop hath in hys dioces.

Luk. xxij.

Yea ſayd the Byſhop: what of that? We were then in error and ſinne, now we are in ẏ right way againe, and therefore thou muſt come home agayne with vs, and knowledge thy fault and become a Chriſtian man, and be ſworne vnto the Pope as our ſupreme head. Wilt thou be ſworne vnto the Pope? How ſaiſt thou?

The Popes ſupremacie.

Then I ſayd: no I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I liue. For you can not proue by the ſcripture, that the Pope is head of the church, and may do therein what hym liſt.

No, ſayd he: yes I trow: For as the Belweather, which weareth the Bell, is head of the flocke of ſheepe, euen ſo is the Pope the head of the church of Chriſt. And as the Bees in the hieue haue a maſter Bee when they are gone out, to bring them home agayne to the hieue: euen ſo the Pope, when we be gone aſtray, and wandred from the folde, from the hieue. &c. then is ordeined our head by ſucceſſion of Peter, to bring vs home agayne to the true church: as thou now my good fellow, haſt wandred long out of the way, lyke a ſcattered ſheepe. &c. Heare therfore ẏ Belweather, the maſter bell. &c. and come home with vs to thy mother the true Church agayne.

Unto whom I aunſwered: My Lord, all this is but naturall reaſon, and no Scripture: but ſince ye can not proue the Pope to be authoriſed by Scripture, ye aunſwere not me, as I thought ye would.

Ha, ſaid he: I ſee well ye be ſtout and will not be aunſwered: therefore ye ſhall be compelled by law whether ye will or no.

My Lord ſayd I: ſo did your forefathers intreate Chriſt and his Apoſtles. They had a law, and by theyr law they put hym to death: and ſo likewiſe, you haue a law, which is tyranny, and by that would ye inforce me to beleue as you do. But ẏ Lord, I truſt, will aſſiſt me againſt all your beggerly ceremonies, and make your fooliſhnes knowen to all the world one day.

Pha- law.

Then ſayd he: when were ye at church and went in proceſſion, and did the ceremonies of the church?

And I ſayd: neuer ſince I was borne.

No, ſayd he: how old are you?

And I ſayd: I thinke about xl.

Why ſayd he, how did you vſe your ſelfe at church xx. yeares ago?

I ſayd: as you do now.

And euen now, ſayd he, you ſayd you did not the Ceremonies ſince you were borne.

No more I did, ſaid I, ſince I was borne a new: as Chriſt ſayd vnto Nicodemus, *except ye be borne a new, ye can not enter into the kingdome of heauen.*

Then ſayd a Doctor that ſat by: he is a very Anabaptiſt: for that is their opinion playne.

No ſyr, you ſay falſly, ſayd I, for I am no Anabaptiſt: for they deny children to be Baptiſed, and ſo do not I.

Well, ſayd the Byſhop: why doeſt thou not goe to the church, and do the Ceremonies?

And I ſayd: becauſe they be cõtrary to Gods worde and lawes, as you your ſelfe haue taught: but now you ſay it is good agayne: and I thinke if there were a returne to morrow, you would ſay that is falſe agayne which you hold now. Therefore I may well ſay there is no truth in you.

Then ſayd the Biſhop: thou art a ſtubborne fellow, and an hereticke, and a Traitor.

No ſayd I: I am no Traitor, for I haue done, I thinke, better ſeruice to the crowne imperiall of England then you.

If you had done ſo good ſeruice (ſayd he) you would be obedient to the lawes of the realme.

So I am, ſayd I. There is no man aliue (I thanke God) to accuſe me iuſtly that euer I was diſobedient to any ciuill lawes. But you muſt conſider my Lord, that I haue a ſoule and a body: and my ſoule is none of the Queenes, but my body & my goods are ẏ Queenes. And I muſt geue God my ſoule, and all that belongeth vnto it: that is, I muſt do the law and commaundementes of God, and who ſo euer commaundeth lawes contrary to Gods lawes, I may not do them, for loſing of my ſoule, but rather obey God then man.

Obedience to princes, how farre.

And he ſayd: why doeſt thou not theſe lawes then? are they not agreeble to Gods law?

And I ſayd: no, you can not proue them to be Gods lawes.

Yes ſayth he: that I can.

Then ſayd I: if you can proue me by the word of God, that you ſhould haue any grauen Images made to ſet in your churches for lay mens bookes, or to worſhip God by them, or that ye ſhould haue any ceremonies in your church as you haue, proue them by the word of God, and I will do them.

Images.

Then ſayd he: it is a good and decent order to furniſh the church: as when you ſhall goe to dinner, you haue a cloth vpon the table to furniſh the table before the meate ſhall come vpon it: ſo are theſe ceremonies a comely decent order to be in the church among Chriſten people.

Theſe ſayd I, are inuentions and imaginations out of your owne brayne, without any word of God to proue them. For God ſayth: looke what you thinke good in your owne eyes, if I commaund the contrary, it is abominable in my ſight. And theſe Ceremonies are againſt Gods lawes: for Saint Paul ſaith they be weake and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galathians for doing of them.

Well, ſayd he: if you wyll not do them, ſeing they be the lawes of the realme, you are an hereticke and diſobedient: and therefore come home agayne and confeſſe your fault with vs, that you haue bene in errour &c. Will you do ſo?

And I ſayd no, I haue bene in no errour: for the ſpirituall lawes were neuer truelyer ſet forth then in my maiſter K. Edwardes tyme, and I truſt vnto God I ſhall neuer forſake them whiles I liue.

Thē came a Gentleman to me and ſayd: are ye wiſer then all men? and haue ye more knowledge then all men? wil you caſt away your ſoule willingly? my Lord and other men alſo would fayne you would ſaue your ſelfe: therefore chooſe ſome man where you will, eyther ſpirituall or temporall, and take a day: my Lord will geue it you.

Then ſaid I: if I ſaue my life I ſhall loſe it, and if I looſe my life for Chriſtes ſake, I ſhall finde it in life euerlaſting. And if I take a day, when the day commeth, I muſt ſay then euē as I do now, except I will lye, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then haue hym away, ſayd the Byſhop.

Thomas Spurdance by whom he was apprehended.

This aboue named Thomas Spurdance, was one of Queene Maryes ſeruauntes, and was taken by two of hys fellowes, the ſayd Queenes ſeruauntes, named Iohn Haman otherwiſe called Barker, and George Looſon, both dwelling in Codnam in the countie of Suffolke, who caried hym to one maiſter Goſnall, dwelling in the ſayd Codnam, and by hym he was ſent to Bury, where he remayned in priſon.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of three conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt.

Noueb. 18.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of *Iohn Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibſon.*

Not long after the Martyrdome of the two good wemen at Colcheſter, aboue named, were three faithfull witneſſes of ẏ Lordes Teſtament tormented, and put to death in Smithfield at London, the xviij. day of Nouember, in the yeare aforeſayd, whoſe names hereafter folow.

Iohn Hallyngdale.
William Sparow.
Richard Gybſon.

Which three were produced before Boner Byſhop of London, the v. day of Nouember. 1557. and had by hym and his Officers certaine Articles miniſtred, the ſumme wherof hereafter followeth.

Articles miniſtred by Boner vnto Iohn Hallingdale.

Articles agaynſt *Iohn Hallingdale.*

1. Firſt, that the ſayd Iohn Hallingdale is of the Dioces of London, & ſo ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of the Byſhop of London.

2. Secondly, that the ſayd Iohn, before the tyme of the reigne of kyng Edward the vj. late kyng of Englād, was of the ſame fayth and Religion that was then obſerued, beleued, taught, and ſet forth here in this Realme of England.

3. Thirdly, that duryng the reigne of the ſayd kyng Edward the vj. the ſayd Iohn Hallingdale, vppon occaſion of the preachyng of certeine miniſters in that tyme, did not abyde in his former faith and Religion, but did departe from it, & ſo did & doth continue till this preſent day, and ſo determineth to do (as he ſayth) till his liues end.

4. Fourthly, that the ſayd Iohn Hallingdale, hath thought, beleued, and ſpoken diuerſe tymes, that the fayth, Religion and Eccleſiaſticall ſeruice, receiued, obſerued & vſed now in this Realme of Englād, is not good and laudable, but againſt Gods commaundement and word, eſpecially concernyng the Maſſe, & the ſeuen Sacramentes: and that he the ſayd Iohn, will not in any wiſe conforme him ſelf to the ſame, but ſpeake and thinke agaynſt it duryng his naturall lyfe.

5. Fiftly, that the ſayd Iohn abſenteth him ſelfe cōtinually from his owne Pariſh Church of S. Leonardes, neither hearyng Mattins, Maſſe, nor Euenſong, nor yet confeſſing his ſinnes to the Prieſt, or receiuyng the Sacrament of the altar at his handes; or in vſing other ceremonies as they are now vſed in this Church & realme of England: and as he remembreth, he neuer came but once in the ſayd Pariſh Church of S. Leonard, & careth not (as he ſayth) if he neuer come there any more, the ſeruice being as it is there, and ſo many abuſes being there, as he ſayth there are, eſpecially the Maſſe, the Sacraments, and the ceremonies and ſeruice ſet forth in Latin.

6. Sixtly, that the ſayd Iohn, when his wife, called Alyce, was brought in bed of a man childe, cauſed the ſayd child to be chriſtened in Engliſh, after the ſame maner and forme in all pointes as it was vſed in the tyme of the reigne of Kyng Edward the vj. aforeſayd, and cauſed it to be called Ioſue, & would not haue the ſaid child chriſtened in Latin after ẏ forme and maner as it is now vſed in the Church and Realme of England, nor will haue it by his will (as he ſayth) to be confirmed by the Byſhop.

Hys aunſweres to the articles.

Vnto all the which Articles the ſayd Iohn Hallingdale made aunſwere, confeſſing them all, and euery part of them to be true, and ſaying that he would not reuoke his ſayd aunſweres, but ſtand vnto them accordyng as it was in euery Article aboue written.

The reall preſence denyed.

Furthermore, the ſayd Iohn Hallingdale, being demaūded by ẏ ſaid Boner, whether he did firmely beleue that in the Sacrament cōmonly called ẏ ſacramēt of ẏ altar, there is really & truly ẏ very body & bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt, or no: made anſwere that he neither in ẏ tyme of the ſayd K. Edward vj. nor at that preſent did beleue, that in ẏ ſayd Sacrament there is really the very body and bloud of Chriſt. For he ſayd, that if hee had ſo beleued, he would (as other had done) haue receiued the ſame, which he did not becauſe he had & then dyd beleue that the very body of Chriſt is onely in heauen, and no where els. And furthermore the ſayd Iohn Hallingdale ſayd that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late haue bene burned for heretickes, were no heretickes at all, becauſe they did preach truly the Goſpell: vppon whoſe preachyng, hee grounded his faith and conſcience, as hee ſayd, accordyng to the ſaying of S. Iohn in the xviij. Chap. of his Reuelation, where he ſaith, that the bloud of the Prophetes and of the Saintes, & of all that were ſlayne vppon earth, was found in the Babilonicall Church, by the which, he ſaid, is vnderſtād the Church where the Pope is the head.

Iohn Hallingdale agayne brought before the Byſhop.

After which examination, the ſayd Iohn was ſent vnto priſon agayne. And the next day, being the vj. day of the ſayd moneth, he was called before the Biſhop agayne, who perſwading him with ſome wreſted ſentences of the Scripture, the ſayd Ioh. Hallingdale anſwered: Becauſe I will not (ſaith he) come to your Babilonicall Church, therfore (ſpeaking vnto Boner) you go about to condemne me. And being of Boner further demaunded, whether he would perſeuer & ſtand in his opinions or no, he made anſwere that he would continue and perſiſt in them vnto ẏ death. Then Boner red the bloudy ſentence of condēnation. At which time the ſayd Iohn affirmed openly that (thanking God) he neuer came into the church ſince the abomination came into it: and ſo he was ſent to priſon agayne.

Sentence red agaynſt *Iohn Hallingdale* by Byſhop *Boner.*

Vppon the ſame vj. day alſo, in the forenoone, was produced before the Biſhop, the forenamed William Sparrow, and had layed vnto him certayne articles, which hereafter followeth.

Articles miniſtred by Boner vnto William Sparrow.

Articles agaynſt *William Sparrow.*

1. Firſt, that thou William Sparrow waſt in times paſt detected and preſented lawfully vnto thy Ordinarye the Biſhop of London, called Edmund, who alſo is now thine Ordinary of the ſayd dioces: and thou waſt preſented and detected vnto him for hereſy, errors, and vnlawfull opinions, which thou dideſt beleue, ſet forth, and holde.

2. Secondly, that thou before thy ſayd Ordinary, didſt openly and iudicially confeſſe the ſayd hereſies, errours, and vnlawfull opinions, as appeareth plainely in the actes of the court, had & made before thy ſayd Ordinary.

3. Thirdly, that thou after the premiſſes, didſt make thy ſubmiſſion in writing, & diddeſt exhibite & deliuer ẏ ſame as thy deede, to thy ſayd Ordinary: openly cōfeſſing and recogniſing thy hereſies, errors, vnlawfull opinions, and thine offenſes and tranſgreſſions in that behalfe.

4. Fourthly, that thou after ẏ premiſſes, diddeſt promiſe vnto thy ſayd Ordinary voluntarily and of thine owne minde, that alwayes after the ſayd ſubmiſſion, thou wouldeſt in all poyntes conforme thy ſelfe vnto the common order of the Catholicke church obſerued and kept here in this Realme of England, and in no wiſe fall agayne to hereſies, errours, or vnlawfull opinions.

5. Fiftly, that thou ſince thy ſayd ſubmiſſion, haſt willingly fallen into certayne hereſyes and errours, and haſt holden and ſet foorth diuers vnlawfull opinions, to the right great hurt of thine owne ſoule, and alſo to the great hinderaunce and loſſe of diuers others, eſpecially agaynſt the ſacrament of the altar, agaynſt confeſſion auricular, with other the ſacramentes of the Catholicke church.

6. Sixtly, that thou ſince the ſayd ſubmiſſion, haſt willingly gone about diuers places within the dioces of London, and ſowen diuers hereticall, erroneous, and blaſphemous ballets, and waſt apprehended and taken with the ſayd ballets about thee, & committed to priſon.

Vnto all which articles the ſayd William Sparrow aunſwered in effect as hereafter followeth.

3.4. TO the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth articles he anſwered affirmatiuely, as thus: that he was preſented and detected to Boner, vnto whom he made his ſubmiſſion. &c. as in the articles.

aunſwe res to arti

5. To the fifth article, he aunſwered, that if he had ſpoken agaynſt them, he had ſpoken but the truth: for they be naught, meaning the contentes of the ſayd article.

6. To the ſixt, he graunted to the article, adding that he did ſell the ſayd ballets then ſhewed and red before hym, and that the ſame did conteine Gods word.

After which aunſwers the ſayd William Sparrow was ſent vnto priſon. And the ſame day in the afternoone, being produced before the Biſhop agayne, and there charged with hys ſayd ſubmiſſion, made the yeare before vnto the Biſhop, he aunſwered thus: I am ſory (ſayd he) that euer I made it, and it was the worſt deede that euer I did, adding further vnto them: Holde vp your abomination ſo long as ye can. Alſo being layd vnto him, and charged by the Biſhop that he went to church, and there was confeſſed and heard Maſſe, the ſayd William Sparrow made aunſwere and confeſſed, that he did ſo, but with a troubled conſcience he ſaid, God knoweth. And ſpeaking further to the Biſhop, he ſayd: that which you call truth, I do beleue (ſayd he) to be hereſy. And alſo the Biſhop charging hym agayne with the contẽtes of the fifth article aboue named, he aunſwered that he had ſo done, as is conteined in the ſame article, and ſo will do againe if he were at liberty. And being further demaunded of Boner, whether he would perſiſt and continue in the ſame, or no: he made aunſwere that he would not goe from his opinions: & adding therunto, he ſayd: that which you call hereſy (ſpeaking to the Biſhop) is good and godly, and if euery heare of my head were a man (ſayd he) I would burne them all, rather then to goe frõ the truth.

Then being demaũded what ground of learning he had to cleaue to his opinions, he made aunſwere and ſayd, that all the lawes now vſed (meaning the eccleſiaſticall lawes) are nought and abominable. And further, thereunto he ſayd: that the Maſſe is nought and abominable &c. Which wordes being ſpoken, the Byſhop immediatly red the ſentence of condemnation vpon hym, and ſo deliuered him to the ſecular power, by whom he was ſent to priſon agayne.

ntence agaynſt illiam arrow.

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

ichard ibſon, artyr.

WIth the other two aboue named, ſuffred alſo in the ſame fire, Richard Gibſon, who firſt was caſt into the counter in the Pultry (where he had bene priſoner by the ſpace of two yeares for ſuretiſhip in a matter of debt, and then ſtoode vpon his deliueraunce) then vpon ſuſpition and euill will was accuſed to Boner, for that in the priſon he was neuer confeſſed nor receaued at the Popiſh aultar: by reaſon whereof he was called for, and ſuſteined diuers & ſundry conflictes and examinations in the cauſe of his faith and religiõ. But firſt he ſeemed to make a certayne ſubmiſſion which alſo he exhibited with the other 28. mentioned aboue Pag. 2159. but becauſe it ſemed ſomthing to differ in wordes from the other, it appeareth not to be receaued: or whether it was receaued or no, it is not fully certayne. This is certayne, that although his ſubmiſſion was in the Byſhops Regiſter recorded, yet he was not deliuered out from impriſonment till the day of his burning. The articles firſt obiected and miniſtred vnto hym by the Biſhop, were theſe.

¶Articles obiected and miniſtred to Richard Gibſon by Boner Byſhop of London.

1. FIrſt, that the ſaid Richard Gibſon priſoner in ye Counter in the Pultry in the Dioces of London, hath otherwiſe then became a faithfull Chriſtian man and a good ſubiect of this Realme of England, behaued him ſelfe in wordes and deedes, in diuers conditions and pointes, contrary to the order, Religion, and fayth of Chriſtes Catholicke Church, and contrary to the order of this Realme, to the pernitious and euil example of the inhabitauntes of the Citie of London, and the priſoners of the priſon of the ſayd Counter in the Pultry, and greatly to the hurt and dammage of his owne ſoule, offendyng eſpecially in the Articles followyng. By reaſon wherof the ſaid Richard Gibſon was, and is of the iuriſdiction of the ſayd Byſhop of London, and ſubiect to the ſayd iuriſdiction, to make aunſwere to his offences and tranſgreſſion vnder written, accordyng to the order of the law.

Articles agaynſt Richard Gibſon.

2. Secondly, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon hath vnreuerently ſpoken againſt the Pope, and Sea and Church of Rome, and likewiſe agaynſt the whole Church of this Realme of England, and agaynſt the vij. Sacramentes of the Catholicke and whole Church of Chriſtendome, and agaynſt ye Articles of the Chriſtian fayth here obſerued in this Realme of England, and agaynſt the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the Catholicke Church.

3. Thirdly, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and alſo all other heretickes here in this Realme of England, accordyng to the Eccleſiaſticall lawes condemned for heretickes, and alſo liked all their hereticall and erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, eſpecially agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar, and the authoritie of the Pope and Sea of Rome, with the whole Religion therof.

4. Fourthly, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon hath comforted, ayded, aſſiſted & mainteyned both by wordes and otherwiſe, heretickes and erroneous perſons, or at the leaſt ſuſpected and infamed of hereſies and errours condẽned by the Catholicke Church, to continue in their hereticall and erroneous opinions aforeſayd, fauouring and counſellyng the ſame vnto his power.

5. Fifthly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed and ſayd that the Religion and fayth commonly obſerued, kept, and vſed now here in this Realme of England, is not good nor laudable nor in any wiſe agreable vnto Gods word and commaundement.

Q. Maries religion diſproued.

6. Sixtly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed that the Engliſh ſeruice, and the bookes commonly called the bookes of Communion, or Common prayer, here ſet forth in this realme of England in the time of K. Edward the ſixt, were in all partes and poyntes good and godly, and that the ſame onely and no other ought to be obſerued and kept in this realme of England.

The booke of Engliſhe ſeruice.

7. Seuenthly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of priſon and at liberty, he will not come to any pariſh church, or eccleſiaſticall place to heare Mattins, Maſſe, Euenſong, or any diuine ſeruice now vſed in this realme of England, nor come to proceſſion vpon times and dayes accuſtomed, nor beare at any time any Taper, or Cãdle, nor receiue at any time Aſhes, nor beare at any time Palme, nor receiue Pax at Maſſe time, nor receaue holy water, nor holy bread, nor obſerue the Ceremonies or vſages of the Catholicke church, here obſerued or kept commonly in this realme of England.

Mattens, Maſſe, Euenſong, refuſed.

8. Eightly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affyrmed that he is not bound at any time, though he haue libertye, and the pre-

preſence of a Prieſt conuenient and meete, to confeſſe hys ſinnes to the ſayd Prieſt, nor to receaue abſolution of his ſinnes, at his handes, nor to receaue of him the ſacramẽt commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, after ſuch forme as is now vſed within this realme of England.

Auricular confeſſion.

9. Popiſhe faſt and prayer.

Ninthly, that the ſaid Gibſon hath affirmed, that prayer vnto ſainctes, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, auailable, or profitable: and that no man is bound at any time, or in any place, to faſt or pray, but onely at his owne will and pleaſure, and that it is not lawfull to reſerue or keepe the ſayd ſacrament of the altar, nor in any wiſe to adore and worſhip it.

The greateſt matter which he was charged withal, was for not comming to confeſſion, being thereunto required, for not receauing the ſacramentes of the popiſh making, and for that he would not ſweare to aunſwere vnto theyr interrogatories layd agaynſt him.

Notwithſtanding after theſe his firſt examinations, he continued in the aforeſayd priſon of the Counter a good ſpace, frõ the moneth of May, vnto Nouember: at what time he was agayne produced vnto the finall examination iudiciarye. Where is to be noted, that M. Gibſon being a very bigge and talle man, of a perſonable and heroycall ſtature, was ſent for of Boner by a litle and ſhort perſon, a promoter, like Robin Papiſt, called Robin Caley, if it were not he him ſelfe.

Rich. Gibſon a talle & bigge man of ſtature.

Intolerable bragging of a vile promotor.

This Robin Caley hauing the conducting of the ſayd Gentleman from the Pultry, would needes hale him through Chepeſide, the Gentleman deſiring him to turne ſome other way. But the more the Gentlemã entreated, the more fierce was this ſely Iacke vppon him: and drawing and holding him by the arme, would needes hale him through the high ſtreete, that all the world might ſee what he could do in his office. M. Gibſon deſirous to be led without holding, willed and entreated him to let his arme looſe: he would go quietly of his accord with him whether he would, onely crauing that he might goe by hym freely without noting of the people.

The ſaucie and impotent miſer the Promoter hearing thys, who was ſcarſe able to reach vnto his ſhoulders: nay (ſayth he) thou ſhalt not eſcape me ſo, come on thy wayes. Thou ſhalt not chooſe but come: and ſo reaching at his arme, would needes dragge him vnto the Biſhop. The Gentleman content to goe, yet loth to be notified in yͤ ſtreetes, gently requeſted agayne and agayne, that refraining his holde, he would ſuffer him to goe of hys owne free and voluntary will: he ſhould not neede to feare him, for he would not ſtart from him. To whom the caytiffe, looking vp to his face: Come on thy way, ſaith he, I wil hold thee faſt, ſpite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Maſter Gibſon ſeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched myſer, and moued therewith not a litle, could beare no longer, but ſayd: Wilt thou, ſayd he? and addeth moreouer, bitterly looking downe towardes him, that if he did not incontinently plucke away his hand (and ſo ſtayed withall) he would immediatly wring his necke from his body. Wherupon Robin Papiſt the Promoter, was fayne to plucke away his holde, and ſo proceaded they vnto the Biſhop, there to be examined agayne before him.

An other appearing of Rich. Gibſon.

After thys, an other day beyng aſſigned hym to appeare agayne, much talke paſt betwen hym and Darbyſhire, then Chauncellour. But in fine, being required to ſweare that he ſhould aunſwere vnto all they would demaund, he denyed to anſwere vnto all things the Byſhops ſhoulde commaund hym as Ordinary: for he is not, ſayth hee, myne Ordinary, and ſo byd hym goe tell the Byſhop. Before the which Byſhop he beyng then commaunded to appeare the Friday next followyng, was brought vnto the Iuſtice Hal wythout Newgate, where he had the lyke conflictes wyth the foreſayd Byſhop and dyuers other Iuſtices. At length he was aſſigned the Saterday followyng, to be preſent in the Byſhoppes conſiſtory Court, to heare hys finall ſentence. At which day and place, the ſayd Examinate appearing as he was commaunded, the Byſhop after other matter of communication, aſked hym if he knew any cauſe why the ſentence ſhould not be red agaynſt hym. To whom the ſayd maiſter Gibſon aunſwered, that the Byſhop had nothyng wherefore iuſtly to condemne hym. The Byſhops reaſõ was agayne obiected to hym, that men ſayd he was an euill man. To whom Gibſon replying agayne: yea, ſayth he, and ſo may I ſay of you alſo. To be ſhort, after thys and ſuch other talke, the Byſhop haſted vnto the ſentence. Which beyng red, Gibſon yet agayne admoniſhed to remember hymſelfe and to ſaue hys ſoule, ſayd, that he would not heare the Byſhoppes bablyng, and ſayd moreouer, boldly proteſting and affirming that he was contrary and an enemy to them all in hys mynde and opinion, although he had afore tyme kept it ſecret in mynde for feare of the law. And ſpeaking to the Byſhop: bleſſed, ſayd he, am I that am curſed at your hands. We haue nothing now but, thus will I. For as the Biſhop ſaith, ſo muſt it be. And now hereſy is to turne the truth of Gods word into lyes, and that do you, meaning the Byſhop and hys fellowes.

Sentence red agai Richard Gibſon.

Thus this valiaunt ſouldiour fightyng for the Goſpell and ſincere doctrine of Gods truth and Religion, againſt falſehoode and errour, was committed with his fellowes to the ſecular power.

The Martyrdome of Ioh. Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibſon, An. 155 Nouẽb. 18.

And ſo theſe three godly men, Iohn Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and M. Gibſon, being thus appointed to the ſlaughter, were the xij. day after theyr condẽnation (which was the xviij. day of the ſayd moneth of Nouember) burnt in Smithfield in Londõ. And beyng brought thether to the ſtake, after their prayer made, they were bound therunto with chaines, and wood ſet vnto them, and after wood, fire, in the which being compaſſed about, & the fiery flames conſumyng their fleſh, at the laſt they yelded gloriouſly & ioyfully their ſoules and liues into the holy handes of the Lord, to whoſe tuition and gouernement, I commend thee good reader, Amen.

¶ It is a litle aboue declared in this ſtory of Richard Gibſon, how Boner miniſtred vnto the ſayd Gibſon certaine Articles, to the number of ix. Now let vs ſee likewiſe the Articles which the ſayd Gibſon miniſtred agayne to Boner, according to the ſame number of. ix. for him to aunſwere vnto, as by the ſame here vnder written may appeare.

¶ Articles proponed by Richard Gibſon vnto Edmund Boner, Byſhop of London, by hym to be aunſwered, by yea, or nay, or els to ſay he can not tell.

Gibſons queſtions or demaundes put to B. Boner.

1. WHether the holy Scriptures of God, written by Moſes and other holy Prophetes of God, through faith that is in Chriſt Ieſus, is auailable doctrine to make all men in all thinges vnto ſaluation learned without the helpe of any other doctrine, or no.

2. What is authoritie and from whence it commeth, to whom it apperteineth, and to what end it tendeth.

3. Whether the holy word of God, as it is written, doth ſufficiently teach all men, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer he or they be, their full, true, & lawful duety in their office: and whether euery man of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer he, or they be, are bound vpon the payne of eternall damnation, in all thinges to do as they are hereby taught and commaunded, and in no wiſe to leaue vndone any thyng that is to be done, beyng taught and commaunded by the ſame.

4. Whether any man, the Lord Ieſu Chriſt God and mã onely except, by the holy ordinaunce of God euer was, is, or ſhalbe Lord ouer faith, and by what lawful authoritie any man, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer he or they be, may vſe Lordſhip or power ouer any man for fayth ſake or for the ſecrecie of his conſcience.

5. By what lawfull authoritie or power any mã, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng ſoeuer he or they be, may be ſo bold as to alter or chaunge the holy ordinaũces of God, or any of them, or any part of them.

6. By what euident tokens Antichriſt in his miniſters

may be knowne, ſeyng it is written that Sathan can chaũge him ſelf into the ſimilitude of an Aungel of light, and his miniſters faſhion them ſelues as though they were the miniſters of righteouſnes, and how it may be knowen to hym that is deſirous therof, when he is one of that number or in the daunger therof, or when he is otherwiſe.

7. What the Beaſt is, the which maketh warre with the Saintes of God, and doth not onely kill them, but alſo will ſuffer none to bye nor ſell, but ſuch as worſhyp hys image, or receiue his marke in their right handes, or in their foreheades, his name or the number of his name, or do worſhip his image: which by the iuſt and terrible ſentence of God already decreed, ſhalbe puniſhed in fire and brimſtone before the holy Angels and before the lambe: and they ſhall haue no reſt day nor night, but the ſmoke of their torment ſhall aſcend vp for euermore: Alſo what the gorgeous and glittryng whore is, the which ſitteth vpon the Beaſt with a cup of gold in her hand, ful of abominations, with whom the kynges of the earth haue cõmitted fornication, and the inhabitours of the earth and ſhe her ſelfe alſo is dronken with the bloud of Saintes, which is the wine of her fornication, whoſe fleſh the hornes of the beaſt ſhall teare in peeces, and burne her with fire. For God hath put in their harts to do his will.

8. Whether a kyng ouer all thoſe people which are borne and inhabite within his owne dominions, regions, and countreys, or any part of them, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer they be, here vpon this earth immediately vnder Chriſt, by the holy ordinaunce of God, is lawful, ſupreme and chief gouernour or no: And whether a kyng ouer all thoſe people within his dominions, regions, and countreys, and euery part of them, by the holy ordinance of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwiſe to do, nor ſuffer otherwiſe to be done, then in his owne name, power, and authoritie (the name of God onely except) as lawfull, ſupreme, and chief head in all thinges that belongeth to rule (without exception) to gouerne and rule: And whether all thoſe people of what dignitie, eſtate or callyng ſoeuer they be, are bound by the holy ordinaunce of God, to owe their whole obedience and ſeruice in all thinges without exception (their duety to God onely excepted) to their kyng onely, as to their ſupreme and chiefe gouernour vppon earth immediately vnder Chriſt: And whether a kyng without offence againſt God and his people, may geue away, and not him ſelfe vſe that his authoritie and power geuẽ him of God, or lawfully may without offence to God and his people (after knowledge therof had) ſuffer him ſelfe by fraud or guile, or by any other vnlawfull meane, to be begiled, defrauded, and ſpoyled therof: and whether any ſubiect, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng ſo euer he or they be, without offence to God and to his kyng, to the miniſhyng or derogatyng of the ſupreme prerogatiue royall of his kyng, or of any part therof, may do ought, or after knowledge thereof had without offence to God and to his kyng, may conceale the ſame.

9. Whether the holy written law of God be geuen of God vnto all men, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by office ſoeuer they be, aſwell thereby to gouerne all theyr Dominions, Regions, and countreys, and theyr people therein inhabiting, as themſelues: and whether any law or lawes (the holy law of God onely excepted) not being made within any Dominion, Region, or countrey where as it or they be vſed, may be lawfully vſed before it or they be, as the lawfull law or lawes of the ſame dominion, Region, or countrey, by publicke and common order of the ſame Dominion, Region or countrey lawfully allowed: and whether any Subiect, without offence agaynſt God and hys kyng, wythin the Dominion of hys kyng, may lawfully vſe any ſuch law or lawes not ſo allowed.

Emanuell.

ſal.39. ¶ *Aſcribe vnto the Lord, O ye mighty, aſcribe vnto the Lord, worſhip and ſtrength: geue the Lord the honour of his name, and bow your ſelues to the holy maieſty of the Lord.*

ſal.84. *I will harken what the Lord God will ſay: for he ſhall ſpeake peace vnto his people, that they turne not them ſelues vnto foliſhnes.* This vj. of Aprill. 1557.

By me Richard Gibſon.

¶ The death and Martyrdome of Iohn Rowgh Miniſter, and Margaret Mearing, burned at London the xxij. of December.

In thys furious tyme of perſecution, were alſo burned theſe two conſtant and faythfull Martyrs of Chriſt, Iohn Rough a Miniſter, and Margaret Mearing.

Decẽb. 22.

Iohn Rough, Margaret Mearing, Martyrs.

This Rough was borne in Scotland, who (as him ſelfe confeſſeth in his aunſwers to Boners articles) becauſe ſome of his kinſfolke would haue kept him from his right of inheritaunce which he had to certayne landes, did at the age of xvij. yeares, in deſpite (and the rather to diſpleaſe his frendes) profeſſe him ſelfe into the order of the blacke Friers at Sterling in Scotlãd: where he remayned the ſpace of xvj. yeares, vntill ſuch tyme as the Lord Hamulton, Earle of Arren, and gouernour of the Realme of Scotland aforeſayd (caſting a fauour vnto him) did ſue vnto the Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes, to haue hym out of his profeſſed order, that as a ſecular Prieſt he myght ſerue hym for his Chaplaine. At which requeſt the Archbiſhop cauſed the Prouinciall of that houſe, hauing thereto authority, to diſpence with hym for his habite and order.

A zealous occaſion of a Frierly profeſſion.

This ſute being thus by the Earle obtained, the ſayd Rough remained in his ſeruice one whole yeare: during which tyme it pleaſed God to opẽ his eyes, and to geue him ſome knowledge of hys truth, and thereupon was by the ſayd gouernour ſent to preach in the fredome of Ayre, where he cõtinued foure yeares, and then after the death of the Cardinall of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at S. Andrewes, and there had aſſigned vnto him a yearely penſion of xx. pound from king Henry the eight, king of England. Howbeit, at laſt waying with him ſelfe his owne daunger, and alſo abhorring the idolatry and ſuperſtition of his countrey, and hearing of the fredome of the Goſpell wythin this Realme of England, he determined with hym ſelfe not to tary any longer there: And therefore ſoone after the battaile of Muſclebourowgh, he came firſt vnto Carliel, and from thence vnto the Duke of Somerſet, then Lord Protector of England, and by hys aſſignement had appointed vnto hym out of the kinges treaſury xx. poundes of yearely ſtipend, and was ſent (as a preacher) to ſerue at Carliel, Barwicke, and Newcaſtell. From whence (after he had there, according to the lawes of God, and alſo of this Realme, takẽ a countrey woman of his to wife) he was called by the Archbiſhop of Yorke that then was, vnto a benefice nigh in the towne of Hull: where he continued vntill the death of that bleſſed and good king Edward. vj.

Iohn Rough firſt called to the truth.

Iohn Rough firſt cõming to England in *K. Edwardes* tyme.

But in the beginning of the reigne of Queene Mary (perceauing the alteration of Religion, and the perſecution that would thereupon ariſe, and feeling hys owne weaknes) he fled with hys wife into Friſeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truely for his liuing, in knitting of cappes, hoſe, and ſuch like thinges, till about the end of the moneth of October laſt before his death. At which tyme, lacking yarne and other ſuch neceſſary prouiſion for the maintenaunce of his occupation, he came ouer agayne into England, here to prouide for the ſame, and the x. day of Nouember arriued at London. Where hearing of the ſecret ſociety, and holy congregation of Gods children there aſſembled, he ioyned himſelfe vnto thẽ, & afterwardes beyng elected their miniſter and preacher, did continue moſt vertuouſly exerciſed in that Godly fellowſhip, teaching and cõfirming them in the truth and Goſpell of Chriſt. But in the ende (ſuch was the prouidence of God, who diſpoſeth all thinges to the beſt) the xij. day of December, he with Cutbert Simſon and others, through the crafty and trayterous ſuggeſtion of a falſe hipocrite and diſſembling brother called Roger Sargeaunt, a taylor, were apprehẽded by the Vice-

Iohn Rough with his wife flyeth into Friſeland.

Iohn Rough ioyneth hym ſelfe to the congregation at London.

Iohn Rough apprehended, and by whom.

chamberlayne of the Quéenes houſe, at the Saracens head in Iſlington: where the congregation had then purpoſed to aſſemble them ſelues to their godly and accuſtomable exerciſes of prayer and hearing yͤ worde of God: which pretence, for the ſafegard of all the reſt, they yet at their examinations, couered and excuſed by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The Vicechamberlaine after he had apprehẽded them, caryed Rough and Simſon vnto the Counſell, who charged them to haue aſſembled together to celebrate the communion or ſupper of the Lord, and therfore after ſundry examinations and aunſweres, they ſent the ſayd Rough vnto Newgate: but hys examinations they ſent vnto the Byſhop of London, with a letter ſigned with their handes, the copy whereof followeth.

¶ A letter ſent from the Queenes Counſell vnto Boner Biſhop of London, touching the examination of Iohn Rough Miniſter.

A Letter ſent from the Coũſell vnto B. Boner.

After our harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend you here incloſed the examination of a Scotiſh man, named Iohn Rough, who by the Queenes Maieſties commaundement is preſently ſent to Newgate, beyng of the chief of them that vpon Sonday laſt, vnder the colour of comming to ſee a play at the Saracens head in Iſlyngton, had prepared a Communion to be celebrated and receiued there among certain other ſeditious and hereticall perſons. And for aſmuch as by the ſayd Roughes examinatiõ, contayning the ſtory and progreſſe of his former life, it well appeareth of what ſort he is: the Queenes highnes hath willed vs to remit hym vnto your Lordſhyp, to the end that beyng called before you out of priſon, as oft as your Lordſhyp ſhall thinke good, ye may procede, both to his further examination, and otherwiſe orderyng of him, accordyng to the lawes, as the caſe ſhall require.

And thus we byd your Lordſhip hartely well to fare. From S. Iames the xv. of December. 1557.

Your Lordſhyps louyng frendes.
Nicholas Ebor. F. Shrewſbery, Edward Haſtinges, Antony Mountague, Iohn Bourne, Henry Iernegam.

Perſecutours.

Boner now minding to make quicke diſpatch, did within thrée dayes after the receite of the letter (the xviij. day of December) ſend for thys Rough out of Newgate, and in his palace at London miniſtred vnto him xij. articles: Many whereof becauſe they containe onely queſtions of the profeſſion and religion of that age, wherein both he and his parentes were chriſtned (which in ſundry places are already mencioned) I doo here for breuity omit: minding to touch ſuch onely, as pertayne to matters of fayth now in controuerſy, and then chiefely obiected agaynſt the Martyrs and Saints of God, which in effect are theſe.

Articles egaynſt *Ioh. Rough.* Sacrament of the altar. Confeſſion.

1. First, that thou Iohn Rowgh diddeſt directly ſpeake agaynſt the vij. ſacramentes, vſed commonly and reuerently, as thinges of eſtimation and great worthynes in the catholicke church: and alſo ddydeſt reproue and cõdemne the ſubſtance of the ſayd ſacramentes, but eſpecially the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that in the ſame is not really and truely the very body & bloud of Chriſt: and that confeſſion to the prieſt, and abſolution geuen by him (as yͤ miniſter of Chriſt) for ſinnes, is not neceſſary or auaileable in any wiſe.

Latin ſeruice.

2. Item, thou haſt miſliked and reproued the religion & eccleſiaſticall ſeruice, as it is now vſed in this realme, and haſt allowed the religion and ſeruice vſed in the latter yeares of king Edward the vj. and ſo much as in thee hath layne, haſt by word, writing, and deede, ſet forwardes, taught, and preached the ſame openly, and in ſundry places, affirmed, that the ſayd Engliſh ſeruice and doctrine therein contained, is agreable in all poyntes to Gods word and vnto the truth, condemning vtterly the latine ſeruice now vſed in the Queenes reigne, and inducing other by thyne example to do the like.

3. Item, thou haſt in ſundry places within this realme commended and approued the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Cãterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that in the Sacrament there remayneth after the words of conſecration, material bread and materiall wine, without any tranſubſtantiation.

Bookes of Communion.

4. Item, thou haſt in ſundry places of thys realme, ſince the Queenes reygne, miniſtred and receaued the Communion as it was vſed in the late daies of King Edward the ſixt, and thou knoweſt, or credibly haſt heard of diuers, that yet do keepe bookes of the ſayd Communion, and vſe the ſame in priuate houſes out of the church, and are of opinion agaynſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Agaynſt the ſupremacie of the Pope.

5. Item, that thou in ſundry places of thys Realme haſt ſpoken agaynſt the Pope of Rome and his Apoſtolicke ſea, and haſt playnly contemned and deſpiſed the authoritie of the ſame, miſliking and not allowing the fayth and doctrine therof, but directly ſpeaking agaynſt it, and by thine example haſt induced other the ſubiectes of thys realme, to ſpeake and do the like.

6. Item, thou doeſt know, and haſt bene conuerſant with al, or a great part of ſuch Engliſh men as haue fled out of thys realme for religion, and haſt conſented and agreed with them in theyr opinions, and haſt ſuccoured, mayntayned, and holpen them, and haſt bene a conueyer of theyr ſeditious letters and bookes into this realme.

Abominable ſightes at Rome.

7. Item, that thou haſt ſayd, that thou haſt bene at Rome, and taryed there about xxx. dayes or more, and that thou haſt ſeene litle good or none there, but very much euill. Amongeſt the which thou ſaweſt one great abomination, that is to ſay, a man (or the Pope) that ſhould go on the ground, to be caried vpon the ſhoulders of foure men, as though he had bene God and no man: Alſo, a Cardinall to haue his harlot riding openly behinde him: And thirdly a Popes Bull that gaue expreſſe licence to haue and vſe the ſtewes, and to keepe open bawdry by the Popes approbation and authority.

8. Item, that thou ſithens thy laſt comming into England out of the parties beyond the Sea, haſt perniciouſly allured and comforted diuers of the ſubiectes of this realme, both young and olde, men and women, to haue and vſe the booke of Communion, ſet forth in thys realme in the latter dayes of King Edward the ſixt, and haſt alſo thy ſelfe red and ſet forth the ſame, cauſing others to do the like, and to leaue theyr comming to theyr pariſh churches to heare the latine ſeruice now vſed.

Cutbert Simſon. Hugh Foxe.

9. Item, that thou the third ſonday of Aduent the xij. day of this December 1557. waſt apprehended at the Sarracens head at Iſlington, in the county of Middleſexe and dioces of London, by the Queenes vicechamberleine, with one Cutbert a taylour, Hugh a hoſier, and diuers other there aſſembled, vnder the colour of hearing a play, to haue red the communion booke, and to haue vſed the accuſtomed faſhion, as was in the latter dayes of king Edward the ſixt.

¶ The aunſweres of Iohn Rough to the foreſayd Articles.

His aunſweres to the articles.

1. To the firſt he ſayd and confeſſed that he had ſpoken agaynſt the nomber of the ſayd ſacramentes, being fully perſwaded that there be but onely two ſacramẽts: to wit, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord: and as for the other fiue, he denyed them to be ſacramentes, and therefore hath ſpoken agaynſt them. And as concerning the ſacrament of the altar (which he then called the Supper of the Lord) he confeſſed that he had ſpoken and taught that in the ſayd ſacrament there is not really and ſubſtantially the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but that the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne doth remayne in the ſayd ſacrament, without any tranſubſtantiation at all. Farther, as touching confeſſion of ſinnes to the prieſt, he anſwered that he thought it neceſſary, if the offence were done vnto the prieſt: but if the offence were done to an other, then confeſſion made to the prieſt is not neceſſary, but reconciliation onely to be made to the party ſo offended.

2. To the ſecond, he aunſwered that he then did and had before miſliked the order of latine ſeruice then vſed: and alſo did allow the ſeruice vſed in the latter time of King Edwards reigne, for that the holy ſcripture doth the ſame, and therfore he graunted that he did teach and ſet forth the ſayd Engliſh ſeruice, as in yͤ ſame article is obiected.

3. To the third, he graunted that he had approued the doctrine of the parties articulate as agreable to Gods word, and that they were godly learned men, and ſuch as had perfect vnderſtanding in the contentes of the ſame article.

4. To the fourth, he anſwered that he did well like the

Communion vſed in King Edwardes dayes, but ſayd that he had not miniſtred or receaued the ſame here in England ſince the Queenes reygne, neyther yet knew any that had the bookes thereof. But on the other ſide, he knew many that had thoſe bookes, and that there alſo he had receiued the Communion in ſundry places.

5. The contentes of the fift he graunted to be true.

6. To the ſixt, he confeſſed that he had bene familiar with diuers engliſh men and womẽ being in Friſeland, and agreed with them in opinion, as Maſter Scory, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundreth perſons, which fled thither for religion, vſing there the order ſet forth in the reigne of Kyng Edward, and otherwiſe he denieth the contentes of this article.

7. The contentes of the ſeuenth he graunted in euery poynt to be true.

8. To the eight, he anſwered and confeſſed that ſithens his laſt comming into England (which was about the x. day of Nouẽber) he had in ſundry places in ỹ ſubburbs of London prayed and red ſuch prayers and ſeruice, as is appoynted in the booke of the communion, and had willed others to do the like, both men and women, which he did know by ſight, but not by name. Howbeit he did neither cauſe any to withdraw themſelues from the latine ſeruice, but he ſayd that it were better to pray in a toung that they did vnderſtand, then in an vnknowen tounge.

9. To the ninth he confeſſed that at the time and place articulate he was preſent to heare and ſee a play, and there was apprehended by the Queenes maieſties Vicechamberlayne, with one Cutbert a taylor, and one Hugh a hoſyer, and diuers other both men and women, whoſe names he knew not, and by him was brought before the Counſell, who ſent him vnto Newgate, and from thence he was brought to the Biſhop. And otherwiſe he denieth the contentes of this article.

other ppearence Iohn ugh ore the yſhop.

Vpon theſe anſwers he was diſmiſſed, and the next day (being the xix. day of December) he was agayne brought before the ſayd Biſhop and others. Who, whẽ they perceaued his conſtantnes, determined the next day after to bryng hym openly into the Conſiſtory, there to adiudge and condemne him as an hereticke. Which purpoſe they accompliſhed. For the xx. day at afternone, in the preſence of the Biſhops of London and ſaint Dauids, with Fecknam Abbot of Weſtminſter, and others, he was thether produced. Where, after much and many fayre perſwaſions, Boner red vnto him the articles and anſwers before mencioned, in the which they charged him to haue receaued the orders of the Church, and therfore might not mary, and that he had refuſed to cõſent vnto ỹ latine ſeruice then vſed in the Church. Wherunto he then anſwered and ſayd, that theyr orders were nothing at all, and that he being a prieſt might lawfully mary, and that hys children which he had by his wife, were lawfull. And as touching the ſeruice then vſed, he vtterly deteſted it, ſaying ỹ if he ſhould liue as long as did Methuſhelach, yet he would neuer come to the church to heare the abominable maſſe and other ſeruice, being as it was then. Vpon which wordes the Biſhop proceded to the actuall degradation of the ſaid Rowgh, exempting him from all the benefites and priuileges of theyr Church: and after condemning him as an hereticke, cõmitted his body vnto the ſecular power, who taking him into theyr charge and cuſtody, caried him vnto Newgate.

Rough ondemned degra- by ner.

Moreouer, as touchyng the ſayd M. Rough this is further to be noted, that he beyng in ỹ North countrey in the dayes of kyng Edward the vj. was the meane to ſaue Doct. Watſons life (who in Queene Maries time was Byſhop of Lincolne) for a Sermon that he made there. The ſayd Watſon after that, in the ſayd dayes of Queene Mary, beyng with Boner at the examinatiõ of the ſaid M. Rough, to requite the good turne in ſauing his lyfe, detected him there to be a pernicious hereticke, who did more hurt in the North partes then an C. beſides of his opiniõs. Vnto whom M. Rough ſayd agayne: why Syr, is this the reward I haue for ſauing your life when you preached erroneous doctrine in the dayes of kyng Edward the vj? This M. Rough ſayd, he had liued 30. yeares, and yet had neuer bowed hys knee to Baal: and beyng before Boner, among other talke, he affirmed that he had ben twiſe at Rome, and there had ſeene playnely wyth his eyes, which he had many tymes heard of before, namely that the Pope was the very Antichriſt, for there he ſaw him caryed on mens ſhoulders, and the falſe named ſacrament borne before hym. Yet was there more reuerence geuen to hym, then to that which they counted to be their God. When Boner heard this, riſing vp, and making as though he would haue torne his garmentes: haſt thou, ſayd he, bene at Rome and ſeene our holy father the Pope, and doeſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſort? and with that flyng vpon hym he plucked of a peece of hys beard: and after making ſpeedy haſt to his death, he burnt hym halfe an houre before vj. of the clocke in the morning, becauſe the day (belike) ſhould not be farre ſpent, before he had done a miſchieuous deede.

ote of iſter ugh.

B Boner plucketh of halfe the beard of *Ioh. Rough.*

¶Further note that this Maiſter Rough being at the burning of Auſtoo in Smithfield, and returning homeward agayne, met with one Maiſter Farrar a Marchant of Hallifaxe, who aſked hym where he had bene. Vnto whom he aunſwered: I haue bene (ſayth he) where I would not for one of myne eyes but I had bene. Where haue you bene, ſayd maiſter Farrar? forſooth ſayth he, to learne the way. And ſo he tolde hym, he had bene at ỹ burning of Auſtoo, where ſhortly after he was burnt himſelfe.

In other note concerning *Iohn Rough.*

¶A letter written by Iohn Rough vnto certein of his godly frendes, confirmyng and ſtrengthnyng thẽ in the truth which he had before taught.

A letter of *Iohn Rough.*

THe comfort of the holy Ghoſt make you able to geue conſolation to others in theſe daungerous dayes, when Sathan is let looſe, but to the triall onely of the choſen, when it pleaſeth our God to ſift his wheate from the chaffe. I haue not leaſure and tyme to write the great temptations I haue bene vnder. I ſpeake to Gods glory: my care was to haue the ſenſes of my ſoule open to perceaue the voyce of God, ſaying: Who ſoeuer denieth me before men, him will I deny before my father and his Angels. And to ſaue the life corporall is to loſe the life eternall. And he that will not ſuffer with Chriſt, ſhall not raigne with him. Therfore moſt tender ones, I haue by Gods ſpirite geuen ouer the fleſh, with the fight of my ſoule, and the ſpirit hath the victory. The fleſh ſhall now ere it be long, leaue of to ſinne: the ſpirite ſhall raigne eternally. I haue choſen ỹ death to confirme the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Conſider with your ſelues, that I haue done it for confirmation of Gods truth. Pray that I may cõtinue vnto the end. The greateſt part of ỹ aſſault is paſt, I praiſe my God. I haue in all my aſſaultes felt the preſent ayde of my God, I geue him moſt harty thankes therfore. Looke not backe, nor be ye aſhamed of Chriſtes Goſpel, nor of the bondes I haue ſuffered for the ſame: therby ye may be aſſured it is the true word of God. The holy ones haue bene ſealed with the ſame marke. It is no tyme for the loſſe of one man in the battell, for the campe to turne backe. Vp with mens hartes, blow downe the dawbed walles of hereſies: let one take the Banner, an other the trumpet, I meane not to make corporall reſiſtaunce, but pray and ye ſhal haue Elias defence, and Helizeus company to fight for you. The cauſe is the Lordes. Now my brethren I can write no more, tyme wil not ſuffer, and my hart with panges of death is aſſaulted: but I am at home with my God yet aliue. Pray for me, and ſalute one an other with the holy kiſſe. The peace of God reſt with you all, Amen. From Newgate priſon in haſt, the day of my condemnation.

Iohn Rough.

Margaret Mearyng, Martyr.

The ſtory & examination of *Margaret Mearing, Martyr.*

IT is before declared, that in the company of Iohn Rough was burned one Margaret Mearyng, who, as the Regiſter maketh mention, was at one tyme and day brought with the ſayd Rough forth to examinatiõ: where ỹ Byſhop hauyng no priuate matters to charge her with al, did the 18. day of December obiect agaynſt her thoſe common and accuſtomable Articles mencioned before.pag.2015.To the which ſhe aunſwered as followeth.

Her anſweres to the Articles.

1. FIrſt, that there is here in earth a Catholicke church, and that there is the true fayth of Chriſt obſerued & kept in the ſame Church.

2. Item, that there were onely two Sacramentes in the Church, namely the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

3. Item, that ſhe was Baptiſed in the fayth and belief of the ſayd Church, renouncyng there, by her Godfathers and Godmothers, the deuill and all his workes. &c.

4. Item, that when ſhe came to the age of .xiiij. yeares, ſhe did not know what her true beleſe was, becauſe ſhe was not then of diſcretion to vnderſtand the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5. Itē, that ſhe hath not gone from the Catholicke fayth at any tyme: but ſhe ſayd that the Maſſe was abominable before the ſight of God, and before the ſight of all true Chriſten people, and that it is the playne cup of fornication and the whore of Babylon. And as concernyng the Sacrament of the altar, ſhe ſayd ſhe beleued there was no ſuch Sacrament in the Catholicke Church. Alſo ſhe ſayd that ſhe vtterly abhorred the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, with all the Religion obſerued in the ſame Antichriſtes Church.

6. Itē, ſhe anſwered to the ſixt Article as to the firſt, before ſpecified.

7. Item, that ſhe hath refuſed to come to her Pariſh Church becauſe the true Religion of Chriſt was not thē vſed in the ſame: and farther ſayd that ſhe had not come vnto the Church by yͤ ſpace of one yeare and three quarters, then laſt paſt, neither yet did meane any more to come vnto the ſame in theſe idolatrous dayes.

8. Item, as touchyng the maner of her apprehenſion, ſhe ſayd that Cluny the Byſhops Sumner did fetch her to the Byſhop.

Margaret Mearing apprehēded by *Cluny.*

Theſe aunſweres being then regiſtred, they were agayne (with the ſayd articles) propounded agaynſt her the xx. day of December, and there being demaunded if ſhe would ſtand vnto thoſe her aunſweres, ſhe ſayd: I will ſtand to them vnto the death: for the very Aungels of heauen do laugh you to ſcorne, to ſee your abomination that you vſe in the church. After yͤ which wordes the Byſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation: and thē deliuering her vnto the Sheriffes, ſhe was wyth the forenamed Iohn Rough caryed vnto Newgate. From whence they were both together led vnto Smithfield, the xxij. day of the ſame moneth of December, and there moſt ioyfully gaue their liues for the profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Sentence agaynſt *Margaret Mearing.*

The Martyrdome of *Iohn Rough and Magaret Mearing,* in Smithfield.

An.1557. Decēb.22.

When the latter ende of thys hiſtory of Maiſter Rough & Margaret Mearing was in finiſhing, there came to our handes one neceſſary thyng of the ſayd Margaret Mearing, which we thought not good to omit. The matter is this. Maiſter Rough beyng chiefe Paſtor to the congregation in the ſayd tyme of Queene Mary, as before ye haue heard (of which company this Margaret Mearing was one) dyd not well lyke the ſayd Margaret, but greatly ſuſpected her, as many other of them dyd beſides, becauſe ſhe would oftē times bring in ſtraungers among them, and in her talke ſeemed (as they thought) ſomewhat to buſy. &c. Now, what they ſaw or vnderſtoode further in her, we know not, but thys followed the euill ſuſpicion conceiued of her. Maiſter Rough the Friday before he was taken, in the open face of the congregation, did excommunicate her out of the ſame company: and ſo ſeemed wyth the reſt to exclude and cut her of from their felowſhip and ſociety. Whereat ſhe being moued, did not well take it nor in good part, but thought her ſelfe not indifferently handled among them. Whereupon to one of her frendes in a heate, ſhe threatned to remoue them all. But the prouidence of God was otherwiſe. For the Sonday after, Maſter Rough beyng taken by the information of one Roger, Sergeant to the Byſhop of London (as hereafter thou ſhalt heare) was layd priſoner in the gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, where none of hys frendes could come to hym to viſit hym. Then this ſayd Margaret hearing thereof, got her a Baſket and a cleane ſhirt in it, & went to Weſtminſter, where ſhe fayning her ſelfe to be hys ſiſter, got into the priſon to hym, and did there to her power not a little cōfort him.

A note of *Margaret Mearing.*

Margaret Mearing relieueth *M. Rough* in priſon.

Then comming abroad agayne, ſhe vnderſtanding that the Congregation ſuſpected the ſayd Seargeant to bee hys promotor, went to hys houſe, and aſked whether Iudas dwelt not there. Vnto whom aunſwere was made, there dwelt no ſuch. No, ſayd ſhe? dwelleth not Iudas here that betrayed Chriſt? hys name is Sargeant. When ſhe ſawe ſhe coulde not ſpeake wyth hym, ſhe went her way. So the Friday after, ſhe ſtanding at Marke lane end in London wyth an other woman, a frend of hers, ſaw Cluny Boners Sumner comming in the ſtreete towardes her houſe. Whom when ſhe ſaw, ſhe ſayd to the other woman ſtanding wyth her: whether goeth yonder fine felow ſayd ſhe? I thynke ſurely he goeth to my houſe: and in vewing hym ſtill, at the laſt ſhe ſaw hym enter in at her doore. So immediatly ſhe went home & aſked hym whom he ſought. Whereunto Cluny made aunſwere and ſayd, for you: ye muſt goe wyth me. Mary, quoth ſhe, here I am: I wyll goe wyth you, and comming to the Biſhop, ſhe was laid in priſon, & the Wedneſday after burnt with M. Rough in Smithfielde as ye haue heard.

The taking of *Margaret Mearing,* Martyr.

¶ AN. 1558.

☞ *The ſuffring and cruell tormentes*

of Cutbert Simſon, Deacon of the Chriſtian Congregation in London, in Queene Maryes dayes, moſt patiently abiding the cruell rage of the Papiſtes for Chriſtes ſake.

An. 1558.

NExt after the Martyrdome of Maſter Rough, miniſter of the congregation, aboue mēcioned, ſucceded in the lyke Martyrdome the Deacon alſo of that ſayd Godly cōpany or congregation in London, named Cutbert Simſon, beyng committed to the fire the yeare of our Lord. 1558. the xxviij. day of March.

The ſtory and cruell handling of *Cutbert Simſon,* Deacō and Martyr.

March, 28.

This Cutbert Simſon was a man of a faithful and zelous hart to Chriſt and hys true flocke, in ſo much that he neuer ceaſed labouring and ſtudiyng moſt earneſtly, not only how to preſerue them without corruption of the Popiſh religion, but alſo hys care was euer vigilant how to keepe them together wythout perill or daunger of perſecution. The paynes, trauayle, zeale, pacience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and prouiding for this Congregation, as it is not lightly to be expreſſed: ſo is it wonderfull to beholde the prouidence of the Lord by viſion, concernyng the troubles of thys faythfull miniſter & godly Deacon, as in thys here following may appeare.

The Friday at night before M. Rough miniſter of the congregation (of whom mention is made before) was taken, beyng in his bed he dreamed that he ſawe two of the Gard leading Cutbert Simſon Deacon of the ſaid congregation, & that he had yͤ booke about him, wherein were writtē yͤ names of al thē which were of yͤ cōgregatiō. Wherupō being ſore troubled, he awaked and called hys wyfe, ſaying: Kate ſtrike light: for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert thys night. Whē ſhe had ſo done, he gaue hym ſelfe to read in hys booke a while, & thē feeling ſleepe to come vpon hym, he put out the candel, and ſo gaue him ſelfe againe to reſt. Being a ſleepe, he dreamed the like dreame againe: and awaking therwith, he ſayd: O Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone. So they lighted a candel agayne and roſe. And as the ſayd Maſter Rough was making hym ready to go to Cutbert to ſee how he dyd, in yͤ meane time the ſayd Cutbert came in with the booke, conteining the names and accompts of the congregation. Whom when maſter Rough had ſeene, he ſayd: brother Cut-

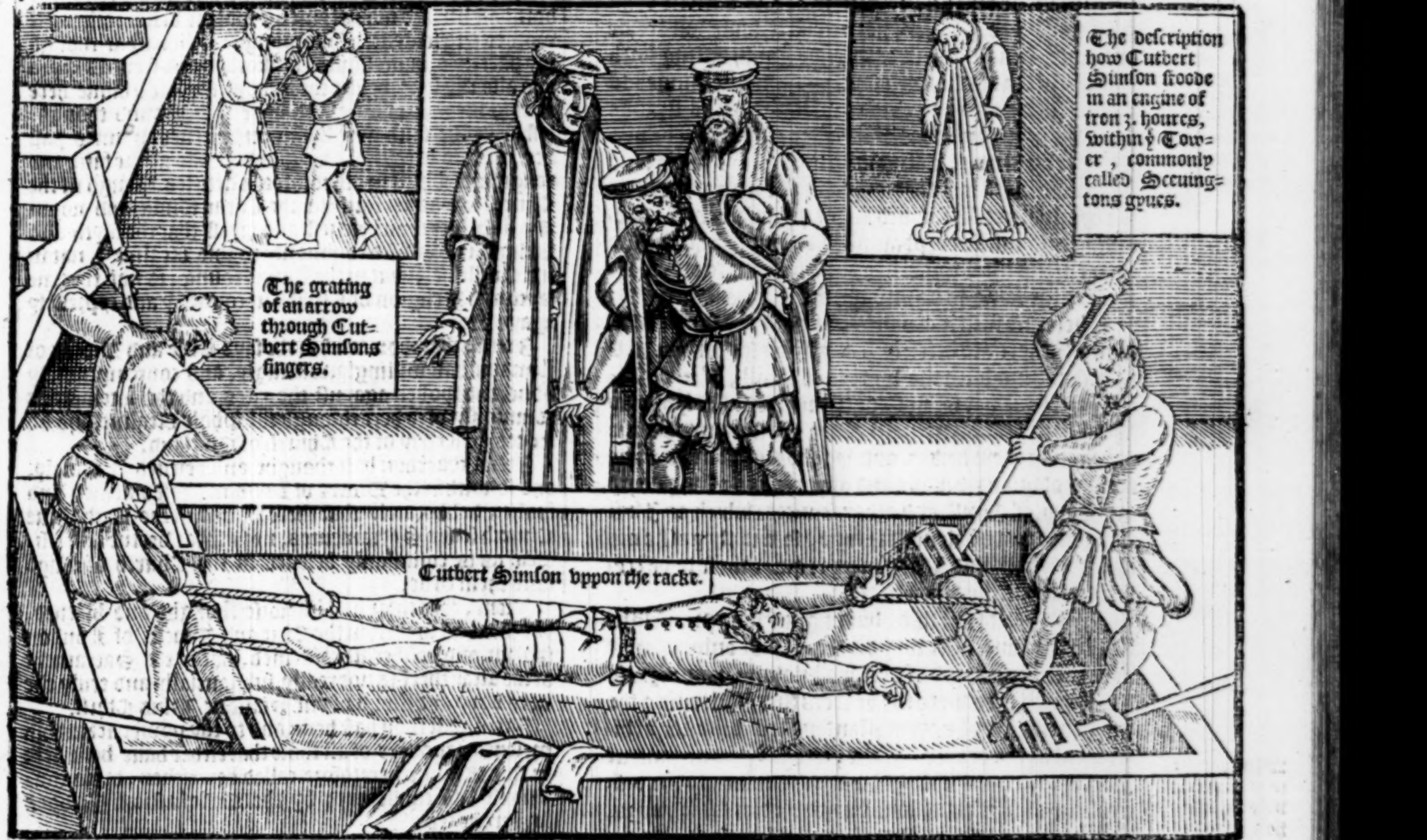
The viſions ſent to Gods Sainctes concerning their afflictions.

bert, ye are welcome, for I haue bene ſore troubled with you this night, and ſo told hym hys dreame. After he had ſo done, he wylled hym to lay the booke away frō hym, and to cary it no more about hym. Unto which Cutbert aunſwered, he would not ſo do: for dreames he ſayd, were but phantaſies, and not to be credited. Then maſter Rough ſtraightly charged hym in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the ſayd Cutbert tooke ſuch notes out of the booke as he had wylled hym to do, and immediatly left the booke wyth Maſter Roughes wife.

The next day folowing, in the night, the ſayd Maſter Rowgh had an other dreame in his ſleepe concerning his owne trouble. The maner wherof was this. Hee thought in his dreame that he was caried him ſelfe forceably to the Biſhop, & that the Biſhop pluckt of his beard, and caſt it into the fire, ſaying theſe wordes: Now I may ſay I haue had a peece of an hereticke burnt in my houſe, and ſo according it came to paſſe.

Now to returne to Cutbert agayne, as we haue touched ſomething cōcerning theſe viſions, ſo now remaineth to ſtory alſo of his paines and ſuffringes vpon the racke and otherwiſe like a good Laurence for the congregations ſake, as he wrote it with his owne hād.

A true deſcription of the racking and cruell handling of Cutbert Simſon in the Tower.


The grating of an arrow through Cutbert Simſons fingers.
The deſcription how Cutbert Simſon ſtoode in an engine of iron 3. houres, within yͤ Tower, commonly called Sceuingtons gyues.
Cutbert Simſon vppon the racke.

A true report how I was vſed in the Tower of London, being ſent thether by the Counſell the xiij. day of December.

A letter of *Cutbert Simſon* to certayne of hys frendes.

ON the thurſday, after I was called vnto the warehouſe, before the Conſtable of the Tower and the Recorder of Lōdon M. Cholmley, they commaunded me to tell them whom I did will to come to the engliſh ſeruice. I anſwered I would declare nothing. Wherupon I was ſet in a racke of iron, the ſpace of three howers, as I iudged. Then they aſked me if I would tell them. I anſwered as before. Then was I loſed & caried to my lodging agayne. On the ſonday after, I was brought into the ſame place agayne before the Lieuetenaunt and the Recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had ſayd, I aunſwered. Then the Lieutenant did ſweare by God I ſhould tel. Then did they binde my two forefingers together, and put a ſmall arrow betwixt them, and drew it through ſo faſt that the bloud followed, and the arrow brake. Then they racked me twiſe. Then was I caried to my lodging agayne: and x. dayes after the Lieutenaunt aſked me if I would not confeſſe that which before they had aſked me. I ſayd I had ſayd as much as I would. Then v. weekes after, he ſent me vnto the high prieſt, where I was greatly aſſaulted, and at whoſe hand I receaued the Popes curſe for bearing witnes of the reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt. And thus I commend you vnto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that vnfaynedly call vpon the name of Ieſus, deſiring God of his endles mercy, through the merites of his deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, to bring vs all to his euerlaſting kingdome, Amen. I prayſe god for his great mercy ſhewed vpō vs. Sing Oſanna vnto the higheſt with me Cutbert Simſon. God forgeue me my ſinnes. I aſke all the world forgeuenes, and I doo forgeue all the world, and thus I leaue this world in hope of a ioyfull reſurrection.

If any be diſpoſed to ſee the depoſitions which the cruell Papiſtes did extort out of poore and ignoraunt people by force of theyr othe, to complayne of theyr innocent & harmeles neighbours, as here they do by tormentes, let him reſort to our former booke, pag. 1632.

A note for Cutbert Simſons pacience.

A note of *Cutbert Simſon.*

NOw as touching this Cutb. Simſon, this further is to be noted, yͤ Boner in his Cōſiſtory ſpeaking of Cutbert Simſon, gaue this teſtimony of him there to the people, ſaying: ye ſee this man (ſayth he) what a perſonable man he is: and after he had thus commended his perſon, added moreouer: And furthermore cōcerning his pacience, I ſay vnto you, that if he were not an hereticke, he is a man of the greateſt pacience that yet euer came before me. For I tell you, he hath bene thriſe racked vpon one day in the Tower: Alſo in

The pacience of *Cutbert Simſon.*

my houſe he hath felt ſome ſorow, and yet I neuer ſee hys pacience broken. &c.

It is thought & ſayd of ſome that that arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, beyng tyde together, was not in the Tower, but in the Byſhops houſe.

A viſion of *Cutbert Simſon.*

¶ The day before the bleſſed Deacon and Martyr of God Cutbert Simſon, after his paynefull rackyng ſhould go to his cōdemnation before Boner, to be burned, being in yͤ Biſhops colehouſe there in yͤ ſtockes, he had a certaine viſion or apparition very ſtraūge, which he him ſelfe with his owne mouth declared to the godly learned man M. Auſten, to his own wife, and Tho. Simſon, and to other beſides, in the priſon of Newgate a litle before his death. The relation wherof I ſtand in no litle doubt whether to report abroad or not, conſidering with my ſelfe the great diuerſitie of mēs iudgementes in the readyng of hiſtories, and varietie of affections. Some, I ſee, wil not beleue it, ſome wil deride the ſame, ſome alſo will be offended with ſetting forth thinges of that ſort incerteyne, eſteming all thinges to be incertaine and incredible, whatſoeuer is ſtrange from the common order of nature. Other will be perchaunce agreued, thinking with themſelues, or els thus reaſoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet for ſomuch as the common error of beleuing raſh miracles, phantaſied viſions, dreames, and apparitions therby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the ſame to be vnſetforth.

These and ſuch like will be, I know, the ſayinges of many. Wherunto briefely I aunſwere, graunting firſt and admitting with the wordes of Baſill, οὐ πᾶν ὀνέιαρ ἐϛὶ προφητία. That is, not euery dreame is ſtreight way a prophecy. Agayne, neither am I ignoraunt that the papiſtes in theyr bookes and legendes of ſainctes haue theyr prodigious viſions and apparitions of angels, of our Lady, of Chriſt, and other ſainctes: which as I wil not admit to be beleued for true, ſo will they aſke me againe, why ſhould I then more require theſe to be credited of them, then theires of vs.

What credite is to be geuē to viſions, and how farre.

Firſt I write not this, binding any man preciſely to beleue the ſame, ſo as they doo theyrs, but only report it as it hath bene heard of perſons knowne, naming alſo the parties who were the hearers therof, leauing the iudgement therof notwithſtanding free vnto the arbitrement of the reader. Albeit, it is no good argument proceding from the ſingular or particular, to the vniuerſall, to ſay that viſions be not true in ſome, ergo, they be true in none. And if any ſhall muſe or obiect agayne, why ſhould ſuch viſions be geuen to him or a few other ſingular perſons more then to all the reſt, ſeing the other were in the ſame cauſe and quarell, and dyed alſo Martyrs as well as he: to this I ſay, concerning the Lordes times and doinges, I haue not to medle nor make, who may worke where and when it pleaſeth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefely aboue the other, with ſome ſingular conſolation to reſpect him, who chiefely aboue the other, and ſingularly did ſuffer moſt exquiſite tormentes for his ſake: what great maruell herein: but as I ſayd, of the Lordes ſecret times I haue not to reaſon. This only which hath out of the mans owne mouth bene receaued, ſo as I receaued it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to iudge therof as God ſhall rule his minde. The matter is thys.

The day before this Simſon was condemned, he being in the ſtockes, Cloney his keeper commeth in with the keies, about ix. of the clocke at night (after his vſual maner) to view his priſon, and ſee whether all were preſent, who when he eſpied the ſayd Cutbert to be there, departed agayne, locking the dores after him. Within ij. houres after, about aleuen of the clocke, toward midnight, the ſayd Cutbert (whether being in a ſlumber or being awake I cannot ſay) heard one comming in, firſt opening the outward dore, thē the ſecond, after the third dore, and ſo looking in to the ſayd Cutbert, hauing no candell or torch that hee could ſee, but geuing a brightnes and light moſt comfortable and ioyfull to his hart, ſaying, Ha, vnto him, & departed agayne. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he ſaw he him ſelfe declared fower or fiue times to the ſayd Maſter Auſten and to other. At the ſight wherof he receaued ſuch ioyfull comfort that he alſo expreſſed no litle ſolace in telling and declaring the ſame.

¶ Articles ſeuerally miniſtred to Cutbert Symſon the. xix. of March, with his aunſweres alſo to the ſame annexed.

Articles ſeuerally miniſtred to *Cutbert Simſon.*

1. First that thou Cutbert Symſon, art at this preſent abidyng within the Citie and Dioces of London, and not out of the Iuriſdiction of the Byſhop of Rome.

2. Item, that thou within the Citie and Dioces of London, haſt vttered many tymes & ſpoken deliberatly theſe wordes and ſentences followyng, videlicet: that though thy parentes, aunceſtours, kinſfolkes and frendes, yea and alſo thy ſelfe, before the tyme of the late ſchiſme here in this Realme of England, haue thought and thoughteſt, that the faith and Religion obſerued in times paſt here in this Realme of England, was a true faith and religion of Chriſt in all pointes & articles, though in the Church it was ſet forth in the Latin toung and not in Engliſh, yet thou beleueſt and ſayeſt that the fayth and Religion now vſed commonly in this Realme, not in the Engliſhe, but in the Latine toung, is not the true fayth and Religion of Chriſt, but contrary and expreſſely agaynſt it.

Ceremonies.

3. Item, that thou within the ſayd Citie and Dioces of London, haſt willingly, wittingly, and contemptuouſly done, and ſpoken agaynſt the rites and the ceremonies commonly vſed here through the whole Realme, and obſerued generally in the Church of England.

vij. Sacramentes.

4. Item, that thou haſt thought and beleued certeinely, and ſo within the Dioces of London, haſt affirmed and ſpoken deliberately that there be not in the Catholicke Church ſeuen Sacramentes, nor of that vertue and efficacie as is commonly beleued in the Church of England them to be.

Sacramēt of the altar.

5. Item, that thou haſt likewiſe thought and beleued, yea and haſt ſo within the Citie and Dioces of London ſpoken, and deliberatly affirmed, that in the Sacrament of the altar there is not really, ſubſtancially and truly the very body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

6. Item, that thou haſt bene, and to thy power art at this preſent, a fauourer of all thoſe that either haue bene here in this Realme heretofore called heretickes, or els conuented and condemned by the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges for heretickes,

Vſing of Engliſhe ſeruice.

7. Item, that thou, contrary to the order of this Realme of Englād, and contrary to the vſage of the holy Church of this Realme of England, haſt at ſondry tymes and places within the Citie and Dioces of London, bene at aſſemblies and conuenticles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together, to heare the Engliſhe ſeruice ſayd, which was ſet forth in yͤ late yeares of kyng Edward the vj. and alſo to heare and haue the Communion booke read, and the Communion miniſtred, both to the ſayd multitude, and alſo to thy ſelfe, and thou haſt thought, and ſo thinkeſt and haſt ſpoken that the ſayd Engliſh ſeruice, and Communion booke, and all things conteined in either of them was good and laudable, and and for ſuch thou diddeſt and doeſt allowe and approue either of them at this preſent.

¶ The aunſwere of the ſayd Cutbert to the foreſayd Articles.

Hys aunſweres to the articles.

Vnto all which Articles, the ſaid Cutbert Simſon aunſwered thus or the like in effect.

To the. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. and. 6. Article, he confeſſed them to be true in euery part therof.

To the. 7. Article he ſayd that he was bound to aunſwere vnto it, as he beleueth.

¶ A letter of Cutbert Simſon, written to his wife out of the Colehouſe.

A letter of *Cutbert Simſon* to hys wife.

Dearely beloued in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, I can not write as I do wiſhe vnto you. I beſeche you with my ſoule, commit your ſelfe vnder the mighty hand of our

God, truſting in hys mercy, and he wil ſurely helpe vs, as ſhalbe moſt vnto his glory and our euerlaſting comfort, being ſure of this, that he wil ſuffer nothing to come vnto vs, but that which ſhalbe moſt profitable for vs. For it is eyther a correction for our ſinnes, or a tryall of our fayth, or to ſet forth hys glory, or for altogether, and therefore muſt nedes be well done. For there is nothyng that commeth vnto vs by fortune or chaunce, but by our heauenly fathers prouidence. And therefore pray vnto our heauenly father that he wyll euer geue vs his grace ſo to conſider it. Let vs geue hym moſt harty thankes for thoſe hys fatherly corrections: For as many as he loueth, he correcteth. And I beſech you now be of good chere, and count the croſſe of Chriſt greater riches, then all the vayne pleaſures of England. I do not doubt (I prayſe God for it) but that you haue ſupped with Chriſt at hys Maundie, I meane beleue in hym, for that is the effect, and then muſt you drinke of hys cup, I meane hys croſſe (for that doth the cup ſignifie vnto vs). Take the cup wyth a good ſtomacke, in the name of God: and then ſhall you be ſure to haue the good wine Chriſtes bloud to thy poore thirſty ſoule. And when you haue the wyne, you muſt drinke it out of this cup. Learne thys when you come to the Lordes ſupper, pray continually. In all thinges geue thankes.

In the name of Ieſus ſhall euery knee bow.

Cutbert Simſon.

Hugh Foxe.
Iohn Deueniſh.

Hugh Foxe, hn De- niſh, Martyrs.

WIth Cutbert lykewiſe were apprehended and alſo ſuffred (as is before mencioned) Hugh Foxe, and Iohn Deueniſh. Who beyng brought to their examinations with the ſayd Cutbert, before Boner Byſhop of London, the xix. day of March, had Articles and Interrogatories to thẽ miniſtred by the ſayd officer, albeit not all at one tyme. For firſt to the ſayd Cutbert ſeuerall Articles were propoũded, then other Articles in generall were miniſtred to them all together. The order and maner of which Articles, now ioyntly to thẽ miniſtred here folow, with their aunſweres alſo to the ſame annexed, to be ſéene.

¶ Articles generally miniſtred to them all three together, the ſayd. xix. day of March with their aunſweres to the ſame annexed.

nerall cles ob- ed to m all e toge-

AFter theſe Articles thus miniſtred & layd to Cutbert Simſon, with his aunſweres likewiſe vnto the ſame, the Biſhop calling them all together, obiected to them other poſitions and Articles, the ſame which before are mentioned in the ſtory of Bartlet Grene. pag. 2015. only the viij. Article out of the ſame omitted and excepted, which Articles becauſe they are already expreſſed in the page aboue mentioned, we nede not here to make any new report therof, but onely referre the reader to the place aſſigned.

The anſwers generall of Cutbert Simſon, Hugh Foxe, and Iohn Deueniſh, to the articles by the biſhop to them generally propoſed.

1. ir an- us ge to les

TO the firſt article they al anſwered affirmatiuely: but Iohn Deueniſh added, that that Church is grounded vpon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head corner ſtone, and how in that Church there is the true fayth and religion of Chriſt.

2. To the ſecond article, they all confeſſed and beleued, that in Chriſtes catholicke church, there are but ij. ſacramentes, that is to witte, baptiſme and the ſupper of the Lord: otherwiſe they do not beleue the contentes of this Article to be true in any part therof.

3. To the iij. Article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely.

4. To the iiij. Article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely.

5. To the fift Article they all aunſwered affirmatiuely, that they doe beleue, and haue and will ſpeake agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the Sacrament of the altar, and likewiſe agaynſt the authoritie of the Sea of Rome, and are nothyng ſory for the ſame, but will do it ſtill while they lyue.

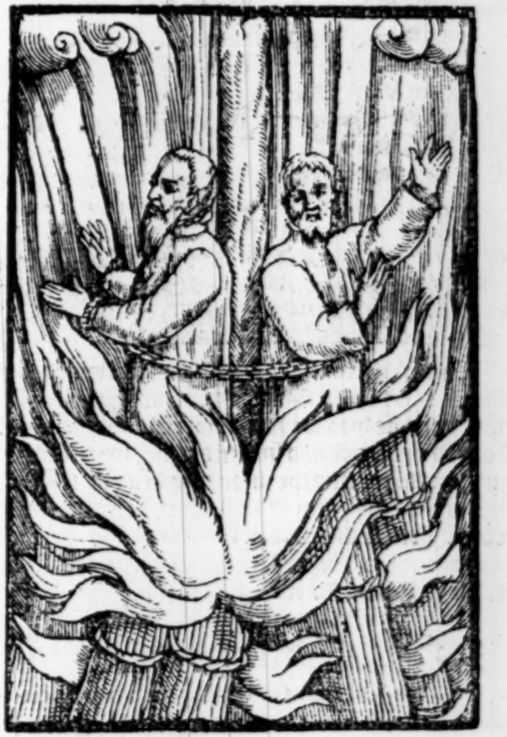
6. To the ſixt Article, they all aunſwered and denyed to acknowledge the authoritie of the Sea of Rome, to be lawfull and good, either yet his Religion.

7. To the ſeuenth Article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely, that they haue and will do ſo ſtill while they lyue: and Iohn Deueniſh addyng therto, ſayd that the Sacrament of the altar, as it is now vſed, is no Sacrament at all.

8. To the eight Article, they all confeſſed and beleued all thinges aboue by them acknowledged and declared, to be true, and that they be of the Dioces of London, and Iuriſdiction of the ſame.

Theſe iij. aboue named perſons & bleſſed witneſſes of Ieſus Chriſt, Cutbert, Foxe, and Deueniſh, as they were altogether apprehended at Iſlington, as is aboue declared, ſo the ſame all thrée together ſuffered in Smithfield about the xxviij. day of March, in whoſe perfect conſtancy the ſame Lord (in whoſe cauſe and quarell they ſuffered) geuer of all grace and gouernour of all thinges, be exalted for euer, Amen.

¶ Three Godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield.



The Martyrdome of *Curtbert Simſon, Hugh Foxe, Iohn Deueniſh,* in Smithfield. An. 1558. March. 28.

☞ *The ſuffering and Martyrdome* of William Nicole, put to death by the wicked handes of the Papiſtes at Herefordweſt in Wales.

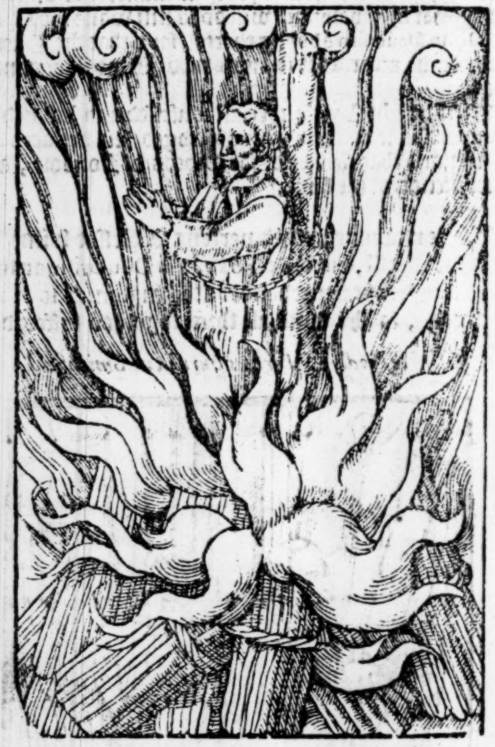
Aprill. 9.

William Nicoll, Martyr.

WE finde in all ages from the beginning that Sathã hath not ceaſſed at all times, to moleſt the church of Chriſt with one afflictiõ or other, to ẏ trial of their faith, but yet neuer ſo apparantly at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power ouer the bodyes of his ſaintes, to the ſheding of theyr bloud, and peruerting of relygion: for then ſlepeth he not, I warrant you, from murdering of the ſame, vnleſſe they will fall downe with Achab and Ieſabell to worſhip hym, and ſo kyll and poyſon theyr owne ſoules eternally: as in theſe miſerable latter dayes of Quéene Mary we haue felt heard and ſéene practiſed vppon Gods people. Among whom we finde recorded an honeſt good ſimple poore man, on William Nicoll, who was apprehended by the Champions of the Pope, for ſpeaking certayne wordes agaynſt the cruell kingdome of Antichriſt, and the ix. day of Aprill. 1558. was butcherly burnt and tormented at Herefordweſt in Wales, where he ended his life in a moſt happy and bleſſed ſtate, and gloriouſly gaue his ſoule into the handes of the Lord: whoſe goodnes be prayſed for euer and euer, Amen.

The Martyrdome of William Nicoll at Hereford-weſt in Wales. An. 1558. Aprill. 9.

The burning of Williã Nicole at Herefordweſt in Wales.



W. Nicoll a ſimple ſoule.

Thys William Nicoll (as we are informed) was ſo ſimple a good ſoule, that many eſtemed him halfe fooliſh. But what he was we know not: but thys are we ſure he dyed a good mã, and in a good cauſe, whatſoeuer they iudge of him. And the more ſimplicity or feblenes of wit appeared in him, the more beaſtly and wretched doth it declare theyr cruell & tirannicall act therin. The Lord geue them repentaunce therfore, if it be hys bleſſed will, Amen, Amen.

The Martyrdome of VVilliam Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, put to death by the perſecuting papiſtes at Norwich in the county of Norfolke.

May. 19.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of W. Seaman, Tho. Carman, and Thomas Hudſon.

IMmediatly after William Nicole, ſucceded in that honorable and glorious vocation of Martyrdome thrée conſtant godly mẽ at Norwich in Norfolke, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for yͤ true teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt, the 19. of May an. 1558. Whoſe names be theſe.

- William Seaman.
- Thomas Carman.
- Thomas Hudſon.

William Seaman.

Syr Iohn Tyrrell Knight.

Robert Baulding, Iames Clarke, perſecutors.

A light out of the element.

The ſayd William Seaman was an huſbandman, of the age of xxxvj. yeares, dwelling in Mendleſham in the county of Suffolke, who was ſought for ſundry tymes by the commaundement of Syr Iohn Tirrell Knight, and at laſt hée hym ſelfe in the night ſearched hys houſe and other places for hym: notwithſtanding, hée ſomewhat miſt of his purpoſe, God be thanked. Then he gaue charge to his ſeruantes, Robert Baulding, and Iames Clarke with others, to ſéeke for hym. Who hauing no officer, went in the euening to hys houſe, where he beyng at home, they tooke hym and caryed hym to their maſter Syr Iohn Tirrell. This Baulding beyng Seamans nigh neighbour, and whom the ſayd Seaman greatly truſted as a ſpeciall frend, notwithſtandyng to do his Maſter a pleaſure, now became enemy to his chief frend, and was one of the buſieſt in the takyng of him. Now as they were goyng to cary him to their Maſter Syr Iohn Tyrrel in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light betwene them out of the element and parted them. This Bauldyng beyng in company with the reſt whẽ the light fell, albeit he was then in hys beſt age, yet after that tyme neuer enioyed good day, but pined away euen vnto the death.

Gods puniſhment vpon a perſecutor.

Well, for all that ſtraunge ſight (as I ſayd) they caried hym to their maſter. Who when he came, aſked hym why he would not go to maſſe, and receaue the ſacrament, and ſo to worſhip it? Unto which William Seaman aunſwered, denying it to be a ſacrament, but ſayde it was an Idoll, and therefore would not receaue it. After which wordes ſpoken, Syr Iohn Tirrell ſhortly ſent hym to Norwich to Hopton then Byſhop, and there, after conference and examination had with him, the Byſhop red hys bloudy ſentence of condemnation againſt hym, and afterward deliuered hym to the ſecular power, who kept hym vnto the day of Martyrdome.

Seaman brought to Byſhop Hopton, & by hym condẽned.

Seamans wife & hys 3. younge children, were perſecuted alſo by Syr Iohn Tyrell.

Thys ſayd William Seaman left behind him when he dyed, a wife and thrée children very yonge: and with the ſayd younge children, hys wife was perſecuted out of the ſayd towne alſo of Mendleſham, becauſe that ſhe would not go to heare Maſſe, and all her corne & goods ſeaſed and taken away by maſter Chriſtopher Coles officers, he beyng Lord of the ſayd towne.

Thomas Carman, Martyr.

Carman cõdemned.

Thomas Carman (who, as is ſaid, pledged Richard Craſhfield at hys burning, and thereupon was apprehended) beyng priſoner in Norwich, was about one tyme with the reſt examined & brought before the ſayd Byſhop, who aunſwered no leſſe in hys maſters cauſe then the other, and therefore had the like reward that the other had, which was the Byſhops bloudy bleſſing of condemnation, and deliuered alſo to the ſecular power, who kept him with the other vntill the day of ſlaughter, which haſted on and was not long after.

Thomas Hudſon, Martyr.

Hudſon learneth to read Engliſhe.

Hudſon flyeth from Papiſtry.

Thomas Hudſon was of Ayleſham in Norfolke, by his occupatiõ a Glouer, a very honeſt poore mã, hauing a wyfe and thrée children, and laboured alwayes truely and diligently in his vocation, being of thirty yeares of age, and bearing ſo good a will to the Goſpell, that he in the dayes of king Edward yͤ ſixt, two yeares before Quéene Maryes raigne, learned to read Engliſhe of Anthony and Thomas Norgate of the ſame Towne, wherein he greatly profited about the tyme of alteration of religion. For when Quéene Mary came to raigne, and had chaunged the ſeruice in the church, putting in for wheat, draffe and darnyll, and for good preaching, blaſphemous crying out agaynſt truth and godlines, he then auoyding all their beggerly Ceremonies of ſuperſtition, abſented him ſelfe from his houſe, and went into Suffolke a long tyme, and there remayned, traueling from one place to an other, as occaſion was offered. At the laſt, he returned backe agayne to Norfolke, to his houſe at Ayleſham, to comfort his wife & hys childrẽ, being heauy & troubled with his abſence.

Now when he came home, and perceaued his continuaunce there would be daungerous, he and his wife deuiſed to make hym a place among hys fagots to hyde himſelfe in, where he remained all the day (in ſtede of hys chamber) reading and praying continually, for the ſpace of halfe a yeare, and hys wife like an honeſt woman being carefull for hym, vſed her ſelf faythfully and diligently towardes him.

Berry the Com miſſary, perſecuto

Hudſon feareth bolde in truth.

In the meane tyme came the Uicar of the towne, named Berry (who was one of the Byſhops Commiſſaryes, a very euill man) and inquired of thys ſayd Thomas Hudſons wife for her huſband. Unto whom ſhe aunſwered, as not knowing were he was. Then the ſayd Berry rated her, & threatned to burne her, for that ſhe would not bewray her huſband where he was. After that, when Hudſon vnderſtoode it, he waxed euery day more zealous then other, and continually red and ſang Pſalmes, to the wonder of many, the people openly reſorting to hym to heare his exhortations and vehement prayers.

At the laſt he walked abroad for certayne dayes openly in the Towne, crying out continually agaynſt the Maſſe and all their trempery, and in the end, comming myng home in his houſe, he ſat him downe vppon hys knees, hauyng his booke by him, readyng and ſingyng Pſalmes continually without ceaſſing for. iij. dayes and iij. nightes together, refuſing meate & other talke, to the great wonder of many.

John Crouch bewrayeth Thomas Hudſon to the Conſtables.

Thẽ one John Crouch his next neighbour, went to the Conſtables Robert Marſham and Robert Lawes in the night, to certifie them therof: for Berry cõmaunded openly to watch for hym: and yͤ Conſtables vnderſtandyng the ſame, went cruelly to catch him in yͤ breake of the day, the .xij. of the moneth of Aprill. an. 1558.

The takyng of Thomas Hudſon.

Now when Hudſon ſaw thẽ come in, he ſayd: Now mine houre is come. Welcome frendes welcome: you be they that ſhall lead me to lyfe in Chriſt, I thanke God therfore, and the Lord enhable me thereto for his mercies ſake. For his deſire was, and euer he prayed (if it were the Lordes wil) that he might ſuffer for the Goſpell of Chriſt. Then they tooke hym, and lead hym to Berry the Commiſſary, which was Vicare of the Towne, and the ſayd Berry aſked hym firſt, where he kept his Church for iiij. yeares before. To the which the ſayd Hudſon aunſwered thus: where ſoeuer he was, there was the Church.

Talke betwene Berry and Hudſon.

Doeſt thou not beleue, ſaith Berry, in the Sacramẽt of the altar? What is it?

Sacrament of yͤ altar.

Hudſon. It is wormes meate: my beliefe (ſaith he) is in Chriſt crucified.

Berry. Doeſt thou not beleue the Maſſe to put away ſinnes?

The Maſſe.

Hudſon. No, God forbid: it is a patched monſtre, and a diſguiſed Puppet, more longer a peecing then euer was Salomons temple. At which wordes Berry ſtamped, fumed, and ſhewed him ſelfe as a mad man, and ſayd: well thou villayne, thou: I will write to the byſhop my good Lord, and truſt vnto it, thou ſhalt be handled according to thy deſertes. Oh ſyr, ſayd Hudſon: there is no Lorde but God, though there bee many Lordes and many Gods. With that, Berry thruſt him backe with hys hand. And one Richard Cliffar ſtanding by, ſayd: I pray you ſyr, be good to the poore man. At which wordes Berry was more mad then before, and would haue had Cliffar bound in a recogniſance of 40. poundes for his good abearing, both in worde and deede: which hys deſire tooke no effecte. Then he aſked the ſayd Hudſon whether he would recant or no. Vnto which wordes Hudſon ſayd: the Lord forbid: I had rather dye many deathes, then to doo ſo.

Richard Cliffar.

Then after long talke, the ſayd Berry ſeing it booted not to perſwade with him, tooke his pen and ynke, and wrote letters to the byſhop therof, and ſent thys Hudſon to Norwich bound like a theefe to hym, which was viij. miles from thence, who with ioye and ſinging there went thether, as mery as euer he was at any time before. In priſon he was a moneth, where he did continually read and inuocate the name of God.

Seaman, Carmã, & Hudſon, condemned at Norwich.

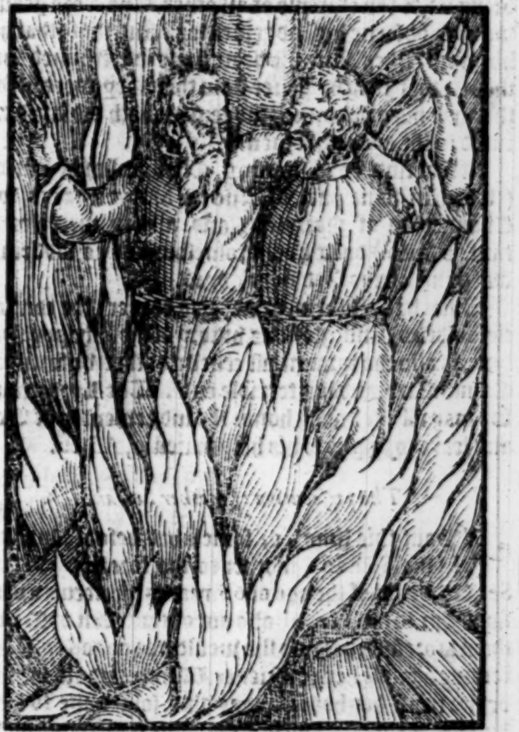
These three chriſtians and conſtant Martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Tho. Hudſon, after they were (as ye haue heard) condemned, the xix. day of May. 1558. were caryed out of priſon to yͤ place where they ſhould ſuffer, which was without Biſhops gate at Norwich, called Lollards pit. And being all there, they made theyr humble prayers vnto the Lord. That being done, they roſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtanding all there with there chaynes about them, immediately thys ſayd Thomas Hudſon commeth fourth from them vnder the chayne, to the great wonder of many: wherby diuers feared and greatly doubted of him. For ſome thought he would haue recanted: other iudged rather that hee went to aſke a further day, and to deſire conference: and ſome thought he came forth to aſke ſome of hys parentes bleſſing: So ſome thought one thing and ſome an other: but hys two companions at the ſtake cryed out to hym to comforte hym what they could, exhorting hym in the bowels of Chriſt to be of good chere. &c. But thys ſweete Hudſon, felt more in his hart and conſcience, then they could conceaue in hym. For (alas good ſoule) he was compaſſed (God knoweth) with great dolour and griefe of mind, not for his death, but for lacke of feeling of hys Chriſt, and therfore being very carefull he humbly fell downe vppon his knees, and prayed vehemently and earneſtly vnto the Lord, who at the laſt, according to hys olde mercyes, ſent hym comfort, and then roſe he with great ioy, as a man new chaunged euen from death to life, and ſayd:

Thomas Hudſon commeth frõ vnder the chaine to pray.

Hudſon carefull to haue the feeling of Chriſt.

Hudſon ſatiſfied of hys deſire.

Three Godly Martyrs burned at Norwich.



The Martyrdome of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, at Norwich. An. 1558. May. 19.

Now I thanke God I am ſtrong, and paſſe not what man can doo vnto me. So going to the ſtake to his felowes agayne, in the end they all ſuffered moſt ioyfully, conſtantly, and manfully the death together, and were conſumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comforte of Gods Children, & the magnifiing of the Lords name, who be prayſed therfore for euer, Amen.

After thys, the fore named Commiſſary Berry, made great ſtyrre about other which were ſuſpected within the ſayd towne of Ayleſham, and cauſed two hundred to creepe to the Croſſe at Penticoſt, beſides other puniſhmentes which they ſuſteyned.

Berry ſtriketh a poore man, wherupon he dyed.

On a time this Berry gaue a poore man of his pariſh of Marſham, a blow with the ſwingell of a flayle, for a word ſpeaking, that preſently theron he dyed, and the ſayd Berry (as is ſayd) held vp his hand at the barre therefore.

Berry ſtriketh a poore woman, wherupon ſhe dyed.

Then, after that in his pariſh of Ayleſham alſo, an. 1557. there was one Alice Oxes came to his houſe, and going into the Hall, he meting her (being before moued) ſmote her with his fiſt, whereby ſhe was fayne to be caryed home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber.

To write how many concubines & whores he had, none would beleue it, but ſuch as knewe him in the countrey he dwelt in. He was rich and of great autoritie, a great ſwearer, altogether geuen to wemen, and perſecuting the Goſpell, & compelling men to idolatry.

John Norgate a Confeſſor.

One Iohn Norgate a man learned, godly, and zealous, who would not go to theyr traſh, but rather dye, being ſore hunted by the ſayd Berry, prayed hartely to God, and the Lord ſhortly after in a conſumption deliuered hym. Notwithſtanding, the rage of this wicked man waxed more fiercer and fiercer. He troubled ſundry men, burnt all good bookes that he could get, and diuorſed many men and wemen for religion.

The rage of Berry.

Berry maketh a feaſt, whereat is one of hys Concubines.

When he heard ſay that Quéene Mary was dead, and the glory of theyr triumph quailed, the ſonday after, being the xx. of Nouember, an. 1558. he made a great feaſt, and had one of his concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber after diner vntill Euenſong. Then went he to church, where he had miniſtred baptiſme, and in going from church homeward, after Euenſong, betwene the churchyarde and hys houſe, being but a litle ſpace (as it were a churchyard bredth aſunder) he fell downe ſodeinly to the ground with a heauy grone, ⁊ neuer ſtirred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentance. This hapned hys neyghbors being by, to the example of all other. The Lord graunt we may obſerue his iudgementes. And thoſe that had his great riches, ſince his death haue ſo conſumed with them, that they be poorer now then they were before they had his goodes, ſuch iudgement hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all men.

Gods puniſhment and terrible end of *Berry*.

Berryes goods conſumeth as ware agaynſt ẏ fire.

Gods puniſhment vpon *Dunning* Chauncellour of Norwich.

At that time one Dunning, Chauncellor of Lincoln (which in ſome part of Quéene Maryes dayes was Chauncellor of Norwich, and a very mercyles tyrant as liued) dyed in Lincolneſhyre of as ſoddeine a warnyng, as the ſayd Berry dyed.

Thus haue I ſhewed thée (good reader) the conſtancie, boldnes, and glorious victory of theſe happy Martyrs, as alſo the tyrannicall cruelty of that vnfortunate Commiſſary, and his terrible end. The Lord graunt we may all effectually honor the iudgementes of God, and feare to diſpleaſe his holy maieſtie, Amen.

The perſecution of mother Seman.

Ioane Seman alſo perſecuted by Syr *Iohn Tyrrell.*

ABout this time, or ſomewhat before, was one Ioane Seman, mother to the foreſayd William Seman, being of the age of *66.* yeares, perſecuted of the ſayd Syr Iohn Tyrrell alſo out of the town of Mendleſham aforeſaid, becauſe ſhe would not go to Maſſe, and receiue againſt her conſcience. Which good old woman beyng from her houſe, was glad ſometyme to lye in buſhes, groues, and fieldes, and ſometyme in her neighbours houſe, when ſhe could. And her huſband beyng at home, about the age of lxx. yeares, fell ſicke: and ſhe hearyng therof, with ſpede returned home to her houſe agayne, not regardyng her life but conſideryng her duety, and ſhewed her diligence to her huſbãd moſt faythfully, vntill God toke hym away by death. Then by Gods prouidence ſhe fel ſicke alſo, and departed this life within her owne houſe ſhortly after. And when one M. Simondes the Commiſſary heard of it, dwellyng therby at a Town called Thorndon, he commaunded ſtraitly, that ſhe ſhould be buried in no Chriſtian buriall (as they call it): wherethrough her frẽdes were compelled to lay her in a pit vnder a motes ſide. Her huſband and ſhe kept a good houſe, and had a good report amongeſt their neighbours, willing alwayes to receiue ſtraungers, and to comfort the poore and ſicke, and liued together in the holy eſtate of Matrimony very honeſtly aboue forty yeares, and ſhe departed this life willingly and ioyfully, with a ſtedfaſt fayth and a good remembraunce of Gods promiſe in Chriſt Ieſus.

The dutie of a good wife.

Simondes the Commiſſary would not let mother *Seaman* be buryed in the Churchyarde.

The Perſecution of Mother Benet.

Mother Benet Confeſſor.

IN the ſayd time of Quéene Mary, there dwelt in the Towne of Wetherſet by Mendleſham aforeſayd, a very honeſt woman called Mother Benet, a widow, which was perſecuted out of the ſame towne becauſe ſhe would not go to Maſſe and other their begerly ceremonies: but at the laſt ſhe returned home agayne ſecretly to her houſe, and there departed this lyfe ioyfully. But Sir Ioh. Tyrrell and M. Simondes the Cõmiſſary, would not let her be buryed in the Churchyard. So was ſhe layd in a graue by the hygh way ſide.

Syr Ioh. Tyrrell and M. Simondes would not ſuffer mother *Benet* to be buryed in the Churchyard.

The ſame good old woman Mother Benet, in the tyme of perſecution, met one of ẏ ſayd mother Semans neighbours, ⁊ aſked her how the ſaid mother Seman did, and ſhe aunſwered that ſhe did very well, God be thãked. Oh (ſayd ſhe) Mother Seman hath ſtept a great ſtep before me: for ſhe was neuer couetous that I could perceiue. Her huſbãd in his mirth would ſay vnto her: O woman, if thou were ſparyng, thou mighteſt haue ſaued me an. C. Markes more then thou haſt. To the which ſhe would annſwere agayne gently and ſay. O man be content, and let vs be thankefull, for God hath geuen vs inough if we can ſée it. Alas good huſbãd would ſhe ſay, I tell you truth, I can not firkin vp my butter, and kéepe my chéeſe in the chamber, and wait a great price, and let the poore want, and ſo diſpleaſe God. But huſbãd, let vs be rich in good workes: ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, and haue all good thinges geuen vs. ⁊c. Thys good woman of that vice of couetouſnes (of all that knew her) was iudged leaſt to be ſpotted, of any infirmyty ſhe had. The lord roote it out of the harts of them that be infected therwith, Amen.

The charitablenes of mother *Seman*, to [illegible]

The Martyrdome of three conſtant and Godly perſons burnt at Colcheſter, for the defence and teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell.

May. 26.

Two men and one woman, Martyrs.

THou haſt heard (good Reader) of the forenamed thrée that were burnt at Norwich, whoſe bloud quenched not the perſecuting thurſt of the Papiſtes. For immediatly after, euen the ſame moneth, vpon the xxvi. day, was ſéene the like murther alſo at Colcheſter in Eſſex, of two mẽ and a woman, lying there in priſon, appointed ready to the ſlaughter: who were brought forth the ſayd day vnto a place prepared for them to ſuffer, and accordingly gaue their liues for the teſtimony of the truth, whoſe names likewiſe hereafter followeth.

Martyrs.

William Harries.
Richard Day.
Chriſtian George.

The Martyrdome of *William Harries, Richard Day, and Chriſtian George,* at Colcheſter.

An. 1558 May. 26.

Theſe thrée good ſoules were brought vnto ẏ ſtake, and there ioyfully and feruetly had made their prayers vnto the Lord. At the laſt being ſetled in their places, and chayned vnto their poſtes, with their fire flaming fiercely rounde about them, they like conſtant Chriſtians triumphantly prayſed God within the ſame, and offered vp their bodyes a liuely ſacrifice vnto hys holy maieſtie: in whoſe habitation they haue now theyr euerlaſting tabernacles: hys name therefore be prayſed for euermore. Amen.

The ſayd Chriſtian Georges huſband, had an other wife burnt before thys Chriſtian, whoſe name was Agnes George, which ſuffred (as you haue heard) with the thirtene at Stratford the Bow. And after the death of the ſayd Chriſtian, he maryed an honeſt Godly woman agayne: and ſo they both (I meane the ſayd Richard George, and hys laſt wyfe) in the end were taken alſo, and layd in priſon, where they remayned till the death of Quéene Mary, and at the laſt were deliuered by our moſt gracious ſoueraigne Lady Quéene Elizabeth, whom the Lord graunt long to raigne among vs, for hys mercyes ſake, Amen.

Richard George and hys wife priſoners, deliuered by *Q. Elizabeth.*

¶In the moneth of Iune came out a certayne Proclamation, ſhort but ſharpe, from the King and the Quéene agaynſt wholeſome and godly bookes, which vnder the falſe title of hereſy and ſedition, here in the ſayd Proclamation were wrongfully condemned.

A proclamation by ẏ king and Quéene.

¶By the King and Queene.

WHereas diuers bookes, filled both with hereſy, ſedition, ⁊ treaſon, haue of late, and be dayly brought into this Realme, out of forreine countreyes and places beyond ẏ ſeas, ⁊ ſome alſo couertly printed within thys Realme, and caſt abroad in ſundry partes therof, wherby not only God is diſhonoured, but alſo an encouragement geuen to diſobey lawfull princes and gouernors: The King and Queenes maieſties, for redreſſe hereof, doth by thys their preſent Proclamation, declare & publiſhe to all theyr ſubiectes, that whoſoeuer ſhall after the proclaming hereof, be found to haue any of the ſayd wicked and ſeditious bookes, or finding them, do not forthwith burne the ſame, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to any other perſon, ſhall in that caſe be reputed and taken for a rebell, and ſhall without delay be executed for that offence according to yͤ order of Martiall law.

Geuen at our Manor of Saint Iameſes, the firſt day of Iune.

Iohn Cawood Printer.

The order and occaſion of taking certaine godly men and women praying together in the fieldes about Iſlington, of whom 13. were condemned by Boner, and after ſuffered in the fire for the truthes ſake, as in this ſtory here following may appeare.

June. 27.

xxij. men taken.

xiij. Martyrs burned.

SEcretly in a backe cloſe in the fielde by the towne of Iſlington were collected and aſſembled together a certayne company of godly and innocent perſons, to the number of fourty, men and women. Who there ſitting together at prayer, and vertuouſly occupyed in the meditation of Gods holy word, firſt cōmeth a certayne man to them vnknowen: who looking ouer vnto them, ſo ſtayed and ſaluted them, ſaying that they looked like men that ment no hurte. Then one of the ſayd company aſked the man, if he could tel whoſe cloſe that was, and whether they might be ſo bolde there to ſitte. Yea, ſayd he, for that ye ſeme vnto me ſuch perſons as entende no harme, and ſo departed. Within a quarter of an houre after, cōmeth the Conſtable of Iſlington, named King, warded with ſixe or ſeuen other, accompanying hym in the ſame buſines, one with a bowe, an other with a bill, & other with theyr weapons likewiſe. The which ſixe or ſeuen perſons the ſayd Conſtable left a litle behynd hym in a cloſe place, there to be ready if nede ſhould be, while he with one with him ſhould go and view them before. Who ſo doing, came through them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what bookes they had: and ſo going a litle forward, and returning backe againe, bad them deliuer theyr bookes. They vnderſtāding that he was Cōſtable, refuſed not ſo to doo. With that commeth forth the reſidue of hys fellowes aboue touched, who bad them ſtand and not to depart. They anſwered agayne, they would be obedient and ready to go whether ſoeuer they would haue them: and ſo were they firſt caried to a bruehouſe but a litle way of, while that ſome of yͤ ſayd ſouldiours ran to the Iuſtice next at hand. But the Iuſtice was not at home: Wherupon the were had to ſir Roger Cholmley. In the meane time ſome of the women being of the ſame number of the aforeſayd xl. perſons, eſcaped away from them, ſome in the cloſe, ſome before they came to the bruehouſe. For ſo they were caryed x. with one man, 8. with an other, and with ſome moe, with ſome leſſe, in ſuch ſort that it was not hard for them to eſcape that would. In fine, they that were caryed to Syr Roger Cholmley, were.27. which Syr Roger Cholmley & the Recorder taking theyr names in a bil, and calling them one by one, ſo many as aunſwered to theyr names, they ſent to Newgate. In the which number of them that anſwered, and that were ſent to Newgate, were.22.

King Conſtable of Iſlington.

Sir Roger Cholmley, & Recorder of Lōdon, perſecutors.

22. ſent to Newgate.

Theſe 22. were in the ſayd priſon of Newgate 7. weekes before they were examined, to whom word was ſent by Alexander the keeper, that if they would heare a maſſe, they ſhould al be deliuered. Of theſe foreſayd 22. were burned 13. in Smithfield 7. at Braynford. vj.

Cōfeſſors.

IN priſon 2. dyed in Whitſon weeke, the names of whom were Mathew Wythers, T. Tylar.

Seuen of them which remained, eſcaped with theyr liues hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning. Whoſe names were theſe.

Iohn Milles.
Thomas Hinſhaw.
R. Baily, wolpacker.
Robert Willeys.
Hudleys.
T. Coaſt, haberdaſh.
Roger Sandey.

Perſecuted Chriſtians.

The firſt 7. were brought forth to examination before Boner, and ſo hauing theyr condemnation, were burnt (as is ſayd) in Smithfield. The other 6. followed not long after, and ſuffred at Braynford, wherof ſpecially here followeth now in order of ſtory to be ſeene.

The examination, and condemnation of ſeuen godly and faythfull Martyrs of Chriſt, burnt in Smithfielde.

Iune. 27.

vij. Martyrs burned in Smithfield.

COncerning the examination and condemnation of theſe aboue ſayd, which were apprehended and taken at Iſlington, 7. firſt were produced before Boner the 14. of Iune, to make anſwere to ſuch articles and interrogatories, as by the ſayd Biſhop ſhould be miniſtred vnto them. The names of theſe ſeuen were:

Henry Ponde.
Raynold Eaſtland.
Robert Southam.
Mathew Ricarbye.
Iohn Floyd.
Iohn Holyday.
Roger Holland.

Martyrs.

To theſe 7. conſtant and godly Martyrs produced before Boner, certayne articles were miniſtred in this effect as followeth.

Articles.

Articles by B. Boner miniſtred to the vij. Martyrs aforeſayd.

1. FIrſt that ye being within the citie and dioces of London, haue not (according to the common cuſtome of the catholicke church of thys realme of England) come to your owne pariſh church, nor yet to the Cathedrall church of thys citie and dioces of London, to heare deuoutly and chriſtianly the Matins, the Maſſe, the Euenſong, ſong or ſayd there in the latin toung, after the common vſage and maner of the church of this realme

2. Second, that ye haue not come to any of the ſayd churches to pray, to go in proceſſion, or to exerciſe your ſelues there in godly and laudable exerciſes.

3. Thyrd, ye haue not cōformed your ſelues duely to all the laudable cuſtomes, rytes, and ceremonyes of any the ſayd churches.

4. Fourth, ye haue not bene confeſſed at due times and places to your owne curate, of your ſinnes.

5. Fifth, ye haue not receaued at your ſayd Curates handes (as of the miniſter of Chriſt) abſolution of your ſinnes.

6. Sixt, ye haue not at due times and places, of your Curate receaued reuerently and duely the ſacrament of the altar.

7. Seuenth, ye haue not faythfully and truely beleued that in the ſayd ſacrament of the altar there is really and truly the very body and bloud of Chriſt.

8. Eight, ye haue not by your mouth, nor otherwiſe by your deede expreſſed or declared in any wiſe, that ye without wauering or doubting do thinke and beleue, that the fayth and religion now obſerued in the church of England, is a true fayth and religion in all poyntes.

9. Ninth, ye haue not made any ſignification, that ye doe in deede approue, or allow in any wiſe, the common ſeruice in latine, here obſerued and kept in the church of this realme of England.

10. Tenth, ye haue not beleued, nor doe beleue at thys preſent, that the ſeruice in latin, commonly vſed and obſerued in the church of this realme, is good and lawfull, and not agaynſt the word of God.

11. Eleuenth, ye haue in times paſt liked, alowed, and approued, as good and godly, and ſo doe like, alow, and approue at this preſent, the ſeruice in Engliſh, yͤ bookes of common prayer, the bookes of Communion, the religion and faith ſet forth and vſed in the time of King Edward the ſixt, eſpecially as it was ſet forth and vſed in the latter dayes of the ſayd King Edward.

12. Twelth, ye haue in times paſt bene very deſirous,

and ſo are at this preſent, that the ſayd Engliſh ſeruice, the ſayd booke of common prayer, the ſaid booke of communion, and the ſayd religion and fayth ſo ſet forth and vſed in King Edwardes time, might now agayne be reſtored, ſet foorth, and vſed, and your ſelfe freely at your liberty, without any reſtraynt, or letters to vſe it: and alſo in all poyntes and thinges to doe therin, as ye did, eſpecially in the latter dayes of the ſayd Edward the ſixt.

13. Thirtene, ye haue of late bene charitably ſent to from me the Byſhop of London, and alſo by mouth exhorted that where of late ye did leaue your Churches, and went in the tyme of diuine ſeruice into the fieldes & prophane places, to read Engliſh Pſalmes, and certaine Engliſh bookes, ye would leaue of that, and beyng out of priſon, and at your libertie, come in to your own Pariſh Churches, there to heare Mattins, Maſſe, and Euenſong, after the common order of the Churches of this Realme, and to make due confeſſion of your ſinnes to your owne Curate, and receiue at his handes (as of the miniſter of Chriſt, hauyng therin ſufficient authoritie) abſolution of your ſinnes, heare Maſſe, receiue the Sacrament of the altar, with a true fayth, accordyng to the belief of the Catholicke Church, and obſerue all other the rites and cuſtomes of the ſaid Catholicke church vſed in this realme of Englãd, aſwell in goyng in proceſſiõ after the Croſſe, as alſo otherwiſe generally.

14. Fourtene, ye beyng ſo required, haue refuſed, and do refuſe ſo to do, ſaying amongeſt other vayne and light wordes, that foraſmuch as ye were impriſoned by the ſpace of 6. weekes, not knowing wherwith ye were charged, your peticion ſhould be and was, that ye might firſt aũſwere to your former cauſe, and then ye would be ready to aunſwere me the ſayd Byſhop to all that by me ſhould be layd to your charge.

¶ Vnto the which Articles, all the fornamed 7. (onely Reynold Eaſtland excepted) made aunſwere in effect as hereafter foloweth.

¶ The aunſweres of the forenamed perſons to the Articles aforeſayd.

Their aunſweres to the articles aforeſayd.

1. TO the firſt Article they aunſwered all affirmatiuely. Roger Holland addyng that hee came not to their Latin ſeruice theſe. 2. yeares before.

Mathew Ricarby added that he came not to church ſince Latin ſeruice was renued, becauſe it is agaynſt the word of God, and Idolatry cõmitted in creping to the Croſſe.

Henry Pond added, if he had licẽce then to go to church, he would.

2. To the. 2. Article they all aunſwered affirmatiuely: Henry Pond adding as in the firſt Article. Iohn Floyd added that the Latin ſeruice then vſed, was ſet vp by man, and not by God, and this he learned (he ſayd) in kyng Edwardes dayes, which he beleued to be true. Robert Southam added, that hee refuſed to come to Church, becauſe it is furniſhed with idols, and becauſe the ſacrament of the altar he beleued to be an idoll.

3. To the 3. Article they all aũſwered affirmatiuely. For they ſayd, that the cuſtomes, rites, and ceremonies of the Church then vſed, are not agreable to Gods word.

4.5. To the. 4. and fifth Articles they all aunſwered affirmatiuely, adding that they beleued no Prieſt hath power to remit ſinne.

6. To the. 6. Article Iohn Holyday, Henry Pond, and Robert Southam aunſwered, that ſince the Queenes Maieſties reigne, but Robert Southam added, not for. x. yeares before, he had receiued the Sacrament of the altar, either at their Curates hãdes or any other Prieſt. Iohn Floyd, Mathew Ricarby, and Roger Holland aunſwered affirmatiuely, addyng in effect that the Sacrament of the altar is no Sacrament approued by the word of God. &c.

7. To the. 7. Article they all confeſſed the contentes therof to be true in euery part: Henry Pond addyng that he knoweth not nor beleueth any ſuch Sacramẽt called the Sacramẽt of the altar, but confeſſeth yͤ Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and beleueth that to be approued. Iohn Floyd added that thoſe that kneele and worſhyp the Sacrament of the altar, commit idolatry. &c.

8.9.10. To the. 8. 9. 10. Articles, they all confeſſed the contẽtes of thoſe Articles to be true. But Iohn Holyday, Henry Pond, and Iohn Floyd added, that they do allow the Latin ſeruice for them that vnderſtandeth the ſame, ſo farre forth as it agreeth with Gods word. For ſome part therof is not agreable to Gods worde (they ſayd): but to ſuch as do not vnderſtand the ſayd ſeruice in Latin, they do not allow it, for it doth not profite them. Robert Southam added and ſayd, that it was a fonde queſtion to aſke a ſimple mã, whether the Latin ſeruice be good and lawfull. Mathew Ricarby and Roger Holland denied the ſeruice in Latin to be good.

11. To the. 11. Article, they all cõfeſſed the ſame to be true in euery part, ſauing Henry Pond, and Mathew Ricarby, who aunſwered in effect that they could not iudge therof, but leaue them to be tryed by the word of God.

12. To the. 12. Article, they graunted & confeſſed the ſame to be true, and deſired of God that the ſeruice were in the Engliſhe agayne.

13. To the. 13. Article they all graunted and confeſſed the ſame to be true.

14. To the. 14. Article they all graunted and confeſſed the ſame to be true in euery part.

Thus haue ye the aũſweres of theſe mẽ to the foreſayd Articles, ſaue that Reginald Eaſtland required to aunſwere therunto, refuſed ſo to do, alledgyng that hee knoweth that to end a ſtrife an oth is lawfull, but to begin a ſtrife an oth is not lawfull, and therefore he now refuſeth to take his oth in the begynnyng of this matter agaynſt him. Whereupon beyng charged by the Byſhop, he ſaid: for his not aunſwering to the Articles, he was content to ſtand vnto the order of the law for his puniſhment, whatſoeuer it ſhould be.

An oth to end a ſtrife lawfull, but to begin a ſtrife it is vnlawfull.

The condenation of Reynold Eaſtland.

The. 17. day after of the ſayd moneth of Iune, the ſayd Eaſtland appeared agayne before yͤ Byſhop, who ſtãding firme in that he had ſaid before, denyed to make any aunſwere in that caſe. &c. Wherupõ the ſayd Eaſtland with the other. 6. his felow priſoners, were aſſigned by the Byſhop to repayre agayne to the ſame place at afternone, who beyng there preſent in the foreſayd conſiſtory as they were commaunded, and ſtandyng altogether before the ſayd Byſhop, he begynnyng thus with them, aſked thẽ, if he had committed them to priſon. They ſaid no, but M. Cholmley and the Recorder of London committed them to Newgate.

Then being demaunded further by the Byſhop if he had done any thing or acte to keepe them in priſon, or to hinder their liberty from priſon: to this they aunſwered, they could not tell. Then the foreſayd articles beyng agayne recited to them, all they aunſwered and knowledged them to be yͤ articles, and that they would ſtand to their aunſweres made to the ſame. Whereupon the Byſhop diſſeuering them a part one from an other, proceeded with them ſeuerally, firſt beginning with Reginald Eaſtland, who there declared that he had bene vncharitably handled and talked withal ſince hys firſt impriſonment in that behalfe. Then being required to reconcile him ſelfe agayne to the catholicke fayth, and go from hys opinions, he ſayd, that he knew nothyng why he ſhould recant, and therefore woulde not conforme hym ſelfe in that behalfe. &c. and ſo the ſentence was red agaynſt hym, and he geuen to the ſecular power. &c.

The wordes of Eaſtland to the Byſhop at hys condemnation.

The condenation of Iohn Holiday.

After hym was called in Iohn Holiday, who lykewiſe beyng aduertiſed to renounce hys hereſies (as they called them) and to returne to the vnity of theyr church, ſayd, that he was no hereticke, nor did holde any hereſy, neither any opinion contrary to the catholicke fayth, and ſo would offer hym ſelfe to be iudged therein. Whereupon he likewiſe perſiſting in yͤ ſame, the ſentence was pronounced againſt him, cõdemning hym to be burnt.

The wordes of Iohn Holiday.

The condenation of Henry Pond.

Next to him was condemned with the like ſentence, Henry Pond, becauſe he would not ſubmit hym ſelfe to yͤ Romiſhe church, ſaying to Boner, that he had done or ſpoken nothing whereof he was or would be ſory, but that he did hold the truth of God and no hereſy. &c.

The condenation of Iohn Floyd.

After whom next followed Iohn Floyd, who likewiſe denyed to be of the Popes church, and ſayd hys mynde of the Latin ſeruice, that the prayers made to ſaintes is idolatry, and that the ſeruice in Latin is profitable to none but only to ſuch as vnderſtand yͤ Latin. Moreouer, being charged by Boner of hereſy, and ſaying that whatſoeuer he & ſuch other now a daies do, all is

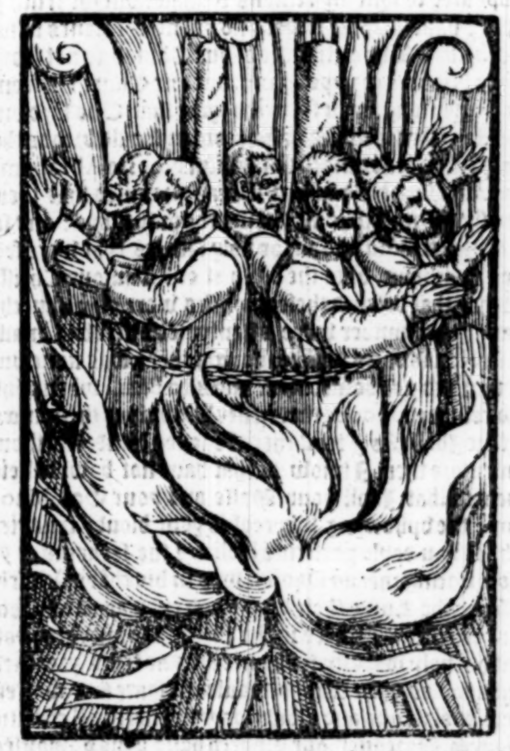
The condemnation of Robert Southam, Mathew Ricarby, and Roger Holland.

is hereſy: for thys he was condemned wyth the ſame butcherly ſentence, and ſo by the ſecular power was ſent away.

Then Robert Southam, after hym Mathew Ricarby, and laſt of all Roger Holland were ſeuerally produced.

Thus Roger Holland with hys fellowes (as ye heard) ſtanding to their aunſweres, and refuſing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romiſh church, who were altogether condemned, the ſentence beyng red agaynſt them, and ſo all the 7. by ſecular magiſtrates being ſent away to Newgate the 17. of Iune, not long after about the 27. of ye ſayd moneth were had to Smithfield, and there ended their liues in the glorious cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpell. Whoſe particular examinations came not to our handes: ſauing only the examinations of Roger Holland, which here followe in order and maner as we receaued them by the information of certayne who were preſent at the ſame.

The burnyng of vij. godly Martyrs in Smithfield.



The Martyrdomes of Henry Ponde, Reynold Eaſtland, Robert Southam, Mathew Ricarby, Iohn Floyd, Iohn Holiday, Roger Holland, in Smithfield. An. 1558 Iune. 27.

¶ *The examinations and condemnation* of Roger Holland.

The firſt examination of Roger Holland.

THis Roger Holland a marchant Taylor of London, was firſt prentiſe with one maſter Kempton at the blacke boy in Watling ſtreete, where he ſerued his prentiſhip with much trouble vnto hys maſter in breaking hym from his licencious liberty which he had before bene trayned and brought vp in, geuing hymſelfe to riot, as dauncing, fence, gaming, banquetting, and wanton company: and beſides all thys, being a ſtubborne & an obſtinate Papiſt, farre vnlike to come to any ſuch ende as God called hym vnto: the which was as followeth.

Hys maſter, notwithſtanding thys his lendnes, putting him in truſt wt hys accomptes, he had receaued for hym certayne money, to the ſumme of xxx. pounds, and falling into ill cōpany, loſt the ſayd money euery grote at dice, beyng paſt all hope which way to aunſwere it, and therefore he purpoſed to conuey hym ſelfe away beyond ye ſeas, eyther into Fraunce or into Flaunders.

Now hauing determined with hym ſelfe thus to do, he called betymes in the morning to a ſeruaunt in the houſe, an auncient and diſcrete mayde, whoſe name was Elizabeth, which profeſſed the Goſpell, with a life agreeing vnto the ſame, & at all tymes much rebuking the wilfull and obſtinate papiſtry, as alſo the licencious liuing of this Roger Holland. To whom he ſaid: Elizabeth I would I had followed thy gentle perſwaſions and frendly rebukes: which if I had done, I had neuer come to this ſhame and miſery which I am now fallen into: for this night haue I loſt xxx. pounde of my maſters money, which to pay hym and to make vp myne accomptes, I am not able. But thus much I pray you deſire my miſtres, that ſhe would intreat my maſter to take this bil of my hand, that I am thus much indebted vnto hym, and if I be euer hable, I wyll ſee him payed, deſiring him that the matter may paſſe with ſilence, and that none of my kinred nor frendes neuer vnderſtand this my leude part. For if it ſhould come vnto my fathers eares, it would bring his gray heares ouer ſoone vnto hys graue: and ſo was he departing.

A godly example of a maide, ſetting more by the ſoule of a Chriſten brother, thē by her money.

The mayde cōſidering that it might be his vtter vndoing: ſtay ſayd ſhe, and hauing a peece of money lying by her, geuen vnto her by the death of a kinſman of hers, who (as it is thought, was Doct. Redman) ſhe brought vnto hym xxx. pounde, ſaying: Roger, here is thus much money: I will let thee haue it, and I wyll keepe this bill. But ſince I do thus much for thee, to helpe thee and to ſaue thy honeſty, thou ſhalt promiſe me to refuſe al leude and wylde company, all ſwearing and ribaldry talke: and if I euer know thee to play one xij. d. at eyther dice or cardes, then I will ſhew thys thy bill vnto my maſter. And furthermore thou ſhalt promiſe me to reſort euery day to ye lecture at Alhollowes, and the ſermon at Paules euery Sonday, and to caſt away all thy bookes of papiſtry and vayne ballets, and get thee the teſtamēt and the booke of ſeruice, and reade the ſcriptures with reuerence and feare, calling vnto God ſtill for hys grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray vnto God feruently deſiring hym to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the ſinnes of thy youth: and euer be afrayd to breake his lawes or offend his maieſty. Then ſhall God keepe thee and ſend thee thy hartes deſire.

Rog. Holland brought to the loue of the Goſpell.

After this tyme, within one halfe yeare God had wrought ſuch a chaunge in this man that he was become an earneſt profeſſor of the truth, and deteſted all papiſtry and euill company: ſo that he was in admiration to all them that had knowen hym and ſeene hys former life and wickednes.

Rog. Holland conuerteth hys parentes to the Goſpell.

Then he repayred into Lankiſhiere vnto his father, and brought diuers good bookes with hym, and beſtowed them vpon his frendes, ſo that hys father and others began to taſt of the Goſpell and deteſt the Maſſe, idolatry, and ſuperſtiton: and in the ende hys father gaue hym a ſtocke of money to begin the world withall, to the ſumme of fiftie pound.

Rog. Holland repayeth the maide her money againe, and maryeth her.

Thē he repayred to Lōdon againe, & came to ye maide that lent him the money to pay hys maſter withall, and ſayd vnto her: Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the frendſhip, good wil, and the good counſell I haue receaued at thy handes, to recompence thee I am not hable, otherwiſe then to make thee my wife: and ſoone after they were marryed, which was in the firſt yeare of Queene Mary: And hauing a childe by her, he cauſed Maſter Roſe to baptiſe his ſaid childe in his owne houſe. Notwithſtanding he was bewrayed vnto the enemyes, and he being gone into the countrey to conuey the child away that the papiſtes ſhould not haue it in their anointing handes, Boner cauſed hys goodes to be ſeaſed vpon, and moſt cruelly vſed hys wyfe.

Hollandes childe Chriſtened in hys houſe.

After this he remayned cloſely in the City and in the countrey in the congregations of the faythfull, vntill the laſt yeare of Queene Mary. Then he with the vj. other aforeſayd, were taken in or not farre from S. Iohns wood, and ſo brought to Newgate vppon May day in the morning. an. 1558.

Rog. Holland brought to Newgate.

Then beyng called before the Byſhop, D. Chedſey, both the Harpſfieldes, and certaine other, after many other fayre and craftie perſuaſions of Doct. Chedſey to allure hym to their Babilonicall Church: thus the

Byſhop began with him.

Hollād, I for my part do wiſh well vnto thee, & the more for thy frendes ſake. And as Doct. Standiſh telleth me, you and he were both borne in one Pariſh, and he knoweth your father to be a very honeſt Catholicke Gentleman. And M. Doctour told me that he talked with you a yeare a go, and found you very wilfully addict to your owne conceite. Diuers of the Citie alſo haue ſhewed me of you, that you haue bene a great procurer of mens ſeruantes to be of your Religiō, and to come to your congregations: but ſince you be now in the daunger of the lawe, I would wiſh you to play a wiſe mans part: So ſhall you not want any fauour I can do or procure for you, both for your owne ſake, and alſo for your frendes, which be mē of worſhip and credite, & wiſh you well, and by my trouth Roger ſo do I.

Then ſayd one M. Egleſton a Gentlemā of Lankeſhyre and nere kynſmā to Roger, beyng there preſent: I thanke your good Lordſhip: your honor meaneth good vnto my coſin, I beſech God he haue the grace to follow your counſaile.

Holland. Syr, you craue of God you know not what. I beſech God open your eyes to ſee the light of hys word.

Egleſton. Roger, hold your peace, leſt you fare the worſe at my Lord handes.

Holland. No, I ſhall fare as pleaſeth God: for man can do no more then God doth permit him.

Rog. Holland willed to ſubmit him ſelf to the Byſhop.

Then yͤ Byſhop & the Doctors, with Iohnſon the Regiſter, caſting their heades together, in the end ſaith Iohnſon: Roger, how ſayeſt thou? wilt thou ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto my Lord before thou be entred into the booke of contempt?

Holland. I neuer ment but to ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the Magiſtrate, as I learne of S. Paul to the Romaines the xiij. chap. and ſo he recited the text.

Chedſey. Then I ſee you are no Anabaptiſt.

Holland. I meane not yet to be no Papiſt: for they and the Anabaptiſtes agree in this poynt, not to ſubmit them ſelues to any other Prince or Magiſtrate, thē thoſe that muſt firſt be ſworne to mainteine them and their doynges.

Chedſey. Roger, Remember what I haue ſayd and alſo what my Lord hath promiſed he will performe, with further frēdſhyp. Take heed Roger, for your ripenes of wit hath brought you into theſe errours.

Holland. M. Doctor, I haue yet your wordes in memory though they are of no ſuch force to preuaile wͭ me.

Then they whiſpered together agayne, and at the laſt ſayd Boner: Roger I perceiue thou wilt be ruled by no good counſell for any thyng that either I or your frendes or any other can ſay.

Rog. Holland firſt a great papiſt.

Holland. I may ſay to you my Lord, as Paul ſaid to Fœlix and vnto the Iewes, as doth appeare in the 22. of the Actes, and in the 15. of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth. It is not vnknowen vnto my Maſter whom I was prentiſe withall, that I was of this your blynd Religion that now is taught, and therin did obſtinatly and wilfully remayne, vntill the later end of kyng Edward in maner, hauing that liberty vnder your auricular confeſſion, that I made no conſcience of ſinne, but truſted in the Prieſtes abſolution, he for money doyng ſome penaunce alſo for me: which after I had giuen, I cared no further what offences I did, no more then he paſſed after he had my money, whether he faſted bread and water for me or no: ſo that lechery, ſwearyng and all other vices I accompted no offence of daunger, ſo long as I could for money haue them abſolued. So ſtraitly did I obſerue your rules of Religion, that I would haue aſhes vpon Aſhwenſday, though I had vſed neuer ſo much wickednes at night. And albeit I could not of conſcience eate fleſh vpon the Friday, yet in ſwearyng, drinkyng, or dicyng all the night long, I made no conſcience at all. And thus was I brought vp, and herein haue I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentaunce of my former idolatry and wicked lyfe: for in Lankeſhyre their blyndnes and whoredome is ouermuch more, then may with chaſt eares be heard. Yet theſe my frendes which are not cleare in theſe notable crimes, thinke yͤ Prieſt wͭ his Maſſes can ſaue thē, though they blaſpheme God, and keepe concubines beſides their wiues, as long as they liue. Yea I know ſome Prieſtes, very deuout, my Lord, yet ſuch as haue vj. or vij. children by iiij. or v. ſundry wemen.

The wickednes of Rog. Holland before he was called to the goſpell.

At theſe examinatiōs diuers of Roger Hollandes frendes and kinſfolke being men of worſhip, were preſent both of Lankeſhire and Cheſhire.

M. Doctour, now to your antiquitie, vnitie, and vniuerſalitie (for theſe D. Chedſey alledged as notes and tokens of their Religion). I am vnlearned. I haue no Sophiſtry to ſhift my reaſons withall: but the truth I truſt I haue, which nedeth no paynted colours to ſet her forth. The antiquitie of our Church is not from Pope Nicolas or pope Ioane, but our Church is from the begynnyng, euen from the tyme that God ſayd vnto Adam that the ſeede of the woman ſhould breake the Serpentes head: and ſo to faythful Noe: to Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, to whom it was promiſed that their ſede ſhould multiplie as the ſtarres in the ſkye: and ſo to Moſes, Dauid and all the holy fathers that were frō the begynnyng, vnto the byrth of our Sauiour Chriſt. All they that beleued theſe promiſes were of yͤ church, though the number were oftentymes but few & ſmall, as in Helias daies whē he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reſerued. 7000. that neuer had bowed their knees to that Idoll: As I truſt there be ſeuen hundreth thouſand more then I know of that haue not bowed their knees to that Idoll your Maſſe and your God Maozim: the vpholdyng whereof is your bloudy crueltie, whiles you dayly perſecute Helias & the ſeruauntes of God, forcing thē (as Daniell was in his chāber) cloſely to ſerue the Lorde their God: and euen as we by this your crueltie are forced in the fieldes to pray vnto God that his holy word may be once agayne truly preached amongeſt vs, and that he would mitigate and ſhorten theſe Idolatrous and bloudy dayes, wherin all crueltie reigneth. Moreouer, our Church haue bene yͤ Apoſtles & Euangeliſtes, the Martyrs and Confeſſors of Chriſt that haue at all tymes and in all ages bene perſecuted for the true teſtimonie of the word of God. But for the vpholdyng of your Church and Religion, what antiquitie cā you ſhew? Yea the Maſſe, that Idol and chief piller of your Religiō, is not yet foure hundreth yeares old, and ſome of your Maſſes are yonger, as that Maſſe of S. Thomas Becket the traitor, wherin you pray that you may be ſaued by the bloud of S. Thomas.

The Maſſe how olde it is.

As for your Latine ſeruice, what are we of the laity the better for it? I thinke he that ſhould heare your prieſtes mumble vp their ſeruice, although he did well vnderſtād latin, yet ſhould he vnderſtand few wordes therof: the Prieſtes doe ſo champe them and chaw them, and poſteth ſo faſt, that neither they vnderſtand what they ſay, nor they that heare thē: and in yͤ meane tyme the people whē they ſhould pray with the Prieſt, are ſet to their beades to pray our Ladyes Pſalter. So crafty is Sathan to deuiſe theſe his dreames (which you defend with Fagot and fire) to quench the lyght of the word of God: which (as Dauid ſayth) ſhould be a lanterne to our feete. And agayne, wherin ſhall a yong man direct his wayes, but by the word of God? and yet you will hyde it from vs in a toūg vnknowen. S. Paul had rather in the Church to haue fiue wordes ſpoken with vnderſtanding, then ten thouſand in an vnknowē toung: and yet will you haue your Latin ſeruice and praying in a ſtraunge toung, wherof the people are vtterly ignorant, to be of ſuch antiquitie?

Latine ſeruice.

The Greeke Church and a good part of Chriſtendome beſides, neuer receiued your ſeruice in an vnknowen toung, but in their owne naturall language which all the people vnderſtand, neither yet your tranſubſtantion, your receiuyng all alone, your Purgatory,

The Greke Church differing from the Latine.

ry, your images &c.

As for the vnitie which is in your Church, what is it els but treaſon, murther, poiſonyng one an other, Idolatry, ſuperſtition, wickednes? What vnitie was in your Church, when there was three Popes at once? Where was your head of vnitie when you had a woman Pope? Here he was interrupted and could not be ſuffered to procede, but ſayth the Byſhop: Roger theſe thy wordes are very blaſphemy, and by the meanes of thy frendes thou haſt ben ſuffered to ſpeake, and art ouer malepert to teach any here: Therfore keeper take hym away.

The ſecond examination of Roger Holland.

The 2. examinatiō of Roger Holland.

The day that Henry Pond & the reſt were brought forth to be agayne examined, D. Chedſey ſayd: Roger, I truſt you haue now better conſidered of the Church then you did before.

Holland. I conſider this much: That out of the Church there is no ſaluation, as diuers auncient Doctours ſay.

Boner. That is well ſayd. M. Egleſton I truſt your kynſman will be a good Catholicke man. But Roger, you meane, I truſt, the Church of Rome.

Holland. I meane that Church which hath Chriſt for her head: which alſo hath his word, and his Sacramantes accordyng to his word and inſtitution.

Chedſey. Then Chedſey interrupted hym, and ſayd: is that a Teſtament you haue in your hand?

Holland. Yea M. Doctour, it is the new Teſtament. You will find no fault with the tranſlation (I thinke). It is of your owne tranſlation: it is accordyng to the great Bible.

Boner. How ſay you? how do you know it is the Teſtament of Chriſt, but onely by the Church? For the Church of Rome hath and doth preſerue it, and out of the ſame hath made decrees, ordinaunces, and true expoſitions.

No (ſayth Roger) the Church of Rome hath and doth ſuppreſſe the readyng of the Teſtamēt. And what a true expoſition (I pray you) did the Pope make therof when he ſet his foote in the Emperours necke and ſayd: *Thou ſhalt walke vppon the Lyon and the Aſpe: the yong Lyon and the Dragon ſhalt thou treade vnto thy foote.*

Pſal. xcj.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: Such vnlearned wilde heades as thou and other, would be expoſitours of the Scripture. Would you then the auncient learned (as there be ſome here aswel as I) ſhould be taught of you?

Holl. Youth delighteth in vanitie. My wildnes hath bene ſomewhat the more by your doctrine, then euer I learned out of this booke of God. But my Lord, I ſuppoſe, ſome of the old Doctours ſay: If a poore lay man bryng his reaſon & argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited afore the learned, though they be neuer ſo great Doctours. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned Doctours, and giuen to poore fiſhermen. Notwithſtandyng I am ready to be inſtructed by the Church.

Boner. That is very well ſayd Roger. But you muſt vnderſtād that the Church of Rome is the Catholicke Church. Roger, for thy frendes ſake (I promiſe thee) I wiſh thee well, and I meane to do thee good. Keeper, ſee he want nothyng. Roger, if thou lacke any money to pleaſure thee, I will ſee thou ſhalt not want. This he ſpake vnto hym alone his fellowes beyng apart, with many other fayre promiſes, and ſo he was ſent to priſon agayne.

¶ *The laſt examination of Roger Holland.*

The laſt examination of Roger Holland.

The laſt examination of Roger Holland was when he with his fellow priſoners were brought into the Conſiſtory and there excommunicated all ſauyng Roger, and ready to haue their ſentence of iudgement giuen, with many threatning wordes to feare them withall: the Lord Straunge, Syr Tho. Iarret, M. Egleſton Eſquier, & diuers other of worſhyp both of Cheſhyre & Lākeſhyre, that were Rog. Hollāds kinſmē & frendes, beyng there preſent: which had ben earneſt ſuters to the Byſhop in his fauour, hopyng of his ſafetie of lyfe. Now the Byſhop hopyng yet to wynne hym with his fayre and flatteryng wordes, began after this maner.

Boner. Roger I haue diuers tymes called thee before, home to my houſe, and haue conferred with thee, and beyng not learned in the Latine toung, it doth appeare vnto me thou art of a good memory and of a very ſēſible talke, but ſomething ouerhaſty: which is a naturall diſeaſe to ſome men. And ſurely they are not the worſt natured men. For I my ſelfe ſhall now and then be haſty, but myne anger is ſoone paſt. So Roger, ſurely I haue a good opinion of you, that you will not with theſe lewde fellowes caſt your ſelfe headlong from the church of your parentes & your frendes that are here, very good Catholickes (as it is reported vnto me). And as I meane thee good, ſo Roger play the wiſemās part, and come home with the loſt ſonne & ſay: I haue runne into the Church of ſchiſmatikes and hereticks, from the Catholicke Church of Rome, and you ſhall, I warrant you, not onely finde fauour at Gods handes, but the Church that hath authoritie, ſhall abſolue you and put new garmentes vppon you, and kill the fatlyng to make thee good chere withall: That is, in ſo doyng, as meate doth refreſh and cheriſh the minde, ſo ſhalt thou finde as much quietnes of conſciēce in commyng home to the Church, as did the hungry ſonne that had bene fed afore with the hogges, as you haue done with theſe herettickes that ſeuer them ſelues from the Church. I giue them a homely name, but they be worſe (puttyng his hand to his cap for reuerence ſake) then hogges: For they know the Church and will not follow it. If I ſhould ſay this much to a Turke, he would (I thinke) beleue me. But Roger, if I did not beare thee and thy frendes good will, I would not haue ſayd ſo much as I haue done, but I would haue let myne Ordinary alone with you.

The Rhetoricall perſwaſions of Byſh. Boner.

At theſe wordes his frendes that were there, gaue the Byſhop thankes for his good will and paynes that he had taken in hys and their behalfe.

Boner. Well Roger, how ſay you now? Do you not beleue that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration, there remayneth the body of Chriſt really and corporally vnder the formes of bread and wyne: I meane the ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the virgine Mary, that was crucified vpon the croſſe, that roſe agayne the third day?

Holland. Your Lordſhyp ſayth, the ſame body which was borne of the virgine Mary, which was crucified vpon the Croſſe, which roſe agayne the thyrd day: but you leaue out, which aſcended into heauen: and the Scripture ſayth he ſhall there remayne vntill he come to iudge the quicke and the dead. Then he is not conteined vnder the formes of bread and wyne by Hoc eſt corpus meum. &c.

The Papiſtes how they take one peece of Scripture, and leaue out an other.

Boner. Roger, I perceiue my paynes and good will, will not preuaile: and if I ſhould argue with thee, ꝥ art ſo wilfull (as all thy fellowes be, ſtandyng in thine own ſingularitie and fooliſh conceite) that thou wouldeſt ſtill talke to no purpoſe this by.yeare, if thou mighteſt be ſuffered. Aūſwere whether thou wilt confeſſe the reall and corporall preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, or wilt not.

Holland. My Lord, although that God by hys ſufferaunce hath here placed you to ſet forth his truth and glory in vs his faithfull ſeruauntes: notwithſtandyng your meanyng is farre from the zeale of Chriſt, and for all your wordes, you haue the ſame zeale that Annas and Caiphas had, truſting to their authoritie, traditiōs and ceremonies, more then to the word of God.

Boner. If I ſhould ſuffer hym, he would fall frō reaſonyng to raylyng, as a franticke hereticke.

Lord Straunge. Roger (ſayth the Lord Straunge) I perceaue my Lord would haue you to tell him whether you will ſubmit your ſelfe vnto him or no.

Boner. Yea, ſayth Boner, and confeſſe this preſence that I haue ſpoken of.

With this Roger turnyng him to the Lord Staunge and the reſt of his kynſmen and frendes, very cherefully kneled downe vpon his knées and ſayd: God by the mouth of his ſeruaũt S. Paul hath ſayd: *Let euery ſoule ſubmit him ſelfe vnto the higher powers, and he that reſiſteth receiueth his owne damnation:* and as you are a Magiſtrate appoynted by the will of God, ſo do I ſubmit my ſelfe vnto you, and to all ſuch as are appointed for Magiſtrates.

The preſence in the Sacrament.

Boner. That is well ſayd: I ſée you are no Anabaptiſt. How ſay you then to the preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the altar?

Holland. I ſay, and I beſech you all to marke & beare witnes with me (for ſo you ſhall do before the iudgemẽt ſeat of God) what I ſpeake: for here is the concluſion: And ye my deare frendes (turnyng him to his kinſmẽ) I pray you ſhew my father what I do ſay, that he may vnderſtand I am a Chriſtian mã: I ſay & beleue & am therin fully perſuaded by the Scriptures, that the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord miniſtred in the holy Communion accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, I beyng penitent and ſory for my ſinnes, and myndyng to amend and lead a new life, and ſo commyng worthely vnto Gods board in perfect loue & charitie, do there receiue by fayth, the body and bloud of Chriſt. And though Chriſt in his humane perſon ſit at the right hãd of his father, yet (by faith I ſay) his death, his Paſſion, his merites are myne: and by fayth I dwell in him and he in me. And as for the Maſſe, tranſubſtantiation, and the worſhippyng of the Sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry.

Boner. I thought ſo much, ſayth Boner (ſufferyng hym to ſpeake no more) how he would proue a very blaſphemous hereticke as euer I heard. How vnreuerently doth he ſpeake of the bleſſed Maſſe? and ſo read his bloudy ſentence of condemnation, adiudgyng hym to be burned.

Sentence red agaynſt *Rog. Holland.*

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet, and when he ſhould departe, he ſaid: my Lord, I beſech you ſuffer me to ſpeake ij. wordes. The Byſhop would not heare hym but bad hym away. Notwithſtandyng, beyng requeſted by one of his frendes, he ſayd: ſpeake, what haſt thou to ſay?

Rog. Holland propheſieth of ſhortening the tyme of *B. Boners* crueltie.

The laſt that ſuffered in Smithfield.

Holland. Euen now I told you that your authoritie was from God and by his ſufferance, and now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his ſeruaũtes which haue bene poured forth with teares for his afflicted Saintes, which daily you perſecute, as now you do vs. But this I dare be bold in God to ſpeake (which by his ſpirite I am moued to ſay) that God will ſhorten your hand of cruelty, that for a tyme you ſhall not moleſt his Church: And this ſhall you in ſhort tyme well perceaue, my deare brethrẽ, to be moſt true. For after this day, in this place ſhall there not be any by him put to the triall of fire and Fagot: And after this day there was neuer none that ſuffered in Smithfield for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell, God be thanked.

After theſe wordes ſpokẽ, ſayth Boner: Roger, thou art I perceiue as madde in theſe thy hereſies as euer was Ioane Bocher. In anger and fume thou wouldeſt become a rayling Prophet. Though thou and all yͤ ſort of you would ſée me hanged, yet I ſhall lyue to burne, yea I will burne all the ſort of you that come in my handes, that will not worſhip the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, for all thy pratlyng, and ſo went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his frendes to repentance, and to thinke well of them that ſuffered for yͤ teſtimony of yͤ Goſpell, and with that the Biſhop came backe, chargyng the kéeper that no man ſhould ſpeake to thẽ without his licence, and if they did, they ſhould be committed to priſon. In the meane ſeaſon H. Pond and Roger ſpake ſtill vnto the people, exhortyng them to ſtand in the truth: addyng moreouer, that God would ſhorten thoſe cruell and euill dayes for his electe ſake.

Cruell dayes ſhortened for the elect ſake.

The Martyrdome of *Roger Holland* with ſixe other in Smithfield.

The day they ſuffred, a proclamation was made, that none ſhould be ſo bold to ſpeake or talke any word vnto them, or receiue any thing of thẽ, or to touch thẽ, vpon payne of impriſonment, without either bale or mainprice: with diuers other cruell threatning wordes, contayned in the ſame proclamation. Notwithſtãding the people cryed out, deſiring God to ſtrengthen them: and they likewiſe ſtill prayed for the people, and the reſtoring of his word. At the length Roger embracing the ſtake, and the réedes, ſayd theſe wordes:

Lord I moſt humbly thancke thy maieſty, that thou haſt called me from the ſtate of death, vnto the light of thy heauenly woorde, and now vnto the fellowſhippe of thy Saintes, that I may ſing and ſay: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hoſtes. And Lord into thy handes I cõmit my ſpirite. Lord bleſſe theſe thy people, and ſaue them from Idolatry. and ſo ended hys life, looking vp into heauen, praying, and prayſing God, with the reſt of his fellow Sainctes. For whoſe ioyfull conſtancie the Lorde be prayſed.

❧ The Martyrdome of ſix which ſuffred at Brainford for the true teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt.

July. 14.

Vj. Martyrs burnt at Braynford.

NOt Long after the death of the fore named vij. godly Martyrs that ſuffred in Smithfield, were vj. other faythfull witneſſes of the Lordes true teſtament, Martyred at Braynford, vij. miles from London, the xiiij. day of July. 1558. which ſayd vj. were of that company yͤ were apprehended in a cloſe hard by Iſlington (as is aboue ſpecified) & ſent to priſon. Whoſe names and articles proponed to them, with their anſwers vnto the ſame, hereafter followeth.

Robert Mylles.
Stephen Cotton.
Robert Dynes.
Stephen Wight.
Iohn Slade.
William Pikes, *or* Pikers, *a Tãner.*

Martyrs.

Theſe vj. fore named Martyrs (gentle reader) had their articles miniſtred to them by Thomas Darbiſhere Boners Chancellor, at ſundry times, as Robert Milles the xx. day of June, Stephen Wight the xxj. day of the ſayd moneth, Ste. Cotton and Iohn Slade the xxij. day, and Robert Dines and William Pikes the 23. day. At which ſayd times, though they were ſeuerally examined, yet had they all one maner of articles miniſtred to them, yea and the ſelfe ſame articles that were miniſtred to Iohn Holiday, Henry Pond, and theyr company afore ſayd. Which ſayd articles I leaue the reader to looke for in pag. 2235. & thinke it not neceſſary any more to rehearſe them, but onely to procede with theyr aunſwers to the ſame, which briefely and in ſumme hereafter followeth.

¶ The aunſwers of the forenamed perſons to the articles afore ſayde.

1. The aunſwerers of the vj. former Martyrs to the articles.

TO the fyrſt article they al graunted the ſame, and added therto for going to church, that Robert Mylles and Stephen Wight came not there for iij. quarters of a yeare before, and Iohn Slade and William Pikes not ſince the Quéenes reigne, Stephen Cotton not for a tweluemoneth before, & Robert Dynes not for ij. yeares before.

2.3.4.5.6.

To the. 2. 3. 4. 5. and. 6. Articles they all aunſwered in effect, as the forenamed Iohn Holyday, Henry Pond & their company did. pag. 2236. ſauyng they added, that as theyr rites, cuſtomes, and ceremonies are agaynſt the word of God, ſo will they obſerue and keepe no part of the ſame. Stephen Wight added further that he receiued not theyr Sacrament of the altar for two yeares before, nor Iohn Slade and William Pikes ſince Queene Maries reigne, nor Steuen Cotton for a twelumoneth before, nor Robert

Dynes for iij. yeares before.

To the vij. article, they all graunted the ſame in euery part like vnto the afore named Henry Pond and his company, pag. 2236. ſauing Robert Dines added that it was no part of his beliefe.

7. 8. To the eight article they all graunted the ſame in euery part as the forenamed William Hollyday and his company, pag. 2236. but Robert Milles added thereto that he will not come to church, nor allow their religion, ſo long as the croſſe is crept to and worſhipped, and Images are in the church. Iohn Slade affirmed in effect as Robert Milles dyd, adding further that there be not vij. Sacramentes, but two ſacramentes, which is Baptiſme and the ſupper of the Lord. Stephen Cotton would no further allow the Popiſh religion, then it agreeth with Gods word: and Robert Dines affirmed in effect the like to Stephen Cotton alſo.

9.10. To the ninth and tenth articles Robert Milles, Iohn Slade and Steuen Cotton aunſwered that they do not allow the popiſh ſeruice then ſet forth, becauſe it is agaynſt the truth, and in a ſtraunge language which the commõ people vnderſtand not. Robert Dines and William Pikes, wil neither allow nor diſallow the latine ſeruice, becauſe they vnderſtand it not. And Steuen Wight would make no direct aunſwere to the articles at all, and to the 11. 12. 13. and 14. articles we finde no aunſweres recorded of the ſayd Steuen Wight, but of the reſt of his fellow priſoners we finde aunſweres to thoſe articles, which hereafter follow.

11. To the xj. article, Robert Milles, Iohn Slade and Steuen Cotton aunſwered, that concerning the bookes, faith, and religion ſpecified in this article, they do allow them ſo farre forth as they agree with Gods worde. &c. Robert Dines would make no aunſwere thereto, becauſe he thought hymſelfe vnmeete to iudge thereof: and William Pikes doth not remẽber that he hath miſliked the ſeruice, and the fayth, and religion ſet forth in king Edward the ſixt hys tyme.

12. To the xij. they graunt, that if they might receaue the ſacrament as they did in king Edward the ſixt dayes, they would with all their hart ſo do.

13.14. To the 13. and 14. articles, they confeſſe and graunt the contentes of them to be true in euery part.

When at the dayes before ſpecified, these good men were produced before Boners Chauncellor Thomas Darbiſhire, and had the foreſayd articles miniſtred vnto them, and they (as ye haue heard) had made aunſwere vnto the ſame, in the end the Chauncellor commaunded them to appeare before them agayne the xj. day of July after in the ſayd place at Paules. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turne from their opinions to the mother holy church: and if not, that then, whether there were any cauſe to the contrary but that they might procede with the ſentence of condemnation. Whereunto they all aunſwered, that they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the ſame while they liued. Thẽ he charged them to appeare before him againe the next day in the after noone, betwene one & two of the clocke, to heare the definitiue ſentence red agaynſt them, according to the eccleſiaſticall lawes then in force. At which time, he ſitting in iudgement, talking with theſe godly and vertuous men, at the laſt came into the ſayd place ſyr Edward Haſtinges and ſyr Thomas Cornwales knightes, ij. of Queene Maryes officers of her houſe, and being there, they ſat them downe ouer agaynſt the Chauncellour, in whoſe preſence the ſayd Chauncellour condemned thoſe good poore lambes, and deliuered them ouer to the ſecular power, who receaued and caryed them to priſon immediatly, and there kept them in ſafety till the day of their death.

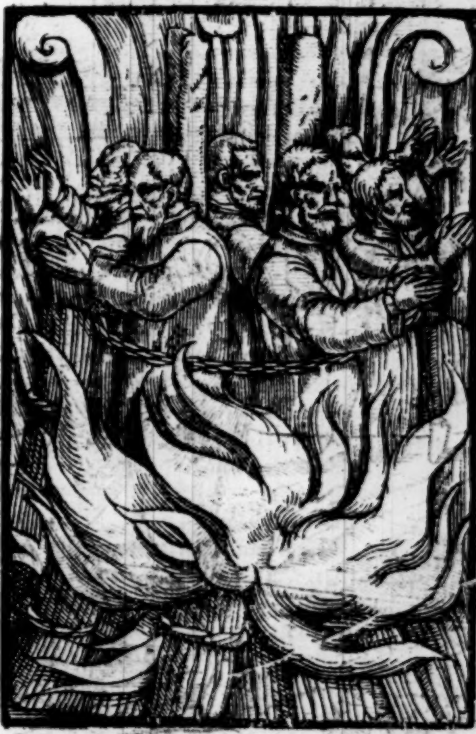
The vj. Martyrs brought agayn before *Darbiſhire.*

Syr Edw. Haſtinges and Syr Thomas Cornwales at the condemnation of theſe Martyrs.

In the meane tyme this naughty Chauncellor ſlept not, I warrãt you, but that day in which they were cõdemned, he made certificate into the Lord Chauncellors office, from whence the next day after was ſent a writ to burne them at Brainford afore ſayd, which accordingly was accompliſhed in the ſame place, the ſayd xiiij. day of July: Wherunto they being brought, made their humble prayers vnto the Lord Jeſus, vndreſſed themſelues, went ioyfully to the ſtake whereto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yelded their ſoules, bodyes, and liues into the handes of the omnipotẽt Lord, for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and to whoſe protection I commend thee gentle reader, Amen.

The Martyrdome of *Rob. Milles, Ste. Cotton, Rob. Dynes, Ste. Wight, Iohn Slade. Will. Pikes,* at Brainford. An. 1558. July. 14.

The burnyng of ſixe Martyrs at Brainford.

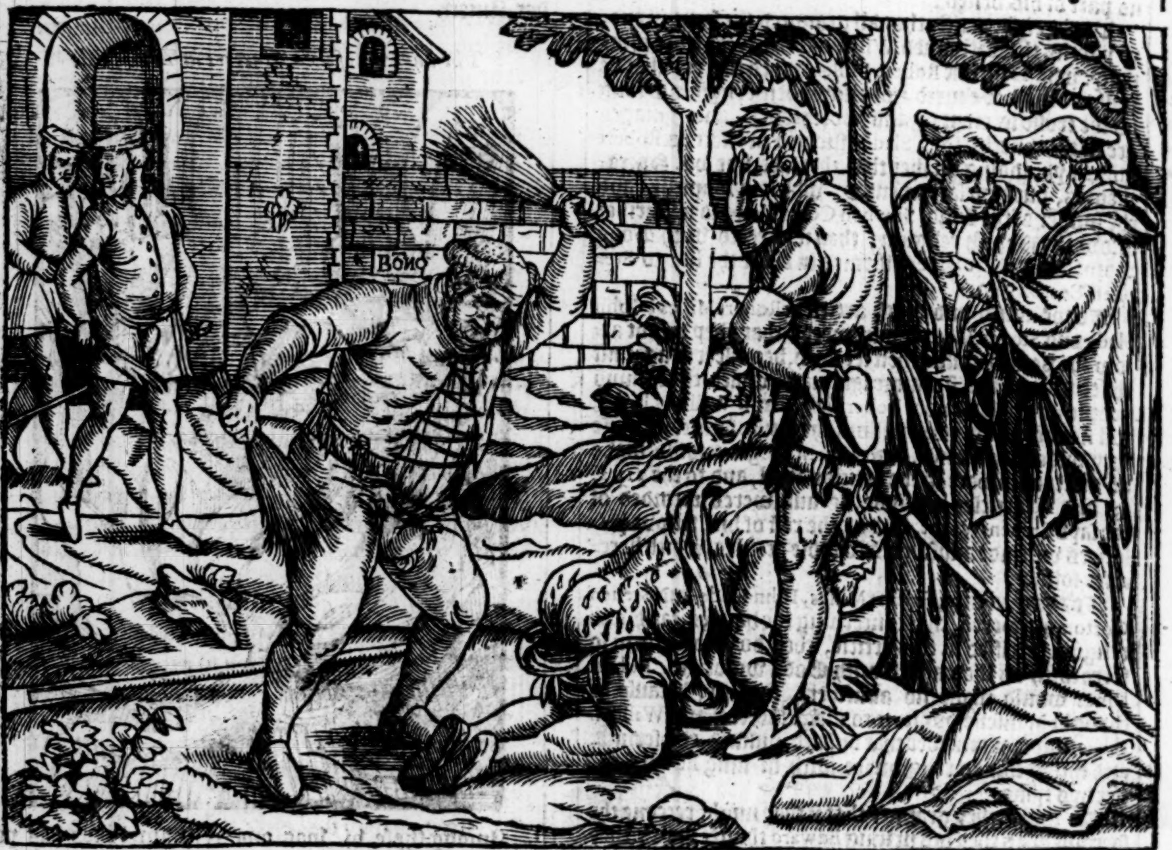


Among theſe vj. was one William Pikes (as ye haue heard) who ſometyme dwelt in Ipſwich in Suffolke, by his occupatiõ a Tanner, a very honeſt Godly man, and of a vertuous diſpoſition, a good keeper of hoſpitalitie, and beneficiall to ỹ perſecuted in Q. Maryes dayes. This ſaid Williã Pikes, in ỹ 3. yeare of Queene Maryes reigne, a little after Midſomer, being then at liberty, went into his garden, and toke with hym a Bible of Rogers tranſlation, where he ſitting with his face towardes the South, reading on the ſayd Bible, ſodenly fell downe vpon his booke betwene a xj. and xij. a clocke of the day, iiij. droppes of freſh bloude, and he knew not from whence it came. Then he ſeing ỹ ſame, was ſore aſtoniſhed, and could by no meanes learne (as I ſayd) from whence it ſhould fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, called hys wife, and ſayd: In the vertue of God wife, what meaneth thys? will the Lord haue iiij. ſacrifices? I ſee well enough the Lord will haue bloud: his will be done, and geue me grace to abide the triall. Wife, let vs pray (ſaid he): for I feare the day draweth nigh. Afterward he dayly looked to be apprehẽded of ỹ papiſtes, and it came to paſſe accordingly, as ye haue heard. Thus much thought I good to write hereof, to ſtyrre vp our dull ſenſes in conſidering the Lordes workes, and reuerently to honour the ſame. His name therfore be prayſed for euermore, Amen.

Moreouer, concerning the ſayd William Pikes, as he was in Newgate ſore ſicke and at the point of death, ſo that no man looked he ſhould liue vj. houres, there declared to them that ſtoode by, that he had bene twiſe in perſecution before, and that now he deſired the Lord, if it were hys will, that he might glorifie hys name at the ſtake, and ſo as he prayed it came to paſſe at Braynford.

Ye heard before of thoſe 22. taken at Iſlington 13. were burned, and 6. eſcaped, albeit very hardly, and ſome of them not without ſcourging by the handes of the biſhop. In the which number was Thomas Hinſhaw & Iohn Milles, according to the expreſſe picture, here after purported.

The right Picture and true counterfeite of Boner, and his crueltie, in ſcourgyng of Gods Saincts in his Orchard at Fulham.



¶ In effigiem Boneri, carmen.

QVæ noua forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid aluus,
Pondera quid ventris, craſſitieſq́; velit?
Corpus amaxæum, diſtento abdomine pigrum
Rides, anne ſtupes lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velint, ſi neſcis pondera, dicam.
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obeſus habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſcitur atro,
Ducentos annis hauſerat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris.
Qui patre Sauago natus, falſoque Bonerus
Dicitur, hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

¶ The ſame in Engliſhe.

MVſe not ſo much, that natures worke
is thus deformed now,
with belly blowen, and head ſo ſwolne,
for I ſhall tell you how:
This Canniball in three yeares ſpace
three hundred Martyrs ſlew:
They were his foode, he loued ſo bloud,
he ſpared none he knew.

It ſhould appeare that bloud feedes fat,
if men lye well and ſoft:
For Boners belly waxt with bloud,
though he ſeemde to faſt oft.
O bloudy beaſt, bewaile the death,
of thoſe that thou haſt ſlayne:
In tyme repent, ſince thou canſt not
theyr lyues reſtore agayne.

G. G.

¶ In Bonerum.

CArnificis nomen debetur iure Bonero,
Que ſine Chriſticolas crimine mactat oues.
Certe carnificis immitis nomine gaudet,
Siq́; iſto peius nomine nomen, amat,
Carnificem vocitas? ridet. crudelia facta
Narras? rem gratam non facis ipſe magis.
Det Deus vt ſapias meliora Bonere, vel iſtis
Te feriant meritis munera digna præcor.

¶ The ſcourging of Thomas Hinſhaw.

The ſtorye of Thomas Hinſhaw.

IN the Godly number aboue mentioned, which were apprehended at Iſlington, there congregated together for theyr exerciſe of prayer and reading, was thys Thomas Hinſhaw aboue named, a young mã of the age of xix. or xx. yeares, Prentiſe in Paules churchyard with one maſter Pugſon. Who with the reſt, was caryed to the Conſtables of Iſlington, and there euery one of them ſearched, and led forthwith to the chiefe Iuſtice M. Cholmley, dwelling in the olde Baily in London, and by him then the ſaid Tho. Hinſhaw was ſent to Newgate, and there remayning priſoner without conference with any about eyght wéekes, at the laſt was ſent for to Boner B. of London, and by hym, Harpſfield & Cole examined. After which examination, he was ſent to Newgate againe, where he remayned a thrée wéekes following. Which time being ouer paſſed, he was ſent for agayne before the ſayd byſhop, the day being Saterday, & with him had much talke to litle purpoſe. The next day after alſo, which was Sonday, they perſwaded with him very much in like maner, and perceauing they could not bend him vnto theyr bowe, in ÿ afternoone, ÿ byſhop going vnto Fulhã, toke him with him: where immediatly after his comming, he was ſet in the ſtockes, remayning there all the firſt night with bread and water.

Maſter Cholmley iuſtice.

Boner, Harpſfield, and Cole.

Hinſhaw caryed to Fulhã, and there ſet in ÿ ſtockes with bread and water.

The next morning the byſhop came and examined him himſelfe, and perceauing no yelding to his minde, he ſent M. Harpſfield to talke with hym: who after long talke, in the end fell to raging wordes, calling the ſayd Thomas Hinſhaw peuiſhe boy, and aſked him whether he thought he went about to damne his ſoule, or no. &c. Vnto which the ſayd Thomas aunſwered, that he was perſwaded that they laboured to maintayne theyr darke and deuiliſh kingdome, and not for any loue to truth. Thẽ Harpſfield being in a mighty rage, told the biſhop therof. Wherat ÿ biſhop fumed & fretted, that ſcant for anger being able to ſpeake, he ſayd: Doeſt thou anſwere my Archdeacon ſo, thou

Hinſhaw beaten with roddes.

The boy was beholding to B. Boners graund paunch.

naughty boy? I ſhall handle thée well inough, be aſſured: ſo he ſent for a couple of roddes, and cauſed him to knele againſt a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where the ſayd Thomas without any enforcement of hys part, offred himſelfe to the beating, and did abyde the fury of yͤ ſayd Boner, ſo long as the fat panched byſhop could endure with breath, and till for wearines he was fayne to ceaſe, and geue place to his ſhamefull acte. He had two Willow rods, but he waſted but one, and ſo left of.

Now, after this ſcourging, the ſayd Thomas Hinſhaw notwithſtanding dyd ſuſteyne diuers conflictes and examinations ſundry times. At laſt being brought before yͤ ſaid Biſh. in his chappel at Fulham, there he had procured witneſſes and gathered articles agaynſt him, which the young man denyed, and would not affirme, or conſent to any interrogatory there and then miniſtred, doo what they could.

The articles were theſe.

Articles obiected.

Concerning Palmes, Aſhes, Holy bread, Holy water, Auricular confeſſion, receauing the ſacrament at Eaſter, hearyng diuine ſeruice then ſet forth. &c.

whether he had receiued al theſe, or whether he would receaue them or no.

Item, what he thought of the ſeruice ſet forth in King Edwardes time, in his latter dayes, and in eſpeciall, what he thought of yͤ verity of Chriſtes body in yͤ ſacrament.

In which all his aunſwers, the ſayd Thomas Hinſhaw kept an upright conſcience, and entangled himſelfe with none of theyr ceremonyes: ſo mercifull was the Lord unto him.

Thomas Hinſhaw deliuered to Maſter Pugſon his maſter.

Not long after this his examination, about a fortnight or ſuch a thing, the foreſayd examinate fell ſicke of a burning ague, wherby he was deliuered upon entreatie, unto his Maſter Martin Pugſon in Paules Churchyard aforeſaid: for the Biſhop thought verely, he was more like to dye then to liue. The which hys ſicknes endured a tweluemonth or more, ſo that in the meane time, Queene Mary dyed. Then he ſhortly after recouered health, and eſcaped death, being at the writing of this yet aliue, both witnes and reporter of the ſame, the Lord therfore be prayſed, Amen.

The ſcourging of Iohn Milles by B. Boner.

The ſtory of Iohn Milles Capper.

Beſides the aboue named was ſcourged alſo by the handes of the ſayd byſhop one Iohn Milles a Capper, a right faythfull and true honeſt man in all his dealinges and conditions. Who was brother to the foreſayd Robert Milles, burned before at Brainford, as is aboue ſignified. pag. 2241. Who alſo was apprehēded in the ſame number with them at Iſlington, as is mentioned alſo before. Pag. 2235. and being brought before Boner, and there examined, was commaunded to the Colehouſe, with the foreſaid Thomas Hinſhaw, where they remayned one night in the ſtockes. From thence he was had to Fulham, where he with the ſayd Hinſhaw, remayned viij. or x. dayes in the ſtockes: during which time he ſuſteyned diuers conflictes with the ſayd Boner, who had him oft times in examination, urging him, and with a ſticke which he had in his hand, oft times rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the eares, ſaying he looked downe like a théefe. Moreouer, after he had aſſayed all maner of waies to cauſe him to recant and could not, at lēgth, hauing him to his Orchard, there within a litle herbar, with his owne handes beat him, firſt with a willow rod, and that being worne well nigh to the ſtumpes, he called for a burchen rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cauſe why he ſo beat him, was this: Boner aſked him when he had crept to the Croſſe. He anſwered, not ſince he came to the yeares of diſcretion, neither would, to be torne with wilde horſes. Then Boner bad him make a croſſe in his forehead, which he refuſed to doe. Whereupon he had him incontinently to his Orchard, and there calling for roddes, ſhewed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon Thomas Hinſhaw, as is aboue declared.

Iohn Milles with Thomas Hinſhaw lyde in the ſtockes at Fulham.

Hinſhaw and Milles beaten of Boner.

This doone, he had him immediately to the pariſh church of Fulham, with the ſayd Thomas Hinſhaw, and with Robert Willis, to whom, there being ſeuerally called before hym, he miniſtred certayne articles, aſking if they would ſubſcribe to the ſame. To the which the ſayd Iohn Milles made his anſwere according to his conſcience, denying them all, except one article, which was concerning King Edwardes ſeruice in Engliſh. Shortly after this beating, Boner ſent to him in priſon a certayne olde Prieſt, lately come from Rome, to coniure out the euill ſpirite from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certayne wordes pronounced ouer him, to coniure, as he had bene wont before to do. Milles marueiling what the prieſt was about to doo, ſayd he truſted no euill ſpirite to be within him, and laught him to ſcorne. &c.

Iohn Milles denyeth to ſubſcribe to B. Boners articles.

An olde coniuring prieſt.

As this Iohn Milles was diuers times and oft called before Boner, ſo much communication and talke paſſed betwene them, which to recite all it were to long. And yet it were not unpleaſant for yͤ reader that luſteth to laugh, to ſée the blinde and unſauory reaſons of that Biſhop which he uſed to perſuade the ignorant withall. As in the proces of his other talke with this Milles, Boner going about to perſwade him not to medle with matters of the ſcripture, but rather to beleue other mens teaching, which had more ſkill in the ſame, firſt aſked if he did beleue the ſcripture. Yea ſayd he, that I doe. Then the Biſh. Why (quoth he) S. Paul ſayth: if the man ſléepe, the woman is at liberty to go to an other mā. If thou were a ſléepe hauing a wife, wouldeſt thou be content thy wife to take an other man? And yet this is the ſcripture.

The unſauery reaſons or talke of B. Boner going about to perſwade Iohn Milles.

Boners iudgemēt, that we ſhould truſt more to men then to the ſcriptures of God.

Item, if thou wilt beleue Luther, Zwinglius and ſuch, then thou canſt not go right. But if thou wilt beleue me. &c. thou canſt not erre. And if thou ſhouldeſt erre, yet thou art in no perill, thy bloud ſhould be required at our handes. As if thou ſhouldeſt go to a far coūtrey, & méete with a fatherly man as I am (for theſe were hys termes) and aſke the way to the head citie, and he ſhould ſay, go thys way, and thou wilt not beleue him, but follow Luther and other heretickes of late dayes, and go a contrary way, how wilt thou come to the place thou aſkeſt for? So if thou wilt not beleue me, but follow the leading of other heretickes, ſo ſhalt thou be brought to deſtruction and burne both body and ſoule.

This ſimilitude holdeth κατὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν.

As truely as thou ſéeſt the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, ſo truely theyr ſoules doo burne in hell, becauſe they erre from the Church.

Raſhe and preſumptuous iudgement of Boner.

Oft times ſpeaking to the ſayd Iohn Milles, he would ſay: They call me bloudy Boner. A vengeance on you all. I would fayne be rid of you, but ye haue a delite in burning. But if I might haue my will, I would ſow your mouthes and put you in ſackes, and drowne you.

B. Boners wiſhe in puniſhing Gods Saincts.

Now, ſomewhat to ſay concerning the deliuerance of the ſayd Iohn Milles, the ſame day that he was deliuered, Boner came unto the ſtockes where he lay, and aſked hym how he lyked his lodging and hys fare.

The occaſion and maner of deliuering Ioh. Milles.

Well ſaid Mylles, if it would pleaſe God I might haue a litle ſtrawe to lye or ſitte uppon.

Then ſayd Boner: thou wilt ſhew no tokē of a Chriſtian mā. And upon that his wyfe came in, unknowing unto him, being very great with childe, & looking euery houre for her lying down, entreatyng yͤ Byſhop for her huſband, and ſaying that ſhee woulde not goe out of the houſe, but there woulde lay her belly in the Biſhops houſe, unleſſe ſhe had her huſband with her. How ſayeſt thou (quoth Boner) thou heriticke? if thy wife miſcary, or thy childe or children, if ſhe be with one or two, ſhould periſh, the bloud of thē would

Milles wife entreateth for her huſband.

Rob.Rouſſe kinſman to Ioh.Milles.

be required at thy handes. Then to thys agreement he came, that he ſhould hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her huſband ſhould go home with her the morow after, vppon this condition that hys kinſeman there preſent (one Robert Rouſſe) ſhould bring the ſayd Milles vnto his houſe at Paules the next day.

The condition put to Iohn Milles to ſaye: In nomine patris, &c.

Wherunto the ſayd Milles ſayd he would not agrée except he might go home by and by. At length his wiſe being importunate for her huſbande, and ſeing that ſhe would go no further, but there remayne vnleſſe ſhe had her huſband with her, the Biſhop fearing belike the rumour which might come vppon his houſe therby, bad the ſayd Milles make a croſſe and ſay: In nomine patris & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti, Amẽ.

Iohn Milles ſent home with hys wife.

Then the ſayd Milles began to ſay: In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen. No, no, sayeth Boner, ſay it me in Latin, In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus ſancti, Amen. Milles vnderſtanding the matter of that Latin to be but good, ſaid the ſame, and ſo went home with his wife, his foreſayd kinſeman being charged to bring him the next day vnto Paules: either els, ſayd Boner, if thou doeſt not bring him, thou art an hereticke aſwell as he. Notwithſtanding the charge being no greater, his kinſeman did not bring him, but he of his owne voluntary accord came to the ſayd Biſh. within a few dayes after, where the Biſhop put vnto him a certayne writing in Latin to ſubſcribe vnto conteyning, as it ſemed to him, no great matter that he néeded greatly to ſticke at: albeit what the bill was he could no certaynly tel. So ſubſcribed he to the bill, and returned home.

And thus much cõcerning the 22. takẽ at Iſlington.

The hiſtory and cruell handling of Richard Yeoman, D. Taylours Curate at Hadley, conſtantly ſuffering for the Goſpels ſake.

July. 10.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of Rich. Yeoman Miniſter.

AFter the ſtory of theſe 22. taken at Iſlingtõ, proceding now (ỹ Lord willing) we will proſecute likewiſe the taking, and cruell handling of Richard Yeomã miniſter. Which Yeoman had bene before Doct. Taylours Curate, a godly deuout old man, of 70. yeares, which had many yeares dwelt in Hadley, well ſéene in the ſcriptures, and geuing godly exhortations to the people. With hym Doct. Taylour left hys Cure at his departure. But as ſoone as Maſter Newall had gotten the benefice, he droue away good Yeomã, as is ſaid, pag. 1694. and ſet in a popiſh curate to maintaine and cõtinue theyr Romiſh religiõ, which now they thought fully ſtabliſhed. Then wandred hée long tyme from place to place, moning and exhorting all men to ſtand faithfully by Gods word, earneſtly to geue themſelues vnto prayer, with patience to beare the Croſſe now layd vpon them for their tryall, with boldnes to confeſſe the truth before the aduerſaryes, and with an vndoubted hope to wayte for the crowne and reward of eternall felicity. But when he perceaued his aduerſaries to lie in wayte for him, he went into Kent, and with a litle packet of laces, pinnes, and pointes, and ſuch like things, he trauailed from village to village, ſelling ſuch thinges, and by that poore ſhift gat himſelfe ſomewhat to the ſuſteining of himſelf, hys poore wife, and children.

Rich. Yeoman fleeth into Kent.

Rich. Yeoman ſet in the ſtockes by M. Moyle of Kent

At the laſt, a iuſtice of Kent called maſter Moyle, toke poore Yeomã and ſet hym in the ſtockes a day and a night, but hauing no euident matter to charge hym with, he let hym goe agayne. So came he ſecretly agayne to Hadley, and taryed with his poore wife, who kept him ſecretly in a chamber of the towne houſe, commonly called the Guild Hall, more then a yeare. All the which time, the good olde father abode in a chamber locked vp all the day, and ſpent his tyme in deuout prayer, and reading the ſcriptures, and in carding of wolle, which his wife did ſpinne. His wife alſo did goe and begge bread and meate for her ſelfe and her children, and by ſuch poore meanes ſuſteined they themſelues. Thus the ſainctes of God ſuſtained hunger and miſery, while the Prophetes of Baall liued in iolitie, and were coſtly pampered at Ieſabels table.

Rich. Yeoman returneth agayne to Hadley.

Parſon Newall a wicked perſecutor.

At the laſt, Parſon Newall (I know not by what meanes) perceaued that Ric. Yeoman was ſo kept by his poore wife, and taking with hym the Bailiffes deputies and ſeruauntes, came in the night tyme, and brake vp fiue doores vppon Yeoman, whom he found in bed with his poore wife and children. Whom when he had ſo found, he ireſully cryed, ſaying: I thought I ſhould finde an harlot and an whore together. And he would haue plucked the clothes of from them. But Yeoman held faſt the clothes and ſayd vnto his wyfe: Wife, ariſe and put on thy clothes. And vnto the parſon he ſayd: Nay parſon, no harlot, nor whore, but a maryed man and his wife, according vnto Gods ordinance, and bleſſed be God for lawfull matrimony. I thanke God for this great grace, and I defie the Pope and all his Popery. Then led they Rich. Yeoman vnto the cage, and ſet hym in the ſtockes vntill it was day.

Yeoman taken by Parſon Newall.

Thys Ioh. Dale dyed in Bury gaile, as is before mẽtioned.

There was then alſo in the cage, an olde man named Iohn Dale, who had ſitten there thrée or foure dayes, becauſe when the ſaid parſon Newall with his Curate executed the Romiſh ſeruice in the church, he ſpake opẽly vnto him, & ſayd: O miſerable & blind guides: wil ye euer be blynd leaders of the blynde? wyll ye neuer amend? wyll ye neuer ſée the truth of Gods word? will neyther Gods threates, nor promiſes enter into your hartes? will not the bloud of Martyrs nothing mollifie your ſtony ſtomackes? Oh indurate hard harted, peruerſe, & crooked generation. O damnable ſort, whom nothing can do good vnto.

The wordes of Iohn Dale to Parſon Newall and hys Curate.

Ioh. Dale ſet in ỹ cage by Parſon Newall.

Theſe and like wordes ſpake he in feruentnes of ſpirite againſt ỹ ſuperſtitious religiõ of Rome. Wherfore parſon Newall cauſed hym forthwith to be attached, and ſet in the ſtocks in the cage. So was he there kept till ſyr Henry Doyle a Iuſtice came to Hadley.

Syr Henry Doyle entreated for Gods Saincte, but could not bee heard.

Now when poore Yeoman was takẽ, the parſon called earneſtly vpon ſir Henry Doyle to ſend them both to priſon. Syr Henry Doyle earneſtly laboured and entreated the parſon, to conſider the age of the men, and their poore eſtate: they were perſons of no reputation nor preachers: wherefore he would deſire hym to let them be puniſhed a day or two, and ſo to let them go, at the leaſt Iohn Dale who was no prieſt, and therfore ſeyng he had ſo long ſitten in the cage, he thought it puniſhment inough for this tyme. When ỹ parſon heard this, he was exceding mad, and in a great rage called them peſtilent heretickes, vnfit to liue in the common wealth of Chriſtians. Wherfore I beſech you Sir, (quoth he) according to your office defend holy church, and helpe to ſuppreſſe theſe ſectes of hereſies. &c. which are falſe to God, and thus boldly ſet themſelues, to the euill example of other, againſt the Quéenes gracious procédinges. Syr Henry Doyle ſéeing he could do no good in the matter, & fearing alſo his perill if he ſhould to much medle in this matter, made out the writte, and cauſed the Conſtables to cary them forth to Bury gaile. For now were all the Iuſtices, were they neuer ſo mighty, afraid of euery ſhauen crowne, and ſtoode in as much awe of them, as Pilate did ſtand in feare of Annas and Cayphas, and of the Pharaſaicall broode, which cryed: *Crucifie him, Crucifie him. If thou let him go, thou art not Keyſars frend.*

The kingdome of Locuſtes.

Yeoman & Iohn Dale ſent to Bury gaile.

Wherefore, whatſoeuer their conſciences were, yet (if they would eſcape daunger) they muſt néedes be the popiſh Biſhoppes ſlaues, and vaſſales. So they toke Rich. Yeoman, & Iohn Dale, pinioned and bound thẽ like théeues, ſet them on horſebacke, and bound theyr legges vnder the horſes bellies, and ſo caryed them to the Gaile at Bury. Where they were tyed in irons, and for that they continually rebuked Popery, they were throwne into the loweſt dongeon, where Iohn

Dale through ſicknes of the priſon and euill keeping, dyed in priſon, whoſe body when he was deade, was throwne out and buryed in the fieldes. He was a man of lxvj. yeares of age, a Weauer by his occupation, wel learned in the holy ſcriptures, faithfull and honeſt in all his conuerſation, ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the true doctrine of Chriſt ſet forth in K. Edwardes time: For the which he ioyfully ſuffred priſon and chaynes, and frõ this worldly dungeon he departed in Chriſt to eternall glory, & the bleſſed paradiſe of euerlaſting felicitie.

Commendation of Ioh. Dale.

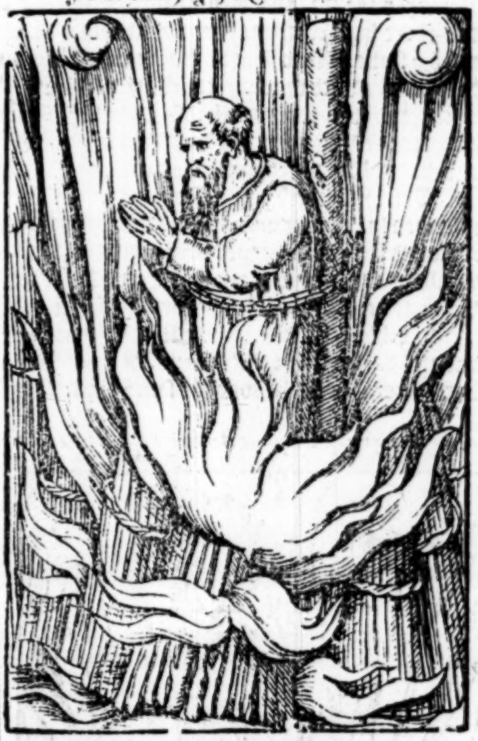
After that Iohn Dale was dead, Rich. Yeoman was remoued to Norwich priſon, where after ſtraite and euill keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and conſtantly confeſſed himſelfe to be of yͤ fayth and confeſſion that was ſet forth by the late king, of bleſſed memory, holy king Edward yͤ ſixt, and from that he would in no wiſe vary. Beyng required to ſubmit himſelfe to the holy father the Pope, I defy hym (quoth he) and all his deteſtable abominations: I will in no wiſe haue to do with hym, nor any thing that appertayneth to hym. The chiefe articles obiected to hym were hys mariage, and the Maſſe ſacrifice. Wherefore when hee continued ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the truth, he was condemned, diſgraded, and not onely burnt, but moſt cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended he his poore and miſerable life, and entred into the bleſſed boſome of Abraham, enioying with Lazarus the comfortable quietnes that God hath prepared for his elect ſaintes.

Yeoman remoued to Norwich.

The chiefe matters obiected to Rich. Yeoman.

The Martyrdome of Richard Yeoman, Miniſter, at Norwich. An. 1558 Iuly. 10.

¶ The burnyng of Richard Yeoman.



The ſtory of Iohn Alcocke.

THere was alſo in Hadley, a yong mã named Iohn Alcocke, which came to Hadley ſeeking worke, for he was a ſhereman by his occupation. Thys yong mã after the Martyrdome of Doct. Taylour, and taking of Rich. Yeoman, vſed firſt in the Church of Hadley to read the ſeruice in Engliſhe, as partly is aboue touched, pag. 1694. At length after the commyng of Parſon Newall, he beyng in Hadley Church vppon a Sonday when the Parſon came by with proceſſion, would not once moue his cap, nor ſhew any ſigne of reuerence, but ſtoode behind the font. Parſon Newall perceauing this, when he was almoſt out of the church doore, ran backe agayne, and caught him, and called for the Conſtable.

The ſtory of Iohn Alcocke.

Parſon Newall a rage agaynſt Iohn Alcocke, not going on proceſſion.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man wrought, and aſked: Maſter Parſon, what hath he done, that ye are in ſuch a rage with hym?

He is an hereticke and a traytor (quoth the Parſon) and deſpiſeth the Queenes procedinges. Wherefore I commaund you in yͤ Queenes name, haue hym to the ſtockes, and ſee he be forth comming.

Well (quoth Rolfe) he ſhall be forth comming: procede you in your buſines and be quiet. Haue him to the ſtockes (quoth the parſon.)

Rob. Rolfe an honeſt Conſtable of Hadley.

I am Conſtable quoth Rolfe, and may bayle him, and will bayle him: he ſhall not come in the ſtockes, but he ſhall be forth comming. So went the good perſon forth with his holy proceſſion, and ſo to Maſſe.

At afternoone Rolfe ſayd to this young man: I am ſory for thee, for truely the perſon will ſeeke thy deſtruction, if thou take not good heede what thou anſwereſt him.

The young mã anſwered: Syr, I am ſory that it is my lucke to be a trouble to you. As for my ſelfe I am not ſory, but I doo commit my ſelfe into Gods hands, and I truſt he will geue me mouth and wiſedome to anſwere according to right.

Well (quoth Rolfe) yet beware of him. For he is malicious, and a bloudſucker, and beareth an olde hatred agaynſt me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, becauſe of diſpleaſure agaynſt me.

I feare him not (quoth the young man). He ſhall doo no more to me then God will geue him leaue: & happy ſhall I be if God wil cal me to dye for his truthes ſake.

After thys talke, they then went to the parſon, who at the firſt aſked him: Fellow, what ſayeſt thou to the ſacrament of the altar?

Alcocke brought to parſon Newall.

I ſay (quoth he) as ye vſe the matter, ye make a ſhamefull idoll of it, and ye are falſe idolatrous prieſtes all the ſort of you.

I tolde you (quoth the parſon) he was a ſtoute hereticke.

So, after long talke the perſon committed him to warde: and the next day rode he vp to London, and caryed the young man with him, and ſo came the young man no more agayne to Hadley, but after long impriſonment in Newgate, where after many examinatiõs and troubles, for that he would not ſubmit him ſefe to aſke fogeuenes of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romiſh religion, he was caſt into the lower doungeon, where with euill keping, and ſickenes of the houſe he dyed in priſon. Thus dyed he a Martyr of Chriſtes Veritie, which he hartely loued and conſtantly confeſſed, and receaued the garland of a well foughten battell at yͤ hand of yͤ Lord. His body was caſt out and buried in a donghill. For the Papiſtes would in all thinges be like them ſelues: Therfore would they not ſo much as ſuffer the dead bodyes to haue honeſt and conuenient ſepulture.

Parſon Newall caryeth vp Ioh. Alcocke to London.

Ioh. Alcocke dyed in Newgate.

Ioh. Alcocke buryed of the Papiſtes in a dunghill.

Thomas Benbrige, Gentleman

and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and
put to death by the cruell Papiſtes, for the
defenſe of the Goſpel of Chriſt Ieſus.

THomas Benbrige a Gentlemã, ſingle and vnmaried, in the dioces of Wincheſter, although he might haue liued a pleaſant and a gentlemans life in the wealthy poſſeſſions of this world, yet to follow Chriſt, had rather enter into the ſtraite gate of perſecution, to the heauenly poſſeſſion of life in the Lordes kingdome, then here to inioy pleaſures preſent with vnquietnes of conſcience. Wherfore manfully ſtanding agaynſt the Papiſtes, for the defence of the ſincere doctrine of Chriſtes Goſpell, he ſpared not him ſelfe to confirme the doctrine of the Goſpel. For the which cauſe he being apprehended for an aduerſary of the Romiſhe religion, was forthwith had to examination before D. White Biſhop of Wincheſter, where he ſuſteyned ſondry conflictes for the truth, agaynſt the

Iuly. 29.

The ſtory of Thomas Benbrige, Martyr.

M. Benbrige examined before the B. of Wincheſter.

ſayd Biſhop & his Colleagues. The articles of the Biſhop miniſtred to him, with hys aunſwers to the ſame annexed, be here following.

¶ Articles miniſtred to Maſter Benbrige, with his aunſwers following the ſame.

1. Articles oppoſed agaynſt *M. Benbrige.*

FIrſt, we articulate agaynſt you, that the church of God miniſtreth rightly according to the rite Apoſtolicall.

Aunſwere.

To this he anſwereth, that baptiſme is not adminiſtred at this preſent, ſo as it was in the Apoſtles time, for that it is not miniſtred in the Engliſh tounge.

2. The reall preſence.

Item, we articulate that the church of God doth beleue and hold, that in the ſacrament of thankeſgeuing, after the wordes of conſecration pronounced of the prieſt, the true and naturall body of Chriſt is preſent really.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwereth, that he beleueth not, that in the ſacrament is contayned the body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſu Chriſt, ſaying: this is the marke that ye ſhote at.

3. Confirmation.

Item, we articulate, that the church holdeth and beleueth that confirmation is a ſacrament in the church, and that by impoſition of handes of a biſhop, cometh grace.

Aunſwere.

He anſwered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a ſacrament or not, and whether the Biſhop geueth grace or not: he knoweth not the order and faſhion of miniſtration.

4.

Item, we articulate, that penance is a ſacrament in the church, and that by auricular confeſſion and abſolution pronounced by the prieſt, ſinnes be forgeuen.

Aunſwere. Penance no Sacrament.

He aunſwered negatiuely, denying ſinnes to be forgeuen by abſolution pronounced of a prieſt, and that it is not neceſſary for a mā to recite al his ſinnes to a prieſt.

5.

Item, we articulate agaynſt thee, that the church doth beleue and hold, the ſame autority to be now in yͤ church, which Chriſt gaue to his Apoſtles.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered negatiuely, for that the church hath not the ſame power and ſtrength to worke.

6.

Item, we articulate, that the church beleueth and holdeth that the order of miniſters, now being in the church of Chriſt, is inſtituted of Chriſt him ſelfe.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered that he beleueth not the biſhops to be the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, for that they be not called as they were, nor haue that grace.

7. Head of the Church.

Item, we articulate, that the church beleueth and holdeth, the Pope to be ſupreame head in the church and the Vicar of Chriſt in earth.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered, that it is not the Pope, but it is the deuill that is ſupreame head of the church which you ſpeake of.

8.

Item, we articulate, that the church doth holde and beleue that it is neceſſary to be baptiſed.

Aunſwere.

He denyed not the ſame.

9. Purgatory.

Item, we articulate, that the church doth hold and beleue, that there is a purgatory, and that the ſoules of the dead be relieued with the almes and prayers of the liuing.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwereth and ſayth, as touching purgatory he will not beleue as theyr church doth beleue.

10.

Item, we articulate, that the church holdeth and beleueth, that Matrimony is a ſacrament of the church.

Aunſwere. Matrimony no Sacramēt.

He anſwered, that he will not ſay that Matrimony is a ſacramēt, but to be a ſacrate order and ſigne of an holy thing. &c.

M. Luther.

Moreouer, happening into the mention of Martine Luther, he ſayd: that the ſayd Martine Luther dyed a good chriſten man, whoſe doctrine and lyfe he dyd approue and allow.

M. Benbrige condemned. *M. Benbrige* brought to the ſtake.

Thus haue ye the articles miniſtred by the Biſhop, and alſo the aunſwers of the ſayd Maſter Benbrige vnto the ſame, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of Martyrdome, by the ſheriffe called Syr Richard Peckſall, where as he ſtanding at the ſtake, began to vntye his pointes, and to prepare him ſelfe. Then he gaue his gowne to the keeper, being belike his fee. His Ierkin was layde on wt gold lace fayre and braue, which he gaue to Syr Richard Peckſall, the high ſheriffe. His cappe of veluet he tooke of from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting hys minde to the Lord, he made hys prayers.

D. Seaton forbiddeth to pray for hym.

That doone, being now faſtened to the ſtake, Doct. Seaton willed him to recant & he ſhould haue his pardon: but when he ſaw it preuayled not to ſpeake, the ſayd dreaming & doltiſhe Doctor willed yͤ people not to pray for him vnleſſe he would recant, no more then they would pray for a dog.

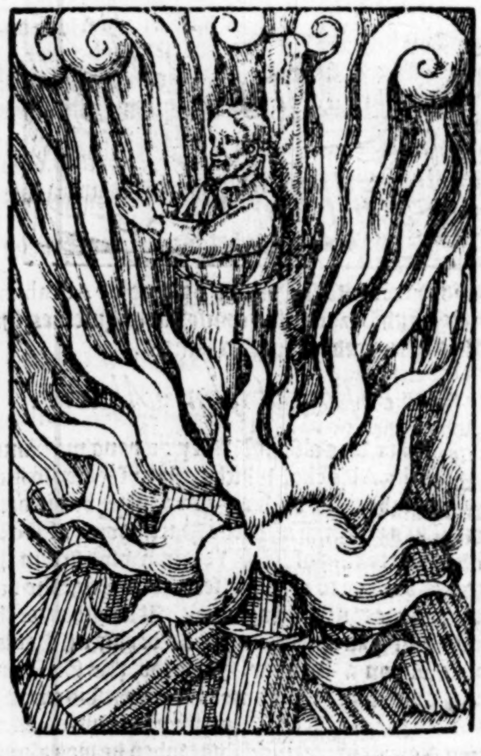
Maſter Benbrige ſtanding at the ſtake with hys handes together, in ſuch maner as the prieſt holdeth his handes in his memento, the ſayd Doctor Seaton came to him agayne and exhorted him to recant: vnto whom he ſayd: away Babylonian, away.

Then ſayd one that ſtood by: Syr, cut out his toung: and an other being a temporall man, rayled on hym worſe then Doctor Seaton did a great deale, who (as is thought) was ſet on by ſome other.

Maſter *Benbrige* recanted at the ſtake. *Syr Rich. Peckſall.* Maſter *Benbrige* repenteth hys recantation.

Then, when they ſaw he would not yeld, they bad the tormentors to ſet to fire, and yet he was nothing like couered with faggottes. Firſt the fire tooke away a peece of his bearde, wherat he nothing ſhrancke at all. Then it came on the other ſide and tooke hys legs, and the nether ſtockinges of his hoſe being lether, made the fire to perce the ſharper, ſo that the intolerable heate thereof made him to cry: I recant, and ſodenly therewith he thruſt the fire from him. And hauing ij. or iij. of hys frendes by that wiſhed hys life, they ſtept to the fire and holpe to take it from him alſo: who for theyr labour were ſent to priſon. The ſheriffe alſo of hys own authoritie tooke him from the ſtake, and ſent hym to priſon agayne: for the which he was ſent vnto the Fleete & there lay a certayne time. But before he was taken frō yͤ ſtake, yͤ ſayd Seaton wrote articles to haue him to ſubſcribe vnto them, as touching the Pope, the ſacrament, and ſuch other traſh. But the ſayd Maſter Benbrige made much ado ere he would ſubſcribe thē, in ſo much that Doct. Seaton willed them to ſet to fire againe. Thē with much paine and great griefe of hart he ſubſcribed to them vpon a mans backe. That being done, he had his gowne geuē him agayne, and ſo was led to priſon. Being in priſon, he wrote a letter to D. Seaton, and recanted thoſe wordes he ſpake at the ſtake, vnto which he had ſubſcribed: for he was greued that euer he did ſubſcribe vnto them. Whereupon expreſſing his conſcience, he was the ſame day ſeuenight after burnt in deede, where the vile tormentours did rather broyle him then burne him. The Lord geue his enemies repentaunce.

The burnyng of Thomas Benbrige Gentleman.



The Martyrdome of *Thomas Benbrige.* An. 1558 Iuly. 29.

¶ The

The vniuſt execution and Martyrdome of foure burned at Saint Edmundes Bury.

August.

The ſtory of 4. Martyrs in Suffolke.

IN this yeare aforeſayd, which was the laſt of Queene Maries reigne D. Hopton beyng Byſhop of Norwiche, and D. Spenſer bearyng the roume of his Chauncellour, about S. James tyde, at S. Edmundes Bury, were wrongfully put to death foure Chriſtian Martyrs, to witte:

Martyrs.

- Ihon Cooke, a Sawyer.
- Robert Miles, *aliâs* Plummer, a Shereman.
- Alexander Lane, a Wheelewright.
- Iames Aſheley, a Bacheler.

The examinatiō of theſe forenamed perſons, beyng ſeuerally called before the Byſhop of Norwiche, and Syr Edward Walgraue with others, was partly vpon theſe Articles following.

Syr Edw. Walgraue perſecutor.

First Syr Edward Walgraue called Ioh. Cooke to him, & ſaid: how fortuneth it that you go not to church?

Examination of *Iohn Cooke*.

Iohn Cooke ſayd: I haue bene there.

Syr Edward ſaid: what is the cauſe that you go not thether now in theſe dayes?

Iohn Cooke ſayd: becauſe the Sacrament of the altar is an abominable Idoll, and (ſaith he) the vengeāce of God will come vpon all them that do maintayne it.

Syr Edward ſayd: O thou ranke traytour, if I had as good Commiſſion to cut out thy toung as I haue to ſit here this day, thou ſhouldeſt be ſure to haue it cut out. Then commaunded he the Conſtable to haue him away, ſaying he was both a traytour and a rebell.

Examination of *Robert Miles*.

Then he called Robert Myles and ſayd: how fortuneth it that you go not to the Church?

Robert Myles aunſwered: becauſe I will folow no falſe Gods.

Then ſayd ẏ Biſhop: who told thee that it is a God?

Then ſayd Myles: euen you and ſuch as you are.

Then the Byſhop commaunded him aſide and to appeare before him the next day.

Examination of *Alexāder Lane*.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and asked hym how it chaunced that he would not go to the Church.

He ſaid ẏ his cōſcience would not ſerue him ſo to do.

Then Syr Edward ſaid: how doeſt thou beleue?

Then ſaid Lane: euē as it is written in Gods booke.

Then Syr Edward commaunded hym to ſay hys beliefe.

Then the ſayd Lane beyng ſomewhat abaſhed, ſayd his beliefe to theſe wordes, which he miſſed vnwares: *Borne of the Virgine Mary*.

Then Syr Edward ſayd: what was he not borne of the virgine Mary?

Yes, ſayd Lane, I would haue ſayd ſo.

Nay, ſaid Syr Edward, you are one of Cookes ſcholers, and ſo commaunded him away, and to come before him the next day.

Examination of *Iames Aſhley*.

After the like maner they paſſed alſo with Iames Aſhley, whom they warned the next day likewiſe to appeare before them again. So in fine they appearyng againe had their condemnation. And thus theſe iiij. bleſſed Martyrs and ſeruantes of Chriſt, innocently ſuffered together at S. Edmundes Bury, as is aforeſayd, about the begynnyng of Auguſt, not lōg before the ſickenes of Queene Mary.

The Martyrdome of *Cooke, Miles, Lane, & Aſhley*, at Bury. An. 1558 Auguſt.

The Martyrdome of ij. godly perſons ſuffring at Ipſwich for the goſpell of Chriſt and his euerlaſting teſtament, named Alexander Gouch, and Alice Driuer.

Nouēb. 4.

M. Noone perſecu

MAſter Noone, a Iuſtice in Suffolke dwelling in Martleſham, hunting after good mē to apprehend them (as he was a bloudy tyraunt in the dayes of triall) at the lēgth had vnderſtāding one Gouch of Woodbridge, and Driuers wife of Grouſborough to be at Grouſborough together, a little from his houſe, immediately tooke hys men with him and went thether, & made diligent ſearch for them, where the poore man and womā were compelled to ſteppe into an hay golph to hide themſelues from their cruelty. At the laſt they came to ſearch the hay for them, and by gaging thereof with pitchforkes, at the laſt found them: ſo they tooke them and led them to Melton Gaile, where they remaynyng a tyme, at the length were caried to Bury, againſt the aſſiſe at Saint James tide, and being there examined of matters of fayth, did boldly ſtand to confeſſe Chriſt crucified, defiyng ẏ Pope with all his papiſticall traſh. And amōg other things Driuers wife likened Queene Mary in her perſecutiō to Iezabell, and ſo in that ſenſe calling her Iezabell, for that, ſyr Clement Higham being chiefe iudge there, adiudged her eares immediatly to be cut of, which was accompliſhed accordingly, and ſhe ioyfully yelded her ſelfe to the puniſhment, and thought her ſelfe happy, that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the name of Chriſt

Gouch and Alice Driuer takē at Grouſborough.

Gouch and Alice Driuer caried to Melton Gaile.

Q. Mary called *Iezabell*.

Alice Driuers eares cut of, for likening Q. *Mary to Iezabell*.

After the aſſiſe at Bury, they were caryed to Meltō Gaile agayne, where they remayned a tyme. Thys Alexander Gouch was a man of ẏ age of 36. yeares, or therabouts, & by his occupation was a Weauer of ſhredding couerlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolke, and borne at Ufford in the ſame county. Driuers wife was a woman about the age of xxx. yeares, and dwelt in Grouſborough where they were taken in Suffolke. Her huſband did vſe huſbandry. Theſe two were caryed from Melton Gaile, to Ipſwich, where they remayned and were examined. The which their examination as it came to our handes here after followeth.

Alexander Gouch.

Gouch and Alice Driuer caried to Ipſwich.

The examination of Driuers wife before Doct. Spenſer, the Chauncellour of Norwich.

FIrſt, ſhe comming into the place where ſhe ſhould be examined with a ſmiling countenaunce, Doct. Spēſer ſayd: why womā, doeſt thou laugh vs to ſcorne?

Doct. Spenſer after ẏ death of *D. Dunning* who dyed ſodeinly in Lincolnſhire, was Chauncellor vnder Byſhop *Hopton*.

Driuers wife. Whether I do or no, I might well inough, to ſee what fooles ye be.

Doct. Spenſer. Then the Chauncellour aſked her wherefore ſhe was brought before hym, and why ſhe was layd in priſon.

Dry. Wherefore? I thinke I neede not tell you: for ye know it better then I.

Spenſer. No, by my trouth womā, I know not why.

Dry. Then haue ye doone me much wrong (quoth ſhe) thus to impriſon me, and know no cauſe why: For I know no euill that I haue done, I thanke God, and I hope there is no man that can accuſe me of any notorious facte that I haue done, iuſtly.

Spenſ. Woman, woman, what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar? Doeſt thou not beleue that it is very fleſh and bloud after the wordes be ſpoken of conſecration?

Sacrament of the altar.

Driuers wife at thoſe wordes helde her peace, and made no aunſwere. Then a great chuffeheaded prieſt that ſtoode by, ſpake and aſked her why ſhe made not the Chauncellor an aunſwere. With that, the ſayd Driuers wife looked vpon him auſterely, & ſayd: Why prieſt, I come not to talke wt thee, but I come to talke with thy maſter: but if thou wilt, I ſhall talke with thee, cōmaund thy maſter to holde his peace: And with that the prieſt put his noſe in his cappe, and ſpake neuer a word more. Then the Chaūcellor bad her make anſwere to that he demaunded of her.

A fatte prieſt put to ſilence.

Dry. Syr (ſayd ſhe) pardon me though I make no anſwere, for I cannot tell what you meane therby: for in all my life I neuer heard nor red of any ſuch ſacramēt in all the ſcripture.

Spenſ. Why, what ſcriptures haue you red, I pray you?

Dry. I haue (I thanke God) red Gods booke.

Spenſ. Why, what manner of booke is that you call Gods booke?

Dry. It is the old & new teſtament. What call you it?

Spenſ. That is Gods booke in deede, I cannot deny.

No Sacramẽt of the altar to be found in Gods booke.

Dry. That ſame booke haue I red through out, but yet neuer could finde any ſuch ſacrament there: and for that cauſe I cannot make you aunſwere to that thing I know not. Notwithſtanding, for all that, I will graunt you a ſacrament, called the lordes ſupper: and therfore ſeing I haue graunted you a ſacrament, I pray you ſhew me what a ſacrament is.

D. Gaſcoyne perſecutor.

Spenſ. It is a ſigne. And one Doctor Gaſcoyne, being by, confirmed the ſame, that it was the ſigne of an holy thing.

What a ſacramẽt is.

Dry. You haue ſaid the truth ſyr, ſaid ſhe. It is a ſigne in deede, I muſt needes graunt it: and therfore ſeing it is a ſigne, it cannot be the thing ſignified alſo. Thus farre we doo agree: for I haue graunted your owne ſaying. Then ſtoode vp the ſayd Gaſcoyne, and made an oration with many fayre wordes, but litle to purpoſe, both offenſiue and odious to the mindes of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he aſked her if ſhe did not beleue the omnipotencie of God, and that he was almighty, and able to performe that he ſpake. She anſwered yes, and ſayd: I doo beleue that God is almighty, and able to performe that he ſpake & promiſed.

D. Gaſcoynes oration litle to purpoſe.

Talke betwene *Alice Driuer and D. Gaſcoyne.*

Gaſcoine. Very well. Then he ſayd to his diſciples: *take, eate, this is my body:* ergo, it was his body: For he was able to performe that he ſpake: and God vſeth not to lye.

Dry. I pray you, did he euer make any ſuch promiſe to his diſciples, that he would make yͤ bread his body?

Gaſc. Thoſe be the wordes. Can you deny it?

Dry. No, they be the very wordes in deede, I cannot deny it: but I pray you, was it not bread that he gaue vnto them?

Gaſcoine. No, it was his body.

Dry. Then was it his body that they did eate ouer night.

Gaſcoine. Yea, it was his body.

Dry. What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

Gaſcoine. It was Chriſtes body.

If Chriſt had but one body, and that body was eaten vp ouer night, what body thẽ was crucified the next day?

Dry. How could that be, when his Diſciples had eaten him vp ouer night? except he had two bodyes, as by your argument he had: one they did eate ouer night, and an other was crucified yͤ next day. Such a doctor, ſuch doctrine. Be you not aſhamed to teach the people, that Chriſt had two bodyes? In the 22. of Luke, *he toke bread, and brake it, and gaue it to his Diſciples, ſaying: take. &c. and do this in the remembrance of me.* Saint Paul alſo ſayth. 1. Cor. 11. *Do this in the remembraunce of me: for as often as ye ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lordes death till he come:* and therfore I maruell ye bluſh not before all this people, to lye ſo manifeſtly as ye doo. With that Gaſcoine held his peace, and made her no anſwere: for, as it ſemed, he was aſhamed of his doinges. Then the Chauncellor lift vp his head of from his cuſhion, and commaunded the Gailer to take her away.

Luke.xxij.

j.Cor.xj.

Gaſcoynes mouth ſtopped.

The Chauncellour whẽ he could not aunſwere her with reaſon, ſendeth her to priſon.

Dry. Now (ſayd ſhe) ye be not able to reſiſt the truth, ye commaund me to priſon agayne. Well, the Lord in the end ſhall iudge our cauſe, and to him I leaue it. I wyſſe I wyſſe, thys geare will go for no payment then. So went ſhe with the Gayler away.

❡ The ſecond examination of Alice Driuer.

An other examination of *Alice Driuer* before Doct. *Spenſer and Gaſcoyne.*

The next day ſhe came before them agayne and the Chauncelor then aſked her what ſhee ſayd to the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar.

Dry. I will ſay nothing to it: for you will neither beleue me nor your ſelues. For yeſterday I aſked you what a Sacrament was, and you ſayd, it was a ſigne: and I agreed therto, and ſayd it was the truth, confirming it by the ſcriptures, ſo that I went not from your owne wordes: and now ye come and aſke me agayne of ſuch a Sacrament as I tolde you I neuer read of in the ſcriptures.

Spenſer vp with hys ſacrament of the altar agayne.

Spenſer. Thou lyeſt naughty woman: we did not ſay that it was a ſigne.

Dry. Why maſters, be ye not the men that you were yeſterday? will ye eate your owne wordes? Are ye not aſhamed to lye before all this multitude here preſent, who heard you ſpeake the ſame?

Gaſcoyne agayne taketh the matter in hand.

Three Churches.

Thẽ ſtoode vp Doctor Gaſcoyne, and ſayd, ſhe was deceaued: for there were three churches: the malignãt church, the church militant, and the church triumphãt. So he would fayne haue made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Dry. Syr, is there mencion made of ſo many Churches in the ſcriptures?

Gaſcoyne. Yea.

Dry. I pray you, where finde you this word [Church] written in the ſcriptures?

Gaſcoyne. It is written in the new teſtament.

Dry. I pray you ſyr, ſhew yͤ place where it is written.

Gaſcoyne. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that ſhe deſired him to looke in his teſtament. Then he fombled and ſought about him for one: but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he ſemed to ſearch for it. At the laſt ſhe ſayd: haue ye none here, ſyr?

Gaſcoyne. No.

Gaſcoyne litle acquainted with the new Teſtament.

Dry. I thought ſo much in deede, that ye were litle acquainted withal. Surely you be a good Doctor. You ſay you ſit here to iudge according to the law, and how can you geue iudgement and haue not the booke of the law with you? At which wordes Gaſcoyne was out of countenance, and aſked her if ſhe had one.

Dry. No, ſayd ſhe.

Gaſc. Then ſayd he, I am as good a Doctour as you.

Dry. Well ſyr, I had one, but you tooke it from me (as you would take me from Chriſt if you could) and ſince would ye not ſuffer me to haue any booke at all: ſo burning is your charity. But you may wel know (I thãke God) that I haue exerciſed the ſame: Els could I not haue anſwered you (to Gods glory be it ſpoken) as I haue. Thus ſhe put them all to ſilence, that one looked on an other, and had not a word to ſpeake.

The Papiſtes put to ſilence by a ſimple woman.

Dry. Haue you no more to ſay? God be honored. You be not able to reſiſt yͤ ſpirit of God in me a poore womã. I was an honeſt poore mans daughter, neuer brought vp in the Vniuerſitie as you haue bene, but I haue driuen the plough before my father many a tyme (I thãke God): yet notwithſtãding in yͤ defence of Gods truth, and in yͤ cauſe of my maſter Chriſt, by his grace I will ſet my foote agaynſt the foote of any of you all in the maintenaunce and defence of the ſame: and if I had a thouſand lyues, it ſhould go for payment therof. So the Chauncellour roſe vp, and read the ſentence in Latine of condemnation, and committed her to the ſecular power, and ſo went ſhe to priſon agayne, as ioyful as the bird of day, prayſing and glorifying the name of God.

Alice Driuer brought vp at her fathers plough.

Spenſer readeth ſentence agaynſt *Alice Driuer.*

❡ *Alexander Gouch, Martyr.*

At which tyme Alexander Gouche alſo was examined, who was taken with her, as before is ſayd, of whoſe examination here after foloweth.

This Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the Sacrament, and other ceremonies of the Popiſh Church. And for that his belief was, that Chriſt was aſcended into heauen and there remaineth, and that the Sacrament was the remembraunce of his death and Paſſion, and for refuſing the Maſſe, and the pope to be the ſupreme head of Chriſtes Church, for theſe cauſes was hee condemned, and dyed with Alice Driuer at Ipſwich the. 4. day of Nouẽber, which was the Mõday after all Saintes. 1558. Doct. Miles Spenſer being Chauncellour, they both endyng theyr lyues with

The Articles whereupon *Gouch* was condemned.

The Martyrdome of *Gouch and Al. Driuer,* at Ipſwich An.1558. Noueb.4.

with earneſt zeale, nothyng fearing to ſpeake theyꝛ cõſcience when they were commaunded to the contrary.

Gouch and Alice Driuer brought to the ſtake.

These two godly perſons beyng come to the place where the ſtake was ſet, by vij. of the clocke in the moꝛnyng, notwithſtandyng they came the ſelfe ſame moꝛnyng from Melton Gaile, which is vj. myles from Ipſwiche, being in their Pꝛayers, and ſinging of Pſalmes both of them together, Syꝛ Harry Dowell then beyng Sheriffe, was very much offended with them, and willed the Bailiffes of Ipſwich to bid them make an ende of their Pꝛayers. They knelyng vpon a bꝛome Fagot, one of the Bailiffes, whoſe name was Richard Smart, commaunded them to make an ende, ſaying: On, on, haue done, haue done: make an end, nayle thẽ to the ſtake: yet they continued in Pꝛayer.

Then Syꝛ Harry ſent one of his men whoſe name is Richard Coue that they ſhould make an end.

The Martyꝛs not ſuffered to pray.

Then Gouch ſtode vp and ſayd vnto the Sheriffe: I pꝛay you M. Shꝛiffe, let vs pꝛay a litle while, foꝛ we haue but a litle tyme to liue here.

Then ſayd the Baliffe: Come of, haue thẽ to the fire.

Thẽ the ſayd Gouch and Alyce Driuer ſaid: Why M. Shꝛiffe & M. Baliffe, will you not ſuffer vs to pꝛay?

Away ſayd Syꝛ Harry: to the ſtake with them.

Gouch anſwered: Take hede M. Sheriffe. If you foꝛbid pꝛayer, the vengeance of God hãgeth ouer your heades. Then they beyng tyed to the ſtake and the yꝛon chayne beyng put about Alice Driuers necke: O (ſaid ſhe) here is a godly neckercher: bleſſed be God foꝛ it.

Then diuers came and toke them by the handes as they were bound ſtandyng at the ſtake. The Sheriffe cryed lay handes on them, lay handes on thẽ. With that a great number ranne to the ſtake. The Shꝛiffe ſeyng that, let them all alone: ſo that there was not one taken.

Bate a rayling perſecutoꝛ.

There was one Bate a Barber, a buſie doer about them. Who hauing then a freſe gowne vpon him, ſold it immediatly, ſaying: it ſtunke of heretickes, with other foule woꝛdes moe. After this within iij. oꝛ foure Wekes Gods hand was vppon him, and ſo he dyed very miſerably in Ipſwich.

Example of Gods iudgement vpon perſecutoꝛs.

The Martyrdome of iij. which were burned at Bury, for the true teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt.

The Martyrdome of iij. good men at Bury.

ALthough our hiſtoꝛy haſteth a paſe (the Loꝛd be pꝛayſed) to the happy death of Quene Mary, yet ſhe dyed not ſo ſone, but ſome there were burned befoꝛe, and mo ſhould haue ben burnt ſone after thẽ if Gods pꝛouiſion had not pꝛeuented her with death. In the number of them which ſuffered the ſame moneth whẽ Quene Mary dyed, were thꝛe that were burned at Bury, whoſe names were theſe:

Philip Vmfry.
Iohn Dauid.
Henry Dauid *his brother.*

Sir Clem. Higham perſecutoꝛ.

Concerning the burnyng of theſe thꝛe, here is to be noted, that Syꝛ Clement Higham, about a foꝛtnight befoꝛe the Quene dyed, did ſue out a wꝛit foꝛ the burning of theſe thꝛe foꝛeſayd godly and bleſſed Martyꝛs, notwithſtandyng that the Quene was then knowen to be paſt remedy of her ſicknes.

The trouble and Martyrdome of a godly poore woman which ſuffered at Exetor.

The ſtory of a poore woman burned at Exetoꝛ in Queene Maryes tyme.

ALthough in ſuch an innumerable companie of godly Martyꝛs, which in ſundꝛy quarters of this realme were put to toꝛmentes of fire in Quene Maryes tyme, it be hard ſo exactely to recite euery particular perſõ that ſuffered, but that ſome eſcape vs either vnknowen, oꝛ omitted: yet I can not paſſe ouer a certeine poꝛe woman, and a ſelie creature, burned vnder the ſayd Quenes reigne, in the Citie of Exetoꝛ (whoſe name I haue not yet learned): who dwellyng ſometime about Cornewaile, hauing a huſband and childꝛen there, much addicted to the ſuperſtitious ſect of Popery: was many tymes rebuked of them, and dꝛiuen to go to Church, to their Idols, and ceremonies, to ſhꝛifte, to folow the croſſe in pꝛoceſſion, to giue thankes to God foꝛ reſtoꝛyng Antichꝛiſt agayne into this realme. &c. Which when her ſpirite could not abyde to do, ſhe made her pꝛayer vnto God, callyng foꝛ helpe & mercy, & ſo at length lying in her bed, about midnight, ſhe thought there came to her a certeine motion and a felyng of ſingular comfoꝛt. Wher upon in ſhoꝛt ſpace, ſhe began to grow in contempt of her huſband & childꝛẽ, & ſo taking nothing frõ them, but euen as ſhe went, departed from them, ſekyng her liuyng by labour and ſpinnyng as well as ſhe could, here and there, foꝛ a time. In which tyme notwithſtandyng ſhe neuer ceaſed to vtter her mynd, as well as ſhe durſt: howbeit ſhe at that tyme was bꝛought home to her huſband agayne. Where at laſt ſhe was accuſed by her neighbours, and ſo bꝛought vp to Exetoꝛ, to be pꝛeſented to the Byſhop and his Clergie. The name of the Biſhop, which had her in examination, was Doct. Troubleuile. His Chauncellour (as I gather) was Blakſtone. The chiefeſt matter wherupon ſhe was charged and condemned, was foꝛ the Sacrament (which they call of the altar) and foꝛ ſpeakyng agaynſt Idols, as by ẏ declaration of thoſe which were pꝛeſent, I vnderſtand, which repoꝛt the talke betwene her and the Byſhop, on this wiſe.

Huſband agaynſt ẏ wife.

Her departing frõ her huſband and returnyng agayne.

The poore woman ſent vp to Exetoꝛ.

D. Troblevile B. of Exetoꝛ, Blackſtone perſecutoꝛs.

Talke betwene the womã and the Byſhop.

Byſhop. Thou foliſh woman (quoth the Byſhop) I heare ſay thou haſt ſpoken certein woꝛdes of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, the body of Chꝛiſt. Fie foꝛ ſhame. Thou an vnlearned perſon and a woman: wilt thou medle with ſuch high matters, which all the Doctours of the woꝛld can not define? wilt thou talke of ſo hye miſteries? Kepe thy woꝛke, and medle with that thou haſt to do. It is no womens matters, at cardes and towe to be ſpoken of. And if it be as I am infoꝛmed, thou art woꝛthy to be burned.

Woman. My Loꝛd (ſayd ſhe) I truſt your Loꝛdſhyp will heare me ſpeake.

Biſh. Yea Mary (quoth he) therfoꝛe I ſend foꝛ thee.

Wom. I am a poꝛe womã and do liue by my hands, gettyng a peny truly, and of that I get I geue part to the poꝛe.

Biſh. That is well done. Art thou not a mans wife?

And here the Biſhop entred into talke of her huſbãd. To whom ſhe aunſwered agayne, declaring that ſhe had a huſband and childꝛen: and had them not. So long as ſhe was at libertie, ſhe refuſed not neither huſband, noꝛ childꝛen. But now ſtanding here as I do (ſayd ſhe) in the cauſe of Chꝛiſt and his truth, where I muſt either foꝛſake Chꝛiſt, oꝛ my huſband, I am contented to to ſticke onely to Chꝛiſt my heauenly ſpouſe, and renounce the other.

The wife renouncing her huſband foꝛ Chꝛiſtes ſake.

And here ſhe making mention of the woꝛdes of Chꝛiſt: *He that leaueth not father or mother, ſiſter or brother, huſband. &c.* the Biſhop inferred that Chꝛiſt ſpake that of ẏ holy Martyꝛs, which died becauſe they would not do ſacrifice to the falſe Gods.

Wom. Sikerly Syꝛ, and I wil dye rather then I wil do any woꝛſhip to that foule Idoll, which with your Maſſe you make a God.

Biſh. Yea, you callet, will you ſay that the Sacramẽt of the altar is a foule Idoll?

Wom. Yea truly (quoth ſhe:) there was neuer ſuch an Idol as your Sacrament is made of your pꝛieſtes, and commaunded to be woꝛſhipped of all men, with many fonde phanſies, where Chꝛiſt did commaunde it to be eaten and dꝛonken in remembꝛaunce of his moſt bleſſed Paſſion our redemption.

The Sacrament of the altar made an Idoll.

Biſh. Se this pꝛatlyng womã. Doeſt thou not heare, that Chriſt did ſay, ouer the bread: *This is my body*, and ouer the cup: *This is my bloud?*

Wom. Yes forſooth, he ſayd ſo, but he ment that it is hys body and bloud not carnally, but Sacramentally.

Byſhop. Lo, ſhe hath heard pratling among theſe new preachers, or heard ſome peuiſh booke. Alas poore woman, thou art deceiued.

Reaſons ſhewing why the Sacrament of the Lordes body is not to be worſhipped.

Wom. No my Lord, that I haue learned was of godly preachers, and of godly bookes which I haue heard read. And if you will geue me leaue I wil declare a reaſon why I will not worſhip the Sacrament.

Byſh. Mary ſay on, I am ſure it will be goodly geare.

Wom. Truly ſuch geare as I will loſe this poore life of myne for.

Byſh. Then you wilt be a Martyr, good wife.

Wom. In deede if the denying to worſhip that bready God be my Martyrdome, I will ſuffer it with all my hart.

Byſh. Say thy minde.

Wom. You muſt beare wͭ me a poore womã, quoth ſhe.

Byſh. So I will, quoth he.

Wom. I will demaund of you whether you can deny your Crede which doth ſay that Chriſt perpetually doth ſit at yͤ right hand of his father both body & ſoule vntill he come agayne, or whether he be there in heauẽ our aduocate, & do make praier for vs vnto God his father. If it be ſo, he is not here in yͤ earth in a peece of bread. If he be not here, & if he do not dwell in tẽples made with handes but in heauen, what ſhall we ſeeke him here? if he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offring? if with once offring he made all perfect, why do you with a falſe offring make all vnperfect? if he be to be worſhipped in ſpirite and truth, why do you worſhip a peece of bread? if he be eaten and drunken in faith and truth, if his fleſhe bee not profitable to bee among vs, why do you ſay you make his body and fleſh, and ſay it is profitable for body and ſoule? Alas I am a poore woman: but rather then I would doe as you do, I would liue no longer. I haue ſayd Syr.

Byſh. I promiſe you, you are a iolly Proteſtant. I pray you in what ſcholes haue you bene brought vp?

Wom. I haue vppon the Sondayes viſited the Sermons, and there I haue learned ſuch thinges, as are ſo fixed in my breſt, that death ſhall not ſeparate them.

Byſh. O fooliſh womã, who will waſte his breath vpõ thee, or ſuch as thou art? But how chaũceth it that thou wenteſt away from thy huſband? if thou were an honeſt womã, thou wouldeſt not haue left thine huſbãd & children, and runne about the coũtrey like a fugitiue.

Wom. Syr, I laboured for my liuyng: And as my maſter Chriſt counſelleth me, when I was perſecuted in one Citie I fled vnto an other.

Byſh. Who perſecuted thee?

The wife perſecuted by huſband and children.

Wom. My huſband and my children. For when I would haue him to leaue Idolatrie & to worſhip God in heauen, he would not heare me, but he, with his children, rebuked me, & troubled me. I fled not for whoredome, nor for theft, but becauſe I would be no partaker with him & his, of that foule Idoll the Maſſe. And where ſoeuer I was, as oft as I could, vpõ ſondayes & holydayes I made excuſes not to go to yͤ popiſh church.

Byſh. Belike then you are a good houſwife, to flye frõ your huſband and alſo from the Church.

Wom. My houſwifry is but ſmall: but God geue me grace to go to the true Church.

Byſh. The true Church? what doeſt thou meane?

Wom. Not your Popiſh Church, full of Idols and abominations, but where ij. or iiij. are gathered together in the name of God, to that Church will I go as long as I liue.

Byſh. Belike then you haue a Church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put downe to priſon, vntill we ſend for her huſband.

Wom. No, I haue but one huſband, which is here already in this Citie and in priſon with me, from whom I will neuer depart, and ſo their cõmunication for that day brake of. Blackſtone and others perſuaded the Byſhop that ſhe was a maſed creature and not in her perfect witte (which is no new thyng, for the wiſedome of God to appeare fooliſhnes to carnal mẽ of this world): and therfore they conſulted together, that ſhe ſhould haue libertie and goe at large. So the keeper of the Byſhops priſon had her home to his houſe, where ſhe fell to ſpinnyng and cardyng, and did all other worke as a ſeruant in yͤ ſayd keepers houſe, & went about the Citie, when & whether ſhe would, & diuers had delight to talke with her. And euer ſhe continued talking of the Sacrament of the altar. Which, of all thyng they could leſt abyde. Then was her huſband ſent for, but ſhe refuſed to goe home with him, with the blemiſhe of the cauſe and Religion, in defence wherof ſhe there ſtoode before the Byſhop and the Prieſtes.

Talke betwene the womã and the prieſtes about the ſacrament.

Then diuers of the Prieſtes had her in handlyng, perſuading her to leaue her wicked opinion about the Sacrament of the altar, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt. But ſhe made them aunſwere that it was nothyng, but very bread and wyne, and that they might be aſhamed to ſay that a peece of bread ſhould be turned by a man into the naturall body of Chriſt, which bread doth vinow, and mice oftẽtimes doe eate it, and it doth mould and is burned: And (ſaid ſhe) Gods owne body will not be ſo handled nor kept in priſon, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it be your God: it ſhall not be myne: for my Sauiour ſitteth on the right hand of God and doth pray for me. And to make that Sacramentall or ſignificatiue bread inſtituted for a remẽbraunce, the very body of Chriſt, and to worſhip it, it is very fooliſhnes and deuiliſh diſceate.

Now truly (ſayd they) the deuill hath deceaued thee.

No (ſayd ſhe) I truſt the liuyng God hath opened myne eyes, and cauſed me to vnderſtand the right vſe of the bleſſed Sacrament, which the true Church doth vſe, but the falſe Church doth abuſe.

Talke betwene the womã and a Fryer.

Then ſtept forth an old Frier and aſked what ſhe ſayd of the holy Pope.

I ſay (ſayd ſhe) that he is Antichriſt and the deuill.

Then all they laughed.

Nay (ſayd ſhe) you had more neede to weepe then to laugh, and to be ſory that euer you were borne to be the Chaplaines of that whore of Babylon. I defie him and all his falſhode: and get you away from me: you do but trouble my conſcience. You would haue me follow your doings: I will firſt loſe my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou fooliſh womã (ſayd they): we come to thee for thy profite and ſoules health.

O Lord God (ſayd ſhe) what profite riſeth by you that teach nothyng but lyes for truth? how ſaue you ſoules, when you preach nothyng but damnable lyes, and deſtroy ſoules?

How proueſt thou that (ſayd they?)

Falſe doctrine of the Papiſtes reproued.

Do you not damne ſoules (ſayd ſhe) when you teach the people to worſhip Idoles, ſtockes, and ſtones, the worke of mens handes? and to worſhip a falſe God of your owne making, of a peece of bread? and teach that the Pope is Gods Vicar, and hath power to forgeue ſinnes? and that there is a Purgatory, when Gods ſonne hath by his paſſion purged all? and ſay you make God and ſacrifice him, when Chriſtes body was a ſacrifice once for all? Do you not teath the people to nũber their ſinnes in your eares, and ſay they be damned if they confeſſe not all: when Gods word ſayth: *Who can nũber his ſinnes?* Do you not promiſe them Trentales and Diriges, and Maſſes for ſoules, and ſell your prayers for money, and make them bye pardons, and truſt to ſuch fooliſh inuentions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether againſt God? Do you not teach vs to pray vpon beades, and to pray vnto ſaintes, and ſay they cã pray for vs? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray deuils? Do you not a thouſãd more abominations? And yet you ſay you come for my profite and to ſaue my ſoule. No no, one hath ſaued me. Farewell you with your ſaluation. Much other talke there was betwene her and thẽ, which here were to tedious to be expreſſed.

In the meane time during this her monthes libertie graunted to her by the Byſhop, which we ſpake of before, it happened that ſhe entring in S. Peters church, behelde there a cunning Dutchman how he made new noſes to certayne fine Images which were diſfigured in K. Edwardes tyme: what a mad man art thou (ſayd ſhe) to make thẽ new noſes, which within a fewe dayes ſhall all loſe their heades. The Dutchmã accuſed her and layd it hard to her charge. And ſhe ſayd to him: thou art accurſed, and ſo are thy Images. He called her whore. Nay (ſayd ſhe) thy Images are whores, and thou art a whore hunter: for doth not God ſay you goe a whoring after ſtraunge Gods, figures of your owne making: and thou art one of them. Then was ſhe ſent for and clapped faſt: and from that tyme ſhe had no more liberty.

The reuolting of one *Daniell* a miniſter, from the Goſpell to Popery, in *Q. Maries* time.

During the tyme of her impriſonment, diuers reſorted to her, to viſite her, ſome ſent of the Byſhop, ſome of their owne voluntary will: amongſt whom was one Daniell, a great doer & preacher ſometimes of the Goſpell, by the dayes of K. Edward, in thoſe parties of Cornewall and Deuonſhyre, whom after that ſhe perceaued by his owne confeſſion, to haue reuolted from that which he preached before, through the greuous impriſonmentes (as he ſayd) & feare of perſecution, which he partly had ſuſteined by the cruell Iuſtices in thoſe parties, earneſtly ſhe exhorted him to repent with Peter, & to be more cõſtant in his profeſſion.

Moreouer there reſorted to her a certayne worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Rauley, a woman of noble wit and of a good and Godly opiniõ, came to the priſon and talked with her: ſhe ſayd her créede to the Gentlewoman, & when ſhe came to the Article: *He aſcended*, there ſhe ſtayed, and bad the Gentlewoman to ſéeke his bleſſed body in heauen, not in earth, and tolde her playnly that God dwelleth not in tẽples made with handes, and that ſacrament to be nothing els but a remembrance of his bleſſed paſſion, & yet (ſayd ſhe) as they now vſe it, it is but an Idoll and farre wide from any remembraunce of Chriſtes body: which (ſayd ſhe) will not long continue, and ſo take it good miſtres. So that as ſone as ſhe came home to her husbãd, ſhe declared to him, that in her life ſhe neuer heard a woman (of ſuch ſimplicity to ſée to) talke ſo godly, ſo perfectly, ſo ſincerely, and ſo earneſtly: in ſomuch ẙ if God were not with her, ſhe could not ſpeake ſuch thinges: to ẙ which I am not able to aunſwere her (ſayd ſhe) who can read and ſhe cannot.

William and Iohn Kede, two godly brethren.

Alſo there came to her one William Kede, and Iohn his brother, not onely brethren in ẙ fleſh, but alſo in the truth, and men in that countrey of great credit, whoſe father Robert Kede all his life ſuffred nothing but trouble for the Goſpell. These ij. good and faithfull brethren were preſent with her both in the hall and alſo at the priſon, & (as they reported) they neuer heard the like woman: of ſo godly talke, ſo faithfull, or ſo conſtant, and as godly exhortations ſhe gaue them.

The conſtancie of thys woman many wayes tryed.

Thus this good matrone, the very ſeruant and handmaid of Chriſt, was by many wayes tried, both by hard priſonment, threatninges, tauntes, and ſcornes, called an Anabaptiſt, a mad woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runnagate. She was proued by liberty to go whether ſhe would: ſhe was tryed by flattery, with many fayre promiſes: ſhe was tryed with her husband, her goods and children: but nothing coulde preuayle: her hart was fixed, ſhe had caſt her anker, vtterly contemning this wicked world: A rare enſample of conſtancie to all profeſſors of Chriſtes holy Goſpell.

In the bil of my information, it is ſo reported to me, that albeit ſhe was of ſuch ſimplicity and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture but ſhe would tell you the chapter: yea ſhe would recite to you the names of all the bookes of the Bible. For which cauſe one Gregory Baſſet a rancke Papiſt ſayd, ſhe was out of her witte, and talked of the Scripture as a dogge rangeth farre of from his maſter when he walketh in the fieldes, or as a ſtolen ſhepe out of his maſters handes, ſhe wiſt not whereat, as all heretickes do, with many other ſuch tauntes, which ſhe vtterly defied. Whereby as almighty God is highly to be prayſed, working ſo mightily in ſuch a weake veſſell: ſo men of ſtronger and ſtouter nature haue alſo to take example how to ſtand in like caſe: when as we ſée this poore woman, how manfully ſhe went through with ſuch conſtancie and pacience.

Gregory Baſſet a rayling Papiſt.

The conſtant pacience in this woman and Martyr to be noted.

At the laſt, when they perceaued her to be paſt remedy, and had conſumed all their threatninges, that by neither priſonment nor libertie, by manaces nor flattery they could bryng her to ſing any other ſong, nor win her to their vanities & ſuperſtitious doinges, then they cried out, an Anabaptiſt, an Anabaptiſt. Thẽ at a day they brought her from the Byſhops priſon to the Guild hall, and after that deliuered her to the temporall power according to their cuſtome, where ſhe was by the Gentlemen of the countrey exhorted yet to call for grace and to leaue her fonde opinions; And goe home to thy husband (ſayd they): thou art an vnlearned woman, thou art not able to aunſwere to ſuch high matters.

The woman brought from the Biſhops priſon to the Guild Hall.

Exhortations to haue her recant.

I am not, ſayd ſhe: yet with my death I am content to be a witnes of Chriſtes death: and I pray you make no longer delay with me: my hart is fixed, I will neuer otherwiſe ſay, nor turne to their ſuperſtitious doinges.

The conſtant ſtanding of this woman.

Then the Biſhop ſayd the deuill did lead her.

Blaſphemy of the Byſhop.

No my Lord (ſayd ſhe) it is the ſpirite of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me. Then was there a great ſhoute and laughyng among the Prieſtes and other.

How God reuealed hys truth vnto her.

During ẙ time that this good poore womã was thus vnder theſe prieſtes handes, amongeſt many other baitynges and ſore conflictes which ſhe ſuſteined by thẽ, here is moreouer not to be forgotten, how that M. Blaxton aforeſayd, beyng treaſurer of the Church, had a concubine which ſondry tymes reſorted to him, with other of his Goſſips: ſo that alwayes when they came, this ſaid good woman was called forth to his houſe, there to make his minion with ẙ reſt of the company, ſome mirth, he examining her with ſuch mocking and gyring, deridyng the truth, that it would haue vexed any Chriſtian hart to haue ſéene it. Then whẽ he had lõg vſed his fooliſhnes in this ſort, and had ſported himſelf inough in deriding this Chriſten Martyr: in ẙ end he ſent her to priſon againe, & there kept her very miſerably, ſauing that ſometimes he would ſend for her when his foreſaid geſt came to him, to vſe with her his accuſtomed folie aforeſaid. But in fine, theſe vile wretches (after many combates, & ſcoffing perſuaſiõs) whẽ they had played the part of the Cat with the mouſe, at length condemned her and deliuered her ouer to the ſecular power.

Then the Inditement beyng geuen & read, which was, that ſhe ſhould go to the place whence ſhe came, and frõ thẽce to be led to ẙ place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till ſhe ſhould be conſumed: ſhe lifted vp her voyce, and thanked God ſaying: I thanke thée my Lord my God, this day haue I found that which I haue long ſought. But ſuch outcries as there were agayne, and ſuch mockynges, were neuer ſéene vpõ a poore ſely womã: All which ſhe moſt paciently toke. And yet this fauour they pretended after her Iudgement, that her life ſhould be ſpared if ſhe would turne & recant. Nay that will I not (ſayd ſhe): God forbid that I ſhould loſe the lyfe eternall for this carnall and ſhort lyfe. I will neuer turne from my heauenly husband to my earthly husband: from the fellowſhip of Aungels to mortall children: And if my husband

Iudgement geuen agaynſt this good woman.

She thanketh God for her iudgement geuen.

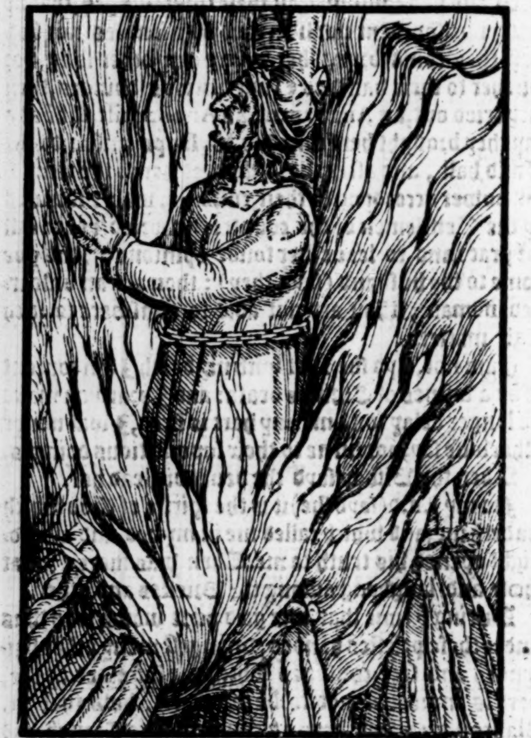
Agayne ſhe denieth to recant.

and children be faithfull, then am I theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my ſiſter, my brother, my kinſman, God is my frend moſt faithfull.

The woman deliuered to the Shrieffe, and led to the place of execution.

Then was ſhe deliuered to the Sheriffe, and innumerable people beholdyng her, ſhe was led by the Officers to the place of execution without the walles of Exetor called Sothenhey, where agayne theſe ſuperſtitious Prieſtes aſſaulted her: and ſhe prayed them to haue no more talke with her, but cried ſtill, God be mercyfull to me a ſinner, God be mercyfull to me a ſinner. And ſo whiles they were tying her to yͤ ſtake thus ſtill ſhe cried and would geue no aunſwere to them, but with much pacience toke her cruell death, & was with the flames & fire conſumed: and ſo ended this mortall lyfe as conſtant a womā in the faith of Chriſt, as euer was vppon the earth. She was as ſimple a woman to ſee to as any mā might behold: of a very litle and ſhort ſtature, ſomwhat thicke, about liiij. yeares of age. She had a cherefull countenaunce, ſo liuely as though ſhe had bene prepared for that day of her mariage to meete the Lambe: Moſt pacient of her wordes and aunſweres, ſober in apparell meate and drinke, and would neuer be idle: a great cōfort to as many as would talke with her: good to the poore, and in her trouble money ſhe ſayd ſhe would take none, for ſhe ſayd, I am goyng to a Citie where money beareth no maſtry: Whiles I am here God hath promiſed to feede me. Thus was her mortall lyfe ended. For whoſe conſtancie God be euerlaſtyngly prayſed, Amen.

The cruell burnyng of a woman at Exetor.



The pacient Martyrdome of a poore woman at Exceſter, being one *Preſtes* wife.

Touching the name of this woman (as I haue now learned) ſhe was the wife of one called Preſt, dwelling in the Dioces of Exetor, not farre from Launceſton.

The perſecution and Martyrdome of three godly men, burnt at Briſtow, about the latter yeares of Queene Maryes reigne.

The ſtory of iij. Martyrs which ſuffered at Briſtow.

IN writing of the bleſſed Saintes, which ſuffered in the bloudy dayes of Queene Mary, I had almoſt ouerpaſſed yͤ names and ſtory of three godly Martyrs, which with their bloud gaue teſtimonie likewiſe to the Goſpell of Chriſt, beyng condemned and burnt in the Towne of Briſtow. The names of whom were theſe.

Richard Sharpe.
Thomas Hale.
Thomas Benion.

Martyrs.

Richard Sharpe, Martyr.

M. Dalby Chauncellor of Briſtow, perſecutor.

Firſt Richard Sharpe Weauer of Briſtow, was brought the ix. day of March, an. 1556. before M. Dalbye Chauncellour of the Towne or Citie of Briſtow, and after examination concernyng the Sacrament of the altar, was perſuaded by the ſayd Dalby and others to recant, and the .xxix. of the ſame moneth was enioyned to make his recantation before the Pariſhoners in his Pariſh Church. Which whē he had done, he felt in his conſcience ſuch a tormētyng hell, that he was not able quietly to worke in his occupation, but decayed and chaunged, both in colour and likyng of his body. Who ſhortly after vppon a Sonday came into his Pariſh Church called Temple, and after high Maſſe, came to the queere doore & ſaid with a loud voyce: Neighbours, beare me recorde that yonder Idoll (and poynted to the altar) is the greateſt and moſt abominable that euer was: and I am ſory that euer I denied my Lord God. Then the Conſtables were commaunded to apprehēd him, but none ſtepped forth, but ſuffered him to go out of the Church. After by night he was apprehended and caryed to Newgate, and ſhortly after, he was brought before the ſayd Chauncellor, denying the Sacrament of the altar to be the body and bloud of Chriſt, and ſayd it was an Idoll, & therfore was cōdemned to be burnt by the ſayd Dalby. He was burnt the 7. of May. 1557. and died godly, paciently, and conſtantly, confeſſing the Articles of our faith.

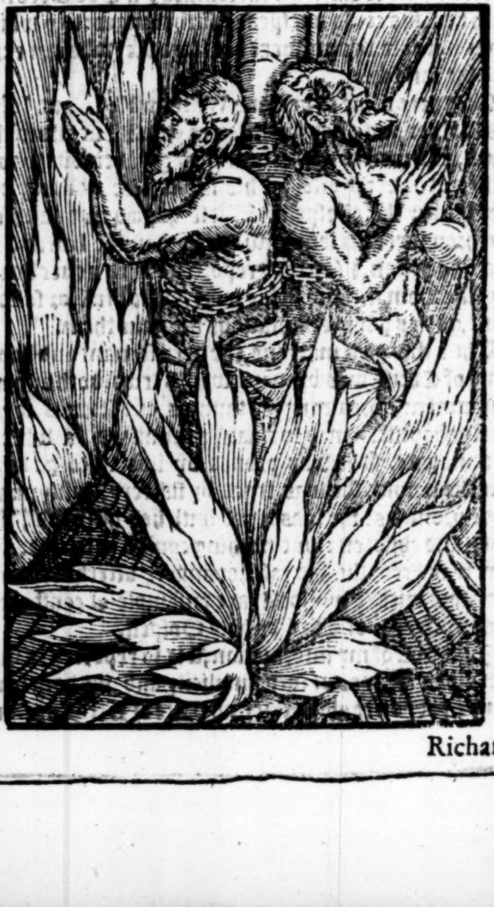
Richard Sharpe condēned.

¶ *Thomas Hale, Martyr.*

Thomas Hale, Martyr.

THe Thurſday in the night, before Eaſter. 1557. came one M. Dauid Herrys Alderman, and Iohn Stone to the houſe of one Thomas Hale, a Shomaker of Briſtow, and cauſed him to riſe out of his bed, and brought him forth of his doore. To whom yͤ ſayd Thomas Hale ſayd: you haue ſought my bloud theſe two yeares, and now much good do it you with it. Who beyng committed to the watchmen, was caried to Newgate the xxiij. of Aprill, yͤ yeare aforeſayd: was brought before M. Dalbie the Chauncellour, committed by him to priſon, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for ſaying the Sacrament of the altar to be an Idoll. He was burned the vij. of May with yͤ aforeſayd Richard Sharpe, and godly, paciently, and conſtantly embracyng the fire with his armes.

Two godly Martyrs burned at Briſtow.



The Martyrdome of *Richard Sharpe, and Tho. Hale,* at Briſtow. An. 1557 May. 7.

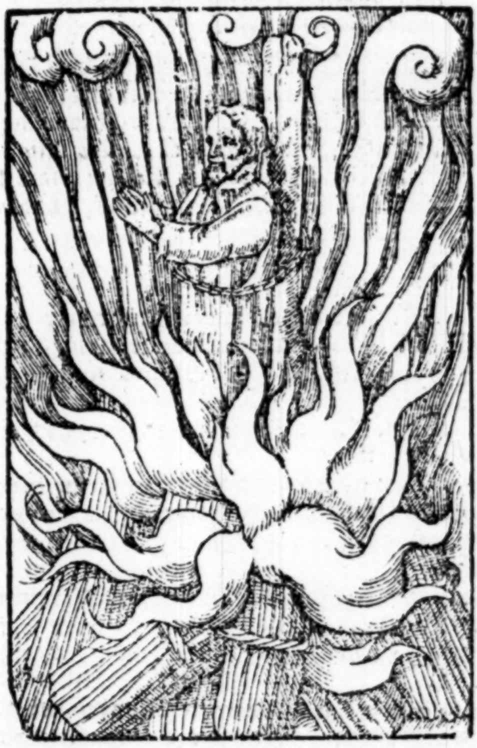
Richard Sharpe and Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound backe to backe.

Thomas Benion.

Thomas Benion, Martyr.

THomas Benion a Weauer, at the commaundement of the Commiſſioners, was brought by a Conſtable, the xiij. day of Auguſt. 1557. before M. Dalby, Chauncellour of Briſtow, who committed him to priſon for ſaying there was nothing but bread in the Sacrament, as they vſed it. Wherfore, the. xx. day of the ſayd Auguſt, he was condemned to be burnt by the ſaid Dalby, for denying fiue of their Sacramentes and affirming two, that is: the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme. He was burnt the xxvij. of the ſayd moneth and yeare, and dyed godly, conſtantly and patiently, with confeſſing the Articles of our Chriſten fayth.

Thomas Benion burned at Briſtow.



The Martyrdome of Thomas Benion at Briſtow. An.1557 Aug.27.

❧ *The Martyrdome of v. conſtant* Chriſtians, which ſuffered the laſt of all other in the tyme of Queene Mary.

Nouẽb. 10.

THe laſt that ſuffered in Queene Maryes tyme, were fiue at Canterbury, burned about ſixe dayes before the death of Queene Mary, whoſe names follow here vnderwritten.

Martyrs.

Iohn Corneford, of Wrotham.
Chriſtopher Browne, of Maydſtone.
Iohn Herſt, of Aſhford.
Alyce Snoth.
Katherine Knight, otherwiſe called
Katherine Tynley, an aged woman.

These fiue to cloſe vp the finall rage of Queene Maryes perſecution, for the teſtimony of that word, for which ſo many had died before, gaue vp their liues, meekely and paciently ſufferyng the violent malice of yͤ Papiſtes. Which Papiſtes although they then might haue either well ſpared them, or els differred their death, knowyng of the ſickenes of Queene Mary: yet ſuch was the implacable deſpite of that generatiõ, that ſome there be that ſay, the Archdeacon of Canterbury the ſame tyme beyng at London, and vnderſtandyng the daunger of the Queene, incontinently made all poſt haſt home to diſpatch theſe, whom before he had then in his cruell cuſtody.

V. laſt Martyrs that were burned in *Q. Maries* time.

The matter why they were iudged to the fire, was for beleuyng the body not to be in the Sacramẽt of the altar vnleſſe it be receaued, ſaying moreouer that we receaue an other thyng alſo beſide Chriſtes body, which we ſee and is a temporall thyng, accordyng to S. Paule: *The thinges that be ſene, be temporall. &c.*

Their Articles why they were condemned.

Item, for confeſſing that an euill man doth not receaue Chriſtes body: *Becauſe no man hath the ſonne except it be geuen him of the father.*

Item, that it is Idolatrie to creepe to the croſſe, and S. Iohn forbiddeth it, ſaying: *Beware of Images.*

Item, for confeſſing that we ſhoulde not pray to our Lady and other Saintes, becauſe they bee not omnipotent.

For theſe and ſuch other Articles of Chriſtian doctrine, were theſe fiue committed to the fire. Agaynſt whom when the ſentence ſhould be read, and they excommunicate, after the maner of the Papiſtes, one of them, Iohn Corneford by name, ſtirred with a vehement ſpirite of the zeale of God, procedyng in a more true excommunication agaynſt the Papiſtes, in the name of them all, pronounced ſentence agaynſt them in theſe wordes as folow.

An example of Gods worke to be noted.

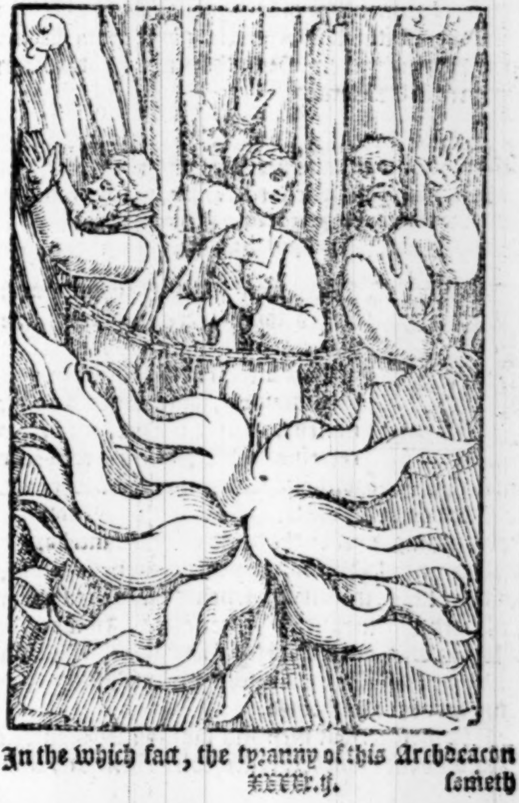
In the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of the moſt mighty God, and by the power of his holy ſpirite, and the authoritie of his holy Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Church, we do geue here into the handes of Sathan, to be deſtroyed, the bodies of all thoſe blaſphemers and heretickes, that doe maintaine any errour agaynſt his moſt holy word, or do condemne his moſt holy truth for hereſie, to the maintenaunce of any falſe Church or fained Religiõ, ſo that by this thy iuſt iudgement, O moſt mightie God, agaynſt thy aduerſaries, thy true Religion may be knowen, to thy great glory, and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, ſo be it, Amen.

Sentence of condemnation pronoũced by *Ioh. Cornford* agaynſt the Papiſtes.

This ſentence of excommunication beyng the ſame time openly pronounced and regiſtred, procedyng ſo, as it ſemeth from an inward faith and an harty zeale to Gods truth and Religion, tooke ſuch effect agaynſt the enemies, that with in ſixe dayes after Queene Mary died, and the tyranny of all Engliſh Papiſtes with her. Albeit, notwithſtandyng the ſickenes and death of that Queene, wherof they were not ignoraunt, yet the Archdeacon, with other of Canterbury thought to diſpatch the Martyrdome of theſe men before.

The cruell dealing of M. *Harpſfield* the Archdeacon of Cant.

The burnyng of v. Martyrs at Canterbury.



The Martyrdome of iij. men and ij women at Cãterbury. An.1558. Nouẽb. 10.

In the which fact, the tyranny of this Archdeacon ſemeth to excéede the crueltie of Boner: who notwithſtandyng he had certaine the ſame time vnder his cuſtody, yet he was not ſo importune in halyng them to the fire, as appeareth by father Liuyng and his wife & diuers other, who beyng ẏ ſame tyme vnder the cuſtody and daunger of Boner, deliuered by the death of Quéene Mary, remaine yet ſome of them aliue.

These godly Martyrs in their prayers which they made before their Martyrdome, deſired God that their bloud might be the laſt that ſhould be ſhed, & ſo it was.

This Katherine Tynley was the mother of one Robert Tynley now dwellyng in Maidſtone, which Robert was in trouble all Queene Maryes tyme. To whom his mother commyng to viſite him, aſked him how he toke this place of Scripture (which ſhe had ſéene, not by reading of ẏ Scripture, for ſhe had yet in maner no taſt of religion, but had found it by chaunce in a boke of prayers): *I will poure out my ſpirite vpon all fleſh, and your ſonnes and your daughters ſhall Propheſie: your old mẽ ſhall dreame dreames, and your young men ſhall see viſions. And alſo vpon the ſeruantes, and vpõ the maides in thoſe dayes will I poure my ſpirite. &c.* Which place after that he had expounded to her, ſhe began to take hold on the Goſpell, growing more and more in zeale and loue therof, and ſo continued vnto her Martyrdome.

Ioel.2.

A note of ***Alice Snoth.***

Among ſuch young women as were burned at Cãterbury, it is recorded of a certeine mayde, and ſuppoſed to be this Alyce Snoth here in this ſtory mentioned, or els to be Agn. Snoth aboue ſtoryed pag.2031. (for they were both burned) that whẽ ſhe was brought to be executed, ſhe beyng at the ſtake, called for her Godfather and Godmothers. The Iuſtice hearing her, ſent for thẽ, but they durſt not come. Notwithſtãdyng the Iuſtice willed the meſſenger to go agayn, and to ſhew them that they ſhould incurre no daũger therfore. Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their ſendyng for. When the mayde ſaw them, ſhe aſked them what they had promiſed for her: and ſo ſhe immediatly rehearſed her faith, and the commaundementes of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promiſed in her behalfe: and they ſayd no. Then ſaid ſhe: I dye a Chriſtian womã: beare witnes of me, and ſo, cruelly in fire was ſhe conſumed, and gaue ioyfully her life vp for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell, to the terrour of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and alſo to the ſtopping of the ſclaunderous mouthes of ſuch, as falſely do quarell agaynſt theſe faithfull Martyrs, for goyng from that Religion wherin by their Godfathers and Godmothers they were firſt Baptiſed.

Hereby *B.Boner* may ſee, that the Martyrs dyed in the ſame fayth wherin they were baptiſed by their Godfathers and Godmothers.

The ſtory and condemnation of

Ioh. Hunt and Richard White, ready to be burnt, but by the death of Queene Mary, eſcaped the fire.

The ſtory of ***Ioh. Hunt & Rich. White.***

BEſides theſe Martyrs aboue named, diuers there were in diuers other places of ẏ realme impriſoned, wherof ſome were but newly taken & not yet examined, ſome began to be examined, but were not yet condemned, certeine both examined & condẽned, but for lacke of ẏ writ eſcaped. Other there were alſo, both condemned, & the writ alſo was brought down for their burning, & yet by the death of ẏ Chauncellor, the Biſhop, and of Quéene Mary, happenyng together about one time, they moſt happely & marueilouſly were preſerued and liued many yeares after. In the nũber of whom was one Iohn Hunt and Rich. White impriſoned at Saliſbury. Touching which hiſtory, ſomething here is to be ſhewed.

Firſt theſe ij. good men and faithfull ſeruauntes of ẏ Lord, aboue named, to witte, Iohn Hunt, and Rich. White had remained long time in priſon at Saliſbury, and other places there about, ẏ ſpace, of ij. yeares and more. During which time, oftymes they were called to examination, and manifold wayes were impugned by the Biſhop, and the Prieſtes. All whoſe examinations, as I thought not much nedefull here to proſecute or to ſearch out, for the length of the volume: ſo neither agayne did I thinke it good to leaue no memory at all of the ſame, but ſome part to expreſſe, namely of the examination of Richard White before the Biſhop of Saliſbury, the B. of Glouceſter, with the Chauncellour and other Prieſtes, not vnworthy perchaunce to be rehearſed.

The examination of Richard White, before the Biſhop of Saliſbury in his chamber in Saliſbury, the 26. day of Aprill. an.1557.

Examination of ***Richard White.***

THe Biſhop of Saliſbury at that time was Doct. Capon. The Biſhop of Glouceſter was Doctour Brokes. Theſe with Doct. Geffrey the Chauncellor of Saliſbury, and a great number of prieſtes ſitting in iudgement, Richard White was brought before thẽ. With whom firſt the Biſhop of Glouceſter, which had the examination of him, begynneth thus:

Biſh. Brokes. Is this the priſoner?

The Chauncellour. Yea my Lord.

Brokes. Frend, wherfore cameſt thou hether?

White. My Lord I truſt to know the cauſe, for the law ſaith: in the mouth of two or thrée witnes thinges muſt ſtand.

Doct. Capon. Did not I examine thée of thy faith whẽ thou cameſt hether?

White. No my Lord, you did not examine me, but cõmaunded me to the Lollardes tower, and that no man ſhould ſpeake with me. And now I do require myne accuſer.

Then the Regiſter ſayd: the Maior of Marlborow did apprehend you for wordes that you ſpake there, and for that I commaũded you to be conueyed hether to priſon.

The Mayor of Marlborow proſecutor.

White. You had the examination of me in Marlborow. Say you what I haue ſaid, & I will anſwere you.

Geffrey. Thou ſhalt confeſſe thy faith ere thou depart, and therfore ſay thy minde frely, and be not aſhamed ſo to do.

White. I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, becauſe it is the power of God to ſaluation vnto all that beleue, and S. Peter ſaith: *If any mã do aſke thee a reaſon of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct aunſwere and that with mekenes.* Who ſhal haue the examination of me?

Chaunc. My Lord of Glouceſter ſhall haue the examination of thée.

White. My Lord, will you take ẏ paines to wet your coate in my bloud? be not giltie therof: I warne you before hand.

Brokes. I will do nothing to thée contrary to our law.

White. My Lord, what is it that you do requeſt at my handes?

Brokes. I will appoſe thée vpon certaine Articles, and principally vpõ the Sacrament of the altar. How doeſt thou beleue of the bleſſed Sacramẽt of the altar? Beleueſt thou not the reall, carnall, and corporall preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, euen the very ſame Chriſt that was borne of the virgin Mary, that was hanged on the Croſſe, and that ſuffered for our ſinnes? (and at theſe wordes they all put of their cappes and bowed their bodies.)

The Sacrament of the altar.

White. My Lord what is a Sacrament?

Brokes, It is ẏ thing it ſelf the which it repreſenteth.

White. My Lord that can not be, for he that repreſenteth a Prince can not be the Prince him ſelfe.

Brokes. How many Sacramentes findeſt thou in the Scriptures called by the name of Sacramentes?

White. I find ij. Sacramentes in the Scriptures, but not

The name of Sacramentes not found in the Scriptures.

not called by the names of the Sacramentes, but I thinke S. Auguſtine gaue them the firſt name of Sacramentes.

Brokes. Then thou findeſt not that word Sacrament in the Scriptures.

White. No my Lord.

Brokes. Did not Chriſt ſay: *This is my body?* and are not his wordes true?

How the Papiſtes play with ſcriptures, as yͤ deuill did when he tempted Chriſt.

White. I am ſure the wordes are true, but you play by me as yͤ deuill did by Chriſt, for he ſaid: *If thou be.* &c. Mat. 4. *For it is.* &c. Pſal. 91. but the wordes that followed after he cleane left out, which are theſe: *Thou ſhalt walke vpon the Lion and Aſpe. &c.* Theſe wordes the deuill left out becauſe they were ſpoken agaynſt him ſelfe: and euen ſo do you recite the Scriptures.

Brokes. Declare thy faith vpon the Sacrament.

Whites opinion of the Sacrament.

Double receauing of the Sacrament, externall and internall.

White. Chriſt and his Sacramẽtes are like, becauſe of yͤ natures, for in Chriſt are ij. natures, a diuine and a humane nature: ſo likewiſe in the Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud, there be ij. natures: the which I deuide into ij. partes, that is, externall and internall. The externall part is the element of bread and wine, according to the ſaying of S. Auguſtine. The internall part is the inuiſible grace which by the ſame is repreſented. So is there an externall receauing of the ſame Sacrament, and an internall. The externall is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the eare. The internall is the holy Ghoſt in the hart, which worketh in me faith, wherby I apprehẽd all the merites of Chriſt, applying the ſame wholly vnto my ſaluation. If this be truth beleue it, and it be not, reproue it.

Doct. Hoſkins. This is Oecolampadius doctrine, and Hoper taught it to the people.

Brokes. Doeſt thou not beleue that after the wordes of cõſecration there is the natural preſence of Chriſtes body?

White. My Lord, I will anſwere you, if ye will aunſwere me to one queſtion. Is not this Article of our beleue true: *He ſitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty?* if he be come from thence to iudgement, ſay ſo.

A Popiſhe Paradox: Chriſtes body both in heauen and in earth at one time.

Brokes. No. But if thou wilt beleue the Scriptures, I will proue to thee that Chriſt was both in heauen and in earth at one tyme.

White. As he is God, he is in all places: but as for his manhode, he is but in one place.

Brokes. S. Paul ſaith. 1. Cor. 15. *Laſt of all he was ſene of me. &c.* Here S. Paule ſayth he ſaw Chriſt, and S. Paul was not in heauen.

How S. Paule ſaw Chriſt.

Supra Pſal. liiij.

White. S. Paules chief purpoſe was by this place to proue the reſurrection. But how do you proue that Chriſt when he appeared to S. Paul, was not ſtill in heauen: like as he was ſene of Steuen, ſittyng at the right hand of God? S. Auguſtine ſayth: the head that was in heauẽ did cry for the body and members which were on the earth and ſayd: *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* And was not Paul takẽ vp into the third heauen where he might ſee Chriſt? as he witneſſeth. Cor. 15. For there he doth but onely ſay that he ſawe Chriſt, but concerning the place, he ſpeaketh nothing. Wherfore this place of Scripture proueth not that Chriſt was both in heauen and earth at one tyme.

B. Brokes leaueth the ſcripture, and proueth the Sacramẽt by other matter.

Brokes. I told you before hee would not beleue me. Here be three opinions, the Lutherians, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholickes. If you the Oecolãpadians haue the truth: then the Lutherians and we the Catholickes be out of the way. If the Lutherians haue the truth, then you yͤ Oecolampadians & we the Catholickes be out of the way. But if we the Catholickes haue the truth, as we haue in dede, then the Lutherians and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way: as ye are in dede, for the Lutherians do call you heretickes.

White. My Lord, ye haue troubled me greatly with the Scriptures.

Brokes. Did I not tell you it was not poſſible to remoue him frõ his errour? Away with him to the Lollardes Tower, and diſpatch him as ſoone as ye can.

This was the effect of my firſt examination. More examinations I had after this, which I haue no tyme now to write out.

The trembling and ſhaking of *Blackſton* at the examination of *Rich. White.*

Amongeſt many other examinations of the foreſayd Rich. White, at diuers and ſondry times ſuſteined, it happened one time, that Doct. Blackſton Chaũcellour of Exetor ſat vpon him, with diuers other, who alledging certeine Doctours, as Chriſoſtome, Cyprian, Tertullian, againſt the ſaid Richard, and being reproued by him for his falſe patching of the Doctours, fell in ſuch a quaking, and ſhaking (his cõſcience belike remorſing him) that he was faine, ſtowping down, to lay both his handes vpon his knees, to ſtay his body from trembling.

Condemnation of *Ioh. Hunt & Rich. White.*

The Chriſtian zeale of *M. Clifford.*

Example of Chriſtiã pietie in a good Shrieffe to be noted.

Then the ſayd Iohn Hunt and Rich. White, after many examinatiõs and long captiuitie, at length were called for and brought before Doct. Geffrey the Byſhops Chauncellour, there to be condemned, and ſo they were. The high Sheriffe at that preſent was one named Syr Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the Seſſions, was there charged with theſe two cõdemned perſons, with other malefactours there condemned likewiſe the ſame tyme, to ſee the execution of death miniſtred vnto them. In yͤ meane tyme M. Clifford of Boſcon in Wilſhire, ſonne in law to the ſayd Syr Anthony Hungerford the Sheriffe, commeth to his father, exhortyng him and counſellyng him earneſtly in no caſe to medle with the death of theſe two innocent perſons: and if the Chauncellour and Prieſtes would nedes be inſtant vpon him, yet he ſhould firſt require the writ to bee ſent downe De comburendo, for his diſcharge. Syr Anthony Hũgerford hearing this, and vnderſtandyng Iuſtice Browne to be in the town the ſame tyme, went to him to aſke his aduiſe and cõſell in the matter: who told him, that without the writ ſent downe from the ſuperiour powers, he could not be diſcharged: and if the writ were ſent, then he muſt by the law do his charge. The Sheriffe vnderſtandyng by Iuſtice Browne how farre he might go by the law, & hauing at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his horſe departed.

The Chauncellour all this while marueilyng what the Sheriffe ment, and yet diſdayning to go vnto him, but looking rather the other ſhould haue come firſt to him, at laſt hearing that he was riddẽ, taketh his horſe and rideth after him: who at length ouertaking yͤ ſayd Sheriffe, declareth vnto him, how he had committed certeine condemned priſoners to his hand, whoſe dutie had bene to haue ſeene execution done vppon the ſame: which for that he had not done, the matter he ſayd, was great, and therfore willed him to looke well vnto it how he would aunſwere the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

A note to be obſerued concerning the Papiſtes dealinges.

The Papiſtes charged with manifeſt diſſimulation.

Wherin note, gentle Reader, by the way, the cloſe and couert hipocriſie of the Papiſtes in their dealings. Who in the forme and ſtile of their owne ſentence condemnatory, pretend a petition vnto the ſecular power, In viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, vt iuris rigor mitigetur, atque vt parcatur vitæ, that is, that the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and that their life may be ſpared. And how ſtandeth this now with their owne doinges and dealynges, when thys Chauncellour (as ye ſee) is not onely contented to geue ſentence agaynſt them, but alſo hunteth here after the Officer, not ſuffering him to ſpare them, although he would? What diſſimulation is this of men, goyng and doyng contrary to their owne wordes and profeſſion? But let vs returne to our matter agayne.

The Sheriffe hearyng the Chauncellours wordes, and ſeyng him ſo vrgyng vppon him, told him agayne that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and diſcharge him in burnyng thoſe men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, ſayth the Chauncellour, did not I geue you a writ, with my hand and vij. moe of the Cloſe ſet vnto the ſame? Well quoth the Sheriffe, that is no ſufficient diſcharge to me, and therfore as I told you, if ye haue a ſufficient writ and warrant from the ſuperiour powers, I know then what I haue to do in my office: otherwiſe, if you haue no other writ but that, I tell you, I wil neither burne them for you nor none of you all. &c. Where note agayne (good Reader) how by this it may be thought and ſuppoſed, that the other poore Saintes and Martyrs of God, ſuch as had bene burned at Saliſbury before, were burned belyke without any authoriſed or ſufficient writ from the ſuperiours, but onely vpon the information of the Chauncellour and of the Cloſe, through the vncircumſpect negligence of the Sheriffes, which ſhould haue looked more ſubſtantially vpon the matter. But this I leaue and referre vnto the Magiſtrates. Let vs returne to the ſtory agayne.

Burning without a ſufficient writte.

Doct. Geffrey the Chauncellour thus ſent away from the Sheriffe, went home, and there fell ſicke vpō the ſame (for anger belyke) as they ſignified vnto me, which were the parties themſelues, both godly and graue perſons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet aliue.

Richard White now Vicar of Malborough in Wiltſhire.

The vnder Shrieffe to this Syr Anthony Hūgerford aboue named, was one M. Michell, likewiſe a right and a perfect godly man. So that not long after this came downe the writ to burne the aboue named Richard White, and Iohn Hunt, but the vnder Sheriffe receauing the ſayd writ, ſayd: I will not be giltie, (quoth he) of theſe mens bloud, and immediatly burnt the writyng, and departed his way. Within iiij. dayes after the Chauncellour dyed. Concerning whoſe death this commeth by the way to be noted, that theſe ij. foreſayd Iohn Hunt and Richard White beyng the ſame tyme in a lowe and darke doungeon, beyng Saterday toward euening (according to their accuſtomed maner) fell to euenyng prayer. Who kneelyng there together, as they ſhould begin their prayer, ſodeinly fell both to ſuch a ſtraunge weepyng and tendernes of hart (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one word, but ſo continued a great ſpace burſtyng out in teares. After that night was paſt, and the mornyng come, the firſt word they heard, was, that the Chauncellour their great enemy was dead. The tyme of whoſe death they found to be the ſame houre, when as they fell in ſuch a ſodeine weepyng. The Lord in all his holy workes be praiſed, Amen. Thus much concernyng the death of that wicked Chauncellour.

M. Michell vnder Shrieffe burneth the writte.

Gods workinges to be noted.

To be noted concerning the death of *D. Geffrey* Chauncellour of Saliſbury.

This Richard White, and the ſayd Iohn Hunt, after the death of the Chauncellour, the Byſhop alſo beyng dead a litle before, continued ſtill in priſon till the happy comming in of Queene Elizabeth, and ſo were ſet at libertie.

The Martyrdome of a young lad of eight yeares old, ſcourged to death in Byſhop Boners houſe at London.

The ſtory of *Iohn Fetty,* and Martyrdome of hys childe.

Of bloudy tormentes and cruell death of a poore Innocent ſufferyng for no cauſe of his owne, but in the truth of Chriſt and his Religion, do make a Martyr, no leſſe deſerueth the child of one Iohn Fetty, to be reputed in ẏ Catalogue of holy Martyrs, who in the houſe of Byſhop Boner vnmercifully was ſcourged to death, as by the ſequele of this ſtory here folowyng may appeare.

Amongeſt thoſe that were perſecuted and miſerably impriſoned for the profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, and yet mercyfully deliuered by ẏ prouidence of God, there was one Iohn Fetty, a ſimple & godly poore man, dwellyng in the Pariſh of Clarkenwell, and was by occation a Taylor, of the age of .42. yeares, or thereabout, who was accuſed and complained of, vnto one Brokenbury a Prieſt, and Parſon of the ſame Pariſh, by hys own wife, for that he would not come vnto the church, and be partaker of theyr Idolatry and ſuperſtition: and therfore through the ſayd Prieſtes procuremēt, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner and his fellow, Conſtables there, and one Martin the Hedborough. Howbeit immediatly vpō his apprehenſion, his wife (by the iuſt iudgement of God) was ſtricken mad, and diſtract of her wittes: which declared a merueilous example of the iuſtice of God agaynſt ſuch vnfaithfull and moſt vnnaturall treachery. And although this example perhaps for lacke of knowledge and inſtruction in ſuch caſes litle moued the conſciences of thoſe ſimple poore men to ſurceaſe their perſecution: yet naturall pity towardes that vngratefull woman, wrought ſo in their hartes, that for the preſeruation and ſuſtētation of her and her ij. children (like otherwiſe to periſh) they for that preſent let her huſband alone and would not carry him to priſon, but ſuffered hym to remaine quietly in his owne houſe. Duryng which time, he as it were forgettyng the wicked and vnkynd fact of hys wife, did yet ſo cheriſh and prouide for her, that within the ſpace of three weekes (through Gods mercyfull prouidence) ſhe was well amēded, and had recouered agayne ſome ſtay of her wittes and ſenſes.

Gods [illegible] hand vpon a wife ſeking the deſtruction of her huſband.

But ſuch was the power of Sathā in the malicious hart of that wicked woman, that notwithſtandyng his gentill dealyng with her, yet ſhe ſo ſoone as ſhe had recouered ſome health, did agayne accuſe her huſband: wherupon he was the ſecond tyme apprehended, and caryed vnto Syr Iohn Mordaunt Knight, one of the Queenes Commiſſioners, and he vppon examination ſent him by Cluny the Biſhops Sumner, vnto Lollardes Tower: where he was (euen at the firſt) put into the painefull ſtockes, and had a diſhe of water ſet by him, with a ſtone put into it. To what purpoſe God knoweth, except it were to ſhew that he ſhould looke for litle other ſuſtenance. Which is credible inough, if we conſider their like practiſes vpon diuers before mēcioned in this hiſtory, as (amongeſt other) vpon Rich. Smith, who dyed through their cruell impriſonment. Touchyng whom, when a godly woman came vnto Doct. Story to haue leaue that ſhe might bury him, hee aſked her if he had any ſtraw or bloud in his mouth: but what he ment therby, I leaue to the iudgement of the godly wiſe.

The wife perſecuting her huſband.

Ioh. Fetty agayne apprehended.

The firſt handling of *Ioh. Fetty* by Syr *Ioh. Mordant.*

Richard Smith dead in priſon through cruell handling.

After the foreſayd Fetty had thus layen in the priſon by the ſpace of xv. dayes, hangyng in the ſtockes, ſometime by the one legge and the one arme, ſometime by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy, of the age of eight or nine yeares) came vnto the Byſhops houſe to ſee if he could get leaue to ſpeake with his father. At his commyng thether, one of the Byſhops Claplaines met with him, and aſked him what he lacked, and whom he would haue. The child aunſwered that he came to ſee his father. The Chaplaine aſked agayne, who was his father. The boy then told hym and pointyng towardes Lollardes Tower, ſhewed him that his father was there in priſon Why (quoth the Prieſt) thy father is an hereticke. The child beyng of a bold and quicke ſpirit, and alſo godly brought vp and inſtructed by his father in the knowledge of God, aunſwered and ſayd: my father is no hereticke: but you are an hereticke: For you haue Baalams marke.

The cruell handling and ſcourging of *Iohn Fettyes* childe.

With that the Prieſt tooke the childe by the hand, and caryed hym into the Byſhops houſe (whether to the Biſhop, or not, I know not, but like inough he did) and there amongeſt them they did moſt ſhameleſly and without all pitie, ſo whippe and ſcourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore bloud, and then, in a ioly brag of their Catholicke tyranny, they cauſed Cluny, hauyng his coate vpon his arme, to cary the child in his ſhyrt vnto hys father beyng in priſon, the bloud runnyng downe by his heeles.

The miſerable tyranny of ẏ Papiſtes in ſcourging a childe.

At

The childe all bloudy brought to hys father in priſon.

Cluny caryeth the boy agayne into the Byſhops houſe.

At his comming vnto his father, the child fell downe vpon his knees, and aſked him bleſſing. The poore man then beholdyng his child, and ſeyng him ſo cruelly arayed, cried out for ſorrow, and ſayd: Alas Wil, who hath done this to thee? The boy aunſwered, that as he was ſeekyng how to come to ſee his father, a Prieſt with Baalams marke tooke hym into yͤ Biſhops houſe, and there was he ſo handled. Cluny therewithall violently plucked the child away out of hys fathers hādes, and caryed him backe agayne into the Byſhops houſe, where they kept hym about three dayes after. And at the three dayes end, Boner (myndyng to make the matter whole, and ſomewhat to appeaſe the poore man, for this their horrible fact) determined to releaſe him, and therfore cauſed hym early in a mornyng to be brought out of Lollardes Tower, into his bedchamber, where he found the Byſhop baſtyng of him ſelfe agaynſt a great fire: and at his firſt entryng into the chamber, Fetty ſayd, God be here and peace. God be here and peace (quoth Boner?) that is neither God ſpeede, nor good morrow. If ye kicke agaynſt this peace (ſayd Fetty) then this is not the place that I ſeeke for. A Chaplaine of the Byſhops ſtandyng by, turned the poore mā about, and thinkyng to deface hym, ſayd in mockyng wyſe: what haue we here? a Player? Whileſt this Fetty was ſtanding in the Biſhops chamber, he eſpyed hāgyng about the Byſhops bedde a great payre of blacke beades, wherupon he ſayd: my Lord, I thinke the hāgman is not farre of: for the halter (poyntyng to the beades) is here already. At which wordes the Byſhop was in a maruelous rage.

The wordes betwene Boner & Ioh. Fetry.

Boners Beades.

Boners Crucifix.

Then immediatly after he eſpyed alſo, ſtandyng in the ſayd Byſhops chamber in the window, a litle Crucifix (before which belyke Boner vſed to kneele in the time of his hypocriticall prayers). Thē he aſked the Biſhop what it was: and he aūſwered that it was Chriſt. Was he handled ſo cruelly as he is here pictured, quoth Fetty?

Yea that he was, ſayd the Byſhop.

And euen ſo cruelly will you handle ſuch as come before you. For you are vnto Gods people, as Cayphas was vnto Chriſt.

B. Boner cōpared to Cayphas.

The Byſhop beyng in a great fury, ſayd: thou art a vyle hereticke, & I will burne thee, or els I will ſpende all that I haue vnto my gowne.

Nay my Lord, ſayd Fetty, ye were better to geue it to ſome poore body, that he may pray for you. But yet Boner bethinkyng in hym ſelfe of the daunger which the child was in by their whippyng, and what perill might inſue thereupon, thought better to diſcharge him: which thyng was accompliſhed.

B. Boner for feare of the law in murdering a child, deliuered the father out of priſon.

The Martyrdome of a childe ſcourged to death in Boners houſe.

Wherupon, after this & ſuch talke, the Biſhop at laſt diſcharged hym, willyng hym to go home and cary hys child with him: which he ſo did, and that with a heauy hart, to ſee hys poore boy in ſuch extreme payne and grief. But within xiiij. dayes after the child dyed, whether through this cruell ſcourgyng, or any other infirmitie, I know not, and therfore I referre the truth therof vnto the Lord, who knoweth all ſecretes, and alſo to the diſcrete iudgement of the wiſe Reader. But how ſo euer it was, the Lord yet vſed this their cruell and deteſtable fact, as a meanes of hys prouidence for the deliuery of this good poore man and faythfull Chriſtian: his name be euer prayſed therfore, Amen.

The cruell handlyng and burnyng of Nicolas Burton Engliſhman and Marchaunt, in Spayne.

The ſtory of Nicholas Burton Martyr, in Spaine.

Foraſmuch as in our former booke of Actes and Monumentes mention was made of the Martyrdome of Nicholas Burton, I thought here alſo not to omitte the ſame, the ſtory beyng ſuch as is not vnworthy to bee knowen, aſwell for yͤ profitable example of his ſingular conſtancie, as alſo for the notyng of the extreme dealyng and cruell rauenyng of thoſe Catholicke Inquiſitours of Spayne, who vnder the pretenſed viſour of Religion, do nothyng but ſeeke their owne priuate gayne and commoditie, with crafty defraudyng and ſpoilyng of other mens goodes, as by the notyng of this ſtory may appeare.

Nicholas Burton Londoner.

The fift day of the moneth of Nouember, about the yeare of our Lord God. 1560. this Nicholas Burton Citizen ſometyme of London and Marchaunt, dwellyng in the Pariſh of litle S. Bartlemew, peaceably and quietly followyng hys traffike in the trade of Marchaundiſe, and beyng in the Citie of Cadix in the partes of Andolazia in Spayne, there came into hys lodgyng a Iudas (or as they terme them) a Familiar of the fathers of the Inquiſition. Who in aſkyng for the ſayd Nicholas Burton, fayned that he had a letter to deliuer to his owne handes: by which meanes hee ſpake with hym immediatly. And hauyng no letter to deliuer to him, then the ſayd Prometer or Familiar, at the mocion of the Deuill hys maſter, whoſe meſſenger he was, inuented an other lye, and ſayd that he would take ladyng for London in ſuch ſhippes as the ſayd Nicholas Burton had frayted to lade, if he would let any: which was partly to know where he laded hys goodes, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the tyme vntill the Alguiſiel, or Sergeant of the ſayd Inquiſition, might come and apprehend the body of the ſayd Nicolas Burton: which they dyd incontinently. Who then well perceauyng that they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, ſpoken, or done any thyng there in that countrey agaynſt the Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall lawes of the ſame Realme, boldly aſked them what they had to lay to hys charge that they did ſo Arreſt hym, and bad them to declare the cauſe and hee would aunſwere them. Notwithſtandyng, they aunſwered nothyng, but commaunded hym with cruell and threatnyng wordes to hold hys peace, and not to ſpeake one worde to them. And ſo they caryed hym to the cruell and filthy common priſon of yͤ ſame towne of Cadix, where he remained in irons 14. daies amōgeſt theeues. All which time he ſo inſtructed the poore priſoners in yͤ word of God, accordyng to yͤ good talent which God had geuē hym in that behalfe and alſo in the Spanyſh toung to vtter the ſame, that in ſhort ſpace he had well reclaimed ſundry of theſe ſuperſtitious and ignorant Spanyardes to embrace the worde of God, and to reiect their Popiſh traditions. Which beyng knowen vnto yͤ Officers of the Inquiſition, they conueyed hym laden with yrons from thence to a Citie called Siuill, into a more cruell and ſtraighter priſon called Tryana, where the ſayd fathers of the Inquiſition proceded agaynſt hym ſecretly accordyng to theyr accuſtomable cruell tyranny, that neuer after hee could be ſuffered to write or ſpeake to any of his nation: ſo that to this day it is vnknowen who was his accuſer.

Nich. Burton layd in priſon, they hauing no cauſe to charge hym with.

Nich. Burton caryed to Siuill.

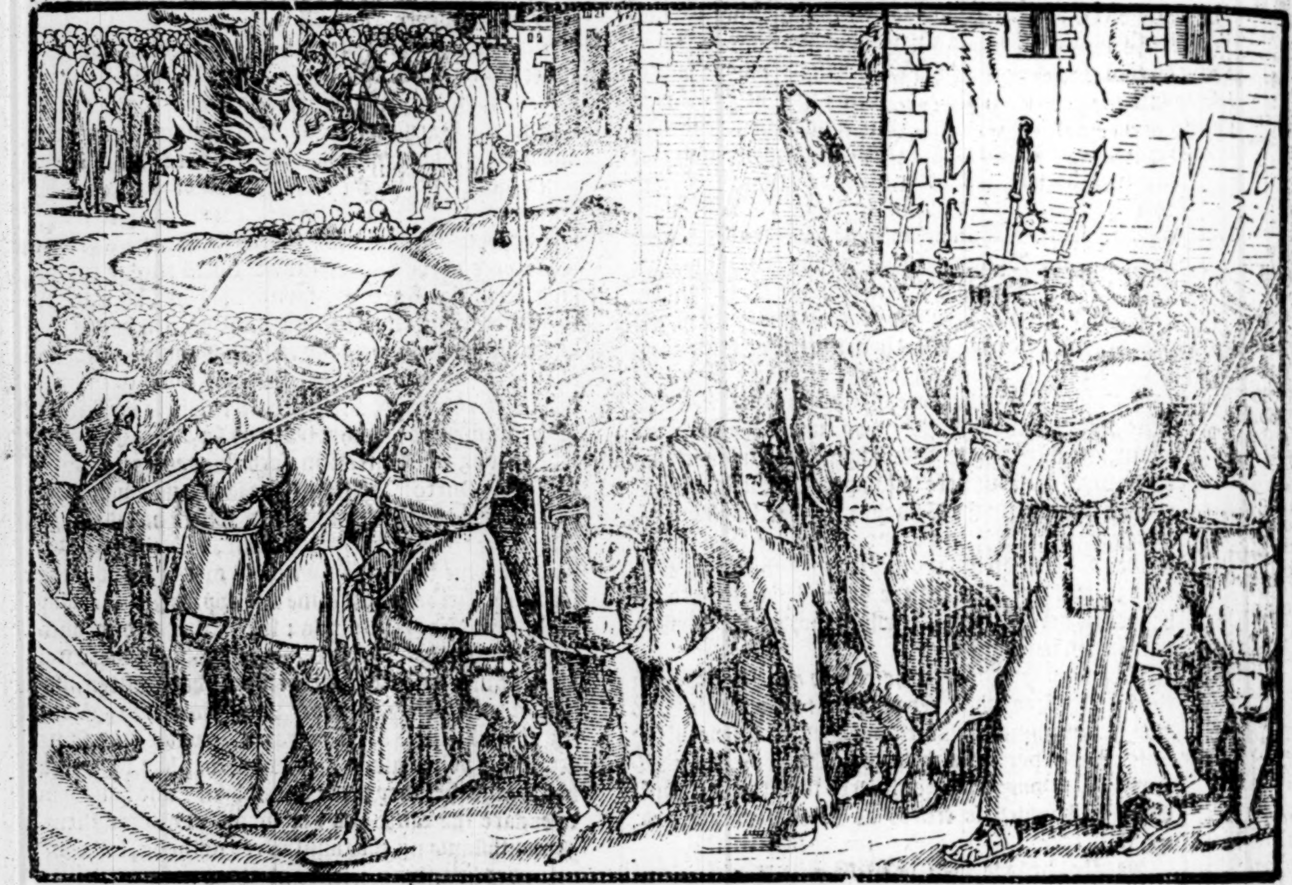
Nich. Burton brought to iudgement after a diſguiſed maner.

Afterward the xx. day of December, in the foreſayd yeare, they brought the ſayd Nicholas Burton with a great number of other priſoners, for profeſſing the true Chriſtian Religion, into the Citie of Siuill, to a place where the ſayd Inquiſition ſat in iudgement, which they call the Awto, with a Canuas coate, whereon in diuers partes was paynted the figure of an houge Deuill, tormentyng a ſoule in a flame of fire, and on hys head a copyyng tanke of the ſame worke. His tounge was forced out of hys mouth with a clouen ſticke faſtened vpon it, that he ſhould not vtter hys conſcience and fayth to the people, & ſo he was ſet with an other Engliſh man of Southampton, and diuers others condemned men for Religion, as well French men, as Spanyardes, vpon a Scaffolde ouer agaynſt the ſayd Inquiſition, where their ſentences and iudge-

Nich. Burton with an other Engliſh man of Southampton condemned.

mentes were read and pronounced agaynſt them. And immediatly after the ſayd Sentences geuen, they were all caryed from thence to the place of execution without the Citie, where they moſt cruelly burned hym, for whoſe conſtant fayth. God be prayſed.

The maner of the Popiſh Spaniardes, in carying Nicolas Burton a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, after moſt ſpitefull ſort, to the burnyng.



The Martyrdome of Nicholas Burton, with the maner of hys diſguiſing, in Spaine. An.1560. Deceb.22.

This Nicolas Burton by the way, and in the flames of fire made ſo chearefull a countenaunce, embracyng death with all pacience and gladnes, that the tormentours and enemyes which ſtode by, ſayd that the Deuill had hys ſoule before he came to the fire, and therfore they ſayd his ſenſes of feelyng were paſt him.

It happened that after the Arreſt of this Nicholas Burton aforeſayd, immediatly all the goodes and Marchaundiſe which he brought with hym into Spayne by way of traficke, were accordyng to their common vſage, ſeiſed and taken into the Sequeſter: among the which they alſo rolled vp much that appertayned to an other Engliſh Marchaunt, wherewith he was credited as Factour. Wherof ſo ſone as newes was brought to the Marchaunt, aſwell of the impriſonment of hys Factour, as of the Arreſt made vpon his goods, he ſent hys Atturney into Spayne with authoritie from hym, to make clayme to hys goodes, and to demaund them: whoſe name was Iohn Fronton Citizen of Briſtow.

The trouble of Ioh. Fronton Citizen of Briſtow, in Spaine.

When his Atturney was landed at Siuill, and had ſhewed all his letters and wrytynges to the holy houſe, requiryng them that ſuch goodes might be redeliuered into hys poſſeſſion, aunſwere was made hym that he muſt ſue by Bill, and retaine an Aduocate (but al was doubtles to delay hym) and they, forſoth, of curteſie aſſigned him one to frame his Supplication for him, and other ſuch Billes of petition, as he had to exhibite into theyr holy Court, demaundyng for ech Bill. 8. Rials, albeit they ſtode hym in no more ſtead them if he had put vp none at all. And for the ſpace of thre or foure monethes this fellow miſſed not twiſe a day, attendyng euery mornyng and afternone at the Inquiſitours Palace, ſuing vnto them vpon hys knees for hys diſpatch, but ſpecially to the Byſhop of Tarracon, who was at that very tyme chiefe in the Inquiſition at Siuill, that he of hys abſolute authoritie would commaund reſtitution to be made therof: but the bootie was ſo good and ſo great, that it was very hard to come by it agayne.

Note the rauening extortion of theſe Inquiſitors.

At the length, after he had ſpent whole iiij. monethes in ſutes and requeſtes, and all to no purpoſe, he receaued this anſwere from them, that he muſt ſhew better euidence and bryng more ſufficient certificates out of England for proofe of his matter, then thoſe which hee had already preſented to the Court. Whereupon the partie forthwith poſted to London, and withall ſpeede returned to Siuill agayne with more ample and large letters teſtimonials and certificates, accordyng to their requeſt, & exhibited them to the Court. Notwithſtandyng, the Inquiſitours ſtill ſhifted hym of, excuſing thē ſelues by lacke of leaſure, and for that they were occupied in greater & more weighty affaires, and with ſuch aunſweres delayed hym other iiij. monethes after.

The vile procedinges of the Inquiſitors of Spaine.

At the laſt, when the partie had welnigh ſpent all his money, and therfore ſued the more earneſtly for his diſpatch, they referred the matter wholy to the Biſhop. Of whom, when he repayred vnto hym, he had this aunſwere: that for hym ſelfe he knew what he had to do: howbeit he was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained vnto the other Commiſſioners as well as vnto hym: and thus by poſtyng and paſſing it from one to an other, the partie could obtaine no end of his ſute. Yet for hys importunitie ſake, they were reſolued to diſpatch hym, but it was on this ſort: One of the Inquiſitours called Gaſco, a man very well experienced in theſe practiſes, willed the partie to reſort vnto hym after dinner. The fellow beyng glad to heare theſe newes, and ſuppoſing that hys goodes ſhould be reſtored vnto hym, and that he was called in for that purpoſe to talke with the other that was in priſon, to conferre with hym about theyr accomptes, the rather through a litle miſunderſtandyng, John Frenton impriſoned by yͤ Spaniſh Inquiſitors for aſking hys owne goods.

hearyng the Inquiſitour caſt out a word, that it ſhould be needefull for hym to talke with the priſoner, and beyng thereupon more then halfe perſuaded, that at the length they ment good fayth, did ſo, and repayred thether about the euenyng. Immediatly vppon hys commyng, the Iayler was forthwith charged with hym, to ſhut hym vp cloſe in ſuch a certaine priſon, where they appoynted hym.

The partie hopyng at the firſt that he had bene called for about ſome other matter, and ſeyng him ſelfe contrary to hys expectation, caſt into a darke dungeon, perceaued at the length that the world went with hym farre otherwiſe then he ſuppoſed it would haue done. But within two or three dayes after, he was brought forth into the Court, where he began to demaunde his goods: and becauſe it was a deuiſe that wel ſerued their turne, without any more circumſtāce they bad him ſay his Aue Maria. The partie began & ſaid it after this maner: Aue Maria gratia plena dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Ieſus. Amen. The ſame was written word by word as he ſpake it: and without any more talke of claimyng his goodes becauſe it was booteles, they cōmaund hym to priſon agayne, and enter an action agaynſt hym as an hereticke, foraſmuch as he dyd not ſay hys Aue Maria after the Romiſh faſhion, but ended it very ſuſpiciouſly, for he ſhould haue added moreouer: Sancta Maria mater dei ora pro nobis peccatoribus, by abbreuiatyng wherof, it was euident enough (ſayd they) that he dyd not allow the mediation of Saintes.

John Fronton iudged an hereticke for not adding to Aue Maria, more then the Scripture hath.

A quarell picked againſt the Engliſh Marchāt, to ſpoyle him of hys goods.

Thus they picked a quarell to detaine him in priſon a longer ſeaſon, and afterwardes brought him forth into their Stage diſguiſed after their maner: where ſentence was geuē that he ſhould loſe all the goodes which he ſued for, though they were not his own, and beſides this, ſuffer a yeares impriſonment.

The Martyrdome of an other Engliſhman in Spayne.

Another Engliſh man burnt in Spaine.

AT what tyme this bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt ſuffered, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1560. December. 22. there ſuffered alſo an other Engliſhman, with other 13. one of thē beyng a Nunne, an other a Frier, both conſtant in the Lord. Of which 13. read before, pag. 1062.

Read afore pag. 1062.

John Baker and William Burgate, Martyrs.

I. Baker, William Burgate, Martyrs, in Spaine.

IOhn Baker and William Burgate, both Engliſhmen, in Cales, in the countrey of Spayne, were apprehended, and in the Citie of Siuill burned the ſecond day of Nouember.

Marke Burges, and William Hoker, Martyrs.

Marke Burges burnt in Luſhborne.

MArke Burges an Engliſhman, Maſter of an Engliſh Shyp called the Minion, was burned in Luſhborne, a Citie in Portingall. an. 1560.

W. Hoker ſtoned to death in Siuill.

William Hoker a young man, about the age of 16. yeares, being an Engliſhmā, was ſtoned to death of certaine yoūg men there in the City of Siuill, for the confeſſion of hys fayth. an. 1560.

But of theſe and ſuch other Actes and matters paſt in Spayne, becauſe they fell not within the compaſſe of Queenes Maryes reigne, but ſince her tyme, an other place ſhall ſerue hereafter (yͤ Lord willing) to entreate more at large of the ſame, when we come to the yeares and reigne of the Queene that now is, where we haue more conueniently to inferre not onely of theſe matters of the Martyrs (wherof ſomewhat alſo hath bene touched before, pag. 1062. but alſo of the whole Inquiſition of Spayne, and Plackard of Flaunders, with the tragicall tumultes and troubles happenyng within the laſt memorie of theſe our latter dayes, accordyng as it ſhall pleaſe the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeuour with grace and ſpace to the accompliſhment therof.

A chapter or treatiſe concernyng ſuch as were ſcourged and whipped by the Papiſtes in the true cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpell.

A chapter concerning ſuch as were ſcourged for religion.

ANd thus through the merciful aſſiſtance and fauourable ayde of Chriſt our Sauiour, thou haſt as in a general Regiſter (good Reader) the ſtory collected, if not of all, yet of the moſt part, or at leaſt, not many I truſt omitted, of ſuch good ſaints and Martyrs as haue loſt their lyues, and giuen their bloud, or died in priſon for yͤ teſtimony of Chriſtes true doctrine and Sacramentes, from the time of the cruell Statute firſt giuen out by K. Henr. 4. Ex officio. pag. 624. vnto this preſent tyme, and eſpecially vnder the reigne of Q. Mary. Now after thys bloudy ſlaughter of Gods good Saintes and ſeruauntes thus ended and diſcourſed, let vs procede (by the good pleaſure of the Lord) ſomewhat likewiſe to entreat of ſuch as for the ſame cauſe of Religion haue bene, although not put to death, yet whipped and ſcourged by the aduerſaries of Gods word, firſt begynnyng with Richard Wilmot, and Thomas Farefaxe, who about the tyme of Anne Aſcue, were pitifully rent and tormēted with ſcourges and ſtripes for their faithfull ſtandyng to Chriſt and to his truth, as by the ſtory and examinatiō both of the ſayd Richard Wilmot, and of Thomas Farefaxe now followyng, may appeare.

Of this Statute, read before pag. 624.

¶*The ſcourging of Richard Wilmot,* and Thomas Fayrefaxe.

The ſcourging of Richard Wilmot, and Tho. Fayrefaxe.

AFter the firſt recantation of Doct. Crome for his Sermon which he made the fift Sonday in Lent at S. Thomas Acons, beyng the Mercers Chappell, his Sermon was on the Epiſtle of the ſame day, written in the x. chap. to yͤ Hebrues, wherin he proued very learnedly by the ſame place of Scripture and others, that Chriſt was the onely and ſufficient ſacrifice vnto God the father, for the ſinnes of the whole world, and that there was no more ſacrifice to be offered for ſinne by the Prieſtes, for as much as Chriſt had offered his body on the croſſe, and ſhed his bloud for the ſinnes of the people, and that once for all. For the which Sermon he was apprehended of Boner, and brought before Steuen Gardiner and other of the Counſell, where he promiſed to recant his doctrine at Paules croſſe, the ſecond Sonday after Eaſter. And accordingly, he was there and preached, Boner with all his Doctours ſittyng before hym: but he ſo preached & handled his matter, that he rather verified his former ſaying, then denyed any part of that which he before had preached. For the which the Proteſtantes prayſed God, and hartely reioyced.

D. Cromes Sermon.

D. Cromes recantation.

But Byſhop Boner with his champions, were not therewith pleaſed, but yet notwithſtandyng they had hym home with them, and ſo handled hym amongeſt that woluiſhe generation, that they made hym come to the croſſe agayne the next Sōday. And becauſe the Magiſtrates ſhould now heare hym, and be witneſſes of this recantation, which was moſt blaſphemous, to deny Chriſtes ſacrifice to be ſufficient for penitent ſinners, and to ſay that yͤ ſacrifice of the Maſſe was good, godly, and a holy ſacrifice, propitiatorie and auaileable both for the quicke and the dead: becauſe (I ſay) that they would haue the nobles to heare this blaſphemous

D Crome cauſed to recant the ſecond time.

doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the Counſell to be there preſent.

Ric. Wilmot Prentiſe in Bow lane.

Now to come to our matter at this tyme, the ſame weeke, betwene his firſt Sermon and the laſt, & while Doct. Crome was in duraunce, one Rich. Wilmot being Prentiſe in Bow lane, beyng of the age of eightene yeares, and ſittyng at his worke in his Maiſters ſhop the Tueſday, in the moneth of July, one Lewes a Welchman, beyng one of the Garde, came into the ſhop, hauyng thinges to do for him ſelfe.

Lewes one of yͤ Gard, a Welchman, a Popiſhe perſecutor.

One aſked hym what newes at yͤ Court, and he anſwered that yͤ old hereticke D. Crome had recāted now in deede, before the Counſell, & that he ſhould on Sonday next be at Paules croſſe againe, & there declare it.

Then Wilmot ſittyng at his Maiſters worke, and hearyng hym ſpeake theſe wordes and reioycing in the ſame, began to ſpeake vnto hym, ſaying that he was ſory to heare theſe newes. For (ſayd he) if Crome ſhould ſay otherwiſe then he hath ſayd, then is it contrary to the truth of Gods word, and contrary to his owne conſcience, which ſhall before God accuſe hym.

Wilmot defendeth D. Cromes Sermon.

Lewes aunſwered and ſayd that he had preached and taught hereſie, and therfore it was meete that he ſhould in ſuch a place reuoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not ſo ſay, neither did he heare him preach any doctrine contrary to Gods word written, but that he proued his doctrine, and that ſufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes then aſked him how he knew that.

Wilmot anſwered: by the Scripture of God, wherin he ſhall finde Gods will & pleaſure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do: and alſo by them he ſhould proue and trye all doctrines, and the falſe doctrine from the true.

Lewes ſayd: it was neuer mery ſince the Bible was in Engliſh: and that he was both an hereticke & a traitour that cauſed it to be tranſlated into Engliſh (meanyng Cromwell) and therefore was rewarded accordyng to hys deſertes.

The Lorde Cromwell wrongfully accuſed.

Wilmot aunſwered agayne: what his deſertes and offenſes were to his Prince, a great many doe not know, neither doth it force whether they doe or no: once he was ſure that he loſt hys lyfe for offendyng his Prince, and the law dyd put it in execution: Adding moreouer cōcernyng that man, that he thought it pleaſed God to rayſe him vp from a low eſtate, and to place hym in hygh authoritie, partly vnto this, that he ſhould do that as all the Byſhops in the realme yet neuer did, in reſtoryng agayne Gods holy word, which beyng hid long before from the people in a ſtraunge tounge, and now commyng abroad amongeſt vs, will bryng our Byſhops and Prieſtes, ſayd he, in leſſe eſtimation among the people.

The doinges of the Lorde Cromwell defended.

Lewes aſked why ſo?

Wilmot ſayd: becauſe their doctrine and lyuyng was not accordyng to hys word.

Thē ſaid Lewes: I neuer heard but that all mē ſhould learne of yͤ Biſhops & prieſtes, becauſe they are learned men, and haue bene brought vp in learning all yͤ dayes of their lyues. Wherfore they muſt nedes know the truth, and our fathers did beleue their doctrine and learning, and I thinke they dyd well: for the world was farre better then, then it is now.

The common reaſon of the Papiſtes, why the Scriptures ſhould not be in Engliſhe.

Wilmot anſwered: I wil not ſay ſo. For we muſt not beleue thē becauſe they are Biſhops, neither becauſe they are learned, neither becauſe our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I haue read in Gods booke how that Byſhops & learned men haue taught yͤ people falſe doctrine, and lykewiſe the Prieſtes from tyme to tyme: and in dede thoſe people our forefathers beleued as they taught: and as they did thinke, ſo did yͤ people thinke. But for all this, Chriſt calleth them falſe Prophetes, theeues, and murtherers, blynd leaders of the blind, willyng the people to take heede of them, leſt they both ſhould fall into the ditch. Moreouer, we read that the Biſhops, Prieſtes, and learned men haue bene commōly reſiſters of the truth, from tyme to tyme, and haue alwayes perſecuted the Prophets in the old law, as their ſucceſſours dyd perſecute our Sauiour Chriſt and hys Diſciples in the new law. We muſt take hede therefore, that we credite them no further then God will haue vs, neither to follow them nor our forefathers, otherwiſe then he commaundeth vs. For almighty God hath geuē to all people, as well to Kynges, & Princes, as Byſhops, Prieſtes, learned and vnlearned men, a commaundement and law, vnto the which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therfore if any Byſhop or Prieſt preach or teach, or Prince or Magiſtrate commaunde any thyng contrary to this commaundement, we muſt take hede how we obey them. For it is better for vs to obey God then man.

Godes truth goeth not alwayes by title and fame of great learning.

Learned men how farre they are to be credited.

Mary Syr, quoth Lewes, you are a holy Doctour in dede. By Gods bloud if you were my mā, I would ſet you about your buſines a litle better, & not to looke vpō bokes: and ſo would your maſter if he were wiſe. And with that in came his maiſter & a young mā with him, which was ſeruant wᵗ M. Daubnie in Watling ſtreete.

Hys maiſter aſked what the matter was.

Lewes ſayd that he had a knauiſh boy here to hys ſeruaūt, and how that if he were hys, he would rather hange hym, then keepe hym in hys houſe.

Wilmot complained of to hys maiſter.

Then hys maiſter, beyng ſomewhat moued, aſked hys fellowes what the matter was.

They ſayd: they began to talke about Doct. Crome.

Then his maiſter aſked him what he had ſaid, ſwearyng a great oth, that he would make hym to tell him.

He ſayd that he truſted he had ſayd nothing, wherby either he or M. Lewes may iuſtly be offended. I pray you (quoth Wilmot) aſke hym what I ſayd.

Mary Syr (ſaid Lewes) this he ſayd, that D. Crome did preach and teach nothyng but the truth, and how that if he recant on Sonday next, he would be ſory to heare it, and that if he do, he is made to do it agaynſt hys conſcience. And more he ſayth, that we muſt not follow our Byſhops doctrine and preaching: For ſaith he, they be hynderers of Gods word, and perſecutours of that: and how Cromwell dyd more good (that traytour) in ſettyng forth the Bible, then all our Byſhops haue done theſe hundreth yeares: thus reportyng the matter worſe then he had ſayd.

Then ſayd Wilmot, that in many thynges he made hys tale worſe then it was. His maſter hearing of this, was in a great fury, and rated hym, ſaying: that either he would be hāged or burned, ſwearing that he would take away all his bookes and burne them.

Maſter Daubnies ſeruaunt, called Thomas Farefaxe, taketh Wilmots part.

The young man (M. Dawbnies ſeruaunt) ſtandyng by, hearyng this, began to ſpeake on his part vnto Lewes, and his talke confirmed all the ſayinges of the other to be true. This young man was learned: hys name was Tho. Fayrefaxe. Lewes hearing this young mans talke, as well as yͤ others, went his way in a rage vnto the Court. On the morow they heard newes, ſo that the ſayd Wilmot & Tho. Fayrefaxe were ſent for, to come to the Lord Maior. The meſſenger was M. Smart, Swordbearer of London. They came before dinner to the Maiors houſe, and were commaunded to ſit downe at dinner in the Hall, and when the dinner was done, they were both called into a Parlour, where the Maior and Syr Roger Cholmley was, who examined them ſeuerally, the one not hearyng the other.

Wilmot and Tho. Farefaxe ſent for to the Lords Mayor.

The effect of their talke with them was this. Syr Roger Cholmley ſayd vnto the foreſayd Wilmot, that my Lord Maior and he had receiued a commaundemēt from the Counſell, to ſend for him and his companion, and to examine them of certaine thinges, which were layd vnto their charge.

Richard Wilmot and Tho. Farefaxe examined before the L. Mayor and M. Cholmley.

Then ſayd M. Chomley to hym: Syrra, what countreymā art thou? He anſwered that he was borne in Cambridge ſhyre, and in ſuch a towne. Then he aſked him how lōg he had ben in the Citie. He told him. Then he aſked what learnyng he had. He ſayd: litle learnyng, and ſmall knowledge. Then (deridyngly) he aſked, how lõg he had knowen Doct. Crome. He ſayd: but a while, about ij. yeares. He ſayd that he was a lying boy, & ſayd that he the ſayd Wilmot was his ſonne. The other ſayd unto him, that was unlike, for that he neuer ſee his mother nor ſhe hym. Cholmley ſayd hee lyed. Wilmot ſayd he could proue it to be true. Then he aſked him how he liked his Sermon that he made at S. Thomas of Acres Chapell in Lent. He ſayd that in deede he heard him not. He ſayd yes, and the other nay. Then ſaid he, what ſay you to his Sermon made at the croſſe the laſt day? heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, and in that Sermon he deceiued a great number of people.

Cholmley. How ſo?

Wilmot. For that they looked that he ſhould haue recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and dyd not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley. Yea Syr, but how ſay you now to hym? for he hath recanted before the Counſell, and hath promiſed on Sonday next to be at the croſſe agayne, how thinke ye in that?

Wilmot. If he ſo did, I am the more ſory for to heare it: and ſayd he thought he did it for feare and ſauegard of hys lyfe.

Cholmley. But what ſay you? was hys firſt Sermon hereſie or not?

Wilmot. No, I ſuppoſe it was no hereſie. For if it were, S. Paules Epiſtle to the Hebrues was hereſie, and Paul an hereticke that preached ſuch doctrine: but God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould ſo thinke of the holy Apoſtle: neither do I ſo thinke.

S. Paules doctrine made hereſie with Papiſtes.

Cholmley. Why, how knoweſt thou that S. Paul wrote thoſe thynges that are in Engliſh now, to be true, where as Paul neuer wrote Engliſh nor Latin?

Wilmot. I am certified that learned men of God, that did ſeeke to aduaunce his word, did tranſlate the ſame out of the Greeke and Hebrue, into Latine and Engliſhe, and that they durſt not preſume to alter the ſenſe of the Scripture of God, and laſt will and Teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the Lord Maior beyng in a great fury, aſked hym what he had to do to read ſuch bookes, and ſayd that it was pitie that his maiſter did ſuffer him ſo to do, and that he was not ſet better to worke: and in fine ſayd unto him, that he had ſpoken euill of my Lord of Wincheſter and Boner, thoſe reuerent and learned fathers and counſellers of this Realme, for the which hys facte he ſaw no other but he muſt ſuffer, as due to the ſame. And M. Cholmley ſayd: yea my Lord, there are ſuch a ſort of heretickes and trayterly knaues taken now in Eſſex by my Lord Riche, that it is to wonderfull to heare. They ſhalbe ſent up to ẏ Biſhop ſhortly, and ſhalbe hanged and burned all.

Good men of Eſſex troubled in K. Hẽries time.

Wilmot. I am ſory to heare that of my Lorde Rich, for that he was my Godfather, and gaue me my name at my Baptiſme.

Cholmley aſked hym when he ſpake with him.

He ſayd, not theſe xij. yeares.

Cholmley. If he knew that hee were ſuch a one, hee would do the like by him: and in ſo doing he ſhould do God great ſeruice.

Wilmot. I haue read the ſame ſaying in the Goſpell, that Chriſt ſayd to his Diſciples: *The tyme ſhall come* (ſayth he) *that who ſoeuer killeth you, ſhall thinke that hee ſhall doe God high ſeruice.*

Well Syr, ſayd Cholmley, becauſe ye are ſo full of your Scripture, and ſo well learned, we conſider you lacke a quiet place to ſtudy in. Therefore you ſhall go to a place where you ſhalbe moſt quiet, and I would wiſhe you to ſtudy how you will aunſwere to the Cõuſel of thoſe thinges which they haue to charge you with, for els it is like to coſt you your beſt ioynt. I know my Lord of Wincheſter will handle you well enough whẽ he heareth thus much. Then was the officer called in, to haue him to the Counter in the Poultrie, and the other to the other Counter, not one of thẽ to ſee an other: & thus remained they viij. dayes. In the which tyme their Maiſters made great labour unto the Lord Maior, and to Syr Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be deliuered.

Wilmot and Fayrefaxe committed to priſon.

At length they procured the Wardens of the company of Drapers to labour with them in their ſute to the Maior. The Maior went with thẽ to the Counſell: but at that tyme they could finde no grace at Wincheſters hand and Syr Anthony Brownes, but that they had deſerued death, and that they ſhould haue the law. At length through intretance, he graunted them thus much fauour, that they ſhould not dye as they had deſerued, but ſhould be tyed to a cartes tayle, & be whypped three market dayes through the Citie. Thus they came home that day, and went an other day, & the Maior and the Wardens of the company kneeled before them to haue this open puniſhment releaſed, for as much as they were ſeruauntes of ſo worſhipful a company, and that they might be puniſhed in their owne hall before the Wardens and certeine of the company. At length it was grãted, but with condition, as ſome ſayd, as ſhalbe hereafter declared.

Sute made by the cõpany of Drapers for *Richard Wilmot and Tho. Fayrefaxe.*

Then were they ſent before the maiſters the next day, to the Hall, both their maſters beyng alſo preſent, and there were layde to their charges, the heynous offences by them committed, how they were both heretikes and traytours, and had deſerued death for the ſame, and this was declared with a long proceſſe by the maſter of the company, whoſe name was M. Brooke, declaring what great labour and ſute the Mayor and the Wardens had for them, to ſaue them from death, which they (as he ſayd) had deſerued, and from open ſhame, which they ſhould haue had, being iudged by the Counſaile to haue ben whipped iij. dayes through the City at a Cartes taile; and from theſe two daungers had they laboured to deliuer them, but not without great ſute and alſo charge. For, ſayth he, the company hath promiſed unto the Counſaile for this their mercy and fauour ſhewed towards them, beyng of ſuch a worſhipfull company, a hundreth poundes: notwithſtanding we muſt ſee them puniſhed in our Hall within our ſelues for thoſe their offences. After theſe and many other wordes, he commaunded them to addreſſe themſelues to receaue their puniſhment.

M. Brooke Maſter of the company of Drapers.

Then were they put aſunder, and ſtripped from the waſt upward, one after an other, and had into the Hall, and in the middeſt of the Hall, where they uſe to make their fyre, there was a great ryng of Iron, to the which there was a rope tied faſt, and one of their feete thereto faſt tyed. Then came two men downe, diſguiſed in Mommers apparell, with viſors on theyr faces, and they beat thẽ with great rods untill the bloud did follow in their bodyes. As concerning this Wilmot, he could not lye in his bed vj. nightes after: for Brooke playd the tyrant with thẽ. So it was, that with the beating and the fright, & feare, they were neuer in health ſince, as ẏ ſaid Wilmot wͭ his own mouth hath credibly aſcertained us, & we cã no leſſe but teſtifie ẏ ſame.

Rich. Wilmot and Tho. Fayrefaxe ſcourged in Drapers Hall.

Brooke a cruell tyrant.

Thus haue we briefly rehearſed this litle tragedy, wherein ye may note the malice of the enemies at all tymes to thoſe which profeſſe Chriſt, & take his part, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer they be, according to the Apoſtles ſaying: *It is geuen unto you not onely to beleue, but alſo to ſuffer with him.* To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

Next after theſe two aboue ſpecified, followeth the beating of one Thomas Grene, who in the tyme of Queene Mary, was cauſed likewiſe to be ſcourged and beaten by Doct. Story. What the cauſe was, here followeth in ſtory and examination to be ſeene, which he penned with his owne hand, as the thyng it ſelfe will declare to the reader. The copie and wordes of ẏ ſame as he wrote thẽ, here follow. Wherin as thou mayeſt note (gentle reader) the ſimplicitie of the one, ſo I pray thee, marke agayne the crueltie of the other part.

¶ *The ſcourging of Thomas Greene.*

The ſcourging of *Thomas Greene.*

The maſter promoteth his ſeruaunt.

IN the reigne of Q. Mary, I Thomas Greene being brought before D. Story, by my Maiſter whoſe name is Iohn Wayland a Printer, for a booke called Antichriſt, the which had bene diſtributed to certeine honeſt men: he aſked me where I had the booke, and ſayd I was a traytour. I told him I had the booke of a Frenchman. Then he aſked me more queſtions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Thē he ſayd: it was no hereſie but treaſō, and that I ſhould be hanged, drawen, and quartered, and ſo he called for Cluny the keeper of the Lollardes Tower, and bad him ſet me faſt in the ſtockes.

Tho. Greene put in the ſtockes.

Tho. Greene brought to the Colehouſe.

I was not in the Lollards tower two houres, but Cluny came and tooke me out, and caried me to the Colehouſe, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the ſtockes, and he tooke hym out, and put on my right legge a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand an other, and ſo he ſet me croſſe fettered in the ſtockes, and tooke the Frenchman away with hym, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morow after, he came and ſaid: let vs ſhift your hand and legge, becauſe you ſhall not be lame: and he made as though he pitied me, and ſaid: tell me the truth, and I will be your frend. And I ſayd, I had tolde the truth and woulde tell no other. Then he put no more but my legge in the ſtockes, & ſo went his way, and there I remayned vj. dayes, and could come to no aunſwere.

Tho. Greene examined before Doct. *Story.*

Then Doct. Story ſent for me, and aſked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the booke. I ſayd I had tolde him, of a Frenchman. He aſked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, and where hee dwelt, and where hee deliuered me the booke. I ſayd: I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I comming to my frendes which were put in for Gods worde and truthes ſake, and the Frenchman comming to his frendes alſo: there we did talke together and became acquainted one with an other, and did eate & drinke together there with our frendes in the feare of God. Then Story ſcoffed at me & ſayd: thē there was brother in Chriſt, and brother in Chriſt, and reuiled me and called me an hereticke, and aſked me if I had the booke of hym in Newgate. I ſayd no, and I tolde hym, as I went on my buſines in the ſtreete I met him, and he aſked me how I did, and I him alſo: ſo falling in communication, he ſhewed me that booke, and I deſired him that he would let me haue it.

D. Story ſcoffeth at Chriſtes ſeruauntes.

In this examinatiō Story ſayd, it was a great booke, and aſked me whether I bought it, or had it geuen me. I tolde him, I bought it. Then ſaid he, I was a theefe, and had ſtollen my maſters money. And I ſayd: a litle money ſerued, for I gaue him but fower pence, but I promiſed him at our next meeting I would geue hym xij. pence more. And he ſayd: that was boldely done, for ſuch a booke as ſpake both treaſon and hereſie. Thē Story required me to bring him two ſuerties, & watch for him that I had the booke of, and I ſhould haue no harme. I made him aunſwere, I would bring no ſuerties, nor I could not tell where to find them. Then ſaid he: this is but a lie, & ſo called for Cluny, and bad him lay me faſt in ẏ Colehouſe, ſaying, he would make me tell an other tale at my next comming: and ſo I lay in the ſtockes day and night, but onely when I eate my meate, and there remayned x. dayes before I was called for agayne.

Another examination of *Tho. Greene* before D. *Story.*

Then Doct. Story ſent for me agayne, and aſked if I would yet tell hym the truth. I ſayd, I could tell him no other truth thē I had, nor would. And while I was there ſtanding, there were two brought, which I tooke to be priſoners. Thē miſtres Story fell in a rage, and ſware a great oth, that it were a good deede to put a hundred or two of theſe hereticke knaues in a houſe, and I my ſelfe (ſayth ſhe) would ſet it a fire. So I was committed to priſon agayne, where I remayned fourtene dayes and came to no aunſwere.

Miſtres *Story* ſheweth her charitable hart.

Greene againe examined before D. *Story.*

Then Story ſent for me agayne, and called me into the garden, and there I found with him my Lord of Windſors Chaplaine, and two Gentlemen more, and he told them all what I had ſayd and done. They ſayd: the booke was a wonderous euill booke, and had both treaſon and hereſie in it. Then they aſked me what I ſayd by the booke. And I ſayd: I knew no euill by it.

At which wordes Story chafed, & ſaid he would hang me vp by the handes with a rope, & ſayd alſo he would cut out my toung, and mine eares alſo from my head. After this they alledged two or three thynges vnto me out of the booke: and I aunſwered, I had not read the booke thorow out, and therefore I could geue no iudgement of the booke. Then my Lord of Windſors Chaplaine and the other two Gentlemen tooke me aſide, and entreated me very gently, ſaying: tell vs where you had the booke, and of whom: we will ſaue you harmeles. I made them aunſwere, I had told all that I could to Doct. Story, and began to tell it them againe: but they ſaid, they knew that already. So they left that talke, and went agayne to Story with me.

Greene examined of hys beliefe.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and ſayd I was an hereticke. Wherupon the Chaplaine aſked me how I did beleue. Then I began to rehearſe the Articles of my beliefe, but he bad me let that alone. Then he aſked me how I beleued in Chriſt. I made him aunſwere, that I beleued in Chriſt which dyed and roſe agayne the third day, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father.

D Stories blaſphemous ſcoffing in matters of our fayth.

Wherupon Story aſked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God? I made hym aunſwer, I thought it was his glorie. Then ſayd he: ſo they ſay all. And he aſked me when he would be wery of ſitting there. Thē inferred my Lorde of Wyndſors Chaplaine, aſkyng me what I ſayd by the Maſſe. I ſayd: I neuer knew what it was, nor what it ment, for I vnderſtode it not, becauſe I neuer learned any Latin, and ſince the tyme that I had any knowledge, I had bene brought vp in nothing but in reading of Engliſh, and with ſuch men as haue taught the ſame: with many mo queſtions, which I can not rehearſe.

The Maſſe.

Moreouer, he aſked me if there were not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud and bone in the Maſſe, after the Prieſt had cōſecrated it. And I made him aūſwere: as for the Maſſe I can not vnderſtād it, but in the new Teſtamēt I read, that as the Apoſtles ſtode looking after the Lorde when he aſcended vp into heauen, an Aungell ſayd to them: *Euen as you ſee him aſcende vp, ſo ſhall he come agayne.* And I told them an other ſentence, where Chriſt ſayth: *The poore ſhall you haue alwayes with you, but me ſhall you not haue alwayes.* Then maſter Chaplaine put me many queſtions more, to the which I could make him no aunſwere. Among all other, hee brought Chriſoſtome and S. Hierome for his purpoſe. To whō I anſwered, that I neither minded, nor was able to aunſwere their Doctors, neither knew whether they alledged thē right, or no: but to that which is written in the new Teſtament I would anſwer. Here they laughed me to ſcorne, and called me foole, & ſayd: they would reaſon no more with me.

Greene ſent agayne to ẏ Colehouſe.

Then Doct. Story called for Cluny, and bad him take me away, and ſet me faſt, and let no man ſpeake with me. So I was ſent vnto the Colehouſe: where I had not bene a weeke, but there came in xiiij. priſoners: but I was kept ſtill alone without company, in a priſon called the Salthouſe, hauyng vpon my legge a bolt and a fetter, and my handes manacled together with yrons, and there continued ten dayes, hauing nothing to lye on, but bare ſtones or a borde.

The ſtrait handling of *Greene* in priſon.

On a time whiles I lay there in priſon, ẏ byſhop of

Lon-

Talke betwene Thomas Greene and B. Boner.

London comming down a payre of ſtayres on the backeſide vntruſt, in his hoſe and doublet, looked in at the grate, and aſked wherfore I was put in, and who put me in. I made him aunſwere, that I was put in for a booke called Antichriſt, by Doct. Story. And he ſayd: you are not aſhamed to declare wherfore you were put in, and ſayd it was a very wicked booke, and bad me confeſſe the truth to Story. I ſaid, I had told the truth to him already, and deſired him to be good vnto me, and helpe me out of priſon, for they had kept me there long: And he ſaid, he could not medle with it: Story hath begon it, & he muſt end it. Then I was remoued out of the Salthouſe to geue place to two women, and caried to the Lollardes Tower, and put in the ſtockes: & there I found .2. priſoners, one called Lyon, a Frēchman, and an other with him: and ſo I was kept in the ſtockes more then a moneth both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to ſpeake with me, but onely my keper which brought me meate.

priſoners brought to B. Boners Salthouſe.

Thus we three being together, Lion the frenchman ſong a Pſalme in the French toung, and we ſang with hym, so that we were heard downe into yͤ ſtreete, and the keeper comming vp in a great rage, ſware that he would put vs all in the ſtockes, and ſo tooke the Frenchman and commaunded him to knele down vpon his knees, and put both hys handes in the ſtockes, where he remayned all that night till the next day.

Crueltie ſhewed vpon priſoners for ſinging Pſalmes.

After this I being in yͤ Lollardes tower vij. dayes, at my laſt beyng with Story he ſware a great oth that he would racke me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story ſending for me, commaunded me to be brought to Walbroke, where he and the commiſſioners dined: and by the way my keeper tolde me that I ſhould go to the Tower and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and ſo there I ſtoode before thē, and ſome ſayd I was worthy to be hanged for hauing ſuch hereticall bookes. After I had ſtayde a litle while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commaūded hym to cary me to the Lollardes Tower agayne, and ſayd: I haue other matters of the Queenes to do with the Commiſſioners: but I will finde an other time for him. Whileſt I yet lay in the Lollardes Tower, the woman which brought the bookes ouer, beyng taken, and her bookes, was put in the Clinke in Southwarke by Huſſy, one of the Arches: and I Thomas Greene teſtify before God, now that I neyther diſcryed the man nor the woman, the which I had the bookes of.

Thomas Greene brought before D. Story and the Commiſſioners.

This woman was one Tounges wife.

Then I lying in the Lollardes tower, being ſent for before M. Huſſy, he required of me, wherefore I was put into yͤ Lollardes Tower, and by whom. To whō I made aunſwere, that I was put there by D. Story for a booke called Antichriſt. Then he made as though he would bee my frend, and ſayd he knew my frendes, and my father & mother, and bad me tell him of whom I had the booke, and ſayd: come on, tell me the truth. I tolde him as I had tolde D. Story before. Then he was very angry and ſayd: I loue thee well, and therefore I ſent for thee, and looked for a further truth: but I would tell him no other: wherupon he ſent me againe to the Lollardes tower. At my going away he called me backe agayne, and ſayd that Dixon gaue me the bookes being an old mā, dwelling in Birchin lane: and I ſaid he knew the matter better then I. So he ſent me away to the Lollardes Tower, where I remained vij. dayes and more.

Thomas Greene examined before M. Huſſy.

Then M. Huſſy ſent for me agayne and required of me to tell him the truth. I tolde hym I could tell him no other truth then I had tolde D. Story before. Then he began to tell me of Dixon of whō I had the bookes, the which had made the matter manifeſt afore: and he tolde me of all thinges touching Dixon and the bookes, more then I could my ſelfe, in ſo much that he tolde me how many I had, & that he had a ſacke full of the bookes in his houſe, & knew where the woman lay, better then I my ſelf. Then I ſaw the matter ſo open and manifeſt before my face, that it profited not me to ſtand in the matter. Hee aſked me where I had done the bookes: and I tolde hym I had but one, and that D. Story had. He ſayd I lyed, for I had iij. at one time, and he required me to tell him of one. Then I tolde hym of one that Iohn Beane had of me, being prentiſe with Maſter Tottle. So he promiſed me before and after, and as he ſhould be ſaued before God, that he ſhould haue no harme. And I kneeling downe vppon my knees, deſired him to take my bloude, and not to hurt the younge man. Then ſayd he: becauſe you haue bene ſo ſtubburne, the matter being made manifeſt by other and not by you, being ſo long in priſon, tell me if you will ſtand to my iudgement. I ſayd: yea, take my bloud, and hurt not the young man.

Dixon in Birchin lane.

Iohn Beane Prentiſe with M. Tottle.

Then he made me aunſwere, I ſhould be whipped like a theefe and a vacabond: and ſo I thanked him, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollardes Tower: where I remayned two or three dayes, and ſo was brought by the keeper Cluny, by the commaundement of the commiſſioners, to Chriſtes hoſpitall, ſometime the Gray Fryers, and accordingly had there for the time the correction of theeues and vacabondes, and ſo was deliuered to Trinian the porter, and put into a ſtinking dungeon. Then after a few dayes I finding frenſhip, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yarde by the dungeon in the day time, and ſo remayned priſoner a moneth and more.

Tho. Greene adiudged to be whipped.

Tho. Greene brought to the Gray Fryers.

Where at length Doct. Story came and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and ſo I was brought into a counting houſe before thē. Then he ſayd to the Gentlemen: here commeth this hereticke, of whom I had the booke called Antichriſt, and began to tell them how many times I had bene before him, and ſayd: I haue entreated him very gently, and he would neuer tell me the truth till that it was found out by other. Then ſayd he: it were a good deede to cut out thy toung & thy eares of thy head, to make thee an example to all other hereticke knaues. And the Gentlemen ſayd: nay that were pitie. Then he aſked if that I would not become an honeſt man: and I ſayd yes, for I haue offended God many waies. Wherupō he burdened me with my faith. I tolde him I had made him aunſwere of my faith before my Lorde Windſores Chaplaine, as much as I could.

Tho. Greene againe appeareth before D. Story and two gentlemen.

So in the end he commaunded me to be ſtripped, he ſtanding by me, and called for two of the Beadels, and the whippes to whip me: and the two Beadels came with a corde, and bound my handes together, and the one end of the cord to a ſtone piller. Then one of my frendes, called Nich. Prieſtman, hearyng them call for whips, hurled in a būdell of rods, which ſemed ſomething to pacifie yͤ mind of his cruelty: and ſo they ſcourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story aſked me if I would go vnto my maſter againe: and I ſayd nay. And he ſayd: I perceiue now he wil be worſe then euer he was before: but let me alone (quoth he): I will find him out if he be in Englād. And ſo with many other things which I cannot rehearſe, whē they had done whipping of me, they bad me pay my fees and go my wayes.

The ſcourging of Tho. Greene before Doct. Story.

¶ Doct. Story commaunded that he ſhould haue an hundred ſtripes, but the Gentlemen ſo entreated, that he had not ſo many, Story ſaying: if I might haue my will, I would ſurely cut out his toung.

Of the ſcourging of M. Bartlet Grene, alſo of Iohn Milles, and of Thomas Hinſhaw, ye heard before. In like maner was ordered Ste. Cotton, burned before at Braynford pag. 2240. who teſtifieth himſelfe to be twiſe beaten by Boner, in a letter of his written to his brother, as by the ſame here following for the more euidence may appeare.

¶The Copy of Steuen Cottons letter written to his brother, declaring how he was beaten of Biſhop Boner.

Steuen Cottons Letter to hys brother.

BRother, in the name of the Lord Jeſus I commend me vnto you, and I do hartely thanke you for your godly exhortation and counſell in your laſt letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceiue by your letter, you are informed, that as we are diuers perſons in number, ſo we are of contrary ſectes, conditions, and opinions, contrary to that good opinion you had of vs at your laſt being with vs in Newgate: be you moſt aſſured good brother in yͤ Lord Jeſus, we are all of one minde, one faith, one aſſured hope in the Lord Jeſus, whom I truſt we altogether with one ſpirite, one brotherly loue, do dayly call vpon for mercy & forgeuenes of our ſinnes, with earneſt repentaunce of our former liues, and by whoſe precious bloudſhedding we truſt to be ſaued onely, and by no other meanes. Wherefore good brother, in the name of the Lord, ſeing theſe impudent people, whoſe myndes are altogether bent to wickednes, enuy, vncharitablenes, euill ſpeaking, do goe about to ſclaunder vs with vntruth, beleue them not, neither let their wicked ſayings once enter into your minde. And I truſt one day to ſee you againe, although now I am in Gods priſon, which is a ioyfull ſchole to them that loue their Lord and God, and to me being a ſimple ſcholer, moſt ioyfull of all.

Good brother, once agayne I do in the name of our Lord Jeſus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight ſtrongly in yͤ lordes battayle, to be a good ſouldier to my captayn Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, & deſire my ſiſter alſo to do the ſame: and do not ye mourne or lament for me, but be ye glad and ioyfull of this my trouble: For I truſt to be looſed out of this dongeon ſhortly, and to go to euerſting ioy, which neuer ſhall haue end. I heard how ye were with the Commiſſioners for me, and how ye were ſuſpected to be one of our company. I pray you ſue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I ſhall deſire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may beare witnes with me that I ſhall die, I truſt in God, a true chriſtian, and (I hope) all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore beleue not theſe euill diſpoſed people, who are the authors of all vntruth.

I pray you prouide me a long ſhirt againſt the day of our deliueraunce: for the ſhirt you gaue me laſt, I haue geuen to one of my companions who had more neede then I: And as for the money and meate you ſent vs, the Biſhops ſeruauntes deliuered none to vs, neither hee whom you had ſo great truſt in. Brother, there is none of them to truſt to: for qualis magiſter talis ſeruus, I haue bene twiſe beaten and threatned to be beaten agayne by the Biſhop himſelfe. I ſuppoſe we ſhall go into the coūtrey to Fulham, to the Biſhops houſe, and there be arreigned. I would haue you to harken as much as you can. For when we ſhall go, it ſhalbe ſodenly done. Thus fare ye well, from the Colehouſe, this preſent Friday.

Ste. Cotton twiſe beaten by Biſhop *Boner.*

Your Brother, Steuen Cotton.

The ſcourging of Iames Harrys.

Iames Harris ſcourged.

IN this ſocietie of the ſcourged profeſſors of Chriſt, was alſo one Iames Harris of Billerica in Eſſex, a ſtriplyng, of the age of. xvij. yeares: who beyng apprehended and ſent vp to Boner in the company of Margaret Ellis, by Syr Iohn Mordaunt Knight, and Edmund Tyrrell Juſtices of peace (as appeareth by their own letters before mentioned, pag. 2091) was by Boner diuers times ſtraitly examined. In the which examinations he was charged not to haue come to his Pariſh Church by yͤ ſpace of one yeare or more. Wherunto he graunted, confeſſing therwithall, that once for feare he had bene at the Church, and there had receiued the Popiſh Sacrament of the altar, for the which he was hartely ſory, deteſting yͤ ſame with all his hart.

Read before pag. 1091.

Iames Harris repenteth hys comming to the Popiſhe Church.

After this and ſuch like aunſweres, Boner (the better to try him) perſuaded him to go to ſhrift. The Lad ſomewhat to fulfill his requeſt, cõſented to go, and did. But when he came to the Prieſt, he ſtode ſtill and ſayd nothing. Why quoth the Prieſt, ſayeſt thou nothyng? What ſhould I ſay, ſayd Harris? Thou muſt confeſſe thy ſinnes, ſayd the Prieſt. My ſinnes (ſayth he) be ſo many, that they can not be numbred. With that the Prieſt told Boner what he had ſayd, and he of his accuſtomed deuotion, toke the pore Lad into his garden, and there with a rod gathered out of a Chery trée, did moſt cruelly whip him.

¶The cauſe of *Iames Harris* ſcourging.

The ſcourging of Robert Williams a Smith.

¶The ſcourging of *Robert Williams.*

OVer and beſides theſe aboue mentioned, was one Rob. Williams, who being apprehẽded in yͤ ſame company, was alſo tormẽted after the like maner with roddes in his arbour: who there ſubſcribing and yelding him ſelfe by promiſe to obey the lawes, after beyng let go, refuſed ſo to do: wherupon he was earneſtly ſought for, but could not be found, for that he kept him ſelfe cloſe, and went not abroad but by ſtelth: and now in the meane time of this perſecution, this Rob. Williams departed this life, and ſo eſcaped the handes of his enemies. The Lorde therefore be honored for euer, Amen.

¶And foraſmuch as I haue begõ to write of Boners ſcourging, by the occaſion therof commeth to minde to inferre by the way, his beating of other boyes and children, and drawing them naked through the nettels, in his iorney rowyng toward Fulhã. The ſtory although it touch no matter of Religion, yet becauſe it toucheth ſomething the nature and diſpoſition of that man, and may refreſh the reader, weried percaſe with other dolefull ſtories, I thought here not to omitte.

Boner cauſeth certeine Boyes to be beaten.

B. Boner cauſeth certeyne boyes to be beaten.

BOner paſſing from London to Fulham by Barge, hauing Iohn Milles and Thomas Hinſhaw aboue mentioned with him, both priſoners for Religion, by the way as he went by water, was ſaying Euenſong with Harpſfield his Chapleine in the Barge, and beyng about the midle of their deuout Orizons, they eſpied a ſort of young boyes ſwimmyng and waſhing them ſelues in the Thamis ouer agaynſt Lambeth, or a litle aboue: vnto whom he went, and gaue very gẽtle language, and fayre ſpeach, vntill he had ſet his men a land. That done, his men ran after the boyes to get them, as the Biſhop commaunded them before, beating ſome with nettels, drawing ſome thorow buſhes of nettels naked, and ſome they made leape into the Thamis to ſaue them ſelues, that it was maruell they were not drowned.

Boners pitifull hart.

Now as the children for feare did cry, and this ſkirmiſhing was betwene them, immediately came a greater lad thether, to know what yͤ matter ment that the boyes made ſuch a noyſe. Whom when the Byſhop eſpied, he aſked him whether he would maintayne them in their doynges or no. Unto whom the young fellow made aunſwere ſtoutly, yea. Then the Biſhop commaunded him to be taken alſo: but he ran away with ſpéede, and therby auoided the Biſhops bleſſyng. Now when the Biſhop ſaw him to flie away, and an other man ſitting vpon a rayle in the way where he ran, he willed him likewiſe to ſtop the boy: and becauſe he would not, he commaunded his men to ſet that man to him alſo: but he hearing that, ran away as faſt as he could, & by leaping ouer the ditch, eſcaped the Biſhop in like maner.

Then the Byſhop ſeing the ſucceſſe of his battayle to proue no better, cryed to a couple of fery boyes, to run and holde him that laſt ranne away. And for that they ſayd they could not (as in déede it was true) therefore he cauſed hys men by and by to take and beat thẽ. The boyes hearing that, leapt into the water to ſaue themſelues: notwithſtanding they were caught, and in the water by the Byſhopes men were holden and beaten.

Now, after the end of this great ſkirmiſh, the Byſhops

Boners deuout Oraſons.

ſhops men returned to theyr maiſter agayne into the Barge, and he and Harpſfield his Chaplaine went to their Euenſong a freſh where they left, and ſo ſayd forth the reſt of their ſeruice, as cleane without malice, as an egge without meat. The Lord geue hym repentaunce (if it be his wyll) and grace to become a new man, Amen.

The whipping of a begger at Saliſbury.

A poore begger whipt at Saliſbury, for not receauing with the Papiſtes at Eaſter.

VNto theſe aboue ſpecified, is alſo to be added the miſerable whipping of a certaine poore ſtarued ſeely begger, who becauſe he would not receaue the Sacrament at Eaſter in the towne of Colingborow, was brought to Saliſbury with Billes and Gleiues to the Chauncellor Doct. Geffrey, who caſt him into the Dungeon, and after cauſed him miſerably to be whipped of two catchpoles. The ſight whereof made all godly hartes to rew it, to ſee ſuch tyranny to be ſhewed vpon ſuch a ſimple and ſeely wretch: for they which ſaw hym haue reported, that they neuer ſaw a more ſimple creature. But what pity can moue the hartes of merciles Papiſtes?

Actes. v.

Beſides theſe aboue named, diuers other alſo ſuffred the like ſcourginges and whippinges in their bodyes for the faithfull ſtanding in the truth. Of whom it may be ſayd, as it is written of the holy Apoſtles in the Actes, which departed from the Councell, reioyſing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Ieſus.

Ex Epigrāmate Ennij apud Ciceronem alluſio.

Si fas cædendo cœleſtia ſcandere cuiquam eſt,
Papicolis Cœli maxima porta patet.

* * *

An other treatiſe of ſuch as being purſued in Q. Maries time, were in great daunger, and yet through the good prouidence of God mercifully were preſerued.

A treatiſe of Gods mercy and prouidence in preſeruing good men and women in tyme of thys perſecution.

ALthough yͤ ſecrete purpoſe of almighty God, which diſpoſeth all thinges, ſuffred a great number of his faithfull ſeruauntes both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies handes, and to abyde the brunt of this perſecution, to be tryed with roddes, with whippes, with rackes, with fetters & famine, with burning of hādes, with plucking of beardes, with burning alſo both hand, beard, & body, &c. Yet notwithſtanding ſome there were agayne, and that a great number, who miraculouſly by the mercifull prouidence of God, againſt all mans expectation, in ſaftie were deliuered out of the fiery rage of this perſecution, eyther by voyding the realme, or ſhifting of place, or the Lord ſo blinding the eyes of the perſecutors, or diſpoſing the oportunity of tyme, or working ſome ſuch meanes or other for his ſeruantes, as not only ought to ſtirre thē vp to perpetuall thankes, but alſo may moue all mē both to behold & magnifie yͤ wonderous workes of yͤ almighty.

About what tyme it began to be knowen that Q. Mary was ſicke, diuers good men were in holde in diuers quarters of the realme, ſome at Bury, ſome at Saliſbury, as Iohn Hunt and Richard White, of whom we haue ſtoryed before, and ſome at London, amongſt whom was William Liuing with his wife, and Iohn Lithall, of whom ſomething remaineth now compendiouſly to be touched.

The trouble and deliueraunce of William Liuing with his wife, & of Ioh. Lithall, Miniſters.

The deliueraunce of William Liuing, his wife, & of Iohn Lithall.

ABout the time of the latter end of Queene Mary, ſhe then beyng ſicke, came one Coxe a Promoter to the houſe of William Liuing, about vj. of the clocke, accompanied with one Iohn Launce of the Grayhounde. They beyng not ready, they demaunded for buttons, ſaying they ſhould be aſwell payed for them, as euer was any: and he would come about. iij. houres after againe for them. In the meane while he had gotten the Conſtable called M. Deane, and George Hancocke the Beadle of that Warde, and ſearchyng his bookes, found a booke of Aſtronomy, called the worke of Iohannes de ſacro buſto de ſphæra, with figures, ſome round, ſome triangle, ſome quadrate: which booke bicauſe it was gilted, ſemed to him the chiefeſt booke there, and that he caried open in the ſtreete, ſaying: I haue found him at length. It is no maruell the Queene be ſicke, ſeyng there be ſuch coniurers in priuy corners: but now I truſt he ſhall coniure no more, and ſo brought him and his wife from Shoe lane through Fleete ſtreete into Paules Churchyard, with the Conſtable, the Beadle, and yͤ other following thē, till they were entred into Darbyſhyre's houſe, who was Byſhop Boners Chauncellour: And after the Conſtable and they had talked with Darbyſhere, he came forth and walked in his yard, ſaying theſe wordes.

Deane, Conſtable, George Hancocke, Beadell, perſecutors.

Talke betwen Darbiſhyre and William Liuing, Prieſt.

Darbyſhere. What is your name?
Lyuing. William Lyuyng.
Darb. What are you? a Prieſt?
Lyu. Yea.
Darb. Is this your wife that is come with you?
Lyu. That ſhe is.
Darb. Where were you made Prieſt?
Lyu. At Obourne.
Darb. In what Biſhops dayes?
Lyu. By the Biſhop of Lincolne that was kyng Henryes ghoſtly father in Cardinall Wolſyes time.
Darb. You are a Schiſmaticke and a traitor.
Lyu. I would be ſory that were true. I am certaine I neuer was traitor, but allwayes haue taught obedience, accordyng to the tenor of Gods word: and whē tumultes and ſchiſmes haue bene ſtirred, I haue preached Gods word, and ſwaged them, as in the tyme of kyng Edward.
Darb. What? you are a Schiſmaticke. You be not in the vnitie of the Catholicke Church: for you pray not as the Church of Rome doth: You pray in Engliſh.
Lyu. We are certaine we be in the true Church.
Darb. There be that doubteth therof, for ſomuch as there is but one true Church.

Well, you will learne agaynſt I talke with you agayn, to know the Church of Rome, and to be a member therof.

Lyu. If the Church of Rome be of that Church wherof Chriſt is the head, then am I a member therof: for I know no other Church but that.
Darb. Well, Cluny take him with thee to the Colehouſe.

Then called he Cluny agayne, and ſpake ſecretly to him, what I know not.

Cluny playeth the theefe.

Then ſayd Cluny: wilt thou not come? and ſo pluckt me away violently & brought me to his owne houſe in Pater noſter Rowe, where he robbed me of my purſe, my girdle, and my Pſalter, and a new teſtament of Geneua, and then brought me to the Colehouſe to put me in the ſtockes, ſaying: put in both your legges and your handes alſo: and except you fine with me, I will put a collor about your necke. What is the fine, quoth I? Forty ſhillinges, quoth he. I am neuer able to pay it, ſayd I. Then ſaid he: you haue frendes that be able. I denyed it: & ſo he put both my legges into the ſtockes till ſupper tyme, which was vj. of the clocke, and then a coſin of my wiues brought me meate, who ſeing me ſo ſit there, ſayd: I wyll geue you xl. pence and let hym go at libertie: and he tooke her money, and preſently let me forth in her ſight, to eate my ſupper. And at vij. of the clocke he put me into the ſtockes agayne, and ſo I remayned till two of the clocke the next day,

Note the couetous dealing of theſe Papiſtes.

and ſo he let me forth till night.

The thurſday folowyng at afternoone was I called to the Lollardes tower, and there put in the ſtockes, hauing the fauour to put my leg in that hole that Maſter Ioh. Philpots leg was in, and ſo lay all that night, no body comming to me, eyther with meate or drinke. At a xj. of the clocke on the Friday, Cluny came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one of the clocke he brought me to Darbyſhyres houſe, who drew forth a ſcrole of names, and aſked me if I knew none of thē. I ſayd I knew none of them, but Foſter. And ſo I kneeled downe vppon my knees, and prayed hym that he would not enquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly women, which ſayd: Maſter Darbyſhyre, it is inough, and ſo became ſuerties for me, and payde to Cluny xv.s. for my fees, and bad me go with them.

Will. Liuing layd in the Lollardes Tower.

Will. Liuing deliuered.

And thus much concerning William Liuing. After thys came hys wyfe to examination, whoſe aunſweres to Darbyſhyre the Chauncellor, here likewiſe follow.

The examination of Iulian Liuing, wyfe to William Liuing.

Talke betwene *Darbiſhyre and Liuinges* wife.

Darbiſhyre. Ah ſyrha: I ſee by your gowne you be one of the Siſters.

Iulian. I weare not my gowne for ſiſterhod, neyther for nunnery, but to keepe me warme.

Darby. Nunne? No I dare ſay you be none. Is that man your huſband?

Iulian. Yea.

Darby. He is a Prieſt.

Iulian. No, he ſayth no Maſſe.

Darby. What then? He is a Prieſt. How dareſt thou marry him?

Then he ſhewed me a role of certaine names of Citizens. To whom I aunſwered, I knew none of them.

Then ſayd he: you ſhalbe made to know them.

Then ſayd I: do no other but iuſtice and right, for the day wyll come that you ſhall aunſwere for it.

Darby. Why woman, thinkeſt thou not that I haue a ſoule?

Iulian. Yes, I know you haue a ſoule: but whether it be to ſaluation or damnation, I can not tell.

Darb. Ho Cluny, haue her to the Lollardes Tower. And ſo he tooke me, and caried me to his houſe, where was one Dale a Promotor, which ſayd to me: Alas good woman, wherfore be you here.

Liuinges wife commaunded to the Lollardes Tower.

Dale a Promotor.

What is that to you, ſayd I?

You be not aſhamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherfore you came hether.

No, quoth I, that I am not: for it is for Chriſtes Teſtament.

Chriſtes Teſtament, quoth he? it is the Deuils Teſtament.

Oh Lord, quoth I. God forbid that any man ſhould ſpeake any ſuch word.

Well, wel, quoth he: you ſhalbe ordered wel inough. You care not for burning, quoth he. By Gods bloud there muſt be ſome other meanes found for you.

What quoth I, will you finde any worſe then you haue found?

Well, quoth he, you hope & you hope: but your hope ſhalbe a ſlope. For though ẏ Queene faile, ſhe that you hope for, ſhall neuer come at it: For there is my Lord Cardinals Grace, and many more, betwene her and it.

Marke the hope of the Papiſtes.

Then quoth I: my hope is in none but in God.

Then ſayd Cluny: Come with me: and ſo went I to the Lollardes Tower. On the next day Darbiſhyre ſent for me agayn, and enquired agayne of thoſe Citizens that he enquired of before.

I aunſwered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the Communion on Sonday was fortenight?

And I ſayd, in no place.

Then the Conſtable of S. Brides being there, made ſute for me.

The Conſtable of S. Brides ſuertie for *Iulian Liuing.*

And Darbyſhyre demaunded of him if he would be bound for me.

He aunſwered, yea. And ſo he was bound for my appearaunce betwixt that and Chriſtmas.

Then Darbyſhyre ſayd: you be Conſtable, & ſhould geue her good counſell.

So do I, quoth he. For I byd her go to Maſſe, and to ſay as you ſay. For by the Maſſe, if you ſay the Crow is white, I will ſay ſo to.

And thus much concerning the examination of William Lyuyng, and his wife, whom although thou ſeeſt here deliuered through the requeſt of womē, his ſureties, yet it was no doubt, but ẏ deadly ſickenes of Q. Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of thoſe Papiſtes, which otherwiſe would neuer haue let them go.

Liuing and hys wife deliuered by the death of Queene *Mary.*

The trouble and deliueraunce of Iohn Lithall.

AT the takyng of William Lyuyng, it happened that certeine of his bookes were in the cuſtody of one Iohn Lithal. Which knowen, the Conſtable of the Warde of Southwarke, with other of the Queenes ſeruauntes, were ſent to his houſe, who breaking open his doores and cheſtes, tooke away not onely the bookes of the ſayd William Lyuyng, but alſo all hys owne bookes, writinges, and Billes of debtes, which he neuer had againe. All this while Lithall was not at home. The next Saterday after, as he was returned, and knowen to be at home, Iohn Auales and certain of the Queenes ſeruauntes beſet his houſe all the night, with ſuch carefull watch, that as he in ẏ morning iſſued out of his doores, thinking to eſcape their handes, Iohn Auales ſodeinly bruſting out vpon him, cried, ſtop ẏ traytor, ſtop ẏ traytor. Whereat Lithall beyng amaſed, looked backe. And ſo Iohn Auales came runnyng to him, with other that were with him, ſaying: ha Syrra: you are a prety traitorly fellow in deede: we haue had ſomwhat to doe to get you. To whom he anſwered, that he was a truer man to the Queenes Maieſtie then he. For you (ſayd he) are commaunded by God to keepe holy the Sabboth day, & you ſeeke to ſheed your neighbours bloud on the Sabboth day. Remember that you muſt aunſwere therfore to God. But he ſaid, come on you villaine, you muſt go before the Counſell. So was Lithall brought into Paules Churchyard to the Biſhops Chaūcellour, by Iohn Auales, ſaying, that he had there caught the Captaine of theſe fellowes, and ſo cauſed him to be called to examination before Doct. Darbiſhyre, who entred with him talke in this wiſe.

Iohn Lithall brought to examination by *Iohn Auales.*

Lithall brought before *D. Darbiſhyre* Chauncellour.

Talke betwene *Lithall* and the Chauncellour.

Chauncellour. What countrey man are you?

Lithall. I am an Engliſhmā, borne in Staffordſhyre.

Chaunc. Where were you brought vp?

Lith. In this our countrey of England.

Chaunc. In what Vniuerſitie?

Lith. In no Vniuerſitie, but in a free ſchole.

Chaunc. We haue had certaine bookes from your houſe and writinges, wherin is both treaſon & hereſie.

Lith. Syr, there is neither treaſon nor hereſie in thē.

Cha. Thē he aſked for certain other mē that I knew.

Lith. If you haue ought to lay to my charge I will aunſwere it: but I will haue no other mans bloud vpon my head.

Chaunc. Why come you not to ẏ Church? Of what Church be you, that you come not to your owne Pariſh Church?

Lith. I am of ẏ Church of Chriſt, the fountaine of all goodnes.

Chaunc. Haue you no Miniſters of your Church but Chriſt?

Lith. We haue others.

Chaunc. Where be they?

Lith. In the whole world diſparſed, preaching and profeſſing the Goſpell and faith onely in our Sauiour Ieſus, as he commaunded them.

Chaunc. You boaſt much euery one of you of your faith and beliefe: Let me heare therfore the effect how you beleue.

Iuſtification by fayth only.

Lith. I beleue to be iuſtified freely by Chriſt Ieſu, accordyng to the ſaying of S. Paul to the Epheſiãs, without either deedes or workes, or any thyng that may be inuented by man.

Chaunc. Faith can not ſaue without workes.

Lith. That is cõtrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Chaunc. Iohn Auales, you and the keeper haue this fellow to priſon.

Cluny, & Iohn Auales. Then Iohn Auales & Cluny the keeper had me into Paules, and would haue had me to haue ſeene the Apoſtles Maſſe.

Lith. I know none the Apoſtles had, and therfore I will ſee none.

Cluny, & Iohn Auales. Come kneele down before the roode, and ſay a Pater noſter & an Aue in the worſhip of the fiue woundes.

Lith. I am forbidden by Gods own mouth to kneele to any Idoll or Image: therfore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremitie, the one hauing me by one arme, and the other by the other, but God gaue me at that preſent time more ſtrength then both theſe, his name be praiſed for it.

Lithall denyeth to kneele before the Roode.

Then when they could not make me to kneele before the roode, neither to ſee their Maſſe, there gathered a great company about vs, and all agaynſt me. Some ſpitte on me, and ſayd: fie on thee hereticke, and other ſayd it was pitie that I was not burned already.

Then they caried me to Lollardes Tower and hanged me in a great payre of ſtockes, in the which I lay three dayes and three nightes, till I was ſo lame that I could neither ſturre nor moue.

Then I offred the keeper certaine money and gold that I had about me, to releaſe me out of the ſtockes: and he ſayd I would not be ruled by him, neither to ſee Maſſe nor to kneele before the roode, and therfore I ſhould lye there ſtill. But I ſayd I would neuer do the thing that ſhould be againſt my conſcience, and though you haue lamed my body, yet my conſcience is whole, I prayſe God for it. So ſhortly after he let me out of the ſtockes, more for the loue of my money (as it may be thought) then for any other affection, and within iiij. or fiue dayes my wife got leaue of Maſter Chauncellour to come to me, to bring me ſuch thinges as were nedefull for me, and there I lay fiue weekes and odde dayes. In the which tyme diuers of my neighboures and frendes made ſute to the Chauncellour for my deliueraunce, the Byſhop, as they ſayd, at that time being at Fulham ſicke. So my neighbours beyng there, about 20. of them, the Chauncellour ſent for me out of the Lollardes Tower to his owne houſe, and ſayd as followeth.

Lithalls neighbours make ſute for him.

Chaunc. Lithall, here bee of thy neighbours which haue bene wyth me to intreate for thee, and they haue informed me that thou haſt bene a very honeſt and a quiet neighbour amongeſt them, and I thinke it be Gods will that I ſhould deliuer thee before my Lord come home. For if he come and thou go home agayne, I will be burned for thee, for I know his mynde already in that matter.

Lith. I geue you harty thankes for your gentlenes, and my neighbours for their good report.

Chaunc. Lithall, if thy neighboures wyll be bound for thy forth comming whenſoeuer thou ſhalt be called for, and alſo thou wilt be an obedient ſubiect, I ſhalbe content to deliuer thee.

Neighbours. If it pleaſe your worſhip, we will be bound for him both in body and goodes.

Chaunc. I will requier no ſuch bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in 20. pound a peece, that he ſhall come to aunſwere when he ſhall be called.

Lith. Where find you, maſter Chauncellor, in all the ſcripture, that the church of God did bynde any man for the profeſſion of his fayth? which profeſſion you haue heard of me, that all our iuſtification, righteouſnes, and ſaluation, commeth onely and freely by the merites of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, and all the inuentions and workes of men, be they neuer ſo glorious, be altogether vayne, as the wiſe man ſayth.

Chaunc. Loe, where he is now. I put no ſuch matter to you: for in that I beleue as you do: but yet S. Iames ſayth that a man is iuſtified by workes.

S. Iames expounded.

Lith. S. Iames ſpake to thoſe that boaſted themſelues of fayth and ſhewed no workes of fayth. But O maſter Chauncellor, remẽber I pray you, how all the promiſes and propheſies of the holy ſcripture, euen from the firſt promiſe that God made to Adam, and ſo euen to the latter end to the Reuelation of S. Iohn, do teſtifie that in ẏ name of Ieſus, and onely by his merites, all that beleue ſhall be ſaued from all their ſinnes and offences. Eſay ſayth: *I am found of them that ſought me not, and am manifeſt to them that aſked not after me:* but againſt Iſraell he ſayth: *all day long haue I ſtretched out my hand to a people that beleue not.* And when the Iaylor aſked S. Paule what he ſhould do to be ſaued, the Apoſtle ſayd: *beleue in the Lord Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued and all thy houſholde.* Agayne, S. Iohn ſayth in the Reuelation, that there was none, neyther in heauen, nor in earth, neither vnder the earth, that was able to open the booke nor the ſeales thereof, but onely the Lambe Ieſus our onely Sauiour. And S. Paule ſaith: *With one offring hath he made perfect for euer them that are ſanctified.*

Eſay.65.

Actes.16.

Hebr.9.

Chaunc. With vayne glory you rehearſe much ſcripture, as all the ſort of you do: but you haue no more vnderſtanding than a many of ſheepe. But to the purpoſe. Will you that your neighbours ſhall enter into bondes for you, or not?

Lithall refuſeth to put in bonde.

Lith. By my mynde they ſhall not. Wherefore I deſire you that you would not bynde me, but let me ſerue God with my conſcience freely. For it is written: *they that lead into captiuity ſhall go into captiuity, and they that ſtrike with the ſworde ſhall periſh with the ſworde.* Alſo it is written in the Goſpell of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt: *that who ſo doth offend one of theſe litle ones which beleue in me, it were better for him that a milſtone were hanged about his necke, and that he were caſt into the depth of the ſea.* Of the which I am aſſured by his holy ſpirite that I am one. Wherefore be you well aſſured that ſuch mercy as you ſhew, vnto you ſhall be ſhewed the like.

Apoc.13.

Math.18.

Chaunc. You are a mad mã. I would not binde you, but that I muſt needes haue ſomwhat to ſhew for your deliueraunce. Then he called two of my neighboures, Thomas Daniell and Saunders Maybe, which offred themſelues to be bound, and called me before them, and ſayd: I haue a letter of his owne hand writing with his name & ſeale at it, with a booke alſo againſt the Regiment of women, for the which I could make hym to be hanged, drawen, and quartred, but on my fayth I will him no more hurt, then I meane to mine owne ſoule.

Lith. I deſire you that be my neighbours and frends, that you will not enter into bondes for me: for you know not the daunger thereof, neyther I my ſelfe: It goeth againſt my conſcience that ye ſhould ſo do.

Chaunc. Why, I will not bynde you to do any thing againſt your conſcience.

His neighbors enter into bonds for him.

Neighboures. Then they made the bond and ſealed to it, and willed me that I ſhould ſeale to it alſo: and I ſayd that I would not, neyther coulde I obſerue the bonde, and therefore I would not ſet to my hand.

Chaunc. It is pity that thou haſt ſo much fauour ſhewed thée: yet for theſe honeſt mens ſake I wyll diſcharge thée.

Notwithſtandyng all theſe diſſembling wordes of M. Darbyſhyre, pretending for fauour of his ſureties to ſet him at libertie, it was no ſuch thing, nor any zeale of charitie that moued him ſo to doe, but onely feare of the time, vnderſtandyng the daungerous and vnrecouerable ſickenes of Quéene Mary, which then began ſomwhat to aſſuage the cruell procedynges of theſe perſecutors, wherby they durſt not do that they would: for els Lithall was not like to haue eſcaped ſo eaſily.

¶ Edward Grew.

Edward Crew, and Appline his wife.

MOreouer, there was one Edward Grew prieſt, and Appline his wife compelled to flie from their dwellyng at a towne called Broke: and the man beyng very aged, traueiled abroad to kéepe a good conſcience. At the laſt he was taken and layd in Colcheſter Caſtle, where he remained till Quéene Elizabeth came to her regall ſeate, and by the alteration of Religion he was deliuered. His wife, good woman, was in great care for him, & to her power did what ſhe could to ſuccor him.

¶ William Browne.

William Browne of Suffolke.

WIlliam Browne Parſon of Litell Stanham, in the Countie of Suffolke, made a Sermon in the ſayd towne, incontinently after the buriall of our good kyng Edward, and in his Sermon he ſayd: there goeth a report, that our good kyng is buried with a Maſſe by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he hauing a miter vpon his head. But if it were ſo (ſaith he) they are all traitours that ſo do, becauſe it is both againſt the truth and the lawes of this Realme, and it is great Idolatrie and blaſphemy, and againſt the glorie of God: and they are no frendes neither to God, the kyng, nor yet vnto the Realme that ſo do. For this his preaching, one Robert Blomefield, an aduerſary to the truth, being then Cōſtable of the ſayd towne, and Bailiffe vnto Syr Iohn Iernyngham Knight (the chief Lord of that town) immediatly rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Gouldyng, which was then vnder Sheriffe, Syr Thomas Cornewalis beyng then high Sheriffe. So the said Gouldyng and Blomfield ſent for certain men of the ſayd town, and examined them for the Sermon. Whereunto they made but a ſmall aunſwere. Then the Sheriffe made a Bill, and ſo feared the men, that two or thrée of them ſet to their handes, and one of them neuer ioyed after, but it was a grief to him till he dyed.

Robert Blomefield, perſecutor.

Edward Goulding vnder Shreeff.

Syr Thomas Cornewalis high Shreeffe

W. Browne perſecuted and taken.

Then did they take mē with them vnto the perſons houſe, and in the night they tooke him, and with watchmen kept him vntill it was day. Then ſhould he haue bene caried the next day to the Counſell: but the ſayd Robert Blomefield was taken ſo ſicke, that he was like to dye: ſo that he could not cary him for his lyfe. Then the ſayd Sheriffe ſent him to Ipſwich agayne, and there he was for a time. Then he was ſent to Bury priſon, and from thence to the Counſell, and then into the Fléete: and ſo he lay in priſon from yͤ beginning of harueſt till it was nigh Chriſtmas: and he ſayd God gaue him ſuch aunſweres to make when he was examined, that he was deliuered with quietnes of conſcience. And hauing his libertie, he came agayne vnto the foreſayd Towne: and becauſe he would not go to Maſſe, his liuing was taken away, and he and his wife were conſtrained to flie here and there, for his life and conſcience. In the laſt yeare of Quéene Maries reigne God did take him out of this life in peace.

W. Browne deliuered.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that this Robert Bromefield aboue named, immediatly after he had apprehended the ſaid Browne, fel very ſicke: And though at that time he was a wealthy man and of a great ſubſtance (beſide his land, which was better then twenty pound a yeare) after this time, God ſo plagued his houſhold, that his eldeſt ſonne dyed, and his wife had a pinyng ſicknes till ſhe departed this life alſo. Then maried he an other, a richer widow: but all would not helpe, and nothing would proſper: For he had a ſore pinyng ſickenes, beyng full of botches and ſores, wherby he waſted away both in body and goods, till he dyed. So when he died, he was aboue .ix. ſcore poundes in debt, and it was neuer heard of any repentaunce he had. But a litle before his death, he bragged, & threatned a good man, one Symon Harlſton, to put him forth to the Officers, becauſe he did weare no Surplis whē he ſayd ſeruice. Wherfore it is pitie ſuch baites of Popery are left to the enemies to take the Chriſtians in. God take them away, or els vs from them: for God knoweth they be the cauſe of much blindnes and ſtrife amongeſt men.

Example of Gods puniſhmēt, vpon a perſecutor.

Furthermore, out of the ſayd towne were conſtrayned to flie Robert Boele and Iohn Trapne, becauſe they would not go to Maſſe and receaue their Sacrament of the altar.

¶ Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before in the treatiſe of the ſcourgyng of Tho. Greene, how he was troubled and beaten by Doct. Story, for a certeine booke called Antichriſt, which he receaued of a woman, becauſe in no caſe he would detect her. This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who commyng from Emden to England, brought with her diuers bookes & ſparſed them abroad in London, for the which ſhe beyng at length eſpyed and layd faſt, was brought to examination .xiij. tymes before the Catholicke Inquiſitours of hereticall prauitie. Of the which her examinatiōs, .ix. haue come to our handes. Wherin how fiercely ſhe was aſſaulted, how ſhamefully ſhe was reuiled, how miſerably handled, & what anſweres ſhe made vnto the aduerſaries in her own defenſe, and finally after all this, how ſhe eſcaped and paſſed through yͤ pikes (beyng yet, as I heare ſay, alyue) I thought to giue the reader here to ſée and vnderſtand.

¶ The firſt examination of Elizabeth Young before Maiſter Huſſye.

The firſt examination of *Elizabeth Young.*

WHo examined her of many things: Firſt where ſhe was borne, and who was her father and mother.

Elizabeth Young. Syr, all this is but vayne talke, and very ſuperfluous. It is to fill my head with fantaſies, that I ſhould not be able to aunſwere vnto ſuch thinges as I came for. Ye haue not (I thinke) put me in priſon to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hether for.

M. Huſſy. Wherfore wenteſt thou out of the realme?

Elizab. To kéepe my conſcience cleane.

Huſſy. When waſt thou at Maſſe?

Eliz. Not this thrée yeares.

Huſſy. Thē waſt thou not there iij. yeres before that.

Eliz. No Syr, nor yet iij. yeares more before that, for and if I were, I had euill lucke.

Huſſy. How old art thou?

Eliz. Forty and vpwardes.

Huſſy. Twēty of thoſe yeares thou wenteſt to Maſſe.

Eliz. Yea, and twēty more I may, and yet come home as wiſe as I went thether firſt, for I vnderſtand it not.

Huſſy. Why wilt not thou go to the Maſſe?

Elizab. Young refuſeth to goe to Maſſe.

Eliz. Syr, my cōſcience will not ſuffer me: For I had rather that all the world ſhould accuſe me, then myne owne conſcience.

Huſſy. What and if a louſe or a flea ſticke vppon thy ſkinne, and bite thy fleſh? thou muſt make a conſcience in the takyng her of: is there not a conſcience in it?

Eliz. That is but an eaſie Argument to diſplace the

Scriptures, and eſpecially in ſuch a part as my ſaluation dependeth vpon: for it is but an eaſie conſcience that a man can make.

Huſſy. But why wilt thou not ſweare vpon the Euangeliſt before a iudge?

Elizabeth Young denyeth to ſweare, and why.

Eliz. Becauſe I know not what a booke oth is.

Huſſy. Then he began to teach her the booke oth.

Eliz. Syr, I do not vnderſtand it, and therfore I will not learne it.

Huſſy. Then ſaid he: thou wilt not vnderſtand it: and with that roſe vp and went his way.

¶ Her ſecond examination before Doctour Martin.

The ſecond examination of *Elizabeth Young*.

Elizabeth Young for bringing ouer bookes.

WHo ſayd to her: Woman, thou art come from beyond the Sea, and haſt brought ouer with thee bookes of hereſie and treaſon, and thou muſt confeſſe to vs who tranſlated them, printed them, and who ſent thẽ ouer (for once I know thee to be but a meſſenger): and in ſo doyng the Queenes highnes will be good to thee (for ſhe hath forgiuen greater thinges then this) and thou ſhalt finde as much fauour as is poſſible. But if thou be ſtubburne, and wilt not cõfeſſe, thou wilt be wonderous euill handled: for we know the truth already, but thus we do, onely to ſee whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no.

Eliz. Syr, ye haue my confeſſion, and more then that I can not ſay.

Martin. Thou muſt ſay more, and ſhalt ſay more. Doeſt thou thinke that we will be full aunſwered by this examination that thou haſt made? Thou rebell whore and traytourly hereticke, thou doeſt refuſe to to ſweare vpõ the Euangeliſt before a Iudge, I heare ſay. Thou ſhalt be racked inchmeale, thou traytourly whore and hereticke, but thou ſhalt ſweare afore a Iudge before thou goe: yea, and thou ſhalt be made to cõfeſſe how many bookes thou haſt ſold, and to whom.

Doctour *Martin* threatneth her with the racke.

Eliz. Syr, I vnderſtand not what an oth is, & therfore I will take no ſuch thing vpon me. And no man hath bought any bookes of me as yet, for thoſe bookes that I had, you commiſſioners haue them all.

Mart. Thou traytourly whore, we know that thou haſt ſolde a number of bookes, yea, and to whom: and how many tymes thou haſt bene here, and where thou layeſt, and euery place that thou haſt ben in. Doeſt thou thinke that thou haſt fooles in hand?

Eliz. No Sir, ye be to wiſe for me: for I cã not tel how many places I haue bene in my ſelfe: but if I were in Turky I ſhould haue meate and drinke and lodging for my money.

Mart. Thou rebell whore, thou haſt ſpoken euill wordes by the Queene, and thou dwelleſt amongeſt a ſort of traytours and rebels that can not geue the Queene a good word.

Elizabeth Young charged for ſpeaking agaynſt the Queene.

Eliz. I am not able to accuſe any man thereof, nor yet is there any man that can approue any ſuch thinges by me as ye lay vnto my charge. For I know by Gods worde, & Gods booke hath taught me what is my duty to God, and vnto my Queene, and therefore (as I ſaid) I am aſſured that no man liuing vpon the earth can proue any ſuch thinges by me.

Mart. Thou rebell and traytourly whore, thou ſhalt be ſo racked and handled, that thou ſhalt be an example to all ſuch traytourly whores and heretickes: And thou ſhalt bee made to ſweare by the holy Euangeliſt, and confeſſe to whom thou haſt ſolde all and euery one of theſe hereticall bookes that thou haſt ſold: for we know what number thou haſt ſolde, and to whom: but thou ſhalt be made to confeſſe it in ſpite of thy bloud.

Eliz. Here is my carkas: doe with it what ye will, and more then that can ye not haue. Maſter Martyn, ye can haue no more but my bloud.

Then fared he as though he had bene ſtarke mad, and ſayd: Martin? why calleſt thou me Martin?

Eliz. Syr, I know you well inough, for I haue bene before you ere now. Ye deliuered me once at Weſtminſter.

Mart. Where diddeſt thou dwell then?

Eliz. I dwelled in the Minories.

Mart. I deliuered thee and thy huſband both: and I thought then that thou wouldeſt haue done otherwiſe then thou doeſt now. For if thou hadſt bene before any byſhop in England, & ſayd yͤ wordes that thou didſt before me, thou hadſt fried a fagot: and though thou didſt not burne then, thou art like to burne or hang now.

Eliz. Young and her huſband deliuered by Doct. *Martin*.

Eliz. Syr, I promiſed you thẽ, that I would neuer be fed with an vnknowne toũg, & no more I will not yet.

Mart. I ſhall feede thee well enough. Thou ſhalt be fed, with that (I warant thee) which ſhall be ſmally to thine eaſe.

Eliz. Doe what God ſhall ſuffer you to doe: for more ye ſhall not. And then he a roſe and ſo departed and wẽt to the keepers houſe, and ſayd to the wife: whom haſt thou ſuffred to come to this vyle traitorly whore and hereticke to ſpeake with her? Then ſayd the keepers wife, as God receaue my ſoule, here came neither man, woman, nor child to aſke for her.

Mart. If any man, woman, or childe come to aſke for her, I charge thee in payne of death, that they bee layd faſt, and geue her one day bread, & an other day water.

Eliz. Young commaunded to cloſe priſon, to haue one day bread an other day water.

Eliz. If ye take away my meate, I truſt that God wyll take away my hunger: and ſo he departed, and ſayd that was to good for her: and then was ſhe ſhut vp vnder two lockes in the Clincke, where ſhe was before.

¶ The third examination before Doct. Martin agayne.

The third examination of *Eliz. Young*.

THen was ſhe brought before hym in his chamber within my Lord Chauncellours houſe. Who aſked her, ſaying: Elizabeth, wilt thou confeſſe theſe thinges that thou haſt bene examined vpon? For thou knoweſt that I haue bene thy frend: and in ſo doyng, I will be thy frend agayne: geuing her many fayre wordes, and then demaunding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the ſeas.

D. Martin ſeeketh to know how many gentlemen were fled ouer the Seas.

Eliz. It is to much for me to tell you how many are vpon the other ſide.

Mart. No, I meane but in Frankford and in Emden, where thou haſt bene.

Eliz. Syr, I did neuer take accompt of them: it is a thing that I looke not for.

Mart. When ſhall I heare a true word come out of thy mouth?

Eliz. I haue tolde you the truth, but becauſe that it ſoundeth not to your mynde, therefore ye will not credit it.

Mart. Wilt thou yet confeſſe? and if thou wilt, that that I haue promiſed, I will do: and if thou wilt not, I promiſe thee thou muſt goe euen from hence to yͤ racke, and therefore confeſſe.

Eliz. Young agayne threatned with the racke.

Eliz. I can ſay no more then I haue ſayd.

Mart. Well, for as much as ſhe wil confeſſe no more, haue her away to the racke, and thẽ ſhe will be marred. Then aunſwered a Prieſt that ſat there, and ſayd: woman take an oth, and confeſſe. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Eliz. I can confeſſe no more then I haue. Do with my carkas what ye will.

She agayne refuſeth to ſweare to accuſe other.

Mart. Did ye euer heare the like of this hereticke? What a ſtoute hereticke is this? We haue yͤ truth, and we know the truth, & yet looke whether ſhe will cõfeſſe. There is no remedy but ſhe muſt needes to the racke, and therefore away with her, and ſo commaunded her out of the dore, and called her keeper vnto hym, and ſayd to him: There is no remedy but this hereticke muſt be racked: and talked with him more, but what it was ſhe heard not. Then he called her in agayne, and ſayd: wilt thou not confeſſe and keepe thee from the racke? I aduiſe thee ſo to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knoweſt not the payne thereof yet, but thou ſhalt do.

Eliz. Syr, I can confeſſe no more. Doe with my carcaſe what ye will.

Mart. Keeper, away with her. Thou knoweſt what I ſayd. Let her know the payne of the racke. And ſo ſhe departed, thinking no leſſe, but that ſhe ſhould haue gone to the racke, till ſhe ſaw the keeper turne toward the Clinke agayne. And thus did God allienate theyr hartes and diminiſhe their tyrannous power, vnto the tyme of further examination: for ſhe was brought before the Byſhop, the Deane, and the Chaūcellour, and other Commiſſioners, firſt and laſt thyrtene times.

Eliz. Young commaunded againe to the Clinke.

¶The fourth examination was before the Byſhop of London, Syr Roger Cholmley, Doctour Cooke, the Recorder of London, Doctour Roper of Kent, and Doctour Martin, as concernyng her fayth, &c.

The fourth examinatiō of Eliz. Young.

FIrſt, ſhe beyng preſented by Doct. Martin before the Byſhop of London. Doct. Martin began to declare agaynſt her, ſaying: The Lord Chauncellor hath ſent you here a woman, which hath brought bookes ouer from Emden, where all theſe bookes of hereſie and treaſon are printed, and hath therwith filled all the land with treaſon and hereſie: neither yet will ſhe confeſſe who tranſlated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who ſent them ouer. Wherfore my Lord Chauncellor committeth her vnto my Lorde of Lōdon, he to do with her as he ſhall thinke good. For ſhe wil cōfeſſe nothing, but that ſhe bought theſe ſayd bookes in Hamſterdame and ſo brought them ouer to ſell for gayne.

D. Martin preſenteth her to the Commiſſioners.

D. Cooke. Let her head be truſſed in a ſmall lyne, and make her to confeſſe.

Martyn. The booke is called Antichriſt, and ſo may it be well called, for it ſpeaketh agaynſt Ieſus Chriſt and the Queene. And beſides that, ſhe hath a certaine ſparke of the Anabaptiſtes, for ſhe refuſeth to ſweare vppon the foure Euangeliſtes before a Iudge: For I my ſelfe and M. Huſſy haue had her before vs foure times, but we cā not bring her to ſweare. Wherfore my Lord Chauncellour would that ſhe ſhould abſteine & faſt, for ſhe hath not faſted a great while: For ſhe hath layne in the Clinke a good while, where ſhe hath had to much her libertie.

The booke called Antichriſt.

Eliz. Young a great while in the Clinke.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: why, wilt thou not ſweare before a Iudge? that is the right trade of the Anabaptiſtes.

Eliz. My Lord, I wil not ſweare that this hād is mine.

No, ſayd the Byſhop? and why?

Eliz. My Lord, Chriſt ſaith, that what ſo euer is more then yea yea, or nay nay, it commeth of euill. And more ouer, I know not what an oth is: and therefore I will take no ſuch thing vpon me.

Elizabeth Young refuſeth to ſweare, and why.

Then ſayd Cholmley: xx. pound it is a man in a womans clothes: xx. pound it is a man.

Elizabeth Young thought to be no woman.

Boner. Thinke ye ſo my Lord?

Cholmley. Yea my Lord. &c.

Eliz. My Lord, I am a woman.

Byſh. Sweare here vpō a booke, ſeeing it is but a queſtion asked.

Then ſayd Cholmley: I will lay twenty pound, it is a man.

Then Doct. Cooke brought her a booke, commaundyng her to lay thereon her hand.

Eliz. No my Lord, I will not ſweare: for I know not what an oth is. But I ſay that I am a woman, and haue children.

Byſh. That know not we: wherfore ſweare.

Cholmley. Thou euill fauoured whore, lay thy hand vpon the booke: I will lay on mine, and ſo he layd hys hand vpon the booke.

Eliz. So will not I myne.

Then the Byſhop ſpake a word in Latin, out of S. Paul, as concernyng ſwearyng.

Eliz. My Lord, if ye ſpeake to me of S. Paul, then ſpeake Engliſh, for I vnderſtand you not.

The Biſhop. I dare ſweare that thou doeſt not.

Eliz. My Lord, S. Paul ſayth that fiue wordes ſpokē in a language that may be vnderſtand, is better thē many in a foreine or ſtraunge toung which is vnknowen.

Doct. Cooke. Sweare before vs whether thou be a man or a woman.

Eliz. If ye will not beleue me, then ſend for women into a ſecret place, and I will be tryed.

Cholmley. Thou art an euill fauored whore.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: how beleueſt thou in the Sacrament of the altar?

Sacramēt of the altar.

Eliz. My Lord: if it will pleaſe you that I ſhall declare mine owne faith, I will.

The Byſhop. Tell me how thou beleueſt in the Sacrament of the altar.

Eliz. Will it pleaſe you that I ſhall declare my fayth? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I will beleue it.

Doct. Cooke. That is well ſayd. Declare thy faith.

Elizab. I beleue in God the father almighty, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, three perſons and one God. I beleue all the Articles of my Crede. I beleue all things writtē in yͤ holy Scripture, & all thinges agreable with the ſcripture, geuen by yͤ holy ghoſt into the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth & taught by yͤ church of Chriſt. I beleue that Ieſus Chriſt the only ſonne of God, that immaculate Lambe, came into the world to ſaue ſinners, & that in him, by him, and thorow him I am made cleane frō my ſinnes, and without him I could not. I beleue that in the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, which he did inſtitute and ordeine and left among hys Diſciples the night before he was betrayed, when I do receaue this Sacrament in faith and in ſpirite, I do receiue Chriſt.

The confeſſion and fayth of Elizabeth Young.

The Sacrament to be receaued in ſpirite and fayth.

The Biſhop. No more I warant you, but the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, receiued but in ſpirit and faith with theſe heretickes.

Chomley. Ah whore? ſpirite and fayth whore?

Cholmley can not abide ſpirite and fayth.

Eliz. This Sacrament neuer man could or did make, but onely he that did that, which no man could do.

Mart. Then thou muſt allow that graſſe is a Sacrament: for who could make graſſe but he onely?

Eliz. Syr, he hath ſuffred, and made a ſufficient ſacrifice once for all, and ſo hath he made his Sacramēt ſufficient once for all, for there was neuer man that could ſay: *Take, eate, this is my body that is broken for you,* but onely Ieſus Chriſt, who had his body broken for the ſinnes of the world: which Sacrament he hath left here amongeſt vs for a teſtimoniall of his death, euen to the worldes end.

Inſtitutiō of the Sacrament by Chriſt only once for all.

Mart. Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?

Eliz. Yea, Biſhop Scory and other that I haue heard.

Byſh. Why? is Scory Biſhop now?

Eliz. If that do offend you, call hym Doct. Scory, if ye will.

Roper. I knew when he was but a poore Doctour.

Mart. What do ye call Scory?

Eliz. Our Superintendent.

Byſh. Loe, thee Superintendent.

Mart. And what are ye called?

Eliz. Chriſtes Congregation.

Byſh. Loe, Chriſtes Congregation, I warant you.

Doct. Cooke. What liuing hath Scory?

Eliz. Syr, as farre as I do know, hee liueth by his owne, for I know no man that geueth hym ought.

Recorder. Yes I warant you, he hath inough ſent hym out of England.

Eliz. Syr, I know no ſuch thing.

Chom. Harke whore, harke: harke how I do beleue.

Eliſ. My Lord, I haue told you my beliefe.

Chomley. Harke thou euill fauoured whore, how I do beleue. When the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration, I do beleue that there remaineth the very body that was borne of the virgine Mary, was hanged

Cōfeſſiō of Cholmleys fayth.

ged on the Croſſe, was dead and buryed, and deſcended into hell, & roſe agayne on the third day, and aſcended to heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of God. The ſame body whē the Prieſt hath ſpoken yͤ wordes, commeth downe, & when the Prieſt lifteth vp his body on this wiſe (he liftyng vp his handes) ſayd there it is.

Eliz. I haue told you alſo how I do beleue.

Mart. Away with her.

Cholmley. Ah euill fauoured whore, nothyng but ſpirite and faith whore?

Mart. Away with her, we haue more to talke withall.

Elizab. Young caried to the Stockhouſe.

Then was ſhe caryed into the Colehouſe, and ſearched for bookes, and then put into the ſtockehouſe, and her knife, gyrdell, and aporne, taken from her.

The fifth examination before the Byſhop of Londons Chauncellour. &c.

The fifth examination of Elizabeth Young.

When was ſhe brought out of the ſtockehouſe and brought before the Byſhops Chauncellour, who required of her, what age ſhe was of.

Eliz. Syr, forty yeares and vpwardes.

The Chauncellour. Why, thou art a woman of fayre yeares: what ſhouldeſt thou medle with yͤ Scriptures? it is neceſſary for thée to beleue, and that is inough. It is more fit for thée to medle with thy diſtaffe, then to medle with the Scriptures. What is thy beliefe? I would heare it: for it can not be good, in that thou art brought into priſon.

Elizabeth Young offereth agayne to declare her beliefe.

Eliz. Syr, if it will pleaſe you to heare it, I will declare it vnto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, & then examine it: and if ye find any thyng therin that is not fit for a Chriſtian woman, then teach me better, and I will learne it.

Chaunc. Well ſaid. But who ſhall be Iudge betwene thée and me?

Elizab. The Scripture.

Chaunc. Wilt thou ſtand by that?

Eliz. Yea Syr.

Chaunc. Well, go thy way out at the doore a litle while, for I am buſie, & I will call for thée anone agayn.

Then he called me agayne and ſayd, now woman, the tyme is to long to write. Say thy minde, and I will beare it in my head.

Then Elizab. began & declared her faith to him, as ſhe had done before the Byſhop.

Really. Corporally. Subſtantially.

Chaunc. Woman, ſpirite and faith I doe allow, but doeſt not thou beleue that thou doeſt receiue the body of Chriſt really, corporally, and ſubſtantially?

Elizab. These wordes really and corporally, I vnderſtand not: as for ſubſtantially, I take it ye meane I ſhould beleue that I ſhould receiue his humaine body (which is vpon the right hand of God, and can occupy no mo places at once) and that beleue not I.

Chaunc. Thou muſt beleue this or els thou art dāned.

Eliz. Syr, can ye geue me beliefe or faith?

Chaunc. No, God muſt geue it thée.

Eliz. God hath geuen me no ſuch faith, or beliefe.

The Chaūcellor thē declared a text of S. Paul in Latin, and then in Engliſh, ſaying I could make thée beleue, but that thou haſt a cankered hart, and will not beleue. Who then can make thée to beleue?

Fayth cōmeth of God: *Ergo*, no vntruth is to be beleued.

Elizab. You ſaid euen now, that faith or beliefe commeth of God, and ſo beleue I, and then may not I beleue an vntruth to be a truth.

Chaun. Dooſt thou not beleue that Chriſtes fleſh is fleſhe in thy fleſhe?

Chriſt is fleſh of our fleſh, but not in our fleſhe.

Eliz. No Sir, I beleue not that, for my fleſhe ſhall putrify and rotte.

Chaun. Chriſt ſaid: my fleſh is fleſh in fleſhe.

Eliz. Who ſo receiueth him fleſhly, ſhall haue a fleſhly reſurrection.

Iohn. vj.

Chaun. Chriſt ſayth in the ſixt of Iohn: *My fleſh is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.*

Eliz. Chriſt preached to the Capernaites ſaying: *Except ye eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man and drinke hys bloud, ye ſhall not haue life in you*, and the Capernaites murmured at it. His diſciples alſo murmured, ſaying among themſelues: *This is an hard ſaying, and who can abide it?* Chriſt vnderſtode their meanyng, and ſayd: *Are ye alſo offended? will ye alſo go away? What and if ye ſhall ſee the ſonne of man aſcend vp to heauen from whence he came? will that offend you? It is the ſpirite that quickneth: the fleſh profiteth nothing.* I pray you Sir, what meaneth Chriſt by that?

Thys man dare not expound the Scripture, yet he dare iudge vpon hereſie.

Chaun. O God forbid. Would ye haue me to interprete the ſcriptures? We muſt leaue that for our olde auncient fathers, which haue ſtudied the Scriptures a long time, and haue the holy ghoſt geuen vnto them.

Eliz. Why Sir, haue ye not the holy ghoſt geuen and reueled vnto you?

The Papiſtes dare not aſſure them ſelues to haue the holy ghoſt.

Chaun. No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo beleue: but I hope, I hope: But ye ſay, ye are of yͤ ſpirite. Will you ſay that ye haue no profite in Chriſtes fleſh?

The Capernaites fayth.

Eliz. Sir, we haue our profite in Chriſtes fleſh, but not as the Capernaites did vnderſtand it: for they vnderſtode that they muſt eate his fleſhe as they did eate one fleſh and other, and drinke his bloud as we drinke wine or béere out of a bole. But ſo we muſt not receiue it. But our profite that we haue by Chriſt, is to beleue that his body was broken vpon the croſſe & his bloud ſhed for our ſinnes: That is yͤ very meaning of Chriſt that ſo we ſhould eate his fleſh and drinke hys bloude, when he ſayd: *My fleſh is meat in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.*

The place of *Iohn. cap. vj.* expounded how Chriſtes fleſhe is meate.

Chaun. How doth thy body liue if Chriſtes fleſh be not fleſh in thy fleſhe?

Eliz. Syr, I was a body before I had a ſoule: which body God had created, and yet it could not liue till God had breathed lyfe into me, and by that life doth my body lyue. And when it ſhall pleaſe God to diſſolue my lyfe, my fleſh wil offer it ſelfe vnto the place frō whence it came, and through the merites of Chriſt my ſoule will offer it ſelfe to the place from whence it came.

Chriſtes fleſhe is fleſhe in our fleſhe, ſay the Papiſtes.

Chaunc. Yea, but if thou do not beleue that Chriſtes fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh, thou canſt not be ſaued.

Eliz. Syr, I do not beleue that.

Chaunc. Why? doth not Chriſt ſay: *my fleſh is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede?* Canſt thou deny that?

Chriſtes fleſhe is meate for our ſoule, ſay the Chriſtians.

Eliz. I deny not that: for Chriſtes fleſh and bloud is meate and drinke for my ſoule, the foode of my ſoule. For who ſo euer beleueth that Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God hath dyed and ſhed his bloud for his ſinnes, his ſoule fedeth thereon for euer.

Chaunc. When thou receaueſt the ſacrament of the aultar, dooſt thou not beleue that thou dooſt receaue Chriſtes body?

In the Sacrament miniſtred and receaued according to Chriſtes inſtitution, we receaue Chriſt.

Eliz. Syr, when I do receaue the ſacrament which Chriſt did inſtitute and ordayne the night before he was betrayed, and left among his diſciples, as often (I ſay) as I receaue it, I beleue that ſpiritually and by fayth I receaue Chriſt. And of thys Sacrament I know Chriſt him ſelfe to be the author and none but he. And this ſame Sacrament is an eſtabliſhment to my conſcience, and an augmenting to my fayth.

Chaunc. Why? did not Chriſt take bread and gaue thankes, and brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, and ſayd: *Take, eate, this is my body that is geuen for you?* did he geue them his body or no?

One queſtion ſolued by an other.

Eliz. He alſo tooke the cup, and gaue thankes to hys father, and gaue it vnto hys diſciples, ſaying: *drinke ye all hereof: for this is the cuppe of the new teſtament in my bloud, which ſhalbe ſhedde for many.* Now I pray you Syr let me aſke you one queſtion: Did he geue the cup the name of his bloud, or els the wine that was in the cuppe?

Then was he very angry and ſaid: dooſt thou thinke that thou haſt an hedge Prieſt in hand?

Eliz. No Syr, I take you not to be an hedge Prieſt. I take you for a Doctor.

Chaunc. So me thinketh: thou wilt take vpon thée to teach me.

Eliz. No Syr. But I let you know what I know: and by argument one ſhall know more.

The Sacrament a witnes both of Chriſtes death and of his comming againe.

Chriſt ſayd: *as oft as ye do this, do it in the remẽbraunce of me:* but a remẽbrance is not of a thing preſẽt, but abſent. Alſo S. Paul ſaith: *So oft as ye ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cuppe, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lordes death vntill he come.* Thẽ we may not looke for him here vntill his cõming agayne at the latter day. Againe, is not this article of our beliefe true: *he ſitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty: from thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead?* but if he ſhall not come before he come to iudgemẽt, then how is he here preſent in your ſacrament of the aultar? Wherfore I beleue that the humane body of Chriſt occupieth no more but one place at once, for when he was here, he was not there.

Chriſtes body occupieth but one place at once.

¶ The ſixth examination before the ſayd Chauncellour.

The ſixt examinatiõ of *Eliz. Young.*

WHo ſayd vnto her: womã, the laſt time that thou waſt before me, our talke was concernyng the Sacrament.

Eliz. Syr, true it is, and I truſt that I ſayd nothyng that ye can deny by the Scriptures.

The fleſhly reaſon of the Papiſtes.

Chaunc. Yes, thou wilt not beleue that Chriſtes fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh.

Eliz. No Syr, God hath geuen me no ſuch beliefe, for it cã not be found by the Scriptures.

Chaunc. Wilt thou beleue nothing but what is in the Scripture? why, how many Sacramentes doeſt thou finde in the Scripture?

Eliz. The Church of Chriſt doth ſet forth twaine.

Chaunc. I will as well find ſeuen by the Scripture, as thou ſhalt find twayne.

Name of Sacramentes geuen by the Church.

Eliz. Syr, I talke not to you therof, but I ſay that the Church of Chriſt ſetteth out twaine, and I haue bene taught no more.

Chaunc. What are thoſe twaine?

Two Sacramentes.

Eliz. The Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

Wedlocke.

Chaunc. What ſayeſt thou by the Sacrament of wedlocke?

Eliz. I haue not heard it called a Sacrament, but the holy eſtate of Matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it vpon them.

Prieſtes mariage.

Chaunc. How ſayeſt thou by Prieſtes? is it good that they ſhould Mary? is it to be kept of them?

Eliz. I come not hether to reaſon any ſuch matters, for I am no Diuine: and alſo it is no part of my faith.

Chaunc. Can ye not tell? ye ſhall tell or euer ye go.

Eliz. Syr, then muſt ye kéepe me a good while, for I haue not ſtudied the Scriptures for it.

Chaunc. No? Why, ye will not be aſhamed to ſtie vnto the higheſt myſtery euen to the Sacrament, at the firſt daſh, and ye are not afeard to argue with the beſt Doctour in the land.

Eliz. Gods myſteries I will not medle with, but all thinges that are written are written for our edificatiõ.

Praying for the dead.

Chaunc. What ſay ye by prayer for the dead? is it not méete that if a mans frend be dead, his frend commend his ſoule vnto God?

Eliz. There is no Chriſtian man that will commend his frend nor yet his foe, vnto the deuill. And whether it be good for him, when he is dead or no, ſure I am, that it is good when he is aliue.

Purgatory.

Chaun. Then thou alloweſt not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in Purgatory. Is it not méete that prayer be made vnto God for them?

Eliz. Syr, I neuer heard in yͤ Scripture of Purgatory, but in the Scripture I haue heard of heauen & hell.

Chaunc. Why, ye haue nothing but the ſkymyng of the Scriptures. Our aũcient fathers could find out in the bottome of the Scriptures, that there is a Purgatory. Yea they could find it in the new Teſtament that a Prieſt ſhall take the Sacrament and go to the altar and make an oblation and offer it vp euery day.

Oblation for yͤ dead.

Eliz. Syr, that could neuer be found in the Bible nor Teſtament, as far as euer I could here.

The holy Cõmunion blaſphemed.

Chaunc. Whom doſt thou heare read either the Bible or Teſtament, but a ſort of Schiſmatickes, baudie Biſhops, and hedge Prieſtes (which haue brought into the Church a ſtinkyng Cõmunion, which was neuer heard of in any place in the world, but here in Englãd) which haue deceaued the kyng and all the nobilitie, and all the whole Realme.

Eliz. Syr, it is a vyle name that ye geue them all.

Chaunc. Where are all the hedge knaues become now, that they come not to their aunſwere?

So many Martyrs haue bene ſlaine, and yet the Papiſtes bragge, as though none will come forth to anſwere them.

Eliz. Aunſwere Syr? why, they haue aunſwered both with the Scriptures and alſo with their bloud, and then where were you that ye came not forth to aunſwere in their tymes? I neuer knew none of you that were troubled but twayne, and that was not for Gods worde, it was for their diſobedience.

Chaunc. No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed?

Eliz. Syr, I neuer knew that any of you euer was either hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Fiſher B. of Rocheſter.

Chaunc. No? did ye neuer heare that the Byſhop of Rocheſter loſt his head for the ſupremacie of the Byſhops of Rome?

Eliz. Then he dyed not for Gods word.

Nothing to be receaued to ſaluation but onely that which is found or founded in Scripture.

Chaunc. Well, thou wilt beleue nothyng but that which is written in Gods worde. Where canſt thou finde the Sabboth day in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabboth? For the right Sabboth day I will proue to be Saterday. Or where canſt thou finde the Articles of the Crede in the Scripture, by the name of the Articles? Or where canſt thou find in the Scripture that Chriſt went downe into hell?

Eliz. What place or part in the Scripture can ye find for to diſproue any of theſe thinges?

Chaunc. What preiſt haſt thou layne withall, that thou haſt ſo much ſcripture? Thou art ſome Prieſtes woman I thinke, for thou wilt take vpon thée to reaſon and teach the beſt Doctor in all the land, thou.

Eliz. I was neuer yet Prieſtes wife nor yet Prieſtes woman.

Chaunc. Haue I touched your conſcience?

Eliz. No Syr, ye haue not touched my conſciente, but beware ye hurt not your owne.

But we read not that Chriſt did draw them into priſons and condẽned them to be burnt that would not come.

Chaunc. Thou haſt read a litle in the Bible or teſtament, and thou thinkeſt that thou art able to reaſon with a Doctor that hath gone to ſchole thirty yeares: and before God, I thinke if I had talked thus much with a Iew, as I haue done with thée, ſhe would haue turned ere this tyme. But I may ſay by you as Chriſt ſayd by Ieruſalem, ſaying: *O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, how oft would I haue gathered thee together, euen as a hen gathereth her chickins, but thou wouldeſt not.* And ſo would we gather you together in one fayth, but ye will not: and therefore your owne bloud be vpon your owne heads, for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rãckeſt heretickes that euer I heard, for thou beleueſt no thing but what is in the ſcripture, and therefore thou art damned.

Elizabeth Young deemed an hereticke, becauſe ſhe beleueth all thinges written and agreable to the Scripture and nothing els.

Eliz. I do beleue al thinges written in the ſcripture, & all thinges agréeable with the ſcripture, geuen by the holy ghoſt into the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt, and ſhall I be damned becauſe I beleue the truth, and will not beleue an vntruth?

Elizabeth Young had to the Stockhouſe, and then to the Lollardes Tower.

Then yͤ Chauncellor called yͤ kéeper ſaying: Cluny take her away: thou knoweſt what thou haſt to do with her, and ſo ſhe departed and was brought againe to the ſtockhouſe, and there ſhe lay certayne dayes and both her handes manacled in one yron, and afterward was remoued into the Lollardes Tower, and there ſhe remayned, with both her féete in the ſtockes and yrons till the next tyme of examination.

¶The ſeuenth examination before the Chauncellor and the Byſhops Scribe.

The ſeuenth examination of *Elizabeth Young*.

WHen ſhe was brought before the ſayd Chauncellour and the ſcribe, the Chauncellor ſaid vnto her: woman, thou haſt bene twiſe before me, but thou and I could not agree: and here be certayne articles that my Lord the Byſhop of Londõ would that thou ſhouldeſt make aunſwere vnto, which are theſe: firſt how many ſacramentes thou doſt allow.

Two Sacramentes.

Eliz. Syr, as many as Chriſtes Church doth allow, and that is twayne.

Then ſpake the ſcribe. Thou waſt taught ſeuen before king Edwardes dayes.

Chaunc. Which two ſacramentes be thoſe that thou doſt allow?

Eliz. The Sacrament of the body and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

Chaunc. Doſt thou not beleue that ỹ Pope of Rome is the ſupreame head of the church, immediatly vnder God in earth?

Head of ỹ Church.

Eliz. No Syr, no man can bee the head of Chriſtes Church: for Chriſt him ſelfe is the head, and his word is the gouernour of all that be of that Church whereſoeuer they be ſcattered abroad.

Chaunc. Doſt thou not beleue that the Byſhop of Rome can forgeue thee al thy ſinnes, hereticall, deteſtable, and damnable, that thou haſt done from thine infancy vnto this day?

Biſhop of Rome.

Eliz. Syr, the Byſhop of Rome is a ſinner as I am, and no man can forgeue me my ſinnes but he onely that is without ſinne, and that is Jeſus Chriſt which dyed for my ſinnes.

Chaunc. Doſt thou not know that ỹ Pope ſent ouer his Jubileis, that all that euer would faſt and pray and go to the church, ſhould haue their ſinnes forgeuen thẽ.

The ſcribe. Syr, I thinke that ſhe was not in the Realme then.

Chaunc. Haſt thou not deſired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome, and all hys deteſtable enormities?

From the Biſhop of Rome and all hys deteſtable enormities.

Eliz. Yes that I haue.

Chaunc. And art thou not ſory for it?

Eliz. No Syr, not a whit.

Chaunc. Haſt thou not ſayd, that the Maſſe was wicked, and the Sacrament of the altar moſt abominable?

Eliz. Yes that I haue.

Chaunc. And art thou not ſory for it?

Eliz. No Syr, not a whit.

Chaunc. Art thou content for to go to the Church and heare Maſſe?

Elizab. I will not go the Church, either to Maſſe or Mattins, till I may heare it in a tõg that I can vnderſtand: for I will bee fed no longer in a ſtraunge language. And alwayes the ſcribe did writ euery of theſe Articles as they were demaunded & aunſwered vnto.

Then the ſcribe aſked her from whence ſhe came.

The Chauncellour ſaid: this is ſhe that brought ouer all theſe bookes of hereſie and treaſon.

Then ſayd the Scribe to her: womã, where haddeſt thou all theſe bookes?

Eliz. I bought them in Hamſterdam, and brought them ouer to ſell, thinkyng to gayne therby.

Then ſayd the Scribe: what is ỹ name of the booke?

Eliz. I can not tell.

The Scribe. Why? wouldeſt thou bye bookes, and know not their names?

Then ſpake Cluny the keeper: Syr, my Lord Byſhop did ſend for her by name that ſhe ſhould come to Maſſe, but ſhe would not.

Chaunc. Yea? did my Lord ſend for her by name, and would ſhe not go to Maſſe?

Eliz. No Syr, I will neuer go to Maſſe till I do vnderſtand it, by the leaue of God.

Chaunc. Vnderſtand it? why who the deuil can make thee to vnderſtand Latin, thou beyng ſo old?

Then the Scribe commaũded her to ſet to her hand to all theſe ſayd thinges.

Elizabeth ſayd: Syr, then let me heare it read firſt.

Then ſayd the Scribe: maiſter Chauncellour, ſhall ſhe heare it read.

Chaunc. Yea, yea, let the hereticke heare it read.

Then ſhe heard it read, and ſo ſhe ſet to her hand.

Eliz. Young ſetteth her hand to her examination.

¶The eight examination before the Biſhop.

The eight examination of *Elizabeth Young*.

WHen ſhe was brought before the Byſhop, he aſked the keeper: is this the woman that hath the three children?

And the keeper ſayd: yea my Lord.

Byſh. Woman, here is a Supplication put vnto my hãdes for thee. In like caſe there was an other Supplicatiõ put vp to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madeſt as though that I ſhould keepe thy children.

Eliz. My Lord, I did not know of this Supplication, nor yet of the other.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: maſter Deane, is this the woman that ye haue ſued ſo earneſtly for?

The Deane made ſute for *Eliz. Young*.

The Deane. Yea my Lord.

The Deane. Woman, what remaineth in the Sacrament of the altar when and after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration?

Elizab. A peece of bread. But the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, which he did inſtitute & leaue amongeſt his Diſciples the night before hee was betrayed, miniſtred accordyng to his word, that Sacrament I do beleue.

The Deane. How doeſt thou beleue concernyng the body of Chriſt? where is his body, and how many bodyes hath he?

Eliz. Syr, in heauẽ he ſitteth on the right hãd of God.

The Deane. From whence came his humane body?

Eliz. He tooke it of the virgin Mary.

The Deane. That is fleſh, bloud, and bones, as mine is. But what ſhape hath his ſpiritual body? hath it face, handes, and feete?

Eliz. I know no other body that he hath but that body whereof he ment whẽ he ſaid: *This is my body which is giuen for you: and this is my bloud which ſhalbe ſhed for you.* Whereby he playnly meaneth that body and no other, which he tooke of the virgin Mary, hauyng the perfect ſhape and proportion of a humane body.

Doct. Story. Then ſayd Story: ye haue a wiſe body, for ye muſt go to the ſtake.

Story.

The Deane. Art thou content to beleue in the faith of Chriſtes Church? But to aſke of thee what Chriſtes Church is, or where it is, I let is paſſe.

Eliz. Syr, to that Church I haue ioyned my fayth, and from it I purpoſe neuer to turne, by Gods helpe.

The Deane. Wouldeſt thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

Eliz. Syr, if it pleaſe God to geue me leaue.

The Deane. Art thou content to confeſſe thy ſelfe to be an ignoraunt and a fooliſh woman, and to beleue as our holy father the Pope of Rome doth, and as the Lord Cardinals grace doth, and as my Lord the Byſhop of London thine Ordinary doth, & as the Kynges grace and the Queenes grace, and all the nobilitie of England do: yea and the Emperours grace, and all the noble Princes in Chriſtendome?

The beliefe of the Papiſtes followeth the multitude.

Eliz. Syr, I was neuer wiſe. But in few wordes I ſhall make you a brief aunſwere how I do beleue. I do beleue all thynges that are written in ỹ Scripture, geuen by the holy ghoſt vnto the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt. Hereon I ground my faith, and on no man.

True beliefe dependeth not vpon men, but vpon the rule of Gods word.

Then ſayd Story: and who ſhall be iudge?

Eliz. Syr, the Scripture.

Doct. Story. And who ſhall read it?

Elizabeth. Hee vnto whom God haue geuen the vnderſtanding.

derſtandyng.

Byſh. Womā, be reformable, for I would thou were gone, and M. Deane here hath earneſtly ſued for thée.

Deane. Woman, I haue ſued for thée in déede, and I promiſe thée, if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good vnto thée.

Eliz. I haue bene before my Lord Byſhop, and before maiſter Chauncellour thrée times, and haue declared my fayth.

Deane. And yet I know that maiſter Chauncellour will ſay that thou art a ranke hereticke.

Doct. Story. Away with her.

Elizabeth Young committed to the Deane.

Byſh. M. Deane, ye know that I may not tary, nor you neither. Let her kéeper bryng her home to your owne chāber ſone at foure a clocke at afternone, and if that ye finde her reaſonable, then let her go, for I would that ſhe were gone.

Then ſayd the Deane, with a good will, my Lord: and ſo ſhe was ſent vnto the place from whence ſhe came vntill it was foure of the clocke at afternone.

The ninth examination before the Deane, before whom it pleaſed God to deliuer her.

The ninth examination of *Eliz. Young*.

WHen it was foure of the clocke at afternone, as the houre was appointed, and the Deane was ſet, he aſked her: Art thou a foole now, as thou waſt to day?

Eliz. Syr I haue learned but ſmall wiſedome ſince.

Deane. Doeſt thou thinke that I am better learned then thou?

Eliz. Yes Syr, that I do.

Deane. Thinkeſt thou that I can do thée good?

Eliz. Yea Syr, and if it pleaſe God that ye will.

Talke betwene the Deane and *Eliz. Young* about receauing the Sacrament.

Deane. Then I will do thée good in déede. What doſt thou receiue when thou receiueſt the Sacramēt which Chriſt left among his diſciples the night before he was betrayed?

Eliz. Syr, that that his diſciples did receiue.

Deane. What did they receaue?

Eliz. Syr, that that Chriſt gaue them they receiued.

Deane. What aunſwere is this? was Chriſt there preſent?

Eliz. Syr, he was there preſent, for he inſtituted hys owne Sacrament.

Deane. He toke bread and he brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, and ſayd: *take, eate: this is my body which ſhalbe broken for you.* When thou receiueſt it, doſt thou beleue that thou receiueſt his body?

Eliz. Syr, when I receaue, I beleue that thorough fayth I do receaue Chriſt.

Deane. Doſt thou beleue that Chriſt is there?

Chriſt not abſent from hys Sacramentes.

Eliz. Syr, I beleue that he is there to me, and by faith I do receaue hym.

Deane. He alſo toke the cup and gaue thankes, and gaue it to his diſciples, and ſayd: *drinke ye all hereof. This is the cup of the new teſtament in my bloud, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes.* When thou doſt receaue it after the inſtitution that Chriſt ordayned it among his diſciples the night before he was betrayed, doſt thou beleue that Chriſt is there?

Eliz. Syr, by faith I beleue that he is there, and by fayth I do beleue that I do receaue him.

Deane. Now thou haſt aunſwered me. Remember that thou ſayeſt, that when thou doſt receaue according to yͤ inſtitutiō of Chriſt, thou doſt receaue Chriſt.

Eliz. Syr, I beleue Chriſt not to be abſent from hys owne Sacrament.

Deane. How long wilt thou continue in that beliefe?

Eliz. Syr, as long as I do liue, by the helpe of God: for it is and hath bene my beliefe.

Deane. Wilt thou ſay this before my Lord?

Eliz. Yea Syr.

Deane. Then I dare deliuer thée. Why thou Calfe, why wouldſt not thou ſay ſo to day?

Eliz. Syr, ye aſked me no ſuch queſtion.

Deane. Then ye would ſtand in diſputation how many bodyes Chriſt had.

Eliz. Syr, in déede that queſtion ye did aſke me.

Deane. Who ſhalbe thy ſuerties that thou wilt appeare before my Lord of London and me vpon Friday next?

Eliz. Syr, I haue no ſuerties, nor know not where to haue.

Two women ſuerties for *Elizabeth Young*.

Then ſpake the Deane vnto two women that ſtode there, who had earneſtly ſued for her, ſaying: women, will ye be her ſuerties, that ſhe ſhall appeare before my Lord of London and me vpon Friday next?

The women. Yea Syr, and it pleaſe you.

Deane. Take héede that I finde you no more a babler in the ſcripture.

Eliz. Syr, I am no babler in the ſcripture, nor yet any man can burthen me therewith.

Deane. Yes, I haue heard of you well inough what ye are.

Then ſayd he to the two women: what if a man ſhould touch your conſcience, do ye not ſmell a little of hereſy alſo?

The women. No Syr.

Deane. Yes, a litle of the frying pan, or els wherefore haue ye twayne ſo earneſtly ſued for her?

The one woman aunſwered: becauſe that her children were lyke to periſh, and therfore God put me in mynde to ſue for her.

Then ſayd the other woman: And I gat her child a nurſe and I am threatened to ſtand to the kéepyng of her child, and therfore it ſtandeth me in hand for to ſue to haue her out.

Elizabeth Young vpon ſuerties deliuered.

Deane. Womā, geue thankes vnto theſe honeſt women who haue ſo earneſtly ſued for thée: and I promiſe thée ſo haue I. Theſe great heretickes wil receiue nothyng but in ſpirite and fayth: and ſo he roſe and departed.

Elizab. Syr, God be prayſed, and I thanke you for your goodnes, and theirs alſo, and ſo he went away: and vpon the Friday next, becauſe that ſhe was acraſed, her two ſuerties went thether, & were diſcharged.

Elizabeth Lawſon.

Elizabeth Lawſon, Confeſſor.

IN the towne of Bedfield and in the Countie of Suffolke was dwelling a godly auncient matrone named Elizabeth Lawſon, about the age of lx. yeares. This Elizabeth was apprehended as an hereticke, by the Conſtables of the ſame towne, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the yeare of our Lord. 1556. becauſe ſhe would not go to Church to heare Maſſe, and receaue the Sacrament, and beleue in it. Firſt they layde her in a dungeon, and after that ſhe was caried vnto Norwich, and from thence to Bury gayle, where at laſt ſhe was condemned to be brent. In the meane tyme Syr Iohn Sylliard had her home vnto his houſe, he beyng high Sheriffe that yeare, where ſhe was hardly kept and wrapped in yrons, till at length whē they by no wiſe could moue her to recant, ſhe was ſent to priſon againe with ſhamefull reuilinges.

Robert Kitrich, Tho. Elas, perſecutors.

Syr Iohn Sylliarde Shirieffe.

Thus ſhe continued in priſon the ſpace of two yeares and thrée quarters. In the meane tyme there was burnt her ſonne and many other, wherby ſhe would often ſay: Good Lord, what is the cauſe that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? well good Lord, thy bleſſed will be done, and not myne. Not long after this (moſt happely) followed the death of Quéene Mary, after whom ſucceded our Quéene that now is. At which tyme this Elizabeth Lawſon remained yet ſtill in Bury priſon, till at laſt ſhe was bayled vppon ſuerties, or els ſhe could not be deliuered. For ſhe beyng a condemned perſon, neither the temporalitie nor yet ſpirituall authoritie would diſcharge her without ſuerties.

Elizabeth Lawſon in priſon 2. yeares & 3. quarters.

Elizab. Lawſon ſory yͤ ſhe was not burned.

Elizabeth Lawſon bayled by ſuerties in *Q. Elizabethes* tyme.

Now ſhe beyng abroad, & her ſuerties made afrayd by wicked men, ſayd they would caſt her agayne in priſon,

ſon, except ſhe would ſée them diſcharged. Then ſhe got a Supplication, to go vnto the Quéenes Maieſty, and came to a frend of hers to haue his coūſell therin: Who willed her to ſtay a while becauſe ſhe was old, ẏ dayes ſhort, and the expenſes great, and Winter foule (for it was a litle before Chriſtmas) and to tary vntill Sommer. In the meane tyme God brake the bonde, ⁊ ſhortned her iourney: for he tooke her home to hym ſelfe out of this lyfe in peace.

Elizabeth Lawſon preſerued from perſecution, and ending her life in peace.

This good old woman, long before ſhe went to priſon, had the falling ſickenes, ⁊ told a frend of hers, one Symon Harlſton, after ſhe was apprehended, that ſhe had it neuer more, but liued in good health ⁊ ioy of hart, through her Lord Chriſt. She had a very vnkynd man to her huſband, who while ſhe was in priſon, ſold away her raiment, and would not helpe her, ⁊ after ſhe was out of priſon ſhe returnyng home vnto him, yet would he ſhew her no kindnes, nor helpe her neither: and yet the houſe and land that he dwelt in, he had by her: Wherfore as long as ſhe lyued, ſhe was found of the congregation.

Elizabeth Lawſon troubled with ẏ falling ſickenes, after her perſecution neuer felt it more.

The ſayd Elizabeth Lawſon alſo had a ſiſter, wife to one Robert Hollon of Mickfield, in the ſame Coūtie of Suffolke, which likewiſe was perſecuted and driuen out from houſe to houſe, and a young man her ſonne with her, becauſe they would not go to ẏ church to heare Maſſe, and receiue the Sacramēt of the altar.

¶ Thomas Chriſtenmas, and William Wats.

Tho. Chriſtenmas, William Wattes.

IN this perilous rage of Queene Maryes raigne, were ij. men perſecuted, one called Tho. Chriſtenmas, the other William Wats of Tunbridge in Kent. As theſe trauayled from place to place, not reſting two nightes together in one place, it happened them on a time to come to Rocheſter in Kent, whereas they entring into the towne, euen at the townes end, met with a litle damoſel of viij. yeares of age, but whether ſhe went they knew not. It was then night, and they weary, and fayne therefore would haue lyen in the ſame towne, but could not tell where, they feared ſo ẏ bloudy Catholickes. At laſt, they deuiſed to aſke ẏ damoſell whether there were any heretickes in the towne or no? and ſhe ſayd yea. They aſked her where? She aunſwered them, at ſuch an Inne, telling them the name and where the Inne was. Shortly after, as they were gone frō her, they bethought themſelues better, ⁊ God ſo mouing their harts, they went to the childe agayne, and aſked her how ſhe knew that the Inkéeper (of whō ſhe ſpake before) was an hereticke. Mary (quoth ſhe) well inough, and his wife alſo. How knoweſt thou pretie mayden, ſayd they? I pray thée tell vs. How know I ſayd ſhe? mary becauſe they go to the church: and thoſe that will not holde vp their handes there, they will preſent them, and he himſelfe goeth from houſe to houſe, to compell them to come to church. When theſe two mē heard this, they gaue God prayſe and auoyded that houſe, taking the warning of that mayde (of good bringing vp, as it ſhould ſéeme) to be Gods maruellous prouidence towardes them.

Gods prouidence vppon *Tho. Chriſtenmas and Will. Wats.*

¶ An other eſcape of William Wats.

THis foreſayd William Wats, dwelling in Quéene Maryes dayes at Seale in Kent, the laſt yeare of her raigne ſaue one, was apprehēded by hys enemies, and brought by the Conſtables before the Byſhop and Iuſtices at Tunbridge, where the Byſhop and Iuſtices would haue perſwaded him all they could, to turne from the truth: howbeit in vayne, for they could not remoue him, although they ſpent all the forenoone therabouts, with many flattering wordes: ſo mercifull was the Lord vnto him.

W. Wats an other time deliuered by the Lordes prouidence.

W. Wats apprehended ⁊ brought before the biſhop.

Now, when dinner tyme was come, as they ſhould riſe, they committed the priſoner to the Conſtables agayn, ⁊ ſo roſe vp to go to dinner. The Cōſtables tooke Wats ⁊ led him to a vittelling houſe, where after they had well filled them ſelues, they fell a ſléepe, ſuppoſing their priſoner to be ſure enough vnder their handes. Wats wife beyng then in the houſe with her huſband, and very carefull for his well doyng, ſeyng the Conſtables thus faſt a ſléepe, deſired her huſbād to depart and go thēce, for ſo much as the Lord had made ſuch a way for him. Unto which her wordes he would not cōſent, although ſhe perſuaded him all that ſhe could.

At the laſt (they replying one agaynſt an other) a ſtraunger heard them, and aſked her what the matter was, that ſhe was ſo earneſt with her huſband. The wife told him. Then ſayd ẏ ſtraūger vnto Wats these wordes: Father, go thy wayes in Gods name, and tary no longer: the Lord hath opened the way vnto thée. wherupon the ſayd Wats went his way, and his wife departed from him and went home to her houſe at Seale, thinkyng her huſband had gone an other way. Now as ſhe was goyng in at her doore, tellyng her frēdes of his deliuerance, immediatly came the ſaid Wats in alſo, and they all beyng amaſed therat, willed him in all haſt to get him away: for they thought there would be ſearch for him immediatly.

In other notable example of the Lordes prouidence.

Then Wats ſayd he would eate meate firſt, and alſo pray: which he did, and afterward departed thence. So ſoone as hee was out of the doores, and had hyd him ſelfe in an holly buſh, immediatly came the ſayd Conſtables with .xxx. perſons into the ſayd houſe to ſearch for him, where they pearſed the fetherbeds, broke vp his cheaſtes, and made ſuch hauocke, that it was wonderfull: and euer among as they were ſearchyng, the Conſtables cried: I will haue Wats, I will haue Wats, I tell thée, I will haue Wats: but (God be thanked) Wats could not be found. And when they ſaw it booted not to ſearch for him, in the end they tooke his wife, and ſet her in a payre of ſtockes, where ſhe remained two dayes, ⁊ ſhe was very bold in ẏ truth, and at the laſt deliuered through the prouidence of God: whoſe name be glorified in all his workes, Amen.

Will. Wats deliuered out of hys enemies handes.

Will. Wats ſought for againe.

Will. Wats wife ſet in the ſtockes.

¶ Iohn Glouer of Manceter, Gentleman.

WHat a fatherly and manifeſt prouidence of the Lord likewiſe did appeare in the preſeruyng of M. Iohn Glouer of the Dioces of Couentry and Lichfield, in the Towne of Manceter: firſt at the takyng of Robert his brother. At which time although the Commiſſion came downe for him, yet ſo God ordered the matter, that his brother beyng ſicke was apprehended, and yet he being whole eſcaped. Wherof mention is made before, pag. 1886.

Gods prouidence in deliuering M. *Ioh. Glouer.*

And agayne, an other tyme how miraculouſly the mercyfull prouidence of the Lord wrought his eſcape out of his enemies handes, they being at his chamber doore, and drawing the latch to ſearch for him: and how his wife the ſame tyme was taken and ſent to Lichfield, read before, pag. 1892.

In other narrow eſcape of *M. Iohn Glouer.*

¶ One Dabney.

THere was at London a certeine honeſt godly perſon, a Painter named Dabney, whō Iohn Auales in the tyme of Quéene Mary had brought before Boner to be examined for his faith. It happened the ſame tyme, as ẏ ſayd Dabney was there, that ẏ Biſhop was occupied with examination of other, ſo that he was byd to ſtand by, and to wayt the Byſhops layſure. Vpō the ſame, or not long after, ſodeinly commeth word to the Byſhop to prepare him in all ſpéede: the generall proceſſion taried for him. The Byſhop hearyng that, ſettyng all buſines apart, buſtleth him ſelfe with all ſpéede poſſible to the Church, there to furniſh the proceſſion. By reaſon wherof Dabney, which newly came to the houſe, was there left alone, while euery man els was buſied in preparyng and ſettyng them ſelues forward, accordyng as the caſe required.

The eſcape of a godly man called *Dabney.*

To be ſhort, as the tyme called on, Boner with hys houſhold maketh haſt ſo faſt as they cā out of the doores to the proceſſion. Dabney beyng left alone, commeth downe to the outward Court next the gate, there walkyng with him ſelfe all heauy, lokyng for nothing leſſe then to eſcape that daũger. The porter, who was onely left at home, ſeyng the man to walke alone, ſuppoſing he had bene ſome Citizen there left behynd, & waityng for opening of the gate, went and opened the wicket, aſkyng if he would go out. Yea ſayd he, with a good will, if ye will let me out. With all my hart, quoth the Porter, and I pray you ſo do.

Gods ſecrete workyng in the deliuerance of Dabney.

And thus the ſayd Dabney taking the occaſion offered of God, beyng let out by ỹ Porter, eſcaped out of ỹ Wolues mouth. The proceſſion beyng done, when the Byſhop returned home, Dabney was gone and could not be found. Wherupon much ſearch was made, but eſpecially Iohn Auales layd much priuy wayt for him: Who after long ſearchyng, when hee could not get him, at length he receiued xv. crownes of his wife to let hym alone when he ſhould ſee hym: and ſo that good man eſcaped.

¶ Alexander Wymſhurſt.

Alexander Wymſhurſt a Miniſter, deliuered by Gods prouidence from hys enemies.

ALyke exãple of God almighties goodnes toward his afflicted ſeruauntes in that daungerous tyme of perſecutiõ may alſo appeare euidently in one Alexander Wymſhurſt a Prieſt, ſometyme of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford, and then the Popes own knight, but ſince an earneſt enemy to Antichriſt, and a mã better inſtructed in the true feare of God. It happened that one had promoted hym to Boner for Religion, vpon what occaſion I do not vnderſtand. Accordyng to the old maner in ſuch caſes prouided, he ſent forth Robin Caly, otherwiſe called Robin Papiſt, one of hys whelpes, to bryng in the game, and to cauſe this ſeely poore man to appeare before hym. Litle Robin lyke a proper mã, beſtyrreth him in his buſines, and ſmelleth him out, and when he had gotten him, bryngeth hym along by Chepeſide, not ſufferyng hym to talke with any of his acquaintaunce by the way, though there were of his old frẽdes of Oxford that offered to ſpeake vnto hym.

Wymſhurſt taken by Robin Caly.

When they came into Paules, it happened this Alexander to eſpy Doct. Chadſey there walkyng vp and downe. To whom, becauſe he was able in ſuch a caſe to do pleaſure, and for that he had bene of his old acquaintaunce in Oxford, he was very deſirous to ſpeake to him ere he went through. Chadſey perceyuyng that Robin Calye did attend vppon him, ſayd that he durſt not medle in the matter. Yes (ſayth litle Robin) you make talke with him if it pleaſe you, maſter Doctour. To be ſhort, Alexãder openeth his caſe, and in the end deſireth for old acquaintaunce ſake that he would finde meanes he might be rather brought before Doct. Martin to be examined, then any other. Nay ſayth he (alleagyng the wordes of Chriſt vnto Peter in the laſt chapter of S. Iohn): You remember brother what is written in the Goſpell: *When thou waſt young, thou diddeſt gird thy ſelfe, and wenteſt whether thou wouldeſt: but beyng aged, other men ſhall gird thee and lead thee whether thou wilt not*, thus abuſing the Scripture to his priuate meanyng: wheras notwithſtandyng he might eaſely haue accompliſhed ſo ſmall a requeſt, if it had liked him.

Wymſhurſt talketh with D. Chadſey.

D. Chadſey a ſure frend at nede.

Thence was he caried to Story & Cooke Cõmiſſioners, there to learne what ſhould become of him. Before them he did vſe him ſelf boldly & ſtoutly, as they on the other ſide did vrge him with captious queſtions very cruelly. Whẽ they had bayted the poore mã theyr fill, they aſked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (ſayd he) but my lawfull wife. She is thy whore, ſayd they. She is not my whore (ſayd he agayn) but my wife, I tel you. So when they perceiued that he would not geue place vnto thẽ, nor attribute to them ſo much as they looked for at his hand, accordyng to the ordinary maner they commaunded him to priſon. And now marke well the prouidence of God in his preſeruation.

Wymſhurſt brought to D. Story and D. Cooke, Cõmiſſioners.

Wymſhurſt cõmaunded to priſon.

He was broughth into Clunes houſe at Paterноſter row, thence to be caried to Lollardes tower out of hand, but that Cluny (as it happened) his wife, and his mayde were ſo earneſtly occupied about preſent buſines, that as then they had not layſure to locke vp their priſoner. In the hall where Alexander ſat, was a ſtraunge woman whoſe huſband was then preſently in trouble for religion, which perceiued by ſome one occaſion or other that this man was brought in for the like cauſe. Alacke good man, ſayth ſhe: if you will, you may eſcape the cruell handes of your enemyes, foraſmuch as they be all away that ſhould loke vnto you. God hath opened the way vnto you of deliueraunce, and therefore loſe not the oportunity thereof, if you be wiſe. With thoſe and ſuch like wordes being then perſwaded, he gat out of the dores, and went away, without any haſt making at all: ſo that if any had followed, he might haue bene eaſely recouered agayne. But vndoubtedly it was Gods will that he ſhould ſo eſcape the fury of his aduerſaries, and be preſerued from all daungers of death and impriſonment.

Good counſell ſent of God.

A way made by Gods prouidence to Alexãder Wymſhurſt to eſcape.

¶ Boſoms wife.

Boſoms wife.

AS the workes of the Lord are not to be kept ſecret, whatſoeuer the perſons be in whom it pleaſeth him to worke: ſo commeth to remembraunce the ſtory of one Boſoms wife not vnworthy to be conſidered. This good woman being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly called vpon and vrged to come to church. At length through importunate crying and calling vpon, ſhe graunted vnto thẽ, and came. Being in the church, and ſitting with her mother in the pue, contrary in all thinges to the doinges of ỹ Papiſtes, ſhe behaued her ſelfe: to wit, when they kneled ſhe ſtode, when they turned forward, ſhe turned backward. &c.

The behauiour of Boſoms wife in the Church.

This being notorious in the church, at length the Conſtable and Churchwarden named Saunders, attached her in the Queenes name, charging her with her mother the next day to appeare at Kingſton. Who at their commaundement ſo did.

Boſoms wife ſummoned to appeare at Kingſton.

The next day, accordingas they were aſſigned, they came to Kingſtõ to appeare before ỹ foreſayd officers, who at the ſame tyme (as it chaũced) were going ouer the Fery, and meeting them by the way, ſaluted thẽ by their names, but at that tyme had no further power to ſpeake vnto them. Afterward, as they were in the bote going ouer, they knockt their handes, ſtampt and ſtared, lamenting that they had let them ſo paſſe theyr handes. This the Ferymã declared vnto them, & what they ſayd in the bote. Whereupon the good woman taking her iourney to London, eſcaped their cruelty, through ỹ ſecrete working (no doubt) of the Lord: who in all his workes and euermore be prayſed, Amen.

Boſoms wife through Gods helpe eſcapeth.

¶ Lady Kneuet in Norfolke.

The Lady Anne Kneuet.

AMong the number of the godly that were kept vnder the prouidence of the Lord in thoſe perillous dayes, I may not forget an auncient good Lady of much worſhip, called Lady Anne Kneuet, who till her death dwelt in Norfolke, in a towne named Wimondham vj. myles from Norwich. Which ſayd good Lady in Queene Maries dayes, being iudged by the common people, more then an hundreth yeare of age, and by her own eſtimation well towardes a C. kept her ſelfe from their Popiſh Church, or hauing any Papiſticall traſhe miniſtred in her houſe, but onely the ſeruice that was vſed in the latter dayes of kyng Edward the vj. which dayly ſhe had ſayd before her, either by one M. Tollin who was then by Gods prouidence preſerued in her houſe, or els by one of her Gentlewomen or houſhold ſeruauntes that could ſerue the place in the ſayd M. Tollins abſence.

Now, this worſhipfull Lady continuing in this maner

Ladie Kneuet threatned by the Biſhop.

ner of true ſeruyng of God, ſhe and her familye were many times threatned by meſſengers, that the Byſhop would viſite her therefore. Unto which meſſengers ſhe would alwayes aunſwere, that if hys Lordſhip ſent word before what day he would come, he ſhould thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whoſe prouidence ruleth the raging Seas, neuer ſuffered them all that toyling time to moleſt her: Although oftẽtimes, when ſhe had ſeruice before her, there were very great enemies to the truth and of much authoritie that came in, and kneled to prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her therfore.

The great age of the Ladye Kneuet.

This good Lady kept good hoſpitalitie, as any in that countrey of hir liuing. She alſo ſuccoured many perſecuted that came to hir houſe in Q. Maries dayes. Were they neuer ſo ſimple, they were eſtemed of her as the frendes of the Goſpell, and departed not without money and meat. Borne ſhe was long before king Edward the fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord Jeſus, as one in bleſſed peace, the ij. yere of Q. Elizab.

Lady Elizab. Vane, a great reliever of Gods people.

Unto whom not vnworthely may be compared the good Lady Elizab. Vane, who being a like harborer of the afflicted Martyrs, was in great haſſards of the enemies, but of her thou ſhalt read before. 1824.

Iohn Dauys a childe of xij. yeares and vnder.

John Dauis a childe vnder the age of xij. yeares caſt to be burned for the 6. Articles, and yet by Gods prouidence preſerued.

Alice Broke Thom. Parton are perſecutors of John Dauis

John Dauis caſt into priſon.

AN Dom. 1546. and the laſt yere of king Henry the viij. John Dauis a childe of the age of xij. yeares and vnder, who dwelling in the houſe of M. Jhonſon Apothecarie in the towne of Worceſter his vncle, vſing to read ſometimes of the Teſtament & other good Engliſh bookes, was complained of by Alice Johnſon his miſtres, which Alice being an obſtinate perſon, conſulted with one Thomas Parton, and one Alice, wife to Rich. Brooke Organ maker, with certein of the Canons, & M. Johnſon Chancelour to D. Heath their Biſhop. The meanes whereby he was entrapped, was wrought by the foreſaid Alice Brooke, who procured Olyuer her ſonne, ſcholefelow with the ſaide John Dauis, to faine frendſhip with him, and vnder pretenſe to be inſtructed, to ſee his Engliſh bookes, and eſpecially to get ſome thing of hys wryting againſt the ſixe Articles. Which being had, was ſoone brought to the Canons of the church and the Chancelor. Wherupon Tho. Parton, whether being ſent or of his owne mind, came to apprehend him, & his vncle was forced againſt his wil to binde the poore boyes armes behinde him: and ſo he was brought to the officers of the towne, where he lay from the 14. day of Auguſt, till the laſt of September. Then was he commaunded to the freemãs priſon. Where one Rich. Howborough comming to perſwade hym from burning, willed him to proue firſt with a candle. Who then holding his finger, and the other the candle vnder it a good ſpace, yet (as the partie himſelfe to me aſſureth) felt no burning therof, neither would the other that helde the candle beleeue him a great while, till he had looked and ſawe no ſkorching of the candle at all appeare.

The cruell handlyng of John Dauis in pryſon.

John Dauis preſerued by Gods hande from killing

Then was the childe remoued from thence to an inner pryſon called Peephole. Where the lowebailiffe, called Robert Yould, layd vpon him a payre of boltes, ſo that he could not lift vp hys ſmall legges, but leaning on a ſtaffe, ſlipt them forward vpon the groũd. The coldnes of which yrons he feeleth yet in his ankles, and ſhall ſo long as he liueth. With theſe boltes his lying was vpon the cold ground, hauing not one locke of ſtraw, nor cloth to couer him, ſaue only two ſheepe ſkinnes: Neither durſt father nor mother, or any of his frends come at him. Beſides this and many great threates of the Papiſtes, there was a mad man put to him in the priſon, wyth a knife about him, wherewith he ofttimes in his frantike rage, profered to thruſt him in.

Jhon Dauis caſt by xxiiij. men.

The life of Jhon Dauis ſaued by the death of king Henry the viij.

John Dauis ſaued from whipping by M. Iohn Burne.

After this came to him one Jolyfe, and N. Yewer ij. Canons, which had his wrytinges againſt the ſixe Articles, and hys ballet, called Come downe, for all your ſhauen crowne: to ſee whether he would ſtand to that he had wrytten. Which done, with many great raging wordes, not long after ſatte M. Johnſon the Chancelor in the Guild hall vpon the poore lad. Where firſt were brought in hys accuſers, and ſworne. Then were ſworne alſo xxiiij. men, which went on his queſt, and founde hym giltie, but he neuer came before the Chancelor. Upon this he was ſent to the common iayle amongs theeues and murtherers, there to tary the comming of the Judges, and ſo to be had ſtraight to execution. But the mightie mercie of the Lord, who helpeth the deſolate and miſerable when all other helpe is paſt, ſo prouided for this ſely condemned lad, that the purpoſe of all his hard harted enemyes was diſapoynted. For before the iudges came, God toke away Henry the viij. out of this life. By reaſon wherof, the force of the law was then ſtayed, howbe it he was neuertheleſſe arraigned, being holden vp in a mannes armes at the barre before the Judges: who were Portman and Maruen. Which whẽ they perceiued ẏ they could not burne hym, would haue him preſently whipped. But M. John Burne Eſquire declaring to the Judges how he had whipping inoughe, after that he had layne a weeke more in priſon, had him home to hys houſe, his wife anoynted his legges her ſelfe with oyntment, which then were ſtiffe and numbed with yrones, till at lengthe when M. Burne and his, ſaw they could not win him to the belief of their ſacrament, they put him away, leaſt he ſhould infect their ſonne Anthonie, (as they thought) with hereſie.

John Dauis yet a liue.

Thus John Dauis of the age aforeſaide, in what damage he was for the Goſpell, ye ſee: And how the Lord preſerued him, ye vnderſtand. He endured in priſon from the 14. day of Auguſt, till within 7. dayes of Eaſter. Who is yet a liue, and a profitable Miniſter this day in the Church of England: Bleſſed be the Lorde, qui facit mirabilia ſolus. Amen.

Miſtres Anne Lacie.

Miſtres Anne Lacy.

IN this number of good gentlewomen being in trouble and daunger for Gods word, is not to be omitted the memory of one Miſtres Anne Lacy, widowe in Nottinghamſhyre, who was in great daunger in Q. Maryes time, in ſo much that the proceſſe was forth againſt her, and ſhe ready to haue bene apprehended, being ſo nerely purſued, that ſhe was driuen to hide her Bible and other bookes in a dunghill. M. Lacy her brother was then Juſtice of peace: but to whom (as J haue heard) ſhee was but ſmally beholden. Neuertheles where kindred faileth, yet Gods grace neuer fayleth ſuch as ſticke to him: for in this meane tyme, as the proceſſe came out agaynſt her, Queene Mary dyed, and ſo ſhe eſcaped.

Croſmans wife.

Croſmans wife. *Barber* of Tibnam Conſtable, perſecutoue. Example of Gods gratious prouidence.

ONe Croſmans wife of Tibnam longrowe in Norfolke, in Q. Maries time, for not going to church, was ſought for at her houſe by one Barber of the ſaide towne, then Conſtable of the hundreth: who when he came to her houſe, ſhe being at home with a childe ſucking in her armes, ſtept into a corner on the one ſide of the chimney, and they ſeeking the chambers, the childe neuer cried (although before they came, it did) as long as they were there, and ſo by this meanes the Lord preſerued her.

The congregation at Stoke in Suffolke.

The ſtory of a godly congregatiõ at Stoke in Suffolke.

THere were ſome likewiſe which auoyded the violent rage of the aduerſaryes by meanes onely of theyr number and mutuall concord in godlines, wherin they did ſo holde together that without much a doe none wel could be troubled: Wherof we haue example in a certayne towne of Suffolke called Stoke. After the iiij. ſharpe yeares of Q. Maryes perſecution beyng paſt, yet notwithſtanding the inhabitants of the towne aforſaid, ſpecially the women, came not to the church to receiue after the Popiſhe maner, the Sacrament. Who, if they had ben but few, they could by no means haue eſcaped impriſonment. But becauſe there were ſo many, the Papiſtes thought it not beſt to lay handes vpon them. Onely they appointed them xvj. dayes reſpite after Eaſter, wherein as many as would, ſhould receaue the Sacrament: they that would not, ſhould ſtand to the perill that would follow. Of this company which were many, geuing their handes together, the chiefeſt doers were theſe.

Eaue, *an old woman of three ſcore yeares.*
Alice Coker *her daughter.*
Elizabeth Foxe.
Agnes Cutting.
Alice Spenſer.

Henry Cauket.
Ioane Fouke.
Agnes Spaulding.
Iohn Steyre, *and his brother.*
Iohn Foxe.

Confeſſors.

These, after the order was taken for theyr not comming to the Churche, toke aduiſement among them ſelues what was beſt to be done, and at length concluded by promiſe one an other, that they woulde not receiue at all. Yet ſome of them afterwarde being perſuaded wyth faire promiſes that the Communion ſhould be miniſtred vnto them according to kyng Edwardes booke, gat them vnto the pariſhe prieſt (whoſe name was Cotes) and aſked him after which ſorte he would miniſter the Sacrament. He aunſwered to ſuch as he fauoured, that he would geue it after the right ſort: the reſt ſhould haue it after the Papiſticall maner.

Cotes Pariſh prieſt of Stoke.

Ioh. Steyre & Ioh. Foxe reuolted.

To be ſhort, none did communicate ſo, but onely Iohn Steyr and Iohn Foxe: of which the one gaue his wife leaue to do as ſhe thought beſt. The other went about with threates to compell his wife, ſaying that otherwiſe he would diuorce hym ſelfe from her. As for the reſt, they did withdraw themſelues from church, reſorting to their wouted company. Onely Foxes wife taryed ſtill at home, all in her dumpes and heauines, The Chriſtian conſtancie of *Elizabeth Foxe.*

whoſe huſband practiſed with the Curate in the meane time, that the next day after he ſhould geue her the Sacrament, which was the xvij. day after Eaſter. But the very ſame day, vnknowing vnto her huſband, ſhe gat her ſelf ſecretly to her company, and with teares declared how violently her huſband had delt with her. The other women bad her notwithſtanding to be of a good cheare, and ſayd that they would make their earneſt prayers vnto the Lord, both for her and her huſband, and in deede when they had ſo done, the matter tooke very good ſucceſſe. For the next day after, goodmã Foxe came of his owne accorde vnto thẽ, a farre other man then he was before, and bewailed his owne headines and raſhnes, praying them that they would forgeue him, promiſing euer after to be more ſtrong in faith, to the great reioyſing both of them and his wife.

The effect of Chriſtian prayer.

Iohn Foxe recouered againe to the truth by prayer.

About halfe a yeare after this, the Biſhop of Norwich ſendeth forth certaine of his officers or Apparitours thether, which gaue thẽ warning euery one to come to the Church the next ſonday following. If they would not come, they ſhould appeare before the Commiſſary out of hand, to rẽder accompt of their abſence. But the women hauing ſecret knowledge of this before, kept thẽ ſelues out of the way for the nonce, to auoyde the ſummons or warning. Therfore when they were not at the church at the day appointed, the Commiſſary did firſt ſuſpend them according to the Byſhop of Romes law, and within three weekes after did excõmunicate them. Therefore when they perceaued that an officer of the towne was ſet to take ſome of them, they conueying them ſelues priuily out of the towne, eſcaped all daunger.

The women of Stoke ſummoned by the Byſhop.

How the women of Stoke eſcaped.

¶*The congregation in London.*

The preſeruation of the congregation at London.

NO leſſe marueilous was the preſeruation of the congregation in London, which from the firſt beginning of Q. Mary, to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithſtanding what ſoeuer the malice, deuiſe, ſearching and inquiſition of mẽ, or ſtreitnes of lawes could worke to the contrary. Such was the mercifull hãd of the Lord, according to his accuſtomed goodnes, euer working with his people. Of this great boũtifull goodnes of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which now I ſpeake of. How oft, and in what great daungers did he deliuer them?

The cõgregation at Syr *Tho. Cardens* houſe.

Firſt at ẏ blacke friers, whẽ they ſhould haue reſorted to Syr Thomas Cardens houſe, priuie watch was layd for them, but yet through the Lordes vigilant prouidence the miſchiefe was preuẽted, & they deliuered.

The cõgregation againe deliuered.

Agayne, how narrowly did they eſcape about Algate, where ſpies were layd for thẽ, and had not Tho. Symſon the Deacon eſpied them, and bid thẽ diſperſe them ſelues away, they had bene takẽ. For within two houres the Conſtable comming to the houſe after they were gone, demaunded of the wife what company had bene there. To whõ ſhe to excuſe the matter, made aũſwere againe, ſaying that halfe a doſen good fellowes had bene there at breakfaſt, as they went a Maying.

The cõgregation againe deliuered.

An other time alſo about the great Condit, they paſſing there through a very ſtraite alley, into a clothworkers loft, were eſpied, and the Shrieffes ſent for: but before they came, they hauing priuie knowledge therof, immediatly ſhifted away out of the alley, Iohn Auales ſtanding alone in the Mercers Chappell ſtaring at them.

The cõgregation in a ſhip at Billinſgate.

An other like eſcape they made in a ſhip at Billinſgate, belonging to a certaine good man of Ley, where in the open ſight of the people they were congregated together, & yet through Gods mighty power eſcaped.

The cõgregation in a ſhip betwixt Ratcliffe and Redriffe.

Betwixt Ratcliffe and Redriffe, in a ſhip, called Ieſus Shyp, twiſe or thriſe they aſſembled, hauing there cloſely, after their accuſtomed maner, both Sermon, prayer, and Communion, and yet through the protection of the Lorde they returned, although not vnſpyed, yet vntaken.

The congregation in a Coupers houſe in Pudding lane.

Moreouer in a Coupers houſe in Pudding Lane, ſo neare they were to perill and daungers, that Iohn Auales comming into the houſe where they were, talked with the good mã of the houſe, and after he had aſked a queſtion or two, departed, God ſo working that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

The congregation in a houſe in Thamis ſtreete.

But they neuer ſcaped more hardly, then once in Thamis ſtreete in the night time, where the houſe being beſet with enemies, yet as the Lord would, they were deliuered by the meanes of a Mariner, who being at that preſent in the ſame company, and ſeeing no other way to auoyd, pluckt of his ſlops, & ſwãme to the next bote, & ſo rowed the cõpany ouer, vſing hys ſhooes in ſteede of owres, and ſo the ieopardy was diſpatched.

I haue heard of one who being ſent to them to take their names, and to eſpy their doinges, yet in being amongſt them, was conuerted and cryed thẽ all mercy.

An other notable example of Gods mercifull prouidence.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the extreme and preſent daunger which that godly company was in at ẏ taking of maſter Rough their miniſter, and Cutbert Simſon their Deacon, had not the Lordes prouidence geuen knowledge before to maſter Rough in his ſleepe, that Cutbert ſhould leaue behind him at home the booke of al theyr names, which he was wont to cary about him? whereof mention is made before pag. 2229.

The Miniſters of this cõgregation.

In this church or congregation were ſometymes xl. ſometymes an hundred, ſomtimes two hundred, ſometymes moe, and ſometimes leſſe. About the latter time of Q. Mary it greatly increaſed. From the firſt beginning, which was about the firſt entrye of Q Maries reigne, they had diuers Miniſters, firſt Maſter Scamler, then Thomas Fowle, after him Maſter Rough, then Maſter Auſten Bernher, & laſt Maſter Bentham. Concerning the deliueraunce of which M. Bentham (beyng now Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield) Gods mighty prouidence moſt notably is to be conſidered. For how is it poſſible by mans eſtimation, for the ſayd Maſter Bentham to haue eſcaped, had not the preſent power of the Lord, paſſing all mens expectation, bene preſt and ready to helpe his ſeruaunt in ſuch a ſtraite? The ſtory and caſe is this.

A ſtory of Maſter *Bentham.*

The Queenes proclamation, no mã to pray for the Martyrs, nor to ſpeake vnto them.

At what tyme the ſeuen laſt burned in Smithfield, mencioned in this booke before, pag. 2237. were condẽned and brought to the ſtake to ſuffer, came downe in the name of the Kyng and Queene a Proclamation, beyng twiſe pronoũced opẽly to the people, firſt at Newgate, then at the ſtake where they ſhould ſuffer, ſtraitly chargyng & cõmaunding, that no mã ſhould either pray for them, or ſpeake to them, or once ſay, God helpe thẽ.

It was appointed before of the godly there ſtãdyng together, which was a great multitude, that ſo ſoone as the priſoners ſhould be brought, they ſhould go to them to embrace and to cõfort them: and ſo they did. For as the ſayd Martyrs were commyng toward the place in the people ſight, beyng brought with billes & glaiues (as the cuſtome is) the godly multitude and Congregation with a generall ſway made toward the priſoners, in ſuch maner, that the bilmen and the other Officers beyng all thruſt backe, could nothyng do, nor any thyng come nigh. So the godly people meeting and embracyng and kiſſing them, brought them in their armes (which might as eaſely haue conueyed them cleane away) vnto the place where they ſhould ſuffer.

The congregation embracing the Martyrs contrary to the proclamation.

This done, and the people geuing place to the Officers, the Proclamation with a loude voyce was read to the people, containyng (as is before ſayd) in the Kyng and Queenes name, that no man ſhould pray for them, or once ſpeake a word vnto them &c. M. Bentham, the Miniſter then of the Congregation, not ſparyng for that, but as zeale and Chriſtian charitie moued hym, and ſeyng the fire ſet to them, turnyng hys eyes to the people, cried and ſaid: We know they are the people of God, and therefore we can not chooſe but wiſh well to them,

Maſter *Bentham* Miniſter of the congregation.

Maſter *Bentham* ſpeaketh & prayeth for the Martyrs without daunger.

them, and ſay: God ſtrengthen them: And ſo boldly hee ſaid: Almighty God for Chriſtes ſake ſtrengthen them. With that, all the people with a whole conſent and one voyce followed and ſaid: Amen, Amē. The noyſe wherof was ſo great, and the criers therof ſo many, that the Officers could not tel what to ſay, nor whom to accuſe. And thus much concernyng the Congregation of the faithfull, aſſemblyng together at London in the tyme of Queene Mary.

Another deliuery of Maſter *Bentham* out of great perill.

The ſayd M. Bentham an other tyme, as hee paſſed through S. Katherines, intendyng to walke and take the ayre abroad, was enforced by two or three men, approchyng vpon him, neede to go with them to a place whether they would lead him. M. Bentham aſtonied at the ſodainnes of the matter, and maruellyng what the thyng ſhould be, required what their purpoſe was, or whether they would haue him. They aunſwered, that by the occaſion of a man there found drowned, the Crowners queſt was called and charged to ſit vppon him, of the which queſt he muſt of neceſſitie be one. &c. He agayne, loth to medle in the matter, excuſed him ſelfe, alleagyng that in ſuch kind of matters he had no ſkill, and leſſe experience: if it would pleaſe them to let him go, they ſhould meete with other more meete for their purpoſe. But when with this they would not be ſatiſfied, he alleaged further, that he was a ſcholer of Oxford, and therby was priuileged from beyng of any inqueſt. The Crowner demaunded the ſight of his priuilege. He ſayd, if he would geue him leaue, he would fetch it. Then ſayd the Crowner: the Queene muſt be ſerued without all delay, and ſo conſtrained him notwithſtandyng to be with them in hearyng the matter.

Maſter *Bentham* forced agaynſt hys will to ſit in ẏ Crowners queſt.

Maſter *Bentham* refuſeth to ſweare vpō a Popiſh Primer.

Beyng brought to the houſe where the Crowner and the reſt of the queſt were ſittyng, as the maner is, a booke was offered him to ſweare vpon. M. Bentham openyng the booke, and ſeyng it was a Papiſticall Primer, refuſed to ſweare therupon, and declared moreouer what ſuperſtition in that booke was contained. What, ſayd the Crowner? I thinke we ſhall haue here an hereticke among vs. And vpon that, after much reaſonyng amongeſt them, he was committed to the cuſtody of an officer till further examination: by occaſion wherof, to all mens reaſon, hard it had bene and ineuitable for M. Bentham to haue eſcaped, had not the Lord helped where mā was not able. What followed? Incontinent as they were thus contendyng and debatyng about matters of hereſie, ſodeinly commeth the Crowner of the Admiraltie, diſanullyng & repealyng the order and callyng of that inqueſt, for that it was (as he ſaid) pertainyng to his office, and therfore the other Crowner and his company in that place had nothyng to do: And ſo the firſt Crowner was diſcharged and diſplaced: by reaſon wherof M. Bentham eſcaped their handes, hauyng no more ſayd vnto him.

Meanes wrought wherby Maſter *Benthams* eſcaped.

¶ *Engliſh men preſerued at the taking of Calice.*

Engliſh men at Calice preſerued.

THe worthy workes of the Lordes mercy toward his people be manifold and can not be comprehended, ſo that who is he liuyng in the earth almoſt, who hath not experienced the helpyng hand of the Lord at ſome tyme or other vpon him? Amongeſt many other, what a peece of Gods tender prouidence was ſhewed of late vpon our Engliſh brethren and countrey men, what tyme Calyce was taken by the Tirant Guiſe, a cruell enemy both to Gods truth and to our Engliſh nation? And yet by the gratious prouiſion of the Lord few or none at all, of ſo many that fauoured Chriſt and his Goſpell, in that terrible ſpoyle miſcaryed. In the number of whom there was a godly couple, one Iohn Thorpe and his wife, which feared the Lord, and loued his truth, who beyng ſicke the ſame tyme, and caſt out into the wild fieldes, harbourcles, deſolate, and deſpayryng of all hope of life, hauyng their young infant moreouer taken from them in the ſayd fieldes, and caryed away of the ſouldiours; yet the Lord ſo wrought, that the poore woman beyng almoſt paſt recouery of lyfe, was fet and caried, ẏ ſpace welnigh of a mile, by ſtraūgers whom they neuer knew, into a village, where both ſhe was recouered for that night, and alſo the next day cōming toward England, they chaūced into ẏ ſame Inne at the next towne, where they found their young child ſittyng by the fire ſide.

Iohn Thorpe & his wife.

¶ *Edward Benet.*

A ſtory of *Edward Benet*, now dwelling in S. Brides pariſh.

ONe Edw. Benet about ẏ ſecond yeare of the reigne of Q. Mary, then dwelling at Queenehiue with one Grynocke a Baker, was deſired of one Tyngle priſoner then in Newgate, to bryng him a new Teſtament. He procuring one of M. Couerdals trāſlation, wrapt it in a handkerchiefe, ſaying to George the keeper, which aſked him what he had, that it was a peece of poudred beefe. Let me ſee it, ſaid he. Perceiuing what it was, he brought hym to Syr Roger Cholmley, who examined hym why he did ſo, ſaying that booke was not lawfulll, and ſo committed hym to the Counter in Woodſtreete, where he continued xxv. weekes.

Edw. Benet xxv. weekes in the Coūter, for bringing a new Teſtament to *Tyngle*, which after died in priſon, and was buryed on a dunghill.

D. Story comming to the priſon to examine other priſoners, this Benet looking out at the grate, ſpake to him, deſiring him to be good vnto him, and to helpe him out, for he had layne long in priſon. To whom Doct. Story then aunſweryng: What, ſayd he, waſt not thou before me in Chriſtes Church? Yes forſooth, ſayd Benet. Ah, ſayd Story, thou doeſt not beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar. Mary I will helpe thee out: come, ſayd he to the keeper, turne him out, I will helpe him: and ſo tooke Benet with hym & brought hym to Cluny in Pater noſter Row, and bad him bring him to the Colehouſe, & there he was in ẏ ſtockes a weeke.

D. Stories wordes to *Edw. Benet.*

Edw. Benet brought to *Boner and* examined.

Then the Byſhop ſent for hym to talke with hym, and firſt aſked hym if ye he were ſhriuen? No, ſayd Benet. He aſked him if he would be ſhriuen? No, ſayd he. Then he aſked him if the Prieſt could take away his ſinnes? No, ſayd Benet, I doe not ſo beleue. Then he and Harpſfield laughed at him and mocked hym, aſking him if he did not beleue that what ſoeuer the prieſt here bound in earth, ſhould bee bound in heauen: and what ſoeuer he looſed in earth, ſhould be looſed in heauen? No, quoth Benet: But I beleue that the miniſter of God preaching Gods word truely, and miniſtring the Sacramentes according to the ſame, what ſoeuer he bindeth in earth, ſhall be bound in heauen, & what ſoeuer he looſeth. &c. Then the Byſhop puttyng hym aſide, ſayd, he ſhould go to Fulham & be whipped.

Then came to hym M. Buſwell a Prieſt, lying in the Colehouſe in the ſtockes, and brought Cranmers recantation, ſaying that he had recanted. My fayth, ſayth the other, lyeth in no mans booke but in hym which hath redemed me. The next Saterday Benet with fiue others was called for to come to maſſe, into ẏ Chapell. The Maſſe beyng done and they commyng out, fiue of them went to priſon and were after burned. Benet beyng behynd and commyng toward the gate, the porter openyng to a company goyng out, aſked if there were no priſoners there. No, ſayd they. Benet ſtanding in open ſight before him, with other ſeruing men which were there by reaſon that Boner made many Prieſtes that day (hauing one of his ſleeues & halfe the forepart of his coate burned of in the priſon, being more like a priſoner then any of the other) when the gate was opened, went out amongeſt them, and ſo eſcaped.

How *Edw. Benet* eſcaped out of the Biſhops houſe.

An other eſcape of *Edw. Benet.*

Of theſe xxiiij. read before pag. 2235.

viij of the xxiiij. taken at Iſlington, eſcaped, and how.

Agayne, in the laſt yeare of Queene Mary the ſame Benet beyng taken agayne with the xxiiij. beyond Iſlyngton, and brought to Syr Roger Cholmleys, the people cōmyng very thicke did cut of ſome of thē, to the number of viij. which were behind, among whom was Benet. Then he knockyng at the gate to come in, the Porter ſayd, that he was none of the company. He ſayd yes, and knocked agayne. Then there ſtode one by of the cōgregation, named Iohnſon, dwellyng now at Hamerſmith, which ſayd: Edward, thou haſt done

Good warning ſent of God.

well, do not tempt God, go thy way. And ſo takyng the warnyng as ſent of God, with a quyet conſcience eſchued burnyng.

¶ Ieffrey Hurſt brother in law to George Marſh the Martyr.

The ſtory of *Ieffrey Hurſt* dwelling in the towne of Shakerley in yͤ pariſh of Leaight.

IN the Towne of Shakerley in Lancaſhyre dwelled one Ieffrey Hurſt yͤ ſonne of an honeſt yeoman, who had beſides him a xi. children, yͤ ſayd Ieffrey beyng the xij. & eldeſt of the reſt: and for that their father beyng willing to bryng them vp, ſo that they ſhould be able an other day to helpe them ſelues, he did bynd this Ieffrey prentiſe vnto the craft of nayling, to make all kinde of nayles: which occupation he learned and ſerued out the time of vij. yeares. The which yeres being expired, he gaue him ſelfe at tymes to learne of his other brethren which went to ſchole: and as he was very willyng to the ſame, ſo God ſent him knowledge, wherin he did perſeuer and go forwardes, in ſuch ſort that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer continuaunce came by more knowledge, and ſo hauyng the Bible & diuers other bookes in his houſe, did come by pretie knowledge in the Scripture. After this, he tooke vnto him a wife beyng the ſiſter of M. George Marſhe, of whoſe Martyrdome mention is made before, pag. 1738. and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a litle. Now when Q. Mary was entred, yͤ firſt yeare of her reigne he kept him ſelf away from their doynges & came not at the Church: Wherupon he was layd in wayte for, and called hereticke, and Lollard, and ſo for feare of further daunger, he was compelled to leaue his wife and his child, and all, and fled into Yorkeſhyre, and there beyng not knowen did lead his life, returnyng ſometymes by night to his houſe to comfort his wife, and bryngyng with him ſome preacher or other, who vſed to preach vnto them ſo long as the tyme would ſerue, and ſo departed by night agayn. The names of the preachers were: M. Reneſes, M. Beſt, M. Brodbāke, M. Ruſſell, and euery tyme they came thether they were about xx. or xxiiij. ſometymes, but xvj. at leaſt, who had there alſo ſometimes a Communion. And thus in much feare did he with others lead his life, till the laſt yeare of the reigne of Queene Mary. Then it chaunced that the ſayd Ieffrey Hurſt, after the death of his father, came home, and kept him ſelfe cloſe for vij. or viij. weekes.

Ieffrey Hurſt brother in law *to George Marſhe* the Martyr.

Ieffrey Hurſt leaueth wife, children, and houſe for perſecution.

Preachers vſing to *Ieffrey Hurſtes* houſe, and to preach.

M. Thomas Lelond Iuſtice of peace at Morleſe in Lancaſhire, a cruell perſecutor.

There dwelt not farre of at Morleſe, a certeine Iuſtice of peace and of quorum, named M. Thomas Lelond, who hearyng of him, appointed a tyme to come to his fathers houſe where he then dwelt, to rifle the houſe for bookes, and to ſearch for him alſo, and ſo did. Ieffrey and hys company hauing knowledge of hys commyng, tooke the bookes which were in yͤ houſe, as the Bible, yͤ Cōmunion booke, the new Teſtament of Tyndals trāſlation, & diuers others, & threw thē all vnderneath a tubbe or fat, conueyng alſo the ſayd Ieffrey vnder the ſame, with a great deale of ſtraw caſt vnderneath him: for as it chaunced they had the more time, becauſe that when the Iuſtice came almoſt to the doore, he ſtayd & would not enter the houſe till he had ſent for Hurſtes mothers landlady M. Shakerlay, & then with her cōſent to go forwardes. In yͤ meane tyme, Ieffrey by ſuch as were with him, was willed to lay in his window yͤ Teſtament of Tindalls trāſlation, & a litle booke cōteinyng the third part of the Bible, with the booke of Eccleſiaſticus, to try what they would ſay vnto them.

Ieffrey Hurſt cōueyed vnder a Dryfatte.

Miſtres *Shakerlay Hurſtes* Landlady.

This done, Miſtres Shakerlay came. Vnto whō eftſoones the Iuſtice declareth the cauſe of his commyng, & how he was ſory to attempt any ſuch thing agaynſt any of her tenantes for her ſake, but notwithſtandyng he muſt needes execute his office. And agayne you muſt (ſayd he) note this, that a ſkabbed ſheepe is able to enfect a great number: and eſpecially hauyng, as he hath, ſo many brethren, and ſiſters, he is able to marre them all, if it be not looked vnto in tyme. And thus cōcluding, M. Lelond entred into yͤ houſe, and being come in, ſet him ſelfe in a chayre in the midle of the houſe, and ſendyng Syr Rafe Parkinſon his Prieſt, and one of his men, and one of Miſtres Shakerlays men about the houſe, to ſearch and rifle yͤ cheſtes for bookes (which ſo did) in the meane tyme he talked with Hurſtes mother, being of yͤ age almoſt of iij. ſcore yeares: And chiding with her that ſhe would ſuffer her ſōne ſo to order and behaue him ſelfe like an hereticke, ſayd: thou old foole, I do know my ſelfe that this new learnyng ſhall come agayne: but for how long? euen for three monethes or iiij. monethes and no longer. But I will lay thee old foole in Lancaſter dungeon for this geare, and well worthy.

M. Lelond entreth to ſearch *Hurſtes* houſe.

Rafe Parkinſon a Popiſh perſecuting prieſt.

The Papiſtes follow falſe propheſies, of the Goſpell to come agayn after iiij. moneth and more.

Now as concernyng the ſearchers, they found nothyng but Latin bookes, as Grammer and ſuch lyke. Theſe be not they that we loke for (ſaid they): we muſt ſee further, and ſo looked into Hurſtes chamber where they found the foreſayd bookes. Thē Syr Rafe takyng vp the Teſtament, looked on it and ſmiled. His Maſter ſeyng that, ſayd: now Syr Rafe, what haue we there? Forſooth, ſayth he, a Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlatiō, playne hereſie, and none worſe then it. Thē is all their goodes, ſayth he, loſt to the Queene and their bodyes to priſon, and was wonderfull haſty: notwithſtandyng through Miſtres Shakerlay, for a ſpace he was content to ſee farther.

The new Teſtament *of Tindals* tranſlation made hereſie.

Then the Prieſt looked on the other booke: What ſay ye to that Syr Rafe, is that as euill as the other? No ſayd he, but it is not good that they ſhould haue ſuch Engliſh bookes to looke on: for this and ſuch others, may do much harme. Then he aſked the mother where her eldeſt ſonne was, and her daughter Alyce? She aunſwered, ſhe could not tell: they were not with her of long tyme before. And he ſwore by Gods body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaſter dungeon, & yet he would haue them, notwithſtandyng too. To be ſhort, for feare he had hys brother Iohn Hurſt and his mother bound in a C. l. to bryng the parties before hym within xiiij. dayes, and ſo departed he, & the Prieſt put both the bookes in his boſome, and caryed them away with him Then Iohn Hurſt went after them, deſiryng that he might haue the booke which the Prieſt found no fault with: but he (ſayd they) ſhould aunſwere to them both, and which ſo euer was the better, was not good.

Search made for *Hurſt* & hys ſiſter *Alice*.

The olde mother threatned to go to Lancaſter Caſtle.

Hurſtes mother and brother bound in a C. pound for hys forth comming.

As this paſt on, when the tyme was come that Ieffrey Hurſt and his ſiſter ſhould be examined, yͤ Iuſtice ſent for them betymes in the mornyng and had prepared a Maſſe to beginne with all, aſking Ieffrey Hurſt if he would firſt go and ſee his maker, and then he would talke further with him. To whom then Ieffrey aunſwered and ſayd: Syr my maker is in heauen, and I am aſſured in goyng to your Maſſe I ſhall finde no edification thereby, and therefore I pray you holde me excuſed.

Maſter *Lelondes* maker.

Talke betwene *Ieffrey Hurſt* and the Iuſtice.

Ieffrey Hurſt denyeth to come to Maſſe.

Well well, ſayd he, I perceaue I ſhall finde you an hereticke, by God: but I will go to Maſſe, and I wyll not loſe it for all your pratling. Then into his Chappell he went, and when Maſſe was done, he ſent for them, and cauſed his Prieſt to read a ſcrole vnto them as concerning the vij. Sacramētes, & euer as he ſpake of yͤ body & bloud of Chriſt, he put of his cap, & ſayd, loe ye may ſee: you will deny theſe thinges & care not for your Prince: but you ſhal feele it ere I haue done with you, and all the facultie of you, with other talke more betwene them, I know not what: but in the end they were licenſed to depart vnder ſuerties to appeare agayne before him within three weekes, and then to goe to Lancaſter. Howbeit in the meane while it ſo pleaſed God, that within foure dayes of the day appointed it was noyſed that the Queene was dead, and within xiiij. dayes after, the ſayd Ieffrey Hurſt fette home hys two bookes, and nothing was ſayd vnto him.

Examination after Maſſe.

Ieffrey Hurſt & Alice his ſiſter, let goe vnder ſuerties.

Ieffrey Hurſt by yͤ death of Queene *Mary*, releaſed.

It followed after this that Gods word begonne to take place, and the Queenes viſitors came downe into that Countrey, who did chuſe fower mē in the pariſh: to wit,Simond Smith,Ieffrey Hurſt,Henry Browne, George Eccerſly , which fower were Proteſtantes, to ſee the Queenes proceedinges to take place : which according to their power did the ſame, notwithſtanding it did litle preuayle: and therefore the ſayd Ieffrey being ſore greeued with the office, fell ſicke, in which ſicknes it pleaſed God to call him,making a very godly end, God haue the prayſe for it.

Ieffrey Hurſt in Q.Elizabethes time put in authoritie to ſee the proceeding of Religion.

Now to returne to the foreſayd Thomas Lelond agayne, he continuing in his office ſtill, did very fewe tymes come to the church, but ſayd he was aged and might not labour , and there kept with hym Syr Rafe Parkinſon hys Prieſt, which coulde (as it was ſayd) miniſter the Communion vnto the people , and ſing Maſſe to his maſter : Yea and (as the fame reported) did a prettier feat then all that : for he begot two children by a ſeruaunt in the houſe, his maſter knowing it, & ſaying nothing,for that he would not looſe his good Maſſe Prieſt.

Tho.Lelond the Popiſhe Iuſtice, would not come to the church in Q. *Elizabethes* time, & yet continued Iuſtice ſtill.

A Catholicke father of the Popiſh church.

Furthermore, this was noted in the ſame Iuſtice Lelondes behauiour at ſeruice tyme , that hee had a little dogge which hee woulde play with all ſeruice tyme,and the ſame dogge had a coller full of Bels, ſo that the noyſe of them did moleſt and trouble others as well as himſelfe, from hearing the ſeruice. Alſo in the ſame Iuſtice it was noted and obſerued, that as he ſat in his Chappell at ſeruice tyme, his maner was on a willow barke to knit knottes,for that he could not be ſuffered to haue his Beades, and to put the ſame vpon a ſtring alſo. Witnes hereof Edward Hurſt, wᵗ others.

Note a catholicke knacke of a Popiſhe Iuſtice.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Browne one of the iiij. choſen men aboue mencioned, this is alſo to be added,that the ſayd Henry Browne dwelling in the towne of Pinington in the ſame pariſhe , an. 1564. had a litle boy , who as he was playing in the towne, one Glaues wife gaue vnto the boy a payre of beades made of wood , to play hym wythall . The little boy beyng glad therof to haue ſuch a trimme thing, went home and ſhewed his father of them. His father ſeyng the Beades, tooke them and burned them,and whē he had ſo done, went forth and aſked who had geuen vnto his litle boy that payre of Beades.

The trouble and eſcape of *Henry Browne* out of hys enemies handes.

That did I, ſayd Glaues wife.

Well ſayd he, I haue burned them.

Haſt thou ſo,ſayd ſhe? and thruſt him frō her: They ſhalbe the deareſt Beades that euer thou ſaweſt, and incontinent went and complayned vnto the ſayd Iuſtice,how Browne had burned her beades.

Glaues wife maintayner of Popery, and a perſecutor.

This matter the Iuſtice tooke ſore to ſnuffe,and was very angry , and did direct his letter vnto the Cōſtables of the ſame Towne, by his owne hand ſubſcribed: the title of which ſuperſcription on the backe ſide was this: *To the Conſtables of Pynington geue this.*

Iuſtice *Lelond* writeth to the Conſtables to apprehend *Henry Browne.*

This done the Conſtables accordyng to this theyr charge did bryng him afore the Iuſtice at tyme appointed,and when the Iuſtice came to talke with hym , he was in ſuch a chafe, that he called hym theefe, and ſayd that he had robbed his neighbour in burnyng of her beades,and that there was ringes and other Iuels on them,and that he might as well haue picked her purſe: wherefore I will lay thee (ſayd he) in Lancaſter for this geare.

Henry Browne troubled for burning of Beades in Q. *Elizabethes* time.

Whileſt they were thus talkyng, there came all his ſeruauntes about them from their worke , ſaying : is this M.Doct.Browne that will burne beades? I pray you Syr,let vs haue him here and preach. I will geue a quarters wages, ſayth one: and I will geue money ſaith an other,and he ſhalbe maſter Doctor: with much deriſion and ſcoffing at this poore man.

Like maſter, like men.

He hearing this , ſpake agayne boldly, and ſayd: dyd you ſend for me to make a laughing ſtocke of me? You bee in office, and ought rather to come to church,and ſee ſuch papiſtry aboliſhed your ſelfe, then thus to trouble me for doyng my dutye: but I tell you plainely,you do not come to church as you ought to do, and wherfore,with more thyngs that I haue to charge you withall,I ſay you do not well. When all this miſdemanour of the Iuſtice layd to his charge, would not preuaile, & alſo witnes came in of the Papiſtes, which did know the Beades, & teſtified that they were plaine and coſt but a halfepeny,he then went into hys Parlor in a chafe , & one maſter Erberſton a papiſt with him: Which Erberſton turned backe & ſaid: is it you Henry Browne, that keepeth thys ſturre? you are one of them that pulled downe the Croſſes in the church,and pulled downe the Roode ſeller,and all the Saintes: you were beſt now to go paint a blacke Deuill,and ſet him vp and worſhip hym, for that will ſerue well for your religion . And thus vnder ſuertiſhip he did depart till Iuly following , and then he ſayd he ſhould go to Lancaſter to priſon,and ſo came he away.

A lamentable thing, when ſuch Iuſtices beare rule ouer Chriſtian congregations.

Henry Browne vnder ſuerties diſmiſſed for a time.

The tyme drew on that he ſhould appeare,but God ſtayed the matter,and in Iuly,as the foreſayd Thomas Lelond ſatte in hys chayre talking with his frendes,he fell downe ſodeinly dead, not much mouing any ioint: And thus was hys end : from ſuch God vs defend.

The puniſhment of Gods ſtroke vpon an obſtinate perſecutour.

¶ *William Wood of Kent.*

The examination of William Wood Baker , dwellyng in the Pariſh of Strowd , in the County of Kent,before Doct.Kenall Chauncellour of the Dioces of Rocheſter,Doct.Chadſey, the Maior of Rocheſter,and M.Robinſon the Scribe,the xix. day of October,and in the ſecond yeare of Queene Mary,in S. Nicolas Church in Rocheſter.

Examinatiō of *W.Wood.*

M.Robinſon. William Wood,you are preſented becauſe you will not come to the Church,nor receiue the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar. How ſay you? haue you receiued,or haue you not?

Will.Wood charged for not comming to Church.

Wood. I haue not receiued it,nor I dare not receiue it,as you do now miniſter it.

Kenall. Thou hereticke , what is the cauſe that thou haſt not receiued the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar? and at this word all they put of their caps,and made low beyſaunce.

Wood. There be three cauſes that make my conſciēce afeard that I dare not receaue it. The 1: Chriſt did deliuer it to his xij. Apoſtles, & ſaid: *Take,eate: And drinke yea all of this. &c.* and you eate and drinke vp all alone. The 2.cauſe is : you hold it vp to be worſhipped, contrary to Gods commaundementes: *Thou ſhalt not bow down nor worſhyp.* The 3. cauſe is: you miniſter it in a ſtraunge toung,contrary to S. Paules doctrine : *I had rather haue fiue wordes with vnderſtandyng,then ten thouſand with tounges:* by reaſon wherof the people be ignoraunt of the death of Chriſt.

3.cauſes why *W.Wood* durſt not receaue the Sacrament of the altar.

j.Cor.xiiij.

Kenall. Thou hereticke,wilt thou haue any playner wordes then theſe: Hoc eſt corpus meum? *Take,eate, this is my body?* wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood. I will not deny the holy Scriptures : God forbyd, but with my hart I do faithfully beleue them. S.Paul ſayth : *God calleth thoſe thynges that are not , as though they were.* And Chriſt ſayth: *I am a Vyne : I am a doore.* S.Paul ſayth: *The rocke is Chriſt.* All which are figuratiue ſpeaches,wherin one thing is ſpoken, and an other thyng is vnderſtanded.

Robinſon. You make a very long tale of this matter. Learne Wood,learne.

Kenall. Nay, theſe heretickes will not learne. Looke how this hereticke glorieth in him ſelfe. Thou foole,art thou wiſer then the Queene , and the Counſell, and all the learned men of this Realme?

Wood. And it pleaſe you, Maiſter Chauncellour , I thinke you would be loth to haue ſuch glory, to haue your life and goodes taken away, and to be thus rayled vpon,as you raile vpon me . But the ſeruaunt is not greater then his maſter. And where you do mocke me, and ſay I am wiſer then the Queene,and her Counſel,

S. Paul ſayth: *The wiſedome of the wiſe of this world is fooliſhnes before God, and he that will be wiſe in this world, ſhall be accounted but a foole.*

Kenall. Doſt not thou beleue that after theſe wordes ſpoken by a prieſt: Hoc eſt corpus meum: *This is my body*, there remaineth no more bread and wyne, but the very fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, as he was borne of the virgine Mary, really and ſubſtantially, in quãtitie and qualitie, as he did hang vpon the Croſſe?

Wood. I pray you M. Chauncellour, geue me leaue for my learnyng, to aſke you one queſtion, and I will aunſwere you after.

Kenall. It is ſome wiſe queſtion, I warant you.

Ezech. v.

W. Woods **queſtion propounded to the Doctors.**

Wood. God ſpake to the Prophet Ezechiell ſaying: *Thou ſonne of man, take a raſour & ſhaue of the heare of thy head and of thy beard, and take one part and caſt it into the ayre: take the ſecond part and put it into thy coate lap, and take the third part and caſt it into the fire: and this is Ieruſalem*. I pray you, M. Chauncellour, was this heare that yͤ Prophet did caſt into yͤ fire, or was it Ieruſalẽ?

Kenall. No, it did ſignifie Ieruſalem.

The naturall quantitie of Chriſt not in the Sacramẽt.

Wood. Euen ſo this word of Chriſt: *This is my body*, is not ſo to be vnderſtãded that Chriſtes carnall, naturall, and reall body is in yͤ ſame, in quantitie and qualitie, as it was borne of the virgin Mary: and as he was crucified vpon the Croſſe, is preſent or incloſed in the Sacrament: but it doth ſignifie Chriſtes body, as S. Paul ſayth: *So oft as ye do eate of this bread and drinke of this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lordes death till he come.* What ſhould the Apoſtle meane by this word, *till he come*, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, & really in the ſame quantitie and qualitie as he was borne of the virgin Mary, and as he did hang vpon the Croſſe, as you ſay? but S. Paul ſayth: *Ye ſhall ſhewe the Lordes death till he come.* This doth argue that he is not here as you would haue vs to beleue.

Doct. Chadſey. I will proue that Chriſt is here preſent vnder the forme of bread, but not in quantitie and qualitie.

Kenall ſayd: yes he is here preſent in quantitie and qualitie.

Chadſey. He is here preſent vnder a forme, and not in quantitie and qualitie.

Yes, ſayd Kenall.

No, ſayd Chadſey.

I will proue him here in quantitie and qualitie, ſayd Kenall.

I will proue the contrary, ſayd Chadſey.

The Papiſtes could not agree in their owne doctrine.

And theſe two Doctours were ſo earneſt in this matter, the one to affirme, the other to deny, contendyng and ragyng ſo ſore one at the other, that they fomed at the mouth, and one was ready to ſpit in an others face, ſo that in a great fury & rage the two Doctours roſe vp from the Iudgement ſeate, and Doctour Kenall departed out of the Church in a great rage and fury immediatly.

Wood. Behold good people, they would haue vs to beleue that Chriſt is naturally, really, in quantitie and qualitie preſent in the Sacrament, and yet they can not tell them ſelues, nor agrée within them ſelues how he is there.

W. Wood **deliuered, as was S. Paule by the contention of yͤ Phariſeis and Saduces.**

At theſe wordes the people made a great ſhout and the Maior ſtode vp and commaunded the people to be quyet, and to kéepe ſilence. And that God that did deliuer S. Paul out of the hands of yͤ high Prieſtes, by the contention that was betwene the Phariſeis and the Saduces, did euen ſo deliuer me at that tyme out of the mouthes of the bloudy Papiſtes, by the meanes of the contention of theſe two Doctours. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord which hath promiſed to lay no more vpon his, then he will make them able to beare, and in the middeſt of temtation he cã make away for his (whõ & when it pleaſeth him) to eſcape out of all daungers.

Many other like examples of Gods helping hand haue bene declared vpon hys elect Saintes and Children in deliuering them out of daunger by wonderfull and miraculous wayes, ſome by one meanes, ſome by an other. What a notable worke of Gods mighty hand was ſéene in Simon Grinæus, mentioned in the Commentary of Melancthon vpon Daniell. Who hauing a ſodayne warning by a certayne olde man, who was not ſéene after, nor knowen then of any what he was, auoyded the perill of taking and burning, as by the relation of Melancthon writing and witneſſing of the ſame, may appeare in the wordes of his own ſtory here following.

¶ The hiſtory of Simon Grinæus collected out of Melancthons Comentaries vpon the x. Chapter of Daniell.

The ſtory of ***Simon Grinæus.***

Ex Commentarijs Phil. Melanct. in cap. 10. Danielis.

When I was (ſayth he) at the aſſembly holden at Spyre in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. by chaunce Symon Grinæus came thether vnto me from the vniuerſity of Hedelberge, where he heard Faber the Biſhop of Vienna in a Sermon, defend and maintaine certaine deteſtable errors. When the Sermon was done, he folowed Faber goyng out of the Church and ſaluted hym reuerently, declaring vnto him that he was moued of a good zeale and intent, ſomwhat to ſay vnto him. Faber was contented to talke with him.

Ioh. Faber **Biſhop of Vienne, perſecutor.**

Obſequiũ amicos. Veritas odiũ parit.

Then Grinæus ſayd vnto him that he was very ſory that a man of ſuch learning and authority ſhould openly maintayne ſuch errors as were both contumelious agaynſt God, & alſo might be refuted by yͤ manifeſt teſtimonies of the ſcripture. Irenæus writeth (ſayd he) that Polycarpus was wont to ſtop his eares when ſoeuer he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mynde then (thinke you) would Polycarpus haue heard you argue & reaſon what it is that the mouſe eateth, when ſhe knaweth the cõſecrated hoſte? Who would not bewayle ſuch ignoraunce and blindnes of the church? With this Faber brake of hys talke, as he was about to ſay more, and aſked hys name. This man diſſembling nothing, gently tolde hym that his name was Grinæus.

Faber **gently admoniſhed of** ***Grinæus*** **for hys Sermon.**

This Faber (as many well knew) was allwayes tymerous and fearefull in the company of learned mẽ: Wherefore he fearing the learning, eloquence, and feruent zeale of Grinæus, ſpecially in ſuch a matter as thys was, fayned as though he had bene ſent for by the king, and that he had no leyſure now to reaſon vpon thys matter. He pretended that he was very deſirous of acquaintaunce and longer talke with Grinæus, intreating him, that both for hys owne priuate cauſe, and alſo for the common wealth, he would come agayne the next day vnto hym, and ſo ſhewed hym his lodgyng, and appointed hym an houre whẽ he ſhould come. Grinæus thinking that he had ſpoken vnfainedly, promyſed ſo to do.

Godly warning ſent by an old man to ***Grinæus.***

When he was departed frõ Faber, he came ſtraight way vnto vs, and was ſcarſly ſet at the table (for it was ſupper tyme) reciting a part of hys talke with Faber vnto me and others there preſent, when as I ſittyng with my company, was ſodeinly called out of the Parlar by a certayne auncient fatherly man, who ſhewing a ſingular grauitie in his countenaunce, wordes, and behauiour, ſpake vnto me and ſayd, that the Sergeantes would by and by come vnto our lodging, beyng ſent by the kynges commaundement, to cary Grinæus to priſon, whom Faber had accuſed to the kyng, commaunding that Grinæus ſhould ſtraight waies depart out of the towne, and exhorted me that we ſhould in no caſe delay the tyme: and ſo bidding me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, neyther did I know then, nor afterward could vnderſtand. I returning againe vnto my company, bad them riſe, and told them what the old man had ſayd vnto me.

By and by, we taking Grinæus in the midſt of vs, caryed hym through the ſtréete to the Riuer of Rhene,

where

whereas after we had ſtayed vpon the hether banke a while, vntill Grinæus with hys companion were caried ouer in a ſmale boate, returning agayne to our lodging, we vnderſtode that ye Sergeantes had ben there, when we were but a litle way gone out of the houſe. Now in what great daunger Grinæus ſhould haue bene, if he had bene caryed vnto priſon, by thys cruelty of Faber euery man eaſely may coniecture. Wherfore we iudged that that moſt cruell entent and purpoſe of hym, was diſapointed by Gods mercifull prouidence. And as I can not ſay, what olde man it was that gaue me that warning, euen ſo likewiſe ye Sergeantes made ſuch quicke ſpede, that except Grinæus had bene couered & defended by Aungels through the marueilous prouidence of God, he could neuer haue eſcaped.

Grinæus accuſed, and purſued.

Grinæus warned to flye, eſcapeth.

Gods mercifull prouidence in defeating the cruell purpoſe of perſecutors.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good men yet aliue, which both know the ſame, and alſo were preſent at the doyng therof. Therefore let vs geue thankes vnto God, which hath geuen vs hys Aungels to be our kepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet myndes, we may fulfill and do the office of our vocation.

With ſuch like examples of Gods mighty and mercyfull cuſtody, the Church of Chriſt in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiēces may appeare as well among the Germanes, as alſo in all other places and ages, but in no place more, nor in tyme more plentyfull, then in this perſecutyng tyme of Quene Mary in this our Realme of England: as partly hath bene already hiſtoryed, and part yet remaineth (the Lord willyng) moreouer hereunto to be added.

¶ Lady Katherine, Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

STephen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, ſurmiſing the Lady Katherine Baroneſſe of Willoughby and Creſby and Ducheſſe Dowager of Suffolke, to be one of his auncient enemies, becauſe he knew he had deſerued no better of her, deuiſed in the holy tyme of the firſt Lent in Quene Maryes reigne, a holy practiſe of reuenge, firſt by touchyng her in the perſon of her husbād M. Richard Bertie Eſquier, for whō he ſent an attachment (hauyng the great Seale at his deuocion) to the Shriffe of Lyncolnſhyre with a ſpeciall letter, commaunding moſt ſtraitly the ſame Shriffe, to attach the ſayd Richard immediatly, & without baile to bryng him vp to London to hys great Lordſhip. M. Bertie her husband beyng cleare in conſcience, and frō offence toward the Quene, could not coniecture any cauſe of this ſtrauge proceſſe, vnleſſe it were ſome quarell for Religion, which he thought could not be ſo ſore as the proceſſe pretended.

The olde hatred of Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

M. Rich. Bertie husband to the Ducheſſe, attached by the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Shriffe notwithſtandyng the commaundemēt, aduentured onely to take ye bonde of M. Bertie with ij. ſuerties, in a thouſand pound for his appearaunce to be made before the Biſhop on good Friday followyng, at which day M. Bertie appeared, the Byſhop then lying at his houſe by S. Mary Oueryes. Of whoſe preſence when the Byſhop vnderſtode by a Gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into his dinyng chamber, where he found a preaſe of ſuters, ſaying he would not that day heare any, but came forth onely to know of M. Bertie, how he being a ſubiect durſt ſo arrogantly ſet at light two former proceſſes of the Quenes.

M. Bertie appeareth before B. Gardiner.

M. Bertie anſwered, that albeit my Lordes wordes might ſeme to the reſt ſomewhat ſharpe towardes hym, yet he cōceiued great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremitie to be attached, hauyng vſed no obſtinacie or contumacie, now he gathored of thoſe wordes, that my Lord ment not otherwiſe but to haue vſed ſome ordinary proceſſe: albeit in dede none came to his handes.

Talke betwene B. Gardiner and M. Bertie.

Yea Mary, quoth the Byſhop, I haue ſent you two ſubpenas, to appeare immediatly, and I am ſure you receiued them, for I committed the truſt of them to no worſe mā but to Maſter Solicitour, and I ſhall make you an example to all Lyncolnſhyre for your obſtinacy.

M. Bertie denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordſhip to ſuſpend his diſpleaſure and the puniſhmēt till he had good triall therof, and then, if it pleaſed him, to double the paine for the fault, if any were.

Well, quoth the Byſhop, I haue appointed my ſelfe this day (accordyng to the holines of the ſame) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enioyne you in a M. l. not to depart without leaue, and to be here agayne to morow at vij. of the clocke. M. Bertie well obſerued the houre, and no iot fayled: At which tyme the B. had with hym M. Sariant Stampford, to whom he moued certeine queſtions of the ſayd M. Bertie, becauſe M. Sariant was towardes the Lorde Wriotheſley late Earle of Southampton, and Chauncellor of England, with whom the ſayd M. Bertie was brought vp. M. Seriant made very frendly report of M. Bertie of his owne knowledge for the tyme of their conuerſation together. Wherupon the Biſhop cauſed M. Bertie to be brought in, and firſt makyng a falſe trayne (as God would, without fire) before he would deſcend to the quarell of Religion, he aſſaulted hym in this maner.

The deuotion of Biſhop Gardiner to good Friday.

Winch. The Quenes pleaſure is (quoth the Byſhop) that you ſhall make preſent payment of iiij. M. l. due to her father by Duke Charles, late husband to the Ducheſſe your wife, whoſe executor ſhe was.

M. Bertie attached for debt of 4000. poundes due to the Queene.

Bert. Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip (quoth M. Bertie) that debt is eſtalled, and is accordyng to that eſtallement, truly aunſwered.

Winch. Tuſh (quoth the Biſhop) the Quene will not be bound to eſtallementes, in the tyme of Kettes gouernement, for ſo I eſteme the late gouernment.

Kette Captaine of the rebells in Northfolke in K. Edwardes time.

Bert. The eſtallement (quoth M. Bertie) was appointed by kyng Henry the viij. beſides the ſame, was by ſpeciall Commiſſioners confirmed in kyng Edwardes tyme, and the Lord treaſurer beyng an executor alſo to the Duke Charles ſoly and wholly, toke vpon hym before the ſayd Commiſſioners, to diſcharge the ſame.

Winch. If it be true that you ſay (quoth the Byſhop) I will ſhew you fauour. But of an other thyng M. Bertie, I will admoniſh you, as meaning you well. I heare euill of your Religion: yet I hardly can thinke euill of you, whoſe mother I know to be as godly and Catholicke as any within this lād, your ſelfe brought vp with a maſter, whoſe education if I ſhould diſalow, I might be charged as author of his errour. Beſides, partly I know you my ſelfe, and vnderſtand of my frendes, enough to make me your frend: wherfore I will not doubt of you, but I pray you if I may aſke the queſtion of my Lady your wife, is ſhe now as ready to ſet vp the Maſſe, as ſhe was lately to pull it downe, when ſhe cauſed in her progreſſe, a dogge in a Rochet to be caried, & called by my name? or doth ſhe thinke her lambes now ſafe inough, which ſayd to me when I vayled my bonnet to her out of my chamber wyndow in the Tower, that it was mery with the Lambes, now the Wolfe was ſhut vp? An other tyme my Lord her husband hauing inuited me and diuers Ladies to dinner, deſired euery Lady to chooſe him whom ſhe loued beſt, and ſo place them ſelues: My Lady your wife takyng me by ye hand, for that my Lord would not haue her to take him ſelfe, ſayd that for ſo much as ſhe could not ſit down with my Lord whom ſhe loued beſt, ſhe had choſen me whom ſhe loued worſt.

A Dogge clothed in a Rochet vnder the name of B. Gardiner.

It is mery with Lambes, when Wolues be tyed vp.

Of the deuiſe of the dogge, quoth M. Bertie, ſhe was neither the author nor ye allower. The wordes, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your Lordſhyp, yet if it ſhould pleaſe you without offēce to know ye cauſe, I am ſure ye one will purge the other. As touchyng ſetting vp of Maſſe, which ſhe learned not only by ſtrange per-

Purgation of the Lady Ducheſſe for not comming to Maſſe.

perſuaſions of diuers excellent learned mẽ, but by vniuerſall cõſent & order whole vj. yeres paſt, inwardly to abhorre: if ſhe ſhould outwardly alow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew her ſelf a falſe Chriſtian, & to her prince a maſquing ſubiect. You know my Lord, one by iudgement reformed, is more worth then a M. transformed temporizers. To force a cõfeſſion of Religiõ by mouth, cõtrary to that in hart, worketh damnation where ſaluation is pretended.

Yea mary (quoth ỹ Biſhop) that deliberation would do well if ſhe neuer required to come from an old Religion to a new. But now ſhe is to returne from a new to an auncient Religion: Wherein when ſhe made me her Goſſyp, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

Religion goeth not by age, but by truth.

For that, my Lorde (ſayd M. Bertie) not long ſithen, ſhe aunſwered a frend of hers vſing your Lordſhyps ſpeach, that Religion went not by age but by truth: and therfore ſhe was to be turned by perſuaſion and not by commaundement.

I pray you (quoth the Byſhop) thinke you it poſſible to perſuade her?

Yea verely (ſayd M. Bertie) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable inough.

The Biſhop therunto replying, ſayd: it wil be a marueilous grief to the Prince of Spayne, and to all the nobilitie that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall finde but two noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this lãd, the Queene, and my Lady your wife, and one of them gone from the fayth.

M. Bertie aunſwered, that he truſted they ſhould finde no fruites of infidelitie in her.

M. Bertie releaſed from his band of appearing.

So the Byſhop perſuadyng M. Bertie to trauaile earneſtly for the reformation of her opinion, and offring large frendſhip, releaſed him of his bande frõ further appearance.

Wayes practiſed how to conuey the Ducheſſe ouer the ſeas, with the Queenes licence.

M. Bertie deuiſeth cauſe to paſſe ouer into Flaunders.

The Ducheſſe and her huſband, dayly more and more, by their frendes vnderſtandyng that the Byſhop ment to call her to an accompt of her fayth, wherby extremitie might follow, deuiſed wayes how by the Queenes licence they might paſſe the Seas. M. Bertie had a ready meane: for there reſted great ſummes of money due to the old Duke of Suffolke (one of whoſe executors ỹ Ducheſſe was) beyond the Seas, the Emperour him ſelfe beyng one of thoſe debters. M. Bertie communicated this his purpoſed ſute for licẽce to paſſe the Seas, and the cauſe, to the Biſhop, addyng, that he tooke this tyme moſt meete to deale with the Emperour, by reaſon of likelyhode of Mariage betwene the Queene and his ſonne.

I like your deuiſe well (quoth the Byſhop) but I thinke it better, that you tary the Princes commyng, and I will procure you his letters alſo to his father.

Nay (quoth M. Bertie) vnder your Lordſhips correction, and pardõ of ſo liberall ſpeach, I ſuppoſe the tyme will then be leſſe conuenient: for whẽ ỹ Mariage is cõſummate, the Emperour hath his deſire: but till then he will refuſe nothyng to winne credite with vs.

By S. Mary (quoth the Byſhop) ſmilyng, you geſſe ſhrewdly. Well, procede in your ſute to the Queene, and it ſhall not lacke my helpyng hand.

M. Bertie licenced by the Queene to paſſe the ſeas.

Preparation made how to conuey the Ducheſſe ouer the ſeas.

M. Bertie found ſo good ſucceſſe, that he in few dayes obteined ỹ Queenes licence, not only to paſſe the ſeas, but to paſſe & repaſſe thẽ ſo often as to him ſemed good, till he had finiſhed all his buſines & cauſes beyond the ſeas. So he paſſed ỹ ſeas at Douer, about ỹ beginnyng of Iune in the firſt yeare of her reigne, leauyng ỹ Ducheſſe behynd, who by agreement and conſent betwixt her and her huſband, followed, takyng Barge at Lyon Key, very early in the mornyng, on the firſt day of Ianuary next enſuyng, not without ſome perill.

M. Cranwell a truſty frend to M. Bertie.

There was none of thoſe that went with her, made priuy to her goyng till the inſtant, but an old Gentleman called M. Robert Cranwell, whom M. Bertie had ſpecially prouided for that purpoſe. She tooke with her her daughter an infant of one yeare, and the meaneſt of her ſeruauntes, for ſhe doubted the beſt would not aduẽture that fortune with her. They were in nũber iiij. men, one a Greeke borne, which was a rider of horſes, an other a Ioyner, the thyrd a Brewer, the fourth a foole one of the Kitchen, one Gentlewoman, and a Laundreſſe.

The Ducheſſe with her company departeth the realme.

The maner of the Ducheſſe flying out of her houſe.

As ſhe departed her houſe called ỹ Barbican, betwixt iiij. and fiue of the clocke in the mornyng, with her company and baggage, one Atkinſon a Herault, keeper of her houſe, hearyng noyſe about the houſe, roſe and came out with a torch in his hand as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the gate: wherewith beyng amaſed, ſhe was forced to leaue a male with neceſſaries for her young daughter, and a milke pot with milke in the ſame gatehouſe, commaundyng all her ſeruauntes to ſpede them away before to Lion Key, and takyng with her onely the two women and her child, ſo ſoone as ſhe was forth of her owne houſe, perceiuyng the Harrault to follow, ſhe ſtept in at Garter houſe hard by. The Harrault commyng out of the Ducheſſe houſe, & ſeyng no body ſturring, not aſſured (though by the male ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in: and while he ſtayd ranſacking parcels left in the male, the Ducheſſe iſſued into ỹ ſtreete, and proceded in her iourney, knowyng the place onely by name where ſhe ſhould take her boate, but not the way thether, nor none with her. Likewiſe her ſeruauntes hauing deuided them ſelues, none but one knew the way to the ſayd key.

The Ducheſſe with her company taketh Barge.

So ſhe apparelled like a meane Marchantes wife, and ỹ reſt like meane ſeruaunts, walking in ſtreetes vnknowen, ſhe tooke ỹ way that led to Finesbury field, and the others walked the City ſtreetes as they lay open before thẽ, till by chaunce more then diſcretiõ, they mette all ſodeinly together a litle within Moregate, frõ whence they paſſed directly to Lion key, and there tooke barge in a mornyng ſo miſty, that the ſteareſman was loth to launch out, but that they vrged hym. So ſoone as the day permitted, the Counſaile was informed of her departure, and ſome of them came forthwith to her houſe to enquire of the maner thereof, and to take an inuentory of her goods, beſides further order deuiſed for ſearch and watch to apprehend & ſtay her.

Purſute after the Ducheſſe.

The Ducheſſe retayned in Maſter Goſlinges houſe by Leigh, vnder the name of his daughter.

The hard aduenture of the Ducheſſe vpon the Seas.

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lãdes end, before her approching thether. By Leigh dwelt one Goſling a Marchaunt of London, an old acquaintaunce of Cranwelles, whether the ſayd Cranwell brought the Ducheſſe, naming her Miſtres White, the daughter of maſter Goſling, for ſuch a daughter he had which neuer was in that countrey. There ſhe repoſed her, and made new garments for her daughter, hauing loſt her owne in the Male at Barbican. When the time came that ſhe ſhoulde take ſhippe, being conſtrayned to lye that night at an Inne in Leigh (where ſhe was agayne almoſt betrayed) yet notwithſtanding, by Gods good working ſhe eſcaping that haſſard, at length, as the tyde & wynde did ſerue, they went aborde, and being carried twiſe into ỹ ſeas, almoſt into the coaſt of Zeland, by contrary wynde were driuen to the place from whence they came, and at the laſt recuile, certayne parſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that ſhippe: yet hauing examined one of her company that was a land for freſhe Achates, and finding by the ſimplicitie of hys tale, only the appearance of a meane Marchantes wife to be a ſhipborde, he ceaſed any further ſearch.

The Ducheſſe landed in Brabant.

M. Bertie with the Ducheſſe his wife arriued at Santon.

To be ſhort, ſo ſoone as the Ducheſſe had landed in Brabant, ſhe and her women were apparrelled lyke the women of Netherland with hukes, and ſo ſhe and her huſband tooke their iourney towardes Cleueland, and beyng aryued at a towne therein called Santon, tooke a houſe there vntill they myght further deuiſe of ſome ſure place where to ſettle themſelues.

The free towne of Weſell in Cleueland.

About fiue miles frõ Santon, is a free towne called Weſell, vnder ỹ ſaid Duke of Cleues dominion, & one of the Haũs Townes, priuileged with the company of the Stilyard in Lōdon, whether diuers Wallons were fled for religion, & had for their Miniſter one Frances Pernſell, then called Frances de Riuers, who had receaued ſome curteſie in Englād at yͤ Ducheſſe handes. Maſter Bertie beyng yet at Santon, practiſed with him to obtayne a protection from the Magiſtrates, for hys abode and his wiues at Weſell: which was the ſooner procured becauſe the ſtate of the Ducheſſe was not diſcouered but onely to the chiefe Magiſtrate, earneſtly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, whiles this protection was in ſeeking.

A protection procured for the Ducheſſe, of the Magiſtrates of Weſell.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering that the Ducheſſe and her husband were greater perſonages then they gaue themſelues forth, and the Magiſtrates not very well inclined to religion, the Byſhop of Arras alſo being Deane of the great Minſter, order was taken, that yͤ Ducheſſe and her husband ſhould be examined of their condition and religion vpon the ſodayne. Which practiſe diſcouered by a gentleman of that countrey to Maſter Bertie, he without further delay taking no more then the Ducheſſe, her daughter, and two other with them, as though he ment no more but to take the ayre, about three of the clocke in the after noone in February, on foote, wythout hiering of horſe or wagon for feare of diſcloſing his purpoſe, ment priuily that night to get to Weſell, leauing his other family ſtill at Santon.

M. Bertie and yͤ Ducheſſe in daunger of taking by the B. of Arras at Santon.

Another eſcape of the Ducheſſe and her husband.

After the Ducheſſe and he were one Engliſh mile from the Towne, there fell a mighty rayne of continuance, whereby a long froſt and iſe before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more yͤ wearines of thoſe new lacquies. But beyng now on the way, and ouer taken with yͤ night, they ſent their ij. ſeruaunts (which onely went with them) to villages, as they paſt, to hyre ſome carre for their eaſe, but none could be hyred. In the meane tyme Maſter Bertie was forced to cary the childe, and the Ducheſſe his cloke and rapier. At laſt, betwixt vj. and vij. of the clocke in the darke night, they came to Weſell, and repayring to their Innes for lodging & ſome repoſe after ſuch a paynefull iorney, found hard intertainment: for goyng from Inne to Inne, offring large money for ſmall lodging, they were refuſed of all the Inholders, ſuſpecting Maſter Bertie to be a Launceknight, and the Ducheſſe to be his woman. The childe for colde and ſuſtenance cryed pitifully, the mother wept as faſt, the heauens rayned as faſt as the cloudes coulde poure.

The hard diſtreſſe of the Ducheſſe by euill wether.

The hard intertainment of *M. Bertie* and yͤ Ducheſſe at their entring into Weſell.

Maſter Bertie deſtitute of all other ſuccour of hoſpitalitie, reſolued to bring the Ducheſſe to the porch of the great church in the towne, and ſo to bye coales, victualles, and ſtrawe for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods helpe he might prouide her better lodging. M. Bertie at that tyme vnderſtoode not much Dutch, and by reaſon of euill wether and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen vpon any that could ſpeake Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latin, till at laſt goyng towardes the Church porch, he heard ij. ſtriplinges talking Latin, to whom he approched, and offred them two ſtiuers to bring him to ſome Wallons houſe.

Gods prouidence in time of diſtreſſe.

By theſe boyes, and Gods good conduicte, he chaunced at the firſt vpon the houſe where Maſter Pernſell ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the Magiſtrates of that towne. At yͤ firſt knocke, the goodman of the houſe him ſelf came to the doore, and opening it, aſked M. Bertie what he was. M. Bertie ſayd, an Engliſh man, that ſought for one M. Pernſells houſe. The Wallon willed Maſter Bertie to ſtay a while: who went backe and told Maſter Pernſell that the ſame Engliſh gentleman of whom they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent, by likelihode, hys ſeruaunt to ſpeake with him. Whereupon M. Pernſell came to the doore, and beholding Maſter Bertie, the Ducheſſe, and their childe, their faces, apparells, and bodyes ſo farre from their olde forme, deformed with durt, weather, and heauines, coulde not ſpeake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recouering thē ſelues, they ſaluted one an other, and ſo together entred the houſe, God knoweth full ioyfully: Maſter Bertie chaunging all his apparell with the goodman, the Ducheſſe wyth the goodwife, & their childe with the childe of the houſe.

The meeting of M. *Pernſell* and yͤ Ducheſſe at Weſell.

Within few dayes after, by M. Perneſels meanes, they hiered a very faire houſe in the towne, and did not let to ſhew them ſelues what they were, in ſuch good ſort, as their preſent cōdition permitted. It was by this tyme through the whole Towne what diſcurteſie the Inholders had ſhewed vnto them at their entrie, in ſo much as on the Sonday followyng, a Preacher in the Pulpit openly in ſharpe termes rebuked that great inciuilitie towardes ſtraungers, by allegation of ſundry places out of holy Scriptures, diſcourſing how not onely Princes ſometyme are receiued in the Image of priuate perſons, but Aungels in the ſhape of men, and that God of his Iuſtice would make the ſtraungers one day in an other land, to haue more ſenſe of the afflicted hart of a ſtraunger.

The Citizens of Weſell admoniſhed by their preacher of their hardnes toward ſtraungers.

The tyme thus paſſing forth, as they thought them ſelues thus happily ſettled, ſodeinly a watchword came from Syr Iohn Maſon, then Q. Maryes Ambaſſadour in Netherland, that my Lord Paget had feyned an errant to the Bathes that wayes: and wheras the Duke of Brunſwicke was ſhortly with x. enſignes to paſſe by Weſell for the ſeruice of yͤ houſe of Auſtricke agaynſt the French kyng, the ſayd Ducheſſe and her husband ſhould be with the ſame charge and company intercepted. Wherfore, to preuent yͤ crueltie of theſe enemies, M. Bertie with his wiſe and childe departed to a place called Wineheim in high Dutchland vnder the Palſgraues dominion, where vnder his protection they cōtinued till their neceſſaries began to faile them, and they almoſt feyntyng vnder ſo heauy a burden, began to fayle of hope.

A frendly part of Syr *Iohn Maſon* towardes the Ducheſſe.

A traine layd for the Ducheſſe by the *L. Paget* and yͤ Duke of Brunſwicke.

M. Bertie and the Ducheſſe remoue to Winheim vnder the Palſgraue.

At what tyme, in the middeſt of theyr diſpayre, there came ſodeinly letters to them from the Pallatine of Vilua and the king of Poole, beyng inſtructed of their hard eſtate by a Baron named Ioannes Alaſco, that was ſometyme in England, offring them large curteſie. This puruiſion vnlooked for, greatly reuiued their heauy ſpirites. Yet cōſidering they ſhould remoue from many their countreymen and acquaintance, to a place ſo farre diſtant, a Countrey not haunted wyth the Engliſh, and perhaps vpō their ariuall not finding as they looked for, the ende of their iourney ſhould be worſe thē the beginning: they deuiſed thereupon with one Maſter Barloe, late Byſhop of Chicheſter, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome paines therein, they would make hym a fellow of that iourney. So finding him prone, they ſent hym with letters of great thankes to the king and Pallatine, and alſo with a fewe principall Iewelles (which onely they had left of many) to ſolicite for them, that the king would vouchſafe vnder hys ſeale, to aſſure them of the thing which he ſo honorably by letters offred.

The helping hand of yͤ Lord agaynſt their neceſſitie.

Ioannes Alaſco a meanes to the king of Poole, for the Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

The Ducheſſe inuited into Pooleland by the kinges letters.

M. Barlow a meſſenger frō the Ducheſſe to the king of Poole.

That ſute by yͤ forewardnes of yͤ Pallatine, was as ſoone graunted as vttered. Vpon which aſſurance the ſayd Ducheſſe and her husband, with their family, entred the iorney in Aprill. 1557. frō the caſtle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towardes Frāckford, In yͤ which their iorney, it were long here to deſcribe what daungers fell by the way vpon them, and their whole company, by reaſon of the Lantgraues Captayne, who vnder a quarell pretenſed for a ſpaniell of M. Berties, ſet vpon them in the high way, wyth hys horſemen, thruſting their boreſpeares through the wagon where the children & wemen were, M. Bertie hauing but iiij. horſemen with him. In yͤ which brable it happened the Captaines horſe to be ſlayne vnder hym. Wherupon a rumour was ſparſed immediatly through townes and villages about, that the Lantgraues captayne ſhould be ſlayne by certayne Wallons, which incenſed the ire of

The Pallatine of Vilua a great frend to the Ducheſſe.

The Ducheſſe taketh her iourney toward Pooleland.

The troubles happening to the Ducheſſe in her iourney to Pooleland.

of the Countrey men there more fiercely agaynſt M. Bertie, as afterward it proued. For as he was motioned by his wife to ſaue him ſelfe by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, and to recouer ſome towne there by for his reſkus, he ſo doyng was in worſe caſe then before, for the towneſmen and the Captaynes brother ſuppoſing no leſſe but that the Captayne had bene ſlayne, preſſed ſo egerly vpõ him, that he had bene there taken and murthered among them, had not he (as God would) ſpying a ladder leaning to a window, by the ſame got vp into the houſe, and ſo gone vp into a garret in the toppe of the houſe, where he with his dagge and rapyre defended hymſelfe for a ſpace: but at length the Burghmaſter comming thether with an other Magiſtrate, which could ſpeake latin, he was counſelled to ſubmit hym ſelfe to the order of the law. Maſter Bertie knowing hym ſelfe cleare, and the captayne to be aliue, was the more bolder to ſubmitte hym ſelfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the Magiſtrate would receaue hym vnder ſafeconduct, and defend hym from the rage of the multitude. Which beyng promiſed, M. Bertie putteth hymſelfe and hys weapon in the Magiſtrates hand, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtody, while the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tryed. Then Maſter Bertie writyng hys letters to the Lantgraue and to the Earle of Erbagh, the next day early in the mornyng the Earle of Erbagh dwellyng within eight miles, came to the towne, whether the Ducheſſe was brought wyth her wagon, Maſter Bertie alſo beyng in the ſame towne vnder cuſtody. The Earle, who had ſome intelligẽce of the Ducheſſe before, after he was come, and had ſhewed ſuch curtiſie as he thought to her eſtate was ſeemely, the townſmen perceauing the Earle to behaue himſelfe ſo humbly vnto her, began to conſider more of the matter, and further vnderſtanding the captayne to be aliue, both they and eſpecially the authors of the ſturre ſhrunke away, and made all the frendes they coulde to Maſter Bertie and hys wyfe, not to report their doynges after the worſt ſort.

And thus Maſter Bertie and hys wife eſcaping that daunger, proceded in their iourney toward Poleland, where in concluſion they were quietly entertayned of the king, & placed honorably in yͤ Earldome of the ſaid king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where M. Bertie wyth the Ducheſſe hauing the kinges abſolute power of gouernment ouer the ſayd Earldome, continued both in great quietnes and honour, till the death of Queene Mary.

M. Bertie with the Ducheſſe honourably entertained of the king of Poole.

¶Thomas Horton Miniſter.

A ſtory of Thomas Horton, Miniſter.

AS ye haue heard of the daungerous troubles of the Ducheſſe of Suffolke in tyme of her exile for religion ſake, whom notwithſtanding the Lordes preſent protection ſtill deliuered in all diſtreſſes, as well from her enemyes in England, as in Dutchland from the Launceknightes there: ſo haue we no leſſe to behold and magnify the Lords mercifull goodnes in preſeruing of Thomas Horton from the like perills of the ſame countrey. Which Thomas Horton, what a profitable inſtrument he was to the Church of Chriſt in Queene Maryes tyme, all our Engliſh men almoſt beyond the ſeas then, did both know and feele.

This good Thomas Horton, as he vſed oftentymes to trauayle betwene Germany and England, for the behoofe and ſuſtenaunce of the poore Engliſhe exiles there: ſo he iourneying vppon a tyme betwene Maſtricke and Collen, chaunced to be taken there by certayne Rouers, and ſo beyng led by them away, was in no litle daunger: and yet this daunger of hys was not ſo great, but the preſent helpe of the Lord was greater to ayde and deliuer hym out of the ſame.

¶Thomas Sprat of Kent, Tanner.

The ſtory of Tho. Sprat and Will. Porrege.

VNto theſe afore rehearſed examples of Gods bleſſed prouidence toward his ſeruauntes, may alſo be added the happy deliueraunce of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege his companion, now Miniſter. Whoſe ſtory briefly to courſe ouer, is this. This Tho. Sprat had bene ſeruaunt ſometymes to one M. Brent a Iuſtice, and a heauy perſecutor, and therfore forſaking his maiſter for Religion ſake, he went to Calyce, from whence he vſed often with the ſayd W. Porrege for theyr neceſſary affayres, to haue recourſe into England. It ſo happened about the fourth yeare of Queene Maries reigne, that they landyng vppon a tyme at Douer, and takyng their iourney together toward Sandwich, ſodeinly vpon the way within three myles of Douer, met with the foreſayd M. Brent, the two Blachendens, and other Gentlemen moe, with their ſeruantes, to the number of x. or xij. horſes. Of the which two Blachendens, beyng both haters and enemies of Gods word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of W. Porrege, the other had not ſene him, but onely had heard of his name before.

M. Brent Iuſtice in Kent, a perſecutor.

The two Blachendens in Kent, perſecutors.

Thus they beyng in the way where this Iuſtice with his mates ſhould meete them directly in the face, Thomas Sprat firſt eſpying M. Brent, was ſore diſmayde, ſaying to his companion: yonder is M. Brent, W. Porrege: God haue mercy vpon vs. Well, quoth the other, ſeyng now there is no remedy, let vs go on our way. And ſo thinkyng to paſſe by them, they kept thẽ ſelues a loufe, as it were a ſcore of from thẽ, Thomas Sprat alſo ſhadowing his face with his cloke. Notwithſtandyng, one of M. Brentes ſeruauntes aduiſing him better then his Maſter did: yonder, ſayd he to hys Maſter, is Thomas Sprat. At which wordes they all rayned theyr horſes, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They call you, ſayd W. Porrege. Now here is no remedy but we are taken: and ſo perſuaded hym to go to them beyng called, for that there was no eſcappyng from ſo many horſemen in thoſe playnes and downes, where was no wood neare them by a mile, nor hedge neither, but onely one, which was a byrdbolt ſhot of.

Tho. Sprat almoſt taken in the way by the Iuſtice.

All this notwithſtandyng, Sprat ſtayd and would not go. Then they called agayne, ſittyng ſtill on horſebacke. Ah ſirrha, quoth yͤ Iuſtice? why come ye not hether? And ſtill his companion moued him to go, ſeyng there was no other ſhift to flye away. Nay, ſayd Sprat, I will not go to them, and therwithall tooke his legges, running to the hedge that was next to hym. They ſeing that, ſet ſpurres to their horſe, thinking by & by to haue him, and that it was vnpoſſible for him to eſcape their handes, as it was in deede, they beyng on horſebacke and he on foote, had not the Lord miraculouſly deliuered his ſeely ſeruaunt from the gaping mouth of the Lion ready to deuour him.

Tho. Sprat called of the Iuſtice, but would not come.

God alwayes ſtronger then the deuill.

For as God would, ſo it fell out that he had got ouer the hedge, ſkrawlyng through the buſhes, when as they were euen at his heeles, ſtrikyng at him with their ſwordes, one of the Blachendens cryyng cruelly: cut of one of his legges.

Thus Sprat had ſcarſely recouered the hedge from his enemies, when one of M. Brentes ſeruauntes, which had bene felow ſometymes in houſe with him, followed him in his bootes: and certeine rode vp on one ſide of the hedge, and certaine at yͤ other, to meete him at the vpper end. Now, while they were folowyng the chaſe after Thomas Sprat, onely one remained with W. Porrege (who was one of yͤ Blachendens, not hee which knew him, but the other) who began to queſtiõ with him: not aſkyng what was his name (as God would) for then he had bene knowen and taken: but from whence he came, and how he came into Sprat company, and whether he went? Unto whom he aunſwered and ſayd: from Calyce, and that Sprat came ouer with him in the paſſage boate, and they two were goyng to Sandwich: and ſo without any more queſtions he let him depart. Anone as he kept along yͤ hedge one of the horſemen which rode after Sprat, retur

Tho. Sprat getteth ouer the hedge frõ hys perſecutors.

nyng backe, and meetyng with the ſayd W. Porrege, demaunded the very ſame queſtions as the other had done: to whom he made alſo the like aūſwere as afore, and ſo departed, takyng an other contrary way from the meetyng of the other horſemen. And thus W. Porrege eſcaped.

William Porrege eſcaped.

Now concerning Thomas Sprat, he beyng purſued on the one ſide by horſemen, on the other ſide by his own fellow, who followed after hym in hys bootes, crying: you were as good to tary, for we will haue you, we will haue you: yet notwithſtanding he ſtill kept on his courſe, till at length he came to a ſteepe down hill at the hedge end, down the which hill he ran from them, for they could not ryde down the hill, but muſt fetch a great compaſſe about: and ſo this Thomas Sprat ran almoſt a mile, and as God would got a Wood. By that time he came to the Wood, they were euẽ at his heeles: but the night drew on, and it beganne to rayne, and ſo the malice of theſe perſecutors was at an end, the Lord working for his ſeruauntes, whoſe name be praiſed for euer and euer, Amen.

The Lord diſpoſing the way of hys ſeruauntes.

Tho. Sprat deliuered by Gods helpe from hys aduerſaries.

Not long after this, one of the two Blachendens aforeſayd, which ſo cruelly ſought the deſtruction of other, was cruelly murthered by his owne ſeruauntes.

⁂ *Iohn Cornet.*

HEre might alſo be recited the hard aduentures and ſufferinges of Iohn Cornet, and at length hys deliueraunce by Gods good workyng, out of the ſame. Who beyng a prentiſe with a minſtrell at Colcheſter, was ſent by his maſter about the 2. yeare of Q. Maryes raigne, to a weddyng in a towne thereby called Roughhedge, where he beyng requeſted by a company there of good men, the Conſtables alſo of the pariſh beyng preſent thereat, to ſing ſome ſonges of the ſcripture, chaunced to ſing a ſong called Newes out of London, which tended agaynſt the Maſſe, and againſt the Queenes miſproceadinges. Whereupon the next day he was accuſed by the Parſon of Roughhedge called Yackeſley, and ſo committed, firſt to the Conſtable, where both his maſter gaue hym ouer, and hys mother forſooke & curſed hym. Frõ thence he was ſent to the next Iuſtice, named M. Cãnall: and then to yͤ Earle of Oxford, where he was firſt put in yrons and chaynes, and after that ſo manacled that yͤ bloud ſpurt out of his fingers endes, becauſe he would not confeſſe yͤ names of thẽ which allured him to ſing. And maruelle it was that the cruell Papiſtes were ſo contended, that they ſent hym not alſo to B. Boner, to ſuffer the extremitie of the fire. But Gods gracious prouidence diſpoſed otherwiſe for hys ſeruant. For after he was manacled, the Earle cõmaunded him to be brought agayne to the towne of Roughhedge, and there to be whipped til the bloud followed, and ſo to be baniſhed yͤ town for euer: and ſo he was, during all the tyme of Queene Mary.

The troubles of *Iohn Cornet*, and how he was deliuered.

Yackeſley parſon of Roughhedge, perſecutor.

The mother agaynſt her own ſonne.

Cornet whipped out of the towne, & ſo baniſhed.

¶ *Thomas Bryce.*

IF our ſtory ſhould procéede ſo wide and ſo large, as did the exceeding mercy of Gods prouidence in helping hys ſeruauntes out of wretchednes and thraldome of thoſe bloudy dayes, our treatiſe, I thinke, would extend to an endles proceſſe. For what good man or woman was there almoſt in all thys tyme of Queene Mary, who eyther in carying a good conſcience out of the land, or tarying within the Realme, could well eſcape the Papiſtes handes, but by ſome notable experience of yͤ Lords mighty power and helping hand working for hym? What ſhould I here ſpeake of the miraculous deliueraunce of Thomas Bryce, who beyng in the houſe of Iohn Seale, in the pariſh of Horting, and the Bailiffe with other neighbours commyng in, ſent by Syr Iohn Baker to ſearch and to apprehend hym, and knowyng perfectly both hys ſtature and colour of hys garmentes, yet had no power to ſee or know him ſtanding before their faces. So mightely the Lord dyd blynd their eyes, that they aſking for hym, and looking vpon hym, yet notwithſtanding he quietly tooke vp hys bagge of bookes, and ſo departed out of the houſe, without any hand layd vpon hym.

Thomas Bryce preſerued.

God blinded yͤ eyes of them which ſought for *Th. Bryce*, that they could not ſee hym.

Alſo an other tyme, about the 2. yeare of Q. Mary, the ſayd Thomas Bryce, with Iohn Bryce hys elder brother, cõming then frõ Weſell, meeting together at their fathers houſe, as they iorneyed towardes Lõdon to geue warning there to one Springfield, which els was like to be taken vnawares by hys enemyes wayting for hym vpon Gaddes hyll, fell in company wyth a Promotor, which dogged them and followed them goyng to Grauesend, into the towne, and layed the houſe for them where they were, and all the wayes as they ſhould goe to the water ſide: ſo that it had not bene poſſible for thẽ to haue auoyded the preſent daūger of thoſe perſecutors, had not the Lordes prouident care otherwiſe diſpoſed for his ſeruaunts through the Hoſtler of the Inne, couertly to conuey thẽ by a ſecret paſſage: whereby they tooke Barge a mile out of the towne, & ſo in the end both the liues of them, & alſo of Springfield was preſerued, through the Lordes gracious protection.

An other ſtorye of *Tho. Bryce* and hys brother.

Thomas and Iohn Bryce deliuered by Gods good meanes and protection.

¶ *Gertrude Crokhay.*

GErtrude Crokehay dwellyng at S. Katherines by the Tower of London, and beyng then in her huſbandes houſe, it happened, in the yeare. 1556. that the Popes childiſh S. Nicolas went about the Pariſhe. Which ſhe vnderſtandyng, ſhut her doore agaynſt him, not ſufferyng him to enter into her houſe. Then Doct. Mallet hearyng therof, and beyng then Maiſter of the ſayd S. Katherins, the next day came to her with xx. at his taile, thinking belike to fray her, and aſked why ſhe would not yͤ night before let in S. Nicolas and receaue his bleſſing. &c. To whom ſhe aunſwered thus. Syr, I know no S. Nicolas (ſayd ſhe) that came hether. Yes quoth Mallet, here was one that repreſented S. Nicolas. In deede Syr (ſaid ſhe) here was one that was my neighbours childe, but not S. Nicolas: for S. Nicolas is in heauen. I was afrayd of them that came with him to haue had my purſe cut by them: for I haue heard of men robbed by S. Nicolas clerkes. &c. So Mallet perceiuing that nothing could be gotten at her handes, went his way as he came, & ſhe for that time ſo eſcaped.

The trouble and deliueraunce of *Gertrude Crokhay*.

Thys D. *Mallet* is now Deane of Lincolne.

Thẽ in the yeare. 1557. a litle before Whitſontide, it happened that the ſayd Gertrude aunſwered for a childe that was baptiſed of one Thomas Saunders, which childe was Chriſtened ſecretly in a houſe after the order of the ſeruice booke in king Edwardes tyme, and that beyng ſhortly knowen to her enemyes, ſhe was ſought for. Which vnderſtanding nothing therof, went beyond the ſea into Gelderland, to ſee certayne landes that ſhould come to her children in the right of her firſt huſband, who was a ſtraunger borne, and beyng there about a quarter of a yeare, at the length commyng homeward by Andwarpe, ſhe chaunced to meete wyth one Iohn Iohnſon a dutch man, aliâs Iohn De villa of Andwarpe, ſhipper, who ſeing her there, went of malyce to the Margraue, and accuſed her to be an Anabaptiſt: whereby ſhe was taken and caryed to priſon. The cauſe why this noughty man did this, was for that he claymed of Maſter Crokhay her huſband a peece of money which was not hys due, for a ſhip that Maſter Crokhay bought of hym, and for that he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe beyng in priſon, lay there a fortnight. In the which tyme ſhe ſaw ſome that were priſoners there, who priuely were drowned in Renyſh wyne fattes, and after ſecretly put in ſackes and caſt into the Riuer. Now ſhe, good woman, thinking to be ſo ſerued, tooke thereby ſuch feare that it brought the beginning of her ſicknes, of the which at length ſhe dyed.

Another trouble of the ſayd *Gertrude* in Dutchland.

Crueltie in Flaunders vſed ſecretly agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Then at the laſt was ſhe called before the Margraue and charged with Anabaptiſtry: which ſhe there vtterly denyed, and deteſted the error, declaring before him

Gertrude returneth into England.

in Dutch her fayth boldly, without any feare. So the Margraue hearing the ſame, in the end beyng well pleaſed with her profeſſion, at the ſute of ſome her frendes, deliuered her out of priſon, but toke away her booke, and ſo ſhe came ouer into England agayne.

William Mauldon.

A ſtory of W. Mauldon.

W. Mauldon accuſed and ſcourged for true religion.

I Lightly paſſe ouer here the tedious afflictiōs of William Mauldon, how in the daungerous tyme of the vj. Articles, before ẏ burnyng of Anne Aſkew, he was ſcourged beyng young, of his father, for profeſſing and confeſſing of true Religion: and afterward beyng examined in auricular confeſſion by the Prieſt, his bookes were ſearched for, & ſo at length he was preſented vp by ẏ ſame Prieſt in a letter writtē to ẏ Byſhop. Which letter, had it not ben burned by an other prieſt to whoſe handes it came (as the Lord would haue it) it had vndoubtedly coſt him his life.

The Propheſie of W. Mauldon in king Henryes time, for the fall of the Maſſe and Sacrament of the altar.

This one thyng in the ſayd William Mauldon is to be noted, that he beyng young, in thoſe dayes of kyng Henry, whē the Maſſe moſt floriſhed, ẏ altars with the Sacramēt therof being in their moſt high veneration, that to mans reaſon it might ſeeme vnpoſſible that the glory and opinion of that Sacrament and Sacramentals, ſo highly worſhipped, and ſo deepely rooted in the hartes of ſo many, could by any meanes poſſible ſo ſo ſoone decay and vaniſh to naught: yet notwithſtandyng he beyng then ſo young, vnder the age of xvij. yeares, by the ſpirite (no doubt) of propheſie, declared then vnto his parentes, that they ſhould ſee it euen ſhortly come to paſſe, that both the Sacrament of the altar and the altars them ſelues, with all ſuch plantations which the heauenly father did not plante, ſhould be plucked vp by the rootes: and euen ſo within the ſpace of very few yeares the euent therof followed accordyngly: the Lord therfore be prayſed for his moſt gratious reformation.

¶ Robert Horneby.

Rob. Horneby through Gods working preſerued.

I Let paſſe likewyſe the daungerous eſcape of Robert Horneby, ſeruaunt ſometyme and groome of the chamber to Lady Elizabeth, ſhe beyng then in trouble in Q. Maryes dayes: who beyng wylled to come to Maſſe, refuſed ſo to do, and therfore cōming afterward frō Woodſtocke to Hampton court, was called before the Counſaile, and by them committed to the Marſhalſea, and not vnlyke to haue ſuſteyned further daunger, had not the Lordes goodnes better prouided for hym, who at length by D. Martyn was deliuered.

Miſtres Sandes.

Miſtres Sandes, now Lady Bartlet, preſerued from perſecution.

The like alſo may be teſtified & recorded of Miſtres Sandes, now wyfe to Syr Morice Bartlet, then Gentlewomā wayter to ẏ ſaid Lady Elizabeth beyng in the Tower. Which Miſtres Sandes denyed in lyke maner to come to Maſſe, and therfore beſide the heauy diſpleaſure of her father, was not onely diſplaced frō her roume, & put out of ẏ houſe, but alſo was in great ieopardy of further tryall. But the Lord who diſpoſeth for euery one, as he ſeeth beſt, wrought her way out of her enemies handes by flying ouer the ſeas, where ſhe continued amongſt other baniſhed exiles in the Citie of Geneua and of Baſill, till the death of Q. Mary.

The miraculous preſeruation of Lady Elizabeth, now Queene of England, from extreme calamitie and daunger of lyfe, in the tyme of Queene Mary her Siſter.

The bleſſed protection of almightie God in preſeruing the Lady Elizabeth in her manifolde daungers and troubles.

But when all hath bene ſayd and told, what ſoeuer can be recited touchyng the admirable workyng of Gods preſent hand in defendyng and deliueryng any one perſō out of thraldome, neuer was there ſince the memory of our fathers any exāple to be ſhewed, wherin the Lordes almightie power hath more admirably and bleſſedly ſhewed it ſelfe, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hartes, and to the publicke felicitie of this whole Realme, then in the miraculous cuſtody & outſcape of this our ſoueraigne Lady, now Queene, thē Lady Elizabeth, in the ſtraite tyme of Queene Mary her ſiſter.

The troubles of Lady Elizabeth in Queene Maries time.

In which ſtory, firſt we haue to conſider in what extreme miſery, ſickenes, feare, and perill her highnes was: into what care, what trouble of minde, and what daunger of death ſhe was brought. Firſt with great routes & bandes of armed mē (and happy was he that might haue the carying of her) beyng fetched vp as the greateſt traitor in the world, clapped in the Tower, and agayne toſſed from thence, from houſe to houſe, from priſon to priſon, from poſt to piller, at length alſo priſoner in her owne houſe, and garded with a ſort of cutthrotes, which euer gaped for the ſpoyle, whereby they might be fingeryng of ſomewhat.

Secondly, to conſider agayne we haue, all this notwithſtandyng, how ſtraungely or rather miraculouſly from daunger ſhe was deliuered: what fauour and grace ſhe found with the almighty, who when all helpe of mā and hope of recouery was paſt, ſtretched out his mighty protection, and preſerued her highnes, & placed her in this princely ſeate of reſt and quietnes wherin now ſhe ſitteth, and long may ſhe ſit, the Lord of his glorious mercy graunt we beſech him.

In which ſtory, if I ſhould ſet forth at large and at full all the particulars and circumſtances therunto belongyng, and as iuſt occaſion of the hiſtory requireth, beſides the importunate length of the ſtory diſcourſed, peraduenture it might moue offence to ſome beyng yet alyue, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithſtādyng I intend (by ẏ grace of Chriſt) therin to vſe ſuch breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the diſcharge of the ſtory, the profite of the reader, and hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurtyng their name, then the Queene hath bene mercyfull in pardonyng their liues.

The hiſtory of the Lady Elizabeth.

Therfore, now to enter into the diſcourſe of this Tragicall matter, firſt is here to be noted, that Queene Mary whē ſhe was firſt Queene, before ſhe was crowned would go no whether but would haue her by the hand, and ſend for her to dinner and ſupper: but after ſhe was crowned, ſhe neuer dyned nor ſupped with her, but kept her a loofe from her. &c. After this it happened, immediatly vpon the riſing of Syr Thomas Wiat (as before was mentioned pag. 1637. 1639.) that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were charged with falſe ſuſpitiō of Syr Thomas Wyates riſing. Wherupon Queene Mary, whether for that ſurmiſe, or for what other cauſe I know not, beyng offended with the ſayd Lady Elizabeth her ſiſter, at that tyme lying in her houſe at Aſhridge, the next day after the riſing of Wyat, ſent to her iij. of her Counſaillours, to witte, Syr Iohn Williams, Syr Edward Haſtinges, then Maſter of ẏ horſe, and Syr Thomas Cornwalles, with their retinue and trope of horſemen, to the nūber of ij. hundred and fifty. Who at their ſodaine and vnprouided comming, found her at the ſame tyme ſore ſicke in her bed, and very feeble and weake of body. Whether when they came, aſcending vp to her graces priuy chamber, they willed one of her Ladyes, whom they met, to declare vnto her grace that there were certaine come from the court, which had a meſſage from the Queene.

Syr Iohn Williams, Syr Edw. Haſtings, and Syr Th. Cornwalles, ſent to fetch vp Lady Elizabeth.

Her grace hauing knowledge therof, was right glad of their comming: howbeit being then very ſicke, and the night farre ſpent (which was at. x. of the clocke) ſhe requeſted them by the meſſenger, that they would reſorte thether in the morning. To this they aunſwered, and by the ſayd meſſenger ſent word agayne, that they muſt neede ſee her, and would ſo do, in what caſe ſo euer ſhe were in. Whereat the Lady beyng agaſt, went to ſhew her grace their woꝛdes: but they haſtely followyng her, came ruſhyng as ſone as ſhe into her graces chamber vnbydden. At whoſe ſo ſodaine commyng into her bed chamber, her grace beyng not a litle amaſed, ſayd vnto them: Is the haſt ſuch, that it might not haue pleaſed you to come to moꝛow in the moꝛnyng?

The vnmanerlines of the knightes.

They made aunſwere, that they were right ſoꝛy to ſée her in that caſe. And I (quoth ſhe) am not glad to ſée you here at this tyme of the night. Whereunto they aūſwered, that they came from the Quéene to do their meſſage and duety, which was to this effect, that the Quéenes pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at London the vij. day of that pꝛeſent moneth. Whereunto ſhe ſaid: Certes, no creature moꝛe glad then I to come to her Maieſtie, beyng right ſoꝛy that I am not in caſe at this time to waite on her, as you your ſelues doe ſée and can well teſtifie. In déede we ſée it true (quoth they) that you do ſay: foꝛ which we are very ſoꝛy. Albeit we let you to vnderſtand that our Commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraineth vs, that we muſt néedes bꝛyng you with vs either quicke oꝛ dead. Whereat ſhe beyng amaſed, ſoꝛowfully ſayd that their Commiſſion was very ſoꝛe: but yet notwithſtandyng ſhe hoped it to be otherwiſe, & not ſo ſtrait. Yes verely ſayd they. Wherupon they callyng foꝛ two Phiſitions, Doct. Owen and Doct. Wendye, demaunded of them whether ſhe might be remoued from thence with life oꝛ no. Whoſe aunſwere and iudgement was, that there was no impediment to their iudgement to the contrary, but that ſhe might trauell without daunger of life.

A ſtraite Cōmiſſion from the Quéene, to bꝛing ẏ Lady Elizabeth either quicke oꝛ dead.

In concluſion, they willed her to pꝛepare againſt the moꝛning at nine of the clocke to go with them, declaring that they had bꝛought wyth them the Quéenes litter foꝛ her. After much talke, the meſſengers declaring how there was no pꝛolonging of tymes and dayes, ſo departed to their chamber, beyng intetayned and cheared as appertayned to their woꝛſhips.

The gentlenes of Q. Mary to ſend her hoꝛſelitter to bꝛing her ſiſter to trouble.

On the next moꝛrow at the tyme pꝛeſcribed, they had her foꝛth as ſhe was, very faint and feble, and in ſuch caſe that ſhe was ready to ſwound iij. oꝛ iiij. tymes betwene them. What ſhould I ſpeake here that can not well be expꝛeſſed, what an heauy houſe there was to behold the vnreuerēt and doulefull dealing of theſe men, but eſpecially the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent Lady and miſtres?

Lady Elizabeth taketh her iourney toward the Queene.

Now to procéede in her iourney from Aſheridge all ſicke in ẏ litter, ſhe came to Redboꝛne, where ſhe was garded all night: Frō thence to Saint Albons to Syꝛ Rafe Rowlettes houſe, where ſhe taryed that night, both feble in body and comfoꝛtles in mynde. From that place they paſſed to Maſter Doddes houſe at Mimmes, where alſo they remayned that night, and ſo from thence ſhe came to Highgate: where ſhe beyng very ſicke, taryed that night and the next day. During which tyme of her abode there, came many Purſeuantes and meſſengers from the court: but foꝛ what purpoſe, I can not tell.

From that place ſhe was conueyed to the court: where by the way came to méete her many Gētlemen, to accompany her highnes, which were very ſoꝛy to ſée her in that caſe. But eſpecially a great multitude of people there were ſtandyng by the way, who then flocking about her litter, lamented and bewayled greatly her eſtate. Now, when ſhe came to the court, her grace was there ſtraight wayes ſhut vp, and kept as cloſe pꝛiſoner a foꝛtnight, which was till Palmeſonday, ſeyng neyther King noꝛ Quéene, noꝛ Loꝛd, noꝛ frend all that tyme, but onely then the Loꝛde Chamberlaine, Syꝛ Iohn Gage, and the Vicechamberlayne, which were attendant vnto the dooꝛes. About which tyme Syꝛ William Sentlow was called befoꝛe the Counſell. To whoſe charge was layde that he knew of Wyates rebellion. Which he ſtoutly denyed, pꝛoteſting that he was a true mā both to God & his Pꝛince, defying all traytours and rebels: but beyng ſtraitly examined, he was in concluſion cōmitted to ẏ Tower.

Lady Elizabeth bꝛought vp to London.

Syr Will. Sentlow committed to the Tower.

The Friday befoꝛe Palme ſonday, the Byſhop of Wincheſter, with xix. other of the Counſell (who ſhall be here nameles) came vnto her grace from the Quéenes maieſty, and burdened her wyth Wyates conſpiracy: which ſhe vtterly denyed, affirming that ſhe was altogether giltles therein. They beyng not contented wyth thys, charged her grace wyth buſines made by Syꝛ Peter Carew, and the reſt of the gentlemen of the Weſt countrey: which alſo ſhe vtterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

Lady Elizab. charged with Syr Thomas Wyats conſpiracie.

Lady Elizab. charged with the buſines of Syr Peter Carew.

In concluſion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto her, that it was the Quéenes will and pleaſure, that ſhe ſhould go vnto the Tower, whyle the matter were further tryed and examined.

Lady Elizab. threatned to go to the Tower.

Whereat ſhe beyng agaſt, ſayd that ſhe truſted the Quéenes maieſty would be moꝛe gracious Lady vnto her, & that her highnes would not otherwiſe conceiue of her, but that ſhe was a true woman: declaring furthermoꝛe to the Loꝛdes, that ſhe was innocent in all thoſe matters wherein they had burdened her, and deſired them therfoꝛe to be a further meane to ẏ Quéene her ſiſter, that ſhe beyng a true woman in thought, woꝛd, and déede towardes her maieſty, might not be committed to ſo notoꝛious and doulefull a place, pꝛoteſting that ſhe would requeſt no mercy at her hand, if ſhe ſhould be pꝛoued to haue conſented vnto any ſuch kynde of matter as they layde vnto her charge: and therefoꝛe in fine deſired their Loꝛdſhips to thinke of her what ſhe was, and that ſhe might not ſo extremely be delt withall foꝛ her truth.

Lady Elizab. purgeth her ſelfe to the Loꝛdes.

Whereunto the Loꝛdes aunſwered agayne, that there was no remedy, foꝛ that the Quéenes maieſty was fully determined that ſhe ſhould go vnto ẏ tower. Wherewith ẏ Loꝛdes departed with their caps hanging ouer their eyes. But not long after, within the ſpace of an hower oꝛ litle moꝛe, came iiij. of the foꝛeſayd Loꝛdes of the Counſaile, which were the Loꝛd Treaſurer, the Byſhop of Wincheſter, the Loꝛde Stuarde, the Earle of Suſſex, with the Garde, who warding the next chamber to her, ſecluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, Ladyes and gentlewomen, ſauing that foꝛ one gentleman Vſher, thꝛée gentlewomen, and two Grómes of her chamber, were appointed in their rómes thꝛée other men of the Quéenes, and thꝛée wayting women, to geue attendaunce vpon her, that none ſhould haue acceſſe to her grace. At which tyme there were an hundꝛeth of Noꝛthen ſouldiours in white coates, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire beyng made in the middeſt of the hall, and two certayne Loꝛdes watching there alſo wyth their band and company.

Lady Elizabethes ſeruauntes remoued frō her.

The Quéenes men, and wayting women, attendant vpō Lady Elizabeth.

Vpon Saterday following, two Loꝛdes of ẏ Counſell (the one was the Earle of Suſſex, the other ſhall be nameles) came and certified her grace that foꝛthwith ſhe muſt go vnto the Tower, the Barge beyng pꝛepared foꝛ her, and the tyde now ready, which taryeth foꝛ no body. In heauy mode her grace requeſted the Loꝛdes that ſhe myght tary an other tyde, truſting that the next would be better & moꝛe comfoꝛtable. But one of the Loꝛdes replyed, that neyther tyde noꝛ time was to be delayed. And when her grace requeſted him that ſhe might be ſuffered to wꝛite to the Quéenes maieſty, he aunſwered, that he durſt not permit that, adding that in hys iudgement it would rather hurt thē pꝛofite her grace in ſo doyng.

The hard dealing of a certain Loꝛd with the Lady Elizabeth.

But the other Loꝛd, moꝛe courteous and fauoꝛable (who was the Earle of Suſſex) knéelyng downe, told her grace, that ſhe ſhould haue libertie to wꝛite, and as he was a true man he would deliuer it to the Quéenes highnes, and bꝛyng an aunſwere of the ſame, what ſoeuer came therof. Wherupō ſhe wꝛote: albeit ſhe could in no caſe be ſuffered to ſpeake with the Quéene, to her

The Earle of Suſſex gentle to the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizab. wꝛiteth to the Queene, but it would not ſerue.

great diſcomfort, beyng no offender againſt yͤ Queenes Maieſtie. And thus the tyde and tyme paſſed alway for that ſeaſon, they priuily appointing all thinges ready that ſhe ſhould go yͤ next tide, which fel about midnight: but for feare ſhe ſhould be taken by the way, they durſt not. So they ſtayed till the next day, being Palme Sonday, when about .ix. of the clocke theſe two returned agayne, declaryng that it was tyme for her grace to depart: ſhe aunſweryng, if there be no remedy, I muſt be contented, willyng the Lordes to goe on before. Beyng come forth into the garden, ſhe did caſt vp her eyes toward the window, thinking to haue ſeene yͤ Queene, which ſhe could not. Whereat ſhe ſayd, ſhe maruailed much what the nobilitie of the Realme ment, which in that ſort would ſuffer her to be led into captiuitie: the Lord knew whether, for ſhe did not. In the meane tyme commaundement was geuen in all London that euery one ſhould keepe the Church and cary their Palmes, while in yͤ meane ſeaſon ſhe might bee conueyed without all recourſe of people into the Tower.

Lady Elizab. ſent to the Tower.

After all this, ſhe tooke her Barge with the two foreſayd Lordes, three of the Queenes Gentlewomen, and three of her owne, her Gentleman Vſher, and two of her Groomes, lying and houeryng vpon the water an houre, for that they could not ſhoote the Bridge, the Barge men beyng very vnwilling to ſhoote the ſame ſo ſoone as they did, becauſe of the daunger therof: for the ſterne of the Boate ſtroke vpō the ground: the fall was ſo bigge, and the water was ſo ſhallow. At landyng, ſhe firſt ſtayed and denied to land at thoſe ſtayres where all traytours & offendours cuſtomably vſed to land, neither well could ſhe, vnleſſe ſhe ſhould go ouer her ſhoe. The Lordes were gone out of the Boate before, and aſked why ſhe came not. One of the Lordes went backe agayn to her, and brought word ſhe would not come. Then ſayd one of the Lordes which ſhall be nameles, that ſhe ſhould not chooſe: and becauſe it did then rayne he offered to her his cloke. Which ſhe (puſhyng it backe with her hand) refuſed. So ſhe comming out, hauyng one foote vpon the ſtayre, ſayd: Here landeth as true a ſubiect, being priſoner, as euer landed at theſe ſtayres: And before thee O God I ſpeake it, hauyng none other frendes but thee alone. To whom the ſame Lord anſwered agayne, that if it were ſo, it was the better for her. At her landyng there was a great multitude of their ſeruauntes and warders ſtandyng in their order. What needed all this, ſayd ſhe. It is the vſe (ſayd ſome) ſo to be when any priſoner came thether. And if it be (quoth ſhe) for my cauſe, I beſech you that they may be dimiſſed. Whereat, the poore men kneeled down, and with one voyce deſired God to preſerue her grace: who yͤ next day were releaſed of their cold coates.

The wordes of Lady Elizabeth entring the Tower.

After this, paſſing a litle further, ſhe ſat downe vpon a cold ſtone, and there reſted her ſelfe. To whom the Lieutenaunt then beyng, ſayd: Madame, you were beſt to come out of the raine, for you ſit vnwholeſomly. She then replying, aunſwered agayne: better ſittyng here then in a worſe place: for God knoweth, I know not whether you will bryng me. With that her Gentleman Vſher wept: ſhe demaunding of him what he ment ſo vncomfortably to vſe her, ſeyng ſhe tooke hym to be her comforter and not to diſmay her, eſpecially for that ſhe knew her truth to be ſuch, that no mā ſhould haue cauſe to weepe for her. But forth ſhe went into the priſon.

The dores were locked & bolted vpon her: which did not a litle diſcōfort and diſmay her grace. At what tyme ſhe called to her Gentlewoman for her booke, deſiryng God not to ſuffer her to build her foundation vpon the ſandes, but vpon the rocke, wherby all blaſts of bluſteryng weather ſhould haue no power agaynſt her. The dores being thus locked & ſhe cloſe ſhut vp, the Lordes had great conference how to keepe warde and watch, euery mā declaryng his opinion in that behalfe, agreeyng ſtraitly and circumſpectly to keepe her. Then one of thē, which was the Lord of Suſſex, ſwearyng, ſayd: my Lordes, let vs take heede, & do no more then our Commiſſion will beare vs, what ſo euer ſhall happen hereafter. And further, let vs conſider that ſhe was the kyng our Maiſters daughter, and therefore let vs vſe ſuch dealyng, that we may aunſwere vnto it hereafter, if it ſhall ſo happen: for iuſt dealyng (quoth he) is alwayes aunſwerable. Whereunto the other Lordes agreed that it was well ſayd of hym, and therupon departed. Beyng in the Tower, within ij. dayes commaundemēt was that ſhe ſhould haue Maſſe within her houſe. One M. Young was thē her Chapleine: & becauſe there was none of her mē ſo well learned to helpe the Prieſt to ſay Maſſe, the Maſſe ſtayed for that day. The next day two of her Yoemen, who had gone long to ſchole before and were learned, had two Abcies prouided and deliuered them, ſo that vpon the Abcies they ſhould helpe the Prieſt. One of the ſayd Yeomen, holding the Abcie in his hand, pretendyng ignoraunce at Kyrie eleyſon, ſet the Prieſt, makyng as though he could aunſwere the Prieſt no farther.

The Christian prayer of Lady Elizabeth.

The Lord of Suſſex ſpeaketh for Lady Elizabeth.

It would make a pitifull and a ſtraunge ſtory, here by the way to touch and recite what examinations and rackynges of poore men there were to finde out that knife that ſhould cut her throte: what gapyng among my Lordes of the Clergy, to ſee the day wherein they might waſhe their goodly white rochetes in her innocēt bloud: but eſpecially the Byſhop of Wincheſter Steuer Gardiner, then Lord Chauncellour, ruler of the roſt, who then within few dayes after came vnto her, with diuers other of the Counſell, and examined her of the talke that was at Aſhridge, betwixt her and Syr Iames Acroft, concernyng her remouyng from thence to Dunnington Caſtell, requiryng her to declare what ſhe ment therby.

The B. of Wincheſter enemie to Lady Elizabeth.

At the firſt, ſhe beyng ſo ſodainly aſked, did not well remember any ſuch houſe: but within a while, well aduiſing her ſelfe, ſhe ſayd: In deede (quoth ſhe) I do now remember that I haue ſuch a place, but I neuer lay in it in all my lyfe. And as for any that hath moued me thereunto, I do not remember. Then to enforce the matter they brought forth Syr Iames Acroft. The Byſhop of Wincheſter demaunded of her what ſhe ſaid to that man. She aunſwered that ſhe had litle to ſay to hym, or to the reſt that were then priſoners in the Tower. But my Lords (quoth ſhe) you do examine euery meane priſoner of me, wherein me thinkes you do me great iniury. If they haue done euill, and offended the Queenes Maieſty, let them aunſwere to it accordingly. I beſech you my Lordes, ioyne not me in thys ſort with any of theſe offenders. And as concerning my goyng vnto Dunnington Caſtell, I do remember that maſter Hobby and mine officers, and you Syr Iames Acroft, had ſuch talke: but what is that to yͤ purpoſe, my Lordes, but that I may go to my own houſes at all tymes?

Lady Elizabeth examined by the B. of Wincheſter.

The Lord of Arundell kneeling downe, ſayd: your grace ſayth true, and certaynely we are very ſory that we haue ſo troubled you about ſo vayne matters. She then ſayd: my Lordes, you do ſifte me very narowly. But well I am aſſured, you ſhall not do more to me then God hath appointed: and ſo God forgeue you all.

The frendly ſpeach of the Earle of Arundell to the Lady Elizabeth.

At their departing, Sir Iames Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was ſory to ſee the day in which he ſhould be brought as a witnes agaynſt her grace. But I aſſure your grace (ſayd he) I haue bene maruelouſly toſſed and examined, touching your highnes, which the Lord knoweth is very ſtraunge to me. For I take God to record before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you haue laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death if I ſhould be driuen to ſo ſtraite a tryall.

Syr Iames Acroft examined touching the Lady Elizabeth.

That day or thereaboutes, diuers of her owne officers, who had made prouiſion for her diet, brought the

ſame

Theſe were not the officers of ỹ Tower, but ſuch as went in White and Greene.

Lady Elizabethes ſeruauntes reſtrayned for bringing her diet to the Tower.

Diſpleaſure betwene the L. Chamberlaine & *Lady Elizabethes* men.

ſame to the vtter gate of the Tower, the common raſcall ſouldiours receiuing it: which was no ſmall griefe vnto the Gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to ſpeake with the Lord Chamberlaine, beyng then Conſtable of the Tower. Who, comming before hys preſence, declared vnto hys Lordſhip that they were much afrayd to bring her graces diet, and to deliuer it vnto ſuch common and deſperate perſons as they were which did receaue it, beſeching hys honour to conſider her grace, and to geue ſuch order, that her viands myght at all times be brought in by them which were appointed therunto. Yea ſyrs, ſayd he? who appointed you thys office? They aunſwered: her graces Counſaile. Counſaile quoth hee? There is none of them which hath to do, eyther in that caſe or any thyng els within thys place: and I aſſure you, for that ſhe is a priſoner, ſhe ſhall be ſerued wyth the Lieutenauntes men as other the priſoners are. Whereat the gentlemen ſayd, that they truſted for more fauour at hys handes, conſidering her perſonage, ſaying that they miſtruſted not, but that the Queene and her Counſaile would be better to her grace then ſo, and therewith ſhewed themſelues to be offended at the vngratefull wordes of the Lord Chamberlayne towardes their Lady and miſtres. At thys he ſware by God, ſtrikyng hym ſelfe vpon the breſt, that if they did either froune or ſhrug at him, he would ſet them where they ſhould ſee neyther ſunne nor moone. Thus taking their leaue, they deſired God to bring him into a better mynde toward her grace, and departed from hym.

Vpon the occaſiõ whereof, her graces officers made great ſute vnto the Queenes Counſaile, that ſome myght be appointed to bring her dyet vnto her, and that it myght no more be deliuered into the common ſouldiours of the Tower. Which being reaſonably cõſidered, was by them graunted, and thereupon were appointed one of her gentlemen, her clerke of the kitchin, and her two purueyers to bryng in her prouiſion once a day. All which was done, the Warders euer wayting vpon the bringers thereof. The Lord Chamberlayne him ſelfe beyng allwayes wyth them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and gaue heede that they ſhould haue no talke with any of her graces wayting ſeruauntes, and ſo warded them both in and out. At the ſayd ſute of her officers were ſent by the commaundement of the Coũſaile, to wayte vpon her grace, two yeomẽ of her chamber, one of her Robes, two of her pantry and ewry, one of her buttry, an other of her ſeller, two of her kitchin, and one of her larder, all which continued wyth her the tyme of her trouble.

Lady Elizabethes wayting men in the Tower.

Here the Conſtable, beyng at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the cõming in of ſuch a company againſt hys wyll, would haue had hys men ſtill to haue ſerued wyth her graces men. Which her ſeruauntes at no hand would ſuffer, deſiring hys Lordſhip to be contented, for that order was taken, that no ſtraunger ſhould come wythin their offices. At which aunſwere beyng ſore diſpleaſed, he brake out into theſe threatning wordes: well (ſayd he) I wyll handle you well inough. Then went he into the kitchin, & there would needes haue hys meate roſted with her graces meate, and ſaid that hys Cooke ſhould come thether and dreſſe it. To that her graces Cooke aunſwered: my Lord, I will neuer ſuffer any ſtrãger to come about her dyet, but her own ſworne mẽ, ſo long as I liue. He ſayd they ſhould. But ỹ Cooke ſaid, his Lordſhip ſhould pardon hym for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poore ſeruauntes very ſtoutly, though afterward he were otherwiſe aduiſed, and they more courteouſly vſed at hys handes. And good cauſe why. For he had good cheare, and fared of the beſt, and her grace payed well for it. Wherefore he vſed hymſelfe afterward more reuerently toward her grace.

Variance betwene the Lord Chamberlaine and *Lady Elizabethes* ſeruantes.

After this ſort, hauyng lyen a whole moneth there in cloſe priſon, and beyng very euill at eaſe therewithall, ſhe ſent for the Lord Chamberlaine and the Lord Shandoyes to come and ſpeake with her. Who commyng, ſhe requeſted them that ſhe might haue liberty to walke in ſome place, for that ſhe felt her ſelfe not well. To the which they aunſwered, that they were right ſory that they could not ſatiſfie her graces requeſt, for that they had commaundement to the contrary, which they durſt not in any wiſe breake. Furthermore, ſhe deſired of them, if that could not be grãted, that ſhe might walke but into ỹ Queenes lodgyng. No nor yet that (they aunſwered) could by any meanes be obteined without a further ſute to the Queene and her Counſell. Well, ſaid ſhe, my Lordes, if the matter be ſo hard, that they muſt be ſued vnto for ſo ſmall a thyng, and that frendſhyp be ſo ſtrait, God comfort me, and ſo they departed, ſhe remainyng in her old dungeon ſtill, without any kind of comfort but onely God.

Lady Elizab. denyed the libertie of the Tower.

The next day after, the Lord Shandoyes came agayne vnto her grace, declaryng vnto her that he had ſued vnto the Counſell for farther liberty. Some of them conſented thereunto, diuers other diſſented, for that there were ſo many priſoners in the Tower. But in concluſion, they did all agree, that her grace might walke into thoſe lodgynges, ſo that he and the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queenes Gentlewomen did accompany her, the windowes being ſhut, and ſhe not ſuffered to looke out at any of them: wherewith ſhe contented her ſelfe, and gaue him thankes for his good will in that behalfe. Afterwardes there was libertie graunted to her grace to walke in a litle garden, the doores and gates being ſhut vp: which notwithſtandyng was aſmuch diſcomfort vnto her, as the walke in the garden was pleaſaunt and acceptable. At which tymes of her walkyng there, the priſoners on that ſide ſtraitly were commaunded not to ſpeake, or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till her grace were gone out agayne, hauyng in conſideration therof their keepers waityng vpon them for that time. Thus her grace with this ſmall libertie contented her ſelfe in God, to whom be prayſe therfore.

Libertie graunted to Lady *Elizabeth* to walke in a litle garden.

Duryng this time, there vſed a litle boy, a mãs childe in the Tower, to reſort to their chambers, and many tymes to bryng her grace floures, which likewiſe he did to the other priſoners that were there. Wherupon naughty and ſuſpicious heades thinkyng to make and wryng out ſome matter therof, called on a tyme the child vnto them, promiſing him figges and apples, and aſking of him when he had bene with the Earle of Deuonſhyre, not ignorãt of the childes wounted frequẽtyng vnto him. The boy aunſwered, that he would goe by and by thether. Further they demaunded of hym, whẽ he was with the Lady Elizabethes grace. He anſwered: euery day. Furthermore they examined him what the Lord of Deuonſhire ſent by him to her grace. The child ſayd, I will go know what he will geue to cary to her. Such was the diſcretion of the child, beyng yet but foure yeares of age. This ſame is a crafty boy, quoth the Lord Chamberlaine. How ſay you my Lord Shandoyes? I pray you my Lord (quoth the boy) geue me the figges you promiſed me. No Mary (quoth he) thou ſhalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or the Lord Courtney. The boy aunſwered: I will bryng my Lady my miſtres, more floures. Wherupon the childes father was commaunded to permit the boy no more to come vp into theyr chambers.

Suſpicious heades.

A young childe examined for bringing flowers to the *Lady Elizabeth.*

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the childe peeping in at a hole in the doore, cried vnto her, ſaying: miſtres, I can bring you no more flowers. Wherat ſhe ſmiled, but ſayd nothing, vnderſtãdyng therby what they had done. Wherfore afterwardes the Lord Chamberlaine rebuked highly his father, commaundyng him to put him out of the houſe.

Alas poore infãt, quoth the father. It is a crafty knaue, quoth the Lord Chamberlaine: let me ſee him here no more.

The Conſtable of ye Tower diſcharged of hys office.

Syr Henry Benifield with hys company, placed about the Lady *Elizabeth.*

Lady Elizab. in great feare and doubt of life.

The fift day of May, the Conſtable was diſcharged of his office of the Tower, and one Syr Henry Benifield placed in his rowme, a man vnknowen to her grace, and therfore the more feared: which ſo ſodayne mutation was vnto her no litle amaſe. Hee brought with him an hũdreth ſouldiours in blew coates, wherwith ſhe was marueilouſly diſcomforted, and demaunded of ſuch as were about her, whether the Lady Ianes Scaffold were taken away or no, fearyng by reaſon of their commyng, leſt ſhe ſhould haue played her part. To whom aũſwere was made, that the Scaffold was takẽ away, & that her grace needed not to doubt of any ſuch tyranny: for God would not ſuffer any ſuch treaſon againſt her perſon. Wherwith beyng cõtented, but not altogether ſatiſfied, ſhe aſked what Syr Henry Benifield was, and whether he was of that conſcience or no, that if her murderyng were ſecretly committed to his charge, he would ſee the execution therof.

Lady Elizab. in doubt of *Syr Henry Benifield.*

She was aunſwered, that they were ignorant what maner of man he was. Howbeit they perſuaded her that God would not ſuffer ſuch wickednes to procede. Well, quoth ſhe: God grãt it be ſo. For thou, O God, canſt mollifie all ſuch tyrãnous hartes, & diſappoint all ſuch cruell purpoſes: and I beſech thee to heare me thy creature, which am thy ſeruaunt and at thy cõmaundement, truſtyng by thy grace euer ſo to remaine. About which tyme it was ſpread abroad, that her grace ſhould be caryed from thence by this new iolly captayne and his ſouldiours: but whether, it could not be learned. Which was vnto her a great grief, eſpecially for that ſuch a company was appointed to her garde, requeſtyng rather to continue there ſtill, then to bee lead thence with ſuch a ſort of raſcalls. At laſt, playne aunſwere was made by the Lord Shandoyes, that there was no remedy, but from thence ſhe muſt needes depart to the manour of Woodſtocke, as he thought. Being demaunded of her, for what cauſe: for that (quoth he) the Tower is like further to be furniſhed. She being deſirous to know what he ment therby, demaũded, wherwith. He aunſwered, with ſuch matter as the Queene and Counſaile were determined in that behalfe, wherof he had no knowledge: and ſo departed.

In concluſion, on Trinity Sonday beyng the xix. day of May, ſhe was remoued from the Tower, the Lord Treaſurer beyng then there for ye lading of her Carts, and diſchargyng the place of the ſame. Where Syr Hẽry Benifield (beyng appointed her Gailer) did receiue her with a company of rakehels to garde her, beſides the Lord of Darbyes band, waſtyng in the Countrey about for the Mooneſhine in the water. Vnto whom at length came my Lord of Tame, ioyned in Commiſſion with the ſayd Syr Henry, for the ſafe guidyng of her to priſon: and they together conueyed her grace to Woodſtocke, as hereafter followeth.

Lady Elizab. remoued from the Tower to Woodſtocke.

Lady Elizab. ſecluded from her ſeruantes.

Lady Elizab. in deſpayre of her life.

The firſt day they conducted her to Richmond, where ſhe continued all night, beyng reſtrained of her owne men, which were lodged in out chambers, and Syr Henry Benifieldes ſouldiours appointed in their rowmes to geue attendaunce on her perſon. Whereat ſhe beyng maruelouſly diſmayed, thinking verely ſome ſecret miſchief to be aworkyng towardes her, called her Gentlemã Vſher, and deſired him, with the reſt of his company, to pray for her. For this night (quoth ſhe) I thinke to dye. Wherewith he beyng ſtriken to the hart, ſayd: God forbid that any ſuch wickednes ſhould be pretended agaynſt your grace. So comfortyng her as well as he could, at laſt he bruſt out into teares, and went from her down into the court, where were walkyng the Lord of Tame & Syr Henry Benifield. Then hee cõming to the Lord of Tame (who had profered to him much frendſhip) deſired to ſpeake with him a word or two. Vnto whom he familiarly ſayd, he ſhould with all his hart. Which when Syr Henry, ſtandyng by, heard, he aſked what the matter was. To whom the Gentleman Vſher aunſwered: no great matter Syr, (ſayd he) but to ſpeake with my Lord a word or two.

Lady Elizabethes Vſher talketh with the Lorde of Tame.

Then, when ye Lord of Tame came to him, he ſpake on this wiſe: My Lord (quoth he) you haue bene alwayes my good Lord, and ſo I beſech you to remayne. The cauſe why I come to you at this tyme, is to deſire your honour, vnfainedly to declare vnto me whether any dãger is ment towardes my miſtres this night, or no, that I & my poore felowes may take ſuch part as ſhal pleaſe God to appoint: for certeinly we will rather dye, then ſhe ſhould ſecretly and innocently miſcary. Mary (ſaid ye Lord of Tame) God forbid that any ſuch wicked purpoſe ſhould be wrought: and rather then it ſhould be ſo, I with my men are ready to dye at her foote alſo: and ſo (prayſed be God) they paſſed that dolefull night, with no litle heauines of hart.

The gentle hart of the Lord of Tame to *Lady Elizabeth.*

The next day, as ſhe ſhould take her iorney frõ Richmond toward Woodſtocke, the Lord of Tame, with an other Gentleman beyng at Tables, playing, and droppyng vye crownes, ye Lady Elizabeth paſſing by, ſayd: ſhe would ſee the game out. Which Syr Henry Benifield would ſcarſe permit. The game ſo rũnyng about ſomethyng long: Come on ſayth he, & would not ſuffer her to tary the game out. Afterwardes paſſing ouer the water at Richmond, goyng towardes Wyndſore, her grace eſpied certaine of her poore ſeruauntes ſtandyng on the otherſide, which were very deſirous to ſee her. Whom when ſhe behelde, turnyng to one of her men ſtandyng by, ſhe ſayd: yonder I ſee certayne of my men: go to them and ſay theſe wordes from me: Tanquam ouis.

Tanquam ouis. i. like a ſheepe to the ſlaughter.

So ſhe paſſyng forward to Windſore, was lodged there that night in the Deane of Windſores houſe, a place more meete in deede for a prieſt, then a Princeſſe. And from thence her grace was garded & brought the next night to M. Dormers houſe, where much people ſtandyng by ye way, ſome preſented to her one gift, and ſome an other, ſo that Syr Henry was greatly moued therwith, & troubled ye poore people very ſore, for ſhewing their louyng hartes in ſuch a maner, callyng thẽ rebells & traitors, with ſuch like vile wordes. Beſides, as ſhe paſſed through ye Villages, the Townſmẽ rang the bells, as being ioyfull of her cõming, thinking verely it had bene otherwiſe then it was in deede, as the ſequele proued after to the ſayd poore mẽ. For immediatly the ſayd Syr Henry hearyng the ſame, ſent his ſouldiers thether, who apprehended ſome of the ringers, ſetting them in the ſtockes, and otherwiſe vncurteouſly miſuſing other ſome for their good willes.

Lady Elizabeth honourably receaued and beloued of the people.

On the morrow her grace paſſing from M. Dormers (where was for the tyme of her abode there a ſtrait watch kept) came to the Lorde of Tames houſe, where ſhe lay all the night, beyng very princely entertained, both of Knightes and Ladyes, Gentlemen and Gentlewomẽ. Wherat Sir Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, ſaying vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to aunſwere to their doynges in that behalfe, lettyng them to vnderſtand that ſhe was the Queenes Maieſties priſoner, and no otherwiſe: aduiſing them therfore to take heede & beware of after clappes. Wherunto the Lord of Tame aunſwered in this wiſe: that he was well aduiſed of his doyngs, beyng ioyned in Commiſſion as well as he, addyng with warrant, that her grace might and ſhould in his houſe be mery.

The gentle entertainment of *Lady Elizabeth* at the Lord of Tames houſe.

Maſter *Benifield* grudging at the gentle entertainment of Lady *Elizabeth.*

After this, Syr Henry went vp into a chamber, where was appointed for her grace a chayre, ij. cuſhions, and a fote carpet, very fayre and princelike, wherin preſumpteouſly he ſatte, and called one Barwicke hys mã to pull of hys bootes. Which as ſoone as it was knowen among the Ladyes and gentles, euery one muſed thereat, and laughed him to ſcorne, obſeruing his

The rude and vngentle manly behauiour of Syr *Henry Benifield.*

hys vndiſcrete maners in that behalfe, as they myght very well. When ſupper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen & Ladyes ſhould withdraw themſelues euery one to hys lodging, merueling much that he would permit there ſuch a company, conſidering ſo great a charge committed to hym. Syr Henry (quoth my Lord) content your ſelfe, all ſhall be voyded, your men and all. Nay my ſouldiours (quoth Syr Henry) ſhall watch all night. The Lord of Tame aunſwered: it ſhall not néede. Well ſayd he, néede or néede not, they ſhall ſo do, miſtruſting belike the company: which God knoweth was wythout cauſe.

Lady Elizabeth cōmeth to Woodſtocke.

The ſtrait watch kept at Woodſtocke.

The next day her grace tooke her iorney from thence to Woodſtocke, where ſhe was incloſed, as before in the Tower of London, the ſouldiers garding & warding, both within and without the walles, euery day to the number of thrée ſcore: and in the night without the walles xl. during the tyme of her impriſonment there. At length ſhe had gardens appointed for her walke, which was very comfortable to her grace. But alwayes when ſhe did recreate her ſelfe therein, the doores were faſt locked vp, in as ſtraite maner as they were in the Tower, beyng at the leaſt v. or vj. lockes betwene her lodging and her walkes: Syr Hēry himſelf kéeping the keyes, and truſting no mā therwith. Whereupon ſhe called hym her Gailer: and he knéeling downe deſired her grace not to call hym ſo, for he was appointed there be be one of her officers. Frō ſuch officers (quoth ſhe) good Lord deliuer me.

A mery ſtory concerning the ſtraite keeping of the *Lady Elizabeth.*

And now by the way as digreſſing, or rather refreſhing the reader, if it be lawfull in ſo ſerious a ſtory to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the ſame: occaſion here moueth, or rather inforceth me to touch breifly what happened in the ſame place & tyme by a certayne mery conceited man, beyng then about her grace: who noting the ſtraite and ſtraunge kéeping of hys Lady and miſtres by the ſayd Syr Hēry Benifielde, wyth ſo many lockes and doores, wyth ſuch watch and ward about her, as was ſtraunge and wonderfull, ſpyed a Goate in the warde where her grace was: & whether to refreſh her oppreſſed minde, or to notifie her ſtraite handling by Syr Henry, eyther els both, he tooke it vp on his necke, and followed her grace therewith as ſhe was going into her lodging. Which whē ſhe ſaw, ſhe aſked him what he would do with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the ſaid party aunſwered: no by ſaint Mary (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the Quéenes frendes or no. I will cary hym to Syr Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what hée is. So leauing her grace, hée went wyth the Goate on hys necke, and caryed it to Syr Henry Benifielde. Who when he ſaw hym comming with it, aſked hym halfe angerly what he had there. Unto whom the party aunſwered, ſaying: Syr (quoth he) I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine hym, for I found hym in the place where my Ladyes grace was walking, and what talke they haue had I cannot tell. For I vnderſtand hym not, but he ſhould ſéeme to me to be ſome ſtraunger, & I thinke verely a Welchman, for he hath a white fréeſe coate on hys backe. And for ſo much as I being the Quéenes ſubiect, and perceauing the ſtrait charge committed to you of her kéeping, that no ſtraunger ſhould haue acceſſe to her without ſufficient licence, I haue here found a ſtraunger (what he is I cannot tell) in place where her grace was walking: and therefore for the neceſſary diſcharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the ſayd ſtraunger to you, to examine, as you ſée cauſe: and ſo he ſet hym downe. At which his wordes Syr Henry ſéemed much diſpleaſed, and ſayd: Well, well, you will neuer leaue this geare I ſée: and ſo they departed.

The ſtraitnes of *Sir Henry Benifield* mercely noted.

Now, to returne to the matter frō whence we haue digreſſed, after her grace had bene there a tyme, ſhe made ſute to the Counſaile that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Quéene. Which at laſt was permitted: ſo that Syr Henry Benifield brought her penne, incke, and paper: and ſtandyng by her while ſhe wrote (which he ſtraitly obſerued) alwayes ſhe beyng wery, he would cary away her letters, & bryng them agayne when ſhe called for them. In the finiſhyng therof, he would haue bene meſſenger to the Quéene of the ſame. Whoſe requeſt her grace denied, ſaying: one of her owne men ſhould cary them, and that ſhe would neither truſt him, nor none of his therein. Then he aūſweryng agayne ſaid: none of them durſt be ſo bold, (he trowed) to cary her letters, beyng in that caſe. Yes (quoth ſhe) I am aſſured I haue none ſo diſhoneſt, that would deny my requeſt in that behalfe, but wilbe as willyng to ſerue me now as before. Well (ſayd he) my Commiſſion is to the contrary, and I may not ſo ſuffer it. Her grace replying agayne, ſayd: you charge me very often with your Commiſſion. I pray God you may iuſtly aunſwere the cruell dealyng you vſe towardes me.

Lady Elizab. with much ado, ſuffered to write to the Quéene.

The cruell dealing of *Syr Henry Benifield* to the Lady *Elizabeth* noted and reproued.

Then he knéeling down, deſired her grace to thinke and conſider how he was a ſeruaunt, and put in truſt there by the Quéene to ſerue her Maieſty, proteſtyng that if the caſe were hers, he would as willyngly ſerue her grace, as now he did the Quéenes highnes. For the which his aunſwere, her grace thanked him, deſiryng God that ſhe might neuer haue néede of ſuch ſeruaūtes as he was: declaryng further to him, that his doynges towardes her were not good nor anſwerable, but more then all ẏ frendes he had would ſtand by. To whō Syr Henry replied and ſayd, that there was no remedy but his doynges muſt be aunſwered, and ſo they ſhould, truſtyng to make good accōpt therof. The cauſe which moued her grace ſo to ſay, was for that he would not permit her letters to be caried .iiij. or v. dayes after the writyng therof. But in fine he was content to ſend for her Gentleman from the Towne of Woodſtocke, demaundyng of him whether he durſt enterpriſe the cariage of her graces letters to the Quéene, or no: and he aunſwered, yea Syr, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Whereupon Syr Henry, halfe agaynſt his ſtomacke, tooke them vnto him.

The Letters of the Lady *Elizabeth* caryed to the Quéene.

Then about the eight day of Iune came downe Doctor Owen & Doctor Wendye, ſent by the Quéene to her grace, for that ſhe was ſickly: who miniſtring to her, and letting her bloud, taried there and attended on her grace v. or vj. dayes. Thē ſhe beyng well amended, they returned agayne to the Court, making their good report to the Quéene and the Counſaile of her graces behauiour and humblenes towardes the Quéenes highnes. Which her Maieſty hearing, toke very thankfully: but the Byſhops therat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and tolde the Quéene, they marueiled that ſhe ſubmitted not her ſelfe to her Maieſties mercy, conſidering that ſhe had offended her highnes.

D. Owen & D. Wendye, Q. Maries Phiſitions, ſent to ẏ Lady *Elizabeth.*

The Popiſhe Prelates repined agaynſt the Lady *Elizabeth.*

About thys tyme, her grace was requeſted by a ſecret frend, to ſubmit her ſelfe to the Quéenes maieſty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe would neuer ſubmit her ſelfe to them whom ſhe neuer offended. For (quoth ſhe) if I haue offended and am gilty, I then craue no mercy, but the law, which I am certayne (quoth ſhe) I ſhould haue had ere thys, if it could be proued by me. For I know my ſelfe (I thanke God) to be out of the daunger thereof, wiſhing that I were as cleare out of the perill of my enemies, and then I am aſſured I ſhould not ſo be locked and bolted vp within walles and doores as I am. God geue them a better mynde when it pleaſeth hym.

Lady Elizab. requeſted to ſubmitte her ſelfe to the Quéene.

About thys tyme was there a great cōſulting among the Byſhops & gentlemen touching a mariage for her grace, which ſome of the Spanyardes wiſhed to be wyth ſome ſtraunger, that ſhe might go out of the Realme wyth her portion: ſome ſaying one thyng,

Counſell of the Papiſtes to mary ẏ Lady *Elizabeth* to a Spanyard.

and ſome an other.

[illegible] counſell [illegible] L. [illegible]get geuen agaynſt Lady Elizabeth.

Spanyardes more fauourable to Lady Elizabeth then ſome Engliſhe men.

A Lord (who ſhalbe here nameles) beyng there, at laſt ſayd, that the kyng ſhoulde neuer haue any quiet common wealth in England, vnleſſe her head were ſtriken from the ſhoulders. Wherunto the Spanyards aunſwered, ſaying: God forbid that their king and maſter ſhould haue that mynde to conſent to ſuch a miſchiefe. Thys was the curteous aunſwere of the Spanyardes to the Engliſh men, ſpeaking after that ſort agaynſt their owne countrey. From that day the Spanyardes neuer left of their good perſwaſions to the king, that the like honour he ſhould neuer obtayne, as he ſhould in deliuering the Lady Elizabethes grace out of priſon: whereby at length ſhe was happely releaſed from the ſame. Here is a playne and euident example of the good clemency and nature of the King and hys Counſellers towards her grace (prayſed be God therefore) who moued their hartes therein. Then hereupon ſhe was ſent for ſhortly after to come to Hampton Court.

Lady Elizab. in daunger of fire.

But before her remouyng away from Woodſtocke, we will a litle ſtay to declare in what daungers her life was in duryng this time ſhe there remained: firſt through fire, which began to kindle betwen the bordes and ſeeling vnder the chamber where ſhe lay, whether by a ſparke of fire, gotten into a crany, or whether of purpoſe by ſome that ment her no good, the Lord doth know. Neuertheleſſe a worſhipfull knight of Oxfordſhyre, which was there ioyned the ſame tyme with Syr Henry Benifield in keeping that Lady (who then tooke vp the bordes and quenched the fire) verely ſuppoſed it to be done of purpoſe.

Lady Elizab. in daunger of killing.

Furthermore it is thought, and alſo affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Peny a keeper of Woodſtocke, a notorious ruffin & a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the ſaid Lady Elizabeth: who both ſaw the man, being often in her ſight, & alſo knew therof.

An other conſpiracie of murder agaynſt Lady Elizabeth.

An other tyme, one of the priuy chamber, a great mā about the Queene, and a chief darlyng of Steuen Gardiner, named M. Iames Baſſet, came to Blādenbridge a myle from Woodſtoke, with xx. or xxx. priuy coates, and ſent for Syr Henry Benifield to come and ſpeake with him. But, as God would, which diſposeth all thinges after the purpoſe of his owne will, ſo it happened, that a litle before, the ſayd Syr Henry Benifield was ſent for by poſt to the Counſell, leauyng ſtraite word behind hym with his brother, that no man, what ſo euer he were, though commyng with a Bill of the Queenes hand, or any other warrant, ſhould haue acceſſe to her before his returne agayn. By reaſon wherof ſo it fell out, that M. Benifieldes brother commyng to him at the Bridge, would ſuffer him in no caſe to approche in, who otherwiſe (as is ſuppoſed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent Lady.

Lady Elizab. preſerued by the Lordes prouidence from execution in the Tower.

In the life of Steuen Gardiner we declared before pag. 1952. how that the Lady Elizabeth beyng in the Tower, a writte came downe ſubſcribed with certeine handes of the Counſell for her execution. Which if it were certain, as it is reported, Wincheſter (no doubt) was deuiſer of that miſchieuous drift: and doubtles the ſame Achitophell had brought his impious purpoſe that day to paſſe, had not the fatherly prouidence of almighty God (who is allwayes ſtronger then the deuill) ſtirred vp M. Bridges Lieutenant the ſame time of the Tower, to come in haſt to the Queene, to giue certificat therof, and to know further her conſent touching her ſiſters death. Wherupon it followed, that all that deuiſe was diſapointed, and Wincheſters deuiliſh platte forme, which he ſayd he had caſt, through the Lordes great goodnes, came to no effect.

Wincheſters platte forme ouerthrowen. Wherof read before pag. 1952, col. 1.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that during the priſonment of this Lady and Princeſſe, one M. Edmund Tremayne was on the Racke, and M. Smithwike, and diuers other in the Tower were examined, and diuers offers made to thē to accuſe the giltles Lady, beyng in her captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithſtandyng, no matter could be proued by all examinations, as ſhe the ſame tyme lying at Woodſtocke had certeine intelligēce by the meanes of one Iohn Gayer: who vnder a colorable pretenſe of a letter to Miſtres Cleue from her father, was let in, and ſo gaue them ſecretly to vnderſtand of all this matter. Wherupon the Lady Elizabeth at her departyng out frō Woodſtocke wrote theſe Verſes with her Diamond in a glaſſe wyndow.

Verſes written by Lady Elizabeth in yͤ glaſſe window.

Much ſuſpected by me:
Nothyng proued can be.

Quoth Elizabeth *priſoner.*

And thus much touchyng the troubles of Lady Elizabeth at Woodſtocke. Wherunto this is more to be added, that duryng the ſame tyme, the Lord of Tame had labored to the Queene, and became ſuretie for her, to haue her from Woodſtocke to his houſe, and had obteined graunt therof. Whereupon preparation was made accordyngly, and all thinges ready in expectation of her commyng. But through the procurement either of M. Benifield, or by the doyng of Wincheſter her mortall enemie, letters came ouer night to the contrary: wherby her iourney was ſtopped. Thus this worthy Lady oppreſſed with continuall ſorrowe, could not be permitted to haue recourſe to any frendes ſhe had, but ſtill in the handes of her enemyes was left deſolate & vtterly deſtitute of all that might refreſh a doulefull hart, fraught full of terrour & thraldome. Wherupon no maruell, if ſhe hearyng vpon a tyme out of her Garden at Woodſtocke a certeine milkemayde ſinging pleaſauntly, wiſhed her ſelf to be a milkemayde as ſhe was, ſaying that her caſe was better and lyfe more meryer then was hers, in that ſtate as ſhe was.

Lady Elizabeth not ſuffered to come to the Lord of Tames houſe.

Lady Elizabeth wiſheth her ſelfe to be a milkemaide.

Lady Elizabeth remoued frō Woodſtocke to Hampton Court.

Now after theſe thynges thus declared, to proceede further there where we left before, Syr Henry Benifield & his ſouldiours, with the Lord of Tame, and Sir Rafe Chamberlayne garding, & wayting vpon her, the firſt night frō Woodſtocke ſhe came to Ricotte. In which iourney ſuch a mightie winde did blow, that her ſeruaūts were faine to hold downe her clothes about her: In ſo much yͭ her hoode was twiſe or thriſe blowen frō her head. Wherupō ſhe deſirous to returne to a certeine Gentlemans houſe there nere, could not be ſuffered by Syr Hēry Benifield ſo to do, but was cōſtrained vnder an hedge to trimme her head aſwel as ſhe could.

After this, the next night they iorneyed to M. Dormers, and ſo to Colbroke, where ſhe lay all that night at the George: and by the way commyng to Colbroke, certeine of her graces Gentlemen & Yeomen met her, to the nūber of three ſcore, much to all their comfortes, which had not ſeene her grace of long ſeaſon before: notwithſtanding they were cōmaunded in yͤ Queenes name immediatly to depart yͤ towne, to both their and her graces no litle heauines, who could not be ſuffered once to ſpeake with them. So, that night all her men were taken from her, ſauyng her Gentleman Vſher, three Gentlewomen, two Gromes, and one of her Wardrobe, the ſouldiours watchyng and wardyng round about the houſe, and ſhe cloſe ſhut vp within her priſon.

L. Williā Haward gentle and fauourable to Lady Elizabeth.

The next day followyng, her grace entred Hamptō court on the backeſide, into the Princes lodgyng, the dores being ſhut to her, & ſhe garded with ſouldiours, as before, lay there a fortnight at the leaſt, or euer any had recouſe vnto her. At length came the Lord Williā Haward, who maruelous honorably vſed her grace. Wherat ſhe tooke much comfort, & requeſted him to be a meane that ſhe might ſpeake with ſome of the Counſell. To whom (not lōg after) came yͤ Byſhop of Wincheſter, yͤ Lord of Arundell, the Lord of Shrewſbury, & Secretary Peter, who with great humilitie humbled them ſelues to her grace. She agayne likewiſe ſaluting them, ſaid: My Lordes (quoth ſhe) I am glad to ſee you: for me thinke I haue bene kept a great while frō you deſolatly alone. Wherfore I would deſire you to bee a meane to the King and Queenes Maieſties, that I may be deliuered from priſon, wherin I haue bene kept a long ſpace, as to you my Lordes, it is not vnknowen.

When ſhe had ſpoken, Steuen Gardiner the Biſhop of Wincheſter kneeled downe, and requeſted that ſhe would ſubmit her ſelfe to the Queenes grace, and in ſo doyng he had no doubt but that her Maieſtie would be good vnto her: ſhe makyng aunſwere that rather then ſhe would ſo do, ſhe would lye in priſon all the dayes of her life, addyng that ſhe craued no mercie at her Maieſties hand, but rather deſired the law, if euer ſhe did offend her Maieſtie in thought, word, or deede: And beſides this, in yelding (quoth ſhe) I ſhould ſpeake againſt my ſelfe, and confeſſe my ſelfe to be an offender, which neuer was towardes her Maieſtie: by occaſion wherof the Kyng & the Queene might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion: And therfore I ſay my Lordes, it were better for me to lye in priſon for the truth, then to be abroad & ſuſpected of my Prince. And ſo they departed, promiſing to declare her meſſage to yͤ Queene.

Lady Elizabeth requeſted by Wincheſter to ſubmit her ſelfe to the Queenes mercy.

Lady Elizabeth ſtandeth to be tryed by the law.

On the next day, the Byſhop of Wincheſter came agayne vnto her grace, and kneelyng downe declared that the Queene marueiled that ſhe would ſo ſtoutly vſe her ſelfe, not confeſſing to haue offended: ſo that it ſhould ſeme the Queenes Maieſtie wrongfully to haue impriſoned her grace.

Talke againe betwen Wincheſter and *Lady Elizabeth.*

Nay quoth the Lady Elizabeth, it pleaſe her to puniſhe me as ſhe thinketh good.

Lady Elizabeth denyeth to confeſſe any fault done to the Queene.

Well quoth Gardiner, her Maieſtie willeth me to tell you, that you muſt tell an other tale ere that you be ſet at libertie.

Her grace anſwered, that ſhe had as liefe be in priſon with honeſty and truth, as to be abroad, ſuſpected of her Maieſtie: and this that I haue ſayd, I will (ſayd ſhe) ſtand vnto, for I will neuer bely my ſelfe.

Wincheſter agayne kneeled downe, and ſayd: Then your grace hath the vauntage of me & other the Lordes for your long and wrong impriſonment.

What vauntage I haue (quoth ſhe) you knew, takyng God to record I ſeeke no vantage at your hands, for your ſo dealyng with me: but God forgeue you and me alſo. With that the reſt kneeled, deſiryng her grace that all might be forgotten, and ſo departed, ſhe beyng faſt locked vp agayne.

A ſeuenight after the Queene ſent for her grace at .x. of the clocke in the night, to ſpeake with her: for ſhe had not ſeene her in two yeares before. Yet for all that ſhe was amaſed at the ſo ſodaine ſendyng for, thinkyng it had bene worſe for her then afterwardes it proued, and deſired her Gentlemē and Gentlewomen to pray for her, for that ſhe could not tell whether euer ſhe ſhould ſee them againe or no. At which time Syr Henry Benifield with Miſtres Clarencius cōming in, her grace was brought into the garden vnto a ſtayres foote that went into the Queenes lodgyng, her graces Gentlewomen waityng vpon her, her Gentleman Vſher and her Gromes goyng before with torches: where her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen beyng commaunded to ſtay all ſauyng one woman, Miſtres Clarencius conducted her to the Queenes bed chamber, where her Maieſty was. At the ſight of whō her grace kneeled downe and deſired God to preſerue her Maieſtie, not miſtruſtyng but that ſhe ſhould try her ſelfe as true a ſubiect towardes her Maieſtie, as euer did any, and deſired her Maieſtie euen ſo to iudge of her: and ſayd that ſhe ſhould not find her to the contrary, what ſo euer report otherwiſe had gone of her.

Lady Elizabeth ſent for to the Queene.

Lady Elizabeth brought to the Queenes bed chamber.

To whom the Queene aunſwered: you will not confeſſe your offenſe, but ſtād ſtoutly to your truth: I pray God it may ſo fall out.

If it doth not, quoth the Lady Elizebeth, I requeſt neither fauour nor pardon at your Maieſties handes.

Talke betwene the Queene and Lady *Elizabeth.*

Well, ſayd the Queene, you ſtiſly ſtill perſeuere in your truth. Belike you will not confeſſe but that you haue bene wrongfully puniſhed.

I muſt not ſay ſo (if it pleaſe your Maieſty) to you.

Why, thē (ſaid the Queene) belike you wil to other.

No, if it pleaſe your Maieſty (quoth ſhe) I haue borne the burden, and muſt beare it. I humbly beſech your Maieſtie to haue a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be your true ſubiect, not onely from the begynnyng hetherto, but for euer, as long as lyfe laſteth: and ſo they departed with very few comfortable wordes of the Queene, in Engliſh: but what ſhe ſayd in Spaniſh, God knoweth. It is thought that Kyng Philip was there behind a cloth, and not ſeene, and that he ſhewed him ſelfe a very frend in that matter. &c.

Small comfort at yͤ Queenes hand toward her ſiſter.

King Phillip thought to be a frend to Lady *Elizabeth.*

Thus her grace departyng, went to her lodgyng againe, & the ſeuenight after was releaſed of Syr Henry Benifield her Gailor (as ſhe termed him) and his ſouldiours, and ſo her grace being ſet at libertie frō impriſonment, went into the countrey, and had appointed to go with her Syr Thomas Pope, one of Queene Maries Counſellours, and one of her Gentlemen Vſhers, M. Gage, and thus ſtraitly was ſhe loked to all Queene Maries tyme. And this is the diſcourſe of her highnes impriſonment.

Lady Elizab. by Gods prouidence ſet at libertie.

Syr Henry Benifield diſcharged.

Then there came to Lambeyre, M. Iernyngham, and M. Norris Gentleman Vſher, Queene Maries men, who tooke away from her grace Miſtres Aſhley to the Fleete, and .iij. other of her Gentlewomen to the Tower: which thing was no litle trouble to her grace, ſaying that ſhe thought they would fetch all away at the end: but God be prayſed, ſhortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the mercyfull prouidence of the Lordes goodnes, by occaſion of whoſe opportune deceaſſe (as is partly touched in thys ſtory before, pag. 1951.) the lyfe of this excellent Princeſſe, the wealth of all England, was preſerued. For this is credibly to be ſuppoſed, that the ſayd wicked Gardiner of Wincheſter had lōg labored his wits, and to this onely moſt principall marke bent all his deuiſes, to bryng this our happy and deare ſoueraigne out of the way, as both by his wordes & doinges before notified, may ſufficiently appeare.

Miſtres *Aſhley* ſent to the Fleete.

3. gentlewomen of Lady *Elizabethes* ſent to the Tower.

Note the wonderfull workyng of the Lordes prouidence in ſauing of Lady *Elizabeth.*

Lady Elizab. deliuered by the death of *Steuen Gardiner.*

But ſuch was the gratious and fauourable prouidence of the Lord, to the preſeruation not onely of her Royall Maieſtie, but alſo of the miſerable and wofull ſtate of this whole Iland & poore ſubiectes of the ſame, wherby the proud platformes & peuiſh practiſes of this wretched Achitophel preuailed not, but contrariwiſe both he, and all the ſnares and trappes of his pernicious counſell layd agaynſt an other, were turned to a net to catch him ſelfe, accordyng to the Prouerbe: Malum conſilium conſultori peſſimum.

After the death of this Gardiner, folowed the death alſo and droppyng away of other her enemies, wherby by litle and litlē her ieopardy decreaſed, feare diminiſhed, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloude: and albeit as yet her grace had no full aſſuraunce of perfect ſafety, yet more gentle intertainment dayly did grow vnto her, till at lēgth in yͤ moneth of Nouember, and .xvij. day of the ſame, three yeares after yͤ death of Steuen Gardiner, followed the death of Queene Mary, as hereafter God grauntyng ſhalbe more declared.

How the Lord here beganne to worke for Lady *Elizabeth.*

Although this hiſtory followyng be not directly apparteining to the former matter, yet the ſame may here not vnaptly be inſerted, for that it doth diſcouer & ſhew forth the malicious hartes of the Papiſtes toward this vertuous Queene our ſoueraigne Lady in the tyme of Queene Mary her ſiſter, which is reported, as a truth credibly told by ſondry honeſt perſons, of whom ſome are yet aliue & do teſtifie the ſame. The matter wherof is this. Soone after the ſturre of Wyat and the troubles that happened to this Queene for that cauſe: it fortuned

A note of a ſtory declaring the malignant hartes of the Papiſtes toward Lady *Elizabeth.*

Rob. Farrer of London a ſore enemye to Lady Elizabeth.

Laurence Sherife ſworne frend and ſeruaunt to Lady Elizabeth hys miſtres.

turned one Robert Farrer a Haberdaſher of London, dwellyng nere vnto Newgate market, in a certeine mornyng to be at the Roſe tauerne (from whence he was ſeldome abſent) and fallyng to hys common drinke, as hée was euer accuſtomed, and hauyng in his company thrée other companions like to hym ſelfe, it chaunced the ſame tyme one Laurence Sherife Grocer, dwellyng alſo not farre from thence, to come into the ſayd tauerne, and findyng there the ſayd Farrer (to whom of long tyme he had borne good will) ſat downe in the ſeate to drinke with him, and Farrer hauyng in his full cuppes, and not hauyng conſideration who were preſent, began to talke at large, and namely agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth, and ſayd: that Gill hath bene one of the chiefe doers of thys rebellion of Wyat, and before all be done, ſhe and all the heretickes her partakers ſhall well vnderſtand of it. Some of them hope that ſhe ſhall haue the crowne, but ſhe and they (I truſt) that ſo hope, ſhall hoppe hedles, or be fried with Fagots before ſhe come to it.

Rob. Farrer rayleth agaynſt Lady Elizabeth.

The part of a good truſtie ſeruaunt.

The aforeſayd Laurence Sherife Grocer being then ſeruaunt vnto the ſayd Lady Elizabeth, and ſworne vnto her grace, could no longer forbeare his old acquaintance & neighbour Farrer in ſpeaking ſo vnreuerently of his Miſtres, but ſaid vnto him: Farrer I haue loued thée as a neighbour, and haue had a good opinion of thée, but hearyng of thée that I now heare, I defie thée: and I tell thée, I am her graces ſworne ſeruaunt, and ſhe is a Princeſſe and yͤ daughter of a noble kyng, and it euill becommeth thée to call her a Gill, and for thy ſo ſaying, I ſay thou art a knaue, and I will complayne vpon thée. Do thy worſt, ſayd Farrer, for that I ſayd I will ſay agayne, and ſo Sherife came from hys company.

Rob. Farrer complayned of to the Commiſſioners, but no redreſſe was had.

Shortly after, the ſayd Sherife takyng an honeſt neighbour with him, went before the Commiſſioners to complaine: the which Commiſſioners ſatte then at Boner the Byſhop of Londons houſe beſide Paules, and there were preſent Boner then beyng the chiefe Commiſſioner, the Lorde Mordant, Syr Iohn Baker, Doct. Darbyſhyre Chauncellour to the Biſhop, Doct. Story, Doct. Harpſfield and other. The aforeſayd Sherife commyng before them, declared the maner of the ſayd Robert Farrers talke agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth. Boner aunſwered: parauenture you tooke him worſe then he ment. Yea my Lorde, ſayd Doct. Story, if you knew the mã as I do, you would ſay there is not a better Catholicke nor an honeſter man in the Citie of London. Well, ſayd Sherife, my Lord, ſhe is my gracious Lady and Miſtres, and it is not to be ſuffered that ſuch a varlet as he is, ſhould call ſo honorable a Princeſſe by yͤ name of a Gill: And I ſaw yeſterday in the Court that my Lord Cardinall Poole metyng her in the chamber of preſence, knéeled downe on his knées and kiſſed her hand, and I ſaw alſo that King Philip méetyng her, made her ſuch obeyſaunce that his knée touched the ground: and then me thinketh it were to much to ſuffer ſuch a varlet as this is, to call her Gill, and to wiſhe them to hoppe hedles that ſhall wiſh her grace to enioy the poſſeſſion of the crowne when God ſhall ſend it vnto her as in the right of her inheritaunce. Yea: ſtay there quoth Boner. When God ſendeth it vnto her, let her enioy it. But truly (ſayd he) the mã that ſpake yͤ wordes that you haue reported, ment nothyng agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth your Miſtres, and no more do we: but he like an honeſt and zelous man feared the alteration of Religion, which euery good man ought to feare: and therfore (ſayd Boner) good man go your wayes home and report well of vs toward your Miſtres, and we will ſend for Farrer and rebuke him for his raſh and vndiſcreet wordes, and we truſt he will not do the like agayne. And thus Sherife came away, and Farrer had a flap with a Foxe tayle.

How Byſhop Boner and D. Story beare with hym that rayled agaynſt Lady Elizabeth.

Now that ye may be fully informed of the aforeſayd Farrer, whom Doct. Story prayſed for ſo good a man, ye ſhall vnderſtand that the ſame Farrer hauyng two daughters beyng handſome maydens, the elder of thẽ for a ſumme of money he him ſelfe deliuered to Syr Roger Cholmeley to be at his commaundement, the other he ſold to a Knight called Syr William Goodolphin to be at his cõmaũdement: whom he made his lackye and ſo caried her with him beyng appareled in mans apparell to Boleyn, and the ſayd Farrer followed the Campe. He alſo was a great and a horrible blaſphemer of God, and a cõmõ accuſer of honeſt and quyet men, and alſo a cõmõ dronkard. And now I refer the lyfe of theſe Catholickes to your iudgemẽt, to thinke of them as you pleaſe.

Note the vngodly life of theſe Catholickes.

But of this matter enough & to much. Now let vs returne where we left before, which was at yͤ death of Quéene Mary. After whoſe deceaſe ſucceded her foreſayd ſiſter Lady Elizabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after ſo long reſtrainement, ſo great dãgers eſcaped, ſuch bluſterous ſtormes ouerblowne, ſo many iniuries digeſted and wronges ſuſteined by the mighty protection of our mercyfull God, to our no ſmall comfort and commoditie, hath bene exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of daunger to peace and quietnes, frõ dread to dignitie, frõ miſery to Maieſtie, from mournyng to rulyng: briefly, of a priſoner made a Princeſſe, and placed in her throne Royall, proclaimed now Quéene, with as many glad hartes of her ſubiectes, as euer was any Kyng or Quéene in this Realme before her, or euer ſhall be (I dare ſay) hereafter.

Lady Elizabeth proclaimed Quéene the ſame day that Q. Mary dyed.

The Lord make England thankfull to hym for hys great benefites.

Touchyng whoſe floriſhyng ſtate, her Princely reigne, and peaceable gouernement, with other things diuers and ſondry incident to the ſame, and eſpecially touchyng the great ſtyrres and alterations which haue happened in other foreine nations, and alſo partly among our ſelues here at home, for ſo much as the tractation hereof requireth an other Volume by it ſelfe, I ſhall therfore differre the reader to the next booke or Section inſuyng: wherein (if the Lord ſo pleaſe to ſuſteine me with leaue and lyfe) I may haue to diſcourſe of all and ſingular ſuch matters done and achiued in theſe our latter dayes and memory, more at large.

Now then after theſe ſo great afflictions fallyng vpon this Realme from the firſt begynnyng of Quéene Maryes reigne, wherin ſo many mẽ, women, and children were burned, many impriſoned and in priſons ſtarued, diuers exiled, ſome ſpoyled of goods and poſſeſſions, a great number driuen from houſe and home, ſo many wéepyng eyes, ſo many ſobbyng hartes, ſo many childrẽ made fatherles, ſo many fathers bereft of their wiues and children ſo many vexed in conſcience, and diuers againſt conſcience conſtrained to recant, and in concluſion, neuer a good man almoſt in all the Realme but ſuffered ſomething during all the time of this bloudy perſecution: after all this (I ſay) now we are come at length (the Lord be prayſed) to the xvij. day of Nouember, which day as it brought to the perſecuted members of Chriſt, reſt from their carefull mournyng, ſo it eaſeth me ſomwhat likewiſe of my laborious writyng, by the death I meane of Quéene Mary. Who beyng long ſicke before, vpõ the ſayd xvij. day of Nouember, in the yeare aboue ſayd, about iij. or iiij. a clocke in the mornyng, yelded her life to nature, and her kyngdome to Quéene Elizabeth her ſiſter.

Noueb. 17.

Q. Mary endeth.

Quéene Elizabeth beginneth her reigne.

The maner of Q. Maries death.

As touching the maner of whoſe death, ſome ſay that ſhe dyed of a Tympany, ſome by her much ſighing before her death, ſuppoſed ſhe dyed of thought and ſorow. Wherupon her Counſell ſeyng her ſighing, and deſirous to know the cauſe, to the end they might miniſter the more ready cõſolation vnto her, feared, as they ſayd, that ſhe tooke that thought for the kynges Maieſtie her husband, which was gone from her. To whom ſhe aunſweryng againe: In déede (ſayd ſhe) that may be

one

Q. Mary tooke thought for the loſſe of Calice.

More Engliſh bloud ſpilled in Queene Maries time, then euer was many kinges reigne before her.

one cauſe, but that is not the greateſt woũd that pearceth my oppreſſed minde: but what that was ſhe would not expreſſe to them. Albeit, afterward ſhe opened the matter more playnely to M. Riſe and Miſtres Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of M. Ryſe him ſelfe) who they beyng moſt familiar with her, and moſt bolde about her, tolde her that they feared ſhe tooke thought for king Philips departing frõ her. Not that onely (ſayd ſhe) but when I am dead & opened, you ſhall find Calyce lying in my hart. &c. And here an end of Queene Mary, and of her perſecutiõ. Of which Queene this truly may be affirmed and left in ſtory for a perpetuall memoriall or Epitaph, for all Kinges and Queenes that ſhall ſuccede her to be noted, that before her neuer was read in ſtory of any Kyng or Queene in England ſince the tyme of kyng Lucius, vnder whom in tyme of peace, by hangyng, headyng, burnyng, and priſoning, ſo much Chriſtian bloud, ſo many Engliſhmens liues were ſpilled within this Realme, as vnder the ſayd Queene Mary for the ſpace of foure yeares was to be ſeene, and I beſeech the Lord neuer may be ſeene hereafter.

A briefe declaration ſhewing the vnproſperous ſucceſſe of Queene Mary in perſecutyng Gods people, and how mightily God wrought agaynſt her in all her affaires.

The reigne of Queene Mary how vnproſperous it was both to her and to her realme & in all [illegible]

NOw, for ſo much as Queene Mary, duryng all the tyme of her reigne, was ſuch a vehement aduerſary and perſecutour agaynſt the ſincere profeſſours of Chriſt Ieſus and of his Goſpel: for the which there be many which do highly magnifie and approue her doynges therin, reputing her Religion to be ſound and Catholicke, and her procedynges to be moſt acceptable and bleſſed of almighty God: to the entẽt therfore, that all men may vnderſtand, how the bleſſing of the Lorde God did not onely not procede with her procedynges, but contrary, rather how his manifeſt diſpleaſure euer wrought agaynſt her, in plaging both her and her Realme, and in ſubuertyng all her counſells and attemptes, what ſo euer ſhe tooke in hand: we will beſtow a litle tyme therein, to perpende and ſuruey the whole courſe of her doynges and cheuaunces, and conſider what ſucceſſe ſhe had in the ſame. Which beyng well conſidered, we ſhall find neuer no reigne of any Prince in this land, or any other, which had euer to ſhew in it (for the proportiõ of tyme) ſo many Argumentes of Gods great wrath and diſpleaſure, as was to be ſeene in the reigne of this Queene Mary, whether we behold the ſhortnes of her tyme, or the vnfortunate euent of all her purpoſes: who ſemed neuer to purpoſe any thyng that came luckely to paſſe, neither did any thyng frame to her purpoſe what ſoeuer ſhe tooke in hand touching her owne priuate affaires.

Q. Mary neuer had good ſucceſſe in any thing ſhe went about.

A good kyng alwaies maketh a flouriſhyng realme.

Of good kynges we read in the Scripture, in ſhewyng mercy and pitie, in ſeekyng Gods will in his word, and ſubuertyng the monumentes of Idolatry, how God bleſſed their wayes, encreaſed their honours, and mightely proſpered all their procedynges: as we ſee in kyng Dauid, Salomon, Ioſias, Ioſaphath, Ezechias, with ſuch other. Manaſſes made the ſtreetes of Hieruſalem to ſwymme with the bloud of his ſubiectes, but what came of it the text doth teſtifie.

Compariſon betweene the reigne of Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth.

Of Queene Elizabeth, which now reigneth among vs, this we muſt nedes ſay, which we ſee, that ſhe in ſparyng the bloud, not onely of Gods ſeruauntes, but alſo of Gods enemies, hath doubled now the reigne of Queene Mary her ſiſter, with ſuch abundance of peace and proſperitie, that it is hard to ſay, whether the Realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in Queene Maryes tyme, or of Gods fauour and mercy in theſe ſo bleſſed and peaceable dayes of Queene Elizabeth.

Gamaliels reaſon. Act. v.

Gamaliell ſpeakyng his mynd in the Counſell of the Phariſeis concernyng Chriſtes Religion, gaue this reaſon, that if it were of God, it ſhould continue, who ſoeuer ſayd nay: If it were not, it could not ſtand. So may it be ſayd of Queene Mary and her Romiſh Religion, that if it were ſo perfecte and Catholicke as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the Goſpellers were ſo deteſtable and hereticall as they make it, how commeth it then, that this ſo Catholicke a Queene, ſuch a neceſſary piller of his ſpouſe his Church, continued no longer, till ſhe had vtterly rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? Yea how chaunced it rather, that almightie God, to ſpare theſe poore heretickes, rooted out Queene Mary ſo ſoone from her throne, after ſhe had reigned but onely fiue yeares and fiue monethes?

Q. Mary proſpered ſo long as ſhe went not agaynſt the Lord.

Q. Maries promiſe to the Goſpellers broken.

Now furthermore, how God bleſſed her wayes and endeuours in the meane tyme, while ſhe thus perſecuted the true ſeruauntes of God, remaineth to be diſcuſſed. Where firſt this is to be noted, that when ſhe firſt began to ſtand for the title of the crowne, and yet had wrought no reſiſtance agaynſt Chriſt and his Goſpell, but had promiſed her faith to the Suffolke men, to mainteine the Religion left by kyng Edward her brother, ſo long God went with her, aduaunced her, and by the meanes of ẏ Goſpellers brought her to the poſſeſſion of the Realme. But after that ſhe breakyng her promiſe with God and man, began to take part with Steuen Gardiner, and had geuen ouer her ſupremacie vnto the Pope, by and by Gods bleſſing left her, neither did any thinke well thriue with her afterward duryng the whole tyme of her Regiment.

The ſhip called great Harry burned.

Q. Maries mariage with a ſtraunger.

Q. Mary diſappoynted of her purpoſe in crowning K. Phillip.

Q. Mary ſtopped of her will in reſtoring Abbey landes.

For firſt incontinently the fayreſt and greateſt Shyp ſhe had, called great Harry, was burned, ſuch a veſſell as in al theſe partes of Europe was not to be matched. Then would ſhe needes bryng in kyng Philip, and by her ſtraunge Mariage with him, make the whole Realme of England ſubiect vnto a ſtraunger. And all that notwithſtanding, either that ſhe did or was able to do, ſhe could not bryng to paſſe to ſet the crowne of England vpon his head. With kyng Philip alſo came in the Pope and his Popiſhe Maſſe: with whom alſo her purpoſe was to reſtore agayne the Monkes and Nonnes vnto their places, neither lacked there all kynd of attemptes to the vttermoſt of her abilitie: and yet therin alſo God ſtopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in her tyme here in her land? the like wherof lightly hath not in Englãd bene ſeene, in ſo much that in ſundry places her poore ſubiectes were fayne to feede of acornes for want of Corne.

Furthermore, where other kynges are wont to be renowmed by ſome worthy victory and prowes by them achiued, let vs now ſee what valiant victory was gotten in this Queene Maryes dayes. Kyng Edward the ſixt her bleſſed brother, how many rebellions did he ſuppreſſe in Deuonſhyre, in Northfolke, in Oxfordſhyre, and els where? what a famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the ſingular workyng (no doubt) of Gods bleſſed hand, rather then by any expectation of man? K. Edward the thyrd (which was the xj. kyng frõ the conqueſt) by Princely puiſance purchaſed Calyce vnto England, which hath bene kept Engliſh euer ſince, till at length came Queene Mary, the xj. likewiſe from the ſayd kyng Edward, which loſt Calyce from England agayne: ſo that the wynnynges of this Queene were very ſmall: what the loſſes were, let other men iudge.

The victory of kyng Edward.6. in Scotland.

The ill lucke of Queene Mary in loſing of Calice.

The xj. king after the Conqueſt got Calice, and the xj. againe after hym loſt it.

The ill lucke of Queene Mary in her childbyrth.

Hetherto the affaires of Queene Mary haue had no great good ſucceſſe, as you haue heard. But neuer worſe ſucceſſe had any womã, then had ſhe in her childbyrth. For ſeyng one of theſe two muſt nedes be graũted, that either ſhe was with child or not with child, if ſhe were with child and did trauayle, why was it not ſeene? if ſhe were not, how was all ẏ Realme deluded? And in the meane while where were all the prayers, the ſolemne proceſſions, the deuout Maſſes of the Cathotholicke Clergy? why did they not preuayle with God, if their Religion were ſo godly as they pretẽd? If their Maſſes Ex opere operato be able to fetch Chriſt from heauen, and to reach downe to Purgatory, how chaunced then they could not reach to the Queenes chamber, to helpe her in her trauaile, if ſhe had bene with child in dede? if not, how then came it to paſſe, that al the Catholicke Church of England did ſo erre, and was ſo depely deceaued?

Q. Mary left deſolate of *K. Phillip* her huſband.

Queene Mary, after theſe manifold plagues and correctiõs, which might ſufficiently admoniſh her of Gods diſfauour prouoked agaynſt her, would not yet ceaſe her perſecution, but ſtill continued more and more to reuenge her Catholicke zeale vpon the Lordes faithfull people, ſettyng fire to their poore bodyes by doſens & halfedoſens together. Wherupon Gods wrathfull indignation increaſing more and more agaynſt her ceaſed not to touch her more nere with priuate miſfortunes and calamities. For after that he had takẽ from her the fruite of children (which chiefly and aboue all thinges ſhe deſired) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly thinges ſhould haue bene her chiefe ſtay of honour, and ſtaffe of her comfort, that is, withdrew frõ her the affection and company euen of her owne huſband, by whoſe Mariage ſhe had promiſed before to her ſelfe whole heapes of ſuch ioy and felicitie: but now the omnipotent gouernour of all thinges ſo turned the wheele of her own ſpinnyng agaynſt her, that her high buildinges of ſuch ioyes and felicities, came all to a Caſtlecomedown, her hopes being cõfounded, her purpoſes diſappointed, and ſhe now brought to deſolation: who ſeemed neither to haue ẏ fauour of God, nor the hartes of her ſubiectes, nor yet the loue of her huſband: who neither had fruite by him while ſhe had him, neither could now enioy him whom ſhe had maried, neither yet was in libertie to mary any other whom ſhe might enioy. Marke here (Chriſtian reader) the wofull aduerſitie of this Queene, and learne withall, what the Lord can do whẽ mans wilfulnes will needes reſiſte him, and will not be ruled.

The ill lucke of Queene *Mary* with her huſband.

The finall end and death of *Q. Marie.*

At laſt, when all theſe fayre admonitions would take no place with the Queene, nor moue her to reuoke her bloudy lawes, nor to ſtay the tyranny of her Prieſtes, nor yet to ſpare her owne ſubiectes, but that the poore ſeruauntes of God were drawen dayly by heapes moſt pitifully as ſheepe to the ſlaughter, it ſo pleaſed the heauenly Maieſty of almightie God, when no other remedy would ſerue, by death to cut her of, which in her life ſo litle regarded the life of others: giuyng her throne, which ſhe abuſed to the deſtruction of Chriſtes Church and people, to an other who more temperatly and quietly could guide the ſame, after ſhe had reigned here the ſpace of v. yeares and v. monethes. The ſhortnes of which yeares and reigne, vnneth we finde in any other ſtory of Kyng or Queene ſince the conqueſt or before (beyng come to their owne gouernement) ſaue onely in kyng Richard the thyrd.

Q. Mary reigned v. yeares and v. monethes.

The ſhortnes of Queene *Maries* reigne noted.

An admonitiõ to all Chriſtian rulers.

And thus much here, as in the cloſing vp of this ſtory, I thought to inſinuate, touching the vnlucky and ruefull reigne of Queene Mary: not for any detractatiõ to her place and ſtate Royall, wherunto ſhe was called of the Lord, but to this onely intent and effect, that forſomuch as ſhe would nedes ſet her ſelfe ſo confidently to worke and ſtriue agaynſt the Lorde and his procedynges, all readers and rulers not onely may ſee how the Lord did worke agaynſt her therfore, but alſo by her may be aduertiſed & learne what a perillous thing it is for men or women in authoritie, vpon blinde zeale and opinion, to ſtyrre vp perſecution in Chriſtes Church, to the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, leſt it proue in the end with them (as it did here) that while they thinke to perſecute heretickes, they ſtumble at the ſame ſtone as did the Iewes in perſecutyng Chriſt and his true members to death, to their own confuſion and deſtruction.

The ſeuere puniſhment of Gods mighty hand, vpon Prieſtes and Prelates, with ſuch other, as haue bene perſecutors of his people and the members of hys true Church.

Iuſt cauſe of Gods ſeuere puniſhment agaynſt cruell perſecutors, and enemies to his word.

Ioſephus De antiquit. li. 13.

Leauyng now Queene Mary, beyng dead and gone, I come to thẽ which vnder her were the chief miniſters and doers in this perſecutiõ, the Byſhops (I meane) and Prieſtes of the Clergy, to whõ Queene Mary gaue all the execution of her power, as did Queene Alexandra to the Phariſeis after ẏ tyme of ẏ Machabees. Of whom Ioſephus thus writeth: Ipſa ſolum nomen regium ferebat, cæterum omnem regni poteſtatem Phariſæi poſſidebant. That is: She onely reteined to her ſelfe the name and title of the kyngdome, but all her power ſhe gaue to ẏ Phariſeis to poſſeſſe &c. Touchyng which Prelates and Prieſtes, here is to be noted in like ſort the wonderfull and miraculous prouidẽce of almighty God, which as he abridged the reigne of their Queene, ſo he ſuffered them not to eſcape vnuiſited: firſt begynnyng with Steuen Gardiner the Archperſecutour of Chriſtes Church, whom he tooke away about the middeſt of the Queenes reigne. Of whoſe poyſoned lyfe and ſtincking end, for ſo much as ſufficient hath bene touched before pag. 1952. I ſhall not neede here to make any new rehearſall therof.

The death of *Ste. Gardiner.*

Gods puniſhment vpõ Doct. *Morgan* B. of S. Dauies.

After him dropped other away alſo, ſome before the death of Q. Mary, and ſome after, as Morgan B. of S. Dauids, who ſitting vpon ẏ cõdemnation of the bleſſed Martyr Byſhop Farrar, and vniuſtly vſurpyng his rowme, not long after was ſtricken by Gods hand after ſuch a ſtraunge ſort, that his meate would not go downe, but ryſe and pycke vp againe, ſometyme at his mouth, ſometyme blowen out of his noſe moſt horribly to behold, & ſo he continued till his death. Where note moreuer that when Maiſter Leyſon beyng then Sheriffe at Byſhop Farrars burnyng, had ſet away the cattell of the ſayd Byſhop, from his ſeruauntes houſe called Matthew Harbottell, into his own cuſtody, the cattell commyng into the Sheriffes ground, diuers of them would neuer eate meate but lay bellowyng and roaryng, and ſo dyed.

A note of wronge gotten goods.

Iuſtice *Morgan* ſtricken with madnes.

This foreſayd Byſhop Morgan aboue mentioned, bringeth me alſo in remembraũce of Iuſtice Morgan, who ſat vpon the death of the Lady Iane, and not long after the ſame, fell mad and was bereft of his wyttes, and ſo dyed, hauing euer in his mouth, Lady Iane, Lady Iane. &c.

Doctor *Dunning* a cruell Chauncellor, ſtricken with ſodeine death.

Before ẏ death of Q. Mary, dyed D. Dunnyng the bloudy & wretched Chauncellour of Norwich, who, after he had moſt rigorouſly condemned & murthered ſo many ſimple and faithfull Saintes of the Lord, continued not long him ſelfe, but in the middle of hys rage in Queene Maryes dayes dyed in Lincolneſhyre beyng ſodeinly taken (as ſome ſay) ſitting in his chayre.

The ſodein death of *Berry* a wicked Cõmiſſary in Northfolke.

The like ſodein death fell alſo vpon Berry Commiſſary in Northfolke, who (as is before ſhewed in the ſtory of Thomas Hudſon) foure dayes after Queene Maries death, when he had made a great feaſt, and had one of his concubines there, commyng home from the Church after Euenſong, where he had miniſtred Baptiſme the ſame tyme, betwene the Churchyard and his houſe, ſodeinly fell downe to the ground with a heauy grone, and neuer ſtyrred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentaunce.

Gods ſtroke vpõ Doctor *Thornton* Biſhop or Suffragan of Douer.

What a ſtroke of Gods hand was brought vpon the cruell perſecutour of the holy and harmles Saintes of the Lord, Byſhop Thornton, Suffragan of Douer, who after he had exerciſed his cruell tyranny vppon ſo many godly men at Canterbury, at length commyng vpon a Saterday from the Chapter houſe at Canterbury to Borne, & there vpon Sonday followyng, lokyng vpon his men playing at the bowles, fell ſodainly in a Palſey, and ſo had to bed, was willed to remẽber God. Yea, ſo I do (ſayd he) & my Lord Cardinall to. &c.

An other Suffragan of Douer brake hys necke after he had receaued the Cardinalls bleſſing.

After him ſucceded an other Byſhop or Suffragane, ordained by the foreſayd Cardinall. It is reported that he had bene Suffragan before to Boner, who not long after he was made Byſhop or Suffragan of Douer, brake his necke falling downe a payre of ſtayres in the Cardinals chamber at Grenewich, as he had receiued the Cardinals bleſſing.

A terrible example of Gods ſeuere puniſhment vpon one *Nightingall* Parſon of Crondall in Kent.

To theſe examples alſo may be added the terrible iudgemẽt of God vpon ẏ Parſon of Crondall in Kent, who vpon Shroueſonday hauing receiued the Popes pardon frõ Cardinall Poole, came to his Pariſh, & exhorted the people to receaue the ſame, as he had done him ſelfe: ſaying, that he ſtode now ſo cleare in conſcience as whẽ he was firſt borne, & cared not now if he ſhould dye ẏ ſame houre in that clerenes of conſcience: wherupon being ſodeinly ſtricken by the hand of God, and leaning a litle on ẏ one ſide, immediatly ſhronke downe in the Pulpit, and ſo was found dead, ſpeakyng not one worde more. Read before pag. 1731.

Doctor *Geffrey* Chauncellor of Saliſbury.

Not long before the death of Quéene Mary dyed D. Capon Byſhop of Saliſbury. About the which tyme alſo followed the vnprepared death of Doctor Geffrey Chaũcellour of Saliſbury, who in the midest of his buildynges, ſodainly beyng taken by the mightie hand of God, yelded his life, which had ſo litle pitie of other mens lyues before. Concernyng whoſe cruelty partly mention is made before pag. 2256. As touching moreouer this foreſayd Chauncellour, here is to be noted, that he departyng vpõ a Saterday, ẏ next day before ẏ ſame, he had appointed to call before him. 90. perſons & not ſo few, to examine them by Inquiſition, had not the gódnes of the Lord, and his tender prouidence, thus preuented him with death, prouidyng for his póre ſeruauntes in tyme.

And now (to come from Prieſtes to Lay men) we haue to finde in them alſo no leſſe terrible demonſtrations of Gods heauy iudgement vpon ſuch as haue bene vexers and perſecutors of his people.

Maiſter *Woodroffe* a cruell Shrieffe, plagued.

Before in the ſtory of M. Bradford, mention was made of M. Woodroffe, who being then Sheriffe, vſed much to reioyce at ẏ death of ẏ póre Saintes of Chriſt, and ſo hard he was in his office, that when M. Rogers was in ẏ cart going toward Smithfield, & in the way his children were brought vnto him, ẏ people making a lane for thẽ to come: M. Woodroffe bad the carmans head ſhould be broken for ſtaying his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office ẏ ſpace of a wéeke, but he was ſtricken by ẏ ſodaine hand of God, the one halfe of his body, in ſuch ſort that he lay benũmed & bedred, not able to moue him ſelfe but as he was lifted of other, & ſo continued in that infirmitie ẏ ſpace of vij. or viij. yeares till his dying day. pag. 1805.

The betrayer of *George Eagles*, plagued.

Likewiſe touching Rafe Lardin the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of ſome, that ẏ ſaid Rafe afterward was attached hym ſelf, arrained, & hanged. Hereof read more in our former edition. pag. 1615.

Among other perſecutours alſo came to our handes the crueltie of one M. Swingfield an Aldermans Deputie about Thamis ſtréete, who hearyng one Angelles wife, a midwife that kept her ſelfe from their popiſh Church, to be at ẏ labour of one Miſtres Walter at croked Lane end, toke. iij. other with him, and beſet the houſe about, and toke her and caryed her to Boners officers, byg with childe, xxviij. wéekes gone, who layd her in Lollardes Tower, where as the ſame day ſhe came in, through feare & a fall at her taking, ſhe was deliuered of a man child, & could haue no woman with her in that néedefull time. Lying there v. wéekes, ſhe was deliuered vnder ſureties by frendſhyp, and Doct. Story hearyng therof charged her with fellony, and ſo ſent her to Newgate. The cauſe was for that ſhe had a woman at her houſe in her labour that dyed, and the child alſo, & ſo he charged her with their death. But when Syr Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he deliuered her: & not much more then. x. wéekes after, if it were ſo long, dyed ẏ ſayd M. Swingfield, and the other thrée that came to take her.

Gods puniſhment vpõ M. *Swingfield* and other which betrayed one *Angelles* wife.

A ſtory of *Burton* Bailiffe of Crowland, how he was plagued for ſetting vp Maſſe.

Becauſe ſome there be, and not a few, which haue ſuch a great deuotion in ſetting vp ẏ Popiſh Maſſe, I ſhall deſire thẽ to marke wel this ſtory folowing. There was a certaine Baliſe of Crouland in Lincolneſhyre named Burton, who pretẽding an earneſt frendſhyp to the Goſpell in K. Edwardes daies, in outward ſhew at leaſt (although inwardly he was a Papiſt or Atheiſt, and well knowen to be a man of a wicked and adulterous lyfe) ſet forth the kynges procedynges luſtely, till the tyme that King Edward was dead & Quéene Mary placed quietly in her eſtate. Then perceauing by the firſt proclamation concernyng Religiõ, how the world was like to turne, the Baliſe turned his Religion likewiſe: & ſo he moued the Pariſh to ſhew them ſelues the Quéenes frendes, and to ſet vp the Maſſe ſpedely. Neuertheles the moſt ſubſtantiall of the Pariſh, marueilyng much at the Baliſes inconſtant lightnes, conſideryng alſo his abominable life, and hauyng no great deuotion vnto his requeſt: knowyng moreouer that their duetie and frendſhip to the Quéene ſtode not in ſetting vp the Maſſe, ſpared to prouide for it, as long as they might: but the Baliſe called on thẽ ſtil in the Quéenes name. At laſt, whẽ he ſaw his wordes were not regarded, & purpoſing to winne his ſpurres by playing ẏ mã in the Maſſes behalfe & the Quéenes, he got hym to the Church vpon a ſunday morning, and whẽ the Curate was begynnyng the Engliſhe ſeruice, accordyng to the Statute ſet forth by kyng Edward the vj. the Baliſe commeth in a great rage to the Curate & ſayth: Syrra, will you not ſay Maſſe? buckle your ſelfe to Maſſe you knaue, or by Gods bloud I ſhall ſheath my dagger in your ſhoulder. The póre Curate for feare ſetled hym ſelfe to Maſſe.

Burton earneſt in ſetting vp the Maſſe.

Not long after this, the Baliſe rode frõ home vpon certeine buſines, accompanyed with one of his neighbours, and as they came ridyng together vppon the Fennebanke homeward agayne, a Crowe ſittyng in a willow trée toke her flight ouer his head, ſingyng after her wonted note, knaue, knaue, and withall let fall vpon his face, ſo that her excrementes ranne from the toppe of his noſe downe to his beard. The poyſoned ſent and ſauour wherof ſo noyed his ſtomacke, that he neuer ceaſſed vomityng vntill he came home: wherewith his hart was ſo ſore and his body ſo diſtempered, that for extreme ſicknes he got him to bed, & ſo lying, he was not able for ẏ ſtincke in his ſtomacke & painfull vomityng, to receaue any relief of meate or drinke, but cryed out ſtill, ſorowfully cõplaining of that ſtinke, and with no ſmall othes, curſing ẏ Crow that had poyſoned him. To make ſhort, he continued but a few dayes, but with extreme payne of vomiting & crying he deſperatly dyed without any token of repẽtance of his former lyfe.

The ſtinking death of a Popiſh Maſſemunger.

Reported and teſtified for a certeintie, by diuers of hys neighbours, both honeſt and credible perſons.

Of the Martyrdome of *Iames Abbes*, read before, pag. 1864.

Of Iames Abbes Martyr, ye heard before. In the tyme of whoſe Martyrdome what befell vppon a wicked rayler agaynſt him, now ye ſhall further vnderſtand. Wherby all ſuch railing perſecutors may learne to feare Gods hand, & to take héede how or what they ſpeake agaynſt his ſeruauntes. As this Iames Abbes was led by the Sheriffe toward his execution, diuers póre people ſtode in ẏ way, and aſked their almes. He then hauyng no money to giue them, and deſirous yet to diſtribute ſome thyng amongeſt them, did pull of all his apparell ſauyng his ſhirt, and gaue the ſame vnto them, to ſome one thyng, to ſome an other: in the geuyng wherof he exhorted them, to be ſtrõg in the Lord, & as faithfull followers of Chriſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſt vnto the truth of the Goſpell, which he (through Gods helpe)

A ſtory to be noted of all raylyng perſecutors.

The Shꝛiffes ſeruaunt vilye rayling againſt *Iames Abbes.*

helpe) would thē in their ſight ſeale and confirme with his bloud. Whiles he was thus charitably occupyed and zelouſly inſtructyng the people, a ſeruaunt of the Sheriffes goyng by & hearyng him, cryed out aloude vnto them, and blaſphemouſly ſayd: beleue him not good people. He is an hereticke, and a mad man, out of his wit: beleue him not, foꝛ it is hereſie that he ſayth. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, ſo did this wicked wꝛetch ſtill blow foꝛth his blaſphemous exclamations vntill they came vnto the ſtake where he ſhould ſuffer. Vnto the which this conſtant Martyꝛ was tyed, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his hiſtoꝛy moꝛe fully is already declared.

A fearefull example of Gods righteous iudgement agaynſt ẏ Sheriffes ſeruaunt rayling againſt *Iam. Abbes.*

But immediatly after ẏ fire was put vnto him (ſuch was ẏ fearefull ſtroke of Gods iuſtice vpō this blaſphemous railer) that he was there pꝛeſently in ẏ ſight of all ẏ people, ſtricken with a freneſie, wherwith he had befoꝛe moſt raylingly charged that good Martyꝛ of God, who in this furious rage & madnes, caſting of his ſhoes with all the reſt of his clothes, cried out vnto ẏ people and ſayd: Thus did Iames Abbes that true ſeruant of God, who is ſaued, but I am damned. And thus ranne he round about the Towne of Bury, ſtill crying out that Iames Abbes was a good man and ſaued, but he was damned. The Sheriffe then beyng amaſed, cauſed him to be taken and tyed in a darke houſe, and by foꝛce compelled him agayne to put on his clothes, thinking therby within a while to bꝛyng him to ſome quietnes. But he (all that notwithſtandyng) as ſoone as they were gone, continued his foꝛmer ragyng: and caſtyng of his clothes, cried as he did befoꝛe: Iames Abbes is the ſeruaunt of God and is ſaued, but I am damned.

Example how Popery bꝛingeth to deſperation.

At length he was tyed in a carte, and bꝛought home vnto his maſters houſe, and within halfe a yeare oꝛ thereaboutes, he beyng at ẏ point of death, the Pꝛieſt of the Pariſh was ſent foꝛ: who commyng vnto hym, bꝛought with him the Crucifix and their houſeling hoſt of the altar. Which geare when the poꝛe wꝛetch ſaw, he cried out of the Pꝛieſt and defied all that baggage, ſaying that the Pꝛieſt with ſuch other as he was, were the cauſe of his damnatiō, and that Iames Abbes was a good man, and ſaued. And ſo ſhoꝛtly after he dyed.

Clarke hanged him ſelfe.

Clarke an open enemie to the Goſpell and all godly Pꝛeachers, in K. Edwardes dayes hanged him ſelfe in the Tower of London.

The ſodeine death of *Troling Smith.*

The great & notable Papiſt called Troling Smith, of late fell downe ſodeinly in the ſtreete and died.

Dale the Pꝛomotoꝛ eaten wᵗ Lice.

Dale ẏ Pꝛomotoꝛ was eaten into his body wᵗ Lice, and ſo dyed, as it is well knowen of many, & confeſſed alſo by his fellow Ioh. Auales, befoꝛe credible witnes.

Coxe the Pꝛomotoꝛ ſodeinly died.

Coxe an earneſt Pꝛoteſtant in K. Edwardes daies, and in Q. Maries time a Papiſt & a Pꝛomotoꝛ, going wel & in health to bed (as it ſeemed) was dead befoꝛe the moꝛning. Teſtified by diuers of the neighboꝛs.

Alexander the cruell Keeper of Newgate, dyed a rotten death.

Alexander the Keeper of Newgate, a cruell enemie to thoſe that lay there foꝛ religion, died very miſerably, being ſo ſwollen that he was moꝛe like a monſter then a man, and ſo rotten within that no man could abide the ſmell of hym. This cruell wꝛetch, to haſten the poꝛe lambes to ẏ ſlaughter, would go to Boner, Story, Cholmley, & other, crying out: rid my pꝛiſon, rid my pꝛiſon: I am too much peſtered with theſe heretickes.

The ſodeine death of *Iames, Alexanders* ſonne.

The ſonne of ẏ ſayd Alexander called Iames, hauing left vnto him by his father great ſubſtance, within iij. yeares waſted all to nought: And whē ſome marueiled how he ſpent thoſe goods ſo faſt: O ſaid he, euill gotten, euill ſpent: and ſhoꝛtly after as he went in Newgate market, he fell down ſodeinly & there wꝛetchedly dyed.

Iohn Peter, ſonne in law to this Alexander, an hoꝛrible blaſphemer of God, & no leſſe cruell to the ſaid pꝛiſoners, rotted away, & ſo moſt miſerably died. Who cōmonly whē he would affirme any thing, were it true oꝛ falſe, vſed to ſay: If it be not true, I pꝛay God I rotte ere I die. Witnes the Pꝛinter hereof, wᵗ diuers other.

Iuſtice *Lelond* perſecutoꝛ, plagued.

With theſe I might inferre the ſodeine death of Iuſtice Lelond perſecutoꝛ of Ieffray Hurſt, mentioned befoꝛe pag. 2281.

Robert Baulding, perſecutoꝛ.

Alſo the death of Robert Bauldyng ſtricken with lightning at ẏ taking of William Seaman, wherupon he pined away and died, pag. 2232.

Beard the Pꝛomotoꝛ.

Likewiſe ẏ wꝛetched end of Beard the Pꝛomotoꝛ.

Robert Blomfield perſecutoꝛ.

Moꝛeouer, the cōſuming away of Rob. Blomfield, perſecutoꝛ of William Browne, ſpecified pag. 2268.

The iudgement of God vpon *Ioh. Rockwood*, Lady *Honor*, and *George Bradway*, perſecutoꝛs in Calice.

Further, to returne a litle backward to kyng Henryes tyme, here might be induced alſo the example of Iohn Rockwood, who in his hoꝛrible end, cryed all to late, with the ſame woꝛdes which he had vſed befoꝛe in perſecutyng Gods poꝛe people of Calyce. pag. 1406.

Alſo the iudgement of God vpon Lady Honor a perſecutoꝛ, and of George Bradway a falſe accuſer, both bereft of their wittes, pag. 1405.

Rich. Long dꝛowned him ſelfe,

Likewiſe of Richard Long a perſecutoꝛ, who dꝛowned him ſelfe, pag. 1403.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon Syꝛ *Rafe Ellerker*, perſecutoꝛ.

And what a notable ſpectacle of Gods reuenging iudgement haue we to conſider in Syꝛ Rafe Ellerker, who as he was deſirous to ſee the hart taken out of Adā Damlyp, whō they moſt wꝛongfully put to death: ſo ſhoꝛtly after ẏ ſaid Syꝛ Rafe Ellerker being ſlaine of the Frenchmen, they all to māglyng him, after they had cut of his pꝛiuie mēbers, would not ſo leaue him, befoꝛe they might ſee hys hart cut out of his body, pag. 1407.

The ſodeine death of *D. Foxeford.*

Doct. Foxford Chauncellour to B. Stokeſley, a cruell perſecutoꝛ, died ſodeinly. Read pag. 1200.

Pauier a perſecutoꝛ, hanged him ſelfe.

Pauier oꝛ Pauie, Towne Clerke of London, & a bitter enemie to the Goſpell, hanged him ſelfe, pag. 1199.

Steuen Gardiner hearyng of the pitifull ende of Iudge Hales after he had dꝛowned him ſelfe, takyng occaſion thereby, called the followyng and pꝛofeſſion of the Goſpell a doctrine of deſperation. But as Iudge Hales neuer fell into that inconuenience befoꝛe he had conſented to Papiſtry: ſo who ſo well conſidereth the end of Doct. Pendleton (which at his death full ſoꝛe repented that euer he had yelded to the doctrine of the Papiſtes, as he did) and likewiſe the miſerable end of the moſt part of the Papiſtes beſides, and eſpecially of Steuen Gardiner him ſelf, who after ſo long pꝛofeſſing the doctrine of Papiſtry, when there came a Byſhop to him in his death bed and put him in remembꝛaunce of Peter denying his maſter, he aunſweryng agayne ſayd, that he had denyed with Peter, but neuer repented with Peter, and ſo both ſtinckyngly and vnrepentanly dyed: will ſay, as Steuen Gardiner alſo him ſelf gaue an euident example of the ſame, to all men to vnderſtand that Popery rather is a doctrine of deſperation, pꝛocuring the vengeance of almighty God to them that wilfully do cleaue vnto it.

The ſtinking end of *Steuen Gardiner* pꝛoueth Popery and not the Goſpell, to be the doctrine of deſperation.

Gods iuſt ſtroke vpō *Iohn Fiſher* B. of Rocheſter, and *Syr Tho. Moore.*

Iohn Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Syꝛ Thomas More, in kyng Henries tyme, after they had bꝛought Iohn Frith, Bayfield, and Baynham and diuers other to their death, what great reward wanne they thereby with almighty God? Did not the ſwoꝛd of Gods vengeance light vpon their owne neckes ſhoꝛtly after, and they thē ſelues made a publicke ſpectacle at the tower hill, of bloudy death, which befoꝛe had no compaſſion of the liues of others? Thus ye ſee the ſaying of ẏ Loꝛd to be true: *He that ſmiteth with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.*

2. Mach. 3.

Of *Valerianus* read befoꝛe pag. 105.

So was Heliodorus in the old tyme of the Iewes plagued by Gods hand in the Temple of Hieruſalem. So did Antiochus, Herode, Iuliā, Valerianus ẏ Emperour, Decius, Maxentius, wᵗ infinite others, after they had exerciſed their crueltie vpō Gods people, felt the lyke ſtriking hand of God them ſelues alſo, in reuẽgyng the bloud of his ſeruauntes.

And thus much concernyng thoſe perſecutours, as well of the Clergy ſort, as of the laity, which were ſtricken and dyed before the death of Quéene Mary. With whom alſo is to be numbered in the ſame race of perſecuting Biſhops which died before Quéene Mary, theſe Biſhops following.

Biſhops that died before Q. Mary.

Biſhops
Coates Byſhop of Weſtcheſter.
Parfew Byſhop of Herford.
Glynne Byſhop of Bangor.
Brokes Byſhop of Gloceſter.
Kyng Byſhop of Tame.
Peto Elect of Saliſbury.
Day Byſhop of Chicheſter.
Holyman Byſhop of Briſtow.

Now, after the Quéene immediatly followed, or rather waited vpõ her, the death of Cardinal Poole, who the next day departed: of what diſeaſe, although it be vncerteine to many, yet to ſome it is ſuſpected that he tóke ſome Italian Phyſicke, which did him no gód. Then folowed in order.

Biſhops that died after Q. Mary.

*Note that B.Tonſtall in Q.Maryes tyme was no great bloudy perſecutor. For M.Ruſſell a Preacher was before him, and Doct.Hinmer hys Chauncellor wold haue had hym examined more particularly. The Biſhop ſtayed him, ſaying: hetherto we haue had a good report among our neighbors: I pray you bring not thys mans bloud vpon my head.

Biſhops
Iohn Chriſtopherſon Biſh. of Chicheſter.
Hopton Byſhop of Norwich.
Morgan Biſhop of S.Dauids.
Iohn White Byſhop of Wincheſter.
Rafe Bayne Biſh. of Lichfield & Couẽtry.
Owen Oglethrope Byſhop of Carlill.
* Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of Durham.
Thomas Raynoldes elect of Herford, after his depriuation dyed in priſon.

Beſide theſe Byſhops aboue named, firſt dyed at the ſame tyme.

Doct.Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, afterward Deane of Winſore, chief diſputer agaynſt Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer.
M.Slethurſt Maſter of Trinity Colledge in Oxford, who dyed in the Tower.
Seth Holland Deane of Worceſter, and Warden of Alſoule Colledge in Oxford.
William Copynger Monke of Weſtminſter, dyed in the Tower.
Doct.Steward Deane of Wincheſter.

A note of D. Weſton.

¶ To beholde the workyng of Gods iudgementes, it is wonderous. In the firſt yeare of Q. Mary, when the Clergie was aſſembled in the Conuocation houſe, and alſo afterward when the diſputation was in Oxford agaynſt D.Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, he that had ſéene then Doct. Weſton the Prolocutor in his ruffe, how highly he tóke vpõ him in the Scholes, & how ſtoutly he ſtóde in yͤ Popes quarell agaynſt ſimple and naked truth, full litle would haue thoght, and leſſe did he thinke him ſelfe (I dare ſay) that his glory & lofty lókes ſhould haue bene brought down ſo ſóne, eſpecially by them of his owne Religion, whoſe part he ſo doughtely defended. But ſuch is the reward and end commonly of them, who preſumptuouſly oppoſe them ſelues to ſtriue agaynſt the Lord, as by yͤ example of this Doctorly Prolocutor right well may appeare. For not long after yͤ diſputation aboue mentioned, agaynſt Byſhop Cranmer and his fellowes, God ſo wrought agaynſt the ſayd Doct. Weſton, that he fell in great diſpleaſure with Cardinall Poole and other Byſhops, because he was vnwilling to geue vppe his Deanery and houſe of Weſtminſter, vnto the Mõkes and religious men, whom in dede he fauoured not, although in other thinges he maintained the Church of Rome. Who notwithſtandyng, at laſt through importunate ſute, gaue vp Weſtminſter, and was Deane of Windſore: where not long after, he was apprehẽded in adultery, and for the ſame was by the Cardinall put from all his ſpirituall liuinges.

D.Weſton out of fauour with the Papiſtes.

D.Weſton taken in adultery.

D.Weſton appealed to Rome.

Wherfore he appealed to Rome, and purpoſed to haue fled out of the Realme, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London, and there remained vntill Quéene Elizabeth was proclaimed Quéene, at which tyme he beyng deliuered, fell ſicke and dyed. The common talke was that if he had not ſo ſodeinly ended his life, he would haue opened and reueled the purpoſe of the chief of the Clergy, meanyng the Cardinall, which was to haue taken vp kyng Henries body at Windſore and to haue burned it. And thus much of Doct. Weſton.

The death of D.Weſton.

The reſidue that remained of the perſecutyng Clergy, and eſcaped the ſtroke of death, were depriued, and committed to priſons: the Catalogue of whoſe names here followeth.

Catholicke Byſhops after Quéene Maries death depriued and impriſoned.

Note yͤ ſome of theſe Byſhops afterward through the goodnes of Q.Elizabeth were diſperſed and ſuffered to be kept in their frendes houſes.

Nicolas Heath Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour.
Thomas Thurlbye Byſhop of Eley.
Thomas Watſon Biſhop of Lyncolne.
Gilbert Burne Byſh. of Bath & Welles.
Richard Pates Byſhop of Worceſter.
Troublefield Byſhop of Exetor.
Iohn Fecknam Abbot of Weſtminſter.
Iohn Boxall Deane of Windſore and Peterborough.
In the tower.

Of Dauid Poole B. of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or in ſome other priſon.

Goldwell Byſhop of S.Aſſe.
Maurice Elect of Bangor.
Ranne away.

Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, in the Marſhalſée.
Thomas Wood Byſhop Elect, in the Marſhalſée.
Cutbert Scotte Byſhop of Cheſter, was in the Fléete, from whence he eſcaped to Louane and there dyed.

Henry Cole Deane of Paules.
Iohn Harpeſfield Archdeacon of London, and Deane of Norwich.
Nicolas Harpeſfield Archdeacon of Cãterbury.
Anthony Draycot Archdeacon of Huntyngton.
W.Chadſey Archdeacon of Midleſex.
In the Fléete.

A note of D. Chadſey.

34. Articles of D.Chadſey.

Doct.Chadſey ſubſcribed to the reformed religion in K.Edwardes tyme.

¶ Concernyng which Doct. Chadſey here is to be noted, that in yͤ begynnyng of kyng Edwardes reigne he recanted and ſubſcribed to 34. Articles, wherin he then fully conſented and agréed with his owne hand wrytyng to the whole forme of doctrine approued and allowed then in the Church, as well concernyng Iuſtification by faith onely, as alſo the doctrine of the two Sacramẽtes then receaued, denying as well yͤ Popes ſupremacie, trãſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Inuocation of Saintes, eleuation and adoration of the Sacramẽt, the ſacrifice, and veneration of the Maſſe, as alſo all other like excrementes of Popiſh ſuperſtition, accordyng to the kynges bóke then ſet forth. Wherfore the more maruell it is, that he being coũted ſuch a famous and learned Clerke, would ſhew him ſelfe ſo fickle and vnſtable in his aſſertions, ſo double in his doynges, to alter his Religion accordyng to tyme, and to mainteine for truth, not what hée thought beſt, but what hée might moſt ſafely defend. So long as the ſtate of the Lord Protectour and of his brother ſtode vpright, what was then the conformitie of this D.Chadſey, his own Articles in Latin written and ſubſcribed with his own hand, do declare, which I haue to ſhew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the kinges vncles, the fortune of them turned not ſo faſt, but his Religion turned withall, & eftſones he tóke vpon him to diſpute agaynſt Peter Martyr in vpholding tranſubſtantiation at Oxford, which a litle before with his own hand wrytyng he had ouerthrowen.

D.Chadſey mutable and inconſtant in hys religion.

After this enſued the tyme of Queene Mary, wherin Doct. Chadſey to ſhew his double diligence, was ſo eger in his Commiſſion to ſit in iudgement & to bryng poore mẽ to their death, that in the laſt yeare of Queene Mary when the Lord Chauncellour, Syr Thomas Cornwalles, Lord Clinton, & diuers other of ẏ Counſell had ſent for him by a ſpeciall letter to repayre vnto Lõdon out of Eſſex, he wrytyng agayne to ẏ Biſhop of London, ſought meanes not to come at the Counſels byddyng, but to continue ſtill in his perſecutyng progreſſe. The copy of whoſe letter I haue alſo in my handes (if nede were) to bryng forth.

The egernes of Doct. Chadſey in puniſhing the poore Martyrs.

Mention was made not long before, of one William Mauldon, who in kyng Hẽryes tyme ſuffered ſtripes and ſcourgynges for cõfeſſing the veritie of Gods true Religiõ. It happened in the firſt yeare of Queene Elizabeth, that the ſayd William Mauldon was bound ſeruaunt with one named M. Hew Aparry then a Wheate taker for ẏ Queene, dwellyng at Grenewich. Who being newly come vnto him, and hauing neuer a booke there to looke vpon, being deſirous to occupy him ſelfe vertuouſly, looked about the houſe and founde a Primer in Engliſhe, whereon hee red in a winters euenyng. Whiles he was readyng, there ſat one Iohn Apowel that had bene a ſeruing man, about xxx. yeares of age, borne toward Wales, whom the ſayd M. Hew gaue meate and drinke vnto, till ſuch time as he could get a ſeruice. And as the foreſayd W. Mauldon read on the booke, the ſayd Iohn Apowell mocked him after euery word, with cõtrary gaudes and floutyng wordes vnreuerently, in ſo much that he could no longer abyde him for griefe of hart, but turned vnto hym, and ſayd: Iohn take heede what thou doeſt: Thou doeſt not mocke me, but thou mockeſt God. For in mockyng of his word, thou mockeſt him: and this is the word of God, though I be ſimple that read it: therfore beware what thou doeſt.

W. Mauldon Prentiſe with M. Hew Aparry at Grenewich.

Then Mauldon fell to readyng agayne, and ſtill he proceded on in his mockyng, and when Mauldon had red certeine Engliſh prayers, in the end he red: Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Chriſt haue mercy vppon vs. &c. And as Mauldon was recityng thoſe wordes, ẏ other with a ſtart ſodeinly ſayd: Lord haue mercy vpon me.

With that Mauldon turned and ſayd, what aileſt thou Iohn?

He ſayd, I was afraide.

Whereon waſt thou afrayd, ſayd Mauldon?

Nothyng now, ſayd the other: and ſo he would not tell him. After this, when Mauldon and he went to bed, Mauldon aſked him wherof he was afrayd?

He ſayd, when you red Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Chriſt haue mercy vpon vs, me thought the heare of my head ſtode vpright, with a great feare which came vpon me.

Then ſayd Mauldon: Iohn thou mayeſt ſee, the euil ſpirite could not abyde that Chriſt ſhould haue mercy vpõ vs. Wel Iohn (ſaid Mauldon) repent & amend thy lyfe, for God will not be mocked. If we mocke and ieſte at his word, he will puniſh vs. Alſo you vſe rebauldry wordes and ſwearing very much: therfore for God ſake Iohn amend thy lyfe. So I will (ſayd he) by the grace of God: I pray God I may. Amen ſaid the other, with other wordes, and ſo went to bed.

On the nexte day, about viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, the foreſayd Iohn came runnyng down out of his chãber in his ſhirt into the hall, and wraſteled with his miſtres as he would haue throwen her downe. Wherat ſhe ſhriked out, & her ſeruantes holpe her, and tooke him by ſtrength and caried him vp vnto his bed, and bound him downe to his bed (for they perceiued playnly that he was out of hys right mind). After that, as he lay, almoſt day and night his toung neuer ceaſed, but he cried out of the deuill of hell, and his wordes were euer ſtill: O the deuill of hell: now the deuill of hell: I would ſee the deuill of hell: thou ſhalt ſee the deuill of hell: there he is, there he goeth, with other wordes, but moſt of ẏ deuill of hel. Thus he lay without amendement about ſixe dayes, that his maſter and all his houſhold was weery of that trouble and noyſe. Then his maſter agreed with ẏ keepers of Bedlem, and gaue a peece of money, and ſent him thether. It ſemeth that he was poſſeſſed with an euill ſpirite, from the which God defend vs all.

A terrible example of Gods puniſhment to be noted of all ſuch as be contemners and mockers of God and hys worde.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of the word of God: therfore repent and amend, leſt the vengeance of God fall vpon you in like maner. Witnes hereof William Mauldon of Newyngton.

The ſame William Mauldon chaunced afterward to dwell at a Towne vj. myles from London called Walcamſtow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1563. and the fourth yeare of Queene Elizabethes reigne. Vnto this ſchole, amongeſt other children, came one Benfieldes daughter named Denis, about the age of twelue yeares. As theſe children ſat talkyng together, they happened among other talke (as the nature of children is, to be buſie with many thynges) to fall in communication of God, and to reaſon among thẽ ſelues, after their childiſh diſcretion, what he ſhould be. Wherunto ſome aunſwered one thyng, ſome an other. Among whom when one of the children had ſayd, that he was a good old father: the foreſayd Denis Benfield caſtyng out impious wordes of horrible blaſphemy: what he (ſayd ſhe) is an old doting foole. What wretched and blaſphemous wordes were theſe, ye heare. Now marke what folowed. When William Mauldon heard of theſe abominable wordes of the gyrle, he willed his wife to correct her for the ſame. Which was appointed the next day to be done. But when the next morow came, her mother would nedes ſend her to the market to London, the wench greatly intreatyng her mother that ſhe might not go, beyng marueilouſly vnwillyng therunto. Howbeit through her mothers compulſion, ſhe was forced to go, and went. And what happened? Her buſines beyng done at London, as ſhe was returnyng agayne homeward, and beyng a litle paſt Hackney, ſodeinly the young gyrle was ſo ſtricken, that all the one ſide of her was blacke, and ſhe ſpeachles. Whereupon immediatly ſhe was caryed backe agayne to Hackney, and there the ſame night was buryed. Witnes of the ſame ſtory William Mauldon and his wife, alſo Benfield her father, and her mother, which yet be all aliue.

Gods puniſhment vpon a young damſell of xij. yeares old, blaſpheming the maieſtie of God.

Blaſphemye puniſhed.

A terrible example (no doubt) both to old and young, what it is for children to blaſpheme the Lorde their God, and what it is for parentes to ſuffer their young ones to grow vp in ſuch blaſphemous blyndnes, and not to nurture them betyme in the rudimentes of the Chriſtian Catechiſme, to know firſt their creation, and then their redemption in Chriſt our Sauiour: to feare the name of God, and to reuerẽce his Maieſtie. For els what do they deſerue but to be taken away by death, which contemptuouſly deſpiſe him, of whom they take the benefite of life? And therfore let all young maydes, boyes, and young men, take example by this wretched ſeely wench, not onely not to blaſpheme the ſacrate Maieſtie of the omnipotent God their creator, but alſo not once to take his name in vayne, accordyng as they are taught in his commaundementes.

A leſſon to children and young gyrles.

Secondly, let all fathers, Godfathers, and Godmothers take this for a warning, to ſee to the inſtruction and Catechiſing of their children, for whom they haue bound them ſelues in promiſe both to God and to his Church. Which if the father, and Godfather, the mother and Godmothers had done to this young gyrle, verely it may be thought this deſtruction had not fallen vpon her.

A leſſon to fathers and Godfathers.

Thirdly, all blynd Atheiſtes, Epicures, Mammoniſtes, A leſſon to all Atheiſtes, Epicures, and infidels.

A leſſon to all blaſphemers and ſwearers.

niſtes, belly Gods of this world, & ſonnes of Beliall, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of Religion, which ſay in their hartes (there is no God) learne alſo hereby, not onely what God is, and what he is able to do, but alſo in this miſerable creature here puniſhed in this world, to beholde what ſhall likewiſe fall on them in the worlde to come, vnleſſe they will be warned betime, by ſuch examples as the Lord God doth geue thē.

Fourthly and laſtly, here may alſo be a ſpectacle for all them which be blaſphemous and abominable ſwearers or rather tearers of God, abuſing his glorious name in ſuch contemptuous and deſpitefull ſorte as they vſe to do. Whom if neither the word & commaūdement of God, nor the callyng of the Preachers, nor remorſe of conſciēce, nor rule of reaſon, nor their wythering age, nor horye heares will admoniſhe: yet let theſe terrible exāples of Gods diſtrict iudgement ſomewhat moue them to take heede to them ſelues. For if this young mayden, who was not fully xij. yeares old, for her vnreuerent ſpeakyng of God (and that but at one tyme) did not eſcape the ſtroke of Gods terrible hand, what then haue they to looke for, which beyng mē growen in yeares, and ſtricken in age, beyng ſo often warned and preached vnto, yet ceaſe not continually with their blaſphemous othes, not onely to abuſe his name, but alſo moſt contumeliouſly and deſpitefully to teare him (as it were) and all hys partes in peeces?

Leuar of Abyngdō, a blaſphemer of Gods Martyrs, plagued.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1565. at Brybtwell in the County of Barkſhyre, vpon certein communicatiō as touchyng the right reuerent Martyrs in Chriſt Byſhop Crāmer, Byſhop Ridley and M. Hugh Latimer, there came into an houſe in Abyngdon one whoſe name is Leuar, beyng a Plowman, dwelling in Brybtwell aforeſayd, and ſayd, that he ſaw that euill fauoured knaue Latymer when he was burned: And alſo in deſpit ſayd, that he had teeth like a horſe. At which tyme and houre, as neare as could be gathered, the ſonne of the ſayd Leuar moſt wickedly hāged hym ſelf, at Shepton in yͤ County aforeſaid within a mile of Abyngdon.

These wordes were ſpoken in the hearing of me Thomas Ienens of Abyngdon.

Thomas Arundell Archb. of Cant.

Dyd not Thomas Arundel Archbyſhop of Canterbury giue ſentence agaynſt the Lord Cobham, and dyed hym ſelfe before hym, being ſo ſtricken in hys toungе, that neither he could ſwallowe nor ſpeake for a certayne ſpace before hys death? pag. 700.

Fryer Campbell plagued.

Fryer Campbell, the accuſer of Patrike Hamelton in Scotland, what a terrible end he had, read before pag. 1109.

Gods iudgement vppon *Harney* a perſecuting Commiſſary.

Haruey a Commiſſary that condemned a poore man in Calyce, was ſhortly after hāged, drawen, and quartered, pag. 1408.

Gods iuſt plague vpō *W. Swallow.*

William Swallow the cruell tormentor of George Egles, was ſhortly after ſo plagued of God, that all the heare of his head, & nailes of his fingers and toes went of, his eyes welnere cloſed vp, yͭ he could ſcant ſee. His wife alſo was ſtricken with yͤ fallyng ſicknes, with the which malady ſhe was neuer infected before. pa. 2204.

Gods iuſte plague vpō *R. Potto.*

Likewiſe Richard Potto, an other troubler of the ſayd George Eagles, vpon a certeine anger or chafe with his ſeruantes, was ſo ſodeinly takē with ſicknes, that fallyng vpon hys bed lyke a beaſt there he died and neuer ſpake worde. pag. 2204.

Richard Denton burned in hys owne houſe.

Rich. Denton, a ſhrinker frō the Goſpell, while he refuſed to ſuffer yͤ fire in the Lordes quarel, was afterward burned in his own houſe with ij. moe. pag. 1894.

Fettyes wife ſtricken with madnes.

The wife of Iohn Fetty beyng the cauſe of the takyng of her huſband, how ſhe was immediatly vppon the ſame by Gods hand ſtrickē with madnes, and was diſtract out of her wittes, read before pag. 2256.

Thomas Mowſe & George Reuet, ij. perſecutors, were ſtricken miſerably with the hand of God, and ſo dyed. pag. 2099.

Rob. Edgore bereft of hys wittes.

Alſo Robert Edgore, for that he had executed the office of a Pariſhe Clarke agaynſt hys conſcience, through anguiſh and griefe of conſcience for the ſame, was ſo bereft of hys wits, that he was kept in chaines and bondes many yeares after. pag. 2099.

Two Papiſtes of New Colledge in Oxford drowned them ſelues.

As touching Iohn Plankney fellow of New Colledge in Oxford, Ciuilian, and one Hanyngton, both fellowes of the ſame houſe aforeſayd, and both ſtubborne Papiſtes, the matter is not much worthy yͤ memory: yet yͤ example is not vnworthy to be noted, to ſee what litle comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortles doctrine and profeſſion of Papiſtry, as in theſe ij. young men, amongeſt many other may well appeare. Of whom the one, which was Plankney, ſcholer ſometime to Marſhall (who wrote the booke of the Croſſe) is commonly reported and knowen to them of that Vniuerſitie, to haue drowned him ſelfe in yͤ riuer about Kuly, at Oxford, an. 1566: the other in a well about Rome, or as ſome do ſay, at Padua, and ſo being both drowned, were both takē vp with Crucifixes, as it is ſaid of ſome, hāging about theyr neckes: the more pitie, that ſuch young ſtudentes did ſo much addicte their wittes, rather to take the way of Papiſtry, then to walke in the comfortable light of the Goſpell, now ſo brightly ſpreading hys beames in all yͤ world, which if they had done I thinke not the contrary, but it had proued much better with them.

A ſtory of a Courtier and one of the Garde, which happened, an. 1568.

Admonition to Courtiers.

Albeit (I truſt) the Goſpell of Chriſt beyng now receaued in the Queenes Court amongeſt the Courtiers and ſeruauntes of her Garde, hath framed their lyues and manners, ſo to lyue in the due feare of God and temperaunce of lyfe, with all ſobrietie, and mercyfull compaſſion toward their euenchriſten, that they neede not greatly any other inſtructions to bee geuen them in thys ſtory: yet for ſo much as examples many tymes doe worke more effectually in the myndes and memoryes of men: and alſo partly cōſidering with me ſelfe, how theſe, aboue al other ſortes of men in the whole Realme, in tyme paſt haue euer had moſt neede of ſuch holeſome leſſons and admonitions, to leaue theyr vnordinate ryot of quaffyng & drinking, and their hetheniſh prophanatie of life: I thought here to ſet before their eyes a terrible example, not of a ſtraūge & foreine perſon, but of one of their own coate, a yeoman of yͤ Gard, not fayned by me, but brought to me by Gods prouidēce for a warning to all Courtiers, & done of very truth no longer agoe thē in the yeare of our Lord. 1568. And as the ſtory is true, ſo is the name of the partie not vnknowen, beyng called Chriſtopher Landeſdale, dwellyng in Hackney in Midleſex. The order of whoſe lyfe, & maner of his death beyng worthy to be noted, is this as in ſtory here vnder foloweth.

An example of *Chriſtopher Landeſdale,* one of yͤ Garde, for all Courtiers to looke vpon.

Thys foreſayd Landeſdale being maried to an auncient womā yet liuing, hauing by her both goodes and landes, notwithſtādīng liued long in filthy whoredome with a younger womā, by whom he had two children, a ſonne and a daughter, and kept them in hys houſe vnto the day of hys death. Alſo when he ſhould haue bene in ſeruing of God on the Sabbaoth day, he vſed to walke or ride about his fieldes, & ſeldome he or any of his houſe came to the Church after the Engliſh ſeruice was againe receiued. Beſides this, he was a great ſwearer and a great drunkard, and had great delight alſo in making other men drunken, and would haue them whom hee had made drunkardes, to call hym father, and he would call them hys ſonnes: and of theſe ſonnes, by report, hee had aboue fortie. And if he had ſeene one that would drinke freely, he would marke him, and ſpend hys money with hym liberally in ale, or wine, but moſt in wine to make hym the ſooner drunken. Theſe bleſſed ſonnes of hys ſhould haue great cheare oftentimes, both at hys owne houſe and at tauernes: and not long before hys death he was ſo beaſtly drunken in a tauerne ouer agaynſt hys dore, that he fell downe in the tauerne yarde, and could not ariſe alone, but lay groueling, till he was holpen vp & ſo caryed home. Thys father of drunkardes, as he was a great feaſter of the riche and wealthy of Hackney and others, ſo his poore neighbours and poore tenauntes fared litle the better for him: except it were with ſome broken meate, which after hys feaſtes, hys wife would cary and ſend vnto them, or ſome almes geuen at hys dore. Beſides all thys, he did much iniurie to his poore neighbours in oppreſſing the commons neare about hym, which was a ſpeciall reliefe vnto thē, ſo that hys cattell eate vp all without pitie or mercy.

Landeſdale a feaſter of the rich, and vnmercifull to the poore.

There chaunced after thys about two yeares before he dyed, a poore man, being ſicke of the bloudy flixe, for very weaknes, to lye downe in a ditch of the ſayd Landeſdales, not a ſtones caſt from hys houſe, where he had a litle ſtraw brought hym. Notwithſtanding the ſayd Landeſdale had backe houſes and barnes enow to haue layd hym in, but would not ſhew hym ſo much pitie. And thus poore Lazarus there lay night and day, about vj. dayes ere he dyed.

Poore Lazarus lying by the rich mans doore.

Certaine good neighbours hearing of this, procured thinges neceſſary for hys reliefe, but he was ſo farre ſpent, that he could not be recouered: who lay broyling in the hoate Sunne with a horrible ſmell moſt pitifully to beholde.

Thys poore man a litle before he dyed, deſired to be remoued to an other ditch into the ſhadow. Whereupon one of the neighbours comming to Landeſdales wife for a bundell of ſtraw for hym to lie vppon, ſhe required to haue hym remoued to Newington ſide, becauſe (ſhe ſayd) if he ſhould die it would be very farre to cary hym to the Church.

Yet the rich glutton was better, for he ſuffered Lazarus to lie at hys gates.

Beſides thys, there was a mariage in thys Landeſdales houſe, and the geſtes that came to the mariage gaue the poore man money as they came and went by hym, but Landeſdale diſdayned to contribute any reliefe vnto hym, notwithſtanding that he had promiſed to Maſter Searles, one of ẏ Quéenes Garde (who had more pitie of him) to miniſter to hym things neceſſary.

To be ſhort, the next day poore Lazarus departed thys life, and was buryed in Hackney Churchyard: Vppon whom Landeſdale did not beſtow ſo much as a winding ſhéete or any thyng els towardes hys buriall. And thus much concerning the end of poore Lazarus. Now let vs heare what became of ẏ rich glutton.

The death of poore Lazarus in the ditch.

About two yeares after thys, the ſayd Landeſdale being full of drinke (as hys cuſtome was) came ryding in great haſt from London on S. Andrewes day in the euening, an. 1568. and (as is reported by thoſe that ſaw him) réeling to & fro like a drunkard, with his hatte in hys hand, and cōming by a ditch ſide, there tumbled headlong into the ditch. Some ſay that ẏ horſe fell vpō hym, but that is not like. This is true, the horſe more ſober then the maſter, came home, leauing hys maſter behinde hym. Whether he brake hys necke with the fall, or was drowned (for the water was ſcarſly a foote déepe) it is vncertaine: but certeine it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he being found dead in the ditch, the Crowner (as the maner is) ſatte vpon hym: and how the matter was handled for ſauing his goods, the Lorde knoweth: but in the end ſo it fell out, that the goodes were ſaued and the poore horſe indited for hys maſters death.

The end of thys vnmercifull Epicure in the ditch.

The neighbours hearing of the death of thys man, and conſidering the maner thereof, ſayd it was iuſtly fallen vppon hym, that as he ſuffered the poore man to lye and die in the ditch neare vnto hym, ſo hys end was to die in a ditch likewiſe. And thus haſt thou in thys ſtory (Chriſten brother and reader) the true image of the rich glutton and poore Lazarus, ſet out before thine eyes, whereby we haue all to learne, what happeneth in the end to ſuch voluptuous Epicures and Atheiſtes, which being voyde of all ſenſe of religion and feare of God, yeld them ſelues ouer to all prophanitie of life, neyther regarding any honeſtie at home, nor ſhewing any mercy to their néedy neighbour abroad. Chriſt our Sauiour ſayth: *Bleſſed be the mercifull, for they ſhall obtaine mercy: but iudgement without mercy ſhall be executed on them which haue ſhewed no mercy. &c.* And S. Iohn ſayth: *He that ſeeth his brother haue neede, and ſhutteth vp his compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the loue of God in him? &c.* Againe, Eſay againſt ſuch prophane drunkardes & quaffers thus crieth out: *Woe be vnto them that riſe vp early to followe drunkennes, and to them that ſo continue vntill night, till they be ſet on fire with wine. In thoſe companies are Harpes and Lutes, Tabryts and Pipes, and wine: but they regard not the workes of the Lorde, and conſider not the operation of hys handes. &c. Woe be vnto them that are ſtrong to ſpue out wine, and expert to ſet vp drunkennes. &c.*

The image of the rich glutton, and poore Lazarus.

Math. v.

j. Ioh. iij.

Eſay.

The puniſhmētes of thē that be dead, be wholeſome documentes to men that be alyue. And therfore as the ſtory aboue exemplified may ſerue to warne all Courtiers and yeomen of the Gard: ſo by this that foloweth, I would wiſhe all Gentlemen to take good héede and admonition betyme, to leaue their outragious ſwearing and blaſpheming of the Lord their God.

A warning to gentlemen.

In the tyme and reigne of K. Edward, there was in Cornewall a certeine luſtie young Gentleman, which dyd ryde in company with other moe Gentlemen, together with their ſeruauntes, being about the number of xx. horſemen. Amongeſt whom this luſty yonker entryng into talke, begā to ſweare, moſt horribly blaſphemyng the name of God, with other rybauldry wordes beſides. Vnto whom one of the company (who is yet alyue, and wytnes hereof) not able to abyde the hearyng of ſuch blaſphemous abomination, in gentle wordes ſpeakyng to hym, ſayd he ſhould geue aūſwere and accompt for euery idle word.

A fearefull example of Gods puniſhment vpō a gentleman a great ſwearer, in Cornwall.

The Gentleman takyng ſnuffe therat: why (ſayd he) takeſt thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding ſhéete. Well (quoth ẏ other) amend, for death giueth no warnyng: for as ſoone commeth a lambes ſkyn to the market as an old ſhéepes. Gods woundes (ſayth he) care not thou for me, ragyng ſtill after this maner worſe and worſe in wordes, till at length paſſing on their iorney, they came rydyng ouer a great bridge, ſtandyng ouer a péece of an arme of the Sea. Vpon the which bridge this Gentleman ſwearer ſpurred his horſe in ſuch ſorte, as he ſprange cleane ouer with the man on his backe. Who as he was goyng, cryed, ſaying: horſe and man, and all to the deuill. This terrible ſtory happenyng in a Towne in Cornewall, I would haue bene afrayd amongeſt theſe ſtoryes here to recite, were it not that he which was thē both reprehender of his ſwearyng, & witnes of his death, is yet aliue, and now a Miniſter named Heynes. Beſides this, alſo Biſhop Ridley then Biſhop of London, preached and vttered euen the ſame fact and example at Paules Croſſe. The name of the Gentleman I could by no meanes obteyne of the partie and wytnes aforeſayd, for dread of thoſe (as he ſaith) which yet remaine of his affinitie and kyndered in the ſayd countrey.

Gentle exhortation neglected.

The terrible end of a ſwearer.

Hauing now ſufficiently admoniſhed firſt the Courtiers, then the gentlemen, now thirdly for a briefe admonition to ẏ Lawyers we will here inſert ẏ ſtraunge end and death of one Henry Smith ſtudent of the law.

The miſerable end of *Henry Smith* a Lawyer of the midle Temple, after he was peruerted frō the Goſpell.

This Henry Smith hauyng a godly Gentleman to hys father, & an auncient proteſtant dwellyng in Camden in Gloceſter ſhyre, was by him vertuouſly brought vp in the knowledge of Gods word, and ſincere Religion: wherin he ſhewed him ſelf in the beginning, ſuch an earneſt profeſſour, that he was called of ẏ Papiſtes, Pratling Smith. After theſe good beginnings it followed, Note what leude company doth in corrupting good natures.

Maſter *Smithes* Images & *Agnus Dei.*

ed, that he cōmyng to be a ſtudēt of the law in yͤ midle Temple at London, there through ſiniſter company of ſome, and eſpecially, as is thought, of one Gyfford, began to be peruerted to Popery, and afterward goyng to Louane, was more depely roted & grounded in the ſame: and ſo continuyng a certeine ſpace among the Papiſtes, of a young proteſtant, at length was made a perfect Papiſt. In ſomuch that returning from thence, he brought with hym pardons, a cruciffixe, with an Agnus Dei, which he vſed commonly to weare about hys necke, and had in hys chamber Images, before which he was wont to pray. Beſides diuers other Popiſhe traſh, which he brought with hym from Louane. Now what end folowed after this, I were loth to vtter in ſtory, but that the fact ſo lately done, this preſēt yeare. an. 1569. remaineth yet in ſo freſh memory that almoſt all the Citie of Lōdon not onely can witnes, but alſo doth wonder therat. The end was this.

Henry Smyth a Lawyer hāged him ſelfe in hys chamber, and after what maner.

Not long after the ſaid Henry Smith with Gyfford his companion was returned frō Louane, beyng now a foule gyrer and a ſcornefull ſcoffer of that Religion which before he had profeſſed, in his chamber where he lay in a houſe in S. Clementes pariſhe without Tēple barre, in the euenyng, as he was goyng to bed, and hys clothes put of (for he was foūde naked) he had tyed his ſhyrt (which he had torne to yͤ ſame purpoſe) about his priuie places, and ſo with hys own gyrdle, or rybon garter (as it ſeemed) faſtened to yͤ bed poſt, there ſtrangled hym ſelfe. They that were of hys Queſt & other, which ſaw the maner of his hanging, & the print where he ſat vpon his beds ſide, do recorde that he thruſt him ſelfe downe from the beds ſide where he ſat, the place where he had faſtened the gyrdle beyng ſo low, that his hippes welnere touched the flore, hys legges lying a croſſe, and hys armes ſpread abroad. And this was the maner of hys hangyng, hauyng hys Agnus Dei in a ſiluer tablet, with his other Idolatrous traſhe in the wyndow by hym. And thus beyng dead, & not thought worthy to be enterred in the Churchyard, he was buryed in a Lane, called Foſkew Lane.

This heauy and dreadfull end of Henry Smith, although it might ſeeme enough to gender a terrour to all young Popiſh ſtudentes of the law: yet it did not ſo worke with all, but that ſome remained as obſtinate ſtil, as they were before. Amongeſt whom was one named Williams a ſtudent of the Inner Temple, who beyng ſome tyme a fauourer of the Goſpell, fell in like maner from that, to be an obſtinate Papiſt, a deſpitefull raylor agaynſt true Religion, and in cōcluſion was ſo hoate in hys Catholicke zeale, that in the myddeſt of his railing, he fell ſtarke mad, and ſo yet to this preſent day, remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turne hym to a better mind, & conuert him, if it be his pleaſure, Amē.

One *Williams* a Lawyer, and a rayler agaynſt the goſpel, fell madde.

Of the miſerable end of thys *Twiford*, read before pag. 1440. col. 1.

The miſerable end of Twyford is here no leſſe to be remembred, a buſie doer ſometimes in Kyng Henryes dayes by Boners appoyntment, in ſettyng vp of ſtakes for the burnyng of pore Martyrs. Who when he ſaw the ſtakes conſume away ſo faſt; yea ſayd he, will not theſe ſtakes hold? I will haue a ſtake (I trow) that ſhall hold, and ſo prouided a bygge tree, and cuttyng of the toppe, ſet it in Smithfield. But thankes be to God, or euer the tree was all conſumed, God turned the ſtate of Religion, and he fell into an horrible diſeaſe, rottyng alyue aboue the ground before he dyed. Read more of hym, pag. 1440. But becauſe the ſtory both of him & of a nūber ſuch other like, is to be found in ſundry places of this hiſtory ſufficiently before expreſſed, it ſhall be but a double labour agayne to recapitulate the ſame.

Declaration of foreine examples.

Wherfore, to paſſe ouer our own domeſticall examples of Engliſh perſecutours plagued by Gods hand (wherof this our preſent ſtory doth abound) I will ſtretch my pēne a litle further to adioyne withall a few like examples in foreine countreys.

¶ *Foreine Examples.*

Hofmeiſter ſodeinly ſtricken with death going to Ratiſbone.

Hofmeiſter the great Archpapiſt, and chief maſterpiller of the Popes fallyng Church, as he was in his iorney goyng toward the Councell of Ratiſbone, to diſpute agaynſt the defenders of Chriſtes Goſpell, ſodenly in his iorney, not farre from Vlmes, was preuented by yͤ ſtroke of Gods hand, and there miſerably died, with horrible roaryng and crying out. Ex Illyrico de vocabulo fidei.

What inconuenience commeth by the Popes deſperate doctrine.

What a pernicious and peſtilent doctrine is this of the Papiſtes, which leadeth men to ſeeke their ſaluatiō by merites and workes of the law, and not by faith onely in Chriſt the ſonne of God, and ſo to ſtay them ſelues by grace? And what inconuenience this doctrine of doubtyng and deſperation bryngeth men to at length, if the playne word of God will not ſufficiently admoniſh vs, yet let vs be warned by examples of ſuch as haue bene either teachers or folowers of this doctrine, and conſider well what end commonly it hath and doth bryng men vnto. To recite all that may be ſayd in this behalfe, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonition ſake, it ſhalbe requiſite.

The miſerable end of *Guarlacus* reader in Louane.

In yͤ Vniuerſitie of Louane was one named Guarlacus a learned man, brought vp in that ſchole, who at length was reader of Diuinitie to the Monkes of S. Gertrudes order. Where after he had ſtoutly mainteyned the corrupt errours of ſuch Popiſh doctrine, at laſt fallyng ſicke, when he perceaued no way with him but death, he fell into a miſerable agonie & perturbation of ſpirite, crying out of his ſinnes, how wickedly he had liued, and that he was not able to abide the iudgement of God, and ſo caſting out wordes of miſerable deſperation, ſayd his ſinnes were greater then that he could be pardoned, and in that deſperation wretchedly hee ended his life. Ex Epiſtola Claudij Senarclæi ad Bucerum ante hiſtor. de morte Diazij.

The ſtory of *Arnoldus Bomelius* ſtudent at Louane.

An other like example we haue of Arnoldus Bomelius a young man of the ſayd Vniuerſitie of Louane, well commended for his freſh floriſhing witte & ripenes of learning, who ſo long as he fauoured yͤ cauſe of the Goſpell, and tooke part with the ſame agaynſt the enemies of yͤ truth, he proſpered & went well forward, but after that he drew to the company of Tileman, maſter of the popes Colledge in Louane, and framed him ſelfe after the rule of his vnſauery doctrine, that is, to ſtand in feare & doubt of his iuſtification, and to worke his ſaluation by merites & deedes of the law, he began more and more to grow in doubtfull diſpayre and diſcomfort of mind: As the nature of that doctrine is, vtterly to plucke away a mans mynd from all certeintie and true libertie of ſpirite, to a ſeruile doubtfulnes, full of diſcomfort and bondage of ſoule.

Note what euill inſtruction and company doth.

Thus the young man ſeduced & peruerted through this blynd doctrine of ignoraunce and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mynde, wanderyng and wraſtlyng in him ſelfe a long ſpace, till at length being ouercome with deſpayre, and not hauyng in that Popiſh doctrine wherwith to raiſe vp his ſoule, he went out of the Citie on a tyme to walke, accompanyed with three other ſtudentes of the ſame Vniuerſitie, his ſpeciall familiers. Who after their walke, as they returned home agayne, Arnoldus for werynes (as it ſeemed) ſat downe by a ſpryng ſide to reſt him a while. The other ſuppoſing none other but that he for werynes there reſted to refreſh him ſelfe, went forward a litle paſt him. In the meane tyme what doth Arnoldus but ſodeinly taketh out his dagger, and ſtroke him ſelfe into the body.

His felowes ſeyng hym ſhrinkyng downe, and the fountaine to be all coloured with yͤ bloud which iſſued out of yͤ wound, came running to him to take hym vp, and ſo ſearching his body where the wound ſhould be, at length found what he had done, and how he had ſtrickē him ſelf with his dagger into ẏ breſt. Wherupon they toke him & brought him into an houſe next at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could, to repent his fact: who then by outward geſture ſemed to giue ſome ſhew of repentaunce. Notwithſtandyng the ſayd Arnoldus eſpying one of his frendes there buſie about him, to haue a knife hangyng at his gyrdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with maine force ſtabbed him ſelfe to the hart.

By theſe Louanian examples, as we haue all to learne, no man to be ſo ſure of his lyfe but that he alwayes nedeth to craue and call vnto the Lord to bleſſe him with his truth and grace: ſo eſpecially would I wiſh our Engliſh Louanians, which now make fortes in that Uniuerſitie agaynſt the open truth of Chriſtes Goſpell, to be wiſe in tyme, & not to ſpurne ſo agaynſt the pricke, Ne forte. &c.

Admonition to our Louanians.

Or if they thinke yet theſe examples not enough for ſufficient admonition, let them ioyne hereto the remēbrance alſo of Iacobus Latomus a chief and principall Captaine of the ſame Uniuerſitie of Louane. Who after he had bene at Bruxels, and there thinkyng to do a great acte agaynſt Luther and his felowes, made an Oration before the Emperour ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly, that he was laughed to ſcorne almoſt of ẏ whole Court. Thē returnyng frō thence to Louane again, in his publicke lecture he fell in an open fury & madnes, vtteryng ſuch wordes of deſperatiō and blaſphemous impietie, that ẏ other Diuines which were there, and namely Ruardus Anchuſianus, were fayne to cary hym away as he was rauyng, and ſo ſhut him into a cloſe chamber. Frō that time vnto his laſt breth, Latomus had neuer any thing els in his mouth, but that he was damned, and reiected of God, and that there was no hope of ſaluation for him, becauſe that wittyngly and agaynſt his knowledge he withſtode the manifeſt truth of his word. Ex Epiſt. Senarclæi ante hiſtorium de morte Diazij. Item, Ex oratione Pauli Eberi in comitijs Witembergæ habita.

Iacobus Latomus **of Louane.**

Iacobus Latomus **an enemie to ẏ Goſpell, brought to madnes and deſperatiō.**

The terrible wordes of *Latomus* **in his deſperation.**

Thus almighty God, not onely by his word, but by examples alſo, diuers and ſondry wiſe doth warne vs, firſt to ſeke to know the perfecte will and decree of the Lord our God appointed in his word. The perfect will and full Teſtamēt of the Lord in his word is this, that he hath ſent and giuen his onely ſonne vnto vs, beyng fully contented to accept our fayth onely vppon him for our perfect iuſtification and full ſatiſfaction for all our tranſgreſſions: and this is called in Scripture Iuſticia Dei. To this will and rightuouſnes of God, they that humbly ſubmit them ſelues, find peace and reſt in their ſoules that no man is able to expreſſe, and haue ſtrength enough agaynſt all the inuaſions and tentations of Sathan.

Gods will in hys worde to accept our fayth onely for iuſtification.

Obedience to Gods will rewarded.

Contrarywiſe, they that will not yelde their obedience vnto the will and ordinaunce of God expreſſed in his word, but will ſeke their owne rightuouſnes, which is of man, labouryng by their merites and ſatiſfactions to ſerue and pleaſe God: theſe not only do find with God no rightuouſnes at all, but in ſteade of his fauour, procure to them ſelues hys horrible indignation, in ſtead of comfort, heape to them ſelues deſperation, and in the end what inconuenience they come to, by theſe aboue recited examples of Guarlacus, Bomelius, and Latomus, it is euident to ſee. And out of this fountaine ſpringeth not onely ẏ puniſhmentes of theſe men, but alſo all other inconueniences which happen amongeſt men, where ſoeuer thys pernicious and erroneous doctrine of the Papiſtes taketh place.

Diſobedience to Gods will puniſhed.

A Dominicke Frier of Mounſter, as he was inueying in the Pulpit agaynſt the doctrine of the Goſpell then ſpringyng vp, was ſtricken with a ſodeine flaſh of lightning, and ſo ended his life. Ex Pantal. in 2. parte. rerum memor.

Manlius in his boke De dictis Philip. Melancth. maketh mention of a certeine Taylors ſeruaunt in Lypſia, who receauyng firſt the Sacrament in both kyndes with ẏ Goſpellers, & afterward beyng perſuaded by the Papiſtes, receiued with them vnder one kynde. Wherupon beyng admoniſhed of his maſter to come to the Communion agayne in the Church of the Goſpellers, he ſtode a great while and made no anſwere. At laſt crying out vpon a ſodeine, he rāne to the window thereby, and ſo caſt him ſelfe out and brake his necke.

A Taylors ſeruaunt in Lypſia.

In the ſame Manlius mention is alſo made of a certeine Gentleman of name & authoritie, but he nameth him not, who hearyng theſe wordes in a ſong: *Ein feſte burg iſt unſer Gott*: that is, our onely holde or fortreſſe is our God. Pſal. 46. aunſwered and ſayd: *Ich wil helffen die burg zerſchieſſen, oder ich wil nit leben*: that is, I will helpe to ſhoote agaynſt thy ſtay or forte, or els I will not liue: and ſo within thre dayes after he dyed without repentance or confeſſing his faith. Ex Manlio De dictis Philip. Melancth.

Gods puniſhment vpon a certain popiſh gentleman vnnamed.

Of Sadoletus the learned Cardinall likewiſe it is reported of ſome, that he dyed not without great tormentes of conſcience and deſperation.

Sadoletus **Cardinall.**

The Commendator of S. Antony, who ſat as ſpirituall iudge ouer that godly learned man Wolfgangus burned in Lotharyng in Germany, and gaue ſentence of his condemnation, fell ſodeinly dead ſhortly after. Read before pag. 1016.

The Cōmendator of S. Antony plagued.

Alſo his fellow the Abbot of Clarilocus, and Suffragane to the Byſhop of Metz, at ẏ cracke of gunnes ſodeinly fell downe and died. pag. 1016.

Abbot of Clarilocus ſodeinly dead.

Dauid Beaton Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes in Scotland, ſhortly after the burnyng of M. George Wiſard, how he by the iuſt ſtroke of God was ſlayne, and wretchedly ended his life within his owne Caſtle, in the diſcourſe of his ſtory is euident to ſee, who ſo liſteth further to read of that matter. pag. 1448.

Dauid Beaton **Archb. of Scotland perſecutor, ſlaine in hys owne Caſtle.**

Ioannes Sleidanus, in his 23. boke maketh relatiō of Cardinall Creſcentius the chief Preſident and moderator of the Coūcell of Trident, an. 1552. The ſtory of whom is certein, the thyng that happened to him was ſtraunge and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, ſuch as haue grace to be warned by other mens euils. The narration is this.

Ex Ioan. Sleidano. Lib. 23.

The 25. day of March in the yeare aforeſayd, Creſcentius the Popes Legate & Uicegerent in the Councell of Trident, was ſittyng all the day long vnto darke night in writyng letters to the Pope. After his labour, whē night was come, thinkyng to refreſh him ſelfe, he began to riſe: and at his riſing, behold there appeared to him a mighty blacke dogge of a huge byggenes, his eyes flamyng with fire, and his eares hangyng low down welnere to the ground, to enter in and ſtraight to come toward him, and ſo to coutch vnder the borde. The Cardinall not a litle amaſed at the ſight therof, ſomewhat recoueryng him ſelfe, called to his ſeruaūts, which were in the outward chamber next by, to bryng in a cādle, & to ſeke for the dogge. But when the dogge could not be found, neither there nor in no other chamber about, the Cardinall thereupon ſtricken with a ſodein conceat of mind, immediatly fell into ſuch a ſicknes, wherof his Phiſicions which he had about him, with all their induſtry and cunnyng coulde not cure him. And ſo in the Towne of Verona dyed this Popiſh Cardinall, the Popes holy Legate, and Preſident of this Councell: wherin his purpoſe was (as Sleydane ſayth) to recouer and heale agayne the whole authoritie & doctrine of the Romiſh ſea, & to ſet it vp for euer.

The terrible iudgement of God vpon Cardinall *Creſcentius* **Preſident of the Councell of Trident. An. 1552.**

The wretched end of Cardinall *Creſcentius* **Preſident of ẏ Councell of Trent.**

There were in this Councell beſides the Popes Legates and Cardinall of Trident, xlij. Byſhops, Doctours of Diuinitie xlij. And thus was the end of that

Popiſh

Popiſhe Coũcell, by the prouident hand of the almightie, diſpatched and brought to nought. Ex Sleidano. Lib. 23.

Two aduouterous Biſhops of Trident Councell, iuſtly ſlaine in aduoutry.

This Councell of Trident beyng then diſſolued by the death of this Cardinall, was afterward notwithſtandyng recollected agayne about the yeare of our Lord. 1562. agaynſt the erroneous proceedynges of which Councell, other writers there be ẏ ſay enough. So much as perteineth onely to ſtory, I thought hereunto to adde concernyng two filthy aduoulterous Byſhops to the ſayd Councell belongyng, of whom the one hauntyng to an honeſt mans wife, was ſlayne by the iuſt ſtroke of God, with a bore ſpeare. The other Byſhop, whoſe haunt was to créepe through a wyndow, in the ſame wyndow was ſubtelly taken & hanged in a grinne, layd for him of purpoſe, and ſo conueyed, that in the mornyng he was ſéene openly in ẏ ſtréete hangyng out of the wyndow, to the wonderment of all that paſſed by. Ex proteſtatione Concionatorũ Germa. aduerſus conuentum Trident. &c.

D. Eckius the Popes ſtoute chãpion.

Amongeſt all the religious orders of Papiſtes, who was a ſtouter defender of the Popes ſide, or a more vehement impugner of M. Luther then Iohn Eckius, who, if his cauſe, wherin he ſo trauailed had bene godly, had deſerued (no doubt) great fauour and condigne retribution at the hands of the Lord. Now for ſomuch as we cã not better iudge of him then by his end, let vs conſider the maner of his departyng hence, and compare the ſame with the end of M. Luther.

The end of Martin Luther compared to ẏ end of Eckius.

In the which M. Luther, beyng ſuch an aduerſarie, as he was, to the Pope, and hauyng no leſſe then all the world vppon him at once, firſt this is to be noted, that after all theſe trauailes, the Lord gaue hym to departe both in great age, and in his owne natiue countrey where he was borne. Secondly, he bleſſed hym with ſuch a quiet death, without any violent hand of any aduerſary, that it was counted rather a ſléepe then a death. Thirdly, as the death of his body was mylde, ſo his ſpirite and mynde continued no leſſe godly vnto the end, continually inuocating and callyng vppon the name of the Lord, and ſo commending hys ſpirite to hym with feruent prayer, he made a bleſſed & an heauẽly endyng. Fourthly, ouer and beſides theſe bleſſings, almighty God did alſo adde vnto him ſuch an honorable buryall, as to many great Princes vnneth happeneth the like. And this briefly concernyng the end of Martin Luther, as ye may read before more at large, pag. 994.

The maner of Iohn Eckius death.

Now let vs cõſider & conferre with this, the death of Iohn Eckius, & the maner therof, which we find in the Engliſh trãſlation of ẏ hiſtory of Ioh. Carion. fol. 250. in theſe wordes expreſſed. This yeare (ſayth he) dyed at Ingoldſtat Doct. Eckius a faithfull ſeruaunt and champion of the Pope, and a defender of the abominable Papacy. But as his life was full of all vngodlynes, vncleannes, and blaſphemy, ſo was hys end miſerable, hard, and pitifull, in ſo much that his laſt wordes (as it is noted of many credible perſons) were theſe: In caſe the foure thouſand guildens were ready, ẏ matter were diſpatched, &c. (dreamyng belyke of ſome Cardinalſhyp that he ſhould haue bought). Some ſay, that the Pope had graunted hym a certein Deanery, which he ſhould haue redemed from the Court of Rome with the foreſayd ſũme. Now what a heauenly end this was of M. Eckius, I leaue it to the readers iudgement.

Eckius laſt wordes.

Eckius dieth dreaming of his guildens.

Ex Appẽdice Hiſtor. Ioan. Carionis.

Gods iudgement vpon one Ioh. Vander Warſe Shoulted of Antwarpe, a perſecutor.

In the Citie of Antwarpe was (as they terme hym there) a Shoulted, that is to ſay, the next officer to the Margraue, one named Iohn Vander Warſe, a baſtard ſonne of a ſtocke or kyndred called Warſe, of good eſtimation amongeſt the chiefeſt in Antwarpe. Who as he was of nature cruell, ſo was he of iudgement peruerſe & corrupt, & a ſore perſecutor of Chriſtes flocke, with gredines ſéekyng and ſhédding innocent bloud, and had drowned diuers good men and women in the water: for the which he was much commended of the bloudy generation. Of ſome he was called a bloudhound or bloudy dogge. Of other he was called Shildpad: that is to ſay, Sheltode: for that he beyng a ſhort grundy and of litle ſtature, did ryde commonly with a great broad hat, as a churle of the countrey.

Shildpad a kinde of ſhelfiſh faſhioned like a tode, with a hard and a broad ſhell vpon hys backe.

Thys man after he was wery of his office (wherin he had continued aboue xx. yeares) he gaue it ouer: and becauſe he was now growen rich and wealthy, he entended to paſſe the reſidue of his lyfe in pleaſure and quietnes.

Our Ladies Dumegang feaſt.

Duryng which tyme, about the ſecond yeare after he had left hys office, he came to Antwarpe to the feaſt called our Ladyes Dumegang, to make mery: which feaſt is vſually kept the Sonday folowing the Aſſumption of our Lady. The ſame day in the after noone about foure of the clocke, he beyng well loden with wyne, rode homewardes in his wagon, with his wife and a Gentlewoman waytyng on her, and hys foole. As ſoone as the wagon was come without the gate of the Citie called Croneborgh gate, vpon the wodden Bridge (beyng at that time made for a ſhift, with railes or barres on both ſides, for more ſafetie of the paſſengers, halfe a mans height and more) the horſes ſtode ſtil and would by no meanes go forward, what ſo euer the guider of the wagon could do.

Thẽ he in a drunken rage cryed out to him ẏ guided the wagon, ſaying: Ride on, in a thouſãd deuils name: ryde on. Wherat the poore man anſwered that he could not make the horſes to go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talkyng, ſodeinly roſe, as it were a mighty hurlewynd, with a terrible noyſe (the wether being very fayre and no wynd ſtyryng before) and toſt the wagon ouer the barre into the Towne ditch, the ropes wherat the horſes had bene tyed, beyng broken aſunder in ſuch ſort as if they had bene cut with a ſharpe knife, the wagon alſo beyng caſt vpſidedowne, with the forend therof turned toward the towne agayne, and he drowned in the myre: and when he was taken vp it was found that his necke alſo was broken. His wife was takẽ vp alyue, but dyed alſo within thrée dayes after. But the Gentlewoman and the foole by Gods mighty prouidence were preſerued and had no harme. The foole hearyng the people ſay that hys maſter was dead, ſayd: and was not I dead, was not I dead too? Thys was done. an. 1553. Witnes hereof not onely the Printer of the ſame ſtory in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwarpe, whoſe name was Fraunces Fraet, a good man, & afterward for hatred put to death of the Papiſtes, but alſo diuers Dutchmen here now in England, and a great nũber of Engliſh Marchauntes which then were at Antwarpe and yet are aliue.

Fraunces Fraet the Printer and witneſſe hereof, a good man and Martyr.

Bartholomeus Chaſſaneus plagued.

Of the ſodeine death of Bartholomeus Chaſſaneus or Caſſanus perſecutor, read before, pag. 1075.

Minerius plagued of God.

Of Minerius the bloudy perſecutor or rather tormẽtor of Chriſtes Saintes, how he dyed with bledyng in his lower partes, ye heard before, pag. 1086.

A Iudge with his perſecutors, plagued by Gods iudgement.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the Iudge which accompanyed the ſayd Minerius in his perſecution, who a litle after, as he returned homeward, was drowned, and thrée moe of the ſame company kylled one an other vpon a ſtrife that fell amongeſt them. pag. 1086.

The terrible vengeance of God vpon Ioh. de Roma a terrible perſecutor. Read before pag. 1075.

Ioannes de Roma a cruell Monke, whom rather we may call a helhound then a perſecutour, what helliſh tormentes he had deuiſed for the poore Chriſtians of Angrongne, the contentes of the ſtory before doth expreſſe, pag. 1075. Agayne, with what like tormentes afterward, & that doublefold, the Lord payd hym home agayne, who in his rottyng and ſtinkyng death, neither could find any enemy to kill hym, nor any frend to bury him, who neither could abyde his owne ſtinkyng carion, nor any mã els to come nere him. Wherof ye read alſo in the ſame page and place aboue ſpecified.

The Lord of Reueſt plagued.

Such a lyke perſecutor alſo the ſame tyme was the Lord of Reueſt, who lykewiſe eſchaped not the reuengyng hand of Gods iuſtice, beyng ſtricken, after his furious perſecution, with a like horrible ſickenes, and ſuch a fury and madnes, that none durſt come nere hym, and ſo moſt wretchedly dyed. Wherof read before, pag. 1075.

Ioh. Martin plagued.

Touching the like greuous puniſhment of God vpon one Iohn Martin a perſecutor, read pag. 1088.

Eraſm. in Epiſtola Apologetica. De vtilit. Colloquior.

Gods puniſhment vpon a noble gentleman in going a pilgrimage.

Eraſmus in an Epiſtle or Apologie written in defenſe of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certein noble perſon of great riches and poſſeſſions, who hauing wife and children with a great famile at home (to whom by S. Paules rule he was bounde in conſcięce principally aboue all other wordly thinges to attende) had purpoſed before his death to go ſee Hieruſalem. And thus all thynges beyng ſet in order, this noble man about to ſet forward on his iorney, committed the care of his wife (whom he left great with child) & of his Lordſhyps and Caſtles to an Archbyſhop, as to a moſt ſure and truſty father. To make ſhort: It happened in the iorney this noble man to dye. Wherof ſo ſoone as the Archbyſhop had intelligence, in ſteede of a father, he became a theefe & robber, ſeiſyng into his own handes all his Lordſhips and poſſeſſions. And moreouer, not yet cōtented with all this, he layd ſiege againſt a ſtrong forte of his (vnto the which his wife for ſauegard of her ſelfe dyd flye) where in concluſion ſhe with the child ſhe went withall, pitifully was ſlayne, and ſo miſerably periſhed. Which ſtory was done (as teſtifieth Eraſmus) not ſo long before hys tyme, but that there remayned the nephewes of the ſayd noble man then alyue, to whom the ſame inheritaunce ſhould haue fallen, but they could not obteine it.

Admonition.

False deuotion a perilous thing.

Agaynſt Idolatrous pilgrimage.

What commeth of blynd ſuperſtition when a man not conteinyng him ſelfe within the compaſſe of Gods word, wandereth in other bywayes of his owne, and not contented with the Religion ſet vp of the Lord, will bynde his conſcience to other ordinaunces, preſcriptions, and religions deuiſed by men, leauing Gods commaundemẽtes vndone for ẏ conſtitutions & preceptes of men, what end and reward (I ſay) commeth therof at length, by this one example, beſide infinite other of the lyke ſort, men may learne experience: and therfore they that yet will defend Idolatrous pilgrimage and raſhe vowes, let them well conſider hereof. It is rightly ſayd of S. Hierome, to haue bene at Hieruſalem, is no great matter, but to lyue a godly and vertuous lyfe, that is a great matter in very dede.

A wonderfull example of Gods iudgement at Gaunt. An. 1565.

In the yeare of Lord. 1565. there was in the towne of Gaunt in Flaunders one William de Weuer accuſed and impriſoned by the Prouoſt of S. Peters in Gaunt (who had in his Cloiſter a priſon and a place of execution) and the day whē the ſayd William was called to the place of iudgement, the Prouoſt ſent for M. Giles Brackelman, principall Aduocate of the Counſell of Flaũders, and Borough Maſter & Iudge of S. Peters in Gaunt, with other of ẏ rulers of ẏ Towne of Gaunt, to ſit in iudgement vpon him, and as they ſat in iudgement, the Borough Maſter named M. Giles Brackelman reaſoned with the ſaid William de Weuer vpon diuers Articles of hys faith.

The one wherof was, why the ſayd Williā de Weuer denyed that it was not lawfull to pray to Saintes: and he aũſwered (as ẏ report goeth): for three cauſes. The one was that they were but creatures and not the creator.

Three cauſes why Saintes are not to be prayed vnto.

The ſecond was, that if he ſhould call vppon them, the Lord did both ſee it and heare it, & therfore he durſt giue the glory to none other but to God.

The thyrd and chiefeſt cauſe was, that the creator had commaunded in his holy word to call vpon him in troubles: vnto which commaundement he durſt neither adde, nor take from it.

The Borough Maſter M. Giles Brackelman alſo demaunded whether he did not beleue that there was a Purgatory which he ſhould goe into after this lyfe, where euery one ſhould be purified and clenſed?

Purgatory denyed.

He aunſwered that he had read ouer the whole Bible, and could finde no ſuch place, but that the death of Chriſt was his Purgatory: with many other queſtiōs proceedyng after their order, vntill they came to pronounce hys condemnation. But or euer the ſayd condemnation was red forth, ẏ iudgemẽt of God was layd vppon the ſayd Borough Maſter, who ſodeinly at that preſent inſtant was ſtricken with a Palſey, that hys mouth was drawen vp almoſt to hys eare, & ſo he fell downe, the reſt of the Lordes by & by ſtandyng vp and ſhadowyng him, that the people could not well ſee him: and alſo the people were willed to depart, who being ſtill called vpon to depart, aunſwered, the place was ſo ſmall to go out that they could go no faſter. Then the Borough Maſter beyng taken vp, was caryed to his houſe, and it is not yet vnderſtand or cōmonly knowen that euer he ſpake word after he was firſt ſtricken, but was openly knowen to be dead the next day following. And yet, notwithſtanding that this was done about x. of the clocke, they burned the ſayd William de Weuer within three houres after on the ſame day.

The iudgement of God vpon Gyles Brakelmā ẏ Borough Maſter.

William de Weuer Martyr, burnt at Gaunt. An. 1565.

An other terrible example of Gods iudgement agaynſt Syr Garret Trieſte Gentlemā and the Aldermā of Gaunt, a perſecutor. An. 1566.

The 4. day of March. 1566. the like example of the Lordes terrible iudgement was ſhewed vpō Syr Garret Trieſte Knight, who had long before promiſed to the Regent to bryng downe the Preachyng. For the which acte (as the report goeth) the Regent againe promiſed to make him a Graue, which is an Earle. Of the which Syr Garret it is alſo ſayd, that he commyng frō Bruxels towardes Gaunt, brought with him the death of the Preachers, and beyng come to Gaunt, the ſayd Syr Garret with other of the Lordes hauyng receaued from the Regent a Commiſſion, to ſweare the Lordes and Commons vnto the Romiſh Religion, the ſaid Syr Garret the fourth day of March aboue noted, at night being at ſupper, willed ẏ Lady his wife to call hym in ẏ mornyng one houre ſooner then he was accuſtomed to riſe, for that he ſhould ẏ next day haue much buſines to do in ẏ Towne houſe, to ſweare the Lordes and people to the Romiſhe Religion. But ſee what happened. The ſayd Syr Garret going to bed in good health (as it ſeemed) when the Lady his wife called him in the morning according to his appointement, was found dead in the bed by her, and ſo vnable to proſecute his wicked purpoſe.

An other example of Gods iudgement vppon Marten de Peſter one of the principall Secretaryes of Gaunt. An. 1566.

The 5. day of March. 1566. which was the day that Sir Garret Trieſte appointed to be there, & the Lordes of Gaunt were come into ẏ Towne houſe (as they had afore appointed) to proceede and to giue the oth, accordyng as they had their Commiſſion, and M. Martin de Peſter the Secretary, beyng appoynted and about to giue the oth, as the firſt man ſhould haue ſworne, the ſayd Martin de Peſter was ſtricken of God wͭ preſent death likewiſe, & fell down, and was caried away in a chaire or ſettell, & neuer ſpake after. Witnes hereunto.

Theſe men of Gaunt are witneſſes hereof.

Peter de Bellemaker.
Abraham Roſſart.
Maerke de Mill.
Lieuen Hendrickx.
Ihan Coucke.
Rogeyr Vanhulle.
Ioys Neuehans.
Lyeuin Neuehans.
Wil. vāden Boegarde.
Ioys de Pytte.

A ſtory of a tame deuill coniured in an Abbey in Sueuia.

About the borders of Sueuia in Germanie, not farre from the Citie of Vberlyng, there was a certaine Monaſtery of Ciſtercian Monkes, called Salmeſuille, foūded in the dayes of Pope Innocent the 2. by a noble Baron named Guntherame, about the yeare of our Lord. 1130. This Celle thus being erected, in proceſſe of tyme was enlarged with more ample poſſeſſiōs, findyng many and great benefactours and endowers, liberally contributyng vnto the ſame: as Emperours, Dukes, and riche Barons. Amongeſt whom moſt eſpeciall were the Earles of Montforte, who had beſtowed vpon that Monaſtery many new liberties and great priuileges, vpon this condition, that they ſhould receaue with free hoſpitalitie any ſtrauger both horſeman or footeman, for one nightes lodgyng, who ſoeuer came. But this hoſpitalitie dyd not long ſo continue, through a ſubtile and deuiliſhe deuiſe of one of the Monkes, who toke vppon hym to counterfeite to play the part of the deuill, ratlyng and raging in his chaines where the ſtraungers ſhould lye, after a terrible maner in the night tyme, to fray away the geſtes: by reaſon wherof no ſtraunger nor trauailer durſt there abyde: and ſo continued this a long ſpace. At length (as God would) it ſo happened that one of the Earles of the ſayd houſe of Montforte, benefactours to that Abbay, cõmyng to the Monaſtery, was there lodged, whether of ſet purpoſe or by chaunce, it is not knowen.

A ſubtill deuiſe of ÿ Monkes to fray away their geſtes.

When the night came, and the Earle was at his reſt, the Monke after his wonted maner begynneth hys pageant, to play the tame, yea rather the wyld deuill. There was ſtampyng, rappyng, ſpitting of fire, roryng, thunderyng, bounſing of boardes, and ratlyng of chaynes, enough to make ſome man ſtarke mad. The Earle hearyng the ſodaine noyſe, and beyng ſomewhat peraduenture afrayde at the firſt, although he had not then the feate of coniuryng: yet takyng a good hart vnto hym, and rũnyng to his ſword, he layd about hym well fauouredly, and folowyng ſtill the noyſe of the deuill, ſo cõiured him at laſt, that the Monke which counterfeited the deuill in ieſte, was ſlayne in his own likenes in earneſt. Ex Gaſpare Bruſchio, in Chronologia Monaſteriorum Germaniæ.

The puniſhment of God vpon a Mõke that would counterfeite the deuill.

Ex Gaſpare Bruſchio in Chronologia Monaſteriorũ Germ.

After the impriſonment of the congregatiõ, which were taken hearing Gods word in S. James ſtreete in Paris an. 1558. (as is aboue ſtoryed) was a letter written to the kyng, which was diuulgate abroad, prouyng and declaryng by diuers hiſtoryes, what afflictions and calamities, frõ tyme to time, by Gods rightuous iudgement haue fallen vpon ſuch as haue bene enemyes to his people, and haue reſiſted the free paſſage of hys holy word. In which letter for ſomuch as beſides the ſayd examples, much other good fruitfull matter is conteyned, worthy of all men to be read, and eſpecially of Princes to be conſidered, I though here good to copy out the whole as the French booke doth giue it. The tranſlation of the which letter into Engliſh, is after this tenour as foloweth.

Read afore pag. 1049.

A Letter tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, written to K. Henry. 2. French King.

Conſider, I pray you, Syr, and you ſhal finde that all your afflictions haue come vpon you, since you haue ſet your ſelfe agaynſt thoſe which are called Lutherans.

When you made the Edict of Chaſteaubriant: God ſent you warres: but when ye ceaſed the execution of your ſaid Edict, & as long as you were enemy vnto the Pope and goyng into Almanie for the defence of the libertie of the Germaines afflicted for Religion, your affaires proſpered as ye would wiſhe or deſire.

The doynges of *Henry*. 2. French King, agaynſt the Lutherãs, neuer proſpered with him.

On the contrary, what hath become vppon you ſince you were ioyned with the Pope agayne, hauyng receiued a ſword from hym for his owne ſafegarde? and who was it that cauſed you to breake the truce? God hath turned in a moment your proſperities into ſuch afflictions, that they touch not onely the ſtate of your own perſon, but of your kyngdome alſo.

This truce was betwene the Frẽch king & the Emperour, which the Pope cauſed to be broken.

To what end became the enterpriſe of the Duke of Guiſe in Italy, goyng about the ſeruice of the enemy of God, and purpoſing after his returne to deſtroy ÿ Walleyes of Piemont, to offer or ſacrifice them to God for his victoryes? The euent hath well declared, that God can turne vpſide downe our counſels and enterpriſes: As he ouerturned of late ÿ enterpriſe of the Cõſtable of Fraunce at S. Quentins, hauyng vowed to God, that at hys returne he would go and deſtroy Geneua whẽ he had gotten the victory.

The cruell purpoſe of the Duke of Guiſe diſappoynted.

The wicked vowe of the Conſtable of Fraunce defeated.

Haue you not heard of L. Poncher Archbyſhop of Tours, who made ſute for the erection of a Court called Chamber Ardente, wherein to condemne the Proteſtãtes to the fyre? who afterwardes was ſtrickẽ with a diſeaſe called the fyre of God: which began and ſo aſcended vpward, that he cauſed one member after an other to be cut of, and ſo dyed miſerably without any remedy?

L. Poncher Archb. of Tours.

The marueilous iudgement of God vpon a burning perſecutor.

Alſo of one Caſtellanus, who hauing enriched him ſelfe by the Goſpell, and forſakyng the pure doctrine therof to returne to his vomyt agayne, went about to perſecute the Chriſtians at Orleance, and by the hand of God was ſtricken in hys body, with a ſickenes vnknowen to the Phiſicians, ÿ one halfe of his body burning as hoate as fire, and the other as cold as Ice: and ſo moſt miſerably crying and lamentyng, ended his life.

Gods fearfull hand vpon *Caſtellanus* perſecutor.

There be other infinite examples of Gods iudgementes worthy to bee remembred: as the death of the Chauncellour and Legate Du Prat, which was the firſt that opened to the Parlament the knowledge of hereſies, and gaue out the firſt Commiſſions to put the faithfull to death, who afterward dyed in his houſe at Nantoillet, ſwearyng & horribly blaſphemyng God, and his ſtomacke was found pearſed and gnawen aſunder with wormes.

Legate *Du Prat* the firſt beginner of perſecution agaynſt the faythfull, horribly plagued.

Alſo Iohn Ruſé, Counſeller in the Parlamẽt, comming from the Court after he had made report of the proceſſe agaynſt the poore innocẽtes, was taken with a burnyng in the lower part of his belly, and before hee could be brought home to his houſe, the fyre inuaded all his ſecret partes, and ſo hee dyed miſerably, burnyng all hys belly ouer, without any ſigne or token of the acknowledgyng of God.

Iohn Ruſé comming from accuſing of the faythfull, was terribly ſtricken by Gods hand.

Alſo of one named Claude des Aſſes, a Counſeller in the ſayd Court, the ſame day that he gaue his opinion and conſent to burne a faythfull Chriſtian (albeit it was not done in deede as he would haue it) after he had dyned, committed whoredome with a ſeruaunt in the houſe, and euen in doyng the acte, was ſtricken with a diſeaſe called Apoplexia, wherof he dyed out of hand.

The wicked end of *Claude des Aſſes*, a wicked perſecutor.

Peter Liſet, chiefe Preſident of the ſayd Court, and one of the authors of the foreſayd burnyng chamber, was depoſed frõ his office, for beyng knowen to be out of his right witte and bereued of his vnderſtandyng.

Peter Lyſet author of the burning chamber, plagued.

Alſo Iohn Morin, Lieutenaunt Criminall of the Prouoſt of Paris, after he had bene the cauſe of the death of many Chriſtiãs, was finally ſtricken with a diſeaſe in his legs, called the wolues: wherby he loſt the vſe of them, & dyed alſo out of his wits, many dayes before denying and blaſphemyng God.

The mightie hand of God vpon *Iohn Morin*, a greuous perſecutor.

Likewiſe Iohn Andrew, booke Bynder of the Pallace, a ſpye for ÿ Preſident Liſet, & of Bruſſard the kynges ſollicitor, dyed in a fury and madnes.

Iohn Andrew Booke binder, plagued.

The Inquiſitour Iohn de Roma in Prouence, his fleſh fell from hym by peace meale, ſo ſtinkyng that no man might come nere him.

The terrible vengeance of God vppon *Ioh. de Roma*, a terrible perſecutor.

Alſo Iohn Minerius of Prouence, which was the cauſe of the death of a great nũber of mẽ, women, & children at Cabriers and at Merindoll, dyed with bleeding in ÿ lower partes, ÿ fyre hauing takẽ his belly, blaſpheming & deſpiting of god: beſides many others wherof we might make recital which were puniſhed with the like kynd of death.

Ioh. Minerius a cruell perſecutor, plagued of God.

It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to remember your ſelfe that ye had no ſooner determined to ſet vpõ vs, but new troubles were by and by moued by your enemyes: with whom ye could come to no agreemẽt: which God would not ſuffer, for as much as your peace was grounded vpõ the perſecution which ye pretended agaynſt Gods ſeruauntes: As alſo your Cardinals can not let through their crueltie, the courſe of the Goſpell, which hath taken ſuch roote in your Realme, that if God ſhould geue you leaue to deſtroy the profeſſors thereof, you ſhould be almoſt a king without ſubiectes.

The French King by ſundry ſortes of troubles, warned of God.

Tertulian hath well ſayd that the bloud of Martyrs is the ſeede of the Goſpell. Wherfore to take away all theſe euils commyng of the richeſſe of the Papiſtes, which cauſe ſomuch whoredome, ſodometry, and inceſt, wherin they wallow, lyke hogges, feedyng theyr idle bellyes: the beſt way were to put them from their landes and poſſeſſiõs, as the old ſacrificing Leuites were, accordyng to the expreſſe commaũdement which was geuen to Ioſua. For as long as the ordinaunce of God tooke place, and that they were voyde of ambition, the puritie of Religion remayned whole and perfect: but when they began to aſpire to principalitie, riches, and wordly honors, then began the abomination of deſolation that Chriſt found out.

Richeſſe and pride of the Clergie, the fountaine of all euils.

The purenes of yͤ Primitiue Church how long it cõtinued, & whereby.

The falſe Donation of Conſtantine.

It was euen ſo in the primitiue Church: For it floriſhed and continued in all purenes as long as the miniſters were of ſmall wealth and ſought not their particular profite, but the glory of God onely. For ſince the Popes began to be princelyke, and to vſurpe the dominion of the Empire vnder the colour of a falſe donation of Conſtãtine, they haue turned the Scriptures from their true ſenſe, and haue attributed the ſeruice to them ſelues which we owe to God. wherfore your Maieſty may ſeiſe with good right vppon all the temporalties of the benefices, and that with a ſafe conſcience, for to employ them to their true and right vſe:

Exhortation to the king to ſeiſe vpon the temporalities of yͤ Clergie.

The riches of the Popes Clergie, how it ought to be employed.

Firſt for the findyng and mainteynyng of the faithfull Miniſters of the word of God, for ſuch lyuyngs as ſhalbe requiſite for them, accordyng as the caſe ſhall require: Secondly for the entertainement of your Iuſtices that geue iudgement: Thirdly for the releeuing of the poore, and maintenaunce of Colleges to inſtruct the poore youth in that which they ſhall be moſt apt vnto. And the reſt, which is infinite, may remaine for the intertainment of your own eſtate and affaires, to the great eaſement of your poore people, which alone beare the burthen, and poſſeſſe in maner nothyng.

In this doyng, an infinite nũber of men, and euen of your nobilitie, which liue of the Crucifix, ſhould employ them ſelues to your ſeruice and the common wealthes ſo much the more diligently, as they ſee that ye recompence none but thoſe that haue deſerued: where as now there is an infinitie number of men in your kyngdome which occupy the greateſt and chiefeſt benefices, which neuer deſerued any part of thẽ. &c. And thus much touchyng the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of yͤ Popes Lordly Clergy. Now proceding further in this exhortation to the kyng, thus the letter importeth.

The malitious and lying ſlaũders of yͤ Papiſtes to bring the true Goſpellers in hatred with Princes.

But when the Papiſtes ſee that they haue not to alledge for them ſelues any reaſon, they aſſay to make odious to your Maieſtie the Lutherans (as they call vs) and ſay: if their ſayings take place, ye ſhalbe fayne to remaine a priuate perſon: and that there is neuer chaunge of Religion, but there is alſo chaunge of Princedome: A thyng as falſe, as when they accuſe vs to be Sacramentaries, and that we deny the authoritie of Magiſtrates, vnder the ſhadow of certein furious Anabaptiſtes which Sathan hath rayſed in our tyme to darken the light of the Goſpell: For yͤ hiſtories of the Emperours, which haue begon to receaue the Chriſtian Religion, and that which is come to paſſe in our tyme, ſhewe the contrary.

Conſtantine confirmed in his kingdome the more, by receauing the Goſpell.

Was there euer Prince more feared and obeyed then Conſtantine in receauing yͤ Chriſtiã religiõ? was he therfore put frõ the Empire? No, he was therby the more cõfirmed & eſtabliſhed in yͤ ſame, & alſo his poſteritie which ruled them ſelues by his prouidence. But ſuch as haue fallen away and followed mens traditions, God hath deſtroyed, & their race is no more knowen in earth: So much doth God deteſt them that forſake hym.

Examples of England and Germany, how Princes loſe no honour by the Goſpell.

The Popes religion more noyſome to the ſtate of Princes, then the doctrine of the Lutherans.

And in our tyme the late kynges of England and Germanie, were they conſtrayned in reprouyng ſuperſtitiõs, which the wickednes of the tyme had brought in, to forſake their Kyngdomes and Princedomes? All men ſee the contrary: and what honour, fidelitie, and obedience, the people in our tyme that haue receiued the reformatiõ of the Goſpell, do vnto their Princes and ſuperiours. Yea I may ſay, that the Princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that tyme when the rude and ignorant people receaued ſo readily yͤ diſpenſations of the Pope, to driue out their own kinges & naturall Lordes.

Wholeſome remedy ſhewed agaynſt the Popes pride.

A blind ſhift of the Papiſtes to ſtop Princes from calling generall Councells.

The contrarieties in yͤ Popes Councells, enough for their diſproofe.

The true and onely remedy, Syr is, that ye cauſe to be holden a holy and free Councell, where ye ſhould be chief, and not the Pope and his, who ought but onely to defend their cauſes by the holy Scriptures: that in the meane while ye may ſeeke out men not corrupted, ſuſpected, nor parciall, whom ye may charge to geue report faithfully vnto you of the true ſenſe of the holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good Kynges Ioſaphath, Ezechias, and Ioſias, ye ſhall take out of the Church all idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and abuſe which is found directly contrary to the holy Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament, and by that meanes ye ſhall guide your people in the true and pure ſeruice of God, not regardyng in the meane tyme the cauillyng pretenſes of the Papiſtes, which ſay that ſuch queſtiõs haue bene already aunſwered at generall Councels: for it is knowen well enough, that no Councell hath bene lawfull ſince the Popes haue vſurped the principalitie and tyranny vppon mens ſoules, but they haue made them ſerue to their couetouſnes, ambition, and crueltie: and the contrarietie which is among thoſe Councels, maketh enough for their diſproufe, beſide a C. thouſand other abſurdities agaynſt the word of God, which be in thẽ. The true proufe for ſuch matters is in the true and holy Scriptures, to the which no tymes nor age hath any preſcription to be alledged agaynſt them: for by them we receiue the Councels founded vppon the word of God, and alſo by the ſame we reiect that doctrine which is repugnaunt.

Propheſie agaynſt the French king.

And if ye do thus Syr, God will bleſſe your enterpriſe, he will encreaſe and cõfirme your reigne and Empire, and your poſteritie. If otherwiſe, deſtruction is at your gate, and vnhappy are yͤ people which ſhall dwell vnder your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your hart as he dyd Pharaos, & take of the crown frõ your head, as he did to Iheroboã, Nadab, Baza, Achab, and to many other kynges, which haue followed mens traditions, agaynſt the commaundement of God: and geue it to your enemyes to triumphe ouer you and your children. And if the Emperour Antonine the meeke, although he were a Pagan & Idolater, ſeing him ſelfe bewrapt with ſo many warres, ceaſſed the perſecutions which were in his tyme agaynſt the Chriſtians, and determined in the ende to heare their cauſes and reaſons, how much more ought you that beare the name of moſt Chriſtian Kyng, to be carefull and diligent to ceaſſe the perſecutions agaynſt the poore Chriſtians: ſeyng they haue not troubled, nor do trouble in any wiſe the ſtate of your kingdome and your affaires: cõſidering alſo that the Iewes be ſuffred thorough all Chriſtẽdome, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which we hold by common accord and conſent for our God, redemer, and Sauiour: and that vntill you haue hard lawfully debated, and vnderſtand our reaſons taken of the holy Scriptures, and that your Maieſtie haue iudged if we be worthy of ſuch puniſhmentes: For if we be not ouercome by the word of God, the fires, the ſword, nor yͤ cruelleſt tormentes ſhall not make vs afrayd. Theſe be the exerciſes that God hath promiſed to his, and of the which he foretold ſhould come in the laſt tymes, that they ſhould not be troubled when ſuch perſecutions ſhal come vpon them. Tranſlated out of the French booke intitled, Commentaries of the ſtate of the Church and publicke weale. &c. pag. 7.

¶*The ſtory and end of the French King.*

The ſtory and end of *Henry. 2.* the French King, that would not be warned.

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KYng Henry beyng in the Parlement houſe, which was kept at the Frier Auguſtines at Paris, becauſe the Pallace was in preparyng agaynſt the Mariage of his daughter and hys ſiſter, and hauyng heard the opinion in Religion of Anne du Bourg Counſellour in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſaid Anne du Bourg and Loys du Faur Counſellours, to be takē priſoners by the Conſtable of Fraunce, who apprehended them and deliuered them into the handes of the Coūty of Mongommery, the which caried them to priſon. Agaynſt whom the kyng beyng wrathful and angry, among other talke, ſayd to the ſayd Anne du Bourg: Theſe eyes of myne ſhal ſee thee burnt, & ſo on the. 19. of Iune, Commiſſion was geuen to the iudges to make his proces. Duryng this meane while, great feaſtes and banquets were preparyng in the Court for ioy and gladnes of the Mariage that ſhould be of the kyngs daughter and ſiſter, agaynſt the laſt day of Iune ſaue one. So when the day and tyme aboue prefixed was come, the kyng employed all the mornyng in examinyng as well the Preſidentes, as Counſellours of the ſayd Parlement, agaynſt the priſoners and other their companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine: which beyng done, they went to dyner. The kyng after he had dyned, for that he was one of the defendātes at the Tourney, which was ſolemnely made in S. Antonyes Streete neare to the priſon where the foreſayd priſoners were committed, he entred into the lyſtes, and there in iuſtyng, as the maner is, had broken many ſtaues right valiantly as could be, runnyng as wel agaynſt County of Montgommery as other moe. Whereupon he was hyghly commended of the lookers on. And becauſe he had done ſo valiantly, and was thought now to haue done enough, he was deſired to ceaſe with prayſe. But he beyng the more inflamed with hearing of his prayſe, would needes runne an other courſe with Montgommery: who then refuſing to runne agaynſt the kyng, and kneelyng vpon hys knees for pardon not to runne, the kyng beyng egerly ſet, commaunded hym vppon hys allegeance to runne, and (as ſome affirme) dyd alſo hym ſelfe put the ſtaffe in his hand, vnto whoſe handes he had committed the foreſayd priſoners a litle before. Montgommery thus beyng enforced whether he would or no, to runne agaynſt the kyng, addreſſed hym ſelfe after the beſt wiſe to obey the kynges commaundement. Whereupon he and the kyng met together ſo ſtoutly that in breakyng their ſpeares, the kyng was ſtricken with the counterblow ſo right ino ne of his eyes, by reaſon yͭ yͤ viſour of hys helmet ſodenly fell downe at the ſame inſtant, that the ſhyuers entred into his head: ſo that the braynes was periſhed, and thereupon ſo feſtered that no remedy could be found, although Phiſicians and Surgians were ſent for from all places in the Realme, as alſo frō Brabant by kyng Phillip, but nothyng auayled, ſo that yͤ xj. day after, that is the x. of Iuly. 1559. he ended hys lyfe in great dolour, hauyng raigned. 12. yeares, three monethes and 10. dayes.

Henry 2. the French king ſore ſet againſt the poore Proteſtants.

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Montgōmery againſt his will commaunded to iuſte againſt the king.

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Some report that among other wordes he ſayd that he feared he was ſtricken for caſting yͤ poore Chriſtians wrōgfully in priſon: but yͤ Cardinal of Loraine ſtādyng by (as he was alwayes at hand) ſayd vnto hym that it was the enemy that tempted hym, and that he ſhould be ſtedfaſt in the fayth. By this meanes the hall which was prepared for a place of ioy and gladnes, dyd now ſerue for a Chappell to keepe the corps, beyng dreſſed with blacke mournyng cloth, and night and day there was nothyng heard but mournyng and lamentyng for the ſpace of xl. dayes.

The deuelliſh perſuaſion of Card. Lorayne at the death of the French King.

About two yeares after this, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1561. there was certeine Gentlemen put to death at Amboiſe, for takyng armes agaynſt the houſe of Guiſe. Touchyng which Gentlemen this is to bee noted that as one of them ſhould be brought to the place of execution, where yͤ other lay dead before hym, he thruſt his handes into the bloud of 2. of his cōpanions which were there beheaded, and then lifting them vp to heauen, cryed with a loude voyce: Lord behold the bloud of thy children; thou wilt in tyme and place reuenge it.

Certaine gentlemen executed at Amboyſe for ſtādyng againſt the houſe of Guyſe.

Not long after the ſame the Chauncellour Oliuier, who was condemner of them, at the inſtigation & purſuite of the Cardinall of Lorraine, through great remorſe of conſcience fell ſicke; and in a freneſie caſtyng out ſighes vnceſſantly, and afflictyng him ſelfe after a fearefull and ſtraunge faſhion for his vnrighteous ſentence and more then barbarous crueltie, ſhriked vpon a ſodden with an horrible cry & ſayd: O Cardinal, thou wilt make vs al to be damned, and within a very few dayes after he dyed.

The Lordes puniſhment vpon the Chauncelour Oliuier for his ſentence geuen againſt certaine Gentlemen Proteſtantes.

Fraunces the ſecōd of that name, kyng of Fraunce, at the perſuaſion of the Cardinall of Lorraine and of certeine others, cauſed an aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realme in the towne of Orleans, among other things to mainteyne the Papall ſea, to the ouerthrow of thoſe which would lyue after the ſinceritie of the Goſpell: but beyng fallen ſicke ſhortly after in the foreſayde place of a feauer, through an impoſtume in his left eare; he dyed the 4. of December. 1561. hauyng raigned but one yeare and about 5. monethes.

The death of Frances 2. French King, after he began to withſtand the courſe of the Goſpell.

How the Lord worketh for his Goſpell.

It was ſayd of this kyng Fraunces (as the authour aboue mencioned reporteth) that when he was drawyng towardes his end the Cardinall of Lorraine made him to ſay and pronounce theſe wordes which folow: Lord forgeue me my treſpaſſes, and impute not vnto me the faultes which my miniſters haue done vnder my name and authoritie.

The wordes of King Frances at his death.

Unto theſe afore recited hiſtories of kyng Henry & king Fraunces his ſonne, might alſo be added, yͤ death of the Emperour Charles the fift. Who in like maner beyng an enemy, and a great terrour to the Goſpell, was cut of likewiſe for doyng any more hurt to the Church, much about the ſame tyme, an. 1558. which was but three monethes before the death of Queene Mary, and x. monethes before the death of the ſaid Henry yͤ ſecond. Touching the death of which Charles, and Henry, and Fraunces, this Epitaph folowing was written in Latin verſes, and printed in the French ſtory booke, aboue alledged.

The death of Charles the Emperour.

Conſiliis Chriſtum oppugnans & fraudibus, ingens
  Regum ille terror Carolus,
Ipſis ridiculus pueris, furioſus & excors,
  Totus repente corruit.
Tuq; Henrice, malis dum conſultoribus vtens,
  Sitis piorum ſanguinem,
Ipſe tuo vecors inopina cæde peremptus,
  Terram imbuiſti ſanguine.
Henrici deinceps ſectans veſtigia patris
  Franciſcus infœlix puer,
Clamantem Chriſtum ſurda dum negligit aure,
  Aure putrefacta corruit.
Verſuti, fatui, ſurdi, hæc ſpectacula Reges,
  Vos ſapere vel mori iubent.

An Epitaphe vpon Charles Emperour, Henry 2. the French King, and Frances his ſonne.

Not long after Anne du Bourges death, the Preſident Minard, who was a ſore perſecutor, and the con-

The purenes of ẏ Primitiue Church how long it cōtinued, & wherby.

It was euen ſo in the primitiue Church: For it floriſhed and continued in all purenes as long as the miniſters were of ſmall wealth and ſought not their particular profite, but the glory of God onely. For ſince the Popes began to be princelyke, and to vſurpe the dominion of the Empire vnder the colour of a falſe donation of Conſtātine, they haue turned the Scriptures from their true ſenſe, and haue attributed the ſeruice to them ſelues which we owe to God. wherfore your Maieſty may ſeiſe with good right vppon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a ſafe conſcience, for to employ them to their true and right vſe:

The falſe Donation of *Conſtantine.*

Exhortation to the king to ſeiſe vpon the temporalities of ẏ Clergie.

The riches of the Popes Clergie, how it ought to be employed.

Firſt for the findyng and mainteynyng of the faithfull Miniſters of the word of God, for ſuch lyuyngs as ſhalbe requiſite for them, accordyng as the caſe ſhall require: Secondly for the entertainement of your Iuſtices that geue iudgement: Thirdly for the releuing of the poore, and mainteinaunce of Colleges to inſtruct the poore youth in that which they ſhall be moſt apt vnto. And the reſt, which is infinite, may remaine for the intertemment of your own eſtate and affaires, to the great eaſement of your poore people, which alone beare the burthen, and poſſeſſe in maner nothyng.

In this doyng, an infinite nūber of men, and euen of your nobilitie, which liue of the Crucifix, ſhould employ them ſelues to your ſeruice and the common wealthes ſo much the more diligently, as they ſee that ye recompence none but thoſe that haue deſerued: where as now there is an infinitie number of men in your kyngdome which occupy the greateſt and chiefeſt benefices, which neuer deſerued any part of thē. &c. And thus much touchyng the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of ẏ Popes Lordly Clergy. Now proceding further in this exhortation to the kyng, thus the letter importeth.

The malitious and lying ſlaunders of ẏ Papiſtes to bring the true Goſpellers in hatred with Princes.

But when the Papiſtes ſee that they haue not to alledge for them ſelues any reaſon, they aſſay to make odious to your Maieſtie the Lutherans (as they call vs) and ſay: if their ſayings take place, ye ſhalbe fayne to remaine a priuate perſon: and that there is neuer chaunge of Religion, but there is alſo chaunge of Princedome: A thyng as falſe, as when they accuſe vs to be Sacramentaries, and that we deny the authoritie of Magiſtrates, vnder the ſhadow of certein furious Anabaptiſtes which Sathan hath rayſed in our tyme to darken the light of the Goſpell: For ẏ hiſtories of the Emperours, which haue begon to receaue the Chriſtian Religion, and that which is come to paſſe in our tyme, ſhewe the contrary.

Conſtantine confirmed in his kingdome the more, by receauing the Goſpell.

Was there euer Prince more feared and obeyed then Conſtantine in receauing ẏ Chriſtiā religiō? was he therfore put frō the Empire? No, he was therby the more cōfirmed & eſtabliſhed in ẏ ſame, & alſo his poſteritie which ruled them ſelues by his prouidence. But ſuch as haue fallen away and followed mens traditions, God hath deſtroyed, & their race is no more knowen in earth: So much doth God deteſt them that forſake hym.

Examples of England and Germany, how Princes loſe no honour by the Goſpell.

And in our tyme the late kynges of England and Germanie, were they conſtrayned in reprouyng ſuperſtitiōs, which the wickednes of the tyme had brought in, to forſake their Kyngdomes and Princedomes? All men ſee the contrary: and what honour, fidelitie, and obedience, the people in our tyme that haue receiued the reformatiō of the Goſpell, do vnto their Princes and ſuperiours. Yea I may ſay, that the Princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that tyme when the rude and ignorant people receaued ſo readily ẏ diſpenſations of the Pope, to driue out their own kinges & naturall Lordes.

The Popes religion more noyſome to the ſtate of Princes, then the doctrine of the Lutherans.

Wholeſome remedy ſhewed agaynſt the Popes pride.

The true and onely remedy, Syr is, that ye cauſe to be holden a holy and free Councell, where ye ſhould be chief, and not the Pope and his, who ought but onely to defend their cauſes by the holy Scriptures: that in the meane while ye may ſeeke out men not corrupted, ſuſpected, nor parciall, whom ye may charge to geue report faithfully vnto you of the true ſenſe of the holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good Kynges Ioſaphath, Ezechias, and Ioſias, ye ſhall take out of the Church all idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and abuſe which is found directly contrary to the holy Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament, and by that meanes ye ſhall guide your people in the true and pure ſeruice of God, not regardyng in the meane tyme the cauillyng pretenſes of the Papiſtes, which ſay that ſuch queſtiōs haue bene already aunſwered at generall Councels: for it is knowen well enough, that no Councell hath bene lawfull ſince the Popes haue vſurped the principalitie and tyranny vppon mens ſoules, but they haue made them ſerue to their couetouſnes, ambition, and crueltie: and the contrarietie which is among thoſe Councels, maketh enough for their diſproufe, beſide a C. thouſand other abſurdities agaynſt the word of God, which be in thē. The true proufe for ſuch matters is in the true and holy Scriptures, to the which no tymes nor age hath any preſcription to be alledged agaynſt them: for by them we receiue the Councels founded vppon the word of God, and alſo by the ſame we reiect that doctrine which is repugnaunt.

A blind ſhift of the Papiſtes to ſtop Princes from calling generall Councells.

The contrarieties in ẏ Popes Councells, enough for their diſproofe.

Prophecie agaynſt the French king.

And if ye do thus Syr, God will bleſſe your enterpriſe, he will encreaſe and cōfirme your reigne and Empire, and your poſteritie. If otherwiſe, deſtruction is at your gate, and vnhappy are ẏ people which ſhall dwell vnder your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your hart as he dyd Pharaos, & take of the crown frō your head, as he did to Iheroboā, Nadab, Baza, Achab, and to many other kynges, which haue followed mens traditions, agaynſt the commaundement of God: and geue it to your enemyes to triumphe ouer you and your children. And if the Emperour Antonine the meeke, although he were a Pagan & Idolater, ſeing him ſelfe bewrapt with ſo many warres, ceaſſed the perſecutions which were in his tyme agaynſt the Chriſtians, and determined in the ende to heare their cauſes and reaſons, how much more ought you that beare the name of moſt Chriſtian Kyng, to be carefull and diligent to ceaſſe the perſecutions agaynſt the poore Chriſtians: ſeyng they haue not troubled, nor do trouble in any wiſe the ſtate of your kingdome and your affaires: cōſidering alſo that the Iewes be ſuffred thorough all Chriſtēdome, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which we hold by common accord and conſent for our God, redemer, and Sauiour: and that vntill you haue hard lawfully debated, and vnderſtand our reaſons taken of the holy Scriptures, and that your Maieſtie haue iudged if we be worthy of ſuch puniſhmentes: For if we be not ouercome by the word of God, the fires, the ſword, nor ẏ cruelleſt tormentes ſhall not make vs afrayd. Theſe be the exerciſes that God hath promiſed to his, and of the which he foretold ſhould come in the laſt tymes, that they ſhould not be troubled when ſuch perſecutions ſhal come vpon them. Tranſlated out of the French booke intitled, Commentaries of the ſtate of the Church and publicke weale. &c. pag. 7.

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Montgōmery againſt his will commaunded to iuſte againſt the king.

Henry 2. the French king ſtricken and killed in his owne iuſting.

KYng Henry beyng in the Parlement houſe, which was kept at the Frier Auguſtines at Paris, becauſe the Pallace was in preparyng agaynſt the Mariage of his daughter and hys ſiſter, and hauyng heard the opinion in Religion of Anne du Bourg Counſellour in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſaid Anne du Bourg and Loys du Faur Counſellours, to be takē priſoners by the Conſtable of Fraunce, who apprehended them and deliuered them into the handes of the Coūty of Mongommery, the which caried them to priſon. Agaynſt whom the kyng beyng wrathful and angry, among other talke, ſayd to the ſayd Anne du Bourg: Theſe eyes of myne ſhal ſee thee burnt, & ſo on the.19.of Iune, Commiſſion was geuen to the iudges to make his proces. Duryng this meane while, great feaſtes and banquets were preparyng in the Court for ioy and gladnes of the Mariage that ſhould be of the kyngs daughter and ſiſter, agaynſt the laſt day of Iune ſaue one. So when the day and tyme aboue prefixed was come, the kyng employed all the mornyng in examinyng as well the Preſidentes, as Counſellours of the ſayd Parlement, agaynſt the priſoners and other their companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine: which beyng done, they went to dyner. The kyng after he had dyned, for that he was one of the defendātes at the Tourney, which was ſolemnely made in S. Antonyes Streete neare to the priſon where the foreſayd priſoners were committed, he entred into the lyſtes, and there in iuſtyng, as the maner is, had broken many ſtaues right valiantly as could be, runnyng as wel agaynſt County of Montgommery as other moe. Whereupon he was hyghly commended of the lookers on. And becauſe he had done ſo valiantly, and was thought now to haue done enough, he was deſired to ceaſe with prayſe. But he beyng the more inflamed with hearing of his prayſe, would needes runne an other courſe with Montgommery: who then refuſing to runne agaynſt the kyng, and kneelyng vpon hys knees for pardon not to runne, the kyng beyng egerly ſet, commaunded hym vppon hys allegeance to runne, and (as ſome affirme) dyd alſo hym ſelfe put the ſtaffe in his hand, vnto whoſe handes he had committed the foreſayd priſoners a litle before. Montgommery thus beyng enforced whether he would or no, to runne agaynſt the kyng, addreſſed hym ſelfe after the beſt wiſe to obey the kynges commaundement. Whereupon he and the kyng met together ſo ſtoutly that in breakyng their ſpeares, the kyng was ſtricken with the counterblow ſo right ino ne of his eyes, by reaſon yͭ yͤ viſour of hys helmet ſodenly fell downe at the ſame inſtant, that the ſhyuers entred into his head: ſo that the braynes was periſhed, and thereupon ſo feſtered that no remedy could be found, although Phiſicians and Surgians were ſent for from all places in the Realme, as alſo frō Brabant by kyng Phillip, but nothyng auayled, ſo that yͤ xj.day after, that is the x.of Iuly.1559. he ended hys lyfe in great dolour, hauyng raigned.12. yeares, three monethes and 10. dayes.

The deuiliſh perſuaſion of Card. Lorayne at the death of the French King.

Some report that among other wordes he ſayd that he feared he was ſtricken for caſting yͤ poore Chriſtians wrōgfully in priſon: but yͤ Cardinal of Loraine ſtādyng by (as he was alwayes at hand) ſayd vnto hym that it was the enemy that tempted hym, and that he ſhould be ſtedfaſt in the fayth. By this meanes the hall which was prepared for a place of ioy and gladnes, dyd now ſerue for a Chappell to keepe the corps, beyng dreſſed with blacke mournyng cloth, and night and day there was nothyng heard but mournyng and lamentyng for the ſpace of xl.dayes.

Certaine gentlemen executed at Amboyſe for ſtādyng againſt the houſe of Guyſe.

About two yeares after this, which was the yeare of our Lord.1561. there was certeine Gentlemen put to death at Amboiſe, for takyng armes agaynſt the houſe of Guiſe. Touchyng which Gentlemen this is to bee noted that as one of them ſhould be brought to the place of execution, where yͤ other lay dead before hym, he thruſt his handes into the bloud of 2.of his cōpanions which were there beheaded, and then lifting them vp to heauen, cryed with a loude voyce: Lord behold the bloud of thy children; thou wilt in tyme and place reuenge it.

The Lordes puniſhment vpon the Chauncelour Oliuier for his ſentence geuen againſt certaine Gentlemen Proteſtantes.

Not long after the ſame the Chauncellour Oliuier, who was condemner of them, at the inſtigation & purſuite of the Cardinall of Lorraine, through great remorſe of conſcience fell ſicke, and in a freneſie caſtyng out ſighes vnceſſantly, and afflictyng him ſelfe after a fearefull and ſtraunge faſhion for his vnrighteous ſentence and more then barbarous crueltie, ſhriked vpon a ſodden with an horrible cry & ſayd: O Cardinal, thou wilt make vs al to be damned, and within a very few dayes after he dyed.

The death of Frances 2. French King, after he began to withſtand the courſe of the Goſpell.

How the Lord worketh for his Goſpell.

Fraunces the ſecōd of that name, kyng of Fraunce, at the perſuaſion of the Cardinall of Lorraine and of certeine others, cauſed an aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realme in the towne of Orleans, among other things to mainteyne the Papall ſea, to the ouerthrow of thoſe which would lyue after the ſinceritie of the Goſpell: but beyng fallen ſicke ſhortly after in the foreſayde place of a feauer, through an impoſtume in his left eare, he dyed the 4.of December.1561. hauyng raigned but one yeare and about 5.monethes.

The wordes of King Frances at his death.

It was ſayd of this kyng Fraunces (as the authour aboue mencioned reporteth) that when he was drawyng towardes his end the Cardinall of Lorraine made him to ſay and pronounce theſe wordes which folow: Lord forgeue me my treſpaſſes, and impute not vnto me the faultes which my miniſters haue done vnder my name and authoritie.

The death of Charles the Emperour.

Vnto theſe afore recited hiſtories of kyng Henry & king Fraunces his ſonne, might alſo be added, yͤ death of the Emperour Charles the fift. Who in like maner beyng an enemy, and a great terrour to the Goſpell, was cut of likewiſe for doyng any more hurt to the Church, much about the ſame tyme, an.1558. which was but three monethes before the death of Queene Mary, and x.monethes before the death of the ſaid Henry yͤ ſecond. Touching the death of which Charles, and Henry, and Fraunces, this Epitaph fol'owing was written in Latin verſes, and printed in the French ſtory booke, aboue alledged.

An Epitaphe vpon Charles Emperour, Henry 2. the French King, and Frances his ſonne.

Conſiliis Chriſtum oppugnans & fraudibus, ingens
  Regum ille terror Carolus,
Ipſis ridiculus pueris, furioſus & excors,
  Totus repente corruit.
Tuq; Henrice, malis dum conſultoribus vtens,
  Sitis piorum ſanguinem,
Ipſe tuo vecors inopina cæde peremptus,
  Terram imbuiſti ſanguine.
Henrici deinceps ſectans veſtigia patris
  Franciſcus infœlix puer,
Clamantem Chriſtum ſurda dum negligit aure,
  Aure putrefacta corruit.
Verſuti, fatui, ſurdi, hæc ſpectacula Reges,
  Vos ſapere vel mori iubent.

Not long after Anne du Bourges death, the Preſident Minard, who was a ſore perſecutor, and the con-

The ſodayne death of Preſident Minard.

dener of the ſayd Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the Palace or Counſell chamber to his owne houſe, beyng vpon his mule, euen hard by his houſe was ſlayne with a dagge, but who was the doer therof or for what cauſe he was ſlayne, for all the inquiſition and diligent ſearch that could be made, it was neuer knowen.

The puniſhment of God vpon yͤ King of Nauarre, after he had reuolted from the Goſpell to Popery.

Amongeſt many other examples worthy to be noted, let vs alſo conſider the end of the king of Nauarre, brother to the worthy Prince of Condy, who after he had ſuſteined a certeine tyme, the cauſe of the Goſpell, at length beyng allured by the flatteryng wordes of the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinall of Lorraine his brother, and vpon hope to haue his landes reſtored agayn which the kyng of Spayne reteined from hym, was contented to alter his Religion and to ioyne ſide with the Papiſtes, and ſo beyng in Campe with the Duke of Guiſe at the ſiege of Roane, was there ſhot in with a pellet. After which wound receaued, beyng brought to a towne thrée myles from the campe called Preaux, he did vehemently repent and lament his backſlydyng frõ the Goſpell, promiſing to God moſt earneſtly, that if he might eſcape that hurt, he would bryng to paſſe that yͤ Goſpell ſhould be preached fréely through all Frãuce: Notwithſtandyng within v. or vj. dayes after he dyed.

The Duke of Guyſe ſlayne before Orleance

The Conſtable before Paris.

The Marſhal of S. Andrew before Dreux.

Neither did the Duke of Guiſe him ſelfe, the great archenemy of God and his Goſpell, cõtinue in lyfe long after that, but both he with the whole Triumuirat of Fraunce, that is, thrée the greateſt Captaines of Popery, were cut of for doyng any more hurt, to wit yͤ Duke of Guiſe before Orleance, the Cõſtable before Paris, the Marſhall of S. Andrew before Dreux.

¶ *Admonition to the Reader.*

IT hath bene a long perſuaſion gendered in the heades of many men theſe many yeares, that to ground a mans fayth vpon Gods word alone, and not vppon the ſea and Church of Rome, folowyng all the ordinaunces and conſtitutions of the ſame, was damnable hereſie, and to perſecute ſuch men to death, was hygh ſeruice done to God. Wherupon hath ryſen ſo great perſecutions, ſlaughters, and murthers, with ſuch effuſion of Chriſten bloud through all partes of Chriſtendome, by the ſpace of theſe 70. yeares, as hath not before bene ſeene. And of theſe men Chriſt him ſelf full wel doth warne vs long before, truly propheſying of ſuch tymes to come when they that ſley his Miniſters and ſeruauntes, ſhould thinke them ſelues to do good ſeruice vnto God. Iohn. 16. Now, what wicked ſeruice and how deteſtable before God this is, which they falſely perſuade them ſelues to be godly, what more euident demonſtrations can we require, then theſe ſo many, ſo manifeſt, and ſo terrible examples of Gods wrath pouryng downe from heauen vpon theſe perſecutours, whereof part wee haue already ſet forth: for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is vnpoſſible.

Iohn.16.

iij. Argumēts againſt yͤ Papiſtes.

Gods word.

Bloud of Martirs.

Gods puniſhment.

The plagues of God, ſet againſt pretenſed antiquitie.

Wherfore, although there be many which will neither heare, ſée, nor vnderſtand what is for their profit: yet let all moderate and well diſpoſed natures take warnyng in tyme. And if the plaine word of God will not ſuffice them, nor the bloud of ſo many Martyrs wil moue them to embrace the truth and forſake errour, yet let the deſperate deathes and horrible puniſhmentes of their owne Papiſtes perſuade them how perillous is the end of this damnable doctrine of Papiſtry. For if theſe Papiſtes whiche make ſo much of their paynted antiquitie, do thinke their procedings to be ſo catholicke, and ſeruice ſo acceptable to God, let them ioyne this withall, and tell vs, how commeth then their procedinges to be ſo accurſed of God, and theyr end ſo miſerably plagued, as by theſe examples aboue ſpecified is here notoriouſly to be ſeene? Agayne, if the doctrine of them be ſuch hereſie whom they haue hetherto perſecuted for heretickes vnto death, how then is almighty God become a mainteyner of heretickes, who hath reuenged their bloud ſo greuouſly vpon their enemyes and perſecuters?

Henry 2. yͤ French King, and King Frãces his ſonne, ſtricken, the one in yͤ eyes, yͤ other with an impoſteme in the eare.

Steuen Gardiner.

The puttyng out of the French kynges eyes, which promiſed before with his eyes to ſée one of Gods true ſeruauntes burned, who ſéeth not with his eyes to be the ſtroke of Gods hand vpon him? Then his ſonne Fraunces after him, not regardyng his fathers ſtripe, would néedes yet procede in burnyng the ſame man: and did not the ſame God whiche put out his fathers eyes, giue him ſuch a blow on yͤ eare, yͭ it coſt him hys lyfe? if the platforme of Steuen Gardiner had bene a thyng ſo neceſſary for the Church, and ſo gratfull vnto God, why thẽ did it not proſper with hym, nor he with it: but both he and his platforme lay in the duſt, and none left behynd hym to buyld vpon it? After the tyme of Steuen Gardiner, and at the Councell of Trent, what cõſpiracies and policies were deuiſed? what practiſes and traynes were layd through the ſecret confederacie of Princes and Prelates, for the vtter ſubuerſion of the Goſpell & all Goſpellers, which if God had ſeene to haue bene for his glory, why then came they to no effect? yea how or by whom were they diſcloſed and forepriſed, but by the Lord him ſelfe, which would not haue them come forward?

Queene Mary.

The vehement zeale of Quéene Mary, which was lyke to haue ſet vp the Pope here agayne in England for euer, if it had ſo much pleaſed the Lord God as it pleaſed her ſelfe: or if it had bene ſo Godly as it was bloudy, no doubt but Gods bleſſing would haue gone withall. But when was the Realme of England more barren of all Gods bleſſynges? what Prince euer reigned here more ſhorter tyme, or leſſe to his owne hartes eaſe then did Quéene Mary?

Conſtable of France.

The Conſtable of Fraunce when he conuẽted with God, that if he had victory at S. Quintyns, he would ſet vpon Geneua, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargaine with God: Much like to Iulian the Emperour, who goyng agaynſt the Perſiãs, made his vowe that if he ſped well, he would offer the bloud of Chriſtians. But what did God? came not both theyr vowes to like effect?

Franciſcus de Spera.
King of Nauarre.
Henry Smyth.
D.Shaxton.
The end of Gardiner.
Iohn de Roma.
Twyford.
Balyſe of Crowland.
Suffragan of Douer.
D.Dunning
D. Geffray.
Berry.
Poncher Archb.
Creſcentius Card.
Rokwod.
Latomus.
Guarlacus.
Eccius.
Thornton.
Panyer.
Longe.
Bomelius, al profeſſors of Popery.

The examples of ſuch as reuolted from yͤ Goſpell to Papiſtry, be not many: but as few as they were, ſcarſe can any be found whiche began to turne to the Pope, but the Lord began to turne from thẽ, & to leaue them to theyr ghoſtly enemy: As wee haue heard of Franciſcus Spiera a Lawyer in Italy, of the kyng of Nauarre in Fraunce, of Hẽry Smith, and Doct. Shaxton in England, with other in other countreys mo, of whõ ſome dyed in great ſorrow of conſcience, ſome in miſerable doubt of their ſaluation, ſome ſtricken by Gods hand, ſome driuen to hang or drowne them ſelues.

The ſtinkyng death of Steuen Gardiner, of Iohn de Roma, of Twyford, of the Balyſe of Crowland: The ſuddeine death of the Suffragane of Douer, of Doct. Dunnyng, of Doct. Geffray, of Berry the promoter: The miſerable and wretched ende of Poncher Archbyſhop of Towers, of Cardinall Creſcentius, Caſtellanus: The deſperate deceaſe of Rockwoode, of Latomus, of Guarlacus: The earthly endyng of Henry Beauford Cardinall of Wincheſter, of Eccius, of Thornton called Dicke of Douer: The wilful and ſelf murder, of Pauyer, of Richard Longe, of Bomelius, beſides infinite other: The dreadfull takyng away and murren of ſo many perſecutyng Byſhops, ſo many bloudy Promoters, and malicious aduerſaries, in ſuch a ſhort tyme together with Quéene Mary, & that without any mans hand, but onely by the ſecret workyng of Gods iuſt iudgement: what els be all theſe (I ſay) but playn viſible Arguments, teſtimonies, and demonſtrations euen from heauen agaynſt the Pope, his murderyng Religion, and his bloudy doctrine? For who can

deny

Eſay. 50.

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A ſecret note of Papiſtes which haue bene great cryers out of Prieſtes mariage, ⁊ themſelues after taken in open adultery.

deny their doynges not to be good, whoſe ende is ſo euill? If Chriſt byd vs to know men by their fruites, and eſpecially ſeyng by the ende all thinges are to be tryed, how can ẏ profeſſion of that doctrine pleaſe God which endeth ſo vngodly? Eſaias cap. 50. propheſying of the ende of Gods enemies, which would needes walke in the light of their owne ſettyng vp, ⁊ not in ẏ light of the Lordes kyndlyng, threatneth to them this finall malediction: In Doloribus (ſayth he) dormietis. i. *In ſorow you ſhall ſlepe*. Let vs now take a ſuruey of all theſe perſecutors which of late haue ſo troubled the earth (and almoſt haue burned vp the world with Fagots and fire for maintainaunce of the Popes Religion) and ſee what the end hath bene of them that are now gone, ⁊ whether their Religion hath brought thē, but either to deſtruction, or deſperation, or confuſion ⁊ ſhame of life. So many great Doctours ⁊ Biſhops haue cried out of late ſo mightely agaynſt Prieſtes Mariage, and haue they not, by Gods iuſt iudgement workyng their confuſion, bene detected them ſelues and taken the moſt part of them, in ſinnefull adultery, and ſhamefull fornication? Cardinall Ioannes Cremenſis the Popes Legate here in England, after he had ſet a law that Prieſtes ſhould haue no wiues, was he not the next day after, beyng taken with his whores, driuen out of London with confuſion and ſhame enough, ſo that afterward he durſt not ſhewe his face here any more? Beſides the ij. Byſhops in the late Councell of Trent, moſt ſhamefully taken in adultery, mentioned before. Alſo beſides innumerable other lyke foreine ſtories, whiche I let paſſe to come now to our owne domeſticall examples. I could well name halfe a ſcore at leſt of famous doctours, and ſome Byſhops, with their great maſters of Popery, who in ſtandyng earneſtly agaynſt the Mariage of Prieſtes, haue afterward bene taken in ſuch diſhoneſt factes them ſelues, that not onely they haue caryed the publike ſhame of adulterous lecherers, but ſome of thē the markes alſo of burnyng fornication with them in their bodyes to their graues. Whoſe names although I ſuffer here to be ſuppreſſed, yet ẏ exāples of thē may ſuffice to admoniſh all men that be wiſe, ⁊ which will auoyd ẏ wrath of Gods terrible vengeance, to beware of Popery.

Compariſon betwen the end of Popiſhe perſecutors and ẏ goſpellers.

And thus hauyng hetherto recited ſo many ſhamefull lyues ⁊ deſperate endes of ſo many Popiſh perſecutours ſtricken by Gods hād: now let vs cōſider againe on ẏ contrary ſide the bleſſed endes giuen of almighty God vnto thē, which haue ſtand ſo māfully in ẏ defenſe of Chriſtes Goſpell, ⁊ ẏ reformation of his Religion, and let the Papiſtes them ſelues here be iudges. Firſt what a peaceable and heauenly end made the worthy ſeruaunt and ſingular organe of God M. Luther? To ſpeake likewiſe of the famous Iohn Duke of Saxonie and Prince Electour, of the good Palſgraue, of Phillip Melancthon, of Pomeranus, Vrbanus Rhegius, Berengarius, of Vlrichus Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Pellicanus, Capito, Munſterus, Ioan. Caluinus, Petrus Matyr, M. Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Ioan. Muſculus, Bibliander, Geſnerus, Hofman, Auguſtinus Marloratus, Lewes of Bourbon Prince of Condy, and his godly wife before him, with many moe, which were knowen to be learned men and chief ſtanders of the Goſpell ſide agaynſt the Pope, and yet no man able to bryng forth any one example eyther of theſe, or of any other true Goſpeller, that either killed him ſelf, or ſhewed forth any ſignification or appearaunce of deſpayre, but full of hope and conſtant in faith, and repleniſhed with the frute of righteouſnes in Chriſt Ieſu, ſo yelded they their lyues in quiet peace vnto ẏ Lord.

The godly end of the Goſpellers to bee noted.

From theſe foreners let vs come now to the Martyrs of England, and marke likewiſe the end both of them, and ſemblably of all other of the ſame profeſſion. And firſt to begyn with the bleſſed and heauenly departure of kyng Edward the vj. that firſt put downe the Maſſe in England, and alſo of the lyke godly end of his good vncle the Duke of Somerſet which dyed before him, with an infinite number of other priuate perſons beſides of the lyke Religion, in whoſe finall departyng no ſuch blemiſh is to be noted lyke to the deſperate examples of them aboue recited: let vs now enter the conſideration of the bleſſed Martyrs, who although they ſuffered in their bodyes, yet reioyſed they in their ſpirites, ⁊ albeit they were perſecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lord with ſuch inward ioy and peace of conſcience, that ſome writyng to their frendes, profeſſed they were neuer ſo mery before in all their lyues, ſome leapt for ioy, ſome for triumph would put on their ſcarfe, ſome their weding garment going to the fire, other kiſſed the ſtake, ſome embraced the Fagottes, ſome clapt theyr handes, ſome ſong Pſalmes, vniuerſally they all forgaue and prayed for their enemies, no murmuring, no repynyng was euer heard amongeſt them, ſo that moſt truly might be verified in them, which their perſecutours were wont to ſing in their Hymnes.

The bleſſed end of kyng Edward vi.

The pacient end of Duke of Somerſet the kyngs vncle.

The quyet and ioyfull end of the Martyrs.

Cæduntur gladijs more bidentium,
Non murmur reſonat, nec querimonia:
Sed corde tacito mens bene conſcia,
Conſeruat patientiam. &c.

Briefly, ſo great was their paciēce, or rather ſo great was Gods ſpirite in thē, that ſome of them in the flamyng fire moued no more then the ſtake whereunto they were tyed. In fine, in them moſt aptely agreed the ſpeciall tokens which moſt certeinely folow the true children of God: that is, outward perſecution, and inward comfort in the holy Ghoſt. *In the world* (ſayth Chriſt our Sauiour) *ye ſhall haue affliction, but in me ye ſhall haue peace. &c.* And likewiſe the wordes of S. Paul be playne: *Whoſoeuer* (ſayth he) *ſtudieth to lyue godly in Chriſt ſhall ſuffer perſecution. &c.* But thē what foloweth with this perſecution, the ſayd Apoſtle agayne thus declareth, ſaying: *As the Paſsions of Chriſt abound in vs: ſo abundeth alſo our conſolation by Chriſt. &c.* accordyng as by ẏ exāples of theſe godly Martyrs right perfectly we may perceaue. For as their bodyes outwardly lacked no perſecutions by the handes of the wicked: ſo amongeſt ſo many hundrethes of them that ſtode and dyed in this Religion, what one man can be brought forth, which either hath bene found to haue kylled him ſelfe, or to haue dyed otherwiſe, then the true ſeruaūt of God, in quiet peace and much comfort of conſcience?

Two ſpeciall notes of ẏ true Church of Chriſt.

Outward affliction, peace of conſcience.

2. Timot. 3.

2. Cor. 1.

Which beyng ſo, what greater proufe can we haue to iuſtifie their cauſe and doctrine agaynſt the perſecutyng Church of Rome, then to behold the endes of them both: firſt of the Proteſtantes, how quietly they tooke their death, and cherefully reſted in ẏ Lord: and contrarywiſe to marke theſe perſecutours, what a wretched end commonly they all do come vnto. Experience whereof we haue ſufficient in the examples aboue declared: and alſo of late in Boner, who albeit he dyed in his bed vnrepentaunt: yet was it ſo prouided by God, that as he had bene a perſecutor of ẏ light, and a child of darkenes, ſo his carcaſe was tumbled into the earth in obſcure darknes at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Chriſtians: and as he had been a murderer, ſo was he layd amongs theues and murderers, a place by Gods iudgement rightly appointed for him.

The wretched end of Papiſts giue teſtimonie agaynſt their owne doctrine.

Admonition to perſecutours which yet remaine alyue.

The end and death of Edm. Boner.

And albeit ſome peraduenture that haue bene notable perſecutors in time paſt do yet remaine alyue, who beyng in the ſame cauſe as the other were, haue not yet felt the weight of Gods mighty hand, yet let not them thinke, ẏ becauſe ẏ iudgemēt of God hath lyght ſooner vpon other, therfore it will neuer light vpon thē: or becauſe God of his mercy hath graūted them ſpace to repent, let not them therfore of Gods lenitie buyld to them ſelues an opinion of indemnitie. The bloud of Abell cryed long, yet it wrought at length. The ſoules of the Saintes ſlayne vnder the altar, were not reuen-

The ſodaynt death of Preſident Minard.

dēner of the ſayd Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the Palace or Counſell chamber to his owne houſe, beyng vpon his mule, euen hard by his houſe was ſlayne with a dagge, but who was the doer therof or for what cauſe he was ſlayne, for all the inquiſition and diligent ſearch that could be made, it was neuer knowen.

The puniſhment of God vpon ŷ King of Nauarre, after he had reuolted from the Goſpell to Popery.

Amongeſt many other examples worthy to be noted, let vs alſo conſider the end of the king of Nauarre, brother to the worthy Prince of Condy, who after he had ſuſteined a certeine tyme, the cauſe of the Goſpell, at length beyng allured by the flatteryng wordes of the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinall of Lorraine his brother, and vpon hope to haue his landes reſtored agayn which the kyng of Spayne reteined from hym, was contented to alter his Religion and to ioyne ſide with the Papiſtes, and ſo beyng in Campe with the Duke of Guiſe at the ſiege of Roane, was there ſhot in with a pellet. After which wound receaued, beyng brought to a towne three myles from the campe called Preaux, he did vehemently repent and lament his backſlydyng frō the Goſpell, promiſing to God moſt earneſtly, that if he might eſcape that hurt, he would bryng to paſſe that ŷ Goſpell ſhould be preached freely through all Fraūce: Notwithſtandyng within v. or vj. dayes after he dyed.

The Duke of Guyſe ſlayne before Orleance
The Conſtable before Paris.
The Marſhal of S. Andrew before Dreux.

Neither did the Duke of Guiſe him ſelfe, the great archenemy of God and his Goſpell, cōtinue in lyfe long after that, but both he with the whole Triumuirat of Fraunce, that is, three the greateſt Captaines of Popery, were cut of for doyng any more hurt, to wit ŷ Duke of Guiſe before Orleance, the Cōſtable before Paris, the Marſhall of S. Andrew before Dreux.

¶ *Admonition to the Reader.*

IT hath bene a long perſuaſion gendered in the heades of many men theſe many yeares, that to ground a mans fayth vpon Gods word alone, and not vppon the ſea and Church of Rome, folowyng all the ordinaunces and conſtitutions of the ſame, was damnable hereſie, and to perſecute ſuch men to death, was hygh ſeruice done to God. Wherupon hath ryſen ſo great perſecutions, ſlaughters, and murthers, with ſuch effuſion of Chriſten bloud through all partes of Chriſtendome, by the ſpace of theſe 70. yeares, as hath not before bene ſeene. And of theſe men Chriſt him ſelf full wel doth warne vs long before, truly propheſying of ſuch tymes to come when they that ſley his Miniſters and ſeruauntes, ſhould thinke them ſelues to do good ſeruice vnto God. Iohn. 16. Now, what wicked ſeruice and how deteſtable before God this is, which they falſely perſuade them ſelues to be godly, what more euident demonſtrations can we require, then theſe ſo many, ſo manifeſt, and ſo terrible examples of Gods wrath pouryng downe from heauen vpon theſe perſecutours, whereof part wee haue already ſet forth: for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is vnpoſſible.

Iohn.16.

Arguments againſt ŷ Papiſtes.
Gods word.
Bloud of Martirs.
Gods puniſhment.

The plagues of God, ſet againſt pretenſed antiquitie.

Wherfore, although there be many which will neither heare, ſee, nor vnderſtand what is for their profit: yet let all moderate and well diſpoſed natures take warnyng in tyme. And if the plaine word of God will not ſuffice them, nor the bloud of ſo many Martyrs wil moue them to embrace the truth and forſake errour, yet let the deſperate deathes and horrible puniſhmentes of their owne Papiſtes perſuade them how perillous is the end of this damnable doctrine of Papiſtry. For if theſe Papiſtes whiche make ſo much of their paynted antiquitie, do thinke their procedings to be ſo catholicke, and ſeruice ſo acceptable to God, let them ioyne this withall, and tell vs, how commeth then their procedinges to be ſo accurſed of God, and theyr end ſo miſerably plagued, as by theſe examples aboue ſpecified is here notoriouſly to be ſeene? Agayne, if the doctrine of them be ſuch hereſie whom they haue hetherto perſecuted for heretickes vnto death, how then is almighty God become a mainteyner of heretickes, who hath reuenged their bloud ſo greuouſly vpon their enemyes and perſecuters?

Henry 2. ŷ French King, and King Frāces his ſonne, ſtricken, the one in ŷ eyes, ŷ other with an impoſteme in the eare.
Steuen Gardiner.

The puttyng out of the French kynges eyes, which promiſed before with his eyes to ſee one of Gods true ſeruauntes burned, who ſeeth not with his eyes to be the ſtroke of Gods hand vpon him? Then his ſonne Fraunces after him, not regardyng his fathers ſtripe, would needes yet procede in burnyng the ſame man: and did not the ſame God whiche put out his fathers eyes, giue him ſuch a blow on ŷ eare, ŷ it coſt him hys lyfe? if the platforme of Steuen Gardiner had bene a thyng ſo neceſſary for the Church, and ſo gratfull vnto God, why thē did it not proſper with hym, nor he with it: but both he and his platforme lay in the duſt, and none left behynd hym to buyld vpon it? After the tyme of Steuen Gardiner, and at the Councell of Trent, what cōſpiracies and policies were deuiſed? what practiſes and traynes were layd through the ſecret confederacie of Princes and Prelates, for the vtter ſuberſion of the Goſpell & all Goſpellers, which if God had ſeene to haue bene for his glory, why then came they to no effect? yea how or by whom were they diſcloſed and forepriſed, but by the Lord him ſelfe, which would not haue them come forward?

Queene Mary.

The vehement zeale of Queene Mary, which was lyke to haue ſet vp the Pope here agayne in England for euer, if it had ſo much pleaſed the Lord God as it pleaſed her ſelfe: or if it had bene ſo Godly as it was bloudy, no doubt but Gods bleſſing would haue gone withall. But when was the Realme of England more barren of all Gods bleſſynges? what Prince euer reigned here more ſhorter tyme, or leſſe to his owne hartes eaſe then did Queene Mary?

Conſtable of France.

The Conſtable of Fraunce when he conuēted with God, that if he had victory at S. Quintyns, he would ſet vpon Geneua, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargaine with God: Much like to Iulian the Emperour, who goyng agaynſt the Perſiās, made his vowe that if he ſped well, he would offer the bloud of Chriſtians. But what did God? came not both theyr vowes to like effect?

Franciſcus de Spera.
King of Nauarre.
Henry Smyth.
D. Shaxton.

The examples of ſuch as reuolted from ŷ Goſpell to Papiſtry, be not many: but as few as they were, ſcarſe can any be found whiche began to turne to the Pope, but the Lord began to turne from thē, & to leaue them to theyr ghoſtly enemy: As wee haue heard of Franciſcus Spiera a Lawyer in Italy, of the kyng of Nauarre in Fraunce, of Hēry Smith, and Doct. Shaxton in England, with other in other countreys mo, of whō ſome dyed in great ſorrow of conſcience, ſome in miſerable doubt of their ſaluation, ſome ſtricken by Gods hand, ſome driuen to hang or drowne them ſelues.

The end of Gardiner.
Iohn de Roma.
Twyford.
Balyſe of Crowland.
Suffragan of Douer.
D. Dunning
D. Geffray.
Berry.
Poncher Archb.
Creſcentius Card.
Rokwod.
Latomus.
Guarlacus.
Eccius.
Thornton.
Panyer.
Longe.
Bomelius, al profeſſors of Popery.

The ſtinkyng death of Steuen Gardiner, of Iohn de Roma, of Twyford, of the Balyſe of Crowland: The ſuddeine death of the Suffragane of Douer, of Doct. Dunnyng, of Doct. Geffray, of Berry the promoter: The miſerable and wretched ende of Poncher Archbyſhop of Towers, of Cardinall Creſcentius, Caſtellanus: The deſperate deceaſe of Rockwoode, of Latomus, of Guarlacus: The earthly endyng of Henry Beauford Cardinall of Wincheſter, of Eccius, of Thornton called Dicke of Douer: The wilful and ſelf murder, of Pauyer, of Richard Longe, of Bomelius, beſides infinite other: The dreadfull takyng away and murren of ſo many perſecutyng Byſhops, ſo many bloudy Promoters, and malicious aduerſaries, in ſuch a ſhort tyme together with Queene Mary, & that without any mans hand, but onely by the ſecret workyng of Gods iuſt iudgement: what els be all theſe (I ſay) but playn viſible Arguments, teſtimonies, and demonſtrations euen from heauen agaynſt the Pope, his murderyng Religion, and his bloudy doctrine? For who can deny their doynges not to be good, whoſe ende is ſo euill? If Chriſt byd vs to know men by their fruites, and eſpecially ſeyng by the ende all thinges are to be tryed, how can yͤ profeſſion of that doctrine pleaſe God which endeth ſo vngodly? Eſaias cap. 50. propheſying of the ende of Gods enemies, which would needes walke in the light of their owne ſettyng vp, & not in yͤ light of the Lordes kyndlyng, threatneth to them this finall malediction: In Doloribus (ſayth he) dormietis. i. *In ſorow you ſhall ſlepe*. Let vs now take a ſuruey of all theſe perſecutors which of late haue ſo troubled the earth (and almoſt haue burned vp the world with Fagots and fire for maintainaunce of the Popes Religion) and ſee what the end hath bene of them that are now gone, & whether their Religion hath brought thē, but either to deſtruction, or deſperation, or confuſion & ſhame of life. So many great Doctours & Biſhops haue cried out of late ſo mightely agaynſt Prieſtes Mariage, and haue they not, by Gods iuſt iudgement workyng their confuſion, bene detected them ſelues and taken the moſt part of them, in ſinnefull adultery, and ſhamefull fornication? Cardinall Ioannes Cremenſis the Popes Legate here in England, after he had ſet a law that Prieſtes ſhould haue no wiues, was he not the next day after, beyng taken with his whores, driuen out of London with confuſion and ſhame enough, ſo that afterward he durſt not ſhewe his face here any more? Beſides the ij. Byſhops in the late Councell of Trent, moſt ſhamefully taken in adultery, mentioned before. Alſo beſides innumerable other lyke foreine ſtories, whiche I let paſſe to come now to our owne domeſticall examples. I could well name halfe a ſcore at leſt of famous doctours, and ſome Byſhops, with their great maſters of Popery, who in ſtandyng earneſtly agaynſt the Mariage of Prieſtes, haue afterward bene taken in ſuch diſhoneſt factes them ſelues, that not onely they haue caryed the publike ſhame of adulterous lecherers, but ſome of thē the markes alſo of burnyng fornication with them in their bodyes to their graues. Whoſe names although I ſuffer here to be ſuppreſſed, yet yͤ exāples of thē may ſuffice to admoniſh all men that be wiſe, & which will auoyd yͤ wrath of Gods terrible vengeance, to beware of Popery.

Eſay. 50.

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A ſecret note of Papiſtes which haue bene great cryers out of Prieſtes mariage, & themſelues aft r taken in open adultery.

And thus hauyng hetherto recited ſo many ſhamefull lyues & deſperate endes of ſo many Popiſh perſecutours ſtricken by Gods hād: now let vs cōſider againe on yͤ contrary ſide the bleſſed endes giuen of almighty God vnto thē, which haue ſtand ſo māfully in yͤ defenſe of Chriſtes Goſpell, & yͤ reformation of his Religion, and let the Papiſtes them ſelues here be iudges. Firſt what a peaceable and heauenly end made the worthy ſeruaunt and ſingular organe of God M. Luther? To ſpeake likewiſe of the famous Iohn Duke of Saxonie and Prince Electour, of the good Palſgraue, of Phillip Melancthon, of Pomeranus, Vrbanus Rhegius, Berengarius, of Vlrichus Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Pellicanus, Capito, Munſterus, Ioan. Caluinus, Petrus Matyr, M. Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Ioan. Muſculus, Bibliander, Geſnerus, Hofman, Auguſtinus Marloratus, Lewes of Bourbon Prince of Condy, and his godly wife before him, with many moe, which were knowen to be learned men and chief ſtanders of the Goſpell ſide agaynſt the Pope, and yet no man able to bryng forth any one example eyther of theſe, or of any other true Goſpeller, that either killed him ſelf, or ſhewed forth any ſignification or appearaunce of deſpayre, but full of hope and conſtant in faith, and repleniſhed with the frute of righteouſnes in Chriſt Ieſu, ſo yelded they their lyues in quiet peace vnto yͤ Lord.

Compariſon betwen the end of Popiſhe perſecutors and yͤ goſpellers.

The godly end of the Goſpellers to bee noted.

From theſe foreners let vs come now to the Martyrs of England, and marke likewiſe the end both of them, and ſemblably of all other of the ſame profeſſion. And firſt to begyn with the bleſſed and heauenly departure of kyng Edward the vj. that firſt put downe the Maſſe in England, and alſo of the lyke godly end of his good vncle the Duke of Somerſet which dyed before him, with an infinite number of other priuate perſons beſides of the lyke Religion, in whoſe finall departyng no ſuch blemiſh is to be noted lyke to the deſperate examples of them aboue recited: let vs now enter the conſideration of the bleſſed Martyrs, who although they ſuffered in their bodyes, yet reioyſed they in their ſpirites, & albeit they were perſecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lord with ſuch inward ioy and peace of conſcience, that ſome wrytyng to their frendes, profeſſed they were neuer ſo mery before in all their lyues, ſome leapt for ioy, ſome for triumph would put on their ſcarfe, ſome their weding garment going to the fire, other kiſſed the ſtake, ſome embraced the Fagottes, ſome clapt theyr handes, ſome ſong Pſalmes, vniuerſally they all forgaue and prayed for their enemies, no murmuring, no repynyng was euer heard amongeſt them, ſo that moſt truly might be verified in them, which their perſecutours were wont to ſing in their Hymnes.

The bleſſed end of kyng Edward vi.

The pacient end of Duke of Somerſet the kyngs vncle.

The quyet and ioyfull end of the Martyrs.

Cæduntur gladijs more bidentium,
Non murmur reſonat, nec querimonia:
Sed corde tacito mens bene conſcia,
Conſeruat patientiam. &c.

Briefly, ſo great was their paciēce, or rather ſo great was Gods ſpirite in thē, that ſome of them in the flamyng fire moued no more then the ſtake whereunto they were tyed. In fine, in them moſt aptely agreed the ſpeciall tokens which moſt certeinely folow the true children of God: that is, outward perſecution, and inward comfort in the holy Ghoſt. *In the world* (ſayth Chriſt our Sauiour) *ye ſhall haue affliction, but in me ye ſhall haue peace. &c.* And likewiſe the wordes of S. Paul be playne: *Who ſoeuer* (ſayth he) *ſtudieth to lyue godly in Chriſt ſhall ſuffer perſecution. &c.* But thē what foloweth with this perſecution, the ſayd Apoſtle agayne thus declareth, ſaying: *As the Paſsions of Chriſt abound in vs: ſo abundeth alſo our conſolation by Chriſt. &c.* accordyng as by yͤ exāples of theſe godly Martyrs right perfectly we may perceaue. For as their bodyes outwardly lacked no perſecutions by the handes of the wicked: ſo amongeſt ſo many hundrethes of them that ſtode and dyed in this Religion, what one man can be brought forth, which either hath bene found to haue kylled him ſelfe, or to haue dyed other wiſe, then the true ſeruaūt of God, in quiet peace and much comfort of conſcience?

Two ſpeciall notes of yͤ true Church of Chriſt.

Outward affliction, peace of conſcience.

2. *Timot.* 3.

2. *Cor.* 1.

Which beyng ſo, what greater proufe can we haue to iuſtifie their cauſe and doctrine agaynſt the perſecutyng Church of Rome, then to behold the endes of them both: firſt of the Proteſtantes, how quietly they tooke their death, and cherefully reſted in yͤ Lord: and contrarywiſe to marke theſe perſecutours, what a wretched end commonly they all do come vnto. Experience whereof we haue ſufficient in the examples aboue declared: and alſo of late in Boner, who albeit he dyed in his bed vnrepentaunt: yet was it ſo prouided by God, that as he had bene a perſecutor of yͤ light, and a child of darkenes, ſo his carcaſe was tumbled into the earth in obſcure darknes at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Chriſtians: and as he had been a murderer, ſo was he layd amongs theues and murderers, a place by Gods iudgement rightly appointed for him.

The wretched end of Papiſts giue teſtimonie agaynſt their owne doctrine.

Admonition to perſecutours which yet remaine alyue.

The end and death of Edm. Boner.

And albeit ſome peraduenture that haue bene notable perſecutors in time paſt do yet remaine alyue, who beyng in the ſame cauſe as the other were, haue not yet felt the weight of Gods mighty hand, yet let not them thinke, yͤ becauſe yͤ iudgemēt of God hath lyght ſooner vpon other, therfore it will neuer light vpon thē: or becauſe God of his mercy hath graūted them ſpace to repent, let not them therfore of Gods lenitie buyld to them ſelues an opinion of indemnitie. The bloud of Abell cryed long, yet it wrought at length. The ſoules of the Saintes ſlayne vnder the altar, were not reuenged at the firſt. Apocal. 6. but read forth the Chapter, and ſee what folowed in the end. Bloud, eſpecially of Chriſtes ſeruaunts is a perilous matter, and crieth ſore in the eares of God, and will not be ſtilled with the lawes of men.

God maketh ẏ perſecutors of his people cōmonly to bee their own perſecutors.

Wherfore let ſuch bloudgiltie homicides beware, if not by my counſell, at leaſt by the examples of their felowes. And though Princes and Magiſtrates vnder whoſe permiſſiō they are ſuffered, do ſpare their liues, let them not thinke therfore (as ſome of them ſhame not to ſay) that man hath no power to hurt them, and ſo thinke to eſcape vnpuniſhed becauſe they be not puniſhed by man, but rather let them feare ſo much the more. For oftentimes ſuch as haue bene perſecutours & tormentours to Gods children, God thinketh them not worthy to ſuffer by man, but either reſerueth them to his owne iudgement, or els maketh them to be their owne perſecutors, and their owne handes moſt commonly hangmen to their owne bodyes.

Saul murderer of him ſelfe.

So Saul after he had perſecuted Dauid, it was vnnedefull for Dauid to purſue him agayne, for he was reuenged of him more then he deſired.

Achitophell murderer of him ſelfe.

It was nedeles to cauſe Architophel to be hanged, for hee hym ſelfe was the ſtifeler or ſtrangler of hys owne life.

Iudas murderer of him ſelfe.

Neither for the Apoſtles to purſue Iudas that betrayed their maſter, for he him ſelfe was his owne hāgman, and no mā els, that his body bruſt and his guttes braſt out.

Senacherib murdered of hys owne ſonnes.

Senacherib, had he not for hys perſecutours hys owne ſonnes, and coſt Ezechias nothyng to be reuenged of him for his tyranny?

Herode and Antiochus murdered by lyſe.

Antiochus and Herode, although the children of God whom they ſo cruelly perſecuted, layd no hand vpon them, yet they eſcaped not vnpuniſhed of Gods hand, who ſent lyce and wormes to be their tormentors, which conſumed and eate them vp.

Pilate murderer of him ſelfe.

Pilate, after he had crucified Chriſt our Sauiour, within few yeares after was hee not driuen to hang hym ſelfe?

Nero murderer of him ſelfe.

Nero, after his cruell murders and perſecutiōs ſtyrred vp agaynſt the Chriſtians, when he ſhould haue bene taken by the Romanes, God thought him not ſo worthy to be puniſhed by the handes of them, but ſo diſpoſed the matter, that Nero him ſelfe when he could finde no frend nor enemy to kill him, made his owne handes to be his owne cutthrote.

Diocleſianus, and Maximianus Emperours depoſed thē ſelues.

Diocleſianus, with Maximinian his felow Emperours, which were ẏ authors of ẏ tenth & laſt perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtiās, beyng in ẏ middeſt of their furious tyrannie agaynſt the name of Chriſt, neded no mans helpe to bridle them and plucke them backe: for God of his ſecret iudgement put ſuch a ſnaffle in the mouthes of theſe tyrauntes, that they them ſelues of their owne accorde depoſed and diſpoſſeſſed them ſelues of their imperiall function, & liued as priuate perſons all their liues after: And notwithſtandyng that Maximinian after that ſought to reſume his imperiall ſtate agayne, yet by Maxentius his ſonne he was reſiſted and ſhortly after was ſlayne.

Maximinus eatē vp of lyſe.

What ſhould I here ſpeake of the cruel Emperour Maximinus, who when he had ſet forth his proclamation, engrauen in braſſe, for the vtter aboliſhyng of Chriſt and his Religion, was not puniſhed by man, but had lyce and vermine guſhyng out of his entrals to be his tormentours, with ſuch a rottyng ſtynch layd vpon his body, that no Phiſicians could abyde to come nere, & were cauſed to be ſlayne for ẏ ſame. pag. 115.

Maxentius, & kyng Pharao both drowned in their owne harnes.

Maxentius the ſonne of Maximinian, and Pharao kyng of Egypt, as they were both like enemyes agaynſt God and his people, ſo dranke they both of one cup, not periſhyng by any mans hand, but both in like maner after were drowned with their harnes in the water.

Furthermore, and briefly in this matter to cōclude, if the kynges among the Iewes; which were bloudy and wicked, were not ſpared, as Achaz, Achab, Ieſabel, Manaſſes, Ioachim, Sedechias, with many other, but had at length, although it was long, the hyer of their iniquititie: let not theſe bloudy Catholickes then thinke, which haue bene perſecutours of Chriſtes Saintes, that they being in the ſame cauſe as the other were aboue recited, ſhall eſchape the ſame iudgement, which the longer it is differred, the ſorer many tymes it ſtriketh, vnleſſe by due repentaunce it be preuented, in tyme: which I pray God it may.

Achaz. Achab. Ieſabell. Manaſſes. Ioachim. Sedechias puniſhed of God for their perſecutions.

Innumerable examples moe to the ſame effect and purpoſe might be inferred, wherof plentyfull ſtore we haue in all places and in al ages of men to be collected. But theſe hetherto for this preſent may ſuffice, which I thought here to notifie vnto theſe our bloudy childrē of the murderyng mother Church of Rome, of whom it may well be ſayd: Manus veſtræ plenæ ſūt ſanguine &c. *Your handes be full of bloud, Eſay. cap.* 1. to the entent that they by the examples of their other felowes before mentioned, may be admoniſhed to folow the Prophets Coūſel, which foloweth and biddeth: Lauamini, mundi eſtote &c. *Be you waſhed, and make your ſelues cleane &c.* Eſay. 1. and not to preſume to farre vpon their owne ſecuritie, nor thinke them ſelues the farther of from Gods hand, becauſe mās hand forbeareth them.

The murderyng mother Church with her bloudy children admoniſhed.

Eſay. 1.

Eſay. 1.

What the lawes of this Realme could ſay agaynſt the perſecutours in Queene Maryes tyme.

I know & graunt, that man hath no further power vpon any, thē God from aboue doth gyue. And what ẏ lawes of this Realme could make agaynſt them, as agaynſt opē murderers, I will not here diſcuſſe, nor opē that I could ſay (becauſe they ſhall not ſay that we deſire their bloud to be ſpilled but rather to bee ſpared): but yet this I ſay, & wiſh them well to vnderſtād, that ẏ ſparing of their lyues which haue bene murderers of ſo many, is not for want of power in Magiſtrates, nor for lacke of any iuſt law agaynſt thē, wherby the might iuſtly haue bene cōdemned if it had ſo pleaſed the Magiſtrates to procede (as they might) agaynſt them: but becauſe almightie God peraduenture of ſome ſecret purpoſe hauyng ſome thyng to do with theſe perſecuters, hath ſpared them hetherto, not that they ſhould eſcape vnpuniſhed, but that peraduenture he will take his own cauſe in his own hand, either by death to take them away (as he did by Boner and by all promoters in a maner of Q. Maries time) or els to make them to perſecute them ſelues with their owne handes, or will ſtyrre vp their conſcience to be their owne confuſion, in ſuch ſort as ẏ Church ſhall haue no neede to lay any handes vppon them. Wherefore with this ſhort admonition to cloſe vp the matter, as I haue exhibited in theſe hiſtories the terrible endes of ſo many perſecutors plagued by Gods hād: ſo would I wiſh all ſuch, whom Gods lenitie ſuffereth yet to lyue, this wiſely to ponder with them ſelues, that as their cruell perſecution hurteth not the Saintes of God whom they haue put to death: ſo the pacience of Chriſtes Church ſufferyng them to lyue, doth not profit them, but rather heapeth the greater iudgement of God vppon them in the day of wrath, vnles they repent in tyme, which I pray God they may.

The nature of the Church is not to perſecute with bloud.

In that ẏ perſecutors bee ſuffered of ẏ church to lyue, it is to their more confuſion.

Almighty GOD and Father of our Lord Ieſus
Chriſt, of his gracious mercy, and for the reuerence of his ſonne, either conuert the hartes
of theſe bloudy enemyes, or cut ſhort their
power, and diſapoynt their deuiſes, or els
ſo ſhorten the perilous dayes of this
kingdome of Sathan, that the peaceable kyngdome of Chriſt
may be ſet vp for euer
by the ſpedy commyng of hym, Qui venturus eſt in nubibus cœli. Veni cito Domine Ieſu. Amen.

¶ A diligent Index or Table, of the moſt notable thynges contayned in this whole booke of Monumentes and Martyrs:

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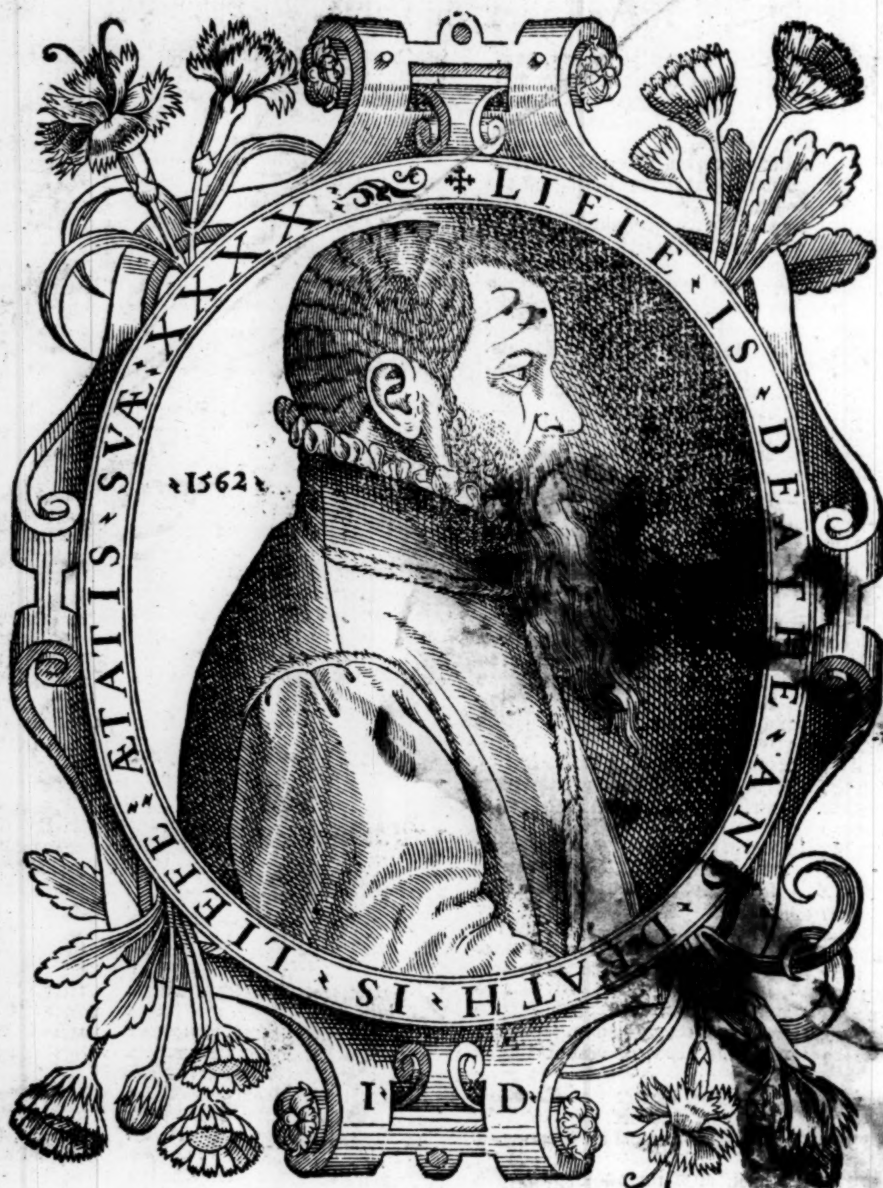
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